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OF SOME OF THE MOST OFTEN QUOTED WORKS

Abu'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm* = *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. J.-T. Reinaud and M. de Slane, Paris 1840

Abu'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, tr. = *Géographie d'Aboulféda, traduite de l'arabe en français*; vol. I, II, 1 by Reinaud, Paris 1848; vol. II, 2 by St. Guyard, 1883

Aghānī[1] or [2] or [3] = Abu'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*; [1]Būlāḳ 1285; [2]Cairo 1323; [3]Cairo 1345-

Aghānī, Tables = *Tables alphabétiques du Kitāb al-aghānī*, rédigées par I. Guidi, Leiden 1900

Aghānī, Brünnow = *The XXIst vol. of the Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. R. E. Brünnow, Leiden 1883

ʿAlī Djawād = *Mamālik-i ʿOthmāniyyeniñ taʾrīkh wa djughrāfiyā lughātī*, Istanbul 1313-17/1895-9.

al-Anbārī, *Nuzha* = *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Udabāʾ*, Cairo 1294

ʿAwfī, *Lubāb* = *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ed. E. G. Browne, London-Leiden 1903-1906

Babinger = F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, 1st ed., Leiden 1927

Baghdādī, *Farḳ* = *al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Badr, Cairo 1328/1910

Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* = *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1866

Balādhurī, *Ansāb* = *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, iv, v. ed. M. Schlössinger and S. D. F. Goitein, Jerusalem 1936-38

Barkan, *Kanunlar* = Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI inci Asırlarda Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları, I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943

Barthold, *Turkestan* = W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, London 1928 (GMS, N.S. V)

Barthold, *Turkestan*[2] = the same, 2nd edition, London 1958

Blachère, *Litt.* = R. Blachère, *Histoire de la Littérature arabe*, i, Paris 1952

Brockelmann, I, II = C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage, Leiden 1943-49

Brockelmann, S I, II, III = *G. d. A. L.*, Erster (Zweiter, Dritter) Supplementband, Leiden 1937-42

Browne, i = E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia, from the earliest times until Firdawsi*, London 1902

Browne, ii = *A Literary History of Persia, from Firdawsi to Saʿdi*, London 1908

Browne, iii = *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920

Browne, iv = *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924

Caetani, *Annali* = L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, Milano 1905-26

Chauvin, *Bibliographie* = V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes et relatifs aux Arabes*, Lille 1892

Ḍabbī = *Bughyat al-Multamis fī Taʾrīkh Ridjāl Ahl al-Andalus*, ed. F. Codera y J. Ribera, Madrid 1885 (BAH III)

Damīrī = *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (quoted according to titles of articles)

Dawlatshāh = *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. E. G. Browne, London-Leiden 1901

Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ* = al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 4 vols., Hyderabad 1315 H.

Djuwaynī = *Taʾrīkh-i Djihān-gushā*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, Leiden 1906-37 (GMS XVI)

Djuwaynī-Boyle = *The History of the World-conqueror*, by ʿAṭā-Malik Djuwaynī, trans. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols., Manchester 1958

Dozy, *Notices* = R. Dozy, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leiden 1847-51

Dozy, *Recherches*[3] = *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen-âge*, third edition, Paris and Leiden 1881

Dozy, *Suppl.* = R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leiden 1881 (anastatic reprint Leiden-Paris 1929)

Fagnan, *Extraits* = E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Alger 1924

Farhang = Razmārā and Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1949-1953

Fihrist = Ibn al-Nadīm, *K. al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1871-72

Firishta = Muḥammad Ḳāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, lith. Bombay 1832

Gesch. des Qor. = Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, new edition by F. Schwally, G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, 3 vols., Leipzig 1909-38

Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry* = E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1900-09

Gibb-Bowen = H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, London 1950-1957

Goldziher, *Muh. St.* = I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols., Halle 1888-90

Goldziher, *Vorlesungen* = I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1910

Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*[2] = 2nd ed., Heidelberg 1925

Goldziher, *Dogme* = *Le dogme et la loi de l'islam*, tr. F. Arin, Paris 1920

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā* = Istanbul 1145/1732

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa = *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Ş. Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge, Istanbul 1941-43

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel = *K. al-Ẓ.*, Leipzig 1835-58

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha* = *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. G. le Strange, Leiden 1913-19 (GMS XXIII)

Hamdānī = *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884-91

Hammer-Purgstall *GOR* = J. von Hammer(-Purgstall), *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest 1828-35

Hammer-Purgstall *GOR*[2] = the same, 2nd ed. Pest 1840

Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire* = the same, trans. by J. J. Hellert, 18 vols., Bellizard [etc.], Paris [etc.], 1835-43

Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung* = J. von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, 2 vols., Vienna 1815

Houtsma, *Recueil* = M. Th. Houtsma, *Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, Leiden 1886-1902

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam = *The Regions of the World*, translated by V. Minorsky, London 1937 (GMS, N.S. XI)
Ibn al-Abbār = *K. Takmilat al-Ṣila*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid 1887-89 (BHA V-VI)
Ibn al-Athīr = *K. al-Kāmil*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, Leiden 1851-76
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Ibn ʿIdhārī = *K. al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948-51; vol. iii, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, París 1930
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Yāḳūt = *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1866-73 (anastatic reprint 1924)

Yāḳūt, *Udabā'* = *Irshād al-Arīb ilā Maʿrifat al-Adīb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, Leiden 1907-31 (GMS VI)

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ABBREVIATIONS FOR PERIODICALS ETC.

Abh. G. W. Gött. = *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
Abh. K. M. = *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
Abh. Pr. Ak. W. = *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
Afr. Fr. = *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française.*
AIEO Alger = *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de l'Université d'Alger.*
AIUON = *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.*
Anz. Wien = *Anzeiger der [kaiserlichen] Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse.*
AO = *Acta Orientalia.*
ArO = *Archiv Orientální.*
ARW = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*
ASI = *Archaeological Survey of India.*
ASI, NIS = *ditto*, New Imperial Series.
ASI, AR = *ditto*, Annual Reports.
AÜDTCFD = *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi.*
BAH = *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana.*
BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
Belleten = *Belleten* (of *Türk Tarih Kurumu*)
BFac. Ar. = *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University.*
BÉt. Or. = *Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas.*
BGA = *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum.*
BIE = *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte.*
BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.*
BRAH = *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia de España.*
BSE = *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Éntsiklopediya* (Large Soviet Encyclopaedia) 1st ed.
BSE[2] = the same, 2nd ed.
BSL[P] = *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.*
BSO[A]S = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies.*
BTLV = *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde [van Nederlandsch-Indië].*
BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*
COC = *Cahiers de l'Orient contemporain.*
CT = *Cahiers de Tunisie.*
EI[1] = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edition.
EIM = *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.*
ERE = *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics.*
GGA = *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.*
GMS = *Gibb Memorial Series.*
Gr. I. Ph. = *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie.*
IA = *Islâm Ansiklopedisi.*
IBLA = *Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes*, Tunis.
IC = *Islamic Culture.*
IFD = *Ilahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi.*
IHQ = *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
IQ = *The Islamic Quarterly.*
Isl. = *Der Islam.*
JA = *Journal Asiatique.*
JAfr. S = *Journal of the African Society.*
JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JAnthr. I = *Journal of the Anthropological Institute.*
JBBRAS = *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JE = *Jewish Encyclopaedia.*
JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.*
J[R]Num. S. = *Journal of the [Royal] Numismatic Society.*
JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
JPak. H. S. = *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.*
JPHS = *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.*
JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review.*
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
J[R]ASB = *Journal and Proceedings of the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JRGeog. S. = *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.*
JSFO = *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne.*
JSS = *Journal of Semitic Studies.*
KCA = *Körösi Csoma Archivum.*
KS = *Keleti Szemle* (Oriental Review).
KSIE = *Kratkie Soobshčeniya Instituta Étnografiy* (Short communications of the Institute of Ethnography).
LE = *Literaturnaya Éntsiklopediya* (Literary Encyclopaedia).
MDOG = *Mitteillungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*
MDPV = *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.*
MEA = *Middle Eastern Affairs.*
MEJ = *Middle East Journal.*
MFOB = *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph de Beyrouth.*
MGMN = *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und Naturwissenschaften.*
MGWJ = *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.*
MIDEO = *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire.*
MIE = *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte.*
MIFAO = *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.*
MMAF = *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire.*
MMIA = *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī*, Damascus.
MO = *Le Monde oriental.*
MOG = *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte.*
MSE = *Malaya Sovetskaya Éntsiklopediya* (Small Soviet Encyclopaedia).
MSFO = *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne.*
MSL[P] = *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris.*
MSOS Afr. = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Afrikanische Studien.*
MSOS As. = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Westasiatische Studien.*
MTM = *Millī Tetebbüʿler Medjmūʿasi.*
MW = *The Muslim World.*
NC = *Numismatic Chronicle.*
NGW Gött. = *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
OC = *Oriens Christianus.*

OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*
OM = *Oriente Moderno.*
PEFQS = *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement.*
Pet. Mitt. = *Petermanns Mitteilungen.*
QDAP = *Quarterly Statement of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine.*
RAfr. = *Revue Africaine.*
RCEA = *Répertoire chronologique d'Épigraphie arabe.*
REJ = *Revue des Études Juives.*
Rend. Lin. = *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche.*
REI = *Revue des Études Islamiques.*
RHR = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.*
RIMA = *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes.*
RMM = *Revue du Monde Musulman.*
RO = *Rocznik Orientalistyczny.*
ROC = *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien.*
ROL = *Revue de l'Orient Latin.*
RSO = *Rivista degli studi orientali.*
RT = *Revue Tunisienne.*
SBAk. Heid. = *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
SBAk. Wien = *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien.*
SBBayr. Ak. = *Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
SBPMS Erlg. = *Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen.*
SBPr. Ak. W. = *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.*
SE = *Sovetskaya Étnografiya* (Soviet Ethnography).
SO = *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* (Soviet Orientalism).
Stud. Isl. = *Studia Islamica.*
S.Ya. = *Sovetskoe Yazîkoznanie* (Soviet Linguistics).
TBG = *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.*
TD = *Tarih Dergisi.*
TIE = *Trudî instituta Étnografiy* (Works of the Institute of Ethnography).
TM = *Türkiyat Mecmuası.*
TOEM = *Ta'rîkh-i 'Othmânî (Türk Ta'rîkhi) Endjümeni medjmû'asî.*
Verh. Ak. Amst. = *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam.*
Versl. Med. Ak. Amst. = *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam.*
VI = *Voprosî Istoriy* (Historical Problems).
WI = *Die Welt des Islams.*
WIn.s. = *ibid.*, new series.
Wiss. Veröff. DOG = *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*
WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*
ZATW = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins.*
ZGErdk. Birl. = *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin.*
ZS = *Zeitschrift für Semitistik.*

LIST OF TRANSLITERATIONS

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC CHARACTERS:

Consonants						*Long Vowels*		*Diphthongs*	
ء	ʾ (except when initial)	ز	z	ق	ḳ	ا ى	ā	ـَوْ	aw
ب	b	س	s	ك	k	و	ū	ـَيْ	ay
ت	t	ش	sh	ل	l	ي	ī	ـِيّ	iyy (final form ī)
ث	th	ص	ṣ	م	m			ـُوّ	uww (final form ū)
ج	dj	ض	ḍ	ن	n	*Short Vowels*			
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	ه	h	ـَ	a		
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	و	w	ـُ	u		
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y	ـِ	i		
ذ	dh	غ	gh						
ر	r	ف	f						

ة a; at (construct state)

ال (article), al- and ʾl- (even before the antero-palatals)

PERSIAN, TURKISH AND URDU ADDITIONS TO THE ARABIC ALPHABET:

پ	p	ژ	zh	ٹ	ṫ	ڑ	ṙ
چ	č	ك or گ	g (sometimes ñ in Turkish)	ڈ	ḋ		

Additional vowels:

a) Turkish: e, ı, o, ö, ü. Diacritical signs proper to Arabic are, in principle, not used in words of Turkish etymology.

b) Urdu: ē, ō.

For modern Turkish, the official orthography adopted by the Turkish Republic in 1928 is used. The following letters may be noted:

c = dj	ğ = gh	j = zh	k = k and ḳ	t = t and ṭ
ç = č	h = h, ḥ and kh	ş = sh	s = s, ṣ and th	z = z, ẓ, ḍ and dh

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION OF CYRILLIC CHARACTERS:

а	a	е	e	к	k	п	p	ф	f	щ	shč	ю	yu
б	b	ж	ž	л	l	р	r	х	kh	ы	ı	я	ya
в	v	з	z	м	m	с	s	ц	ts	ь	ʾ	ѣ	ě
г	g	и	i	н	n	т	t	ч	č	ъ	ʿ		
д	d	й	y	о	o	у	u	ш	sh	э	é		

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

P. 1ᵃ, ʿAbābda, l. 6 *read* limit.
P. 2ᵇ, *read* Abāḳā.
P. 3, Abarḳubādh. *Bibliography*, add: G. C. Miles, *Abarqubādh, A new Umayyad Mint*, in *American Numism. Soc. Museum Notes IV*, 1952, 115-120.
P. 7ᵇ, l. 4 from below, *for* s̲h̲āhī-sewen *read* s̲h̲āh-seven.
P. 8ᵇ, ʿAbbās I, add to the bibliography: Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Zindagānī-yi S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās-i Awwal*, Tehran 1953—; Miguel Asín Palacios, *Comentario de Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa de la embajada que de parte del Roy de España don Felippe III hizo al Rey Xa Abas de Persia*, Madrid 1928; N. D. Miklucho-Maclay, *K voprosu o nalagovoy politike v Irane pri S̲h̲ak̲h̲e Abbase I* ..., in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, vi (1949), 348-55; E. Kühnel, *Hān ʿĀlam und die Diplomat: Bez. zw. Ǧahāngīr und Schah ʿAbbās*, in *ZDMG* xcvi (1942), 171-86.
P. 13ᵃ, l. 18, *for* ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I *read* ʿAbbās I.
P. 21ᵇ, l. 56, *read* A. H. 467 al-Muḳtadī.
P. 41ᵃ, l. 29, *for* 68/686-8 *read* 68/687-8.
P. 45ᵃ, l. 26, *for* by al-Zubayr *read* by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.
P. 47, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn, *Bibliography*, add: M. Khadduri, *Fertile Crescent Unity*, in R. N. Frye, ed., *The Near East and the Great Powers*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1951, 137-177.
P. 57ᵇ, l. 66, *for* Abu Ḥamāra *read* Abū Ḥimāra.
P. 57, add: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [see ʿĀmirids].
add: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf [see Dulafids].
P. 58ᵃ, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, *Bibliography*, add: U. Rizzitano, *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, governatore umayyade d'Egitto*, in *Rend. Lin.*, series iii, vol. ii, fasc. 5-6, 1947, 341-347.
P. 58ᵇ, l. 59, *for* 30 March *read* 30 May.
P. 59ᵃ, l. 50, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī, *read S̲h̲āh.*
P. 60, *add* ʿAbd al-D̲j̲alīl Abu 'l-Maḥāsin [see al-dihistānī].
add ʿAbd al-G̲h̲affār b. ʿAbd al-Karīm [see al-ḳazwīnī].
add ʿAbd al-G̲h̲affār al-Ak̲h̲ras [see al-ak̲h̲ras].
ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Sayf al-Dīn, *Bibliography*, *add*: K̲h̲. A. Niẓāmī, *Ḥayāt S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddit̲h̲ Dihlawī*, Dihli 1953.
P. 61ᵃ, l. 46, *after* born Febr. 1852 *add* at Istanbul.
P. 61ᵇ, l. 30, *for* in 1937 *read* on 12 April 1937 at Istanbul.
P. 61ᵇ, l. 42, *for* Yādigar-i Ḥarp *read* Yādgār-i Ḥarb.
P. 63ᵇ, l. 7, *for* Waṣīf *read* Wāṣif.
P. 63ᵇ, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, l. 2, *for* 5th of 30 *read* 8th of 40.
P. 63ᵇ, l. 10 from below, *for* former *read* later.
P. 64ᵃ, l. 42, *for* āmed̲j̲i *read* āmedd̲j̲ī.
P. 64ᵇ, l. 42, *for* 1894 *read* 1889.
P. 65, *Bibliography*, last line, *for* 1343 *read* 1943.
P. 71, *add* ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAd̲j̲arrad [see ibn ʿad̲j̲arrad].
P. 72ᵇ, l. 30, *for* Pā'inda *read* Pāyanda.
P. 75ᵇ, l. 15, *after* son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] *add* born 30 May 1868.
P. 76, *add* ʿAbd al-Malik b. His̲h̲ām [see ibn his̲h̲ām].
P. 78, *add* ʿAbd al-Malik b. Zuhr [see ibn zuhr].
P. 80, *add* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī [see al-ḳāḍī al-fāḍil].
ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad [see ibn nubāta].
P. 91, *add* ʿAbd al-Salām b. Aḥmad [see ibn g̲h̲ānim].
P. 91ᵇ, in *Bibliography*, *for* Kumus̲h̲ak̲h̲ānawī *read* Gümüs̲h̲-k̲h̲ānewī.
P. 97ᵃ, ʿAbdī Effendi, l. 4, *for* 1764 *read* 1774.
P. 102ᵇ, l. 24, art. Abraha, *for* 640-650 A.D. *read* 540-550 A.D..
P. 103ᵃ, l. 20, *after* idem, *le Muséon*, 1953, 339-42, *add* idem, *La persécution des chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle*, Istanbul 1956.
P. 105ᵇ, l. 42, *for al-ḳaṭar al-Miṣrī read al-ḳuṭr al-Miṣrī.*
P. 108, Abu 'l-ʿAynā'. *Bibliography*: *add* D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, v, 344-46; Ṣafadī, *Himyān*, 265; Ch. Pellat, in *RSO*, 1952, 66.
P. 109ᵃ, l. 8, from below, *for* 1136/1273 *read* 1136/1724.
P. 109ᵃ, l. 4, from below, *for* 1133/1729 *read* 1004/1596.
P. 109ᵃ, l. 3, from below, *for* ʿUt̲h̲mān III *read* ʿUt̲h̲mān II.
P. 111ᵇ, l. 66, *for* Nahār^{au} *read* Nahār^{an}.
P. 117ᵃ, l. 27, *for* al-Kahtānī *read* al-Ḳaḥṭānī.
P. 117ᵇ, l. 15, *read Akbar nāma*, iii.
P. 118ᵇ, l. 30, after Nad̲j̲af 1353, *add* and Cairo 1368/1949.
l. 63, *for* 'Hamāh *read* Ḥamāh.
P. 119ᵃ, l. 40, *for* Taḳwīn *read* Taḳwīm.

P. 123, ABŪ ḤANĪFA. F. Rosenthal points out that the name of the grandfather (*Zwṭ'* or *Zwṭrh*) corresponds to the Aramaic word for "small"; Abū Ḥanīfa was therefore probably of local, Aramaean descent.

P. 125, ABŪ ḤĀTIM YŪSUF B. MUḤAMMAD. [See RUSTUMIDS].

P. 126a, l. 36, *for* al-Maḳdisī *read* al-Muḳaddasī.

P. 141b, l. 72, *for* ("the man with green spectacles") *read* ("the man with blue spectacles").

P. 142, ABŪ NAḌḌĀRA. *Bibliography*: *add* Ibrāhīm ʿAbduh, *Abū Naḍḍāra*, Cairo 1953.

P. 143b, l. 9, ABŪ NUWĀS, *for* (d. 198/873) *read* (d. 198/813).

P. 143b, l. 35, *for* al-Khaṭīb *read* al-Khaṣīb.

P. 144b, ABŪ NUWĀS, *add to bibliography*: E. Wagner, *Der Überlieferung des Abū Nuwās-Dīwān*, Wiesbaden 1958.

P. 146a, l. 1, *for* bā *read* ba.

P. 147b, ABŪ SAʿĪD B. ABI 'L-KHAYR, *add to bibliography*: Muḥammad b. Munawwar . . . Maykhānī, *Asrār fi 'l-tawḥīd fī Maḳāmāt al-Shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, Tehran 1332 s./1954.

P. 163, ABŪ YAZĪD AL-BISṬĀMĪ. *Bibliography*: *add* H. Ritter, *Die Aussprüche des Bayezīd Bisṭāmī*, in: *Westöstliche Abhandlungen Rudolf Tschudi . . . überreicht*, Wiesbaden 1954, 231-43.

P. 182a, l. 10, *for* zaman *read* zamān.

P. 183a, l. 9, *for* Brouquière *read* Brocquière.

P. 184a, ADANA, *add to bibliography*: see also map of Adana in Nazim Tarhan and Aziz Arsan, *Tarihte Adana*, Adana ca. 1954, new ed. "Turistik Adana" ca. 1957.

P. 187b, l. 48 *read* 1748, fasc. III, 95 f.

P. 187b, ʿADHĀB AL-ḲABR, *add to the bibliography*: Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *al-Risāla al-Ḳabriyya fi 'l-Radd ʿalā Munkiri ʿAdhāb al-Ḳabr*, in *Madjmūʿat Sitt Rasāʾil*, Cairo and Ḳadiyān, n.d.

P. 188, ADHĀN. *Bibliography*: *add* Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 127 ff. (French transl. in *RAfr.*, 1954, 96 ff.).

P. 190a, l. 5, *for* 1728 *read* 1729-30.

P. 194a, ĀDHARĪ, *add to Bibliography*: *Przeglad Orientalistyczny* 1956/1 (17), 86 ff.

P. 199b, ADIYAMAN, l. 2, *for* Hüsnümansur *read* Hısnımansûr.

P. 201b, l. 41, *for* 365/972 *read* 365/976.

P. 207b, AL-ʿADJDJADJ, l. 5, *for* 97/115 *read* 97/716.

P. 209a, l. 68, *add* The seat of an administrative tribunal is therefore often called *dār al-ʿadl*.

P. 211b, l. 5, *for* 338/944 *read* 338/949.

P. 214a, l. 48, *add* On the *Mustaʿīnī* of Ibn Biklārish, see Renaud, in *Hesp.*, 1930, 135 ff.

P. 214b, l. 23, *add* On the *Taḳwīm al-Adwiya* of al-ʿAlāʾī, see Renaud, in *Hesp.*, 1933, 69 ff.

P. 215a, l. 15 *for* Baḥrāʾ *read* Bahrāʾ.
l. 65 *for* SHANANSHĀN *read* SHĀHANSHĀH.

P. 224, AFGHĀNISTĀN, (ii) ETHNOGRAPHY. *Bibliography*: *add* Iwamura Sh. and H. F. Schurman, *Notes on Mongolian Groups in Afghanistan*, *Silver Jubilee volume of Zinbun-kagaku-Kenkyusho*, Kyoto Univ. 1954, 480-515 (includes linguistic texts).

P. 225, AFGHĀNISTĀN, (iv) RELIGION. *Bibliography*: *add* W. Jackson and L. H. Gray, in *ERE*, s.v. Afghanistan, i, 158, 160; N. Slousch, *Les Juifs en Afghanistan*, RMM, 1908, 502 ff.; M. Akram, Bibliographie analytique de l'Afghanistan, i, Paris 1947.

P. 228a, l. 7, from below, *for* Ghazna *read* Kābul.

P. 228b, l. 9, from below, *for* 1003/1621 *read* 1003/1595.

P. 234a, AFLĀKĪ, at end, change full stop to comma and *add* by Tahsin Yazıcı, 2 vols., 1953-5.

P. 244a, l. 34, *for* Persians *read* Aḳḳoyunlus.

P. 244a, AFYŪN ḲARA ḤIṢĀR, *add* after line 50: Ḳara Ḥiṣār formerly owed some of its importance to being a junction of the caravan routes between Izmir and the commercial centres in the interior (Ankara, Kayseri, Tolot, etc.) on the one hand, and between Constantinople, or rather Scutari (Usküdār), and Syria on the other: see F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, i, Leipzig 1924, esp. 127; more recently it has become an important railway junction on the Izmir-Kasaba and Anatolian systems.

P. 249b, l. 49, *read* Djabriyya.

P. 250a, l. 21, *add* Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ, in *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes*, 1956, 339 ff.
l. 30, *read* 148/765.

P. 257a, l. 29, *read* of the brother of ʿĀd.

P. 267b, AḤMAD I, l. 4, *for* 22 January *read* 22 December.

P. 268a, AḤMAD II, l. 4, *for* Rashīd *read* Rāshid.

P. 268b, *Bibliography*, l. 1, *for* Rashīd *read* Rāshid.

P. 268b, AḤMAD III, l. 4, *for* 21 August *read* 23 August.

P. 268b, l. 35, *for* Köprülü *read* Köprülü-zāde.

P. 277b, AḤMAD B. ḤANBAL, *add to bibliography*: H. Laoust, *Les premières professions de foi hanbalites*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, iii/1957, 7-36.

P. 279a, l. 29, *for* as a magistrate in the Native Courts *read* as a ḳāḍi in the *Sharīʿa* Courts.

P. 287b, l. 32, *read* in 1891, and his memoirs appeared under the title.

P. 306b, l. 32 and 33 from below, *read* the early Middle Ages.

P. 311, heading, *for* Aḳ Kirmān *read* Aḳ Kirmān-Aḳ Ḳoyunlu.

P. 312, heading, *for* Aḳ Kirmān- *read* Aḳ Ḳoyunlu-.

P. 312a, *Bibliography*, *for* Inanç *read* Yınanç.

P. 312a, AḲ ḲOYUNLU, *add to bibliography*: J. Aubin, *Notes sur quelques documents Aq Qoyunlu*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, i/1956, 123-47.

P. 313a, AḲ SHEHR, *add to Bibliography*: İbrâhim Hakki Konyali, *Akşehir*, Istanbul; Rifki Melûl Meriç, *Akşehir Türbe ve Kitâbeleri*, *TM*, v, Istanbul.

P. 317^{b}, l. 8, after M. Roychoudhuri, *The Din-i-Ilahi*, Calcutta 1941, *add* 2nd edition, Calcutta 1952 (with different pagination and additional appendix "C" to Chapter V).

P. 321^{a}, l. 50, *add* tr. and annotated by Camara Lamine, Conakry 1950.

P. 332^{a}, l. 5, Ākhund-Zāda, *delete the words* in his early days

P. 332^{b}, l. 11 f., *read* in *AIUON, N.S., i* (*Scritti in onore di Luigi Bonelli*).

P. 332^{b}, l. 17 f., *read* The Hague, 1958.

Ākhund-Zāda, *Bibliography*: *add* M. F. Achundov (= Akhund-zāde), *Pis'ma Kemalud-dovli*, Baku 1959 (in Azeri); M. Rafili, *Mirza Fatali Akhundov*, Moscow 1959 (in Russian); K. Tarverdieva, *Abovjan i Achundov*, Yerevan 1958 (in Armenian). See also F. Gasymzade, *XIX ésr Azérbajdžan édébijjaty tarichi*, Baku 1956 (in Azeri), 260-371; G. Gusejnov, *Iz istoriy obshčestvennoy i filosofskoy misli v Azerbaydžane XIX veka*^{a}, Baku 1958, 162-295.

P. 337^{b}, l. 18, *add* [see durūz].

P. 355^{a}, *add* ʿAlawī, Ba [see bā ʿalawī].

P. 358^{b}, *add* Albania [see arnawut].

P. 367^{a}, l. 55, *read* vanished, the future.

P. 368^{a}, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Bibliography*, *add* ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿAbd al-Maḳṣūd, *al-Imām ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, Cairo 1946-53.

P. 374^{b}, l. 9-10, *read* spoken in the heart of the Oran region.
l. 11-12, *delete* except ..... region.

P. 375^{b}, l. 40, *read* biliteral.
l. 42, *read* Djidjellians (elsewhere *āsh*, *āh*).

P. 376^{b}, l. 16-17, *read* Only Old Ténès.
l. 20, *read* everywhere (except in Miliana and Blida).
l. 23, *read* Cherchell, Miliana, Médéa.

P. 377^{b}, l. 21, *read* vowels in open syllables.
l. 60, *read* Oran and in the Chélif region.

P. 378^{a}, l. 50, *read* of the Oued Souf.

P. 379^{b}, l. 49, *add* G. Kampffmeyer, *Südalgerische Studien*, Berlin 1905.

P. 380^{a}, l. 60, *read* Ghīlān.

P. 380^{b}, l. 23, *read* 651/768, 1963.

P. 381^{a}, l. 9, *read* *JA*, 1869, 6th ser., xiv.

P. 388^{b}, l. 8, from below, *read* 869-83.

P. 392^{b}, *add* ʿAlī al-Hādī [see al-ʿAskarī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan].

P. 400^{b}, ʿAli Werdi Khān, *Bibliography*: *add* Kalikinkar Datta, *Alivardi and his times*, Calcutta 1939, (contains an exhaustive bibliography).

P. 404, Aljamía. Circumstances beyond the control of the Editorial Committee have made it necessary for the text and the bibliography to appear as independent contributions by two different authors.

P. 425^{a}, l. 14, from below, *for* 1836-39 *read* 1836-99.

P. 426^{b}, Alwār, *read* Alwar.

P. 430^{b}, Amān, *Bibliography*: *add* E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, Paris 1954, 426 ff.; P. S. Leicht and G. Astuti, *La posizione giuridica delle colonie di mercanti occidentali nel Vicino Oriente e nell' Africa del Nord nel medio evo*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. Intern. de Droit Comparé*, iii/3, Rome 1953, 133-146; M. Hamidullah, *Extraterritorial Capitulations in favour of Muslims in classical times*, in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, i, 1948, 47-60; A. Abel, *L'étranger dans l'Islam classique*, in *L'étranger* (Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, ix), 1957, 331-351.

P. 433^{b}, l. 50, *add* For a confirmation of the term *mēnokad* in an inscription at Leptis Magna, see G. Levi Della Vida, in *Africa Italiana*, vi, 1935, 4-6; J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, 93 § 211.

P. 437^{a}, l. 16, Amīn, *for* econimic *read* economic.

P. 446^{a}, *add* al-ʿĀmirī [see muḥammad b. yūsuf, al-ʿāmirī].

P. 497^{a}, l. 8, *add* J. D. Latham, *Towards a Study of Andalusian Immigration and its place in Tunisian History*, in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, 19-20, 1957, 203-252.

P. 506^{a}, Andjuman (India and Pakistan), *Bibliography*, *add* Sayyid Hāshimī *Ta'rīkh-i Pandjāb Sāla-e-Andjuman-i Taraḳḳi-i Urdū*, Karachi 1953.

P. 511^{a}, ll. 8-9 from the bottom, *delete* in October.
l. 10 from the bottom, *for* June 1919 *read* September 1919.

P. 511^{b}, *add* al-Ankubarda, also al-Ankaburda, name of Lombardy in Arabic geographical works. (ed.).

P. 539^{a}, l. 43, Djazīrat al-ʿArab, *for* The boundary .... general way. *read* The boundary between Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt and the boundaries of their neutral zone were agreed upon between Britain and the then Sultan of Nadjd (later King of Saudia Arabia) in the convention of al-ʿUḳayr of 1922 but were not demarcated on the ground.

P. 548^{a}, l. 49, *add* Recently discovered inscriptions indicate that the hypothesis set forth in this article with respect to the starting point of the "Sabaean era" is untenable, and that certain changes should be made in the chronology for Southern Arabia; see G. Ryckmans in *Muséon*, lxvi (1953); J. Ryckmans in *Muséon*, lxvi (1953); idem, *La persécution des chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle*, Istanbul 1956.

P. 554^{b}, l. 28, Djazīrat al-ʿArab, *for* In the latter part .... two years of rule. *read* In the latter part of his reign he devoted most of his attention to his East African possessions, but their independence under a younger line of his descendants was recognised in 1277/1861 by an arbitration award of Lord Canning, Viceroy of India. The only Ibāḍī Imam elected during the century, ʿAzzān

b. Ḳays, failed to win recognition by the British and was killed in battle in 1287/1871 after two years of rule.

P. 555ᵃ, l. 15, Dj̲azīrat al-ʿArab, *for* but in.......... sides. *read* though the Sultan did not relinquish his claim to sovereign rights over the whole of ʿUmān. Thus in 1955, when the Imam, G̲h̲ālib b. ʿAlī, sought independent membership of the Arab League, the Sultan held this to be an infringement of the terms of the Treaty of al-Sīb and advanced into the interior of ʿUmān.

P. 556ᵇ, Dj̲azīrat al-ʿArab, *Bibliography*: *add* Eric Macro, *Bibliography of the Arabian Peninsula*, University of Miami Press, 1960; idem, *Bibliography on Yemen with notes on Mocha*, University of Miami Press, 1960.

P. 568ᵇ, l. 15, *read* A. C. Woolner.

P. 573ᵇ, l. 8, *read* 5th ed., Cairo 1950.

P. 573ᵇ, ʿArabiyya, *add to Bibliography*: G. V. Cereteli, *Arabskie dialekti Sredney Aziy*, Vol. i, *Buk̲h̲arskiy Arabskiy dialekt*, Tiflis 1956.

P. 575ᵇ, l. 25, *after* A. Worsley, *Sudanese Grammar*, London 1925, vi-80 pp. in 8 vo., *add* now superseded by J. Spencer Trimingham, *Sudan Colloquial Arabic*, Oxford 1946.
l. 26, *for Sudan Arabic, English-Arabic Vocabulary, read Sudan Arabic Texts.*

P. 608ᵇ, Arbūna, *Bibliography*: *add* J. Lacam, *Vestiges de l'occupation arabe en Narbonnaise*, in *Cahiers archéologiques*, viii, 93-115 (discovery, notably, of a *miḥrāb*).

P. 609ᵇ, ll. 1-3 from below: delete the passage in brackets and what follows.

P. 624ᵃ, Architecture, *Bibliography*: *add* R. W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque* London 1949; O. Grabar, *The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem*, in *Ars Orientalis*, 1959, 33-62.

P. 649ᵃ, l. 45, *add* I. Kračkovskij, *Vtoraya zapiska Abū-Dulafa v geografičeskom slovare yakuta* (*Azerbaydžan, Armeniya, Iran*), Izbrannye Sočinenija, Moscow-Leningrad 1955, 280-292 (The second notice on Abū Dulaf in the Geog. Dict. of Yāḳūt (Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, Armenia, Iran), Selected works); N. D. Mikluxo-Maklaj, *Geografičeskoye sočinenye XIII v. na persidskom jazike* (*noviy istočnik po istoričeskoy geografiy Azerbaydžana i Armeniy*), Učenye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovyedeniya, IX, 1954 (A geographical work of the 13th century in Persian: a new source for the historical geography of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and Armenia, Learned Memoirs of the Institute of Orientalism).

P. 662ᵇ, l. 36, Arslānlī, *for* [see G̲h̲urūs̲h̲] *read* [see sikka].

P. 667ᵇ, Artuḳids, *add to bibliography*: Ali Sevim, *Artuk oğulların Beyliklerinın ilk devri*, Thesis Ankara 1958.

P. 668, l. 2, *for* Ibn Ḳaysān *read* Ibn Kaysān.
l. 4, *for* al-Talkānī *read* al-Ṭalḳānī.
l. 13, *for* Al-Dahhān *read* Ibn al-Dahhān.
l. 15, *for* al-Saḳḳāṭ *read* Ibn al-Saḳḳāṭ.
l. 29, *for* al-Kalāwisī *read* al-Ḳalāwisī.

P. 669ᵇ, l. 19, *for* the symbol | o for the'quiescent', *read* the symbol | for the'quiescent'.

P. 680ᵃ, *for* Ārzū K̲h̲ān, *read* Ārzū, K̲h̲ān.

P. 681ᵃ, ʿAṣabiyya, *add to bibliography*: H. Ritter, *Irrational Solidarity groups*, in *Oriens* i/1 (1948), 1-44.

P. 688ᵃ, *for* Asfār b. S̲h̲īrawayhī, *read* Asfār b. S̲h̲īrawayhi.
l. 40, *delete.*

P. 688ᵇ, l. 13, *read* of the son of his maternal uncle.

P. 692ᵇ, l. 34, Aṣḥāb al-Uk̲h̲dūd, *for* (of Hinnom) *read* (Vale of Hinnom).

P. 705ᵃ, ʿĀs̲h̲ūrāʾ, *Bibliography*, *add* G. Vajda, *Jeûne musulman et jeûne juif*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 12-13, 1938, 367-85.

P. 710ᵇ, ll. 13-15, Āsiya, *for* caused her ...... stone, *read* caused a big rock to be cast upon her; but as God took her soul to himself, the rock fell on a lifeless body.

P. 721ᵇ, l. 21 and 22 from below, *read* Itil (Atil [*q.v.*]).

P. 722ᵃ, l. 8, *read* Russians.

P. 732ᵇ, Atabak (Atabeg), *add* at the end of the art.: The *atabeg al-ʿasākir* under the Ayyūbids and the first Mamlūks had restricted functions; he was the commander of the army during the minority of the prince, but in contrast with the *atabeg* under the Sald̲j̲ūḳids he was not the tutor of the young prince; a relative or a special freedman was appointed as tutor.

P. 735ᵃ, l. 59, Atbara, *for* 8 June 1898, *read* 8 April 1898 (see Sir G. Arthur, *Life of Lord Kitchener*, London 1920, i, 226; Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, London 1908, ii, 102).

P. 736ᵃ, l. 8, *read al-Ṣubḥ.*

P. 754ᵇ, l. 56. *read*: Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa.

P. 755ᵃ, *add* Auspicious and Inauspicious [see saʿd].
l. 34, *read* K̲h̲iṭaṭ.

P. 756ᵇ, l. 15, *for* i, 387, *read* i, 408.

P. 758ᵇ, l. 1, *insert* and at least specialised applications to *before* the history of science.
l. 41, *read* and the famous, widely read *De inventoribus rerum.*

P. 759ᵇ, l. 44, ʿAwāmir, *after* no claim to be a range of their own, *insert* Ibn Rakkāḍ's position as paramount *s̲h̲aykh* of the nomadic elements of the central group has been disputed since 1947 by Sālim Ibn Ḥamm, also of Āl Badr.

P. 779ᵃ, l. 34, *for* 1319/1903 *read* 1319/1901-2.

P. 779ᵇ, l. 34, *for* 1938 *read* 1896-7.

P. 783ᵇ, l. 11, *read* 748-760/1348-1360.

P. 796ᵇ, *add* Ayyūbid Art [see Supplement].

P. 813ᵇ, l. 12, *read* 1202/1787.
l. 56, *read* Rāy.

P. 826ᵃ, l. 25, *read* ʿAzīzī [see karačelebi-zāde].

P. 827b, l. 34, *read Tushadd.*
P. 828a, l. 11, *read* Khāṭir.
P. 849b, l. 43, *for* son-in-law *read* son.
P. 850a, BĀD-I ḤAWĀ, l. 4, *after* income *delete* full stop *and add* (cf. the *Ṭayyārāt* mentioned by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *BSOAS*, x, 1940, 761, 774).
P. 855b, l. 7, from the bottom, *read* Čhadjdjū.
P. 856a, l. 42, *read Fawāʾid al-Fuʾād*[a].
l. 44, *read Bāḳiyāt.*
l. 57, *read Ṭawāliʿ.*
P. 856b, l. 6, *read* Patiyālī (in Etah District).
l. 13, *read* Abban.
l. 17, *for* Djalāl al-Dīn, *read* Djalāl Khān.
P. 857a, l. 10, *read Maʾāthir-i.*
l. 23, *read Akbari.*
P. 860a, l. 18, *read* his uncle Ḥammād.
P. 908b, BAGHDĀD, *add to Bibliography*: M. Canard, *Hamdânides*, i, 155-74; G. Makdisi, *The topography of eleventh century Baġdād = Materials and notes*, in *Arabica*, vi, 1959, 178-97 and 281-309.
P. 913b, l. 61, *read* Tārā Bāʾī.
P. 914a, l. 24, *read Maʾāthir-i.*
l. 26, *read* ʿĀlī.
l. 30, *read* Kāmrādj, *Aʿẓam al-Ḥarb.*
l. 42, *read Mirʾāt-i.*
P. 923a, *for* BANĪẒAT AL-BĀDIYA [see MALIK HIFNI NĀSIF], *read* BĀḤITHAT AL-BĀDIYA [see MALIK ḤIFNĪ NĀṢIF].
P. 927a, *read* BAḤR ADRIYAS.
P. 952a, l. 13, *for* Rāja, *read* Rādjā.
l. 14, *read diwān*; *and read* Nāʾib.
l. 23, *read* Barēlwī.
l. 32, *read* Guns.
P. 953b, l. 57, *read* Ghāʾī.
l. 59, *read* Ramaḍān.
P. 954b, l. 8, *delete the bracket.*
l. 13, *read Mirʾāt.*
P. 957a, l. 34, *read* Muḥammad.
l. 70, *read* Shukōh.
P. 957b, l. 10, *Muḥammad* (*Aḥmad*) *Akhtar* should not be in italics.
l. 14, *read al-Ḥukūmat.*
l. 66, *for* ʾ Prophet, *read* Prophet.
P. 958a, l. 5, *read* Saʿūd.
l. 39, *read al-hudjra min.*
l. 40, *read al-Hidjra.*
l. 41, *read al-Madīna al-Munawwara.*
P. 978a, ll. 31-32 to be placed after l. 24.
P. 983a, l. 17, *delete* A. SCHAADE and *read* (G. E. VON GRUNEBAUM).
P. 990b, BALBAN, *read* [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE].
P. 1016b, *add* between lines 23 and 24: In Spanish, *albanecar* means a certain triangular set of beams in the frame of a roof.
P. 1020a, l. 1, *read* Makhlūf.
P. 1023a, l. 6, from below, *read Aʿlām.*
P. 1037a, l. 13, *add Fatāwā-i Jahandari of Zia-uʾdin Barani*, introd. by Muḥammad Ḥabīb and Engl. transl. by Afsar Begum, in *Medieval India Quarterly*, iii/1 and 2, Aligarh 1957, 1-87.
P. 1037a, BARANĪ, *add to Bibliography*: P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, London 1960, 20-39.
P. 1053, heading, *read* BARKYĀRŪK.
P. 1053a, l. 7, *for* Abu ʾl-Ḥāsīm *read* Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim.
P. 1069a, article BĀRŪD (India), for Baranī *read* Bernier.
P. 1165b, l. 70, BENARES, *for* formed *read* forced.
P. 1179a, BERBERS, section IV, 2nd para., *after* H. Lhote, *Touaregs du Hoggar*, 221 ff.; , *add* idem, *Comment campent les Touaregs*, Paris 1947.
P. 1187a, BERBERS, section VI, *add to Bibliography*: J. Besancenot, *Bijoux arabes et berbères du Maroc*, Casablanca 1959; Délégation générale du gouvernement en Algérie, *Collections ethnographiques*, Album I, *Touareg Ahaggar*, Paris 1959.
P. 1192a, l. 44, BHAKKAR, *for* Ḳubādja *read* Ḳabāča.
P. 1196b, l. 68, BHOPĀL, *for* Jsānah-i *read* Fasānah-i.
P. 1202b, l. 10, *for* Bombay *read* Mysore.
l. 11, *for* 350 miles south *read* 250 miles south-east.
l. 45, *for* Sīvādjī *read* Shivādjī.
l. 71, *for* Marātʿhās *read* Marāthās.
P. 1203b, ll. 25, 32, 35, 42, *for* ʿĀlī *read* ʿAlī.
P. 1204a, l. 19, *for* Andā *read* Andá.
P. 1214a, BIHZĀD, *add to Bibliography* Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, *Ṣuwar min madrasat Bihzād fi ʾl-madjmūʿāt al-fanniya bi ʾl-Ḳāhira*, Baden-Baden, 1959 (also published in German as *Persische Miniaturen Werke der Behzad-Schule aus Sammlungen in Kairo*).

P. 1234ᵇ, BIREDJIK, *add to Bibliography*: J.-B. Chabot, *Un épisode inédit de l'histoire des Croisades* (*Le siège de Birta, 1145*), in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes Rendus 1917*, Paris 1917, 77-84.

P. 1238ᵇ, l. 58, AL-BIRZĀLĪ, *for* al-Munadjdjima *read* al-Munadjdjid.

P. 1241ᵇ, BISHR B. ABĪ KHĀZIM, *add to Bibliography*: G. Von Grünebaum, *Bishr b. Abī Khāzim: Collection of Fragments*, in *JRAS* 1939, 533-67.

P. 1242ᵃ, l. 59, BISHR B. GHIYĀTH AL-MARĪSĪ, *for Māḳālāt read Maḳālāt.*

P. 1248ᵃ l. 31, BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS, *for* Rabīb *read* Ḥabīb.

l. 32, BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS, *for Sabā'iḳ read Sabā'ik.*

l. 34, BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS, *for Mu'talif read Mu'talif.*

l. 40, BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS, *for* 1-000 *read* 1-100.

l. 44, BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS, *for al-Hayawān read al-Ḥayawān.*

P. 1257ᵇ, *after title* BONNEVAL *insert title* BOOKKEEPING [see MUḤĀSABA].

A

AARON [see HĀRŪN]
ĀB [see TAʾRĪKH]
ʿABĀʾ [see KISĀʾ]
ʿABĀBDA (sg. ʿABBĀDĪ), an Arabic-speaking tribe of Bedja [*q.v.*] origin in Upper Egypt with branches in the northern Sudan. The northern limis of their territory in Egypt is the desert road leading from Ḳena to Ḳusayr, and their nomad sections roam the desert to the east of Luxor and Aswān. The original ʿAbābda stock is most truly represented by the nomads but there are also sedentary sections who have intermarried with the *fallaḥīn* and adopted much of their way of life. On the Red Sea coast there is a small clan of fisher-folk, the Ḳiraydjāb, who by some are not recognized as true ʿAbābda.

Like the rest of the Bedja the ʿAbābda claim Arab descent, and the genealogical table of ʿAbbād, their eponymous ancestor, begins with Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, a famous companion of the Prophet. Some of the tribesmen living in the Sudan believe that they are descended from Salmān, an Arab of the Banū Hilāl. Though doubtlessly fictitious in respect of the tribe as a whole this claim to Arab descent yet embodies a genuine memory of the process by which Djuhayna and Rabīʿa Arabs acquired an ascendancy in the Sudan through marriages with the daughters of Bedja chiefs, amongst whom descent was originally reckoned in the female line. This process which according to Ibn Khaldūn led to the passing of the Nubian kingdom into the hands of the Djuhayna must also have taken place in the case of the Bedja.

The Abābda have been affected by Arab influence more strongly than those Bedja who still retain their Hamitic tongue, so much so that in the Sudan they are not easily distinguished from the Sudan Arabs of the Djaʿliyyīn group. They may in fact be held to occupy an intermediate position between the Bedja proper and the fully arabicized elements who have become integrated in the Sudan Arabs. In their physical characteristics, nevertheless, the ʿAbābda together with the Tigrē-speaking Banī ʿĀmir bear a closer resemblance to the proto-Egyptian inhabitants of the Nile valley than the other Bedja. The Arabic spoken by the ʿAbābda is quite distinct from that of the *fallāḥīn*, and the word lists collected by H. A. Winckler contain an appreciable number of Bedja words.

In their material culture and their customs the ʿAbābda agree more closely with the Bedja proper than with the Arabs. Certain wide-spread customs which they share with the Sudan Arabs, such as the infibulation of girls and the ceremonial respect of in-law-relations, are of Hamitic origin. The ʿAbābda use the typically Bedja style of hairdressing (*dirwa*) which has given rise to the nickname Fuzzy-wuzzy, though this custom now tends to die out. Their tents of palm-matting are quite unlike the Arab "houses of hair". Their marriages, like those of the Bedja proper, are matrilocal but their women do not enjoy the freedom which is allowed to their sisters of the Bishāriyyīn. The ʿAbābda moreover share with the Bedja, but not the Arabs, certain taboos connected with milk: only men may do the milking, for which only gourds and wicker vessels may be used, and no man may drink of the milk he has drawn until someone else has drunk.

The influence of Islam, which nominally is the religion of all the ʿAbābda, has made a marked impression only on the more sophisticated elements; in the life of the majority religion, as distinct from traditional beliefs and superstitions, plays no important part. They venerate shaykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī as their patron saint, and his tomb in the Atbai desert is a place of pilgrimage at which sacrifices are offered. It is also common to dedicate the milk of a beast to al-Shādhilī, and the milk of such animals is always milked into separate wicker vessels. When slaying an animal a piece of the victim's right ear is reserved for al-Shādhilī or some other well-known saint and hung on the tent-pole. The celebration of the *ʿīd al-kabīr* at the tomb of al-Shādhilī is the most important religious event of the year. Sacrifices are also offered at the tomb of the eponymous ancestor ʿAbbād near Edfū, and there is a cult of a female saint (*faḳīra*) who lived some fifty years ago and was famous for gifts of divination. The ʿAbābda like the Bishāriyyīn believe that an animal sacrificed at the tomb of a *walī* turns into a gazelle or ibex, and that such animals are protected by the *walī*. They also observe certain taboos about birds and will not eat the flesh of the sandgrouse or the desert-partridge, and both ʿAbābda and Bishāriyyīn are particularly afraid of killing the bearded vulture (Gypactus barbatus).

The most important section of the Egyptian ʿAbābda, of whom there are some 14,000, are the ʿAshshābāb, who are divided into a number of clans. Their paramount shaykhs are descended from one Djabrān who flourished towards the end of the 18th century, and beyond whom there is no reliable historical tradition. The largest and best known sections in the Sudan are the Fuḳarā and the Milaykāb who, according to tradition, were brought to their present habitat by the Fundj kings of Sennār in order to protect the caravan routes between Egypt and the Sudan. A small contingent of ʿAbābda, characterized by Cailliaud as the worst

soldiers in the army, were employed as irregulars by Ismāʿīl Pasha during the invasion of the Sudan. During the 19th century the ʿAbābda are often mentioned by travellers as guides and camel men between Korosko and Abū Ḥamad, and their chiefs of the Khalīfa family held posts of distinction under the Egyptian government. Ḥusayn Khalīfa was *mudīr* of Berber at the time of the Mahdist rebellion, and ʿAbābda irregulars shared in the fighting against the Darwishes. Apart from traditions about wars with neighbouring tribes there are no data for their early history.

Bibliography: H. A. MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922; C. G. Seligman, *Races of Africa*, London 1930; G. W. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*, London 1935; H. A. Winckler, *Ägyptische Volkskunde*, Stuttgart 1936 (full bibliography). (S. Hillelson)

ABAD originally means time in an absolute sense and is synonymous with *dahr* [*q.v.*; see also Zamān]. When under the influence of Greek philosophy the problem of the eternity of the world (see ḳidam) was discussed in Islam, *abad* (or *abadiyya*) became a technical term corresponding to the Greek term ἀφθαρτός, incorruptible, eternal *a parte post*, in opposition to *azal* (or *azaliyya*) corresponding to the Greek term ἀγενητός, ungenerated, eternal *a parte ante*. (Ibn Rushd—cf. ed. Bouyges, index—uses *azaliyya* for "incorruptible"]. [For *azal* see ḳidam.] As to the problem concerned, viz. if the world is incorruptible, the philosophers of Islam subscribed to the Aristotelian maxim that *azal* and *abad* imply each other, that what has a beginning must have an end and what has no beginning cannot have an end. According to this theory time, movement and the world in general are eternal in both senses. Among the theologians who all believe in the temporal creation of the world, only Abu 'l-Hudhayl, one of the earlier Muʿtazilites, admitted the Aristotelian maxim mentioned. (He applied the theory "that what has a first term must have a last one" even to God's knowledge and power, saying that God having arrived at the final term of His power, would not be able any more to create even an atom, to move a leaf or to resuscitate a dead mosquito. See al-Khayyāṭ, *al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, 8 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, iv, 192-3). The theologians opposed the Aristotelian dictum by the argument that if the world were without a beginning, at the present moment an infinite past would have been traversed, which is impossible [cf. ḳidam]; in the future, however, there is no such impossibility, since in the future no infinite will ever be traversed. Besides, the series of integers needs a first term but no final one, and a man may have eternal remorse, although his remorse must have a beginning (al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-Taʾrikh*, ed. Huart, i, 125, cf. ii, 133). They concluded therefore that there is no rational proof either for the incorruptibility of the world or its opposite. According to the Ḳurʾān, xxxix, 67, on the Day of Judgment "the whole earth shall be His handful and the heavens will be rolled up in His right hand". It became the orthodox view that the annihilation of the whole world (including the destruction of heaven and hell, which, however, will not happen, as is known by revelation) is possible, *djāʾiz*, considered as something in God's power (al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 319). This world (*dunyā*) will be destroyed, but not heaven and hell.

Bibliography: The problem is treated in extenso by al-Ghazzālī in ch. ii of his *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, ed. Bouyges, 80 ff.; cf. Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, 118 ff., tr. by S. van den Bergh, 69 ff. (with notes); cf. also S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, 15, note 1. (S. van den Bergh)

ĀBĀDAH, a small town in Persia, on the eastern (winter) road from Shīrāz to Iṣfahān. By the present-day highway Ābādah lies at 280 km. from Shīrāz, at 204 km. from Iṣfahān, and by a road branching off eastwards (via Abarḳūh) at 100 km. from Yazd. In the present-day administration (1952) Ābādah is the northernmost district (*shahristān*) of the province (*astān*) of Fārs. The population is chiefly engaged in agriculture and trade (opium, castor-oil, sesame-oil). Iḳlīd (possibly **kilid* "key [to Fārs]") is another small town belonging to Ābādah. The whole district counts 223 villages with 82,000 inhabitants. In history it is chiefly mentioned in the 14th century. The town must be distinguished from several homonymous villages in Fārs (Ābāda-yi Tashk in the Nīrīz district, etc.).

Bibliography: Le Strange, 297; Masʿūd-Geyhān, *Djugrāfiyā-yi mufaṣṣal*, 1311, ii, 223; *Farhang-i djugrāfiyāʾī-yi Īrān*, vii, 1330/1951, p. 2. (V. Minorsky)

ĀBĀDĀN [see abbādān]

ABĀḌITES [see ibāḍiyya]

ABĀḲA [see ilkhāns]

ABĀN [see taʾrīkh]

ABĀN b. **ʿABD al-ḤAMĪD** al-Lāḥiḳī (i.e. son of Lāḥiḳ b. ʿUfayr), also known as al-Raḳāshī, because his family (originally from Fasā) were clients of the Banū Raḳāsh, Arabic poet, died about 200/815-6. He was a court poet of the Barmakids and wrote panegyrics in their praise and the praise of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He also defended in some verses the ʿAbbāsids against the pretensions of the ʿAlids. In the usual manner of the epoch he engaged in vigorous exchanges of lampoons with his fellow poets (among them Abū Nuwās). His enemies accused him, without justification, it seems, of Manicheism (see G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1937, 207 f.). His most important achievement was the versification in couplets (*muzdawidj*, *q.v.*) of the popular stories of Indian and Persian origin: *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*; samples in al-Ṣūlī], *Bilawhar wa-Yūdasf* [*q.v.*], *Sindbād* [*q.v.*] *Mazdak* [*q.v.*] and the romanced stories of Ardashīr and of Anushirwān. He wrote also original poems in *muzdawidj*; such as a poem on cosmology and logic (*Dhāt al-Ḥulal*) and one on fasting (sample in al-Ṣūlī). Many members of his family, his son Ḥamdān for instance, were also known as poets.

Bibliography: Ṣūlī, *al-Awrāḳ*, ed. Heyworth Dunne, Section on Poets, 1-73 (pp. 1-12 being a collection of passages about Abān by the editor); *al-Aghānī* [1], xx, 73-8; Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ*, 259; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 44; *Fihrist*, 119, 163; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 198; ii. 101; A. Krimsky, *Aban al-Lahiki* (in Russian), Moscow 1913; Brockelmann, S i, 238-9; K. A. Fariq, in *JRAS*, 1952, 46-59. (S. M. Stern)

ABĀN b. **ʿUTHMĀN** b. ʿAffān, governor, son of the third caliph. His mother was called Umm ʿAmr bint Djundab b. ʿAmr al-Dawsiyya. Abān accompanied ʿĀʾisha at the battle of the Camel in Djumāda I 36/Nov. 656; on the battle terminating otherwise than was expected, he was one of the first to run away. On the whole, he does not seem to have been of any political importance. The caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān appointed him as governor of Madīna. He occupied this position for seven years; he was then dismissed and his place was taken by Hishām b. Ismāʿīl. Abān owes his celebrity not so

much to his activity as an official in the service of the Umayyads as to his wonderful knowledge of Islamic traditions. The *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, sometimes ascribed to him, is, however, according to Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, i, 36) and al-Ṭūsī (*Fihris*, 7) of Abān b. ʿUthmān b. Yaḥyā (see J. Horovitz, in *OLZ*, 1914, 183).

Abān was struck with apoplexy and died a year later at Madīna in 105/723-4 according to report, at any rate during the reign of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 112 ff.; Nawawī, 125 ff. (K. V. Zetterstéen)

ABANŪS (variants: Ābinūs, Ābunūs, Abnūs and Ābnūs), ebony. The word is derived from the Greek *ebenos*, which passed to the Aramean (*abnūsā*) and from there to Arabic, Persian, Turkish etc. Although ebony had been already known in the old days in the East, where it was imported from India and Ethiopia, it was very little used at the early times of Islam, on account of its rarity and the scanty demand for artistic goods. Absolute faith must not be given to the story according to which, when the Mosque of the Rock was being built at Jerusalem under the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, the venerable rock was enclosed with a palisade of ebony. It is certain that this wood had been already used under the caliphs together with ivory in the manufacture of chess-men [see Shatrandj] and dice, in mosaics of the sort very often used later with great skill on furniture, doors, latice work and wainscots [see Khashab].

As a medicine, ebony was known to the Muslims as early as the ninth century from the translations of Dioscorides and Galen. It was considered to be a useful astringent for phylactenous inflammation and chronic catarrh of the eyes; it was also taken internally in the form of a powder for the bowels and stomach, and was dusted over burns. According to Dioscorides, Abyssinian ebony was generally considered to be more efficacious than Indian. To the former were ascribed the properties which at the present time are only found in the wood of the *Diospyros* and the Maba kinds of the East Indies, of Indonesia, of Madagascar, and of Mauritius, i.e. an intense black colour and a fineness of grain that almost makes it impossible to distinguish the fibre. The African species of ebony which the Arabs prefer, are nowadays rightly held in little estimation. In particular the ebony tree of Abyssinia (*shadjar babanūs*), is according to A. E. Brehm (*Reisesk. aus Nordostafrika*), more of a brush than a tree. Its wood, though not of an excellent quality, can be used, but if left unused, dries and rots.

Bibliography: Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ, *al-Abniya* (Seligmann), 31; Ibn al-Bayṭār, Būlāḳ 1291, 8; transl. Leclerc, *Notices et Extraits*, xxiii/1, 16; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i. 247. (J. Hell)

ABARḲUBĀDH, one of the sub-districts (*ṭassūdj*) of ʿIrāḳ, according to the Sāsānid division adopted by the Arabs, belonging to the district (P. *astān*, A. *kūra*) Khusra Shādh Bahmān (the district of the Tigris) and comprising a tract of land along the western frontier of Khuzistān, between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra. The name is derived from the Sāsānid king Kawādh (Ḳubādh) I. The first part of the name is probably *Abar* (P. *abar* or *abr* "cloud" is often seen at the beginning of place-names) and not *Abaz* or *Abādh* as the Arab geographers have it. Some Arab authors give Abarḳubādh as the name of the district in which Arradjān is situated, but that seems to spring from a mistake.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7; Ḳudāma, *al-Kharādj* (de Goeje), 235; Yāḳūt, i, 90; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 344; Ibn Saʿd, vii/1 3; Ṭabarī, i, 2386, ii, 1123; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber z. Zeit d. Sasaniden*, 146, n. 2; M. Streck, *Babylonien n.d. Arab. Geogr.*, i, 15, 19. (M. Streck)

ABARḲŪH, a small town belonging to Yazd and lying on the road from Shīrāz to Yazd (at 39 farsakhs from the former and at 28 fars. from the latter) and also connected by a road with Ābādah [*q.v.*]. It lies in a plain, and according to Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 121, its name ("on a mountain") refers to its earlier site. In 443/1051 Ṭughrīlbeg gave Yazd and Abarḳūh to the Kākūyid Farāmarz (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 384) as a compensation for the loss of Iṣfahān. His successors continued to rule these towns as *atābeks*. In the 8th/14th century Abarḳūh is frequently mentioned in the history of the Muẓaffarids. The oldest of the numerous ruins of Abarḳūh is the mausoleum built in 448/1056 by Fīrūzān, a descendant of the well-known condottiere of the 4th/10th century, Fīrūzān of Ashkawar (in Gīlān). The so-called mausoleum of Ṭāʾūs al-Ḥaramayn was built (or rebuilt) in 718/1318 by a descendant (in the fifth generation) of a Madjd al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Tādj al-Maʿālī Abū Bakr Muḥammad (a Muẓaffarid).

Bibliography: Le Strange, 284, 294, 297; P. Schwarz, *Iran*, i, 17; A. Godard, in *Āthār-i Īrān*, 1936, 47-72; Maḥmūd Kutbī, *History of the Muẓaffarids*, in *GMS*, xiv, see Index in xiv/2; Ḳāsim Ghanī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAṣr-i Ḥāfiẓ*, i, 1321/1942, index. (V. Minorsky)

ABARSHAHR, the more ancient name of Nīshāpur [*q.v.*], was the capital of one of the four quarters of the province of Khurāsān. Its name in Persian, according to the Muslim geographers, is said to mean "Cloud-city", but Marquart's etymology (*Ērānšahr*, 74), the "district of the Ἀπαρνοι" (comparing Armenian Apar ašχart) is more reliable. It was sometimes given the honorific title of Īrān-Shahr "City of Īrān". Its mint-signature on Sassanian coins is *Apr*, *Aprš* or *Apršs*, forms which continue to appear on the dirhams of Arab-Sassanian type struck by the Muslim conquerers (from 54/673-4 to 69/688-9). Under the Umayyads its Arabic name appears on the Post-Reform dirhams from 91/709-10 to 97/715-6. The names of the Umayyad governors Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and his sons ʿUbayd Allāh and Salm as well as ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim all figure on the coins of Abarshahr. The later mint activities of the place continued under the name of Nīsābūr.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 383; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901 (*Abh. G. W. Gött*, *N.S.*, III/ii), 66, 68, 74; J. Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr*, Rome 1931 (*Analecta Orientalia*, iii), 52-3; J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1941, p. ci-cii, cvi, 36, 72, 74, 87-8; E. Herzfeld, in *Transactions of the Intern. Congress of Numismatists*, 1936, 423, 426. (J. Walker)

ABASKŪN (or Ābaskūn), a harbour in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian. It is described as a dependency of Djurdjān/Gurgān (Yāḳūt, i, 55: 3 days' distance from Djurdjān; i, 91: 24 farsakhs). It might be located near the estuary of the Gurgān river (at Khodja-Nefes?). Al-Istakhrī, 214 (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 273) calls Abaskūn the greatest of the (Caspian) harbours. The Caspian itself was sometimes called *Baḥr Abaskūn*.

Abaskūn possibly corresponds to Ptolemy's Σωχανάα in Hyrcania (Gurgān). Several times Abas-

kūn was raided by Rūs pirates (some time between 250-70/864-84, and in 297/909, see Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. A. Eghbal, 266 [E. G. Browne's transl., 199], cf. also Masʿūdī, ii. 18; *circa* 300/912). In 617/1220 the Khwārizm-shāh ʿAlā al-Dīn, tracked by the Mongols, sought refuge on "one of the islands of Abaskūn", (see al-Djuwaynī, ii, 115), and died there. According to Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 242, he possessed in Ab-sukūn (*sic*) a castle surrounded by water. The islands of Abaskūn apparently correspond to the Ashur-ada group of islands and spits of land, divided from the Gurgān estuary by a strait.

Bibliography: B. Dorn, *Caspia, Über die Einfälle der alten Russen in Tabaristan*, 1875, see index; Barthold, *Istoriya orosheniya Turkestana*, 1914, 33. (V. Minorsky)

ĀBĀZA, Turkish name for the Abazes (see abkhāz), given as a surname to many persons in Ottoman history who descended from those people.

1) Ābāza pasha, taken prisoner at the defeat of the rebel Djanbulād, whose treasurer he was, was brought before Murād Pasha and had his life spared only through the intercession of Khalīl, agha of the Janissaries, who, having become *ḳapūdān-pasha*, gave him the command of a galley, and conferred upon him the government of Marʿash when he was promoted to the dignity of grand vizier. Later he became governor of Erzerūm and planned to destroy the Janissaries; those in his province lodged a complaint against him; he was deposed, but refused to obey the orders of the Porte (1032/1623); he levied taxes and raised troops on the pretext of avenging the death of the sultan ʿUthmān II, marched upon Anḳara and Sīwās, and took Brusa, but did not succeed in seizing the citadel. In 1033/1624, the grand vizier Ḥāfiẓ Pasha defeated him in a battle near Ḳaysāriyya, at the bridge across the Ḳara-ṣū, owing to the defection of Ṭayyār Pasha and the Turkomans. Ābāza took refuge at Erzerūm, of which he succeeded in having himself made governor on condition that he should admit a guard of Janissaries into the fortress. In 1036/1727, suspecting that the expedition against Akhiska was in reality directed against himself, he massacred a great number of the Janissaries belonging to the army. His old master Khalīl besieged Erzerūm in vain and was obliged to retreat because of the snow (1037/1627). In the following year, the Bosnian Khusrew Pasha, having been made grand vizier, again besieged him and forced him to capitulate after a fortnight's siege; the rebel was granted his pardon and the government of Bosnia. There he again persecuted his enemies, the Janissaries, was deposed and went to Belgrade, where on a hill to the south of the town he erected Ābāza Kʾöshki. Then he was sent to Widdin and commanded the troops who invaded Poland (1633). Being honored with the confidence of Murād IV, he accompanied him to Adrianople when preparations were made for a new campaign against Poland; but his success excited envy; reports against him cleverly disseminated, estranged the sultan, who had him executed (29 Ṣafar 1044/24 August 1634).

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 569, 582; v, 26, 83, 173 ff., 189 ff.; Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Natāʾidj al-Wuḳuʿāt*, ii, 48, 82; Ewliya Efendi, *Travels*, i, 119 ff.

2) Ābāza Ḥasan had been given the command of the Turkomans of Asia Minor as a recompense for his capture of the rebel Ḥaydar-eghlu. Having been dismissed for no reason, he revolted in his turn, held the country between Gerende and Bolu, defeated the old bandit Ḳatirdji-oghlu who had been sent to fight against him, and submitted on condition that he should have the title of *voivode* of the Turkomans; later as the result of complaints lodged against him, he was imprisoned in the Seven Towers and was only released by the elevation of Behayī to the position of Shaykh al-Islām (1062/1652); his friend conferred on him the sandjaḳ of Okhri. When Ipshīr Pasha, who was also one of the Abaza nation, was made grand vizier by Muḥammad IV, he sent for him. At his execution he remained faithful to him, returned to Asia Minor with the remainder of his troops and regained the office of *voivode* of the Turkomans (1065/1655). He settled at Aleppo and committed such ravages in Syria that the Dīwān wanted to have him banished from the empire; the grand vizier, Sulaymān Pasha, however, confirmed him in his position of governor and entrusted the defenses of the Dardanelles to him. In 1066/1656 he was sent to Diyār Bakr as governor. Two years later he rebelled, put himself at the head of a considerable army under the pretext of demanding the dismissal of Muḥammad Köprülü, at that time grand vizier, and threatened Brusa. In the neighborhood of Ilghin he completely defeated Murtaḍā Pasha, who had been sent against him (15 Rabīʿ I 1069/11 Dec. 1658); but he fell into a trap which had been set for him, left ʿAynṭāb for Aleppo to make terms for his submission and was treacherously assassinated there.

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, v, 481, 560 ff., 563, 575, 634; vi, 35 ff., 51 ff.

3) Ābāza Muḥammad pasha was the *beylerbey* of Marʿash when, during the campaign against the Russians (1183/1769), he was ordered to act in concert with the khān of the Crimea. He commanded the fortress of Bender and received the third *tūgh* in recompense for the part he had taken in raising the siege of Choczim. Having been entrusted with the defense of this place and seeing himself abandoned by the Ottoman troops, he fled and was commissioned to defend Moldavia, which he failed to accomplish. At the battle of Kaghul (1 Aug. 1770), he commanded the right wing; after the defeat of the Turks he feed to Ismāʿīl. Having been made governor of Silistria, he was dismissed after he had squandered the money given to him for the purpose of raising troops, and was exiled to Kustendil. At the time of the conquest of the Crimea and the flight of Selīm-Girāy he refused to land the few troops he was bringing up and returned to Sinope; he was decapitated (1185/1771).

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, viii, 341, 348, 369, 387; Wāṣif Efendi, in *Précis historique de la guerre des Turcs contre les Russes*, by P. A. Caussin de Perceval, 23, 31, 37 ff., 59, 103, 111, 148, 167. (Cl. Huart)

ʿABBĀD b. MUḤAMMAD [see ʿabbādids]

ʿABBĀD b. SULAYMĀN al-Ṣaymarī (or al-Ḍaymarī), one of the Muʿtazila of Baṣra, died *c.* 250/864. He was a pupil of Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Fuwaṭī (*fl.c.* 210/825), like his father criticizing the main tendency of the school of Baṣra (that of Abu 'l-Hudhayl), and being in his turn criticized by Abu 'l-Hudhayl's successors, al-Djubbāʾī and Abū Hāshim. Our knowledge of his distinctive views comes mainly from al-Ashʿarī's *Maḳālāt*.

He emphasized the difference between God and man, admitting that God might be called a "thing" in the sense that He was "other" (*l.c.*, 519). In particular he insisted that God is eternal, and that what

He eternally is must be independent of transient mundane things. Thus God is not eternally "hearing" and "seeing", since that involves objects heard and seen (*ib.* 173, 493); He is not "before all things" (*ib.* 196, 519); no accident (such as an apparently supernatural event) can afford a proof of God, in view of its transient character (*ib.* 225). In this way he came to distinguish between God's "active attributes" (*ṣifāt al-fiʿl*) and His eternal attributes (*ib.* 179, 186, 495-500), being perhaps the first to work out this distinction which was later adopted by orthodox theologians.

He went to extremes in insisting that God does nothing that is evil in any respect, even denying that God made unbelief vile (*ḳabīḥ*; *ib.* 227-8, 537-9), and maintaining that His punishment of the wicked in Hell is not evil. His political views (*ib.* 454, 458-9, 467) seem to aim at a reconciliation of various contemporary political groups, but the point has not been adequately studied.

Bibliography: al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, see index; al-Khayyāṭ, *al-Intiṣār*, 90-1, 203; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 147-8, 261-2; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Arnold, 44; al-Shahrastānī, 51; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, 115-9; Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in early Islam*, 81-4. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ʿABBĀD B. ZIYĀD B. ABĪ SUFYĀN, ABŪ ḤARB, Umayyad general. Muʿāwiya appointed him governor of Sidjistān, where he stayed seven years; in the course of his expeditions to the East, he conquered Ḳandahār. In 61/680-1 he was dismissed by Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya who appointed in his place his brother Salm b. Ziyād to be governor of Sidjistān and Khurāsān. In 64/684, he joined in the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*], at the head of a contingent formed by his own *gens*. Afterwards he wished to retire to Dūmat al-Djandal, but he was obliged to combat a lieutenant of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*]. The date of his death is unknown.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 365, 397, 434; id., *Ansāb*, v, 136, 267-8; Ṭabarī, ii, 191 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 177; *al-Aghānī* [1], xvii, 53 f. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ʿABBĀDĀN (ĀBĀDĀN) stands on the south-west side of the island of the same name, on the left bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab. It is believed to have been founded by a holy man named ʿAbbād in the 8th or 9th century A.D. (the people of Baṣra used to add the termination "ān" to a proper name in order to change it into a place name). In those days ʿAbbādān was on the sea coast, but with the gradual extension of the delta of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, it is now over 30 miles from the head of the Persian Gulf. In the early ʿAbbāsid period ʿAbbādān was a center of ascetics living in *ribāṭ* (L. Massignon, *Essai*, 135; Abu 'l-Atāhiya, *Dīwān*, 218).

ʿAbbādān is described in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 139 (cf. also 392) as "a flourishing and prosperous borough on the sea coast. All the ʿAbbādānī mats .... come from there, and therefrom comes the salt for Baṣra and Wāsiṭ." Three and a half centuries later, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited ʿAbbādān, it was no more than a large village; it stood on a salty, uncultivated plain. In later times the inhabitants eliminated the salt from the soil bordering the river and planted the palm-groves which are now such a feature of both banks of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and of those of the Bahmashīr river on the north-east side of ʿAbbādān island. ʿAbbādān, however, remained a village until it was chosen, in 1909, as the site of the refinery of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. Since that time, it has increased enormously in size; in 1951 its population was nearly 200,000 and the refinery had become the largest in the world.

About 1935 Riḍā Shāh, in pursuance of his policy of Persianizing Arabic names, changed ʿAbbādān into Ābādān.

Bibliography: Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 89; Le Strange, 48 f.; L. Lockhart, *Khuzistan Past and Present*, in *Asiatic Review*, Oct. 1948; *Abadan Refinery*, in *Review of Middle East Oil Petroleum Times*, London, June 1948. (L. LOCKHART)

AL-**ʿABBĀDĪ**, ABŪ ʿĀṢIM MUḤ. B. AḤMAD B. MUḤ. B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABBĀD, often called al-Ḳāḍī al-Harawī, a well-known Shāfiʿite jurisconsult. He was born in 375/985 in Harāt, studied there and in Nīsābūr, and undertook extensive journeys on which he met numerous scholars. He finally became *ḳāḍī* of Harāt and died there in 458/1066. He was notorious for his dark and difficult style of expression. Of his works, which al-Subkī enumerates, there have survived the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyyīn* (used by al-Asnawī) in several manuscripts, and the *Adab al-Ḳaḍā'* in the commentary which his disciple Abū Saʿd (or Saʿīd) b. Abī Aḥmad b. Abī Yūsuf al-Harawī (d. about 500) wrote under the title *al-Ishrāf ʿalā Ghawāmiḍ al-Ḥukūmāt* (Subkī, iv, 31). His son Abu l-Ḥasan is the author of a *K. al-Raḳm*.

Bibliography: Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 42 (with extracts from his works and a discussion of his style); Ibn Khallikān, no. 558; F. Wüstenfeld, *Schâfi'iten*, no. 408; Brockelmann, i, 484; S i, 669. (J. SCHACHT)

ʿABBĀDIDS (BANŪ ʿABBĀD), dynasty of Arab race which reigned for most of the 5th/11th century over the S.-W. of al-Andalus, with its capital at Seville [cf. ISHBĪLYA].

It was at the moment of the disintegration of the Caliphate of Cordova and of the political dismemberment of the country by the petty kings known as the *taifas* (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*) that the *ḳāḍī* of Seville, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād, succeeded in being proclaimed ruler in 414/1013. The son of a celebrated Spanish-Muslim jurist of Lakhmid origin, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād, he began, on first seizing power, by recognizing the suzerainty of the Ḥammūdid king Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī, but soon threw off this wholly nominal mark of subordination. There is relatively little information on the details of his reign, which was mostly occupied in settling by force of arms his disputes with the Djahwarids [*q.v.*] of Cordova and the lesser baronies in southern Andalusia. He died in 433/1042.

His son, Abū ʿAmr ʿAbbād b. Muḥammad succeeded, in a reign of nearly thirty years (433-460/1042-69), in enlarging the territory of the principality of Seville to a considerable size by posing as the champion of the Andalusian Arabs against the Spanish Berbers, whose numbers, already large in the Iberian peninsula in the 10th century, had greatly increased since the period of the ʿĀmirid dictators.

On succeeding his father, the new king of Seville, then 26 years of age, took the princely title of *ḥādjib*, following the custom of the time, but a little later adopted the honorific *laḳab* of al-Muʿtaḍid biʾllāh, by which he is generally known. Gifted with real political qualities, it was not long before he showed his true character, that of an authoritarian ruler, as ambitious as he was cruel, and with few scruples in the choice of means to achieve his ends. Immediately after his accession he conti-

nued the struggle opened by his father against the minor Berber dynasty of Carmona [cf. ḲARMŪNA], Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Birzālī and the latter's son and successor Isḥāḳ. At the same time al-Muʿtaḍid was preoccupied in extending his kingdom to the west, between Seville and the Atlantic Ocean. With this end in view he attacked and defeated successively Ibn Ṭayfūr, lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Mertola, and Muḥ. b. Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣubī, lord of Niebla [cf. LABLA], who, notwithstanding his Arab descent, had unblushingly allied himself with Berber chiefs. In face of the success of the king of Seville, the other *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, distrustful of him, formed against him a kind of league, which was joined by the princes of Badajoz [cf. BAṬALYAWS], Algeciras [cf. AL-DJAZĪRA AL-KHAḌRĀʾ], Granada [cf. GHARNĀṬA] and Malaga [cf. MĀLAḲA]. War broke out soon afterwards between the ʿAbbādid of Seville and the Afṭasid [*q.v.*] al-Muẓaffar of Badajoz; it was prolonged over many years, in spite of the efforts at mediation of the Djahwarid prince of Cordova, which bore fruit only in 443/1051. In the interval, while continuing to harass the frontiers of the kingdom of Badajoz, al-Muʿtaḍid did not remain inactive; he defeated, one after the other, Muḥ. b. Ayyūb al-Bakrī, lord of Huelva [cf. WALBA] and of Saltes [cf. SHALṬĪSH] (whose son was the celebrated geographer), the Banū Muzayn, lords of Silves [cf. SHILB], and Muḥ. b. Saʿīd b. Hārūn, lord of Santa Maria de Algarve [cf. SHANTAMARIYAT AL-GHARB] and annexed their principalities. In order to justify these annexations al-Muʿtaḍid employed a somewhat clumsy stratagem: he claimed to have found the caliph Hishām II, who had died in obscurity some years earlier, and to be devoting himself tirelessly to restoring to him his former empire, entirely submissive and pacified. In order to protect themselves against the assaults of the king of Seville, the majority of the minor Berber chiefs in the mountains in the south of Andalusia acquiesced in this theatrical pretence, and paid homage both to the ʿAbbādid and to the Commander of the Faithful; miraculously restored to light to serve the interests of al-Muʿtaḍid but at the same time carefully kept in seclusion by him. But their efforts were in vain. One day the ʿAbbādid invited all these minor Berber princes and their attendants together to his palace at Seville and suffocated them to death in a bath-house whose openings he has walled up; by this means he appropriated Arcos [cf. ARKUSH], seat of the principality of the Banu Khizrūn, Moron [cf. MAWRŪR], ruled by the Banū Dammar, and Ronda [cf. RUNDA], capital of the Banū Ifran (445/1053).

This action was enough to unloose the fury of the most powerful Berber prince in Spain, Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs the Zīrid [*q.v.*] at Granada, who alone seemed capable of standing up to al-Muʿtaḍid. When the war began, however, the latter found fortune still smiling on him and soon afterwards seized Algeciras from the Ḥammūdid prince al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd. He then tried to capture Cordova, and for this purpose despatched an expedition under the command of his son Ismāʿīl; but Ismāʿīl sought to profit from the occasion to rebel and to create a kingdom of his own, with Algeciras as his capital. This venturesome project cost him his life. It also opened the political career of al-Muʿtaḍid's other son, Muḥammad al-Muʿtamid, who was to succeed him on his death. On his father's orders, Muḥammad set out with an army to give support to the Arabs of Malaga, who had revolted against the tyrannical rule of the Berber despot of Granada, Bādīs. But Bādīs routed the army of Seville, and the prince, in sad plight, threw himself into Ronda, whence he solicited and obtained his father's pardon. Al-Muʿtaḍid had long since discarded the fable of the pseudo-Hishām, which he no longer needed; he was by far the most redoubtable and most feared of the Spanish sovereigns; he had had no enemies but the Berbers, Muslims like himself, but far further removed from his Spanish-Arab social ideals than his Christian neighbours of the north. In other places, he might have been given the title of *Berberoktonos*.

When the powerful sovereign of Seville died in 461/1069, his son, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād, better known by his honorific laḳab of al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*], took possession of his greatly enlarged kingdom, which now embraced most of the S.W. part of the Iberian peninsula.

Already in the second year of his reign, al-Muʿtamid was able, despite the ambitions of the king of Toledo, al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], to annex to his kingdom the principality of Cordova, formerly ruled by the Djahwarid princes. The young prince ʿAbbād was appointed governor of the former capital of the Umayyads. But on the instigation of the king of Toledo, an adventurer, named Ibn ʿUkkāsha, succeeded in seizing Cordova by surprise in 468/1075, and put the young ʿAbbādid prince and his general Muḥ. b. Martīn to death. Al-Maʾmūn took possession of the city, where he died six months later. Al-Muʿtamid, wounded both in his paternal affections and his royal pride, endeavoured for three years in vain to reconquer Cordova. He gained his object only in 471/1078; Ibn ʿUkkāsha was put to death, and all that part of the kingdom of Toledo lying between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana was conquered by the armies of Seville. Yet at the same time it needed all the skill of the vizier Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*] to bring an expedition of Alfonso VI of Castille against Seville to a peaceful conclusion, in return for the payment of a double tribute.

This was, in fact, the moment when, thanks to the tenacious vigour of the Christian princes in seeking to profit from the sanguinary conflicts waged against one another by the Muslim *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, the *reconquista*—which had been arrested for a time and had even receded under the last Umayyads and the first ʿĀmirid dictators—resumed its advance towards the south of the peninsula. Notwithstanding their successes, blazoned by the Muslim chroniclers, it must not be forgotten that from the middle of the eleventh century many Spanish Muslim dynasties were reduced to trying to gain, by means of heavy tributes, the temporary neutrality of their Christian neighbours. Shortly before the resounding capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI, in 478/1085, al-Muʿtamid began to find himself enmeshed in serious difficulties. On the imprudent advice of Ibn ʿAmmār, he attempted, after the annexation of Cordova, to annex further the principality of Murcia [cf. MURSIYA], then governed by a ruler of Arab origin, Muḥ. b. Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāhir. In 471/1078, Ibn ʿAmmār paid a visit to the count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer II, and asked for his assistance in conquering Murcia in return for the sum of 10,000 dinars, as surety for the payment of which a son of al-Muʿtamid, al-Rashīd, would serve as hostage. After a series of agitated comings and goings, which ended in the payment to the count of Barcelona of a sum thrice as large, Ibn ʿAmmār resumed his project of conquering Murcia, and soon realised it, thanks to the assistance of the lord of the castle of Bildj (now Vilches), Ibn Rashīḳ. It was not long,

however, before Ibn ʿAmmār in Murcia made himself intolerable to his sovereign. Betrayed by Ibn Rashīḳ, he was forced to flee from Murcia, and sought refuge successively at Leon, Saragossa and Lerida. On returning to Saragossa he endeavoured to assist its prince, al-Muʾtamin b. Hūd [cf. HŪDIDS], in his expedition against Segura [cf. SHAḲŪRA], but was captured and handed over to al-Muʿtamid, who, notwithstanding the ties of friendship which had for so long bound them together, killed him with his own hand.

In the meantime Alfonso VI began to disclose openly his designs on Toledo, which he had begun to invest since 473/1080. Two years later, having sent a deputation to collect the annual tribute which al-Muʿtamid was paying to him, he learned that its members had been molested and that the Jewish treasurer Ibn Shalīb, who had accompanied it, had been put to death because of his refusal to accept money of low standard. Thereupon he made an incursion into the kingdom of Seville, raided the flourishing townships of the Aljarafe [cf. AL-SHARAF], struck across the district of Sidona [cf. SHADŪNA] as far as Tarifa [cf. ṬARĪF, DJAZĪRAT], where he pronounced a celebrated phrase in which he boasted of having trodden the furthest bounds of Spain.

The capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI was a heavy blow to Islam in Spain. The king of Castille at once demanded of al-Muʿtamid the return of his possessions which had formerly been part of the kingdom, of the Dhu ʾl-Nūnids, i.e. part of the present provinces of Ciudad Real and Cuenca. Throughout Muslim Spain his ever-increasing demands caused a particularly difficult situation. In spite of their unwillingness, the princes of Spain, with al-Muʿtamid at their head, were compelled to implore the aid of the Almoravid sulṭan, Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN), who had recently seized the whole of Morocco in an irresistible advance. It was decided to send him an embassy composed of the vizier Abū Bakr b. Zaydūn and of the ḳāḍīs of Badajoz, Cordova and Granada. The negotiations were successfully concluded, though not without difficulty; Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn finally crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and inflicted on the Christian troops, on 22 Radjab 479/23 October 1086, the bloody defeat of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*], not far from Badajoz. It need here only be briefly recalled that Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, compelled to return to Africa, was unable to gain from his victory all the advantages for which the Spanish Muslim princes had hoped, while they, owing to the decisive influence exerted by the Spanish-Muslim *faḳīhs* on the Almoravid, rapidly lost all prestige in his eyes. After his withdrawal the Christian troops began again to harass the Muslim possessions, to such effect that al-Muʿtamid had this time to present himself in person before Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn in Morocco, to ask him to recross the Straits with his troops. Yūsuf agreed to his request and disembarked at Algeciras in the following spring (480/1088). He set out to besiege the fortress of Aledo (Ar. ALĪṬ), without success, but under the stimulus of popular sentiment and the counsels of the *faḳīhs* concluded that it would be of greater advantage to him to pursue the *djihād* in Spain on his own account. From that time, he set himself to dethrone and dispossess the princes who had solicited his intervention, and it was not long before he was carrying his arms into the kingdom of Seville in order to take possession of it. An army commanded by the general Sīr b. Abī Bakr by the end of 1090 seized Tarifa, then Cordova (where a son of al-Muʿtamid, Fatḥ al-Maʾmūn, was killed), Carmona, and finally Seville, which was taken in spite of a heroic sortie by al-Muʿtamid. The vanquished prince, made prisoner by the Almoravid, was at first sent with his wives and children to Tangier, then to Meknes, and after several months to Aghmāt, not far from Marrākush. He passed a miserable existence there for some years, and died there in 487/1095, aged fifty-five years. With him, in these lamentable circumstances, ended the dynasty of the ʿAbbādids, which may be regarded, notwithstanding the excesses and cruelty of its princes, as the most brilliant of the dynasties of the *taifas* and indubitably that under which the arts and letters shone most brightly in Muslim Spain of the eleventh century.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABBĀS I, styled the Great, king of Persia of the Ṣafawī dynasty, second son and successor of Muḥammad Khudābanda, was born on 1 Ramaḍān 978/27 January 1571, and died in Māzandarān on 24 Djumādā I 1038/19 January 1629, after a reign of 42 solar (43 lunar) years. In 980/1572-3 he remained at Harāt when his father moved to Shīrāz. In 984/1576-7 Ismāʿīl II put to death the *lala* (tutor) of ʿAbbās, and appointed ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān Shāmlū governor of Harāt with orders to execute ʿAbbās himself. ʿAlī Ḳulī procrastinated, and, when the death of Ismāʿīl II (985/1577-8) rendered the order null and avoid, was made himself *lala* to ʿAbbās by Muḥammad Khudābanda. Three years later ʿAlī Ḳulī read the *khuṭba* at Harāt in the name of ʿAbbās, but, when threatened by the royal army, he re-affirmed his allegiance to Muḥammad Khudābanda at Ghūrīyān. Shortly afterwards his protégé ʿAbbās fell into the hands of his rival Murshid Ḳulī Khān Ustādjlū, governor of Turbat, and in 995/1587 the latter marched on Ḳazwīn. Muḥammad Khudābanda was deposed, and ʿAbbās became Shāh at the age of 16, with Murshid Ḳulī as his *wakīl-i dīwān-i ʿālī*.

ʿAbbās, faced with the twofold task of enforcing his authority over the Ḳïzïlbāsh amīrs, and of checking the encroachment on Persian territory of the Ottomans in the West and the Uzbegs in the East, at once created from the ranks of Georgian prisoners converted from Christianity a cavalry corps of *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*, paid direct from the royal treasury. With their aid, and by a successful appeal to the loyalty of the *shāhī-sewen* [*q.v.*], he crushed a revolt of amīrs, and followed this by ridding himself of the now too-powerful Murshid Ḳulī. The importance of the *ghulāms* gradually increased.

The appointment of Allāhwardī Khān to be governor of Fārs elevated a *ghulām* to equality of status with the Ḳizilbāsh amīrs, and eventually *ghulāms* filled some 20% of the high administrative posts. ʿAbbās systematically pacified the provinces of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, Fārs, Kirmān and Luristān. The local rulers of Gīlān and Māzandarān were subjugated. In order to avoid fighting on two fronts, ʿAbbās signed in Constantinople in 998/1589-90 a peace treaty most unfavourable to Persia. The regions of Ādharbāydjān, Ḳarabāgh, Gandja, Ḳaradjadāgh, with Georgia and parts of Luristān and Kurdistān, were to remain in Ottoman hands, and a interdict was placed on the Shīʿite objurgation of the early Caliphs.

ʿAbbās entrusted to Allāhwardī Khān the re-organisation of the army on the lines suggested by Robert Sherley, an English adventurer then at the Persian Court. A new corps of 12,000 musketeers (*tufangčī*), for the most part mounted, was recruited locally from the peasantry; the strength of the *ghulāms* was raised to 10,000 by further recruitment from the Georgian converts; 3000 more were selected as *mulāzimān* or personal bodyguard to the Shāh; and a corps of artillery, comprising 12,000 men and 500 guns, was also recruited from the *ghulāms*, cannon being cast under the supervision of Sherley. ʿAbbās thus had a standing army of some 37,000 men.

After the death of the Shaybānids ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, dynastic rivalries distracted the Uzbegs, and ʿAbbās was able to inflict on them a severe defeat at Harāt (1007/1598-9), and to recover Mashhad and Harāt after ten years of Uzbeg occupation. In a attempt to stabilise the North-East frontier, ʿAbbās installed at Balkh, Marw and Astarābād Uzbeg chiefs subservient to himself. But Bāḳī Muḥammad, the new khān of Transoxania, re-occupied Balkh (1009/1600-1), and though ʿAbbās led a force of 50,000 men against him, he was outmanoeuvred and forced to retreat (1011/1602-3), losing large numbers of men through sickness, and abandoning most of his new artillery. At this point hostilities in the East were suspended, but in the West ʿAbbās invaded Ādharbāydjān in 1012/1603-4, and occupied Nakhčiwān and Eriwan. The Ottomans under Čighālazāda suffered a signal defeat at Sīs near Tabrīz (1014/1605-6), with the loss of 20,000 men. Gandja and Tiflīs were taken by the Ṣafawids. Internal disorders in Turkey contributed to the haphazard conduct of the war against Persia. Successive Turkish invasions of Ādharbāydjān were hampered by the Persian policy of devastating the regions of Čukhūr Saʿd and Nakhčiwān and evacuating the inhabitants. Peace was eventually concluded at Sarāb in 1027/1617-8, but was broken by ʿAbbās in 1033/1623-4, when he took Baghdād and Diyār Bakr from the Ottomans.

In other directions too ʿAbbās expanded Ṣafawid territory. Baḥrayn was annexed in 1010/1601-2, Shīrwān was reconquered in 1016/1607-8. With British aid, the island of Hurmuz was taken from the Portuguese in 1030/1620-1, but a long series of bitter wars in Georgia failed to result in permanent annexation, and ʿAbbās was finally forced to recognize the Georgian prince Taymuraz. Military necessity was often the pretext for the transference of large bodies of people to other regions. Some 20,000 Armenians from the Erzerum region were enrolled in the *ghulāms*: a further 3000 families were moved from Djulfa to Iṣfahān: the Ḳaramānlū tribe of Ḳarabāgh was moved to Fārs in 1023/1614-5: and the influx of Georgians from Kakhetia—130,000 prisoners were taken in the expedition of 1025/1616-7 alone—was a major factor in achieving that admixture of races and creeds by which ʿAbbās planned to offset the power of the Ḳizilbāsh.

Diplomatic contacts with European countries and with India were numerous during ʿAbbās's reign, but all his efforts to create a European alliance against the Ottomans failed. Though careful to keep on good terms with the Mughal Emperors Akbar and Djahāngīr, he always regarded Ḳandahār, seized by Akbar in 999/1590-1, as Persian territory, and in 1031/1621-2 he re-occupied the city. ʿAbbās maintained friendly relations with the princes of Muscovy and the Tatar khāns of the Crimea. Foreign monastic orders, like the Carmelites, the Augustinians and the Capuchin Friars, were accorded permission to operate without hindrance. In 1007/1598-9 Sir Anthony Sherley, brother of Robert, was dispatched to Europe accompanied by a Persian envoy, Ḥusayn ʿAlī Beg Bayāt, and visited Prague, Venice, Rome, Valladolid and Lisbon. Return embassies were sent by the Spaniards, the Portuguese and the English. The latter's envoy, Sir Dodmore Cotton, was the first accredited English ambassador to the Persian Court.

ʿAbbās improved communications by the construction of roads (notably the coast road through Māzandarān), bridges and caravanserais. He enriched Iṣfahān, which became his new capital in 1006/1597-8, with mosques, palaces and gardens: but he also built palaces at Ḳazwīn, and at Ashraf and Faraḥābād on the Caspian, where he spent an increasing amount of time in his later years. He explored the possibility of diverting some of the head-waters of the Kārūn into the basin of the Zāyanda-Rūd.

Although endowed with great qualities, ʿAbbās could be ruthless, and his family fell victims to his desire for security. His father, Muḥammad Khudābanda, and two brothers, Abū Ṭālib and Ṭahmāsp, were blinded and incarcerated at Alamūt; a son, Muḥammad Bāḳir Mīrzā, was executed on a charge of treason in 1022/1613, and another, Imām Ḳulī, was made heir-apparent in 1030/1620 during an illness of ʿAbbās, but was blinded on the latter's recovery. Throughout his reign, ʿAbbās attached great importance to maintaining the *pīr u-murshid* relationship with his subjects: hence he made frequent visits to the Shīʿite shrines at Ardabīl, Mashhad, where he repaired the damage caused by the Uzbegs, and, after their capture from the Ottomans, to those at Karbalāʾ and Nadjaf.

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(R. M. SAVORY)

ʿABBĀS II and **III** [see ṢAFAWIDS]

AL-**ʿABBĀS** B. **ʿABD** AL-**MUṬṬALIB**, with the *kunya* Abu 'l-Faḍl, half-brother of Muḥammad's father, his mother being Nutayla bint

Djanāb of al-Namir. The ʿAbbāsid dynasty took its name from him, being descended from his son ʿAbd Allāh. Consequently there was a tendency for historians under the ʿAbbāsids to glorify him, and in his case it is particularly difficult to distinguish fact from fiction. He was a merchant and financier, more prosperous than his half-brother Abū Ṭālib, who, in return for the extinction of a debt, surrendered to him the office of providing pilgrims to Mecca with water (*siḳāya*) and perhaps also with food (*rifāda*). Though he owned a garden in al-Ṭāʾif, he was not so wealthy as the leading men of the clans of ʿAbd Shams and Makhzūm. There is no clear evidence of any *rapprochement* between him and Muḥammad until 7/629 when he gave in marriage to Muḥammad Maymūna, the uterine sister of his wife, Umm al-Faḍl Lubāba. Stories purporting to show that prior to this he supported Muḥammad are suspect. Thus he is said to have acted as protector of Muḥammad at the Assembly of ʿAḳaba, and, while it is conceivable that he protected him during his last year or two in Mecca, there is no evidence that the clan of Hāshim revoked Abū Lahab's refusal to give protection. Al-ʿAbbās fought against the Muslims at Badr, was taken prisoner and then released, though whether with or without a ransom is disputed. He joined Muḥammad as he was marching on Mecca in 8/630, but his conversion was less influential than that of Abū Sufyān. Muḥammad welcomed him, and after the submission of Mecca confirmed in his family the inherited office of the *siḳāya*. He is said to have acted bravely at Ḥunayn, and by his stentorian shout to have turned the tide of battle. He settled at Medina. Though one of those who contributed to the finances of the expedition to Tabūk, he possibly did not campaign in Syria, as is sometimes said. He was not on good terms with ʿUmar, but made a gift of his house for ʿUmar's extension of the mosque in Medina. Muḥammad is said to have given him an annuity from the produce of Khaybar, and ʿUmar, in revising the pension roll, made him the equal of the men of Badr; but he was never given any administrative post. He died about 32/653 aged about 88.

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(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ʿABBĀS B. **ABI 'L-FUTŪḤ** YAḤYĀ B. TAMĪM B. MUʿIZZ B. BĀDĪS AL-ṢINHĀDJĪ, AL-AFḌAL RUKN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌL, Fāṭimid vizier, a descendant of the Zīrids [*q.v.*] of North Africa. He seems to have been born shortly before 509/1115, for in that year he was still a nursling. His father was then in prison and was banished in 509 to Alexandria, whither his wife Bullāra and the little ʿAbbās accompanied him. After Abu 'l-Futūḥ's death his widow married Ibn Sallār [see AL-ʿĀDIL IBN SALLĀR], commandant of Alexandria and al-Buḥayra, one of the most powerful generals of the Fāṭimid empire. When, in 544/1149-50, the caliph al-Ẓāfir appointed Ibn Maṣāl to the position of vizier, which had for some time been vacant, Ibn Sallār revolted, marched on Cairo at the head of his troops and forced the caliph to invest him with the vizierate. It was during these troubles that ʿAbbās appeared for the first time on the political scene. He took the side of his step-father and was entrusted by him with the pursuit of Ibn Maṣāl who had taken to flight. Ibn Maṣāl fell, and on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 544/24 March 1150, Ibn Sallār made his entry into Cairo. During the following years ʿAbbās lived at the court of Cairo and his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Naṣr, became a favourite of the caliph. In the beginning of 548/spring 1153, ʿAbbās was made commander of the garrison of ʿAsḳalān, the last place the Fāṭimids still possessed in Syria. Before reaching Syria, however, at Bilbays, he decided—rumour had it, at the instigation of Usāma b. Munḳidh (the various historians who mention Usāma's role evidently follow one common source, cf. Cahen, 19, note 2)—to assassinate his step-father and seize the vizierate. Naṣr, ʿAbbās's son, returned secretly to Cairo, obtained the consent of the caliph, who idolized him, and assassinated Ibn Sallār, 6 Muḥarram 548/3 April 1153. ʿAbbās returned as fast as he could and took possession of the vizierate, whilst ʿAsḳalān fell into the hands of the Franks, 27 Djumādā I 548/20 August 1153. ʿAbbās did not enjoy the position he had won for long. According to Usāma (who was an intimate companion of Naṣr and took part in the events which he relates) ʿAbbās and his son Naṣr were deeply suspicious of each other, ʿAbbās thinking that the caliph was urging Naṣr to assassinate him. Usāma claims to have acted as a conciliator between father and son, who resolved together to kill the caliph. Naṣr lured the caliph to his house and assassinated him on the last day of Muḥarram 549/16 April 1154. Thereupon ʿAbbās charged the nearest male relations of the caliph with the crime. They were put to death and the minor son of al-Ẓāfir was placed upon the throne under the name of al-Fāʾiz bi-Naṣr Allāh. These proceedings stirred up the court and the population; a message was sent to Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*], governor of Usyūṭ. ʿAbbās, together with Naṣr, fled before him to Syria, but the Franks, warned by the enemies of ʿAbbās, surprised them near al-Muwayliḥ and ʿAbbās was killed, 23 Rabīʿ I 549/7 June 1154. Naṣr was captured and delivered into the hands of the Fāṭimid government and executed, Rabīʿ II 550/June-July 1155. (The text of the *sidjill* announcing his arrival in Cairo is preserved in MS Brit. Mus., *Suppl.* 1140, fol. 67v.).

Bibliography: Usāma b. Munḳidh, *al-Iʿtibār*, ed. Derenbourg, 5-6, 13-22, 69; Ibn Abī Ṭayy, see Cahen; Ibn Ẓāfir, see Wüstenfeld and Cahen; Ibn al-Muyassar, ed. Massé, 89-90, 92-5; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 93-4, 122, 125-8; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287-8, i, 97 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iv, 74 ff.; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iii, 29-30; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. iii; Ibn Khallikān, nos. 496, 522; Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 30; F. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, 314 ff.; Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, 174; H. Derenbourg, *Ousâma ibn Mounkidh*, i, 220 ff., 238-58. For the criticism of the sources of the historians see Cl. Cahen, *Quelques chroniques anciens relatives aux derniers Fatimides*, *BIFAO*, 1937-8, 19, note 2. Poems concerning the affair of ʿAbbās are quoted in ʿImād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-Ḳaṣr*, Egyptian poets (Cairo 1951), i, 119, 190. (C. H. BECKER—S. M. STERN)

AL-**ʿABBĀS** B. AL-**AḤNAF**, ABU 'L-FAḌL, amatory poet of ʿIrāḳ, died, it seems, after 193/808. His family belonged to the Arab clan of Ḥanīfa, from the district of Baṣra, but had emigrated to Khurāsān. It seems, however, that the father of al-ʿAbbās returned to Baṣra, where he is said to have died in 150/767 (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, 133). Al-

ʿAbbās was born about 133/750. He grew up in Baghdād (this must be the meaning of the passage of Ibn Ḳutayba, 525, and of the words of al-Ṣūlī quoted by al-Khaṭīb, 128, or of those of al-Akhfash repeated in *Aghānī* [3], viii, 353). We do not know anything about his adolescence or his studies. He must have started writing poetry very early, as Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/783) speaks of his beginnings and calls him *fatā*, or *ghulām* (*Aghānī* [3], v, 210 and al-Khaṭīb, 130). The only details we know about his career show him as a favourite of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who employed him, however, not as a panegyrist, but rather as one to amuse him in his hours of leasure (see e.g. *Aghānī* [3], viii, 355 ff., and al-Khaṭīb, 131). It seems certain that the poet accompanied the caliph in his campaigns in Khūrāsān and Armenia, but, overcome by nostalgia, received his permission to return to Baghdād (*Aghānī* [3], viii, 372). Al-ʿAbbās was also connected with the high officials of the Barmakid family, especially with Yaḥyā b. Djaʿfar (*Aghānī*[3], v, 168, 241). One can assume that his verses were highly enjoyed by certain ladies of the caliph's harem, e.g. by Umm Djaʿfar, who made him presents (*Aghānī* [3] viii, 369). The favour shown to al-ʿAbbās by the men in power seems to have given him an influential position: a nephew of his, Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī (d. 243/857), himself a poet, was "secretary" of the Chancery (see on him al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 237-45 and al-Khaṭīb, 129; it is to be noted that through him al-ʿAbbās was the great-uncle of the famous Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*]). Almost nothing has come down to us about the literary contacts of al-ʿAbbās. He seems to have been on bad terms with Muslim b. al-Walīd (al-Khaṭīb, 128) and the Muʿtazilite Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (*Aghānī*, v, 354). Various dates are given for his death: 188/803 according to *Aghānī*, V, 254, repeated by al-Khaṭīb, 133; or 192/807, idem 133 and Yāḳūt, IV, 283; or after 193/808, according to one of his friends who is said to have met him in Baghdad after the death of al-Rashīd, which occurred in that year (al-Khaṭīb, 133 and Ibn Khallikān). Al-ʿAbbās would have been at that time about 60 years old. He is said to have died while on pilgrimage and to have been buried in Baṣra (al-Khaṭīb, 132-3 and al-Masʿūdī, vii, 247).

The work of al-ʿAbbās was collected after his death by Zunbur, and subsequently, in the form of extracts, by Abū Bakr al-Suli (*Fihrist*, 163, 151); al-Ṣūlī wrote also a biography of the poet (*ib.* 151), which was extensively used by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī in the article in the *Aghānī*. We have no information about the versions that circulated in Khurāsān during the lifetime of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 300/912; cf. *Aghānī*, viii, 353). One cannot exclude the hypothesis that verses by unknown authors were wrongly included in these versions; cf. the detail quoted by al-Marzubānī, 292. At any rate Yāḳūt, iv, 284 points out that the manuscripts of his time were divergent. The work of al-ʿAbbās is preserved only in two manuscripts of the selection made by al-Ṣūlī; on a third one, now lost (?), was based the unsatisfactory edition, Istanbul 1298/1880 (reproduced in Cairo-Baghdad 1367/1947; cf. A. Khusraji, *Dīwān d'al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf*, thesis submitted to the Faculty of Letters, Paris, in 1953). The existing collection consists of pieces that are generally short and some of which are perhaps only fragments of longer poems.

Al-ʿAbbās, as all his Muslim biographers have noted, cultivated only one genre, the *ghazal* [*q.v.*], i.e. erotico-elegiac poetry (cf. e.g. Ibn Ḳutayba, 525; *Fihrist*, 132; *Aghānī* [3], viii, 352). In their present state, the pieces that are available confirm this fact Al-ʿAbbās appears in them as a follower of the poets of al-Ḥidjaz, namely ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa and especially Djamīl, al-Aḥwaṣ and al-ʿArdjī, in whose work the tendencies of the school began to take a fixed form. In his poems there reappears not only the psychological scheme of the submissive lover, but also the fictitious personages of the *raḳīb* and *wāshī*. The woman whom he extols is presented in a stylised manner, so that we are unable to say if the poet is merely combining *clichés* or starting from a real experience. Not all the poems, however, are expressions of ideal love; we find (*Dīwān*, Istanbul, 148-50), the description of an orgy with singing girls. On the whole, however, the poetry of al-ʿAbbās stands in contrast to that of Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], which is permeated with the carnal cult of the beloved. The art of al-ʿAbbās is highly conventional and his inspiration is monotonous. On the other hand, his style avoids the use of gimcrack rhetoric and his language, simple and fluent without being vulgar, is akin to that of Abū Nuwās.

The vogue enjoyed by the poetry of al-ʿAbbās from the very first cannot be explained solely by some hellenistic influence or by respect for an old Arab tradition. The society in which the poet lived must also be taken into consideration. Chiming with the dilettantism of al-Rashīd and the taste of the women of the court, the poems of al-ʿAbbās were ready-made material for composers and singers, like Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (cf. *Aghānī* [3], vi, 182, viii, 361, 354-6). Nevertheless the favour shown to them by men of letters like al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba, or al-Masʿūdī, by a music-lover like the caliph al-Wāthiḳ, by a *bel esprit* like Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, or finally by a rigorist like Salama b. ʿĀṣim (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 525 ff., and especially *Aghānī* [3], viii, 354 ff.), shows that these poetical productions could be enjoyed by a public of greatly varying tastes.

It is difficult to define the importance of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf in the history of Arabic poetry. If Muslim Spain really appreciated this oriental poet (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ al-Ḥamāma* (Bercher), 285; Péres, *La poesie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle*, 54, 411), one might see in him one of the poets who influenced the erotic-elegiac poetry so highly valued in that country. In this case, his role in the development of the genre would be of the greatest importance. Recently, oriental critics like F. Rifāʿī and Bahbītī have tried to discover what in the work of al-ʿAbbās retains a lasting value. In two penetrating studies, Hell and Torrey placed the poet in his milieu and noted his influence in Arabic literature.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* (de Goeje), 525-7; Masʿūdi, *Murūdj*, vii, 145-8; *al-Aghānī* [3], *passim*, viii, 352-72; Marzūbānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, 290-3; *Fihrist*, 132, 151, 163; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 127-33; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iy, 233-4; Ibn Khallikān, no. 319 (after al-Khaṭīb and al-Masʿūdī); F. Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, ii, 393-9; Bahbītī, *Taʾrīkh al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī*, Cairo 1950, 401-6; J. Hell, *Al-ʿAbbās i. al-Aḥnaf der Minnesänger am Hofe Harun al-Rašīds, Islamica*, 1926, 271-307; C. C. Torrey, *The history of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf and his fortunate verses, JAOS*, 1894, 43-70; Brockelmann, I, 74, S I, 114.

(R. BLACHÈRE)

AL-ʿ**ABBĀS** B. ʿ**AMR** AL-**GHANAWĪ**, famous general and governor of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs at the end of the third century/c. 900. In 286/899 he fought against the Arab tribes in ʿIrāḳ. In 287/900 he was appointed by the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid governor of Yamāma and Baḥrayn, with orders to fight against the Ḳarmaṭian chief of Baḥrayn, Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī. He left Baṣra with an army of regular soldiers, volunteers from Baṣra and beduin auxiliaries, was left in the lurch in the first battle by the beduins andt he volunteers and next day, after a bloody battle, he was taken prisoner together with about 700 men (end of Radjab 287/July 900). The prisoners were executed, but al-ʿAbbās was spared by the Ḳarmaṭian, who charged him with a message to the caliph, in which he set forth the dangers and the uselessness of a new campaign against him. One can find in M. J. de Goeje's *Memoire sur les Carmathes de Bahrain*, 37-41, an account of the battle and its consequences, after al-Ṭabarī, as well as the anecdote, told among others by al-Tanūkhī (*al-Faradj baʿd al-Shidda*, Cairo 1903, i, 110-1), concerning the liberation of al-ʿAbbās, a matter of astonishment to contemporaries as well as his the historians. Al-ʿAbbās was one of the generals who in 289/901-2 abandoned the commander-in-chief, Badr, at the instigation of the new caliph al-Muktafī. According to Ibn al-Athīr he was governor of Ḳumm and Kāshān in 296/908-9. He accompanied the army of Muʾnis that defended Egypt, in 303-3/914-5, from a Fāṭimid attack (Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, iii, 186). At the end of his life, we find him as military and civil governor of Diyār Muḍar, residing in al-Raḳḳa, where he died in 305/917. He came, no doubt, from that district, and gave his name to a Ḳaṣr al-ʿAbbās, situated between Nisibis and Sindjār (Yāḳūt, iv, 114).

There does not seem to be sufficient reason to assume, as has been done in the first ed. of this Encyclopaedia, that there was at the same epoch another al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr, different from ours.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 2193, 2196-7, 2210; ʿArīb, ed. de Goeje, 69; Miskawayhi, ed. Amedroz, i, 56; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 344-5, 358; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 193-4; id., *al-Tanbih*, 393 f., trad. Carra de Vaux, 499-500; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, ii, 122, 186; Ibn Khallikān, no. 745, transl. de Slane, i, 427, iii, 417, iv, 331; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 194-5; C. Lang, *Muʿtaḍid als Prinz und Regent*, *ZDMG*, 1887, 270-1. (M. CANARD)

ʿ**ABBĀS** B. **FIRNĀS** B. WARDŪS, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM, Andalusi scholar and poet, belonging to the entourage of the Hispano-Umayyad amīrs al-Ḥakam I, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II and MuḥammadI, in the 3rd/9th century. No biographical data about him are available, and we only know that he was an Umayyad *mawlā* of Berber origin, that he came from the *kūra* of Tākurunnā, i.e. the district of Ronda, and that he died in 274/887. His strong personality is now fully manifest, thanks to the newly found volume of Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-Muḳtabis* concerning the Andalusi amirate, where a long passage is devoted to him and a great number of his verses are quoted. ʿAbbās b. Firnās, who managed, thanks to his panagyrics, to keep his position at the court of Cordova during three successive reigns, is chiefly represented as a uan ef curious and inventive mind. He is said to have made a journey to ʿIrāḳ and to have brought back to Spain the *Sindhind*. He was the only one in Cordova to be able to explain the contents of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad's treatise on metrics. To him is attributed the invention of the fabrication of crystal. He constructed, and offered to his masters, a clock (*manḳāna*) and an armillary sphere (*dhāt al-ḥalaḳ*). He was even a distant precursor of aviation, thinking out a sheath furnished with feathers and mobile wings; had the courage to put it on, to jump from the top of a precipice and to hover in the air for a few seconds before falling—escaping death by a miracle. He was occasionally accused of *zandaḳa*, but without success.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muḳtabis*, i (in press), fol. 130-2 and *passim*; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 1247; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 254; A. González Palencia, *Moros y Christianos en España medieval*, Madrid 1945, 30 f.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La civilization arabe en Espagne*, 76 f.; idem, *Esp. mus.*, i, 274. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-ʿ**ABBĀS** B. AL-**ḤUSAYN** AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, ABU 'L-FAḌL, vizier. At the death of al-Muhallabī in 352/963, al-ʿAbbās, head of the Dīwān of Expenses, was charged by the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla with the functions of a vizier, together with another secretary, Ibn Fasāndjas, but without succeeding to the title. After the death of Muʿizz al-Dawla in 356/967, he was appointed vizier by the son and successor of Muʿizz al-Dawla, Bakhtiyār. He succeeded in suppressing the rebellion of another son of Muʿizz al-Dawla. Owing to the enmity of the chamberlain Subuktakīn, the financial difficulties, and the intrigues of Ibn Fasāndjas who hoped to extract money from al-ʿAbbās, he was deposed in 359/969-70 and put into the hands of his rival. The latter, however, was not more successful in his office and al-ʿAbbās managed to recover his freedom in 360/971, to be re-appointed as vizier and to eliminate definitely Ibn Fasāndjas. His extortion of money, to pay the troops, made him again the butt of hatred, especially that of Bakhtiyār's omnipotent majordomo, Ibn Baḳiyya. In 362/973 he was arrested owing the machinations of Ibn Baḳiyya, and the latter was appointed vizier. Al-ʿAbbās was confined in the house of an ʿAlid in Kūfa and died soon afterwards, probably from poison.

Al-ʿAbbās possessed a palace in Baghdad, called Khākān, which was destroyed by order of Bakhtiyār. On this palace, the festivals held in it, and the other buildings of al-ʿAbbās, see al-Ḥusrī, *Dhayl Zahr al-Ādāb*, Cairo 1353, 275 f.

Bibliography: Miskawayh, ii, 121, 198 ff., 310 f.; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*, i, 215; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 405 f. (M. CANARD)

AL-ʿ**ABBĀS** B. AL-**MAʾMŪN**, pretender to the throne under al-Muʿtaṣim. His father, the caliph al-Maʾmūn, appointed him in 213/828-9 a governor of al-Djazīra and the neighbouring frontier district, and he then showed great bravery in fighting the Byzantines. On the death of al-Maʾmūn in 218/833, his brother, Abū Isḥāḳ Muḥammad al-Muʿtaṣim bi-'llāh, by choice of the deceased, ascended the throne of the ʿAbbāsids. The army which al-Maʾmūn had collected against the Greeks, however, proclaimed al-ʿAbbās caliph, although he himself was not in the least disposed to comply with the wishes of his troops and took the oath of fealty to his uncle. After that, he went back to his army and succeeded in appeasing its discontent. Then the caliph, in order to strengthen his position, took many measures of precaution; he had the fortress of Ṭuwāna (Tyana) razed, stopped the war against the Byzantines and disbanded the army. Later, having organized some Turkish regiments as his guard, he loaded them with honours to an extent wbich disaffected the Arab troops, who had shown themselves sufficiently ill-disposed ever since the death of al-Maʾmūn. ʿUdjayf

b. ʿAnbasa, an Arab general in the service of al-Muʿtaṣim utilized this discontent for the purpose of organizing a conspiracy, the object of which was to assassinate the caliph and to put al-ʿAbbās on the throne. The latter allowed himself to be persuaded; but the plot was discovered, and the conspirators paid for their attempt with their lives. Al-ʿAbbās died in prison at Manbidj in 223/838.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī; Ṭabarī; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, indexes; *al-Aghānī*, Tables; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (De Goeje-and de Jong), *passim*; Ibn al-Athīr, Index; E. Marin, *Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad b. Jarīr al-Tabarī's The Reign of al-Muta'sim*, New Haven 1951, index.

(K. V. Zettersteen)

AL-ʿ**ABBĀS** B. **MIRDĀS** B. ABĪ ʿĀMIR B. ḤĀRITHA B. ʿABD ḲAYS, of Sulaym, Arabian poet of the *mukhaḍramīn*. A *sayyid* in his tribe by noble descent on both sides, he won renown as a warrior as well as a poet; although he did not come up to the fame of his stepmother, the celebrated al-Khansāʾ, his poetical achievements surpassed those of his brothers and his sister all of whom displayed literary gifts and two of whom lived to compose elegies on his death. Impelled, so the story goes, by two dream experiences or epiphanies in which his family idol, Ḍimār (not Ḍimād, cf. *TA*, iii, 353) announced its own downfall and the rise of the true prophet, al-ʿAbbās went to Medina to embrace Islam. Muḥammad, who was at the time preparing for the conquest of Mecca, arranged for al-ʿAbbās to meet him with his tribesmen at al-Ḳudayd. Al-ʿAbbās returned to the Banū Sulaym and burned his idol while his wife, Ḥabība, returned to her people in indignation over her husband's conversion. Al-ʿAbbās kept his word and joined in the *fatḥ Makka* (8/630) with some 900 fully armed warriors. He was among the *muʾallafa ḳulūbuhum*, those influential men whose loyalty Muḥammad endeavored to secure by lavish gifts, but demurred when on the distribution of the booty taken from the Hawāzin at the battle of Ḥunayn (630) his present turned out substantially smaller than that of other leaders. As a result of a *ḳaṣīda* of protest Muḥammad satisfied al-ʿAbbās by increasing his share. After the *fatḥ* he withdrew to the territory of the Sulaym. He lived into the reign of ʿUmar before whom he is reported to have appeared in a quarrel with another poet. Ibn Saʿd reports that he settled near Baṣra, often coming into town where the Baṣrians would take traditions from him. His son Djulhuma, too, appears as a transmitter of *ḥadīth* from the Prophet. His offspring settled in and near Baṣra.

Al-ʿAbbās's poetical fame would seem to be due as much to his colourful personality as to the actual merits of his verse. His *muhādjāt* with his fellow-tribesman Khufāf b. Nadba, his poem upon his burning Ḍimār and accepting Islam, his protest against the Prophet's inadequate donation, and finally a *ḳaṣīda* (*Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, XXXVIII; cf. introduction, 12) originating in connection with a successful raid into the Yaman are perhaps the best-known of his poems, which it seems were never collected into a *dīwān*. The available material gives evidence of a certain forcefulness but does not betray unusual talents. Some of his lines are interesting because of dialectical peculiarities, others because of the manner in which they reflect his experience of Islam.

Bibliography: *Aghānī* [1], xiii, 64-72; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 467-70; Ibn Saʿd, iv/2, 15-17; *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, pp. 61-63 (ascription doubtful), 214-6, 512-3; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, index; *Khizāna*, index; Ṭabarī, index; C. Rabin, *Ancient West Arabian*, London 1951, index.

(G. E. von Grunebaum)

AL-ʿ**ABBĀS** B. **MUḤAMMAD** B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH, brother of the caliphs Abu l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ and Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr. ʿAbbās helped to retake Malaṭya in 139/756, and three years later was appointed by al-Manṣūr as governor of al-Djazīra and the neighbouring frontier district. He was dismissed in 155/772, but his name continues to figure frequently in the history of the following years, however little important his political part may have been. He especially and often distinguished himself in the wars against the Byzantines. In 159/775-6 he was put at the head of the troops which the caliph al-Mahdī mustered for an expedition against Asia Minor, and it was with great success that he acquitted himself of the charge committed to him. He died in 186/802.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 121; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 184; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 461 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 372 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 266; ix, 64 f.; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (de Goeje and de Jong), 225, 227, 265, 275, 284; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin (Juynboll and Matthes), i, see index; *al-Aghānī*, Tables; S. Moscati, in *Orientalia*, 1945, 309-10. (K. V. Zetterstéen)

ʿ**ABBĀS** B. **NĀṢIH** AL-THAḲAFĪ, Andalusi poet of the 3rd/9th century. He stayed for a long time in Egypt, Ḥidjāz and ʿIrāḳ, acquiring a broad culture. A confidant of the amīr al-Ḥakam I, who appointed him as ḳāḍī of his native Algeciras, he soon made a name for himself both as a philologist and a jurist. The *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān has preserved numerous specimens of his poetry. He died at the end of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, circa 238/852.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muḳtabis*, i (in press), fol. 129 f.; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tāʾrīkh*, no. 879; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, index.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

AL-ʿ**ABBĀS** B. AL-**WALĪD**, Umayyad general, son of the caliph al-Walīd I. Al-ʿAbbās owes his celebrity principally to the energetic part he took in the continual struggles of the Umayyads with the Byzantines. Concerning the details, the Arabic and Byzantine sources do not always agree. In the early part of the reign of al-Walīd I, he and his uncle Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, took Ṭuwāna, the most important fortress of Cappadocia. The Muslims had begun to be discouraged and ʿAbbās had to display the greatest energy to succeed in stopping the fugitives and renewing the battle. The Greeks were forced to retire into the town, which was immediately invested and had to surrender after a long siege. Arab historians give Djumāda II 88/May 707 as the date of the fall of the fortress, but the Byzantines put it two years later. For the following period, the Arabic chronicles mention many military expeditions undertaken by the two Umayyad generals, sometimes jointly, sometimes by one of them independently of the other. The most remarkable events were the taking of Sebastopol in Cilicia by ʿAbbās, and of Amasia in Pontus by Maslama, in 93/712. In the following year, ʿAbbās seized Antioch in Pisidia. He continued to support Maslama faithfully in subsequent battles. When, after the death of ʿUmar II in 101/720, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the governor of ʿIrāḳ, fomented a dangerous insurrection, ʿAbbās was sent against him, first alone, then he and Maslama together. Yazīd was killed in a battle against the caliph's troops in 102/720, and peace was soon restored. In the reign of Walīd II, he first was intelligent and loyal enough to oppose the plot of his brother Yazīd, whom he

warned, together with the other Marwānids, not to let loose by their revolts the *fitna*, which would prove fatal to the dynasty. But at the end he had to give in to violence and join the coup d'état of 126/744. Later he was thrown into prison by the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II. He died in prison in Ḥarrān, in an epidemic, in 132/750.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1191 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 350 ff.; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 170, 189, 369; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 510 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 415 f.; W. Brooks, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, 182; J. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern*, *NGWGött*, 1901, 436 f.; F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, 1934, 19-20, 22.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN—F. GABRIELI)

ʿABBĀS EFENDI [see BAHĀʾĪS]

ʿABBĀS ḤILMĪ I, viceroy of Egypt, born in 1813, son of Aḥmad Ṭūsun (1793-1816) and grandson of Muhammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. He succeeded to his uncle Ibrāhīm, who died 10 Nov. 1848. From his very accession he showed great hostility to foreigners. The reforms undertaken during the preceding period he chose to consider as dangerous and blameworthy innovations that were best abandoned. Most of the schools opened by Muhammad ʿAli were closed, as well as the factories, workshops and sanitary institutions; he even gave orders to destroy the works of the Delta dam. Many foreign, especially French, officials were dismissed. The result was, from the beginning of his reign, the decline of French influence; on the other hand, he drew nearer to Great Britain. Great Britain offered him its support in the conflict with the Ottoman government about the application in Egypt of the *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. In exchange for this support, Great Britain obtained on 18 July 1851 the authorisation to construct the railway between Alexandria and Cairo. The opening of this line, which was planned to be extended to Suez, was meant to counteract the French project to cut the isthmus of Suez.

Distrustful, brutal, hard, and sometimes cruel, by nature, ʿAbbās quickly became unpopular. It must be noted, however, that at least in the first years of his reign, his aversion to the reforms inspired by the West, helped, by a considerable decrease of the expenses, to relieve the poorest classes of the population. They were granted some remission of taxes and had less to suffer from corvée and conscription. Moreover, certain western and Egyptian historians haye tried to explain the reactionary and xenophobe policy of ʿAbbās by an ardent patriotism, which, allegedly, induced him to limit by all means the foreign influence of the consequences of which he was afraid; Sammarco, however, has refuted this assertion.

ʿAbbās, impelled by his mistrustful character to live in isolation, retired to his palace in Benha. He was strangled there by two of his servants, on 13 July 1854, in circumstances which were never wholly cleared up. He was succeeded by his uncle Muh. Saʿīd [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Précis de l'histoire de l'Egypte par divers historiens et archèologues*, vol. iv: *Les règnes de ʿAbbas, de Saʿid et d'Ismaʿil* (1848-1879), by A. Sammarco, Cairo 1935, 1-17; G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, vol. vi, Paris 1936; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, London [1939], 285-312 and index. (M. COLOMBE)

ʿABBĀS ḤILMĪ II, khedive of Egypt, born in Alexandria, 14 July 1874, died in Geneva 20 Dec. 1944. He studied in the Theresianum in Vienna together with his brother Muḥ. ʿAlī (b. 9 Nov. 1875) and succeeded to his father, Muḥ. Tawfīḳ [*q.v.*], on 8 Jan. 1892. He soon came into conflict with the diplomatic agents and consuls general of England in Cairo, first Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer), and then Lord Kitchener [see MIṢR].

When in August 1914 the world war broke out, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī was in Istanbul, where he had arrived in the summer. Having been wounded on 25 July in an attempt on his life, he remained in the Ottoman capital for treatment. From there he addressed to the Egyptians and Sudanese, on Turkey entering the war on the side of the Central Powers, an appeal to fight against the occupiers of his country. On the same day the state of siege was declared in Cairo. A month later, on 18 Dec., the British Government decided to put Egypt under their protectorate; on 19 Dec., the khedive was deposed and replaced by prince Ḥusayn Kāmil, the eldest of the princes of the family of Muḥ. ʿAlī.

During the war, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī, kept in the background by the Young Turks, lived first in Istanbul and then in Vienna, whence he made several journeys to Switzerland. He spent in that country the last part of his life. In 1922, when Egypt became a sovereign and independent state (British declaration of 28 Febr. 1922), and the sultan Fuʾād [*q.v.*], successor of Ḥusayn Kāmil, who died in 1917, took the title of king (15 March 1922), the ex-khedive was declared to have lost all his rights to the throne (this measure was not applied to "his direct and legitimate masculine descendants"; royal rescript of 13.4.1922, Official Journal of Egypt of 15.4, no. 38, extraordinary). His property was liquidated and he was forbidden to enter Egypt. Nevertheless, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī had for some time many partisans in Egypt and it was only in May 1931 that he renounced "all pretension to the throne".

The ex-khedive had two sons, Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Munʿim and Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. The first (b. 20 Febr. 1899) was appointed, on the abdication of king Fārūḳ (26 July 1952) as a member of the regency council, and became, on Oct. 1952, sole regent of the kingdom until the proclamation of the Republic in June 1953.

Bibliography: Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, London 1908; idem, *Abbas II*, London 1915; G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, vol. vii; Hasan Chafik, *Statut juridique international de l'Egypte*, Paris 1928; Mohamed Seif Alla Rouchdi, *L'Hérédité du trône en Egypte contemporaine*, Paris 1943; Abbas Hilmi II, *A few words on the Anglo-Egyptian settlement*, London 1929. (M. COLOMBE)

ʿABBĀS MĪRZĀ, son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, born in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1203/Sept. 1789, in the small town of Nawā, died on 10 Djumādā II 1249/25 Oct. 1833. Although not the eldest son, he was made heir to the throne because his mother also belonged to the Ḳādjār family. Europeans who knew him were unanimous in their praise of his bravery, generosity and other excellent qualities. R. G. Watson (*History of Persia*, 128-9) describes him as "the noblest of the Kajar race". He was passionately devoted to the military art, and, with the aid of, successively, Russian, French, and British officers and men, introduced European tactics and discipline amongst his troops in Adharbaydjān, of which province he was Governor-General for many years. Despite his military reforms, he failed in his campaigns against the Russians, but he was successful in the war against Turkey in 1821-3.

He died at Mashhad during his father's lifetime; on Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's death in the following year (1834), ʿAbbās Mīrzā's son Muḥammad succeeded to the throne.

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ʿABBĀSA, daughter of the caliph al-Mahdī, sister of the caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Hādī; it is to her that the locality Suwayḳat al-ʿAbbāsa owes its name. She had three husbands in succession, who all predeceased her; this inspired Abū Nuwās to write some satirical verses, in which he recommanded the caliph, should he want to have a traitor killed, to marry him to ʿAbbāsa. Her name is connected with the fall of the Barmakids through the amorous intrigue with Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, with which she is credited. According to al-Ṭabarī, Hārūn could not deprive himself of the society of either his sister or Djaʿfar, so that, in order to have them both with him at the same time, he made them contract a purely formal marriage. They, however, were not contented with the form alone; and when Hārūn learned that they had children, and was convinced that the reports in circulation about them were true, he caused Djaʿfar to be executed.—Some earlier historians than al-Ṭabarī do not mention this fact; especially it must be noticed that the commentaries on the verses of Abū Nuwās give the names of ʿAbbāsa's husbands without mentioning that of Djaʿfar. Further, al-Ṭabarī, like the other chroniclers who repeat this story, only mentions it as *one* of the events which were reported to have caused Djaʿfar's execution. Later chroniclers amplify the love-story of Djaʿfar and ʿAbbāsa more and more, until Ibn Khaldūn calls its truth in question, even if on grounds which are not very conclusive for us. If one detail, found in the Persian Ṭabarī, must be believed, ʿAbbāsa was already forty years old when her relations with Djaʿfar began. It is quite certain that her second husband died eleven years before Djaʿfar, and these figures put all ideas of a youthful romance out of the question. We may then reasonably look upon this anecdote as the product of popular imagination, to give a poetic aura to the fall of this favorite minister. This is the more likely in that pagan Arab stories contain a remarkably similar episode of the marriage of the minister of a king with the latter's sister (see DJADHĪMA AL-ABRASH); it was very easy to transfer to Djaʿfar the motif of this story. What the greater number of authorities report on the subject of ʿAbbāsa is reported by some about two other fictitious sisters of Hārūn, Maymūna and Fākhita! The older authorities say nothing about what happened to ʿAbbāsa after the death of Djaʿfar; it is only the later writers who have woven mysterious horrors about her end. The love of ʿAbbāsa and Djaʿfar has frequently appealed to the imagination of European as well as Arabian authors: in 1753 a French romance appeared, and again more recently, in 1904 (Aimé Giron and Albert Tozza, *Les nuits de Bagdad*).

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ʿABBĀSA, town in Egypt, the name of which derives from that of ʿAbbāsa, daughter of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. The princess had pitched her camp on its place and it was there that she said good-bye to Ḳatr al-Nadā, daughter of Khumārawayh, who was going to marry the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid. Around this casual encampment buildings were raised and Ḳaṣr ʿAbbāsa, the "palace of ʿAbbāsa", became the township of ʿAbbāsa. It was at that time the last town on the road to Syria, situated as it was at the entrance of the Wādī Tūmīlāt, that narrow strip of vegetation that reaches to the East as far as the Bitter Seas, and was called in the Middle Ages Wādī al-Sadīr and even Wādī ʿAbbāsa.

The town was, therefore, destined to play a military role and, in effect, it was a rallying point for troops during the last period of the Ṭūlūnids and again under the Mamlūks. A customs-house was established to collect duty on goods imported from Syria; it is mentioned in connection with certain adjustments of rates ordered by the sultan Barḳūḳ.

The Fāṭimids did not often leave their capital, but nevertheless, according to al-Maḳdisī, ʿAbbāsa had smarter houses than Fusṭāṭ, with protruding balconies. It was embellished especially by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil, who paid the town long visits. He had gardens laid out and pavilions built. The ruler came to hunt and to fish, and couriers on dromedaries brought him from Cairo the political and administrative news.

ʿAbbāsa kept until the end of the Mamlūk period its role as a meeting-place for hunts, and even Ḳāʾitbay used to visit it from time to time. The town had long since lost its strategic importance owing to the foundation of Ṣāliḥiyya about 35 miles to the North-East, and later that of Ẓāhiriyya, in the immediate neighbourhood of ʿAbbāsa.

The district was inhabited by beduin Arabs, who nomadized in the Wādī Ṭūmīlāt, and whose chief, according to some authorities, resided in ʿAbbāsa. Nevertheless, ʿAbbāsa is no longer mentioned in the Ottoman period and its name does not appear in al-Djabartī's chronicle. It was from Ṣāliḥiyya that the troops of Bonaparte watched the desert road. ʿAbbāsa is today an unimportant township, between Abū Ḥammād and Tall al-Kabīr.

Bibliography: In addition to the authors quoted in J. Maspéro and G. Wiet, *Matériaux*, *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 1245, see al-Maḳrīzī, ed. *MIFAO*, xlvi and xlix, index; Maḳdisī, 196; Kindī, 247; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, iii, 109-11, 135, 138, 139, 148; viii, 141; x, 170-1, 232; Ibn Iyās, ed. Kahle and Mustafa, iii, 65, 123, 188; transl. Wiet, ii, 74, 143, 214; Zaky Mohamed Hassan, *Les Tulunides* 147, 149, 179. (G. Wiet)

ʿABBĀSĀBĀD, name of numerous places in Persia. The best-known is a fortified borough lying by the Čashme-yi-gaz on the Khurāsān road, between Sabzawār (circa 75 miles) and Shāhrūd

(circa 68 miles), where Shāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] settled a colony of some hundred families of Georgians. In 1934 there remained only one old woman who remembered Georgian. Another ʿAbbāsābād was built by Prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*] on the left bank of the Araxes (near Nakhčuwān). Together with its *tête-de-pont* on the right bank, it was ceded to Russia by the treaty of 1828. (V. Minorsky)

ʿABBĀSĪ [see sikka]

ʿABBĀSIDS (Banu 'l-ʿAbbās), the dynasty of the Caliphs from 132/750 to 656/1258. The dynasty takes its name from its ancestor, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, the uncle of the Prophet.

The story of the origins and nature of the movement that overthrew the Umayyad Caliphate and established the ʿAbbāsid dynasty in its place was for long known only in the much-revised version put about when the dynasty had already attained power, and, with it, respectability. A more critical version was proposed by G. van Vloten (*De opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasan*, Leiden 1890, and *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le califat des Omayyades*, Amsterdam 1894), and developed by J. Wellhausen (in the final chapter of his *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902; English transl., Calcutta 1927). His findings, with some modifications, have been confirmed by subsequent research, and more especially by the new information that has come to light in recent years on the early history of the Shīʿa sects, notably in the *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* of al-Nawbakhtī (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931). They were to a remarkable degree anticipated by Ibn Khaldūn in his history.

The ʿAbbāsid party that won power from the Umayyads was known as Hāshimiyya. According to the later chronicles, this name referred to Hāshīm, the common ancestor of al-ʿAbbās, ʿAlī and the Prophet, and it has been taken as asserting a claim to the succession based on kinship with the Prophet. In fact the name was of a quite different significance, and reveals very clearly the true origins of the ʿAbbāsid party. During the Umayyad period the large number of Shīʿite and pro-Shīʿite sects and parties that flourished in different parts of the Empire, but especially in Southern ʿIrāḳ, may be broadly divided into two main groups. One of them followed the pretenders of the line of Fāṭima, and was, generally speaking, moderate, differing from the dominant faith chiefly by its support, on legitimist grounds, for the political claims of the house of ʿAlī. The other first appeared in the revolt of al-Mukhtār, who rose in 66/685 in the name of Muḥammad, a son of ʿAlī by a Ḥanafī woman. For the next sixty or seventy years the claims of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and his successors were advanced by a series of sects of a more extreme character, deriving their main support from the resentful and imperfectly Islamised *mawālī* and embodying in their teachings many ideas brought by these converts from their previous religions. After the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya in 81/700-1, his followers split into three main groups, one of which followed his son Abū Hāshim ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], and was known after him as Hāshimiyya. On the death of Abū Hāshim without issue in 98/716, his followers again split into several groups, one of which maintained that Abū Hāshim had bequeathed the Imamate to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, just before he died in the house of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī's father in Palestine. This group continued to be known as Hāshimiyya, and also as Rāwandiyya (cf. S. Moscati, *Il testamento di Abū Hašim*, *RSO* 1952, 28 ff.). It may be noted in passing that the doctrine that the Imamate can be bequeathed or transferred by the Imām to another person is by no means infrequent in early Shīʿism (see B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismāʿīlism*, Cambridge 1940, 25 ff. and 44 ff.).

Whether or not the story of the bequest of Abū Hāshim is, as has been suggested, fictitious, the main fact remains clear: that Muḥammad b. ʿAlī took over the claims of Abū Hāshim, and, with them, the sect and propaganda organisation of the Hāshimiyya, which he then proceeded to transform into the instrument of the ʿAbbāsid party. He seems to have lost little time in using it. The accounts given by the historians of the first ʿAbbāsid missions are incomplete and in part contradictory. Broadly, they indicate that intensive propaganda began from about 100/718. From headquarters in Kūfa, the Hāshimiyya sent emissaries to Khurāsān, one of whom, Khidāsh, won considerable success, but was executed in 118/736 after prematurely showing his hand. The moderate Shīʿa, whose support Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was still seeking, were alienated by the extreme doctrines taught by Khidāsh, and after his death Muḥammad deemed it advisable to disavow him and place his own organisation in Khurāsān under the control of the Shīʿite chief missionary, Sulaymān b. Kathīr [*q.v.*]. A period of inactivity followed, during which Muḥammad died in 125/743. His son Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] succeeded to his claims and was accepted by the followers in Khurāsān, including Sulaymān b. Kathīr. With Ibrāhīm a new phase of activity began. In 128/745-6 Ibrāhīm sent his *mawlā* Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] as his personal representative to Khurāsān. The sources differ on the origin of Abū Muslim, but agree that he was a Persian, and a freedman of Ibrāhīm. The use of the *kunya* was at that time a privilege rarely enjoyed by non-Arabs, and its employment by Persian emissaries of the ʿAbbāsids like Abū Muslim, his lieutenant Abū Djahm, and his rival Abū Salama al-Khallāl is not without significance. Considered in the light of the statements in some sources that Abū Muslim claimed or was granted membership of the ʿAbbāsid house, it may well be an example of the practice, common among the extreme Shīʿa, of granting to favoured supporters adoptive membership of the house of the Prophet, and thus, incidentally as it were, of the Arab nation. A modified form of this method of adoption later became part of the dynastic policy of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (see abnāʾ).

Abū Muslim's mission to Khurāsān achieved a rapid and resounding success. While his main appeal was to the Persian *mawālī*, he also found important support among the Yemenite Arabs, and is said to have won over many of the Zoroastrian and Buddhist *dihḳāns*, some of whom were now converted to Islam for the first time. Opinions differ as to the nature of Abū Muslim's teachings. Two things are clear however—that he was a loyal agent of the Hāshimiyya, and that they were a part of the extremist wing of the Shīʿa. It seems likely therefore that the doctrines he taught were of the kind current among the extreme Shīʿa—probably including elements of Iranian origin, and thus the more acceptable to those whom he addressed. The hoisting of the black flags, later accepted as the emblem of the house of ʿAbbās, had at this stage a messianic significance. Black flags were among the signs and portents listed in the eschatological prophecies current at the time, and had been used

as emblems of religious revolt by earlier rebels against the Umayyads. Their use by Abū Muslim was thus an appeal to messianic expectations. His activities aroused some opposition among the more moderate Arab Shīʿa, led by Sulaymān b. Kathīr, but a tactical withdrawal of Abū Muslim from Khurāsān was sufficient to demonstrate that no effective movement was possible without him and his policies, and led to his return as undisputed leader of the mission. By Ramaḍān 129/May-June 747 he was ready to show his hand. The time and the place were auspicious. The moderate Shīʿa and the Khawāridj, the two most important opposition movements against the Umayyads, had both shot their bolt — the former in the risings of 122/740 and 126/744, the latter in the rebellion of 127/745. These served the double purpose of weakening the Umayyad regime and, by their failure, eliminating possible rivals to the Hāshimī succession. ʿIrāḳ, the main centre of previous anti-Umayyad movements, was exhausted, and was moreover subject to special Umayyad surveillance. In concentrating their attention on Khurāsān, the ʿAbbāsids were breaking new grounds. Their choice was good. An active and warlike Persian population, imbued with the religious and military traditions of the frontier, was deeply resentful of the inequalities imposed by Umayyad rule. The Arab army and settlers, half Persianized by long residence, were sharply divided among themselves, and even during the triumphal progress of Abū Muslim diverted their own energies and those of the Umayyad governor, Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*], to Arab inter-tribal strife. Soon Abū Muslim was able to take Marw, and then, ably seconded by his general Ḳaḥṭaba [*q.v.*], an Arab of the tribe of Ṭayy, seized all Khurāsān from the crumbling Umayyad power. From Khurāsān the ʿAbbāsid forces advanced to Rayy and then, after defeating a relieving Umayyad army from Kirmān, captured Nihāwand. The way was now open to ʿIrāḳ. In 132/749 the ʿAbbāsid army crossed the Euphrates some 30 or 40 miles north of Kūfa, and engaged and defeated another Umayyad army led by Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*]. Ḳaḥṭaba fell on the field of battle, but his son, al-Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba, took command, and following up the victory, took possession of the city of Kūfa. Ibrāhīm al-Imām had fallen into the hands of the Caliph Marwān in 130/748, and died shortly after. It was therefore his brother, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] who was hailed as Caliph by the Hāshimī troops in Kūfa in 132/749, with the title al-Saffāḥ. The accession of the first ʿAbbāsid Caliph was accompanied by the first breach with the revolutionaries, when the missionary Abū Salama [*q.v.*] was put to death in obscure circumstances, allegedly for attempting to bring about the replacement of the ʿAbbāsids by the ʿAlids. Abū Muslim undertook his removal, perhaps in return for ʿAbbāsid acquiescence in the death of Sulaymān b. Kathīr. Meanwhile another ʿAbbāsid army, led by Abū ʿAwn, advanced from Nihāwand towards Mesopotamia. In 131/749, in the neighbourhood of Shahrazūr, east of the Lesser Zāb river, he inflicted a crushing defeat on an Umayyad army led by ʿAbd Allāh, the son of the caliph Marwān. Marwān now himself took the field, and marched across the Tigris towards the Greater Zāb river, to engage the army of Abū ʿAwn. The latter had meanwhile handed over his command to ʿAbd Allāh, the uncle of al-Saffāḥ, who had arrived from Kūfa with considerable reinforcements. The battle of the Greater Zāb, in 132/750, sealed the fate of the Umayyad Caliphate. The defeated Marwān fled to Syria, where he tried in vain to organize further resistance. The victorious ʿAbbāsid troops advanced through Ḥarrān, the residence of Marwān, into Syria, occupied Damascus, and then pursued Marwān into Egypt, where he was killed and his head sent to al-Saffāḥ in Kūfa. The authority o the new ʿAbbāsid caliph was now established all over the Middle East.

Much has been written about the historical significance of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, which historians have rightly seen to be something more than a mere change of dynasty. Many nineteenth century orientalists, unduly influenced by the racial theories of Gobineau and others, saw in the struggle a conflict between the Aryanism of Iran and the Semitism of Arabia, ending in a victory for the Persians over the Arabs, the destruction of what Wellhausen called the "Arab Kingdom" of the Umayyads, and the establishment of a new Iranian Empire under a cloak of Persianized Islam. There is at first sight much to support this view: the undoubted role of the Persians in the revolution itself, the prominent place of Persian ministers and courtiers in the new regime, the strong Persian elements in ʿAbbāsid government and culture. It is not surprising to find some statements to the same effect in the Arabic sources (Cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 292; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, iii, 181 and 206; etc.). More recent writers have however made important modifications in the theories both of Persian victory and of Arab defeat. Shīʿism, for long regarded as an expression of the "Iranian national consciousness", was of Arab origin, and had its main centre among the mixed Arab, Aramaean and Persian population of southern ʿIrāḳ. It was taken to Persia by Arabs, and remained strongest in areas of Arab settlement like Ḳumm. The revolt of Abū Muslim was directed against Umayyad and Syrian rather than Arab rule as such, and won the support of many Arabs, especially among the Yemenites. There were many Arabs even among its leaders, including the redoubtable general Ḳaḥṭaba. Though racial antagonisms no doubt played their part in the movement, and though Persians were prominent among the victors, they nevertheless served an Arab dynasty, and, as the fate of Abū Muslim, Abū Salama and the Barmakids shows, received short shrift if they fell foul of their masters. Many high offices under the state were at first reserved to Arabs, Arabic was still the sole official language, Arabian land remained fiscally privileged, and the doctrine of Arab superiority remained strong enough, on the one hand, to induce Persians to provide themselves with fabricated Arab pedigrees, on the other to provoke the nationalist reaction of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*]. What the Arabs had lost was the exclusive right to the fruits of power. Persians as well as Arabs came to the ʿAbbāsid court, and the favour of the ruler, often expressed in the form of "adoption" into the Royal household, rather than pure Arab descent, came to be the passport to power and prestige. If a term must be set to the Arab Kingdom, it must be sought in the gradual cessation of the allowances and pensions formerly paid as of right to the Arab warriors and their families, and in the rise to power of the Turkish guards from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim.

The real significance of the ʿAbbāsid victory must be sought in the facts of the change that followed it, rather than in dubiously documented hypotheses on the movement that produced it. The first and most obvious change was the transfer of the centre of gravity from Syria to ʿIrāḳ, the traditional centre

of the great cosmopolitan Empires of the ancient Middle East, and of the civilisation to which Toynbee has given the name "Syriac". The first ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ set up his capital in the small town of Hāshimiyya, which he built on the east bank of the Euphrates near Kūfa. Later he transferred the capital to al-Anbār. It was his brother and successor, al-Manṣūr, in many ways the real founder of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, who established the permanent capital of the Empire in a new city on the west bank of the Tigris, near the ruins of Ctesiphon and at the intersection of several trade-routes. Its official name was Madīnat al-Salām, but it is usually known by the name of the small town that previously occupied the site—Baghdād.

From this city or its neighbourhood the ʿAbbāsid dynasty first ruled, and later reigned, as heads of the greater part of the Islamic world for five centuries. The period of their sovereignty, covering the great epoch of classical Islamic civilisation, may be conveniently considered in two parts. The first, from 132/750 to 334/945, saw the gradual decline of the authority of the caliphs and the rise of military leaders ruling through their troops. During the second, from ca. 334/945 to 656/1258, the caliphs, with one exception, retained a purely nominal suzerainty, while real power, even in Baghdād itself, was exercised by dynasties of secular sovereigns.

The main events of these two periods will be treated under the names of the various caliphs, dynasties, places, etc. Here only the broad outline of events will be given, and an attempt made to describe the main characteristics of each period.

1. 132/750—334/945

The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate in the days following its establishment must have seemed very insecure to contemporary eyes. Rebels rose against it on every side and for a long time every new caliph had to face risings in and around even the metropolitan province of ʿIrāḳ. In Syria, Arab supporters of the deposed Umayyads gave trouble, and found encouragement in the growing legend of the Sufyānī, a messianic figure of the house of Umayya who competed with the ʿAlid pretenders for the support of the discontented. The ʿAlids themselves, temporarily disorganised by the frustration of their hopes, and kept under close surveillance, were for a time in eclipse, but soon reappeared as the most dangerous and determined opponents of ʿAbbāsid rule. Even the Khawāridj remained an active, if minor, opposition force. Nor were the ostensible supporters of the dynasty wholly reliable. In the prevailing atmosphere of mistrust, only members of the ʿAbbāsid family were appointed to the highest positions —but when Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ died and his brother Abū Djaʿfar succeeded as Caliph with the title al-Manṣūr, their uncle, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, commanding the troops and raiders on the Byzantine frontier, revolted and proclaimed himself caliph, and this serious threat was averted thanks in the main to Abū Muslim. There remained the problem of Abū Muslim himself and the Hāshimiyya. The ʿAbbāsids, like others before and after them who had come to power on the crest of a revolutionary movement, soon found themselves faced with a conflict between the tenets and objectives of the movement on the one hand and the needs of government and Empire on the other. The ʿAbbāsids chose continuity and orthodoxy, and had to face the angry disappointment of some of their followers. Abū Salama had already been destroyed. Abū Muslim himself was put to death as soon as al-Manṣūr felt strong enough to dispense with his uncomfortable presence. These steps, and the suppression of the more consistent wing of the Rāwandiyya [*q.v.*], alienated the extremist following of the ʿAbbāsids, some of whom found an outlet in a series of religio-political revolts in Īrān, while others later joined the ranks of the Ismāʿīlīs, the extremist wing of the Fāṭimid Shīʿa that grew up in the course of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries. At the same time, however, the changes reassured the orthodox, thus helping al-Manṣūr to meet the dangers of rebellion and foreign war, and during his long and brilliant reign, to lay the foundations of ʿAbbāsid government. In this task, and especially in the elaboration of the centralised administrative structure, al-Manṣūr was ably seconded by a family that was to play a vital role during the first half century of ʿAbbāsid rule. The Barmakids [*q.v.*] are usually described as Persians, but they were of a very different kind from the Khurāsānian rebels who followed Abū Muslim. Their religion before conversion to Islam was neither Zoroastrianism nor any of its heresies, but Buddhism, and they belonged to the aristocratic, landowning priesthood of the Central Asian city of Balkh, an ancient capital whose imperial and commercial traditions provided a fund of experience to the ruling class of its citizens. It was after the foundation of Baghdād that Khālid al-Barmakī appeared as the righthand man of al-Manṣūr, and thereafter he and his descendants developed and directed the administration of the Empire, until the dramatic and still unexplained fall of the Barmakids from power under Hārūn al-Rashīd in 187/803. With the transfer of the centre of the Empire to the East, the destruction of the Arab aristocratic monopoly of high office, and the firm establishment in power of the Barmakids, Persian influences became stronger and stronger. Sasanid Persian models were followed in the court and the government, and Persians began to play an increasingly important part in both political and cultural life. This process of Persianisation continued during the reigns of al-Mahdī and al-Hādī; the prejudice against the employment of *mawālī* in high places gradually disappeared. To replace the weakening bond of Arab nationality the caliphs laid increased stress on Islamic orthodoxy and conformity, trying to weld their cosmopolitan Empire into a unity based on a common faith and a common way of life. Al-Manṣūr's renunciation of the heterodox origins of the ʿAbbāsid movement was followed under his successors by a deliberate policy of wooing the orthodox theologians and makers of opinion, and laying a greater stress on the religious element in the nature of the authority exercised by the caliphs. This policy, when contrasted with the dissolute lives led by many of the caliphs and their courtiers, often led to charges of hypocrisy, but was in the main successful in achieving its object. Mecca and Medina were rebuilt, the pilgrimage from ʿIrāḳ organised on a regular basis, and orthodoxy reinforced by an inquisitorial persecution of the various heretical movements and of Manichaeism, which at this time became prominent, under the name of Zandaḳa, as a revolutionary movement of the poorer classes (see ZINDĪḲ). For a time an attempt was made to impose the Muʿtazilī doctrine, which, if H. S. Nyberg's attractive hypothesis is correct (see EI[1] AL-MUʿTAZILA), was an official ʿAbbāsid attempt at a compromise with the Shīʿa. From the

time of al-Mutawakkil this attempt was abandoned, and thereafter the ʿAbbāsids adhered, formally at least, to the most rigid orthodoxy.

The reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd is generally regarded as the apogee of ʿAbbāsid power, but it is at this time that the first portents of decline are seen. In Persia, the series of religious revolts that had followed the martyrdom of Abū Muslim became ever more threatening, and challenged ʿAbbāsid authority in the Caspian provinces as well as in Khurāsān. In the west, ʿAbbāsid authority disappeared almost completely. Spain had rejected the ʿAbbāsids and become independent under an Umayyad prince as far back as 138/756. After the death of Yazīd b. Ḥātim, the last effective ʿAbbāsid governor of North Africa, in 170/787, independent dynasties arose, first in Morocco and then in Tunisia, and the authority of Baghdād was never again asserted west of Egypt. The Aghlabids of Tunisia, exercising hereditary and independent rule under the nominal suzerainty of the caliph, set the pattern for a whole series of subsequent local hereditary governorships, whose encroachments eventually reduced the effective sovereignty of the Caliphate to central and southern ʿIrāḳ. Another danger-sign showed the weakness of the defences of the Empire. By ʿAbbāsid times the frontiers of Islam were more or less stabilised. The only foreign wars of any importance were with the Byzantines, and even these seem to have been of more show than effect. The inconclusive campaigns of Hārūn were the last major offensives launched against Byzantium by the Caliphate. Thereafter Islam was on the defensive. Byzantine armies sought out weak points in Syria and Mesopotamia, while Khazar invaders entered Islamic territory in the Caucasus and Armenia. Perhaps the most serious factor of weakness was the obscure internal convulsion that culminated in the degradation of the Barmakids and the assumption by Hārūn of the reins of power in his own not too competent hands. This step seems to have shaken the alliance with the Persian aristocratic wing of the movement that had brought them to power, which the early ʿAbbāsids had maintained long after shedding the more extremist elements. After Hārūn's death, smouldering conflicts burst into civil war between his sons al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. Al-Amīn's strength lay mainly in the capital and in ʿIrāḳ, al-Maʾmūn's in Persia, and the civil war has been interpreted as a national conflict between Arabs and Persians, ending in a victory for the latter. The same objections can be raised to this explanation as to the corresponding theory concerning the ʿAbbāsid revolution itself. The civil war was more probably a continuation of the social struggles of the immediately preceding period, complicated by a regional rather than national conflict between Persia and ʿIrāḳ. Al-Maʾmūn, relying on eastern support, for a while projected the transfer of the capital from Baghdād to Marw, but some time after his victory wisely decided to return to the Imperial city. Thereafter Persian aristocratic and regional aspirations found an outlet in local dynasties. In 205/820 Ṭāhir, the Persian general of al-Maʾmūn, made himself virtually independent in Khurāsān, and founded a dynasty. His example was followed by others, who, while for the most part still recognizing the suzerainty of the caliphs, deprived them of all effective authority in most of Persia.

While the power of the caliphs in the provinces was gradually being reduced to the granting of diplomas of investiture to the *de facto* rulers, their authority even in ʿIrāḳ itself was dwindling. A spendthrift court and a inflated bureaucracy produced chronic financial disorder, aggravated by the loss of provincial revenues and, subsequently, by the exhaustion or loss to invaders of gold and silver mines. The caliphs found a remedy in the farming out of state revenues, eventually with the local governors as tax-farmers. These farmer-governors soon became the real rulers of the Empire, the more so when tax-farms and governorships were held by army commanders, who alone had the force to impose obedience. From the time of al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāthiḳ, the caliphs became the puppets of their own generals, who were often able to appoint and depose them at will. Al-Muʿtaṣim is usually credited with the introduction of the practice of using Turks from Central Asia as soldiers and officers, and from his time the dominant military caste became mainly Turkish. In 221/836 he built a new residence at Sāmarrā, some 60 miles north of Baghdād. Sāmarrā remained the Imperial residence until 279/892, when al-Muʿtamid returned to Baghdād. Its foundation illustrates the growing gulf between the caliph and his praetorians on the one hand and the people of Baghdād on the other. Its art and architecture illustrate the emergence of a new ruling caste with different tastes and traditions. Under al-Wāthiḳ the power of the Turks continued to grow. A serious attempt to reassert the supremacy of the Caliphate was made by his successor al-Mutawakkil, who tried to break the power of the Turkish guards and to rally support against them among the theologians and the civil population, whose orthodox fanaticism he sought to placate by renouncing and suppressing the Muʿtazilī doctrines of his predecessors and enforcing the regulations against the Christians and Jews. The attempt ended in failure. The murder of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861 was followed by a period of anarchy. During an interval of nine years four caliphs succeeded one another, but all were helpless in the hands of the Turkish guards, whose control of the court and the capital grew firmer, while the provinces relapsed into anarchy or, at best, autonomy. In Southern ʿIrāḳ a revolt broke out among the negro slaves, known as Zandj [*q.v.*], who worked on the salt marshes near Baṣra. This rapidly developed into a major threat to the Empire. The Zandj leader, who displayed brilliant generalship, defeated several imperial armies, and was able to establish effective control over much of Southern ʿIrāḳ and South West Persia. The lines of communication linking Baghdād with Baṣra, and therefore with the Persian Gulf and the trade route to the East, were cut, and by 264/877 Zandj parties were raiding within 17 miles of Baghdād itself. But meanwhile a period of greater stability had begun in the capital. The caliph al-Muʿtamid, who succeeded in 256/870, was not a very effective ruler, but his brother al-Muwaffaḳ soon became the real master of the capital, and during the twenty years of his rule did much to restore the failing strength of the house of ʿAbbās. His first task was to restore order and stability in Baghdād itself, then to tackle the problems presented by the Zandj and by the encroachments of provincial leaders, especially the Ṣaffārids in Persia and the Ṭulūnids in Egypt and Syria. By 269/882 he had expelled the Zandj from all their conquests, and in 270/883 finally crushed them. Though failing to destroy the Ṣaffārids and Ṭulūnids, he did succeed in checking their ambitions, and facilitated the task of his successors. On the

death of al-Muwaffaḳ in 278/891, he was succeeded as real ruler by his son al-Muʿtaḍid, who became caliph on the death of al-Muʿtamid in the following year. Al-Muʿtaḍid and his successor al-Muktafī were both able and energetic rulers. In Persia and Egypt the authority of the Caliphate was for a time reasserted, leaving the government free to deal with the menace of Shīʿism, now active again in a militant and extreme form. After the rise of the ʿAbbāsids and the consequent disappearance of the Ḥanafī line of pretenders, it was the Fāṭimid line of Imāms who commanded the support of most of the Shīʿa. After the death of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ in 148/765, these split into two groups, one of which, known as Ismāʿīlī, inherited many of the functions, doctrines and followers of the vanished Ḥanafiyya. The transformation of the Caliphate in the 8th and 9th centuries from an agrarian, military state to a cosmopolitan Empire with an intensive commercial and industrial life, the growth of large cities and the concentration of capital and labour, subjected the loose social structure of the Empire to grave strain, and engendered widespread discontent. The rapid growth of the intellectual life of Islam, and the clash of cultures and ideas resulting from outside influence and internal development, again helped to prepare the way for the spread of heretical movements which, in a theocratic society, were the only possible expression of moral or material dissent from the existing order. The endemic disorders and upheavals of the late 9th and early 10th centuries brought these strains to breaking point, and the caliphs were called upon to deal with a series of challenges ranging in form from the revolutionary violence of the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*] in Baḥrayn, Syria-Mesopotamia and Southern Arabia, to the more subtle and ultimately more effective criticism of peaceful moralists and mystics in Baghdād itself. Al-Muʿtaḍid died after a defeat at the hand of the Ḳarmaṭians, but his successor al-Muktafī managed to crush the Ḳarmaṭian revolt in Syria and Mesopotamia, and, at the time of his death in 295/908, was leading a successful counter-attack against the Byzantines, who had sought to exploit the anarchy of the Muslim Empire. The Shīʿite danger was however far from ended. After a brief struggle for power, al-Muktafī was succeeded by his brother al-Muḳtadir, still a boy of 13. During his minority, and the long and ineffective reign that followed it, the destructive tendencies halted by the regent al-Muwaffaḳ and his two successors reappeared. The Ḳarmaṭians resumed their activities, and from their bases in Baḥrayn threatened the life-lines of the Caliphate, while in the west another wing of the Ismāʿīlī movement established a Fāṭimid anti-Caliphate in Tunisia. In North Syria the beduin Ḥamdānid dynasty established itself, while in Persia another Shīʿite family, the Būyids, began to build a new dynasty that soon threatened even ʿIrāḳ. In the capital, growing disorder and confusion culminated in the death of the caliph, while fighting his general Muʾnis. Under his successors al-Ḳāhir and al-Rāḍī, the decay of the authority of the Caliphate was completed. The event that is usually taken to symbolise this process was the grant to the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Ibn Rāʾiḳ, of the title *amīr al-umarāʾ*—Commander of Commanders. This title, apparently intended to assert the primacy of the military commander of Baghdād over his colleagues elsewhere, served at the same time to give formal recognition to the existence of a supreme temporal authority, exercising effective political and military power, and leaving the caliph only as formal head of the state and the faith and representative of the religious unity of Islam. In 344/945 came the ultimate degradation, when the Būyid Amīr Muʿizz al-Dawla entered Baghdād, and the title of *amīr al-umarāʾ*, and with it the effective control of the city of the caliphs, passed into the hands of a Shīʿite dynast.

Almost two centuries had passed between the enthronement of al-Saffāḥ and the arrival of Muʿizz al-Dawla. Though most of the period still awaits adequate investigation, certain broad lines of development can be discerned. In government, the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs continued along the lines of the late Umayyads, with far less break in continuity than was at one time believed. Certain changes, begun under the preceding dynasty, continued at an accelerated pace. From an Arab super-shaykh governing by the intermittent consent of the Arab aristocracy, the caliph became an autocrat, claiming a divine origin for his authority, resting it on his armed forces, and exercising it through a vast and growing bureaucratic organisation. Stronger in this respect than the Umayyads, the ʿAbbāsids were nevertheless weaker than the old oriental despots, in that they lacked the support of an established feudal caste and a priestly hierarchy, and were themselves theoretically subject to the Holy Law, of the authority of which their office was the supreme embodiment. With the transfer of the capital to the East and the entry of increasing numbers of Persians into the service of the caliphs, Persian influences grew in the court and the administration, which was organised in a series of *dīwāns* [*q.v.*] or ministries, under the supreme control of the *wazīr* [*q.v.*]. Provincial government was carried on jointly by the *amīr* [*q.v.*] (Governor) and *ʿāmil* [*q.v.*] (financial administrator), under the general surveillance of the capital, exercised through the agents of the *ṣāḥib al-barīd* (Director of Posts and Intelligence) (see BARĪD). In the army the Arab element gradually lost its importance, and the pensions formerly paid to Arabs were discontinued except for serving soldiers. The core of the early ʿAbbāsid army consisted of the Khurāsānīs, a term that is to be understood in a regional rather than national sense, and covering both Arabs and Persians from Khurāsān. In time these gave way to the Turkish slave troops, who from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim onwards became the main element in the army and, in consequence, the main source of political authority for the various amīrs and commanders whose power replaced that of the caliphs.

The ʿAbbāsids came to power through a religious movement, and sought in religion the basis of unity and authority in the Empire they ruled. While broadly successful in this purpose, they had throughout to contend with a series of religious opposition movements, and with the mistrust or reserve of the more conscientious elements among the Sunnī religious leaders.

The political breakdown of the 9th and 10th centuries, resulting in the fragmentation of power in the Empire as a whole and the decline and eventual collapse of authority in the capital, had no immediate ill-effects on the economic and cultural life of the Caliphate. The ʿAbbāsid accession had been followed by a great economic revival, based on the exploitation of the resources of the Empire through industry and trade, and the development of a vast network of trade relations both within the Empire and with the world outside. These changes brought

important social consequences. The Arab warrior caste was deposed, and replaced by a ruling class of landowners and bureaucrats, professional soldiers and *literati*, merchants and men of learning. The Islamic town was transformed from a garrison city to a market and exchange, and in time to the centre of a flourishing and diversified urban culture. The literature, art, theology, philosophy and science of the period is examined elsewhere (in individual articles). Here it need only be remarked that this was the classic age of Islam, when a new, rich and original civilisation, born of the confluence of many races and traditions, came to maturity.

2. 334/945—656/1258

During the long period from the Būyid occupation of Bāghdād to the conquest of the city by the Mongols, the Caliphate became a purely titular institution, representing the headship of Sunnī Islam, and acting as legitimating authority for the numerous secular rulers who exercised effective sovereignty, both in the provinces and in the capital. The caliphs themselves, except for a brief revival towards the end, were at the mercy of the secular rulers, who appointed and deposed them at will, and only one of them, al-Nāṣir, has left any mark on history. The appointment of Ibn Rāʾiḳ as *amīr al-umarāʾ* was the first of a long series, and marked the formal recognition of the office of secular sovereign. The main history of the period will be found in the articles on the various dynasties that held it.

In the second quarter of the 10th century a number of princes of the Shīʿite Persian house of Būya (or Buwayh), originating in the highlands of Daylam, extended their rule over most of western Persia, and forced the caliphs to grant them legal recognition. In 334/945 the Būyid prince Muʿizz al-Dawla entered Baghdād, and wrung from the caliph al-Mustakfī the title of *amīr al-umarāʾ*. For over a century the caliphs were compelled to submit to the final humiliation of accepting these Shīʿite mayors of the palace as absolute masters. Despite their Shīʿism, the Būyids made no attempt to install an ʿAlid caliph—the twelfth Imām of the Ithnā-ʿasharī Shīʿa had disappeared some 70 years earlier—but gave outward homage to the ʿAbbāsids, retaining them as an orthodox cover for their own power and an instrument of their policy in the Sunnī world. It was from the extremist Shīʿa that the real threat to the ʿAbbāsids came. In 356/969 the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimids from Tunisia conquered Egypt, and were soon able to extend their power into Syria and Arabia. For the first time a powerful independent dynasty ruled in the Middle East that did not recognize even the titular authority of the ʿAbbāsids, but on the contrary founded a Caliphate of their own, challenging the ʿAbbāsids for the headship of the whole Islamic world. The political and military power of the Fāṭimids was supported by an elaborate religious organisation, commanding a multitude of agents, propagandists and sympathisers in the ʿAbbāsid dominions, and also by a skilful economic policy aimed at diverting the Eastern trade from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, and thus at the same time strengthening Egypt and weakening ʿIrāḳ. (See B. Lewis, ***The Fatimids and the Route to India***, ***Istanbul Iktisat Fak. Mecm.***, 1950, 355-60). It is indeed arguable that the diversion of Shīʿite energies due to the predominance of the Būyids in the East was one of the factors that saved the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate from extinction at this time (see H. A. R. Gibb, ***The Caliphate and the Arab States***, in ***History of the Crusades***, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, vol. i.).

In time the Būyid Empire broke up into a number of smaller states, under Būyid and other rulers, while in Persia the power of a new dynasty, the Seldjuḳs, was steadily growing. By the middle of the 11th century Būyid power was at an end, and a Turkish general called al-Basāsīrī was able to occupy Baghdād and proclaim the *khuṭba* in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph. This brief episode was the high water mark of Fāṭimid power. In 447/1055 the Seldjuḳ Ṭughrīl-beg entered Baghdād, and had himself proclaimed as Sulṭān. This title is often attributed by the chroniclers to earlier rulers who exercised a sovereignty not greatly different from that of the Seldjuḳs. The Seldjuḳ sulṭāns of Baghdād appear however to be the first to have used the title officially and inscribed it on their coins. In effect the Seldjuḳ Great Sultanate, which lasted about a century, was the logical development of the office of *amīr al-umarāʾ*, and the title has remained in use ever since for the holder of supreme secular power. The Seldjuḳs brought several important changes. Unlike their predecessors they were Turks and Sunnīs, and with their advent the power of the Turks, that had been growing intermittently since the time of al-Muʿtaṣim, was finally established. By now the Turks in the Middle East were no longer all slave or freed soldiers, imported from Central Asia; whole clans of free, nomadic Turks began to migrate westwards, playing an increasingly important role and in time changing the ethnic configuration of the Middle East. The replacement of a Shīʿī by a Sunnī ruler increased the prestige though not the power of the caliphs, as did also the extension of the rule of the central government, and therefore of the nominal sovereignty of the caliphs, over many hitherto independent lands. The period of the Seldjuḳs, and of the Seldjuḳid and Atābeg dynasties that followed the break-up of the Great Sultanate, brought two major changes. One was the regularisation of the economic and social changes that had been taking place in the preceding period, and the elaboration of a new social and fiscal order of quasi-feudal character; the other was the campaign against the Shīʿite menace, both on the political and military level through the suppression of Shīʿite dynasties and movements, and on the intellectual level through the creation of a network of *madrasas* [*q.v.*] to serve as centres for the formulation and defence of Sunnī orthodoxy against the Shīʿite propagandists. Both changes encountered a vigorous reaction in the form of the Assassins (see NIZĀRĪS), an active and energetic revolutionary movement that rose from the ruins of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* and offered a bitter and sustained challenge to Seldjuḳ rule and Sunnī orthodoxy. The Assassins ultimately failed, and thereafter Shīʿism was never again a major political factor until the rise of the Ṣafawids.

After the break-up of the Great Sultanate, ʿIrāḳ fell under the domination of a local dynasty of Seldjuḳ princes, the last of whom was Ṭughrīl II (573-590/1177-1194). The collapse of his power and the absence of any alternative enabled the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir to make a final attempt to restore the lost authority of the Caliphate. The moment was favourable—of the two major dynasties of the Middle East, the Ayyūbids in Egypt and Syria were preoccupied with the struggle against the Crusaders, the Khwārizm-shāh in the East with his wars against other Turkish dynasties and then against the Mongols. In this power vacuum, al-Nāṣir attempted

to create a kind of State of the Church for the Caliphate in Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ, and to buttress his authority by seeking popular support through the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] organisations and making adroit use of pro-ʿAlid sentiment. It was however only the diversion of their energies to meet the Mongol threat in the East that saved him from destruction by the Khwārizm-shāhs. Al-Nāṣir's successors were weak and incompetent, and when the Mongol general Hūlākū, having already conquered Persia, appeared before Baghdād in 656/1258, the last caliph al-Mustaʿṣim was unable to offer any serious resistance.

The Mongol conquest of Baghdād and the destruction of the Caliphate are usually described as a major catastrophe in the history of Islam. Certainly they mark the end of an epoch—not only in the outward forms of government and sovereignty, but in Islamic civilisation itself, which after the transformation wrought by the great wave of Tatar invasion flows in new channels, different from those of the preceding centuries. But the immediate moral effects of the destruction of the Caliphate have been overrated. The Caliphate had long ceased to exist as an effective institution, and the Mongols did little more than lay the ghost of something that was already dead. To the real organs of temporal power the Mongol invasions made little difference, the only change being that the Sultanate now began to acquire *de jure* recognition, and sultans began to arrogate to themselves titles and prerogatives formerly reserved to the caliphs.

The ʿAbbāsid Caliphs of Egypt

The establishment by Baybars of an ʿAbbāsid shadow-Caliphate in Cairo in 659/1261 has been explained by R. Hartmann as follows: the disappearance of the Caliphate in Baghdad created a political vacuum, affecting not so much the theologians as the secular rulers, who still felt the need for a legitimating authority. Abū Numayy, the Sharīf of Mecca, gave formal recognition to the Ḥafṣid ruler of Tunisia Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who had assumed the title of caliph, with the regnal name of al-Mustanṣir, in 650/1253. This assumption, made before the fall of Baghdād, was not in the Sunnī juristic sense of the word caliph, but in that of North Africa, conditioned by Almohad claims and practices. It acquired a new value from Abū Numayy's recognition, confirmed by Mamlūk action in sending a report on the victory of ʿAyn Djālūt to Abū ʿAbd Allāh and addressing him as *amīr al-muʾminīn*—Commander of the Faithful. Baybars, stronger than his predecessor, preferred not to give this recognition to a powerful and possibly dangerous neighbour, and instead solved the problems of legitimacy and continuity by installing an ʿAbbāsid refugee as caliph in Cairo, with the same regnal name of al-Mustanṣir.

For the next two and a half centuries a line of ʿAbbāsids succeeded one another as nominal caliphs under the rule of the Mamlūk Sultans in Cairo. Except for a brief interval in 815/1412, when the caliph al-Mustaʿīn became a stop-gap ruler for six months in the course of a feud between rival claimants to the Sultanate, the caliphs in Cairo were completely helpless and powerless, being in effect little more than minor court pensioners with purely ceremonial duties to perform on the accession of a new sultan. Attempts by the Mamlūk sultans to use their ʿAbbāsid protegés as a means of gaining recognition in other Muslim countries met with some limited success, notably in India and in the Ottoman Empire where Bāyezīd I applied to the Cairo caliph in 1394 for a diploma granting him the title of sulṭān. But the Ottoman view of the Cairo Caliphate is perhaps best expressed by the 15th-century historian Yazīdjīoghlu ʿAlī, who in describing the role of the patriarch at the Byzantine court calls him "the caliph of the Christians"—a comparison that is far nearer the truth than the more common one between the caliph and the Pope (cf. P. Wittek, in *BSOS*, 1952, 649 f.).

In 1517 the last caliph al-Mutawakkil was deposed by Selīm I, the Ottoman conquerer of Syria and Egypt, and the ʿAbbāsid shadow-Caliphate abolished. A story that al-Mutawakkil transferred his title to Selīm, and through him, to the Ottoman house, was first published by Mouradgea d'Ohsson in 1788 (*Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, i, 269-70), and thereafter won wide acceptance. Barthold however showed this story to be completely without foundation, and it is now generally rejected by scholars [see KHALĪFA].

A.H.		A.D.
132	Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ	750
136	al-Manṣūr	754
158	al-Mahdī	775
169	al-Hādī	785
170	Hārūn al-Rashīd	786
193	al-Amīn	809
198	al-Maʾmūn	813
218	al-Muʿtaṣim	833
227	al-Wāthiḳ	842
232	al-Mutawakkil	847
247	al-Muntaṣir	861
248	al-Mustaʿīn	862
252	al-Muʿtazz	866
255	al-Muhtadī	869
256	al-Muʿtamid	870
279	al-Muʿtaḍid	892
289	al-Muktafī	902
295	al-Muḳtadir	908
320	al-Ḳāhir	932

A.H.		A.D.
322	al-Rāḍī	934
329	al-Muttakī	940
333	al-Mustakfī	944
334	al-Muṭīʿ	946
363	al-Ṭāʾiʿ	974
381	al-Ḳādir	991
422	al-Ḳāʾim	1031
467	al-Muḳtafī	1075
487	al-Mustaẓhir	1094
512	al-Mustarshid	1118
529	al-Rāshid	1135
530	al-Muḳtafī	1136
555	al-Mustandjid	1160
566	al-Mustaḍīʾ	1170
575	al-Nāṣir	1180
622	al-Ẓāhir	1225
623	al-Mustanṣir	1226
640-656	al-Mustaʿṣim	1242-1258

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ʿABBĀSID CALIPHS OF BAGHDĀD

- ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib
  - ʿAbd Allāh
    - ʿAlī
      - Muḥammad
        - Ibrāhīm
        - 1. al-Saffāḥ
        - 2. al-Manṣūr
          - 3. al-Mahdī
            - 4. al-Hādī
            - 5. al-Rashīd
              - 6. al-Amīn
              - 7. al-Maʾmūn
              - 8. al-Muʿtaṣim
                - Muḥammad
                  - 12. al-Mustaʿīn
                - 9. al-Wāthiḳ
                  - 14. al-Muhtadī
                - 10. al-Mutawakkil
                  - 11. al-Muntaṣir
                  - 13. al-Muʿtazz
                    - Ibn al-Muʿtazz
                  - 15. al-Muʿtamid
                  - al-Muwaffaḳ
                    - 16. al-Muʿtaḍid
                      - 17. al-Muktafī
                        - 22. al-Mustakfī
                      - 18. al-Muḳtadir
                        - al-Rāḍī
                        - 21. al-Muttaḳī
                          - 25. al-Ḳādir
                            - 26. al-Ḳāʾim
                              - Muḥammad Dhakhīrat al-Dīn
                                - 27. al-Muḳtadī
                                  - 28. al-Mustaẓhir
                                    - 29. al-Mustarshid
                                      - 30. al-Rāshid
                                    - 31. al-Muḳtafī
                                      - 32. al-Mustandjid
                                        - 33. al-Mustaḍīʿ
                                          - 34. al-Nāṣir
                                            - 35. al-Ẓāhir
                                              - 36. al-Mustanṣir
                                                - 37. al-Mustaʿṣim
                                              - al-Mustanṣir (caliph in Egypt)
                        - 23. al-Muṭīʿ
                          - 24. al-Ṭāʾiʿ
                      - 19. al-Ḳāhir
            - al-Manṣūr
            - Ibrāhīm
      - ʿAbd Allāh
      - ʿĪsā
      - Sulaymān

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ʿABBĀSID CALIPHS IN EGYPT
(after Khalīl Edhem, *Düwel-i islāmiye*, p. 21)

- al-Mustaẓhir
  - al-Mustarshid
    - al-Rāshid
    - Abū Bakr
      - ʿAlī
        - al-Ḥasan
          - 2. al-Ḥākim I
            - Aḥmad
              - 4. al-Wāthiḳ I
                - 8. al-Muʿtaṣim
                - 9. al-Wāthiḳ II
            - 3. al-Mustakfī I
              - 5. al-Ḥākim II
              - 6. al-Muʿtaḍid I
                - 7. al-Mutawakkil I
                  - 10. al-Mustaʿīn
                    - 15. al-Mutawakkil II
                      - 16. al-Mustamsik
                        - 17. al-Mutawakkil III
                  - 11. al-Muʿtaḍid II
                  - 12. al-Mustakfī II
                  - 13. al-Ḳāʾim
                  - 14. al-Mustandjid
  - al-Muḳtafī
    - al-Mustandjid
      - al-Mustaḍīʾ
        - al-Nāṣir
          - al-Ẓāhir
            - al-Mustanṣir (caliph in Baghdād)
            - 1. al-Mustanṣir

According to others, the second Caliph, al-Ḥākim I, was descended directly from al-Rāshid in the following manner: al-Ḥākim b. ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Rāshid.

ʿABBĀSID CALIPHS IN EGYPT

		A.D.
659	al-Mustanṣir billāh Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Aḥmad	1261
660	al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad	1261
701	al-Mustakfī billāh Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ Sulaymān	1302
740	al-Wāthiḳ billāh Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm	1340
741	al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad	1341
753	al-Muʿtaḍid billāh Abu ʾl-Fatḥ Abū Bakr	1352
763	al-Mutawakkil ʿala ʾllāh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad	1362
779	al-Muʿtaṣim (al-Mustaʿṣim) billāh Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyaʾ	1377
779	al-Mutawakkil ʿala ʾllāh (second time)	1377
785	al-Wāthiḳ billāh ʿUmar	1383
788	al-Muʿtaṣim billāh (second time)	1386
791	al-Mutawakkil ʿala ʾllāh (third time)	1389
808	al-Mustaʿīn billāh Abu ʾl-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās	1406
816	al-Muʿtaḍid billāh Abu ʾl-Fatḥ Dāwūd	1414
845	al-Mustakfī billāh Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ Sulaymān	1441
855	al-Ḳāʾim bi-Amr Allāh Abū l-Baḳāʾ Ḥamza	1451
859	al-Mustandjid billāh Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin Yūsuf	1455
884	al-Mutawakkil ʿala ʾllāh Abu ʾl-ʿIzz ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	1479
903	al-Mustamsik billāh Abu ʾl-Ṣabr Yaʿḳūb	1497
914	al-Mutawakkil ʿala ʾllāh Muḥammad	1508-9
922-923	al-Mustamsik billāh (second time; as representative of his son al-Mutawakkil)	1516-17

The sources for the history of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate are too numerous for anything more than a general statement to be possible. A fuller discussion of the literature will be found in J. Sauvaget, *Introduction a l'histoire du monde musulman*, Paris 1943, 126 ff., and of the historians in D. S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians*, Calcutta 1930 (cf. TAʾRĪKH). The first group to be considered are the chroniclers. While a large proportion of these have been published, especially for the earlier period, surprisingly little use has been made of them, and most of the ʿAbbāsid period still awaits its monographers. Still less attention has been paid to the *adab* literature, perhaps the best expression of the outlook and attitude of the secular literate classes who administered the Empire, and a fruitful source of historical information. Travel and geography, poetry, theology and law all have an important contribution to make to historical knowledge, and except for the first two, have been little used. To the vast Muslim literature may be added the smaller but still valuable literatures of the Christians and Jews, in Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, and some other languages. Finally, there remains archeology. A useful summary and bibliography of archeological work will be found in the above-mentioned book of Sauvaget.

No general history of the ʿAbbāsids has been produced for many years, and the reader must still have recourse to early and out-of-date works like G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* 5 vols., Mannheim-Stuttgart 1846-62; idem, *Geschichte der islamischen Völker*, Stuttgart 1866 (abridged English translation by S. Khuda Bukhsh, Calcutta 1914); A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, 2 vols. Berlin 1885-7; W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise Decline and Fall*, revised by T. H. Weir, Edinburgh 1915 and 1924. More recent but more summary treatments are given by P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London 1937 and later editions; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten*, Munich-Berlin 1939 (English and French translations); Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Platonov, *Le monde musulman et byzantin jusqu'aux Croisades*, Paris 1931; Ch. Diehl and G. Marçais, *Le monde oriental de* 395 *a* 1081, Paris 1936. Many interesting and provocative ideas on the nature of the ʿAbbāsid state and society will be found in A. J. Toynbee, *A study of history*, London 1934 ff.

Only the accession and the first few reigns have been monographed in any detail. On the ʿAbbāsid revolution Van Vloten and Wellhausen are mentioned in the article. Th. Nöldeke's *Orientalische Skizzen* Berlin 1892 (English translation by J. S. Black, London 1892), includes studies on al-Manṣūr, the Zandj rising, and the Ṣaffārids. The most valuable work to date on the early ʿAbbāsid period will be found in the studies of F. Gabrieli (al-Amīn, al-Maʾmūn) and S. Moscati (Abū Muslim, al-Mahdī, al-Hādī), which, with other monographs, will be found listed under the appropriate articles. For two studies by S. Moscati on particular problems connected with the ʿAbbāsid victory see *Il "Tradimento" di Wāsiṭ*, *Muséon* 1951, 177-86, and *Le massacre des Umayyades*, *ArO* 1951, 88-115. Reference may also be made to Nabia Abbott, *Two queens of Baghdad*, Chicago 1937, dealing with the mother and wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd and giving a description of some aspects of court life, and A. F. Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, Cairo 1927. The period from 892 to 946 has been studied in great detail by H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā*, Cambridge 1928. This must now be supplemented by an important additional source—the *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa l-Muttaḳī* of al-Ṣūlī (ed. J. H. Dunne, Cairo 1935; annotated French translation by M. Canard, 2 vols. Algiers 1946-50). Two important works of a more general character deal with the middle period: A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922 (English translation by S. Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth, London 1938), and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, *Studies on the economic life of Mesopotamia in the 10th century*, (in Arabic), Baghdad 1948. Reference may also be made to general works in Arabic by Aḥmad Amīn, ʿA. ʿA. Dūrī, Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and others.

On the Cairo Caliphate see R. Hartmann, *Zur Vorgeschichte des ʿAbbasidischen Schein-Chaliphates von Cairo, Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1947, nr. 9, Berlin 1950, and Annemarie Schimmel, *Kalif und Kadi im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten*, *WI*, 1943, 3-27. (B. LEWIS)

ʿABBĀSID ART [see SĀMARRĀ]

AL-ABBĀSIYYA, old town of Ifrīḳiya (Tunisia), three miles to the S.E. of al-Ḳayrawān. It was also known by the name of Ḳaṣr al-Aghāliba and al-Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm. It was built by Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, the founder of the Aghlabid dynasty, in 184/800, the same year in which he was appointed amīr of Ifrīḳiya, after the revolt of some leaders of the Arab *djund*. He gave his foundation the name al-ʿAbbāsiyya in honour of the ʿAbbāsids, his masters. The town contained baths, inns, *sūḳs* and a Friday-mosque with a minaret of cylindrical form, built of bricks and adorned by small columns arranged in seven storeys. After the example of the great mosque of Ḳayrawān, a *maḳṣūra* of carved wood, adjoining the *miḥrāb*, was reserved to the amīr and high dignitaries. The town had several gates, the following being the most important: Bāb al-Raḥma (of Mercy), Bāb al-Ḥadīd (of Iron), Bab Ghalbūn (attributed to al-Aghlab b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Aghlab, relative and minister of Ziyādat Allāh I) and Bāb al-Rīḥ (of Wind)—all these in the east; and Bāb al-Saʿāda (of Happiness), to the west. In the middle of the town there was a large square called al-Maydān (Hippodrome), where the parades and reviews (*ʿarḍ*) of the troops took place. Not far away was the palace of al-Ruṣāfa, recalling by its name those of Damascus and Baghdad. It was in this palace that Ibrāhīm I received the ambassadors of Charlemagne who came to ask for the relics of St. Cyprian and delivered the gifts destined for the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. It was also there that the truce (*hudna*) of ten years and the exchange of prisoners was arranged with the envoys of Constantine, patrician of Sicily (189/805). Many other embassies also of the Franks, Byzantines and Andalusians, were received there by subsequent Aghlabid rulers. From its foundation, al-ʿAbbāsiyya had a mint (*dār al-ḍarb*) where gold *dīnārs* and silver *dirhams*, bearing the town's name, were coined. An official factory of textiles (*ṭirāz*) produced the robes of honour (*khilʿa*) and the standards. Under the successors of Ibrāhīm I, al-ʿAbbāsiyya was provided with monuments of public and private utility. Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad built a large reservoir (*sahrīdj* or *fasḳiyya*) of which important remains have been preserved. The basin had an abundant supply of water, which was carried to Ḳayrawān in the summer, when the cisterns of the capital were exhausted.—The town of Raḳḳāda, founded in 264/877 by Ibrāhīm II, some miles further to the south, replaced al-ʿAbbāsiyya as residence. Al-ʿAbbāsiyya sank to the level of a township, inhabited by *mawālī* and tradesmen, but continued to exist in a modest way until the Hilālian invasion (middle of the 5th/11th century) when it disappeared for good. A cursory excavation, in 1923, of the hill (*tell*) where al-ʿAbbāsiyya was situated, brought to light many potsherds belonging to the Aghlabid period. This white pottery with large black, green and blue decoration was no doubt inspired by oriental models coming from ʿIrāḳ (Sāmarrā, Raḳḳa) and Egypt (Fusṭāṭ). It is worth mentioning that al-ʿAbbāsiyya was the birth-place of several scholars, notably of Abu 'l-ʿArab [*q.v.*] Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Tamīm, first historian of al-Ḳayrawān (d. 333/945).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 234; Bakrī, *al-Masālik* (de Slane), 24; Idrīsī (de Goeje, *Descriptio al Magribi*), 65-7; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, Leiden 1948, I, 84; Desvergers, *Hist de l'Afr. et de la Sicilie* (transl. of Ibn Khaldūn), Paris 1841, 86-8; G. Marçais, *Manuel de l'Art Musulman*, Paris 1926, I, 40.

(H. H. ABDUL-WAHAB)

AL-ʿ**ABBĀSIYYA** [see ṬUBNA]

ʿABD is the ordinary word for "slave" in Arabic of all periods (the usual plural in this sense is *ʿabīd*, although the Ḳurʾān has *ʿibād*: xxiv, 32), more particularly for "male slave", "female slave" being *ama* (pl. *imāʾ*). Both words are of old Semitic stock; Biblical Hebrew uses them in the same meaning. Classical Arabic also expresses the idea of "slave", in the singular of both genders and in the collective, by the generic term *raḳīḳ*, which however is not found in the Ḳurʾān. On the other hand, the Ḳurʾān frequently uses the term *raḳaba*, literally "neck, nape of the neck", and, still more frequently, the periphrasis *mā malakat aymānukum* (*-hum*), "that which your (their) right hands possess". The *ʿabdᵃⁿ mamlūkᵃⁿ* of xvi, 75 is to be regarded in the light of this formula: it should properly be rendered "a slave, who is (himself) a piece of property". Hence, no doubt, the development in the classical language of *mamlūk* as a noun meaning "slave" (later also "ex-slave"). In the course of the history of Arabic, as of other languages, various vicissitudes have been undergone by euphemisms literally denoting "boy, girl" or "manservant, maidservant": *fatā* (fem. *fatāt*), which is Ḳurʾanic, *ghulām* for "male slave", *djāriya* for "female slave", both very common, *waṣīf* particularly for men (the fem. *waṣīfa* is also found), and *khādim* particularly for women (also, at an early date, for "eunuch"). Both these last have in some countries finally come to mean "negro, negress". Another term sometimes used for "slave" is *asīr*, properly "captive".

The abstract "slavery" is expressed by *riḳḳ* or by a derivative of *ʿabd*, such as *ʿubūdiyya*. The "master" is *sayyid*; he may also be referred to as "patron" (*mawlā*) or, in legal parlance, "owner" (*mālik*). The opposite of slave, "free man or woman". is *ḥurr* (fem. *ḥurra*).

Turkish has, as equivalents for "slave", *kul* or *köle*, as well as loan-words from Persian: *bende*, and from Arabic: *esir* (*asīr*), *gulam* (*ghulām*) for the masculine, *cariye* (*djāriya*) and *halayık* (*khalāʾiḳ*, properly "creatures") for the feminine. Besides *banda*, Persian has *ghulām* for the masculine and *keniz* for the feminine.

1. BEFORE ISLAM

Slavery was practised in pre-Islamic Arabia, as in the remainder of the ancient and early mediaeval world. But it must be admitted that the sparse and controversial data available to us for the pre-Islamic period are insufficient to provide reliable answers to most of the problems presented by the institution. It may be allowed that, immediately before the Hijra, the great majority of slaves in western Arabia, a plentiful commodity at Mecca, by whose sale merchants grew rich (ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān [*q.v.*]; cf. Lammens, *La Mecque*...., Beirut 1924, *passim*), were coloured people of Ethiopian origin (*Ḥabasha*). Some of them must have formed the nucleus of the *Aḥābish*, the Meccan militia (Lammens, *JA*, 1916 = *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut, 1928, pp. 237-293). Bilāl, the first muezzin of Islam, was one such slave. There were some white slaves of foreign race, far less numerous, who were no doubt brought by Arab caravaneers (slave-dealers as far back as the Bible story of Joseph), or were the product of beduin captures (legend of the Persian Salmān Pāk). Finally, there are no objective grounds for denying the existence of Arab slaves, although the ransoming of captives among nomad tribes was a matter of common prac-

tice. We have the example of the Kalbite Zayd b. Ḥārit͟ha, who became the adopted son of Muḥammad: a valuable example, even if it has been touched up in the manner of Tradition (see the decision attributed to ʿUmar, *infra*, as plausible evidence pointing the same way). We have, however, nothing conclusive on the existence of enslavement for debt or the sale of children by their families: the late and rare accounts of such occurrences (*Ag͟hānī* [2], iii, 97; xix, 4) show them to be abnormal.

It would moreover be unwise to stretch the scanty information we have on the condition of slaves in the Ḥid͟jāz before Islam, to fit every locality and every social division. Nomads and sedentaries, in particular, may have shown evidence of quite a different attitude, even in those days: we shall come to the modern period later. The abiding scorn of slave ancestry, even if only on the mother's side, the satire aimed at the man who marries a captive girl (G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, pp. 137-8, 213; Bichr Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, p. 71) are perhaps characteristic of beduin mentality, rather than indicative of the general outlook of town-dwellers. The biography in literary form of the renowned warrior-poet ʿAntara, son of a beduin and an Ethiopian slave-girl, who has to perform dazzling feats of arms before his father will consent to legitimize him, is a *roman à thèse* (Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, p. 299) against disinheriting the children of such unions, indeed against keeping them in slavery: proof that the question had some immediacy and demanded a liberal answer, at any rate in some quarters.

It is probable that the usual practice of the pre-Islamic Arabs was influenced by an ancient Semitic distinction between two classes of slave, never perhaps reduced to a strict legal principle (I. Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1949, pp. 57-8) and never ratified by Muslim law, but which has left traces here and there in the code of behaviour of Islamicized lands: in contrast with the purchased slave (*ʿabd^u mamluka^{tun}*), the slave born in his master's house (*ʿabd^u ḳinn^{in}*; a term later applied to the slave over whom one has full and complete rights of ownership) was, in the ordinary course of events, unlikely to be sold or otherwise disposed of by the master (*LA*, xvii, 227-8; D͟jurd͟jani, *Taʿrifāt*, *ḳinn*). We are on firmer ground—because the practice is expressly condemned in the Ḳu'rān, xxiv, 33—in accepting it as fact that in pre-Islamic times female slaves were prostituted for the benefit of their masters, again in accordance with a Near Eastern custom of great antiquity (Mendelsohn, *op. cit.* p. 54).

2. The Ḳor'ān. The Religious Ethic

a.—Islam, like its two parent monotheisms, Judaism and Christianity, has never preached the abolition of slavery as a doctrine, but it has followed their example (though in a very different fashion) in endeavouring to moderate the institution and mitigate its legal and moral aspects (for the part played in this by Christianity, see M. Bloch, in *Annales*, 1947, and Imbert, in *Mélanges F. de Visscher*, Brussels, 1949, vol. i). Spiritually, the slave has the same value as the free man, and the same eternity is in store for his soul; in this earthly life, failing emancipation, there remains the fact of his inferior status, to which he must piously resign himself.

The Ḳur'ān regards this discrimination between human beings as in accordance with the divinely-established order of things (xvi, 71, 75; xxx, 28). But over and over again, from beginning to end of the Preaching, it makes the emancipation of slaves a meritorious act: a work of charity (ii, 177; xc, 13), to which the legal alms may be devoted (ix, 60), or a deed of expiation for certain felonies (unintentional homicide: iv, 92, where "a *believing* slave" is specified; perjury: v, 89; lviii, 3); consent must be readily given to contractual emancipation (xxiv, 33). The unemancipated slave is mentioned among those who should be treated "kindly" (*iḥsān^{an}*, iv, 36). Furthermore, his dignity as a human being is shown in certain ordinances relating to the sexual side of social relationships. We have already mentioned the ban on the prostitution of female slaves (xxiv, 33); nobody may lawfully enjoy them except their master (xxiii, 6; xxxiii, 50; lxx, 30) or their husband, for legal marriage is open to slaves, male and female. Masters have the moral duty to marry off their "virtuous" slaves of both sexes (xxiv, 32); if need be it is even permissible for *Muslim* slaves to marry free Muslims (ii, 221; iv, 25). The slave-woman who, obtaining her master's consent, which is essential, marries a free man, is entitled to "a reasonable dowry" from her husband. She is obliged to remain faithful to him; but if she commits adultery her slave status re-emerges in the curious provision that she is liable to only one-half of the punishment reserved for the free married woman (iv, 25). Finally, the Ḳur'ān protects the slave's life, to some extent, by the law of retaliation, but the formula "the free for the free, the slave for the slave" (ii, 178) shows clearly how in penal matters the principle of inequality is maintained.

Bibliography: R. Roberts, *Das Familien, Sklaven.... Recht im Qorân*, Leipzig 1908, 41-47; *Social Laws of the Qorân*, London 1925, 53 ff.

b.—The more or less official Muslim ethic, expressed in the ḥadīt͟hs, follows the line of Ḳur'anic teaching; it even lays perceptible stress on the humanitarian tendencies of the latter in the question with which we are dealing. Al-G͟hazālī, in the *Iḥyā'*, ed. 1346 A.H., ii, 195-7 (*ḥuḳūḳ al-mamlūk*) (transl. G.-H. Bousquet, AIEO 1952, 423-7) had only to string together a number of well-known hadiths to produce what amounts to a lecture on ethics for slave-owners, illustrated by examples.

Tradition delights in asserting that the slave's lot was among the latest preoccupations of the Prophet. It has quite a large store of sayings and anecdotes, attributed to the Prophet or to his Companions, enjoining real kindness towards this inferior social class. "Do not forget that they are your brothers"; at any rate when they are Muslims, as some texts specify.—"God has given you the right of ownership over them; He could have given them the right of ownership over you". —"God has more power over you than you have over them". Thus the master is recommended not to show contempt for his slave; not to say "my slave" but "my boy, my servant" (*v. supra*), to share his food with him, to provide him with clothing similar to his own, to set him no more than moderate work, not to punish him excessively if he does wrong, to forgive him "seventy times a day", and finally to sell him to another master if they cannot get on well together.

Manumission is commended as a happy solution in many cases and is suggested as a way for the master to make amends for excessive chastisement of his slave. It is recommended, in the same category

as alms-giving, at the time of an eclipse, and is included among the various possible ways of expiating a voluntary breaking of the fast of Ramaḍān (the Ḳurʾān prescribes no more than "the feeding of a poor man": ii, 184). A twofold reward in heaven is promised to the man who educates his slavegirl, frees her and marries her. A famous ḥadīth affirms: "The man who frees a Muslim (v. l. 'a believer') slave, God will free from hell, limb for limb".

It is the duty of the slave, for his part, to give loyal service. He is "the shepherd of his master's wealth" and will be asked for an account of it in the next world. His reward in paradise will be twofold if, in addition to performing the usual religious obligations, he has the especial merit of having given good advice to his master.

If the Ḳur'ān and Tradition show a certain favouritism towards such slaves as are Muslims, another direction is shown in ḥadīths forbidding the keeping of male Arabs in slavery; they invoke a decision to this effect said to have been given by the caliph ʿUmar, in favour of disposing of instances of slavery against the payment of a ransom, where these were the result of "pre-Islamic practices" (see especially Ibn Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl*, pp. 133-4).

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. SLAVES.

3. Fiḳh

Under the heading of *fiḳh* properly so-called, we shall have recourse to the main provisions agreed on by the great Sunnī schools. Thereafter we shall note very briefly some typical solutions adopted by Imāmī Shīʿism.

a.—Apart from the occasionally operative distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim slaves, Muslim law recognizes only one category of slaves, regardless of their ethnic origin or the source of their condition. The institution is kept going by only two lawful means: birth in slavery or capture in war, and even of these the latter is not applicable to Muslims, since though they may remain enslaved they cannot be reduced to slavery. Legally therefore, the only Muslim slaves are those born into both categories or who were already slaves at the time of their conversion to Islam. Their number tends to diminish both through emancipation, particularly recommended in such cases, and through the following provision: whereas the usual principle of Muslim law is that the child assumes at birth his mother's status, free or slave, an exception, of all the more importance in view of its wide application, is made in favour of the child born of a free man and a female slave belonging to him; such a child is regarded as free-born (otherwise he would be his father's slave). What this amounts to is that slavery could scarcely continue to exist in Islam without the constantly renewed contribution of peripheral or external elements, either directly captured in war or imported commercially, under the fiction of the Holy War, from foreign territory (*dār al-ḥarb*).

It is pleasing to see that in the eyes of Muslim jurists slavery is an exceptional condition: "The basic principle is liberty" (*al-aṣl huwa 'l-ḥurriyya*). Consequently, for the majority of them, the presumption is in favour of freedom; on the whole they have come down on the side of regarding as free the foundling (*laḳiṭ*) whose origin remains unknown. But it may fairly be stated that, despite the strictness professed by certain doctors of the law, the *fiḳh* has never evolved an adequately clear system of sanctions to suppress the kidnapping or sale of free persons, Muslim or non-Muslim. Still less do we see any positive denunciation of the practice of castrating young slaves, although it was condemned in principle.

b.—On the juridico-religious level, the slave has a kind of composite quality, partaking of the nature both of thing and of person. Considered as a thing, he is subject to the right of ownership—indeed it is in this that the strict definition of slavery lies—exercised by a man or woman, and he may be the object of all the legal operations proceeding from this position: sale, gift, hire, inheritance and so on. In this respect he is "a mere commodity" (*silʿa min al-silaʿ*). In the various classes of property distinguished by the *fiḳh*, he generally ranks with the animals and his lot is like theirs: the new-born slave, for instance, is the "fruit" (*ghalla*) of his mother, like the young of cattle, and belongs to her master; in the theoretical treatises on public law, the *muḥtasib* is given the duty of ensuring that masters treat their slaves and their animals properly. The slave may (as among the Romans and in Christian Europe) belong to two or more owners at the same time: he is then said to be "held in common" (*mushtarak*); such joint ownership gives rise to some extremely complex legal positions, which provide abundant material for the casuistry of the doctors. Again, it should be noted that the law lays down the amount of the reward which may be claimed by the one who restores a runaway slave (*ābiḳ*) to his master.

Yet the slave, even from the point of view of the right of ownership, of which he is the object, is not always treated exactly like other property. Mālikī law, for example, allows, in towns where it is the customary usage, an automatic guarantee of three days, at the expense of the seller of the slave, against any "faults" (*ʿuyūb*) in the latter (one year in the case of madness or leprosy). The fact that a master may legally have sexual relations with his female slaves gives rise to a system of regulating these relations, which has repercussions elsewhere on his exercise of the right of ownership: thus a distinction is sometimes drawn between costly female slaves, intended for cohabitation, and ordinary female slaves (e.g. *Mudawwana*, vi, 192 *seqq.*, concerning a clause of non-guarantee in sale), between female slaves within and outside the prohibited degrees of relationship to the interested party (e.g. in the matter of the loan of consumption, *ḳarḍ*, except among the Ḥanafīs, who forbid it with all living things). Further, the regard for kinship has an even more striking effect. It is forbidden to separate a slave mother and her young child, up to about the age of seven, by their becoming the property of different different masters (a ḥadīth runs: "Whoever separates a mother from her child, God will separate him from his dear ones on the Day of Resurrection"), under pain of nullity of the legal transaction; the Ḥanafīs, more reluctant to impose legal sanctions, brand as "objectionable" the separating of a slave, not yet arrived at puberty, from any close blood-relative within the prohibited degrees, whether the latter is of age or not. Emancipation follows automatically, except in the Ẓāhirī school, when a slave becomes the property of a very close relative: according to the Shāfiʿīs, only in the ascending and descending lines: the Mālikīs add brothers and sisters too, while the Ḥanafīs extend the rule to all relatives within the prohibited degrees. Religious affiliation is also taken into account, inasmuch as non-Muslims cannot

keep Muslim slaves; they must either free them or dispose of them to Muslim masters.

If the master fails to meet his moral obligation of providing for the physical maintenance (*nafaḳa*) of his slave, the law requires in the last resort that the latter be sold, a solution also enjoined, except by the Ḥanafīs, in the case of animals. The Mālikīs hold that emancipation is compulsory (cf. *Exodus*, xxi, 26-7) when the master carries his ill-treatment of his slave to the point of mutilation or disfigurement. Later, when we come to deal with personal rights, we shall meet with other instances of curtailment of the absolute right of ownership, as of other features of penal law.

c.—On the personal rights of the slave, that is, on his juridico-religious competence, it is interesting to see whether the classical jurists have ever attempted a general theory that would bring out the principles underlying the solutions scattered under the various headings of *fiḳh*. One such attempt is to be found in the works of the Ḥanafī al-Pazdawī (d. 482/1089), commented on and imitated in the later treatises on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*; the basic ideas, Ḥanafī of course, are as follows (*Uṣūl*, ed. Istanbul 1307 A.H., pp. 1401-1426): slave-status is incompatible with "patrimonial ownership" (*mālikiyyat al-māl*), whence it follows for example, that the slave cannot take a concubine, but is compatible with "non-patrimonial ownership" (*mālikiyyat g͟hayr al-māl*), whence it follows, for example, that the slave may marry. His status does not debar the slave from administering property and laying claim to the "possession" (*yad*) of it, but is incompatible with the full exercise of the higher legal faculties of the human being: his *d͟himma* (abstract financial responsibility) and his *ḥill* (freedom of action in sexual matters) are reduced, and all *wilāyāt* (public or private offices of authority) are forbidden to him. More recent works, of the type of the *As͟hbāh wa-Naẓā'ir* by the S͟hāfi'ite Suyūṭī and the Ḥanafite Ibn Nud͟jaym, merely give dry and rather disjointed lists of the manifold rules about what slaves may and may not do.

d.—The Muslim slave has a religious status (*ʿibādāt*) theoretically identical with that of his free coreligionists (the contrary opinion is exceptional; e.g. in one solitary Mālikī, cf. Ibn Farḥūn, *Dibād͟j*, 1329 268); but some derogations were more or less inevitable on certain points. Most authorities hold that his dependence on a master absolves him from the strict necessity of performing such pious acts as involve freedom of movement: the Friday prayer, pilgrimage, the Holy War. Another consequence of this dependence is that the master is responsible for the annual payment of his "alms at the breaking of the fast" (*zakāt al-fiṭr*). The Muslim slave-woman is not under as strict an obligation to "hide her nakedness" (*satr al-ʿawra*) at the ritual prayer as the free woman. The slave is not forbidden to act as leader (*imām*) of congregational prayer, although the Ḥanafīs disapprove of the practice, and some other authorities do not permit him to become a salaried *imām*, or at any rate they prefer a free man to hold the office, if one is available of the required competence. The question of his acting as imām at the midday prayer on Fridays and the two canonical festivals is more debatable, especially if this office is regarded as an emanation from the public authority; even within the various schools there is disagreement about whether or not it is allowable. On the whole, however, the affirmative answer seems to have prevailed, except among the Ḥanbalīs. The slave is no more qualified to hold a position of religious magistrature (judgeship, *ḥisba*) than an official position of secular authority; he is nevertheless acceptable as a subordinate officer in the revenue department.

e.—In matters of law in the strict sense (*muʿāmalāt*), the slave's incompetence to act (*ḥad͟jr*) is assumed in principle, but is not absolute. If he is a Muslim, the *fiḳh* confirms and expressly states his competence to contract a marriage, as clearly laid down in the Ḳur'ān (*v. supra*); but the master's consent is required both for male and female slaves (according to the Mālikīs, the male slave of full age may marry of his own accord, but the master then has the right either to ratify the marriage or to terminate it by repudiation) and it is the master who acts as "guardian for matrimonial purposes" (*walī*) of his female slaves. The master can even marry off by "compulsion", (*d͟jabr*) a male slave, not yet of age, or a female slave (the father of a family has a similar right over his children); the schools of Abu Ḥanīfa and Mālik concede him the same power over a male slave of full age. The Ḥanbalīs alone, on the other hand, hold that the slave may insist on his master's marrying him off. Notwithstanding reservations and restrictions based on the words of the Ḳur'ān, and in spite of the customary requirement of "compatability" (*kafā'a*) between the parties, the jurists admit and lay down rules for marriage between Muslims of whom one is a slave and the other free. We have convincing evidence that, in the course of the centuries, such unequal marriages occurred (to the advantage to the slave, male or female, concerned) more often than one might think. A slave wife, on being emancipated, has the right to opt for divorce if her husband is a slave and, according to the Ḥanafīs, even if he is free.

A Muslim cannot be the husband or wife of his or her slave (nor even, some would add, of the slave belonging to his or her son); there is an absolute incompatibility, for the same persons, between *connubium* and ownership. In contradistinction to the other rites, the Ḥanafīs permit a Muslim, even a free Muslim, to marry a Jewish or Christian slave-girl. The slave is entitled to a maximum of two wives, except in the Mālikī view, which grants him four, just like a free man. The Mālikīs are also alone in conceding that a slave-wife has the right to share in her husband's nights on equal terms with a free co-wife; the other jurists allow her only one night in three. The obligation, which is generally recognized as incumbent on a slave-husband, to maintain his wife, gives rise to various solutions if he is not legitimately possessed of adequate means.

Although the majority of authorities deny that the male slave of full age can contract a valid marriage of his own free will, yet all agree that he has the husband's usual right of repudiation (*ṭalāḳ*) as he thinks fit. But in accordance with the general tendency to reduce by one-half, in the case of the slave, all figures prescribed for free men, he may only take back his wife after one single formula of repudiation, instead of the two which the Koran (ii, 229) lays down as a maximum. Consequently a twofold repudiation on his part has the same decisive result as a threefold repudiation by a free man; the Ḥanafīs alone, who in the matter of repudiation have more consideration for the woman than for the man, apply this reduction if it is the wife who is a slave, whether or not her husband is a free man. The Ḥanafīs also set themselves apart from the other schools in not permitting the married male slave to use the device of "cursing" (*liʿān*), instituted by the

Ḳurʾān (xxiv, 6-9) to the advantage of the husband who may accuse his wife of adultery with no legal proof.

The "legal period of withdrawal" (*ʿidda*) which must be observed by widows or repudiated woman (Ḳurʾān, ii, 228, 234; lxv, 4) is also halved when the woman in question is a slave: 1) two months and five days for a widow, instead of four months and ten days; 2) two menstrual or intermenstrual periods (depending on the school) instead of three (one could hardly say one-and-a-half) for the repudiated woman who is usually regular, except that the Ẓāhirīs keep the figure at three; 3) one month and a half for the repudiated woman who is not usually regular, except according to the Mālikīs, who oddly enough, as Averroes remarks (*Bidāya*, ed. 1935, ii, 93; tr. Laïmèche, 233-4), here hold to the figure of three.

f.—Far more important in practice, on account of its wide application and great bearing on social life, is the system of legal concubinage. In *fiḳh* as in the Ḳurʾān, extramarital cohabitation is permissible only between a man and his own female slave; he is forbidden to cohabit with a slave belonging to his wife, even with the latter's consent (contrary to the Biblical custom), but indulgence is shown if he has relations with a slave belonging to his son. Co-owners of a female slave may not cohabit with her, nor may a sole owner cohabit with a married female slave. When the concubine (*surriyya*) has a child by her master, she enjoys the title of *umm walad* [*q.v.*] and an improved status in that she cannot be sold and becomes free on her master's death (compare the Code of Hammurabi, para. 170; but for the fluctuations in old Islamic practice see J. Schacht, in E.I.[1] s.v., and *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950, 264-6); that child and any others she may subsequently have are born free. There is no limit to the number of concubines as there is to the number of wives, but almost all the authorities teach that there are the same bars to cohabitation as to marriage: natural or acquired kinship, two sisters together, the woman's professing a heathen religion.

With the especial aim of avoiding confusion over parentage, in the absence of any initial ceremony or *ʿidda*, the jurists have prescribed a temporary ban on sexual relations, in the case of a slave-woman, for "verification of non-pregnancy" or *istibrāʾ*, when for any reason she becomes the property of a new master or changes her status (emancipation, marriage). If she is pregnant, this ban lasts till her confinement, as with the *ʿidda*; if not, its duration is one menstrual period. If she is not yet regular in her periods or has ceased to be regular, the authorities differ: one month or three months is the usual rule. Mālikis and Ḥanbalis make the seller of the slave-woman share in the responsibility of the *istibrāʾ*; the former entrust her (*muwāḍaʿa*) to the supervision of a third person. There is considerable difference of opinion on points of detail in the numerous cases where the *istibrāʾ* would appear to be no longer obligatory, as serving no purpose; to avoid it, recourse is had to certain devices of procedure, particularly by the Ḥanafi devotees of "circumventions of the law" (*ḥiyal*) (well-known anecdote of Hārūn al-Rashīd and the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yūsuf, which has found its way into the Arabian Nights).

The children born of legal concubinage are legitimate and, in the matter of succession to their father's estate, are on the same footing as children born in wedlock. But it is harder to establish legally the paternity of a master, with all its legal and social consequences, than that of a husband; besides, the old ʿIrāḳī jurists were loth to declare it officially if there was no expression of willingness on the part of the master concerned. The Ḥanafīs too stand apart from the other schools in not fathering a child on the master unless the latter acknowledges it, and in permitting him to disown it if there is a legal presumption in favour of his paternity inasmuch as the concubine is already *umm walad*. In the other schools, the master of an unmarried female slave is legally regarded as the father of her child, not only if he acknowledges it as his own but also if he makes an implicit admission of having had relations with her, as is obviously the case if she is already *umm walad*. It is open to him to deny paternity only if cohabitation was manifestly impossible within the—very wide—officially recognized limits of the term of pregnancy, or if he takes an oath that he put his concubine in *istibrāʾ* at least six months before the date of the birth, and that he has not cohabited with her since. The ascription of paternity becomes complicated in such abnormal situations as when two co-owners of a slave cohabit with her during the same intermenstrual period, or when two entitled parties in succession have had relations with her without *istibrāʾ*; recourse is then had to the ruling of the "physiognomists" (*ḳāʾif* pl. *ḳāfa*), an ancient Arabian expedient difficult of application at certain times. Failing this, the child is left to choose for himself at puberty. Here again the Ḥanafīs stand alone in refusing to ratify this archaic institution; they prefer, if the decision proves to be rationally impossible, to set up a kind of two-fold paternity.

g.—Most authorities deny the slave-woman the right of custody (*ḥaḍāna*) over her children to which the free woman is entitled, nor do they permit the male slave to be a "guardian for matrimonial purposes" (*walī*). The Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī schools (who have not ratified the partial tolerance of Abū Ḥanīfa) refuse to allow the slave to act as executor of a will (*waṣī*). The testimony (*shahāda*) of a slave is not admissible in court, except among the Ḥanbalīs, and even they do not accept it in connection with the most serious punishable offences. His affirmation (*iḳrār*) is generally accepted in matters affecting his person (apart from restrictions imposed by certain authorities) but not in matters of property.

h.—All the schools agree that the master can do as he likes with property in the possession of his slave and is at liberty to take it away from him. In the eyes of third parties, the ordinary slave has no patrimony of his own: his business activities, which are severely restricted, are on behalf of his master, who alone is financially competent to act. Nevertheless the Mālikīs take up the remarkable position (for an interesting justification see ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Ishrāf*, i, 270) of recognizing the slave's "ownership" (*milk*) of his *peculium*, whose source is mainly from gifts or bequests which it is permissible for him to accept on his own account, although the ownership here is precarious and may not be disposed of without consent. Two important consequences of this doctrine are that, according to the Mālikīs, the slave may lawfully have concubines without giving rise to any theoretical difficulties, and that on gaining his freedom he may keep his *peculium*, unless his master has formally announced his wish to retain it.

Finally, apropos of patrimony, there is quite a common practice, known from remote Semitic anti-

quity and from the Classical world, which provides the slave with a real, though not unrestricted, legal competency: it consists in the master's putting his slave in charge of a business or of certain specified business dealings, entrusting him with a capital sum where necessary. The slave is then said to be "authorized" (*maʾdhūn* or *maʾdhūn lah*). The effects of this "authorization" (*idhn*), which may nevertheless be revoked, are conceived in more or less generous terms by different jurists. The recipient always in fact becomes relatively independent, so as to be able to deal quite freely with third parties. The authorities are well-nigh unanimous in not making the master responsible for the debts of his "authorized" slave; the Ḥanafīs, followed with some hesitation by the Ḥanbalīs, allow them to be recovered on the "physical person" (*raḳaba*) of the slave debtor, if the capital at his disposal is inadequate; in other words he may be sold to pay them. On the other hand, the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs recognize his "abstract responsibility" (*dhimma*); the "obligation to pay" (*dayn*) they leave standing to the account of those creditors whom the assets are insufficient to satisfy, while deferring the "exaction of payment" (*muṭālaba*, "Haftung") till such time as the slave is emancipated.

i.—It is in connection with punishments (*ʿuḳūbāt*) that the hybrid and indeterminate character of the legal nature of the slave, who is simultaneously a thing and a person of inferior status, breaks through the complicated web of solutions presented by the *fiḳh*. Here is a curious example, of an unusual kind but mentioned as clearly showing this ambivalence: the "legal compensation" (*diya*) for the foetus aborted by a free woman is a young slave of either sex, technically known as *ghurra*, whereas the compensation for victims duly born is reckoned in camels or money.

To what extent is the law of retaliation (*ḳiṣāṣ*) applied to slaves, on the basis of Ḳurʾān, ii, 178 (*v. supra*)? In a case of intentional homicide it works against the slave, whether the victim be bond or free (if he is free, it is no doubt not precisely the idea of retaliation which underlies the punishment); but the schools object to putting a free man to death for killing a slave, with the noteworthy exception of the Ḥanafīs (and also of that illustrious, albeit somewhat dissident, Ḥanbalī, Ibn Taymiyya; cf. Laoust, *Essai*, 418, 438), and even they exempt the man who kills his own slave or one belonging to his son. The Mālikīs are almost alone in conferring on the victim's next-of-kin the ownership of the guilty slave (again with a great many reservations), to do with him as he pleases: he may put him to death, keep him in slavery or set him free. This may be a survival of an archaic solution, elsewhere replaced by the simple choice, as in the case of free men, between retaliation and compensation according to the tariff. In cases of deliberate wounding the Shāfiʿīs apply retaliation between the same persons as in cases of homicide; Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs insist on equality of status, slave or free, between the guilty party and his victim; the Ḥanafīs forego retaliation altogether.

What of the monetary compensation, according as the slave is guilty of or is the victim of bloodshed? —1) Slave victim: The compensation goes to the master. The *diya* is the responsibility of the guilty person alone, except that the Shāfiʿīs are undecided whether or not to bring in the "group jointly responsible for the bloodwit" (*ʿāḳila*), which is the Ḥanafī rule in cases of homicide only. This *diya* is not fixed, as for the free man, but is calculated, in the event of death, on the market value (*ḳīma*) of the victim; the Ḥanafīs alone set an upper limit to it, namely the *diya* of a free man less a token reduction of ten dirhams. If there is only wounding, of a type specified in the tariff laid down by the Law for a free man, the majority of authorities hold that the market value of the injured slave should be reduced by the amount of the difference between the figure shown in the legal scale for an identical wound and the maximum compensation for a free man. The Mālikīs and some Ḥanbalīs teach, though with certain reservations, that the sum paid should exactly equal the depreciation in the market value of the slave.

2) Slave guilty: The majority of authorities give the master the choice between surrendering the culprit (*dafʿ*, *noxalis deditio*) and paying the appropriate *diya*. But the Shāfiʿīs, followed by several Ḥanbalīs, regard the *diya* as incumbent on the "physical person" (*raḳaba*) of the slave in question, whom his master will therefore sell, and hand over the price received in exchange for him, up to the amount of the *diya*, unless he prefers to pay the sum due without selling him.

The slave guilty of theft and the Muslim slave guilty of apostasy are punished in the same way as free men: by cutting off the hand in the former case, by death in the latter, when the necessary conditions for these punishments are fulfilled.

Fornication (*zinā*) committed by a slave of either sex does not legally involve the death penalty, in consequence of the Ḳur'anic ordinance (*v. supra*) and because neither male nor female slaves are held capable of acquiring the particular legal condition of a *muḥṣan*(*a*) spouse, which the *fiḳh* restricts to free persons who have consummated marriage and which it regards as necessary before a death-sentence can be imposed for a sexual offence. As laid down in the Ḳur'ān, the punishment is half of that decreed (xxiv, 2) for the free person who is not *muḥṣan*(*a*); viz. fifty lashes instead of one hundred, to which some authorities would add the further penalty of banishment. It should be noted that Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs refuse to regard as *muḥṣan* the spouse of anybody who is not *muḥṣan*: so, according to them, the husband or wife of a slave cannot be executed for adultery. As part of the general tendency to mitigate the punishment for sexual offences involving slaves, certain cases of unlawful cohabitation with a female slave (e.g. by a co-owner or the master's father) are not looked upon as *zinā*.

Finally, the slave who is guilty of a "false charge of fornication" (*ḳadhf*) against a free person is liable, here again, to half the penalty decreed by the Ḳur'ān (xxiv, 4) against the slanderer who is free; viz. forty lashes instead of eighty. But the slave who is the victim of such a slander has no right at all to any such satisfaction, since the Law, which to a certain extent protects the person of the slave, does not go so far as to regard him or her as a man or woman of honour.

The vast field of the "arbitrary punishments" (*taʿzīr*), left to the judge's discretion, almost completely defies investigation through the study of written sources. We are conscious of our inability to make a sufficiently close study of how, in matters of punishment, the slave's position really compares, throughout history, with that of the free man, in the eyes of the judicial authorities of Islam.

j.—The emancipation (*ʿitḳ*, *ʿataḳa*, *iʿtāḳ*) of the slave is a work of piety; it is a unilateral act on the part of the master, consisting in an explicit or implicit declaration; in the former case it is not necessary

to show intention. In principle, emancipation cannot be revoked, nor may the beneficiary refuse it. If, however, instead of being immediate, it is to take effect at some fixed future date or subject to certain conditions, all authorities but the Mālikīs permit the slave to be sold in the meantime. This destroys the effect of the emancipation (except, some say, if the slave is then re-acquired by his former owner). The children of a female slave, born or unborn, as a rule become free on her emancipation. The partial enfranchisement of a slave by his sole master is equivalent to his total enfranchisement (Abū Ḥanīfa formulates a reservation, but is not followed by his disciples). The question is more involved when the slave is held in joint ownership and one of the owners enfranchises him insofar as his own share is concerned; if this owner is well-to-do, the enfranchisement is total and he will compensate his fellow-owners for the value of their shares. If the emancipator is not wealthy enough for this, the slave remains "partial" (*mubaʿʿaḍ*), except according to the Ḥanafīs, who free him and allow the other owners to recover their share out of the income from his work (*siʿāya*). There is another point on which the Ḥanafīs reject the solution readily accepted by the other schools: they do not permit recourse to the drawing of lots (*ḳurʿa*) to determine which of several slaves is to be enfranchised when circumstances make it necessary to choose; their rejection of this procedure dictates certain of their rulings.

A grant of enfranchisement with effect from the master's death, a desirable practice for the Faithful and one for which they have often shown partiality, is known as *tadbīr*, from the expression *ʿan duburⁱⁿ minnī*, "after me" (this is the view of the Mālikīs, who insist on a formula containing a word from the root *dbr*). The Shāfiʿīs also apply the term to an enfranchisement to take effect from a date after the master's death, which for the other schools would count as no more than a revocable testamentary disposition. *Tadbīr* itself is in principle irrevocable, in the eyes of all the authorities, but here too the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs allow it to be made void by the sale of the *mudabbar* slave. The Ḥanafīs permit this only if the *tadbīr* is limited (*muḳayyad*) by a condition connected with the emancipator's death. It is permissible for a master to cohabit with his *mudabbara* slave; and her children, except in the dominant Shāfiʿī view, follow the condition of their mother. On the master's death, the *mudabbar*, being regarded as part of his estate, is subject to the rule of the disposable third and on this rule depends the manner of his effective liberation, which is different for each school. Except according to the Ḥanafīs, he remains in slavery if the debts of the deceased cannot be settled without selling him.

Contractual enfranchisement is of great doctrinal and practical importance. It is recommended by the Ḳur'ān (xxiv, 33: the interpretation of the text as implying a strict obligation has not generally prevailed). It consists in the master's granting the slave his freedom in return for the payment of sums of money agreed between them. Some call this conditional enfranchisement, according to others it is ransom by the slave of his own person: a divergence which entails solutions differing in detail. The transaction is known in the Ḳur'ān as *kitāb*, the verbal noun of the third form. In the classical language, no doubt to distinguish this from *kitāb* = "letter, book", it has been replaced by its morphological equivalent *mukātaba* or by *kitāba*.

Although the payments are usually spaced out (*munadjdjama*) and the majority of jurists regard settlement by instalments as essential to the contract, the Ḥanafīs accept one single and immediate payment; the Mālikīs are satisfied with one instalment, while Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs insist on a minimum of two. The sums to be paid are of course deducted from the *peculium* of the slave, who is *ipso facto* "authorized" to engage in business; the granting of *kitāba* to a female slave who has no honest source of income is frowned upon. The *mukātab* is set free only when his payments are completed (on some archaic divergences, see Schacht, *Origins*, 279-80). But the master is forbidden to sell him in the meantime, except by the Ḥanbalīs, who nevertheless hold the purchaser to the terms of the contract of enfranchisement. The Mālikīs give the master a limited right to dispose in advance of the total of the sums which the *mukātab* undertakes to pay (they are known as *kitāba*, like the contracts itself). Concubinage with a "contractually emancipated female slave" is unlawful. A grant of *mukātaba* may be superimposed on one of *tadbīr*, to the same person's advantage. When the *mukātab* reaches the end of his payments, a "rebate" (*ītāʾ*) is usually accorded to him, in compliance with the Ḳur'anic text: fixed or discretionary, obligatory or merely recommended, according to the different authorities.

k.—Once he has gained his liberty, the freedman (*ʿatīḳ*, *muʿtaḳ*) immediately enjoys the same full legal capacity as the freeborn. But both he and his male descendants in perpetuity remain attached to the emancipator (*muʿtiḳ*), and to his or her family, by a bond of "clientship" or *walāʾ*, a term equally denoting the converse side of the relationship: "patronage". "Patron" and "client" are both referred to as *mawlā* (pl. *mawālī*) in relation to each other; if necessary they are differentiated by means of epithets: "higher" (*al-aʿlā*) for the former and "lower" (*al-asfal*) for the latter. The Ḥanafīs alone maintain, besides this *walāʾ* which originates in slavery, a legal institution known as *walāʾ al-muwālāt* between free men, which is outside the scope of the present discussion.

A saying, applied with slight variations in the different schools, runs: "Patronage belongs to the emancipator" (*al-walāʾ li-man aʿtaḳ*); it cannot be made over to a third party by any negotiation or shift at the moment of emancipation. The *fiḳh*, moreover, which insists on assimilating patronage to natural kinship (ḥadīth: *al-walāʾ luḥma ka-luḥmat al-nasab*), has succeeded in making it inalienable and untransferable, whereas cases of sale were not unknown before and even under Islam (cf. Aḥmad Amīn, *Fadjr al-Islām*, i, 110; Schacht, *Origins*, 173). Nevertheless, on the strength of the peculiar concept of "attraction of patronage" (*djarr al-walāʾ*), this right may be transferred in certain cases; for example, from the immediate emancipator to the one who emancipated him, or from the emancipator of the mother to the subsequent emancipator of the father, subject to certain conditions. Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs sanction, not without much wavering, and under very different final forms, an ancient type of enfranchisement without patronage, known as *ʿitḳ al-sāʾiba* in reference to the pre-Islamic custom, condemned indeed in the Ḳur'ān (v, 103), which consisted in turning loose in complete freedom one particular she-camel of the herd, protected by taboos.

The patron and his "agnates" (*ʿaṣaba*), or those of the patroness, stand in the position of agnates, except according to the Ẓāhirīs, to the emancipated slave who has no natural agnates, particularly in

connection with tutelage for purposes of matrimony and with joint responsibility in penal matters. In return, the property of the emancipated slave or of his or her descendants in the male line who die leaving neither priority heirs nor agnates, reverts to the patron or patroness or to their agnatic heirs, in accordance with a system of devolution (by successive generations among the kin; maxim: *al-walāʾ li-l-kubr*) more archaic than in usual cases of succession (see R. Brunschvig, in *Revue Historique de Droit*, 1950). A woman is absolutely excluded from this "inheritance of patronage" (*mīrāth al-walāʾ*): she can be patron only of her own freedmen or the freedmen of the latter; her sons inherit the patronage, while they are not counted among her agnates for purposes of joint responsibility in penal matters, a particularly conservative institution. One ancient isolated opinion notwithstanding, the jurists have not granted the freedman the right to inherit the property of the patron who dies without heirs.

Bibliography: Apart from references in the text, all the collections of hadith and treatises on *fiḳh*, not forgetting the works on *ikhtilāf*. Studies in European languages: Weckwarth, *Der Sklave im Muham. Recht*, Berlin 1909, mentioned for the sake of completeness; Abd Elwahed, *Contributions à une théorie sociologique de l'esclavage*, Paris 1931, is more important, but biassed. For the three main Sunnī schools only, see first of all: D. Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i ², 141-160; Juynboll, *Handleiding* ⁴, 232-40, Bergsträsser-Schacht, *Grundzüge*, 38-42; and, for penal law, L. Bercher, *Les délits et les peines de droit commun prévus par le Coran*, Tunis 1926, *passim*. On the Mālikī view of paternity in legal concubinage, Lapanne-Joinville, in *Revue Marocaine de Droit*, 1952.

I.—The strictly juridical statute of slavery among the Imāmī Shīʿites, for which one may refer to the classic work of al-Ḥillī, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām* (tr. Querry, 2 vols., Paris 1871-2) is indicative of attitudes sometimes considerably removed from the great Sunnī principles. Among the solutions it offers we shall confine ourselves to the following, as being particularly revealing of some interesting legal or social viewpoints.

The child born in wedlock does not follow the status of his mother, bond or free, but failing any stipulation to the contrary, is born free if either of his parents is free. If both are slaves but not of the same master, he belongs jointly to the masters of both parents. The master of a female slave may grant a third party the "use" of her, for purposes of work or sexual relations. There is a great deal of controversy about the permissibility of manumitting a non-Muslim slave; on the other hand it is recommended that the Muslim slave should be freed after seven years' service (compare with *Exodus*, xxi, 2; *Deut.*, xv, 12). Manumission is of right, according to most authorities, when the slave is mutilated by the master, as the Mālikīs hold, or if he is smitten with blindness, leprosy or paralysis in the course of his slavery. The concubine who has borne a child is not automatically freed on her master's death unless her child is still alive; her value is then deducted from this child's share of the inheritance. Enfranchisement with effect from a master's death may be revoked, just like a legacy; it does not prevent sale of the slave, which is tantamount to a revocation. Contractual enfranchisement is of two kinds: "conditional", which leaves in total slavery the slave who defaults in his debts, as among the Sunnīs; "unconditional", which gives the slave his freedom in proportion to the amount he pays.

In penal law, there is no retaliation on the freeman for the murder of a slave. The *walī* of a freeman killed by a slave can, as in Mālikī law, claim the possession of the guilty slave. The *diya* of the slave may not exceed (whereas the Ḥanafīs say: amount to) that of a free person of the same sex.

Some of these provisions show an independent development of doctrine, while others clearly echo ancient solutions which the Sunnīs as a whole have not retained (see two examples in J. Schacht, *Origins*, 265, 279).

The Practice of Slavery

A) *In the Middle Ages*

Throughout the whole of Islamic history, down to the 19th century, slavery has always been an institution tenacious of life and deeply rooted in custom. The Turks, who were to come to the relief of the Arabs in the victorious struggle against Christianity, seem to have practised it but little in their primitive nomadic state (Üçok, in *Revue Historique de Droit français*, 1952, 423): after providing for so long their unwilling quota, through kidnapping or purchase, to the slave class of the Muslim world, they became themselves supporters of the institution in an ever-increasing degree, as they adopted Islam and the sedentary way of life.

The wars of conquest, which, after the fulgurous expansion of Islam in the first century of the hidjra, continued throughout the Middle Ages to further its spread in one direction or another despite setbacks elsewhere, provided the conquerors with an almost ceaseless stream of prisoners of both sexes, many of whom remained in slavery. Even in those places where the frontiers of the *dār al-Islām* were, for the time being, established, armed raids into enemy country, organized by the central power or individual groups, continued to put into practice the principle of the "Holy War", when no official truce or momentary alliance happened to be in force; and these raids brought back captives. Piracy in the Mediterranean, coupled with the privateering war from which it was often barely distinguishable, both augmented by grim razzias against the Christian seaboard, contributed to the supply of slaves to the adjacent Muslim lands, to an extent which varied at different periods but was always considerable.

Mediterranean Christendom, from Spain to Byzantium, paid this aggressive Islam in its own coin, by land and by sea. A curious chapter in the economic and social history of these Christian countries is afforded by the periodic influxes to their territory of "Moors" or "Saracens", reduced to slavery, then closely watched, employed as labourers, sometimes escaping or being ransomed but usually blending, little by little, into the local population, after their slow conversion to Christianity (see Ch. Verlinden's detailed study, in *L'Esclavage dans le monde ibérique médiéval*, in *Anuario Historia Derecho Español*, 1934; *idem*, on Catalonia, in *Annales du Midi*, 1950, and his useful bibliography, for various countries, in *Studi....G. Luzzatto*, Milan, 1949, while awaiting his book on *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe Médiévale*; due to appear in 1954; interesting documentation on one particular society is to be found in A. González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, Madrid 1930, prel. vol., 242-6; on the quasi-ritual invitation of Muslim captives to the Emperor of Constantinople's banquet, in the 10th century, see M. Canard, in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, vol. ii, part 2, Brussels 1950, 387-8).

It sometimes happened, admittedly on a restricted scale, that Muslims made slaves of other Muslims. This was the case, for example, when members of fanatical sects regarded the rest of mankind as beyond the pale of Islam and consequently did not scruple to attack them and, if they spared their lives, to keep them in captivity. There was an exceptional instance in 1077, when thousands of women of a revolted Berber tribe were publicly sold in Cairo. What happened more frequently, on the borders of Muslim states, was that official or private razzias against populations still largely pagan carried off indiscriminately human beings, particularly children, who might belong to Islam. With the spread of Islam in negro Africa and the intensification of Moroccan pressure in this direction, beginning in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, the question of the legality of subsequent sales had to be put to some great jurists; they answered circumspectly, giving the dealers the benefit of the doubt as to the origin of individuals offered for sale (in 15th century, al-Wanshārīsī, *Miʿyār*, vol. ix, 171-2, tr. *Archives Marocaines*, xiii, 426-8; towards 1600, Aḥmad Bābā of Timbuktu, quoted in P. Zeys, *Esclavage et guerre sainte*, Paris 1900).

The import of slaves by peaceful means tended, from an early date, to compete with the forcible method. Slaves were included in the well-known *baḳt* [*q.v.*] (Latin *pactum*?) or annual Nubian tribute, unquestionably a continuation of an ancient tradition, which was furnished to Egypt well-nigh regularly for many hundreds of years. But, in the ordinary course of events, it was trade that brought a plentiful flow of slaves from outside into the markets of the *dār al-Islām*. The slavers' caravans went into the heart of Africa or of Asia to acquire their human merchandise, bought or stolen; on the Dark Continent, the slaving propensities and internal struggles of the natives facilitated the business of the dealers. Not only Negroes and Ethiopians, Berbers and Turks were the objects of this international trade; there were in addition, chiefly in the early Middle Ages, various European elements, above all, the "Slavs", whose name has given rise to our term "slave" and has also been extended in Arabic (*Ṣaḳāliba*) to cover other ethnic groups of central or eastern Europe, their geographical neighbours. The traffic was carried on by sea as well as by land; the Red Sea has never ceased to provide a way from Africa to Arabia; the Mediterranean, with its appendage the Black Sea, offers a route, that has always been frequented, from Christian or pagan Europe to the Muslim world. Certain ports seem to have had a bigger share than others, at various times, in the reception of this merchandise: Almeria in Muslim Spain, Faramā and later Alexandria in Egypt. Darband (*Bāb al-Abwāb*), on the shores of the Caspian, was from quite an early date a very busy frontier-market for slaves, as were Bukhārā and Samarḳand in the interior.

From the middle of the 8th century, the Venetians, to the great indignation of the Papacy, began their career as purveyors of slaves—sometimes Christian—to the Islamic lands. In the 9th and 10th centuries, Jewish merchants played an important part in the traffic of "Slavs" across central and western Europe (including a celebrated eunuch-"factory" at Verdun) and their distribution throughout Islam (the famous passage from Ibn Khurradādhbih on the Radhāniyya is reproduced and translated by Hadj-Sadok, in *Bibliothèque arabe-française*, vi, Algiers 1949, 20-3). At a later date, the Mamlūks of Egypt, with the consent of the Byzantine emperor, imported new slaves, to serve or to replace them, from the Genoese or Venetian trading-posts of the Crimea or the Sea of Azov.

Even within the Muslim world, there were considerable movements of slaves, of every racial origin, in the Middle Ages; tribute sent to the caliphs by provincial governors and vassal amīrs, or commercial traffic. We do not know all the details of the organization of this traffic, but we are acquainted with certain aspects of it. Every big town had its public slavemarket, which in some countries was called the "place of display" (*maʿriḍ*). The one at Sāmarrā, in the 9th century, is described as being a vast quadrilateral, with internal alleys and onestorey houses, containing rooms and shops (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 260 = tr. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 52). The slave-merchant, who was known as "importer" (*djallāb*) or "cattle-dealer" (*nakhkhās*), inspired at the same time contempt for his occupation and envy for his wealth: he used in fact to draw huge profits, often through clever faking of his merchandise, if he did not actually hoodwink the unsophisticated customer in a quite outrageous fashion. Some remarkable details in this connection are to be found from the pen of the eastern Christian doctor Ibn Buṭlān, towards the middle of the 11th century (see Mez, *Renaissance*, 156-7) and in the writings of the conscientious Muslim al-Saḳaṭī of Malaga, towards 1100 (*Manuel de Ḥisba*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931, 47-58).

I do not consider that it would serve any useful purpose here to quote selling-prices, particularly if the prices in question are exceptional. Such figures have no real meaning unless subjected to criticism and compared with the commercial value of other commodities — a study which has yet to be made and the materials for which, it seems, could be assembled with no great difficulty. But it is already clear and well-known that there were differences in the same market as between the various categories of slave, according to their place of origin, their sex, age, physical condition and abilities; these differences seem vast in the case of choice items, particularly females: young, handsome, talented. As a rule, whites were worth more than blacks; the ascending order of value among them, in 11th-century Spain, was: Berbers, Catalans, Galicians. At Alexandria, in the 15th century, Tartars and Circassians were prized above Greeks, Serbs and Albanians. An elementary and traditional kind of comparative psycho-physiology decides the typical qualities and defects assigned, in popular lore, to representatives of the various races and, in consequence, the functions for which they are considered best suited. Berber women, for instance, are esteemed for housework, sexual relations and childbearing; negresses are thought to be docile ("one would say they born for slavery"), robust and excellent wet-nurses; Greek women may be trusted to look after precious things; Armenian and Indian women do not take kindly to slavery and are difficult to manage.

Almost all female slaves are destined for domestic occupations, to which may be added, when they are physically attractive, the gratification of the master's pleasures. Herein indeed lies the commonest motive—lawful in Muslim eyes—for their purchase. Those of them who show an aptitude for study may be given a thorough musical or even literary education, by the slave-dealer or a rich master, and beguile by their attainments the leisure hours of high society (the slave-girl musician is called *ḳayna*).

Some again are found here and there given over to prostitution, despite the Ḳur'anic prohibition.

Male slaves have a wider range of duties, from the beginning of their captivity. A great number form the personal bodyguards or the enormous slave-militias, black or white, frequently in rivalry, which speedily reinforce or replace the Arab, Berber and Iranian fighting-men. This military function was the chief reason for the Egyptian and North African recruitment of slaves in the land of the negroes and for the introduction into ʿIrāḳ, by the caliphs of Bāghdād, of Turkish slaves, employed in the same way by the Sāmānids of Bukhārā (details on their formation and career in Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāset-nāma*, ed. tr. Schefer, Paris 1891-3, 95/139 f.). But certainly the most remarkable regime in this respect, remarkable both for the extent of the phenomenon and for the great ethnic variety of white warrior-slaves involved in it, must have been that of the Mamlūks [*q.v.*].

Other male slaves have domestic duties—sometimes of a questionable nature—in the homes of people of moderate means, as well as in those of the great. Among them were the eunuchs who, chiefly on the model of Byzantium, filled the palaces of the caliphs, the amīrs and all the nobles, at first as guardians of the *ḥarīm*. They are rarely referred to by their specific appellation of "castrate" (*khaṣī*) or "eunuch" (*ṭawāshīn*); they are more usually designated by a neutral term: "servant" (*khādim*), or, as a mark of high honour, "master" in the sense of "teacher" (*ustādh*; see Canard, *Histoire d'ar-Rāḍī*, Algiers 1946, 210), which also indicates the function performed by some of them. In the early Middle Ages, the proportion of "Slavs" among the eunuchs imported and then re-exported by Muslim Spain was so high that *ṣiḳlabī* (var. *siḳlabī*) was often used there in the sense of "eunuch" (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 663). In the 9th century, the illustrious writer al-Djāḥiẓ states that the majority of white eunuchs in ʿIrāḳ were "Slavs", and in the course of the remarkable essay which he devotes to the effects of castration on men, he asserts that in these "Slavs", as opposed to the blacks, the operation encourages the development of all the natural aptitudes (*al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938, i, 106 seqq., tr. Asín Palacios in *Isis*, 1930, 42-54). For the following century, interesting details are to be found in the work of the geographer Maḳdisī, on the categories of eunuchs and the processes of castration (re-ed. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 56-9; see also Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 110). Whereas the blacks were usually submitted to a complete and barbarous amputation, "level with the abdomen", as the later expression ran, the whites, who were operated on with a little more care, retained the ability to perform coitus (this distinction is also vouched for in modern times); some of them took concubines or even wives, as the Ḥanafī school allowed.

Outside the house, many slaves served as assistants in business, or carried on business themselves, in accordance with their legal position, with a considerable measure of independence. Others cultivated their masters' fields. Examples are found of monumental building-works carried out by slave-labour, especially by prisoners-of-war in government service. But it must be emphasized that mediaeval Islam seems scarcely to have known the system of large-scale rural exploitation based on an immense and anonymous slave labour-force. One big attempt along these lines, carried out by the ʿAbbāsids in order to revivify the lands of ʿIrāḳ, the centre of their empire, ended, during the second half of the 9th century, in the prolonged and terrible revolt of the *Zandj* [*q.v.*] slaves, who had been imported from the eastern coast of Africa to bring the swamps of Lower Mesopotamia under cultivation.

The vast majority of slaves therefore escaped the system of collective forced labour, which condemns a man to one of the most distressful of all existences. This does not mean that they were one and all contented with their lot; the number of runaways, which seems very high at certain periods, would indicate the reverse. But setting aside the suffering caused by the slave traffic (all the more if castration was performed), and taking into account the general harshness of the times, the condition of the majority of slaves with their Muslim masters was tolerable and not too much at variance with the quite liberal regulations which the official morality and law had striven to establish. Despite the obvious points of inferiority, it was even known for them to attain happy and enviable positions, in material prosperity and influence, especially in rich and highly-placed families and, even more, in the immediate entourage of the sovereign. They had, in addition, the prospect of liberation, which it was not always overbold to hope for.

This liberation, in the case of prisoners-of-war or victims of razzias by land or sea, might result from negotiations between the powers concerned: an exchange of captives or restoration in return for a ransom. History is full of such negotiations, sometimes futile, sometimes crowned with success, between Christian and Muslim states. Many were the captives ransomed, in both directions, thanks to collections of an official nature, but also more and more by ordinary individuals. In the latter case, Jews often played a useful part as go-betweens; in Spain they were sometimes referred to as "alfaqueques" (Ar. *fakkāk*, "liberator"). Further, great Catholic religious Orders, organized for the most part since the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th, devoted themselves to succouring and ransoming their co-religionists who were captives in Muslim countries: in discharging this duty, Trinitarians and Mercedarians were to have a long and fruitful career, which their eulogists, ancient and modern, have regrettably deemed it necessary to embellish still further by means of exaggerated figures.

Also worthy of consideration, for their number and for their effects on Muslim society, were the compulsory manumissions, under the conditions imposed by the Law, of concubines who had borne children, as well as the voluntary manumissions of slaves of both sexes, especially Muslims, by their Muslim masters. Thus apostasy was rendered attractive for Christians; though not, as a rule, imposed on them, it was insistently suggested. We have already said that enfranchisement is an act of piety, widely practised; it is frequently the result of a vow or oath (conditional oath, expiation for a violated oath). The beneficiary ranks unreservedly as a free man or woman; the bond of clientship which continues to exist, and whose existence is felt, presents not so much a slight moral derogation as an inestimable advantage in the reality of a highly compact social structure. From ʿAbbāsid times onward, more than one freedman rose very high indeed in the military and political hierarchy, even to the most exalted ranks to which a free Muslim might attain. Their very names, which they continued to bear, betraying to the world their former servitude and even their irremediable condition as eunuchs (some of them commanded armies), were

no obstacle to such a rise. In the 4th/10th century, such men as Muʾnis in Baghdād and the negro Kāfūr in Egypt afford a remarkable illustration of the system. A number of Muslim dynasties, in Spain as well as in Egypt and the heart of Asia, have an avowedly servile origin. A Turkish "slave" dynasty reigned at Dihlī in the 13th century [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE]. The "mamlūk" sultans of Cairo actually made such an origin a condition of coming to power, through a recognized *cursus honorum* (see G. Wiet, in Hanotaux, *Histoire de la Nation Egyptienne*, vol. iv, 1937, 393-5; D. Ayalon, *L'Esclavage du Mamelouk*, Jerusalem 1951, and MAMLŪKS). As for maternal ancestry, reigning sovereigns almost everywhere, including the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, were commonly sons of slave concubines, of widely varying provenance.

It is therefore easy to imagine the importance of slavery in that mingling of populations to which Muslim institutions have been so favourable. The number of new slaves introduced into the great cities in certain years could be reckoned in thousands; the slave element formed a considerable part of the urban population and had a marked tendency to blend with it, not only through enfranchisement but also through sexual intermixing, which was commonplace. Crossbreeding with blacks may have had ethnological consequences, which it is not within our competence to analyse. The slave-trade was of prime importance in economic life; the taxes imposed on it were a source of profit to the authorities. Although slave-labour was for the most part employed in household duties and was not generally applied to productive work, yet the military function of large numbers of male slaves was one of the salient features of this civilization, and had repercussions on the foreign and domestic policies of many mediaeval states (see M. Canard, on a treaty between Byzantium and Egypt in the 13th century, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 197 ff.).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text: Le Strange, 184, 429, 437, 459, 487; Mez, *Renaissance*, 152-62; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, Leipzig 1885-6, ii, 555-63 and *passim*; Schnaube, *Handelsgeschichte der roman. Völker....*, Munich-Berlin 1906, 22-3, 102, 272 and *passim*; Ch. Verlinden, *L'Esclavage dans l'Espagne musulmane, Anuario de Historia del Derecho español*, 1935, 361-424; Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne Musulmane au Xe siècle*, Paris 1932, 29, 191-3; idem, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, vol. iii; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, i, 450-1, 454-8.

B) *In the Modern Period*

The practice of slavery among the Muslims seems to have undergone no radical changes during the modern period, down to the last century. The main sources and the mediaeval routes of the slave-trade were modified only to a limited extent by the disappearance of Islam from Spain and on the other hand its expansion or consolidation in the Balkans, India and Indonesia. Far more considerable must have been the effect of the position adopted by European Christendom; having almost entirely suppressed slavery on its own ground, it must have ceased to contribute to the commercial supply of white human merchandise long before it adopted the worldwide policy of abolitionism, whose effects are still perceptible in our own days. Christendom nevertheless busied itself with supplying its American colonies with African negroes, thrown into cruel bondage. Among these unfortunates, Muslims seem to have been particularly numerous in Brazil, where from 1807 to 1835 they fomented the great slave revolts, rigorously quelled, which shook Bahia (on their cultural influence and their disappearance, see R. Ricard and R. Bastide, in *Hesperis* for 1950 and 1952 respectively). In the Mediterranean, where the corsairs and "Barbary" pirates continued their ravages, perhaps to an even greater extent, after the establishment of Ottoman supremacy (see O. Eck, *Seeräuberei im Mittelmeer*, Munich-Berlin 1940), the bordering Christian powers retaliated almost down to the end of the 18th century, as they had done previously, by numerous captures. In this work the Knights of Malta took an active part: during the first half of the century, they sold to the French navy the men it needed as rowers on the galleys. More than ten thousand Muslim slaves attempted a revolt on the island in 1749; Bonaparte liberated the two thousand Barbary slaves whom he found there in 1798 (see Godeschot and Emerit, in *R.Afr.*, 1952, 105-13).

On the lot of Christian captives or slaves in the hands of the Barbary corsairs, there is abundant European documentation; perhaps even too abundant, in view of its not being always of good quality. If Cervantes' captivity at Algiers is a matter of certainty and had a felicitous result on his work, that of St. Vincent de Paul at Tunis is scarcely plausible. The information provided in what might be termed the classic accounts of the subject, such as those of Friar Haedo or Father Dan (17th century, the heyday of the corsairs), must be carefully checked against other data, preferably derived, where possible, from consular archives (for all aspects of slavery at Algiers, see the solid study by H. D. de Gramont, in *Revue Historique*, 1884-5, to be supplemented by Venture de Paradis, ed. Fagnan, Algiers 1898, and Lespès, *Alger*, Paris 1930, ii, chaps. 3-5; for Tunisia, we have a judicious statement of the facts by J. Pignon in *R.T.*, 1930; see also, as a more recent publication, Garcia Navarro, *Redenciones de cautivos en África*, ed. Vazquez Pajaro, Madrid 1946). It is important to distinguish particularly between slaves held to ransom, who were rich and well-treated, and the slave workers, whose widely-varying destinies might hold in store for them a bitter life in the galleys, or wretched toil in the countryside, or an often much easier life in or just outside the city. Barbary at that time abounded in "matamores" (Ar. *maṭmūra*: "silo") and "bagnios" (Ital. *bagno*: "bath") in which the slaves were penned. The Atlantic itself was scoured by the Moroccan corsairs, from their base at Rabat-Salé (see Penz, *Les captifs français du Maroc au XVIIe siècle*, Rabat 1944). As in the Middle Ages, the liberationist religious Orders and the Jews took an active part in procuring releases by ransom. Renegades attained high positions in the fleet or in the army. But at the beginning of the 19th century, after a slow decline that was hastened by increased pressure on the part of the European powers, the number of Christian captives was considerably diminished. At the time of the French conquest in 1830, Algiers had no more than 122, as against several thousands two centuries earlier.

North Africa remained an outlet for the traffic in negroes, on the other hand, right down to the French occupation. In this traffic Morocco played a preponderant part, especially at that period in the second half of the 17th century, when the sultan Mūlāy Ismāʿīl raised a veritable army of negroes and half-breeds (*ʿabīd al-Bukhārī*, in consequence

of the oath they took on this collection of "authentic" traditions; see H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, ii, Casablanca 1950, 256-7). Black slaves of both sexes continued to be imported into Morocco until well into the 20th century, with some pretence at secrecy since the open traffic from Timbuktu and public sale (the fairs of Sīdī Aḥmad u-Mūsā on the southern borders; at Fez and Rabat the special market was called *birka*, as in Tunisia) had become impossible. It should be pointed out how much their presence colours the family and social life of the cities (see R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 200-3, with references; and, under the Protectorate, J. and J. Tharaud, *Fez ou les bourgeois de l'Islam*, Paris 1930, 17-43).

Towards 1810, a competent observer, Dr Louis Frank, made a special study of the importation of slaves at Tunis (*L'Univers Pittoresque, Tunis*, 115 seqq.) as he had done in Egypt ten years previously under Bonaparte (his *Mémoire sur le commerce des nègres au Kaire*, Paris 1802). The general organization of the traffic, the focus of which was public sales, recorded in writing, was much the same in both places, with the difference that whereas Cairo was supplied solely by big caravans (two annual, one from Sennār and one from Dārfūr—see also J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, Oxford 1949, *passim*—, and one biennial, from Bornu or Fezzān), Tunis used to receive some isolated consignments, apart from one big caravan every year from Fezzan or beyond (see also J. Despois, *Géographie humaine du Fezzan*, Paris 1946, 35-7, with references): an annual total of some three thousand for Cairo and one thousand for Tunis. In the latter city the male black slaves came under the authority of the agha or chief eunuch of the bey, while the negresses had "a forewoman to rule and protect them." In Egypt, the mortality of these negroes was high; in Tunis, according to Dr. Frank, their infants survived only if they were of mixed blood (on the blacks in present-day Tunisia, see Zawadowski, in *En terre d'Islam*, 1942). In the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī, towards 1835, the Egyptian army used to make up its strength by yearly razzias from bases in Dārfūr and Kordofān; it would enrol the sturdiest of the captives and hand the rest over to the inhabitants of those provinces and to the dealers, some of whom were themselves black converts to Islam (see T. F. Buxton, *De la traite des esclaves en Afrique*, French tr., Paris 1840, 70-5).

The moral and social condition of slaves in an urban environment, in the 19th century, seems to have been fairly uniform in such diverse cities as Tunis, Cairo and Mecca (a great centre for the traffic on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage). White slaves had become rare since the beginning of the century; they were expensive and in little demand except by exalted personages or rich Turks; white female slaves were preferably Caucasians, famed for their beauty. Arabia could muster a small number of Indonesians. The bulk of the slaves were black, but in the east a distinction was drawn between Ethiopians, who were paler and more highly prized, and negroes in the strict sense. Eunuchs were imported already castrated; in Mecca, the majority of them were in the service of the mosques. All the European writers lay stress on the good treatment these blacks customarily received at the hands of their town-dwelling masters, in contrast to the dreadful conditions of their capture and subsequent transportation under the lash of the Arab or Arabicized slavers. They readily adopted Islam and became deeply attached to it (some even thanked God for having led them to the true Faith through their captivity: Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*², i, 554-5), though their new faith did not prevent them from performing their traditional songs and dances, or even their African rites of exorcism (the *zār* [*q.v.*]; see Trimingham, *op. cit.*, 174-7; similar facts in Barbary). They formed, one may say, part of the family and, especially as concubines, the slave-girls came to be of one blood with it. Enfranchisements were usual, but it was not unknown for a concubine who had borne a child to seek from her master a denial of paternity, since there were more advantages for her in remaining a slave than in marrying and running the risk of repudiation (see especially Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1895, 147, 168, 194-7; Burckhardt, *Voyages en Arabie*, French tr., Paris 1835, i, 251-2; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii (The Hague 1889), 11-24, 132-6). It is therefore not surprising that, round about 1860, the Swiss Henry Dunant, founder of the Red Cross, who knew Tunisian society, laid great stress on the customary mildness of urban servitude among the Muslims, as compared with the methods of American slave-holders.

At the end of the 18th century, Mouradgea d'Ohsson, to whom we owe so much of our information on the structure of the Ottoman empire, declared: "There is perhaps no nation where the captives, the slaves, the very toilers in the galleys are better provided for or treated with more kindness than among the Mohammedans" (*Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, iv/1, 381).

Under the sultans of Constantinople, slavery perpetuated the mediaeval traditions of the Islamic peoples: it furnished domestics, concubines, officials and soldiers. For the use of private persons, for example, the slave-dealers (*esirciler*), who were under the supervision of a *kâhya*, had at their disposal a public building in the capital, not far from which lived the expert matrons who acted as go-betweens if the purchasers so desired. Every slave, after passing the frontier, had a document of civic status bearing his name, which remained as a title-deed in the hands of his successive owners. People of quality, who imitated the court on a reduced scale, had *ḥarīms* of close on a hundred slave-women. The sultan's *ḥarīm* numbered several hundred, classified in a strict hierarchy of five ranks, only the two highest of which (those of *kadın*, "lady" and, below them, of *gedikli*, "privileged"), were attached to the person of the sovereign. Some of the women of the highest rank were former slaves whom the sultan had freed and subsequently married informally. Although for many years none of the sultan's wives had been freeborn, these former slaves had no difficulty in wielding very great influence at court. Besides this female element, there lived at the seraglio numerous eunuchs, conventionally known as "aghas" (Turkish also uses in this sense the Arabic *khādim* > *hadım*). The black eunuchs, under the "agha of the girls" (*kızlar ağası*), vied with the white eunuchs, under the "agha of the gate" (*kapı ağası*) for precedence and power; in the upshot it was the former who carried the day. Finally we must note the importance in all public services, civil and military, of slaves of various origins, "slaves of the gate" (*kapıkulları*), who, often converted to Islam of their own accord and enfranchised, attained the most desirable posts. From the 15th century, when the number of white slaves brought in by war and purchase had dwindled, almost down to the middle of the 17th century, there functioned the system,

contrary to the Sacred Law, of *devşirme* [see DEWSHIRME], or forced enrolment of young Christians of the empire, mainly from the Balkans, as slaves of the government. These involuntary yet devoted servants of the Porte used to receive a training suited to their abilities; the most gifted would enter the palace or the higher administration; the rest were turned over to the navy or various military corps, including the Janissaries, whose brilliant reputation was due to them (see M. d'Ohssòn, *op. cit.*, vi and vii, and H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen's solid and well-documented *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, Oxford 1950, 42-4, 56-60, 73-82, 329-33).

Further east, in modern Persia, it is essentially in the domestic form that slavery has been practised. There one meets with the general characteristics already noted: usually good treatment, integration in the family, ease of enfranchisement, with some modifications belonging to Imāmī Shīʿite law (*v. supra*). Seventeenth-century European travellers were struck by the high number of eunuchs and the power they had, both at the Ṣafawid court and in the houses of the great; according to Chardin (*Voyages en Perse*, Amsterdam 1711, ii, 283-5) there were some 3,000 of them in the service of the sovereign, while the nobles and even rich private citizens had staffs of eunuchs. They were given the considerate appellation of "tutor, master" (*khōdja*, equivalent to *ustādh* which we have met above). Their purchase price was extremely high; the majority were white and came mostly from the Malabar coast of India. In the first half of the 19th century, under the Ḳādjārs, white slaves became few and soon disappeared altogether, except for the pretty Caucasian girls who continued to enter the *ḥarīms*; but, contrary to the most widespread Muslim practice, their children could not succeed to the throne, which was reserved for sons whose mothers were of royal blood. The numbers of the black slaves had increased; they were either Ethiopians who had crossed Arabia, or Zandj of east Africa, who came by way of Zanzibar, Mascat and Bushire (on this traffic, in Arab hands, see R. Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa*, London 1939, 136-46, with references), to draw custom to the market of Shīrāz. The high mortality which overtook these coloured men in Persia prevented their forming an important element in the population (see Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i, 248-61, 661; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 148).

The Persians, in the course of their armed conflicts with the Sunnī inhabitants of Turkestan, were sometimes reduced to slavery, as being heretics. In the middle of the 19th century, it was still possible for so many thousands of them, prisoners of war, to be sold at once in the market at Bukhārā that prices slumped. Some of them in this same town, having won their masters' regard and being enfranchised, rose to every official position of honour. Others, however, less well endowed, went from there to swell the number of the slaves on whose shoulders fell the greater portion of the agricultural work in the khanate of Khīwa (see A. Vambéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, London 1864, 192-3, 331, 371).

Among the relatively rare examples of an essential agricultural task performed by a compact slave labour-force, we may cite that of the region of Zanzibar itself, where, in the 19th century, there was kept a body of blacks gathered from almost as far as the great lakes and destined in the mass for export. The harsh life of toil in the sugar- or clove-plantations, run by Arab or Indian planters, all along the coast, was quite devoid of the amenities of urban servitude. The lot of thousands of slaves employed in pearl-fishing in the Persian Gulf also seems to have been a very harsh one over a long period.

Much less burdensome, certainly, but wildly discriminatory, is the slavery which still obtains today in the desert: in the Sahara on the one hand, in Arabia on the other, for the benefit of the nomad tribes. Tuareg society, divided into three rigid castes, used to keep on the lowest level, beneath the nobles and their vassals, the slave-groups (*akli*, pl. *iklān*), enfranchised or not, almost all of them black, who were utilized by the dominant clans either as tillers of the soil or as servants to men and beasts. Among the beduin of the Arabian peninsula and its fringes (see especially A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 26, 60-1, 125-6; A. Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 276-8), black slaves may intermarry and acquire property, but however intimate they may be with the master and his family, however great the advantages custom permits them to enjoy, they are never regarded as equals, even after enfranchisement: they are *ʿabīd*, and *ʿabīd* they remain; and marriage with the sons or daughters of them is considered a come-down, by the lowliest of whites.

Bibliography: To the references in the text may be added R. Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, i, 117-27.

Abolition

Although Islam, in teaching and in actuality, has favoured the emancipation of slaves, it was only under an overwhelming foreign influence that it began, about a hundred years ago, an evolution in doctrine and in practice towards the total suppression of slavery, its abolition in law and custom. This evolution, which has continued, is in some regions still incomplete. Here we have one of the most typical examples of the transformation that the Muslim world has undergone, through European pressure or example, from the mid-19th century down to our own day.

The European powers concerned were themselves, to some extent, novices in this field: they had long favoured the traffic and maintained slavery in their colonies. One of them, Russia, had maintained serfdom on her own soil. The French "philosophers" of the 18th century, beginning with Montesquieu, had condemned the very principle of slavery: its short-lived suppression under the First Republic was unfortunately a check. But, from 1806 onward, Britain took the lead in the movement for the suppression of the slave-trade and then of slavery itself. She may be accused of having more than once let her maritime and colonial interests dictate her interventionary zeal or, on other occasions, the mildness of her actions. Yet, when all is said, she stands out as a great pioneer of abolition over the whole surface of the earth, including the lands of Islam.

The diplomatic history of the 19th century, since 1814-15, is dotted with treaties and other international agreements aimed at banning the traffic in negroes, by sea and across the continent of Africa, in increasingly precise terms. The suppression of slavery as such is mentioned only towards the end of the century, and then timidly. But measures in this direction had already been adopted in several portions of the Muslim world, particularly those under the authority of European states. Britain, having emancipated the slaves in her colonies by

the famous Bill of 28 Aug. 1833, made in 1843 the first general decision to abolish slavery in India (completed by a series of other Acts down to 1862). France completely abolished slavery in all her over-sea territories, including Algeria, by a decree of the Second Republic on 27 April 1848; the Netherlands did the same for their Indonesian possessions by the laws of 1854-59, with effect from 1 Jan. 1860 (3 years before their colonies in the West Indies); and Russia for her Central Asian dependencies on 12 June (O.S.) 1873, before even having completed the conquest of Turkestan.

Parallel with this direct and radical action by the Powers, the Muslim states which, while remaining independent, were most subject to Western pressure and had most contacts with European civilization, were slowly and cautiously embarking on restrictive measures. As early as 1830, the Ottoman sultan had enfranchised *en bloc* those white slaves of Christian origin who remained true to their religion, while expressly keeping the Muslims in slavery (G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, ii, Oxford 1905, 171-2). To Tunisia belongs the honour of having been the first to promulgate a general edict of emancipation for black slaves (*ipso facto*, of Muslim slaves: there were practically no white slaves in the Regency). By a decree of 23 Jan. 1846, the same year in which he was to make his sensational journey to France, the bey Aḥmad ordered that letters of enfranchisement should be granted to every slave who so wished, and that every instance of slavery of which the religious magistrates might be apprised should be referred to him. The preamble to this decision, which was approved by the two highest dignitaries of the Ḥanafī and Mālikī rites in the country, is worth dwelling on: in it, slavery is declared to be lawful in principle but regrettable in its consequences. Of the three considerations particularized, two are of a religious nature, the third political (*maṣlaḥa siyāsiyya*): the initial enslaving of the people concerned comes under suspicion of illegality by reason of the present-day expansion of Islam in their countries; masters no longer comply with the rules of good treatment which regulate their rights and shelter them from wrong-doing. It is therefore befitting to avoid the risk of seeing unhappy slaves seeking the protection of foreign authorities (M. Bompard, *Législation de la Tunisie*, 398; Arabic text in Sanūsī, *Madjmūʿāt al-Ḳawānīn al-Tūnusiyya*, fasc. 1, p. 4).

Thirty years later, in the treaty concluded with England on 19 July 1875, the bey Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ undertook not only to see that the decree of 1846 was given full effect, but also to do everything in his power to suppress slavery and punish any infraction. Under the French protectorate, various Tunisian ministerial circulars (1887-91) and the bey's decree of 28 May 1890 completed the formal prohibition of slavery in the Regency and the organization of the freeing of black slaves on the judicial and administrative planes (M. Bompard, *op. cit.*, 472; P. Zeys, *Code annoté de la Tunisie*, i, 384-6).

At Istanbul, the first imperial firmāns against the slave-trade date from the period of the *Tanẓīmāt*, under ʿAbd al-Madjīd, and especially from the years of close understanding with France and Great Britain: Oct. 1854 for the whites, Feb. 1857 for the blacks (a religiously-inspired reservation exempted the Ḥidjāz from the reform). How little effect these documents had at first in preventing the import of blacks, is apparent from the multiplicity of decisions of the same sort, the circulars and instructions which continued to repeat one another, in terms ever more insistent and explicit, till round about 1900. The agreement entered upon with Great Britain in 1880 but not applied till 1889, followed by Turkey's adhesion to the general Act of the Brussels Conference of 1890, constituted an important double step towards the suppression of the traffic, already much reduced by abolitionist action in Africa and the Red Sea: till then "more or less clandestine", it was to assume thenceforth "the nature of smuggling and was treated as such" (G. Young, *op. cit.*, 172-206). Moreover, foreign consuls secured from the Ottoman authorities the enfranchisement of slaves who sought refuge with them. The Constitution of 1876, guaranteeing the personal liberty of all subjects of the empire remained a dead letter until it was put in force by the Young Turks in 1908. At this time there were only a very few slaves, all of them domestic, in the capital and those provinces under the effective control of the central power (cf. Dr. Millant, *L'esclavage en Turquie*, Paris 1912).

Egypt was nominally included in the Ottoman territories within the scope of the oldest firmān forbidding the traffic in negroes. Indeed it needed to be, for this traffic had expanded just at the moment when the Egyptians installed themselves in the heart of the Sudan. Pashas subordinate to the Porte organized some anti-slaving expeditions in the south; the results were but mediocre (cf. J. Cooper, *Un continent perdu*, Fr. tr. Paris 1876, 25-8). Under the khedive Ismāʿīl, a mission of this type entrusted to Sir Samuel Baker (1869-73) was equally disappointing (S. Baker, *Ismailia*, London 1874, Fr. tr. Paris 1875), whereas after 1874 the fight against slavery was intensified, hand in hand with the Egyptian expansion, under Colonel Charles George Gordon and his European colleagues (cf. P. Crabitès, *Gordon, the Sudan and Slavery*, London 1933; H. Dehérain, in Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, vi, 481-552). At this period, the khedive, under the terms of his agreement with England of 4 Aug. 1877, was formally banning all trade in negroes and then opening enfranchisement offices in the various provinces. But it was only towards the end of the century, under the English *de facto* protectorate, that the most energetic measures were taken: since 1895, any infringement of the freedom of the individual has been classed as a crime in Egypt, while since 1898 the slave-trade, with the defeat of the Mahdist movement which had revived it in the Sudan, has been no more than an infrequent and clandestine phenomenon.

It was again the British who attacked, with notable persistence, one of the most productive sources of Muslim slavery: that of east Africa. The traffic there, by land and sea, had assumed terrifying proportions since Saʿīd, the Imām of Mascat, had succeeded in gaining a foothold on the coast of Africa, at the beginning of the 19th century. The stages through which English diplomatic activity passed are symptomatic: in 1822, after ten years of parleying, Saʿīd consented merely to forbid his subjects to export slaves *outside* the maritime lane joining Africa to Oman; in 1845, he prohibited the export of slaves from Africa to Arabia and beyond, while all the time insisting on the lawfulness of the import of slaves and of the slave-traffic within African territory. His son Barghash, sultan of Zanzibar, was to go further, in consequence of Sir Bartle Frere's famous mission to him: by the treaty of 5 June 1873 he prohibited the maritime traffic and the public slave-markets; then, in 1876, he declared the traffic by land illegal (see R. Coupland,

East Africa and its Invaders, Oxford 1938; *idem*, *The Exploitation of East Africa*, London 1939); if this did not stop it immediately, it was at any rate a considerable embarrassment for the trade. Next, under the British protectorate, a decree of the sultan in 1897 granted their freedom to any slaves who should ask for it, and forbade the courts to concede the claims of slave-owners. On 6 July 1909, a final decree abolished the status of slave in its entirety. The same thing had happened two years before in British East Africa (now Kenya), against an indemnity to be paid to the owners (the matter was settled in 1916).

It is safe to say that, towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the export of negroes was at a very low ebb. We may add that Persia, one of the receiving countries, had also publicly renounced this trade in her 1882 treaty with England, and her newly-created National Assembly adopted in Oct. 1907 a "fundamental law" in favour of individual freedom (E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 210); if slavery was not suppressed by these measures, it did suffer a severe blow. In Africa itself, the greater part of the vast zone wherein the Muslim slaver held sway, extending from the Atlantic to Wadai, east of Lake Chad, was conquered piecemeal and occupied by France; this has been followed by the almost complete disappearance of the slave-trade from this immense area and slavery has been abolished almost everywhere within it. Italy, the latest comer of the colonial powers, conducted an identical policy in the territories she administered in the east (Somaliland, Eritrea) and north (Tripolitania, Cyrenaica) of the continent. But the last independent state in Africa, Ethiopia, still governed by a Christian dynasty, remained (despite the negus's edicts against the traffic) a notable stronghold of the slavers, facing the Sudan and Arabia and exporting whenever possible; in the provinces, islamization and the intensification of the slave trade often went hand in hand (Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, 203-4 and *passim*). During the 1914-18 war, the relinquishment of Fezzān by the Italians, who had just taken it from the Turks, and its occupation by the Sanūsīs, allowed the traffic to resume much of its activity: a slavemarket was held every week at Murzūk (Petragnani, in *L'Italia in Oriente*, Feb. 1921, tr. in *L'Afrique française*, April 1922).

At the end of the first world war, when the victors had visions of organizing the peace and of securing, in accordance with their Convention of St. Germain of 10 Sept. 1919, "the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms", long experience gave them advance information on the problems that were bound to be raised by a task of this nature; on the successes that might be hoped for and the resistance that might be expected in Muslim lands. The suppression of the traffic, which had become for the most part clandestine, was a troublesome affair, demanding the use of powerful forces and involving, by sea, the risk of provoking legal conflict between nations (France and Great Britain, 1905, in the Indian Ocean). Yet making an end of the trade does not mean putting a stop to slavery or to the transfer of slaves from one owner to another. As for official abolition, it is not always easy to secure under a protectorate; nor is it always equivalent in practice to positive and immediate suppression.

The fact is that, if slavery is such a firmly-rooted institution in certain Islamic countries, it is due far more to social conservatism than to a collective economic need. We established above that the part played by slave-labour in those lands is rarely essential for productive work. This explains why an abolitionist policy, so long as it is not applied too high-handedly, provokes no serious disturbance there, nor any violent reaction. The prevailing wish in the minds of slave-owners is to enjoy the comfort afforded by having a large domestic staff, kept under strict control; from which, moreover, lawful concubines may be recruited. They have on their side not only the tacit consent of the majority of their slaves but also an extensive public opinion and the religious tradition of Islam. The domestic slave is in his master's power through fear and respect, through self-interest, through affection. We must bear in mind that he is generally well-treated; we may reflect that he lives in a family atmosphere, without thought for the morrow. To the slave-woman, concubinage offers, besides various advantages for herself and her children, the chance of an ascent in the social scale, of which an untimely emancipation would rob her. Even when freed, the slave is often likely to remain close to his master. If he has procured his freedom against the latter's wishes, or if he has been snatched from the claws of the slaver, he is woefully without resources in a hostile environment, unless he benefits by the special measures which governments ought to take—and which they have occasionally taken—with a view to his social readjustment.

The fact, brought out in the Ḳurʾān, that slavery is in principle lawful, satisfies religious scruples. Total abolition might even seem a reprehensible innovation, contrary to the letter of the holy Book and the exemplary practice of the first Muslims. Nevertheless, contact with the realities of the modern world and its ideology began to bring about a discernible evolution in the thought of many educated Muslims before the end of the 19th century. They may be fond of emphasizing that Islam has, on the whole, bestowed an exceptionally favourable lot on the victims of slavery. Yet they are ready to see that this institution, which is linked to one particular economic and social stage, has had its day. The reformer Sayyid Aḥmad Khān in India, goes so far as to maintain, in a special work, *Ibṭāl-i Ghulāmī*, which appeared in 1893, translated into Arabic in 1895, that the Ḳurʾān (xlii, 4) forbade the making of new slaves (Baljon, *The Reforms . . . of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān*, Leiden 1949, 28-29). Without going so far, his illustrious compatriot Ameer Ali (*The Spirit of Islam*, London, 1st ed. 1893; ed. 1935, 262) includes slavery among the preIslamic practices which Islam only tolerated through temporary necessity, while virtually abolishing them: man-made laws were later to complete the abrogation of it, which could not have been done formerly by a sudden and total emancipation (cf. the Egyptian Ahmed Chafik, on much the same lines: *L'esclavage au point de vue musulman*, Cairo 1891, 2nd ed. 1938). This thesis gradually found its way, to a varying extent, into the circle of the *ʿulamā* (for the school of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, see *Tafsīr al-Manār*, xi, 288 ff.), already open to the older arguments of the Tunisian muftīs, which were more restrained and more legalistic. But obviously it could not gain the support of the Wahhābīs of Arabia, those uncompromising restorers of the *sunna* of the Prophet; up to the present day they have vigorously maintained their downright antagonism towards abolition.

The League of Nations, from the very outset of its work, displayed an active interest in all problems

relating to slavery. This interest was notably expressed in the adoption of the international Geneva Convention of 25 Sept. 1926, in which the legal definition of slavery is formulated ("status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised", which squares with the concepts of Muslim law) and the signatories pledge themselves "to bring about, progressively and as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery". One by one, almost all the States concerned adhered to this Convention, but not Saudi Arabia or the Yaman. From then on, a consultative committee of experts worked indefatigably, gathering official returns (some of which, furnished mainly by the British and Italian governments, are highly instructive) and publishing copious reports. Legal measures multiplied, independently of this international organization as well as under its aegis. Abolition came as a matter of course in the new Turkish Republic, which repudiated every trace of Muslim law, as in the Levant territories severed from the old Ottoman empire and directly administered by France or Great Britain. In Egypt, the 1923 Constitution confirmed the guarantee of individual liberty. One after another, Afghānistān (1923, 1931), ʿIrāḳ (1924), Kalāt (1926), Persia [Īrān] and Transjordan (1929) suppressed the legal status of slave. Baḥrayn followed suit in 1937.

In Africa, an order of 1922, coupled with penal sanctions in 1930, abolished slavery in Tanganyika (the former German East Africa) under British mandate; the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan took steps, as far-sighted as they were vigorous, to put an end by degrees to the vestiges of the traffic and to assist the freed slaves. In Northern Nigeria, under British administration, abolition, which began in 1907 and suffered a momentary check towards 1933 from a new offensive on the part of the trade, was accomplished by an order of 1936. In Morocco, a circular from the French Protectorate administration in 1922 suppressed public slave-dealing and granted their freedom to all who should ask for it. The pacification of the Sahara frontiers of Morocco by the French army, round about 1930, made it possible to put an end to what remained of the traffic in negroes. The Italians reoccupied Fezzān in 1929 and secured respect once more for abolition. Finally, Ethiopia showed evidence of good will: edicts of 1923, 1924 and 1931 forbade the capture of free persons or the disposal of slaves, while ordering many of them to be freed. A move was made to carry out these measures; enfranchisement offices were set up, from August 1932. The undertaking was immense and difficult. The Italians hurried things up by their armed intervention; they abolished slavery in Ethiopia by a decree of 12 April 1936.

The sole remaining resort of slavery was Arabia (outside the British colony of Aden). But it must be noted that, even in Arabia, European and particularly British persistence with the local authorities was not without effect. King Ibn Saʿūd, master of the Ḥidjāz and Nadjd, had abolished the customs-duty formerly levied on the import of slaves by the sharif Ḥusayn; in 1927 he officially confirmed to the British legation at Djidda a general right to manumit all slaves who claimed their freedom (there were some 150 of them between 1930 and 1935). Great Britain renounced this right the day following the promulgation in Saudi Arabia of the regulation on slavery of 2 Oct. 1936, which forbade the import of slaves by sea (the reason being that the religious law prohibits the capture or purchase of subjects of countries to which one is bound by treaty; but this same regulation declares servile status to be lawful and organizes it according to the strict letter of Muslim law; see Nallino, *Scritti*, i, 43, 124-5 and *Appendice*). In Feb. 1934, the Imām of the Yaman entered upon an undertaking with Great Britain to prohibit the entry of slaves coming from Africa. From the sultans and shaykhs of the southern coast (Eastern Aden Protectorate) and the Persian Gulf, Britain obtained similar decisions, reinforcing any made previously. A further step forward was taken in March 1935, when the sultan of Lahidj forbade all sale of slaves. In 1938, two sultans of the Ḥaḍramaut and the shaykh of Kuwayt declared all traffic in slaves to be illegal, and authorised slaves to claim their liberty (v. H. Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles*, London 1942, 349-50; and U. N. Economic and Social Council, *Official Records*, Sept. 1951, 644).

Under cover of the second World War (1939-45) there seems to have been some retrogression, with a small-scale resumption of the trade, particularly in certain Ethiopian provinces. At the time of writing, it is usually acknowledged that there is practically no transport of slaves any longer from Africa to Arabia. Nevertheless the legal status of slave persists in the peninsula. It is evidently the example of the neighbouring independent states of Saudi Arabia and the Yaman that prevents Britain from increasing her pressure on the states under her control with a view to total abolition. Other considerations, no doubt, keep France from having slavery abolished by law in Morocco, where there are in any case only mild survivals in the cities or the southern oases (see, for the bend of the Dra, Dj. Jacques-Meunié, in *Hespéris* 1947, 410-2); resistence to a final solution does not come from the class of *ʿulamā* (for the present-day legal aspect, see *Gazette des Tribunaux du Maroc*, 1944, 5-7; and *Revue Marocaine de Droit*, 1952, 154-6; 183-5). In the Sahara, the French administration which as early as 1916 deprived the Tuareg of their agricultural slaves, took their house slaves away from them in 1946 (R. Capot-Rey, *Le Sahara français*, Paris 1953, 288-9). The United Kingdom of Libya (a former Italian possession), in its constitution of Oct. 1951, laid down as a principle the personal liberty of its subjects.

The United Nations Organization (U.N.O.), the moral heir of the League of Nations, has resumed the study of slavery and has condemned it, in no uncertain terms, in its "Universal Declaration of Human Rights", voted by the General Assembly on 10 Dec. 1948 (though not ratified by every State): "Art. 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude. Slavery and the slave trade are prohibited in all their forms". An *ad hoc* Committee on Slavery, under the Economic and Social Council, is proceeding with enquiries by means of questionnaires addressed to governments and recognized associations (Saudi Arabia and the Yaman, both members of U.N.O., have not replied) and is proposing concerted solutions. Its Report of 4 May 1951 (ref. E./1988) advocates making a start by abolishing the legal status of slave and demands that every State concerned should assist emancipated slaves to fashion a new life for themselves. As yet no resolution has been passed by the United Nations, who are divided on this point as on so many others and are far more preoccupied with the serious forms of servitude which continue to exist, or have come into existence in the world of today, than with the last vestiges of Muslim slavery, which are doubtless bound to disappear quietly in the reasonably near future.

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ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ʿABBĀS (frequently Ibn ʿAbbās, without the article), Abu l-ʿAbbās, called *al-Ḥibr* 'the doctor' or *al-Baḥr* 'the sea', because of his doctrine, is considered one of the greatest scholars, if not the greatest, of the first generation of Muslims. He was the father of Ḳurʾanic exegesis; at a time when it was necessary to bring the Ḳurʾān into accord with the new demands of a society which had undergone a profound transformation, he appears to have been extremely skilful in accomplishing this task.

He was born three years before the hid̲j̲ra, when the Hās̲h̲imite family was living shut up in 'the Ravine' (*al-S̲h̲iʿb*); and, as his mother had become a Muslim before the hid̲j̲ra, he also was regarded as a Muslim.

From his youth he showed a strong inclination towards accurate scholarly research, in so far as such a conception was possible at that time. We know indeed that the idea soon occurred to him to gather information concerning the Prophet by questioning his Companions. While still young, he became a master, around whom thronged people desirous to learn. Proud of his knowledge, which was not based only on memory, but also on a large collection of written notes, he gave public lectures, or rather classes, keeping to a sort of programme, according to the days of the week, on different subjects: interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, judicial questions, Muḥammad's expeditions, pre-islamic history, ancient poetry. It is because of his habit of quoting lines in support of his explanations of phrases or words of the Ḳurʾān that ancient Arabic poetry acquired, for Muslim scholars, its acknowledged importance. His competence having been recognized, he was asked for *fatwās* (especially famous is his authorization of *mutʿa* marriage, which he later had to vindicate). The Ḳurʾanic explanations of Ibn ʿAbbās were soon brought together in special collections, of which the *isnāds* go back to one of his immediate pupils (*Fihrist*, 33); his *fatwās* were also collected; today there exist numerous manuscripts and several editions of a *tafsīr* or *tafsīrs* which are attributed to him (whether rightly or wrongly cannot be said, as no study of this material has yet been made (Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 76; cf. also Brockelmann, i, 190, S i, 331).

The importance of the role played by Ibn ʿAbbās in the political and military events of his time should not be exaggerated, as his Muslim biographers have tended to do, influenced by the fact that he was the grandfather of the ʿAbbāsids. He followed the Muslim armies in several campaigns: into Egypt (between 18 and 21 H.), into Ifrīḳiya (27 H.), into D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān and Ṭabaristān (30 H.), and, much later (49 H.), he accompanied Yazīd on his expedition against Constantinople (with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb). At the battles of the Camel (36 H.) and of Ṣiffīn (37 H.), he commanded a wing of ʿAlī's troops. For want of resounding exploits and important offices to record, Ibn ʿAbbās is presented to us later, by his biographers, as a counsellor whom the caliphs ʿUmar and ʿUt̲h̲mān valued highly, and as a counsellor too—unfortunately litte heeded—of ʿAlī and his son al-Ḥusayn. The truth is that Ibn ʿAbbās did not enter political life until after ʿAlī came to power, and took an active part in it for only three or four years at the most. A single official mission had been, in fact, entrusted to him by ʿUt̲h̲mān, that of conducting the pilgrimage to Mecca the year the caliph was besieged in his house at Medīna. It was for this reason that Ibn ʿAbbās was not in the capital at the time of the assassination of ʿUt̲h̲mān. When he returned some days later, he paid homage to ʿAlī. From that time he was charged with important missions and, after the occupation of Baṣra (36 H.), appointed governor of that town. He was one of the signatories of the convention of Ṣiffīn (37 H.), which handed over to two arbitrators the task of settling the quarrel between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, and in a discussion with the Ḥarūrites (see ḤARŪRĀʾ) he pleaded in support of the legal validity of that arbitration. But the relations between Ibn ʿAbbās and the caliph suddenly became strained, with the result that Ibn ʿAbbās withdrew to Mecca, abandoning his seat of government, and that ʿAlī no longer regarded him as his representative at Baṣra. The sources assign different dates to this defection of Ibn ʿAbbās: 38, 39, 40, but there is good reason to believe that it took place in 38 H. (it is possible to follow the movements of Ibn ʿAbbās during that year, and in the succeeding years he no longer appears in the foreground). The traditions which assert that Ibn ʿAbbās was consistently faithful until the death of the caliph are not worthy of credence. What were the reasons for the defection? Some Arabic sources say that Ibn ʿAbbās took offence because ʿAlī reproached him for defalcations which he was alleged to have committed as governor; but the true motive of his relinquishment of office, which coincided with that of many other supporters of ʿAlī, has to be related to other much more important events of the period: the massacre of the K̲h̲arid̲j̲ites at al-Nahrawān, which Ibn ʿAbbās, 'according to certain men', had stigmatised, and the false position of ʿAlī, who maintained his claim to be caliph when, according to the verdict of the arbitrators, he was no longer recognized as such by the majority of Muslims.

Later, Ibn ʿAbbās took a step which one might be tempted to judge severely, were it not that the precise circumstances are completely unknown: he carried off the provincial funds of Baṣra, probably when he returned to the town some time after his defection. Was this seizure criminal? When one observes that this act did not diminish the esteem in which Ibn ʿAbbās was held by the Muslim community, one may suppose that there were some fairly valid motives to justify it. Similarly, the events in which Ibn ʿAbbās was involved immediately after the death of ʿAlī are far from clear. Al-Ḥasan appointed him general of his troops, but Ibn ʿAbbās established contact with Muʿāwiya: whether on his own initiative or at the invitation of al-Ḥasan is obscure; perhaps it was he who successfully brought about the agreement between the two claimants to the Caliphate; he maintained that, as a reward for his good offices, Muʿāwiya had recognized his right to appropriate the money which he had seized (part

of the treasury of Baṣra). All these machinations of Ibn ʿAbbās seemed to certain *rāwī*'s imcompatible with the dignity of such a personage; and so they transferred them, obviously wrongly, to his brother, ʿUbayd Allāh. During the long reign of Muʿāwiya, Ibn ʿAbbās lived in the Ḥidjāz; he went fairly frequently to the Damascus court, mainly, it seems, to defend the interests of the Hāshimites, which were also his own.

The troubled events of the years which followed the deaths of the first and second Umayyads brought Ibn ʿAbbās once again, perhaps against his will, on to the political scene. Although the information which we possess is fragmentary, it can be deduced from it that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, having raised the standard of revolt at Mecca, became violently incensed with Ibn ʿAbbās who, with the son of ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, refused to recognise him as caliph. Both were banished from Mecca; in 64, the year of the siege of the town, they returned, but they persisted in their opposition to Ibn al-Zubayr, with unfortunate results: they were imprisoned. Al-Mukhtār, informed of their dangerous situation, sent from Kūfa a large troop of horse, which delivered them by a surprise attack. It was thanks to Ibn ʿAbbās that on that occasion bloodshed was avoided in the holy city. Under the protection of this troop, the liberated men went to Minā, then to al-Ṭāʾif, where Ibn ʿAbbās died some time later (68/686-8).

The verdicts which Caetani and Lammens have given on Ibn ʿAbbās are in contrast to the respect which Muslims of all periods have shown him. But Caetani's arguments can easily be disproved by fair and careful criticism (it is specially important not to confuse accounts from Muslim biblical history with the *ḥadīths* concerning the Prophet), and grave doubts can be cast on the resemblance to the original of the portrait sketched by Lammens.

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ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR (Malay pronunciation Abdullah bin Abdulkadir), surnamed MUNSHIʾ, i.e. teacher of languages, was "the greatest innovator in Malay letters" (R. O. Winstedt, *A history of Malay literature*, *JMBRAS*, 1940, ch. xii). He was born in 1796 in Malacca, where his grandfather, the son of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who came originally from Yaman, had settled. At an early age, ʿAbd Allāh received lessons in Malay from his father, who is said to have been an expert Malay scholar, and endeavoured to make himself fully master of this language by reading Malay writings and by associating with educated Malays. As he learned foreign languages and continually came into contact with Europeans, as for instance, Farquhar, Raffles, and the missionaries Milne, Morrison and Thomson, his culture increased regularly.

Shortly after the founding of Singapore (1819), he established himself in that town and earned his living in many different ways. He acted as an interpreter, gave lessons in Malay, wrote letters, and assisted the American missionaries North, Keasberry and others in translating mission books and school books.

In 1838 was published at Singapore under the title *Bahwa ini Kĕsah Pŭ-layar-an Abdullah, ben Abdulkadir, Munshi, deri Singapura ka-Kalantan*, a description of a journey to the Malay States on the east coast of the Peninsula of Malacca, giving most important information concerning them. This book inaugurated a new and free Malay prose style; its author may be considered a pioneer of the literary movement which, continued by authors of the 20th century, ultimately led to the development of Malay into the national language of Indonesia.

ʿAbd Allāh's principal work is the *Hikayat Abdullah*, his Memoirs, in which *inter alia* he mentions politically important personages, such as Farquhar and Raffles (whose secretary he was), and emphasizes the advantages of a European administration over an Indian one, even though he at the same time sharply criticizes the administrative measures of the English and Dutch. The work was finished in 1843 and lithographed with a few additions in 1849. Some copies of this first edition have an English dedication to Governor Butterworth, in which the work is called a "humble attempt to revive Malay literature". In his Memoirs ʿAbd Allāh mentions several works written by him. Among these is a poem describing a fire in Singapore, in which the author lost all his possessions. It was entitled *Shaʿir Singapura dimakan api* and printed in Malay as well as in Latin characters (1843). The Mss. described in the catalogues under this title do not contain this

poem, but a similar one, entitled *Shaʿir Kampong Gĕlam tĕrbakar*, published after a fire in 1847.

The periodical *Čĕrmin Mata* contains some contributions by ʿAbd Allāh. He died in 1854 during a pilgrimage to Mecca, shortly after his arrival in that city. The notes of his voyage as far as Djidda were published in *Čĕrmin Mata*.

Besides these original works ʿAbd Allāh translated the Tamil redaction of *Pančatantra* (a collection of Indian fables) into Malay under the title of *Hikayat Pandja Tandĕran*, and edited the Malay Chronicles (*Sĕdjarah Mĕlayu*).

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(C. A. van Ophuysen—P. Voorhoeve)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿABD al-MALIK b. Marwān, son of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān [*q.v.*], was born about the year 60/680-1, perhaps somewhat earlier, as he is said to have been 27 years old in the year 85/704. He grew up in Damascus and accompanied his father in several campaigns. We first meet him as an independent general in the year 81/700-1, in one of the usual razzias against the Eastern Romans. Then in the year 82/701-2, he was sent with Muḥammad b. Marwān to help al-Ḥadjdjādj against al-Ashʿath and played a part in the negotiations of Dayr al-Djamādjim. Thereupon he again led expeditions against the Eastern Romans, and in the year 84/703-4 conquered al-Maṣṣīṣa, which he converted into a military camp. After the death of his uncle ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, he was appointed governor of Egypt in the year 85/704. On 11 Djumādā II he made his entry into Fusṭāṭ. He was to wipe out all traces of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and therefore changed all the officials. His administration left a bad record in the tradition, because he accepted bribes and embezzled public moneys. The only really important achievement of his rule was the introduction of the Arab language into the *dīwāns* of the capital. His administration gave offence in Damascus; in the year 88/706-7 he made there a passing visit, and in 90/708-9 he was definitely recalled. He departed to Syria with many presents, but they were taken from him in the province of al-Urdunn by order of the caliph. Thereupon he disappeared from the political arena. Only al-Yaʿḳūbī has the information that he was executed when the ʿAbbāsids come to power. He is said to have been crucified by al-Saffāḥ in the year 132/749-50 in al-Ḥīra.

Bibliography: Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 232 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 98, 302; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten*, i, 38 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 1047, 1073 ff.; 1127, 1165; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 377 ff., 398, 409; Wellhausen, in *NGWGött.*, 1901, facs. 4, p. 20; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 414, 466; *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i, 15 f., 28 f. (C. H. Becker)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿABD al-MUṬṬALIB of B. Hāshim of Ḳuraysh, father of the prophet Muḥammad. The earliest and most reliable sources give little information about him. His mother was Fāṭima bint ʿAmr of B. Makhzūm. Al-Kalbī places his birth in the 24th year of the reign of Anūshirwān (554), but he is usually said to have been twenty-five when he died (? 570). According to a well-known story, picturesque but probably with little factual basis, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib vowed that, if he had ten sons who reached maturity, he would sacrifice one; he attained this and selected ʿAbd Allāh by lot, but eventually sacrificed 100 camels instead. His marriage to Āmina bint Wahb has been much embellished in legend. It may have marked an alliance between ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Āmina's clan, B. Zuhra, as he himself married a woman of this clan at the same time. During a trading expedition ʿAbd Allāh fell ill and died at Medīna among the clan of his father's mother, B. ʿAdī b. al-Nadjdjār, being buried in Dār al-Nābigha. His death took place either shortly before Muḥammad's birth or a few months after; the word "orphan" in Ḳ. xciii, 6, doubtless refers to Muḥammad's early loss of his parents.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 97-102; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 53-61; Ṭabarī, i, 967, 979-80, 1074-81; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 65-7, 118-20. (W. Montgomery-Watt)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ABĪ ISḤĀḲ al-Ḥaḍramī, grammarian and Ḳurʾān-reader from Baṣra, died in 117/735-6. His "exceptional" (*shādhdha*) reading continued the tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās and, in turn, influenced the readings of ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī and of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ. It seems now established that he was the earliest of the real Arab grammarians (cf. Ibrahim Mustafa, *Actes du XXI Congrès des Orient.*, 278-9). He is said to have extended the use of inductive reasoning (*ḳiyās*) and the detail is handed down that in case of doubt he opted for the accusative (*naṣb*). Nothing else is known about him beyond the facts that, being of

non-Arabic origin himself, he felt some hostility towards the Arabs, and that he was the object of a stinging riposte by al-Farazdak, whose mistakes he had pointed out.

Bibliography: The fundamental passage of al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Hell, 6-8 is partly reproduced by Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 25; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Krenkow in *RSO*, 1919, 117; Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-Naḥwiyyīn*, ed. Krenkow, 25-28; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 22-5; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, no. 1747; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 247; G. Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, 29; cf. also *Fihrist*, 9, 30, 41, 42; *Aghānī* [1], xi, 106.

(Ch. Pellat)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. AḤMAD [see saʿdids].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. AḤMAD b. ḤANBAL [see aḥmad b. ḥanbal].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿALĪ, uncle of the caliphs Abu l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ and Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr. ʿAbd Allāh was one of the most active participants in the struggle of the ʿAbbāsids against the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II. He was commander-in-chief in the decisive battle at the Greater Zāb, where Marwān lost his crown, and when the latter took to flight, ʿAbd Allāh pursued him, quickly captured Damascus and marched on to Palestine, whence he had the fugitive caliph pursued to Egypt. He was even more implacable than his brother Dāʾūd b. ʿAlī in waging war on the members of the Umayyad house, and shrank from no method to exterminate them root and branch. During his stay in Palestine, he had about eighty of them murdered at one time. Such cruelties naturally caused ill-will against the new ruler, and a dangerous rebellion in Syria broke out under the leadership of Abū Muḥammad, a descendant of Muʿāwiya I, and Abu ʾl-Ward b. al-Kawthar, the governor of Ḳinnasrīn. The rebels at first inflicted a defeat on the ʿAbbāsid troops, but were beaten by ʿAbd Allāh in 132/750 at Mardj al-Akhram. As governor of Syria, ʿAbd Allāh later threatened the safety of the new dynasty. After the death of al-Saffāḥ he made claims to the Caliphate, which he could base on his important services in the war against the Umayyads, and on the promise he claimed to have received from al-Saffāḥ. Moreover he had at his disposal a considerable army, which in reality he was to lead against the Byzantines. When he learned that the powerful governor of Khurāsān, Abū Muslim, had declared for the caliph al-Manṣūr and was marching against him, he is said to have killed 17,000 Khurāsānians in his army, because he feared they would never fight against Abū Muslim, and with his remaining troops proceeded against the latter. He was, however, in Djumādā II 137/Nov. 754 defeated at Nisibis and had to flee to his brother Sulaymān, the governor of Baṣra. After a couple of years, the latter was dismissed, and ʿAbd Allāh was arrested by order of the caliph al-Manṣūr. He remained some seven years in prison, then in the year 147/764 he was taken into a house that had been purposely undermined; it fell down on him and buried him under the ruins. At his death he is said to have been 52 years old.

Bibliography: Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (Guirgass); Yaʿḳūbī; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*; Ṭabarī; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, indexes; *Aghānī*, Tables; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (de Goeje and de Jong), *passim*; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 341-5; L. Caetani, *Chronographica Islamica*, Rome 1912, under the relevant years; L. Caetani-G. Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, Rome 1915, 731; L. Caetani, *Chronologia generale del bacino mediterraneo*, Rome 1923, under the relevant years; S. Moscati, *Le massacre des Umayyades*, in *Archiv Orientální*, 1950, 88-115.

(K. V. Zettersteén—S. Moscati)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿĀMIR, governor of Baṣra, was born in Mecca in 4/626. He belonged to the Ḳurayshite clan of ʿAbd Shams and was a maternal cousin of the caliph ʿUthmān. In 29/649-50 he was appointed by ʿUthmān to the governorship of Baṣra, in succession to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, and immediately took the field in Fārs, completing the conquest of that province by the capture of Iṣṭakhr, Darābdjird and Djūr (Fīrūzābād). In 30-31/651 he advanced into Khurāsān, defeated the Ephthalites, and occupied the whole province up to Marw, Balkh and (in 32/635) Harāt. After making the Pilgrimage, during which he distinguished himself by lavish munificence to the Meccans and Anṣār, he returned to Baṣra, leaving the government of Khurāsān in the hands of deputies. In 35/656 he attempted in vain to support ʿUthmān, and subsequently assisted ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr in organizing the resistance to ʿAlī at Baṣra. After their defeat in the Battle of the Camel he took refuge with a man of the Banū Ḥurḳūṣ and made his way to Damascus, where he joined Muʿāwiya. In 41/661 he was one of Muʿāwiya's delegates to treat with al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, and at the end of the same year he was reappointed to the governorship of Baṣra. In 42-43/662-4 his lieutenants reconquered Khurāsān and Sidjistān, which had been lost to the Arabs during the civil war, and an expedition was sent into Sind. But his lenience towards the tribesmen appeared too dangerous to Muʿāwiya, who replaced him in 44/664 by a more energetic governor; thereafter Ibn ʿĀmir appears to have lived in retirement until his death at Mecca in 59/680, or in 57 or 58.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir was celebrated not only for his military abilities, but also for his generosity and other personal qualities and especially for his numerous public works. Among these were the construction of two canals at Baṣra and the canal of Ubulla, plantations in al-Nihādj and Ḳaryatayn, and improved water supplies for the pilgrims at ʿArafa.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Saʿd, v, 30-5; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 191-5, etc.; id., *Buldān*, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 51, 315 ff.; id., *Ansāb*, v, index; Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 150; *Aghānī*, index; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, 79 ff., 90-1; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 191-2; Caetani, *Annali*, vii; *Chronographia*, 629-30; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 17 ff.; J. Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins (in the B.M.)*, London 1941, index. (H. A. R. Gibb)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. BULUGGĪN b. Bādīs b. Ḥabūs b. Zīrī, third and last ruler of the kingdom of Granada, of the Ṣinhādjī Berber family of the Banū Zīrī [see zīrids of spain]. Born in 447/1056, he was appointed at the death of his father Buluggīn Sayf al-Dawla, in 456/1064, as the presumptive heir of his grandfather Bādīs b. Ḥabūs. He succeeded him on the throne of Granada, while his brother Tamīm al-Muʿizz became independent ruler of Malaga. His reign consisted of a long series of troubles inside his kingdom, of armed conflicts with his Muslim neighbours, and of compromises with Alfonso VI, king of Castille. At the time of the Almoravid intervention in Spain he took part in the battles of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*] and Aledo, but his negotiation with the Christian king soon cost him his throne. He was besieged in his capital in 483/1090 by Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, was dethroned and sent into

forced residence in Aghmāt, in Southern Morocco, where he ended his days.

It was during his exile in Morocco that ʿAbd Allāh composed his "Memoirs", the almost complete text of which was found by the author of the present article in successive fragments, at intervals of several years, in the library of the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn in Fes. This autobiography, called *al-Tibyān ʿan al-hāditha al-kāʾina bi-dawlat Banī Zīrī fi Gharnāṭa*, is the most considerable and the least deformed document on the history of Spain in the second half of the 11th century. In spite of the long digressions in which the author tries to justify his political position in face of the dangers menacing his kingdom, these "Memoirs" give a very detailed chronicle of all the events that led in 478/1085 to the taking of Toledo by Alfonso VI, and, in the next year, to the arrival of the Almoravids in the Peninsula. At the same time it is a psychological document of the first order, that mirrors, much better than the chronicles of the Andalusi *ṭawāʾif*, the state of social and political decomposition in which Muslim Spain was found at the end of the 11th century, and the progress made by that time by the efforts of the *Reconquista*. The account of the events prior to the reign of the author is also new and important. The "Memoirs" of ʿAbd Allāh must be considered as the guiding thread that allows us to find our bearings through the maze of the history of Muslim Spain at the moment it was about to fall into the power of the North African dynasties.

Several fragments of the *Tibyān* were published, with an annotated translation by the author of this article, in *And.*, 1935, 233-344; 1936, 29-145; 1941, 231-93. The whole of the Arabic text, now recovered, will be published soon. A Spanish translation, by E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez (*Las "Memorias" de ʿAbd Allāh, último rey zīrī de Granada*) is due to be published in 1953.

Bibliography: The biographical articles about ʿAbd Allāh by Ibn ʿIdhārī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb have been reproduced in *And.*, 1936, 124-7; see also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām* (Lévi-Provençal), 268-70; Nubāhī, *al-Marḳaba al-ʿUlyā* (Lévi-Provençal), 93-4; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*[3], Madrid 1947, indices; idem, *Leyendo las "Memorias" del rey zirí ʿAbd Allāh*, *And.* 1944, 1-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Esp. Mus.*, iv.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. DJAʿFAR b. Abī Ṭālib, nephew of the caliph ʿAlī. ʿAbd Allāh's father had gone over to Islam very early, and took part in the emigration of the first believers to Abyssinia, where, according to the common belief, ʿAbd Allāh was born. On his mother's side he was a brother of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr; the mother's name was Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays al-Khathʿamiyya. After some years the father returned to Medīna taking his son with him. ʿAbd Allāh became known chiefly on account of his great generosity, and received the honorific surname of *Baḥr al-Djūd*, "the Ocean of Generosity". He appears to have played no very important part in politics, although his name crops up from time to time in history during ʿAlī's time and that following. When Muʿāwiya tried to throw suspicion on Ḳays b. Saʿd, the valiant governor of Egypt, to damage him in ʿAlī's eyes, ʿAbd Allāh advised the removal of Ḳays; ʿAlī allowed himself to be persuaded and took the fateful step of replacing him by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, who in a very short time brought the whole of Egypt into the greatest confusion. This took place in the year 36/656-7. When in the year 60/680, after Yazīd's accession, the Shīʿites of Kūfa summoned Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī to proceed to that city to have himself proclaimed caliph, ʿAbd Allāh amongst others endeavoured to dissuade him from this dangerous enterprise, but without success. The date of ʿAbd Allāh's death is generally given as 80 or 85, but 87 and 90 are also recorded.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3243 ff.; ii, 3 ff.; iii, 2339 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 224 ff.; Nawawī, 337 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 67, 200, 331; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 181, 271 f., 313, 329, 434; v, 19, 148, 383 ff.; Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwia Ier*, in *MFOB*, index.

(K. V. Zetterstéen)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. DJAḤSH, of Banū Asad b. Khuzayma, a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of Banū Umayya of Ḳuraysh. His mother was Umayma bint ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's aunt. An early Muslim along with his brothers, ʿUbayd Allāh and Abū Aḥmad, he took part with the former in the migration to Abyssinia. ʿUbayd Allāh became a Christian and died there, but ʿAbd Allāh returned to Mecca and was the most prominent of a group of confederates, including his sister Zaynab [*q.v.*], who all migrated to Medina. He led the much-criticized raid to Nakhla where Muslims first shed Meccan blood, and fought at Badr. At his death at Uḥud he was between 40 and 50.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 62-4; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 131; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, s.v.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. DJUDʿĀN, Ḳurayshite notable of the clan of Taym b. Murra, at the end of the 6th c. A.D. He acquired such wealth from the caravan and slave trade that he possessed one of the largest fortunes in Mecca (Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin* (van Vloten), 165; Ibn Rusta, 215; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 153 ff.; Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, index). He surrounded himself with unusual luxury (being nick-named *ḥāsī 'l-dhahab*, because he used to drink from a golden cup), and was the owner of the two singing-girls called "Locusts of ʿĀd" (*Djarādatā ʿĀd*) whom he offered to Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt. In giving magnificent banquets, he showed a generosity that became proverbial (*Aghānī*[1], viii, 4; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 487, in connection with the expression: *djifān Ibn Djudʿān*). Thus he won the favour of the poets, but also drew on himself some invectives (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], i, 364; ii, 93). His prestige enabled him to play a certain role in politics (*Aghānī*, xix, 76), and he seems to have been the promoter of the Meccan confederacy known as *ḥilf al-fuḍūl* (Ibn Hishām, 85; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 16; Lammens, *op. cit.*, 54 ff.).

Already before the 3rd/9th c., his unusual wealth, and the wish of the Meccans to explain it otherwise than by the slave trade, gave rise to his identification with the hero of a Yamanite legend, discoverer of the tomb of Shaddād b. ʿAmr [*q.v.*] (Wahb b. Munabbih, *Tīdjān*, 65 ff.). Thus he is represented as a *ṣuʿlūk* banished by his clan, wandering in the desert and enriched by a treasure of precious stones and gold which he finds in an old tomb (al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, 183 sqq.; al-Damīrī, s.v. *Thuʿbān*; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Sandūbī i, 31). According to an isolated and no doubt apocryphal tradition, he is buried in a place in Yaman called Birk al-Ghumād (Yāḳūt, i, 589).

Bibliography: Add to the references quoted in the art.: Ṭabarī, i, 1187, 1330; Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-Taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, iv, 128, v, 103; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 539; *Aghānī*[1], viii, 2-6; Ibn Durayd,

al-Ishtiḳāḳ, 88; Yāḳūt, iv, 621; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 210-1, 291 (trans. Carra de Vaux, 282-4, 381); Shiblī, *Āḳām al-Murdjān*, Cairo 1326, 141; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, i, 300-51, passim; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets* (= *JA*, 1907), 66; O. Rescher, *Qaljûbî's Nawâdir*, Stuttgart 1920, no. 101. (Ch. Pellat)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **ḤAMDĀN** [see Ḥamdānids].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **HAMMĀM** al-Salūlī, Arab poet of the 1st/7th century (he is said to have died after 96/715), who played a political role under the Umayyads. He was attached from 60/680 to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, condoled with him upon the death of his father and congratulated him at his accession. He persuaded Yazīd to proclaim his son Muʿāwiya as heir presumptive and later he was the first to greet al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik with the name of caliph (86/705). During the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik (65-86/685-705), the only information we have about his activity shows him to have had relations with the Shīʿite agitator al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] and his entourage, as well as with the anticaliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. To the latter he addressed a poem criticising the conduct of Muṣʿab [*q.v.*], who was in effect temporarily deposed soon afterwards by al-Zubayr (67/686-7).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, index; Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, (Hell) 135-6; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], index; idem, *Bayān* (Sandūbī), ii, 66, 67; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* (de Goeje), 412-3; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940, iii, 254 (= iv, 173 = v, 136), 306; vii, 140-1; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), 507; Ṭabarī, ii, 636-42 and passim; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 34, 309; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 126, 153-5; *Aghānī*[1], xiv, 120-1, 170; C. A. Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 154 (French transl. 236); H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, *MFOB*, v[1], 110, 120; idem, *Etudes sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beyrouth, 1930, 141, 158, 166. (Ch. Pellat)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **ḤAMZA** [see al-Manṣūr Bi'llāh].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **ḤANẒALA** b. Abī ʿĀmir al-Anṣārī, one of the leaders of the revolution that broke out in Medīna against the caliph Yazīd I. Posthumous son of a Companion killed at Uḥud and surnamed Ghasīl al-Malā'ika, ʿAbd Allāh is also known as Ibn al-Ghasīl. In 62/682 he took part in the deputation sent to Damascus by the governor of Medina, ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad, to bring about a reconciliation between the malcontents of Medina and the Umayyads. Yazīd showed special consideration for the envoys, but they, nevertheless, spoke ill of the caliph and described him as unfit for the caliphate. Ibn al-Ghasīl made himself prominent by his attacks and when the Anṣār openly revolted soon afterwards, it was he whom they choose as their chief, while ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ [*q.v.*] took the leadership of the city's Ḳurayshites. After the Umayyads of Medina had been driven out, the caliph was compelled to punish the rebels by force of arms. About the end of 63/683 he sent troops under the command of Muslim b. ʿUḳba, who occupied favourable positions on the Ḥarra, to the east of Medina, and after waiting three days, engaged the Medinese in a bloody battle which ended with the complete defeat of the rebels (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 63/Aug. 683). ʿAbd Allāh showed remarkable bravery in the battle, but finally fell under the blows of the Syrians. His head was cut off and brought to Muslim, and the two soldiers who killed him received, it is said, high rewards from the caliph.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 154; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 46 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 412 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 45, 87 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 4637; *Aghānī*[1], i, 12; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 365 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 16 ff.; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, 231 ff. (= *MFOB*, v, 211 ff.). (K. V. Zettersteén-Ch. Pellat)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. al-**ḤASAN** b. al-Ḥasan, chief of the ʿAlids. ʿAbd Allāh was treated with great favour by the caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty, and when he visited the first ʿAbbāsid caliph Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ at Anbār, the latter received him with great distinction. Thence he returned to Medīna, where he soon fell under the suspicion of the successor of al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr. Yet ʿAbd Allāh owed his misfortune not so much to himself as to his two sons Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Al-Manṣūr began to suspect them in 136/754, when he led the pilgrimage to Mecca and they did not appear with the other Hāshimites to salute him, but his suspicions fell more especially on Muḥammad. After his accession al-Manṣūr tried to sound the Hāshimites as to Muḥammad's real opinions, but they spoke only good of him and endeavoured to excuse his absence. Only al-Ḥasan b. Zayd advised the caliph to beware of this dangerous ʿAlid. In order to remove all doubts, al-Manṣūr ordered ʿUḳba b. Salm to get into ʿAbd Allāh's confidence by means of presents and forged letters from Khurāsān, the recognised centre of ʿAlid propaganda. At first ʿAbd Allāh was very cautious but finally fell into the trap, and when ʿUḳba asked him for an answer for his supposed companions in Khurāsān, he did indeed refuse to give one in writing, but asked him to inform them by word of mouth that he greeted them and that his two sons would rise in revolt in the near future. When ʿUḳba had in this manner convinced himself of the rebellious intentions of the ʿAlids, he at once informed the caliph, and when the latter in the year 140/758 again made a pilgrimage, he invited ʿAbd Allāh to come to him, and asked him if he could really count on his fidelity. ʿAbd Allāh assured him of his honorable sentiments, but when ʿUḳba suddenly appeared, he understood that he had been betrayed and took refuge in entreaties. Al-Manṣūr, however, had him arrested. ʿAbd Allāh's relatives shared his fate, but the caliph was not able to seize his two sons. When he again came to Medīna in the year 144/762 after making another pilgrimage, he took the prisoners back with him to al-ʿIrāḳ, and soon afterwards ʿAbd Allāh died there in prison at the age of 75. According to current report, he was murdered by al-Manṣūr's orders.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1338 ff.; iii, 143 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, 172 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 40 ff. (K. V. Zettersteén)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **HILĀL** al-Ḥimyarī al-Kūfī, a magician of Kūfa, contemporary of al-Ḥadjdjādj, with whom he was in relations after the building of the palace in Wāsiṭ (Yāḳūt, iv, 885; cf. also an adventure with a concubine of the caliph, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iii, 372-3). *Aghānī*[1], i, 167 quotes verses by ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa that bear witness to a connection between the poet and the magician. He abtained his powers from a magic ring given to him by Satan to thank him for having defended him from children who were insulting him. He was also thought to receive his inspiration from Iblīs, because he was descended from Iblīs in the maternal line; hence his nicknames of *ṣadīḳ Iblīs*, *ṣāḥib Iblīs*, *khatan Iblīs* or *sibṭ Iblīs* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*[2], i, 190; al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 109; al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 57); he is clearly described as *makhdūm* by al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*[2], vi, 198 (cf.

WZKM, vii (1893), 235-6). The *Fihrist*, 310 (reproduced in al-Shiblī, *Ākām al-Murdjān*, 101-2) mentions him among those that follow *al-ṭarīḳa al-maḥmūda*; on the other hand he is considered as the master of al-Ḥallādj, accused of practising diabolic magic (L. Massignon, *Ḥallâdj*, 792). Al-Djawbarī declares that he had read his books of magic (ZDMG, xx, (1866), 487; the passage is missing in the Cairo ed. of *al-Mukhtār fi Kashf al-Asrār*) and refers to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Sirr al-Maktūm*. (CH. PELLAT)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ḤUSAYN, Amīr of Transjordan (Sharḳ al-Urdunn), afterwards king of Hāshimite Jordan (al-Mamlaka al-Urdunniyya al-Hāshimiyya), second son of the sharīf al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] king of Ḥidjāz. Born in Mecca, in 1882, he studied in Istanbul. After the revolution of 1908, he represented for some time the Ḥidjāz in the Ottoman parliament. Just before the first world war he joined the Arab Union, an association founded in Cairo by the Syrian Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*]. In April 1914 he had interviews in Egypt with Lord Kitchener and Ronald Storrs and thus took part in the negotiations that led to the proclamation of "Arab Revolt" announced by his father in Mecca, 9 Shaʿbān 1334/10 June 1916. During the hostilities he played only a minor role. On 8 March 1920 an "ʿIrāḳī Congress", which met in Damascus, proclaimed him "constitutional king of ʿIrāḳ". But he never took possession of the throne, which was given by the English, in June 1921, to his brother Fayṣal, who had been expelled from Damascus by the French troops of General Gouraud (24-27 July 1920). In March 1921 ʿAbd Allāh met in Jerusalem W. Churchill, then colonial secretary. It was during that interview that it was orally agreed to create in Transjordan, separated from the rest of Palestine placed under British mandate, a "national Arab government" headed by ʿAbd Allāh (28 March). On 28 August 1923 this government was recognized by the High Commissioner for Palestine. Its relations with Great Britain were fixed by a treaty signed in Jerusalem 20 February 1928 (modified by the agreements of 2 June 1934 and 9 July 1941).

In 1946 Great Britain recognized Transjordan "as a completely independent state" (treaty of 22 March 1946, modified by the treaty of 15 March 1948). ʿAbd Allāh was crowned as king in ʿAmmān, 25 May 1946, and Transjordan, constituted a kingdom, took the name of "Hāshimite Kingdom of Jordan". After the war in Palestine (15 May 1948-3 April 1949), ʿAbd Allāh annexed the territories occupied by the Arab Legion to the west of the Jordan (April-May 1950). He was assassinated in Jerusalem on 20 July 1951.

In the last years of his life, he visited successively Turkey (Jan. 1947), Iran (July-August 1949) and Spain (Sept. 1949). His journeys were followed by the signature of treaties of friendship with these countries (Turkey, 11 Jan. 1947; Iran, 16 Nov. 1949; Spain, 7 Oct. 1950). On the other hand he tried to overcome the hostility of the Arab League to his projects of territorial expansion. He died, however, without accomplishing the great ideal of his reign: grouping round his throne the Arab lands of Syria (project of Greater Syria).

He was the author of memoirs, only the first part of which has been published.

Bibliography: ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mudhakkarātī*, 1945 (English transl., Philip P. Graves, *Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan*, London 1950). Reference should be made especially to OM 1923-51 and *Cahiers de l'Or. Cont.*, 1944-51. See also T. E. Lawrence, *Seven pillars of wisdom*, London 1935; idem, *Revolt in the desert*, London 1927; C. S. Jarvis, *Arab command*[4], 1943; R. Storrs, *Orientations*, London 1943; J. Bagot Glubb, *The story of the Arab Legion*, London 1948; Ettore Rossi, *Documenti sull'origine e gli sviluppi della questione arabe* (1875-1904), Rome 1944. On the project of Greater Syria, see *Transjordan White Book*, ʿAmmān 1947, and *Là voilà la Grande Syrie*, published by the review *al-Dunyā*, Damascus 1947. (M. COLOMBE)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. IBĀḌ [see IBĀḌIYYA].

ʿABD ALLĀH B. IBRĀHĪM [see AGHLABIDS].

ʿABD ALLĀH B. ISKANDAR, a Shaybānid [*q.v.*], the greatest prince of this dynasty, born in 940/1533-4 (the dragon year 1532-3 is given, probably more accurately, as the year of the cycle) at Āfarīnkent in Miyānkāl (an island between the two arms of the Zarafshān). The father (Iskandar Khān), grandfather (Djānī Beg) and great-grandfather (Khʷādja Muḥammad, son of Abu 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*]) of this ruler of genius are all described as very ordinary, almost stupid men. Djānī Beg (d. 935/1528-9) had at the distribution of 918/1512-3 received Karmīna and Miyānkāl; Iskandar was at the time of his son's birth lord of Āfarīnkent; later, probably after the death of one of his brothers, he emigrated to Karmīna. There ʿAbd Allāh first proved his ability as a ruler in 958/1551; the country had been attacked by Nawrūz Aḥmed Khān of Tashkend and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Khān of Samarḳand; Iskandar had fled across the Āmū; ʿAbd Allāh assumed his father's duties and successfully repulsed the attack. In the following years ʿAbd Allāh tried to extend his possessions westward in the direction of Bukhārā and south-eastward in the direction of Ḳarshī and Shahr-i Sabz, at first without permanent success; in 963/1555-6 he was even obliged to evacuate the lands inherited by his father and flee to Maymana. In the same year (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/September-October 1556) there died his powerful enemy Nawrūz Aḥmed Khān, khān of the Özbegs and lord of Tashkend since 959/1552. ʿAbd Allāh immediately reasserted his supremacy in Karmīna and Shahr-i Sabz, and in Radjab 964/May 1557 conquered Bukhārā, from that time his capital. There he had his uncle Pīr Muḥammad declared as deposed and his weak-minded father proclaimed in Shaʿbān 968/April-May 1561 khān of all the Özbegs, in order to rule himself in the latter's name. Only in 991/1583, after the death of his father (1 Djumādā II/22 June), did he accept the vacant throne. After severe fighting against insubordinate supporters of the ruling house he subjugated Balkh in 981/1573-4, Samarḳand in Rabīʿ II 986/June 1578, Tashkend and the remaining country north of the Syr in 990/1582-3, and Farghāna in 991/1583. In addition to these conquests, ʿAbd Allāh also made a raid in the first half of the year 990/spring 1582 into the steppes as far as Ulugh Ṭagh. In the year 996/1587-8 a stubborn insurrection was suppressed in Tashkend, and the enemy again pursued far into the steppes. In the south-east Badakhshān was conquered, in the west Khurāsān, Gīlān and Khʷārizm, the last-named first in 1002/1593-4 and then, after an insurrection, reconquered in 1004/1595-6. An expedition to East Turkistān resulted only in the laying waste of the provinces of Kāshghar and Yārkand. ʿAbd Allāh's last years were darkened by a quarrel with his only son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who ruled in Balkh from the end of 990/autumn 1582 in the name of his father. As ʿAbd Allāh had been the real ruler under

Iskandar, in the same way ʿAbd al-Muʾmin wanted to occupy the same position in relation to his now aging father. ʿAbd Allāh would, however, not hear of any diminution of his power, and only the mediation of the clergy prevented an open breach between father and son, and compelled ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to yield. On hearing of the strained relations between father and son, the nomads had penetrated into the region of Tashkend and had defeated between Tashkend and Samarḳand an army sent against them. At the beginning of a punitive expedition against this enemy ʿAbd Allāh was overtaken by death in Samarḳand (end of the "hen year", 1006/beginning of 1598).

ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was murdered only six months later by his subjects. The conquests in Khurāsān and Khwārizm were lost, and in the Özbegs' own country the power fell into the hands of another dynasty. Of greater permanence were the results of ʿAbd Allāh's activity in internal affairs; the administration, especially the coinage system, was remodelled by him, many public works (bridges, caravanseras, wells, etc.) were completed. Even at the present day popular folklore ascribes all such monuments either to Tīmūr or to ʿAbd Allāh.

Bibliography: The life of this ruler up to the year 996/1587-8 is described in detail by his eulogist Ḥāfiẓ Tānīsh: *Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī* (Persian), usually called *ʿAbd Allāh-nāma*. Much information (especially about the last few years) is given by ʿAbd Allāh's Persian contemporary Iskandar Munshiʾ in *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam Ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (biography of Shāh ʿAbbās I, Teheran 1897). Extracts from both works are in Welyaminow-Zernow, *Izslyedowaniya o kasimowskikh tsaryakh i tsarewičakh*, ii (in the *Trudi wostoč. otd. imper. arkheol. obshč.*, x.; German transl. Leipzig 1867), and before that in his *Moneti bukharskiya i khiwskiya*. See also my extracts from the little known *Baḥr al-Asrār* by Maḥmūd b. Walī in the *Zapiski wostoč. otd. imper. rusk. arkheol. obshč.*, xv. On the *Baḥr al-Asrār* comp. Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 575. The information given by Vambéry, *Gesch. Bochara's*, and by Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, ii. div. 2, who follows him, is to be accepted with great caution.

(W. Barthold)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ISMĀʿĪL, ʿAlawid [*q.v.*] sultan of Morocco, whose first reign started 4 Shaʿbān 1141/5 March 1729, while his last ended with his death 27 Ṣafar 1171/10 Nov. 1757.

This sovereign was in fact deposed several times, five times according to the Arabic historians, and as often recalled to power. For the good order established in Morocco under Mawlāy Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] was at that time but a memory. When ʿAbd Allāh assumed power, two of his brothers, Aḥmad al-Dhahabī and ʿAbd al-Malik, had been fighting for it for two years, and had roused, by their mutual bids and their weakness, violent antagonism between the black army of their father, the *ʿabīd al-Bukhārī*, and the *gīsh* [*djaysh*, *q.v.*] tribe of Ūdāya and the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlas. When it is added that the sons of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl were numerous and that several of them aspired to power, and that, on the other hand, ʿAbd Allāh showed himself from the beginning to be capricious and cruel, then it is plain why Morocco was at this time the scene of constant disorders.

Raised to power by the *ʿabīd*, who had been won over by his mother, ʿAbd Allāh immediately stirred up against himself the city of Fez, whose resistance was overcome only after a siege of six months. He then tried to pacify his kingdom, but in consequence of a disastrous campaign in the Central Atlas, excited the enmity of the *ʿabīd* and had to flee, on 29 Sept. 1734, to the Wādī Nūn, to his mother's tribe. Replaced by his brother ʿAlī al-Aʿradj, he was recalled in 1736, but was again expelled a few months later by the *ʿabīd*. He took refuge with the Berber Ait Idrāsan and was replaced successively by two of his brothers, Muḥ. b. al-ʿArabiyya and al-Mustaḍīʾ. Recalled in 1740, he fought against al-Mustaḍīʾ and his ally, the pasha of Tangier, Aḥmad al-Rīfī, when another son of Ismāʿīl, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, was elevated to the throne by the *ʿabīd*. ʿAbd Allāh found new supporters among the Berbers, with whose help he regained power in the same year. He then suceeeded in defeating al-Mustaḍī and al-Rīfī and made an effort to pacify Morocco. New revolts, however, followed each other without interruption and the sultan constantly changed his allies, relying sometimes on the *ʿabīd*, sometimes on the Ūdāya, sometimes on the Berbers. He was deposed yet again (1748) in favour of his son Muḥammed governor of Marrākush. His son, however, remained loyal and assured the reign of ʿAbd Allāh until his death, but in the midst of continual disorders. ʿAbd Allāh resided partly in Meknes, and partly in a country house near Fez, Dār Dbībagh.

Bibliography: Zayyānī, *Le Maroc de 631 à 1812* (Houdas), Paris 1886, 35-67; trad. Houdas, 64-127; Akensūs, *al-Djaysh al-ʿAramram*, lith, Fes 1336/1918, reproducing al-Zayyānī; Nāṣirī Salawī, *al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, iv, Cairo 1312/1894, 59-91; trad. E. Fumey, *AM*, ix, 1916, 171-270; L. de Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures et histoire de l'Empire de Maroc*, iii, Paris 1787, 430-65; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, ii, Casablanca 1950, 282-6. (R. le Tourneau)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. KHĀZIM al-Sulamī, governor of Khurāsān. On the first expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] into Khurāsān in 31/651-2, Ibn Khāzim commanded the advance-guard which occupied Sarakhs. According to some accounts, he put down a rebellion led by Ḳārin in 33/653-4 and was rewarded with the governorship of the province, but this is probably an anticipation of the events of 42/662. During Ibn ʿĀmir's second governorship of Baṣra (41/661), Ḳays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī was appointed to Khurāsān, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura were despatched to recover Balkh and Sidjistān. When Ḳays showed himself unable to deal with an Ephthalite revolt which broke out in the following year, Ibn ʿĀmir replaced him as governor by ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, who remained in Khurāsān until recalled by Ziyād in 45/665.

Ibn Khāzim returned to Khurāsān with the army of Salm b. Ziyād (61-2/680-2), and when the latter withdrew after the death of Yazīd I Ibn Khāzim persuaded him to nominate him as governor of the province (64/684). Having gained possession of Marw after defeating its Tamīmite governor, he then attacked, with the aid of Tamīm, the Bakrite governors of Marw al-Rūdh and Harāt, and overcame them after a long struggle. The victory was followed by repeated risings of the Tamīm against Ibn Khāzim, now nominally governor on behalf of Ibn al-Zubayr. In 72/692 he received, but indignantly rejected, an offer by ʿAbd al-Malik to confirm him as governor for seven years; the offer was then made to and accepted by his deputy in Marw, the Tamīmite Bukayr b. Wishāḥ, who overtook and killed him (probably

in 73/692-3) as he was attempting to join his son Mūsā in the stronghold which he had previously prepared at Tirmidh. The career of Ibn Khāzim was afterwards embellished with saga-like accretions, which make it difficult to establish many details with precision.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index (tr. Zotenberg, iv, 63-5, 113-4); Balādhurī, 356 ff., 409, 413 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 258, 322-4; id. *Buldān*, 279, 296-9; Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 221-2, 308; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa-l-Farazdaḳ*, index; al-Ḳālī, *Dhayl al-Amālī*, 32; Wellhausen, *Arab. Reich*, 258-62; Caetani, *Annali*, vii, 275 ff., 493 ff.; viii, 3-8; Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 184; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, 69, 135; J. Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (*in the B.M.*), London 1941, index; R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 99-101; other reff. in Caetani, *Chronographia*, 853. (H. A. R. Gibb)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. MASʿŪD [see IBN MASʿŪD].

ʿABD ALLĀH B. MAYMŪN, client of the family of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿa al-Makhzūmī (Ibn al-Zubayr's governor in Baṣra, cf. al-Ṭabarī, index), known in the Twelver Shīʿite literature as a transmitter of traditions from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (al-Kulīnī, Ibn Bābūya, al-Ṭūsī, passim, cf. Ivanow, *Alleged Founder*, 11-60; see also the Shīʿite books of *ridjāl*: al-Kashshī, *Maʿrifat Akhbār al-Ridjāl*, 160; al-Nadjāshī, *al-Ridjāl*, 148; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 197; he appears also in Sunnī books of *ridjāl*: al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, ii, 81, who quotes the earlier Sunnī authorities; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, 149). Since Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ died in 148/765, ʿAbd Allāh belongs to the middle and the second half of the 2nd/8th century. His father Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ ("sharpener of arrows"—so al-Nadjāshī—rather than "oculist") is also mentioned in the Twelver sources as a companion of Djaʿfar's father, Muḥ. al-Bāḳir. Ismāʿīlī sources, too, speak of Maymūn and ʿAbd Allāh as companions of al-Bāḳir and Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (cf. Lewis, *Origins*, 65-7).

The anti-Ismāʿīlī writers, from the beginning of the 4th/10th century on, have a long and colourful tale to tell of ʿAbd Allāh as the founder of Ismāʿīlism. The source of all these accounts is that of Ibn Rizām (beg. of the 4th/10th century), quoted in the *Fihrist*, 186. According to this story, Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ, a Bardesanian (hence in later sources "son of Daysan"; the name of the "father" seems to owe its existence to the alleged adherence of Maymūn to Ibn Dayṣān, Bardesanes) was an extremist, follower of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], and founded the sect called Maymūniyya. His son ʿAbd Allāh claimed to be a prophet, supported his claims by conjuring tricks and, driven by the ambition of securing worldly power, founded a movement, instituting seven grades of beliefs that culminated in shameless atheism and libertinism. He pretended to work on behalf of Muḥ. b. Ismāʿīl, as expected Mahdī. ʿAbd Allāh came from Ḳūradj al-ʿAbbās near Ahwāz, but transferred his headquarters first to ʿAskar Mukram, then to Baṣra, and finally to Salamiya in Syria, where he remained in hiding until his death. His lifetime is put by Ibn Rizām, anachronistically, in the middle of the 3rd/9th century. His successors stayed in Salamiya, until ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] claimed to be a descendant of Muḥ. b. Ismāʿīl, and fled to Ifrīḳiya to found there the Fāṭimid dynasty. This story of Ibn Rizām proved a great success, was copied by all the subsequent anti-Ismāʿīlī writers (the chief of them being Akhū Muḥsin—preserved in excerpts by al-Nuwayrī and al-Maḳrīzī—and Ibn Shaddād, who gives Maymūn the *kunya* Abū Shākir, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 21, presumably in order to identify him with the *zindīḳ* Abū Shākir, for whom see al-Khayyāṭ, *al-Intiṣār*, 40, 142; *Fihrist*, 337 and the Twelver legends quoted by Ivanow, *Alleged Founder*, 91 ff. and G. Vajda, *RSO*, 1937, 192, 196, 224), and became, with certain additions and variations (cf. Lewis, *Origins*, 54-63) the standard account of Sunnī authors about the rise of Ismāʿīlism. This is not the place to discuss in detail the vexed and apparently insoluble problem of the antecedents of the Fāṭimids (see FĀṬIMIDS and also ISMĀʿĪLIYYA) yet it must be pointed out that the view that the Fāṭimids descended from Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ seems to have been entertained not only by Ibn Rizām, a great enemy of Ismāʿīlism, but also by certain sections of the Ismāʿīlī movement itself, and the Imām al-Muʿizz had to polemize against some of his followers who considered him as a descendant of Maymūn (see the letter of al-Muʿizz quoted by ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs and printed by Ivanow in the *J. of the Bombay Branch of the RAS*, 1940, 74-6, and, confirming and completing that piece of information, a passage in al-Nuʿmān's *al-Madjālis wa 'l-Musāyarāt*, MS of SOAS, London, 25434, fol. 76 ff., to be published by the author of this article). W. Ivanow (*The rise of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1942, see especially 127-56; *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, Bombay 1946) denies the truth of any connection between Ismāʿīlism and Maymūn and ʿAbd Allāh, or their descendants, considering the whole story as freely invented by their enemies—although it is difficult to see why they have picked out just Maymūn and ʿAbd Allāh for the role and how early Ismāʿīlī circles could come to accept them, merely on the authority of scandal invented by their enemies, as the ancestors of the leaders to whom they paid allegiance. B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismailism*, Cambridge 1940 (see especially 49-73), admits, on the whole, the historicity of the role of Maymūn and ʿAbd Allāh as leaders of the extremist movement out of which grew Ismāʿīlism. The evidence is as yet not sufficient for a definite solution of this problem, and it would seem possible that the basis for the story about Maymūn and ʿAbd Allāh is to be sought in the role that some descendants of ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn may have played in the Ismāʿīlī movement in its beginnings about 260/873, and that the story was spun out of this knowledge of the connection of some "Ḳaddāḥids" with Ismāʿīlism.

(S. M. Stern)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUʿĀWIYA, ʿAlid rebel. After the death of Abū Hāshim, a grandson of ʿAlī, claims were laid to the Imamate from several quarters. Some asserted that Abū Hāshim had formally transferred his right to the dignity of Imām to the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. Others said that he had spoken in favor of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr al-Kindī and wanted to proclaim him Imām. As he, however, did not come up to the expectations of his followers, they turned from him and declared ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, a great-grandson of ʿAlī's brother Djaʿfar, to be the rightful Imām. The latter asserted that both the godhead and the prophetic office were united in his person, because the spirit of God had been transferred from the one to the other and had finally come to him. In accordance with this his followers believed in metempsychosis and denied the resurrection. In Muḥarram 127/Oct. 744, ʿAbd Allāh revolted in Kūfa where he was joined by many followers, especially from amongst the Zaydites [*q.v.*]. The latter captured the citadel and expelled the

prefect. In a short time, however, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the governor of ʿIrāḳ, put an end to his manœuvres. When it came to fighting, the ever unreliable Kufans deserted; only the Zaydites fought bravely and continued the battle till ʿAbd Allāh was granted an unimpeded retreat. From Kūfa he proceeded at first to Madāʾin and then to al-Djibāl. His power was in no way broken. From Kūfa and from other places numbers of people flocked to him and he soon succeeded in winning over several important strongholds in Persia. After residing for some time in Iṣfahān, he went to Iṣṭakhr. Owing to the temporary weakness of the government in Persia, as a result of the disorders in ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān, he had no difficulty in extending his rule over a great part of al-Djibāl, Ahwāz, Fārs and Karmān. The Khāridjites, who had fought against Marwān II on the Tigris, withdrew into ʿAbd Allāh's domain and other opponents of the caliph also joined him, including some ʿAbbāsids. In the end, however, he was unable to maintain his power. ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra, one of Marwān's generals, who had been entrusted with the pursuit of the Khāridjites, led an army into ʿAbd Allāh's domains and brought his rule to a sudden end. In the year 129/746-7, ʿAbd Allāh was defeated at Marw al-Shādhān and forced to flee to Khurāsān, where Abū Muslim, the celebrated general of the ʿAbbāsids, had him executed. After his death, some of his followers, called al-Djanāḥiyya [*q.v.*], maintained that he was still alive and would return; on the other hand, others, the so-called Ḥārithites, believed that his spirit was reincarnated in Isḥāḳ b. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1879 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 246 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 41 ff., 67 ff., 109; Shahrastānī, 112-3 (transl. Haarbrücker, i, 170); *Aghānī*, Index; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*; Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 239 ff.; id., *Die rel.-pol. Oppositionsparteien*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.* v/2, 98 f.; Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon*, ii, 853. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN*)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD, Sharīf of Mecca [see MAKKA].

ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-MARWĀNĪ, seventh Umayyad Amīr of Cordova. He succeeded his brother al-Mundhir on the latter's death before Bobastro, centre of ʿUmar b. Hafṣūn's rebellion, on 15 Ṣafar 275/29 June 888. The circumstances of al-Mundhir's death arouse the suspicion that the new sovereign was not quite innocent of it. At his accession, ʿAbd Allāh, born in 229/844, was forty-four years old. His reign, which lasted for a quarter of a century, until his death on 1 Rabīʿ I 300/16 Oct. 912, was described in detail by the chronicler Ibn Ḥayyān, in that part of his *Muḳtabis* which has been preserved in an Oxford manuscript, long since known and utilized, and published in a somewhat faulty edition by M. M. Antuña, Paris 1937.

His biographers present a flattering portrait of the Amīr ʿAbd Allāh and omit to mention his cruelty and his lack of scruples. They extol his sobriety, his piety and his Islamic culture. It may be granted to him as an undoubted merit that he maintained, in a difficult period, the Hispano-Umayyad dynasty and contrived to counter a multitude of internal dangers, notably the Andalusian revolt fomented by the *muwallads* and the particularist tendences of the Arab gentry of Seville and Elvira. For further details see UMAYYADS OE SPAIN.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Esp. mus.*, i, 329 (list of Arabic sources, note 1)-396; Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp*², ii, 21-93.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD AL-TAʿĀʾISHĪ (his name is invariably pronounced as ʿABDULLĀHI), the successor of Muḥammad Aḥmad [*q.v.*], the Sudanese Mahdī. He belonged to the Awlād Umm Ṣurra, a clan of the Djubarāt section of the Taʿāʾisha, a tribe of cattle-breeding Arabs (Baḳḳāra) in Dārfūr. His great-grandfather is said to have been a Tunisian *sharīf* who married a woman of the tribe. His father Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Karrār bore the nickname of Tōr Shayn (Ugly Bull). Religious pretensions were hereditary in the family, and both father and son were *fakīs* of repute. Zubayr Raḥma, the famous merchant-adventurer and conquerer of Dārfūr, relates that ʿAbdullāhi narrowly escaped execution at his hands, when taken prisoner during the Dārfūr fighting in 1873, and that even then he was in search of the Expected Mahdī. Tōr Shayn died among the Djimʿa tribe in Kordofān and, according to the legend, he enjoined on his son to seek out Muḥammad Aḥmad the future Mahdī. ʿAbdullāhi adhered to him in the Djazīra before he had manifested himself, and was the first to believe in his mission. He was his closest adviser during the years of propaganda and fighting (1881-85), and his gifts of leadership largely contributed to the successes which culminated in the fall of Kharṭūm (26 Jan. 1885). In an epistle, dated 17 Rabīʿ I 1300/26 Jan. 1883, the Mahdī nominated him as his *khalīfa* with the title of al-Ṣiddīḳ, and as *amīr* of the Mahdist army. On the Mahdī's death at Omdurman (22 June 1885) ʿAbdullāhi assumed control of the new Mahdist state. A convinced believer in the Mahdī's mission and himself claiming supernatural gifts, he rigorously upheld the religious ordinances of the Mahdiyya, without neglecting the temporal aim of establishing his personal and absolute rule. With this end in view he deprived the Mahdī's blood-relations (the Ashrāf) of all influence and successfully crushed the opposition of powerful tribal chiefs and of rival religious pretenders. Not himself a military leader, ʿAbdullāhi was served by a number of capable *amīrs* who, in the first year of his reign, captured the last posts still held by the Egyptian garrisons. His governor of the eastern province, the redoutable ʿUthmān Digna [*q.v.*] fought numerous actions with varying success against the Anglo-Egyptian forces based on Suakin. Between 1887 and 1889 there was intermittent warfare with the Abyssinians (sack of Gondar by the Mahdists in 1887; battle of Ḳallabāt 9 March 1889 when an Abyssinian victory was turned into rout by the death in battle of King John). In the execution of his policy ʿAbdullāhi relied largely on the Baḳḳāra tribesmen of Kordofān and Dārfūr, whom he brought to the Central Sudan where they incurred much unpopularity as a privileged and predatory class. ʿAbdullāhi's most trusted associate was his brother Yaʿḳūb and he seems to have intended his eldest son ʿUthmān Shaykh al-Dīn to be his successor.

The first serious reverse of his reign was the defeat at Toshkī (3 Aug. 1889) of the Mahdist army under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nadjūmī which attempted the invasion of Egypt with quite inadequate forces. The country over which ʿAbdullāhi still ruled with absolute power was now devastated by incessant warfare and by the terrible famine of 1889. The end came when the British government, then in virtual control of Egypt, decided on the re-conquest of the

Sudan. The occupation of Dongola (1896) by Anglo-Egyptian forces was followed by their advance to Omdurman and the decisive defeat of the Mahdist army (2 Sept. 1898). ʿAbdullāhi fled to Kordofān where he maintained himself with a considerable body of followers for another year. In the final battle of Umm Dubaykarāt (24 Nov. 1899) he met death with courage and dignity.

The Mahdī and his successor professed to re-live the life of the Prophet and of early Islam, and ʿAbdullāhi's epistles, in which he exhorted the Sultan of Turkey, the Khedive of Egypt, and Queen Victoria to embrace the Mahdist faith, vividly display the anachronistic spirit of the Mahdiyya. Ruthless towards external enemies and suspected rivals, and governing without regard for the material welfare of his country, ʿAbdullāhi yet remained true to his fanatical faith and to the primitive code of a Bakkārī Arab. In contrast to European writers who stress the cruel and barbaric character of his reign, Sudanese tradition credits him with the virtues of simplicity in his private life, generosity as a host, and bravery as a fighter. From his numerous household of legal wives and concubines he had 21 sons and 11 daughters, not counting those who died in infancy.

Bibliography: F. R. Wingate, *Mahdiism in the Egyptian Sudan*, London, 1891; J. Ohrwalder, *Ten years captivity in the Mahdi's camp*, tr. F. R. Wingate, London 1892, many ed.; R. Slatin, *Fire and sword in the Sudan* tr. F. R. Wingate, London 1896, often reprinted; Naum Shoucair, (Naʿūm Shuḳayr), *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, Cairo 1903 (many original documents); J. A. Reid, *Some notes on the Khalifa Abdullahi, Sudan Notes and Records*, 1938, 207 ff. (based on oral tradition); A. B. Theobald, *The Mahdiyya*, London 1951. See also the bibliography under MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD and SŪDĀN (EASTERN). Archives of ʿAbdullāhi's reign consisting of more than 50,000 documents are preserved in Khartum. (S. HILLELSON)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. al-**MUḲAFFAʿ** [see IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **MŪSĀ** b. NUṢAYR, eldest son of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] the conqueror of the Maghrib and Spain. When his father left for Spain, he was charged with the administration of Ifrīḳiya (93/711). When Mūsā, denounced to the caliph al-Walīd by Ṭāriḳ, left for the East, whence he never returned, he again left ʿAbd Allāh as his lieutenant. Involved in his family's disgrace by the caliph Sulaymān, who saw not without disquiet Ifrīḳiya governed by one son of Mūsā (ʿAbd Allāh), Spain by a second (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz) and the Maghrib by a third (ʿAbd al-Malik), he was deposed in 96/714-5 and replaced by Muḥ. b. Yazīd, who assumed his office in 97/715. It is uncertain what happened to him; he is said to have been accused of having instigated the murder of Yazīd b. Abū Muslim and to have been executed in 102/720 by Bishr b. Ṣafwān, on the orders of the caliph Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 231; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Juynboll-Matthes), i, 261; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Ifrīḳiya* (Gateau), Alger 1947, index. (R. BASSET)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **MUṬĪʿ** b. al-ASWAD al-ʿADAWĪ, was, together with ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanẓala [*q.v.*], one of the chiefs of the revolt against the caliph Yazīd I in Medīna. When he saw that after the accession of Yazīd the Umayyad government was rousing increasing opposition, Ibn Muṭīʿ proposed to leave Medīna, but ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*] advised him to remain, and he gave in to Ibn ʿUmar's arguments. When the inhabitants of Medīna revolted against the new caliph, he became the leader of the Ḳurayshite elements in the city and took part in the battle of the Ḥarra in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 63/August 683. Escaping from the general rout, he took refuge in Mecca with the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr, who appointed him in Ramaḍān 65/April 685 governor of Kūfa. Shortly afterwards he was attacked by the Shīʿite adventurer al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*]. Abandoned, besieged in his palace and probably betrayed by his own general Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, he relinquished his post, withdrew to Baṣra, and then joined Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. There he joined Ibn al-Zubayr's forces and was killed together with him in 73/692.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, index; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 48, 106 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 232 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 14 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, index: H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, 214 ff. (= *MFOB*, v, 212 ff.); Caetani-Gabrieli, *Onomasticon*, ii, 922.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN—CH. PELLAT)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **RAWĀḤA**, a Khazradjite, belonging to the most esteemed clan of the Banu 'l-Ḥārith. At the second ʿAḳaba assembly in March 622, ʿAbd Allāh was one of the 12 trustworthy men, whom the already converted Medinians, conformably to the Prophet's wish, had chosen. When Muḥammad had emigrated to Medīna, ʿAbd Allāh proved himself to be one of the most energetic and upright champions of his cause. Muḥammad appears to have thought a great deal of him, and often entrusted him with honorable missions. After the battle of Badr in the year 2/623, in which the Muslims were victorious, ʿAbd Allāh together with Zayd b. Ḥāritha hastened to Medīna to bring the tidings of victory. During the so-called "second campaign of Badr", in Dhuʾl-Ḳaʿda 4/Apr. 626, ʿAbd Allāh remained behind in Medīna as lieutenant-governor. When in 5/627, at the commencement of the siege of Medīna, the fidelity of the Banū Ḳurayẓa, his allies, was suspected, the Prophet sent ʿAbd Allāh together with three other influential Medinians to find out the real sentiments of his allies. After Khaybar had been conquered in the year 7/628 and its territory divided, Muḥammad appointed ʿAbd Allāh as appraiser of its yield. On sending out the Muʾta expedition in the year 8/629, ʿAbd Allāh was appointed by the Prophet as second in succession to the commander of the army, and when both his superiors had fallen, he sought and met his death as they had done fighting for the Faith.

Besides his military talents ʿAbd Allāh possessed other qualities which made him valuable to his master; he was one of the few pre-Islamic men who could write, and was for that reason, together with other faithful followers, chosen as secretary by the Prophet. Muḥammad appears to have esteemed him very highly, more especially on account of his poetical gifts. In the *Aghānī* it is expressly stated that the Prophet considered his poems equal to those of his "court" poets Ḥassān b. Thābit and Kaʿb b. Mālik. It is characteristic of ʿAbd Allāh's "literary tendency" that he attacked the Ḳuraysh more especially for their unbelief, whilst the two other poets always reproached them with their impious deeds. Only about 50 verses of his have been preserved and they are for the most part to be found in Ibn Hishām.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 79 ff.; Ibn Hishām, i, 457, 675; Ṭabarī, i, 1460, 1610 ff.; *al-*

Aghānī[3], xi, 80; xv, 29; G. Weil, *Gesch. Mohammed der Prophet*, 350; Rahatullah Khan, *Von Einfluss des Qurʾan auf der arab. Dichtung; eine Untersuchung . . . Abdallah b. Rawaha*, Leipzig 1938.

(A. Schaade)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. SABAʾ, reputed founder of the Shīʿa. Also called Ibn al-Sawdāʾ, Ibn Ḥarb, Ibn Wahb. "Sabaʾ" appears also as Sabāʾ; the name of the associated sect appears as Sabaʾiyya, Sabāʾiyya, or, corrupted, as Sabāyiyya, Sabābiyya.

In the Sunnī account he was a Yamanite Jew converted to Islam, who about the time of ʿAlī first introduced the ideas ascribed to the more extreme wing of the Shīʿa [*ghulāt, q.v.*]. Especially attributed to him is the exaltation of ʿAlī himself: that ʿAlī stood to Muḥammad as divinely appointed heir, as Joshua did to Moses (the *wiṣāya* doctrine); that ʿAlī was not dead, but would return to bring righteousness upon earth (the *radjʿa*); that ʿAlī was divine, exalted to the clouds, and the thunder was his voice. To Ibn Sabaʾ's conspiratorial cunning was ascribed by Sunnīs after al-Ṭabarī the first breach in a perfect harmony among the *Ṣaḥāba* (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 334). He is said to have roused the Egyptians against ʿUthmān on the ground of ʿAlī's special rights; and the bloodshed between ʿAlī and Ṭalḥa and Zubayr is then ascribed to these same murderers of ʿUthmān under the name of *Sabaʾiyya*.

For the Shīʿa he sometimes figured as type of the extremist, the *ghālī*, being so cursed by Djaʿfar (Kashshī, *Maʿrifat Akhbār al-Ridjāl*, 70). Ibn Sabaʾ became the subject of traditions used by both in attacking and in defending the extremer Shīʿa. ʿAlī is said to have had him or his followers burned for declaring him (ʿAlī) God. An Ismāʿīlī source cites the incident in Ibn Sabaʾ's favour, claiming that he suffered only in appearance (cf. al-Maḳdisī, *Badʾ al-Khalḳ*, ed. Huart, v, 181; and the *Haft Bāb-i Bābā Sayyid-nā*, ed. Ivanow, in *Two early Ismaili treatises*, Bombay, 1933, 15).

It is not clear what historical person or persons lay behind this figure. Al-Ṭabarī's source, Sayf b. ʿUmar, is the chief authority for his political activity against ʿUthmān. Al-Dhahabī notes a general condemnation of Sayf as a traditionist (quoted by Friedländer, *ZA*, 1909, 297), a condemnation supported on other grounds by Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 6); and surer sources seem to exclude Ibn Sabaʾ from any major rôle there. Friedländer suggests that Ibn Sabaʾ's chief rôle was not to proclaim ʿAlī's divinity, but to deny ʿAlī's death, teaching that he died only in appearance (docetism), and would in the end come again from the clouds (messianism)—perhaps with the background of a Yamanite Judaism related to that of the Falashas of Ethiopia. Caetani would make Ibn Sabaʾ in origin a purely political supporter of ʿAlī, around whom later generations imagined a religious conspiracy like that of the ʿAbbāsids. Massignon considers the Sabaʾiyya of al-Mukhtār's time as one of the *ʿayniyya* sects (Massignon, *Salmān Pāk*, Paris 1934, 37, 40).

Already in the earliest sources available contradictory teachings are ascribed to Ibn Sabaʾ and the Sabaʾiyya (cf. Khushaysh al-Nasāʾī [d. 253], reported in al-Malaṭī, 118, 120). We may suppose that personally Ibn Sabaʾ, perhaps together with a separate Ibn al-Sawdāʾ, was a supporter of ʿAlī, who denied ʿAlī's death. He was probably not a Jew (Levi Della Vida, *RSO*, 1912, 495). He was either founder or hero of one or more sects called Sabaʾiyya, which exalted ʿAlī's religious position.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 2941 ff. and passim; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, ed. Ritter, 19 f.; Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Radd*, ed. Dedering, 14 f.; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Ritter, 15; Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 223 ff., trans. Halkin, s.v. Sabābiyya; Shahrastānī, 132 ff.; I. Friedländer, *ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sabaʾ*, *ZA*, 1909, 296 ff., 1910, 1-46; L. Caetani, *Annali*, viii, 42 ff. and passim.

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAʿD, Muslim statesman and general. Abū Yaḥyā ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ al-ʿĀmirī belonged to the clan of ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy of Ḳuraysh and was as foster brother of the subsequent caliph ʿUthmān a chief partisan of the Umayyads. He was less a soldier than a financier. The judgements of historians on his character vary greatly. His name is connected in many ways with the beginnings of Islam. First he is mentioned as one of Muḥammad's scribes: he is supposed to have arbitrarily altered the revelation, or at least he boasted of doing so after his apostasy from Islam, and thereby incurred the hatred of the Prophet. For this reason the latter desired to have him executed after the capture of Mecca, but ʿUthmān obtained, though with difficulty, the Prophet's pardon. This story afterwards became very famous. ʿAbd Allāh later on showed himself grateful to ʿUthmān for his rescue by agitating for the latter's election as caliph. He was one of the Hidjra-Companions who took part in the conquest of Egypt under ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī [*q.v.*] and appears to have governed Upper Egypt independently under ʿUmar, after the latter's quarrel with ʿAmr. It is impossible exactly to fix the date when he was appointed governor of the whole of Egypt; according to Ibn Taghrībirdī, as early as the year 25/645-6, and therefore before the revolt of Alexandria under Manuel. As he was not able to suppresss this rising, ʿAmr was recalled, who, however, immediately after his victory had to restore the government to ʿAbd Allāh. ʿUthmān desired to confirm ʿAbd Allāh as financial prefect and to appoint ʿAmr as military governor, but the latter declined. ʿAbd Allāh now succeeded in considerably increasing the state revenues of Egypt, much to the satisfaction of the caliph. Although his principal aim was the administration of the finances, he also became renowned as a general. ʿAbd Allāh regulated the relations between the Muslims and the Nubians and supported Muʿāwiya's expedition against Cyprus. He himself undertook several expeditions against Roman Africa, the first probably in the year 25/645-6, the most important and most successful certainly in the year 27/647-8. He subjected the territory of Carthage to Islam. His most important military performance, however was the naval battle of Dhāt al-Ṣawārī, comparable in significance to the battle of the Yarmūk [*q.v.*], in which the Roman fleet was completely destroyed. This battle took place in the year 34/655, although different dates are given in some sources. Soon afterwards the agitations against ʿUthmān began in many parts of the empire. ʿAbd Allāh appears as the principal champion of the regime represented by the caliph. He endeavoured to warn the caliph and even left Egypt in order to support him. His lieutenant al-Sāʾib b. Hishām was expelled by the Egyptian revolutionary party under Muḥammad b. Ḥudhayfa and ʿAbd Allāh himself was prevented from returning to Egypt. On the frontier ʿAbd Allāh learned of the murder of the caliph, and fled to Muʿāwiya. Shortly before the latter's march to Ṣiffīn, he died in Askalon or Ramla (in 36 or 37/656-8). His supposed participation

in the battle of Ṣiffīn and his late death in the year 57/676-7 belong to the numberless myths connected with the battle of Ṣiffīn.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 190; Kindī, *Wulāt* (Guest), 10-17; Ibn Ta<u>gh</u>rībirdī, i, 88-93 (Cairo, i, 65-92); Maḳrīzī, *<u>Kh</u>iṭaṭ*, i, 299; Ṭabarī, i, 1639 ff.; 2593, 2785, 2813 ff., 2817 ff., 2826, 2867 ff., 2980 ff., 3057; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, ii, 189 f., 443; iii, 67 ff., 90 ff., 118 ff., 220, 238, 295; id., *Usd*, iii, 173; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 60, 191; Balā<u>dh</u>urī, 226; Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 818 ff.; Nawawī, 345 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 268 ff.; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, 20 ff.; A. Butler, *Arab conquest of Egypt*, 465 ff.; G. Wiet, *L'Egypte arabe*, Paris 1937, 27-32; Wellhausen, in *N. G. W. Gött.*, 1901, facs. 4, p. 6 f., 13. (C. H. BECKER*)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. SALĀM, a Jew of Medīna, belonging to the Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ and originally called al-Ḥusayn (on the name Salām, see Ibn <u>Kh</u>aṭīb al-Dah<u>sh</u>a, *Tuḥfa*, ed. Mann, 69). Muḥammad gave him the name of ʿAbd Allāh when he embraced Islam. This conversion is said to have taken place immediately after Muḥammad's arrival at Medīna, or, according to others, when Muḥammad was still in Mecca. Another account which makes him accept Islam in the year 8/629-30 is worthy of more credence—though Muslim critics think it badly accredited—for his name is sought in vain in the battles which Muḥammad had to wage in Medīna. The few unimportant mentions in the *Ma<u>gh</u>āzī* may well have been inserted in order to remove the glaring contradiction with the generally accepted tradition. He was with ʿUmar in <u>Dj</u>ābiya and Jerusalem, and under ʿU<u>th</u>mān took the latter's side against the rebels, whom he in vain endeavoured to dissuade from murdering the caliph. After ʿU<u>th</u>mān's death he did not do homage to ʿAlī and implored him not to march to ʿIrāḳ against ʿĀʾi<u>sh</u>a; legend brings him into relation with Muʿāwiya also. He died in 43/663-4. In Muslim tradition he has become the typical representative of that group of Jewish scribes which honored the truth, admitting that Muḥammad was the Prophet predicted in the Torah, and protecting him from the intrigues of their co-religionists. The questions which ʿAbd Allāh is made to ask Muḥammad and which only a prophet could answer, the contents of the ḥadī<u>th</u>s which the works on tradition ascribe to him, and the story of Bulūḳyā which <u>Th</u>aʿlabī puts into his mouth, mostly have their origin in Jewish sources; if they do not really come from ʿAbd Allāh himself, they certainly come from Jewish renegade circles. While his contemporaries often reproached him with his Jewish origin, later on traditions were circulated, in which Muḥammad assures him of entry into Paradise, or in which the Prophet and celebrated Companions give him high praise. Certain verses of the Ḳurʾān are also said to refer to him. The "questions" which he put to Muḥammad were subsequently enlarged to whole books, and in the same manner several other works were foisted on him, which are partly based on what is related by him in Ḥadī<u>th</u>. As well as his sons Muḥammad and Yūsuf, Abū Hurayra and Anas b. Mālik also handed down his traditions. Ṭabarī took more especially Biblical narratives from him into his Chronicle.

Bibliography: Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 353, 395; Wāḳidī, *Ma<u>gh</u>āzī*, ed. Wellhausen, 164, 215; Ṭabarī, index; id., Persian recension, transl. Zotenberg, i, 348; Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Anbiyā* bāb 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 108, 272; v, 450; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, *Usd*, iii, 176; Ibn Ḥa<u>dj</u>ar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 780; Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u> al-<u>Kh</u>amīs*, Cairo 1302, i, 392; Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿUyūn*, ii, 146; Nawawī, 347; Ibn Ta<u>gh</u>rībirdī, i, 141; Ibn al-Wardī, *<u>Kh</u>arīda*, Cairo 1303, 118 ff.; *Kitāb Masāʾil Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh*, Cairo 1326 (?); Ibn Badrūn, 174 ff.; Wolff, *Muh. Eschatologie*, 69 (Arab. p. 39); Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorâns*, i, 160; M. Steinschneider, *Pol. und apolog. Lit.*, 110 ff.; Hirschfeld, in *JQR*, 1898, 109 ff.; J. Mann, *ibid.*, 1921, 127; J. Horovitz, in *ZDMG*, 1901, 524 ff.; J. Barth, in *Festschrift Berliner* (1903), p. 36; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 413; Wensinck, in *AO* 1923, 192-8; G. F. Pijper, *Boek der duizend vragen*, Leiden, 1924; *BEO*, 1931, 147 (ʿAbd Allāh as *walī* in Ḥamāh); Brockelmann, I, 209. (J. HOROVITZ)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. ṬĀHIR, born 182/798, died 230/844, was a poet, general, statesman, confidant of caliphs and, as governor of <u>Kh</u>urāsān, almost an independent sovereign. His father, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, had founded the powerful Ṭāhirid [*q.v.*] dynasty which ruled over a territory extending from al-Rayy to the Indian frontier, with its capital at Naysābūr.

In 206/821-2 the caliph al-Maʾmūn appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir governor of the region between al-Raḳḳa and Egypt and at the same time he was placed in command of the caliph's troops in the campaign against Naṣr b. <u>Sh</u>aba<u>th</u>, a former partisan of al-Amīn, who was endeavoring to gain control of Mesopotamia. After subduing Naṣr ʿAbd Allāh went in 211/826-7 to Egypt, where for ten years refugees from Spain had been further weakening an already weak state, and he swiftly captured the leaders and restored order.

While he was at Dīnawar, in al-<u>Dj</u>ibāl, busy raising troops to quell a revolt of Bābak the <u>Kh</u>urramite, his brother, Ṭalḥa, died and in 214/829-30 he was appointed by al-Maʾmūn to succeed Ṭalha as governor of <u>Kh</u>urāsān. He proved to be an exceedingly wise ruler, establishing a stable government in his domains, protecting the poor against abuses by the upper classes and bringing education to the masses; no boy, however poor, was denied the means to acquire knowledge. As a result of litigations in Naysābūr he ordered an investigation into the use of water for irrigation, and the *Book of Canals*, which was the outcome of this, established legal rules for water utilization which served as a guide for several centuries (cf. A. Schmidt, *Islamica*, 1930, 128).

During the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim, ʿAbd Allāh subdued the revolt of the ʿAlid pretender, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, in 219/834-5; and in 224/838-9 in Ṭabaristān, which was under his jurisdiction as governor of <u>Kh</u>urāsān, he quelled the far more alarming revolt of its *iṣbahbad*, al-Māziyār [*q.v.*], incited to rebel by al-Af<u>sh</u>īn.

Gardīzī relates that al-Muʿtaṣim so hated ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir for a personal criticism that ʿAbd Allāh had expressed about him that when he became caliph he attempted to poison ʿAbd Allāh by sending him a slave girl with a gift of poisoned cloth, but the attempt failed because the slave girl fell in love with ʿAbd Allāh and revealed the plot. However that may be, ʿAbd Allāh seems to have enjoyed the caliph's esteem. His most implacable enemy, al-Af<u>sh</u>īn, during his own heresy trial, testified bitterly to the high regard the caliph had for him, and al-Muʿtaṣim himself referred to ʿAbd Allāh as one of the four great men (curiously enough, all of them Ṭāhirids) of his brother's reign and regretted that he had not been able to foster any men of the same noble calibre.

Like all Ṭāhirid rulers, ʿAbd Allāh was enormously wealthy; his magnificent palace in Ba<u>gh</u>dād enjoyed

the royal right of sanctuary and served as a residence for the governor of the city, which remained under Ṭāhirid domination for a long time (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 119).

He was a man of wide culture with a deep love and respect for learning; in the controversy regarding the relative merits of Arabic *vs.* Persian culture, which engaged the keenest minds of that day, ʿAbd Allāh strongly supported all things Arabic. In his own right he was an accomplished musician and a poet of note, as well as a sympathetic patron of the poet Abū Tammām, the compiler of the *Ḥamāsa*, who sang his praises in many poems.

At the age of 48 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir died as a result of quinsy after an illness of three days, on Mon. 11 Rabīʿ I, 230/Nov. 26, 844, according to most Arab historians (but Nov. 26 was Wed.) and, in true dynastic fashion, he was succeeded by his son, Ṭāhir. At the time of his death the taxes from the provinces under his control amounted to 48 million dirhams.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1044 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 256 ff., vii, 9 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, trans. de Slane, ii, 49; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Juynboll, i, 600 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, ii 555 ff.; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, 5-9; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, No. 5114; Weil, *Chalifen*, ii, 201 ff.; Barthold, *Turkestan*², 208 ff.; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 2. Further bibliography in Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, ii, 973. (E. MARIN)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. THAWR [see ABŪ FUDAYK].

ʿABD ALLĀH B. UBAYY B. SALŪL (Salul being Ubayy's mother), chief of Ba ʾl-Ḥublā (also known as Sālim), a section of the clan of ʿAwf of the Khazradj, and one of the leading men of Medina. Prior to the hidjra he had led some of the Khazradj in the first day of the Fidjār at Medīna, but did not take part in the second day of the Fidjār nor the battle of Buʿāth since he had quarreled with another leader, ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān of Bayāḍa, over the latter's unjust killing of Jewish hostages, perhaps because he realized the need for justice within a community and feared ʿAmr's ambition. But for the coming of Muḥammad he might have been "king" of Medīna, as the sources suggest. When all but a small minority of the Medinans accepted Islam, Ibn Ubayy followed the majority, but he was never a whole-hearted Muslim. In 2/624 when Muḥammad attacked Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ, Ibn Ubayy pleaded for them since they had been in league with him in pre-Islamic times; he probably urged their importance as a fighting unit in view of the expected Meccan onslaught. In the consultations before Uḥud (3/625) he supported the policy originally favoured by Muḥammad of remaining in the strongholds. When Muḥammad decided to go to meet the enemy, Ibn Ubayy disapproved, and eventually with 300 followers retired to the strongholds. This move may have stopped the Meccans from attacking Medīna itself after the battle, but it showed cowardice and lack of belief in God and the Prophet (cf. Ḳurʾān, iii, 166-8 [160-2]). Up to this point Ibn Ubayy had done little but criticize Muḥammad verbally, but for the next two years he also intrigued against him. He tried to persuade Banū al-Naḍīr not to evacuate their homes at Muḥammad's command, even promising military support. On the expedition to Muraysīʿ he used the occasion of a quarrel between Emigrants and Anṣār to try to undermine Muḥammad's position and make men think of expelling him; and immediately afterwards he was active in spreading scandal about ʿĀʾisha. Muḥammad called a meeting and asked to be allowed to punish him (without incurring a feud). There was high feeling between the Aws and the Khazradj, but it was clear that Ibn Ubayy had little backing. His reputation of being leader of the Hypocrites (*munāfiḳūn*) or Muslim opponents of Muḥammad is based on these incidents. After this year there is no record of his actively opposing Muḥammad or intriguing against him. He took part in the expedition of Ḥudaybiya, but stayed away from that to Tabūk, doubtless because of ill health, since he died shortly afterwards (9/631). He was probably not involved in the intrigues connected with the "mosque of dissension" (*masdjid al-ḍirār*), since Muḥammad himself conducted his funeral. Throughout his dealings with Ibn Ubayy Muḥammad showed great restraint.

Ibn Ubayy had a son ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh and several daughters who became good Muslims.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 411-3, 546, 558, 591, 653, 726, 734, 927; Ṭabarī, index; Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, Berlin 1882, index; idem. *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Berlin 1889, iv. 50-62; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 90, viii, 279; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 207, 253, etc.; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 418, 548, 602, etc.; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, Cairo 1908, i, 142; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 506 ff.
(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿUMAR B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ, son of the caliph ʿUmar II. In the year 126/744 ʿAbd Allāh was appointed governor of ʿIrāḳ by Yazīd III, but in a short time aroused the discontent of the Syrian chiefs in that place, who felt that they were unfavorably treated by the new governor compared with the inhabitants of ʿIrāḳ. After the accession of Marwān II, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], a descendant of ʿAlī's brother Djaʿfar, rebelled in Kūfa in Muḥarram 127/Oct. 744, but was expelled by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, whereupon he transferred his propaganda to other parts. When Marwān transferred to al-Naḍr b. Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī the governorship of ʿIrāḳ, ʿAbd Allāh energetically refused to leave his post. Al-Naḍr appeared at Kūfa, whilst ʿAbd Allāh remained in Ḥīra and hostilities broke out between them. Soon after, however, a common enemy appeared in the person of the Khāridjite chief al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays, and then the two adversaries had to come to terms and even to join forces. In Radjab 127/April-May 745 they were defeated by al-Ḍaḥḥāk and ʿAbd Allāh withdrew to Wāsiṭ, whilst the victor captured Kūfa. Then the old enmity between the two governors again broke out, but for a second time al-Ḍaḥḥāk put an end to their quarrels. After a siege lasting several months ʿAbd Allāh was obliged to make peace with al-Ḍaḥḥāk. Subsequently Marwān had ʿAbd Allāh arrested. According to the usual account, he died of plague in the prison of Ḥarrān in the year 132/749-50.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1854 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 228 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*; J. Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 239 ff.; Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon*, ii, 982. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿUMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB, one of the most prominent personalities of the first generation of Muslims, and of the authorities most frequently quoted for Traditions. He derived his reputation not only from being a son of the Caliph, but also because his high moral qualities compelled the admiration of his contemporaries. At a time when the Muslims were being carried by their passions into civil war, Ibn ʿUmar was able to maintain himself aloof from the conflict; furthermore, he followed the precepts of Islām with such scrupulous

obedience that he became a pattern for future generations, to such a degree that information was collected as to how he dressed, how he cut and dyed his beard, etc. The biographies of him are full of anecdotes and charming touches which serve to illustrative his native wit, his deep piety, his gentleness, modesty, propriety and continence, his determination to detach himself from all that he loved most. Some of these stories may have been invented, but his nobility of soul is incontestable. As a transmitter of Tradition, he has been regarded as the most scrupulous in neither adding to nor omitting anything from the *ḥadīths* narrated by him. The Caliphate was offered to him three times: immediately after the death of ʿUthmān (35/655); during the negotiations of the two arbiters appointed at Ṣiffīn to resolve the dispute between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya (37-8/657-8); and after the death of Yazīd I (64/683). On each occasion he refused, because he would have desired his election to be unanimous and wished to avoid bloodshed in securing it. Whether or not this was due to narrowmindedness (as Lammens has suggested), it is undeniable that Ibn ʿUmar was lacking in energy, and his own father recognized this defect in him.

The following are the events recorded on the life of Ibn ʿUmar. Born before the *hidjra*, at an unspecified date, he embraced Islām with his father and emigrated to Medīna some time before him. The Prophet sent him back on account of his age when he presented himself to fight at Badr and at Uḥud, but accepted him at the siege of Medina known as the Battle of the Moat, when he was about fifteen years old (this served as a precedent later in analogous cases). Afterwards he took part in the disastrous expedition to Muʾta (7), in the conquest of Mecca (8), in the wars against the false prophets Musaylima and Ṭulayḥa (12), in the Egyptian campaign (18-21), in the battle of Nihāwand (21), in the expedition of the year 30 to Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān, and in Yazīd's expedition against Constantinople (49). In political affairs, he appears for the first time as adviser to the Council appointed by the dying ʿUmar to choose from among its own members the future Caliph; he had, however, no right of voting and was not eligible. At the elections of the other Caliphs who came to power during his lifetime he conformed to the will of the majority of the Muslims, and if he refused to pay homage to ʿAlī it was because he was waiting for the community to reach agreement on his election. As agreement was not reached and civil war broke out, he remained neutral. If later he refused to recognize Yazīd as heir-presumptive—he obviously disapproved of the innovation introduced by Muʿāwiya into the settlement of the succession—he showed no hesitation in paying homage to him after the death of his father. Ibn ʿUmar held no important office in the administration of the empire, except a few missions. Perhaps he deliberately held aloof, devoting himself to religious practices. It is related that he would not accept the office of *ḳāḍī*, fearing that he might not be able to interpret the divine law correctly.

Ibn ʿUmar died of septicaemia in 73/693, well over eighty years of age, as the result of a wound in the foot inflicted by one of the soldiers of al-Ḥadjdjādj with the lower end of his lance, in the throng of pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt. When al-Ḥadjdjādj visited him during his illness and asked if he knew the man who had wounded him, so that he could be punished, Ibn ʿUmar reproached him for allowing his men to carry arms in the holy places and for having been, in this way, the cause of his injury. This reproach probably gave rise to the story found in certain of the later sources, that al-Ḥadjdjādj commissioned an assassin to wound Ibn ʿUmar with the poisoned tip of a lance.

Bibliography: Longer biographies: Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 105-38; iii/1, 214; iii/2, 42; iv/1, 49, 62, and index; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1275, i, 349-50; Cairo 1367/1948, no. 297 (missing in other editions); Abu Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, i, 292-314; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzi, ms. Paris Ar. 6131, foll. 227r-229v; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, Cairo 1285-7, ii, 227-31; Ibn Hadjar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta 1856-93, 840-7. Historical sources: Musʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh* (ed. Lévi-Provençal), 350-1; Ṭabarī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 396, 398, 400, 402; v, 43, 284-6, and index; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 230, 295-6, and index; Caetani, *Annali*, 20 A.H., paras. 236, 238 (9-10), 264 no. 6; 23 A.H., para. 147 no. 6 and indexes; 38 A.H., pp. 21, 23, 27, 38, 39, 45, 57; J. Périer, *Vie d'al-Hadjdjadj ibn Yousouf*, Paris 1904, 41, 53-4. Many other references given in Caetani, *Chronographia*, 73 A.H., para. 30.

(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **WAHB** al-Rāsibī, Khāridjite leader, a *tābiʿī* of the Badjīla tribe, noted for his bravery and piety and surnamed *dhu 'l-thafināt*, "the man with the callosities", on account of the callosities on his forehead etc. resulting from his many prostrations. He fought under Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ in ʿIrāḳ and under ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn, but broke with him over the decision to arbitrate and joined the dissidents at Ḥarūraʾ. Shortly before their final departure from Kūfa in Shawwāl 37/March 658, the Khāridjites elected ʿAbd Allāh as their commander (*amīr*, not *khalīfa*, as usually stated), and he was killed in the ensuing battle at Nahrawān, 9 Ṣafar 38/17 July 658.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3363-6, 3376-81; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 527, 558 ff.; Dīnawarī, ed. Guirgass and Rosen, 215-24; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, in Levi della Vida, *RSO*, 1913, 427-507; Barrādī, *K. al-Djawāhir*, Cairo 1302; R. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten*, 18 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Religiös-pol. Oppositionsparteien*, 17 ff.; Caetani, *Annali*, A. H. 38 passim (additional reff. in para. 267); L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Il Conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya*, in *Ann. dell'Ist. Univ. Orient. di Napoli*, 1952, 58 ff.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **YĀSĪN** [see al-Murābiṭūn].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. al-**ZUBAYR**, anti-Caliph, son of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], of the ʿAbd al-ʿUzza clan of Ḳuraysh, and Asmāʾ [*q.v.*], daughter of Abū Bakr and sister of ʿĀʾisha. He was born at Medina twenty months after the hidjra (c. Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 2/May 624), and killed in battle against the Syrian troops under al-Ḥadjdjādj, 17 Djumādā I or II, 73/4 Oct. or 3 Nov., 692. Some sources (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 116; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 275; etc.) state that he was the first child born to the Muhādjirīn at Medina. The close kinship which linked him to the family of the Prophet on both sides was a factor which contributed to building up his reputation, both as against the Umayyads and also (it would seem) against the ʿAlids.

He is reported to have been present, though still a boy, with his father at the battle of the Yarmūk (Radjab 15/Aug. 636), and accompanied him when he joined the forces of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Egypt (19/640). He took part in the expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ in 26-7/647 against the Byzantines in Ifrīḳiya and is said to have killed the exarch Gregory with his own hand. On returning

to Medina to announce the news of the victory, he is credited with an eloquent description of this exploit (*Aghānī*, vi, 59, on which most of the later narratives depend). He accompanied Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ in his campaigns in northern Persia (29-30/650), and was subsequently nominated by ʿUthmān to be one of the commission charged with the official recension of the Ḳurʾān (*Gesch. des Qorans*, ii, 47-55). After the assassination of ʿUthmān he accompanied his father and ʿĀʾisha to Baṣra and commanded the infantry in the battle of the Camel (10 Dj. II, 36/4 Dec. 656); after the battle he returned with ʿĀʾisha to Medina, and took no further part in the civil war, except to attend the Arbitration at Dūmat al-Djandal (or rather Adhruḥ), where he is said to have advised ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar to bribe ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, Cairo 1365, 623).

During the reign of Muʿāwiya I, ʿAbd Allāh, who had inherited a considerable fortune from his father, remained in the background, biding his time, but refused to take the oath to Yazīd as heir-presumptive. On Muʿāwiya's death (60/680), he, together with Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], again refused to swear allegiance to Yazīd, and to escape the threats of Marwān they fled to Mecca, where they remained unmolested. When, however, after the expedition of Ḥusayn and his death at Karbalāʾ, Ibn al-Zubayr began secretly to enrol adherents, a small force was sent from Medina under the command of his brother ʿAmr to arrest him. ʿAmr was defeated and taken prisoner, beaten and incarcerated in a cell until he died, and his body was exposed on a gibbet (61/681). ʿAbd Allāh now publicly declared Yazīd deposed, and his example was followed by the Anṣār at Medina, who elected ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanẓala [*q.v.*], known as Ibn al-Ghasīl (Ibn Saʿd, v, 46-9) as their chief. Yazīd, realizing that he had temporized too long, despatched a Syrian army under Muslim b. ʿUḳba, which defeated the Medinians in the battle of the Ḥarra (27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 63/27 Aug., 683) and proceeded (notwithstanding Muslim's death) to besiege ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca (26 Muḥ. 64/24 Sept. 683). Sixty-four days later, on receiving the news of Yazīd's death, the Syrian forces desisted, and the commander, Ḥusayn b. Numayr, tried to persuade Ibn al-Zubayr to accompany them back to Syria, but he determined to stay in Mecca.

The ensuing confusion in Syria and the outbreak of civil war gave Ibn al-Zubayr his chance. He proclaimed himself *amīr al-muʾminīn*, and the opponents of the Umayyads in Syria, Egypt, southern Arabia and Kūfa recognized him as Caliph. But his authority remained almost wholly nominal. The victory of Marwān I [*q.v.*] at Mardj Rāhiṭ (end of 64/July 684) and the revolt of Mukhtār [*q.v.*] at Kūfa fifteen months later, placed his supporters in Syria, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ on the defensive; and although al-Muhallab's support of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr at Baṣra and subsequent victory over Mukhtār (67/687) restored a Zubayrid government in ʿIrāḳ, Musʿab was to all intents an independent ruler. At the same time, the Bakrite Khāridjites, who had separated from Ibn al-Zubayr after the death of Yazīd and had established themselves in eastern Nadjd under the command of Nadjda, occupied the province of Baḥrayn (i.e. al-Ḥasā), and in 68/687-8 seized al-Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt, followed next year by the occupation of Ṭāʾif, thus completely isolating him in the Ḥidjāz. At the Pilgrimage of 68/688 no fewer than four different leaders presided over their separate groups of partisans: Ibn al-Zubayr, a Khāridjite, an Umayyad, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. Finally, after the Umayyad reoccupation of ʿIrāḳ, 72/691, ʿAbd al-Malik despatched al-Ḥadjdjādj to deal with Mecca. The siege began on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 72/25 March, 692, and lasted for more than six months, during which the city and the Kaʿba were under bombardment. When at length his supporters gave way, and even his own sons surrendered to al-Ḥadjdjādj, ʿAbd Allāh, urged on by his mother, returned to the field of battle and was slain. His body was placed on a gibbet on the spot where his brother ʿAmr had been exposed, and some time later was given back by orders of ʿAbd al-Malik to his mother, who buried it in the house of Ṣafiyya at Medina.

ʿAbd Allāh is the principal representative in history of the second generation of the noble Muslim families of Mecca, who resented the capture of the Caliphate by the Umayyad house and the gulf of power which this had created between the clan of ʿAbd Shams and the other Meccan clans. This resentment is still clearly visible as a groundtheme in the numerous anecdotes on his relations with Muʿāwiya (see *Bibl.* under Balādhurī), in spite of their later elaboration and of Muslim idealization of this challenger of Umayyad rule, which has transformed a brave, but fundamentally self-seeking and self-indulgent man, into a model of piety (see especially *Ḥilya al-Awliyāʾ*, i, 329-337). On the other hand, many sources portray him as avaricious, jealous, and ill-natured, and reproach him particularly for his harsh conduct towards his brother, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās.

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ʿABD ALLĀH DJEWDET [see DJEWDET].

ʿABD ALLĀH AL-GHĀLIB BIʾLLĀH ABU MUḤAMMAD, Saʿdid sultan, son of one of the founders of the dynasty, Maḥammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdī. He was born Ramaḍān 933/June 1527 and, designated as heir presumptive, was recognized as sultan on his father's death, assassinated by his Turkish guardsmen 29 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 964/23 Oct. 1557. His reign lasted till his death, due to a crisis of asthma, 28 Ramaḍān 981/21 Jan. 1574.

His reign as a whole was peaceful. Yet the sultan showed himself uneasy in expectation of an eventual intervention of the Turks, who had killed his father, immediately afterwards invaded the North of Morocco, whence they had been repulsed, and who offered asylum to three of his brothers: al-Maʾmūn, ʿAbd al-Malik and Aḥmad. Thus he sought an alliance with the Spanish. These preoccupations formed the background to the cession of the Peñon de Velez (1564), the taking of Shafshawān (1567) and the embarrassed attitude of the sultan at the time of the revolt of the Moriscos (1568-71). He had relations with other European powers also. He negotiated

with Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, and was prepared to cede to him al-Kaṣr al-Ṣaghīr in exchange for 500 soldiers, and entered into commercial relations with England. He tried to conquer the fortress of Mazagan, which was in the hands of the Portuguese, dispatching against it a numerous army under the command of his son Muḥammad, his heir. The siege lasted from 4 March to 30 April 1562 and ended with the failure of the Saʿdid troops, who suffered heavy losses.

In internal affairs he consolidated the work of his father, without meeting any serious opposition. He seemed to have feared especially the members of his family; he had his brother al-Maʾmūn assassinated in Tlemcen and put to death his nephew Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, whose popularity roused his ill-will (975/1567-8). He also seems to have suspected some of the religious leaders: he imprisoned, or put to death, several members of the Yūsufiyya order and had crucified in Marrākush the *faḳīh* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. al-Andalusī, accused of heresy (15 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 980/19 April 1573). He constructed several important buildings in Marrākush, such as the Ibn Yūsuf madrasa. Diego de Torres also attributes to him the establishment of the *mallāḥ* of Marrākush in its present location. He also built a fortress to protect the harbour of Agadir.

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ʿABD ALLĀH PASHA MUḤSIN-ZĀDE ČELEBI, Ottoman statesman and general, son of Muḥsin Čelebi, descended from a family of merchants at Aleppo. He started his career in 1115/1703 in the financial administration with the post of supervisor (*emīn*) of the Mint (*ḍarb-khāne*), the *defterdār* of which was his brother, Meḥmed Efendī. He became son-in-law (*dāmād*) of the Grand-Vizier Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha (1707-10) and enjoyed the favour of the court. On the revolt of Ḳaytās Beg, he was sent to Egypt in 1126/1714, succeeded in subduing the rebel and sent his head to the Porte. Between 1715 and 1737 he filled several administrative and military posts: *defterdār* in Morea, governor (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Lepanto (Aynabakhtī), chief of the *ḳapudjī* with the rank of a Pasha, head of the imperial chancery (*nishandjī*), *agha* of the Janissaries, Beylerbey of Vidin, of Rumeli and of Bosnia. He was commander (*ser-ʿasker*) at Bender, in Bessarabia, when Russia invaded the Crimea (1736) and Austria threatened to intervene on the Danube. Negotiations at Niemirov (Poland) led to no results. Appointed by Sultan Maḥmūd I (1730-54) as Grand-Vizier (6 Rabīʿ II, 1150/August 3rd, 1737), ʿAbd Allāh Pasha directed the war operations, without achieving the results hoped for by the court. Recalled to Istanbul after four months, he had to hand over the seal of office to the new Grand-Vizier Yegen Pasha (Dec. 19th, 1737). He continued to fill posts as commander of fortresses and governor of provinces and died in Rabīʿ ii, 1162/spring 1749 in Trikala, Thessaly, at the age of 90 years. His son Meḥmed Pasha Muḥsin-Zāde signed the peace of Küčük Ḳaynardje (1174).

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ʿABD ALLĀH SARI [see SARI ʿABD ALLĀH EFENDI].

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ (ABDÜLAZIZ), the thirty-second Ottoman sultan. Born on 9 Feb. 1830, the third son of sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], he succeded his brother ʿAbd al-Madjīd [*q.v.*], 20 June 1861. His reign was marked by revolts and insurrections in the Balkan provinces (Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria) and in Crete, which brought about the intervention of the great powers. From 1870 onwards, the influence of Russia, supplanting that of France and England, preponderated in Istanbul, and General Ignatief, the Russian ambassador, often imposed his views on the grand vizier Maḥmūd Nadīm Pasha. Russia also made efforts to stir up the discontent of the subjects of the Porte: Slavs, Albanians, and even Arabs and Egyptians.

In spite of internal crises, the policy of reforms, called *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], was not abandoned. The administration of the provinces was reorganized (law of *wilāyets* modeled on French law, 1867) and some attempts were made to reform the institution of the *waḳfs* (1867). On French advice, a council of justice (*shūrā-yi dewlet*), composed of Muslims and Christians, and a council of justice (*dīwān-i aḥkām-i ʿadliyye*) were set up (1868). Public education was reorganized after the French model and a *lycée* was opened in Galata-saray. It was open to all Ottoman subjects and instruction was given in French by French teachers (1868). A university (*dār ül-fünūn*) was established. At the same time, the army, and especially the navy, were reorganized. Foreigners acquired the right to possess immovable property (1867). Other attempts at economic reforms remained fruitless: in 1877, the deficit of the budget reached 112 millions. The government, judging itself unable to face its obligations, followed the advice of the Russian ambassador, reduced by half the payment of interest on the debt and had to declare itself bankrupt. The deplorable state of the national economy, the financial crisis, the revolts and insurrections in the Balkan provinces, made it particularly difficult to apply the reforms, with which the great powers were dissatisfied, while the Old Turks considered them incompatible with religion and the Young Turks insufficient. This resulted in general discontent against the sultan, who was deposed on 30 March 1876 and committed suicide a few days later.

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(E. Z. KARAL)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. AL-ḤĀDJDJ IBRĀHĪM AL-THAMĪNĪ AL-ISDJANĪ, celebrated Ibāḍī scholar, b. c. 1130/1717-8, probably at Wardjlān (Ouargla), d. Radjab 1223/August 1808, at Banū Isdjan (Beni Isguen) in the Mzab, where, at the age of about forty, he had begun his studies under the shaykh Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ, of Djarba. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is held by the Ibāḍīs to-day to be one of the greatest scholars who ever lived in the Mzab, where he has left the reputation of a man of fervent piety, remarkable sagacity, great imperturbability, perfect self-control, and astonishing assiduity.

He devoted himself to the composition of a dozen works on theology and jurisprudence. His most important work is *K. al-Nīl wa-Shifāʾ al-ʿAlīl*, autographed at Cairo 1305/1887-8. This treatise, conceived on the plan of the *Mukhtaṣar* of *Khalīl*, but less concise in style, is a complete exposition of Ibāḍī legislation, put together from the most authoritative works of Ibāḍī scholarship in ʿUmān, Djabal Nafūsa, Djarba and the Mzab, all of which can be identified without difficulty. It was on this work that E. Zeys drew for his studies on this subject. The other works of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz are the following: *Takmilat al-Nīl*, published at Tunis some 25 years ago; *al-Ward al-bassām fi Riyaḍ al-Aḥkām*, a précis of jurisprudence devoted chiefly to questions of judgment; *Maʿālim al-Dīn*, a reasoned exposition of the Ibāḍī creed, along with refutation of the arguments put forward by the defenders of the other sects (unpublished); *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ min K. Abī Masʾala waʾl-Alwāḥ*, on questions of inheritance; *ʿIḳd al-Djawāhir*, a summary of *Ḳanāṭir al-Khayrāt* of al-Djayṭālī, on worship and religion in general (unpublished); *Mukhtaṣar Ḥuḳūḳ al-Azwādj*, on the rights and duties of husband and wife (unpublished); *Tādj al-Manẓūm min Durar al-Minhādj al-Maʿlūm*, abridgement of a voluminous ʿUmanī work of jurisprudence (unpublished); *Taʿāẓum al-Mawdjayn* (or *Dhuʾl-Nūrayn*) *ʿalā Mardj al-Baḥrayn* (unpublished); *al-Asrār al-Nūrāniyya*, on prayer and the accompanying rites (autographed in Egypt 1306/1888-9); *al-Nūr*, on the principal dogmas of the Faith (autographed in Egypt 1306/1888-9); *Mukhtaṣar Ḥawāshī al-Tartīb*, résumé of several Ibāḍī works on *ḥadīth*.

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(A. DE MOTYLINSKI-T. LEWICKI)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, Umayyad general. He was a faithful partisan of his cousin Yazīd III and one of his most eminent assistants. Already in al-Walīd II's reign he helped Yazīd, who headed the malcontents, to enlist troops against the caliph. When they had succeeded in getting together an army in Damascus, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz received the supreme command and marched against al-Walīd. Yazīd's brother ʿAbbās, who was about to go to the caliph's assistance, was attacked and forced to pay homage to Yazīd. Shortly afterwards ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz stormed the castle of Bakhrāʾ, whither al-Walīd had withdrawn, and put the caliph to death. This was in the year 126/744. Yazid was now proclaimed caliph; the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ (Emesa), however, stoutly refused to do homage to the usurper and marched against Damascus. Yazīd sent two army divisions against them, and while the rebels were engaged with one division, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz advanced with the other and decided the combat, whereupon the rising was suppressed. In the same year Yazīd died after settling the succession on his brother Ibrāhīm and after him on ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The inhabitants of Ḥimṣ, however, again refused to do homage to the new ruler, who for that matter was hardly recognized outside the capital. On Ibrāhīm's orders ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz therefore began to lay siege to the town, but withdrew when Marwān b. Muḥ., then governor of Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, advanced against him. Ḥimṣ opened its gates to Marwān, the followers of the late caliph were defeated in Ṣafar 127/Nov. 744 at ʿAyn al-Djarr, and Marwān had himself proclaimed caliph in Damascus. As soon as he had entered the town, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥadjdjādj was murdered by clients of al-Walīd II.

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(K, V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. AL-ḤASAN, sultan of Morocco from 1894 to 1908. He was born, according to Weisgerber, on 24 Feb. 1878, according to Doutté and Saint-René Taillandier 18 Rabīʿ I 1298/18 Feb. 1881, of the sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan and Lālla Ruḳayya, of Circassian origin. When his father died on a campaign, 9 June 1894, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was proclaimed sultan in Rabat, thanks to the *ḥādjib* Aḥmad b. Mūsā, called Bā Aḥmad, who had been in charge of his education, and received as reward the title of Grand-Vizier. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz left the management of affairs in the hands of Aḥmad until his death on 13 May 1900. During this period Morocco continued to live more or less in its traditional way.

After the death of his mentor, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz fell under the influence of a small group of Europeans, including Sir Harry McLean, instructor of the Sherifian infantry, who encouraged the natural taste of the ruler for modernism, so that very soon the Sherifian palaces housed photographic cameras, billiards, etc. All this shocked the conservative feelings of the Moroccans and cost money. Moreover, in Sept. 1901, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz contemplated an equitable reform of taxes, *tartīb*, in order to abolish the privileges and immunities of the existing system. In consequence, an agitator (*rūgī*), called Djilālī b. Idrīs al-Zarhūnī al-Yūsufī, nicknamed Bū Ḥmāra (Abū Ḥamāra), rose in the district of Taza, gave himself out as a brother of the sultan and quickly became master of the region to the east of Fez (1902), threatening the capital itself in 1903.

On the other hand, the European powers exerted a strong pressure upon the Sherifian government, to protect the Europeans established in Morocco,

repress frontier incidents (region of Figuig), and obtain a guarantee for the considerable sums lent to the sultan by various European groups. These pressures, marked by various incidents, such as the visit of the German Emperor William II to Tangier (31 March 1905), led to the conference of Algeciras. The Act of Algeciras (7 April 1906), interpreted as an admission of surrender to the demands of the European powers, made ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz even more unpopular in Morocco. Anarchy and discontent increased equally, and the sultan was unable to bring about any improvement. One of his brothers, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ, was proclaimed sultan in Marrākush on 16 August 1907, immediately after the disembarkation of French troops in Casablanca.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz tried to resist by organizing an expedition to Marrākush in July 1908. His army broke up and was defeated by the troops of his brother on 19 August at Bū Adjība on the Wadi Tassāʾūt. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz took refuge in Casablanca and there abdicated on 21 August 1908. After a short stay in France, he established himself in Tangier, where he lived, without mixing in politics, until his death, 10 June 1943.

Bibliography: Ibn Zaydān (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān), *al-Durar al-Fākhira*, Rabat 1937, 111-7; E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1904; G. Veyre, *Au Maroc, dans l'intimité du sultan*, Paris 1905; Cte. Conrad de Buisseret, *A la cour de Fez*, Bruxelles 1907; W. B. Harris, *Morocco that was*, Edinburgh 1921; G. Saint-René Taillandier, *Les origines du Maroc français, récit d'une mission* (1901-1906), Paris 1930; A. G. P. Martin, *Le Maroc et l'Europe*, Paris 1928; F. Weisgerber, *Casablanca et les Chaouia en* 1900, Casablanca 1935; idem, *Au seuil du Maroc moderne*, Rabat 1947; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, ii, Casablanca 1950.

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. MARWĀN, son of the caliph Marwān I and father of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was appointed governor of Egypt by his father, and the appointment was confirmed by ʿAbd al-Malik, when he ascended the throne. During his twenty years' sojourn in Egypt, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz proved himself a capable governor, who really had the welfare of his province at heart. When in the year 69/689, ʿAbd al-Malik, after the assassination of his rebellious lieutenant ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, intended to have the latter's relatives executed as well, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz interceded for them and persuaded the incensed caliph to spare their lives. Towards the end of his life ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz suffered from the ill will of his brother ʿAbd al-Malik. Marwān had nominated him to succeed ʿAbd al-Malik, but the latter wished to secure the throne for his two sons, al-Walīd and Sulaymān, and therefore cherished the project of removing his brother from his governorship and excluding him from the succession to the throne, when in the year 85/754 news suddenly reached Damascus that ʿAbd al-ʿAziz was dead.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 183-5; Ibn Saʿd, v, 175; Ṭabarī, ii, 576 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 156 ff.; Ya ʿkūbī, ii, 306 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 349 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 383 ff.; H. Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, 310-1; Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon*, ii, 171.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRAHĪM AL-ṢINHĀDJĪ AL-FISHTĀLĪ, Moroccan writer, b. 956/1549, d. at Marrākush 1031/1621-2, was head of the chancery (*wazīr al-ḳalam al-aʿlā*) and official historiographer (*mutawallī taʾrīkh al-dawla*) of the Saʿdid sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*]. Of his literary and historical works, which were considerable, there survive only lengthy quotations, especially by the chronicler al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] in his *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*. Al-Fishtālī, who was a contemporary and friend of al-Maḳḳarī [*q.v.*], the author of *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, composed annals of the Saʿdid dynasty down to his own times, under the title of *Manāhil al-Ṣafāʾ fī akhbār al-Mulūk al-Shurafāʾ*. He was the author also of many panegyrical poems, more particularly *mawlūdiyyāt* [*q.v.*]. The verses used for the epigraphic decoration of the palace of al-Badīʿ at Marrākush were of his composition.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-Ḥidjāl* (ed. Allouche), Rabat 1936, no. 1056; Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī* (ed. Houdas), 164/267 ff.; Maḳḳarī, Būlāḳ, iii, 8 ff.; Khafādjī, *Rayḥānat al-Alibbāʾ*, Cairo 1294, 180; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, Fez, i, 140-2; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 92-97; Brockelmann, S II, 680-1.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. MŪSĀ B. NUṢAYR, first governor of al-Andalus, after the departure to the East of his father Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, the famous conqueror of the Iberian peninsula, in 95/714. Mūsā, on leaving, gave him instructions to pursue the Muslim advance and to pacify the regions which had come under Muslim control. According to certain traditions, it was under his government that part of what is now Portugal, including the towns of Evora, Santarem and Coimbra, and the sub-pyrenean regions from Pamplona to Narbonne were conquered. He himself took Malaga and Elvira, and then subdued the land of Murcia, concluding with a Gothic lord, Theodemir (who gave his name to the district, Tudmīr [*q.v.*]) a treaty, the more or less authentic text of which has survived.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz married the widow of the last Visigothic king Roderic, Egilón, who is said to have adopted Islam and taken the name of Umm ʿĀṣim. This princess gained so much influence over the governor that he soon became suspect to his compatriots and was accused of abusing his power. He was assassinated in Seville, where he had fixed his residence, by a certain Ziyād b. ʿUdhra al-Balawī, at the beginning of Radjab 97/March 718, and was succeeded by his maternal cousin, Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 30-34 and references cited ibid., i, 8, n. 1.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ ĀL SAʿŪD [see SAʿŪDIDS].

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. AL-WALĪD, son of the caliph al-Walīd I. In 91/709-10, he took part in the campaign against the Byzantines, under the orders of his uncle, Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and during the following years, he also participated in the battles against the same enemies. In 96/714-5, al-Walīd, whose designated successor was Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, tried to exclude Sulaymān from the succession in favour of his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but his attempt failed. After the death of Sulayman at Dābiḳ, 99/717, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wanted to claim the crown, but learning that ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had been proclaimed as caliph, he betook himself to him and paid him homage. He died in 110/728-9.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1217 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, iv 439 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 435 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 511 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 436; Caetani-Gabrieli, *Onomasticon*, ii, 986. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ABD AL-ʿAZĪZ EFENDI KARA ČELEBIZĀDE [see ḲARA ČELEBIZĀDE].

SHĀH **ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ AL-DIHLAWĪ**, the eldest son of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*], a noted Indian theologian and author of several religious works in Arabic and Persian, was born at Delhi in 1159/1746 (hence his chronogrammatic name Ghulām Ḥalīm) and died there in 1239/1824. He studied mainly with his father, after whose death in 1176/1762 he soon began to teach as the head of the Madrasa Raḥīmiyya, founded by his grandfather. As a teacher, preacher and writer, he exercised a considerable influence on the religious thought of his time. His chief works are as follows. In Arabic: (1) *Sirr al-Shahādatayn* (Dihli 1261), in which he sets forth the ingenious view that the Prophet vicariously acquired the merit and distinction of *shahāda* or martyrdom through the tragic death of his grandson, Ḥusayn son of ʿAlī. One of his pupils, Salāmat Allāh wrote a commentary on it in Persian (Lucknow 1882). (2) *ʿAzīz al-Iḳtibās fī Faḍāʾil Akhyār al-Nās*, a collection of traditions on the virtues of the first four Caliphs (Dihli 1322/1904, with Persian and Urdu translations). (3) *Mīzān al-ʿAḳāʾid*, a concise statement of the Muslim creed with the author's own commentary on it (Dihli 1321 A. H.). In Persian: (4) *Tuḥfa ithnā-ʿAshariyya* (edited by Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ ʿAlī Riḍawī, Lucknow 1295 A. H.), in which he refutes the Shīʿite doctrines and thus continues the controversial work of his father, *Izālat al-Khafāʾ ʿan Khilāfat al-Khulafāʾ*. It has also been translated into Urdu. (5) *ʿUdjāla Nāfiʿa* (Dihli 1312, 1348 A. H.), an introduction to the science of Ḥadīth. (6) *Bustān al-Muḥaddithīn* (Dihli 1898), a bibliography of Ḥadīth literature, giving descriptions of books together with brief biographies of their authors. (7) *Fatāwā* (in 2 parts, Dihli 1341 A. H.), a collection of opinions and formal decisions on questions of law and doctrine. There is also an Urdu translation of part I by M. Nawwāb ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Djalīl (Haydarabad Deccan 1313; also Cawnpore). (8) *Fatḥ al-ʿAzīz*, commonly known as *Tafsīr ʿAzīzī*, a commentary in Persian on Suras i and ii, and sections 29 and 30 of the Ḳurʾān. Sections 29 and 30 were both printed at Calcutta; the former bears the date 1248 A. H., while that of the other is not traceable. There are several other prints. Urdu translations of all the various parts have been published. (9) *Malfūẓāt Shāh ʿAbd alʿAzīz*, the *obiter dicta* of the author, originally collected in Persian in 1233 A. H. and later translated into Urdu by ʿAẓmat Ilāhī in 1315/1897 and lithographed at Meerut.

Bibliography: Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Ithāf al-Nubalāʾ*, 296; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Tirhutī, *al-Yāniʿ al-Djanī fī Asānīd al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī*, lithographed on the margin of *Kashf al-Astār ʿan Ridjāl Maʿānī al-Āthār* (Deoband 1349 A. H.), 73-5; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira ʿUlamāʾ Hind* (Lucknow 1914), 122; Raḥīm Bakhsh, *Ḥayāt Walī* (in Urdu), Dihli 1319 A. H., 338-42; idem., *Ḥayāt ʿAzīzī*; Storey, *Persian Literature*, i, 24; Zubaid Ahmad, *The contribution of India to Arabic literature*, Jullundur, 1946, Index; Bashīr al-Dīn, *Tadhkira ʿAzīziyya*, Meerut 1934. (SH. INAYATULLAH)

ʿABD AL-BAHĀʾ [see BAHĀʾĪS].

ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-AZDĪ, governor of Khurāsān. In 130/747-8 and 133/750-1 he was a supporter of the ʿAbbāsids in their conflict with the Umayyads, and was appointed to command the *shurṭa* during the caliphates of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. The latter sent him to Khurāsān as governor in 140/757-8. On arrival in the province, he began a violent persecution against the local aristocracy, whom he accused of partiality for the ʿAlids; but it seems that his measures affected also some of the partisans of the ʿAbbāsids (as is stated in the Persian version of al-Ṭabarī). This was apparently the reason why the caliph came to suspect him of rebellion. A cunning exchange of letters, which followed, only confirmed these suspicions, and eventually in 141/758-9 al-Manṣūr sent an army against him under the command of his son al-Mahdī. On the approach of the troops the population of Marw al-Rūdh rose and delivered up ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who was brought before al-Manṣūr, tortured, and put to death, probably at the beginning of 142/759-60.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, index; Ṭabarī, index; *Chronique de Tabari* (Persian), tr. H. Zotenberg, IV, 378-80; S. Moscati, *La rivolta di ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, in *Rend. Linc.*, 1947, 613-5. (S. MOSCATI)

ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR B. AḤMAD B. ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR AL-HAMADHĀNĪ AL-ASADĀBĀDĪ, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan, Muʿtazilite theologian, in law a follower of the Shāfiʿī school. Born about 325, he lived in Baghdad, until called to Rayy, in 367/978, by the *ṣāḥib* Ibn ʿAbbād, a staunch supporter of the Muʿtazila. He was subsequently appointed chief ḳāḍī of the province; hence he is usually referred to in later Muʿtazilī literature as *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*. (For some anecdotes on his relations with Ibn ʿAbbād see Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 312, 314). On the death of Ibn ʿAbbād, he was deposed and arrested by the ruler, Fakhr al-Dawla, because of a slighting remark made by him about his deceased benefactor (*Irshād*, i, 70-1, ii, 335). No details seem to be available about his later life, and we do not seem to know, for instance, whether he was re-instated in his office. He died in 415/1025.

His main dogmatic work is the enormous *al-Mughnī*, of which the greater part has been preserved (in Sanʿā, see: *Fihris Kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*, 103-4; some volumes in Cairo, brought from Ṣanʿā, see: Kh. Y. Nāmī, al-*Baʿtha al-Misriyya li-Taṣwīr al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1952, 15). Another important handbook of his dogmatics, *al-Muḥīṭ biʾl-Taklīf*, was compiled by his pupil Ibn Mattawayh [*q.v.*]. Several volumes in Ṣanʿā, *Fihris*, 102 (vol. i, Berlin 5149; Taymūriyya, ʿAḳaʾid 357; fragments in Leningrad, see A. Borisov, *Les manuscrits muʿtazilites de la Bibliothèque publique de Leningrad*, *Bibliografiya Vostoka*, 1935, 63-95). His monograph on prophecy (*Tathbīt Dalāʾil Nubuwwat Sayyidinā Muḥammad*, Shehīd ʿAlī Pasha 1575, cf. H. Ritter, *Isl.*, 1929, 42) contains also important discussions of the views of other schools, especially those of the Shīʿa. Another important dogmatic treatise seems to be his *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa* (Vat. 1028). For other writings that have come down to us, cf. Brockelmann. It is not only from his own works, however, that his system can be reconstructed. All the writings of the latter Muʿtazila—including the Zaydī writers on dogmatics; as a matter of fact, his own books, too, have been preserved mainly by the Zaydīs of Yaman—are full of reports on his opinions. He was the chief figure in the last phase of Muʿtazilism, but his teaching has not yet been studied.

Bibliography: Abū Saʿīd al-Bayhaḳī, *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-Masāʾil*, MS Leiden, Landberg 215, fol. 123ᵛ—125ᵛ, whence Ibn al-Murtaḍā, (*al-Muʿtazila*, Arnold), 66 ff.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī,

Taʾrīkh Baghdād, xi, 113 ff.; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 114, 219-20; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 510-1, ix, 77-8, 235, x, 95; I. Goldziher, *Isl.*, 1912, 214; M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme*, 457-62; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, 191-3. — ʿAbd al-Djabbār's *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila* was the main source of Abū Saʿīd al-Bayhaḳī's important historical account of the Muʿtazila in the introduction of his *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-Masāʾil*. Al-Bayhaḳī's account was taken over, in a slightly abbreviated form, by Ibn al-Murtaḍā (ed. Th. W. Arnold). (S. M. STERN)

ʿABD AL-FATTĀḤ FŪMANĪ, Persian historian, lived probably in the 16th-17th centuries. Entering into government service in Fūman, the old capital of Gīlān (Ch. Schefer, *Christ. pers.*, ii, 93) he was appointed controller of accounts by the vizier of the place, Behzād-beg, about 1018 or 1019/1609-10. After serving under several other vizers, he was taken to ʿIrāḳ by ʿĀdil Shāh. He wrote in Persian *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān*, a history of Gīlān from 923/1517 to 1038/1628. This book, published by B. Dorn (with a résumé in his introduction), completes the histories of Ẓahīr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and ʿAlī b. Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *ʿAbdu'l-Fattâh Fûmeny's Geschichte von Gîlân* (vol. iii of B. Dorn, *Muhamm. Quellen zur Geschichte d. südl. Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*). (CL. HUART—H. MASSÉ)

ʿABD AL-GHANĪ B. ISMĀʿĪL AL-NĀBULUSĪ, a mystic, theologian, poet, traveller, and voluminous writer on a variety of subjects, born in Damascus 5 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1050/19 March 1641, and the leading figure in the religious and literary life of Syria in his time. His family, traditionally Shāfiʿī (though his father had changed to the Ḥanafī rite), had long been settled in Damascus and Muḥibbī describes his great-grandfather as "*shaykh mashāʾikh al-Shām*" (*Khulāṣa*, ii, 433). He early showed an interest in mysticism, joining the Ḳādirī and Naḳshbandī ṭarīḳas, and as a young man shut himself up in his house for seven years, studying the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī, Ibn Sabʿīn and ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī, and bringing on himself by his unconventionnal behaviour charges of antinomianism. An early work, a *badīʿiyya* in praise of the Prophet, was of such virtuosity that his authorship was doubted, until he vindicated himself by writing a commentary on it. In 1075/1664 he made his first journey to Istanbul, and in 1100/1688 he visited the Biḳāʿ and Lebanon, in 1101/1689 Jerusalem and Hebron, in 1105/1693 Egypt and Ḥidjāz, and in 1112/1700 Tripoli, and wrote accounts of all these travels except the first. His works number (including short treatises) from 200 to 250. His pupils were innumerable, the most important probably being Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī [*q.v.*]. He died in Damascus on 24 Shaʿbān 1143/5 March 1731.

His works fall into three main categories: ṣūfī, poetry, travels. His ṣūfī writings are mostly in the form of commentaries on the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī, al-Djīlī, Ibn al-Fāriḍ and others. In these commentaries he does not merely paraphrase and epitomize, but develops the thought in the tradition of the great commentators by original, if sometimes far-fetched, interpretation, which, as it is not exclusively mystical, is an important source for his religious and theological thought in general. In several of his commentaries ʿAbd al-Ghanī represents a convergence of two trends of mystical thought, the Andalusian-Maghribī trend (Abū Madyan, Ibn Mashīsh, Shushtari, Sanūsī) and the Perso-Anatolian trend (Awḥad al-Dīn Nūrī, Maḥmūd Uskudārī, Muḥammad Birgalī). He wrote also on the orders to which he belonged, as well as on the Mawlawī order. In his original writings he seems to be dominated by the concept of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*; of these original works the most important is the first volume of his great dīwān.

The *Diwān al-dawāwīn*, which contains the main body of his poetical output, comprises, as well as the first volume on mysticism (published Cairo 1302 etc.), three other volumes, all unpublished, containing eulogies of the Prophet, general eulogies and correspondence, and love-poems respectively. This by no means represents the whole of his poetical output, many of his other works also being written in verse form, and his interest in poetry is reflected in his commentary on the poems of Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī. During his lifetime and after he had a great reputation as a poet (see Amīr Ḥaydar, *Le Liban* (ed. Rustum) i, 8 ff., 22 ff., and for his use of the *muwashshaḥ*, Hartmann, *Muwaššaḥ*, 6).

In his narratives of his travels (see above) it was not ʿAbd al-Ghanī's intention to present a description of topographical or architectural detail. They are rather records of his own mystical experiences; but at the same time they throw a considerable amount of light on the religious and cultural life of the age. They are important also because they served as models for later travellers, such as the Damascene Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and the Egyptian Asʿad al-Luḳaymī. In addition, he wrote works, some of them vast and encyclopaedic, on tafsīr, ḥadīth, kalām, fiḳh, interpretation of dreams (a mine of information on the spiritualism and superstitions of his age), agriculture, the lawfulness of tobacco, and many other subjects.

Bibliography: Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, ii, 30-8; Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Āthār*, i, 154-7; Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, *al-Fatḥ al-tariyy fī ... al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī* (Ms. in the writer's possession); Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. ʿAfīfī (Cairo, 1946), i, 23; A. S. Khālidī, *Riḥla ilā diyār al-Shām* (Jaffa, 1946); ʿAbboud, *Ruwwād al-nahḍa al-ḥadītha* (Bairut, 1952), 34 ff.; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921) 143 ff.; L. Massignon, *La Passion de al-Hallaj*, passim. (W. A. S. KHALIDI)

ʿABD AL-ḤAKK ABŪ MUḤAMMAD [see MARĪNIUS].

ʿABD AL-ḤAKḲ B. SAYF AL-DĪN AL-DIHLAWĪ al-Bukhārī, Abu l-Madjd, with the *takhalluṣ Ḥaḳḳī*, Indian author in Arabic and Persian, born Muḥarram 958/Jan. 1551, died 2 Rabīʿ II 1052/30 June 1642. He spent some time in Fatḥpūr, studying with Fayḍī and Mīrzā Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, but fell out with them (cf. Badāʾūnī, iii, 113, 115 ff.; *al-Makātib wa l-Rasāʾil*, on marg. of *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, Delhi, 1332, 160; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ's book on the writers of Delhi, cf. below, p. 20; *Haft Iḳlīm*, s. v. Dihli). He left for the Ḥidjāz in 996 (*Adhkār-i Abrār*, Urdu transl. of Ghawthī's *Gulzār-i Abrār*, Agra 1326, 559), studying for several years with the famous scholars there (of whom he gave an account in his *Zād al-Muttaḳīn*). On his return, he taught for half a century in Delhi. He won the favour of Djahāngīr (who praises him in the *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1864, 282) and Shahdjahān. ʿUbayd Allāh Khᵂeshgī, *Mukhtaṣar Maʿāridj al-Wilāya*, Panjab Univ. Libr. MS. fol. 258 v., quotes a *risāla* by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ against the "ecstatic phrases" (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) of Aḥmad Kābulī (*Mudjaddid-i alf-i thānī*, d. 1034), but ultimately

the controversy was settled peacefully (Ṣiddiḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Tiḳṣār Djuyūd al-Aḥrār*, Bhopal 1298, 185). The tomb of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ is in the Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī in Delhi. An inscription on the wall of the *ḳubba* gives a sketch of his life; it is quoted fully in Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād, *Maʾāthir al-Kirām*, Agra 1328, 201; *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, 6; W. Beale, *Miftāḥ al-Tawārīkh*, Cawnpur 1867, 246; Bashīr al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāḳiʿāt-i Ḥukūmat-i Dihlī*, Agra 1919, iii, 305. According to the *Wāḳiʿāt*, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ's descendants in Dehli were still celebrating every year his *ʿurs* at the tomb.

In his *Taʾlīf Ḳalb al-Alīf bi-Kitābati Fihrist al-Tawālīf*, appended to his treatise on the writers and poets of Delhi (cf. the Urdu periodical *Tārīkh*, Haydarabad-Deccan, vol. i, part 3-4), ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ gives a list of his forty-nine works in Arabic and Persian. The following are the most important of his works: a *Dīwān* (cf. *Ṣubḥ-i Gulshan*, Bhopal 1295, 141); *Lamaḥāt al-Tanḳīḥ*, Arabic commentary on al-Tibrīzī's *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*; *Ashiʿʿat al-Lamaʿāt*, a fuller, Persian, commentary on the *Mishkāt*, Lucknow 1277; *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, lives of saints, mostly Indian; *Zubdat al-Āthār*, biography of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī; *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ*, Persian translation, with commentary, of al-Djīlānī's *Futūḥ al-Ghayb*; *Dhikr al-Mulūk*, a sketch of Indian history from the Ghūrids to Akbar; *Djadhb al-Ḳulūb*, a history of Medina, based mainly on al-Samhūdī; *Madāridj al-Nubuwwa*, a biography of the Prophet (Urdu transl.: *Manāhidj al-Nubuwwa*, Lucknow 1277). His main contribution is his share of the popularization of the study of Ḥadīth in India.

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ʿABD AL-ḤAḲḲ ḤĀMID (ABDÜLHAK HÂMIT), Turkish poet, born 2 Febr. 1852. He belonged to an old family of scholars which came from Izmīr, but resided for some time in Egypt before returning to Istanbul in the second half of the 18th century. His grandfather, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Molla, was chief court physician, and a great favourite during that later period of Maḥmūd II's reign which began in 1826 and brought renewal to the Empire. He had a great part in the opening of the new School of Medicine, wrote occasional poetry and left a diary (*Tārīkh-i Liwāʾ*) describing the Sultan's sojourn in 1828 (during the Russian war) in the barracks of Rami, supervising the training of the new army. (His two brothers were also authors). Ḥāmid's father, Khayrullāh Efendi, was one of the best historians of his day. He also wrote a journal of his visit to Paris (unpublished to this day) and was the author of the first Turkish play, *Ḥikāye-yi Ibrāhīm Pāshā*.

Ḥāmid grew up in this cultured environment; the childhood reminiscences of his mother, a Circassian slave girl, added to this intellectual background a fairy tale touch and Ḥāmid's work was to remain to the end marked by this dual influence. He began his studies in one of the newly founded state schools and continued them in Paris, where he went together with his father when he was eleven years old. Back in Istanbul, and later in Teheran, where his father was ambassador, he took private lessons, especially in Arabic and Persian. Among his tutors it was Taḥsīn Efendi who made the deepest impression on him. It was his influence that made Ḥāmid's early works (among them a narrative in verse, *Gharām*) interesting records of the first clash between Western science and philosophy and Muslim faith.

After his father's death Ḥāmid went back to Istanbul and entered the Civil Service; in 1876 he was appointed second secretary to the embassy in Paris. He had married in 1871, in Edirne, Fāṭma Khānīm, of the well-known Pirizade family. In Paris he met the ex-Prime Minister Midḥat Pāshā. Letters and works written in that period testify to the intellectual crisis he was then going through. On his return he was appointed consul in Poti (Russia), then in Golos (Greece), finally in Bombay. On his way back in 1885 his wife died; her death affected deeply Ḥāmid and his poetry. In 1885 he was appointed first secretary in London, then minister in The Hague, returning as secretary, then counsellor, to the London embassy. In 1908 Ḥāmid, then ambassador in Brussels, became a member of the Senate, and acted, during the first world war, as a deputy president. When the Senate was dissolved, he went to Vienna, returning towards the end of the war of independence. He was elected to the National Assembly in 1928. He died in 1937 and was given a national funeral.

His works before going to Europe (1873-6): *Mādjerā-yi ʿAshḳ*, *Ṣabr ü Thebāt*, *Ičli Ḳiz*, *Dukhter-i Hindu*, *Nazīfe*. Between his journey to Europe and his wife's death (1876-85): *Nesteren*, *Ṭāriḳ yahut Endülüs Fātiḥi*, *Ṣaḥrā*, *Tezer*, *Eshber*. 1885-1908: *Maḳber*, *Ölü*, *Ḥadjle*, *Bunlar o dur*, *Diwāneliklerim yahut Belde*, *Bir Sefīlenin Ḥasb-i Ḥāli*. 1908-23: *Zeyneb*—written 1887, *Baladan bir ses*, *Ilkhān*, *Liberté*, *Wālidem*, *Turkhān*, *Ilhām-i Waṭan*, *Mektuplar I*, *II*, *Abdullāh-i Ṣaghīr*, *Finten*—1887, *Ṭayiflar Gečidi*, *Yādigar-i Ḥarp*, *Ibn-i Mūsā*—1881, *Yabandji dostlar*, *Arziler*, *Ḳaḥbe* (*Bir Sefīlenin Ḥasb-i Ḥāli*), *Khāḳān*. *Hep weya Hic*—first collection of poems, the play *Djünūn ü ʿAshḳ* and some letters, as well as the last play, *Ḳānūnīnin Widjdān Azabi*, remained unpublished; the memoirs that have appeared in various newspapers have not come out in book form.

Ḥāmid's first drama, *Mādjerāʾyi ʿAshḳ*, is a youthful attempt which contains already the romantic elements to be developed later on by him. *Ṣabr ü Thebāt* and *Icli Ḳiz* are of local inspiration, full of comedy and rich in elements of folklore. Influenced also by his relative Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pashā [*q.v.*], it was from the school of Shināsī [*q.v.*] that his personality received its first strong stamp. Ḥāmid belongs to the second generation of innovators, the first being that of Shināsī. Too young to join the Young Turks around Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*], he was strongly influenced by the literature of that movement. But although Ḥamīd followed Nāmiḳ Kemāl in his search of the ideal man, his real function may be seen in his achievement of a new Turkish poetry. In a short poem inserted in his play *Dukhter-i Hindu*, Ḥāmid changed the long established rhyme scheme, abandoned the conventional poetic themes and images and enlarged the horizon of his poetry by bringing it into direct contact with life. In the collections of poems *Belde* and *Ṣaḥrā*, partly written in Paris, this revolution is even deeper. In his third collection of poems *Bunlar o dur* he already appears as master of a new and better

literary form and while sometimes still hesitating, finally strikes a happy harmony between thought and language. His works reflect his joy in rediscovering nature, to which he no doubt owes the pantheistic strain of his poetry.

Nowhere, however, can Ḥāmid's personality be so clearly perceived as in the poems written on his wife's death: *Maḳber, Olü, Hadjle*. Obsession with death, already present in *Gharām*, is here still more persistent and the problems of human destiny are treated with genuine anguish. The influence of a society which had lost the purity of its peaceful faith in Islam and looked with apprehension at the changing world, and the literary influence of Ziyā pasha's two poems *Terkib-i Bend* and *Terdjīʿ-i Bend* which Ḥāmid had read in his youth with great admiration, contributed to strengthen this feeling of anguish. *Maḳber* is doubtlessly Ḥāmid's masterpiece. Fāṭma's image seems never to have been absent from his mind and it is significant that his second wife Nelly, whom he married in England, resembled greatly his dead wife. Ḥāmid's poems written in this second period show affinities of thought, if not of vision, with those of V. Hugo, especially with such pieces as *Dieu* and *La Fin de Satan*. In the poetry written after his appointment to London, there is less philosophical searching, but the inspiration is of a clearer perfection. For example, his poem "On passing through Hyde Park" is one of the best ever written in Turkish on the subject of nature and freedom. However, ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid's prohibition of the publishing of his poems in the Istanbul newspapers put an end to this third period of his literary career.

In his preface to *Dukhter-i Hindu* Ḥāmid exposed his preference for the romantic and exotic drama; from then onwards, in all his plays, even in plays such as *Eshber, Nesteren* or *Tezer* that seem by their very subject to be nearer to the French classical theatre, he remained faithful to this conception. A despair born of political reasons and of the realization that his plays would never see the stage, make these pieces overloaded with speculation, while the dramatic situation is either absent or lost under the wealth of incident. Though a play like *Finten* pretends to be a picture of English life, though the dialogues of *Rūḥlar* and *Ṭaylflar Gečidi* are dealing with the problem of man's destiny, most of the plays are historical. They deal with ancient India, Greece (*Eshber*), Mesopotamia (*Sardānāpāl*), Turkish history in Central Asia, history of Andalusia. *Eshber*, supposed to be influenced by Racine's *Alexandre* and by Corneille, is an apology of pacifism and patriotism, while *Ṭāriḳ* is the expression of Nāmiḳ Kemāl's ideology. A peculiar feature of these plays is Ḥāmid's endeavour to assign to woman her place in life. In *Zeyneb*, in *Ibn-i Mūsā*, sequel of *Ṭāriḳ* and in *Finten*, Ḥāmid appears as a follower of Shakespeare.

Ḥāmid has deeply influenced Turkish poetry. The generations both of *Therwet-i Fünūn* and *Fedjr-i Āti* were under the impact of Ḥāmid, and followed the creative and revolutionary lead which he had given in language and form. He not only employed new metres unknown in Turkish poetry up to his day, but also quantitative verse. He even tried a sort of blank verse. In his drama he came nearer to spoken language. As, however, his works written after 1885 were not published at the time, he had little share in the developments that took place afterwards. His real influence, starting in 1885, can be said to have stopped already in 1905.

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(A. Hamdi Tanpinar)

ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD I (Abdülhamid), Ottoman Sultan, born 5 Radjab 1137/20 March 1725, succeeded his brother Muṣṭafā 8 Dhu l-Ḳaʿda 1187/21 January 1774.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd succeeded to the throne during a war with Russia, in which financial difficulties, rebellions in various provinces, and the weariness aroused by ill success made the cessation of hostilities an absolute necessity for Turkey. At the same time Russia also had been placed by the Pugačev revolt in a position to welcome peace. The new Sultan, however, was unwilling to end the war without some kind of victory, and the Porte accordingly refused to accept the Russian proposals for peace talks; hostilities were reopened, and the Turkish army was defeated at Kozludja. The rout spread to the headquarters at Shumla of the Grand Vizier Muḥsin-zāde Meḥmed Pāshā, who was forced to sue for peace from the Russian commander Rumjancev.

The treaty by which the war was terminated, and which was dictated by the Russians, was signed on 12 Djumādā I, 1188/21 July 1774 at Kučuk Kaynardje [*q.v.*] and is known by the name of that town. By its terms the Crimea was to become an independent state; and Russia obtained the fortresses on the coast of the Sea of Azof (Azāḳ), the lands of Lesser and Greater Kabartay, the area between the rivers Dniepr and Bug, freedom of navigation in the Black Sea, and the right to pass merchant ships through the Straits. Its most dangerous feature for Turkey was the wording of some of the clauses in such a way as to lead Russia to claim the right to protect Turkish subjects belonging to the Orthodox church; in return, however, Russia recognized a somewhat vaguely stated claim by the Sultan, as *khalifa*, to religious authority over all Muslims. After this treaty Austria too took advantage of the weakness of Turkey and annexed Bukovina, hitherto part of the principality of Moldavia (1775).

In 1774 war broke out also between Turkey and Persia, following a Persian invasion of Kurdistān. Ottoman forces were despatched to Baghdād in 1175, with the object of putting an end to the rule of the Mamlūks, but the Porte was forced to recognize their administration, and in the following year Baṣra fell to the Persians. In 1779 it was evacuated in consequence of internal disturbances in Persia, and reoccupied by the mamlūk Sulaymān Aghā, who was then granted the three pashalïks of al-ʿIrāḳ (1180).

The peace of Kučuk Kaynardje proved to be no more than an armistice between Turkey and Russia. Catherine II continued to aim at the annexation of the Crimea, whereas the Porte was trying to bring the principality back to its former status. For this reason the Crimea became an area of conflict and of Russian intervention under various forms; and

in addition, the clauses concerning the Straits and the Orthodox Christians in Turkey were subjects of contention between the two countries. Although it seemed at one time that war was imminent over the Crimean question, the terms relating to the Crimea in the treaty of Kučuk Kaynardje were interpreted and reaffirmed by a Convention, in which France acted as mediator, signed at Istanbul in the pavilion of Aynali-Kawak on 10 March 1779.

Nevertheless, Catherine II, after forming an alliance against Turkey with Joseph II (who had succeeded Maria Theresa on the throne of Austria), stirred up a revolt in the Crimea against the Khān Shāhīn Girāy, and on this pretext sent an army to the Crimea and annexed it to Russia. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, though deeply mortified by this action, could not, being aware of the weakness of his empire, envisage going to war. When, however, the Czarina began to form far-reaching schemes for the setting up of a Greek state with her grandson Constantine Pavlovič at its head, the Porte could no longer tolerate the menacing demonstrations against Turkey provoked by her and her ally Joseph II.

In spite of the Sultan's love of peace, war was declared against Russia and Austria by the Grand Vizier Ḳodja Yūsuf Pasha (1787), when a request for the return of the Crimea was rejected, and Sweden subsequently joined in on the side of Turkey. An attack by the Turkish fleet in the direction of Kilburun was unsuccessful, and the Russians laid siege to the fortress of Očakov. The Turkish army, however, attached more importance to the Austrian campaign and after twice defeating, at Vidin and Slatin, the Austrian armies which had taken the offensive along the Danube, invaded the Banat. On the other hand, the Turkish fleet failed in its attempt to relieve Očakov, and after a long resistance the fortress fell and its population was put to the sword. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, whose health was already undermined by the worries of the war, died of a stroke on reading the news, 11 Radjab 1203/7 April 1789.

Although ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, who succeeded to the throne at an advanced age after spending most of his life in the seclusion of the palace, cannot be considered an energetic and successful sovereign, he is noted for his zeal, humanity, and benevolence. He gave wide powers, for that time, to his Grand Viziers and left them free in their conduct of affairs, and he endeavoured to strengthen the central government against rebel forces within the empire; e.g. he sent a punitive expedition under Djezāʾirli Ḥasan Pasha against Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, who had acquired great influence in Syria, and against the rebellious Mamlūk beys in Egypt. It may be observed that whereas during his reign the Porte followed a special policy towards Caucasia by trying to civilize the Circassian tribes and to attach them to Turkey and, in order to further this object, developed Sogudjuk and Anapa, the Russians, in opposition to this policy, supported the Georgians.

The most important of the Grand Viziers of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I was Khalīl Ḥamīd Pasha, who was a supporter of reforms and, in order to put them into effect, tried to dethrone the old Sultan and to put the young prince Selīm (afterwards Selīm III) in his place. During the tenure of office of this enlightened Grand Vizier, who paid for his attempt with his life, the corps of Cannonneers, Bombardiers and Miners were reorganized.

The opening of the Imperial Naval Engineering School (*Muhandiskhāne-yi baḥri-yi humāyun*), for the education of trained officers, and the reopening of Ibrāhīm Muteferriḳa's [*q.v.*] printing house, which had been allowed to fall into disuse, are among the achievements of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I. He also founded the Beylerbeyi and Mirgūn mosques on the Bosporus, as well as a number of benefactions such as libraries, schools, soup-kitchens, and fountains.

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ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD II (GHĀZĪ) (ABDÜLHAMID), 36th Ottoman sultan, fifth child of thirty of ʿAbd al-Madjīd (Abdülmecid) [*q.v.*], born Wednesday, 21 September 1842. He is traditionally represented as a reserved child, easily offended, and, in spite of his keen intelligence, not given to study. It is said that, after a stormy youth, he led a thrifty family life, which earned him the undeserved nickname 'Pinti Ḥamīd', Ḥamīd the Skinflint, taken from a comedy by Kaṣṣab. He early showed a great liking for the company of devout persons (Pertewniyāl, a distortion of Pertew-nihāl, *wālde sulṭān* of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz) and for mystics, soothsayers, and wonder-workers (the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sūr of Ṣaydā, prototype of the astrologer Abu-ʾl-Hudā, who later exerted so great an influence on ʿA.).

On 1 September 1876 he succeeded his brother Murād V, who had been deposed, with the support of the Young Turks, whose leader, the celebrated Midḥat (Mithat) Pasha [*q.v.*], was a former grand vizier of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The Porte was then engaged in victorious war with Milan, prince of Serbia, and Nicholas I of Montenegro. To put a stop to the intervention of the powers, ʿA., in agreement with Midḥat, initiated an international conference at Istanbul, and on the very day of its opening (23 December 1876) a *khaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* promulgated the first Constitution or *ḳānūn-i* (*kanunu*) *esāsī*, a 'fundamental Law' instituting a two-Chamber parliamentary system. This Parliament, summoned to meet on 17 March 1877, and presided over by the famous Aḥmed Wefiḳ Pasha [*q.v.*], was prorogued *sine die* on 13 February 1878 (actually for a period of thirty years).

In the course of his reign Turkey had to wage two wars, one with Russia (1877-8), the other with Greece (18 April-5 June 1897); finally the inextricable Macedonian imbroglio, in which the most varied races were bitterly engaged, led to interventions by the Concert of Europe which precipitated the Young Turk revolution. On 5 July 1908 the vice-major (*ḳol-aghasi*) Niyāzi Bey took to the mountains at Resna and seized Monastir. On the 23rd, the major (*bin-bashi*) Enwer Bey, former military attaché in Berlin, rose in revolt at Salonika. The sultan gave way, and the Constituent Assembly, which had never disappeared from the official Year-book (*sāl-nāme*), was simply revived on 24 July (which was later kept as a national holiday). After

the coup de force carried out by the reactionaries and by troops roused to fanaticism, on 13 April 1909, the 3rd army corps of Macedonia, commanded by Marshal Maḥmūd Shewket, which had for that occasion become an "investing" or "marching" army (*ḥareket ordusu*), brought back the fugitive Young Turks and the Constitution to Istanbul (24 April).

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was deposed by a decision (*karār-nāme*) of the two Chambers, meeting as a National Assembly on 28 April 1909, based on a *fatwa* of the same day, a document in which appeared in particular the strange imputation that he had "forbidden and burnt the books of the religious Law". The brother of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Muḥammad (Meḥmet) Reshād, succeeded him as Muḥammad V.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was exiled to Salonika. When the Balkan war broke out, in 1912, he was moved to the palace of Beylerbeyi (on the Bosphorus). He died there of pneumonia, on Sunday, 10 February 1918, at the age of 75, and was buried in the *turbe* of his grandfather, Maḥmūd II.

The two salient points of Abd al-Ḥamīd's political system were absolutism and Panislamism.

1) Absolutism (*istibdād*).—Although their power was unlimited, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's predecessors interfered relatively little in the affairs of government. They usually left it to their plenipotentiary representative, the grand vizier (*Ṣadr aʿẓam*), who was regarded as their *wekīl-i mutlaḳ* (a term which has sometimes been translated as 'vicar absolute'). The government was "the (Sublime) Porte" of the grand vizier. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd wished to create an instrument of domination carrying even closer personal control, and he gave great importance to "the Palace" or "the Court". In Turkish, this was termed the *Mābey(i)n*, an Arabic term which means literally "that (which is) between (the private apartments and the Porte)". It was a separate building (within the precincts of Yildiz), and contained the offices of the chamberlains (*mābeyndji*) and of the rapporteurs or referendaries (*āmedji* or *āmedi*). Hence the power of the first secretary of the *Mābeyn* (of the sultan, in actual fact)—Taḥsīn Pasha, for instance—or of a second secretary such as ʿIzzet ʿAbed, a Syrian who was the object of public execration. The palace of Yildiz, usually shortened to Yildiz [*q.v.*], with its ḥarem and its administrative departments, became a sort of town with several thousand residents—a town half shrouded in secrecy, which long haunted and terrified people's imaginations, often without cause.

This system, carried on at a time when there existed a strong revolutionary ferment, was not calculated to discourage conspiracies, and it was only by miraculous good fortune that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd escaped an Armenian bomb in 1905. This only intensified the fear and suspicion which dominated all his life. He encouraged informing and espionage, which developed into an incredibly complicated network. The name *khafiyye*, which means literally "secret (police)" finally came to include the whole range of informers and spies, from the highest social levels to the lowest. Written denunciations were known as *djurnal*, from an expression borrowed formerly from Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, and which meant originally "daily administrative report".

The severity of the censorship reached a degree of ineptitude that seems incredible, but is proved by authentic documents. The censor struck out words like *waṭan*, "fatherland", because it was a conception that implied rivalry to dynasty and religion, and other words, such as liberty, explosion, bomb, regicide, murder, plot, etc.

2) Panislamism.—ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd had a deep sense of the importance of his role (which was, however, debatable) of *khalīfa*, by virtue of which he was protector of the religion of Islam (art. 3 of the Constitution of 1876). He greatly esteemed Djamāl al-dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*], who had held out to him the bright prospect of bringing the Shīʿites themselves back into the bosom of Sunnism. This sterile and even dangerous policy was largely based on the illusion that he could count on the loyalty of the Arabs, his spoilt children.

Strangely enough, the Turcologist Arminius Vambéry, a Hungarian Jew who was on terms of friendship with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, encouraged him in these tendencies. They had one useful result at least, in that they prompted ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd to build the Ḥidjāz railway to the holy places of Islam. This undertaking, which had also strategic value because of the frequent troubles in the Yaman, and of which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was justly proud, was paid for by collections made exclusively among Muslims, and by the revenue from the "Ḥidjāz-stamp". The railway was begun on 1 September 1900, on the 25th anniversary of the Sultan's accession. It was also the indirect cause of the Anglo-Turkish dispute over Taba and the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, in which England appeared for the first time (1906) as the official defender of Egyptian interests. The line reached Medīna in 1908.

Another manifestation of Panislamism was less successful. This was the sending to Japan of the screw training ship Ertogrul, a wooden vessel that went down within sight of the Japanese coast (25 September 1890).

The European press and caricaturists accused ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd of blind fanaticism, and branded him with the name of 'Red Sultan' because of the role attributed to him in the suppression of revolts or of bloody conflicts in Macedonia and Crete, and especially Armenia (risings in 1894 and 1895, raid on the Ottoman Bank in 1896). The least that can be said, indeed, is that he did little or nothing to prevent horrible massacres (just as he did nothing to prevent extortion). On the other hand, the atrocities had begun before his time, and did not stop after his disappearance. The Turkish population, fanaticized for these occasions, was not the only one to take part. There were also other Muslims: the Circassian immigrants from the Caucasus, and the Kurds.

It would be unjust to judge ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who has so often been accused of obscurantism, without giving him credit for all the institutions established during his reign.

Physically, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd had regular features, an aquiline nose and lightcoloured eyes, but as he grew older his appearance became that of a bent and hunted old man. He had a loud, deep voice, and knew how to be agreeable. In his dress he was quiet, very simple, and distinguished. He was a man of contrasts. Very approachable, unlike most of the Ottoman sultans, he was given to sudden fits of anger, which were, however, quickly suppressed. Authoritarian to the point of despotism, very intelligent, and possessed of an excellent memory, he had an exceptional capacity for work, and liked to deal with all affairs himself—a paralysing trait in the head of a State.

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of Turkey, are devoted entirely or in part to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. (No sultan has elicited in Europe so many studies, for the most part tendentious).

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ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿd, the founder of Arabic epistolary style, *mawlā* of the Ḳurashī clan of ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. He was probably a native of al-Anbār, and is said to have been a travelling pedagogue before he was employed in the Umayyad secretariat under Hishām's chief secretary, the *mawlā* Sālim; he was then attached to Marwān b. Muḥammad, whom he continued to serve as chief secretary after Marwān's accession to the Caliphate. He refused to desert his master in misfortune and is generally said to have shared his fate at Būṣīr on 26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 132/5 August 750. According to another account he took refuge in the house of his disciple Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, but was traced and seized. His descendants continued to live in Egypt under the name of Banu 'l-Muhādjir and furnished secretaries to Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.

The surviving compositions of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, comprising six formal *rasāʾil* and a few chancery pieces and private letters, exhibit a remarkable divergence of styles. His most elaborate *risāla*, a long epistle addressed to Marwān's son and heir ʿAbd Allāh, with advice on personal conduct, ceremonial, and the conduct of war, is composed in a language and style based on the idioms, rhythms, and vivid metaphors of Arabic poetry and rhetoric, but elaborated by the addition of often lengthy sequences of qualifying clauses. Since the same style appears in most of his other official *rasāʾil*, it can only be conjectured (in the absence of earlier secretarial documents) that this feature—unusual in both earlier and later Arabic style—is to be traced to Greek influences in the Umayyad secretariat.

His most famous *risāla*, on the other hand, that addressed to the Secretaries (*kuttāb*), setting forth the dignity of their office and their responsabilities, is fluent, simple and straightforward. A comparison of its contents with the writings of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ and later quotations from Persian works shows clearly that it is inspired by the tradition of the Sāsānid secretariat, and largely reproduces with an Islamic gloss the maxims of the Iranian *dibhērs* (see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen, 1944, 132 ff.). Also of Persian inspiration, and quite distinct from the traditional Arabic presentation of the subject, is his *risāla* describing the incidents of a hunt, evidently written for the entertainment of the court. A large proportion of the maxims addressed to the prince in the first *risāla* mentioned above are also derived from Sāsānid court ceremonial and usages, although the military instructions are more probably influenced by Greek tactics, either through literary channels or from actual experience in the Byzantine wars.

It would appear, therefore, that both views expressed by later Arabic critics in regard to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd are justified, in spite of their apparent incompatibility. On the one hand is the statement (e.g. al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, ii, 89) that "ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd extracted from the Persian tongue the modes of secretarial composition which he illustrated, and transposed them into the Arabic tongue". On the other hand there is the description of him (e.g. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, ii, 169 (1321) = iv, 165 (1944/1363) as having been "the first to open up the buds of rhetoric, to smooth out its ways, and to loosen poetry from its bonds". He was also a master of pithy epigram, several examples of which are recorded in the *adab* works.

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(H. A. R. GIBB)

ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD LĀHAWRĪ, Indo-Persian historian, died 1065/1654-5, author of the *Pādshāh-nāma*, an official history of the Indian sultan Shāh Djahān. The work is composed of three parts, each containing the history of one decade. Only the first two parts, comprising the years 1037-1057, were written by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; the last part was arranged by his pupil Muḥammad Wārith. Parts I and II were published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1866-72.

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ʿABD AL-ḤAYY, ABU 'L-ḤASANĀT MUḤAMMAD, the son of Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, an Indian theologian of the Ḥanafī school, associated with the famous seminary of Farangī Maḥall, Lucknow, was born at Bānda in Bundelkhand in 1264/1848. He studied with his father and another scholar till the age of seventeen, when he began to assist his father as a teacher. He twice made the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he met the Muftī Aḥmad b. Zaynī Dahlān [*q.v.*], from whom he obtained *idjāza* for a large number of works. He wrote glosses and annotations on a large number of text-books current in the Indian madrasas, besides numerous works chiefly on religious and legal topics, mentioned by himself in his *al-Nāfiʿ al-Kabīr* and in his introduction to his edition of al-Shaybānī's recension of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* (Delhi 1297, 27-9). As a work of general interest and utility, special mention is due to his *al-Fawāʾid al-Bahiyya fī Tarādjim al-Ḥanafiyya* (Delhi 1293; Cairo 1324), which is an abridgement, with additional biographical notices, of Maḥmūd b. Sulaymān al-Kaffawī's *Katāʾib Aʿlām al-Akhyār*. He was a distinguished and influential teacher, whose lectures were attended by a large number of students, who achieved prominence as teachers and scholars in their own turn. One of his pupils, Mawlawī Ḥafīẓ Allāh wrote his biography under the title of *Kanz al-Barakāt*. He died at Lucknow in 1304/1886.

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(SH. INAYATULLAH)

ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. GHAYBĪ AL-ḤĀFIẒ AL-MARĀGHĪ, the greatest of the Persian writers on music. Born at Marāgha, about the middle of the 8th/14th century, he had become one of the minstrels of al-Ḥusayn, the Djalāʾirid Sultan of ʿIrāḳ, about 781/1379. Under the next Sultan, Aḥmad, he was appointed the chief court minstrel, a post which he held until Tīmūr captured Baghdād in 795/1393, when he was transported to Samarḳand, the capital of the conqueror. In 801/1399 we find him at Tabrīz in the service of Tīmūr's wayward son Mīrānshāh, for whose erratic conduct his "boon companions" were blamed. Tīmūr acted swiftly with the sword, but ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, being forewarned, escaped to Sultan Aḥmad at Baghdād, although he once more fell into Tīmūr's hands when the latter re-entered Baghdād in 803/1401. Taken back to Samarḳand, he became one of the four brilliant men who shed lustre on the court of Shāhrukh. In 824/1421, having written a music treatise for the Turkish Sultan Murād II, he set out for the Ottoman court to present it in person in 826/1423. Later he returned to Samarḳand, dying at Harāt in 838/March 1435.

Of the fame of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in his day, and since, there can be little doubt. Muʿīn al-Dīn-i Isfizārī, the author of the *Rawḍat al-Djannāt*, eulogizes him for his threefold talents as musician, poet, and painter, but it was more especially for his skill in music that he was called "the glory of the past age". In addition to being a deft performer on the lute (*ʿūdī*) and a prolific composer (*taṣnīfī*), he excelled as a music theorist. His most important treatise on music is the *Djāmiʿ al-Alḥān* ("Encyclopaedia of Music"), autographs of which are preserved at the Bodleian Library and the Nūru ʿOthmāniyya Library, Istanbul. The first of these, written in 808/1405 for his son Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, was revised by the author in 816/1413. The second, dated 818/1415, carries a dedication to Sultan Shāhrukh. Several abridgments of this work by the author also exist, notably a shorter one, an autograph, without title, dated 821/1421, which is at the Bodleian. It was written, evidently, for Bāysunghur. A longer version in the same library, called the *Maḳāṣid al-Alḥān* ("Purports of Music"), written about 834-7/1421-3, was dedicated to the Turkish Sultan Murād II,

according to the Leiden copy. A third treatise on music, the *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* ("Treasury of Music") which contained the author's notated compositions, has not survived. His last work, the *S̲h̲arḥ al-Adwār* ("Commentary on the [*Kitāb al-*] *Adwār*" [of Ṣafī al-Dīn]), is to be found in the Nūru ʿOt̲h̲māniyya Library. At Leiden there is a short *Kitāb al-Adwār* in Turkish bearing his name. These works are of great importance in the history of Persian, Arabian, and Turkish music. Although only a few of his musical compositions have survived in the *D̲j̲āmiʿ*, many have been handed down *viva voce* in a form known in Turkish as the *kʿār*.

A son, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who is thought to have settled at the Ottoman court after 1435, was the author of a music treatise, the *Naḳāwāt al-Adwār* ("The Select of the Modes"), dedicated to the Turkish Sultan Muḥammad II (d. 886/1481), whilst a grandson, Maḥmūd, who lived under Bāyazīd II (d. 918/1512), compiled a *Maḳāṣid al-Adwār* ("Purports of the Modes"). both mss. being at the Nūru ʿOt̲h̲māniyya Library.

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ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. MUḤYI AL-DĪN AL-ḤASANĪ, the Amīr Abd el-Kader, descended from a family which originated in the Rīf and had settled among the Hās̲h̲im, was born in 1223/1808 at the guetna of the Wadi al-Ḥammām, some twenty kilometres west of Mascara. Studies at Arzew, then at Oran, marriage, and a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1244/1828-9 were the most outstanding events in a youth that was devoted to the reading of sacred books and to physical exercises, under the direction of his father, who, by his piety and charity, had acquired a great influence.

The indecision shown by the French after the capture of Algiers (5 July 1830) in the organization of their conquest favoured Muḥyī al-Dīn in Orania, and he took the initiative in the strunggle against the Christians, but soon yielded first place to his son, who was proclaimed sultan of the Arabs on 5 Rad̲j̲ab 1248/22 November 1832 by the Hās̲h̲im, the Banū ʿĀmir, and the G̲h̲arāba. In spite of the opposition of certain elements of the population and the failure of his supporters before Oran and Mostaganem (1833), ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's action prevented the pacification of the country. This state of affairs prompted General Desmichels to treat with his adversary (4 and 26 February 1834). Thus officially recognized the new Amīr of the Faithful extended his authority to the gates of Algiers (April 1835), but his claims provoked the renewal of hostilities. First Clauzel and then Bugeaud avenged the defeat on the Macta (28 June) by burning Mascara (6 December), occupying Tlemcen (13 January 1836), and winning a great victory on the Wadi Sikkak (6 July); but these successes were fruitless. Three times abandoned by his troops, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir immediately regrouped them. The position of the French remained precarious, with their towns invested, their columns ceaselessly harassed, and their allies receiving heavy punishment. The desire to be secured against attacks in the west while an expedition against Constantine was being carried out led Louis-Philippe's government to negotiate. By the signature of the treaty of the Tafna (30 May 1837) Bugeaud repeated, in a worse form, the mistake made by Desmichels. Though the French kept Oran, Arzew, Mostaganem, Blida, and Kolea, the Amīr obtained the whole province of Oran, part of that of Algiers, as well as the whole *baylīk* of Titteri.

From June 1837 to November 1839 ʿAbd al-Ḳādir used the cessation of hostilities to organize the territories that had been handed over to him. After establishing his capital at Tagdempt, he travelled about his new state, imposing chiefs, by force if necessary, on all the tribes between Morocco in the west and Kabylia in the east, and gaining recognition for his domination as far as the Sahara.

In the course of these journeys ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, taking advantage of the faulty wording of the Treaty of the Tafna, had gone beyond the boundaries that had been assigned to him; Marshal Valée therefore submitted to him a draft of an additional treaty which accurately indicated, and reduced, the territories over which France recognized his rights, but he refused to ratify it. The 'Iron Gates' expedition, in the course of which the Duke of Orleans linked Constantine to Algiers, provided the Amīr with a pretext for restarting the war. On 20 November 1839 his forces invaded the Mitīd̲j̲a, sacking farms and massacring settlers. Algiers was threatened. The occupation of Miliana, then of Medea (May-June 1840) by the French did not ease their difficulties, for the supplying of their garrisons made necessary the movement of convoys which were exposed to continual attack.

The nomination of Bugeaud as governor-general (29 December 1840) changed the course of events; he realized that Algeria would never be pacified until the power of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir was crushed and until the tactics of 'active columns' took the place of 'limited occupation'. Between 1841 and 1843 he seized the towns of Tagdempt, Mascara, Boghar, Taza, Saida, Tlemcen, Sebdou and Nedroma, and sent out expeditions with instructions to capture his enemy and destroy his supporters. The capture of the *smala* (16 May 1843), the travelling capital of the Amīr, was a serious blow to him. The tribes submitted to France. Hunted and weakened, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir took refuge at the end of the year on the borders of Morocco, to obtain shelter, to recruit soldiers, and to compromise French relations with that empire.

His hopes were not deceived. The occupation of Lalla Mag̲h̲nia by la Moricière stirred up a conflict, but the bombarding of Tangier and Mogador (6 and 15 August 1844) and the victory of the Isly (14 August) compelled the Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to refuse his guest any support and to declare him an outlaw. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir appeared again in Algeria in 1846 to take the lead in the insurrections which were breaking out on all sides. His first successes (Sidi-Brahim, 23 September) seemed to promise final triumph for his cause. No less than eighteen columns were needed to stem the revolt and to throw the Amīr back into Morocco

(July 1846), where he was now the object of the hostility of the Sultan, who feared in him a dangerous rival. Attacked by the tribes, and pursued by the Sharifian troops, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir crossed the Algerian frontier again. Finding all lines of escape towards the south closed to him, he gave himself up to the Duc d'Aumale on 23 December 1847.

In spite of the promise to him that he would be transported to Acre or to Alexandria, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir was, with his suite, interned successively at Toulon, at Pau, and then at Amboise. Released by the Prince-President Louis-Napoleon on 16 October 1852, the former leader of Algeria in revolt now received a pension from the France of which he had become the loyal subject, and went to live in retirement first at Brusa (1853) and then at Damascus (1855). It was in this town that he proved in a very special way the sincerity of his loyalty, by delivering the French consul and saving several thousand persons when the Druses tried to massacre the Christian population (July 1860). He died there in the night of 25 to 26 May 1883, having passed his time during his exile in meditation, the practice of his faith, and charity.

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ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR BADĀʾŪNĪ [see BADĀʾŪNĪ].

ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. ʿUMAR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, a well-known philologist, born in Baghdad in 1030/1621 and died in Cairo in 1093/1682. His early education began in Baghdād, which from 941/1534 had been the scene of a fierce struggle between the Ṣafawids and the ʿUthmānlis. When in 1048/1638 it was retaken by the Turks, under the personal direction of Murād IV, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir left for Damascus. He had by that time acquired a thorough acquaintance with Arabic, Persian and Turkish. He studied Arabic in Damascus with Muḥ. b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, the *naḳīb* of Syria, and with Muḥ. b. Yaḥyā al-Farāʾiḍī. In 1050/1640 he went to Cairo and studied, in al-Azhar, the religious and foreign sciences, particulary with al-Khafādjī and Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī. Due to his extensive reading, even al-Khafādjī used to consult him about difficult questions. On the death of al-Khafādjī in 1069/1659, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir acquired the greater part of his shaykh's library, and developed it further. It is said to have contained a thousand *dīwāns* of the pure Arabs (*al-ʿArab al-ʿĀriba*), enriched by various scholars with their scholia. His library was unique for those times, cf. *Khizāna*, i, 2. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1077 he visited Istanbul, but returned to Cairo after less than four months, in 1078. In the same year, he made the acquaintance of Ibrāhīm Pāsha Katkhudā, governor of Egypt, who treated him with great respect and made him his associate and boon-companion. Some years later, when Katkhudā was deposed from the governorship and returned home through Syria (reaching Damascus in 1085), ʿAbd al-Ḳādir accompanied him and sojourned in Adrianople. He made the acquaintance of the learned grand-vizier of Turkey, Aḥmad Pāsha al-Fāḍil Köprülü-zāde, and dedicated to him his masterly gloss on Ibn Hishām's *Sharḥ Bānat Suʿād*. Al-Muḥibbī, son of an old friend of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who saw him in Adrianople, records that he enjoyed, in this period, the highest regard and respect of the important personages of Turkey. But after a while he was attacked by a disease, and as a cure could not be affected by the physicians, he left for Cairo in disgust, though he came back later. This time he caught a disease of the eye and almost lost his sight. He returned to Cairo and died there shortly after.

He knew by heart the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, many Arabic *dīwāns* and numerous Persian and Turkish verses. He had a fine critical sense and a profound knowledge of Arabic philology, Arabic poetry, the history of the Arabs and Persians, Arabic proverbs and anecdotes.

He wrote a number of useful books. Among these are: 1) The *Khizānat al-Adab wa Lubb Lubāb Lisān al-ʿArab* (Cairo, 1299/1882, 1347/1928-9 [publication stopped in 1353 after *shāhid* 331]), a commentary on the 957 *shawāhid* quoted by al-Raḍī al-Astarabādī (d. 686/1287) in his *Sharḥ* on Ibn al-Ḥādjib's *Kāfiya*. It was begun in Cairo in 1073/1663 and finished there in 1079/1668 (after a brief interruption due to his visit to Istanbul) and dedicated to Muḥammad IV (1058-99/1648-87). It seems originally to have been divided into eight volumes (see al-Muḥibbī). 2) A commentary on the *shawāhid* cited in al-Raḍī's *Sharḥ* of Ibn Ḥādjib's *Shāfiya*. To this he appended a *Sharḥ* of the *shawāhid* of the *Sharḥ* of al-Djārabardī on the *Shāfiya*. 3) Gloss on Ibn Hishām's *Sharḥ Bānat Suʿād* (MS in Rāmpur I. 583). 4) *Sharḥ al-Maḳṣūrat al-Duraydiyya*. 5) *Lughat-i Shāh-nāma*, edited by C. Salemann, St. Petersburg 1895. 6) *Sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-Shāhidiyya bi 'l-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya*. For these and other works and for their existing MSS. see Brockelmann, S ii, 397, and the preface to the *Khizāna*, ed. of 1347.

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ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR DIHLAWĪ, Indian theologian, the third son of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī [*q.v.*], born at Dilhi (Dehlī) in 1167/1753-4. He is chiefly remembered for his Urdu translation of the Ḳurʾān, accompanied by explanatory notes. Its title *Mūḍiḥ-i Ḳurʾān* ("Interpretation of the Ḳurʾan")

is the chronogram for 1205/1790-1, the date of the completion of the work. It was published at Houghly in 1245/1829; other editions, Lucknow 1263/1847 and Bombay 1270/1853-4. Since then, it has been repeatedly lithographed interlineally along with the Arabic text. It is generally regarded as more faithful than the one prepared by his brother Shāh Rafīᶜ al-Dīn. He died in 1228/1813.

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(Sh. Inayatullah)

ᶜABD AL-ĶĀDIR AL-DJĪLĀNĪ (or AL-DJĪLĪ), MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤ. B. ABĪ ṢĀLIḤ DJENGĪ DŌST, Ḥanbalite theologian, preacher and Ṣūfī, who gave his name to the order of the Ķādiriyya [*q.v.*]; b. 470/1077-8, d. 561/1166. The authors of the monographs about him considered him to be the greatest saint of Islam and their accounts of his life and activity were written out of edifying and missionary, rather than historical interest. Their writings have, therefore, little to contribute to a historical account of his life and only a small proportion of their data can be considered reliable. Apart from Abu ’l-Maḥāsin (*al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira*, ed. Juynboll, i, 698), who names as the birth-place of ᶜAbd al-Ķādir Djīl, a village between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ, all authorities are unanimous in stating that he was a Persian from Nayf (Nīf) in Djīlān, south of the Caspian Sea. The Persian name of his father not only supports this statement, but at the same time contradicts the common assertion that he was descended in the paternal line directly from al-Ḥasan, the grandson of the Prophet. Baghdād, where he came to study at the age of eighteen, remained the scene of his activities up to his death.

Apart from numerous other teachers, he studied philology under al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109), Ḥanbalite law under Abu ’l-Wafāʾ b. al-ᶜAķīl, who had come over from the Muᶜtazila to the Ḥanbalite *madhhab* (d. 513/1121), and under the ķāḍī Abū Saᶜd al-Mubārak al-Mukharrimī, *ḥadīth* under Abū Muḥ. Djaᶜfar al-Sarrādj, author of the *Maṣāriᶜ al-ᶜUshshāķ* (d. 500/1106). It was Abu ’l-Khayr Ḥammād al-Dabbās (d. 523/1131) who introduced him to ṣūfism. This "syrup (*dibs*)-monger", who apparently never wrote any book, seems to have been in his time a highly appreciated master of ṣūfism, whose ascetic piety and the strict discipline which he exercised over his novices are celebrated also by Ibn al-Athīr (x, 472). The *khirka*, the ṣūfī robe, was bestowed upon him, as the sign of the end of his noviciate, by al-Mukharrimī. He was fifty years old when he first appeared (521/1127) in public as a preacher. His fame as preacher and teacher seems to have spread quickly. Six years after his first appearance, the school of his old teacher al-Mukharrimī was given into his charge and was enlarged with financial aid from the rich and free labour from the poor. Here he was active as *muftī*, teacher of Ķurʾān-exegesis, *ḥadīth* and *fiķh*, and especially as a far-famed preacher. His reputation attracted numerous pupils from all parts of the Islamic world, and his persuasive discourses are said to have converted to Islam many Jews and Christians. The financial support which he received from his admirers enabled him, by making him independent, to exercise criticism that was heeded even at the court of the caliph, and to help the poor. His school was continued, with the help of pious endowments, by ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb, one of his numerous sons, and by his descendants [see ĶĀDIRIYYA].

ᶜAbd al-Ķādir lived at a time when ṣūfism was triumphant and expanding. In the century preceding him a conflict, that had existed long before, assumed an acute form and became the concern of every individual. The consciousness of the individual as well as the whole of society was torn by the breach between secularism, religiously indifferent or religious only in a conventional way, on the one hand, and an intellectualist religion, at odds over theological doctrine, on the other. Innumerable are the complaints in literary works that express despair in face of the vanity of the "world", but also the emptiness of the legalistic religion, "dead knowledge handed down by dead people" (Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī). In such a situation ṣūfism, as the embodiment of emotional religion, became in the generations preceding ᶜAbd al-Ķādir, a wide-spread movement. The historical process pushed one problem into the foreground: how to reconcile the ascetic and mystic elements with religious law. Ibn ᶜAķīl [*q.v.*], ᶜAbd al-Ķādir's teacher, met ṣūfism, as befitted the zealous Ḥanbalite convert, with a definite no. The same attitude was later taken again and again by strict Ḥanbalites. This was not, however, the only possible way for them. Al-Anṣārī al-Harawī [*q.v.*] (d. 481/1088), who conducted disputations in the strictest accordance with the school of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (which he extolled with the motto *madhhab Aḥmad aḥmad madhhab*), wrote ṣūfī books appealing to the emotions, and Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*], who made violent attacks on the orgiastic piety of the ṣūfī meetings, himself held, according to the testimony of Ibn Djubayr, meetings that are paradigmatic for ṣūfī cult practice.

This is the period in which ᶜAbd al-Ķādir was active. He appears as a teacher of theology in his *al-Ghunya li-Ṭālibī Ṭarīķ al-Ḥaķķ* (Cairo 1304). Starting with an exposition of the ethical and social duties of a Sunnī Muslim, it sets forth in the form of a Ḥanbalite handbook the knowledge necessary for the believer, including a short exposé of the seventy-three sects, and ends with an account of the particular way of ṣūfism. Extreme Ḥanbalites have criticised the special duties taken upon themselves by the ṣūfis. According to Ibn Taymiyya, the particular litanies for certain days, taken over in the *Ghunya* from Makkī's *Ķūt al-Ķulūb*, are reprehensible if they assume the character of a legal duty. Conflicts with the religious law, however, such as Ibn al-Djawzī, in his *Talbīs Iblīs*, finds among contemporary ṣūfīs, do not occur in the writings of ᶜAbd al-Ķādir. The unquestioning submission to the message of Muḥammad, as it is set forth in the Ķurʾān and the *sunna*, excludes on the part of the ṣūfī any claim to inspired revelation. The fulfilment of works of supererogation assumes the prior fulfilment of the demands of divine law. Ecstatic practices, though not forbidden, are allowed only with certain restrictions. Ascetism is limited by the duties towards family and society. The perfect ṣūfī lives in his divine Lord, has a knowledge of the mystery of God, and yet this saint, even if he reaches the highest rank, that of a *badal* or a *ghawth*, cannot reach the grade of the prophets, not to speak of surpassing it, as some ṣūfīs were teaching. In the personality of ᶜAbd al-Ķādir the ṣūfī is not at variance with the Ḥanbalite.

This appears also in his sermons contained in the

collections *al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī* (62 sermons; Cairo 1302) and *Futūḥ al-Ghayb* (78 sermons; on the margin of al-Shaṭṭanawfī) ʿAbd al-Ḳādir often directs the attention of his audience to the perfect saint. Yet both the contents and the style show that the sermons were not addressed to exclusive ṣūfī circles. The plain manner, avoiding ṣūfī terminology, and the often very simple moral admonishment suggest that they were delivered before a large audience. Before men, who experience the power of fate as a permanent threat, he sets the ideal figure of man: the saint, who has overcome his accidental self and reached his essential being, conquering the fear of fate and death, because he participates in Him who orders fate and death. Ṣūfism as taught by the Ḥanbalite ʿAbd al-Ḳādir consists in fighting, in a *djihād* greater than the holy war fought with weapons, against self-will; in thus conquering the hidden *shirk*, i.e. the idolatry of self and, in general, of creaturely things; in recognizing in all good and evil the will of God and living, in submission to His will, according to His law.

Al-Shaṭṭanawfī's work on ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *Bahdjat al-Asrār*, from which several other writers derived their information, was written just over a hundred years after ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's death. His account, rejected as untrustworthy already by al-Dhahabī (*JRAS*, 1907, 267 ff.), presents him as the supreme saint. He is not described according to the ideal of the saint conceived by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir himself. He is not a man who serves as a symbol for cosmic resignation, whose example can be followed by resigning this and the next world, by accepting in both of them the lot given by God. The figure of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir as a saint, as it is drawn by al-Shaṭṭanawfī, is the outcome of a piety which relinquished the hope of being able to put the ideal into practice.

According to the legend, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir himself, by the sentence which remained closely associated with his name: "My foot is on the neck of every saint of God", laid claim to the highest rank and obtained the consent of all the saints of the epoch. A poem ascribed to him, *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Ghawthiyya*, speaks, in a style that is very different from that of his authentic writings, of his mystery that has the power to extinguish fire, raise the dead, crush mountains, dry up seas, and of the exaltedness of his position. In the ʿAbd al-Ḳādir of legend, the inconceivable, incomprehensible majesty of God has become manifest. From his earliest childhood, when he marked the beginning of the fast by refusing the breast of his mother, his life is a chain of miracles. His appearance, his knowledge and his power are all miraculous. He punishes distant sinners and assists the oppressed in a miraculous manner, walks upon water and moves through air. Nothing is impossible for him. Angels and *djinns*, "people of the hidden world", and even Muḥammad himself, appear at his meeting and express their appreciation. When Ibn al-Djawzī recommends his hearers to confine themselves to the study of the religious sources and the literature dealing with them, but to read also edifying books, he does so because he realizes the danger of legalistic intellectualism. The sober Ḥanbalite, who "fought with passion against passion", had, however, in mind the biographies of the pious and exemplary people of the past. The literature about ʿAbd al-Ḳādir does not describe a man who can be an example to other men. The subject of their description is the concrete presence of the Divine with its inconceivable and miraculous quality. In a situation in which it seemed that the claims of religion could not be complied with, the saint was experienced as the presentiality of that which was unattainable to human effort. The saint does not make demands, but bestows grace for men who worship the inconceivable. In this capacity, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir became one of the best known mediators in Islam. His tomb, over which sultan Sulaymān had a beautiful *turba* built in 941/1535, has remained to the present day one of the most frequented sanctuaries of Islam in Baghdād.

Bibliography: The collection of legends by al-Shaṭṭanawfī was used among others by Muḥ. b. Yaḥyā al-Tādafī, *Ḳalāʾid al-Djawāhir*, Cairo 1331. Other works by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir and on him, Brockelmann, I, 560, S I, 777. Carra de Vaux, *Gazali*, Paris 1902 (European bibliography); D. S. Margoliouth, *Contributions to the biography of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir* (after al-Dhahabī), *JRAS*, 1907, 267-310; W. Braune, *Die Futūḥ al-Ġaib des ʿAbd al-Qādir*, Berlin 1933; G. W. J. Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *De mirakelen van Abdoelkadir Djaelani*, Bandoeng 1938; *Futūḥ al-Ghayb*, English transl. by Aftab ud-Din Ahmad (with uncritical introduction), Lahore, n. d. (W. Braune)

ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. ʿALĪ B. YŪSUF AL-FĀSĪ, the most famous representative of the Moroccan family of the Fāsiyyūn, b. in al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr 1077/1599, d. 1091/1680. He was the head of the *zāwiya* of the Shādhiliyya in al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr. He wrote a *fahrasa* and some books on *ḥadīth*, but he is best known as one of the main representatives of Moroccan ṣūfism at the beginning of the 17th century. His descendants form today a very numerous and important branch of the religious and scholarly aristocracy of Fez (the inhabitants of the town being called, in order to avoid a confusion with the family of the Fāsiyyūn, *ahl Fās*).

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ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR AL-ḲURASHĪ, Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr Allāh b. Sālim b. Abi 'l-Wafāʾ, Egyptian professor of Ḥanafite jurisprudence and biographer, born Shaʿbān 696/May-June 1297, died 7 Rabīʿ I 775/27 August 1373.

He is best known for his collection of alphabetically arranged brief biographies of Ḥanafites, *al-Djawāhir al-Muḍiyya fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya* (Ḥaydarābād 1332/1913-4), a valuable reference work, generally considered to be the first to deal with its particular subject. Written in a country in which the Ḥanafite school was weakly represented, and in a period just preceding its renaissance, the work has little firsthand information but preserves much material, especially from Persian local histories.

In addition, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir wrote a biography of Abū Ḥanīfa (*al-Bustān fī Manāḳib Imāminā al-Nuʿmān*, used in *Djaw*. i, p. 26 ff.) and a collection of biographies of persons who died between 696/1297 and 760/1359. His other publications (most complete lists in Ibn Ḳutlūbughā ed. Flügel, p. 28, and Ibn Ṭūlūn) belong to the ordinary run of juridical textbooks, commentaries, and indexes.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 96 f., S II, 89. Additional biographies in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Inbāʾ*, *anno* 775; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ghuraf* (ms. Shelud ʿAlī 1924, fols. 141b-142a); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 238. References to his life and activities in *Djaw*., for instance: i, 21, 93 f., 292, 304, 323, 346, 353, 367; ii, 121, 127, 187, 204, 229 f., 428, 431 f., 440, 444, 445 f. (F. Rosenthal)

ʿABD AL-KARĪM BUKHĀRĪ, a Persian historian, wrote in 1233/1818 a short summary of the geographical relations of Central Asiatic countries (Afghānistān, Bukhārā, Khīwā, Khoḳand, Tibet and Kashmīr), and of historical events in those countries from 1160 (accession of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī) down to his own times. ʿAbd al-Karīm had already left his native country in 1222/1807-8 and accompanied an embassy to Constantinople; he remained there till his death, which took place after 1246/1830, and wrote his book for the master of ceremonies ʿĀrif Bey. The only manuscript was obtained by Ch. Schefer from ʿĀrif Bey's estate and published in the *PELOV* (the text was printed in Būlāḳ, 1290/1873-4, the French translation in Paris in 1876). The *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale* is a most important authority for the recent history of Central Asia, especially for Bukhārā, Khīwa and Khōḳand.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ʿABD AL-KARĪM, ḲUṬB AL-DĪN B. IBRĀHĪM AL-**DJĪLĪ**, a Muslim mystic, descendant of the famous ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī, was born in 767/1365 and died about 832/1428. Little is known of his life, as the biographical works do not mention him. According to some of his own statements in *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, he lived from 796/1393 until 805/1402-3 in Zabīd in Yaman together with his shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Djabartī. In 790/1387 he was in India. He wrote about thirty books and treatises, of which *al-Insān al-Kāmil fi Maʿrifat al-Awākhir wa 'l-Awāʾil* is the best known (several editions printed in Cairo). An analysis of its contents has been given by R. A. Nicholson: *The Perfect Man* (*Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, Ch. ii). Al-Djīlī is an adherent of the well-known pantheistic mystic Ibn ʿArabī, to whose *Futūḥāt* he wrote a commentary and whose doctrines he developed and modified. According to his ontological doctrine exposed in his *al-Insān al-Kāmil* and his *Marātib al-Wudjūd*, nothing really exists but the Divine Essence with its creative (*ḥaḳḳī*) and creaturely (*khalḳī*) modes of being. Absolute Being develops in a scale (*marātib*) of individualisations or "descents" (*tanazzulāt*). The most important of these are the following: *ʿamā*, the simple hidden pure Essence before its manifestation (*tadjallī*); *aḥadiyya*, the first descent from the darkness of *ʿAmā* to the light of the manifestation, the first manifestation of Pure Essence (*dhāt*) exclusive of Divine attributes, qualities or relations; *wāḥidiyya*, the manifestation of the Essence with the attributes and qualities and their effects under the aspect of unity. It is plurality in unity. On this scale there is no distinction between the attributes, they are identical with each other and with the One. Opposites coincide—Mercy and Vengeance are the same. *Ilāhiyya* is higher than the above-mentioned manifestations. It comprehends both Being and Non-being in all degrees, the "places of manifestation and the manifested" (*al-maẓāhir wa 'l-ẓāhir*), i.e. the Creator and the Creature (*al-ḥaḳḳ wa 'l-khalḳ*). At the same time it is the principle of order for the whole series of individualisations and maintains each of them in its proper place. All opposites exhibit their relativity in the greatest possible perfection, they do not coincide any longer. *Raḥmāniyya* manifests the creative attributes (*al-ṣifāt al-khalḳiyya*) exclusively, whereas *ilāhiyya* comprehends both the creative and the creaturely. The first Mercy (*raḥma*) of God was His bringing the Universe into existence from Himself. God is the substance (*hayūlā*) of the Universe. The Universe is like ice, and God is the water of which the ice is made. *Rubūbiyya* comprehends those attributes that require an object and are shared by man, as knowing, hearing, seeing. The differentiation of the phenomena of the Universe is caused by their mutual relations to the respective divine attribute through which God manifests Himself. In his *al-Insān al-Kāmil* al-Djīlī deals with most of the cosmic, metaphysical, religious and psychological notions current in his time. He establishes their place in his system and explains their relations to the respective divine attribute. In doing so he has succeeded in giving many new, unexpected and highly interesting interpretations of well-known theologoumena. Thus he builds a phantasmal cosmology which differs widely from orthodox views: e.g. Adam ate the forbidden fruit because his soul manifested a certain aspect of Lordship (*rubūbiyya*), for it is not in the nature of Lordship to submit to a prohibition; for the people in Hell God creates a natural pleasure of which their bodies become enamoured; Hell at last will be extinguished and replaced by a tree named Djirdjīr; Iblīs will return to the presence and grace of God; all infidels worship God according to the necessity of their essential natures and all will be saved, etc. Al-Djīlī's doctrine of the Perfect Man (*al-Insān al-Kāmil*), the Logos, is almost the same as that of Ibn ʿArabī (cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*, Leiden 1919, 104). He is Muḥammad the Prophet who may, however, assume the form of any holy man. So al-Djīlī met him in 796 in Zabīd in the form of his shaykh. He is a copy of God, who becomes visible in him, and at the same time, he is a copy of the Universe, which is brought into existence from him. His whole being is sensible of a pervasive delight and contemplates the emanation of all that exists from himself, etc. Al-Djīlī had many auditions and visions. He talked with angels and cosmic beings. When in 800 he stayed in Zabīd, he met all the prophets and saints; he wandered through Heaven and Hell, in which he met Plato. In the *Marātib al-Wudjūd* forty degrees of Being are enumerated, the first being *al-dhāt al-ilāhiyya* or *al-ghayb al-muṭlaḳ*, the last *al-insān*. The other books and treatises of al-Djīlī have not yet been studied by European scholars. They are listed in Brockelmann, II, 264-5, S II, 283-4.

(H. RITTER)

ʿABD AL-KARĪM KASHMĪRĪ B. ʿĀḲIBAT MAḤMŪD B. BULĀḲĪ B. MUḤ. RIḌĀ, Indo-Persian historian. From autobiographical references in his *Bayān-i Wāḳiʿ* we learn that he was living in Dihlī at the time of its sack by Nādir Shāh (1151/1739), and entered the service of Nādir as a *mutaṣaddī*. He accompanied Nādir on his march from Dihlī to Ḳazwīn, reaching Ḳazwīn in 1154/1741. From there he travelled to Mecca and returned to India by sea in 1156/1743. He died in 1198/1784.

He is the author of a history of his own times from Nādir Shāh's invasion of India to 1198/1784 (the India Office copy, Ethé 566, comes down to 1199/1785), including an account of his own travels, entitled *Bayān-i Wāḳiʿ*. He gives much information obtained from Nādir's courtiers, including ʿAlawī Khān, the *ḥakīm bāshī*, or based on personal observation, and is not afraid to criticise Nādir. The text has not been printed so far; a condensed translation was published by F. Gladwin, *The Memoirs of Khoja Abdulkurreem*, Calcutta 1788, 1812, London 1793; abridged version of this by L. Langles, *Voyages de l'Inde à la Mecque*, Paris 1797. To the MSS enumerated by Storey can be added: The *Panjab Public Library Cat.* (*Persian*), Lahore 1942, p. 51,

copied 1230/1815; Panjab Univ. Library Shayrānī MS (1185/1771); MS in the possession of the writer (1214/1800, from a copy made in 1193/1779).

Bibliography: Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, viii, 124-39; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. MSS* (Brit. Mus.), 382; Storey, ii/2, 326-7; L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 301.

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

ʿABD AL-KARĪM MUNSHĪ, or more fully MUNSHĪ MAWLAWĪ MUḤ. ʿABD AL-KARĪM ʿALAWĪ, Indo-Persian historian of the middle of the 19th century. He may have lived in Lucknow (*Taʾrīkh-i Pandjāb*, 2, *Muḥāraba* 21) or Cawnpūr (*Muḥāraba*, 3). He was fond of studying history, and during his retirement rendered from Arabic into Persian al-Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, and *Taʾrīkh Miṣr*, and prepared an abridged version of Ibn Khallikān in Persian. He also translated astronomical and geographical works from English into Persian and Urdu, as well as story-books, the whole of the Arabian Nights, a history of Bengal etc. In Beale, *Oriental Biogr. Dic.*, Calcutta 1881, 4, it is said that the Munshī had "died about thirty years ago", which places the date of his death not much later than the end of 1851 (he is spoken of as alive in the *Muḥāraba* (preface) in 1848 and Sept. 1851). Of his Persian works, the following three, on contemporary history, have been lithographed. He is praised for his careful and objective writing of history and his simple, vivid and clear narrative.

(i) *Muḥāraba-yi Kābul wa-Ḳandahār*, lith. Lucknow 1264/1848 and Cawnpūr 1267/1851, describes the Afghān War down to General Pollock's expedition (Sept.-Oct. 1842). The author had prepared a rough draft of the history of the Kābul and Ḳandahār expedition at the time, but in 1263/1847 he made suitable additions and emendations in his work after studying the *Akbar-nāma*, a Mathnawī poem in the style of the *Shāh-nāma* and quoted passages from it on occasions. This fairly long poem (comprising 8632 *bayts* in all) which is called *Ẓafar Nāma* in its Daftar 1, Section 5 (*madḥ-i Shāh-i djamdjāh*), was finished in 2 daftars, in 1260/1844 by Munshī Ḳāsim Djān ("*Mirza Ḳāsim Beg mutawaṭṭin balda-yi Shāh Djihānābād*" in one of the three Panjāb University Mss., which was transcribed in Agra, in 1847). The poet had himself taken part in the expedition (for details see the *Muḥāraba*, 4, based on the *Khātima* of the *Akbar-Nāma*, Daftar 1).

Ḳāsim's *Akbar-Nāma* (for MSS. other than those noted above and for the Agra ed. of 1272 see Storey, ii/2, 402) is not to be confounded, as has been done by Ivanow (*Descript. Cat. of the Pers. Mss. in the Curzon collection*, 12, no. 22) with Ḥamīd Kashmīrī's *Akbar-Nāma* (Kābul, 1320 shamsī), a similar work in theme and metre and date (it also was finished in 1260).

The Curzon collection of the A.S.B. (see Ivanow's Cat. mentioned above) has a ms. of the *Muḥāraba*.

(ii) *Taʾrīkh Pandjāb Tuḥfatᵘⁿ li-l-Aḥbāb* (or *Tuḥfa-yi Aḥbāb*) lith. Maṭbaʿ Muḥammadī (prob. Lucknow), 1265/1849, deals with the Anglo-Sikh Wars. It is divided into two *ḥamla's*, the first relating to the first Sikh War (1845-6) and the second to the second Sikh War (1848-9), written in order to show that the English had won the wars (Preface).

It is based on the statement of English officers and the accounts published in contemporary Urdū newspapers, duly checked. The work contains some curious documents such as a statement of the revenues of the Pandjāb in the Sikh period, texts of Anglo-Sikh treaties and texts or summaries of British public announcements in the Pandjāb at the time, inscriptions on the Sikh guns etc.

(iii) *Taʾrīkh-i Aḥmad* (or *Taʾrīkh Aḥmadshāhī*), lith. Lucknow 1266/1850 (for the mss. of the work see Storey ii/2, 403). Having completed the history of Shudjāʿ al-Mulk Durrānī (see ii above) who left Ludhiānā and with the help of the British Government regained the throne of his ancestors in 1255/1841, the author decided to write a complete history of the Durrānīs. Till 1212/1797 (about the middle of the reign of Zamān Shāh) he based it on the *Ḥusaynshāhī* or the *Taʾrīkh Ḥusaynī* (see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus.*, iii, 904b) by Imām al-Dīn who had lived for a long time in Afghānistān. A very brief history of the subsequent period up to the fall of the dynasty he based on the information received from well-informed, trustworthy and truthful visitors of his from Kābul, Ḳandahār and vicinity (*Aḥmadshāhī*, 3, 51). After stating the genealogy of the Abdālīs he gives the history of Aḥmad Shāh and his successors. In the last quarter of the work is given an account of the chief amīrs of Zamān Shāh, a geographical note on the Pandjāb and the stages of the route Kābul-Ḳandahār-Harāt-Čisht (with a list of the tombs of the Čishtī saints), and a chapter on Turkistān and its ruler Narbūta Bey. The last event mentioned is the death of Shudjāʿ al-Mulk and the recall of the British troops from Afghānistān, to which is appended a list of the 17 sons of Pāʾinda Khān.

This work and the *Muḥāraba* are among the sources of the *Sirādj al-Tawārīkh* (Kābul 1337), a history of Afghānistān compiled under the orders of the Amīr Ḥabīb Allāh Khān.

An Urdū version of the *Taʾrīkh Aḥmad* by Mīr Wārith ʿAlī Sayfī and entitled *Waḳiʿāt-i Durrānī* was lith. in Cawnpūr. 1292/1875.

E. Edwards, *Cat. of the Persian Printed Books in the British Mus.*, London 1922, 21, ascribes to him: *A dictionary of Anglo-Persian homogeneous words* etc., Bombay 1889.

Bibliography: Storey, ii/2, 402-4, ii/3, 673; O. Mann, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Aḥmed Šâh Durrâni*, in *ZDMG*, 1898, 106 ff.; Fr. transl. of the chapter on Turkistān in Ch. Schefer, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale par Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary*, Paris 1876, 280 ff.

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

ʿABD AL-ḲAYS (rarely ʿAbd Ḳays), i.e. "Servant of (the god) Ḳays", old Arabian tribe in East Arabia. The *nisba* is ʿAbdī and ʿAbḳasī.

ʿAbd al-Ḳays belongs to a group of tribes once settled in the modern province of al-ʿĀriḍ, whence it advanced to the North-West as far as present-day Sudayr and to the South-East as far as al-Khardj. This group was later, in the genealogy of the Northern Arabs, given the name of Rabīʿa [*q.v.*]. Already in the 5th century parts of this group detached themselves and started to nomadize partly within, partly beyond the arch of the Ṭuwayḳ. To the latter belonged ʿAbd al-Ḳays, which in the 6th century penetrated into the two great oasis districts of Eastern Arabia, namely al-Baḥrayn inland, and al-Ḳaṭīf on the coast. The oasis of al-Baḥrayn (known since the 10th century as al-Aḥsāʾ, and only since the 19th as al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*]) is plentifully watered by wells and natural and artificial streams, the greatest of which is called (ʿAyn) Muḥallim. The district reached in the north as far as ʿAynayn (= al-ʿUyūn), badly sanded already in the 12th century, and in the south as far as the village of al-Kathīb, which survived till the Middle Ages. The capital was

Hadjar, with its citadel al-Mushakkar. Another fortified place was Djuwāthā. The oasis district on the coast reached from Ṣafwā (a name that does not occur before the Middle Ages) in the north to Ẓahrān in the south, its capital being Zāra near Ḳaṭīf.

ʿAbd al-Ḳays was divided into two groups, Shann and Lukayz. Lukayz comprised the tribes of Nukra, al-Dīl, ʿIdjl and Muḥārib b. ʿAmr. The last three were distinguished by the denomination al-ʿUmūr from their "brothers" the Anmār. These latter consisted of the tribes of ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith (with the sub-tribes of Banū Murra and Banū Mālik) and Djadhīma b. ʿAwf (in which the branches ʿAbd Shams, Ḥiyay and ʿAmr confederated, under the name Barādjim, against the stronger Ḥāritha).

The Muḥārib lived in the villages of the oasis of al-Baḥrayn. Hadjar itself was inhabited by a mixed population, not bound by tribal ties. The same was probably the case in Zāra and other towns of the coastal oasis, where there existed also a considerable population of non-Arabic origin (Persians, Indians, Jews, Mandaeans), and it can be assumed that this was the case in Hadjar as well, though to a smaller extent. Ḳaṭīf was inhabited by the Djadhīma b. ʿAwf and Ẓahrān by the Nukra. In regard to landownership, we know only that in Ṣulāṣil, in the East Arabian Djawf (around Dārā = al-Dār = ʿAyn Dār) a certain ʿĀmir was the owner, *rabb*, of the oasis. In the summer, the northern ʿAbd al-Ḳays: Shann, ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith and al-ʿUmūr used to nomadize together inland around Wādī Farūḳ, while the Nukra grazed between Ẓahrān and the district of Baynūna, S.-E. from Ḳaṭar (where also the last village of the tribe, Luʿbā, is to be looked for).

Emigration from the over-populated oases started at an early date, directed partly towards the other coastal lands of Arabia, ʿUmān (fractions of Nukra and Dīl, ʿAwaḳa, "brothers" of the ʿUmūr and Anmār, etc.), and partly towards the Persian coast.

When ʿAbd al-Ḳays penetrated into Eastern Arabia, they are said to have found there remnants of Iyād, who were at that time migrating towards ʿIrāḳ. Later, they had as their northern neighbours those of the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba (of Bakr-Rabīʿa) who had left their dwellings in ʿĀriḍ and were grazing along the line Thādj—Kāẓima—Faldj = al-Bāṭin. The enemies of ʿAbd al-Ḳays were the Saʿd, a group of Tamīm, who roamed on both sides of the Dahnāʾ as far as Wādī Farūḳ and Wādī al-Sahbā.

The oases of the coast were from the time of Shāpūr II (310-79) under direct Persian rule. The country inland belonged at the beginning of the 6th century to the kingdom of Kinda, while after its fall about 530 a lateral line of that dynasty reigned in Hadjar. After its extinction, al-Baḥrayn was conquered, no doubt with the consent of the Persians, by the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra. Under al-Nuʿmān III (579-601) the resistance of the Shann and Lukayz was broken by plundering expeditions. After the fall of the Lakhmids the land was ruled by a Persian *ispahbadh* residing in Mushakkar and assisted by an Arabian person of trust. The cordial reception given by the governors and later also by the ʿAbd al-Ḳays to Muḥammad's envoys and letters can be probably explained by the fact that the two governors had lost the support of the home country owing to the strife over the succession to the throne that broke out in Persia in 628. During the *ridda* part of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, under al-Djārūd (of the Ḥāritha—Djadhīma) remained faithful to Medina, while others, led by the chief of Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, proclaimed a Lakhmid as their ruler. The Muslims were besieged in Djuwāthā, but held out. After the arrival of reinforcements, made available by the victory over Musaylima, they took the initiative and attacked (12/633). It was not before the autumn of 634 that the Persian garrison of Zāra was forced to surrender.

With the Muslim conquest starts a new movement of emigration. Labūʿ (an older tribe than Shann and Lukayz) took part in a expedition across the Gulf against Fārs and settled mainly in Tawwadj. The emigration was directed mainly towards Baṣra; in Kūfa, the ʿAbd al-Ḳays were not so strongly represented. With the troops of Kūfa they reached Mosul, with those of Baṣra Khurāsān, where their strength in 715 was four thousand men. The ʿAbd al-Ḳays took no prominent part in the politics of the newly conquered provinces. They more often, with a few exceptions, adapted themselves to local conditions, were ʿAlid in ʿAlid Kūfa, and participated in Baṣra and Khurāsān in the feuds between the tribes. In Baṣra, Harim b. Ḥayyān, one of the earliest pietists of Islam and a forerunner of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, belonged to this tribe.

In their native country the ʿAbd al-Ḳays tried to withstand, but without success, the Khāridjite movement of Nadjda, centered in the Yamāma (67/686-7). At the same time, the tribal distribution there begins to change. Of the tribes of ʿAbd al-Ḳays only Djadhīma b. ʿAwf and Muḥārib remained in their old sites—Muḥārib occupying also the harbour of ʿUḳayr, and ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith remaining in Ẓahrān and on one of the smaller islands of Baḥrayn (Sitra ?). The rest of their territory was occupied by the Saʿd—Tamīm, who penetrated into Baḥrayn itself and built there the village of al-Aḥsāʾ. Azd from ʿUmān established themselves on the coast, probably at the same time as in Baṣra, i.e. about 60/680. Some of them settled, together with ʿAbd al-Ḳays, in the oasis of Tuʾām = Tawam/Tuwaym in Sudayr.

In the IXth century an oasis principality was set up in East Arabia. An Azdite ruled in Zāra, one Ibn Mismār of the Djadhīma b. ʿAwf in Ḳaṭīf, the Banū Ḥafṣ, also belonging to ʿAbd al-Ḳays, in Ṣafwā. Baḥrayn was divided into the principalities of Hadjar and Djuwāthā under al-ʿAyyāsh al-Muḥāribī and al-ʿUryān (of the Banū Mālik), respectively. In the years 249-54/863-8 an ʿAlid, or pseudo-ʿAlid, rebelled in Baḥrayn. He tried his luck first in Hadjar, then in al-Aḥsāʾ among the Saʿd. Finally he withdrew into the desert and collected an army consisting of Tamīm and of tribes which had newly immigrated from the west. It cost al-ʿUryān much trouble, with help of the other chiefs of ʿAbd al-Ḳays, to expel the rebel, who soon afterwards started the great rising of the Zandj [*q.v.*] slaves in Baṣra.

The immigrants just mentioned and beduins who infiltrated afterwards, as well as good families from Ḳaṭīf, became in the next generation the supporters of the Ḳarmaṭian missionary Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī. The revolution broke out in 268/899. Ḳaṭīf fell first, Zāra was burned, and finally Hadjar too was taken, notwithstanding the Caliph's intervention. Al-Aḥsāʾ became the capital of the East-Arabian state of the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*]. This was overthrown in 469/1076-7 by the ʿUyūnids [*q.v.*] i.e. the Āl Ibrāhīm, belonging to the Banū Murra of al-ʿUyūn. The new dynasty soon showed signs of decline, interrupted only by a short period of recovery at the end of the 12th century. About 1245 this last dynasty of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays collapsed.

The attempt of the ʿUyūnid ʿAlī b. Muḳarrab to revive the ancient glory of the tribe by his poems miscarried, partly because the old Arabian world had long since become petrified, partly because also the oases of East Arabia were permeated by new immigrants.

Before the ʿAbd al-Ḳays accepted Islam, the tribe seems to have been overwhelmingly Christian. Only a few names bear witness to its original pagan religion: ʿAmr al-Afkal from Shann, ʿAbd Shams, ʿAbd ʿAmr (?). The office of the *afkal* (from Babylonian *apkallu*, "priest") was taken over, as in other tribes, from the early Arabian town civilisation. Tradition, ignorant of this fact, made of ʿAmr al-Afkal a representative of *hybris*.

The genealogy of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays is, compared with that of other tribes, remarkably incomplete, to judge by Ibn al-Kalbī's *Mukhtaṣar* (Table A of Wüstenfeld contains many, Ibn Ḥazm's *Djamhara* some errors, the latter not only in the printed text, but also in the good MSS of Rampore and Bankipore). Firstly, many units, known from other sources, are missing; secondly, the position of the "Companions", or the members of the embassy of the tribe to the Prophet, varies up to five generations, and an officer of the caliph al-Manṣūr is put higher than some of them.

Similar uncertainty exists concerning the poets of the tribe, viz. al-Muthaḳḳib and al-Mumazzaḳ of Nukra, Yazīd and Suwayd b. al-Khadhdhāk of Shann. Yazīd (according to others al-Mumazzaḳ) described, as an onlooker, his own burial; this is something new. Al-Ṣalatān, the poet from Baṣra, a contemporary of Djarīr, belongs to Shann; Ziyād al-Aʿdjam, who lived in Persia, was a *mawlā* of the ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith.

Al-Muthaḳḳib uses several Persian loan-words, not current otherwise, and some difficult expressions, but they are not peculiarly dialectal. At any rate, the dialect of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays must not be identified with that of al-Baḥrayn (here used, as generally in later times, as the name of the province), considered by the Arab philologists as an inferior one. Striking are the three forms for the personal and tribal name Dīl, Dūl, Duʾil, "weasel", among the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, Bakr and Kināna.

Bibliography: The geographers, e.g. Yāḳūt, iii, 411; Hamdānī, 136 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 392 f.; F. Wüstenfeld, *Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der arab. Stämme*, 74-6; idem, *Bahrein und Jemama*, 1-13. The historians. e.g. Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 54; v, 406 ff.; vii/1, 60 ff., 95; Ṭabarī, ii, 1291; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 53, 57, 67; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-polit. Oppositionsparteien*, 29 ff., 58; idem, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 44 f., 130, 248 ff., 258, 266; J. M. de Goeje, *La fin de l'empire des Carmathes du Bahrain*, *JA*, 1895, 1-30; von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii (ed. by W. Caskel), 15-9, 130 ff.; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 196-202 (Wüstenfeld) (using, among others, Madāʾinī's *Ashrāf ʿAbd al-Ḳays*). For the poets, *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, no. 50; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, nos. 28, 76-81, Appendix no. 4; *WZKM*, 1904, 1 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 233 ff., 257 ff.; *Aghānī*², v, 314, xiv, 98 ff.; ʿAlī b. Muḳarrab, *Diwān*, Bombay 1310. (W. Caskel)

ʿABD AL-LAṬĪF AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, also called Ibn al-Labbād, a versatile scholar and scientist, born at Baghdād in 557/1162-3, died there in 629/1231-2. In Baghdād he studied grammar, law, tradition etc. (giving in his autobiography a vivid picture of contemporary methods of study) and was persuaded by a Maghribī wandering scholar to devote himself to philosophy, mainly according to the system of Ibn Sīnā, and to natural science and alchemy. In 585/1189-90 he went to Mosul (where he studied the works of al-Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl, but found them inept), next year to Damascus, then to the camp of Saladin outside ʿAkkā (587/1191), where he met Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Shaddād and ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, and acquired the patronage of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, and then to Cairo. Here he made the acquaintance of Mūsā b. Maymūn and a certain Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shāriʿī, who introduced him to the works of al-Fārābī, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius, which turned him away from Ibn Sīnā and alchemy. In 588/1192 he met Saladin in Jerusalem, then went to Damascus, whence he returned to Cairo. After some years he went to Jerusalem and then, in 604/1207-8, again to Damascus. Some time later he went via Aleppo to Erzindjān, to the court of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Dāʾūd. When the Saldjūḳid Kayḳubādh conquered Erzindjān, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, after a journey to Erzerum, returned from Erzindjān to Aleppo via Kamākh, Diwrigi and Malaṭiya (626/1228-9), and soon afterwards returned to his native Baghdād where he died.

His numerous writings covered almost the whole domain of the knowledge of those days. Of those extant, *al-Ifāda wa'l-Iʿtibār*, a short description of Egypt, was widely known in Europe and was translated into Latin, German, and French; cf. S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte par Abd al-Latif*, Paris 1810; the others are on philology, tradition, medicine, mathematics and philosophy. (For his work on metaphysics cf. P. Kraus, in *BIE*, 1941, 277.) His account of the Mongol invasion was taken over by al-Dhahabī (cf. J. de Somogyi, *Isl.*, 1937, 106 ff.) His notes are quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa for information on personalities in Baghdād (cf. index).

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 201-13 (based on his autobiography); Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 9 ff.; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, MS Oxford, i, 654, fol. 16-7; L. Leclerc, *Hist. de la médecine arabe*, ii, 182; Brockelmann, i, 632, S i, 880.

(S. M. Stern)

ʿABD AL-LAṬĪF ḲASTAMUNILĪ [see laṭīfī].

ʿABD AL-MADJĪD I (Abdülmecid), Ottoman sultan, son of Maḥmūd II and his second *ḳadin* Bezm-i ʿĀlem (a remarkable woman), born on Friday, 14 (not 11) Shaʿbān 1238/25 April 1823. He succeeded his father, whose reforms he was to continue, on 19 (not 25) Rabīʿ II 1255/1 July 1839, a few days after the defeat of Nizīb (24 June) inflicted on the Turks by Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. The concert of the powers, which included, for the first time, Turkey, but not France, saved, however, the Ottoman Empire (Convention of London, 15 July 1840).

The most important events of his reign were the proclamation of the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf*, or *khaṭṭ-i hümāyūn*, of Gülkhāne (26 Shaʿbān 1255/3 Nov. 1839) and the Crimean war, which began in 1853 and was ended by arbitration in the Treaty of Paris (30 March 1856). For the proclamation see tanẓīmāt, gülkhāne, khaṭṭ-i hümāyūn, ʿuthmānlis, for the Crimean war ʿuthmānlis and, in general, the handbooks on history. It is worth mentioning here that the famous defence of Silistria, on the Bulgarian Danube (19 May-23 June 1854) was the subject of a famous poem by Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*].

There was also a whole series of troubles, insurrections and massacres: in Kurdistan (1847), in the Danubian principalities (1848), in Bosnia (1850-51),

in Montenegro (1852-3), in the Lebanon (1849), in Djidda, in the Lebanon and in Syria (1860), not to speak of Bulgaria and Albania.

Apart from his legislative work, ʿAbd al-Madjīd was the author of important reforms, in regard to the administration (in the *eyālets* or *wilāyets*, "provinces"), the army (law of 6 Sept. 1843; see REDĪF), education (*iʿdādī*, "military preparatory" schools, 1845; *rüshdiyye*, "higher primary" schools for boys and girls, 1847; *dār ül-maʿārif*, 1849; *mekteb-i ʿothmānī*, "Ecole ottomane" in Paris 1855), and the coinage (money of good alloy, carefully coined, especially the pieces called *medjīdiyye*, of 20 piastres; issued from 1844). To him is due the building of hospitals and other edifices, such as the palace of Dolma Baghče 1853), the restoration of the Aya Sofiya mosque by Fossati (20 July 1849), the first depositary for the state archives, *Khazine-yi Ewrāḳ* (1845), the first theatre (French Theatre or "Crystal Palace", by Giustiniani), the first *sāl-nāme*, or "imperial year-book" (1847).

It was from his reign onwards that the imperial princes (*shāh-zāde*) bore the simple title of *efendi*. ʿAbd al-Madjīd was the first sultan to speak a Western language (French). He was a subtle and polished person, lightly built, but of weak health undermined by the abuses of drink and harem. He was a spendthrift. Capricious, but courageous, he gained universal respect by his refusal to hand over to the Austrians, in 1849, Kossuth and the other Hungarian political refugees. "The annals of Turkey have as yet no record of a sovereign more humane, of such gentle manners, animated by such civilizing tendencies; his mild and attractive features revealed a generous soul" (Mgr. Louis Petit—(pseudonym: Kutchuk Efendi), Catholic bishop of Athens, *Les Contemporains*, no. 333, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1899).

He died young, on 17 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1277/25 June 1861, in the middle of the financial crisis of the country. He was buried in a modest *türbe* near the mosque of Sulṭān Selīm.

For three out of the ten Grand-Viziers of his reign, see RASHĪD PASHA, ʿĀLĪ PASHA, KHUSRAW PASHA. The foreign diplomat who played during the reigh of this sultan the most important role in Istanbul was Stratford Canning (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe).

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ʿABD AL-MADJĪD II (ABDÜLMECIT), last Ottoman caliph, son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*]. He was elected caliph by the Great National Assembly, 18 Nov. 1922, and succeeded, in this quality only, his cousin Muḥammad VI, who, after the abolition of the sultanate (1 Nov. 1922) took refuge on board a British warship and left Istanbul. During some months, all the opponents of the regime established in Anḳara by Muṣṭafā Kemāl rallied round the caliph, who had, in reality, no power at all. Muṣṭafā Kemāl put an end to these intrigues by proclaiming the republic, 29 Oct. 1923. A little more than four months afterwards, 3 March 1924, the Great National Assembly resolved upon the abolition of the caliphate. The next day ʿAbd al-Madjīd left Istanbul. He died in Paris, 23 August 1944.

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ʿABD AL-MALIK B. MUḤAMMAD B. **ABĪ ʿĀMIR** AL-MAʿĀFIRĪ ABŪ MARWĀN AL-MUẒAFFAR, son and successor of the famous "major domo" (*ḥādjib*) al-Mansūr [*q.v.*] under the reign of the Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus Hishām II al-Muʾayyad biʾllāh. He was the real sovereign of Muslim Spain after the death of his father in Medinaceli (Madīnat Sālim) in 392/1002.

ʿAbd al-Malik, second son of al-Manṣūr, was born in 364/975; his mother, an *umm walad* called al-Dhalfāʾ, survived him several years. Even before succeeding his father he gained experience as general in several campaigns, both in the North of Spain, against the Christians, and in Morocco. He was appointed by his father as a kind of viceroy of Morocco in 388/998, and took up his residence in Fez, but was recalled to Cordova the next year. On the career of ʿAbd al-Malik as sovereign we are informed in sufficient detail by the newly discovered Hispano-Arabic chronicles. One gets the impression that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī ʿĀmir, without having the genius of his father, was not lacking in certain statesmanlike qualities. At any rate, the seven years during which he held power are represented as the last favourable period of the history of al-Andalus before the fall of the Umayyad calipahate of the West.

The "majordomo", remaining faithful to the line followed by al-Manṣūr, continued his policy of harassing the Christian enemy beyond the frontier zones (*thughūr*). For this purpose he undertook year after year an expedition to one or the other of the marches of al-Andalus. In 393/1003 he directed his army towards the Hispanic March (*bilād al-Ifrandj*), ravaged the surroundings of Barcelona and laid waste thirty-five fortresses of the enemy. In 394/1004, he attacked the territory of the count of Castille, Sancho García, who asked for an armistice and in the following year helped ʿAbd al-Malik in his campaign against Galicia and Asturias. In the summer of 396/1006, ʿAbd al-Malik started an

offensive against the Frankish county of Ribagorza. His most famous expedition, however, was that of the following year, aimed against the fortress of Clunia, which was taken and destroyed. This victory gained for the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib* the honorific title of al-Muẓaffar. In 398/1007 he had again to take up arms against Sancho García and Castille, and yet again in the following year. While he was preparing to set out against Castille, he succumbed to a disease of the chest, near Cordova, on the Guadimellato (Wādī Armilāṭ), 16 Ṣafar 399/20 Oct. 1008.

During the seven years of his rule, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar preserved for the State of Cordova its strong administrative structure, by favouring the Slavonic dignitaries (*saḳāliba*) against the Arab aristocracy. Nevertheless, several attemps were made on his person. There are reasons to assume that his brother, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, who succeeded him, was not without his share in the unexpected and premature death of the second ʿĀmirid.

[See also ʿĀMIRIDS and UMAYYADS OF SPAIN].

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ḲAṬAN AL-FIHRĪ, governor of al-Andalus. He succeeded in this office ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghāfiḳī [*q.v.*], when the latter was killed during his expedition into Gaul, 114/732. He had to surrender his office, in 116/734, to ʿUḳba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj al-Salūlī, but resumed it in 123/740. Belonging to the Medinese party, he evinced a rather unfavourable attitude towards the caliph of Damascus. Almost at once, however, he was confronted with grave difficulties caused by the Berbers who revolted in the Iberian peninsula and soon afterwards menaced Cordova. In face of this danger, and in view of the insufficiency of his own military resources, ʿAbd al-Malik had to appeal, whether he liked it or not, for the services of a group of Arabs belonging to various *djunds* [*q.v.*] of Syria, who were besieged in the North-African fortress of Ceuta, and gave them permission to cross the Straits under the command of their chief Baldj [*q.v.*]. Thanks to this reinforcement and to three successive defeats which they inflicted upon the rebellious Berbers, he suceeded in allaying the danger that menaced him. The Syrian troops, however, confident in their strength, had no difficulty in removing ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan and put in his place as *wālī* of al-Andalus their own general Baldj, at the beginning of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 123/Sept. 741. One of the first actions of the new governor was to order the execution of his predecessor, who was then a very old man.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 41, 43-7. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-MALIK B. MARWĀN, fifth Caliph of the Umayyad line, reigned 65-86/685-705. According to general report he was born in the year 26/646-7, the son of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], his mother being ʿĀʾisha bint Muʿāwiya b. al-Mughīra. As a boy of ten he was an eye-witness of the storming of ʿUthmān's house, and at the age of sixteen Muʿāwiya appointed him to command the Madinian troops against the Byzantines. He remained at Medina until the outbreak of the rebellion against Yazīd I (62-3/682-3). When the Umayyads were expelled by the rebels, he left the town with his father, but on meeting the Syrian army under Muslim b. ʿUḳba he returned with him, after giving Muslim information concerning the town and its defences. This was followed by the battle of the Ḥarra and the total defeat of the Madinians (27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 63/27 Aug. 683). After the assassination of his father (Ramaḍān 65/April-May 685), ʿAbd al-Malik was recognized as Caliph by the partisans of the Umayyads, but he was faced with serious difficulties. Although the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ had reaffirmed Umayyad control of Syria, and Egypt had been recovered and was strongly held by his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], Zufar b. Ḥārith held out in the north at Ḳirḳīsiyya, with the support of the Ḳays, until 71/690-1, and the Byzantines were giving much trouble on the frontiers, even reoccupying Antioch in 68/688, as well as giving aid to the Mardaites within Syria itself. In Mecca, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] had been proclaimed Caliph, and was at least nominally recognized in most provinces of the empire. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Malik showed himself equal to the task, and within a few years succeeded in restoring the unity of the Arabs under Syrian leadership.

At first, however, ʿIrāḳ and the East had to be abandoned. The governor, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, driven out by the tribesmen after the death of Yazīd, was unable, in spite of his success in defeating an attack by Kūfan forces in Mesopotamia (Ramaḍān 65/May 685), to reoccupy Kūfa and Baṣra. Kūfa was shortly afterwards seized by the Shīʿite leader Mukhtār [*q.v.*], whose partisans, after an indecisive engagement with the Syrians (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 66/July 686), totally defeated ʿUbayd Allāh on the Khāzir river in the following month under the command of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar. For the next five years ʿIrāḳ remained under the rule of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, whose general al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, with the troops of Baṣra, defeated Mukhtār's forces at Ḥarūrā in Ramaḍān 67/April 687 and reoccupied Kūfa. In order to free his hands for dealing with Irāk, ʿAbd al-Malik in 69/689 made a ten years' truce with the Greek Emperor, by which, in return for an annual tribute, the latter removed the Mardaites from Syria into Greek territory. Immediately afterwards ʿAbd al-Malik set out from Damascus against Musʿab, but was obliged to return in order to deal with a revolt in the capital led by his kinsman ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*]. ʿAmr fortified himself in the residence, but on the Caliph's arrival he capitulated on promise of life and liberty. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Malik was unable to trust him, and soon afterwards had him seized and executed him, according to the general statement, with his own hand. In the following year (70/690) the campaign against Muṣʿab was renewed, but both armies faced one another in Mesopotamia without result. In the third year, ʿAbd al-Malik opened his campaign by besieging Zufar in Ḳirḳīsiyya for some months. After its capture he reoccupied Upper Mesopotamia, and reinforced by the Ḳays marched into ʿIrāḳ. At Dayr al-Djathālīḳ, near Maskin, Musʿab and Ibn al-Ashtar were defeated and slain (Djumādā I or II, 72/Oct.-Nov., 691). Al-Muhallab with the troops of Baṣra was engaged in the struggle with the Khāridjites, and most of the ʿIrāḳīs were weary of the conflict, which had brought them little but hardships and loss. Immediately after the Caliph's entry into Kūfa, where he received the homage of the province, a force of 2000 Syrians was despatched under al-Ḥadjdjādj to deal with Ibn al-Zubayr at Mecca. After a halt at Ṭāʾif, al-Ḥadjdjādj laid siege

to Mecca on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 72/25 March 692; it was a little more than six months before Ibn al-Zubayr was killed on the field and the city surrendered (17 Dj. I or II, 73/4 Oct. or 3 Nov., 692). Al-Ḥadjdjādj was rewarded with the governorship of the Ḥidjāz.

The recovery of ʿIrāḳ involved ʿAbd al-Malik in the necessity of organizing immediate measures against the Khāridjites. After an initial failure, the combined forces of Kūfa and Baṣra defeated the Nadjdiyya of Yamāma at Mushahhar in 73/692-3, but the more dangerous and fanatical Azāriḳa in Persia set a tougher problem. Even under the command of al-Muhallab, the war-weary *muḳātila* showed little stomach for this task until in 75/694 ʿAbd al-Malik transferred al-Ḥadjdjādj to the government of Kūfa. With his ruthless and energetic backing al-Muhallab was able to hunt down the Azāriḳa in a three-years' campaign. In the meantime a fresh Khāridjite rising broke out among the Rabīʿa tribesmen in Mesopotamia, who, under the leadership of Shabīb, swept down on the territories of Kūfa and seized Madāʾin (76-7/695-6). When the *muḳātila* of Kūfa, recalled from Persia, proved unable to prevent Shabīb from investing their city, al-Ḥadjdjādj obtained the services of 4000 Syrian troops, who, after driving off the attackers and killing Shabīb (end of 77/beg. of 697) went on to break up the Arab section of the Azāriḳa in Ṭabaristān. Following on an outbreak of disorder in Khurāsān in the same year (78/697), ʿAbd al-Malik added this province also to the government of al-Ḥadjdjādj, who appointed al-Muhallab to govern it as his deputy. Al-Muhallab reopened shortly afterwards the campaigns towards Central Asia, but few positive gains are recorded before his death in 82/701-2, when he was succeeded by his son Yazīd. At the same time ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, who had been appointed to Sidjistān, was engaged in Afghānistān with the troops of Kūfa and Baṣra. Enraged by the criticisms directed against them by the plebeian viceroy, Ibn al-Ashʿath and the *ashrāf* revolted (81/700-1) and marched back into ʿIrāḳ. The small body of Syrian troops and their supporters were unable to withstand the united forces of the province, and for a time the situation was critical; but with the aid of reinforcements from Syria the rebels were defeated at Dayr al-Djamādjim (Dj. II, 82/July 701) and again routed at Maskin on the Dudjayl (Shaʿbān 82/Oct. 701), and the remnants were pursued into Sidjistān and Khurāsān, where they were dispersed by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (83/702). In the same year al-Ḥadjdjādj built a new garrison city for the Syrian troops at Wāsiṭ. This episode proved to be a turning-point in the history of the Umayyad Caliphate and the Arab empire. Henceforward a permanent Syrian army of occupation garrisoned ʿIrāḳ, and the *muḳātila* of Kūfa and Baṣra were never again called out on a war footing. For twelve years more the heavy hand of al-Ḥadjdjādj maintained order and security, and laid the foundations of future economic prosperity in ʿIrāḳ, but at the cost of much bitter resentment amongst the tribesmen, especially in Kūfa.

The war with the Byzantines was renewed in 73/692, in consequence of the Emperor's refusal to accept the new Muslim gold currency struck by ʿAbd al-Malik. Despite some initial successes in their raids into Anatolia and Armenia, the Syrian troops, commanded by the Caliph's brother Muḥammad, gained little territory, but prepared the way for the expeditions of the next reign. In North Africa, however, the *muḳātila* of Egypt, under Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān, after regaining the southern part of Ifrīḳiya, advanced on Carthage with naval support (78/679). A reinforcing Greek fleet was defeated, Carthage occupied, and a secure base established at Ḳayrawān for further conquests.

In the midst of these preoccupations with internal conflicts and external wars, ʿAbd al-Malik found time to develop the administrative efficiency of his empire. The answer to the disintegrating tendencies of tribalism was centralization, and various reforms were put in hand to this end. The most important was the substitution of Arabic for Greek and Persian in the financial bureaux; this was a first step towards the reorganization and unification of the diverse tax-systems in the provinces, and also a step towards a more definitely Muslim administration. This appears even more clearly in the decision to issue an Islamic gold coinage, replacing the Byzantine *denarius* with its image of the Emperor by a Muslim *dīnār* with Ḳurʾānic texts. Despite the hostility which later tradition displayed towards the Umayyads and al-Ḥadjdjādj in particular, it cannot be doubted that already the influence of Islam was strongly felt in this, the first generation of Muslim rulers who had been brought up from childhood in the Muslim faith. Another, and even more far-reaching reform was the re-edition of the ʿUthmānic text of the Ḳurʾān with vowel-punctuation, a measure generally attributed to al-Ḥadjdjādj, but which enraged the pietists of Kūfa who held to the "reading" of Ibn Masʿūd. ʿAbd al-Malik was also the builder of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*] at Jerusalem.

The last years of his reign were on the whole years of prosperity and peaceful consolidation, but for his anxiety over the succession. Marwān had appointed as successor to ʿAbd al-Malik his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but ʿAbd al-Malik wished to exclude him in favour of his own sons al-Walīd and Sulaymān. A split was avoided just in time, by the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in Egypt in Dj. I, 86/May 705, only five months before the death of ʿAbd al-Malik (Shawwāl 86/Oct. 705). He was succeeded by his eldest son al-Walīd [*q.v.*].

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(H. A. R. GIBB)

ʿABD AL-MALIK B. NŪḤ [see SĀMĀNIDS].

ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ṢĀLIḤ B. ALĪ, cousin of the caliphs Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ and Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr. In the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd ʿAbd al-Malik led several campaigns against the Byzantines, in 174/790-1, in 181/797-8, and according to some authorities also in 175/791-2, although other sources assert that in this year the forces were commanded not by ʿAbd al-Malik but by his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He was also for some time governor of Medina and held the same office in Egypt. At length, however, he could not escape the Caliph's suspicion; in 187/803 he was, for no adequate reason, thrown into prison and remained there until al-Rashīd's death in 183/809. The new Caliph, al-Amīn, restored him to liberty and appointed him in 196/811-2 governor of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. ʿAbd al-Malik set out at once for al-Raḳḳa, but fell ill and died in that town shortly afterwards (the year

of his death, 196/811-2, is confirmed by al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* 348; but the same author, Murūdj, iv, 437, gives 197, while Ibn Khallikān indicates 193 (trans. de Slane, i. 316) and even 199 (ibid., iii, 665, 667). Some years later the caliph al-Maʾmūn ordered his tomb to be destroyed, it is said, because ʿAbd al-Malik had sworn, during the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, never to pay homage to the latter.

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ʿABD AL-MUʾMIN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿALWĪ B. YAʿLĀ AL-KŪMĪ ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, successor of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] in the leadership of the reformist movement of *tawḥīd*, known as the Almohad movement (see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN), and founder of the Muʾminid dynasty, which in the West, in the 6th/12th century, took the place of the kingdoms of Ifrīḳiya and of the Almoravid dynasty of Morocco and of Spain, with its capital at Marrākush [*q.v.*].

The history of the origins of the Almohad movement and of the reign of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin has been illuminated and in large measure reinterpreted since the present author had the good fortune to find, in a miscellaneous collection in the Escurial library, some extracts from an anonymous *Kitāb al-Ansāb* devoted to the principal protagonists of the religious and political system set up by Ibn Tūmart, and especially the extremely lively and certainly authentic 'Memoirs' of a companion of the Mahdī and of his successor, Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Ṣinhādjī, called al-Baydhaḳ (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928). This extremely important find was followed by the discovery of a volume of the *Naẓm al-Djumān* by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān on the beginnings of the movement (published in part by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Six fragments inédits d'une chronique du début des Almohades*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 335-93), and also of a collection of official letters from ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and his immediate successors (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades*, Rabat 1941; *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, analysis and historical commentary, Paris 1941). It has thus become possible, without having to rely only on later Arabic historians, to attempt a detailed critical account of this period which covered a large part of the 6th/12th century and coincided with an unprecedented revolution in the history of the Islamic West—an account which, however, still remains to be written.

The circumstances of the meeting of Ibn Tūmart and of his disciple ʿAbd al-Muʾmin might have been regarded as legendary were they not confirmed by al-Baydhaḳ, who was a witness. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, a humble student, of the Arabicized Berber tribe of the Kūmya, of the ethnic group of the Zanāta, settled in the north of what is now the province of Oran, not far from Nedroma, made no attempt to claim, as did his master, an Arab and even Prophetic ancestry until very much later. Still a young man—the year of his birth has not been ascertained—he had, with his uncle Yaʿlū, left his native village of Tāgrā to visit the East, or possibly Ifrīḳiya only, in order to complete his studies there. But this peregrination for the purpose of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* was to take him no further than Bougie (Bidjāya). It was in a suburb of that town, Mallāla, that Ibn Tūmart, the '*faḳīh* of the Sūs', as he was then called, who was on his way back to Morocco, encountered the man who was to be his successor. He persuaded him to join the small group of disciples who accompanied him, and taught him his "unitarian" doctrine, during the few months that he remained at Bougie. This meeting probably took place in the course of the year 511/1117.

From this time onwards and until the death of the Mahdī in 524/1130, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin plays an extremely active part at the side of his master, who attached him by adoption to his own tribe, the Hargha, and gave him a place in his "Council of Ten". He took part in all the expeditions, had a say in the deliberations of the Almohad general staff, and found a far-seeing protector in the person of the most active member of the movement, Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Hintātī [*q.v.*]. It was the latter who, at the death of Ibn Tūmart, imposed on the Berber hillsmen of Tīnmallal acceptance of the choice made by the Mahdī of his own successor. Three whole years were, however, to elapse before ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was proclaimed. He then received from all his new subjects the *bayʿa* of allegiance, but had at the same time to face an uncertain political situation. Events were to reveal his outstanding qualities as a statesman, as a general, and as chief of a coalition which was still, in spite of appearances, heterogeneous. His first task was, leaving aside all other business, to break down the Almoravid structure, whose foundations were already undermined. Fortune favoured him to a degree beyond his highest hopes.

The career of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin as a sovereign began on the day of his proclamation, in 527/1133, and continued until his death in 558/1163. Here we shall merely summarise its principal stages.

The first stage was to secure for the Almohads the whole of Morocco. The conquest proved long and difficult. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin first of all attacked the Sūs and the Dra (Wādī Darʿa [*q.v.*]), then the line of Almoravid fortresses which in the North encircled the Grand Atlas, preventing access to the plains and to the capital, Marrākush. Then he swung towards the northeast, took the fortified towns of Damnāt and Dāy, and step by step secured possession of the middle Atlas and of the oases of the Tāfīlālt during the years 534-35/1140-41. Then the Almohad columns debouched into northern Morocco, and, from their base in the mountain massif of the Djebala, occupied the fortresses in the region of Tāzā. Thence, they went on to win over to the movement the sub-Mediterranean tribes of the Wādī Lāw, and of Bādis, Nakūr, Melilla, and the North-Oranian region; to his own village of Tāgrā, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin returned as a conqueror.

From this moment, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, at the head of considerable forces, felt himself strong enough to abandon the guerrilla operations in hilly country which had hitherto been his tactics, and to confront the Almoravids in the plain. The carrying out of this intention was made all the easier for him by the death of the Almoravid amīr, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, which took place in 537/1134, leaving a tottering throne to his son Tāshufīn, and open rivalry between the Lamtūna and Massūfa chiefs in regard to the succession to the amirate. Another untoward circumstance for the Almoravids was the tragic death of one of their most devoted and skilful generals, the Catalan Reverter (al-Ruburtayr), leader of their Christian militia, who was killed in an engagement with the Almohads, in 539/1145, in eastern Morocco.

Finally, the adhesion of the Zanāta to the *tawḥīd* further inclined the balance in favour of the rebel movement. The armies of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and of Tāshufīn b. ʿAlī met before Tlemcen, and the Almoravid was forced to fall back on Oran, but he died as a result of a fall from his horse in the same year, 539. Now the road to Fez was open: first Oujda (Wadjda) and then Guercif (Adjarsīf) were taken, and the capital of north Morocco fell after a siege of nine months in 540/1146, followed by Miknāsa (Meknès) and Salé.

This series of victories was quickly followed up by the capture of Marrākush. The Almoravid capital made some attempt to resist the attackers, but was soon forced to capitulate, in spite of the heroic defence made by the garrison of the *ḳaṣaba* (Shawwāl 541/April 1147), and there was great slaughter of the Almoravids, among the dead being the young prince Isḥāḳ b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf. Henceforward the Muʾminid dynasty had the capital of its choice. The Almoravid palace was selected as his personal residence by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who gave orders for the erection in its vicinity of the monumental Mosque of the Booksellers (*Djāmiʿ al-Kutubiyyīn*), whose imposing minaret still towers above Marrākush today.

The final destruction of Almoravid power made it possible for ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to organise his new empire, using as a basis the political system of the Almohad community, but broadened and adapted to his purpose. He carried out a new scrutiny of his supporters, thousands of whom, judged to be of doubtful loyalty or lacking in religious fervour, were put to the sword. Then it seemed to him that the time had come to extend his conquests beyond the boundaries of the Almoravid possessions in the Maghrib, and he prepared to annex Ifrīḳiya.

Ifrīḳiya was in any case an easy prey at that moment. The Ṣinhādjian dynasties of Bidjāya and Kayrawān were thoroughly undermined, and the wave of beduin incursions was swamping the whole country, while the Normans, led by Roger II, king of Sicily, were gaining a foothold in the principal ports of Ifrīḳiya. An Almohad expedition against Ifrīḳiya could therefore be regarded as all the more justified, in that it could claim to be a *djihād* against the infidel. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin concentrated his troops at Salé, in 546/1151, then, in the course of an irresistible thrust towards the east, took possession one after another of Algiers, Bougie and of Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād, and utterly routed near Setif the nomadic Arabs, formerly in the service of the Ḥammādids of Bougie; after which he did not scorn to accept their services, and for the time being refrained from advancing any further towards Tunisia.

Ifrīḳiya properly so called was not conquered until eight years later. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, leaving as his lieutenant in the Maghrib Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Hintātī, arrived before Tunis, after a journey of six months, in Djumādā II 554/June 1159. Having taken the town, he went on towards al-Mahdiyya and attacked this fortified town, which was in the hands of Roger II of Sicily, with powerful forces; the town fell in Muḥarram 555/January 1160. In the course of this campaign he also secured possession of Sūsa, Ḳayrawān, Sfax, Gafsa, Gabes, and Tripoli. Then the ruler returned to Marrākush, whence he left for Spain in 556/1161.

The establishment of the Almohads in the Iberian peninsula had begun in 539/1145, immediately after the capture of Tlemcen. In the next year the Almoravid admiral Ibn Maymūn, who had gone over to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, contributed his part by taking Cádiz. In 541/1157 an Almohad army took successively the fortified towns of Jerez, Niebla, Silves, Beja, Badajoz, Mertola, and finally Seville. In 549/1154 Granada was surrendered to the new masters of the country by its Almoravid governor. In 552/1157 Almeria was recaptured from the Christians, who had seized it, and whose designs on al-Andalus became ever more obvious. It was in these circumstances that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin decided to cross the Straits himself, and established his head-quarters at Gibraltar (Djabal Ṭāriḳ, afterwards Djabal al-Fatḥ), whose reconstruction he had ordered in the previous year. He remained there for two months of winter, and sent out his columns towards Jaén, where the mercenaries of Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] had engaged in raiding.

ʿAbd al-Muʾmin returned to Morocco at the beginning of 558/1162. He proceeded to concentrate his troops in the huge enceinte built opposite Salé, the *Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ*, now Rabat, with a view to another expedition to the Iberian peninsula. But he had to take to his bed, and, after a long and painful illness, died in the month of Djumādā II 558/May 1163. (All the historians agree as to the month and the year, but not as to the actual day). His remains were taken from Salé to Tīnmallal and buried near the tomb of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart.

In all probability, it was at the time of the capture of Marrākush that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had allowed his entourage to confer on him the exalted title of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, whereas the Almoravids had used only the title *amīr al-muslimīn*, recognising the spiritual suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of the East. Also, breaking with the Almoravid tradition, which itself had been inspired by the Hispano-Umayyad organisation, he set up an administrative system which took into account the political needs of his great empire, as well as his desire not to give offence to his entourage of Berbers, "Almohads from the very beginning". Many regulations that formed part of this system are still in existence in the organisation of the *makhzen* [*q.v.*] of modern Morocco. But he had also to turn to Andalusian experts for his chancellery, mostly to men who had formerly been secretaries at the Almoravid court. He cleverly secured his succession in the direct line, and in 549/1154 had his eldest son Muḥammad nominated as heir presumptive. In 551/1156 he appointed his other sons to governorships of the principal towns of his empire, posting with each one, as mentors, men of the highest rank in the Almohad hierarchy.

Various estimates have been given of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who was in no way marked out for the brilliant career that he made for himself. If, at the beginning and during the years that followed the death of Ibn Tūmart, he seems to have been somewhat timid and to have allowed himself to be led by his principal collaborator Abū Hafs ʿUmar Īntī, it appears that he later manifested in increasing measure not only strategic but also political qualities, handling tactfully his susceptible entourage of Almohad Berbers, winning the good will of the Arabs of Ifrīḳiya after subjugating them, and carrying out with great intelligence and energy, and also cruelty, his role as head of a State and guardian of the doctrine of the Mahdī, to whom he owed his own fortune and that of his dynasty.

See also the arts. ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR AL-HINTĀTĪ, MUʾMINIDS and AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN.

Bibliography: In addition to the basic texts cited at the beginning of this article, the career of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin is traced, though with many errors in chronology, by ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrā-

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB b. HĀS̲H̲IM, paternal grandfather of Muḥammad. Passing through Medina on trading journeys to Syria, Hās̲h̲im b. ʿAbd Manāf married Salmā bint ʿAmr of the clan of ʿAdī b. al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār of the K̲h̲azrad̲j̲, by whom he had two children, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (or S̲h̲ayba) and Ruḳayya. The mother and her son remained in her house in Medina, this apparently being the practice of her family in accordance with a matrilineal kinship system. Some time after Hās̲h̲im's death his brother al-Muṭṭalib tried to strengthen his deteriorating position in Mecca by bringing his gifted nephew from Medina to help him. The common explanation that the youth was called ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib because he was mistaken for the slave of al-Muṭṭalib is not acceptable; the name has probably a religious significance. Arabic sources give the impression that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the leading man in Mecca (*sayyid Ḳurays̲h̲*), whereas some Western scholars have tried to show that he was insignificant. It seems more probable that he was a leader of a political group within Ḳurays̲h̲ which had developed out of the alliance of the Muṭayyabūn (B. ʿAbd Manāf, B. Asad, B. Zuhra, B. Taym, B. al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Fihr) by the secession of B. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf and B. ʿAbd S̲h̲ams b. ʿAbd Manāf. It is significant that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have had disputes with Nawfal and with the grandson of ʿAbd S̲h̲ams. Moreover it is doubtless as leader of this group that he negotiated with the leader of an Abyssinian army invading Mecca, perhaps hoping thereby to obtain some advantage over Meccan rivals. He also appears to have been in alliance with tribes from the neighbourhood of Mecca, K̲h̲uzāʿa, Kināna and T̲h̲aḳīf, and to have owned a well at al-Ṭāʾif. The basis of his prosperity was trade, especially with Syria and the Yemen, coupled with the *siḳāya* and *rifāda* (the privilege of supplying pilgrims to Mecca with water and food), which he had inherited from Hās̲h̲im. He is credited with having dug several wells, notably that of Zamzam at the Kaʿba. Fāṭima bint ʿAmr (of B. Mak̲h̲zūm) was mother of most of his children, including ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] (Muḥammad's father) and Abū Ṭālib; he had other wives from B. Zuhra of Ḳurays̲h̲, al-Namir, ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and K̲h̲uzāʿa, mothers respectively of Ḥamza, al-ʿAbbās, al-Ḥārit̲h̲ and Abū Lahab. On the death of Muḥammad's mother he took the boy of six to his own house. While the stories about ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib have been subject to tendentious shaping, there may be more fact underlying them than sceptical Western scholars have allowed.

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(W. Montgomery Watt)

Mirzā **ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM K̲H̲ĀN**, K̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ānān, general, statesman and scholar, was born in Lahore, 14 Ṣafar 964/16 Dec. 1556, the son of Akbar's first *wakīl*, Bayram K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*]. He belonged to the Bahārlu, a branch of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Turkmens, and his mother was a daughter of D̲j̲amāl K̲h̲ān Mewātī, whose elder daughter the emperor Humāyūn had married. When he was four his father was murdered and he was thereafter brought up by Akbar himself, who gave him an excellent education and training, and from whom he received the title of Mirzā K̲h̲ān. In 1572 he accompanied Akbar to Gud̲j̲rāt and then had assigned to him, under the tutelage of Sayyid Aḥmad of Bāraha, the district of Patan, within which his father had been murdered.

In D̲j̲umādā I 981/Aug. 1573 he accompanied Akbar on his historic forced march to Gud̲j̲rāt and he shared the command of the centre in the battle of Sarnāl which destroyed the power of the rebel Mirzās. In 1576 he was appointed governor of Gud̲j̲rāt, Wazīr K̲h̲ān Harawī being entrusted with the actual administration of the province. He was deputed in the same year to the Mewār expedition and assisted in the conquest of Gogunda and Kumbhalmēr in 1578. As a mark of great confidence the emperor appointed him, in 1581, *mīr ʿarḍ*, an office which was previously held by seven officers jointly. He was also given the *d̲j̲āgīr* of Ranthambore and ordered to pacify the area. In 1582 he was appointed *atāliḳ* to Akbar's son Salīm, then a boy of thirteen. In 1583 he was deputed to suppress the revolt of Muẓaffar S̲h̲āh Gud̲j̲rātī, which he broke by defeating Muẓaffar against heavy odds in Muḥarram 992/Jan. 1584, at the two battles of Sarkhēd̲j̲ and Nādōt. In recognition of his victories he was given the title of K̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ānān and raised to what was till then the highest *manṣab*, of 5,000. He remained in command of Gud̲j̲rāt, pursued Muẓaffar into Kāthiawār, and subjugated Nawānagar. In 1585, during his temporary absence at the court, Muẓaffar again raised the banner of revolt. He quickly returned to Gud̲j̲rāt and pacified the province. In the following year, when the system of joint governors was instituted, Ḳulid̲j̲ K̲h̲ān was associated with him in the government of the province. In 1587 he was permitted to return to the court while retaining nominally the governorship. In 1589, Gud̲j̲rāt was taken from him and given to Mirzā ʿAzīz Kūka, the brother of his wife, Māh Bānū.

In the same year he was appointed to the highest office at the court, that of *wakīl*, and given D̲j̲awnpūr as *d̲j̲āgīr*. In that year he presented to the emperor his Persian translation of *Bābur-nāma*, entitled *Wāḳiʿāt-i Bāburī*. In 1590-1 his *d̲j̲āgīr* was transferred against his wishes from D̲j̲awnpūr to Multān and Bhakkar and he was appointed to command the army sent to conquer Ḳandahār and to annex Thatta, then held by Mirzā D̲j̲ānī Beg Tark̲h̲ān. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm decided, according to Abu 'l-Faḍl, to proceed against Thatta in preference to Ḳandahār in the hope of getting more booty. Consequently the command of the Ḳandahār expedition was entrusted to Akbar's son Daniyāl. In 1000/1591-2 the conquest of Thatta was completed. Mirzā D̲j̲ānī Beg married one of his daughters to ʿAbd al-Raḥīm's son, S̲h̲āh Nawāz K̲h̲ān (Irid̲j̲), and came to the court along with ʿAbd al-Raḥīm.

In 1593 he was appointed to assist the prince

Daniyāl who was given the command of an expedition to the Deccan, but on his advice the expedition was cancelled. Two years later, when the conquest of the Deccan was entrusted to another of Akbar's sons, Murād, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was given Bhilsa as *djāgīr* and ordered to assist the prince. From this time his services were directed to the Deccan, except for short breaches, for nearly thirty years. In consequence of his delay, he was received discourteously by Murād and did not take an active part in the campaign except when he defeated a largely outnumbering force under Suhayl Khān of Bidjāpūr in an important battle fought in 1597. His relations with the prince remained strained and in 1598 he was recalled from the Deccan.

On the death of Murād, Daniyāl was appointed to the Deccan in 1599; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was ordered to join him and besiege Aḥmadnagar, which was being heroically defended by Čānd Bībī. After the fall of Aḥmadnagar Daniyāl was appointed to its government and was married to Djāni Bēgum, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm's daughter. In 1601 ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was ordered to repair to Aḥmadnagar and pacify the territory and in the following year the command of Berār, Pathrī and Telingāna was made over to him.

When Salīm ascended the throne with the title of Djahāngīr, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was in the Deccan. He was confirmed in his post and the emperor especially sent Muḳarrab Khān to reassure him. When Malik ʿAnbar, the commander of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty of Aḥmadnagar, made a bold bid to recover the territory lost to the Mughals, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm promised the emperor quick victory provided he received adequate assistance. A strong army under the command of Djahāngīr's son Parwīz was despatched to assist him, but largely as a result of lack of cooperation among the generals, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was compelled to conclude a dishonourable treaty with Malik ʿAnbar in 1610. He was recalled to the court in disgrace and accused of mismanagement and treachery. He was soon forgiven and in the following year received Kālpī and Ḳannawdj as *djāgīr* with the responsability of suppressing revolts in those districts.

Since, however, Mughal fortunes in the Deccan did not improve, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was again appointed to the Deccan in 1021/1612, but could do little more than retrieve the situation, until in 1616 Parwīz was replaced by the prince Khurram (later Shāh Djahān) who was sent with a large force. Malik ʿAnbar was defeated and concluded in 1617 a treaty restoring the Mughal conquests, but again attacked Mughal territory in 1620 and was again defeated by Shāh Djahān. In 1622 Shāh Djahān was recalled from the Deccan along with ʿAbd al-Raḥīm and asked to command the army against the Persians who had conquered Ḳandahār. Shāh Djahān refused to obey the summons and revolted. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm joined him but was arrested for communicating with Mahābat Khān, the commander of the Imperial forces, and subsequently released on the latter's insistence to negotiate terms of peace. When he reached the Imperial army, his communication with the rebel forces was cut off and although he agreed to join the Imperial side, he was placed under surveillance.

In 1625 Djahāngīr called him to the court, restored his title and honours and gave him one lac of rupees as a gift. After the emperor was released from the captivity of Mahābat Khān, who had rebelled, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm asked for the command of the expedition against the rebel general, and towards the close of 1626 was ordered to make preparations for the expedition and was assigned most of the *djāgīrs* formerly held by Mahābat Khān. Before the preparations were completed, he fell ill at Lahore, and died on arrival at Delhi in 1036/1627, at the age of 71. His tomb still stands near that of the *shaykh* Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā. He survived his four sons, Mirzā Iridj entitled Shāh Nawāz Khān, who rose to be a commander of 5,000 and died in 1619; Mirzā Dārāb entitled Dārāb Khān, also a distinguished commander who was made governor of Bengal by Shāh Djahān during his rebellion, fell into the hands of Mahābat Khān and was executed in 1625-6; Mirzā Raḥmān-dād (d. 1619); and Mirzā Amr Allāh who died young.

Mirzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was a distinguished scholar and poet, and was proficient in Arabic, Persian, Turkī and Hindī. Under the pseudonym Raḥīm he composed poetry in all four languages. He is especially famous for his Hindi poetry which is saturated with the emotions of *bhakti*. He was a great patron of arts and letters, and the *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī* contains a long list of poets who enjoyed his patronage. His munificence and generosity were proverbial and anecdotes of his liberality are numerous. Though frequently accused of treachery and corruption, he possessed a better grasp of the problems of the Deccan than any other Mughal general.

In his religious views he was professedly a Sunnī. Though religious leaders like *shaykh* Aḥmad Sarhindī and *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī counted him among the orthodox, his religious outlook remained mystical and liberal. The belief that he was suspected of practising *taḳiyya* and of secretly following Shīʿite tenets is not supported by contemporary evidence.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, iii; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, ii, esp. 375-91; *Tuzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, transl. Rogers and Beveridge; Muʿtamad Khān, *Iḳbāl-nāma-yi Djahāngīrī*, esp. 287-8; ʿAbd al-Baḳī Nihāwandī, *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī*; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*; Abū Turāb Walī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gudjrāt*, Calcutta 1909; Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, *Taʾrīkh-i Sindh*, Bombay 1938, 250-7; *Inshā-yi Abu 'l-Faḍl*, 1262, i, nos. 9, 10, ii (first half); *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, Lucknow 1913, i, nos. 23, 67, 69, 191, 214, ii, nos. 8, 62, 66, 67; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Madjmūʿa-yi Kitāb al-Makātib*, Delhi 1332, nos. 12, 14, 18, 19, 22; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, i, 693-713; *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, transl. Blochmann, Calcutta 1927, i, notes 354-61; Dēva Praṣāda Munṣif, *Khān Khān-nāma* (in Hindī); Māyā Ṣankara Yādjnīka, *Rahim Ratnāvalī* (in Hindī).

(NURUL HASAN)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, the name of the Marwānid prince who restored the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus, and of four of his successors.

1. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN I, called *al-Dākhil*, 'the Immigrant', was the son of Muʿāwiya b. Hishām [*q.v.*]. When his relatives were being hunted down by the ʿAbbāsids, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, still a youth—he was born in 113/731—contrived to escape secretly to Palestine, whence, accompanied by his freedman Badr, he made his way first to Egypt, and then to Ifrīḳiya. At Ḳayrawān, the hostile attitude of the governor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, drove him to seek refuge in the Maghrib. He stayed for some time in the region of Tāhart; subsequently he sought hospitality first from the Berber tribe of the Miknāsa, and then from the Nafza tribe, on the Moroccan shore of the Mediterranean, taking ad-

vantage of his family connections—his mother having been a captive woman from that very tribe. But the Berbers did not look with favour on the political schemes of the young Syrian émigré, who with the help of his *mawlā*, decided to try his luck in Spain.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya managed most cleverly, and with keen political sense, to turn to account the bitter rivalries which at that time grouped the Arab Ḳaysite party and Yamanite party in the Iberian peninsula in opposed camps. We succeeded similarly in enlisting the support of the numerous Umayyad clients who had come to Spain with Baldj b. Bishr [*q.v.*], and who formed there a local cadre of Syrian *djunds* dominating a large part of the south of Andalusia. The ground having been well prepared by Badr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān entered the peninsula: he disembarked at Almuñecar (al-Munakkab) on 1 Rabīʿ I 138/14 August 755, and at once put forward his claim to the sovereign power. The governor of al-Andalus, Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī, soon had to take up arms against him. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, whose forces were continually increasing, made his entry into Seville in Shawwāl 138/March 756, defeated Yūsuf al-Fihrī in the outskirts of Cordova on the 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja following (15 May), and entered the capital, where he was proclaimed amīr of al-Andalus.

The founder of the Umayyad amirate of Cordova was to reign for more than thirty-three years. He spent the greater part of them in consolidating his position in the capital itself. The news of his success spread in the East, and soon a stream of dependents or supporters of the Umayyads was flowing into Spain to help with the restoration in the West of the dynasty that in the East had fallen from power. It was not long before the amīr of Cordova was forced to confront a multitude of political problems. He had first of all to subdue finally the former *wālī* Yūsuf al-Fihrī, who had collected round him a certain number of malcontents and tried to retake Cordova; but he was defeated in 141/758 and in the next year was killed near Toledo. Meanwhile, just as in the time of the former governors, embers of revolt were smouldering in almost every part of the new kingdom; unrest was stirred up not only by the neo-Muslim Spaniards and by the Berbers of the mountainous regions, but also by the mutual hostility of the Arab clans. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I thus had to stamp out rebellion at many different point: for example, in 146/763, the rising of the Arab chief al-ʿAlāʾ b. Mughīth al-Djudhāmī, and, in 152/769, that of the Berber Shaḳyā in the Santaver district (Shantabāriyya), now the province of Cuenca. Later, a certain number of the Arab chiefs on the eastern side of the Peninsula formed a coalition, and asked for help from Charlemagne. The latter himself crossed the Pyrenees at the head of a Frankish army and laid siege to Saragossa in 162/778; but a sudden recall to the Rhineland compelled him to raise the siege. On the way back his army was attacked in the narrow valley of Roncesvalley by bands of Basques (Bashkunish) and was decimated (episode of Roland, Duke of Brittany). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in his turn laid siege to Saragossa, and gained possession of it for a time. But he was forced to give up the idea of recapturing other towns that had fallen into the hands of the Christians. Thus it was that Gerona (Djarunda) came under Frankish control in 169/785.

Three years later, on 25 Rabīʿ II 172/30 September 788, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I died at Cordova before reaching his sixtieth year. The State of Cordova was doubtless still very insecure; but at least he had provided it with an administrative and military organisation similar, on a lesser scale, to that of the former caliphate of Damascus, and which was to last as long as the Marwānids of al-Andalus remained faithful to the 'Syrian tradition'. In any case, the success of the 'Immigrant' made a deep impression in the East, and the ʿAbbāsid caliph Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr gave him the name *ṣaḳr Ḳuraysh*, 'Hawk of Ḳuraysh', as a tribute to his courage and his spirit of enterprise.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, I, 91-138. The essential Arabic source for the career of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I is the anonymous compilation entitled *Akhbār Madjmūʿa* [*q.v.*], 46-120. For the other sources and the bibl., see *Hist. Esp. mus.*, I, 91, n. 1.

2. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II b. al-Ḥakam b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya, great-grandson of the above, succeeded his father al-Ḥakam I on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 206/21 May 822. He was born at Toledo in 176/792 and was chosen as heir presumptive by his father. The recent discovery of that part of the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān which deals with the reigns of al-Ḥakam I and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II has made it possible for the present writer to offer a rather different picture of the latter sovereign and of the kingdom of al-Andalus during his period from that which Dozy based on the documentation available in his time. It now appears that the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, which covered a third of a century, was much more prosperous and brilliant than was thought hitherto; in the history of Andalusian civilisation it represented a decisive turning-point, when for the first time there penetrated to Cordova manners and a way of life directly borrowed from Baghdād and from the ʿAbbāsid civilisation which firmly set their stamp on the aristocracy (*khāṣṣa*) of Muslim Spain, and led to a continuous ebbing of the Syro-Umayyad tradition in the Marwānid kingdom.

At the beginning of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II some disturbances, which came about as a reaction against the iron rule with which al-Ḥakam I had governed al-Andalus, were easily put down; gradually the Levante territories (Sharḳ al-Andalus) were brought completely under the crown, and a new town, Murcia was founded in 216/831 to replace the former chief town, Ello. A revolt on a considerable scale broke out at Toledo; it was finally put down, and the town taken by storm in 222/837. At the same time the ruler of Cordova took up afresh the struggle against the Christians along the frontiers of al-Andalus, and nearly every year personally led or sent summer expeditions (*ṣāʾifa*) against the Asturio-Leonese kingdom. He also had to deal with the revolt of the Berber Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār in the region of Merida and with the minor aggressive outbursts of the *muwallad* Banū Ḳasī family [*q.v.*] of Aragon, while at the same time waging war, at regular intervals, against the Basque kingdom of Pamplona and the Hispanic Marches (now Catalonia), which then formed part of the empire of the Franks (Ifrandj; *q.v.*).

Two important political events also took place during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. The first, following upon a recrudescence of nationalist propaganda, was the tenacious revolt of the Mozarab Christians [*q.v.*] of Toledo and Cordova, fomented by certain fanatics. Arabic historiography makes no mention of this revolt, and information about it

can only be obtained from a few contemporary Latin sources. Not without reluctance, the government of Cordova had to deal severely with a large number of Mozarabs, priests and lay persons, men and women, who were guilty of having reviled the religion of the Prophet. At this time there was a disturbing outbreak of voluntary martyrdom, which was brought to an end by a Council held at Cordova and presided over by the Metropolitan of Seville (*maṭrān*) in 238/862. Seven years later the priest Eulogus, who had been the leading spirit of this movement and was trying to reanimate it, was arrested and beheaded, by the orders of amīr Muḥammad I.

Far more serious was the raid of the Norsemen, in 230/844, on Muslim Spain. The flotillas of Norsemen (Urdumāniyyūn), usually called Madjūs [*q.v.*] by the Chroniclers, first made their appearance at Lisbon, then came up the Guadalquivir from its mouth and sacked Seville and all the surrounding country. The counter-stroke was not delayed, and after a bloody battle Seville was recaptured from the pirates at the end of Ṣafar 230/14 November 844. To meet this unexpected menace and to forestall any new attack the navy was reinforced.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II instituted friendly relations with three little independent kingdoms of western Barbary: the Rustumid kingdom of Tāhart, the Ṣāliḥid kingdom of Nakūr, and the Midrārid kingdom of Sidjilmāssa, but made no advances to the Aghlabids of Ifrīḳiya, who were partisans of the ʿAbbāsids and had just conquered Sicily. From his reign too dates the opening of diplomatic relations between Cordova and Byzantium. An embassy from the emperor Theophilus arrived in Spain in 225/840 to demand the restitution of Crete, which had been occupied by the Andalusian adventurer Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Ballūṭī [*q.v.*]. The reply was in the negative, but a Cordovan deputation, of which the poet al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*] was a member, went to Constantinople at this time.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II was to become particularly renowned as an organiser and builder, and as a patron of letters and the arts. He reorganised the administration of his kingdom on the lines of the ʿAbbāsid system, ordered the construction at Cordova of several works of public utility, and on two occasions undertook the extension of the great mosque in his capital, in 218/833 and 234/848. His court soon became most brilliant, from the time when the musician and singer Ziryāb [*q.v.*], who came to Cordova in 207/822, won acceptance at Cordova for the refined usages of the Baghdad civilisation. Several poets won fame in the entourage of the amīr of Cordova: for example, al-ʿAbbas ibn Firnās [*q.v.*], al-Ghazāl, mentioned above, and Ibrāhīm ibn Sulaymān al-Shāmī. During his reign the Mālikite school of Cordova developed greatly, and several *faḳihs* acquired a reputation in juridical science, in particular the Berber Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] al-Laythī, whose dictates ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II followed in his choice of ḳāḍīs. The end of the amīr's life was darkened by palace intrigues, instigated by his *fatā* Naṣr and by his concubine Ṭarūb. He died at Cordova on 3 Rabīʿ II 238/22 September 852, after a reign that, taken as a whole, can be called glorious, and which should henceforward be assigned the position which it deserves in the history of Umayyad Spain.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, I, 193-278 (sources and bibliography ibid., 193, n. 1).

3. **ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh, the greatest of the Hispano-Umayyad rulers and first caliph of al-Andalus.**

The successor of the amīr ʿAbd Allāh was only twenty-three at the time of his accession; in spite of his youth he had been chosen by his grandfather as heir presumptive because of his high qualities. The choice was fully justified. Indeed, no reign in the annals of Hispanic Islam was more brilliant or more glorious. Its great length—a whole half century, from 300/912 to 350/961—ensured for the policies of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III the benefits of an unusual degree of continuity, and made it possible for him to subdue one after another all the centres of disaffection in al-Andalus.

The reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III can be divided into two principal periods: first a period of internal pacification, the result of which was the achievement of political unity in the kingdom of Cordova, a unity which had been gravely threatened in the reign of amīr ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]; then a longer period, mainly distinguished by activity in external policy: an offensive against Christian Spain, and a struggle with the Fāṭimid empire for influence in North Africa.

As soon as he came to the throne, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III mustered all his resources to put an end to the revolt in southern Andalusia, and to neutralise once and for all the aggressive power of the principal instigator of this revolt, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*]. Until 305/917 he unceasingly harassed the Andalusian rebels and attacked the Arab aristocrats of Seville, Carmona, and Elvira, who were forced to submit. After the death of Ibn Ḥafṣūn, his sons quickly gave up the struggle. Their head-quarters at Bobastro [*q.v.*] were taken by storm in 315/928. Five years later the last centre of resistance, Toledo, fell in its turn.

At the same time the ruler of Cordova took care not to allow himself to be outflanked by sporadic outbursts of aggression by his Christian neighbours. He stopped the advance of the king of Asturio-Leon, Ordoño III, in 308/920, and seized a series of strongholds along the strategic line of the Duero, Osma, San Esteban de Gormaz, and Clunia, particularly after his victory at Juncaria (Valdejunquera). Four years later the victorious operations known as the Pamplona campaign put him in a position to sack the Basque capital, the seat of Sancho Garces I, and to secure his land frontiers for several years. But he was to find a powerful opponent in the new king of Leon, Ramiro II, who, shortly after his accession, took the offensive against Islam and, after a series of encounters in which he was beaten, succeeded in inflicting on the ruler of Cordova, in 327/939, the very serious defeat at the "moat" of Simancas (sometimes wrongly called the battle of Alhandega).

Ten years had already passed since ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, after the taking of Bobastro, and as a retort to the designs of the Fāṭimids on his realm, had adopted the exalted title ***amīr al-muʾminīn***, and the honorific appellation al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. He was now to pursue in North Africa a policy of attraction and to combat, particularly in Morocco, the influence of the new masters of Ifrīḳiya. In order to secure from bases of operations on African soil, he occupied certain presidios, Ceuta in particular, which was taken in 319/931. On this battle of influences, which was to continue until the end of the tenth century, see the art. UMAYYADS OF SPAIN.

After the Simancas disaster, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III quickly succeeded in restoring the situation, especially as his enemy Ramiro II died in 339/951 and his sons Ordoño III and Sancho quarreled over the succession. Al-Nāṣir took full advantage of the civil wars which at that time steeped the kingsdoms of Leon and Pamplona in blood (for fuller details see the art. UMAYYADS).

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III died at Cordova on 22 Ramaḍān 350/15 October 961, at the height of his fame and power. During the latter part of his reign he had lived in the style of a veritable potentate, and had transferred his residence to his royal establishment of Madīnat al-Zahrā' [*q.v.*], at the gates of Cordova, which he made into a town by itself. Of the kingdom of al-Andalus, which under his predecessors had ever been an object of contention shaken by civil war, the rivalries of the Arab clans, and the clash of ethnic groups in opposition to each other, he had contrived to make a pacified, prosperous, and immensely rich State. From that time Cordova was a Muslim metropolis, a rival to Ḳayrawān and to the great cities of the East. It far surpassed the other capitals of Western Europe, and enjoyed in the Mediterranean world a reputation and a prestige comparable to that of Constantinople.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, II, 1-164 (Arab. sources and bibl., *ibid.*, 1, note 1).

4. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN IV b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus, who took at the beginning of his short reign the honorific title of al-Murtaḍā. This personage, who, at the time of the *fitna* of Cordova, had retired to Valencia, was proclaimed at the end of 408/1018, after the assassination of ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd [*q.v.*] by a number of supporters collected together by the lord of Almeria, the Sclavonian *fatā* Khayrān. Al-Murtaḍā, before trying to retake Cordova and to instal himself there, laid siege to Granada, where the Ṣinhādja of Zāwī b. Zīrī [*q.v.*] were in command, and suffered a serious defeat. Betrayed, and abandoned by his own men, he took refuge at Guadix (Wādī Āsh), where he was before long assassinated.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, II, 328-30.

5. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN V b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, one of the last Umayyad caliphs of al-Andalus, was proclaimed on the 16 Ramaḍān 414/2 December 1023 at Cordova, and took the honorific title of al-Mustaẓhir bi'llāh. He had barely attained his majority, and showed remarkable literary gifts. He surrounded himself with counsellors chosen from among the aristocracy of the capital, men such as the great writer ʿAlī b. Ḥazm, but was able to remain in power for only forty-seven days. The Cordovan mob deposed him in the course of a riot, and replaced him by Muḥammad III al-Mustakfī, on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda of the same year/17 January 1024. The first act of his successor was to put ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mustaẓhir to death.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.* II, 334-5. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD B. **ABĪ ʿĀMIR**, nicknamed Sanchuelo (Shandjwilo), the "little Sancho" (as he was by his mother a grandson of Sancho Garcés II Abarca, Basque king of Pamplona), son of the famous" majordomo" al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] b. Abī ʿĀmir. He suceeded his elder brother ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] al-Muẓaffar on his death, 16 Ṣafar 399/20 Oct. 1008, with the consent of the titular caliph, the Umayyad Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh.

Indifferently gifted, vain, debauched, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, from the moment that he assumed power in Cordova, made one mistake after the other and alienated public opinion. He started by obtaining from Hishām II his designation as presumtive heir of the crown. The text of the document of investiture, dated Rabīʿ I 399/Nov. 1008, has been preserved. The designation was very badly received by the people of Cordova, who were already exasperated by the pro-Berber feelings of the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib*. While ʿAbd al-Raḥmān misguidedly decided to go, in the middle of winter, on an expedition against the kingdom of Leon, an opposition party was formed in Cordova. They elevated to the throne the Umayyad Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, whose first care was to order the sack of the residence of the ʿĀmirids, al-Madīna al-Zāhira [*q.v.*]. The reaction of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to this news was half-hearted. He turned back in the direction of Cordova, but during his return journey he was abandoned by his troops and arrested, not far from the capital, by emissaries of the Umayyad pretender, who put him to death, 3 Radjab 399/3 March 1009.

[See also ʿĀMIRIDS and UMAYYADS of SPAIN].

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 291-304. E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. **ʿALĪ** [see IBN AL-DAYBAʿ].

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. **ʿAWF**, originally called ʿAbd ʿAmr or ʿAbd al-Kaʿba, the most prominent early Muslim convert from B. Zuhra of Ḳuraysh. He took part in the Hidjra to Abyssinia and in that to Medina, and fought at Badr and the other main battles. He commanded a force of 700 men sent by Muḥammad in Shaʿbān 6/December 627 to Dūmat al-Djandal; the Christian chief, al-Aṣbagh (or al-Aṣyaʿ) al-Kalbī, became a Muslim and made a treaty, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān married his daughter Tumāḍir (but cf. Caetani, *Annali*, i, 700). By his shrewdness and skill as a merchant he made an enormous fortune. Politically he was a friend of Abū Bakr and later of ʿĀ'isha. On ʿUmar's death, as one of the Shūrā or council of six who had to choose the new caliph, he played a leading part in the appointment of ʿUthmān. He died about 31/652 aged 75. According to Tradition he was one of the ten whom Muḥammad had assured of Paradise.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 87-97; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iii, 313-7; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 997-1001; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, i, 428-30.

(M. TH. HOUTSMA—W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. **HISHĀM**, ʿAlawid [*q.v.*] sultan of Morocco, born in 1204/1789-90. Proclaimed in Fez, 15 Rabīʿ I 1238/30 Nov. 1822, he succeeded his uncle Mawlāy Sulaymān [*q.v.*] who had appointed him as his heir. Recognized without great difficulties, the new sovereign had nevertheless to repress during his reign several revolts of the tribes. Among these were the revolts of Zemmūr, in 1240/1824-5, in 1259/1843, in 1269/1852 and in 1274-5/1857-8, the revolt of Banū Zarwāl in 1241/1825, that of Shidyāma in 1243/1827-8, that of ʿAmir and Zaʿā'ir in 1265/1849 and that of Banū Mūsā in 1269/1853. The two most serious revolts were, however, that of Shrārda in 1244/1828 and that of the *geysh* of Wadāya in 1247-8/1831-2. The sultan besieged Fāz al-Djadīd, where the rebels had fortified themselves, and after taking the city, dismissed them and scattered them near Marrākush, at Rabat and at al-ʿArā'ish (Larache).

The relations of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān with the European nations were marked by a series of failures that made him abandon his earlier plans of aggression and expansion. The blockade of Tangier by the English in 1828 and the bombardment of al-ʿArāʾish (Larache), Arzila and Tiṭṭāwīn undertaken by the Austrians in 1829 as reprisals for the seizure of merchant ships, made an end to an attempted reconstruction of a corsair navy, while the military successes of France in Algeria forced the sultan to renounce all intervention in the territory of the late regency. He tried in 1830-2 to extend his influence to the East of his empire by appointing *khalīfas* in Tlemcen, Miliana and Medea, but had to recall, or disavow, them, because of their troubles and the protest of the French government. From 1832 to 1834 he lent ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, leader of the holy war, his moral and material support and allowed himself to be involved in a conflict with France when his ally took refuge in Morocco in order to continue the struggle. The reverses which he suffered: battle of Isly (14 August 1844), bombardment of Tangier and Mogador (6 and 15 August), obliged ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to outlaw the Amīr (treaty of Tangier, 26 Oct. 1844). In 1847 he decided to expel him from the country, thus compelling him to give himself up to the French. Several incidents, due to the fanaticism of his subjects, such as the murder of the Spanish consular agent Darmon (1843), that of the Frenchman Paul Rey (1855) and pillage of the brig "Courraud Rose" (1851), embarrassed his relations with the foreign powers, but generally he gave in before threats or force (bombardment of Salé, 1851).

During his reign, Portugal (1823), England (1824, 1827), Sardinia (1825), Spain (1825), France (1825, 1844), Austria (1830), the kingdom of Naples (1834), the United States of America (1836), Sweden and Danemark (1844), renewed, or completed, their commercial treaties with Morocco.

A pious ruler and a good administrator, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had many monuments built or restored: in Fez (Mosque of Mawlāy Idrīs), Meknes, Salé (minaret of the Great Mosque, fortifications), Tangier (harbour), Safi, Mazagan, Marrākush (mosque of Bū Ḥassān, Kannariyya, al-Wusṭā, and the plantation of the Agdāl), etc. He died in Meknes, 29 Muḥarram 1276/28 August 1859.

Bibliography: al-Nāṣirī al-Salawī, *al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, Cairo 1312, iv, 172-210, trad. E. Fumey, *AM*, 1907, 105-209; Ibn Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh Miknās*, Rabat 1933, i, 205-231, iv, 81-359; Freiherr von Augustin, *Marokko*, Pest 1845; L. Godard, *Description et histoire du Maroc*, Paris 1860, ii, 585-629; J. Caillé, *Le dernier exploit des corsaires du Bou Regreg*, *Hesp.*, 1950, 429-37; *Les relations de la France et du Maroc sous la deuxième république*, *Actes du congrès historique de centenaire de la révolution de 1848*, 397-408; *La France et le Maroc en 1849*, *Hesp.*, 1946, 123-55; *Au lendemain de la bataille de l'Isly*, *Hesp.*, 1948, 383-401; *Charles Jagerschmidt, chargé d'affaires de France au Maroc (1820-1894)*, Paris 1952; Ph. de Cossé-Brissac, *Les rapports de la France et du Maroc pendant la conquête de l'Algérie (1830-1847)*, Paris 1931.

(PH. DE COSSÉ BRISSAC)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, the only surviving son of the famous Arab general. At the age of eighteen he commanded a squadron at the battle of the Yarmūk. Muʿāwiya subsequently appointed him governor of Ḥimṣ and he commanded several of the later Syrian expeditions into Anatolia. During the civil war, after successfully opposing an ʿIrāḳī expedition into the Djazīra, he joined Muʿāwiya at Ṣiffīn and was made standard-bearer. According to the received tradition, Muʿāwiya, fearing that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān might be a rival of Yazīd for the succession to the Caliphate, had him poisoned in 46/666 by his Christian physician Ibn Uthāl, who was himself killed shortly afterwards by one of his victim's relatives. H. Lammens (see *Bibl.*) has disputed the reliability of this tradition (transmitted from ʿIrāḳī sources) and ascribed its origin to incidents connected with an outbreak of anti-Christian violence at Ḥimṣ.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, in G. Levi della Vida, *Il Califfo Muʿāwiya I*, Rome 1938, nos. 269, 281; Ṭabarī, i, 2093, 2913; ii, 82-3; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 265; Dīnawarī 164, 183, 197; Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, Cairo 1365, index; *Aghānī*, xv, 13; *Tahdhīb Taʾrīkh Ibn ʿAsākir*, v, Damascus 1333, 80; H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne de Moʿâwia Ier*, Paris 1908, 3-15, 218 f. (H. A. R. GIBB)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MARWĀN B. YŪNUS, called IBN AL-DJILLĪḲĪ ("son of the Galician"), famous chief of insurgents in the West of al-Andalus in the second half of the 3rd/9th century. He belonged to a family of neo-Muslims (*muwalladūn*), originating from the North of Portugal and established in Merida. Although his father had been governor of this town on behalf of the sovereigns of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān revolted against the Umayyad Amīr Muḥammad I in 254/868. The Amīr besieged him and forced him, after the capitulation of the city, to reside in Cordova. He remained in the capital until 261/875, when he returned to the region of Merida and threw off his allegiance to the Umayyads. He fortified himself in the castle of Alange (Ḥiṣn al-Ḥanash), but was again forced to surrender by the Amir Muḥammad I, who assigned to him as residence Badajoz. It was not long before Ibn al-Djillīḳī again raised the standard of revolt, supported by the *muwallad* lord of Porto (Burtuḳāl), Saʿdūn al-Surunbāḳī, and by Alfonso III, king of Asturias and Leon. The insurgents laid an ambush for the loyalist general Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in the region of the Serra de Estrella, captured him and delivered him into the hand of the Christian king, who released him only against a high ransom. Fearing, justly, a violent reaction from the government in Cordova, Ibn al-Djillīḳī took refuge with Alfonso III. After staying for eight years in Christian territory, he returned in 271/884 to Badajoz and reached a tacit agreement with Cordova. This allowed him to rule over a veritable principality extending over the valley of the Guadiana and the south of what is now Portugal. Under the reigns of the Amirs al-Mundhir and ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān practically had a free hand and ruled over his territory as an independent prince, until his death in 276/889. He was succeeded by his son Marwān who only survived him by two months, and after him by a grandson ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who died in 311/923 and was followed by a son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. This great-grandson of Ibn al-Djillīḳī was finally compelled to submit to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 318/930.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, chronicle of the reign of the Emir Muḥ. I; F. Codera, *Los Benimeruán en Mérida y Badajoz*, *Estudios crít. de hist. ár. esp.*, ix, 48 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal. *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 255 ff., 386; ii, 24-5.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ASHʿATH [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH].

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. RUSTUM [see RUSTUMIDS].

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. SAMURA B. ḤABĪB B. ʿABD SHAMS B. ʿABD MANĀF B. ḲUṢAYY, Arab general. The name ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was given him by Muḥammad on his conversion in place of his former name ʿAbd al-Kaʿba. His first command was in Sidjistān in succession to al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād in the latter years of the caliphate of ʿUthmān, when he conquered Zarandj and Zamīn-i Dāwar and made a treaty with the ruler of Kirmān. He withdrew after the death of ʿUthmān; according to Chinese sources, Pēroz, the son of Yazdigird III, then attempted to establish himself in Sidjistān (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, 275, 279). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura was, along with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, one of the envoys of Muʿāwiya to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. Ibn ʿĀmir, reappointed governor of Baṣra and the East, despatched ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim in 42/662 to restore Arab rule in eastern Khurāsān and Sidjistān. In 43/663 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān reoccupied Sidjistān and captured Kābul after a siege of several months. He then led an expedition to al-Rukhkhadj (Arachosia) and Zābulistān (region of Ghazna), and again attacked and captured Kābul, which had rebelled, probably in 45/665. Muʿāwiya subsequently made him directly subordinate to the Caliph, but shortly after the appointment of Ziyād as governor of Baṣra he was replaced. He brought back with him a body of captives from Kābul, who built a mosque for him in his *ḳaṣr* at Baṣra in the architectural style of Kābul. He died in 50/670 in Baṣra, where his descendants formed a powerful and influential clan during the next century.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 360, 394, 396, 397; Ibn Saʿd, vii, 2, 100-1; Ṭabarī, i, 2831; ii, 3; iii, 22; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 280, 281-2, 296 (tr. Wiet, 89-91, 117); *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, Tihrān 1314, 82-9 (legendary expansion); Caetani, *Annali*, vii, 278; *Chronographia*, 313-549 *passim*; J. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, Berlin 1901, 37, 199, 255; idem. in *FestschriftE duard Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 267-70. (H. A. R. GIBB)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR AL-FĀSĪ, Moroccan scholar, b. at Fez 1040/1631, d. in the same town 1096/1685. He was the pupil of his father, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and of numerous other masters. He became a famous polygraph, celebrated by all his biographers for the breadth and the variety of his knowledge. He is said to have compiled more than 170 works on Malikite *fiḳh*, medicine, astronomy and history. But it is especially as a lawyer that he is an authority, and his main works are his great collection on the "customs" of Fez, *al-ʿAmal al-Fāsī*, and a commentary on *al-Shifāʾ* by the famous *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ, entitled *Miftāḥ al-Shifāʾ*. He is also the author of a long didactic poem in *radjaz*, *al-Uḳnūm fī Mabādiʾ al-ʿUlūm*.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa* 266-9 (with references); Brockelmann, ii, 612, S ii, 694. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ḤABĪB B. ABĪ ʿUBAYDA (or ʿABDA) **AL-FIHRĪ**, great-grandson of the famous *tābiʿ* ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, independent governor of Ifrīḳiya at the end of the Umayyad caliphate. His father, Ḥabīb, had sent expeditions against the Sūs, Morocco and Sicily, in which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, still a youth, took an active part. He was one of the survivors of the bloody defeat inflicted by the Berbers upon the regular Arab troops in 123/741, in which his father and the governor, Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ, lost their lives. He crossed over to Spain, but fearing for his life, returned in 127/745 to Ifrīḳiya, where he revolted against the actual governor, Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī, who two years later saw no other choice but to yield the power to him. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, on becoming master of al-Ḳayrawān, had to suppress several rebellions and undertook several large expeditions, notably against Sicily and Sardinia, in 135/752. His seizure of power was the less contested as it coincided with the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Syria. It seems that at the beginning he acknowledged the ʿAbbāsid allegiance, but shortly afterwards repudiated it, on the receipt of an insulting message from the caliph al-Manṣūr. No doubt at al-Manṣūr's instigation, two of the brothers of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān decided upon his ruin; he was assassinated by one of them, Ilyās b. Ḥabīb, who took possession of al-Ḳayrawān 137/755). Ḥabīb, son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, with the help of another uncle of his, ʿImrān b. Ḥabīb, governor of Tūnis, soon afterwards attacked the usurper and, in turn, made himself master of Ifrīḳiya.

Another ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihrī, a contemporary of the preceding, who was called, to distinguish him from the former, by the surname of al-Ṣiḳlabī, was a propagandist of the ʿAbbāsids in Spain. Pursued by the Umayyad *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, he was assassinated near Valencia in 162/778-9.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 56, 60 ff., 67 f., transl. Fagnan, 62 ff., 73 ff.; Ḥumaydī, *Djazwat al-Muḳtabis* (Ṭandjī), Cairo 1953, no. 594; Ḍabbī, no. 1006; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 235 ff., transl. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghrib et de l'Espagne*), 74-81; Nuwayrī, *History of Africa* (Gaspar Remiro), Granada 1919, 38-40; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, i, 218 f.; G. Marçais, *Berbérie musulmane*, 45; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 47, 97, 121-2. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-GHĀFIḲĪ, governor of al-Andalus. He succeeded Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashdjaʿī in this office at the end of 111 or at the beginning of 112/730, and retained it until his death in 114/732. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had already governed Spain provisionally for about two months in 102/721, was a *tābiʿ* reputed for his piety. He is chiefly famous for the incursion into Gaul that cost him his life. His expedition, which was carefully prepared, had for its object the basilica of St. Martin at Tours. He collected a numerous army, and from Pamplona marched through the pass of Roncesvalles on Bordeaux, which he devastated, Duke Eudes of Aquitania being powerless to oppose his advance. He then advanced towards the Loire, but was checked in his progress by the Duke of the Franks, Charles Martel, who engaged him about 20 km. to the north-east of Poitiers and inflicted on him a severe defeat. The battle is known as the "battle of Poitiers" in Frankish historiography, while the Arabs call it *balāṭ al-shuhadāʾ*, "causeway of the martyrs of the faith". The Muslim survivors retreated in disorder towards Narbonne, leaving behind on the battlefield many dead, including ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The date of this memorable encounter can be fixed at the end of Oct. 732/Ramaḍān 114.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 40, 59-62. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿUMAR AL-ṢŪFĪ, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN, eminent astronomer, born at Rayy

14 Muḥarram 291/8 Dec. 903, died 13 Muḥarram 376/25 May 986. In 337/948-9 he was in Iṣfahān, in attendance on the vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd, in 349/960-1 at the court of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, no doubt in the same town. He was the court astronomer of this ruler, who boasted of three of his teachers: in grammar al-Fārisī, in the knowledge of astronomical tables Ibn al-Aʿlam, and in the knowledge of the constellations ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī; cf. also Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii, 10). His best known work is a description of the fixed stars (*Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita*, quoted also by different titles), which he wrote about 355/965 and dedicated to ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The book described the constellations both according to the system of the astronomers (after Ptolemy) and the Arabic tradition of the *anwāʾ*]cf. NAWʾ]. The work was illustrated by drawings, which the author, according to his own declaration, preserved by al-Bīrūnī (see H. Suter, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mathematik bei den Griechen und Arabern*, Erlangen 1922, 86), traced from a celestial globe. He also saw, however, as he says in his introduction, an illustrated work on the constellations by ʿUṭārid b. Muḥammad. The earliest extant MS, in the Bodleian Library, was copied and illustrated by the author's son, in 400/1009-10. There are many other manuscripts, illustrated in the styles of the various epochs. (See J. Upton, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, 1933, 189-99; K. Holter, *Die Islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350*, *Zentralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, 1937, 2-5, cf. *Ars Islamica*, 1940, 10). The text and translation of the introduction was published by Caussin de Perceval, *Notices et Extraits*, xii, 236 ff.; a full translation by H.C.F.C. Schjellerup, *Description des étoiles fixes par Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi*, St. Petersburg 1874. The Arabic text was published, mainly after the Paris MS (being the copy of Ulugh Beg), in Hyderabad 1953, under the editorship of M. Nizamuddin. His other extant works are a handbook of astronomy and astrology and a treatise on the use of the astrolabe. A silver globe made by al-Ṣūfī for ʿAḍud al-Dawla was preserved in the library of the Fāṭimid palace in Cairo (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 440). —For an *Urdjūza* on the fixed stars, attributed to a son of his, cf. Brockelmann, S i, 863; it was published at the end of the Hyderabad edition of the *Ṣuwar*.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 284; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 226; Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya* (Sachau), 336, 358 (Engl. transl., 335, 358); M. Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, 1870, 348-50; Suter, 62, cf. *Nachträge*, in *Abh. zur Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, 1902, 166; Hauber, *Isl.* 1918, 48-54; Brockelmann, I, 253, S I, 398.

(S. M. STERN)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN (c. 1844-1901), Amīr of Afghānistān, was the son of Afḍal Khān, the eldest surviving son of Dōst Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Barakzay dynasty in Afghānistān. In 1853 he proceeded to Afghān Turkistān where his father was serving as governor of Balkh. Despite his youth he took part in a series of operations which extended Dōst Muḥammad's power over Kataghān, Badakhshān, and Derwāz. Before his death in 1863 Dōst Muḥammad had nominated a younger son, Shīr ʿAlī, as his successor to the exclusion of his two elder brothers, Afḍal Khān and Aʿẓam Khān. Shīr ʿAlī's succession was therefore the signal for five years of fratricidal warfare in which at the early age of nineteen ʿAbd al-Raḥmān became involved. After temporary successes his father, Afḍal Khān, was defeated and imprisoned, whereupon ʿAbd al-Raḥmān fled to Bukhārā. In 1866, taking advantage of Shīr ʿAlī's absence at Ḳandahār, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, with the help of Rafīḳ Khān, a general who had deserted Shīr ʿAlī, seized Kābul. The defeat of Shēr ʿAlī's forces at Saydābād led to the fall of Ghaznī. Afḍal Khān was now proclaimed Amīr and coins were struck in his name. Shēr ʿAlī was once more defeated at Kilāt-i Ghilzay in 1867 and driven from Ḳandahār. In the same year Afḍal Khān died and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had hoped to be accepted as Amīr, found it expedient to support the claims of his uncle Aʿẓam Khān. Their combined forces were defeated by Shīr ʿAlī and his son Yaʿḳūb Khān at Zana-Khān, near Ghaznī, as a result of which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān became a homeless wanderer, first in Wazīristān and later in Persia. From Mashhad he crossed the Ḳara-Kum desert to Khīwa and Samarḳand. At Tashkent he was received by General Kaufmann, the Russian governor-general. His request for assistance against Shīr ʿAlī was refused but he was granted an allowance and permitted to reside at Samarḳand, where he remained for eleven years until the defeat of Shīr ʿAlī by the British in the Second Afghān War of 1878-80. The flight and death of Shīr ʿAlī, the failure of his successor Yaʿḳūb Khān to control his unruly tribesmen, and the assassination of Cavagnari the British Resident necessitated the removal of Yaʿḳūb Khān to India. This left the Afghān throne vacant.

Because of Russian expansion towards the Oxus it was decided to build up a strong, friendly, and united Afghānistān to serve as a buffer state to the British dominions in India. In July 1880, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān, the most powerful candidate in the field, was informed that the British were prepared to recognize him as Amīr of Kābul, provided he acknowledged their right to control his foreign affairs. He was also assured that the British would aid him in repelling unprovoked aggression on his dominions. These terms were accepted by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān at the conference of Zimma, 31 July-1 August 1880 (Foreign Office 65, 1104: Papers printed for the use of the Cabinet). Three years later this promise was renewed by the Marquis of Ripon who bestowed on the Amīr an annual subsidy of twelve lakhs of rupees to be devoted to the payment of his troops and the protection of his north-western frontiers. The British were now pledged to defend a buffer state of unknown limits. Hence the most important event in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the delimitation and demarcation where possible of the boundaries of Afghānistān By 1886, although the Pandjdih incident [*q.v.*] of the previous year had brought Britain and Russia to the verge of war, an Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission had demarcated the northern frontier of Afghānistān from Dhu'l-Fiḳār to the meridian of Dukci, within forty miles of the Oxus. The process of demarcation was completed in 1888. The final boundary dispute with Russia was settled by the Pamir Agreement of 1895 which defined the Afghān boundary between Lake Victoria and the Tagdumbash.

Although pro-British in so far as Russian expansion was concerned, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's desire to annex the territories of the Paṭhān tribes of the Indian frontier was not calculated to improve Anglo-Afghān relations. The tension was somewhat eased by the Durand Agreement of 1893 which delimited a boundary on the Indo-Afghān frontier across which neither the Amīr nor the Government of India was to interfere in any way. Afghān intrigues

on the Indian side of this frontier still continued and were partly responsible for the Indian frontier conflagration of 1897. In fact, Afg͟hān intrigues were the chief cause of unrest on the Indian frontier from 1890 onwards.

The greatest service rendered by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to his country was the suppression of internal rebellion. The powerful G͟hilzay tribesmen were crushed in 1886; the rebellion of Isḥāḳ, son of Aʿẓam K͟hān, was suppressed in 1888; and finally, after severe fighting, the turbulent Hazāras of central Afg͟hānistān were forced to acknowledge his authority. In 1896 the territories of the non-Muslim tribes of Kāfiristān to the west of Čitrāl were annexed and the Kāfirs converted to Islam. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān K͟hān died in 1901 and was succeeded by his son Ḥabīb Allāh K͟hān.

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ʿABD AL-RAS͟HĪD B. ʿABD AL-G͟HAFŪR AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-MADANĪ AL-**TATTAWĪ**, Persian lexicographer, born in Tatta, but a Sayyid by descent; died after 1069/1658. His principal work is a Persian dictionary, usually called *Farhang-i Ras͟hīdī*, or *Ras͟hīdī Fārsī*, the first critical dictionary, which was compiled in 1064/1683-4 and published in 1875 in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Splieth revised the preface (*Muḳaddama*): *Grammaticae persicae praecepta ac regulae* (Halle 1846). ʿAbd al-Ras͟hīd dedicated an Arabic-Persian dictionary, *Muntak͟hab al-Lug͟hāt*, or *Ras͟hīdī ʿArabī* (1046/1636-7), to S͟hāhd͟jahān (editions: Calcutta 1808, 1816, 1836; Lucknow 1835, 1869; Bombay 1279/1862).

Bibliography: Blochmann, in *JRAS Bengal*, xxxvii, 20 sqq.; Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. MSS.*, 501, 510; Pertsch, *Verz. d. pers. Handschr. Berlin*, nos. 198-200. (M. TH. HOUTSMA)

ʿABD AL-RAʾŪF B. ʿALĪ AL-D͟JĀWĪ AL-FANṢŪRĪ AL-**SIṄKILĪ**, religious teacher, b. c. 1620 at Singkel, north of Fanṣūr (west coast of Sumatra), d. after 1693, and buried at the mouth of the Acheh river. He studied for nineteen years in Arabia, was initiated into the S͟haṭṭāriyya *ṭarīḳa* by Aḥmad al-Ḳus͟has͟hī and his successor Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and returned about 1661 to Acheh, whence this *ṭarīḳa* was propagated by his pupils throughout Indonesia, especially in Java. Directions for "recitation" (*d͟hikr*), as practised by this order, form the most important subject of his writings, the majority of which are in Malay, but a few in Arabic — some with a Malay rendering after each phrase. The subject is dealt with most fully in his *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtād͟jīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīn* which has as introduction a summary of dogma on the same lines as al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn*. He took as a theoretical basis for his mysticism the doctrine of the seven grades and of man as the image of God, which he set out in such works as *Kifāyat al-Muḥtād͟jīn*, *Daḳāʾiḳ al-Ḥurūf* and *Bayān Tad͟jallī*. In this he remained within the bounds of orthodoxy; he rejected the extreme mysticism which flourished in Acheh at the beginning of the 17th century, but at the same time did not associate himself with the violent polemics of al-Rānīrī [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf moreover translated the Ḳurʾān into Malay with a concise commentary taken from various Arabic exegetical works (*al-Tard͟jumān al-Mustafīd*) and wrote a Malay handbook of S͟hāfiʿite *fiḳh* which deals only with the *muʿāmalāt* and is plainly intended as a supplement to al-Rānīrī's *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḳīm* which contains only the *ʿibādāt*. His translations from the Arabic are so literal that they are unintelligible without a knowledge of that language, and moreover not without mistakes. It is not altogether certain whether he was the translator of *al-Mawāʿiẓ al-Badīʿa*, which is a translation into Malay of a popular Arabic collection of 32 *ḥadīth ḳudsī* and eighteen other admonitions. There are some other works ascribed to him, such as the mystical eschatological Malay poem *Shair maʿrifat*, which are certainly not by his hand. After his death, as Teungku di-Kuala, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf enjoyed such veneration that he was even accorded the honour of having been the bearer of Islam to Acheh.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 14 ff.; D. A. Rinkes, *Abdoerraoef van Singkel*, 1909; P. Voorhoeve, in *TBG*, 1952, 87 ff. (edition of *Bayān Tad͟jallī* and another Malay treatise with a list of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's writings); cf. also *BTLV*, 1951, 368.—Works of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf: *Mirʾāt al-Ṭullāb* (on *fiḳh*), the preface edited by S. Keyser in *BTLV*, 1863, 211 ff.; extracts ed. by A. Meursinge, in *Handboek*, 1844; *Tard͟jumān al-Mustafīd*, Istanbul 1302 (2 vols.); *al-Mawāʿiẓ al-Badīʿa* in *D͟jamʿ D͟jawāmiʿ al-Muṣannafāt*, Būlāḳ, n.d.; 4th or 5th imp., Mecca 1310. (P. VOORHOEVE)

ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ KAMĀL AL-DĪN B. ABU 'L-G͟HANĀʾIM AL-**ḲĀS͟HĀNĪ** (or KĀS͟HĀNĪ or ḲĀS͟HĪ or KĀSĀNĪ), celebrated Ṣūfī author, died according to Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa (ed. Flügel, iv, 427), in 730/1329. Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, however, confusing him with the historian of the same name, the author of the *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdain*, says in another place (ii, 175) that he died in 887/1482 and, besides, gives his name as Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-G͟hanāʾim ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. D͟jamāl al-Dīn al-Kās͟hī al-Samarḳand͟ī. Little is known of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's life; according to D͟jāmī (*Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, quoted by St. Guyard), he was a pupil of Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and a contemporary of Rukn al-Dīn ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, with whom he carried on a somewhat acrimonious controversy, and who died in 736/1336. The immediate cause of this correspondence was a conversation which ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ had with a certain amīr Iḳbāl Sīstānī, a pupil of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla's, on the road to Sulṭānīya on the vexed question of the orthodoxy of Ibn ʿArabī. D͟jāmī then gives a long letter which ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ wrote to ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla on this question, in which he says that he has just read ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla's book, the *ʿUrwa*. As this work was written in 721/1321, the date 730/1329 given as that of his death must be assumed as the correct one. We have then to place ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ in the D͟jibāl province (Kās͟hān) under the Īlk͟hāns of Persia, and especially in the reign of Abū Saʿīd (716—36/1316—35).

He was the author of a large number of works, several of which have been published. So far back as 1828, Tholuck used his *Laṭāʾif al-Iʿlām* in *Die speculative Trinitätslehre des späteren Orients* (13—22, 28 *et seq.*.) and translated some passages, but without knowledge of the author. In 1845 Sprenger published at Calcutta the first half of his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīya*, or *Dictionary of the technical terms of the Sufies*. An

analysis of the second part had been given by Hammer-Purgstall, in the *Jahrbücher der Literatur* (lxxxii, 68 ff.). This book also was used by Tholuck, and cited under the author's name (*loc. cit.* 7, 11, 18, 26, 73). It is of special interest because in the preface he states that it was written after he had finished his commentary on the *Manāzil al-Sā'irīn* of al-Harawī in order to explain the Ṣūfī technical terms which occur but are inadequately explained in that work, and also in his commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿArabī (Cairo 1309) and in his *Ta'wīlāt al-Ḳur'ān.* According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ii, 175) the *Ta'wīlāt* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ extend to Sūra xxxviii only, yet Berlin MS. no. 872 covers the entire Ḳur'ān, but apparently in abstract. *Risāla fi'l-ḳaḍā' wa'l-ḳadar,* treatise on predestination and free will, first translated into French, (*JA*, 1873; revised edition 1875), then the text published by St. Guyard (1879); it will be dealt with in detail below. The treatise seems to have excited attention, for Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iii, 429) gives three answers to it by Ibn Kamāl Pasha, Tāshküprü-zāde and Bālī Khalīfa Ṣūfiyahwī. A commentary on the *Ta'iya* poem of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (Cairo 1310). His works as yet unpublished are: *Risālat al-Sarmadiyya,* on the idea of an eternal Being; *Risālat al-Kumayliyya,* on the traditional answer by ʿAlī to the question of Kumayl b. Ziyād *fi'l-ḥaḳīḳa* (comp. the Berlin MS. no. 3462; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa iv, 38; *JA* 14, 83); a commentary on the *Mawāḳiʿ al-Nudjūm* of Ibn Arabī and *Tadhkirat al-Ṣāḥibiya.* Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (v, 587) adds *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāya.* For MSS. reference will suffice to Brockelmann, ii, 203, 204; S ii, 280-1; the Gotha cat. no. 76, 2, and Palmer's *Trinity College Cat.* 116.

It will already be tolerably clear what ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's interests and positions were. He was a Ṣūfī of the school of Ibn ʿArabī, the great theosophist of the Western Arabic type, though with touches of independence, and he gave much labor to defence and exposition of his master. In the three great divisions of Muslim theologians, the upholders of tradition (*naḳl*), of reason (*ʿaḳl*), and of the unveiling of the mystic (*kashf*), he took his place with the third. It may be significant that his name never indicates to what legal school he adhered. Like many mystics, he may have regarded such matters as beneath notice, or he may, like Ibn ʿArabī, have been a belated Ẓāhirite in law, as he was evidently a Bāṭinite in theology. The last is plain through the title itself of his exposition of the Ḳur'ān, *ta'wīl,* not *tafsīr,* and is shown in detail in his *Iṣṭilāḥāt* and his treatise on *ḳadar.* In the last we have the normal combination of the Aristotelian universe, the Neo-Platonic metaphysics and theology and the Ḳur'ānic mythology of Muḥammad. These all appear, too, in Ibn ʿArabī, but perhaps ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ is more anxious to keep the last element prominent, and to proclaim thus his essential orthodoxy. Certainly, he strives to avoid the absolute merging of the individual, and the consequent fatalism of Ibn ʿArabī and to lay a possible basis for individual responsibility, for freedom and rewards and punishments hereafter. His method in this is as follows. In order to bring out clearly the forces leading to any event and the close interweaving of all causes and effects to make up the great organism of the universe, he begins with a description of the universe on the Ṣūfī scheme. It is the Neo-Platonic chain. Above is God, the One, the Alone; from him proceeds, by a dynamic emanation, the Universal Reason (*al-ʿaḳl al-awwal*), called also the Primary or Universal Spirit (*al-rūḥ al-awwal*) and the Highest Knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-aʿlā*). This is a spiritual substance and the first of the properties which the divine essence implies. From it two other substances are produced, one spiritual (*rūḥāniyya*) which is the substance of the world of the Universal Reason, considered as apart from God and inhabited by particular intelligences, somewhat as fractions of the Universal Reason, which are the angels of revealed religion; the other is psychical, being the Universal Soul (*nafs*). Finally come the material elements with their natural forces and laws. In the Universal Reason are the types of all things, as universals, and this Reason, with its types, is known directly by God. God's omnipotence (*ḳāhiriyya*) is manifested through these angels or Intelligences, and their world is therefore called the World of Power (*ʿālam al-ḳudra*). But they also, in their perfection, repair the imperfections of other beings. Their world again, therefore, is called the World of Repairing (*ʿālam al-djabarūt*). Some, however, take the other sense of the root *djabar* and render it, the World of Constraint, because they constrain other beings towards perfection. This world is also called the Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*; Ḳur'ān, xiii, 39, xliii, 4), from it comes all knowledge of divine mysteries, it is above all fetters of time and change. The world of the Universal Soul, on the other hand, called the World of Ruling (*ʿālam al-malakūt*), is a step nearer the particular, material world. The types which exist in the Universal Reason become in it general conceptions, and these are further specialized, determined, limited, brought near to what we know, by being engraved on the individual reasonable souls, which are the souls of the heavenly bodies, corresponding to the angelic Intelligences, the fractions of the Universal Reason. This world, from its likeness to the human imagination, is called the Imagination of the World (*khayāl al-ʿālam*) and the Nearer Heaven (*al-samā' al-dunyā*). From it issue all beings in order to appear in the World of Sense (*ʿālam al-shahāda*), it moves and directs everything, measuring out matter and assigning causes. The heavenly bodies, then, have reasonable souls just like our own, these are the imaginative faculties of the particular reasonable souls, into which the Universal Soul divides. On their changes all change in this world below depends (comp. al-Ghazālī's scheme, in *JAOS*, 1899, 116 ff.).

Further, this constitution of the universe corresponds to man's body, macrocosm to microcosm. Just as the brain is the seat of man's ruling spirit, so the Universal Spirit or Reason is seated in the throne (*ʿarsh*) above the sphere of the fixed stars. The fourth heaven, the sphere of the sun, which vivifies all, is the seat of the Universal Soul, in man this is the heart, wherein is his particular, reasonable soul. So the fourth sphere is like the breast, and the sun like the physical heart. The individual soul of the sun corresponds to the animal spirit in the heart, which is the source of human life.

Next, as to the place of predestination in this scheme, for that there are three words, *ḳaḍā',* *ḳadar* and *ʿināya. Ḳaḍā'* means the existence of the universal types of all things in the world of the Universal Reason. *Ḳadar* is the arrival in the world of the Universal Soul of the types of existing things, after being individualized in order to be adapted to matter, these are joined to their

causes, produced by them, and appear at their fixed times. *ʿInāya* is, broadly, Providence and covers both of the above, just as they contain everything that is actual. It is the divine knowledge, embracing everything as it is, universally and absolutely. It is not in any place, for God's knowledge, in His essence, is nothing else than the presence of His essence before His essence, which is essentially one and goes with all the qualities which inhere in Him. Further, while the essence (*ḥaḳīḳa*) of *ḳaḍāʾ* is part of the *ʿināya* of God, its entelechy (*kamāl*) is in the world of the Universal Reason. The Universal Soul is sometimes called the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*), for on it are preserved unalterable all the general conceptions which are on their way to the individual heavenly souls.

It is the world, then, of *ḳadar*, of the Soul, which sets everything in motion. This is by the yearning of the reasonable souls of the heavenly bodies towards their spiritual source, the Universal Reason. They try to assimilate themselves to this, to universalize themselves. Step by step, they mount up, and with each advance they receive a new outpouring from that source, drawing them on further. With each movement, there flows from them an influence upon matter according as it is adapted to receive it, and thus there is a series of changes in the material world, corresponding to those in the world of the Soul. These changes may be either absolute of creation and destruction, or, between those extremes, simply of condition. The duration of existence constitues the Ḳurʾānic *adjal*, and all these are fixed by *ḳadar*.

Finally, this exegesis of Ḳurʾān, lii, 1—6 will show how ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ applied Scripture. "By the Mount and by a Book Inscribed in a Parchment Outspread, and by the Frequented House, and by the Raised Roof, and by the Flowing Sea!" The Frequented House is the Spirit of the fourth sphere, that of the sun. Therefore Jesus, the Spirit of God, has been placed there, whose miracle is the raising of the dead. The Mount is the *ʿarsh*, the seat of the Universal Reason. The Book Inscribed is *ḳaḍāʾ*, which is in that Reason: and the Parchment Outspread is the Reason itself. The Raised Roof is the nearest heaven, where are the individual celestial souls; it is mentioned immediately after the Frequented House, because from this heaven the forms descend on the earth, and from the Frequented House comes the breath of the Spirit, by the combination of which the creation of animated beings is achieved. The Flowing Sea is the sea of primary matter which spreads everywhere and is filled with forms.

How, then, is such a scheme related to predestination and free will? It is highly complicated, consisting of a remote first cause and an infinity of intermingling and crossing, nearer, secondary causes. It is possible to look at these last only, and so to assign absolute creative and deciding power to our own wills. Or to look only at the first cause and become fatalists. We must preserve the balance and hold by both. The complete cause of anything into which human will can enter must have as an element in it, among so many others, free will. It sets all the others in movement. Under this conception, though never clearly stated, is evidently implied that man has in him an element of the divine deciding power. If there is freedom in the divine nature, there must be also in its emanations. For Ibn ʿArabī the oneness of the divine nature over against the creation had overcome everything. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ lays stress on the multitudinous interweaving causes of the world, its constantly developing processes, to show that in life, purpose and will there must be multiplicity. The divine is spread down through the sub-lunar things, it does not simply rule from above. Again, amongst the many causes working in the world and upon men are the restraints and influences of religion, the promises and threatenings of the prophets. These we should permit to have their effects upon us as parts of the whole scheme, the process of training under which we are. But, again, why should training be necessary? Why are there good and bad? Here, again, is an implication, once pretty clearly expressed. Matter is of very differing nature, grosser and finer, It can receive only a corresponding soul, therefore souls also vary. Character and disposition is a combination of both, and it is for the soul to overcome its material body and itself rise. This evidently is the fundamental thought, but ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ does not give much space to it. Rather, he uses the old theological catch. This must be the best possible creation, otherwise God would have created a better. Further, if all things were equal, there could be neither order nor organization. This would also be hard on those less perfect things thus ruled out of existence. All things should have a chance; it is for them to use it. God knows their differences and will allow for them. The most and the greatest sins are from ignorance, and God will so treat them. In the life to come the same thing is to go on. Some will attain felicity, others, because they might have done better, must undergo purification by punishment, but that will not be eternal. Here, perhaps, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ is most unsatisfactory. He passes over into the normal Muslim conception although it is not at all clear that his system can permit individuality apart from matter. Freed souls, we should expect, would either return into the unity, or else be sent forth again to another material life. Like so many in Muslim theology and philosophy, this tractate was adapted to an audience, and was not perfectly ingenuous. Yet behind its caution of statement the real system is tolerably plain. It is nearer orthodoxy than that of Ibn ʿArabī, but not as near as this eschatology would suggest.

Bibliography: St. Guyard, in *Journ. As.*, 7th ser., i, 125 ff., which is the main source; Brockelmann, ii, 203—2 (treating him as two different persons), S ii, 280-1.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ KAMĀL AL-DĪN B. DJALĀL AL-DĪN ISḤĀḲ AL-**SAMARḲANDĪ**, Persian historian, author of the well-known *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn wa-Madjmaʿ-i Baḥrayn*, born in Harāt Shaʿbān 816/Nov. 1413, died there Djumādā II 887/July-August 1482. His father was *imām* and *ḳāḍī* of the camp (*ḥaḍrat*) of Shāhrukh and read out books and expounded various problems (*masāʾil*) to him (*Maṭlaʿ*, ii, 704, 870, cf. 706). He received the usual type of education, and one of his teachers was his elder brother ʿAbd al-Ḳahhār. He also attended when his father read the two *Ṣaḥīḥ*s to Shams al-Dīn Muḥ. al-Djazarī (d. 833/1429) (ibid., ii, 631-1294) and received an *idjāza*. After the death of his father, he used to attend the court of Shāhrukh with his elder brothers, but when in 841/1437-8 he dedicated his *Sharḥ* on *al-Risāla alʿAḍudiyya* to the king and presented it to him, he was taken into

service and allowed to attend the court regularly. Two years later, he was examined by the *ʿulamāʾ* at the court, and granted a salary and provisions (*marsūm wa-ʿalūfa*) (*ibid.*, ii, 704, 731 f.).

In Ramaḍān 845/Jan. 1441 ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ was sent to India as ambassador and returned in Ramaḍān 848/Dec. 1444. (For his mission and the result obtained see *Maṭlaʿ*, ii, 783; T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford 1924, 113). He was similarly sent to Gīlān in 850/1446. He was ordered to make ready for a mission to Egypt in the same year, but due to the death of S͟hāhrukh this was cancelled. In the period following the death of that king he served his successors Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh and Mīrzā Abuʾl-Ḳāsim Bābur, with some as *ṣadr*, with others as *nāʾib* and *k͟hāṣṣ*; see *ibid.*, ii, 1440. Under the last-named prince, who included him among his confidants, he enjoyed many favours (*ibid.*, ii, 1119). In 856/1452 he was in Yazd with Mīrzā Bābur, when the Mīrza interviewed S͟haraf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, and in 856/1452 he was with the same prince when he besieged Samarḳand, in which city ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ had many friends and old acquaintances (*Maṭlaʿ*, ii, 1041, 1078). In 866/1462 he was sent to Asfuzār for fixing taxes (*bunīča bastan*). Soon after, under Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd, on 3 D͟jumādā I 867/24 Jan. 1463 the vizier K͟hwād͟ja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ṭāʾūs Simnānī appointed him *s͟hayk͟h* (governor) of the *k͟hānḳāh* of S͟hāhrukh (*Maṭlaʿ*, ii, 1270), which post he held till his death.

The *Maṭlaʿ* describes, with a brief mention of the birth (704/1304-5) and accession (716/1316-7) of the Īlk͟hān Abū Saʿīd, the events of the years 717-875/1317-1471, in chronological order. Up to the year 830/1426-7 use is principally made of the *Zubdat al-Tawārīk͟h* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū [*q.v.*], which is at times quoted literally. The famous account of the embassy to China in 823-5/1420-2, is also taken from the *Zubda*. For the period from 830 to 875/1426-71 ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's work is one of the most important original sources of information. Cf. the *taḳrīẓ* of ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ al-Niẓāmī (for him see *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii, 3, 328) in *Maṭlaʿ*, ii, 1440, which refers to his indebtedness to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū for the earlier period and his impartial narrative relating to the period in which he himself lived. An edition of vol. ii was published piecemeal in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore Nov. 1933 onwards, and later a separate edition was published in two parts (Lahore 1360/1941 and 1368/1949). Mss. of the work are to be found in nearly all the larger European collections but they are now rare in the East. The Panjab University Library has an autograph copy of vol. ii, acquired recently. It was completed by the author on 17 Rabīʿ I, 875/13 Sept. 1470, the correction of the copy being completed by him on the 18th S͟haʿbān 885/23rd Oct. 1480. E. Quatremère gives extracts from the work in the *Notices et extraits*, xiv, part 1; as also H. M. Elliot in his *History of India*, iv, 89-126, and others (for whom see Storey).

From the *Maṭlaʿ* (ii, 190) we learn that ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ also wrote a work on the history of Harāt and its districts (*bulūkāt*). In some places in the *Maṭlaʿ* (e.g. ii, 951, 1208) he also quotes his own poems.

Bibliography: Storey, ii, 293-8; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*², 56; K͟hwāndamīr, Bombay 1857, iii/3, 335. (W. Barthold-Mohammad Shafi)

ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. MAS͟HĪS͟H AL-ḤASANĪ. Practically nothing is known of this personage, who has become one of the "poles" (*ḳuṭb*, [*q.v.*]) of popular mysticism in Morocco. The only fairly certain fact is that he died in 625/1227-8 by assassination in his hermitage on the D͟jabal al-ʿAlam, in the territory of the Banū ʿArūs, to the south-east of Tetuan. He is said to have fallen victim to a man of the region, Muḥammad b. Abī Tawād͟jīn al-Kutāmī, belonging to Ḳaṣr Kutāma, who had rebelled against the decaying Almohad power and was attempting to pass himself off as a prophet, and who assassinated the saint because the latter's prestige was an obstacle to his ambitions. ʿAbd al-Salām was buried at the top of the mountain, at the foot of an oak, and seems to have been for a long time the object of a purely local cult; Ibn K͟haldūn does not mention him, nor for that matter the revolt of his murderer.

Besides this account of his death, which seems to be reasonably probable although reported by much later authors, little more is known of the saint than his genealogy, which, through several ancestors with typically Berber names, attaches him to the house of the Prophet. He is said to have been born in the neighbourhood of the D͟jabal al-ʿAlam, into the tribe of the Banū ʿArūs, and to have gone "in pursuit of learning" to the East at the age of sixteen; then, on his return, to have followed at Bid͟jāya (Bougie) the instruction of the famous Andalusian mystic Abū Madyan [*q.v.*], and to have come back finally to stay in his native country, where he lived an edifying life as an ascetic in his mountain hermitage.

His teaching is scarcely better known, in spite of the elaborations which it acquired in Moroccan mysticism. "Perform the obligations of the Law and avoid sin", he is said to have advised a disciple who had asked him for a rule of life, "keep your heart aloof from every temporal attachment, accept what God sends you, and put above all else the love of God" (Ibn ʿAyād, *K. al-Mafāk͟hir*, 106). It is related also that he had as a disciple Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-S͟hād͟hilī [*q.v.*], who came to him for his initiation into mysticism.

Only from the 15th century, it seems, at the time when the marabout movement connected with al-S͟hād͟hilī became active in Morocco, did the fame of ʿAbd al-Salām extend beyond the limits of his tribe into the whole northern part of Morocco. He was then regarded as the "pole" of the West, as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Gīlānī was regarded as the "pole" of the East. A pilgrimage was organized around his tomb in the three days following the *mawlid nabawī*. A colourful description of it, applying to the last years of the 19th century, will be found in *Le Maroc inconnu* of A. Mouliéras.

Bibliography: Aḥmad al-Kumus͟hāk͟hānawī al-Naḳs͟habandī, *D͟jāmiʿ Uṣūl al-Awliyāʾ*, tr. in Graulle, *Dawḥat al-Nād͟hir*, *AM*, XIX, 296-8; S͟haʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1299, ii, 6; Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, Cairo 1312, i, 210 (tr. Ismaël Hamet, *AM*, xxxii, 254-5; Ibn ʿAyād, *al-Mafāk͟hir al-ʿAliyya fī l-Maʾāthir al-S͟hād͟hiliyya*, Cairo 1323, 106; A. Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Paris 1899, ii, 159-79; M. Xicluna, *Quelques légendes relatives à Moulay ʿAbd as-Salâm ben Mechich*, *AM*, iii, 119-33; A. Fischer, *Der grosse marokkanische Heilige ʿAbdesselam ben Mešiš*, *ZDMG*, 1917, 209-22; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Conférences*, *AM*, xxvii, 52-4 et 64-5; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 600; Asín Palacios, *Šadilíes y alumbrados*, (I), *And.*, 1945, 9-11; G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 226; Brockelmann, S I, 787.

(R. Le Tourneau)

ʿABD AL-ṢAMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-PALIMBĀNĪ, i.e. of Palembang in Sumatra, was a pupil of Muḥammad al-Sammān (d. 1190/1776), the founder of the Sammāniyya order (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 535 and Nachtr.). He is known chiefly as translator of al-Ghazālī's *Lubāb Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* into Malay, under the title of *Sayr al-Sālikīn ilā ʿIbādat Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn.* It was begun in 1193 and finished at Ṭāʾif in 1203. The translation is very free, shortened in some places, enlarged elsewhere by numerous additions, the sources of which are enumerated in book iii, bāb 10. Here we find also an interesting list of ṣūfī literature recommended by the author to three stages of pupils in Ṣūfism. Most of the works in this list are in Arabic, but some in Malay. It seems that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad lived mostly in Arabia. One of his earlier writings, *Zuhrat al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*, is a Malay treatise on *manṭiḳ* and *uṣūl al-dīn*, based on notes which he took during a lecture given at Mecca by Aḥmad al-Damanhūrī (Brockelmann, II, 371) in 1178. His *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaḳīn* is a Malay adaptation of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*, finished at Mecca, 5 Muḥ. 1192. In Arabic he compiled a collection of *awrād* entitled *ʿUrwat al-Wuthḳā wa-Silsilat ūlīʾl-Ittiḳā*, a *rātib*, and a treatise entitled *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn.* This last work contains fervent admonitions to holy war against infidels. It inspired the author of the Achehnese poem *Hikayat prang sabi*, of which various redactions were circulated in Acheh during the war against the Dutch in the last quarter of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Bibliography: Ph. S. van Ronkel, *VBG* 57, 383, 400, 429; id., *Suppl. Cat. Arab. Mss. Batavia*, 139, 216; R. O. Winstedt, *A history of Malay literature* (*JMBRAS* 17, III), 103; H. T. Damsté, *Hikajat prang sabi*, in *BTLV* 84, 545 ff.; for the Sammāniyya: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 216 ff. Two of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's works have been frequently printed: *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, Mecca 1306 (lith.), 1309 etc.; *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, Mecca 1287 (lith.), Bombay 1311, etc. On two works of dubious authorship see *TBG* 85, 110. The tract *Anīs al-Muttaḳīn* by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Faḳīh Ḥusayn b. Faḳīh Muḥammad is not the work of an Indonesian author, though on the title-page of the lithographed edition the epithet al-Palimbānī is added to the author's name; its attribution to a Zaydī author (Brockelmann, S II, 966) is equally false. (P. VOORHOEVE)

ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS (BANŪ ʿABD AL-WĀD, or ZAYYĀNIDS, BANŪ ZAYYĀN), a Berber dynasty which, from the first half of the 7th/13th century to the middle of the 10th/16th century had its capital at Tlemcen (Tilimsān, [*q.v.*]) and extended its power, against frequent opposition, over the central Maghrib (from the frontiers of the present Morocco to the meridian of Bougie).

According to the concepts recorded by Ibn Khaldūn, the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād were Zanāta "of the second race". Like the Banū Marīn, B. Tūdjīn, B. Rāshid and B. Mzāb, they belonged to the great Zanāta family of the Banū Wāsīn. Living as nomads, like their neighbours and relatives, the B. Marīn and B. Tūdjīn, they once occupied a more extensive territory, reaching to the vicinity of the Awrās. In consequence of the Hilālī invasion (5th/11th century) these Zanāta nomads, driven eastwards, were forced to abandon their territory to the Arab nomads and to emigrate to the high plateaux of what is now the province of Oran. The conquest of the country by the Almohads, at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, made the fortune of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. They proved themselves loyal and useful allies of the caliphs of Marrākush, especially at the time when the terrible ravages of the Almoravid Banū Ghāniya brought destruction upon Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib (581-600/1185-1203). The assistance which they gave to the Almohad forces earned its reward. Tlemcen, successfully defended, profited by the ruin of the neighbouring centres and by the emigrations that were depopulating them. In 633/1235 the chief of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād, Yaghmurāsan (or better: Yaghamrāsan) b. Zayyān, inherited from his brother the command over all the branches of the family. This dignity, ratified by the consent of the tribes, was confirmed by a diploma of investiture issued by the Almohad caliph al-Rashīd.

Yaghmurāsan, the shaykh of an imposing nomad group, who used to lead his tribesmen and their flocks periodically from the desert to the plains of the province of Oran and who could speak only the Berber dialect of the Zanāta, became the sedentary sovereign of a powerful state. He had moreover the qualities of a founder of empire: energy, the ability needed to hold his associates together around him, political insight, a taste for grandeur and the generous gesture. During a reign that lasted not less than 48 years (633-81/1236-83), he already encountered the dangers that never ceased to menace the kingdom of Tlemcen. These arose on the one hand from the legacy of the clan's former life and the rivalries that set Berber against Berber, and on the other hand from the consequences of the new situation in which the ʿAbd al-Wādids found themselves. True to his duty as a vassal, he supported the last Almohad caliphs against the Marīnids, who had become the masters of Fez. The fall of the Almohads in 646/1248 left him face to face with the Marīnids. Between the Marīnids and the ʿAbd al-Wādids there was a long tradition of conflict; it was singularly widened by the establishment of the two kindred kingdons, neighbours and all the more ardently rivals.

These are the main themes which dictated the course of the external history of the ʿAbd al-Wādids. Yaghmurāsan foresaw their development and on his death-bed, so the story goes, he traced for his son ʿUthmān the conduct he should adopt with regard to the other powers: a strictly defensive attitude as against Marīnid Maghrib; attempts at expansion at the expense of the Ḥafṣid kingdom of Tunis, as occasion should offer. In addition to this political testament, his successors could derive lessons from the activities of Yaghmurāsan himself: his firmness in the face of the Zanāta, his relatives in the central Maghrib, namely Maghrāwa and Banū Tūdjīn; in Spain, the triple alliance which he concluded with the sultan of Granada and the Christian king of Castille, in order to thwart the action of the Marīnids, their common enemy, both in North Africa and in the Peninsula.

The struggle of Fez against Tlemcen, the attack on the ʿAbd al-Wādid kingdom—the first objective of their expansion in North Africa—by their western neighbours, the Marīnids, is the principal motif of this history and could serve to mark its stages. The first noteworthy episode was, under ʿUthmān, the son of Yaghmurāsan, the long siege of Tlemcen by the Marīnid sultan Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, who isolated it during eight years (698-706/1298-1306) by a rigorous blockade and began to build the

encampment-town of al-Manṣūra (see ABŪ ZAYYĀN I). This time, Tlemcen did not fall. After expanding eastwards under Abū Ḥammū I [*q.v.*], the ʿAbd al-Wādids were again attacked by the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan (see ABŪ TĀSHUFĪN I), and on 30 Ramaḍān 737/2 May 1337 Tlemcen was taken by storm. After ten years of Moroccan domination, Tlemcen was delivered from the foreign yoke in 749/1348 by the two brothers Abū Saʿīd and Abū Th̲ābit, but in 753/1352 was again conquered by the Marīnid Abū ʿInān, and was not regained by the ʿAbd al-Wādids until 760/1359.

These two Moroccan interregnums caused a break in the history of the ʿAbd al-Wādids which was to show itself in all fields of action. Under Abū Ḥammū II (760-91/1359-89 [*q.v.*]), the kingdom regained a relative freedom of movement, but attempts at expansion in the direction of the Ḥafṣid kingdom were frustrated (the expedition of 767/1366 against Bougie ended in disaster) and Marīnid invasion remained as a periodical threat. The struggle with the Marīnids had also taken on a new character, for various reasons: firstly, because of the role played by the Maʿḳil Arabs of Tāfīlalt and the valley of the Mulūya (Wādī Malwiyya), who supported Tlemcen against Fez; secondly, through the policy of the Marīnids, whose aim was less to annex Tlemcen than to support an ʿAbd al-Wādid pretender and so to reduce the kingdom to a vassal state; thirdly, owing to the incapacity of the sultans of Tlemcen to defend their capital, and its temporary abandonment by the sovereign to seek refuge with his nomad allies.

This is, in its main lines, the history of the ʿAbd al-Wādids during the second half of the 8th/14th century. For the further hundred and fifty years during which the dynasty continued to exist they never again became masters of their own fate. It is true that they had nothing more to fear from Morocco, where the weak Waṭṭāsids had succeeded to the Marīnids; but the hegemony passed to Tunis. The last two great Ḥafṣids, Abū Fāris (827/1424) and ʿUth̲mān (871/1466), harking back to the tradition of the first rulers of the dynasty, led victorious expeditions against Tlemcen and imposed in their turn vassal sovereigns of their own choice on the ʿAbd al-Wādid kingdom.

The incurable weakness of this kingdom, its internal quarrels and the cupidity of the foreigners made of the last phase of its history—i.e. the first half of the 10th/16th century—an epoch of submission and decadence. Tlemcen passed successively under the suzerainty of the Spaniards (who had become masters of Oran in 915/1509), then under that of the Turks of Algiers in 923/1517, again from the Spaniards to the Turks, finally under the suzerainty of the Saʿdid sovereigns of Marrākush, from whom it was seized by the Turks in 957/1550.

There can be no doubt that, compared with the kingdom of their Marīnid kinsmen, that of the ʿAbd al-Wādids appears less rich in men, fertile land and cities, and in every respect less well furnished. Thus it was unable to undertake great military enterprises in North Africa or in Spain. Its geographical position exposed it to the attacks of its covetous neighbours to the east and to the west. The place taken by the Arabs, notably by the great Hilālī tribes of the Banū ʿĀmir and Suwayd, who had invaded the plains of the district of Oran, imposed upon it a ruinous collaboration with these nomads. The Arabs, providing troops that could easily be mobilized, and acting as collectors of taxes and repaid in this service, took part in the dynastic crises and always profited by them. The liberation from the Moroccan yoke was due to them. The greater part of the ʿAbd al-Wādid territory passed into their hands, in the form of *iḳṭāʿs*, beneficiary estates.

In spite of these precarious conditions of existence, and in spite of their slighter resources, which did

A LIST OF THE ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS

Abū Yaḥyā Yag̲h̲amrāsan b. Zayyān (633-81/1236-83)
Abū Saʿīd ʿUth̲mān I b. Yag̲h̲amrāsan (681-703/1282-1303)
Abū Zayyān I Muḥ. b. ʿUth̲mān (703-7/1303-8)
Abū Ḥammū I Mūsā b. ʿUth̲mān 707-18/1308-18)
Abū Tās̲h̲ufīn I ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā (718-37/1318-1337)

First Marīnid interregnum

Abū Saʿīd ʿUth̲mān II b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā b. Yag̲h̲amrāsan—reigning togetherwith his brother Abū Th̲ābit (749-53/1348-52)

Second Marīnid interregnum

Abū Ḥammū II Mūsā b. Abī Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā b. Yag̲h̲amrāsan (760-91/1359-89)
Abū Tās̲h̲ufīn II ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā (791-6/1388-93)
Abū Th̲ābit II Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (796/1393)
Abu'l-Had̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ Yūsuf b. Mūsā (796-7/1393-4)
Abū Zayyān II Muḥ. b. Mūsā (797-802/1394-9)
Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd Allāh I b. Mūsā (802-4/1399-1401)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. I b. Mūsā (804-13/1401-11)
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥ. (813-4/1411)
Saʿīd b. Mūsā (814/1411)
Abū Mālik ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Mūsā (814-27/1411-23)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. II b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (827-31/1423-7, 833-4/1429-30)
Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Mūsā (834-66/1430-61)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. III al-Mutawakkil b. Muḥ. b. Yūsuf (866-73/1461-68)
Abū Tās̲h̲ufīn III b. Muḥ. al-Mutawakkil (873/1468)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. IV al-Th̲ābitī b. Muḥ. al-Mutawakkil (873-910/1468-1504)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. V al-Th̲ābitī b. Muḥ. IV (910-23/1504-17)
Abū Ḥammū III Mūsā b. Muḥ. III (923-34/1517-27)
Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd Allāh II b. Muḥ. III (934-47/1527-40)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. VI b. ʿAbd Allāh (947/1540)
Abū Zayyān III Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (947-50/1540-3, 951-7/1544-50)
al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh (957/1550)

not allow the rulers of Tlemcen to live a life as sumptuous, or to erect buildings as important, as those of the kings of Fez, the ʿAbd al-Wādids seem to have cut a figure as sovereigns earlier than the Marīnids. From the very reign of Yag̲h̲murāsan, the administrative personnel appears to be more complete and their duties to be better defined than among their western neighbours. At first, the sovereign recruited his viziers among the members of his own family. Under the fourth ruler, Abū Ḥammū I, who according to Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (*Berbères*, ii, 142; transl. iii, 384) transformed the kingdom from its patriarchal ways and imposed on it the etiquette of a real court, the vizierate was entrusted to Andalusians; and the same system continued under the fifth sultan. The Marīnid interregnum gave rise to a new system: the vizier, sometimes a relative of the prince, becomes, as at Fez, a commander of the army and a viceroy, who is tempted to abuse the authority granted to him. In regard to the *ḥād̲j̲ib* (great chamberlain), it is noteworthy that while in Fez this dignitary is often a familiar of the prince, of humble origin and an inglorious past, in Tlemcen he is chosen for his knowledge of law and his financial capacity. After the Marīnid interregnum, the title of *ḥād̲j̲ib* vanished almost completely. No less markedly than in the military and economic fields, the Moroccan occupation of the middle of the 8th/14th century represents a collapse in the development of the ʿAbd al-Wādid state.

Bibliography: Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar* vii, 72-149 = *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, ii, 109-224, transl. de Slane, iii, 340-495; Yaḥyā b. K̲h̲aldūn, *Bug̲h̲yat al-Ruwwād fī D̲h̲ikr al-Mulūk min Banī ʿAbd al-Wād*, ed. and transl. A. Bel (*Hist. des Beni ʿAbd al-Wād*), Algiers 1903-1913; Ṭanasī, *Naẓm al-Durr wa'l-ʿIḳyān fī Bayān S̲h̲araf Banī Zayyān*, partial transl. by J. J. L. Bargès (*Hist. des Beni Zeian, rois de Tlemcen*), Paris 1852; Ibn Maryam, *El-Bostan, Biographies des Saints et Savants de Tlemcen*, ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1908; transl. I. Provenzali, Algiers 1910; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Ch. Schefer, iii, Paris 1898; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ b. K̲h̲alīl, ed. and transl. R. Brunschvig (*Deux récits de voyage inédits en Afrique du Nord au XVème siècle*), Paris 1936; J. J. L. Bargès, *Complément a l'Hist. des Beni Zeian*, Paris 1887; idem, *Tlemcen, ancienne capitale du royaume de ce nom*, Paris 1859; Brosselard, *Inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen*, *RAfr.*, 1859-62; idem, *Mémoire épigraphique et historique sur les tombeaux des Emirs Beni Zeiyan*, *JA*, 1876; W. Marçais, *Musée de Tlemcen* (*Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*), Paris 1906; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, Paris 1913; idem, *Le Makhzen des Beni ʿAbd al-Wād*, *Bull. de la société de géographie et d'archéologie d'Oran*, 1940; W. and G. Marçais, *Les monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, Paris 1903; G. Marçais, *Tlemcen* (*Les villes d'art célèbres*), Paris 1950; Zambaur, 77-8.—Owing to the close connection between the history of the ʿAbd al-Wādids and that of the neighbouring dynasties, the chroniclers of these dynasties (cf. the bibliographies under MARĪNIDS and ḤAFSIDS) have frequent references to the ʿAbd al-Wādids.—Cf. also TILIMSĀN. (G. MARÇAIS)

ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. RUSTUM [see RUSTUMIDS].

ʿABD AL-WĀḤID B. ʿALĪ AL-TAMĪMĪ **AL-MARRĀKUS̲H̲Ī**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, Maghribi chronicler from the beginning of the 13th century, b. Marrākus̲h̲ 7 Rabīʿ II 581/8 July 1185. We have no information about his life except for a few autobiographical data that allow us to some degree to piece together his career. He left, at an early age, his native town for Fez, where he made his studies, but returned several times to the Almohad capital before going to Spain. He stayed in Seville in 605/1208-9 and stopped for two years in Cordova. After a short visit to Marrākus̲h̲ he established himself at Seville, whose Almohad governor took him into his service. At the end of 613/1217, he undertook a journey to the East, going to Ifrīḳiya and then to Egypt. It seems that he remained in the East till the end of his life; according to his own testimony, he was in 617/1220 in Upper Egypt, three years later in Mecca. It was in 621/1224 that he compiled, probably in Bag̲h̲dād, his *al-Muʿd̲j̲ib fī Talk̲h̲īṣ Ak̲h̲bār al-Mag̲h̲rib*, published by R. Dozy (Leiden 1847, 2nd ed. 1881) under the title *The History of the Almohads* (French transl. by E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893).

The *Muʿd̲j̲ib* gives an often interesting précis of the history of the Muslim West up to the epoch of the Muʾminid dynasty. The author treats this dynasty at greater length, more often relying on his personal memories than on the official Almohad historiography. For the earlier period, he seems to have had at his disposition certain works of the Andalusian chronicler and traditionist al-Ḥumaydī. The value of the book of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid is enhanced by its rich material concerning literary history, especially of the century of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* in Spain.

Bibliography: Pons Boigues, *Ensayo biobibliográfico*, 413; Brockelmann, I, 392, S I, 555. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-WĀḤID AL-RAS̲H̲ĪD [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN].

ʿABD AL-WĀSIʿ D̲J̲ABALĪ B. ʿABD AL-D̲J̲ĀMIʿ, Persian poet, one of the panegyrists of the Seld̲j̲uḳ sultan Sand̲j̲ar. He came from the province of G̲h̲ard̲j̲istān, lived for some time in Harāt, then went to G̲h̲azna to enter the service of the sultan Bahrām S̲h̲āh, son of Masʿūd, of the G̲h̲aznawid dynasty. Four years afterwards he took the occasion of sultan Sand̲j̲ar's coming to G̲h̲azna—to assist Bahrām S̲h̲āh, his maternal cousin—to address to him a panegyric. During the last fourteen years of his life he lived at Sand̲j̲ar's court and is said to have died in 555/1160. He excelled in Arabic and Persian poetry according to ʿAwfi, who quotes, in this connection, two *mulammaʿs*. His *dīwān* (MSS Bodleian, and Brit. Mus. Or. 3320) is mainly composed of *ḳaṣīdas*, often very difficult. The edition, Lahore 1862, is in need of revision.

Bibliography: Dawlat S̲h̲āh, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-S̲h̲uʿarāʾ* (Browne), 73-6; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb* (Browne), ii, 104-10; Riḍā Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*, i, 185-92; J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. schönen Redekünste Persiens*, 101; H. Ethé, in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.*, ii, 261. (CL. HUART-H. MASSÉ)

ABDĀL (A.; plur. of *badal*, "substitute"), one of the degrees in the ṣūfī hierarchical order of saints, who, unknown by the masses (*rid̲j̲āl al-g̲h̲ayb* [cf. G̲H̲AYB]), participate by means of their powerful influence in the preservation of the order of the universe. The different accounts in the ṣūfī literature show no agreement as to the details of this hierarchy. There is also great difference of opinion as to the number of the *abdāl*: 40, e.g. Ibn Ḥanbāl, *Musnad*, i, 112, cf. v, 322; Hud̲j̲wīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥd̲j̲ūb* (Zhukowsky), 269, (transl. Nicholson, 214), 300 (al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, ii, 79); 7 (Ibn ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, ii, 9). According to the most generally accepted opinion, the *abdāl* take the

fifth place in the hierarchy of the saints which descends from the great *Ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*]. They are preceded after the *Ḳuṭb* by: 2) both assistants of the latter (*al-imāmān*); 3) the five "stakes" or "pillars" (*al-awtād* [*q.v.*] or *al-ʿumud*; 4) the seven "incomparables" (*al-afrād*). After the *abdāl* in the fifth degree come: 6) the seventy "pre-eminents" (*al-nudjabāʾ*); 7) the 300 "chiefs" (*al-nuḳabāʾ*); 8) the "troops" (*al-ʿaṣāʾib*), 500 in number; 9) the "wise", or the "isolated" (*al-ḥukamāʾ* or *al-mufradūn*), of an unlimited number; 10) *al-radjabiyyūn*. Each of these ten classes is located in a particular region and assigned a particular sphere of action. The vacancies which occur in each of the classes are filled by the promotion to that class of a member of the class immediately below it. The *abdāl* (also called *al-ruḳabāʾ*, "the guardians") have their residence in Syria. To their merit and intercession are due the necessary rains, victory over the enemy, and the averting of general calamities.—A single individual of the *Abdāl* is called *badal*; *badīl*, however, which grammatically corresponds to another plural (*budalāʾ*), is the usual form in the singular. In Persian and in Turkish the plural *abdāl* is often used as a singular.

Bibliography: G. Flügel, in *ZDMG*, xx, 38-9 (where the older sources are indicated); Vollers, *ibid.*, xliii, 114 ff. (after Munāwī); Ḥasan al-ʿAdawī, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Shādhaliyya*, ii, 99 ff. (where is to be found the most frequently accepted division of the classes); A. von Kremer, *Gesch. d. herrsch. Ideen*, 172 ff.; Bargès, *Vie du célèbre marabout Cidi Abou-Médien*, Paris 1884, Introduction; Blochet, *Etudes sur l'ésotérisme musulman*, in *JA*, 1902, i, 529 ff. II, 49 ff.; *Concordance de la tradition musulmane*, s.v.; L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Halladj*, 754; idem, *Essai*, 112 ff. (I. Goldziher*)

In various orders of derwīshes in the Ottoman Empire the name *abdāl*, as well as *budalāʾ* (plur. of *badīl*) was used for the derwīshes, e.g. among the Khalwatiyya (cf. for instance Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, *Menāḳib-i Sherīf we-Ṭarīḳat-nāme-yi Pīrān we-Meshāyikh-i Ṭarīḳat-i ʿAliyye-yi Khalwetiyye*, Istanbul 1290/1873, 34, where it is expressly stated that Shaykh Sünbül Sinān used to address his derwīshes as *abdāl*). When the esteem enjoyed by the derwīsh orders declined, the word *abdāl*, and *budalāʾ*, used as singulars assumed in Turkish a pejorative meaning: "fool". The derivation of *budalāʾ* from a Turkish word *but*, "plump body" (K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*, Heidelberg 1927, 28) is mistaken. *Budalāʾ* occurs, in the same acceptation, also in Bulgarian, Serbian and Rumanian. (H. J. Kissling)

ABDĀLĪ, the former name of the Afghān tribe now known as the Durrānī; they belong to the Sarbanī branch of the Afghāns. According to their own tradition, they derived their name from Abdāl (or Awdāl) b. Tarīn b. Sharkhabūn b. Ḳays; Abdāl was so called because he was in the service of an *abdāl* or saint named Khʷādja Abū Aḥmad of the Čishtiyya order. The Abdālīs for long inhabited the province of Ḳandahār, but early in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I, pressure from the Ghalzay tribe caused them to move to the province of Harāt. Shāh ʿAbbās made Sadō, of the Popalzay clan, head of the tribe, with the title *Mīr-i Afāghina*. Though loyal to Shāh ʿAbbās, they emulated the Ghalzays a century later and made themselves virtually independent. Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] later subdued the Abdālīs, but treated them with leniency and enrolled many in his army. Amongst these Abdālīs was Aḥmad Khān, the second son of Muḥammad Zamān Khān Sadōzay. The Abdālīs served Nādir well, and he rewarded them by restoring them to their former territory of Ḳandahār. On Nādir's assassination in 1747, Aḥmad Khān had himself crowned in Ḳandahār. Either as the result of a dream or because of the influence of a *faḳīr* named Ṣabar Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh took the title of Durr-i Durrānī ("The Pearl of Pearls"), and the tribe has since that time been known as the Durrānī. The two principal clans were the Popalzay and the Bārakzay; the present royal family of Afghānistān belongs to the latter. (For the history of the Durrānī tribe see durrānī and afghānistān).

Bibliography: M. Elphinstone, *Caubul*, London 1842, ii, 95; ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Taʾrīkh-i Aḥmad*, Kānpūr 1292/1875, 3-4; Muḥammad Ḥayāt Khān, *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī* (English trans. entitled *Afghanistan*, 57); Muḥammad Mahdī Kawkabī Astarābādī, *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī*, Bombay, 4-6; B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, ii, 42; L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 3, 4, 16, 29, 31-4, 52-4, 113-4, 120, 201; K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan* 8, 62. (L. Lockhart)

ʿABDALĪ, plural ʿAbādil, ʿAbādila and, in the *Ṭurfat al-Aṣḥāb*, ʿAbdiliyyūn with *i*, is now most commonly used as a collective name for the inhabitants of Laḥdj in S. Arabia. Aḥmad Faḍl believes this usage to date from the time when Shaykh Faḍl b. ʿAlī b. Ṣalāḥ b. Sallām b. ʿAlī al-Sallāmī al-ʿAbdalī, made Laḥdj independent of the Zaydī Imām (1145/1732-3) and founded the dynasty by which it has since been ruled (see laḥdj). According to the *Ṭurfat al-Aṣḥāb* (7th/13th cent.) the original clan of the ʿAbādil are descended from Khawlān b. ʿAmr b. Alḥāf b. Ḳuḍāʿa; al-Khazradjī mentions them in southern Yaman (*Pearl Strings*, v, 217) and Landberg concluded from local enquiries that they still lived in their former territories. In the time of Faḍl b. ʿAlī at least, they belonged to the Yāfiʿī confederacy; the Āl Sallām, his own branch, were represented at Khanfar, in Yāfiʿī territory, and at Mukhā. Aḥmad Faḍl states that the majority of the inhabitants of the state were then Aṣābiḥ, descended through Aṣbaḥ b. ʿAmr from Ḥimyar al-Aṣghar; they had been there in al-Hamdānī's time; the rest belonged to various Ḳaḥṭān tribes, ʿAdjālim, Djaḥāfil, Yāfiʿ, ʿAḳārib, Ḥawāshib and ʿĀmira. The capital of the state, al-Ḥawṭa, now has a very mixed population including representatives of many tribes of S. W. Arabia as well as people of African descent. (There is also a branch of the Banū Marwān called ʿAbādil, living on the Saʿūdī side of the southern border of ʿAsīr; see Philby, *Arabian Highlands*),

Bibliography: Al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf, *Ṭurfat al-Aṣḥāb*, Damascus 1369; F. M. Hunter and C. W. H. Sealy, *An account of the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden*; C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*; Aḥmad Faḍl b. ʿAlī Muḥsin al-ʿAbdalī, *Hadiyyat al-Zamān*, Cairo 1351, giving copious quotations. (C. F. Beckingham)

ʿABDĀN, according to the account of Ibn Rizām (see *Fihrist*, 187) and Akhū Muḥsin (quoted in al-Nuwayrī's chapter on the Ḳarmaṭians and in an abbreviated form in al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ* (Bunz), 103 ff.), also going back, no doubt, to Ibn Rizām, was brother-in-law and lieutenant of Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ [*q.v.*], leader of the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*] of southern ʿIrāḳ. When the Ismāʿīlī headquarters in Salamiya changed their policy, ʿAbdān fell away

from their allegiance, but was killed, in 286/899, at the instigation of Zikrawayh, the leader of the loyalists. The account of the evidently well informed Akhū Muḥsin—Ibn Rizām is confirmed by Ibn Ḥawḳal (Kramers), 295. The party of ʿAbdān survived in southern ʿIrāḳ for some years. It seems that Fāṭimid orthodoxy rehabilitated ʿAbdān's memory. He is mentioned by the author of the *Dastur al-Munadjdjimīn* (M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes*, 204) as "one of the most famous helpers of the second hidden Imām". He was made into an author; his nephew, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, is said to have concocted books in the name of ʿAbdān (Akhū Muḥsin, in al-Nuwayrī, and al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 130). At any rate, the *Fihrist*, 189, knows numerous books attributed to ʿAbdān. B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismāʿīlism*, 68, states that several works by ʿAbdān are claimed to be in the possession of Syrian Ismāʿīlī circles; cf. also W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, 31. [See also ḲARMAṬIANS].

(S. M. STERN)

AL-ʿ**ABDARĪ** (i.e. descendant of ʿAbd al-Dār b. Ḳuṣayy, of the tribe of Ḳuraysh), MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD B. SAʿŪD ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, author of a book of travels bearing the title of *al-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya*. He was staying with the Ḥāḥā, near Mogador, when he started on his journey on 25 Dhu l-Ḳaʿda 688/11 Dec. 1289. The dates of his birth and death are not known: all biographical data are lacking, although he was always held in esteem as the learned author of the *Riḥla*. Ibn al-Ḳāḍī (*Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, lith. Fez, 199; *Durrat al-Ḥidjāl*, i, 124) and al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, 789, 866) know of him only from his work. That he had ṣūfī affinities is shown by his interest in the cult of saints; he himself tells that he received the ṣūfī *khirḳa* from the shaykh Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Andalusī in Tunis (MS. Algiers, fol. 154b). In politics he seems to have been a partisan of the Marīnids as against the ʿAbd al-Wādids. It was due, probably, to this circumstance that he was unable, on his return, to publish his book in Tlemcen.

On his journey he received instruction from the following: Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī (al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, iv, 278), the famous traditionist Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i, 143), Zayn al-Dīn b. al-Munayyir (Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj*, 205; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl*, 191), ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārūn al-Ṭāʾī al-Ḳurṭubī in Tunis, Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Asadī in Ḳayrawān, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Karāfī and others. His son Muḥammad (see IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ) and Abuʾl-Ḳāsim b. Riḍwān are mentioned as his pupils. He writes approvingly of some, such as al-Dabbāgh (author of *Maʿālim al-Īmān*), while others are treated with devastating criticism (e.g. Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Sayyid of Tripolis).

The importance of his book does not lie in its geographical details. Though he thinks it proper to criticize—with scant justification—some statements of al-Bakrī, he is not a geographer and his summary descriptions of various sights—where he usually follows other geographers—are of no great value. His rhetorical descriptions have no more than literary interest, putting him in the line of similar *Riḥlas* (e.g. that of al-Balawī, who travelled 737-41/1336-40). Al-ʿAbdarī's main concern is with the state of Muslim scholarship and instruction. His notes are important contributions to the history of the scholars of the Maghrib. He shared the customary passion for *idjāzas*, and gives details of the authorities from whom he obtained, both for himself and his son, such certificates of study. Thus his *Riḥla* turns into a specimen of the rich literature about teachers and books (*barnāmadj*, *fahrasa*), from which we gain an insight into the range of works usually studied, classical, post-classical, and contemporary. In Ḳurʾān-reading and grammar the late works of the Andalusians are preferred, in poetry most interest is shown in the famous post-classical product of North Africa. Among the longer poetical pieces quoted are *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Shaḳrāṭisiyya*, by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳurashī (d. 466/1073), in praise of the Prophet, and a *takhmīs* of the *Munfaridja*. He quotes also some of his own poems; for instance one to his son, containing moral advice, another addressed to the Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb, praying him to deliver the lands of Islam from the Christian yoke.

The influence of the *Riḥla* (a MS of which was copied as late as 1883) can be traced in the geographical and historical literature of the Maghrib from the 14th to the 18th cent. For instance, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of the Pharos of Alexandria (i, 29-30) is derived from it; other travellers, e.g. al-Balawī, and also biographers like Aḥmad Bābā and Ibn al-Ḳādī used it extensively. Finally, its moral purpose, to lay bare the material and spiritual shortcomings of contemporary Ifrīḳiya and Middle Maghrib, makes the *Riḥla* a document of considerable interest.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 634, S I, 883 (add MSS Algiers 1017; Fez, Ḳarawiyyīn 1297); Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl*, marg. of Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 68; *TA*, iii, 379; B. Vincent, in *JA*, 1845, 404-8; M. Cherbonneau, in *JA*, 1854, 144-76; R. Dozy, *Cat. Lugd. Bat.*, iii, 137; M. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, i, xxxvi; Motylinski, in *Bull. Soc. de Géogr. d'Alger*, 1900, 71-7; W. Wright, in Introd. of Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 1907, 16-7; E. Rossi, *La Cron. di Ibn Galbūn*, 12; W. Hoenerbach, *Das Nordafrikanische Itinerar des ʿAbdarī*, Leipzig 1940.

(MUḤ. BEN CHENEB-W. HOENERBACH)

AL-ʿ**ABDARI ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH** MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤĀDJDJ AL-FĀSĪ [see IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ].

ĀBDAST [see WUḌŪʾ].

ʿ**ABDĪ**, Ottoman historian. Among the Ottoman historians who bore the *makhlaṣ* ʿAbdī (cf. Babinger, 432 f.), the secretary (*kātib*) of Yūsuf Agha, chief of the eunuchs, is worthy of mention. He was an eye-witness of the magnificent festivities organized in Adrianople in June and July 1675 on the occasion of the circumcision of the crown-prince Muṣṭafā, son of Muḥammad (Meḥmed) IV, and of the marriage of the princess Khadīdje with the second vizier Muṣṭafā Pasha (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 307 ff. and 313 ff.), and in which his master took a prominent part. A different account is given in a more concise anonymous description of the same circumcision festival, mostly bearing the title *Medjmaʿ-i Sūr-i Humāyūn* (MS Vienna, 1072, of which a part has been lost since Hammer-Purgstall's time but of which the greater part is still preserved; Hammer's translation, vi, 704, replaces the lost section; Hamburg, cod. or. 269 contains only the list of the presents). Also diverging from ʿAbdī's account is that of an anonymous author in Paris, suppl. turc, 880, bound together with the translation of the *jeune de langues* Étienne Roboly. Of ʿAbdī's book there are MSS in Paris, suppl. turc 501 (incomplete) and 1045 (the best MS), in the private collection of R. Tschudi, Basle, and in Istanbul, Millet Kütübkhānesi, 277 (414).

Bibliography: Babinger, 217 f.; J. H. Mordtmann, in *Isl.*, 1925, 364. (Fr. Babinger)

ʿABDĪ EFENDI, Ottoman historian. The only information about his life is that he worked under the sultans Maḥmūd I and Muṣṭafā III, i.e. about 1730-64. His history, called either simply *ʿAbdī Taʾrīkhi*, or *Taʾrīkh-i Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān*, deals mainly with the antecedents of Patrona Khalīl's rebellion and with the revolution itself (1730-1) and is one of the main contemporary sources for this event. MSS are to be found in Istanbul, Esʿad Efendī, 2153 and Millet Kütübkhānesi 409.

Bibliography: F. R. Unat, 1730 *Patrona ihtilali hakkında bir eser Abdi tarihi*, Ankara 1943; *Osmanlı Müellefleri*, iii, 106; *Inönü Ansiklopedisi*, i, 31; Ahmed Refik, *Lâle dewri*, Istanbul 1331, 116, 125, 140; *Rāmiz Tedhkiresi*, MS Millet Kütübkhānesi 762, 185; *Sefînet ül-Rüʾasāʾ*, 83 ff., 90 ff.—For the MSS cf. *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Katalogları*, I: *Türkçe Tarih Yazmaları*, 2nd fasc., Istanbul 1944, 103 f. (Fr. Babinger)

ʿABDĪ PASHA, Ottoman historian. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbdī Pasha came from Anadolu Hisarī on the Bosporus, was educated in the Serāy, and finally attained the post of imperial privy secretary (*sirr kʿātibi*). In Muḥarram 1080/June 1669 he was promoted to the office of *nishāndji* with the rank of a vizier, and later was appointed *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the capital. In April 1679 he became governor of Bosnia, next year again *nishāndji*, in March a so-called vizier of the cupola, in August 1684 governor of Baṣra (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 379). Deposed in 1686, he was in the next year appointed governor of Egypt. In 1688 he was governor of Rumelia, next year governor of Crete, where he died in Radjab 1103/March 1692. ʿAbdī Pasha is usually described, though whether correctly is open to some doubt, as the first officially appointed historiographer (*weḳāʾiʿ-nüwīs*); cf. Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlī devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, Ankara 1948, 64-8. At any rate he was the author of a history of the Ottoman empire, which starts with the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad (Meḥmed) IV, 1058/1648 and ends with 3 Ramaḍān 1093/5 Oct. 1682. The book, usually called *Taʾrīkh-i Weḳāʾiʿ* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 14523), but also *Waḳʿa-nāmeyi ʿAbdī Pasha*, was dedicated to the sultan Meḥmed IV. For the MSS cf. Babinger; additional MSS in Istanbul, *Baghdād Köshkü*, 217, Khāled Ef., 615 (cf. *Isl.*, 1942, 207), and *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Katalogları*, xi: *Türkçe Tarih Yazmaları*, 2nd fasc., Ankara 1944, 111 f. A partial French translation, by Étienne Roboly, is preserved in Paris, suppl. turc, 867 (Blochet, *Cat.*, ii, 78).

Bibliography: Babinger, 227 f. (with further references); *Inönü Ansiklopedisi*, i, 30; Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 558 f. (Fr. Babinger)

ABDJAD (or Abadjad or Abū Djad), the first of the eight mnemotechnical terms into which the twenty-eight consonants of the Arabic alphabet were divided. In the East, the whole series of these *voces memoriales* is ordered and, in general, vocalized as follows: *ʾabdjad hawwaz ḥuṭṭiy kalaman saʿfaṣ ḳarashat thakhadh ḍaẓagh*. In the West (North Africa and the Iberian peninsula) groups no. 5, 6 and 8 were differently arranged; the complete list was as follows: *ʾabadjid hawazin ḥuṭiyin kalamnin ṣaʿfaḍin ḳurisat thakhudh ẓaghshin*. The first six groups of the Oriental series preserve faithfully the order of the "Phoenician" alphabet. The last two, supplementary, groups consisted of the consonants peculiar to Arabic, called, for this reason, *rawādif*, "mounted on the hind-quarters".

From a practical point of view, this arrangement of the alphabet has only one point of interest, namely that the Arabs (like the Greeks) gave each letter a numerical value, according to its position. The twenty-eight characters are thus divided into three successive series of nine each: units (1 to 9), tens (10 to 90), hundreds (100 to 900), and "thousand". Naturally, the numerical value corresponding to each of the letters that belong to groups no. 5, 6 and 8 differs in the Oriental and the Occidental systems.

The use of the Arabic characters as numerals has always been limited and exceptional; the ciphers proper (cf. ḥisāb) have taken their place. Nevertheless, they are used in the following cases: (i) on astrolabes; (ii) in chronograms, usually versified (epigraphic or otherwise), formed according to the system called *al-djummal* (see ḥisāb and taʾrīkh). (iii) in various divinatory procedures and in composing certain talismans (type of *bdwḥ* = 2.4 6.8. see budūḥ). Even in our own days the *ṭālibs* of North Africa use the numerical value of the letters for certain magical operations, according to the system called *ayḳash* (1.10.100.1000); a specialist in this technique is called in the vernacular *yaḳḳāsh*; (iv) in the pagination, according to the modern convention, of prefaces and tables of contents, where we would use the Roman letters.

This "abecedarian" order of the Arabic letters does not actually correspond to anything, whether from the point of view of phonetics or of graphical representation. To be sure, it is very old. For the first twenty-two letters, it appears already in a tablet discovered at Raʾs Shamra which gives the list of the cuneiform signs that constitute the alphabet of the people of Ugarit in the 14th century B.C. (Ch. Virolleaud, *L'abécédaire de Ras Shamra*, *GLECS*, 1950, 57). Its Canaanite origin, at least, is therefore certain; but moreover, the order was kept in the Hebrew and Aramean alphabet, and was, no doubt, taken over by the Arabs together with the latter. Yet the Arabs, having no knowledge of the other Semitic languages and moreover full of prejudices arising from their strong self-consciousness and their national pride, sought other explanations for the mnemotechnic words *abdjad* etc., handed down by tradition and incomprehensible to them. All that they had to say on this head, however interesting, is but a fable. According to one version, six kings of Madyan arranged the Arabic letters after their own names; according to another tradition, the first six groups are the names of six demons; a third tradition explains them as the names of the days of the week. Sylvestre de Sacy has noted the fact that in these traditions only the first six words are used, and that, e.g., Friday is not called *thakhadh*, but *ʿurūba*; yet it is not admissible to base on such vague traditions the conclusion that the Arabic alphabet had originally only twenty-two letters (J. A. Sylvestre de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*², ii, par. 9). In fact, even among the Arabs there were some more enlightened grammarians, such as al-Mubarrad and al-Sīrāfī, who, not satisfied with the legendary explanations of *abdjad*, straightforwardly declared that these mnemotechnic words were of foreign origin.

There is, however, one noteworthy detail among

these fabulous indications. One of the six kings of Madyan had the supremacy over the others (*raʾīsuhum*); this was Kalaman, whose name is perhaps somehow connected with the Latin *elementum*.

For the other arrangement of the alphabet which exists alongside this "abecedarian" order and which is the one currently employed, see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ.

It may be added that in North Africa the adjective *būdjādī* is still alive, with the acceptation of "beginner, tiro, green", literally, "one still at the abecedarian stage" (cf. the Persian-Turkish *abdjad-khwān*, English *abecedarian*, German *Abcschüler*).

Bibliography: Lane, *Lex.* s.v. *abdjad*; *TA*, s.v. *bdjd*; *Fihrist*, 4-5; Cantor, *Vorl. über Gesch. d. Math.*², i, 709; Th. Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Buchstabennnamen*, in *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, 1904, 124; H. Bauer, *Wie ist die Reihenfolge der Buchstaben im Alphabet zustande gekommen*, *ZDMG*, 1913, 501; G. S. Colin, *De l'origine grecque des "chiffres de Fès" et de nos "chiffres arabes"*, *JA*, 1933, 193; J. Février, *Histoire de l'écriture*, 1948, 222; D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, 1948; M. G. de Slane, *Les Prolegomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun*, i, 241-53; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 144; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 172-95.

(G. WEIL-[G. S. COLIN])

ABÉCHÉ [see ABESHR].

ABEL [see HĀBĪL].

ABENCERAGES [see AL-SARRĀDJ, BANŪ].

ABENRAGEL [see IBN ABI ʾL-RIDJĀL].

ABESHR (ABECHE), capital of the Sultanate of Wadāʾi, Territory of the Tchad, French Equatorial Africa, 14° north. lat. and 21° east. long., to the south of Wara, the old capital. Founded in 1850, chief town of a region and a district of 125,000 inhabitants (119 Europeans). Important center of transit between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the Tchad; many *djallāba* merchants from Omdurman have installed themselves in the town. Center of trade in cattle, meat (freezing installations planned) and karakul sheep, bred in the neighbouring sheepwalk of Abugudam. A Franco-Arabic *medersa* was opened in 1951, the master of which belongs to the Tīdjānī order, like all the Wadāʾis. The town, built in a vast dry plain, dominated by isolated mountains, comprises five big villages and a European township.

Bibliography: Lt. J. Ferrandi, *Abéché, capitale des Ouadaï* (*Publ. Comité de l'Afr. franç.*), 1913; see also WADĀʾI. (J. DRESCH)

ABHĀ, capital of the Saudi Arabian province of ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] situated in Wādī Abhā (c. 18° 13' n. lat. and 42° 30' E. long.) at an elevation of c. 2200 meters. Perhaps 10,000 people, almost all Shāfiʿīs, live in its several villages now growing together but retaining distinctive names. One of the largest is Manāẓir, sometimes given as the ancient name of the place; al-Hamdānī (i, 118) fails to mention Manāẓir but names Abhā as a location of the tribe called ʿAsīr. Banī Mughayd, dominant in modern Abhā, belong to ʿAsīr.

Other communities are al-Ḳarā, perhaps the largest; Muḳābil, joined to the main group by a stone bridge across Wādī Abhā; Naʿmān and al-Rubūʿ; al-Naṣab, where the principal mosque is located; al-Khashaʿ; and al-Miftāḥa. The focal point of town life is a large open square, where a Tuesday market is held, with the adjacent stone fortress of of Shadā, the center of provincial administration. Most of the houses have mud walls with multiple eaves of flat stone as protection against water erosion. Annual rainfall of c. 30 centimeters, augmented by irrigation from numerous wells, supports grains, fruits, and vegetables grown in terraced plots. Turkish forts crown the prominences ringing the town; two have been repaired and are used by the Saʿūdī army: Dhira, 125 meters above the town to the SSE, and Shamsān to the north. Motor routes connect Abhā with Mecca, about 840 kilometers to the north via Bīsha, and Ẓahrān and Nadjrān to the south and south-east; there is only animal transport for the steep descent to the Red Sea ports of al-Ḳunfudha and Djīzān.

Little is known of Abhā's history until Wahhābī doctrine swept across the mountains about 1215/1800. The subsequent Turco-Egyptian campaigns brought an army including several Europeans to Manāẓir, which was occupied for about one month in 1250/1834 (Tamisier mentions a nearby village of "Apha"). Āl ʿĀyiḍ, the shaykhly clan of Banī Mughayd, thereafter ruled from Abhā, later receiving the blessing of the resurgent Wahhābīs under Fayṣal b. Turkī. In 1287/1871 when the Turks were engaged in reoccupying the Yaman, Muḥammad b. ʿĀyiḍ attacked them in the lowlands but they soon overwhelmed him, occupied Abhā, and put him to death. The town became the center of a ḳaḍā in the Yaman wilāyet and remained Turkish until after the 1918 armistice, except for several months in 1328-9/1910-1 when the Idrīsīs [*q.v.*] of Ṣabyā wrested it from Sulaymān Shafīḳ, the Turkish governor. A relief expedition led by Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca arrived in Djumādā II 1329/June 1911 to find Abhā once more in Sulaymān's hands.

After the Turkish withdrawal, Āl ʿĀyiḍ again became sole rulers, but were promptly challenged, first by Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, then by the Saʿūdīs, whose two campaigns (one in 1339/1921 and another in 1340-1/1922 led by Fayṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz) broke their power. Abhā has since been the seat of a Saʿūdī governor, increased in importance by the Saʿūdī acquisition of Idrīsī territory in 1345/1926. The force commanded by Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in the Yaman War of 1355/1934 was based on Abhā. Two years later Philby found the place still suffering from the ravages of its former insecurity, but under peaceful rule prosperity is returning.

For bibliography see ʿASĪR. (H. C. MUELLER)

ABHAR (in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*: Awhar), a small town owing its importance to the fact that it lies half-way between Ḳazwīn (86 km) and Zandjān (88 km.) and that from it a road branched off southwards to Dīnawar. It was conquered in 24/645 by Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, governor of Rayy. Between 386/996 and 409/1029 it formed the fief of a Musāfirid [*q.v.*] prince. The stronghold of Sar-djahān (in *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*: Sar-čāhān), lying some 25 km. N.W. of Abhar near a pass leading into Tārom [*q.v.*] played an important rôle under the Saldjūkids.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 221; Schwarz, *Iran*, 726-8; Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, 1952, 165. (V. MINORSKY)

AL-**ABHARĪ**, ATHĪR AL-DĪN MUFAḌḌAL B. ʿUMAR, philosophical writer, about whose life nothing is known; d. in 663/1264 (according to Barhebraeus in 1262). He was the author of two works on scholastic philosophy, which were much in use and often commented: (i) *Hidāyat al-Ḥikma* in three parts, a. Logic (*al-manṭiḳ*), b. Physics (*al-ṭabīʿiyyāt*), c. theology (*al-ilāhiyyāt*). The best known commentary is that by Mīr Ḥusayn al-Maybudī, written in 880/1475). (ii) *al-Isāghūdji*, an adaptation of the *Isagoge* of

Porphyry (cf. FŪRFĪRIYŪS). Of the commentaries, that by Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Fanārī (d. 834/1470) has been printed in Istanbul; for other commentaries and glosses, see Brockelmann.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 608, S I, 839 ff.; C. F. Seybold, *Isl.*, 112 ff.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

ABĪB [see TAʾRĪKH].

ʿABĪD [see ʿABD and MAKHZAN].

ʿABĪD B. AL-ABRAṢ, pre-Islamic Arab poet, of the tribe of Asad. Very little is known of his life, which must have lain in the first half of the 6th century A.D. The probably legendary story that his death was caused by al-Mundhir III, king of Ḥīra, would fix as a *terminus ante quem* the date of the king's death, 554. The literary tournament with Imruʾ al-Ḳays, attested by the historico-literary tradition and by verses in the *dīwān* of ʿAbīd, shows that the two poets were contemporaries; their joust would have to be placed between 530 and 550. About 530—so Lyall assumes—the Banū Asad revolted against the supremacy of the kings of Kinda and killed king Ḥudjr, father of Imruʾ al-Ḳays; hence the enmity and the rivalry between the two poets.

The *dīwān* of ʿAbīd (edited and translated together with that of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl by Ch. Lyall, Leiden 1913, GMS xxi) contains thirty more or less complete *ḳaṣīdas* and seventeen fragments. The very distinct archaism in the structure and the language of the *dīwān* is a strong argument for its authenticity. The dominant tone is one of melancholic and sententious austerity, as well as of a proud dignity which finds in individual and tribal *fakhr* the expression that becomes it best.

The sentiment of love appears in a very restrained and already strongly stylized form, so that the *nasīb* is more often devoted to the collective regret for a dispersed group than for an individual woman (e.g. *ḳaṣīda* i, ix, xv, etc.). It is perhaps this melancholic contemplation of life's flight and of its fleetingness, so often expressed with original accents in the poetry of ʿAbīd, that gave rise to the legend that places him amongst the *muʿammarūn* [*q.v.*]. He seems to have died, according to Grunebaum's view (*Orientalia*, 1939, 343, 345), rather young, perhaps even before his fiftieth year. The sententious mind of ʿAbīd is expressed not only in his nostalgia for the past, but also in his praise of himself and of his tribe (iv, vii, xxii, xxiv etc.) and in his virulent polemics against Imruʾ al-Ḳays and other, unknown, poets. The allusions to his poetical talent are especially noteworthy (x and xxiii): they show that he had a clear conscience of his inspiration and his artistic technique. The old Arab critics admired his descriptions of storms and desert tempests, but the modern reader appreciates most among all the poems of his *dīwān* his descriptions of animals, such as the famous scene of an eagle chasing a fox (i) and that of the fish in the sea (xxiii). In these poems and in other celebrated tableaux, ʿAbid appears as one of the most powerful poets of the *djāhiliyya*.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 143-5; *Aghānī*, xix, 84-7; A. Fischer, *Ein angeblicher Vers des ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ*, *MIFAO*, 1935, 361-75; F. Gabrieli, *La poesia di ʿAbīd ibn al-Abraṣ*, *Rend. Acad. Italia, sc. mor.*, 1940, 240-51; Brockelmann, I, 17, S I, 54. (F. GABRIELI)

ʿABĪD B. SHARYA [see ʿUBAYD B. SHARYA].

ĀBIḲ [see ʿABD].

ĀBISH [see SALGHŪRIDS].

ABĪWARD, or BĀWARD, a town and district on the northern slopes of the mountains of Khurāsān in an area now belonging to the autonomous Turkoman republic which forms part of the U.S.S.R. The whole oasis region including Nasā [*q.v.*], Abīward etc. (known by the Turkish name of *Ātāk* "foothills") played a great part in ancient times as the first line of defence of Khurāsān against the nomads.

In the Arsacid period this region was in the ancestral country of the dynasty. Isidore of Charax, par. 13 (at the beginning of the Christian era) mentions between Παρθυηνή (with the town of Nasā) and Μαργιανή (= Marw) the district of Ἀπαυαρκτική with the town of Ἀπαυαρκτική, cf. Pliny, vi, 46: *Apaortene*, and Justin, xli, 5: *mons* (*Z*)*apaortenon* with the inaccessible town of Dara (= Kalāt?) built by Arsak.

Under the Sāsānians the country remained broken up into little principalities. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 39, has preserved the names of the kings: of Sarakhs: *Zādōya*; of Nasā: *Abrāz* (?), and of Abīward: *B. hm. na* (B. hmiya بهمنه) which is perhaps connected with the name of Mahana, Mayhana (in the district of Khāwarān to the east of Abīward).

Under Maʾmūn, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir built the *rabāṭ* of Kūfan, 6 farsakhs west of Abīward.

Perhaps even before the great migration of the Ghuzz [*q.v.*] the district had been occupied by the Khaladj Turks; cf. the *Djahān-numā* of Muḥ. b. Nadjīb Bakrān (written in 1200). Other Turkoman tribes later succeeded the Khaladj.

In the 12th-14th centuries Abīward passed into the hands of the Djūn Ghurbānī princes, of Mongol origin [cf. ṬŪS]. In the time of ʿAbbās I Ātāk was outside the zone of Persian influence. Under Nādir who belonged to this region, Ātāk became the starting point for his remarkable career. At that time the river of Tejen (the Harī-rūd) was regarded as the eastern boundary of the cultivated lands of Abīward (*muntahā-yi maʿmūra-yi sarḥaddāt-i Abīwardāt*; cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī*, under 1142 A. H. [The same source mentions among the dependencies of Abīward (?): Yangi-ḳalʿa, Ḳalʿa-yi Baghwādā, Zāghčand (?) etc.]). After the disappearance of Nādir from the scene, the semi-independent khāns of Kalāt [*q.v.*] exercised a certain influence in the district down to 1885, when, after the delimitation of the Russo-Persian frontier, Ātāk with its Turkomans was incorporated in Russian territory. The resulting return of security to northern Khurāsān enabled the Persians to develop agriculture on the upper courses of the rivers running into Ātāk. The irrigation of the latter region has suffered considerably as the result.

Antiquities. The ruins of the old town (Kuhna-Abīward) are situated about 5 miles W. of the station of Kahka (Ḳahḳaha) on the Transcaspian railway and cover an area of 14,000 square yards. The central *tell* is 60 feet high and 700 feet round. About 2 miles N. E. of Kuhna-Abīward is the little hill of Namāzgāh and to the north of it the site of some ancient town surmounted by a *pēsh-ṭāḳ* ("gateway") 45 feet high. Another important site is that of Kuhna-Ḳahḳaha, a fortress rebuilt by Tīmūr in 784/1382 (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 343). The whole region is very rich in tells (*ḳurghān*): 14 miles S. of Ḳahḳaha are the ruins of Khīwa-ābād which was settled by Nādir with prisoners liberated after the taking of Khīwa; 11 miles S.E. of the station of Artīk are the ruins of a town called Čoghondur (after the *mazār* of a holy man which dates from the 13th century). Several

of these sites must go back to the Arsacid period (Isidore of Charax mentions for example a town of 'Ραγαῦ etc.) and some are even prehistoric; cf. R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, Washington 1905, excavations at Anau.

Bibliography: Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Persien*, i, in *SBAk Wien*, vol. cii; idem, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Apauarktike* and *Dara*; E. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, i, 182, and note 48; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 147; J. Marquart, ibid., xlix, 628, xlviii, 403, 407; A. W. Komarow, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1889, vii, 158-63; Barthold, *Istoriko-geogr. očerk Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 60-2, 70; idem, *Turkestan*, index; idem, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, 41-3; Le Strange, 394; A. A. Semenow and others, *Drevnosti Abiverdskago rayona* ("The antiquities of the region of Abiward"), in *Acta Universitatis Asiae Mediae*, ser. ii, Orientalia, fasc. 3, Tashkent 1931 (expedition of 1928).

(V. Minorsky)

al-**ABĪWARDĪ**, Abu' l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Arab poet and genealogist, a descendant of ʿAnbasa b. Abī Sufyān (of the Umayyad lineage of the younger Muʿāwiya). He was born in Abīward (Khurāsān), or more exactly in the village of Kawfan (not Kūḳan) near Abīward (he is therefore sometimes called al-Kawfanī), and died from poison in Iṣfahān in 507/1113 (not 557/1161-2). His philological and historico-genealogical works, notably a history of Abīward and a book on the different and identical names of the Arab tribes, are lost; but al-Kaysarānī extensively used the latter work. Of his *dīwān*, the three most important sections: *al-Nadjdiyyāt*, *al-ʿIrāḳiyyāt* (mostly on the caliphs al-Muḳtadī, al-Mustaẓhir and their viziers) and *al-Wadjdiyyāt* are preserved in several MSS. A *dīwān*, arranged according to the alphabetical order of the rhymes, was published in the Lebanon in 1317, but many poems by al-Ghazzī have been erroneously included; a choice of less important poems: *Muḳaṭṭaʿāt al-Abīwardī al-Umawī*, was published in Cairo, 1277/1860-1.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 111; idem, *Irshād*, vi, 342-58; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iv, 62; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 16; Ibn Khallikān, no. 646; Abu'l-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar* vii, 380; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 176-7; Ḳifṭī, *Akhbār al-Muḥammadīn min al-Shuʿarā'*, MS Paris, 10v-12r; Brockelmann, I, 253, S I, 447; a critical study of the poet and his work by Ali Al Tahir, *La Poésie arabe sous les Seldjoukides* (Sorbonne thesis, 1953).

(C. Brockelmann-[Ch. Pellat])

ABḲAYḲ (properly buḳayḳ), a town and oil field in al-Ḥasā Province, Saudi Arabia. The name is taken from that of the shallow water sources (*nabaʿ*) of Buḳayḳ in the sands some 15 miles north of the present town. The names Buḳayḳ and al-Baḳḳa (similar water sources not far to the north) appear to be associated with meanings of the Arabic root *baḳḳa* relating to water rather than bugs. The Bedouins know the location of the town as Aba 'l-Ḳiʿdān, "the place of the young male camels".

Surrounded by the heavy dunes of al-Bayḍā', Abḳayḳ (49° 40′ E. long., 25° 55′ N. lat.) is about halfway between al-Ẓahrān and al-Hufhūf on the main road connecting inner Arabia with the Persian Gulf ports of al-Dammām and Ra's Tannūra, and is also on the Saudi Government Railroad (al-Dammām-al-Riyāḍ). Prior to the discovery of oil in the Abḳayḳ field by California Arabian Standard Oil Company (now Arabian American Oil Company) in 1359/1940, no settlement existed there. In 1372/1952 the population was approximately 15,000, including 1,310 Americans.

The American geologist Max Steineke was primarily responsible for finding oil in this wilderness of dunes. The oil field is about 32 miles long, averages 5 miles in width, and for a time was the most productive field in the world. In 1370/1951 daily production reached about 600,000 barrels (90,000 tons) from only 61 wells.

(W. E. Mulligan)

ABKHĀZ. 1. For all practical purposes the term *Abkhāz* or *Afkhāz*, in early Muslim sources covers Georgia and Georgians (properly *Djurzān*, *q.v.*). The reason (cf. below under 2.) is that a dynasty issued from Abkhāzia ruled in Georgia at the time of the early ʿAbbāsids. A distinction between the Abkhāzian dynasty and the Georgian rulers on the upper Kur is made by al-Masʿūdī, ii, 65, 74. The people properly called *Abkhāz* is possibly referred to only in the tradition represented by Ibn Rusta, 139: نوغر, read * أوغز *Awghaz*, see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 164-76, and *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 456. Characteristically, Ibn Rusta places this people at the end of the Khazar dominions.

2. Abkhāz, a smaller people of Western Caucasia on the Black Sea, which called itself *Aps-waà*. It occupies the area between the main range and the sea, between the river Psow (north of Gagri) and the mouth of the Ingur in the south. Since the 17th century (and possibly much earlier) a portion of the tribe has crossed the main ridge and settled on the southern tributaries of the Kuban.

The Abkhāz are mentioned in ancient times as *Abasgoi* (by Arrian) or *Abasgi* (by Pliny), cf. Contarini (A.D. 1475): *Avocasia*, in older Russian: *Obezi*, in Turkish: *Abaza*. According to Procopius (5th cent. A.D.) they were under the sovereignty of the Lazes [*q.v.*], and in those days slaves (eunuchs) were brought to Constantinople from Abkhāzia. Subjugated by Justinian, Abkhāzia was converted to Christianity. According to the Georgian Annals (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 237-43), the Arab general *Murwan-Ḳru* ("Murwan the Deaf") having occupied the passes of Darial and Dàrband, invaded Abkhāzia (whither the Georgian kings, Mir and Arčil, had fled), and ruined Tskhum (Sukhum). Dysentery and floods, combined with the attacks of the Georgians and the Abkhāzians, caused great losses to his army and made him retreat. The chronology of the Annals is very uncertain. The name Murwan-Ḳru seems to refer to the Umayyad Muḥammad b. Marwān, or to his son Marwān b. Muḥammad, i.e. to the early part of the 8th century, cf. al-Balādhurī, 205, 207-9. Towards A.D. 800 the Abkhāz won their independence with the help of the Khazars; the prince (*erist'avi*) Leon II, of the local dynasty issued from Ančabad, married to a Khazar princess, assumed the title of king, and transferred his capital to Kutaysi. Under the governor of Tiflīs, Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl (c. 830-53), the Abkhāz are said to have paid tribute to the Arabs. The most prosperous period of the Abkhāz kingdom was between 850 and 950; their kings ruled over Abkhāzia, Mingrelia (Egrisi), Imeretia and Kartlia, and also interfered in Armenian affairs. Since that period Georgian has remained the language of the educated classes in Abkhāzia. In 978 the Georgian Bagratid Bagrat III, son of the Abkhāzian princess Gurandukht, occupied the Abkhāzian throne and by 1010 united all the Georgian lands. As his first successes were based on the hereditary rights of

his mother, and as even in his later title the rank of "king of Abkhāzia" occupied the first place, the Muslims continued to call the Georgian kingdom *Abkhāzian* (down to the 13th century, and occasionally even later).

About the year 1325 the house of Sharvashidze (in Russian: *Shervashidze*, alleged to be descended from the dynasty of the Shīrwān-shāhs, [*q.v.*]) was enfeoffed with Abkhāzia; towards the middle of the 15th century (under king Bagrat VI) the Sharvashidze were confirmed as *erist'avi* of the country. According to a letter from the emperor of Trebizond in the year 1459, the princes of Abkhāz disposed of an army of 30,000 men.

After the settlement of the Ottomans on the east coast of the Black Sea, the Abkhāz came under the influence of Turkey and Islam, although Christianity was but slowly supplanted. According to the Dominican John of Lucca, even in his time (1637) the Abkhāz passed as Christians, although the Christian usages were no longer observed. Since the separation from Georgia the country had been under its own Catholicos (mentioned as early as the 13th century) in Pitzund. Up to the present day the ruins of eight large and about 100 small churches, including chapels, are said to exist in Abkhāzia. The house of Sharvashidze did not embrace Islam until the second half of the 18th century, when Prince Leon recognized Turkish sovereignty. On this account, he was given the fort of Sukhum, which had already been besieged by the Abkhāz about 1725-8. The country was divided politically into three parts: 1) Abkhāzia proper, on the coast from Gagri to the Galidzga under the said Sharvashidze; 2) the highlands of Tzebelda (without any centralized government); 3) the country of Samurzakan on the coast extending from the Galidzga to the Ingur (ruled by a branch of the house of Sharvashidze, subsequently united with Mingrelia).

After the incorporation of Georgia by Russia in 1801, the Abkhāz had also to enter into relation with this new powerful neighbour. The first attempt was made in 1803 by Prince Kelesh-beg, but was abandoned soon afterwards. After the assassination of this prince in 1808, his son Sefer-beg came into closer touch with Russia and claimed her help against his brother, the parricide Arslan-beg. In 1810 Sukhum was taken by the Russians. Sefer-beg, who had become converted to Christianity and assumed the name of George, was installed as prince, but from that time on Sukhum was occupied by a Russian garrison. The two sons of Sefer-beg, Demetrius (1821) and Michael (1822, after poisoning his elder brother) had to be put in power by the Russian armed force. Their rule was limited to the neighbourhood of Sukhum, whose garrison could communicate with headquarters only by sea. By the incorporation of the whole coast-line from Anapa to Poti (Treaty of Adrianople in 1829) Russia's position was naturally strengthened, but even in 1835 only the north-western part of the country, the district of Bzbīb, is said to have been in the possession of Prince Michael. The other parts had remained under the rule of his Muslim uncles. Later on, with the help of Russia, Michael succeeded in establishing his power almost as an absolute ruler, but he too, in spite of his Christian faith, had surrounded himself with Turks.

After the final subjugation of Western Caucasia by the Russians (1864) the dominion of the House of Sharvashidze, like that of the other native princes, came to an end; in November 1864 Prince Michael had to renounce his rights and leave the country. Abkhāzia was incorporated into the Russian empire as a special province (*otdyel*) of Sukhum and divided into three districts (*okrug*)—Pitzund, Očemčiri and Tzebelda. In 1866 an attempt made by the new governor to collect information concerning the economic conditions of the Abkhāz, for the purpose of taxation, led to a revolt, and, subsequently, to a considerable emigration of the Abkhāz to Turkey. In the thirties of the 19th century the population of Abkhāzia was estimated at about 90,000, and the number of all Abkhāz (i.e. including those living in the north outside Abkhāzia) at 128,000 souls. After 1866, the population of Abkhāzia was reduced to c. 65,000. The almost depopulated district of Tzebelda ceased to be a district and was placed under a special "Settlement Curator" (*popečitel naseleniya*). Later the whole of Abkhāzia under the name of district (*okrug*) of Sukhum-Kale (Sukhum-Ḳalʿa) formed a part of the government of Kutais. The population again decreased through emigration, especially after the Abkhāz took part in the rebellion of the mountain tribes caused by the landing of Turkish troops (1877); in 1881 the number of Abkhāz was estimated at only 20,000. No statistics on the Abkhāzians in Turkey are available.

Soviet Abkhāzia. The Soviet power was proclaimed for a short time in 1918, and finally in 1921. In April 1930 Abkhāzia, as an autonomous republic (A.S.S.R.), became part of the Georgian republic (S.S.R.) and its special constitution was confirmed in 1937. The Abkhāzian A.S.S.R. has a population of 303,000, but in this number the Abkhāzians are but a minority. In 1939 the total number of the Abkhāzians in the Soviet Union (i.e. apparently including the northern colonies in Čerkesia) was 59,000. The capital (Sukhum) has 44,000 inhabitants. The territory of the republic has acquired great importance for subtropical cultures. Its water power has been considerably exploited (in 1935, 45 electrical stations).

Since the time when an Abkhāz alphabet was invented by the eminent specialist in Caucasian languages General Baron P. K. Uslar (in 1864), and when a book on Biblical history was compiled by a priest and two officers of Abkhāz nationality, Abkhāzian letters have had a considerable development. In 1910 the founder of the new literature, Dimitri Gulia (born in 1874), published a book of popular poems. He has been followed by writers in prose (G. D. Gulia, Papaskiri), poets (Kogonia 1903-29), L. Kvitsinia) etc. Abkhāzian folklore has been collected and schoolbooks written (Čʿočʿua etc.).

The Abkhāz "polysynthetic" language belongs to the same type as the Čerkes language. It has two basic vowels as against 65 consonants in the northern (Bzīb) dialect, and 57 in the southern (Abžu). The latter has been adopted as the literary language. It is now written in the Georgian alphabet suitably completed.

Bibliography: M. F. Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903. Russian standard work (up to 1826): N. Dubrovin, *History of the war and of the Russian rule in Caucasia*, St. Petersburg 1871; cf. also an anonymous but competent review of Dubrovin in the *Sbornik swed. o kawkazskikh gortsakh*, 6th part, Tiflis 1872; P. Zubow, *Kartina kawkazskago kraya*, St. Petersburg 1834-5; A. Dirr, *Einführung in das Studium der Kaukas. Sprachen*, 1940; G. Deeters, *Der abchasische Sprachbau*, in *NGW Gött.*, 1931, iii/2, 289-303. In Russian: N. Y. Marr, *Abkhazskiy slovar*, and

the recent works by Serdiučenko and Tobil′ on northern Abkhāzian dialects (1947-9).

(W. Barthold-[V. Minorsky])

ʿABLA, sweetheart of ʿAntara [*q.v.*].

al-ABLAK, castle of Samawʾal [*q.v.*].

ABLUTION [see ghusl, tayammum, wuḍūʾ].

al-ABNĀʾ, "the sons", a denomination applied to the following:

(I) The descendants of Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, with the exception of his two sons Kaʿb and ʿAmr. This tribe inhabited the sandy desert of al-Dahnāʾ. (Cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen der arab. Stämme*).

(II) The descendants born in Yaman of the Persian immigrants. For the circumstances of the Persian intervention in Yaman under Khusraw Anūshirwān (531-79) and the reign of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, as told by the Arabic authors, cf. sayf b. dhī yazan. After the withdrawal of the foreign troops Sayf was murdered and the country again subjugated by the Ethiopians, so that the Persian general Wahriz had to return. The power of the Ethiopians was this time definitely broken and Yaman turned into a vassal state of Persia. At the time of the Prophet the Persian governor Bādhām (Bādhān) was, together with his people, converted to Islam and acknowledged the suzerainty of Muhammad. Later, however, troubles broke out in Yaman which led to complete anarchy; it was only under the reign of Abū Bakr that order was restored. (Cf. also al-yaman).

Bibliography: Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 220 ff.; M. J. de Goeje, in the Glossary to Ṭabarī, s.v.

(K. V. Zettersteén*)

(III) *Abnāʾ al-dawla*, a term applied in the early centuries of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate to the members of the ʿAbbāsid house, and by extension to the Khurāsānī and other *mawālī* who entered its service and became adoptive members of it. They survived as a privileged and influential group until the 3rd/9th century, after which they were eclipsed by the growing power of the Turkish and other troops.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Faḍāʾil al-Atrāk*, passim; J. Wellhausen, *Das Arab. Reich*, 347 f. (Engl. tr., 556 f.); A. Mez, *Renaissance d. Islams*, 151 (Engl. tr., 155 f.).

(IV) *Abnāʾ al-Atrāk*, a term sometimes used in the Mamlūk sultanate to designate the Egyptian or Syrian-born descendants of the Mamlūks, as an alternative to the more common *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*].

(V) *Abnā-yi sipāhīyān*, a term sometimes employed in formal Ottoman usage in place of the more common *sipāhī oghlanlarī*—the first of the six regiments (*bölük*) of cavalry of the Ottoman standing army. They were classed as "Slaves of the Gate" (*kapī ḳulu*).

Bibliography: H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, 69 ff., 326 ff.; Ismail Hakkī Uzunçarşīlī, *Osmanlī Devleti teşkilātīndan Kapī Kulu Ocaklarī*, 1944, ii, 138 ff.

(B. Lewis)

ABRAHA, a Christian king of South Arabia in the middle of the sixth century A. D. In Islamic literature his fame is due to the tradition that he led a Yamani expedition against Mecca (referred to in the Ḳurʾān, cv) in the year of Muḥammad's birth, c. 570 A.D. The details of Abraha's life given by Muslim historians are largely stories of folk-lore origin which have been attached arbitrarily to the name of a famous personage. For authentic information we must turn to Procopius and the Himyaritic inscriptions. According to Procopius, Hellestheaios king of Abyssinia (ʾlʾṣḥh of the inscription Istanbul 7608 bis) invaded South Arabia a few years before 531 A.D., killed its king, appointed a puppet-ruler named Esimiphaios (smyfʿ of the inscriptions), and retired to Abyssinia; subsequently, Abyssinian deserters who had remained in South Arabia revolted against Esimiphaios and set on the throne Abraha, originally the slave of a Byzantine merchant of Adulis; two expeditions sent by Hellestheaios against the rebels were unsuccessful, and Abraha retained the throne; Justinian's attempts to incite Abraha to attack Persia were in vain, for he merely marched a little way northward and then retired; so long as Hellestheaios was alive, Abraha refused to pay tribute to Abyssinia, but agreed to do so to Hellestheaios' successor. Our main epigraphic source is Abraha's long inscription on the Maʾrib dam (*Corpus inscr. sem.*, iv, 541). This records the quelling of an insurrection supported by a son of the dethroned Esimiphaios in the year 657 of the Sabaean era (between 640-650 A.D.); repairs effected to the dam later in the same year; the reception of embassies from Abyssinia, Byzantium, Persia, Ḥīra and Ḥārith b. Djabalat the phylarch of Arabia; and the completion of repairs to the dam in the following year. A further text (Ryckmans 506, see *le Muséon*, 1953, 275-84) discovered at Murayghān, east of the upper Wadi Tathlith, records a defeat inflicted by Abraha on the North Arabian tribe Maʿadd in 662 of the Sabaean era. The Maʾrib text begins, "By the power and favour and mercy of God and His Messiah and the Holy Spirit (*rḥ qds*)". It is perhaps significant of a sectarian distinction that Esimiphaios, who was no doubt a Monophysite like his Abyssinian patron, uses a different formula, "In the name of God and His Son Christ victorious and the Holy Spirit (*mnfs qds*)"; possibly Abraha had Nestorian leanings. The titulature adopted by Abraha is identical with that of his immediate predecessors, "King of Sabaʾ and Dhū-Raydān and Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat and their Arabs in the plateau and lowland", but in the Maʾrib text he calls himself in addition *ʿzly mlkn ʾgʿzyn*. The word *ʿzly* is not found elsewhere, and no satisfactory explanation of the phrase has yet been given. Conti-Rossini's rendering "the valiant king, of the (tribe) ʾAgʿazi" is syntactically improbable; and Glaser's "viceroy of the Abyssinian king" is incompatible with the passage later in the inscription where Abraha receives an Abyssinian embassy on the same footing as those of Byzantium and Persia. J. Ryckmans' proposed reading *ʿly mlkn* "the king's highness" is worth consideration. From here onwards reliable sources are silent, and we have only the probably legendary story in the Islamic sources, which attributes the motive of the Meccan expedition to Abraha's jealousy of the Meccan sanctuary and a futile attempt to substitute his church at Ṣanʿa as the place of pilgrimage for all Arabia. If Abraha really made such an expedition (the Ḳurʾān does not name its leader), a more likely explanation of his aims is that the rapprochement with Abyssinia under Hellestheaios' successor caused Abraha to adopt a more aggressive policy towards Persia, and the expedition was the first move of a projected attack on the Persian dominions. However, it proved a failure, and only provoked the Persians to their invasion under Wahrīz a few years later, which finally destroyed the ancient South Arabian kingdom. The *Martyrium Arethae* asserts

that Abraha was placed on the throne by the Abyssinian king Elesbaas (usually identified with Procopius' Hellestheaios) immediately after the death of Dhū Nuwās. Other ecclesiastical sources, such as the *Leges Homeritarum* attributed to Gregentius bishop of Ẓafār, give similar accounts. This version of events, which conflicts fundamentally with both Procopius and the inscriptions, must be regarded as unhistorical and due either to a confusion of names or to a falsification for polemical reasons.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 930-45; Ibn Hishām, i, 28-41; *Aghānī*, xvi, 72; Labīd, xlii, 19; Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm (Kowalski), xiv, 15; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, i, 138-145; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber zur Zeit d. Sassaniden*, 200-5; Procopius, *De bello persico*, i, 20; E. Glaser, *Mitt. d. vorderas. Gesch.*, 1897, 360-488; J. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam*, 239-45, 320-5; idem, *le Muséon*, 1953, 339-42; C. Conti-Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia*, 186-95; A. F. L. Beeston, *Notes on the Mureighan inscription*, *BSOAS*, xvi, pt. 2.—Cf. also, for a feature of the legend, ABŪ RIGHĀL. (A. F. L. BEESTON)

ABRAHAM [see IBRĀHĪM AL-KHALĪL].

ʿABS [see GHAṬAFĀN].

AL-**ABSHĪHĪ** [see AL-IBSHĪHĪ].

ABŪ [see KUNYA].

ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AL-SAFFĀḤ, ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ʿABBĀS, the first ʿAbbāsid caliph. The surname al-Saffāḥ means "the bloodthirsty" or "the generous". With the other members of the ʿAbbāsid family, he took refuge in Kūfa in Ṣafar 132/Sept.-Oct. 749, shortly after the occupation of the town by al-Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba and was proclaimed as caliph in the great mosque on 12 Rabīʿ II/28 November, on which occasion he pronounced a famous speech.

The first task of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās was the total defeat of the Umayyads. The ʿAbbāsid troops, under the command of his uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, achieved a complete victory on the Upper Zāb (Djumādā II 132/Jan. 750) and flung themselves into the pursuit of Marwān II through Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine. When Marwān was killed in Egypt (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 132/August 750), the main campaign could be considered as ended. The isolated resistance of Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] in Wāsiṭ was soon overcome by treachery, while the revolts that broke out in Mesopotamia and Syria were bloodily repressed. The conquerors abandoned themselves to violent acts of revenge, of which the first in importance was the episode on Nahr Abī Fuṭrus [*q.v.*]. Here ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, having killed about eighty Umayyad chiefs, laid tables over their bodies, which he afterwards threw to the dogs to eat. Similar scenes occurred in al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra and in the Ḥidjāz. Furthermore, the tombs of the Umayyad caliphs were violated. Similarly, the discontent of the ʿAlids, who, after having supported the cause of the revolt, saw themselves deprived of its fruits, was suppressed in blood: in 133/750-1, the governor of Khurāsān, Abū Muslim, put down a rising on behalf of the ʿAlids in Bukhārā.

In this way, soon after the accession of the ʿAbbasids to the caliphate, the principal sources of opposition, namely the Umayyad and the ʿAlid ex-enemies, were eliminated. The ʿAbbāsids, however, wanted to go even further, to the elimination of their own political and military chiefs who had gained too great an authority, or who were, rightly or wrongly, suspected of insubordination. With the complicity of Abū Muslim, Abū Salama [*q.v.*] and Sulaymān b. Kathīr [*q.v.*] were suppressed. Afterwards it was the turn of Abū Muslim; the first attempt against him, in connection with the rebellion of Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ in Transoxania (135/752-3) was unsuccessful; the second, immediately after the the death of Abu'l-ʿAbbās, was carried out successfully by his successor, al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

Abu'l-ʿAbbās died in al-Anbār, to which town he had transferred his residence, in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 136/June 754. It is difficult to pass a judgment on his personality, as we do not exactly know what was his personal share in the events of his short caliphate. What is certain is that during his reign the ʿAbbāsid movement not only passed from the revolutionary to the legal phase, but also consolidated itself, and the first signs appeared of that political and economic power which were confirmed by the caliphate of al-Manṣūr.

Bibliography: Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (Guirgass), Yaʿḳūbī, Ṭabarī, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, indexes; *Aghānī*, *Tables*; Th. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, 118-21; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 338-52. For the surname al-Saffāḥ: H. F. Amedroz, *On the Meaning of the Laqab* "al-Saffāḥ", *JRAS*, 1907, 660-3. On Ibn Hurayra: S. Moscati, *Il "tradimento" di Wāsiṭ*, *Muséon*, 1951, 177-86. On the massacre of the Umayyads: idem, *Le massacre des Umayyades*, *ArO*, 1950, 88-115. On Abū Muslim: idem, *Studi su Abū Muslim, I-II*, *Rend. Lin*, 1949, 323-35, 474-95; 1950, 89-105, and ABŪ MUSLIM. (S. MOSCATI)

ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH YAʿḲŪB B. DĀʾŪD, vizier. Belonging to a philo-ʿAlid family, he participated, together with his brother ʿAlī, in the revolt of Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh against the caliph al-Manṣūr in 145/762-3. Imprisoned for this, he was pardoned by the next caliph al-Mahdī in 159/775-6 and succeeded in gaining his favour, it is said, by revealing the plan of escape of another partisan of the ʿAlids. Having become a confidant and counsellor of the caliph, he was appointed vizier in 163/779-80 in place of Abū ʿUbayd Allāh, and used his power in favour of his ʿAlid friends. This policy was the main reason for the suspicion, following upon some court rumours, entertained against him by al-Mahdī. The story goes that the caliph put him on trial by handing over to his charge an ʿAlid with the order to kill him secretly; but he let him escape. When this was discovered, he was deposed and thrown into prison, from which he was released only by Hārūn al-Rashīd. Completely blind by now, his only wish was to be sent to Mecca, where he died, probably in 186/802. His policy was perhaps the expression of an attempt at reconciling the ʿAbbāsids and the ʿAlids; if so, he himself was at the same time the symbol and the victim of the precarious nature of such an attempt.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, Index; Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ wa 'l-Kuttāb*, Cairo 1938, 114-122; Ibn Khallikān, no. 840; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (Dérenbourg), 250-5, 257; S. Moscati, in *Orientalia*, 1946, 164-7. (S. MOSCATI)

ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-SHĪʿĪ, AL-ḤUSAYN B. AḤMAD B. MUḤ. B. ZAKARIYYĀʾ, sometimes also called AL-MUḤTASIB (he had allegedly been a *muḥtasib*, market overseer, in ʿIrāḳ), the founder of Fāṭimid rule in North Africa. A native of Ṣanʿāʾ, he joined the Ismāʿīlī movement in ʿIrāḳ and was sent to Yaman, where he spent his apprenticeship with Manṣūr al-Yaman (Ibn Ḥawshab), head of the

Ismāʿīlī mission in that country. On the pilgrimage of 279/892 he met in Mecca some Kutāma pilgrims and accompanied them back to their native country, which they reached on 14 Rabīʿ I 280/3 June 893. He first established himself in Īkdjān near Saṭīf. In face of the opposition directed against him by a confederacy of Kutāma clans, Abū ʿAbd Allāh transferred his headquarters to Tāzrūt, where he steadily strengthened his position, captivated Mīla and was able to withstand the attacks of two expeditions sent against him by the Aghlabid government (289/902 and 290/903). On the occasion of a temporary setback, his headquarters were moved back to Īkdjān, which remained his base for subsequent operations. In 289/902 the *imām* al-Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh [*q.v.*] fled from Syria, attempted to join Abū ʿAbd Allāh, but had to take refuge in Sidjilmāssa, where he was imprisoned. Abū ʿAbd Allāh's brother Abu'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad, who had accompanied the *imām*, fell into the hands of the Aghlabids. Abū ʿAbd Allāh then took Saṭīf, Ṭubna (293/906) and Billizma (same year), was victorious in the battle of Dār Mallūl, conquered Tīdjis, Bāghāya, defeated the Aghlabid army near Dār Madyan, and seized Ḳasṭiliya and Ḳafsa (296/909). When he took al-Urbus (Laribus), the key of Ifrīḳiya (23 Djumāda II, 296/19 March 909), the Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyādat Allāh fled from Raḳḳāda. Abū ʿAbd Allāh entered the Aghlabid capital on 1 Radjab 296/25 March 909. Leaving his brother Abu'l-ʿAbbās as his lieutenant, Abū ʿAbd Allāh led an expedition against Sidjilmāssa and liberated the *imām*, who triumphantly entered Raḳḳāda on 20 Rabīʿ II 297/6 Jan. 910, and conferred high honours on Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abu'l-ʿAbbās. The ruler and his powerful servants, however, soon fell foul fo each other and both brothers were murdered on 1 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 298/31 July 911.

Bibliography: The main authority, and almost the unique source for the later historians, is al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ al-Daʿwa* (MSS preserved among the Bohras). Written in 346/957-8, this book mainly consists of a very detailed account of Abū ʿAbd Allāh's activities. It is quoted in al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā*, transl. E. Fagnan, *Centenario Michele Amari*, i, 35 ff.; an extensive précis in ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, first half of vol. v. Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, in his lost history of Ifrīḳiya, followed the account of al-Nuʿmān (see the quotation in al-Nuwayrī, beg. of section on the Fāṭimids; cf. J. A. Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, i, p. cccciii). On Ibn al-Raḳīḳ was based the relevant chapter in Ibn Shaddād's history of al-Ḳayrawān, known from the excerpts in Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 23 ff., al-Nuwayrī, al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā*, transl. Fagnan, 47-53, 67-78. In this way, al-Nuʿmān's narrative entered into the main stream of Islamic general history. (Cf. also Ibn Ḥamādū (Vonderheyden), 7; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, ii, 509 f.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 349-50, ii, 10 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 171).—The account of ʿArīb (printed in the editions of Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*: Dozy, i, 129 ff., Lévi-Provençal and Colin, i, 134 ff.) is independant of al-Nuʿmān; Ibn ʿIdhārī (ed. Dozy, i, 118 ff., ed. Lévi-Provençal and Colin, i, 124 ff.) copies Abū Marwān al-Warrāḳ, 6th/11th century (who ultimately depends upon al-Nuʿmān), and ʿArīb.—Of modern accounts—all of them antiquated by the recovery of the *Iftitāḥ*—that by F. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Fatimiden-Chalifen*, Göttingen 1881, 8 ff., can be recommended. For the phases of Abū ʿAbd Allāh's career where it touches that of the *imām*, cf. W. Ivanow, *Rise of the Fatimids*, index, and AL-MAHDĪ ʿUBAYD ALLĀH.

(S. M. STERN)

ABŪ 'L-ʿALĀʾ AL-MAʿARRĪ [see AL-MAʿARRĪ].

ABŪ (BŪ) **ʿALĪ ḲALANDAR** (Shaykh) SHARAF AL-DĪN PĀNĪPATĪ, one of the most venerated of Indian saints, is believed to have died in 724/1324. There is little authentic information about his life and none of the surviving contemporary works even mention him by name. The earliest reference to him is in ʿAfīf's *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* (written in 800/1396), wherein Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ's visit to him is recorded. According to the accounts of his life written in the 11th/17th century, he was a native of Pānipat, to which place his father, Sālār Fakhr al-Dīn, had come from ʿIrāḳ. Trained as a theologian, he ultimately renounced scholasticism, threw away his books in the river, and became a *Ḳalandar*. In the ecstasy of divine love, he gave up observing the commandments of God and the Prophetic Traditions, though he subjected himself to great self-mortification. He is supposed to have been a spiritual descendant of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*]; however, it is doubtful if he belonged to any organized ṣūfī order. Numerous legends regarding his life, miracles and death have grown, and it is difficult even to say whether the tomb at Pānīpat or at Karnāl is his, though the former is more famous. The works attributed to him include letters on divine love addressed to Ikhtiyār al-Dīn (Sulayman Coll., Aligarh Univ.); *Ḥikam-nāma* (As. Soc. Bengal, Ivanow: 1196), which is definitely apocryphal; and two *mathnawīs*: *Kalām-i Ḳalandar* (Meerut) and *Mathnawī Bū ʿAlī Shāh Ḳalandar* (Lucknow 1891).

Bibliography: *Akhbār al-Akhyār*; *Gulzār-i Abrār* (As. Soc. Bengal, Ivanow 259, ff. 32-3); *Ṣubḥ-i Ṣādiḳ* (A. S. Coll., Aligarh Univ., iii f. 411a); *Siyar al-Aḳṭāb*; *Mirʾāt al-Asrār* (B. M. Or. 216, f. 386a); *Maʿāridj al-Wilāya* (Nizami's MS., Aligarh Univ., 230-5); *Sharaf al-Madjālis* (Sulayman Coll., Aligarh Univ.); *Punjab Dist. Gazetteer*, Karnal 1918, 76, 210-1, 223-4; *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1870, 125; 1873, 97. (NURUL HASAN)

ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-ḲĀLĪ [see AL-ḲĀLĪ].

ABŪ ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. ILYĀS [see ILYĀSIDS].

ABU 'L-ʿĀLIYA RUFAYʿ B. MIHRĀN AL-**RIYĀḤĪ**, a liberated slave of the Banū Riyāḥ, belonging to the first generation of *tābiʿūn* residing in Baṣra; d. 90/708-9 or 96/714. A commentary on the Ḳurʾān is attributed to him (Hādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), ii, 352), but he is mainly known as a traditionist and a transmitter of the Ḳurʾān. Having collected in al-Baṣra and in Medina *ḥadīth* transmitted particularly by ʿUmar and Ubayy b. Kaʿb, he was considered thrustworthy (*thiḳa*) and contributed to the training of Ḳatāda, Dāʾūd b. Abū Hind, ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal and other traditionists of renown. His name figures frequently in the "chains" of transmission of *hadith* admitted into the great collections. In the same way, data put under his name are admitted by al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, *passim*, e.g. i, 228; cf. al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl* (Fleischer), i, 12[24]. He transmitted his system of "reading" (*ḳirāʾa*) to al-Aʿmash and to the readers of Baṣra Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*] and Shuʿayb b. al-Ḥabḥāb al-Azdī (d. 130/747). He played no political role and took no part in the conflict between ʿAlī and his partisans and the Umayyads.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vii, 81-5; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 200; Ṭabarī, i, 108-25; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, Cairo 1351-6, ii,

217-24; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, Damascus 1332, v, 323-6; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ* (Wüstenfeld), 738-9; ʿUthmānī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḳahāʾ*, MS Paris 2093, 43v; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, ii, 186-7, Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, no. 1272; A. Sprenger, *Leben des Mohammed*, iii, CVII, CXVI. (R. BLACHÈRE)

ABŪ ʿAMR ZABBĀN B. AL-ʿ**ALĀʾ**, a celebrated 'reader' of the Ḳurʾān, regarded as the founder of the grammatical school of Baṣra, died c. 154/770.

This scholar seems to have claimed a genealogy connecting him with the Arab tribe of Māzin of the confederation of Tamīm; see Ibn Khallikān and the other biographers, including Ibn al-Djazarī, who, however, in one isolated statement, links him with Ḥanīfa. His name, Zabbān, has never been fully confirmed, and is only given in preference to a score of others. He is believed to have been born c. 70/689 at the latest, either at Mecca, according to the generally accepted view, including that of Ibn al-Djazarī, i, 292 (citing a disciple of Abū ʿAmr, the 'reader' ʿAbd al-Wārith, d. 180/796), or at Kāzarūn, in southern Persia, according to an isolated piece of evidence in the works of Ibn al-Djazarī, i, 289. If the former is correct, he must have passed his childhood in Ḥidjāz before going to ʿIrāḳ; if the latter, the opposite would be the case. The only established fact is that Abū ʿAmr accompanied his father when the latter, harassed by al-Ḥadjdjadj's police, fled from ʿIrāḳ to seek refuge in southern Arabia; see Ibn al-Djazarī, i, 289 (there appear to be lacunae in the text), and Ibn Khallikān, i, 386 *ad fin.* (Ibn al-Anbārī, 32, merely says that Abū ʿAmr had to flee from al-Ḥadjdjādj, without giving any details). According to his own recollections, Abū ʿAmr was then a little more than twenty (which gives some force to the statements which put his year of birth at 70/689); see Ibn Khallikān, i, 387. It seems permissible to assume, from the passage of Ibn al-Djazarī, I, 289[8], that this journey gave him the opportunity of pursuing further his 'readings' of the Ḳurʾān at Mecca and Medina, studies which he would appear to have continued on his return to ʿIrāḳ. It is difficult, however, to reconcile this assertion with the statement of Ibn Khallikān, i, 387, that Abū ʿAmr and his father returned immediately to ʿIrāḳ upon the death of al-Ḥadjdjādj, in 95/714. However that may be, when Abū ʿAmr had settled in ʿIrāḳ, it appears that he rarely left Baṣra again. If it is indeed he who is praised in a line of al-Farazdaḳ (d. 114/732-3) (see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 367), he was already before that date a celebrity of some standing in his city of adoption: cf. the flattering comment on him attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and handed on by Ibn al-Djazarī, 291. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that reveals anything about his relations with the Umayyad authorities. On the other hand, when the ʾAbbāsids came to power, his celebrity seems to have won him recognition even in governmental circles, since he is said to have had dealings with the uncle of the caliph al-Saffāḥ, Sulaymān (Ibn Khallikān, i, 387), and with the uncle of the caliph al-Mahdī, Yazīd (see *Fihrist*, 50[15]), as well as with the governor of Syria, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. It was on his return from a visit to the last-named that he died and was buried at Kūfa, c. 154/770 (or 155/771 or 157/773); see Ibn al-Djazarī, 293 (Ibn Khallikān gives also 159/775).

Abū ʿAmr seems to have left no written works, and when Ibn al-Nadīm, 41, states that he saw manuscripts of this master, at al-Ḥadītha, in the 4th/10th century, and when this same author adds, 88, that a *K. al-Nawādir* was handed down in the version left by him, he must have been referring to writings taken down from his oral teaching by his disciples.

Abū ʿAmr belongs to the generation of scholars for whom the study of Arabic was dependent on that of the Ḳuʾrān. It is thus an arbitrary distinction if one tries to separate in him the 'reader' of the Koran from the grammarian and the 'transmitter' of poetry.

During his stay in Ḥidjāz, Abū ʿAmr initiated himself into the system of 'reading' in process of formation at Mecca and Medina, following the teaching of Abu 'l-ʿĀliya [*q.v.*] and Ibn Kathīr in particular. In ʿIrāḳ he studied the system of Ibn Abī Isḥāḳ al-Ḥaḍramī and of others (at Baṣra), and that of ʿĀṣim (at Kūfa). A list of his masters is given by Ibn al-Djazarī, 289; cf. also al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 398, and *Fihrist*, 39. He built up a system of his own in which the Mecca and Medina influences predominate; a complete table of the origins of this system has been drawn up by C. Pellat, *Milieu basrien*, 77 f. The 'reading' of Abū ʿAmr, at Baṣra, displaced all others previously existing in the town, and especially that of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: see Pellat, *op. cit.*, 76; it is said to have been recommended by the 'reader' of Kūfa, Shuʿba (d. 193/808): see Ibn al-Djazarī, 292; it was taught by disciples who later became famous, such as Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, al-Aṣmaʿī, and a large number of others: see the list ibid., 289. In the 4th/10th century, when the reforms of Ibn al-Mudjahid were introduced, this system took its place among the canonical 'Seven readings'. At the time of Ibn al-Djazarī (d. 833/1429) it was the accepted system in Yaman, in Ḥidjāz, and in Syria, a province where it had finally ousted that of Ibn ʿĀmir in the 5th/11th century: see Ibn al-Djazarī, 292. This system of 'reading' was the subject of a treatise by Ibn al-Mudjāhid, see *Fihrist*, 31[18]. Nevertheless, writings of the same order had been composed before that period: see the list, ibid., 28. Another summary is also known, entitled *al-Ḳaṭar al-Miṣrī fī ḳirāʾat Abī ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Baṣrī*, by ʿUmar b. al-Ḳāsim al-Nashshār (d. 900/1495), which is preserved in Berlin: see Ahlwardt, no. 639. We have, too, an opuscule based on the oral tradition, on the orthography of the Koran: see O. Rescher, in WZKM, 1912, 94 (this opuscule is in a miscellaneous collection, in Aya Sofia, no. 4814). The influence of Abū ʿAmr was of the first importance for the development of grammatical and lexicographical studies at Baṣra. It is less easy to follow, however, than the influence of his system of 'reading'. Among his disciples, the following names are worthy of note: Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, al-Aṣmaʿī (see al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 323, 329; *Fihrist*, 42; Ibn al-Anbārī, 30), Abū ʿUbayda (see Ibn Khallikān, 387), Khalaf al-Aḥmar (see al-Suyūṭī, ii, 278, 403), and the future founder of the School of Kūfa, al-Ruʾāsī (see id., ii, 400). It is possible that already then, under his stimulus, the method of seeking information from the Beduins, in matters concerning grammar and lexicography, was developed at Baṣra. (see the anecdote recorded by id., ii, 278 and 304).

By his disciples, and especially by Abū ʿUbayda and by such a scholar as al-Djāḥiẓ, Abū ʿAmr was regarded as 'the most learned man in things pertaining to the Arabs, and combining with the accuracy of his auricular transmission the veracity of his statements' (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 255, 256; cf. Abū 'l-Ṭayyib, who expresses a similar view in *Muzhir*, ii, 399). And yet this point raises a very delicate problem. This scholar seems, indeed, like a number

of his contemporaries, to have been an enthusiastic collector of archaic poetry and of accounts of the 'Days of the Arabs'; cf. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, Paris, 1952, i, 101 f. According to an account taken from Abū ʿUbayda by al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 256 (repeated in a somewhat changed form by Ibn al-Djazarī, 290, Ibn Khallikān, i, 386, and al-Kutubī, i, 164), 'the books which Abū ʿAmr had written by taking the words down from such Arabs as were worthy to serve as informers filled a room in his dwelling. Later on, having devoted himself to 'reading' (of the Ḳurʾān), he burnt these books'. This piece of evidence, which we have no means of checking, does not say that Abū ʿAmr destroyed the collections of poetry made by himself, as has been too often asserted. Actually, the main point to keep in mind is that after this destruction—if it took place—Abū ʿAmr continued nevertheless to communicate orally the documentation which he had accumulated in his memory. There are many anecdotes which show his knowledge of ancient poetry; see for example, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 256, ii, 121; al-Sīrāfī, 30; Ibn al-Anbārī, 31, 34. It is known that on one occasion he did not hesitate to forge a line; see al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 415. This fact, which he himself admitted, in no way detracted from his acknowledged authority as a 'transmitter' (*rāwī*). His place among Arab lexicographers seems to have been very important, since he is said to have been, in this sphere, the master of al-Khalīl [*q.v.*]; see ibid., ii, 398, and also the numerous references to Abū ʿAmr's lexicographical authority, ibid., ii, 73, 111, 291, 360. The authors of *adab* and the anthologists often quote, too, his judgements on the poets; see for example, ibid., ii, 479, 484, 486.

It is no exaggeration to say that the figure of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ dominates the intellectual activity of the centre of Baṣra at the period when the generation of scholars was growing up—men such as al-Khalīl, al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda—who were to become the masters of the philological and grammatical school of that town.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (Sandūbī), Cairo 1351, i, 255-6 and *passim*; Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-Naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn* (Krenkow), and again in Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ*, 29-38; *Fihrist*, 35, 39, 88, and *passim*, used by Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, 32 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, 478; and again in al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾat al-Djanān*, i, 325 f.; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 164; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghayat al-Nihāya* (Bergsträsser), Cairo 1933, i, 288-92 and *passim*; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, 367, and *Muzhir* (Badjāwī), Cairo 1942, ii, 398 f. and *passim*; C. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien dans la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 76-8; Brockelmann, I, 99, S I, 158.

(R. Blachère)

ABU ʾL-ʿARAB Muḥammad b. Tamīm b. Tammām al-Tamīmī, Malikite *faḳīh*, traditionist, historian and poet from Ḳayrawān. Offspring of a great Arab family (his great-grandfather was governor of Tūnis, seized Ḳayrawān in 183/799 and ended his life in prison in Baghdād), Abu'l-ʿArab, born in Ḳayrawān between 250/864 and 260/873, devoted himself to study under various masters, trained, in his turn, several pupils (notably Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī), took part in the revolt of Abū Yazīd against the Fatimids, was put in prison and died in 333/945. Of the works on *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth* and history attributed to him, only the *Ṭabaḳāt ʿUlamāʾ Ifriḳiya*, a collection of anecdotical biographies of the scholars of Ḳayrawān and Tūnis, seems to have been preserved (ed. and transl. by M. Ben Cheneb, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, Algiers 1915-20).

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, iii, 105; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 233; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim* iii, 42; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* (BAH, ix), 297, 301; H.H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Muntakhab al-Madrasī*[2], Cairo 1944, 37-8.

(Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ ʿARĪSH, a town in ʿAsīr, about 20 miles from Djīzān. Philby describes it as kite-shaped, nearly a mile across, consisting mainly of brushwood huts (*ʿarāʾish*) and adjoining extensive ruins. The population (about 12,000) grows millet and sesame. The merchants are mostly of Ḥaḍramī origin.

First settled by a shaykh (7th/13th century), it prospered under the Zaydī Imāms who captured it in 1036/1627. In the next century the local *ashrāf* became independent. They temporarily submitted to the Wahhābīs (1217/1802-3) and later to the Egyptians. When the latter abandoned Ḥudayda (1256/1840) Sharīf Ḥusayn occupied the Tihāma, was made Pasha and threatened ʿAdan. Britain protested and the Turks drove him back to ʿAsīr. The power of the *ashrāf*, weakened by civil war and the attacks of Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾiḍ, disappeared when the Turks reoccupied ʿAsīr; Philby could find no trace of them. Abū ʿArīsh has since belonged in turn to the Turks, the Idrīsī and Ibn Saʿūd.

Bibliography: Descriptions: C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, 267; Tamisier, *Voyage en Arabie*, i, 383-91; H. St. J. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, History: Tamisier, *op. cit.*, i, 365-74; Philby, *op. cit.*; A. S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*,; H. F. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, 51-4; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348, i, 240, ii, 6-8; ʿUthmān b. Bishr al-Nadjdī al-Ḥanbalī, *ʿUnwān al-Madjd*, Mecca 1349, i, 144-5, 211. (C. F. Beckingham)

ABŪ ʿARŪBA, al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Maʿshar Muḥammad b. Mawdūd al-Sulamī al-Ḥarrānī, *ḥadīth* scholar of Ḥarrān (b. ca. 222/837, d. 318/930-1).

Practically nothing is known about his life, except the names of his authorities and his students, some of them very famous personalities. He is said to have been judge or *muftī* of Ḥarrān. One source (Ibn ʿAsākir *apud* al-Dhahabī) states that he was a partisan of the Umayyads.

According to the *Fihrist*, 230, Abū ʿArūba wrote only one work, a collection of traditions which were transmitted by his authorities. This work seems to be identical with the *Ṭabaḳāt* which are mentioned as a work of Abū ʿArūba by al-Dhahabī. An excerpt from the *Ṭabaḳāt*, which deals with the men around Muḥammad and their traditions, is preserved in Damascus (cf. Yūsuf al-ʿIshsh, *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya*, Damascus 1947, 169). Abū ʿArūba is also quoted as the author of a history of Ḥarrān (or collection of biographies of scholars of the Djazīra) and a *Kitāb al-Awāʾil*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 663; *Fihrist*, 322; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 161a and passim; Yāḳūt, ii, 232, and *passim*; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya* (ms. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2925, iv, fols. 178b-179a); Dhahabī, *Nubalāʾ* (ms. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2910, ix, 545-7); idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, *anno* 318; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 279; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 310, 389, 393.

(F. Rosenthal)

ABU ʾL-ASWAD al-DUʾALĪ (or, according to West-Arabic pronunciation al-Dīlī, nomen relativum from al-Duʾil b. Bakr, a clan of the Banū Kināna),

a partisan of ʿAlī. His name (Ẓālim b. ʿAmr) and genealogy are uncertain; his mother belonged to the clan ʿAbd al-Dār b. Ḳuṣayy of Ḳuraysh. He was probably born some years before the Hidjra. In the caliphate of ʿUmar he went to Baṣra. He lived first among his own tribe, then among the Banū Hudhayl, and for some time also among the Banū Ḳushayr, the kinsmen of his favourite wife; but his Shīʿite propensities as well as his obstinacy and avarice made him disagreeable to his neighbours. It is doubtful whether he held any office under ʿUmar and ʿUthmān. In ʿAlī's caliphate he rose to prominence. He is said to have taken part in the unsuccessful negotiations with ʿĀʾisha and in the ensuing "Battle of the Camel", and also fought at Ṣiffīn for ʿAlī. He was employed at Baṣra either as ḳāḍī or as secretary to the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, and is even said to have held a military command in the wars against the Khawāridj. When ʿAlī's star was setting, and according to al-Madāʾinī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās planned to leave Baṣra, taking with him the treasury, Abu 'l-Aswad tried to stop him and reported the matter to ʿAlī, who appointed him governor. This post he held, if at all, only for a short time. When ʿAlī was murdered, he made in a poem (no. 59 in Rescher's numbering) the Umayyads responsible for it. But his sentiments were of no consequence, as there was no large Shīʿa element in Baṣra (*Aghānī*[1], xi, 121). He did not realize that he had lost all influence. He had reason to complain about Muʿāwiya's representative ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, with whom he had formerly been on good terms (Poems nos. 23, 46), and also tried in vain to gain the favour of the viceroy Ziyād b. Abīh. Relations between them had been strained already in the caliphate of ʿAlī, when Ziyād was in charge of the revenue-office (*Aghānī*[1], xi, 119). He lamented the death of al-Ḥusayn in 61/680 (no. 61) and cried for vengeance (no. 62). The last event mentioned in his poems is his complaint to the "Prince ot the Faithful" Ibn al-Zubayr about his representative at Baṣra in c. 67/686 (Ibn Saʿd, v, 19). He died, according to al-Madāʾinī, at Baṣra during the great plague in 69/688.

A collection of his poems, made by al-Sukkarī, is extant, but has been published only in part. They are poor in language and style and artistically and historically insignificant; most of them deal with petty incidents of everyday life; some of the poems are apparently forged. This applies also to the widely circulated allegation—invented most probably by some philologist of the Baṣra school—that is was Abu'l-Aswad who laid down for the first time the rules of Arabic grammar and invented the vocalisation of the Ḳurʾān.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 37, S I, 72; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 131-3; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1864, 232-40; O. Rescher, in *WZKM*, 1913, 375-97; Ibn Saʿd, vii, 1, 70; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 457; *Maʿārif*, 222; *Aghānī*[1], xi, 105-124; al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār*, 13-22; J. W. Fück, *Arabiya*, 6.

(J. W. Fück)

ABŪ ʿAṬĀʾ AL-SINDĪ, Aflaḥ (or Marzūḳ) b. Yasār, Arabic poet. He owes his surname of al-Sindī to the fact that his father came from Sind; he himself was born in Kūfa and lived there as a client of the Banū Asad. He fought for the declining Umayyad dynasty with pen and sword, praising them and casting scorn on their adversaries. It is true, however, that when the ʿAbbāsids obtained power, he tried to insinuate himself into the favour of the new rulers by singing their praises. But the iron character of al-Saffāḥ was but little sensible to such fawning, and under the reign of his successor, al-Manṣūr, the poet was even obliged to keep himself hidden. Only after al-Manṣūr's death in 158/774 did he again make his appearance. He died, no doubt, shortly afterwards, but the exact date is not known. Abū ʿAṭāʾ was considered a good poet—his elegy on Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] being especially famous—although he pronounced Arabic badly and even stammered, so that he was obliged to have his poetry recited by others.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 482-4; Abū Tammān, *Ḥamāsa*, i, 372 ff.; *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 81-7; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 380; al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-Laʾālī* (Maimani), 802; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1283, i, 937; collection of fragments by Baloch Nabi Bakhsh Khan, *IC*, 1949, 137 f.

(A. Schaade*)

ABU 'L-ʿATĀHIYA, poetic nickname ("father of craziness") of Abū Isḥāḳ Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḳāsim b. Suwayd b. Kaysān, Arabic poet, born in Kūfa (or ʿAyn al-Tamr) 130/748 and died 210/825 or 211/826. His family had been *mawālī* of the ʿAnaza tribe for two or three generations, and were engaged in menial occupations; his father was a cupper, and the poet himself as a youth sold earthenware in the streets. His outlook on life was embittered by a sense of social inferiority; in his later verse he gave vent to his hatred of the governing class and the wealthy; and he was notorious for covetousness and meanness to the end of his life. But like Bashshār b. Burd, he had a natural gift for poetry, and hoped to find in this the door to a larger life. On account of his poverty he had not the time to attend lectures on philology and the poetry of the ancients, and to this we must attribute the freshness and unconventionality of his style. As a young man he associated with the profligate circle of poets grouped around Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb, and gained a reputation with his *ghazals* and wine-songs; later critics have condemned these productions as poor and effeminate (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 497), and only fragments of them have survived. Like most of the spontaneous poets, he showed a preference for simple language and short metres, and first rose to fame by a panegyric on al-Mahdī which, in spite of these unconventional characteristics, gained the caliph's favour. He made himself notorious in Baghdād by his ghazals in praise of ʿUtba, a slave-girl of al-Mahdī's cousin Rayṭa, who hoped to gain the caliph's notice but had no intention of throwing herself away on a penniless nobody. He held the caliph responsible for his failure to win ʿUtba, and some indiscrete verses gained him a flogging and banishment to Kūfa. When al-Mahdī died, he took his revenge in some verses which could be read ambiguously.

Back in Baghdād his fulsome praise of al-Hādī annoyed the latter's successor Hārūn al-Rashīd, who sent him to prison along with his friend Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. Restored to favour, he charmed Hārūn with his love-lyrics, but suddenly renounced the *ghazal* and devoted himself to ascetic poetry (c. 178). Hārūn at first took umbrage at his conversion and imprisoned him, but was reconciled later at the instances of al-Faḍl b. Rabīʿ, and in part also no doubt because of his popularity with the masses. It may be suspected that al-Faḍl's patronage was connected with his intrigue, in association with the queen Zubayda, against the Barmakids, and that Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya's new "ascetic" productions conveniently served their purposes. However that may be, Abu'l-ʿAtāhiya maintained henceforward a vast

output of sermons in verse, long and short, painting the horrors of all-levelling Death, and directed especially against the rich and the powerful, not excluding the caliph himself. So profitable was it that when Abū Nuwās also began to produce *zuhdiyyāt* Abu'l-ʿAtāhiya warned him not to trespass on the field to which he had established a prescriptive right (*Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1924, 70). Some later critics questioned, not without cause, the sincerity of his conversion, notably the real ascetic Abu'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, who referred to him as "that astute fellow" (Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, xv, MS Brit. Mus. 575, fol. 136).

A more frequent accusation brought against Abu'l-ʿAtāhiya is that of heresy, which was a favourite weapon at the time; and it was suggested by Goldziher that one reason for his imprisonments may be sought in the occasionally unorthodox tone of some of his poems. Having no theological education he seems to have been influenced by the modified legacy of Manichaean beliefs still current in ʿIrāḳ, which accounted for the disorders of this world by the existence of two primary substances, good and evil, though Abu'l-ʿAtāhiya held that both were the creation of Allāh. In certain of his verses also, such as "If you would see the noblest of mankind look for a king in the guise of a pauper", there may be suggestions of a concealed attachment to Mūsā al-Kāẓim and the cause of the Shīʿite imāms, still strong in Kūfa.

His astonishing success as a poet was due to the simplicity, spontaneity, and artlessness of his language, which contrasted with the laboured artificiality of some of his contemporaries, and expressed the feelings of the people in verse that they could understand. He was fortunate also, by his friendship with Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, to have many of his poems set to music by the foremost musician of the day. He and his younger contemporary Abān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [*q.v.*] were the first to use *muzdawidj* (couplet) rhyming verse, and he was the first, according to al-Maʿarrī (*al-Fuṣūl wa'l-Ghayāt*, i, 131), to invent the metre *muḍāriʿ*. He also used a metre consisting of eight long syllables. Owing to his enormous output his entire *dīwān* was never collected. The *zuhdiyyāt* were put together by the Spanish scholar Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 91; al-*Aghānī*², iii, 126-83 (³, iv, 1-112); see also Guidi's *Tables* for other references; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 250-60; Goldziher, *Trans. IX Congress of Orientalists*, 113 ff.; G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1937, 215 ff., 225 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 76; S I, 119. Partial editions of the *dīwān* were published in Bairut 1887, 1909; see also *Madjmūʿa*, ed. F. E. Bustani, Bairut 1927; *Zuhdiyyāt*, trans. O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1928. (A. GUILLAUME)

ABU 'L-AʿWAR ʿAMR B. SUFYĀN AL-**SULAMĪ** general in the service of Muʿāwiya. He belonged to the powerful tribe of Sulaym (hence "al-Sulamī"); his mother was a Christian and his father had fought at Uḥud in the ranks of the Ḳuraysh. The son, who does not seem to have belonged to the closest circle of the Prophet, went, probably with the army commanded by Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, to Syria. In the battle of the Yarmūk he was in charge of a detachment, and from that time he followed faithfully the fortunes of the Umayyads. He thus exposed himself to the execration of ʿAlī, especially after he had taken part in the battle of Ṣiffīn. He assisted ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī in conquering Egypt for Muʿāwiya and was in command of various military expeditions by sea. In addition, he showed also diplomatic and administrative abilities. At Ṣiffīn, he took part in the negotiations with ʿAlī and prepared the preliminary draft for the conference of Adhruḥ. He was also commissioned to count the *fallāḥs* of Palestine for a new distribution of taxes. Muʿāwiya had in mind to appoint him in Egypt to the post of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī, who had been guilty of showing a too independent attitude; but this plan came to nothing, and he was appointed to the governorship of the province of al-Urdunn. On the ground of his services the Arabic annalists counted him among the main lieutenants of Muʿāwiya, those who constituted his *shīʿa* or *biṭāna*. He disappeared from the political scene before the end of Muʿāwiya's reign.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 106; Ibn Rusta, 213; Ṭabarī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 351; Michael the Syrian (Chabot), ii, 442, 445, 450; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 149; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 138; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 14; H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne de Moʿāwia*, 42 ff. (H. LAMMENS*)

ABŪ ʿAWN ʿABD AL-MALIK B. YAZĪD AL-KHURASĀNĪ, general in the service of the ʿAbbāsids. After the outbreak of the rebellion in Khurāsān, 25 Ramaḍān 129/9 June 747, Abū ʿAwn several times took part in the war against the Umayyads. At first he accompanied the ʿAbbāsid general Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb; then he was sent by the latter to Shahrazūr, where on 20 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 131/10 August 749, in conjunction with Mālik b. Ṭarīf, he defeated ʿUthmān b. Sufyān. While Abū ʿAwn remained in the vicinity of Mosul, the Umayyad caliph Marwān II marched against him. Under the supreme command of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, Abū ʿAwn took part in the battle by the Greater Zāb (11 Djumādā II 132/25 January 750), in the pursuit of Marwān, and in the capture of Damascus. When ʿAbd Allāh remained behind in Palestine, he sent Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī together with Abū ʿAwn and a few others to continue the pursuit to Egypt, and it was there that the caliph, after a fresh defeat, was tracked down and killed in the same year. Abū ʿAwn remained in Egypt till further orders as governor. In 159/775-6 he was appointed governor of Khurāsān by al-Mahdī, but deposed in the following year.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, Ṭabarī, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Indexes; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 341-3; L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, Roma 1912, under the relevant years. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN*)

ABU 'L-ʿAYNĀʾ MUḤAMMED B. AL-ḲĀSIM B. KHALLĀD B. YĀSIR B. SULAIMĀN AL-HĀSHIMĪ, an Arabian littérateur and poet. He was born about the year 190/805 in al-Ahwāz (his family came from al-Yamāma) and grew up in Baṣra, where he received instruction from the most famous philologists, Abū ʿUbaida, al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and others. He was renowned amongst his contemporaries not only for his linguistic attainments, but also for his quickness at repartee. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir collected anecdotes concerning him in a special work entitled *Akhbār Abi 'l-ʿAynāʾ*, many of which are to be found in the *al-Aghānī*. The book itself as well as the collection of his poems have not been preserved. He became blind at the age of 40, later on he emigrated to Bagdad, but returned to Baṣra again and died there in the year 282 or 283/896.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 125; Ibn Khallikān, no. 615. (C. BROCKELMANN)

ABŪ AYYŪB KHĀLID B. ZAYD B. KULAYB AL-NADJDJĀRĪ AL-**ANṢĀRĪ**, generally known by his *kunya*, companion of the Prophet. It was in the

house of Abū Ayyūb that the Prophet stayed on his emigration to Medina, before his own mosque and house were built. He took part in all the Prophet's expeditions, was present at all the battles of early Islam and served under the command of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀsī during the conquest of Egypt. Later on he was appointed by ʿAlī to the governorship of Medina, but was obliged to rejoin ʿAlī in ʿIrāḳ when Busr b. Abī Arṭāt approched the town with an army of 3000 men put at his disposal by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī. In ʿIrāḳ Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī took part in the battles fought there by ʿAlī. During the reign of Muʿāwiya, he took part in the invasion of Cyprus and the expedition against Constantinople led by Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya. During the siege of the Byzantine capital Abū Ayyūb died of dysentery, in the year 52/672 (the years 50, 51 and 55 are also given as the date of his death). At his own request, he was buried under the walls of Constantinople.

150 *ḥadīths* are attributed to Abū Ayyūb, but only a small number of them (thirteen altogether) have been admitted as authentic by al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *Tadjrīd Asmāʾ al-Ṣaḥāba*, Ḥaydarābād 1315, i, 161, ii, 161; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 5, 154; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 49-50; Ṭabarī, iii, 23-4; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr* (Torrey), index; Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, ii, 294; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318, i, 156, ii, 638; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7, iii, 90; idem, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, ii, 89; Khazradjī, *Khulāṣa*, Cairo 1322, 86; Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī, *Djamʿ*, Ḥaydarābād 1323, 118; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, ii, 88, v, 143; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Leiden 1855, i, 22, 34, 151, 158-60; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ* Göttingen 1842-7, 652; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1322, i, 112; Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt ʿUlamāʾ Ifrīḳiya*, ed. and transl. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920; 21/66 and note 2; M. Canard, in *JA*, 192, 67 ff.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

The tomb of Abū Ayyūb is mentioned for the first time by Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 140 (ed. Cairo 1934, 119); according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2324, Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 381, Ibn al-Djawzī and al-Ḳazwīnī, 408, the Byzantines respected it and made pilgrimage to it in time of drought to pray there for rain (*istisḳāʾ*). The—probably legendary—discovery of the tomb by Aḳ Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.*] during the siege of the city by Muḥammad II can be compared to the finding of the Holy Lance by the Crusaders during the siege of Antioch. The Turkish legend is fully reproduced in Leunclavius, *Historiae musulmanae*, Frankfurt 1591, 38 ff. and in the careful monograph by Hādjdjī ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Āthār al-Madjīdiyya fi 'l-Manāḳib al-Khālidiyya*. See also A. M. Schneider, in *Oriens*, 1951, 113 ff.; P. Wittek, *Aywansary*, in *Annales de l'hist. de phil. et d'hist. orientales et slaves*, Bruxelles 1951, 505 ff. (esp. 513 ff.).

(J. H. MORDTMANN*)

A mosque was built on the spot by Muḥammad II in 863/1458; it was enlarged by Etmekdji-zāde Aḥmad Pasha in 1000/1591; two new minarets, each with two galleries, were added in 1136/1273. It was in this mosque that the sultan Maḥmūd II deposited the relics of the Prophet discovered in the treasury of the Sarāy (the imprint of the foot). The grand-vizier Sinān Pasha (d. 1133/1729), Māh Fīrūz Khadīdja (mother of the sultan ʿUthmān III), the grand-vizier Semiz ʿAlī Pasha, Gurdjī Muḥammad Pasha, Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha (the conqueror of Cyprus) and a number of other important persons are buried in the *turba* or in the immediate vicinity of its court-yard. The mosque is situated outside the Byzantine walls, and an important suburb (Eyyüb [see ISTANBUL]) grew up round it. The mosque was the object of special veneration and it was forbidden for non-Muslims to enter it. According to a rather late custom (cf. *Isl.*, 1931, 184 ff. and MAWLAWIYYA) it was in this mosque that the sultan, on his accession, was girded with the sword of his ancestors by the Čelebi Efendi, the head of the Mawlawī order who came especially from Ḳonya to carry out the ceremony.

Bibliography: Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn b. Hādjdjī Ismāʿīl, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, i, 243, cf. Hammer-Purgstall, xviii, 57; Cl. Huart, *Konia*, 206; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii, 604 ff.

(CL. HUART*)

ABŪ BAKR, the first caliph.

i. Name, family, and early life.—Abū Bakr was probably born shortly after 570 as he is said to have been three years younger than Muḥammad. His father was Abū Ḳuḥāfa (ʿUthmān) b. ʿĀmir of the clan of Taym of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, and he is therefore sometimes known as Ibn Abī Ḳuḥāfa. His mother was Umm al-Khayr (Salmā) bint Ṣakhr of the same clan. The names ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAtīḳ ('freed slave') are attributed to him as well as Abū Bakr, but the relation of these names to one another and their original significance is not clear. Muḥammad seems to have made a play on the name ʿAtīḳ and to have said that he was 'freed from Hell'. He was later known as al-Ṣiddīḳ, the truthful, the upright, or the one who counts true; the last meaning is supported by the tradition that he alone immediately believed Muḥammad's story of his night-journey (*isrāʾ*, *q.v.*).

In the course of his life he had four wives. (1) Ḳutayla bint ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā of the Meccan clan of ʿĀmir, who bore him ʿAbd Allāh and Asmāʾ (who married al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām); (2) Umm Rūmān bint ʿĀmir of the tribe of Kinana, who bore him ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (originally ʿAbd al-Kaʿba or ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā) and ʿĀʾisha; (3) Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays of the tribe of Khathʿam, who bore him Muḥammad; (4) Ḥabība bint Khāridja, of the Medinan clan of al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazradj, who bore him Umm Kulthūm posthumously. The last two marriages were made late in his life and were doubtless political; Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays was the widow of Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib (who was killed in 8/629). The first two marriages were probably concurrent, since ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the eldest son, but only Umm Rūmān accompanied Abū Bakr to Medina.

Little is known about Abū Bakr's life before his conversion. He was a merchant (*tādjir*) worth 40,000 dirhams, indicating (according to H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la Veille de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1924, 226-8) that his business was comparatively unimportant. He is not mentioned as having travelled to Syria or elsewhere, but he was an expert in the genealogies of the Arab tribes.

ii. From his conversion to the death of Muḥammad.—Abū Bakr was possibly a friend of Muḥammad before the latter's call to be a prophet and his own conversion. According to some traditions he was the first male Muslim after Muḥammad (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 121; al-Ṭabarī, i. 1165-7); but this may simply be a reflection of his later preeminence, since the same claim is made for ʿAlī and Zayd b. Ḥāritha.

Similarly the statement that Abū Bakr was responsible for the conversion of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ and Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbayd Allāh is suspicious because these five and ʿAlī constitued the *shūrā* or council to elect a successor to ʿUmar. What is certain is that for some time before the Hidjra, Abū Bakr was the foremost member of the Muslim community after Muḥammad.

He remained in Mecca when many Muslims emigrated to Abyssinia. This is an obscure affair. It has been suggested that the emigrants objected to the policy of the group among the Muslims led by Abū Bakr. The traditional view, however, was that the emigrants went to avoid persecution; and it may be that Abū Bakr's clan of Taym, like others belonging to the group known as Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, did not persecute its members. It seems, however, that it also lacked the will or the power to defend them, for it allowed Abū Bakr and his fellow clansman Ṭalḥa to be bound together by a man of the Meccan clan of Asad; and at a later date Abū Bakr left Mecca and only returned on receiving the protection (*djiwār*) of Ibn al-Dughunna, the chief of a nomadic group in alliance with Ḳuraysh. The slaves bought and set free by Abū Bakr, notably ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra and Bilāl, suffered bodily violence. The purchase of slaves who professed Islam, though showing Abū Bakr's devotion to the cause, does not completely account for the reduction of his wealth to 5,000 dirhams at the Hidjra, and economic pressure by the leading merchants of Mecca is to be suspected.

Muḥammad chose him to accompany himself on his migration to Medina, an event to which reference is made in Ḳurʾān ix, 40. His family, that is, presumably Umm Rūmān, ʿĀʾisha, Asmāʾ and perhaps ʿAbd Allāh, followed soon afterwards. Abū Ḳuḥāfa, however, remained in Mecca, and Abū Bakr's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān actually fought against the Muslims at Badr and Uḥud, but was converted to Islam before the conquest of Mecca. In Medina Abū Bakr found a house in the district of al-Sunḥ. His special position in the community was marked by Muḥammad's marriage to his daughter ʿĀʾisha. He was a participant in all the expeditions led by Muḥammad in person, and was constantly at his side, ready to help with advice and information. In critical moments he was steady as a rock and did not lose heart. There seems to have been a remarkable degree of harmony between leader and follower. When others (including ʿUmar who was inseparable from Abū Bakr) questioned Muḥammad's decisions to make peace at al-Ḥudaybiya and to abandon the siege of al-Ṭāʾif, Abū Bakr gave immediate and whole-hearted support. He was the first to know the true objective of the expedition which conquered Mecca in 8/630. In other words, he was Muḥammad's chief adviser. He did not have any separate military command, except of a small party detached from a larger expedition in 6/627 and of a minor expedition against the tribe of Hawāzin in 7/628. In 8/629 he served with ʿUmar under the command of Abū ʿUbaydah, probably in order to smooth over political difficulties. By his being appointed to conduct the pilgrimage of A. H. 9 and to lead public prayers in Medina during Muḥammad's last illness, and by other signs of respect, he was marked as successor.

iii. His caliphate, 11/632-13/634.—The day of Muḥammad's death (13 Rabīʿ I, 11/8 June, 632) was a critical one for the young Islamic state. The Anṣār set about appointing a leader from their own number, but were persuaded by ʿUmar and others to accept Abū Bakr. He took the title of Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh, 'deputy or successor of the messenger of God', and after a short time moved to a house in the centre of Medina.

His caliphate of a little over two years was largely occupied in dealing with the *ridda* or 'apostasy'. This phenomenon, as the name given by Arabic historians indicates, was regarded by them as primarily a religious movement; but recent European scholars, especially J. Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin, 1899, 7-37) and L. Caetani (*Annali*, ii, 549-831) have argued that it was essentially political. More probably it was both. Medina had become the centre of a social and political system, of which religion was an integral part; consequently it was inevitable that any reaction against this system should have a religious aspect. There were six main centres of this reaction. In four of these, the leader had a religious character and is often called a 'false prophet': al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī in the Yemen, Musaylima among the tribe of Ḥanīfa in the Yamāma, Ṭulayḥa in the tribes of Asad and Ghaṭafān, and the prophetess Sadjāḥ in the tribe of Tamīm. The form of the *ridda* in each centre varied according to local circumstances; it involved the refusal to send taxes to Medina and to obey the agents sent out by Medina. In the Yemen the *ridda* began before Muḥammad's death, and when Abū Bakr came to power al-Aswad had been replaced by Ḳays b. (Hubayra b. ʿAbd Yaghūth) al-Makshūḥ. In other places there had presumably existed for some time a movement against the rule of Medina, but it became open revolt only after Muḥammad's death. During the absence of the main Muslim army in Syria under Usāma b. Zayd, some neighbouring tribes tried to surprise Medina, but were eventually defeated at Dhū 'l-Ḳaṣṣa. After the return of the Syrian expedition, a large army commanded by Khālid b. al-Walīd was sent against the rebels. First Ṭulayḥa was defeated in a battle at Buzākha, and the area restored to its allegiance to Islam. Soon afterwards, Tamīm abandoned Sadjāḥ and submitted to Abū Bakr. The most important battle of the *ridda* was the battle of the Yamāma at ʿAḳrabāʾ (about Rabīʿ I, 12/May 633), known as 'the garden of death' on account of the great slaughter on both sides. Here Musaylima, the most serious opponent of the Muslims, was defeated and killed, and central Arabia brought under their control. Subordinate commanders were entrusted with subsidiary operations in al-Baḥrayn and ʿUmān (with Mahra), while Khālid pacified the Yamāma before moving towards ʿIrāḳ. The *ridda* in the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt was defeated by another commander, al-Muhadjir b. Abī Umayya. In dealing with captured leaders Abū Bakr showed great clemency, and many became active supporters of the cause of Islam. The traditional view was that the *ridda* had been quelled before the end of 11 A.H. (March 633); but Caetani has shown that the events require a much longer time, and that it may have continued into 13/634.

The size of Muḥammad's expeditions along the road to Syria shows that he had realized the urgency of expansion if peace was to be maintained among the Arab tribes. Abū Bakr was aware of this strategic principle. In the first days of his caliphate, despite the threats of rebellion in Arabia, he persisted with Muḥammad's plan of sending a large army under Usāma towards Syria. Again, once the danger from Musaylima in central Arabia was removed, no time

was lost in despatching Khālid towards ʿIrāḳ. Thus was set on foot under Abū Bakr's direction the great 'conquest of the lands'. The traditional account of the conquests and their chronology has been radically revised by European scholars' critique of the sources (Wellhausen, op. cit., 37-113; De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la Conquête de la Syrie*², Leiden, 1900; N. A. Miednikoff, *Palestina*, St. Petersburg, 1897-1907 [in Russian]; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, iii). By the time of Abū Bakr's death the position would seem to be as follows. Khālid, joining a force of B. Bakr b. Wāʾil under al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, had advanced plundering into ʿIrāḳ and threatened al-Ḥīra, which paid 60,000 dirhams to be left alone. While al-Muthannā remained on this sector, Khālid carried out a celebrated march to Damascus and linked up with three Muslim columns which, under Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, had been operating with success in Palestine, but were now retiring before a superior Byzantine army. The united Muslim forces defeated the enemy at al-Adjnādayn (probably a corruption of al-Djannābatayn) between Jerusalem and Gaza at the end of Djumādā I (July 634). Thus the expansion into the Persian empire was initiated by Abū Bakr, but he still laid most emphasis on Syria. At what stage the decision was made, not merely to raid these lands, but to conquer them, is not clear.

Abū Bakr died on 22 Djumādā II, 13/23 August 634, and was buried beside Muḥammad. The great simplicity of his life, with its rejection of all wealth, pomp and pretension, became in later times a legend, though there is doubtless a kernel of truth. The assertion that he began the 'collection of the Ḳurʾān' is now usually held to be mistaken in view of the general ascription of this to ʿUmar.

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(W. Montgomery Watt)

ABŪ BAKR b. **ʿABD ALLĀH** [see ibn abī 'l-dunyā].

ABŪ BAKR b. **AḤMAD** [see ibn ḳāḍī shuhba].

ABŪ BAKR b. **ʿALĪ** [see ibn ḥidjdja].

ABŪ BAKR b. **SAʿD** b. **ZENGĪ** [see salghūrids].

ABŪ BAKR al-**BAYṬĀR** [see ibn al-mundhir].

ABŪ BAKR al-**KHALLĀL** [see al-khallāl].

ABŪ BAKR al-**KHʷĀRIZMĪ** [see al-khʷārizmī].

ABŪ BAKRA (the man of the pulley), the usual designation of a Companion of the Prophet called Nufayʿ b. Masrūḥ, an Abyssinian, formerly slave of the Thaḳafites of al-Ṭāʾif. During the siege of that town by Muḥammad (8/630) he joined the Muslims by letting himself down by a pulley and was emancipated by the Prophet. He stayed afterwards in Yaman and participated in the foundation of Baṣra where he settled and died in 51 or 52/671-2. Having been whipped by ʿUmar because he had testified against al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] on a charge of adultery, Abū Bakra played no part in politics and held aloof (*iʿtazala*) during the Battle of the Camel. He confined himself to cultivating the estates given him by ʿUmar and transmitting *ḥadīth*, in which he is regarded as trustworthy by the authorities.

His biographers give him as his mother Sumayya, so that he is considered as the brother, on the mother's side, of Ziyād b. Abīhi, with whom, however, he quarreled when Ziyād joined the party of Muʿāwiya. Abū Bakra left numerous descendants, among them seven sons: ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Muslim, Rawwād, Yazīd and ʿUtba, who had a part in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. Enriched by the exploitation of the public baths and favoured by Ziyād, they gained a place among the bourgoisie, and even the aristocracy, of Baṣra, and forged themselves an Arab genealogy, claiming that Abū Bakra was the son of al-Ḥārith b. Kalada, the "physician of the Arabs". Al-Mahdī, on ascending the throne, did not recognize this genealogy and forced the descendants of Abū Bakra to return to the status of *mawālī* of the Prophet (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳa, *al-Fakhrī* (Derenbourg), 245; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ* (Huart), vi, 94-5; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 137 ff.). A descendant of the family was the ḳāḍī Abū Bakra Bakkār b. Ḳutayba (182-270/798-884; see Ibn Khallikān, no. 115).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353, 125-6; Ibn Saʿd, vii/1, 8-9, 138-9; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 343 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 2529 ff., iii, 477 ff.; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 188; *Aghānī*¹, ii, 48; vii, 141; xi, 100; xiv, 69; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 378-9, 677-8; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, i, 38, 151; ii, 215; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 8794; Yāḳūt, i, 638-644, *passim*.

(M. Th. Houtsma-[Ch. Pellat])

ABU 'L-BARAKĀT Hibat Allāh b. Malkā al-Baghdādī al-Baladī, philosopher and physician, called Awḥad al-Zamān, 'unique of his time', was born at Balad, near Moṣul, about 470/1077 at the latest. Jewish by birth, he had for his master Abu'l-Ḥasan Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh, and became a famous physician, serving in this quality the caliphs of Baghdād—where he resided—and the Seldjuk sultans. The anecdotes related by the biographers reveal his often difficult relations with his various patrons and their courts. At an advanced age he was converted to Islam. This decision was taken by him, according to the different rumours reported by his biographers, out of wounded pride or out of fear (because of the death of the wife of sultan Maḥmūd who had been attended by him; or because, taken prisoner during a battle in which the army of the caliph al-Mustarshid was defeated by sultan Masʿūd, his life was threatened). Having become blind at the end of his life, he died in Baghdād, it seems after 560/1164-5. Rival of the Christian physician Ibn al-Tilmīdh, he had as his disciple and friend Isḥāḳ, the son of Abraham b. Ezra, who composed on him a panegyric in Hebrew.

The main work of Abu'l-Barakāt is the *Kitāb al-Muʿtabar*, dealing with logic, *naturalia* (including psychology) and metaphysics (published in three volumes by Şerefettin Yaltkaya, Hyderabad 1358/1939). A detailed commentary on Ecclesiastes, composed in Arabic, is of considerable philosophical interest; it is almost entirely unpublished. Among the smaller treatises ascribed to Abu'l-Barakāt is to be noted the *Risāla fī Sabab Ẓuhūr al-Kawākib Laylᵃⁿ wa-Khafāʾihā Nahārᵃⁿ* (cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 280), transl. by E. Wiedemann (in *Eders Jahrbuch für Photographie*, 1909, 49-54). Under a slightly different title: *Ruʾya 'l-Kawākib bi'l-Layl lā bi'l-Nahār*, it passes for a work of Ibn Sīnā (cf. G. C. Anawati, *Essai de Bibliographie avicennienne*, no. 162).

In *al-Muʿtabar*, modelled in great part on the *Shifāʾ* of Ibn Sīnā, Abu'l-Barakāt sometimes takes over theses from that book, quoting them literally, but at the same time attacks others that are among the most essential. In his opposition to Ibn Sīnā he is often at one, in the field of physics, with the tradition that bore in Islamic lands the name of Platonic, and which was that followed by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī. His psychology is, in some respects, related more than that of the *Shifāʾ*, or more manifestly so to that of the Neoplatonists.

Abuʾl-Barakāt's method of philosophizing does not, however, lend itself easily to recourse to the authority of tradition. This is shown by the very title of the *Kitāb al-Muʿtabar*, which in the usage of Abu 'l-Barakāt means something like: "The book about what has been established by personal reflection". As a matter of fact, this method is distinguished in the first instance by the appeal to self-evident truths, the certainties *a priori*, which nullify the theses *a posteriori* of the ruling philosophy of the period. Abu 'l-Barakāt refuses to make a difference between the certainties of reason, admitted as valid by the Peripatetics, and those depending on the estimative faculty (*wahm*), dismissed by them.

It is mainly this method that leads Abu 'l-Barakāt to assert, against the partisans of the Aristotelian theory of space, the existence of a tridimensional space. With John Philoponus he refutes the proposition denying the possibility of movement in the void. Having demonstrated the fallacy of the peripatetic arguments to the contrary, he proves the infinity of space by the impossibility for man to conceive a limited space.

Similarly, it is the appeal to the *a priori* knowledge of the human mind that allows Abu 'l-Barakāt to clarify the problem of time—the true solution of which, according to him, depends upon metaphysics rather than upon physics. In effect, he shows that the apperception of time, of being, and of self, is anterior in the soul to any other apperception the soul might have, and that the nature of being and that of time are closely linked. According to his definition, time is the measure of being (not, as the peripatetics held, that of movement). He does not admit the diversity of the various levels of time, the gradations of *zamān, dahr, sarmad* assumed by Ibn Sīnā and other philosophers. In his opinion, time characterizes the being of the Creator as well as that of created things.

He identifies prime matter with the body considered merely from the point of view of corporality, apart from any other characteristic; corporality being an extension susceptible of being measured. Among the four elements, earth alone is, in his view, constituted of corpuscles, indivisible because of their solidity.

Dealing with the movement of projectiles, Abu 'l-Barakāt accepts, though with modifications, the theory of Ibn Sīnā—ultimately, as it seems, inspired by John Philoponus—according to which the cause of this movement is a 'violent inclination', that is to say a force (called later by certain Latin schoolmen *impetus*) imparted by the projecting body to the projectile. He explains the acceleration in the fall of heavy objects by the fact that the principle of natural inclination (*mayl ṭabīʿī*, a current philosophical term), contained in them, furnishes them with successive inclinations. The text of the *Muʿtabar* treating of this doctrine is the first one, as far as is known at present, where one finds implied this fundamental law of modern dynamics: a constant force gives rise to an accelerated movement.

It is especially the psychological doctrine of Abu 'l-Barakāt that shows in the most palpable way the role given in his philosophy to recourse to what is self-evident. As a matter of fact, this doctrine has as its starting point the consciousness that man has of himself, i.e. of his soul. This consciousness bears the stamp of certainty and is anterior to any other knowledge; it would be there even without the perception of the sensible things. Ibn Sīnā had already availed himself of this *a priori* datum, which he had great difficulty in integrating with his psychology—which bears the stamp of Peripaticism—while Abu 'l-Barakāt is led by it towards other psychological verities, equally guaranteed and authenticated by their self-evident character. For instance, the valid consciousness that man has of being one—the same when he sees and hears, thinks, remembers or desires, or accomplishes any other psychical act—is sufficient in the view of Abu 'l-Barakāt to refute the various theories postulating a multiplicity of the faculties of the soul. Another example: the certainty that one has of perceiving, in the act of seeing, the very object that one sees, and at the place where it really is—and not an image, that according to certain hypotheses is situated inside the brain—this certainty proves by itself the truth of the impressions that it guarantees. We have, then, a psychology that consists, partly, of a system of self-evident truths, and is dominated up to a certain point by the notion of consciousness or apperception (*shuʿūr*, a term used in a similar sense by Ibn Sīnā). It denies the distinction established by the Aristotelian doctrine between intellect and soul. In fact, according to Abu 'l-Barakāt, it is the soul that accomplishes the so-called acts of intellection—a concept which he criticises. Similarly, he denies the existence of the active intellect postulated by the peripatetics.

Platonic or Plotinian influences—which are, to be sure, in harmony with the personal intuitions of Abu 'l-Barakāt—appear perhaps in the definition of the soul as an incorporeal substance acting in and by the body. Immateriality is taken by Abu 'l-Barakāt in a very strict sense, which was not current at all; so for instance in the theory of memory. The human souls are caused, in the view of Abu 'l-Barakāt, by the stellar ones, and return, after death, to their causes.

The knowledge of God, cause of causes, comes at the end of the knowledge of existing things and that of being perceived by an *a priori* knowledge, which divides being into necessary and contingent. On the other hand, the wisdom manifested in the order of nature proves the existence of a Creator. Last not least there are ways of direct communication between God and men. Abu 'l-Barakāt, following in this point the Avicennian tradition, does not admit the proof for the existence of God based on movement.

He holds that the essential attributes of God, such as knowledge, power and wisdom, belong to His essence in the same way as having three angles equal to two right angles belongs to the essence of a triangle.

In his view God may have manifold knowledge, also about particulars. In order to refute arguments to the contrary, he refers to his psychological doctrine, where he proves that the forms of the things perceived, stored up in the human soul, are immaterial, like the entity that has perceived them.

In this way divine knowledge appears as being up to a point analogous to human knowledge.

Rejecting the theory of emanation held by the philosophers, Abu 'l-Barakāt thinks that things have been created by a succession of divine volitions, either pre-eternal or coming into being in time. The first of these volitions, an attribute of the divine essence, created the first thing in existence, viz. according to religious terminology, the highest of the angels.

The personalism of the conception of God in Abu 'l-Barakāt sometimes relates it to the doctrines of the *kalām*. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily justify the conclusion that the *kalām* has influenced his thought.

So far as the problem of the eternity of the world is concerned, Abu 'l-Barakāt, having confronted the theses of those who affirm it and those that deny it, does not explicitly state his own conclusions, but hints that one who has understood his exposé of the question will not fail to find the correct answer. It seems, in summing up the discussion, that the true solution is, in the view of Abu'l-Barakāt, that which asserts the eternity of the world.

Abu 'l-Barakāt whose authority was invoked by a Jewish scholar of ʿIrāḳ, Samuel b. ʿEli, in his polemic against Maimonides, had as his partisans amongst the Muslims ʿAlā' al-Dawla Farāmurz b. ʿAlī, prince of Yazd, who defended him and his doctrines in a work bearing the title *Muhdjat al-Tawḥīd* and in a dispute he had with ʿUmar al-Khayyām (see al-Bayhaḳī, *Tatimma*, 110-1). The influence of Abu 'l-Barakāt over a personage of the first order, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, seems to have been decisive. It is manifest especially in *al-Mabāḥith al-Mashriḳiyya*, a capital work of Fakhr al-Dīn, and was of great historical importance. In fact, the observation of the Shīʿite Muḥ. b. Sulaymān al-Tanakabunī, a Persian author of the 19th cent., who says, in substance, that the tradition of Ibn Sīnā had almost succumbed under the attacks of Abu 'l-Barakāt and Fakhr al-Dīn, before being re-established by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (*Ḳiṣas al-ʿUlamā'*, lith. 1304, 278), refers to a crisis in Muslim philosophical speculation, a crisis originated by Abu 'l-Barakāt, the memory of which remained alive among the Iranian students of Ibn Sīnā.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (Lippert), 343-6; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (Müller), i, 278-80; Bayhaḳī, *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* (Shafīʿ), 150-3; S. Poznanski, in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, 1913, 33-6 (edition of some pages of the Commentary on Ecclesiastes); Şerefettin, incomplete Turkish translation of the *Ilāhiyyāt* of *al-Muʿtabar*, with introduction, Istanbul 1932; study of Sulaymān al-Nadwī on Abu 'l-Barakāt, at the end of vol. iii of the ed. of *al-Muʿtabar*, 230-52; S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, 82-3; idem, *Etudes sur Awḥad al-Zamân Abu'l-Barakāt al-Baghdâdî*, in *REJ*, ciii, 1938, 4-64; civ, 1938, 1-33; idem, *Nouvelles Etudes sur Abu'l-Barakāt al-Baghdâdî*, will appear in *REJ*, 1953. (S. Pines)

ABŪ BAYHAS al-Hayṣam b. Djābir, Khāridjite, of the Banū Saʿd b. Ḍubayʿa. In order to escape from the persecution of al-Ḥadjdjādj, he fled to Medina, but was arrested by the governor, ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān, and cruelly executed (94/713). He gave his name to the Bayhasiyya, one of the Khāridjite sects, who occupied an intermediate position between the strict Azraḳīs and the milder Ṣufrīs and Ibāḍīs. The Bayhasīs, though admitting that Muslims of different opinion from their own were unbelievers, considered it permissible to live amongst them, to intermarry with them and to inherit from them. Their tenets again diverged, so that they branched off into various subdivisions.

Bibliography: Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 604, 615; Balādhurī (Ahlwardt, *Anonyme Arab. Chronik*), 83; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 230; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 113 ff., 95; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 87 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 190; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 93 f. (M. Th. Houtsma*)

ABŪ BILĀL [see mirdās b. udayya].

ABŪ BURDA [see al-ashʿarī].

ABŪ DAHBAL al-**DJUMAḤĪ**, Wahb b. Zamʿa, Ḳurayshite poet of Mecca, who started to compose poetry before 40/660 and died after 96/715. He is included among the erotic poets of the Ḥidjāz by his poems devoted to three women: ʿAmra, of a noble Meccan family, a Syrian woman who led him into a breach with his family, and especially ʿAtīka, daughter of Muʿāwiya, whom he first saw during a pilgrimage. His verses, soon becoming famous, attracted the attention of the princess, whom he followed to Damascus, but the caliph, though recognizing the chaste character of Abū Dahbal's relations with his daughter, took umbrage and sent the poet away.

Abū Dahbal is not, however, an exclusively erotic poet, as an important part of his work is devoted to panegyrics on Ibn al-Azraḳ, governor of al-Djanad in Yaman, appointed by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and ʿUmāra b. ʿAmr, governor of Ḥaḍramawt. The incident with Muʿāwiya seems to have turned him away from the Umayyads and made him a partisan of the anti-caliph; the *Aghānī* even quotes some verses alluding to the murder of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 80 and the references given there; to the fundamental article in the *Aghānī*[1], vi, 154-70 should be added al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, 70, 189; idem, *Muʿdjam* 117, 342; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 55; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 144-5; and especially the sources quoted by F. Krenkow, *JRAS*, 1910, 1017-75, who has collected the verses of the poet. (Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ ḌAMḌAM, the hero of a collection of anecdotes, cited already in the 10th century. All kinds of foolish remarks are attributed to him, and more particularly comical decisions on questions of law, similar to those later attributed to Ḳarāḳūsh. This Abū Ḍamḍam is probably identical with the devotee who, before or during the lifetime of Muḥammad, offered up his good name in place of the poortax to the servants of God; for this express sacrifice of the respect of his fellowmen may easily be interpreted as a permission or invitation to expose the devotee as the typical figure of foolishness. To one bearer of the same name there is ascribed an extraordinary knowledge of the ancient poetry, but there is no means of deciding whether this is the same personage.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Adab al-Kātib* (Grünert), 3-4; idem, *Shiʿr*, 3 f.; *Fihrist*, 313; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*. Cairo 1302, iii, 445; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 232; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 204; M. Hartmann, in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, v; J. Horovitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen*, 31, note. (J. Horovitz)

ABU 'L-DARDĀ' al-Anṣārī al-Khazradjī. His name and genealogy are given as ʿUwaymir b. Zayd b. Ḳays b. ʿĀ'isha b. Umayya b. Mālik b. ʿAdī b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazradj b. al-Ḥārith of the Balḥārith family of the Khazradj. Some sources give his name

as ʿĀmir instead of ʿUwaymir, and for his father's name instead of Zayd we find variously ʿĀmir, ʿAbd Allāh, Mālik or Thaʿlaba, while some give him the *nisba* al-Rahānī. He was a younger contemporary of Muḥammad who is generally listed among the Companions (*Ṣaḥāba*) though some sources raise doubts as to the legitimacy of this. He did not become a Muslim till after the battle of Badr and it is noted that he was the last of his family to become a convert to Islam. Some list him among those present at Uḥud. When Muḥammad established "brotherhoods" between the Emigrants and the people of Medina he was the "brother" chosen for Salmān al-Fārisī. A certain number of traditions are reported on his authority and are given in the *Dhakhā'ir al-Mawāriḥ*, iii, 158-62. The Ṣūfīs claimed him as one of the *ahl al-ṣuffa* [*q.v.*], quoting a number of sayings of an ascetic or pietistic character from him, which is probably the reason why in the biographical dictionnaries he is called a *zāhid* and one to whom *ʿilm* was given. These sources also say that he became known as the sage (*ḥakīm*) of the early Muslim community. He is reported as having said that before Islam he was a merchant, but after his conversion found that business life interfered with strict attention to cult duties (*ʿibāda*) so he gave up business. His great reputation, however, was as an authority on the Ḳur'ān. He is listed as one of the few who collected (*djamaʿa*) revelations during the Prophet's lifetime, and a small number of variant readings from him is recorded in the *ḳirā'āt* books. During his stay in Damascus, where he was sent to serve as a ḳāḍī, he made it a practice to gather to the mosque groups to whom he taught the Ḳur'ān, thus becoming the true father of the Damascus School later headed by Ibn ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]. He died at Damascus in 32/652, or thereabouts, his tomb and that of his wife Umm al-Dardā' being shown there near one of the gates.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 75, 286, 397; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 137; Ibn Hishām, 345; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 268; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 713; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 158; v, 185; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, No. 2480; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, ii, No. 2908; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 110, 111; idem, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vi, 375; idem, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 175-7; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 39; *Fihrist*, 27; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 23, 24; al-Khazradjī, *Khulāṣa*, 254; ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Dhakhā'ir*, iii, 158-62; Caetani, *Annali*, Index s.v. (A. Jeffery)

ABŪ DĀ'ŪD al-SIDJISTĀNĪ, Sulaymān b. al-Ashʿath, a traditionist; born in 202/817. He travelled widely in pursuit of his studies and gained a high reputation for his knowledge and piety. Eventually he settled at Baṣra, which is no doubt why some wrongly held that the *nisba* Sidjistānī comes from a village near Baṣra called Sidjistān (or Sidjistāna), and not from the province of that name. He died in Shawwāl 275/Febr. 889.

Abū Dā'ūd's principal work is his *Kitāb al-Sunan*, which is one of the six canonical books of Tradition accepted by Sunnīs. He is said to have submitted it to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal who gave it his approval. Ibn Dāsa says Abū Dā'ūd declared that he collected this work of 4800 traditions from a mass of 500,000, and that it contains sound traditions, those which seem to be so, and those which are nearly so. He also said, "I have made clear the traditions in this book of mine which contain great weakness, and those about which I have said nothing are good (*ṣāliḥ*), some being sounder than others". This refers to the notes which he often adds to his traditions to express his opinion on the value to be attributed to them. Muslim has an introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ* in which he discusses some general questions of criticism; but Abū Dā'ūd is the first to give such detailed notes, paving the way for the more systematic criticism of individual traditions given by his pupil al-Tirmidhī in his collection. Abū Dā'ūd quotes men not found in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, his principle being that transmitters are counted trustworthy provided there is no formal proof to discount them. His work which has the generic title of *Sunan*, dealing mainly with matters ordained, or allowed, or forbidden by law, received high praise. For example, Abū Saʿīd b. al-Aʿrābī said that anyone who knew nothing but the Ḳur'ān and this book would have sufficient knowledge; and Muḥammad b. Makhlad said that the traditionists accepted it without question just as they accepted the Ḳur'ān. But one is surprised to find that, although many men in the fourth century praised it highly, no mention of it is made in the *Fihrist*. Indeed, Abū Dā'ūd is merely mentioned there as the father of his son. People of later times have expressed some criticisms. Al-Mundhirī, for example, who produced a summary of it, called *al-Mudjtabā*, criticized some of the traditions not supplied with notes, and Ibn al-Djawziyya added further criticisms. But while faults have been found with the work, it still holds an honoured place. The *Sunan* was transmitted through several lines, some versions being said to contain material not found in others. Al-Lu'lu'ī's version is the one which has gained most favour. A number of editions of the *Sunan* have been printed in the East (see Brockelmann). A small collection of *mursal* traditions by Abū Dā'ūd, entitled *Kitāb al-Marāsīl*, was published in Cairo in 1310/1892.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 168 f., S I, 266 f.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 271; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, Aleppo, 1350/1931, 38-41; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv, 169-73; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'* (Wüstenfeld), 708-12; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 7263; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 250 f., 255 f.; W. Marçais, in *JA*, 1900, 330, 502 f.; J. Robson, in *MW*, 1951, 167 f.; idem, in *BSOS*, 1952, 579 ff. (J. Robson)

ABŪ DHARR al-Ghifārī, a Companion of Muḥammad. His name is commonly given as Djundub b. Djunāda, but other names are also mentioned. He is said to have worshipped one God before his conversion. When news of Muḥammad reached him he sent his brother to Mecca to make enquiries, and being dissatisfied with his report, he went himself. One story says he met Muḥammad with Abū Bakr at the Kaʿba, another that ʿAlī took him secretly to Muḥammad. He immediately believed, and is surprisingly claimed to have been the fifth (even the fourth) believer. He was sent home, where he stayed till he went to Medina after the battle of the Ditch (5/627). Later he lived in Syria till he was recalled by ʿUthmān because of a complaint against him by Muʿāwiya. He retired, or was sent, to al-Rabadha, where he died in 32/652-3, or 31. He was noted for humility and asceticism, in which respect he is said to have resembled Jesus. He was very religious and eager for knowledge, and is said to have matched Ibn Masʿūd in religious learning. He is credited with 281 traditions, of which al-Bukhārī and Muslim rendered 31 between them.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 130; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 138; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 268-74; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād

1336, 82 f., 645 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 186-8; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'* (Wüstenfeld), 714 f.; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 17 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1358/1939, iv, 63 ff.; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xii, 90 f.; Wensinck, *Handbook*, 7 (add Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, 112); A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, i, 454 ff.

(J. Robson)

ABŪ DHU'AYB AL-HUDHALĪ, Khuwaylid b. Khālid, Arabian poet, a younger contemporary of the Prophet. The legend presents him journeying to visit Muḥammad but reaching Medina the very morning after his death. There is some justification for the assumption that Abū Dhu'ayb migrated to Egypt under 'Umar. From there he joined Ibn Abī Sarḥ's campaign into Ifrīḳiya (26/647). He died on his way to Medina where he accompanied 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr who had been charged by Ibn Abī Sarḥ with informing the caliph 'Uthmān of the successes won by his armies (probably in 28/649). The only other known incident of his biography is contained in the report—probably factually correct but possibly spun out of the opening lines of Poem i—that in Egypt he lost within one year five sons to the plague.

Recognized by the Arab critics as the foremost poet of his tribe, a judgement to which the modern reader will readily subscribe, Abū Dhu'ayb excels the bards of the *djāhiliyya* by the stringent composition of his *ḳaṣīda*'s. In the care he devoted to the structure of his odes he continued a trend already traceable in the work of Sā'ida b. Dju'ayya, an older Hudhalī poet, whose *rāwī* Abū Dhu'ayb was. Both poets share the description of wild honey and its gatherer along with a certain delight in the intimate and accurate description of the bees as well as the procedure of the collector—a motif which is not really popular with other Hudhalī poets. A peculiar treatment of the massing of a cloud formation and the subsequent downpour is also characteristic of Sā'ida and his *rāwī*. In Abū Dhu'ayb's love poetry an adumbration of what came to develop into the style of the Medinese school is clearly noticeable. Another feature that seems to anticipate future developments is the manner in which Abū Dhu'ayb tends to elaborate the *nasīb* into a complete ode (cf. nos. II and XI, where the other themes are, as it were, enveloped by the *nasīb*). Like his master Sā'ida, Abū Dhu'ayb is fond of, and excels in descriptions of weapons and of hunting-scenes, but is weak in depicting horses (as already noted by al-Aṣma'ī). Almost half of his preserved verse belongs to elegies in which the gentle melancholy of his obsession with the instability of fate provides an appropriate emotional background. His masterpiece, the elegy on the death of his sons (poem I), shows a unity of mood and thought—the theme of the inevitability of doom is stated and connected with the occasion of the *marthiya*, then illustrated in three gripping scenes, to be concisely restated in the last line—which is unsurpassed in ancient poetry.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 36-7, S I, 71; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 413-6; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 185-8; *Aghānī*, vi, 58-69; J. Hell, *Der Diwan des Abu Du'aib, Hanover* 1926; E. Braünlich, *Abu Du'aib-Studien*, in *Isl.*, 1929, 1-23; the same, *Versuch einer literargeschichtlichen Betrachtungsweise altarabischer Poesien, ibid.*, 1937, 201-69.

(G. E. von Grunebaum)

ABŪ DJAHL, properly Abu 'l-Ḥakam 'Amr b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra of the Banū Makhzūm of Ḳuraysh, also named Ibn al-Ḥanẓaliyya after his mother, Asmā' bint Mukharriba. He was born about 570 or a little after; he and Muḥammad were youths together at a feast in the house of 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān, while his mother became a Muslim and lived until after 13/635. A few years before the Hidjra Abū Djahl seems to have succeeded al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra as leader of Makhzūm and also of the group of clans associated with Makhzūm. He was less inclined to compromise with Muḥammad than was al-Walīd, as his position in Meccan affairs was more endangered by Muḥammad than that of the older man. He was perhaps largely responsible for the boycott of Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib, and the ending of the boycott was a defeat for his policy. He won an important success, however, when he and 'Uḳba b. Abī Mu'ayṭ, soon after Abū Ṭālib died and was succeeded by Abū Lahab as chief of Hāshim, persuaded the latter to cease giving protection to Muḥammad. Just before the Hidjra he seems to have tried to have Muḥammad killed, and to make revenge impossible there was to be a man from each clan involved. Owing to his hostility to Muḥammad during the latter years of the Meccan period many acts of persecution of Muslims are attributed to him, though probably not all really happened (cf. Ḳ. xvii, 62, xliv, 43, xcvi, 6 and commentators). He and his brother al-Ḥārith b. Hishām persuaded their uterine brother 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'a to return from Medina and kept him (perhaps forcibly) in Mecca. Abū Djahl's influence was based on his commercial and financial strength. The expedition of Ḥamza to Sīf al-Baḥr in 1/623 came near a large caravan directed by Abū Djahl. In 2/624 when Mecca was informed that Abū Sufyān's caravan from Syria was threatened by the Muslims, Abū Djahl led the force of about 1000 men which went to save it, and perished in the battle of Badr [*q.v.*]. Abū Djahl sought battle with the Muslims even after the caravan was known to be safe, perhaps in the hope of gaining military glory, since Abū Sufyān, when available, had the privilege of commanding. After Abū Djahl's death the leading men in the group of clans associated with Makhzūm were Ṣafwān b. Umayya (Djumaḥ), Suhayl b. 'Amr ('Āmir) and eventually Abū Djahl's son 'Ikrima.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, Wāḳidī, Ṭabarī—see indexes; Ibn Sa'd, iii/1, 194, iii/2, 55, viii, 193, 220; Ya'ḳūbī, ii, 27; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 294-5, 309, 478, 491, etc.; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, by index; Azraḳī, Wüstenfeld, 455, 469. (W. Montgomery Watt)

ABŪ DU'ĀD AL-IYĀDĪ, Djuwayra, Djuwayriyya or Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (or again Ḥanẓala b. al-Sharḳī, which was more probably, however, the name of Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān al-Ḳaynī, see *Shi'r*, 229), pre-Islamic poet of al-Ḥīra, contemporary of al-Mundhir b. Mā' al-Samā' (about 506-554 A.D.), who put him in the charge of his horses. The expression *djārun ka-djār' Abī Du'ād*, which appears in a line of Ḳays b. Zuhayr and has become proverbial, gave rise to several traditions showing Abū Du'ād as the "protégé" of a noble and generous *djār*, who is either al-Mundhir, al-Ḥārith b. Hammām or Ka'b b. Māma.

As a poet, Abū Du'ād is famous for his description of horses, and in this genre some critics consider him superior to Ṭufayl al-Ghanawī and al-Nābigha al-Dja'dī. Nevertheless, the lexicographers have not collected his poems systematically, as the ydid not collect those of 'Adi b. Zayd, because his language was not "nadjdī" and he did not follow the poetical tradition. Moreover, al-Aṣma'ī accuses Khalaf al-

Aḥmar of having attributed to Abū Du'ād forty *ḳaṣīdas* composed by himself (al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 252).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 58; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, ii, 110-3, putting together the traditions; the fundamental article is that of the *Aghānī*[1], xv, 95-9; see also Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 120-3; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1352, i, 49, 170 (in reference to *djār ka-djār A.D.* and *anā al-nadhīr al-ʿuryān*); Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 73-4, 88; idem, *Muʿdjam*, 115; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 104; Yaʿḳūbī, i, 259-306; W. Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen*, i, 8-9; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 80-1,; Nallino, *Scritti* vi, 36, who classes him among the Christian poets, although Cheikho, *Naṣrāniyya*, does not mention him. A number of verses are to be found in Ahlwardt, *op. cit.* i, 27-8, 68-70; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 87 (Cheikho); Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], index; as well as in the works of philologists and lexicographers. Collection of fragments by G. E. von Grünebaum, *Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī: Collection of fragments*, *WZKM*, 1948, 1952. (Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ DULAF, Misʿar b. Muhalhil al-Khazradjī al-Yanbuʿī, an Arab poet, traveller and mineralogist. The earliest date in his biography is his appearance in Bukhārā towards the end of the reign of Naṣr b. Aḥmad (d. in 331/943). His travels in Persia hint at the years 331-341/943-952. Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, whom Abū Dulaf mentions as his patron in Sīstān (read: *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad), ruled 331-52/942-63. The author of the *Fihrist* (completed in 377/987) refers to him as *djawwāla* "globe-trotter" and as his personal acquaintance. Al-Thaʿālibī in his *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, Damascus, iii, 176-94, associates him with the circle of al-Ṣāḥib Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād (326-85/938-95), probably during the later period of al-Ṣāḥib's life. As transmitters of the verses of Abū Dulaf, al-Thaʿālibī mentions chiefly the natives of Hamadhān, and among them Badīʿ al-Zamān (d. 398/1007). The long *ḳaṣīda* on the slang of the rogues (*Banū Sāsān*), which enchanted the Ṣāḥib, was written in imitation of the poem of ʿUḳayl al-ʿUkbarī who belonged to the same literary circle of Rayy (*Yatīma*, ii, 285-8). Abū Dulaf himself supplied the commentary on the difficult expressions.

The two patrons, to whom Abū Dulaf dedicated his two geographical *risālas*, and who introduced into them their own remarks, are still unknown. The first *risāla* describes Abū Dulaf's journey in the company of the envoys of the Turkish king Ḳālīn b. Shakhīr, who were returning from Bukhārā to Sandābil. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 88-90, identified Sandābil with Kan-čou, the capital of the Western Uyghur king. On the way there, Abū Dulaf quotes in utter disorder the names of the Turkish tribes which he pretends to have visited. From Sandābil he suddenly goes over to Kila (Kra in Malaya), and then, in a desultory way, refers to various places in India, to emerge finally in Sīstān. Grigoriev, Marquart and von Mžik recognized the spurious character of the journey (except for the direct road Bukhārā-Sandābil, and Sīstān). Later (1945) Marquart thought that the *genuine* Abū Dulaf might be discovered in the quotations found in *al-Fihrist*. The analysis of the Mashhad text shows that both the *risālas* are equally genuine, as far as the authorship goes, and therefore the fake must be attributed to Abū Dulaf himself. The quotations in *Fihrist*, though differing from the first *risāla*, have no better claim to veracity. On the contrary, the second *risāla*, describing Abū Dulaf's journey in more easily controllable regions (western and northern Persia, Armenia) gives a clear itinerary and contains a number of interesting details which can be verified.

Bibliography: F. Wüstenfeld, *Des Abu Dolef Misar Bericht über die türkischen Horden*, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Erdkunde*, 1842 (text according to Ḳazwīnī); C. Schlözer, *Abu Dulaf Misaris ... de itinere suo asiatico commentarius*, Berlin 1845 (text according to Yāḳūt); V. Grigoriev, *Ob arab. puteshestvennike ... Abu Dulaf*, in *Žurnal Min. Narod. prosv.*, 1872, 1-45; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 1903, 74-95; id., *Das Reich Zabul*, in *Festschrift E. Sachau*, 1915, 271-2; A. von Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abu Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien*, Bonn 1939, (translates the text of the Mashhad MS. discovered by A. Z. Validi-Togan; H. von Mžik, in his review of this work, *OLZ*, 1942, 240-2, has pointed out the leniency of Rohr-Sauer's conclusions); V. Minorsky, *La deuxième risala d'Abu Dulaf*, in *Oriens*, 1952, 23-7; id., *Abu Dulaf's travels in Iran* (being printed in Cairo, 1954)—gives the Mashhad text of the second *risāla* with a detailed commentary. (V. Minorsky)

ABŪ DULĀMA Zand b. al-Djawn, a black slave, client of the Banū Asad in Kūfa. He is already mentioned in the history of the last Umapyad caliph, but appears as a "poet" only under the ʿAbbāsids and plays the part of a court jester in the palace of al-Saffāḥ and especially in those of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. His poem on the death of Abū Muslim (137/754-5) is said to have been the first of his works to make him a name. Examples of his poetry show him to have been a clever, witty versificator, who readily seizes upon low expressions and displays all sorts of filth with cynical joy; but he does not despise the most insipidly fulsome praise when this form of mendicancy promises some reward. He laughs at the praise of the crowd and his spiteful tongue is feared by all. It is true he did not spare himself and still less his near relatives; he would even occasionally revenge himself for the coarse jokes which the magnates played on him when one of his patrons was pleased to ridicule another through him. He also enjoyed the jester's liberty of being above the Islamic laws and could make them the butt of his insolent mockery. He has given proverbial fame to his mule, which possessed all possible defects and to which he dedicated a witty *ḳaṣīda*.

Abū Dulāma embodied a popular type of crude and unrestrained comicality; hence the historicity of some of the anecdotes that are told both of him and of Abū Nuwās is somewhat doubtful.

Statements as to the date of his death vary: according to some he died in 160/776-7, according to others in 170/786-7; the first of these dates being the more likely.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 487 ff.; *Aghānī*[1], ix, 120-40; xv, 85; Ibn Khallikān, no. 243; Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*[2], 518 (Maḳāma 40); Sharīshī, *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, ii, 236 ff.; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, Schwally, 645; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, viii, 488-93; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, iv, 37-48; Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āt*, i, 341-5; R. Basset, in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xvi, 87; Brockelmann, I, 72; S I, 111; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 303-7; A. F. Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Ma'mūn*, ii, 300-16; Mohammed Ben Cheneb, *Abū Dolāma, Poète bouffon de la cour des premiers caliphes abbassides* (containing an edition and partial translation of the collected poems and fragments), Alger 1922. (J. Horovitz)

ABU 'L-DUNYĀ ABU 'L-HASAN ʿALI B. ʿUTHMĀN B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB (or ʿUthmān b. al-Kh.), one of those to whom preternatural longevity has been ascribed (*muʿammarun*, *q.v.*); he is also called al-Muʿammar al-Maghribī or al-Ashadjdj al-Muʿammar. He is said to have been born about 600 A.D. and to have died in 316/928,327/938-9 or even 476/1083-4. Of the tribe of Hamdān, he drank in his youth from the source of life in the presence of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*], then joined ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, with whom he fought at Ṣiffīn and from whom he received the name of Abu 'l-Dunyā, after his horse had made a scar on his face (al-Ashadjdj = the scarred one). After the death of the caliph, he went to Tangier. He returned at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, to fulfil the pilgrimage and to relate traditions which he claimed to have heard from the mouth of ʿAlī. The information about him goes back to the 4th century (see Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, 297-303, cf. I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii, lxviii, n. 4; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, ii, 647; Ibn Hadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 134-40, 191-2) and one may think that this is no more than the tale of a vulgar impostor. Nevertheless al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ* (Pellat), para 146, mentions an Ashadjdj b. ʿAmr (read al-Muʿammar?) alongside al-Sufyānī [*q.v.*] and al-Aṣfar al-Kahtānī, and, according to the prophecies of Daniel "one with a scar", sometimes identified with ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353, 158; G. van Vloten, *Recherches*, 55-6, 79 and references), will fill the world with justice. It is therefore possible that a group of Sunnīs put, as early as the 3rd century, their hope in an Ashadjdj, especially as the Shīʾite Ibn Bābawayh uses the word *mukhālifūnā*, "our adversaries", to describe those who deny the existence of the *ḳāʾim*, but believe in the longevity of Abu 'l-Dunya.

(CH. PELLAT)

ABU 'L-FAḌL [see IBN AL-ʿAMĪD].

ABU 'L-FAḌL (Faẓl) **ʿALLĀMĪ** (Shaykh), author, liberal thinker, and informal secretary of the emperor Akbar, was the younger brother of the poet Fayḍī [*q.v.*], and the second son of Shaykh Mubārak Nāgawrī (d. 1593), one of the most distinguished scholars of his age in India, and the author of a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, *Manbaʿ-i Nafāʾis al-ʿUyūn*. He was born on 6 Muḥarram 958/14 Jan. 1551 at Agra, where his father had settled, in 1543, as a teacher. Abu'l-Faḍl was a pupil of his father, and owed his profound scholarship and liberality of outlook largely to the training given him by the latter. By his fifteenth year he had studied religious sciences, Greek thought and mysticism; but formal education did not satisfy the yearnings of his soul, nor did the orthodox faith bring him spiritual solace. While teaching in his father's school, he spent his time in extensive reading, deep meditation and frequent discussions of religious questions.

Abu 'l-Faḍl was presented at the court by his brother, Fayḍī, in 1574. He soon gained high favour with Akbar by his scholarly criticism of the narrow-mindedness of the *ʿulamāʾ* in the religious discussions which were started in the *ʿIbādat Khāna* in 1575. He helped in freeing the Emperor from the domination of the *ʿulamāʾ*, and was instrumental in bringing about their ultimate political downfall by the promulgation, in 1579, of the decree (*maḥḍar*), drafted by him in collaboration with his father, which invested Akbar with the authority of deciding points of difference between the theologians.

A firm believer in God, whom he regarded as transcendental and the Creator, Abu 'l-Faḍl considered that there could be no relationship between man and God except that of servitude (*ʿabdullahī*) on the part of the former. Servitude required sincerity, suppression of the ego (*nafs*) and devotion to Him, resignation to His will, and faith in His Mercifulness. Though he regarded formal worship as mere hypocrisy, he believed that there were many ways of serving the Lord, but only divine blessing could reveal the Truth. "In the main", he wrote, "every sect may be placed in one of two categories—either, it is in possession of the Truth, in which case one should seek direction from it; or, it is in the wrong, in which it is an object of pity and deserving of sympathy, not of reproach" (*Akbar Nāma*, ii, 660). His faith in being at "peace with all" (*ṣulḥ-i-kull*) involved not only toleration of all religions but also love for all human beings.

In political affairs, Abu 'l-Faḍl sought to emphasise the divine character of Akbar's kingship. Royalty, he claimed, was light emanating from God (*farr-i-īzadī*), communicated to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one. Though the existence of kings was necessary at all times, it was only after many ages that there appeared, by divine blessing, a monarch who could not only rule effectively, but could also guide the world spiritually. Since Akbar could ensure the material as well as the spiritual well-being of his subjects, he could be truly regarded as the "Perfect Man" (*insān-i-kāmil*). It was the duty of all to give Akbar complete loyalty and to seek his spiritual guidance by becoming his disciples. The chosen among the disciples would be those who attained the "four degrees of devotion" (*chahār martaba-i-ikhlāṣ*), i.e. preparedness to place at Akbar's disposal their property, life, honour and faith.

Though Abu'l-Faḍl's religio-political views earned for him the enmity of the *ʿulamāʾ*, the policy of religious toleration which he helped Akbar in evolving, the non-denominational yet spiritual character of obedience to the Emperor which he advocated, his justification, on ethical grounds, of every imperial action, and his persistent efforts to inculcate, especially among the nobles, a sense of mystical loyalty to Akbar, contributed greatly to the political consolidation of the Mughal Empire.

In spite of Abu'l-Faḍl's immense influence over Akbar and the numerous duties which he performed at Court (especially in drafting letters to nobles and foreign potentates), his progress in the official hierarchy was slow. It was only in 1585 that he was promoted to the *manṣab* of 1000, which was doubled in 1592. Six years later it was raised to 2500. Except when he was associated, for a short time in 1586, with Shāh Ḳulī Khān Maḥram in the joint-government of Delhi, Abu'l-Faḍl never held any office until 1599, when he was posted to the Deccan, at the instance of hostile elements at the Court. He distinguished himself there as an able administrator and military commander. In recognition of his services, he was promoted, in 1600, to the rank of 4000, and two years later, to that of 5000. The same year he was hastily summoned to the Court when Akbar's son Salīm (afterwards the Emperor Djahāngīr) rebelled. On his way back, he was waylaid and assassinated by Rādja Bīr Singh Dēva, the disaffected Bundēla chieftain of Orchha, on 4 Rabīʿ I 1011/22 Aug. 1602. His head was severed and sent to Salīm, at whose instance the crime had been committed, while the body was buried at Antarī (near Gwalior). The news came as

a great shock to Akbar, who mourned the loss deeply and never forgave Salīm for instigating the murder. Abu'l-Faḍl was survived by his son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Afḍal Khān (d. 1613), who rose to be governor of Bihār.

Abu'l-Faḍl's principal title to fame as an author rests upon his monumental work, *Akbar Nāma*, a history of Akbar (down to the 46th regnal year) and of his ancestors, compiled in three daftars (first two daftars published in *Bibl. Ind.* 3 vols.). The third daftar, *Āʾīn-i-Akbarī* (*Bibl. Ind.*, 3 vols.), dealing with Imperial regulations and containing detailed information on Indian geography, administration and social and religious life, was the first work of its kind in India. Abu'l-Faḍl's compositions, characterised by an individual literary style, served as a model for many generations, though none was able to imitate him successfully. His numerous works include a Persian translation of the Bible; *ʿIyār-i-Dānish* (a recension of *Anwār-i-Suhaylī*); prefaces to *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* (unfortunately lost), to the Persian translation of *Mahābhārata*, and to many other works; and a *Munādjāt* (ed. by Rizvi, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, I/iii). His letters, prefaces and other compositions were compiled by his nephew under the title *Inshā-i-Abu 'l-Faḍl* (3 vols.). Another collection of his private letters is entitled *Rukʿāt-i-Abu 'l-Faḍl*.

Bibliography: Autobiographical accounts: *Āʾīn-i-Akbarī*, iii (at end); *Inshā-i-Abu 'l-Faḍl*, iii. Biographies: *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ* (*Bibl. Ind.*), ii, 608-22; Elliot and Dowson, vi, 1 ff.; Blochmann, Introduction to his translation of *Āʾīn-i-Akbarī*; Storey, ii/3, 541-51 (detailed references on 551).

(NURUL HASAN)

other singers, such as Maʿbad and Ibn Suraydj, and

ABU 'L-FAḌL ʿIYĀḌ [see ʿIYĀḌ].

ABU 'L-FARADJ [see BABBAGHĀʾ; IBN AL-DJAWZĪ; IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ; IBN AL-NADĪM].

ABU 'L-FARADJ AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ (or AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ), ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤ. B. AḤMAD AL-ḲURASHĪ, Arab historian, litterateur and poet. He was born in 284/897 in Iṣfahān (whence his *nisba*) in Persia, but was of pure Arab race, a descendant of Ḳuraysh, or, to be more exact, of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads. In spite of this, he was a Shīʿite. He studied in Baghdād, where he passed the greater part of his life, protected by the Būyids, especially by the vizier al-Muhallabī. He found also a warm welcome in Aleppo at the court of the Ḥamdānid prince Sayf al-Dawla. He died in Baghdād on 14 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 356/20 Nov. 967. His main book, on which he worked according to his own testimony for fifty years, is the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* ("Book of Songs"). In it the author collected the songs that had been chosen, by order of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, by the famous musicians Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, Ismāʿīl b. Djāmiʿ and Fulayḥ b. al-ʿAwrāʾ, and later revised by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī; he added songs by other singers such as Maʿbad and Ibn Suraydj and by caliphs and their descendants; for each song he indicated its melody. This is, however, but the least part of his work, as Abu'l-Faradj added rich information about the poets who were the authors of the songs, giving an account of their life and quoting many of their verses, as well as about the composers of the melodies. Furthermore, he gives many details about the ancient Arab tribes, their *ayyām*, their social life, the court life of the Umayyads, society at the time of the ʿAbbasid caliphs, especially of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the milieu of musicians and singers. In one word, in the *Aghānī* we pass in review the whole of Arabic civilization from the *djāhiliyya* down to the end of the 3rd/9th century. The author even does us another service: following the method of the Arab writers, he quotes long passages from earlier writers, whose works have not come down to us. His book is thus a source also for the development of Arabic style.

The first edition of the *Aghānī* was published in Būlāḳ 1285/1868-9 in twenty volumes, to which should be added a twenty-first volume published by R. Brünnow (*The twenty-first volume of the Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Leiden 1888). For a lacuna see J. Wellhausen, *ZDMG*, 1896, 145-51. *Tables* by I. Guidi (Leiden 1895-1900). A second edition, being a reproduction of the Būlāḳ ed., together with the twenty-first volume and the *Tables* of Guidi, Cairo, 1323/1905-6. Cf. also Muḥ. Maḥmud al-Shinḳīṭī, *Taṣḥīḥ*, Cairo 1334/1916). A third and much superior edition was started in Cairo in 1927.

Another work of Abu'l-Faradj that has come down to us is *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn wa-Akhbaruhum*, a historical work composed in 313/923. It contains biographies of the descendants of Abū Ṭālib (from Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib to the seventy who died under the reign of al-Muḳtadir, 295-320/908-32) who in some way lost their lives for political reasons, including those who died in prison or in hiding. This book was published in lithography, Teheran 1307 and in print, Nadjaf 1353. The Bombay edition (1311) on the margin of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Nadjafī, *Muntakhab fi 'l-Marāthī wa 'l-Khuṭab*, contains the first half only.

Among those books that are lost should be mentioned books on genealogy and a *Kitāb Ayyām al-ʿArab*, where 1700 "days" were mentioned. Abu'l-Faradj also edited the *dīwāns* of Abu Tammām, al-Buḥturī and Abū Nuwās.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 351; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 149-68; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 398-400; Brockelmann, i, 146, S i, 225-6. A good biography, quoting his poetry and containing information about the *Aghānī*, in *Aghānī*[3], preface, i, 15-37 (the information about the *Muhadhdhab* is to be corrected). For MSS of the *Aghānī* see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, 1949, 276 ff.; for miniatures illustrating it, D. S. Rice, in *Burlington Magazine*, 1953, 128 ff.

(M. NALLINO)

ABU 'L-FATḤ [see IBN AL-ʿAMĪD; IBN AL-FURĀT; AL-MUẒAFFAR].

ABU 'L-FIDĀ, ISMĀʿĪL B. (AL-AFḌAL) ʿALĪ B. (AL-MUẒAFFAR) MAḤMŪD B. (AL-MANṢŪR) MUḤAMMAD B. TAḲĪ AL-DĪN ʿUMAR B. SHĀHANSHĀH B. AYYŪB, AL-MALIK AL-MUʾAYYAD ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN, Syrian prince, historian, and geographer, of the family of the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*], born in Damascus, Djum. i, 672/Nov. 1273. At the age of 12, in the company of his father and his cousin al-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd II, prince of Ḥamāh, he was present at the siege and capture of Marḳab (Margat) (684/1285). He took part also in the later campaigns against the Crusaders. On the suppression of the Ayyūbid principality of Hamāh in 698/1299, he remained in the service of its Mamlūk governors, at the same time ingratiating himself with the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn. After several vain attempts to obtain the government of Ḥamāh, he was finally appointed on 18 Djum. i, 710/14 Oct. 1310, at the instance of the "king of the Arabs", Muhannā, shaykh of Āl Faḍl. In 712/1312 his government was converted to a life principality, but two years later he, with the other governors,

was made directly subordinate to the governor of Damascus, Tankiz, with whom his relations were for a time strained. In the following years he strengthened his position by lavish patronage and generosity, especially on the occasion of his visits to Egypt. In 719/1319-20 he accompanied sultan Muḥammad on pilgrimage to Mecca, and on their return to Cairo he was publicly invested with the insignia of the sultanate and the title of al-Malik al-Muʾayyad (17 Muḥ. 720/28 Febr. 1320), and given precedence over all governors in Syria. He continued to enjoy the great reputation which he had acquired as patron and man of letters, as well as the friendship of the sultan, until his death at Ḥamāh on 23 Muḥ. 732/27 Oct. 1331. With the support of Tankiz, his son al-Afḍal Muḥammad was nominated as his successor, and was also granted the insignia of the sultanate. (For his grave, cf. *ZDMG*, lxii, 657-60; lxiii, 329-33, 853 ff.; *Bull. d'Etudes Orient.*, 1931, 149).

The Arabic biographical notices furnish several specimens of his poetical productions, which included a versification of the juristic work *al-Ḥāwī* of al-Māwardī [*q.v.*]. Of various other writings on religious and literary subjects almost all have perished. His reputation rests on two works, both largely compilations, but rearranged and supplemented by himself. The *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-bashar*, a universal history covering the pre-Islamic period and Islamic history down to 729/1329, is in its earlier part based mainly on Ibn al-Athīr. Its contemporary popularity is shown by the continuations to it written by Ibn al-Wardī [*q.v.*], Ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashḳī, and Ibn al-Shiḥna al-Ḥalabī [*q.v.*]. It was a major source of eighteenth-century orientalism, through the editions of J. Gagnier, *De vita ... Mohammedis* (Oxford 1723) and J. J. Reiske-J. G. Chr. Adler, *Annales Moslemici* (Leipzig 1754 and Copenhagen 1789-94). The complete text was first published in Istanbul (2 vols., 1286/1869-70).

The *Taḳwīn al-Buldān*, a descriptive geography supplemented by physical and mathematical data in tabular form (derived mainly from the Arabic translation of Ptolemy, the tenth-century *K. al-aṭwāl*, al-Bīrūnī and Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī [*qq.v.*], their divergences being noted) and completed in 721/1321, largely replaced all earlier geographical works. It is extensively quoted by al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*], and several later abridgements were made, including one in Turkish by Muḥ. b. ʿAlī Sipāhīzāde (d. 997/1589). Individual sections were edited and translated by European scholars from the seventeenth century (John Greaves, London 1650; J. B. Koehler, Leipzig 1766; etc.). The entire work was edited by J. T. Reinaud and MacGuckin de Slane (Paris 1840) and translated by Reinaud (Paris 1848) and Stanislas Guyard (Paris 1883), the first volume of the translation consisting of a classic survey entitled *Introduction générale à la géographie des Orientaux*. The judgments of scholars on Abu 'l-Fidā's geography have differed widely, from "a rather poor compilation of earlier sources" (J. H. Kramers, in *Legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931, 91; cf. C. E. Dubler, *Abū Ḥāmid el Granadino*, Madrid 1953, 182) to G. Sarton (see *Bibl.*), for whom Abu'l-Fidā is "the greatest geographer of his age". See also the art. DJUGHRĀFIYA.

Bibliography: Autobiography (extracted from the History), trans. de Slane, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Orientaux* i, 166-186 (see also *Appendice* 744-51); Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Suppl., Leiden MS. 765; Kutubī, *Fawāt* (Cairo 1951), i, 70; Ibn Hadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Hyderabad 1348, i, 371-3; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, vi, 84-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, ix, 16, 23, 24, 39, 58-62, 74, 93, 100, 292-4 (largely reproduced in Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, Cairo 1941, 87, 89, 90, 137, 142, 166, 196, 202, 238); idem, *Les Biographies du Manhal Ṣāfī* (G. Wiet, Cairo 1932) no. 432; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, 1881, 161-6; Brockelmann, II, 44-46; S II 44; M. Hartmann, *Das Muwaššaḥ*, Weimar 1896, 10; Carra de Vaux, *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris, i, 139-46; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, iii, Baltimore 1947, 200, 308, 793-9; A. Ateş in *Oriens*, 1952, 44.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ABŪ FIRĀS AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ, poetic cognomen of AL-ḤĀRITH B. ABI 'L-ʿALĀʾ SAʿĪD B. ḤAMDĀN AL-TAGHLIBĪ, Arab poet, born in 320/932, probably in ʿIrāḳ. Saʿīd, himself a poet, was killed by his nephew Nāṣir al-Dawla Ḥasan on attempting to occupy Mawṣil in 323/935, The mother of Abū Firās, a Greek *umm walad*, moved with her son to Aleppo after its occupation by the poet's cousin Sayf al-Dawla in 333/944, and there he was trained under the eye of Sayf al-Dawla, who also married his sister. In 336/947-8 he was appointed to the governorship of Manbidj (and later also of Ḥarrān), where, in spite of his youth, he distinguished himself in the conflicts with the Nizārī tribes of Diyār Muḍar and the Syrian desert. He also frequently accompanied Sayf al-Dawla in his Byzantine expeditions, and was captured in 348/951 but succeeded in escaping from imprisonment at Kharshana by leaping on horseback into the Euphrates. In 351/962 he was again captured at Manbidj during the Greek operations preliminary to the siege of Aleppo, and taken to Constantinople where he remained, in spite of his entreaties to Sayf al-Dawla, until the general exchange of prisoners in 355/966. He was then appointed governor of Ḥimṣ and in the year after Sayf al-Dawla's death attempted to revolt against his son and successor (and his own nephew) Abu'l-Maʿālī, but was defeated, captured and killed by the latter's general Karghawayh, 2 Djumādā i, 357/4 April 968.

The reputation of Abū Firās owes much to his personal qualities. Handsome in person, of noble family, brave, generous, and extolled by his contemporaries as "excelling in every virtue" (though also egoistic and rashly ambitious), he lived up to the Arab ideal of chivalry which he expressed in his poetry. This is probably the thought which underlies the often-quoted phrase of Ibn ʿAbbād: "Poetry began with a king (sc. Imruʾ al-Ḳays) and ended with a king (sc. Abū Firās)". His earlier output is composed of *ḳaṣīdas* of the classical type, devoted to praise of his family's nobility and warlike deeds (notably a *rāʾiyya* of 225 lines recounting the history of the Ḥamdānid house) or to self-praise, and shorter lyrical pieces on amatory or friendship themes of the ʿIrāḳī type. The former are remarkable for their sincerity, directness, and natural vigour, in contrast to the metaphorical elaboration of his chief rival at the court of Sayf al-Dawla, al-Mutanabbī; the latter are elegant trifles, formal and unoriginal. Noteworthy also are his outspokenly Shīʿite odes, satirizing the ʿAbbāsids. But it is more especially on the poems of his captivity, the *Rūmiyyāt*, that his fame rests. In these he gives expression in affecting and eloquent terms to the captive's yearning for home and friends, mingled with not a little self-praise, reproach to Sayf al-Dawla for the delay in ransoming him, and bitter complaints at being neglected.

His *dīwān* was edited with a commentary (largely from the poet himself) shortly after his death by his tutor and friend, the grammarian Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980). The manuscripts present, however, so many variations in text and arrangement that other recensions must also have been circulated, including probably that of al-Babbaghā (d. 398/1008: see Tanūkhī, *Bibl.*). All the earlier defective editions (Bayrūt 1873, 1900, 1910) are superseded by the critical edition of S. Dahhān (3 vols., Bayrūt 1944), with full bibliography.

Bibliography: Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*, i, London 1921, 110-2; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, i, 22-62 (Cairo i, 27-71); also ed. and translated with an introd. by R. Dvořak, *Abū Firās, ein arab. Dichter und Held*, Leiden 1895; Ibn Khallikān, no. 146; Brockelmann i, 88; S i, 142-4, M. Canard, *Sayf al-Daula* (recueil de textes), Alger-Paris 1934, index; idem, *Hist. de la Dynastie des Ḥamdānides*, i, Alger 1951, 379, 395 f., 596 ff., 669 f., 763, 772, 796, 810, 824; H. Ritter, in *Oriens* 1948, 377-85.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ABŪ FUDAYK ʿAbd Allāh b. Thawr, a Khāridjite agitator, of the Banu Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba. Originally associated with Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ [*q.v.*], he left him to join Nadjda b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], whom he did not hesitate to murder, because of certain differences of opinion that arose between them. After this murder he gained control over Baḥrayn (72/691) and succeeded in withstanding the attack of an army from Baṣra sent against him by ʿAbd al-Malik. Shortly afterwards (73/693) a second expedition, consisting of 10.000 men from Basra and commanded by ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar succeeded in defeating and killing him.

Bibliography: ʿAdjdādj, no. 11; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 662; Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, v, 346, xi (= *Anonyme arab. Chronik*, ed. Ahlwardt), 143 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 829, 852 ff.; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālat*, 101; Shahrastānī, (on margin of Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*), i, 162-167; R. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten*, 47 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, 32. See also khawāridj.

(M. Th. Houtsma*)

ABU FUṬRUS [see nahr abī fuṭrus].

ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ ḤASAN [see makka].

ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ al-RĀZĪ, Persian commentator of the Ḳurʾān. He lived between 480/1087 and 525/1131, fixed by conjecture. Among his disciples are the famous Shiʾte theologians Ibn Shahrāsūb and Ibn Bābūya [*q.v.*], who describes him as a scholar, preacher, commentator of the Ḳurʾān and a pious man. According to al-Shushtarī (*Madjālis al-Muʾminīn*) he was a contemporary of al-Zamakhsharī, whom he quoted as his master—which would explain the Muʿtazilism of his commentary. Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī has proved that his commentary could not date from before 510/1116. He claimed that he was a descendant of the Companion Nāfiʿ b. Budayl. His *Rawḍ al-Djinān wa-Rawḥ al-Djanān* (Teheran 1905, in two volumes; 1937, in three volumes) is one of the earliest—if not the earliest—of the Shīʿite commantaries composed in Persian. In his introduction he declared that he gave preference to this language because those who knew Arabic were in the minority. The commentary, preceded by an introduction concerning the exegesis of the Ḳurʾān, deals with grammar, rhetoric, juridical and religious commands and the traditions about the origin of the verses. The influence of al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* can be perceived; the Shīʿite tendency is less pronounced than in the later Persian commentaries.—In addition to the commentary he is said to be the author of a commentary on the *Shihāb al-Akhbār* of Muḥ. b. Salāma al-Ḳudāʿī (Brockelmann, i, 343).

Bibliography: Storey, section i, no. 6; H. Massé, in *Mélanges W. Marcais*, Paris 1950, 243 ff.

(H. Massé)

ABŪ GHĀNIM Bishr b. Ghānim al-**KHURĀSĀNĪ**, eminent Ibāḍī lawyer of the end of the 2nd/8th and the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, a native of Khurāsān. On his way to the Rustamid *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (168-208/784-823) at Tāhart, to offer him his book *al-Mudawwana*, he stayed with the Ibāḍī *shaykh*, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿAmrūs b. Fatḥ, of Djabal Nafūsa, who rendered a service to Ibāḍī literature by conserving in the Maghrib a copy of the work.

The *Mudawwana* of Abū Ghānim is the oldest Ibāḍī treatise on general jurisprudence, according to the teaching of Abū ʿUbayda Muslim al-Tamīmī (d. under al-Manṣūr, 136-58/754-75; cf. ibāḍiyya) as transmitted by his disciples. The manuscript of the *Mudawwana*, copied by ʿAmrūs b. Fatḥ, was composed of twelve parts; the titles are given in the catalogue of Ibāḍī books compiled by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Barrādī (8th/14th century). The book has become very rare; according to information received from S. Smogorzewski, a unique manuscript was in the possession of an Ibāḍī *shaykh* in Guerrara (Mzāb). Al-Barrādī's catalogue also quotes another law book by Abū Ghānim.

Bibliography: Shammākhī, *al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 228; Sālimī, *al-Lamʿa*, in a collection of six Ibāḍī works published in Algiers 1326, 184, 197-8; A. de Motylinski, *in Bull. Corr. afr.*, 1885, 18, nos. 12 and 14.

(T. Lewicki)

ABU 'L-GHĀZĪ BAHĀDUR KHĀN, ruler of Khīwa and Čaghatāy historian, born probably on 16 Rabīʿ i, 1012/24 Aug., 1603, son of ʿArab Muḥammad Khān, of the Özbeg dynasty of the Shaybānids [*q.v.*], and of a princess of the same family. He spent his youth in Urganč (at that time largely depopulated owing to the change of course of the Oxus), at the court of his father, who was khān of this place.. In 1029/1619 he was appointed to be his father's lieutenant in Kāth, but when his father was killed soon afterwards in a rebellion of two of his other sons, had to take refuge at Samarḳand with Imām-ḳuli Khān. After long fighting he, together with his brother Isfandiyār, succeeded in ousting the rebellious brothers, with the aid of some Turkmen tribes. In 1033/1623 he became lieutenant of his brother in Urganč, but quarrelled with him, in connection with Turkmen tribal feuds, in 1036/1626 and had to flee to Tāshkent, where he lived for two years at the Kazakh court. After another attempt to seize the throne in Khīwa, he spent ten years (from 1039/1629) as an exile at the court of the Ṣafawids, mostly at Iṣfahān. Here he widened his knowledge of the past of his people, acquired at the Kazakh court, by the study of Persian sources. By the evidence of his translation, he knew Persian and Arabic well. After his flight from Persia he perfected his knowledge at the Kalmük court, by collecting Mongol traditions.

It was only after the death of Isfandiyār (1052/1642) that Abu 'l-Ghāzī became (in 1054/1644-5) khān of Khīwa. As khān, he maintained diplomatic relations with all his neighbours, including Russia, interrupted by repeated wars. Expeditions against the Turkmens in 1054/1644, 1056/1646, 1058/1648, 1062/1651 and 1064/1653, led finally to the submission of some of these tribes in Ḳara-Kum and

Manghishlaḳ. He was engaged also against the Kalmuks in 1059/1649, 1064/1653 and 1067/1656, and against Bukhārā in 1066/1655 and 1073/1662. Occasionally he allowed Russian caravans passing through his territory to be plundered, but had, in the interests of his own trade if for no other reasons, to pay compensation. For the rest, he endeavoured to further the welfare of his country and to promote scholarship. The military gifts which he ascribes to himself were, according to less partial sources, rather modest. He died in 1074/1663, shortly after he had abdicated in favour of his son.

Of his works we possess: 1) *Shedjere-i Terākime*, composed in 1070/1659, mainly derived from Rashīdal-Dīn and the Oghuznāma, but with additions of independent value. The Čaghatāy text was published in facsimile by the Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1937; there is a Russian translation by A. Tumanski, ʿAshkābād 1892. 2) *Shadjarat al-Atrāk* (*Shedjere-i Türk*), which he left unfinished at his death; the part from 1054/1644 was finished by his son Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Anūsha Muḥammad Bahādur in 1076/1665. This work contains the history of the Shaybānids from the middle of the 15th century, and is the main source for the dynasty up to 1074/1663, though written mostly "from memory", without direct use of sources, and widely defective for the earlier periods as well as in its chronology. The introduction, containing traditions about Činghiz Khān and his immediate successors, is almost wholly legendary. Nevertheless, as the work became known in Europe at an early date, it remained for some time the main authority for the history of the Mongols. Two Swedes captured in the battle of Poltava (1709), Tabbert von Strahlenberg and Schenström, became acquainted with it in Siberia and, with the help of a Russian interpretation by an imām, prepared a German translation, on which is based the French edition of v. Bentinck, *Histoire généalogique des Tartars*, Leiden 1726. This was soon followed by a Russian and in 1780 by an English edition. The German original of 1716-7 was published by Messerschmid, Göttingen 1780, as *Geschlechtsbuch der mungalisch-mogulischen Chanen*. Finally Ch. M. v. Frähn published a Latin translation, Kazan 1825. A critical use of the text was only made possible by the publication of the Caghatāy text, with a French translation, by J. J. P. Baron Desmaisons, *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatars*, 1871-4, but this work in turn requires revision in the light of more recent studies.

Bibliography: Desmaisons, ii, 312 ff.; A. Strindberg, *Notice sur le MS. de la première traduction de la chronique d'Abulghasi-Behader*, Stockholm 1889; I. N. Berezin, *Biblioteka vostočnykh istorikov*, iii (the Russian trans. by G. Sablukov), 1852; Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan, *IA*, iv, 79-83. (B. SPULER)

ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR B. **DJAMĪʿ**, Ibāḍī scholar, probably a native of the Djabal Nafūsa, mentioned in al-Shammākhī's K. *al-Siyar* (Cairo 1301, 561-2), in a short note that gives no chronological information, but from which it may be deduced that he lived at the end of the 8th/14th or the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

He translated into Arabic the old *ʿAḳīda* of the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib, originally composed in Berber. This translation was in use, at the time of al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1521-2), in the island of Djarba and in the other Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib, excepting the Djabal Nafūsa. It is still the catechism of the Ibāḍīs of the Mzāb and of Djarba. The *ʿAḳīda* of Abū Ḥafṣ was the subject of numerous commentaries: by al-Shammākhī (circulating in MSS); by Abū Sulaymān Dā'ūd b. Ibrāhīm al-Thalātī of Djarba (d. 967/1559-60) (see Exiga dit Kayser, *Description et histoire de l'île de Djerba*, Tunis 1884, 9-10 text, 9-10 transl.); and finally those by ʿUmar b. Ramaḍān al-Thalātī (12th/18th century), autographed or printed after the *ʿAḳīda*, in the editions of Algeria (e.g. Constantine 1323) or Cairo.

The *ʿAḳīda* of Abū Ḥafs was published and translated, with notes taken from the Ibāḍī commentaries, by A. de Motylinski, *L' ʿAqida des Abadhites*, *Recueil Mém. et Textes XIVᵉ Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, 505-45.

(A. DE MOTYLINSKI—T. LEWICKI)

ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR B. SHUʿAYB AL-**BALLŪṬĪ**, native of Pedroche (Bitrawdj) in the Faḥṣ al-Ballūt, a district to the north of Cordova, founder of a minor dynasty which ruled over the island of Crete (Iḳrītish [*q.v.*]) between 212/827 and 350/961, when his descendant ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Shuʿayb was dethroned and the island recaptured by the general and future Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas.

After the celebrated revolt of the Suburb which broke out in Cordova in 202/818 and was harshly suppressed by the amīr Ḥakam I (cf. UMAYYADS OF SPAIN), a group of Andalusians, several thousand in number, who had been expelled from the capital, decided to emigrate and try their luck in the Mediterranean. They succeeded in gaining a foothold in Egypt and occupied Alexandria for a few years. Besieged by the governor, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, they had to capitulate in 212/827 and then decided to attempt a landing in Crete. Under the leadership of their chief, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ballūṭī, they captured the island, which thus passed under Muslim domination. There is little information about the chronology of the dynasty founded by al-Ballūṭī and the history of the island during that period. All that is known, thanks to Byzantine historians, who call Abū Ḥafṣ *Apocapso* or *Apochapsa*, is that all attempts by the Byzantines to recapture Crete were in vain. It was also in vain that in 225/840 the emperor Theophilus addressed himself to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*] to ask for the restitution of the island. During its Muslim occupation, Crete maintained economic and cultural relations with al-Andalus, and its capital, al-Khandaḳ (modern Candia), was quite a brilliant intellectual centre.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 211; Kindī (*GMS* XIX), 158-184; M. Gaspar Remiro, *Cordobeses musulmanes en Alejandría y Creta*, *Homenaje Codera*, Saragosa 1904, 217-33; A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i (Fr. edition by Grégoire and Canard), Bruxelles 1935, 49 ff.; Zambaur, nos. 48, 70; A. Freixas, *España en los historiadores bizantinos*, *Cuadernos de Hist. de Esp.*, Buenos Aires, xi, 1949, 21-2; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 169-73, ii, 145-6. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR B. YAḤYĀ AL-**HINTĀTĪ** (an Arabic relative adjective formed from the name of a Berber tribe of the Anti-Atlas in Morocco, the Hintāta), or, according to the more current Berber form, Īntī, the chief companion of the Almohade Mahdī, Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*], and the most active supporter of the dynasty of the Mu'minids (see ʿABD AL-MU'MIN). It was his own grandson, the amīr Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid who, in 634/1236-37, renounced his allegiance to the Mu'minids in Ifrīḳiya and founded, with himself and his descendants as rulers, the dynasty of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*], which was to be called after this their ancestor.

Abū Ḥafṣ Intī—on whom the "Memoirs" of al-Baydhaḳ [*q.v.*] are the most detailed source, whose information is most likely to be authentic—bore, in common with all his fellow-tribesmen before the activity of the Almohade Mahdī, a Berber name, which appears to have been Faskāt ū-Mzāl. Ibn Tūmart himself, after he had persuaded him to support his cause, gave him the name of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, in memory of the famous companion and lieutenant of the Prophet. Their first meeting, after the Mahdī's return to his native mountains, can be placed in the year 514/1120-21; Abū Ḥafṣ, at this time, was apparently about 30 years old. From that time on, he was to make a remarkable career for himself, showing an extremely developed political sense, a more and more marked ascendant over the first Almohade caliph, his own "creature", and enjoying the respect of all those who benefited under the new régime, from the highest to the lowest; in short, he was the "éminence grise" of the Almohade system which owed to him, more than any other the fact that it did not fall to pieces at the outset. Until his death at a ripe age, in 571/1175-76, this intrepid Berber, victorious general, valued counsellor and venerated *s͟hayk͟h*, appeared continually in the forefront of the historical scene of the Mag͟hrib, al-Andalus and Ifrīḳiya. For details of his long political and military activities, see the articles AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN and MUʾMINIDS.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, index; *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, Paris 1942, index; Ibn al Kaṭṭān, in *Mélanges R. Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 335-393, and an unpublished manuscript on the history of the Almohades (*Naẓm al-d̲j̲umān*); ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī *al-Muʿd̲j̲ib*, ed. Dozy and transl. Fagnan, index; the chronicles of the post-Almohade period (Occident: *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, Ibn ʿIdhārī's *Bayan*, Ibn Khaldūn's *ʿIbar*, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, *Taʾrīk͟h al-dawlatayn*, etc.; Orient: Ibn al-At͟hīr, Nuwayrī), etc.—The best general account of Abū Ḥafṣ Intī, up to now, is that given by R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie occidentale sous les Ḥafṣides*, I, Paris 1940, 13-16. His career will be treated in detail in a forthcoming work (in Spanish) by A. Huici Miranda on the Almohades and the dynasty of the Muʾminids in North Africa and in Spain.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ABŪ ḤĀMID AL-G͟HARNĀṬĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN (variant AL-RAḤĪM) B. SULAYMĀN AL-MĀZINĪ AL-ḲAYSĪ, Andalusian traveller and collector of *ʿad̲j̲āʾib* [*q.v.*] at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the perfect type of the Occidental *raḥḥāla*, drawn by the desire of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* and the spirit of adventure to the farthest limits of the lands of Islam. There is little biographical information about him and the main dates of his adventurous life are given by himself in his works. He was born in Granada in 473/1080, no doubt studied in his native city, and perhaps stayed some time in Uclés (Uḳlīs͟h); when he was about thirty years old he left his native country, never to return. First he spent some years in Ifrīḳiya, then embarked in 511/1117-8 for Alexandria, stayed first in that town and later in Cairo, until 515/1123. After a stop at Damascus, he went to Bag͟hdād, where he spent four years. In 524/1130 he was in Abhar in Persia and subsequently near the mouth of the Volga. He went, much later, to Hungary, staying there for three years, until 548/1153. He then travelled through the lands of the Ṣaḳāliba (Eastern Europe), and reached K͟hʷārizm; from there he went, via Buk͟hārā, Marw, Nīs͟hāpūr, Rayy, Iṣfahān and al-Baṣra, to Arabia, to perform the pilgrimage. In 550/1155 he settled in Bag͟hdād, but left six years later for Moṣul. He then went to Syria, and after staying in Aleppo, established himself at Damascus, where he died in 565/1169-70.

It was in Bag͟hdād, and then in Mosul, that Abū Ḥāmid al-G͟harnāṭī composed the two works that made him famous. In Bag͟hdād he wrote for the well-known vizier Yaḥyā b. Hubayra his *al-Muʿrib an baʿḍ ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-Mag͟hrib*; in Moṣul, on the demand of his protector and Maecenas, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ardabīlī (cf. Brockelmann, S i, 783-4), his *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* (or *al-Aḥbāb*) *wa-Nuk͟hbat al-Aʿd̲j̲āb*, which was abundantly cited by Muslim authors in the West as well as in the East. These two books, which are extant in numerous MSS, are full, not only of interesting information and exact records, but also of legendary or marvellous accounts. They have formed the object of elaborate monographs, with edition of the text and annotated translation; the *Tuḥfa* was published by G. Ferrand in *JA*, 1925, 1-148, 195-303; the *Muʿrib* by C. E. Dubler, with a Spanish translation and a hypercritical study (*Abû Ḥāmid el Grenadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*, Madrid 1953). A translation of the description of Rome contained in the *Tuḥfa* was published, from a Palermo MS, in the same city, by C. Crispo Moncada in 1900.

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 617-8; Had̲j̲d̲j̲i K͟halifa, ii, 222, iv, 189-90; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, 229-31; Brockelmann, S I, 877-8. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ABŪ ḤAMMU I MUSA B. ABĪ SAʿĪD ʿUT͟HMĀN B. YAG͟HMURĀSAN, fourth king of the ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasty. Proclaimed on 21 S͟hawwāl 707/15 April 1308, he had first to repair the damage caused by the siege of Tlemcen by the Marīnids; he then prepared the defence of his capital against external attacks and fortified it in the expectation of a new siege. In the exterior, he restored his authority over the Banū Tūd̲j̲īn and the Mag͟hrāwa and pushed as far as Bid̲j̲āya (Bougie) and Constantine, while in the west he hindered the Marīnids from advancing beyond Wad̲j̲da (Oujda). Preoccupied by the upkeep of a strong army, he could give little thought to the material and intellectual situation of his subjects. He showed extreme harshness even towards his son Abū Tās͟hufīn, who had him murdered on 22 D̲j̲umādā I 718/22 July 1318 and was proclaimed as his successor.

Bibliography: see ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS. (A. BEL)

ABŪ ḤAMMŪ II MŪSĀ B. ABĪ YAʿḲŪB YŪSUF B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. YAḤYĀ B. YAG͟HMURĀSAN, king of the ʿAbd al-Wādīd dynasty. Born is Spain in 723/1323-4, he was brought up at the court of Tlemcen. After the victory of the Marinid army over his uncles Abū Saʿīd and Abū T͟hābit, in D̲j̲umādā I 753/June 1352, he had to take refuge with the Ḥafṣid court of Tūnis. When the relations between the Ḥafṣids and Marīnīds deteriorated, he was put at the head of an army and reconquered Tlemcen, where he was proclaimed as king on Rabīʿ I 760/9 February 1359. In 772/1370 the capital again fell under the rule of the Marīnids, who, however, evacuated it in 774/1372. Abū Ḥammū, returning to his dominions, had to face several revolts and especially the hostility of his son Abū Tās͟hufīn II [*q.v.*], who attacked Tlemcen at the head of a Marīnid army in 791; Abū Ḥammū was killed in the battle, on 1 D̲h̲u'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 791/21 Nov. 1389.

Abū Ḥāmmū had a highly cultivated mind and sought the society of scholars and poets; he himself composed a treatise on political ethics. His secretary, intimate friend and historian, was Yaḥyā b. Khaldūn, who was assassinated in Ramaḍān 780/Dec. 1379, at the instigation of Abū Tāshufīn.

Bibliography: see ʿABD AL-WĀDĪDS.

(A. BEL)

ABU ḤAMZA [see AL-MUKHTĀR B. ʿAWF].

ABŪ ḤANĪFA AL-NUʿMĀN B. THĀBIT, theologian and religious lawyer, the eponym of the school of the Ḥanafīs [*q.v.*]. He died in 150/767 at the age of 70, and was therefore born about the year 80/699. His grandfather Zūṭā is said to have been brought as a slave from Kābul to Kūfa, and set free by a member of the Arabian tribe of Taym-Allāh b. Thaʿlaba; he and his descendants became thus clients (*mawlā*) of this tribe, and Abū Ḥanīfa is occasionally called al-Taymī. Very little is known of his life, except that he lived in Kūfa as a manufacturer and merchant of a kind of silk material (*khazz*). It is certain that he attended the lecture meetings of Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān (d. 120) who taught religious law in Kūfa, and, perhaps on the occasion of a *ḥadjdj*, those of ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114 or 115) in Mecca. The long lists, given by his later biographers, of authorities from whom he is supposed to have „heard" traditions, are to be treated with caution. After the death of Ḥammād, Abū Ḥanīfa became the foremost authority on questions of religious law in Kūfa and the main representative of the Kūfian school of law. He collected a great number of private disciples to whom he taught his doctrine, but he was never a *ḳāḍī*. He died in prison in Baghdad, where he lies buried; a dome was built over his tomb in 459/1066. The quarter around the mausoleum is still called al-Aʿẓamiyya, al-Imām al-Aʿẓam being Abū Ḥanīfa's customary epithet.

The biographical legend will have it that the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr called him to the newly founded capital, wanted to appoint him as a *ḳāḍī* there, and imprisoned him because of his steady refusal. A variant makes already the Umayyad governor Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, under Marwān II, offer him the post of *ḳāḍī* in Kūfa and flog him in order to make him accept it, but again without success. These and similar stories are meant to explain the end of Abū Ḥanīfa in prison, and the fact, surprising to later generations, that the master should not have been a *ḳāḍī*. The truth is probably that he compromised himself by unguarded remarks at the time of the rising of the ʿAlids al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his brother Ibrāhīm, in 145, was transported to Baghdād and imprisoned there (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, xiii, 329).

Abū Ḥanīfa did not himself compose any works on religious law, but discussed his opinions with and dictated them to his disciples. Some of the works of these last are therefore the main sources for Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine, particularly the *Ikhtilāf Abī Ḥanīfa wa'bn Abī Laylā* and the *al-Radd ʿalā Siyar al-Awzāʿī* by Abū Yūsuf, and the *al-Ḥudjadj* and the version of Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* by al-Shaybānī. (The formal *isnād* al-Shaybānī—Abū Yūsuf—Abū Ḥanīfa, that occurs in many works of al-Shaybānī, designating as it does merely the general relationship of pupil and master, is of no value in this connection). For the doctrine that Abū Ḥanīfa himself had received from Ḥammād, the main sources are the *al-Āthār* of Abū Yūsuf and the *al-Āthār* of al-Shaybānī. The comparison of Abu Ḥanīfa's successors with his predecessors enables us to assess his achievement in developing Muhammadan legal thought and doctrine. Abū Ḥanīfa's legal thought is in general much superior to that of his contemporary Ibn Abī Laylā (d. 148), the *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa in his time. With respect to him and to contemporary legal reasoning in Kūfa in general, Abū Ḥanīfa seems to have played the role of a theoretical systematizer who achieved a considerable progress in technical legal thought. Not being a *ḳāḍī*, he was less restricted than Ibn Abī Laylā by considerations of practice; at the same time, he was less firmly guided by the administration of justice. Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine is as a rule systematically consistent. There is so much new, explicit legal thought embodied in it, that an appreciable part of it was found defective and was rejected by his disciples. His legal thought is not only more broadly based and more thoroughly applied than that of his older contemporaries, but technically more highly developed, more circumspect, and more refined. A high degree of reasoning, often somewhat ruthless and unbalanced, with little regard for the practice, is typical of Abū Ḥanīfa's legal thought as a whole. Abū Ḥanīfa used his personal judgment (*raʾy*) and conclusions by analogy (*ḳiyās*) to the extent customary in the schools of religious law in his time; and as little as the representatives of the other schools, the Medinese for example, was he inclined to abandon the traditional doctrine for the sake of "isolated" traditions from the Prophet, traditions related by single individuals in any one generation, such as began to become current in Islamic religious science during the lifetime of Abū Ḥanīfa, in the first half of the second century A. H. When this last kind of tradition, two generations later, thanks mainly to the work of al-Shāfiʿī, had gained official recognition, Abū Ḥanīfa for adventitious reasons was made the scapegoat for the resistance to the "traditions of the Prophet" and, parallel to this, for the exercise of personal judgment in the ancient schools of law, and many sayings shocking to the later taste were attributed to him. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) made himself the mouthpiece of this hostile tendency. The legal devices (*ḥiyal*) which Abū Ḥanīfa had developed in the normal course of his technical legal reasoning, were criticized too, but they became later one of his special titles to fame (cf. Schacht, in *Isl.*, 1926, 221 ff.).

As a theologian, too, Abū Ḥanīfa has exercised a considerable influence. He is the eponym of a popular tradition of dogmatic theology that lays particular stress on the ideas of the community of the Muslims, of its unifying principle, the *sunna*, of the majority of the faithful who follow the middle of the road and avoid extremes, and that relies on scriptural rather than on rational proofs. This tradition is represented by the *al-ʿĀlim wa'l-Mutaʿallim* (wrongly attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa) and by the *Fiḳh al-Absaṭ*, which both originated in the circle of Abū Ḥanīfa's disciples, and later by the works of Ḥanafī theologians, including the creed of al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933) and the catechism of Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī (d. 383/993) which has always been very popular in Malaya and Indonesia, in territory which in matters of religious law is solidly Shāfiʿī. This dogmatic tradition arose out of the popular background of the theological movement of the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*], to which Abū Ḥanīfa himself belonged. The only authentic document by Abū Ḥanīfa which we possess is, in fact, his letter to ʿUthmān al-Battī, in which he defends his murdjiʾite

views in an urbane way. (It was printed, together with the *al-ʿĀlim wa'l-Mutaʿallim* and the *Fiḳh al-Absaṭ*, in Cairo 1368/1949). Another title that was ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa is the *Fiḳh al-Akbar*. Wensinck has shown that the so-called *Fiḳh al-Akbar I* alone is relevant. This exists only embedded in a commentary wrongly attributed to al-Māturīdī (printed as no. 1 in *Madjmūʿat Shurūḥ al-Fiḳh al-Akbar*, Hyderabad 1321). The text itself consists of ten articles of faith outlining the orthodox position as opposed to the Khāridjīs, the Ḳadarīs, the Shīʿites, and the Djahmīs [see these articles]. Propositions directed against the Murdji'a as well as against the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] are lacking. This means that the author was a Murdji'ite who lived before the rise of the Muʿtazila. All but one of the theses of the *Fiḳh al-Akbar I* occur also in the *Fiḳh al-Absaṭ*, which consists of statements of Abū Ḥanīfa on questions of theology in answer to questions put to him by his disciple Abū Muṭīʿ al-Balkhī (d. 183/799). The contents of the *Fiḳh al-Akbar I* are therefore authentic opinions of Abū Ḥanīfa, though nothing goes to show that he actually composed the short text. But the so-called *Fiḳh al-Akbar II* and the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa* are not by Abū Ḥanīfa. The authenticity of a number of other short texts attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa has not yet been investigated and is at least doubtful; the *Waṣiyya* addressed to his disciple Yūsuf b. Khālid al-Sumtī al-Baṣrī represents Iranian courtiers' ethics and cannot be imagined as a work of a specialist in Islamic religious law.

The later enemies of Abū Ḥanīfa, in order to discredit him, taxed him not only with extravagant opinions derived from the principles of the Murdji'a, but with all kinds of heretical doctrines that he could not possibly have held. For example, they ascribed to him the doctrine that hell was not eternal—a doctrine of the Djahmīs, against whom Abū Ḥanīfa ranged himself explicitly in the *Fiḳh al-Akbar*, or the opinion that it was lawful to revolt against a government—a doctrine which goes straight against Abū Ḥanīfa's own tenets as expressed in the *al-ʿĀlim wa'l-Mutaʿallim*; he even was called a Murdji'ite who believed in the sword, a *contradictio in adjecto*. (This is perhaps deduced from his attitude at the time of the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya).

Among his descendants, his son Ḥammād and his grandson Ismāʿīl, *ḳāḍī* in Baṣra and in Raḳḳa (d. 212/827), distinguished themselves in religious law. Among his more important pupils were: Zufar b. al-Hudhayl (d. 158/775); Dāwūd al-Ṭā'ī (d. 165/781-2); Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*]; Abū Muṭīʿ al-Balkhī (see above); Al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*]; Asad b. ʿAmr (d. 190/806); Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Lu'lu'ī (d. 204/819-20). Among the traditionists, ʿAbd Allāh b. al- Mubārak (d. 181/797) esteemed him highly.

Under the growing pressure of traditions his followers, starting with Yūsuf, the son of Abū Yūsuf, collected the traditions from the Prophet that Abū Ḥanīfa had used in his legal reasoning. With the growth of spurious information, typical of a certain aspect of Muhammadan law, the number of these traditions grew, too, until Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Khʷārizmī (d. 655/1257) collected fifteen different versions into one work (*Djāmiʿ Masānīd Abī Ḥanīfa*, Hyderabad 1332). We are still able to distinguish and to compare the several versions, but none of them is an authentic work of Abū Ḥanīfa.

Bibliography: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 138 f.; *Fihrist*, 201; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 323-454; Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad al-Muwaffaḳ b. Aḥmad al-Makkī, and Muḥ. b. Muḥ. al-Kardarī, *Manāḳib al-Imām al-Aʿẓam*, Hyderabad 1321; Ibn Khallikān, no. 736 (tr. de Slane, iii, 555 ff.); Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 158 ff.; Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥa 'l-Islām*, ii, 176 ff.; Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1947; I. Goldziher, *Ẓâhiriten*, 3, 12 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, index; H. S. Ṣibay, in *IA*, iv, 20 ff.; J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, index; Brockelmann, I, 176 f.; S, I, 284 ff. (contains several mistakes). (J. SCHACHT)

ABŪ ḤANĪFA AL-DĪNAWARĪ [see AL-DĪNAWARĪ].

ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ, tenth ruler of the dynasty of the Marīnids of Fez, was 34 years old when, in 731/1331, he succeeded his father, Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān. Of a strong constitution, he seems also to have possessed the energy and the wide outlook of a great prince. Numerous public buildings show his piety and his magnificence. His reign saw not only the zenith of the dynasty and its greatest territorial expansion, but also the beginning of its decline. In Spain, he took Gibraltar from the Christians (1333), but after a success at sea, he suffered a disastrous defeat at the Rio Salado, near Tarifa, which put an end to the holy war for the Marīnids (1340). In Barbary, the took up again the expansionist policy of the great Almohades; he besieged Tlemcen, rebuilt the town-camp of al-Manṣūra and, after three years, at last took the capital of the ʿAbd al-Wādids. In conquered Tlemcen, he received the congratulations of the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt and of the king of the Sudan. In support of his ally, the Ḥafṣid of Tunis, he marched on Ifrīḳiya; but, after a period of success, he was crushingly defeated near al-Ḳayrawān (Kairouan) by a coalition of the nomad Arabs (1348). He left Tunis by sea, his fleet sank; he managed to disembark at Algiers and tried to recover his kingdom, which his son Abū ʿInān had seized. He died in 752/1352. Abū ʿInān had him buried at Chella (Shālla [*q.v.*]).

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(G. MARÇAIS)

ABŪ HĀSHIM ʿABD ALLĀH, Shīʿite leader, son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, whom he succeeded as head of the smaller branch of the *shīʿa* [see KAYSĀNIYYA]. The only information we have about him concerns his death and his testament in favour of the ʿAbbāsids. Old historical and heresiographical sources relate that Abū Hāshim went, with a group of Shīʿites, to the court of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who, afraid of his intelligence and authority, had him poisoned during his return journey. Feeling his approaching death, Abū Hāshim made a detour to Ḥumayma, not far from the residence of the ʿAbbāsids, where he died after bequeathing his rights to the Imamate to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. This tradition has been generally taken as an invention of the philo-ʿAbbāsid party. Nevertheless, stripped of incongruences and superstructures, it may well contain a kernel of truth, especially as, in effect, immediately after the death of Abū

Hā<u>sh</u>im the ʿAbbāsids came out of the shadows and the ʿIrāḳī *<u>sh</u>īʿa* went into action in obedience to their orders. [Cf. also ʿABBĀSIDS].

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 240-1; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 111; Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Ansāb*, MS Paris Schefer A. 247, 685r-6v, 745v; Yaʿḳūbī, Ṭabarī, indexes; Nawbak<u>h</u>tī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* (Ritter), 29-30; A<u>sh</u>ʿarī, *Maḳālāt* (Ritter), i, 21; Ba<u>gh</u>dādī, *Farḳ*, 28, 242; <u>Sh</u>ahrastānī, 15, 112; S. Moscati, *Il testamento di Abū Hāšim*, *RSO*, 1952, 28-46. (S. MOSCATI)

ABŪ HĀ<u>SH</u>IM, <u>sh</u>arīf of Mecca [see MAKKA].

ABŪ HĀ<u>SH</u>IM, Muʿtazili theologian [see AL-<u>DJ</u>UBBĀʾĪ].

ABŪ ḤĀTIM YAʿḲŪB B. LABĪD (or LABĪB or ḤABĪB) AL-**MALZŪZĪ** AL-NA<u>DJ</u>ĪSĪ, Ibāḍī imām in the Ma<u>gh</u>rib. The orthodox Arab historians represent him as a mere leader of Berber rebels. His role, however, was more defined, as he was given by the Ibāḍīs of Tripolitania the title of *imām al-difāʿ* ("*imām* of defence"). According to the chronicle of Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-War<u>dj</u>lānī, this revolt took place in Ra<u>dj</u>ab 145/Sept.-Oct. 762, only one year after the death of Abu 'l-<u>Kh</u>aṭṭāb. According to al-<u>Sh</u>ammā<u>kh</u>ī, *al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 134, Abū Ḥātim's government began in (1)54 A. H. It is, however, possible that this is a mistake for 145.

Little is known about the first years of Abū Ḥātim's imamate; he captured Tripoli, massacring many of his enemies, and made the city his capital. According to Abū Zakariyyāʾ he was in contact with the future founder of the imamate of Tāhart, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum, who was at this time entrenched in the mountain of Sūf A<u>dj</u>a<u>dj</u>. In 154/771 Abū Ḥātim took part in a general rising of the Berbers against the ʿAbbāsid governor of Ifrīḳiya, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ, called Hazārmard. With his troops he took part in the siege of Ṭubna, in the Zāb. Another detachment of Abū Ḥātim's army had been for eight months investing al-Ḳayrawān, which was taken in the beginning of 155/771-2. Soon after the capture of al-Ḳayrawān, an ʿAbbāsid army from Egypt appeared on the eastern frontier of Tripolitania. Abū Ḥātim left Tripoli and defeated this army in a battle, which is said by the Ibāḍī chroniclers, probably erroneously, to have taken place near Ma<u>gh</u>madās (Macomades Syrtis in antiquity, Marsā Zafran of the modern maps). Shortly after, however, another ʿAbbāsid army commanded by Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Azdī advanced from Cairo towards Tripoli. Abū Ḥātim collected the Ibāḍi Berber tribes of Tripolitania: Nafūsa, Hawwāra, Ḍarīsa, etc. and went out to meet the enemy. The battle took place on 27 Rabīʿ I 155/7 March 772, to the west of a place called <u>Dj</u>anbī (Abū Zakariyyāʾ) or <u>Dj</u>andūba (al-<u>Sh</u>ammā<u>kh</u>ī), to the east of <u>Dj</u>abal Nafūsa. The Ibāḍī army was cut to pieces, and Abū Ḥātim with 30,000 of his men are said to have been left on the battlefield.

Bibliography: Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *al-Sīra wa-A<u>kh</u>bār al-Aʾimma* (MS of the coll. of S. Smogorzewski), fol. 141r-16r; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 41-9; <u>Sh</u>ammā<u>kh</u>ī, *Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 138-8; Bala<u>dh</u>uri, *Futūḥ*, 232-3; Ibn <u>Kh</u>aldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, i, 221-3, 379-85; Idrīsī, *Descriptio al-Magribi* (de Goeje), 83-4; H. Fournel, *Les Berbères*, 370-80; R. Basset, in *JA*, 1899 ii, 115-20.

(A. DE MOTYLINSKI—T. LEWICKI)

ABŪ ḤĀTIM AL-**RĀZĪ**, AḤMAD B. ḤAMDĀN, early Ismāʿīlī author and missionary (*dāʿī*) of Rayy. Born in the district of Ba<u>sh</u>āwūy near Rayy and well versed in Ḥadī<u>th</u> and Arabic poetry, he was chosen by <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u>, *dāʿī* of Rayy, as his lieutenant, <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u> was succeeded by Abū <u>Dj</u>aʿfar, whom, however, Abū Ḥātim contrived to oust, thus becoming himself the leader of the *daʿwa* in Rayy. It is reported that he succeeded in converting Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, governor of Rayy (304-11/916-24). After the occupation of Rayy by the Sāmānid troops (311/923-4) Abū Ḥātim went to Daylam to make common cause with the ʿAlids there. His activities seem to have been at first supported by Mardāwi<u>dj</u> [*q.v.*]. When Mardāwi<u>dj</u> later turned against the Ismāʿīlīs, Abū Ḥātim fled to Mufliḥ (who became governor of Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān in 319/931). There he seems to have died, according to Ibn Ḥa<u>dj</u>ar, in 322/933-4, the date being, if not quite certain, approximately correct.

Of his works the most famous is the *al-Zīna*, a dictionary of theological terms, which is dominated by his philological interests, while Ismāʿīlī tenets are only discreetly alluded to. (For a short description of the book cf. A. H. al-Hamdani, *Actes XXIe Congrès des Orientalistes*, 291-4). In a lost book, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, he attacked the philosophical system of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*], as expounded in al-Nasafī's *al-Maḥṣūl*. When this controversy has been better explored and Abū Ḥātim's *Aʿlām al-Nubuwwa* fully published, it is hoped that more light will be shed on his own opinions. (P. Kraus has published an important section of *Aʿlām al-Nubuwwa*, recording the disputation between Abū Ḥātim and the philosopher Abū Bakr al-Rāzī).

Bibliography: Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-Nāma*, Schefer, 186 (ed. Khalkhali, 157); Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* (Bunz), 130; *Fihrist*, 188, 189; Ba<u>gh</u>dādī, *al-Farḳ*, 267; Ibn Ḥa<u>dj</u>ar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 164; W. Ivanow, *A guide to Ismaili lit.*, 32; Idem, *Studies in early Persian Ismailism*, 115 ff.; P. Kraus, in *Orientalia*, 1936, 38 ff.; idem, *Rasāʾil Falsafiyya li Abī Bakr al-Rāzī*, i, 291 ff. (S. M. STERN)

ABŪ ḤĀTIM AL-**SI<u>DJ</u>ISTĀNĪ**, SAHL B. MUḤ. AL-<u>DJ</u>U<u>SH</u>AMĪ, Arabic philologist of Baṣra, d. Ra<u>dj</u>ab 255/869. His *nisba* is related to Si<u>dj</u>istān, a village in the district of Baṣra (Yāḳūt, iii, 44). He was a disciple of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Mu<u>th</u>annā, al-Aṣmaʿī, etc. Among his disciples are mentioned Ibn Durayd and al-Mubarrad. As a grammarian he was of no great reputation, his specific field being the works of the ancient poets, their vocabulary and prosody. Of his works the bibliographers mention thirty-seven titles (enumerated by A. Haffner, *Drei arabische Quellenwerke über die Aḍdād*, Beirut 1913, 160-2). The following works have come down to us: (1) *al-Aḍdād*, ed. by Haffner, *op. cit.* 163-209; (2) *al-Na<u>kh</u>l*, ed. by B. Lagumina in *Atti* ... *Lincei*, Scienze morali, Ser. 4, 8, 5-41; (3) *al-Ta<u>dh</u>kīr wa l-Taʾni<u>th</u>*, MS Taymūr, cf. *MMIA*, 1923, 340; (4) *al-Muʿammarūn*, ed. by I. Goldziher, *Abh. z. arab. Philologie*, ii, Leiden 1899.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 58-9; Azharī, *Tah<u>dh</u>īb al-Lu<u>gh</u>a*, ed. K. V. Zetterstéen in *MO*, 1920, 22; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. F. Krenkow in *RSO*, 1919-20, 127, no. 35; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 251-4; Yāḳūt, *al-Ir<u>sh</u>ād*, iv, 258; Ibn <u>Kh</u>allikān, no. 266; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-<u>Dj</u>anān*, Ḥaydarābād 1337-8, ii, 156; Ibn Ḥa<u>dj</u>ar, *Tah<u>dh</u>īb al-Tah<u>dh</u>īb*, Ḥaydarābād 1326, ii, 257; Suyūṭī, *Bu<u>gh</u>ya*, 265; Brockelmann, I, 107, S I, 157. (B. LEWIN)

ABU 'L-HAWL (HŌL), "father of terror", the Arabic name for the sphinx of <u>Dj</u>īza (Gizeh). Some authors simply call it *al-ṣanam*, "the idol", but the name Abu 'l-Hawl is already attested for the Fāṭimid

period. At that time the Coptic name *Belhīt* (*Belhīb*), or as al-Kuḍāʿī (quoted by al-Maḳrīzī) has it: *Belhūba* (*Belhawba*), was also still known. The Arabic Abu 'l-Hawl is most probably a popular etymology based on the Coptic designation; the initial *B* probably represents the Coptic article, which has been transformed in Arabic, as often happened, into Abū. In the old tradition the name Abu 'l-Hawl was applied only to the head of the lionbodied sphinx, as the body was covered by sand in the Middle Ages and was disengaged only in 1817. Modern Arabic authors use the word for "sphinx" in general, not only for the sphinx in the vicinity of the pyramids.

The Arabs, who had no knowledge of ancient Egyptian civilization, regarded with superstitious awe the head which reached high above the sand of the desert in majestic dimensions. It was considered to be a talisman preventing the encroachment of the sand on the valley of the Nile; the same magical effect was ascribed by others to the pyramids. Another, female, colossal statue—to judge by the descriptions probably a statue of Isis with the child Horus—which lay on the other shore of the Nile in Fusṭāṭ, was considered to be the beloved of Abu 'l-Hawl. She had her back to the river, as Abu 'l-Hawl had his to the desert, and was thought to be a talisman against the flooding of Fusṭāṭ by high water. This statue was destroyed in 711/1311 by treasure-hunters and its stones were used in the building of a mosque. According to another tradition Abu 'l-Hawl was the effigy of the legendary Us͟hmūm, to whom the Ṣābians used to sacrifice white cocks and incense.

The Arabic accounts have but little to contribute to the history of the monument. According to al-Maḳdisī the face was apparently no longer intact in 375/985, although later accounts praise its beauty and the harmony of its features, whose reddish colour is frequently mentioned. About 780/1378 a fanatical *s͟hayk͟h* caused further damage to the statue.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, i, 122 f.; ed. Wiet, ii, 155 ff. (with notes); Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv, 21 f.; Maḳdisī, 210; Yāḳūt, iv, 966; S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte*, 180; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-K͟hiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, xvi, 44 ff.; E. Reitmeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter*, 98-102; K. Baedeker, *Ägypten*[8], 124 f. (C. H. Becker)

ABU 'L-HAYDJĀ AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ [see ḤAMDĀNIDS].

ABU ḤAYYĀN Athīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-**G͟HARNĀṬĪ**, the most distinguished Arab grammarian of the first half of the 14th century, was born in Granada, S͟hawwāl 654/Nov. 1256, and died in Cairo, Ṣafar 745/July 1344, where, after 10 years of productive study and travel throughout the entire Arab world, he had served as a professor of the Ḳur'ānic disciplines in the Ṭūlūnī mosque. This creative scholar is purported to have written 65 works, many of them multi-volumed, on Arabic and other languages (notably Turkish, Ethiopic, and Persian), Ḳur'ānic studies, traditions, jurisprudence, history, biography, and poetry.

Of the 15 extant works the most important are: *Manhadj al-Sālik*, a commentary of the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (ed. Sidney Glazer, New Haven 1947; includes, besides text, a complete bio-bibliography of Abū Ḥayyān and a historical sketch of native Arabic grammar); *al-Idrāk li-Lisān al-Atrāk*, the most ancient grammar of Turkish available (ed. A. Caferoglu, Istanbul 1931; cf. also *JA*, 1892, 326-35); *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, an extensive commentary on the Ḳur'ān (cf. *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 243 and Brockelmann, S ii, 136).

Abū Ḥayyān's greatness as a grammarian was due not only to his mastery of the linguistic data and control of his predecessors' efforts (he knew Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* by heart, for he accorded it an authority in grammar equal to that of *ḥadīth* in religion), but to his remarkably modern approach to descriptive and comparative grammar (cf. S. Glazer, in *JAOS*, 1942), as shown both by his willingness to illuminate an Arabic grammatical concept through quotations from other languages and by following such operational principles as "One must base rules of Arabic on frequency of occurrence" and "Analogous formations that contradict genuine data found in good speech are not to be permitted". This unusual spirit of objectivity and respect for facts have made of the *Manhadj al-Sālik* a work of great distinction. Besides elucidating and correcting Ibn Mālik's brilliant if occasionally erroneous compression of the totality of Arabic grammar into 1000 verses of poetry, the *Manhadj* presents a miniature bibliography of grammatical science and a panorama of thought on some of its most difficult problems on which the opinions of hundreds of grammarians, Ḳur'ān readers, and lexicographers are cited. It was consigned to obscurity by the more elementary works on the same subject written by his pupils Ibn ʿAḳīl and Ibn His͟hām.

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 823-62; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 282, 352-6; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, Hyderabad 1350/1931, iv, 303-8; Suyūṭī, *Bug͟hyat al-Wuʿāt*, 121-2; Zarkas͟hī, *Ta'rīk͟h al-Dawlatayn*, Tunis 1289/1872, 63; Brockelmann, II, 109, S II, 136; I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, Leipzig 1884, 188 ff. (S. Glazer)

ABŪ ḤAYYĀN AL-**TAWḤĪDĪ**, ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. al-ʿAbbās (probably called al-Tawḥīdī after the sort of dates called *tawḥīd*), man of letters and philosopher of the 4th/10th century. The place of his birth is given either as Nīs͟hāpūr, S͟hīrāz, Wāsiṭ or Bag͟hdād; its date must be placed between 310-20/922-32. He studied in Bag͟hdād, grammar under al-Sīrāfī and al-Rummānī, S͟hāfiʿite law under Abū Ḥāmid al-Marw al-Rūd͟hī and Abū Bakr al-S͟hās͟hī; and also frequented ṣūfī masters. He supported himself by acting as a professional scribe. It is said, in a somewhat doubtful passage (see al-Subkī, al-Ṣafadī, al-D͟hahabī, Ibn Ḥadjar) that he was, owing to heretical opinions, persecuted by the vizier al-Muhallabī (d. 352/963). He was in Mecca in 353/964 (*al-Imtāʿ*, ii, 79; *Baṣā'ir*, MS Cambridge, fol. 167v) and in Rayy in 358/971 (Yāḳūt, *Irs͟hād*, ii, 292; at the court of Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd?, d. 360/970). From his *al-Muḳābasāt*, 156, we know that in 361/971 he attended lectures of the philosopher Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī in Bag͟hdad. He tried his luck with the vizier Abu 'l-Fatḥ b. al-ʿAmīd in Rayy (d. 366/976), to whom he addressed an elaborate epistle; to judge from his hostile sentiments towards the vizier, he did not achieve much. From 367/977 he was employed by Ibn ʿAbbād as an amanuensis. In this case, too, he was anything but a success, owing, no doubt, mainly to his own difficult character and sense of superiority (he for example refused to "waste his time" in copying the bulky collection of his master's epistles), and was finally given his dismissal. He felt himself badly treated and avenged himself by a pamphlet containing brilliant caricatures of both Abu 'l-Fatḥ b. al-ʿAmīd and Ibn ʿAbbād (*D͟hamm*—or *Mat͟hālib* or *Ak͟hlāḳ—al-Wazīrayn*; considerable extracts in Yāḳūt, i, 281, ii, 44 ff., 282 ff., 317 ff.; v, 359 ff., 392 ff., 406 f.).

It was in the period between 350-65/961-75 that he composed his anthology of *adab*, entitled *Baṣāʾir al-Ḳudamāʾ*, also called *al-Baṣāʾir wa'l-Dhakhāʾir*, etc.) in ten volumes (vols. i-v in Fātiḥ (Istanbul), 3295-9; i-ii in Cambridge 134, in Djār Allāh (Istanbul) and in Manchester 767; unidentified volumes in the ʿUmūmiyya (Istanbul, Rāmpūr i, 330, Ambrosiana (?)). It was probably in Rayy that he addressed to Miskawayh the questions which the latter answered in his *al-Hawāmil wa'l-Shawāmil*. After his return to Baghdād, at the end of 370/980, he was recommended by Zayd b. Rifāʿa and Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzdjānī, the mathematician, to Ibn Saʿdān (also called, after his function as an inspector of the army, al-ʿĀriḍ—cf. al-Rūdhrawarī, *Dhayl Tadjārib al-Umam*, 9; hence the confusion in Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and in modern authors). For him he started his book on Friendship, which was finished, however, only thirty years later. He frequented regularly at this epoch (lectures attended in 371/981, *al-Muḳābasāt*, 246, 286) the man who exercised the greatest influence on him, namely Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī [*q.v.*], who was his main oracle, especially on philosophical matters, but also on every other conceivable subject. Ibn Saʿdān was appointed by Ṣamṣām al-Dawla as his vizier in 373/983. Abū Ḥayyān remained an assiduous courtier of the vizier, attending his evening receptions where he had to answer the vizier's questions on the most varied topics of philology, literature, philosophy, court- and literary gossip. (He very often reproduces the views of Abū Sulaymān—who lived in retirement and did not attend the court—on the matter in question). At the request of Abu 'l-Wafāʾ the mathematician, he compiled for his perusal a record of thirty-seven of these sessions, under the title of *al-Imtāʿ wa'l-Muʾānasa* (ed. A. Amīn and A. al-Zayn, Cairo 1939-44). In 375/985-6 Ibn Saʿdān fell and was executed, and Abū Ḥayyān apparently remained without a patron. (He wrote for Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Mudlidjī, vizier in Shīrāz for Ṣamṣām al-Dawla in 382-3/992-3, *al-Muḥaḍarāt wa'l-Munāẓarāt*; quotations in Yāḳūt, i, 15, iii, 87, v, 382, 405, vi, 466). Of the later period of his life we know very little; he evidently lived in poverty. It was in these later years that he compiled his *al-Muḳābasāt* (Bombay 1306, Cairo 1929—both very faulty editions), a collection of 106 conversations on various philosophical subjects. The chief speaker is again Abū Sulaymān, but there appear all the other members of the Baghdād philosophical circle. *Al-Muḳābasāt* and *al-Imtāʿ wa'l-Muʾānasa* are mines of information about contemporary intellectual life and they should prove invaluable for a reconstruction of the doctrines of the Baghdād philosophers.—Towards the end of his life Abū Ḥayyān burned his books, alleging as reason the neglect in which he had to live for twenty years. In the preface to his treatise on Friendship (*al-Ṣadāḳa wa 'l-Ṣadīḳ*, printed together with a short treatise on the use of science, Istanbul 1301), which he finished in 400/1009, he makes similar complaints. A guide book to the cemetery of Shīrāz (*Shadd al-Izār ʿan Ḥaṭṭ al-Awzār*, 17) claims that the tomb of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (whom it calls, however, Aḥmad b. ʿAbbās) was to be seen in Shīrāz and gives as the date of his death 414/1023.

Abū Ḥayyān was a master of Arabic style. He was a great admirer of al-Djāḥiẓ, in whose praise he wrote a special treatise, *Taḳrīẓ al-Djāḥiẓ* (quoted by Yāḳūt, i, 124, iii, 86, vi, 58, 69; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, iii, 282 f.), and his wish to imitate the style of the great prose-writer is evident His talent is most apparent in the passages, frequent in his books, where he characterizes people. As for his beliefs, he does not seem to have had any original system. He was obviously impressed by Abū Sulaymān's Neo-platonic system, which the latter shared with most of the other contemporary Baghdād philosophers. Like the other members of the circle, Abū Ḥayyān also showed an interest in Ṣūfism, but not enough to make him a regular Ṣūfī. His *al-Ishārāt al-Ilāhiyya* (ed. ʿA. Badawī, Cairo 1951) "consists of prayers and homilies and only occasional references to Ṣūfī technicalities". "Abū Ḥayyān was coupled with Ibn al-Rāwandī and al-Maʿarrī as one of the *zindīḳs* of Islam (*JRAS*, 1905, 80) but his extant works scarcely justify this assertion" (D. S. Margoliouth, in *EI*[1], s.v.).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 380 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 707; Subkī, iv, 2; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, in *JRAS*, 1905, 80 ff.; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, iii, 353; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, iv, 369; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 348; Brockelmann, i, 283, S i, 435; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ḳazwīnī, *Sharḥ-i Ḥāl-i Abū Sulaymān Manṭiḳī Sidjistānī*, Chalon-sur-Saone, 1933, 32 ff. (also in *Bist Maḳāla*, Tehran 1935); ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Muhyi 'l-Dīn, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (in Arabic), Cairo 1949; I. Keilani, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (in French), Beyrouth 1950.—Abū Ḥayyān's little treatise on writing, ed. F. Rosenthal, *Ars Islamica*, 1948, 1 ff.; three epistles (*Risālat al-Imāma*—quoted by Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Musāmarāt*, ii, 77, Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, ii, 592 ff., etc., and containing a message purporting to be addressed by Abū Bakr to ʿAlī, but which, it has been suspected, was invented by Abū Ḥayyān himself; *R. al-Ḥayāt*, from a philosophical point of view; and the above mentioned treatise on writing) have been edited by I. Keilani, *Thalāth Rasāʾil*, Damascus 1952. An extract from *al-Zulfa*, al-Rūdhrawarī, 75. (S. M. Stern)

ABU 'L-HUDHAYL AL-ʿALLĀF, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-HUDHAYL B. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH B. MAKḤŪL, with the *nisba* of AL-ʿABDĪ (being a *mawlā* of ʿAbd al-Ḳays), the first speculative theologian of the Muʿtazila. He was born in Baṣra, where he lived in the quarter of the *ʿallāfūn*, or foragers (whence his surname); the date of his birth is uncertain: 135/752-3 or 134/751-2 or even 131/748-9. In 203/818-9 he settled in Baghdād and died, at a great age, in 226/840-1, or according to another tradition, in the reign of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), or, on the authority of others, in 235/849-50, under al-Mutawakkil. He was indirectly a disciple of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ, through the intermediary of one of Wāṣil's companions, ʿUthmān al-Ṭawīl. Like Wāṣil, he was lettered; his profound knowledge of poetry was especially celebrated. Some *ḥadīths* also are quoted under his name.

The theology which he inherited from the school of Wāṣil was still rudimentary. Essentially polemical, it opposed—in a rather unsystematic fashion, it seems—the anthropomorphism of popular Islam and of the traditionists, the doctrine of determinism favoured for political reasons by the Umayyads, and the divinization of ʿAlī preached by the extreme Shīʿites. While continuing this polemic, Abu 'l-Hudhayl was the first to engage in the speculative struggles of the epoch, a task for which he was exceptionally well equipped by his philosophical mind, his sagacity and his eloquence. He became the apologist of Islam against other religions and against the great currents of thought of the preceding epoch:

the dualists, represented by the Zoroastrians, the Manichaeans and other Gnostics; the philosophers of Greek inspiration, the *dahriyya*, mainly represented by the champions of the natural sciences; finally against the increasingly numerous Muslims who were influenced by these foreign ideas: crypto-Manichaean poets like Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs, the theologians of the "modern" type who had adopted certain gnostic and philosophical doctrines, etc. It seems that it was only at a mature age that he made himself acquainted with philosophy. On the occasion of his pilgrimage (the date of which is unknown) he met in Mecca the Shīʿite theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and disputed with him concerning his anthropomorphist doctrines, which show a gnostic influence; and it was only then that he began to study the books of the *dahriyya*. Later historians observe certain similarities between his doctrine of the divine attributes and the philosophy of Pseudo-Empedocles, forged by the Neo-Platonists and natural scientists of late antiquity; in effect his philosophical sources must have been of such a kind, which are represented in general by medieval Aristotelianism. These philosophers attracted, as well as repelled, him; while combatting them, he adopted their methods and their manner of looking at problems. Naive as a thinker, and having no scholastic tradition, he approached speculative problems with a daring which did not even recoil from the absurd. Hence all the prematurity and the lack of balance which characterize his theology, but also the freshness of his attempts. He was the first to set many of the fundamental problems at which the whole of the later Muʿtazila was to labour.

The unity, the spirituality and the transcendence of God are carried in the theology of Abu 'l-Hudhayl to the highest degree of abstraction. God is one; he does not resemble his creatures in any respect; he is not a body (against Hishām b. al-Ḥakam); has no figure (*hayʾa*), form (*ṣūra*) or limit. God is knowing with a knowledge, is powerful with a power, alive with a life, eternal with an eternality, seeing with a faculty of sight, etc. (against the Shīʿites who asserted that God *is* knowledge, etc.), but this knowledge, power, etc. are identical with himself (against popular theology which regarded the divine attributes as entities added to essence): provisional formulas of compromise which did not satisfy later generations. God is omnipresent in the sense that he directs everything and his direction is exercised in every place. God is invisible in the other world; the believers will see him with their hearts. The knowledge of God is unlimited, as to what concerns his knowledge of himself; as for his knowledge of the world, it is circumscribed by the limits of his creation, which forms a limited totality (if it were not limited, it would not be totality). The same applies to the divine power. Abu 'l-Hudhayl strove to reconcile the Ḳurʾānic doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* with the Aristotelian cosmology, according to which the world, set in motion by God, is eternal, movement being co-eternal with the prime mover himself. While accepting movement as the principle of the universal process, he declared it to be created in the Ḳurʾānic sense; in consequence, movement also will reach its end and will cease. This end is placed by him in the other world, after the last day: movement having ceased, paradise and hell will come to a standstill and their inhabitants will be fixed in a state of immobility, the blessed enjoying for eternity the highest pleasures and the damned enduring the most cruel torments. This bizarre doctrine, which, according to tradition, he himself revoked, is unanimously rejected by all the Muslim theologians, Muʿtazilites or not; nor have its grave consequences for the doctrine of God's omniscience and omnipotence escaped them. In regard to theodicy, Abu 'l-Hudhayl taught that God has the power to do evil and injustice, but he does not do it, because of his goodness and wisdom. God admits the evil actions of man, but he is not their author. Man has the power to commit them, he is responsible for them, and responsible even for the involuntary consequences resulting from his actions (theory of *tawallud*, first developed by Abu 'l-Hudhayl). The responsible being is man in his entirety, his *rūḥ* together with his visible body. It was Abu 'l-Hudhayl who introduced into Muʿtazilite speculation the concept of the accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) of bodies, and that of the atom, which he called *djawhar*. These concepts, which originally had a purely physical relevance, were made by him to serve as the basis for theology proper, cosmology, anthropology and ethics. This is his most original innovation, as well as the most heavy with consequences; it was this which gave to Muʿtazili theology its mechanical character. Life, soul, spirit, the five senses, are accidents and therefore not enduring; even spirit (*rūḥ*) will not endure. Human actions can be divided into two phases, both of them movements: the first is the approach ("I shall do"), the second the accomplished action ("I have done"). Man having free will, the first movement can be suspended in the second phase, so that the action remains unaccomplished; it is only the accomplished action which counts. Divine activity is interpreted in the light of the doctrine of accidents: the whole process of the world consists in an incessant creation of accidents, which descend into the bodies. Some accidents, however, are not be found in a place or in a body; e.g. time and divine will (*irāda*). The latter is identical with the eternal creating word *kun*; it is distinct from its object (*al-murād*) and also from the divine order (*amr*), which man can either obey or disobey (while the effect of the creating word *kun* is absolute: *kun fa-yakūnu*, Ḳurʾān ii, 111, etc.). Those who are not acquainted with the Ḳurʾānic revelation, but have nevertheless accomplished laudable acts prescribed by the Ḳurʾān, have obeyed God without having the intention to do so (theory of *ṭāʿa la yurāduʾllāhu bihā*, otherwise attributed to the Khāridjites). The Ḳurʾān is an accident created by God; being written, recited or committed to memory, it is at the same time in various places.—In the question of the *manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* Abu 'l-Hudhayl took up a position which was in conformity with the political situation of his time: he did not reject any of the combatants round ʿAlī, yet preferred ʿAlī to ʿUthmān. He enjoyed the favour of al-Maʾmun, who often invited him to the court for theological disputes.—All the writings of Abu 'l-Hudhayl are lost.

During his long life, Abu 'l-Hudhayl had an enormous influence on the development of theology and he collected round him a large number of disciples of different generations. The best known amongst them is al-Naẓẓām, though he quarrelled with his master because of his destructive theories concerning the atom; Abu 'l-Hudhayl condemned him and composed several treatises against him. Among his disciples are named Yaḥyā b. Bishr al-Arradjānī, al-Shaḥḥām, and others. His school continued to exist for a long time; even al-Djubbāʾī still avowed his indebtedness to Abu 'l-Hudhayl's

theology, in spite of the numerous points on which he differed from him.—Unfortunately, the theology of Abu 'l-Hudhayl was exposed to the malevolence of a renegade from Muʿtazilism, the famous Ibn al-Rāwandī, who, in his *Faḍīḥat al-Muʿtazila* grossly misrepresented it, by submitting it to an often too cheap criticism; this caricature has been faithfully reproduced by al-Baghdādī in his *Farḳ* and often recurs in the résumés of the Muʿtazila. It is only with the help of *al-Intiṣār*, by al-Khayyāṭ, the severe critic of Ibn al-Rāwandi, that we are able to unmask the latter's procedure and gain an exact idea of the true motives of Abu 'l-Hudhayl's speculation. Al-Ashʿarī, in his *Maḳālāt*, reproduced his theses with admirable impartiality, after the school tradition of the Muʿtazila. Al-Shahrastānī based his exposé on the later Muʿtazilite tradition, especially, it seems, on al-Kaʿbī.

Bibliography: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iii, 366-70; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 617; Ibn al-Murtaḍā (T. W. Arnold, *The Muʿtazila*), index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ta'wīl Mukhtalaf al-Ḥadīth*, Cairo 1326, 53-5; Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), index; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt* (Ritter), index; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, index; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, ii, 193, 487, iv, 83 ff., 192 ff., etc.; Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-Ta'rīkh* (Huart), index of transl.; Shahrastānī, 34-7; Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam* (Cheikho), 21 f.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 346; S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomlehre*, Berlin 1936; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London 1947; L. Gardet and M. M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948; A. N. Nādir, *Falsafat al-Muʿtazila*, Alexandria 1950-1. (H. S. Nyberg)

ABŪ HURAYRA al-Dawsī al-Yamānī, Companion of Muḥammad. His name ʿAbd Shams was changed to ʿAbd Allāh or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān when he became a Muslim, but numerous other names have also been mentioned. He was called Abū Hurayra because, when he herded his people's goats, he kept a kitten to play with. When he came to Medina the Prophet was on the expedition to Khaybar (7/629). Accepting Islam, he associated closely with Muḥammad on whose charity he depended, and was one of the poor men called *ahl al-ṣuffa* [*q.v.*]. He was devoted to his mother whom he persuaded to become a Muslim. ʿUmar appointed him governor of Baḥrayn, but deposed him and confiscated a large sum of money in his possession. When ʿUmar later invited him to resume the post, he refused. Marwān is said to have appointed Abū Hurayra his deputy when he was absent from Medina, but another version says Muʿāwiya gave him this appointment. Abū Hurayra had a reputation both for his piety and his fondness for jesting. He is said to have died in 57, 58, or 59; but if it is true that he prayed at ʿĀ'isha's funeral in 58, the date must be 58/678, or 59. He was 78 years old.

Although he became a Muslim less than four years before Muḥammad's death, Abū Hurayra is noted as a prolific narrator of traditions from the Prophet, the number of which is estimated at 3500. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad* contains 213 pages of his traditions (ii, 228-541). 800 or more men are credited with transmitting traditions from him. There is a story, given in slightly different forms, in which he explains why he transmitted more traditions than others. He says that while others were occupied with their business, he stayed with Muḥammad and so heard more than they. When he complained that he forgot what he heard, Muḥammad told him to spread out his cloak while he was speaking and draw it round himself when he had finished. Abū Hurayra did so, and thereafter forgot nothing he heard the Prophet say. He had to defend himself against suspicions regarding his traditions; but whether this is genuine, or has merely been invented for the purpose of overcoming the suspicions of people at a later period, it is impossible to prove. The traditions attributed to him contain much material which cannot be genuine; but Sprenger is scarcely justified in calling him a pious humbug of the first water, as the traditions traced to him are not necessarily his. He may be little more than a convenient authority to whom inventions of a later period have been attributed. Abū Hurayra presumably did tell many stories about Muḥammad, but the authentic ones may be only a small amount of the huge number of traditions traced to him. Many of his traditions appear in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 141 f.; *ʿUyūn*, i, 53; Dawlābī, *al-Kunā wa 'l-Asmā'*, Hydarabad 1322-3, i, 61; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Hydarabad 1336, 697 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 315-7; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 760 f.; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 31-5; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1358/1939, iv, 200-8; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xii, 262-7; Wensinck, *Handbook*, 7 f.; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, iii, p. lxxxiii-lxxxxv; D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, 352 f.; *ZDMG*, 1895, 487 f. The *ṣaḥīfa* attributed to Hammām b. Munabbih, containing traditions from his teacher Abū Hurayra, was published by M. Ḥamīdullāh, *MMIA*, 1953, 96 ff. (J. Robson)

ABŪ ḤUSAYN (Banū Abī Ḥusayn) Sicilian dynasty [see kalbids].

ABŪ ʿINĀN FĀRIS, eleventh sovereign of the Marīnid [*q.v.*] dynasty of Fez, born in 729/1329, had himself proclaimed at Tlemcen in 749/1349, when his father, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, after being defeated at Ḳayrawān, was returning as a fugitive to Morocco. Ibn al-Aḥmar describes him as very tall, with a fair skin (his mother was a Christian slave), and says that he had a long beard. A fearless horseman, he was also widely versed in literature and the law. Like his father, he was a prince with a passion for building, and completed several of the foundations that his father had begun, in particular medersas at Fez, Meknes, and Algiers. The Bū ʿInāniyya at Fez is the most monumental of these Maghribī colleges.

Having gained the throne by usurpation, Abū ʿInān went on to assume the caliphian title *amīr al-mu'minīn*, which his father had not borne. He made it his aim to rebuild his father's empire in Barbary and fairly quickly succeeded in doing so, but only for a few years. He seized Tlemcen from the ʿAbd al-Wādids (1352); and, the same year, took possession of Bougie. In 757/1357 he occupied Constantine and had himself proclaimed at Tunis; but, abandoned by his Arab auxiliaries, the Dawāwīda of the Constantine region, he was compelled to return to Fez. Not long afterwards he fell ill (759/1358) and was strangled by his vizier al-Fūdūdī, who had the son of his victim proclaimed, and thus inaugurated the series of palace revolutions and the long decadence of the Marīnids.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, ii, 423-42, transl. iv, 287-319; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Rawḍat al-Nisrīn*, ed. and transl. Bouali and G. Marçais, 23-5, 79-84; H. Terrasse,

Hist. du Maroc. ii, 62-6; M. van Berchem, *Titres califiens d'Occident*, in *JA*, 1907, i, 245-335; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, (1927), ii, 494 sqq., 517 sqq. (G. Marçais)

ABŪ ʿĪSĀ AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, Jewish pretender to the title of the Messiah under the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, or according to others under Marwān II. The most noteworthy of his doctrines was his acknowledgment of the validity—for the non-Jews—of Islam and Christianity. He was killed in a battle against the Muslims; the sect, called ʿĪsawiyya, survived into the 10th century A. D.

Bibliography: Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya*, 15; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, i, 114-5; Shahrastānī, 168; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 478-9 (= S. de Sacy, *Chrest. arabe*[2], i, 116); H. Grätz, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*[4], v, 173 and note 17 (by A. Harkavy); *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. Abu Issa. (S. M. Stern)

ABŪ ʿĪSĀ Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-**WARRĀḲ**, a Muʿtazilite at first, became one of the archheretics in Islām; his friend and pupil, Ibn al-Rāwandī [*q.v.*], went through the same metamorphosis. The date of Abū ʿĪsā's death is given by al-Masʿūdī (vii, 236) as 247/861; if it is true, however, that Ibn al-Rāwandī died about the end of the 3rd/9th century (see Kraus, 379), this date would seem to be too early. The issue would be decided if one could be sure that the paragraph in al-Shahrastānī, 198, where the date 271 occurs, still continues the quotation from Abū ʿĪsā.

Abū ʿĪsā was accused of Manichean sympathies. Al-Murtaḍā's defence, *al-Shāfī*, 13, to the effect that his books *al-Mashriḳī* and *al-Nawḥ ʿalā al-Bahā'im* were spuriously attributed to him by the Manicheans, deserves, of course, no credit. On the other hand it is not very likely that he was a formal adherent of Manicheism; most probably he was an "independent thinker" (L. Massignon). Interesting quotations, showing his method in criticising current religious beliefs, and taken from his *al-Gharīb al-Mashriḳī*—such is the full title also in *Fihrist*, 177, and al-Ṭūsī, 99; a "stranger from the East" was evidently introduced as the exponent of heterodox views—are to be found in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-Mu'ānasa*, iii, 192.

His main work was a book on religions and sects, *al-Maḳālāt*, which served as an important source for writers such as al-Ashʿarī (*Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 33, 34—Shīʿa; cf. also index, 37), al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, v, 473 ff.—Zaydiyya), al-Baghdādī (*Farḳ*, 49, 51), al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya*, 277, 284—Jewish sects, Samaritans), Abu 'l-Maʿālī (*Bayān al-Adyān* (Eghbal), 10—religion of the pagan Arabs; as the editor points out, 54 ff., similar passages are to be found in Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, i, 39, iv, 437; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd quotes Abū ʿĪsā in other passages also), al-Shahrastānī, (141, 143—Shīʿa; 192—Mazdak; 188—Mānī). Abū ʿĪsā's Muʿtazilī adversaries insinuated that he was too eager to reproduce in his book the arguments of the Manicheans.

Abū ʿĪsā wrote books favourable to the Shīʿa (*al-Imāma*; *al-Saḳīfa*, quoted by al-Mufīd, cf. Eghbal, *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī*, 86)—hence the partiality of Shīʿite authors for him.

His critical examination of the three branches of Christianity (Orthodox, Jacobite, Nestorian) survives in the refutation by Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (cf. A. Perier, *Yahya ben ʿAdi*, 67, 150 ff.; L. Massignon, *Textes inédits concernant l'hist. de la mystique*, 182-5; A. Abel, *Abû ʿÎsâ al-Warrâq*, Brussel 1949).

Bibliography: Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), 97, 149, 150, 152, 155, and note, 205; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 57, vii, 236; *Fihrist*, 338; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 58, 72, 99; Nadjdjāshī, *Ridjāl*, 47, 263; Th. M. Houtsma, in *WZKM*, 1891, 231; H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, 1929, 35 f.; A. Eghbal, *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī*, Teheran 1933, 84 ff.; P. Kraus, in *RSO*, 1934, 374; G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1937, 196-7; J. Schacht, in *Studia Islamica*, i, 1953, 41-2. (S. M. Stern)

ABŪ ISḤĀḲ AL-ILBĪRĪ, Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd b. Saʿīd al-Tudjībī, Andalusian jurist and poet, native, as shown by his *nisba*, of Ilbīra (Elvira), which in the century of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* lost its position to the neighbouring Granada. Little is known of his life. Born in the last years of the 4th/10th century, he was, during the reign of the Zīrid king of Granada, Bādīs b. Ḥabūs, secretary of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. Tawba and at the same time was occupied in teaching. In his poems he protusted against the increasing influence of the Jews in the kingdom of Granada and especially against the functions, too important in his eyes, entrested to the famous vizier Samuel ha-Nagid Ibn Nagrēlla, and to his son Joseph, who succeeded him in this office in 448/1056-7. It was no doubt at the latter's instigation that Bādīs assigned to the *faḳīh* a forced residence in the *rābiṭa* of al-ʿUḳāb, in the Sierra de Elvira. Abū Isḥāḳ, however, did not give way, and the celebrated political poem, to which he owes most of his reputation, was, if not the determining cause, at least one of the factors which brought about the well-known pogrom in Granada, on 9 Ṣafar 459/30 Dec. 1066, during which Joseph b. Nagrēlla and 3000 of his correligionists were murdered. Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ilbīrī died shortly afterwards, at the end of the same year of 459/1067.

In addition to his fulminating poem, to which attention was long ago drawn by Dozy, Abū Isḥāḳ left a collection of poems, which are in the majority of ascetic inspiration and which he apparently composed at an advanced age. This *dīwān*, of which a MS has been preserved in the Escorial (no. 404), has been published by the author of this article, with an introduction. It is very characteristic of the limited poetical faculties of an Andalusian *faḳīh* of medium culture, who rises to eloquence only when expressing his intolerant fanaticism.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, no. 520; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* (Algiers), no. 352; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, article reproduced by R. Dozy, *Rech.*[3], i, 282-94 and App. xxvi (*Poème d'Abou Ishak d'Elvira contre les Juifs de Grenade*); idem, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*[2], iii, 70-3; E. García Gómez, *Un alfaqui español: Abû Isḥâq de Elvira*, Madrid-Granada, 1944; Brockelmann, S I, 479-80. (E. García Gómez)

ABŪ ISḤĀḲ [see al-Ṣābi' and al-Shīrāzī].

ABŪ KABĪR AL-HUDHALĪ, an early Arab poet, after Abū Dhu'ayb the second greatest poet of the tribe of Hudhayl. He belonged to the Banū Saʿd, or, according to some, to the Banu Djurayb. His real name was ʿĀmir (or ʿUwaymir) b. al-Ḥulays (also without the article), according to other statements, ʿĀmir b. Djamra, but he was always known by his *kunya*. According to some commentators (cf. e.g. al-Tibrīzī on the *Ḥamāsa*), Abū Kabīr married the mother of the famous Ta'abbaṭa Sharr[an] and as the stepson was displeased at this union Abū Kabīr is said to have been advised by the mother of Ta'abbaṭa Sharr[an] to kill him at the first opportunity, but failed on account of the latter's bravery. This

story can hardly be true but is rather an attempt to explain the well known lines of Abū Kabīr in the *Ḥamāsa* in which he describes a companion in arms, an ideal hero in terms of the Arab conception. Moreover, in some versions the roles are interchanged (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 422): Taʾabbaṭa Sharr^an married Abū Kabīr's mother and so on. The story that represents Taʾabbaṭa Sharr^an as the constant companion of our poet deserves equally little credence because his tribe was continually at feud with the Fahmīs. He flourished in the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, so that biographers like ʿIzz al-Dīn b. al-Athīr (*Usd al-Ghāba*, Cairo 1280, vi, 272) and Ibn Hadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (*al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, vii, 162) number him among the *ṣaḥāba*.

From the content of his poems he is, however, decidedly to be classed as a *djāhilī*. His *dīwān*, edited and translated for the first time by F. Bajraktarević, consists of only four long *ḳaṣīdas* and 19 short fragments mostly wrongly attributed to him, but is in many ways very interesting and valuable; all the *ḳaṣīdas* are composed in the same metre (*kāmil*) and begin in the same way, as was pointed out particularly by Ibn Ḳutayba (*al-Shiʿr*, 420). What is specially striking also in his poems is the complete absence of any description of the camel. Arab critics frequently rank Abū Kabīr very highly as a poet. Al-Maʿarrī, it is true, accuses him of narrowness of range but singles out some of his verses as particularly fine, while ʿAwf b. Muḥallim (in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 97) goes so far as to call him the greatest poet of Hudhayl.

Bibliography: *Dīwān al-Hudhaliyyīn*, Cairo 1948, ii, 88-115; *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), i, 36 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 420-5; Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, Cairo 1321, 100-1 (Engl. transl. by Nicholson, in *JRAS*, 1900, 708-9); Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī*, Cairo 1322, 81-3; ʿAbd al-Ḳādīr al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Būlāḳ 1277, iii, 466-73, iv, 165-7, 420-1; ʿAynī, *al-Maḳāsid al-Naḥwiyya* (on margin of *Khizānat al-Adab*), iii, 54-7, 361-4, 558-60; Iskandar Āghā Abkāriūs, *Rawḍat al-Adab fī Ṭabaḳāt Shuʿarāʾ al-ʿArab*, Beyruth 1858, 192-6; Muḥammad Bāḳir, *Djāmiʿ al-Shawāhid*, Ḳumm 1308, 67-8, 167, 278-9; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī, *Takmīl al-Marām bi-Sharḥ Shawāhid Ibn Hishām*, Fez 1310, 18^8, 24^1-8; F. Bajraktarević, *La Lâmiyya d'Abū Kabīr al-Hudalī, publiée avec le commentaire d'as-Sukkarī, traduite et annotée*, *JA*, 1923, 59-115; idem, *Le Dīwān d'Abū Kabīr al-Hudalī, publié avec le commentaire d'as-Sukkarī, traduit et annoté*, *JA*, 1927, 5-94; Brockelmann, S, i, 43.
(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

ABŪ ḲALAMMAS [see ḲALAMMAS].

ABŪ ḲALAMŪN means originally a certain textile of a peculiar sheen, then a precious stone, a bird, and a mollusc. The origin of the word is not certain; the unanimous statement of the Arab philologists that Abū Ḳalamūn is a Byzantine product would indicate the derivation of the word from Greek. In the *K. al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra* (*MMIA*, 1932, 337; *Arabica*, 1954, 158, 162), Abū Ḳalamūn is listed as a precious Byzantine textile. According to H. L. Fleischer (*De Glossis Habichtianis*, Leipzig 1836, 106), followed by Dozy (*Suppl.*, i, 6, 85), it is derived from ὑποκάλαμον, supposed to mean "striped cloth". S. de Sacy proposed to derive the word from χαμαιλέων, "chameleon", proverbial for its changing colours (*Chrest. arabe*, iii, trad. 268). But neither the dictionaries nor Djāḥiẓ nor Damīrī know of Abū Ḳalamūn as a name for the chameleon (though, according to the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, the word has this meaning in Persian). The proverb: "more changeable than Abū Ḳalamūn", or: "than Abū Barāḳish" (e.g. Freytag, *Proverbia*, i, 409; Hamadhānī, *Maḳāmāt*, Beyrouth 1924, 86; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ*, 69, cf. *And.*, 1950, 353), could refer to the chameleon or to a bird of changing colours which is also called Abū Barāḳish (cf. Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 406). Further, according to Muḳaddasī, 240-1 (ed. and transl. Pellat, 53 and no. 143), Abū Ḳalamūn denotes a mollusc (pinna), the byssus or "beard" of which is used in the manufacture of a sheeny cloth, which is also known as *ṣūf al-baḥr* (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.). P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, 110) refers to the use of χαμαιλέων as a term for the philosophers' stone in ancient alchemy (cf. Lippmann, *Entstehung ... Alchemie*, i, 298). This usage explains why Djābir gave one of his books, in which he treats of the various colours of the seven metals (*adjsād*), the title *Kitāb Abī Ḳalamūn* (P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, i, 24; cf. Ruska, in *Isl.*, 1925, 102 n.).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text: Iṣṭakhrī, 42; G. Jacob, *Studien in arab. Geog.*, ii, 61; and the references given by P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, 109, no. 4.
(A. J. W. HUISMAN)

ABŪ KALB [see SIKKA].

ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR AL-MARZUBĀN B. SULṬĀN AL-DAWLA, a prince of the Buwayhid [*q.v.*] dynasty, born in al-Baṣra in Shawwāl 399/May-June 1009. When in 412/1021 Musharrif al-Dawla's Daylamite troops murdered his wazīr at al-Ahwāz and declared for his brother Sulṭān al-Dawla [*q.v.*], the latter, whom Musharrif had supplanted as ruler of al-ʿIrāḳ in the previous year, took heart and sent them his son Abū Kālīdjār, though then only a boy of twelve, to take over the city in his name. In the following year Musharrif and Sulṭān made peace, Musharrif retaining al-ʿIrāḳ and Sulṭān regaining Fārs and Khūzistān; but in Shawwāl 415/December 1023-January 1024 Sulṭān died, on which the control of those provinces was for the next two years disputed between Abū Kālīdjār (who was even then no more than sixteen) and another of his uncles Abu 'l-Fawāris, the ruler of Kirmān. Abū Kālīdjār emerged victorious from this struggle, but then failed in an attempt to dislodge Abu 'l-Fawāris also from Kirmān; so that when they made peace in 418/1027 he was obliged to pay Abu 'l-Fawāris a yearly tribute of 20,000 dīnārs.

Meanwhile these preoccupations had prevented Abū Kālīdjār from accepting the invitation of the Baghdād garrison to replace yet a third uncle, Djalāl al-Dawla [*q.v.*], as Amīr al-Umarāʾ, on the latter's failure to appear in the capital after the death, in Rabīʿ II 416/June 1025, of Musharrif al-Dawla. Abū Kālīdjār was nevertheless acknowledged in the *khuṭba* at Baghdād for some eighteen months (from Shawwāl 416/Dec. 1025 to Djumādā I 418/June-July 1027); in 417/1026 he was likewise acknowledged in the *khuṭba* at al-Kūfa; and in the following year he was able to send his wazīr, Ibn Bābshādh, to assert his authority over the Euphrates marshes, though the only result of this move was a rebellion of their inhabitants against the wazīr's extortions. In 419/1028 Abū Kālīdjār added both al-Baṣra and Kirmān to the area under his control, the former by a timely intervention in a conflict between the Daylamites and Turks of Djalāl's garrison, and the latter by the death of Abu

l-Fawāris. In 420/1027 however, on his seizing Wāsiṭ, Djalāl retaliated by sacking al-Ahwāz; and when in Rabīʿ I 421/April 1030 they met in a three-day battle, Abū Kālīdjār was severely defeated. Djalāl then retook Wāsiṭ and the marshes, and for a time his troops also reoccupied al-Baṣra; but this was soon recovered by those of Abū Kālīdjār; and in Shawwāl/October of the same year he in turn defeated Djalāl at al-Madhār.

During the next five years Djalāl was repeatedly forced to leave Baghdād owing to the insubordination of his Turkish mercenaries; and on two such occasions—in 423/1032 and 428/1037—his name was replaced in the *khuṭba* of the capital at their instance by that of Abū Kālīdjār. On the second of these occasions Abū Kālīdjār despatched a force to help the chief Turkish commander, which took and held Wāsiṭ for a few months. During most of 424/1033, on the other hand, al-Baṣra was occupied by Djalāl's forces and his name pronounced instead of Abū Kālīdjār's in the *khuṭba* there. But these mutual aggressions proving of no advantage to either, in 428/1037, after Djalāl's recovery of Wāsiṭ, uncle und nephew concluded a formal peace, swearing to molest each other no more.

In 431/1039 Abū Kālīdjār joined in suppressing his tributary governor of al-Baṣra with Ibn Mukram of ʿUmān, whom the governor had annoyed; and later in the same year and again in 433/1041-2 was obliged to send troops to ʿUmān itself to suppress disorders consequent on Ibn Mukram's death. In the latter year Abū Kālīdjār's intervention in a quarrel between the sons of the Kākawayhid (Kākōyid) ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla was fruitless; but in 434/1042-3 his forces repulsed the first Saldjūḳid attack on Kirmān. Then in Shaʿbān 435/March 1044 Djalāl died; and though the Baghdād garrison first offered its allegiance to his son al-Malik al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], Abū Kālīdjār prevailed on them with the offer of an ample accession gratuity to withdraw it in his favour. In Ṣafar 436/September 1044, accordingly, he was acknowledged in the *khuṭba* not only in Baghdād itself but also in the Ḥulwān district, the Euphrates territory and Diyār Bakr, and thus became sole Buwayhid sovereign, receiving from the caliph the *laḳab* Muḥyī al-Dīn.

During his ensuing four years' reign Abū Kālīdjār was chiefly concerned to preserve his power against Saldjūḳid encroachment. This had already caused him to begin walling his capital, Shīrāz, for the first time, and in 437/1045-6 only the outbreak of disease among his horses prevented him from challenging a Saldjūḳid advance into the south-western Djibāl. Two years later, however, he decided instead to ally himself with the Saldjūḳids; and, Ṭughrul [*q.v.*] proving amenable, an alliance was sealed by Ṭughrul's marriage with Abū Kālīdjār's daughter and the marriage of Abū Kālīdjār's second son to Ṭughrul's niece. This alliance preserved his dominions in the west from further Saldjūḳid attacks; but in 440/1048, a Saldjūḳid force again invaded Kirmān, where, instead of being opposed, it was joined by Abū Kālīdjār's governor. He therefore set out to vindicate his authority in person, but suddenly died before reaching his destination (Djumādā I 440/ Octobr 1048).

Abū Kālīdjār left at least nine sons, the eldest of whom, entitled al-Malik al-Raḥīm [*q.v.*], succeeded him as Amīr al-Umarāʾ, the last of the dynasty to rule in Baghdād and al-ʿIrāḳ, and the second of whom, Fūlād-Sutūn, succeeded him as ruler of Fārs until murdered by a rebel in 454/1062.

In 429, while in Shīrāz, Abū Kālīdjār, in common with many of his Daylamite troops, was converted to Ismāʿīlism by the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Some four years later, in order to maintain good relations with the ʿAbbāsid al-Ḳāʾim he was obliged to banish the *dāʿī* from his dominions; but it would appear from the account of these events in the latter's *Sīra* (ed. Ḳāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949, 77) that he remained personally devoted to the Fāṭimid cause. A reference to Abū Kālīdjār's dealings with al-Muʾayyad is made also by Ibn al-Balkhī in his *Fārs-nāma*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vii, 17, 21, 30, 37, 56, 69, 72-3, 119, 128, 136, 139; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (MS Paris 1506) fols.: 2v, 47v, 78v; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* 92; Ibn Khaldūn, iv, 472 f.; Mīr Khwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* (extract published by Wilken as *Mirchonds Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Bujeh*, Berlin 1835, 45-57); Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (extract published by Ranking as *A History of the Minor Dynasties of Persia*, 1910, 118-20); H. Bowen, *The Last Buwayhids*, *JRAS*, 1929, 226 f.

(HAROLD BOWEN)

ABŪ KĀMIL SHUDJĀʿ B. ASLAM B. MUḤ. B. SHUDJĀʿ AL-ḤĀSIB AL-MIṢRĪ, next to Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī [*q.v.*] the oldest Islamic algebraist of whose writings we still possess some remains; they entitle us to place him among the greatest mathematicians of the Islamic Middle Ages (for the development of Islamic algebra see AL-DJABR WA 'L-MUḲĀBALA). Through Leonard of Pisa and his followers he exercised considerable influence on the development of algebra in Europe and no less great was the impact of his geometrical writings (algebraic treatment of geometrical problems) on Western geometry. No details of his life are known; all we can say is that he lived after al-Khwārizmī (d. about 850 A.D.) and before ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿImrānī (d. 344/955-6) who wrote a commentary on his Algebra.

The *Fihrist*, 281, lists a number of books on astrological and mathematical subjects as well as on other topics such as the flight of birds etc. Two of these titles: *Kitāb fi 'l-Djamʿ wa 'l-Tafrīḳ*, "On augmenting and diminishing" (the *Fihrist* attributes a work bearing the same title to al-Khwārizmī) and *K. al-Khaṭaʾayn*, "On the two errors", have been the objects of elaborate discussions ever since F. Woepcke (*JA*, 1863, 514) tried to identify *al-Djamʿ wa 'l-Tafrīḳ* with the Latin *augmentum et diminutio* occurring in the *Liber augmenti et diminutionis*, ed. Libri, in *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie*, Paris 1838, 253-97, 2nd ed., 1865, 304-69; cf. H. Suter, in *Bibl. Math.*, 1902, 350-4, and J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arab. Algebra und Rechenkunst*, in *SBAK. Heid.*, 1917/2, 14-23.

None of the works mentioned in the *Fihrist* has survived in Arabic. A work preserved in Arabic is *al-Ṭarāʾif* (MS Leiden, 1001, fol. 50v-58v), transl. and commented by H. Suter, *Das Buch der Seltenheiten der Rechenkunst von Abū Kāmil al-Miṣrī*, *Bibl. Math.*, 1910-1, 100-20. It deals with the integral solutions of indeterminate equations ("Diophantine analysis" according to modern usage; it may be well to state that this term is historically incorrect: Diophantus, 3rd cent. A.D., whom we have to regard, at least as far as the Greek world is concerned, as the founder of indeterminate analysis, is interested only in rational, not exclusively integral, solutions of his problems). Of *al-Ṭarāʾif* there exists a Hebrew version (Munich 225, 4) by Mordekhai Finzi of Mantua

(c. 1460) who translated also Abū Kāmil's treatises on algebra (Munich 225, 3). As assumed by G. Sacerdote, *Il trattato del pentagono e del decagono di Abu Kâmil*, in *Festschrift Steinschneider*, Leipzig 1896, 169-94, and proved by Suter, *Die Abhandlung des Abū Kāmil Shoǧāʿ b. Aslam "über das Fünfeck und Zehneck"*, *Bibl. Math.* 1909-10, 15-42, these translations were made not from Arabic or Latin, but from Spanish. According to Suter, it is probable that the Paris MS 7377 A, no. 6, is a Latin version of *al-Ṭarāʾif*. (The same MS contains Latin versions of Abū Kāmil's algebra and of his treatises on the pentagon and decagon).—Indeterminate equations with integral solutions appear in India fully developed about 1150 in Bhāskara's Vījaganita (cf. Colebrooke, *Algebra with arithmetic and mensuration*, London 1817, 233-5), but the problem is referred to already by Āryabhaṭa (b. 476), who even anticipates for its solution the method of continued fractions, to which Bhāskara applies the term *kuṭṭaka* "dispersion" (cf. M. Cantor, *Gesch. d. Math.*[3], i, 588 ff.) Abū Kāmil's procedure is less systematic and therefore inferior to the Indian. He finds his solutions mainly by way of trial, yet shows considerable skill in overcoming the difficulties involved. It is hard to decide whether or not he knew the *kuṭṭaka* method. However that may be, it is certain that the anonymous author of a commentary on *al-Ṭarāʾif*, of which the Leiden MS contains a fragment (fol. 101-2), was familiar with it, because he clearly refers to the proof of a method of finding integral solutions that can hardly have been different from the *kuṭṭaka* method.

The connection between Abū Kāmil and the Indians is shown by a curious detail: they resort to the same, or at least similar, varieties of birds as examples in their problems. In Europe, we meet with indeterminate equations in Leonard of Pisa's *Liber abaci* (1202; *Scritti*, ed. Boncompagni, Roma 1857-62, i)—again with reference to birds. The first appearance in Europe of this problem seems to be marked by a MS composed about 1000 A.D. in the monastery of Reichenau. Later European algebraists, in particular the German "Cossists" (Adam Riese, etc.) usually substitute men, women, or virgins for the birds, and therefore the term "regula virginum" (or "r. potatorum", "r. coeci" or "r. coeti") was adopted by them to denote this kind of problem (cf. *Bibl. Math.*, 1905, 112).

Abū Kāmil's "Algebra" is known only in Latin (MS Paris 7377 A, fol. 71v-93v) and Hebrew (Paris 1029, 7 and Munich 225, 5) translations. The two MSS of the Arabic original noted by Brockelmann have not yet been examined. It is above all upon this work that his fame rested. It was commented by al-Istakhrī and al-ʿImrānī, but both commentaries are lost. L. C. Karpinski's elaborate study: *The Algebra of Abu Kamil Shojaʿ ben Aslam*, *Bibl. Math.*, 1911-2, 40-55, is based on the Latin Paris MS. For the historical background of the work, see also O. Neugebauer, *Zur geometrischen Algebra*, *Quellen und Studien z. Gesch. d. Math.*, *B* (*Studien*), 1936, 245-59, and S. Gandz, *The Mishnat ha-Middot and the Geometry of Muh. b. Mūsā al-Khowārizmī*, ibid., *A* (*Quellen*), 1932, in particular 37, 68, 83. In the definition of *djazr* (*radix*, root), *māl* (*census*, capital) and *ʿadad mufrad* (*numerus*, absolute number) Abū Kāmil closely follows al-Khwārizmī, but in many respects he goes far beyond his predecessor. Thus he effects the addition and subtraction of square roots involving irrationalities only, by means of the relations corresponding to our modern formula $\sqrt{a} + \sqrt{b} = \sqrt{a + b + \sqrt{2ab}}$. E.g., to subtract the square root of 8 from the sq.r. of 18, he gives the rule: "Subtract 24 from 26, and 2 remains. The root of this is the root of 8 subtracted from the root of 18". The same example is found in al-Karadjī's ([*q.v.*]; d.c. 1029) treatise on algebra *al-Fakhrī* (see F. Woepcke, *Extrait du Fakhri*, Paris 1853, 57-9), while Leonard of Pisa (*Scritti*, i, 363-5), in demonstrating the same method, uses the numbers 18 and 32. The analogous treatment of cube roots, as dealt with by al-Karadjī, is not yet found in Abū Kāmil.

The treatise "On the pentagon and decagon", Latin version, MS Paris A, German transl. by Suter, cf. above; Hebrew version, Munich 225, 3, Italian transl. by Sacerdote, cf. above. All problems occurring in this treatise are solved in a clear and simple mode by applying algebraic methods to geometry. Throughout his treatise, Abū Kāmil chooses special values—in most cases the value 10—for the given quantity, instead of denoting it by a letter or even equalling it to 1. In this respect, he has not freed himself from the method of al-Khwārizmī; but in his way of handling the problem he is far superior to his predecessor, and his work definitely marks an important progress. Sacerdote has shown that Leonard of Pisa knew this treatise and made extensive use of it in his *Practica geometriae* (*Scritti*, ii).

Bibliography: Suter, 43; Brockelmann, S I, 390; M. Steinschneider, *Hebräische Übersetzungen*, 584-8. (W. Hartner)

ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM, the name of a canting parasite, whom Muḥammed b. Aḥmed Abu ʾl-Muṭahhar al-Azdī depicts in his *Ḥikāyat Abi ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī* as a Baghdād type. The book was probably written in the first half of the fifth century and purports to relate faithfully a day in the life of its hero. Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim by means of his pious eloquence gets a hearing in a society of people at a banquet, rails at the guests and the host and shows his linguistic skill in a detailed comparison of the advantages of Baghdād and Iṣfahān. As the numerous courses of the repast are served, they are accompanied by his glib remarks. When the wine goes to his head he becomes importunate and vulgar, till finally, being forced to drink still more deeply, he falls asleep; when the intoxication is over he again plays the devout believer. Into this framework the author, led on by his philological inclinations, has interwoven so much of his extensive knowledge of the *adab* literature and of the terminology of the different trades and also of pornographic poetry—he quotes many verses of Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj—that the realism of the description as well as the unity of the tale suffer considerably.

Bibliography: Abu ʾl-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi ʾl-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez, Heidelberg 1902; J. M. de Goeje, in *GGA*, 1902, 723 ff.; C. Brockelmann, in *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1902, 1568 ff. (J. Horovitz)

ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM [see al-zahrāwī].

ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM BĀBUR [see tīmūrids].

ABU ʾL-KHAṢĪB, a canal to the south of Baṣra (called after a client of the caliph al-Manṣūr), the most important among the canals that in the Middle Ages flowed from the west into the main channel of the Tigris, the Didjla al-ʿAwrāʾ of Arabic authors, i.e. the modern Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab. Its bed still exists. It was on its bank that the Zandj rebels built in the 3rd/9th century the great fortress of al-Mukhtāra.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 47 f.; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geogr.*, Leiden 1900, i, 42. (M. Streck)

ABU 'L-KHATTĀB MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ZAYNAB MIḲLAṢ AL-ADJDAʿ AL-**ASADĪ**, Muslim heresiarch. According to al-Kashshī, his father was Miḳlaṣ b. Abi 'l-Khaṭṭāb, and he himself used the *kunyas* Abū Ismāʿīl and Abu 'l-Ẓubyān. He was a Kūfan and a *mawlā* of the tribe of Asad. In the Nuṣayrī writings he is also called al-Kāhilī. He was one of the chief *dāʿīs* of the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, but fell into error and taught false doctrines, as a result of which he was repudiated and denounced by the Imām. Seventy of his followers, assembled in the mosque of Kūfa, were attacked by order of the governor ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, and after a bitter struggle, were killed. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb himself was arrested and brought before ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who had him executed and crucified at Dār al-Rizḳ, on the Euphrates, together with a number of his followers. Their heads were sent to the Caliph al-Manṣūr and impaled by the gate of Baghdād for three days. The date of these events is not precisely known, but a conversation recorded by al-Kashshī as having taken place in 138/755 appears to refer to the recent extermination of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and his followers (*fa'nḳaṭaʿat āthāruhum wa-faniyat ādjāluhum*: al-Kashshī 191; cf. Lewis, 33; Ivanow, however (p. 117) interprets this tradition as referring to the repudiation of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb by Djaʿfar, and places his death in about 145/762). According to the Nuṣayrīs, who still revere Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, 'he manifested the *daʿwa*' at Dār al-Rizḳ on 10 or 11 Muḥarram, and both this and the day of his 'appointment' by Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja) are sacred anniversaries. He seems to have played a role of some importance in the early development of extremist Shīʿite doctrine, and is named by the Central Asian Ismāʿīlī book *Umm al-Kitāb* (*Isl.*, 1936, pts. 1 and 2; cf. W. Ivanow, *REI*, 1932, 428-9), as well as by a number of Sunnī and Ithnā-ʿasharī sources, as a founder of the Ismāʿīlī faith. He is however condemned in later Ismāʿīlī writings of the Fāṭimid period, in much the same terms as in the books of the Ithnā-ʿashariyya. For a discussion of his doctrines see KHATTĀBIYYA.

Bibliography: The best accounts of the life and death of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb are to be found in Ithnā-ʿasharī works, especially Kashshī, *Maʿrifat al-Ridjāl*, Bombay, 1317, 187 ff.; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ*, 37 and 58 ff. An Ismāʿīlī account will be found in the Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān's *Daʿā'im al-Islām* (A. A. Fyzee) vol. i, Cairo, 1951, 62 ff. There are also some interesting references in the Nuṣayrī work *Madjmūʿ al-Aʿyād*, ed. R. Strothmann, in *Isl.*, 1946, 6, 8, 10, 148, 159, 202. For general discussions see Henry Corbin, *Étude préliminaire pour le 'Livre réunissant les deux sagesses' de Nâsir-e Khosraw*. Tehran 1953, 14 ff.; W. Ivanow, *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, Bombay 1946, 113 ff.; B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismāʿīlism*, Cambridge 1940, 32 ff.; Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, in Djuwaynī, iii, 344 ff. (B. LEWIS)

ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀB AL-KALWADHĀNĪ [see AL-KALWADHĀNĪ].

ABU 'L-KHATTĀB ʿABD AL-AʿLĀ B. AL-SAMḤ AL-**MAʿĀFIRĪ** AL-ḤIMYARĪ AL-YAMANĪ, the first *imām* elected by the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib. He was one of the five missionaries (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*, "carriers of science") sent to the Maghrib by Abū ʿUbayda al-Tamīmī of Baṣra, the spiritual head of the sect, in order to preach there the Ibāḍī creed [cf. IBĀḌIYYA]. These missionaries received from Abū ʿUbayda the order to establish an imamate amongst the Ibāḍiyya of Tripolitania, with Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb as *imām*. The activities of the *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* were crowned with success. In 140/757-8 the Ibāḍī notables of Tripolitania, in a council held in Ṣayyād, near Tripoli, elected Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb as *imām*. The Ibāḍi Berber tribes, Hawwāra, Nafūsa etc., commanded by the new *imām*, conquered with the slogan *lā ḥukm illā li'llāh wa-lā ṭāʿa illā ṭāʿat Abi 'l-Khaṭṭāb*, the whole of Tripolitania, including Tripoli, which became the residence of their chief. In Ṣafar 141/Juni-July 758 the army of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb took al-Ḳayrawān, capital of Ifrīḳiya, at that time in the possession of the Ṣufrīs of the Berber tribe of Warfadjdjūma. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, the future founder of the Ibāḍī imamate of Tāhart, was appointed governor of the town. The outcome of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb's conquests was the creation of an Ibāḍī state comprising the whole of Ifrīḳiya, viz. Tripolitania, Tunisia and the eastern part of Algeria. It even seems that Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb had a certain influence over the Ṣufrīs of Sidjilmāssa.

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 141/April 759, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī, ʿAbbāsid governor of Egypt, sent to Ifrīḳiya an army commanded by al-ʿAwwām b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Badjalī, to reconquer the province. The army was defeated by the Ibāḍīs in the region of Surt, near the eastern boundaries of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb's possessions. Another ʿAbbāsid army, led by Abu 'l-Aḥwaṣ ʿUmar b. al-Aḥwaṣ al-ʿIdjlī, was defeated at Maghmadāṣ (Macomades Syrtis, modern Marsa Zafran). In the meantime, Ibn al-Ashʿath received orders to march himself against the Berbers and to assume the government of Ifrīḳiya. On receiving this news, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb set out with a considerable army. Deceived, however, by a stratagem of Ibn al-Ashʿath, who pretended to return to the east, he allowed his troops to disband. When Ibn al-Ashʿath shortly afterwards reached the neighbourhood of Tripoli, the *imām* hastily assembled the nearest tribes to check his advance. The battle took place at Tāwurghā (on the coast, a few days' journey to the east of Tripoli) in Ṣafar 144/May-June 761. It was very bloody: Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb with twelve or fourteen thousand of his followers were killed. In Djumādā I/August, Ibn al-Ashʿath reoccupied al-Ḳayrawān.

Bibliography: Abū Zakariyyā', *al-Sīra wa-Akhbār al-A'imma* (MS coll. S. Smogorzewski), fol. 1v, 6r-13v; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 18-38; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 124-32; Bakrī (de Slane, *Descript. de l'Afr. sept.* ²), 7, 28, 149, transl. de Slane, 22, 63, 285-6; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, i, 220, 373-5; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i, 351, 355-60.

(A. DE MOTYLINSKI-T. LEWICKI)

ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀR AL-ḤUṢĀM B. ḌIRĀR AL-KALBĪ, governor of al-Andalus, who arrived in that country from Ifrīḳiya in 125/743, to replace the *wālī* Thaʿlaba b. Salāma al-ʿĀmilī. He carried out a liberal policy, and skilfully removed from Cordova the representatives of the Syrian *djunds*, who had come to Spain under the leadership of Baldj b. Bishr [*q.v.*]. On the advice of Count Ardabast (Arṭūbās), son of the Visigothic prince Witiza, he settled these *djundīs* on fiefs, requiring from them in return that they should respond to mobilization appeals that might be made to them. It was in this way that the Syrian system of the *djunds* came to be introduced into al-Andalus. The representatives of the *djund* of Damascus were installed in the Elvira district, those of the *djund* of the Jordan in the district of Rayyo (Archidona and Malaga), those of the *djund* of Palestine in the district of

Sidona, those of the *djund* of Ḥimṣ (Emesa) in the districts of Seville and Niebla, those of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn in the district of Jaén, and those of the *djund* of Egypt in the Algarve and in the region of Murcia (Tudmīr). A little later Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār entered into conflict with a powerful chief of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn, al-Ṣumayl [*q.v.*] b. Ḥātim al-Kilābī, who mustered troops and defeated the governor in Radjab 127/April 745 on the Guadalete. In vain did Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār afterwards attempt to regain his office; it was seized by the Djudhāmite chief Thawāba b. Salāma, who himself died the next year.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 48-50. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ABU 'L-KHAYR, ruler of the Özbegs [see UZBEKS] and founder of the power of this nation, descendant of Shaybān, Djuči's youngest son [see SHAYBĀNIDS], born in the year of the dragon (1412; as the year of the hidjra 816/1413-4 is erroneously given). At first he is said to have been in the service of another descendant of Shaybān, Djamaduḳ Khān. The latter met his death in a revolt; Abu 'l-Khayr was taken prisoner, but was released and shortly after proclaimed khān in the territory of Tura (Siberia) at the age of 17 (year of the ape-1428; as year of the hidjra 833/1429-30 is given). After a victory won over another khān of the family of Djuči the greater part of Ḳipčaḳ submitted to him. In 834/1430-1 he conquered Khwārizm with its capital Urgandj, which was plundered, but soon afterwards he gave it back. According to his biographers, Abu 'l-Khayr later vanquished two more princes, Maḥmūd Khān and Aḥmad Khān, conquered the city of Urdū-Bāzār, and seized (though for a short time only) the "throne of Ṣāyin Khān", i.e. that of Batu. Shortly before the death of Sultan Shāhrukh (850/1447) Abu 'l-Khayr established himself firmly through the subjugation of the fortresses of Sighnaḳ (at present the ruins of Sunaḳ-Kurghan), Arḳuḳ, Suzaḳ, Aḳ-Ḳurghan and Uzkand ou the Sir Daryā—the most significant event in his reign for the further history of the Özbegs. Sighnaḳ seems to have been his capital from that time. South of this region no durable conquests were made under Abu 'l-Khayr; even the neighbouring town of Yasī (now Turkistān) remained in the power of the Tīmūrids. Marauding expeditions were frequently undertaken, even as far afield as Bukhārā and Samarḳand. Abu 'l-Khayr appeared with greater forces in 855/1451-2 as an ally of the prince Abū Saʿīd against the then ruler of Samarḳand ʿAbd Allāh; with his aid ʿAbd Allāh was defeated and killed and Abū Saʿīd was installed as ruler in Samarḳand; Rābiʿa Sulṭān Bēgum, daughter of Ulugh Beg, was given in marriage to Abu 'l-Khayr. A second attempt to interfere in the disputes of the Tīmūrids fell out less happily; Muḥammad Djūḳī, favored by Abu 'l-Khayr against Abū Saʿīd, was forced in 865/1460-1 after some successes to raise the siege of Samarḳand at the approach of his enemy, to quit the country ravaged by Abu 'l-Khayr's auxiliary troops (under Burke Sulṭān) and in 868/1463—having, it seems, received no assistance from Abu 'l-Khayr—to surrender to his adversary. Shortly before, probably about 861/1456-7 (Abu 'l-Khayr 's grandson, Maḥmūd, born in 858/1454, is said to have been then three years old), Abu 'l-Khayr's power received a severe blow from the Ḳalmaḳ (Kalmucks); beaten in the open field, he had to flee to Sighnaḳ and let the enemy ravage the whole country up to the Sīr. About 870/1465-6 there appears to have taken place among the Özbegs that split, through which the proper inhabitants of the steppes, since called Ḳazaḳ, separated from the other portion of the nation. The year of the rat (1468; erroneously identified with 874/1469-70) is given as the year of Abu 'l-Khayr's death; the power founded by him was after a short interruption restored and extended by his grandson Muḥammad Shaybānī.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Khayr's biography was written towards 950/1543-4 by Masʿūd b. ʿUthmān al-Kuhistānī (*Ta'rīkh-i Abu 'l-Khayr Khānī*; the statements in Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, ii, 687, are correct only so far as concerns the MS. of the British Museum, but not the work itself; cf. Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. MSS.*, i, 102; the Leningrad MSS, including that of the University Library or. 852, used here, have also the beginning of the biography). Masʿūd was also able to utilize the oral narratives of Abu 'l-Khayr's son Süyünič Khān (d. 931/1525), who seems to have drawn his information from written sources, as for example the *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdayn* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Samarḳandī. Information about Abu 'l-Khayr is also to be found in the historical works on his grandson Shaybānī and his successors, especially in the *Tawārīkh-i Nuṣrat Nāma* (cf. Rieu, *Cat. of Turkish MSS.*, 276 ff.) and the writings dependent on it. (W. BARTHOLD)

ABU 'L-KHAYR AL-ISHBĪLĪ, surnamed AL-SHADJDJĀR, "the arboriculturist", author of a book on agriculture, was a native of Seville (Ishbīliya). Neither the date of his birth or that of his death are known, and one can only say that as he is quoted by Ibn al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], who lived in the second half of the 6th/12th century, he must have belonged to an earlier period. He was probably the contemporary of the botanist-physicians and "gardeners" of the 5th/11th century, such as Ibn Wāfid al-Lakhmī, Ibn Baṣṣāl, Ibn Ḥadjdjādj al-Ishbīlī and al-Ṭighnarī. His *K. al-Filāḥa* is preserved in MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in the Zaytūna mosque in Tūnis and some private libraries in North Africa.

The following are the main contents of Abu 'l-Khayr's book. (i) General considerations on planting (*gharāsa*): favourable months; influence of the moon; the time needed for plants to grow and to yield fruit; age of trees; damage (weather, animals, fire, water); special treatment of olive-trees, vines, fig-trees, palm-trees. (ii) Plantations proper: trees, bushes, grain, seeds; layering, pruning, grafting; fruit and vegetable conserves; growing of vegetables; aromatic plants, flowers; flax and cotton; banana and sugar-cane. (iii) Animals: of the back-yard, especially pigeons; bees and wild animals; harmful animals (reptiles, rodents and insects). (iv) Finally two pages on the *tadjārib al-ʿām*, i.e. meteorological or astrological prognostications.

Abu 'l-Khayr appeals to his personal experience and observations in the gardens, parks, fields, vineyards and forests of the Aljarafe (al-Sharaf, district of Seville). His literary documentation consists in quoting, no doubt at second hand, the *K. al-Nabāt* of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (which had been expounded in 60 vols. by Ibn Ukht Ghanim—cf. Makkarī, *Analectes*, ii, 270), Aristotle, Anatolius, "Ḳasṭūs" (Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus), Philemo—through adaptations of the *Geoponica* and through the *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* of Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*]. [For this agronomical literature see FILĀḤA.] On the whole, the book is an empirical work of technical science, but, like the agronomical literature in general, is not without its popular and superstitious

side, and formulas for amulets and descriptions of talismans are given.

Bibliography: The *K. al-Filāḥa* published in Fez 1357-8 is falsely attributed to Abu 'l-Khayr. An edition with annotated French translation is in preparation by the author of this article. Some paragraphs were published by A. Cherbonneau and H. Pérès, *K. al-Filāḥa ou Livre de la Culture*, in *Bibl. Arabe-Française*, v, Algiers 1946. See also ʿA. Abu 'l-Naṣr, in *MMIA*, 1953, 557; J.-J. Clément-Mullet, intr. to *Livre de l'Agriculture d'Ibn al-Awam*, Paris 1864, i, 78; C. E. Dubler, in *And.*, 1941, 137; E. García Gómez, in *And.*, 1945, 132-4, 137-9; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 241; J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, in *And.*, 1943, 287; 1948, 351-2; idem, in *Tamuda*, Tetuan 1953, 48; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, Paris 1937, 197; idem, *Bull. des Études Arabes*, Algiers 1946, 130-2; Introduction to *K. al-Filāḥa ou Livre de la Culture*, d'Abu'l-Khayr ach-Chadjdjar al-Ichbili, Algiers 1946, 7-11.

(H. Pérès)

ABŪ KHIRĀSH Khuwaylid b. Murra al-Hudhalī, *mukhaḍram* Arab poet, who was converted to Islam and died under the caliphate of ʿUmar, from the bite of a snake while he was drawing water for Yamanite pilgrims (who were then required by the caliph to pay his *diya*). Abu Khirāsh is counted among the pre-Islamic warriors who could run faster then horses, sharing this distinction with his nine brothers Abū Djundab, ʿUrwa, al-Abaḥḥ, al-Aswad, Abu 'l-Aswad, ʿAmr, Zuhayr, Djannād and Sufyān, who also were poets of rank.

Bibliography: The *dīwān* of Abū Khirāsh was published by J. Hell, *Neue Hudailiten-Diwane*, ii, Leipzig 1933. Biographical notes and verses in Djāḥiẓ, *Hayawān*², iv, 267, 351; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 417-8; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), 365, 370; *Aghānī*¹, xxi, 54-70; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 2345; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Cairo 1347, i, 400, ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, i, 131, ii, 72; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi = *Letteratura*, 46 (French transl. 77).

(Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ ḲUBAYS, a sacred hill on the eastern edge of Mecca. Rising abruptly from the valley floor, it overlooks the Great Mosque a few hundred meters away. The Kaʿba corner containing the Black Stone points towards the hill, at the foot of which is al-Ṣafā, the southern end of al-Masʿā. Buildings now hem the hill in on nearly every side. Muslim tradition holds that this was the first mountain created by God. Adam and other ancients are sometimes said to be buried there. The hill's older name was al-Amīn, given because the Black Stone was kept safe there during Noah's Flood. Various stories explain the origin of the name Abū Ḳubays (Yāḳūt, s.v.); al-Azraḳī, 477-8, inclines towards the version identifying Abū Ḳubays as a man of Iyād, the first to build on the hill. Djabal Abū Ḳubays and al-Aḥmar on the western side of the valley were together called al-Akhshabān (the Two Rough Ones); a *ḥadīth* says that Mecca will last as long as these two. According to popular tradition, the Prophet was standing on Abū Ḳubays when the moon was rent in twain (Ḳur., liv, 1). The Kaʿba was destroyed in 64/683-4 by shots from a *mandjanīḳ* fixed on Abū Ḳubays, and in medieval times a castle crowned the hill; no fortifications now remain there. The first *zāwiya* of the Sanūsī order was built on Abū Ḳubays c. 1252-3/1837, and in Snouck Hurgronje's time a large Naḳshbandī establishment also stood on the slopes (*Mekka*, ii, 285).

For bibliography, see makka. (G. Rentz)

ABŪ ḲURRA Theodore, Melkite Bishop of Ḥarrān, said to be the first Christian writer of importance to produce works in the Arabic language. He was born at Edessa c. 740 and must have died c. 820. He refers to himself in his writings as a disciple of John of Damascus (d. 749), but though he studied as a youth in the monastery of St. Saba in Palestine, he can hardly have been a student under the Damascene. Like that of John, however, his name is associated with the early stages of Christian apologetics against Islam, and with that Christian learning which played so large a part in moulding the development of Islamic theology. He wrote in his native Syriac, in Greek and in Arabic. His writings are for the most part polemical in nature, which may be explained by the fact that in his days the city of Ḥarrān was a centre of vigorous intellectual life in which pagans and Manichees, Jews, Muslims and Christians of orthodox and non-orthodox persuasion all shared. In his extant treatises he defends his orthodox faith against the teachings of all these opposing traditions. His Greek tractates have been edited in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xcvii, and the Arabic by Constantine Bacha, *Oeuvres arabes de Théodore Aboucara, éveque de Haran*, Beyrouth, n.d., though there is some doubt as to the authenticity of certain tractates included in each of these collections (see Peeters, in *Acta Bollandiana*, 1930, 94, and H. Beck, in *Orientalia christiana analecta*, 1937, 40-3).

Bibliography: Michael Syrus, *Chronique*, iii, 29-34; C. Bacha, in *Mach.*, 1903, 633-6; G. Graf, *Gesch. d. christl. arab. Lit.*, ii, 7-26; id., *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abu Qurra*, Paderborn 1910. His part in the Muslim controversy is discussed in A. Palmieri, *Die Polemik des Islam*, 18 f.; G. Güterbock, *Der Islam im Licht der byzantinischen Polemik*, 1912, 15 ff.; I. Kratschkovsky, in *Khristianskij Vostok*, 1916, 301-9; A. Guillaume, in the Centenary Suppl. to *JRAS*, 1924, 233-44; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 434 ff.; W. Eichner, in *Isl.*, 1936, 136 ff. (A. Jeffery)

ABŪ LAHAB, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Lubnā bint Hādjir (of Khuzāʿa), and half-brother of Muḥammad's father. His name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzza and his *kunya* Abū ʿUtba; Abū Lahab (literally "father of the flame") was a nickname given by his father on account of his beauty. At one time, doubtless before Muḥammad's preaching had roused opposition, he was friendly with his nephew, for his sons ʿUtba and ʿUtayba were married (or perhaps only betrothed) to Muḥammad's daughters Ruḳayya and Umm Kulthūm respectively. During the boycott of Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib by the other clans Abū Lahab dissociated himself from Hāshim, probably because through his wife, a daughter of Ḥarb b. Umayya, he was connected with ʿAbd Shams. On the death of Abū Ṭālib, shortly after the end of the boycott, Abū Lahab became head of the clan and at first promised to protect Muḥammad, presumably for the sake of the honour of the clan. He withdrew his protection, however, when Abū Djahl and ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ managed to convince him that Muḥammad had spoken disrespectfully of deceased ancestors like ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and said they were destined for Hell. This loss of protection probably led to Muḥammad's attempt to settle in al-Ṭāʾif; when it proved vain, Muḥammad,

before entering Mecca again, had to obtain the *djiwār* of the head of another clan. This hostile conduct was doubtless the occasion of Sūra cxi which, with a play on the name, consigns Abū Lahab and his wife to the flames of Hell. He died shortly after the battle of Badr to which he is said to have sent in his place a man who owed him money. There is a long story about his reaction to the news of this defeat. His sons ʿUtba and Muʿattib became Muslims in 8/630, and ʿUtba's grandson, al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās, was known as a poet (*Aghānī*, xv, 2-11).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 69, 231-3, 244, 430, 461; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 57, iv/1, 41-2; Wāḳidī, ed. Wellhausen, 42, 351; Ṭabarī, index; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 308-9, 496; A. Fischer, in *Ber. ü. d. Verh. d. Sächs. Ak. Wiss.*, Bd. 89, Heft 2.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

ABU 'L-LAYTH AL-SAMARḲANDĪ, Naṣr b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, known as *Imām al-Hudā*, a Ḥanafī theologian and jurisconsult of the 4th/10th century. The date of his death is variously given as between 373/983-4 and 393/1002-3. He must not be confused with his slightly older contemporary *al-Ḥāfiẓ* al-Samarḳandī, whose name was also Abu 'l-Layth Naṣr. The oldest known biographical source, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (d. 775/1373), attributes to this latter person some of the main works that generally go under the name of the *Imām al-Hudā*, but this seems to be a mistake.

Abu 'l-Layth was a very successful author in several fields of the Islamic sciences, and his books have become popular from Morocco to Indonesia. His main works are: (1) a *Tafsīr*, printed Cairo 1310/1892-3; this was translated into old Ottoman Turkish by Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 854/1450-1), and Ibn ʿArabshāh's work was expanded by Abu 'l-Faḍl Mūsā al-Iznīqī, a contemporary, under the title *Anfas al-Djawāhir*; manuscripts of these Turkish editions are among the oldest dated Ottoman Turkish manuscripts; (2) *Khizānat al-Fiḳh*, a handbook of Ḥanafī law; (3) *Mukhtalif al-Riwāya*, on the divergent doctrines of the ancient Ḥanafī authorities, in three editions; (4) *al-Muḳaddima fi 'l-Ṣalāt*, on the duty of ritual prayer, with many commentaries; (5) *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* and (6) *Bustān al-ʿĀrifīn*, both on ethics and piety, often printed; (7) an *ʿAḳīda*, in the form of question and answer (ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, *BTLV* 1881, 215 ff., 267 ff.), with a commentary by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Nawāwī (d. after 1305/1888), under the title *Ḳaṭr al-Ghayth* (Brockelmann, S II, 814; C. H. Becker, *Isl.* 1911, 23), often printed, also Malay and Javanese interlinear translations. This *ʿAḳīda* is authentic (against Juynboll, l. c., and F. Kern, *ZA* 1912, 170) and represents a popular, Ḥanafī current of theological thought (Schacht, in *Studia Islamica*, i).

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-Muḍīʾa*, Hyderabad 1332, ii, 196, 264 f.; G. Flügel, *Die Krone der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Leipzig 1862, 58 f., 152 f.; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Bahiyya*, Cairo 1324, 220; Brockelmann I, 210 f.; S I, 347 f. (nos. 6 and 7 refer to the same work).

(J. Schacht)

ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh, Persian writer. His sixth ancestor was Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar, traditionist and son of the Imām Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. His family lived for a long time in Balkh. He was a contemporary of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, whom he may have known and about whom he gives us the earliest information available. From two passages of his only work Ch. Schefer assumed that he was at the court of the Ghaznawid sultan Masʿūd III when he composed his *Bayān al-Adyān*, dated 485/1092, the earliest known work on religions in the Persian language. The first two chapters are devoted to religions before Islam and to some heresies; the third and fourth to the exposition of the Sunnite and Shīʿite doctrines and to the Islamic sects (especially Ismāʿīlism); the fifth chapter, dealing with the extremists (which may, therefore, have been of importance) is lost. He mentions his main sources. His work has not the bulk of the *Tabṣirat al-ʿAwāmm* of Sharīf Murtaḍā (second half of 12th century), but it commends itself by its clear precision and by the sober vigour of its style. It is among the best of the rare prose works in Persian from the Ghaznawid period. Editions by Ch. Schefer (*Chrestomathie persane*, i, 131-71) and Abbas Iqbal, Teheran 1312/1934 (detailed genealogy of Abu 'l-Maʿālī in the introduction); transl. H. Massé, *RHR*, 1926, 17-75. (H. Massé)

ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ ʿABD AL-MALIK [see al-Djuwaynī].

ABŪ MADYAN, Shuʿayb b. al-Ḥusayn al-Andalusī, famous Andalusian mystic, born about 520/1126 at Cantillana, a little town about 20 miles NNE of Seville. Sprung from a very modest family, he learnt the trade of weaver, but, impelled by an irresistible taste for knowledge, he learnt the Ḳuʾrān and, as soon as he was able, went to N. Africa to complete his education. At Fez he was the disciple of renowned masters, who owed, however, their fame less to their theological learning than to their piety and their ascetic lives—men such as Abū Yaʿazzā al-Hazmīrī, ʿAlī b. Ḥirzihim, and al-Daḳḳāḳ. This last invested him with the *khirḳa*, the robe which bore witness to his vocation of ṣūfī; but his real initiator into the theories of mysticism seems to have been Abū Yaʿazzā. With the permission of this master, he left for the Orient. There he succeeded in absorbing the tradition of al-Ghazālī and of the great mystics. At Mecca he may have encountered the famous ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Gīlānī (d. 561/1166). He returned to the Maghrib, and settled at Bidjāya (Bougie), where he became known for his teaching and his exemplary life. His fame reached the ears of the Muʾminid ruler Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, who summoned him to the court at Marrākush, no doubt apprehensive about such religious prestige outside the Almohad sect. When within sight of Tilimsān (Tlemcen) Abū Madyan was taken ill and died (594/1197). Following his expressed wish he was buried at al-ʿUbbād, a village on the outskirts of Tlemcen, which was apparently already frequented by ascetics, but which, as his burial-place, was to become especially venerable.

The place which he occupies amongst the most important figures in western Islam is not due, strictly speaking, to his writings; at least, his only surviving writings are "a few mystical poems, a *waṣiyya* (testament), and an *ʿaḳīda* (creed)" (A. Bel). It is because of the memory of him handed down by his disciples, and the maxims attributed to him, that he bas been considered worthy to be regarded as a *ḳuṭb* (pole), a *ghawth* (supreme succour), and a *walī* (friend of God). The maxims proclaim the excellence of the ascetic life, of renunciation of this world's goods, of humility, and of absolute confidence in God. He used to say: "Action accompanied by pride profits no man; idleness accompanied by humility harms no man. He who renounces

calculation and choice lives a better life". He often repeated this line: "Say: Allah! and abandon all that is material or has to do with the material, if thou desirest to attain the true goal". Actually there is nothing original in his conception of ṣūfism, but the success of his doctrine and its long-continued influence can be explained by its conciliation of various tendencies and by the type of society which received it. "His great merit and his great success lie in his having realised, in a way that his hearers could understand, a happy synthesis of the influences which he had undergone. With him the moderate ṣūfism that Ghazālī had already, a century earlier, incorporated in Muslim orthodoxy, principally for the use of a privileged élite, is now adapted to the mentality of the North African believer, whether man of the people or literate... Abū Madyan... gave once and for all the keynote for North African mysticism" (R. Brunschvig).

The books of hagiography attribute miracles to him, and Tlemcen, where he died, adopted him as patron. His tomb, which became the centre of a fine architectural complex (mosque of al-ʿUbbād 737/1339, *madrasa* 747/1347, little palace, *ḥammām*) mainly built by the Marīnid sultan of Fez Abu 'l-Ḥasan, ruler of Tlemcen, is still a place of pilgrimage for the country people of the province of Oran and eastern Morocco.

Bibliography: Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustān* (Ben Cheneb), Algiers 1326/1908; transl. Provenzali, Algiers 1910, 115 ff.; Ghubrīnī, *ʿUnwān al-Dirāya* (Ben Cheneb), Algiers 1910; Ibn Khaldūn (Yaḥyā), *Hist. des B. ʿAbd al-Wād*, transl. A. Bel, Algiers 1904, i, 80-3; Aḥmad Baba, *Nayl al-Ibtihādj*, Fez 1917, 107-112; J. J. J. Bargès, *Vie du célèbre marabout Cidi Abou Medien*, Paris 1884; Brosselard, *Les inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen*, in *RAfr.*, 1859; A. Bel, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, i, Paris 1938; id., *Sidi Bou Medyan et son maître Ed-Daqqâq*, in *Mélanges R. Basset*, Paris 1923, i, 31-68; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, ii, Paris 1947, 317-9; M. Asín Palacios, *El mistico murciano Abenarabi*, Madrid 1925, 32.

(G. Marçais)

ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. **TAGHRĪBIRDĪ**, Arabic historian, born at Cairo, probably in 812/1409-10 (exact date doubtful). His father was a mamlūk from Asia Minor (Rūm) bought and promoted by Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ; under Sultan al-Nāṣir Faradj he became commander in chief of the Egyptian armies (*amīr kabīr*, *atābak*) in 810/1407, and in 813 viceroy (*nāʾib al-salṭana*) of Damascus, where he died early in 815/1412. The boy Yūsuf was brought up by his sister, wife of the chief ḳāḍī Muḥammad b. al-ʿAdīm al-Ḥanafī and then of the chief ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bulḳīnī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 824). He studied under many noted scholars the usual learned disciplines, and also music, Turkish and Persian. At the same time he had entrance to the Mamlūk court, became proficient in military exercises, and was granted a fief (*iḳṭāʿ*). He made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 826/1423, in 849/1445 (as a *bāshā* in the *ḥadjdj* escort), and again in 863/1459. In 836/1432 he took an active part in the Syrian campaign of Sultan Barsbāy, with whom he was on intimate terms (as he was with later sultans), and turned to the writing of history after he had heard al-ʿAynī's works read to that sultan.

His first important work was *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa 'l-Mustawfī baʿd al-Wāfī*, biographies of the sultans and important amīrs and scholars from 650/1248 to 855/1451, but with some additions as late as 862/1458; an annotated résumé was published by G. Wiet in *MIE*, 1932, 1-480.

Next came *al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, a history of Egypt from 20/641 to his own times, and continuing also the biographical series of the *Manhal*. It was written, he says, for himself and his friends, especially Sultan Djaḳmaḳ's son Muḥammad, and at first went only to the end of Djaḳmaḳ's reign, Muḥarram 857/Jan. 1453. Later he continued it to 872/1467 (see below). Editions: *Abû 'l-Mahasin ibn Tagri Bardii Annales*, from 20/641 to 365/976, ed. Juynboll and Matthes, 2 vols., Leiden 1855-61; *Abu 'l-Maḥâsin ibn Taghrî Birdî's Annals*, from 366/977 to 566/1171 and from 746/1345 to 872/14 7, ed. W. Popper (*Univ. of California Publ. in Semitic Philology*, ii, iii part I, v, vi, xii) Berkeley 1909-29; *al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira*, from 20/641 to 799/1397, Cairo 1348/1929 ff. (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, al-Ḳism al-Adabī).

The death of al-Maḳrīzī in 845 and of al-ʿAynī in 855 left Abu 'l-Maḥāsin as Egypt's principal historian, and he wrote *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Mada 'l-Ayyām wa 'l-Shuhūr*, chronicles from 845/1441 to 12 Muḥarram 874/July 16, 1469, to continue al-Maḳrīzī's *al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*. Simultaneously he continued his own *Nudjūm*, but omitted from it much of the *Ḥawādith*'s fuller material regarding persons and economic and political conditions. Edition: *Extracts from Abu 'l-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicle Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*, ed. Popper (*Univ. Cal. Pub. in Semitic Phil.*, viii), 1930-42 (contains all passages not represented in *Nudjūm*, vol. vii).

Two other extensive historical works, not mentioned by him or his biographers, are ascribed to him: *Nuzhat al-Raʾy* for 678-747/1279-1346, and *al-Baḥr al-Zākhir fī ʿIlm al-Awwal wa 'l-Ākhir*, for 32-71/652-90.

He wrote also several condensations or extracts from his main works: *al-Dalīl al-Shāfī ʿala 'l-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*; *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*; *al-Bishāra fī Takmilat al-Ishāra* (supplement to al-Dhahabī's *Ishāra*); *al-Kawākib al-Bāhira*; *Manshaʾ al-Laṭāfa fī Dhikr man Waliya'l-Khilāfa*; and *Mawrid al-Laṭāfa fī man Waliya'l-Salṭana wa'l-Khilāfa*, ed. with Latin translation by J. E. Carlyle, Cambridge 1798.

His works other than on history were: *Taḥārīf Awlād al-ʿArab fī 'l-Asmāʾ al-Turkiyya*; *al-Amthāl al-Sāʾira*; *Ḥilyat al-Ṣifāt fī 'l-Asmāʾ wa'l-Ṣināʿāt* (anthology of poetry, history and literature); *al-Sukkar al-Ḳādiḥ wa'l-ʿIṭr al-Fāʾiḥ* (a poem of mystic content); and a short treatise on vocal music.

He left the manuscripts of his works to the tomb-mosque which he had built for himself. He died on 5 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja, 874/5 June 1470.

Bibliography: Aḥmad al-Mardjī (the author's pupil and copyist of the *Manhal*), in *Nudjūm*, Cairo, i, Introd., p. 9; Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, x, 305-8; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ix, 317; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ* (Kahle and Mustafa), iii, (5c), 43; Weil, *Chalifen*, iv, pp. xvii-xxi; v, pp. vii-xiv; E. Amar, in *Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, 1909, 245-54; G. Wiet, in *BIE*, 1930, 89-105; Brockelmann, II, 41, S II, 39; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, no. 490; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), index, no. 4301; Babinger, 61. (W. Popper)

ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-**FĀSĪ**, Moroccan scholar, and Ṣūfī *shaykh* of repute, born in 938/1530-31, the ancestor of the Fāsiyyūn (vernacular Fāsiyyīn) family, which, since the 16th century, has provided the town of Fās with a long succession of scholars and jurists.

Abū'l-Maḥāsin al-Fāsī himself belonged to the Fihrite branch of the Banu 'l-Djadd, which, about 880/1475, had emigrated from Malaga, in Spain, to Morocco. He was born at al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr (or, in the Spanish form, Alcázarquivir), where his grandfather Yūsuf had settled after a stay of seven years at Fās (this is how he came to acquire the appellative al-Fāsī, which remained that of all his descendants). But it was to the capital of North Morocco that Abu'l-Maḥāsin al-Fāsī went to study, and there he finally settled, from 988/1580 onwards. He soon acquired there an exceptional reputation for learning and piety, and founded a *zāwiya* which has been much frequented ever since. In 986/1578, he took part in the famous battle of Wādī' l-Makhāzin against the Portuguese (see SAʿDIDS). He died on 18 Rabīʿ I 1013/14 August 1604. Among his most famous descendants should be mentioned his son Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Fāsī, author of a monograph on Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, the *Mir'āt al-Maḥāsin* (lith. at Fez in 1324), his grandson ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Alī [*q.v.*], and the son of the latter, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*]. A genealogical table of the Fāsiyyūn family will be found in *Hist. Chorfa*, 242.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 240-41, and the numerous references mentioned *ibid.*, 240, n. 4, among which may be cited here only Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man Intashar*, Fez, n. d., 27; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, Fez 1310, i, 89; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, Cairo 1284, iv, 507; Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fez 1316, ii, 306 ff.; M. Bencheneb, *É'ude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'idjâza du cheikh Abd el-Qâdir el-Fâsy*, *Actes XVIe Cong. Int. Or.*, iv, Paris 1908, § 19 bis.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ABŪ MANṢŪR ILYĀS AL-**NAFŪSĪ**, governor of Djabal Nafūsa and Tripolitania, on behalf of the Rustamid *imām* of Tāhart, Abu'l-Yakẓān Muḥammad b. Aflaḥ (d. 281/894-5). He came from Tindemīra, a village in the Djabal Nafūsa, but the exact dates of his birth and death are unknown. His province comprised the whole of Tripolitania, excepting the town of Tripoli which belonged to the Aghlabids. He had immediately to engage in conflict with the Berber Ibāḍī tribe of Zawāgha, who occupied the coast between Tripoli and Djerba. The tribe, which sought to free itself from dependence on the Nafūsa and had adopted the dissident doctrines of Khalaf b. al-Samḥ, revolted against Abū Manṣūr under the leadership of the son of Khalaf, who had taken refuge with them. Abū Manṣūr, attacked by the Zawāgha, defeated them with severe losses; their leader fortified himself on the island of Djerba, but his followers were bribed and delivered him up to Abū Manṣūr.

According to Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, quoted by al-Shammākhī, when in 266/879-80 the invader Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn defeated the Aghlabid governor of Tripoli, Muḥammad b. Ḳurhub, and besieged the city for forty three days, the inhabitants called Abū Manṣūr to their help. He arrived with twelve thousand men, attacked Ibn Ṭūlūn outside the city and routed him.

Bibliography: E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 188-94; Dardjīnī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mashā'ikh* (MS); Shammākhī, *Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 224-5; A. de Motylinski, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1899, 91, n. 3; R. Basset, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*, *JA*, 1899, 432. (T. LEWICKI)

ABŪ MANṢŪR [see AL-THAʿĀLIBĪ].

ABŪ MAʿSHAR DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR AL-**BALKHĪ**, astrologer, usually known in western Europe as Albumasar, was born at Balkh in eastern Khurāsān, studied at Baghdād, and was a contemporary of the famous philosopher al-Kindī (first half of 3rd/9th century); after studying the Islamic traditions, he devoted himself particularly to the study of astronomy and astrology, and it is to the latter that he owes his celebrity. He benefited fully from the very flourishing state of astronomical studies in Baghdād, but had a decided preference for astrology. In any case, in his various astrological works it is possible to pick out the astronomical principles and laws that he derived from contemporary scholars. He died at Wāsiṭ, almost a centenarian, in 272/886.

In the works of Abū Maʿshar can be observed the influences exerted at that time on Arab learning by cultural currents from Persia (in the Pahlawi tongue), and, more indirectly, from India. But Abū Maʿshar not only benefited from the learning of his contemporaries; even in his own time he was reputed to be a plagiarist. The author of the *Fihrist*, on the authority of Ibn al-Muktafī, tells us that Abū Maʿshar plagiarized various authors, particularly the works of Sind b. ʿAlī, and these accusations are corroborated by modern criticism.

Among his numerous works may be cited:

(1) a collection of astronomical tables (*zīdj*), unfortunately lost, in which the movements of the planets were calculated for the meridian of Gangdiz (or Gangdez in Pahlawi), and in agreement with the Indian theory of millenary cycles (*hazārāt*).

(2) *al-Madkhal al-Kabīr* (The great introduction to Astrology), a treatise divided into eight books and still unpublished in Arabic, twice translated into Latin, first in 1130 by Johannes Hispalensis, then, in 1150, by Hermannus Secundus or the German. This work was to have a great influence in Christian Europe; the Latin manuscripts of it are numerous, and Hermann's translation was printed at Augsburg quite early, in 1489, under the title *Introductorium in astronomiam Albumasaris Abalachii octo continens libros partiales*; it was also printed in Venice in 1495 and again in 1506. It is important to note that this corpus of astrology contains an exposition of the theory of tides, and it can be said that medieval Europe learned the laws of the ebb and flow of the sea from it. There are in this theory, side by side with true observations, some completely fantastic explanations. The moon is made to influence also the winds, rainfall, and the whole sublunary world.

(3) *Aḥkām Taḥāwīl Sinī al-Mawālid*, translated by Johannes Hispalensis under the title *De magnis coniunctionibus et annorum revolutionibus ac eorum profectionibus octo continens tractatus*, printed at Augsburg in 1489, and at Venice in 1515. The Arabic text is found in Escurial ms. 917 (Brockelmann, I, 221, is wrong in supposing that this is a ms. of the preceding work), and also in ms. 2588 of the Bibl. Nat. of Paris. Nallino believed that the translation of *De magnis coniunctionibus* ... was from an Arabic original, *Dalālāt al-Ashkhās al-ʿUlwiyya* ('Indicazioni date dalle persone superiori dagli astri'), and Suter denied any connection between the *De magnis coniunctionibus* and the *Kitāb al-Ḳirānāt* which is also attributed to Albumasar; but, as J. Vernet points out in a recent article, there is a large measure of correspondence between the two works.

(4) *al-Nukat*, a sort of summary of the previous treatise, translated by Johannes Hispalensis under the title *Flores astrologiae*: the Arabic text is in Escurial ms. 918, 1, and 938, 5, and also in folios 1-29 of ms. 2588 of the Bibl. Nat., Paris. The Latin

translation was printed at Augsburg in 1488, at Venice in 1488, 1485, and 1506.

(5) *al-Ulūf fī Buyūt al-ʿIbādāt* was, judging by the quotations from it in later authors, a study on the temples built in the world in each millenary.

(6) *Mawālid al-Ridjāl wa'l-Nisā'*, a treatise on the horoscopes of men and women, divided into twelve chapters, and preserved in ms. Berlin no. 5881.

Some other works are also attributed to Abū Maʿshar, but their authenticity cannot be proved; in any case, they do not involve a different view of the scientific character of our author, which is almost exclusively astrological.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 221, S I, 394; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, 28, Nachtr., 162; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'* (Lippert), 152; J. Lippert, *Abū Maʿshars Kitāb al-ulūf*, *WZKM*, 1895, 351-8; M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen*, 35-8; P. Duhem, *Le système du monde*, ii, 369-860; C. Nallino, *Scritti*, iv, 331-2; G. Sarton, *Introd. to the Hist. of Science*, i, 568; J. Vernet, *Problemas bibliográficos en torno a Albumasar*, Barcelona 1952. (J. M. Millás)

ABŪ MAʿSHAR Nadjīḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-**SINDĪ** al-Madanī, a slave from the Yaman, possibly of Indian parentage, who purchased his freedom and lived in Medina. He was considered a rather "weak" *ḥadīth* scholar, but he is deservedly famous as the author of a Kitāb al-Maghāzī. Numerous fragments of it have been preserved by al-Wāḳidī and Ibn Saʿd. Among his authorities he mentions Nāfiʿ, the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿUmar, Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Ḳuraẓī, and other scholars of Medina. In the year 160/776-7, he left Medina and remained in Baghdād until his death in Ramaḍān (?) 170/787. There he enjoyed the favor of several members of the court of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. Al-Ṭabarī has taken from him information on Biblical history and on Muḥammad's life and especially chronological statements, the latter going down to the very year of his death.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 207; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, Ḥaydarābād 1360, 114; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Madjrūḥīn* (ms. Āyā Ṣōfiya 496, fol. 234); Ibn ʿAdī, *Duʿafā'* ms. Topkapu Sarāy, Ahmet III, 2943, iii, fols. 183b-185a); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiii, Cairo 1349/1931, 457-62; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7, 419-22; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'* (ms. Topkapu Saray, Ahmet iii, 2910, vi, fols. 188b-190a); id., *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, under the *kunyas* of the obituaries of the 17th *ṭabaḳa*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 253; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 523; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 166; id., *Mushtarik*, 256; J. Horovitz, in *IC*, 1928, 495-8. (J. Horovitz-F. Rosenthal)

ABŪ MIDFAʿ [see sikka].

ABŪ MIḤDJAN ʿAbd Allāh (or Mālik or ʿAmr) b. Ḥabīb, Arab poet of the Thaḳīf tribe, counted as one of the *mukhaḍramūn*. After taking part in the defence of al-Ṭā'if against Muḥammad, when he wounded with an arrow a son of Abū Bakr (in 8/630), he was converted in 9/631-2 and fought at al-Ḳādisiyya. The story goes that, in order to take part in this battle, he escaped first from his escort (for ʿUmar had banished him to Ḥaḍawḍa, see Goldziher, *Abhandl.*, i), then managed to obtain provisional liberty, thanks to the wife of Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ; Saʿd had imprisoned him for drunkenness, but the poet's conduct in the battle—which has been somewhat embroidered by the historians—won for him the general's pardon. It is possible that Abū Miḥdjan also took part in the battle of Vologesias (Ullays). In 16/637 he was again exiled by ʿUmar to Nāsiʿ, and died shortly afterwards; it is said that his tomb was to be seen on the frontier of Ādharbāydjān or of Djurdjān.

The fragments of his poetry that have been preserved show no originality, but his reputation as a poet is upheld mainly by his bacchanalian songs (the famous line: 'When I die, bury me at the foot of a vine . . .' is attributed to him); and a group of poems in which he openly challenges the Ḳur'ān's prohibition of wine must be taken seriously. It was this attitude that led to his being banished several times by ʿUmar.

This poet should not be confused with his namesake Abū Miḥdjan Nuṣayb b. Rabāḥ, on whom see nuṣayb.

Bibliography: The *dīwān* of Abū Miḥdjan has been edited by C. Landberg, *Primeurs arabes*, i, Leiden 1886 (another ed., Cairo n. d., with a commentary by al-ʿAskarī), and by Abel, Leiden 1887 (with a biography and a Latin translation). Accounts of him are to be found in Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt* (Cairo), 105-6; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 251-3; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 213-19; *Aghānī*¹, xi, 137-43, xxi, 210-24; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, no. 1017; Baghdādī, *Khizāna* (Būlāḳ), iii, 550-6; Caetani, *Annali*, v, 224 sqq.; Brockelmann, I, 40, S I, 70; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 105-7; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 46. (N. Rhodokanakis-Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ MIKHNAF Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Mikhnaf al-Azdī, one of the earliest Arabic traditionists and historians, d. 157/774. He is credited in the *Fihrist* with 32 monographs on diverse episodes of Arab history, relating mainly to ʿIrāḳ, much of the contents of which is preserved in the chronicles of al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī. The separate works which have come down to us under his name are later pseudographs. His great-grandfather Mikhnaf was the leader of the ʿIrāḳī Azd on the side of ʿAlī (for him see Ibn Saʿd, vi, 22 and Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (Cairo 1365), index); on the whole, however, Abū Mikhnaf presents an ʿIrāḳī or Kūfan, rather than purely Shīʿite, point of view in his historical narratives. As a traditionist he is regarded as weak and unreliable.

Bibliography: *Fihrist* 93; Ṭūsī, *List*, no. 575; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 175 (ed. Cairo 1951, no. 360); Brockelmann, I, 65; S I, 101-2; Storey, ii, 229; J. Wellhausen, *Ar. Reich*, pref. iii-v (brief characterization of his materials and method); F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Tod Husains und die Rache* (*AGGW*, 1883); Bartold in *Zapiski Vostoch. otd. imper. arkheol. obshch.*, xvii, 147 ff.; R. E. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten*, Leiden 1884. (H. A. R. Gibb)

ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. **BARAKA** al-ʿUmānī, commonly called Ibn Baraka, Ibāḍite author from the township of Bahlā in ʿUmān. The precise dates of his life are not known, but an ʿUmānī Ibāḍite writer, Ibn Mudād, regards him as a disciple and partisan of the imām Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥbūb, killed in 328/939-40. He himself played a considerable part in the political life of ʿUmān and composed several historical and juridical works, of which only the following are extant: 1. *al-Djāmiʿ*, on the principles of law; 2. *al-Muwāzana*, on the condition of ʿUmān at the time of the imām al-Ṣalt b. Mālik, and dealing also with certain points of principle and their juridical solutions; 3. *al-Sīra*, somewhat similar to the preceding work; 4. *Madḥ al-ʿIlm*, in praise of

knowledge and those who pursue it; 5. *al-Taḳyīd*; 6. *al-Taʿāruf*; 7. *al-Sharḥ li-Djāmiʿ Ibn Djaʿfar*, doubtless a commentary on *al-Djāmiʿ*, a work by Abū Djābir Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Azkawī of ʿUmān, dealing with the application of legal principles.

Bibliography: Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-Aʿyān fī Sīrat Ahl ʿUmān*, i, Cairo 1332, 153, 166, 167; idem, *al-Lamʿa* (in a collection of six Ibāḍī works published in Algeria, 1326), 210-1; *al-Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, ms. Lwow, foll. 183v-198v and 271r; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 139, n.: A. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bull. de Corr. Afr.*, Algiers 1885, 19, nos. 19 and 20. (T. Lewicki)

ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ b. Yanṣāran b. Ghafiyyān al-Dukkālī al-Mādjirī, famous Moroccan saint of the 6th-7th century A. H., patron of the town of Āsfī [*q.v.*], the present-day Safi. Born about 550/1155, his principal master was the famous Abū Madyan [*q.v.*] al-Ghawth, patron of Tilimsān (Tlemcen). He went on pilgrimage to Mecca and is believed to have stayed in Alexandria twenty years to follow the teaching of the ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Djazūlī, who was of Moroccan origin. After his return to Morocco he became the propagandist among his fellow-countrymen of the *ḥadjdj* and *ṭalab al-ʿilm* in the East, and retired to the *ribāṭ* of Asfī, where he died on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 631/22 September 1234. A monograph on him, entitled *al-Minhādj al-Wāḍiḥ fī Taḥḳīḳ Karāmat Abī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ*, was written by his great-grandson Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Abī Muḥ. Ṣāliḥ.

Bibliography: Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1329, 132; Bādisī, *Maḳṣad*, tr. G. S. Colin, in *AM*, 1926, 92, 195 (n. 295); Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fez 1316, ii, 43-44; Lévi-Provençal, *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au Moyen Age*, Rabat 1934, 77-8; idem, *Hist. Chorfa*, 221 and n. 3. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

ABŪ MŪSĀ [see al-Ashʿarī].

ABŪ MUSLIM, leader of the revolutionary ʿAbbāsid movement in Khurāsān. He was of obscure antecedents, probably a slave of Persian origin, in the service of the Banū ʿIdjl in Kūfa. Here he made contact with the *shīʿa* and in 119/737 he is found amongst the followers of the *ghālī* al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd. In 124/741-2, the Khurāsānian *nuḳabāʾ* of the ʿAbbāsids, proceeding to Mecca, found him in prison. They liberated him and took him to the Imām Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. After instructing him, the Imām sent him in 128/745-6 to Khurāsān with the mission of directing the movement of insurrection in that province.

On arrival in Khurāsān and after overcoming the initial hostility of the local chiefs of the movement (especially Sulaymān b. Kathīr), Abū Muslim managed with dexterity and energy to reap the fruits of the long ʿAbbāsid propaganda. On 1 Shawwāl 129/15 June 747 the black banners of the insurgents were publicly raised. Profiting by the internal discords of the Umayyad army, Abū Muslim gained support among the Yamanites, and succeeded in taking Marw in Rabīʿ II or Djumādā I 130/December 747 or January 748. From there his generals operated in all the surrounding regions; one of them, Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb [*q.v.*], took up the pursuit of the Umayyad forces towards the west, which was to end in the fall of the dynasty.

After the proclamation of al-Saffāḥ as caliph, Abū Muslim remained as governor in Khurāsān, ensuring, on the one hand, internal security (suppression of the Shīʿite revolt in Bukhārā, 133/750-1), and extending, on the other hand, the Islamic conquest towards the east (expedition of Abū Dāʾūd, the same year). His relations, however, with the new dynasty, which in great part owed to him its success, became increasingly strained. It does not seem that there was, on his part, an actual design of revolt, nor do the assertions of some heresiographers, followed by modern scholars, that he was carrying on an extremist religious propaganda, seem to correspond to the truth. His great prestige and power, however, were enough in themselves to alarm the ʿAbbāsids. The accession of al-Manṣūr in 136/753-4 marks the beginning of the crisis. After making use of Abū Muslim against his uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], he invited him to present himself at court. Abū Muslim, after long hesitation, suspecting, but not fully crediting, what was waiting for him, decided to do as he was bid, and was treacherously killed. His memory remained alive in the Eastern provinces, and, starting with the movement of al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*], gave rise, during many years, to political and religious agitation.

Bibliography: Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (Guirgass), Yaʿḳūbī, Ṭabarī, indexes; *Aghānī, Tables*; G. van Vloten, *De Opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasan*, Leiden 1890, 70-131; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 323-52; R. N. Frye, *The Role of Abū Muslim in the ʿAbbāsid Revolt*, *MW*, 1947, 28-32; S. Moscati, *Studi su Abū Muslim, I-III*, *Rend. Linc.*, 1949, 323-35, 474-95; 1950, 89-105. (S. Moscati)

ABU 'L-MUʾTHIR al-Ṣalt b. Khamīs al-**BAHLAWĪ** al-ʿUmānī, Ibāḍī historian and lawyer, native of Bahlāʾ in ʿUmān. His exact dates are not known; but he is counted among the Ibāḍī scholars of the second half of the 3rd/9th century. He left valuable literary materials, especially in the field of history, and also took an active part in the political life of his time, being a zealous partisan of the *imām* al-Ṣalt b. Mālik, deposed in 273/886-7.

Among his works, the following are worthy of note: (1) *al-Aḥdāth wa 'l-Ṣifāt*, devoted to events in ʿUmān at the time of al-Ṣalt b. Mālik, and to the circumstances of his deposition; (2) *al-Bayān wa 'l-Burhān*, on the principle of the institution of the Imamate in connection with the affair of al-Ṣalt; (3) *al-Sīra*, containing information about the important figures of the earliest period of Ibāḍism. — MSS of these three books were in the possession of S. Smogorzewski. (4) *Tafsīr al-khams miʾat Āya*, commentary on five hundred verses dealing with forbidden and permitted things.

Bibliography: Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-Aʿyān fī Sīrat Ahl ʿUmān*, 1332, i, 65-6, 153; idem, *al-Lamʿa* (in a collection of six Ibāḍī works, published in Algeria, 1326), 219; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 139, note; *al-Siyar al ʿUmāniyya*, MS Lwow University, fol. 3r-16v, 17r-25r, 37r-47v, 115v-120r, 268r, 270v; A. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.*, 1885, 20, no. 27; S. Smogorzewski, *Matériaux pour servir à la bio-bibliographie ibāḍite* (unpublished). (T. Lewicki)

ABŪ NAḌḌĀRA, Yaʿḳūb b. Rafāʾīl Ṣanūʿ (also James Sanua), prolific Jewish Egyptian journalist and playwright (1839-1912). He indirectly influenced the ʿUrābī Revolt by teaching, lecturing, writing and performing short satirical plays and first starting the publication of *Abū Naḍḍāra Zarḳāʾ* ("the man with green spectacles"),

an anonymous lithographic sheet, enlivened by cartoons, in the Egyptian fallāḥīn dialect. Because he had criticized the Khedive and his counsellors, he had to leave Egypt in 1878; but he continued to publish his newspaper in Paris intermittently, in Arabic and French, and smuggled it into Egypt under various names. Copies also reached North Africa, Syria und India. Besides Abū Naḍḍāra himself, many characters drawn from Egyptian life appeared in his newspapers, notably the greedy *shaykh al-ḥāra* (the Khedive Ismāʿīl), officials, merchants, brokers, beggars, etc. They expressed their views in conversation form, letters, short plays, and minutes of meetings. He also contributed articles to various French newspapers. Besides his plays —of which he claims to have written over 30 (one preserved in Arabic)—he published a few stories and pamphlets, of little literary value. His political-journalistic activity in his exile had two phases. In the first, until 1882, he attacked the Khedives Ismāʿīl and Tawfīḳ, and encouraged the National Party and its supporters. In the second phase, after the failure of the ʿUrābī Revolt and the exile of its leaders, he inveighed against the British and their Egyptian supporters; called on France and Turkey to oust the British; proposed Prince Ḥalīm, son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, for the throne of Egypt; and campaigned, albeit perfunctorily, for the betterment of the lot of the fallāḥīn. All in all, he was the creator of the satirical newspaper and the modern satirical play in Arabic.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S III, 265-6; Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt al-ʿArabiyya*, 349-50; F. Ṭarrāzī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa al-ʿArabiyya*, ii, 238, 247, 283, 284, 354; iii, 8-9; id., *Arabic periodicals fascicle*, 1933, 162-3, 372-7, 398-9; Ibrāhīm ʿAbduh, *Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya*, 1945, 107, 235, 236; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Society and politics in modern Egyptian literature*, in *Middle East Journal*, July 1948, 309-10; I. Krachkovskij, in *Vostok*, 1924, 165-8; Aimé Vingtrinier, *Abou Naddara à Constantinople*, 1897; J. M. Landau, *Abū Naḍḍāra, an Egyptian Jewish Nationalist*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 1952, 30-44. (J. M. LANDAU)

ABU 'L-NADJM AL-FAḌL (AL-MUFAḌḌAL) B. ḲUDĀMA AL-ʿ**IDJLĪ**, Arab poet of the 1st/7-8th century (d. after 105/724). Although he composed several *ḳaṣīdas*, he owes his celebrity to his verses in *radjaz* in which he treats of beduin subjects (descriptions of camels, horses, ounces, etc.), and eulogizes the Umayyads ʿAbd al-Malik, Hishām, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bishr, and the governor al-Ḥadjdjādj. The critics, who include him among the four best *rudjdjāz* (with his fellow-tribesman al-Aghlab and the two Tamīmites of al-Baṣra, al-ʿAdjdjādj and his son Ruʾba), rank him highest for description, and praise his facility for improvisation. His rivalry with al-ʿAdjdjādj (Muḍar against Rabīʿa) is famous, and the biographers describe a grotesque scene in which, at the *Mirbad*, Abu 'l-Nadjm mounted on a he-camel puts to flight his rival and his she-camel, and recites the well-known line: 'I and every poet of the human race [have demons to inspire us]: his is female and mine male'. Nevertheless it was Ruʾba who gave the name *Umm al-radjaz* to a long *ardjūza* which Abu 'l-Nadjm recited to Hishām, whose wrath was aroused by an ill-chosen word; he was soon received back into favour, however, and received from Hishām an endowment in the Sawād of al-Kūfa.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 90; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 223; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 98. A biographical account and some verses are to be found in Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt* (Hell), 148, 149-50; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 381-6; *Aghānī*[1], ix, 77-83; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 103, ii, 340-53; *MMIA*, 1928, collects together the biographical data (385-94), and publishes the *Umm al-radjaz* (472-9). A *lāmiyya* has been published by Maymanī, *al-Ṭaraʾif al-adabiyya*, Cairo 1937, 55-71, and there are scattered verses in a number of works, particularly al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*[2], in the indexes; Aṣmaʿī, *Fuḥūla*, *ZDMG* 1911, 499, 503, 511, 515; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), 45, 144, 514, 755; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 310; ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, i, 113, 279. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ NAṢR [see AL-FĀRĀBĪ].

ABŪ NUʿAYM AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ISḤĀḲ B. MŪSĀ B. MIHRĀN AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, born in Iṣfahān in Radjab 336/Jan.-Feb. 948 (Ibn Khallikān: or 334, Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 298, 330), d. Monday 21 Muḥarram (Ibn Khallikān: or Ṣafar; Yāḳūt: Monday 20 Muḥarram; Dhahabī, Subkī: 20 Muḥarram) 430/23 Oct. 1038, an authority on *fiḳh* and *taṣawwuf*. His grandfather Muḥ. b. Yūsuf was a well known ascetic, the first of his kin to accept Islam (Ibn Khallikān). Abū Nuʿaym mentions him as his forerunner in *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ* (i, 4). His father who also was a scholar (Yaḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 344) had him taught by important teachers, such as Djaʿfar al-Khuldī and al-Aṣamm, from his sixth year. From 356/967 he travelled and studied in ʿIrāḳ, Ḥidjāz and Khurāsān, and for 14 years he was reckoned as one of the best *ḥadith*-authorities. This is stated by his contemporary al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī who quotes him (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 407, 412) and by al-Dhahabī and al-Subkī, but neither al-Khaṭīb nor Yāḳūt include him in their biographies of learned men. The number of those who transmitted *ḥadith* from him is said to be about eighty. Al-Sulamī, his older contemporary, quotes one *ḥadith* on his authority with one intermediary (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyyah* sub Abu 'l-ʿAbbās b. ʿAtāʾ). Al-Khaṭīb, according to al-Subkī one of his nearest pupils, criticises him for treating *idjāza*'s lightly, but is in this contradicted by al-Dhahabī, 278. The strife between Ḥanbalites and Shāfiʿites caused sharp criticism of him by his fellow townsman Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Mandah (cf. Brockelmann, S i, 281) and led to bodily attacks on him. He was even expelled from the mosque of Iṣfahān, which saved his life as, according to tradition, Subuktigīn, when he conquered the town, massacred the people assembled in the mosque at the Friday-service; this is reckoned one of his *karāmāt*. Al-Nabhānī (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 763 f.) relates that the mosque fell down twice and crushed the crowd because A. N. had cursed it. Abū Nuʿaym's work *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ wa-Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṣfiyāʾ* (Cairo 1351/1932-1357/1938) was finished in 422/1031 (see x, 408). It was written to strengthen what he regarded as the true ṣūfism (i, 4). After a general description of ṣūfism he mentions the different etymologies of the word, above all its derivations from *ṣūf*, on which he had written a book *Labs al-Ṣūf*, stressing its connotation of humility (i, 20, 23). The rest consists in accounts of and sayings by 649 pious people (*nussāk*) reckoned as ṣūfis, beginning with the four "righteous caliphs"—an evidence of the interpenetration of ṣūfism and orthodoxy. Every section begins with "the *shaykh* (Abū Nuʿaym) said". It differs from al-Sulamī's *Ṭabaḳāt*, which gives only sayings with few or no anecdotes. It is told that he brought the work personally to Nīsābūr

where he sold it for 400 dīnārs. Extracts from it are used in Ibn al-Djawzī, *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*.

His second large work, *Dhikr Akhbār Iṣbahān* (ed. S. Dedering, Leiden 1931) contains biographies of people who had connexions with Iṣfahān, mainly scholars, after a short history and topography of the town. On this topic he had several forerunners (cf. Dedering ii, p. VIII-X). Besides these works he wrote several smaller books on the proofs of prophecy, the medicine of the prophet, the excellence of Muḥammad's first followers, with extracts from al-Bukhārī and Muslim etc. He died in Iṣfahān and his tomb is said by Yāḳūt (i, 298) to be in Murdbāb.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 616 f; Yāḳūt, index; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo, no. 32; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād 1334, iii, 275-79; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah*, Cairo 1324, 7-9; Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1315, i, 56; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 245; Nabhānī, *Djāmiʿ Karāmāt al-Awliyā'*, Cairo 1329, i, 293.

(J. PEDERSEN)

ABŪ NUʿAYM AL-FAḌL B. DUKAYN AL-**MULĀ'Ī**, *ḥadīth* scholar and historical informant (b. 130/748, d. 29 Shaʿbān 219/8 Sept. 834).

He was a client of the family of Muḥammad's Companion Ṭalḥa. He lived in al-Kūfa and made occasional visits to Baghdād, where he was once received by al-Ma'mūn. Dukayn's actual name is said to have been ʿAmr. A son of Abū Nuʿaym, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (perhaps the author of the Ḳur'ān commentary, referred to in *Fihrist*, 34), and a grandson, Aḥmad b. Mītham, are mentioned.

Abū Nuʿaym is considered a very reliable transmitter of traditions. He is also highly praised for the courageous way in which he stood up for the uncreatedness of the Ḳur'ān against Muʿtazila inquisitors. On the other hand, he was suspected of being a Shīʿite. He admitted his secret veneration for ʿAlī, though he wanted it understood that he was moderate in his attitude. He moved in ʿAlid circles, and appears quite often as a transmitter of information about Ṭālibids and ʿAlids (cf., for instance, Ibn Saʿd, iii, 160; iv/1, 23 ff., 30; v, 66 ff., 236-8; Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Cairo 1368/1949, 46). He was acceptable to and respected by both Shīʿites and ʿAbbāsids. When he died, a descendant of Abū Ṭālib prayed for him first. Then, the ʿAbbāsid governor of al-Kūfa, a fifth cousin of the reigning caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, insisted upon repeating the ceremony.

Of Abū Nuʿaym's work nothing has come to light so far, except the frequent references of the historians to him. He appears as a transmitter mainly of biographical data but also of some general historical information. He himself probably never published any historical work. *Fihrist*, 227, credits him with two works concerned with ritualistic and legal problems, a *Kitāb al-Manāsik* and a *Kitāb al-Masā'il fi 'l-Fiḳh*.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vi, 279 f., and *passim*; Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Goitein), v, index; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, Ḥaydarābād 1316, iv/1, 118; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 121, 262; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiḳāt*, ms. Topkapu Saray, Ahmet III, 2995, fol. 292b; *Aghānī*[1], xiv, 11; *Fihrist*, 227; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, Cairo 1349/1931, xii, 346-57; ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Djammāʿīlī, *Kamāl*, in *MSOS As.*, 1904, 189-93; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ* (Wüstenfeld), i, 82; id., *Nubalā'*, ms. Topkapu Saray, Ahmet III, 2910, vii, fols. 174a-178a; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7, viii, 270-6.

(FR. ROSENTHAL)

ABŪ NUMAYY I and **II**, sharīfs of Mecca [see MAKKA].

ABŪ NUWĀS AL-ḤASAN B. HĀNI' AL-ḤAKAMĪ, the most famous Arabic poet of the ʿAbbāsid period. He was born in al-Ahwāz between 130/747 and 145/762 and died in Baghdād between 198/813 and 200/815 (so also Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī, MS Fātiḥ 3773, fol. 6r). As his *dīwān* contains a *marthiya* on al-Amīn (d. 198/873), earlier dates are improbable. His father belonged to the army of the last Umayyad, Marwān II, and was a *mawlā* of al-Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī, who came from the South Arabian tribe of Saʿd b. ʿAshīra; hence the *nisba* of Abū Nuwās and his dislike of the Northern Arabs. His mother Gullabān (= Gulbān) was Persian.

While still very young, Abū Nuwās came to Baṣra, and later to Kūfa. His first master was the poet Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb, who is said to have been in erotic relationship with him. After Wāliba's death (cf. the *marthiya*, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1898, 132), he became the pupil of the poet and *rāwī* Khalaf al-Aḥmar. He acquired a knowledge of the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth* also, and studied under the grammarians Abū ʿUbayda, Abū Zayd, etc. He is also said to have spent, according to the old custom, some time among the beduins in order to improve his linguistic knowledge.

His education finished, Abū Nuwās came to Baghdād, to gain the favour of the caliph with panegyrics. He found, however, little favour at the court, but was better received by the Barmakids. After the fall of the Barmakids he had to flee to Egypt, where he composed panegyrics on the head of the *dīwān al-kharādj*, al-Khaṭīb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Soon, however, he was able to return to his beloved Baghdād, where he now spent, as a boon companion of al-Amīn, the most brilliant years of his life. Nevertheless, even al-Amīn once prohibited him from wine drinking and even imprisoned him on that account.

There are different reports about his death. According to one tradition he died in prison, to which he had been sent on account of a blasphemous verse, according to another in the house of a woman tavern-keeper, according to a third in the house of the learned Shīʿite family of the Āl Nawbakht. He was linked to this family, especially to Ismāʿīl b. Abī Sahl al-Nawbakhtī, by close friendship, though this did not prevent him from composing some wounding lampoons on Ismāʿīl (*Dīwān*, 171 f.). The assertion, therefore, that he was murdered by the Nawbakhtīs is probably mere slander, especially as this family interested itself even later in the collection of Abū Nuwās' poems and Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī made use of information derived from them (cf. MS Fātiḥ 3773, fol. 3v).

The Arab literary critics themselves regarded Abū Nuwās as the representative of the modern school of poets, the *muḥdathūn*. "What Imra' al-Ḳays was for the ancients, that is Abū Nuwās for the moderns" (Fātiḥ 3773, fol. 7r). At most, only Bashshār b. Burd could possibly compete with him. Although in his panegyrics Abū Nuwās still uses in general the classical form (cf. e.g. *Dīwān*, 77, the panegyric known as *manhūka*, addressed to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, to which Ibn Djinnī devoted an extensive commentary), otherwise the old forms, especially that of the *nasīb*, serve as a butt for his ridicule. Once he begins abruptly: "I do not weep because the dwelling-place has become an inhospitable desert" (Fatih 3775, fol. 12r); instead of the

former dwelling-place of the beloved he weeps for the taverns that have disappeared and bewails the boon-companions dispersed far and wide (cf. also the poem translated by H. Ritter, *Orientalia* i, Istanbul 1932).

Abū Nuwās is at his best in his songs on wine and pederasty. He is not only able to sing in ever fresh accents the delights of both, but also depicts with humorous realism his adventures in this field. Nor does he avoid self-irony, as when he describes the thrashing which he received at the hands of youths whom he had made drunk in order to amuse himself with them (cf. e.g. Fātiḥ 3775, fol 21). Equally ironical are the dirges which he composed about his own body, wasted by illness (*Dīwān*, 131 f.). Abū Nuwās confesses his sins with remarkable frankness and often also invites his fellow-men to repent likewise. He calls upon those who reproach him to leave him alone as their blame only incites him all the more; nor does he intend to mend his ways until the grave. He boasts of having omitted nothing that displeases God, except polytheism (*Dīwān*, 281), and ridicules all the institutions of Islam. His verses against Islam do not spring however, from any intellectual principle, but from his love of pleasure, to which the commandments of Islam were a hindrance. Finally, he too sets his hopes in God's forgiveness and considers himself too unimportant for God to take notice of his deeds (Fātiḥ 3775, fol. 16). His ascetic poems do not serve to prove that he repented in old age; they could have been composed in transient moods or as occasional poems due to special impulses. Otherwise, too, there are frequent contradictions in the *dīwān*; they ought not to be taken as proofs of a change of mind or of dishonesty, as Abū Nuwās was more interested in the witty formulation of his ideas than in the content of the idea itself.

Poems about love of women are rare in comparison with those on love of boys. It is said that only once Abū Nuwās fell in love with a girl, a slave called Djanān. It is true that Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī denies this emphatically and enumerates a long list of women with whom Abū Nuwās was allegedly in love (Fātiḥ 3774, fol. 76 v); but these are only names taken from the poems and are perhaps even fictitious.

The *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās contains, for the first time in Arabic literature, a special chapter containing hunting-poems. They mostly describe hounds, falcons and horses, but also various kinds of game, and are remarkable for the richness of their vocabulary. Abū Nuwās had models for this genre in the descriptions of animals in the old beduin poetry, but he seems to have made it into an independent genre. Later on it was further developed by Ibn al-Muʿtazz.

The language of Abū Nuwās, though he uses some contemporary vernacular expressions, is on the whole correct. The mistakes which he makes were already usual among his predecessors (cf. J. Fück, *Arabīya*, 51 ff.). In certain groups of his poems Persian words occur very frequently (e.g. in *dasht-i biyābān*, Fātiḥ 3775, fol. 29, a whole *iḍāfat*-construction). Altogether, Persian civilization plays a considerable role in his poetry (cf. Gabrieli, *OM*, 1953, 283). We often find him referring to the heroes of Persian history, but as the old Arabs are also mentioned, this has certainly no special significance, and Abū Nuwās can hardly be called a poet of the *shuʿūbiyya*. His work only reflects the cultural background of the ʿAbbāsid epoch, in which the influence of the Iranian element gradually increased.

In the imagination of the Arabic world the figure of Abū Nuwās is intimately connected with that of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who personifies in his turn the the glory of the caliphate. Thus he entered the *Arabian Nights* and still today he is a favourite figure of popular stories, where he most often plays the role of a court jester. (Cf. A. Schaade, *Zur Herkunft der Urform einiger Abū Nuwās Geschichten in 1001 Nacht*, *ZDMG*, 1934, 259 ff.; idem, *Weiteres zu Abū Nuwās in* 1001 *Nacht*, *ZDMG*, 1936, 602 ff.; W. H. Ingrams, *Abū Nuwās in Life and in Legend*, London 1933, cf. Schaade in *OLZ*, 1935, 525-7.)

Abū Nuwās did not himself make a collection of his poems. Thus, on the one hand much has been lost—more especially his poems written in Egypt remained unknown in ʿIrāk (cf. Fātiḥ 3773, fol. 4r); on the other hand, many poems, especially on wine and pederasty, were falsely attributed to him. His *dīwān* is extant in several recensions, of which the two most important are due to al-Ṣūlī and Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī (for the latter, see E. Mittwoch, in *MSOS*, 1909, 156 ff.). While al-Ṣūlī aimed at excluding all spurious poems and arranged the poems, within the separate chapters, in strict alphabetical order, Ḥamza shows a less critical sense, as one could never know if a suspect poem as not after all genuine. Thus his collection is about three times as large as that of al-Ṣūlī, and contains about 1500 poems with 13,000 lines. Moreover, he adds to many verses *akhbār*, which are missing in al-Ṣūlī, and to some chapters adds a commentary. He also incorporated in his collection the so called "*Risāla* of the Syrian on the *sariḳāt* of Abū Nuwās", addressed to him by Muhalhil b. Yamūt. Ahlwardt's edition of the wine-songs follows the recension of al-Ṣūlī, while the printed edition of Cairo 1898 is based on that of Ḥamza. Today we have for both recensions better MSS—especially in Istanbul—than those that were available at the time of these editions.

Bibliography: Editions: W. Ahlwardt, *Dīwān d. Abū Nuwās*, i, *Die Weinlieder*, Greifswald 1861; lithogr. Cairo 1277; printed Beyruth 1301; ed. Iskandar Āṣaf, Cairo 1898, 1905; ed. Maḥmūd Kāmil Farīd, Cairo 1932; ed. al-Nabahānī, Cairo 1322-3; ed. A. ʿA. al-Ghazzālī, Cairo 1953; *Ḥadīḳat al-Inās fī Shiʿr Abī Nuwās*, Bombay 1312; Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Mutaʿālī, *al-Fukāha wa 'l-Iʾtinās fī Mudjūn Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1316. Translation: A. von Kremer, *Diwan des Abû Nowâs, des grössten lyrischen Dichters der Araber*, Vienna 1855. Biographical sources: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 501-52; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Tabaḳāt al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Muḥdathīn* (G.M.S.), 87-99; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, Cairo 1294, 263-89; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 96-103; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 436-49; Ibn Khallikān, no. 169. Modern authors: Brockelmann, I, 74-6, S I, 114-8, 940, III, 1193; idem, in *EI*[1]; H. Ritter, in *IA*; Ibn Manẓūr, *Akhbār Abī Nuwās, Taʾrīkhuh, Nawādiruh, Shiʿruh, Mudjūnuh*, Cairo 1924; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muṣṭafā ʿAmmār, *Abū Nuwās, Ḥayātuh wa-Shiʿruh*, Cairo n.d.; ʿUmar Farrūkh, *Abū Nuwās, Shāʿir Hārūn al-Rashīd wa-Muḥammad al-Amīn*, i, *Dirāsa wa-naḳd*, Beirut 1932; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣidḳī, *Abū Nuwās*, Cairo 1942; V. Rosen, *Ob Abu Nuwas i ego poesii*, in *Pamiati Akademika V. R. Rozena*, Moscow-Leningrad 1947, 57-71; F. Gabrieli, *Abû Nuwâs, Poeta Abbaside*, *OM*, 1953, 279-96.

(EWALD WAGNER)

ABŪ RIGHĀL, mythical person, about whom two entirely different traditions can easily be distinguished. According to the first, he was a Thaḳafite of Ṭāʾif who guided Abraha [*q.v.*] on his

way to Mecca. He died in al-Mughammas [*q.v.*] and was buried there. It was the custom to stone his tomb. (For a similar custom cf. AL-DJAMRA.) The story is sometimes told with the object of slandering the Thaḳafites. The earliest mention would be a verse of Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, lxii, l), if it is not an anti-Thaḳafite falsification. The early date of the custom of stoning Abū Righāl's tomb is proved by a vers of Djarīr: "If al-Farazdaḳ dies, stone him as you stone the tomb of Abū Righāl".

According to the second tradition, found in its simplest form in al-Ṭabarī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Abū Righāl was the only survivor of Thamūd [*q.v.*]. At the time of the disaster of Thamūd he was staying in Mecca and was saved by the sanctity of the place; he died, however, as soon as he left Mecca. His story was told by the Prophet as he was passing al-Ḥidjr with his army. In the earliest form, this version knows of no connection of Abū Righāl with Thaḳīf, but this feature was later introduced, possibly under the influence of the first story. In one of the stories in *al-Aghānī* he is even said to have been a king of Ṭā'if and ancestor of Thaḳīf. On the other hand, authors like al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba and al-Masʿūdī quote a version which is evidently meant as a defence of the Thaḳafites: it was they who killed Abū Righāl, a cruel and injust person.—Later authors still further confuse the two traditions. Al-Diyārbakrī gives as the name of Abū Righāl Zayd b. Mukhallif.

Bibliography: Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 69; Ibn Hishām, i, 32; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 44; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1906, vi, 47; Ṭabarī, i, 250-1, 937; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 159-61, 261; Azraḳī (Wüstenfeld), 93, 362; *Aghānī*, xiv, 74-6, xv, 131; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, Cairo 1347, 50, 308; Yāḳūt, ii, 793, iii, 816, iv, 583; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 66, 321; Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, 188; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), ii, 73; *TA* and *LA*, s. v. *r-gh-l*.

(S. A. BONEBAKKER)

ABU 'L-SĀDJ DĪWDĀD (DEWDĀDH) B. DĪWDAST, founder of the Sādjid dynasty, descended from a noble Iranian family of Ushrūsana related to its ruler, the Afshīn [*q.v.*] Ḥaydar (Khaydhar) b. Kā'us, under whose command he served in the expedition against Bābak (221-2/836-7). In 224/839 he led an expedition against the Afshīn's rebellious deputy Mankadjūr in Ādharbaydjān. In 242/856 or 244/858 (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1436) he was appointed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil to the command of the Mecca Road, which he held until the outbreak of the conflict between al-Mustaʿīn and al-Muʿtazz in 251/865. He joined the former in Baghdād with his troop of 700 horsemen, and was sent to strengthen the defences of al-Madā'in and to engage Turkish raiding forces to the south-east. After the restoration of peace he was engaged first to collect the taxes in the Euphrates districts of the Sawād, and was later reappointed to the Mecca Road and the government of Kūfa, where his deputy succeeded by a ruse in seizing the ʿAlid Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar, who had revolted there. He was subsequently (it is said) appointed to the Khurāsān Road, and in 254/868 was posted to Aleppo as the deputy of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf in the government of northern Syria and the ʿAwāṣim, but was driven out one or two years later by Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh. In 261/874-5 he was appointed to Ahwāz; shortly afterwards his troops were defeated by the Zindj [*q.v.*], and Ahwāz was sacked. In the following year, on the eve of the decisive conflict between al-Muwaffaḳ and Yaʿḳūb b. Layth al-Ṣaffār, he joined the latter and thus shared in his defeat and was deprived of his own estates. He died in 266/879-80 in Djundīsābūr, while returning from the Ṣaffārid camp to Baghdād.

Abu 'l-Sādj appears in history as the type of leader of a small band of irregular cavalry (*aṣḥāb Abi 'l-Sādj*), who stood in a rather loose relation with the central government at Sāmarrā, and was assigned to various tasks on the frontiers for which a mobile force was required. His son Muḥammad al-Afshīn, who had remained in the service of al-Muwaffaḳ, was posted to the Mecca Road in the year of his father's death and succeeded to the command of his troops. For the further history of the family see SĀDJIDS.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī iii, index; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 55, 100-4, 113, 118, 127 (read *Muḍar* for *Miṣr*), 190, 200-2, 231, 253, 260; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab* (Dahhān), i, 74; Defrémery, *Mémoire sur la famille des Sadjides*, *JA* 1847 (Mai), 409-413.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ABŪ SAFYĀN was according to popular legend a pre-Islamic king of al-Bāra in Djabal al-Zāwiya, north of ancient Apamea and west of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. The ruins of al-Bāra are the most considerable in the whole region. The period in which the city, called in Syriac Kafrā dhe-Bārtā, was at the hight of its prosperity was the 5th-7th century A. D. Under the rule of Islam it continued to prosper for a considerable time, and it included also a Jewish colony. During the Crusades it became a center of conflict. It was probably at that period that a Muslim fortress was built to the north of the town, today called Ḳalʿat Abū Safyān. (For al-Bāra see Ibn Khurradādhbih, 76; Yaʿḳūbī, 324; Yāḳūt, i, 465; Littmann (see *Bibl.*); M. van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*; i, 196-200; R. Dussand, *Topogr. hist. de la Syrie*, 181 and index.)—According to the legend the fortress was built in pre-Islamic times, and in it ruled a Jewish king, called Abū Safyān. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, son of Abū Bakr, fell in love with Luhayfa, the daughter of Abū Safyān, and was staying in the castle when his father summoned him to embrace Islām. Both ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Luhayfa were converted and fled. Abū Safyān pursued them and in the battle that followed there appeared the warriors of Islām, more particularly ʿUmar and Khālid b. al-Walīd, who had been summoned to give aid by the angel Gabriel. Abū Safyān was killed by ʿUmar and the whole country came under the dominion of the Muslims.

Bibliography: E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, 191, 193 ff. (E. LITTMANN)

ABŪ SAʿĪD, the Īlkhān [see ILKHĀNS].

ABŪ SAʿĪD AL-AFLAḤ B. ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB [see RUSTUMIDS].

ABŪ SAʿĪD FAḌL ALLĀH B. **ABI 'L-KHAYR**, Persian mystic, born 1 Muḥarram 357/7 December 967 in Mayhana (Mēhana, Mehna), the present-day Me'āna in Khurāsān, between Abīward and Sarakhs; died there 4 Shaʿbān 440/12 January 1049. His biography was written by his descendant Muḥ. b. Abī Rawḥ Luṭf Allāh b. Abī Saʿīd b. Abī Ṭāhir b. Abī Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr under the title *Ḥālāt u-Sukhunān-i Shaykh Abī Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr*, ed. V. Zhukowski, St. Petersburg 1899 (a manuscript, under the title *Čihil Maḳām*, Aya Sofya 4792, 29 and 4819, 4, Turkish translation Istanbul Univ. Libr., Yīldīz 958), and, much more fully, by the cousin of the foregoing, Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar b. Abī Saʿīd under the title *Asrār al-Tawḥīd fī Maḳāmāt al-Shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. V. Zhukowski,

St. Petersburg 1899, after two defective manuscripts; reprint Teheran 1313 H. Sh., new ed., Teheran 1332 H. Sh. (quoted as AT). (Manuscripts also Skutari, Hudāʾī, Taṣ. 238; Istanbul, Shehīd ʿAlī Pasha 1416.) This work was the source used in the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ* of ʿAṭṭār and the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* of Djāmī. The father of Abū Saʿīd was a druggist known as Babu Bu 'l-Khayr. He took the boy with him occasionally to the sacred performances of dances (*samāʿ*) which the ṣūfīs of the town gave by turns in their houses. Abū Saʿīd received his first instruction in mystical devotion from Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bishr-i Yāsīn (d. 380/990), who had a poetic streak in him and is the author of the majority of the verses which Abū Saʿīd later quoted in his sermons. As a young man Abū Saʿīd studied Shāfiʿite law in Marw under Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥuṣrī and Abū Bakr al-Ḳaffāl (d. 417; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 198-200). Among his fellow-students was Abū Muḥammad al-Djuwaynī (d. 438; al-Subkī, iii, 208-19), the father of Imām al-Ḥaramayn. Then he studied exegesis of the Ḳurʾān, dogmatics and Ḥadīth in Sarakhs under Abū ʿAlī Zāhir (d. 389; al-Subkī, ii, 223), who succeeded in rooting out Muʿtazilism from Sarakhs.

In Sarakhs the crazy saint Luḳmān al-Sarakhsī introduced him to the ṣūfī Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥ. b. Ḥasan al-Sarakhsī. It was he who induced Abū Saʿīd to abandon the study of learned subjects and to devote himself entirely to ṣūfism and became his *pīr* whom he consulted in all difficulties: moreover after Abu 'l-Ḥasan's death Abū Saʿīd was in the habit of visiting his grave in Sarakhs when dejection (*ḳabḍ*) overtook him. He had, at the injunction of Abu 'l-Faḍl, the *khirḳa* bestowed upon him by the celebrated ṣūfī al-Sulamī. After the death of Abu 'l-Faḍl he went through Nasā to Āmul and spent some time with Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḳaṣṣāb, who likewise bestowed the *khirḳa* upon him. Upon his return to Mayhana—the exact chronology of this period is by no means easy to establish—he gave himself up with extreme zeal to severe ascetic and mystic exercises. He spent his time partly in total seclusion in a room in his father's house, but also stayed in neighbouring monasteries, in particular the so-called *ribāṭ-i kuhan*. Here he was sometimes observed by his father in the midst of extraordinary practices of self-castigation. He went beyond the prescribed measures in his religious ablutions, washed the doors and walls of his cell, never reclined, ate nothing whatever during the day, at night only a morsel of bread, spoke to people only when it was unavoidable, and shut himself off during the performance of *dhikr* by padding his ears so as to be undisturbed. At times he could not bear so much as the sight of his fellow-men and would disappear for months in the mountains or the neighbouring desert.

This period of forming himself through asceticism with the object of subduing the sensual soul (*nafs*) and breaking asunder all bonds with the world, as well as of following up an ideal model of the Prophet in the minutest detail, is said to have lasted up to the fortieth year of his life. Already at this time the social motive of ṣūfism, the "service of the poor" (*khidmat-i darwishān*) begins to assume importance for him. He begged for the poor, swept mosques, cleaned washing-places, and so on. This "service of the poor", conceived principally for self-abasement at first, came ever more to the fore in the course of his life. "The shortest way to God", he put it once, "lies in bestowing comfort upon the soul of a Muslim" (*rāḥatī bā dil-i musulmānī rasāndan*) (*AT*, 242). This mode of life is exhibited in its fully-developed form at the period of his one year's residence in the capital of Khurāsān, Nīshāpūr, where he stayed in the monastery of Abū ʿAlī Ṭarsūsī in the quarter of ʿAdanīkūbān. There young men flocked to him: he preached before large audiences and displayed himself as a kind of spiritual guide (*ṣidḳ maʿ al-Ḥaḳḳ, rifḳ maʿ al-khalḳ*). At this juncture the gift of thought-reading (*firāsat*), peculiar to him and esteemed a miracle (*karāmat*) by his followers, stood him in good stead: it revealed to him the most intimate impulses of the hearts even of his enemies, disarmed his adversaries and converted many of them into followers instead. He liked to arrange lavish, even extravagant entertainments for his followers, culminating in sacred dance music (*samāʿ*). During these, dancing and crying out (*naʿra zadan*) were, as was customary, the order of the day. In the throes of ecstasy gowns were thrown off, torn up, and distributed around. To finance these luxurious occasions, at which as much as a thousand *dīnārs* is supposed to have been spent in a day, and which moved ʿAwfī to remark that in later years Abū Saʿīd lived hardly as an ascetic but rather as a sultan (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 311), he did not hesitate to incur debts; these were the cause of frequent embarrassment to his household manager Ḥasan-i Muʾaddib. Some wealthy devotee, however, was always found, who, often at the last moment, provided the requisite money. Sometimes he sent Ḥasan to followers, even to opponents, with whom he stayed, in order to raise money in an almost barefaced manner. The money was immediately spent, as it was regarded as a principle to possess no assured property (*maʿlūm*) and to accumulate nothing. His way of living caused offence the Karrāmite Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. Isḥāḳ b. Miḥmashādh made common cause with the Ḥanafite ḳāḍī Ṣāʿid b. Muḥammad al-Ustuwāʾī (d. 432; on both see ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 309 ff., Persian translation by Djurfādḳānī, Teheran 1272, 427 ff.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 289-90, 311; on the latter Ibn Abi 'l-Wafāʾ, *al-Djawāhir al-Muḍīʾa*, no. 685, and al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, under al-Ustuwāʾī) and laid information about Abū Saʿīd before sultan Maḥmūd b. Subuktigīn, who ordered an enquiry, perhaps in conjunction with a universal heresy hunt carried out by the aforementioned Karrāmite governor Abū Bakr (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 290). However, Abū Saʿīd contrived to disarm both through his skill in thought-reading, with the result that they abandoned the prosecution. The indictments were, that the *shaykh* recited on the pulpit verses in place of the Ḳurʾān and Ḥadīth, that he gave too luxurious feasts and that he had made the young people dance. The great al-Ḳushayrī, who encountered Abū Saʿīd in Nīshāpūr, took exception to the excessively liberal way of life of the *shaykh* and to his dance music. The contrast between the characters of the two men is illustrated by an apt anecdote: al-Ḳushayrī had repudiated a derwish and banished him from the town. Abū Saʿīd showed him at a banquet how by very much gentler methods a derwish may be sent travelling (Nicholson, 35-6).

A strong kindliness of nature and an affection for his fellow-men were conspicuous characteristics of Abū Saʿīd. He was no preacher of repentance; seldom, if ever, did he refer in his sermons to the verses of the Ḳurʾān threatening the torments of Hell. Numerous stories were related of how by means of his *firāsa* he saw through the intimate thoughts of sinners and opponents and thoroughly

abashed them. The guiding motif of his life is said to have been the *ḥadīth*: *Ṣil man ḳaṭaʿak wa-aʿṭi man ḥaramak wa'ghfir man ẓalamak* (*AT*, 311). The celebrated ṣūfī Ibn Bākūya (d. 442/1050) reproached him for allowing young people to sit together with old and for treating them just as he did the old, for allowing them to dance and for giving back the cast-off *khirḳa* to its owner, whereas it should by being cast off have become common property. Abū Saʿīd contrived to give plausible reasons for these innovations (*AT*, 170-1). Ibn Ḥazm brands him as an unbeliever, since he wore now wool, now silk, sometimes prayed a thousand *rakʿas* a day, sometimes not at all (*Fiṣal*, iv, 188). At all events social work played a very much greater role in the second period of his life than individual mystic experience: and from this point of view he is comparable (in spite of substantial differences) with Abū Isḥāḳ al-Kāzarūnī [*q.v.*]. However he once gave tongue to a pronouncement similar to al-Ḥallādj's *Ana 'l-Ḥaḳḳ*. In the course of a sermon he was overcome by a state of inner excitement and called out *Laysa fi l-djubbati illā 'llāh*, "There is none other than God in this robe". So saying he ran his forefinger through the gown. It was divided and the portion with the hole made by his finger preserved.

In Nīshāpūr he also met the philosopher Ibn Sīnā and is supposed to have held lengthy conversations with him. A correspondence between the two is preserved. Abū Saʿīd asked the philosopher what was the way to God according to his experience, and received a reply (printed by H. Ethé, *SBBayr. Ak.*, 1878, 52 ff.; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Nadjāt*, Cairo 1331, 12-5; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 9-10; al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Kashkūl*, Cairo 1318, 264-5). At the end of his stay in Nīshāpūr he wished to accompany his son Abū Ṭāhir on the pilgrimage, but was restrained from this in Kharaḳān by the celebrated ṣūfī Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kharaḳānī. He then went to Bisṭām where he visited the grave of Abū Yazīd, and to Dāmghān, eventually reaching Rayy before returning with his son. He spent the rest of his life in his home town of Mayhana.

Abū Saʿīd is supposedly the author of a great number of quatrains. (On editions cf. Nicholson, 48, note; also editions Bombay 1294 and Lahore 1934.) However it has been expressly stated that he composed only one verse and one quatrain (Nicholson, 4). The quatrains may not then be attributable to him. One of them, with which he is supposed to have cured his Ḳur'ān-teacher Abū Ṣāliḥ of an illness (*AT*, 229) and which opens with the word *ḥawrā* was made the subject of a commentary by ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Shāshī under the title *Risāla-yi Ḥawrā'iyya* (*AT*, 322-5).

Abū Saʿīd left a numerous family, who tended his grave for more than a hundred years and were held in great respect in Mayhana. His eldest son Abū Ṭāhir Saʿīd (d. 480) continued the "service of the poor" and thereby involved himself in debts which were paid by Niẓām al-Mulk. He was an uncultured individual, however, who left school before he was ten years old and knew by heart only the 48th sūra of the Ḳur'ān, and did not have the personality to found an order after his father's death (as did the son of Djamāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Sulṭān Walad), although Abū Saʿīd did leave behind a kind of statute for an order (Nicholson, 46). The tradition was however broken by political events. Abū Saʿīd lived to see the entry of the Saldjūḳs into Khurāsān. They occupied Mayhana, and Abū Saʿīd was on friendly relations with Tughrīl and Čaghrī Beg. Sultan Masʿūd laid siege to the town and captured it shortly before his decisive defeat at Dandānaḳān in the year 431/1040. During the devastation of Khurāsān by the Ghuzz in the year 548/1153 the place was absolutely laid waste, no fewer than 115 members of Abū Saʿīd's family being tortured and put to death. A follower of Abū Saʿīd, Dūst Bū Saʿd Dada, whom the *shaykh* had sent to Ghazna not long before his death to have the Sultan discharge his accumulated debts, found Abū Saʿīd dead, went to Baghdād on his return, and founded a daughter monastery there. At the time of Ibn al-Munawwar his family held the position of *shaykh al-shuyūkh* in Baghdād, but nothing is known of the subsequent destiny of this offshoot (*AT*, 294-300).

Bibliography: Besides the sources quoted in the article: Subkī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kubrā*, iii, 10; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 1-76. (H. Ritter)

ABŪ SAʿĪD al-DJANNĀBĪ [see al-djannābī].

ABŪ SAʿĪD b. Muḥammad b. Mīrānshāh b. **TĪMŪR**, Tīmūrid sultan. In 853/1449, at the age of twenty-five, Abū Saʿīd, taking advantage of the desperate situation of Ulugh Beg, at whose court he lived, tried his fortune in Transoxiana. A siege of Samarḳand (1449), then a rising at Būkhārā (May 1450) both ended in failure. Not long afterwards he seized Yasī (Turkistān), and held it against the troops of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāhrūkh. In Djumādā I 855/June 1451 he drove the latter out of Samarḳand with the help of the Özbeg khān Abū 'l-Khayr. In spring 858/1454 Abū Saʿīd crossed the Oxus and took Balkh. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur, ruler of Khurāsān, invaded Transoxiana and laid siege to Samarḳand (Oct.-Nov.), where resistance was organized by the famous Naḳshbandī *shaykh* ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār, who is said to have restrained Abū Saʿīd from deserting his capital. Peace was made, Abū Saʿīd keeping the right bank of the Oxus. The relations of the two princes remained cordial until the death of Bābur (Rabīʿ II 861/March 1457).

Abū Saʿīd then tried to take Harāt, where Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlā' al-Dawla b. Baysunghur had succeeded in having himself proclaimed. The siege (July-August 1457), marked by the execution of Gawhar Shād, who was accused of intelligence with Ibrāhīm, was raised without result. Defeated by the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djahānshāh, Ibrāhīm sought an alliance with Abū Saʿīd (beginning of 862/winter 1457-8), and a defensive treaty was concluded. At the end of June 1458 Djahānshāh occupied Harāt. Abū Saʿīd, who had stationed his army on the Murghāb to watch the course of events, took advantage of Djahānshāh's difficulties to get possession of the town peacefully (Nov. 1458), and thus became master of Khurāsān, which he had always coveted. In Djumādā I 863/March 1459 the three Tīmūrid princes ʿAlā' al-Dawla, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlā' al-Dawla, and Sulṭān Sandjar were defeated at Sarakhs.

The year 1459 was spent in mopping up Khurāsān. In 1460 Abū Saʿīd occupied Māzandarān; in his rear the amir Khalīl came from Sīstān and laid siege to Harāt (summer 1460); and when calm had been restored in Sīstān (autumn 1460), Abū Saʿīd had to deal with a revolt in Transoxiana (winter 1460). Sulṭān Ḥusayn took advantage of this to reoccupy Māzandarān and besiege Harāt (Sept. 1461), but Māzandarān was retaken by Abū Saʿīd in the same year.

Abū Saʿīd's power extended theoretically over Transoxiana, Turkistān (to the confines of Kāshghār and of the Dasht-i Ḳipčāḳ), Kābulistān and Zābu-

listān, Khurāsān and Māzandarān. In fact, he was powerless to prevent the Özbeg raids to the south of the Sīr Daryā. In 1454-5 the Tīmūrid Uways b. Muḥammad b. Baykarā had risen at Otrār with the support of Abu'l-Khayr Özbeg, and had inflicted a crushing defeat on Abū Saʿīd. In 865/1461 Muḥammad Djūkī b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Ulugh Beg, after devastating Transoxiana, took refuge at Shāhrukhiyya (Tāshkent). Abū Saʿīd besieged this stronghold for ten months (Nov. 1462-Sept. 1463). Each year the Özbegs made raids into Transoxiana. In 868/1464 Sulṭān Ḥusayn, who had sought refuge in Khwārizm, ravaged with impunity Khurāsān from Abīward and Mashhad as far as Tūn.

Abū Saʿīd was more fortunate in the north-east, and succeeded in averting the Mongol threat to his frontiers. During his reign in Samarḳand he had repulsed two attacks by the Mongol khān Esen Bugha. In 1456 he recognized Yūnus, the elder brother of Esen Bugha, and on several occasions gave him help in establishing himself in the western part of Moghūlistān. In 868/1464 Yūnus once again sought refuge with Abū Saʿīd, who lent him troops.

Real though the personal qualities of Abū Saʿīd were, they have been exaggerated, and his reign revealed no very impressive trends. Among the Turkish aristocracy of his entourage, pre-eminence passed to the Arghūn clan, which had supported Abū Saʿīd from the beginning, and whose chiefs received offices and favours. Like his predecessors, Abū Saʿīd frequently adopted the practice of settling fiefs (*soyūrghāl*) on his sons (Māzandarān on Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Farghāna on ʿUmar Shaykh, etc.), on local potentates (Sīstān), and on important dignitaries, whether they were Turks or Tādjīks, lay or religious. Barthold has brought out the important role played, under Abū Saʿīd, by Khwādja Aḥrār [*q.v.*], who held undisputed authority in Samarḳand, and was head of the clergy in Transoxiana. The great expedition to the west in 1468 was not decided on without the favourable advice of the shaykh, of whom Abū Saʿīd proclaimed himself a *murīd*.

Another characteristic trait of fifteenth-century Iran was his interest in agriculture. Abū Saʿīd seems to have taken a personal interest in it; and he instituted many measures to help the peasants. In 860/1465, at the request of Khwādja Aḥrār, he ordered that in no case should more than a third of the *kharādj* be levied before the harvest; the *kharādj* was normally to be paid in three instalments. At Samarḳand, Bukhārā, and Harāt the *tamghā* was abolished or reduced. In 870/1466, after a cold spring, Abū Saʿīd waived the tax on fruit trees. He had constructed the famous dam of Gulistān (near Mashhad) in order to irrigate *khāṣṣa* lands. Among the men of ability who held the office of vizier the most remarkable, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Tāwūs Simnānī, was a specialist in agricultural matters; he had the Djūy-i Sulṭānī dug, north of Harāt.

Little is known of how the nomadic elements of the population fared. In 870/1465-6 Abū Saʿīd settled in Khurāsān 15,000 nomad families which had fled from the territories of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu. On the whole the Tīmūrid empire remained poor in nomads by comparison with its neighbours in the west, which explains the inadequacy of its military enterprises.

The Campaign of 1468. Abū Saʿīd, hoping to regain from the Turkmens the territory lost after the death of Shāhrukh, went to the help of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Djahānshāh, against the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the traditional allies of the Tīmūrids. Governors were nominated for the principal towns to be conquered. But the empire of Abū Saʿīd was in a state of relative peace, and the expedition, hastily conceived, was ill prepared in the military sense. Abū Saʿīd set out with the cavalry without waiting for the thousands of carts requisitioned in Khurāsān and Māzandarān for the army's baggage. The Khurāsānian infantry, in the rearguard, was attacked by deserters. When the news of the death of Abū Saʿīd reached Harāt the troops raised in 'Hindūstān' (i.e. Afghānistān) were not yet organized. Notwithstanding this lack of preparation Abū Saʿīd made the mistake, when caught by the winter, of penetrating too deeply into Ādharbaydjān. He was cut off and captured near Mūghān by Uzun Ḥasan. A few days later the Tīmūrid Yādgār Muḥammad, a dependent of Uzun Ḥasan, had him executed (Feb. 1469) to avenge the death of his grandmother Gawhar Shād.

Bibliography: Sources. The *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdayn* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī is the main source (ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1941-9). Supplement with: *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ*; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*; *Muʿizz al-Ansāb*; *Bābur-nāma*, ed. and transl. Beveridge; and Isfizārī, *Rawḍat al-Djannāt fī Taʾrīkh Harāt* (cf. Barbier de Meynard, *JA*, 1862/II). 'Mongol' policy: *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Elias, transl. E. D. Ross. Biographies: Sayf al-Dīn Ḥādjī, *Āthār al-Wuzarāʾ* (ms.); Khwāndamīr, *Dastūr al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Teheran 1317; and the Naḳshbandī collections, Kāshifī, *Rashaḥāt ʿAyn al-Ḥayāt*, two ed., Tashkent and Lucknow; Abīwardī, *Rawḍat al-Sālikīn* (ms.), etc. Documents: see the collections of *inshāʾ* mss. (especially B. N. Paris, Suppl. Pers. 1815); A. N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi arşivindeki ... yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940 (one letter); cf. also Ferīdūn Bey, *Munshaʾāt*.

Studies. In the absence of monographs on the period, works dealing with questions or periods bordering on it must be used. See particularly V. V. Barthold, *Ulug Beg i iego vremja*, 1918 (Germ. transl. by Hinz, *Uluġ Beg und seine Zeit*, 1935), and *Mir Ali Shir i političeskaja zizn'* (transl. Hinz, *Herat unter Husain Baiqara*); the articles (by Yakubovskij, Molčanov, Belenitskij, etc.) in the two collections *Rodonačal'nik uzbekskoj literatury*, Tashkent 1940, and *Ali Shir Navoj Sbornik*, Tashkent 1946; Belenitskij, *K istorii feodal'nago zemlevladenija Srednej Azii pri Timuridakh*, in *Istorik-Marksist*, 1941/4; the works of I. P. Petrushevskij; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat*, 1936. On the Russian embassy to Harāt in 1464 cf. *ZVO*, i, 30 sqq. See also Browne, iii; Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*. Bouvat, *Essai sur la civilisation timouride*, *JA*, 1926, and *L'Empire mongol* (*2e phase*), Paris 1927, may be disregarded.

(J. Aubin)

ABŪ ṢAKHR AL-HUDHALĪ, ʿAbd Allāh b. Salama, Arab poet of the second half of the 1st/7th century. He belonged to the tribe of Sahm, a branch of the Hudhayl of the Ḥidjāz, and embraced the Marwānid cause; imprisoned by the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, he regained his liberty when the latter died, and, according to his own account, took part in the capture of Mecca in 72/692. He celebrated in his verse the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, as well as his brother, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; see *Aghānī*[1], xxi, 144. Above all he praised the amīr Abū Khālid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of the Asīd clan, whose brother, Umayya, had been governor of al-Baṣra from 71/690

until 73/end of 692; see al-Ṭabarī, index; on the favour in which this family was held by the Caliph, see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1359, viii, 55.

Some twenty poems and fragments by Abū Ṣakhr are known, which were included by al-Sukkarī in his *dīwān* of Hudhayl. A number are *ḳaṣīdas* of the classic type; others are erotic-elegiac compositions recalling those of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa.

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ABŪ SALAMA ḤAFṢ B. SULAYMĀN AL-**KHALLĀL**, vizier. A freed slave from Kūfa, he was sent in 127/744-5 to Khurāsān with ample powers, as one of the chief ʿAbbāsid emissaries. He took part in the armed insurrection which put an end to the Umayyad dynasty, and was appointed governor of Kūfa. At the culminating point of the revolution he inclined towards the ʿAlids and seems to have attempted to set up an ʿAlid caliphate. In this, one can perhaps see a consequence of the deliberate ambiguity about the rights of the "house of the Prophet", put into circulation by the revolutionary propaganda. Al-Saffāḥ, however, was chosen as caliph and Abū Salama gave him his allegiance (132/749). The caliph appointed Abū Salama vizier, without, however, losing his suspicions, and in the same year planned to remove him. Fearing that this might irritate Abū Muslim, the powerful governor of Khurāsān, who was Abū Salama's companion in the *daʿwa* and might have been acting in agreement with him, he sent his brother Abū Djaʿfar (al-Manṣūr) to consult Abū Muslim. Abū Muslim made no difficulties; on the contrary, he himself sent a hired assassin to kill Abū Salama. The crime was subsequently attributed to the Khāridjites. Abū Salama is described as an educated and capable man, and his services in the ʿAbbāsid cause are indisputable. Nevertheless, the fears of the caliph concerning him seem, by the common witness of the sources, to have been justified.

Bibliography: Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (Guirgass), Yaʿḳūbī, Ṭabarī, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, indexes; Ibn Khallikān, no. 200; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhri* (Dérenbourg), 205-10; S. Moscati, in *Rend. Linc.*, 1949, 324-31. (S. MOSCATI)

ABU 'L-ṢALT UMAYYA B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. ABI 'L-ṢALT AL-ANDALUSĪ was born in 460/1067 in Denia (Dāniya), in the Levante, and studied under the *ḳāḍī* al-Waḳḳashī from whom he inherited his encyclopaedic knowledge. About 489/1096 we find him in Alexandria and Cairo, where he continued to pursue his studies. In consequence of an unsuccessful attempt to refloat a sunken ship, he was imprisoned by the vizier al-Afḍal. Exiled from Egypt, he went (in 505/1111-2) to al-Mahdiyya, where he was well received by the Zīrid *amīrs* Yaḥyā b. Tamīm, and his son ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, and he remained in al-Mahdiyya, an honoured and respected figure, until his death on 1 Muḥarram 529/1134 (other dates are also mentioned).

The following may be mentioned of his numerous works. (i) *Taḳwīm al-Dhihn*, a short treatise on Aristotelian logic, edited and translated into Spanish by A. González Palencia, Madrid 1915 (with biographical introduction). (ii) *Risāla fi 'l-ʿAmal bi 'l-Asṭurlāb*, on the use of the astrolabe; a short analysis with a list of the chapters, in Millás, *Assaig*. (iii) Answers to scientific questions (*masāʾil*) concerning different problems of physics, cosmography and mathematics; short summary ibidem. (iv) A summary of astronomy, composed for the Egyptian vizier al-Afḍal, which, according to the judgment of his contemporaries, was a manual without educational value and useless for teachers. (v) *Al-Adwiya al-Mufrada*, on simples, was translated into Latin by the famous physican Arnaldo de Vilanova and into Hebrew by Yehuda Natan. (vi) *Al-Rasāʾil al-Miṣriyya*, dedicated to Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Yaḥyā b. Tamīm, and giving vivid information about the affairs and the customs of Egypt; ed. by ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, *Nawādir al-Makhṭūṭāt*, Cairo, (vii) *Risāla fi 'l-Mūsīḳī*; the Arabic original is lost, but an anonymous Hebrew translation is preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat., Hebrew MS no. 1036.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 80; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 52 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 361; Ibn Khallikān, 101; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 530 ff. ii, 218-9; Brockelmann, I, 641, S I, 889; Suter, 115; M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebräische Übersetzungen*, 735, 885; L. Leclerc, *Médicine arabe*, ii, 74-5; J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'Història de les idees físiques i matematiques a la Catalunya medieval*, i, 75-81; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the Hist. of Science*, i, 230. (J. M. MILLÀS)

Abu'l-Ṣalt also wrote for al-Ḥasan, son of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, a historical work, viz. a continuation of the History of Ifrīḳiya by Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, bringing it down to 517/1123. Extracts are to be found in Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, i, 274 ff., 292 ff., al-Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1927, 51 ff. (= *JA*, 1852/ii, 131), 90 (= ibidem, 176), 237 (= *JA*, 1853, 375 ff.), and Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Centenario di Michele Amari*, i, 455-9). (S. M. STERN)

ABU 'L-SARĀYĀ AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ [see ḤAMDĀNIDS].

ABU 'L-SARĀYĀ AL-SARĪ B. MANṢŪR AL-**SHAYBĀNĪ**, Shiʿite rebel. Said to have been a donkey-driver, and afterwards a bandit, he entered the service of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī in Armenia, and was engaged against the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*]. Later he commanded Yazīd's vanguard against Harthama in the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, but subsequently changed sides and joined Harthama. Obtaining permission to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, he openly revolted, and after defeating the troops sent against him went to al-Raḳḳa. Here he met the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭabāṭabā [*q.v.*], whom he persuaded to go to Kūfa, and himself joined him there on 10 Djumādā II 199/26 Jan. 815. Three weeks later he defeated the army sent by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl to put down the revolt at Kūfa, and on the following day (1 Radjab/15 Feb.) Ibn Ṭabāṭabā died. The Sunnī sources accuse Abu 'l-Sarāyā of poisoning him, but the accusation is not borne out by the Shīʿī tradition. Another ʿAlid, Muḥammad b. Muḥ. b. Zayd, was chosen as Imām, but the effective power remained in the hands of Abu 'l-Sarāyā. He had dirhams coined in Kūfa (*ZDMG*, 1868, 707) and sent detachments to take Wāsiṭ, Baṣra, al-Ahwāz, Mecca, etc.

When he next marched on Baghdād, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl appealed to Harthama, then on his way back to Khurāsān. Harthama at once turned back, defeated Abu 'l-Sarāyā at Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra (Shawwāl/May-June), and besieged him in Kūfa. Since the Kufans refused to support him, Abu 'l-Sarāyā fled with 800 horsemen (16 Muḥarram 200/26 Aug. 815), made for Sūsa, but was there defeated and himself wounded by the forces of the governor of Khūzistān, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Maʾmūnī, and his followers dispersed. He tried to reach his

home at Ra'ʾs al-ʿAyn, but was overtaken at Djalūlā by Ḥammād al-Kundaghush, who captured him and handed him over to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl at Nahrawān. Al-Ḥasan had him beheaded (10 Rabīʿ I 200/18 Oct. 815) and his body was hung at the bridge of Baghdād.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 976 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 212 ff., 217 ff.; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Teheran 1307, 178-93; F. Gabrieli, *al-Maʾmūn e gli ʿAlidi*, Leipzig 1929, 10-23; for the activities of his representative in Baṣra cf. Ch. Pellat, *Milieu Basrien*, Paris 1953, 198-9.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ABŪ SHĀMA Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl al-Maḳdisī, Arab historian, born in Damascus on 23 Rabīʿ II 599/10 Jan. 1203. All his life was spent in Damascus except when he stayed for one year in Egypt for the purpose of study, and visited Jerusalem for fourteen days, and al-Ḥidjāz, twice, on pilgrimage. He obtained a professorship in Damascus, in the madrasas al-Rukniyya and al-Ashrafiyya, only five years before his death on 19 Ramaḍān 665/13 June 1268. Like most scholars of his time he had a varied education, on a Sunnī basis, and his works, consequently, dealt with several subjects, but his reputation rests on his historical writings.

His main works are: 1) *K. al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn*, a history of Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (printed in Cairo, 1288, 1292; extracts, with French translation by Barbier de Meynard, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Hist. Or.*, iv, v, Paris 1898, 1906; German translation—careless and incomplete—by E. P. Goergens, entitled *Buch der beiden Garten*, 1879). It derives from first-hand authorities and preserves, in parts, the important works *al-Barḳ al-Shāmī* by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib, *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn* by Ibn Abī Ṭayy and a great number of *Rasāʾil* by al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil. The events are dealt with chronologically and the narratives are supported by documents mainly from al-Fāḍil and al-ʿImād. In this book he names his sources when quoting, and keeps to their wording, except for al-ʿImād. 2) *Al-Dhayl ʿala 'l-Rawḍatayn*, a continuation fo the preceding. In the first part of this book Abū Shāma draws mainly on the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī. In the later part he himself as an eyewitness is the main source. This book is more of a biographical than historical work, especially in the econd part, and is less important than *K. al-Rawḍatayn*. (Printed in Cairo, 1947, with the title: *Tarādjim Ridjāl al-Ḳarnayn al-Sādis wa 'l-Sābiʿ*; extracts with French translation in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*.) 3) *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* (in two versions), a summary of the vast work of Ibn ʿAsākir with the same title (Ahlwardt, *Verz. arab. Hs. Berlin*, no. 9782). 4) commentary on the *Ḳaṣīda al-Shāṭibiyya* (printed in Cairo). 5) A commentary on the seven poems of his teacher ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 643/1245) in praise of the Prophet, is extant in manuscript (Paris, 3141, 1).

All of his other works, dealing with various subjects, are lost, and some biographers say that they were destroyed by fire along with his library.

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 252; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, xix, 10; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād, iv, 251; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 46; *Orientalia*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 253; Brockelmann, I, 386, S I, 550.

(Hilmy Ahmad)

ABU 'L-SHAMAḲMAḲ Abū Muḥammad Marwān b. Muḥ. Arabic poet of the early ʿAbbāsid period, was born in Baṣra in the quarter of the Banū Saʿd as a *mawlā* of the Banū Umayya. No date is given for his birth. His *laḳab* would seem to allude to his big nose and big mouth. He must have migrated to Baghdād some considerable time before the accession of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170/786). Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳat al-Shuʿarā al-Muḥdathīn* (A. Eghbal), 55, puts his death in or about 180/796. Like other poets of his time Abu 'l-Shamaḳmaḳ is credited with undertaking an occasional public duty. He appears to have served as transmitter of the *kharādj* of Madīnat Sābūr to the caliph. On the whole, however, he made his precarious living by means of eulogies and lampoons. A number of anecdotes illustrate his position on the margin of the contemporary world of letters. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, Cairo 1353/1935, iv, 255, lists Abu 'l-Shamaḳmaḳ among the "luckless wits." His originality, which was most effective in parody and to which the introduction to Arabic poetry of the talking cat that deserts its impoverished owner may be owed, went unrewarded and constant frustration induced frequent descents into unmitigated vulgarity.

Bibliography: A collection of his fragments with a critical introduction and a biography was published by G. E. von Grunebaum, *Orientalia*, 1953, 262-83.

(G. E. von Grunebaum)

ABU 'L-SHAWḲ [see ʿannāzids].

ABU 'LSHĪṢ Muḥammad (b. ʿAbd Allāh) b. Razīn al Khuzāʿī, Arab poet, died about 200/915. Like his relative Diʿbil [*q.v.*], he lived at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd for whom he wrote panegyrics, and afterwards dirges. He then went to al-Raḳḳa and obtained the favours of the *amīr* ʿUḳba b. al-Ashʿath, remaining his boon-companion and court poet until 196/811.—To judge by the rare fragments of his work that have been preserved, Abu 'l-Shīṣ does not appear as an orginal poet in his panegyrics, hunting poems and wine songs, though these poems were valued by his contemporaries, notably by Abū Nuwās, who did not hesitate to plagiarize him. The elegies on the infirmities of old age which he composed at the end of his life, when he became blind, are of greater value as they as they express real feeling. Similarly, when he makes fun of himself or mocks at the poets who imitate the poetry of the desert (e.g. Ibn Kutayba, *Shiʿr*, 536, concerning the *ghurāb al-bayn*), he is not lacking in humour.

Bibliography: Fragments of Abu 'l-Shīṣ's poetry and isolated verses are to be found in a number of books: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 535-9; *Aghānī*[1], v, 36, xv, 108-13; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], iii, 518, iv, 345, v, 184; Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin* (van Vloten), 68; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 26-33; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 358; Tabari, iii, 763; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 135; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 96v; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 401-2; Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-Himyān*, 257-8; Ibn Khallikān, iv, 232; Kutubi, *Fawāt*, ii, 281 ff.; ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, Cairo 1352, i, 255, ii, 123, 198-9, 252; see also O. Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 28-9; Brockelmann, I, 83, S I, 133.

(A. Schaade-Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ SHUDJĀʿ Aḥmad b. Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn) b. Aḥmad, a famous Shāfiʿī jurisconsult. His family came from Iṣfahān, his father was born in ʿAbbādān. He himself was born in 434/1042-3 in Baṣra, and there taught Shāfiʿī law for more than 40 years; he was alive in 500/1106-7, but the date of his death is not known. At some time, he was a *ḳāḍī*. He is the author of a short compendium of Shāfiʿī law, called *al-Ghāya fī 'l-Ikhtiṣār*, or *al-Mukhtaṣar*, or *al-Taḳrīb*. This became the starting-point of one of the great literary traditions of the

Shāfiʿī school and acquired, from the 7th/13th to the 13th/19th century, a considerable number of commentaries and glosses, many of which have been printed. Editio princeps of the text, with (unreliable) translation, by S. Keyser, *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane*, Leiden 1859; translation of the text by G.-H. Bousquet, *Abrégé de la loi musulmane*, separately printed from the *Revue Algérienne* 1935; edition and (faulty) translation of the commentary of Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1512), with the title *Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb*, by L. W. C. van den Berg, Leiden 1895 (some corrections to the translation in Bousquet, *Kitâb et-Tanbîh*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université d'Alger, II, XI, XIII, XV, Algiers 1949-52); partial translation of the gloss of Ibrāhīm al-Bādjūrī (d. 1277/1861), with reprint of the corresponding chapters of the text, by E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, Berlin 1897.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt iii, 598 f.; Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324, iv, 38; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 374 f.; Brockelmann I, 492 f.; S I, 676 f. (J. SCHACHT)

ABŪ SHUDJĀʿ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**ḤUSAYN** [see AL-RŪDHRAWARĪ].

ABŪ SUFYĀN B. ḤARB B. UMAYYA, of the clan of ʿAbd Shams of Ḳuraysh, prominent Meccan merchant and financier (to be distinguished from Muḥammad's cousin, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib). His name was Ṣakhr, and his *kunya* is sometimes given as Abū Ḥanẓala. ʿAbd Shams had been at one time a member of the political group known as the Muṭayyabūn (which included the clan of Hāshim), but about Muḥammad's time had moved away from this group and in some matters cooperated with the rival group, Makhzūm, Djumaḥ, Sahm, etc. As head of ʿAbd Shams Abū Sufyān joined in opposing Muḥammad in the years before the hidjra, but his opposition was not so violent as that of Abū Djahl. On several occasions he led caravans in person, notably in 2/624 when a caravan of 1000 camels returning from Syria under his command was threatened by Muḥammad. In answer to his requests for help the Meccans sent out about 1000 men under Abū Djahl. By skilful and vigorous leadership Abū Sufyān eluded the Muslims; but Abū Djahl was eager to fight, and brought upon the Meccans the disaster of Badr. Of Abū Sufyān's sons Ḥanẓala was killed and ʿAmr taken prisoner but subsequently released, while his wife Hind lost her father ʿUtba. Abū Sufyān was apparently in charge of the preparations to avenge Badr, and commanded the large army sent to Medina in 3/625, probably as a hereditary privilege, the *ḳiyāda*. He realized that the result of the ensuing battle of Uḥud was not satisfactory for Ḳuraysh, but was prevented from attacking the main settlement of Medina by Ṣafwān b. Umayya (of Djumaḥ), possibly out of jealousy. Abū Sufyān also organized the great confederacy which besieged Medina in 5/627. When this proved a fiasco, he perhaps lost heart; at least resistance in Mecca to Muḥammad came to be directed by the leaders of the rival group, Ṣafwān b. Umayya, Suhayl b. ʿAmr and ʿIkrima b. Abī Djahl. Abū Sufyān is not mentioned in connection with the peace of al-Ḥudaybiya. When in 8/630 allies of Ḳuraysh openly broke the peace, Abū Sufyān went to Medina to negotiate. What happened is not clear, but he possibly came to some understanding with Muḥammad. Muḥammad's marriage to his daughter, Umm Ḥabība, may have softened his heart, even though she had been some fifteen years in Abyssinia as a Muslim. Certainly, when Muḥammad marched on Mecca soon after, Abū Sufyān, along with Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, came out and submitted to him (apparently now becoming a Muslim), and those who took refuge with Abū Sufyān were guaranteed security. Thus he did much to bring about the surrender of Mecca peacefully. He took part in the battle of Ḥunayn and the siege of al-Ṭāʾif, where he is said to have lost an eye; like the other Meccans he would be well aware that Hawāzin and Thaḳīf were as hostile to Mecca as to Muḥammad. In the distribution of the spoils he and Ḥakīm seem to have received a specially large gift in recognition of their services. On the submission of al-Ṭāʾif, Abū Sufyān, who had business and family connections there, helped to destroy the idol of al-Lāt. He was appointed governor of Nadjrān and perhaps also of the Ḥidjāz, but whether by Muḥammad or Abū Bakr is disputed. If it is true that he was in Mecca at Muḥammad's death and spoke against Abū Bakr, he cannot have been governor of Nadjrān then; but the alleged speech, like many other statements about Abū Sufyān, may be anti-Umayyad propaganda. He was present at the battle of the Yarmūk, but may have done little more than exhort the younger men, as he was about 70. He is said to have died about 32/653 aged about 88. Of his sons, Yazīd died as a Muslim general in Palestine about 18/639, and Muʿāwiya was the first Umayyad caliph.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, Wāḳidī, Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabarī—see indexes; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 477-80; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 12-3, v, 316; Caetani, *Annali*, i, ii(l). (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ABŪ SULAYMĀN MUḤAMMAD B. ṬĀHIR B. BAHRĀM AL-SIDJISTĀNĪ AL-**MANṬIḲĪ**, philosopher, b. about 300/912, d. about 375/985. He was a pupil of Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 328/939) and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 364/974), and lived in Baghdād (he was patronized by ʿAḍud al-Dawla, to whom he dedicated some of his treatises), occupying an eminent place among the philosophers of the capital. His system, like that of most of the other members of his environment, had a strong Neo-platonic colouring. For the content of his teaching we are mainly indebted to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*], whose works, especially *al-Muḳābasāt* and *al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-Muʾānasa*, are filled with reports of Abū Sulaymān's utterances on philosophical as well as many other topics, usually expressed in a rather involved and obscure style. A few of Abū Sulaymān's shorter treatises have survived in MS. Of his history of Greek and Islamic philosophers, *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, only an abbreviation is extant in several MSS (cf. M. Plessner, in *Islamica*, 1931, 534-8; add Brit. Mus. Or. 9033; cancel Bodl. Marsh 539; Leiden 133 contains an even shorter version by al-Ghaḍanfar al-Tibrīzī). The *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* was one of the sources of al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, for the description of the old Greek philosophers (cf. P. Kraus, in *BIE*, 1937, 207 = *IC*, 1938, 146). Various other authors also quote Abū Sulaymān for information concerning the history of philosophy: Ibn al-Nadīm (who was a disciple of his), *Fihrist*, 241, 243, 248; Ibn Maṭrān, see P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, i, p. lxiii; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 9, 15, 57, 104, 186-7.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 264, 316; Abū Shudjaʿ, *Dhayl Tadjārib al-Umam* (Amedroz-Margoliouth), 75-7; Bayhaḳī, *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* (M. Shafi), 74-5; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 89, iii, 100, v, 360, 398 (after Abū Ḥayyān); Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, 81; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 282-3; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i,

321-2; Brockelmann, I, 236, S I, 377; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ḳazwīnī, *Sharḥ-i Ḥāl-i Abū Sulaymān Manṭiḳī Sidjistānī* (Publ. de la Société des Études Iraniennes, no. 5), Chalons-sur-Saone 1933 = *Bīst Maḳāla*, Teheran 1934, 94 ff.

(S. M. STERN)

ABU 'L-SUʿŪD MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤYI 'L-DĪN MUḤ. B. AL-ʿIMĀD MUṢṬAFĀ AL-ʿIMĀDĪ, known as Khodja Čelebi (Hoca Çelebi), famous commentator of the Ḳurʾān, Ḥanafī scholar and Shaykh al-Islām, born 17 Ṣafar 896/30 December 1490, died 5 Djumādā I 982/23 August 1574. His father, a native of Iskilīb (Iskilip, west of Amasia) had been a notable scholar and ṣūfī. Abu 'l-Suʿūd began his career as a teacher, being eventually promoted to one of the "Eight Madrasas" of Sulṭān Muḥammad II. In 939/1533 he was appointed *ḳāḍī*, first in Brūsa (Bursa), then in Istanbul; in 944/1537 he became *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumelia, and in 952/1545 Sulṭān Sulaymān I. made him Grand Muftī or Shaykh al-Islām. He kept this post for the rest of his life, under Sulaymān and his successor Salīm II. Abu 'l-Suʿūd was bound to Sulaymān by real friendship, and though he could not quite maintain his exclusive influence under Salīm, this Sulṭān too held him in high esteem. The one reproach that is made against him is his scheming and his eagerness for the intimacy of the great. To Sulaymān, he justified the killing of Yazīdīs, and to Salīm, the attack on Cyprus, in breach of a treaty of peace with Venice. He was buried in the Abū Ayyūb quarter of Istanbul, where his tomb still exists. When the news of his death reached the Holy Cities, funeral prayers for an absent person were said for him. Several of his disciples held important positions under Salīm II, Murād III, and Muḥammad III.

As Shaykh al-Islām, Abu 'l-Suʿūd succeeded in bringing the *ḳānūn*, the administrative law of the Ottoman Empire, into agreement with the *sharīʿa*, the sacred law of Islam. Supported by Sulaymān, he completed and consolidated a development which had already started under Muḥammad II. He formulated, consciously and in sweeping terms, the principle that the competence of the *ḳāḍīs* derives from their appointment by the Sultan, and that they are therefore bound to follow his directives in applying the *sharīʿa*. Already as *ḳāḍī ʿasker* he had begun, on the orders of the Sultan, to revise the land law of the European provinces and to apply to it the principles of the *sharīʿa*. (On the effects of this revision, see P. Lemerle and P. Wittek, in *Archives d'Histoire du droit oriental*, 1948, 466 ff.) His *fatwās*, of which a number still exist in the original, were brought together in several semi-official and private collections. In keeping with his general aim, Abu 'l-Suʿūd took account of the practice in authorising the *waḳf* of movables and in particular of money, the giving and taking of remuneration for teaching and other religious duties, (on these two questions, he became involved in polemics), in allowing the Ḳaragöz play, and in refraining, in the end, from giving a *fatwā* against the use of coffee. Whilst he appreciated orthodox Ṣūfism, he did not hesitate to authorise the execution of extremist ṣūfīs.

In his spare time, Abu 'l-Suʿūd composed a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, drawn mainly from al-Bayḍāwī and al-Zamakhsharī, with the title *Irshād al-ʿAḳl al-Salīm*; it became popular in the Ottoman Empire and beyond its frontiers, found several commentators and was printed a number of times. Among his other, smaller works, a book of prayers drawn from traditions and meant to be learned by heart (*Duʿā-nāma*, or *R. fi 'l-Adʿiya al-Maʾthūra*), may be mentioned. He also wrote some poetry in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Efendi Manuḳ (d. 992/1584), *al-ʿIḳd al-Manẓūm*, Cairo 1310 (on the margin of Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* ii), 282 ff.; ʿAṭāʾī, *Dhayl-i Shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1268, 183 ff.; Pečewī, *Tārīkh*, i, Istanbul 1281, 52 ff.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, viii, 398 ff.; Brockelmann, II, 579 f.; S II, 651; M. Hartmann, in *Isl.*, 1918, 313 ff. (on the publication of Sulaymān's *Ḳānūn-nāma-yi Djadīd*, containing *fatwās* of Abu 'l-Suʿūd, and of Abu 'l-Suʿūd's *Maʿrūḍāt*, another collection of his *fatwās*, in MTM, I 1-2); P. Horster, *Zur Anwendung des Islamischen Rechts im 16. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1935 (re-edition and translation of the *Maʿrūḍāt*); Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 116; Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, *XV. ve XVI. asırlarda Osmanli imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukukî ve mâlî esaslar*, Istanbul 1945; M. Cavid Baysun, in *IA*, iv, 92 ff.; M. Tayyib Okiç, in *Ankara Üniversitesi Ilâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, i, 48 ff.; Yusuf Ziya Yörükân, ibid. 137 ff.; Okiç, ibid. ii, 219 ff.

(J. SCHACHT)

ABŪ ṬĀHIR SULAYMĀN AL **KARMAṬĪ** [see AL-DJANNĀBĪ].

ABŪ ṬĀHIR ṬARSŪSĪ (ṬARṬŪSĪ, ṬŪSĪ) MUḤAMMAD B. ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. MŪSĀ, a person otherwise unknown, said to be the author of several novels in prose, prolix in style and of great length, a confused mixture of Arab and Persian legendary traditions, written in Persian and afterwards translated into Turkish. These include *Ḳahramān-nāma* (about Ḳahramān, a hero from the epoch of Hūshang, semi-mythical king of Īrān), *Ḳirān-i Ḥabashī* (the story of a hero from the time of the Kayānid king Kay Ḳubād), *Dārāb-nāma* (history of Darius and Alexander).

Bibliography: Firdawsī, *Livre des rois*, ed. and transl. of J. Mohl, i, preface 74 ff.; H. Ethé, in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.*, ii, 318; E. Blochet, *Cat. mss. persans Bibl. Nat. Paris*, nos. 1201-2; idem, *Cat. mss. turcs*, anc. fonds, nos. 335-7; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. Turkish MSS Brit. Mus.*, 219 ff.

(H. MASSÉ)

ABŪ ṬĀḲA [see SIKKA].

ABŪ ṬĀLIB, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim and Fāṭima bint ʿAmr (of Makhzūm), and full brother of Muḥammad's father. His own name was ʿAbd Manāf. He is said to have inherited the offices of *siḳāya* and *rifāda* (providing water and food for pilgrims) from his father, but at the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl and war of the Fidjār his brother al-Zubayr seems to have been the leading man of Hāshim. He fell into debt, and to meet this surrendered the *siḳāya* and *rifāda* to al-ʿAbbās. Nevertheless he seems to have remained chief of the clan of Hāshim, and their quarter of the town was called the *shiʿb* of Abū Ṭālib. When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib died, he looked after Muḥammad, and is said to have taken him on trading journeys to Syria. He continued to protect Muḥammad when he came forward as prophet, even when most of the other clans of Ḳuraysh boycotted Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib; there were presumably also economic reasons for the boycott. He died shortly after the end of the boycott, about 619, and was probably succeeded as chief by his brother Abū Lahab. Of his sons by Fāṭima bint Asad b. Hāshim, ʿAlī (who is said to have been brought up by Muḥammad) and Djaʿfar became Muslims, while Ṭālib fought against Muḥam-

mad at Badr. He himself, though protecting Muḥammad, clearly did not become a Muslim; but the point was much discussed and varying traditions circulated, in connection with the theological question of the fate of those who lived before Muḥammad's mission.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 114-7, 167-77; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 75-9, 134-5, 139-41; Ṭabarī, i, 1123-6, 1173-85, 1198-9; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 211-9; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1898, 27-8; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 107; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 158, 298, 307, etc.; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, 115-8; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, index. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ABŪ ṬĀLIB KALĪM [see KALĪM].

ABŪ ṬĀLIB MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-ḤĀRITHĪ AL-**MAKKĪ**, d. in Baghdād in 386/998, muḥaddith and mystic, head of the dogmatic *madhhab* of the Sālimiyya [*q.v.*] in Baṣra. His chief work is the *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, Cairo 1310, whole pages of which were copied by al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 200, S I, 359-66; Sayyid Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf*, Cairo, ii, 67, 69 and passim; Shaʿrawī, *Laṭāʾif*, Cairo, ii, 28; Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī, *al-Rasāʾil al-Kubrā*, lith. Fez 1320, 149, 200-1; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, 2nd ed., index and reff. cited. (L. MASSIGNON)

ABŪ ṬĀLIB KHĀN (1752-1806), the son of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Beg, of Turkish descent, was born at Lucknow. His early years were spent in Murshidābād at the court of Muẓaffar Djang. With the accession of Āṣaf al-Dawla (1775) he returned to Oudh and was appointed *ʿamaldār* of Itāwah and other districts. He also served as a revenue official under Colonel Hannay who farmed the country of Sarwār. He was later employed by Nathaniel Middleton, the English Resident, and was connected with Richard Johnson in the management of the confiscated *djāgīrs* of the Begams of Oudh. He remained in Oudh until 1796. In February 1799 he sailed from Calcutta to Europe where he visited England, France, Turkey, and other countries, returning to India in August 1803. An account of his travels, the *Masīr-i Ṭālibī fī Bilād-i Ifrandjī* was published in 1812 and translated into English by C. Stewart (1814) and into French by Ch. Malo (1819). He also wrote the *Lubb al-Siyar wa-Djahān-numā* and the *Khulāṣat al-Afkār*. His *Tafzīḥ al-Ghāfilīn*, a history of Oudh under Āṣaf al-Dawla, is an important source for the careers of Ḥaydar Beg and the various English residents, and contains a spirited defence of Hannay's revenue administration (English trans. by W. Hoey, 1888). He published also the first edition of the *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, Calcutta 1791.

Bibliography: Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, viii, 298 ff.; Rieu, *Cat. of Persian Mss.*, i, 378 ff. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

ABŪ TAMMĀM ḤABĪB B. AWS, Arabic poet and anthologist. According to his son Tammām he was born in the year 188/804; according to an account deriving from himself, in the year 190/806 (*Akhbār*, 272-3) and in the town of Djāsim between Damascus and Tiberias. He died according to his son in 231/845, according to others 2 Muḥarram 232/29 Aug. 846 (*ibid.*). His father was a Christian by name Thādhūs (Thaddeus, Theodosius?) who kept a wine-shop in Damascus. The son altered the name of his father to Aws (*Akhbār*, 246) and invented for himself a pedigree connecting him with the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ. He was mocked on the score of this false pedigree in satirical verses (*Akhbār*, 235-8); later, however, the pedigree appears to have found acceptance, and Abū Tammām is therefore frequently referred to as "the Ṭayyite" or "the great Ṭayyite". He spent his youth as a weaver's assistant in Damascus (Ibn ʿAsākir, iv, 19). Subsequently he went to Egypt where at first he earned his living by selling water in the Great Mosque, but he also found opportunity to study Arabic poetry and its rules. The exact chronology of his life is difficult to reconstruct, at all events until the happenings mentioned in his poetry and the biography of the men eulogised by him are accurately established. According to one tradition he composed his first panegyrics in Damascus for Muḥ. b. al-Djahm, brother of the poet ʿAlī b. al-Djahm (*al-Muwashshah*, 324). This, however, can hardly be correct, as this personage was only in 225 appointed governor of Damascus by al-Muʿtaṣim (Khalīl Mardam Bek, in the preface to the *Dīwān* of ʿAlī b. al-Djahm, 4). According to the poet's own account (*Akhbār*, 121), he composed his first poem in Egypt for the tax-collector ʿAyyāsh b. Lahīʿa (al-Badīʿī, 181). He was, however, disappointed by him and repaid him, as often in similar circumstances, with lampoons (cf. al-Badīʿī, 174 ff.). Al-Kindī (*Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, 181, 183, 186, 187) quotes some verses of Abū Tammām referring to events in Egypt in the years 211-4. From Egypt Abū Tammām returned to Syria. At this time are to be placed, apparently, the encomia and lampoons on Abu 'l-Mughīth Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Rāfiḳī. When al-Maʾmūn returned from his campaign against the Byzantines (215-8), Abū Tammām, clad in the bedouin attire beloved by him all his life, offered him a *ḳaṣīda*, which however was not to the caliph's taste, since he took exception to the fact that a bedouin should compose urban poetry (Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, ii, 120). At this time the young Buḥturī perhaps came into contact with him in Ḥimṣ (*Akhbār*, 66, cf. 105).

Abū Tammām first rose to fame and became generally known under al-Muʿtaṣim. On the destruction of Amorium in the year 223/838 (cf. ʿAMMŪRIYYA) the Muʿtazilite chief ḳāḍī Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*] sent him before the caliph in Sāmarrā. The caliph recalled the harsh voice of the poet, which he had heard in Maṣīṣa, and granted Abū Tammām an audience only after making sure that he had with him a *rāwī*, or reciter, with a pleasant voice (*Akhbār*, 143-4). Then began Abū Tammām's career as the most celebrated panegyrist of his time. In addition to the caliph he eulogised in his *ḳaṣīdas* the highest dignitaries of his epoch. One of these was Ibn Abī Duʾād, whom, however, he offended temporarily through a poem in which the South Arabs (to whom the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ belonged) were greatly extolled to the disadvantage of the North Arabs (from which the chief ḳāḍī claimed descent). An apologetic *ḳaṣīda* had to be addressed to the patron before his reinstatement was effected (*Akhbār*, 147 ff.). Other personalities eulogised by him were, for example, the general Abū Saʿīd Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Marwazī, who had distinguished himself in the war against Byzantium and in the operations against the Khurramite Bābak, and his son Yūsuf, killed by the Armenians in 237 while governor of Armenia; Abū Dulaf al-Ḳāsim al-ʿIdjlī, d. 225; Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Muṣʿabī, police chief (*ṣāḥib al-djisr*) of Baghdad from 207 to 235. Ḥasan b. Wahb, secretary to the wazīr Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt was a particular admirer of Abū Tammām. Abū Tammām also travelled several times to visit

provincial governors, for example the governor of Djabal, Muḥ. b. al-Haytham (*Akhbār*, 188 f.), Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, governor of Armenia under al-Wāthiḳ, d. 230 (*Akhbār*, 188 ff.) and others. His journey to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir in Nīshāpūr is the most celebrated. ʿAbd Allāh did not come up to his expectations in rewarding him, and the cold climate did not suit the poet, so that he quickly retraced his steps. He was held up by snow in Hamadhān, and made good use of his time in compiling with the aid of the library of Abu 'l-Wafā b. Salama the most celebrated of his anthologies, the *Ḥamāsa*. Some two years before his death, Ḥasan b. Wahb found him the postmastership of Mosul. The philosopher al-Kindī is supposed to have predicted an early death for him as the result of over-exertion of his intellectual faculties, *shiddat al-fikr* (Ibn Khallikān, apparently after al-Ṣūlī, where, however, the appropriate passage is lacking, cf. *Akhbār*, 231-2). It was in Mosul that Abū Tammām died. Abū Nahshal b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī, brother of the Muḥammad who fell in 214 in the campaign against Bābak, had erected over his grave a dome, visited by Ibn Khallikān. Abū Tammām was dark, tall, dressed in bedouin fashion, spoke extremely pure Arabic, having at the same time a most unattractive voice and suffering from a slight impediment of speech; he accordingly had his poetry recited by his *rāwī* Ṣāliḥ (*Akhbār*, 210).

Abū Tammām's *ḳaṣīda*s treat of important historical events, such as the conquest of Amorium, the campaign against Bābak and his execution (223/837-8), the execution of Afshīn (226/840), whom he himself had previously eulogised, and many others. In certain particulars the *ḳaṣīda*s supplement the historians (cf. *al-Ṭabarī's The reign of al-Muʿtaṣim*, transl. and annot. by E. Marin, New Haven 1951, index, and M. Canard, *Les allusions à la guerre byzantine chez les poètes Abū Tammām et Buḥturī*, in A. A. Vassiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, *La dynastie d'Amorium*, Bruxelles 1935, 397-403).

Even in Abū Tammām's lifetime opinions were divided upon the aesthetic merit of his poetry. The poet Diʿbil, held in awe by reason of his sharp tongue, asserted that one third of his poetry was plagiarized, one third bad, one third good (*Akhbār*, 244). His pupil al-Buḥturī, who held him in the greatest respect, thought Abū Tammām's best verse better than his own best, his bad verse worse than his own bad verse (*Akhbār*, 67). The poet ʿAlī b. al-Djahm (d. 249; *Akhbār*, 61-2) was a friend and admirer of Abū Tammām. From him originates the account of Abū Tammām's first entry into the poets' hall (*ḳubbat al-shuʿarāʾ*) in the mosque of Baghdād (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 249, after al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyāʾ; *Dīwān ʿAlī b. al-Djahm*, intr., 6-7). Long after the poet's death writings were penned both in praise of him and against him; in these works his literary "thefts" also were discussed. Abu l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḳuṭrabullī wrote against him (*al-Muwāzana*, 56), in his favour Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṣūlī, whose *Akhbār Abī Tammām* is at once the oldest and the most circumstantial source for the life of the poet. To his defenders must be added in addition al-Marzūḳī (d. 421) who wrote a *Kitāb al-Intiṣār min Ẓalamat Abī Tammām* (cf. *Oriens*, 1949, 268). The ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī (d. 366/976-7) in his *Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa Khuṣūmih*, Ṣaydā 1331, 58 ff., and al-Āmidī (d. 381) in his *Muwāzana bayn al-Ṭāʾiyyayn Abī Tammām wa 'l-Buḥturī*, Istanbul 1287 (Turkish transl. by Mehmed Weled, Istanbul 1311) weigh up his merits and demerits. Al-Marzubānī (d. 384) in *al-Muwashshaḥ*, Cairo 1343, 303, 329, brings into prominence rather his weak points. Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā in his *al-Shihāb fi 'l-Shayb wa 'l-Shabāb*, Istanbul 1302, defends the poet against al-Āmidī's strictures. The modern reader will follow the judgement of the old critics. Abū Tammām's *ḳaṣīdas* contain, side by side with brilliant conceits which have established the poet's fame, much that is unpleasant. He has a penchant not only for queer words but also for artificial, frequently tortuous, sentence construction, the understanding of which much exercised the Arabic commentators. Unhappy personifications of abstract ideas, affected, far-fetched and unconvincing metaphors harass the reader often for many verses at a stretch till he stumbles on an excellent poetical figure. Added to this is an unfortunate tendency towards paronomasia and subtly-reasoned antithesis, to which he all too frequently sacrifices the clarity and attractiveness of the phrase (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, *Asrār al-Balāgha*, ed. Ritter, 15). The *Dīwān* was collected by al-Ṣūlī (alphabetically), by ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (under subjects), also handed on by al-Sukkarī (*Oriens*, 1949, 268) and others. Unsatisfactory editions Cairo 1299, Beyrut 1889, 1905, 1923, 1934. Index by Margoliouth in *JRAS*, 1905, 763-82. No edition exists as yet of the numerous comtaries, absolutely indispensable for the understanding of his poetry, by al-Ṣūlī, al-Marzūḳī, al-Tibrīzī, Ibn al-Mustawfī (*Akhbār*, intr. 8; H. Ritter, *Philologika*, xiii, in *Oriens*, 1949, 266-9; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, under *Dīwān Abī Tammām*, and Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn fi 'l-Dhayl ʿalā Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, i, Istanbul 1945, 422). [The commentary of al-Tibrīzī is in course of publication in Cairo; vol. i, 1952.]

Abū Tammām collected in addition several anthologies of poetry. The best known is a collection of fragments (*muḳaṭṭaʿāt*) by less known poets, which he made during his involuntary halt in Hamadhān, the *Ḥamāsa*. Edited with the commentary of al-Tibrīzī by G. Freytag, *Hamasae Carmina cum Tebrisii scholiis*, Bonn 1828, Latin transl. 1847-51, reprinted with all the errors Būlāḳ 1284, Cairo 1938. On the numerous commentaries see Brockelmann, i, 134 ff.; H. Ritter, *Philologika*, iii, in *Oriens*, 1949, 246-61; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, s.v. *Ḥamāsa*, and Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, i, 422. Of the other anthologies there are preserved in manuscript the *Ḥamāsa al-Ṣughrā* or *al-Waḥshiyyāt* (see *Oriens*, 1949, 261-2), not to be identified with any of the *Ikhtiyārāt* mentioned by al-Āmidī; and *Ikhtiyār al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Fuḥūl* in Mashhad (see *MMIA*, xxiv, 274). We know only the names of the remainder: *al-Ikhtiyārāt min Shiʿr al-Shuʿarāʾ wa Madḥ al-Khulafāʾ wa Akhdh Djawāʾizihim* (*Fihrist*, 165, *Maʿāhid al-Tanṣīṣ*, 18); *al-Ikhtiyārāt min Ashʿār al-Ḳabāʾil* (*Fihrist*) = *al-Ikhtiyār al-Ḳabāʾilī al-Akbar* and *al-Ikhtiyār al-Ḳabāʾilī* (*Muwāzana*, 23); *Ikhtiyār al-Muḳaṭṭaʿāt*, beginning with *ghazal* (ib.); *al-Ikhtiyār min Ashʿār al-Muḥdathīn* (ib.). Also the *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Akhṭal*, ed. Salhani, Beyrout 1922, derives from him.

Bibliography: Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār Abī Tammām*, ed. Khalīl Maḥmūd ʿAsākir, Muḥ. ʿAbduh ʿAzzām, Naẓīr al-Islām al-Hindī, Cairo 1937; Naẓīr al-Islām, *Die Aḫbār über Abū Tammām von aṣ-Ṣūlī*, Diss. Breslau 1940; *Aghānī*, xv, 100-8; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 248-63; Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Kabīr* (Badrān), iv, 18-26; Ibn al-Anbārī

Nuzha, 213-6; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn*, Cairo, Maṭb. M. ʿAlī Ṣubayḥ, 205-10; alʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-Tanṣīṣ*, Cairo, 18-20; Ibn Khallikān, no. 146; Yūsuf al-Badīʿī, *Hibat al-Ayyām fīmā yataʿallaḳ bi-Abī Tammām*, Cairo 1934; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 1347, i, 322-3; Brockelmann, I, 12, 83-5, S I, 39-40, 134-7, 940, III, 1194; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, Stuttgart 1933, ii, 103-81. (H. Ritter)

ABŪ TĀSHUFĪN I, ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Abī Ḥammū, fifth sovereign of the ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasty. Proclaimed 23 Djumādā I 718/23 July 1318 after the murder of his father Abū Ḥammū I, he exiled to Spain all those of his relatives who could claim the throne and thus freed his hands to lay siege to Constantine and Bidjāya (Bougie) and to make an attempt at extending his kingdom towards the east. The Ḥafṣids, however, allied themselves with the Marīnids and the Marīnid sultan Abu ʾl-Ḥasan seized Abu Tāshufīn's dominions and besieged Tlemcen in 735/1335. Two years later the capital was taken by assault and the king was killed in battle.

Bibliography: see ʿabd al-wādids.

(A. Bel*)

ABŪ TĀSHUFĪN II b. Abī Ḥammū Mūsā, sovereign of the ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasty. Born in Rabīʿ I 752/April-May 1351, he passed his youth in Nedroma. After the flight of Abū Ḥammū II to Tunis, the Marīnid sultan Abū ʿInān sent him to Fez; he returned to Tlemcen only in 760/1359. In spite of his father's concessions to him, his impatience to acceed to the throne drove him to attempts to get rid of Abū Ḥammū. But Abū Ḥammū, put into prison in Oran, escaped; and when sent on pilgrimage, returned triumphantly to Tlemcen. Finally Abū Tāshufīn took command of a Marīnid army which defeated Abū Ḥammū and enabled him to accede to the throne in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 791/Nov. 1389. He remained faithful to his obligations as a vassal of the Marīnids and died on 17 Radjab 795/29 May 1393.

Bibliography: see ʿabd al-wādids.

(A. Bel*)

ABU ʾL-ṬAYYIB [see al-mufaḍḍal].

ABŪ ṬAYYIB [see al-mutanabbī, al-ṭabarī].

ABŪ THAWR Ibrāhīm b. Khālid b. Abi ʾl-Yamān al-Kalbī, prominent jurisconsult and founder of a school of religious law, died in Baghdād in Ṣafar 240/July 854. Living in ʿIrāḳ one generation after al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Thawr seems to have been influenced by al-Shāfiʿī's methodological insistence on the authority of the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, without, however, renouncing the use of *raʾy* [*q.v.*], as had been customary in the ancient schools of law. The later biographers represented this as a conversion on the part of Abū Thawr from the *raʾy* of the ancient ʿIrāḳians to the school of al-Shāfiʿī, and he is, indeed, often counted among the adherents of the Shāfiʿite school. But his opinions, which often diverge from Shāfiʿite doctrine, are not regarded as variants (*wudjūh*) of the doctrine of the school, nor does he, indeed, enjoy a particularly high reputation as a traditionist. Some cautious praise of him as a jurisconsult is attributed to his older contemporary, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. A limited number of Abū Thawr's opinions on religious law are quoted in the works on *ikhtilāf* [*q.v.*], particularly in the two fragments of al-Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf al-Fuḳahāʾ* (ed. Kern, Cairo 1902, and Schacht, Leiden 1933). The school of Abū Thawr was still widely represented in the 4th/10th century, particularly in Armenia and Ādharbaydjān.

Bibliography: *Fihrist* i, 211; ii, 91; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 65 ff.; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, i, 227 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 118 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 93 f.; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 369, 371. (J. Schacht)

ABŪ TURĀB, nickname of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*].

ABŪ ʿUBAYD AL-BAKRĪ, Abd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥ. b. Ayyūb, was, with al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*], the greatest geographer of the Muslim West, and one of the most characteristic representatives of Arab Andalusian erudition in the 5th/11th century.

Although little is known about the details of the life of Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, it is possible to describe the various aspects of his scientific activity, all of which seems to have taken place in his own country; in fact, he appears never to have travelled in the East, or even North Africa, which he nevertheless described so minutely. According to the information which has come down to us, the principal facts of his biography amount to the following: his father, ʿIzz al-Dawla ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bakrī, was the only sovereign (or else the second, after his own father Abū Muṣʿab Muḥ. b. Ayyūb) of the diminutive principality of Huelva (Walba [*q.v.*]) and Saltes (Shalṭīsh [*q.v.*]), founded in 403/1012, at the time of the fall of the Marwānid caliphate of Cordova, on the Atlantic coast of the south of the Iberian peninsula, not far west of Niebla (Labla). In 443/1051, ʿIzz al-Dawla, under the political pressure exerted against him by al-Muʿtaḍid b. ʿAbbād [see ʿabbādids], was forced to give up his principality to the king of Seville, who annexed it to his possessions. Abū ʿUbayd, the exact date of whose birth is unknown, must at this time have been at least thirty. He accompanied his father to Cordova, which was chosen by him for his new place of residence, under the more or less effective protection of its ruler Abu ʾl-Walīd Muḥ. b. Djahwar [cf. djahwarids]. These, anyway, are the particulars given by Ibn Ḥayyān (*al-Matīn*, in Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, ii, reprod. by Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, iii, 240-2, and Dozy, *Abbad.*, i, 252-3), and which there is no reason to doubt, but another source (append. to *al-Bayān*, iii, 299) asserts that Abū ʿUbayd and his father, who died about 456/1064, withdrew to Seville itself, which is not improbable. However that may be, Abū ʿUbayd very quickly became known as a distinguished writer. He was the pupil of the chronicler Abū Marwān b. Ḥayyān and of other masters of repute, and moved in provincial court circles, especially that of the Banū Ṣumādiḥ of Almeria. When he later witnessed the military and political intervention of the Almoravids in Spain, and the successive depositions of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, he had already written most of the numerous works for the preparation of which he had collected innumerable notes. He settled at Cordova, which had been restored by the sultan Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn to the position of capital of al-Andalus: and there he died, full of years, in Shawwāl 487/Oct.-Nov. 1094 (496 according to al-Ḍabbī, who attributes to him the title of *dhu ʾl-wizāratayn*).

Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, to judge by the variety of his works, appears as a perfect type of *mushārik*, having acquired an extensive knowledge of widely different branches of learning. He was principally a geographer, but also at the same time a theologian,

philologist, and botanist. He even cultivated the art of poetry, since certain of his biographers have reproduced some of his bacchic verses, and he has been given the reputation of a confirmed drinker. He has also been depicted as a bibliophile, who preserved his valuable manuscripts in envelopes of fine fabric.

In the religious sphere, Ibn Bashkuwāl attributes to him, without giving the title, a work on the 'signs of the prophetic mission' of the Messenger of God (*fī aʿlām nubuwwat nabiyyinā*). As a philologist, Ibn Khayr (*Fahrasa*, *B A H*, ix-x, 325, 326, 343, 344), attributes to him four works: (1) a criticism of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*], *al-Tanbīh ʿalā Awhām Abī ʿAlī fī Kitāb al-Nawādir*, ed. A. Ṣalḥani, 4 vol., Cairo 1344/1926; cf. Brockelmann, S I, 202; (2) a commentary on the *Amālī* of the same, *Simṭ al-Laʾālī fī Sharḥ al-Amālī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maymanī, Cairo 1354/1936; cf. Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*; (3) a commentary on the verses quoted in *al-Gharīb al-Muṣannaf* of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, entitled *Ṣilat al-Mafṣūl*; (4) a commentary on the collection of proverbs by the same Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām, entitled *Faṣl al-Maḳāl fī Sharḥ Kitāb al-Amthāl* (MSS at Istanbul; cf. *M O*, vii, 123; *Z D M G*, 1910; Brockelmann, S I, 166 f. n.). Lastly we may mention another work, semi-historical, semi-philological, which seems to be lost: *al-Muʾtalaf wa 'l-Mukhtalaf* on the names of the Arab tribes.

The botanical work of Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Nabāt*, also indicated by Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 377, seems not to have been found yet in MS. It has its place, in any case, in the series of Andalusian treatises on descriptive botany, made up of alphabetically-arranged items, and it served as a direct source for the *muḥtasib* and naturalist of the 6th/12th century Ibn ʿAbdūn [*q.v.*] al-Ishbīlī, for the composition of his *ʿUmdat al-Ṭabīb fī Sharḥ al-Aʿshāb* (cf. M. Asín Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances registradas por un botánico anónimo hispano-musulmán*, Madrid-Granada 1943, XXVII and n. 1). This botanical treatise, which Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa described in a few lines (cf. M. Meyerhof, *Esquisse d'histoire de la pharmacologie et botanique chez les Musulmans d'Espagne*, in *al-And.*, 1935, 14; the same, *Un glossaire de matière médicale de Maïmonide*, in *Mém. Inst. d'Égypte*, xli, 1940, XXVII), mainly concentrated, as did that of Ibn ʿAbdūn, on the peninsula of al-Andalus; it was made use of not only by the latter, but also by the naturalists al-Ghāfiḳī and Ibn al-Bayṭār.

Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī's geographical work, on which his renown in the Arab world was mainly based, consists of two books of unequal length and importance; *Muʿdjam mā istaʿdjam* and *al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*. The *Muʿdjam*, which was published by F. Wüstenfeld in an autographed edition (*Das geographische Wörterbuch*, Göttingen, 1876-7; 4 vols, Cairo 1945-51), is a list of toponyms, mostly referring to the Djazīrat al-ʿArab, which occur in the poetry of the *djāhiliyya* and the literature of the *ḥadīth* and the spelling of which had given rise to discussions. This list is preceded by an interesting introduction on the geographical setting of ancient Arabia and the respective habitats of the most important tribes.

As for the *al-Masālik*, the main work of al-Bakrī, we have so far only part of it, in the form of extensive fragments, not all of which have yet been published. Of the introductory volume, which deals with general geography and the Muslim and non-Muslim peoples (MS at Paris, B. N., 5905), the greater part is still unpublished (fragment on the Russians and Slavs published at St. Petersburg in 1878 by A. Kunik and V. Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bekri i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i Slavyanakh*, i; cf. also A. Seippel, *Rerum Normannicorum Fontes Arabici*, Oslo 1896-1928). But the portion which is undoubtedly the most important, that dealing with the Muslim West, has long been known, as far as Africa is concerned, through the edition and French translation (both today very outdated) of MacGuckin de Slane (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Arabic text, Algiers 1857; 2nd ed., Algiers 1910; Fr. tr., *JA*, 1857-8, 2nd ed., Algiers 1910). Before that, in 1831, an abridged translation had been published in Paris by Quatremère (*Not. et extraits*, xii). The author of this article has published some unpublished parts of *al-Masālik* relating to al-Andalus, and identified the quotations included in the historico-geographical compilation entitled *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī al-Sabtī (*La Péninsule ibérique au Moyen-Age*, Leyden 1938, 245-52; cf. also *La 'Description de l'Espagne'* of Aḥmad al-Rāzī, in *And.*, 1953, 100-4), using a MS in the library of the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn at Fez, in which is to be found the most extensive fragment that we yet possess on the description of the Iberian Peninsula.

Following the usual practice of geographers of his own time and preceding centuries, Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī aimed first and foremost at giving his work, as its title, descriptions of 'itineraries and kingdoms', indicates, the form of a roadbook, including an estimate of distances between each town or staging-post. A dry list of names might have been the result, interesting enough, but only a bare outline, if the author had not set upon it his personal stamp and made a discriminating choice among the mass of particulars which he had contrived to collect. These particulars are not only geographical; they concern to a considerable extent political and social history and even ethnography, and this is what gives to the *Masālik* of al-Bakrī, at least as far as the West is concerned, their inestimable value. His was an inquiring and methodical mind, and he thus drew some historical sketches that have never since been equalled: his accounts of the Idrīsids or the Almoravids, for example, still constitute the most reliable basis of our documentation on the first of these dynasties and on the origins of the second. Most of his descriptions of towns are remarkably precise; his toponymic material for the Maghrib, Ifrīḳiya, and the *bilād al-Sūdān* is of a fulness no less worthy of interest.

It goes without saying that, when writing his valuable description of North Africa, Abū ʿUbayd had at his disposal, in his residence at Cordova or Seville, not only the verbal information afforded him by people coming from Ifrīḳiya or the Maghrib but also the work of other authors who had dealt with the same regions. The basic source, which he actually mentions several times in his work, was in fact *al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* by Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Warrāḳ, on the geography of Ifrīḳiya. This man (see AL-WARRĀḲ and R. Brunschvig in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 151-52), who lived for a long time in al-Ḳayrawān before going to settle at Cordova in the reign of the caliph al-Ḥakam II and at his invitation, thus enabled al-Bakrī, who used his work (which now appears to be lost) to furnish us with information that goes back to the 10th century, and on which the geographer could draw at will. Moreover, he doubtless had at his disposal documents of the Cordovan archives

(for example on the heretical sect of the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*]). On the other hand, the fact that he makes no allusion to the intervention of the Almoravids in Spain confirms the indication that al-Bakri finished his *al-Masālik* in 460/1068, i.e. eighteen years before the battle of al-Zallāḳa.

Another source, not less important than al-Warrāḳ's book, was the geographical work of one of Abu ʿUbayd's own masters, Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-ʿUdhrī, a native of Dalias (*Dalāya*, hence his *maʿrifa* Ibn al-Dalāʾī), who died at Almeria in 478/1085 (cf. *Pén. ibér.*, xxiv, n. 2.). This work, which was entitled *Niẓām al-Mardjān*, and was later to be used as a source by al-Ḳazwīnī also, gave much space to the *ʿadjāʾib* [*q.v.*], which were not omitted likewise by al-Bakrī himself. Finally, a further source should be mentioned, of uncertain provenience but which may conceivably be simply another of Abū ʿUbayd's own works: the *Madjmūʿ al-Muftaraḳ*, from which, in their turn, Ibn ʿIdhārī and al-Maḳ-ḳarī were later to make borrowings.

For his documentation on Christian Spain and the rest of Europe, it may be noted finally that Abū ʿUbayd quotes — doubtless, however, through the intermediary of al-ʿUdhrī, since al-Ḳazwīnī also refers to him by the same indirect means — a Jew of Tortosa, Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb al Isrāʾīlī al-Ṭurṭūshī, who lived at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, but whose work (perhaps written in Hebrew, then translated into Arabic or Latin?) appears to be lost.

The parts of al-Bakrī's *Masālik* that have been preserved amply merit a complete critical edition and systematic study. A study of the author's language has also yet to be undertaken; al-Bakrī is, together with the authors of *ḥisba* treatises such as Ibn ʿAbdūn al-Ishbīlī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, and al-Saḳaṭī of Malaga, and authors of treatises on husbandry, the Andalusian writer whose vocabulary contains the greatest number of Hispanicisms. From the point of view of the economic position of the West in the 10th and 11th centuries (data on metrology, the cost of living, commercial relationships and trade in commodities and luxury articles), his work, even in its fragmentary form, provides a mass of information which would give scope for the drawing up of analytical lists and maps, as does the *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ* of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, that other masterpiece, of a somewhat later date, on the historical geography of the Islamic world in the middle ages.

Bibliography: Biographical accounts of al-Bakrī, all short and with little details: Ibu Bash-kuwāl, *Ṣila*, n. 628; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, n. 930; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-Siyarāʾ* (in Dozy, *Corrections* ..., Leyden 1883, 118-23); al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿIḳyān*, 218; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, Cairo 1953, 347-8; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhira*, ii (account reproduced by the preceding); Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 285; Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 52; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ* (*Analectes*), ii, 125. See also Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, n. 125; J. Alemany Bolufer, *La geografía de la Peninsula ibérica en los escritores árabes*, Granada 1921, 45-6; R. Blachère, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes*, Paris 1932, 183, 255 (with a very dubious appreciation on the documentary value and style of al-Bakrī); Lévi-Provençal, *La péninsule ibérique au Moyen Age*, Leyden 1938, xxi-xxiv; Brockelmann, I, 476, S I, 875-6. The accounts by Reinaud, *Intr. à la Géogr. d'Aboulféda*, ciii, and by M. G. de Slane in the preface to his incomplete edition, are today very much out-of-date. Finally, for the materials relating to eastern Europe in the works of al-Bakrī, via his borrowings from Ibrāhīm al-Ṭurṭūshī, see C. E. Dubler, *Abū Ḥāmid al-Granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*, Madrid 1953, 161-2.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

ABŪ ʿUBAYD AL-ḲĀSIM B. SALLĀM (the *nisba* varies between al-Baghdādī, al-Khurāsānī and al-Anṣārī), grammarian, Kurʾānic scholar and lawyer, was born at Harāt about 154/770, his father, of Byzantine descent, being a *mawlā* of the tribe of Azd. He studied first in his native town, and in his early twenties (about 179/795) went to Kūfa, Baṣra and Baghdād where he completed his studies in grammar, *ḳirāʾāt*, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*. In none of these fields did he adhere to one school or group, but chose a middle position in an eclectic way. Returning home he became tutor in two influential families in Khurāsān, and in the year 192/807 was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Ṭarsūs in Cilicia by its governor Thābit b. Naṣr b. Mālik. Abū ʿUbayd remained in office until 210/825 and after some travelling settled for the next ten years in Baghdād, where ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir became his generous patron. In the year 219/834 he performed the pilgrimage and afterwards stayed on at Mecca to die there in 224/838 and to be buried in the house of Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

Twenty titles of Abū ʿUbayd's books are mentioned in the *Fihrist*, several of which have survived in MS. His three main works deal with the *gharīb*, the difficult linguistic passages, especially in the Ḳurʾān and the *ḥadīth*, and are entitled *Gharīb al-Muṣannaf*, *Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān* and *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* respectively. *Gharīb al-Muṣannaf*, the first great dictionary of the Arabic language, is said to consist of 1000 chapters, 1200 *shawāhid* and 17,990 words; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir granted the author a pension as a sign of recognition for it. This and all his other works are based on the previous research of other scholars, but Abū ʿUbayd in using them wrote the standard works on these subjects, which superseded his forerunners and were used and frequently quoted by all the later authors. — Only *al-Amwāl*, Cairo 1353, has been preserved of his works on *fiḳh*, and of his works on *adab* his *al Amthāl*.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 71-2; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 403-16; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 188-98; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 162-6; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, 86; M. J. de Goeje, in *ZDMG*, 1864, 781-814; Brockelmann, I, 106, S I, 166; H. L. Gottschalk, in *Isl.*, 1936, 245-89; A. Spitaler, in *Documenta Islamica Inedita*, Berlin 1952, 1-24 (partial edition of *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān*).

(H. L. Gottschalk)

ABŪ ʿUBAYD ALLĀH Muʿāwiya b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yasār al-Ashʿarī, vizier. Appointed by the caliph al-Manṣūr to the retinue of his son al-Mahdī, he was made vizier on al-Mahdī's accession (158/775). He held the office probably up to 163/779-80, but already in 161/777-8 the accusation of heresy brought against his son Muḥammad, which led to the latter's execution, compromised his position. The enmity of the powerful chamberlain al-Rabīʿ b. Dāʾūd consummated his downfall. Removed from the vizierate and replaced by Yaʿḳūb b. Dāʾūd, he was nevertheless left in the charge of the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* until 167/783-4; he died in 170/786-7.

According to the unanimous witness of the sources, he was a man of the first rank, competent and honest. Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā gives an account of his organizing and administrative achievements, culminating in the reform of the *kharādj*, substituting

for land tax in the *Sawād* of al-ʿIrāḳ a proportional tax on the produce, payable in nature; he is also stated to be the author of a book on this subject.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, Ṭabarī, indexes; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ* (Cairo 1938), 102-118; *Aghānī*, *Tables*; Ibn Khallikān, xi, 88; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī* (Dérenbourg), 246-50; S. Moscati, in *Orientalia*, 1946, 162-4. (S. MOSCATI)

ABŪ ʿUBAYDA MAʿMAR B. AL-MUTHANNĀ, Arabic philologist, born 110/728 in Baṣra, d. 209/824-5 (other dates also in *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* and later works). He was born a *mawlā* of the Ḳurayshite clan of Taym, in the family of ʿUbayd Allāh Maʿmar (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1948, 130); his father or grandfather came originally from Bādjarwān (near al-Raḳḳa in Mesopotamia, less probably the village of the same name in Shirwān) and was said, on dubious authority, to have been Jewish. He studied under the leading philologists of the school of Baṣra, Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ and Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, and composed a number of treatises on points of grammar and philology, none of which have been preserved. Breaking away, however, from the narrow philological interests of his teachers, Abū ʿUbayda took as his field of study everything that had been transmitted on the history and culture of the Arabs. Applying to these scattered oral materials the systematic methods employed in the philological schools, of collecting and grouping together items of the same or similar kinds, he composed some dozens of treatises on points of Arab and early Islamic history and tribal traditions, which served as the starting point and supplied most of the data for all future studies relating to pre-Islamic Arabia. His materials were arranged under general heads and these again by sub-categories, as, for example, in the *Kitāb al-Khayl*, on famous Arab horses, still preserved (ed. Hyderabad 1358). Similarly, materials relating to the tribes were most frequently arranged under the categories of "virtues" (*manāḳib*) and "vices" (*mathālib*); by the latter he gave much offence to the tribal pride of the Arabs, the more so because they provided ammunition for the anti-Arab polemics of the Persian *shuʿūbiyya* [*q.v.*]. Moreover, as a convinced Khāridjite (cf. with Ibn Khallikān, Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1932, i, 273-4; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, i, 120), he had no respect for the contemporary Arab sharīfs, especially the Muhallabids, and publicly exposed their pretensions. For both these reasons he was accused by the opponents of the *shuʿūbiyya* of being a bitter calumniator of the Arabs (*kāna aghra ʾl-nās bi-mashātim al-nās*: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-ʿArab*, in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ* [3], Cairo 1946, 346), but there is little evidence to identify him, as Goldziher and Aḥmad Amīn have done, with the Persian *shuʿūbiyya* — rather, indeed, the contrary (cf. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 243). The accuracy of his scholarship was warmly defended in learned circles (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.* and *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 257), and even his critics were compelled to recognize the depth and many-sidedness of his learning and to utilize his works. Only on the more technical field of Arabic poetry was he held to be inferior to his rival al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*], although it was currently said "The seekers of knowledge, when they attend the instruction of al-Aṣmaʿī buy dung in the market of pearls, but when they attend Abū ʿUbayda's they buy pearls in the dung-market", in allusion to the latter's unclean habits and poor delivery. His abilities as an editor and glossator of poetry have, however, left a monument in his compilation of the *naḳāʾiḍ* of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, transmitted through Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb and al-Sukkarī (ed. A. A. Bevan, Leiden 1905-12). Almost the whole of his life was spent in Baṣra, except for one or two short visits to Baghdād. He was notoriously unwilling to allow the circulation of his books, and an amusing story is told of the stratagem of students in Baghdād to obtain copies of them (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 108). Among the more famous of his pupils were Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, Abū Ḥātim (ibn) al-Sidjistānī, ʿUmar b. Shabba, and the poet Abū Nuwās.

In addition to his compilations of historical traditions and literary materials, Abū ʿUbayda composed several philological works on the Ḳurʾān and the Ḥadīth. His *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* seems to have been the earliest work of its kind; it was a short book and contained no *isnāds* (Ibn Durustawayh in *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 405). More important was *Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, the first known work on *tafsīr* (*madjāz* meaning in this case "interpretation" or "paraphrase"), consisting of brief notes on the meaning of selected words and phrases in the order of the sūras. This work, which was transmitted by his pupil ʿAlī b. al-Mughīra al-Athram, survives in two MSS (edition in preparation in Cairo). Abū ʿUbayda also contributed philological notes to Ibn Hishām for his redaction of the *Sīra* by Ibn Isḥāḳ.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 53-4; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, no. 7210 (xiii, 252-8); Ibn Khallikān, no. 702; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 164-70; *Aghānī*, *Tables*; many other casual references in Arabic works; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* i, 194 sqq. (but see H. A.R. Gibb, in *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen dicata*, Copenhagen 1953, 105 ff.); Brockelmann, I, 103, S I, 162; F. Krenkow, in *Kitāb al-Khayl*, 174-9; E. Mittwoch, *Proelia Arabum paganorum*, Berlin 1899; A. Amīn, *Ḍuḥa ʾl-Islām*, ii, 304-5; Ṭāhā al-Ḥādjirī, *al-Riwāya wa ʾl-Naḳd ʿinda Abī ʿUbayda*, Alexandria 1951. (H. A. R. GIBB)

ABŪ ʿUBAYDA ʿĀMIR B. ʿABD ALLAH B. AL-**DJARRĀḤ**, of the family of Balḥārith, of the Ḳurashite tribe of Fihr, one of the early Meccan converts to Islām, and one of the ten Believers to whom Paradise was promised (see AL-ʿASHARA AL-MUBASHSHARA). He took part in the emigration to Abyssinia, and is said to have been distinguished for courage and unselfishness and to have been given the title of *amīn* by Muḥammad for that reason. He was 41 years of age at the battle of Badr, and took part in the later campaigns, distinguishing himself at Uḥud, and as the commander of several expeditions. He was later sent to Nadjrān to instruct the Yamanite converts, but returned to Medina before the death of Muḥammad and together with ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb played a decisive part in the election of Abū Bakr as Muḥammad's *khalīfa*. After ʿUmar's accession to the Caliphate (13/634) Abū ʿUbayda was despatched to Syria to join the campaigns against the Byzantine forces, and some time later, probably in the year 15/636, was given the supreme command there. After the victory on the Yarmūk in that year, Abū ʿUbayda completed the conquest of northern Syria (Ḥimṣ, Aleppo, Antioch). In 17/638 the caliph himself visited the headquarters of the Syrian army at Djābiya, to regulate the administration of Syria and to give Abū ʿUbayda the support of his authority. Tradition asserts that ʿUmar intended to nominate Abū ʿUbayda as his eventual successor, and when a serious epidemic broke out in Syria in 18/639 he summoned Abū ʿUbayda to Medina. Abū ʿUbayda, however, refused

to leave Syria and himself fell a victim to the plague. He was 58 years of age, and left no descendants. He was clearly a man whose personality impressed his contemporaries, but he is presented by later tradition in a rather colourless fashion.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 297-301; vii/2, 111-2; Ṭabarī, index; *Nasab*, 410, 445; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, i, 100-2; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iii, 84, v, 249; Caetani, *Annali*, i, ii, *passim*; idem, *Chronographia*, A. H. 18, para. 32; C. H. Becker, in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, ii, 1913, 341-6 (= *Islamstud.*, i, 81-7); H. Lammens, *Le "triumvirat" Aboû Bekr. ʿOmar et Aboû ʿObaida*, *MFOB*, 1910, 113 ff. (exaggerated, but contains many references to traditions in later sources).

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ABŪ ʿUBAYDA AL-TAMĪMĪ [see IBĀḌIYYA].

ABU 'L-WAFĀʾ AL-BŪZADJĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤ. B. YAḤYĀ B. ISMĀʿĪL B. AL-ʿABBĀS, one of the greatest Arab mathematicians, very probably of Persian origin, born in Būzadjān in Ḳuhistān, 1 Ramaḍān 328/10 June 1940. His first teachers in mathematics were his uncles Abū ʿAmr al-Mughāzilī and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAnbasa, the former having in his turn studied geometry under Abū Yaḥyā al-Marwazī (or al-Māwardī) and Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ b. Karnīb. In the year 348/959 Abu 'l-Wafāʾ emigrated to ʿIrāḳ, and lived in Baghdād until his death, which took place there in Radjab 388/July 998; according to Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khallikān, who follows him, in 387/997. It was Abu 'l-Wafāʾ who introduced, in 370/980-1, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī to the vizier Ibn Saʿdān, and for whom Abū Ḥayyān wrote his *al-Imtāʿ wa'l-Muʾānasa*.

Of his mathematical and astrononiical works the following are extant: 1. An arithmetic book, entitled *Fīmā yaḥtādj ilayh al-Kuttāb wa'l-ʿUmmāl min ʿIlm al-Ḥisāb*, identical with the *al-Manāzil fi'l-Ḥisāb* mentioned by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī; Woepke published in *JA*, 1855, 246 ff. the titles of the "stations" and of the chapters of the book. — 2. *Al-Kāmil*, probably identical with the *Almadjist* mentioned by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī; certain parts of it have been translated by Carra de Vaux, *JA*, 1892, 408-71. — 3. *Al-Handasa* (in Arabic and Persian), probably the same as the Persian *Book of the geometrical constructions* of the Paris Library, reviewed by Woepke, *JA*, 1855, 218-56, 309-59; the latter is of the opinion that this book was not written by Abu 'l-Wafāʾ himself, but by one of his pupils summing up his lectures. (See also H. Suter, in *Abh. z. Gesch. der Naturwiss. u. d. Med.*, Erlangen 1922, 94 ff.) — Nothing unfortunately has remained of his commentaries to Euclid, Diophantus and al-Khʷārizmī, nor of his astronomical tables called *al-Wāḍiḥ*; but the tables called *al-Zīdj al-Shāmil*, in Florence, Paris and London, of an unknown author, are very likely an adaptation from Abu 'l-Wafāʾ's tables.

The chief merit of Abu 'l-Wafāʾ consists in the further development of trigonometry; it is to him that we owe, in spherical trigonometry, for the right-angled triangle, the substitution, for the perfect quadrilateral with the proposition of Menelaus, of the so called "rule of the four magnitudes" (sine a : sine c = sine A : 1), and the tangent theorem (tan. a : tan. A = sine b : 1); from these formulae he further infers : cos. c = cos. a. cos. b. For the oblique-angled spherical triangle he probably first established the sine proposition (cf. Carra de Vaux, loc. cit., 408-40). We are also indebted to him for the method of calculation of the sine of 30′, the result of which agrees up to 8 decimals with its real value (Woepke, in *JA*, 1860, 296 ff.). His geometrical constructions, which are partly based on Indian models, are also of great interest (Woepke, *JA*, 1855, 218-56). On the other hand, the merit of introducing tangents, cotangents, secants and cosecants into trigonometry does not belong to him, as these functions were already known by Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib. Neither was he the discoverer of the variation of the moon, as asserted by L. A. Sedillot in 1836. (A passionate dispute followed between Sedillot and Chasles on the one side and Biot, Munk and Bertrand on the other, until Carra de Vaux, *JA*, 1892, 440-71, elucidated the truth of the matter.)

Bibliographie: *Fihrist*, 266, 283; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 287; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 97; Ibn Khallikān, no. 681 (transl. de Slane, iii, 320); Abu 'l-Faradj (Ṣālḥānī), 315; Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Gesch. d. Mathematik*², i, 698 ff.; A. v. Braunmühl, *Vorlesungen über Gesch. d. Trigon.* Leipzig 1900, i, 54 ff.; Suter. 71, Nachtr. 166; idem, *Abh. zur Gesch. d. mathem. Wissensch.*, vi, 39; Nallino, *Scritti*, v, 272, 275, 336-7; Brockelmann, I, 255, S I, 400; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 666-7.

(H. SUTER*)

ABŪ YAʿAZZĀ (or YAʿZĀ) YALANNŪR B. MAYNŪN, sprung from a sub-Atlantic Berber tribe (Dukkāla, Hazmīra or Haskūra), famous Moroccan saint of the 6th/12th century. After living for a time at Fez, where his *zāwiya* in the al-Blīda quarter (a dialect form of *al-Bulayda*) is still frequented, he settled in a village of the Middle Atlas, half-way between Rabat and Ḳaṣabat Tādlā, Tāghyā, which is today a small administrative centre bearing the name of the saint, as pronounced now in that region: Mūlāy Būʿazzā. He is said to have been the disciple of the patron saint of Azammūr Abū Shuʿayb Ayyūb b. Saʿīd al-Ṣinhādjī (in the vernacular Mūlāy Būshʿīb), and himself to have had as pupil the famous Abū Madyan [*q.v.*] al-Ghawth. He died of plague on 1 Shawwāl 572/2 April 1177 in his hermitage at Tāghyā, where he led an ascetic life, among adepts of his ṣūfī doctrine. His funerary *zāwiya* is the object of an annual pilgrimage (*mawsim*): it was built and decorated at the end of the 17th century by the order of the ʿAlawī sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl.

Apart from a long notice on him by al-Tādilī in his *al-Tashawwuf ilā Ridjāl al-Taṣawwuf*, Abū Yaʿazzā was the subject of a monograph, entitled *al-Muʿzā fī Manāḳib Abī Yaʿzā*, by a Moroccan ṣūfī author, Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ṣawmaʿī, who died in 1013/1604. See also E. Lévi-Provençal, *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au Moyen Age*, Rabat 1934, 77.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, Fās 1309, 354; Muḥ al-ʿArabī al-Fāsī, *Mirʾāt al-Maḥāsin*, Fās 1324, 199; Yūsī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Fās 1317, 117; Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fās 1316, i, 172-175; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique* (Schefer), ii, 30; L. Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVIᵉ siècle*, Algiers 1906, 37; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 239-40.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ABŪ YAʿḲŪB AL-KHURAYMĪ, ISḤĀḲ B. ḤASSĀN B. ḲŪHĪ, Arab poet, died probably under the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, about 206/821. The scion of a noble family of Sogdiana, which he sometimes mentions with pride (Yāḳūt, v, 363), al-Khuraymī (the form al-Khuzaymī is erroneous) derived his *nisba* from his being a *mawlā*, not directly of Khuraym al-Nāʿim, as most of his biographers

have it, but of his descendants, viz. Khuraym b. ʿĀmir and his son ʿUthmān (see Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 434-7; v, 126-8). He seems to have lived in Mesopotamia, Syria, al-Baṣra, where he frequented dissolute poets such as Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, Muṭīʿ b. Iyās etc. (*Aghānī*[1], v, 170, xiii, 82), and finally in Baghdād. In Baghdād he was connected with the entourage of al-Rashīd (*Aghānī*[1], xii, 21-2) and especially with the Barmakids Yaḥyā (al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 326), al-Faḍl (al-Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ*, 150r) and Djaʿfar (*Aghānī*[1], xii, 21-2), as well as with their secretaries al-Ḥasan b. Baḥbāḥ al-Balkhī and Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Ziyād (Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, 103; al-Djahshiyārī, 118r, 170r). During the conflict between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, he took the part of the former (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 462-3) and composed during the siege of Baghdād a long *ḳaṣīda* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 873-80) in which he described the destruction of the city and besought al-Maʾmūn to put an end to the fratricidal war.

The work of al-Khuraymī, known even in the Maghrib (cf. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr* (Z. Mubārak), iv, 201; Ibn Sharaf, *Intiḳād* (Pellat), Algiers 1953, index) was no doubt more important than would appear from the *ḳasīda* quoted above and from verses scattered in books of history and *adab*. Though he composed some satires, some of which were sung by ʿAllawayh (Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, 105; *Aghānī*, x, 120-35), al-Khuraymī is in the foremost place an author of panegyrics (the choice of their object being dictated by self-interest) and of dirges on persons with whom he was connected, especially Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Ziyād and the members of Khuraym's family (Ibn ʿAsākir, loc. cit.). At the end of his life, the loss of his second eye (he had been one-eyed before and is sometimes called al-Aʿwar) inspired him to moving verses (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], iii, 113, vii, 131-2; *Aghānī*, xv, 109; al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-Himyān*, 71).

The critics admit al-Khuraymī's talent and state that his poetry was especially enjoyed by the secretaries of the bureaux—no doubt because of his non-Arab origin; though he does not seem to have played a role among the Shuʿūbīs.

Bibliography: In addition to reff. in the article: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (Sandūbī), i, 105 and *passim*; idem, *Bukhalāʾ* (Ḥādjirī), 328 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 542-6; idem, *ʿUyūn*, i, 229, ii, 129; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *al-Waraḳa*, Cairo 1953, index; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 138-9; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940, viii, 146; *Fihrist*, index; ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, i, 74, 279, ii, 175, 197; idem, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 345; Thaʿālibī, *Khāṣṣ al-Khāṣṣ*, Tunis 1293, 97; Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, iii, 286-94; A. Amīn, *Ḍuḥa 'l-Islām*, i, 64-5; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 37-8; Brockelmann, I, 111-2. (Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ YAʿḲŪB Isḥāḳ b. Aḥmad al-**SIDJZĪ**, Ismāʿīlī dāʿī and one of the sect's most important authors. According to Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, MS Brit. Mus., Add. 7628, fol. 277r), "after that time"—viz. the execution of al-Nasafī in Bukhārā, 331/942—"Isḥāḳ-i Sidjzī, nicknamed Khayshafūdj, fell into the hands of the *amīr* Khalaf b. Isḥāḳ (sic MS, read Aḥmad) Sidjzī". (Khalaf b. Aḥmad, of the "second" Ṣaffārid dynasty, ruled 349-99.) This probably implies that Abū Yaʿḳūb was killed by the *amīr* Khalaf. (According to W. Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, 119, note 1, his book *al-Iftikhār* must be dated, by internal evidence—not, however, specified—after 360/971.) At any rate, the usual statement that Yaʿḳūb was executed in 331 in Bukhārā together with al-Nasafī, turns out to be erroneous. (The nickname Khayshafūdj for Abū Yaʿḳūb—read conjecturally, as there are no points in the MSS; it is probably the word for 'cotton-seed', cf. Dozy, i, 417—occurs also in al-Bustī's refutation of Ismāʿīlism, MS Ambrosiana, coll. Griffini 41, to be analysed by the present writer.)

Of the many surviving books of Abū Yaʿḳūb, the principal one of which seems to be *al-Iftikhār*, only one, the *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, has been published (by H. Corbin, Teheran 1949), not in the Arabic original, which is lost, but according to a Persian version. A close study of Abū Yaʿḳūb's works is absolutely necessary, as he is our main authority for the doctrines of the philosophical wing of Ismāʿīlism in the 4th/10th century. It seems that the system expounded by Abū Yaʿḳūb was on the whole based on that of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*], who seems to have been the one who introduced Neoplatonic philosophy into Ismāʿīlism about 300 A.H. (Abū Yaʿḳūb composed a book, unfortunately lost, in defence of al-Nasafī's main work, *al-Maḥṣūl*, against the attacks of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī.) However, while the system of al-Nasafī can only be reconstructed, from sparse quotations, in its main lines, the preserved books of Abū Yaʿḳūb allow us to study the system, in the form exposed by him, in all desirable detail.

Bibliography: Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 267; Bīrūnī, *Hind*, 32; W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, 33-5; idem, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, index.—It is doubtful if Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjzī is the same person as Abū Yaʿḳūb, *dāʿī* of Rayy about the middle of the 4th/10th century, mentioned in *Fihrist*, 189, 190. (S. M. Stern)

ABŪ YAʿḲŪB YŪSUF b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, second ruler of the Muʾminid [*q.v.*] (Almohad) dynasty, reigned 558-80/1163-84. He succeeded to the throne by a coup d'état, in spite of the official proclamation of his elder brother Muḥammad as crown-prince in 549/1154. It is true that Muḥammad ruled for about two months, a fact that has been passed over in silence by almost all the historians of the dynasty; but the powerful vizier ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, alleging that his father, four days before his death, had ordered the name of the heir-presumptive to be suppressed in the *khuṭba*, and that he had declared to himself (ʿUmar) on his death-bed that he wished Yūsuf to succeed him, summoned Yūsuf in all haste from Seville, where he had resided as governor for the last six years, and had him proclaimed by the *shaykhs* and the army, in Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ (Rabat), as the new caliph.

The accession of Yūsuf was by no means received with unanimous approval. His brother ʿAlī, governor of Fez, who went to bury his father in Tīnmallal, protested against this arbitrary nomination, but died mysteriously on his return from the Atlas. Two other brothers, ʿAbd Allāh, governor of Bidjāya, who died shortly afterwards by poison, and ʿUthmān, governor of Cordova, also refused to recognize him. Thus Yūsuf did not dare to take the caliphal title of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, but confined himself for five years to the title of *amīr al-muslimīn*.

Establishing himself in Marrākush, after dismissing the enormous army concentrated by his father in Rabat, Yūsuf had to suppress a revolt that broke out among the Ghumāra, between Ceuta and Alcázarquivir, while the *sayyids* ʿUmar and ʿUthmān were leading a vigorous campaign in al-Andalus against Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] and his Christian mercenaries. Invading his territory, they defeated his army in 560/1165, ten miles outside Murcia. The

city resisted, however, and preserved its independence for another five years.

When the hostile *sayyids* had submitted or had been eliminated, Ibn Mardanīsh had been defeated and the revolt of the Ghumāra had been suppressed, Yūsuf assumed in 563/1168 the caliphal title. Yet at the very moment that his proclamation was celebrated, the warlike little state of Portugal caused him grave concern. Giraldo sem Pavor, the famous captain of Afonso Henriques, captured the towns of Evora, Trujillo, Cáceres, Montanchez, Serpa and Juromenha, and laid siege, together with his king, to Badajoz, which could be saved only by the the intervention of Ferdinand II of Leon, the ally of the Almohads.

The problem of Ibn Mardanīsh in the Levante resolved itself almost spontaneously. Ibn Hamushkū, lieutenant and father-in-law of Ibn Mardanīsh, quarrelled with him and submitted to the Almohads. Yūsuf then mobilized all his forces and crossed the Straits. Murcia was regularly besieged, Yūsuf conducting the operations from his headquarters in Cordova. The city could not be taken, but the troops of Ibn Mardanīsh deserted him one after the other and his cruelty lost him his last partisans. He died of chagrin, seeing the whole of his work undone (567/1172). His eldest son Hilāl and all his brothers soon joined the doctrine of the *tawḥīd* and submitted to Yusuf, who received them well and admitted them into his council.

When the latter came to Seville, they suggested to Yūsuf to lay siege to Huete (Wabdha), which had been recently repopulated by Christians and had become a menace to Cuenca and the frontier of the Levante. Yūsuf left Seville, took Vilches and Alcaraz, and marching through the plain of Albacete, reached Huete in July. The siege at once revealed the caliph's lack of energy and the hesitant and unwarlike spirit of his troops, who failed completely. It seemed that the besieged, who withstood courageously the Almohad attacks, would have to surrender owing to lack of water, but violent summer storms filled their cisterns and threw the enemy's camp into disorder. Owing to lack of food and the approach of the Castilian army, the Almohads lifted the siege and returned, via Cuenca, Játiva, Elche and Orihuela, to Murcia; there the army was disbanded.

Yusuf rested in Seville during the winter of 568/1172-3. But the count Jimeno "the hunchback" (*al-aḥdab*), who, with the men of Avila, had caused severe damage in the valley of the Guadalquivir, penetrated, in Shaʿbān 568/April 1173, into the region of Ecija and took enormous booty. The troops that had come back from Huete were collected again, and the indefatigable Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Īntī [*q.v.*], together with the two brothers of the caliph, Yaḥyā and Ismāʿīl, overtook the count near Caracuel, defeated and killed him. Subsequently, Badajoz was furnished with supplies and the whole left bank of the Tagus ravaged, from Talavera to Toledo; in consequence, Afonso Henriques, on behalf of Portugal, and the count Nuño de Lara, on behalf of Castile, were compelled to ask for and to sign an armistice for five years. The winter of 569/1173-4 was spent in resettling and fortifying Beja, in the Algarve, which had been ruined and evacuated two years before.

Later, Yūsuf celebrated with splendour his marriage with a daughter of Ibn Mardanīsh, and during the whole year of 570/1175 did not leave Seville. This second stay of Yūsuf in al-Andalus had already lasted almost five years when he suddenly left for Marrākush.

At this time a severe epidemic was raging over the whole empire. Yūsuf lost several of his brothers and he himself remained ill for a long time while Alfonso VIII was besieging Cuenca and, after nine months, in October 1177, forced this famous fortress to surrender. The garrisons of Cordova and Seville tried to relieve it by a diversionary move towards Talavera and Toleda, but with no practical results.

After the loss of Cuenca, Yūsuf, who had recovered his health, consulted with his brothers, the governors of Cordova and Seville, on ways and means to cut short the ever-increasing agressiveness of the Christians. The armistice with Portugal had expired and the crown-prince, Sancho, earned his spurs by invading the valley of the lower Guadalquivir, attacking Triana, then Niebla and the whole of the Algarve. Beja had again to be evacuated.

Yūsuf found no other way to withstand these attacks but to transport to Morocco and al-Andalus the Arabs of Ifrīḳiya, but seeing that they were becoming more and more turbulent, under the leadership of ʿAlī, a descendant of the Banu 'l-Rand, lords of Ḳafṣa [*q.v.*] (Gafsa), who had revolted there, he took the field to stifle that dangerous centre of dissidence and to force the Arabs to join the holy war in Spain. He left Marrākush for Ifrīḳiya, and after a siege of three months took Ḳafṣa, in the winter of 576/1180-1. ʿAlī, surnamed al-Ṭawīl, capitulated and the Riyāḥ pretended to submit. Only a small section of them, however, followed Yūsuf; the greater part remained in Ifrīḳiya, ready to support any attempt at revolt against the Almohads, and to lend assistance to Karāḳūsh [*q.v.*] and the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*].

In the meantime, in the Iberian peninsula, an advance of Alfonso VIII towards Ecija and the taking of Santafila, near Lora del Rio, coincided with a Portuguese invasion towards San Lucar la Mayor, Aznalfarche and Niebla, and with the revolt in the Anti-Atlas of the Banū Wāwazgīt, who occupied the silver mine of Zadjundar. The caliph had to go in person to subdue the rebels, while Ibn Wānūdīn led a razzia against Talavera. Finally Yūsuf, after undertaking the extension of Marrākush to the southward and enlarging the walls during the summer of 579/1183—an enterprise continued later by his son, Yaʿḳūb, by the building of the imperial quarter of al-Ṣāliḥa—decided, in spite of the discouraging example of Huete, to engage all his forces in a campaign designed to put a brake to the audacity of the Portuguese.

The preparations for the expedition and the concentration of the troops were very ample, but also took a long time. In May, Castille and Leon had concluded the peace of Fresno-Lavandera and engaged themselves to fight together against the Muslims—Ferdinand on his part renouncing his old alliance with the Almohads. Three months later, Yūsuf started collecting his troops. On 16 Rabīʿ I 580/27 June 1184, he appeared before Santarem (Shantarīn). The Portuguese had had about ten months to prepare the defence of the fortress, almost impregnable without a long siege. It cost the Almohads much trouble to take the suburb near the river, and at the end of a week's useless efforts and tenacious resistance, the approach of Ferdinand II with his Leonese spread terror in the Almohad army which, in panic, re-crossed the river. The caliph was mortally wounded when raising camp and died near Evora, on the road to Seville, on 18 Rabīʿ II 580/29 July 1184.

Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf was considered as the most

gifted of the Almohad caliphs. The son of a Maṣmūdī woman—the daughter of the *ḳāḍī* Ibn ʿImrān—and born in the heart of the Atlas, in Tīnmallal, he was instructed in Marrākush in the doctrine of the *tawḥīd*. Nevertheless, in spite of his Maghribi birth and education, his long stay in Seville, where he arrived at the age of seventeen years, made of him an Andalusian litterateur as refined as one of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*. Surrounded by famous philosophers, physicians and poets, he perfected his literary knowledge and developed his artistic taste. Seduced by the charm of Seville, he gave it back the title of capital of al-Andalus, which had been taken away by his father at the end of his reign, and endowed it with numerous monuments and public works. He took pleasure in taking part in the scientific meetings adorned by men like Ibn Ṭufayl, Ibn Rushd and Ibn Zuhr, who, encouraged by him, produced their most celebrated works.

At the same time, thanks to the terror with which his father had imposed his authority, this friend of scholarship was able to enjoy an absolute power in the Maghrib. Ifrīḳiya was still under his control and the dangerous enclave of Ibn Mardanīsh in Murcia disappeared. Yet in spite of appearances, the ceaseless war against the Christians in al-Andalus made manifest his incapacity as a military leader, the low morale of his enormous armies and the inefficiency of his commissariat. The small Christian states of the Peninsula, though divided by internal quarrels, could, in spite of their lack of men and resources, inflict on him the severest reverses. His urgent desire to pursue the *djihād* did not suffice to check the Christians' drive, and led to his death before the Portuguese castle of Santarem.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, iv, transl. Huici, Tetuan 1953, 1-84; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib* (Dozy), 169 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, i, 318 ff.; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, Fez, 130 ff.; *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya* (Allouche), 131, transl. Huici, 188; R. Dozy, *Recherches*³, i, 167, ii, 443-80; *Primera Crónica General* (R. Menéndez Pidal), i, 675; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, 126-214; da Silva Tarouca, *Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis de Portugal*, i, 99 ff. (A. Huici Miranda)

ABU L-YAḲẒĀN MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**AFLAḤ** [see RUSTAMIDES].

ABŪ YAʿLĀ B. AL-**FARRĀʾ** [see IBN AL-FARRĀʾ].

ABŪ YAZĪD (BĀYAZĪD) ṬAYFŪR B. ʿĪSĀ B. SURŪSHĀN AL-**BISṬĀMĪ**, one of the most celebrated Islamic mystics. With the exception of short periods, during which he was obliged to live far from his home town owing to the hostility of orthodox theologians, he spent his life in Bisṭām in the province of Ḳūmis. There he died in 261/874 or 264/877-8. The Ilkhānid Uldjaytu Muḥammad Khudābanda is reputed to have had a dome erected over his grave in the year 713/1313. He wrote nothing, but some five hundred of his sayings have been handed down. In part they are extremely daring and imply a state of mind in which the mystic has an experience of himself as of one merged with the deity and turned into God (*ʿayn al-djamʿ*). They were collected and handed down by his circle and people who visited him, in the first place by his disciple and attendant Abū Mūsā (I) ʿĪsā b. Ādam, son of his elder brother Ādam. From him the celebrated ṣūfī of Baghdād, al-Djunayd, received sayings of this nature in Persian and translated them into Arabic (*Nūr*, 108, 109, 122). The chief traditionist from Abū Mūsā is his son Mūsā b. ʿĪsā, known as "ʿAmmī", from whom the tradition was handed down by "the lesser Ṭayfūr" b. ʿĪsā, whose place in the family genealogy is not quite clear, and by other traditionists. Among the visitors who recorded sayings of Abū Yazīd must be named in the first place Abū Mūsā (II) al-Dabīlī, of Dabīl in Armenia (*Nūr*, 55) and Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Harawī, known as Istanba (Satanba), a pupil of Ibrāhīm b. Adham (*Ḥilya*, x, 43-4) and the celebrated Ṣūfī Aḥmad b. Khiḍrōya who visited him on the pilgrimage. Abū Yazīd was a friend of Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī. Djunayd wrote a commentary on his utterances, portions of which are preserved in *al-Lumaʿ* of al-Sarrādj. The most circumstantial source on Abū Yazīd's life and sayings is the *Kitāb al-Nūr fī Kalimāt Abī Yazīd Ṭayfūr*, by Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥ. b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sahl al-Sahlagī al-Bisṭāmī, born 389/998-9, died 476/984 (not quite satisfactory edition by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Shaṭaḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, i, Cairo 1949). Amongst al-Sahlagī's authorities the most important are: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīrāzī Ibn Bābōya, the celebrated biographer of al-Ḥallādj, died 442/1050, whom al-Sahlagī met in the year 419 or 416 (*Nūr*, 138) and Shaykh al- Mashāʾikh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Dāstānī (Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, ch. xii). The *al-Ḳaṣd ilā Allāh* of the pseudo-Djunayd contains a legendary embellishment of Abū Yazīd's "Journey to Heaven" (R. A. Nicholson, *An early Arabic version of the Miʿrāj of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī*, in *Islamica*, 1926, 402-15).

Abū Yazīd's teacher in ṣūfism was a mystic who was ignorant of Arabic, by name Abū ʿAlī al-Sindī, whom he had to teach the Ḳurʾān verses necessary for prayer, but who in return introduced him to the *the* Unio Mystica. It is not impossible that Indian influences may have affected Abū Yazīd through him. Abū Yazīd was, in contrast for instance with the later ṣūfīs Abū Isḥāḳ al-Kāzarūnī and Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr, a wholly introvert ṣūfī. He did not exercise, as they did, a social activity (*khidmat al-fuḳarāʾ*), yet was ready to save humanity, by vicarious suffering, from hell. He even finds words to criticize the infernal punishment meted out to the damned, who are, after all, but a handful of dust. The "numinous" sense is extremely highly developed in him, together with a sense of horror and awe before the Deity, in whose presence he always felt himself an unbeliever, just about to lay aside the girdle of the magians (*zunnār*). His passionate aspiration is aimed at absolutely freeing himself through systematic work upon himself ("I was the smith of my own self": *ḥaddād nafsī*), of all obstacles separating him from God (*ḥudjub*), with the object of "attaining to Him". He describes this process in extremely interesting autobiographical sayings with partly grandiose images. The "world" (*dunyā*), "flight from the world" (*zuhd*), "worship of God" (*ʿibādāt*), miracles (*karāmāt*), *dhikr*, even the mystic stages (*maḳāmāt*) are for him no more than so many barriers holding him from God. When he has finally shed his "I" in *fanāʾ* "as snakes their skin" and reached the desired stage, his changed self-consciousness is expressed in those famous hybrid utterances (*shaṭaḥāt*) which so scandalized and shocked his contemporaries: "*Subḥānī! Mā aʿẓama shaʾnī*"—"Glory be to me! How great is My majesty!"; "Thy obedience to me is greater than my obedience to Thee"; "I am the throne and the footstool"; "I am the Well-preserved Tablet"; "I saw the Kaʿba walking round me"; and so on. In meditation he made flights into the supersensible

world; these earned him the censure that he claimed to have experienced a *mi'rādj* in the same way as the Prophet. He was in the course of them decorated by God with His Singleness (*waḥdāniyya*) and clothed with His "I-ness" (*ananiyya*), but shrank from showing himself in that state to men; or flew with the wings of everlastingness (*daymūmiyya*) through the air of "no-quality" (*lā-kayfiyya*) to the ground of eternity (*azaliyya*) and saw the tree of "one-ness" (*aḥadiyya*), to realise that "all that was illusion" or that it "was himself" who was all that, etc. In such utterances he appears to have reached the ultimate problem of all mysticism. A later legend makes him solve with ease conundrums put to him in a Christian monastery, thus effecting the wholesale conversion of the monastery to Islam.

Bibliography: Sarrādj, *Luma'*, ed. Nicholson, 380-93 and indexes; Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1953, 67-74; Anṣārī Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, MS Nāfidh Pasha 425, 38a-41b; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. Nassau Lees, 62 ff.; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, x, 33-42; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1318, 16-7; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, ch. xi, no. 12; 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Shaṭaḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, i, *Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī*, Cairo 1949—contains the *Kitāb al-Nūr* of Sahlagī, the relevant excerpts from Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī's *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, the *Ṭabaḳāt* of al-Sulamī and the legendary story about the monks. (This last is treated by A. J. Arberry, *A Bisṭāmī legend*, *JRAS* 1938, 89-91. It also exists in Turkish, MS Eyyūb Mihrshāh Sulṭān, 202 and 443; Fātiḥ 5334; in Arabic, Fātiḥ 5381.) Rūzbihān Baḳlī, *Sharḥ al-Shaṭḥiyyāt*, MS Shehid 'Alī Pasha 1342, 14b-26b; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 364 ff.; 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, ed. Nicholson, 134 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1275, i, 339; Nūr Allāh Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-Mu'minīn*, m. 6; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-Djannāt*, 338-41; R. A. Nicholson, in *JRAS*, 1906, 325 ff.; L. Massignon, *Essai . . . mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, 243-56. Picture of his tomb in Ṣanī' al-Dawla Muḥ. Ḥasan Khān, *Maṭla' al-Shams*, Teheran 1301, i, 69-70; E. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Berlin 1917, 69.

(H. RITTER)

ABŪ YAZĪD MAKHLAD B. KAYDĀD **AL-NUKKĀRĪ**, Khāridjite leader (belonging to the Ibāḍi al-Nukkār [*q.v.*]), who by his revolt shook the Fāṭimid realm in North Africa to its foundations. His father, a Zanāta Berber merchant from Taḳyūs (or Tūzar) in the district of Ḳasṭīliya, bought in Tadmakat a slave girl called Sabīka, who bore him Abū Yazīd about 270/883 (apparently in the Sūdān). Abū Yazīd studied the Ibāḍī *madhhab* and became a schoolmaster in Tāhart. At the time of the victory of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī he moved to Taḳyūs and started, in 316/928, his anti-government propaganda. After a first arrest, when he was, however, immediately released, he went to the Awrās mountain among the Hawwāra clan of the Banū Kamlān, among whom he gained a large following (they remained to the end his staunchest supporters); the Nukkārī *imām* Abū 'Ammār al-A'mā ceded to him the leadership. Abū Yazīd was arrested in Tūzar, but Abū 'Ammār broke into the prison and liberated him. He spent a year in the district of Sumāṭa, after which he returned to the Awrās.

In 332/943 he started his revolt. He took Tabissa and Marmādjanna (where he received as a present his favourite riding donkey, whence his surname *ṣāḥib al-ḥimār*), al-Urbus (Laribus; 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 332), Bādja (13 Muḥarram 333), and entered al-Ḳayrawān on 23 Ṣafar, executing the Fāṭimid commander Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ and the *ḳāḍī* of the city. The Sunnīs of al-Ḳayrawān were at first not unsympathetic to one who, though a heretic himself, liberated them from Fāṭimid rule (for the attitude of the Mālikī *fuḳahā'* cf. Abū Bakr al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-Nufūs*, analyzed by H. R. Idris, in *REI*, 1936, 80-7; Abu 'l-'Arab, ed. Ben Cheneb (*Classes des Savants de l'Ifrīqiya*), introd., viii f., xvi); but the exactions of the Berbers alienated them more and more. On the other hand the stricter sectarians became not a little dissatisfied when they saw their leader abandon his former simple habits, wear silken garments and mount a thoroughbred horse.

Leaving his son Faḍl and Abū 'Ammār in al Kayrawān, Abū Yazīd engaged and defeated, on 12 Rabī' I, the Fāṭimid general Maysūr (whom he killed) and approached al-Mahdiyya. After an attempt to take the city by storm (3 Djumādā II), during which he reached the *muṣallā* (according to a celebrated Fāṭimid legend, it had been foretold by al-Mahdī that a future, very dangerous, rebel would reach that *muṣallā*, but would not get farther), he laid siege to it. After repeated attempts throughout Djumādā II, Radjab and Shawwāl to storm the city, and after counterattacks by the besieged in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 333 and Ṣafar 334, Abū Yazīd withdrew to al-Ḳayrawān. He made repentance for his luxury and returned to his former simple life; and so the Berbers again flocked to his standard. Heavy fighting went on round Tūnis (which changed hands several times) and Bādja; in Rabī' II Ayyūb, a son of Abū Yazīd, was seriously defeated by the Fāṭimid general al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī but soon took his revenge. Al-Ḥasan retired to the Kutāma country, and established himself firmly (taking Tīdjis and Bāghāya) in the rear of Abū Yazīd. On 6 Djumādā II Abū Yazīd laid siege to Sūsa. Al-Ḳā'im died on 13 Shawwāl, and a small cavalry detachment sent out from al-Mahdiyya by his successor, al-Manṣūr, succeeded in routing Abū Yazīd before Sūsa (21 Shawwāl), so that he hastily returned to al-Ḳayrawān. In the meantime, the populace of al-Ḳayrawān had risen against Abū 'Ammār and now excluded Abū Yazīd from the city. Al-Manṣūr entered al-Ḳayrawān on 23 Shawwāl; after several futile attacks on the Fatimid army entrenched in the city (Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 334, Muḥarram 335) and after a heavy battle on 13 Muḥarram, Abū Yazīd withdrew towards the west. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī moved against some of the remaining garrisons of Abū Yazīd (such as that in Bādja) and joined the army of al-Manṣūr. The fleet of the Umayyad admiral Ibn Rumāḥis, which was on its way to Ifrīḳiya, turned back on the news of Abū Yazīd's rout. (For the embassies of Abū Yazīd to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, cf. also Ibn 'Idhārī, ii, 228 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 103-4.)

Abū Yazīd fled westwards, al-Manṣūr close on his heels. Al-Manṣūr left al-Ḳayrawān on 26 Rabī' I, reached (via Sabība and Marmādjanna) Bāghāya, and from there pursued Abū Yazīd to Billizma, Ṭubna and Biskra (which he reached on 5 Djumādā I). From there he returned to Ṭubna, defeated Abū Yazīd near Maḳḳara (12 Djumādā I) and entered al-Masīla. Abū Yazīd fled to Djabal Sālāt; when al-Manṣūr searching for him in vain in that wild country, went westwards to the Ṣinhādja country, Abū Yazīd, in the rear of al-Manṣūr, besieged al-Masīla. Al-Manṣūr returned and entered al-Masīla on 5 Radjab, on which Abū Yazīd took refuge in the mountains of 'Aḳār and Kiyāna. Leaving al-

Masīla on 10 Shaʿbān, al-Manṣūr defeated Abū Yazīd in a heavy battle; in Ramaḍān, he again defeated Abū Yazīd, who retired to the fortress of Kiyāna (overlooking what was later to be Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād). On 2 Shawwāl al-Manṣūr besieged the fortress, which was entered on 22 Muḥarram 336; at night, the last remaining warriors carried Abū Yazīd and Abū ʿAmmār from the citadel. Abū ʿAmmār was killed, while Abū Yazīd had a fall and was captured. The curious conversation that passed between al-Manṣūr and his captive has been recorded. Abū Yazīd died of his wounds in 27 Muḥarram/ 19 August 947. His body, stuffed with straw, was exposed to the insults of the mob in al-Mahdiyya. Faḍl, the son of Abū Yazīd, gave some further trouble in the Awrās and the district of Ḳafṣa, till he was defeated and killed in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 336. Other sons of Abū Yazīd found a shelter at the court of the Umayyads in Cordova.

Bibliography: The main source is a contemporary Fāṭimid chronicle of which the substance has been preserved in Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, second half of vol. v. The same chronicle was used by Ibn al-Raḳīḳ in his lost history of Ifrīḳiya. The whole account of Ibn Ḥammādū (Vanderheyden), 18 ff., is no doubt taken from Ibn al-Raḳīḳ. Ibn Shaddād, in his lost history of al-Ḳayrawān, also no doubt copied Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, while Ibn al-Athīr's account, viii, 315 ff., still easily recognizable as an abstract of the Fāṭimid chronicle, evidently goes back to Ibn Shaddād. The passages in Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1927, 17, 18-9, 20-1, 233-5 (transl. in *JA*, 1852, 96 ff., 101 ff., 106 ff., 1953, 363 ff.) are taken from Ibn al-Raḳīḳ.—Further references: Abū Zakariyyā' (*Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, transl. Masqueray), Algiers 1879, 226 ff.; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* (Colin and Lévi-Provençal), i, 316 (quotes Ibn Hammādū—6th/12th century, not identical with the Ibn Ḥammādū quoted above—Ibn Saʿdūn and Ibn al-Raḳīḳ); Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* (Bunz), while mainly deriving from Ibn al-Athīr, has some additional notes (55, 56-7).—Cf. also G. Marçais, *La Berberie et l'Orient*, 147-53; R. Le Tourneau, *La révolte d'Abû-Yazîd, Cahiers de Tunisie*, 1953, 103-125. (S. M. Stern)

ABŪ YŪSUF Yaʿḳūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī, a prominent religious lawyer, one of the founders of the Ḥanafī [*q.v.*] school of law. Abū Yūsuf was of pure Arab extraction; his ancestor, Saʿd b. Ḥabta, was a youth in Medina in the time of the Prophet. (For details of his genealogy, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, xiv, 243.) His date of birth, reckoned backwards from the date of his death, is rather arbitrarily given as 113. According to an anecdote, the several versions of which are mutually contradictory, he was a poor boy, was helped by his teacher Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] who recognized his worth, and achieved success beyond every expectation. All we know is that he studied religious law and traditions in Kūfa and in Medina, under Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik b. Anas, al-Layth b. Saʿd and others (a reasonably complete and authentic list of his teachers is given by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, xiv, 242), and lived in Kūfa until he was appointed *ḳāḍī* in Baghdād; he held this office until his death in 182/798. He is reported to have visited Baṣra in 176 and in 180. It is not certain whether he was appointed by al-Mahdī, al-Hādī, or Hārūn al-Rashīd. According to a story which al-Tanūkhī (d. 384) heard from his father (*Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*, 123 ff.), Abū Yūsuf was able to assure on a point of religious law an officer who rewarded him generously and later had occasion to recommend him to the caliph Hārūn. As he succeeded in giving a satisfactory opinion to the caliph too, the caliph drew him near to his person and finally appointed him *ḳāḍī*. This version has a certain inner probability, but cannot for that reason alone be regarded as authentic. It is certain, however, that by his practical sense he soon became friendly with, and even made himself indispensable to, Hārūn al-Rashīd. By exaggerating this achievement, both his friends and his detractors made him into the prototype of the unprincipled lawyer who would find an easy way out of any legal difficulty for his clients and for himself. The existence of his *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal* and the misunderstandings of the serious legal purpose underlying it, could not fail to reinforce that misconception. (Cf. Schacht, in *Isl.*, 1926, 217.) Al-Rashīd conferred upon him the title of Grand Cadi or *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* for the first time in Islam. This was then merely an honorific title given to the *ḳāḍī* of the capital, but the caliph not only consulted Abū Yūsuf on the administration of Muhammadan justice, on financial policy, and on similar questions, but on the appointment of other *ḳāḍīs* in the empire.

His son Yūsuf became a *ḳāḍī* during the lifetime of his father, as his substitute for the western side of Baghdad; he died in 192. His most prominent disciple was al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*].

The literary output of Abū Yūsuf must have been considerable. The *Fihrist* mentions a list of titles of works which, with one exception, have not survived. The exception is the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, a treatise on public finance, taxation, criminal justice, and kindred subjects, which Abū Yūsuf wrote at the request of Hārūn al-Rashīd (editio princeps of the Arabic text, Būlāḳ 1302; French transl. by E. Fagnan, Paris 1921). Three further works which are undoubtedly genuine, though they do not appear in the ancient bibliography of Abū Yūsuf, have been preserved: the *Kitāb al-Āthār*, a collection of the Kūfian traditions that Abū Yūsuf transmitted (Cairo 1355), the *Kitāb Ikhtilāf Abī Ḥanīfa wa-Ibn Abī Laylā*, a comparison of the opinions of the two authorities of Kūfa mentioned in the title (Cairo 1357; also in al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, 87-150), and the *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā Siyar al-Awzāʿī*, a reasoned refutation, with broad systematic developments, of the opinions of the Syrian scholar al-Awzāʿī on the law of war (Cairo, n.d.; also in al-Shāfiʿī, *ibid.*, 303-36). The *Fihrist* mentions at least two titles of the same comparative and polemical kind: the *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Amṣār* and the *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā Mālik b. Anas*. Finally, extracts from Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal* (Book of legal devices) were incorporated by his disciple al-Shaybānī in his *Kitāb al-Makhāridj fi 'l-Ḥiyal* (ed. Schacht, Leipzig 1930). Several statements on principles and methods in his polemical treatises (e.g. *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā Siyar al-Awzāʿī*, par. 5) show Abū Yūsuf's interest in legal theory (cf. *Fihrist*, 203_{17}), but, contrary to what is sometimes affirmed, he did not write special works on the subject.

The doctrine of Abū Yūsuf, on the whole, presupposes the doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa, whom he regarded as his master. The points on which Abū Yūsuf diverged from him are therefore more relevant for appreciating Abū Yūsuf's own legal thought than those on which both are in agreement. The most prominent peculiarity of Abū Yūsuf's doctrine is that he is more dependent on traditions than his master, because there were more authoritative

traditions from the Prophet in existence in his time. Secondly, the doctrine of Abū Yūsuf often represents a reaction against Abū Ḥanīfa's somewhat unrestrained reasoning; but Abū Yūsuf was by no means consistent, and in a certain number of cases he abandoned, by diverging from Abū Ḥanīfa, the sounder or more highly developed doctrine. Thirdly, we can discern in Abū Yūsuf's legal thought certain favourite processes of reasoning, such as the *reductio ad absurdum*, and a habit of rather acrimonious polemics. Finally, a remarkable feature of Abū Yūsuf's doctrine is the frequency with which he changed his opinions, not always for the better. Sometimes the contemporary sources state directly, and in other cases it is probable, that Abū Yūsuf's experience as a judge caused him to change his opinion. Abū Yūsuf represents the beginning of the process by which the ancient school of the ʿIrāḳians of Kūfa was replaced by that of the followers of Abū Ḥanīfa.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 203; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 242 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 834 (trans. de Slane, iv, 272 ff.); al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-Djanān*, i, 382 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-Nihāya*, x, 180 ff.; Aḥmad Amīn, *Duḥa 'l-Islām*, ii, 198 ff.; Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, *Ḥusn al-Taḳāḍī*, Cairo 1948; K. Kufrali, in *IA*, iv, 59 f.; J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950; Brockelmann, I, 177, S I, 288. (J. Schacht)

ABŪ YŪSUF YAʿḲŪB b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-**MANṢŪR**, third ruler of the Muʾminid [*q.v.*] (Almohad) dynasty reigned 580-95/1184-99. On the death of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf before Santarem on 18 Rabīʿ II 580/29 July 1184, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, bringing back the body of his father, reached Seville, where he was proclaimed on 1 Djumādā I/10 August. He hastened to Marrākush, took the title of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, issued several severe financial edicts and demanded from his subjects the strictest orthodoxy. He attempted for some time to administer justice himself at public audiences and satisfied his passion for construction by endowing his empire with important buildings. Finding the Almoravid Dār al-Ḥadjar, where his father and grandfather had lived, too cramped, he built the suburb of al-Ṣāliḥa, in order to take up his own residence there. But scarcely had he begun this enterprise when he received news of the landing of the Almoravid Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*] in Bidjāya (Bougie).

As soon as the news of the disaster of Santarem reached Majorca, the Banū Ghāniya, rejecting the Almohad offers for submission and encouraged by the partisans of the Ḥammādids in Bidjāya, fitted out a squadron which took Bidjāya on 19 Ṣafar 581/22 May 1185. ʿAlī b. Ghāniya, profiting from the disorganization caused by the capture of Bidjāya, also took Algiers, Miliana, Ashīr and Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād. The reaction of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿkūb was instantaneous. An army, assisted by the naval squadron of Ceuta, recaptured in the spring of 582/1186 Algiers, Bidjāya and the other places that had passed into the possession of the Almoravids, and marched against ʿAlī b. Ghāniya, then besieging Constantine. The Almoravid leader, abandoning the siege, retired hastily towards the Djarīd. There he took Tūzar and Ḳafṣa (Gafsa) and made an alliance with Ḳarāḳūsh [*q.v.*] in Tripoli. Thus only Tūnis and al-Mahdiyya remained in the hands of the Almohads in Ifrīḳiya. Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, in these circumstances, decided to lead a great expedition to the east. He marched to Tūnis and from there sent against the rebels and their allies a strong force, which was, however, defeated on 15 Rabīʿ II 583/24 June 1187 in the plain of ʿUmra, near Ḳafṣa. The Almohad caliph took his revenge for this reverse three months later, at al-Ḥamma (9 Shaʿbān/14 Oct.). The whole south of Ifrīḳiya was again subjected to Almohad domination and the sovereign returned to the west, reaching Tlemcen. Soon, however, the troubles broke out again in Ifrīḳiya, in spite of the death of of Alī b. Ghāniya, which occured shortly afterwards. Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya, brother of ʿAli, was able to sustain, with uncommon energy and ability, the struggle against the Almohad empire for almost another half-century, causing it grave anxieties.

On the other hand, it was time for Abū Yūsuf to turn his attention to the Iberian Peninsula, which he had left five years before, and to check the attacks of the Portuguese and the Castilians. While the Muʾminid ruler was making his preparations, Sancho I, with the help of strong Crusader contingents on their way to Palestine, laid siege to Silves (Shilb), on the south coast. After a siege of three months, the place was taken on 20 Radjab 585/3 Sept. 1189. At the same time, the king of Castille had taken the field against the Almohad possessions and attacked Magacela, Reina, Alcala de Guadaira and Calasparra. In 586/1190 Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb took the counter-offensive. He imposed an armistice on the Castillians and Leonese, and then attacked the Portuguese fortresses of Torres Novas and Tomar, to the north of Santarem, while another army besieged Silves. Torres Novas, unable to resist, had to capitulate, but Tomar, defended by the Templars, resisted and the garrison made vigorous sallies. Lack of food and an epidemic that broke out in the Almohad camp forced the caliph to raise the siege of both Tomar and Silves.

Next year, the caliph again led an expedition in the same direction. After storming several fortresses to the south of the Tagus, such as Alcacer do Sol, Palmella and Almada, he captured Silves by surprise on 25 Djumādā II 587/10 July 1191.

In 589/1193, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, who had supervised personally the works undertaken in Rabat, ordered the construction of the fortress of Ḥiṣn al-Faradj (Aznalfarache) near Seville, on the highest and narrowest part of the Ajarafe (al-Sharaf); it was thereafter celebrated by the poets in a great quantity of verses. Shortly afterwards, however, he had to organize a new expedition against Christian Spain, as the armistice signed in 1190 had expired and Alfonso VIII boldly attacked the region of Seville. Abū Yūsuf had again to cross the Straits and make for Seville, whence he departed, without loss of time, via Cordova, for the col of Muradal, to meet the army of Alfonso VIII. On 8 Shaʿbān 591/18 July 1195, took place the famous battle of Alarcos (al-Arak [*q.v.*]), where the Castilians were severely defeated. The Almohads captured five strongholds situated in the region of the Campo de Calatrava. On his return to Seville, the sovereign took, to mark his victory, the honorific title of al-Manṣūr bi'llāh.

Next spring, Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, eager to exploit his victory, took Montanchez, Trujillo and Santa Cruz and devastated, in the valley of the Tagus, the region of Talavera. He pushed even as far as the *vega* of Toledo and laid waste its vineyards and orchards. Another expedition next year led him without success as far as Madrid, (which was defended by Diego Lopez de Haro), Alcalá de Henares and Guadalajara.

On his return to Marrākush, worn out by illness, he appointed his son Muḥammad as his heir and retired from public life, to spend his time in devotional exercises and pious works, such as the foundation of a magnificent hospital and distributions of alms. He obliged the Jews to wear a special sign to distinguish them from the Muslims. During the last days of his life he was assailed by remorse for having ordered the execution of some of his nearest relations. He assembled in his palace in al-Ṣāliḥa the Almohad *shaykhs* and the members of his family and informed them of his last wishes. It seems that the date of his death can be fixed with certainty on 22 Rabīʿ I 595/23 Jan. 1199.

The reign of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr marks the apogee of the Almohad empire. His energetic character, the care and rigorousness with which he supervised the administration of his dominions and his personal courage made it possible for him to defeat all his enemies, in Ifrīḳiya as well as in Spain, to raise the moral of his armies and to pass into the memory of posterity surrounded by an aureole of legend. His magnificent constructions in the imperial suburb of al-Ṣāliḥa and the mosque of the Booksellers (*djāmiʿ al-Kutubiyyīn*) in Marrākush with its splendid minaret, the Giralda of Seville and the ensemble of the mosque of Ḥassān in Rabat show that he was the glorious continuator of the monumental work undertaken by his father and grandfather. His riches, the splendour of his court, his desire to be surrounded by scholars, his success in the holy war, have blinded his admirers and prevented them from observing the germs of decomposition hidden behind such a brilliant façade. In al-Andalus, in spite of his success in Portugal and Castille, he could hardly contain the Christian drive, while in Ifrīḳiya the Arabo-Majorcan revolt, stifled but always reviving, opened in the flank of the empire the deep wound which soon drained it of all force and energy. When the vigour and the skill of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr were no longer at the helm of the Almohad ship of state, it was inevitable that it should run upon the rocks and sink, during the reign of his successors, children or youths, who were, for most of the time, to show a total lack of ability.

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(A. Huici Miranda)

ABŪ ẒABĪ (commonly written Abū Dhabī), a town (54° 22' E. long., 24° 29' N. lat.) and shaykhdom on the Trucial Coast of Arabia. The population of the town, the only settlement of any size in the shaykhdom, is several thousand. The most prominent structure is the ruler's fortresslike palace.

The town is said to have been founded about 1174-5/1761 by Banī Yās [*q.v.*], a tribe then ranging in the interior of al-Ẓafra [*q.v.*]. No evidence points to any earlier settlement on the site, which lies on the seaward side of a triangular island separated from the mainland by a narrow ford (al-Maḳtaʿ). The island is relatively secure from attacks by land and has a partially protected harbour for small craft, but the supply of drinking water is poor.

The chiefs of Banī Yās continued to reside in the interior until the accession of Shakhbūṭ b. Dhiyāb of Āl Bū Falāḥ, the ruling clan, about 1209-10/1795. About 1214-5/1800 the Wahhābīs of Nadjd first appeared along the coast, but they developed close ties with the Ḳawāsim and the people of al-Buraymī rather than with Abū Ẓabī. Banī Yās do not appear to have come under Wahhābī influence until the accession of Khalīfa b. Shakhbūṭ in 1248/1833.

Shakhbūṭ signed the General Treaty of Peace sponsored by the British in 1235/1820 following the British expedition against Raʾs al-Khayma [*q.v.*]. In 1251/1835 Abū Ẓabī adhered to the first Maritime Truce, from which the Trucial Coast takes its name [cf. BAḤR FĀRIS]. An Exclusive Agreement in 1309/1892 gave Great Britain special rights in Abū Ẓabī, which like the other Trucial States is considered to be independent while under British protection. In 1357/1939 the Shaykh of Abū Ẓabī granted an oil concession for 75 years which is operated by Petroleum Development (Trucial Coast) Ltd., an Iraq Petroleum Company associate; in 1372/1952 oil had not yet been found. Offshore drilling rights are held by other interests.

Zāyid b. Khalīfa (d. 1326/1908) during his reign of 53 years made Abū Ẓabī the leading power on the Trucial Coast, but during the successive reigns of his four sons Abū Ẓabī was surpassed in importance by al-Shāriḳa [*q.v.*] and Dubayy [*q.v.*], which developed more rapidly their relations with the modern world. The present ruler (1952) of Abū Ẓabī is Shakhbūṭ b. Sulṭān (acc. 1346-7/1928), a grandson of Zāyid.

Abū Ẓabī is by far the largest of the Trucial States, though most of its boundaries in the interior remain undefined. It claims a common land boundary with Ḳaṭar in the vicinity of al-ʿUdayd [*q.v.*] and extensive territory in al-Ẓafra, where members of Banī Yās still reside in some of the tiny villages of al-Djiwāʾ. Several villages of al-Buraymī belong to Āl Bū Falāḥ. Banī Yās are settled on some of the islands in the Gulf between the Trucial Coast and Ḳaṭar, and they visit others while engaged in pearling, fishing, and gathering firewood. Āl Bū Falāḥ are on friendly terms with many of the beduins of the hinterland, though in recent years the once firm connections with the Manāṣīr [*q.v.*] have grown weaker. (G. Rentz)

ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀʾ AL-DJANĀWUNĪ, YAḤYĀ B. AL-KHAYR, Ibāḍī scholar from the Djabal Nafūsa. He was a native of Idjnāwun (modern Djennaouen, near Djado, in the eastern part of the Djabal Nafūsa; cf. J. Despois, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1935, 213 and passim). Al-Shammākhī mentions him amongst the personages of the 6th/12th century. He was the grandson of another Ibāḍī scholar from the Djabal Nafūsa, Abu 'l-Khayr Tūzīn al-Djanāwunī, contemporary of the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Khayr Tūzīn al-Zawāghī. As the latter lived under the reign of the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (406-54/1016-62; see al-Shammākhī, *al-Siyar*, 335-9), Abū Zakariyyāʾ can probably be assigned to the first half of the 6th/12th century. He studied under the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Abī Hārūn in the mosque of Ibnāyn (Djabal Nafūsa) and became

famous in Ibāḍī literature by the breadth of his learning and by his works, mainly on jurisprudence. Al-Barrādī quotes in his catalogue of Ibāḍī books, written shortly after 775/1373-4, a work by Abū Zakariyyāʾ, without giving its title. According to him the work contained seven parts, on fasting, marriage and divorce, testaments, salaries, judgments, preemption and security. The *K. al-Ṣawm*, on fasting, has been autographed in Cairo, 1310, and the *K. al-Nikāḥ*, about marriage and divorce, has been published in Egypt, with a marginal gloss by Muḥammad Abū Sitta al-Ḳaṣbī; the other parts are unpublished. Abū Zakariyyāʾ write also *al-Lamʿ* (or *al-Waḍʿ*), printed in Cairo (with a marginal gloss by Muḥammad Abū Sitta al-Ḳaṣbī) in 1305. It deals with dogmatics (1-116) and ritual law: ablutions, purification, prayer, alms, pilgrimage, etc. (117-692).

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(A. DE MOTYLINSKI-T. LEWICKI)

ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀʾ AL-WARDJLĀNĪ, YAḤYĀ B. ABĪ BAKR, historian of the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib. The Ibāḍi chroniclers al-Dardjīnī (7th/13th century) and al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522) who took the chronicle of Abū Zakariyyāʾ as the basis for their own works, give but scanty details about him and do not indicate the date either of his birth or of his death. From al-Dardjīnī it is known at least that he was a native of Wardjlān (Ouargla) and that he studied in the Wādī Rīgh (Oued Righ) under the Ibāḍī *shaykh* Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Ikhlaf al-Mazātī (d. 471/1078-9). Thus the chronicle of Abū Zakariyyāʾ must have been written at the end of the 5th/11th or the beginning of the 6th/12th century. According to an Ibāḍī tradition of Wardjlān, Abū Zakariyyāʾ died and was buried in that place, or perhaps in the neighbouring oasis of Sadrāta.

The chronicle of Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *al-Sīra wa-Akhbār al-Aʾimma*, is the oldest document concerning the history of the Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib written by a member of the sect. It contains important information on the introduction and the development of the Ibāḍī doctrine in the Maghrib, the history of the Rustamids, their fall, the struggle of the Ibāḍīs against the Fāṭimids, as well as on the lives of the famous *shaykhs* of the community up to the time of the author. The work, not yet published, consists of two parts; the not very numerous manuscripts are generally modern; those especially of the second part are rare and very faulty. The most important part has been translated by E. Masqueray (*Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878) in a rather mediocre way, after a very bad manuscript. A table of contents has been given by A. de Motylinski.

According to al-Barrādī's catalogue of Ibāḍī works (8th/14th century) Abū Zakariyyāʾ was also the author of letters and decisions on dogmatic theology.

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ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀʾ B. KHALDŪN [see IBN KHALDŪN].

ABŪ ZAYD, legendary hero of the Banū Hilāl. In the cycle of romances relating to the Banū Hilāl he is represented as the son of Rizḳ, ruler of the Bilād al-Sarw, and Khaḍrāʾ, daughter of the *sharīf* of Mecca. He was black-skinned and his original name was Barakāt. After various adventures in Arabia Abū Zayd goes with his people to the Maghrib; there he is treacherously murdered by the other chief figure in the romances, Diyāb (or Dhiʾāb), but is avenged in turn by the killing of Diyāb. No documentary evidence has yet been found to determine whether Abū Zayd was a historical personage.—For details and bibliography, see HILĀL.

ABŪ ZAYD AL-ANṢĀRĪ, SAʿĪD B. AWS, Arab grammarian and lexicographer of the school of Baṣra. He belonged to the Medina tribe of Khazradj. A pupil of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*], he was one of the few Baṣrians who went to Kūfa, where he collected, from al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī [*q.v.*] the greater part of the poetic material which he used in his *K. al-Nawādir*. He was invited by al-Mahdī to come to Baghdād and died in 214 or 215/830-1. A contemporary of Abū ʿUbayda and al-Aṣmaʿī, he was considered superior to them in grammar, but of his numerous treatises only two have survived: *K. al-Maṭar*, a collection of Arabic expressions concerning rain (ed. R. Gottheil, *JAOS*, xvi, 282-312; ed. L. Cheikho, *Mash.*, 1905) and *al-Nawādir fi'l-Lugha*, a collection of rare poems and phrases. This work was handed down by his pupils Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī and Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Akhfash; it has been published by S. Sharṭūnī, Beirut 1894. ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Baṣrī wrote *al-Tanbīh ʿalā Aghlāṭ Abī Zayd fi Nawādirih* (cf. al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, iv, 39; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1895, 318 ff.; H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii, 471 ff.).

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ABŪ ZAYD [see AL-BALKHĪ].

ABŪ ZAYD [see AL-ḤARĪRĪ].

ABŪ ZAYYĀN I MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ SAʿĪD ʿUTHMĀN B. YAGHMURĀSAN, third sovereign of the ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasty. Proclaimed in Tlemcen on 2 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 703/6 June 1304, he succeeded in having the siege of his capital by the Marīnid troops raised. He then chastised the tribes in the eastern part of his kingdom who had supported the enemy; the Tūdjīn Berbers were forced to submit and pay tribute, the Arab tribes were severely treated and driven back into the desert. On his return to Tlemcen, he devoted himself to repairing the damage caused by the siege, but died shortly afterwards, on 21 Shawwāl 707/14 April 1308.

Bibliography: see ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS.

(A. COUR *)

ABŪ ZAYYĀN II MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ḤAMMŪ II, sovereign of the ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasty. During the lifetime of his father he was governor of Algiers and tried in vain, on his father's death, to seize power. He took refuge with the Marīnid sultan Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, who led an expedition against Tlemcen and made it possible for Abū Zayyān to be proclaimed in Muḥarram 796/Nov.-Dec. 1393. He remained a faithful vassal of the Marīnids. A patron of men of letters and poets, he was assas-

sinated in 801/1398 after being driven from the throne by his brother Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh.

Bibliography: see ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS..

(A. COUR *)

ABŪ ZAYYĀN III AḤMAD B. ABĪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH, second last ʿAbd al-Wādid ruler of Tlemcen. Thanks to the support of the Turks of Algiers he seized the power and was proclaimed in 947/1540. The Spaniards of Oran who supported his brother Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad undertook an expedition against Tlemcen, which failed (949/1543). After a second, victorious expedition, the Spaniards made it possible for Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad to seize the power (30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʾda 949/7 March 1543), but he was soon driven out by his own subjects, who restored Abū Zayyān to the throne. He declared himself a vassal of the Turks and reigned until his death in 957/1550.

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ABŪ ZAYYĀN [see MARĪNIDS].

ABŪ ẒIYĀ TEWFĪḲ BEY [see TEWFĪḲ BEY].

ABUʿĀM [see TĀFĪLĀLT].

ABUBACER [see IBN ṬUFAYL].

ABŪḲĪR, or BŪḲĪR, small town on the Mediterranean coast, 15 m. east of Alexandria, on the railway which links this town with Rosetta (Rashīd). The earliest Arab geographer to describe the position of Abūḳīr was al-Idrīsī. But before him Arab texts on Ancient Egypt refer to the building of a lighthouse: and European travellers certainly mention, on this route, towers intended to serve as landmarks. Eutychius tells of the passage to Abūḳīr of the relieving fleet which had been summoned from Ṭarsūs to protect Egypt against the Fāṭimids. Alī Pasha Mubārak, according to a source that has not been traced, relates that European pirates raided Abūḳīr on 27 Shaʿbān 764/11 June 1363, and carried off about sixty inhabitants, who were put up for sale at Sidon. It was the period of Bonaparte's expedition that made Abūḳīr famous, by Nelson's naval victory on 1 August 1798 and the extermination of the Turkish army on 25 July 1799. At Abūḳīr, on 8 March 1801, disembarked the English army which was to end the French occupation; and, finally, Abūḳīr was again an English operational base in March 1807. There was an excellent anchorage and good shelter at Abūḳīr at that time, but the village itself was miserable.

Amélineau erroneously believed that he had found the name Abūḳīr in the *Jacobite Synaxary*; the reference there is to a church in Old Cairo, dedicated to Apa Kyros.

Étienne Combe has studied at length the problem of the Alexandria-Rosetta route, as well as of the lakes along the coast, and has provided a rich bibliography of Arab writers and European travellers. In this work will be found the various transcriptions of the name of the locality, and the monotonous description of a somewhat difficult journey: a sandy region had to be crossed, uncultivated and uninhabited, with only a few palm-trees here and there to enliven the prospect. The three lakes, from west to east, bore the names Maryūṭ, Abūḳīr and Atkū. The only account of the lake of Abūḳīr which is at all detailed in the *Ṣubḥ* of al-Ḳalḳashandī, but he refers to the prosperity of the region as a thing of the past. Some few birds lived on the shores of the lake, whose waters teemed with fish. The mullet (*būrī*) which was caught there formed part of the food supply of Alexandria. On the banks were some large salinas, whose product was exported to Europe.

A strong causeway, often reinforced, separated the lake of Abūḳīr from Lake Maryūṭ; the Maḥmūdiyya canal and the railway from Cairo to Alexandria were built along this. Since 1887 the lake of Abūḳīr has been drained and the land cultivated.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (Torrey), 40; Eutychius, ii, 81; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, *MIFAO*, xlvi, 82; *Synaxaire*, *Patrologia orientalis*, iii, 404; Amélineau, *Géographie*, 6, 579, 581; U. Monneret de Villard, in *Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Égypte*, xiii, 74, 76; E. Combe, *Alexandrie musulmane*, *Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Égypte*, xv, 201, 238; xvi, 111-71, 269-92; Dehérain, *L'Égypte turque*, *Hist. de la nation égyptienne*, v, 275, 277, 281-285, 433, 440, 445, 518-519, pl. xi; Durand-Viel, *Les campagnes navales de Mohammed Aly*, i, 49, 63, 65, pl. x, xi, xiii, xix.

Other places of no importance in Egypt have the same name.

Worthy of mention, however, is the gorge of the Būḳīr (Būḳīrān—Būḳīrāt), in the Djabal al-Ṭayr (Mountains of the Birds), in Middle Egypt, north of Minya. The Arab authors associate a curious legend with this locality. The mountain was, on a given day each year, the meetingplace of the birds called *būḳīr*. They put their heads into a cleft in the mountain, which closed on one of them: that bird remained suspended and died there.

Bibliography: J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 64-66. (G. WIET)

ABUKLEA, misspelling for Abu Ṭulayḥ, so called after the *ṭalḥ* tree (*Acacia seyal*), the name of a well-centre on the road through the Bayūḍa desert which, avoiding the Nile bend of Abū Ḥamad, leads from Korti (Ḳurtī) south of Dongola to al-Metamma, a distance of 192 miles. The place is famous as the scene of a battle fought on 17 Jan. 1885 between the *darwīsh* forces of Muḥammad Aḥmad [*q.v.*] and a "desert column" of some 1800 British troops who were advancing from Korti to the relief of Khartūm where the Egyptian garrison and General Charles Gordon were besieged by the Mahdists. The British under Sir Herbert Stewart found a large body of the Mahdi's best troops (some 3000 Baḳḳāra and 5000 Djaʿliyyīn) in possession of the wells. Advancing in square formation they were fiercely attacked, and after desperate hand-to-hand fighting the Mahdists withdrew leaving about 1000 dead behind. The British casualties were 74 dead and 94 wounded. The way was now open to al-Metamma where the British forces were joined by four river steamers which Gordon had despatched from Khartūm. A fatal delay of a few days enabled the Mahdists to take Khartūm by storm (26 Jan.), and the relieving force was obliged to retrace its steps without achieving its object.

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military account); A. B. Theobald, *The Mahdīya*, London 1951; B. M. Allen, *Gordon and the Sudan*, London 1931. (S. Hillelson)

ABULCASIS [see al-zahrāwī].

ABUMERON [see ibn zuhr].

al-**ʿABŪR** [see nudjūm].

ABŪSHAHR [see būshahr].

ABUSHKA [see ʿalī shīr nawāʾī].

ABŪṢĪR [see būṣīr].

al-**ABWĀʾ**, a place on the road from Mecca to Medina, 23 miles from al-Djuḥfa in the territory of Banū Ḍamra of Kināna. According to some authorities the name really belonged to a mountain situated there. Muḥammad's mother, Āmina, is commonly said to have died there while returning from Medina to Mecca, and to be buried there; but she is sometimes said to be buried in Mecca (Ṭabarī, i, 980). The first expedition from Medina in which Muḥammad himself took part was to al-Abwāʾ and Waddān nearby. It is said that at al-Abwāʾ, as the Meccans marched against Medina in 3/625, some proposed to dig up Āmina's body, but the majority opposed this.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 107, 415; Ibn Saʿd, 1/1, 73-4, ii/1,3; Ṭabarī, 1266-70; Wāḳidī, ed. Wellhausen, 103; Yāḳūt, i, 100; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 157, 461; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 155 (cf. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 112 f.). (W. Montgomery Watt)

ABWĀB [see darband].

ABYAN (or Ibyan, cf. Yāḳūt, i, 110; Nashwān, i, 208; C. Landberg, *Études*, ii, 1803), 1) district (*mikhlāf*) in Yaman in the Wādī Banā, comprising several castles and the seaport of ʿAdan [*q.v.*], hence the full name ʿAdan Abyan; 2) small place, now abandoned, ca. 18 km. NE of ʿAdan on the coast, birthplace of the poet Abū Bakr b. al-Adīb al-ʿĪdī (d. 725/1325); 3) persons in the genealogical tradition: (a) Abyan b. Zuhayr b. al-Ghawth b. Ayman b. al-Hamaysaʿ, (b) (Dhū) Abyan (Ibyan) b. Yaḳdum b. al-Ṣawwār b. ʿAbd Shams, (c) Abyan b. ʿAdnān (and his brother ʿAdan), Ṭabarī, i, 1111: eponymi of 1) and 2). For epigraphical material cf. G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, i, 36b, 51a, 325a.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, transl. Forrer, 42, note 4 (with copious references); ʿAbdalī, *Hadiyyat al-Zaman fī Akhbār Mulūk Laḥdj wa-ʿAdan*, 1351, 19 f.; Abū Makhrama, *Taʾrīkh Thaghr ʿAdan*, i, 4 and passim. (O. Löfgren)

ABYSSINIA [see al-ḥabash].

ACADEMY [see madjmaʿ ʿilmī].

ACHEH [see atjeh].

ACHIR [see ashīr].

ACRE [see ʿakkā].

ʿĀD, an ancient tribe, frequently mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. Its history is related only in sporadic allusions. It was a mighty nation that lived immediately after the time of Noah, and became haughty on account of its great prosperity (vii, 69; xli, 15). The edifices of the ʿĀdites are spoken of in xxvi, 128 f.; cf. in lxxxix, 6-7 the expression: "ʿĀd, Iram of the pillars" [see iram dhāt al-ʿimād]. According to xlvi, 21, the ʿĀdites inhabited al-Aḥḳāf [*q.v.*], the sand dunes. The prophet sent to them, their "brother" Hūd [*q.v.*], was treated by them just as Muḥammad was later treated by the Meccans, and on account of that they were, with the exception of Hūd and a few pious men, swept away by a violent storm (vii, 65 ff.; xl, 58; xli, 16; liv, 19; lxix, 6). Finally, in xi, 52, there is mention of a drought from which they suffered. From these indications the later legends of the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* wove their coherent narratives. [For these, cf. also hūd, iram dhāt al-ʿimād, luḳmān, shaddād b. ʿād.]

It cannot be shown with certainty what more ancient traditions are at the base of the Ḳurʾānic story. The old poets knew ʿĀd as an ancient nation that had perished (e.g. Ṭarafa, i, 8; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, viii, 40; Ibn Hishām, i, 468; cf. Zuhayr, xx, 12 and luḳmān); hence the expression: "since the time of ʿĀd", *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), 195, 341. Their kings are mentioned in the *Dīwān* of the Hudhaylites, lxxx, 6, and their prudence in that of Nābigha, xxv, 4. The mention of the ʿAdite Aḥmar by Zuhayr, *Muʿallaḳa*, verse 32, and in the *Dīwān* of the Hudhaylites, p. 31, merits consideration, as the Muslim legend connects (Ḳudār) al-Aḥmar with Thamūd [*q.v.*].

Whether there really existed, and where, a nation called ʿĀd, is still an unanswered question. The genealogies of the Arabs relating to the ʿĀdites are naturally valueless, just as is their locating of that people in the large and uninhabitable sandy desert between ʿUmān and Ḥaḍramawt. The identification of Iram with Aram, adopted by the Arabs and several modern scholars, is not at all likely. Of the latter, Loth has identified ʿĀd with the wellknown tribe of Iyād; on the other hand Sprenger sought for ʿĀd in the Oadites, who according to Ptolemy lived in N.-W. Arabia; this recalls the well of Iram in Ḥisma (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 126; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr. Arabiens*, § 207; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, ii/2, 128). The excavation of the second-century Nabataean temple at Djabal Ramm, about twenty-five miles due east of ʿAḳaba, brought to light Nabataean inscriptions giving the name of the place as *ʾrm*; Savignac, very plausibly, connected this with Iram. Cf. H. W. Glidden, in *BASOR*, no. 73, 1939, 13 ff.; Ramm would also be identical with al-Hamdānī's Iram and Ptolemy's Aramaua. But Wellhausen pointed out that instead of the expression "since the time of ʿĀd" the expression *min al-ʿād* also occurs; therefore he supposed that originally ʿĀd was a common noun ("the ancient time"; adj. *ʿādī*, "very ancient") and that the mythical nation arose from a misinterpretation of that expression.

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ADĀʾ (a.), lit. «payment», «accomplishment», a technical term used in the *fiḳh* to designate the accomplishment of a religious duty in the time prescribed by the law, in opposition to *ḳaḍāʾ*, which designates the belated accomplishment of a religious duty (of course when the delay is permitted). A distinction is also drawn between a perfect and an imperfect accomplishment (*al-adāʾ al-kāmil* and *al-adāʾ al-nāḳiṣ*).—In the reading of the Ḳorʾān *adāʾ* means the traditional pronunciation of the letters, synonymous with *ḳirāʾa* [*q.v.*].

ʿĀDA (A.) custom, customary law.

(i) General, (ii) North Africa, (iii) India, (iv) Indonesia.

i. — General. The realities of social life have never exactly reflected the *s̲h̲arīʿa* [*q.v.*], or *s̲h̲arʿ*, the ideal Muslim Law corresponding to God's will. This is true not only in regard to the ritual provisions of this Law, but also and even more so in regard to its juridical aspects. It is not, of course, the modern reforms of Muslim law in various countries that are envisaged here, but the survival of pre-Islamic custom (*ʿāda* or *ʿurf* [*q.v.*]). The words *ʿāda* and *ʿurf* have the same meaning, but the usage varies from region to region (e.g. the first is used in Indonesia, the second in North Africa, and in East Africa one says *dastūr*). In addition, the Muslim rulers have often issued administrative regulations on matters of law, called, e.g. in Persia *ʿurf*, in Turkey *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*] (for the meaning of this word in North Africa, see below ii), sometimes also *siyāsa* [*q.v.*]. Also the innumerable regulations made by rulers, establishing various taxes contrary to the Law (*maks* [*q.v.*]), must be recalled here.

What is, then, the exact role of custom in Muslim countries?

a) There is first of all the case where the *fiḳh* itself expressly refers to customary usage, e.g. to determine what is to be understood by equivalent dowry, or by ordinary standards of nourishment (e.g. for the *zakāt al-fiṭr*), etc. Some lawyers even felt justified in advancing the view, following the principle according to which everything that is not forbidden is permissible, that the Muslim Law could admit customary law in every case in which the *ʿurf* was not contrary to the *s̲h̲arʿ*; in fact, however, custom has not been admitted as one of the sources (*uṣūl*) of the law [cf. UṢŪL].

b) A juridico-sociological analysis of social reality allows us to make the following distinctions.

1) In the most classically Muslim countries it can be observed that alongside the religious jurisdiction there exists an administrative ("political" = *siyāsa*) jurisdiction, varying in forms and names, which need not be treated here, e.g. in matters concerning penal law, obligations and contracts; in it customary law or the regulations (*ḳānūn*) of the princes are applied to a greater or lesser extent. So for example in Turkey marriage, from the 17th century onwards, had to be concluded obligatorily, from the penal point of view, before the authorities.

2) Sometimes even the religious courts are compelled to sanction local usage, either because, thanks to a juridical artifice (*ḥīla* [*q.v.*]) the act, though contrary to the spirit of the Law, has been put into a legally unchallengable form (e.g. in the matter of usury, or the conditional repudiation in favour of the wife in Java, and especially the use of the *waḳf*, in North Africa and elsewhere, to disinherit women); er even without that expedient —which is even more characteristic; thus in Java the pre-Islamic marriage arrangement is considered as a *sarikat* (i.e. *s̲h̲irka*), a contract of commercial partnership between the husband and wife. On the island of Great Comore, there exists a kind of *waḳf*, the *magnahuli*, in favour of women only, the validity of which is well recognized. (For the *ʿamal* in North Africa, see below, ii.)

3) There exist religious courts administering the Law, but, except in case of litigation, the population ignores them and follows local custom. This is the case, among others, in the Awrās (cf. below, ii), to a large extent; in the same way, the religious courts were competent in matters of succession in Java up to 1938, but the population did not follow the Ḳurʾān in this field; also the persistence of the *Lek Dukagini* among the Muslims of North Albania can be quoted in this connection.

4) The clearest case of the persistence of a customary law is that where there is no religious jurisdiction at all, but only that of the customary courts, and these apply customary law. It is, however, essential to realize that this custom can be more or less islamized (see below, ii, concerning the Berbers). One point, especially, can be taken more or less for granted: viz. that there is no Muslim country where the marriage formalities, which are, to be sure, very simple, are not performed according to Muslim law.

It can be said that in general it is among populations which are still imperfectly islamized (in the objective meaning of the word, as those in question may have a very fervent faith) that the predominance of customary law and the absence of religious courts can be observed. There is, however, at least one very remarkable exception: until recent times, the region of Menangkabau (Central Sumatra) was strongly attached to its matriarchal customs, which were quite contrary to Islam, and yet Islamic learning was very widely spread in that region. The same matriarchate can be observed also e.g. among the Tuaregs of the Hoggar, who are, it is true, rather lukewarm Muslims. In the Laccadive islands, inheritance follows the female line. Thus the effective manifestations of the survival of custom among the Muslim community are innumerable.

As regards the future, something on the following lines may be said. If, on the one hand, the control of Muslim Law over practice is on the decline—total abolition in Turkey and in the countries under Soviet rule, reforms in Egypt, India etc.—on the other hand the Law is almost everywhere gaining ground at the expense of custom. Custom is thus on the way of slow disappearance, partly due to the influence of European colonization and European civilization. Custom is being Islamized, because the means of communication are improving and religious courts are installed in place of the old customary jurisdictions. As a matter of fact, almost everywhere the European colonizers believed that the law of the local Muslims was essentially the theoretical religious law.

In the following sections more detailed descriptions are given of the role of customary law in three representative areas of the Islamic world.

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ii. — North Africa. This region, where Berber dialects were spoken before the coming of the Arabs, has since been profoundly Arabicized and Islamized.

a) As regards the Arabic-speaking regions, no study has yet been made, with a few exceptions, of what elements among the customs of the population go back to the pre-Islamic period and are Berber survivals. On the other hand, it can be observed that, especially in Morocco, the *ḳāḍīs* sometimes apply solutions which are contrary to the prevailing Mālikī view and which may possibly—though this has scarcely yet been envisaged as an object of study from this point of view—represent Berber survivals; this is the *ʿamal* (especially *ʿamal Fāsī* [*q.v.*]).

b) As regards the Berber-speaking regions:

1) From a purely theoretical point of view, there are districts where, officially, the Berber customs have remained legally applicable, namely Greater Kabylia in Algeria and the very important zones of Berber customary law in Morocco, where the situation existing before the French conquest was made permanent by the *dahir* (*ẓahīr*) of 16 May 1930. This measure roused at the time violent polemics; these are, however, completely forgotten today, since, by the *dahir* of 8 April 1934, penal justice is no longer governed by customary law, but is unified througout the whole of Morocco; the civil courts of customary law have been reorganized, with two courts of appeal. In Kabylia, it is the *juge de paix* who administers the customary law with right of appeal to the court of the *arrondissement*. In all these cases, the matters involved are those of personal statvs and the law of succession.

2) The social reality is, however, much more complex. (a) In Tunisia, in the few remaining isolated Berber-speaking communities, there are scarcely more than memories of the ancient customary law. (b) In Algeria, more than a quarter of the population speaks Berber. In Greater Kabylia, where the social organization of each village has remained very strong, the *d̲j̲amāʿa* continues illegally to settle many conflicts; it applies the local *ḳānūns*, i.e. rates of fines, some of which, renewed, are nowadays compiled in French (no longer in Arabic). In Berber-speaking Lesser Kabylia and in the Awrāṣ (where the French have installed *ḳāḍīs*), the quasi-official Berber justice continues to operate on a fairly large scale. (c) It is in Morocco (where more than 40°/₀ of the population is Berber-speaking) that Berber law is most extensively applied, and there the real customary sphere tends much more to encroach upon the official sphere.

One cannot make a simple contrast between customary law and Muslim law, because the former has been influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, by the latter. In Morocco, for instance, customary law has remained purest in the central regions; it is less pure in the Northern Middle-Atlas; it is strongly Islamized in the south. In Greater Kabylia, it has been influenced by the official French reforms. The inhabitants of the Mzāb, on the other hand, have a legal system that has been very greatly influenced by the heretical Ibāḍī religious law. It would be wholly premature to assert that there once existed a common stock of Berber legal institutions. My impression is that this was not the case (just as the Berber-speaking populations do not belong to one and the same race). To be sure, some characteristic institutions recur in the whole of North Africa (collective storehouses from Tunisia to Morocco, but not in Kabylia; inferior marriage, *mas̲h̲rūṭ*, in the region of Guraya in Algeria; *amazzal* among the Zemmur in Morocco), but they are not found everywhere among the Berber-speaking population. On the other hand, the condition of women is essentially variable among the Berbers; it is very low, for example, among the Kabyles, very high indeed among the Tuareg, with all the intermediate stages between these two extremes. It is true that the collective oath as a method of proof is very widely spread and, from the point of view of succession, women are in general disinherited. It seems therefore preferable to suspend judgement about the existence of a primitive Berber custom.

Everything relating to Berber public law, which was in force in Morocco until the French conquest, is but a memory. In penal law, the custom of the *diya*, i.e. blood-money (in its Berber form and not according to the rules of the *fiḳh*) survives quasi-officially in several Berber-speaking regions (as well as among the Arabic-speaking population of North-Africa). The Berber civil institutions that survive in Algeria and in Morocco are being increasingly influenced by factors foreign to customary law (such as Islam or modern civilization).

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iii. — India. With the establishment of British rule in India, procedural and, to a large extent, substantive Muslim law gave place to the English legal system, and, on the grounds of equity, justice and good conscience, customs were invested with legal validity. Thus encouraged, many customary practices came to light. Most of these customs—inconsistent and sometimes directly contrary to the *s̲h̲arīʿa*—have from time to time been deprived of their legal value by fresh legislation. The most far reaching of such legislation was the Shariat Act of 1937. Nevertheless, in spite of this law, custom still prevails among people, who respect its traditional force and who, moreover, would not think of bringing matters involving such questions before a court of law. Even to-day, therefore, we find custom playing a prominent part in the social life of some of the communities.

Before the Shariat Act of 1937, however, amongst those indigenous Muslim communities which were converts from Hinduism, Hindu law found a partial survival in customs and usages. These communities are the K̲h̲od̲j̲as [*q.v.*] the Memons [*q.v.*] of Kačč̣h, the Halai Memons of Porebunder, the Molesalam Grasias of Broach in Western India, the Moplas [cf. Māpilla] in Madras, and certain Muslim elements in Kas̲h̲mīr, the Pand̲j̲āb and Sind.

The Khod̲j̲as, Memons and Sunnī Bohras had retained the Hindu law of agnatic intestate succession, excluding the female from inheritance. It does not seem however that any of these communities had ever wholly adopted the Hindu law of joint family.

In Southern India, Moplas, who are the remnants of a matriarchal form of society, were governed by the *marumakkatyam* law (inheritance by the children of the sister). So a Muslim, who by custom was folowing this law, could make a valid gift of property to the Tawzihi, which is a corporate unit consisting of the mother and all her children and descendents in the female line (Chakkra Kannan vs. Kunhi Poker, (1916) 39 Madras 317).

In the Pand̲j̲āb and U.P. some of the Muslim communities excluded the female from inheritance. In Karamat Ali vs. Sadat Ali (1933) Lucknow 228, it was held that the Islamic law of inheritance was modified by the custom of the place of its application. In the same case the court enforced the custom of *stribant*, according to which the sons of each wife were regarded as one group and each group was awarded an equal share in the inheritance. A custom, similar in effect, called *chundawand* entitles the group to its allotted portion until the extinction of its last member (D. F. Mulla, *Principles of Mahomedan law*, 4).

In testamentary succession, Muslim law restricts the power of the testator to one third and excludes any heir from benefitting under the will unless with the consent of the other heirs. The K̲h̲od̲j̲as and Memons, however, could under the customary practices leave their whole property to whomsoever they wished. After the Cutchi Memon Act of 1938, the Memons were bound by the Muslim law in respect of testate succession. Testamentary customs at variance with the Muslim law have also been noticed in some parts of the Pand̲j̲āb (Rahim Baksh vs. Umar Din, (1915) P.R. 9). The retention of the Hindu law of inheritance by some of the communities prevents the making of gifts to non-agnates.

Adoption is not recognised by Islamic law, but in some parts of the Pand̲j̲āb and Sind where it is supported by custom it has prevailed over this prohibition. In U.P., also, the custom of adoption has been upheld and the Oudh Estates Act of 1869 permitted a Muslim *taluḳdār* to adopt a son. In other provinces, where some of the communities have retained the Hindu law of inheritance and succession, the courts have refused to accept the plea that the retention of Hindu law of inheritance implies, at the same time, the retention of the Hindu law of adoption. So when, in provinces where the custom has no legal force, a child is adopted—the practice being for wealthy families to adopt children from poor families—he cannot expect to receive an inheritance from the adopting parents under Islamic law, and gifts of property are made to him during their lifetime. The K̲h̲od̲j̲as, of course, need not resort to this expedient but do so by will.

The Muslim law of pre-emption (*s̲h̲ufʿa*) is more or less applied in the light of customary practices. The Madras courts refused to apply it on the grounds of it being opposed to justice, equity and good conscience. In U.P., Bihār, Assam and Gud̲j̲arāt it was recognised by the courts that the right to pre-emption exists not only between Muslims, but also between a Muslim and a Hindu, and between Hindus if the custom so warrants.

In the law of marriage, custom usually tends to make divorce and polygamy difficult. In some marriage contracts the husband delegates to the wife the right to divorce (*ṭalāḳ al-tafwīḍ*) which she can use if any of the conditions mentioned in the marriage contract is broken; the marriage contract generally includes the right of the wife to use her powers of divorce if the husband should remarry. Another common device is to name an enormous dower sum (*mahr*), of which only a token amount (*muʿad̲j̲d̲j̲al* = prompt dower) is paid at the time of marriage, the remainder—the deferred dower (*muʾad̲j̲d̲j̲al*)—becoming payable when the wife is divorced or widowed. When both these conditions are combined within a marriage contract, they serve as a potent weapon in the hands of the wife.

In contrast to this in some parts of Southern India a large sum of money must be paid to the bridegroom by the bride's people, and in this the influence of Hindu custom is to be seen. It has often brought financial ruin to the family or compelled its daughters to remain unmarried.

The *ʿidda*, the waiting period of a divorced or widowed woman laid down by the Islamic law, was in one of the cases in the Pand̲j̲āb held to be outside the requirements of the customary law of certain Muslim communities (Bhagwat Singh vs. Santi 50. I.C. 654).

Though taking of interest is prohibited by Islamic law, it is a practice of long standing among most Indian Muslims, and in particular among the trading communities, and would seem to have gained legality.

Most of such customs which were contrary to Muslim law have been deprived of their legal validity by the Shariat Act of 1937. The force of the custom is almost wholly excluded from most matters of Muslim family law. But the Act excepted from its scope the devolution of agricultural lands which, it would appear, still devolve according to custom.

The Act does not summarily abolish customs pertaining to adoption, wills and legacies. But it lays down that if a Muslim who has reached majority makes a declaration to the effect that he and his descendents wish to be governed by Muslim law in the

matters stated above, Muslim law would be applicable to them.

In addition, there exist in India communities which are neither completely Muslim nor Hindu, retaining some elements of both religions. Such is the sect of Satpanthis and Pīrpanthis [*qq.v.*] (the "followers of truth" and the "followers of Pīr") in Gudjarāt, Kaččh and Khāndesh. They claim to belong to the Hindu caste of Mathia Kunbis and follow the Atherva-veda; yet they observe the fast of Ramaḍān and other Muslim practices and bury their dead with both Muslim and other ceremonies. Other such communities are the Nyitas in Mālwā, the Kanchandas in Sind, the Ḥusaynī Brahmans in U.P. the Bhagwanis or Satyadharmas in Bengal and the Chauhars in the Pandjāb. (See *Census of India*, 1931, i, 380 ff.).

With the partition of India, it may be assumed that henceforth customs will cease to have any legal sanction in Pakistan, though the same may not be said with certainty about India. However, whether or not custom is granted any legal sanction, it would not be possible to eradicate its deep rooted influences for generations to come.

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(Shamoon T. Lokhandwalla)

iv. — Indonesia. 1. The word, in the form *adat*, has been adopted, not only in Malay but also in many other languages of the Indian archipelago. It comprises all things Indonesian that are custom, usage, practice.

1. *Adat* thus includes also the juridical customs of a country or region. The scholars who studied the juridical parts of the general *adat* in Indonesia used the now well known word "*adat* law" (Adatrecht), and not the wider term "customary law", because at least among the Muslim population of Indonesia, not all the juridical customs in force were "customary" by origin.

Some rules concerning marriage and divorce and law of inheritance are due to the impact of the *sharīʿa* on the Muslim Indonesian world. From the *sharīʿa* the Indonesians also took the institution of "pious foundations" (*waḳf*). In some regions the influence of the *sharīʿa* on general rules of the law of relationship is visible. But otherwise some regional rule or institution was originally not unwritten law but due to a princely edict or order (viz. the older *pesuara* of the Balinese princes). Moreover in some regions one may find that parts of the law in the closed legal communities (*desa, subak*) are formulated in written local regulations (*awig-awig desa* in Bali). The famous *taʿliḳ-ṭalāḳ*-institution of Java—see § 4—is still often called by Javanese the *djandji dalem*, that is "the royal promise", because according to their tradition it was a seventeenth century king (*susuhunan*) of Mataram, who gave this order to his subjects in that way.

So far the situation in Muslim Indonesia is *mutatis mutandis* the same as in the older and central countries of Islam. For, notwithstanding the totalitarian pretention of the *sharīʿa* to be the formulation of God's eternal will, which is followed by every Muslim in any country, time or circumstances, only some chapters of the *fiḳh* system were actually enforced.

2. The particular situation in Muslim Indonesia, however, is that an incessant discussion is going on about the worth of *adat* law and about the relation of *adat* law and the *sharīʿa*.

Moreover those departments of juridical life which have been entirely Islamized in other countries: viz. law of matrimony, law of relationship, law of inheritance—are not the unchallenged domain of *sharīʿa* in Muslim Indonesia, as will be shown below. Before the second world war the more radical adherents of the nationalist parties argued that the pluriform *adat* law in the 18 juridical regions of the East Indies was an obstacle to the unification and modernization of the country. Their ideal became: one pan-Indonesian state, one (official) language and one law. They rejected the *sharīʿa* as well as *adat* law. Notwithstanding their anti-western attitude they believed—and partly still do—that western law should be introduced entirely. The former Dutch government often had (for its Indonesian subjects) considered the possibilities of westernization of private law but projects of codes were never carried out. Even unification of the *adat* law in force proved to be a troublesome experiment. Notwithstanding that, elements of western law began, rather long ago, to penetrate into Indonesian life as a consequence of modern enterprise, modern traffic and commerce. For several separate objects statute laws were made in order to meet modern needs, and this process is still going on. But this is adaptation of new rules where they are wanted. The main point is that *adat* law is still in force in all sections of Indonesian juridical life. Even now only the European group and the Chinese are subjected to western private law (Dutch codification).

3. Apart from the arguments of radical adherents to western law, there is a dispute about the mutual relations between *adat* law and *sharīʿa*. In the remarkable country of Minangkabau (Western Sumatra, so-called Padang Highlands) this discussion has been going on for at least 150 years. The rather highly civilized and thoroughly Muslim people of Minangkabau still preserve, in defiance of the *sharīʿa*, their matrilineal system of relationship. This means that husband and wife do not form one family but belong to separate clans or sub-clans. The heirs to the man's estate are not his children but his sisters'children. His wife's brother or her maternal uncle has the highest authority over her children and not their father. The matrimonial bond is very loose. Even the *walī*-ship is only a formality—real authority belongs only to the matrilineal family-chiefs.

For several generations two parties have existed in Minangkabau: the *sharīʿa* party and the *adat* party. Both groups have modernized their organization and activities. In 1952 a large congress was held where all notable persons of the upland districts of Minangkabau, both *ʿulamāʾ* and non-religious

persons, *adat*-functionaries and politicians tried to find a way out, that is to say a conciliation between both juridical complexes (on this occasion in the section of the law of inheritance) but without success. The view-point of the above-mentioned Minangkabau *ʿulamāʾ*, notwithstanding their concessions to *adat* law, was thoroughly traditional (orthodox).

4. There is however one outstanding problem that was already before the war—to quote a Javanese politician—"an inexhaustible source of disputes". This is the position of the woman, especially in Javanese life. From a social point of view the position of the Javanese woman is fairly high. But her position as a wife is extremely unsafe. The peculiar situation as far as this point is concerned is that in Java (and in Minangkabau) more than 50% of all marriages are dissolved by the husband's act of repudiation. Of course the *sharīʿa* gives the husband that right everywhere. It is remarkable however that in the Muslim regions where a patrilineal system of relationship is in force the matrimonial bond is strong, because the husband has to pay a considerable bride-price. In Java the so-called "*tuku*" (remnant of a bride-price) is only a combination of cheap presents, and even the *mahr* of the *sharīʿa* often remains unpaid. The socio-familial system in Java is bilateral.

Since a score of years a strong current has set in against polygyny. Not in the first place against simultaneous polygyny (which is not so frequent: ± 2%) but mainly against "successive" polygyny: the habit of the man (who can marry quite "cheaply") to exchange his wife for a younger one. The *taʿlīḳ-ṭalāḳ*-institution is not effective against this most serious social evil. This *taʿlīḳ*-regulation is as follows: Immediately after contracting his marriage the husband has to declare to his wife's *walī* and the witnesses that, if he leaves his wife for a certain time without providing for her and without sending her tidings, if he severely illtreats her or commits another unseemly act—then his wife is free, if she likes to do so, to complain before the Muslim authority concerned. If there is evidence of her husband's failing in these respects the authority states one *ṭalāḳ* to have taken place.

The republic has improved the (officially edited) forms for the *taʿlīḳ*-statements and given them by means of *iwadl*-paying the character of an eventual *khulʿ*. And a bill is being prepared which is an interesting combination of elements of western law, Muslim religious law and *adat* law, although the prospects of its enactment are doubtful.

This bill has the following salient points: (a) child-marriages (not frequent in Indonesia) are forbidden; (b) each marriage is to be registered in a registrar's office in accordance with the European continental system; (c) the future married couple have to give each other certificates as to their health (influence of "eugenics"?); (d) the mutual rights and duties of husband and wife are circumscribed partly (*mutatis mutandis*) in the words of the Dutch code, partly in the terminology of the *sharīʿa*, especially the duties of the "polygamous" husband; (e) As to polygyny in general: 1. polygyny is to be allowed only in the interest of society; 2. no man can take a second or third wife (etc.) without the consent of the wife (wives) he already has; 3. he requires a medical certificate stating that his health allows "polygamy"; 4. he must prove himself to possess the financial means to entertain more than one household; 5. the polygamist *in spe* must promise to be "righteous" in his conduct. Otherwise the judge is given a considerable power to dissolve marriages in well-defined cases, again partly derived from articles of the Dutch code, partly from regional rules of *adat* law and the usual *taʿlīḳ*-formulas. Whether, however, in the intention of the bill, a Muslim husband can still repudiate his wife depends on the ultimate legislative elaboration of the bill.

5. There are of course other points in the incessant disputes. As was already mentioned in § 3 above, there is the question of succession-law. Notwithstanding the fact that in Java Muslim courts exist (since centuries) which deal with all suits concerning Indonesian Muslim estates, it is well-known that in reality the Javanese, as well as the Sundanese and Madurese—outside the court—followed in case of partition of estates the lines of *adat* law. For this reason suits of this kind belong since 1937 to the competence of the common "secular" judge. There is still Muslim propaganda against this "colonial" measure.

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ADA ḲALʿE, island in the Danube in Rumania, inhabited by Turks, 4 kms above the Iron Gates and ½ km below Orsova; 800 by 200 m. In the 15th century the Ottoman Turks occupied the strategic points of the river in this region, but the island is mentioned for the first time only in 1691, when the vizier Dursun Meḥmed Pasha conquered the "little island in the straits of Irshowa (Orsova)" which was then occupied by 400 soldiers and called *Shans adāsi*, i.e. "entrenchment island", from German *Schanz* (Silihdār Fîndîklîlî Meḥmed Agha, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 540). In 1716 the first durable fortifications were built by the *muḥāfiẓ* of the Iron Gates, Čerkes Meḥmed Pasha (Meḥmed Rashīd, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1153, ii, 153). After occupation by the Austrians, it was retaken by ʿAlī Pasha, called *serdār-i ekrem*, in 1738; it is on this occasion that the name Ada Ḳalʿesi appears for the first time (cf. Meḥmed Ṣubḥī, *Taʾrīkh-i Weḳāʾiʿ*, Istanbul 1198, 131, 134). It depended from the *wālī* of Vidin. The last struggles round Ada Ḳalʿe took place in 1788, when during the expedition of the *ṣadr aʿẓam* Ḳodja Yūsuf Pasha against the army of Laudon, the last time when Ottoman troops appeared in the Banat, the island played the role of a river base. Yūsuf Pasha built a large bridge between Orsova and Tekye (Tekija) and reinforced the "fortress of the Great Island (Ada-i Kebīr Ḳalʿesi)". (The expedition is described in detail by an anonymous writer in *Sefer-nāme-yi Serdār-i Ekrem Yūsuf Pasha*, MS Istanbul, Univ. Kitapsarayî, T.Y. 3254; another

MS in the possession of the writer). During the revolt of the Serbians, the island became an important stronghold of the Empire. The *Dayi*, who surrendered in Belgrade, were executed in Ada Ķalʿe by the *muḥāfiẓ* Redjeb Agha in 1809 (Aḥmed Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, ix, 126, 128). Somewhat later Redjeb Agha himself, following the example of the *aʿyān* in the Balkans, rebelled, but was executed. His brothers, Ādem, Bekir and Ṣāliḥ, who occupied the fortress of Fetḥ Islām (Kladovo), had to retire to the island. Welī Pasha, son of ʿAlī Tepedelenli, who had been charged with the pacification of Serbia, granted them pardon, on which they surrendered the island. After 1867, when the Turkish garrisons evacuated Serbia, Ada Ķalʿe remained without direct communication with the capital. At the Congress of Berlin (1878) the island was forgotten, and so remained an isolated possession of the Ottoman Empire, administered by a *nāḥiye müdürü*. Its inhabitants elected deputies to the Turkish parliament. By the treaty of Trianon (1920), it was incorporated, with the Banat, into Rumania; but this was recognized by Turkey only by the treaty of Lausanne (1923).

At the present day, the island has 640 Turkish inhabitants. There are schools for the Muslim population. The fortifications, in red brick and stones, with their basements and cisterns, are noteworthy, as well as the mosque built by Selīm III, with a *ziyāret-gāh* of Miskīn Bābā, a derwīsh who came in the 18th century from Turkestan and died on the island.

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(AUREL DECEI)

ADA PĀZĀRĪ, flourishing town in the province of Kodja-eli, Turkey, situated at 40° 47' N., 30° 23' E., in the fertile plain known as Aķowa on the lower course of the Saķarya river. Originally it lay between two arms of this river (hence the earlier name *Ada*, "Island"), but now lies between the Saķarya and the Čarkh ṣūyu. It was occupied by the Turks under Orkhān and is mentioned for the first time in a *waķf*-foundation which goes back to him (T. Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 161). In 1795 it appears, with the modern name of Adāpāzārl, as the seat of a *nāʾib*. In 1852-3 it was raised to the rank of a town, and about 1890 had 24,500 inhabitants, according to V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, Paris 1899, 372 ff. By the census of 1950 the population had risen to 36,210. It is a trading centre for local produce, especially tobacco, vegetables and fruit. There are no Islamic monuments of importance.

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ADAB (A.). The history of this word reflects, parallel to and even better than the history of the words *ʿilm* and *dīn*, the evolution of Arab culture from its pre-Islamic origins to our own day. In its oldest sense, it may be regarded as synonym of *sunna*, with the sense of "habit, hereditary norm of conduct, custom" derived from ancestors and other persons who are looked up to as models (as, in the religious sense, was the *sunna* of the Prophet for his community). The etymology of the word put forward by Vollers and Nallino agrees with this earliest meaning: both considered that the plural *ādāb* was formed from *daʾb* ("custom, habit"), and that the singular *adab* was subsequently derived from this plural. (Indigenous lexicographers connect it with the root *ʾdb*, meaning "marvellous thing", or "preparation, feast"). In any case, the oldest meaning of the word is that already given: it implies a habit, a practical norm of conduct, with the double connotation of being praiseworthy and being inherited from one's ancestors.

The evolution of this primitive sense accentuated, on the one hand, its ethical and practical content: *adab* came to mean "high quality of soul, good upbringing, urbanity and courtesy", in this acceptation corresponding to the refining of bedouin ethics and customs as a result of Islam (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s. v. *adab*) and contact with foreign cultures during the first two centuries A.H. Thus, at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid epoch, *adab* in this sense was the equivalent of the Latin *urbanitas*, the civility, courtesy, refinement of the cities in contrast to beduin uncouthness. (In this sense, the lexicons use the word *ẓarf*, courtesy and elegance, to explain *adab*.) The word kept this ethical and social meaning during the whole period of medieval Muslim civilization. So, for example, *adab*, etiquette, of eating, drinking, dressing [cf. ṬAʿĀM, SHARĀB, LIBĀS]; *adab*, etiquette, of the boon companion (cf. the treatise *Adab al-Nadīm* by Kushādjim and NADĪM); from another sphere: *adab*, etiquette, of disputation: cf. several treatises entitled *Ādāb al-Baḥth* and BAḤTH; etiquette of study (cf. books on *Adab al-Dars*, *Adab al-ʿĀlim wa'l-Mutaʿallim*, and TADRĪS).

However, from the first century of the *hidjra*, *adab*, in addition to this ethical and social meaning, acquired an intellectual meaning, which was at first connected with the first meaning, but then became increasingly differentiated from it. *Adab* came to imply the sum of knowledge which makes a man courteous and "urbane", profane culture (as distinct from *ʿilm*, learning, or rather, religious learning, Ķurʾān, *ḥadīth* and *fiķh*) based in the first place on poetry, the art of oratory, the historical and tribal traditions of the ancient Arabs, and also on the corresponding sciences: rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, metrics. Consequently this humanistic concept of *adab* was at first strictly national: the perfect *adīb*, in the Umayyad period, was the man who excelled in knowledge of the ancient poets, in the *ayyām al-ʿArab*, in the poetical, historical and antiquarian sphere of Arab culture. But contact with foreign cultures widened the content of *adab*, or Arab *humanitas*, into *humanitas* without qualification; it now included a knowledge of those sections of non-Arab (Indian, Iranian, Hellenistic) literature (i.e. gnomic and technical literature) with

which Arab Muslim civilization became familiar from the early Abbasid period onwards. The *adīb* of the 3rd/9th century, of which al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ was the most perfect example, was therefore not only cultivated in Arabic poetry and prose, in maxims and proverbs, in the genealogy and tradition of the *d̲j̲āhiliyya* and of the Arabs at a time when they were hardly yet Islamized, but broadened out his range of interest to include the Iranian world with all its epic, gnomic, and narrative tradition, the Indian world with its fables, and the Greek world with its practical philosophy, and especially its ethics and economics. It was thus that in the 3rd/9th century there came into being the great literature of *adab*, with its varied and pleasing erudition, which is not pure scholarship although it often also touches on, and handles scientific subjects, but which is centred above all on man, his qualities and his passions, the environment in which he lives, and the material and spiritual culture created by him. Within this domain al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ and his followers (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, al-Tanūk̲h̲ī, etc.) turned to account and extended the heritage bequeathed to Muslim society in the previous century by the Iranian genius Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, who can be described as the true creator of this enlarged conception of *adab*, with his versions of foreign historical and literary works (*Khudāy-nāmak* and *Kalīla wa-Dimna*) and his original ethical and didactic tracts (*al-Adab al-Kabīr* and *al-Ṣaghīr* (though the authenticity of the latter is very questionable). The literature of *adab* is the very backbone of high ʿAbbāsid culture.

The richness and complexity of this concept of *adab*, as humanity or culture, was on the other hand reduced, already in the ʿAbbāsid epoch, to a narrower acceptation. From its meaning of the "necessary general culture" expected of any man of superior education, it took on the specific meaning of "the knowledge necessary for given offices and social functions". Thus one could speak of an *adab al-kātib* or culture specially required for holding the office of secretary (such is the title of a treatise by Ibn Ḳutayba [cf. also KĀTIB]); or of the *adab* or *ādāb* of viziers, in the sense of the sum of special knowledge and experience proper to this office. [For the *adab* of the *ḳāḍī*, cf. also ḲĀḌĪ]. On the other hand, the concept *adab* ended by losing the wide humanistic acceptation that it had had during the golden age of the caliphate and became restricted to a narrower, and more rhetorical sphere of "belles-lettres": poetry, artistic prose, paremiography, and anecdotal writing. This was the kind of *adab* at which al-Ḥarīrī was an adept, with his verbal virtuosity and his entirely formal and purist interests. From *humanitas*, *adab* had become merely the literature of the academy, and remained so throughout the long decadence of Arabic letters and spirit right up to the time of the modern renaissance.

In the modern age *adab*, and even more so its plural *ādāb*, are synonyms of literature in the most specific sense of the word. *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ādāb al-ʿArabiyya* is the history of Arabic literature; *kulliyyat al-ādāb* is the faculty of arts of letters in the universities organized in the European manner. But beyond the limits of technical nomenclature, the conscious usage of certain writers (e.g. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn) tends to give back to the word something of its former elasticity and amplitude.

Bibliography: Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 2-17. For books on various species of etiquette, cf. also Brockelmann, iii, index s.v. *adab*, *ādāb*; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, s.v. *ādāb* and *adab*. (F. GABRIELI)

ʿADAD [see ḤISĀB].

ADAL, one of the Muslim states in East Africa that played an important part in the wars between Islam and Abyssinian Christendom. Al-Maḳrīzī (*al-Ilmām bi-Ak̲h̲bār man bi-Arḍ al-Ḥabas̲h̲a min Mulūk al-Islām*, Cairo 1895, 5) enumerates the following seven Islamic states in Southern and Eastern Abyssinia, which he designates as *mamālik bilād Zaylaʿ*: Awfāt (the common form is Īfāt), Dawārō, Arayabnī (Arabaynī, Arababnī), Hadyā, S̲h̲ark̲h̲ā, Bālī, Dāra. From Abyssinian chronicles, other states are known which stood on the same footing as the above, one of them being Adal.—Adal (ʿAdal) is the farthest east of those states, and is approximately identical with the present "Côte française des Somalis". The inhabitants are partly Somali, partly ʿAfar (Danākil [see DANKALĪ]). It is mentioned for the first time in the wars between the Abyssinian king ʿAmda Ṣeyōn (1314-44) and the Muslims. In the march of ʿAmda Ṣeyōn upon Zaylaʿ (1332), the king of Adal, who attempted to bar his passage, was vanquished and killed. The rulers of Adal have the title of *amīr*, later on also the title of *imām*, in the Arabic texts, but of *negūs*, "king", in the Ethiopic chronicles. In the 15th century Adal was part of Īfāt (Awfāt [*q.v.*]); in the 15th century the *amīr* of Adal ruled over Īfāt and had his capital at Dakar to the east of Harar. Under the kings Zarʾa Yāʿḳōb (1434-68) and Baʾeda Māryām (1468-78) negotiations took place between the Abyssinians and Adal; afterwards there was fighting between them with changing fortune. Adal frequently served also for the Muslims from districts further to the west as a refuge from the Abyssinians, who, however, often followed them thither. The Muslim writers (al-Maḳrīzī and ʿArabfaḳīh, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabas̲h̲a*) do not mention Adal—unless it is meant by ʿAdal al-Umarāʾ (al-Maḳrīzī, loc. cit., 2)—but refer only to the sultanate of Zaylaʿ in that region. Further, the king of Adal, Meḥmad son of Arwē Badlāy (Perruchon, *Chroniques de Zarʾa Yâʿeqôb et de Baʾeda Mâryâm*, 131), belonged to the family of the sultans of Zaylaʿ; he was a grandson of the celebrated Saʿd al-Dīn, after whom the dynasty and the land were called (Barr Saʿd al-Dīn). The latter reigned 1386-1415; he fell in 1415 in the battle with King Yesḥāḳ of Abyssinia (1414-29). "Adal" and "empire of Zaylaʿ" are often synonymous, and their histories are closely connected with each other [cf. ZAYLAʿ]. With regard to the 16th century see also AḤMAD GRAÑ. In the later history of those countries, the wars with the Muslim Somali and ʿAfar are thrust into the background by those with the Galla, who since 1540 warred with the Christians and Muslims of Abyssinia. Adal is still mentioned a few times in the chronicles. Even in the 19th century, before England, France and Italy took possession of the Abyssinian littorals, King Sāhla-Sellāsē of S̲h̲oa called himself also "King of Adal".

Bibliography: E. Cerulli, *Documenti Arabi per la Storia dell'Etiopia*, *Mem. Lin.*, 1931, fasc. ii; idem *L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici*, *Rivista Africa Italiana*, 1933, 80-98; idem, *Studi Etiopici I*: *La lingua e la storia di Harar*, Rome 1936, 15-6; idem, *Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico*, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 1941, 28-9; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London 1952. (E. LITTMANN*)

ʿADĀLA [see ʿADL].

ADALYA [see ANTALYA].

ĀDAM, the father of mankind (Abu'l-Bas̲h̲ar). In the Ḳurʾān it is related that when God had

created what is on the earth and in the heavens he said to the angels: "I am about to place a substitute (*khalīfa*) on earth", and they said: "Wilt thou place thereon one who will do evil therein and shed blood, whereas we celebrate thy praise and sanctify thee?" Then God taught Adam the names of all things, and as the angels did not know the names Adam taught them these (ii, 28-32 Fl.). Thereafter God ordered the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam, and this they did with the exception of Iblīs who in his haughtiness said that he was of higher rank, since he was created of fire, whereas Adam was created of clay (ii, 33; vii, 12 f.; xv, 26-36; xvii, 64; xviii, 49; xx, 116), cf. xv, 27 "we created man of dried clay, of black shaped mud". Iblīs was expelled from the garden (vii, 12; xvii, 66), in which Adam and his wife were placed to live pleasantly there, but with the order not to come near to "this tree" (ii, 35; vii, 19, cf. xx, 116 f.). Next follows the fall of man. "And Satan (*al-shayṭān*) caused them to slip from it (the garden) and had them removed from the state wherein they were" (ii, 36). He whispered to them in order to reveal to them their nakedness, and said that the tree was forbidden to them lest they should become angels and live eternally. So they ate of the tree and saw their nakedness and they sewed the leaves of the garden to cover them (vii, 20; xx, 120 f.). Then God sent them down on earth to live there as enemies, but when Adam asked for forgiveness, God promised him guidance (ii, 36-37; vii, 24-26; xx, 122-123). It is said that God had a covenant with Adam at first, but Adam forgot it (xx, 115), and God said "Have I not had a covenant with you, sons of Adam, that you will not serve Satan" (xxxvi, 60, cf. v, 172). Adam was chosen by God, as later Nūḥ and the families of Ibrāhīm and ʿImrān (iii, 23). Like Adam only ʿĪsā was created in a special way (iii, 59).

The non-Biblical elements in this account are to be found in Jewish, in some cases in Christian tradition. God's conversation with the angels before Adam's creation and Adam's superiority because of his knowledge about the names is known from *Bereshit Rabba*, xvii, 4; *Bemidbar Rabba*, xix, 3; *Pesikta*, ed. S. Buber, 34a; *Vita Adami* (Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, 513). The προσκύνησις of the angels before Adam is not commanded by God in Jewish writings. The angels wanted to honour him as God, but were prevented from doing so as God made Adam sleep (*Bereshit Rabba* 8, 10; *Pirke R. Eliezer*, 19). On the other hand Athanasius (*Quaestio X ad Antiochum*) refers to the idea (which he rejects) that Satan fell because he refused to προσκυνῆσαι before Adam. In *Vita Adami*, l.c., whose origin is incertain, the angel Michael prostrated himself to Adam and called upon the other angels to do so, and it is understood, but not said, that God approved of it. In the Christian Syriac *Cave of Treasures* (ed. Bezold, 14 f.) God gave Adam power over all beings, and the angels worshipped him except the jealous devil who then was turned out from the heavens. God's covenant with Adam is mentioned *Sanhedrin*, 38b; Augustin, *De civitate dei*, xvi, 27, and Adam's remorse *ʿErubin*, 18b; *ʿAboda Zara*, 8a; *Vita Adami*, 512.

In post-Ḳurʾānic tradition the *ḳiṣaṣ* about Adam were growing, and these also reflect to a great extent Jewish and Christian influence. They are mainly found in *ḥadīth*-collections, in *ḳiṣaṣ*-collections, in the works of general history, and in the commentaries to the Ḳurʾān.

As a preparation for the creation of Adam it is related that God sent Gabriel and after him Michael to the earth to take a handful of clay (*ṭīn*), but the earth refused to give it for that purpose, then the angel of death was sent and took by force red, white and black clay; this is why men have different colours. Adam got his name because he was taken from the surface, *adīm*, of the earth. The clay was kneaded and worked on until it became sticky, then slimy, stinking and at last a body of dry clay (*ṣalṣāl*). Some authors tell that Iblīs went into his mouth and emerged from his anus and vice versa; then the spirit was blown into him by God and went into his brain, from where it went into his eyes, his nose and further through the whole body, whereafter the body became flesh, blood, bone, veins and sinews. According to a tradition ascribed to the prophet the dust for the head was taken from the Kaʿba, for breast and back from Jerusalem, thighs from Yaman etc. (al-Ṭabarī, i, 87 ff.; idem, *Tafsīr*, i, 159; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 51-3; al-Kisāʾī, 23-7; al-Thaʿlabī, 17). In Jewish tradition the clay for Adam's body was taken from the place of the temple or from the whole world, in different colours, and Adam was first shaped as a lifeless body (*golem*) (*Targum Yerushalmi*, to Gen. ii, 7; *Sanhedrin*, 38a; *Pirke R. Eliezer*, c. 11); a similar Christian tradition is found with Cyprian and Augustine. The beauty and the length of the body of Adam are mentioned in Muslim tradition (al-Thaʿlabī, 22, cf. Ḳurʾān, xcv, 4) as well as in Jewish (*Bereshit Rabba*, viii, 1; xii, 6; Sanhedrin, 38b) and Christian (*Cave of Treasures*, ed. Bezold, p. 12) literature.

The Jewish literature follows the tale of the Bible, in which the serpent seduces man. In *Vita Adami* (Kautzsch) 521, Satan speaks through the mouth of the serpent, and this is Christian tradition (*Cave of Tr.*, 22, Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xiv, 11, Bar Hebraeus, *Taʾrīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 7). Whereas the Ḳurʾān speaks only of Satan as the seducer, the Muslim tradition also introduces the serpent. The serpent speaks by order of Iblīs (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 107), or Iblīs is carried into the garden by the serpent in its mouth or its belly (al-Ṭabarī, 104-6). In the *Ḳiṣaṣ* of al-Kisāʾī, (36-9) and al-Thaʿlabī, (20) the peacock (*ṭāʾūs*) appears. Iblīs tries to enter the garden in order to seduce Adam, but God prevents him. Then he meets the peacock, the chief of the animals in the garden, whom he tells that all creatures shall die, but that he can show where the tree of eternity is. The peacock tells this to the serpent, the serpent goes to Iblīs, who rushes into its mouth and thus comes into the garden and speaks through the serpent to Adam and Eve, and Eve eats of the tree. The forbidden fruit is in Jewish tradition mainly mentioned as grape or fig or wheat (*Berakot*, 40a, *Bereshit Rabba*, xv, 7), the same and other opinions are found in Christian and Muslim tradition (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 183 ff. and other commentaries to Ḳurʾān, ii, 35; al-Thaʿlabī, 19). [For Eve see ḤAWWĀ.]

As Adam was ordered to "go down" (*habaṭa*) to the earth paradise was thought to be in heaven. Al-Ṭabarī says (i, 121) that the tradition that Adam was placed in India (*al-Hind*) has been refuted neither by Muslim, Christian nor Jewish scholars. The most common tradition is that he alighted in Ceylon (*Sarandīb*), Eve in Djidda, Iblīs in Baysān (or Maysān or Ubulla), the serpent in Iṣfahān (or the desert). Later Adam and Eve met in Muzdalifa and ʿArafa (al-Ṭabarī, i, 121; al-Masʿūdī, i, 60; al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 3; al-Thaʿlabī, 21 f.). This is to be understood in connexion with the idea that Adam,

who according to a tradition founded the Jewish festivals (*ʿAboda Zara*, 8a), accomplished the *ḥadjdj* ceremonies, the black stone being sent to him from heaven, whereafter he built the Kaʿba (al-Ṭabarī, i, 122; al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 3; al-Thaʿlabī, 23). He also learned, with Eve, the use of fire, agriculture and handicraft, according to a tradition of Jewish origin (Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (Gottwald), 84, Berlin 1340, 57; al-Ṭabarī, i, 123, 126 ff.; al-Thaʿlabī, 23-5). According to al-Thaʿlabī he even coined *dirhams* and *dīnārs*, as they are necessary for normal life. In continuation of the namegiving it is said that Adam learned all nouns and greetings and religious formulas (al-Ṭabarī, i, 93 ff.; al-Yaʿḳūbī, 3). The presupposition is that Adam spoke Aramaic (*Sanhedrin*, 38b; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, 5). Al-Ḥalabī (*al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1329, i, 20) says that Adam spoke Arabic in Paradise, but on the earth he spoke *suryāniyya*, and he wrote the 12 known kinds of writing, al-Kisāʾī (28) that he spoke 700 languages, of which the best was Arabic. He also wrote books (al-Dīnawarī, 8).

When Adam and Eve were united they begot children, first Ḳābīl and Hābīl [*q.v.*], each with a twin-sister. Adam married them each to the brother's twin-sister, therefore Ḳābīl was jealous and killed Hābīl. Shīth [*q.v.*], who was born without a sister, was the favourite of Adam and his spiritual heir (*waṣī*). Adam begot many other children, one of whom was named ʿAbd al-Ḥārith; al-Thaʿlabī says that Eve bore a boy and a girl twenty times and that the number of Adam's offspring was 40,000 before he died. Al-Ḥalabī mentions five gods of the Arabs who were sons of Adam; Iblīs made images of them and these were worshipped by later generations (al-Ṭabarī, i, 149 ff., 160 ff.; al-Masʿūdī, i, 62 f.; al-Yaʿḳūbī, 4 f.; al-Thaʿlabī, 27; al-Ḥalabī, *Sīra*, i, 12).

God rubbed the back of Adam, and all his offspring appeared to him, amongst them David. When Adam heard that David should live only a short time he gave him 40 (50 or 70) years of his own life-time, so that he did not reach the 1,000 years that were destined for him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 156 f.; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 7 f.; al-Thaʿlabī, 26). The same occurs in Jewish tradition (*Bemidbar Rabba*, xvi, 12; *Yalḳuṭ Shimʿoni*, § 41; *Pirḳe R. Eliezer*, c. 19), and a related idea is the Christian tradition that everything was created at the same moment (Barhebraeus, *Taʾrīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 7).

Adam was created on Friday, the 6th of Nīsān, year 1. On the same day he was expelled, and he died on a Friday at the same date of the month (al-Ṭabarī, i, 155 ff.; al-Masʿūdī, i, 60, 69; al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 4). He was buried, with Eve, in a cave, *maghārat al-kunūz*; at the foot of Abū Ḳubays near Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, i, 163; al-Yaʿḳūbī, 4). Al-Thaʿlabī, 30, relates that after the flood he was brought to Jerusalem, following a Christian tradition that he was taken from the ark to Golgotha, the centre of the earth (*Cave of Treasures*, 38-42, 84, 112, 148), where the "chapel of Adam" is situated in the church of the holy sepulchre (see W. H. Roscher, *Der Omphalosgedanke*, Leipzig 1918; E. Wifstrand, *Konstantin's Kirche am heiligen Grabe*, Göteborg 1952, 30 ff.).

Adam was not only the first of men, but also the first of prophets, and so his position became influenced by the Muslim way of thinking. Just as Jesus was the second Adam in Christianity, a connexion was established in Islam between Adam and Muḥammad, with Adam as the first, Muḥammad as the last apostle (*rasūl*). In the Sabʿiyya system Adam is the first of the 7 *nāṭiḳ*'s, and some say there were men and *nāṭiḳ*'s existing before him. Seth was his *waṣī*. They distinguish between *Ādam al-kullī*, "all-Adam", identical with the intelligence (*ʿaḳl*), from whom the emanation began, and *Ādam al-djuzʾī*, the first one in the period of veiling. It is this ideal Adam before whom the angels prostrated themselves because he was godly, God's spirit being in him. This is sometimes designated as an incarnation (*ḥulūl*), which was continued by transmigration (*tanāsukh*). This deified ideal man was identified with "the perfect man" of Hellenism, and the same was by al-Ḥallādj named *nāsūt*. As Muḥammad became the centre of mankind, an idea especially emphasized in ṣufism, it became his essence (*ḥaḳīḳa*) or his "light" (*nūr*) that manifested itself in Adam. All creatures were created for the sake of Muḥammad, and Adam and his offspring were created of his light (al-Masʿūdī, i, 56; *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 23; al-Thaʿlabī, 16).

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ʿADAM (A.) is a translation of the Aristotelian term στέρησις (*privatio*) and means the absence of existence or being. A definition of the word is found in Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, v, 22 and is taken over by the Arabic Aristotelians. On the whole in Aristotelian philosophy two meanings of the word must be distinguished: (1) absolute non-existence, that is absolute nothingness, (2) relative non-existence, namely (a) the absence of a quality in matter, (b) the pure potentiality of matter. Since the absence of a quality contains, according to Aristotle, potentially its opposite, it has as potentiality a certain positive character. The Aristotelian theory of becoming is based entirely on this concept of privation. There is no absolute becoming, all becoming is the actualization of a relative non-existent or potential.

However, for Aristotle, even pure nothingness seems to have a certain being, for, according to him, by being something it is. But it is the Stoics who have discussed most acutely the problem of the existence of the non-existent and it is the repercussion of their discussions and their terminology which is found in Islam among the theologians. In particular the Muʿtazilites held that the non-existent is a thing (*shayʾ*), an entity (*dhāt*) and something positive (*thābit*). According to them, before the existence of the world God knew the entities which He was going to create and what He knew had, since He knew it, a certain reality. Creating the world He gave those entities the accident of existence.

Among the philosophers al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā regard, like the Muʿtazilites, existence as an accident, whereas for Ibn Rus̲h̲d, as for the As̲h̲ʿarites, existence is an essence.

Bibliography: The theory of *ʿadam* as professed by the Muʿtazilites is found in the works dealing with that sect (e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, v, 45); a good discussion is found in S̲h̲ahrastānī, *Nihāyat al-Iḳdām* (Guillaume), 150 ff. For a general discussion of the problem I refer to S. van den Bergh, transl. of Ibn Rus̲h̲d's *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ch. i and ii; see also S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, 116 f.

(S. van den Bergh)

ADAMAWA, the name—deriving from the local leader of the Fulani *d̲j̲ihād* in 1809 (see para. 5 below)—given to a region in the hinterland of West Africa, and used:

(a) of an area never precisely defined in geographical terms but including the conquests of this *d̲j̲ihād* and the resulting sphere of Fulani influence in the region, extending from Marua in the north to well beyond Ngaundere in the south and from Rei Buba in the east to west of Yola,—approximately from 11° to 6° N. and 12° to 14° E. With the European occupation of this part of Africa early in the present century, the smaller and more closely populated western part came under the British administration of Nigeria,—the eastern section became part of the German Kameruns, which, after the German defeat in the 1914-18 war, were mandated to Great Britain and France by the League of Nations;

(b) of a Province, area according to 1931 census 281, 778 sq. miles—known until 1927 as the Yola Province—in Northern Nigeria, containing that part of (a) west of the original Anglo-German international boundary, plus those areas of the former German Kameruns mandated to Great Britain. These consist of a small area north of the river Benue, and a larger area to the south of it. The Adamawa Province also includes the Amirate of Muri in its south west corner and some tribal areas, not covered by the old name Adamawa. It lies south of the Bornu Province and east of the Bauchi Province of Nigeria.

2. Geography. The main features of Adamawa are the river Benue—the principal tributary of the river Niger and an international water-way which is navigable by steamers at the height of the wet season (August to October), and by large canoes and barges at all times,—running across its centre from east to west; the Mandara Mountains, over 3,000 feet, running north and south, north of the river Benue; and an extensive crescent-shaped massif,—over 5,000 feet at its higher western end,—curving from east to west, south of the river Benue.

3. Transport and Trade. The river Benue is itself extensively used for transport; the main caravan routes and modern motor roads run from south to north through the region. In earlier days, slaves and some ivory were the main exports; nowadays ground nuts and hides have replaced these, though there are numerous other items, including cotton, gum, sesame, etc. Imports consist of manufactured articles, especially cotton goods.

4. Economy. The region is not industrialised, and contains no large towns. It is self-contained so far as the necessities of life are concerned. Its population is mainly agricultural and pastoral. Its capital wealth consists in the numerous herds of cattle, sheep and goats.

5. Ethnography. (a) The population of the region comprises the Fulani (see article fulbe), both nomad and settled, and numerous pagan tribes. It is not possible to give figures with any accuracy for the indefinite region described in para. 1 (a) above. At the census of 1931, the salient figures for the Adamawa Province of Nigeria (para. 1 (b) above) were as follows: Fulani 150,936; Hausa [*q.v.*] 21,560; Kanuri [*q.v.*] 10,495; other tribes 467,138; these plus some minor groups gave a total population of 1,024,755.

The figures for the main pagan tribes were then: Bachama 19,703; Chamba 51,224*; Hona 6,604; Bata 23,003; Hiji 6,284; Kilba 22,799; Lala 9,733; Longuda 11,809; Mambilla 19,348; Mumuye 79,272; Vere 10,866; Wurkun 23,472; Marghi 151,223*. [Starred figures include members of the tribe outside the Provincial boundary, but inside the old "Adamawa".]

(b) Languages. Fulani (Fuffulde, see under fulbe) is the major language of the region, and the nearest approach to a lingua franca in it. Many of the pagan tribes now use it as such, though they have their own tongues, some of which are interconnected in varying degrees (e.g. Bura and Marghi with Kilba more remotely akin). Hausa is not much spoken outside the towns, and in them mostly by the trading elements. English and French are spoken only by those educated in the more advanced schools in the west and east of the region respectively.

6. History. Prior to the Fulani *d̲j̲ihād*, we have only orally transmitted tribal traditions. Most of the major tribes north of the river Benue do not claim to be indigenous and have traditions of immigration from the north and/or east. It seems clear that this was formerly the general direction of tribal movement, owing to the increasing desiccation of the Saharan areas further north, and a consequent thrust of those tribes least able to survive southwards to the tsetse ridden coast. The Fulani must have entered Adamawa centuries before the *d̲j̲ihād*. Local pagan tradition speaks (i) of an offshoot from the main Fulani trek (round the north and west African coasts, subsequently entering the West African hinterland from the direction of Senegambia), which entered Bornu and thence Adamawa from the north, having crossed the central Sahara by the westerly caravan route via Murzuḳ and Bilma), and (ii) of these Fulani arriving cattleless, having lost their herds en route, and then of their obtaining cattle from the local pagans. With the *d̲j̲ihād* we come to firm historical ground. When Usmanu bi Foduye [see ʿuthmān b. fūdī] started a *d̲j̲ihād* in the Sokoto area in circa 1804, his reputation spread, and he was joined by a certain Modibbo (Fulani for *muʿallim*) Adama. This Modibbo Adama was born near Gurin, east of the Vere hills on the west bank of the Faro tributary and just south of the river Benue, had studied in Bornu as a youth under a certain Modibbo Kiari thereafter returning to a village called Weltunde in the Benue region. In 1806, Usmanu gave M. Adama a flag and a few warriors with instructions to return to his own country and to start the *d̲j̲ihād* there. In 1809 Modibbo. Adama began a *d̲j̲ihād* from Gurin, thus embarking on a career of conquest and slave raiding amongst the local pagan tribes. Speaking generally, the Fulani horsemen achieved success except where the pagans could avail themselves of mountainous features unsuitable for mounted men. In such areas, many pagan tribes, such as the Hiji, Marghi and Kilba north of the Benue and the Mambilla, Chamba and others south of it, maintained actual or virtual independence until the European occupation.

In 1838, Modibbo Adama transferred his headquarters from Gurin (now only a tiny village, but still hallowed for its associations), to the nearby Ribadu, in 1839 to Joboliwo a little to the west, and, finally, in 1841, he founded Yola still more to the west (in Fulani the name means a raised area in a marsh), where he died in 1848. All these places are just south of the Benue river, and it is obvious that the intention was to control the river crossings. Details of the dynasty founded by Modibbo Adama are given below. The Fulani conquests, often amounting to little more than raids, were never closely organised except near to the capital. The administrative system was one of fiefs, feudal in character, the lesser chiefs owing allegiance to the *lamido* (Fulani = *amir*, plur: *lamibe*), and rendering tribute. But the tendency was centrifugal, and these fief holders (Fulani = *lamdo* plur: *lambe*) often achieved virtual though not nominal independence, in proportion to the distance of their fief from the capital. Good examples of this tendency were found in Madagali and Rei Buba in the north and east of the region respectively. Adamawa as a name for the region seems to have become current in the Modibbo's lifetime, for it was in use in Bornu when Clapperton was there in 1823-4.

7. Religion. Islam is the religion of the Fulani and many pagans have been converted and are in process of conversion to it, though adherents of the animistic cults are still numerous. Christian missions now operate in the region. Of these the most important numerically are the Church of the Brethren (American) in the Bura-Marghi tribal areas north of the river Benue, and the Sudan United (Danish) amongst the riverain Bachama tribe, west of Yola. In the 1931 census, of the total population of 1,024,755 for Adamawa Province, 674,516 were recorded as Muslim, 348,791 as animist, 1,425 as Protestant. It is certain that the next census will show considerable decrease of animists, a large increase of Muslims and some increase of Christians.

8. Miscellaneous. The first recorded European explorer was Dr. Barth in 1851. The French Lieut. Mizon visited the region in 1891-3. The Niger Company traded from hulks in the river Benue for several years before the actual military occupation of Yola by British forces on 2nd September 1901, when Yola Town was spiritedly defended with the help of deserters from Rabeh's forces (see under Bornu) armed with modern rifles, and two cannon presented to the then Lamido by Lieut. Mizon, contrary to agreements negotiated by him. The German forces occupied Garua in March 1902, and the Anglo-German international boundary was delimited by a commission in April 1903. During the world war of 1914-8 the region was the scene of military operations on a considerable scale, involving transport difficulties of magnitude. After an initial period of raid and counter raid, the German Kameruns were taken by an Anglo-French expeditionary force, which captured Garua on 10.6.15, and Ngaundere 28.6.15. The German mountain fortress of Mora surrendered 18.2.16.

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(C. E. J. Whitting)

THE AMĪRS OF YOLA

Hassan
(1) Modibbo Adama 1809-48

- (2) Lauwal 1848-72
- Hamidu
  - Ahmadu
    - (8) Muhammadu Bello 1924-8
      - (10) Ahmadu 1947
- (3) Sanda 1872-90
  - (6) Iya 1909-10
- (4) Zubayru 1890-1901
- (5) Bobbo Ahmadu 1901-9
  - (7) Muhammadu Abba 1910-24
    - (9) Mustafa 1928-46
      - (11) Aliyu Mustafa 1953

ʿADAN (ADEN) (i) town, (ii) British crown colony, (iii) British protectorate in S.W. Arabia.

(1) Town and seaport on the South coast of Arabia, in British possession since 1839, with a mixed population of ca 35,000. ʿAdan (cf. akkad. *edinu* "steppe"), more precisely ʿAdan Abyan (by way of distinction from ʿAdan Lāʿa, and al-ʿAdan in a verse of Ufnūn al-Taghlibī; cf. Yāḳūt, iii, 622 f., Kay, 232, *AM*, ii, 17, 284), or *thaghr* ʿAdan from its being strongly fortified, is the *Athene* of Pliny, Ἀθήνη of Philostorgius, Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία of the Periplus, Ἀραβία ἐμπόριον of Ptolemy (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl., iii, 6), and most probably the *ʿeden* of Ez., xxvii, 23 (see recently v. Wissmann-Höfner, *Beiträge* 306 (88), where also the triple 𐩲𐩵𐩬 of CIH 550, which may, however, be a fake, is quoted). For other names of the place see al-Maḳdisī, 30, IM, 110 (= Löfgren, *Arab. Texte*, i, 29).

The peninsula of ʿAdan is an extinct volcano, nowadays called Shamshān (vulg. Shamsham), in earlier time al-ʿUrr "the mountain" (ʿUrr ʿAdan); it is 1775 feet (ca. 550 m.) high. On the east side is a gap in the range opposite to the island of Ṣīra: here is the main part of the town, and the habitations reach the sea. ʿAdan was once an island: the low and narrow isthmus is still nearly covered at high spring tide. This disadvantage was removed by means of a bridge, al-Maksir, built by the Persians (cf. "Khor Maksar" west of the isthmus). Beside the main volcano there are several minor heights, e.g. Djabal Ṣīra, Ḥukkāt, Marshaḳ (with a large light-house) and Dj. Ḥadīd (west of the isthmus). The old harbour was on the east side, in connexion with the town; a mole (*shaṣna*) was constructed to protect it against the SE wind (*azyab*). The excellent harbour to which ʿAdan now owes its importance is the large and well protected bay between the peninsula of ʿAdan and that of "Little Aden", with the mountains Muzalḳam "Sugarloaf Peak" and Iḥsān "Ass's Ears". Bandar Tawayih (Tawwāhī),

as the modern port is called, extends along the NW shore (for details see *Red Sea and Aden pilot* 135). The habit of constructing dams and cisterns, typical of old Sabean culture, has left traces in the ʿAdan territory. There are remnants of some fifty reservoirs scattered over the peninsula. According to IM they were built by Persians from Sīrāf. They are attested by Salt in 1809 and by Haines, the future conqueror of ʿAden, in 1835, to be in a tolerable state; but from 1839 on they were neglected, and much of their stonework was carried away until 1856, when the restoration of those inside the crater was begun. There are thirteen tanks holding nearly two millions litres of water, but the scanty and irregular rainfalls seldom fill them completely. There are numerous wells within the crater and in the west part of the peninsula (cf. IM, 131 ff.), but they cannot supply the need of drinking water, being for the most part brackish. In the Middle Ages al-Ḥayḳ (= al-Ḥiswa of to-day?) was "the watering-place (*manhal*) of ʿAdan" (al-Hamdānī, 53). In 1867 the British government got the permission of the sultan of Laḥdj [*q.v.*] to build an aqueduct from the village of Shaykh ʿUthmān. Later on condensers were installed.

Legend usually ascribes the foundation of ʿAdan to Shaddād b. ʿĀd [*q.v.*], who is said to have caused the famous tunnel to be cut through the mountain range and to have used the place as a prison. We are told the same of the *Tubbaʿs* and the Pharaohs of Egypt, whence the name al-Ḥabs or Habs Firʿawn. According to old tradition (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 144) Ḳābīl, having killed his brother Hābīl [*q.v.*], fled with his sister from India to ʿAdan, where he was visited by Iblīs on Dj. Ṣīra and taught the use of musical instruments. His grave is shown to-day above the Main Pass gate. The "abandoned well" (*biʾr muʿaṭṭala*, Ḳur., xxii, 44) and *Iram Dhāt al-ʿImād* [*q.v.*] (Ḳur., lxxxix, 6) are located in or near ʿAdan. The tradition of a fire coming from Yaman or ʿAdan (Ṣīra) and portending the day of judgement, ascribed in *Ḥadīth* to Muḥammad, may be some sort of reminiscence of volcanic activity. IM makes Hanuman, the Indian ape-god who has a temple in ʿAdan, fetch the wife of Rāmacandra along a subway back to Udjdjayni from Ṣīra, where she had been brought by a demon (Rāvaṇa).

Population. According to al-Hamdānī (53, 124) the Arabs of ʿAdan were divided into three factions: Marab, Ḥumāḥim (var. Djamādjim, IM) and Mallāḥ (cf. Yāḳūt, iii, 622; BGA, iii, 102, iv, 206). The great number of Hindus and Somalis indicates a constant immigration by sea., IM 117 ff., has details on early migrations from Madagascar (Ḳumr) via Mogadisho and Kilwa, and of Persians from Sīrāf and Ḳays (Kīsh). Cf. Ferrand, *Le K'ouen-Louen* etc. (*JA*, 1919); Goitein, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 247 ff.; idem, in *Speculum*, 1954, 181 ff. A considerable number of the Jews of ʿAdan (abont whom see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. Aden) were in recent years evacuated into Israel.

The early history of ʿAdan is very imperfectly known. From the *Periplus* (ca 50 A.D.) we learn that the place had been destroyed recently by ΚΑΙϹΑΡ (probably an error for ΙΛΙϹΑΡ = Ilisharaḥ Yaḥḍib, cf. v. Wissmann-Höfner, *Beiträge* 88), but in the time of Constantine the "Emporium Romanum" had recovered its old splendour; a church was built by the bishop Theophilus ca. 342. Later on ʿAdan lost its importance in favour of the Red Sea ports of Ahwāb and Ghulāfiḳa. The Persians (from 575 on) favoured culture in Yaman, building cisterns and bathhouses, and installing tanneries. After Bādhān, the last Sāsānid governor, had submitted to Muḥammad ʿAdan was visited in 10/631 by ʿAlī, who preached from its *minbar*. A mosque built by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was restored by Ḥusayn b. Salāma, the vizier of Banū Ziyād (204-429/819-1037). In 454/1062 ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, *dāʿī* of the Fāṭimids of Egypt, conquered ʿAdan and presented it to Ḥurra Sayyida at her marriage with his son al-Mukarram in 461/1069. Banū Maʿn, since 410/1019 in possession of ʿAdan after the Ziyādids, were left in charge of the place until 476/1083, when they rebelled and were replaced by two brothers of the Hamdānid family of al-Karam (Mukarram) b. Yām, the founders of the Zurayʿid [*q.v.*] dynasty. ʿAbbās took up his residence in the fort of Taʿkar, controlling the isthmus gate, while Masʿūd held the castle of Khaḍrāʾ and superintended the sea trade. Later on the town was united in the hands of Muḥ. b. Sabaʾ (534-48/1139-53) and his son ʿImrān (-560/1165). The *kharādj* of ʿAdan by this time is given as 100,000 dīnārs a year. In 569/1173 Tūrān Shāh, the brother of Saladin, conquered Yaman by means of Turkish mercenaries (Ghuzz). The periods of Ayyūbid (-625/1228), Rasūlid (-858/1454) and Ṭāhirid (-923/1517) dominion were a golden time for the trade of ʿAdan. A new tax, collected by galleys (*shawānī*), was introduced by the Ayyūbids.

The discovery of the sea-route to India and the rise of the Ottoman power mark the beginning of decline in the trade of ʿAdan. The Portuguese admiral Albuquerque attacked the town on Easter Eve 1513 with twenty ships, but did not succeed in taking it. In 1538 a Turkish armada on its way to India outwitted the defenders, and the Turks dominated Yaman for nearly hundred years. ʿAdan was lost to the Zaydī imāms of Ṣanʿāʾ in 1568 and in 1630 the Turks left it finally. In 1735 ʿAdan passed into the hands of the ʿAbdalī sulṭān of Laḥdj, whose descendant Muḥsin was forced to cede it to the English expedition under Captain Haines, which had been sent to get an indemnity for the plundering of a British ship. In view of the sultan's treacherous attitude the place was taken by storm on the 20th January 1839. Of the prosperous town visited by Marco Polo in 1276, with 80,000 inhabitants and 360 (!) mosques, there was now left a miserable village of 600 persons living in huts. Since then the development of ʿAdan has progressed rapidly, especially after the opening of the Suez canal in 1869, and this "Arabian Gibraltar" is now a mercantile centre of great and increasing importance.

Buildings. A wall was built by the Zurayʿids for the protection of trade, and houses of stone increased in number. After the depart of Tūrān Shāh his viceroy in ʿAdan ʿUthmān al-Zandjīlī (Zandjabīlī) built a larger wall, with six gates, and a custom-house. Other secular buildings of Ṭughtekīn b. Ayyūb, his son Ismāʿīl, the Rasūlid ʿAlī al-Mudjāhid, and the Ṭāhirid ʿAbd al-Wahhāb are recorded, AM, 10 ff. Of the "handsome baths, lined with marble and jasper, and covered with a dome", which were seen in 1708 by de Merveille (Playfair, from La Roque), nothing is left. Among the mosques of ʿAdan the most celebrated is that of Abū Bakr al-ʿAydarūs [*q.v.*], the patron of the town, whose *ziyāra* is held on 15 Rabīʿ II. Other *masdjids* are mentioned by Hunter (175 f.) and in AM.

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(ii) British territory (since 1937 crown colony) in SW Arabia, including ʿAdan town, peninsula and isthmus, Shaykh ʿUthmān town with surrounding district, "Little Aden" peninsula, and Perim island. Area: ca. 80 square miles. Population: ca. 45,000.

(iii) British protectorate, divided into a Western and an Eastern half, with ʿAdan and Mukallā as centres. (a) The W. Aden Protectorate (ca. 40,000 sq. miles) comprises the "Nine Cantons", viz. (from W to E) Ṣubayḥī, ʿĀmirī (capital: Ḍāliʿ), ʿAlawī, Ḥawshabī (cap. Musaymir), ʿAbdalī (cap. Laḥdj), ʿAḳrabī, Upper and Lower Yāfiʿī, Faḍlī (cap. Shuḳra), Upper and Lower ʿAwlaḳī (cap. Aḥwar), in addition to the ʿAwdhalī and Bayḥānī districts [see articles on each of them]. (b) The E. Aden Protectorate (70-80,000 sq. miles) comprises the Ḥaḍramawt states (Ḳuʿayṭi and Kathīri) [see ḤAḌRAMAWT], the Wāḥidī [*q.v.*] sultanates of Balḥāf and Bir ʿAlī, the shaykhdoms of ʿIrḳa [*q.v.*] and Ḥawra [*q.v.*], and the Mahrī sultanate of Ḳishn [*q.v.*] and Suḳuṭra [*q.v.*]. Population: ca. 600,000.

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ADANA (in Arabic script Adhana, Adana, Adāna, in later times Āṭana), (i) city in southern Anatolia, (ii) Ottoman *wilāyet*.

(i) Adana, situated at 37° N, 35°18 E, in the northern part of the plain of Cilicia (Čukurowa), on the right (western) bank of the Seyḥān river (the ancient Sarus), in Ottoman times the capital of the *wilāyet* of Adana, since 1935 of the *wilāyet* of Seyhan (see (ii) below); flourishing trading centre; population (1950) : 117,799.

History. The changing fortunes of the city have been largely dominated by its geographical situation at the foot of the Taurus passes. Lying at the intersection of the opposing spheres of interest of the Anatolian empires pushing southwards over the Taurus and the Syrian empires expanding towards the north, whose balance of forces or common weakness allowed the establishment of minor dynasties from time to time (Rubenids, Ramaḍānids), it found security only in an empire which embraced both Anatolia and Syria, as before the Arab conquest, and later under the Ottomans. Adana is an ancient settlement, which seems to have flourished at the time of the Lydian kings, was resettled by Pompey after its destruction by war, and under the East Roman empire was an important commercial centre which competed with Tarsus (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i, 844).

Adana was occupied by the Arabs in the middle of the 7th century, but frequently changed masters in their struggle with the Byzantines. Depopulated by the constant frontier wars, it was rebuilt by Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successors and became a bastion in the chain of fortresses of the "Syrian marches" (*thughūr al-Shām*). In 875 it was temporarily taken by Basil I, and again in Byzantine possession in 944-6, but recaptured by the Arabs after a siege in 964. In 1025 Cilicia was again occupied by the Byzantines, who could not however hold it permanently; nor apparently were the victorious Seldjūḳs (1071) able at first to establish themselves in the province (cf. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs ... jusqu'en* 1081, Paris 1913, 11). At any rate, in 1082 Adana again belonged to the Byzantines, but was taken by Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumīsh in 1083 (J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, Paris 1905, 179). After its occupation by the Crusaders in 1097, it belonged at first to the principality of Antioch, but in 1104 was detached by Alexis I and came under Byzantine administration. In 1132 it belonged to Leon of Little Armenia, in 1137 became Byzantine, in 1138 was occupied by the Rūm Seldjūḳ Masʿūd, in 1151 (at the latest) again Armenian, 1158 Byzantine, finally in 1172-3 incorporated by the Rubenid Mlech in his Armenian state, in which it remained for a long time, although exposed to repeated Muslim attacks. Baybars, after his victory at Antioch in 1266 appeared before Adana; the Mamlūks also sacked the town in 1275 and 1304, and attacked it in 1355. It remained, however, in Armenian hands (except for 1341-4, when it fell by ihneritance to Guy de Lusignan). In 1359 it was occupied by the Mamlūks, and became the capital of a *niyāba*. In 1378 the governor was the Turkmen Yüregir-oghlu Ramaḍān, who, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Mamlūks, extended his dominions and founded the buffer-state of the Ramaḍān-oghlu [*q.v.*]. He and his successors followed sometimes a pro-, sometimes an anti-Mamlūk policy, securing for Adana a relatively quiet time. The inner conflicts and the invasion of the Dhu 'l-Ḳādirid Shahsuwār in 1467 do not seem to have disturbed the city. In 1485-9 the Ottomans endeavoured unsuccessfully to detach Adana from the Mamlūks. In 1516, Selīm I, during his Egyptian expedition, occupied it, but left the Ramaḍān-oghlu in possession, now as Ottoman vassals. In 1606 it came temporarily under the rule of the insurgent Djanbulāṭ-oghlu and in 1608 it was constituted a regular province (*eyālet*) under a governor (*wālī*) appointed by the Sulṭān. In the Turco-Egyptian war of 1832, Adana became the headquarters of the Egyptian army under Ibrāhīm Pasha, was ceded to Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha by the treaty of Kütahya (6 April 1833), but restored to the Porte by the London Convention (6 July 1840). It was then made part of the province of Ḥalab, but in 1867 became again the capital of the new *wilāyet* of Adana. In Dec. 1918 it was occupied by French troops, but was returned to Turkey in 1922 under the terms of the Turco-French treaty of Ankara (20 Oct. 1921).

Commerce. Its favourable situation, as a bridgehead on the great Anatolian-Arabian road (cf. Fr. Taeschner, *Anat. Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1934, index), and the fertility of its surroundings, always enabled Adana to recover, in spite of its changing political fortunes. Nevertheless until the period of the Ramaḍān-oghlu it seems to have been less important than Ṭarsūs. In the 10th century, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, Adana was defended by

a wall with eight gates and a fortress on the opposite bank (the last remnants of which were demolished in 1836); according to al-Idrīsī (1150) it had a flourishing trade; W. von Ollenburg (1211) says that it was well populated but not rich. In the town, already famous for its cotton, the Venetians had privileges (Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce*, index, cf. Laurent, 11). Abu 'l-Fidā' described it as flourishing, B. de la Brouquière (1437) as a busy emporium. Its progress in the period of the Ramaḍān-oghlu, under Ottoman suzerainty, is reflected in the accounts of travellers (cf. e.g. Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (1530), MS Köprülü 1390; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī (1557), *Tarih Semineri dergisi*, i/2, 4 ff.; P. Belon, *Les observations, etc.*, Antwerp 1533). Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ, *Menāẓir al-ʿAwālim* (MS Nuru ʿOthmāniyye 3032, 215) and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā* (Istanbul 1145, 601), depend on the Arabic geographers and do not add anything new. The anonymous *al-Menāzil wa 'l-Ṭarīḳ ilā Bayt Allāh* (MS Inkilap Kitabhanesi, M.C., K boy, 113, fol. 8v) mentions the excellence of its markets and of its products, likewise Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme* (Istanbul 1935, iii, 37, ix, 333 ff.), according to whom Adana had 8700 houses built of clay (this might be slightly exaggerated in his usual manner). With the general retrogression of the Ottoman empire, however, a decline set in which lasted till the middle of the 19th century; one of the main causes was the insecurity which began immediately outside its gates. Nevertheless, the cotton trade continued, and in the 18th century there seem to have existed extensive commercial relations with merchants from Kayserī (cf. P. Lucas (1766); C. Niebuhr (travelled 1766), *Reisebeschreibung*, Hamburg 1837, and others quoted by Ritter).

At the beginning of the 19th century, Adana had still a larger population than Ṭarsūs (according to J. M. Kinneir, *Voyage dans l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1818), while two decades later, in 1836, it is described as smaller than Ṭarsūs (J. Rusegger, *Reise in Griechenland ... und südöstl. Kleinasien*, Stuttgart 1841, 524 ff.). There was now but little trade, as is remarked in a report of the British consul Neale (cited Ritter, see Bibl.). On the attempt made during the Egyptian occupation more especially to revive cotton production, but without much success, see W. F. Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative*, i, London 1880. An account of the corporation of the oil factories is given by V. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, Paris 1861. The city began to prosper again in the second half of the 19th century, due to the growing European demand for cotton and the efforts for improvement (e.g. road to Mersin) especially of the *wālī* Khalīl Pasha. According to J. Davies, *Life in Turkey* (London 1879, 48 ff.), as a result of these efforts, the land was well cultivated, the town relatively clean and active, and the number of inhabitants varying between twenty to thirty-five thousand (the difference being due to the migration of part of the population to the mountains during the hot summer and to the great number of migrating labourers). V. Quinet, ii, 35 ff., gives: 30,000 permanent inhabitants (13,000 Muslims, 12,575 Armenians) and 12,000-15,000 migrating labourers. In 1870 a municipal administration was established, with a mayor. Its communications were improved by the opening of the railway to Mersin in 1886, and the piercing of the Taurus tunnels during the first world war. The occupation and the subsequent exodus of the Armenians and Greeks, who had gained importance by their position in trade during the 19th century, brought about a crisis. Under the Turkish Republic there set in a period of rapid progress (72,577 inhabitants in 1927, 117,799 in 1950). Since 1935 Adana has been the capital of the province of Seyhan.

Population. Christianity was established in Adana from an early date, and it was an episcopal see. Since the government of the Armenian Rubenids the Armenians had greatly outnumbered the Greeks and the Armenian church acquired a preponderant position. Its Christian population, already affected by the constant Muslim attacks, steadily decreased after the Mamlūk conquest and under the Ottomans (see the reports of travellers, and data in Ritter and Alishan). During the 19th century the Christian population increased, but the victory of the Turks in 1922 brought about their total expulsion. Little is known of the Jews of Adana (cf. A. Galante, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*, Istanbul 1939, ii, 304). Arab elements penetrated into Cilicia with the armies from the 8th century, but could scarcely maintain themselves in Adana itself when Turkish nomads had already gained a firm foothold in the neighbourhood. Adana is described by P. Belon (1548) as lying on the linguistic frontier between Arabic and Turkish. Thereafter the Arab elements in the population were almost wholly displaced, and this situation could not be changed by the brief Egyptian occupation in the 19th century.

Culture. Adana has not played in the past, nor does it play at present, an important cultural role. It has an interesting museum, founded in 1924 in the *madrasa* of Djaʿfar Pasha. The main monuments are due to the Ramaḍān-oghlu: Eski or Yagh Djamiʿi, with a monumental gateway (inscription from 1553) and *madrasa* in the E. and S. sides of the court, domed *iwān* with finely sculptured ornament; the mosque itself is of uncertain date (before 1500). Ulu Djāmiʿ, built by Ramaḍān-oghlu Khalīl, 1507-41, and enlarged by his grandson Muṣṭafā, 948/1541 (for a legend relating to its construction, cf. Baki T. Arik, *Adana Fethinin destani*, Istanbul 1943, 47 ff.), mosque, *madrasa*, *türbe* and *ders-khāne*, enclosed by high wall; emphasis on eastern facade with main entrance. The groundplan, various details, coloured ornamentation and minaret indicate the influence of Syrian models; Seldjūḳ tradition is particularly apparent in the dragons at the base of the dome; richly elaborated *miḥrāb*; Ottoman tiles of the finest quality; these various stylistic elements are united into a convincing whole. *Türbe* with graves decorated with tiles of the Ramaḍān-oghlus Khalīl, Pīrī and Muṣṭafā. Of the many foundations of the dynasty the following are wholly or partly preserved: the so-called Waḳīf Serāyī, residence of the dynasty since 1495; Selāmlīk Dayresī, today Tuz-khanī. Also noteworthy are the Čarshi Ḥammāmī, the *bedestān* (frequently mentioned by travellers, but rebuilt in the middle of the 19th century, and Aghdja Mesdjid, of 1409-10, the oldest mosque in the town, with carved door.

Bibliography: No special monograph exists. Scattered references, in addition to works cited in the article, in the following: *IA* and *Türk* (formerly *Inönü*) *Ansiklopedisi*, s.v.; R. A. Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey etc.*, i, London 1850; Ebū Bekr Fewḍī, *Khulāsa-yi Aḥwāl al-Buldān fī Memālik-i Dewlet-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, (Ist. Üniv. Kütübhanesi, Fotokopiler no. 28, p. 90); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 3-40; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 731; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 656; Sāmi Bey Frasherī, *Ḳāmūs ül-Aʿlām*, i, 290 f.; W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, iv, London 1890; Le Strange, 131; E. Reitmeyer,

Die Städtegründungen der Araber, Leipzig 1912; M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdanides*, Algiers 1951; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von* 363 *bis* 1071, Brussels 1935; I. H. Uzunçarşili, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, Ankara 1937; Mehmed Nüzhet, *Ramazanogullari*, *TOEM*, i, 167 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, x, index; L. Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Armino-Cilicie*, Venice 1879; C. Ritter, *Vergleichende Erdkunde des Halbinsellandes Kleinasien*, Berlin 1859; *Sālnāme-yi Wilāyet-i Adana*, no 9, 1308, and 10, 1312; Naci Akverdi, *Adana Cumhuriyetten evvel ve sonra*, Ankara; M. Oppenheim, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1913; K. Otto-Dorn, *Islamische Denkmäler Kilikiens*, *Jahrb. f. Kleinasiatische Forsch.*, 1952, 118 ff.

(R. ANHEGGER)

(ii) The older name of the *wilāyet* embracing in general the Cilician plain (Čukurowa)—now called Seyhan—with the capital of the same name. The old Ottoman *eyālet* of Adana (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 601) comprised in addition to Adana only the two *sandjaḳs* of Sīs and Ṭarsūs; the later *wilāyet* of Adana (since 1867) the *sandjaḳs* of Adana, Ičel (Silifke), Khozan (Sīs), Djebel-i Bereket (Yarput); the present *wilāyet* of Seyhan (17,256 km², 509,600 inhabitants, 1950 *Genel nüfus sayımı*, Ankara 1950), which more or less corresponds to the earlier *sandjaḳ* of Adana, has the following *ḳaḍās*: Adana, Bagče, Ceyhan, Dörtyol, Feke, Kadirli, Karaisalı, Kozan, Osmaniye, Saimbeyli. The most important activity in the Čukurowa is cotton-cultivation, which today gives the impression of a monoculture.

(FR. TAESCHNER)

ADĀT [see NAḤW].

ʿĀDAT, ADAT LAW [see ʿĀDA].

AL-ʿ**AḌAYM** (ʿAḌĒM), an eastern tributary of the Tigris (Didjla, [*q.v.*]). It is formed of the junction of several rivers which have their sources in the range east of and parallel to the Djabal Ḥamrīn and which in their course from N.E. to S.W. break through deeply cut ravines. The most important of these rivers are: the river of Kirkūk, viz. the Khāṣa (Kaza, Kissa) -čay (on some maps it figures also under the name of Ḳara-ṣū), which rises from several sources north of Kirkūk; further the river of Tāʾūk (Daḳūkā [*q.v.*]), viz. the Tāʾūk-ṣū (or -čay), the most important of all, which joins the Khāṣa-čay southwest of Tāʾūk; and the Aḳ-ṣū, also called the river of Tūz-Khurmatli. The latter comes from the Sedjirme-dagh and falls below the place Tūz-Khurmatli into the river of Tāʾūk. From this junction onwards the river is called al-ʿAḍaym, or Shaṭṭ al-ʿAdaym; it forces its way through the Djabal Ḥamrīn, flows in a southerly direction across the Babylonian plain and falls below 34° N 44°20' E into the Tigris. On their courses south of Tāza Khurmatli (below Kirkūk) down to the junction with the Aḳ-ṣū, the northern, and then the united northern and middle source rivers, meander through extensive swamps. When the snow melts, the ʿAḍaym is connected through a dried up river-bed north-east of the Djabal Ḥamrīn with the Narin-čay (on some maps also Narit-ṣū), a tributary of the Diyālā. The inhabitants are able to establish such a communication, when necessary, also south-west of the Djabal Ḥamrīn, by utilizing the generally dried-up Nahr Rādhān, which is connected with a tributary of the Diyālā (at present it is said to be used for irrigation and does not reach the Diyālā). (The ruins of the dam were first described by J. Ross, *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1840, 121 ff.; then by J. F. Jones, *Bombay Records*, Memoir xliii, 1857, 123; see also E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg 1948, 76 ff.) When the channel of the Nahr Rādhān is opened, the water flows into the Diyālā and the lower ʿAḍaym is almost entirely dried up. Towards its estuary the ʿAḍaym is very scantily supplied with water in the hot season; according to travellers' statements, it is often for some month entirely dried up in its lower course.

The name ʿAḍaym occurs for the first time in the *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ* (8th/14th century), 379, as al-ʿAẓīm or al-ʿUẓayyim; cf. Nahr al-Aʿẓam in Mustawfī (ca. 1340). For the identification of the ʿAḍaym with the Turnat of the cuneiform inscriptions and the Tornadotus (Tornas) of the classical writers, see F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geogr. und Gesch. des alten Orients*², Munich 1904, 5, 293 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Tornadotus; for Radānu (= Nahr Rādhān) in the cuneiform inscriptions, which may have at one time denoted also the lower ʿAḍaym, see Streck, in *ZA*, 1900, 275 and Hommel, 293 ff. It is questionable wheter we may also identify the Gyndes of Herodotus with the ʿAḍaym; cf. Billerbeck, 72 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Gyndes.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 522 ff., 537 ff.; A. Billerbeck, *Mitteilungen d. Vorderas. Ges.*, 1898, 65 ff., 83; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten persischen Martyrer*, 1880, 253, 275.

(M. STRECK*)

AḌDĀD (A.) (plur. of *ḍidd* = "a word that has two contrary meanings"), words which, according to the definition of Arab philologists, have two meanings that are opposite to each other, e.g. the verb *bāʿa* which may mean "to sell" and also "to buy" (= *ishtarā*); even the word *ḍidd* itself belongs to the same category of words, for in such an expression as *lā ḍiddᵃ lahū* it has not the meaning of "opposite", but that of "equal". The *aḍdād*, from their point of view, belong as a particular class to the homonyms (*al-mushtarik* [*q.v.*]), except that the latter class comprises two words that have the same sound but two different meanings (*maʿnayān mukhtalifān*), while in the *aḍdād* the two meanings are directly opposite to each other. The Arabs treated of this lexical question with the passion and accuracy which they applied to all the other domains of their language, and they devoted to it either special chapters of general works (e.g. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, Būlāḳ, i, 186-93; Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xiii, 258-66), or separate monographs. The latter were enumerated for the first time by M. Th. Redslob, *Die arabischen Wörter mit entgegengesetzter Bedeutung*, Göttingen 1873, 7-9 (the name of al-Djāḥiẓ, however, is to be cancelled). While some of these works are known from citations, books called *Kitāb al-Aḍdād* by the following authors are preserved, and in part published: 1) Ḳuṭrub (d. 206/821), ed. H. Kofler, *Islamica*, 1932; 2) al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 216/831), ed. A. Haffner, *Drei arabische Quellenwerke über die Aḍdād*, Beirut 1913, 45-61; 3) Abū ʿUbayd (d. 223/837), see Brockelmann, S I, 167; 4) Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. ca. 250/864), ed. Haffner, ibid., 71-157; 5) Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 243/857), ed. Haffner, ibid., 163-209; 6) Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī (d. 327/939), ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1881; also Cairo 1325; 7) Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ḥalabī (d. 381/991), see Brockelmann, S I, 190; 8) al-Saghānī (d. 650/1252), ed. Haffner, ibid. 221-48.

The opinion which has long been maintained that Arabic, contrary to all the other Semitic languages, contains a very large number of such *aḍdād* is no

longer tenable. If all that is false and all that does not belong here are cut out of the list, there remains also in Arabic only a small residue. Hence al-Mubarrad (MS Leiden 437, p. 180) and Ibn Durustawayh (quoted by al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, i, 191) went so far as to deny entirely the existence of the *aḍdād* in Arabic. Ibn al-Anbārī enumerates in his book more than 400 such *aḍdād*; but in spite of the fullness of the work such words as *ankara*, *walā*, etc. are missing. Redslob has already pointed out that a considerable part of this must be eliminated, as the authors either extend too far the concept of the *aḍdād*, or artificially accumulate as much matter as possible: 1. First of all it must be noted that most of the words quoted were known to or currently used by the Arabs only in one meaning, and the contrary meaning can be evidenced only by scanty and sometimes even contested citations. If it were not so, many misunderstandings would arise in everyday life, while Ibn al-Anbārī in his introduction (p. 1) denies any ambiguity. 2. It is absolutely false to consider the words not only in themselves, but also in their syntactical construction in the sentence, and to establish a *ḍidd* when, through various constructions or interpretations of the sentence, two contrary meanings are possible (Ibn al-Anbārī, loc. cit., 167-8). 3. Particles like *in*, *min*, *an*, *aw*, *mā*, *hal*, must be struck out from the list of *aḍdād*. Such arguments as that *in* means "if" and "not", that is to say, can both indicate the possibility of a thing and negate it, are feeble. Equally trivial are the considerations that verbal forms (*kāna* or *yakūnu*) indicate different tenses, or that proper names (*Isḥāḳ*, *Ayyūb*, *Yaʿḳūb*) may also have secondary meanings. 4. Forms which only in certain circumstances may have a meaning contrary to their usual one could be enumerated in large numbers. Here belong words such as *kaʾs*, goblet, and also its contents, *naḥnu*, we, I; further all the *fāʿil* forms which are also passive (e.g. *wāmiḳ*, *khāʾif*) and the *faʿīl* forms that are also active (e.g. *amīn*); the elatives which may be formed from participles of the first and augmented roots; the verbs that sometimes also in the first form have a causative meaning (e.g. *zāla*) etc.; but none of these cases represent any real *aḍdād*. 5. Equally to be excluded are words which in certain cases are used ironically (*ihtizāʾan* ot *tahakkuman*) e.g. *yā ʿāḳil* ("intelligent one!") for a fool, or euphemistically (*tafāʾul*), as *yā sālim* ("healthy one!") for a sick person. The use of both tropes is at the will of the speaker. 6. The highest degree of arbitrariness and artifice was finally attained by the grammarians who count among the *aḍdād* words like *talʿa* (in the meaning of "waterpipe" and "hill"), on the grounds that water flows downwards and the hill rises upwards.—Most of the examples given by Ibn al-Anbārī fall under one or other of the points just quoted and therefore ought not to be considered as *aḍdād*; only a small residue remains.

The Arabs themselves already sought for explanations for these phenomena, but only one deserves consideration in so far at least as in the interpretation it leads back to the root, whence both meanings have branched out (Ibn al-Anbārī, loc. cit., 5; *al-Muzhir*, i, 193 ff.). The other explanations account only for the actually occurring meanings, and either regard all the *aḍdād* as meanings borrowed by the roots from one another (Ibn al-Anbārī, loc. cit., 7; *al-Muzhir*, i, 194), or attempt, often clumsily, to harmonize the meanings; for instance, the Arabs explain *baʿḍ* in its meaning "whole" by arguing that the whole thing is only a part of something else (Ibn al-Anbārī, 6).

C. Abel, *Uber den Gegensinn der Urworte*, Leipzig 1884 (reprinted in his *Sprachwissenschaftlichen Abhandlungen*, Leipzig 1885) made an attempt to find a general explanation, starting from a single point of view, for the linguistic phenomenon of the "enantiosemia" as a whole. According to him the words used by primitive men were not expressions for certain unambiguous concepts, but described rather the mutual relation between two opposites; e.g. the concept of "strong" could only be understood by a comparison with "weak", and the two sides of the opposition was only gradually distinguished by phonetic changes. The theory of Abel was not accepted by linguists, but found recognition among the psychoanalysts.

R. Gordis, *Words of mutually opposed meaning*, *Am. J. Semit. Lang.*, 1938, 270-80, also endeavours to find an explanation that should be valid for all *aḍdād*. Starting from modern anthropological theories, he connects the *aḍdād* with taboo and mana and concludes that "by and large, words of contradictory meaning endure in the speech of mankind only as survivals from primitive ways of thought .

Against such theories, the prevailing opinion in general linguistics is that the enantiosemia cannot be explained from a unique principle. Words have from their origin a fixed meaning; in the case of each *ḍidd*, therefore, one of the meanings must be considered as original, the other as secondary. The task of linguistics is to trace out in each case the gradual change of meaning, although it is immediately evident that the facts cannot be established for each *ḍidd*. As a matter of fact, the Arab philologists already admitted in principle this doctrine: *al-aṣl li-maʿnan wāḥidin*. That their works, in spite of the richness of their materials, make so slight a contribution to the solution of the problem is due, among other reasons, to the fact that for them the explanation of the *aḍdād* was not so much a scientific task as a purely practical one. To the Arabs it was of prime importance to give as complete an index as possible of all the words destined for daily and literary use, which have contrary meanings; they are therefore often guided simply by exterior consonance; thus for instance they put among the *aḍdād* the word *mūdī*, 1. "perishing" root *wdy*, 2. "vigorous", "strong", root *ʾdy*.

F. Giese, in *Untersuchungen über die Aḍdād auf Grund von Stellen aus altarabischen Dichtern*, Berlin 1894, explained, for most of the *aḍdād* which he found in old poetry, how they passed to the opposite meaning, by arranging them under various semasiological categories: 1. Metonymy, when one meaning of the word is to be explained as being a causal or temporal consequence of another meaning: e.g. *naʾa*, to lift a burden with difficulty, to carry it away; *nāhil*, he who goes to the water, the thirsty one; he who returns from the water, having his thirst quenched. 2. Concatenation of concepts of various kinds; for instance *bayn*, separation and union (according to whether one is separated alone from a group or in union with another), or *djalal* "to be rolled", hence "heavy , but also "to be rolled and whirled up", hence "insignificant", "light". 3. Contraction of concept, either by refining or coarsening it, as for instance *ramma* "to be marrow-like, strong", and "to be marrowless, feeble". 4. For the words of emotion and odour the neutral original meaning "to be excited" is to

be supposed, no matter whether it is applied in a good or bad sense; thus for instance *rāʿa* "to be afraid" and "to be pleased"; *ṭariba* "to be sad" and "to be joyful"; *radjā*, *khāfa*, "to hope" and "to fear"; *dhafar*, *banna*, a "good smell" and a "bad smell". To this class belong also the verbs of conjecture in their double meaning of "to know" and "not to know", e.g. *ẓanna*, *ḥasiba*, *khāla*. 5. Cultural influence has often caused the later differentiation of words originally meaning the same thing in *bāʿa*, *sharā*, "to sell" and "to buy", originally "to exchange". 6. Denominatives, especially in the 2nd and 4th forms, originally meant: "to undertake an action with the object in question", and therefore may be applied both positively and negatively; e.g. *farraʿa*, "to rise", "to sink" (cf. Hebrew *shērēsh*, *siḳḳēl*. — Besides this the lack of compound-forming prepositions in Arabic makes much ambiguity possible (cf. al-Suyuti, 189: *walā* = *aḳbala*, "to turn oneself to" and = *adbara*, "to turn oneself from"; *samiʿa*, "to hear", and "to give ear" in the sense of "to answer"), and there are many *voces ambiguae* or *communis generis* which admit a double interpretation, e.g. *amam*, properly "aim" = a thing of little or of great importance; *maʾtam*, "a gathering place of women", either on sad or on joyous occasions; *zawdj*, "husband", "wife". Finally the many dialectical *aḍdād* are of importance. Arab philologists already quoted such examples; *sudfa* "darkness" in the dialect of the Tamīmites, "light" in that of the Ḳaysites; *wathaba*, "to sit" (= Hebrew *yāshabh*) in the Ḥimyarite dialect, "to spring up" generally in Arabic; further *samīd*, *ḳarʿ*, etc. (cf. C. Landberg, *La langue arabe et ses dialectes*, Leiden 1905, 64 ff.).

The phenomenon of the enantiosema can be observed in all Semitic languages. Hence the monograph of E. Landau, *Die gegensinnigen Wörter im Alt- und Neuhebräischen*, Berlin 1896, was of interest also for the understanding of the Arabic *aḍdād*. The most comprehensive and most critical examination of the subject is by Th. Nöldeke, *Wörter mit Gegensinn* (*Aḍdād*), *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 67-108. 177 *aḍdād* of literary Arabic are examined and explained either etymologically or semasiologically (by pointing out similar changes of meaning), taking into consideration the corresponding roots in the Arabic dialects, in Hebrew and Aramaic, and in the languages of Abyssinia. Though Nöldeke classifies a large number of the changes into certain semasiological categories, he deliberately abstains from seeking a fixed principle or order and states explicitly that "in semasiology fixed and general laws are even less manifest than in phonetics" and that "the variegated reality of human speech resists all attempts to force it into formulas".

As is implied in the preceding argument, enantiosema are to be found in all languages. Jacob Grimm, *Kleinere Aufsätze*, vii, 367, had already drawn attention to this; interesting examples are to be found in K. Nyrop, *Das Leben der Wörter* (transl. R. Vogt). Special attention is drawn to the observations of J. Wackernagel (which might otherwise be overlooked) in a passage of his *Vorlesungen über Syntax*[2], Basel 1928, ii, 235. (G. Weil)

ADEN [see ʿADAN].

ADFŪ (Edfu), provincial capital in Upper Egypt, on the west bank of the Nile, the ancient Apollinopolis Magna of Greek times, the Arabic name of which is a transcription of the Coptic name, Atbō.

At the beginning of the Muslim administration the town was incorporated in the *kūra* of Aswān. It was on the caravan route from Cairo to the south, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is the only medieval traveller who refers to it, as being a day and a night's journey south of Armant. The temple of Adfū is merely mentioned by al-Dimashḳī, but without any description, for it must have been buried in sand. Indeed, Granger's reference to it, in 1730, is the first allusion to it by a European: he saw there 'the remains of a temple which one could not enter, and it was full of earth and rubbish'. We must wait for Vivant Denon to obtain a less rudimentary account; on him the temple made a tremendous impression. In the year 700/1300 some brickworkers brought to light the statue of a woman seated on a throne, on which were hieroglyphic inscriptions.

The district of Adfū seems to have been very fertile, and particularly rich in palm-trees. Its dates were made into cakes, after first being pounded. In the Mamlūk period its annual revenue was 17,000 dīnārs from an area of 24,762 *faddāns*. Al-Adfūwī is full of praise for the good qualities of the people of Adfū, whom he describes as generous, discreet, sincere, welcoming to strangers, and charitable.

No events memorable in history seem to have taken place in the town.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, *MIFAO*, xlix, 125 (with bibliog.); Yāḳūt, i, 168-9; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v, 29; *Égypte de Murtadi*, re-ed. Wiet, introd., 113-4; Carré, *Voyageurs français en Égypte*, i, 65, 89, 134. (G. Wiet)

AḌḤĀʾ [see ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀʾ].

ʿADHĀB (a.), "torment, suffering, affliction", inflicted by God or a human ruler, and in so far as it expresses not only absolute power but also love of justice, also "punishment, chastisement (*ʿuḳūba*)". The divine judgments, which are often mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, strike the individual as well as whole nations in the life of this world as well as in the life to come. It is mainly unbelief, doubt of the divine mission of the prophets and apostles, rebellion against God, that are punished in this manner [see ʿĀD, FIRʿAWN, LŪṬ, NŪḤ, THAMŪD, and others]. With regard to the punishments in the life to come, which begin already in the grave, see ʿADHĀB AL-ḲABR, DJAHANNAM.

For legal punishments, see ʿUḲŪBĀT.

(Th. W. Juynboll)

ʿADHĀB al-ḲABR, the punishment in the tomb, also called punishment in *barzakh* [*q.v.*]. The idea is based on the conception that the dead had a continued and conscious existence of a kind in their grave. So arose the doctrine of the two judgements, one which involves punishment or bliss in the grave and a subsequent judgement on the Day of Resurrection [for which see AL-ḲIYĀMA]. There are various ideas of what happens between death and resurrection.

1. The grave is a garden of paradise or a pit of hell; angels of mercy come for the souls of believers and angels of punishment for the infidels. The souls of believers are birds in the trees of paradise and will be united with their bodies at the resurrection; martyrs are already in paradise.

2. The dead are tortured by the weeping of the mourners, especially the wicked, hearing the steps of the mourners as they leave; the believer finds his grave spacious, 70 cubits by 70, while the unbeliever is crushed by his grave till his ribs inter

lock. The grave asks the dead man about his religion and the believer's good works answer for him. A sinner may be tormented by a snake of fire which bites him till the day of judgement.

3. Two angels, Munkar and Nakīr, black with blue eyes, make the dead man sit up and ask him about his religion. The believer answers with the "steadfast word" (Ḳur'ān, xiv, 26) and is shown the place in hell from which he is delivered and the place reserved for him in paradise; there upon he is left alone till the Day of Resurrection. The unbeliever cannot answer, so the angels beat him with iron whips which cause flames, and the blows are heard by all creation except men and *d̲j̲inn*. It is a less reliable doctrine that punishment is of the spirit only. There are elaborate arguments to prove that those whose bodies are left impaled and those who were eaten by wild beasts suffer from it. The punishment lasts as long as it will please Allāh, according to some authorities till the Day of Resurrection, except on Fridays. It may be eased as long as a branch planted on the grave is green. The angels draw the souls out of the bodies; those of believers come out easily while those of unbelievers have to be dragged out causing severe pain. Variations in detail are many. The questioning of believers lasts seven days, that of unbelievers forty; or unbelievers are not questioned and the angels proceed at once to punishment: martyrs, infants and those who have performed certain acts of supererogation are not questioned.

In some sources a distinction is made between the punishment and the pressure (*dag̲h̲ṭa*) in the tomb, the righteous faithful being exempt from the former, not from the latter, whereas the infidels and the sinners suffer punishment as well as pressure. The prophet's daughter, Fāṭima, and some others escape being crushed.

The punishment in the tomb is not plainly mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. Allusions to the idea may be found in several passages, e.g. Ḳur'ān, xlvii, 26: "But how when the angels, causing them to die, shall smite them on their faces and backs"; vi, 92: "But couldst thou see, when the ungodly are in the floods of death, and angels reach forth their hands, saying, Yield up your souls: this day shall ye be recompensed with a humiliating punishment"; viii, 49: "And if thou wert to see when the angels take the life of the unbelievers; they smite their faces and their backs, and taste ye the torture of burning" (cf. further ix, 100; xxiii, 20; lii, 46).

The punishment of the tomb is very frequently mentioned in Tradition (see *Bibliography*), often, however, without the mention of angels. In the latter group of traditions it is simply said that the dead are punished in their tombs, or why, e.g. on account of special sins they have committed.

The names of Munkar and Nakīr do not appear in the Ḳur'ān, and once only in canonical Tradition (al-Tirmid̲h̲ī, *D̲j̲anā'iz*, *bāb* 70). Apparently these names do not belong to the old stock of traditions. Moreover, in some traditions one anonymous angel only is mentioned as the angel who interrogates and punishes the dead (Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 163; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunna*, *bāb* 39b; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 233, 346; iv, 150; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 753). So there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding this subject: the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning "the" angel, the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakīr.

This state of things is reflected in the development of the creed. The *Fiḳh Akbar* I, which may date from the middle of the 2nd/8th century, gives only a short reference to the punishment of the tomb (art. 10). The *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, which may represent the orthodox views of the middle of the 3rd/9th century, mentions both the punishment and the interrogation by Munkar and Nakīr. The *Fiḳh Akbar II*, which may represent the new orthodoxy of the middle of the 4th/10th century A.D., is still more elaborate (art. 23): "The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakīr is a reality, and the reunion of the body with the spirit in the tomb is a reality. The pressure and the punishment in the tomb are a reality that will take place in the case of all the infidels, and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful". In the later creeds and works on dogmatics the punishment and the interrogation in the tomb by Munkar and Nakīr are treated in a similar way.

The K̲h̲awārid̲j̲, some Muʿtazilīs and some of the extreme S̲h̲īʿa do not believe in punishment in the grave. Some Muʿtazilīs explained Munkar as the muttering of the unbeliever as he stumbles in his reply and Nakīr as the violence done to him. Others said that Munkar and Nakīr were not individuals but two classes of angels because men were dying every minute in all parts of the world and two individuals could not be everywhere at once. Another rationalisation was that the two were personifications of a man's good and evil deeds, promising him bliss or misery.

The Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] taught the identity of Munkar and Nakīr with the two guardian angels who accompany man (ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1928, p. 246). Al-G̲h̲azzālī holds that all eschatological ideas are a reality that takes place in the *malakūt*.

The origin of the names Munkar and Nakīr is uncertain; the meaning "disliked" seems doubtful. The idea of the examination and the punishment of the dead in their tombs is found among other peoples also. The details to be found in Jewish sources (*ḥibbūṭ haḳ-ḳeber*) are strikingly parallel to the Muslim ones; the idea is, however, rather late among the Jews and apparently belongs to the post-Islamic period. (See J. C. G. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen 1748, ii, 95 f.; *Jewish Enc.*, s.v. *Ḥibbuṭ ha-Ḳeber*.)

Bibliography: The passages from *ḥadīt̲h̲* in Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Grave(s); further E. Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, London 1880, 145; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i, 46; Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, general index, s.v. Punishment, and Munkar and Nakīr; commentary on the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, Ḥaydarābād 1321, 22; Ṭaḥāwī, *Bayān al-Sunna wa 'l-D̲j̲amāʿa*, Ḥalab 1344, 9; Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī, *ʿAḳā'id*, Istanbul 1313, with the commentary of Taftāzānī, 132 ff.; G̲h̲azzālī, *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1302, iv, 451 ff.; id., *al-Durra al-Fāk̲h̲ira* (Gautier), 23 ff.; Ibn Rad̲j̲ab al-Ḥanbalī, *Aḥwāl al-Ḳubūr fī Aḥwāl Ahlihā ila 'l-Nus̲h̲ūr*, Mecca 1357; *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-Ḳiyāma* (M. Wolff), 40 f.; R. Eklund, *Life between Death and Resurrection according to Islam*, Uppsala 1941.

(A. J. Wensinck-A. S. Tritton)

AD̲H̲ĀN, "announcement", a technical term for the call to the divine service of Friday and the five daily *ṣalāts* [see ṢALĀT].

According to Muslim tradition, the Prophet, soon after his arrival at Madīna (1 or 2 years after the

Hidjra), deliberated with his companions on the best manner of announcing to the faithful the hour of prayer. Some proposed that every time a fire should be kindled, a horn should be below or *nāḳūs* (i.e. a long piece of wood clapped with another piece of wood; with such a *nāḳūs* the Christians in the East used at that time to announce the hour of prayer) should be used. But one Muslim, ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd, related that he saw in a dream somebody who from the roof of the mosque called the Muslims to prayer. ʿUmar recommended that manner of announcing the *ṣalāt*, and as all agreed to it, this *adhān* was introduced by order of the Prophet. From that time the believers were convoked by Bilāl, and up to our days the *adhān* is called out at the time of the *ṣalāt*.

Becker (*Isl.*, 1912, 386 ff.) finds the historical model of the *adhān* in Christian Worship, Mittwoch (*Abh. Pr. Ak.W.*, 1913, Phil.-hist. Classe, No. 2, 22 ff.), perhaps less convincingly, in Jewish liturgy.

The *adhān* of the orthodox Muslim consists of seven formulas, of which the sixth is a repetition of the first:

1. *Allāhᵘ akbar*: "Allāh is most great".
2. *Ashhadu an lā ilāhᵃ illa 'llāh*: "I testify that there is no god besides Allāh".
3. *Ashhadu anna Muḥammadᵃⁿ rasūl Allāh*: "I testify that Muḥammed is the apostle of Allāh".
4. *Ḥayya ʿala 'l-ṣalāt*: "Come to prayer"!
5. *Ḥayya ʿala 'l-falāḥ*: "Come to salvation"!
6. *Allāhᵘ akbar*: "Allāh is most great".
7. *Lā ilāhᵃ illa 'llāh*: "The is no god besides Allāh".

The first formula is repeated four (by the Mālikites two) times one after the other, the other formulas are repeated twice each, except the last words: *lā ilāhᵃ illa 'llāh*, which are pronounced only once. The 2nd and 3rd formulas after being pronounced twice are repeated a third time in a louder voice. This repetition (*tardjīʿ*) is generally considered as recommended by the law, only the Ḥanafites forbid it. At the morning prayer (*ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*) the words *al-ṣalāt khayr min al-nawm* ("prayer is better than sleep") are added in the *adhān*. This formula, also pronounced two times and called *tathwīb* (repetition), is inserted between the 5th and 6th formulas, but the Ḥanafites pronounce it at the end.

The *adhān* of the Shīʿites differs from that of the Sunnites in that the former has an eighth formula (inserted between the fifth and the sixth): *Ḥayya ʿalā khayr al-ʿamal*, "Come to the best work"! These words have at all times been the shibboleth of the Shīʿites; when called from the minarets in an orthodox country, the inhabitants knew that the government had become Shīʿite (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 63; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe* i, text, p. 60; transl., p. 169). The Shīʿites pronounce also the final formula two times.

The Muslims who hear the *adhān* must repeat its formulas, but instead of the fourth and fifth, they recite: *lā ḥawlᵃ wa-lā ḳuwwatᵃ illā bi-'llāh*, "there is no strength nor power but in Allāh", and instead of the *tathwīb* formula in the morning *adhān*, they say: *ṣadaḳta wa-bararta*, "thou hast spoken truthfully and rightly".

The *adhān* is followed by formulas of glorification which are recommended and precisely determined by the law. They are omitted only after the call to the *maghrib ṣalāt*, because the space of time,i n which this prayer must be said, is very short.

There is no fixed melody for the *adhān*. Every *adhān* may be modulated at will with any known tune, provided that the right pronunciation of the words is not impaired by it. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 87: "In Mecca one hears different airs at the same time. Like the recitation of the Ḳur'ān, the singing of the *adhān* is in Mekka a highly developed art". Only among the Ḥanbalites there are doctors who do not allow any melody for the *adhān*, and the Wahhābīs follow this doctrine. The Ibāḍīs, too, do not sing the *adhān*. [For the melody of the *adhān* see also GHINĀ.]

Every Muslim who, alone or with others, recites the above-mentioned *ṣalāts* at home or in the field should pronounce the *adhān* in a loud voice as is recommended by the law (cf. Snouck Hurgrunje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, 87 = *Verspr. Geschr.* v, 83). At mosques, a *mu'adhdhin* [*q.v.*] is often appointed to perform the *adhān*.

The call to the other public *ṣalāts*, e.g. those of the two feasts, those at sun and moon eclipses, etc., has only one formula: *al-ṣalāt djāmiʿatᵃⁿ*, "come to the public prayer"! This formula is said to have been current already in the time of the Prophet. Cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, 1895, 315.

Important information on the modifications of the *adhān* formulas introduced at various times and in various places from the beginning of Islām is to be found in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 269 f.

Owing to the profession of faith frequently occurring in the *adhān*, the Muslims pronounce it in the right ear of a child shortly after its birth (cf. Lane, *Arab. Society in the Middle Ages*, 186; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 138) as well as in the ear of people supposed to be possessed of *djinn* (evil spirits).

The *ṣalāt* in the mosque is immediately preceded by a second call, the *iḳāma* [*q.v.*], which contains the same formulas as the *adhān*.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Adhān; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, French translation by O. Houdas and W. Marçais, i, 141 f.; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 65 f.; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, i, 175 ff.; I. Guidi, *Sommario del diritto malechita di Halīl Ibn Isḥāq*, i, 50 ff.; H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, 18 f.; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, i, 66 ff.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL *)

ĀDHĀR [see TA'RĪKH].

ĀDHARBAYDJĀN (AZARBĀYDJĀN) (i) province of Persia; (ii) Soviet Socialist Republic.

(i) The great province of Persia, called in Middle Persian Āturpātākān, older new-Persian Ādharbādhagān, Ādharbāyagān, at present Āzarbāydjān, Greek Ἀτροπατήνη, Byzantine Greek Ἀδραβιγάνων, Armenian Atrapatakan, Syriac Adhorbāyghān. The province was called after the general Atropates ("protected by fire"), who at the time of Alexander's invasion proclaimed his independence (328 B.C.) and thus preserved his kingdom (Media Minor, Strabo, xi, 13, 1) in the north-western corner of later Persia (cf. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, in Yāḳūt, i, 172, and al-Maḳdisī, 375: Ādharbādh b. Bīwarasf). The dynasty of Atropates flourished under the Arshakids and married into the royal house. The last scion of the house, Gaius Julius Artawazd, died in Rome in A.D. 38, when the kingdom was already incorporated by the Arshakids. (For the ancient history cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Atropatene.) Under the Sāsānians Ādharbaydjān was ruled by a *marzubān* and towards the end of the period belonged to the family of Farrukh-Hormizd, (see Marquart, *Eranšahr*, 108-14). The capital of Ādharbaydjān was at Shīz (or Ganzak), which corresponds to the ruins

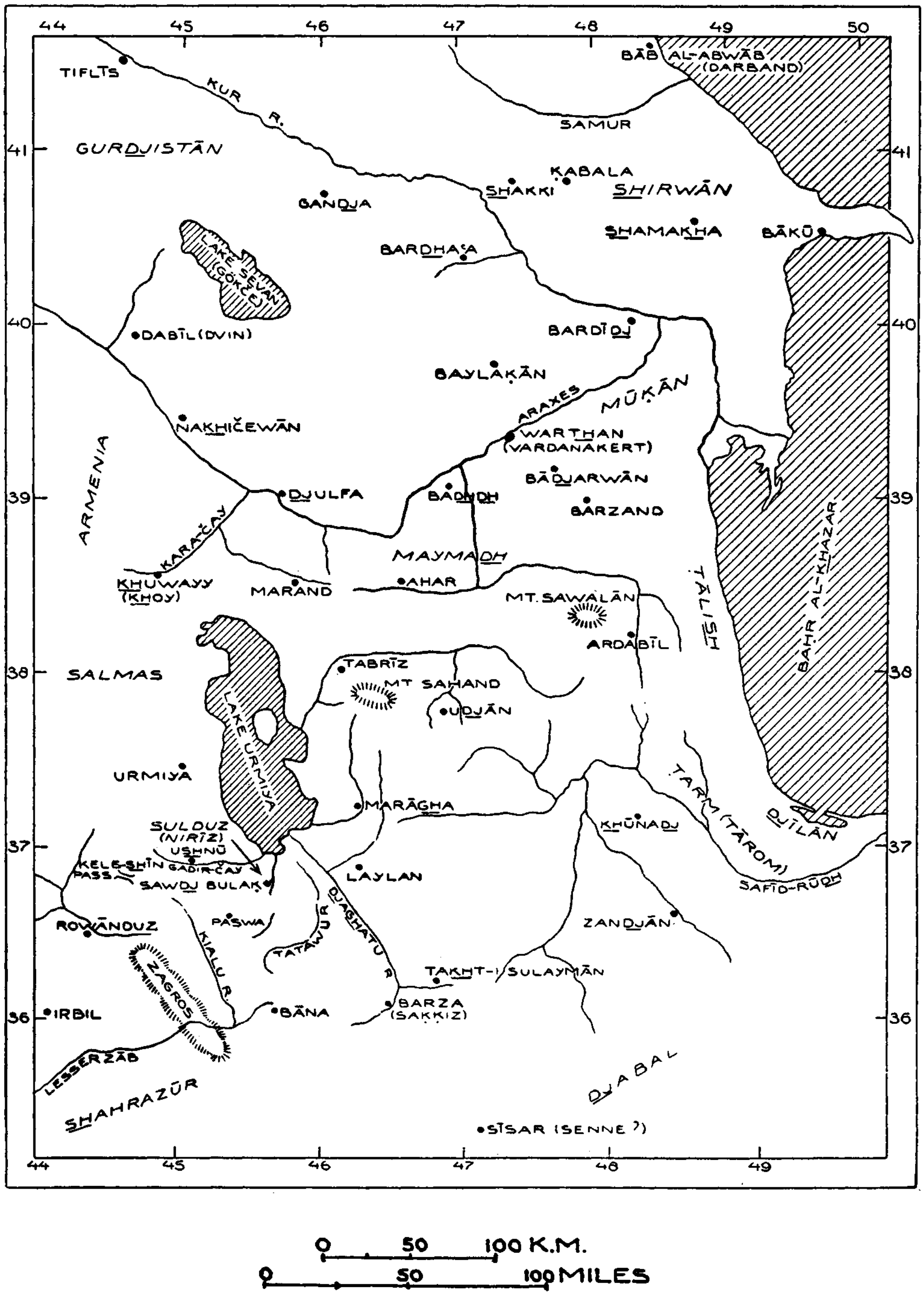

ĀDHARBAYDJĀN

of Laylān (south-east of Lake Urmiya). It possessed a famous firetemple which the Sāsānian kings visited on their accession. Later the fire was removed to the less accessible Ars͟hakid castle of Βιθαρμαΐς, Θηβαρμαΐς (now Tak͟ht-i Sulaymān).

The Arab conquest of Ād͟harbayd͟jān is variously recorded under the years 18-22/639-43. In the days of ʿUmar, Ḥud͟hayfa b. al-Yamān is said to have conquered Ād͟harbayd͟jān coming from Nihāwand; other expeditions came from S͟hahrazūr. Ḥud͟hayfa made a treaty with the *marzubān* whose capital was in Ardabīl. He agreed to pay 800,000 dirhams and the Arabs promised not to enslave anyone, to respect the fire-temples and the ceremonies held in them, and to protect the population against the Kurds (nomads) of Balāsagān, Sabalān and S͟hātrūd͟hān.

The population of Ād͟harbayd͟jān (of Iranian origin) spoke a multitude of dialects (al-Maḳdisī, 375: 70 languages near Ardabīl). Arab chieftains settled in various districts: Rawwād al-Azdī in the region of Tabrīz; Baʿīt͟h al-Rabīʿa in Marand; Murr b. ʿAli al-Rudaynī south of Lake Urmiya, etc. They were gradually absorbed by the native population and towards the middle of the 4th/10th century the Rawwādids were considered as Kurds. (See in detail Sayyid A. Kasrawī, *Pāds͟hāhān-i gum-nām*, i-iii, Teheran 1928-9.)

After the revolt of Bābak [*q.v.*], the grip of the caliphate on Ād͟harbayd͟jān weakened. The last energetic governors of the province (276-317/889-929) were the Sād͟jids [*q.v.*] who themselves ended in revolt. After their fall native dynasties sprang up in Ād͟harbayd͟jān. After the K͟hārid͟jite Daysam (half Arab and half Kurd), Ād͟harbayd͟jān was occupied by the Daylamite Marzubān b. Muḥammad, of the *bāṭinī* creed (see MUSĀFIRIDS). The Daylamites were succeeded by the Kurdish Rawwādids [*q.v.*] (373-463/983-1070).

In the beginning of the 5th/11th century the G͟huzz hordes, first in smaller parties, and then in considerable numbers, under the Seld͟jūḳids occupied Ād͟harbayd͟jān. In consequence, the Iranian population of Ād͟harbayd͟jān and the adjacent parts of Transcaucasia became Turkophone. In 531/1136 Ād͟harbayd͟jān fell to the lot of the *atābek* Ildigiz [*q.v.*] (better *Eldigüz) whose descendants ruled, in competition with the Aḥmadīlīs [*q.v.*], till the short-lived invasion of the K͟hʷārizm-s͟hāh D͟jalāl al-Dīn (622-8/1225-31) at whose heels came the Mongols. With the arrival of the Il-k͟hān Hūlāgū (654/1256) Ād͟harbayd͟jān became the centre of a great empire extending from the Oxus to Syria. The residence of the Mongols was first in Marāg͟ha [*q.v.*] and then in Tabrīz [*q.v.*] which became a great centre of trade and cultural life. After the Mongols and their successors the D͟jalāʾirs [*q.v.*], Ād͟harbayd͟jān was occupied by the Turkmens returning from the west (the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]) whose capital was in Tabrīz (780-908/1378-1502).

After 907/1502 Ād͟harbayd͟jān became the chief bulwark and rallying ground of the Ṣafawids, themselves natives of Ardabīl and originally speaking the local Iranian dialect. In the meantime, between 1514 and 1603, the Ottomans frequently occupied Tabrīz and other parts of the province. The Persian control was restored by S͟hāh ʿAbbās but during the Afg͟hān invasion (1135-42/1722-8) the Ottomans recaptured Ād͟harbayd͟jān and other western provinces of Persia, until Nādir S͟hāh expelled them.

In the beginning of the reign of Karīm K͟hān Zand the Afg͟hān Āzād K͟hān revolted in Ād͟harbayd͟jān and later the Dumbuli Kurds of K͟hoy and other tribal chiefs lorded it over various parts of Ād͟harbayd͟jān.

With the advent of the Ḳād͟jārs Ād͟harbayd͟jān became the traditional residence of the heirs-apparent. In the north the final frontier with Russia (along the Araxes) was established in 1828 (treaty of Turkmančay). The western frontier with Turkey was delimitated only in 1914, and under Riḍā S͟hāh Persia ceded to Turkey a small area north of the Ararat.

After 1905 the representatives of Ād͟harbayd͟jān took a lively part in the Persian revolution. On 3 April 1908 Russian troops arrived in Ād͟harbayd͟jān, by agreement with Great Britain, to protect the foreign colonies in Tabrīz, but then prolonged their stay under various pretexts, and in 1914-7 warred with the Turks with varying fortune. They evacuated Ād͟harbayd͟jān after the Russian revolution (1917), and on 8 June the Turks arrived and installed in Tabrīz a Turcophile government. About this time there appeared the first traces of Ād͟harbayd͟jānī self-consciousness. The Persian control was restored by the future Riḍā S͟hāh on 5 September 1921. After the events of 1941 (see ĪRĀN) the Soviet forces occupied the northern provinces, including Ād͟harbayd͟jān. Under cover of the occupation, there developed a movement for the autonomy of Ād͟harbayd͟jān within the limits of the Persian state. The Russians evacuated Ād͟harbayd͟jān by the beginning of May 1946 (instead of March 1946, as first agreed) and this delay led to a great discussion in the United Nations and to the first official split among the Allies. After the evacuation, the Premier Ḳawām recognised the provincial autonomy of Ād͟harbayd͟jān in an agreement signed on 13 June 1946, by which the rights of local self-government with the use of the local Turkish dialect were guaranteed. However, on 4 November, Persian troops moved into Ād͟harbayd͟jān and the *status quo ante* was restored.

Geography. The list of towns and districts of Ād͟harbayd͟jān in Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 119, is important for the composition of the province (*kūra*) soon after the conquest, and possibly even under the Sāsānians: 1. Marāg͟ha; 2. Miyānad͟j; 3. Ardabīl; 4. Sīsar (= Senna); 5. Barza (= Saḳḳiz?); 6. Sābur-k͟hāst; 7. Tabrīz; 8. Marand; 9. K͟hoy; 10. Kūlsara; 11. Mūḳān; 12. Barzand; 13. D͟janza (Ganzak); 14. D͟jābarwān; 15. Nirīz; 16. Urmiya; 17. Salmās; 18. S͟hīz; 19. Rustāḳ al-Salaḳ; 20. Rustāk Sind-bāya (*Sind-pāye); 21. al-Bad͟hd͟h; 22. Urm; 23. Balwān-Karad͟j (= Ḳarad͟ja-dag͟h?); 24. Rustāḳ Sarāh (Sarāb); 25. Daskiyāwar (?); 26. Rustāḳ Māy-pahrad͟j. Of these nos. 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19 and 26 lie to the south of Lake Urmiya (in the direction of Daynawar); nos. 7, 8, 9, 16 and 17 in the north-western corner; nos. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 21, 22, 23 and 24 east of the meridian of Tabrīz. Nos. 20 and 25 cannot be located. The frontier in the south was no. 26: "the watch of Media" (possibly the present day Sunḳur [*q.v.*]; in the east, it passed between Miyāna and Zand͟jān [*q.v.*]; in the N.E. Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 121, names Wart͟hān (now Altan on the south bank of the Araxes) as "the end of the *ʿamal* of Ād͟harbayd͟jān". Thus the territory of the province closely corresponded to its present extent, but as Ād͟harbayd͟jān was usually governed jointly with the neighbouring Armenia and Arrān (see al-Maḳdisī, 374: *iḳlīm al-riḥāb* comprising the three provinces), administrative frontiers were subject to temporary changes, especially in later times. In al-Maḳdisī, 374, K͟hoy,

Urmiya and even Dākharraķān (south of Tabrīz) are reckoned to Armenia. According to Yāķūt (13th century) Ādharbaydjān extended down to Bardhaʿa (Parthav). In *Nuzhat al-Ķulūb* (730/1340), 89, Nakhićewan and Ordūbād, on the left bank of the Araxes, are mentioned under Ādharbaydjān.

Very characteristic for Ādharbaydjān are the high peaks rising in various parts of the territory, with ranges of mountains connecting them: Mt. Sawalān west of Ardabīl (15,792 feet), Mt. Sahand, south of Tabrīz (12,000 feet), the Lesser Ararat (12,840 feet) south of which runs the long range which forms the frontier with Turkey and ʿIrāķ, and which in its southern part is studded with high peaks. The central parts of Ādharbaydjān consist both of considerable plains (Tabrīz, Marand, Khoy, Salmās) and of high plateaux burrowed by deep gorges.

The territory of Ādharbaydjān belongs to the basins of the Caspian, of Lake Urmiya and of the Tigris. Towards the Caspian flow: (i) the tributaries of the Safīd Rūd having their sources on the south-eastern face of Mt. Sahand, and (ii) the southern tributaries of the Araxes (the river of Ardabīl, Ķara-su; the rivers of Ķaradja-dagh; the river of Khoy and the river of Mākū, Zangi-čay). The internal Lake Urmiya [*q.v.*] drains an area of 52,500 sq. km (the rivers of Marāgha, Sufi-čay etc.; the river of Tabrīz, Adjī-čay; the numerous rivers of Salmās and Urmiya; the important rivers of the Kurdish districts, Djaghatū, Tatawū, Gādir). The Lesser Zāb rises on the Persian side of the frontier range and, through the gap of Alān, emerges into the plains of Northern ʿIrāķ to join the Tigris.

The population of Ādharbayadjān lives chiefly in villages. The largest towns are Tabrīz (280,000 inhabitants), Ardabīl (63,000), Urmiya, Khoy (49,000), Marāgha (35,000). The semi-nomads are found on the Mūghān steppe (the Turkish Shāhsewan [*q.v.*]) and in the Kurdish districts along the Turkish frontier and south of Lake Urmiya. The population in its great majority speaks the local dialect of "Ādharbaydjān Turkish" (see ADHARĪ). The characteristic features of the latter are Persian intonations and disregard of the vocalic harmony, reflecting the non-Turkish origin of the Turkicised population. The remains of the old Iranian (*ādharī*) dialects are found in small groups in Ķaradja-dagh, near Sahand, near Djulfa, etc. Persian is the official language learnt at school. Armenians and Assyrians ("Aysor") are found in the districts to the west of Lake Urmiya. Kurdish is spoken along the western frontier and in the southern districts, to the west of the Tatawū river.

Bibliography: J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 1901, 108-14; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, viii, 1932-4, 959-1600 (a most detailed digest of Arab geographers); Le Strange, 159 ff.; V. Minorsky, *Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene*, *BSOAS*, 1944, 245-65 (cf. E. Honigmann, in *Byzantion*, 1944-5, 389-93). For the list of Arab governors cf. R. Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter von Armenien, etc.* (750-887), Vienna 1931. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 763-1048; Khanikoff and Kiepert, *Map of Aderbaijan*, in *Z. f. allgem. Erd.*, 1862; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique*, i, 290-358; *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyāʾi-yi Īrān*, iv, 1951, (lists of villages, maps); A. Monaco, *L'Azerbeigian persiano*, *Soc. geogr. italiana*, 1928. See also ARDABĪL, BARZAND, GANZA, KHOY, MARĀGHA, MARAND, MŪĶĀN, NIRĪZ, SALMĀS, SAʾUDJBULAĶ (Mahābād), SHĪZ, SĪSAR, SULDUZ, TABRĪZ, URMIYA, USHNŪ. (V. MINORSKY)

(ii) Azerbaydjān, Soviet Socialist Republic (Az. SSR) in the eastern part of Transcaucasia, between the south-eastern branches of the Caucasus, the Caspian coast and the Araxes (which separates it from the Persian province of the same name). In the north-east it borders on the Dāghestān Autonomous republic (part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, RSFSR). In the north-west it borders on the Georgian S.S. Republic (along the Alazan) and in the west on the Armenian S.S. Republic (along the line running east of Lake Sewan = Gökče). In the south-west the autonomous republic (ASSR) of Nakhčewan, locked within the Armenian territories, is part of the Azerbaidjan republic, whereas the highlands of Ķara-bakh (with a considerable Armenian population) form an autonomous territory (*oblast*) within Azerbaydjān.

Historically the territory of the republic corresponds to the Albania of the classical authors (Strabo, xi, 4; Ptolemy, v, 11), or in Armenian Alvan-kʿ, and in Arabic Arrān [*q.v.*]. The part of the republic lying north of the Kur (Kura) formed the kingdom of Sharwān (later Shirwān [*q.v.*]).

After the collapse of the Imperial Russian army Bākū was protectively occupied by the Allies (General Dunsterville, 17 August-14 Sept. 1918) on behalf of Russia. The Turkish troops under Nūrī Pasha occupied Bākū on 15 Sept. 1918 and reorganized the former province under the name of Azarbaydjān—as it was explained, in view of the similarity of its Turkish-speaking population with the Turkish-speaking population of the Persian province of Ādharbaydjān. When after the Mudros armistice the Allies reoccupied Bākū (17 Oct. 1918), General Thomson (28 Dec. 1918) recognized the existing Azarbaydjān government of the *Musāwāt* party as the only local authority. After the evacuation of the Allies, the Soviet regime was proclaimed in Bākū on 28 April 1920, without armed opposition, and Azerbaydjān became one of the three republics of the federated Transcaucasia. In 1936 the federation came to an end and on the 5 Dec. 1936 Azerbaydjān was admitted into the U.S.S.R. as one of the sixteen constituent republics of the Union.

The present-day republic possesses an area of 87,700 sq. km. and a population of 3.2 million, of which 28% live in towns. Local Turks are in a majority of 3/5, whereas the Armeninas form 12% of the population, and Russians 10%. The capital of the republic, Bākū [*q.v.*], counts 809,000 inhabitants, Gandja [*q.v.*] (formerly Elizavetpol and Kirovābād) 99,000. Other large towns are Shamākhī, Ķuba, Sāliyān, Nukhī, Mingečawr, etc.

Bibliography: *Bolshaye Sovietskaye Entsik.*, 1951; *Chambers's Encyc.*, 1950; L. C. Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*, London 1920. (V. MINORSKY)

ADHARGŪN (P., "flame-coloured"; Arabic ADHARYŪN), a plant about 2-3 feet high with finger-long elongated leaves, of a red-yellow colour, and malodorous blossoms with a black kernel. The identification of this plant is not yet well established: in Greek κερὰ ἀζάριον occurs synonymously with *senecio vulgaris*, the common groundsel (B. Langkavel, *Botanik der spätern Griechen*, 1866, 74; I. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, 1879, 47). The descriptions of the Arabian authors leave a choice between the dark yellow *buphthalmos*, for which Clément-Mullet decided, and the *calendula officinalis*, marigold, which indeed unites the characteristic features of shape, hue and smell and which formerly was officinal. In Arab medicine *adharyūn* passed for a

cordial, an antidote, etc. The plant played in popular belief a greater part than in medicine: it was believed that its odour alone was sufficient to cause or to facilitate delivery as well as to drive away flies, rats and lizards.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 16; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Falāḥa*, transl. Clément-Mullet, Paris 1866, i, 269; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld) i, 271; L. Leclerc, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, xxiii, 38; Meyerhof and Sobhy, *The abridged version of "the Book of Simple Drugs" etc.*, i, 146 ff. (J. Hell)

ĀDHARĪ (AZERĪ), a Turkish dialect.

(i) Language, (ii) literature.

(i) LANGUAGE

The word Ādharī, which means "pertaining to Ādharbaydjān", has been used to denote various ethnic groups from the 10th century onward. It was applied to the Ādharbaydjān Republic founded in the Caucasus in 1918, and is extended in the present day to cover not only the Soviet Republic of Ādharbaydjān and Persian Ādharbaydjān but also the Turkish populations of Khurāsān, Astarābād, Hamadān and other parts of Persia, Dāghestān and Georgia.

Ādharī Turkish has long maintained its identity as a literary language. According to the latest morphological classification of the Turkish dialects (Radloff, Samoilovich), it forms the "Southern Turkish" group, along with the Turkish of Anatolia, Turkmenistān, the Balkan peninsula and the Crimean littoral. Although the last word on the subject has not yet been said, the dialects of spoken Ādharī seem to fall into the following main groups: (i) Bākū-Shirwān; (ii) Gandja-Karabāgh; (iii) Tabrīz; (iv) Urmiya.

The chief phonetic and morphological characteristics of Ādharī are summarized below (the forms in brackets are those of the Turkish of Turkey).

a. *Vowels*:

There are two *e*-sounds an open [ɛ] and a closed [e] (here shown as *ẹ*). The former represents the sound of *fatḥa* in Arabic and Persian borrowings: *feget* (*fakat*), *veten* (*vatan*). So too in conjunction with *ʿayn* (which medially is heard as a pause): *etir* (*ıtır*), *eli* (*Ali*), *me'den* (*maden*), *ye'ni* (*yani*), *me'şuχ* (*mâşuk*).

Closed *ẹ* occurs in initial syllables where other dialects of the group have *i*: *ẹniş* (*iniş*), *ẹndir-* (*indir-*), *ẹkiz* (*ikiz*), *ẹlm* (*ilim*), *ẹtibar* (*itibar*). It is also heard in the diphthong in *ẹyn* (*ayn*), *ẹyni* (*ayni*).

Initial *ı* has become *i* in modern Ādharī: *iraχ* (*ırak*), *ilχ* (*ılık*), *ilan* (*yılan*).

av, *ev* of other dialects and Arabic *au*, appear as *oy*, *öy*, *ou*, *ō* or *ȫ*: *pilō* (*pilav*), *douşan*, *dōşan* (*tavşan*), *ōdan* (*avdan*), *söymek* (*sevmek*), *öy* (*ev*) *döylet* (*devlet*), *döşürmek* (*devşirmek*), *tōχ* (*tavuk*), *cōher* (*cevher*).

b. *Consonants*:

The sound of *ḳ* is rare in Ādhharī. Initially it is replaced by *g*, medially and finally by *χ*, except in foreign borrowings, where medial *ḳ* becomes *g* or *γ*. When doubled, it is pronounced *ḳg*: *gaya* (*kaya*), *gardaş* (*kardeş*), *baχmaχ* (*bakmak*), *hegiget* (*hakikat*), *egide* (*akide*), *aγıl* (*akıl*), *teγvim* (*takvim*), *baḳgal* (*bakkal*), *saḳga* (*sakka*).

Palatal *k* replaces palatal *g* at the beginnings of words: *köç-* (*göç-*), *kölge* (*gölge*). In the Ādharī of Gandja and Persia, medial and final *k* is pronounced like the *ch* of German *ich*: *böyüḫ* (*büyük*), *çeḫmeḫ* (*çekmek*).

Initial *y* disappears: *il* (*yıl*), *üz* (*yüz*).

Initial *t* and *d* interchange, with no apparent rule: *tut* (*dut*), *tüşmek* (*düşmek*), *dartmaχ* (*tartmak*). In foreign words, final *t* is lost after *χ* or *s*, but is preserved when followed by a vowel: *vaχ* (*vakit*), *evdes* (*abdest*), *dos* (*dost*), but *vaχtim*, *evdeste*, *dosta*.

Initial *b* is almost always changed to *m* under the influence of a following *n*: *men* (*ben*), *minmek* (*binmek*), *muncuχ* (*boncuk*). Exceptions: *buynuz* (*boynuz*), *bende*.

ñ survives in some dialects: *doñuz* (*domuz*), *maña* (*bana*). In others it is dropped, nasalizing the preceding vowel: *mãa* (*bana*), *kõul* (*gönül*), *gözũa* (*gözüne*). In the dialects of Bākū and Persia it becomes *w*, particularly in the genitive, dative and accusative cases of the possessive forms of nouns: *ẹvüwüñ* (*evinin*), *ẹvüwe*, *ẹvüwi*.

r disappears from some words in the various dialects, with no definite rule, and in the Ādharī of Persia is regularly dropped from the 2nd person singular and plural and the 3rd person plural of verbal forms: see under *Verbs*, below. *dir*/*dır* loses its *r*, becoming *di*/*dı*.

l is commonly dropped from *değil*: *döyü*, *dẹy*, *dẹyi*. In some words it replaces *r*: *ḫançal*/*ḫençel* (*hançar*), *incil* (*incir*), *zerel* (*zarar*).

c. *Vowel Harmony* is generally observed in Ādharī, except in the dialects of Bākū, Nukha and Persia, where we find velar suffixes added to palatal stems—*ölmaχ*, *yiyacaχ*, *gẹdaχ*, *bildıγı*—and rounded vowels in suffixes: *aton*, *babon*, *alduχ*, *gelduχ*.

d. *Morphology*:

The chief morphological peculiarities are these: (1) The accusative suffix of all vowel-stems except *su* is *-ni*/*nı*: *arabanı*, *dereni*. Consonant-stems are treated as in the Turkish of Turkey: *aγacı*, *demiri*. (2) The suffix which denotes a regular occupation or forms a noun of agent is *-çi*/*-çı*: *demirçi*, *arabaçı*, *alvẹrçi*, *yazıçı*. (3) *kimi* or *kimin* is always used in place of *gibi*, and *ten* or *cen*/*can* in place of *kadar* or *dek*: *indiyeten*, *indiyecen*, *aχşamacan*, *dünenecen*. (4) The interrogative *mi* generally comes after the verbal suffixes: *öydedimi* (*evde midir*), *geleremmi* (*gelir miyim*), *yorgunsanmı* (*yorgun musun*), *gelmişemi* (*gelmiş miyim*). (5) In the conjugation of the verb, *k* and *χ* are used instead of *z* in the 1st person plural: *gelmirik* (*gelmiyoruz*); *almarıχ*, (*almayız*), *varajıχ* or *varacıχ* (*varacağız*), *sata bilmerik* (*satamayız*). (6) With personal names, instead of the plural suffix, *gil* is used, which means "house" in Čuwash: *Ahmetgil* (*Ahmet'ler*), *Memmetgil* (*Mehmet'ler*), *Hesengil* (*Hasan'lar*).

Verbs:

Ādharī has no necessitative mood; instead, it uses *gerek* with the optative: *gerek alam*, *gerek satam*, *gerek isdiyesen* (*istemelisin*).

The suffix of the 2nd person of the imperative is an invariable *ginen*, found only in Ādharī: *gelginen*, *atginen*.

The suffix of the present I tense is *-ir*[4]: *gelirem*, *gelirsen*/*gelisen*, *gelir*, *gelirik*/*gelürüχ*/*gelüruχ*, *gelirsiz*/*gelisüz*, *geliller*/*gellile*. The negative suffix is *-mir*/*-mır*: *gelmirem*, *gelmirsen*/*gelmisen*, *gelmir* ... *gelmiller*/*gelmille*. The impotential form is: *gelemmirem*, *gelemmirsen*/*gelemmisen*, *gelemmir* ... *gelemmiller*/*gelemmille*.

The present II or aorist tense is formed with *-er*/*-ar*: *gelerem*/*gellem*, *gelerse*. The negative: *gelmerem*/*gelmenem*, *gelmezsen*/*gelmesen*, *gelmez*, *gelmerik*/*gelmeruχ*, *gelmezsiñiz*/*gelmesüz*, *gelmezler*/*gelmezle*. The impotential: *gelemmerem*, *gelemmezsen*/*gelemesen* etc. The idea of inability is also expressed by the use of

the auxiliary verb *bilmemek*: *gele bilmirem, gele bilmirsen* etc.

The optative: *olam/olum, olasan, ola, alaχ, olasıñız/olasız, olalar/olala*. Negative: *almıyam/almiyem, almıyasan/almiyesen, almıya/almiye, almıyah/almıyaχ, almıyasıñız/almiyesiñiz/almiyesiz, almıyalar almiyeler*.

The dubitative: *almışam, almışsan/almısan, alıp/alıf/alıtdı, almışıχ/almışuχ, almışsıñız/almısız/almısuz, alıpla/alıflar/alıtdılar*.

Participle and gerundives: The participle in widest use is in *-en/-an*: *gelen, satan*. Ādharī is badly off for gerundives. In place of *-ken* and *-rek* it makes use of *-ende/-anda*: *gelende* (*gelirken*). The participle in *-diχ* is not used in the absolute form but only with case-endings.

Bibliography: For an extensive bibliography of works published up to 1933, see A. Caferoğlu, *Şarkta ve garpta Azerî lehçesi tetkikleri, Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, iii, Istanbul 1933-4. The main scientific studies are: J. Zenker, *Allgemeine Grammatik der Türkisch-tatarischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1848; K. Foy, *Azerbajğanische Studien mit einer Charakteristik des Südtürkischen, MSOS* 1903, 126-93, 1904, 197-265; H. Ritter, *Azerbeidschanische Texte zur nordpersischen Volkskunde, Isl.*, 1921, 181-212, 1939, 234-68; A. Djaferoğlu, *75 Azärbajğanische Lieder "Bajaty" in der Mundart von Gänğä nebst einer sprachlichen Erklärung*, Breslau 1930; S. Talîphanbeyli, *Karabağ-İstanbul şivelerinin savtiyat cihetinden mukayesesi, Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, iii; M. A. Shiraliev, *Izsledovanie narechiy azerbaydjanskovo yazika*, Moscow 1947; H. Seraja Szapszał, *Proben der Volksliteratur der Türken aus dem persischen Azerbaidschan*, Cracow 1935; Muharrem Ergin, *Kadi Burhaneddin divanı üzerinde bir gramer denemesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, iv, Istanbul 1951, 287-327; T. Kowalski, *Sir Aurel Stein's Sprachaufzeichnungen in Äjnallu-Dialekt aus Südpersien*, Cracow 1937; K. Dmitriev and O. Chatskaya, *Quatrains populaires de l'Azerbaïdjan, JA*, 1928, 228-65; Djeyhoun bey Hadjibeyli, *Le dialecte et le folklore du Karabagh, JA*, 1933, 31-144. See also M. F. Köprülü's article *Âzerî* in *IA*.

(ii) LITERATURE.

If we set aside the *Kitāb-ı Dede Ḳorḳud* [*q.v.*], whose composition is ascribed to the 11th century, although the text was probably not fixed before the 14th, the first great name in Ādharī Turkish literature is that of Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn Asfarāyinī, a renowned 13th-century poet who wrote under the *makhlaṣ* of Ḥasan-oghlu or Pūr Ḥasan.

Two poets of the 14th century who played an important part in the development of Ādharī literature were Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and Nesīmī. Nesīmī [*q.v.*], who sometimes used the *makhlaṣ* of Ḥüseynī, was a contemporary of Tīmūr. A master of Arabic and Persian, as well as of Ādharī, he used his poetic gift to propagate the Ḥurūfī doctrine. His simple and attractive diction made him the most popular poet of his time. The mediaeval period of Ādharī literature is regarded as closing with him, but the themes and lyricism of his poetry had their influence on the development of the new period.

The simple Turkish style introduced by Nesīmī was raised to its greatest heights by Ḥabībī, Shāh Ismāʿīl the Ṣafawī and Fuḍūlī. Ḥabībī, poet, lyricist and scholar, who for a while enjoyed the patronage of Shah Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī, constitutes a stage between Nesīmī, Shāh Ismāʿīl and Fuḍūlī. The language of his matchless ṣūfī love-poems differs but little from that of his predecessors, whereas his contemporary Shāh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] ("Khaṭāʾī", 1485-1524) made a literary vehicle of the real Ādharī Turkish of the people. This departure from the classical literary language has been explained as due simply to Shāh Ismāʿīl's desire to find a large audience for his political and religious views. At all events he opened a new period in Ādharī literature, both by his endeavour to escape from the Perso-Arabic vocabulary used by Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*], and by his own remarkable creative powers. The course taken by writers after him was towards the language and literature of the people.

In this new development, which continued through the 17th and 18th centuries, an important part was played by the political, social and cultural movements then afoot in Ādharbaydjān. Classical literature began to develop side by side with the literature of the people, in the semi-independent khānates then coming into existence. Among the products of this folk-literature were romantic poems such as *Kör-oghlu*, *ʿĀshıḳ Gharīb*, *Shāh Ismāʿīl* and *Aṣlī we-Kerem*. This genre, known as *ʿāshikh* (*ʿāshiḳ*) literature, made great advances in Ādharbaydjān and formed a bridge between the classical literary language and the local dialects.

The progress made by folk-literature had its effect on the development of the classical literature, as is particularly evident in the language of the 17th- and 18th-century poets Mesīḥī, Ṣāʾib Tabrīzī [*q.v.*], Ḳawsī, Agha Mesīḥ Shirwānī, Nishāṭ, Widādī and Wāḳıf. Of these, Ḳawsī and Mesīḥī are especially noteworthy for their poetic power. Above all, the creative writers Widādī and Wāḳıf (18th century), who were steeped in the *ʿāshikh* literature, secured a large public for their poems among the broad mass of the people. Widādī, a prolific lyric poet, greatly enriched Ādharī literature. His contemporary, Molla Panāh Wāḳıf (1717-97) is considered the founder of the modern school. He chose his themes from life and appears in his poems as an historian and a realist. The simplicity, sincerity and melodiousness of his sweet songs in praise of his beloved and other beauties, replete with the lyricism of the people, have won him a great and abiding fame among the Ādharīs. In the same category is Dhākir (1774-1857), the greatest master of 19th-century comic poetry in Ādharī. The foremost stylist of Ādharī literature, he exposed in biting lampoons the injustices and shortcomings of the age.

After Wāḳıf a new stage begins. Ādharī literature underwent a virtual revolution, acquiring a number of new genres, thanks to the mature genius of Akhund-zāde [*q.v.*]. For the first time we find historical works, drama and prose-writings. ʿAbbās-Ḳulı Agha Ḳudsī (Bakikhānlı: 1794-1847), poet, scholar and lover of learning, is noted for his lyrical and satirical works. The literary coteries founded by Mirzā Shefīʿ "Wazeh", Nebātī and Natawan Khanım (1837-97) on the one hand, and in Karabagh and Shamakhı on the other, and continued by such poets as Sayyid ʿAẓīm, ʿĀṣī, Newres, Ḳudsī, Ṣafā and Sālik, contributed by their rivalries to the enrichment of Ādharī literature. Seyyid ʿAẓīm (1835-88), who was recognized as a master of the *ghazal* and the *ḳaṣīda*, joined *Ekindji*, the progressive newspaper founded in 1875 by Ḥasan Bek Zerdābī (1841-1907) and devoted his poetic powers to castigating the fanaticism of the people.

The end of the 19th century may be described as

the period of the development of the Ādharī press. The appearance of *Ekindji*, the first Ādharī newspaper, was followed by that of several others: *Ḍiyā* and *Ḍiyā-i Ḳafḳas*, at Tiflīs (1879-1884); *Keshkül* (1883-91), *Shark-ī Rūs* (1903-05), all of which served as rallying-points for progressive men of letters. The tempo of this development quickened remarkably after the Russian revolution of 1905, conditions becoming then more favourable, and new topics, ideas and figures began to appear. A stream of new periodicals arose: *Ḥayāt*, *Irshād*, *Teraḳḳi*, *Kaspiy*, *Ačik Söz*. Their publishers were Aḥmed Agha-oghlu, ʿAlī Bey Ḥüseyn-zāde, ʿAlī Merdān Topčī-bashī and Meḥmed Emīn Resūl-zāde, nationalists and modernists with a knowledge of Ottoman, Russian and Persian literary and political life. Thanks to their labours and those of men like them, the common people became accustomed to the new cultural movement. The protagonist in the struggle was Alekper Ṣābir (d. 1911), the unequalled master of Ādharī satire, who used all the powerful resources of his pen to flay reaction, fanaticism and ignorance. Support came to him from the famous poet Djelīl Mamet Ḳulī-zāde, editor of the progressive and democratic revue *Molla Naṣr al-Dīn*, and from ʿAbbās Ṣiḥḥat (1874-1918).

Meḥmed Hādī and Ḥüseyn Djāwid were influenced by the literature of Turkey, imitating Nāmiḳ Kemāl, Fikret and Ḥāmid, and the poet Aḥmed Djewād also showed the influence of the Turkish national literary movement. Nedjef Bey Wezīrli and ʿAbd ül-Raḥīm Bey Ḥaḳwerdi maintained a constant flow of dramatic works, while Magoma and members of the Ḥadjībeyli family composed operettas and operas for the Ādharī theatre, laying the foundations of a national music.

The chief figures of the latest period, from the fall of the independent Republic of Ādharbaydjān to the present day, are Djelīl Mamet Ḳulī-zāde, Aḳwerdi, ʿAbd Allāh Shāʾiḳ, Djaʿfar Djabbarlī, and, of the younger generation, the poets Süleymān Rüstem, Ṣamed Wurgun, Rafīʿbeyli Nigār, Mīrwarī Dilbāzī.

Bibliography: The most important studies of Ādharī literary history are listed in *IA*, s.v. *Āzerī* (M. F. Köprülü). Other notable works are: B. Çobanzade, *Azerī edebiyatının yeni devri*, Baku 1930; M. Ali Nazim, *Azerbaydjanskaya khudojestvennaya literatura*, *Trudi Azerbaydjanskovo filial'a*, xxx, Baku, 1936); *Muhtasar Azerbaycan edebiyatı tarihi*, Baku 1943; *Antologiya azerbaydjanskoy poezii*, Moscow 1939; B. Nikitin, *La littérature des Musulmans en U.R.S.S.*, *REI*, 1934, cahier iii; M. E. Resulzade, *Çağdaş Azerbaycan edebiyatı*, Ankara 1950; A. Vahap Yurtsever, *Sâbir'in Azerbaycan edebiyatındaki yeri*, Ankara 1951. (A. Caferoğlu)

ʿADHRĀʾ [see nudjūm].

ADHRIʿĀT, the Edrei of the Bible, to-day Derʿa, chief town of Ḥawrān, 106 km. south of Damascus. Situated on the borderline between a basaltic region and the desert, the town, formerly renowned for its wine and oil, was always a great market for cereals and an important centre of trade routes. Before the Assyrian conquest (732 B.C.) the kingdoms of Damascus and Israel contended for it; some scholars have identified it with the Aduri of the Amarna tablets. The capital of Batanea, Adraa was taken by Antiochus III in 218 B.C.; then occupied by the Nabateans; next it came under Roman domination, and from 106 onwards was incorporated in Provincia Arabia. In the Christian era, Adraa became the seat of a bishopric of Arabia. In 613 or 614 the Persians, in the course of their victorious campaign against the Byzantines, sacked the town and destroyed the olive-groves of the region (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1005, 1007). On the eve of the hidjra, Adhriʿāt was the centre of an important Jewish colony; the tribe of Naḍīr, driven out of Medina by Muḥammad, took refuge there with their co-religionists. During the caliphate of Abū Bakr the inhabitants submitted to the Muslims, and acclaimed ʿUmar when he passed through the region. It is stated that Muʿāwiya II b. Yazīd was born there. At the time of the Ḳarmaṭian rebellion, 293/906, the population was massacred.

We find the place, called 'City of Bernard d'Étampes', in the works of the chroniclers of the Crusades, in 1119 and 1147 in particular. During the Mamlūk and Ottoman epoch Adhriʿāt, capital of Bathaniyya, formed part of the province of Damascus and was one of the stages of the Pilgrimage. The building of the railway linking Damascus, ʿAmmān, and Medina made it an important station, a junction for Buṣrā and Ḥayfā; it was occupied by the British on 28 September 1918.

At the present day Derʿa is an important railway centre, the southern road from Damascus to Baghdād passes through it, and it is a Syrian frontier post on the Jordan border.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 126, 139; Yāḳūt, i, 175 sq.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 383; Baudrillart, *Dict. Hist. et Géogr. ecclésiastiques*, s.v. Adraa; Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 121 f.; R. Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, 325 ff.; H. Lammens, *Le siècle des Omeyyades*, 169; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, i, 547, ii, 215; J. Cantineau, *Les Parlers du Ḥōrān*. For the inscriptions cf. *Syria, Princ. Exp.*, i, 10; ii/A, 307; iii/A, 281 ff.; iv/D, 64 ff. (F. Buhl-N. Elisséeff)

ADHRUḤ (cf. Ἄδροα), more rarely Udhruḥ, a place between Maʿān and Petra, a magnificent Roman camp (the surviving monuments are described by Brünnow and Domaszewski), supplied by a gushing spring. This place, situated in pre-Islamic times in the Djudhām country, was visited by the Ḳurayshite caravans. It submitted to Muḥammad on payment of tribute during the expedition to Tabūk (9/631); the treaty of capitulation handed down by our authorities is probably authentic. Muʿāwiya is said to have received there the homage of al-Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī. According to some Arab geographers Adhruḥ was the chief town of the district of al-Sharāt, in the province of al-Balḳāʾ. It is not mentioned since the time of the crusaders, who nevertheless possessed in that region Ahmant, Vaux Moyse (= Wādī Mūsā), etc.

Adhruḥ became famous in Islamic history on account of the conference which took place there after the battle of Ṣiffīn, in order to reach a decision in the conflict between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya (see ʿalī and muʿāwiya).

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 58; Maḳdisī, 54, 155; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 326; Hamdānī, 129; Bakrī (Wüstenfeld), 83; Yāḳūt, i, 184 f.; Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, i, 443 ff.; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 35, 39, 384.—The statement in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 150, that the place was inhabited by Khāridjites, is due to a confusion between al-Sharāt and *al-shurāt* (= Khāridjites).

(H. Lammens-L. Veccia Vaglieri)

AL-ADHWĀʾ, broken plural of *dhū*, denoting the kings and lords of Yaman whose names are

formed with Dhū. The most famous are the Mathāmina, the eight princes (*ḳayl* [*q.v.*]) of Ḥimyar [*q.v.*] who had the right of investiture at the election of the king. Their names are: Dhū Djadan, Dhū Ḥazfar, Dhū Khalīl, Dhū Muḳār (Maḳār), Dhū Saḥar, Dhū Ṣirwāḥ, Dhū Thuʿlubān (Thaʿlabān), Dhū ʿUthkulān. Al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii (ed. N.A. Faris), 159 includes Dhū Murāthid, who is included also in the verses cited by Nashwān, i, 263, where Dhū Saḥar is omitted.

Bibliography: Lane, 985a; Hamdānī, *Südarab. Muštabih*, ed. Löfgren, 48-54 (where also the derivation *adhwāʾiyya* "title or dignity of *al-Adhwāʾ*", cf. O. Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, Uppsala 1935, 31); Nashwān, *Shams al-ʿUlūm*, ed. Zettersṭéen, i, 263, ed. ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad, GMS xxiv, 16, 39, 48; M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, 319 ff. (O. Löfgren)

ʿADĪ B. ḤĀTIM B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAʿD AL-ṬĀʾĪ, ABŪ ṬARĪF, Companion of the Prophet, and subsequently a follower of ʿAlī. Son of the celebrated poet Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī [*q.v.*], and, like him, a Christian, he had inherited the command of his tribe from his father, but when threatened with the loss of it he became converted to Islam, in 9 or 10/630-1, and collected the taxes of Ṭayyiʾ and Asad. After the death of the Prophet he remained faithful to Islam, and prevented his tribe from apostatizing during the *ridda*. Later on he took part in the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, and received from ʿUthmān a grant of land, al-Rawḥāʾ, on the Nahr ʿĪsā (cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, index) not far from the future Baghdād. However, he kept aloof from ʿUthmān, and it can be inferred from al-Ṭabarī (i, 3164) that he had some connection with his assassins. He fought under ʿAlī in the Battle of the Camel (36/656), where he lost an eye. During the negotiations which preceded Ṣiffīn he was one of the delegates sent by ʿAlī to Muʿāwiya; then, as standard-bearer, he took part in the battle, in which his three sons were killed. Afterwards he lived at Kūfa, where he did not renounce his ʿAlid sentiments, and offered effective protection to members of his tribe who were persecuted by the powerful governor of ʿIrāḳ, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. He died in 68/687-88.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, i, 948 sqq., 965; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 274; idem, *Ansāb* (= O. Pinto and G. Levi della Vida, *Il Califfo Muʿāwiya I*, index); Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 136; idem, *Shiʿr*, index; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn* (Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii, index); Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 415-17; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iii, 392 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 4575; Yāḳūt, s.v. Djūsiya; Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tabellen*, index. (A. Schaade *)

ʿADĪ B. MUSĀFIR AL-HAKKĀRĪ, SHAYKH ʿADĪ, Ṣūfī leader. He was an Arab of Ḳuraysh, an Umayyad, born at Bayt Fār near Baalbek; he met ʿAḳīl al-Manbidjī, Ḥammād al-Dabbās, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Suhrawardī, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī, Abu ʾl-Wafā al-Ḥulwānī and Abū Muḥammad al-Shanbakī. He travelled far, spending much time in the wilderness till he settled in Laylash (Lalēsh) near Mosul apparently before 505/1111, made for himself a convent there and started an order called the ʿAdawiyya. His rule was so severe that many ṣūfī leaders were unable to follow it; it is said that he was the first to train novices. His *ʿaḳīda* is quite orthodox and contains nothing unusual; he was opposed to the Muʿtazila and to all innovations; as a ṣūfī he was like al-Ghazzālī. Ibn Taymiyya calls him a pious follower of the *sunna*, equates him with al-Shāfiʿī as a true believer and with ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī as a ṣūfī; he adds that he experienced ecstasies and that there was some extravagance in him which increased under his successors. He died in 557/1162 or two years earlier or a year later. The sayings and poems ascribed to him might have been uttered by any ṣūfī. The poem quoted by Layard can hardly be genuine.

According to a Christian legend, told by a monk Rāmīshoʿ, he was a Kurd; his father tended the flocks of a monastery and he himself became its business manager. Taking advantage of the absence of the abbot and some of the monks, he massacred those who remained and seized the building. Three years later he was summoned to Marāgha and put to death there in 619/1221; but in 682/1283 the building was restored to his descendants.

As Shaykh ʿAdī had no children, the headship of the order passed to the offspring of his brother Ṣakhr. Another version is that ʿAdī adopted the son of a servant, Ḥasan al-Bawwāb, and his descendants provided the heads who were treated with unusual respect, parents being proud to lend their daughters to them. The order was confined mainly to the Kurds though it had a convent in the Ḳarāfa at Cairo. The members looked towards ʿAdī (i.e. towards his grave) when they prayed and made him their treasure on which they relied in the hereafter; such devotion was not known in any other order. It is said that the extravagant views did not develop at once; only later did the sect give up the Muslim prayers and believe that ʿAdī was eating bread and onions with God and was the provider for his people. One chief of the order, Ḥasan b. ʿAdī, wept while listening to a sermon whereupon the Kurds nearly killed the too eloquent preacher. The order was strong enough to attract the attention of authority; this Ḥasan was put to death in 644/1246 by Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ of Mosul though the Kurds believe that he is not dead. Six years later Luʾluʾ dug up the bones of Shaykh ʿAdī and burnt them. In 655/1257 Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAdī was called to the help of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Khusraw of Malaṭya along with another Kurd, Aḥmad b. Bilās. Another descendant fled to Egypt with his Mongol wife in 675/1276 and yet another fled to Syria where he was killed in 680/1281. Early in the 8th/14th century one of the family kept almost royal state in Bayt Fār; another, Amīrān, served the government in Syria, then retired to Mizza and was venerated by the Kurds who made offerings to him. As they planned rebellion, Amīrān was put in gaol (at his own wish, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, i, 414) and all was quiet, though the Kurds bowed down in front of the tower in which he was confined.

A lawyer stirred up the orthodox in 817/1414, so they destroyed the tomb and burnt the bones of the Shaykh in the presence of the remnant of his followers who are here called Ṣuḥbatiyya. Later the tomb was rebuilt.

For the relation between the historical Shaykh ʿAdī and his rôle in the religion of the Yazīdīs, cf. YAZĪDĪ.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 190 (year 557); Ibn Khallikān, no. 426; al-Shaṭannawfī, *Bahdjat al-Asrār*, 150; Ibn Taymiyya, *Madjmūʿat al-Rasāʾil*, 1905, i, 273; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 158; Ibn Kathīr, xii, 243; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 435; id., *al-Sulūk*, year 817; Tādifī, *Ḳalāʾid al-Djawāhir*, 1303, 107; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 243; Yāḳūt, iv, 374; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, iv, 179, v, 229; Bar Hebraeus, *Syriac Chronicle* (Bedjan),

498 (= *Eccl. Chron.*, i, 726), *Arabic Chron.*, 466; F. Nau, in *ROC*, 1914, 105; 1915, 142; W. Ahlwardt *Verzeichnis*, index; A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, i, 293 ff.; id., *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, 79 ff.; G. P. Badger, *Nestorians and their rituals*, i, 113 ff.; R. Frank, *Scheich ʿAdi* (Türk. Bibl. 14), Berlin 1911; Th. Menzel, in H. Grothe, *Meine Vorderasiensexpedition*, Leipzig 1911, i, 109 ff.; A. Taymūr, *al-Yazīdiyya wa-Mansha' Niḥlatihim*, Cairo 1347/1928; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *ʿAbadat al-Shayṭān*, Sidon 1931; M. Guidi, in *RSO*, 1932, 408 ff.; Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yézides*, Beirut 1938.

(A. S. TRITTON)

ʿADĪ B. AL-RIḲĀʿ, ABŪ DUʾĀD ʿADĪ B. ZAYD B. MĀLIK B. ʿADĪ B. AL-RIḲĀʿ AL-ʿĀMILĪ, Arab poet of Syria, who was, in Damascus, the panegyrist of the Umayyads, especially of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (86-96/705-15), in the presence of whom he fought a poetical contest with Djarīr; he was also the butt of attacks by al-Rāʿī. ʿAdī was celebrated for the grace of his *nasīb* (see especially al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 85, concerning Umm al-Ḳāsim) and for the care with which he composed his poems. His poems were known in Spain at an early date (*BAH*, ix, 397). He lived at least into the caliphate of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (96-9/115-7).

Bibliography: Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt* (Hell), 144-5; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², iii, 64, iv, 336, v, 441; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 391-4; *Aghānī*¹, viii, 179-83; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 225; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 253; Maymanī, *al-Ṭarāʾif al-adabiyya*, 81-97 (three poems); Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 116; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iv, 246-50; Brockelmann, S I, 96; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 161-2 (Fr. transl., 248). (CH. PELLAT)

ʿADĪ B. ZAYD, Arab Christian poet of al-Ḥīra, of the second half of the 6th century. His life was spent partly at the Sāsānid court at Ctesiphon (al-Madāʾin), where he was secretary for Arab affairs to Chosroes Parwīz, and partly at the Lakhmid court at al-Ḥīra, where he was a courtier and councillor of al-Nuʿmān III, whom he had helped to the throne. This last, however, as a result of the intrigues of his enemies, later had him incarcerated, and finally put to death in prison (about 600 A.D.). ʿAdī is one of the most curious figures in pre-Islamic Arab history and poetry. With Nābigha al-Dhubyānī and al-Aʿshā he represents the type of courtly and urbane poet familiar with a higher level of culture and civilization than those of the desert. Arab historico-literary tradition accordingly regards him as being on the fringe of the main stream of the poetry of the *djāhiliyya*, because of his "un-Nadjdī" language, although the subjects with which he dealt and the form which he gave them had a long and profound influence on the development of Arab poetry in the Muslim epoch.

As ʿAdī's *dīwān* has been lost, only fragments of his work are known to us (collected in an incomplete fashion and without any critical sense by L. Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 439-74, to which should be added fragments in al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, iv, 65-6, al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-Taʾrīkh*, i, 151, Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 112-3, and various quotations in the *Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī). Among these verses, those describing Biblical episodes (the creation and man's first sin) are of interest for the history of religion and culture: they, together with other evidence, confirm that the poet was a Christian (*ʿibādī*). But the main themes of his poetry seem to have been, on the one hand, praise of wine, and, on the other, meditation on the decay of human passions and effort, rendered vain by the inexorable passage of time. Of the former category a few sparse but significant examples have been preserved; we know that they were appreciated and imitated by Walīd b. Yazīd and, later, by Abū Nuwās. On the second theme, which was probably inspired by the poet's own misfortunes, we possess numerous fragments which are interesting not only for their pious and ascetic *Stimmung* (a curious contrast with the hedonism of the bacchic poetry), but for the reflections on and evocation of Oriental (Arabo-Iranian) history which are to be found there, exemplifying the vanity and feebleness of man. Instances of this are the famous fragment on al-Nuʿmān I and the castle of Khawarnaḳ (*Aghānī*³, ii, 138-9 and elsewhere), another on Hatra (al-Buḥturī, *al-Ḥamāsa* (Cheikho), 198), and one in Ibn Ḳutayba, 112-3, on Djadhīma al-Abrash and al-Zabbāʾ, which almost looks like a ballad. From all these relics, amounting to rather less than 400 lines, we receive the impression of a brilliant artistic personality, who contrived to give Arabic poetic form to the old themes of Semitic pessimism, and, at the same time, in contrast to the Biblical author of Ecclesiastes, to accompany them with a positive appreciation of some of the good things of life.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 111-7; *Aghānī*³, ii, 97-154; J. Horovitz, *Adi ibn Zaid, the Poet of al-Hira*, *IC*, 1930, 31-69; F. Gabrieli, *Adi ibn Zaid, il poeta di al-Ḥira*, *Rend. Lin.*, 1948, 81-96; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber z. Zeit der Sassaniden*, 312 ff.; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 109 ff. (F. GABRIELI)

AL-ʿĀḌID LI-DĪN ALLĀH, the eleventh and last Fāṭimid caliph of Egypt. His name was ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. YŪSUF, and was the grandson of the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ; his father had been killed by the vizier ʿAbbās b. Abi 'l-Futūḥ on the very day of the enthronement of the caliph al-Fāʾiz. Al-ʿĀḍid succeeded this latter, his cousin, a sickly child who died at the age of eleven and a half. He himself came to the throne on 17 Radjab 555/23 July 1160, and was chosen by the all-powerful minister al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ [*q.v.*], who had been governing Egypt for more than six years, because of his tender age. Al-ʿĀḍid was, in fact, born on 20 Muḥarram 546/9 May 1151.

The history of this child-caliph's reign is thus in no way one of personal action on his part. The Arab writers seem uncertain, and intermittently attribute to him stray impulses of revolt, which had little success. We shall cite them, although admitting that in general the caliph looked on helplessly at a shattering series of tragic incidents of which he himself was finally to be the victim.

Clearly an important factor eludes us, as we have little information about the role of the secret camarilla of the Palace, whose intermittent influence is hinted at. We cannot but observe the personal ambition of the protagonists, who lived dangerously and were preoccupied with increasing their personal prestige, if only with a view to saving their skins. The death-throes of the Fāṭimid régime are a sorry spectacle.

The better to ensure the docility of the young caliph, Ṭalāʾiʿ made him his son-in-law, which however did not save Ṭalāʾiʿ from being assassinated, the end that he had always feared, on 19 Ramaḍān 556/11 September 1161. To be sure, the caliph was not liberated by this murder, to which he was possibly privy, for he found himself compelled to

confer the vizierate on Ruzzīk [*q.v.*], the son of the dead man. Ruzzīk had no intention of giving up any of his prerogatives, and the caliph established relations with a prefect of Upper Egypt, S̲h̲āwar [*q.v.*], in order to invite him to rid him of Ruzzīk. S̲h̲āwar recruited troops and took the offensive; he succeeded in taking Cairo and assuming power in Rabīʿ I 558/February 1163. The caliph quickly perceived that he had made a blunder, as the new minister continued, like his predecessors, to seclude his master. S̲h̲āwar was soon betrayed by one of his own officers, Ḍirg̲h̲ām [*q.v.*], who took his place in Ramaḍān 558/August 1163. There were indeed grounds for the sad reflection of a contemporary writer, ʿUmāra, who observed that in those times "any man who had received the confidence of his brother betrayed him". Then followed the crucial event which was to bring about the fall of the dynasty. S̲h̲āwar had succeeded in making his escape; he took refuge at the court of the Zangid prince of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn, and asked his help to regain power. The prince of Aleppo did not hesitate, being fired with the idea of re-establishing Sunnism in Egypt and reconstituting Islamic unity. The expeditionary force was commanded by S̲h̲īrkūh [*q.v.*], "a man full of audacity to whom fear was unknown", who took with him Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the future founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty. Ḍirg̲h̲ām was beaten in the open country and killed, and S̲h̲āwar became vizier again in Ramaḍān 559/August 1164.

Difficulties arose in connection with S̲h̲īrkūh, but it does indeed seem that he was not to blame for them. S̲h̲āwar had demanded help from Sunnīs against the S̲h̲īʿites whose chief minister he was; the next time his treachery was much more serious, for he asked for the intervention of Amalric I to drive the forces of S̲h̲īrkūh out of Egypt. The temporary results of this are well known: S̲h̲īrkūh capitulated at Bilbays and went back to Syria, the Franks occupied Cairo for a short time, and S̲h̲āwar had Fusṭāṭ set on fire, being unable to defend it. For the vizier had become alarmed and was trying to negotiate the withdrawal of the Frankish troops. The caliph, who still had absolutely no authority, had now for his part decided to appeal to Nūr al-Dīn, thus signing the warrant for his imminent fall.

This was the third invasion by S̲h̲īrkūh. It was decisive; he had S̲h̲āwar assassinated on 17 Rabīʿ I 564/18 January 1169, and seized the viziership, which he held for only two months, for he died on 22 D̲j̲umādā II/23 March. His nephew, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, succeeded yet him.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn energetically repressed the internal disorders, and did not hesitate to accept the challenge of street fighting in the capital itself, in the course of which the remnants of the Fāṭimid army, the Sudanese and Armenian forces, were exterminated. Then, one fine day, the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph of Bag̲h̲dād was proclaimed in Cairo, in an atmosphere of complete indifference. A theologian of Persian origin, al-K̲h̲abūs̲h̲ānī, carried this out, and three years later Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn rewarded him by opening a college for him. The dedicatory inscription has been preserved; it celebrates the importance of S̲h̲āfiʿism, "characterized by a solid doctrinal foundation, unified by the method of al-As̲h̲ʿarī, against vain reasoners and other innovators". Perhaps the caliph ʿĀḍid never knew of his misfortune; he died a few days after the ʿAbbāsid proclamation, on 10 Muḥarram 567/13 September 1171. He was not yet twenty-one.

Thus ʿĀḍid was far from being a caliph on the scale of some of his predecessors. Nonetheless, we posses some interesting information about his personal appearance, for he received a Frankish embassy led by S̲h̲āwar. The Franks were taken, in the royal palace, to a vast hall divided into two by a great curtain of silk and gold, "with a pattern of beasts, birds, and persons". S̲h̲āwar prostrated himself three times before this hanging, the third time in an attitude of most humble adoration. Suddenly the great tapestry was raised and the caliph appeared, seated on a throne of gold, encrusted with precious stones. His face was veiled, and the removal of the glove of his right hand was an elaborate performance. The ambassadors were told that "the caliph was a youth whose beard was just beginning to appear, and that he was dark-skinned and very plump".

Bibliography: Ibn K̲h̲allikān, i, 338; Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 357; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *Nud̲j̲ūm*, Cairo, v, 334 ff.; H. Derenbourg, *Oumara du Yémen*; Schlumberger, *Campagnes du roi Amaury Ier*; G. Wiet, *Inscr. du mausolée de S̲h̲āfiʿī*, *BIE*, xv, 169-171; idem, *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, ii, 196-198; idem *Hist. de la nation égyptienne*, iv, 289-302. (G. Wiet)

ADIG̲H̲E [see čerkes].

AL-**ʿĀDIL**, title of two Ayyūbid princes:

1. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ayyūb, with the honorific title of Sayf al-Dīn ("Sword of the Faith", called by the Crusaders *Saphadin*), the brother, assistant, and spiritual heir of Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, [*q.v.*]). He was born in Muḥarram 540/June-July 1145, or according to other accounts in 538/1143-4, in Damascus or in Baalbek, thus being six or eight years younger than his celebrated brother.

Al-ʿĀdil accompanied Saladin to Egypt in the third and final expedition of S̲h̲īrkūh (564/1169). His first important appointment was to the government of Egypt during Saladin's frequent absences in Syria after the death of Nūr al-Dīn in 569/1174. In this position he proved himself an able and loyal administrator, and apart from sending reinforcements and supplies, when called upon, for Saladin's army, he enjoyed full and independent powers in both external and internal affairs, being "the real Sultan of Egypt" (ʿImād al-Dīn, in *al-Barḳ al-S̲h̲āmī*, v, fol. 117r). After the capture of Aleppo in 579/1183, Saladin at first gave it to his son al-Ẓāhir G̲h̲āzī, but a few months later, on al-ʿĀdil's own request, transferred it to him with full powers of government (diploma in ʿImād al-Dīn, ibid., 124-6, dated S̲h̲aʿbān 579), and appointed his nephew Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar to Egypt, as regent for al-Afḍal [*q.v.*]. Although al-Ẓāhir loyally submitted to his father's decision, his disappointment on this occasion probably contributed to his later strained relations with al-ʿĀdil. Three years later, however, in 582/1186, again on al-ʿĀdil's suggestion, al-Ẓāhir was reinstated in Aleppo, and al-ʿĀdil himself reappointed to Egypt, this time as regent for Saladin's son al-ʿAzīz ʿUt̲h̲mān. He remained in this post through the campaigns of 583-4/1187-8 and the ensuing Crusade, himself taking part in the conquest of southern Palestine and Karak, and sending ships, men, and supplies in support of Saladin's attempt to raise the siege of ʿAkkā (585-7/1189-91). During the subsequent operations in Palestine he played a particularly important part in the negotiations with Richard Coeur-de-Lion, with whom he formed such friendly relations that it was even proposed that he should marry Richard's

sister Joan, and that they should rule jointly over Palestine. In the following year (588/1192), in consequence of the disorders resulting from Taḳī al-Dīn's unauthorized campaigns in the Djazīra and Diyār Bakr, al-ʿĀdil was transferred to the government of these provinces (at the same time retaining Karak and Balḳāʾ). Behind these frequent changes there may perhaps be discerned a consistent policy applied by Saladin. Of all his brothers, the one in whom he had the most complete confidence, and on whose advice he relied in all contingencies, was al-ʿĀdil. It was therefore natural that al-ʿĀdil should be placed in command of that province which, in the changing conjunctions of events, was for the time being the most vital for maintaining the unity and strength of Saladin's possessions.

On Saladin's death in 589/1193, al-ʿĀdil's first task was, in fact, to defeat an attempt by ʿIzz al-Dīn, atābeg of Moṣul, to reoccupy the Djazīra. Having secured his own province, he next intervened as mediator in the rivalries between Saladin's sons al-ʿAzīz of Egypt and al-Afḍal of Damascus. Though at first he supported al-Afḍal, the latter's incapacity became so manifest that he finally joined al-ʿAzīz to drive out al-Afḍal and himself took over the government of Damascus as the viceroy of al-ʿAzīz (592/1196). He was thus on the spot and ready to deal energetically with the Crusaders of 1197. On the death of al-ʿAzīz (595/1198) the Egyptian troops split into two factions, one supporting al-Afḍal, the other al-ʿĀdil. Al-ʿĀdil was besieged in Damascus until relieved by his Mesopotamian troops under his son al-Kāmil, when he pursued al-Afḍal into Egypt, defeated him, and was proclaimed Sultan of Egypt and Syria (596/1200). His claim was challenged by al-Ẓāhir, who again besieged Damascus, but al-ʿĀdil succeeded in forcing his withdrawal and pursued him to Aleppo, where al-Ẓāhir was finally compelled to recognize his suzerainty (598/1202). In 604/1207 his Sultanate was formally confirmed by the Caliph, and thereafter he distributed his own provinces between his sons: al-Kāmil in Egypt, al-Muʿaẓẓam in Damascus, al-Awḥad and al-Ashraf in the Djazīra and Diyār Bakr, himself moving from place to place as circumstances required.

So far as can be judged, the cornerstones of al-ʿĀdil's policy were to hold Saladin's empire together, in face of the ever-present possibility of fresh Crusades from overseas, and at the same time to serve the interests of the Ayyūbid house. Although the major governments were placed in the hands of his sons, it cannot be denied that they were the most capable to administer them, but he maintained at Aleppo the only one of Saladin's sons who showed any capacity and even guaranteed the succession of his infant son (who was also his own nephew), besides maintaining the governments of the collateral branches at Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāh. His personal prestige was unrivalled, and he employed it to strengthen the moral and material welfare of his subjects, by patronizing religion and learning, fostering agriculture and commerce, and maintaining peace. He followed Saladin's policy of negotiating commercial treaties with the Italian states, with the double object of increasing his own military resources and discouraging them from supporting fresh Crusades. With the local Crusader states he ensured peace by a series of truces which covered almost the entire period of his reign, at the same time strengthening his defences against the danger which materialized with the arrival of the Fifth Crusade in 614/1217. Leaving the bulk of his forces on guard in Egypt, he moved into Syria ro assist al-Muʿaẓẓam to screen the approaches to Jerusalem and Damascus, and while organizing reinforcements for the defence of Damietta fell ill and died at ʿĀliḳīn, outside Damascus, on 7 Djumādā I, 615-31 August 1218.

Bibliography: Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287, passim; *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1366/1947, 111-3; Ibn Khallikān, no. 665; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (facs. Jewett), 390-2; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, vol. vi, passim; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, Cairo 1934, 58-194; Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm, *Histoire d'Alep* (trans. Blochet, Paris 1900), 82-158; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, Paris 1937, 318-347; general histories of the Third Crusade; and see also AYYŪBIDS and ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN.

2. AL-MALIK AL-ʿĀDIL II ABŪ BAKR SAYF AL-DĪN, son of al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*] and grandson of the preceding, b. 617/1221. He succeeded al-Kāmil in the government of Egypt (635/1238) but was dethroned by his elder brother al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb [*q.v.*] in 637/1240 and died in prison at Cairo on 12 Shawwāl 645/9 Feb., 1248. See AYYŪBIDS.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 666; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, 466-485; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, vi, 303 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 223-341.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

AL-ʿĀDIL B. AL-SALĀR, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ, Fāṭimid vizier. He was the son of an Artuḳid officer, who entered the service of the Fāṭimids after the taking of Jerusalem by the Egyptians, in 491/1098. He married the widow of a Zīrid prince who had died in exile at Alexandria.

He first appears in history as governor of Alexandria, at the beginning of the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāfir. We learn that he assembled troops, marched on Cairo, and, on 7 Shaʿbān 544/10 December 1149, installed himself in the vizier's house, which had been abandoned by his predecessor, Ibn Maṣāl, an old man, who was killed in Upper Egypt on 19 Shawwāl/19 February 1150. In spite of his repugnance, the caliph al-Ẓāfir was forced to accept him as vizier, with the title of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. He tried, however, to foment a plot against his minister, but the latter got wind of it and took his revenge in a bloodthirsty way by wiping out the corps of pages. Before long he himself was to fall victim to a stepson, ʿAbbās b. Abi 'l-Futūḥ [*q.v.*], who assigned to his own son, Naṣr, the task of assassinating Ibn al-Salār, on 6 Muḥarram 548/3 April 1153. Naṣr carried out the crime with his own hand, and by carrier pigeon informed his father ʿAbbās, who had just taken command of the garrison of Ascalon. ʿAbbās hastened back to Cairo to assume the office of vizier.

An important point about the political career of Ibn al-Salār is that he was the first to consider the possibility of an entente with the prince of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn, for making common cause against the Franks. It was doubtless premature; Nūr al-Dīn had his own personal designs on Damascus, which the Crusaders had besieged some years previously. As proof of his good will, Ibn Salār had, in 546/1151, sent the Egyptian fleets against the ports of Jaffa, Sidon, Beirut, and Tripoli, where great damage was caused. The expedition was also a reprisal against the Franks, who had sacked Faramā the previous year.

Bibliography: Ibn Muyassar, 89-92; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo, v, 288-299; *Usāma*, transl. Derenbourg, index; G. Wiet, *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, ii, 193-194; idem, *Hist. de la nation égyptienne*, iv, 278-284.

(G. WIET)

ʿĀDILA KHĀTŪN, daughter of Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a, wife of Sulaymān Pas̲h̲a Mizrāḳlī ("Abū Laylā"), Ottoman governor of Bag̲h̲dād. During the lifetime of her husband she took part in the government of the province, holding audiences where the petitions were presented to her through the intermediary of an eunuch. She had also a mosque and a caravanseray built, bearing her name. When on the death of Sulaymān (1175/1761) power was about to slip from her hands, she stirred up against his successor, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, first the Janissaries, then five of the principal Mamlūks, and succeeded in having ʿUmar Pas̲h̲a, her brother in law, appointed as governor in the place of ʿAlī (1764). It is not known when and where she died.

Bibliography: C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Fr. transl. ii, 215, 258 ff.; Cl. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad dans les temps modernes*, 153 f.; S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 165, 169, 173-4, 179.

(Cl. Huart*)

ʿĀDIL-S̲H̲ĀHS, designation of the Muslim dynasty which ruled over Bīd̲j̲āpūr, one of the succession kingdoms to the Bahmanī kingdom of the Dekkan. The independent history of Bīd̲j̲āpūr extends from 895/1489 to 1097/1686 when the kingdom was conquered and absorbed by the Mug̲h̲al empire. The founder of the dynasty, Yūsuf ʿĀdil K̲h̲ān, was a slave in the service of Maḥmūd Gawān, the famous Bahmanī minister. After rising to the position of master of the horse at the Bahmanī court, Yūsuf was appointed to the provincial governorship of Dawlatābād. He took an active part in the intrigues and civil strife which marked the declining years of the Bahmanī kingdom and, according to the historian Firis̲h̲ta, caused the *k̲h̲uṭba* to be read in his own name in 895/1489. The Muslim historians of the dynasty claim a royal lineage for Yūsuf ʿĀdil K̲h̲ān, asserting that he was a son of the Ottoman Turkish sultan Murād II and was saved by his mother from death at the hands of the succeeding Ottoman sultan, his elder brother Muḥammad II, by being entrusted to a merchant of Sāwa, Khʷād̲j̲a ʿImād al-Dīn, who educated him. Eventually he found his way to India to take service under Maḥmūd Gawān. There is no independent evidence corroborating the testimony of historians partial to the ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh dynasty. That his background was Persian is generally accepted however. Yūsuf ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh introduced S̲h̲īʿa doctrines, being the first Muslim ruler in India to do so. During his reign, 895/1489-916/1510, spent in almost continual warfare against rival Muslim Dekkan princes and the Hindu rulers of Vījāyanagar, the Portuguese made their appearance off the shores of India, taking possession of the port of Goa. The successors of Yūsuf ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh reigned as follows:

Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf	916/1510-941/1534
Mallū b. Ismāʿīl	941/1534-941/1535
Ibrāhīm I b. Ismāʿīl	941/1535-965/1557
ʿAlī I b. Ibrāhīm	965/1557-987/1579
Ibrāhīm II b. Ṭahmāsp b. Ibrāhīm	987/1579-1035/1626
Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm	1035/1626-1066/1656
ʿAlī II b. Muḥammad	1066/1656-1083/1672
Sikandar b. ʿAlī	1083/1672-1097/1686

Until the beginning of the 11th/17th century and the advent of the Mug̲h̲al threat from the north, the political history of Bīd̲j̲āpūr is filled by continuous warfare with the neighbouring Muslim states of the Dekkan, Bīdar, Aḥmadnagar, Golkonda and the Hindu empire of Vījāyanagar. However, in 972/1564 the four Muslim principalities combined against Vījāyanagar and at Talikot decisively defeated its forces and sacked the capital. The power and prosperity of Bīd̲j̲āpūr reached its zenith under Ibrāhīm II though it was never free from turbulence among the nobles.

Bīd̲j̲āpūr escaped the direct attentions of the Mug̲h̲als until the reign of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān, attempting indeed to acquire territory from Aḥmadnagar which was disintegrating under the onslaught of the Mug̲h̲als. Bīd̲j̲āpūr and the latter clashed and in 1046/1636 the Mug̲h̲als invaded Bīd̲j̲āpūr and forced a peace at which Bīd̲j̲āpūr acknowledged Mug̲h̲al suzerainty. For the next twenty years the kingdom enjoyed peace. In 1068/1656 when Muḥammad ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh died, S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān objected to the succession of ʿAlī ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh II, invoking his claims as suzerain, and ordered Awrangzīb to invade the kingdom. Operations were stopped, however, at the news of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān's illness and Bīd̲j̲āpūr survived only to face further danger from the Mahratta chief Sīwād̲j̲ī who in 1069-70/1659 destroyed a Bīd̲j̲āpūr army and its leader Afḍal K̲h̲ān in an ambush. Thenceforth Bīd̲j̲āpūr was rarely free from Mahratta depredations. With the accession of a minor, Sikandar ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh, the kingdom was progressively bereft by Mug̲h̲al and Mahratta of its provinces until in 1097/1686, after a siege of more than a year, the capital itself was taken by Awrangzīb and the remnants of the kingdom absorbed into the Mug̲h̲al empire. Sikandar died in captivity in 1111/1700.

The ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āhs were great builders and made their capital at Bīd̲j̲āpūr [*q.v.*] one of the most magnificent monuments to the architectural genius of Islam in India. They were also great patrons of literature and the important historian Firis̲h̲ta wrote under the patronage of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh II.

Bibliography: C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, ii, 742 ff.; Henry Cousens, *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. xxxvii, Bombay 1916, 1-18; *Cambridge History of India*, iii (Turks and Afghans), Chs. xvi and xvii; iv (The Mog̲h̲ul Period), Ch. ix; Cambridge 1928 and 1937; Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Calcutta 1912-1924, Vol. iv, Chs. xxxviii-xlv; Muḥammad Ḳāsim Hindū S̲h̲āh (Firis̲h̲ta), *Guls̲h̲an-i Ibrāhīmī* (*Tārīk̲h̲-i Firis̲h̲ta*), ed. Briggs, Bombay 1831, ii, 1-179.

(P. Hardy)

ADIYAMAN, formerly called Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, or Ḥiṣn-i Manṣūr (modern spelling Hüsnümansur), according to Cuinet also called Körkün, a small town in S.E. Anatolia, capital of the *ḳaḍā* of the same name in the *sand̲j̲ak*, now *wilāyet*, of Malaṭiya (formerly it belonged to the *wilāyet* of Maʿmūrat ül-ʿAzīz), 37° 45' N, 38° 15' E. The numbers of the inhabitants given in the past vary: according to EI[1], 10,000, mainly Armenians; according to Sāmī, 25,000, of which only 1255 Christians; according to ʿAli D̲j̲ewād in one passage 1150, in another more than 25,000 of which more than a half were Kurds; according to Cuinet 2,000 (in the whole *ḳaḍā* of Ḥiṣn-i Manṣūr: 42,134). The number in 1945 was 10,192.

The name Ḥiṣn Manṣūr derives from the Umayyad *amīr* Manṣūr b. D̲j̲aʿwana, who was killed in 141/758 on the orders of the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr. Later, Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd had the place fortified and gave it a garrison. Thus Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, or Adiyaman,

became the heir of the ancient town of the neighbourhood, Perre, whose site is still marked by aqueducts and rock graves. Subsequently, Ḥiṣn Manṣūr is rarely mentioned; in the 6th/12th century it belonged to the Artuḳids.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 192; Yāḳūt, ii, 278; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 601; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 169; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs ül-Aʿlām*, iii, 1962; ʿAlī Djewād, *Taʾrīkh we-Djughrafya Lughati*, 6, 331; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 885; Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, 139 f.; Le Strange, 123; idem, *Palestine under the Muslims*, 454.

(F. Taeschner)

ʿĀDJ, ivory.

1. From early times there was a demand for ivory in the civilizations of the Near East. The Assyrians excelled in the carving of ivory and excavations at Nimrūd and elsewhere have revealed masterpieces seldom surpassed. In the eastern Mediterranean area a tradition of ivory carving persisted and surviving examples have been attributed to the great centres of Antioch and Alexandria during the later centuries of Roman rule. There is no evidence that the workshops of Syria were producing ivories in the century before Islam; but in Egypt the tradition persisted into the Islamic period.

Probably the main source of ivory in the Islamic period was East Africa, the greatest ivory producing area during the Middle Ages. It is unlikely that India exported ivory in any quantity to the Near East or Europe as it scarcely produced enough for its own needs (W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, Leipzig 1886, ii, 629-30). Surviving Islamic ivories seem to be of elephant tusk. Walrus ivory was used for the handles of daggers (see R. Ettinghausen, *The Unicorn*, Washington 1950, 120 ff.) and there are examples of bone carvings from Egypt.

The size and shape of the elephant tusk limits its use to relatively small objects or to elements in large scale decoration. In the Islamic period objects made entirely of ivory include caskets of both rectangular and cylindrical form, combs, oliphants or hunting horns and chess pieces. Techniques of decoration were carving in relief or painting on the surface with coloured stains including gilding; intarsia in which shaped ivory plaques either carved or painted were countersunk in a wooden surface; incrustation in which sheets of ivory were cut to the required shape and stuck to the wooden surface; and incised decoration usually consisting of dots and concentric circles sometimes filled with coloured pigments. Finally, ivories sculpted in the round are extremely rare.

2. It would be strange if ivory had not been in use in the early Islamic period. But so far excavations at sites of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid period have revealed no objects of ivory. There are very few ivories attributable to the Sāsānid period in Persia and perhaps the lack of a tradition accounts for this absence of ivory carvings in Mesopotamia and Persia. The cylindrical box with conical cover in the treasury of St. Gereon, Cologne, was made, according to the inscription, in Aden for a governor of Yaman probably about 136/753; but its technique and style belong rather to Egypt (*RCEA*, no. 41, ill. in Cott, pl. 79a). In Egypt Coptic craftsmen kept alive an earlier tradition. Large rectangular panels with both intarsia and incrusted decoration have been variously described as panels of a *tābūt* (coffin) and as book covers; the former is more probable. Pieces have been found in Egypt, and from their style were made by Coptic craftsmen in the 9th and 10th centuries. (For examples in the Arab Museum, Cairo, see Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Islamic Art in Egypt* (in Arabic), i, Cairo 1935, pl. 35; in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, ibid. pl. 34 and F. Sarre, *Islamic Bookbinding*, London 1923, pl. i and fig. 1 where it is described as a Ḳurʾān cover; and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, M.S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Muhammadan art*[2], New York 1947, fig. 69.)

Bone and ivory carved panels have been found in the ruined mounds of Fusṭāṭ and are associated stylistically with the wood carvings of the Fāṭimid period. These are cut in low relief and depict scenes of the chase, isolated animals and human figures set against a background of scrollwork. They were probably either panels of caskets or insets to larger wooden panels and can be dated to the 11th-12th century. (Examples in the Arab Museum, in Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Kunūz al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Cairo 1937, pl. 56; in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in M. Longhurst, *Catalogue of carvings in ivory*, i, London 1927, pl. xxviii; in the Metr. Mus., in Dimand, op. cit., fig. 70. For examples of carved woodwork, see E. Pauty, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubite* (*Cat. gén. du Musée arabe du Caire*), Cairo 1931.) Caskets of ivory both rectangular and round are mentioned by al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 414, in an eye-witness account of the treasures of the caliph al-Mustanṣir.

Apart from these, it is impossible at present to attribute others with any certainty to Fāṭimid Egypt. A group which has the strongest claim is represented by the beautiful panels carved in ajouré in the Bargello Museum, Florence, which are perhaps related in style and subject matter to the famous carved wood panels from the *māristān* of Ḳalāʾūn now in the Arab Museum. In composition and workmanship they far surpass the Fusṭāṭ fragments. (Well illustrated in *Meisterwerke Muhammadanischer Kunst*, Berlin 1910, iii, pl. 253. There is another example in the Louvre, see G. Migeon, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*[2], Paris 1927, fig. 148. For the *māristān* panels, see Pauty, op. cit., pls. xlvi-lviii.) Another group which has been ascribed to the Fāṭimid period comprises ivory oliphants or hunting horns and caskets. Their style is distinct and characterized by relief cutting in two planes; the decoration consists of interlaced circles each containing an animal or bird and, in the caskets, human figures too. Similar treatment of the decoration occurs in the repertoire of Fāṭimid ornament as well as in that of Muslim Spain. An attribution to Sicily or South Italy whose Norman rulers are known to have employed Muslim craftsmen should also be considered, for there are a number of oliphants of apparent western manufacture which reproduce in a general way the decoration of the oriental ones. If the latter were in fact made in Egypt it is at least possible that they were made for export to the West. (See O. von Falke, *Elfenbeinhörner*, 511-7, who attributes six horns and a fragmentary piece in the Metropolitan Museum to this group; also four caskets, seven plaques (in the V. and A. Museum) and an ivory box (in the Metr. Museum).)

As has already been mentioned the technique of incrustation was practised in Egypt. A casket of wood with ivory incrustations in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo, has been attributed to Egypt since it is connected in style and technique with a

fragmentary wood panel incrusted with ivory found at Edfū and now in the Arab Museum. Its date would appear to be the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century. (See Monneret de Villard, *La Casetta*, pls. i-v; for the Edfū panel, pl. xxvi.)

While the technique of incrustation was being adopted by the Muslim craftsmen, the Copts maintained the more ancient tradition of intarsia decoration. Both techniques were used in the doors of the Church of the Virgin in the Dayr al-Suryānī (in Wādī al-Naṭrūn), which were made in the first half of the 10th century (see Monneret de Villard, pls. xxi-xxv). But incrustation was rarely used in later times and was confined to small objects. Intarsia, on the other hand, was frequently used in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk period for the decoration of large surfaces. The famous *minbar* made in Aleppo by order of Nūr al-Dīn in 1168-9 A.D. and sent to the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā in Jerusalem, is the first of a series of works in which panels of ivory or bone, either plain or carved, were inserted into a wooden ground so as to form geometric patterns, stars or polygons. Intarsia decoration is found in *kursīs*, *minbars* and *dikkas* of the Mamlūk period. The contrast between wood and ivory serves to emphasise the abstract pattern and the effect is heightened when the ivory panels are carved with arabesque or inscriptions. After the fall of the Mamlūks the technique was adopted in Turkey where there are fine examples of mosque furniture with intarsia decoration dating from the 17th century. (The *minbar* in al-Aḳṣā is illustrated in M. van Berchem, *CIA*, *Syrie du Nord*, *Jerusalem*, iii, no. 277 (p. 393 ff., pls. 29-30). Mamlūk examples in L. Hautcoeur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, ii, pls. 172-3, and Turkish examples in E. Kühnel, *Meisterwerke der Archäologischen Museen in Istanbul*, iii, Berlin-Leipzig 1938, pl. 19.)

3. A group of ivories which has given rise to much discussion consists of caskets, combs and crosiers with painted and gilded decoration. Many of these found their way to the treasuries of European churches in the Middle Ages where the caskets were used as reliquaries or pyxes and the combs for liturgical purposes. P. B. Cott's *Siculo-Arabic Ivories*, which can claim to be almost complete, illustrates some ninety pieces in which the painted decoration is still visible. All have certain common stylistic and technical features. In many pieces all trace of the original colour has disappeared and the well preserved state of the famous casket of Würzburg is exceptional. Generally patterns are outlined in black and filled in with a palette which includes red, blue and green, and gold applied in both liquid and leaf form. Many pieces are inscribed around the rim of the cover in Arabic, either Kūfic or Naskh script. Most of these inscriptions contain benedictory phrases addressed to the owner and, more rarely, verses from a love poem which suggests that these were intended as bridal caskets to contain jewels and trinkets. There are examples, too, of Arabic letters used merely for decorative effect and without meaning. Unfortunately no surviving inscription contains a date, or the name of either maker or owner. If it is generally agreed that the painted ivories can be assigned to the 12th and 13th centuries, opinions differ regarding the place of origin and unless a piece comes to light with a revealing inscription or a reference in some contemporary source is discovered there can be no final answer to this question. In the circumstances style and iconography are the only evidence.

On stylistic grounds they have been variously attributed to Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Spain and Sicily. It is true that the decoration of the so-called *mīnā'ī* ware of Persia dating from the second half of the 12th to the 13th century has a superficial resemblance to that of the painted ivories, in the rather sparse arrangement of the decoration and in the figural representations, especially the horsed rider. Attenuated versions of the motives found in the decorative arts of Syria occur on the ivories. The decoration of one distinctive group of painted ivories contains star interlacings and geometric ornaments so similar to those found in the art of Granada during the Naṣrid period that their attribution to a Granada workshop during the 14th and 15th centuries seems certain. (Ferrandis, nos. 89-103. Ferrandis accepts the Sicilian origin for the remainder but suggests that three of these were "imitations" made in Spain, viz. nos. 9 and 65 in Cott and a casket in the parish church of Fitero, Navarre, not mentioned by Cott: Ferrandis, no. 21.) Apart, however, from this small and somewhat isolated group, the closest parallels are to be found in the art of Fāṭimid Egypt: in the fragments of pottery from Fusṭāṭ, wood carvings, notably the *māristān* panels, and the greatest surviving monument of Fāṭimid painting, the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo. Kühnel (cf. Bibliography), however, argues for their Sicilian (and, in some pieces, Spanish) origin. In this connection, a casket found at Carrión de los Condes in Palencia and now in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid (Ferrandis, no. 9) is important. This is a rectangular box, the flat cover of which is inscribed on intarsia with a dedication to al-Muʿizz, the last Fāṭimid to rule from Ifrīḳiya, and the interesting information that it was made in al-Manṣūriyya, the Fāṭimid capital near al-Ḳayrawān. The maker's name is unfortunately almost entirely obliterated except for the *nisba* al-Khurāsānī. The casket can therefore be dated between 341/952 and 365/972. The sides are decorated with a border of scroll-work painted in green and red. Although the drawing is cursory and the style dissimilar to that of the group under discussion, it suggests that the technique of painting on ivory was already known and practised in the Maghrib in the third quarter of the 10th century and was presumably introduced from Egypt.

But the fact remains that these painted ivories give the impression of a style not entirely in accord with the canons of Islamic art. The sparse treatment of the decoration and the frequent carelessness of the drawing are in marked contrast with the careful presentation of decoration and precise drawing to which we are accustomed in Islamic art. Indeed, were it not for the Arabic inscriptions, there might well be doubt in assigning them to the Islamic world at all. For this reason it seems likely that they originated in an area on the fringe of the Islamic world which was open both to oriental and occidental influences. The fact that certain caskets contain Christian figures, that there are two crosiers with painted decoration identical to that of the caskets, and that painted ivories are found exclusively in the countries of Europe suggests that they were, at least, made for the Western market. (Christian figures occur on nos. 38, 39, 42, 44, 80 in Cott; for crosiers see Cott, nos. 148, 149. The Arabic inscription on the "Granadan" casket in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan states that it was made to contain the consecrated Host (Cott, no. 138). It is usually agreed that the combs were for liturgical

use.) Probably there was more than one centre where painted ivories were produced, and the poorer examples were copies of finer prototypes. But until we possess a documented piece, there can be no certain solution of the problem.

4. By far the most remarkable of the mediaeval Islamic ivories are the carved ivories made in Muslim Spain and among them are masterpieces which rival the Byzantine and Western ivories. Fortunately there are enough documented pieces to make it possible to trace their history over a period of little less than a century. Unlike most of the ivories which have been discussed so far, they were produced under royal patronage and include some made for presentation to royal personages. During the first half of the period, the centre of production was in Cordova and then moved to Madīnat al-Zahrā'; thus they belong to the declining years of the Caliphate of Cordova. The earliest of the Hispano-Arabic ivories were probably made in Cordova and are characterized by the exclusive use of plant ornament (see Ferrandis, nos. 1-3). In the earliest surviving products of the new workshop at Madīnat al-Zahrā' the decoration of one consists of paired birds and animals amid flowering plant scrolls and that of another includes paired dancers (see Ferrandis, nos. 4-6). The artists of both these groups were evidently familiar with the carved marble panels in the Great Mosque of Cordova and the marble revetments found at Madīnat al-Zahrā'. Another group consists of pieces made in the Madīnat al-Zahrā' workshop by an artist who signs himself Khalaf (Ferrandis, nos. 7-10). His masterpiece is the circular box belonging to the Hispanic Society in New York. His style is quite distinctive; birds, animals and figures are conspicuously absent and the flowers and leaves which are deeply cut are rendered with exuberance and a close attention to detail.

But undoubtedly the greatest achievement is the series of ivories with scenes with figures and animals which, indeed, must be numbered among the most precious examples of Hispano-Arabic art; for not only are they of first-rate artistic quality but as social documents the scenes of court life and of chase which they depict give us a rare picture of the refinements of Andalusian civilisation. The three finest examples (Ferrandis, nos. 13-4, 19) are the two cylindrical boxes in the Louvre and the Victoria and Albert Museum, the first dedicated to al-Mughīra, brother of al-Ḥakam II and dated 357/968, and the second dedicated to Ziyād b. Aflaḥ and dated 359/970, and the casket in the Cathedral of Pamplona, dedicated to a son of al-Manṣūr and dated 399/1008. The last is the latest dated surviving piece from the Cordovan workshop. With these are associated some five other pieces (Ferrandis, nos. 15-6, 20-2). Scenes are enclosed in lobed circles, polygons or arcades. The plant decoration is subordinated to the animals and human figures which are proportionally large; the symmetrical arrangement of these does not preclude naturalistic effect. Scenes include the prince with attendant servants and musicians, huntsmen with falcons or at grips with their quarry and men performing rustic tasks such as gathering the date harvest, animals struggling with their prey; and in one case an elephant is depicted. None of these pieces is signed except the Pamplona casket which bears the name of more than one artist.

After the fall of the Caliphate of Cordova, the workers founded a new establishment in Cuenca where they were given an asylum by the Dhu 'l-Nūnids, rulers of Toledo. The earliest surviving product (Ferrandis, no. 25) is dated 417/1026 and signed with the maker's name Muḥammad b. Zayyān. From this it is clear that the workshop was already established before Ismāʿīl al-Ẓāfir won the kingdom of Toledo in 427/1036. The last documented piece (no. 26) bears a dedicatory inscription to Ḥusām al-Dawla son of Yaḥyā al-Ma'mūn and governor of Cuenca and is dated 441/1049. It is also signed with the maker's name ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayyān and shows that the workshop was in the hand of a single family. The Cuenca ivories lack the vitality and invention of the Cordovan ivories. Cordovan motives recur but their presentation is monotonous. Animals and scenes are not enclosed by the lobed circles and polygons but are arranged in horizontal or vertical registers in which they are often repeated in identical form.

After the middle of the 11th century it seems that the Christian kingdoms of the North took the lead in ivory carving, although their products show the influence of Andalusian techniques. Yet the tradition of ivory carving was not entirely lost in Muslim Spain, for among the surviving examples of the decorative arts of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada are sword and dagger handles which incorporate carved ivory with floral and geometric designs and inscriptions resembling those of the Alhambra stucco revetments. (The most important pieces are illustrated in L. Torres Balbás, *Arte Almohade — Arte Nazari — Arte Mudejar* (*Ars Hispaniae* iv), figs. 256B and C, and 257; also a bow with ivory incrustations, fig. 255, and the staff of Cardinal Cisneros, said to be the sceptre of the Naṣrid kings, fig. 246. For two other sword handles see Migeon, op cit., fig. 161. Also attributed to Granada are the "eared" daggers with carved ivory plaques in the handles and "ears" of the pommel (see Torres Balbás, op. cit., figs. 256D and B).)

5. Besides ivory carving, Cordova had acquired a preeminence in ivory incrustation which was to survive the fall of the Umayyads. Muslim historians and travellers describe and praise the *minbar* made by order of al-Ḥakam II for the Great Mosque. But neither this nor the *minbar* made some years later for the mosque at Fez by order of Hishām II have survived though from the descriptions both were evidently formed of wooden panels with ivory incrustations. One of the earliest surviving Maghribī *minbars* with this kind of decoration is the magnificent example in the Kutubiyya of Marrākush. According to the inscription (see J. Sauvaget, in *Hesp.*, 1949, 313 ff.) this was made in Cordova and dates from the time of the Almoravids. Technically derived from mosaics, the decoration consists of interlaced bands incrusted with contrasting wood and ivory cubes enclosing polygons of carved arabesques, larger flowing floral or geometric patterns and a frieze with inscription in which the letters are formed of ivory sheets. The ivory is either natural colour or stained. (For detailed study and illustration see H. Basset and H. Terrasse, in *Hesp.*, 1926, 168-204; also Ferrandis, no. 159.) Other *minbars*, if technically less perfect, reveal a rich inventiveness. (The earliest is the *minbar* in the Mosque of al-Karawiyyīn, Fez, made at the close of the Almoravid period in 1145. Others are the *minbar* in the mosque of the Ḳaṣaba, Marrākush, for which see Basset and Terrasse, 244-70, and Ferrandis, no. 160, and the *minbars* in the mosque of Tāzā (1292-3) and in the Madrasa Bū ʿInāniyya, Fez

(1350-5). There is a copy of the Ḳaṣaba *minbar* in the mosque of al-Mawwāsīn, Marrākush, dating from the 16th century.) In Spain, few large-scale works of incrustation have survived; but there is a particularly fine pair of doors from a cupboard in the Museum of the Alhambra (Torres Balbás, fig. 244-5; Ferrandis, no. 167; other examples, Torres Balbás, fig. 243, Ferrandis, nos. 172, 174). Equally remarkable are caskets with ivory incrustations, decorated either with figural representations or geometrical designs (Ferrandis, nos. 161-3, 168-71). All these caskets have been found in Spain and because of the similarity of their decoration to certain Toledan stucco work have been attributed to Andalusia and the 12th to 13th century. Finally the handle of the so-called rapier of Boabdil in the Museo Historico Militar, Madrid, has delicate ivory incrustations of arabesques and is an eloquent witness of the skill of the Granadan craftsmen. (See Torres Balbás, fig. 240, and E. Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst*, Berlin 1924, pl. 124. The staff of Cardinal Cisneros has also ivory incrustations, see above.)

6. In this account of ivory products in the Islamic world, Persia figures scarcely at all. No piece has yet appeared that can be attributed to pre-Mongol Persia. It would be rash to assume for this reason that the art of working in ivory was unknown for there are references in contemperary literature which suggest the opposite. (Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 15, quotes al-Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), ii, 273, who remarks that the inhabitants of Tarḳ, in the district of Iṣfahān, are skilled in making objects of ebony and ivory. M. de V. suggests that this implies a local industry of incrustation.) We can only blame the accidents and ravages of time for this absence. That incrustation was practised in later times is proved by the pair of wooden doors inlaid with ivory from the Gūr-i Mīr, Samarḳand, now in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (*Survey of Persian Art*, vi, pl. 1470). Made about 808/1405, their decoration is typically Tīmūrid. A pen-box (S. Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens of Egypt*, London 1886, fig. 72) and dagger handles dating from the 18th century or later (P. Holstein, *Contribution à l'étude des armes orientales*, Paris 1931, ii, pl. lxi) imply the existence of a native school of ivory carving.

Bibliography: E. Diez, *Bemalte Elfenbeinkästchen und Pyxiden der Isl. Kunst, Jahrbuch d. Königl. Kunstsammlungen*, 1910, 231-44; E. Kühnel, *Sizilien und die Isl. Elfenbeinmalerei, Zeitschr. f. Bildende Kunst*, 1914, 162-70; O. v. Falke, *Elfenbeinhörner*, 1: *Agypten und Italien, Pantheon*, 1929, 511-7; U. Monneret de Villard, *La Cassetta incrostata della Cappella Palatina di Palermo*, Rome 1938; P. B. Cott, *Siculo-Arabic Ivories*, Princeton 1939; J. Ferrandis, *Marfiles árabes de Occidente*, Madrid 1935-40. (R. Pinder-Wilson)

ADJAʾ and **SALMĀ**, the two main ranges of the central Arabian mountain group of Djabalā Ṭayyiʾ, modern al-Djabal. An old tale of the type of "metamorphosis as punishment for sin" is attached to them; the tale is connected with reality insofar as Adjaʾ and Salmā occur in Old Arabic and in early North Arabic dialects as personal names.—According to Ibn al-Kalbī's "Book of Idols", and one of the two versions in the *Djamhara* by the same author, the God Fals/Fils/Fulus was worshipped in the guise of one of the cliffs of Adjaʾ. This cult is probably of great antiquity, as the cult of a certain cliff (Raʿn) in the valley of al-ʿŌlā/Dēdān, in the 2nd century B.C., and later between 50 and 150 A.D., is attested by the evidence of some proper names.

Bibliography: W. Caskel, *Lihyān und Lihyanisch*, Köln and Opladen 1954; Ibn Hishām, 56; R. Klinke-Rosenberger, *Das Götzenbuch, K. al-Aṣnām, des Ibn al-Kalbī*, Leipzig 1941, 61 f.; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 51 ff.; Yāḳūt, i, 122 ff., iii, 912. (W. Caskel)

ʿADJĀʾIB, "marvels", are in the first instance the marvels of antiquity. In addition, the term and its derivatives comprise, already in the Ḳurʾān, the marvels of God's creation. *ʿAdjāʾib* are thus any kind of casual data about extraordinary monuments, the three realms of nature and meteorological phenomena, and the two aspects under which they are viewed come from the Greek spirit on the one hand and the eastern biblical ideas on the other.

Islam, the continuator of the classical tradition as it was formulated in the East, was interested in exceptional monuments, but in a spirit different from that of the Greek. Among the surprising buildings described as marvellous by the Arab authors, the Pharos of Alexandria acquired great notoriety. The monument, described by them in greater detail than by the Greek and Latin authors, existed until the 8th/14th century and was erroneously attributed to Alexander the Great. In general the Macedonian king represented a universal symbol, a mixture of Greek conqueror and of the spirituality of the ancient Orient, and many famous monuments were attributed to him.

As to the marvels of God's creation, these are no wanton inventions of fancy, but are often based on a minute and exact observation of nature. Thus in the *al-Ḥayawān* of Djāḥiẓ, there are rudiments of "Darwinism", and Abū Ḥāmid describes beavers' dams, which he considers to be miraculous; Ibn al-Faḳīh gives an account of the magnetic and electrical phenomena to be observed on a mountain near Āmid.

It was, however, inevitable that these two conceptions of the the *ʿadjāʾib*, so different from the ideological point of view, should fuse together to give rise, especially in the Arabic geographical texts, to a peculiar literary genre. The *ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* by the captain Buzurg b. Shahriyār [*q.v.*] deserves to be mentioned in the first place by its early date and by its incontestable documentary value for its period. It starts with the statement: "God has divided the marvels of creation into ten parts, of which nine belong to the East, one to the other points of the compass. Of the nine parts belonging to the East, eight belong to India and China and one only to the other regions of the East . . .". The book consists of stories by the navigators of East Africa, India, and the islands of S.-E. Asia; some of them show an admixture of real observation while others can be explained only by study of the folklore of the people in question. While the marvels of far-away countries found their literary form already in the 4th/10th century, the curiosities of the various Islamic countries were only described in excursus in the geographical treatises (e.g. in al-Maḳdisī). It was only in the 6th/12th century that these isolated zoological, ethnological, archaeological etc. accounts acquired a particular literary form, especially through Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī [*q.v.*] who collected them in his *Tuḥfat al-Albāb*. The Arabic literature of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, called "classical", is characterized by an equilibrium between erudition and aesthetic creation. When this equilibrium was disturbed by the decadence of Arabic literature, the writers increasingly disregarded science; the *ʿadjāʾib* thus came into greater favour and reached their full development in the cosmographies of the 8th/14th century. The greatest

author of this period was al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] whose work is divided into two parts: *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, "The Marvels of Creation", and *Āthār al-Buldān*, "The Monuments"; thus the best representative of the genre bears witness, centuries later, to the two forms of *ʿadjāʾib* mentioned above. At this epoch the cosmographical works increasingly neglect geography; what remains are collections of entertaining stories. It was also in this period that the Sindbād cycle, which is but a literary adaptation of the accounts of Buzurg b. Shahriyār, was introduced into it.

In the first centuries of the *hidjra* the *ʿadjāʾib* were correctly situated in geographical space by those who observed them or by the authors who copied the former; this is also the case with the earlier Arab geographers and with Abū Ḥāmid. As the scientific interest decreased, however, and the popular interest in amusing literature grew, the data lost their precision and their exact geographical localization. The items of real knowledge acquired in Islam and unknown in antiquity recur in general in the descriptions of the *ʿadjāʾib*; yet these *ʿadjāʾib* acquire a particular role in the history of thought in that they transport us from tangible reality to the realm of fancy constituted by the oriental tales. Abū Ḥāmid, the precursor of the popular cosmographers, is one of the authors who had most influence on the Arabic and Persian writers in the age of decadence of Islamic literature in the late Middle Ages; it is not for nothing that his books were among the main sources of al-Ḳazwīnī. On the other hand it is through the popular cosmographies that the *ʿadjāʾib* stories brought an essential contribution of the Muslim genius to world literature in the form of the tales of the *Arabian Nights.*

Bibliography: *TA*, i, 368; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Paradoxographoi*; M. Asin, *El faro de Alejandría*, *And.*, 1933, 241 ff.; for the "Darwinism" of Djāḥiẓ see E. Wiedmann, in *SBPMSErlg.*, 1915, 130; for Ibn al-Faḳīh, see *BGA*, v, 134 and G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, i, Berlin 1891; for al-Maḳdisī, see *BGA*, iii, 240; for the other authors mentioned, see Buzurg b. Shahriyār, Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī and al-Ḳazwīnī; C. E. Dubler, *El Extremo Oriente visto por los musulmanes anteriores a la invasión de los Mongoles en el siglo xiii* (*La deformación del saber geográfico y etnólogico en los cuentos orientales*), *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, i, 465 ff.

(C. E. Dubler)

ADJAL, the appointed term of a man's life or the date of his death; a topic regularly discussed in the earlier *kalām* along with that of *rizḳ* or sustenance. The idea that the date of a man's death is fixed presumably belongs to pre-Islamic thought. The word *adjal* is used in the Ḳurʾān in a variety of ways, e.g. for the date when the embryo emerges from the womb (xxii, 5), for the period Moses had to serve for his wife (xxviii, 28 f.), for the date when a debt is due (ii, 282), etc. In creating the heavens and earth, the sun and moon, God fixed an *adjal* for them (xlvi, 3; xxxix, 5 etc.); with this is connected the coming of the Last Day. More especially it is used for the term of existence decreed by God for communities (xxiii, 43, etc.) and for individuals (lxiii, 10 f.; vi, 2). This term is neither to be anticipated nor deferred; its fixity explains why the wicked are not punished at once. "No one has his life prolonged or no one has his life cut short except (as it is written) in a book (of God's decrees)" (xxxv, 12). The *adjal* is not shortened even through sinning (xxxv, 44, xlii, 13), while on the other hand it may be concluded that Muhammad presupposed the shortening of the *adjal* as a punishment, but it might be restored to the original length through repentance (xi, 3, xiv, 11). The Ḳurʾān very often emphasizes the expression of *adjal* as the irrevocable period of life assigned by God with the epithet *musammā* (xxxix, 43; xl, 69, and elsewhere), "enunciated" (without ambiguity) "through a word which had proceeded from God" (xlii, 13); the same epithet is applied to the course of the unchangeably operating phenomena of nature (xxxi, 28, xxxv, 14, xxxix, 7). The decreed duration of the world is also often designated by the same formal expression (vi, 2, 61, xxxv, 44). One may notice in the commentaries to the Ḳurʾān the tendency to refer the *adjal musammā*, where it is possible, to the period of the end of the world.

According to tradition (al-Bukhārī, *Ḳadar*, 1; Muslim, *Ḳadar*, 3; etc.) *adjal* and *rizḳ* are two of the four things determined for a man while he is in the womb. Some of the early Muʿtazila apparently suggested that a man who met a violent death had not reached the term decreed for him by God. Perhaps they said this because they hesitated to ascribe the evil of killing to God, just as they did not assert that sustenance consisting of stolen goods came from God. In a passage like Ḳurʾān xl, 67, *adjal* is capable of being interpreted as natural term or, as they put it, "the time at which God knew the man would have died had he not been killed" (cf. *Ibāna*). This view, however, offended the deep-rooted feeling that the date of death was fixed. Even Abu ʾl-Hudhayl said that, if the man had not been killed then, he would have died in some other way. Al-Nadjdjār insisted that, whatever the mode of death, a man died at his term; and he was followed by the opponents of the doctrine of *ḳadar*, including al-Ashʿarī. Al-Kaʿbī tried to avoid ascribing evil to God by distinguishing between the death and the killing. No fresh points were raised after this, but the old points were frequently repeated by theologians. — The dogmatists discussed in connection with *adjal* also the question, in how far God lengthens or shortens the *adjal* as a reward for obedience or as a punishment of disobedience respectively, a question to which the answer results in the harmonizing interpretation of the Kurʾanic verses quoted above and puts the problem of *adjal* in the domain of the debates on *badāʾ* [*q.v.*]. An aspect of the problem of *adjal* concerns the death of great masses by elementary catastrophes, war, persecution, etc.

Jewish religious philosophy treats the problem from the same point of view.

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(I. Goldziher-W. Montgomery Watt)

ʿADJALA, Arabic word borrowed from the North-Western Semitic languages (Hebrew *ʿagālāh*, Phoenician *ʿglt*, Jewish-Aramaic *ʿagaltā*, Syriac *ʿāgaltā*, Old Egyptian loan-word of the New Empire *ʿgrt* = **ʿagalta*, whence Coptic *ačolte*; see references in L. Koehler, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Leiden 1953, 679), derived from a root denoting rotundity or swiftness. In Arabic, as in these languages, it designs wheeled vehicles (chariots, carts, wagons) drawn by animals; but in Arabic it is a generic term. It is for this reason that the use of these vehicles in the Islamic Orient will be treated here, if only in a fragmentary way.

Before Islam, the use of various kinds of cars (among them those termed *ʿagālāh*, etc., in the Semitic countries of the west and in Egypt) is well attested in the whole of the Near East (cf. e.g. V. Gordon Childe, *Wheeled Vehicles*, in *A History of Technology*, i, Oxford 1954; A. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique*, ii, Paris 1953, 98-100, 233; A. Salonen, *Die Landfahrzeuge des Alten Mesopotamien*, Helsinki 1951; Erman and Ranke, *Ägypten*[2], Tübingen 1923, 584; P. Montet, *La vie quotidienne en Égypte*, Paris 1946, 169). In spite of the decline of the chariot of war as early as the Persian period (Salonen, 21), carriages are frequently mentioned in the same region during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (cf., e.g., for Egypt, C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Brussels 1939, 214; W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, 26; Jewish texts in S. Kraus, *Talmudische Archäologie*, Leipzig 1910-2, ii, 336-8 and G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, ii, 111-5, iii, 58 f., 88-90, vi, 193 etc.). The same applies for pre-Islamic North Africa (R. Capot-Rey, *Géographie de la Circulation*, Paris 1946, 87).

In Islamic times, the texts concerning wheeled traffic seem much less frequent. The word *ʿadjala* occurs but rarely in the Middle Ages. None of the passages allows the technology of these vehicles to be determined; at the most they mention the animals which draw them. The lexicographers do not seem to deal with the subject. The reference in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Cheikho), 54, to a vehicle drawn by two oxen is derived from the Sanskrit original. In historical and geographical texts one comes across references, e.g. for Egypt, to such vehicles used for heavy loads (Umayyad period: Yāḳūt, i, 260; al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 28 f.) in the 4th/10th century mentions large wagons drawn by buffaloes in the Syrian *thaghr;* 7th/13th century: Ibn Saʿīd, in al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 691; for Morocco in the 8th/14th century: al-Djaznāʾī, *Zahrat al-Ās* (Bel), 27, transl. 69 f.).

Most of the references, however, concern vehicles used in exceptional circumstances, and which appeared to cause considerable astonishment. E.g. in 242/856, a pilgrimage from Baṣra to the holy cities on an *ʿadjala* drawn by camels (Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, ii, 307); a few years later, an *ʿadjala* drawn by men, which carried the sick Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn from Antioch to Egypt (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 84); in 307/919 the large vehicles prepared in Baghdād for the public humiliation of the rebel Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj (*K. al-ʿUyūn*, in Ibn Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz, i, 49, n.). The Christians during their feasts used state carriages, e.g. in Edessa on the eve of the feast of the cross (Ḥusayn b. Yaʿḳūb, in al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, i, Cairo 1924, 265). The animals mentioned as drawing these vehicles, which were perhaps of very different shapes, are varied: horses of several breeds, camels, oxen, mules, donkeys, buffaloes, perhaps also elephants; as noted above, human traction also was used on occasion.

The word often serves to designate foreign vehicles: Byzantine racing chariots (Ibn Rusta, 120, Ibn Khurradādhbih, 112), wagons of the Christians of the Iberian peninsula (Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 86; *Akhbār al-ʿAṣr*, ed. M. J. Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*, Munich 1863, 44, transl. 147-8), later Turkish *arabas*.

In Muslim Iran, literary references to carriages (*gardūn*) seem to be equally rare (B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 428-9, notes no examples). Firdawsī, however, transposes into the world of myth wagons drawn by buffaloes or oxen (reff. in F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, s.v.). A wooden chariot used by Isfandiyār (*Shāh-nāmah* (Mohl), iv, 500-2, 510) is often shown in miniatures (e.g. *Survey of Persian Art*, v, 832 D; *La guirlande de l'Iran*, Paris 1948, 30), generally as a cart with two spoked wheels drawn by a horse tied between two shafts. Persian miniatures occasionally show other illustrations of wagons: a four-wheeled wagon drawn by a horse (MS from Tabrīz, end of 7th/13th century, in E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, London 1929, pl. xli); a cart with two spoked wheels drawn by a horse tied between two shafts on which are carried materials for building a mosque (miniature of Bihzād, A.D. 1467, in E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin 1922, pl. 51); a kind of yurt probably mounted on wheels, drawn by horses, and used to carry to Tabrīz the corpse of Ghāzān Khān in 703/1304 (MS of 9th/15th century, reproduced in E. Blochet, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la Bibl. Nat.*, Paris 1914-20, pl. xix, cf. p. 272).

On the other hand, carts (*ḳangli*, later also *araba*, *arba*) were very frequently used by the Turco-Mongols of Central Asia until the 14th century, after which the economic decline of the nomad world led to a lessening of their use. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 361, mentions them in Southern Russia. This vehicle, the name of which was arabicised as *ʿaraba* and even *ʿarabiyya* ("Arabian"), was introduced in particular into Mamlūk Egypt (see ʿARABA). Its name supplanted in popular use the word *ʿadjala* as a generic term for carriage; so that *ʿadjala* could be used anew in modern Egypt as a name for bicycle. In turkicised Anatolia the byzantine wagon (*kaghnī*) remained in use.

The medieval situation survived in the countryside up to modern times. In Syria, Volney states in the 18th century: "It is noteworthy that in the the whole of Syria no wagon or cart is seen; this is probably due to the fear lest they should be seized by the government's men and a heavy loss should be suffered in a moment" (*Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*, Paris 1825, ii, 254). In Palestine, before the first world war, only Circassians and foreigners had peasant vehicles (Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, ii, 98 and fig. 40-2; A. Ruppin, *Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebied*[2], Berlin-Vienna 1920, 424-5). On the whole, the situation was the same all over the Near East, except in Anatolia. For Morocco at the beginning of the 20th century, see Ch. René-Leclerc, *Le Maroc septentrional*, Algiers 1905, 87, 251-2; idem, in *Renseignements coloniaux*, 1905, 248; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 415. Various explanations have been offered, the most common being the bad state and insecurity of the roads (R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous le Ḥafṣides*, ii, 236; J. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, Paris 1946, 133-6; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 461, Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 98). Yet the comparison with the condition of the same countries

in antiquity and with the Turkish countries makes this an unsatisfactory explanation. The increasing scarcity of wood, due to the loss of forests, should perhaps be taken into consideration, and one could perhaps establish a parallel with the degeneration of the plough (cf. A. G. Haudricourt, *L'homme et la charrue*, in the press, and MIḤRĀTH). Also the improvement of transport due to the increasing use of the camel and the pack-saddle must be taken into account.

Nevertheless, sooner or later in the various countries, European vehicles were introduced, together with their usually Romance names (in Persia with a Russian name, *kāleske*), but were often adapted to local techniques and customs. Restricted to urban, official and military use, to public transport (for Persia, numerous descriptions and illustrations in C. Anet, *La Perse en automobile*, Paris 1906, 122, 189, pll. 19, 25, 26, etc.), they rarely penetrated into the country-side. As early as the 17th century, the Murādid *bāy* of Tunis travelled in a *karrūṣa* (Italian *carrozza*) (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʾnis*, Tunis 1286, 224); this word is now in common use in North Africa and is found even in Berber dialects (L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, Paris 1952, 712). Similarly *ḳarriṭa* (Italian *carretta*) is used in Algeria for carts and wagons (Beaussier, *Dict. pratique arabe-français*[2], Algiers 1931, 793); the word was already used, in the plural form *karārīṭ*, to designate Portuguese wagons in the 16th century, *Chronique anonyme de la dynastie saʿdienne* (Colin), 59. In Egypt, the *ʿarabiyyat ḥanṭūr*, "cab", (from Hungarian *hintó* through Turkish *hinto*, cf. F. Miklosich, *SBAk. Wien*, 1885, 5, 1889, 8) and the *ʿarabiyyat kārrō* (Italian *carro*) are used (Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto*[2], Milan 1913, 241; cf. Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿĀdāt wa'l-Taḳālīd*, Cairo 1953, 333 and pl. xvi).

Bibliography: Ḥ. Zayyāt, *al-Khizāna al-Sharḳiyya*, iii, Beirut 1946, 149-51; V. V. Barthold, *O kolesnom i verkhovom dvizhenii v Srednei Azii, Zap. Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii nauk S.S.S.R.*, 1937, 5-7; A. G. Haudricourt, *Contribution à la géographie et à l'ethnologie de la voiture, Revue de Géographie humaine et d'Ethnologie*, 1948, 54-64 (important methodological indications).

(M. RODINSON)

ʿADJAM, the etymology and semantic evolution of this collective term in Arabic are exactly parallel to those of the Greek word βάρβαροι. In conformity with the basic meaning of the root from which it is derived, *ʿadjam* means people qualified by *ʿudjma*, a confused and obscure way of speaking, as regards pronunciation and language. *ʿUdjma* is therefore also the contrary of the Arabic *faṣāḥa*, and the *ʿadjam* are the non-Arabs, the βάρβαροι, so called after the most characteristic sign of barbarousness: an incomprehensible and obscure way of speaking. As to the Greeks, so also to the Arabs, the barbarians were primarily their neighbours the Persians, and pre-Islamic poetry already contrasted *al-ʿArab* with *al-ʿAdjam*, although for the latter the form *Aʿādjim*, the plural of *aʿdjam*, was preferred. The affective value attributed to the word depended on the point of view of the user; although it preserved for the most part the original contemptuous force inspired by the haughty presumption of Arab superiority, it sometimes, and even at an early date, implied the desirability and allurement of the exotic, and the acknowledgment of a more civilized and refined culture. In any case, during the whole Umayyad period the superiority of the Arabs, who held the hegemony in Islam and by whom it was spread, over the conquered *ʿadjam* was uncontested, and only isolated voices were raised (e.g. by the poet Ismāʿīl b. Yasār in *Aghānī*[1], iv, 411-2) in support of the race and culture of non-Arabs, i.e. of the Iranians. With the coming to power of the ʿAbbāsids, the victory of the *ʿadjam* over the Arabs, a victory which Naṣr ibn Sayyār had already deprecated in famous verses (al-Dīnawarī, 360), reversed the situation; the Iranians, having obtained political and social supremacy, soon laid claim to the supremacy of their cultural and spiritual values. This was the *shuʿūbiyya* movement [*q.v.*] which, in its essential nucleus, reaffirmed the superiority of the *ʿadjam* over the Arabs, even although its campaign was carried on in Arabic. When the heat of the controversy had died down, the two words remained in current usage merely to indicate ethnical difference, *ʿadjam* becoming synonymous with *Furs* (Persians). *ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī* indicated, from the late medieval period onwards, Iranian Media (which the ancient geographers had called *al-Djibāl*), to distinguish it from *ʿIrāḳ ʿArabī*, which is ʿIrāḳ proper. *Lāmiyyat al-ʿadjam* was given as the title, in contrast to the celebrated *ḳaṣīda* of Shanfara, to a similar poem in *lām* rhyme by the Iranian al-Ṭughrāʾī (d. 1121). For *ʿadjamī* = aljamiado see ALJAMIADO.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 10-146 (*ʿArab und ʿAǵam*).

(F. GABRIELI)

ʿADJAMĪ OGHLĀN (*acemî oğlan*), a term, meaning "foreign boy", applied to Christian youths enrolled for service as Ottoman *ḳapî ḳulus* [*q.v.*], originally, according to the *Penčik ḳānūn* of 1362, by the reservation of one in every five of those taken prisoner of war, and later by *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] conscription. They were first placed for from five to seven years at the disposal of feudal *sipāhīs* and others in Anatolia, and later also in Rumelia, in order to learn Turkish and accustom themselves to Muslim usages, and then posted to the *ʿadjamī odjaḳ* of Gallipoli and, after the conquest, to that of Istanbul, being simultaneously selected for subsequent service, according to their abilities, in the sultan's palace or in one or other of the *odjaḳs* of the standing army, infantry and cavalry, or of the *bostāndjîs* [*q.v.*] of Edirne and Istanbul. Their actual appointment—known as *ḳapîya čîḳma*—to the palace service or these various corps was by seniority on the occurrence of vacancies.

After preliminary training at Ghalaṭa Sarāyî or Ibrāhīm Pasha Sarāyî in Istanbul or at Edirne, *ʿadjamī oghlāns* appointed to the sultan's household (and hence thereafter called *ič oghlāns* or *ič aghas*) might gradually rise from its lowest *ḳoghush* or dormitory to the *khāṣṣ oda* [*q.v.*], from the chief posts in which those who attained them might be appointed *beylerbeyis* and *wezīrs*. The two most important standing cavalry regiments (*sipāhs* and *silāḥdārs*) were likewise recruited from among the *ič aghas*, the other four (*ʿölūfedjis* and *ghurabā*) being recruited from among those *ʿadjamī oghlāns* who, though selected for the palace service, were not in the event appointed to it.

Most of the *ʿadjamī oghlāns* not chosen for the palace were destined for service as Janissaries (see YENI ČERI), whether after preliminary service in the *odjaḳ* of the *bostāndjîs* or by immediate admission into one of the thirty-four *ortas* [*q.v.*], under the command of the *Istanbul aghasî*, which were reckoned as forming part of the Janissary *odjaḳ*.

The gradual abandonment during the 17th

century of the *dewshirme* naturally resulted in the disappearance of *ʿadjamī oghlāns* proper, though their organization was maintained, like that of the whole Janissary *odjaḳ*, till its abolition in 1826.

Bibliography: I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocaklari*, i, 1-141; *IA*, s.v. *Acemî Oğlan*; Aḥmad Djawād, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAskarī-yi ʿOthmānī*, 174 (Fr. transl., i, 241); Sayyid Muṣṭafā, *Natāʾidj ül-Wuḳūʿāt*, i, 166, 174, ii, 109; D'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, 313; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, index.

(H. Bowen)

ʿADJAMIYYA, a term used of the writing of non-Arabic languages in Arabic characters, [see aljamiado, hausa].

ʿADJĀRIDA, Khāridjite sect which spread especially in Khurāsān. The name is derived from that of its founder, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAdjarrad, who seceded from the ʿAṭawiyya, one of the subdivisions of the Nadjadāt [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd al-Karīm was a native of Balkh and was imprisoned by the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Khālid al-Ḳasrī (105-20/724-38).

The main religious tenets attributed to the ʿAdjārida were: the exclusion from Islām (*barāʾa*) of children (even of one's own, according to Ibn Ḥazm) until they grow up and become believers; the duty to invite them to embrace the true faith when they reach puberty; the assertion that *hidjra* is a meritorious act, not a duty; the profession of friendship (*wilāya*) towards the quietists (*al-ḳaʿada*); the affirmation that *sūra* xii (*sūrat Yūsuf*), which by its frivolity could not be the word of God, did not belong to the Ḳurʾān.

Al-Ashʿarī names as branches of the ʿAdjārida the Maymūniyya, Khalafiyya, Ḥamziyya, Shuʿaybiyya, Ṣaltiyya, Khāzimiyya (with two subdivisions) and Thaʿāliba (with five subdivisions). Al-Shahrastānī adds the Aṭrāfiyya. Most of these schools held a less rigid opinion concerning children, viz. that they are in a neutral status until they accept or renounce faith at the time of puberty. The Ḥamziyya played an important political role in the ʿAbbāsid period. The grave Khāridjite revolt which broke out in 179/795 in southern Khurāsān and which lasted till 195/810 was, in fact, led by their chief Ḥamza b. Adrak.

Bibliography: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* (Ritter), i, 93 ff.; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 72 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 191; Shahrastānī, 95 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 355; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 101, 103 ff., 114, 143; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 42, 127; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Le vicende del ḫārigismo in epoca abbaside*, *RSO*, 1949, 41.

(R. Rubinacci)

AL-ADJDĀBĪ, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Luwātī, author of various works on philology (especially the *Kifāyat al-Mutaḥaffiẓ*, a lexicographical work). Al-Tidjānī possessed several of them in autograph copies (al-Adjdābī was famous for his calligraphy). Al-Adjdābī lived in the second half of the 5th/11th century in Tripoli where he also died; his tomb is still venerated there.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 131; idem, *Irshād*, i, 47; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 178; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1927, 188 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 375, S I, 541.

(H. H. Abdul-Wahab)

ADJDĀBIYA, town of Cyrenaica, on the old main road which followed the coast from Alexandria to Tripoli, halfway between Barḳa and Surt. Adjdābiya now belongs to the district of Benghāzī. It was conquered by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in 22/643, was subjected to poll-tax (*djizya*), and became during the following three centuries a military station and a great centre of commercial traffic. Built at the gate of the desert on stony ground—whence probably the Arabic name Adjdābiya, "the sterile"—it had in the 5th/11th century a citadel and a substantial mosque, built about 300/912-3 by the Fāṭimid prince Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, son of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī, with a very fine octagonal minaret. Wells, cut in the rock, provided water of good quality; there was also a fountain of sweet water. The town was surrounded by orchards (figs, apricots, etc.) and a small number of palms. The houses were built mainly in the form of brick vaults (*damūs*), as in the Sahara *ḳṣūrs*. It was well supplied with meat, fruits, honey, wool, etc. from the hinterland, especially the Djabal Akhḍar, and prices were low. On the gulf of the Great Syrtis, later called Djawn al-Kibrīt ("gulf of sulphur") there was a small harbour six miles from the town, called al-Maḥūr (?), which served as port for ships destined for Adjdābiya. According to the early geographers, the inhabitants of the town and the district were mainly Luwāta Berbers (subdivisions of Zanāna, Wāhīla, Masūsa, Sīwa, Tahlala, etc.), but a number of Arab elements, such as Azd, Lakhm, Ṣadif, etc., settled there after the conquest.

The prosperity of the town seems to have been lost following the great Hilālī and Sulamī invasion in the 5th/11th century. The travellers (al-ʿAbdarī, al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Warthilānī) who passed Adjdābiya on their way from the Maghrib to the East, describe it as a town long since ruined, without any vegetation in the vicinity, with only a few visible, but abandoned, vestiges of habitation. During the Turkish, and especially the Italian, occupation, Adjdābiya became a small village, serving as a stage between Benghāzī and Misrāta.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, Baghdad 1918, 102, transl. G. Wiet, 203; Ibn Rusta, 344; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 67; Bakrī, 5 (transl. 16); Yāḳūt, Cairo, i, 121; ʿAbdarī, *Riḥla* (MS), vol. i; Warthilānī, Algiers 1908, 219 ff.

(H. H. Abdul-Wahab)

AL-ʿADJDJĀDJ, Abu 'l-Shaʿthāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. Ruʾba, Arab poet of the Tamīm tribe, who resided mainly in al-Baṣra; it is probable that he was born during the caliphate of ʿUthmān (23-35/644-56), and he died in 97/115. Little is known about his life, except that he had to joust with his Kūfan rival Abu 'l-Nadjm al-ʿIdjlī [*q.v.*]. The main characteristic of al-ʿAdjdjādj's poetry—like that of his son Ruʾba [*q.v.*]—is the constant and exclusive use of the *radjaz* metre in poetical compositions marked by a very rich vocabulary and a laborious construction made more difficult by the poet's respect for the rules of prosody and the unusual number of lines (229 in one *urdjūza*). His *arādjiz* on the model of the pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīda* generally comprise a traditional *nasīb* (replaced in one case by religious subject-matter), then descriptions of the desert and the animals found there (camels, horses, onagers, wild bulls), and end with the panegyric of a man, of the poet himself, or his tribe. Al-ʿAdjdjādj never cultivated either the satire or the elegy. His praises are addressed to eminent personnages such as Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, Bishr b. Marwān, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar, Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. The Arabic critics unanimously praise the verbal richness of al-ʿAdjdjādj, whose verses are frequently cited by the lexicographers; but he was guilty of an exaggerated use of alliteration, and an excessive addiction to rare words.

Bibliography: The poems of al-ʿAdjdjādj have been collected by W. Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter*, ii: *Die Diwane der Regezdichter Elʿaggāg und Ezzafajān*, Berlin 1903; R. Geyer, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis altarabischer Dichter*, 3: *al-ʿAjjâj und al-Zafayân*, in *WZKM*, 1909, 74-101; *Arādjīz al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1313, passim; R. Geyer, *Altarabische Diiamben*, nos. 1-2. Biographical accounts and verses are to be found in Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo, 218; Djāḥiẓ, *Hayawān*², index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 374-6; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 6316; *Mash.*, xxiii, 439-48; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 219; Brockelmann, S I, 90; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, index (Fr. transl. 153-5, 160-2).

(CH. PELLAT)

ʿADJLŪN, district of Transjordania, bounded on the north by the Yarmūḳ, to the east by the Ḥamād, to the south by the Wādī al-Zarḳā' and to the west by the Ghawr, partly corresponding to the old territory of Gilead, and occupied in Roman times by the towns of the Decapolis. The name seems to be of Aramaic origin. A mountanous and wooded district, it was first called Djabal Djarash, later Djabal ʿAwf from the name of the turbulent tribe which occupied it in the Fāṭimid period. It was pacified by the *amīr* ʿIzz al-Dīn Usāma, who, having been granted it in fief by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil b. Ayyūb, built there (it is said on the site of an ancient monastery) a fortress which was since then called Ḳalʿat ʿAdjlūn. Changing hands among various *amīrs* and princes, it played a part in the struggle against the Franks. Stripped of its walls by the Mongols, it was rebuilt in the Mamlūk period, when ʿAdjlūn constituted one of the districts of Damascus. At present ʿAdjlūn is the name of a *ḳaḍā'* (the chief place being Irbid [*q.v.*]), and a small township near the old fortress.

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(D. SOURDEL)

ADJMĒR (AJMĒR, AJMĪR), capital of a small semi-autonomous state of the name in the heart of Rādjasthān, pop. (1951): 196,633 (of whom 23% Muslims). The place is renowned for its architectural monuments, and especially for the tomb of Khwādja Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥasan Sidjzī [*q.v.*] (d. 1236), which is one of the most important centres of pilgrimage in the country. The tomb was built by the Sultans of Mālwa shortly after 1455, while the adjoining buildings were constructed later, the two adjacent mosques having been erected by Akbar and Shāh Djahān. Archeologically the most important building is the Arhā'ī-din-kā-Djhonprā ("two-and-a-half days shed"), a Hindu college converted into a mosque. It consists of a quadrangle surrounded on all sides by cloisters of Hindu pillars, with four star-shaped towers at each corner. The *līwān* is a pillared hall, 248' x 40', divided into nine octagonal compartments, covered by a flat recessed roof, containing five rows of Hindu columns. A lofty screen wall (56 ft. high) of seven pointed arches gives the *līwān* a façade of remarkable beauty. The central arch, which stands higher than the others, is surmounted by two small minarets for the *mu'adhdhin* similar in style, like the rest of the mosque, to the Ḳuṭb Minār and mosque at Delhi. Constructed by Sultan Īltutmish (probably in place, or as an extension, of an earlier mosque started in 1200), it represents one of the finest examples of early Indo-Muslim architecture. Other monuments include a fortified palace built by Akbar, a garden laid by Djahāngīr, and marble pavilions erected by Shāh Djahān on the embankment of Anāsāgar.

History. Founded by the Rādjpūt Rādja Adjaya Cawhān around 1100, Adjmēr was conquered by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī in 1192, and annexed to the Sultanate by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak in 1195. Shortly after 1398, the Rādjpūts of Mēwāṛ captured it, but in 1455 the Sultans of Mālwa ousted them and held the place till 1531, when Rādja Māldēva of Mārwār occupied it. Adjmēr was annexed by Akbar early in his reign and attached to a *ṣūba* of that name. Surrounded as it was by Rādjpūt principalities, and lying on the route to Mālwa and Gudjrāt, the town soon became a strategic and trading centre; while Akbar's frequent visits to the shrine of Khwādja Muʿīn al-Dīn made Adjmēr one of the most important places of pilgrimage. After 1721, it was occupied first by the Rādjpūts and then by the Mahrattas, who ceded it to the British in 1818.

Bibliography: *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, 1908, v; *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Reports*, ii and xxiii; H. B. Sarda, *Ajmer*, *Indian Antiquary*, 1897, 162.

(NURUL HASAN)

ADJNĀDAYN, the traditional name for the site of a battle fought in Djumādā I or II, 13/July-August 634, between the Muslim Arab invaders and the Greek defenders of Palestine. Although located by the literary sources between Ramla and Bayt Djibrīn, no place of this name is attested by the geographers. On topographical grounds, the site of the battle was located by Miednikoff on the Wādī al-Ṣamt in the vicinity of the two villages of al-Djannāba (Gharbiyya and Sharḳiyya), 34° 57' E., 31° 41' N., from the dual form of which (al-Djannābatayn) the traditional name seems to have arisen by conflation with the Ar. plural *adjnād* ("armies"). The Greek forces were commanded by Theodorus, brother of the Emperor Heraclius; some early Arabic sources mention also a certain Arṭabūn (? Araṭyūn = Aretion). The Arab forces were composed of the three separate contingents which had been operating in Palestine and Transjordan (see ABŪ BAKR), temporarily united under the command (most probably) of Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], who had reached Syria from the Euphrates three months before. (A less probable version represents ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ as the commander of the joint forces.) The numbers of the combatants, especially on the Greek side, are highly exaggerated in the Arabic sources; and it is probable that in reality the forces on either side scarcely reached 10,000 men. The Greek army was severely defeated and withdrew to Damascus, leaving the whole of Palestine open to the invaders, who again broke up into separate columns, until a further attempt by the Greek command to establish a defensive position at Fiḥl [*q.v.*] led to the renewed junction of their forces six months later.

Fig. 1. Plaquette from casket, Syria or Mesopotamia (Museo Nazionale, Florence). Photo: Alinari.

Fig. 2. Painted casket (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). *Crown Copyright.*

Fig. 3. Carved casket, Cuenca; enamel mount added in Christian Spain, 12th century (Museo Arqueológico, Burgos).

Fig. 1. Carved casket, Cordova. Courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America.

Fig. 2. Carved casket, Cordova (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). *Crown copyright.*

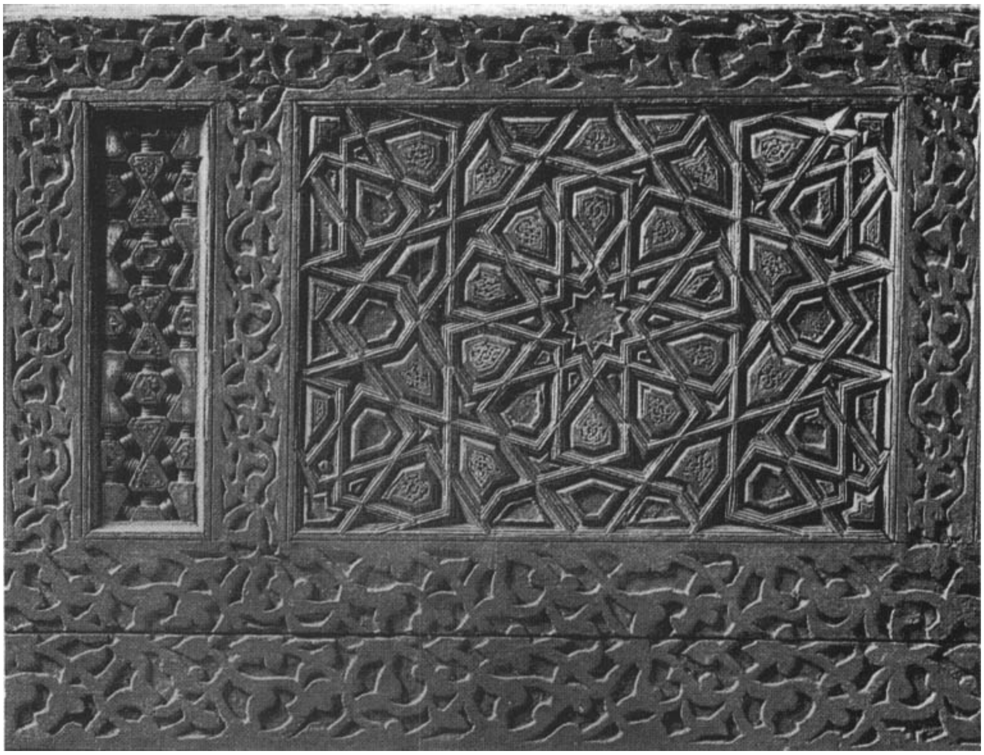

Fig. 3. Intarsia panel from Ḳā'itbay's *minbar* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). *Crown Copyright.*

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali* iii, 13-81 (A. H. 13, §§ 7-66): an exhaustive analysis and discussion of the sources and related problems; summarized by C. H. Becker, *Camb. Med. Hist.* ii, 341-2 (= *Islamstudien* i, 81-2).

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ADJR (A.), reward, wages, rent. The word is of Akkadian origin and was received into Arabic, through the intermediary of Aramaic, at an early date. It is used in a religious and in a legal sense, which both occur from the Ḳurʾān onwards.

1. In a great number of ḳurʾānic passages, *adjr* denotes the reward, in the world to come, for pious deeds. This concept seems to derive from Christian rather than from Jewish sources, and it has become one of the fundamental ideas of practical ethics in Islam. According to Ḳurʾān, vi, 160, ten good deeds are credited for each one accomplished, though the term *adjr* does not occur here. It is often stated in traditions that the well-intentioned, though imperfect, fulfilment of religious obligations gives right to one reward, whereas their successful accomplishment is rewarded twice or several times. The fulfilment of the religious duty of the *idjtihād* [*q.v.*], and of the parallel duty of giving judgment according to religious law, in particular, gives right to one reward, even though the decision arrived at is faulty; if it is right, two (or even ten) rewards are promised. The earliest tradition to this effect seems to have originated towards the middle of the second century of Islam.

2. As a legal term, *adjr* seems to have denoted in Mecca, in the time of the Prophet, any payment for services rendered, and it is used in the Ḳurʾān not only of wages, but of the *mahr* [*q.v.*] which is due to wives, whether free women or slaves, under the contract of marriage, including a *mutʿa* marriage [*q.v.*] (iv, 23 f.; v, 5; xxxiii, 50; lx, 10), and of the maintenance due to divorced wives who feed their children (lxv, 5). In the doctrine of religious law, the term was restricted to wages or rent payable under a contract of *idjāra* [*q.v.*]. For rent in particular, the special term *udjra* is often used.

Bibliography: A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 1938, 49; C. C. Torrey, *The Commercial-Theological Terms in the Koran*, Leiden 1892, 23 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, s.v. *adjr*; Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 1950, 96 f.

(J. Schacht)

ĀDJURRŪMIYYA [see IBN ĀDJURRŪM].

ʿADJŪZ [see AYYĀM AL-ʿADJŪZ].

ADJWAF [see TAṢRĪF].

ʿADL (1) Etymologically, the term is found both as substantive and as adjective, but with meanings that do not exactly correspond. *ʿAdl*, the substantive, means justice; as an adjective, it means rectilinear, just, well balanced; it thus applies both to beings and to things. In its two forms, the word is current in the vocabulary of religion, theology, philosophy, and law. In the Muʿtazilite doctrine, *ʿadl*, the justice of God constitutes one of the five fundamental dogmas (*uṣūl*) of the system [see MUʿTAZILA]. The Ḳāḍī must give judgment with *ʿadl* (or *ḳisṭ*; cf. Ḳurʾān, iv, 58; v, 42); but the idea of material justice plays hardly any part in the theory of religious law [cf. UṢŪL], although it is insisted upon in the "Investigation of Complaints" [see MAẒĀLIM]. The adjective which corresponds exactly to this substantive *ʿadl* is *ʿādil*.

As an adjective, the word *ʿadl* expresses more particularly a juridical conception, and has numerous applications. However, agreement has never been reached on a definition of the term, as the Mālikite jurist Ibn Rushd observes. Furthermore, the various definitions that have been formulated are too comprehensive and imprecise. In al-Māwardī's definition, *ʿadāla*, the quality of *ʿadl*, is described as a state of moral and religious perfection. For Ibn Rushd it consists in not committing major sins, and also avoiding minor ones. But another author observes that such a state can be found only very exceptionally, in the saints; that *ʿadāla* simply describes the state of a person who in general obeys the moral and religious law. This last conception is the one that came to be finally accepted. In the latest stage of Muslim law, as it appears in the codification undertaken in the Ottoman empire about the middle of the 19th century, the following definition is given: "The *ʿadl* person is one in whom good impulses prevail over bad" (*Madjalla* art. 1705). In short, one can translate *ʿadl* by "person of good morals", with the essentially religious sense that this has in Islam. Whether this quality must be a natural inclination, innate or acquired, or whether it is sufficient for it to be achieved by an effort of will, is however a theoretically disputed point.—The antonym of *ʿadl* is *fāsiḳ*.

The adjective is also employed substantively; it then means a person of good morals (pl. *ʿudūl*).

ʿAdāla enters into various juridical categories. In the theory of public law, *ʿadāla* is one of the principal conditions for carrying out public functions recognized by the doctrine of the School. But it is in private law, in the theory of evidence, that the idea has been most fully developed and involves a most detailed system of regulations. The witness must be *ʿadl*; it suffices, however, that his *ʿadāla* should be substantiated at the time when his evidence is given and not at the time of his observation of the fact in question. It is a disputed point, nevertheless, whether the witness is presumed to have *ʿadāla* so long as it is not contested by the adversary, or whether, even if it is not called in question, it should be the subject of verification. The latter course has prevailed in practice and in doctrine. Consequently a procedure has been evolved for substantiation of the *ʿadāla* of witnesses; it is known as *tazkiya* or *taʿdīl*. In the latest stage of the law, this procedure involves two phases. In the first, the judge proceeds to a secret investigation, by sending a question in a sealed envelope to qualified persons; this is *al-tazkiya al-sirriyya*. It is afterwards necessary, in certain cases, for these persons to appear at the public hearing to confirm their former attestation; this is *al-tazkiya al-ʿalāniyya*. The attestation of the *ʿadāla* of a witness is called *taʿdīl*; contestation of this *ʿadāla* is called *djarḥ*.

However, the *tazkiya* procedure is not used exclusively as an accessory or as incidental to a law-suit. It functions also independently and as an end in itself, for recognizing in a positive and final manner the quality of *ʿadāla* in given persons. Because of the small reliance placed on writing, as such, once its use became widespread, recourse was had, in order to give it once and for all conclusive force, to the procedure of testimonial proof. However, this method was not altogether reliable, for the witnesses of the instrument could always themselves be challenged on the ground of lack of *ʿadāla*. This difficulty was overcome by the use of a preliminary *tazkiya*; the judge recognizes once and for all the *ʿadāla* of a certain number of persons, who thus become in principle irreproachable witnesses, and

to whom appeal can be made to establish the preconstituted proof of written documents. From among such people the scriveners or notaries are recruited who bear the name of *ʿudūl* in a technical sense. But the *ʿudūl* are employed also for many other services: as assistants to magistrates for the certifying of instruments of procedure and of judgments, for the carrying out of various acts of judiciary administration, for answering *tazkiya* inquiries, for nominating people to functions for which *ʿadāla* is a requisite, etc. (cf. SHĀHID).

Bibliography: Ibn Farḥūn, *Tabṣirat al-Ḥukkām*, Cairo 1302/1884, i, 173, 204 ff., etc.; *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, ed. A. Sprenger, 1015 ff.; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, § 67; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 109; Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1938, t. i, Ch. iv, sect. v; idem, *Le notariat ..... dans la pratique du droit musulman*, Beirut 1945. (E. TYAN)

(2) In numismatics *ʿadl* means "of full weight", and therefore this word (often abridged to ع) is stamped on coins to show that they have the just weight and are current (*ʿadlī*).

ʿADLĪ, pen-name of Muḥammad II and Maḥmūd II, further of Bāyazīd II. Gibb, *History of the Ottoman Poetry*, ii, 32 ff., believes that the pen name of this last was ʿAdnī, but the Upsala MS bears ʿAdlī. (Gibb, ii, 25 f. attributes the *dīwān* of *ʿAdnī*, Istanbul 1308, to Maḥmūd Pasha.)

ADMINISTRATION [see DĪWĀN].

ʿADN [see DJANNA].

ʿADNĀN, ancestor of the Northern Arabs according to the genealogical system which received its final form in the work of Ibn al-Kalbī, about 800 A.D. The name occurs twice in Nabatean inscriptions from N.W. Arabia (ʿAbd ʿAdnōn, ʿAdnon; Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission Archéologique en Arabie*, Paris 1909-14, nos. 38, 328) also in Thamudic (Lankester Harding/Littmann, *Some Thamudic Inscriptions*, Leiden 1952) and was taken to South Arabia along the incense-route (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semit.*, iv, no. 808). As already noted by al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt* (Hell), 5 (cf. also Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh ʿalā Ḳabāʾil al-Ruwāh*, Cairo 1350, 48), it does not occur in pre-Islamic poetry at all (Labīd, xli, 7 is spurious), and only very rarely in early Islamic literature. This means that the name does not owe its place in the system to the conflict of parties in the Umayyad period, like Nizār and Rabīʿa, but is of pre-Islamic origin, although it does not spring from bedouin tradition. It may come, like other rudimentary elements of the system, from the Meccan tradition.—It is noteworthy that, owing to the revival of national feeling, the name ʿAdnān again became current in Turkey by the last quarter of the 19th century. This is explained by the fact that the Young Turkish movement represented in its earliest stage an Ottoman nationalism which included also the Arabic traditions.

Bibliography: W. Caskel, *Die Bedeutung der Beduinen für die Geschichte der Araber* (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften*, Heft 8) Köln and Opladen 1953, 11 ff.; *CIH*, 808; *EI*, s.v. NIZĀR; Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, i, ii, Paris 1909, 1914, nos. 38, 328; Lankester Harding/Littmann, *Some Thamudic Inscriptions*, Leiden 1952; G. Strenziok, *Die Genealogie der Nordaraber nach Ibn al-Kalbi*, thesis, Köln 1953. Cf. also NIZĀR. (W. CASKEL)

ADRAMIT [see EDREMID].

ADRAR, Berber geographical term meaning "mountains" and applied to a number of mountainous regions of the Sahara.

1. ADRAR, 650 km. to the south-east of Colomb-Béchar, capital of the Tawāt (Touat) and main *ḳsar* (*ḳaṣr*) of the tribe of Timmi.

The centre of Adrar, on its present site, dates from the French conquest (30 July 1900). Since that time, the town developped as an administrative and commercial centre. In 1951, Adrar had 1,795 inhabitants.

Agriculture plays but a small part in the life of the *ḳsar*. Craftsmanship (fabrication of woollen and cotton wall covers called *dokkali*) is in decadence. The main role was always played by commerce, but the caravan traffic to the Sūdān (dates, tobacco) and to the oases of Algeria (skins, butter, live sheep) has greatly diminished owing to the competition of motor transport.

Bibliography: Cne. Flye Sainte Marie, *Le commerce et l'agriculture au Tuat*, *Bul. Soc. Gég. Arch. Oran*, 1904; Watin, *Origine des populations du Touat*, *Bul. Soc. Géog. Alger*, 1905; A. G. P. Martin, *Les oasis sahariennes* (*Gourara, Touat, Tidikelt*), Paris 1908; P. Devots, *Le Touat, étude géographique et médicale*, *Archives Inst. Pasteur Algérie*, 1947.

2. ADRAR OF THE IFOGHAS, an ancient massif in the southern Sahara (Sūdān), between 21° and 18° N, 30′ and 3° E. Like the Ahaggar range of which it is an extension, it is made up of crystalline rocks of the pre-Cambrian age, but there is no trace of recent volcanic action.

The monsoon rains from the Gulf of Guinea come annually to the Adrar of the Ifoghas (Kidal: 123 mm.) and the vegetation already approximates to that of the coastal region, at least in the valleys; but the water points are rare because of the impermeability of the soil.

The massif is inhabited by Tuareg tribes, among which the noble tribe of Kidal, that of the Ifoghas, supplies the *amenokal* [*q.v.*]; by extension, the name Ifoghas is applied to all the tribes who inhabit the Adrar and its confines. In 1949 the subdivision of Kidal had 14,574 inhabitants, all nomads, breeding camels, oxen, and sheep. They nomadize close to the massif, but go to Tidikelt and Tuwāt (Touat), crossing the Tanezruft, to sell their sheep. The principal administrative centre is Kidal (683 inhabitants); not far from there the ruins of the ancient Songhai town of al-Sūḳ (Es Souq, Tadmekket) can still be seen.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Description de l'Afrique* (transl. de Slane, *JA*, 1842); Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (transl. de Slane, Algiers, 1913); E. F. Gautier, *A travers le Sahara français* (*La Géo.*, xv, i, 1907); Lt. Cortier, *D'une rive à l'autre du Sahara*, Paris 1908; R. Chudeau, *Sahara soudanais*, Paris 1909; R. Mauny, *Encyclopédie maritime et coloniale. Afrique occidentale française. Protohistoire et histoire ancienne.* Paris 1949, vol. i; R. Capot-Rey, *Sur quelques formes de relief de l'Adrar des Ifoghas*, *Trav. I.R.S.*, vol. vii, 1951; H. Lhote, *Sur l'emplacement de la ville de Tademekka, ancienne capitale des Berbères soudanais*, *Notes Afr.*, no. 51, July 1951.

3. ADRAR OF MAURETANIA (also called Adrar Tmar to distinguish it from the Adrar of the Ifogha). A group of plateaus in the southern Sahara between 19° and 23° N, 10° and 13° 30′ W, having a surface of 150,000 sq. km. These plateaus are formed by sedimentary layers, gravel, schist and limestone

and are limited by graded slopes which overlook schistous depressions followed by wadis or traced by *sebkhas*; the main slope, the Ḍhar, reaches the height of 830 m.

By the scanty rainfall (81 mm. in Atar, 52 in Chinguiti), the absence of permanent drainage, the steppe vegetation consisting of thorny shrubs, the Adrar forms part of the desert. Nevertheless, the climate, the hydrography and the vegetation have features which are different form those of the Sahara. In the summer the humid air of the Gulf of Guinea invades the Adrar and tornadoes occur in July and August; the wadis flow and fill the closed depressions called *graʾir*.

The first inhabitants of the Adrar were the Bafur about whom one knows scarcely more than that the Adrar was called by the Portuguese, as late as the 16th century, "Mountains of the Bafur". From the 10th century, the Lamtuna [*q.v.*] penetrated into the Adrar and their chief Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar made himself master of Shinḳīṭ ([*q.v.*]; modern Chinguiti) and finally of Gh̲āna, though this conquest did not last. Three centuries later the Maʿḳil [q.v.], driven by the first Marīnids, retraced the steps of Abū Bakr and subjugated the Berber tribes. The marabutic movement of the 15th century also contributed to the arabization of the western Sahara. At this period arose the hierarchical organization characteristic of the society of Mauretania; at the summit of the scale the warriors (Hasan), descendants of the Arab conquerors, followed by the Marabuts (Zwāyā) and the Tributaries (Zenaga), both Berbers; finally the Ḥarātīn, the slaves and smiths, Bafur, negroes or of mixed-race. This organization survived up to the French penetration. In 1909 the Adrar was occupied by the column of Gouraud. In 1932 the *amīr* of the Adrar rebelled and the region was only pacified two years later.

Animal breeding is the main source of livelyhood. Warriors, Marabuts and Tributaries possess numerous herds of camels and sheep, which disperse during the cool season in the *ergs*, while in the summer they are assembled near the wells or graze in the coastal zone. Agriculture assumes two forms: raising of sorghum and water-melon in the *graras*, after the floods; raising of millet, corn and barley under the palm-trees in irrigated gardens; the dates, harvested in July (*gatna*), are the object of a lively trade. There are a number of small oases, Azougui, Ksar Torchane, Toungad, Oujeft. Chunguiti, which used to be a religious and intellectual centre, the radiation of which was felt as far as Senegal, is today a miserable little township. All the life is concentrated at Atar, capital of the district, which lies on the motor-road connecting Saint Louis with Agadir. [Cf. also MAURITANIA.]

Bibliography: Th. Monod, *L'Adrar mauritanien, esquisse géologique*, Dakar 1952; idem, *Contribution à l'étude du peuplement de la Mauretanie. Notes botaniques sur l'Adrar, Institut Français de l'Afrique Noire*, April 1952; F. de la Chapelle, *Esquisse d'une histoire du Sahara occidental*, Rabat 1930; P. Marty, *Les tribus de la Haute Mauritanie, Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française, Renseignements coloniaux*, 1915; Col. Modat, *Les populations primitives de l'Adrar mauritanien, Bulletin du Comité des études historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F.*, 1919; idem, *Portugais, Arabes et Français dans l'Adrar Mauritanien*, ibid., 1922; Cne. Huguet, *Les populations primitives de l'Adrar mauritanien, Bull. du Com. de l'Afr. fr., Rens. col.*, 1927. (R. CAPOT-REY)

ADRIANOPLE [see EDIRNE].

ʿAḌUD AL-DAWLA, ABŪ SH̲UD̲JĀʿ FANNĀ KH̲USRAW, son of Rukn al-Dawla, Buwayhid [*q.v.*] *amīr al-umarāʾ*, born at Iṣfahān on 5 Dh̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 324/24 Sept. 936. On the death in 338/944 of his uncle ʿImād al-Dawla, according to the latter's wish, since he left no son of his own, Fannā Kh̲usraw, though then aged only thirteen, succeeded him as ruler of Fārs; in 351/962 he received the *laḳab* ʿAḍud al-Dawla from the caliph al-Muṭīʿ; on the death of his other uncle Muʿizz al-Dawla in 356/967 he obtained possession of ʿUmān; and in the following year he conquered Kirmān, in the government of which he was confirmed by the caliph, and was acknowledged as overlord by the ruler of Sīstān. In 361/971-2, after foiling an attempt by a brother of its former ruler to recover Kirmān, he extended his authority south-eastwards over Makrān, temporarily subduing the Balūč and other predatory tribes of that province.

Having thus obtained control of all southern Persia, ʿAḍud al-Dawla next sought to displace his cousin Bak̲h̲tiyār as lord of al-ʿIrāḳ. Bak̲h̲tiyār's folly had involved him in a rebellion of his Turkish troops; and in 363/973-4 ʿAḍud al-Dawla persuaded his father, now senior member of the Buwayhid clan, to authorize his leading an expedition to Bak̲h̲tiyār's aid in conjunction with a small force of Rukn al-Dawla's own troops from Rayy. He delayed moving, however, until Bak̲h̲tiyār was on the point of defeat. Then, himself routing the revolted Turks, he entered Bag̲h̲dād in D̲j̲umādā I 364/January 975 and two months later frightened Bak̲h̲tiyār into abdicating. For the moment his ambition of acquiring al-ʿIrāḳ for himself was nevertheless disappointed, his father's indignation at his treatment of Bak̲h̲tiyār being so violent as to bring on the illness from which in the next year he died. In the interval, however, by obediently restoring Bak̲h̲tiyār and returning to Sh̲īrāz, ʿAḍud al-Dawla succeeded in obtaining confirmation as his father's heir; and since his much younger brothers Fak̲h̲r al-Dawla and Muʾayyid al-Dawla swore allegiance to him, on Rukn al-Dawla's death ʿAḍud al-Dawla was able to invade al-ʿIrāḳ a second time without fear of opposition from them in Persia. Bak̲h̲tiyār was prepared for this attack, which he decided to meet at al-Ahwāz, only to be completely defeated (Dh̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 366/July 977). It was not until three months later, however, that he acknowledged ʿAḍud al-Dawla as his overlord. Moreover, on his way to Syria, to which he proposed migrating, he was induced by the Ḥamdānid Abū Tag̲h̲lib to defy ʿAḍud al-Dawla yet again, with the result that on 12 Sh̲awwāl 367/24 May 978 ʿAḍud al-Dawla routed their combined forces at Sāmarrā (Ḳaṣr al-D̲j̲uṣṣ). Bak̲h̲tiyār was caught and killed on the field; and Abū Tag̲h̲lib in the course of the next twelve months was pursued, deprived of all his hereditary lands, and eventually forced to seek refuge with the Fāṭimids in Syria. The outcome of these operations was that by Dh̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 368/June 979, when ʿAḍud al-Dawla returned to Bag̲h̲dād, he was master, not only of al-ʿIrāḳ, but also of Diyār Rabīʿa, Diyār Bakr, and most of the D̲j̲azīra.

In expectation of ʿAḍud al-Dawla's second onslaught Bak̲h̲tiyār had sought help not only from Abū Tag̲h̲lib, but also from ʿImrān b. Sh̲āhīn, the ruler of the marshes (al-Baṭīḥa), from the Kurdish chieftain Ḥasanwayh al-Barzikānī, from ʿAḍud al-Dawla's brother Fak̲h̲r al-Dawla, and from the Ziyārid Ḳābūs b. Wush̲mgīr. In 369/979, accordingly,

having overcome Abū Taghlib, ʿAḍud al-Dawla determined on ensuring the subservience of all these, sending two expeditions against ʿImrān's son and successor al-Ḥasan, which resulted in the following year in his agreeing to pay tribute, and another against the sons of Ḥasanwayh, who had also died in the interval. On his addressing a letter of admonishment to Fakhr al-Dawla, moreover, the latter replied with such truculence as to prompt ʿAḍud al-Dawla to lead a force in person into the Djibāl against him; on which so many of Fakhr al-Dawla's supportes deserted him that he fled to Ḳazwīn, whence he entered into a compact with Ḳābūs to oppose ʿAḍud al-Dawla with Sāmānid help, and moved to Nishāpūr to obtain it. Whilst on this expedition ʿAḍud al-Dawla fell gravely ill with epilepsy, and though he was able to reduce all the local Ḥasanwayhid fortresses, he was then obliged to return to Baghdād. Finding, however, that, in contrast to Fakhr al-Dawla, his other brother, Muʾayyid al-Dawla, was ready to acknowledge his suzerainty, he first conferred on him the government of Hamadhān and Nihāwand, and in 371/981, after receiving a defiant reply to his approaches from Ḳābūs, secured from the caliph a commission for Muʾayyid al-Dawla to replace Ḳābūs as governor of Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān. Muʾayyid al-Dawla in due course drove Ḳābūs from both these provinces; and though Ḳābūs and Fakhr al-Dawla obtained Sāmānid assistance, they failed to dislodge him as long as ʿAḍud al-Dawla and he remained alive.

In the last years of his reign ʿAḍud al-Dawla was involved in negotiations with both the Byzantines and the Fāṭimids. In 369/980 the rebel commander Bardas Sclerus sought refuge in Diyār Bakr and solicited ʿAḍud al-Dawla's support; but on the arrival in Baghdād of an embassy from Constantinople, to which a favourable reply was sent by the hand of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr al-Bāḳillānī, ʿAḍud al-Dawla not only refused it but held the rebel and some of his relatives captive for the rest of his reign. In the same year there likewise arrived in the capital an envoy from the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz, who had been perturbed at rumours that ʿAḍud al-Dawla intended invading Egypt—a project that he in fact abandoned only because of his preoccupation with the defiance of Fakhr al-Dawla and Ḳābūs, but which, despite ʿAḍud al-Dawla's eventual assurances of his good will, continued up to his death to occasion alarm in Cairo.

ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death occurred in his forty-eighth year on 8 Shawwāl 372/26 March 983 at Baghdād, by which date he had not only united all the territory ever held by princes of his family in a single dominion, but had greatly enlarged it by the various conquests referred to above. He is generally regarded, with justice, as the greatest *amīr* of the Buwayhid dynasty, whose power reached its zenith after his acquisition of al-ʿIrāḳ. He then exacted from the caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ, who married his daughter, various privileges not enjoyed by his predecessors in the amirate, namely designation by a second *laḳab*, Tādj al-Milla; the introduction of his name after that of the caliph into the *khuṭba* at the capital; and the beating of drums before the entrance to his palace at the hours of prayer. These distinctions were well deserved. ʿAḍud al-Dawla had been early instructed in the duties of monarchy by his father's *wazīr* Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd; and first in Fārs, and later in the other provinces which he acquired, he not only introduced such security and administrative order as had long been unknown in them, but exerted himself in the construction of public works, of which the most notable were the Band-i Amīr, a barrage across the river Kūr in Fārs, and the hospitals, called ʿAḍudī after him, in Shīrāz and Baghdād. To Baghdād indeed he restored much of its lost prosperity and magnificence. He also built a new mausoleum over the supposed grave of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib at Nadjaf, where he himself was buried. For various references to other buildings etc. of his, see in particular the indices to the *Fārs-nāma* of "Ibn al-Balkhī" and al-Maḳdisī and for references to his library at Shīrāz see both al-Maḳdisī, 499 and Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 446. ʿAḍud al-Dawla was a liberal, though exacting, patron of the learned and of poets, including al-Mutanabbī, and himself wrote verse, some of which is quoted by al-Thaʿālibī in the *Yatīmat al-Dahr*. A convincing account of his character, daily life, and methods of government, is supplied by al-Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 39 f.

Bibliography: Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, continued by Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī (text and transl. in *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* by Amedroz and Margoliouth), index; Maḳdisī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, indices; ʿUtbī, *Yamīnī*, i, 105-30 (citing the *Tādjī* of Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ); the *Fārs-nāma*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* (Amedroz), index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 543 (transl. de Slane, ii, 481 f.); Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, ii, iv, indices; cf. also BUWAYHIDS. (H. BOWEN)

ʿAḌUD AL-DĪN, ABU'L-FARADJ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, of the family of Ibn Muslima [*q.v.*], held the office of *ustād dār* under al-Mustandjid until he had the latter assassinated in the bath and homage paid to al-Mustaḍīʾ (566/1170). He was appointed vizier by the latter, but one year later he was dismissed and shortly afterwards re-established in his office. When ʿAḍud al-Dīn prepared himself for the pilgrimage to Mecca in 573/1178 he was killed by the Ismāʿīlīs. — Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī [*q.v.*] was one of the poets who glorified him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 219 ff.; *Fakhrī* (Ahlwardt), 367 ff.

ʿAḌUD AL-DĪN [see AL-ĪDJĪ].

ADULTERY [see ZINĀʾ].

ADWIYA, pl. of *dawāʾ*, every substance which may affect the constitution of the human body, every drug used as a remedy or a poison. In accordance with Greek ideas, Muslim pharmacologists distinguished between simple drugs, *adwiya mufrada* (φάρμακα ἁπλᾶ) and compound drugs, *adwiya murakkaba* (φ. σύνθετα), [for the latter see AḲRĀBĀDHĪN]. According to their origin, the *adwiya* were divided into vegetable (*nabātiyya*), animal (*ḥayawāniyya*) and mineral (*maʿdiniyya*).

Like medicine in general, Muslim pharmacology depends on Greek learning. An element of Persian tradition is also revealed in the pharmacological nomenclature. In many cases these Persian names of plants and drugs, some of them still in use (see e.g. Ahmed Issa Bey, *Dictionnaire des noms des plantes*, Cairo 1930) may date from the time of the celebrated medical school of Djundīsābūr, where Greek science flourished on Persian soil. This learning began to exercise an effective influence on the Muslims in the year 148/765, when the caliph al-Manṣūr summoned to attend him the chief physician of the hospital of Djundīsābūr, Djurdjīs of the family of Bukhtyashūʿ. Greek pharmacological learning was transmitted through Syriac translations of the fundamental works of Dioscorides, Galen, Oribasius and Paul of Aegina.

For the history of the Arabic translation of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides, see DIYUSKURIDĪS. The Dioscoridean idea, clearly expressed by the great Iranian scientist al-Bīrūnī in his pharmacological work cited below, that, theoretically, every plant had some medicinal virtue, whether actually known or not, caused pharmacological writers to include in their works plant descriptions which had a purely botanical interest, derived especially from Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī. There is thus in Muslim tradition no clear difference between *materia medica*, or works on *al-Adwiya al-Mufrada* etc., and botany, *Nabāt* [*q.v.*].

According to the autobibliographical *risāla* of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (*Uber die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, (Bergsträsser), no. 53), the first five *maḳālāt* of the *Book of Simple Drugs* of Galen were translated into Syriac, rather unsatisfactorily, by Yūsuf al-Khūrī, later on by Ayyūb (Job of Edessa, about A.D. 765-835), and, finally, in an abridged form (?) by Ḥunayn himself, who also made an Arabic translation of the text; of the second part a Syriac translation made by Sergius (Sargīs of Rishʿaynā, d. 536; a MS of the text in Brit. Mus., 1004) was corrected by Ḥunayn and turned into Arabic by his nephew Ḥubaysh. (The *Book of Compound Drugs* also was translated into Syriac by Sergius and Ḥunayn, then into Arabic by Ḥubaysh; Ḥunayn, *op. cit.*, no. 79.)

The *Synopsis* and the *Ad Eunapium* of Oribasius were translated (into Arabic?) by Ḥunayn, who translated also, together with ʿĪsā b. Yaḥyā, into Syriac the first tract of the *Collectiones* (= *al-Kunnāsh al-Kabīr* mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 10?). These translations are lost but frequently quoted by later authors.

The *Pragmatia* of Paul of Aegina was highly appreciated by Muslim physicians, who used an (abridged?) translation of its seven books by Ḥunayn (*al-Kunnāsh fi'l-Ṭibb*, *Fihrist*, 293; *Kunnāsh al-Thurayyā*, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 103). Apart from small fragments no manuscript survives in Arabic, but there are frequent quotations in the works of later authors.

According to Bar Hebraeus (*The Chronography*, transl. by E. A. W. Budge, Oxford 1932,57), Ahron the priest wrote his medical pandect in Greek, and his work was translated into Syriac. An Arabic translation was made by Māsardjis (Māsardjawayh). The *Kunnāsh* of Ahrun *al-ḳass* is often quoted by pharmacological writers, and its author had a great reputation as a scholar (Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1356, i, 250). Māsardjis/Māsardjawayh (see Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, 1899, 428-34), the first translator of medical works into Arabic, was also the author of two books, one on food and the other on simples (*al-ʿAḳāḳīr*), perhaps identical with the two *maḳālāt* added to his translation of Ahron (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 80).

After the time of Ḥunayn, pharmacology rapidly developed in the Eastern countries of the Muslim world. About a hundred Arabic authors on *materia medica* are mentioned in the bibliographical works of Ibn al-Nadīm, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī. Some thirty are represented by manuscripts in Eastern and Western libraries. Only a few of these works have been studied by Western scholars. For the history of the Greek text of Galen etc. these Arabic texts will certainly prove to be of importance.

In the course of time, many hundreds of names of simple drugs, not known to the Greeks, were incorporated in the body of learning transmitted by the Greeks to their Arab and Persian disciples. (For a preliminary list of such drugs see L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii, 232-3.) Serious confusion in terminology inevitably followed from the great influx of names of Arabic, Iranian, Greek and Indian names of plants and drugs which were current in theory and practice. In the course of time many works were written with the purpose of determining their true significance and of putting together synonyms. For practical purposes the translation of Dioscorides made in Baghdād was of little use to readers, as long as the Greek names were for the most part only transliterated in Arabic characters. Arabic equivalents were introduced into the text by Spanish scholars in the middle of the 10th century. About the same time the Arab translator of the Syriac *Kunnāshā* of Yuḥannā b. Sarābiyūn (Serapion, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 109) gave Arabic equivalents to the great number of Greek and Syriac names of simples contained in that work (MS Aya Sofiya 3716; P. Guigues, *Les noms arabes dans Sérapion*, *JA*, 1905-6). One of the oldest prose works written in Persian is the *al-Abniya ʿan Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-Adwiya* of Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAlī al-Harawī explaining, in alphabetical order, the Arabic, Persian, Syriac and Greek names of 584 different simples (ed. F. R. Seligmann, Vienna 1859; German transl. by A. C. Achundow, Dorpat 1893).

The most interesting work on pharmacological synonyms written in the East is certainly that of al-Bīrūnī (361-440/972-1048), *al-Ṣaydana fi'l-Ṭibb* (M. Meyerhof, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Beruni*, *Quellen und Studien zur Gesch. der Naturwiss. und der Med.*, iii, Berlin 1933; idem, *BIE*, 1940, 133 ff., 157 ff.). Apart from two MSS of a Persian translation, this work has come down to us in a single, mutilated MS in Brusa, representing the author's rough draft of the work, probably written in his old age and never completed by him. In its unfinished condition it contains 720 articles, in the common order of the Arabic alphabet, dealing with vegetable, animal and mineral simples with numerous remarks on their names in Greek, Syrian, Indian, Persian and other Iranian languages, philological notes on the meaning of plant names and their synonyms used in Arabic poetry, and copious quotations from medical and botanical works (many of them quite unknown to us) on the quality and origin of the drug, its substitutes (*abdāl*) etc. This work certainly deserves further study.

Among the numerous works on medicine written in the East and containing also chapters on pharmacology only the most important can be mentioned here. The *Firdaws al-Ḥikma* of ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, written in 235/850 (ed. M.Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928), quotes the translations of Ḥunayn and his disciples and is of special interest as aiming to introduce also Indian medicine (cf. A. Siggel, in *Abh. der Akad. der Wiss. und Lit.*, Berlin 1950). The large medical encyclopaedia (*al-Ḥāwī*) of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (250-313/864-925) abounds with names of drugs. The corresponding chapter in the immense *al-Ḳānūn fi'l-Ṭibb* of Ibn Sīnā (Būlāḳ 1294) treats of eight hundred remedies. The 10th book of the *Dhakhīra-yi Khwārizmshāhī* (not yet printed), a medical encyclopaedia written by Zayn al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Djurdjānī in the 6th/12th century, contains a special treatise on the names of drugs and their operation.

In very many cases the descriptions of Dioscorides, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, etc., were certainly inadequate for the recognition of the plant. Thus, in the

absence of technical terminology — a want shared by Muslim as well as ancient science — it was a most valuable device to depict the plants in figures. In ancient time this method was introduced by the "rhizotomist" Crateuas (1st century B.C.), and a part of the synonyms and figures of his herbal passed into the recension of Dioscorides represented by the Juliana Anicia codex of A.D. 512 (in which later hands introduced also Arabic synonyms). It was the gift of an illustrated Dioscorides by the Byzantine Emperor to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in Cordova in the year 948 that inspired a new and most fruitful study of the text in Spain. (For illustrated MSS of Dioscorides see DIYUSḲURIDĪS.) By Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (ii, 216-9) we are told that his teacher Ras͟hīd al-Dīn al-Manṣur b. al-Ṣūrī (d. 639/1241) prepared a herbal illustrated with figures depicted from living plants. For the botanical chapter of Ibn Faḍl Allāh, see B. Farès, *Un Herbier arabe illustré du* XIV *siècle, Archeologica Orientalia in Memoriam E. Herzfeld*, 1952, 84 ff.

The Muslim inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula were the inheritors of a country famous in antiquity for its wealth of minerals and plants useful for preparing remedies. At first, pharmacological knowledge in Spain was, however, an import from the Orient, and Western students went to Bag͟hdād for medical studies. A strong impulse to pharmacological studies in Spain was given by the revised text of Dioscorides, and from the end of the 10th century on there was no lack of contributions to the knowledge of simples. (See M. Meyerhof, *Esquisse d'histoire de la pharmacologie et botanique chez les Musulmans d'Espagne, And.*, 1935, 1-41.) The first to write books on simples in Spain were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāḳ b. Hayt͟ham and Sulaymān b. Ḥassān, known as Ibn D̲j̲uld̲j̲ul, both of whom joined the monk Nicolas and the other physicians and botanists who worked on the text of Dioscorides. Ibn D̲j̲uld̲j̲ul wrote a work on those simples which are not mentioned by Dioscorides (MS Oxford, Hyde 34, fol. 197-201). The great medical encyclopaedia *al-Taṣrīf* by Abu'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī (d. about 400/1009) contains in its 27th book a treatise on the simples, their synonyms and substitutes. About the life of Abū Bakr Ḥāmid b. Samad̲j̲ūn very little is known except that he was a prominent physician in the days of the *ḥād̲j̲ib* al-Manṣūr (d. 392/1002). His famous *Book of Sayings of Ancient and Modern Physicians and Philosophers about the Simple Drugs* has recently come to light (cf. P. Kahle, *Ibn Samaǧūn und sein Drogenbuch, Documenta islamica inedita*, Berlin 1952, 25 ff.).

The most comprehensive textbook on simples (and botany) produced in Spain was written by al-G͟hāfiḳī, probably in the first half of the 6th/12th century. The first vol. exists in two illustrated MSS (see M. Meyerhof, in *BIE*, 1941, 13 ff; the whole work was discovered in Tripolitania). An abridged version was made by the Christian Abu'l-Farad̲j̲ b. al-ʿIbrī, commonly called Barhebraeus (ed. M. Meyerhof and G. P. Sobhy, Cairo 1932-8, not completed). The method and arrangement of materials followed by Ibn Samad̲j̲ūn and al-G͟hāfiḳī was the model also of al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1166). In his *Book of Simple Drugs* (the first half of the work in MS Fātiḥ 3610, Istanbul) he contributes a vast material of synonyms in many languages (see M. Meyerhof in *Archiv für Gesch. der Math., der Naturwiss. und der Technik*, 1930, 45 ff., 225 ff.; idem, in *BIE*, 1941, 89 ff.). For Ibn Rus͟hd's pharmacological chapter see the photographic reproduction of Book iv of *al-Kulliyyāt* by A. al-Bustānī, Tangier 1939.

In a vast encyclopaedia, *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa'l-Ag͟hd͟hiya* (bad edition of the Arabic text, Būlāḳ 1291); French transl. by L. Leclerc, *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xxiii, xxv, xxvi, xxx, 1877-93), Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248) put together all information available to him, quoting about 150 previous authors from Dioscorides to his own teacher, Abu'l-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī, whose *Riḥla*, or "Botanical Journey", he often quotes. Most of these works Ibn al-Bayṭār certainly knew from secondary sources, al-G͟hafiḳī above all. In 2324 articles the *D̲j̲āmiʿ* treats of about 1400 different drugs and plants, 400 of which were not known to the Greeks.

To these works, written in the West, containing descriptions of the drugs and directions for their use, may be added also a number of others, containing lists of synonyms written in order to explain the meaning of the different names given to simples and drugs. Such are e.g. the *S͟harḥ Asmāʾ al-ʿUḳḳār* of the famous Jewish theologian, philosopher and physician Mūsā b. Maymūn (Maimonides, A.D. 1135-1204), ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, and the anonymous *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*, ed. H. P. J. Renaud and G. S. Colin, Rabat 1934, treating especially of the names current in Morocco and written probably in the 18th century.

Bibliography: M. Meyerhof, in the introduction to Maimonides, *S͟harḥ Asmāʾ al-ʿUḳḳār*; for a list of drugs, M. Steinschneider, *Heilmittelnamen der Araber, WZKM*, xi (2043 items). (B. LEWIN)

AFʿĀ means not only the viper, as it is commonly assumed, but also other similar kinds of snakes (Nöldeke, in Wiedemann, 271). The descriptions, however, which are given in Arabic zoological works (spotted or speckled, broad head, slender neck, short tail, sometimes furnished with two horns, etc.) fit well with specific kinds of vipers (*echis carinatus, echis coloratus, aspis cerastes cerastes*). Most sources state that *afʿā* denotes the female, whereas the male is called *ufʿuwān*. The first term, however, is always employed in a generic sense. Corresponding forms in Hebrew and Ethiopian suggest that the word belongs to the oldest stock of the Semitic languages.

The *afʿā* is often mentioned in Arabic literature, from ancient poetry, proverbs and *ḥadīt͟h* down to those later works in which zoology and zoological items are treated systematically. In ancient poetry it is represented as the emblem of the mortal enemy, of one who seeks revenge for murder. Its noxiousness is illustrated by the proverb: "He who has been stung by an *afʿā* is afraid to take hold of a rope". Rich information is offered by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ. The *afʿā* had a market value since theriac was prepared from it. Certain people made a living from this trade importing the *afʿā* chiefly from Sid̲j̲istān. In al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ's time thirty *afʿā* sold for two *dīnārs*. With certain Bedouins the *afʿā* served as food, and this habit was satirically alluded to by some poets.

A good deal of the information on the *afʿā* is fabulous: e.g., that it lives to an age of a thousand years, that it becomes blind and recovers its sight by rubbing its eyes on the fennel-plant (*rāziyānad̲j̲*). Among the correct accounts is the statement that the *afʿā* is viviparous, in contrast, i.e., to most other species of its genus.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 160. 174, 192; Damīrī, s.v. (transl. Jayakar, i, 56-8); D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; Ibn al-At͟hīr, *Nihāya*, i, 44; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *D̲j̲āmiʿ*,

Būlāḳ 1291, i, 46-8; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 79, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104 (transl. Kopf, 54, 72, 74, 75, 77, 80); Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 428-9; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 107-8; A. Malouf, *Arabic Zool. Dict.*, Cairo 1932, index; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, x, 133 ff.; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Naturwiss.*, liii, 249-50. (L. KOPF)

AFĀMIYA, or FĀMIYA, the Seleucid city of Apamea on the right bank of the Orontes (ʿĀṣī), at its northward bend 25 m. N.W. of Ḥamāt. During the Syrian campaign of the Sāsānid Khusraw I (540) it was captured and laid waste. After the Arab conquest of Syria it was colonized by tribesmen of ʿUdhra and Bahrāʾ. It regained importance as a fortified outpost of Aleppo only in the Ḥamdānid period and during the early Crusades. After the disintegration of the Saldjūḳ power in Syria, Afāmiya was occupied by the Arab Khalaf b. Mulāʿib in the Fāṭimid interest in 489/1096. On his murder by Assassins, it was captured by Tancred in 500/1106, and became the seat of a Latin archbishopric. It was recaptured by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd on 18 Rabīʿ i, 544/26 July, 1149, after his victory at Inab, but its fortifications were destroyed in the great earthquake of 552/1157. The ruins of the old city still exist, flanked on the west by the later citadel, now named *Ḳalʿat al-Muḍīḳ* (for *al-Maḍīḳ*, i.e. the shallows or ford).

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān* 324; Yāḳūt, i, 322-3; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, index; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, i, ii, Damascus 1951-4, index; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 98 (wrong year); E. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935, index; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades* Paris 1940, index; J. Richard, *Notes sur l'archidiocèse d'Apamée* in *Syria*, xxv, 103-8; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 71-82; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 196-9. See also, for the Lake (*buḥayra*) of Afāmiya and the régime of the Orontes in its vicinity, Ḳalḳashandī in G. Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'epoque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 17, 22-2; and J. Weulersse, *L'Oronte, étude de fleuve*, Tours 1940. (H. A. R. GIBB)

ʿAFĀR [see DANḲALĪ].

AL-**AFḌAL** B. ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN, in full AL-MALIK AL-AFḌAL ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ NŪR AL-DĪN, the eldest son of Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, [*q.v.*]), b. 565/1169-70, d. at Sumaysāṭ 622/1225. On Saladin's death he was recognized as ruler of Damascus and head of the Ayyūbid family, but owing to his incapacity and self-indulgence he lost successively Damascus, Egypt, and all his Syrian fiefs, and ended as a dependent of the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm. See AYYŪBIDS.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 459; Abū Shāma, *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn*, 145; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, vi, index; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, index. (H. A. R. GIBB)

AL-**AFḌAL**, Rasūlid ruler [see RASŪLIDS].

AL-**AFḌAL** B. **BADR** AL-**DJAMĀLĪ**, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM SHĀHANSHĀH, Fāṭimid vizier, commonly known in history by his vizierial title. His birth is placed about 458/1066, and it is known from an inscription of 482/1089 that he was associated with his father in the vizierate. On the death of Badr, the aged caliph al-Mustanṣir was forced by the army to accept al-Afḍal as his chief minister, and himself died a few months later.

The accession of the caliph al-Mustaʿlī assumed a capital importance by its indirect repercussions. While al-Mustanṣir was still alive, but of great age, the problem of his successor had been debated, and an Ismaʿīlī missionary from Persia, Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, had concluded in favour of Nizār, one of the caliph's sons. Al-Afḍāl, being the vizier in office, raised to the throne a younger son of al-Mustanṣir, Aḥmad, who was given the title of al-Mustaʿlī. The dispossessed heir, Nizār, who had fled to Alexandria to raise an army, was seized and immured in a dungeon. Some persons, however, believed that he succeeded in escaping, and he was recognized as Imām by Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, who founded the formidable sect of the Assassins. The coinage of the latter bore for some time the name of Nizār, and their partisans in Egypt were called Nizārīs. Al-Afḍal had not foreseen these consequences, and his attitude had been dictated by considerations of personal ambition, which induced him to place on the throne a young man who would be submissive to his will.

Badr al-Djamālī, who had saved Egypt from disaster, had set up a dictatorial regime, and al-Afḍal now followed in his footsteps, confining the caliph al-Mustaʿlī, who was about twenty years of age on his accession, to his palace. Al-Mustaʿlī reigned for less than eight years (487/1094-495/1101), and some historians have suggested that he may have been poisoned by Nizārīs. Al-Afḍal then placed on the throne a son of al-Mustaʿlī, a child five years old, who was given the title of al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh, and the all-powerful minister went on to govern without interference. But as the caliph grew up he became restive under his vizier's tutelage, and succeeded in hiring the services of assassins who rid him of al-Afḍal in 515/1121. The latter had held the office of chief minister for twenty-seven years, marked by an internal tranquillity which is the more impressive by contrast with the unprecedented disorders of the following years.

Al-Afḍal's dictatorial power justifies the laying at his door of the responsibility for the Egyptian negligence in face of the invasion of Palestine by the Crusaders. The Fāṭimid government may be partially exonerated if its unpopularity outside the borders of Egypt is taken into account. It has certain actions to its credit: some fortresses were restored (we have epigraphic evidence at least for the port of Sidon in 491/1098); in the previous year the Fāṭimid army had regained Tyre from a disloyal governor; finally, Jerusalem was forcibly captured in 491/1098 from the Artuḳid officers who had established themselves in it. The Egyptians were not unaware that Jerusalem was the essential aim of the Crusaders, and it cannot be believed that they captured it in order to hand it over to the Franks. Ambassadors from Egypt had in fact appeared in 490/1097 in the Crusaders' camp before Antioch, and the latter in turn sent envoys to Cairo, possibly to negotiate an agreement. As a matter of fact, northern Syria was occupied by princes of Sunnī obedience; the Fāṭimids had no desire to interfere with them, and the Saldjūḳids would have viewed their intervention with bad grace. In the absence of precise documents we are reduced to putting forward these hypotheses.

Nevertheless, the inaction, or at least the lack of vigour, of the Egyptian troops cannot be ignored. They did not move to the defence of Jerusalem. Its fall was deeply felt, and al-Afḍal led an army corps to a position north of Ascalon; there, however, he

held them immobile, while he waited for reinforcements which were expected to arrive by sea and for the concentration of his bedouin contingents from Palestine. The Franks took the offensive and massacred the Egyptian army; al-Afḍal fled to the protection of Ascalon and hastily returned to Cairo. The year 494/1101 witnessed the Frankish occupation of Palestine, whose population sought refuge in Egypt. The vizier continued, in the following and later years, to show a certain activity against the Crusaders, but in fact the expeditions scarcely went beyond the outskirts of Ascalon and never gained more than booty and prisoners. The main ports of Syria were at the time in the hands of overlords, who sported Sunnī or Shīʿī colours according to the interest of the moment. One of the more important raids, led by a son of al-Afḍal, succeeded in taking Ramla. In 497/1103 ʿAkkā (Acre) fell, surrendered by its Fāṭimid commandant because of lack of support. The stubborn resistance of the autonomous prince of Tripoli induced al-Afḍal to send a naval squadron, which arrived too late. In 512/1118 the Frankish threat redoubled when the town of Faramā was burnt down—an episode which became famous because of the accidental death of Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, who led the expedition. During this lamentable period the Muslim princes were full of mutual suspicion, but al-Afḍal had solicited, and obtained, the cooperation of the Būrids of Damascus.

Clearly, a very bad impression is made by the luxury which surrounded the caliph al-Āmir and his vizier; ceremonies and feasts seemed to multiply in direct ratio with the number of cities that fell into the hands of the Franks. Whatever responsibility rests on the government of Egypt for this indifference cannot be placed on the caliph, still a mere child, but on his all-powerful minister, who was given over to frivolous heedlessness. There is in particular a striking contrast between the kind of edifices built by Badr—of which only the wall and the monumental gates of Cairo need be mentioned here — and those erected by his son al-Afḍal. The latter was concerned with his own wellbeing, and multiplied pleasure-pavilions in Fusṭāṭ and Cairo. On his death, the caliph al-Āmir appropriated the minister's property; it required no less than two months to transfer the precious objects, jewels and silks. On the credit side, however, the historians record al-Afḍal's financial readjustments, which notably increased the revenues of the State.

For al-Afḍal's son, surnamed Kutayfāt, see the following article.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Muyassar (Massé), 30-43, 56-60; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla 'l-Wizāra*, Cairo 1924, 57-61; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashk* (Amedroz), 128-204 passim; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Popper), ii (ed. Cairo, v, 142-222); Ibn Khallikān, no. 285; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 356 ff., 423; ii, 290; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Mediaeval Egypt*, 161 sqq.; G. Wiet, *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, iv, 255-67; idem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Insc. Arab.*, ii (*MIFAO* lii) (contains a very full bibliography); *History of the Crusades*, i, Philadelphia 1955, 95-97.

(G. WIET)

AL-AFḌAL, ABŪ ʿALĪ AḤMAD, surnamed **KUTAYFĀT**, son of the preceding. After the death of the caliph al-Āmir (12 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 524/17 Oct. 1130), the power was assumed by two favourites of the late caliph, Hazārmard and Barghash, who put forward al-Āmir's cousin ʿAbd al-Madjīd as temporary regent. Four days later the army raised Kutayfāt (who assumed the title of al-Afḍal) to the vizierate. Shortly afterwards the vizier declared the Fāṭimid dynasty deposed, and the empire was placed under the sovereignty of the Expected Imām of the Twelver-Shīʿa; ʿAbd al-Madjīd was removed from the regency and placed in custody, and Kutayfāt ruled as a dictator. We have coins of 525 bearing the name of "The Imām Muḥammad Abu'l-Ḳāsim al-Muntaẓir li-Amr Allāh"; others of 526, with the inscription *al-Imām al-Mahdī al-ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh ḥudjdjat Allāh ʿala 'l-ālamīn*, give greater prominence to the vizier: "al-Afḍal Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad, his representative (*nāʾib*) and lieutenant (*khalīfa*)". Although this implied the abolition of Ismāʿīlism as the state religion of Egypt, Kutayfāt did not propose to outlaw it, and even showed it a certain consideration; in the college of *ḳāḍīs* appointed by him there sat an Ismāʿīlī in addition to a Ḥanafī, a Shāfiʿī and an Imāmī. The Ismāʿīlī elements evidently did not relish the idea of being relegated to the status of a disestablished religious sect. Kutayfāt was killed while riding outside the city, and ʿAbd al-Madjīd was brought out of his prison (16 Muḥarram 526/8 Dec. 1131). The event was commemorated annually, right to the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 357, 490). ʿAbd al-Madjīd first ruled as regent, but after a brief interval was proclaimed caliph under the title of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Muyassar (Massé), 74-5; Rūḥī (MS. Oxford 865), art. "al-Ḥāfiẓ"; Ibn al-Athīr, s.a. 524, 526; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Popper) ii, 328-9, iii, 1 ff. (ed. Cairo, v, 237-40); G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Insc. Arab.*, ii (*MIFAO*, lii, 1930), 85 ff.; S. M. Stern, *The Succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir*, *Oriens* 1951, 193 ff. (with full numismatic references). (S. M. STERN)

AL-AFGHĀNĪ [see DJAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFGHĀNĪ].

AFGHĀN.

(i) The people; (ii) The Pashto language; (iii) Pashto literature.

(i) THE PEOPLE.

Racially, there is a considerable difference between the various Afghān tribes. According to B. S. Guha, *Census of India*, 1931, i, iii A, p. xi, the Paṭhāns of Bādjawṛ are closely related to the Kalashes of Čitrāl, probably because they are to a large extent afghānized Dards. On the other hand the broad-headed Paṭhāns of Balūčistān resemble their Balūč neighbours. In the plains of Peshāwar and the Dēradjāts there is some admixture of Indian blood, and among some tribes we find traces of Turko-Mongolian influence. But in general it may be said that the Afghāns belong to the Irano-Afghān branch of the dolichocephalic Mediterranean race. According to Coon, *Races of Europe*, 419, the skull index is 72-75, and the average height 170 cm. (Frontier Paṭhāns), and 163 cm. (Afghāns of Afghānistān). The nose is prominent, frequently convex, of the so-called "Semitic" type. Similar noses are found also among Balūčes, Kashmīris, etc. "The Afghāns are usually brunets, but at the same time show a persistent minority of blondism, which in this case reflects Nordic admixture. They are heavy-bearded" (Coon, 420).

A distinction is sometimes made between Afghān and Paṭhān, the former name being applied to the Durrānī and allied tribes. But the difference is probably only one of nomenclature, the Persian designation Afghān (of unknown etymology) being naturally applied chiefly to the western tribes,

while Paṭhān, the indianized form of the native name is used about the eastern ones.

The native name, employed by all tribes, is Pas͟htūn, or Pəs͟htūn (north-eastern dialect Pak͟htūn), pl. Pa/əs͟htānə. Lassen and others after him, compared Pas͟htūn to the Πάκτυες of Herodotus, and the name of the Afrīdīs has been identified with that of the Ἀπαρύται. This latter identification is possible, if by no means certain. The first one, however, must be rejected, for phonetic and other reasons. (The ending *-ūn* goes back to *-āna*, and the ancient sound-group which has resulted in Pashto *s͟ht* (*k͟ht* is a later dialect form), could scarcely have been rendered by Greek κτ.) More probable is the connection first suggested by Marquart, with Ptolemy's Παρσυῆται, a tribe inhabiting the Paropamisus. Psht. *s͟ht* can go back to ancient *rs* (see Morgenstierne, "*Pashto*", "*Pathan*", *etc.*, *AO*, 1940, 138 ff.), and the probable ancient form was **Parsw-āna*, derived from **Parsu*, cf. Assyrian-Babylonian *Parsu(a)* Persian. This does not imply any specially close relationship between the two Iranian tribes in question. (Cf. also Pus͟ht, Puk͟ht, the name of the supposed seat of the Afg͟hān tribes in the Wazīrī country.)—*Pas͟hto* (*Pak͟hto*) the native name of the Afg͟hān language, probably goes back to a fem. adjective **Parsawā* (sc. language).

The Afg͟hāns are called *Kās͟h* by the Ōrmuṛs of Logar, and the Wazīrīs *Kəsī* (pl.) by the Ōrmuṛs of Kānigurām. The origin of this word is unknown, but it is connected with Kāsī, the name of an Afg͟hān tribe near Quetta (Masson, *Travels*, i, 330) and with the Pas͟hto name of the Sulaymān Mountains: (da) Kase G͟har.

The word *Pas͟hto* is used also as a synonym of *Pas͟htūnwalī*, etc., the special social code of the Afg͟hāns, the main pillars of which are: *nanawātai*, right of asylum, *badal*, revenge by retaliation, vendetta, *mēlmastyā*, hospitality. The causes of feuds leading to *badal* are said to be "women, gold and land" (*zan*, *zar*, *zamīn*). Among most tribes the organization is democratic, the hereditary *k͟hān* having restricted power. More important matters are settled in consultation with the chiefs of the sub-tribes and clans, and the tribal or village council (*d͟jirga*) plays an important rôle. But the semi-independence of many tribes has become constantly more curtailed as well in Afg͟hānistān as in India (Pakistan). Afg͟hān or non-Afg͟hān clients (*hamsāyas*) are attached to, and living under the protection of most tribes.—The ancient custom of periodical redistribution of land (*wēs͟h*) is now dying out in most places.—Even while politically disunited, and fighting amongst themselves, the Afg͟hān tribes had a feeling of some kind of unity, based upon their sharing language, customs and traditions. On the other hand, each tribe is split up into sub-tribes, septs and clans. The names of such sections are often formed with the word *k͟hēl*, or with the suffix *-zay*, but in some cases *-zay* denotes a whole tribe.

The Afg͟hāns are first referred to (in the form Avagāṇa) by the Indian astronomer Varāha Mihira (early 6th cent.) in his *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. A little later is the probable reference to them in the Life of Hiuen-Tsang, which mentions a tribe A-p'o-kien (*Avagan?) located in the northern part of the Sulaymān Mountains (see A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, ii, Paris 1947, 235, 252 note 17). The earliest Muslim work mentioning them is the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (372/982), followed by al-ʿUtbī's *Taʾrīk͟h-i Yamīnī*, and al-Bīrūnī. The name Paṭhān does not occur till the 16th century, but the change of *s͟ht* to *ṭh* shows that it must have been borrowed into Indo-Aryan at a considerably earlier date.—According to al-ʿUtbī, Cairo 1286, ii, 84, Maḥmūd of G͟haznī attacked Ṭuk͟hāristān with an army consisting of Indians, K͟halad͟j, Afg͟hāns and G͟haznawīs, but on another occasion he attacked and punished the Afg͟hāns, and this is corroborated by Bayhaḳī who wrote shortly afterwards. Al-Bīrūnī mentions the various tribes of Afg͟hāns as living in the western frontier-mountains of India (*India*, transl. Sachau, i, 1, 208, cf. 199). This points to the Sulaymān Mountains as the earliest known home of the Afg͟hāns. It is uncertain how far they extended towards the West, but no Afg͟hān settlement west of G͟haznī is mentioned by early authors. There is no evidence for assuming that the inhabitants of G͟hūr were originally Pas͟hto-speaking (cf. Dames, in EI[1]). If we are to believe the *Pəṭa K͟hazāna* (see below, iii), the legendary Amīr Karōṛ, grandson of S͟hanasb, (8th century) was a Pas͟hto poet, but this for various reasons is very improbable. The origin and early history of the westernmost Afg͟hān tribe, the Durrānīs (Abdālis) [*q.v.*], is quite obscure.—Regarding the G͟halzays [*q.v.*] it seems possible that their name is based upon a popular etymology ("Thief's Son") of the Turkish tribal name K͟hald͟jī, K͟halad͟j, located by al-Iṣṭak͟hrī on the middle course of the Hilmand and by the *Ḥudūd* in the region of G͟haznī [see K͟HALAD͟J]. But the G͟halzays themselves may have been partly, perhaps predominantly, of Afg͟hān origin. At any rate the Afg͟hāns do not appear to have acquired any political significance during the G͟haznawī period. Some early references which follow were noted by M. Longworth Dames (*EI*[1]) and have been supplemented by P. Hardy. In 431/1039-40 Masʿūd sent his son Īzadyār into the hill country near G͟hazna to subdue the rebel Afg͟hāns (Gardīzī, ed. M. Nazim, 109). In 512/1118-9 an army composed of Arabs, *ʿad͟jam*, Afg͟hāns and K͟halad͟j was assembled by Arslān S͟hāh. In 547/1152-3, Alfī says, Bahrām S͟hāh assembled an army of Afg͟hāns and K͟halad͟j. With the rise of G͟hūrī power, the same state of things continues. In 588/1192 according to Firis͟hta, Bombay 1831, 100 f., the army assembled by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām consisted of Turks, Tād͟jīks and Afg͟hāns, and his Indian opponent Pithoray (Prithwī Rād͟j) assembled a force of Rād͟jpūt and Afg͟hān horsemen. Thus in this great war between Muslims and Hindus Afg͟hāns are represented as fighting on both sides, which probably indicates that they were not yet completely converted to Islam, although the manufactured legends represent them as having been converted from the days of K͟hālid. It is not clear whence Firis͟hta obtained his statement. It does not appear in the account of this war given by Minhād͟j-i Sirād͟j in the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*. This author does not mention the Afg͟hāns throughout his account of the G͟haznawī and G͟hūrī kings. His first and only mention of them is in his own time in the year 658/1260 in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd of Dihlī. He there says (transl. Raverty, 852) that Ulug͟h K͟hān employed 3000 brave Afg͟hāns in subduing the hill-tribes of Mēwāt in Rād͟jpūtāna. According to D͟juwaynī, i, 142, K͟halad͟j, G͟haznawīs and Afg͟hāns formed part of the Mongol army which sacked Marw in 619. During the next two centuries we find occasional mention of Afg͟hāns in Indian history. For instance Baranī says in the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Fīrūzs͟hāhī*, 57, that Balban in 664/1265 established small forts in the neighbourhood of Gopālpur and entrusted

them to Afghāns; three other towns, particularly afflicted by robbers, were also given the protection of forts entrusted to Afghāns. According to the same author (p. 482) in the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughlaḳ there was a rebellion at Multān of a body of Afghāns headed by Multān Mall (this name means in the Multānī dialect "the champion of Multān" and is probably not the proper name of an Afghān). Sirhindī, *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, Calcutta 1931, 106, says that this revolt was in 744/1343. Again Makh Afghān was one of the foreign *amīrs* who rebelled at Dēogīr. In 778/1376-7 the fief of Bihār was given to Malik Bīr Afghān (*Ta'rīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, 133). Tīmūr found them still hill robbers and in the *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī*, the *Ẓafar-nāma* and the *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdayn* it is related that he ravaged the country of the Awghānī (or Aghānī) who inhabited the Sulaymān Mountains. Thus except as occasional soldiers of fortune they remained a fierce race of mountain robbers until the rise to power in India of one of these adventurers made them famous. This leader was Dawlat Khān Lōdī of the Lōdī clan of Ghalzays; he rose to be one of the most important persons in the empire. Bahlūl Lōdī occupied the throne of Delhi in 855/1450 [see LŌDĪ]. The dynasty was overthrown by Bābur in 932/1525, but for a short time (944-63/1537-55) Shīr Shāh Sūr reinstalled the Afghāns in power [see SŪR] and a large number of Ghalzays and other Paṭhāns settled in India. At a later date Awrangzīb made grants of land to Paṭhāns of various tribes in Rohilkhand [*q.v.*; see also RĀMPUR] (Bareilly division, etc.), so called from Pashto *rohēla* (Rohilla), "hill-man", "Paṭhān". At the court of the Nawāb of Rāmpur some Paṭhān traditions were still alive at the time of Darmesteter's visit in 1886. But gradually the Afghān settlers in India were assimilated, except in the extreme North-West.

The immigration into India was part of the great expansion of Afghān tribes during the late Middle Ages. This expansion was on such a scale that it is difficult to believe with Dames (*EI*[1]) that the Afghāns were still at a period as late as that of the Ghūrid dynasty only an unimportant hill-tribe inhabiting a restricted area.—The Lohānīs were expelled from the Ghaznī mountains by the Sulaymān Khēl Ghalzays, who also pressed the Biṭanīs eastward through the Gōmal Pass in the 15th cent. A century or two earlier the Khaṭaks [*q.v.*] and Bangashes had started their movement towards their present homes in Kohāṭ, and Yūsufzays and allied tribes had, according to tradition, left the Tarnak and Arghasān for Kābul in the 12th cent. Later on they were expelled from Kābul and reached the Peshāwar plain during the 14th cent., pushing back the Dilāzāks, who perhaps represented an earlier wave of Afghāns, and penetrating into the mountain valleys to the North of Peshāwar [cf. YŪSUFZAY]. The Ghōriya Khēls (Mahmands, etc.), followed in their wake early in the 15th century. Some tribes crossed the Indus into the Pandjāb.

A first attempt to rally the Paṭhān tribes on the Frontier to a common fight for independence from the Mughals was made by the warrior-poet Khushḥāl Khān Khaṭak in the latter part of the 17th century. But a national Afghān state first came into being under the leadership of the Ghalzay chief Mīr Ways, and, more permanently, under Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in the 18th century [see AFGHĀNISTĀN, History].

The main outlines of the tribal traditions of the Afghāns are mentioned by Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*; slightly different versions are given in Sulaymān Mākū's *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'* (allegedly of the 13th century) and in the *Pəṭa Khazāna* (cf. about these below, iii). Our main source for the tribal traditions is Niʿmat Allāh's *Makhzan-i Afghānī* (completed A.D. 1613). The genealogies given there and copied in later works such as the *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī*, cannot be relied upon as historical sources, but are valuable as a testimony to the traditions current among the Afghāns in the 17th century. According to this tradition the common ancestor of the majority of the Afghān tribes was Ḳays ʿAbd al-Rashīd who was converted to Islam by Khālid and descended from Afghāna, a grandson of King Ṭālūt or Sārūl (Saul). Ḳays had three sons: Sarban, Baṭan (Biṭan) and Ghurghusht. Sarban had two sons: Sharkhbūn and Kharshbūn. The further ramifications may be tabulated as follows:

Sharkhbūn
- (from a Kākaṛ woman) Shērānī — ancestor of the tribes: Shērānī, Djalwānī, Haripāl, Bābar, Usturāna
- Tarīn
  - Tōṛ ("Black") — Tōr Tarīn tribe
  - Spīn ("White") — Spīn Tarīn tribe
  - Awdāl — Abdālī (Durrānī) tribe
- Miyāna — Miyāna tribe
- Baṛēč — Baṛēč tribe of Shorāwak
- Urmaṛ (adoptive son) — Urmaṛī tribe of Kānīguram and Lōghar

Kharshbūn
- Kand
  - Ghōrī (or Ghura) — Ghōriya Khēl, comprising the tribes of Mahmand, Khalīl, Dā'ūdzay, Čamkanī
  - Khakhay (or Khashay) — tribes of Tarklānī, Gugiyānī, Mandāṛ, Yūsufzay
- Djamand (or Zamand) — Muḥammadzay-Kasūriya tribe of Kasūr
- Kāsī — Shinwārī tribe

Biṭan
- Ismāʿīl (no descendants)
- Warspūn — Biṭanī tribe
- Kad̲j̲in — Biṭanī tribe
- Matō (married S̲h̲āh Ḥusayn G̲h̲ūrī)
  - Matī tribe
    - tribes of G̲h̲alzay, K̲h̲arotī, Nāṣir { doubtful
    - Lōdī
      - Sūr
      - Lōhanī (ancestor of the tribes of Dawlat K̲h̲ēl, Miyān K̲h̲ēl, Niyāzī, Marwat, K̲h̲asōr, Tatōr)
    - Sarwānī (at present extinct)

G̲h̲urg̲h̲us̲h̲t
- Dānay
  - Kākaṛ
    - (Kākaṛ tribe) (according to some versions the tribe of Gadūn on the upper Indus is related to the Kākaṛ)
  - Nāg̲h̲ar tribe
  - Panī
    - Panī tribe, comprising the tribes of Panī of Sibi, Mūsā K̲h̲ēl, Isōt, Zmaray (or Mzaray), Dehpal, etc.
  - Dāway
- Bābay
- Mandū
  - Mandū K̲h̲ēl tribe of Žob

Most of the remaining tribes are said to be descended from Karṛān (or Kaṛlān), of doubtful ancestry.

Karṛān
- Kōday — tribes of Wardak, Dilāzāk, Ōrakzay, Mangal
- Kak̲h̲ay — tribes of Afrīdī, K̲h̲aṭak, D̲j̲adrān, Utmān K̲h̲ēl, K̲h̲ugiyānī, D̲j̲ād̲j̲ī, Tūrī; probably also S̲h̲ētak (with the subdivisions: Dawrī and Banūčī) and K̲h̲ōstwāl

According to some traditions also the Bangas̲h̲ (Banga<u>kh</u>) and Wazīrīs are descended from Kak̲h̲ay; according to other, the Wazīrī and the Dawr tribes are not attached to any of these genealogies.

Certain clans claim to be *sayyids* by descent; such are to be found among the S̲h̲erāni, Kākaṛ, Karṛānī, Dāway, Tarīn, Miyāna and Biṭanī. The same descent is claimed by the tribes of Gandāpur and Ustarāna; these were originally subdivisions of the S̲h̲ērānī. The Bangas̲h̲ claim to be of Ḳurays̲h̲ite descent.

In the ***Mak̲h̲zan-i Afg̲h̲ānī*** all these tribes are expressly acknowledged as Afg̲h̲āns, with the exception of the Bangas̲h̲, Wazīrī and those Karṛānī which belong to the Kak̲h̲ay division (Afrīdī, etc.). The last seem to have remained unknown to him.

It is of interest to note that all the Pas̲h̲to dialects which change the long vowels (*ā* > *ō*, etc., see below ii) belong to the Karṛānī group or to the Wazīrīs.—The extreme complexity of the tribal system may be exemplified by the ramifications of the Yūsufzays. One of their five sub-tribes, the Akōzays, are divided into Rānīzays and other sections. One of the five Rānīzay clans is in its turn divided into G̲h̲aybī K̲h̲ēl and three other clans. And one of the two G̲h̲aybī clans are the Nūr Muḥammad K̲h̲ēls, divided into G̲h̲arīb K̲h̲. and Dwar K̲h̲.—It may also be noted that the name Tōrmān, one of the ancestors of the K̲h̲aṭaks, is probably identical with that of Toramāṇa, a Hūṇa king of India, and also a member of the S̲h̲āhī dynasty. This does not imply any historical connection between the legendary Afg̲h̲ān and these princes, but only a survival of the name in local traditions.

Geographical distribution of the Afg̲h̲ān tribes. Durrānīs [*q.v.*] in the lower river valleys from Sabzawār and Zamīn-dāwar to south-cast of Ḳandahār and Čaman. Among the sections are the Pōpalzays (including the royal clan, the Sadōzays) and the Bārakzays.—Next to the Durrānīs, the G̲h̲alzays [*q.v.*] are the most powerful tribe, and were for a long time their rivals. They occupy the country between Kalāt-i G̲h̲ilzay and D̲j̲alālābād. The Hōtaks were formerly the leading clan. The most important section is now the Sulaymān K̲h̲ēl from whom are recruited the Pōwindas, nomads moving in autumn down through the Gōmal and Tōčī passes to the banks of the Indus, and returning in spring to Afg̲h̲ānistān. The K̲h̲arōtīs are related to the G̲h̲alzays.—Kākaṛs and Tarīns inhabit the Pis̲h̲in and Žōb districts in Balūčistān. The Panīs of Sibi are their neighbours.—North-west of Žōb, around the Tak̲h̲t-i Sulaymān, we find the S̲h̲ērānīs.—The Wazīrs [*q.v.*] (divided into Darwēs̲h̲ K̲h̲ēl and Maḥsūd) live in the mountains between the Gōmal and the Kurram on both sides of the frontier. In the foothills to the East we find the Biṭanīs and Lōhānīs, and in the plains south of the lower Kurram the Marwats. The Tōčī valley is inhabited by the Dawrīs and Banūčīs.—The K̲h̲aṭaks occupy the plains of Kōhāṭ and extend right up to Attock. In the upper Kurram valley live the Bangas̲h̲, the S̲h̲īʿa Tūrīs and other tribes, and on the Afg̲h̲ān side of the frontier the D̲j̲ād̲j̲īs, with their neighbours the Mangals and K̲h̲ostwāls.—North of the Bangas̲h̲ are the Ōrakzay (with some S̲h̲īʿa clans), and in Tirāh, the K̲h̲aybar and Kōhāṭ passes the Afrīdīs [*q.v.*], with Shinwārīs to the north of them, on both sides of the frontier.—The Mahmand [*q.v.*] occupy a large tract of land north of the Kābul river in

Afghānistān and in the Peshāwar district. Related to them are the Khalīls in Peshāwar.—East of the Mahmands are the Yūsufzays [*q.v.*] and allied tribes (Mandāṇ), etc., in Peshāwar and in the mountains to the North (Bunēr, Swāt, Dīr, etc.), where they are pushing back and assimilating the Dardic population.—The so-called Swātīs are a mixed lot, driven by the Yūsufzays across the Indus into the Hazārā district.—In the Kunaṛ valley and in other places in N.E. Afghānistān we find the Sāfīs.—In recent times many Pashto speaking Afghāns have settled, or have been settled, in various places north of the Hindū-kush and in the Harāt region.

Bibliography: see the works of Muḥammad Ḥayāt, Bellew, Raverty, quoted in the Bibliography to AFGHĀNISTĀN, section ii; the work of Elphinstone, quoted in that to AFGHĀNISTĀN, section i; H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of Tribes and Casts of the Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier Province*, Lahore 1911-9, especially s.v. Pathán; H. C. Willy, *From the Black Mountain to Waziristan*, London 1912 (on the Paṭhān frontier tribes).

(ii) THE PASHTO LANGUAGE.

Pashto is spoken in south-eastern Afghānistān from north of Djalālābād to Ḳandahār, and from there westwards to Sabzawār. (The Kābul area is mainly Persian-speaking, and so is Ghaznī.) Pashto is also spoken by settlers in northern and western Afghānistān. In Pakistan Pashto is used by the majority of the inhabitants of the N.W. Frontier Province from Dīr and Swāt southwards, in some localities in the Pandjāb, and in Balūčistān as far south as Quetta, probably in all by over 4 million people.

Pashto is in its origin and structure an Iranian language, although it has borrowed freely from Indo-Aryan. It shares all the common Iranian sound-changes. It sides with the other Eastern Ir. languages e.g. in having fricatives corresponding to W.Ir. initial *b*-, *d*-, *g*-., and in the sonorization of intervocalic -*sh*-. In its origin it is probably a "Saka" dialect, introduced from the North, but it is not possible to define its relationship more closely. Note *dr*- < **thr*, as in Khotanese, and *l*- < *dh*- as in Mundjī (but also in other E.Ir. languages). Various sound-changes, especially assimilations and reductions of consonant groups, have radically altered the form of most words of Iranian origin, as will appear from the comparison between some Pashto words and their Persian etymological equivalents: ***drē*** 3 : *sih*; *tsal*(*w*)*ōr* 4 : *čahār*; *shpaǧ* 6 : *shash*; *ōwə* 7 : *haft*; ***atə*** 8 : *hasht*; ***las*** 10 : *dah*; (*w*)*shəl* 20 : *bīst*; ***mōr*** mother : *mādar*; ***lūr*** daughter : *dukhtar*; *ghwaǧ* ear : *gōsh*; *zṛə* heart : *dil*; *sōṛ* cold : *sard*; *ūx̌* camel : *ushtur*; *yəǧ* bear : *khirs*; *ǧdən* millet : *arzan*; *pəx̌t-əm* I ask : *purs-am*.—Stress has been retained as a relevant factor, and metre is based on it, not on quantity.

Sound-changes and borrowings have given Pashto a phonemic system which includes a number of phonemes foreign to Persian, viz. the neutral vowel *ə*, the dental affricates *ts*, *dz*, the "back" sibilants here written *x̌*, *ǧ* (v. below), and the "cerebrals", *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*, *ṇ*. In Pashto literature these sounds are usually expressed by the following special letters: څ *ts* and *dz*; ښ *x̌*; ږ *ǧ*; ټ *ṭ* ډ *ḍ*; ړ *ṛ*; ڼ *ṇ*.

Bāyazīd Anṣārī and some of his successors employed a somewhat different set of letters, and in Afghānistān ځ *dz* is now being differentiated from څ *ts*. Here also *madjhūl ē* is distinguished from *ī* by putting two dots in vertical position below the *yā*-sign (ې), and devices have also been invented to express final -*əi*. More sporadically, and chiefly in dictionaries, attempts have been made to mark other vocalic distinctions and stress.

The most striking isoglott is that which separates the south-western group (the so-called "soft" dialects) from the north-eastern ("hard") group (Bangash, Ōrakzay, Afrīdī, Yūsufzay, Mahmand, etc.). The soft „dialects" preserve *x̌*, *ǧ* with the original quality of back *sh*, *ž*, while the „hard" ones they merge with respectively *kh* and *g*. Thus: *Pax̌to* = *Pashto* and *Pakhto*, *ǧira* beard *žira* or *gira* (in the other sections of this article *x̌* has been rendered by *sh* in tribal names and in the word Pashto, etc.). Some Ghalzay dialects occupy an intermediate position. The exact date of the change is uncertain, but it is probably later than the great northward migration of tribes.—Dialects also vary a good deal in their treatment of *sh*, *ž*, *ts*, *dz* (partly owing to the influence of an Indian sub- or adstratum), and palatalization, assimilation, dissimilation and metathesis act differently according to dialect (e.g. *nwar*, *lmar*, *nmar*, *mar*, etc. sun, *wužənz*, *ǧmandz*, *mangaz* comb, *px̌a*, *x̌pa* foot).—Cutting across the line dividing "soft" from "hard" Pashto runs an isoglott encircling a number of dialects (from Afrīdī to Wazīrī) changing *ā* > *ō*; *ō* > *ȫ* and in some dialects further to *ē* and *ū* > *ī* (e.g. Wazīrī ***mēr*** mother, ***plōr*** father; ***līr*** daughter).—The Waṇetsī dialect of north-eastern Balūčistān (Harnai-Shāhrīg region) occupies a rather independent position and must have split off from the bulk of Pashto earlier than any other dialect. It has retained *r* before *ž*, e.g. in *yirž* bear, and it shows a different development of -*t*- (*piyār* father, etc.).

Important morphological features of Pashto are e.g.: 1. Distinction between two genders, masc. and fem. 2. A great variety of declensions and traces of case-inflection. 3. No distinction between 3rd sing. and plur. 4. So-called passive construction of the preterite of transitive verbs (*zə tā wahəm* I strike you, but ***zə tā wahələm*** you struck me).

(iii) PASHTO LITERATURE.

Until recently no Pashto literary work older than the 17th century had been published. But in the *Almanach de Kābul*, 1940-1 (*Da Kābul Sālnāma*) ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī published fragments of the *Tadhkirat-i Awliyā*ʾ by Sulaymān Mākū, containing poems said to go back to the 11th century. In 1944 he published in Kābul the *Pəṭa Khazāna* by Muḥammad Hōtak, which professed to be written in Ḳandahār (finished 1729), and to be an anthology of Pashto poets from the 8th century down to the time of the compiler. But these works raise a number of grave linguistic and historical problems, and the question of their authenticity cannot be finally settled until the manuscripts are made available for philological investigation. Even if the authenticity of the *Khazāna* is admitted, however, Muḥammad Hōtak's dating of the oldest poems may be doubted. According to Raverty, Shaykh Mall in 1417 wrote a history of the Yūsufzays, but nothing more is known about this work [cf. YŪSUFZAY]. A manuscript exists, and has been examined, containing the *Khayr al-Bayān* of the arch-heretic Bāyazīd Anṣārī (d. 1585). From the early 17th century we possess the theological and historical works—rich in invectives—of his orthodox opponent Akhūn(d) Darwēza [see RAWSHANIYYA] (*Makhzan-i Afghānī* and *Makhzan-i Islām*). The 17th and 18th centuries are rich in poets,

but most of them are imitators of Persian models. The most remarkable according to European standards, and also the national poet of modern Afghānistān, is Khushḥāl Khān ([*q.v.*]; 1022-1106/1613-94), chief of the Khaṭaks, patriot, warrior and prolific writer on a multitude of subjects. His spontaneousness, force of expression and independence of mind lend a special charm to his best poems. Several of his descendants were also poets, and his grandson Afḍal Khān wrote the *Taʾrīkh-i Muraṣṣaʿ*, a history of the Afghāns. The oldest mystical poet was Mīrzā who belonged to the family of Bāyazīd Anṣārī, but the most popular were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (both about A.D. 1700). Also Aḥmad Shāh, the founder of the Durrānī dynasty, was a poet. There are also numerous translations from the Persian and versified versions of Persian and Afghān legends, e.g. Ādam Khān and Durkhānaī. Of considerable interest are the folk-songs, ballads, etc., collected and published by Darmesteter. Recently the Afghān Academy (*Paxto Ṭōləna*) in Kābul has published a volume of folk-songs, chiefly so-called *lanḍais* or *miṣrāʿs*, lyrical distichs in a peculiar metre, and some of them of great beauty. There is a considerable output of modern poetry in Afghānistān, and the Pashto Academy publishes also other literary works.

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al-AFGHĀNĪ [see Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī].

AFGHĀNISTĀN.

(i) Geography; (ii) Ethnography; (iii) Languages; (iv) Religion; (v) History.

(i) Geography.

The country now known as Afghānistān has borne that name only since the middle of the 18th century, when the supremacy of the Afghān race became assured: previously various districts bore distinct appellations, but the country was not a definite political unit, and its component parts were not bound together by any identity of race or language. The earlier meaning of the word was simply "the land of the Afghāns", a limited territory which did not include many parts of the present state but did comprise large districts now either independent or within the boundary of Pakistan. As at present constituted, under the rule of the Bārakzay kings (formerly *amīrs*), Afghānistān consists of a territory of irregular shape lying between 29° 30′ and 38° 30′ N. and between 61° and 75° (or, if the long strip of Wakhān is omitted, 71° 30′) E.

Geological formation. This country forms the north-eastern portion of the great Iranian plateau (cf. Irān), which is bounded to the north by the Central Asian depression, and to the east by the plains of Sind and the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, while to the south and west it slopes away into the depressed tract which occupies the central portion of the plateau, and on the south-east is connected with the mountain system of Balūčistān. The northern barrier of the highlands is the mountain range extending westwards from the Pāmir, with its outlying ridge, the Band-i Turkistān, beyond which the plain of sand and loess extends to the Oxus. On the east there is a sudden drop into the Indus valley. It will be seen therefore that, with the exception of the loess plain of Turkistān, the whole country belongs to the plateau, which is itself a late geological formation of the tertiary period, mainly sandstones and limestones. The north-eastern part of the plateau previously formed part of a great ocean connecting the Caspian depression with the plains of Pakistan. The process of upheaval which has raised it still continues, and Holdich considers that the extraordinarily deep river gorges are due to the fact that the erosive action of the rivers is too slow to keep pace with the upward movement.

Orography. The most prominent feature of the mountain system is the northern range running east and west above alluded to as forming the northern boundary of the plateau. It divides the Turkistān districts on the north (the ancient Bactria) from the provinces of Kābul, Harāt and Ḳandahār (the ancient Ariana and Arachosia) on the south. This main range is known by various names such as Hindū-kush [*q.v.*] on the E. where it branches from the Pāmir, Kūh-i Bābā further west, and Kūh-i Safīd and Siyāh Bubuk near Harāt; the latter is generally known as Paropamisus, although the true Paropamisus (or Paropanisus of Ptolemy) included the Hindū-kush. The greater part of the country south of this range is occupied by a number of subsidiary chains or long spurs which run from east to west or more generally from north-east to south-west. These ranges and the intervening valleys form the greater part of the Harāt and Ḳandahār provinces, while the tangled mass of mountains lying to the south of the eastern Hindū-kush comprises the valleys of the Kābul and Kuṛam rivers and forms the provinces of Kābul and Nūristān. The highest elevation in the northern range is the Shāh Fulādī peak (16,870 ft./5158 metres) in the Kūh-i Bābā, and the long spur running to the south-west contains several peaks of about 11,000 ft./3353 m. The ridges dividing the Hilmand, Tarnak, Arghandāb and Arghasān are outliers of this system, and it may be traced further south-east into Balūčistān. The Sulaymān [*q.v.*] range (highest peak the Takht-i Sulaymān, 11,200 ft./3145 m.), which drops finally into the Indus valley and is the eastern edge of the plateau, is beyond the political limits of Afghānistān. The mountains further

north on this eastern flank of the plateau between the Kuṛam and Gumal rivers are a more irregular mass with peaks over 11,000 ft./3353 m., while further north still between the valleys of the Kābul and the Kuṛam is the Safīd Kūh, the highest range in Afghānistān after the Hindū-kush and Kūh-i Bābā (highest peak Sikārām, 15,600 ft./4543 m.).

River system. Northward from the Hindū-kush the level of the country falls rapidly towards the Oxus valley, while southward the valleys fall more gradually towards the Sīstān depression containing the Hilmand Hāmūn (H. Lake) and its extension the Gūd-i Zirah, into which flow, with the exception of those belonging to the Indus system, all the rivers south of the Hindū-kūsh. Thus the rivers fall naturally into three groups, which may be called the Indus group, the Hilmand group and the Oxus group.

The Indus group comprises the Kābul [*q.v.*] river and its affluents, of which the most important are the Tagao and Kunar flowing from the Hindū-kush on the north and the Lūghar flowing from the Gul Kūh on the south. South of this the Kuṛam rising in the Paywar, and its tributary the Toči, called in its lower course the Gambīla, which joins it in Pakistan territory below the mountains. Still further south separating the Wazīristān mountains from the Takht-i Sulaymān is the Gumal formed by the junction of the Kundar and Žōb. These rivers though of small volume drain extensive tracts and mark important military and trade routes through the mountains between India and the plateau. Other small streams such as the Wahuā, Lūnī, Kahā and Nārī further south serve a similar purpose. It may be noted that many of these streams flow not along the natural valleys formed by the mountain range but transversely across the sandstone and limestone ridges of the Sulaymān Mountains, through which they cut deep precipitous gorges.

The second or Hilmand group consists of the Hilmand and its tributaries, and of the other rivers running towards the south-west into the Sīstān depression. The Hilmand [*q.v.*] or Hirmand (the Haētumant of the Avesta, the Etymandrus of classical writers) is the principal of these. It rises near Kābul and flows through narrow mountain valleys into the more open country of Zamīn-dāwar, where it is joined on the left bank by the Arghandāb (Harahwaiti, Arachotis). The latter in its turn is formed by the junction of the Upper Arghandāb, the Tarnak, and the Arghasān (or Arghastān), which drain a series of nearly parallel north-easterly and south-westerly valleys. Another member of the same system is the stream flowing southward from Ghazna which never joins the Hilmand system but is absorbed by the Ābistāda Salt Lake. Other rivers west of the Hilmand with the same general south-westerly flow, which also discharge into the Hāmūn, are the Khash Rūd, the Farāh Rūd, and the Harūt Rūd.

The Hāmūn [*q.v.*], a basin sometimes of small extent, expands enormously to the south in seasons of high flood, when the hill fort of Kūh-i Khʷādja becomes an island. It then discharges itself through a channel called the Shīlagh into a still lower depression known as the Gūd-i Zirah. Part of the Hāmūn is in Afghān territory and part in Persian according to modern demarcations which have divided Sīstān. The Hāmūn is only 1580 ft. above sea-level, and the Gūd-i Zirah is still lower. The Hāmūn on the average overflows once in ten years into the Gūd-i Zirah. Its water is only slightly brackish, and can be drunk, a circumstance due no doubt to its occasional overflow. The level of Sīstān does not appear to have risen since ancient times in spite of the enormous volumes of silt discharged by the rivers which have no other outlet. The cause for this is probably the prevalence of violent north-west winds through a great part of the year, which remove the light surface soil.

The third or Oxus group of rivers comprises the Oxus [see AMŪ DARYĀ] and it southern tributaries, as well as the Murghāb [*q.v.*] and Harī Rūd which also flow northward into the plain but never reach the Oxus. All of these rise on the northern flank of the great mountain barrier, with the exception of the Harī Rūd [*q.v.*], which rises on the south of the Kūh-i Bābā and flows westwards through a narrow valley between the Kūh-i Safīd and Kūh-i Siyāh into the Harāt plain where it turns to the north and after passing through a depression in the mountains loses itself in the plains of Russian Turkistān beyond Dhu'l-Fiḳār.

General formation. The mountain ranges generally become less lofty towards the south and west and the difficulties of communication that exist further north disappear. Hence the easy route for trade or military expeditions from Harāt to Ḳandahār has in all ages been circuitous via Sabzawār, Farāh and Girishk, while from Ḳandahār to Kābul and Ghazna the direct line of the Tarnak valley is followed. From Harāt where the Paropamisus drops to an insignificant elevation the Turkistān province is easily accessible, and the same country can also be reached from Kābul directly by difficult passes, the Khawāk, Bāmiyān and others, through the Hindū-kush.

Thus the three towns Harāt, Ḳandahār and Kābul are marked out by natural position as the most important points in the country. Each of them lies in a fertile valley and is self-supporting, and each of them commands important routes to the others as well as to India, Persia and Central Asia. If therefore Afghānistān is to be an independent whole the possession of these three points is essential to its rulers. There can be no stability if they are in separate hands. In this political sense Ghazna and Djalālābād must be classed with Kābul, the old capitals Bust and Girishk with Ḳandahār, and Sabzawār with Harāt. Sīstān lying on the easy route from Harāt to Ḳandahār has always been a debatable land.

Kābul is in every way the strongest position, and has generally in consequence been more independent than other districts. Harāt on the contrary is much exposed to attack from the west and north, and when Harāt has been conquered by a foreign invader Ḳandahār is immediately threatened. As long as Harāt is held Ḳandahār is safe from an attack on the western side and it has also a strong position towards the Indian side, though not so strong as that of Kābul.

The district of Sīstān adjoining the Hāmūn is fertile and suited for irrigation. Occupying a commanding position on the route leading eastward to Ḳandahār and westward to Harāt, it is of great importance to the rulers of Afghānistān, and its present division between that country and Persia is unfortunate.

Climate. The whole country is liable to great extremes of temperature ranging from the intense summer heat of Sīstān, the Garmsīr district and the Oxus valley to the great winter cold of the high exposed regions, where violent snowstorms are

not uncommon. Instances of armies suffering from such cold are well known in history. The march of the emperor Bābur from the neighbourhood of Harāt through the Hazāra mountains to Kābul is a case in point, and the Hindū-kush (lit. Hindu-slayer) is popularly supposed to derive its name from the death of the Indian troops of the emperor Shāh Djahān. More recent instances are the sufferings of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's army in 1868 and of the British Boundary Commission in Bādghīs in 1885. The daily range of temperature is everywhere very great, the difference between maximum and minimum varying from 17 to 30 degrees of Fahrenheit. In the spring and autumn the upland valleys have a temperate and pleasant climate, which is very favourable to the growth of fruit, especially grapes, melons, peaches, plums, apricots, walnuts and pistachio-nuts. Modern travellers have found the neighbourhood of Kābul to be not unworthy of the praises lavished on it by the emperor Bābur.

In the more lofty part of the Hindū-kush inhabited by the Kāfir tribes a truly Alpine climate is found resembling that of parts of the Himalayas.

The vegetation generally speaking is that of the Persian plateau, and is quite distinct from that of the Indian plains. In the plains few trees are found except those cultivated in gardens, fruit trees, planes and poplars, while on the higher mountains many varieties of pines and evergreen oaks are found with wild vines, ivy and roses. On the lower and dryer ranges the wild pistachio (*Pistacia khinjuk*), wild olive (*Olea europea*), juniper (*J. excelsa*) and the reodan (*Tecoma undulata*) are the most characteristic trees. The *angūza* or *hing* (*Ferula assafoetida*) is very abundant in many parts. Wild flowers also abound in the spring, especially the iris, tulip and poppy.

Political divisions. The divisions of the country follow its physical formation.

Kābul. The province of Kābul contains the fertile high-lying valleys round the upper waters of the Kābul, Lūghar and Tagao rivers and Ghazna, also the lower part of the Kābul valley near Djalālābād [*q.v.*]. Ghazna [*q.v.*] was the most important town in this tract formerly, but Kābul [*q.v.*] has taken its place during the past four hundred years. Kābul was recognized as the centre of government under Mughal emperors, and was adopted by the Durrānī kings as their capital taking the place of Ḳandahār. Its old rival Peshāwar [*q.v.*] is the natural centre of the tribes in the lowlands near the Indus, but has been cut off from Afghānistān since it was taken by the Sikhs in 1834, and from 1848 to 1947 formed part of British India.

Ḳandahār. Ḳandahār includes the old province of Zamīn-dāwar, and comprises the lower valleys of the Hilmand, Tarnak, Arghandāb and Arghasān, the principal home of the Durrānīs. The modern town of Ḳandahār [*q.v.*] on the Arghandāb has been the capital of the province since the 14th century, and has taken the place of older towns such as Girishk [*q.v.*] and Bust [*q.v.*].

Sīstān. Sīstān [see SIDJISTĀN] is the hot and fertile irrigated district lying around the Hāmūn. A large part of it, however, belongs to Persia. It contains no large town.

Harāt. The Harāt province includes the fertile valley of the Harī Rūd and the open country lying between the Hazāra Mountains and the Persian border; also a considerable part of these mountains which are inhabited by the Hazāra [*q.v.*] and Čahār Aymāḳ [*q.v.*] tribes. The town of Harāt [*q.v.*], one of the most famous in eastern history, is its capital; although fallen from its ancient glory it is still and must remain a place of importance and will no doubt develop greatly with peace and improved communications. Sabzawār [*q.v.*] is also a thriving town in the south of the province.

Hazāristān [*q.v.*]. The country of the Ḥazāra and Čahār Aymāḳ tribes in the mountainous mass bounded to the north by the Kūh-i Bābā, to the west by the open country of Harāt, to the east and the south by the Hilmand valley. It is the country anciently known as Ghūr [*q.v.*], and the ruins of the town of Ghūr probably mark the site of the old capital of Fīrūz Kūh, where the Ghūrī kings reigned in the 12th century. It now contains no town of importance.

Turkistān. The country north of the Kūh-i Bābā as far as the Oxus is known as Turkistān. Its old capital Balkh [*q.v.*] has lost its former importance and the present centres of administration are Mazār-i Sharīf [*q.v.*], Tāshkurgān and Maymana [*q.v.*].

Badakhshān. The region lying north of the Hindū-kush and east of Turkistān along the left bank of the Oxus is known as Badakhshān [*q.v.*]. It is watered by the Ḳunduz river and its affluents.

Wakhān. Still further to the east and extending as far as the Pāmir is the long mountain valley called Wakhān [*q.v.*].

Nūristān. A mountainous tract of the Hindū-kush lying north of the Kābul valley and west of the Kunar is inhabited by the Kāfirs. It was known as Kāfiristān [*q.v.*], but after its conquest by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān in 1897 its name was changed to Nūristān.

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(M. LONGWORTH DAMES *)

(ii) ETHNOGRAPHY.

The population of Afghānistān is divided into the following main groups: (1) Afghāns; (2) Tādjīks and other Iranians; (3) Turko-Mongolians; (4) Hindū-kush Indo-Aryans (including Kāfirs). According to an estimate made in 1947 the population amounts to twelve millions, of which 53% are said to be Afghāns, 36% Tādjīks, 6% Uzbeks, 3% Hazāras and 2% others. But the figures are by no means certain. No "pure races" are to be found, each linguistic community being composed of several anthropological types, and intermixture and secondary adoption of Persian and Pashto having to a great extent blurred whatever clear distinctions may have existed at some earlier date. Apart from the theoretical difficulties in defining race, the meagreness of anthropological data, dealing with clearly defined local groups, warns us to be cautious in our statements.

1) For the Afghāns, see the separate article AFGHĀN.

2) Tādjīk is the general name [cf. TĀDJĪK] of the Persian-speaking population of Afghānistān, often also called Pārsiwāns, or, in the East and South, Dihgāns and Dihwārs. They are villagers, and also the inhabitants of most towns speak Persian. The Tādjīks have no tribal organization, except in some remote regions. In the villages they are peaceful tenants. In Harāt and Sīstān they are a direct continuation of the Persians of Persia, while in Northern Afghānistān (from Maymana to Badakhshān) they are in contact with the Tādjīks of the Soviet Union. In South-eastern Afghānistān they occupy some of the most fertile agricultural districts around Ghazna and in the Kābul region (Kūh-i Dāman, Pandjshīr, etc.). Anthropologically they are very mixed, but the hill-Tādjīks of Badakhshān, and of Northern Afghānistān in general, are of the Alpine type. South of the Hindū-kūsh many Tādjīks probably belong to the Irano-Afghān race. Some of the hill-Tādjīks of Badakhshān still retain their ancient Iranian languages. The same is the case with the Parāčīs north of Kābul and the Ormuṛs in the Lōgar valley.—The Ḳizilbash are descended from Persian Turks settled in Kābul and Harāt by Nādir Shāh.

3) Turkish and Mongolian tribes. In the plains of Northern Afghānistān Turkish tribes form an important, or even dominant part of the population. The majority are Uzbeks [*q.v.*], settled in villages and towns, and estimated by Jarring at about 500,000. West of them, between Andkhūy and Bālā Murghāb we find Turkmen [*q.v.*] nomads, chiefly Ersarīs (estimated at up to 200,000). In Afghān Pāmir there are about 30,000 Ḳirghiz [*q.v.*] nomads. Also some other Turkish tribes are represented in Afghānistān.—The Turks settled in the Kūhistān and Kūh-i Dāman north of Kābul have now all probably given up their national language.

The central *massif*, from Ghazna to Harāt, and from north of Bāmiyān to the middle Hilmand, is occupied by tribes of Mongol or mixed Turko-Mongol origin and type, extending also into Persia. The eastern part of this territory is the home of the Hazāras [*q.v.*] (or Barbarīs). They are divided into a number of tribes, Day-Kundī, Day-Zengī, Djāghurī, etc. The Hazāras are settled in villages, their formerly very powerful chiefs living in baronial castles. They are Shīʿites, and up to the time of the Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥman they retained semi-independence. Their orthodox neighbours accused them of practising the infamous "lamp-extinguishing" ceremonies, and of laxity in sexual behaviour in general. When finally subdued by the Afghān Amīr, many of them sought refuge in Quetta and other places outside Afghānistān. A large number of Hazāras work as labourers in Kābul and other cities. They have decidedly mongoloid features, but are usually distinguishable from the more flat-faced Uzbeks. Further west, on both sides of the Harī Rūd, we find the half-nomadic Sunnī Čahār Aymāḳ [*q.v.*] ("Four Tribes"), a term apparently used somewhat loosely, but usually including Taymanīs (south of the Harī Rūd), Fīrūzkūhīs (north of this river), Djamshīdīs (Kushk), Taymūrīs (west of Harāt, in Persia) and Hazārīs (Ḳalʿa-i Naw), probably not to be confounded with the eastern Hazāras.—The Hazāras are often assumed to be descended from Čingiz Khān's soldiers, but more probably Mongol and to some extent also Turkish elements have gradually occupied the territories laid waste by him and his successors (see Bacon, op. cit.).

4) Indo-Aryans and Kāfirs. Among the Indo-Aryan "Dardic" tribes of Afghānistān the most important are the Pashaīs (locally also called Dihgāns) in the Kūhistān of Kābul, Laghmān and the lower Kunaṛ Valley. They are the remnants of the ancient Hindu and Buddhist population of Kāpisha and Nagarahāra. There are also some smaller communities of Indo-Aryan origin in the Kunaṛ region.—Nūristān (formerly Kāfiristān) is inhabited by a number of tribes, linguistically distinguished from the true Indo-Aryans [cf. KĀFIRISTĀN]. They were finally conquered by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in 1896, and converted to Islām. Some of the Dardic tribes also remained pagans till comparatively recent times. The Kāfirs are now called Nūristānīs or Djadīdīs, i.e. "Recruits (of Islām)". Their ancient religion was a polytheism of an Indian type, with pantheons varying from tribe to tribe. They had also preserved many ancient social customs. There is no evidence of their being of Greek origin as sometimes asserted. Their neighbours divided them into Siyāh-pūsh "black-clad" (Katīs and Kāms) and Safīd-pūsh" white-clad" (Wāygalīs, Ashkuns and Prasūns or Parūnīs). Anthropologically the Kāfirs contain Oriental, Dinaric and Nordic elements, beside a short, dolichocephalic type with connections in the West Himalayas. Among some of the tribes the ratio of blondism is rather high.

There are some Djaṭ [*q.v.*] "gipsies" in Afghānistān, and a few Gūdjars [*q.v.*] in the Kunaṛ valley. Hindus are settled as traders and money-lenders in Kābul and other towns, and as horticulturists in the Kūh-i Dāman north of Kābul.

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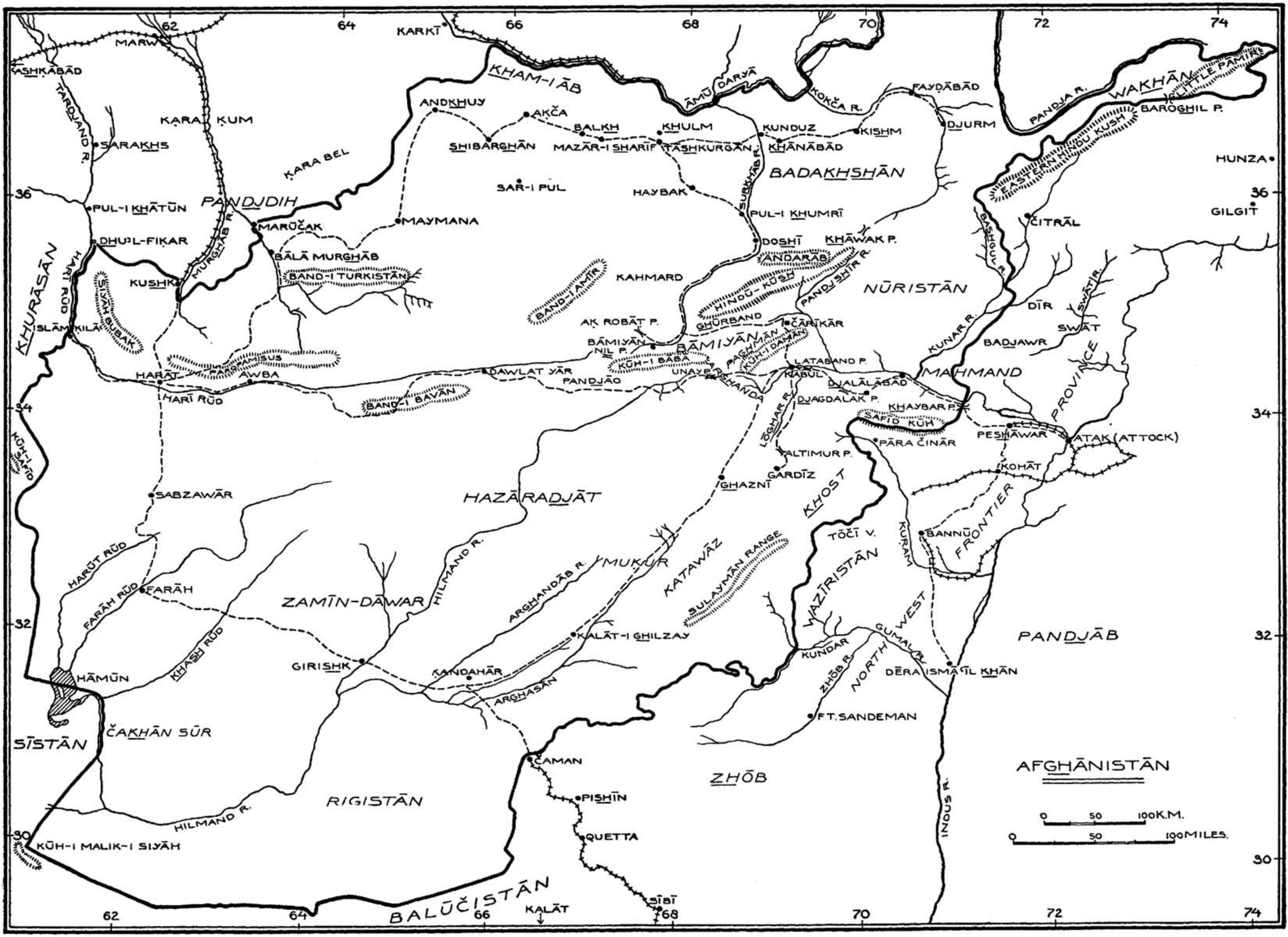
AFGHĀNISTĀN
0 50 100 K.M.
0 50 100 MILES.
MARW
ʿASHKĀBĀD
TARDJAND R.
SARAKHS
KARA KUM
KARA BEL
KARKĪ
KHAM-I ĀB
ĀMŪ DARYĀ
KOKČA R.
FAYDĀBĀD
DJURM
PANDJA R.
WAKHĀN
LITTLE PAMIR
BAROGHIL P.
EASTERN HINDU KUSH
HUNZA
GILGIT
ČITRĀL
BASHGUL R.
ANDKHUY
AKČA
BALKH
KHULM
KUNDUZ
KISHM
SHIBARGHĀN
MAZĀR-I SHARĪF
TASHKURGAN
KHĀNĀBĀD
BADAKHSHĀN
SAR-I PUL
HAYBAK
SURKHĀB R.
PUL-I KHUMRĪ
PUL-I KHĀTŪN
PANDJDIH
MARŪČAK
MURGHĀB R.
MAYMANA
DHUʾL-FIKAR
BĀLĀ MURGHĀB
BAND-I TURKISTĀN
KUSHK
SIYĀH BUBAK
KHURĀSĀN
HARĪ RŪD
ISLĀM KILĀ
BAND-I AMĪR
KAHMARD
DOSHĪ
ANDARĀB
KHĀWAK P.
HINDŪ KUSH
PANDJSHĪR R.
NŪRISTĀN
AK ROBĀT P.
GHŪRBAND
ČĀRĪKĀR
BĀMIYĀN
NĪL P.
KŪH-I BĀBĀ
PAGHMĀN
KŪH-I DAMĀN
LATABAND P.
KABUL
DJALĀLĀBĀD
KUNAR R.
DĪR
SWĀT R.
SWĀT
BADJAWR
MAHMAND
PROVINCE
PAROPAMISUS
HARĀT
AWBA
DAWLAT YĀR
PANDJĀO
UNAYR
BAND-I BAYĀN
DJAGDALAK P.
KHAYBAR P.
SAFĪD KŪH
PESHĀWAR
ATAK (ATTOCK)
PĀRA ČINĀR
LOGHAR R.
ALTIMUR P.
GARDĪZ
KOHĀT
KŪH-I SAFĪD
SABZAWĀR
HAZĀRADJĀT
GHAZNĪ
KHOST
FRONTIER
TOČĪ V.
BANNŪ
KURAM
HARŪT RŪD
FARĀH RŪD
FARĀH
ZAMĪN-DĀWAR
HILMAND R.
ARGHANDĀB R.
MUKUR
KATAWĀZ
SULAYMĀN RANGE
WAZĪRISTĀN
NORTH WEST
GUMAL R.
KHĀSH RŪD
KALĀT-I GHILZAY
PANDJĀB
HĀMŪN
GIRISHK
KANDAHĀR
ARGHASĀN
KUNDAR
ZHŌB R.
DĒRA ISMĀʿĪL KHĀN
FT. SANDEMAN
SĪSTĀN
ČAKHĀN SŪR
ČAMAN
PISHĪN
QUETTA
ZHŌB
RIGISTĀN
INDUS R.
KŪH-I MALIK-I SIYĀH
BALŪČISTĀN
KALĀT
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(iii) LANGUAGES,

Bābur mentions eleven languages spoken in the Kābul region, and the actual number for the whole of the country is considerably higher. The majority of the inhabitants speak either Pas͟hto or Persian, both of them Iranian.

For Pas͟hto see AFG͟HĀN.

Other Iranian Languages. Most of the Persian dialects [cf. also ĪRĀN, section on language] spoken in Afg͟hānistān are of the eastern type, retaining the distinction between *madj̲hūl ē, ō* and *maʿrūf ī, ū*. In the Harāt region they merge into the western type, and the dialect of the Hazāras presents traits of its own. Balūčī just crosses the frontier into the southern deserts. In the Lōgar Valley, south of Kābul, Ōrmuṛī is dying out, but it is still spoken in Kāṇigurām in Wazīristān. Another ancient local Iranian language is Parāčī, which is found in a few villages north of Kābul. North of the Hindū-kūs͟h, in the mountains of Badak͟hs͟hān, the so-called Pāmir or G͟halča [*q.v.*] languages have survived, but are probably receding and being gradually replaced by Tādjīkī Persian. They include: Mund͟jī spoken in Mund͟jān (with an offshoot called Yidg͟ha in Čitrāl), the very archaic Wak͟hī in Wak͟hān (overflowing into Gilgit and Čitrāl), Sanglēčī, Zēbākī and Is͟hkāshmī at the bend of the Oxus and in the upper Wardōd͟j valley; S͟hug͟hnī and Rōs͟hānī in the Oxus Valley, north of Is͟hkās͟hm.

Indo-Aryan and Kāfirī. Apart from Lahndā spoken by Hindūs, we find a number of Indo-Aryan languages and dialects on the fringes of Nūristān in North-Eastern Afg͟hānistān. They belong to the so-called Dardic branch of Indo-Aryan. The most important is Pas͟haī which has several widely diverging dialects, and is rich in popular poetry. In the Kunaṛ Valley, close to the frontier of Čitrāl, Gāwar-Bātī is spoken.—The Kāfir languages (Katī, Wāigalī, As͟hkun and Prasūn) occupy a somewhat separate position and must have split off from Indo-Aryan in pre-Vedic times. But they have now been heavily overlaid with purely Indo-Aryan elements.

Non-Indo-Iranian Languages. Turkish dialects are spoken by Uzbeks, Turkmens and Ḳirg͟hiz in Northern Afg͟hānistān. Most Hazāras have now given up their ancient language, and the same is probably the case with the Čahār Aymāḳs. But (acc. to a private communication) F. Mackenzie was still able in 1951 to collect lists of words, containing many of Mongolian origin, among the Hazāras of Bīhsūd and the "Moghols" north of Maymana.—Some nomads west of Mazār-i S͟harīf are said to be still speaking Arabic, as is also the case with some Arabs in Tād͟jīkistān [see ʿARAB].

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(iv) RELIGION.

Since the conversion of the Kāfirs practically the entire population of Afg͟hānistān are Muslims, and the great majority are Sunnīs. S͟hīʿite are the Hazāras, Ḳizilbas͟h, the Kayānīs of Sīstān and Harāt, a few Paṭhān frontier tribes (Tūrīs, and some sections of Ōrakzays and Bangas͟h, beside the Sayyids of Tirāh), and some Kūhistānīs and Badak͟hs͟hīs (especially the G͟halčas). Of these the inhabitants of Badak͟hs͟hān (with S͟hug͟hnān, Wak͟hān, etc.) and many Pas͟haīs of Lag͟hmān and adjacent valleys are Ismāʿīlīs, the Badak͟hs͟hīs calling themselves Mullāʾīs and the Pas͟haīs being known under the name of ʿAlī-Ilāhīs (cf. Ivanow, *Guide to Ism. Lit.*, p. 9). Among the S͟hīʿī Paṭhāns there may still be secret adherents of the great heretic Bāyazīd Anṣārī [cf. RAWS͟HANIYYA].

Orthodox Islām is now very firmly established in Afg͟hānistān, and the Islamic law (*s͟harīʿa*) is recognized. Hindus and S͟hīʿīs are tolerated, but Aḥmadīs are not allowed to enter the country, and Christian missions are prohibited. Local saints and their tombs are worshipped. Among the Paṭhān tribes of the Frontier the *mullās* have often played an important role in local politics and in preaching the *d͟jihād* (holy war). (G. MORGENSTIERNE)

(v) HISTORY. (1) PRE-ISLAMIC.

The territories now known as Afg͟hānistān were occupied by Iranian tribes during the Aryan migrations in the second and first millenia B.C., incorporated in the Achaemenid empire by Cyrus, and after the conquests of Alexander (cf. e.g. W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1948) disputed between the Greco-Bactrians and the Parthians (cf. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1952). In the first century B.C. there was a fresh influx of Iranian tribesmen under the leadership of the Kus͟han tribe of the Yueh-Chi. The Kus͟han empire, which attained its height under Kujula Kadphises in the 1st century A.D. and Kanis͟hka in the 2nd (cf. *Cambridge History of India*, i, 1935; R. Ghirshman, *Bēgram. Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, Cairo 1946), eventually fell to the Sāsānids under S͟hāpūr II, probably before the middle of the 4th century. Shortly after 350 the Yueh-Chi tribes which had remained in Kās͟hgaria, pressed from the East by Turco-Mongol elements, appeared in Bactria, supported by a confederation of tribes of allied origin known as Chionites (see R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, Cairo 1948, 69 ff.). S͟hāpūr, though at

war with Rome, marched against the invaders, but was obliged to come to terms with them and to establish them in Bactria and its peripheral regions, in return for their aid against the Romans.

Kidara, the king of the Yueh-Chi or "Lesser Kushans", soon extended his conquests to the south of the Hindū-kush and annexed the Paropamisad and Gandhara. It is in the period of this expansion that the establishment of a tribe of Chionites, the Zabuls, in the region of Ghazni is to be placed. When, later on, Kidara's efforts to assert his independence led to a fresh conflict with Shāpūr, the Chionites sided with the latter. Kidara lost his kingdom, and probably his life; and Bactria passed into the hands of the Chionites known as Hephthalites from the name of their ruling dynasty. About 400 the lands both to the north and to the south of the Hindū-kush were held by the Chionites-Hephthalites, divided into two branches by the mountain-chain, but whose southern branch, the Zabuls, recognized the supremacy of the northern branch—both, however, remaining vassals of the Sāsānids. This vassal status was preserved so long as the Persian dynasty remained strong, but already by the beginning of the 5th century the Hephthalites, exploiting the difficulties experienced by Persia in the struggle against Rome and in defending the passes of the Caucasus against the barbarians, attempted to throw it off, only to be resubjected by Bahrām Gōr, just as their pressure towards India was halted by the Gupta kings.

The middle of the 5th century was a turning-point in the relations between Persia and the Hephthalites. During the reign of Pērōz, the Hephthalites won, in 484, a victory which transformed them almost from the vassals into the masters of Iran, to whom the Sāsānids paid tribute for more than half a century. It was only c. 560, when a new people, the Western Turks, had appeared on the chessboard of Central Asia, that a coalition between them and Khusraw I put an end to the central power of the Hephthalites. (For the relations with the Sāsānids, cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], 1944.)

The kingdom of Zābul, or of the southern Chionites, followed its own course. At the end of the 5th century a new dynasty reigned to the south of the Hindū-kush. Its two kings, Toramana and Mihiracula (c. 515-544), made extensive conquests in India; the latter, devoted to a religion with a solar divinity, Mihira, left a memory of cruel persecutions which were pursued until he was crushed by an Indian national coalition. The disappearance of the kingdom of the southern Chionites preceded by a few years the destruction of Hephthalite supremacy in the northern lands.

After the destruction of these two kingdoms, their territories remained in the hands of a number of minor princes, some of whom became vassals of the Sāsānids, others of the Turks. The political condition of Eastern Afghānistān about the middle of the 7th century is portrayed in the account of the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, where the Afghān people are mentioned for the first time in an historical source under the form of the country of A-p'o-kien, located in the northern part of the Sulaymān mountains (see A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, ii, Paris 1947, 235, 252 n. 17).

Shortly after the passage of Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese T'ang dynasty crushed the Western Turks and extended its suzerainty to the west of the Pāmir. For a whole century (659-751) sixteen kingdoms north and south of the Hindū-kush recognized the authority, more nominal than real, of the Chinese emperor. The Arab invaders, who so rapidly overran Iran, were checked in this part of Afghānistān by the tenacious resistance of the last kinglets, seconded by the civil wars and dissensions between the conquering tribes, and it was only at the end of the 9th century that Islam finally triumphed south of the Hindū-kush. Nevertheless, the Hephthalite element did not disappear without leaving its traces in the ethnic composition of modern Afghānistān, and there still exists in Badakhshān an important group bearing the name of Hayṭal. See, for a fuller account of the Chionites-Hephthalites the articles HAYṬAL, ZĀBULISTĀN, ZŪN. For the background of the early history, cf. also W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, 1939.

(R. GHIRSHMAN)

(2) ISLAMIC—TO THE RISE OF THE AFGHĀN NATIONAL STATE.

To the Mongol period. The territories that form modern Afghānistān belonged in the first thousand years of Islamic history to different provinces, and although these neighbouring provinces, often shared common vicissitudes, they did not at any time form a separate entity. Nor did the Afghāns form a state of their own until the days of Mīr Ways, and more especially Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. The little that is known of the earlier history of the Afghāns has been summarized in the article AFGHĀN; here a short sketch will be given of the history of the country. (For further details see the articles on the various provinces, e.g. KHURĀSĀN, SIDJISTĀN, ZĀBULISTĀN, ZAMĪN-DĀWAR,, ṬUKHĀRISTĀN, KĀBULISTĀN, and on the various dynasties that ruled these lands, as well as the articles on the most important towns, e.g. BALKH, GHAZNA, HARĀT, KĀBUL, etc.)

At the time of the Islamic conquest the provinces belonging to the Sāsānid empire were quickly overrun. One wave of the invasion passed through Sidjistān, but the attempts made during the first three centuries to conquer Kābul from this base produced no lasting results until the rise of the Ṣaffārid [*q.v.*] dynasty. The province of Kābul resisted Islamization much longer than the other eastern Islamic provinces, and it was only under the Ghaznawids that this was fully achieved. In the middle of the 4th/10th century Alp-takīn [*q.v.*] seized Ghazna from its former ruler Lawīk, conquered Zabulistān and built up an independent principality, which was inherited by his son Isḥāḳ, then by a slave of his, Balkā-takīn, then by another slave, Subuk-takīn, the founder of the Ghaznawid [*q.v.*] dynasty. The dynasty had its seat in Ghazna, and it was from that town that the greatest Ghaznawid ruler, Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], set out on his expeditions to Persia in the west and India in the east. Yet, while it is about this time that the name Afghān first appears in the historians, the Ghaznawid dynasty was in no sense a national Afghān one. The armies were probably composed mainly of Turks. When Maḥmūd marched to Balkh against the Ḳarakhānid ruler, his army comprised, according to al-ʿUtbī, Indians, Khaladj [*q.v.*], Afghāns and "Ghaznawīs", the last term no doubt meaning Iranians ("Tādjīk" [*q.v.*]) of the province of Ghazna. In 414/1023 Maḥmūd attacked the Afghāns of Sulaymān Kūh and sacked their country.

By the end of his life Maḥmūd ruled over an extensive territory comprising in the west Khurāsān, part of Djibāl and Ṭabaristān and in the east the whole of the Pandjāb; to the north his influence

extended beyond the Oxus while the core was formed by the whole of what is now Afghānistān. The personality of the great conqueror made a deep impression, and he became in a way a national hero in the land which formed the centre of his empire. For the further history of the dynasty, see GHAZNAWIDS. Bahrām Shāh (511-52/1118-57) had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Saldjūḳs; thereafter, the chieftains of Ghūr became increasingly stronger, and after long struggles drove out the Ghaznawids. The Ghūrid [q.v.] dynasty was probably of "Tādjīk" origin. The fortunes of this dynasty were checked by invasions of Afghānistān by the Ghuzz and the Khwārizm-shāhs, so that the Ghūrids lost their power in their native land, but succeeded in building up an empire in India, which was inherited by their Turkish slaves. Djalāl al-Din Mankubirni, the last scion of the house of the Khwārizm-shāhs, after strong resistance, had to vacate Afghānistān before the Mongols of Čingiz Khān.

Mongols, Karts. Harāt and Sīstān were conquered by Čingiz Khān's son Tulūy, Ghazna by Uguday. Uguday also entered the Ghūr country and, making it the centre of his operations, conquered the mountains of Fīrūz Kūh and Ghardjistān as well as the plains of Garm-sīr and Sīstān. The last Ghūrid kings were swept away and Fīrūz Kūh completely destroyed. Tulak and other mountain fortresses offered resistance but to no effect. A leader of the resistance in Ghūr was the *amīr* Muḥammad of Ghardjistān, descendant in the maternal line of the Ghūrid kings. He was killed in 620/1223 in the fortress of Ashyar. The founders of the Kart dynasty were his descendants. The greater part of Afghānistān was incorporated into the Mongol empire. In the east, however, a Turkish chieftain, Sayf al-Dīn Ḥasan Karlugh, who had perhaps been allied to Djalāl al-Dīn Mankubirni, managed for some time to get possession of Bāmiyān, Ghazna and Ghūr. He must have exercised his rule in 622/1225, in which year he issued coins in the name of the caliph al-Ẓāhir. In 636/1238 he submitted to Uguday, and was placed under the control of a Mongol *shiḥna* (intendant). Nevertheless, he was expelled through the Kuram valley to India. In Sind he and his son Nāṣir al-Dīn reigned for a further twenty years. Ghazna and the Kuram served as a base for the further incursions of the Mongols into India. We do not hear of Afghāns in these movements; perhaps they had not yet reached as far north as the Kuram valley. After Uguday's death the Mongol empire was divided and Afghānistān fell to the lot of the Ilkhāns of Persia. Under their sovereignty a Tādjīk dynasty, named Karts [q.v.] came into power and ruled for nearly two hundred years over the greater part of the country. It was Tīmūr who put an end to the dynasty of the Karts, who represented the last effort of the Tādjīk element in Ghūr and Harāt to establish in their country an independent state. From this time until the rise of the Afghāns in the 18th century no native dynasty held rule in Afghānistān.

Tīmūr, Tīmūrids. In the course of Tīmūr's invasion Sīstān suffered terrible destruction; Kābul and Kandahār (which now began to be of importance) were quickly subdued and the whole country became part of Tīmūr's empire. In 800/1397 Tīmūr turned to the east and left his grandson Pīr Muḥammad as governor of Kābul, Ghazna and Kandahār, while his son Shāhrukh received in fief the kingdom of Khurāsān, with Harāt as its capital. Pīr Muḥammad attacked the Afghāns of Sulaymān Kūh and then advanced into India. On the news that he was resisted in Multān, Tīmūr himself advanced from Andarāb over the Hindū-kush, turned aside from Laghmān to attack the Siyāh-pūsh and the Kator-Kāfirs. After this expedition, he attacked the rebellious Afghāns and then passed over the Indus. Both on his outward march and on his return he passed Bānū; he therefore probably followed the road of Toči, which leads through the country of the Ghalzāy and the Wazīrī. We do not hear of Afghāns serving in his army, though it comprised Tādjīks.

When Tīmūr died (807/1405), Pīr Muḥammad reigned in Kābul; it was, however, Khalīl who took possession of the throne of the empire. (For fuller details concerning the history of the descendants of Tīmūr cf. TĪMŪRIDS.) The war that ensued ended with the murder of Pīr Muḥammad. Shortly afterwards, Khalīl was deprived of the throne and Shāhrukh became the supreme ruler. His reign, which lasted for about forty years, was a period of peace and the country was able to recover from the devastations of the last years. He was followed by Ulugh Beg, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, ʿAbd Allāh, Bābur Mīrzā, all of whom reigned for a short time only. In 861/1456 Abū Saʿīd ascended the throne, but the possession of Khurāsān and Afghānistān was contested by Ḥusayn Bayḳara. The latter was defeated in 870/1465, but Abū Saʿīd died two years later, and his successor, Sulṭān Aḥmad, did not possess Khurāsān at all. Ḥusayn Bayḳara ruled uncontested, from his captal Harāt, over Khurāsān, Sīstān, Ghūr and Zamīn-dāwar. Under the long reigns of Shāhrukh and Ḥusayn Bayḳara, Harāt reached the zenith of its fame as a centre of poetry, learning and art. During the latter years of Ḥusayn Bayḳara, his rule was menaced from the north by the growing might of Shaybānī and his Uzbeks, while other parts of Afghānistān showed a tendency to dissolve into separate principalities, though not under indigenous rulers. Bābur [q.v.] established himself in Kābul and assumed the title of *pādshāh*. Until then Kābul had been governed by more or less independent menbers of the Tīmūrid house; Muḳīm, the son of Arghūn, had just taken possession of it when Bābur appeared before the city and occupied it (910/1505). Kābul remained under Bābur and his successors, the emperors of India [see MUGHAL] for more than two hundred years, until the invasion of Nādir Shāh.

Bābur, Arghūn, Uzbeks, Shāh Ismāʿīl. More dangerous for the kingdom of Khurāsān was the rise of the dynasty of Arghūn [q.v.]. Its founder, Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg Arghūn, a descendant of the Ilkhāns, governor of Ghūr and Sīstān, received also, after defeating the tribes of Hazāra and Nīkūdārī, the regions of Zābulistān and Garm-sīr. Taking Kandahār as his capital, he made himself independent, and with the help of his son, Shāh Beg, extended his rule southward to the Bolān pass and Siwastān. In 904/1498-9 he even invaded Harāt, recruiting his army from the population of Ghūr, Zamīn-dāwar and Kandahār—probably Tādjīks and Afghāns. His son Muḳīm, as mentioned above, occupied Kābul, though only for a short time. Shaybānī's invasion, however, proved the undoing of Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg; in the first battle against the Uzbeks he was killed and in 913/1507 Shaybānī took Harāt.

Dhu 'l-Nūn's sons Shāh Beg and Muḳīm were now between Bābur and Shaybānī. Bābur with some right claimed to be heir to Tīmūr's empire and advanced against Kandahār, while the Arghūn princes allied themselves with his old enemy Shaybānī. Bābur defeated them and took Kandahār.

He left there as governor his son Nāṣir Mīrzā, who was inmediately attacked by Shaybānī. Bābur himself had been on his way to Harāt to concert measures of defence against the Uzbeks with Sulṭān Ḥusayn when he heard of the latter's death. He joined the Sulṭān's sons in their campaign on the Murghāb, and then after visiting Harāt returned in winter by the mountain road to Kābul, a journey during which he and his troops underwent great hardships. He returned to Kābul in 912/beginning of 1507 just in time to suppress a dangerous plot amongst his own relations. Then followed his expedition to Ḳandahār in the summer, and he was back in Kābul by Djumādā I 913/Sept. 1507, arranging an Indian expedition, and had already started when he was recalled by the news that Ḳandahār had fallen and that the Arghūns had been restored by Shaybānī. When the news reached him he was actually engaged in war with the Afghān tribes of Djagdalak and Nangrahār, tribes recently established in the Kābul valley. He had great difficulty in holding even Kābul, where his authority was threatened by rebellion and mutiny. Shaybānī was now possessor of Khurāsān and overlord of Ḳandahār, but his power began to decline. His armies suffered severely during an expedition into the mountains of Ghūr, and another warrior king, Shāh Ismāʿīl, founder of the Ṣafawī kingdom of Persia, threatened him from the west. In 916/1510 Ismāʿīl invaded Khurāsān and Shaybānī was defeated and slain near Marw. Harāt passed into Ismāʿīl's possession and the Shīʿite doctrines were enforced there by a severe persecution. Bābur now allied himself with Ismāʿīl and recovered for a time possession of his hereditary dominions in Central Asia, leaving the kingdom of Kābul to his brother Nāṣir Mīrzā. The alliance with the Ṣafawī king was unpopular, however, and the Uzbeks rallied. In the end Bābūr, after a severe defeat at Ghaždawān near Bukhārā (918/1512) from which he barely escaped with his life, had to fall back upon Kābul, which he found in great disorder, and he had to suppress outbreaks among his own Mughal troops and among the Afghān tribes. The Yūsufzays had moved down from the mountains into the Peshāwar valley, and expelled their predecessors the Dilāzāks from the mountains of Bādjawr and Swāt. Bābur put them down severely and took Bādjawr with great slaughter. He also had to put down risings among the Hazāras. He then turned his attention to Kandahār where Shāh Beg Arghūn was still established. He had tried in vain to make terms with Shāh Ismāʿīl, had been imprisoned at Harāt, but escaped, and had since been endeavouring to establish a kingdom for himself in Sind, which he invaded with the assistance of some Balūč tribes in 917/1511. Bābur made two attempts to take Ḳandahār before he finally succeeded in 928/1522. Shāh Beg then removed his headquarters to Shāl (Quetta) in summer and Sībī in winter, and pursued his schemes in Sind, while the whole Ḳandahār province remained in Bābur's possession. Bābur now felt himself strong enough to embark on the series of enterprises which ended in the overthrow of the kingdom of the Lōdī Afghāns in India. He always preferred Kābul to the plains of India, and was buried at Ghazna where his tomb is marked by a column.

Between the Mughal and Ṣafawī empires. Afghānistān entered upon a more settled period under the influence of the two great empires of India and Persia between which it was divided. Harāt and Sīstān remained with Persia though still for a time troubled by Uzbek raids. Kābul remained part of the Mughal empire while Ḳandahār belonged sometimes to one and sometimes to the other. The power of the Mughal emperors was gradually restricted to the south of the Hindū-kūsh. North of it Sulaymān Mīrzā, established by Bābur as governor of Badakhshān, founded something like an independent dynasty, and the rest of the country remained under the Shaybānids. Ismāʿīl died in 930/1524, and Bābur in 937/1530. Bābur's son Humāyūn succeeded him and his brothers Kāmrān, Hindāl and ʿAskarī held various governments. Kābul and Ḳandahār were united with the Pandjāb under Kāmrān. On the Persian side Ṭahmāsp the successor of Ismāʿīl had made his brother Sām Mīrzā governor of Harāt. The Ṣafawīs regarded Ḳandahār as an appanage of the kingdom of Khurāsān now in their possession, and considered its occupation by the Mughal emperors to be a usurpation. In 941/1535 Sām Mīrzā made a sudden attack on it, but it resisted him successfully, and after eight months Kāmrān arrived and raised the siege. During Sām's absence the Uzbeks under ʿUbayd Allāh invaded Khurāsān, and the unfortunate town of Harāt was again taken and sacked. Ṭahmāsp recovered it, deposed Sām and himself attacked Ḳandahār which he took; but it was recovered by Kāmrān. Meanwhile Humāyūn lost his throne in India through the rising of the Sūr Afghāns under Shīr Shāh, and in 950/1543 he made his way from Sind through the desert south of Ḳandahār to Sīstān and Persia, where he was treated hospitably by Shāh Ṭahmāsp. In 952/1545 with the assistance of a Persian army he laid siege to Ḳandahār which was held against him by his brother ʿAskarī on behalf of Kāmrān, and took it after a prolonged resistance. In accordance with his engagement with Ṭahmāsp he made the town over to the Persians, but this excited great discontent among his own followers, and Humāyūn at last retook Ḳandahār from the Persians, and treated the province as part of his own dominions, greatly to the anger of Ṭahmāsp. Shortly afterwards Humāyūn took Kābul and with it obtained possession of his young son Akbar now three years old. During the next few years the war between the brothers went on with varying fortunes. Kāmrān twice regained possession of Kābul but could not hold it long; on one occasion he is said to have exposed the young prince Akbar on the battlements. He then spent some time among the Mahmand and Khalīl tribes of Afghāns, whom he incited to plunder the Kābul valley. At last in 961/1553, he surrendered to Humāyūn and was deprived of his sight. Humāyūn now held the kingdom of Kābul and Ḳandahār and found himself strong enough to attempt the reconquest of India. This resulted in his victory over the Sūr kings, but soon afterwards, in 963/1556, he died from the effect of an accident. While the young king Akbar was occupied in completing the reconquest of India Ṭahmāsp took the opportunity (965/1558) of seizing Ḳandahār, and it remained under Persian rule until the prince Muẓaffar Ḥusayn surrendered it to Akbar thirty-eight years later in 1003/1621. Shāh ʿAbbās recovered it, but it was lost again by his successor Shāh Ṣafī I, in whose time the governor ʿAli Mardān Khān surrendered it to Shāh Djahān (1047/1637); Girishk was also taken after a siege, and Zamīndāwar occupied. In 1058/1648 the young Persian king ʿAbbās II, then only sixteen years of age, led an army to Ḳandahār and took it, and it never again formed part of the dominions of the Mughal

empire. Shāh Djahān's armies in vain attempted the reconquest. The rival princes Awrangzīb and Dārā-shikūh both conducted expeditions against it, but were equally unsuccessful, and after the failure of the last (1062/1652) no further attempts were made.

With the exception of the vicissitudes of Ḳandahār, there is little to record in the history of Afghānistān during the time it was divided between the Mughal and Ṣafawī empires. The Afghān tribes were steadily increasing in numbers and influence, and it was probably in this period that the Abdālīs and Ghalzays spread from their mountains over the more fertile lands of Ḳandahār and Zamīn-dāwar and the Tarnak and Arghandāb valleys. The decline in the position and influence of the Tādjīk races which had borne the brunt of the Mongolian invasions, and the occupation of their mountain fortresses of Ghūr by a semi-Mongolian population [cf. HAZĀRA], gave the Afghān race the opportunity of rising into prominence. In their eastern mountains they had been but little affected by invaders, eager chiefly to press on through the passes to the plunder of India, and the same need of an outlet for their increasing population which led them to spread into the plains of India on the east also led the pastoral tribes to spread westwards. The mountain tribes continued to maintain practical independence of all rule. The Mughal government of Kābul ruled nominally, but its actual power was confined to the open valleys. In 994/1586 for instance Akbar's army met with a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Yūsufzays of Swāt and Bādjawr, and the general Rādjā Bīrbal was slain. Rādjā Mān Singh afterwards defeated the mountaineers but they were never really conquered; they often raided the plains and sometimes took sides in dynastic quarrels, as when the Yūsufzays took up the cause of the pretended prince Shudjāʿ against Awrangzīb. When Shāh ʿĀlam I before his accession was governor of Kābul under Awrangzīb in 1114/1702 one of his commanders Purdil Khān himself an Afghān, was killed with all his troops when trying to pass from Khōst to Kābul, and he had to bribe the tribes to keep open the road between Kābul and Peshāwar.

Abdālīs, Ghalzays, Nādir Shāh. In the Ḳandahār province the frequent changes of government between India and Persia fomented dissensions and intrigue, and enabled the powerful tribes to play off one against the other. The Abdālīs [*q.v.*] near Ḳandahār succeeded in this manner in obtaining concessions from Shāh ʿAbbās the Great. Sadō was recognized as chief, and his descendants the Sadōzays became the ruling family. Nevertheless their misconduct led to part of the tribe being removed to the Harāt province. This removal led to the extension of the influence of the Ghalzay [*q.v.*] tribe near Ḳandahār, and their power continued to increase until the accession of the emperor Shāh ʿĀlam I, when the Ghalzays of the Ḳandahār province began to intrigue with him against the Persian government. The plot was discovered and Gurgīn Khān, a Georgian chief, was sent to Ḳandahār at the head of an army, and arrested Mīr Ways the Ghalzay chief. During his imprisonment, however, Mīr Ways succeeded in gaining the confidence of Shāh Ḥusayn the Persian king, and was allowed to return to his tribe. Shortly afterwards he treacherously murdered Gurgīn Khan whom he had invited to a banquet, seized upon Ḳandahār and defeated all attempts to subdue him. He died soon after, and his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who showed an inclination to submit to Persia, was murdered by Maḥmūd, son of Mīr Ways, who established himself as ruler. (For further details of their conquest of Persia see GHALZAY.)

At the same period the section of the Abdālī tribe in the Harāt province became practically masters of that province, defeated a strong army sent against them under Ṣafī Ḳuli Khān, and held their own till the time of Nādir Shāh, even taking Farāh from the Ghalzays after the latter had conquered Persia. While the Ghalzay Maḥmūd fought in Persia, the Abdālīs spread over Khurāsān and laid siege to Mashhad. The Ghalzay dynasty was in no way fitted to reign over a country like Persia, and had not sufficient force behind them to oppose any truly national movement. Even the support of the Ḳandahār province was lost when Ashraf succeeded his cousin Maḥmūd, whose brother was able to retain Ḳandahār. The Abdālīs too remained independent in Harāt. Thus when Nādir [*q.v.*] put himself at the head of a national movement Ashraf's government collapsed rapidly, and few of the Ghalzays survived to reach their native country. Ashraf was killed while wandering in Balūčistān in 1142/1729. Nādir now turned his arms against the Abdālīs under Malik Maḥmūd Khān who held Mashhad (1142/1728). He thoroughly defeated them and took many prisoners. Nevertheless he perceived their value as fighting men and secured their support by restoring them to their old home near Ḳandahār, from which he removed the Ghalzays when he had the opportunity. He banished them to the Harāt province, but very few, if any, seem to have really settled there, and there are none there at the present day. When Nādir Shāh had made himself king of Persia he laid siege to Ḳandahār which resisted him for a year, but at last fell (1150/1738). The Ghalzay power was thoroughly broken, but towards the Afghān tribes in general and especially the Abdālīs he pursued a policy of conciliation, and enlisted large numbers in his army. Many Ghalzays took refuge in the Kābul province of the Indian empire, and Nādir Shāh, asserting that his remonstrances had received no reply, advanced on Kābul which fell at once (1151/1738). Thus it was finally severed from the Mughal empire. The last known date of any coin of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh struck there is 1138/1725. Nādir Shāh apparently did not use the Kābul mint, but struck coins at Ḳandahār in 1150/1737, the year of his conquest, and others struck at Nādirābād (which he built during the siege outside Ḳandahār) no doubt refer to the period of the siege. The whole of Afghānistān was now in his hands and afforded him the necessary base for his invasion of India in 1152/1739. As a result of his victory over Muḥammad Shāh the whole Mughal territory west of the Indus including Peshāwar and the Dēradjāt with the suzerainty over the Kalhōrā or ʿAbbāsī rulers of Sind was ceded to him as well as the province of Kābul. On his return from Dihlī (1152/1740) he first crossed the Indus at Attock and attacked the Yūsufzays who had been giving trouble, and then went to Kābul. Thence he descended via the Kuṛam valley and the Bangash country, and went through the Dēradjāt to Sind, returning by the Bolān to Ḳandahār and thence to Harāt. During the remainder of his life he relied to a great extent on his Afghān troops and but little on the Persians, from whom he was alienated by his Sunnī creed. The Abdālīs were especially favoured and their young chief Aḥmad Khān rose to a high position in his army. Tradition says that Nādir himself prophesied that Aḥmad would be king after him. When Nādir Shāh was assassinated by Persians

and Ḳizil Bash, Aḥmad Shāh who was near by with a strong body of Abdālīs seized on a treasure convoy and made his way to Ḳandahār, where he made himself king. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES *)

(3) THE AFGHĀN NATIONAL STATE. (A) THE SADŌZAY DYNASTY.

Aḥmad Shāh made himself king in Ḳandahār and obtained possession of all the eastern portion of Nādir's empire up to the Indus. Harāt soon followed, and in the general break up of the Persian monarchy Aḥmad Shāh acted as the protector of Shāhrukh, grandson of Nādir Shāh, who was blinded by his enemies, and maintained a principality for him in Khurāsān. This province in reality formed part of the dominions of Aḥmad Shāh and his son Tīmūr Shāh, both of whom occasionally struck coins at Mashhad, but Shāhrukh continued to rule in name until he was seized and killed by Āghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār after Tīmūr Shāh's death. Harāt was however treated as an integral part of the Durrānī monarchy, and the ancient kingdom of Khurāsān has remained divided between Persia and Afghānistān.

Aḥmad Shāh made Ḳandahār his capital and gave it the name of Aḥmadshāhī which appears on his coins and those of his successors. He took the title of Durr-i Durrān, and his tribe, the Abdālīs, have since been known as Durrānī [*q.v.*]. His family had long been looked up to, and this fact, combined with his tact and energy, enabled him to hold his own. The tribes were treated mildly, and he relied upon foreign war rather than taxation to provide him with a revenue. The Durrānīs were proud of him and followed him willingly, but they were not an easy race to govern, and his son Tīmūr Shāh on this account moved his capital to Kābul where the population is mainly Tādjīk. In his Indian conquests Aḥmad Shāh not only rivalled but excelled Nādir Shāh, and extended his dominions far beyond the Indus. He added the provinces of Kashmīr, of Lahore and Multān, that is the greater part of Pandjāb and the suzerainty over the Dā'ūdpotras of Bahāwalpur to his dominions.

He invaded India several times, and occupied Dihlī more than once. His defeat of the Mahrattas at Pānipāt in 1174/1761 was a turning point in Indian history, but he did not add any provinces beyond the Pandjāb to his own dominions. His wars with the Sikhs were perpetual and led to the eventual loss of the province. The *khān* of Ḳalāt too, the Brahū'ī Nāṣir Khān who had become feudatory to Nādir Shāh declared his independence in 1172/1758. Aḥmad Shāh besieged Kalāt without success, and on being called away to India accepted a purely nominal submission. Nāṣir Khān, however, supported Aḥmad Shāh in his wars in Khurāsān, and contributed greatly to his victory over Karīm Khān Zand in 1182/1768. On this occasion the blind Afshārī prince took the side of Karīm Khān and sheltered him in Mashhad which Ahmad Shāh reduced by blockade.

For further details about Aḥmad Shāh see AḤMAD SHĀH DURRĀNĪ; he died at Murghāb in the hills near Ḳandahār in 1187/1773, leaving his successor a very extensive but insecure empire.

Tīmūr Shāh had held important posts under his father, such as the Niẓāmship of Lahore and Multān, which is marked by a distinct series of coins. At the time of Aḥmad Shāh's death he was at Harāt, and only obtained possession of Ḳandahār after seizing and executing his brother Sulaymān, who had been set up as his rival. He soon moved his capital to Kābul, and reigned uneventfully for twenty years, during which the monarchy declined steadily in strength and stability, although externally it remained unimpaired. The authority of the central government over the outer provinces was precarious. The Sikhs grew in power and took Multān in 1196/1781, but Tīmūr Shāh retook it the same year. In Sind the feudatory Kalhōrās were overthrown and replaced by Balūč *amīrs* of the Tālbur tribe (commonly called Tālpurs), who waged successful war against Tīmūr Shāh's generals from 1197/1782 to 1201/1786, and remained independent, although they accepted a nominal suzerainty. The Mangit *amīr* of Bukhārā Ma'ṣūm, who had been encroaching on the Turkistān province, especially Marw, also made a nominal submission when attacked by Tīmūr Shāh, but retained all his conquests. In Kashmīr also there was a revolt which was suppressed. Internally the power of the Bārakzay clan of the Durrānīs became gradually greater. Tīmūr Shāh died in 1207/1793 and was succeeded by his son Zamān Shāh, who reigned till he was dethroned by his brother Maḥmūd Shāh in 1215/1800. Short as his reign was he was able to concentrate in it crimes and follies enough to wreck the Durrānī monarchy. Although weakened at home by the rivalry of his brothers Maḥmūd and Shudjā' al-Mulk, threatened in Khurāsān by the Ḳādjārs and in the north by Shāh Murād Mangit, and in the south defied by the *khān* of Kalāt and the *amīrs* of Sind, yet he could not refrain from wasting his strength in foolish attempts to rival Aḥmad Shāh's conquests in India, and to pose as the champion of Islam against Sikhs and Mahrattas. This brought him into collision with the English now rapidly becoming the ruling power in North India. His first invasion (1209/1795) was cut short at Ḥasan Abdāl by the news that Āghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār had captured Mashhad and murdered the blind old Shāhrukh. Having been appeased by an embassy from the Persian king he began a second invasion of India, which was interrupted by the rebellion of Maḥmūd at Harāt. After defeating this rising he invaded the Pandjāb, and this time reached Lahore and received the nominal submission of the Sikhs, now headed by Randjit Singh, but the Ḳādjār encroachments in Khurāsān again called him back. Maḥmūd meanwhile led a wandering life intriguing with discontented persons in Harāt and Ḳandahār. Among these was the powerful leader of the Bārakzay clan, Payinda Khān, known by the title of Sarfarāz Khān, who was jealous of the authority wielded by the vizier Wafā'dār Khān. The conspiracy was detected and Payinda Khān was executed. His son Fatḥ Khān fled to Maḥmūd in Khurāsān and induced him to throw himself on the sympathy of the Durrānī tribe with whom Zamān Shāh was unpopular (Zamān Shāh's mother was a Yūsufzay while Maḥmūd's was a Popalzay Durrānī). This advice was justified by the result. Maḥmūd obtained possession of Ḳandahār while the infatuated Zamān Shāh was preparing for another invasion of India. Maḥmūd advanced on Kābul and Zamān Shāh fled, but was soon captured and blinded (1215/1800). Simultaneously with Maḥmūd's accession at Kābul Shudjā' al-Mulk proclaimed himself king at Peshāwar. He was assisted by a Ghalzay rising against Maḥmūd and in 1218/1803 he took Kābul, imprisoned Maḥmūd and released the blind Zamān Shāh, his own whole brother. For a time Ḳandahār was held by Maḥmūd's son Kāmrān supported by Fatḥ Khān, but the latter made terms for himself and submitted, but discontented with his position almost immediately set up a rival king Ḳayṣar Shāh son of Zamān Shāh.

The next few years were occupied by constant intrigues. Fatḥ Khān changed rapidly from one pretender to another, sometimes supporting Maḥmūd and Kāmrān, sometimes Ḳayṣar, while Shudjāʿ al-Mulk dissipated his strength in expeditions to Sind and Kashmīr. Finally Fatḥ Khān, who was now supporting Maḥmūd, defeated Shudjāʿ al-Mulk at Nimla (1224/1809). He fled into India and Maḥmūd's second reign began. He was however absolutely dependent on Fatḥ Khān, whose power became very great. His brother Dūst Muḥammad held high office, another brother Muḥammad Aʿẓam became governor of Kashmīr, and another Kūhandil governor of Ḳandahār. Harāt which had become independent under another prince was reconquered by Fatḥ Khān and Dūst Muḥammad in 1232/1816. Soon afterwards Dūst Muḥammad incurred the enmity of Kāmrān, who had become governor, by entering his harem and insulting his sister. He fled to Kashmīr and Kāmrān took his vengeance on Fatḥ Khān, whom he blinded and afterwards killed with the consent of Maḥmūd. Although perfidious and unscrupulous Fatḥ Khān was greatly admired by the Afghāns, and his brother Dūst Muḥammad had no difficulty in raising a large force and defeating Maḥmūd in 1235/1818 near Kābul. Maḥmūd lost Kābul which he never recovered. He held Harāt till his death in 1245/1829 and Kāmrān continued to rule there till he was murdered in 1258/1842.

(M. Longworth Dames *)

(B) THE BĀRAKZAY (OR MUḤAMMADZAY) DYNASTY.

The Muḥammadzay, a small subdivision of the Durrānī Bārakzay of Ḳandahār, derive their name from Muḥammad, a contemporary of Malik Sadō, chief of the Abdālī clans, with whom he lived amongst his small tribe at Arghasān, SE of Ḳandahār, about 1000/1591. His descendants held the title of chief among the Bārakzay tribes of Ḳandahār, and came into prominence with Ḥādjdjī Djamāl Khān b. Ḥādjdjī Yūsuf b. Yāro b. Muḥammad, who served under Aḥmad Shāh and died in 1184/1770-1. His son Pāyinda Khān rendered important services to Tīmūr Shāh in the suppression of rebellions, but in consequence of his intrigues with Maḥmūd against Shāh Zamān was executed in Ḳandahār in 1214/1800. He left a number of sons, the eldest of whom, Fatḥ Khān, was installed as vizier, with the title of Shāh Dūst, on Maḥmūd's occupation of Kābul (1215/1800). With the increasing power of the Muḥammadzay their ambitions clashed with the ruling Sadōzay family and plunged Afghānistān into strife and bloodshed until finally, after the execution of Fatḥ Khān in 1234/1818-9, his brother Dūst Muḥammad drove Maḥmūd out of Kābul.

The Bārakzay chiefs, who by now held most of the country, ruled at first in the name of various puppet kings of the Sadōzay family, such as Ayyūb and Sulṭān ʿAlī (who took the name of Sulṭān Maḥmūd on his coins). It was not until 1254/1838 that Dūst Muḥammad formally assumed the style of *amīr* of Kābul; but neither he nor any of his successors before Ḥabīb Allāh took the title of shāh or king. During the early years of his rule the outer provinces of the empire were rapidly lost. The Sikhs took Multān in 1233/1818, Kashmīr in 1235/1819, Dēra Ghāzī Khān in the same year, and Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān in 1236/1821. Peshāwar long resisted them under Dūst Muḥammad's brother, Sardār Sulṭān Muḥammad, but it too fell in 1250/1834. The *amīrs* of Sind threw off the last sign of Afghān rule by taking Shikārpūr, and to the north of the Hindū-kush Balkh was lost also. Dūst Muḥammad therefore became the ruler of a compact Afghān kingdom; the loss of the outlying provinces, which had always been a source of weakness to the Sadōzay kings, tended to consolidate his power. Although without scruples of any sort in attaining his ends, yet he had the reputation of a just man and was popular among the Afghāns. But his progress was checked by the inevitable rivalries of his brothers. While he made Kābul his capital, Kūhandil Khān held Ḳandahār and defeated an attempt by Shudjāʿ al-Mulk Sadōzay to recover it in 1250/1834. Harāt was taken by the Persians after the murder of Kāmrān by his vizier Yār Muḥammad Khān (1258/1842), and was only recovered by Dūst Muḥammad in 1280/1863, just before his death.

Shudjāʿ al-Mulk, after his failure at Ḳandahār, endeavoured to obtain British assistance, and political events led to his ultimately obtaining it. Attempts by Alexander Burnes to negotiate a treaty with Dūst Muḥammad had broken down, and the growth of Russian influence led the Indian government to favour Shudjāʿ al-Mulk's claims. The Persians had at this time (1253/1837) laid siege to Harāt. It was believed that their operations were directed by Russians and an English officer conducted the defence. This brought matters to a climax. An Anglo-Indian army advanced through Sind and the Bolān Pass on Ḳandahār (end of 1254/Feb. 1839) and after taking the city marched on Kābul. Dūst Muḥammad fled to Bukhārā and Shudjāʿ al-Mulk was placed on the throne of Kābul (1 Djumādā II 1255/17 Aug. 1839). Dūst Muḥammad, after some unsuccessful operations in the north, surrendered to the British in the following year and was sent to Calcutta.

Shudjāʿ al-Mulk's reign was a troubled one. Kābul was abandoned by the British-Indian army in 1841, and on its retreat the army was almost annihilated at the Khurd Kābul pass. These operations were conducted by Muḥammad Akbar Khān, son of Dūst Muḥammad. The British continued to hold Djalālābad and Ḳandahār, and reoccupied Kābul in the autumn of 1258/1842. Shortly before this, Shudjāʿ al-Mulk had been murdered, and his son Fatḥ Djang was recognized as king by the Popalzays but opposed by the Bārakzays. The British soon afterwards left Afghānistān, and Fath Djang, knowing that he could not hold his own, went with them, accompanied by the blind old Zamān Shāh, who was still living. Dūst Muḥammad was sent back to Afghānistān, as he was the only man who could establish a firm government. His sons and brothers were reestablished in their governments, but rifts continued from time to time to breach the solidarity of the clan, and even Akbar Khān, now vizier, was on bad terms with his father till he died in 1266/1849-50. Dūst Muḥammad maintained friendly relations with Britain except at the time of the Sikh war of 1849, when the Afghān contingent covered itself with ridicule by its rapid flight after the battle of Gudjrāt. During the mutiny of the Indian army in 1857, Dūst Muḥammad gave them no support. He occupied himself in strengthening his own country, and from 1267 to 1272/1850-55 he reconquered Balkh, Khulm, Kunduz and Badakhshān. In 1280/1863 he succeeded in driving the Persians from Harāt, and he died there immediately after its recovery, having been a good ruler on the whole in spite of obvious faults. [See also DŪST MUḤAMMAD KHĀN.]

Shīr ʿAlī, his fifth son, who had been nominated by him as his successor, bacame almost at once

involved in civil war with his own elder brothers Muḥammad Aʿẓam and Muḥammad Afḍal, and with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the able and determined son of the latter. (For an account of these wars see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN). Shīr ʿAlī was defeated in 1283/1866 and lost first Kābul and then Ḳandahār. Afḍal and Aʿẓam reigned in succession until 1285/1868, but never held possession of Harāt, whence Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb, Shīr ʿAlī's son, advanced in the latter year and recovered Ḳandahār and Kābul for his father. Shīr ʿAlī now held the whole of Afghānistān, and was recognized by the Indian government, and met the viceroy Lord Mayo at Ambāla in 1286/1869. He was not, however, satisfied with his treatment, as he could obtain no definite promise of support against other powers. At this period he imprisoned his enterprising son Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb and resented the viceroy's attempt to intercede for him. He agreed to an arbitration by British officers as to the Sīstān border, regarding which there was a dispute with Persia. According to this arbitration (1290/1873) a considerable part of the most fertile lands was awarded to Persia, and this was another cause of resentment. Finally he began to negotiate with Russia and refused to receive a British embassy. These causes led to the war of 1878-80. The British army took Kābul, and Shīr ʿAlī fled to Mazār-i Sharīf, where he died in 1296/1879). [See also SHĪR ʿALĪ]. His army, organized on the European model, was defeated by Lord Roberts at the Paywār pass.

Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb, released from prison and proclaimed *amīr* on his father's flight (Rabīʿ I 1296/Feb.-March 1879), met the advancing British forces at Gandamak, and there concluded a treaty (4 Djumādā II/26 May) by which he ceded to British India certain territories near the Bolān pass and the Kuṛam valley, and agreed to receive a mission at Kābul. A few months later a rising in Kābul resulted in the massacre of the members of the mission headed by Sir Louis Cavagnari. This led to a fresh outbreak of war. Roberts took Kābul a second time, but was besieged there by a tribal army headed by Muḥammad Djān and the *mulla* Mushk-i ʿĀlam. After its defeat Yaʿḳūb Khān was deposed and removed to India, and the government was offered to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a separate state being constituted at Ḳandahār. Part of the army at Ḳandahār under Stewart marched to Kābul, as a preliminary to evacuating the country, and in passing through the Ghalzay country was attacked at Aḥmad Khayl by a large force of men of that tribe, who were only defeated after a most desperate conflict. Scarcely had ʿAbd al-Raḥmān been proclaimed when Ayyūb, a son of Shīr ʿAlī, who had been collecting an army at Harāt, marched on Ḳandahār, defeated a small Anglo-Indian force at Maywand, and laid siege to Ḳandahār. Roberts marched rapidly from Kābul and defeated Ayyūb. After this the British army withdrew and the whole country including Ḳandahār was made over to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1297/1880). In spite of internal difficulties and external problems [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN], he preserved the independence and integrity of the country, and on his death (15 Djumādā II 1319/1 Oct. 1901) transmitted an undisputed authority to his son Ḥabīb Allāh. Shortly after the latter's accession the conclusion of a Russo-British agreement removed the fears of further annexation or intervention by either Power, and in 1323/1905 the *amīr* confirmed the treaty made by his father with the government of British India, securing to the latter control of the foreign relations of Afghānistān in return for an annual subsidy of eighteen *lakhs* of rupees (£160,000). Internally, peace was almost wholly unbroken and some advance was made in education. During the First World War Afghānistān maintained a policy of neutrality. On 18 Djumādā I 1337/20 Feb. 1919 Ḥabīb Allāh Khān was shot in his camp at Ḳalaʿ-i Gūsh in Laghmān. His brother Naṣr Allāh proclaimed himself his successor, but was captured by the late *amīr*'s third son, Amān Allāh, who had the support of the army, and imprisoned.

Amān Allāh Khān almost at once opened hostilities against British India but only a month later sued for an armistice, and by the Treaty of Rāwalpindi (11 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1337/8 Aug. 1919) the independence of Afghānistān was formally recognized. New treaties were concluded with the USSR and Great Britain in 1921, but tension continued on the northern frontier until 1922 and on the SE frontiers until 1924. In 1922 a constitution was promulgated at a Loe Djirga, followed in 1923 by an administrative code and in 1924 by measures to provide for the higher education of women. After the outbreak of a rebellion in Khost, led by the *mulla* ʿAbd al-Karīm, the latter were cancelled and the conscription laws modified at a second Loe Djirga (July 1924), and the rebellion was eventually suppressed. Nevertheless, King Amān Allāh (he had assumed the royal title in 1926), on returning from a tour through India, Europe, the USSR and Turkey (Dec. 1927 to July 1928), summoned a third Loe Djirga to promulgate a new constitution, and to announce a programme of social and educational reforms. A series of tribal risings followed, during which a Tādjīk brigand, Baččа-i Saḳaw, later entitled Ḥabīb Allāh Khān, advanced from Kūh-i Dāman and seized Kābul (Jan. 1929). Amān Allāh fled to Ḳandahār, and his attempts to regain Kābul were defeated by the Ghalzay supporters of Ḥabīb Allāh (April-May 1929); meanwhile, Harāt was occupied by another Tādjīk, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm.

The cause of the Muḥammadzays was now taken up by a collateral line descended from Pāyinda Khān, under the leadership of a former army commander who had been living in exile, Nādir Khān (b. Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān b. Yaḥyā Khān b. Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān, brother of Dūst Muḥammad). After several unsuccessful attempts, he secretly recruited a force of Wazīrs and Mahsūds, which, under the command of his brother Shāh Walī Khān, occupied Kābul, where Nādir Khān was proclaimed king, with the title of Nādir Shāh, on 12 Djumādā I 1348/16 Oct. 1929. Ḥabīb Allāh surrendered, and was executed. The pacification of the country required a further two years, and discontent continued to smoulder among the former supporters of Amān Allāh, of whom the most active were the Čarkhī family of Logar. The hasty execution of its leading member provoked a blood-feud, in the course of which king Nādir Shāh was assassinated (20 Radjab 1352/8 Nov. 1933) in the palace of Dilkushā. His son Muḥammad Ẓāhir, then aged 19, was at once proclaimed as successor by the brothers of Nādir Shāh, the eldest of whom, Sardār Muḥammad Hāshim Khān, exercised a virtual regency until 1946. Several tribal risings in the following years were sternly suppressed, and an active programme of military, educational and economic development was pursued. In 1934 Afghānistān entered the League of Nations, and in 1937 signed with Turkey, ʿIrāḳ and Iran the pact of Saʿdābād; a trade agreement was negotiated with the USSR in 1936. During the second World

War it again maintained a strict neutrality. The remaining frontier disputes were settled in 1947—that in the north by agreement with the USSR, and that with Iran over the Hilmand river by American arbitration. Since the constitution of Pakistan in the same year, however, the problem of the unsubdued tribes of the former "North-West Frontier" (see the articles AFRĪDĪ and MAHMAND), which for a century bedevilled relations between Afghānistān and British India, continues equally to disturb those between the two Muslim States.

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(M. LONGWORTH DAMES—H.A.R. GIBB)

ʿAFĪF AL-DĪN AL-TILIMSĀNĪ (see AL-TILIMSĀNĪ).

AL-**AFLĀDJ** (AFLĀDJ AL-DAWĀSIR), a district in southern Nadjd athwart the great cuesta of Ṭuwayḳ, roughly bounded by Wādī Birk (N), the plain of al-Bayāḍ (E), Wādī al-Maḳran (S), and the sands of al-Daḥy (W). The most populous oasis and present capital is Laylā (46° 44′ 35″ E, 22° 16′ 45″ N).

The district contains a remarkable group of spring-fed pools called ʿUyūn al-Sayḥ and the extensive remains of a system of channels which once irrigated a more prosperous land. The pools, the largest of which is nearly a kilometre long, are the most noteworthy features of this kind in the Arabian Peninsula. The district, in older times also known as al-Faladj, takes its name from *faladj* (pl. *aflādj*), the term still used in ʿUmān for an underground aqueduct with surface apertures to facilitate cleaning of the channel, though strangely enough this type of aqueduct, which may be of Persian origin, is now called *sāḳī* (pron. *sādji*, pl. *sawādji*) in al-Aflādj. The poorly kept aqueducts of Samḥān, Barābir, al-Wadjdjādj, and three smaller ones, all of which water the oasis of al-Sayḥ, are still flowing.

The northernmost village of al-Aflādj is Usaylila. Laylā comprises the settlements of Ghaṣība, the present seat of the *amīr*, al-Mubarraz, the former seat, and al-Djufaydiriyya. Farther south are the oases of al-ʿAmār (not to be confused with Āl ʿAmmār, a section of the Dawāsir), al-Sayḥ, which is the most extensively cultivated of all, al-Kharfa, and al-Rawḍa. The pools lie south-west of al-Sayḥ. South of the pools are the tiny oases of Suwaydān, al-Ruḳayḳiyya, al-Ghawṭa, and Marwān. The southernmost oases are al-Badīʿ in Wādī Ḥashradj, which descends from al-Haddār, and al-Shuṭba in the upper reaches of al-Maḳran. In the highlands of Ṭuwayḳ are al-Sitāra (al-Ṣidāra in al-Hamdānī), Ḥurāḍa, and al-Ghayl, all ancient places. Along the western escarpment of Ṭuwayḳ are al-Ḥamar (al-Aḥmar) (N) and al-Haddār (S).

At the dawn of Islam the dominant tribe in al-Aflādj was Djaʿda [*q.v.*], whose ancestor was a brother of Ḳushayr and al-Ḥashīr, sons of Kaʿb, a descendant of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa of the Northern Arabs. In 9/630-1 Djaʿda embraced Islam and sent an envoy to Medina, where the Prophet confirmed the tribe's position in the district (Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 1, 297).

In 126/743-4 Djaʿda and their allies of Banū ʿĀmir on the First Day of al-Faladj killed a governor of Banū Ḥanīfa who had been set over them. Banū Ḥanīfa, after defeating Banū ʿĀmir on the Second Day of al-Faladj, had their power broken on the Day of al-Nishāsh in 126 (Caetani, *Chronographia*, v, 1601).

Three centuries after the Prophet, Djaʿda remained the foremost tribe of al-Aflādj, followed in importance by Ḳushayr and al-Ḥashīr (al-Hamdānī, i, 159). Djaʿda's chief centre was Sūḳ al-Faladj, a city with iron gates and walls 30 cubits thick enclosing an area said to contain 260 wells of sweet water. Also within the territory of Djaʿda was al-Ḳaṣr al-ʿAdī, reputed to date back to the time of Ṭasm and Djadīs—perhaps the same as the ruins now known as Ḳuṣayrāt ʿĀd just south of al-Sayḥ. Ḳushayr occupied the city of al-Hayṣamiyya with walls broad enough for four horses to run abreast along the summit. Among the towns belonging to al-Ḥashīr was al-Haddār, but many members of this tribe had already moved to the Yemen.

In 443/1051 Nāṣir-i Khusraw found al-Aflādj in a state of virtual ruin as the result of internal dissensions so severe that men wore their shields and swords even while praying. During this medieval age the tribe of Djumayla, said to be a branch of ʿAnaza, became the leading power. Āl Ṣabāḥ and Āl Khalīfa, the present ruling houses of al-Kuwayt and al-Baḥrayn, who trace their lineage back to Djumayla, emigrated from al-Haddār well over two centuries ago under pressure from the Dawāsir [*q.v.*] of the south, who eventually supplanted Djumayla in control of the whole district.

In 1199/1785 the people of al-Aflādj, following the lead of their kinsmen in Wādī al-Dawāsir, adhered to the Wahhābī cause and have since remained staunch in its support, though the district has played only a minor role in modern history. In 1328/1910 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd cornered the rebellious leaders of the Hazāzina of al-Faraʿ at Laylā and executed them. The district is now under an *amīr* responsible to the central government of Saudi Arabia in al-Riyāḍ.

In addition to the Dawāsir, small numbers of Subayʿ, the Suhūl, and the Fuḍūl live in al-Aflādj. Remnants of Djumayla are found at al-Haddār. *Ashrāf* form an important part of the population of al-Sayḥ. Negro blood is often seen in the towns, and there are many folk of Banū Khaḍīr [*q.v.*], mainly tillers of the soil (*kaddād*, pl. *kawādīd*).

The dates of al-Aflādj are famous. Both al-Hamdānī and Philby mention the *ṣufrī* variety (called by al-Hamdānī *sayyid al-tumūr*, though the present inhabitants regard the *sirī* as the *sayyid*),

and Nāṣir reckoned the dates of al-Aflādj better than those of al-Baṣra.

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AFLĀKĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN AḤMAD, biographer of the saints of the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*], was a disciple of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's grandson, Djalāl al-Dīn al-ʿĀrif, at whose request he wrote the *Manāḳib al-ʿĀrifīn*, lives of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, his father, successors and associates, begun in 718/1318-9, completed in 754/1353-4. Edition: Agra 1897; Fr. transl. by Cl. Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918-22; Engl. transl. of extracts: *The Mesnevi, Book the first*, transl. by J. W. Redhouse, London 1881, 1-135. There is a revised version by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Hamadānī (947/1540-1), with additional dates, etc., and a Turkish translation of this work.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 937 ff.; Cl. Huart, in *JA*, 1922, 308 ff.; M. F. Köprülü, in *Bell.*, 1943, 383, 422-3, 425; H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, 1942, 129 ff. (F. MEIER)

AFLĀṬŪN Arabic for Plato, the Greek philosopher, who became, together with Aristotle, the standard philosopher in late Greek philosophy.

(i) Works and doctrine; (ii) Lives; (iii) Sayings.

(i) Plato is known to Arab authors according to the different ways in which his genuine works or those erroneously attributed to him were read and studied in the Greek sections of the Roman Empire during the centuries preceding the Arab conquest of Hellenized lands in the Eastern Mediterranean. Most Arab thinkers did not consider Plato the main representative of Greek thought as St. Augustine e.g. had done (*Civ. Dei*, viii, 4, 12) but subordinated him to Aristotle; they were however like e.g. Porphyry, Ammonius and Simplicius aware of an identity of purpose and a basic agreement between the two great philosophers.

Just as commentaries on Aristotle written outside the Neoplatonic schools survived in Arabic translations and, partly, in Arabic translations only (as in the case of certain writings of Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius, etc.), interpretations of Plato, untinged by Neoplatonism, found their way to the Arabic philosophers and were studied by them. Part of Galen's (Djālīnūs [*q.v.*]) Πλατωνικῶν διαλόγων σύνοψις in eight books, lost in the Greek original but still partly accessible to Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (*Mā Turdjima min Kutub Djālīnūs* (Bergsträsser), no. 124) and his school, has been traced and recently published, viz. the summary of the whole of the *Timaeus*, with many verbal quotations, a fragment of his paraphrase of the *Republic*, a fragment of his summary of the *Laws* and a reference to his summary of the *Parmenides* (P. Kraus and R. Walzer, *Plato Arabus*, i, 1951). Fragments of his medical commentary on the *Timaeus* (Ḥunayn, no. 122) have been recovered from Arabic medical writers (H. O. Schröder and P. Kahle, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, Supplementum*, i, 1934). Many quotations from Plato and references to him reached the Islamic world through translations of other works by Galen. As had happened in the case of Aristotle, late Greek philosophers tried to arrange Plato's dialogues in systematic order. An otherwise unknown work of this type, completely free from Neoplatonic influence and still fully aware of the political aspects of Plato's thought, was used and partly reproduced by al-Fārābī (F. Rosenthal and R. Walzer, *Plato Arabus*, ii, 1943). The author of the Greek treatise, who had even regarded this systematic ordering of the dialogues as a chronological arrangement by date of composition, is unknown. A commentary on the *Republic* of similar provenience was widely used by al-Fārābī; it constitutes the main part of Ibn Rushd's commentary which is available in a Hebrew translation and a 16th century Latin one (edition in preparation by E. J. Rosenthal). A summary of Plato's *Laws*, of a similar type, was used by al-Fārābī in his compendium of the work (F. Gabrieli, *Plato Arabus*, iii, 1952). Al-Rāzī commented on Plutarch's commentary on the *Timaeus* (S. Pines, *Atomenlehre*, 90) and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī copied Plutarch's book (*Fihrist*, 246).

But, in general, Arabic philosophers look at Plato through the eyes of his Neoplatonic interpreters, Plotinus [cf. AL-SHAYKH AL-YŪNĀNĪ], Porphyry (Furfūriyūs [*q.v.*]), Proclus (Buruḳlus [*q.v.*]) and others. In the preface to his translation of a fragment of Proclus' commentary on the *Timaeus* (89E-90C: E. Pfaff, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, Supplementum*, iii, p. xlii, 1941) Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (cf. also *Mā Turdjima*, no. 45) says: "Galen is the standard interpreter of Hippocrates, and the man who is best entitled to explain the meaning of Plato's words is Proclus the most famous of scholars". An instructive example of this Proclean interpretation of Plato is to be found in Miskawayh's *al-Fawz al-Aṣghar*, in the section on the immortality of the soul (F. Rosenthal, 399 ff.), based probably on Proclus' work *On the immortality of the soul according to Plato*, in three books, which was known to the Arabs (*Fihrist*, 252). A tradition of this kind is followed by al-Kindī, in whom the Platonic element is strong (cf. *Rasāʾil* (Abū Rīda), nos. 10-13) not only in psychology but also in his extremely orthodox neoplatonic metaphysics of the One and in his ethics. The Plato to whom al-Fārābī (with the exception of his theory of the ideal state), Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bādjdja and Ibn Rushd refer is, whether explicitly or implicitly, always the Plato of Plotinus and his followers. Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī had Olympiodorus' (6th century A.D.) commentary on the *Sophist* (lost in the Greek original) in his library (*Fihrist*, 256) in the translation of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn. We find an interesting account of Plato's metaphysics, cosmology and psychology, derived from an unknown but valuable neoplatonic source, in al-Shahrastānī, 283 ff. (German transl. by Th. Haarbrücker, ii, 117). On the whole, since Neoplatonism claims to be a reinterpretation of Plato, influential Neoplatonic writings deserve to be mentioned here as well, the *Theology of Aristotle*, in which Aristotle is supposed to have become a Platonist in his old age, the *Liber de causis* based on Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, the new Plotinian text discovered by P. Kraus (cf. Bibliography) and the Arabic Plotinus source discussed by F. Rosenthal [cf. ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS and AL-SHAYKH AL-YŪNĀNĪ].

A new development starts with al-Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl [*q.v.*] and the Ishrāḳīs [*q.v.*], who, criticizing al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, emphasize the mystical aspects of Platonism, or rather Neoplatonism, and make Plato the mystic the chief authority in philosophy. The Ṣūfīs now become the true followers of Plato (cf. e.g. al-Suhrawardī, *Opera Metaphysica et Mystica* (Corbin), i, p. viii, xxxiii ff.). An anonymous book *On the Platonic Ideas* (ed. ʿA. Badawī,

Cairo 1947), written probably in the 14th century (Corbin, *op. cit.*, 4, n. 79), depends on al-Suhrawardī's strange interpretation of the Platonic ideas.

Another special tradition of Platonism is represented by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], who also claims to follow Plato as his main authority. His Platonising ethics (cf. *al-Ṭibb al-Rūḥānī*) may be connected with his study of Galen, and his rejection of the eternity of the world with the interpretation of the *Timaeus* put forward by Plutarch and Galen, but his five eternal principles are of Neopythagorean provenience, although he considered them to be Platonic. His theory of the atomic structure of matter may go back to Plato's lecture *On the Good*, it is certainly found in a neopythagorean version of Plato's metaphysics (Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Physicos*, ii, 249 ff.).

The Arabic bibliographers list the titles of all the dialogues to be found in the Greek Corpus Platonicum, but give little information about Arabic translations. They mention a commentary on the *Republic* (translated by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ); translations of the *Timaeus* by Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī. (Ḥunayn wrote also a treatise *That which ought to be read before Plato's works*.) Ibn al-Nadīm also mentions a copy of the *Crito* in Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī's handwriting. Part of Proclus' commentary on the *Phaedo* (lost in the Greek original) was translated from the Syriac by Ibn Zurʿa.

No manuscripts of these or other Arabic translations of a Platonic dialogue have so far been traced. A verbal quotation from the *Republic* (apart from the more or less verbal references in Ibn Rushd's paraphrase and references to its contents in works of other philosophers) occurs e.g. in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Cairo 1347, iv, 134 (the story about Gyges, *Rep.*, ii, 359 ff., cf. Rosenthal, 397). Al-Kindī wrote a treatise on the Platonic number (*Rep.*, viii; *Fihrist*, 256). Quotations from the *Timaeus* occur frequently, but it is difficult to decide whether they are taken from Plato or from some intermediary. For the quotations from the *Laws* to be found in al-Bīrūnī's *India* cf. F. Rosenthal, 359 f. and F. Gabrieli, *Plato Arabus*, iii, p. xii, n. 2. There are numerous quotations from the *Phaedo* in the same work. The closing section on Socrates' death is to be found e.g. in Ibn al-Kiftī, 200-6 and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 45. A Persian version of the dialogue exists in Brusa (*Bell.*, 1952, 114). The Alcibiades-speech from the *Banquet* has been traced by F. Rosenthal in Istanbul, Köprülü 1608, fol. 216. Persistent research will no doubt trace more quotations of Platonic dialogues in Arabic philosophical and non-philosophical writings.

Among the pseudepigrapha of a philosophical kind can be mentioned: the neophythagorean treatise *Plato's Exhortation of young men*, probably of Greek origin (F. Rosenthal, *Orientalia*, x, 383-95), a letter by Plato addressed to Porphyry (!) about the banishment of grief, depending on a treatise on consolation by al-Kindī (*Mash.*, 1922, 884-9, see H. Ritter-R. Walzer, *Memorie Ac. dei Lincei*, 1940, 388 n. 2) and Plato's will addressed to Aristotle.

But the Arabs are acquainted not only with the different interpretations of Plato's thought which are familiar to the student of Greek philosophy but also with a Plato who had been associated with the superstitions which had become an integral part of the teaching of most of the neoplatonic schools: magic, astrology and alchemy (Olympiodorus and other late Neoplatonists had dabbled in alchemy and made Plato their patron). The Arabs went a step further and made Plato the author of alchemical works. Djābir quotes a *Musaḥḥaḥāt Aflāṭūn* in which Plato initiates his disciple Timaeus in the secrets of alchemy; but the passages of the *Timaeus* referred to by Djābir have nothing to do with the original dialogue of Plato (P. Kraus, *Jabir et la science grecque*, 48 ff.). Another work of a similar character, a philosophical alchemical book attributed to Plato is the *Rawābiʿ Aflāṭūn* known to the West as *Liber Quartorum* and preserved in two Arabic MSS. It contains a dialogue between Ahmad b. al-Husayn b. Djahār Bukhtār and the well known Ḥarrānian mathematician and astronomer Thābit b. Ḳurra (P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 51, 339). Another alchemical treatise, the *Liber Platonis de XIII clavibus*, is supposed to have been translated from the Arabic into Latin in A.D. 1301 (L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, iii, 57). Cf. also Kraus, *op. cit.*, 51, n. 9.

Among the magical treatises ascribed to Plato the *al-Nawāmīs*, which deals with artificial generation, appears to be worth mentioning (P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 104 and n. 12), as well as *al-Sirr al-Khafī* (*ibid.*, 52).

(ii) The Arabic "Lives of Plato" do not add anything substantial to the material to be found in the Greek tradition as represented by Diogenes Laertius, book iii, Olympiodorus, and the *Prolegomena to the Platonic philosophy* by an anonymous Neoplatonist (cf. H. Breitenbach, F. Buddenhagen, A. Debrunner, F. von der Muehll, *Diogenes Laertius III*, 1907; J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, no. 11855). There is, however, no direct connection between them and any of the Greek texts known. Part of the Arabic tradition can be traced back to an introductory work by Theo of Smyrna (2nd century A.D.), referred to by the *Fihrist*, 245, and quoted at length by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 17-9 (cf. J. Lippert, *Studien auf dem Gebiete der griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungslitteratur*, i, Braunschweig 1898, 39 ff.). The *Fihrist* refers also to (Ps.-) Plutarch, see H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 287. Al-ʿĀmirī, a philosopher of the 4th/10th century (quoted in the Abbreviation of Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī's *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, introduction), probably following some lost Greek tradition, made Plato one of the five pillars of wisdom, the others being Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates and Aristotle (Anbāduḳlīs, Fūthaghūras, Suḳrāṭ, Arisṭūṭālīs [*qq.v.*]); these philosophers derived their wisdom from the Prophets. According to him Plato retired in old age into solitude and prayer. He also gives an account of Plato's solution of the Delian problem (cf. Plutarch, *De gen. Socr.*, 7, p. 579; idem *De Ei ap. Delphos*, 6, p. 386; Tannery, *La Géométrie grecque*, 110; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād* (Wüstenfeld), 45; Luṭfī al-Maktūl, *Tadʿif al-Madhbaḥ* (S. Yaltkaya, A. Adnan, H. Corbin), Paris 1940). On him depends Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, 23; Ṣāʿids life was used, as a minor source, by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *passim*.

The life in Mubashshir b. Fātik's *Mukhtār al-Ḥikam* (MS Brit. Mus. Add. 25893, fol. 44 ff.; on this work cf. F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, 1937, 21 ff.) was copied by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 50 ff. He made both Plato's parents descendants of Asclepius, probably misinterpreting the epigram to be found in Diog. Laertius, iii, 45 (cf. E. J. and and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Baltimore 1945, i, no. 322, ii, 127). Alone among the Arab biographers he mentions Plato's supposed stay in Egypt. For the physiognomical section cf. F. Rosenthal, *loc. cit.*, 38.

Ibn al-Ḳifṭī based his long and detailed life (17-27) on the *Fihrist*, on Theo of Smyrna (cf. above) and on an unidentified Greek source (19 line 16-25

l. 3). There are Greek parallels to almost everything mentioned. Stories similar to the discussions reported to have taken place at Dionysius' court (21) are to be found in Olympiodorus' *Life* and in Plutarch's *Dio*. There are a very few confusions, such as the story of Socrates' stay in Sicily and the introduction of Plato's two female disciples as his wives and the inclusion of Proclus among his pupils. The section 25^{4}-26^{14} is taken from al-Fārābī (cf. the anonymous *Proll. Phil. Plat.*, cap. 7-16); 26^{15}-27^{14} reproduces Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, 19. Plato's prayer in neoplatonic language (27^{16-7}) is worth mentioning (cf. also MS Oxford, Hunt. 162, fol. 202r).

Al-Shahrazūrī's account of Plato's life in his *Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ* (in MS) is based on Mubashshir.

In later centuries Plato's tomb could be visited at Ḳonya (F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, 363 and *passim*).

(iii) The main source for the various compilations of sayings of Plato is Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's *Nawādir al-Falāsifa wa 'l-Ḥukamā'* (cf. the Hebrew transl., ed. by A. Löwenthal, Frankfurt 1896, and translated by him into German, Berlin 1896; and K. Merkle, *Sinnsprüche der Philosophen*, Leipzig 1921). Another primary source is Ibn Hindū, *al-Kalim al-Rūḥāniyya fi 'l-Ḥikam al-Yūnāniyya*, Cairo 1318. The life in the Abbreviation of Abū Sulaymān's *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* contains only sayings. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 51^{7}-53^{16}, reproduces the section on sayings to be found in Mubashshir. Sayings attributed to Plato occur very often in Arabic literature.

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(R. Walzer)

ĀFRĀG (Berber, "enclosure"), term adopted in Morocco since the Almohad period for the enclosure of cloth, which isolates the encampment of the sovereign and his suite from the rest of the camp. It corresponds to the Persian *sarāča* or *sarāparda*.

AFRĀSIYĀB, legendary king of the Tūrānians according to Iranian tradition. In the Avesta (especially *Yasht* xix) "Frangrasyan the Turian" was an adversary of Kavi Haosrava (> Kay Khusraw), having treacherously murdered Kavi Haosrava's father Syavarshan (> Siyāwush). He vainly desired to secure the *hvarna*, "the Glory of the Aryans", and was killed, in revenge, by Kavi Haosrava. He may have been originally a historical figure, chief of the Turian tribes (who were probably themselves of Iranian race [cf. TŪRĀN]). The Pahlavi form of the name is Frāsiyāb. Some additional details about him are given in the religious literature (*Bundahishn*, etc.). His genealogy is given, his first ancestor being Tūč (Tūr, ancestor of the Tūrānians), son of Frēdōn (> Farīdūn [q.v.]). His incursions are said to have started in the reign of Manushčihr: he defeated the latter and gained dominion over Iran. Subsequently Uzaw (> Zaw or Zāb) delivered Iran from his domination; Frāsiyāb tried to recapture the "Glory" and sought it in all the seven *kēshwars*. Frāsiyāb's residence (the subterranean fortress of the *Yashts*, where Frangrasyan lived "surrounded by iron") is described in detail. In the end Frāsiyāb was killed by Kay Khusraw. Thus in the development of the legend after the period of the *Yashts* Frāsiyāb became the chief of the Tūrānians in all their wars, not only against the Kayānids but also against their predecessors, the "Pīshdādids": he thus became a contemporary of Manushčihr and Uzaw; his end, however, is still firmly connected with Kay Khusraw.

The Islamic authors derived their information from secular books on the national tradition, more especially the *Khwadāy-nāmak*. Many additional details are to be found. Afrāsiyāb fought with Manūshihr in Ṭabaristān; then they reached an agreement, making the river of Balkh the boundary between their territories. Siyāwush, sent by Kay Kā'ūs with an army against Afrāsiyāb, concluded an armistice with him, which was repudiated by Kay Kā'ūs. Siyāwush took refuge with Afrāsiyāb who married him to his daughter Wisfāfarīdh (al-Ṭabarī; Firdawsi: Faringīs), but nevertheless murdered him, out of jealousy. Wisfāfarīdh, pregnant with Kay Khusraw, escaped and was taken back to Iran by the hero Gēw (Bayy, Waww). Rustam and Tūs then ravaged the land of Tūrān, to avenge Siyāwush. The reign of Kay Khusraw was filled with wars against Afrāsiyāb (details in al-Ṭabarī, i, 605 ff.; cf. also index, s.v.; al-Thaʿālibī, *Histoire des rois de la Perse* (Zotenberg), 222 ff.; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma* (Vullers), ii, 764-iii, 1444). After the final battle Afrāsiyāb fled from Turkistān and hid in Ādharbaydjān, but was caught, and killed by Kay Khusraw with his own hands.

The Tūrānians having been identified with the Turks [see TŪRĀN], Afrāsiyāb was regarded as a Turk; this is strongly emphasized in the *Shāh-nāma*. Turkish dynasties therefore sometimes claimed him as their ancestor: thus the Ḳara Khānid [q.v.] dynasty is also called Āl Afrāsiyāb, and the Saldjūḳs claimed descent from him. (Cf. W. Barthold, *Hist. des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 70,84).

Bibliography: A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1932, index, s. vv. Fraŋrasyan and Frāsiyāβ (with further references to Islamic authors); F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, s.v. Cf. also PĪSHDĀDIDS, KAYĀNIDS.

(S. M. Stern)

AFRĀSIYĀB founder of a line of governors of Baṣra (Āl Afrāsiyāb). He was an officer of unknown racial origin, who purchased the government of Baṣra from the local pasha about 1021/1612. Afrāsiyāb was succeeded by his son ʿAlī in 1034/1624-5, during an attack on Baṣra by Persian forces, which failed in face of ʿAlī's resistance. A second Persian attempt in 1038/1629 was equally unsuccessful. During the Turco-Persian struggle for Baghdād, ʿAlī Pasha took neither part and continued to govern his province independently. The succession of his son Ḥusayn (c. 1062/1652) led to internal conflicts, of which advantage was taken by Murtaḍā Pasha of Baghdād to evict Ḥusayn in 1064/1654 and replace him by ʿAlī's brother Aḥmad. Murtaḍā's subsequent execution of Aḥmad led to a rising of the local population and tribesmen and the restoration of Ḥusayn Pasha. His attempts to extend his power over al-Ḥaṣā were followed by a full-scale expedition against him led by Ibrāhīm (Ṭawīl), pasha of Baghdād, in 1076/1665. After a prolonged siege of Ḳurna, Ḥusayn abdicated in favour of his son Afrāsiyāb, but continued to govern as regent until a second expedition from Baghdād under Ḳara Muṣṭafā (Firārī) Pasha drove him out and restored the imperial government in 1078/1668.

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1928: *Sidjill-i ʿUthmānī*, i, 108; ii, 195; iii, 513; iv, 400: J. B. Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages*, Paris 1676 etc., Eng. trans. London 1678; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925, 99-117; ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayna Iḥtilālayn*, vol. v, Baghdad 1953, 21-101.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

AFRĀSIYĀBIDS, also called (by Rabino) the Kiyās of Čulāb or Čalāb (after one of the eight *bulūks* of Āmul, and (by Sachau), the Kiyā Djalāwī, minor dynasty of Māzandarān. The eponym of the clan, Afrāsiyāb b. Kiyā Ḥasan, was a *sipāh-sālār* in the service of his brother-in-law, Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan Bāwand [see bāwand]. Kiyā Afrāsiyāb conspired with his sister, who had a daughter from a previous marriage, accused the Bāwand of taking this girl as his mistress, and obtained from the *ʿulamā* of Āmul a *fatwā* authorizing the death of the culprit. At the same time, the Bāwand put to death his minister, Kiyā Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Djalāl, a member of the powerful family of the Kiyā-yi Djalālī. This filled the nobles with anger and consternation and obliged the Bāwand to seek the friendship of the Kiyās of Čulāb, old rivals of the Kiyā-yi Djalālī. The reconciliation of the two families gave Kiyā Afrāsiyāb liberty of action, and finally the Bāwand was assassinated in a bath, on 27 Muḥarram 750/17 April 1349, by ʿAlī and Muḥammad, sons of Afrāsiyāb (or by the latter alone, according to Justi). With the death of Fakhr al-Dawla, the dynasty of the Bāwand, which had ruled for 750 years (45-750/665-1349) came to an end, and Kiyā Afrāsiyāb took over the power in Āmul (and Sārī?; *JA*, 1943-5, 237). Seeing that most of the officers of his former master refused to submit to him, he tried to make use of religion and became the disciple of the *darwish* leader Ḳawām al-Dīn Marʿashī, called Mīr-i Buzurg, hoping that the veneration of the population of Āmul for the latter would restrain them from rebellion. After ten years of rule, however, Kiyā Afrāsiyāb was defeated and killed, together with his three sons, by the same *darwishes* in the battle of Djalālakmār-parčin, in 760/1359.

Mīr-i Buzurg established himself as governor of Āmul and thus founded the dynasty of the Marʿashī [*q.v.*] *sayyids* (760-989/1359-1581). In the same year, a member of Afrāsiyāb's clan, Kiyā Fakhr al-Dīn Djalāwī, murdered ʿAbd Allāh, son of Mīr-i Buzurg, and was himself executed with his four sons; Kiyā Gushtasp (Wishtas) also, another brother-in-law of the last Bāwand, was killed with his seven children.

The Kiyās of Čulāb re-emerge only with Iskandar-i Shaykhī, eighth son of Kiyā Afrāsiyāb, who took refuge at Harāt, led an adventurous life and eventually entered the service of Tīmūr. In 795/1392-3 Timur invaded Māzandarān, took the fortress of Māhāna-Sar near Āmul, sacked Āmul and Sārī, deported the Marʿashī *sayyids* and appointed Iskandar as governor. Having returned with the invader, Iskandar enjoyed little popularity, all the less that he ordered the mausoleum of Mīr-i Buzurg at Sārī to be demolished. In 802/1400-1 Iskandar accompanied Tīmūr on his expedition to ʿIrāḳ, Ādharbaydjān, Anatolia and Syria, then, having obtained permission to return to Āmul, he rebelled. In 805/1403-4 Tīmūr marched into Māzandarān in pursuit of Iskandar, who fled into the forest with his wife and two small children, and fearing that he might be betrayed by their cries he killed them together with their mother. Finally he was killed at Shīrūd Dū-Hazār, and the officers of Tīmūr sent his head to his son Ḥusayn Kiyā who was holding out in the fortress of Fīrūz Kūh and now hastened to surrender it. Another son, ʿAlī Kiyā, had fallen into the hands of Tīmūr's troops. Tīmūr pardoned the two brothers and Ḥusayn Kiyā continued to rule over Fīrūz Kūh. His son, Luhrasp b. Ḥusayn b. Iskandar ruled over Ṭālakān in 880/1479-80. In his turn, *amīr* Ḥusayn (Ḥasan ?; Sachau) b. ʿAlī b. Luhrasp ruled over part of Rustamdār and the mountainous region of Fīrūz Kūh, Damāwand and Harī Rūd. In 909/1503 Shāh Ismāʿīl I, after taking the fortresses of Gulkhandān and Fīrūz Kūh, laid siege to the fortress of Wusta, where the *amīr* Ḥusayn Kiyā had taken refuge. Forced to surrender, he shortly afterwards committed suicide at Aywān-i Rasūl Wād (Kabud-Gunbad). The last member of the family, *amīr* Suhrāb Čulāb, keeper of the fortress of Ardahin in Sāwdj-būlāḳ, was confirmed in his post by the Shāh.

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(B. Nikitine)

AFRĪDĪ, the name of a large and powerful Paṭhān tribe, with an estimated fighting strength of 50,000, on the northwest frontier of Pākistān. The territories inhabited by the Afrīdīs stretch from the eastern spurs of the Safīd Kūh through the northern half of Tirāh and the Khyber (Khaybar) [*q.v.*] pass to the west and south of the Peshāwar district. On the east they are bounded by the settled districts of Pākistān; on the north by the territories of the Mohmunds; on the west by the Shinwārīs; and on the south by the Ōrakzays and Bangash tribes. They are divided into eight clans. In and around the Khyber Pass are to be found the Kūkī Khēl, Malikdīn Khēl, Kambar Khel, Kamraʾīs, Zakka Khēl, and Sipāh. These six clans are generally referred to as the Khyber Afrīdīs. The Akā Khēl Afrīdīs have no connection with the Khyber and are located to the south of the Bārā river. The Ādam Khēl Afrīdīs inhabit the hills between the districts of Kohāt and Peshāwar.

The origin of the Afrīdī, or as they call themselves, Aprīdī tribes has always puzzled ethnologists. H.W. Bellew (*JRAS*, 1887, 504) identified them with the Ἀπάρυται of Herodotus. This has been accepted by G. A. Grierson (*Linguistic Survey of India*, x, 5) and A. Stein (*JRAS*, 1925, 404). But the name does not occur in the Achaemenian inscriptions, and it is doubtful whether Herodotus intended to describe the Ἀπάρυται as dwelling where the Afrīdīs now are. H. G. Raverty (*Notes on Afghanistan*, 1888, 94), relying on what are probably fictitious genealogies, believed them to be of Paṭhān or Afghān origin, the descendants of a supposed eponymous ancestor Karlān. The derivation of the name Afrīdī in the *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī* of Muḥammad Ḥayāt Khān (Engl. transl.: *Afghanistan*, Lahore 1874, 201), from *āfrīda* (a creature of God) is also evidently a modern fabrication. According to Grierson (*JRAS*, 1925, 405-16) the modern Afrīdī country of Tirāh was at one time occupied by a people speaking a language still known as Tirāhi which resembles the Dardic languages of the Hindū-kush. It seems probable, therefore, that the Afrīdīs, although speaking Pashto, contain a large, if not predominant racial element, which was

established in Tirāh long before the advent of those Pashto-speaking Afghān invaders who gradually pushed their way into the belt of hills and alluvial plains to the west of the Indus between the 13th and 16th centuries.

Their position athwart the Khyber Pass connecting India with Afghānistān made it extremely difficult for the Mughal emperors of Hindustān to maintain safe communications with their outlying province of Kābul. In the reign of Akbar, incited by the preaching of Bāyazīd, the founder of the Rawshāniyya [q.v.] sect of heretics, and of his son Djalāl al-Dīn, they attacked Mughal troops and caravans passing through the Khyber. They were forced into submission by Akbar's forces in 1587 and in the following year agreed, in return for allowances, to keep the pass open for traffic. They were however only temporarily subdued and expeditions had to be undertaken against them in the reigns of Djahāngīr and Awrangzīb. Djahāngīr deported many Afrīdīs to Hindustān and Deccan, where their descendants are still to be found. After the establishment of the Afghān kingdom by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī the Afridis were nominally subject to him and are mentioned in the register of his army; according to it the tribe counted 19,000 fighting men.

The first skirmish of British troops with the Afrīdīs dates back to the invasion of Afghānistān during the first Afghān War of 1839-42. From the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849 to the formation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901 no less than eight expeditions were required against these unruly clans. The first was against the Kohāt Pass Afrīdīs in 1850. In 1853, troops were sent against the Djawākī Afrīdīs, a clan of the Ādam Khēl Afrīdīs. Punitive measures were necessary against the Āka Khēl Afrīdīs in 1855. Expeditions were necessary against the Djawākī Afrīdīs in 1877 and 1878; and against the Zakka Khēl Afrīdīs in 1878 and 1879. The Zakka Khēls of the Khyber and the adjacent Bazār valley of Tirāh have been the most contumacious of all the Afrīdī clans. Inhabiting lands stretching from the slopes of the Safīd Kūh to the border of Peshāwar they have been able to force their neighbours to pay exorbitant tolls for the privilege of passing through their territories. The first agreement with the Zakka Khēls was during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 (Aitchison, xi, 92-6). This was observed until the Second Afghān War, 1878-80, when the peace of the Khyber and the whole frontier zone was abnormally disturbed. Zakka Khēl attacks on the Khyber lines of communication forced the British, in 1878 and 1879, to enter their country, destroy their crops, and raze their forts and villages to the ground. On 17 Febr. 1881, the Khyber Afrīdīs, together with the Loargi Shinwārīs of Landi Kotal, accepted responsibility for the safety of the Khyber; and in return for the recognition of their independence, agreed to have no dealings with other foreign powers. At the same time arrangements were made for the protection of the Khyber by a force of *djazā'ilčīs* (tribal levies), to be paid by the Government of India (Aitchison, xi, 97-9). The Afrīdīs were the last to join in the general frontier conflagration of 1897 and were only forced to come to terms after extremely severe fighting in the Tirāh campaign of 1897-8. At the end of this campaign the previous system of allowances which had proved so successful for seventeen years, 1881-97, were once more adopted. At the same time the Khyber Rifles were reorganized under British officers supported by a movable column at Peshāwar. This agreement, under which the British became responsible for the Khyber Rifles and for the safety of the pass, regulated British relations with the Afrīdīs until the year 1908 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1908, lxxiv, Cd. 4210, pp. 14-5).

Towards the end of 1904 large numbers of Afrīdīs visited Kābul. This was followed by small marauding incursions into British territory, in which the Zakka Khēls, assisted by other Afrīdī clans, by Ōrakzays, and even by bands of Afghān outlaws, such as the Hazārnao gang, were the chief offenders. From 1905 to 1908 bands of well-armed Afrīdīs ravaged the British borders. An attack by a gang of about eighty men upon Peshāwar city, on the night of 28 January 1908, exhausted the patience of the Government of India, and in that year, the Zakka Khēls were speedily coerced by troops under the command of Major-General Sir James Willcocks. The entry of Turkey into the First World War, in November 1914, created considerable excitement on the frontier. One of the great dangers on the frontier has always been the possible attitude of the Afrīdī clans whose lead in war the other tribes are usually prepared to follow. Fortunately for the peace of the Peshāwar borders and possibly of the whole frontier, the mission of the so-called Turkish generals to Tirāh failed because of a shortage of funds. The danger of an Afrīdī rising was averted when, on 1 February 1915 the Government of India decided to double their allowances.

Quickly following the wake of the 1914-8 war came the Third Afghān War of 1919 which was the signal for risings along the entire frontier, and for the collapse of Lord Curzon's militia scheme. By 1921 the Afrīdī clans had made full submission. The Khyber Rifles were disbanded and their place taken by *khāṣṣadārs*, tribal levies paid by the Government of India but providing their own arms and ammunition. But there was a great danger of a recrudescence of Afrīdī raiding because of the intrigues of the Akā Khēl *mulla*, Sayyid Akbar, who denounced all tribesmen who had accepted British terms. His activities were checked when, in April 1921, the Afrīdī tribal *djirga* accepted new allowances in compensation for the increased tribal responsability involved in the construction of the Khyber railway (*Secret Border Report*, 1921-2, p. 1). In February 1922 the Zakka Khēls agreed to pay a substantial fine for their past misdeeds. In the following year the peace of the Afrīdī country was rudely disturbed by the exploits of the Kōhāt gang. Members of this gang were forced to seek refuge in Afghān territory where their immunity from punishment led to a diplomatic protest on the part of the Viceroy. The opening of the Khyber Railway from Djamrūd to Landī Khāna did not make for peace. The construction of this line had been a source of profit to the tribesmen but its completion reduced their allowances. From 1927 to its settlement in March 1930 Tirāh became the scene of a religious struggle between its Sunni and Shīʿite clans. In the spring of 1930 the Afrīdīs came under the influence of Indian National Congress agitators with the result that Afrīdī *lashkars* (tribal forces) entered the Peshāwar district and attacked the city of Peshāwar in June and August of that year. By the end of August all raiding gangs had been expelled from the district. Since 1947 the Government of Pakistan has been responsible for the control of the Afrīdī clans. As recently as December 1952 the Afghān government has been accused of granting asylum to Afrīdī outlaws who had been organizing depredations into Pakistan.

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Problem of the North-West Frontier, Cambridge 1932; idem, *British Relations with the Afridis of the Khyber and Tirah*, *Army Quarterly*, 1932; *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India*, ii, and Supplement A, 1908; H. D. Hutchinson, *The Campaign in Tirah*, London 1898; Th. Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, London 1901, chs. xv-xvi; *North-West Frontier Province Administration Reports* (published annually); W. H. Paget and A. H. Mason, *Record of Expeditions against the N.W.F. Tribes since the Annexation of the Punjab*, 1888; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1908, LXXIV, Cd. 4201; R. Warburton, *Eighteen years in the Khyber* (1879-98), 1901. (C. Collin Davies)

AFRĪDŪN [see farīdūn].

ʿAFRĪN important right tributary of the Orontes (al-ʿĀṣī [*q.v.*]), which it reaches after joining with the Nahr Yāg͟hrā (Murād Pas͟ha) in the Lake of Antioch and the Nahr al-Aswad (Ḳara-sū), in the ʿAmk. Its wide middle valley, between the Djabal Simān and the Kurd-dag͟h, was known in the Middle Ages as the district of the Dj̲ūma. The importance of the valley was due to the crossing of the road, which used it to connect Antioch with the districts of the upper Euphrates, with the roads which led from Cilicia and Asia Minor towards Aleppo and inner Syria. One of these roads, after passing the Amanus at the col of Bag͟hrās [*q.v.*] and following the shore of the Lake of Antioch, crossed the ʿAfrīn at the ford near modern Bellane (the "Ford of the Baleine" of the Crusaders). In the first centuries of Islam it was guarded on the south side by the small fortresses of Tīzīn, Artāḥ, ʿImm and since the time of the Crusades by that of Ḥārim [*q.v.*], which lay nearer to the Orontes. The other, more northern roads issued, after passing the Kurd-dag͟h, at the gap of ʿAzāz and passed the ʿAfrīn either at the bridge of Ḳībār (now ʿAfrīn) or further up below the old capital of the region, Ḳūriṣ (Cyrrhus). The new capitals were ʿAzāz, outside the real basin of the ʿAfrin, and Rāwandān—of which important ruins are still preserved near one of the ʿAfrīn's sources. Thus the valley of the ʿAfrin served in the classical period of Islam as the main longitudinal line of communication in the western part of the military district of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*]. It was temporarily captured from Islam by the Byzantines in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, and by the Crusaders in the first half of the 6th/12th century. At present it lies athwart the political and ethnical boundary between Turkey and Syria.

Bibliography: The main medieval work on the geography of northern Syria is Ibn S͟haddād's *al-Aʿlāḳ al-K͟hāṭira fi D͟hikr Umarāʾ al-S͟hām wa 'l-Dj̲azīra*, partial ed. by Ledit, *Mas͟h.*, 1935; complete ed. (for Northern Syria) by D. Sourdel, to appear shortly. Modern accounts: R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie de Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, i, Algiers 1951. None of these deals with the Ottoman and modern periods, for which see *Guide Bleu*: *Syrie—Palestine*. For physical geography see S. Mazloum, *L'ʿAfrin, étude hydrologique*, Paris 1939. (Cl. Cahen)

ʿAFRĪT [see ʿifrīt].

ʿAFṢ denotes, according to Arab authors, the fruit of the oak or a similar tree and the tree itself. It actually is the gall, an excrescence which forms on certain kinds of trees and shrubs as the result of the sting of various insects. The Arabic term, however, was probably applied to the oak-gall in particular. It was maintained that the *ʿafṣ* is produced either simultaneously or alternately with the acorn.

In medieval Arab medicine the gall served chiefly as an intestinal astringent and a remedy for skin diseases. It was also said to strengthen the gums and preserve the teeth from caries. In different preparations, chiefly in powdered form or boiled in vinegar or wine, it was applied both internally and externally. Frequent mention is also made of its use as a black hair-dye and as the main ingredient in the manufacture of ink. Recipes for the latter are indicated by al-Ḳalḳas͟handī.

Bibliography: Dāʾūd al-Anṭākī, *Tad͟hkira*, Cairo 1935, i, 228; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Filāḥa* (transl. Clément-Mullet), ii/b, 265; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Dj̲āmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, iii, 127-8; Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿs͟hā*, ii, 464-6; Ḳazwīnī, (Wüstenfeld), i, 259; I. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, index, s.v.: idem, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 631-4; Maimonides, *S͟harḥ Asmāʾ al-ʿUḳḳār* (Meyerhof), no. 295; M. Steinschneider, in *WZKM*, 1898, 220; *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb* (Renaud-Colin), no. 309. (L. Kopf)

AFSANTĪN, Afsintīn or, more rarely, Ifsintīn (from Greek ἀψίνθιον) mostly denotes the common wormwood (*Artemisia Absinthium L.*) but also other similar kinds of plants. In medical writings it is often called *kas͟hūt͟h rūmī*. The cognate form *isfinṭ* (absinth-wine) already occurs in ancient Arabic poetry (Nöldeke, in Löw, 389).

A good deal of the information which Arab authors offer on the *afsantīn* goes back to classical sources. Its different kinds were generally classified according to their origin: Persian, Nabataean, Syrian, Egyptian, K͟hurāsānian etc. That from Tyre and Tarsus was considered the best. The yellow flower in particular was put to diverse medicinal uses. Not only tonic and vermifugal but also laxative, diuretic and other properties were attributed to the plant. It was also recommended as an antitoxin. Externally it was used in plasters, oils etc. Its juice mixed with the ink was said to preserve the paper. In addition to many other applications it was also employed against the loss of hair (*dāʾ al-t͟haʿlab*).

Bibliography: ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-Ḥikma* (Siddiqi), 418-9; Dāʾūd al-Anṭākī, *Tad͟hkira*, Cairo 1935, i, 49-50; G͟hāfiḳī (Meyerhof-Sobhy), no. 27; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Filāḥa* (transl. Clément-Mullet) ii/a, 302-3; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Dj̲āmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 41-4; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 272; I. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, 81, 421; idem, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 386-9; Maimonides, *S͟harḥ Asmāʾ al-ʿUḳḳār* (Meyerhof), no. 3; *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb* (Renaud-Colin), no. 1. (L. Kopf)

AFS͟HĀR (or Aws͟hār), Og͟huz (G͟huzz [*q.v.*]) tribe, first mentioned by al-Kās͟hg͟harī, *Dīwān Lug͟hāt al-Turk*, i, 56; cf. also Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, *Dj̲āmiʿ al-Tawārīk͟h* (Bérézine), i, 32, according to whom Aws͟hār was the grandson of Yildiz K͟hān, the third son of Og͟huz K͟hān (whence Yazīdj̲ī-og͟hlu, *Saldj̲ūḳ-nāma*, in MS; Abu 'l-G͟hāzī, *S͟hedj̲ere-yi Turkī* (Desmaisons), 27; idem, *S͟hedj̲ere-yi Terākime*, Istanbul 1937, 42). They seem to have migrated westwards with the other G͟huzz tribes. An Afs͟hār chieftain, Aydog͟hu b. Kus͟hdog͟han, known as S͟humla, ruled in K͟hūzistān as a vassal of the Saldj̲ūḳs (al-Bundārī (Houtsma), 230, 287; al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, 260; Ibn al-At͟hīr, index, s.v. S͟humla; Waṣṣāf, ed. Bombay, ii, 149, writes

Ya'ḳūb b. Arslān al-Afshārī; "Ḥusām al-Dīn Shūhlī" in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, i, 547—whence Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma* (Velyaminov-Zarnov), i, 33—seems to refer to the same person and to be due merely to a textual error). Shumla, who ruled 543-70/1148-74, was followed by his son Ghars (or 'Izz) al-Dawla (al-Rāwandī, 377); after his death in 590/1194 the family's rule came to an end. No further information about the Afshār is available in these early centuries; this may simply be due to the fact that authors often speak of Turkmens in general without specifying their exact tribal affinity.

As is well known, the usual practice was to allocate a particular district as an *iḳṭā'* (*tiyūl*) to a chieftain, who would take with him his clan and whose office was inherited by his descendants; this practice was followed, no doubt, also in the case of the Afshār. Afshār chieftains are mentioned during the rule of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (e.g. Manṣūr Beg Awshār, 877/1472-3, Hasan Rūmlu, *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, in MS, chapter on the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu; Dawwānī, *'Arḍ-nāma*, *MTM*, v, 298, Engl. transl. in *BSOAS*, 1940-2, 156, 174; Manṣūr Beg, district of Shīrāz, 904/1498-9, 906/1501-2, idem, ed. Seddon, Baroda 1931, 21 ff. 69; Pīrī Beg, Shīrāz, 904/1498-9, ibidem, 24). The Afshār played a part in the establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty [cf. ḳizil bash, ismā'īl i]. High dignitaries of Afshār origin are often mentioned in the Ṣafawid chronicles (e.g. *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, 236, 332, 339, 345, 438; Iskandar Munshī', *Ta'rīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, i, 155, 185, 190, 251, 309 ff., 400, iii, 763; *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* (Minorsky), 16).

Under the Ṣafawids we find Afshār clans in various districts, and their chieftains occupied provincial governorships. Afshār *khāns* ruled in the district of Kūh Gīlū; the tribesmen of this region belonged mainly to the Gündüzlü and Arashlu clans (see *Ta'rīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, 199, 340-4, 358 and lur). After the revolt of 1005/1596-7 their rule came to an end, most of the clans that escaped punishment were scattered and only small remnants survived by the beginning of the 19th century.

The Gündüzlü and Arashlu played an important role in Khūzistān. In the beginning of the 16th century we find in Dizfūl and Shushtar Afshār governors like Mahdī Ḳuli Sulṭān and Ḥaydar Sulṭān. When the governor Mahdī Ḳuli rebelled in 946/1539-40, the Afshār Ḥaydar Ḳuli was charged with his punishment (*Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, 294 ff.). [For the Afshār governors of Shushtar, see shushtar.] After Nādir Shah, the Afshār in this region were weakened by the continuous attacks of the Arab tribes of the neighbourhood. According to C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, some Afshārs were removed from Doruk and transferred to Kangāwar, Asadābād and Urmiya, while a smaller portion were settled in Shushtar and Dizfūl.

Afshār governors ruled for two and a half centuries, from the time of 'Abbās I till about 1250/1834-5, in Kāzarūn [*q.v.*]. We find governors belonging to various Afshār clans also in other regions: Inallu in Yazd, Kirmānshāh, Mosul and Rūmiyya, Alplu, Köse Aḥmadlu and Ḳirḳlu in Khurāsān (Abīward, Farāh, Isfīzār).

In the vicinity of Urmiya, Afshārs were settled in the time of 'Abbās I (the tradition in the text translated by Nikitine, that they came there with Tīmūr in 802/1400, has no foundation). Ḳāsim Khān, a distinguished general of 'Abbās I, chieftain of the Inanlu, settled with his tribe, shortly after 1032/1622-3, in the regions of Urmiya, Sā'in Ḳal'a and Sulduz (*Ta'rīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, 763). His son, Kalb-i 'Alī Khān, was governor in 1037/1627-8, and was followed by other Afshār governors; Khudādād Beg Ḳāsimlu (the Ḳāsimlu clan probably derived its name from Ḳāsim Khān) took the title of *beglerbeg* in 1119/1707. (For further details see B. Nikitine, *Les Avšar d'Urumiyeh*, *JA*, 1929, 71 ff. and urmiya; cf. also sā'in ḳal'a.)

In general, the Afshār played an important role in the wars of the Ṣafawids against the Ottomans and the Uzbeks, though, as we have seen above, 'Abbās I, according to his policy in general, tried to break the particularist tendencies of the clans. During the reign of Nādir Shāh, who himself came of the Ḳirḳlu branch of the Abīward district, Afshār *amīrs* were prominent. Some Afshār chiefs played important roles during the troubled period after Nādir's death. Afshār contingents were an important element in the Ḳādjār army and were used in the suppresion of revolts as well as against external enemies.

According to Joannin (quoted in Langles, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, Paris 1811, x, 243) the Afshār counted at the beginning of the 19th century 88,000 souls (repeated by Ritter, *Asien*, viii, 400-5; etc.)—this may, however, refer to the number of tents. (Detailed statistics according to localities are also given there.) For the same period, cf. also P. A. Jaubert, *Voyages en Arménie et en Perse*, 225; Zayn al-'Ābidīn Shirwānī, *Bustān al-Siyāḥa*², 106 (the numbers seem exaggerated). For more modern times see Mas'ūd Kayhān, *Djughrāfiyā-yi Mufaṣṣal-i Irān*, Teheren 1310-1, ii, 86 (Inanlu in Fārs, as part of the *ilāt-i khamsa*); 106 ff., 112, 363 (Inanlu and Afshār in the vicinity of Ardabīl, Mishkin, Zarand, and especially Sāwa and Ḳazwīn [cf. also shāh sewan and khamsa]; 90 (clan called Afshār as part of the Akadjeri in Kūh Gīlū—cf. also *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 270); 92 (Gündüzlü near Shushtar and Dizfūl, completely assimilated); 92, 253 (Afshār in Kirmān); cf. also 75 and 371 (their name in geographical and administrative nomenclature); Meḥmed Ḥasan Baharlu, *Āzarbaydjān*, Baku 1921, 73 (Afshār in the Republic of Ādharbaydjān; for an earlier time, cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāma*, ii, 259, 859, iv, 284, 337); G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan*, Lund 1939, 61 (some Afshār settled (in Andkhūy) by 'Abbās I, others by Nādir Shāh).—Just as Afshār elements were (as noted above) attached to other tribes, so also we find Afshār clans, which, to judge by their names, must have originally belonged to other tribes: the Shāmlu and Djalā'ir in Urmiya (mentioned by Nikitine) who were probably detached from the great tribes of the same name; the same is true of the Tekelü and Imirlü (O. Mann, *Das Mujmil et-Tārīkh-i ba'd Nādirije*, 31).

Afshārs figure among the Turkmens who lived during the Mamlūk period in Syria, especially round Aleppo (cf. e.g. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Popper), vi, 225, 364, 386, 557). They seem to have played a role in the establishment of the principality of the Ḳaramān-oghlu ([*q.v.*]; see Cl. Cahen, in *Byzantion*, 1939, 133). In the Ottoman period various branches of the Afshār are mentioned (Radjab-oghlu near Ḳal'at Dja'bar: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 593; in documents: Radjablu Awshāri, A. Refik, *Anadoluda türk aşiretleri*, Istanbul 1930, 145, 165-76, 186, 209, 239; Ḳara Awshār, Ḳara Gündüzlü Awshārī, Bahrili Awshāri', ibid., 106, 102). These tribes, who were also known under the

collective name of Yeni Il, spent the winter in Syria and the summer in Anatolia, near Zamanti. The government made continuous efforts to settle them (Awshār villages near Isparta, *Djihān-nümā*, 640; also other villages in Anatolia called Awshār). In the 19th century Darwīsh Pasha after military operations against the Afshār tribes in the Čukur Owa settled them forcibly in the vicinity of Göksun and Ḳayseri and other places (*TTEM*, lxxxviii, 348, and the general index to the series). There remain still some small nomad groups in the regions of the Čukur Owa, Marʿash (cf. Besim Atalay, *Maraş tarihi*, Istanbul 1340, 70 ff.), Ičel and Ḳayseri in Anatolia, and near al-Raḳḳa in Syria (Ali Riza Yalman, *Cenupta türkmen oymaklari*, Adana 1939, ii, 105 ff.).

Bibliography: *IA*, s.v. Avşar (by M. F. Köprülü); Aḥmad Āḳā Tabrīzī, in *Āyanda*, iv and v, and part ii, viii, Teheran 1926-8; idem, *Taʾrīkh-i Panṣad Sāla-yi Khūzistān*, Teheran 1312; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, index; V. Minorsky, *Afnallu/Inallu, Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 1951-2, 1 ff. (M. Fuad Köprülü)

AFSHĪN, pre-Islamic title borne by the native princes of Ushrūsana, the mountainous district between Samarḳand and Khudjanda, including the upper course of the Zarafshān river (Barthold, *Turkestan*², 165-9). The province was subjected to the Arab governors of Khurāsān by an expedition commanded by al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī in 178/794-5, but it was only after an internal conflict and a second expedition under Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid in 207/822 that the ruling *afshīn* Kāwūs accepted Islām. Kāwūs was succeeded by his son Khaydhār (in Arabic texts generally: Ḥaydār), who became universally known in Islamic historiography as *al-Afshīn*. He first came to notice in the reign of al-Maʾmūn, when as an officer of the Caliph's brother Abū Isḥāḳ al-Muʿtaṣim, the titular governor of Egypt, he was given charge of Barḳa (Cyrenaica) and vigorously suppressed the rising of the Copts and Arabs in the Delta in 216/831. He is credited also with forming al-Muʿtaṣim's regiment of "Maghāriba" by recruitment from the Arabs of the Delta and the Western Desert.

During the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-41), the Afshīn's chief exploit was the tenacious campaign which he maintained without interruption in 220-2/835-7 against the Khurramī rebels in Ādharbāydjān led by Bābak [*q.v.*]. In reward for his success the caliph gave him a crown, two jewelled swords, and the government of Sind in addition to that of Armenia and Ādharbāydjān. He played also a prominent part in the celebrated Amorium campaign conducted by al-Muʿtaṣim in person in 223/838. Subsequently, out of rivalry with ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (as the leading native prince of the Transoxanians, he appears to have resented the control exercised over Mā warāʾ al-Nahr by the parvenu Ṭāhirids), he secretly encouraged the revolt of al-Māziyār (Muḥammad b. Ḳārin), the *iṣpahbādh* of Ṭabaristān, and was consequently involved in the latter's defeat, charged with apostasy, and after a celebrated trial starved to death in his prison at Sāmarrā in Shaʿbān 226/May-June 841.

The title of *afshīn* was borne also by other princes in Central Asia; according to al-Yaʿḳūbī (ii, 344), Ghūrak, the prince of Samarḳand, calls himself in his treaty with Ḳutayba b. Muslim "Ikhshīdh of Ṣughd, Afshīn of Samarḳand"; cf. also B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 357, n. 14.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1105, 1171-1318 passim; trans. Zotenberg, iv, 525-45; trans. E. Marin, *The Reign of al-Muʿtaṣim*, New Haven 1951; Balādhurī 430 f; Kindī, 189-93; Bayhaḳī (Morley), 199 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 577-84 (ed. Nadjaf 1358, iii, 199-203); Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 259, 262, 293; Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, 107, 262, 326 f.; Barthold, *Turkestan*², 210-1; Browne, i, 330 ff.; E. Herzfeld, *Gesch. der Stadt Samarra*, Berlin 1948, 101, 138-52. (W. Barthold-H. A. R. Gibb)

AFSŪN (p.), charm, incantation; for etymology and usage in old Persian, see Salemann, in *Gr.I.Ph.* i/1, 304, and especially H. W. Bailey, in *BSOAS*, 1933-5, 283 ff. This word is now used in Persia to designate especially a charm against the biting of poisonous animals; certain *darwīshes* who pretend to have the power to charm serpents, scorpions etc., will, for some gratuity, communicate their invulnerability to other persons. Often it is one part of the body which is so protected, as for instance the right or the left hand, and it is with this that the animals of this kind must be seized (Polak, *Persien*, i, 348).

(Cl. Huart*)

AFSŪS (Afsōs), poetical name of Mīr Shīr ʿAlī, the son of Sayyid ʿAlī Muẓaffar Khān, and descendant of the Prophet through Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. His ancestors dwelt at Khʷāf in Persia. One of them, Sayyid Badr al-Dīn, the brother of Sayyid ʿĀlim al-Din Ḥādjdjī Khānī, came to India and settled at Narnawl near Agra. Sayyid Ghulām Muṣṭafā, the grandfather of Afsūs, came to Delhi during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48), and was an associate of Nawwāb Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah Khān. Afsūs was born at Delhi and received a liberal education. On the assassination of the Nawwāb (1747), when Afsūs was 11 years of age, his father took him to Patna; later on, after 1760, they removed to Lucknow, where Afsūs settled, supported by Nawwāb Sālār Djang the son of Isḥāḳ Khān, and became an associate of Mīrzā Djawān-bakht (Djahān-dār Shāh), the eldest son of the emperor Shāh ʿĀlam.

After living some years at Lucknow, he was brought to the notice of the Resident, Colonel W. Scott, at whose recommendation he went to Calcutta in 1215/1800-1, and was appointed Head *Munshī* in the Hindustani department of the College at Fort William.

Afsūs wrote a Hindustani Dīwān during his residence at Lucknow. He also made there a translation of the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī, which was completed in 1216/1802, under the title of *Bāgh-i Urdū*. The introduction to this translation contains an autobiographical sketch, which is the principal source of our information regarding his life. Whilst at Calcutta, he edited the *Kulliyāt* of Sawda, and revised the Hindustani translations of Persian works, which had been prepared by *munshīs* of the College. He also made a translation of the first part of the *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh* or a Persian history of Hindustan written by Munshī Sudjān Rāʾe of Patiala in 1107/1695-1696. This work, undertaken at the instance of J. H. Morington, was completed in 1220/1805 under the title *Ārāʾish-i Maḥfil*, and was first printed at Calcutta in 1808. John Shakespear translated the first ten chapters of this work into English and included them in his *Muntakhabāt Hindī*, Dublin 1847. A complete English translation was made by M. J. Court and published at Allahābād, 1871 (2nd ed. Calcutta 1882). According to Garcin de Tassy and Sprenger (*Oudh Catalogue*, 198), Afsūs died in 1809.

Bibliography: Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*², Paris

1870, i, 120-136; J. F. Blumhardt, *Catalogue of Hindi, Panjabi and Hindustani MSS. in the British Museum*, London 1899, no. 72; Mīrzā ʿAlī Luṭf, *Gulshan Hind* (a contemporary source in Urdu), Lahore 1906, 47-50; Nawwāb M. Muṣṭafā Khān Shēftah, *Gulshan Bēkhār* (in Persian) Lucknow 1874, 23-4; M. Yaḥyā Tanhā, *Siyar al-Muṣannifīn* (in Urdu), Delhi 1924, i, 79-87; Sayyid Muḥammad, *Arbāb Nathr Urdū* (in Urdu), Hyderabad-Deccan, 91-109; R. B. Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allahabad 1927, 244-5.

(J. F. Blumhardt-Sh. Inayatullah)

AFṬASIDS (Banu 'l-Afṭas), small Hispano-Muslim dynasty of the 5th/11th century, which reigned during the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* of al-Andalus over a vast territory in the western part of the Iberian peninsula, with Badajoz (Baṭalyaws) as its capital.

On the dismemberment of the caliphate of Cordova, the "Lower March" of al-Andalus (*al-thaghr al-adnā*), consisting of the middle valley of the Guadiana (Wādī Ānā) and the central portion of modern Portugal, passed into the possession of a liberated slave of al-Ḥakam II, Sābūr, who, according to the custom followed in Muslim Spain at that period, took the title of *ḥādjib*. Sābūr, whose epitaph has been preserved and who died on 10 Shaʿbān 413/8 November 1022, took as his minister a man of letters of Berber origin, belonging to the group of Miknāsa established in the Faḥs al-Ballūṭ, north of Cordova: ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Maslama, surnamed Ibn al-Afṭas. The latter did not hesitate to usurp power when Sābūr died, leaving two sons under age, and founded the dynasty of the Afṭasids of Badajoz, sometimes also called Banū Maslama.

ʿAbd Allāh, who took the honorific *laḳab* of al-Manṣūr, reigned until his death, which, according to his epitaph, also preserved, occurred in Badajoz on 19 Djumādā II 437/30 Dec. 1045. Few details are known of his reign, which seems to have been peaceful and fruitful for his principality at first, but was later troubled by the bad relations which soon obtained between al-Manṣūr and his neighbour in Seville, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād (cf. ʿabbādids). The latter even captured him at Beja (Bādja) and kept him prisoner for some time.

ʿAbd Allāh was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, best known under his *laḳab* of al-Muẓaffar. The historians are unanimous in praising his deep learning and literary taste, and record that he appreciated but little the contemporary poets, who in his opinion were incapable of producing anything to equal even remotely the poems of al-Mutanabbī and al-Maʿarrī. He is attributed with the authorship of a large work, no doubt an anthology, in no less than fifty volumes, entitled *al-Muẓaffarī*. The fact that the book is very rarely quoted proves that it was not widely known even in Spain.

The reign of al-Muẓaffar, which lasted for twenty years, was extremely troubled from the political angle and almost entirely occupied with a tenacious but ineffective struggle against the king of Seville, al-Muʿtaḍid. In spite of the attempts of the prince of Cordova, Ibn Djahwar (cf. djahwarids) to arbitrate in the conflict, the almost continuous hostilities greatly weakened the kingdom of Badajoz and induced Ferdinand I, king of Castile and Léon, to attack it and impose a tribute upon it. In 449/1057 the northern frontier fortresses of the Afṭasid kingdom, Vizeu and Lamego, passed in this way into the possession of the Christian king, who in 456/1063, by the capture of the city of Coimbra (Ḳulumriyya) and of the whole region between the rivers of Douro (Duero) and Mondego, marked one of the decisive stages of the Reconquista.

At the death of al-Muẓaffar, who only survived for a short time this grave amputation of his dominions, he was succeeded by his son Yaḥyā al-Manṣūr, who was challenged by his brother ʿUmar, governor of Evora (Yābūra) and soon disappeared from the scene. ʿUmar, who took the *laḳab* of al-Mutawakkil, was exposed, like all the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* of his epoch, to the increasing demands of the Christian king Alfonso VI, who in 471/1079 took from him the fortress of Coria (Ḳūriya). He seems to have been the first, even before the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI, to solicit the intervention of the Almoravids in Spain, but eventually, like all his neighbours, he was unable to resist the growing aggressiveness of the Christian king, and had to comply with his demands for tribute. His attempt in 472/1080 to add the kingdom of Toledo to his dominions, following on the offer made to him by the inhabitants of Toledo themselves, failed in spite of the fact that he stayed for ten months in the Dhu 'l-Nūnid capital. He was present at the battle of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*], which took place within his own territory on 12 Radjab 479/23 Oct. 1086, and had a hand in the intrigues which finally decided the Almoravids to dethrone all the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* of al-Andalus and annex their possessions. Feeling himself menaced, ʿUmar al-Mutawakkil turned towards Alfonso VI and solicited his help, in return for the cession of Santarem (Shantarīn), Lisbon (al-Ushbūna) and Cintra (Shintara). But all this was in vain, and Badajoz was taken at the end of 487/1095 by the Almoravid general Sīr b. Abī Bakr, with the connivance of the inhabitants, who had had enough of the fiscal exactions of their king. Al-Mutawakkil and two of his sons, al-Faḍl and Saʿd, were taken prisoner and sent to Seville, but even before their arrival there they were executed. Another son of al-Mutawakkil, al-Manṣūr, escaped, fortified himself for some time in the castle of Montanchez, in the modern province of Cáceres, and finally, together with his followers, migrated into the dominions of Alfonso VI and was converted to Christianity.

Bibliography: All the chronicles of the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, especially Ibn Ḥayyān, as quoted by Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, index; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām* (Lévi-Provençal), 211-5. The narrative in the *Memoirs* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn [*q.v.*] which relates to the reign of al-Mutawakkil is by far the most detailed and trustworthy source. Hoogvliet, *Specimen e litt. orient. .... de regia Aphtasidarum familia*, Leiden 1839, is antiquated. See also R. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*[2], iii, index; A. Prieto y Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, 65-8; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1947, index; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, 53-5; idem, *Islam d'Occident*, 125-6; idem, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iv (in preparation).

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

al-**AFWAH** al-**AWDĪ**, Abū Rabīʿa Ṣalāʾat b. ʿAmr, pre-Islamic Arab poet, chieftain of the Awd clan of Madhḥidj, about the middle of the 6th century A.D. Most of his extant poetry celebrates the warlike virtues of his tribe and of its chief, while his gnomic poems caused him to be counted among the sages of the *djāhiliyya*. Al-Djāḥiẓ, however (*al-Ḥayawān*[2], vi, 280), doubts the authenticity of the poems attributed to him, and the arguments which he presents are to the point.

Bibliography: The *dīwān* of al-Afwah al-Awdī was published in *al-Ṭarā'if al-Adabiyya*, Cairo 1937; L. Cheikho, *Shu'arā' al-Naṣrāniyya*, 70-4; it was introduced into Spain by al-Ķālī, who had received it from Ibn Durayd (*BAH*, ix, 396). Verses and biographical notes are to be found in Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], index; idem, *Bayān* (Sandūbī), i, 171; Ibn Ķutayba, *Shi'r*, 110-1; idem, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, iii, 113; Ķālī, *Amālī*, i, 125; *Aghānī*[2], xi, 41-2; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms*, 45 (offprint from *JA*, 1907); Brockelmann, S I, 57; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 29 (French transl. 48). (CH. PELLAT)

AFYŪN, opium, from Greek ὄπιον, diminutive of ὀπός, "vegetable juice". Opium is the dried resinous juice of the unripe capsules of the oppyx (*Papaver somniferum L.*, in Arabic *khashkhāsh*), the preparation of which is already described by classical authors, e.g. by Dioscorides, iv, 64. (For opium in Antiquity see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Mohn.) In Islamic times it was used officinally and as a narcotic (also by *darwīshes*). The poppy had long been cultivated in Upper Egypt: according to Kūhīn al-'Aṭṭār, 128, in his time (7th/13th century) the best opium was prepared in Abū Tīdj, S. of Asyūt. The cultivation of the poppy and the preparation of opium flourished in Egypt until the beginning of the 19th century. (Cf. Lane, *Modern Egyptians* [5], i, 118, ii, 35). The cultivation of the poppy in Asia Minor does not seem to go back to the Byzantine period. It apparently spread after the Crusades, and under Turkish rule the plant was acclimatized especially in the neighbourhood of Ķara Ḥiṣār, which received the nickname of Afyūn Ķara Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*]. This town was the centre for the cultivation and the export of the opium as late as the 19th century (cf. O. Blau, *Etwas über das Opium*, *ZDMG*, 1869, 280). In Persia, as well as in Turkey, opium is often called *tiryāķ*, "antidote". When 'Abbās II tried to enforce the prohibition of wine, the consumption of opium grew to such dimensions that he was forced to soften the prohibition and take measures, instead, against the trade in opium (1621; P. della Valle, ii, 108). Yazd and Iṣfahān used to export opium to India and Turkey. (See Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1735, iii, 14-5, 92 ff.; ii, 58.67; J. E. Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, ii, 248-55; and the vivid description of opium-eating by E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, index.) Opium played a considerable role also in India, where the decoction of the husks was called *post* (cf. J. Charpentier, *Pōst(ā)*, *BSOS*, 1935-7, 101 ff.; especially for the Mughal period). According to B. Laufer, in *T'oung Pao*, 1916, 462 (cf. also O. Franke, *Geschichte d. Chines. Reiches*, ii, 551, iii, 428) the knowledge of preparing opium came to the Chinese from (medieval) India and not from the Muslims (contrary to the assertions of scholars such as J. Edkins, *The Poppy in China*, 5; E. Bretschneider, in A. de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, 400; Yule and Burnes, *Hobson-Jobson*, 641; Giles, *Glossary of Reference*, 200, who derive the Chinese names of opium from the Arabic).—For the adulteration of opium by dishonest merchants (by admixture of various resins, or sandarac, etc., see E. Wiedemann, in *SBPMS Erl.*, xlvi, 1914, 176-206.

Bibliography: Abū Manṣūr al-Muwaffaķ, *Abniya* (Seligmann), i, 36; Ibn al-'Awāmm, *Filāḥa*, transl. Clément-Mullet, ii/1, 128 ff.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmi'*, i, 45, transl. Leclerc, nos. 116 and 2120; Ķazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 282; *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb* (Renaud-Colin), 40; I. Loew, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 364-70; M. Meyerhof, *Un glossaire de matière médicinale comp. par Maimonide*, no. 35. (cf. also no. 401); Millaut, *L'opium et le hachich*, *La Géographie*, 1912, 132 ff. (C. E. DUBLER)

AFYŪN ĶARA ḤIṢĀR (modern spelling: AFYONKARAHISAR), more correctly AFYŪN ĶARA ḤIṢĀRĪ, "Opium Black-castle", at present also simply AFYON, formerly ĶARA ḤIṢĀR-I ṢĀḤIB (in Neshrī, ed. Ankara, 64 = ed. Berlin, 21 = Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, Frankfurt 1591, col. 140: Ṣāḥibuñ Ķara Ḥiṣār[ī], *Principis Maurocastrum*; Saibcarascar in Caterino Zeno, *Commentarii del Viaggio in Persia*, Venice 1558, 14b), town in western Anatolia, 38°50' N, 30°30' E, about 1007 m. above sea level, on the stream Akarčay, which flows into the Eber Gölü, and then into the Akshehir Gölü, at the foot of an isolated and steep trachyte cone which rises from the plain to a height of 200 m. above the town surrounding it. Ķara Ḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib was the capital of a *sandjaķ* of the *eyālet* Anadolu (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 641), since 1281/1864 of a *sandjaķ* of the *wilāyet* Khudāwendigār (Brusa); in modern Turkey Afyūn Ķara Ḥiṣār is capital of the *wilāyet* (*il*) of the same name, comprising the *ķaḍās* (*ilče*) Afyūn Ķara Ḥisār, Bolwadin, Dinar Emirdagh ('Azīziyye), Ṣandīklī and Shuhut. In 1945 the town had 29,030 (1950: 29,826), the *ķaḍā* 136, 667, the *wilāyet* 335,609 (1950: 372,600) inhabitants; the *wilāyet* has a surface of 13,555 sq. km.— The name Afyūn Ķara Ḥiṣār, formerly only in popular, but at present also in official use (Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, i, 120 has: Aphiom Carassar; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1834: Aphioum) comes from the rich production of opium in the district, already mentioned by Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses mémorables*, Paris 1555, 183 a (cf. O. Blau, in *ZDMG*, 1869, 280).

Ķara Ḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib is identified with the Byzantine fortress of Akroïnos, Akroynos, near which in 740 A.D. the emperor Leo III defeated the Arabs, and the legendary hero Sayyid Baṭṭāl and his armies met their death (Theophanes, *Chronogr.* (de Boor), i, 390,411), and where the emperor Alexius I Comnenus negotiated in 1116 with the Saldjūķ prince Malikshāh (Anna Comnena, *Alexias* (B. Leib, Paris 1934-45, iii, 209)). It was apparently taken from the Byzantines by the Turks in the beginning of the 13th century, but no details are available. The inscription on the Altīgöz köprüsü (*RCEA*, no. 3658) shows that the town was Turkish in 606/1209. It was to Ķara Ḥiṣār that the famous Saldjūķ vizier Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā' Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 687/1288-9) from whom the town received its designation, retired with his treasures before the Karamānians. His sons, Tādj al-Dīn Ḥusayn and Nuṣrat al-Dīn received in fief in 1271 the whole territory of Ķara Ḥiṣār, with Kütahya, Ṣandīklī, Ghurghurum and Aķ Shehir, later also Lādīķ (Laodicaea on the Lycus, near the modern Deñizli) and Khonas (ancient Chonae, modern Honaz); see Aķsarāyī (Osman Turan), 74; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), 308 (also mentioned, in connection with the sons of the Ṣāḥib, p. 323, 327, 334; by Ķara Ḥiṣār Dewele our Ķara Ḥiṣār is meant). Lādīķ and Khonas fell into the hands of the Turkman 'Alī Beg during the troubles of Djimrī (1277); he was, however, defeated in a successful campaign by the Sultan and killed near Ķara Ḥiṣār (Ibn Bībī, 333). The latter descendants of the Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā' had to submit to the Germiyans and finally lost their territory to them. (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār* (Taeschner) states in one passage, p. 31, that Ķarasār was in the possession of Ibn Torghud; in

another, p. 36 and 37, that Ḳarasārī was in the possession of Ibn al-Sāyib—by which no doubt the descendant of the Ṣāḥib is meant—under the suzerainty of the Germiyans; cf. also Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, 1st series, ii, 563 ff.) After this Ḳara Ḥiṣār shared in the vicissitudes of the principality of Germiyan [*q.v.*], which soon became a dependency of the Ottomans and under Bāyazīd I actually belonged for a time to the Ottomans, from 792/1390 until its restoration under Tīmūr, 805/1402. Khiḍr Pasha (d. 750/1349), son of Sulaymān-shāh of Germiyan, and other members of this princely family, are mentioned as heads (*čelebi*) of the Mewlewī colonies in Ḳara Ḥiṣār (see Ghālib Dede, *Tedhkire-yi Shuʿarāʾ-yi Mewlewiyye*, MS Vienna, no. 1257, fol. 54r, 90r = ʿAlī Enwer, *Semāʿkhāne-yi Edeb*, Istanbul 1309, 48 f., 102). During Tīmūr's invasion of Asia Minor after the battle of Anḳara (1401), Ḳara Ḥiṣār also suffered from the raiding parties of the conqueror (Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1887-8, ii, 446, 457, 484, 492 = *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, transl. Pétis de la Croix, Delft 1723, iv, 21, 31, 60, 68; Dukas, *Hist.*, Bonn, 77).

In 832/1428-9 the principality of the Germiyan-oghlu definitely fell into the hands of the Ottomans, and Ḳara Ḥiṣār with its territory became a *liwā* (*sandjaḳ*) of the *eyālet* Anadolu (cf. *Djihān-nümā*, 641). As a fortress near the Ḳaramān frontier, it was, as long as Ḳaramān remained independent, of military importance. At the beginning of the war with Uzun Ḥasan (877/1472-3) the prince Muṣṭafā retired to Ḳara Ḥisār and used it as a base for his expeditions against the Ḳaramān-oghlu, the allies of the Persians (ʿĀshikpasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh* (Giese), 169; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj ül-Tewārīkh*, i, 534; Caterino Zeno, loc. cit), and in 895/1489-90 it served as a base for the operations of Hersek-zāde Aḥmed Pasha against the Egyptians who had invaded Ḳaramān (Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 65). Ḳara Ḥiṣār is often mentioned in connection with the revolts and struggles of contending pashas in the 17th century (1011/1602, revolt of Djelālī, 1041/1631, revolt of Baba ʿÖmer, 1069/1658, revolt of Abāza Ḥasan Pasha). In 1833 the town was temporarily occupied by Ibrāhīm Pasha, son of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha. In the Greco-Turkish war in 1921-3 it was occupied by the Greeks twice (28 March-7 April 1921 and 13 July 1921-27 August 1922). The war caused great damage to the town, which was, however, restored by reconstruction on a large scale under the republic.

The greater part of the scanty antiquities from the classical period seems to have been removed to the town from the ruined sites of the vicinity, notably Seydīler (Prymnessus), Isče Ḳara Ḥiṣār (Docimium) and Čifut Ḳaṣabasī (Synnada). The town's land-mark, the steep trachyte cone with the late Byzantine fortifications restored by the Germiyan-oghlu (described by Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 29-34) bore as late as at Niebuhr's time (1766) the name Bek Baran Ḳalʿesi ("the fortress which gives refuge to the Beg"). It was never properly inhabited, and is now derelict, but was used occasionally for the internment of political prisoners (ʿĀshiḳpasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Istanbul, 243 f., not in ed. Giese), and as late as 1802 for the imprisonment of the French prisoners of war from Egypt.—The other monuments from the epoch of the Saldjūḳs and the Germiyan-oghlu, such as the Ṣāḥibler Türbesi, the Ulu Djāmiʿ of Khōdja Beg and the mausoleum et Sulṭān Dīwānī, as well as the Ottoman monuments, such as the mosque of Aḥmed Gedik Pasha with its annexes (the *medrese* is at present used as a museum; Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Fâtih devri mimarisi*, Istanbul 1953, 252-58), still await detailed examination.—In addition to the inscription on the Altlgöz köprüsü, mentioned above, other inscriptions from the town are published in *RCEA*, nos. 4132, 4329, 4540 and 4667.

Bibliography: *Sāl-nāme* of the *wilāyet* Khudāwendigār for 1302, 466 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 224 ff.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 641 f.; Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1677, i, 87 ff.; Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii/2, 82; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 131-4 (with plan and panorama); W. G. Browne (1802), in R. Walpole, *Travels in various countries of the East*, London 1820, 116 f.; Léon de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1838, 64 ff. (with beautiful views); W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 462, 470; v. Vincke, F. L. Fischer and v. Moltke, *Planatlas von Kleinasien*, Berlin 1846, 54, page no. 4; *Mitt. des Deutschen Arch. Instituts in Athen*, 1882, 139 f.; G. Radet, *Rapport sur une Mission scientifique en Asie Mineure*, *Nouv. Archives des Missions scientifiques*, 1895, 425 ff.; E. Naumann, in *Globus*, vii, no. 19 (illustration); Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen*, Berlin 1896, 81 ff.; Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, Berlin 1899, 390 ff.; Besim Darkot, in *IA*, vii, 277-80; Edib Ali Baki, *Afyonda eski zamanlarda yaşayiş*, in *Taşpinar dergisi*, Afyon; M. Ferid and M. Mesût, *Sahip Ata ile ogullari*, Istanbul 1934.

(J. H. Mordtmann-Fr. Taeschner)

AGA [see agha].

AGADIR, one of the names of a fortified enclosure among the Berbers, where chambers are allotted to the various families of the tribe for storage of grain, and where the tribe takes refuge in times of danger. The following are the areas where this ancient Berber institution survives: Djabal Nafūsa (under the name of *gasr* = *ḳaṣr*, or *temidelt*); Southern Tunisia (*ghurfa*); the Awrās (*gelāa* = *ḳalʿa*); and in Morocco the Rīf and more especially the Great, Middle and Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa (*agadir* among the Shluḥs and *igherm* among the Berbers of the Middle Atlas). The word *agadir* probably goes back to Phoenician *gadir* = Hebrew *gādēr* "wall" (in fact the word has in the Sūs the meaning of "strong wall").

Bibliography: R. Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas*: *L'Agadir des Ikounka*, *Hesp.*, 1929; idem, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930, 253 ff.; idem, *Villages et Kasbas Berbères*, Paris 1930, 9 ff.; Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers Collectifs*, *Hesp.*, 1949, 97 ff.; idem, *Greniers-Citadelles au Maroc*, Paris 1951.

AGADIR-IGHIR, Moroccan town situated at the junction of the Moroccan High Atlas with the plain of Sūs, on the Atlantic coast. The town stands at the northern end of a large bay, at the foot of a hill some 800-900 feet high which is surmounted by a fort. The population numbers 30,111, of whom 1,518 are Jews and 6,062 Europeans (1952 census).

It is not clear whether a settlement existed there before the arrival of the Portuguese, although a letter from the inhabitants of Māssa to Emmanuel I of Portugal, dated 6 July, 1510 (*Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, *Portugal*, i, 243) speaks of an *agādīr al-arbaʿā* at that site. This suggests that an *agādīr* existed there near which a travelling market was held every Wednesday. At all events, it was of no great importance. Leo Africanus mentions the

same settlement under the name Gartguessem ("Cape Ksīma" named after a Berber tribe living round about the town).

In the second half of 1505, a Portuguese nobleman João Lopes de Sequeira, built a wooden castle there, perhaps to protect a fishing fleet, perhaps also, with the approval of his sovereign, to thwart the Spaniards in the Canary Islands who had designs of the southern coast of Morocco. The castle was situated near a spring, at the foot of the hill commanding the roadstead. This site still bears the name of Funti, although its official designation seems from the first to have been Santa Cruz del Cabo de Aguar, by reason of its relative proximity to Cape Ghir. This castle was purchased by the King of Portugal on 25 January 1513.

The establishment of the Portuguese at Santa Cruz caused a strong reaction among the Berber tribes of the Sūs. The members of the Djazūliyya order, which had established itself in the Sūs 50 years previously, were able to exploit this antipathy for the purpose of a holy war, and some of them promoted the rise of the Saʿdids (Banū Saʿd), a family of *shurafāʾ* coming from the Darʿa (Draʿ). The chief of this family, Muḥammad, later entitled al-Ḳāʾim bi-Amr Allāh, was proclaimed war leader about the year 1510.

From that date the Portuguese fortress was subjected to an intermittent, but nevertheless irksome, military and economic blockade, and to attacks which grew in severity as the power of the Saʿdids increased. In September 1540, the Saʿdid king of the Sūs, Muḥammad al-Shaykh, son of al-Ḳāʾim, captured the hill which dominated Santa Cruz and concentrated there a strong force of artillery. The siege began on 16 February 1541 and ended, on 12 March, with the surrender of the Governor, D. Guttere de Monroy, and the survivors of the garrison. A very detailed and lively account of these events can be found in the *Chronique de Santa Cruz*, the work of one of the besieged who, after 5 years' captivity at Tarūdant and elsewhere, wrote this account of his adventures.

For many years Santa Cruz-Agadir was left deserted until the Saʿdid sultan ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib biʾllāh (1557-74) built a fort on the top of Agadir hill to protect the anchorage from the Christian fleets. From then onwards Agadir was one of the points at which European traders regularly called, principally to take on cargoes of sugar (see especially *Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc, 1ère série, France*, iii, 361). Agadir retained its role of trading port up to the founding of the Muslim town of Mogador [*q.v.*] in 1773. Since that date, Agadir harbour has been little used.

The settlement achieved momentary renown in 1911 when the German gunboat "Panther" cast anchor in the roads to assert German claims there at a time when General Moinier's column had just occupied Fez (1 July 1911). After the signing of the Protectorate agreement, Agadir was occupied by French troops in 1913. Its population was then less than 1,000.

Since then, the town has developed greatly. It has become the chief town of one of the administrative regions of Morocco which comprises nearly 700,000 inhabitants. It owes its growth chiefly to the development of its agriculture and fisheries, and to the exploitation of its mineral wealth. The port of Agadir, constructed since 1914, has recently been enlarged.

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(R. le Tourneau)

ĀGDĀL (Berber), a term borrowed by the Arabic of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia from Berber, with the same meaning as in that language namely "pasturage reserved for the exclusive use of the landowner". In Morocco, however, the word has acquired the special sense of "a wide expanse of pasture lands, surrounded by high walls and adjoining the Sultan's palace, reserved for the exclusive use of his cavalry and livestock". Such enclosures exist in each of the royal cities, Fez, Meknes, Rabāṭ and Marrākush.

(G. S. Colin)

ĀGEHĪ, Turkish poet and historian, d. 985/1577-8. His real name was Manṣūr. He was born in Yenidje-yi Wardar (Giannitsa in Greek Macedonia), which was at that time an important centre. His career as *mudarris* and *ḳāḍī* took him to various places; Gallipoli and Istanbul are mentioned by his biographers. Āgehī was a poet of considerable renown in spite of the fact that no *dīwān* of his poems seems to have existed. He owed his fame, particularly, to a *ḳaṣīda* addressed to his sweetheart, a young sailor, and composed in the professional slang of the Turkish sailors of his time and containing many terms borrowed from the nautical lingua franca, especially, terms belonging to the terminology of the galley; it was imitated by several poets of his time. Of Āgehī's only known historical work, the *Taʾrīkh-i Ghazāt-i Sigetwar*, describing Suleymān's expedition against Szigetvár, (see Babinger, 69) no manuscript is known.

Bibliography: The main sources for Āgehī's life are the contemporary collections of biographies of Ottoman poets (*Tedhkire-yi Shuʿarāʾ*, by ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, Ḳinalī-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, Riyāḍī, ʿAhdī, Beyānī, Ḳāf-zāde Fāʾiḍī) and the biographical sections in ʿĀlī's *Kunh al-Akhbār*; none of these sources is published; excerpts in the article Āgehī in Saadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1936, i, 16-8, where also several of Āgehī's poems are printed. The *ḳaṣīda* in sailors' slang is published with a commentary in A. Tietze, *xvi. asır Türk şiirinde gemici dili, Āgehī kasidesi ve tahmisleri, Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 1951, 113-121 (with further bibliography). (A. Tietze)

AGĒL [see ʿUḲAYL].

AGHA, a word used in eastern Turkish generally to mean "elder brother", sometimes in contrast to *ini*, "younger brother", but in Yakut (*āgā*) meaning "father" (cf. V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon Déchiffrées*, 98 (*āḳā*)), in Koybal-Karaghasī "grand-

father" and "uncle", and in Čuwash "elder sister". Among the Mongols it appears already to have been used as an honorific, the princesses of the imperial family being designated by it (cf. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, xxxix-xl).

In Ottoman Turkish *agha* (usually pronounced *ā'ā* or even *ā*) means "chief", "master" and sometimes "landowner". It is also used for the head servant of a household and occurs in combination with many words, e.g. *čarshi aghasi* ("market inspector"), *khān aghasi* ("innkeeper"), *köy aghasi* ("village headman") and *aghabey* ("elder brother" —cf. above— or "senior"). As a title, up to the reform period and in some cases even later, it was given to many persons of varying importance employed in the government service, for the most part in posts of a military, or at least a non-secretarial, character, being contrasted particularly with *efendi* [*q.v.*]. The most notable *aghas* of this kind were the *Yeničeri Aghasi* (see YENI ČERI) and most of the principal officers of the standing as opposed to the feudal army, and the *Üzengi* or *Rikāb Aghalari* and most officers of both the "Inside" and "Outside" Services of the sultan's household. But the *kāhya* (*ked-khudā*) of the Grand Vizier was also entitled *agha*, though his duties were entirely administrative and secretarial—whence, in his case, the word *efendi* was usually added to his title and he was called *Agha Efendimiz*; and so were the eunuchs of the palace service heade by the *Bāb ül-Se'ādet Aghasi* or *Kapi Aghasi* (white) and the *Dār ül-Se'ādet Aghasi* or *Kizlar Aghasi* (black), and the eunuchs attendant on the *Wālide Sulṭān* and princesses of the imperial blood. Hence eunuchs employed by officials and the well-to-do in general came usually to be known as *ḥarem* or *khādim aghalari*, till the word *agha* alome might sometimes mean "eunuch".

After the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826 and the formation by Maḥmūd II of the *'Asākir-i Manṣūre*, it became the custom to entitle *agha* illiterate officers up to the rank of *ḳā'im-maḳām*, literate officers of corresponding rank being addressed as *efendi*; and this usage was maintained among the people up to the end of the Ottoman regime. Until the establishment of the Constitution there existed a military rank intermediate between those of *yüzbashi* and *binbashi* called *ḳol aghasi* (i.e. commander of a wing).

Agha, often spelt *āḳā*, is also used in Persian, in which it again sometimes signifies "eunuch", as notably in the case of the first Ḳādjār, Āghā Muḥammad Shāh.

Bibliography: W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuch d. Turko-Tatar. Sprachen*, i, 5-6; H. Vambéry, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch d. Turko-Tatar. Sprachen*, 5; Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, 24; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1921, 146; 'Aṭā, *Ta'rīkh*, i, passim, particularly sections beginning pp. 7, 30, 72, 138, 157, 182, 205, 209, 257 and 290; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, cf. index; *IA*, s.v. *Ağa*; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, index.

(H. BOWEN)

AGHA KHĀN, properly ĀḲĀ KHĀN, title applied to the Imāms of the Nizārī [*q.v.*] Ismā'īlīs. It was originally an honorary title at the court of the Ḳādjār Shāhs of Persia, borne by Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh, who, after the murder of his father Khalīl Allāh in 1817, gained the favour of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh and received the hand of one of his daughters in marriage. In consequence of intrigues at the court under the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh revolted in 1838 in Kirmān, but was defeated and fled in 1840 to Sind, where he rendered valuable services to Sir Ch. Napier in the Sind campaign. After an unsuccessful attempt to establish himself in Persia from the Bunpore district, he went to live in Bombay, but was removed to Calcutta at the instance of the Persian government. In 1848 he returned to Bombay, which has remained, except for a brief period at Bangalore, the headquarters of the movement headed by him and his successors. Internal conflicts among the Khodjas [*q.v.*] concerning the leadership of the Imām, led to lawsuits, culminating in the famous judgment of Sir Joseph Arnould in 1866 in favour of the Agha Khān. (It was this case, during which a great deal of information about the sect was elicited, which called the attention of western scholarship to the continued existence of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs; cf. M. H. B. Freer, *The Khojas, the Disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain, Macmillan's Magazine* 1876, 431 ff.; St. Guyard, in *JA*, 1877/i, 337 ff.) Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh (d. 1881) was succeeded by his son 'Alī Shāh (d. 1885), and the latter by his son, the present Agha Khān, H. H. Sir Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (b. 2 Nov. 1877), the spiritual head of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs in India (including the Khodjas), Persia, Central Asia, Syria and East Africa. Under his guidance, the organization of the Nizārī community has been greatly developed. The Agha Khān has also occupied a prominent position in public life. His heir (*walī 'ahd*) is 'Alī Khān (b. 1910).

Bibliography: J. N. Hollister, *The Shī'a of India*, London 1953, 364 ff. The memoirs of the present Agha Khān were published under the title of *World Enough and Time*, London 1954.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ĀGHĀ MUḤAMMAD SHĀH, founder of the Ḳādjār [*q.v.*] dynasty of Persia, who was born in 1155/1742, was the elder son of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, hereditary chief of the powerful Ḳādjār tribe. When a child he was castrated by order of 'Ādil Shāh, Nādir Shāh's nephew, an act which warped his character in later life. On his father's murder in 1758, he became chief of the Ḳādjārs. He spent his youth at Karīm Khān's court at Shīrāz; on Karīm's death in 1779 he fled to Astarābād and engaged in a long struggle with his descendants. By 1785 he had made himself master of the north and centre of the kingdom, and in that year he made Teheran his capital because of its central position and its proximity to the Ḳādjār territories. In 1794 he captured the gallant Luṭf 'Alī Khān, the last of Karīm Khān's descendants, and put him to death after inflicting fearful tortures. In the following year he re-established Persian authority over Georgia. He was crowned Shāh in 1796. He subsequently added Khurāsān to his dominions, deposing Shāhrukh, Nādir Shāh's blind grandson; by means of torture, he forced Shāhrukh to disclose where he had hidden his grandfather's jewels. So dreadful were the unfortunate prince's sufferings that he died. Nemesis soon overtook Āghā Muḥammad, for he was assassinated in 1797. He showed great skill as a statesman and also as a military leader, but his reputation was sullied by his revengefulness, his revolting cruelty and his insatiable avarice.

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Ḳulī Khān Hidāyāt, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, ix; Sir J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, ii, 300-302; R. G. Watson, *A History of Persia from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Year* 1858, London 1866, 65-105; P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*[3], ii, 289-96.

(Cl. Huart-L. Lockhart)

AGHAČ, meaning in Ottoman Turkish "a tree", "wood", in Eastern Turkish (in which the forms *yïghač, yïghāč* are the more frequent) means also "the male member" and "parasang"; cf. al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, Istanbul 1933, iii, 6, and Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkische Wortschatz*, Budapest-Leipzig 1928, 87. Al-Kāshgharī shows only the forms *yïghāč* and *yïghač*, but W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, 1893, i, 150, shows also *aghač* and other forms of the word such as *aghatz, aghas* and *yaghač*, as signifying not only "tree" and "wood" but also "a measure of distance". The measure thus referred to by al-Kāshgharī as a "parasang" is said (cf. Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, Paris 1870, 554-5) to be three times the distance at which a man standing between two others can make himself heard by them. An *aghač* in this sense is equal, according to a verse of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, to 12,000 double cubits (*ḳarī*); according to Pietro della Valle, *Voyages*, iii, 141, to a Spanish league, or four Italian miles; according to Flandin and Costa, *Voyages en Perse*, i, 111, to 6 kilometres; and according to Radloff, loc. cit., to between 6 and 7 Russian versts.

Bibliography: in addition to the references given above, Sulaymān Efendi, *Lughat-i Čaghatāʾī wa-Turkī-yi ʿUthmānī*, 15 (transl. I. Kúnos, Budapest 1902, 6, 105); H. Vámbéry, *Čagataische Sprachstudien*, 357. (Cl. Huart-H. Bowen)

AL-AGHĀNĪ [see abū'l-faradj al-iṣfahānī].

AGHĀTHŪDHĪMŪN, Agathodaemon. The correct transliteration of the name occurs, e.g., in Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*, i, 18. Other forms are Aghāthādhīmūn and similar spellings, Aghādhīmūn and similar spellings, as well as more serious distortions. In Latin translations from Arabic we find various representations of different accurateness, e.g. in the *Turba Philosophorum*: Agadimon, Adimon, Agmon.

The Graeco-Egyptian god Agathodaemon (see Ganschinietz, in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. Suppl.-Bd., s.v.) is represented in Arabic tradition as one of the ancient Egyptian sages or prophets. Already Ps.-Manetho refers to Agathodaemon as the third king of Egypt, in another place as son of Hermes the second and father of Tat. According to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 2, Agathodaemon was the teacher of Idrīs/Henoch/Hermes. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, on the authority of al-Mubashshir b. Fātik, says that he was the teacher of Asclepius. The Ṣābians [*q.v.*] identify him with Shīth b. Ādam. Ibn Waḥshiyya attributes to him the prohibition of fishes and beans, after him confirmed by Armisa/Hermes, and also the invention of three ancient alphabets. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Bombay), iv, 296, mention him together with three other sages, each of whom inaugurated one of four schools: Agathodaemon created the Pythagorean. Djābir b. Ḥayyān mentions him in several places together with Socrates, Ps.-Madjrīṭī together with other philosophers, and al-Shahrastānī quotes some teachings of his.

Agathodaemon is a great authority in the occult sciences. Djābir and Ps.-Madjrīṭī attribute to him a clock that lures snakes, scorpions, etc. out of their holes. He is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm amongst the alchemical authors and he is quoted in several authors on the art, even in Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's *Sirr al-Asrār*.

Many authors consider the two great pyramids the graves of Hermes and Agathodaemon [cf. haram].

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AL-AGHLAB AL-ʿIDJLĪ (al-Aghlab b. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayda b. Ḥāritha b. Dulaf b. Djusham), Arab poet, born in the pre-Islamic era and converted to Islam, who later settled at al-Kūfa, and was killed at the battle of Nihāwand (21/642) at the reputed age of 90. He is not regarded as one of the Companions of the Prophet. Al-Aghlab is considered to be the first to have employed the *radjaz* metre in lengthy poems constructed on the pattern of the *ḳaṣīda*, but very few traces of his works remain. Critics praise particularly a poem on the prophetess Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*], and quote an anecdote which suggests that Islam afforded him little inspiration for the composition of religious poetry.

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(Ch. Pellat)

AGHLABIDS or **BANU 'L-AGHLAB**, a Muslim dynasty which throughout the 3rd/9th century held Ifrīḳiya in the name of the ʿAbbāsids and reigned at al-Ḳayrawān.

(i) General Survey; (ii) Religious Life; (iii) Chronological Survey.

(i) general survey.

In 184/800 the founder of this dynasty, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, who, as governor of the Zāb, had displayed skill and energy in restoring law and order in his province, was invested with princely power by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd on terms advantageous to the latter. His vassal relinquished the subvention hitherto paid to Ifrīḳiya and undertook to pay a tribute of 40,000 dinars to the imperial treasury. The ties which linked the Aghlabid *amīr* to the Caliph were such as to allow him a large measure of autonomy, especially in the matter of the succession. "He bequeathed his dominions to a son or a brother as he pleased" (al-Nuwayrī), making his choice without interference from Baghdād, and this practice was followed by each of the *amīrs* who succeeded him.

Our knowledge of these Arab rulers of Ifrīḳiya is considerable, and it is possible to discern their

characters with reasonable clarity. In these high officials of the caliphs who had become independent princes, one finds the merits and defects of their masters. Although the majority were devoted to pleasure and addicted to drink, which at times incited them to outbursts of violence and bloodshed, there were among them men of culture who had a sense of greatness, shrewd statesmen, at once stern and humane, and leaders anxious to promote public works and to devote the revenues accruing to them to the welfare of the State. Under them, Ifrīḳiya experienced a genuine renaissance, and many magnificent foundations still testify to their beneficent rule.

They needed energy and political skill to overcome the difficulties which confronted them. Ibrāhim b. al-Aghlab (184-97/800-12) had to extinguish the last outbreaks of Berber revolt. On the borders of Aghlabid territory, Khāridjism was in control of Southern Ifrīḳiya, of the Awrās and nearly all of Central Maghrib, the Zāb forming the western boundary of the kingdom. The adherence of the Kutāma of Lesser Kabylia to Shīʿism was to cause the downfall of the dynasty. The gravest crises, however, were centred round the very heart of the Aghlabid kingdom. Tunis and even al-Ḳayrawān were centres of opposition, and the most troublesome elements were the Arabs of the *djund*, who ought to have been the strongest supporters of Aghlabid power. In the towns in which they were garrisoned, they treated the indigenous population with contumely, and proved exacting and contentious in their dealings with the rulers of the country. Ibrāhīm I had to suppress two Arab revolts: that of Ḥamdīs b. ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān al-Kīndī (186/802) and that of ʿImrān b. Mukhallad (194/809), in both of which Ḳayrawānīs were involved. Foreseeing the danger, the *amīr* had constructed, 2 m. south of al-Ḳayrawān, al-Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm (or al-ʿAbbāsiyya [*q.v.*]) and had taken up residence there. He surrounded himself there with those elements of the *djund* considered reliable and with slaves bought for the purpose, who constituted an imposing coloured guard.

Under the third Aghlabid *amīr*, Abū Muḥammad Ziyādat Allāh (201-23/817-38), who had displayed excessive severity towards the *djund*, a new and more serious Arab revolt broke out, instigated by Manṣūr b. Naṣr al-Tunbudhī. From his fort at Tunbudha, near Tunis, he called the Arab chiefs to arms and received their support (209/824). After varying fortunes the insurgents found themselves masters of nearly the whole of Ifrīḳiya except Ḳābis and its surrounding district. With the help of the Berbers of the Djarīd, Ziyādat Allāh succeeded in regaining the advantage. Al-Tunbudhī surrendered and was executed. The coalition then broke up and Ziyādat Allāh pardoned the remaining rebel chiefs. Once again the Ḳayrawānīs had supported the cause of the insurgents.

The hostility of the Ḳayrawānīs and the policy of the Aghlabids towards them constitute another aspect of the internal history of the dynasty. This hostility was fostered mainly by the religious classes, scholars and devotees who enjoyed the confidence and regard of the people. These doctors of religion, exponents of *ḥadīth*, jurists and theologians who, for the most part, were of eastern origin, lived close to the people and guided public opinion. As professing ascetics, they criticised the morals of the *amīrs*; as champions of orthodoxy, they protested against their illegal decisions and their abuse of power. The second of the Aghlabids, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (197-201/812-7) promulgated a financial reform which was contrary to Islamic tradition, namely, the levy on crops of a fixed sum in cash instead of the tithe in kind. This measure aroused strong protests, and the death of the *amīr* soon afterwards was regarded as a divine punishment. On the whole, the Aghlabid rulers treated the religious classes with respect and tried to conciliate them, but they rarely induced them to relax their uncompromising attitude. Apart from various architectural creations and public works (which will will be described later), which may be considered to owe their origin to this religious policy, the conquest of Byzantine Sicily can also be attributed to the same cause.

Although this conquest, the supreme military achievement of the Aghlabid *amīrs*, was undertaken by Ziyādat Allāh immediately after the revolt of Manṣūr al-Tunbudhī, and was doubtless inspired by the desire to divert the energies of the Arabs to an external theatre of operations, the expedition of 211/827 assumed the guise of a holy war. The army was entrusted to the learned jurist Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*], and Sūsa [*q.v.*], where the fighters for the Faith and their followers embarked, already had the character of a *djihād* port, as the town had been furnished with a *ribāṭ* six years previously.

This *ribāṭ* still exists. An inscription at the foot of the signal tower bears the name of Ziyādat Allāh and the date 206/821. The rebuilding of the Great Mosque at al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] is attributed to the same *amīr*. This splendid building, founded by Uḳba b. Nāfiʿ about 670, twice remodelled or rebuilt in the course of the 8th century, was in fact the work of the Aghlabids. In addition to Ziyādat Allāh, two other *amīrs*, Abū Ibrāhīm and Ibrāhīm II, carried out work there and enlarged the prayer-hall.

The Aghlabids were enthusiastic builders. Under Ziyādat Allāh's successor, Abū ʿIḳāl al-Aghlab (223-6/837-40), the small mosque named after Abū Fatyāta was built at Sūsa, which acquired other new foundations about the same time. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad endowed it with the Great Mosque (236/850) which still exists. The ramparts, also preserved, were constructed under Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (242-9/856-63), who of all the dynasty figures most prominently in the architectural history of Ifrīḳiya. To him is attributed the construction of the great mosque of Tunis, which like that at al-Ḳayrawān, superseded an earlier mosque which was now considered inadequate. The creative activity and the munificence of this prince were shown, above all, in his military and public works. Ibn Khaldūn, who is usually more cautious in his assertions, states that "Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad built in Africa nearly 10,000 forts, constructed of stone and mortar and furnished with iron gates". It is true that he constructed a large number, both along the coast and on the western frontier, many perhaps being strongholds of the Byzantine *limes* which he restored. At Sūsa, the rampart, dating, according to an inscription, from 245/859, seems to have been built on the old wall of Hadrumetum. Similarly the Burdj Yunga, on the Tunisian coast south of Mahres, which also dates from the Aghlabid era, is a Byzantine fort, the foundations of which were used by the Muslim architects.

The same thing probably applies to a number of of hydraulic undertakings, but it can be asserted that the Aghlabids carried out many of these in order to restore prosperity to regions possessing only a poor water supply, notably to the south

of the "Tunisian chain". A recent work by M. Solignac, based on an examination of the constructional methods employed and the nature of the materials used, and a comparison with those used at the neighbouring reservoirs at al-Ḳayrawān, leaves no doubt on this point.

For their public works, their defence installations, and, in general, for their buildings, the *amīrs* evidently relied on a labour force recruited locally. The superintendence of the workshops was entrusted to non-Muslim freedmen, their clients (*mawlā*), whose names are recorded on the buildings themselves. On their coins are mentioned officials of the same origin who controlled the Mint.

Although the inherited traditions of Christian Africa had a considerable influence on the construction and ornamentation of buildings (the Roman mosaic style of paving being still employed), Aghlabid architecture draws also on Oriental sources. The influence of Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia is apparent, and a new and specifically Muslim art emerges which finds its most striking expression in the Great Mosque at al-Ḳayrawān.

The dynasty enjoyed its last years of prosperity in the reign of Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm II, who succeeded Abū ʿAbd-Allāh Muḥammad called Abu 'l-Gharāniḳ ("Father of the Cranes"), a frivolous and extravagant prince. Ibrāhīm II, in whose strange character were blended in exaggerated form the merits and defects of his line, was by turns a just sovereign, concerned for the welfare of his people, and a sadistic tyrant, whose cruelty spared no member of his family. On the command of the ʿAbbāsid Calīph al-Muʾtaḍid, who had received complaints about him, he abdicated in 289/902 in favour of his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh, and devoted himself to a most edifying life of penitence. Being unable to perform the pilgrimage by the overland route, he travelled to Sicily, made himself master of Taormina, and then went on to Calabria, where he died before Cosenza (19 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 289/29 Oct. 902).

During the reign of Ibrāhīm II there appeared in Ifrīḳiya the Shīʿite missionary Abū ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], who was to bring about the downfall of the dynasty and secure the triumph of the Fāṭimid al-Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh. Supported by the Kutāma Berbers, whom he had converted to Shīʿism, Abū ʿAbd Allāh set out to conquer the Aghlabid kingdom. The posts on the western frontier, some of which had been imprudently denuded of their Arab garrisons, victims of Ibrāhīm's severity, were incapable of checking these fanatical mountaineers. The *amīr* Abū Muḍar Ziyādat Allāh III perceived the danger, but his measures lacked any rational plan and were insufficient to delay the catastrophe. He restored the walls of al-Ḳayrawān and sent against the Kutāma several forces which were defeated. Then, announcing a great victory, he made preparations for flight. He left Raḳḳāda, the royal city which Ibrāhīm II had founded 4½ m. south of al-Ḳayrawān, and, taking with him what treasures he could, set out for Egypt. From there he went to Raḳḳa, but later returned to Egypt, and died at Jerusalem.

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(ii) Religious life.

Al-Ḳayrawān under the Aghlabids was a great centre of Islamic religious life, scholarship and literature, both in its own right and as a half-way house between the Islamic East and West. Whilst they did not elaborate a common local interpretation of religious law of their own, the scholars of al-Ḳayrawān followed one or the other of the Eastern schools of thought, sometimes adopting an eclectic attitude. This eclecticism is attested not only by the *Asadiyya* of Ibn al-Furāt but by other works as well. ʿIrāḳian and Medinese doctrines were equally well represented in al-Ḳayrawān of the Aghlabids, but the teaching of al-Shāfiʿī never took root there. In particular, al-Ḳayrawān under the Aghlabids became the most important centre of the Mālikī school, superseding Medina and Cairo as such. Some of the most prominent specialists in religious law of the period, whose works have to a greater or lesser extent survived, are: Asad b. al-Furāt ([*q.v.*], d. 213), Saḥnūn ([*q.v.*], d. 240), author of the *Mudawwana*, the great digest of Mālikī doctrine, Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā (d. 288), Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar al-Kinānī (d. 289), ʿĪsā b. Miskīn (d. 295), and Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaddād (d. 302). Manuscripts dating from the time of the Aghlabids, of the works of these and of other scholars, are still preserved in the library of the Great Mosque of al-Ḳayrawān. In the field of dogmatic theology, too, al-Ḳayrawān under the Aghlabids was the meeting-place of many opinions and the stage of lively discussions, occasionally, too, of violence and persecution, between the orthodox, the Djabariyya, the Murdjiʾa, the Muʿtazila, and last but not least the Ibāḍiyya (see these artt.). Asad b. al-Furāt, for instance, assaulted Sulaymān al-Farrāʾ who denied that the believers would see God, and when Saḥnūn became ḳāḍī, he had slowly beaten to death his predecessor ʿAbd Allāh b. Abi 'l-Djawād, who was of the opinion that the Ḳurʾān was created. Concerning this last proposition, the religious policy of the Aghlabids followed that of the Caliphs of Baghdād. Shortly after the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] in the East, the upholders of the orthodox doctrine had to undergo a similar, though milder, tribulation under the pretender Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab; Saḥnūn himself had been in danger on that occasion, but escaped serious trouble. In the same way as in the East, an orthodox reaction soon asserted itself, but Muʿtazilite doctrines were not eradicated, and a professed Muʿtazilite, such as Ibrāhīm b. Aswad al-Ṣaddīnī, was appointed ḳāḍī of al-Ḳayrawān at the end of the reign of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, shortly before the end of the dynasty. Religious life proper is represented by a great number of pious persons and saints who were often

in opposition to, but still in contact with the religious scholars. Both groups were very influential under the Aghlabids, and both showed a spirit of independence and held a critical attitude towards the government. Occasionally, the ḳāḍīs were at the same time governors and military commanders. Several collections of biographies, the oldest of which are very near to the period in question, give a vivid picture of the religious and intellectual life in al-Ḳayrawān (and in the other cities of Ifrīḳiya) under the Aghlabids.

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(iii) Chronological survey.

The dynasty consists of the following eleven princes:

1. Ibrāhīm I b. al-Aghlab b. Sālim b. ʿIḳāl al-Tamīmī (12 Djumādā II 184/9 July 800—21 Shawwāl 196/5 July 812), the founder of the dynasty. His father al-Aghlab, a former associate of Abū Muslim, was one of the commanders in the Khurasanian corps sent to Ifrīḳiya by al-Manṣūr; in 148/785 he had succeeded Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath as governor, and was killed in 150/767 during the revolt of al-Ḥasan b. Ḥarb. In 179/795 Ibrāhīm was appointed governor of the Zāb, and in return for his assistance in putting down a revolt against the governor Ibn Muḳātil was granted the province as a hereditary fief by Hārūn al-Rashīd. Energetic and wise, prudent and shrewd, a brave fighter as well as skilful diplomat, Ibrāhīm gave Ifrīḳiya an excellent administration. He was a man of wide culture, being, it is said, a good *faḳīh* as well as a fine orator and poet. At the time of his death, his son ʿAbd Allāh, who had been sent in 186/811 to suppress a rising of the Khāridjite Huwwāra in Tripolitania, was besieged in Tripoli by the Rustamid ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of Tāhart, and made peace with the latter by ceding the entire hinterland of Tripoli.

Supplementary bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 233 f.; *K. al-ʿUyūn* (*Frag. Hist. arab.*, 302 f.); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, i, 488, 511, 528, 532; Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *Chronique*, tr. Masqueray, 121-6; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, Cairo, 159-241; for Frankish embassies to Ifrīḳiya, cf. Eginhard, *Annales Francorum*, an. 801; Reinaud, *Invasion des Sarrazins en France*, Paris 1836, 117.

2. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh I b. Ibrāhīm (Ṣafar 197/Oct.-Nov. 812—6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 201/25 June 817) had a reputation for beauty and ill-nature; he was blamed more especially for having imposed non-kurʾānic, and particularly heavy, taxes.

3. Abū Muḥammad Ziyādat Allāh I b. Ibrāhīm (201/817—14 Radjab 223/10 June 838) was one of the greatest princes of the dynasty. Apart from the revolt of al-Tunbudhī, the outstanding event of his reign was the conquest of Sicily, from 217/827 onwards, under the command of the *ḳāḍī* of al-Ḳayrawān, Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*]. Two years later he granted an amnesty to the former rebels, and Ifrīḳiya entered on a period of general peace. To him is due also the restoration of the mosque of al-Ḳayrawān and other public works.

4. Abū ʿIḳāl al-Aghlab b. Ibrāhīm (223/838—Rabīʿ II 226/Feb. 841) was a brilliant and cultivated prince, who devoted his attention to the administration of Ifrīḳiya and gave a further impulsion to the *djihād* in Sicily.

5. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad I b. al-Aghlab (226/841-2 Muḥarram 242/10 May 856). Six years after his accession he was ousted by his brother Aḥmad, whom, however, he managed to defeat a year later and banished to the East, where he died. His reign was marked by two rebellions: those of Sālim b. Ghalbūn in 233/847-8 and of ʿAmr b. Sālim al-Tudjībī in 235/850. Muḥammad was a warm supporter of the Mālikites and especially of the *ḳāḍī* Saḥnūn [*q.v.*].

6. Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (242/856—13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 249/28 Dec. 863) was a nephew of the preceding. He had a peaceful reign, marked especially by public works.

7. Ziyādat Allāh II b. Muḥammad (249/863—19 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 250/23 Dec. 864) was a brother of the preceding.

8. Abu 'l-Gharānīḳ Muḥammad II b. Aḥmad (250/863—6 Djumādā I 261/16 Jan. 875), son of Abū Ibrāhīm, was noted for his great passion for hunting. His reign was marked by the conquest of Malta (255/868).

9. Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm II b. Aḥmad (261/875—17 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 289/18 Oct. 902) was raised to the throne by popular acclamation in place of his nephew Abū ʿIḳāl. In 264/878 he built himself a new residence, Raḳḳāda [*q.v.*], which he later abandoned for Tunis. The main events of his reign are the capture of Syracuse (264/878), the defeat of an invasion of Ifrīḳiya by al-ʿAbbās, son of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, by the Ibāḍites of Djabal Nafūsa (266-7/879-80), the suppression of a revolt of the Berbers of the Zāb (268/881-2), and of another rising in the north of Ifrīḳiya (280/893). His son ʿAbd Allāh, appointed governor of Sicily in 287/900, captured Palermo and Reggio, and was recalled on Ibrāhīm's abdication (see above).

10. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh II b. Ibrāhīm (289/902—29 Shaʿbān 290/23 July 903). He endeavoured to check the Shīʿite menace, but was assassinated at the instigation of his son Ziyādat Allāh.

11. Abū Muḍar Ziyādat Allāh III b. ʿAbd Allāh (290/903—296/909). Ascending the throne after the murder of his father and other members of his family, he was completely lacking in courage. Nevertheless, he proclaimed the *djihād* in 291/904, but, driven to despair by the fall of Laribus (18 March 909; see Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī), he incontinently fled from the country.

ĀGHMĀT, a small town in Southern Morocco, about 25 m. south of Marrākush, on a small water-course Wādī Ūrika or Wādī Āghmāt, at the edge of the Great Atlas range (the Djabal Daran of the Middle Ages). From the 5th/11th century the name of this place, according to the statement of the geographer Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, applied to two distinct settlements 1½ m. apart, namely Āghmāt an-Waylān (the spelling given by al-Baydāq, *Doc. inédits d'hist. almohade*) or Āghmāt of the Aylān (a Berber tribe: *arabice* Haylāna) and Āghmāt Ūrīka, or Āghmāt of the Ūrīka (Warīka). To-day the latter is a small country town named simply Ūrīka. Al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī describe Āghmāt as a flourishing town surrounded by well-irrigated gardens and inhabited by a considerable and highly industrious population. It is a fact that before the foundation of Marrākush, at the beginning of the

Almoravid expansion beyond the Great Atlas range, this town was the chief urban centre in southern Morocco and even, if one accepts the testimony of certain biographical notices in the Andalusian dictionaries, an extremely active cultural centre. In the 25 years prior to the accession of Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲ufīn [*q.v.*], many scholars and jurists flocked to Āg̲h̲māt from Cordova and even from al-Ḳayrawān, the latter having been forced into exile in large numbers by the disturbances which had just devastated Ifrīḳiya. At that time Āg̲h̲māt was the capital of a small Berber state, in the hands of a chief of the Mag̲h̲rāwa [*q.v.*], Laḳḳūt b. Yūsuf, who married the celebrated Zaynab al-Nafzāwiyya, the daughter of one of the emigrés from Ifrīḳiya. The latter afterwards became successively the wife of the Lamtūna chief Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], and of his lieutenant and successor Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲ufīn. This intelligent and cultured princess who, according to certain chroniclers, was also something of a magician, speedily assembled at Āg̲h̲māt a literary entourage and introduced the rough Lamtūna chieftains from the Sahara and their wives also to a more cultured mode of existence. Once it had been founded and become the capital of the Almoravids, Marrākus̲h̲ attracted many members of this select circle from Āg̲h̲māt, and this marked the beginning of its decline which, however, seems to have been consummated only much later. The Almoravids chose Āg̲h̲māt as an enforced place of residence for two of the rulers whom they had deposed in Spain, namely the Zīrid ruler of Granada ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn, and the famous al-Muʿtamid of Seville. Later, Āg̲h̲māt was the last stage on the journey of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart on his return from the East, prior to his "rising", in both a religious and a political sense, in the Great Atlas Mountains. By the time of Leo Africanus the old Berber capital was in a state of complete decline.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AG̲H̲RĪ, an East-Anatolian wilāyet (*il*) of the Turkish Republic, in large part identical with the former *sandjaḳ* of Bāyazīd [*q.v.*], and named from the Ag̲h̲rī Dag̲h̲ [*q.v.*], the Biblical Ararat, which forms its N. E. boundary with the *wilāyet* of Kars and with Iran. Area: 12,659 sq. km; inhabitants in 1889 (after Sāmī): 47,236, of which 8,367 were Armenians, the rest Muslims; in 1891 (after Cuinet): 52,544, mainly Kurdish Muslims (41,471) and 10, 485 Armenians; 1945 : 133,504, all Muslims, of whom 78, 987 were Kurds and 54,473 Turks. Capital: Karaköse (1945 : 8,605 inhabitants; formerly called Ḳara Kilise). Consists of 6 *ḳaḍā's* (*ilče*): Karaköse, Diyadin, Doğubayazit (formerly Bāyazīd [*q.v.*], capital of the *sandjaḳ* of the same name), Eleşkert (formerly Ales̲h̲kird or Alas̲h̲gird), Patnos (formerly ʿAntāb), Tutak. The name is now spelled Agrı.

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(F. TAESCHNER)

AG̲H̲RĪ DAG̲H̲ (sometimes also EGHRĪ DAG̲H̲), mountain (extinct volcano) with a double peak on the eastern frontier of the Turkish Republic, 39°45 N 44°20 E, the highest point in the plateau of the region of the Aras (Araxes) and Wan (high plateau of Ararat), in Armenian Masis or Masik, in Persian Kūh-i Nūḥ; by Europeans it is called Ararat, as it was identified with the mountain of this name (Hebrew Arārāṭ, originally the name of the country of Urarṭu, later understood as the name of a mountain), on which Noah's ark is said to have alighted. (Originally Ararat was identified with Djabal Djūdī [*q.v.*] near Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar in Mesopotamia.)

The mountain rises, almost without any intermediate ridges, over the flat plain of the Araxes, which is just over 800 m. high and extends to the east and north of the mountain. To the south and the west there extends an undulating high plateau from 1800 to over 3000 m. high, from which rise other extinct volcanoes, and ridges from which to NW and W form the transition to the system of the Eastern Taurus. The Ararat group covers an area of over 1000 square kms. and has a circumference of over 100 kms. It culminates in two summits, Great Ararat (5172 m.) in the NW and Little Ararat (3296 m.) in the SE; these are connected by a narrow, smooth-rounded saddle (2687 m.) 13-14 kms. long, called, after a spring c. 8 km. below, Serdār Bulaḳ. A pass leads over this ridge. In absolute height Ararat surpasses all the mountains of Europe, and with its relative height of over 4300 m. also many famous giants of the other continents. Seen from the north, the mountain, towering over the whole landscape, offers a majestic sight.

Great Ararat (Djabal al-Ḥārit̲h̲) has the form of a slightly rounded cone. From its summit, which forms an almost circular plateau with a circumference of 150-200 feet, falling off steeply on all sides, snow-fields and glaciers descend for 1000 m. (the snow line is over 4000 m. high). The NE slope of Great Ararat is cleft downwards by a steep ravine (the valley of St. James), the highest part of which is a spacious basin, enclosed by vertical walls of rock, while the lower part, now a stony desert, was formerly inhabited (the village of Arguri, 1737 m., and the monastery of St. James). Lesser Ararat (Djabal al-Ḥuwayrit̲h̲) has the form of a beautiful regular cone.

The district is afflicted by frequent earthquakes. The most terrible earthquake of recent centuries was that of 20 June 1840; this caused an enormous landslide, which destroyed a flourishing settlement, the ancient Arguri (old Armenian Akori; cf. Hübschmann, in *Indogerm. Forsch.*, xvi, 364, 395), with all its inhabitants (c. 1600), the small monastery of St. James 3 km. above, with all its monks, and the holy well of St. James.

The whole of the Ararat district, owing to the porousness of the cinder- and slag-stone, suffers from a considerable scarcity of water; in spite of the abundant cover of snow, there are only two springs of importance on the slope of Great Ararat (the Sardār Bulaḳ, 2290 m.; and the famous well of St. James, which emerges since 1840 at a different spot), none on Little Ararat. The latter does not

reach the region of eternal snow. It is only in the districts at the eastern and northern feet of the mountain, in the plain of the Aras, that the water oozes out and forms in parts marshy patches.

The dearth of water results in scanty vegetation. Apart from some birches, Ararat, like all the neighbouring mountains, is completely bare of forests; in this extreme form, however, this is caused by human agency. A poor fauna corresponds to the scanty flora. Since the destruction of the human settlements in the valley of St. James the district of Ararat is an uninhabited, solitary desert. In the Middle Ages the conditions were quite different. Al-Istakhrī, 191, expressly states that there was much wood and game on Ararat; al-Maḳdisī adds that there were more than 1000 hamlets on the promontories of Ararat. The Armenian historian Thomas of Artsruni (10th century) also stresses the richness of the region in deer, boars, lions and wild asses (cf. Thopdschian, in *MSOS*, 1904, ii, 150).

After the Persian wars of Selīm I and Süleymān I Ararat was for centuries the northern pillar of the Ottoman Empire against Persia, though both the summit and the northern slopes of Great Ararat, as well as the eastern slopes of Little Ararat, lay in Persian territory, or in that of the Persian vassal state of Nakhčewān. By the treaty of Turkman-čay (2-14 Febr. 1828) the plain of the Aras north of Ararat (the districts of Surmalu, Kulp and Igdir) was ceded by Persia to Russia. Thus the northern slopes together with the summit of Great Ararat fell to Russia, while Little Ararat formed the gigantic boundary stone between the three empires of Turkey, Persia and Russia. By the treaty of Moscow, 16 March 1921, between Soviet Russia and Turkey the plain of the Aras was ceded to Turkey; and in the Turco-Persian agreement (*iʾtilāf-nāma*) of 23 Jan. 1932 (which came into force on 3 Nov. 1932) Persia also ceded to Turkey a small territory, comprising the eastern slope of Little Ararat (cf. *MSOS*, 1934, ii, 116); thus at present the whole territory of the immense mountain belongs to Turkey. (Cf. G. Jäschke, *Die Nordostgrenze der Türkei und Nachitschewan*, *WI*, 1935, 111-5; idem, *Geschichte der russisch-türkischen Kaukasusgrenze*, *Archiv des Völkerrechts*, 1953, 198-206.)

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(M. STRECK-F. TAESCHNER)

ĀGRA, town, headquarters of a division and district of the name in the state of Uttar Pradēsh, is situated on the banks of the river Yamunā, 27° 1′ N, 77° 59′ E. Pop. (1951) 375,665, of whom 15.6% are Muslims. The city was for a long time the seat of residence of the Mughal emperors, and is renowned especially for its remarkable monuments of Mughal architecture.

History. Little is known about the early history of Āgra, but there is no doubt it was founded long before the Muslim invasions of India. The first reference to the city, and to an ancient fortress in it, is contained in a *ḳaṣīda* written in praise of the Ghaznawid prince Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm by the poet Masʿūd b. Saʿd b. Salmān (d. 515/1121 or 526/1131), wherein the conquest of the fortress (presumably during the reign of Sulṭān Masʿūd III, 493-508/1099-1115) is mentioned. The town was ruled by Rādjpūt chiefs, who, upon making their submission to the Sultanate of Delhi, were allowed to keep their control over it, under the overall command of the governor of Biyāna province. It remained unnoticed until Sultan Sikandar Lōdī (894-923/1489-1517) rebuilt the city in 911/1505 and made it the seat of his government. The place quickly gained in importance and attracted scholars and learned men from many parts of the Muslim world. Commanding routes to Gwalior and Mālwa in the south, Rādjpūtāna in the west, Delhi and the Pandjāb in the north-west, and the plain of the Ganges in the east, it soon became a strategic and trading centre. It continued to be the capital of Ibrāhīm Lōdī (923-32/1517-26) and, on his defeat in 932/1526, it became the capital of Bābur. In addition to building his palace of Čārbāgh, Bābur laid out a number of gardens in the city and constructed many baths. His nobles followed his example, and a considerable portion of the old city was levelled down. The city remained Humāyūn's and Shīr Shāh's capital, but neither Humāyūn, nor Shīr Shāh or his successors were able to spend much time there. It again became the seat of government in the third year of Akbar's reign (965/1558), when he took up residence in the citadel formerly known as Badal Gadh, and his nobles built their houses on both banks of the river. In 972/1565 the construction of the fort on the site of Badal Gadh was undertaken, but before it could be completed, the building of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*] was commenced. From 982/1574 to 994/1586 Akbar lived mostly in the new city, and later, till 1006/1598, his headquarters were generally at Lahore. In the latter year he returned to Āgra. On his death in 1014/1605, Djahāngīr ascended the throne in that city and lived there almost continuously from 1016/1607 to 1022/1613. He spent another year at Āgra in 1027/1618, but later, until his death in 1037/1628, he spent most of his time in Kashmīr and Lahore. Like his father, Shāh Djahān also ascended the throne at Āgra, but had to leave for the Deccan in the following year. From 1040/1631 to 1042/1633 he again resided in the city, but after that, except for brief visits, he did not stay there for long. Thereafter, he lived mostly at Delhi, where he built

the new city of Shāhdjahānābād. (The name of Āgra was also changed to Akbarābād, but the latter name was never widely used.) In 1067/1657 he fell seriously ill and was brought to Āgra by his eldest son, Dārā Shikūh. In the war of succession that broke out, Awrangzīb was victorious and ascended the throne in 1068/1658. Shāh Djahān was imprisoned in the Fort, where he died in 1076/1666. On hearing the news, Awrangzīb returned to Āgra and held Court there for some time. Later, he again stayed in Āgra from 1079/1669 to 1081/1671. However, Awrangzīb's usual place of residence was, first, Delhi, and then, in the Deccan. Though, in the 17th century, the court did not remain at Āgra for long, the place was nevertheless regarded as one of the capital cities of the Empire. Most of the European travellers who visited India considered it to be one of the largest cities they had seen, comparable in size to Paris, London and Constantinople. It was a centre of trade and commerce and was well known for its textile industry, gold inlay work, stone and marble work and crystal. However the population as well as the trade diminished considerably when the court was away.

The successors of Awrangzīb lived mostly in Delhi, though Āgra continued to be important politically. During the second half of the 18th century, it suffered much from the depredations of the Djāts [*q.v.*], the Mahrattās and the Rohillāhs. Though nominal Mughal sovereignty over the town continued till it was annexed by the British in 1803, except for the years 1774 to 1785 when Nadjaf Khān (d. 1782) and his successors were its governors, Āgra was under the occupation of the Djāts (1761-1770, and 1773-74) and the Mahrattās (1758-61, 1770-73, and 1785-1803).

Monuments. The Fort. The present fort of Āgra was built by Akbar on the site of the Lōdī fortress of Badal Gadh on the right bank of the Yamunā. It was constructed in about eight years (1565-73) under the superintendance of Muḥammad Ḳāsim Khān Mīr-i Baḥr at a cost of 35 lacs of rupees. It is in the shape of an irregular semi-circle with its base along the river. The fort is surrounded by a double wall, loop-holed for musketry, the distance between the walls being 40 ft. The outer wall, just under 70 ft. high and faced with red sand-stone, is about 1½ miles in circuit and represents the first conception of dressed stone on such a large scale. The principal gateway, the Delhi Gate, is one of the most impressive portals in India. Within the fort, according to Abu'l Faḍl, Akbar built "upward of 500 edifices of red stone in the fine styles of Bengāl and Gudjrāt". Most of these buildings were demolished by Shāh Djahān to make room for his marble structures, among those that still stand *Akbarī* and *Bangālī Maḥalls* are the earliest. Akbar's buildings are characterised by carved stone brackets which support the stone beams, wide eaves and flat ceilings, the arch being used sparingly. Similar in design is the *Djahāngīrī Maḥall*, a double-storeyed construction, 261 ft. by 288 ft., supposed to have been built by Akbar for Prince Salīm (later Djahāngīr) but very probably built by Djahāngīr himself for the Rādjpūt princesses of the *ḥaram*, though Cunningham thinks it was built by Ibrāhīm Lōdī. After the accession of Shāh Djahān architectural style underwent a radical change. With the discovery of marble quarries, red sand-stone was practically eliminated and large-scale use of marble made carved line and flowing rhythm of style possible. Instead of the beam and brackets, foliated or cusped arches became common and marble arcades of engrailed arches distinguished the buildings of Shāh Djahān. Among the most important of his buildings in the Fort are the *Khāṣṣ Maḥall* and its adjoining north and south pavilions; the *Shīsh Maḥall* a bath whose walls and ceilings are spangled over with tiny mirrors of irregular shape set in stucco relief; the *Muthamman Burdj* built for the Empress Mumtāz Maḥall (in which building Shāh Djahān breathed his last); the *Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ* (or private assembly chamber); the *Dīwān-i ʿĀmm* (or public audience chamber) having a court 500 ft by 73 ft,, and a pillared hall 201 ft. by 67 ft. with an alcove of inlaid marble being the throne gallery (built of red sand-stone plastered with white marble stucco which is artistically guilded); the *Motī Masdjid* (or Pearl Mosque) a magnificent structure of white marble standing on a plinth of red sand-stone.

Not far from the fort stands the *Djāmiʿ Masdjid*, built by Djahān Ārā Bēgam, the eldest daughter of Shāh Djahān, in 1058/1648, a red sand-stone building having three domes and five gracefully proportioned arches, the central archway being a semi-domed double portal.

The tomb of Akbar at Sikandara, constructed in Djahāngīr's reign on a site selected by Akbar himself, stands in the middle of a well-laid garden about five miles from Āgra. Very probably some idea of the design was settled by Akbar, but the building lacks that correctness which is characteristic of the construction undertaken by that monarch. The building is 340 ft. square, consisting of five terraces diminishing as they ascend. The lowest storey is arcaded and in the centre of each side is inserted a large portico with a deeply recessed archway. The next three storeys consist of superimposed tiers of pillared arcades and kiosks built mainly of red sand-stone. The topmost storey is of white marble and is screened with perforated lattices. Each corner of this storey is surmounted by a slender kiosk.

The tomb of Djahāngīr's minister, Mirzā Ghiyāth Bēg entitled Iʿtimād al-Dawla (d. 1622), constructed by his daughter, the Empress Nūr Djahān and completed in 1628, stands in the middle of a well-laid garden on the left bank of the river. The mausoleum consists of a square lower storey 69 ft. wide with a gracefully proportioned octagonal turret, like a dwarfed minaret, thrown out from each corner; while the second storey rises in the form of a traceried pavilion covered by a canopy shaped vaulted roof sending out broad stooping eaves, surmounted by two golden pinnacles. It is the first large building in India built entirely of marble and is remarkable for the richness of its decoration and profuse *pietra dura* work.

Tādj Maḥall. The most famous building at Āgra is the *Tādj Maḥall*, the beautiful mausoleum erected by Shāh Djahān for his dearly loved wife, Ardjumand Bānū Bēgam, entitled Mumtāz Maḥall, popularly known to her contemporaries as Tādj Maḥall. She was the daughter of Āṣaf Khān, son of Iʿtimād al-Dawla, and was married to Shāh Djahān in 1612 at the age of nineteen. She bore him fourteen children and died in June 1631 at Burhānpūr after giving birth to a daughter. Work on the mausoleum was started almost immediately after her death and was completed in about twelve years at a cost of five million rupees, though some later writers have put the figure at 30 million rupees. According to the contemporary European traveller,

Tavernier, the structure, together with its subsidiary buildings, was completed in about twenty-two years during which period twenty thousand workmen were continuously employed on it. The best architects and craftsmen, each a specialist in his own field, available in the Empire as well as in the neighbouring countries were engaged for the work, which was carried on under the general supervision of Makramat Khān and Mīr ʿAbd al-Karīm. The tradition that the architect of the *Tādj Maḥall* was a Venetian, Geronimo Veroneo, based on a statement made by Father Manrique, finds no corroboration either in the Mughal chronicles or in the writings of the other contemporary European travellers like Tavernier, Bernier, and Thevenot, who regarded the building as a purely oriental work. Its close resemblance with the tomb of Humāyūn at Delhi, and an analysis of its architectural as well as decorative features, suggest that it was undoubtedly the culminating point in the evolution of the Indo-Muslim style of architecture, though no other building in India is quite as exquisite, elegant or beautiful.

The tomb, built of white marble from Djodhpūr, stands on a raised platform, 18 feet high and 313 feet square, faced with foliated arches. At each corner of this platform there is a beautifully proportioned cylindrical minaret, 133 ft. high girt with three galleries and finished with an open domed *čatr* throwing out broad eaves. In the centre of the platform stands the mausoleum, a square of 186 feet, with angles canted to the extent of 33 ft. 9 ins., the façade rising 92 ft. 3 ins. from the platform. In each face of the building is a high arched recessed porch. On either side of each porch, and at the canted angles, there are arched recesses of uniform size arranged in two storeys. These recesses and the porches are vaulted. Above each of the canted angles stands a domed pillared kiosk, while the centre is occupied by a beautiful bulbous dome, rising from a high circular drum, and surmounted by a gilt pinnacle finished with a crescent. The central dome, 58 ft. in diameter and rising 74 feet above the roof or 191 feet from the platform, is one of the finest in the world. Beneath the dome is the central chamber, octagonal within, buttressed at each angle by small octagonal rooms of two storeys, with the great porches in between each pair. In the middle of the central chamber is the cenotaph of Mumtāz Maḥall, and beside it that of her husband. Immediately beneath these, in the crypt, are the two graves. The cenotaphs are enclosed by a remarkable screen of trellis-work of white marble. The porches are framed in ornamental inscriptions from the Ḳurʾān, and the beauty of the whole is enhanced by copious and graceful ornamentation in *pietra dura*. All the spandrels, angles, and important architectural details are inlaid with semi-precious stones combined in wreaths, scrolls, and frets, as exquisite in design as beautiful in colour. The tomb is surrounded by a formal garden of great beauty, with long lily-ponds, also of marble, containing a row of fountains, leading from the principal entrance to the mausoleum. The river, which bounds the garden on the north, provides marvellous reflections of the building.

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(NURUL HASAN)

AGRICULTURE [see FILĀḤA].

ĀḤĀD [see KHABAR AL-WĀḤID].

AḤĀDĪTH [see ḤADĪTH].

AḤADIYYA [see ALLĀH, WAḤDA].

AHAGGAR, a Berber word denoting (a) the members (pl. *ihaggarən*) of one of the noble tribes constituting the former group of the Northern Tuaregs [*q.v.*], and (b) one of these tribes (Kəl Ahaggar or Ihaggarən), inhabiting a region to which it has given the name of Ahaggar (Hoggar).

In its widest sense, the Ahaggar is the group of territories under the dominion of the Kəl Ahaggar. It covers an area of about 200,000 sq. miles between lat. 21°-25° N and long. 3°-6° E. Bounded by mountain massifs (the Ahanəf to the E., the Tassili of the Ajjər to the N.-E., the Immidir to the N., the Adrar of the Ifoghas [*q.v.*] and the Ayr [*q.v.*] to the S.), it consists of a barren peneplain bounded by the Tassili, which stretch out in an arc both north and south, and dominated by mountain massifs, of which the highest and most important is, in the centre, the Atakor n-Ahaggar or Ahaggar proper, with a mean altitude of 7,200 ft. and with peaks rising to 9,835 ft. (Tahat, 9,835 ft.; Ilaman, 9,510 ft.; Asekrəm, 9,110 ft.). Valleys and steep gorges which debouch into shallow enclosed basins are evidence that in the past the volume of water was more considerable than at present, when the water courses are extremely irregular, and consist of subterranean channels which are easily accessible in places [see IGHARGHAR]. It has a desert climate, and the vegetation is poor and thorny. The few trees which manage to survive are stunted and apparently unable to reproduce themselves further. The fauna comprises several *ungulata*, principally gazelles, and cheetahs, jackals and hares. The people grow dates and a few cereals, breed camels and goats and employ large numbers of donkeys.

The name of the region is taken from that of the peoples who inhabit it or who rule it, the Kəl Ahaggar. The word *ahaggar* is to be related to the name of the Huwwāra [*q.v.*] tribe, the change from *ww* to *gg* being normal in Berber phonetics, and it is likely that branches of this tribe, coming from the Fazzān, established themselves during the historical era in the mountain massif which has taken their name, and reduced the inhabitants of

the region to vassal status. The problem of the origins of these peoples is still not solved [see BERBERS], and the local traditions and the theories formulated by writers at different periods about the populating of the Ahaggar must be treated with reserve. It is clear however that the country has been inhabited from remote antiquity, as witness the traces of work in stone and the many rock engraving which have been discovered (see F. de Chasseloup-Laubat, *Art rupestre au Hoggar*, Paris 1938).

The Ahaggar country was visited several times during the course of the 19th century. After the massacre of the Flatters mission (1880) and the Foureau-Lamy expedition (1898), the *aménokal* [*q.v.*] Mūsā ag Amāstan surrendered to Commandant Laperrine in 1904, and Ahaggar was placed under the control of France. It forms part of the Oasis Territory and its chief centre, Tamanrasset, comprises less than 1,000 inhabitants.

The population of the Ahaggar does not exceed 5,000. The noble tribes of the Kəl Ghəla, Taytoḳ and Tégehé Məllət, with their subdivisions and subject tribes constitute the Ahaggar confederacy, the *aménokal* being chosen from amongst the Kəl Ghəla.

The Touareg of the Ahaggar live in tents. Society is divided into three classes: the noble and suzerain tribes (Ihaggarən or Imuhagh), the subject tribes (Amghid, pl. Imghad) and slaves (akli, pl. iklan). The Ihaggarən, essentially warriors, levied tribute from the Imghad in exchange for their protection. They deputed all manual labour to them and to the slaves, and themselves lived by warfare and pillage. By putting an end to their warlike activities, the occupation of the country by France had somewhat curtailed the resources of the Ihaggarən, who nevertheless retain their prestige and continue to be supported by the Imghad.

For their writing (*tifinagh*), language (*tamahaḳḳ*), the subject of a masterly study by P. de Foucauld, and literature, see BERBERS.

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ʿAHD, injunction, command; thence: obligation, engagement; thence: agreement, covenant, treaty. The term (as well as the 1st and the 3rd forms of the corresponding verb) occurs frequently in the Ḳurʾān. It is used there over the whole range of its meanings, of Allāh's covenant with men and His commands, of the religious engagement into which the believers have entered, of political agreements and undertakings of believers and unbelievers towards the Prophet and amongst each other, and of ordinary civil agreements and contracts (xvii, 34; xxiii, 8; lxx, 32); occasionally, the agreement is personified: it "will be asked" to give evidence (xvii, 34; xxxiii, 15). From the idea of God's covenant derive the Christian Arabic terms *al-ʿahd al-ʿatīḳ* and *al-ʿahd al-djadīd* for the Old and the New Testament respectively. The basic concrete concept is "joining together", whereas the synonym *ʿaḳd* derives from the concrete idea of "binding". In later usage, the latter term is commonly used of civil engagements and contracts, whereas *ʿahd* is generally restricted to political enactments and treaties, in particular to the appointment of a successor, a *walī al-ʿahd* [*q.v.*], by a ruler, and to treaties of alliance with non-Muslims outside the Islamic state, who are therefore called *ahl al-ʿahd*; this last term is occasionally extended, on one side to the *mustaʾmin* [see AMĀN], and on the other to the *dhimmīs* [see DHIMMA]; both *amān* and *dhimma* are, indeed, a political *ʿahd* with religious sanction.

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AL-**AHDAL** (plur. Mahādila, < *Mahdalī for am-Ahdalī(?); on etym. cf. al-Muḥibbī, i ,67, Wüstenfeld, 6), a family of sayyids living mostly in SW Arabia, descended from the sixth ʿAlid *imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. Their ancestor, ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Muḥ. al-Ahdal, called Ḳuṭb al-Yaman, and his son Abū Bakr (d. 700/1300) were famous ṣūfīs, living in the little town of Murāwaʿa (*TA*) or Marāwiʿa (al-Muḥibbī) N (*ḳibliyya*) of Bayt al-Faḳīh Ibn ʿUdjayl, where their graves are visited by pilgrims. To this clan belong the following ṣūfī scholars:

1. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥ., Badr al-Dīn (b. in Ḳuḥriyya 779/1377, d. as Muftī in Abyāt Ḥusayn 855/1451). Among eighteen titles enumerated by al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* iii, 146 f. are *Tuḥfat al-Zaman fī Taʾrīkh Sādāt al-Yaman* (*Aʿyān Ahl al-Y.*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), an adaptation and continuation of al-Djanadī's *Taʾrīkh* (*al-Sulūk*); a similar revision of al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-Djanān* was called *Ghirbāl al-Zamān*. Cf. Brockelmann, II, 185, S II, 238 f.; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 248, 355, 407.

2. Ḥusayn b. al-Siddīḳ b. Ḥusayn (grandson of 1) (b. 850/1446 in Abyāt Ḥusayn, d. 903/1497 in ʿAdan) abridged, according to his pupil Abū Makhrama, his grandfather's *Taʾrīkh* (i.e. *Tuḥfat al-Zaman*). A mosque was built in ʿAdan in his memory in 1847. Cf. Brockelmann, S II, 251 (incorrect), *Nūr*, 27-30, *Ḍawʾ*, iii, 144.

3. Ṭāhir b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Djamāl al-Dīn (b. 914/1508 in Murāwaʿa, d. 998/1590 in Zabīd), a jurist and traditionist, abridged a work of his ancestor Ḥusayn (no. 1) called *Maṭālib Ahl al-Ḳurba fī Sharḥ Duʿāʾ al-Walī Abī Ḥarba* (*Nūr*, 447 ff., cf. *Ḍawʾ*, iii, 146). His son

4. Muḥ. b. Ṭāhir wrote *Bughyat al-Ṭālib bi-Maʿrifat Awlād ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* (Wüst., 7; Brockelmann, S II, 239 is incorrect).

5. Ḥātim b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Abiʾl-Ḳāsim b. Muḥ. (d. 1013/1604 in the seaport Makhāʾ (Mukha), where he had lived for 37 years), famous ṣūfī and scholar, "the Ibn ʿArabi of his time", according to his disciple ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-ʿAydarūs (*Nūr*, 161-475), who published their correspondence in the work *al-Darr al-Bāsim min Rawḍ al-Sayyid Ḥātim*. His improvised poems were collected into a *dīwān*. Cf. Brockelmann, II, 407, S II, 565; al-Muḥibbī, i, 496-500, Wüst., 114, Serjeant, *Materials*, ii, 585 f.

6. Abū Bakr b. Abiʾl-Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad (b. 984/1576, d. 1035/1626) had a *zāwiya* in al-Mahaṭṭ (Wādī Rimaʿ). Among his works are: *Nafḥat al-Mandal* (*fī Tarādjim Sādāt al-Ahdal*, Ism. Pasha, *Dhayl*) and *al-Aḥsāb al-ʿAliyya fiʾl-Ansāb al-Ahdaliyya*. Cf. Brockelmann, II, 544; al-Muḥibbī, i, 64-8, Wüst., 112 f.

7. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān (d. 1250/1835) is mentioned with eight titles in Brockelmann, S III, 1311. Another work, *al-Nafas al-Yamānī fī Idjāzat Baniʾl-Shawkānī*, cited by Serjeant, *Materials*, ii, 587.

For two more members of this family, with the nisba al-Mūsawī, Muḥ. al-Kāẓim in the 9/15th century, the other in recent time, see Brockelmann, S II, 239, 865. A collection of traditions on South Arabia, *Nathr al-Durr al-Maknūn min Faḍā'il al-Yaman al-Maymūn*, was published ca. 1350/1931 in Cairo by Muḥ. b. ʿAlī al-Ahdalī al-Ḥusaynī al-Azharī.

Bibliography: Shardjī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Khawāṣṣ*, 80, 173, 190; Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʿ*, iii, 144-7; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-ʿAydarūs(ī), *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, passim; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, passim; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Çufiten in Süd-Arabien im XI. (XVII.) Jahrhundert*, 111-5; H. C. Kay, *Yaman*, xviii f.; O. Löfgren, in *MO*, xxv, 129 f.; idem, *Arab. Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden*, introd., 22 f. and passim ;R. B. Serjeant, *Materials for South Arabian history*, i-ii, *BSOAS*, 1950, 281-307, 581-601). (O. LÖFGREN)

AḤDĀTH, literally "young men", a kind of urban militia which plays a considerable role in the cities of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th centuries, and is particularly well known at Aleppo and Damascus. Officially, its role is that of a police, charged with public order, fire-fighting, etc., and also, in time of need, with military defence in reinforcement of the regular troops. For these services the *aḥdāth* receive stipends allocated from the product of certain urban taxes. The only distinction between them and any ordinary police is the local nonprofessional nature of their recruitment, but it is precisely this which gives them an effective function, much more important and often quite different from that of a police. As armed and pugnacious men of the native-born population, they constitute in face of the political authorities (usually foreigners, or in any case from outside the city) the dynamic element of "municipal" oppositions. It is for this reason that we repeatedly find them rising against the domination of the princes, and sometimes, when the latter are weak, forcing upon them in effect a regime of condominium in the city. In relation to the population, however, they do not always represent the same strata. At critical moments, for example at Damascus immediately after the Fāṭimid occupation, they are dominated by popular elements; more often they appear to accept the direction of the bourgoisie, and form more especially a body of supporters for one or two great families, from whom is drawn their chief, the *ra'īs*. This *ra'īs* forces the authorities to recognize him as *ra'īs al-balad*, a kind of mayor, whose influence counterbalances, and sometimes exceeds, that of the *ḳāḍī*, also a local notable. Out of this there may thus emerge finally veritable urban dynasties, such as (parallel to the Banū ʿAmmār of Tripoli, arising out of the *ḳāḍīs* of that city) the Banū Nīsān of Āmid, hereditary chiefs of Āmid in the 6th/12th century under the nominal suzerainty of the Inālid Turkman princes. The portrait of the cities of Syria and the Djazīra furnished to us by these facts is evidently at some remove from the common view which presents them as lacking any kind of municipal structure. The *aḥdāth* were, of course, most active at times and places in which a professional police (*shurṭa* [*q.v.*]) could not be maintained, and for this reason neither Baghdād nor Cairo offer us a comparable picture. Their final decadence begins with the establishment by the Saldjūḳids or their successors of military commandants (*shiḥna* [*q.v.*]) at the head of each city, supported by garrisons drawn from the regular army. About the same period the term *aḥdāth* is applied also to armed bands of the Bāṭiniyya or "Assassins" in Syria.

The term is found in earlier centuries in ʿIrāḳ, especially in Baṣra and Kūfa in the 2nd/8th century, but also in Baghdād and elsewhere. The officer in charge of the *aḥdāth* was responsible for public order, but the term *aḥdāth* in this case has generally been taken (following the opinion of Dozy, s.v.) in the other sense, equally justified by etymology, of blameworthy "innovations" of such a nature as to disturb public order and whose authors should be seized and punished. In general use, the term certainly has in given contexts the sense of "crime", but equally certainly in other contexts the sense of groups of "young men", vaguely specified. In the light of the materials described above, Dozy's view must be regarded as open to question; but up to the present time no text has come to notice which allows of a definite decision.

The further question arises of the relations between the Syrian and Mesopotamian *aḥdāth* and the *fityān* (see FATĀ) and *ʿayyārūn* (see ʿAYYĀR) whose existence is documented in ʿIrāḳ and the Iranian regions throughout the Middle Ages, and who also were especially active from the 4th/10th to 6th/12th centuries. These certainly played the role of "active wing" of the popular oppositions to the official authorities, parallel to, but more vigorously pressed than, that of the *aḥdāth*; the Iranian cities, moreover, all had apparently a *ra'īs*, who seems sometimes to have been the *ra'īs* of the *fityān* in his city. Etymologically also, *aḥdāth* and *fityān* have the same meaning. Nevertheless, though there is often convergence in fact, the two institutions differ in their origin, and these differences persisted. *Fityān* and *ʿayyārūn* were essentially private groups, recruited from the depressed classes and more violent in action, and it was only by gradual stages that they sometimes succeeded in drawing certain bourgeois or aristocratic elements in their train, or in replacing the military police. They often formed organized bodies with initiatory rites, within which there developed the peculiar ideology of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. No parallel to this has yet been found among the *aḥdāth*. It may not be accidental that the boundary between cities with *fityān* and those with *aḥdāth* corresponds very closely to the ancient Byzantine-Sasanid frontier, a fact which suggests that the *aḥdāth* may possibly be related to the ancient "factions" of the Later Roman empire. The whole question can, however, only be investigated in the framework of the general social study of the Islamic cities, on which little work has yet been done.

Bibliography: Numerous references to *aḥdāth* in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ* (Amedroz) (Eng.tr. by H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1932; Fr. tr. by R. Le Tourneau, *Damas de* 1075 *à* 1154, Paris 1952); also in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab* (Dahan), Ibn Abī Ṭayyi (ap. Ibn al-Furāt, in MS), Ibn al-Athīr, Yaḥyā al-Anṭāḳī (Kratchkowsky & Vasiliev), Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, and other Syrian sources. For the ʿIrāḳī problem see esp. Ṭabarī, *passim*, and Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, ch. xix. Summary in *Recueil de la Soc. Jean Bodin*, vi, by Cl. Cahen, who is preparing a more complete study; remarks by Reinaud in *JA*, 1848/ii, 231; indications by Gibb and Le Tourneau in their introductions to translations of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 96, 103, 139. See also AKHĪ, ʿAYYĀR, FATĀ. (CL. CAHEN)

ĀHĪ, Turkish poet, whose real name seems to have been Beñli Ḥasan ("Ḥasan with the mole"). His father Sīdī Khodja was a merchant in Trstenik (not far from Nicopolis). After the latter's death Āhī went to Istanbul and chose for himself the career of a scholar, but for a long time advanced no further than the rank of candidate (*mulāzim*), because he declined the position of *müderris* in Bāyazīd Pasha's *medrese* in Brusa. Finally he obtained the less important position of *müderris* in Ḳara Ferya (Berrhoea), where he died in 923/1517. He left two unfinished poetical works, of which the titles are: *Shīrīn we-Perwīz* (imitating Sheykhī's *Khusrew u-Shīrīn*), and *Ḥusn u-Dil* (Istanbul 1277). The latter work is an allegorical poem written in prose interspersed with verses, and is an imitation of Fattāḥī's [*q.v.*] work of the same title. Gibb has epitomized its contents.

Bibliography: Sehī, 108; Laṭīfī (Chabert), 105; ʿĀshīḳ Čelebi and Ḳinalī-zāde, s v.; Gibb, ii, 286 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. Osman. Dichtkunst*, i, 209; *Yeni Medjmūʿa*, 1918, no. 54; *Istanbul Kitaplīklari Türkçe Yazma divanlar kataloğu*, no. 33.

AL-**AḤḲĀF**, the title of Sūra xlvi of the Ḳurʾān, and a geographical term the meaning and application of which have been generally misunderstood. The Sūra derives its title from verse 21, which speaks of ʿĀd as warning his people in al-Aḥḳāf. The word *aḥḳāf* is usually interpreted in dictionaries, books of *tafsīr*, and translations of the Ḳurʾān as meaning curved sand dunes. Medieval Arab geographers considered al-Aḥḳāf to be the name of a sand desert in Southern Arabia, said to lie between Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān, i.e., in the eastern part of al-Ramla or al-Rubʿ al-Khālī [*q.v.*]. Modern Western geographers, on the other hand, have inclined towards the identification of al-Aḥḳāf with the whole of al-Ramla or just its western half. C. Landberg (*Ḥaḍramoût*, 146-160) showed that al-Aḥḳāf as a regional name is used in Southern Arabia as roughly synonymous with Ḥaḍramawt in the broadest sense and is not applied to the sands farther north. The southern bedouins define Barr al-Aḥḳāf as the mountainous area running behind the coast from Ẓufār west to Aden, the central valley of which is Wādī Ḥaḍramawt; to them the word *aḥḳāf* means simply mountains and is not associated either with dunes or, as suggested by Landberg, with caves (*kuhūf*). A statement made to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib by a man of Ḥaḍramawt, as recounted by Ibn al-Kalbī and repeated by al-Bakrī and Yāḳūt (s.v.), indicates that even in ancient times *aḥḳāf* may have been used in Southern Arabia in this connection rather than as a name for dunes in the Great Desert.

(G. RENTZ)

AḤKĀM, pl. of *ḥukm*, decision, judgment. [See also ḤAKAM.] In the Ḳurʾān, the word occurs only in the singular, and is used (as is the corresponding verb) of Allāh, the Prophets, and other men. Used of Allāh, it denotes both individual ordinances and the whole of His dispensation (iii, 79; xlv, 16; lx, 10). In the ultimate sense, final jurisdiction belongs to Allāh alone [see AL-MUḤAKKIMA], but He has given authority to make decisions to His Prophets. The jurisdiction of Muḥammad, in particular, is opposed to that of paganism (v, 50). So *ḥukm* comes to mean the authority, imperium, of the Islamic government and, on the other hand, the judgment of a ḳāḍī on a concrete case.

From *ḥukm* in the sense of a judicial decision derive the meanings of a logical judgment concerning a thing, of a status to be predicated of a thing or of a person, and of a rule in religious law, in grammar, and in other sciences. In all these meanings, the term is freely used in the plural. In particular, one speaks of *al-aḥkām al-khamsa*, the "five qualifications" (obligatory, recommended, indifferent, reprehensible, forbidden), by one or the other of which every act of man is qualified in religious law [see SHARĪʿA]. In a broader sense, *aḥkām* means the sum of the rules pertaining to any given subject (cf. the titles of books such as *aḥkām al-awḳāf* "On Waḳf", *al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* "On Government", also *aḥkām al-ākhira* "On the Next World"; *aḥkām al-nudjūm* "astrology", etc.). In the field of religious law, *aḥkām* is therefore synonymous with the *furūʿ*, the positive law as opposed to legal theory or jurisprudence [see FIḲH]; but as it also means judicial decisions, the term is more specifically used of the application of legal rules to concrete cases.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥukm*; Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 97; A. Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, s.v. *ḥukm*; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 72 f.; A. Jeffery, in *MW*, 1950, 121 f.; R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qurʾān*, 153; L. Gardet, *La Cité musulmane*, index, s.v. *aḥkām* and *ḥukm*.

(J. SCHACHT)

AHL (A.), originally meaning "those who occupy with one the same tent (Hebrew *ōhel*)", thus "family, inmates". Therefore *ahl al-Bayt* means literally "the household of the Prophet". When the *ahl* (pl. *ahālī*) of a town or a country is spoken of it denotes its inhabitants, sometimes, as in Medina (according to Burton), specially those who were born there and own houses. But this word is often connected with other concepts, and is in these combinations more loosely used, so that it may come to mean "sharing in a thing, belonging to it", or "owner of the same", etc. Some of the compounds with *ahl* most in use follow here.

AHL AL-**AHWĀʾ** (A.; sing. *hawā*, "predilection, inclination of the soul"; comp. Ḳurʾān vi, 151) is a term applied by the orthodox theologians to those followers of Islām, whose religious tenets in certain details deviate from the general ordinances of the Sunnite confession (cf. *ZDMG*, 1898, 159). As examples there are mentioned: Djabariyya, Ḳadariyya, Rawāfiḍ, Khawāridj, anthropomorphists, Muʿaṭṭila. From the above definition it may be inferred that in the sense of Muslim theology it is not proper to designate these tendencies as sects.

(I. GOLDZIHER)

AHL AL-**BAYT**, ĀL AL-BAYT, "the people of the House", ĀL AL-NABĪ, "the family of the Prophet", all mean the same; the term *Āl Yāsīn* also occurs. The origin of the phrase is to be found in the strong clan sense of the pre-Islamic Arabs, among whom the term *al-bayt* was applied to or adopted by the ruling family of a tribe (by derivation from an ancient right of guardianship of the symbol of the tribal deity, according to H. Lammens, *Le Culte des Bétyles*, in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut 1928, 136 ff., 154 ff.), and survived into later centuries in the plural form *al-buyūtāt* for the noble tribal families [see AHL AL-BUYŪTAT and ĀL]. In early Islamic times the term *bayt* was applied to themselves by a number of families, e.g. by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar to the house of ʿUmar (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, Cairo 1927, 19), and by ʿUmar II to the Umayyad house (*innamā al-Ḥadjdjādj^u minnā ahl^a 'l-bayt^i*: ibid. 24). In the Ḳurʾān the phrase *ahl^a 'l-bayt^i* occurs twice: once in xi, 73, applied to the house of Ibrāhīm; the

second passage, xxxiii, 33 ("God desires only to remove filthiness from you (masc. pl.), *ahla 'l-bayti*, and with cleansing to cleanse you"), serves as the proof-text for its application to the house of Muḥammad (but see R. Paret, in *Orientalische Studien Enno Littmann .... überreicht*, Leiden 1935, 127-20).

The precise interpretation of the term in xxxiii, 33, gave rise to differences of opinion. In one tradition, according to which Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] is included among the *ahl al-bayt* (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* (Cairo), iii, 241; Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 59,), it is opposed to *muhādjirūn* and *anṣār*. Among the Shīʿa (and generally in circles friendly to ʿAlī) it was applied to Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (cf. already al-Kumayt, *Hāshimiyyāt* (Horovitz), 38 l. 30; cf. 92, l. 67) by interpreting the verse through the wellknown "tradition of the mantle" (*ḥadīth al-kisā'*, *ḥadīth al-ʿabā'*), which was accepted also in Sunnī circles [see AHL AL-KISĀ']. In keeping with an explanation of the Ḳur'ānic phrase as referring to the Prophet's wives and dependents, attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿIkrima, Umm Salama is, in some versions of this tradition, recognized by the Prophet as belonging to the *ahl al-bayt*. It is given a still wider application in a version of the so-called *ḥadīth al-thaḳalayn*, where the term is applied to those to whom (including their *mawālī*) a share in the *ṣadaḳa* is forbidden; among these are definitely mentioned the families (*āl*) of ʿAlī, of his brothers ʿAḳīl and Djaʿfar, and of al-ʿAbbās. In this tradition, therefore, the *ahl al-bayt* includes the Ṭālibids and ʿAbbāsids, historically the most important families of the Banū Hāshim; and in order to strengthen their claim to inclusion in the verse of purification, the ʿAbbāsids also had their counterpart of the *ḥadīth al-kisā'*. Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa extended it to include all the Banū Hāshim and al-Shāfiʿī extended it to the Banū Muṭṭalib also, while others make it include the whole community. The current orthodox view is based on a harmonizing opinion, according to which the term *ahl al-bayt* includes the *ahl al-ʿabā'*, i.e. the Prophet, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, together with the wives of the Prophet.

The Shīʿa limit the family (which they call by preference *ʿitra*) to the *ahl al-kisā'* and their descendants, making devotion to them an essential, or even the main, part of religion. In one version of the "Farewell Sermon" Muḥammad is represented as saying that God has given two safeguards to the world: His Book and the Prophet's *sunna*; in another version, this is replaced by: His Book and the Prophet's *ʿitra*. The official creed of the Shīʿa does not go beyond this, but popular belief ascribes cosmological importance to the family as in traditions like: "The stars are a pledge to the world that it will not be drowned, and my family are a pledge to the community that it will not go astray"; "God would not have created heaven, earth, paradise, Adam, Eve, the angels, nor anything else but for them (the family)". They have the same saving function as Noah's ark. The heads of the family are the Imāms [*q.v.*], infallible and sinless. The extreme Manṣūriyya called the family heaven and the Shīʿa earth (al-ʿAshʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 9).

The ideas of the Shīʿa found their way into later collections of *ḥadīth*, although the Sunna declares that love for the family is of no avail without obedience to the *sunna*. Al-Maḳrīzī is quoted as saying: "Beware of finding fault with one of the family, for no heresy, no default in the performance of religious duties, and no sin deprives him of his sonship."

The form *Āl* is used more especially in the invocation: "O God, bless (*ṣalli ʿalā*) Muḥammad and his *āl*" (cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, L, 114-7). The definition of those comprehended in this expression has produced controversies similar to those about the *ahl al-bayt*. Ibn Khālawayh enumerated twenty-five classes in his *K. al-Āl* (G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen d. Araber*, 231; citation in Baḥrānī, *Manār al-Hudā*, Bombay 1320, 200). See also al-Ṭūsī, *List of Shyʿa Books*, no. 294.

Bibliography: The law books on *zakāt*, e.g. Ḳudūrī, *Mukhtaṣar*, Kazan 1880, 23; Nawawī, *Nihāya* (Van den Berg), ii, 305; Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī, *Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb* (Van den Berg), 252; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Faḍā'il al-aṣḥāb*, no 30, with Ḳasṭallānī, vi, 151; Commentaries to Ḳur'ān xxxiii, 33; the works of Maḳrīzī, Ṣabbān, Nābhānī quoted in the bibliography to art. SHARĪF; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Haythamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-Muḥriḳa*, Cairo 1307, 87 ff. (comprehensive discussion, in an anti-Shīʿite sense, of the extension of the notion of *ahl al-bayt*); Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī, *al-Bābu 'l-Hādi ʿashar*, trans. Miller, London 1928; ʿAlī Aṣghar b. ʿAlī Akbar, *ʿAḳā'id al-Shīʿa*, summarised trans. by A. A. A. Fyzee, *A Shīʿite Creed*, Bombay 1942; H. Lammens, *Fāṭima*, Rome 1912, 95 ff.; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, 19 f.; C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919, 65 ff.; Wensinck, Handbook, s.v.

(I. GOLDZIHER-C. VAN ARENDONK-A. S. TRITTON)

AHL AL-BUYŪTĀT (A.), originally denoted those that belong to Persian families of the highest nobility (Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 71), then, the nobles in general. Other meanings are given by Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 131.

AHL AL-DĀR (A.) = "the people of the house", in the Almohad hierarchy the 6th order [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN].

AHL AL-DHIMMA (A.), the Jews and Christians, between whom and the Muslims there is according to Muslim law a certain legal relation [see DHIMMA].

AHL AL-FARḌ [see MĪRĀTH].

AHL AL-ḤADĪTH, also AṢḤĀB AL-ḤADĪTH, the partisans of traditions [see ḤADĪTH]. Traditionalism in Islam manifested itself first in the re-emergence of the old Arabian concept of *sunna* [*q.v.*], the normative custom of the community, which was in due course identified with the *sunna* of the Prophet. This normative custom found its expression in the "living tradition" of the ancient schools of religious law, which came into being at the very beginning of the second century of Islam. In opposition to the ancient schools and their extensive use of human reasoning and personal opinion [see AṢḤĀB AL-RA'Y and RA'Y), the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, who appeared on the stage a little later, claimed that formal traditions from the Prophet, even though they were transmitted only by isolated individuals [see KHABAR AL-WĀḤID], superseded the "living tradition". The traditionists themselves were responsible for putting into circulation many traditions which purported to go back to the Prophet, and they specialised in collecting, perfecting, transmitting and studying them; long journeys were made in search of traditions. Though hardly any of this material, as far as religious law is concerned, can be regarded as authentic by the standards of historical research, the Muslims, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, have accepted its essential parts as genuine.

The movement of the traditionists was the most

important event in the history of Islamic religious law in the second century of Islam. The ancient schools opposed it strongly at first, and the discussion concerning the authority of formal traditions from the Prophet, as against the "living tradition" of the schools, occupied most of that century. Once consciously formulated, however, the thesis of the traditionists, invoking as it did the highest possible authority under the Ḳur'ān, was assured of success, and the ancient schools had no real defence against the rising tide of traditions. Al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*] adopted the thesis of the traditionists and the other schools accepted it too, though they did not necessarily change their established doctrine accordingly. Only the doctrine of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] is purely traditionist. The final theory of religious law represents a compromise, insofar as the thesis of the traditionists, while accepted in principle, was made dependent in its application on the consensus of the scholars [see UṢŪL].

The main material aim of the traditionists was the same as that of the ancient schools, that is, to subordinate the legal subject-matter to religious and ethical considerations. On occasion, they showed themselves interested in purely legal issues as well. Al-Shāfiʿī had reason to complain that their standards of reasoning in general were inferior to those of the ancient schools, and in particular, he disavowed those extreme traditionists who accepted all traditions indiscriminately. The majority of traditionists, however, attempted to discriminate between reliable and unreliable traditions by criticism of the *isnād* [*q.v.*]; this criticism was directed against the ancient schools whose standards, by the nature of things, were less exacting in this respect. This traditional criticism of the *isnād* has no direct bearing on determining the historical authenticity of a tradition.

As early as the 2nd/8th century, the study of traditions from the Prophet became an end in itself, and the science of traditions, no longer opposed but complementary to the science of positive religious law (*fiḳh* [*q.v.*]), became an important and assiduously cultivated branch of Islamic religious scholarship. The usual term for a technical specialist in traditions is *muḥaddith*.

Bibliography: Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, vii, passim; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ta'wīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, 88 ff. (defence of the traditionists); idem, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 251 ff. (list of traditionists); *Fihrist*, 225 ff. (another list); al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifat ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, 3 f.; Ibn Fūrak, *Bayān Mushkil al-Aḥādīth*, 3; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 77 ff. (transl. Bercher, *Études sur la tradition islamique*, 91 ff.); A. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, 69 f.; J. Fück, in *ZDMG*, 1939, 1 ff. (represents a very conservative point of view); J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 253 ff. and passim; idem, *Esquisse d'une histoire du droit musulman*, 31 ff.

(J. SCHACHT)

AHL-I ḤADĪTH, "the followers of the Prophetic tradition", is a designation used in India and Pakistan for the members of a Muslim sect, who profess to hold the same views as the early *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* or *ahl al-ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] (as opposed to *ahl al-ra'y*). They do not hold themselves bound by *taḳlīd* or obedience to any of the four recognized *imāms* of the *fiḳh*-schools but consider themselves free to seek guidance in matters of religious faith and practice from the authentic traditions, which together with the Ḳur'ān are in their view the only worthy guide for true Muslims. They disregard the opinions of the founders of the four schools when they find them unsupported by or at variance with traditions, transmitted on the authority of the Companions of the Prophet. They have thus earned the name of *ghayr muḳallid*, which appellation, though disowned by them, nevertheless admirably defines their position in relation to other sects. They reject also the common notion that the *idjtihād* or legal conclusions of the founders of these schools are of final authority; and rather contend that every believer is free to follow his own interpretations of the Ḳur'ān and the traditions, provided he has sufficient learning to enable him to give a valid interpretation. Consequently, they do not regard the *idjmāʿ* or consensus of the preceding generations of Muslims as binding on them. As a result of their characteristic attitude, they have found themselves in conflict chiefly with the Ḥanafīs or followers (*muḳallids*) of Abū Ḥanīfa, who constitute the majority of Sunnī Muslims in India and Pakistan. Their controversy has, however, been confined in actual practice to certain minor points of ritual (such as *rafʿ al-yadayn, āmīn bi'l-djahr*) and belief, there being a substantial agreement on really important theological and doctrinal questions.

The Ahl-i Ḥadīth try to go back to first principles and to restore the original simplicity and purity of faith and practice. Emphasis is, accordingly, laid in particular on the reassertion of *tawḥīd* or the unity of Allāh and the denial of occult powers and knowledge of the hidden things (*ʿilm al-ghayb*) to any of his creatures. This involves a rejection of the miraculous powers of saints and of the exaggerated veneration paid to them. They also make every effort to eradicate customs that may be traced either to innovation (*bidʿa*) or to Hindu or other non-Islamic systems. In all this, their reformist programme bears a striking resemblance to that of the Wahhābīs of Arabia; and as a matter of fact their adversaries often nickname them Wahhābīs, an appellation which they repudiate, on the ground that their tenets are not derived from the Arabian Wahhābīs, who are themselves *muḳallids* in the sense that they follow the opinions of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal in legal matters.

The Ahl-i Ḥadīth made their first appearance as a distinct sect in the last century, partly through the influence of the writings of Nawwāb Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān ([*q.v.*]; d. 1307/1890) and partly through the teaching of Sayyid Nadhīr Ḥusayn (d. 1320/1902), an eminent theologian who specialized in the science of *Ḥadīth* and lectured on it for more than half a century at Delhi. Among his numerous pupils, who became influential teachers and writers in their own turn and propagated his ideas in different parts of the country, special mention is due to Mawlawī ʿAbd Allāh Ghaznawī (d. 1298/1881), who was banished from his native country of Afghānistān for his views and settled in Amritsar (Pandjāb); Mawlawī Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Batāla (d. 1338/1919), who edited the monthly *Ishāʿat al-Sunna* for many years; and Mawlawī Abu 'l-Wafā Thanā Allāh (d. 1367/1948), who edited the weekly *Ahl al-Ḥadīth* till 1947 and made a great name for himself as a controversialist and an expositor of the views of the school. The last named also took a leading part in organizing the All-India Ahl-i Hadith Conference with its head-quarters at Delhi, where its first annual meeting was held in 1912.

The Ahl-i Ḥadīth have their own journals, mosques and seminaries, and are distinguished by (1) their zealous effort, only partly successful, to purify the

religious life of the Muslims by ridding it of its innovations, superstitions and unnatural accretions, (2) their active promotion of the study of Ḥadīth literature, the importance of which had already been recognized by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith of Delhi [*q.v.*], and (3) their polemics against the Ārya-Samādjist Hindus, the Christian missionaries and the Aḥmadīs (Ḳādiyānīs).

Bibliography: Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Tardjumān-i Wahhābiyya*, Agra 1300; Muḥsin al-Mulk Sayyid Mahdī ʿAlī Khān, *Taʾrikh-i Taḳlīd awr ʿAmal bi 'l-Ḥadīth*, Aligarh 1906; M. Thanā Allāh, *Ahl-i Ḥadīth kā Madhhab*, Amritsar 1926; Abū Yaḥyā Imām Khān, *Tarādjim-i ʿUlamāʾ-i Ḥadīth-i Hind*, Delhi 1356; idem, *Ahl-i Ḥadīth kī ʿIlmī Khidmāt*, Delhi 1937; Nadjm al-Ghanī Khān, *Madhāhib al-Islām*, Lucknow 1924, 611-22; Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī, *Hindustān mēn ʿIlm Ḥadīth* in the *Maʿārif*, xxii, Azamgarh 1928; Masʿūd ʿĀlam Nadwī, *Islām kī Pehlī Siyāsī Taḥrīk*[2], Rawalpindi 1368, 21-31; S. M. Ikrām, *Mawdj Kawthar*, Bombay, 48-55; M. Ibrāhīm Mīr Siālkotī, *Taʾrikh-i Ahl-i Ḥadīth*, Lahore 1953; *Fatāwā Thanāʾiyya*, ed. M. Dāʾūd Rāz, Bombay 1372. (All the preceding works are in Urdu.) Shāh Walī Allāh, *Ḥudjdjat Allāh al-Bāligha*, Cairo 1352, i, 147-62; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Hidāyat al-Sāʾil ilā Adillat al-Masāʾil*, 1292 A.H.; Shaykh Aḥmad al-Makkī, *Taʾrikh Ahl al-Ḥadīth*, lithographed at Lahore; Murray Titus, *Indian Islam*, 1930, 187-9; H. A. R. Gibb (editor), *Whither Islam ?*, London 1932; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*[2], Lahore 1947; H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1946. (SH. INAYATULLAH)

AHL-I ḤAḲḲ, "Men of God", a secret religion prevalent mainly in western Persia. Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ would seem to be a rather imprecise name for this sect, because it is used, for example, by the Ḥurūfīs (see Cl. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Ḥurūfī*, 1909, 40), and because it has an affinity with such ṣūfī terms as *Ahl-i Ḥaḳīḳa*, a term which is also used by the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. In the strict sense, however, Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is the name properly given to initiates of the religion described in the present article. The name ʿAlī Ilāhī [*q.v.*] applied to them by their neighbours is an unsuitable title, because ʿAlī is not the dominant figure in the religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, and further because the term ʿAlī Ilāhī is also used in relation to sects whose connection with the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ has not yet been established.

The only reliable method is to describe the sect on the basis of the authentic sources, supplemented by material drawn from the narratives of travellers. The difficulties of this task arise firstly from the fact that the number of texts available is still limited (besides being often in dialect and bristling with abstruse terms) and secondly from the existence of numerous subsects. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ church has no canonical unity, but resembles rather a federation of associated movements (see a provisional list of these subdivisions in Minorsky, *Notes*, 46 [33]). There are twelve main *khānadāns* or *silsilas* (v. infra), but there are branches which are not included in this list, cf. the Sayyid Djalālī (Minorsky, *Notes*, 48 [35]) and the Tūmārī (a highly abnormal group) (*Minorsky, Études*, I). The account by Gobineau, the *Firḳān* and the text published by W. Ivanow reveal a religious system more philosophical than the naive legends of the *Sarandjām* (in the Ātash-begī version). Since, at the moment, however, this branch is better known to us, the following account will be based primarily on the Ātash-begī documents, to be supplemented later by material from the *Firḳān*, the author of which was a Khāmūshī (?).

The Dogmas. The central point in the dogmas of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is the belief in the successive manifestations of the Divinity, the number of these being seven. The manifestations of God are compared to garments put on by the Divinity: "to become incarnate" means "to come (to dwell) in a garment" (*libās*, *djāma*, *dūn* < Turk. **don*).

On each occasion the Divinity appears with a following of Four (or Five) Angels (*yārān-i čār-malak*) with whom he forms a close group.

The table of theophanies according to the MS. of the *Sarandjām* is given below.

In pre-eternity (*azal*) the Divinity was enclosed in a Pearl (*durr*). He made his first external appearance in the person of Khāwandagār, the Creator of the world. The second avatar was in the person of ʿAlī. From the beginning of the third epoch the list becomes quite original and typically Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. The first four epochs correspond to the stages of religious knowledge: *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīḳa*, *maʿrifa* and *ḥaḳīḳa*. According to all branches of the sect, the representative of the last and the highest stage is Sulṭān Ṣohāk. On the other hand, several differences of opinion regarding the successors of Sulṭān Ṣohāk are recorded.

Just as the divine essence reappears in each of the seven "garments", the angels (cf. the vertical columns in the table) are avatars of one another. For this reason their names are interchangeable and Salmān is often spoken of in the epoch of Sulṭān Ṣohāk or Benyāmīn in the epoch of Khāwandagār. The angels are emanations of the Divinity: the first of them was produced by Khāwandagār from his armpit, the second from his mouth, the third from his breath, the fourth and

	I	II	III	IV	V
1. Khāwandagār	Djibrāʾīl	Mīkāʾīl	Isrāfīl	ʿAzrāʾīl	?
2. Murtaḍā ʿAlī	Salmān	Ḳanbar	Ḥaḍrat-i Muḥammad	Nuṣayr	Fāṭima
3. Shāh Khoshīn	Bābā Buzurg	Kākā Reḍā (Riḍā)	Kore-Faḳī	Bābā Ṭāhir	Māmā Djalāla
4. Sulṭān Ṣohāk	Benyāmīn	Dāwūd	Pīr-i Mūsī	Muṣṭafā Dowdān	Khātūn Dāyira
5. Ḳïrmïzï (Shāh Ways Ḳulī)	Kāmarīdjān	Yāridjān	Yārālī	Shāh Sawār Agha	Razbār
6. Mamad-beg	Djamshīd-beg	Almās-beg	Abdāl-beg	?	Parī-khān-i Shart
7. Khān Ātash	Khān Djamshīd	Khān Almās	Khān Abdāl	?	Dūstī Khānum

fifth from his perspiration and his light respectively (cf. the *Sarandjām*). According to another version, Benyāmīn was created from the perspiration, which is characteristic of modesty; Dāwūd — from the breath (anger); Mūsī — from the moustache (pity); Razbār — from the pulse (charity). The angels play the part of ministers to the Divinity: Benyāmīn is the deputy (*wakīl*) and the *pīr*; Dāwūd is the overseer (*nāẓir*) and judge (?); Pīr Mūsī is the *wazīr* who records good and evil; Muṣṭafā Dowdān (= Nuṣayr) is the Angel of Death.

The angels are usually said to be four in number (in some lists and in certain periods this number is reduced to three) but in fact a fifth angel is especially charged with the supervision of worship. This angel's symbolical name is Razbār, Raẓbār or Ramzbār ("entrusted with mysteries") and her feminine character is indisputable; but the sex in Razbār is not emphasized. One of the informants even alleges that Razbār is a hermaphrodite (*khunthā*). Razbār is the mystical name of Khātūn Dāyira, mother of Sulṭān Ṣohāk, and the compiler of the list quoted above is wrong in relegating her to the fifth epoch.

Metempsychosis and Eschatology. The belief in the reincarnation of the theophanies finds its parallel in the general belief in metempsychosis. "Men! Do not fear the punishment of death! The death of man is like the dive which the duck makes".

Human beings must pass through the cycle of 1,001 incarnations, in the course of which they receive the reward of their actions (*Notes*, p. 131 [251]). According to the *Firḳān* (i, 32, 35, 57, 68), however, the possibilities of purification are essentially limited by the very nature of beings; of whom some, created out of yellow clay (*zarda-gil*), are good, and the others, created out of black earth (*siyāh khāk*), are evil. "The more (the former) go through the world of garments and the more they suffer, the more they approach God and the more their luminous state increases", while the "Dark ones" shall never see the Sun. As a complement to these beliefs, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ eagerly await the advent of the Lord of Time who shall come "to accomplish the desires of the Friends and embrace (*iḥāṭa*) the Universe". There are a number of prophetic *kalām*s which announce the coming of the Messiah. The scene of the Last Judgment, (*sān*, "review") will be the plain of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*] or that of Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*] where the "sulṭāns shall be exterminated" (*Notes*, p. 44 [31]). According to the *Firḳān*, i, 57, the Good shall enter Paradise (which is the contemplation) of the beauty of the Lord of Generosities, while the Wicked shall be annihilated (*maʿdūm*).

Rites. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ have a number of practices which are quite original.

1. We find little mention of individual prayer; on the other hand, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ attach tremendous importance to assemblies (*djam* < *djamʿ*) in which "all difficulties find their solution". The life of the community is eminently collective and the assemblies are held at fixed intervals and in connection with all important events. *Kalām*s are recited at them to the accompaniment of music.

2. On solemn occasions sessions of *dhikr* [*q.v.*] are held. Specially qualified darwīshes to the sounds of music (*sāz*) enter into a state of ecstasy, accompanied by anaesthesia, which enables them to walk over burning coals, to handle them, etc.

3. The indispensable features of these assemblies are the offerings and the sacrifices: *nadhr wa-niyāz* (raw offerings, uncooked, including animals of the male sex, oxen, sheep, cocks, intended for sacrifice) or *khayr wa-khidmat* (cooked or prepared victuals, like sugar, bread, etc.). The *Firḳān*, i, 74 counts fourteen kinds of bloody or bloodless sacrifices (*ḳurbānī-yi khūndār wa-bī-khūn*). The ritual of sacrifice is regulated and the flesh is separated from the bones, which are buried. The boiled meat and the other offerings are distributed among those present and dedicatory formulae (*khuṭba*) are repeated. The term *sabz namūdan*, "to render green, i.e. living, to reanimate", is applied to the ceremony (*Notes*, p. 210 [90]).

4. "Just as every dervish must have a spiritual director (*murshid*) so the head of every Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ has to be commended to a *pīr*". In the course of this ceremony (*sar sipurdan*) the persons symbolising the "Five (sic!) Angels" stand round the infant. A Muscat nut (*djawz-i buwā*) is broken by the celebrant as a substitute for the head. It is then worn as an amulet, with a piece of silver called *hawīza* bearing the Shīʿa form of the profession of faith (*hawīza* from the Shīʿa town of Hawīza in Khūzistān; cf. *Notes*, p. 227 [107], and W. Caskel, *Ein Mahdī des* 15. *Jahrhunderts*, in *Islamica*, 1931, 48-93, and the art. MUSHAʿSHAʿ). Links recalling blood relationship are established between him whose head is commended and the line of the *shaykh* to whom the head has been commended. This spiritual relationship carries with it the prohibition of marriage between the individual dedicated and the family of the *pīr*.

5. With the object of attaining moral perfection special unions (nuclei) are formed between a man (or several men) and a woman who are called brother and sister (*sharṭ-i iḳrār*). The union is said to be formed in anticipation of the Day of Resurrection: *Notes*, p. 230 [110]; cf. the *akh wa-ukht al-ākhira* among the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*].

6. Fasting is rigorously observed but lasts only for three days, as among the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*]. It takes place in winter and is followed by a feast. Among the divisions of the sect, only the Ātash-begī do not observe the fast "for the days of the (final) advent are near" and instead of fasting they say one ought to feast.

For the other rites and customs see the *Notes* by Minorsky (*Bibl.*).

Firḳān al-Akhbār. The author of this treatise was Ḥādjdjī Niʿmat Allāh of Djayḥūn-ābād near Dīnawar (1871-1920) who belonged to the Khāmūshī division and who believed the time had come to reveal the Real Truth (*ḥaḳīḳat*). His son Nūr ʿAlī Shāh (b. 1313/1895) wrote the biography of his father and an introduction to the *Firḳān* under the title of *Kashf al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*. While confirming much that was already known, the *Firḳān* represents a tradition different from that of the Ātash-begī in as much as it makes no mention of "seven" epochs and reserves a special position for Khāwandagār and Sulṭān Ṣohāk while the number of manifestations of less importance is increased (Bābā Nāʿūth, etc.).

The *Firḳān* consists of 4 parts. The first deals with the fundamental principles of the *ḥaḳīḳat* established in pre-eternity by the Divinity who in the stage of "*yā-yi ghaybat*" became externalised in the garment of Khāwandagār. The law remained concealed till the coming of Sulṭān Isḥāḳ (Ṣoḥāk). Then the *daftardārs* recorded these doctrines but each in his own way and according to the sources which were accessible to him. As a result the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ community has no [single?] sacred book and

its divisions are distinguished by different views. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ required a *ḳuṭb-i kull* which would be unique. So after 1324/1906 Niʿmat Allāh, by God's command, abandoned the world and became the "messenger of the Lord of the Hour", i.e. of Pīr Benyāmīn (explained as *bin* + *yā* + *amīn* "faithful son of Yā"). Then comes the explanation of metempsychosis (*gardis͟h-i dūn bi-dūn* = "going from one garment to another").

The creatures of the world are divided into two distinct categories according to their original element (*zarda-gil* or *k͟hāk-i siyāh*). To the first belong the Saved and Luminous beings whose respective *sardārs* are Benyāmīn and Sayyid Muḥammad (in his avatar of Buzurg-sawār). To the other category belong beings of Fire and Darkness whose respective *sardārs* are Iblīs and K͟hannās, with whom are associated the first three caliphs, Muʿāwiya, ʿĀʾis͟ha, etc. The intermixture of the two categories of beings produces combinations which may be recognised even externally.

The second part of the treatise is mainly concerned with the correspondence of the avatars through the ages. Thus the manifestations of Benyāmīn are Noah, Jesus and provisionally (*mihmān*) Rustam of the Persian epic; those of Razbār: Bilḳīs, the queen of Sabaʾ, Mary, etc.; those of Sayyid Muḥammad: Zoroaster, the prophet Muḥammad, etc. Next we are given the history of Sulṭān Isḥāḳ (Ṣohāk) and of his successors.

The third part relates the personal experiences of Niʿmat Allāh and the commandments which he received from God during his journey "to the beyond" (*safar-i ʿuḳbā*), notably his mission to unite the *k͟hānadāns*, to give absolution from sins (*az k͟hiyānat pāk namūdān*) and to intercede (*s͟hifāʿat*) with the Lord of Time.

The fourth part is the very full description of the rites and customs (*amr wa-nahy*), with the Gūrānī text of the formulae recited on each occasion.

Distribution. The principal centres of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ are in the west of Persia, in Luristān, Kurdistān (land of the Gūrān east of Zohāb, town of Kerend) and in Ād͟harbāyd͟jān (Tabrīz, Mākū, with ramifications in Transcaucasia especially Ḳarabag͟h). Little colonies of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ are found almost everywhere in Persia (at Hamad͟hān, Teheran, at Māzandarān, Fārs and even in K͟hurāsān, to which, according to tradition, one of the brothers of K͟hān Ātas͟h had gone). In ʿIrāḳ there are Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ among the Kurd and Turkoman tribes of the region of Kirkūk, of Sulaymāniyya and probably at Mosul.

Very little is known of the connection between the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ and the sects popularly known under the name of ʿAlī Ilāhī or by contemptuous terms like *čirāg͟h-söndüren* ("extinguishers of lights"), *k͟hurūs-kus͟hān* ("slaughterers of cocks") etc. [see BEKTĀS͟H, ḲÏZÏL-BAS͟H, SĀRLI, S͟HABBAK). In any case, it is a striking fact that the direct influence of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ preachers of the district of Zohāb could be traced among the ʿAlawī (Ḳïzïlbas͟h) of ʿAyntāb; cf. Trowbridge, *The Alevis*, *Harvard Theol. Review*, 1909, 340-55, repr. in *MW*, 1921, 253-66.

Religious History. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ possess a wealth of legends arranged according to the manifestations of the Divinity. The collections of these legends are known as *Sarand͟jām*. The epoch of K͟hāwandagār is interesting only for its cosmogonic myths. The traditions relating to the epoch of ʿAlī (which does not in any way form the central point) are inspired by the extreme S͟hīʿa. The epoch of K͟hos͟hīn is placed in a typically Lur [*q.v.*] environment, the geographical nomenclature showing an excellent knowledge of the localities of Luristān. One of the angels of K͟hos͟hīn is Bābā Ṭāhir [*q.v.*] whose quatrains in dialect are quoted. The fourth epoch is placed in the land of the Gūrān close to the river Sīrwān. The sayings attributed to Sulṭān Ṣohāk are in Gūrānī, which is the sacred language of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (cf. *Firḳān*, i, 3; see Minorsky, *The Guran*, *BSOS*, 1943, 77-103). The greatest sanctuaries of the sect: Bābā-Yādegār and Perdiwar, are situated in the same region. In the later epochs the scene is transferred to Ād͟harbāyd͟jān and the *kalāms* relating to these epochs are in Ād͟harī Turkish. From these facts it may be concluded that the stages of propagation and development of the religion have been: Luristān — land of the Gūrān — Ād͟harbāyd͟jān.

Exact dates are naturally difficult to obtain and we shall endeavour to proceed from the known to the unknown. K͟hān Ātas͟h, born at Ad͟jari (north of Marāg͟ha) and buried in the village of Ātas͟h-beg in the district of Has͟hta-rūd, northeast of Mount Sahand, is said to have lived at the beginning of the 18th century (*Notes*, p. 41 [27]). This line was continued by his direct descendants of whom the seventh was called Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Mīrzā (Ag͟hā-bak͟hs͟h) and lived at Garrabān (also called Dorū) on the Gāmāsāb to the south of Bisūtūn, where O. Mann visited him. He died in 1917 and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Ḥasan Mīrzā. The popularity of the Turkish poems of S͟hāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī is significant; the *kalām*, known as *Ḳuṭb-nāma*, calls S͟hāh Ismāʿīl the "*pīr* of Turkistān" (= Ād͟harbāyd͟jān where Turkish is spoken). The spread of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ doctrines among the Turkoman tribes seems in any case to go back to an earlier period, that of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu rulers. The remnants of these Turkomans who live in a district in the centre of Mākū are Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. Similarly in Transcaucasia the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu in the region of Gand͟ja live in the close neighbourhood of the G'öran (< Gūrān!). S͟hāh Ibrāhīm, whom many of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ regard as the successor of Sulṭān Ṣohāk, and who lived in Bag͟hdād and whose acolyte angel was Ḳus͟hči-og͟hli (author of Turkish *kalāms*), is perhaps responsible for the dissemination of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ teaching among the Turkomans north of the Tigris.

Tradition places immediately before S͟hāh Ibrāhīm the famous Sulṭān Ṣohāk who (outwardly) was the son of S͟hayk͟h ʿĪsī and K͟hātūn Dāyira (Dāyarāk), daughter of Ḥasan Beg D͟jald, chief of the tribe of D͟jāf-i Murād. His real name is said to have been Sayyid ʿAbd al-Sayyid. Barzind͟ja, north of Sulaymāniyya, is said to have been his birthplace. He is said to have had seven sons from his wife K͟hātūna Bas͟hīr, who are named *hafttan*. His tomb is at Perdiwar (in Awramān-i luhūn, see SENNE), on the right bank of the Sīrwān.

The Kākāʾī chiefs of Taʾūḳ claim to be his direct descendants (see al-ʿAzzāwī, *al-Kākāʾiyya*). S͟hayk͟h Maḥmūd, who after the World War proclaimed himself "King of Kurdistān" [cf. the article KURDS], claimed to be descended from the brother of Sulṭān Ṣohāk in the twelfth generation. At Kirkuk Minorsky found a MS containing a genealogy of that family.

The only definite indication of Bābā K͟hos͟hīn's date would be his association with the poet Bābā Ṭāhir (11th century) but here tradition is on very uncertain ground.

The Elements of the System. The religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is typically syncretist. At its foundations we find S͟hīʿa extremism. It should be

noted that the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ always speak of the 12 imāms and as a result ought not (at least directly) to be connected with Ismāʿīlism. According to the *Firḳān*, the "religion of Truth" simply re-establishes the contents of the 10 *d̲j̲uz'* which were suppresed in the received text of the Ḳur'ān, but in fact the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ deviate from the orthodox S̲h̲īʿa to the extent of forming a separate religious system. The religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ has in common with those of the Druzes and the Nuṣayrīs the worship of ʿAlī, but ʿAlī is completely overshadowed by Sulṭān Ṣohāk.

The other obvious element in the formation of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is the rites of the Ṣūfī darwīs̲h̲es: election of the *pīr*, agapes with *d̲h̲ikr* and distribution of food, brotherly unions.

From the social point of view, the religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is professed particularly by the lower classes, nomads, villagers, inhabitants of the poorer quarters, darwīs̲h̲es etc. From this probably comes the hope that on the day of the last judgment "the sulṭāns" will be punished (*Notes*, p. 44 [31]). On the other hand, the eminently popular character of the religion is apparent in the exuberance of the miraculous and folklore element in the traditions of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. Amid the country people in the remote provinces which have at all times been outside the control of central governments, it is natural to expect to find survivals from olden times. The Divinity enclosed in the Pearl is a Manichaean idea (personal communication by Th. Nöldeke), like the belief in the purification of the "Luminous" in the course of their transmigrations. The belief in metempsychosis cannot be directly Indian for it was already in existence in Ismāʿīlism. The division of beings into two distinct categories is perhaps a later development of Zoroastrian ideas. The sacrifice of the cock has been several times connected with the corresponding Jewish rite (cf. I. Scheftelowitz, *Das stellvertretende Huhnopfer*, Giessen 1914), while the Biblical names (Dāwūd, Mūsī) may have come through the intermediary of the Ḳur'ān. The alleged Christian influence ought not to be exaggerated: if the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ in their conversations with missionaries talk of Jesus and Mary, it should be remembered that, apart from these possibly being simply reminiscences of the Ḳur'ān, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ regard them merely as avatars of their own pantheon. For the agapes it is not necessary to go farther back than the known darwīs̲h̲ practices (e.g. the Bektas̲h̲ī). The elasticity of the system of metempsychosis is responsible for the appearance of unexpected names in the myths. W. Ivanow has called attention to the name of Malak Ṭā'ūs [cf. YAZĪDĪS] in a fragment containing traditions, found at S̲h̲īrāz.

Bibliography: The first references to the genuine Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ are found in the European travellers at the beginning of the 19th century: Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, 1813, 141; G. Keppel, *Personal narrative of a journey from India to England*, 1817, ii, 61 ff. H. Rawlinson, who commanded a regiment recruited from the tribe of Gūrān (Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ), was the first to give any reliable information about the sect, *Notes on a march from Zohab*, *JRGS*, 1839, 36, 39, 53, 57, 95, 97, 99, 105, 109. The Baron de Bode visited the shrine of Bābā Yādegār, *Biblioteka dl'a čteniya*, St. Petersburg 1854, t. cxxiii, p. 45, cf. also his *Travels in Luristan*, 1845, i, 371-8, ii, 180. The first general outline of the doctrines of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is in *Trois ans en Asie* by Gobineau, Paris 1859, 338-70, who was in direct contact with the representative of the sect in Teheran, see Schemann, *Gobineau, eine Biographie*, Strasburg, 1913, i, 506-7, and Minorsky, *Gobineau et la Perse*, in *Europe*, Paris, Oct. 1923, 116-27. A very interesting anonymous article (signed: Sh.) on the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ of Tabriz appeared in the journal *Kavkaz*, Tiflis, 1876, nos. 27, 29 and 30. The first authentic document of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (a *Kalām* of 34 verses, "the Credo") was published with important notes by V. A. Žukowsky in the *Zap.*, 1887, 1-25. The American missionary S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, 1896, collected a certain amount of information at first hand. In 1902 Minorsky acquired in Teheran an authentic Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ MS., dated 1295/1843 and containing a collection of religious legends listed under epochs (see above), (*Kitāb-i Saranḏ̲j̲ām* "Book of the End, or Fulfilment") in Persian, and also a number of *Kalāms* in Turkish (translated and published in Russian with a French summary: V. Minorsky, *Materiali dl'a izučeniya persidskoy sekti "L'udi Istinï ili "Ali-Ilahi"*, Moscow, 1911, published as fasc. xxxiii of *Trudi po vostokovedeniyu izdavayemiye Lazarevskim Institutom*; id., *Notes sur la secte des Ahle-Haqq*, in *RMM*, 1920, 20-97 (p. 61-84: detailed bibliography containing 54 items), and *RMM*, 1921, 205-302 (also published in book form with certain additions); a review by F. Cumont in *Syria*, 1922, 262; V. Minorsky, *Un traité de polémique Béhaï-Ahle-Haqq*, in *JA*, 1921, 165-7; D. Saeed-Khan, *The sect of Ahl-i Haqq*, *MW*, 1927, 31-42; Gordlevsky, *Kara-koyunlu*, in *Izv. Obščestva izučeniya Azerbayd̲j̲ana*, Baku, 1927; Ajarian, *Gyorans and Toumaris, a newly found religion in Persia*, *Bull. de l'Université d'Erivan*, French translation by F. Macler in *RHR*, 1926, 204-307; Minorsky, *Études sur les Ahl-i Haqq*, i, "*Toumari*" = *Ahl-i Haqq*, *RHR*, 1928, 90-105; F. M. Stead, *The Ali-Ilahi sect in Persia*, *MW*, 1932, 184-9; Y. N. Marr, *Radeniye sektï L'udi istinï* (in Y. Marr. *Statyi i soobščeniya*, ii, 1939, 248-54); Ch. P. Pittmann, *The final word of the Ahl-i Haqq*, *MW*, 1937, 147-63 (makes use of a text of the *Saranḏ̲j̲ām* which corresponds closely to that translated by Minorsky): W. Ivanow, *An Ali-Ilahi fragment*, *Collectanea* (The Ismā'īlī Society), I, 1948, 147-84, idem, *The Truth Worshippers of Kurdistan*, *Ahl-i Haqq*, Texts, Bombay 1953, (a third version of the *Saranḏ̲j̲ām*); ʿAbbās al-Azzāwī, *al-Kākā'iyya fi'l-Ta'rīk̲h̲*, Baghdad 1368/1949 (the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ of Kirkūk considered jointly with various ʿAlī Ilāhī; cf. *Oriens*, 1953, 407 ff.); Minorsky, *Un poème Ahl-i Ḥaqq en turk*, *Westliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, 1954, 258. The results of the researches of Minorsky amongst the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (Teheran, Tabrīz, Mākū, Kurdistān) and of his visits to the sanctuaries of the sect (Bābā-Yādegār, Perdiwar) have been set forth in his *Notes* (see above). In the same work there is a translation of the Bahā'ī polemic tract directed against the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. Minorsky's other materials comprise numerous *Kalām* (in Gūrānī and Turkish), and the important account of the collection of dogmas *Firḳān al-Ak̲h̲bār* (see above), as well as an account of his visits to the sanctuaries of Kirkūk and Kirind (1934).

(V. MINORSKY)

AHL AL-ḤALL WA'L-ʿAḲD (this, though illogical, is the normal order of the words), "those who are qualified to unbind and to bind", the representatives of the community of the Muslims who act on their behalf in appointing and deposing a caliph or

another ruler [see BAYʿA]. They must be Muslims, male, of age, free, *ʿadl* [*q.v.*], and capable of judging who is best qualified to hold the office. No fixed number of "electors" is required; according to the prevailing opinion, even the appointment made by one "elector" in the presence of two qualified witnesses is valid. This is the theory; in fact, all through the history of Islam, the *ahl al-ḥall wa'l-ʿaḳd* have consisted of the persons who wielded political power in the capital, acting in association with the notables and prominent religious scholars. The thought of modernists and reformers occasionally identifies them with the whole of the community, or nation, with parliament, or with the body of religious scholars.

Bibliography: Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 332; id., *Handleiding*, 335 f.; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, book I, § 13; H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de Rašīd Riḍā*, Beirut 1938, index, s.v.; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, Paris 1953, 172 ff., 334 ff.; L. Gardet, *La Cité musulmane*, Paris 1954, index s.v. (ED.)

AHL AL-KAHF [see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF].

AHL AL-ḲIBLA (A.) = "the people of the *ḳibla*" [*q.v.*], appellation of the Muslims.

AHL AL-KISĀ', the people of the cloak. According to a tradition Muḥammad went out one morning—at the time of the visit of the Nad̲j̲rān delegation in 10/631 [cf. MUBĀHALA]—wearing a figured black cloak; first Fāṭima, then ʿAlī and then al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn came and he took them under his cloak, hugging them and quoting from Ḳur'ān, xxxiii, 32: "God only desireth to put away filthiness from you as his household, and with cleansing to cleanse you". The Sunnīs explains filthiness as unbelief but the Shīʿa explain it as intercourse with the impure world, a parallel to the statement that the family lost the visible caliphate to win the invisible. Another version says that Muḥammad threw his cloak over his uncle ʿAbbās and his sons saying: "Hide them from hell fire as I hide them with my cloak".

Bibliography: See AHL AL-BAYT, and L. Massignon, in *Vivre et penser*, Paris 1941, 1 ff. (A. S. TRITTON)

AHL AL-KITĀB, "possessors of the Scripture" (or "people of the Book"). This term, in the Ḳur'ān and the resultant Muslim terminology, denotes the Jews and the Christians, repositories of the earlier revealed books, *al-Tawrāt* [*q.v.*] = the Torah, *al-Zabūr* [*q.v.*] = the Psalms, and *al-Ind̲j̲īl* [*q.v.*] = the Gospel. The use of this term was later extended to the Sabeans (*al-Ṣābi'a* [*q.v.*])—both the genuine Sabeans, mentioned in the Ḳur'ān alongside the Jews and the Christians (= Mandeans), and the spurious Sabeans (star-worshippers of Ḥarrān)—to the Zoroastrians (*Mad̲j̲ūs* [*q.v.*]), and, in India, even to idolaters.

This article deals only with the doctrinal position of the Ḳur'ān, the *ḥadīt̲h̲* and the controversialists concerning the Jews and the Christians. For their legal status as protected persons (*ahl al-d̲h̲imma*) on the fringe of the Muslim community, see D̲H̲IMMA and D̲J̲IZYA.

In the Ḳur'ān, the term does not occur before the end of the Meccan period. A possibly slightly earlier expression is *ahl al-d̲h̲ikr*, "possessors of edification", witnesses of previous revelations (xv, 43 (45); xxi, 7), but *kitāb* already denotes generally the Pentateuch and the Psalms.

The Ḳur'ān emphasises the community of faith between the possessors of the earlier scriptures and the adherents of the new revelation. It occasionally pays tribute to their religious and moral virtues and calls on the Prophet to interrogate them. More often, however, as a result of the disappointment of Muḥammad at the intransigence of the Jews of Medina and of the Christians with regard to his mission, he puts the emphasis on their failure to comprehend the message which they possess but do not put into practice, just as they fail to comprehend the new teaching which fulfils that message, on their exclusiveness, and on their impotent jealousy; they are therefore not to be treated as allies, but to be fought with: xxix, 45-7 (44-6); xlii, 14 (13); x, 93-5; ii, 105 (99), 109 (103), 111 (105), 135 (129); xcviii, i, 4, 6; iii, 19 (17), 23 (22), 64-5 (57-8), 69-73 (62-7), 75-6 (68-9), 77 (71), 98-100 (93-5), 110 (106), 113 (109), 199 (198); lviii, 29; iv, 153 (152), 171 (169); lix, 11; ix, 29; v, 5 (7), 15 (18), 19 (22), 57-9 (62-4), 65 (70), 68 (72).

The Ḳur'ānic texts which mention the adherents of these two religions by their proper names (*Banū Isrā'īl* [*q.v.*] and *Yahūd* [*q.v.*] for the Israelites of biblical history and the contemporary Jews of Medina respectively, *Naṣārā* [*q.v.*] for the Christians) adopt similar viewpoints and determine the entire future attitude of Islam towards these two groups. The children of Israel are God's chosen people, recipients of his bounty, admitted to his covenant, beneficiaries under his law, to whom Paradise is assured. The Ḳur'ān recognises several episodes of their history: the bondage in Egypt, the crossing of the Red Sea, their wanderings in the wilderness, their sojourn before the Mount, their division into twelve tribes, their entry into the Promised Land and into the Holy City and the City by the Sea. But they distinguish themselves by their rebellious spirit and unbelief; they worship the golden calf, they demand to see God and they clamour for idols. Instead of believing in the prophets, they persecute them. They violate the Sabbath and infringe the Law; they are uncircumcised in heart. Though guardians of the Scriptures, they alter them, conceal them and pervert their meaning; they are signalized by their opposition to all further revelations, and they are themselves divided into factions. Cursed by the Lord, metamorphosed into apes, punished in this world where they are doomed to humiliation, they are moreover consigned to Hell. They can only be saved by righteousness; they have on the other hand given rise to a just community.

This picture is coloured, like all Muḥammad's conceptions of religious history, by his experiences and disappointments, which are expressed still more clearly in his pronouncements concerning the contemporary Jews and Christians.

At first the Ḳur'ān admits that Jews, Christians and Sabeans can, like Muslims, achieve salvation through the performance of the rites of their respective religions, but this standpoint is not maintained. At Medina, the Ḳur'ān admonishes the Jews (recalling especially the divine protection vouchsafed to their ancestors) and summons them to Islam. Although certain Jews are praised and granted forgiveness, the tension, and finally the breach and conflict between the Jews and Muḥammad, are reflected by the condemnation of their doctrines, by maledictions, and the ban on association between them and believers. Their sins fall into the moral as well as the religious category. Their attitude resembles that of their ancestors: eager to enjoy life, they fear death; ungrateful for God's blessings, they are careless too of the welfare of their doctors of religion; they practise usury, war among themselves, and

rush into iniquity and corruption. They preserve and study their Law, but do not hesitate to transgress it, to distort its phraseology and to conceal the truth. The prohibitions concerning food have been imposed on them as a punishment. Their enmity towards the Christians is not forgotten. Even their monotheism is questionable; they believe in the *Djibt* and *Ṭāghūt* and deify ʿUzayr [*q.v.*]. They ally themselves with the polytheists. Their attitude towards the Ḳurʾānic revelation, the advent of which has caused disunity amongst them, is compounded of hostility and unbelief. They are the worst enemies of Islām; they bandy words with the Prophet, are jealous of the believers, and are conspicuous for their mockery, their machinations, and their treachery. Assured of obloquy in this world, they are destined to Gehenna. [See also YAHŪD.]

As regards the Christians, God has made a convenant with them, and their salvation through their faith is admitted in several passages. Muḥammad at one time credited them with a leaning towards Islam, and they are declared to be superior to the Jews, to whom they are opposed. But the condemnation of their doctrines is no less outspoken. Their exclusive claim to salvation and to the true religion is severely criticised; it would be a grave error to adopt their religion. The divinity of Jesus (ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]), the reality of his Passion, the Trinity and monasticism are all rejected. They are threatened with Hell; affiliation with them is forbidden, and recourse to imprecation (*mubāhala* [*q.v.*]) is proposed to them. The dissension between the Christian sects is not forgotten. [See also NADJRĀN, NAṢĀRĀ.]

The attitude of Islām towards the Jews and Christians, as reflected in the *ḥadīth*, is one of mistrust. It stresses the importance of differentiating at all costs, as regards religious and social conduct, between the believers and these two religious groups, which are rather superficially understood. Moreover there is noticeable in Muslim tradition a clear tendency to stress the originality of those Muslim institutions which invite comparison with similar (mainly Jewish) institutions. Finally, the *ḥadīth* sometimes puts into a polemical context the condemnation of various abuses prevalent among the Muslims, as well as certain positions taken up in many internal controversies within the Muslim community. The principles and processes employed betray more than once their Jewish origin. The basic rule is: "do not act as do the people of the Book" (*khālifūhum*), which corresponds to the Talmudic ban on following the practices of the Gentiles (*ḥuḳḳōt ha-gōy*). By virtue of this principle, the *ḥadīth* condemns numerous practices of little consequence in themselves. But to Jewish rigorism it opposes a certain degree of Muslim laxity, especially in sexual matters. It claims as purely Muslim (if it does not date back to "Israelite" antiquity or to pre-Islamic Arabia) an institution like the fast of ʿ*Āshūrā* [*q.v.*], which is in fact derived from the Jewish *Yōm Kippūr* and is moreover virtually supplanted by Ramaḍān [*q.v.*], which again is found to have its origin in Jewish and Christian institutions. Developing and aggravating the grievances uttered in the Ḳurʾān, Muslim tradition willingly underlines above all the enmity of the Jews, but also that of the Christians, ranging from certain episodes in the Prophet's life to eschatological disputes. Although Muslim tradition rarely gives evidence of direct acquaintance with large portions of the Judaeo-Christian Scriptures (information of this type stemmed from intercourse with the *ahl al-kitāb* or was supplied by converts), this does not prevent it from accusing the inheritors of those Scriptures of suppressing certain portions which had fallen into desuetude (capital punishment for adultery in Deuteromony) or which foretold the mission of Muḥammad, and also of interpreting passages falsely and even of materially altering their sense. Discussion with the *ahl al-kitāb* is regarded with dislike, and consultation of their religious documents is deprecated as much by reason of the probable fraudulency of their owners as from the fact of the autarchy of the Ḳurʾānic revelation, which abrogates all that is antiquated in previous revelations and renders the remainder superfluous by superseding it. In contrast, the edifying stories connected with the antiquity of the *ahl al-kitāb* (*Isrāʾīliyyāt* [*q.v.*]) are tolerated.

The anti-Jewish and anti-Christian polemics of Islām display a remarkable consistency in their major themes from the writings of the controversialists of the 3rd/9th-4th/10th centuries down to contemporary apologetics. Unlike the *ḥadīth*, they make use of a scriptural, theological, historical and sometimes liturgical knowledge which is ample if not always exact.

As regards the two Testaments, Muslim polemics continually waver between two opinions: (a) the Judaeo-Christian Scriptures in their existing form are authentic documents which only require a suitable exegesis; (b) they are not to be trusted, either because their actual meaning has been falsified [see TAḤRĪF], or because their recension and transmission do not afford the necessary guarantee of sincerity and authenticity, so that they cannot be accepted as the Torah and Gospel as actually revealed to Moses and Jesus. The first view prevailed in the 9th-10th centuries (whatever one thinks of the authenticity of "The Book of Religion and Empire", attributed to ʿAlī b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī, which includes a huge mass of scriptural arguments), whereas Ibn Ḥazm wrote the most penetrating literary, historical, theological and moral criticism of the Judaeo-Christian Scriptures. This method has been followed down to the modern polemic writers, who in addition utilise the rationalist bible-criticism of the 19th century in their attacks on Judaism and Christianity.

In the anti-Jewish polemics the chief theological problem is the abrogation (*naskh*) [*q.v.*] of previous divine revelations, which does not imply *badāʾ* [*q.v.*] (alteration of God's purpose). The principal charge levelled at Judaism, in most of the traditional compositions, is that of the anthropomorphic conception of the Deity.

The anti-Christian polemics are much richer in historical and theological argument. The message of Jesus has been altered by Paul, and the historical position of the Christian community has been falsified by Constantine. The christological controversies between the Melkites, the Nestorians and the Jacobites afforded ample material to the Muslim polemic writers. The Trinity, taken to mean tritheism, is irreconcilable with divine unity; the incarnation is a blasphemous offence against divine transcendence. Jesus may have had the prerogative of theopathic speech, but nothing more than a moral union can be involved (al-Ghazzālī). Muḥammad is the Paraclete foretold by the Gospel [see AḤMAD], and in addition several messianic and eschatological prophecies of the Old Testament are similarly fulfilled in his person. Historically and sociologically, the astonishing success of Muslim arms and the superiority

of Muslim civilisation are proofs of the truth and superiority of Islam. In al-Djāḥiẓ, there is a "sociological" study of Christianity and Judaism within the framework of Muslim society.

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AHL AL-NAẒAR, "those who apply reasoning". This term originally denotes the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*], and it is probable that they coined it themselves. It occurs in Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ta'wīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, passim; al-Masʿūdī speaks of *ahl al-baḥth wa 'l-naẓar*; synonyms are *ahl al-kalām* (in al-Shāfiʿī) and *al-mutakallimūn* (in al-Ashʿarī). Later, *ahl* (or *aṣḥāb*) *al-naẓar* came to denote the careful scholars who held a sound, well-reasoned opinion on any particular question. See also NAẒAR. (ED.)

AHL AL-RA'Y [see AṢḤĀB AL-RA'Y].

AHL AL-ṢUFFA, a group of Muḥammad's Companions, mentioned chiefly in ascetic and mystical writings, where they have come to typify the ideal of poverty and piety. The *ṣuffa* or *ẓulla* (often rendered 'bench', 'banquette', etc.) was, according to Lane, a long, covered portico or vestibule, which formed part of the mosque at Medina. This—so the legend ran—was the sole home of these men, and they spent their time in study and worship, except when in obedience to a command from Muḥammad they went out to fight. They are sometimes said to have been as many as 400; Lane (s.v. *ṣuffa*) quotes al-Sayyid Murtaḍā as saying in *TA* that he had made a list of 92 or 93 names. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Sulamī (cf. Brockelmann, I, 200) wrote a history of them (al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb* tr. R. A. Nicholson, Leyden and London, 1911, 81; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, i, 337-47). According to L. Massignon (*Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane*, Paris 1922, 140), al-Muḥāsibī, Ibn Karrām and al-Tustarī admitted the authenticity of the legend, and it was defended by Abū Nuʿaym, Ibn Ṭāhir, al-Maḳdisī and al-Subkī. (For the latter cf. Brockelmann, II, 87.) It also appears in al-Ghazālī, where there is an anecdote contrasting the *ahl al-ṣuffa* with *al-mu'allafa ḳulūbuhum*, 'those whose hearts are reconciled' (*Iḥyā'*, iv, book 34, *bayān faḍīlat al-faḳr muṭlaḳan*; cf. al-Sayyid Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf al-Sāda*, ix, 277-8). Ibn Taymiyya, though in the main an opponent of *taṣawwuf* or mysticism, developed his conception of the true nature of the religious or devotional life by describing the piety of the Companions, and in this gave a prominent place to the men of the *ṣuffa* (esp. *Risāla fī Ahl al-Ṣuffa*, in *Madjmūʿ min al-Rasā'il wa-'l-Masā'il al-Ḳayyima*, Cairo 1349/1930, i, 25-60). The supporters of the legend claimed that Ḳur'ān, ii, 273/4 (and other verses such as vi, 52, xviii, 28/7, and xlii, 27/6) referred to this group; but the orthodox commentators express hesitation about this attribution (cf. al-Bayḍāwī on ii, 273/4, 'it is said') or neglect it al-together (al-Ṭabarī on the same).

The factual grounds for the legend are slight. The later lists include names of persons who were either poor or pious but not necessarily both; among the 34 persons mentioned by al-Hudjwīrī (l.c. 81-2) is Abū Lubāba, one of the most influential men in Medina, who was wealthy enough to present a balcony to the *masdjid al-ḍirār* (al-Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 410). In the early account in Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 13-4, those named are Wāthila b. al-Askaʿ, Abū Hurayra, Abū Dharr and Ḳays b. Ṭihfa al-Ghifārī; while from the (possibly not exhaustive) index to Ibn Saʿd (s.v. *ṣuffa*, ix/2, 26) we learn that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (b. Kaʿb) al-Aṣamm, Djarhad b. Razāḥ al-Aslamī, Rabīʿa b. Kaʿb al-Aslamī, Asmā' b. Ḥāritha al-Aslamī and Ṭalḥa b. ʿAbdallāh (or b. ʿAmr) al-Naḍrī al-Laythī belonged to the *ahl al-ṣuffa* (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 48; iv/2, 33, 44, 51; vii/1, 35). The first report in Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 13 f. emphasizes not the poverty of the men of the *ṣuffa* but the fact that they had no dwelling in Medina, but other parts of the material there speak of their ragged clothing. This suggests that those who slept (perhaps only temporarily) in the *ṣuffa* were men from the less influential tribes round Medina who had no confederates to put them up in Medina apart from Muḥammad. Some of them were prominent in their tribes, and so presumably not poverty-stricken. Muḥammad apparently also invited a few poor followers to share his meal, but this probably happened only occasionally (cf. Ibn Saʿd, l.c.; al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḳīt al-Ṣalāt*, 41).

The legend must have begun to grow before the time of al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/822), himself an Aslamī, since Ibn Saʿd's material on this point comes from him. The statement that Ḳur'ān, ii, 273/4 referred to the *ahl al-ṣuffa* is passed on as from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Ḳuraẓī. Though scholars are now agreed that *ṣūfī* is derived from *ṣūf*, wool, the similarity in sound of *ṣuffa* encouraged the legend, and it was said, for example, that a *ṣūfī* was one who resembled the *ahl al-ṣuffa* in character (al-Kalābādhī, *al-Taʿarruf*, ed. and tr. A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1934, and Cambridge 1935, ch. 1; cf. al-Hudjwīrī, op. cit. 30).

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AHL AL-SUNNA, the "Sunnites", i.e. the orthodox Muslims [see SUNNA].

AHL-I WĀRIS, in general use among the Muḥammadan peoples of Indonesia with the meaning of Arabic *wāriṯh*. The word is taken from the Persian usage and has reached the East Indian archipelago via India.

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AḤLĀF [see ḤILF].

AḤMAD, one of the names of the Prophet Muḥammad and a proper name used by Muslims. Formally, it is the elative of Maḥmūd or Ḥamīd and means "more, or most, worthy of praise", or, less probably, of Ḥāmid, in which case it would mean "praising [God] to a higher, or the highest, degree". As a proper name it is, however, distinct from the other, etymologically connected forms, including the name Muḥammad. It occurs occasionally, and less frequently than Muḥammad, among the pre-Islamic Arabs. In the Ṣafāitic North-Arabian inscriptions of the Syrian borderland, names of this form seem to occur as abbreviations of composite theophoric names of the scheme "God is praiseworthy"; but whether the same is true of literary Arabic in the Ḥidjāz is subject to doubt.

The basis of its use in Islām is Ḳurʾān, lxi, 6: "And when Jesus, son of Mary, said: 'O Children of Israel, I am God's messenger to you, confirming the Torah which was before me, and announcing the good tidings of a messenger who will come after me, whose name is Aḥmad'." There is no obvious parallel to this passage in the New Testament. It has therefore been suggested that Aḥmad is the translation of *periklutos* "celebrated", which in its turn would be a corruption of *paraklētos* "the Paraclete" in John, xiv, 16, xv, 23-7. But the history of the text and of the translations of the Gospel, together with the fact that *periklutos* was not common in contemporary Greek, shows this to be impossible. The Muslims did indeed apply to Muḥammad the prediction of the Paraclete, before the middle of the 2nd century A. H. (Ibn Hishām, 150, quoting Ibn Isḥāḳ); but the terms used are either the Greek *paraklētos* or its correct Aramaic translation *meˈnaḥḥeˈmānā*; this identification is based only on the assonance between the Aramaic word and the name Muḥammad, and seems to have been suggested by Christian converts to Islām.

Whereas the name Muḥammad was used by Muslims from the lifetime of the Prophet onwards, and the forms Maḥmūd, Ḥamīd and Ḥumayd occur in the first century of Islām too, the use of Aḥmad as a proper name among Muslims seems to begin only about 125/740. From this it has been concluded that the word *aḥmad* in Ḳurʾān, lxi, 6 is to be taken not as a proper name but as an adjective (the verse might then contain an obscure reference to John, xiv, 12), and that it was understood as a proper name only after Muḥammad had been identified with the Paraclete. Occasional references to the Prophet as Aḥmad in the poetry of the first century are accordingly explained as caused by the necessity of the metre. Traditions which state that the name of the Prophet was Aḥmad (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 64 f.) are regarded as proposing an interpretation which had not always been obvious. But the original hesitation of the Muslims to use the name Aḥmad is sufficiently accounted for by the form of the word as an elative, even though it was a proper name from the beginning.

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AḤMAD I, fourteenth Ottoman sultan. Eldest son of Meḥmed (Muḥammad) III, born at Manisa 22 Djumādā II, 998/18 April 1590, succeeded his father 18 Radjab 1012/22 Jan. 1603. The chroniclers have noted that on his accession, contrary to established custom, he did not put to death his brother Muṣṭafā, and the latter later succeeded him. One of the first acts of the sovereign was the confinement in the old *Serāy* of his grandmother Ṣāfiya Sulṭān (the Venetian Baffa), the prime mover in the Ottoman administration under Murād III and Meḥmed (Muḥammad) III. Aḥmad sent an army under the command of Čighāle-zāde Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*] against the Persian troops of Shāh ʿAbbās I, who had just gained possession of Eriwān and Kars but had been repulsed in front of Aḳīsḳa. Sinān Pasha, however, was defeated at Salmās (9 Sept. 1605) and shortly afterwards died of chagrin in Diyārbakr, while Shāh ʿAbbās profited by his victory to recover Gandja and Shīrwān. In Hungary the Grand-Vizier Lālā Meḥmed Pasha [see MUḤAMMAD PASHA], after experiencing setbacks before Pest and Esterghon (Esztergom, Gran), captured Wač (Vác, Waitzen). In a seond campaign, in which he was supported by the ruler of Transylvania, Stephan Bocskay, he was able to isolate and storm the fortress of Esterghon (4 Nov. 1605), while Tīryākī Ḥasan Pasha entered Wesprim (Veszprém) and Palota. Bocskay was invested with the principalities of Transylvania and Hungary. Soon afterwards the Grand-Vizier died, and his post was held successively by Darwīsh Pasha and Murād Pasha [*q.v.*] surnamed Ḳuyudju ("the well-sinker"), who signed the treaty of Zsitvatorok (11 Nov. 1606) with the Austrians, whereby the Ottomans were left in possession of the territory which they had conquered and received in a single, definitive payment an indemnity of 200,000 *ḳara ghurūsh*, but contracted to accord the Austrian sovereign the title of "Emperor" and not merely "King", a step which would give him equality of status with the Sulṭān. Conferences were held at Neuhäusel in 1608 to settle the final details of the treaty, and at Vienna in July 1615 and March 1616 to extend its validity. Internal difficulties had forced the Ottomans to sign it; revolts, caused by repeated military levies and by the exactions of certain governors, had broken out in various parts of the empire. Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha was despatched against the rebels, and triumphed over Muṣlī Čawush at Lāranda, over Djamshīd at Adana, and notably over Djānbūlād-oghlū ʿAlī Pasha in the plain of Orūdj, near Beylān (24 Dec. 1607). In the west, he attacked Ḳalender-oghlū Meḥmed (Muḥammad) Pasha, who held the districts of Brusa and Manisa, and defeated him at Alāčāyīr (5 Aug. 1608). In Syria, the Turkish forces launched themselves against the Druse amīr Fakhr al-Dīn b. Maʿn [*q.v.*], but could not win a decisive victory. The Grand-Vizier, at the age of 90, then set out for Tabrīz, but shortly after opening peace negotiations with the Shāh of Iran,

he died. His successor Naṣūḥ Pasha [*q.v.*] concluded in 1611 a peace treaty which fixed the demarcation of the frontier on the basis of the settlement made during the reign of Selīm II, but hostilities were resumed four years later. At sea, the Grand-Admiral Khalīl Pasha [*q.v.*] achieved important successes against the Florentine and Maltese fleets. In 1609, six Maltese galleons were captured in Cypriot waters, including the "red galleon" of Commander Fressinet (battle of Ḳara Djahannam); in 1610, the Turks suffered a setback at Lepanto, and the Maltese Corsairs were checked at Cos; in 1612 a Florentine squadron raided the Cilician coast, near the port of Aghālīmān, and 1614 Khalīl Pasha inflicted some losses at Malta. In the Black Sea, the Cossacks, who had sacked Sinope, were overtaken and defeated at the mouth of the Don by Shāḳshāḳī Ibrāhīm Pasha; another Cossack attack in Moldavia was checked by Iskender Pasha, and peace was signed at Bussa, on the Dniester, on 27 Sept. 1617. Under Aḥmad I, the capitulations with France, England and Venice were renewed (1604), and similar capitulations were concluded for the first time with the Netherlands (1612). The use of tobacco became widespread in Turkey during his reign. Aḥmad I devoted himself to the promulgation of a *Ḳānūn-nāme* designed to establish an authoritative code of the administrative and commercial regulations of the empire, hitherto not co-ordinated. He constructed (1609-1616) in the At Meydānī at Istanbul the magnificent mosque which bears his name. He died 23 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1026/22 Nov. 1617 after a two months' illness. Of a violent and changeable nature, and easily swayed, Aḥmad I was not always capable of appreciating the services of his most able ministers; a pious man, he established numerous religious foundations, and even furnished the Kaʿba with ornaments. He was passionately fond of hunting and *djarīd*, and took a close interest in poetry.

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(R. Mantran)

AḤMAD II, twenty-first Ottoman sultan. Son of sultan Ibrāhīm and Muʿazzaz Sulṭān, born, according to Naʿīmā, 6 Dhuʾl Ḥidjdja 1052/25 Feb. 1643 (according to Rashīd 5 Djumādā I 1052/1 Aug. 1642), succeeded his brother Sulaymān II on 26 Ramaḍān 1102/23 June 1691. He confirmed the Grand-Vizier Köprülü-zāde [*q.v.*] Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā Pasha in his post, and the latter resumed hostilities against the Imperial Powers, but was defeated and killed at the battle of Slankamen (19 Aug. 1691). ʿArabadjī ʿAlī Pasha succeeded him, but was soon replaced by Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Pasha who, in 1692, conducted his campaign with great caution. In the same year, the Venetians made an unsuccessful attempt on Canea. As the result of a dispute with the sultan, Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Pasha was dismissed from office, and his post given to Bozoḳlu Muṣṭafā Pasha, who forced the Austrians to raise the siege of Belgrade (1693). Dismissed in his turn, he was succeeded by Sürmeli ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], who failed in an attempt to capture the fortress of Peterwardein (1694), while the Venetians gained control of Gabella in Dalmatia and of the important island of Chios. During the reign of Aḥmad II, there were disturbances in ʿIrāḳ and the Ḥidjāz and, in the west, Tunis was attacked by both Tripoli and Algiers. A sovereign of weak personality, and continually swayed by his entourage, Aḥmad II was in addition addicted to drink, and died of dropsy 22 Djumādā II, 1106/6 Feb. 1695 at Adrianople. He was buried in the *türbe* of Ḳānūnī Sulaymān at Istanbul.

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AḤMAD III, twenty-third Ottoman sultan, son of Meḥmed IV (Muḥammad IV, [*q.v.*]). Born in 1084/1673, he succeeded his brother Muṣṭafā II [*q.v.*] on 10 Rabīʿ II 1115/21 August 1703, when the latter abdicated in consequence of a rising of the Janissaries. The leaders of this rising were soon got rid of by the new sultan on his immediate re-establishment of Istanbul as the habitual residence of the court; and for the next few years large numbers of persons known to have, or suspected of having, been implicated in it continued to be dismissed, banished, or executed, to the detriment of governmental efficiency. Aḥmad's resolve to break the power of the soldiery was also shown by his dismissal from the palace service of 700 *bostandjïs* and their replacement by *dewshirme* conscripts (this being the last application of the *dewshirme*), as well as by his later drastic reduction of the Janissary establishment. Nevertheless during the first half of his twenty-seven years' reign in particular he lived in a morbid dread of "revolutionaries" (*fitnedjiler*); for three years he was unable, though making four changes in the Grand Vizierate, to find a capable minister; and it was only with the appointment in Muḥarram 1118/May 1706 of Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] that the government regained some stability. During this period, and indeed for the following eight or nine years, his actions were largely influenced by a palace camarilla, headed by the Wālide Sulṭān, the Ḳïzlar Aghasï, and the sultan's favourite, later to be known as (Shehīd) Silāḥdār Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*]. The sultan and the camarilla were always uneasy at the appointment to the Grand-Vizierate of "outsiders"—i.e. persons not of the palace service, such as Köprülü Nuʿmān Pasha (see below), and took fright at any initiative they might display.

No event of much note occurred during the reign until July 1709, when, after being defeated by Tsar Peter the Great at Poltava, King Charles XII of Sweden, nicknamed in Turkish *demir bash*, "Iron Head", sought refuge at Bender on the Dniester in Ottoman territory. The Porte had so far made no attempt at profiting either by the preoccupation of Austria and the western powers with the War of the Spanish Succession to recover any of the territory lost to the sultan in 1699 by the Treaty of Carlovitz, or by the preoccupation of Russia with the "Great Northern War" to nullify the concessions to the Tsar's Black-Sea ambitions agreed to in the Russo-Ottoman treaty of 1700. Charles, however, in order to retrieve his fortunes, soon began urging the

sultan to take up arms against Peter, an action to which the Porte was also incited by successive ambassadors of Louis XIV and the Venetian representative at Istanbul, with the result that in June 1710 Čorlulu ʿAlī, who had but recently renewed the Russian treaty, was dismissed, and that though his successor, Köprülü [*q.v.*] Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a, proving too independent for the taste of the camarilla, fell in turn two months later, his replacement in September by the pliant intriguer Balṭad̲j̲ï Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [see MUḤAMMAD PAS̲H̲A], who had shown his incapacity when in office earlier, was followed on 20 Nov. by a a declaration of war, the main Ottoman grievances being the Tsar's construction of warships at Azov, his erection of a number of fortresses along the Ottoman frontiers, his interference with the Tatars subject to the *K̲h̲ān* of the Crimea, and his incitement of the sultan's Orthodox subjects to disaffection.

The opposed armies met only in July 1711, after Peter had been enabled to overrun most of Moldavia owing to the treachery of the Hospodar Demetrius Cantemir [*q.v.*]. But by then he had run gravely short of food supplies and was surprised by the main Ottoman army when marching south along the Pruth with the intention of seizing Ibrāʾīl; was forced to retreat; and was eventually surrounded and obliged to sue for peace. A treaty was signed forthwith by which Peter agreed to retrocede Azov and raze the other objectionable fortresses, to interfere no further either with the Tatars or in the affairs of Poland, no longer to maintain an ambassador at Istanbul, and to cease intriguing with the sultan's Orthodox subjects. Since, however, the Grand Vizier could have forced the Tsar to almost any concession, he fell under suspicion of having been bribed into the acceptance of such lenient terms and was dismissed three months later, largely as the result of further intrigues on the part of Charles, whose hopes had been disappointed by the treaty. Charles continued indeed for most of the next three years to incite the Porte to a renewal of hostilities, a task made easier by Peter's failure to observe his undertakings. Largely as a result of the king's efforts war on Russia was again actually declared no less than three times (in Dec. 1711, Nov. 1712 and April 1713), though it was always averted by Russian concessions. A final agreement with Peter was reached only in June 1713, with the signature at Adrianople of a treaty, to remain in force for twenty-five years, whereby the terms of the Treaty of the Pruth were confirmed and peace with Russia was in the event established for a long period. Charles, persisting in a refusal to quit Ottoman territory unless provided with money and troops with which to recover his losses in Poland, was at length, in the spring of 1714, removed forcibly from Bender to Demotika and then to Demirṭas̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a Sarayï near Adrianople, and was obliged in the autumn to return home with his Swedish troops via Wallachia, Transylvania and Hungary.

Meanwhile, on 27 April 1713, Aḥmad's favourite and son-in-law, Silāḥdār ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, had been appointed Grand Vizier himself; and it was by his policy that peace was thus re-established with Russia, so that the Porte might seek to regain what had been lost to Venice at Carlovitz. Venetian rule had proved exceedingly unpopular in the Morea, the Orthodox inhabitants of which had sent repeated appeals to the Porte for deliverance from their new masters. But a suitable pretext for war against the republic occurred only in 1714, when, after the suppression of a Russian-instigated rebellion in Montenegro, the Venetian government refused to extradite the Vladika and other eminent Montenegrins who had sought refuge in Venetian territory. War was declared on 9 Dec. 1714; and in the following summer within two months (June-July) an Ottoman army under Silāḥdār ʿAlī's own command, operating in conjunction with the sultan's fleet, reconquered the whole province with but little serious fighting, while the fleet also took the islands of Tenos, Aegina, Cerigo and Santa Maura, and reduced Suda and Spinalonga (in Crete), which had remained till then in Venetian hands.

These Ottoman successes, and the possibility that Corfu and the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia might also fall into the sultan's grasp, alarmed Austria. In April 1716, accordingly, the Emperor Charles VI concluded a treaty of mutual assistance with Venice, and in June provoked the Porte by an ultimatum into a declaration of war. It opened with an unsuccessful attack by the Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a on Corfu; and this was followed in August by a rout at the hands of Eugène of Savoy near Peterwardein of the Ottoman main army commanded by Silāḥdār ʿAlī, who was mortally wounded on the field. Eugène followed up this victory with the reduction of Temesvar and the occupation of the Banat and Little Wallachia in the autumn; and in the summer of 1717 laid siege to Belgrade, where on 16 August he completely routed a superior Ottoman relieving force. The Belgrade garrison surrendered three days later, after which, though the Austrians failed in an attempt to overrun Bosnia, there was no fighting of importance. The Porte soon made proposals for an armistice; and peace was eventually signed, on 21 July 1718, at Passarovitz (Pasarofča, Požarevac), whereby Belgrade and the region about it, the Banat, and little Wallachia were ceded by the Porte to Austria, while the Morea, the Cretan ports and Tenos, as well as the south-eastern districts of the Hercegovina were ceded to the Porte by Venice, which for its part received Cerigo and the strongholds the Venetians had captured in Albania and Dalmatia. A commercial treaty further secured to Austrian and Venetian traders certain advantages they had not till then enjoyed.

The Grand Vizier responsible for this treaty was another favourite of Aḥmad's: News̲h̲ehirli Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who by marrying the sultan's thirteen-year-old daughter, Fāṭime Sulṭān, formerly the nominal wife of Silāḥdār ʿAlī, had also become a *dāmād*; and for the remaining twelve years of the reign, which with this entered upon its second phase, he entirely dominated the court. Ahmad was of a pleasure- and art-loving nature, and with Ibrāhīm, who shared his tastes, was able, as he had not been able with the warlike Silāḥdār, to indulge them and set new fashions for Ottoman society. The gradual abandonment of the *dews̲h̲irme* during the 17th century had led, with the occupation of the chief governmental posts by free-born Muslims, to a growth of interest among the powerful in the arts and learning, side by side with a decline in military and administrative efficiency. Moreover the Greek community of the Phanar quarter had at the same time acquired both a stronger influence than before in metropolitan society and some familiarity with contemporary western thought. In consequence the twelve years ensuing on the peace of Passarovitz witnessed a remarkable change of taste in poetry, music and architecture and a new inclination to profit by European example. During this short

period—known as *lāle dewri*, "the Age of Tulips", the cultivation of which became for some years a "craze", and the secular spirit of which is exemplified by the poet Nadīm [*q.v.*] in the verse "Let us laugh and play and enjoy the world!"—pavilions and gardens were more often built than mosques and mausoleums, and they were built to designs imported from the west. An ambassador accredited to Louis XV received specific instructions to study French institutions and report on those adaptable to Ottoman use; and in 1724 his son assisted Ibrāhīm Muteferriḳa [*q.v.*] to establish the first printing press in Istanbul. A French officer of Engineers was invited by the Porte to prepare plans for the reform of the army on western lines, while a French convert to Islam organized a fire service (the *odjaḳ* of the *tulumbadjis*); and though the reform of the army came to nothing, the organization of the Admiralty was overhauled and the building of three-decker men-o'-war was undertaken for the first time. Some of the *ʿulamā* further founded a society for the translation of books (from Arabic and Persian); the export of rare manuscripts was prohibited for educational reasons; and no less than five libraries were founded at the capital, including the sultan's own Enderūn-ü Hümāyūn Kütüb-khānesi, of which Nadīm was made curator. China factories at Kütahya and Izmid were revived and a new one founded at Tekfūr Sarayl at Istanbul; extensive repairs to the Byzantine walls were carried out from 1722 to 1724; and a barrage was built to provide water for the capital from springs at Belgrade. The most notable extant architectural monuments of the period are the mosque built by Aḥmad III for his mother at Üsküdar and his *česhme* outside the Bāb-i Hümāyūn of the Ṭopḳapl Sarayl, for which he composed the chronogram himself.

It was Ibrāhīm Pasha's policy to avoid war. Nevertheless the Tulip Age saw the temporary extension of Ottoman rule over large tracts of western Persia. The decline of the Ṣafawids and the Afghān invasion of their dominions, culminating in the capture of Iṣfahān in 1135/1722, had plunged the country into a state of anarchy tempting to both Russia and the Porte. In 1135/1723 Ottoman forces occupied Tiflīs, and on Russia's seizing Darband and Bākū in the same year, in 1724, after a period of tension during which a fresh war between Aḥmad and the Tsar came near to breaking out, another Russo-Ottoman treaty was concluded, providing for a partition that should leave Peter in possession of Darband, Bākū and Gīlān and the sultan in that of Georgia, Eriwān, Shīrwān, Ādharbaydjān and all Persian territory west of the line Ardabīl-Hamadān. Ottoman forces in fact took over all this vast region, the Porte forming it into some ten new *eyālets*. But when in April 1725 the Afghān Ashraf proclaimed himself shāh, he demanded the relinquishment of these conquests; and on the Porte's refusal eventually, in November 1726, defeated Aḥmad Pasha [*q.v.*] commanding the Ottoman forces in Persia. However, a year later Ashraf was obliged to make peace; and the sultan's sovereignty over the conquered provinces was recognized. From then until 1730, accordingly, these regions formed part of the Ottoman Empire. But in 1729 Ashraf was overthrown by the future Nādir Shāh, who in the following year also defeated the Ottomans and obliged them to relinquish all their gains.

The result was a revolt of the people at Istanbul, to suppress which Ibrāhīm and the sultan hesitated until it was too late. The Muslims of the capital, though they had at first disapproved the Persian conquests, were now indignant at their loss. But Ibrāhīm Pasha was anxious to avoid further fighting and prepared for it only under pressure from public opinion; moreover he was already unpopular for the nepotism he practised to secure his own position and for the fiscal policy he had pursued; the new luxurious and "Frankish" manners of the court were disliked by the conservative and resented by the poor; and the project of army reform had alarmed the Janissaries. The leader of the revolt was a Janissary "affiliate", an Albanian, formerly a *lewend* and hence [cf. BAḤRIYYA] called Patrona Khalīl, who acted under the influence of two disaffected *ʿulamā* and with the approval of many Janissary officers. It began on 28 Sept. 1730; and in a few hours a partially armed crowd of thousands had gathered in the At Meydānl. Aḥmad and Ibrāhīm were in camp at Üsküdar; but on learning of the outbreak in the evening, they returned to the palace at night. For the next two days fruitless attempts were made to parley with the rebels, who demanded the delivery up to them of the Grand Vizier, the Shaykh al-Islām, the Ḳapudan Pasha, the Kāhya Bey and others, till, during the night of 30 Sept., the sultan, finding no support in any of his troops, decided to sacrifice his favourite, whose corpse, together with those of the Ḳapudan and the Kāhya, was brought out to them in the morning. Aḥmad himself agreed to abdicate on condition that his own life and the lives of his sons should be spared, and was accordingly succeeded on 1 Oct./18 Rabīʿ I 1143 by his nephew Maḥmūd I [*q.v.*]. He died, in the retirement that was henceforth his lot, in 1149/1736.

Aḥmad III was handsome of person and an accomplished calligraphist, letter-writer and poet. Though normally of a mild disposition, he was ruthless in the treatment of those whom he feared or who had incurred his displeasure. He had no taste for war, partly because of the expense it entailed; for he was exceedingly fond of money and applied himself to the accumulation of treasure. His love of amusement and display ran counter to this propensity. But Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha contrived to minister to both his avarice and his extravagance by increasing the revenues and curtailing other expenditure in ways that contributed to his unpopularity. Aḥmad was greatly attached to his harem, to which he gave much of his attention, but he did not allow its members to influence public affairs as some of his predecessors had done. He had no less than thirty-one children; and his reign was consequently distinguished by frequent festivities to celebrate the circumcision of his sons and the marriage of his daughters, which lent it a special air of gaiety.

Minor events of the reign were a revolt of the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*] Arabs in the neighbourhood of al-Baṣra in 1117/1705; the suppression of another Arab revolt in the same region in 1727-8; the affirmation of Ottoman sovereignty over certain areas of the Caucasus bordering on the Black Sea early in the reign; the conquest of Oran (Wahrān) from Spain by Algerian forces in 1708; recurrent troubles in the Armenian *millet* occasioned by Jesuit propaganda (particularly in 1706-7 and 1727-8); and two insurrections in Egypt (in 1712-3 and 1727-8). Successive *khāns* of the Crimea played a considerable part in the events of the period, more especially in the war with Russia, the *khān* Dewlet Girāy [*q.v.*] in particular strongly supporting Charles XII in his anti-Russian schemes. During the war with Austria

the Porte accepted an offer of assistance from Francis Rákóczy, the Prince of Transylvania, after the final failure of his attempts to secure the independence of Hungary, but he reached Istanbul too late to be made use of. Finally the treachery of Cantemir and his fellow-Hospodar of Wallachia during the campaign of the Pruth resulted in the appointment from 1716 onwards of Phanariote Greeks to the governorship of the Principalities.

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(H. Bowen)

AḤMAD b. ABĪ BAKR [see muḥtād͟jids].

AḤMAD b. ABĪ DUʾĀD al-Iyādī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Muʿtazilite ḳāḍī born at Baṣra about 160/776. Through his own merit and also, it is said, through the good offices of Yaḥyā b. Akt͟ham [*q.v.*], who introduced him to the Court at Bag͟hdād, he reached a position of great honour under the Caliph al-Maʾmūn, soon becoming one of the Caliph's closest friends. Shortly before his death, the Caliph recommended his brother and successor al-Muʿtaṣim to admit Aḥmad, a fervent follower of the Muʿtazilite doctrine, to the circle of his advisers, and as a result al-Muʿtaṣim, after his accession (218/833) made Aḥmad his Chief Ḳāḍī. In the latter capacity he presided over cases heard before the court of inquisition which had been set up by al-Maʾmūn after the elevation of Muʿtazilism to the status of the state religion [see miḥna], and he consequently played an important part in the examination of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*]. In the discharge of his duties he nevertheless displayed a tolerance and humanity unusual at that time. He retained his post under al-Wāt͟hiḳ; at the death of the latter several high officials and officers wished to place his son, a minor, on the throne, but at the instance of the commander of the Turkish guard, Waṣīf, the brother of the late Caliph, D͟jaʿfar, was proclaimed Caliph, and Aḥmad himself gave him the title of al-Mutawakkil. The new Caliph, however, gradually adopted a hostile attitude towards the Muʿtazilites and established amicable relationships with the Sunnīs, with the result that the Chief Ḳāḍī could not maintain his position of influence. A short while after the accession of al-Mutawakkil, he suffered an attack of apoplexy, and handed over his office to his son Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad, who had been his *nāʾib* since 218/833 (L. Massignon, in *WZKM*, 1948, 107). The latter was dismissed in 237/851-2 and, with his brothers, thrown into prison, and all the property of Ibn Abī Duʾād was confiscated. The prisoners were eventually released, but Aḥmad and his son did not long survive their disgrace; Muḥammad died at the end of 239/May-June 854, and his father three weeks later, in Muḥarram 240/June 854.

Sunnī writers naturally pass a severe judgement on Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād and, in the religious sphere, do not conceal their hostility towards him, but all recognize his great learning and magnanimity. Himself endowed with some poetic talent, he was courted by the poets of his own circle. He was the patron of various men of letters notably of al-D͟jāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], who dedicated to him *inter alia* his *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, and addressed to him, either directly or through his son Abu 'l-Walīd, *risālas* in which he dwelt at length on the details of Muʿtazilite doctrine, and furnished the Ḳāḍī with arguments with which to confront the Sunnīs subject to his inquisition (on the relations between al-D͟jāḥiẓ and Ibn Abī Duʾād, see Ch. Pellat, in *RSO*, 1952, 55 ff.; idem, in *AIEO*, Algiers 1952, 302 ff.; and idem, in *Mas͟h.*, 1953, 281 ff.).

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(K. V. Zetterstéen-Ch. Pellat)

AḤMAD b. ABĪ K͟HĀLID al-AḤWAL, secretary to al-Maʾmūn, was of Syrian origin and the son of a secretary of Abū ʿUbayd Allāh. He took advantage of his former connections with the Barmakids to enter the service of al-Faḍl b. Sahl. Indeed the Barmakids were already under an obligation to his father, and he himself had managed to be of service to the disgraced Yaḥyā. Apparently even before the capture of Bag͟hdād he went to K͟hurāsān and, as the result of a letter of recommendation which Yaḥyā had given to him before his death, he was placed in charge of several *dīwāns* at Marw. After the return of the caliph to ʿIrāḳ, profiting by the support of T͟humāma b. As͟hras, he assisted al-Ḥasan b. Sahl in the direction of the administration, and later replaced him. A man of doubtful integrity, easily corrupted, notorious for his greed and his harshness towards his subordinates, he was, nevertheless, up to his death in 211/826-7, the right-hand man of al-Maʾmūn. It is not possible, however, to state definitely whether he acquired the rank of *wazīr*. Doubtless his ability was the reason why the Caliph, who was fully aware of his faults, still retained him in his service.

He played an important part in the political intrigues which secured in 205/821 the nomination of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, then governor of Bag͟hdād, to the governorship of K͟hurāsān in place of G͟hassān b.

ʿAbbād. When Ṭāhir asserted his independence in 207/822, al-Maʾmūn ordered his secretary to proceed at once to Khurāsān and to bring back the governor whose loyalty he had guaranteed. Aḥmad with much difficulty secured a respite of 24 hours, and, before his departure, the news of the death of Ṭāhir is said to have reached the city. Everything points to the fact that, as some chroniclers aver, Aḥmad was privy to this sudden death. He secured the appointment of Ṭāhir's son Ṭalḥa as governor, but al-Maʾmūn sent Aḥmad himself to Khurāsān to assist, or rather to keep watch on Ṭalḥa. The secretary, furnished with military powers, penetrated on this occasion as far as Transoxania, and conquered Ushrūsana. Aḥmad also used his influence to obtain a pardon for al-Maʾmūn's uncle, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who had laid claim to the throne and who had for several years succeeded in eluding the caliph's police.

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AḤMAD b. ABĪ ṬĀHIR ṬAYFŪR [see ibn abī ṭāhir].

AḤMAD b. ḤĀBIṬ (rather than Ḥāʾiṭ, if the position in the alphabetical order given to him by al-ʿAsḳalānī is taken into consideration), a theologian ranked among the Muʿtazilites; he was the pupil of al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*], and the teacher, in particular, of al-Faḍl al-Ḥadathī. Nothing is known about his life, and only his "innovations" are partly known to us. His doctrine, evolved before 232/846-7, seems to differ from Muʿtazilite teaching on the following two fundamental dogmas, which are borrowed from systems alien to Islam but which, in the eyes of Ibn Ḥābiṭ, found justification in the Ḳurʾān. (1) On the basis of Ḳurʾān lxxix, 22 (23); ii, 210 (206); and v, 110, he affirms the divinity of Jesus, from which heresiographers infer that, for him, the world has two creators, God and the Messiah. (2) He professes the doctrine of *kurūr*, or the reincarnation of souls, sprung from the Universal Spirit, in forms which will be more beautiful or more ugly according to the merits they have acquired in their previous incarnation. This theory involves the existence of five stages: a place of damnation (Hell); a place of testing (this world); two places of relative reward; and, finally, Paradise, where the souls were created. According to Ḳurʾān vii, 34 (32); x, 49 (50); xvi, 61 (63), souls which have "filled to the brim the cup" of good or evil go eventually to Paradise or Hell. Ibn Ḥābiṭ, who accepts incarnation in animals, is obliged to concede its corollary, the doctrine of the *taklīf* of animals, of their individual responsibility, which can be justified only if they have had prophetes to teach them; verses vi, 38; xvi, 68 (70) and xxxv, 24 (22), enable him to put forward this opinion. The heresiographers, of course, have passed a severe judgement on this theologian, to whom they deny the name of Muslim.

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AḤMAD b. ḤANBAL, "the imām of Baghdād", celebrated theologian, jurist and traditionist (164-241/780-855), and one of the most vigorous personalities of Islam, which he has profoundly influenced both in its historical development and its modern revival. Founder of one of the four major Sunnī schools, the Ḥanbalī, he was, through his disciple Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], the distant progenitor of Wahhābism, and has inspired also in a certain degree the conservative reform movement of the Salafiyya.

1. Life. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was an Arab, belonging to the Banū Shaybān, of Rabīʿa, who had played an active role in the conquest of al-ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān. His family, first resident in Baṣra, moved to Marw with Aḥmad's grandfather, Ḥanbal b. Hilāl, governor of Sarakhs under the Umayyads and one of the early ʿAbbāsid propagandists. Aḥmad was born in Rabīʿ ii 164/Dec. 780, a few months after his father Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, who was serving in the army of Khurāsān, had removed to Baghdād, where he died three years later. Aḥmad inherited, however, a small family estate which allowed him a modest but independent livelihood. After studying in Baghdād lexicography, jurisprudence and tradition, he devoted himself from 179/795 to the study of tradition, in pursuit of which he made a series of journeys in al-ʿIrāk, Ḥidjāz, Yaman, and Syria. His visits to Īrān, Khurāsān, and even to the distant Maghrib must be dismissed as legendary. Already in 183 he had visited Kūfa. He stayed more frequently in Baṣra; after a first visit in 186, he returned there in 190, 194 and 200. He was more often still at Mecca, where he made the Pilgrimage on five occasions: in 187, 191, 196, 197 (followed by a pious retreat (*mudjāwara*) at Medina), and 198, followed by a second *mudjāwara* into the year 199, after which he visited the traditionist ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ at Ṣanʿāʾ (*Manāḳib*, 22-3; *Tardjama*, 13-24).

His studies of *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* were made under a great many teachers, whose names have been preserved (*Manāḳib*, 33-6; *Tardjama*, 13-24). At Baghdād he attended the courses of the ḳāḍī Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*] d. 182/798), by whom he was not profoundly influenced, and studied regularly under Hushaym b. Bashīr, a disciple of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, from 179 to 183 (*Manāḳib*, 52; *Bidāya*, x, 183-4). His principal teacher thereafter was Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198/813-4), the greatest authority of the school of the Ḥidjāz. Others of his more important teachers were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī of Baṣra (d. 198/813-4) and Wākiʿ b. al-Djarrāḥ (d. 197/812-3) of Kūfa. But, as Ibn Taymiyya noted (*Minhādj al-Sunna*, iv, 143), his juristic formation is due, above all, to the school of ḥadīth and of the Ḥidjāz. He cannot therefore be regarded, as is sometimes done, simply as a disciple of al-Shāfiʿī, whose juridical work he knew, at least partially, but whom he seems to have met only once, at Baghdād in 195 (*Bidāya*, x, 251-5, 326-7).

The policy adopted by the caliph al-Maʾmūn, towards the end of his reign, under the influence of Bishr al-Marīsī, of giving official support to the doctrine of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*], inaugurated for Ibn Ḥanbal a period of persecution, which was to gain for him a resounding reputation [see al-maʾmūn, al-miḥna]. Ibn Ḥanbal vigorously refused to accept the dogma of the creation of the Ḳurʾān, contrary to orthodoxy. Al-Maʾmūn, then at Ṭarsūs, on hearing of this, ordered that Ibn Ḥanbal should be sent to him, together with another objector, Muḥammad b. Nūḥ. They were put in chains and sent off, but shortly after leaving Raḳḳa they

received the news of the caliph's death. They were then sent back to Baghdād; Ibn Nūḥ died on the journey, and Ibn Ḥanbal, on arrival in the capital, was imprisoned first at the Yāsiriyya, then in a house of the Dār ʿUmāra, and finally in the common prison of the Darb al-Mawṣilī (*Manāḳib*, 308-317; *Tardjama*, 40-56; *Bidāya*, x, 272-280).

The new caliph, al-Muʿtaṣim, though inclined to abandon the inquisition, was, it is said, persuaded by the Muʿtazilite ḳāḍī Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād of the danger to the authority of the State of surrendering a position now officially taken up. Ibn Ḥanbal was therefore summoned to appear before the caliph in Ramaḍān 219. Still stoutly refusing to acknowledge the creation of the Ḳurʾān, he was severely beaten but permitted to return to his home after an imprisonment of some two years in all. During the whole of al-Muʿtaṣim's reign he lived in retirement and disisted from giving lectures on Tradition. On the accession of al-Wāthiḳ (227/842), he attempted to resume his courses of lectures, but almost at once preferred to discontinue them, though not officially forbidden to give them, lest he should be exposed by further reprisals by the Muʿtazilite ḳāḍī. He continued therefore to remain in retirement, sometimes even (it is said) in hiding, in order to escape from his enemies (*Manāḳib*, 348-9).

With the reinstatement of Sunnism by al-Mutawakkil on his accession in 232/847, Ibn Ḥanbal was able to resume his teaching activity. He does not, however, appear among the traditionists appointed by the caliph in 234 to oppose the Djahmiyya and the Muʿtazila (*Manāḳib*, 356). The disappearence of the leading figures of the era of persecution opened the way to an association between the caliph and the independent-minded theologian. Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād was removed from office in 237/852, and his successor Ibn Aktham is even said, in certain traditions, to have been recommended to the caliph by Ibn Ḥanbal (*Bidāya*, x, 315-6, 319-29). After a first unsuccessful approach to the court, the date and circumstances of which remain obscure (*Manāḳib*, 359-62), Ibn Ḥanbal was invited in 237 to Sāmarrā by al-Mutawakkil. It appears that the caliph wished him to give lessons in *ḥadīth* to the young prince al-Muʿtazz, and it may also be supposed that he had some idea of utilizing the famous theologian for his policy of restoration of the *sunna*. This journey to Sāmarrā gave Ibn Ḥanbal the occasion for making contact with the personalities of the court, without danger of compromise. The extant narratives show him welcomed on his arrival by the ḥādjib Waṣīf, installed in the luxurious palace of Ītākh, loaded with gifts, presented to al-Muʿtazz, but eventually exempted, on his own request, from any special charge on account of his age and health. After a short stay, he returned to Baghdād without seeing the caliph (*Manāḳib*, 372-8; *Tardjama*, 58-75; *Bidāya*, x 314, 316, 337-40).

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal died in Rabīʿ i 241/July 855, at the age of 75, after a short illness, and was buried in the Martyrs' cemetery (*Maḳābir al-Shuhadāʾ*) near the Ḥarb gate. The traditions which surround the account of his funeral, although partly legendary in character, convey the impression of a genuine popular emotion, and his tomb was the scene of demonstrations of such ardent devotion that the cemetery had to be guarded by the civil authorities (*Manāḳib* 409-18; *Tardjama*, 75-82; *Bidāya*, x, 340-3). His tomb became one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage in Baghdād. In 574/1178-9 the caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ furnished it with an inscription glorifying the celebrated traditionist as the most faithful defender of the Sunna (*Bidāya*, xii, 300). It was washed away by a flood on the Tigris in the 8th/14th century (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 166).

By each of his two legitimate wives Ibn Ḥanbal had one son, Ṣāliḥ and ʿAbd Allāh, besides six children by a concubine, who are not otherwise known (*Manāḳib*, 298-306). Ṣāliḥ (born in Baghdād 203/818-9, died as ḳāḍī of Iṣfahān 266/879-80) is said to have transmitted a large part of Aḥmad's *fiḳh* (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 173-6). ʿAbd Allāh (b. 213/828) was chiefly interested in ḥadīth, and through him the major part of Aḥmad's literary work was transmitted. He died in Baghdād in 290/903 and was buried in the Ḳuraysh cemetery, and to his tomb was transferred the veneration enjoyed by that of his father when the latter was swept away (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 180-8). Both sons, who were closely associated with the intellectual life of their father, were amongst the chief architects of that collective structure which constitutes the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*.

2. Works. The most celebrated of Ibn Ḥanbal's works is his collection of traditions, the *Musnad* (1st ed., Cairo 1311; new edition by Aḥmad Shākir in publ. since 1368/1948). Although Aḥmad himself gave an exceptional importance to this work, it was his son ʿAbd Allāh who collected and classified the enormous accumulation of material, and himself made some additions. His Baghdād disciple Abū Bakr al-Ḳaṭīʿī (d. 368/978-9) transmitted this recension with some further additions. In this vast collection the traditions are classified not according to subjects, as in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, but under the names of the first guarantor; it thus consists of a number of particular *musnads* juxtaposed, and includes those of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī and the principal Companions, and ends with the *musnads* of the Anṣār, the Meccans, the Medinians, the people of Kūfa and Baṣra, and the Syrians.

This order, though evidence of an effort of intellectual probity, made it difficult to use by those who did not know it by heart. It was therefore sometimes reshaped. In his *K. fī Djamʿ al-Masānīd al-ʿAshra* the traditionist Ibn Kathīr classified, in alphabetical order of the Companions, the traditions contained in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, in the "Six Books", al-Ṭabarānī's *Muʿdjam* and the *Musnads* of al-Bazzār and Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī (*Shadharāt*, vi, 231). Ibn Zuknūn (d. 837/1433-4; *Shadharāt*, vii, 222-3) follows, in his *K. al-Darārī*, the order of the chapters of al-Bukhārī, and has the great merit of having inserted among the ḥadīths which he quotes extracts from numerous Ḥanbalī works, especially of Ibn Ḳudāma, Ibn Taymiyya, and Ibn al-Ḳayyim. This voluminous compilation, preserved in the Ẓāhiriyya in Damascus, has served as a mine for numerous editions of Ḥanbalī texts in the last fifty years.

Within the framework of Tradition, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is to be regarded as an "independent *mudjtahid*" (*mustaḳill*), who as Ibn Taymiyya has remarked (*Minhādj*, iv, 143), was able, from amongst the mass of traditions and opinions received from many teachers, to form his own doctrine (*ikhtāra li-nafsih*). In no sense can he be regarded, in the manner of al-Ṭabarī, as merely a traditionist, and nothing of a jurisconsult (*faḳīh*) concerned with normative rules. As already pointed out by Ibn ʿAḳīl, "certain positions adopted (*ikhtiyārāt*) by Ibn Ḥanbal are supported by him on traditions with such consummate skill as few have equalled, and certain of his decisions bear witness to a juridical subtlety without parallel" (*Manāḳib*, 64-6). "Fol-

lowers of tradition" (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) must not be too systematically contrasted with "followers of opinion" (*aṣḥāb al-raʾy*), since it is hardly possible to acquire an understanding of ḥadīths and to resolve their contradictions and divergences, or to deduce from them the consequences which may derive from them, without using a minimum of personal judgment.

The two fundamental treatises for the study of Ibn Ḥanbal's dogmatic position are the short *Radd ʿalaʾl-Djahmiyya waʾl-Zanādiḳa* and the *K. al-Sunna* (both printed together, Cairo n.d., a longer version of the *K. al-Sunna* in Mekka 1349). In the former of these, he expounds and refutes the doctrines of Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], whose ideas, widely circulated in Khurāsān, were adopted by certain disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa and of ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd. In the *K. al-Sunna* he re-examines some of the theological questions already raised in the *Radd* and unequivocally defines his own position on all the principal points of his creed (cf. also *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 24-36). Of his other surviving doctrinal works, the *K. al-Ṣalāt* (Cairo 1323 and 1347), on the importance of the communal prayer and rules for its correct observance, was transmitted by Muhannā b. Yaḥyā al-Shāmī, one of his early disciples, and extracted from the bio-bibliographical repertory of the ḳāḍī Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 345-80). Two unpublished MSS should be noted: the *Musnad min Masāʾil Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (B.M.; cf. Brock., S I, 311), transmitted by Abū Bakr al-Khallāl, which may possibly be a fragment of the *K. al-Djāmiʿ* (see below) and is important for the study of Ibn Ḥanbal's politico-religious ideas; and the *K. al-Amr*, transmitted by Ghulām al-Khallāl (MS Ẓāhiriyya).

In the *K. al-Waraʿ* (Cairo 1340; partial trans. by G.-H. Bousquet and P. Charles-Dominique in *Hespéris*, 1952, 97-112), there are to be found, in the form of roughly-classified notes, the opinions of Ibn Ḥanbal on certain cases where scrupulosity (*waraʿ*) seems necessary in his view. Their reporter, Abū Bakr al-Marwazī, has added the opinions of other doctors on the same or related subjects, with the apologetic object, it seems, of showing that Ibn Ḥanbal's teaching in the matter of pious scruples, the ascetic life and devotion, can be compared with advantage to that of his contemporaries Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, or Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī. This work, it has been noted (cf. Abd al-Jalil, *Aspects intérieurs de l'Islam*, 228, n. 193), is extensively quoted by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī in *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, and taken up again by al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*.

The *Masāʾil*. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was constantly consulted on questions (*masāʾil*) of all sorts relating to dogmatics, ethics or law. Although he may not have prohibited the writing down of his opinions as formally as certain traditions assert, it is certain that he warned his questioners against the danger of a codifying of his thought (*tadwīn al-raʾy*) which might then replace the principles of conduct traced by the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna; he himself, in contrast to al-Shāfiʿī, never sought to present it systematically as a body of doctrine. The fundamental purpose of his teaching is to be seen as a reaction against the codification of the *fiḳh*. Since primitive Muslim law was a doctrine of essentially oral transmission, which on a common substructure left a wide latitude to individual variations, any systematic codification, such as to impose it in the terms of thought of any particular representative or to congeal it by fixation, was to change its inner character.

The written redaction of his *responsa* and their classification under the general headings of the *fiḳh* was the work of Ṣāliḥ and ʿAbd Allāh and of the following other disciples of Ibn Ḥanbal: 1) Isḥāḳ b. Manṣūr al-Kawsadj (d. 251/865-6; *Ṭab.*, i, 113-5); 2) Abū Bakr al-Athram (d. 260/873-4 or 273/886-7; i, 66-74); 3) Ḥanbal b. Isḥāḳ (d. 273; i, 143-5); 4) ʿAbd al-Malik al-Maymūnī (d. 274/887-8; i, 212-6); 5) Abū Bakr al-Marwazī (d. 275/888-9; i, 56-63); 6) Abū Dāʾūd al-Sidjistānī (d. 275; i, 156-63; printed in Cairo, 1353/1934); 7) Ḥarb al-Kirmānī (d. 280/873-4; i, 145-6); 8) Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāḳ al-Harbī (d. 285/898-9; i, 86-93). There are also other collections, and in addition the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Abī Yaʿlā contains the replies given by Ibn Ḥanbal to numerous visitors.

These dispersed materials were assembled in the *K. al-Djāmiʿ li-ʿUlūm al-Imām Aḥmad*, by a disciple of Abū Bakr al-Marwazī, the traditionist Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923-4), who taught at Baghdād in the mosque of al-Mahdī (*Ṭab.*, ii, 12-15; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 112-3). Al-Khallāl's role has been well appreciated by Ibn Taymiyya, who says (*K. al-Īmān*, 158) that his *K. al-Sunna* is the fullest possible source for a knowledge of Ibn Ḥanbal's dogmatic views (*uṣūl dīniyya*), and his *K. fiʾl-ʿIlm* the most valuable repository for the study of law (*uṣūl fiḳhiyya*); these are no doubt subdivisions, or a rehandling, of *K. al-Djāmiʿ*. According to Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (*Iʿlām al-Muwaḳḳiʿīn*, Cairo, i, 31), the *K. al-Djāmiʿ* consisted of twenty volumes. To our present knowledge, the work is lost, except for the fragment referred to above; but as it has entered deeply into the output of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim, the study of these two writers may partially compensate for its loss in assisting an evaluation of Ibn Ḥanbal's thought.

Al-Khallāl's work was completed by his disciple ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/973-4), better known as Ghulām al-Khallāl, who did not always accept his master's interpretations of Ibn Ḥanbal's thought, and whose *Zād al-Musāfir*, though less important than the *Djāmiʿ*, presents a body of supplementary materials often consulted. The divergences which this *Corpus* has allowed to remain in the exposition of Ibn Ḥanbal's thought explain why the Ḥanbalīs distinguish between the text (*naṣṣ*) of the founder of the school, the teachings ascribed to him (*riwāyāt*), the indications (*tanbīhāt*) suggested by him, and what are simply points of view (*awdjāh*) of his disciples.

Ibn al-Djawzī (*Manāḳib*, 191) cites a *Tafsīr* based upon 120,000 ḥadīths, and other works now lost. See also Brockelmann, I, 193; S I, 309-10.

3. Doctrine. Ḥanbalism has sometimes suffered from a slightly fanaticized turbulence among certain of its followers, or an extravagant literalism adopted by others through ignorance or as a challenge. It has been exposed throughout its history to numerous and powerful opponents in the various schools whose principles it opposed, who, when they did not deliberately disregard it, have united to attack it or to muffle it with insidious suspicions. Western orientalism has taken little interest in it, and has been no less severe. It has become the received opinion to see in Ibn Ḥanbal's doctrine a ferociously anthropomorphist theodicy, a traditionalism so sectarian as to be no longer viable, a spirit of frenzied intolerance, a fundamental lack of social adjustment, and a kind of permanent inability to accept the established order. A direct study of his works shows that it is not in these summary judg-

ments that the governing objectives of his teaching are to be sought.

The Attributes of God. For Ibn Ḥanbal, God is the God of the Ḳur'ān: to believe in God is to believe in the description which God has given of Himself in His Book. Not only, therefore, must the attributes of God, such as hearing, sight, speech, omnipotence, will, wisdom, etc., be affirmed as realities (*ḥaḳḳ*), but also all the terms called "ambiguous" (*mutashābih*) which speak of God's hand, throne, omnipresence, and vision by the Believers on the day of resurrection. In conformity with tradition, also, it must be affirmed that God descends to the lowest heaven in the last third of every night to hearken to the prayers of his worshippers, and at the same time, with the literal text of the Ḳur'ān (cf. *sūra* cxii), that God, the Unique, the Absolute, is not comparable to anything in the world of His creatures (*K. al-Sunna*, 37; *Manāḳib*, 155). Ibn Ḥanbal therefore vigorously rejects the negative theology (*ta'ṭīl*) of the Djahmiyya and their allegorizing exegesis (*ta'wīl*) of the Ḳur'ān and of tradition, and no less emphatically rejects the anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*) of the Mushabbiha, amongst whom he includes, in the scope of his polemics, the Djahmiyya as unconscious anthropomorphists. In the fideism of Ibn Ḥanbal, one must believe in God without seeking to know the "mode" of the theologoumena (*bilā kayf*), and leave to God the understanding of his own mystery, renouncing the vain and dangerous subtleties of dogmatic theology (*kalām*) (*K. al-Sunna*, 37; *Manāḳib*, 155-6). So simple, and at the same time so strong, was this position from the Ḳur'ānic angle, that al-Ash'arī, on abandoning Mu'tazilism, seeks, either for tactical reasons or in sincere acceptance, to place himself under the patronage of Ibn Ḥanbal before making certain concessions to his former *credo*, concessions successively enlarged by his disciples, on the problem of the attributes, the Ḳur'ān, and the legitimacy of dogmatic theology.

The Ḳur'ān. The Ḳur'ān is the uncreated Word of God (*kalām Allāh ghayr makhlūḳ*). To affirm simply that the Ḳur'ān is the Word of God, without further specification, is to refuse to take up a position, and to fall into the heresy of the *wāḳifiyya*, the "Abstentionists", which, because of the doubt which it inspires, is a graver sin than the more open heresy of the Djahmiyya (*K. al-Sunna*, 37-8). By Ḳur'ān is to be understood, not just an abstract idea, but the Ḳur'ān with its letters, words, expressions, ideas—the Ḳur'ān in all its living reality, whose nature in itself eludes our understanding.

The Pronunciation of the Ḳur'ān. It is difficult to define Ibn Ḥanbal's position on this question. Some traditions assert that he regarded its pronunciation as uncreated (*lafẓī bi'l-Ḳur'ān ghayr makhlūḳ*). In *K. al-Sunna* (38) he goes no further than to say: "Whoso asserts that our words, when we recite the Ḳur'ān, and that our reading of the Ḳur'ān are created, seeing that the Ḳur'ān is the Word of God, is a Djahmī". While formally condemning the *lafẓiyya*, who held the pronunciation of the Ḳur'ān to be created, he gives no more positive formulation of his own doctrine, to the embarrassment of the later Ḥanbalīs. Ibn Taymiyya regards this question as the first on which a real division existed among the Ancients (cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur . . . Ibn Taymiyya*, 172) and states that Ibn Ḥanbal avoided taking up a position. He himself gives, in *al-Wāsiṭiyya*, the cautious formula which appears to him to be in conformity with the spirit of Ḥanbalism: "When men recite the Ḳur'ān or write it on leaves, the Ḳur'ān remains always and in reality the Word of God. A word cannot in fact be really attributed except to the one who first formulated it, and not to anyone who transmits or carries it."

Methodology. Ibn Ḥanbal, unlike al-Shāfi'ī, wrote no treatise on ethico-juristic methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), and the well-known later works of his school, composed with elaborate technique and in an atmosphere of discussion with other schools, cannot be accepted as rigorously expressing his thought. His own doctrine, as it may be elucidated from the *Masā'il*, is more rudimentary than the later elaborations, but has the merit of setting out the first principles of the methodology of the school.

Ḳur'ān and Sunna. This doctrine claims to rest above all on the Ḳur'ān, literally understood, without any allegorical exegesis, and on the Sunna, i.e. the total of traditions which can be regarded as deriving from the Prophet. From his own statement (*Musnad*, i, 56-7), Ibn Ḥanbal aimed to collect in his *Musnad* the *ḥadīths* generally received (*mashhūr*) in his time. In this work , therefore, there are found, to use his own terminology, *ḥadīths* whose authenticity is properly established and which may be regarded as perfectly sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), and *ḥadīths* which benefit only from a presumption of authenticity and for whose rejection (as *ḍa'īf*) there is no positive reason, or, to use the classification established by al-Tirmidhī, sound *ḥadīths* and "good" (*ḥasan*) *ḥadīths*. It was only much later, when the criticism of Tradition had reached, with Ibn al-Djawzī, the climax of formalist rigour, that Ibn Ḥanbal was reproached with admitting apocryphal (*mawḍū'*) *ḥadīths*—an accusation contested by many traditionists, as, for example, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī. The opinion which has come to prevail is that in the *Musnad* there are found, along with "sound" traditions, "good" or "rare" (*gharīb*) traditions, none of which, however, are strictly speaking unacceptable.

The Fatāwā *of the Companions and* Idjmā'. Ḳur'ān and Sunna find their continuation in a third source, derived and complementary: the *consulta* (*fatāwā*) of the Companions. The reasons which, for Ibn Ḥanbal, sustain the legitimacy of this new source of doctrine, are clear: the Companions knew, understood, and put into practice the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna much better than later generations, and all of them are worthy of respect. The Prophet also, in his *waṣiyya*, had recommended the Muslims to follow, together with his own Sunna, that of the "rightly-guided" (*rāshidūn*) caliphs who should succeed him, and to avoid all innovation (*bid'a*). Where the Companions disagree, it is easy to determine the juster view by reference to the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna, or by taking into account their order of pre-eminence (*Manāḳib*, 161).

In hierarchical order (*tafḍīl*), Ibn Ḥanbal puts Abū Bakr first, then 'Umar, then the six *aṣḥāb al-shūrā* appointed by 'Umar "all of whom were worthy of the caliphate and merit the title of *imām*": 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Zubayr, Ṭalḥa, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, and Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ; then the fighters at Badr, the Muhādjirs and the Anṣār (*K. al-Sunna*, 38; *Manāḳib*, 159-61). This doctrine of Sunnī reconciliation acknowledges the eminent position of 'Alī and the legitimacy of his caliphate, but also rehabilitates his enemies, and in the first place Mu'āwiya, whose historical role in the consolidation of Islam has always been indulgently evaluated in the Ḥanbalī school, and whose decisions are not necessarily to be discarded.

The decisions of the most authorized representatives of the later generations (*tābiʿūn*) also deserve to be taken into consideration as evidence of plausible interpretations. The consensus of the Community, in such a doctrine, expresses a general concentration around a truth founded on Ḳurʾān and Sunna; it does not constitute in itself, properly speaking, an independent source of law. A community may well fall into error collectively, if not guided by the light of revelation transmitted by the Tradition (cf. *Essai*, 239-42).

Function of the muftī. The first duty laid upon the jurisconsult is to follow faithfully the spiritual legacy transmitted by the Elders, by avoiding any spirit of creation or innovation. Ibn Ḥanbal therefore condemns *raʾy*, the gratuitous expression of personal opinion (Abū Dāʾūd, *Masāʾil*, 275-7), but without requiring as a rule of conduct an absolute and impossible passivity in face of the texts. He does not reject analogical reasoning (*ḳiyās*), but does not fully appreciate its value as an instrument of juridical systematization and discovery, as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim were to do later, under intellectualizing influences.

Ibn Ḥanbal made an extensive use of *istiṣḥāb*, a method of reasoning which consists in maintaining a given juridical status so long as no new circumstance arises to authorize its modification, and of *dharāʾiʿ*, another method of reasoning to the effect that, when a command or prohibition has been decreed by God, everything that is indispensable to the execution of that order or leads to infringement of that prohibition must also, as a consequence, be commanded or prohibited.—The notion of *maṣlaḥa*, or recognized common interest, which allows the limitation or extension of a juridical status, is also in conformity with his doctrine, although he did not himself extend and regulate its use as Ibn Taymiyya and his disciple al-Ṭūfī were to do.

To repeat a comparison of Ibn Ḳayyim's, which seems to us to characterize very successfully the double care for tradition and for realism shown by Ibn Ḥanbal: the *muftī*, like the physician who must adapt his treatment to the state of his patient, must make a constant personal effort (*idjtihād*) to draw from the sources of the law the moral prescriptions which should be applied to a given case. Thus, if the great Ḥanbalīs have never called for the reopening of *idjtihād*, it is because they have held that its continual use was indispensable to the understanding and application of legal doctrine.

The Caliphate and the Arabs. Ibn Ḥanbal's political views, directed essentially against the Khāridjites and the Shīʿites (*rawāfiḍ*) affirm first and foremost the legitimacy of the Ḳurayshite caliphate: "No person has any claim to contest this right with them, or to rebel against them, or to recognize any others until the Day of Resurrection" (*K. al-Sunna*, 35). In the quarrel of races (*shuʿūbiyya*) which was raging in his time, he defended the Arabs, but without proclaiming their superiority: "We must give the Arabs credit for their rights, their merits, and their former services. We must love them, by reason of the very love which we bear for the Apostle of God. To insult the Arabs is hypocrisy; to hate them is hypocrisy" (ibid., 38)—hypocrisy because, behind the insults or the hatred, there was concealed a more secret aim, to destroy Islam by reviving the ancient empires or reinstating other forms of culture.

On the precedents furnished by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, Ibn Ḥanbal founded the legality of a caliph's designation of his successor, but any such designation, to become effective, should be followed by a contract (*mubāyaʿa*) in which the imām and the authorized representatives of public opinion swear to mutual fidelity in respect for the Word of God (cf. *Essai*, 287). His view of the functions of the imām follows the general lines of the legal expositions, but leaves to the imām, within the framework of the prescriptions of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna, a wide freedom of action to take, for the common good (*maṣlaḥa*), all the measures which he considers necessary to improve the material and moral conditions of the community. In this lies the germ of that important concept of "juridical policy" (*siyāsa sharʿiyya*), which was methodically taken up by Ibn ʿAḳīl, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya.

The members of the community owe obedience to the imām and may not refuse it to him by disputing his moral quality. "The *djihād* should be pursued alongside all imāms, whether good men or evildoers; the injustice of the tyrant or the justice of the just matters little. The Friday prayer, the Pilgrimage, the two Feasts should be made with those who possess authority, even if they are not good, just or pious. The legal alms, the tithe, the land taxes, the *fayʾ*, are due to the amīrs, whether they put them to right use or not" (*K. al-Sunna*, 35). If the ruler seeks to impose a disobedience to God (*maʿṣiya*), he must be met on this point with a refusal to obey, but without calling for an armed revolt, which cannot be justified so long as the imām has the prayer regularly observed. But every member of the community has also the duty, according to his knowledge and his means, of commanding to the good and prohibiting the evil. By their apostolate, therefore, the doctors of the law, while remaining within the limits of loyalty, may revive the Sunna, keep public opinion vigilant, and impose on the prince respect for the prescriptions of religion.

The Spirit of Community. Ibn Ḥanbal's policy is one of communal concentration and confessional solidarity; to the *fitna*, disunity, which weakens the community, he opposes the concept of *djamāʿa*, of group unity and cohesion. He goes so far as to adopt, on the problem of excommunication (*takfīr*), an attitude of tolerance which links up with the laxism of the Murdjiʾa. One may not exclude from the community, he states, any Muslim guilty of a grave sin except on the authority of a *ḥadīth* which must be interpreted with a restrictive literalism (*K. al-Sunna*, 35-6). He cites only three sins which involve excommunication: non-observance of prayer, consumption of fermented liquors, and spreading of heresies contrary to the dogmas of Islam, among which he mentions none but the Djahmiyya and the Ḳadariyya. As to excommunication properly speaking, he replaces it by a systematic refusal to associate with the heretical within the bosom of the community. "I do not like (he wrote) that prayer should be made behind innovators, nor that the prayer for the dead should be said over them" (*K. al-Sunna*, 35-6).

Ethics. Ibn Ḥanbal's doctrine is entirely dominated by ethical preoccupations. The end of action is to serve God (*ʿibāda*). In opposition to the Djahmiyya and the Murdjiʾa, he asserted that faith (*al-īmān*) "is word, act, intention, and attachment to the Sunna" (*K. al-Sunna*, 34). It may therefore vary in intensity, "increase or diminish", and it implies so total an engagement of the being that no man may possibly call himself a Believer without making his affirmation in a conditional form (*istithnāʾ*), by

adding "if God wills". Faith is, therefore, not a simple body of rites, but implies a whole system of strong moral convictions: an absolute sincerity brought to the service of God (*ikhlāṣ*); renunciation of the world, with refinement of feeling and a spirit of poverty (*zuhd, fiḳr*); a moral courage which lies in "relinquishing what one desires for what one fears" (*futuwwa*); fear of God; a scrupulous mind, which leads one to avoid dubious things (*shubuhāt*) between the two well-marked limits of the licit and the illicit (cf. *Manāḳib*, 194-269). Ibn Ḥanbal's belief has, therefore, nothing of a pedantic juristic literalism.

Religious practices and Customs. This is not the place in which to analyse in detail the juridico-moral prescriptions which constitute the applied doctrine of Ibn Ḥanbal (*furūʿ*) in the two domains which come within this discipline: that of religious practices (*ʿibādāt*) and that of usages and customs (*ʿādāt, muʿāmalāt*). The methodical exposition of them contained in *al-Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī does no more than reproduce single opinions of Ibn Ḥanbal and presents a restrictive codification of his thought. The same is to be said of the *ʿUmda* of Ibn Ḳudāma, precious as it may be for a knowledge of Ḥanbalism in the 7th/13th century. (See Laoust, *Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Damascus 1950.)

But there is one very important rule which Ibn Taymiyya has brought out and which seems to us characteristic of primitive Ḥanbalism: nothing is to be regarded as imposing social obligations but the religious practices which God has explicitly prescribed; inversely, nothing can be lawfully forbidden but the practices which have been prohibited by God in the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. This is the dual principle which Ibn Taymiyya resumes in the formula: *tawḳīf fi 'l-ʿibādāt wa-ʿafw fi 'l-muʿāmalāt*, i.e. the most rigorous strictness in regard to religious obligations and a wide tolerance in all matters of usage (cf. *Essai*, 444). A wide liberty should therefore be left to both parties in drawing up the conditions of a contract, especially in regard to transactions, in which no stipulations can be nullified except those contrary to the formal interdiction in the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna of speculation (*maysir*) and usury (*ribā*). In the *Kitāb al-Sunna* (38), Ibn Ḥanbal, reacting against al-Muḥāsibī, regards the free pursuit of an honest profit as an obligation of religion.

On the other hand, in the domain of religious practices those alone are lawful which are prescribed by the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna, and only in the manner in which they are prescribed. The rigorism of the Ḥanbalī school is to be explained less by the spirit of devotion and of attention to detail which it seeks to bring to the performance of religious duties, than by its refusal to recognize any legal value to forms of worship introduced by the *idjtihād* of ascetics or mystics, or even by the arbitrary decision of the administrative authorities. This attitude of hostility to innovations (*bidʿa*)—vestiges of paganism, inventions of later generations, or infiltrations from foreign civilizations—showed itself with especial violence in al-Barbahārī and the early Wahhābiyya.

Bibliography: (a) Biography: a chapter in Abū Bakr al-Khallāl's (d. 311/923-4) history of Ḥanbalism, of which a few pages are preserved in the Ẓāhiriyya in Damascus; the monograph of Abū Bakr al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1065-6), of which large extracts are quoted in Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, x, 234-43. (A biography is also attributed to al-Harawī, d. 481/1087-8.) Two extensive biographies: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, Cairo 1349/1931; Dhahabī, excerpt from his great history, ed. separately by A. M. Shākir, *Tardjamat al-Imām Aḥmad*, Cairo 1365/1946 (reprinted in vol. i of the *Musnad*); they contain abundant documentation going back to Ibn Ḥanbal's sons and first disciples, but are in the first instance laudatory biographies and often lack precision in chronology. (b) Works: mentioned in the article. (c) Studies: W. M. Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*, Leiden 1897; I. Goldziher, *Zur Geschichte der ḥanbalitischen Bewegungen*, *ZDMG*, 1908, 1-28; idem, in EI[1]; Muḥammad Abū Zuhra, *Ibn Ḥanbal*, Cairo 1949.

(H. Laoust)

AḤMAD B. IDRĪS, Moroccan sharīf and mystic, a disciple of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh, the founder of the Khaḍiriyya order, himself founded a religious congregation, the Idrīsiyya, in ʿAsīr, where in 1823, he initiated the founder of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*]. He died in Ṣabyā (ʿAsīr) in 1253/1837, after founding a kind of semi-religious and semi-military state, the two last heads of which were his great-grandson Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad (1892-1923), and the latter's son ʿAlī (from 1923), who was forced to submit to Saʿūdī Arabia by a pretectorate agreement, negotiated by the Sanūsī leader Aḥmad Sharīf [see Idrīsīs].

The Idrīsiyya order is at present strongly represented in former Italian Somaliland (Merca), in Djibūti, among the Banū ʿĀmir (Khatmiyya) in Eritrea, and among the Gallas (where their missionary, Nūr Ḥusayn, enjoys great veneration). The Idrīsiyya order maintains fraternal relations with the other congregations derived from the Khaḍiriyya, particularly the Mirghāniyya of the Sudan.

Bibliography: *Awrād, Aḥzāb, wa-Rasāʾil*, lith. Cairo 1318; Nallino, *Scritti*, ii, 387 f., 397 f., and especially 403-7; *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*[4], 1954, 27, 380, 385, 387, 392-3; ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsiʿī al-Yamānī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1346, 338-43.

(L. Massignon)

AḤMAD B. ʿĪSĀ b. Muḥ. b. ʿAlī b. al-ʿArīḍ b. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (the great-grand-son of ʿAlī), called al-Muhādjir "the Emigrant", saint and legendary ancestor of the Ḥaḍramī *sayyids*. He left Baṣra in 317/929 accompanied by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (alleged ancestor of the Banū Ahdal [*q.v.*]) and Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh (ancestor of Banū Ḳudaym), was prevented from visiting Mecca until next year by Abū Ṭāhir al-Ḳarmaṭī's occupation and settled with his companions in Western Yaman (region of Surdud and Sahām). In 340/951 he left with his son ʿUbayd Allāh for Ḥaḍramawt, and lived at first near Tarīm in al-Hadjarēn, then in Ḳārat Banī Djushayr and finally in Ḥusayyisa, where he bought the territory of Ṣawf above the town of Bawr and where, after vigorously supporting the cause of the *Sunna* against the heresies of the Khawāridj and Ibāḍiyya he died in 345/956 (according to al-Shillī). His grave and that of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī in Shiʿb Mukhaddam (Shiʿb Aḥmad) outside Ḥusayyisa are visited by pilgrims. His grandsons Baṣrī, Djadīd, and ʿAlawī settled in Sumal, six miles from Tarīm. Since 521/1127 this town is the centre of the (Bā) ʿAlawī [*q.v.*] family in its wider sense, i.e. the offspring of the ʿAlawī mentioned above.

For another Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, ʿAmūd al-Dīn, ancestor of the Ḥaḍramī family al-ʿAmūdī, see v. d. Berg, *Ḥadhramout*, 41, 85.

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(O. LÖFGREN)

AḤMAD B. KHĀLID [see AḤMAD AL-NĀṢIRĪ].

AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-ṢAMAD ABŪ NAṢR, vizier of the Ghaznawid Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (after the death of his celebrated predecessor al-Maymandī (423/1032). He began his career as steward (*katkhudā*) of Khʷārizm Shāh Altūntāsh, and having become the vizier of Masʿūd he managed to retain this office during the latter's reign. After the defeat at Dandānaḳān, Masʿūd, who himself retired to India, sent him as attendant of his son Mawdūd to Balkh in order to defend this city against the Saldjūḳs. Also after the accession of Mawdūd (432/1041) he officiated for some time as vizier until al-Maymandī's son received that office. The year of his death is unknown.

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AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD ʿIRFĀN [see AḤMAD BRĒLWĪ].

AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MANṢŪR [see AḤMAD AL-MANṢŪR].

AḤMAD B. SAHL B. HĀSHIM, of the aristocratic dihḳān family Kāmkāriyān (who had settled near Marw), which boasted of Sāsānian descent, governor of Khurāsān. In order to avenge the death of his brother, fallen in a fight between Persians and Arabs (in Marw), he had under ʿAmr b. al-Layth stirred up a rising of the people. He was taken prisoner and brought to Sīstān, whence he escaped by means of an adventurous flight, and after a new attempt at a rising in Marw he fled for refuge to the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad in Bukhārā. Aḥmad took an active part in the battles of Khurāsān and Rayy under Ismāʿīl, and in the conquest of Sīstān under Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl. Having been sent under the command of Naṣr b. Aḥmad against the rebellious governor of Khurāsān, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marwarrūdī, he defeated his antagonist in Rabīʿ I 306/Aug.-Sept. 918. But shortly afterwards he rebelled himself against the Sāmānids, was vanquished on the Murghāb by the commander-in-chief Ḥamūya b. ʿAlī and sent to Bukhārā, where he died in prison in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 307/May-June 919.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornb., viii. 86 ff.) and the same information in a somewhat more circumstantial wording in Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār* (ed. Nazim, 1928, 27-9); evidently there is a common source, probably al-Sallāmī's *Taʾrīkh Wulāt Khurāsān*. (W. BARTHOLD)

AḤMAD B. SAʿĪD [see BŪ SAʿĪD].

AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN, founder of the Ṭūlūnid [*q.v.*] dynasty, the first Muslim governor of Egypt to annex Syria. Vassal in name only of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, he is a typical example of the Turkish slaves who from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd were enlisted in the private service of the caliph and the principal officers of state, and whose ambition and spirit of intrigue and independance were soon to make them the real masters of Islam. Aḥmad's father Ṭūlūn is said to have been included in the tribute sent by the governor of Bukhārā to the caliph al-Maʾmūn c. 200/815-6, and rose to command the caliph's private guard. Aḥmad, born in Ramaḍān 220/Sept. 835, received his military training at Sāmarrā and afterwards studied theology at Ṭarsūs. By his bravery he gained the favour of the caliph al-Mustaʿīn, who, on his abdication in 251/866, chose to go into exile under the guard of Aḥmad. The latter had no hand in the subsequent murder of al-Mustaʿīn, probably because his cooperation had not been invited. In 254/868 the caliph al-Muʿtazz gave Egypt as apanage to the Turkish general Bākbāk, who had married Ṭūlūn's widow. Aḥmad was appointed as lieutenant of his father-in-law, and entered Fusṭāṭ on 23 Ramaḍān 254/15 Sept. 868.

For the next four years Aḥmad was engaged in seeking to obtain control of the administration from Ibn al-Mudabbir, the powerful and skilful intendant of finance, whose intolerable exactions, cunning and greed had earned the hatred of the Egyptians. The struggle was fought out mainly through the medium of their agents and relations at Sāmarrā, and ended with the removal of Ibn al-Mudabbir. After the murder of Bākbāk Egypt was given as apanage to Yardjūkh, who had married one of his daughters to Ibn Ṭūlūn; he confirmed Aḥmad in his post as vice-governor, and invested him also with authority over Alexandria, Barḳa, and the frontier districts, which had hitherto lain outside his government. The revolt of Amādjūr, governor of Palestine, gave Aḥmad the opportunity to obtain the caliph's authorization to purchase a large number of slaves in order to subjugate the rebel. Although the task was subsequently confided to another, this intact army constituted the foundation of Ibn Ṭūlūn's power. For the first time, Egypt possessed a large military force which was independent of the caliphate. By liberal gifts, Aḥmad gained the favour of the ʿAbbāsid courtiers, and succeeded in obtaining the annulment of an order of recall issued by the caliph. It was to Ibn Ṭūlūn, and not to Ibn al-Mudabbir's successor, that the caliph addressed his requests for the Egyptian contributions to the treasury. In order that he might have the personal use of them by keeping their sum a secret from his brother al-Muwaffaḳ, he placed the financial administration of Egypt and the Syrian Marches under Aḥmad. In 258/872, the caliph's son Djaʿfar (later entitled al-Mufawwaḍ) succeeded Yardjūkh as apanagist of Egypt; al-Muʿtamid had recognized his brother al-Muwaffaḳ as heir to the throne after his own son and had divided the empire between the two heirs-presumptive, al-Muwaffaḳ receiving the eastern provinces as his apanage, and al-Mufawwaḍ the western; a regent, the Turk Mūsā b. Bughā was appointed as coadjutor of the latter. In fact, al-Muwaffaḳ exercised the supreme power. But while the caliphate was threatened in the east by attacks and movements of independence, and in the south by the revolt of the Zindj which engaged the forces of al-Muwaffaḳ, he himself, the only man capable of making a stand against Ibn Ṭūlūn, was threatened above all by the disorders in the administration and by the internal conflicts between the caliph and himself on the one hand, and the captains of the Turkish regiments on the other.

Such was the state of the caliphate at the moment selected by Ibn Ṭūlūn for his essay at independence, after gaining the financial control of his territories. On account of the long and costly campaigns against the Zindj the commander-in-chief al-Muwaffaḳ considered himself entitled to obtain financial assistance from all the provinces belonging to the caliphate. On receiving a sum from Ibn Ṭūlūn which he considered unsatisfactory, he sent a force of troops under Mūsā b. Bughā to remove him (263/877), but the demands of the soldiers and the fears inspired

by Ibn Ṭūlūn's forces led to the abandonment of the attempt. Aḥmad was now encouraged to occupy Syria (264/878), under the pretext of engaging in the holy war and of defending the frontiers in Asia Minor against the Byzantines. But he had to return to Egypt shortly after to deal with a revolt by his son ʿAbbās, whom he had appointed as his lieutenant in Egypt.

After the Syrian campaign, Ibn Ṭūlūn began to add his own name to those of the caliph and of Dja'far on his gold coinage. (It should be noted that Ibn Ṭūlūn always recognized the caliph al-Muʿtamid himself, perhaps just because he was powerless.) In 269/882 Aḥmad invited the caliph to take refuge with him, aiming by this means to concentrate the whole sovereign authority in Egypt and to gain the merit of being the saviour of the caliph, now a shadow. But the latter's flight was intercepted, and al-Muwaffaḳ nominated Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj as governor of Egypt and Syria. Aḥmad retaliated by proclaiming through an assembly of jurists which met at Damascus the forfeiture of al-Muwaffaḳ's succession to the throne. Al-Muwaffaḳ thereupon compelled the caliph to have Aḥmad cursed in the mosques, while Aḥmad had the same measure applied to al-Muwaffaḳ in the mosques of Egypt and Syria. But al-Muwaffaḳ, though finally victorious in his war with the Zindj, sought to have the *status quo* recognized, in the hope of gaining from Aḥmad by mildness and diplomacy what he had failed to gain by war. Aḥmad gave a favourable response to his first approaches, but died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 270/March 884.

Ibn Ṭūlūn owes his success not only to his talents, his cleverness, and the strength of his Turkish and Sudanese slave-armies, but also to the Zindj rebellion, which prevented al-Muwaffaḳ from devoting himself to counter his encroachments. His agrarian and administrative reforms were directed to encouraging the peasants to cultivate their lands with zeal, in spite of the heavy charges which were still laid upon their produce. He put an end to the exactions of the officers of the fiscal administration for their personal profit. The prosperity of Egypt under Ibn Ṭūlūn was due principally to the fact that the greater part of the revenues of the state were no longer drained off to the metropolis; they were thus employed to stimulate commerce and industry and to found, to the north of Fusṭāṭ, a new quarter, called al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ, which was the seat of government under the Ṭūlūnids and in which the great mosque built by Ibn Ṭūlūn was situated.

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(Zaky M. Hassan)

AḤMAD b. YŪSUF b. al-Ḳāsim b. Ṣubayḥ, Abū Djaʿfar, secretary to al-Maʾmūn. He belonged to a *mawālī* family of secretaries and poets originating from the neighbourhood of al-Kūfa. His father, Yūsuf, was secretary to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, then to Yaʿḳūb b. Dāwūd, and finally to Yaḥyā the Barmakid. It appears that Aḥmad held a secretarial post in ʿIrāḳ at the end of the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn. He was presented to al-Maʾmūn by his friend Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid, and soon attracted notice by his eloquence. He became an intimate of al-Maʾmūn, and at a date impossible to determine accurately, was placed in charge of the *dīwān al-sirr* (rather than the *dīwān al-rasāʾil*, which was entrusted to ʿAmr b. Masʿada). As private secretary to the caliph he occupied a position of such importance that some historians have styled him "vizier", a title, however, which he does not appear to have held. He came into conflict with the future caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, and died, it seems, in Ramaḍān 213/Nov.-Dec. 828. Various letters, terse remarks, aphorisms and verses by which he achieved fame as a "secretary-poet" are attributed to him.

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(D. Sourdel)

AḤMAD b. ZAYNĪ DAḤLĀN [see dahlān].

AḤMAD AMĪN, Egyptian scholar and writer, b. in Cairo 2 Muḥarram 1304/1 Oct. 1886, d. 30 Ramaḍān 1373/30 May 1954. After studying in al-Azhar and the School of Sharʿī Law, he served as a magistrate in the Native Courts, and in 1926 was appointed to the staff of the Egyptian University (U. of Cairo), where from 1936-1946 he was professor of Arabic Literature. In 1947 he became Director of the Cultural Section of the Arab League. Aḥmad Amīn was one of the founders and most active members of the *Ladjnat al-taʾlīf wa'l-tardjama wa'l-nashr* (see U. Rizzitano, in *OM*, 1940, 31-8), for which he edited and produced (in collaboration) a number of classical Arabic texts and general works on literary history. As a scholar, his most important production was a history of Islamic civilization to the end of the 4th/10th century (in three parts: *Fadjr al-Islām*, 1st ed., Cairo 1928; *Ḍuḥa'l-Islām*, 1st ed., Cairo 1933-6; *Ẓuhr al-Islām*, Cairo 1945-53), notable as the first comprehensive attempt to introduce critical method into modern Muslim Arabic historiography. From 1933 he collaborated in the weekly literary journal *al-Risāla*, and from 1939 edited a similar journal *al-Thaḳāfa*; his essays on literary, social and other topics in these journals were later collected and issued in book form (*Fayḍ al-Khāṭir*, 8 vols., Cairo 1937 ff.). Of his many other works special mention should be made of his dictionary of Egyptian folklore (*Ḳāmūs al-ʿĀdāt wa'l-Taḳālid wa'l-Taʿābir al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953), and his autobiography *Ḥayātī* (Cairo 1950).

Bibliography: Autobiography (see above; Eng. tr. by A. J. M. Craig to be published); U. Rizzitano, in *OM*, 1955, 76-89; Brockelmann, S III, 305.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

AḤMAD BĀBĀ, otherwise Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Takrūrī al-Massūfī, Sudanese jurist and biographer belonging to the Ṣinhādjī family of the Āḳīt, born at Tinbuktū (now Timbuktu) 21 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 963/26 Oct. 1556. All his ancestors in the male line were *imāms* or *ḳāḍīs* in the Sudanese capital in the 15th and 16th centuries, and he himself rapidly became a *faḳīh* of repute in learned circles in his country. At the time of the conquest of the Sudan by the Saʿdid Sulṭān of Morocco Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] in 1000/1592, Aḥmad Bābā refused

to recognise the authority of the court of Marrākush and, two years later, the governor Maḥmūd Zarḳūn arrested him on the Sulṭān's orders, and accused him of fomenting a revolt at Tinbuktū against the new rulers. Taken in chains to Morocco with several of his compatriots, Aḥmad Bābā was not long in regaining his liberty, but he was required to reside in Marrākush (1004/1596). He began to give instruction in *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, and formulated legal opinions (*fatwā*). His renown soon spread throughout the Maghrib. At the death of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 1016/1607, his successor Mawlāy Zaydān allowed Aḥmad and the other Sudanese exiles to return to Tinbuktū. It was no doubt at this time that he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, and returned to his native town where he died on 6 Shaʿbān 1036/22 April 1627.

Aḥmad Bābā was the author of some 50 works on Mālikite law, grammar and other subjects. But his chief work is his supplement to the biographical dictionary of the *faḳīhs* of the school of Mālik b. Anas, composed in the second half of the 14th century by Ibn Farḥūn [*q.v.*] and entitled *al-Dībādj al-Mudhahhab fī Maʿrifat Aʿyān ʿUlamāʾ al-Madhhab*. Aḥmad Bābā gave his supplement the name of *Nayl al-Ibtihādj bi-Taṭrīz al-Dībādj*. He completed it at Marrākush in 1005/1596, and later issued an abridged version dealing only with those Mālikite *faḳīhs* not represented in Ibn Farḥūn, called *Kifāyat al-Muḥtādj li-Maʿrifat mā laysa fi'l-Dībādj*. The *Nayl* was lithographed at Fās in 1317 and printed at Cairo in 1329, in the margins of the *Dībādj*.

Aḥmad Bābā's dictionary is one of the main sources for a bio-bibliographical survey of the Maghrib up to the 16th century, and contains, apart from the Mālikite doctors, a certain amount of information on the great Moroccan saints (*awliyāʾ*) of the period. The extensive library which he built up in the Sudan has still not been entirely dispersed, and it was one of his own copies of which particular use was made in the publication of the materials relating to Spain in *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī (Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique au Moyen Âge*, Leiden, 1938 p. xii-xiii).

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 250-5; idem, *Arabica Occidentalia*, iv, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 89-96; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, i, 170 ff.; al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, Fez, 81 ff.; idem, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, Fez, 52 ff.; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, Fez 1310, i, 151 ff.; Aḥmad Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, Cairo 1312, iii, 63; Saʿdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* (Houdas), i, 35-6, 244; transl. 57-9, 379; M. Ben Cheneb, *Idjāza*, § 94; idem, in *IE*[1], i, 191 (with a complete list of the works of Aḥmad Bābā); Brockelmann, II, 618, S II, 715-6. (E. Lévi Provençal)

AḤMAD al-BADAWĪ (in modern Egyptian Arabic il-Bedawī), with the *kunya* Abu 'l-Fityān, is the most popular saint of the Muslims in Egypt and has been so for about 700 years. By the people he is often called simply *is-sayyid*; in a song in his honour (ed. Littmann) he has the title of *shēkh il-ʿArab* because of his name al-Badawī, and this name was given to him because he wore a veil like the bedouin of the Maghrib. As a Ṣūfī he was called *al-ḳuṭb*, «the pole».

Aḥmad was probably born in Fez in 596/1199-1200, and he seems to have been the youngest of seven or eight children. His mother was called Fāṭima, his father ʿAlī (al-Badrī); the occupation of his father is not mentioned. His genealogy was traced up to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. In his early youth Aḥmad went with his family on a pilgrimage to Mecca where they arrived after four years' travelling. This is placed in the years 603-7/1206-11. In Mecca his father died. Aḥmad is said to have distinguished himself in Mecca as a daring horseman, and he received there, according to tradition, the surnames al-ʿAṭṭāb, "the intrepid horseman", al-Ghaḍbān, "the furious, raging one". His name Abu 'l-ʿAbbās may be a miswriting for Abu 'l-Fityān; and the latter would have much the same meaning as al-ʿAṭṭāb. Other names that were given him later are al-Ṣammāt, "the silent" and Abū Farrādj, "liberator", namely of prisoners. About 627/1230 he seems to have undergone an inner transformation. He read the Ḳurʾān according to all the seven readings and studied some Shāfiʿite law. He gave himself up to devotion and declined the offer of a marriage. He retired from men, became taciturn, made himself understood by signs. According to some authorities Aḥmad was summoned in 633/1236 by three consecutive visions to visit ʿIrāḳ, and he went there in company with his eldest brother Ḥasan. They visited the tombs of the two great "poles" Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī and of many other saints. In ʿIrāḳ he is said to have subdued the indomitable Fāṭima bint Barrī, who had never yet surrendered to any man, and to have refused her offer to marry him. This incident has been turned into a highly romantic story in popular Arabic literature; it may go back to ancient Egyptian mythology. In 634/1236-7 Aḥmad had another vision which told him to go to Ṭanṭā in Egypt. His brother Ḥasan returned from ʿIrāḳ to Mecca. In Ṭanṭā Aḥmad entered on the last and most important period in his life. His mode of life is described as follows : He climbed in Ṭanṭā to the roof of a private house, stood there motionless and gazed up into the sun so that his eyes went red and sore and looked like fiery cinders. Sometimes he would maintain a prolonged silence, at other times he would indulge in continuous screaming. He went without food or drink for about forty days. (The forty days fast is also known from the legends of Christian saints. The standing on the roof is reminiscent of Symeon Stylites, and the name of the followers and disciples of Aḥmad : Suṭūḥiyya or Aṣḥāb al-Saṭḥ, "the roof men", of the Christian "pillar saints", the followers of Symeon.) Those saints who were still worshipped at the time of Aḥmad's arrival in Ṭanṭā (such as Ḥasan al-Ikhnāʾī, Sālim al-Maghribī and Wadjh al-Ḳamar), found themselves eclipsed. His contemporary, the Mamlūk sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Baybars, is said to have worshipped him and to have kissed his feet. A boy called ʿAbd al-ʿĀl came to him when he was searching for a cure for his sore eyes, and this boy became afterwards his confident and his *khalīfa* (successor); the saint is therefore called Abū ʿAbd al-ʿĀl in popular literature. Aḥmad died on 12 Rabīʿ I 675/24 August 1276.

Aḥmad al-Badawī is the author of (i) a prayer (*ḥizb*); (ii) a collection of prayers (*ṣalawāt*), commented by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-ʿAydarūsī under the title of *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*; and (iii) a spiritual testament (*waṣāyā*), containing admonitions of a rather general character.

Aḥmad al-Badawī is a representative of the lower type of the dervishes, and his intellectual qualities seem to have been of small importance.

After his death ʿAbd al-ʿĀl (d. 733/1332-3) became his *khalīfa* and built a mosque over his tomb. The veneration of Aḥmad and the pilgrimage to Ṭanṭā were often disapproved by more highly educated scholars and other opponents of the ṣūfīs. These

opponents were partly men who were averse to all ṣūfism, partly politicians who objected to the ṣūfīs as rulers of the people. We hear twice of the murder of a *khalīfa* of al-Badawī (Ibn Iyās, ii, 61, iii, 78). In 852/1448 the *ʿulamāʾ* and pious politicians caused the sultan al-Ẓāhir Djaḳmaḳ to forbid the pilgrimages to Ṭanṭā, but this edict had no effect because the people would not forsake their old customs. The sultan Ḳāʾitbay seems to have been an admirer of the saint (Ibn Iyās, ii, 217, 301). Under Ottoman rule the outward splendour of the cult of Aḥmad seems to have diminished, because it annoyed the powerful Turkish orders. But this political attitude could not prejudice his veneration amongst the Egyptians. The *darwish* order of the Aḥmadiyya founded by him is, together with the Rifāʿiyya, the Ḳādiriyya and the Burhāmiyya, among the most popular orders in Egypt. The banner and the turbans of the Aḥmadiyya are red. There are several "branches" of the Aḥmadiyya, such as the Bayyūmiyya [*q.v.*] etc. [cf. ṬARĪḲA].

The place where Aḥmad al-Badawī is venerated is the mosque at Ṭanṭā [*q.v.*], which was built over his tomb. On this E. W. Lane says (*An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1846, i, 328): "The tomb of this saint attracts almost as many visitors, at the period of the great annual festivals, from the metropolis, and from various parts of Lower Egypt, as Mekkah does pilgrims from the whole of the Muslim world". Many Egyptians who make the pilgrimage to Mecca first go to Ṭanṭā, and therefore Aḥmad is called *bāb in-nebi*, "the door of the Prophet". The three great festivals (*mawālid*, plural of *mawlid* [*q.v.*], *mūlid*) are (i) on the 17 or 18 Jan.; (ii) on or about the vernal equinox; (iii) about a month after the summer solstice, when the Nile has risen considerably, but the dams of the canals are not yet cut. They are, as Lane says, "great fairs as well as religious festivals". The dates are reckoned according to the Coptic calendar, and it is very likely that in these festivities and pilgrimages old Egyptian and Christian practices have survived; the date of the first festival corresponds to the time of the Christian Epiphany. Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, ii, 338) suggested a connection between the pilgrimages to Ṭanṭā and the ancient Egyptian processions to Bubastis described by Herodotus.

Festivals in his honour are also held in other places in Egypt, in Cairo, but also in small villages (cf. e.g. ʿAlī Mubārak, ix, 37). It is somewhat doubtful if all the sanctuaries bearing the name of "al-Badawī" refer to Aḥmad. Such sanctuaries occur, e.g. near Aswān; in Syria near Tripoli (J. L. Burckhardt, *Syria*, 166); at Gaza (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 338; *ZDPV*, xi, 152, 158).

Many legends are told in Egypt about Aḥmad al-Badawī: miracles that he did while he was alive; miracles that he performed from his tomb; miracles that he did reviving from the dead; miracles in favour of those who celebrated his festivals. What many people still nowadays believe of him is shown by the song taken down in Cairo by Littmann (see *Bibl.*). In this song incredible miracles of Aḥmad are told; it is also said that he began to speak on the day on which he was born, and that he was an unusually heavy eater. He is especially renowned as a saint who brings back prisoners and lost persons or goods. Therefore he is known as *gāyib il-yasīr*, "bringer of the prisoner", and when a public crier announces the loss of a child, of an animal or of a piece of property, he invokes Aḥmad al-Badawī. Spoer (in *ZDMG*, 1914, 243) tells of a miracle in Palestine by this saint.

Bibliography: Biographies by Maḳrīzī (MS Berlin 3350, no. 6) and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (MS Berlin 10,101); Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, i, 299 f.; Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1299, i, 245-51 (he was a particular admirer of the saint and called himself al-Aḥmadī; see Vollers, *Cat. Leipzig*, no. 353); ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Zayn al-Dīn, *al-Djawāhir al-Saniyya fi 'l-Karāmāt al-Aḥmadiyya*, repeatedly printed (this important compilation, written in 1028/1619, quotes, in addition to the above-mentioned, many lost works); ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī (d. 1044/1634-5), *al-Naṣīḥa al-ʿAlawiyya fi Bayān Ḥusn Ṭarīḳat al-Sāda al-Aḥmadiyya*, MS Berlin 10,104; Ḥasan Rāshid al-Mashhadī al-Khafādjī, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Aḥmadiyya*, Cairo 1321; *Ḳiṣṣat Sīdī Aḥmad al-Badawī wa-mā djarā lahū maʿ al-Thalātha al-Aḳṭāb*; *Ḳiṣṣat al-Sayyid al-Badawī maʿ Fāṭima bint Barrī wa-mā djarā baynahumā min al-ʿAdjāʾib*; *Ḳiṣṣat al-Sayyid al-Badawī maʿ Fāṭima bint Barrī wa-mā djarā lahumā min al-ʿAdjāʾib wa'l-Gharāʾib* (the last three are small pamphlets printed in Cairo; the second and the third have much the same text). He is frequently treated together with the other *aḳṭāb*, so e.g. by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-ʿAdjlūnī (ca. 899/1494), MS Berlin 163; Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Sharnūbī (ca. 950/1543), ibid. no. 337. A poem on Aḥmad, ibid. no. 5432, 8115/3. ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, xiii, 48-51 is mainly based on Shaʿrānī and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad. A *Madīḥ is-Sayyid il-Bedawī we-Bayān Karāmātu 'l-ʿAẓima* has been edited and translated in E. Littmann, *Aḥmed il-Bedawī. Ein Lied auf den ägyptischen Nationalheiligen*, Mainz 1950. See also Brockelmann, I 450, S I, 808. (K. VOLLERS-E. LITTMANN)

AḤMAD BEY, bey of Tunis (1837-55), tenth ruler of the Ḥusaynid dynasty. He proclaimed himself commander-in-chief of the army and attempted to modernize it; he sent Tunisian officers to Europe for instruction, and obtained European military advisers and French officers to act as instructors, but the latter were unable to instil habits of discipline into the troops or to form them into reliable regiments. When Aḥmad decided to send a contingent of 10,000 men to take part in the Crimean war, this force was quartered in the Caucasus, where epidemics decimated its ranks and shattered its morale.

With the Bey's permission, a French topographer made a careful survey and drew up a map of the Regency. The Bey also founded, in 1838, a polytechnic institution, with the object of training a cadre of specialist and administrative officers. This institution ceased to function after the campaign in the East.

Aḥmad also wanted a navy. He purchased twelve ships abroad and resolved to create a naval station at Porto Farina. A frigate was built there, but proved permanently unseaworthy, and the port was soon silted up by the Medjerda. Towards the end of his reign, the Bey contented himself with modernizing the arsenal at La Goulette (Ḥalḳ al-Wādī). He showed no interest in improving the commercial ports.

Aḥmad resisted the claims of Turkey, which seized every opportunity to reassert its suzerainty over Tunisia, to demand gifts, and to press for payment of an annual tribute which would at least have been tangible evidence of the Bey's vassal status. As England supported Turkey, Aḥmad sought the aid of France, which, to maintain security

in Algeria and to put an end to the illicit arms traffic, took care that the Porte should not interfere in Tunisian affairs. In 1846, Aḥmad went to France and was warmly welcomed in Paris. As a reward for his stubborn resistance, he succeeded in obtaining from the Porte in a *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* which recognized him individually as an independant sovereign.

Ten miles from Tunis, on the banks of the Sebkha Sedjūmī, Aḥmad built the Muḥammadiyya palace, a huge mass of enormous buildings which were still incomplete at the end of his reign and which soon fell into ruins.

This extravagances, and the prodigality of the Bey's favourites, the Genoese Raffo, the minister of foreign affairs, and above all the Greek Muṣṭafā Khaznadār, minister of finance from 1837 to 1873, exhausted the Treasury. The farming of the tax on tobacco and increased taxation generally caused revolts in 1840 at Tunis and in the region of Ḳābis, and in 1842 at La Goulette. They were suppressed, but the Bey was unable to impose his will on the mountain tribes. Beneath an outwardly brilliant display, a love of ostentation coupled with chaotic administration set Tunisia on the road to decadence.

It must nevertheless be recognized that Aḥmad, sincere in his desire to confer on his country western institutions, introduced some beneficial reforms. In 1841 he prohibited the sale of negroes, and emancipated his household slaves. In 1846 he formally abolished slavery throughout the Regency. He abrogated the laws discriminating against Jews. Finally, he promoted the development of education. The abbé Bourgade, in charge of the chapel of Saint Louis of Carthage, the construction of which had been authorized by Aḥmad, founded a hospital in 1843 and, two years later, built the Saint Louis College, which was open to boys of all creeds and to which a nursery school was attached, as well as a small printing press. The abbé later opened other schools and dispensaries. Various archaeological excavations were begun. French influence became dominant in Tunisia, as a result both of their educational activities and of the flourishing trade conducted by the merchants of Marseilles.

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(G. YVER-M. EMERIT)

AḤMAD BĪDJĀN [see BĪDJĀN AḤMAD].

SAYYID **AḤMAD BRĒLWĪ**, a militant religious reformer of Muslim India, was the son of Muḥammad ʿIrfān and the 36th direct descendant of Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī. He was born on 6 Ṣafar 1201/28 Nov. 1786 at Bareilly (Brēlī), where he received his early education. He then went to Lucknow and after a few months' stay there, he proceeded about 1219/1804 to Delhi, where he became a disciple of the famous divine Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], the eldest son of Shāh Walī Allāh [*q.v.*], and received formal instruction from his younger brother Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. About 1222/1807, he returned to Bareilly, where he married. In 1225/1810, he left for Radjpūtāna, where he se rved for seven years in the army of Nawāb Amīr Khān, who subsequently became the ruler of Tonk.

In 1232/1817, he left the service of the Nawāb and returned to Delhi. Roused by the religious and political degradation of his co-religionists, he started on a missionary tour as a religious teacher and reformer. His tenets bore a great similarity to those of the Arabian Wahhābīs in the adoption of a pure and simple form of religion, free from superstitious innovations and exaggerated veneration for prophets and saints. His reputation spread far and wide, and thousands of Muslims adopted his views. His chief disciples and constant companions in his chequered career were Mawlawī Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, the nephew of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, the son-in-law of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and Mawlawī Muḥammad Yūsuf of Phulhat, a descendant of Shāh Ahl Allāh, the elder brother of Shāh Walī Allāh.

In 1236/1821, Sayyid Aḥmad set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, staying a few months at Calcutta on the way. On his return to India in 1239/1824, he began to make active preparations for a *djihād* or religious war. It is clear from his letters that the ultimate object of his reformist movement was to overthrow the rule of the British and the Sikhs and restore Muslim dominion in India. His first aim was to oust the Sikhs from the Pandjāb. Having enlisted the sympathy and promised aid of his co-religionists at Kābul and Ḳandahār, he started on his expedition in 1241/1826 with an army of enthusiastic followers, and reached Peshāwar via Radjpūtāna, Sind, Balūčistān and Afghānistān. He attacked and repulsed the Sikh army at Akora Khattak (20 Nov. 1826); but lost the battle of Saydo through the desertion of Yār Muḥammad Khān Durrānī and his brothers. Although he succeeded in occupying Peshāwar in 1830, he was discouraged by the treachery of the Durrānīs and other local khāns, and decided to proceed to Kashmīr. On the way, however, he was encountered by the Sikhs in 1246/1831 at Bālākot where he was killed along with Shāh Muḥammad Ismāʿīl and his army was dispersed. Nevertheless, the remnants of his army continued their struggle in the North-West Frontier Province for the cause for which their leader had laid down his life.

His numerous disciples continued his reformist movement in India, and were responsible for the production of a vast religious literature. In order to reach the masses, they adopted the Urdu language as their medium and were incidentally instrumental in promoting the growth of a simple, direct and vigorous style. His adherents preferred to engage themselves in commercial pursuits rather than seek service under the British government.

A few short epistles and pamphlets on religious topics are credited to Sayyid Aḥmad. He is also said to have inspired the composition of *Ṣirāṭ Mustaḳīm*, a work written in Persian by his two foremost disciples, Shāh Muḥammad Ismāʿīl and Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥayy. Several collections of his letters (in Persian) also exist in manuscript.

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script; Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Litt. Hindouie et Hindoustani*[2], Paris 1871, iii, 32-7; W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, London 1871; M. Dja'far Thānesarī, *Tawārikh ʿAdjiba* or *Sawāniḥ Aḥmadī* (in Urdu), Delhi 1309; Sayyid Djaʿfar ʿAli Naḳawī, *Taʾrīkh Aḥmadī* (in Persian), MSS at Tonk and Lahore); Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Makhzan Aḥmadī* (in Persian), Agra 1299; Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Nadwī, *Sīrat Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd*, 1939, 1941; Muḥammad Ikrām, *Mawdj Kawthar*, Bombay, 7-48; M. T. Titus, *Indian Islam*, London 1930, 181-6; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, Lahore 1943; Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, *Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd* (in Urdu), Lahore 1954, a critical and exhaustive work on the subject.

(SH. INAYATULLAH)

AḤMAD DJALĀʾIR [see DJALĀʾIR].

AḤMAD-I DJĀM, "Aḥmad of Djām", also AḤMAD-I DJĀMĪ, Persian ṣūfī in the Saldjūḳ period, contemporary of al-Ghazālī, ʿAdī b. Musāfir, ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī, and Sanāʾī, in full SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABŪ NAṢR AḤMAD B. ABI 'L-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD B. MUḤ. AL-NĀMAḲĪ AL-DJĀMĪ. He is also known by the nickname of Žanda Pīl, "Elephant-colossus". He claimed descent from the Prophet's Companion Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī (Ibn Saʿd, vi, 13), but although of Arab origin had a ruddy complexion, reddish beard and dark-blue eyes. Born in the village of Nāma or Nāmaḳ, in Turshīz (Ḳūhistān), in 441/1049-50, he led as a youth, according to the legend, a somewhat wild life, until, when 22 years of age, in 463/1070-1, as he was driving an ass laden with wine homeward to a drinking-bout, he was converted by a supernatural voice and withdrew to the solitude of the hills of his native village. After twelve years spent there in ascetic exercises, and visits to some cities of Khurāsān, he settled as the result of an inner call in the mountains of B(P). z.d-i Djām (in Ḳūhistān), where he built a *masdjid-i nūr* and entered into active intercourse with men. He stayed here for six years. At the age of 40, i.e. in 481/1088-9, he moved to the village of Maʿaddābād of Djām and built here a convent (*khānḳāh*) and a Friday mosque. He travelled widely in eastern Persia, to Sarakhs, Naysābūr, Harāt, Bākharz, etc., and is said also to have visited Mecca. The sources speak also of a personal connection with sultan Sandjar. He died in his convent as the leader of a considerable body of disciples in Muḥarram 536/Aug. 1141, and had himself buried outside Maʿaddābād at a place which a friend had seen in a dream. A mosque and convent were later built over the grave, followed by a complex of buildings which became the centre of a new, and still existing, place called Turbat-i Shaykh-i Djām [*q.v.*], "Mausoleum of the Shaykh of Djām". One of his 14 surviving sons (out of 39), Burhān al-Dīn Naṣr, took over the leadership of the group of disciples. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kūsawī al-Djāmī, a ṣūfī who died in Harāt in 863/1459 (Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 574 f.), was descended from a daughter of this Burhān al-Dīn and her cousin Sirādj al-Dīn Aḥmad, another grandchild of Aḥmad-i Djām.

Aḥmad-i Djām had no regular novitiate training, but sought his own way in solitude. He had nevertheless relations with a certain Abū Ṭāhir-i Kurd, who is said to have been a disciple of Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr and even to have given Aḥmad the latter's patched robe (*khirḳa*). That a famous shaykh gives his own robe to the care of a friend, together with a description of certain signs by which he may recognize its future authorized wearer, is a wellknown motive of ṣūfī hagiography, and can generally be shown up as an invention (cf. *Firdaws al-Murshidiyya* (Meier), introduction, 18 ff.). This may well be the case here. The above-mentioned al-Kūsawī is later said to have claimed to wear the same robe.

Aḥmad wrote the following works, all in Persian: *Uns al-Tāʾibīn*, *Sirādj al-Sāʾirīn* (professedly written in 513/1119), *Futūḥ al-Ḳulūb* (= *Futūḥ al-Rūḥ*?), *Rawḍat al-Mudhnibīn*, *Biḥār al-Ḥaḳīḳa*, *Kunūz al-Ḥikma*, *Miftāḥ al-Nadjāt* (written in 522/1128). Of these only the first and last-named works have so far been recovered, although Mīrzā Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh (1901) had still read the second. The biographers' information on the dates of the first six writings (Ivanow, in *JRAS*, 1917, 303 f., 349-52) must be false in part, since all these works are listed in *Miftāḥ al-Nadjāt*, and must be earlier than 522/1128, unless the list is an interpolation or the works mentioned were subsequently revised. There has been preserved further a *Risāla-yi Samarḳandiyya* (also called *Suʾāl u-Djawāb*), in reply to a question. Two or three other works listed by the biographers, together with the *Futūḥ al-Rūḥ*, are said to have perished in Djām in consequence of the Mongol invasion. Only the library (in Dihlī) of Fīrūzshāh, of the Tughlaḳid dynasty (752-90/1351-88), still possessed all Aḥmad's works. The *Miṣbāḥ al-Arwāḥ* (MS Riḍā Pasha 3009), mentioned in the *IA*, s.v. Cami, is probably not a work by Aḥmad.

On his conversion Aḥmad, as he himself says, possessed no theological training, and what he later learned and published on this subject was professedly acquired by revelation. This is to be taken *cum grano salis*. Even his early dicta betray some theological knowledge and still more his writings, where he positively requires it. His views, or at least his formulations, are, however, not exempt from contradictions and inconsequences. His theology is firmly grounded on Ḳurʾān and Sunna, and on the *sharīʿa* in the ṣūfī sense, and in it he shows himself a pronounced Sunnī; he allows, for example, the *masḥ al-khuffayn*. Right action includes, however, also *ḥudjdjat*, i.e. inner reasoning; unlawful conduct accompanied by *ḥudjdjat* is, according to him, better than lawful conduct without *ḥudjdjat*. His doctrine of the *ṭarīḳa* recognizes the purification of the soul through the stations *ammāra*, *lawwāma*, *mulhama*, up to *muṭmaʾinna*, and aims to clarify the relation of the last stage to the heart (*ḳalb*); Aḥmad defines the "soul at rest" (*muṭmaʾinna*) as the sheath in which the heart is fixed (*ghilāf-i dil*). The aim of mystical endeavour is according to him—to pick out only one of many expressions—to find the "spirit" (*rūḥ*, *djān*), the "real being" *ḥaḳīḳat-i tu*), to which only two ways lead: remembrance of God (*dhikr Allāh*) and waiting (*intiẓār*) until God in His grace discloses this being to one. An assumption of God's qualities *in concreto*, as certain ṣūfīs had taught, is regarded by Aḥmad, in agreement with al-Sarrādj, al-Kalābādhī, and al-Ḳushayrī, as impossible, since this implies indwelling (*ḥulūl*), and only effects (*āthār*) of God's qualities, not these themselves, can inform the creature (incommensurability of the eternal and the temporal). True belief in *tawḥīd* consists in Aḥmad's view of referring all action and event back to the one original cause, God (*muḳaddarāt* — *taḳdīr* — *ḳudrat* — *ḳādir*). For the rest, conditions in mystical love are much the same as in ordinary love; no person can really become one with another. The representation which one may take on oneself from the Beloved is rapidly dissipated,

and one immediately returns to daily life. Should it reappear, so in reverse one loses again one's connections with the world. Together with this, however, Aḥmad expresses the dignity and the spiritual power of ṣūfī life in poetic tones. He cites the case of Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ who, when converted from highway robbery, returned their possessions to those whom he had robbed and when he had nothing more left, still brought gold from beneath his robe for a Jew, the earth having been turned into gold. One who is converted, he says in the same treatise (*Miftāḥ al-Nadjāt*, which was written on the occasion of the conversion of one of his sons), him does the water praise over which he journeys; him do the stars praise and for him they pray. The *ṣiddīḳ*, *abdāl*, *zāhid*, is the sun, from whom all men derive their light. The ṣūfī should distil a dew of blessing around him, as musk and aloes distil their scent. True poverty (*faḳr*) is, according to Aḥmad, the elixir which has the faculty of colouring everything which comes into contact with it.

The picture of Aḥmad's spiritual personality acquired from his prose writings and sayings is in contradiction with the *Dīwān* which goes under his name, and which would make him out to be an ecstatic pantheist intoxicated with self-deification. As already remarked by Ivanow (*JRAS*, 1917, 305) and expressed in a private letter by H. Ritter, there is room for suspicion that the *Dīwān* is at least partly a falsification, but the question still awaits fuller investigation. It is preserved in several MSS, not all of which are complete (list in Meier, *Bibl.*), and has been lithographed (Cawnpore 1898, Lucknow 1923). *Takhalluṣ* Aḥmad and Aḥmadī. A book of "Poems" is also mentioned, however, by his biographers.

Bibliography: Biographies: (1) Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm-i Tāʾabādī, a contemporary of the *shaykh*; it is not preserved, but was used by: (2) Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ghaznawī, also a contemporary and a disciple of the *shaykh*, *Maḳāmāt Shaykh al-Islām ... Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Nāmaḳī thumm al-Djāmī*, composed ca. 600/1204, MS Nāfidh Pasha, Istanbul, 399, 38v-132v. It is almost worthless for Aḥmad's real biography and thought, being full of miraculous legends appealing to the primitive masses; al-Ghaznawī must have interpreted in a concrete sense certain poetical utterances of his master. It is, however, interesting for the typical forms of the ṣūfī legend and for certain historical circumstances, as well as geographical names, of eastern Persia. (3) Aḥmad-i "Tarakhistānī", a contemporary of the *shaykh*, whose work is apparently not preserved, but was used, together with that of al-Ghaznawī, by: (4) Abu 'l-Makārim b. ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk-i Djāmī, *Khulāṣat al-Maḳāmāt*, written in 840/1436-7 and dedicated to Shāhrukh, MS of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ivanow's Cat., i, no. 245), and two incomplete MSS in Russia, one of which was published by Ivanow, in *JRAS*, 1917, 291-365. (5) ʿAlī of "Būzdjand" (probably = Būzdjān), of 929/1523, probably depending of Abu 'l-Makārim, was used by Khanikoff.—The articles in Djāmī's *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* (Calcutta 1859, 405-17) on Aḥmad-i Djām and Abū Ṭāhir-i Kurd, as well as certain other parts, are derived from al-Ghaznawī.—See also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Defrémery-Sanguinetti), iii, 75 ff.; Mīrzā Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Lith. Teheran 1316, 261. Studies: N. de Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'Asie centrale*, Paris 1861, 116-9; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian MSS in the Br. Mus.*, ii, 551; H. Ethé, in *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, ii, 284; W. Ivanow, *A Biography of Shaykh Aḥmad-i Jām*, *JRAS*, 1917, 291-365; idem, *Concise Descr. Cat. of the Persian MSS in the Coll. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, index; E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i, Berlin 1918, 78-82; F. Meier, *Zur Biographie Aḥmad-i Ğām's und zur Quellenkunde von Ğāmī's Nafaḥātu'l-uns*, *ZDMG*, 1943, 47-67. Further references in these studies. (F. Meier)

AḤMAD DJAZZĀR [see DJAZZĀR PASHA].

AḤMAD DJEWDET PASHA eminent Ottoman writer and statesman, born on 28 Djumādā ii, 1237/22 March 1822, at Lofča (Lovec) in northern Bulgaria, of which his father, Ḥādjdjī Ismāʿīl Agha, was a member of the administrative council, and where his earliest known ancestor, a native of Ḳirḳlareli (Ḳirḳ Kilise), had settled after taking part in the campaign of the Pruth in 1711. Aḥmed early displayed unusual aptitude and diligence, and in 1839, on reaching the age of seventeen, was sent to continue his education in a *medrese* at Istanbul. There, as well as following the traditional *medrese* courses, he not only studied modern mathematics, but devoted his spare time to learning Persian with the poet Süleymān Fehīm and himself took to composing verse in the traditional style. It was from Fehīm that he received the *makhlaṣ* Djewdet that he thenceforth added to his name.

After obtaining the *idjāzet* that permitted him to enter the judicial profession, he received his first paid but nominal appointment as *ḳāḍī* in 1260/1844-5. When Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, on becoming Grand Vizier in 1846, applied to the office of the *Shaykh al-Islām* for an open-minded *ʿālim* to provide him with the knowledge of the *sharīʿa* necessary for the proper drafting of the new *ḳānūns* and *niẓām-nāmes* he had it in mind to promulgate, it was Djewdet who was chosen. From this time to Reshīd Pasha's death thirteen years later Djewdet remained closely attached to him, even living in his house and becoming his children's tutor. During this period he also became acquainted with ʿĀlī and Fuʾād Pashas, and under Reshīd's influence was persuaded to undertake political and administrative duties. In August 1850 he received his first appointment proper as Director of the recently founded *Dār al-Muʿallimīn*, with membership, as its chief secretary, of the *Medjlis-i Maʿārif*.

During his directorship of the *Dār al-Muʿallimīn*, which seems, however, to have come to an end in the following year, Djewdet achieved reforms in the admission, maintenance and examination of the students attending it; and as secretary of the *Medjlis-i Maʿārif* he wrote the report that led to the foundation in July 1851 of the *Endjümen-i Dānish*, to which, after accompanying Fuʾād Pasha on a state visit to Egypt in March 1852, he devoted his attention, beginning his best known work, the *Taʾrīkh-i Waḳāyiʿ-i Dewlet-i ʿAliyye*, of which he completed the first three volumes during the Crimean War, under its auspices. On his presenting these to ʿAbd al-Medjīd he received promotion to Süleymāniyye rank; in February 1855 he was appointed *waḳʿa-nüwis*; in 1856 he was appointed *molla* of Galata; and in 1857 he attained Mecca rank in the judicial hierarchy. Meanwhile, during the war, he was made a member of a commission set up to compose a work on the prescriptions of the *sharīʿa* regarding commercial transactions, which was dissolved, however, after publishing only a *Kitāb al-Buyūʿ*. In 1857 he was appointed to the Council

of the *tanẓīmāt*, taking a lead in the composition of a new criminal *ḳānūn-nāme*, and, as a president of the *Arāḍī-yi Seniyye Komisyonu*, participated in that of a *ḳānūn-nāme* on *ṭapu*.

After the death of Res͟hīd Pas͟ha in 1858 it was suggested to D̲j̲ewdet by ʿĀlī and Fuʾād Pas͟has that he should abandon the learned profession in favour of the government service by accepting the *wālīliḳ* of Vidin. It was not for another eight years, however, that he took this step, although in the interval he was twice charged with important administrative missions as an "Extraordinary Commissioner", the first in the autumn of 1861 to Is͟hḳodra, and the second (in company with a general commanding a division) in the summer of 1865 to Ḳozan in the Taurus region, to pacify those areas by the introduction of needed reforms. So successful was he in the first that he was sent in March 1863 as *müfettis͟h*, with the judicial rank of *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anatolia, to Bosnia, where he was again markedly successful during the ensuing eighteen months in restoring order. During this period he was also made a member, first of a commission appointe to reform the official newspaper *Taḳwīm-i Waḳāyiʿ*, and secondly of the *Med̲j̲lis-i Wālā*. His abandonment of the learned profession took place in Jan. 1866, when he ceased to be *waḳʿa-nüwīs*. His "learned" rank was then replaced by that of vizier, and he was appointed governor of the *wilāyet* of Aleppo, as reconstituted under the Ordinance of *wilāyets*. In Febr. 1868, however, he was recalled to the capital to become president of the *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*, one of the two bodies that then replaced the *Med̲j̲lis-i Wālā*, the other being the *S͟hurā-yi Dewlet*. It was chiefly owing to D̲j̲ewdet's efforts in this post that the Niẓāmī courts were instituted; that this *Dīwān* was in due course divided into a Court of Appeal (*Temyīz*) and a Court of Cassation (*Istiʾnāf*); and that the presidency was converted into a ministry. It was also during this his first term as a Minister of Justice that on the one hand D̲j̲ewdet instituted law courses at the Ministry for the better instruction of judges and the improvement of judicial procedure, and, on the other, a beginning was made with the composition of a legal code (*Med̲j̲elle* [*q.v.*]) based on Ḥanafī *fiḳh*, under the auspices of a society for the purpose. In securing approval for such a code (that is one based on Islamic prescriptions) D̲j̲ewdet had the support of Fuʾād and S͟hirwānī-zāde Rüs͟hdü Pas͟has in opposition to ʿĀlī Pas͟ha, who favoured rather the adoption of the French *Code Civile*.

D̲j̲ewdet Pas͟ha (as he now was) remained Minister of Justice up to the end of April 1870, by which time four volumes of the *Med̲j̲elle* had been published. Just as the fifth was completed, however, he was dismissed, and though appointed *wālī* of Brusa, was almost immediately relieved of that post also. He remained unemployed until August of the following year, when he was recalled to the presidency of the *Med̲j̲elle* society and of the *tanẓīmāt* department of the *S͟hūrā-yi Dewlet*. In the interval, as well as the fifth volume of the *Med̲j̲elle*, a sixth, in which D̲j̲ewdet had had no hand, had been published. It was largely the deficiencies of this volume, which he at once superseded by a new version, that led to his recall; and from this date until the publication of the final volumes in 1877 he continued to supervise the composition of the code, though also otherwise employed in a variety of important offices, sometimes in the provinces. One of the chief of these was his appointment in April 1873 as Minister of Education, in which capacity he achieved a reform of the primary schools for boys (*ṣibyān mektebleri*); drew up curricula for the Rüs͟hdiyye, and the still to be created Iʿdādiyye, schools—measures that necessitated the composition of new manuals of instruction, three of which he wrote himself; and reorganized the *Dār al-Muʿallimīn* to meet the demands of these three educational grades. On 2 Nov. 1874, however, after the appointment as Grand Vizier of Ḥüseyn ʿAwnī Pas͟ha, who was apparently already meditating the deposition of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, D̲j̲ewdet was made *wālī* of Yanya (Jannina) in order to remove him, as a likely opponent of the move, from the capital; and it was not until June of the next year, after Ḥüseyn ʿAwnī's fall, that he was restored to his former post. In Nov. 1875 he became for the second time Minister of Justice, and as such secured the transference to his Ministry of the commercial courts, which had till then depended on the Ministry of Commerce. But he incurred the displeasure of Maḥmūd Nedīm Pas͟ha, during the latter's second Grand Vizierate, by opposing his grant of customs concessions to foreign capitalists; and after first being sent on a tour of inspection through Rumelia in March 1876, he was dismissed from the Ministry of Justice and was on the point of proceeding to Syria as *wālī*, when on the fall of Maḥmūd Nedīm he was for a third time made Minister of Education.

D̲j̲ewdet played no part in the deposition of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which occurred at the end of May, and in November, after the accession of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, he returned to the Ministry of Justice. It was now that he and Midḥat Pas͟ha became permanently estranged, owing to what Midḥat regarded as D̲j̲ewdet's reactionary attitude to the constitution, in the discussions upon which the latter began by taking part. Yet throughout his Grand Vizierate Midḥat maintained D̲j̲ewdet in office; and it was only on Midḥat's disgrace and replacement by Sakīzlī Edhem Pas͟ha that D̲j̲ewdet left it for newly created Ministry of the Interior. In this he remained until near the end of the war of 1877 with Russia, the involvement of the Porte in which he disapproved, when after a short term as Minister of the Imperial *Ewḳāf*, he was for a second time appointed *wālī* of Syria.

He remained in Syria nine months, during which, having special knowledge of the area, he repressed in person another revolt at Ḳozan. In December of the same year he was replaced by Midḥat and recalled to the capital to preside over yet another ministry, that of Commerce. On the dismissal of the Grand Vizier K͟hayr al-Dīn Pas͟ha in Oct. 1879 D̲j̲ewdet acted for ten days as President of the Council of Ministers, and on the appointment of Küčük Saʿīd Pas͟ha he was for a fourth time made Minister of Justice. This was, so far, his longest term in that position, lasting three years. It was during it that Midḥat was put on trial. D̲j̲ewdet appears already to have denounced him as treacherously pro-Christian, and went out of his way, as *ex-officio* head of the body appointed to arrest Midḥat and bring him to the capital, himself to travel for the purpose to Smyrna.

His fourth tenure of the Ministry of Justice came to an end in Nov. 1882, on the appointment of Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pas͟ha as Grand Vizier; and it was only in June 1886 that he was given office again, for the last time, in the same post. He held it on this occasion for four years, during which he also became one of the three members of the special conclaves

convened by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd for the discussion of political problems, and presided over a commission set up to compose a *firmān* embodying various modifications in the regulations for the government of Crete, introduced after the suppression of the rebellion of 1889. In May 1890 he resigned, owing to differences with the Grand Vizier Kāmil Pas̲h̲a; and thereafter played no further part in public affairs. During the last thirteen years of his life, nine of which were spent in retirement, he devoted most of his attention to literary work of various kinds, including the last volumes of the *Taʾrīk̲h̲*. He died on 25 May 1895 after a short illness at his *yalı̊* at Bebek.

D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a, both in his conduct and in his works, exhibited a curious mixture of the progressive and the conservative. While he consistently advocated the greater enlightenment of Ottoman society and fiercely condemned any manifestation of ignorance, bigotry and self-seeking in the ruling class and the erroneous beliefs prevalent among the people, his outlook was fundamentally shaped by his early *medrese* education. Whereas in the writings of his earlier years he criticizes the shortcomings of his contemporaries in a hopeful tone, those of his declining age exhibit a disillusionment with the *tanẓīmāt*, about which his language is often bitter. It would appear that this change of attitude was due at least in part to his quarrel with Midḥat, who antagonized him in particular by mocking D̲j̲ewdet's imperfect command of French and consequently of European thought. Thenceforth he would seem to have been more or less forced by events, and above all by the unhandsome part he played in connection with Midḥat's trial, into a reactionary attitude, which harmonized all too well with the prevailing spirit of the Ḥamīdian regime.

Of D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a's numerous works the most important are historical. Apart from his *Ḳiṣaṣ-i Enbiyā we-Tawārīk̲h̲-i K̲h̲ulefā*, an educational compilation in 12 vols. (starting with Adam and ending with the sultan Murād II), which he composed towards the end of his life, and *Ḳirim we-Ḳawḳāz Taʾrīk̲h̲česi* (largely based on the *Gülbün-ü K̲h̲ānān* of Ḥalīm Giray), three deserve particular mention. These are (i) his *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, commonly called *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i D̲j̲ewdet*, also in 12 vols., covering the period between 1774 and 1826 (from the Treaty of Küčük Kaynard̲j̲a to the abolition of the Janissaries). Thirty years elapsed between his beginning and finishing it, during which his outlook altered with the great contemporary changes that took place in Ottoman life. This is exemplified in particular by his adoption from vol. 6 onwards of a simpler, less traditional style. In most of the various editions brought out as the composition of the work progressed, while making corrections and additions, he followed his original plan. But in the final edition (*tertīb-i d̲j̲edīd*), completed between 1885 and 1891-2, the whole was more radically altered, so that in it, for instance, the original vol. 1 figures wholly as an introduction. (ii) The *Ted̲h̲ākir-i D̲j̲ewdet*, a collection of memoranda made by him on contemporary events as *waḳʿa-nüwīs* and for the most part handed over by him to his successor Luṭfī. Only four of those so handed over have survived. They have been published in *OTEM*, nos. 44-7 and in the *Yeni Med̲j̲mūʿa*, ii, 454. The memoranda he retained are preserved in manuscript in the Şehir ve İnkilâp Müzesi at Istanbul, but form the basis of his daughter Faṭma ʿAliyye K̲h̲anı̊m's *D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a we-Zamanı̊*. (iii) His *Maʿrūḍāt*, a long series of observations submitted to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd at the sultan's request on the events of the period 1839 to 1876, in 5 parts, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of which have been published in *OTEM*, nos. 78-80, 82, 84, 87-9, 91-3. Part 1 appears to be lost. Part 5 deals with the fate of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

D̲j̲ewdet's purely literary works date from his *medrese* days and are of little interest. Most of the poems that he collected at ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's request into a *Dīwānče* were composed at this early period. Of more consequence were his Turkish grammars: the *Ḳawāʿid-i ʿOt̲h̲māniyye* (the first version of which he wrote in collaboration with Fuʾād Pas̲h̲a in 1850); an introduction to the same work for primary schoolboys called *Medk̲h̲al-i Ḳawāʿid*; and a much simplified version of the first called *Ḳawāʿid-i Türkiyye* (1292/1875). Other works are the *Belāg̲h̲at-i ʿOt̲h̲māniyye*, a manual on eloquence composed for his students at the Law School; the *Taḳwīm-i Edwār* (1287/1870-1), in which the question of calendar reform was first raised; and his completion of Pīrī-zāde Meḥmed Ṣāʾib's Turkish translation of the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, by which D̲j̲ewdet's own historical writing was much influenced. The publication from 1862-3 of the collection of *ḳānūns* called *Düstūr* was also due to D̲j̲ewdet's initiative; and, as has been indicated above, he took the lead in the composition of the *Med̲j̲elle-yi Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*.

Bibliography: *IA*, s.v. Cevdet Paşa (by Ali Olmezoğlu); Ebü'lûlâ Mardin, *Medenî Hukuk Cephesinden Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, Istanbul Üniversitesi Hukük Fakültesi Mecmuasi*, 1947; Mahmut Cevat, *Maarifi Umimiye Nezareti Tarihçei Teşkilât ve Icraati*, i, 47, 52, 128, 136-9, 149, 163-72; Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, 316, 317, 319, 370-1, 390-1; Ibnülemin Mahmut Kemal Inan, *Son Asir Türk Şairleri*, 236-40; idem, *Osmanli Devrinde Son Sadrlazamlar*, 345, 355, 387; I. H. Uzunçarslll, *Midhat ve Rüştü Paşalarin Tevkiflerine dair Vesikeler*, index; M. Z. Pâkalln, *Son Sadrazamlar ve Başvekiller*, i-ii, index; D̲j̲urd̲j̲ī Zaydān, *Tarād̲j̲im Mas̲h̲āhīr al-S̲h̲arḳ*, ii, 190 f.

(H. Bowen)

AḤMAD FĀRIS AL-**S̲H̲IDYĀḲ** [see FĀRIS AL-S̲H̲IDYĀḲ].

AḤMAD G̲H̲ULĀM K̲H̲ALĪL [see G̲H̲ULĀM K̲H̲ALĪL].

AḤMAD GRĀÑ B. IBRĀHĪM, leader of the Muslim conquest of Abyssinia, whence he was called *ṣāḥib al-fatḥ* and *al-g̲h̲āzī*. The Amharans nicknamed him *Grāñ* 'the left-handed'. According to tradition he was of Somali origin. Born (c. 1506) in the Hūbat district of the state of Adal he attached himself to *al-D̲j̲arād* Ābūn, leader of the militant party opposed to the pacific policy of the Walas̲h̲maʿ rulers towards Abyssinia. On Ābūn's death Aḥmad became leader of the opposition, defeated and killed Sultan Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad, and assumed the title of *imām*. His refusal to pay tribute to the Negus Lebna Dengel precipitated the war. After defeating the governor of Bāli he welded his Somali and ʿAfar troops into a powerful striking force, won a decisive victory over the Abyssinians at S̲h̲emberā Kurē (1529) and within two years had gained control of Shoa. Six more years of remarkable campaigns sufficed for him to conquer most of Abyssinia. But he was unable to consolidate his successes. The centrifugal forces working within his army of nomads and the setback given by the early successes of the Portuguese force which had arrived in 1542 after Lebna Dengel's death, led him to send to the Pas̲h̲a of Zabīd for disciplined musketeers.

With their aid he defeated the Portuguese, but then sent away his mercenaries. The new Emperor Galāwdēwos, joining up with the Portuguese remnant, took the offensive and won a decisive victory at Zānterā in 949/1543, when Aḥmad's death in battle brought about the complete collapse of the nomad invasion.

Bibliography: Shihāb al-Dīn, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha*, ed. R. Basset, 1897-1901; R. Basset, *Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie*, 1882; F. Beguinot, *La Cronaca Abbreviata d'Abissinia*, 1901 (cf. *Rivista di Studi Etiopici*, 1941, 94-103); C. Conti Rossini, *Storia di Lebna Dengel, Rend. Lin.*, 1894; Miguel de Castanhoso, *Dos Feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia*, ed. Pereira, Lisbon 1898.

(J. S. Trimingham)

AḤMAD ḤIKMET (1870-1927), Turkish novelist and journalist, was surnamed Müftī-Zāde, his ancestors having long served as *muftīs* in the Peloponnese. Born in Istanbul on 3 June 1870, he began his career as a writer while still a pupil at the Galatasaray lycée. He entered the Foreign service after leaving school (1889) and held several consular and vice-consular appointments, until 1896, when he was transferred to the Foreign Office. He crowned a distinguished career by becoming director-general of the Consular department (1926). At the same time he had been teaching literature at his old school and, from 1910 onward, at the Dār ül-Fünūn. For a time he acted at Ankara as head of the cultural section of the *Türk Ocaklari*.

He wrote for *Iḳdām* and *Therwet-i Fünūn*, but did not conform to the prevailing literary fashion: his style and themes were Turkish and he was a pioneer of the language reform movement. A volume of his stories was published under the title of *Khāristān we-Gülistān* (Istanbul 1317/1899-1900); German translations of three of these, by Fr. Schrader, were published as *Türkische Frauen* in vol. vii of Jacob's *Türkische Bibliothek*, Berlin 1907. Some of his later writings appeared as a volume entitled *Čaghlayanlar*, Istanbul 1922. His subtle humour is best exhibited in his monologues, a genre which he introduced into Turkish literature. He died at Istanbul on 20 May 1927.

Bibliography: Schrader's introduction to his translation (see above); *Türk Yurdu*, 1927, no. 30; *IA*, s.v. (by A. H. Tanpinar); F. Tevetoğlu, *Büyük Türkçü Müftüoğlu Ahmed Hikmet*, Ankara 1951, critically reviewed by H. Dizdaroğlu in *Türk Dili*, 1952, 429-31.

(F. Giese-G. L. Lewis)

AḤMAD IḤSĀN (Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz), Turkish author and translator, was born in Erzurum on 24 Dhū'l-Ḥidjdja 1285/7 April 1869. Passing out from the school of administration (*Mülkiyye*) at the age of 17, he was appointed interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief of the artillery, but soon abandoned this post, despite strong family opposition, to become a journalist. At the age of 18 he founded a shortlived fortnightly, *ʿUmrān*, and at the same time embarked on his career as a translator of French novels, including many of the works of Jules Verne and Alphonse Daudet. While working as a translator on the staff of *Therwet*, a Constantinople evening newspaper, he conceived the idea of publishing a weekly illustrated magazine. He persuaded his Greek employer to let him bring out a scientific supplement to the paper, under the title of *Therwet-i Fünūn*. A year later, this acquired a separate existence under the ownership of Aḥmad Iḥsān. The first issue, in March 1889, was described as "an illustrated Ottoman newspaper" devoted to "literature, science, art, biography, travel and novels". The new review for the most part fought shy of politics. Realizing the potentialities of an illustrated magazine as a propaganda weapon, the authorities at first gave it every assistance, including financial subsidies, but this support was soon transferred to another illustrated paper, Baba Ṭāhir's *Muṣawwar Maʿlūmāt*. *Therwet-i Fünūn* continued to devote itself to making known and imitating the intellectual life of the west, especially of France. Almost all the young literary men of the time wrote for it: Ekrem Bey, Khālīd Ḍiyā (Ziyā), Aḥmad Rāsim and Nabī-zāde Nāẓim were among the regular contributors and in 1896 Tewfīḳ Fikret was given full editorial control. But in 1901 he quarrelled with Iḥsān and resigned; their estrangement lasted till 1907. In 1901 a worse disaster befell: the sultan's anger was roused against the paper because of a translation by Ḥüseyn Djāhid of a French article, some sentences in which touched on the French Revolution and were held to be seditious. *Therwet-i Fünūn* was closed down for some weeks but then reappeared, thanks to the influence of Meḥmed ʿĀrif, a member of the Palace staff who had been at school with Iḥsān. But all the writers who had worked for the paper severed their connection with it, and although Iḥsān continued to publish it the old enthusiasm was gone.

Iḥsān's original literary production was not outstanding. An account of his travels in Europe was published in 1891, and under the title of *Matbuat Hatiralari*, Istanbul 1930-1.

Late in life he became a member of the Grand National Assembly and died in 1942.

Bibliography: O. Hachtmann, *Die türkische Literatur des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1916, 58; İ. A. Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurlari Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1946, 383.

(K. Süssheim-G. L. Lewis)

AḤMAD KHĀN, educational reformer and founder of Islamic modernism in India (1817-98). Aḥmad Khān (often called after his two titles of honour Sir Sayyid) sprang from an ancient Muslim family of high nobility. His forefathers came from Persia and Afghānistān, settled down in India about the reign of Shāh Djahān (1628-66), and became closely connected with the Mughal Court. He was born on 6 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1232/17 Oct. 1817 at Delhi. His mother, a sensible woman, gave him a good education, but the schooling he had was no more than that taught in a *maktab*. On the death of his father Mīr Muttaḳī in 1838, the emoluments from fictitious posts at the Court stopped, and Aḥmad Khān had to seek his livelihood. He entered the service of the East India Company and had to content himself with a minor clerical appointment in the court of justice at Delhi. Soon, however, his industry and sense of duty were rewarded with promotion to the rank of *munṣif* (sub-judge).

To his first literary products belong half a dozen religious treatises, mainly in defence of Sunnī belief. More important are the historical and archeological studies he published in this period. The best known of them is the work on the old buildings and monuments in Delhi and its environs *Āthār al-Ṣanādīd* (1847). Its translation into French by Garçin de Tassy in 1861 won him fame. Three years later on he was elected an honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

A second decisive change of his life and outlook was effected by the Indian Revolution, known as

the Mutiny (1857). The unhappy outcome of it, especially for the Indian Muslims, decided him to work for the future of his compatriots, in the first place by earnest attempts at reconciliation between the British and the Indian Muslims, who, rather than the Hindus, were considered to have been the actual rebels. Aḥmad Khān, who himself had proved his loyalty to his government by saving the European colony in Bidjnawr through personal intercession, wrote two treatises to calm the resulting passions, viz. *Asbāb Baghāwat Hind*, 1858, and *Loyal Muhammadans of India*, 1860-1. He put the blame on both sides, and in his opinion the Mutiny was caused by the Indian people's misunderstanding of English rule as well as by the government's ignorance of the conditions of the ruled.

Keeping aloof from political agitation he sought the uplift of his nation with spiritual means derived from 19th century European mode of life. On a visit to England (1869-70), he had been much impressed by the standard of civilization of the ordinary Englishman. Back in India he started a periodical *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* with the object of educating the public by removing prejudices. His next and still more admirable achievement was the establishment of a Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh ([*q.v.*] 1878), modelled after Oxford and Cambridge (in 1920 raised to the rank of a university). Thirdly he instituted The Muhammadan Educational Conference (1886), which held annual meetings in various cities and afforded opportunities for exchange of thought and propagation of reforming ideas.

Aḥmad Khān perceived that in the process of westernization religious ideas needed to be reconsidered. In a speech at Lahore (1884) he argued: "To-day we are, as before (i.e. when Islam came into close contact with the Greek world of ideas), in need of a modern *ʿilm al-kalām*, by which we should either refute the doctrines of the modern sciences or undermine their foundations, or show that they are in conformity with the articles of Islamic faith". The last way of approach, however, gained so much the upperhand in his own re-interpretation of Islam, that it was felt to injure the specific character of religion, in spite of his sincere intentions to counter secularism. The axiom of his theology was the adage: "The Work of God (Nature and its fixed laws) is identical with the Word of God (Ḳur'ān)".

A violent reaction was provoked in the camp of the *ʿulamā*, who heaped abuse on him as a *Nečarī* (Urduized form of Naturist), and fiercely attacked his demythologizing of the Ḳur'ān and his teaching about the *duʿā* (the effect of it would be merely psychological, i.e. of setting the mind at rest, and not "real", in the sense of exerting any influence on the divine decrees), but in the end his tenacity and disinterested work for the welfare of his people overpowered the opposition. About the eighties he became the acknowledged leader of his community. This found expression, when in 1887 he advised the Muslims not to join the National Congress and the bulk of them followed his advice. His loyalty to the British was rewarded by nomination in 1878 as a member of the Viceregal Legislative Council and his appointment in 1888 to be a Knight Commander of the Star of India; in 1889 he received an honorary degree from the University of Edinburgh.

He rendered great services to his countrymen in the field of social and educational reform; but also his significance as a religious reformer is not to be neglected. In a mitigated form his modernistic views re-emerge regularly in writings of the present generation. The greatest benefit, however, which Aḥmad Khān rendered to his country was that he restored the despairing Muslims of his age to faith in themselves. In this respect—and not for the communalism imputed to him—he may be regarded as a forerunner of Pakistan.

Bibliography: (a) His main writings (beside the above-mentioned): a Bible commentary *Tabyīn al-Kalām*, 1862; *Essays on the Life of Mohammed*, 1870 (cf. Nöldeke, in *Academy*, i, 312-4); *Review on the Book of Dr. Hunter*, 1872; *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, 1880-95. (b) On his life and work: Urdu biography by Alṭāf Ḥusayn, called Ḥālī, *Ḥayāt Djāwīd*, 1901; J. M. S. Baljon jr, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān*, 1949 (with a full bibliography); A. H. al-Biruni, *Makers of Pakistan*, 1950, 1-60; G. F. I. Graham, *Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan*, 1885. (J. M. S. Baljon Jr.)

AḤMAD KÖPRÜLÜ. [See KÖPRÜLÜ].

AḤMAD AL-MANṢŪR, sixth sovereign of the Moroccan dynasty of the Saʿdids [*q.v.*], son of the second sultan of the dynasty, Muḥammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdī (d. 964/1557), was born at Fez in 956/1549. He held various military commands, but was driven into exile at Algiers with his elder brother, ʿAbd al-Malik. The latter, on acceding to the throne in 983/1576, designated Aḥmad as his heir presumptive. Two years later Aḥmad took part in the famous battle of Wādī 'l-Makhāzin, in the vicinity of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] in the N.W. of Morocco. This battle, which took place on the last day of Djumādā I 986/4 August 1578, ended disastrously for the troops of King Sebastian of Portugal, who was killed, while a great number of Portuguese noblemen were taken prisoner. In his turn, the sultan ʿAbd al-Malik, who was very ill, died in his litter during the battle. The same day Aḥmad was proclaimed sultan by the victorious troops, to whom he promised pay and rewards; he took the honorific *laḳab* of al-Manṣūr, "the victorious."

The new sovereign acceded to the throne under the most favorable auspices. From all sides, felicitations poured in, from the Grand Turk, the *pasha* of Algiers, even from Spain and France. Nevertheless he had to overcome many difficulties at home; these he faced with skill and energy, reinforced by the considerable sums which he realized by the ransom of the prisoners of Wādī 'l-Makhāzin. With this money he engaged, in the customary manner of Islamic rulers, a reliable bodyguard commanded by morisco officers and organized in the Turkish fashion, and built fortifications in Tāza, Fez and the *ḳaṣaba* of Marrākush. At the same time, he turkicised to a certain degree his court and administration (*makhzen* [*q.v.*]), as well as his military cadres, under the command of *beys* and *pashas*. He also had to repress various troubles stirred up by the Arab tribes and to overcome the opposition of some members of his family who rose against him. But in general, Aḥmad's reign, which lasted for a quarter of a century, was peaceful and allowed Morocco, at last, to enjoy for a time a relative tranquillity.

It was in foreign affairs that Aḥmad al-Manṣūr showed real diplomatic talent. We have ample materials at our disposal for estimating his abilities in the incomparable collection of documents made by H. de Castries in his *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*. First of all, the sultan had to give some

pledges to the Porte, without completely yielding to its demands; then he had to negotiate with Philip II of Spain, and he did this in such a way that Spain achieved no positive results. On the contrary, the practically-minded sultan encouraged the development of smuggling, or even piracy. In 1585 a "Barbary Company" was founded by British merchants in order to monopolize the external trade of Morocco. After the destruction of the Armada in 1588, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr gave up the friendship with Spain and entered into relations with Queen Elisabeth.

To Aḥmad's credit stands also the conquest of the Sūdān, which, though it was ephemeral, gained for this ruler, greedy for riches, a considerable booty in gold and procured him his second surname of al-Dhahabī, "the golden". It was prepared by reconnoitring and the conquest of the oases of Tūwāt (Touat) and Tīgūrārīn in 990/1581 and was decided upon by the advice of al-Manṣūr's Morisco general staff. It is related in detail by all the historians of the Saʿdid dynasty and by three Sudanese chronicles. The expedition, commanded by the *pasha* Djawdhar, left Marrākush in the autumn of 999/1590 and reached, not without difficulties, the Niger three months later. The Sudanese *askia* of Gao, Isḥāḳ, after a battle near that town, had to ask for peace and shortly afterwards the Moroccan troops entered Timbuktū [*q.v.*]. After the *pasha* Djawdhar had been replaced in his command by another morisco officer, Maḥmūd Zarḳūn, the conquest of the whole country was continued, while the most important *faḳīhs* of Timbuktū, amongst them Aḥmad Bābā [*q.v.*], were deported to Marrākush. Thereafter, for some years, there was an incessant afflux of gold and captives to the Saʿdid capital.

Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, who hardly left Marrākush during the whole of his reign, wanted to build there a residence worthy of himself: the palace called al-Ḳaṣr al-Badīʿ, the construction of which was begun soon after his accession and lasted for about twenty years. This sumptuous mansion was later mutilated by the sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. At the same time, the Moroccan ruler made a point of assembling a literary court, in which shone various writers, especially the secretary of the chancery, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Fishtālī [*q.v.*], author of a panegyrical chronicle, *Manāhil al-Ṣafā'*.

The last years of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's reign were troubled by the intrigues of his sons to obtain the succession, and by an epidemic of cholera which began, from 1007/1598-9 onwards, to decimate the population of the capital. Deserting Marrākush to escape the scourge, the sultan went to the north of the country, and soon after his arrival at Fez he died there on 11 Rabīʿ I 1012/20 August 1603. His body was transferred to Marrākush and buried in the sumptuous mausoleum which he had built for himself and his family and which still exists.

Bibliography: Arabic sources enumerated in Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*: Ifrānī; Fishtālī; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Muntaḳā al-Maḳṣūr*; Anonymous chronicle (ed. by G. S. Colin, Rabat 1934); Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣā'*, Cairo 1312 (translated by the son of the author in *AM*, xxxiv, Paris 1936). European sources: H. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1st series, i-v. See also *EI*[1], iii, 250 ff., and the bibliography of the articles SAʿDIDS and SŪDĀN. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AḤMAD MIDḤAT, Ottoman Turkish writer, was born in Istanbul in 1260/1844, the son of a poor draper called Sulaymān Agha and a Circassian mother. He lost his father in early childhood, and was for a while apprenticed to a shopkeeper. When he was 10 years old the family moved to Vidin, where his half-brother Ḥāfiẓ Agha was the *mudīr* of a *kaḍā*. Ḥāfiẓ, however, fell into disgrace, and in 1859 Aḥmed returned to Istanbul, where he began his schooling. In 1277/1861 Ḥāfiẓ Agha, having won the favour of Midḥat Pasha, was reinstated and given an appointment in Nish, to which he brought the family. Aḥmed entered the Rüshdiyye school there, and graduated in 1280/1863. In 1281/1864, when Midḥat Pasha took over the newly constituted *wilāyet* of Tuna, the family followed him to its capital, Rusčuk, where Aḥmed was apprenticed as a clerk in the provincial chancery (*wilāyet mektūbī ḳalemi*). While working, he continued his studies privately, and also studied French and western knowledge under the guidance of a Christian colleague. He won the favour of Midḥat Pasha, who gave him his own name, and, after appointing him to various offices, made him, at the age of 24 or 25, editor-in-chief of the *wilāyet* newspaper *Tuna*. In 1285/1868, when Midḥat Pasha became *wālī* of Baghdād, Aḥmad Midḥat followed him there, taking charge of the government printing-press and newspaper (*Zawrā'*). During his stay in Baghdād he continued his private studies, and began to write school-books and stories. In 1288/1871 his brother Ḥāfiẓ, who had meanwhile become *mutaṣarrif* of Baṣra, died, and Aḥmed returned with the whole family to Istanbul. Abandoning the state service, he devoted himself entirely to writing and printing. For several years he contributed articles to various papers, and also ran a printing-press where he himself printed and published his numerous books. His journalistic activities brought him into an apparently fortuitous association with the Young Ottomans, and in 1289/1872 he was arrested and summarily exiled to Rhodes, together with Abu'l-Ḍiyā Tewfīḳ. There he wrote a number of books, some of which were published in Istanbul under a pseudonym. In 1293/1876, after the deposition of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he was pardoned, and returned to Istanbul, where he resumed his activities as a writer and printer. His cautious attitude during the following months won him the good will of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, and in 1294/1877, after publishing the *Uss-i Inḳilāb* (an historical justification of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's accession), he was given the directorship of the official gazette and printing-press. This led to a permanent breach with the Young Ottomans. During the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd he held various state offices, and from 1295/1878 onwards edited the *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat*, a periodical of some importance in the intellectual history of that time. In the summer of 1888 he went as official Ottoman representative to the International Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm, and spent some $3^1/_2$ months in Europe. (This trip is described in his *Awrupada bir Djewelān*, Istanbul 1307/1891.)

In 1908, after the Young Turk revolution, he was retired from his official positions under the age-limit, and was subjected to vigorous attacks. He attempted to resume the literary work which he had long since sacrificed to his official career, but abandoned the attempt in the face of hostile opinion and altered tastes. For a few years he held teaching posts at the University, the Woman Teachers' Training College, and the School for Preachers. He died in Muḥarram 1331/Dec. 1912-Jan. 1913.

Besides playing an important role in the development of Turkish journalism in the 19th century,

Aḥmed Midḥat also wrote an enormous number of books, estimated at about 150. These fall into two main groups, fiction and popularised knowledge. His novels and short stories, many of them first published as serials in periodicals, were widely read among the generation of Turks that grew up under the *tanẓīmāt*, and played no small part in developing new tastes and interests among a public still entirely unacquainted with western literary forms and aspirations. His novels were in every sense popular, simple in both style and sentiment, intended to entertain and sometimes also to instruct a reader of unsophisticated and unliterary tastes. Some are romances of adventure, others deal with his own and the immediately preceding periods, and at times manage to achieve a certain liveliness and realism. Aḥmed Midḥat was much influenced by the French popular novelists, and also translated a number of their works. Apart from fiction he wrote or adapted a considerable number of popular and semi-popular works on history, philosophy, religion, ethics, science, and other subjects, the purpose of which was to bring modern European knowledge to his compatriots in a simple and attractive form. The most important of his historical works are *Uss-i Inḳilāb* (2 vols., 1294-5/1877-8), already cited, and *Zubdet ül-Ḥaḳā'iḳ* (1295/1878), an attempt to explain the Turkish defeat in the war of 1877-8. He also wrote a universal history in 3 volumes (1303-5/1880-2), and a series of separate histories of European countries (*Kā'ināt*, 14 vols, 1292-1303/1871-1881).

Bibliography: *IA*, s.v. (by Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil), on which much of the foregoing is based. Further Turkish publications are cited there. A contemporary judgment will be found in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref's obituary notice, published in *TOEM*, 3rd year, 1328 [sic], 1113-9. See further P. Horn, *Geschichte der Türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig, [1st ed. 1902] 1909, 12-30; Babinger, 389-91; O. Hachtmann, *Die türkische Literatur des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1916. For two sharply contrasted judgments by European contemporaries see M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, Leipzig 1910, 70, 208; J. Østrup, *Erindringer*, Copenhagen 1937, 41-44.

(B. Lewis)

AḤMAD b. Khālid b. Ḥammād al-**NĀṢIRĪ** al-**SALĀWĪ**, Abu'l ʿAbbās Shihāb al-Dīn, Moroccan historian, born at Salé (Salā) 22 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1250/20 April 1835, died in the same town 16 Djumādā I 1315/13 Oct. 1897. The genealogy of this writer descends in a direct line from the founder of the Moroccan brotherhood of the Nāṣiriyya, Aḥmad b. Nāṣir, who was buried at his *zāwiya* at Tāmgrūt in the valley of Wādī Darʿa (Drā). He pursued his studies at Salé, and, without neglecting his religious and juridical studies, delved deeply into Arabic profane literature. At the age of about 40, Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī entered the judicial branch of the Sharīfī administration as a notary or as a steward of State lands. Intermittently, he held relatively important posts. He lived first at Dār al-Bayḍā' (Casablanca), from 1292-3/1875-6, and had two periods of residence at Marrākush, where he was employed in the Steward's department of the royal household. Later, he lived for a time at al-Djadīda (Mazagan), as a customs official. He then stayed successively at Tangier and Fez, and, at the end of his life, returned to his native town, where he devoted himself to teaching. At his death, he was buried in the cemetery at Salé situated outside the gate known as Bāb Maʿallaḳa. In short, al-Nāṣirī was a minor official under the Sharīfs, and at the same time a man of letters and a historian. Apart from his historical writing, which gained him a name even outside Morocco, he left several works which without doubt would have sufficed to draw attention to him and to assure him an honourable place among contemporary Maghribī men of letters. These are, in addition to six short works (*Chorfa*, p. 353 n. 1); 1) a commentary on the Shamaḳmaḳiyya, a poem by Ibn al-Wannān, which he called *Zahr al-Afnān min Ḥadīḳat Ibn al-Wannān* (lithographed at Fās in 1314/1896); 2) a survey of the schisms and heresies of Islam, entitled *Taʿẓīm al-Minna bi-Nuṣrat al-Sunna* (Ms. Rabat; cf. *Catalogue*, i, 23); 3) a monograph on the alleged sharīfī house of the Nāṣiriyya, to which he himself belonged, entitled *Ṭalʿat al-Mushtarī fi'l-Nasab al-Djaʿfarī* (lithographed at Fās; French summary by M.Bodin, *La Zaouia de Tamagrout*, *Archives Berbères*, 1918). This work, which the author completed in 1309/1881, is an excellent history of the *zāwiya* of Tāmgrūt, containing a great deal of interesting information which compensates for the lengthy arguments by which the author seeks to demonstrate the authenticity of the family's genealogy.

The major work of Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī is the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-Akhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*. Its publication was an unprecedented event in Maghribī historiography. The author produced, not a chronicle of limited scope, but a general history of his country, printed, moreover, in the Orient. Hailed, ever since its appearance, by the orientalists of Europe, this work speedily attracted the attention of the North African historians, who frequently had recourse to it in the course of their studies—the more so when a French translation, in the *Archives Marocaines*, rendered the last part of the work, containing the history of the ʿAlid dynasty, available even to non-Arabists.

It was quickly realised that this chronicle was akin to other productions of western Arab historiography; it was no more than a compilation, the main virtue of which was to have combined in a connected narrative the fragments of political history scattered throughout the chronicles and the biographical anthologies previously produced in the country. But it must be recognized that al-Nāṣirī was the first of his countrymen to deal exhaustively with a subject which his predecessors had treated only in part. This however, was not his original aim. Elsewhere (*Chorfa*, 357-60) it has been explained that the starting-point for the compilation of the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā* was a work of considerable length on the Marīnid dynasty of Morocco, composed mainly with the aid of the historical works of Ibn Abī Zarʿ and Ibn Khaldūn, and entitled *Kashf al-ʿArīn fī Luyūth Banī Marīn*. His successive transfers from one capital of Morocco to another enabled him to extend his knowledge of the sources for the history of other Moroccan dynasties, and he conceived the idea of writing a full history of Morocco. He completed his work on 15 Djumādā II 1298/15 May 1881, and dedicated it to the reigning prince Sulṭān Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, but received no reward for his action. On the death of this ruler, the author decided to have his history printed at Cairo, after bringing it down to the accession of Sulṭān Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and the *Istiḳṣā* duly appeared at Cairo in four volumes in 1312/1894.

For an analysis of the Arabic historical sources of al-Nāṣirī, and for a list of the works from which he adapted or quoted verbatim numerous passages, the work previously cited should be consulted. It is

sufficient to say here that, apart from documenting his work from the Arabic sources, he was the first Moroccan chronicler to call on European sources which, however, only became known to him by chance. These were the history of Mazagan under Portuguese domination, entitled *Memorias para historia de praça de Mazagao*, by Luis Maria do Conto de Albuquerque de Cunba, Lisbon 1864, and *Description historica de Marruecos y breve reseña de sus dinastias*, by Manuel P. Castellanos, Santiago 1878; Orihuela 1884; Tangier 1898.

In the presentation of his history, al-Nāṣirī follows the usual method of his fellow-countrymen but he does occasionally demonstrate a critical sense. On the whole, however, he gives the impression of being a historian by accident, but a man of letters by vocation. Sometimes he gives indication of considerable intellectual independence and breadth of outlook. His style is lucid and polished, and he rarely resorts to the artificial use of metaphor and rhymed prose. He gives the impression of being the modern Moroccan historian who has perhaps handled his language with the greatest ease and elegance.

Vol. iv of the Arabic edition of the *Istiḳṣā* has been translated by E. Fumey, with the title of *Chronique de la dynastie ʿalaouie au Maroc*, in *Archives Marocaines*, Vols. ix and x, Paris 1906-7. The remainder has been translated in the same journal, Vols. xxx ff., Paris, 1923-35, by A. Graulle, G. S. Colin, I. Hamet and the sons of the historian himself.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 350-368; Brockelmann, S II, 888-9 (new edition of *al-Istiḳṣā*, Rabat 1954.) (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AḤMAD PAS͟HA, Ottoman governor of Bag͟hdād, son of Ḥasan Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], also governor of Bag͟hdād. In 1715 he was appointed governor of S͟hahrizūr and Kirkūk, and subsequently of Baṣra; in 1719 he was made vizier. After the death of his father (at the beginning of 1724) he was appointed governor of Bag͟hdād and charged with the continuation of the expedition undertaken by the former against the Persians. In the spring of 1724 he took Hamadān, and although he was defeated (owing to the desertion of the Kurdish chieftains) by As͟hraf, the G͟halzay ruler of Persia, he achieved in 1727 favourable terms, acquiring for the Ottoman empire Kirmāns͟hāh, Hamadān, Tabrīz, Rawān, Nak͟hičewān and Tiflīs. After losing these conquests to the Ṣafawid Tahmāsp, Aḥmad Pas͟ha undertook another campaign and captured Kirmāns͟hāh and Ardalān, and in 1732, after winning the battle of Ḳurid̲jān, reached Hamadān. By the treaty of 1732, some of the conquered territories were kept by the Ottomans, others returned to Persia. Hostilities, however, were soon resumed and Aḥmad Pas͟ha had to defend Bag͟hdād itself from Nādir S͟hāh. In 1733 he was made governor of Baṣra in addition to Bag͟hdād. The following year he was transferred first to the governorship of Aleppo, then to that of Raḳḳa. After the death of Köprülü-zāde ʿAbd Allāh Pas͟ha, he, though retaining the governorship of Raḳḳa, was made commander-in-chief in the east and succeeded in reaching an armistice with Nādir S͟hāh. He was appointed governor of Bag͟hdād for the second time, and was engaged, in addition to the Persian affairs, in subduing rebellious tribes. He died in 1747, on his return from an expedition against the Bābān ruler Salīm, and was buried at the side of his father near the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa. He had governed Bag͟hdād first for a period of eleven, and on the second occasion for twelve years.

Bibliography: Rās͟hid, *Taʾrīk͟h*, iv, 57; Čelebi-zāde ʿĀṣim (continuation of the former), Istanbul 1282, passim; Sāmī, S͟hākir and Ṣubḥī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1198, passim; ʿIzzī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1199, passim; Kātib Čelebi, *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīk͟h*, Istanbul 1146, 153 ff.; Naẓmī-zāde Murtaḍā, *Güls͟hen-i K͟hulefāʾ* (MS of M. Cavid Baysun; the passage on Aḥmad Pas͟ha not in printed ed.); *Dawḥat al-Wuzarāʾ* (continuation of former), Baghdad 1246, index; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 254-6; *Sid̲jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, i, 250, ii, 149; Hammer-Purgstall, index; C. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad*, 145-6; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, 75, 127 f., 131-62, 165 f., 346. (M. CAVID BAYSUN)

AḤMAD PAS͟HA, ḲARA, Ottoman grand-vizier under Sulaymān I. He was of Albanian origin, was educated in the palace and rose to the posts of *ḳapîd̲jî bas͟hî*, *mīr-i ʿalem* and (in 927/1521) *ag͟ha* of the Jannisaries. He was appointed *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia and took part in the campaign in Hungary, taking (950/1543) Valpo and Siklós and being present at the capture of Esztergom (Usturgun, Gran) and Székesfehérvár (Estūn-i Belg͟hrād, Stuhlweissenburg). In 955/1548 he was appointed commander-in-chief against the Persians and raised to the rank of second vizier. He put the Persians to flight in 1549 near Kamāk͟h and took numerous fortresses in E. Anatolia and Georgia. After the loss of Lippa in Hungary (959/1552) and the vain siege of Temesvár (Tems͟hwar) by Sokollu Meḥmed Pas͟ha, he was transferred to the post of commander-in-chief in Hungary and took Temesvár (defended by Stephan Losonczy) after a siege of 35 days. Subsequently he captured Szolnok, but was unsuccessful in the siege of Eger (Eg͟hri, Erlau) undertaken by him together with Sokollu. During the war against S͟hāh Tahmāsp (960/1553) Sulaymān deposed the grandvizier Rustam Pas͟ha and appointed in his stead Aḥmad Pas͟ha. The latter took part in the campaigns of Nak͟hičewān and Ḳarabāg͟h. After the treaty of Amasya (1555) which ended the war, and the sultan's return to Istanbul, Aḥmad was arrested during a meeting of the *dīwān* and decapitated (13 D͟hu'l-Ḳaʿda 962/28 Sept. 1555). Though the reason given was his intrigue against ʿAlī Pas͟ha, governor of Egypt, the sultan's main motive seems to have been his wish to reappoint Rustam Pas͟ha, his son-in-law, to the grand-vizierate.—According to *Ḥadīḳat al-D̲jawāmiʿ*, i, 143; *Sid̲jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, i, 259, Aḥmad Pas͟ha married Fāṭima Sulṭān, daughter of Selīm I. He began to build a mosque near Top Ḳapî, which was, however, finished only after his death.

Bibliography: D̲jelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Masālik*, MS; D̲jelāl-zāde Ṣāliḥ, *Süleymān-nāme*, MS; Rüstem Pas͟ha, *Tawārīk͟h-i Āl-i ʿOt͟hmān*, MS; Luṭfī Pas͟ha, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1341, 323-453; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Ak͟hbār*, MS, Universite Kütüph. no. 2290/32, fol. 317; Pečewī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, i, 24, 247-343; Solak-zāde, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1297, 504-34; Müned̲jd̲jim-bas͟hî, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Ak͟hbār*, Istanbul 1285, iii, 497-506; Kātib Čelebi, *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīk͟h*, Istanbul 1146, 121, 176, 236; ʿOt͟hmān-zāde Aḥmad Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 31; Aywansarāyî Ḥüseyn, *Ḥadīḳat al-D̲jawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, i, 141-3; *Sid̲jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, i, 198-9, 259; Hammer-Purgstall, passim; Busbecq, *Litterae Turcicae*. (M. CAVID BAYSUN)

AḤMAD PAS͟HA BONNEVAL. Claude-Alexandre Comte de Bonneval was born in 1675 into a noble family of the Limousin. After serving with

great distinction in the French army at the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, in 1704, regarding himself as insulted, he changed sides and soon won a European reputation as a general in the Austrian service under Eugène of Savoy in a succession of campaigns against his own countrymen, the Pope, and finally the sultan, being wounded at Peterwardein in 1716 and participating in the siege of Belgrade in the following year. He later, however, fell out with Eugène and, after being imprisoned for a year, in 1727 fled to Venice, whence, after offering his services in vain to various powers inimical to Austria, he resolved to place them at the disposal of Aḥmed III. In 1729 he accordingly travelled by way of Ragusa to Bosna Sarayî, where, to avoid being extradited to Austria, he turned Muslim, taking the name Aḥmed; and after the accession of Maḥmūd I was first given a daily allowance while resident at Gümüld̲j̲ine in Thrace, and then, in Sept. 1731, summoned by the grand Vizier Ṭopal ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a, who aimed at training the Ottoman army on European lines, to reform the *od̲j̲aḳ* of the *k̲h̲umbarad̲j̲is*. Although on ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a's fall in the following April, Bonneval was at first neglected by his successor Ḥekīm-og̲h̲lu ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, in 1733 the latter sought his advice on the course to be followed by the Porte in relation to the problem of the Polish succession, and in Jan. 1735 appointed him *K̲h̲umbarad̲j̲î Bas̲h̲î* with the rank of a *pas̲h̲a* of two *ṭug̲h̲s* (*mirmirān*). After the dismissal of ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a in July of the same year, however, Bonneval was excluded from the counsels of the Porte until 1737, when he was again called on by Muḥsin-zāde ʿAbd Allāh Pas̲h̲a to advise on the conduct of the war against Austria. But although he eventually accompanied the next Grand Vizier Yeg̲h̲en Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a to the front, a plan he had put forward for the fomentation of a revolt in Hungary was a failure, and on his return to Istanbul in 1738 he fell from favour and in the following year was deprived of his command and exiled to Ḳastamonu. Moreover, although he was restored in less than a year, he never regained his former influence, and up to his death in 1747, by which time he was casting about for means to return to France, he was employed only in the continued management of the *k̲h̲umbarad̲j̲is* and in furnishing the Porte with comments (some of which have been preserved in Turkish translation) on European political developments. He was buried in the cemetery of the Mewlewī-k̲h̲āne in Galata, and succeeded in his command by his adoptive son, also a French convert, who went by the name of Süleymān Ag̲h̲a.

Bibliography: Meḥmed ʿĀrif, *K̲h̲umbarad̲j̲î Bas̲h̲î Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a Bonneval*, *OTEM*, nos. 18-20; Prince de Ligne, *Mémoire sur le comte de Bonneval*, Paris 1817; A. Vandal, *Le Pacha Bonneval*, Paris 1884; idem, *Une Ambassade Française en Orient*, Paris 1887, index; *IA*, s.v. (M. Cavid Baysun).

(H. Bowen)

AḤMAD PAS̲H̲A, called **BURSALÎ**, Ottoman poet of the second half of the 15th century, the most important after S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ī and before Ned̲j̲ātī. He was the son of the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* Welī al-Dīn b. Ilyās (who claimed descent from Ḥusayn) and was most probably born in Adrianople (according to some authorities in Brusa). He was appointed *müderris* at the *madrasa* of Murād II in Brusa and in 855/1451 succeeded Mollā K̲h̲osrew as *ḳāḍī* of Adrianople. After the accession of Muḥammad II he became *ḳāḍī ʿasker*, and tutor of the new ruler, obtaining the rank of vizier. He accompanied the sultan during the conquest of Constantinople. Though his wit made him a great favourite of the sultan, he fell into disgrace (allegedly because of a love affair with a favorite of the sultan, but possibly merely in consequence of the sultan's well known captiousness) and was held in custody, but was pardoned and appointed as *mütewallī* of the Ork̲h̲ān and Murād mosques in Brusa, afterwards even as *sand̲j̲ak beyi* of Sulṭān Önü, Tire and Anḳara, and after the accession of Bāyazīd II, as *sand̲j̲ak beyi* of Brusa. He took part in the suite of Sinān Pas̲h̲a, *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia, in the battle of Ag̲h̲ačayîrî against the Mamlūks (8 Ramaḍān 893/17 August 1488; cf. Saʿd al-Dīn and Hammer Purgstall). He died in 902/1496-7 in Brusa; the ruins of his *türbe* could be seen not long ago in that town.

Among his poems there are many composed for Muḥammad II, Bāyazīd II and Sulṭān D̲j̲em; he also composed a dirge on the death of Muḥammad II's son, Muṣṭafā. He was closely connected with various scholars of his time, and while governor of Brusa, he drew into his entourage poets such as Ḥarīrī, Resmī, Mīrī, Čak̲h̲s̲h̲ird̲j̲i S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ī, and S̲h̲ehdī.

Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a was influenced by Turkish poets such as Aḥmedī, Niyāzī, Melīḥī and especially S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ī and ʿAṭāʾī (cf. *Yeni Med̲j̲mūʿa*, 1918). Like the other poets of his age, he was also under the influence of Persian poetry (his models were especially Salmān Sāwad̲j̲ī, Ḥāfiẓ, Kamāl K̲h̲ud̲j̲andī and Kātibī); on the other hand, the very widespread opinion (which we find for the first time in the *Ted̲h̲kere* of Ḥasan Čelebi) that he began his poetical career by making *naẓīres* on some poems of ʿAlī S̲h̲īr Nawāʾī is quite erroneous (cf. M. Fuad Köprülü, in *Türk Yurdu*, 1927, no. 27; idem, *Türk dili ve edebiyati hakkînda araştirmalar*, Istanbul 1934, 264 ff.). Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a was acknowledged as the greatest poet of his day and was imitated by many poets of the late 15th and early 16th century; and his influence can be felt even after his poetry lost its preponderant position owing to the new trends initiated by Ned̲j̲ātī and especially by Bāḳī.

Apart from his *diwān*, which was compiled by order of Bāyazīd II, and the numerous manuscripts of which are rather different from each other, Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a's poems (some of them written in Arabic and Persian) are to be found also in the great *naẓīre* collections of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Bibliography: The *ted̲h̲keres* of Sehī, 20, Laṭīfī, 76, ʿĀs̲h̲iḳ Čelebi and Kînalî-zāde, s.v.; *al-S̲h̲aḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya*, Turkish transl., 217; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Ak̲h̲bār*, v, 230 f.; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tād̲j̲ al-Tawārīk̲h̲*, ii, 511; Belīg̲h̲, *Güldeste*, 259; Hammer-Purgstall, index; idem, *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, ii, 41 ff.; Muʿallim Nād̲j̲ī, *ʿOt̲h̲mānlî S̲h̲āʿirleri*, i, 209-17; Fāʾiḳ Res̲h̲ād, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Edebiyyāt-i ʿOt̲h̲māniyye*, Istanbul 1913, 137-50; Gibb, ii, 40-58; Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1936, i, 305-20; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Bursalî Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a*, *Dersaʿādet*, 1920, nos. 29, 36, 45, 56; idem in *IA*, s.v.; *Istanbul Kitapliklari Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu*, no. 13.

(Halil Inalcik)

AḤMAD PAS̲H̲A GEDIK, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born in Serbia, he was taken into Murād II's palace as an *iç-og̲h̲lanî* and became for a short time *beglerbegi* of Rūm (Toḳat) under Meḥmed (Muḥammad) II before being appointed *beglerbegi* of Anatolia in 1461. He kept this post until he was made a vizier in 1470. He played a decisive role in consolidating the new conquests in Anatolia against the Ḳaramanids and Aḳ Ḳoyunlus. He first distinguished

himself by capturing Koyllı Ḥiṣār (1461). In 1469-72 he subdued the mountainous part of Ḳaraman-ili and its coastal area, taking ʿAlāʾiyya in 1471, Silifke, Mokan, Gorigos and Lulye (Lullon) in 1472. In 1472 a dangerous attack of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu forces, which, led by the Ḳaramanid prince Pīr Aḥmad, had advanced as far as Ḥāmid-ili, was repelled by Gedik Aḥmed, who subsequently reconquered Ḳaramān-ili. According to Neshrī, 211, he played an important part in the victory over Uzūn Ḥasan [*q.v.*] in 878/1473. Later we find him in Ič-ili fighting successfully against the Ḳaramanid princes who had retaken it with the help of a Christian fleet. During this campaign Aḥmed captured Minan, Silifke, massacred or banished the local chieftains in Ṭash-ili (1473-4). Having been the second vizier up to this time, he became the first after the execution of the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd in 1474 (Kemāl Pasha-zāde). He was sent by Meḥmed II against the Genoese in the Crimea, where he took Kaffa (June 1475), Soldaya and Tana, and besieged Mangup (which was to be captured later by Yaʿḳūb Beg (December 1475)). Aḥmed also signed an agreement with the new *khān* Mengli Girāy whom he had saved from prison in Kaffa, by which Mengli Girāy accepted the sultan's protection. Aḥmed's self-confidence roused the sultan's displeasure and when he dared to disagree with the sultan on the subject of an expedition to Scutari in Albania, he was imprisoned in Rumeli Ḥiṣār (1477). In 1478 he was released and made *Kapudan* of the fleet. In 1479 he seized Santa Maura from Leonardo Tocco (who fled to Apulia), and setting sail from Valona, he captured Otranto on 11 August 1480. When in the next spring he gathered in Valona a new army to make further conquests from Otranto, he was persuaded to uphold the new sultan, Bāyezīd II, against his brother Djem Sulṭān, and played a decisive part in securing the throne for Bāyezīd. But as he would not, or could not, capture Djem in his flight to Mamlūk territory, the suspicious sultan put him into prison. This, however, led to a tumult among the *ḳapi-ḳulu*, so that he had to be rehabilitated. After the failure of Djem's second attempt to seize the throne, Bāyezīd felt himself strong enough to put Aḥmed to death (6 Shawwāl 887/18 Nov. 1482), though this caused a new tumult among the *ḳapi-ḳulu*.—A district in Istanbul is called after Gedik Aḥmed because of his pious foundations there and the mosque of Gedik Aḥmed in Afyon is a fine example of old Ottoman architecture.

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AḤMAD PASHA KHĀʾIN, Ottoman Vizier. Georgian in origin, Aḥmed entered Selīm I's palace as *ič-oghlani*; later, as *büyük emīr-i ākhūr* he took part in the campaign against the Mamlūks in 1516-7 and became *beglerbegi* of Rūm-ili in 1519. In the campaign of Süleymān I against Belgrade Aḥmed's plan of operations was accepted. Accordingly he took Bögürdelen (Sabacz) (2 Shaʿbān 927/8 July 1521) and invaded Syrmia. As a reward for his services in the siege of Belgrade the sultan appointed him vizier of the *dīwān* (autumn of 1521). In the campaign against Rhodes he, as commander-in-chief, was responsible for the successful operations during the landing and the siege. Subsequently he negotiated with the knights of St. John the terms of surrender of the castle (2 Ṣafar 929/21 Dec. 1522). Aḥmed Pasha was instrumental in causing the fall of the Grand Vizier Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] and expected to be promoted from the third viziership to the first, as the second vizier was in Egypt. But, contrary to custom, the grand vizierate was given to the *khāṣṣ oda-bashi* Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*]. Deeply disappointed Aḥmed asked the sultan for the governorship of Egypt (19 August 1523). There he reconciled the discontented Mamlūks as well as the bedouin chieftains who were in a state of great agitation after the death of Khayrī Beg. Süleymān, still under Ibrāhīm's influence, appointed Ḳara Mūsā governor of Egypt and charged him with Aḥmed's execution. On discovering this, Aḥmed decided to declare his independence with the title of Sultan (January 1524). He massacred and dispersed the Janissaries in the castle of Cairo and established relations with the Christian powers against the Ottomans. Süleymān sent an army to Egypt under the vizier Ayās Pasha, while Aḥmed's troops were secretdly encouraged to turn against him. One of his officers, Ḳāḍī-zāde Meḥmed Beg, made an attempt on his life in a public bath. Though wounded, Aḥmed succeeded in escaping to the Banū Bakr Bedouins, who, however, finally delivered him to be beheaded.

Bibliography: Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mamālik we-Deredjāt al-Masālik* (MS Fātiḥ 4423); Süheylī, *Taʾrīkh-i Miṣr al-Djadīd*, Istanbul 1145; Ferīdūn Beg, *Münsheʾāt*, Istanbul 1274, 507-40; Pečewī, i, 71-9; Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vols. xxxv-xxxviii, Venice 1879-1903; Hammer-Purgstall, index; J. W. F. Stripling, *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs*, Urbana 1942. (HALIL INALCIK)

AḤMAD RAFĪḲ (he assumed the family name of ALTĪNAY), Turkish historian. He was born in Beshiktash, Istanbul, in 1880, and educated in the Kuleli military lycée and the military school (*Ḥarbiyye Mektebi*), became an officer, but for most of the time was engaged in teaching geography and French. In 1909 he was appointed to the General Staff, as editor of the *ʿAskerī Medjmūʿa*, in which he himself published articles on military subjects. After becoming a member of the *Taʾrīkh Endjümeni*, he retired and devoted himself entirely to his studies. From 1917 to 1933 he was professor of history in the University of Istanbul. He died on 10 Oct. 1937.

He wrote a very large number of historical books, partly of a scholarly, partly of a more popular character, and published many documents concerning Ottoman history from the archives. Among his best known books are those on life in old Istanbul (*Hicrî X uncu*—or respectively *XI inci, XII inci, XIII üncü—Asirda Istanbul Hayati*), and the series of monographs: *Gečmish ʿAṣīrlarda Türk Ḥayātī*. Numerous articles by him were published in *TOEM*, *Yeni Medjmūʿa*, *Ḥayāt*, *Edebiyat Fakültesi*, *Türkiyat Mecmuasi*.

Bibliography: Reşad Ekrem Koçi, *Ahmed Refik*, Istanbul 1938; Ismail Habib, *Edebiyat Tarihi*, Istanbul 1942, 384; O. Spies, *Die türkische Prosaliteratur der Gegenwart*, Berlin 1943, 83-7 (with full list of his works). (A. TIETZE)

AḤMAD RĀSIM, Turkish writer, b. 1864 in Sarīgüzel or Sarīgez, a quarter of Fātiḥ, Istanbul, d. 21 Sept. 1932 in the island of Heybeliada and buried there. In early life he lost his father Bahā al-Dīn, who belonged to the family of Mentesh-oghlu from Cyprus, and was brought up by his mother.

From 1292/1875 to 1300/1882-3 he attended the school Dār ül-Shafaḳa in Istanbul, where he was attracted to art and literature and decided to become a writer; and to this profession (or, as he himself calls it, "the Sublime Porte Road", *Bāb-i ʿĀlī Djaddesi*) he remained faithful throughout all later political changes. Like many other writers he began as a journalist, and almost all the more important Turkish papers received contributions from his pen. He afterwards collected his numerous articles and sketches, for example in the two volumes of *Maḳālāt we-Muṣāḥabāt* (1325) and the four volumes entitled *ʿÖmr-i Edebī* (1315-19). The latter is not an account of his life but reflects his spiritual development and the feelings and emotions reflected in his publications of different years.

Aḥmad Rāsim's output became in time very extensive; in all, he is said to have produced about 140 works of larger or smaller size. Nevertheless he was not a polygraph in the depreciatory sense of the word; before dealing with a subject he always studied it thoroughly and then wrote on it seriously, or sometimes in the lightly humorous fashion of which he was a master, or again in a pleasing conversational way, but always with artistic feeling and in his particular style, which was new and independent of existing schools and coteries. He had a great success with his public; he himself created a school of writers, and his influence has been strongly felt in Turkish literature.

His literary work in the fields of the novel, short story and tale, includes his early novels *Meyl-i Dil* (1890) and *Tadjārib-i Ḥayāt* (1891) (short analysis of both in P. Horn, *Gesch. der Türkischen Moderne*, 46 f.), the patriotic novel *Mashāḳḳ-i Ḥayāt* (1308), the stories *Tedjribesiz ʿAshḳ* (1311) and *Mekteb Arkadashîm* (1311), a little later *Nākām* (1315) and another patriotic novel *ʿAsker-oghlu* (1315) and the more lyrical *Kitābe-yi Ghamm* (1315) and *ʿAndalib* (in verse).

At the same time he had from the first a preference for history and sought to arouse an interest in it among his fellow-countrymen by presenting his carefully prepared compilations in popular form. After earlier works on the history of Rome, of civilisation, etc., he devoted himself to the history of Turkey, and produced a work on Turkish history from Selīm II to Murād V, entitled *Istibdāddan Ḥākimiyyet-i Milliyyeye* (1341-2), and a general survey, *ʿOthmānlî Taʾrikhi* (1326-30). A valuable supplement to these is formed by his "City Letters", *Shehir Mektūblarî* (1328-29), which contain an unsurpassed description of old Istanbul life in all its variety, written in a vivid and stimulating manner. In *Menāḳib-i Islām* (1325) the Muslim festivals, mosques, and other religious matters are dealt with. To the history of literature belongs his book on Shināsī [*q.v.*], which was intended as an introduction to the history of the Turkish Moderns (*Maṭbūʿāt Taʾrikhine Medkhal. Ilk büyük Muharrirlerden Shināsi*, 1927). *Maṭbūʿāt Khāṭîrlarîndan* (1924) contains his personal recollections of Turksh writers, and *Falaḳa* (1927) of his own schooldays and the old system of education in general.

Aḥmad Rāsim was also a prolific writer of school books on grammar, rhetoric, history, etc., and composed also a work on model letters (*ʿIlāweli Khazine-yi Mekātib yahod mükemmel Münsheʾāt*, 5th ed. 1318). In addition he translated many western works, and a large collection from his early period is called "Selections from Western Literature" (*Edebiyyāt-i Gharbiyyeden bir Nebdhe*, 1887). He was a talented composer as well, and left 65 songs now preserved in the Dār ül-Shafaḳa library.

For this great literary activity Aḥmad Rāsim required a measure of freedom which did not exist under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, and such as he could hardly have enjoyed at all as a state official. He was, however, twice a member of a commission of the Conseil de l'Instruction Publique (*Endjümen-i Teftish we-Muʿāyana*), but only for a short time. He showed his interest in religious matters in 1924, when after the abolition of the caliphate he wrote an article in *Waḳit* on 4 March 1924 on the relics (*amānāt, mukhallafāt*) of the Prophet, cloak (*khîrḳa*), banner (*liwāʾ*), praying-carpet (*sadjdjāda*) etc., which also appeared in Cairo and Damascus in Arabic. He proposed to make these relics accessible to the public in a museum (cf. C. A. Nallino, in *OM*, 1924, 220 f.). From 1927 he was a deputy for Istanbul along with men like ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid and Khalīl Edhem (cf. *OM*, 1927, 416; 1931, 227 and Meḥmed Zekī, *Encyclopédie biographique de Turquie*, i, 1928, 23 and ii, 1929, 88), but suffered from ill-health in his last years.

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AḤMAD RASMĪ, Ottoman statesman and historian. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, known as Resmi came from Rethymno (Turk. Resmo; hence his epithet?) in Crete and was of Greek descent (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, viii, 202). He was born in 1112/1700 and came in 1146/1733 to Istanbul, where he was educated, married a daughter of the Reʾīs Efendi Taʾūḳdji Muṣṭafā and entered the service of the Porte. He held a number of offices in various towns (cf. *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 380 f.). In Ṣafar 1171/Oct. 1757 he went as Ottoman envoy to Vienna and on his return made a written report of his impressions and experiences. In Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1176/May 1763 he was again sent to Europe, this time as ambassador to the Prussian court in Berlin. He also wrote a very full account of this mission, which early attracted attention, in the West also, for its views on Prussian policy, its description of Berlin and its inhabitants and all sort of observations on related topics. After filling a number of important offices he died on the 2 Shawwāl 1197/31 August 1783; on this date cf. Babinger, 309, note 2) in Istanbul. His tomb is in the Selīmiyye quarter of Scutari.

In addition to the descriptions already mentioned of his embassies (*sefāret-nāme's*) to Vienna and Berlin, Aḥmed Resmī wrote in connection with the Russo-Turkish war and the peace of Küčük

Ḳaynardje (1769-74) a treatise entitled *Khulāṣet ül-Iʿtibār*, in which as a participator in the campaign and eye-witness, he gave his impressions of this important period in the history of Turkey. Of especial value are his biographical collections, particularly his *Khalīfet ül-Rüʾesāʾ* (composed in 1157/1744) with the biographies of 64 *reʾīs ül-kuttāb* (*reʾis efendiler*) and his *Ḥamīlet ül-Küberāʾ*, in which he gives the lives of the chief eunuchs of the imperial *ḥarem* (*ḳîzlar aghalarî*). Of a similar nature is his continuation (written in 1177/1766) of the *Wefayāt* of Meḥmed Emīn b. Ḥādjdjī Meḥmed called Alay-beyī-zāde, in which he gives in twelve lists the deaths of famous men and women (cf. the accurate list of contents in Hammer-Purgstall, ix, 187 f.). He also wrote several other works on geology and proverbs.

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 380 f.; Brusalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, iii, 58 f. (with list of works); Babinger, 309-12 (add to the list of the MSS of his *sefer-nāme's*: Berlin, Or. 4° 1502, fol. 27v-46v (incomplete), Paris, Suppl. Turc 510 (?); Paris, collection of Cl. Huart and the MSS described in *İstanbul Kitaplîklarî Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmalarî Kataloglarî*, i, no. 483; add also the Polish transl. *Podroż Resmi Ahmed-Efendego do Polski i poselstwo jégo do Prus* 1177 (according to Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 239 ff.) in J. J. S. Sękowski, *Collectanea z Dziejopisów Tureckich*, ii, Warsaw 1825, 222-89; for MSS of the *Khalīfet ül-Rüʾesāʾ* and the *Ḥamīlet ül-Küberāʾ*, see also *İstanbul Kitaplîklarî etc.*, nos. 412 and 413).

(F. BABINGER)

AḤMAD AL-**RĀZĪ**. [See AL-RĀZĪ].

AḤMAD SHĀH is the name of various Muslim monarchs in India. The most notable are:

1. AḤMAD SHĀH BAHĀDUR MUDJĀHID AL-DĪN ABŪ NAṢR, son and successor of Muḥammad Shāh, Grand Mughal of Delhi. He was born in 1138/1725 and came to the throne in 1161/1748. The actual ruler during his reign was Ṣafdar Djang, Nawāb of Oudh, who was also appointed vizier of the new emperor. In order to check the Rohēlas he called upon the Marāṭhās for help, which resulted in their plundering the provinces of his realm, while the Afghāns devastated the Pandjāb. Aḥmad Shāh himself was an incapable ruler and lived for pleasure. After the dismissal of the vizier Ṣafdar Djang his reign soon came to an end; another vizier, ʿImād al-Mulk Ghāzi 'l-Dīn Khān caused him to be declared unworthy to govern, had him put into prison and had his eyes put out 1167/1754. Aḥmad Shāh died in 1189/1775.

2. AḤMAD SHĀH I, II and III, Bahmanid rulers; see BAHMANIDS.

3. AḤMAD SHĀH B. MUḤAMMAD SHĀH SHAMS AL-DĪN, prince of Bengal (835-46/1431-42); see RĀDJĀ GANESH.

4. AḤMAD SHĀH I and II, rulers of Gudjarāt, see GUDJARĀT.

5. AḤMAD SHĀH, founder of the dynasty of the Niẓām Shāhs; see NIẒĀM SHĀHS.

AḤMAD SHĀH DURRĀNĪ, the first of the Sadōzay rulers of Afghānistān and founder of the Durrānī empire, belonged to the Sadōzay section of the Popalzay clan of the Abdālī [*q.v.*] tribe of Afghāns. In the early 18th century the Abdālīs were to be found chiefly around Harāt. Under their leader Zamān Khān, the father of Aḥmad Khān, they resisted Persian attempts to take Harāt until, in 1728, they were forced to submit to Nādir Shāh. Some time later they rebelled under Dhu'l-Fiḳār Khān, the brother of Aḥmad Khān, but were once more defeated by the Persian ruler who, in 1731, captured Harāt. Recognizing the fighting qualities of the Abdālīs he enlisted them in his army, and, in 1737, after the expulsion of the Ghilzays, he allowed the Abdālīs to settle in Ḳandahār. Aḥmad Khān Abdālī distinguished himself in Nādir's service and quickly rose from the position of personal attendant (*yasāwal*) to the command of Nādir's Abdālī contingent, in which capacity he accompanied the Persian conqueror on his Indian expedition. In Djumādā II 1160/June 1747, Nādir Shāh was assassinated by Ḳizilbāshī conspirators at Kučān in Khurāsān. This prompted Aḥmad Khān and the Afghān soldiery to set out for Ḳandahār. On the way they elected Aḥmad Khān as their leader, hailing him as Aḥmad Shāh. This election was facilitated by the withdrawal in his favour of Hādjdjī Djamāl Khān, the chief of the Muḥammadzays or Bārakzays, the great rivals of the Sadōzays. Aḥmad Shāh assumed the title of *Durr-i Durrān* (Pearl of Pearls), after which the Abdālī tribe were known as Durrānīs. He was crowned at Ḳandahār where coins were struck in his name. Like the Persian conqueror who served as his model, he organized a special force dependent on himself, known as the Ghulām Shāhīs, a heterogeneous body recruited from Tādjīks, Ḳizilbāshes, and Yūsufzays; but he naturally relied chiefly on his immediate followers the Durrānīs. With Ḳandahār as his base he easily extended his control over Ghaznī, Kābul, and Peshāwar. His aims were to consolidate his power in Afghānistān and to increase his prestige and provide employment for his turbulent followers by means of foreign wars in which course he was favoured by the anarchical conditions prevailing in India. Regarding himself as heir to Nādir Shāh's eastern dominions, he laid claim to the provinces which Nādir had wrested from the Mughal emperor. In accordance with this policy, but with no intention of founding an empire in India, he invaded India nine times between 1747 and 1769. He set out from Peshāwar on his first Indian expedition in December 1747. By January 1748 Lahore and Sarhind had been captured. Eventually Mughal forces were sent from Delhi to resist his advance. Lacking artillery and greatly outnumbered he was defeated at Manupur, in March 1748, by Muʿīn al-Mulk, the son of the *wazīr* Ḳamar al-Dīn, who had been killed in a preliminary skirmish. Aḥmad Shāh retreated to Afghānistān and Muʿīn al-Mulk was appointed governor of the Pandjāb. Before Muʿīn al-Mulk could consolidate his position, Aḥmad Shāh, in December 1749, again crossed the Indus. Receiving no reinforcements from Delhi Muʿīn al-Mulk was forced to come to terms. In accordance with instructions from Delhi, Aḥmad Shāh was promised the revenues of the *Čahār Maḥāll* (Gudjrāt, Awrangābād, Siālkot, and Pasrūr) which had been granted by the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh to Nādir Shāh in 1739. While he had been absent in the Panjāb, Nūr Muḥammad Alīzay, a former Afghān general of Nādir Shāh, had conspired to dethrone him. On his return to Ḳandahār the conspiracy was suppressed and Nūr Muḥammad executed. He next turned his attention to his western frontier. By 1163/1751 Harāt, Mashhad, and Nīshāpūr had been captured. Mīrzā Shāhrukh, the grandson of Nādir Shāh, was forced to surrender several districts bordering on Harāt and to acknowledge Afghān suzerainty on his coins. In the same year Aḥmad

Shāh came into conflict with the rising Ḳādjār power but was repulsed at Astarābād beyond which he was unable to advance. He was more successful across the Hindū Kush where he annexed Balkh and Badakhshān after which the Oxus roughly formed his northern frontier.

The non-payment of the revenues of the *Čahār Maḥāll* was the reason for his third Indian expedition of 1751-2. Lahore was besieged for four months and the surrounding country devastated. Muʿīn al-Mulk, without reinforcements, was defeated in March 1752, but was reinstated by Aḥmad Shāh to whom the emperor formally ceded the two *ṣūbas* of Lahore and Multān. During this expedition Kashmīr was annexed to the Durrānī empire. By April 1752 Aḥmād Shāh was once more back in Afghānistān. Muʿīn al-Mulk found the Pandjāb a troublesome charge and his death in November 1753 only served to intensify the anarchy. All power was for a time in the hands of his widow Mughalānī Bēgam whose profligacy led to constant rebellions. The Mughal *wazīr* ʿImād al-Mulk took advantage of this anarchy to recover the Pandjāb for the empire and entrusted its administration to Adīna Beg. Aḥmad Shāh immediately set out to recover his lost provinces. Lahore was reached towards the end of December 1756, and, after an unopposed march, Delhi was entered on 28 January 1757. The city was plundered and the defenceless inhabitants massacred. A similar fate befell the inhabitants of Mathurā, Brindāban, and Āgra. Towards the end of March 1757, an outbreak of cholera amongst his troops forced Aḥmad Shāh to leave India. Before leaving he married Ḥaḍrat Bēgam, daughter of the late emperor Muḥammad Shāh, while his son Tīmūr was married to Zuhra Bēgam, daughter of the puppet emperor ʿĀlamgīr II. The territory of Sarhind was annexed to his empire. Nadjīb al-Dawla, the Rohilla leader who had supported him, was left in charge of Delhi and Tīmūr remained as viceroy of the Pandjāb. He had no sooner left India than the Sikhs, together with Adīna Beg, rose in revolt against Tīmūr. Early in 1758 Adīna Beg invited the Marāṭhās to expel the Afghāns from the Pandjāb. This was accomplished by the Marāthās who actually crossed the Indus and held Peshāwar for a few months. (The evidence which corroborates Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, 1921, 507, is to be found in the Persian manuscript *akhbārāts* (news-letters) in the archives of the Bharat Itihasa Samahodhak Mandal and in the *Chandrachuda Daftar*, i, 1920, ii, 1934. See also H. R. Gupta's *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Panjab*, 1944, 175-6.) These events brought Aḥmad Shāh to India a fourth time (1759-61). Before setting out he marched against Naṣīr Khān, the Brahūī chief of Kalāt in Balūčistān who had declared his independence. Despite Aḥmad Shāh's failure to capture Kalāt, Naṣīr Khān agreed to acknowledge his suzerainty and to furnish contingents for his army. The Marāṭhās rapidly evacuated the Pandjāb before the Afghān advance and fell back on Delhi. Sadāshiv Bhāu, the brother of the Marāṭhā *peshwa*, was entrusted with the formidable task of ousting the Afghāns from northern India. The Marāṭhās had not only to face a coalition of the northern Muslim chiefs who had joined forces with Aḥmad Shāh but they had to fight without the assistance of the Rādjputs and other Hindu powers whom their extortionate demands for *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* had estranged. The Marāṭhās occupied Delhi (22 July 1760) but it was of little use as a base since food, fodder, and money were unprocurable. The situation, so far as supplies were concerned, was temporarily relieved by the capture of Kundjpura (17 October 1760). But this advance proved disastrous as the Afghān army crossed the Djumna cutting off Marāṭhā communications with Delhi. The Bhāu now decided to entrench his forces at Pānīpat. Deprived of all supplies by more mobile forces he was compelled to leave his entrenchments and attack the Afghāns. Although the Marāṭhās fought desperately they failed to withstand the fierce Afghān onslaught under Aḥmad Shāh's expert generalship and were routed with enormous losses at Pānīpat on 14 January 1761. Aḥmad Shāh made no attempt to consolidate his position and in March of the same year was once more on his way back to Afghānistān. The Afghān victory at Pānīpat had far-reaching consequences. It enabled the Niẓām to recover from his defeat at Udgīr (1760), and probably saved the state of Hyderabad from extinction. It also contributed to the rise of an independent Muslim power in Mysore under Ḥaydar ʿAlī. It is usual to regard Pānīpat as a temporary set-back from which the Marāṭhās rapidly recovered. This view ignores the real importance of the victory which granted the English the respite needed for the consolidation of their power in Bengal.

After Pānīpat the main factor in the history of northern India was the growing strength of the Sikhs whose attacks on Aḥmad Shāh's lines of communication gradually led to a cessation of the Afghān menace. It was against the Pandjāb Sikhs that his sixth expedition (1762) was directed. They were defeated with enormous slaughter near Gūdjarwāl in a battle known to Sikhs as the Ghallūghārā. Aḥmad Shāh remained in the Pandjāb for nine months during which Kashmīr whose Afghān governor had revolted was re-annexed to his empire. But the Sikhs were by no means crushed. Their attacks on Afghān garrisons necessitated three more expeditions between 1764 and 1769. Aḥmad Shāh had also to contend with serious revolts nearer home. The Aymāḳ near Harāt rebelled in 1763, and, in 1767, serious disturbances broke out in Khurāsān. At Aḥmad Shāh's death, in 1184/1773, his empire roughly extended from the Oxus to the Indus and from Tibet to Khurāsān. It embraced Kashmīr, Peshāwar, Multān, Sind, Balūčistān, Persian Khurāsān, Harāt, Ḳandahār, Kābul, and Balkh. Even in his lifetime it was apparent that he would be unable to maintain distant conquests like the Pandjāb. Balūčistān was practically independant, and Khurāsān was obviously destined to become a Ḳādjār possession. Under his successors the Durrānī empire rapidly disintegrated.

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AḤMAD AL-**SHAYKH** (known locally as AMADU SÈKU) Tokolor (Takrūrī) ruler, son of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar Tal [*q.v.*] the Tokolor conqueror of Western Sudan. Before he proceeded to the conquest of Māsina which cost him his life, ʿUmar left Aḥmad in charge of the Bambara kingdom of Segu, and appointed him *khalīfa* of the Tidjāniyya *ṭarīḳa* for the Sudan. ʿUmar died (1864) before he was able to consolidate his conquests and left Aḥmad to face, not only a heritage of dynastic troubles and revolts of subjected peoples, but also the steady advance of the French. His titular inheritance to the paternal power was not seriously contested, but the unity of the military empire was weakened because the various governors ruled their regions in practical independence. These were his brothers Ḥabīb (ruling Dingiray) and Mukhtār (at Koniakari), his cousin al-Tidjānī (who ruled Māsina independently from 1864 to 1887), and his father's slave Muṣṭafā at Nyoro. Aḥmad's vain attempt to avert the break up involved him in continual warfare. His early years were occupied in dealing with the Bambara of his own kingdom, who were never crushed. His Tokolor chiefs intrigued with his relatives, the revolt of Ḥabīb in 1868 being only one of many. In 1874 he assumed the title of *amīr al-mu'minīn*. The period from 1878-84 witnessed the steady penetration of the French into the Sudan. The anarchy into which the country had fallen gave Aḥmad no chance of offering effective opposition, whilst hostility between him and Samori [*q.v.*] enabled the French to attack and defeat them separately. Aḥmad's brother, ʿAdjību, ruler of Dingiray, allied himself with the French. In 1884, feeling his life in danger at Segu from discontented Bambara and Tokolor, he moved to Nyoro, dispossessing his brother Muntaḳa whom he had installed there in 1873. On 6 April 1890 Segu was occupied by the French Colonel Archinard, and the following year he fled from Nyoro (occupied by Archinard on 1 Jan 1891) to Bandjagara where his defeat on 26 April 1893 brought an end to Tokolor dominion over the Sudan. He fled to the Sokoto region in Hausaland where he died in 1898.

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SHAYKH **AḤMAD SIRHINDĪ**, generally known as MUDJADDID-I ALF-I THĀNĪ, an eminent divine and mystic of Muslim India, who contributed in a considerable measure towards the rehabilitation of orthodox Islam, after the heterodoxies of the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) had had their day. He was born at Sirhind (Patiāla State, East Pandjāb) in 971/1564, being the son of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Aḥad, who traced his descent from the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He received his early education from his father and later pursued a course of higher studies at Siyālkōt. He later went to the capital, Agra, where he frequented the society of the chief minister Abu 'l-Faḍl [*q.v.*] and his brother Fayḍī [*q.v.*]. It was probably during these days that he wrote among other things a tract, entitled *Tahlīliyya* in refutation of Shīʿite views. (This tract was, subsequently, translated into Arabic by Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, with a prologue on the religious trends of the court of Akbar and the activities of Shaykh Aḥmad.) After some years, he returned to his native town. In 1008 he was initiated into the Naḳshbandī order of Ṣūfīs by Khwādja Bāḳī bi'llāh (d. 1012), who was then living in Delhi. The energy with which he controverted the doctrines of the Shīʿa, who were at that time in favour at the court of the emperor Djahāngīr, rendered him particularly odious to them and they represented his activities as dangerous to the state. An ecstatic utterance of his caused him to be summoned in 1028/1619 to the court at Agra, where his unbending attitude incurred the displeasure of the emperor, who ordered him to be confined in the fort of Gwalior. The emperor was, however, soon reconciled to him, for he not only released him after a year but bestowed upon him a *khilʿa* and a gift of money. Thereafter, the Shaykh kept in close touch with the Imperial camp, till he died in 1034/1624 and was buried at Sirhind, where his tomb is an object of veneration to this day.

Shaykh Aḥmad wrote a number of tracts on religious topics, viz., *al-Mabda' wa'l-Maʿād* (Delhi 1311); *Risāla Tahlīliyya*, published as an appendix to the Lucknow edition of his *Maktūbāt*; *Maʿārif Laduniyya*; *Mukāshafāt Ghaybiyya*; *Risāla fī Ithbāt al-Nubuwwa*; *Ādāb al-Murīdīn*; *Sharḥ Rubāʿiyyāt Khwādja Bāḳī bi'llāh*, etc. But he is chiefly remembered for Letters (*Maktūbāt*), which he wrote (in Persian) to his disciples and other persons and in which he explained a large number of points, ranging over a wide area of Islamic faith and practice. These letters have exercised a great influence in favour of orthodoxy and, in their collected form, constitute one of the most important classics of religious literature produced in Muslim India. It was in recognition of his services to the cause of orthodox Islam that Mullā ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkōtī [*q.v.*] gave him the title (*laḳab*) of *Mudjaddid-i Alf-i Thānī*, i.e., the Renovator of Islam who appeared at the beginning of the second millenium of the Islamic era. Even in his life time, his influence spread as far as Afghānistān and Central Asia. After his death, it deepened still further, when his descendants and disciples, now called Mudjaddidīs, were dispersed, as a result of the unfavourable conditions produced by the rule of the Sikhs in the Pandjāb.

Although Shaykh Aḥmad was connected with several ṣūfī orders, he avoided their extravagances, especially their pantheistic tendencies; and in fact he tried to bridge the gulf between the monotheistic and pantheistic groups of ṣūfīs by putting forth the theory of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* [*q.v.*] in place of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* (pantheism). This theory is regarded as his special contribution in the field of religious thought.

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AḤMAD TĀ'IB [see ʿUTHMĀN-ZĀDE].

AḤMAD TAKŪDĀR [see ILKHĀNIDS].

AḤMAD WAFĪḲ PASHA, (AḤMED WEFĪḲ PASHA), Ottoman statesman and leading Turkish Turcologist, born 23 Shawwāl 1238/6 July 1823, died at Istanbul 22 Shaʿbān 1308/2 April 1891. He came of a family of interpreters, grandson of Bulgar-zāde Yaḥyā Nādjī, a dragoman of the Porte converted to Islam, of *rūmī* origin according to the historian Shānī-zāde ʿAṭā Allāh Efendi, of Jewish origin according to A. D. Mordtmann. Aḥmed Wefīḳ accompanied his father Rūḥ al-Dīn Meḥmed Efendi, the Turkish chargé d'affaires in Paris, studied for three years at the Lycée Saint-Louis, and returned at the age of 14 to Turkey where a full and varied career lay before him (for details see *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 308). After initial employment on the interpreting staff, his most important posts were as follows:—ambassador in Paris (1860); inspector of the Western Anatolian provinces; legendary president of the first and ephemeral Ottoman Parliament of 1876, with the rank of *wezīr* and title of *pasha*; twice Grand Vizier (for periods of 25 days and one day respectively); governor-general of Brusa. As a diplomat, he successfully defended Turkish interests at the time of the Russian occupation of the Danubian principalities and the French occupation of the Lebanon. He edited the first Imperial Year Book (1293/1876), and the newspaper *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* (in collaboration with Shināsī). He was responsible for the restoration of the Yeshil Djāmiʿ mosque at Brusa (by the French ceramist Parvillé), and for effecting the transfer of the Burgaz Owa estates in the Izmir region, which were granted to Lamartine by ʿAbd al-Madjīd (1849). It was he who was responsible for the celebrated incident in the Paris theatre concerning the production of Voltaire's *Mahomet*.

A strong personality, he was an energetic, honest and conscientious man, frank to the point of rudeness; at the same time he was whimsical and an eccentric, and possessed a dry wit. Extremely studious, and with long periods of leisure at this disposal as a result of being debarred from office by the enmity of ʿAlī Pasha, he immured himself in the library of his famous villa in Rumeli Ḥiṣār, and there produced works to which, however, he scorned to subscribe his name. Turkish studies were his special province. He was self-taught, but acquainted with western studies which, paradoxically, he underestimated; as one of the first "Turkicists", he made an impressive contribution to the Turkish purist movement. His *Lehdje-yi ʿOthmānī* (1st edition 1293/1876: 2nd edition 1306/1890), the first Turkish dictionary in Turkish worthy of the name, a concise work of which the fullest use has not yet been made, formed a basis for the work of Shams al-Dīn Sāmī Bey Frasherī and many others (see the preface to the *Supplément* of Barbier de Meynard, i, p. v). His translation, or rather adaptation, of sixteen comedies of Molière (2nd edition in Latin script, 1933) is a masterpiece. (He produced them on the stage at Brusa.) He also translated *Télémaque*, *Gil Blas de Sentillane* and the *Micromégas* of Voltaire. In eastern Turkish, he published Abu 'l-Ghāzī and, in collaboration with Belin, the *Maḥbūb al-Ḳulūb* of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī (1289/1872). A collection of proverbs (*Atalar Sözü*) figures among his other works. For his historical works, see Babinger (see below) and Enver Koray, *Türkiye tarih yayînlarî bibliyografyasî*, Ankara 1952.

Aḥmed Wefīḳ was buried in the Ḳayalar ("Rocks") cemetery at Rumeli Ḥiṣār, allegedly by order of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, but once again there are probably no grounds for this assertion. Aḥmed Wefīḳ's grandfather, who owned estates in the neighbourhood, was buried in the same cemetery. The Sultan's displeasure may be explained by the fact that Aḥmed Wefīḳ had sold land to the American institution Robert College.

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(J. DENY)

AḤMAD WĀṢIF [see WĀṢIF].

AḤMAD YASAWĪ, Turkish ṣūfī shaykh of Central Asia. His life story is shrouded in legend like those of many popular saints. Son of a certain Shaykh Ibrāhīm, he was born at Sayrām (Isfīdjāb) in Turkistān during the second half of the 11th century. He lost his father at the age of seven and the family settled at Yasī. There, he began his education (it is said as a disciple of Arslan Baba),

later moving to Bu<u>kh</u>ārā where he became a disciple of the great <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Yūsuf Hama<u>dh</u>ānī, and eventually succeeded him in 555/1160. He returned to and remained in Yasī until his death in 562/1166.

Aḥmad Yasawī's tomb became a place of pilgrimage for kings and princes and was especially venerated by the Turks of Central Asia and the Volga region. A sumptuous mausoleum was erected in Yasī (later known as Turkistān) by Tīmūr [see YASĪ] and the cult of Yasawī has never decreased. Among the Turkish nomads Yasawī's doctrine was adapted to local trends and was strongly influenced by pre-islamic Turkish creeds and rituals. The *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>*'s first *<u>kh</u>alīfa* was Arslan Baba's son, Manṣūr Ata (d. 594/1197) great-grandfather of Zengi Ata [*q.v.*]; the second, Saʿīd Ata (d. 615/1218), the third Ḥakīm Ata [*q.v.*] (d. 582/1188). His other successors also bore the title of *ata*. Yasawism established itself in Eastern Turkistān, later spread to Mā warā al-Nahr, <u>Kh</u>ʷārizm, as far as Bul<u>gh</u>ār, <u>Kh</u>urāsān and Persia, and penetrated into Anatolia with the migration of Yasawī <u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>s, among whom Ḥā<u>dj</u>djī Bektā<u>sh</u> and Sarī Saltuḳ [*qq.v.*] are outstanding.

We know that Aḥmad Yasawī wrote vernacular Turkish verse in the old syllabic metre in order to popularize and spread his mystic doctrine. But the poems to be found in the extant collection called *Dīwān-i Ḥikmet* attributed to him (*ḥikmet* = "religious poem"), can hardly be genuine. The original work of Aḥmad Yasawī has not come down to us and the oldest MSS belong to the 17th century. But we can safely assert that these poems reproduce the true spirit and style of Aḥmad Yasawī, since we know that the verses of many a mystic leader were often faithfully imitated, for centuries, by later disciples (cf. Yūnus Emre and his followers). The poems in the *Dīwān-i Ḥikmet* are of a didactic character and express, in popular language, Islamic and mystic precepts. They gave rise to a new *genre* in Turkish literature : mystic folk literature which, in the following centuries, flourished side by side with secular folk literature and classical literature.

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ADĪB **AḤMAD YUKNAKĪ** (the *nisba* may possibly refer to the village of Yū<u>gh</u>nāk, south of Tā<u>sh</u>kent), early Turkish poet of the 12th century, author of the didactic poem in quatrains, *ʿAybat al-Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, dedicated to a certain Dād Sipāhsālār Beg. Its subject matter is related to that of Yūsuf <u>Kh</u>āṣṣ Ḥā<u>dj</u>ib's [q.v.] *Ḳuta<u>dh</u><u>gh</u>u Bilig*; its language is also akin to, though not identical with, that of the *Ḳuta<u>dh</u><u>gh</u>u Bilig*. The content is, however, more Islamic in character, and more Arabic and Persian words are used. It was edited by Ne<u>dj</u>īb ʿĀṣim, under the title *Hibet al-Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, Istanbul 1334. Critical edition by R. Rahmati Arat, Istanbul 1951.

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AḤMADĀBĀD is the capital of the district of that name in India (Presidency of Bombay), on the river Sābarmatī. In 1901 the town numbered 185, 899 inhabitants, of which about ¹/₆ were Muslims, the district (3,816 square miles = 9,883 square kilometres) containing 795,967 inhabitants. Aḥmadābād is one of the most beautiful towns in India and is famous for the manufacture of gold and silver brocade, of silk, cotton and satin (*kam<u>kh</u>āb*) materials. It is equally noted for its brass and bronze works, and for the manufacture of mother of pearl ornaments, of japanned goods and wood-carving (e. g. betel-boxes, *pāndān*). There are also a great many monuments of ancient Muslim art, amongst others mosques and mausoleums of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Aḥmadābād was founded in 1411 by Aḥmad <u>Sh</u>āh I sultan of Gu<u>dj</u>arāt [*q.v.*], (who made the old Hindu town of Aṣaval his capital), and was enriched by him with countless buildings. In the first century of the Gu<u>dj</u>arāt dynasty it rapidly attained prosperity. But after that it fell into decline; it enjoyed another period of prosperity under the reign of the Mu<u>gh</u>al emperors, until, in the 18th century, it again deteriorated. In 1818 the English took possession of the town.

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AḤMADĪ, TĀ<u>DJ</u> AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM B. <u>KH</u>IḌR, the greatest Ottoman poet of the 8th/14th century. His place and date of birth are not known: the weight of the evidence is in favour of Germiyān, before 735/1334-5. After learning all that Anatolia had to teach him, he went to Cairo to study under Akmal al-Dīn (al-Bābartī), commentator of the *Hidāya*; he also made friends with Ḥā<u>dj</u>djī Pa<u>sh</u>a and Molla Fenārī. Returning home, he entered the service of the Germiyān-o<u>gh</u>lu in Kütahya, Sulaymān <u>Sh</u>āh, a well-known patron of poetry, who ruled over the principality from c. 769/1367 to 788/1386. (He wrote for him the *Iskander-nāme*, the final version of which was, however, presented to Sulaymān Čelebi.) Later he joined the court of his patron's son-in-law, the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I, and was especially favoured by his son, Sulaymān Čelebi. If the traditional account is to be believed, he met Tīmūr after his victory at Ankara. What is certain is that the poet seized the earliest opportunity of rejoining Sulaymān Čelebi at his court in Adrianople, although from several hostile references in his poems to the people of Brusa it appears that Aḥmedī spent some years in the latter city. This hostility is understandable in view of Aḥmedī's devotion to Sulaymān, as the people of Brusa sided with Meḥmed Čelebi (Muḥammad I). His *dīwān* contains many panegyrics on Sulaymān, to whom he also dedicated the final version of the *Iskender-nāme*, *<u>Dj</u>em<u>sh</u>īd we-<u>Kh</u>ur<u>sh</u>īd*, and *Tarwīḥ al-Arwāḥ*. At the end of his moving

elegy on the death of Sulaymān (814/1411) the poet did not neglect to add a prayer for the new sultan, Meḥmed, to whom he subsequently dedicated some of his poems. He died at Amasia in 815/1413.

His main works are the following. (1) *Iskender-nāme*, on the life and deeds of Alexander the Great, the subject matter of which is borrowed from Firdawsī and Niẓāmī, but is expanded by many didactic digressions. The language is singularly pure Turkish and the metre is the native *parmak ḥisābī*. The poem ends with a trivial sketch of Islamic history, the last part of which, however, is a highly important versified history of the Ottomans, the first we have, on which later historians frequently drew. (The story is brought down to different dates in different versions.) (2) *Djemshīd we-Khurshīd*, a *mathnawī* on the theme of the love of a Chinese prince for a Byzantine princess, based on Salmān Sāwadjī's poem of the same title. (3) *Tarwīḥ al-Arwāḥ*, a didactic *mathnawī* on medicine and preservation of health, apparently written for the edification of Sulaymān Čelebi. (4) A *dīwān*.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿUḳūd al-Naṣīḥa*, (quoted by Taḳī al-Dīn, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, MS); Tashköprü-zāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya*, 70 f.; the *Tedhkeres* of Sehī, 54 f., Laṭīfī, 82, ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi; ʿĀlī, *Künh ül-Akhbār*, v, 128; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 260 ff.; Babinger, 11 ff.; J. Thury, *Török nyelvemlékek*, Budapest 1903, 31 ff. (Turkish transl. in *MTM*, ii, 110 ff.); S. Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, i, 384 ff.; Nihad Sami Banarli, *Aḥmedī ve-Dâsitân-i Tewârîh-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osmān*, *Türkiyat Mecmuasi*, 1939, 49 ff.; C. Brockelmann, in *ZDMG*, 1919, 1 ff. (on Aḥmedī's language); P. Wittek, in *Isl.*, 1932, 205; idem, in *Byzantion*, 1936, 303 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (by M. Fuad Köprülü). (G. L. Lewis)

AḤMADĪ [see SIKKA].

AḤMADĪLĪS, a dynasty of princes of Marāgha. Distinction must be made between the eponym Aḥmadīl and his successors. Aḥmadīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahsūdān al-Rawwādī al-Kurdī was a descendant of the local branch of the originally Arab family of Rawwād (of Azd) established in Tabrīz (see RAWWĀDIDS). In the course of time the family became Kurdicized, and even the name Aḥmadīl is apparently formed with an Iranian (Kurdish) diminutive suffix *-īl*. Aḥmadīl took part in the anti-Crusade of 505/1111. During the siege of Tell Bāshir, Jocelyn made an arrangement with him and he withdrew from the town (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, *RHC*, iii, 599). Shortly afterwards he left Syria altogether in the hope of winning the succession to the Shāh-i Arman [*q.v.*] Suḳmān (d. 506/1112). As Suḳmān had subjugated Tabrīz, Aḥmadīl was probably interested in recapturing the basic fief of his ancestors. According to Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī (*RHC*, iii, 556), Ahmadīl could muster 5,000 horsemen and his revenue amounted to 400,000 dinars yearly. In 510 (or 508) he was assassinated in Baghdād by the Ismāʿīlīs, to whom he had caused much harm (*RHC*, ibid.; Ibn al-Athīr, s.a. 510).

The study of his successors is complicated by the variants of their names and titles used in different sources. Aḥmadīl was apparently succeeded by one of his slaves, bearing the Turkish name Aḳ Sunḳur "al-Aḥmadīlī", who is often mentioned in the struggles between the sons of Sultan Muḥammad (d. 511/1118). In 514 Masʿūd b. Muḥammad appointed his former *atābek* Ḳasīm al-Dawla al-Bursuḳī to Marāgha, but Sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad restored Aḳ Sunḳur (who had come to Baghdād) to Marāgha. After the death in 515/1121 of Küntughdi, *atābek* to Malik Ṭughril b. Muḥammad, Aḳ Sunḳur was anxious to succeed him; Tughril ordered him to raise 10,000 horse and went with him to conquer Ardabīl. During the unsuccessful siege of this town, Marāgha was occupied by Djuyūsh-beg, sent by Sultan Maḥmūd. Under 516/1128 the Georgian chronicle (Brosset, i, 368) mentions the defeat of the "*atābek* of Arrān" Aghsunthul (*Aḳ Sunḳur), whom Ṭughril had directed to carry out a raid in Sharwān. In 522 he was employed to frustrate the intrigues of the Mazyadid Dubays. Under 524 we hear of Aḳ Sunḳur, *atābek* to Dāʾūd b. Muḥammad, supporting the candidature of this prince. In 526 Ṭughril defeated his nephew Dāʾūd and occupied Marāgha and Tabrīz (al-Bundārī, 161). Aḳ Sunḳur fled to Baghdād and then helped Dāʾūd's other uncle Masʿūd to reoccupy Ādharbaydjān. He also captured Hamadhān but in 527/1133 was killed by Ismāʿīlīs instigated by Ṭughril (ibid., 169).

Aḳ Sunḳur's son and successor is usually called Aḳ Sunḳur (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 166, 177; *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 472), but is called also Arslān b. Aḳ Sunḳur (*Akhbār al-Dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*), and referred to by ʿImād al-Dīn as Nuṣrat al-Dīn Khāṣṣ-bek (al-Bundarī, 231, and even, p. 243, as Nuṣrat al-Dīn Arslān-Aba ?). At this time the authority in Ādharbaydjān was divided between Eldiguz, *atābek* to Arslān b. Ṭughril, and Aḳ Sunḳur II, who was associated chiefly with the family of Malik Muḥammad b. Sultan Maḥmūd. An enemy of Aḳ Sunḳur, Khāṣṣ-bek Arslān b. Beling-eri, besieged Marāgha in 541/1146 (al-Bundārī, 217). In 547/1152 Sultan Muḥammad executed Ibn Beling-eri, but in point of fact this execution alerted the two lords (*ṣāhibān*) of Ādharbaydjān, Eldiguz and Aḳ Sunḳur, who proclaimed another candidate (Sulaymān). When Muḥammad was restored he appointed Aḳ Sunḳur as *atābek* to his son Dāʾūd. This led to a rift with Eldiguz. With the help of the Shāh-i Arman, Aḳ Sunḳur defeated Pahlawān b. Eldiguz on the Safīd Rūd. In 556/1161 he supported Inandj of Rayy, who was hostile to Eldiguz, but this *amīr* was defeated by Eldiguz in 557, and Aḳ Sunḳur subsequently accompanied Eldiguz on his expedition to Georgia (557/1162). In 563, however, Aḳ Sunḳur obtained from Baghdād the recognition of his charge, Malik Dāʾūd, and this led to a new clash with Pahlawān (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 218). Soon afterwards, Aḳ Sunḳur fades out of the picture. According to *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 472, his brother Ḳutlugh revolted in Marāgha, apparently with the encouragement of the *amīr* Inandj of Rayy (d. 564/1168-9; see Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 230). Pahlawān suppressed the revolt and left Marāgha to Aḳ Sunḳur's brothers ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn.

Under 570 Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 280) mentions in Marāgha Falak al-Dīn, son of Aḳ Sunḳur (II), who must have cherished some designs on Tabrīz, but after a clash with Pahlawān had to desist from this claim, although the hereditary rift between the two families persisted. In 602/1205-6 the lord of Marāgha ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn made a pact with the lord of Irbil Gökbüri to depose the incapable Eldiguzid Abū Bakr, but the latter, with the help of the former slave of the family Ay-doghmïsh, expelled ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla from Marāgha, giving him Urmiya and Ushnū in compensation. In 604 ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla (whom Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 157, 182, this time calls Ḳara Sunḳur) died, and a courageous servant of his took charge of his minor son who died in 605. The servant remained in the castle of Rūyīn-diz, while Abū

Bakr occupied the remaining territories of Marāg͟ha. It seems certain that ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla was the patron to whom Niẓāmī dedicated his *Haft Paykar* (completed in 593 ?) and whom the poet calls ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Krb (*Körp*-"young")-Arslān (see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS*, ii, 567, and *Suppl.*, 1985, 154). Niẓāmī refers to his two sons Nuṣrat al-Dīn Muḥammad and Aḥmad (one of whom may be the son who according to Ibn al-At͟hīr died in 605).

After this we find the line continued by women. When in 618/1221 the Mongols took Marāg͟ha the mistress of the town survived in the fortress of Rūyīn-diz. In 624/1224 S͟haraf al-Mulk, *wazīr* of the K͟hʷārazm-s͟hāh D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn, besieged Rūyīn-diz, whose mistress was a granddaughter of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kraba (Nasawī, 129; possibly *Körp-apa ?). She was married to the deaf-mute son of the Eldiguzid Uzbek (called K͟hāmūs͟h, "silent"), but probably was separated from him because K͟hāmūs͟h had joined D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn and later went over to the Ismāʿīlīs (Nasawī, 129-30). The princess was ready to wed S͟haraf al-Mulk when D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn himself arrived on the spot, married her, and appointed his own governor to Rūyīn-diz (ibid., 157). K͟hāmūs͟h had a numerous family and it is not clear whether his son "*atābek* Nuṣrat al-Dīn" was born to him of the Aḥmadīlī princess. According to D̲j̲uwaynī, Nuṣrat al-Dīn was hiding in Rūm, but towards 644/1246 he obtained an *āl tamg͟ha* from Güyük K͟hān for the governorship of Tabrīz and Ād͟harbayd̲j̲ān.

(V. Minorsky)

AḤMADIYYA is the name (i) of an organized religious community, standing in continuity with its eponym, Mīrzā G͟hulām Aḥmad of Ḳādiyān; and (ii) of a small organization or movement derived from (i).

G͟hulām Aḥmad was born into the leading family of the small town of Ḳādiyān, Gurdāspur district, Pand̲j̲āb, India, about 1255/1839. The title *Mīrzā* relates to the family's having come in with the conquering Mug͟hals, in this case under Bābur. The boy received a good traditional education, in Arabic and Persian, and was from childhood studious and reflective. Rather than follow his father as *ḥakīm*, or this father's wishes by going on in British government service or practising law, he soon gave himself up (on his landlord income) to quietude in his native place. Along with meditation and religious study he developed apparently a propensity for hearing voices. At the age of about forty he began to publish (1880) a considerable work *Barāhīn-i Aḥmadiyya*, which was well received. On 4 March 1889 he announced that he had received from God a revelation authorizing him to accept *bayʿat*; and a small group was forthcoming of formal disciples, who were devoted and in some cases remarkably able men. Opposition from the Muslim community began two years later when he announced that he was the *Masīḥ* and the *Mahdī*. From that date (1891) until his death (24 Rabīʿ II 1326/26 May 1908) there was continuous increase both in opposition to him and in his own claims; also in his following. Controversy raged; chiefly with Muslims, though also with Hindus and Christians. He claimed to receive revelations (both *ilhām* and *waḥy* are used), including foreknowledge; to perform miracles (including both raising the dead to life, and *vice-versa*: he boasted of bringing about, through prayer, the death of rivals); and to be an *avatār* of Kṛṣṇa (1904) as well as Jesus returned to earth and the Mahdī; also the *burūz* ("re-appearance") of Muḥammad. Whether he claimed to be a *nabī*, and if so what he meant by it, is disputed between the two groups into which his followers later divided (see below). His teachings, over his last twenty years, are multifarious: sometimes curious (as, e.g., that Jesus died and is buried in Srinagar) or well-informed, sometimes inconsistent, often polemical and crude, sometimes remarkably spiritual. One discerns in them, in addition to peripheral Hindu concepts and a reaction against Christian influences, but more especially in the pattern of his life and the positive response evoked, a late Indian ṣūfī version of Islam activated by modern-Western infiltrations.

When he died, his followers thereby ceased to be a body of disciples; they became instead a community of believers, and, rather than disintegrating, elected a *k͟halīfa* (Mawlawī Nūr al-Dīn) and proceeded to exist as an independent community. The validity of this, or at least of its form, was doubted by some; and when this first *k͟halīfa* died (1914), most of the executive and westernized minority seceded, to set up at Lahore a society propagating the new teachings (as they saw them), while the majority remained at Ḳādiyān rather as a community embodying those teachings (and propagating itself). There was a political difference also: the secessionists (dissociating themselves less from the wider Muslim community) were beginning to feel and to participate in the nascent anti-imperialism of Indian Islam (Kānpur mosque incident, 1913), while the major group explicitly clung to the traditional loyalty of the founder and his family. They chose the founder's twenty-five-year old) son as *K͟halīfat al-Masīḥ II*. The forty years of his *k͟hilāfat* have been the story of the gradual forging of the virtually new movement that exists to-day. Similarly in the case of the Lahore party, which had as leader a young lawyer and religious intellectual, it has been rather the gradual working out of a virtually new system of ideas.

Both groups were—and are—dynamic, and have developed much, each in its own way. They have travelled far, from their common starting point, and also from each other. They will, accordingly, be separately described.

(i) The community. Name: Urdū, D̲j̲amāʿat-i Aḥmadiyya; English, Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam. An Aḥmadī is also commonly referred to as *Ḳādiyānī* (which since 1947 has become less appropriate; see below), and sometimes—usually to his own annoyance—as *Mirzāʾī*. Membership is by birth within the movement, or by joining, on formal profession of faith and acceptance of duties. According to their own figures, there are some half-million members; about half of these being in Pakistan, the rest somewhat evenly divided between India and the remainder of the world (chiefly West Africa; but there are Aḥmadī congregations from Indonesia to the Arab world, with small bands of converts also in Britain, the continent of Europe, and the United States). Members pay monthly dues (from each a minimum of $^1/_4$ % of his income is required; with various further contributions expected and often given). The movement accordingly handles considerable sums; and its organization is strong and centralized. The community also operates and enforces (on traditional "Islamic" lines) its own internal judiciary (*ḳaḍāʾ*) so far as feasible. New headquarters of the community are at Rabwah, Pakistan. There is a central Advisory Council (*Mad̲j̲lis-i Mus͟hāwarat*), largely elected; and a strong central secretariat. However, all power is finally vested in the head of the movement, who for the last

forty years has been, as already indicated, the founder's son, Ḥaḍrat Mīrzā Bas͟hīr al-Din Maḥmūd Aḥmad (b. 1306/1889). So largely have direction and control been in his hands that the movement in its present form may be said to be in significant degree his creation.

The above organization binds the community together; and strikingly vigorous, well-planned missionary activity throughout the world continues to expand it. These externals, however, are manifestly informed by a spiritual quality, a faith and religious life. Four, overlapping, aspects of this may be noted: the memory of the founder, reverence for the present head, doctrine, and the intensity of corporate life. The teachings are those of the founder, as interpreted (expanded, modified) by the present head. At the present stage of development they are most effectively presented in his *Aḥmadiyyat or the True Islam* (1924: 3rd ed., Washington 1951; also available in other languages), and in his vast Ḳur'ān commentary, now in process (*Tafsīr-i Kabīr*, in Urdū). In the formula currently signed on joining the movement, a statement addressed to the head, these sentences figure: "I bear witness that God alone is to be worshipped. He is One having no partner. /... I will try my best to act upon all the Laws of Islam. /I will obey you in everything good that you tell me. /I consider the Holy Prophet Muhammad to be the Seal of the Prophets, and also believe in all the claims of the Prophet Aḥmad of Qadian (peace be on them) ..." (from the English version used in the Washington, D. C., mosque). The core of Aḥmadī belief is that their community embodies the only true form of Islam (the one true religion, sent by God), it having been launched in this revitalized and newly revealed form by Aḥmad, who was sent by God for the purpose, and it is being further divinely guided through its present head. Other Muslims, by rejecting this heaven-sent re-formation, are pronounced *kāfir*. Of the veneration in which the present head is held by his followers a compelling illustration is the reasoned tribute by one who is to-day a world figure: Zafrullah Khan, *The Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam* (offprint, Chicago, n.d. [c. 1945]).

The activities of the community, apart from their zealous and efficient propaganda, include such internal matters as the establishing and running of schools and colleges (the former centre, Ḳādiyān, appears to have been much the most literate town in India, with almost total feminine literacy). They produce great quantities of literature (see below); have their own exclusive mosques; and sustain a telling *esprit de corps*.

Aḥmadī relations with Hindus and Sikhs have been chiefly attempted proselytism, with very limited success; with Christians there was also at first a spirited polemic on both sides, not without acerbity, though the situation appears gradually to have improved. It is with other Muslims that the Aḥmadiyya have had primarily to deal: from them has come the overwhelming body of their converts, and also their opposition, often bitter and at times violent. The ambiguities of their situation became particularly vexed with the establishment in 1947 of Pakistan, into which both geographically and ideologically they almost, but not quite, fit. They transferred their headquarters perforce from Ḳādiyān (in India, because of the controversial Radcliffe award) to a site, previously barren, in Pakistan, which they named Rabwah (cf. Ḳur'ān, ii, 265) and where they are now constructing a town (about 90 miles south-west of Lahore). The political issue was less easily settled: wether they, who called other Muslims *kāfir*, should be fully admitted into the Muslims' new state, was a question that flared up in 1953 and brought riots, bloodshed, and the fall of governments.

The *Bibliography* is enormous. The most important source is the movement's own voluminous publications. A few of the founder's more than 75 books (in Arabic, Persian, Urdū) have been republished by the present community in several languages (perhaps most important to-day: *The Teachings of Islam*, various editions); the first *k͟halīfa* wrote some half-dozen, and the present head is the author of over thirty works (two most important noted above; add: *Introduction to the Study of the Holy Quran*, London 1949; *Economic Structure of Islamic Society*, Qadian 1946). Other members have written about the community, and its leaders; also lives of Muḥammad, etc. (e.g. Sufi M. R. Bengalee, *Life of Muhammad*), and translations of the Ḳur'ān in several lanquages. Moreover, the community has produced and produces large numbers of periodicals—daily, weekly, and monthly—from India, West Pakistan, East Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, Lagos, Israel, Zurich, London, Chicago, Washington, and elsewhere. Sunnī Muslim and Christian missionary writing on the movement has often, though not always, been polemical; the former often important and revealing (e.g. Muhammad Iqbal, *Islam and Ahmadism*, Lahore, 1936), the latter often informative (e.g. H. A. Walter, *The Ahmadiya Movement*, Calcutta and London 1918; numerous other studies; articles in *MW* every few years). Almost all books on Indian Islam (e.g. M. Titus, *Indian Islam*, 1930, 226 ff.; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, 1946, 298 ff.) or Modern Islam mention the community. Objective descriptive studies, of an academic sort, do not seem to have appeared in significant or comprehensive form since L. Bouvat, in *JA*, 1928, 159-81.

(ii) The Aḥmadiyya And͟juman Is͟hā'at-i Islām (headquarters in Lahore). This group accepts G͟hulām Aḥmad as *mud͟jaddid*, not as prophet, and affirms that he never claimed to be a prophet. It has always been incomparably smaller than (i); but comparably zealous in its activities. It has differed, for instance, in trying more to win converts to Islam than to itself. It has been active in a systematic and effective fashion, chiefly in three overlapping fields: publishing, organized foreign missionary work, and leadership in intellectual modernism (liberalism) in Islam, especially of English-reading Islam. It has produced and circulated throughout the world (chiefly in English and Urdū, but also in a half-dozen and more other European and well over a dozen Asian languages) translations of the Ḳur'ān, lives of Muḥammad, impressive expositions of Islam, many monographs and essays, and innumerable pamphlets. Its foreign mission stations, in London, Berlin, Indonesia, have been influential; especially the first (the Woking Mission, an independent entity from 1930, but from 1947 again semi-officially related to the Lahore movement). The leader of the movement from its inception until his death in 1951, prolific author of much of its literature, and chief creator of its distinctive intellectual contribution was Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī. Also to be mentioned is the equally prolific but shorter-lived *imām* of the Woking mosque, K͟hwād͟ja Kamāl al-Dīn (1870-1932).

Bibliography: The movement's own publications are again the main source: see the writings

of Muḥammad ʿAlī (chiefly his *English Translation of the Holy Qur'an with Arabic Text, Commentary and Index*, Lahore, several editions; over 50,000 copies have been distributed; *The Religion of Islam*, Lahore 1936; *Muḥammad the Prophet*, 1924, Urdū original, *Khayr al-Bashar*, ibid., 1917; etc. etc.), and also of Kamāl al-Dīn (e.g., *the Ideal Prophet*, London 1925; *Islam and Christianity*, ibid., 1932; and many others). For external sources, see the bibliography of (i) above.

(WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH)

AḤMADNAGAR is the capital of the district fo that name in India (Presidency of Bombay) on the river Siva. In 1901 the town numbered 42,000 inhabitants, the district (6586 square miles = 17,058 square kilometres) 837,695 inhabitants. The town was built in 1494 by Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh, the founder of the dynasty of the Niẓām Shāhs [*q.v.*], who reigned for about a century in Aḥmadnagar, until, after a brave defence by Čānd Bībī, the place was taken by Akbar's troops and annexed to the Mogul empire. After the death of Awrangzīb, Aḥmadnagar became subject to the Marāṭhās, and in 1803 Dawlat Rao Sindhiya was obliged to surrender the town to the Duke of Wellington.

Bibliography: *Bombay Gazetteer* xvii-B (1904).

AḤMADU [see AḤMAD AL-SHAYKH].

AḤMADU LOBBO (SHAYKH AḤMAD, SEKU AḤMADU (ḤAMADU) LOBBO, SHEKU AḤMADU SISE), Ful religious chieftain, of the Bari clan (or Saugare or Daebe, corresponding to the Mandingo clan of the Sise) a native of Malangal or Mareval in central Māsina, actually called Ḥamadu Ḥamadu Lobbo, that is to say the son of Ḥamadu Lobbo. The latter was a pious Muslim living at Yogunsiru (district of Uro Modi in central Māsina), a native of Fituka (the region to the east of Niafunke), called Lobbo after the name of his mother. Māsina was then occupied by the Ful, who were mostly pagan or superficially Muslim, and were ruled by *ardos* of the Dyallo dynasty, vassals of the Bambara rulers of Segu, and only Djenne was occupied by Moroccan troops. Aḥmadu Lobbo, a disciple of the marabout Kunta of the order of the Ḳādiriyya Shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad, who died in 1826, accompanied ʿOthmān dan Fodio on his successful expeditions intended to propagate Islam (about 1800), and took up residence in a hamlet near Djenne. He was expelled by the Moroccans, who distrusted his reputation for learning and his influence, and settled in Sebera, birthplace of his mother, where he gathered round him many students. An incident between these students and the son of the *ardo* of Māsina, Gurori Dyallo, incited Aḥmadu to open revolt. A Bambara army which was sent against him was defeated by a ruse, the Dyallo dynasty was dethroned (1810) and all the Ful of the region placed themselves under his command. He took Djenne after a siege lasting nine months, defeated Geladjo, the leader of the Kunari, (whose exploits are still the subject of a popular ballad, see G. Vieillard, in *Bull. du Comité d'études hist. et scient. d l'A.O.F.*, 1931, 151-6) and built a new capital in that district, on the Bani, called Ḥamdallāhi (fulbe: Hamdallay) (1815). He conquered Isa Ber from the Touareg (1825), Timbuktū (1827), and extended his authority eastwards as far as the first ranges of Tombo, and to the south-east as far as the confluence of the Black Volta and the Suru.

He adopted the title of *amīr al-muʾminīn* and devoted himself to propagating orthodox Islam according to the Ḳādiriyya order, demanding strict observance of its religious requirements; he demolished the tribal mosques and local places of worship, placed a ban on tobacco, established relations with the sultan of Istanbul, and, about 1838, welcomed al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar Tal [*q.v.*] on his return from Mecca. He organized his dominions along orderly lines. Vi lages, districts and provinces were governed by officials, appointed by himself, who could be impeached before the *ḳāḍī* (fulbe: *algāli*) of the region. The State owned lands and flocks, and received a portion of war booty, fines etc. Taxation comprised the *zakāt* (fulbe: *d'akka*, tithe on grain crops, proportion of flocks); a surtax on the rich (1/40 on gold, cowry and bar salt); the *kharādj* on food crops; the *muddu* in millet at the festival of the breaking of the fast; a contribution from slaves for the provisioning of the army; the *ʿushr* (fulbe: *usuru*), a 10% customs duty. Every spring military expeditions were organized. Each village had to provide a fixed quota of men for these military operations, a third of this quota being mobilized each year by roster. The troops, free men, received subsistence for the maintenance of their families during their absence. There were five high-ranking military officers, each responsible for the defence of a particular sector. There existed a right of appeal from the regional *ḳāḍīs* to the *ḳāḍī* at Ḥamdallāhi, and from the latter to Aḥmadu himself, aided by a "marabout tribunal" in an advisory capacity.

Aḥmadu I died in 1844 and his son Aḥmadu (Ḥamadu) II succeeded him, despite the native customary law of succession. In 1846 he reimposed, in a modified form, the sovereignty of Māsina over Timbuktū, which had rebelled at the death of his father. Aḥmadu II was similarly succeeded in 1852 by his son, Aḥmadu III. He tried, by diplomacy or by force, to check the expansion of the great Tokolor conqueror, al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar Tal, but the latter took Ḥamdallāhi in June 1862. Aḥmadu III fled towards Timbuktū, but was captured and put to death at ʿUmar's orders. His uncle Ba Lobbo continued the fight against ʿUmar and his successors. The Māsina State had been a centre of strict Islām, inimical to infidels, as the European travellers René Caillé and Heinrich Barth had discovered.

Bibliographie : Ch. Monteil, *Monographie de Djenné*, Tulle 1903, 266-77; M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Paris 1912, ii, 232-9; L. Tauxier, *Moeurs et histoire des Peuls*, Paris 1937, 163-85; P. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan*, ii, Paris 1920, 137-8; 177-80, 246-7; Mohammadou Aliou Tyam, *La vie d'El Hadj Omar*, ed. and trans. H. Gaden, Paris 1935, 20, 154 ff., 164 ff., 185 ff.; R. Caillé, *Journal d'un voyage à Tombouctou et à Jenné*, Paris 1830, ii, 206 ff., E. Mage, *Voyage dans le Soudan occidental*, Paris 1868, 258 ff.; H. L. Labouret. *La langue des Peuls ou Foulbé*, Dakar 1952, 162-5. (M. RODINSON)

AḤMAR, BANU 'L-, genealogical name of the naṣrid dynasty [see NAṢRIDS].

AL-**AḤNAF** B. **ḲAYS**, the usual cognomen of a Tamīmite noble of Baṣra named ABŪ BAḤR ṢAKHR (sometimes, but erroneously, called al-Ḍaḥḥāk) B. ḲAYS B. MUʿĀWIYA AL-TAMĪMĪ AL-SAʿDĪ, of the family of Murra b. ʿUbayd; through his mother, he was descended from the Bāhilite clan Awd b. Maʿn. He was born before Islam and, probably at an early age, lost his father, killed by the Banū Māzin. His biographers state that he was deformed from birth and that he had undergone an operation. His cognomen (*al-aḥnaf*) derives from the fact that his feet were misshapen, but he also had other abnormalities (see the description of his physical appearance in al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān* (Hārūn), i, 56).

At the advent of Islam, the Tamīmites did not respond immediately to the Prophet's overtures, and it was al-Aḥnaf who was instrumental in procuring their conversion. He then presented himself to ʿUmar, and was among the first inhabitants of Baṣra, where he soon emerged as spokesman and leader of the Tamīmites who, during the 1st/7th century formed the intellectual, religious and political élite of the city. Under the command of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, he took part, notably in 23/644 and 29/649-50, in the capture of Ḳumm, Kāshān and Iṣfahān. He was later one of the best generals of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], under whose orders he conquered Ḳuhistān, Harāt, Marw, Marw al-Rūdh, Balkh and other districts (near Marw al-Rūdh, his memory was perpetuated by the Ḳaṣr al-Aḥnaf and the Rustāḳ al-Aḥnaf). He even led his troops as far as the plains of Ṭukhāristān, thus preventing the last king of Persia from organising further resistance against the Muslims. For a time governor of a district of Khurāsān, he afterwards returned to Baṣra where his position as head of the Tamīmites enabled him to play an important political role. Although a neutral at the battle of the Camel (36/656) between the partisans of ʿAlī and those of ʿĀʾisha, he fought on the side of ʿAlī the following year at the battle of Ṣiffīn. From then on he appears to have devoted himself to local political affairs, but the Umayyads considered his influence to be such that they consulted him on general political problems, and it was in this way that he came to give his opinion on the question of Muʿāwiya's successor. At Baṣra there was latent hostility between the Rabīʿa faction, represented by the Bakr b. Wāʾil, and the Muḍar faction, represented by the Tamīm. Al-Aḥnaf was sufficiently adroit to prevent bloodshed, but he did not succeed in extinguishing smouldering animosities. At the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (64/683) a rising occurred there, and the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] placed an Azdite, Masʿūd b. ʿAmr al-ʿAtakī, in charge of the city, but the latter was assassinated shortly afterwards. The Azd faction then allied themselves with the Bakr and the ʿAbd al-Ḳays against the Tamīm, whom al-Aḥnaf had exhorted to adopt a moderate policy towards the Azd. The situation remained extremely confused for several months; finally al-Aḥnaf agreed to a compromise favourable to the Azd, and contributed from his own funds to an indemnity for the Azdite victims. When order was restored, he devoted his energies to achieving an alliance of the various tribes at Baṣra against the common enemy in the shape of the Khāridjites who were threatening the city, and it was he who, in 65/684-5, proposed that the Azdite al-Muhallab [*q.v.*] should be entrusted with the command of an expedition against the Azraḳites which the populace hoped to induce him to undertake. In 67/686-7 the Shīʿite agitator al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] succeeded in recruiting supporters at Baṣra, but al-Aḥnaf took his stand against the Shīʿites, and succeeded in evicting al-Mukhtār's partisans from the city. He then assumed command of the Tamīm contingent of the Baṣra forces which, under the orders of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, marched to attack al-Mukhtār at Kūfa. It was there that he died, at an advanced age.

His line soon came to an end, but his memory was kept alive by the Tamīm who considered him one of their greatest leaders. He was something of a poet, but above all he left a reputation for sagacity, which is conveyed by a large number of aphorisms and maxims, some of which have become proverbs; his *ḥilm* is compared to that of Muʿāwiya, and is also proverbial; hence the saying: ***aḥlam min al-Aḥnaf*** (al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*², ii, 92; al-Maydānī, i, 229-30).

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*², index; idem, *Mukhtār*, Berlin ms. 5032, 81*b*-86*b*; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv b, v, index, Istanbul ms. ii, 994 ff. (see *B. Ét. Or.*, 1952-4, 208); Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/i, 66-69; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 173-74; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 36, 37, 134, 186-87, 250, 268; idem, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, index; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn*, 53-57; Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 429; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1352, i, 229-30, ii, 274; *Aghānī*, index; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, II, 96, 205; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu baṣrien*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-AḤSĀ [see AL-ḤASĀ and HUFHŪF].

AL-AḤSĀʾĪ, SHAYKH AḤMAD B. ZAYN AL-DĪN B. IBRĀHĪM, founder of the theological school (later, after his excommunication by the Shīʿī *mudjtahids*, more properly speaking "sect") which, from his designation, took the name of Shaykhī [*q.v.*]. He was born in al-Aḥsāʾ (Arabia) in 1166/1753. His biographers record his great piety from his years of infancy. At the age of twenty, already learned in the religious sciences, he went on pilgrimage to the Shīʿite sanctuaries in al-ʿIrāḳ, where he had his first successes, obtaining from their *mudjtahids* "licences" to teach the religious sciences. After establishing himself with his family in Baḥrayn, and later in Baṣra, he made several journeys in al-ʿIrāḳ and, from 1221/1806 onwards, also in Persia, where he made the pilgrimage to Mashhad and, on his return, settled at Yazd as a teacher, enjoying the greatest veneration. Even the shāh (Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Ḳādjār) summoned him to Teheran, and loaded him with honours. This, together with his great popularity, roused the jealousy of the divines of Yazd, and several reports began to circulate on the unorthodoxy of Shaykh Aḥmad's teachings; more particularly challenged were his eschatological doctrines, in which, according to the 'orthodox' Shīʿite theologians, he had denied the resurrection of the body and interpreted it as a purely spiritual resurrection (see SHAYKHĪ). After a final pilgrimage to Karbalāʾ, he settled in 1229/1814 in Kirmānshāh, whence he made several journeys (into al-ʿIrāḳ and, in 1232/1817-8, to Mecca). His definitive rupture with the *mudjtahids* took place at Ḳazwīn about 1239-40/1824, after his return from another pilgrimage to Mashhad, in consequence of a discussion with the fiery Ḥādjdjī Mullā Taḳī Barakānī, uncle of the famous Bābī poetess Ṭāhira (or Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn, see BĀBĪ). The hostility of the *mullās* towards him steadily increased, and he was even accused of professing theories which never entered his head (e.g., the divinity of ʿAlī, the doctrine of *tafwīḍ*, according to which God had entrusted the care of the worldly creation to the *imāms*, etc.). After many wanderings, interspersed with teaching and the composition of his numerous works, he died in the course of a pilgrimage to Mecca, at the age of 75 years, near Medina, in 1241/1826, and was buried there. His theological works (including minor treatises) number about a hundred. For his doctrines see art. SHAYKHĪ. The school founded by him was guided by his successor Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī [*q.v.*], and out of it there developed at a later date the Bābī [*q.v.*] movement.

Bibliography: A. L. M. Nicolas, *Cheïkh Ahmad Lahçahi*, Paris 1910 (*Essai sur le Cheikhisme, i*); Brockelmann, S II, 844-5. For further bibliography see SHAYKHĪ. (A. BAUSANI)

AḤSANĀBĀD [see GULBARGA].

AL-**AḤWAṢ** AL-ANṢĀRĪ, ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤ. B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿĀṢIM B. THĀBIT, Arabic poet, of the Banū Ḍubayʿa b. Zayd (a clan of al-Aws), born about 35/655; he spent his life mainly in the refined society of Medina. The noble-born inhabitants of Medina had grown rich during the first conquests, acquired great wealth by the sale of historical buildings and gardens in the town and were, in addition, subsidized by the caliphs. They were, however, not allowed to take part in government and in political life and thus lived in a sort of political exile. Affluence and the exclusion of political aspirations exercised an influence also on the social life of Medina, which was dominated by worldly pleasures. In this milieu arose the urban poetry of love, of which ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, al-ʿArdjī, and al-Aḥwaṣ were the main representatives.

The first personal relations of al-Aḥwaṣ were with al-Walīd, whose guest he was on various occasions. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, when he was governor of Medina, had him whipped for an amorous adventure (*Aghānī*[1], vi, 53-4). During the last years of al-Walīd's reign began his quarrel with Ibn Ḥazm, who was first *ḳāḍī* (94/713), and then governor (96/715) of Medina. Al-Aḥwaṣ slandered him in the presence of the caliph and also attacked him in his verses. This was aggravated by other political and moral offences, such as his love-affairs, his mentioning of noble ladies (e.g. Sukayna bint al-Ḥusayn) in his poems, his conflict with the Islamic aristocracy, the suspicion of paederasty, immoral utterances, and perhaps also the circumstance that he was the member of a family which had taken an active part in the rising in Medina. On the instigation of the governing circles and by order of the caliph Sulaymān he was whipped, put in the pillory, and exiled to the island of Dahlak in the Red Sea (*Aghānī*[1], iv, 48, [3]iv, 246; [1]iv, 43, [3]iv, 233; [1]iv, 45, [3]iv, 239). He remained there during the reigns of Sulaymān and ʿUmar II, i.e. for four or five years, although the Anṣār, whose mouth-piece he was, interceded on his behalf. Yazīd II released him and conferred on him rich gifts; al-Aḥwaṣ became his boon-companion and supported his political aims by a satire against the Muhallabids. Nothing more is known of al-Aḥwaṣ after his relations with Yazīd; he died after an illness in 110/728-9.

The judgements about al-Aḥwaṣ's character are negative: he had neither *muruwwa* nor *dīn* (*Aghānī*[1], iv, 43, [3]iv, 233). He was, however, highly appreciated as a poet. He excelled chiefly in love poetry, *fakhr*, *madḥ* and *hidjāʾ*. He is praised for the ease of his diction, good sense, beautiful and agreeable expressions, and the well-ordered structure of his poems. He is, however, less original than ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa; this is shown in his preference for the old themes of the *ḳaṣīda* and the old metres. His language is influenced by the dialect of Medina (cf. K. Petráček, in *ArOr*, 1954, 460-6).

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[1], iv, 40-7, [3]iv, 224-68 and *Tables*, s.v. al-Aḥwaṣ; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 329-32; *Khizāna*, i, 232-4; Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1925, 334-45; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 313. Verses by him in Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*; idem, *Muʿdjam*; *LA*; *TA*; Ibn Dāʾūd al-Iṣfahānī, *Zahra*. Studies by Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgesch.*, ii, 232-40; Brockelmann, I, 44; Rescher, *Abriss der ar. Lit.*, i, 167-8; Pizzi, *Lett. ar.*, 115; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Qotaiba, Introduction au livre de la poésie et des poètes*, 64-7; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-Arbaʿāʾ*, ii, Cairo 1926, 93-104; K. Petráček, *Al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī, příspěvky k poznání života a díla*, thesis, Prague 1951 (to appear in *ArOr*). (K. PETRÁČEK)

AL-**AHWĀZ** (or AHWĀZ), a town, is situated (31°19′ N, 48°46′ E) on the Kārūn river at the point on the Khūzistān plain where it cuts through a low sandstone ridge; this ridge causes rapids which impede navigation and necessitate the trans-shipment of goods from vessels on the lower river to those on the upper or *vice versa*. Attempts have been made to identify Ahwāz with the town of Aginis mentioned by Strabo, but it is more likely that it stands on the site of Tareiana where, in Achaemenian times, the royal road connecting Susa with Persepolis and Pasargadae crossed the river by a bridge of boats. Nearchus anchored his fleet just below this bridge after his memorable voyage up the Persian Gulf. (Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s. vv. Aginis and Tareiana.)

Tareiana was rebuilt by the Sāsānian king Ardashīr I, who renamed it Hormuzd Ardashīr and began the construction of the great dam across the rapids. Under him and his successors the town prospered greatly and became capital of the province of Susiana in place of Susa. (Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber zur zeit d. Sasaniden*, 13, 19; I. Guidi, in *ZDMG*, 1889, 410.)

When the Muslim Arabs conquered Susiana (Khūzistān) and took Hormuzd Ardashīr, they renamed the town Sūḳ al-Ahwāz, meaning "the market of the Hūzī" (Ahwāz is the Arabic plural of Hūzī, i.e., Khūzī or Khūdjī, in Syriac Hūzāyē, a warlike tribe which has been identified with the Οὔξιοι of the classical writers; hence also Khūzistān [*q.v.*]).

Ahwāz continued to prosper under the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid Caliphates. It was the centre of extensive sugar plantation [cf. SUKKAR], but the serious Zandj rebellion caused a decline towards the close of the 3rd/19th century. A recovery was subsequently made, but the collapse of the great dam some five and a half centuries later brought about the virtual ruin of the town and it ceased in consequence to be the provincial capital. At the beginning of the present century it had about 2000 inhabitants, but the discovery of the important oilfields in Khūzistān restored its fortunes to such an extent that it again became the capital of Khūzistān in 1926. The town has also benefited greatly from the opening of the Trans-Persian railway; the line crosses the Kārūn by a fine bridge which has for its foundations the remains of the great dam. Further downstream is an imposing road bridge. In 1948 the population of Ahwāz exceeded 100,000. [See also KHŪZISTĀN, for the history of the province.]

Bibliography: F. Wüstenfeld, in *ZDMG*, 1864, 424 ff.; Le Strange, 233 ff.; Schwarz, *Iran*, 315-24; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 219-30; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*; ii (*Etudes géographiques*), 275 ff.; A. Kasrawī, *Taʾrīkh-i Pan-Ṣad Sāla-yi Khūzistān*. (L. LOCKHART)

AI... [for words beginning with AI, see under AY].

ʿĀʾILA (A), "family". From the root ʿWL or ʿYL, this word is not found in the Ḳurʾān except (ix, 28) as a variant reading for *ʿayla* "poverty", but a marginal gloss in the *Ḳāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (2nd ed., iv, 24) and a *ḥadīth* quoted by al-Ghazālī attest the meaning "family". The modern neo-classic language uses it freely, perhaps influenced by the Ottoman civil code (*Madjalla*), for example *ḥuḳūḳ-i ʿāʾile ḳarār-nāmesi*, "Ottoman family law", (*J. O.*

Ottoman, 14 Muḥarram 1336), but the polished style to-day prefers *usra*.

Sociological theories. The collective work of the Arab genealogists is based implicitly on the assumption that the tribe is a family on a larger scale. Robertson Smith has made a just appreciation of this over-simplified conception, which is ostensibly based on common sense, and, more recently, Bichr Farès (*L'Honneur chez les Arabes*, Paris 1932, 49-50) has recognized "that it appears impossible to study the social morphology of the ancient Arabs". This picture corresponds to that given by the nomads regarding their social structure. But does it correspond to reality? The existence of ancestor-worship and of the cult of the dead among the Semites, disputed by Renan, has been proved by A. Lods as regards biblical antiquity, and by I. Goldziher as regards the Arab world. The cult of the dead concerns the family because the natural ministers of such a cult are recruited from within the family, and because it implies a posterity for its own perpetuation. It is not impossible even that this cult may have played some part in the formation of the family, and especially in establishing it as a religious unit, endued with social functions. Easily-recognizable traces of the cult of the dead, to which Islam has been opposed since its inception, persist even to the present day, with unmistakable signs of propitiatory rites. The need, still felt to be imperative, for descent in the male line could be a final relic of this cult. On the other hand, to liken saint-worship and the veneration of holy places to ancestor-worship is to invite disagreement. The inter-connexion between divine and human genealogies has been amply demonstrated by Dhorme (*La Religion des Hébreux nomades*, Brussels 1937, Ch. xviii). It confirms the identification of legal relationships involving protection or alliance, with kinship, an idea which still exists among the nomads, and which is typical of the patriarchal system.

The basic social unit among the Semites was the clan (Hebrew *mishpaḥa*, Arabic *ḥayy* [*q.v.*]). The totemistic theory of an exogamous organization between maternal clans has been brilliantly developed by Robertson Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885). In his review of this work, Nöldeke (*ZDMG*, 1886, 148-87) disputes the importance of the naming of clans after animals "which occurs, relatively speaking, much rarer than the exposé of the author would imply". But, in addition to the linguistic arguments based on the words indicating the clan by allusion to a uterine relationship, and on two parallel series of names of kinship, agnate and cognate, all the facts so far advanced hardly seem to provide a better explanation. Marriage customs of a matriarchal character seem to have persisted relatively late in the Peninsula. The lack of a prohibition of incest in the paternal line is also adduced as evidence by R. Smith (ibid., 163), but Wellhausen (*Die Ehe bei den Arabern, Nachr. von d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. u. d. Georg-August Univ. zu Göttingen*, 1893, 431-82) is of the opinion (441) that this has not been sufficiently proved. Even if one admits the existence of a totemistic period during remote antiquity, the patriarchal régime is firmly established from the dawn of the historical era, and the notable survivals of earlier practices pose a difficult problem. According to Gertrude H. Stern (*Marriage in Early Islam*, London 1939), certain marriage alliances of a political nature, contracted by the Prophet with the tribes, were of a different character from the others, and the women continued to reside amongst their own clan (appendix A, 151-7). In fact it is possible to find, up to the contemporary epoch, evidence of this type attested in Assyrian legislation. It is, however, indisputable that the family regime has become patriarchal.

The family in Islam. Islam did not create the practices of the social milieu in which it appeared, and to begin with it concerned itself only with improving the moral standards governing these practices. In the second period, at Medina, the Prophet, now head of the State, is led to dispense justice and to create, in progressive stages, a system of rules, called into being by judgements in individual cases, with the force of statutory law. The work by G. H. Stern quoted above shows that he followed a plan of reform, by unifying the chaotic practices of pagan Arabia. This unification could not have been completed, as is clear from monographs on present day customs. Elements borrowed from conquered peoples have been incorporated in the original Arabic background. But if the lack of unity displays itself in a marked discrepancy between fact and theory, the overall picture nevertheless reflects the type of patriarchal family which has maintained its position with remarkable stability throughout the Near East, and which is already depicted in the ancient Hittite, Babylonian, Assyrian and Sumerian systems of law. In its most primitive forms, the authority of the head of the family is entirely unrestricted; it becomes weaker among the settled populations of the great cities. This patriarchal authority is the origin of the laws on divorce, polygamy etc. The veil (*ḥidjāb* [*q.v.*]), which goes back to remote antiquity, is not strictly relevant to the subject of family institutions, although it is in keeping with their patriarchal character. In short, the Muslim family recalls in certain respects though with some notable points of difference that portrayed in European literature in the heyday of the Middle Ages. See also ḤARĪM, MARʾA, NIKĀḤ, ṬALĀḲ.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned above, the following works on Semitic antiquity should be consulted: Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, London 1889 (re-ed. S. A. Cook, 1927); I. Goldziher, *Le Culte des ancêtres et le culte des morts chez les Arabes*, in *RHR*, 1884, 332-59; A. Lods, *La croyance à la vie future . . .*, and especially *Le Culte des morts dans l'antiquité hébraïque*, Paris 1906; for the modern period, see H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947 (French trans. Paris 1949); R. Paret, *Zur Frauenfrage in der arabische-islamischen Welt*, Stuttgart 1934; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1895; Kâzem Daghestâni, *Étude sociologique sur la famille musulmane contemporaine en Syrie*, Paris n. d.; for a full bibliography, see J. Lecerf, *Note sur la famille dans le monde arabe et islamique*, *Arabica*, 1956/I. (J. LECERF)

ĀʾĪN, Persian word meaning "law, rite, institution." Among the works translated from Pahlawī into Arabic by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the *Fihrist*, 118, mentions an *Āʾīn-nāma* (sometimes rendered in Arabic as *Kitāb al-Rusūm*). This work which, like the *Khudāy-nāma*, was of a quasi-official character, presumably contained an account of the organisation of the Sāsānid state, of the privileges and prerogatives of the classes, and of court life and etiquette (Christensen calls it "le vieil almanach royal"), much of its contents being of a sententious and didactic nature. Fragments

of the *Āʾīn-nāma*, translated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, are preserved in the *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* of Ibn Ḳutayba, and the most important of these, relating to military tactics, archery and polo, have been studied by Inostranzev. It is possible that, co-existent with the large official *Āʾīn-nāma*, there were lesser works of a specialized nature dealing with each branch of court education. This belief arises from other titles quoted in the *Fihrist*, namely, *Āʾīn al-Ramy* and *Āʾīn al-Ḍarb biʾl-Ṣawālidja*, although these could be considered merely as portions of or extracts from the larger work. The Sāsānid *Āʾīn-nāma* is also mentioned by al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 104-6); (pseudo?)-Djāḥiẓ, in the *Kitāb al-Tādj fī Akhlāḳ al-Mulūk*, which has very full materials concerning the manners and etiquette of the Sāsānids, also refers to, but does not quote directly, an *Āʾīn al-Furs*. The title of *Āʾīn* was used later in other works on Persian Islamic history and institutions, such as the *Āʾīn-i Akbari*, being that part of the *Akbar-nāma* of Abuʾl Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*] (16th century) which is devoted to the institutions of Akbar's court.

Bibliography: Inostranzev, *Sasanidskie Etiudī*, St. Petersburg, 1909, 25-80; F. Gabrieli, *L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, in RSO, 1932, especially 213-5.

(F. Gabrieli)

AÏR (ayr), also called Asben, mountainous district of the Sahara, falling between lat. 17°-21° N., and long. 7°-9° E. It comprises three distinct regions: 1) the northern Aïr, consisting wholly of plateau and plain; 2) the central Aïr, which is a homogeneous unit, has a rugged landscape, with peaks rising to 5,000 ft.; 3) the southern Aïr, consisting of rocky plateaus sloping towards the Sudan. The rainfall, more abundant in the Aïr than in the rest of the Sahara (rainy season from June to August) feeds underground basins which support a fairly rich vegetation (gum trees); agriculture is, however, on a small scale, and the country owes its important place in the economic life of the Sahara primarily to its position on caravan routes (*azalay*). It possesses strata of slate, and hot springs; primitive handicrafts are still carried on.

The population of the Aïr is composed of two main elements: negroid (Hausa) and Berber—the Kel Aïr who form one of the seven principal Tuareg groups; they comprise the Kel Geres and the Kel Ui (Ewey), the latter having intermarried to a considerable extent with the Hausa. According to the censuses of 1933-8, the Kel Aïr number 27,765. They are a semi-settled people, and live in villages or in primitive encampments. The most important town is Agades. Founded in the 15th century, it became after 1515 the capital of the sultanate of the Kel Ui who, in the Aï, had just supplanted the Kel Geres. Agades is now the chief town of a region (Niger Territory) of which the Aïr is part.

The whole population is Muslim (the Kel Geres since the 9th/15th century), and religious activity is relatively keen, owing to the presence of religious brotherhoods with considerable numbers of adherents.

Bibliography: H. Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Central Africa*, Gotha 1857 (French trans., Paris 1860); E. de Bary, in *Zeitsch. d. geog. Gesellsch.*, 1880 (French trans. by Schirmer, *Journal de Voyage*, Paris 1898); Schirmer, *On the ethnography of Aïr*, *Scott. geogr. Mag.*, 1899, 538-40; E. Foureau, *D'Alger au Congo par le Tchad*, Paris 1902; idem, *Documents scientifiques de la Mission saharienne*, Paris 1905; E. F. Gautier, *Le Sahara*, Paris 1928; A. Buchanan, *Exploration of Aïr out of the world North of Nigeria*, London 1921; F. R. Rodd, *People of the veil*, London 1926; Y. Urvoy, *Histoire des populations du Soudan central*, Paris 1936; L. Chopard et A. Villiers, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Aïr*, Mémoire de l'*I.F.A.N.*, no. 10, Paris 1950, particularly *Ethnologie des Touarag de l'Aïr*, by F. Nicolas and H. Lhote, ibid. 459-533; Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944 (with a bibliography); L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*[4], Paris 1955, 331.

(G. Yver-R. Capot-Rey)

ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR, the third and favourite wife of the Prophet, was born at Mecca about 614. Her mother, Umm Rūmān, came from the tribe of Kināna. Muḥammad gave ʿĀʾisha the *kunya* Umm ʿAbd Allāh, after the name of her nephew ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

The usual story of her marriage to Muḥammad is that the initiative came from Khawla bint Ḥakīm, wife of ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, who possibly helped Muḥammad in domestic matters. Some time after the death of Khadīdja, Khawla suggested to Muḥammad that he should marry either ʿĀʾisha, the six-year old daughter of his chief follower, or Sawda bint Zamʿa, a widow of about 30, who had gone as a Muslim to Abyssinia and whose husband had died there. Muḥammad is said to have asked her to arrange for him to marry both. It had already been agreed that ʿĀʾisha should marry Djubayr b. Muṭʿim, whose father, though still pagan, was friendly to the Muslims. By common consent, however, this agreement was set aside, and ʿĀʾisha was betrothed to Muḥammad. Since Muḥammad had a political aim in nearly all his marriages, he must have seen in this one a means of strengthening the ties between himself and Abū Bakr, his chief follower. The marriage was not consummated until some months after the *hidjra* (in Shawwāl 1 or 2/April 623 or 624). ʿĀʾisha went to live in an apartment in Muḥammad's house, later the mosque of Medina. She cannot have been more than ten years old at the time, and took her toys to her new home. Muḥammad sometimes joined in her games with them. She seems to have possessed great beauty, both as child and as young woman, and to have remained Muḥammad's favourite even after he had married several other beautiful women. Her position as principal wife, however, may partly depend on her father's position in the community.

A serious crisis developed out of an incident on the return from the expedition against Banu 'l-Muṣṭaliḳ in 5/627, on which ʿĀʾisha accompanied Muḥammad. At the last halt before Medina ʿĀʾisha, who had gone a little way from the camp to satisfy a natural need, dropped a necklace and spent some time searching for it. She was so light in weight that the men who loaded her litter on the camel had not noticed her absence from it, and the whole caravan had moved off before she returned to the camp. She sat down to wait, and was eventually found by a handsome young man, Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal al-Sulamī, who escorted her back to Medina. In the circumstances of the time, especially in view of the imposition of the *ḥidjāb* on Muḥammad's wives, this was highly improper. Gossip was magnified, however, not merely by personal enemies of ʿĀʾisha and her family, but by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, the leader of the Munāfiḳūn or Hypocrites. Already during the expedition he had given expression to his dissatisfaction with the growing power and prestige of Muḥammad. It became clear at length that there was no solid evidence against ʿĀʾisha, and Muḥammad received a revelation

(Ḳurʾān, xxiv, 11 ff.) implying her innocence and rebuking those who had gossiped. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy was publicly humiliated.

A number of stories about ʿĀʾisha have been preserved from the later years of Muḥammad's life. They depict Muḥammad as having genuine affection for ʿĀʾisha, and ʿĀʾisha as being devoted to him. They do not, however, justify the view (cf. H. Lammens, *Le Triumvirat Abou Bakr* etc., *MFOB*, iv) that she engaged in political intrigue and influenced Muḥammad's decisions. Nevertheless, there seem to have been two factions among Muḥammad's wives, one led by ʿĀʾisha and Ḥafṣa, the daughter of ʿUmar, which supported the policy of their fathers, and another led by Umm Salama of the Meccan clan of Makhzūm; but their rivalry probably had little political effect. When Muḥammad realized that death was near, he asked his wives to agree that he should go to ʿĀʾisha's chamber and remain there. She nursed him for the few days of his illness, and his grave was made in the floor of her chamber. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were also buried there.

As Muḥammad's power increased, his wives had a more comfortable life and a higher status in the community, including the title "mothers of the believers" (cf. Ḳurʾān, xxxiii, 6); but they were forbidden to remarry (ibid. v, 53). ʿĀʾisha was thus left a childless widow about the age of 18. For two years her father was caliph, and then for ten ʿUmar, with whom she was on good terms, but she does not seem to have played any part in public affairs. As opposition grew against ʿUthmān, the third caliph, however, ʿĀʾisha came to have a leading part in it, though she was not in agreement either with the group of insurgents responsible for ʿUthmān's assassination nor with the party of ʿAlī. She openly declared her opposition to the killing of ʿUthmān, but left Medina for Mecca to take part in the pilgrimage. Many motives have been alleged for this flight by ʿĀʾisha at a critical juncture. Perhaps the chief one was to help in organizing in Mecca a party of likeminded persons.

ʿUthmān was assassinated in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 35/June 656. About four months later ʿĀʾisha left Mecca for Baṣra along with about 1,000 men of Ḳuraysh, professing to be taking vengeance for ʿUthmān. Shortly before this she had been joined by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. The three were now leaders of a movement in opposition to ʿAlī. They obtained control of Baṣra, and with many of the Muslims of that city marched to the outskirts to meet ʿAlī who had meantime left Medina for Kūfa, and was advancing against them. The battle (in Djumādā II 35/December 656) came to be known as the Battle of the Camel, since the fiercest struggle was round the camel bearing ʿĀʾisha's litter. ʿAlī was victorious, and the opposing army was scattered. ʿĀʾisha herself was treated with respect, but Talḥa and al-Zubayr lost their lives.

After this failure ʿĀʾisha lived quietly in Medina for over twenty years. She took no further active part in politics, but became reconciled to ʿAlī and did not oppose Muʿāwiya. Her approval and disapproval, however, still seem to have counted for something. She died in Ramaḍān 58/July 678. In later times she was depicted as a model of piety, but it is difficult to know what is the basis of fact for this view.

It is said that 1210 traditions were related on her authority, but barely 300 of these were retained by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. She is said to have had a codex of the Ḳurʾān, and a few readings are given on her authority (cf. A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Qurʾān*, Leiden 1937, 231-3). She was noted for her knowledge of poetry and ability to quote it, and also for her eloquence; and she was versed in Arab history and other subjects.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; idem, *Usd al-Ghāba*, v, 501-4; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 39-56; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 691 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv; Nawawī (Wüstenfeld), 848 ff.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vi, 29-282; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muḥammads*, passim; N. Abbott, *Aishah the Beloved of Mohammed*, Chicago, 1942.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

ʿĀʾISHA BINT ṬALḤA, one of the most famous of Arab women. Daughter of a Companion of the Prophet, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Taymī [*q.v.*], who had already won great renown, grand-daughter of Abū Bakr through her mother Umm Kulthūm, and niece of ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet's favourite wife, she combined nobility of birth with an imperious spirit and a rare beauty, which she was anxious should not go unnoticed. By nature a coquette, she courted the praises of the *ghazal* poets (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, i, 80; Kuthayyir ʿAzza, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 322; ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, *Aghānī*, x, 60), and knew how to use to the best advantage the emotions which she inspired. She even occasioned the dismissal of the Governor of Mecca, al-Ḥārith b. Khālid al-Makhzūmī, who had agreed to postpone the hour of prayer in order to allow her to complete her *ṭawāf* (*Aghānī*, iii, 100, 103, 113; see Djāḥiẓ, *Bighal*, (ed. Pellat, in course of preparation) § 20, and *Aghānī*, x, 60, for an anecdote concerning the brilliant retinue which she had obtained from the caliph for the purposes of her pilgrimage). She is reckoned as one of the *mutazawwidjāt*, i.e. women who have had several husbands; she married successively her cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, and after the latter's death, ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar al-Taymī. The date of her death is not known.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 102-103; Ibn Saʿd *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii, 342; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi, 16, 204-5, 222; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, Ḥaydarābād, 1361/1942, 66, 100, 442; *Aghānī*, Tables; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 850; A. von Kremer, *Culturgesch. des Orients unter den Chalifen*, I, 29, II, 99. (Ch. Pellat)

ʿĀʾISHA BINT YŪSUF [see al-Bāʿūnī].

ʿĀʾISHA al-MANNŪBIYYA, Tunisian saint of the 7th/13th century whose name was ʿĀʾisha bint ʿImrān b. al-Ḥādjdj Sulaymān. The *nisba* by which she became known derives from her native village of Mannūba (La Manouba), situated 5 m. W. of Tunis. She is also commonly known, especially at Tunis, by the reverential title of *al-Sayyida*. The contemporary historians of the Ḥafṣid dynasty, under which she lived, maintain complete silence about her, but we possess a small anthology of her *manāḳib* written, in a style strongly influenced by the colloquial, by an anonymous semiliterate author; the latter appears to have made use of another anthology, composed during the saint's lifetime or soon after her death by an *imām* of the mosque at Mannūba. While still young, ʿĀʾisha gave evidence of her future vocation by a number of *karāmāt*. When she reached a marriageable age, her mystical ideal caused her to refuse the cousin whom her parents wished her to marry and to flee to Tunis, where she took refuge in a *ḳaysariyya* (a kind of caravanserai) situated outside the old Bāb al-Fallāḳ (S.E. of the

town, later known as Bāb al-Gurdjānī). There she passed her life, enjoying, especially among the lower classes, a great reputation for saintliness, although certain doctors of law showed hostility towards her. Oral tradition relates that she received mystical teaching from the celebrated ṣūfī Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, who was at Tunis during her lifetime, but neither the *manāḳib* of the saint herself, nor those of the disciples of Abu'l Ḥasan, make any reference to this. She died at an advanced age, 21 Radjab 655/20 April 1257, or 16 Shawwāl 653/19 Nov. 1255. She was buried in the cemetery which, in her time, was known as Maḳbarat al-Sharaf, and at the beginning of this century, a fervent devotee believed he had discovered her tomb. He erected there a wooden mausoleum which soon became a place of pilgrimage for the women of Tunis. However, the locality where ʿĀʾisha lived continues to attract believers, especially women, and to-day bears the name of al-Mannūbiyya. Around the old *ḳaysariyya* has grown up in the course of centuries a small group of buildings comprising an oratory, rooms for visitors, private dwelling-houses, and even a few shops. The visit (*miʿād*) to the sanctuary is performed by men on Thursdays, by women on Mondays. The house in the village of al-Mannūba where the saint was born has similarly been made the object of special veneration. During the reign of the Ḥusaynī Bey Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ (1859-82), it was converted into a huge building containing a *zāwiya*, private apartments, and a large covered courtyard where the religious fraternities held their meetings. To-day, the decline in saint-worship has meant the abandonment of the buildings at al-Mannūba. Much religious poetry in dialectal Arabic has been composed in honour of al-Sayyida Lallā ʿĀʾisha al Mannūbiyya; Sonneck (*Chants arabes du Maghreb*, i, 5-7, ii, 36-9) has given examples of this verse. The cognomens al-Mannūbiyya and al-Sayyida are frequently given to girls, especially in Tunis, and even a masculine cognomen, al-Mannūbī, has been formed from the *nisba* of the Saint.

Bibliography: Anon., *Manāḳib al-Sayyida ʿĀʾisha al-Mannūbiyya, Tunis* 1344/1925, 44 pp. (several Mss. of this work exist in Tunis itself); Muḥammad al-Bādjī al-Masʿūdī, *al-Khulāṣa al-Naḳiyya fi Umarā Ifriḳiya*, Tunis 1323/1905, 64; Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Shahīrāt al-Tūnusiyyāt*, Tunis 1353/1934, 77-8; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 329. (H. H. ABDUL-WAHAB)

AÏSSAOUA [see ʿĪSĀWA].

AJARAFE [see AL-SHARAF].

AḲ DENIZ [see BAḤR AL-RŪM].

AḲ ḤIṢĀR (T. "white castle"), name of several towns.

1. The best known is Aḳ Ḥiṣār in Western Anatolia, formerly in the *wilāyet* of Aydln, since 1921 in that of Manisa, situated in a plain near the left bank of the river Gördük (a sub-tributary of the Gediz), 115 m. above sea level. Known as Thyatira (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.) in antiquity and Byzantine times, it owes its Turkish name to the fortress on a neighbouring hill. Annexed by the Ottomans in 784/1382, it was lost again during the disorders which followed Tīmūr's invasion, and recaptured from the rebel Djunayd [*q.v.*] by Khalīl Yakhshī Beg in 829/1425-6 (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīkh*). Before 1914 Aḳ Ḥiṣār had 12,000 inhabitants, of whom three-quarters were Muslims; in 1935 they numbered 21,000. The *ḳaḍā* of Aḳ Ḥiṣār in the *wilāyet* of Manisa had, according to Cuinet (*Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 548 f.), 31,746 inhabitants; in 1935 it had 91,000.

2. Aḳ Ḥiṣār in the Marmara district, now called Pamuk-ova, in the *ḳaḍā* of Geyve, *wilāyet* of Izmid (Kodja-eli), situated on the left bank of the Ṣaḳarya river, and a station on the Anatolian railway. It was captured by the Ottomans in 708/1308-9. The fortress, now deserted, commands a vast plain. The remains of many ancient columns and other buildings in the town and its neighbourhood bear witness to its earlier prosperity, but its ancient name is unknown. In 1935 it had 1,668 inhabitants, and its *nāḥiye* 9,324.

3. Aḳ Ḥiṣār was formerly also the name of a small locality in Bosnia west of Sarajevo, at the outlet of the Prusekota in the Semeskilitza; its modern name is Polnyi (i.e. Lower) Wakuf. It was conquered by Muṣṭafā Pasha in 907/1501-2 (J. von Hammer, *Rumili und Bosna*, 166; Ch. Perturier, *La Bosnie*, Paris 1822, 222). (K. SÜSSHEIM*)

4. Town in Northern Albania, called also in Turkish Aḳče Ḥiṣār, and in Albanian Krujë, Kroya, "well-spring", and formerly in the *sandjak* of Shkodra. Mentioned by the name of Kroas in the chronicle of Acropolites (13th cent.), it was in 1343 a Venetian possession and in 1395 passed into the hands of Constantine Castriota. It became famous as the residence of Scanderbeg (Iskender Beg [*q.v.*]), and withstood vigorous sieges in 1450, 1466, and 1468, before it was finally taken by Muḥammad II in 883/14-15 July 1478. Later on it was the centre of the Bektāshī [*q.v.*] order of darwīshes in Albania. One of the graves of Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ Dede [q.v.] is shown in Kroya and the number of graves of Bektashī saints around the town is considerable. Special reverence is paid to the tombs of Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza Baba and Baba ʿAlī (with a *tekke*). The citadel was demolished in 1248/1832 by order of Rashīd Pasha. In the Albanian state the town became the centre of a sub-prefecture, and had in 1938 4,500 inhabitants, mostly Muslims.

Bibliography: Ippen, *Skutari*. 71 f.; *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, vii, 60; A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie*, Paris 1901, 215 ff.; F. W. Hasluck, in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1915. 121 f.; F. Babinger, in *MSOS*, 1930, 149; idem, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, index, s.v. Kruje. — For the date of the capture of the city see especially the contemporary chronicler Benedetto Dei (in *Della decima e delle altre gravezze, della moneta, e della mercatura de' Fiorentini*, ii, Lisbon-Lucca 1765, 270 f.). (K. SÜSSHEIM-F. BABINGER)

AḲ ḤIṢĀRĪ, nisba of several authors originating from one of the places called Aḳ Ḥiṣār. To Aḳ Ḥiṣār in Aydln belong:

(a) Ilyās b. ʿĪsā, commonly called, IBN ʿĪSĀ B. MADJD-AL-DĪN, author of a Turkish book of prophecies (*Kashf-i Rumūz-i Kunūz*) which, composed in 965/1557-8 when the Ottomans had reached the summit of their power, foretold the continuation of their empire until the end of the world and, from the numerical value of the letters of proper names, predicted the fate of the nation until the year 2035 A.H. (Cf. Pertsch, *Cat. Berlin*, No. 45, 9; Krafft, *Cat. Vienna Acad.*, No. 301; Flügel, *Cat. Vienna*, No. 1502). A few other works of his in prose and in verse are mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), iii, 480, iv, 155, 412, 440 and by Meḥmed Ṭāhir (see bibliography). He died in 967/1559-60.

Bibliography: Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿUthmānlī Muʾallifleri*, i, 18.

(b) MUḤAMMAD B. BADR AL-DĪN, Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-Munshi', also called al-Ṣārūkhānī, al-Rūmī, or al-Mufassir. It was at his suggestion that Sūdī wrote his commentary on Ḥāfiẓ. His main work is a popular commentary on the Ḳur'ān with the title *Nazīl al-Tanzīl* (or *Tanzīl al-Nazīl*), begun in Aḳ Ḥiṣār in 981/1574 and completed in 999/1590. The author dedicated it to Sultan Murād III. He became *Shaykh al-Ḥaram* in Medina in 982/1574, was later in Damascus, where in 998/1589-90 he wrote an Arabic commentary on the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī (Ahlwardt, *Cat. Berlin*, No. 7798), and died in Mecca towards the end of the year 1000/1592 (sic, according to the oldest sources).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 439, S II, 651; ʿAṭā'ī, *Ḥadā'iḳ al-Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, 321; Naʿīmā, *Ta'rīkh*, 40; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), ii, 380, iv, 528, vi, 339; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, iii, 400; Meḥmed Ṭāhir, ii, 20.

(c) NAṢŪḤ, called NAWĀLĪ, became in 990/1582 tutor to the future Sultan Muḥammad III, when the young prince was governor of Maghnisa. For him he wrote a *Faraḥ-nāme* on the duties of a ruler (Rieu, *Cat. Br. Mus.*, 117); this work claims to be the Turkish version of the *Kitāb al-Ri'āsa wa'l-Siyāsa*, allegedly written by Aristotle for Alexander the Great (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, (Flügel), iv, 411, v, 89). He also translated the *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsini*. To Nawālī is further attributed one of the Turkish translations of al-Ghazzālī's *Kīmiyā' al-Saʿāda*, but this is perhaps a confusion with the work of Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Wānī (d. 1000/1591). Naṣūḥ died in 1003/1594-5.

Bibliography: ʿAṭā'ī, 390; Meḥmed Ṭāhir, ii, 43.

To Aḳ Ḥiṣār in Bosnia belong:

(d) ḤASAN, called KAFĪ. He was born in 951/1544 and died in 1025/1616, having been *ḳāḍī* in his native town for more than twenty years. His tomb became a place of pilgrimage. He took part in the campaign of Egri (Erlau) in Hungary in 1004/1595, and during the campaign composed in Arabic a treatise on good government and on the necessity of reforms in the Ottoman administration, entitled *Uṣūl al-Ḥikam fī Niẓām al-ʿĀlam*. In the following year 1005/1597 he translated it himself into Turkish, at the request of high officials. He further wrote a popular compendium of theology, directed against the Ṣūfīs and other innovators, called *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt fī Uṣūl al-Iʿtiḳādāt* (completed in 1014/1605), to which he himself wrote a commentary called *Azhār al-Rawḍāt* (completed in 1015/1606), a commentary on the *ʿaḳīda* of al-Ṭaḥāwī entitled *Nūr al-Yaḳīn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, and a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ḳudūrī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 443, S II, 659; Babinger, 144; ʿAṭā'ī, 304; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), index, s.v.; Ewliyā' Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, v, 445 ff.; Meḥmed Ṭāhir, i, 277. For printed editions and French, German, and Hungarian translations of the treatise on government, see Babinger, loc. cit.

(e) Ḥādjdjī NASĪM-OGHLU Aḥmad b. Ḥasan described in 1186/1772-3, whilst prisoner in Germany, the campaign and the subsequent events in Bosnia of 1148-1156/1735-1744 (cf. Babinger, 276, n. 1).

(K. SÜSSHEIM-J. SCHACHT)

AḲ KIRMĀN (KERMĀN), "White City" (or "White Emporium"), in Rumenian Cetatea Albă, in Russian Belgorod, town on the western bank of the Dniester estuary. In antiquity it was called Tyras. According to Constantine Porphyrogenetus (ed. and transl. Moravcsik-Jenkins, 168, 62), the fortress was called "the White Castle". The anonymous "Toparcha Gothicus" (in B. Hase's ed. of Leo Diaconus, 496 ff.), however, calls it Maurokastron, "Black Fortress". Subject to the Mongols after 1241, the town was frequently visited by Genoese traders, who called it Maurocastrum (Malvocastrum, Moncastrum), but also Album Castrum. Abu 'l-Fidā', following Ibn Saʿīd, calls it Aḳča Kirmān; ʿĀlī (*Künh ül-Akhbār*, iv, 218) referring to Abu 'l-Fidā', writes : "Aḳča Kirmān is known at present as Aḳ Kirmān". In the 14th century Maurocastro-Moncastro was a Genoese fortress, under the administration of the Officium Gazariae (= Khazaria), which comprised the Genoese colonies on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The Genoese fortress was restored by the Moldavians and the Turks, and still exists. Towards the end of the 14th century the town was occupied by the ruler of the newly established state of Moldavia (in Turkish Boghdān [*q.v.*]), and remained under Moldavian domination until 1484. The fortress was attacked by an Ottoman fleet in 1420, and another attack was made in 1454. In 1455 the Voivoda Petru III recognized Ottoman sovereignty over Moldavia; the sultan Muḥammad II, by a *firmān* dated 5 Radjab 860/9 June 1456, gave the merchants of Cetatea Albă permission to frequent Adrianople, Brusa and Istanbul.

The town was captured by Bāyezīd II on 4 August 1484; the sultan directed the operations in person. (Cf. *Fetiḥ-nāme-yi Ḳara Boghdān*, MS Cairo, *adab turkī*, 131, 103 f; I. Ursu, *Stefan cel Mare*, Bucarest 1925, 202-4; I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite atingătoare de istoria Romănilor*, Bucarest 1895, 43, 58). Most of the inhabitants of the town were deported to Istanbul and Anatolia, and Aḳ Kirmān became a *sandjaḳ* under the jurisdiction of the *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia. It was included in the *eyālet* of Özü [*q.v.*], when this was created in 1593. According to ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* (Istanbul 1280, 12), the *sandjaḳ* contained 914 *tīmārs*. The custom duties of the port were regulated at the same period. The town is described by Ewliyā Čelebi (v, 108 f.) who visited it in May 1658. He mentions the fortress (read *darūn* instead of *birūn*), mosques built by Bāyezīd II, Mengli Girāy Khān, Selīm I, a Wāʿiẓ Djāmiʿi, a *medrese* built by Selīm I, and a *ḥammām* built by Bāyezīd II. He also mentions (vii, 501) the sanctuary of Mayak Baba Sulṭān near the ford of the Dniester. Muḥammad Efendi Aḳ Kirmānī, a well-known Turkish philosopher, was a native of the town (cf. Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Mü'ellifleri* i, 214). In addition to the original inhabitants, Aḳ Kirmān and its district was inhabited by Turks and Crimean and Nogay Tatars; the Tatars were settled there after the attempt of the Voivoda Aron of Moldavia to capture the fortress in 1595.

In 1502 the last chief of the Golden Horde, Shaykh Aḥmad, fled to Aḳ Kirmān, in order to rally his forces. Selīm I made Aḳ Kirmān the base for his operations against his father Bāyezīd II (1 April 1511). The brothers Meḥmed Girāy and Shāhīn Girāy of Crimea in 1610 made the town their basis for raiding the Ukraine; they were, however, ousted by their brother the Khān Djānbey Girāy (cf. I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, iii/i, 176). Between 1618 and 1636, Kantemir, Pasha of Silistria, controlled the region between the Danube and the Dniester and defeated the *kalgay* Ḥusām Girāy, "in the plain of Aḳ Kirmān" (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhlaka*, ii, 187); Murād IV, however, had his head cut off (Uzunçarşılı, 180). Ewliyā Čelebi (vii, 497) describes the battle between the Tatars of Meḥmed Girāy Khān

and those of ʿĀdil Girāy, under the walls of Aḳ Kirmān.

In 1683 the Cossack chief Kunicki advanced as far as Aḳ Kirmān, but was pushed back by the *serdār* Bosnak .Şarl Süleymān Pas̲h̲a (Fîndîḳlîlî Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a, *Şilāḥdār Taʾrīk̲h̲i*, Istanbul 1928, i, 397, ii, 127, 185). The Russian general Igelström captured the town in 1770, but it was returned to the Porte by the treaty of Küčük Ḳaynard̲j̲a (art. 16). The fortress was repaired in 1780 (Topkapî Arşivi, E 10, 416; for other repairs from 1646 onwards, see ibid. E 5880, 6237). In 1789 Potemkin occupied the town again (D̲j̲ewdet, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*², iv, 332), but it was returned to Turkey in the peace of Yassi (1792), after which the fortress was strengthened.

In 1806 the town was captured by the Russian colonel Förster and Prince Kantakuzino; the Tatars left the district and passed to the eastern bank of the Dniester. In the peace of Bucarest (1812), Aḳ Kirmān was transferred to Russia. It was there that the short-lived Convention of Aḳ Kirmān between Russia and Turkey, concerning the Rumanian principalities and Serbia, was signed in 1826. Subsequently the town shared the vicissitudes of Bessarabia.

Bibliographie: N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei şi Cetaţii-Albe*, Bucarest 1899; G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă*, Bucarest 1935; idem, *Contributions à l'histoire de Cetatea-Albă (Akkerman) aux XIII*ᵉ *et XIV*ᵉ *siècles*, Acad. Roumaine, Bull. Sect. Hist., xiii, Bucarest 1927, 25 ff.; B. Spuler, *Gesch. d. gold. Horde*, 408 (commercial relations with K̲h̲ʷārizm and China in the Genoese period); Ferīdūn Bey, *Müns̲h̲eʾāt-i Selāṭīn*, i, 312, 319; Ḥasan Esīrī, MS Millet Kütüphanesi T 803 (cf. Babinger, 267); A. Decei, *Les Fetiḥnāme-i Karaboğdan des XV*ᵉ *et XVI*ᵉ *siècles*, *Actes XII*ᵉ *Congr. Orient.*; O. F. v. Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Walachei, Moldau, Bessarabien etc. in der Mitte des vorigen Jahrh.*, *SBAk Wien*, 1863; *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, by E. de Hurmuzaki, Bucarest 1887 ff. (A. Decei)

AḲ ḲOYUNLU, "those of the White Sheep", federation of Turkmen tribes, which rose in the region of Diyār Bakr in post-Mongol times (in the 14th century) and lasted till c. 908/1502. The name (cf. Chalcocondyles, ch. ix: Λευκοὶ Ἀσπρο-‹προ›βατάντες) is unknown in earlier times. There is some uncertainty about the origin of the name, whether it refers to the breed of sheep, or to some kind of totem; the tumular stones of the Turkmens have often the form of rams, but such a symbol is absent in Uzun Ḥasan's banner, see Uzunçarşılî, pl. 49. The federation consisted of various Og̲h̲uz (Turkmen) tribes (Bayat, Döger, Čepni, etc.) who had apparently arrived with the Sald̲j̲ūḳs but, under the Mongols, led an inconspicuous existence. Among these clans must be particularly distinguished the Bayundur clan, to which belonged the rulers, who, with their immediate followers, must have taken the leadership and organised the federation. The early period of these Turkmens (both Aḳ and Ḳara Ḳoyunlu) is reflected in the Turkish epic poem *Dede Ḳorḳut* (Rossi), Vatican 1952, 46-9. The Bayundur family ("the *amīrs* of Āmid") are first mentioned by the Byzantine chroniclers in 1340. They several times attacked Trebizond, and in 1352 Ḳutlu Beg son of Ṭur ʿAlī married a princess of Trebizond, as later did his son Ḳara Yoluḳ (sometimes: Kara Yülük, "black leech") ʿUt̲h̲mān. This latter was the real founder of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu power. For a long time, as a soldier of fortune, he took service with the local rulers of Erzind̲j̲ān and Sīwās and even with the sultans of Egypt. He succeeded in destroying two rivals: the chief of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, Ḳara Muḥammad (in 791/1389) and Burhān al-Dīn of Sīwās (towards 799/1397). He submitted to Tīmūr and, at his side, took part in the battle of Anḳara (805/1402), for which Tīmūr gave him the whole of Diyār Bakr. However, till his death in 839/1435 he was unable to take a firm stand on the Armenian plateau.

The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu were hampered in their expansion by the rise of the rival federation of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (whose original centres lay north of Lake Wān) especially when the latter's chief Ḳara Yūsuf, after the death of Tīmūr, returned to his principality and even ousted (in 813/1410) his former protectors, the D̲j̲alāyirs.

After a period of struggles between Ḳara ʿUt̲h̲mān's sons, ʿAlī and Ḥamza, the Aḳ Koyunlu came again to the fore with Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*], son of ʿAlī (871-83/1466-78), who failed in his attempts to contain the eastward expansion of the Ottomans, but had brilliant successes in the east (he defeated the last Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, D̲j̲ihāns̲h̲āh, in 872/1467, and the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd, in 873/1468) and extended his dominions to Bag̲h̲dād, Harāt and the Persian Gulf. His son Yaʿḳūb (883-96/1478-90) was, on the whole, a successful ruler, but after his death struggles began between his children and his nephews. Meanwhile, the Ṣafawids were sapping the position of the Sunnite Aḳ Ḳoyunlu by their S̲h̲īʿa propaganda carried on among the Turkmen tribes. In 908/1502, in a pitched battle in S̲h̲arūr (near Nak̲h̲ičewān) S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl defeated Alwand b. Yūsuf b. Uzun Ḥasan. For some years the struggle was continued by Yaʿḳūb's son Murād who had to flee to the west. He accompanied Sultan Selīm during the latter's invasion of Persia in 920/1514 but finally died in the same year near Urfa.

For some time an autonomous Aḳ Ḳoyunlu principality existed in Mārdīn: princes Ḥamza b. ʿUt̲h̲mān, D̲j̲ihāngīr b. ʿAlī and Ḳāsim b. D̲j̲ihāngīr. About 909/1503 the latter was killed by Alwand retreating from S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl.

In its heyday (under Uzun Ḥasan and Yaʿḳūb) the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu power cut a figure in world affairs, and with the transfer of the capital to Tabrīz, Persia was on the way to regain her political entity. The European powers (especially Venice) and the Pope sought alliances with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu against the prevailing Ottomans. Uzun Ḥasan's agrarian census (*ḳānūn-i Ḥasan pādis̲h̲āh*) was maintained for a time both in eastern Turkey and in Persia.

The following is the genealogical tree of the Bayundur rulers:

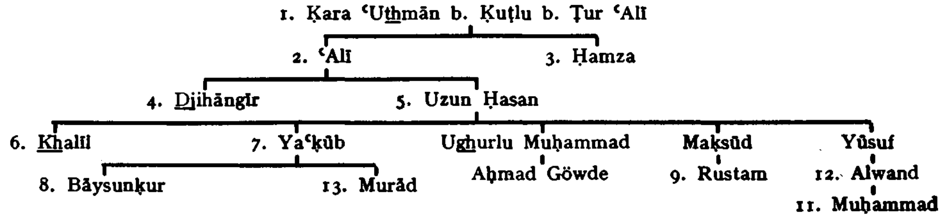

The chronology is as follows. Ḳara ʿUthmān was killed in 839/1435 at the age of eighty. Of his sons who disputed his succession ʿAlī died in 842/1438 and Ḥamza in 848/1444. Djihāngīr ruled in the west 848-74/1444-69. Uzun Ḥasan, b. 828/1424, ruled from 857/1453, overthrew the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu in 872/1467 and died in 882/1478. Yaʿḳūb ruled 883-96/1478-90; Bāysunḳur 896-7/1491-2; Rustam 897-902/1492-7; Aḥmad Göwde 902-3/1397. After Aḥmad Göwde's death the struggle went on (903-7/1497-1502) between Muḥammad, Alwand and Murād. Alwand, defeated by Shāh Ismāʿīl in 907/1502, retreated to Diyār Bakr and died in 910/1504. Murād, defeated by Shāh Ismāʿīl in 908/1503, fled to Baghdād, where he ruled for four and a half years, and then went to Diyār Bakr and Turkey. He died at the age of 25 and with him the dynasty came to an end.

Bibliography: The special history of the beginnings down to Uzun Ḥasan is the *Taʾrīkh-i Diyārbakriyya* by Abū Bakr Tihrānī (being prepared for publication in Ankara by F. Sümer); for the reign of Sultan Yaʿḳūb *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Amīnī* by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān (MSS in Paris and Istanbul—unpublished). Detailed general survey in Ghaffārī, *Djihān-ārā* (with additions in MS Br. Mus. Or 141, fols. 190v-196v) and *Münedjdjim-bashī*, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Akhbār* (in the abridged Turkish translation, iii, 154-67). Numerous facts in historical works and documents in Persian, Turkish, Georgian, Armenian, Italian and Spanish; see bibliography in V. Minorsky, *La Perse entre la Turquie et Venise*, 1933; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*, 1936 (early relations with the Ṣafawīs); I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri*, 1937, 63-9, and index; V. Minorsky, *A soyūrghal of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr (903/1498)*, *BSOS*, 1939, 927-60; idem, *A civil and military review in Fārs in 881/1476*, *BSOS*, 1939, 141-78; idem, *The Aq-qoyunlu and land reforms*, *BSOS*, 1952, 449-62; *IA*, s.v. (by M. H. Inanç; many new facts). On Aḳ Ḳoyunlu refugees in Turkey see T. Gökbilgin, *Türkiyat Mecmuasi*, 1951, 35-46.—See also UZUN ḤASAN.

(V. MINORSKY)

AḲ MASDJID, "White Mosque", name of two towns:

1. Town in the Crimea (local pronunciation: Aḳ Mečet), founded in the 16th century by the *khāns* of the Crimea in order to protect their capital, Bāghče Sarāy, from nomad incursions. It was the residence of the crown prince (*kalghay sulṭān*), whose palace was outside the town, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 638-41. The town was destroyed by the Russians in 1736, and rebuilt in 1784 under the name of Simferopol (although the local population continued to use the Turkish name).

2. A fortress on the Sīr Daryā, which belonged to the Khānate of Khōḳand. It was captured by the Russians under general Perovsky on 9 August (28 July) 1853, and rebuilt in the same year under the name of Fort Perovsky. Renamed Perovsk, it became the capital of a district in the province of Sīr Daryā. In 1924, its name was changed into Kīzīl Orda; it was the capital of the Republic of Ḳazaḳistān until 1928, when it became the capital of a province.

(W. BARTHOLD)

AḲ SARĀY (AḲ SARĀ), "White Palace", town in inner Anatolia. Its ancient name was Archelais (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.). Aḳ Sarāy was an important place in the Saldjūḳ period and the castle, now in ruins, was built under Ḳīlīdj Arslān II. Subsequently it passed under the dominion of the Ḳaramān-oghlus and the Ottomans. The great part of the inhabitants was transferred by Muḥammad II to Istanbul after its conquest and a quarter in the capital received the name of Aḳ Sarāy after them. The town is an agricultural centre and has an important carpet industry, already mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 286; it is the capital of a *ḳaḍā* belonging to the *wilāyet* of Nigde and had in 1935 8,300 inhabitants (the *ḳaḍā* 19,000). Noteworthy monuments are the Ulu Djāmiʿ (beg. of 15th century, with a Saldjūḳ *minbar*), the Zindjirli *medrese* (first half of the 15th century), the Kadiroghlu *medrese*, built under the Saldjūḳs and restored by the Ḳaramān-oghlu Ibrāhīm Beg, the Naḳḳāshī Djāmiʿi (modern, but with a minaret from the 14th century) and various *ḥammāms*; on the Erwal Tepe near the town there is a *türbe* in briquets from the 13th century.

Bibliography: Fr. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 93 ff.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 509, 566; Ainsworth, *Travels and researches in Asia Minor*, i, 192; E. Réclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 571; Hamilton, *Researches*, ii, 22; *Gülshen-i Maʿārif*, i, 521, 524; ʿAlī Djewād, *Memālik-i ʿOthmāniyyenin Taʾrīkh we-Djoghrāfiyā Lughati*, 21; W. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 284; Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 191.

(F. TAESCHNER)

AḲ SARĀY, palace near Gurgāndj (Urgenč), still mentioned in the "Shaybāniade" (ed. Vámbéry, 392). For the palace of the same name erected for Tīmūr in Shahr-i Sabz, see KASH.

AḲ SHAMS AL-DĪN, properly MUḤAMMAD SHAMS AL-MILLA WA'L-DĪN, saint of the Bayrāmiyya [*q.v.*] and discoverer of the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī near Constantinople. He was the son of a certain Ḥamza, who acquired fame in Syria as a worker of miracles and later died in the district of Ḳawaḳ (near Amasia). Aḳ Shams al-Dīn was born in 792/1389-80 in Syria (Damascus) and came with his parents to Ḳawaḳ in 799/1396-7. After the early death of his father (when Shams al-Dīn was seven years old) he engaged in theological studies; Badr al-Dīn b. Ḳāḍī Samawnā is reputed to have been among his teachers. Later he obtained a post of Ḳurʾān teacher (*müderris*) in ʿOthmāndjīk. Not satisfied with the rational outlook of orthodox Islam, he sought a spiritual leader, undertaking for this purpose long journeys, extending to Persia and Transoxania. He gave up, following an exhortation in a dream, an attempt to attach himself to Zayn al-Dīn al-Khawāfī, and about 830/1426-7 he turned, after some initial hesitations, to Ḥādjdjī Bayrām [*q.v.*], who shortly afterwards appointed him to his succession (*khilāfet*). The scenes of his later activities as *shaykh* of the order and nature-healer were Begbāzār (west of Ankara), where he built a small mosque and a mill, the district of Isklīb (near ʿOthmāndjīk) and Göynük (near Brusa). The dates of his seven pilgrimages to Mecca are not known. Between 851/1447-8 and 855/1451-2 he was called to Adrianople, to treat Sülaymān Čelebi, *ḳāḍī ʿaskar* of sultan Murād II. He took part in the conquest of Constantinople as a preacher in the army; according to a later legend he discovered the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] and worked other miracles of *firāsa*. He healed a daughter of Meḥmed II and in general gained the favour of the sultan. After the conquest Aḳ Shams al-Dīn returned to Göynük, where he died at the end of Rabīʿ II 863/1459. The story of his interpretation of a dream of the sultan before the battle of Terdjān against Uzun Ḥasan (1 August 1473) cannot refer to him and seems to be a forgery of Ferīdūn. Aḳ Shams al-Dīn had seven, according to others twelve, sons, the most

important of whom was the poet Ḥamdī [*q.v.*]. He also wrote several medical and ṣūfī works, which have not yet been published. In the history of the Bayrāmiyya, Aḳ Shams al-Dīn seems to have played a fatal part, because a quarrel between him and some of his companions caused the great secession of the Malāmatiyya, which could not fail to hamper considerably the development of the whole order.

Bibliography: Tāshköprü-zāde, *al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'māniyya* (transl. O. Rescher, 145 ff.); Emīr Ḥüseyn, *Menāḳib-i Aḳ Shams al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1301 (also used, on the basis of a MS, by Ünver); Gibb, ii, 138 ff.; Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānlî Mü'ellifleri*, i, 12 ff.; A. S. Ünver, *Ilim ve sanat bakîmîndan Fatih devri notlarî*, i, Istanbul 1947, 127 ff. ("*Halk menakibine göre Ak-şemseddin ve Istanbul hakkında*"; on his miracles, sayings, etc.); H. J. Kissling, *Aq Šems ed-Din. Ein türkischer Heiliger aus der Endzeit von Byzanz*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1951, 322 ff. (with detailed justification of statements differing from views of earlier authorities). (H. J. Kissling)

AḲ SHEHR, in modern Turkish orthography Akşehir, "White Town":

(i) Town in inner Anatolia situated at the foot of the Sulṭān Dagh. In antiquity it was known as Philomelium (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.). In old sources the name of the town occurs as Aḳshar, Akhshar or Akhshehir. It was under Saldjūḳ and Ḳaramān-oghlu dominion and was annexed by Bāyezīd I. In the 16th-17th centuries it is mentioned by the travellers Ghazzī, Makkī and Ewliyā Čelebi. The town, capital once of a *sandjaḳ*, now of a *ḳaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Ḳonya, gained its importance from its situation on the Istanbul-Baghdād road (now on the railway line), and is also an agricultural centre; in 1935 it had 10,335 inhabitants (some of them immigrants from Greece and Yugoslavia); the *ḳaḍā* 60,000. Its mosque was founded by Bāyezīd I, the Ṭash Medrese has an inscription of the Saldjūḳid Kaykā'ūs I (613/1216) but is of a later time. Other monuments are a *tekke* with an inscription of Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā from the time of Kaykā'ūs II (659/1260-9); the tomb of Sayyid Maḥmūd Khayrānī, with an octagonal pyramid (621/1224; restored in the beginning of the 15th century); the Ulu Djāmi' (beg. of 15th century); Iplikči Djāmi' (738/1337); and an *imāret*. The modern tomb of Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja [*q.v.*] bears the date of 386/926.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 803, 818; Cl. Huart, *Konia*, Paris 1897, 109-17; idem, *Epigraphie Arabe d'Asie Mineure*, *Revue Sémitique*, 1894, 28-34; Fr. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 21 f.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 435; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, ii, 63; Hamilton, *Researches*, ii, 185; 'Alī Djewād, *Memālik-i 'Othmāniyyenin Ta'rīkh we-Djoghrāfiyā Lughati*, 21; Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 15 ff. (Cl. Huart-F. Taeschner)

(ii) Aḳ Shehir (also Akshar or Ashkar; Pizzigani, 1367, writes Azcar), town in north-east Anatolia, on the Kelkit Irmaḳ between Ḳoylu Ḥiṣār and Sushehri; it is often mentioned by early authors, and occurs as late as in Kātib Čelebi's *Djihān-nümā*, 627. It is probably identical with the modern village of Güzeller or Ezbider. The name was preserved, even longer than for the town, for the plain (Aḳ Shehir Owasi), which is regularly mentioned in the iteneraries of the Ottoman armies on their campains against Persia and Georgia.

Bibliography: F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, ii, 2 (with further references). (F. Taeschner)

AḲ ṢU (T.), "white water", (1) technical term for the original bed of a river (also *aḳ daryā*), from which a canal (*ḳara ṣu* or *ḳara daryā*) is derived; (2) name of several rivers in Turkish-speaking countries; they are sometimes better known under other names. The following are some of the rivers that bear in Turkish the name of Aḳ Ṣu: (i) one of the source rivers of the Amū Daryā [*q.v.*], also called Murghāb [*q.v.*] or the "River of Kūlāb"; (ii) the "southern" Bug (in Ukrainian: Boh) in the Ukraine (so regularly in the Ottoman historians), which forms at its issue into the Black Sea a common estuary with the Dnieper; (iii) a rapid mountain stream in Eastern Turkistān (Sin-kiang), which, coming from the T'ien-shan, flows in a S. E. direction towards the Tarim (Yārkand Daryā) and reaches it somewhat above its junction with the Khotan Daryā near Sil. The town of Aḳ Ṣu (see next article) receives its name from this stream. (B. Spuler)

AḲ ṢU, town in Eastern Turkistan (Sin-kiang), about 6 km. to the north of the river of Aḳ Ṣu (see preceding article), approximately opposite to its junction with the Tawshḳan Daryā; 1006 m. above the sea, 41°14, 7' N, 80° E; on the northern caravan route, between Maralbashī and Kučā. A little upstream from the modern town lies another settlement called Aḳ Ṣu, and N. E. of both is the "Old Town", which possibly both correspond to older settlements with Chinese names of their own (see below). Aḳ Ṣu is first mentioned with its Turkish name in the 8th/14th century only; the usual identification (current since Deguignes) with Auzakia in Ptolemy is therefore more than doubtful. Its identification with various Chinese toponyms is not yet finally settled. W. Barthold had identified it (mainly on the basis of its present Chinese name, see below) with the Wön-su of the Han period and the B.nčūl (B.nčūk ?) of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (ed. Minorsky, 98) and Gardīzī (in Barthold's *Otčět o poyezdkye v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, 91); later, however, he gave up this view. P. Pelliot identified Aḳ Ṣu with the Ku-mo of the Han period (Pa-lu-kia in Hsüan-tsang, Po-huan in the T'ang period; al-Idrīsī's "Bākhuwān"). Chinese merchants in Aḳ Ṣu are mentioned already about 1400 (Niẓām Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*), but even in 1475 its importance was small in comparison with other towns of Eastern Turkistān (W. Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 220); according to Ḥaydar Mīrzā's *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, however, it was about 1547 one of the capitals of the country. In modern times the importance of the town (which did not reach, however, that of Yārkand, Kāshghar and Ṭurfān) lay in its role as a commercial centre and a junction of roads between China, Siberia, Eastern and Western Turkistān, Kashmīr, Ladakh and India. It had also a military importance. It is said that at one time the town had 6000 houses, six caravansarays, five *madrasas*, and a wall with four gates. As the town was almost completely destroyed by an earthquake in 1716, no old buildings have been preserved. By the travellers of the 19th century (A. N. Kuropatkin, 1876-7; N. M. Prževal'skiy, 1885-6; Carey, 1885-6; F. E. Younghusband, 1886; Sven Hedin, 1895) it is described as having about 15,000 inhabitants and being about 2 km. in circumference. The livelihood of the inhabitants was based on metalwork, cotton materials of very good quality (*bazz*), saddles, bridles, jewellery and the breeding of camels, horses

and cattle. Between 1867 and 1877 Aḳ Ṣu belonged to Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*] of Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar, since 1877 again to China (Chinese name: Wön-su-chow); the Chinese chose the town for the residence of the president (*tao-tʿai*) of the "Four Eastern Towns" (Aḳ Ṣu, Kučā, Ḳara S̲h̲ahr and Üč Turfān). In the 20th century it shared the changing fortunes of Eastern Turkistan. The number of the inhabitants (presumably mostly Sunnī Eastern Turks) is at present given as between 20,000 and 40,000, who occupy themselves also with carpet weaving.

Bibliography: P. Pelliot, *La ville de Bakhouan dans la géographie d'Idrîçî*, *Tʿoung-pao*, 1906, 553-6; idem, *Notes sur les anciens noms de Kučā, d'Aq-su et d'Üč-Turfān*, *Tʿoung-Pao*, 1923, 126-32; the materials are put together in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 293-7, cf. also 27 f. and the map, 279; Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedičeskiy slovar*[1], St. Petersburg 1890, i, 307 f.; A. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1935, 24, 37, 58, 60; *Bol'shaya Sovyetskaya Entsiklopediya*[2], 1950, i, 617 f. (B. Spuler)

AḲ ṢU (Aḳh Ṣu), village near S̲h̲emāk̲h̲ī, (Russian Shemakhā) in Soviet Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, with a mosque, a bazar and with the ruins of "New S̲h̲emāk̲h̲ī" [*q.v.*]. (B. Spuler)

ĀḲ SUNḲUR, "White Falcon", the name of many Turkish officers, of whom the following are the most important:

1. Āḳ Sunḳur b. ʿAbd Allāh Ḳasīm al-Dawla, known as al-Ḥād̲j̲ib, mamlūk of Malik-s̲h̲āh [*q.v.*], who appointed him to the government of Aleppo in 480/1087. He at first supported the efforts of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ prince Tutus̲h̲ [*q.v.*] to establish himself in Syria, but after Malik-s̲h̲āh's death he, with the other governors in northern Syria and the D̲j̲azīra, declared for Barkiyāruḳ, and was defeated and executed by Tutus̲h̲ near Aleppo in D̲j̲umādā I, 487/May 1094. He was the father of Zankī [*q.v.*], afterwards atābeg of Mosul, and is highly praised for his justice and good government.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (Amedroz), 119-26, trans. Le Tourneau, *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, Damascus 1952, 15-27; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 98, 149-51, 157-8; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, no. 99; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Ḥalab*, ii, Damascus 1954, index.

2. Āḳ Sunḳur al-Aḥmadīlī [see aḥmadīlī].

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ĀḲ SUNḲUR al-BURSUḲĪ (Abū Saʿīd Sayf al-Dīn Ḳasīm al-Dawla), originally a mamlūk of Bursuḳ [*q.v.*], and one of the principal officers of the Sald̲j̲ūḳid sultans Muḥammad and Maḥmūd. He became prominent firstly through his activities as military governor (*s̲h̲iḥna*) of al-ʿIrāḳ, and later, at the end of his life, as governor of Mosul, which office he held simultaneously with the former. Appointed *s̲h̲iḥna* in 498/1105. his main task was to oppose the Mazyadite Arabs of Dubays [*q.v.*], who were infesting the environs of Bag̲h̲dād. In his first government of Mosul (507/1113) his chief duty was the organization of the Holy War in the name of the sultan against the Franks in Syria, combining with this an effort to restore the Sald̲j̲ūḳ authority in Diyār Bakr and up to the Mediterranean. After several setbacks, due essentially to the suspicions aroused by these ambitions, and which led to his spending the years 509-512/1116-8 in partial disgrace at his fief of al-Raḥba on the Euphrates, he finally succeeded, after saving Aleppo from an attack by the Crusaders supported by Dubays, in taking over the government of the entire province (518/1125), by agreement with the leading citizens of Aleppo. He thus realized that union of a part of the D̲j̲azīra with northern Syria which had served as the basis of Ḥamdānid power, and was to support that of Zankī [*q.v.*]. His life was cut short by the Bāṭinīs of Alamūt, one of whose allies he had opposed in al-ʿIrāḳ, in 519/1126, before he could display his abilities, and it fell to Zankī to realize, with greater solidity, the task thus begun. But already al-Bursuḳī had combined, as Zankī was also to do, Sald̲j̲ūḳid legitimism, represented by his dignity as *atābek* of a prince, with an almost complete *de facto* autonomy at Mosul, and had effected that reinforcement of Muslim north Syria by the forces of the D̲j̲azīra which was to permit the former to break the Frankish encirclement and explains its readiness, despite its particularism, to accept his authority.

Bibliography: C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, i, Paris 1934; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, ii, Cambridge 1952; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (Amedroz; tr. Le Tourneau, index, s.v. al-Borsoqî); Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 272, 290, 350-3, 374, 378-80, 415, 439-40, 446-7; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, no. 100; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ii, Damascus 1954, index; Ibn Abī Ṭayy; and, among non-Muslim authors, Matthew of Edessa; other sources quoted by Cahen, *op. cit.*, introduction. (Cl. Cahen)

al-ʿ**AḲABA,** a mountain-road, or a place difficult of ascent on a hill or acclivity. There are many places of this name: the best-known is that between Minā and Mecca. Here, according to traditional accounts, Muḥammad had secret meetings with men from Medina at the pilgrimages of the years 621 and 622 A. D. In 621, at "the first ʿAḳaba", twelve were present, and they gave to Muḥammad an undertaking known as 'the pledge of the women' (*bayʿat al-nisāʾ*); at "the second ʿAḳaba" seventy-three men and two women promised to defend Muḥammad, if necessary, by arms, in what is known as 'the pledge of war' (*bayʿat al-ḥarb*). Some Western writers have held that there was only one meeting at al-ʿAḳaba, since only one is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī (i, 1224 f.), and since the wording of "the pledge of the women" in the extant sources is based on Ḳurʾān, lx, 12, which is admittedly later (cf. F. Buhl, *Muhammed*, Leipzig 1930, 186). It is likely, however, that the delicate negotiations involved would require more than one meeting. (For the stone-throwing that takes place at al-ʿAḳaba as part of the pilgrimage, see al-d̲j̲amra and ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲.)

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 692 f.; Ibn His̲h̲ām, 288-300; Ṭabarī, i, 1209-27; G. Mélamède, in *MO*, xxviii, 17-58; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford, 1953, 144 ff.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

al-ʿ**AḲABA,** the sole seaport of the Hās̲h̲imite Kingdom of Jordan, lying on the eastern side of the head of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba at the foot of the D̲j̲abal Umm Nuṣayla.

Al-ʿAḳaba is the successor of Ayla [*q.v.*], from which it developed as the town grew further to the southeast. The name al-ʿAḳaba is a shortened form of ʿAḳabat Ayla, "the Pass of Ayla", which refers to the pass through the D̲j̲abal Umm Nuṣayla traversed by the route from al-ʿAḳaba northeast to Maʿān through the Wādī It̲h̲m and the Wadi Ḥismā. This pass, which was improved under the Ṭūlūnid K̲h̲umārawayh (884-95), ultimately gave its name to the town itself. The term ʿAḳabat Ayla appears as early as the time of al-Idrīsī (d. 1166), but the town was still generally known as Ayla. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa

1304-77), however, knows it only as ʿAḳabat Ayla (i, 256, iv, 324) and by the time of the 16th century historian Ibn Iyās it was called by its present name of al-ʿAḳaba.

At the very end of the Mamlūk period (920/1514-5) Sultan Ḳansawh al-Ghawrī, through the agency of his architect Khāyir Bey al-ʿAlāʾī, erected the present ruined fortified *khān* at al-ʿAḳaba in order to protect pilgrims from the attacks of predatory bedouin bands.

Under Turkish rule (1516-1917) al-ʿAḳaba, by the beginning of the 20th century, was reduced to a village of some fifty mud-and-stone huts, the inhabitants of which lived from the produce of their gardens and from the fruit of date palms, the latter of which they divided equally with the Ḥuwayṭāṭ bedouin, to whom the palms still belong. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the building of the Ḥidjāz railway in 1908 had deprived al-ʿAḳaba of its only remaining importance as a pilgrimage station. When Musil visited the town in 1898 it was the seat of a Turkish garrison guarding the frontier with British occupied Egyptian Sinai. (It belonged to the province of the Ḥidjāz and was the seat of a *muḥāfiẓ* subordinated to the *wālī* in Djidda.)

During the sea bombardment by British and French warships which preceded the capture of al-ʿAḳaba by Anglo-Arab forces on 6 July 1917, the town was severely damaged. Following the end of World War I, al-ʿAḳaba was part of the Ḥidjāz, but with the fall of the Ḥidjāz to the Saʿūdī Arabian forces in Oct. 1925 the town, along with the Maʾan district, was annexed to Transjordan. Little change took place in the condition of al-ʿAḳaba until 1942, when new construction was undertaken by the British forces to prepare the port as a supply port in the event of the fall of Egypt to axis armies driving from Libya. At this time a paved road was constructed from al-ʿAḳaba to the railhead at Naḳb Shitār S. W. of Maʿān. Following the Palestine war of 1948-9 the town grew rapidly in population and in 1954 it was projected to develop the port as Jordan's outlet on the Red Sea.

Bibliography: A. Musil, *The Northern Ḥiǵâz*, New York 1926, 81-8; idem, *Arabia Petraea*, ii/i, Vienna 1907, 257-60; E. Robinson, *Biblical researches in Palestine*, London 1856, 163-72; T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, New York 1938, 310-4; C. Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin*, London 1936, 141-4; H. W. Glidden, *A Comparative Study of Arabic Nautical Vocabulary from al-ʿAqabah*, *JAOS*, 1942, 69-72; idem, *The Mamluk Origin of the Fortified Khan at al-ʿAqabah, Jordan*, in *Archeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, Locust Valley, N. Y., 1952, 116.

(H. W. GLIDDEN)

ʿAḲABAT AL-NISĀʾ, a name for the pass of Baghrās or Baylān [see BAGHRĀS].

ʿAḲĀʾID [see ʿAḲĪDA].

ʿAḲĀL [see ʿIMĀMA].

AKANṢŪS ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD, Moroccan historian and man of letters originating from the Berber tribe of Idā ū-Kansūs which inhabited Sūs in southern Morocco, where he was born in 1211/1797. He studied at Fez under teachers of repute, and then obtained a post at the Sharīfian court as secretary. Promoted to the rank of vizier in 1236/1820, he was entrusted by the Sulṭān Mawlāy Sulaymān (Mūlāy Slīmān) with several official missions, but lost his post on the latter's death (1238/1822). He retired to Marrākush, where he devoted his time to the composition of poetical and historical works and became one of the most prominent representatives of the Tidjāniyya *ṭariḳa*. He died, at an advanced age and afflicted with blindness, on 29 Muḥarram 1294/14 Febr. 1877, in the same town. His tomb, situated outside the Bāb al-Rabb, is still visited by initiates of the Order.

The major work of Akanṣūs is a general history of Islām up to his own era, in which pride of place is given to the history of his own country and, even more specifically, to that of the ʿAlid dynasty (ʿAlawiyya) of Morocco, from its origins up to 1282/1865. This voluminous work, a limited number of copies of which were lithographed at Fez (1336/1918), is entitled *al-Djaysh al-ʿAramram al-Khumāsī fī Dawlat Awlād Mawlānā ʿAlī al-Sidjilmāsī*. Its chief merit lies in the fact that it constitutes the first chronicle of the reigns of the sultans ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and was subsequently used extensively by Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī [*q.v.*] in his *al-Istiḳṣāʾ*. For the earlier period, the *Djaysh* plagiarizes most frequently the chronicles of al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] and al-Zayyānī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 200-13 (with bibliography, 200 n. 1); idem, *Extraits des historiens arabes du Maroc*[3], Paris 1948, 8-9 and 126-7; Brockelmann, S II, 884-5.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿAḲĀRIB (see ʿAḲRABĪ].

ʿAḲARḲŪF group of ruins 30 kms. west of Baghdād; its identification by H. Rawlinson with the town of Dur Kurigalzu, founded by the Kassites in the 14th century B. C., has been confirmed by the excavations of 1942-5 (see T. Baqir, in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, 1945; 1946, 73 ff.). The high tower (the ruins of the ancient *zikkurat*) drew the attention of the Arabs, and is referred to in connection with the Arab conquest as *al-manẓara* (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 250; cf. also al-Ṭabarī, ii, 917, iii, 943). It was said to be the tomb of the "Kaynānī" dynasty (Ibn al-Faḳīh, in Yāḳūt), or to have been built by Kay Kāʾūs (Ḥamd Allāh, *Nuzha*, 39) or by ʿAḳarḳūf, son of either Ṭahmūrath (Yāḳūt, al-Ḳazwīnī) or of Fāris b. Ṭahmūrath (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 196) or of Sām (Abū Ḥāmid). According to a legend (already found in Ḥamd Allāh) the stove into which Namrūd threw Abraham [see IBRĀHĪM] was at ʿAḳarḳūf; for this reason it was sometimes called Tell Nimrūd. Abū Nuwās mentions ʿAḳarḳūf in a verse (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1898, 100) and al-Maḳdisī (258) quotes from al-Kalbī a Persian tradition naming it among the seven towns of al-ʿIrāḳ noted for intelligence (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 210). There was also a village, a prominent family being the descendants of Saʿd b. Zayd al-Khazradjī (Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 93; al-Samʿānī, Yāḳūt). The European travellers of the 16th century and later who mention ʿAḳarḳūf (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 847-52; Tuch, *De Nino urbe*, Leipzig 1845, 4) usually call it the "Tower of Babel".

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 697-8; Samʿānī, 395r; Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī, *Tuḥfat al-Albāb*, 79; Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, 284-5; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, i, 211, ii, 267-8, 227; Le Strange, 67; G. Awwad, in *Sumer*, 1949, Arabic part 81 ff. (S. M. STERN)

AL-**ʿAKAWWAK**, "thick-set", sobriquet of the poet ʿALĪ B. DJABALA. Born at Baghdād in 160/776, of a family of Khurāsānī *mawālī*, al-ʿAkawwak seems to have spent most of his life in ʿIrāḳ, where he was the panegyrist of Abū Dulaf al-ʿIdjlī [*q.v.*], Ḥumayd

b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī, and the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*]. The exaggerated and almost sacrilegious eulogies addressed to the two first-named excited, it is said, the hostility of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn, who had the poet's tongue torn out. Al-ʿAkawwak died as a result of this mutilation in 213/828. His *dīwān*, a work of considerable proportions (see *Fihrist*, 164_{18}), has not come down to us, and his poetry is known to us only through the quotations of anthologists; the long poem quoted by al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, Damascus edition, iii, is ascribed to him, but this is questionable. Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ had a great admiration for the way in which he recited poetry (see al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī and also Ibn K̲h̲allikān); but this prolific and catholic writer quotes al-ʿAkawwak once only in his *Kitāb al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn*. On the other hand, contemporaries of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ such as Ibn Ḳutayba and Abu'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī consider al-ʿAkawwak to be a poet of exceptional merit.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 550-3; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xviii, 100-14; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd*, (ʿUryān), i, 238, 243; al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, xi, 359; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, Cairo, 1310, i, 348, ed. Cairo 1948, no. 434; Brockelmann, S I, 120. (R. Blachère)

AKBAR, Abu 'l-Fatḥ D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (15 Oct. 1542-16 Oct. 1605), the greatest of the Mug̲h̲al emperors of India, was born at Umarkot in Sind while his father Humāyūn, who had been ousted by the Afg̲h̲ān usurper S̲h̲īr S̲h̲āh Sūr, was escaping to Persia. A grandson of Bābur, he was both a Tīmūrid Turk and a Čag̲h̲atāy Mongol. His mother, Ḥamīda Bānū, was a Persian. After thirteen years of exile Humāyūn, because of the decline of Sūr power, decided to attempt the reconquest of Hindūstān. Little however had been accomplished before his death on 24 Jan. 1556. In fact there was no Mug̲h̲al empire before Akbar, only an attempt to create one. In his early struggles Akbar owed much to his able guardian and regent Bayram K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*]. In addition to the Sūr claimants the most dangerous of his rivals was a usurping Hindu minister named Hēmū who had assumed the title of Rād̲j̲ā Vikramaditya. Hēmū's forces were routed at Pānīpat on 5 Nov. 1556. The following year saw the surrender of Sikandar S̲h̲āh Sūr. In 1560 Bayram K̲h̲ān fell from power, after which Akbar remained for about four years under the pernicious influence of the ladies of the harem and of a faction controlled by his foster relatives, the *atga k̲h̲ayl* of contemporary Muslim historians. His personal rule therefore dates from 1564.

His annexations. In 1561 his kingdom comprised the Pand̲j̲āb and Multān; the basin of the Ganges and D̲j̲umna between Pānīpat and Allāhābād; the country between the Gumti and the foothills of the Himalayas; Gwalior in Central India and Ad̲j̲mēr in Rad̲j̲putana. The country around Kābul was held by his half brother Muḥammad Ḥakīm. Ḳandahār belonged to Persia. Outside his dominions were the Muslim states of Gud̲j̲arāt and K̲h̲āndes̲h̲; the five Deccani sultanates of Berār, Bīdār, Aḥmadnagar, Bid̲j̲āpūr and Golconda; and, to the south of the river Tungabhadra, the Hindu empire of Vid̲j̲ayanagar. Kas̲h̲mīr, Rad̲j̲putana, and Gondwana were under independent chiefs and rād̲j̲ās. Bihār and Bengāl acknowledged an Afg̲h̲ān ruler, Sulaymān Kararānī. The Portuguese were firmly established at strategic points along the coast.

Between 1562 and 1576 he added to his dominions Malwā (1562), the Gond kingdom of Garha-Katanga in Gondwana (1564), Čhitor (1568), Rantambhor (1569), Kalandjar in Bundelkhand (1569), and Gud̲j̲arāt (1573). The annexation of Bengāl in 1576 made him master of the whole of northern India with the exception of lower Sind. Subsequent additions to his empire were Kas̲h̲mīr (1586), Sind (1591), part of Orissa (1592), Balūčistān and Makrān (1594), and Ḳandahār (1595). As a result of his Deccan campaigns Berār, K̲h̲āndes̲h̲, and part of Aḥmadnagar were annexed between 1595 and 1601. At his death, in 1605, his empire comprised the following fifteen *ṣūbas* (provinces): Kābul (including Kas̲h̲mīr), Lahore, Multān (including Sind), Delhi, Oudh, Agra, Ad̲j̲mēr, Aḥmadābād, Malwā, Allāhābād, Bihār, Bengāl, K̲h̲āndes̲h̲, Berār and Aḥmadnagar (not fully subjugated).

Administrative policy. Akbar was not merely a conqueror. He was in addition endowed with a genius for administration to which the structure of both his central and provincial government bears testimony. The ideas of Akbar can be traced back to his immediate predecessors the Sūr Afg̲h̲āns and the sultans of Delhi. The chief lesson he learned from the past was the danger of the unlimited wazirate. In 1564, therefore, the central government was reorganized by entrusting the financial functions of the *wakīl-i muṭlaḳ* to the *dīwān* or *wazīr*. From this time onwards the power of the *wakīl* was eclipsed by that of the *dīwān* and the importance of the office was further lessened by keeping it vacant for long periods. Other important officers of the central government under Akbar were the *mīr bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī*, the *mīr sāmān*, and the *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*. It is extremely difficult to define the functions of the *mīr bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī*, who has been referred to as the Paymaster-General or as the Adjutant-General, but the more fitting modern equvalent would be Quartermaster-General. Under Akbar the *mīr bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī* as administrative head of the military department was responsible for all transport arrangements during campaigns and could be placed in command of an army in the field. In accordance with Akbar's policy of separation of powers it was only on active service that the *mīr bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī* actually paid the troops. Normally this was the work of the *dīwān*. The *mīr sāmān* was in charge of the *buyūtāt* department and was responsible for the organization of the *kār-k̲h̲ānas*, the factories, workshops, and stores maintained by the emperor. The *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*, the chief spokesman of the *ʿulamāʾ*, was the Chief *Ḳāḍī* and head of the judiciary. In the early part of Akbar's reign this official had extraordinary powers. His reading of the *k̲h̲uṭba* in the name of a new sovereign legalized the accession. He also exercised the right of patronage recommending deserving cases to the king for *madad-i maʿās̲h̲* grants. It is incorrect to assert that in 1581 Akbar abolished this office. It is true that six provincial *ṣadrs* were appointed but the office of *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* continued, though shorn of its former extraordinary powers. All important officials, whether civil or military, were graded as *amīrs* or *manṣabdārs* on a military basis. They were divided into 33 classes and their rank and precedence were regulated by nominal commands of horse, ranging from 10 to 5000. Under Akbar there was evidently some connection between an officer's rank and the number of troops he entertained, but the exact meaning of the terms *d̲h̲āt* and *suwār* is controversial.

The provincial government was administered by a hierarchy of officials corresponding to those at the centre. The *ṣūbas* (provinces) were divided into *sarkārs* (districts) which were further subdivided

into *parganas* or *maḥalls*, the lowest fiscal unit in the empire. Distance and the backwardness of communications necessitated elaborate precautions to prevent fraud and rebellion. The provincial governor was a bureaucratic head and was not allowed to develop into a feudal baron. Not only was the governor's tenure of office short but important provincial officials like the *dīwān* and the *fawdjdār* (executive head of a *sarkār*) were appointed by the central government. There was also an elaborate system of espionage carried out by the *wāḳiʿa nuwīs* (reporter) and other officials.

Akbar's revenue policy was the outcome of three experiments. In each case a different set of assessment rules was adopted but in all three the assessment was based on the area sown and varied with different crops. The first two experiments failed and it was not until the 24th regnal year (1579-80) that a stable system was introduced. This was known as the *dah sāla* system because the assessment was based on the average of the previous ten years. An attempt was made to deal directly with the peasants who had to pay one-third of their gross produce to the state. It was enforced only in the six central provinces which formed the original nucleus of his empire.

His religious policy was chiefly dictated by political and dynastic considerations. His policy of *ṣulḥ-i kull* (universal toleration), his abolition of the *djizya* and of the tax formerly levied on Hindu pilgrims were aimed at securing the loyalty of his Hindu subjects, who formed the bulk of the population. It was also inextricably bound up with his conception of sovereignty and was an assertion of the supremacy of the state politically, economically, and financially. With this object he curbed the powers of the *ʿulamāʾ* by the so-called Infallibility Decree of 1579 by which he was recognized as the chief authority in the realm on religious matters. Although illiterate he was genuinly interested in the study of Comparative Religion and built an *ʿibādat-khāna* (House of Worship) where learned men of all religions assembled to discuss theological problems. These discussions convinced Akbar that there was good in all religions and prompted him to promulgate a new eclectic faith called the *dīn ilāhī* which he vainly hoped would prove acceptable to his subjects. It was the reversal of his policy of conciliation by his immediate successors and their gradual departure from the main principles of his rule that led to the decline of the Mughal empire.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

AKBAR, SAYYID **ḤUSAYN ALLĀHĀBĀDĪ**, Indian Muslim poet, who wrote in Urdu under the pen-name of Akbar. Born in 1846 in Bāra, a small village near Allāhābād, he received a casual and desultory schooling. After several years' practice as a lawyer, he spent many years of his life as a judge in the service of the British government, till his retirement in 1903. He died in Sept. 1921.

His chief characteristic is his use of humour and satire to enforce his views on political and social subjects. The employment of *jeux de mots*, of which he made frequent and effective use, greatly added to his popular appeal. His command of pure Urdu was matched by his ability to bend to his purpose strange words, whether English or vernacular. From the sociological point of view, the main interest of his poetry lies in the fact that it may be regarded as a running commentary on the social foibles of his contemporaries and the political and religious trends of his times. This rôle of a humorous commentator on contemporary life earned him the title of *Lisān al-ʿAṣr* or "the Mouthpiece of the Age." His criticism is not, however, the result of deep or sustained sociological thought, but is the impulsive reaction of a conservative mind to that Westernization of Indian life, which as a matter of fact had been in progress for a long time past. The shafts of his wit and ridicule simply touch the surface of things, and as the phases of life criticised by him pass away in a changing society, a considerable part of his poetry is likely to lose its topical interest for the coming generations.

His poetical compositions have been collected in four volumes and frequently published under the title of *Kulliyyāt-i Akbar*. The first volume was published in 1909, the fourth in 1948. His letters, too, have been published in several collections. Shortly before his death, he composed *Gāndhī-nāma*, in which he set down the political views of the various parties, which took part in the anti-British movement led by M. K. Gandhi. It was edited by M. Naʿīm al-Raḥmān, Allahabad 1948.

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(SH. INAYATULLAH)

AḲČE, meaning "small white", was the name given in Turkish to the Ottoman silver coin habitually referred to by European writers as the

aspre or *asper*, from the Greek *aspron*. The term was already in use under the Saldjūḳids of ʿIrāḳ during the 12th century (see al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, 300, where a gift of 1,000 *aḳčes* is recorded); and since, when applied to the first Ottoman coin to be struck, under Orkhān in 727/1327, it was qualified by the epithet "ʿOthmānī", it would appear to have continued in use either for some other coin or as signifying "money" in a more general sense. In later Ottoman times it certainly came to bear this wider sense, as in such phrases as *selāmet aḳčesi*, *ʿawāriḍ aḳčesi*, and to have been generally used by all the northern Turkish-speaking peoples in both senses (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.). During the 14th and 15th centuries the Ottoman coin was usually called simply "ʿOthmānī", but from the reign of Selīm I onwards, this usage being abandoned, it came to be known simply as the *aḳče*.

The earliest Ottoman *aḳče* was modelled on the *dirham* of the Saldjūḳids of Rūm; and although in one issue or another of the sultans down to Murād II there appear most of the elements that were later to make up the final formulae of the *aḳče's* inscriptions, it was not until the reign of Meḥmed II that these were all regularly, though not always identically, combined.

The *aḳče* of Orkhān weighed 6 *ḳīrāṭs*, or one-quarter of a *mithḳāl*, was 90% silver, and measured 18 mm. in diameter; and down to the reign of Murād II, though the *aḳče* was somewhat reduced in size, its standard of purity and even its weight were pretty well kept up. Under Meḥmed II, Bāyazīd II, and Selīm I, however, its standard was reduced by 5% and its weight to 3$^3/_4$ *ḳīrāṭs*; and although under Süleymān I and Selīm II this decline was retarded, it continued, till, under Murād III and his successors down to ʿOthmān II, though retaining the same standard and more or less the same diameter, it was reduced by fits and starts to a weight of no more than 1$^1/_2$ *ḳīrāṭs*, becoming thinner and thinner. Moreover, under Murād IV, Ibrāhīm, and Meḥmed IV, its silver content was reduced first to 70 and then to 50%, though its weight and size remained roughly the same. The effect of these various debasements on its value was that, whereas 40 *aḳčes* went to the first Ottoman gold piece, of Meḥmed II, by the reign of Muṣṭafā II, when a currency reform resulted in the first coining of the Ottoman *ḳurūsh*, the rate of the gold piece (whose own weight and standard had been pretty well maintained) had risen to as much as 300 *aḳčes*. The *aḳče* continued to be minted thereafter down to the reign of Maḥmūd II; but from the end of the 17th century its value, which gradually declined still further, was so slight that it became little more than a conventional unit, used chiefly for accountancy purposes; and in the *tanẓīmāt* period it was abandoned, except in connection with *waḳfs*, even for that.

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ʿAKD. The *ʿaḳd*, in Muslim law, is properly the legal act, whether it relates to a contract or to a simple unilateral declaration, such as a will. More especially, however, the term *ʿaḳd* denotes the legal act which involves a bi-lateral declaration, namely the offer (*īdjāb*) and the acceptance (*ḳabūl*). The offer by itself has no obligatory character, in Ḥanafite law. Mālikite law differs on this point. At all events, the *ʿaḳd* is formally constituted at the moment when the acceptance is given.

It is necessary at this point to distinguish clearly between the *ʿaḳd* or contract, and simple promises (*ʿidāt*) and also allowances (*ibāḥāt*), which are not binding.

The *ʿaḳd* is not merely a simple expression of agreement. Every *ʿaḳd* requires a *ṣīgha*, or form, by which the wishes of each of the parties are expressed. These wishes must in principle be expressed verbally, unless a mute is involved. Writing cannot be used unless the parties are not in the presence of each other. But there is no question of an inflexible formalism. The *ṣīgha* is not confined to a stereotyped form. Any mode of expression (*ṣūra*) is valid, provided it gives the required meaning. It is necessary however to realise that *verba de futuro* can in no way validly express the will to contract. *Verba de praesenti* only bind the contracting party if the will to contract is established independently. There is no necessity to try to establish this intention (*niyya*) if the *verba* are in the past tense.

The *ʿaḳd* should therefore reflect a mutual understanding which has already been reached. It is concluded in order to secure for this agreement its legal effects. Thus the effect of a contract of sale is the immediate transfer of the ownership of the object of sale to the vendee. This conveyance cannot be deferred. In the definition of the *ʿaḳd*, there is no question of obligations being incurred by one party or the other by virtue of the contract. The *ʿaḳd*, in Muslim law, is not so much an act giving rise to obligations as a legal act creating a new legal situation or modifying an existing one. The vendor is naturally obliged to deliver the object of sale, just as the purchaser is obliged to pay the price. These obligations, however, are not considered to be effects (*ḥukm*) of the contract, but are properly considered to be contractual rights (*ḥuḳūḳ al-ʿaḳd*).

If the obligations of the two contracting parties are discharged as soon as mutual agreement is reached, then this does not constitute an *ʿaḳd*, but only a *muʿāṭāt*, a mutual delivery of the object of sale and of the sale price. This delivery is certainly valid for *res viles*. It is also valid, according to some legal doctrines, for articles of value, if there has been an effective fulfilment of the contract by at least one party. But, in principle, the *ʿaḳd* postulates a *ṣīgha* which necessarily creates, in law, a new situation.

It should also be noticed that, in certain contracts, the material delivery of the object of sale is regarded as a condition of the fulfilment of the *ʿaḳd*. This position obtains as regards loan of fungible and not fungible things, pledge and gift which, in Muslim law, are equivalent to "real" contracts.

The *ʿaḳd* must comply with a condition of unity in time and space. The *ʿaḳd* constitutes an indivisible whole. The *negotium* (*ṣafḳa*) is one and indivisible, in the sense that the offer cannot be accepted in part, even when it involves two distinct things. Similarly, the offer cannot be accepted by one of its recipients to the exclusion of the other. Finally, the contract is rendered null and void if one of the objects of the contract proves to be an asset *extra commercium*. This conception of the contract as an inviolable unit gives great rigidity to the structure of the *ʿaḳd*. Thus the *ʿaḳd* cannot comprehend more than one

negotium. On the other hand, the *ʿakd* must be concluded at one and the same sitting (the contractual meeting or *madjlis al-ʿakd*). In short, the contracting parties must assemble in one and the same place. The contractual act thus takes place under the symbol of the three unities (see Ch. Chehata, *Théorie générale*, no. 116).

From this it follows that any clause added to the contract will be declared inoperative unless it is implied by the nature of the contract itself, so that it can be smoothly integrated into its structure. Such clauses are termed *essentialia* and *naturalia*. All other clauses (*accidentalia*) will be considered invalid. Thus the inalienalibity clause added to a contract of sale will be deemed null and void.

Does this mean that contracts in Muslim law are all formulated contracts, and that the parties cannot, by mutual agreement, conclude contracts which have not been anticipated by the Law (*sharʿ*)? The answer usually given is that Muslims are bound by their stipulations (*shurūṭ*) [*q.v.*]. But at the same time every type of contract is considered on its merits and pronounced legal or otherwise on the basis of the Ḳurʾānic texts, the *ḥadīth* or the *idjmāʿ*. It must moreover be realised that the conditions governing the formation of contracts are tantamount to prescripts of an authoritative nature, and that the various regulations laid down by jurists concerning contracts entail the sanction of nullity, which considerably limits the area of contractual freedom. On the other hand it should not be forgotten that the Muslim social order, in matters concerning contracts, is based on two main principles; the struggle against usury and any suspicion of usury (*ribā* and *shubhat al-ribā*), and the exclusion of all risk (*gharar*) from transactions.

The *ʿakd*, once drawn up in accordance with the requisite conditions, cannot in principle be vitiated by some fault in the agreement, unless there is a question of constraint (*ikrāh*). Constraint is usually the subject for a separate chapter in works on *fiḳh*. The party which has suffered constraint can revoke its contractual obligations. In the case of fraud, on the other hand, the contract can be challenged only if the fraudulent actions have inflicted on the deceived party excessive loss (*ghabn fāḥish*). Errors, such as a fault in the agreement, pass almost unnoticed. The party which is deceived as to the quality of the article can only withdraw from its contractual obligations if the quality has been made the subject of a special stipulation in the contract. The contract will then have to be cancelled, not on account of the error, but on the basis of the resolutory clause.

An *ʿakd* which does not satisfy the required conditions is in principle ineffective, and is termed null and void (*bāṭil*) [*q.v.*]. Ḥanafite doctrine distinguishes, however, between the invalid contract and the irregular (*fāsid*) contract. The contract will be considered null and void only if one of the conditions (*rukn*) regulating the conclusion of the contract happens to be unfulfilled. In all other cases, the contract will simply be irregular. The irregular contract, however, is, like an invalid contract, an act devoid of legal consequences. The advantage of the distinction between these two categories appears only when the protection of a third party is involved. Thus a person acquiring property by virtue of a *fāsid* contract can validly alienate it in favour of a third party, if he has previously taken possession of it. The alienation in this case arises from a *non dominus*, but it is considered valid, because the third party, which has acquired the property from its owner, could be ignorant of the irregularity (*fasād*) attaching to that owner's title. This measure of protection is at the basis of the theory of *fāsid* contracts in Ḥanafī Muslim law. (See Ch. Chehata, in *Travaux de le Semaine de Droit Musulman*, Paris 1953, 36 ff.)

It should, however, be noted that certain contracts are neither valid nor invalid, but belong to a third category. The *ʿakd* is then said to be *mawḳūf*, as, for example, in the case of a contract concluded, without the *auctoritas* of his guardian, by a minor who is not without powers of discrimination. Unless gratuitous transactions are involved, transactions concluded by minors who are not without powers of discrimination are not null and void. They are simply non-effective (cf. Art. 108 of the German civil code). The ratification (*idjāza*) of the guardian gives them full and absolute effect. Similarly a contract agreed to by a *non-dominus* is considered simply to be non-effective, prior to the ratification of the *verus dominus*. In the meantime, the contract has no legal effects whatever. It is in a state of suspense (*mawḳūf*) between the parties and equally as regards any third party.

If an *ʿakd* is to have effect on other than on the contracting parties, representation is required. In Ḥanafī Muslim law the agent (*wakīl*) does not, in principle, represent his client. In order that the *ʿakd* may produce its effect directly on the client, the agent must act in the name of his client (*alieno nomine*). But he then assumes the role of a messenger a spokesman pure and simple (*rasūl*). If he acts in his own name (*proprio nomine*), which is the usual function of an agent, the *ʿakd* will still produce its effect in regard to the client, but the obligations arising from the contract will not be binding on the client; they will be binding on the agent alone. Thus the legal representative of a person acquiring property will find himself bound to pay its price himself, while the property will go directly to his client. The distinction, already noticed, between the effects of the contract (*aḥkām*) and rights arising from the contract (*ḥuḳūḳ al-ʿakd*) is clearly illustrated here. (See Chefik Chehata, *La représentation dans les actes juridiques en droit musulman hanéfite, d'après les textes de Shaybānī*, to appear in the Proceedings of the Congress of Comparative Law, Paris 1954.)

The effective *ʿakd* is in principle binding (*lāzim*). There are, however, several exceptions to this rule; for instance agency, gratuitous loan, pledge, partnership, suretyship, security and gift are considered, among others, to be contracts which are essentially revocable. In all these contracts one of the parties is free, depending on the circumstances, to withdraw from its contractual obligations by a simple unilateral declaration. (In the case of gift, however, a judicial decree is necessary.) Moreover, contracts of lease can always be rescinded if one of the parties lodges a plea (*ʿudhr*) on any grounds whatever. Finally, a special clause can be inserted in general in any contract, to confer on one party, or on both parties equally, the right to withdraw (*jus paenitandi*, called in Muslim law *khiyār al-sharṭ*).

In conclusion it may be mentioned that mutual agreement between the parties can always put an end to a contract. This is termed *iḳāla* (*mutuus dissensus*), and is discussed at length in works on *fiḳh*. But the *ʿakd* cannot in principle be cancelled on the grounds of non-fulfilment. Thus the vendor, in default of a special clause, cannot demand the rescission of the sale in a case where the purchaser has not paid the agreed price. [See also SHURŪṬ.]

Bibliography: Ch. Chehata, *Essai d'une théorie générale de l'obligation en droit musulman*, vol. i, Cairo 1936; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, vol. ii, Rome 1938; Sim. Tolédo, *Analyse de la théorie des contrats et obligations en droit civil ottoman*, thesis Paris, 1915; G. G. C. van den Berg, *De contractu "do ut des"*, thesis Leiden, 1868 (Ital. trans. Gatteschi, Alexandria 1877); Z. A. Rifai, *Le consentement et les vices du consentement en droit musulman hanefite*, thesis Nancy, 1933. Modern works in Arabic: ʿAlī al-Khafīf, *Aḥkām al-Muʿāmalāt al-Sharʿiyya*, 3rd edition, Cairo 1947; Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Milkiyya wa-Naẓariyyat al-ʿAḳd*, Cairo 1939; Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, *al-Amwāl wa-Naẓariyyat al-ʿAḳd fi'l-Fiḳh al-Islāmī*, 2nd edit., Cairo 1954; Ṣubḥī Mahmasānī, *al-Naẓariyya al-ʿĀmma li'l-Mūdjabāt wa'l-ʿUḳūd*, 2 vol., Beirut 1948; Muṣṭafā Aḥmad al-Zarḳā, *al-Madkhal al-Fiḳhī al-ʿĀmm ila'l-Ḥuḳūḳ al-Madaniyya fi 'l-Bilād al-Sūriyya*, i, Damascus 1952; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī, *Maṣādir al-Ḥaḳḳ fi 'l-Fiḳh al-Islāmī*, i, *Ṣighat al-ʿAḳd*, Cairo 1954.

Doctrinal sources, i.e. those for Ḥanafite law, which is specially discussed in the article: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, *al-Aṣl*, Kitāb al-buyūʿ wal-salam, ed. by Shafīḳ Shiḥāta, Cairo 1954; Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, 30 vol., Cairo 1324/1906; Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-Ṣanāʾiʿ fī Tartīb al-Sharāʾiʿ*, 7 vols., Cairo 1328/1910.

(Chafik Chehata)

AKDARIYYA is the name of a well-known difficult law-question about inheritance which belongs to the *masāʾil mulaḳḳaba* (i.e. questions "called by special names"). When a woman leaves behind as her heirs: 1. her husband, 2. her mother, 3. her grandfather, and 4. her sister (whether she be her *shaḳīḳa*, i.e. her full sister, or her *ukht li 'l-ab*, i.e. her half-sister on the father's side), then her husband gets $^1/_2$, the mother $^1/_3$ (cf. Ḳurʾān, iv, 12-13), so that there would only remain $^1/_6$ of the inheritance for the grandfather and the sister. The latter two are generally considered, when they inherit together, as *ʿaṣabāt*, that is the sister inherits half of the grandfather's part, and together they get everything that remains when the *aṣḥāb al-farāʾiḍ* (i.e. the heirs to whom the Ḳurʾān grants a definite part of the inheritance) have been satisfied.

Now the grandfather can, according to the current interpretation of Ḳurʾān, iv, 12, in any case lay claim to a sixth part of the whole inheritance. But then the sister would get nothing. This is actually the doctrine of the Ḥanafīs. According to them, the grandfather here excludes the sister from the inheritance. But the other schools of *fiḳh* are of opinion that in this case the grandfather and the sister are not to be regarded as *ʿaṣabāt*, but that in the same way as the husband and the mother, they get the parts to which the Ḳurʾān entitles them. Then the division is as follows:

the husband inherits	$^1/_2 = ^3/_6$
the mother inherits	$^1/_3 = ^2/_6$
the grand-father inherits	$^1/_6 = ^1/_6$
the sister inherits	$^1/_2 = ^3/_6$

By means of *ʿawl* [*q.v.*] these nine sixths are reduced to nine ninths.

Then the husband would receive	$^3/_9$
the mother	$^2/_9$
the grand-father	$^1/_9$
the sister	$^3/_9$

But as the sister can after all only lay claim to half the grandfather's part, the right proportion between these two parts has again to be re-established. Together they inherit $^4/_9 = ^{12}/_{27}$, but the grandfather receives $^8/_{27}$ and the sister $^4/_{27}$.

About the meaning of the name *akdariyya* the Muslim scholars hold different opinions. Some say that the question itself is *akdar* (i.e. troubled, obscure), or that the otherwise generally accepted principles are "troubled, disturbed" in this case; others believe Akdar to be the name of a man, to whom ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān submitted this question.

Bibliography: *TA* iii, 518; Muṭarrizī, *al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Muʿrib*, sub voce; *LA*, vi, 450; W. Marçais, *Des parents et alliés*, Rennes 1898, 154 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haythamī, *Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1282, iii, 15; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, ii, 517 f.; id., *Sommario del diritto malechita di Ḫalīl Ibn Isḥāq*, ii, Milan 1919, 823; H. Laoust, *Le Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beyrouth 1950, 139; Sir R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, 6th ed., § 229 f. (Th. W. Juynboll*)

AKH [see ʿĀʾila, ikhwān, muʾākhāt].

ĀKHĀL TEKKE was between 1882 and 1890 the name of a district (*uězd*) in the Russian territory (*oblastʾ*) of Transcaspia, which had been conquered by the Russians in 1881. It comprised the sub-districts of Atek [*q.v.*] (chief place: the village of Kaakhka) and Durūn [*q.v.*] (Darūn; chief place: Bakharden). Since 1890 the district is called ʿAshḳābād [*q.v.*] — The name Ākhāl (which is of modern origin) applies to the oases on the northern slope of the Kopet Dagh and Küren Dagh; Tekke refers to the Tekke or Teke [*q.v.*] Turkmen, the present inhabitants of this region. The Islamic geographers of the Middle Ages have no special name for the region, which was inhabited by Iranians, masters in the art of irrigation. Here was situated the town of Nasā [*q.v.*] or Nisā, now in ruins, the border fortress of Shahristān (three parasangs to the north of Nasā) and Farāwa (Afrāwa) near the present Ḳīzīl Arwat. In the 16th-17th century the country came under Uzbek rule and was called Tagh Boyu ("mountain side") in contrast to Ṣu Boyu, "water side" (i.e. Khʷārizm proper). At that time the town of Nasā seems to have still existed, but subsequently it was completely ruined owing to the neglect of irrigation; Durūn (Darūn) is also mentioned at this time. At the time of the Russian conquest the country had no towns; ʿAshḳābād and Ḳīzīl Arwat came into being only under Russian rule. The district suffers from earthquakes (for instance in 1893, 1895, 1929, 1948).

Bibliography: Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedičeskiy Slovarʾ*[1], St. Petersburg 1891, ii, 526 f. and xii, map after 160; *Bolʾshaya Sovyetskaya Entsiklopediya*[2], 1950, iii, 562 (horse-breeding). Cf. also Bibl. s.v. ʿAshḳābād.

(W. Barthold-B. Spuler)

AKHALČIKH [see Akhiskha].

AKHARNAR [see nudjūm].

AKHBĀR [see taʾrīkh].

AKHBĀR MADJMŪʿA, title of a short anonymous chronicle recording the conquest of al-Andalus by the Arabs, the period prior to the foundation of the Marwānid amirate of Cordoba, and the history of the amirate itself up to the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir. This text, published on the basis of the *unicum* of the Bibl. Nat. in Paris, and translated into Spanish by Lafuente y Alcantara (Madrid 1867), has had little documentary

interest since the discovery of the greater part of the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān. It is an ill-proportioned and relatively late work, probably contemporary with the reconquest of Valencia. In it are found lengthy passages from earlier chronicles, notably from that of ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī. The fact that this text does not refer to the sources which it transcribes or transposes has deceived Dozy (preface to his edition of the *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* of Ibn ʿIdhārī, Leiden 1848-51, 10-12) and Ribera (introduction to his translation of the *Iftitāḥ* of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, Madrid 1926, XIII ff.) into supposing it to be an original work. The extremely debatable study and problematical conclusions reached by by the non-Arabist Spanish historian Cl. Sanchez Albornoz, in his work *El "Ajbār maymūʿa", cuestiones historiográficas que suscita*, Buenos Aires 1944, need only be mentioned here.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 23-32.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

al-**AKHḌAR**, "the green", a vulgar form currently used in North Africa for the personal name al-Khiḍr [*q.v.*]. Various santons, especially at Constantine, are known by this name.

al-**AKHḌARĪ**, Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sayyidī Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr, Algerian author of the 10th/16th century. He wrote (1) *al-Sullam al-Murawnaḳ* (composed in 941/1534), a short versification of al-Abharī's [*q.v.*] *Īsāghūdjī* on logic; this little work soon became extremely popular and acquired numerous commentaries (one by the author himself) and glosses; it has often been lithographed or printed, in Fās, Būlāḳ (editio princeps of 1241 in *Madjmūʿ Muhimmāt al-Mutūn*), Cairo and Lucknow; French transl. by J. D. Luciani, *Le Soullam*, Algiers 1921. Very popular, too, is his (2) *al-Djawhar al-Maknūn fī Ṣadaf al-Thalātha al-Funūn*, a versification of the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (Brockelmann, I, 353), to which the author himself supplied a commentary (composed in 950/1543); in this form, or with commentaries by other writers, it has often been lithographed or printed in Cairo (first in 1285). Also printed or lithographed are (3) *al-Durra al-Bayḍā' fī Aḥsan al-Funūn wa'l-Ashyā'*, a metrical treatise on arithmetic, inheritance and legacies (composed in 940/1533), (4) *Naẓm al-Sirādj fī ʿIlm al-Falak*, a metrical treatise on astronomy (composed in 939/1532-33), and (5) a *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-ʿIbādāt*, a popular elementary treatise on ritual duties according to the Mālikī school. Several other works of his exist in manuscripts. He is buried in the *zāwiya* of Benṭiyūs (al-Bakrī, *al-Mughrib*, 52, 72), the modern Ben Thious, s.w. of Biskra, and his tomb is still visited.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 705 f.; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt*, 406 f.; Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥifnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-Khalaf bi-Ridjāl al-Salaf*, Algiers 1325-27/1907-9.

(J. Schacht)

al-**AKHFASH**, ("nyctalope" or "devoid of eyelashes"), cognomen of a number of grammarians listed by al-Suyūṭī (*Muzhir*, Cairo, undated, ii, 282-3), viz.: Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, Saʿīd b. Masʿada and ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, see below; ʿAbd. Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, pupil of al-Aṣmaʿī; Aḥmad b. ʿImrān b. Salāma al-Alhānī, died before 250/863, author of a *Gharīb al-Muwaṭṭa'*, grammarian, lexicographer and poet (see Ben Cheneb, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, 34); Hārūn b. Mūsā b. Sharīk, d. 271/884-5; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī, tutor of Ibn Djinnī; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Andalusī, tutor of Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr; ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, d. after 450/1058; Khalaf b. ʿAmr al-Yashkurī al-Balansī, d. after 460/1068; ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Radjā' al-Fāṭimī. To this list may be added ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak (Brockelmann, S I, 165), and a traditionist named al-Ḥusayn b. Muʿādh b. Ḥarb, d. 277/890 (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ii, 313-4). The three following are the most famous; the first two of these belong to the school of al-Baṣra.

I. — al-Akhfash al-Akbar, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Madjīd, d. 177/793, pupil of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā'; he was the first, it is said, to provide ancient poems with an interlinear commentary, and he collected together numerous dialectal terms; his principal pupils were Sībawayh, Abū Zayd, Abū ʿUbayda and al-Aṣmaʿī [*qq.v.*].

Bibliography: Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-Naḥwiyyīn* (Krenkow), 52; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1954; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 248, 249; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 485; Brockelmann, S I, 165.

II. — al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Saʿīd b. Masʿada, the most famous of all the Akhāfish, *mawlā* of the Tamīmite clan of Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim; born at Balkh, he was a pupil of the Muʿtazilite Abū Shamr, but more particularly of Sībawayh, whom he survived although superior to him in age, and it was he who gave instruction on the *Book* and made it widely known; he died between 210 and 221/825-835. Nothing has been preserved of his own works (*Fihrist*, i, 52). Al-Thaʿālibī (d. 427/1035) made use of his *Kitāb Gharīb al-Ḳur'ān*, and his *Kitāb al-Muʿāyāt* is frequently quoted in the *Khizāna* of al-Baghdādī (i, 391; ii, 300; iii, 36, 527).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 271; Azharī, in *MO*, 1920, 12; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 184-8; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*; Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-Naḥwiyyīn*, 49-51; Ibn Khallikān, no. 250; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 242-4; Yāfiʿī, *Djanān*, ii, 61; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 258; id., *Muzhir*, ii, 253, 287; Brockelmann, S I, 165.

III. — al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sulaymān b. al-Mufaḍḍal, pupil of al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab; he gained distinction by introducing the grammatical studies of Baghdād into Egypt, where Aḥmad al-Naḥḥās was his pupil; a grammatical work which he wrote was studied and annotated in Spain (see *BAH*, ix, 313-4). He died in 315/927.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 165. On the subject of these grammarians, see also Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, 61 ff.

(C. Brockelmann-Ch. Pellat)

AKHĪ, designation of the leaders of associations of young men organized as guilds in Anatolia in the 13th-14th centuries, who adopted the ideals of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] and were recruited mainly among the craftsmen. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 260) connects the name with the Arabic word for "my brother"; if this explanation is based on anything more than an identity of sound, it would offer an instance of a "title in forms of address" similar to A. *sayyidī*, T. *khānum*, *begum*, etc. It is more likely, however, that the homonymy of the two words is accidental, though it was willingly adopted by the Akhīs; occasionally also it is borrowed in the Persian translation *birādar* (cf. Taeschner-Schumacher, *Nāṣirī*, 38). In reality it is a Turkish word (cf. J. Deny in *JA*, 1920, 182 f.; H. H. Schaeder, in *OLZ*, 1928, 1049, n. 1), which is already found in Uyghur in the form *aḳī* "generous" (A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, glossary, s.v.; *Turfantexte*, vi, 1.4). The word occurs in the same form and with the same meaning (cf. also *aḳīlīḳ*, "generosity") in Middle Turkish (Kāshgharian): in al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* (*aḳī*, "*al-djawād*", i, 84 —

facs. ed. 57; *akīlik*, iii, 129 — facs. ed. 520; C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, s.v.), and in the didactic poem *ʿAtebet al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ* by Edīb Aḥmed b. Maḥmūd Yüknekī, ch. ix (ed. R. Rahmeti Arat, Istanbul 1951, 58-61, index, s.v.; under the title *Hibet al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ed. Nedjīb ʿĀṣim, Istanbul 1334, 52-5; cf. J. Deny in *RMM*, 1925, 219, n. 1); *akī er*, "the generous one", and *akī bol*, "be generous"; the opposite is *bakhīl* and *bakhīllik*, or *bukhul*, also *khasīs and khasīslik*). In the latter work the form *akhī* occurs also as a variant reading for *akī*, and this is the form which is exclusively used in Rūm-Turkish. It is found several times in the oldest Rūm-Turkish literature, as a vocative ("oh generous one, oh noble one, oh hero") constituting the rhyme-word at the end of a line; for instance in the *Kitāb-i Dede Ḳorḳut* (ed. E. Rossi, fol. 65r, three times; ed. Kilisli Rifʿat, 16; ed. Gökyay, 9), in two poems of Yūnus Emre (ed. Burhan Ümid, ii, 344, 361; ed. Abdülbaki Gölpinarli, 117), and also elsewhere (e.g. Enwerī (Mükrimin Khalil), 43). The word passed from the general to the particular meaning, i.e. possessor of *futuwwa* (P. *futuwwat*, T. *fütüwwet*), by acquiring the full implications of the Persian word *djawānmard*, which the latter in turn had received as a translation of Arabic *fataⁿ*, *al-fatā* (cf. H. H. Schaeder, loc. cit.).

Akhī, as a term qualifying its bearer as possessing *fütüwwet* (*ṣāḥib fütüwwet* or *fütüwwet-dār*), always precedes the name and occurs occasionally with reference to persons even earlier than the 7th/13th century. So for instance it is applied to the ṣūfī *shaykh* Akhī Faradj Zandjānī (d. 1 Radjab 457/8 June 1065), and the teacher of the poet Niẓāmī (b. 535/1141) is also said to have borne that designation. It is, however, only in the 7th/13th, and more especially the 8th/14th century, that the name occurs frequently, in the whole of the Middle East, but predominantly in Anatolia; it gradually disappears again in the course of the 9th/15th century.

In the more particular sense, Akhism is the specific form assumed by the *futuwwa* organization in late- and post-Saldjūḳ Anatolia. It is well attested here by a literature of its own (the Persian *Futuwwat-nāma* of Nāṣirī, written in 689/1290 in N. E. Anatolia, being a *mathnawī* of 886 couplets; the Turkish *Fütüwwet-nāme*, in prose, by Yaḥyā b. Khalīl al-Burghāzī, probably from the 8th/14th century; the important chapter on *fütüwwet* in Gülshehrī's old-Ottoman version of ʿAṭṭār's *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr*, studied by F. Taeschner in *SBPAW*, 1932, 744-60), as well as by allusions in various authors (the most impressive being Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's vivid account, ii, 254-354, especially 260 ff., the chapter on *al-akhiyya al-fityān*), and by inscriptions and documents. (A list of the references, to which many additions could now be made, in *Islamica*, 1929, 29-47.) ʿĀshiḳpasha-zāde (Giese), 201, 213 (= Istanbul ed. 205), names the *akhiyān*, together with the *ghāziyān*, *abdālān* and *bādjiyān*, as the four groups of "travellers" (*müsāfirler we-sayyāḥlar*) in Rūm (Anatolia) (for comments on this statement see P. Wittek, in *Byzantion*, 1936, 310). The wording of the sentence seems to imply that these groups came to Anatolia from abroad. They can perhaps be connected with the flood of *darwishes* and related figures from the east (Khurāsān and Turkistān), who are known from other sources as well to have come to Anatolia in the Mongol period (second half of the 13th century). Some early mentions of *akhīs* in Iranian territory in pre-Mongol times would bear this out. The earliest mentions of *akhīs* in Anatolia (especially in Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿĀrifīn*, cf. Cl. Cahen, see below) also go back to relations with Iran. On the other hand, in considering the forms of organization of Akhism, the connection with the courtly *futuwwa* at the caliphs' court in Baghdād ought not to be passed over; this is made likely by the relations, repeatedly attested, between the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575-622/1180-1225), the reformer of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], and the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm.

During the disintegration of the state of the Rūm Saldjūḳs and the division of Anatolia into a number of Turkish principalities (second half of the 13th century), the *akhīs*, who according to the contemporary or slightly later authors (such as Ibn Bībī, Aḳsarāyī, the Paris Anonymous and Aflākī) were leaders of bands (*runūd*), showed a remarkable activity, reminiscent of the activity of the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*] in Baghdād and the *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*] in Syria a century before. In the first half of the 14th century, the *akhīs* appear in the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, to whom the *akhīs* extended hospitality in every town during his journey through Anatolia, ca. 1333, as an important element of cohesion in the motley conglomeration of states in Anatolia at that period. In towns where no prince resided, they exercised a sort of government and had the rank of *amīr* (Aḳ Sarāy, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 286; Ḳaysariyye, ii, 288 f.); sometimes they exercised judicial authority (Ḳonya, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 281). Their position seems to have been especially strong in Anḳara, at the time when the authority of the Mongol governor residing in Sīwās did not reach so far. Sharaf al-Dīn, the richest and most powerful of these *akhīs* of Anḳara, calls himself in his tomb inscription of 751/1350: *akhī muʿaẓẓam* (Mübārek Ghālib, *Anḳara*, ii, 15 f., no. 20; *Islamica*, 1929, 44, no. 3b). According to Neshrī (Taeschner), 52 (= ed. Ankara, 190-2), it was from their hands that Murād I accepted the town in 762/1360-1, We find *akhīs* also in the entourage of the first Ottoman rulers; some of these *akhīs* took part in the conquest of Brusa (for details see *Islamica*, 1929, 30). Basing himself on this fact, Fr. Giese (*ZS*, 1924, 255, 258) considered the *akhīs* as the troops with whose help the Ottomans founded their power, and surmised that they themselves were members of *akhī* organizations. This is, however, little likely, in view of the urban character of Akhism and the fact that its associations were composed of craftsmen. P. Wittek has shown with much probability that the role attributed by Giese to the *akhīs* belongs in reality to the *ghāzīs*, fighters for the faith, who constituted a military counterpart to the *akhīs* (first in *ZDMG*, 1925, 288 f., and then frequently). On the other hand it results from a *waḳfiyya* of Murād I, of 767/1366, and an inscription in Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh, of 769/1368, that Murād, probably for political reasons, joined the still powerful *akhī* organization (see Fr. Taeschner, *War Murād I Grossmeister oder Mitglied des Achibundes*, *Oriens*, 1953, 23-31). This was followed, however, by the decline, rather than the advancement, of Akhism, as it seems that the Ottoman sultans, when they had no further need of the *akhīs*, dropped their relations with them.

The *akhīs*' own literature does not allude to any activity in public life. Here the *akhī* organization appears as a half-religious, *darwish*-like society. It comprised three grades: *yigit* ("young man", translation of A. *fatā*, designated the ordinary unmarried member of the organization); *akhī* (president of a corporation of *fityān* and owner of a *zāwiya*, meeting-house, of which there were sometimes more than one

in a town); and *shaykh*. The latter grade seems to have played practically no active role; probably it refers to the leader of a *darwīsh* settlement, to which the members of the corporation felt themselves attached. Such attachments seem to have varied with the individual corporations; there are known to have been relations between *akhīs* and the Mewlewīs, Bektashīs, Khalwetīs, and probably yet other orders. The ordinary members were again divided into two classes: they were either *ḳawlīs*, "word-members", when they made a general profession only ("by way of speech"), or *sayfīs*, "sword-members", who probably were the active members. Their symbol was, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 264, a knife (*sikkīn*); they covered their heads with a white woollen headgear (*ḳalansuwa*), from the end of which there hung down a piece of cloth one ell long and two fingers in breadth (the resemblance to the head-covering of the later Janissaries, the *keče*, is noteworthy). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the members of an *akhī* corporation met every evening in the house of their leader, the *akhī*, bringing him their daily earnings, which served to cover the expenses of the club premises and the communal meal, to which also guests, especially passing travellers, would be invited. The lodging and entertaining of travellers was considered by the *akhīs* as their main function. According to Ibn Baṭṭūta, they also played a political role by fighting tyrants and murdering their adherents; this statement may be an echo of the frequently attested activities of the *akhīs* in earlier times, which found expression in revolts and similar demonstrations.

As regards other customs and their code of honour, the *akhīs* accepted the general rules of *futuwwa* ([*q.v.*], T. *fütüwwet*). As in the *futuwwa*, so also among the *akhīs*, the initiation of novices (*terbiye*) into the association by their girding, the cutting of their hair, the passing round of a cup of salted water and putting on the trousers, was of central importance. Their religious-political position, however, was not fixed: some elements in the custom and theory of the *akhīs*, as for instance the intense cult of ʿAlī, shows a Shīʿite colouring; yet they no doubt considered themselves to be Sunnīs and like all Turks followed the Ḥanafī rite. (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, as a Mālikī, fell in Sinob under suspicion of being a Rāfiḍī, i.e. Shīʿite, because of a minute difference in the ritual of prayer and had to clear himself by eating roasted hare (ii, 352 f.).)

In the 15th century information about Akhism becomes more and more rare and finally ceases. Sometimes the word *akhī* occurs, but merely as a proper name. A *molla* Akhaweyn is named under Meḥmed II; a family called Akhī-zāde, whose members occupied high judicial posts, survived into the 17th century. Also place-names in which the word *akhī* occurs in various combinations are not uncommon in Anatolia and Rumelia. But it seems that Akhism disappeared in the course of the 15th century. Its tradition survived only in some elements of the Turkish guilds [cf. ṢINF], in whose organization (which according to Sayyid Meḥemmed b. Sayyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's *Great Fütüwwet-nāme* (composed in 1524) had nine grades) the *akhī*, also called *khalīfe*, occupied the seventh grade. The *akhī* tradition was especially cultivated in the guild of the tanners, who had as their patron Akhī Ewrān [*q.v.*], a semi-mythical figure, who, if he is historical at all, must have lived in the first half of the 14th century. The president of the tanners' guild bore the title of Akhī Baba [*q.v.*]. Moreover, among the tanners the *Fütüwwet-nāme* of Yaḥyā b. Khalīl al-Burghāzī continued to be read, revised and copied.

The designation *akhī* occurs sporadically also outside Turkey, but the evidences are too scanty to allow of any definite conclusions as to its exact significance. The most striking case is appearance of a man called Akhīdjūḳ [*q.v.*], "little *akhī*" in Ādharbaydjān after the decline of the Īlkhāns of Persia. The word *akhī* occurs, in a weakened sense, several times in the *diwān* of "Khaṭāʾī", i.e. Shāh Ismāʿīl, as one of the designations given to his followers (V. Minorsky, *The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I*, *BSOAS*, 1942, 1030a; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Halkedebiyatl Ansiklopedisi*, no. 1, Istanbul 1935, 30a).

Bibliography: Köprülü-zāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Türk Edebiyyātinde ilk Müteṣawwifler*, Istanbul 1918, 237-43; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *Medjelle-i Ümūr-i Belediyye*, *i*: *Taʾrīkh-i Teshkīlāt-i Belediyye*; Istanbul 1338/1922, ch. vi: *Akhī teshkīlātīnīn eṣnāflīk-la münāsebeti*, 537-56; Vl. Gordlevskiy, *Iz žizni tsekhov v Turtsii.K istorii "akhi"*, *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, 1926-7, 235-48 (French résumé by G. Vajda, in *REI*, 1934, 79 f.); Fr. Taeschner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Achis in Anatolien* (14.-15. *Jhdt*.) *auf Grund neuer Quellen*, *Islamica*, 1929, 1-47; M. Djewdet, *Dhayl ʿalā Faṣl "al-Akhiyya al-Fityān al-Turkiyya" fī Kitāb al-Riḥla li-Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (*L'éducation et l'organisation aux foyers des gens des métiers en Asie Mineure et Syrie du XII*[e] *siècle jusqu'à notre temps*), Istanbul 1350/1932; Âfet Inan, *Aperçu général sur l'Histoire économique de l'Empire Turc-Ottoman*, Istanbul 1941, 63-6; Fr. Taeschner, *Der anatolische Dichter Nāṣiri* (*um* 1300) *und sein Futuvvetname*, mit Beiträgen von W. Schumacher, Leipzig 1944; Ilhan Tarus, *Ahiler*, Ankara 1947 (to be used with caution); Fr. Taeschner, *Spuren für das Vorkommen des Achitums ausserhalb von Anatolien*, Proceedings of the 22nd Inter. Congr. of Orient., Istanbul 1951; Cl. Cahen, *Sur les traces des premiers Akhis*, *M. F. Köprülü Armağanī*. Cf. also FUTUWWA.

(FR. TAESCHNER)

AKHĪ BABA, in popular parlance also AHU BABA or EHI BABA, title of the shaykh of the tekye of Akhī Ewrān [*q.v.*] in Kīrshehir. Sometimes also his delegates to the Turkish guilds [cf. ṢINF] in Anatolia, Rumelia and Bosnia, especially those of the tanners and other leather workers (saddlers and shoemakers), as well as the heads of these guilds, were given the title of Akhī Baba (more correctly *Akhī Baba wekīli*). The main task of the Akhī Baba, or of his delegate or local representative, was to carry out the initiation of apprentices to these guilds by the ceremony of the girding (*ḳushaḳ* or *peshtemāl ḳushatmak*); this carried with it some fees. The Akhī Babas succeeded little by little in extending their ascendancy over other guilds and conducting the girding ceremony in them also. Thus they brought under their control almost the whole Turkish guild organization, both in Anatolia and the European provinces (but not, however, in the provinces with Arab population), acquiring for themselves a position of considerable power, and for the *tekye* of Kīrshehir great riches. Only a few guilds managed to escape their control; among these were the guilds of Ankara, which had formerly been the stronghold of *akhism*. His influence even reached as far as the Crimea, where also the tanners' guild had precedence in all celebrations of the guilds (E. Bulatov, in *Očerki Rossii*, ed. V. Passek, Moscow 1840, iii, 139-54; V. Gordlewskiy, *Organizatsiya*

tsekhov v krimskikh Tatar, Trudi etnografo-arkheologičeskovo Muzei, pri I. Moskovskom Gosudarsto. Universitete, iv, Moscow 1928, 56-65).

The Akhī Babas claimed to be descendants of Akhi Ewrān. The local representatives of the Akhī Baba were elected by the members of the respective guilds, but did not necessarily belong to them, and any persons who were in any way notable could be chosen. They had, however, to receive a licence (*idjāzet-nāme*) from the Akhī Baba of Kïrshehir and a diploma (*berāt*), confirming the appointment, from the government. The Akhī Baba of the tanners was at the same time the head of the whole guild organisation in his town. He could, however, be deposed.

With the decline of the Turkish guilds, following on the penetration of Western economic systems, the journeys of the Akhī Babas of Kïrshehir, as well as the sending of delegates by him, fell into disuse. A delegate of the Akhī Baba came to Bosnia for the last time in 1886-7 (Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini*, *Sarajevo*, in *Zbornik Narodni život i običaje južnik Slavena*, Zagreb 1935, 101-47). In the provinces which remained part of the Ottoman Empire, this practice ceased only at the time of the abolition of the old guilds in 1908.

Bibliography: see AKHĪ and AKHĪ EWRĀN, also Fr. Taeschner, *Das Zunftwesen in der Türkei, Leipziger Vierteljahrschrift für Südosteuropa*, 1941, 172-88; idem, *Das bosnische Zunftwesen zur Türkenzeit* (1463-1878), *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1951, 551-9. (FR. TAESCHNER)

AKHĪ EWRĀN, semilegendary Turkish saint, patron of the Turkish tanners' guilds. His tomb sanctuary in Kïrshehir (built in the 9th/15th century, with inscriptions of 854/1450 and 886/1481; the last in the name of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla b. Süleymān Beg, probably of the family of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr, and thus brother-in-law of Sultan Meḥmed II), connected with a *tekye*, was a frequented place of pilgrimage. Tashköprü-zāde (on margin of Ibn Khallikān, 15; Turkish transl. of Medjdī, 33; German transl. by O. Rescher, 6) mentions him amongst the *shaykhs* of the period of Orkhān. His name first occurs in a Turkish *mathnawī*, *Kerāmāt-i Akhī Ewrān ṭāba tharāh*, by Gülshehrī, which was composed probably after the author's *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr* (finished in 717/1317)—from which it has many borrowings—and not long after the saint's death. He is next mentioned in the *Wilāyet-nāme* of Ḥādjdjī Bektash, written in the time of Murād II (E. Gross, *Das Vilâjet-name des Ḥâǧǧî Bektasch*, Leipzig 1927, 82-93). While in Gülshehrī's *mathnawī* Akhī Ewrān's figure is given only a slight touch of the miraculous (it is noteworthy that there is as yet no mention there of his relation with the tanners' craft), in the *Wilāyet-nāme* it is already fully elaborated with legendary features (there is also mention of relations with the tanners); it is worth noting that here Akhī Ewran is presented not as a disciple, but as a friend of Ḥādjdjī Bektash. According to ʿAlī Emīrī (*OTEM*, 1335, 467 f., note) and M. Djewdet (*Dhayl ʿalā Faṣl "al-Akhiyya al-Fityān"*, Istanbul 1351/1932, 279-82) there exists a document of endowment (*waḳfiyye*) by Akhī Ewrān dating from 706/1306-7 (in a copy published by C. H. Tarïm, *Kïrşehir Tarihi*, Kïrşehir 1938, it even bears the date of 676/1277!), where the full name of the saint is given as al-Shaykh Naṣīr (Tarïm: Naṣr) al-Dīn Pīr-i Pīrān Akhī Ewrān. The document can, however, easily be recognized as a forgery, as Shaykh Ḥāmid Welī (d. 815/1412), teacher of Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Welī (d. 833/1428-9) is named in it; it was probably fabricated in the first half of the 15th century, in order to give legal sanction to the possessions of Akhī Ewrān's sanctuary in Kïrshehir.—The importance of the sanctuary as a place of pilgrimage is attested by Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs (*Mirʾāt ül-Memālik*, Istanbul 1313, 16; Engl. transl. by A. Vambery, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis*, London 1899, 105), who visited it in 964/1556 on his return from India. Also other Anatolian cities besides Kïrshehir boasted of the possession of the grave, or at least of a memorial, of the saint, for instance Trapezunt (a *maḳām* on the Boz Tepe), Ḳonya (in the quarter of Sïrčalï), Nigde and Brusa. All these were, however, more or less forgotten, and only the sanctuary of Kïrshehir retained its position.

In addition to the aforementioned writings, legends of Akhī Ewrān are occasionally found in authors such as ʿĀlī, *Künh ül-Akhbār*, v, 64; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, i, 594 f.; in the literature of the tanners' guilds, which continued the *akhī* tradition (often in the form of appendices bearing the title of *Menāḳib* to the *Fütüwwet-nāme* of Yaḥyā b. Khalīl al-Burghāzī, (cf. AKHĪ)); in oral traditions, recorded for instance by M. Räsänen, *Türkische Sprachproben aus Mittelanatolien*, iii, Helsinki 1936, 99 ff., nos. 22, 23 and 25, and by W. Ruben (see Bibl.). For the most part they deal with the saint's work as a tanner (or gardener) or with his name (Ewran or Ewren, "snake, dragon"; for this reason Gordlevskiy suspects a survival of a snake cult). In the tanners' guild literature the legend is found that his original name was Maḥmūd, that he was a son of al-ʿAbbās, the Prophet's uncle, and that he had been specially commended by the Prophet. (This anachronism was censured in the work of Münīrī Belghrādī, who criticized the Shīʿite tendences which were displayed in the literature of the guilds, in a work entitled *Nisāb ül-Intisāb wa-Ādāb ül-Iktisāb*, composed in 1620.) In the *ʿAnḳā-yi Mushriḳ* of the Djelwetī *shaykh* Sayyid Muṣṭafā Ḥāshim (d. 1197/1783), quoted by ʿAlī Emīrī (loc. cit., 464-6), the saint, under the name of Sayyid Niʿmat Allāh Akhī Ewrān Welī, is brought, along with Ḥādjdjī Bektash Welī and Sayyid Edebālī, into connection with Ghāzī ʿOthmān's girding with the sword. As patron of the Turkish tanners, a *silsile* was ascribed to him which went back to Zayd Hindī, patron of all the tanners; other *silsiles* go back to Manṣūr ʿĀbid, i.e. al-Ḥallādj.

The sanctuary of Akhī Ewrān in Kïrshehir played a great role into the first years of the 20th century, as the *shaykh* of the monastery, who bore the title of Akhī Baba [*q.v.*] controlled, partly personally, partly through his representatives who resided in the various towns, the guilds of the tanners and of kindred leather workers (saddlers, shoemakers) in Anatolia and the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and gradually succeeded in extending his influence over almost the whole of the Turkish guild-organisation.

Bibliography: V. Gordlevskiy, *Dervishi Akhi Evrana i tsekhi v Turtsii*, *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1927, 1171-94 (French résumé by G. Vajda, in *REI*, 1934, 81-8); Fr. Taeschner, in *Islamica*, 1929, 31-4 (with references to earlier bibliography); idem, *Legendenbildung um Achi Evran, den Heiligen von Kïrşehir*, *WI*, Sonderbd. Festschrift Fr. Giese, 1941, 61-71, 90 f.; C. H. Tarim, *Kïrşehir tarihi üzerinde araştirmalar*, i, Kïrşehir 1938, 114-76; idem, *Tarihte Kïrşehri — Gülşehri*, 1948; H. B. Kunter, *Kitabelerimiz*, *Vakïflar Dergisi*,

1942, 431 ff. (the inscriptions in the sepulchral sanctuary: 434 f. nos. 8-14); W. Ruben, *Kirşehir'in dikkatlmiz çeken san'at âbideleri, iii: Ahi Evran Türbesi, Bell.*, 1947, 616-38 (German résumé in *Bell.*, 1948, 195-9; description of the sepulchral sanctuary and legends about Akhī Ewrān); Fr. Taeschner, *Gülschehrī's Mesnevī auf Achi Evran, den Heiligen von Kirschehir und Patron der türkischen Zünfte*, Wiesbaden 1955. (Fr. Taeschner)

AKHĪDJŪḲ, "little *akhī*", an *amīr* of unknown name in Tabrīz, in the 8th/14th century, follower of the Čobanid Malik Ashraf, who was defeated and executed by Djānī Beg, *khān* of the Golden Horde. When after Djānī Beg's death his son, Berdī Beg, who had been left by his father as governor in the conquered city, left Tabrīz in order to secure his father's throne for himself (758/1357), Akhīdjūḳ succeeded in obtaining possession not only of Tabrīz, but of the whole of Ādharbaydjān, and in defending them for some time from the Djalā'irid sultan of Baghdād, Uways, son of the "Great Ḥasan" (Ḥasan-i Buzurg). When, however, Uways captured Tabrīz in 760/1359, he ordered the execution of Akhīdjūḳ, who had taken part in a conspiracy against him. During his short rule Akhīdjūḳ corresponded with the Mamlūk Empire of Egypt (he was adressed by the Mamlūk chancery simply by the title of "*akhī*"; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, viii, 261, cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Agypten*, 128). His fame spread as far as Anatolia, where a chapter was devoted to him by the old Ottoman poet Aḥmedī in his famous *Iskender-nāme*.

Bibliography: Mirkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Bombay 1266, v, 169; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Teheran 1271, iii, 81; Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, transl. Bayani, Paris 1936, 154; V. Minorsky in *EI*[1], IV, artt. TABRĪZ and UWAYS; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 137; Fr. Taeschner, *Der Achidschuḳ von Tebriz*, in *Festschrift Jan Rypka*, Prague 1956. (Fr. Taeschner)

ĀKHIR-I ČĀRSHAMBA [see ṢAFAR].

ĀKHIRA, fem. of *ākhir*, "the last", is a term used already in the Ḳur'ān for the life to come, according to the commentators properly *al-dār al-ākhira*, "the last abode", as opposed to (*al-dār* or *al-ḥayāt*) *al-dunyā*, "the nearer or nearest abode or life", i.e. the present world. A synonym is *maʿād*. The same antithesis is expressed by the terms *dār al-baḳā'*, "the abode of everlasting existence", and *dār al-fanā'*, "the abode of transitoriness", and by the roots *'djl* and *ʿdjl*. *Ākhira* also denotes the condition of bliss or misery in the hereafter, again as opposed to *dunyā*, the lot of man in the present world, and in particular its pleasures. From these meanings derive more technically theological and philosophical definitions, such as the state of resurrection whether corporeal or incorporeal or, if resurrection of the body is denied, a spiritual state. See also DUNYĀ.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; A. Sprenger (ed.), *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, s.v.; Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn, kitāb* 40 and passim; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal, rukn* 3, *ḳism*, 2. (A. S. Tritton)

AKHISKHA, the Persian and Turkish name of a town, in Georgian Akhal Tsikhe, "New Fortress", situated on the Poskhov river (left tributary of the upper Kur), centre of the Georgian province Samtskhe (later Sa-atabago) which is mentioned among the conquests of Ḥabīb b. Maslama (under Muʿāwiya), al-Balādhurī, 203.

Under the Mongols the local rulers (of the Djakilʿe family) became autonomous and received the title of *atabegs*. The name Ḳurḳūra found in Persian and Turkish sources refers to these rulers of whom several bore the name of Ḳuarḳuare (see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii). In 1579 Akhal Tsikhe was occupied by the Ottomans who succeeded in implanting in this region Islam and Ottoman customs. In 1625 the Turkish pashas took over the administration. Akhal Tsikhe became a considerable strategic point and one of the chief Caucasian slave-markets, cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 408 f. In 1829 the town was incorporated by the Russians. After the revolution it forms part of the Georgian S. S. Republic. (V. Minorsky)

AKHLĀḲ (plural of *khuluḳ*, "innate disposition"), ethics.

(i) Survey of ethics in Islam; (ii) Philosophical ethics.

(i) SURVEY OF ETHICS IN ISLAM.

1. Islamic ethics took shape only gradually and the tradition of the different elements of which it is composed was not finally established before the 5th/11th century. Unlike the Greek world, in which popular ethics were refined and reshaped by philosophical reasoning without any breach between them, and with no perceptible influence of any foreign doctrine, so that eventually philosophy came to express the moral values by which the lives of the educated classes were governed, in Islam ethics appear in their matured state as an interesting and, on the whole, successful amalgamation of a pre-Islamic Arabian tradition and Ḳur'ānic teaching with non-Arabic elements, mainly of Persian and Greek origins, embedded in or integrated with a general-Islamic structure. The praise of, and value attached to, good character (*ḥusn al-khuluḳ*) is common enough among traditionalists, mystics, philosophers, and those writers who aim at giving practical advice to rulers and "civil servants". But their ideas of moral perfection are drawn from widely different sources, although all of them, in various ways, try to conform to the basic standards of Islam (which are in themselves not static); hence the process of assimilation and eventual integration of these different and sometimes conflicting trends extended over a considerable time.

2. It would be erroneous to assume that the different kinds of morality which found literary expression in successive periods from the age of the pre-Islamic poets to the 5th/11th century present a cumulative process, in the sense that each new type as it emerged replaced or suppressed the earlier types. On the contrary, they co-existed for a long time, in varying strength. The tribal *sunna* of the pre-Islamic Arabs, based on usage and custom, described by I. Goldziher (*Muhammedanische Studien*, i) and others (e.g. B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932), by no means died out with the advent of Islam; and since pre-Islamic literature eventually became part of the accepted Arabic humanities, the values expressed in it were never entirely forgotten: a high sense of personal honour [see ʿIRḌ], courage [see ḤAMĀSA], loyalty to one's fellowtribesmen [see ḲABĪLA], hospitality [see ḌAYF], endurance [see ṢABR], self-control [see ḤILM], and a secular spirit which could never be completely quelled by the prevailing religious morality [cf. also MURUWWA]. The preaching of Muḥammad obviously produced a radical change in moral values as well, based on the sanctions of the new religion, and fear

of God and of the Last Judgment: kindness and equity, compassion and mercy, generosity, self-restraint, sincerity, moral fellowship of the Believers are among the new virtues to replace tribal morality, and to become the pillars of an ethical society or, at least, the programme for such a society.

The religious ethic of the Ḳur'ān was subsequently expanded and pointed in immense detail by the traditionists in the form of *ḥadīths* [*q.v.*], professedly based upon and expounding the *sunna*, or model behaviour, of the Prophet, but frequently supplementing this source by traditions of the Companions and by adaptation of materials from the cultural traditions of the older religions. The importance of the *Ḥadīth* in forming and maintaining the common ethical ideas of the Muslim Community in all ages and all regions has been incalculable; but in addition it was largely responsible for the ethical framework of the developing Islamic Law [see SHARĪʿA], and for laying the foundations which made possible the process of integration described above. It may be said broadly that the whole corpus of *Ḥadīth* constitutes a handbook of Islamic ethics, inasmuch as in the general Muslim view the correct performance of religious duties and the right understanding of religious doctrine are inseparable elements of the moral life. Within this comprehensive structure, however, certain forms of conduct were more particularly designated by the term *adab* [*q.v.*], which in this early religious context had a definitely ethical connotation (see, e.g. Wensinck's *Handbook*, s.v. Adab). It is tempting to surmise (though it might be difficult to prove) that it was the capture of this term for the very differently motivated ethic of Persian origin expounded by the 2nd/8th century writers (see § 4 below) which led to the substitution of the term *akhlāḳ*, which appears in various traditions extolling "good *akhlāḳ*" (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 11a and B. Farès, *Makārim al-Aḥlāq*, *Rend. Linc.*, 1937, 417 = *Mabāḥith ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1939, 21 ff.). The tradition of the Prophet used as a proof-text by later writers on Islamic ethics: "I have been sent to fulfil the virtues which go with nobility of character (*makārim al-akhlāḳ*)", does not occur in the canonical books of tradition (cf. B. Farès, loc. cit.). Under this title several collections of ethical *ḥadīths* were made from the 3rd/9th century onwards, e.g. by Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (Brock., I, 160), al-Kharā'iṭī (Brock., S I, 250), and al-Ṭabarsī (Brock. I, 513; S I, 709), the last-named being the classical Shīʿite book on the subject (cf. also B. Farès, 411-2).

3. The refinement and development of moral thought on the basis of the *Ḥadīth* was carried further by both of the religious movements which began to develop within Sunnī Islam in the 3rd/9th century. In theological circles, on the one hand, the conflict with the antideterminist trend of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*], and the consequent emphasis laid by the Muʿtazilite theologians on moral decision and individual responsibility, produced an elaborate discussion and analysis of these topics [see ḲADAR]; and it was through both the Muʿtazilite movement, which in its turn was connected with Greek thought and Christian-Hellenistic apologetic works, and the orthodox reaction to it [see KALĀM] that the reception of Greek philosophical ethics was prepared and made possible. On the other hand, the anti-intellectual and ascetic mystical movement of Ṣūfism [see TAṢAWWUF] produced a somewhat divergent type of Islamic ethics, which was gradually to become more and more influential and eventually almost dominated in the Islamic world. For the ṣūfī preachers, poverty, self-humiliation, and complete surrender of personality became the highest values in life. It may be sufficient here to mention one eminent early ṣūfī writer, al-Muḥāsibī (d. 213/857), who had a decisive influence on al-Ghazālī when he made ṣūfism a definite part of Islamic ethics in his fundamental *Revivification of the Religious Sciences* (see M. Smith, *An early Mystic of Baghdad*, London 1935, and *JRAS*, 1936, 65).

4. The introduction of Persian moral thought into the Islamic tradition preceded the acquaintance with Greek ethics. Its main representative is Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], and—apart from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, a work which deserves to be mentioned in this context—its main content is to be found in the two *adab* works ascribed to him, the *Adab al-Kabīr* (Fr. translation by C. F. Destrée, Brussels 1902, from the Dutch of G. van Vloten; German trans. by O. Rescher, *MSOS*, 1917) and the *Adab al-Ṣaghīr* (German trans. by O. Rescher, 1915), whose authenticity has been doubted but not disproved by G. Richter (*Isl.*, 1930, 278) and F. Gabrieli (*RSO*, 1932, 219 ff.). These works [cf. also ARDASHĪR, BUZURDJMIHR] are not based on any philosophical principle, but rather remind the reader of Greek rhetorics, giving the rulers, "civil servants" and persons who wish to advance in life advice on how to be successful. The Islamic allusions contained in this literature are at first scanty and formal, but the connection of this tradition with religion is steadily emphasized; Islam is regarded accordingly in the character of a state religion, linked to the sovereign power as religion had been linked with political power in the old Persian state (cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], Copenhagen 1944, ch. iii): "religion and government are sisters". The advice, conveyed in a pleasing and effective style, is based on opportunist considerations and the recognition of force, which the intelligent man (*al-ʿāḳil*) will know how to deal with properly. In the course of a century or so, however, this originally foreign *adab* tradition was more or less adapted to Islamic standards, and was finally received into the accepted body of Islamic *adab* in the *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* of Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889-90). This work, which may be called the first comprehensive manual of Islamic ethics, brought together and to a remarkable degree integrated the Ḳur'ānic, *ḥadīth*, pre-Islamic and Persian contributions, and by excluding the irreconcilable elements of the two latter, practically defined and standardized the component elements of the orthodox morality in its pre-philosophical and pre-ṣūfistic stage. Related types of literature are the "Mirrors of Princes" [see MALIK] and popular wisdom in apophthegmatic form [see ḤIKMA].

5. Philosophical ethics, derived from the Greeks, was introduced at first by the limited circles who devoted themselves to the study of philosophy. The details of its development amongst the Muslim *falāsifa* are studied in the next section. As is pointed out in §§ 8-10 of that section, philosophical ethics exercised an influence on *adab* literature and what is of even greater importance, philosophical ethics in the form given to it by Miskawayh was fully excepted by such an influential theologian as al-Ghazālī and in this way was integrated with religious tradition. Miskawayh's doctrine became known also through another channel, viz. the Persian works of authors such as al-Ṭūsī and al-Dawwānī. On the other hand, the purely ṣūfistic morality gained through the great Persian poets an

immense influence in the eastern Islamic world, including Turkey—an influence which was paralleled and reinforced in all countries by the powerful social position occupied by the ṣūfī orders and the extension of their lay membership to all classes.

6. During the last century, the strong revulsion from ṣūfism in orthodox Muslim circles has had a parallel effect on Muslim ethical thought, which in reaction from the extreme passivity of the ṣūfī ethic has tended to swing towards an activist ethic, rather guardedly expressed by such leaders as Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ʿAbduh, and in more outspokenly "Muʿtazilite" terms by others. Outside theological circles, the same trend, reinforced by the influence of western philosophies, together with internal social and political developments, has stimulated more evolutionary types of ethical theory, notably those of the Turkish sociologist Ziyā Gökalp and of the Indian poet Muḥammad Iḳbāl, all of which, however, are most properly to be regarded as representing transitional phases in modern Muslim thought. (R. Walzer and H. A. R. Gibb)

(ii) Philosophical Ethics.

1. In the classification of the various branches of philosophy, *akhlāḳ* is considered, together with politics (*al-ʿilm al-madanī*, see madīna) and economics (*tadbīr al-manzil* [*q.v.*]), as a part of practical philosophy. Galen's work *Fī 'l-Akhlāḳ* is described in Ḥunayn's treatise on the Syriac and Arabic Galen-translations in the following terms: "Galen dealt in it with different ἤθη, their causes, signs and treatment" (ed. Bergsträsser, no. 119; cf. Seneca, Epist. xcv, 65). Al-Ghazālī uses almost the same words when he says (*al-Munkidh*, 99) that *akhlāḳ* as a branch of philosophy consists in "defining the characteristics and moral constitutions of the soul and the method of moderating and controlling them". The same definition still occurs in Ibn Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shirwānī (d. 1036/1626-7), quoted by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, s.v. *akhlāḳ*: "It is the science of virtues and the way how to acquire them, of vices, and the way how to guard against them. Its subject is: the innate dispositions (*akhlāḳ*), the acquired virtues, and the rational soul as far as it is affected by them". *Akhlāḳ* as a philosophical doctrine of ethics appealed at first only to the limited circles of persons interested in Greek philosophy. But since its representatives insist that philosophical ethics are not meant to contradict Islam but either to supplement or confirm it, these ideas could eventually be integrated with the religious tradition and retain some influence even in later centuries.

2. Greek moral philosophy was conveyed to the Arabs in several different ways which eventually converged. Standard works of the classical days of Greece read in the late philosophical schools, like Plato's *Republic*, *Timaeus*, *Laws*, were known in the original and in commentaries and summaries (cf. aflāṭūn). Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, divided into eleven books, were known in Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's translation. Books viii-xi of the Arabic text, corresponding to vii-x of the usual division, have been traced in a Moroccan manuscript (cf. A. J. Arberry, in *BSOAS*, 1955, 1 ff.). The same manuscript contains a summary of the *Nicomachean Ethics* by Nicolaus of Damascus (1st century B. C.). Porphyry's commentary (cf. *Fihrist*, and J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre*, Gand-Leipzig 1913, 56*-58*) was translated into Arabic and most probably extensively used by Miskawayh in chapters 3-5 of his *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* (see § 7 below). The Arabs knew also a late Greek summary of the *Nicomachean Ethics* ("Summary of the Alexandrines"): extracts in MS Taymūr Pasha, *akhlāḳ* 290, no. 16; this work was translated into Latin by Herman the German in 1243 or 1244 (cf. *Aristoteles Latinus*, ii, Cambridge 1955, 1308). Al-Fārābī wrote a commentary on the introduction of the *Nicomachean Ethics* which is referred to by Spanish authors of the 12th century (cf. M. Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, St. Petersburg 1869, 60). Ibn Rushd's Middle Commentary (written in A. D. 1177) is preserved in a Latin translation by the same Herman in 1240 (cf. *Aristoteles Latinus*, ii, 1308) and in a Hebrew translation of 1321 by Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles (M. Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übersetzungen*, 217).

Among Greek works less known in the Western tradition but widely read in the Arab world are three treatises by Galen. (1) Περὶ ἠθῶν, *Fī 'l-Akhlāḳ*, lost in the Greek original and preserved only in Arabic guise. (Arabic Epitome published by P. Kraus in *Bull. of the Fac. of Arts of the Univ. of Egypt*, v/1, 1939; cf. R. Walzer, in *Classical Quarterly*, 1949, 82 ff.; idem, in *Harvard Theological Review*, 1954, 243 ff.; S. M. Stern, in *Classical Quarterly*, 1956.) (2) *How a man may discover his own vices* (cf. *Corpus Med. Graec.*, v, 4, 11; Ḥunayn, *Risāla*, no. 118). (3) *Good men profit by their enemies* (lost in the Greek original; Ḥunayn, no. 121). Both of these two latter treatises were used by al-Rāzī (see § 5 below), all three by Miskawayh (§ 7 below). A treatise by Themistius is quoted under a wrong name by Miskawayh (see below); another one attributed to him survives in Arabic (ed. L. Cheikho, *Mash.*, 1920, 887-9, tr. M. Bouyges, *Arch. de Philosophie*, 1924, 15 ff.). There were, no doubt, some other late Greek books from which middle-platonic Greek thought, only slightly touched by neoplatonic ideas, was handed down to the Arabs. Among other pre-neoplatonic treatises studied by Arabic writers on moral philosophy are the *Pinax* of Cebes ("Kābis the Platonist"), reproduced in Miskawayh's *Djāwidhān Khirad* (ed. Badawi, 229 ff.; separate editions by Elichman, Leiden 1640 and R. Basset, Algiers 1898); the neopythagorean Bryson's Οἰκονομικός, preserved only in Arabic translation and extensively quoted by Miskawayh (ed. M. Plessner, Heidelberg 1928); the *Golden Verses* ascribed to Pythagoras [see fūthāghūras] and a pseudo-platonic *Exhortation concerning the education of young men*, two "pythagorean" documents by which Miskawayh was impressed (cf. F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, 1941, 104 ff., 383 ff.).

3. Al-Kindī's ethical treatises (*Fihrist*, nos. 190-1, 193-6, cf. also F. Rosenthal, *al-Sarakhsī*, ii A, 10-2, 16-7) were apparently appreciated by subsequent Islamic writers. His treatise *On freedom from Grief* (ed. H. Ritter-R. Walzer, *Studi su Al Kindi II*, Rome 1938; M. Pohlenz, in *GGA*, 1938, 404 ff.) was used by Miskawayh (*Tahdhīb*, 70 ff.), Ibn Sīnā and others. Another quotation in Miskawayh (61) may derive from al-Kindī's lost work *Fī 'l-Akhlāḳ* and is also known to al-Ghazālī (F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, 1940, 186 ff.). Al-Kindī (cf. *al-Ḥudūd*, in *Rasāʾil* (Abū Rīda), 177-8 and elsewhere in his *Rasāʾil*) bases his moral philosophy, not unlike the Stoics, Galen and other late Greek philosophers, on the threefold platonic partition of the soul into a rational, spirited and appetitive part or soul or faculty, and on a platonic definition of the four cardinal virtues, wisdom, valour, temperance and justice [cf. faḍīla]; these in their turn are each associated with a number of subordinate virtues. This scheme may, though

different in detail, be compared to the Stoic arrangement of the virtues and vices, or, e.g., to the pseudo-Aristotelian *De virtutibus et vitiis* (transl. in the 11th century by Ibn al-Ṭayyib (Brock., S I, 884). The Aristotelian definition of virtue as the mean between two extremes is combined with the platonising view (cf. Porphyry, Ἀφορμαί, ch. xxxii, 2 and I. Goldziher, *Maʿānī al-Nafs*, 20). Although the evidence available in the few extant works of al-Kindī is obviously slight, it seems probable that Miskawayh based himself in the first chapter of *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* on al-Kindī's treatment of the virtues and vices. There is on the whole nothing ultra-neoplatonic in al-Kindī's platonising popular philosophy, in which platonic, peripatetic and stoic elements are blended in a way not uncommon in hellenistic and later popular Greek moral treatises.

4. The Christian Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā's treatise ***About the causes of the differences which exist between men with regard to their characters, ways of life, desires and considered moral choice*** (ed. P. Sbath, in *BIE*, 1941) is based on the Platonic tripartition of the soul and on the whole on ideas to be found in Galen.

5. Al-Kindī's treatise *On Spiritual Medicine* appears to be lost but al-Rāzī's brilliant treatment of the same subject is available in a critical edition of the Arabic text (*Opera Philosophica*, ed. Kraus, 15-96, Eng. tr. by A. J. Arberry, *The spiritual Physick of Rhazes*, London 1950). As was to be expected in this Muslim "Platonist", it is written in an uncompromisingly platonic vein, and the Aristotelian elements found in al-Kindī and Miskawayh are missing. It should be studied together with his autobiographical defence of the philosophical way of life (*Opera*, 98-111; French transl. by P. Kraus in *Orientalia*, 1935, 300 ff.; English tr. by Arberry in *Asiatic Review*, 1949). Al-Rāzī's version of Greek moral philosophy did not, however, influence the main trend of philosophical ethics in Islam.

6. The treatise *Fī Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* of the Jacobite philosopher Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī represents another variant of late Greek thought. There are no specifically Christian ideas in it; Aristotelian influence is, as in al-Rāzī, non-existent. It is based on the platonic tripartition of the soul, but the 21 virtues and corresponding vices are neither specifically referred to the three souls nor subordinated to the four cardinal virtues and their contraries (which are listed among them). This scheme probably depends ultimately on some lost pre-neoplatonic Greek original. His concluding chapter on the perfect man who bases his life on the requirements of his intellectual soul and has trained himself to love every human being combines stoic and neoplatonic language, and is not very different from the thought of al-Fārābī [*q.v.*].

7. The most influential work on philosophical ethics is *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* of Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) (analysis of its contents in de Boer, 507, and Donaldson, 127-133; Eng. tr. by A. J. M. Craig in course of publication). Miskawayh firmly rejects the pre-Islamic Arabic poets as educators, but is not unsympathetic to the Persian tradition of ethics. In many striking passages he insists on the agreement of Greek moral philosophy with the basic tenets of Islam. He tries, however, to reconcile revealed and philosophical truth on the basis of rational thought, and for this reason his views are not acceptable to a primarily religious thinker, except with a certain shift of emphasis. The few Greek writers mentioned by name and quoted, sometimes at considerable length, are all of the later centuries of the Roman Empire: Galen (see § 2 above), Bryson (on the right upbringing of children; ibid.), Porphyry as a commentator on Aristotle's *Ethics*, and Themistius, wrongly quoted under the name of Socrates (cf. F. Rosenthal, in *IC*, 1940, 403). References to Plato and Aristotle occur within the context of these late works. Although al-Kindī is only twice mentioned by name, Miskawayh is probably in al-Kindī's debt to a much greater extent (see § 3 above). In chapters 3-5 he follows rather closely a neoplatonic commentator on certain sections of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which recalls the known teaching of ethics in the later Peripatos and the extant commentaries on the *Ethics* without being identical with any of them. But at the same time he stresses the platonic elements to be found in the *Ethics* to make out Aristotle to be a more decided platonist than he was. Miskawayh's own contribution to this inherited interpretation, if any, was (apart from demonstrating the compatibility of Greek philosophy with Islam) to emphasise the neoplatonic aspects of this moral philosophy still further (cf. R. Walzer, *Some aspects of Miskawaih's Tahdhib al-Akhlāq, Mélanges Levi della Vida*, Rome 1956).

8. The influence of philosophical ethics on *adab* literature has been noted by de Boer, who singles out as an instructive example *Adab al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn* by al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058). In this work the presentation of the traditional ethical materials is refreshed and "modernized" by the inclusion of materials from the later centuries, including both philosophical and ascetic ideas; these are combined with the older materials somewhat unsystematically, but in a direction not dissimilar from that taken later by al-Ghazālī. (German transl. by O. Rescher, 1932-3.)

9. A much more far-reaching and fundamental synthesis was carried through by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who on the one hand discarded the merely formal and superficial elements of the *adab* tradition, and on the other firmly based his exposition on the penetrating spiritual analysis developed by the ṣūfī teachers (see sect. i, § 3 above). At the same time, he evidently regarded Miskawayh's treatise as "reasonable in itself and supported by proof", and agreed that its contents "did not contradict the Book and the *Sunna*". Hence the philosophical ideas of Greek origin which Miskawayh discusses and explains became part of the generally-accepted educational theory to be found in the *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, in which the section on self-discipline (2nd book of the 3rd quarter) is based on Miskawayh's *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ*. Miskawayh's influence is also unmistakably traceable in other works of al-Ghazālī, and his ethical theory was in this way eventually integrated with the religious tradition. (Cf. A. J. Wensinck, *La Pensée de Ghazzali*, Paris 1946, esp. chap. ii; M. Plessner, op. cit.; H. Ritter, *Al Ghazzali, Das Elixier der Glückseligkeit*, Jena 1925; and see AL-GHAZĀLĪ.)

9. How successful the Ghazālian synthesis was in influencing later ethical literature and thought is a question which still awaits investigation. The literary evidence suggests *prima facie* that its influence, if anything, was indirect, and that the diverse trends of ethical thought continued to exist side by side. The influence of Miskawayh's work was perpetuated chiefly in Persian literature; the Shīʿite Avicennian, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, follows Miskawayh closely, as he himself avows, in the section on ethics of his *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī* (completed 633/1233) (cf. Plessner, loc. cit.). Two centuries

later, al-Dawwānī (d. 907/1501), the author of the *A*k*hlāḳ-i* D*jalālī* (Eng. trans., with valuable notes, by W. F. Thompson, *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People*, London 1839; short analysis by Donaldson, 184), selected his basic material from Ṭūsī's work, but he also refers to al-Ghazālī as an additional Islamic authority. (For Persian *akhlāḳ* literature cf. H. Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 346 ff.)

Bibliography to (i) and (ii): No comprehensive history of Islamic ethics has yet been written. D. M. Donaldson, *Studies in Muslim Ethics*, London 1953, is of unequal value. There is a brief but suggestive survey by T. J. de Boer in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. v, 1912, s.v. Ethics and Morality (Moslem). Scattered materials are to be found in a number of works; in addition to those mentioned in the article, different aspects are dealt with in the following: G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1932; D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago 1909; C. E. von Grünebaum, *Mediaeval Islam*, Chicago 1946, etc.; L. Gardet, *La Cité Musulmane*, Paris 1954. (R. WALZER)

AKHLĀṬ or KHILĀṬ, town and fortress at the N.W. corner of Lake Wān.

(i) Pre-Mongol; (ii) Mongol and Ottoman periods.

(i) In Armenian the town is called Khlatʿ, the name being possibly connected with the ancient inhabitants of the country, the Urartian Khalds. It lies half-way between Sipan Dagh and Nimrūd Dagh on the route taken by invasions from Mesopotamia into eastern Armenia. Al-Balādhurī, 200, reckons it to Armenia III, which in the Arab view included Ḳālīḳalā (Erzerum), Ardjīsh and Baḥunays (i.e. either Apahunikʿ, where Manāzgird lies, or Bznunikʿ, the district of Akhlāṭ).

Under ʿUmar, ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm made a treaty with the Akhlāṭians (al-Balādhurī, 176, 199). For four centuries Akhlāṭ was ruled in turn by Arab governors, Armenian autonomous princes, and the Arab local *amīrs* of the Ḳays tribe (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ch. 44, ed. and tr. Moravcsik-Jenkins, Budapest 1949, 198-205; cf. J. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 501-8, and M. Canard, *H'amdanides*, i, 471-8). Among the episodes of this period may be cited: in 316/918 the attack on Akhlāṭ by the domesticus John Curcuas (see Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 146); in 328/939 the arrival of Sayf al-Dawla (*Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriḳīn*, see M. Canard, *Sayf al-Daula*, Algiers-Paris 1934, 76-8; idem, *H'amdanides*, i, 478-87); in 353/964 the occupation of Akhlāṭ by Nadjā (Miskawayh, ii, 201 etc.).

Towards 373/983 Akhlāṭ became part of the dominions of the Kurd Bādh (Asolik of Taron, iii, ch. 14) and was associated with the Marwānid [*q.v.*] princes untill the battle of Manāzgird (463/1071), after which Alp Arslān himself is said to have taken it over (*Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriḳīn*, fol. 145v). In 493/1100 it was occupied by the Turkish *amīr* Sukmān al-Ḳuṭbī and for over a century remained the capital of the dynasty known as Shāh Arman [*q.v.*]. In 604/1207i t was captured by the Ayyūbid al-Awḥad, son of al-ʿĀdil, and on his death in 609/1212 passed to his brother al-Ashraf. In the interval, the Georgians twice reached Akhlāṭ (605/1208 and 607/1210). In 627/1230 it was stormed after a six months' siege by the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn Manguburni, who was, however, shortly afterwards defeated by al-Ashraf in alliance with the Rūm Saldjūḳid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I at Arzindjān. In 633/1233 Kayḳubād in turn seized Akhlāṭ, and held it in spite of a coalition of the Ayyūbid princes against him.

Bibliography: A full bibl. of Akhlāṭ is given in A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*, Paris 1940, i, 241-51 (with plates, ii, 85-90); for the inscriptions, Abdurrahim Şerif, *Ahlat Kitabeleri*, Istanbul 1932 (corrections and additions by J. Sauvaget, in Gabriel, *op. cit.*, 346-50, and *RCEA*, nos. 3880-2, 4440, 4682, 4696, 4782-3, 4801-2, 4996, 5038, 5116-9. E. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze d. Byzant. Reichs*, Brussels 1935, passim; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953, index; Le Strange, 183; H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia*, London 1901, ii, 280-97; Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien u. Kurdistan*, Leipzig 1913, 58. (V. MINORSKY)

(ii) After the battle of Köse Dagh (641/1243) Akhlāṭ was captured by the Mongols (642/1244; see Tomaschek, in *SBAW*, 133, no. iv, 31 ff.; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (Reiske-Adler), iv, 472), who, however, confirmed the native princes in their possessions (confirmation of a Georgian princess in her possessions in Akhlāṭ: Cyriac of Gandja, 440, cf. B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 330, n. 1). The definitive occupation by the Mongols of Akhlāṭ and the neighbouring lands of Upper Mesopotamia and the Armenian highlands followed only after their capture of Baghdād (656/1258), in conjunction with Hulāgū's advance into Syria in 658/1259-60 (Spuler, op. cit., 55). Thereafter Akhlāṭ belonged to the kingdom of the Ilkhāns and their successor states (Djalāʾirids, Aḳ Ḳoyunlu), and was also a mint-city of the Ilkhāns. In 644/1246 the city was largely destroyed by a severe earthquake.

In one version of the legend of the foundation of the Ottoman empire Akhlāṭ is mentioned as the starting-point of the Oghuz tribe to which Ertoghrul, the alleged father of ʿOthmān, belonged; he is said to have moved westwards from Akhlāṭ under pressure from the Mongols. Neshrī, however, denies the identity of this Ertoghrul with ʿOthmān's father (*Taʾrīkh*, ed. Taeschner, 21-2; the statement is missing in the Ankara ed.). According to Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 140) tombs of the ancestors of the Ottomans were shown in Akhlāṭ. The city appears to have come into Ottoman possession only under Selīm I; in 955/1548, however, it was captured by Shāh Tahmasp and levelled to the ground. Sulaymān I, under whom it was finally incorporated in the Ottoman empire, built on the lake shore a citadel (completed in 963/1554-5 according to Ewliyā Čelebi), in the vicinity of which a smaller new town arose. During the Ottoman period, Akhlāṭ remained under the rule of local Kurdish chieftains, and was brought under direct Ottoman administration only under Maḥmūd II in 1847. At the end of the 19th century, according to Cuinet, the *kaḍā* of Akhlāṭ had 23,659 inhabitants (16,635 Muslims, 6609 Gregorian Armenians, 210 Orthodox Greeks, 250 Yazīdīs). It is now the capital of a *kaḍā* (*ilče*) in the *wilāyet* (*il*) of Bitlis in the Turkish Republic; population of the town (1945), 3,124, of the *kaḍā*, 13,702.

The mediaeval town (Eski Akhlāṭ), on the slope of the mountain, is in ruins and uninhabited; the new town, with a large Ottoman *ḳalʿe* (on the main gate an inscription of Selīm II, 1568) lies to the E. of it on the lake shore. The latter contains two mosques of the 16th century (Iskender Pasha Djāmiʿi, with inscriptions from 972/1564 and minaret from 978/1570, and Ḳāḍī Maḥmud Djāmiʿi, dating from 1006/

1597). Between the medieval and the modern towns there is a famous cemetery with richly ornamented tombstones from the 13th-16th centuries (among them a "ram" stone from 1401) and many funeral buildings (*türbes* or *künbeds*) from the Saldjūḳid, Mongol and Turkmen periods. The most noteworthy among them are: Ulu Künbed (undated); Shādī Agha Künbedi (1273; now disappeared); Iki Türbe (of Būghātay Agha, d. 1281, and his son Ḥasan Timūr, d. 1279); Bayîndîr Mesdjid (882/1483) and Türbe (890/1491-2; of specially interest, one built by Baba Djān); Shaykh Nadjm al-Dīn Türbesi (1222); Ḥasan Pādishāh Türbesi (1275); and Erzen Khātūn Türbesi (1396-7).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned under (i), Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 413 f.; Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 134-42; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, i, 46a; Réclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 376; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 564-6. (F. Taeschner)

AKHMĪM, town in Upper Egypt on the east bank of the Nile about 312 m. from Cairo. Its name reflects the Coptic name, Shmin, the Greek Khemmis, and the place is called Panopolis in Byzantine texts. It was the chief town of a pagarchy (*kūra*), and later, from the time of the reforms of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, of a province. In the 12th/18th century the town lost its position of chief city and was incorporated in the province of Girgā. In the middle ages, Akhmīm was surrounded by rich areas of cultivation, with plantations of date palms and fields of sugar cane. Al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions it as a centre for the manufacture of leather mats. There was a toll-house there, and the strictness of the officials aroused the indignation of Ibn Djubayr. The population to-day still includes a considerable number of Christians. The town was the birthplace, at the end of the 2nd/8th century, of the mystic Dhu 'l-Nūn.

All the Arab writers have enthused over the ancient temple of Akhmīm, (of which no trace now remains), which was particularly famed owing to its traditional association with Hermes Trismegistus. Most of the accounts record the usual legends which have grown up around relics of Egypt under the Pharaohs. The delightful description given by Ibn Djubayr, however, merits special attention. He displays a keen power of observation, intelligently used. The temple was destroyed in the course of the 8th/14th century, and the materials used to build a *madrasa*. But it appears that some of the materials had previously been purloined; historians of Mecca mention the erection in the *ḥaram* of columns originating from Akhmīm.

The town has no history. It was sacked at the beginning of the 12th/18th century during the struggle between the Mamlūk chiefs, and the governor, Ḥasan Akhmīnī, was put to death; the latter had restored, in 1114-16/1702-4, the principal mosque, an act which is commemorated by inscriptions.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, 332 (trans. Wiet, 187); Maḳdisī, 201; Idrīsī (Dozy and de Goeje), 46-7; Ibn Djubayr 60 ff. (trans. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 68-70; trans. G. Broadhurst, 53-55); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 103 ff.; Yāḳūt, i, 165; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Wiet), iv, 134-8; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, MIFAO, xxxvi, 6-7; Djabartī, 1, 47, 98; Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, 103-10. (G. Wiet)

AKHNŪKH [see idrīs].

AL-AKHRAS, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Wahb, Arab poet of ʿIrāḳ, born at al-Mawṣil about 1220/1805, died at al-Baṣra 1290/1874. After settling in Baghdād, he established a connection with the *wālī* Dāwūd Pāshā. The latter, at his request, sent him to India for treatment to correct the defective power of speech which had gained him his sobriquet of al-Akhras ("the mute"), but he refused to undergo the operation. The panegyrics which he addressed to Dāwūd Pāshā and ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, and also to various men of note at Baghdād and al-Baṣra, appear to have secured him his livelihood, but the fame which he enjoys in ʿIrāḳ rests on the remainder of his work, which embraces every category of classical poetry: *ghazal*, elegy, threnody, satire, descriptive verse, personal glorification. He even composed some *muwashshaḥāt* and wrote some notable bacchic songs which led to his being dubbed the "Abū Nuwās of the 19th century". His *dīwān*, although incomplete, was compiled through the efforts of the nephew of ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Aḥmad ʿIzzat Pāshā al-Fārūḳī, and published in Constantinople in 1304/1886, under the title: *al-Ṭirāz al-Anfas fī Shiʿr al-Akhras*.

Bibliography: Dj. Zaydān, *Tarādjim Mashāhir al-Sharḳ*, 3rd ed., 1922, ii, 257-60; L. Cheikho, *La littérature arabe au XIXe siècle*, 2nd ed., 1924-6, ii, 9-11; M. M. al-Baṣīr, *Nahḍat al-ʿIrāḳ al-Adabiyya fi 'l-Ḳarn al-Tāsiʿ ʿAshar*, Baghdād 1365/1946, 114-29; H. Pérès, *La litt. arabe et l'Islam par les textes*, 28; Brockelmann, S II, 792 and references quoted. (Ch. Pellat)

AKHSHĀM [see ṣalāt].

AKHSĪKATH or Akhshīkath (Sogdian, "city of the prince"), in the 4th/10th century capital of Farghāna and residence of the *amīr* and his lieutenants (*ʿummāl*), on the north bank of the Sîr Daryā (Jaxartes), near the mouth of the Kasān-say, at the foot of a mountain. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 208, calls the place Madīnat Farghāna, "the city of Farghāna"; according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (Kramers), 512, it was a large town (1 sq. mile) with many canals and a citadel where stood the Friday Mosque, the governor's palace, and the prison. The city was then enclosed by a wall with five gates, outside of which stretched extensive suburbs and gardens. There was a market-place both in the city and the suburb, and there were rich pasturages in the vicinity (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 333; al-Maḳdisī, 271; al-Ḳazwīnī, ii, 156; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 72, 116).

The town was apparently destroyed during the wars of the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad II, at the beginning of the 13th century, and the succeeding Mongol invasions (Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 441, ii, 633; here also the form Akhsīkant). The capital was transferred to Andīdjān, but for some time Akhsī, as the town was called at the time of Bābur (see transl. of Beveridge, index), still remained the second town of Farghāna. As late as the 11th/17th century Namangān, the present capital, was considered only one of Akhsī's less important sisters (*tawābiʿ*); cf. *Baḥr al-Asrār*, in H. Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, no. 575, fol. 108v. The ruins, near the villages of Akhsī and Shahand (1000 steps from west to east, 600 steps from north to south, abou 150 feet above the level of the Sîr Daryā), with the old citadel, Iski Akhsī, were explored in 1885 by N. I. Veselovskiy (cf. *Sredneaziatskiy Vyestnik*, Tashkent, July 1896).

Bibliography: Schwarz, *Iran*, iii, 269 (incidental reference, Farghāna is not dealt with in the book); Le Strange, 477 f.; 489; K. Miller, *Mappae arabicae*, Stuttgart 1926-31, iv, 78-82, 86*-91*. (B. Spuler)

AL-AKHṬAL, "the loquacious", the sobriquet of the Arab poet GHIYĀTH B. GHAWTH B. AL-ṢALT, who died probably before 92/710. He belonged to the great tribe of the Taghlib [*q.v.*] of northern Syria, which remained entirely Christian, of the Monophysite persuasion. By his mother Layla he was connected to another Christian tribe, that of Iyād. He was born either at Ḥīra (see *Aghānī*[1], vii, 170), or near Rusāfa (Sergiopolis); his date of birth is uncertain, but may have been about 20/640. He remained a Christian all his life, and was unmoved by the efforts of prominent members of the Umayyad dynasty to convert him to Islam. Although a Monophysite, he maintained good relations with the Melkite family of the Sardjūn. In his poetry, certain features prove his zeal for his faith and even indicate a certain ostentation in asserting it (see *Dīwān*, passim). His moral standards, however, do not seem to have differed markedly from those of the society in which he lived. He repudiated his wife and married a divorced woman. He seems to have been a heavy drinker, passing his time in taverns in the company of singing-girls of easy virtue.

All his life al-Akhṭal followed the fortunes of the reigning dynasty. During the reign of Muʿāwiya, he became embroiled in political affairs. He was the close companion of Yazīd I, whom he lauded in his panegyrics, and of other men of rank such Ziyād and al-Ḥadjdjāj. Under ʿAbd al-Malik, he actually became official poet to the Caliph (see *Aghānī*[1], xii, 172-6). He remained in the service of the successors of ʿAbd al-Malik, and in his poetry attacked all opponents of the dynasty (see *Dīwān*, 58, 73, 93, 204, 277 etc.). Lammens has clearly shown the historical interest of such compositions.

The poet's whole career was dominated by verbal warfare with his contemporary, the poet Djarīr. In his diatribes he was supported by the poet al-Farazdaḳ who, although a Tamīmite like Djarīr, was in antagonism with his fellow-tribesman. It is almost impossible to dissociate here the accounts of these three men. It is clear that in this sphere al-Akhṭal and Djarīr perpetuated the pre-Islamic tradition and simply expressed the sentiments of their particular group. In this respect, the poems of al-Akhṭal show how the old bedouin themes break through the religious veneer.

Under Walīd I, it appears that al-Akhṭal was not held in such high favour (see *Aghānī*, vii, 179 ff.). He died, probably shortly before the end of Walīd's reign, and left no offspring.

The poems of al-Akhṭal have reached us in a recension of al-Sukkarī, compiled with the aid of material collected by Ibn al-Aʿrābī (see Brockelmann, S I, 94; and *Fihrist*, 78, 158). This recension is availabe in provisional editions; Ṣalḥānī, *Dīwān al-Akhṭal*, Beirut 1891-2, is in part completed by the same, *Dīwān al-Akhṭal*, Beirut 1905, (photographic reproduction of a Baghdād MS.) and by Griffini, *al-Akhṭal, Dīwān*, Beirut 1906 (reproduction of a Yemen MS). In order to produce a counterpart to a compilation containing the epigrammatic polemics between Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, the poet Abū Tammām composed, in the 3rd/9th century, a *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Akhṭal*, which presents the verbal contests between the two rivals. A MS of this work exists at Istanbul.

The works of Al-Akhṭal, like those of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, have their origin in contemporary events, and reflect the feuds and political controversies of the time. The bedouin tradition is always apparent in them. The *Dīwān* comprises panegyrics in *ḳaṣīda* form and also a large number of epigrammatic poems. The poetical forms, the stereotyped terminology and the language resemble, with but slight variations, those of the other contemporary poets. It is highly probable (as Bashshār thought) that the vogue which al-Akhṭal enjoyed during his lifetime was the result of an infatuation on the part of the Rabīʿite Arabs, who rejoiced at finding in him a champion worthy to stand against those of the Bakrite and Tamīmite Arabs (see al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, 138). Later, however, when the literary centres of ʿIrāḳ evolved their poetic ideal, it became the fashion to draw comparisons between the works of al-Akhṭal, al-Farazdaḳ and Djarīr. People succumbed to this taste for "assessments of comparative merit" so engrained in mediaeval oriental scholars, and this type of critical comparison became a regular subject for debate, which al-Hamadhānī parodied in his *Maḳāmāt* at the end of the 4th/10th century. It is possible that as early as the end of the 2nd/8th century or the beginning of the 3rd/9th the grammarians and philologists of Baṣra and Kūfa had indicated their preference for al-Akhṭal (see the judgments of Abū ʿUbayda, al-Aṣmaʿī, and Ḥammād "the Reciter" collated in *Aghānī*[3], viii, 284 ff., 291, 305). Al-Akhṭal does not seem to have kept his place in Arabic literature in the eyes of later generations (cf. for example the rather cautious judgement of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn in *Ḥadīth al-Arbaʿā*, ii, 77 ff.) Up to the present time al-Akhṭal has, in the West, been the subject only of biographical studies.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[1], vii, 169-88 = *Aghānī*[3], viii, 280-320; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 132 ff.; Caussin de Perceval, *Notice sur les poètes Akhtal, Ferazdaq et Djerir*, in *JA*, xiii, 289 ff., xiv, 5 ff.; Lammens, *Le Chantre des Omiades*, in *JA* 1894, 94-176, 193-241, 381-465; idem, *Études sur le règne du Calife omaiyade Moʿawia I*[er], Beirut 1908, 397-404; I. Kračkowskiy, *Der Wein in al-Aḫṭal's Gedichten, Festschrift G. Jacob*, 146-64; further details in Brockelmann, I, 49-52 and S I, 83 ff.; C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, vi, 73-6 (= *La Littérature arabe des origines a l'époque de la dynastie umayyade*, trans. Pellat, Paris 1950, 115-20).

(R. BLACHÈRE)

AKHTARĪ is the *takhalluṣ* of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Shams al-Dīn al-Ḳaraḥiṣārī (d. 968/1561). He wrote an Arabic-Turkish Dictionary (952-1545), known by the name of *Akhtarī Kabīr* (there are also concise recensions), and printed at Constantinople (1242, 1256, 1292). Cf. Flügel, *Die arab. pers. u türk. Hss. zu Wien*, i, 119-120.

ĀKHŪND (ĀKHŪN, ĀKH[w]ĀND), title given to scholars. In Eastern Turkistān it is used after the name as "Mister", in Western Turkistān it is given to *ʿulamāʾ* of high rank, in the district of Ḳāzān to the chief *imām* of a place. In Persian it is current since Tīmūrid times in the sense of "schoolmaster, tutor". The word probably comes from Persian *kh[w]ānd* (*kh[w]and, khund*), from *khudāwand* [*q.v.*].

ĀKHUND-ZĀDA, MĪRZĀ FATḤ ʿALĪ (1812-78) was the first writer of original plays in a Turkish idiom. The son of a trader who hailed from Persian Ādharbaydjān, he was born in 1811 (according to Caferoğlu) or 1812 (according to the *Soviet Encyclopaedia*, 1950) in Shēkī, the present-day Nūkhā. Thanks to the assistance of a relative he was able to avail himself of a good literary and philosophical education, which brought him into closer touch with liberal ideas than the actual calling which he intended to follow, that of an

Islamic theologian. After instruction from a divine in Gandja (Ķarabagh) Ākhund-zāda finished his training at the newly-opened Russian intermediate school for Muslims at Shēkī. It is possible that Ākhund-zāda was in his early days brought into touch with modern trends in Islam owing to contacts with the reformers Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī and Malkum Khān. Influence of this nature, however, as reported by Köčerli on the basis of communications from Ākhund-zāda's family, can scarcely be proved. In his youth Ākhund-zāda wrote in the style of Persian poetry, one of his works being an elegy on Pushkin's death.

He received a stimulus to activity as a dramatist from the advancement of the theatre in Tiflīs by the military governor, Prince Worontsow (1844-48), in whose government chancellery he was employed as oriental interpreter. Between 1850 and 1857 Ākhund-zāda wrote six comedies and a historical narrative in Ādharī Turkish, the titles being as under: (1) *Ḥikāyet-i Mollā Ibrāhīm Khalīl-i Kīmīyāger* ("Story of M. I. Kh. the alchemist"), 1850; (2) *Ḥikāyet-i Monsieur Jourdan Ḥekīm-i Nebātāt we-Mostaʿlī Shāh Djādūger-i Meshhūr* ("Story of M. Jourdan and Mostaʿlī Shāh, the well-known magician"), 1850; (3) *Sergüzesht-i Wezīr-i Khān-i Serāb* ("Adventures of the Vezir of the Khān of S."), 1850; (4) *Ḥikāyet-i Khirs-i Guldur-basan* ("Story of the bear that caught the robber"), 1952; (5) *Sergüzesht-i Merd-i Khasīs* ("Adventures of the miser"), 1852-3; (6) *Ḥikāyet-i Wukalā'-ye Murāfaʿa* (Story of the attorneys in the lawsuit"), 1855; and the historical-satirical narrative, *Aldanmïsh Kewākeb* ("The betrayed stars"), 1857. In the plays and in the narrative the author gave play to his progressive ideas in opposition to feudalism, the practice of highway robbery, the prevalent corruption of justice and the superstition then rife in the Caucasus. Now and again he preaches loyalty to the Russian authorities in order to facilitate the transition of the Transcaucasian Muslims (the term "Ādharī Turks" was not yet in use in the 19th century) to modern civilization.

Several of the plays were published in Russian translation in the official Government journal *Kavkas*, and performed in Russian at Tiflīs and St. Petersburg. The first performances in the original language were given by pupils of Ādharbaydjān state schools at the end of the 1870 s. A complete Ādharī Turkish edition of the plays and the narrative appeared in Tiflīs in 1859: a second was brought out in 1938 by the Ministry of Culture of the Az.S.S.R. to mark the 125th anniversary of the writer. (In the 1920 s, frequent separate editions for school use had already appeared.) The plays were translated into Persian by Muḥammad Djaʿfar Munshī; no. 1 was transl. into French by Barbier de Meynard, *JA*, 1886; no. 2 into German (after the Persian) by A. Wahrmund, Vienna 1889, and into French (after the Turkish original) by L. Bouvat, Paris 1906); no. 3 into English (after the Persian) by W. H. O. Haggard and G. le Strange, *The Vazir of Lankurán*; no. 4 into French by Barbier de Meynard, in *Recueil de textes et de traductions*, Paris 1889; no. 5 into French by L. Bouvat, *JA*, 1904; no. 6 into French (after the Persian) by Aillière, in *Deux comédies turques*, Paris 1888; the narrative was edited and transl. by L. Bouvat, *JA*, 1903.

Besides his activity as a dramatist, which earned him the name of the "Caucasian Gogol" or the "oriental Molière", Ākhund-zāda wrote treatises on political science against absolutism and theocracy, and also two memoranda on an alphabetical system of his own invention, designed to render the Islamic tongues, especially the Turkish idioms, more tractable and thus more capable of progress.

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(H. W. Brands)

AKHŪR [see amīr ākhūr].

ʿAĶĪDA (a.), creed; but sometimes also doctrine, dogma or article of faith; and hence *ʿaķā'id* (pl.), articles of faith, is also used for "creed".

1. The Development and Use of the Form. The documents to which the terms *ʿaķīda* or *ʿaķā'id* are applied vary in length, and the longer ones cannot be sharply divided from the comprehensive theological treatises (e.g. *al-ʿAķīda al-Niẓāmiyya* by al-Djuwaynī). The terms, however, may usefully be taken to signify compositions where the chief interest is in the formulation of doctrine or dogma, and not in intellectual discussion or argument about it. The earliest and simplest creed is the *shahāda* or confession of faith [*q.v.*], and this alone appears to be used liturgically. Though the term *ʿaķīda* is usually not applied to the *shahāda*, there is a sense in which most of the later creeds are expansions of it. Sectarian discussions, however, also led to the development of doctrine, and an important source of the later creeds is the succinct formula defining the position of an individual, school or sect on some disputed point. The *Fiķh Akbar I* attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa is a collection of such formulae, since it does not mention belief in God and in Muḥammad's apostleship, but only the attitude of the Ḥanafī school on matters on which they rejected views of the Khawāridj, Shīʿa and Djahmiyya. The later creeds are usually statements of the doctrinal position of the various theological schools, orthodox and heretical, and are often the subject of many commentaries and glosses. Sometimes an *ʿaķīda* is intended as a catechism to be learnt by children. Creeds are often built round either the *shahāda* (as al-Ghazālī's) or the tradition, which elaborates a Ķur'ānic formula, that faith is faith in God, His angels, His books, His prophets, etc. (as Birgewī's). Sometimes they are included in legal treatises, as introductory statements of what it is obligatory for a Muslim to believe. The development of the literary form and of its contents has been studied by Wensinck (see *Bibl.*).

2. The Development of Dogma. While the statement of the faith, it seems likely, was constantly being more accurately formulated during Muḥammad's lifetime, the development of dogma is generally regarded as beginning with the caliphate of ʿAlī and the appearance of the Khawāridj and Shīʿa as distinct religio-political parties, the one making justice according to the Scripture the supreme principle, while the other looked for a leader from the household of Muḥammad. For at least the first two centuries of Islam religion and politics were

inextricably mingled, but the topic has not been fully investigated. The exclusiveness of the Kh̲awāridj̲ was opposed by the inclusiveness of the Murdj̲iʾa, who refused to treat Muslims who had committed grave sins as unbelievers (and could therefore remain loyal to caliphs of whom they disapproved). As these sects had many subdivisions with differing views, there was a great variety of doctrine by the middle of the 2nd/8th century. In the second half of that century elaborate intellectual arguments about doctrine appeared, inspired partly by Greek and Christian thought. This may be regarded as the beginning of *kalām* or theology [*q.v.*]. It influenced the formulation of dogma to the extent that some philosophical terms were introduced into the theologians' creeds, e.g. when they said that God is neither substance nor accident (*dj̲awhar, ʿaraḍ*), or when al-Sanūsī prefaces his creed by distinguishing between the necessary, the impossible and the possible. The opposition to this intellectualizing tendency, which probably always existed, found its chief exponent in Ibn Taymiyya. The statements of their position by Ṣūfīs often contain, besides their specifically mystical teaching, a section dealing with their attitude on matters of dogma.

3. The main Dogmas of Islam. No credal statement has been accepted even by all Sunnī Muslims as the standard account of Islamic dogma. The following brief account has been compiled from various creeds (chiefly those of al-Bag̲h̲dādī, al-G̲h̲azālī and Nadj̲m al-Dīn al-Nasafī), though not in their precise words. Short comments have been added. For fuller details see the articles referred to below.

(a) God [see ALLĀH] is one; there is no god except Him; He has no partner nor wife; He neither begets nor is begotten.—This article of faith belongs to Muḥammad's Meccan period, though it was given no emphasis in the earliest passages of the Ḳurʾān. It soon became necessary, however, to insist that Muḥammad's doctrine was incompatible with the vague monotheism apparently current in Mecca, which, while acknowledging God as supreme, tolerated lesser deities. Hence in the later Meccan sūrahs strict monotheism was vigorously proclaimed, and *s̲h̲irk* [*q.v.*], the giving of partners to God, i.e. polytheism, became a serious sin. When the Muslims came into closer contact with Christians, they regarded the current interpretations of the doctrine of the Trinity as an infringement of this article of faith. This is the point chosen for emphasis in the first clause of the *s̲h̲ahāda*.

(b) God exists; His existence is rationally proved from the originated character of the world.—When the Muslims had to defend their religion against materialists and other unbelievers, some of them offered rational proofs of the existence of God. These were given at length in the theological treatises, and came to influence the credal statements (cf. al-Bag̲h̲dādī, Nadj̲m al-Dīn al-Nasafī). Some schools (cf. al-Sanūsī) treated existence (*wudj̲ūd*) as one of God's attributes. This implied a distinction between essence and existence which was opposed by the early As̲h̲ʿariyya and Ibn Taymiyya.

(c) God is eternal; His existence has neither beginning nor end.—This calls for no comment except on the difficulty of translation. Arabic has no single word for "eternal". *Ḳadīm* (properly "old" or "ancient" and *azalī* mean "being from eternity" or "having no beginning", while *bāḳiⁿ* and *abadī* mean "being to eternity" or "having no end" [cf. ABAD, ḲIDAM]. Consequently the renderings in European languages sometimes puzzle the uninitiated, e.g. "priority" and "continuance" for the hypostatized attributes *ḳidam* and *baḳāʾ*. Perhaps "pre-eternity" and "post-eternity" might be suggested.

(d) God is different from created things. He does not resemble any of them, and none of them resembles Him. He is not a body nor a substance nor the accident of a substance. He is not bounded nor limited in any way; He does not have a position in space; He may not be said to be in any direction. He sits on the throne (*ʿars̲h̲*), but only in the sense in which He Himself intended. He is above the throne and the heavens, but at the same time is "nearer to man than his jugular vein" (Ḳurʾān, I, 16/15). He is not subject to movement or change or suffering.—The otherness (*muk̲h̲ālafa*) of God is presupposed in Islamic thinking from the Ḳurʾān onward, but only gradually became an explicit article of faith; al-Sanūsī makes *muk̲h̲ālafa* one of the negative attributes of God. At an earlier period the main body of Muslims came to regard the Mus̲h̲abbiha (those who made God resemble man) as unorthodox [cf. TAS̲H̲BĪH]. This was chiefly with regard to the interpretation of the anthropomorphic expressions in the Ḳurʾān, such as God's sitting on the throne and having hands and a face. At the other extreme from the Mus̲h̲abbiha were those, like the Muʿtazila, who interpreted the terms metaphorically. The central position was that of those who said the terms were to be taken neither literally nor metaphorically but *bi-lā kayf* ("without how"), i.e. without specifying their manner or modality, or, as it was sometimes expressed, "in the sense in which God intended them" when He used them in the Ḳurʾān. It was emphasized that God was not corporeal and not material, and those who held that view were sometimes called Mudj̲assima. From the 5th/11th century onwards the followers of al-As̲h̲ʿarī and other orthodox theologians, but not the Ḥanābila, largely abandoned *bi-lā kayf* and accepted metaphorical interpretations of anthropomorphic terms.

(e) God will be seen by the faithful in the world to come.—This article occasioned great difficulty because of God's incorporeality. The Muʿtazila and others denied the possibility of any vision of God. Ḍirār suggested that a sixth sense would be created. Eventually, however, it was generally agreed to accept the doctrine *bi-lā kayf*, and to avoid any inferences from it which involved corporeality.

(f) God is eternally powerful (or omnipotent), knowing (or omniscient), living, willing, hearing, seeing, speaking. He is so by the attributes of power, knowledge, life, will, hearing, sight and speech. These attributes are eternal; they are not God, yet not other than God. His power extends to everything, and no inadequacy or weakness characterizes Him. He knows everything, even what is concealed and secret, even the creeping of a black ant on a rugged rock on a pitch-black night.—These seven attributes (*ṣifāt* [*q.v.*]) received special attention from the theologians from the 3rd/9th century on. The discussion probably arose out of the question whether the Ḳurʾān was created or uncreated (see below). If the Ḳurʾān was uncreated, it was an eternal entity existing in relative independence of God's essence, even though it was His speech. For the Dj̲ahmiyya and Muʿtazila this view was unsatisfactory, and they asserted that God does not possess attributes of power, knowledge, speech, etc. which are distinct from His essence. In their view it is by His essence that He knows. Opponents called this

taʿṭīl, "stripping" (sc. God of His attributes), and the upholders of it Muʿaṭṭila. Those who held that God knows by an attribute of knowledge, neither identical with His essence nor distinct from it, are sometimes known as Ṣifātiyya, and include the As͟hʿariyya and other orthodox theologians. The points at issue were discussed with much subtlety, and in al-Sanūsī and al-Faḍḍālī a further distinction is drawn between God's power and His "being powerful" (*kawn ḳādiran*), etc.; the first groupa re known as *ṣifāt al-maʿānī* and the second as *al-ṣifāt al-maʿnawiyya* (perhaps to be rendered "attributes which are hypostatized concepts or aspects" and "attributes connected with hypostatized concepts"). It was doubtless because of their importance in popular religion that hearing and seeing were retained among the seven.

(g) The Ḳurʾān [*q.v.*] is the eternal and uncreated speech of God. This eternal speech is repeated by men's tongues, written in their copies of the Ḳurʾān and remembered in their hearts, yet it is distinct from its material embodiments.—The doctrine of the uncreated character of the Ḳurʾān was doubtless advanced in order to justify its position as the chief foundation of law and doctrine. The opponents, who included the D̲j̲ahmiyya, the Muʿtazila, and the central government of the caliphate from about 217/832 to 234/849 [cf. MIḤNA], were sympathetic politically to certain groups of the S͟hīʿa; and the S͟hīʿa tended to set the imamate above the written scripture. (It is still the view of the S͟hīʿa that the Ḳurʾān is created.) The Māturīdiyya and other followers of Abū Ḥanīfa rejected the As͟hʿariyya's view that the eternal speech of God can be heard.

(h) God's will is supreme and always effective; "what He wills exists, and what He does not will does not exist". Thus He wills all things, good and evil, though He does not command or approve of all. There is no obligation of any sort upon Him, e.g. to do what is best for men, or to reward them for good works, or to command them to do only what they are able to perform. Actions are good or bad because He commands or forbids them, and not in themselves; He could, if He so willed, change what is good and bad.—The sovereignty of God's will in the world was thought to be impaired by the Muʿtazila's assertion of man's free will, and was vigorously re-asserted by the orthodox. The Muʿtazila also held that God was bound by our (sc. human and rational) conceptions of good and bad. Al-As͟hʿarī and some of his followers opposed this, maintaining that good and bad are known only by revelation. They further asserted that God may punish one who obeys Him, that He may change a faithful man into an infidel (and that therefore when one says "I am a believer" one ought to add "if God will" [cf. ISTIT͟HNĀʾ]), and that God may impose on men duties that are beyond their powers. The Māturīdiyya took a contrary view on these and similar problems, though affirming the sovereignty of God's will against the Muʿtazila. The later and more intellectualistic theologians emphasize the supremacy of God's will at the time of events, but in the earlier and more popular creeds, the stress is on God's determination of events *beforehand* [cf. ḲADAR]; and thus al-As͟hʿarī himself includes in his creed the doctrine that whether a man dies or is killed his death takes place at his appointed term (*ad̲j̲al* [*q.v.*]).

(i) Man's acts are created by God, but are nevertheless properly attributed to man. They proceed from a power (*ḳudra, istiṭāʿa*) in the man, but this power is created by God; God does so at the moment of the act, not before it.—The leading orthodox theologians all try to find a middle way between absolute determinism (*d̲j̲abr*) and absolute free will (*ḳadar*). The argument of the Muʿtazila, that God's justice (*ʿadl*) presupposed that men could properly be punished or rewarded for their acts, forced orthodoxy to deny that men were mere automata. The As͟hʿariyya (and others before them—cf. *JRAS*, 1943, 234-47) used the vague word *kasb* [*q.v.*] or *iktisāb*, "acquiring", to describe the relation of man to his act. They held that, though the act proceeded from a power in the man, this power was created by God at the moment of the act for this specific purpose and no other. The Muʿtazila on the other hand held that the power was created before the act and was power to do either the act or its opposite.

(j) God is also characterized by active attributes (*ṣifāt fiʿliyya*), such as creating and giving sustenance.—Some, especially the As͟hʿariyya, held that God cannot be called creator, sustainer, etc. until He has created or given sustenance; as this implies the existence of originated beings, these attributes cannot be eternal. On the other hand, some, like the Māturīdiyya, held that God is eternally creator, etc.

(k) Only those names (or attributes) are applicable to God which are to be found in the Ḳurʾān and sound traditions, or are sanctioned by *id̲j̲māʿ*.—The Muʿtazila argued that names might be applied to God by inference. It is commonly held that there are 99 names [cf. AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ], but in fact more are found.

(l) The questioning by Munkar and Nakīr, and the punishment of the tomb, are realities; so also are the signs of the end, such as the slaying of the Dad̲j̲d̲j̲āl by ʿĪsā.—Between death and the resurrection on the Last Day men will be questioned in the graves by two angels, Munkar and Nakīr, and rewarded or punished. Various signs of the coming of the Last Day are also mentioned. These are popular beliefs, based on Tradition and not on the Ḳurʾān, but they have been incorporated into the creeds [cf. ʿAD͟HĀB AL-ḲABR]. Among the S͟hīʿa special emphasis is laid on the Return (*rad̲j̲ʿa* [*q.v.*]), i.e. of the Mahdī and of a limited number of very good and very bad people; this is for the punishment of the latter and the glorification of the household of Muḥammad (cf. D. M. Donaldson, *The Shīʾite Religion*, London 1933, 236 f.). This return to earth *before* the Last Day, though "a preliminary judgement", is to be distinguished from God's final judgement.

(m) God will judge all men on the Last Day [cf. ḲIYĀMA]. The balance (*mīzān*), the bridge (*ṣirāṭ*) and the pool (*ḥawḍ*) are realities.—The central fact of judgement is prominent in the Ḳurʾān, and the balance on which men's deeds are weighed is hinted at (cf. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, 167 ff.). The pool or basin of Muḥammad, from which he quenches for ever the thirst of his followers, and the knife-edge bridge over the pit of Hell, from which the wicked fall down, come from popular conceptions. The various ideas were reconciled with one another only by the later systematizers.

(n) Certain persons, and notably Muḥammad, will be permitted by God to intercede for others on the Last Day [cf. S͟HAFĀʿA]. Muḥammad will intercede for sinners of his community.—This was denied by the Muʿtazila on Ḳurʿānic grounds, but ultimately gained general acceptance.

(o) Paradise and Hell already exist, and will continue to exist eternally [cf. D̲J̲ANNA, D̲J̲AHANNAM]. Grave sinners of the Muslim community will be

punished in Hell, but not eternally. No monotheist will remain eternally in Hell.—The Djahmiyya and other sects held that Paradise and Hell would not be created until the Last Day and would cease to exist after a time, but the majority rejected this view. There are some divergences about the precise late of Muslims who are sinners, but it is generally agreed that by intercession of otherwise they will eventually be released from Hell, if they enter it at all.

(p) Prayers for the dead and alms offered on behalf of them are advantageous to them.

(q) God has sent to mankind messengers (*rusul*) and prophets (*anbiyāʾ*). The prophets are above saints and angels. Muḥammad is the seal of the prophets and the most excellent of them.—The *Fiḳh Akbar* ascribed to al-Shāfiʿī says there are 120,000 prophets and 313 messengers.

(r) Prophets are preserved (*maʿṣūm*) from all sin by God.—This was the view of the Māturīdiyya and other followers of Abū Ḥanīfa, but the Ashʿariyya admitted that they might commit light sins.

(s) The best of men after the prophets are Abū Bakr, then ʿUmar, then ʿUthmān, then ʿAlī.—This assertion of the acceptance of the first four caliphs in order is made in opposition to the Shīʿa who held that ʿAlī was best.

(t) No Companion of Muḥammad is mentioned except for good.—This was to bury the quarrels about rights and wrongs of ʿUthmān, of Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, etc. It was directed mainly against the Shīʿa.

(u) Unbelief (*kufr*), or the status of being an unbeliever, does not necessarily follow the commission of sin by a believer.—This was directed against the Khawāridj, who excommunicated anyone guilty of sin.

(v) Faith is knowing in the heart, confessing with the tongue and performing works. It increases and decreases [cf. ĪMĀN].—Many others, however, notably the Ashʿariyya, said that works were not a part of faith, and that faith did not increase and decrease.

(w) Faith and unbelief are due to God's guidance and abandonment (*khidhlān*) respectively.

(x) (Some later creeds also contain articles about the nature of knowledge and true report, and other philosophical matters.)

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ʿĀKIF PAS̲H̲A [see muḥammad ʿākif pas̲h̲a].

ʿAḲĪḲ (a.; *nomen unitatis*: ʿAḳīḳa) is the name of the cornelian, which is found in Arabia in various colours and qualities, of which the red shade is especially in demand. The cornelian has of old been exported from Yaman (al-S̲h̲iḥr) via Ṣanʿāʾ to the ports of the Mediterranean; and also from India. It was used for seal-rings, for ladies' ornaments and even costly mosaics, for example in the *miḥrāb* of the great mosque at Damascus (according to al-Maḳdisī, 157). It was used as a medicine for the preservation of the teeth; superstitious belief ascribed to the cornelian in the seal-ring the power of soothing the heart—especially in battle—and of stopping hemorrhage. Even Muḥammed is said, according to some traditions, to have shared this belief and to have confirmed the power of the seal to give happiness and to protect from poverty. (Similar beliefs are attached to the cornelian also in Europe, cf. *Handwörterbuch d. Deutschen Aberglaubens*, s.v. Karneol.) Down to the present day the cornelian has remained a favourite neck-ornament for women, and the name *ʿaḳīḳ* has been transferred to any kind of necklace which is of a red colour, whether made of glass or shells or other materials.

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al-**ʿAḲĪḲ**, the name of a number of valleys, mines, and other places in Arabia and elsewhere. When applied to valleys, ʿAḳīḳ is used in the sense of a bed cut out by a stream; when applied to mines, it may refer either to stones such as the cornelian (*ʿaḳīḳ*) or more generally to any mineral cut away from its source. The name is much used by the Arab poets, who do not always make clear which of the many ʿAḳīḳs they have in mind.

The best known of the ʿAḳīḳs is the valley passing just west of Medina, from which it is separated by Ḥarrat al-Wabra. It continues northwards to join Wādī al-Ḥamḍ [*q.v.*], the classical Iḍam, which empties into the Red Sea south of al-Wad̲j̲h. The mountain ʿAyr south of Medina rises above the right bank of al-ʿAḳīḳ, which draws much of its water from the neighbouring lava beds. After heavy rains the valley is filled with a broad river which has been compared with the Euphrates; when the rains fail, only the wells remain to slake the thirst of men, beasts, and plants.

In the Prophet's time the first stage of the route from Medina to Mecca ran through al-ʿAḳīḳ to D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥulayfa, as does the present road. Numerous traditions speak of the fondness Muḥammad had for al-ʿAḳīḳ, the "blessed valley" in which he was once told to pray by a messenger from God. As the valley lay within the territory of Muzayna, Muḥammad gave it as a *ḳaṭīʿa* to Bilāl b. al-Ḥārit̲h̲ of this tribe. Muḥammad also established a reserve (*ḥimā*) for the Muslims' horses at al-Naḳīʿ a good distance up the valley from Medina. Bilāl having done nothing to improve his land, the Caliph ʿUmar took most of it from him and distributed it among deserving Muslims. For several generations thereafter the valley flourished: wells were dug, gardens and fields abounded, and the country houses (*ḳuṣūr*) of ʿAlids and other Medinan notables witnessed parties where the entertainment was hardly in keeping with the sober spirit of the first days of Islam. (Cf. H. Lammens, *Berceau de l'Islam*, 98; idem, *Le règne de Moʿâwia*, index—with further references.) Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ retired to his estate in al-ʿAḳīḳ on the election of ʿAlī as Caliph. The poets lavished praise on the lovely scene and the famous wells, particularly Biʾr Rūma (now known as Biʾr ʿUt̲h̲mān after ʿUt̲h̲mān b. ʿAffān, who bought it from its Jewish owner and gave its water to the Muslims) and Biʾr ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr. The water of al-ʿAḳīḳ was so sweet that it was sent all the way to Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd in ʿIrāḳ. With the decline of ʿAbbāsid power and the increase of insecurity in al-Ḥid̲j̲āz, the valley lapsed into its old somnolence, to remain there for centuries.

Another ʿAḳīḳ, sometimes called ʿAḳīḳ D̲h̲āt ʿIrḳ by the older authors, extends northwards from the vicinity of al-Ṭāʾif along the inner side of the main mountain range of al-Ḥid̲j̲āz. Some writers state that this valley is connected with ʿAḳīḳ al-Madīna, but recent hydrographic studies have shown that it empties instead into a large swampy basin called al-ʿĀḳūl between Mecca and Medina.

A great valley in Central Arabia was known in classical times as ʿAḳīḳ al-Yamāma or ʿAḳīḳ Tamra. Although the descriptions given by the

older authors are meager, there is little doubt about the identification of this valley with the present Wādi'l-Dawāsir [*q.v.*], a small settlement in which still bears the name Tamra, while a nearby salt flat in the valley bed is still called al-ʿAḳīḳ. According to al-Hamdānī (i, 152), Tamra was a town with 200 Jews. The same authority may well be mistaken in connecting the name of this valley with Maʿdin al-ʿAḳīḳ, a mine he places in the vicinity, no trace of which has been found. Other mines with the same name are mentioned, but in such general terms that identifying them may be a hopeless task.

In addition to various other valleys named al-ʿAḳīḳ in Arabia, there has been at least one in ʿIrāḳ south of the Euphrates (cf. W. Wright, *Opuscula arab.*, 110; *Ḥamāsa*, i, 468; *Aghānī*, vii, 123; al-Dīnawarī, 260). On the Sudanese shore of the Red Sea a village named ʿAḳīḳ (without the definite article) stands on a gulf of the same name southwest of Sawākin.

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(G. RENTZ)

ʿAḲĪḲA (A.) is the name of the sacrifice on the seventh day after the birth of a child. According to religious law it is recommendable (*mustaḥabb* or *sunna*) on that day to give a name to the new-born child, to shave off its hair and to kill a victim, for a boy two rams or two he-goats, for a girl one of these according to the Shāfiʿites, but in both cases only one according to the Mālikites. If the offering of the *ʿaḳīḳa* has been neglected on the seventh day, it can be done afterwards, even by the child itself when it has come of age. The greater part of the flesh of the sacrifice is distributed amongst the poor and indigent, but a meal (*walīma*) for the family is recommendable.

Some of the older scholars (amongst other Dā'ūd al-Ẓāhirī) have looked upon the offering of the *ʿaḳīḳa* as a duty. Abū Ḥanīfa on the contrary regarded it as optional.

The shorn hair of the child is also called *ʿaḳīḳa*, and the law recommends to the faithful to spend a sum not less than the weight of this hair in silver (or gold) in almsgiving.

The *ʿaḳīḳa* sacrifice was doubtless derived from old Arabian heathenism. The Prophet is said to have observed: "When some one wishes to offer a sacrifice for his new-born child, he may do so". In heathenish times it was the custom to wet the child's head with the blood of the animal. According to some traditions Muḥammed had allowed the Muslims to do the same. The jurisconsults maintain that this custom is not desirable (*sunna*) but it is done, e.g. in Palestine.

According to Doughty (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 452) the *ʿaḳīḳa* is one of the most frequent sacrificial ceremonies in the Arabian desert, but there it is only performed at the birth of a boy, never when a girl is born.

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ʿAḲIL [see BĀLIGH].

ʿAḲĪL B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, elder brother of ʿAlī, who was 20 years his junior. After fighting against the Muslims at Badr, where he was taken prisoner and ransomed by al-ʿAbbās, he became a convert to Islām. The sources give contradictory information as to the date of this event (after the capture of Mecca, according to al-Balādhurī; shortly before or after the pact of al-Ḥudaybiya, according to Ibn Ḥadjar, etc.), as well as on his participation in the Khaybar and Mūta expeditions, the capture of Mecca, and the battle of Ḥunayn. During the struggle between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, he ranged himself on the side of the Umayyad because his brother, it is said, refused to draw on the state coffers in order to pay a debt to him, but the estrangement between the two brothers probably had political causes. Yet ʿAḳīl would never allow anyone to insult ʿAlī in his presence.

He had "an extremely prosperous household" and a considerable entourage. He died, probably in 50/670, and was buried at Medina. He left several sons who joined al-Ḥusayn at the time of his rebellion against Yazīd; one of them, Muslim, was killed by Ibn Ziyād, and others, either six or nine in number, fell at Karbalā'. ʿAḳīl left a reputation not only as a great authority on genealogies and the history of Ḳuraysh, on the strength of which he became one of the four arbiters (*ḥakam*) of Ḳuraysh, and was summoned by ʿUmar to assist in compiling the *dīwān*, but also as a man endowed with great natural eloquence; his swift and pungent retorts are often quoted by the historians.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 28-30 and index; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. Paris, 416r-417v; Ṭabarī, iii, 2340 ff. and index; *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 140; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 89-93 and index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, Cairo ed., iii, 422-24; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta ed., no. 9994, Cairo ed. no. 5628; idem, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Hyderabad 1325-27, vii, no. 463; *Aghānī*, xv, 45 ff. and Tables; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 492; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Būlāḳ 1293, ii, 133 ff.; Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, 200; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʿ*, 426-27; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife Omayade Moʿawia Ier*, Beirut 1906-7, 91, 112-3, 175 ff. A series of anecdotes, translated from Balādhurī, are to be found in Caetani, *Annali*, 37 A.H. and 176, and several other quotations exist in his *Chronographia*, 50 A.H., no. 39, 551. (L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

ʿĀḲILA, one of the most significant institutions of Muslim penal law as regards both the origins and the sociological evolution of that law.

The term *ʿāḳila*, pl. *ʿawāḳil*, denotes, as its ety-

mology would suggest, the group of persons upon whom devolves, as the result of a natural joint liability with the person who has committed homicide or inflicted bodily harm, the payment of compensation in cash or in kind. This compensation is called *diya* [*q.v.*], *ʿaḳl*, pl. *ʿuḳūl*, and also *maʿḳula*, pl. *maʿāḳil*, from a root meaning "to bind, shackle": the Arab lexicographers readily explain that it referred originally to the camels of the *diya*, which were given "shackled" to the victim or his inheritors (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Adab al-Kātib*, 1346 A. H., 52; *LA*, xiii, 487-8, which has a detailed account); but the classical jurists prefer to relate it to the idea of a "restraint" operating against the exercise of private revenge (cf. Germanic *wergeld*). The original meaning is perhaps to be found in the classical expression *ʿaḳalᵃ l-ḳatīlᵃ*, "to pay the compensation for the victim of a murder", which possibly meant at first "to prevent the victim [from avenging] himself".

This institution has its roots in the ancient Arab tribal principle of joint responsibility (Procksch, *Über die Blutrache etc.*, Leipzig 1899, 56-61; Morand, *Études de droit mus. algérien*, Paris 1910, 65-7; idem, *Introd. à l'étude du droit mus. algérien*, Paris 1921, 210-12; Lammens, *Arabie occidentale*, 189). In Islam, it seems to be a survival not easy to reconcile with the individualist tendencies of religious doctrine which find expression, in the field of moral responsibility, in the Ḳurʾān (vi, 164): "no soul bears another's load." *Fiḳh*, however, approved of it (protests were raised by the Muʿtazilite Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm, and in Khāridjite circles), and several "*ḥadīths*" of the Prophet" (conveniently grouped, with a commentary, in al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-Awṭār*, 1357 A. H., vii, 80-6) gave it the tardy support of Tradition: the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik only takes cognizance of such versions as are irrelevant to the question of the *ʿāḳila*, which it discusses at considerable length without invoking any decision of the Prophet. Its incorporation into *fiḳh* was accompanied, however, by the imposition of highly restrictive regulations and even, in one of the principal schools of law, by an appreciable change in the principle of joint responsibility.

Firstly, as was to be expected, *taʿāḳul*, or joint liability by *ʿāḳila*, is not permissible between Muslims and non-Muslims (it is allowed between *dhimmīs*, the conditions varying according to the school). Secondly, a factor of much greater importance, four other basic restrictions are laid down in the formula, valid in principle for all the orthodox schools: *lā taʿḳilᵘ 'l-ʿāḳilatᵘ ʿamdᵃⁿ wa-lā ʿabdᵃⁿ wa-lā ṣulḥᵃⁿ wa-lā iʿtirāfᵃⁿ*: "*ʿāḳila* does not intervene in the case of an intentional act, or a slave, or a compromise or a confession". The first of these restrictions, which limits the legal function of the institution to the case of non-intentional homicide or injury (*khaṭaʾ* [*q.v.*]) — and most of those who allow this supplementary category include the quasi-intentional — is extremely important; there is a clear connection between it and the distinction drawn in the Ḳurʾān (ii, 178; iv, 92) between intentional and non-intentional homicide. The intentional act of a minor or an insane person is counted by the majority of authors as tantamount to a non-intentional act. The second restriction apparently denotes (the grammatical vindication of this was given by the grammarian al-Aṣmaʿī to the Ḥanafī ḳāḍī Abū Yūsuf) that if the victim — and not the guilty party — is a slave, the *ʿāḳila* of the guilty party does not intervene; but the Ḥanafīs, followed with some hesitation by the Shāfiʿīs, see the matter in a different light. The two remaining restrictions mentioned in the formula are represented by the jurists as seeking to prevent any collusion prejudicial to the members of the *ʿāḳila*.

Even more drastic is the Ḥanafī innovation which affects the members of the *ʿāḳila* themselves. Among the pre-Islamic Arabs, only the relatives by parentage, real or fictitious, were concerned. The Muslim jurists have not departed from this customary view, with the exception of the Ḥanafīs of ʿIrāḳ, who have accepted and confirmed an Umayyad administrative practice (Schacht, *Origins*, 207) which gave precedence to the joint liability between companions-in-arms entered on the same pay-roll or *dīwān*. This tallied with the tendency towards state control, because the authorities could in this way directly guarantee compensation for the victim, by means of official deductions from pay. The experiment made by some early Mālikīs, obviously following the example of the ʿIrāḳīs, of taking the *dīwān* into account to a certain extent, was unsuccessful (compare ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Ishrāf*, ii, 194, with al-Bādjī, *Muntaḳā*, vii, 113-4).

The schools of law are thus virtually unanimous on the point that the *ʿāḳila* comprise, as in the pre-Islamic period, the *ʿaṣaba* (cf. MĪRĀTH] of the guilty party, that is to say, the male relatives or agnates, after whom come, in the case of a freedman, the patron and his *ʿaṣaba* (an old Shāfiʿī ruling in favour of the reciprocal obligation of the freedman towards the patron has not been generally accepted). As regards the agnates, the old system of kinship is seen here in all its force and clarity, more plainly even than in the rules governing inheritance; moreover, the agnatic relationship, in such a conservative question of penal law, continues to be interpreted with the greatest strictness: Mālik, for example, stipulates that neither the husband nor the son or a woman who is a guilty party, although they are her heirs, can be a member of her *ʿāḳila*. The Shāfiʿīs are alone in excluding from the *ʿāḳila* the sncestors and descendants of a man who is the guilty party, though the Ḥanbalīs are undecided on this point (Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, 1367 A. H., vii, 784). Minors and insane persons are excluded from the *ʿāḳila*, as are women. As regards the guilty person himself, it is certain that originally he was not party to the *ʿāḳila* which intervened on his behalf; although certain Mālikīs have incorporated him in it, it can be confidently asserted that this is in imitation of the Ḥanafīs — an additional modification to be attributed to the latter (Brunschvig, in *Studia Islamica*, iii, 69).

Ḥanafism has not completely excluded from the *ʿāḳila* either the agnates or the patron by right of manumission; it even includes the contractual patron, to whom it alone of the orthodox schools accords legal status; and it places no limitations of time or degree on the agnatic relationship. But agnates and patrons, under this system, only play a suppletory role. Further, Ḥanafism justifies its theory of the superiority of the military *dīwān* to the *ʿaṣaba* by declaring itself faithful to the traditional idea of an overriding duty of "mutual assistance" (*nuṣra*, *tanāṣur*) as the basis of penal solidarity, and by adducing the changes which had occurred during the first century of Islam in the very composition of the natural group of mutual aid; thus there was initiated among the members of this school a development of doctrine which led to the acceptance of the principle that, in default of the *dīwān*, members of the same *sūḳ* or of the same

profession, in a given locality or district, should between them perform the function of *ʿāḳila*. Further developments occurred among the mediaeval Ḥanafīs, but the various jurists trod divergent and confused paths (the classical works on *i<u>kh</u>tilāf*, through being over-condensed, give the illusion of a unified doctrine); some left the judge considerable scope for the exercise of his own discretion, others were inclined to provide a definitely geographical basis for the institution, at least in the absence of agnates.

As a result of the dislocation of the tribes under Islam and their dispersal over vast areas of territory, the problem of a limitation either, again, of a geographical nature, or connected with the degree of kinship, arose in the other schools, in which the role of the agnates retained its original importance. The Mālikīs had early signified their decision (*Mudawwana*, xvi, 198) that there should be no *taʿāḳul* between the people of Egypt and Syria, for example, because they constituted different *d<u>j</u>unds* (a faint echo of the *dīwān* theory); and the <u>Sh</u>āfiʿīs, who to begin with saw no impediment in any distance, however remote, wondered in their turn whether relations who were near at hand might not be called upon in preference to more closely connected relatives who lived at a distance (compare al-<u>Sh</u>īrāzī, *Muha<u>dh</u><u>dh</u>ab*, ii, 214, with *K. al-Umm*, vi, 103). The Ḥanbalīs were not inclined to take geography into account at all; but, while the <u>Sh</u>āfiʿīs rejected joint liability between tribes considered to be related, they, on the other hand, limited the institution to that fraction of the tribe in which kinship was clearly established (*Mu<u>gh</u>nī*, vii, 786, 788). Again, within the framework of the social changes occasioned by Islam, and as a mark of its distrust of Bedouin life, there is recorded the attempt of several doctors to prevent *taʿāḳul* between townsmen and nomads: the Ḥanafī al-Sara<u>kh</u>sī emphasizes this point (*Mabsūṭ*, xxvii, 132-3); the Mālikīs, notwithstanding the *Mudawwana*, loc. cit., on the whole refused to follow this path (al-Bā<u>dj</u>ī, *al-Muntaḳā*, vii, 98).

Attention must be drawn here to a theoretical discussion, which occurs in detailed works of *fiḳh*, on the nature of the obligation devolving on the *ʿāḳila*, and which is notable as an interesting example of Muslim legal thought, rather than for its problematical influence on practical solutions. Does this obligation rest on the *ʿāḳila* "*per se*" (*ibtidāʾan*: this is the technical significance of this term, which is sometimes not fully understood), that is, are they considered as debtors "*per se*", or does it result from a legal "transfer" (*intiḳāl*) from the guilty party, the "acceptance of responsibility" (*taḥammul*) being made by the group? The second hypothesis allows emphasis to be placed on the idea of the "alleviation" (*ta<u>kh</u>fīf*) and the "generous help" (*muwāsāt*) which, although obligatory, are afforded by the *ʿāḳila* to the guilty party. Ḥanafism seems to adhere to this theory. The other schools are undecided; the *ibtidāʾ* of the responsibility, which they hesitate to affirm or maintain, would doubtless tally better than the rival theory with the primitive conception by which the clan, jointly responsible, feels itself bound to offer reparation collectively, as much or even more on its own behalf as on behalf of the guilty party.

Again, as regards the amount of *ʿaḳl* and the modalities of the payment incumbent upon the *ʿāḳila*, Muslim law has shown a tendency to restrict and regulate the institution. The <u>Sh</u>āfiʿīs alone have remained faithful, or have returned to their allegiance, to the settlement of the compensation by the *ʿāḳila*, whatever the amount may be (theoretical discussion by al-<u>Sh</u>āfiʿī, *Risāla*, ed. <u>Sh</u>ākir, Cairo 1940, nos. 1039 ff., and *K. al-Umm*, vii, 297). The Mālikīs, on the other hand, followed by the Ḥanbalīs, have fixed, perhaps in conformity with an old government decision (*K. al-Umm*, loc. cit.; Schacht, loc. cit.), a minimum, representing a third of the whole *diya*, below which the *ʿāḳila* are not liable. The Ḥanafīs, in the same way, but acting with greater moderation, have absolved the *ʿāḳila* from responsibility for sums less than 500 *dirhams* or —what amounts to the same thing according to them—1/20th of the whole *diya*, the legal rate for head injuries which "lay bare" (*mūḍiḥa*) the skull. Below these minima, therefore, the responsibility rests on the guilty party personally.

All the schools have given their assent (exceptions apart) to the general rule, deriving almost certainly from Umayyad practice, which allows the *ʿāḳila* to discharge its liability by three consecutive annual payments (according to some to commence from the date of the injury, according to others from that of the agreement between the parties, or from the date of the conviction), instead of by the immediate payment of the whole. But they again reveal an appreciable difference of opinion on the method of assessment among the members. The Ḥanafīs, who like accountantcy, and who are anxious to embarrass each member as little as possible, have opted for an extremely low *maximum*, to be the same for all—three or four *dirhams* per head. The <u>Sh</u>āfiʿīs, who aim at relieving the poor, have fixed two rates of contributions according to means, very similar to the preceding ones, but in this case revolving round a *minimum*—½ *dinār* for the rich, ¼ for persons of more moderate means, proceeding from the nearest agnates to the most distant. The Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs refuse to lay down any fixed amount; each of the agnates, in order of kinship, must pay according to his means; this was undoubtedly the ancient method. In an organized State, if an equal assessment is refused, the case must be referred to a judge; the schools concerned agree on this.

The *ʿāḳila* reappears in a closely-connected penal institution, the *ḳasāma* [*q.v.*], but in slightly different forms from the ones just described.

The Imāmī <u>Sh</u>īʿites have made virtually no innovations on the subject of the *ʿāḳila*. Their fundamental solutions are those of the orthodox doctors, with a preference now for one school, now for another. In their eyes, the persons jointly responsible are first and foremost the agnates; the guilty person himself, minors and the insane, and the emancipator too, are excluded; the priority accorded to, or rather imposed upon, relations german as against consanguineous relations of the same degree is debated by the orthodox, who in general disallow it. The minimum sum involving the *ʿāḳila* is that laid down by the Ḥanafīs; the minimum devolving on each member is fixed either in accordance with <u>Sh</u>āfiʿī doctrine, or by the magistrate; payment is made, as in the case of the Sunnīs, in three annual instalments.

Finally, can *fiḳh* be said to have succeeded in its effort to preserve, and at the same time to delimit, the function of the *ʿāḳila*? The reply can only be in the negative. In general, large sections of the old Muslim penal law, even though based on the Ḳurʾān, fell rapidly into disuse, when faced with competition from the secular, and highly arbitrary, justice of rulers; there was even greater reason why this

should occur in the case of an institution such as the *ʿāḳila*, which was extra-Ḳurʾānic and no longer corresponded to social reality as far as an increasing number of Muslims were concerned. The evolutionary process initiated during the first centuries of Islam by Ḥanafism, in the sense of joint liability on a territorial basis, was indecisive, and unsatisfactory in many respects; taken a stage further by the Ḥanafīs in the course of time, it even went as far as the doctrine, put forward by some, that the public treasury, i.e. the state, was responsible in the absence of family or of a military *dīwān*. Instead of this solution, which was hard to admit, some authors advocated that the *diya* should be placed to the sole charge of the guilty person—this being the germ of a theory of civil liability which was not further developed (Tyan, *Le système de la responsabilité délictuelle en droit musulman*, Beirut 1926, 123-8; Abou Haïf, *Le Dièh en droit musulman*, Cairo 1932). It seems that collective responsibility to-day exists only in societies where the joint responsibility of the tribe is still an active force, for example among the Arabic-speaking nomads (the literature on the subject is summarized in Grāf, *Das Rechtswesen der heutigen Beduinen*, Bonn 1952), or among the settled Berber populations; customary law then predominates, only influenced in varying measure by Muslim law.

Bibliography: In addition to the references quoted in the text, all the general works on *fiḳh*. For the three principal orthodox schools see Bercher, *Les Délits et les Peines de droit commun prévus par le Coran*, Tunis 1926. For reference on the Mālikī school Arévalo, *Derecho penal islámico*, Tangier 1939, 40-44. Bourham, *De la vengeance du sang chez les Arabes d'avant l'Islam*, 1933-44, is of no value. (R. Brunschvig)

AḲÎNDJÎ, irregular cavalry during the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire, based on and primarily for service in Europe. Their name derives from the verbal noun *aḳîn* (from *aḳ-maḳ*, "to flow, be poured out"), which means a "raid, incursion into enemy territory". Akîndjî is "the name given to those who carry out *aḳîn*-s on foreign territory to reconnoitre, plunder, or spread destruction". (M. Zeki Pakalîn, *Osmanlî tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 36). The treasurer of Meḥmed II, G. M. Angiolello, in his eye-witness account of the campaign against Uzun Ḥasan (1473), gives the best description (trans. Charles Grey): "Besides the five columns we have mentioned, there was also another of the Aganzi, who are not paid, except by the booty which they may gain in guerilla warfare. These men do not encamp with the rest of the army, but go traversing, pillaging, and wasting the country of the enemy on every side, and yet keep up a great and excellent discipline among themselves, both in the division of the plunder and in the execution of all their enterprises. In this division were thirty thousand men, remarkably well mounted...".

Tradition ascribes the formation of these auxiliary troops, comprising contingents from the Turcoman tribes of Anatolia, to the Saldjūḳids; and in fact, although accurate information is lacking concerning the battle in the plain of Brusa at the end of the 13th century between Ertoghrul, supported by the *aḳîndjî*, and the Byzantine-Tatars, it seems probable that this tradition contains the truth. The term *aḳîn* is also used in connection with naval expeditions. Enwerî (ed. M. H. Yinanç, Istanbul 1928, 24) records an *aḳîn* made along the Bosporus with 35 ships. Neshrī mentions the *aḳîndjî ḳāḍîlarî*, or "*aḳîndjî* judges". These irregular units of the Ottoman army established themselves, as the Turks gradually advanced into the northern Balkans, in strategic and wellprotected localities. Fīrūz Bey of Vidin was ordered by Bāyazīd I to make an *aḳîn* on Wallachia, and in 1391 the Turks (*aḳîndjî*) for the first time advanced north of the Danube. Later they numbered not less than 40-50,000 horsemen. They were commanded by what were virtual dynasties of local chiefs (*bey*); Ewrenos-oghullarî (the descendants of Ewrenos Bey [*q.v.*], at Gümüldjina, Serez, Ishkodra) in the north-west; Mīkhāl-oghullarî, descendants of Köse Mīkhāl [*q.v.*], a Greek renegade of the family of the Palaeologi (Serbia, Hungary); Turkhān-oghullarî (Smederevo-Semendire, Greece, Wallachia and in the direction of Venetian territory); Malkoč-oghullarî, originally from Bosnia where they were known as Malkovitch (Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia and Poland); Ḳāsim-oghullarî (at Vienna, 1529).

Towards the end of the 16th century, the *aḳîndjî* lost some of their thrust and importance. In the course of the ill-fated expedition of the Grand Vizier Kodja Sinān Pasha against Mihai Viteazul of Wallachia (1595), they were almost annihilated: at Giurgiu (Yerköyü) on the Danube they remained on Rumanian territory, where "the root of the *aḳîndjî* was severed and they withered away". Again in 1604, Sultan Aḥmad I issued orders to ʿAlī Bey Mīkhāl-oghlu to join the expedition against Hungary. But the *aḳîndjî* rapidly adapted themselves to new forms of warfare. They became artillerymen, armourers, and drivers, and demanded to be entered in the army muster-rolls and to be paid regularly. The statistician of the decline of the Ottoman empire, Koči Bey, in his *Risāle* (ed. A. Wefīḳ Pasha, London, 1279/1862, 17) written in 1630, stated that "the *aḳîndjî* contingents (*aḳîndjî ṭāʾifesi*) had become either paid troops or regular soldiers, or had relinquished their positions (*aḳîndjîlîghî inkār idüb*); scarcely 2000 *aḳîndjî* remained". Their individuality became lost in the main body of the regular Ottoman forces.

Bibliography: Meḥmed Zekī, *Aḳînlar we-aḳîndjîlar*, *TOEM*, viii, 286 ff.; Ahmet Refik, *Türk aḳîndjîlarî*, Istanbul 1933; N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle*, v, Bucharest 1915, 339; Giovan Maria Angiolello, *A short narrative of the Life and Acts of the King Ussun Cassano*, in the Hakluyt coll., *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, London 1873, 80; I. H. Uzunçarşîlî, *Osmanlî devleti teşkilâtîna medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 250; Aḥmed Djewād Pasha, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAskeri-yi ʿOthmānī. Kitāb-i Ewwel*: *Yeničeriler*, Istanbul 1297, i, 4 and French text, 19; Friedrich Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken in Text und Übersetzung*, Breslau 1922, i, 28; *Taʾrīkh-i Nāʿima*, Istanbul 1147, i, 68; Zinkeisen, iii, 185-88; A. Decei, *L'expédition de Mircea cel Bătrân contre les akînci de Karinovasî* (1393) in the *Revue des Études Roumaines*, Paris, i (1953). (A. Decei)

ʿAKK, old Arabian tribe, probably identical with the Ἀγγῖται (Ἀχχῖται) of Ptolemy, vi, 7, § 23. H. Reckendorf considered the name ʿAkk as a place-name; but it occurs as a personal name in Thamūdic inscriptions. At the beginning of the 7th century the territory of the ʿAkk in the Tihāma of Yaman stretched from Wādī Mawr, over Surdud, to Wādī Sahām (i.e. between modern Luḥayya and Ḥudayda), where it met that of the Ashʿar. At that time they

participated in the Meccan cult. Earlier a colony of the ʿAkk was to be found in ʿAḳīḳ (Tamra) = Wādī al-Dawāsir. No information is available concerning their adherence to Islam. In the revolt of al-Aswad, which broke out during the last year of the Prophet's life, they took sides against him, so that the representative of Medina, Ṭāhir b. Abī Hāla, was able to remain in their territory. On the other hand, after the death of Muḥammad a group of ʿAkk and As̲h̲ʿar assembled at Aʿlāb near Ṣuḥār (in the territory of a sub-tribe of ʿAkk of the same name), but they were annihilated by Ṭāhir and a chieftain of the ʿAkk themselves. During the wars of the conquests some groups from the tribe came to Syria (they settled in the valley of the Jordan), and from there to Egypt and the Mag̲h̲rib, also to Kūfa and Persia. Members of the tribe were prominent in the conquest of Egypt and in the battle of Ṣiffīn (on the Syrian side). In Arabia, the tribe preserved its old territory, and even extended it to the north and south.

Wüstenfeld, Table A2, shows the divisions of the emigrant ʿAkk, the *Ṭurfa* those of the tribe in its primitive seat in the 13th century. In the tradition of Medina (Ibn Isḥāḳ) the ʿAkk are counted among the ʿAdnān, in that of K̲h̲urāsān among the Azd S̲h̲anūʾa (through ʿUdt̲h̲ān, which is often corrupted into ʿAdnān). Both versions are easy to understand: when Kūfa was founded, the ʿAkk were assigned to the "seventh" of the Iyād (b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān), while in K̲h̲urāsān they were assigned to the Azd.

Bibliography: Azraḳī, *Ak̲h̲bār Makka*, Cairo 1352, i, 117; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, 68 f., 112 f.; Ibn His̲h̲ām, *Sīra*, 6; ʿUmar b. Yūsuf b. Rasūl, *Ṭurfat al-Asbāb fī Maʿrifat al-Ansāb*, Damascus 1949, 64 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 1855, 1985 ff., 2495; Lankester Harding and E. Littmann, *Some Thamudic Inscriptions*, Leiden 1952; M. Nallino, *Le Poesie di an-Nābiġah al-Ǧaʿdī*, Rome 1953, iiia, 87.

(W. Caskel)

ʿAKKĀ, the Acco (ʿAkkō) of the Old Testament, the Ptolemais of the Greeks, the Acre of the French, town on the Palestinian seaboard. ʿAkkā was captured by the Arabs under the command of S̲h̲uraḥbīl b. Ḥasana. As the town had suffered in the wars with the Byzantines, Muʿāwiya rebuilt it, and constructed there naval yards which the Caliph His̲h̲ām later transferred to Tyre. Ibn Ṭūlūn constructed great stone embankments round the port; al-Maḳdisī, whose grandfather executed the work, gives an interesting description of their construction. The port became subsequently one of the naval bases of the Fāṭimids in Syria. The Crusades marked a new epoch in the history of the town. After an unsuccessful attempt, Baldwin I succeeded, in 497/1104, in gaining possession of this important port, which then became the central point in the Christian possessions in the Holy Land. Al-Idrīsī's description of ʿAkkā belongs to this period: a large straggling town, with many farms, a fine, safe harbour and a mixed population. After Saladin had won the great battle of Ḳarn Ḥaṭṭīn, ʿAkkā surrendered to him in 583/1187. But since possession of ʿAkkā was vital to the Christians, they again laid siege to the town. The siege lasted for two years, and finally (1191) the arrival of Philippe Auguste and Richard Coeur de Lion led to the capture of ʿAkkā by the Christians. From 626/1229 onwards, ʿAkkā was the principal centre of Christian power in Palestine, and received the name of Saint-Jean d'Acre, after a splendid church built there by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. In 690/1291 the Sultan al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf gained possession of ʿAkkā and put an end to Christian domination in Palestine. The town was completely destroyed, and for long remained a heap of ruins, with few inhabitants. Towards the middle of the 18th century, a revival took place, when S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ẓāhir, who had founded a kingdom in Galilee, made ʿAkkā his capital. The town was rebuilt, and flourished still more during the reign of terror of Aḥmad al-D̲j̲azzār (1775-1804). It was during his rule that Napoleon conducted a fruitless siege of the town, which was protected by the British fleet. ʿAkkā continued to prosper under the peaceful rule of al-D̲j̲azzār's successors, but in 1832 it was taken by Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a and razed. It rose yet again, only to be bombarded in 1840 by the Turkish fleet supported by the British and the Austrians. Since then the town has witnessed a certain revival.

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(F. Buhl*)

AKKERMAN [see aḳ kirmān].

ʿAḲL, intellect or intelligence, the Arabic equivalent to Greek νοῦς.

(1) In neoplatonic speculation, which in many respects resembles the late Greek doctrine of the Logos and also in many respects corresponds to the Logos christology, *ʿaḳl* is the first, sometimes the second, entity which emanates from the divinity as the first cause, or proceeds from it by means of intellectual creation, *nafs* and *ṭabīʿa* etc. coming after *ʿaḳl* in succession. As first created entity the *ʿaḳl* is also called "the representative" or "the messenger" of God in this world. The neoplatonic idea of *ʿaḳl* as first creation also appears in the *ḥadīt̲h̲*: "The first thing created by God was the *ʿaḳl* etc." (cf. I. Goldziher, *Neuplatonische und gnostische elemente im Hadit*, *ZA*, 1908, 317 ff.). [Cf. also falsafa, ik̲h̲wān al-ṣafāʾ; for the role of *ʿaḳl* in Ismāʿīlism, ismāʿīliyya and durūz; for *ʿaḳl* in ṣūfī theosophy, e.g. ibn ʿarabī and ʿabd al-razzāḳ al-ḳās̲h̲ānī].

(Tj. de Boer*)

(2) According to the theologians (*mutakallimūn*), *ʿaḳl* is a source of knowledge and, as such, is the antithesis of *naḳl* or tradition (see e.g. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, ch. iii); the words *fiṭra* and *ṭabīʿa* (φύσις) are also used for it. *ʿAḳl* is thus a natural way of knowing, independently of the authority of the revelation, what is right and wrong. (Thus it corresponds to the λόγος of the Stoics, who understood by this term a "natural light" (*lumen naturale*), which was their criterion for distinguishing between good and bad.) This *ʿaḳl*, possessed by all human beings, is also called *al-raʾy al-mus̲h̲tarak* (al-Fārābī, *R. fi 'l-ʿAḳl* (Bouyges); cf. the κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι of the Stoics and the κοινὸς νοῦς of Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De anima* (Bruns)). Allied to this meaning of *ʿaḳl* is the view qualified by al-

Fārābī (op. cit.) and Ibn Sīnā (*al-Ḥudūd*) as that of the masses (*al-djumhūr*), according to which *ʿaḳl* must lead to praiseworthy conduct, so that a man of bad character, however ingenious he might be, is not an *ʿāḳil* (cf. the ὀρθὸς λόγος of the Stoics and the distinction made by Aristotle between φρόνησις and πανουργία, *Nic. Ethics*); *ʿaḳl* here means "wisdom".

(3) The philosophers of Islam followed in their accounts of *ʿaḳl* Aristotle and his Greek commentators, more especially Alexander of Aphrodisias. According to them *ʿaḳl* is that part of the soul (for their psychology in general see NAFS) by which it "thinks" or "knows" and as such is the antithesis of perception. Mostly, however, *ʿaḳl* is not regarded as a part of the soul at all, which is then restricted to the lower mental functions, but as an incorporeal and incorruptible substance differing in kind from the soul—an ambiguity which also pervades Aristotle's psychology. *ʿAḳl* is broadly divided into the theoretical (*al-naẓarī*) and the practical intellect (*al-ʿamalī*); the former apprehends the quiddities or universals, while the latter deliberates about the future actions and through the appetitive faculty moves the body to the attainment of the good.

The development of the theoretical intellect in man is the most widely and richly discussed subject of the doctrine. In a brief and rather obscure passage (*De anima*, iii, 5) Aristotle had said that the potential intellect in man is actualized by an eternally actual intellect (an application of the general Aristotelian principle that for the realization of a potentiality the agency of something already actual is necessary); the latter acts upon it as light acts upon our faculty of sight or art on its material. The disparity between the two analogies obscures Aristotle's view of the relationship between the passive and active intellects, but it was Alexander's interpretation which provided the basis for the Arabs' discussions. According to Alexander (op. cit.) our intellect is initially a pure potentiality which is actualized by the active intellect which is God; when our actualized intellect is not operating, it is *intellectus in habitu*, which in actual operation becomes *intellectus in actu*. Most of the succeeding commentators, especially Themistius and (pseudo-)Philoponus (Stephanus), reject Alexander's equation of the active intellect with God and declare it to be a part of the human soul. According to Muslim philosophers, the active intellect (*ʿaḳl faʿʿāl*) is the lowest of the separate intelligences, which gives individual forms to material objects and universal forms to the human intellect—hence its name: *wāhib al-ṣuwar* (*dator formarum* of the later scholastics). According to al-Fārābī (op. cit.) the first stage of actualization consists of the abstraction of forms from matter by the "light" of the active intelligence: the second stage is reached when the thus actualized intellect (*ʿaḳl bi 'l-fiʿl* = *intellectus in effectu*) reflects upon itself and attains to a knowledge of the categories and becomes *ʿaḳl mustafād* (*intellectus acquisitus* or *adeptus*). According to Ibn Sīnā (*al-Shifāʾ*, *De anima*) the potential intellect (*ʿaḳl bi 'l-ḳuwwa*, or *ʿaḳl hayūlānī* = *intellectus potentialis* or *materialis*) reaches the first stage of its actualization when it acquires the axiomatic truths (this is called *ʿaḳl bi 'l-malaka* = *intellectus in habitu*), the second stage (called *ʿaḳl bi 'l-fiʿl* = *intellectus in actu*) when it acquires the secondary intelligibles from the primary intelligibles or axioms, the final stage (*ʿaḳl mustafād* = *intellectus acquisitus*) when it actually contemplates these intelligibles and becomes similar to the active intellect. Ibn Sīnā, inspired by Neo-platonism, affirms that the universal cannot be acquired by abstraction from the particulars, but by direct intuition from the active intelligence. The final stage of human bliss comes when the human intellect becomes one with the active intellect, which happens, according to al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, only after death, although Ibn Rushd allows such a union during earthly life.

One of the chief difficulties of this whole Greco-Arabic doctrine is the individuality of intellect which they affirm to be incorporeal and therefore, according to their general principle of individuation by matter, universal. Although its individuality is recognized, seeing that the subject of thought is the individual "I", the basic principle of their theory of knowledge, viz. that of the identity of subject and object (a principle laid down by Aristotle in order to ensure the objectivity of knowledge, but rejected by Ibn Sīnā), prevented the formulation of the individual ego. This difficulty culminated in Ibn Rushd (*De anima*), who declared the intellect to be one for all humanity, while recognizing that his theory did not do justice to the individuality of the act of thought.

(4) The Muslim philosophers recognized a hierarchy of separate intelligences (*ʿuḳūl mufāriḳa*), each lower one emanating from the higher. These incorporeal beings, usually ten in number and endowed with life, intuitive thought and bliss in varying degrees, create and govern their respective spheres which themselves are regarded as being possessed of souls. Like the Greco-Christian thinkers (e.g. (pseudo-)Philoponus, *De anima* (Hayduck), 527), the Muslims identified the separate intelligences with certain angels, the lowest of these, the active intellect, called Gabriel, being the ruling *ʿaḳl* of the sublunar sphere.

Bibliography: A. Günsz, *Die Abhandl. des Alex. v. Aphrod. über den Intellect*, Leipzig thesis 1886; Fārābī, *Fī 'l-ʿAḳl*, ed. Bouyges; idem, *Fī Ithbāt al-Mufāriḳāt*, Hyderabad; idem, *al-Siyāsa al-Madaniyya*, Hyderabad; *Dict. of technical terms*, ii, 1026 ff.; Maimonides, *Le guide des égarés*, ed. transl. Munk, i, 301 ff.; ii, 51 ff., 66 ff.; T. J. de Boer, *Zu Kindi und seiner Schule*, *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Phil.*, 1899, 172 ff.; idem, *Gesch. d. Phil. im Islam*, especially 94 ff., 105 ff.; M. Steinschneider, *Al Fârâbî*, St. Petersburg 1869, 90 ff.; *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Nafs*, ed. and comm. I. Goldziher, Göttingen 1907, 41 ff.; idem, *La onzième intelligence*, *RAfr*, 1906, 242 f.; E. Gilson, *Les sources gréco-arabes de l'augustinisme avicennisant*, *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age*, 1929-30; B. Nardi, *S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Trattato sull'Unità dell'Intelletto contro gli Averroisti*, Florence 1938; F. Rahman, *Avicenna's Psychology*, Oxford 1952, 33-56, 116-120; G. Vadja, *Juda ben Nissim ibn Malka*, Paris 1954, 74-9. (F. RAHMAN)

ʿAḲLIYYĀT, (A.), technical term in *ʿilm al-kalām* (scholastic theology). Its use is common (see the commentators on al-Taftazānī, al-Badjūrī etc.), as expressing a certain concept, and to denote a genus of theological dissertations, which go back at least to the 6th/12th century with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and are clearly stated in the 8th/14th century by al-Īdjī, al-Taftazānī and al-Djurdjānī. The term refers to the earlier expression *al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya*, derived from *falsafa*, signifying the rational (and natural) knowledge which the reason (*ʿaḳl*) can acquire by itself. Al-Ghazzālī uses this phrase freely (cf. *Iḥyāʾ*, iii) and opposes it to *al-ʿulūm*

al-sharʿiyya wa 'l-diniyya (revealed and religious knowledge). According to Muʿtazilite tradition, and Saʿadya al-Fayyūmī, *ʿakliyyāt* denotes that which is accessible to the reason and especially, on the ethical level, the natural values of law and morals. Cf. the Muʿtazilite MS *al-Madjmūʿ fi'l-Muḥīṭ* (abridged from the Muḥīṭ of the *Ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, end of the 10th century) by Ibn Mattawayh (Berlin, MS Glaser 526; information supplied by G. Vajda).

In classical *kalām*, this distinction operates also within the "religious sciences". Traces of it are found from the time of the first Muʿtazilite disputation, when *ʿilm dīnī* is sometimes subdivided into *ʿilm ʿaḳlī* and *ʿilm sharʿī*. In later works (Ashʿarī and Ḥanafī-Māturīdī schools), *ʿaḳliyyāt* denotes the aggregate of subjects in *kalām* (i.e. "religious science") which are amenable to reason; that is to say subjects the fundamentals of which, even where they are provided by the *sharʿ*, can be "proved" by "apodictic arguments" (*ḳāṭiʿ*). These are contrasted with the subjects called *samʿiyyāt, ex auditu*, the fundamentals of which derive only from Ḳurʾānic or traditional texts (*ḥadīth, idjmāʿ*). In this latter category, reason only intervenes to resolve arguments of expediency. Two kinds of problems are considered as *ʿaḳliyyāt*: (1) the preliminary subjects of *kalām*, which deal with "essentials and accidents", subjects which are in the strict sense "rational", and which assemble the products of logic, natural philosophy, and ontology; (2) *ilāhiyyāt*, which deal with (a) the existence of God (*wudjūd Allāh*), and his attributes (*ṣifāt*), with the exception of the three attributes of Sight, Hearing, and Speech, and of the "vision of God" (*ruʾyat Allāh*), which are considered as *samʿiyyāt*; and (b) the "acts of God" (*afʿāluhū taʿālā*). The *ilāhiyyāt* must always have a scriptural basis, but a basis which reason, for its part, can prove by apodictic arguments. The other subjects, such as prophecy, eschatology, the "statutes and the names", the "command and prohibition" (*imāma*), are *samʿiyyāt*. The great classic of al-Djurdjānī, the *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* (8th/14th century) for example, has six principal sections; five of these treat of *ʿaḳliyyāt*, and one only, the final section, comprises all the subjects called *samʿiyyāt*. (L. Gardet)

AL-AḲRAʿ B. **ḤĀBIS** B. ʿIḲĀL B. MUḤAMMAD B. SUFYĀN B. MUDJĀSHIʿ B. DĀRIM, Tamīmite warrior. *Al-Aḳraʿ* is an epithet ("bald"); his proper name (Firās ? Ḍull ?) is disputed. He is said to have been the last judge in the *djāhiliyya* at ʿUkāẓ, having inherited this office (which was a privilege of Tamīm) from his ancestors; he performed this duty until the rise of Islam, giving his judgments in *sadjʿ* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 236). He is said also to have been the first to prohibit games of chance (*ḳimār*), but was accused of partiality in the controversy between Badjīla and Kalb. He took part, and was captured, in the battle of Zubāla (or Salmān, according to al-Balādhurī and Yāḳūt) and was freed by Bisṭām b. Ḳays. Another exploit of al-Aḳraʿ was the raid on Nadjrān after the battle of al-Kulāb al-thānī (see *al-Naḳāʾiḍ*, 46, 448; Ibn Ḥabīb's statement (*Muḥabbar* 247) that he took part in al-Kulāb al-awwal is due to a confusion with his ancestor Sufyān: see *Aghānī*, xi, 61). Ibn Ḥabīb also states that he was one of the *djarrārūn*, who succeeded in uniting a whole branch of his tribe, the Banū Ḥanẓala, under his banner. According to Ibn Ḳutayba (*al-Maʿārif*, 194) and Ibn al-Kalbī (quoted in the *Iṣāba*) he was a Zoroastrian (*madjūsī*); this is of importance for the estimation of Persian influence on some sections of Tamīm.

Nothing is known of his attitude towards Muḥammad up to the time when he joined the Prophet in al-Suḳya during the expedition to Mecca in 8/630. He took part in the conquest of Mecca and was one of *al-muʾallafa ḳulūbuhum* who were presented with gifts, which gave occasion to a famous verse of ʿAbbās b. Mirdās. He took part also in the battle of Ḥunayn and refused to return his booty, in spite of the Prophet's request. (For Muḥammad's somewhat negative opinion of him see also Ibn Hishām, iv, 139.) He participated later in the deputation of Tamīm to the Prophet, the traditional account stressing his arrogant conduct; nevertheless, he was appointed to collect the *ṣadaḳāt* of part of the Banū Ḥanẓala (*al-Ansāb*, x, 970r). Together with other chiefs of Tamīm, he interceded for the captives of the Banu 'l-ʿAnbar, and was a witness to a letter despatched by the Prophet to Nadjrān.

During the *ridda*, according to Sayf (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1920), al-Aḳraʿ and al-Zibriḳān proposed to Abū Bakr to guarantee the allegiance of Tamīm against the grant of the *kharādj* of Baḥrayn, and it was only ʿUmar who prevented Abū Bakr from accepting the proposal. In view of the situation of Tamīm at this period, this tradition does not seem trustworthy, but it may reflect ʿUmar's attitude towards al-Aḳraʿ (cf. *Bayān*, i, 253, and *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* (Cairo), i, 85). Sayf relates also that he took part in the battle of the *ridda* alongside Khālid b. al-Walīd, and was in the vanguard at the battles of Dūmat al-Djandal and al-Anbār. His name is last mentioned in 32/652-3, when he was sent by al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays to subdue Djūzdjān; he must have been a very old man at that time. Al-Balādhurī mentions that his descendants lived in Khurāsān.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, index; Bukhārī, ch. on *Wafd Banī Tamīm*, iii, 65; *Naḳāʾiḍ* (Bevan), index; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, B. M. 1202, 65v; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, Cairo 1319, 414; idem, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, MS, x, 969v-970r; Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1929, 243-52, 353; Ibn Saʿd, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1355, i, 133; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 236, 253; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 134, 182, 247, 473; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1935, 194, 305; Ṭabarī, index; *Aghānī*, Tables; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940 f., index; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ii, 160; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 219; Ibn ʿAsākir, iii, 86-91; Yāḳūt, s. vv. Salmān, Djūzdjān; Ibn al-Athīr, index; *LA*, s.v. *ḳaraʿa*; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, s.v. al-Aḳraʿ; E. Bräunlich, *Bisṭām b. Qais*, Leipzig 1923, 46; Maḳrīzī, *Imlāʾ al-Asmāʾ*, Cairo 1941, index. (M. J. Kister)

ʿAḲRAB (A.), scorpion. This branch of the *arachnida*, which is met with as far north as lat. 45°, includes, in Asia and Africa, some species whose sting produces effects of a more or less serious nature, and sometimes even death. For this reason the scorpion has always haunted the imagination of oriental peoples; it has found a place among the stars (a constellation and the 8th sign of the Zodiac are named after it), and has played some part in the magic and the interpretation of dreams. As a protection against its sting, magic formulas and, later, verses of the Ḳurʾān, were used, engraved on rings and other talismans; according to the Traditions, Muḥammad saw no objection to this practice. The observations of Arab naturalists, who claimed that the scorpion escaped from pain and intense heat by committing suicide, and that the female carried its young on her back and ultimately perished in this way, have been confirmed in modern times.

The behaviour of the scorpion when confronted by human beings, and the effect of its sting on different victims, were noted at an early period; different species were identified; but above all, efforts were made to discover a remedy against its sting. The best method, apart from sucking the venom from the wound, was to cut the animal open and place it on the affected part. The scorpion played an important part also in Arab medicine; its ashes were an effective remedy against calculus; its roasted flesh would cure the eye complaint known as *rīḥ al-sabal*. Scorpion oil (*duhn al-ʿaḳārib*), prepared in various ways, was considered to possess particularly curative powers; it was used in the treatment of malignant sores, sciatica and pains in the back, orchitis, and falling hair. In addition, cases are quoted in which hemiplegia and fever were cured by a scorpion sting.

On the use of scorpions in war see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², v, 358; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, v, 550-1. In Arabic literature, the name "scorpion" occurs quite frequently, and always typifies treacherous hostility (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 105, verse 1; 156, verse 2; *Hudsailian poems*, no. 21, verse 24; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Thorbecke, no. 19, verse 12; Nābigha, ed. Ahlwardt, no. 1, verse 4), or mockery (ʿUrwa, no. 15, verse 2), or calumny (ʿUrwa, no. 5, verse 6; Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān*, no. 61, verse 3), and similarly in proverbs (Freytag, *Proverbia*, no. 902). The three coldest days of winter (the new moons of November, December and January) were, on account of their "biting" cold, called "the three scorpions" (*Calendrier de Cordoue*, 10).

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², v, 353 ff. and the index; Damīrī, i, 106 ff.; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 439 ff.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, iii, 1281; Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 152-3; Hommel, *Ursprung und Alter arab. Sternnamen und Mondstationen*, in *ZDMG*, xlv, 605; A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, 1951, 155-7. (J. Hell)

ʿAḲRABĀʾ is the name of two localities:

1. A place on the frontier of Yamāma, famous for the bloody battle in which Musaylima and the Banū Ḥanīfa were defeated by Khālid. In its neighbourhood was a grove (*ḥadīḳa*), surrounded by a wall and, before this battle, known by the name of "Raḥmān's garden"; later on it was called "garden of death".

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 1937-1940; Balādhurī (de Goeje), 88; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* ii, 226; iii, 694.

2. A place of residence of the Ghassānid princes in Djawlān; it is probably identical with the present ʿAḳrabāʾ in the province of Djēdūr.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 695; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxix, 430; cf. in *ZDPV*, xii, the map of the Djabal Ḥawrān A B 3. (F. Buhl)

AḲRĀBĀDHĪN, or Ḳarābādhīn from Syriac *grāfādhīn*, reproducing Greek γραφίδιον, "small treatise", was used by the Arabs as a title of treatises on the composition of drugs, or pharmacopoeias, while the simples which went into the composition were designed by the term *al-adwiya al-mufrada* [*q.v.*].

The practice of pharmacology. In the hospitals pharmacological instruction very early made an important part of the medical training. That the big hospitals had a pharmacist on the staff we can infer e.g. from the *al-Ṣaydala fi ʾl-Ṭibb* of al-Bīrūnī. The rapid increase in the *materia medica*, not only of Greek but also of Iranian and Indian origin certainly called for a special body of men and for the separation of the pharmaceutica from the medical profession. In ordinary outside practice the doctor may have prescribed and compounded his own mixtures (cf. C. Elgood, *A medical history of Persia and the Eastern caliphate*, Cambridge 1951, 272 f.). As a rule drugs were bought separately from the druggist [cf. al-ʿAṭṭār] and then compounded. The *muḥtasib* had to give heed to the various ways in which drugs were adulterated (cf. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-Ḳurba* (Levy), ch. 25). The practice of preparing substitutes for certain simple drugs is attested by the philosopher al-Kindī who wrote a treatise containing recipes for the preparation of substitutes for rare drugs (*Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿIṭr wa ʾl-Taṣʿīdāt*, (K. Garbers), Leipzig 1948).

Pharmacological literature. Galen's *De medicamentorum compositione secundum locos et genera* had been translated into Arabic, under the title *Kitāb Tarkīb al-Adwiya*, by Ḥubaysh from the Syriac of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galenübersetzungen*, Leipzig 1925, 23 f.). We are told that surgeons, before they could practise, were obliged to make themselves masters of this work (cf. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, ch. 45).

The first pharmacopoeia to receive universal acceptance throughout the caliphate was written by the Christian physician Sābūr b. Sahl (d. 255/869), of the staff of the hospital of Djunday Sābūr. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 297) it contained 22 chapters, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*, i, 161) 17 chapters. It was in common use until the publication of the *Aḳrābādhīn* of Amīn al-Dawla Hibat Allāh b. Saʿīd b. al-Tilmīdh (d. 560/1165). Ibn al-Tilmīdh was a court physician to al-Muḳtafī and to his successor al-Mustandjid and attached to the ʿAḍudī hospital in Baghdād. Besides the *Aḳrābādhīn* in 20 chapters he wrote a compendium (*al-Mūdjaz al-Bīmāristānī*) for use in ordinary hospitals (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 276). Manuscripts of these works or of parts of them have come down to us (Brockelmann, I, 642 and S I, 888), as have also manuscripts of the *Aḳrābādhīn* of the famous physician and philosopher Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (Brockelmann, I, 269). Of the pharmacopoeias written in the East, the *Aḳrābādhīn* of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahrām al-Ḳalānisī, who wrote in the year 590/1194, is also worth mentioning. In this work, of which several manuscripts have come down to us, the author quoted the *Ḥāwī* and the *Ṭibb al-Manṣūrī* of al-Rāzī, the *Ḳānūn* of Avicenna and other works (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 31). Of the great medical compilation written by Nadjm al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Iyās al-Shīrāzī (d. 730/1330), the 5th part, containing a treatise on compound drugs, was edited by F. F. Guigues (thesis, Paris 1902).

In Egypt the Jewish physician Mūsā b. al-ʿĀzār (Moses b. Eleazar) wrote an *Aḳrābādhīn* for the Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 86). In the hospitals of Egypt, Syria and ʿIrāḳ the *al-Dustūr al-Bīmāristānī* of Abu ʾl-Faḍl b. Abi ʾl-Bayān al-Isrāʾīlī (publ. by P. Sbath in *BIE*, 1933, 13-78) was in common use until it was replaced by the *Minhādj al-Dukkān* of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār al-Isrāʾīlī which was published in Kairo in 658/1260 (Brockelmann, I, 648).

In Muslim Spain the study of the text of Dioscurides seems to have inspired an exclusive confidence in the simple drugs. We are informed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (ii, 49) that the famous physician Ibn

Wāfid (d. after 460/1068) very seldom prescribed a compound drug. Like his contemporary ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bakrī, who wrote an inventory of the plants and trees of al-Andalus (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 52), Ibn Wāfid seems to have been an enthusiastic adherent of the Dioscoridean tradition in medicine. This is true also of al-Ghāfiḳī, the most important pharmacologist of Muslim Spain. In the Latin tradition the *Grabadin* of Mesue Junior (according to Leo Africanus this work was written by a certain Māsawayh al-Mārindī, who died in Baghdād in 1015, and translated into Latin by a Sicilian Jew) was for centuries the recognized authority on pharmacy throughout Europe and became the basis of later official pharmacopoeias.

For the medical principles underlying the composition and administration of drugs see ṬIBB.

(B. LEWIN)

ʿAḲRABĪ (plural: ʿAḳārib), a Soutb Arabian tribe in the neighbourhood of Aden. Their territory, stretching on the coast line from Biʾr Aḥmad to Raʾs ʿImrān, is very small (a few square miles only). It is crossed by the lower part of the river of Laḥidj, which here is nearly always dry; as rain is also lacking, the soil is barren and yields but little fruit. The chief town is Biʾr Aḥmad, with a few hundred inhabitants and the castle of the sultan. The ʿAḳārib, according to the Rasūlid al-Ashraf, *Turfat al-Aṣḥāb* (Zettersteen), 56, 57, belonged to the Kuḍāʿa (text obscure; according to 56 to the branch of Banū Mādjid, according to 57 to that of Khawlān). The identification by A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr. Arabiens*, 80, with the Agraei of Pliny, is very doubtful. Their chief, Mahdī, threw off the allegiance of Laḥidj and became independent about 1770. Ḥaydara b. Mahdī, a descendant of the former, signed a treaty of friendship with the British in 1839, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥaydara various treaties in 1857, 1863, 1869, and the treaty of protectorate in 1888. (The animosity always latent between them and the ʿAbdalī led to open war as late as 1887, when the latter besieged Biʾr Ahmad; peace was restored by British intervention.)

Bibliography: H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Braunschweig 1873, 314-23; C. U. Aitchisen, *A collection of Treaties etc.*[3], xi, 99, 158 ff.

(J. SCHLEIFER-S. M. STERN)

AKRĀD [see KURD].

ʿAKS [see BALĀGHA].

AḲSARĀ [see AḲ SARĀY].

AKTHAM B. **ṢAYFĪ** B. RIYĀḤ B. AL-ḤĀRITH B. MUKHĀSHIN, ABŪ ḤAYDA (or Abu ʾl-Ḥaffād, *Ansāb*; the verse quoted there is, however, attributed in *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, 92, to Rabīʿa b. ʿUzayy, also of Usayyid) of the clan of Usayyid, a branch of the tribe of Tamīm, was one of the judges of the *djāhiliyya*. The biography of Aktham consists mostly of legendary stories. Numerous traditions tell of missions by kings and chiefs to ask advice from him. The utterances of Aktham contain wise sayings about life, friendship, behaviour, virtue, women, etc. His personality as reflected in these sayings may be compared with that of Luḳmān, to whom some of the wise sayings attributed to Aktham are actually attributed in other traditions.

Aktham is famous as one of the *muʿammarīn*. Muslim tradition tries to bring him into relation with the person of the Prophet and stresses that Aktham approved of Islam; he is even said to have, spurred on his people to embrace Islam, and to have died as a martyr on his way to the Prophet, but these traditions are certainly spurious.

Aktham is said to have had descendants in al-Kūfa, particularly the *ḳāḍī* Yaḥyā b. Aktham.

Bibliography: *Naḳāʾiḍ* of Djarīr and Farazdaḳ (Bevan), index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Istanbul MS, fols. 964r, 1070r-1075r; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, index; Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn* (Goldziher), 9-18; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1935, 35, 130, 240; idem, *ʿUyūn*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1355, index; Washshāʾ, *Fāḍil*, MS Brit. Mus., Or. 6499, fols. 118r, 121r; *Aghānī*, *Tables*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index; Ḍabbī, *Fākhir* (Storey), index; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, 200; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, Cairo 1280, i, 111-3; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 482.

(M. J. KISTER)

AL (ar.), the definite article, see TAʿRĪF.

ĀL, the clan, a genealogical group between the family (*ahl*, *ʿāʾila*, [*q.v.*]) and the tribe (*ḥayy*, *ḳabīla*, [*q.v.*]), synonym of *ʿashīra* [*q.v.*]. In this sense, the word occurs in the title of sūra iii, *sūrat āl ʿImrān*. The *āl* of the Prophet are the descendants of Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib; when the Shīʿa restricted this concept to his nearest relatives and descendants [see AHL AL-BAYT], the Sunnīs enlarged it so as to include all his followers (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). Later, the term came to mean the dynasty of a ruler, e.g. *āl ʿUthmān*, the Ottoman dynasty, *āl Bū Saʿīd*, the dynasty of the rulers of ʿUmān and Zanzibār, *āl Fayṣal āl Suʿūd*, the official title of the Saudi Arabian dynasty. [ED.]

ĀL, demon who attacks women in childbed, a personification of puerperal fever; cf. *ZDMG*, 1882, 85; Goldziher, *Abh. zur arab. Philologie*, i, 116; H. A. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina*, 104-7.

(A. HAFFNER *)

ĀL [see SARĀB].

ĀLA "instrument", "utensil" (synonym of *adāt* plural *adawāt*).

i. In grammatical terminology, *āla* and *adāt* are found in expressions like *ālat al-taʿrīf* "instrument of determination" (= the article *al*), *ālat al-tashbīh* "instrument of comparison" (= the particle *ka*) etc. The term *āla* (like *adāt*) does not seem to have been used by the Arab grammarians of the 3rd/9th century; in works such as that of Ibn Fāris, the word *adāt* is only met with once. Towards the end of the 4th/10th century the term *ḥarf* ("particle") may be regarded as signifying also the grammatical "instruments" later called *āla* and *adāt*. This usage seems to imply a distinction between the idea of "casual action" (connected with *ḥarf*) and the idea of "syntactic function" (represented by *āla* and *adāt*), leading to the expression of "determination", "finality", "comparison".

Bibliography: Ibn Fāris, *Ṣāḥibī*, 102; al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn*, ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, art. *adāt* and *āla*. (R. BLACHÈRE)

ii. In the classification of sciences *ālāt* is the name of such attainments as are acquired not for their own sake (as an end in itself), but "as a means to something else", as e.g. philological sciences and logic, as ancilliary studies of the religious ones: *al-ʿulūm al-āliyya* in contrast to *al-ʿulūm al-sharʿiyya*. Cf. the expression *ālāt al-munādama*, i.e. knowledge and accomplishments which are useful in social intercourse. Consequently that what is called *āla* differs from what is called *adab* [*q.v.*] only in so far as the former takes into account the attainments in their relation to *ʿilm*; cf. also *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* (Brockelmann), i, 4. The appellation *ālāt* corresponds exactly to the expression ὄργανα in the classification of the philological sciences by Tyrannion of Amisus;

see H. Usener, *Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft* Bonn 1882, 23.

Bibliography: Ghazālī, *Iḥyā, Kitāb al-ʿIlm*, ch. ii (*Itḥāf al-Sāda*, i, 149); Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 206; Goldziher, in *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, 114 (with further references). (I. GOLDZIHER)

iii. Logic is called *āla*, following the peripatetic view according to which it is an instrument (ὄργανον), not a part, of philosophy (cf. Goldziher, in the bibliography of ii, above; S. van den Bergh, *Averroes' Epitome d. Metaphysik*, 148; al-Bīrūnī, introd. to *al-Ṣaydana* (ed. M. Meyerhof, in *Quellen u. Stud. z. Gesch. d. Naturw. u. Med.*, 1932); and MANṬIK).

For other meanings of *āla* see ḤIYAL, NAWBA.

ALA DAGH (T.), "mountain of various colours", name of various mountains. (1) In N.W. Anatolia, near Bolu. (2) In the Taurus range. (3) In E. Anatolia, near the springs of the Murād Ṣu, N. E. from Lake Wān; it served as summer headquarters for the Ilkhānids. (4) In N. E. Persia, S. of the Atrek. (5) In Central Asia, between Dzungaria and the basin of Lake Balkash. (6) Between the Issik Köl and Alma Ata. (7) In Siberia (in Russian Kuznets Mountains), N. of the Altai Mountains. The local pronunciation for the last three is Ala Taw.

ALA SHEHIR, "the motley-coloured town", town in Anatolia at the foot of the Boz Dagh (ancient Tmolus), near the Kuzu Čay. In antiquity and in Byzantine times the town, called Philadelphia after its founder, Attalus II Philadelphus, played an important role (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.). It was taken, together with the other towns of Phrygia, by Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumush in 1075 or 1076, but was recaptured by the Byzantines in 1098 and served as an important base in their operations against the Saldjūḳids. According to Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), 37, the battle between the emperor Theodore Lascaris and the Saldjūḳid Kay Khusraw I, in which the latter lost his life (607/1210), was fought near the town (here called for the first time Ala Shehir), but this is not borne out by the Byzantine historians. The town was besieged by the Germiyan-oghlu Yaʿḳūb I in 1303, but was relieved by the Catalan mercenaries; as a result of repeated sieges by the Germiyan-oghlus (1307 and 1324), the town was reduced to the payment of tribute. Subsequently, the tribute was paid to the Aydin-oghlus (though the statement of the *Düstūr-nāme-yi Enweri*, that it was actually captured by the Aydin-oghlu Umur Beg in 1335, does not seem to correspond to reality). Ala Shehir was captured, the last of the free Greek cities in Asia Minor, by Bāyezīd I in 794/1391, but passed in 1402 into the possession of Tīmūr, and subsequently into that of Djunayd Beg, until it came finally under Ottoman dominion in the reign of Murād II. In Ottoman times the town did not preserve its former importance and was only the capital of a *ḳaḍā* (of the *wilāyet* of Aydin, later of Manisa). Between 1919-23 it was occupied by the Greeks. In 1890 the town had 17,000 Muslim, 4000 Greek inhabitants (Cuinet); in 1945 the town counted 8,883 inhabitants (all Muslims), the *ḳaḍā* (1,115 sq. km.) 45,792.

Bibliography: Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-empire*, Paris 1833-6, xv, 357 f., 426 f., 447 f., 446, xvi, 6 f., 184, 285, 331 f., 412 f., xvii, 253, xviii, 3, xix, 42 f., 76, 316, xx, 460 f.; Chalandon, *Alexis I. Comnène*, Paris 1900, 12, 197, 255, 265; idem, *Jean II. Comnène et Manuel Comnène*, Paris 1912, 37, 217, 305 f., 460, 501, 513; Moncada, *Expédition des Catalans* (French transl., Paris 1828), 73-84; ʿAshiḳpasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1332, 56, 64 ff.; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1279, i, 127; Mükrimin Halil, *Düsturnâme-i Enverî*, Istanbul 1929, introd., 36 ff.; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie arabe de l'Asie Mineure*, 61; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, Ankara 1937, 10, 28, 187 f.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 269 ff.; A. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im 14. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1903, 39 f.; P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*, Istanbul 1934, 78 ff.; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, ii, 375; A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, iv, 31 f.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 571 f.; F. Sarre, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, 4 f.; *IA* s.v. Alaşehir (by B. Darkot and Mükrimin Halil Yinanç).

ʿALĀʾ AL-DAWLA [see KĀKAWAYHIDS].

ʿALĀʾ AL-DAWLA AL-SIMNĀNĪ, RUKN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAKĀRIM AḤMAD B. SHARAF AL-DĪN MUḤ. B. AḤMAD AL-BIYĀBĀNAKĪ, important mystic, born in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 659/Nov. 1261 in Simnān (Khurāsān) of an illustrious and rich family [see SIMNĀNĪ]. When he was fifteen, he left Simnān and entered government service. Under the Īlkhān Arghūn his father became governor of Baghdād and the whole of ʿIrāḳ, his paternal uncle vizier, and his maternal uncle *ḳāḍi 'l-mamālik*. In the course of a campaign in 683/1284 against Arghūn's uncle, Simnānī experienced near Ḳazwīn a vision of the other world, and though he remained until mid-Shaʿbān 685/beg. Oct. 1286 in the service of the Īlkhān, he was then allowed to go on leave to Simnān, where he found his way, after examining his conscience, to Sunnī Orthodoxy and Ṣūfism. He performed spiritual exercises with the aid of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, until he made the acquaintance of *Akhī* Sharaf al-Dīn Saʿd Allāh, by whom he was taught a particular form of «remembering God» (*dhikr*), viz. throwing the head swiftly hither and thither; this resulted after only one night in powerful manifestations of light. Simnānī decided to join as a novice Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kasirḳī al-Isfarāʾinī, by whose command Saʿd Allāh had visited him; so in Muḥarram 686/Febr.-March 1287, instead of returning to Tabrīz, he travelled in ṣūfī dress to Baghdād, where Kasirḳī lived. He was, however, stopped in Hamadān by Arghūn's men and was carried to Sharūyāz, where Arghūn was founding the city of Sulṭāniyya (later completed by Uldjaytu). He succeeded, as a result of successful disputations with Buddhist monks (*bakhshī* < *bhikshu*), who played a great role at the court, in appeasing the Īlkhān's anger, so that he was asked to remain at court at least as a Ṣūfī. After staying, rather unwillingly, for eighty days, Simnānī escaped to Simnān, which he reached in Ramaḍān 686/Oct. 1287. Arghūn, having ascertained that he had not gone to Baghdād, left him alone. Saʿd Allāh, who had in the meantime visited Baghdād, brought for Simnānī the *khirḳa* of Kasirḳī, in whose name he entered the *khalwa* in Simnān, in Shawwāl 687/Nov.-Dec. 1288. After the dismissal of his father and the execution of his uncle (for the date see SIMNĀNĪ; ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla's own statements vacillate), he succeeded in reaching Baghdād, where for the first time he met his *shaykh* Kasirḳī personally (Ramaḍān 688/Sept. 1289). Simnānī entered the *khalwa* in the Masdjid al-Khalīfa and undertook, in obedience to an order by Kasirḳī, the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. He returned to Baghdād in Muḥarram 689/Jan. 1290, entered the *khalwa* for the second time (in the Shūnīziyya), and finally returned to Simnān, where he began to instruct Ṣūfīs in the Khānḳāh-i Sakkākī. After a life of extensive educational and

literary activity he died in his monastery, Ṣūfiyābād-i Khudādād, in Simnān, on 22 Radjab 736/6 March 1336.

Simnānī was a Sunnite; he condemned the Shīʿite tendencies of Uldjaytu and praised the amīr Čūbān, who did not share them. In spite, however, of his zealous advocacy of war against unbelievers, he rejected the idea of a revolt against Shīʿite oppression and advised, with Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, to show patience under oppression, though not to withhold exhortation or prayer for improvement. In the Shīʿa he appreciated the love of the Prophet's family, but deprecated their hatred of ʿĀʾisha. He adapted the Shīʿite belief in the dissappearance of the twelfth Imām to his doctrine of the *abdāl*, who according to him, was raised after his disappearance to the grade of *ḳuṭb* and then, after 19 years, died. By his ṣūfī affiliation he was a Kubrawī (Simnāni—Kasirḳī, d. 717/1317 —Aḥmad al-Djūrafānī, (Gūrpānī), d. 669/1270—Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Lālā, d. 642/1244—Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, d. 618/1221), but he also venerated, in addition to this line, other shaykhs, and more especially Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234). He also took as a model the Kubrawī Madjd al-Dīn al-Baghdādī (d. 616/1219,) whose name he sometimes inserts between Lālā and Kubrā. He was impressed by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, but advised caution. He admired also Ghazālī, but blamed in him the excess of theory over experience and the abundance, in some of his writings, of philosophical (Avicennian) ideas. Simnānī's main opponent was Ibn ʿArabī, against whose pantheistic system he kept up continuous polemics, not only in his books, but also in his correspondence with ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshānī (d. 730/1330). He accused Ibn ʿArabī of idolizing a verb (*fiʿl*), by his identification of Being (*wudjūd*) and God; he himself considers Being as an attribute (*ṣifa*) or accident, which, though it is eternally inherent in God, is distinct from His essence (*dhāt*). For this reason the last degree of the mystic is not *tawḥīd*, but *ʿubūdiyya*. The only possible share of man in God is the grace of inner purity (*ṣafāʾ*), by which he is enabled to reflect the higher things. To become a mirror in this sense is the aim of manhood and mysticism. Simnānī's doctrine was later elaborated by the Čishtī Aḥmad-i Sirhindī ([*q.v.*]; d. 1035/1626) who opposed this renovated doctrine, *shuhūdiyya*, to the *wudjūdiyya* of Ibn ʿArabī.

Simnānī shared with Kubrā a strongly mediumistic nature and a preference and capability for visionary experience. He had a particularly refined feeling for spiritual vibrations in his environment; out of a deep sense of the living presence of Khaḍir, he insisted on saying "the Lord" Khaḍir; and at places where he attempted to contact the spirits of the great dead (*tawadjdjuh*), he registered the slightest oscillations of experience. Like most of the Kubrawīs, in mystical training he accepted the so-called "eight conditions of Djunayd" (see Meier, *Fawāʾiḥ*, index), about which we have different statements by him. In addition to the particular *dhikr* of Kasirḳī (cf. above) he had another, viz. the recital of the formula *lā ilāha illa'llāh*, in four beats; the *lā* being drawn as it were from the navel, the *ilāha* sunk into the right side of the breast, the *illā* raised from there, and the *Allāh* thrust into the left side of the breast, the heart (cf. for the recital of this *dhikr* in two beats Nadjm al-Dīn al-Dāya, *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād*, Teheran 1312/52, 151, and for another practice, ʿAzīz-i Nasafī, in *WZKM*, 1953, 165). Simnānī also practised listening to music (*samāʿ*) and fed in his monastery passing travellers. The greater part of his possessions he left as *waḳf* for the Ṣūfīs of his persuasion; he disagreed with the view that the Ṣūfī must have no material possessions, though he demanded that each individual should give away all he had. He denounced begging and in general insisted, in the interest of humanity, upon the most intensive cultivation of the soil, another feature which connects him with Kubrā and his disciple, Sayf al-Dīn al-Bākharzī.

Simnānī aspired to a great number of disciples, hoping that there would be amongst them at least one chosen one. His most important, and for a time most beloved, disciple seems to have been ʿAlī-i Dūstī, who became teacher of ʿAlī-i Hamadānī. Names of other disciples are to be found in Iḳbāl-i Sīstānī's collections of Simnānī's apophthegmata, and thence in Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 510-24 and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, i, 251. Some of them bore the title of *akhī*.

There exists as yet no critical bibliography of Simnānī and none of his works has been published. For the works in Persian, cf. the catalogues of MSS and for those in Arabic, Brockelmann, II, 263, S II, 281 (delete *al-Wārid al-Shārid etc.* and *Tuḥfat al-Sālikīn*). *Mashāriʿ Abwāb al-Ḳuds*, *al-ʿUrwa li-Ahl al-Khalwa* and *Ṣafwat al-ʿUrwa* belong together as different versions of the same work and can be exactly dated: the first 711/1311 (MS Shehīd ʿAlī 1378, not 1328), the second Ramaḍān 720/Oct. 1320-23 Muḥarram 721/22 Febr. 1321, and the last Djumādā II 728/April 1328-18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 728/24 Oct. 1328. Some of the surviving MSS are excellent; MS ʿAshīr I 482 of the *ʿUrwa* reproduces the autograph, Lāleli 1432 of the *Ṣafwa* is dated Ṣūfiyābād 733/1333 and was thus written in the lifetime and perhaps under the eyes of the author). The book *Faḍl al-Sharīʿa* (MS Fayḍ Allāh 2135, not 2133) should probably be called more correctly *Faḍl al-Ṭarīḳa*; it is once quoted by Simnānī himself, in accordance with the sub-title of part i, as *Tabyīn al-Maḳāmāt wa-Taʿyīn al-Daradjāt* and dates from 712/1312-3. The treatise *Mā lā budd fī 'l-Dīn* is in Persian and the treatise on Simnani's ṣūfī affiliation, also in Persian (MS Paris 159, 10) is called not *Tadhakkur*, but *Tadhkirat al-Mashāyikh*. Of great importance for Simnānī's biography and mystical teaching is the collection of his sayings, made by his disciple Iḳbāl b. Sābiḳ-i Sīstānī and preserved in several MSS under the titles of *Čihil Madjlis*, or *Malfūẓāt-i Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla-yi Simnānī*, etc. On this is based the greater part of Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 504-15.

Bibliography: Autobiography in *Mashāriʿ*, *ʿUrwa*, *Ṣafwa*; Iḳbāl-i Sīstāni and Djāmī, see above; Nūr al-Dīn Djaʿfar-i Badakhshī, *Khulāṣat al-Maḳāmāt* (MS Berlin, in Pertsch no. 6, 6; MS Oxford, in Ethe, no. 1264); Dawlatshāh, 251-2; ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn-i Wāʿiẓ-i Kāshifī, *Rashaḥāt ʿAyn al-Ḥayāt*, lith. Lucknow 1905, 35 (correspondence with ʿAlī-i Rāmītanī); ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawātī, *Ridjāl Kitāb Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Teheran 1324, 29-30; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-ʿĀrifīn*, Teheran 1316, 178; and other biographical collections; W. Ivanow, in *JASB*, 1923, 299-303; Maulavi Abdul Hamid, *Cat. of the Arab. and Pers. MSS in the Or. Publ. Libr. at Bankipore*, xiii, no. 905; Mir Valiuddin, in *IC*, 1951, 43-51; F. Meier, in *Isl.*, 1937, 14 f.; idem, *Die Fawāʾiḥ al-ǧamāl des Naǧm ad-dīn al-Kubrā*, Mainz 1956, index.

(F. MEIER)

ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN [see GHŪRIDS, KHWĀRIZMSHĀH, SALDJŪḲS].

ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN BEG (commonly **ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN PASHA**), son of ʿOthmān, the founder of the Ottoman state. His figure remains enigmatic, owing to the absence of reliable documents and the tendentious, and rather legendary, character of the early Ottoman chronicles—the same circumstances which are the cause of so many uncertainties in early Ottoman history. In some sources he is called Erden ʿAlī (Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Ḥadjar), or ʿAlī, According to the historians he and Orkhan were born of the same mother, Māl Khātūn, daughter of the *akhī* Edebali; according to a document of 724/1324, however, Māl Khātūn was the daughter of a certain ʿOmar Bey—thus there seems to be some error. There are conflicting statements as to whether he was a younger, or an older, brother of Orkhan.

The historians relate that after the death of ʿOthmān, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (who is said to have stayed during his father's lifetime with Edebali in Biledjik) refused the offer made by Orkhan to assume the direction of the affairs of the state and retired to his property situated in Kotra (or Kudra) in the district of Kete, between Brusa and Mikhalič. Ḥ. Ḥüsām al-Dīn has put forward the suggestion that in reality the two brothers were rivals for the throne and that this fact was purposely distorted in the historical tradition. (Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Ḥadjar say: "Erden ʿAlī succeeded his father".)

According to tradition ʿAlāʾ al-Din for some time occupied the post of vizier and commander-in-chief; in effect, in a *waḳfiyya* by him, dated 733/1333, he bears titles which befit a military position. Ḥ. Ḥüsam al-Dīn holds that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, while he was commander-in-chief, was never a vizier, but that his figure was conflated with that of a certain ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pasha, who was in fact ʿOthmān's and Orkhan's vizier. (He is mentioned in a *waḳfiyya* of Aspordje Khātūn, Orkhan's wife, dated 723/1323.)

The establishment of various Ottoman institutions are ascribed to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn: the choice of the coniform cap of white felt as official costume and the organization, together with Djenderli-zāde Ḳara Khalīl, of Ottoman infantry (*yaya*). The responsibility for the introduction of an Ottoman coinage is also credited to him by late historians. [Cf. ORKHAN.]

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn died about 1333; the various accounts concerning the circumstances of his death in late authors (such as Nishāndji and Belīgh) are not worthy of credit. His tomb is in ʿOthmān's mausoleum in Brusa.

Descendants of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn are mentioned in the latter half of the 15th century by Neshrī and ʿĀshıḳpasha-zāde, in the 16th century in land-cadasters, in connection with *waḳfs* established by their ancestor.—ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn founded a *tekke* in the Kükürtli quarter of Brusa and two mosques in the fortress of Kaplidja.

Bibliography: ʿĀshıḳpasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1332, 21, 36 ff.; Neshrī (Taeschner), index; Urudj, *Tawarikh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* (Babinger), 5 ff.; *Taʾrīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* (Giese); Luṭfī Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1341, 27 ff.; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1279, i, 21 ff.; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v, 42; Ṣolaḳ-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1297, 18 f.; Muḥammad Zaʿīm, *Taʾrīkh* (cf. *TOEM*, ii, 436-45); Hammer-Purgstall, index; Ḥüseyn Ḥüsām al-Dīn, *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bey*, *TOEM*, xiv, 307 ff., 380 ff., xv, 128 ff., 200 ff. (with excerpts from unpublished sources); I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Gazi Orhan Bey vakfiyesi* (724), *Bell.*, 1941, 276 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (by I. H. Uzunçarşılı). (S. M. STERN)

ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. HASAN [see ALAMŪT].

ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD KHALDJĪ [see DIHLĪ, SULTANATE OF].

ĀLABA WA 'L-ḲILĀʿ, "Alava and the forts", a geographical expression used in the 2nd 3rd/8th-9th centuries by Arab chroniclers to denote that part of Christian Spain which was most exposed to the attacks of summer expeditions (*ṣāʾifa*) sent from Cordova by the Umayyad *amīrs*. The term Ālaba was used more especially to denote the northern part of the Iberian peninsula beyond the left bank of the upper valley of the Ebro. This region was bounded on the west by the territories of Bureba and Castilla la Vieja ("Old Castile" = al Ḳilāʿ), which stretched from the left bank of the Ebro, opposite the Pancorbo pass as far as the outskirts of the present town of Santander. Alava is to-day the name of a Spanish province, the capital of which is the modern town of Vitoria.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp Mus.*, i, 143 n. 1. See also AL-ANDALUS, i. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ALADDIN [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA].

ALADJA (T.; originally a diminutive of *ala* = spotted, variegated) = chintz with coloured stripes (cp. Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Alleja, 8 and 756); it is also found in geographical names (see for example the next article).

ALADJA DAGH, "mountain of various colours" a name often employed for mountains in Turkish speaking countries; it is the name e.g. (1) of a mountain S. W. of Ḳonya; (2) a mountain, constituting a spur of the Ḳara Dagh in the S. E. part of Ḳarṣ, near which the Russians defeated the Turks on 16 Oct. 1877.

ALADJA ḤIṢĀR, "the motley-coloured fortress", the Turkish name of the town of Krushevats, on the south side of the Western Morava. The town was the capital of Serbia under Lazar (who assembled there his army to march against the Turks, and lose his empire, at Kosovo, in 1389) and his son Stephan. It was occupied by the Turks in 1428, after the accession of George Brankovits, who made Semendria his capital. The town played a role in the Serbian wars and Muḥammad II established there a gunfoundry. Aladja Ḥiṣār was the capital of a *sandjaḳ* in the *eyālet* of Rūm-eli [*q.v.*]. The Austrians occupied the town for a short while in 1737; a second occupation lasted from 1789 to 1791, when the town was restored to Turkey by the treaty of Sistovo. It was occupied from 1806 to 1813 by the Serbian insurgents of Ḳara George; in 1833 it was ceded to the autonomous principality of Serbia as one of the "six districts" (cf. G. Gravier, *Les frontières historiques de la Serbie*, Paris 1919, 67 ff.); the small garrison of the citadel, however, had to be starved into surrender.

Bibliography: C. Jireček, *Staat u. Gesellschaft im mittelalt. Serbien*, iv (*Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, 1919), index; idem, *Gesch. d. Serben*, Gotha 1918, 186, 191, 202, 212; B. de la Broquière, *Voyage d'Outremere* (Schéfer), 205; F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, 146, 165, 385; Ewliyā Čelebi, v, 584; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, transl. J. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, 146; A. Boué, *Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1840, ii, 25, 395, iii, 203-4, 267, iv, 287; idem, *Recueil d'Itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Vienna 1854, i, 176 ff.; R. M. Ilić, *Kruševać*, 1908. (S. M. STERN)

ʿALĀʾIYYA [see ALANYA].

ʿALĀḲA [see NISBA].

ʿALAM, plural *aʿlām* (A), i. "signpost, flag", used in the latter sense concurrently with the Arabic *liwāʾ*, *rāya*; the Persian *band*, *dirafsh*; and the Turkish *bayraḳ* = *liwāʾ*, *sandjaḳ*: see SANDJAḲ, and compare the Latin *signa*.

It is known that when, before the advent of Islām, the Ḳuraysh waged war on another tribe, they received from the hands of Ḳuṣayy the *liwāʾ*, a piece of white cloth which Ḳuṣayy himself had attached to a lance (Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, i, 237-8). During Muḥammad's lifetime, flags were called indifferently *liwāʾ* or *rāya*, less commonly *ʿalam*. Tradition, however, says that the flag (*ʿalam*) of the Prophet was called *ʿuḳāb*. Other traditions contrast the *rāya*, the Prophet's black flag, with his *liwāʾ*, which was white (*Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, iv, 18, no. 346; 45, no. 995). In another tradition the proposal is made to Muḥammad that the faithful should be called to prayer by the raising of a *rāya*, but he will not consent to this method of summoning them (ibid., iv, 264, no. 5461). In yet other traditions, however, *liwāʾ* and *rāya* appear to be synonymous (ibid., v, 268, no. 5357; 269, no. 15358). The use of the *rāya* does not seem to have been confined exclusively to Muslims, since, at Badr, Ṭalḥa carried the *rāya* of the idolaters (ibid., 269, no. 5365).

Later, flags played an important part in Islām. The Umayyads adopted white, the ʿAbbāsids black, and the Shīʿites green. Representations of flags occur frequently on various objects, especially in miniatures. One of the oldest representations is that shown on a Persian lustre-ware plate, which unquestionably dates from the 10th century (*Survey*, pl. 577). For other later drawings of flags, see Kratchkowskaya in *Ars Islamica*, iv, 468-9. Compare also the Moorish flag of the 14th century preserved in Toledo cathedral (Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst*, pl. 149). Banners and standards were also used in Egypt and Syria during the Mamlūk period (see Leo A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, s.v. *Banners*; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 23 ff.: *khizānat al-bunūd*). There may at this period have been some differentiation in the use of the various words meaning "flag".

In epigraphy, an inscription of Ḳāytbāy balances the words *sayf* and *ḳalam* with *band* and *ʿalam*, which seems to suggest that the first term denotes a military standard, the second a religious flag (see J. David-Weill, *Catalogue général du Musée arabe du Caire, Bois à épigraphes depuis l'époque mamlouke*, 57-8; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Faḍl Allāh, Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, XLVD-LVI and 26). Numerous flags with religious inscriptions are preserved in museums; they usually date from the 17th or 18th century and the majority derive from the countries of the Middle East and North Africa. (Cf., among others, a Turkish flag: C. J. Lamm, *Malmö Musei Vanners*, Arsbok 1940; *En Turkish Fana*, Malmö 1940.) Some flags are still used in processions conducted by the religious orders.

For Turkish standards see ṬUGH, SANDJAḲ. For the emblem of the crescent see HILĀL, for that of the lion and the sun, SHĪR U-KHŪRSHĪD. For heraldic symbols, see SHIʿĀR, TAMGHA.

Bibliography: In addition to the references already mentioned: Freytag, *Einleitung*, 262 ff.; Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*², 126; Mez, *Renaissance*, 130-1; G. van Vloten, *De opkomst der Abbasiden*, 137 ff.; idem, *Les drapeaux en usage à la fête de Huçein à Téhéran*, *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, 1892, 109 ff.; Herklots, *On the customs of the Moosulmans of India*, 176 ff.; A. Sakisian, in *Syria*, 1941, 66-80; Phyllis Ackerman, in A. U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 2766-82.

(J. DAVID-WEILL)

ii. Proper noun, see ISM.

ʿĀLAM (A., pl. *ʿālamūn*, *ʿawālim*), world.

1. The word is found as early as the Ḳurʾān, where in borrowed formulae we have references to the *rabb al-ʿālamīn* and the seven *samawāt*.

Allāh is its lord and creator who has created it for man as a sign of his omnipotence. This transitory world (*dunyā*) is of little value—"not worth the wing of a midge" is the traditional expression—in comparison with the next (*ākhira*). We are told very little about the structure of the world [cf. the article KHALḲ]; the subjects of interest, in the Ḳurʾān as well as in Tradition, are God, the spiritual world and man.

This became altered as Islam took over the inheritance of Hellenistic eclecticism and especially through the translation of Indian and Greek works on science and philosophy. The huge figures with which the Hindus operated were, it is true, ridiculed, nor were the fables of the ancient Greeks about an endless plurality of worlds beside or in succession to one another, believed nor, from the theological point of view at least, was the belief in the eternity of the world accepted; on the whole however, the picture of the world as given by Greek science was accepted. The teaching of Plato and Aristotle that there is only one universe was naturally easy to reconcile with the monotheism of Islam; cf. *Ḳurʾān*, xxi, 22: "If there were in these two worlds gods in addition to Allāh, both (heaven and earth) would perish".

On the scientific development of the cosmogonic teaching of Aristotle and Ptolemy in Islām, see the articles NUDJŪM (Astronomy and Astrology) and the article Sun, Moon and Stars in Hastings, *Encycl., of Rel. and Ethics* (by C. A. Nallino). Here we must confine ourselves to the speculations of the theologians and philosophers regarding the origin and nature of the world in relation to the existence of God and man. They are mainly based on Plato's *Timaeus* or Aristotle's Περὶ οὐρανοῦ and Book Λ of his *Metaphysics* and also on the commentaries of Simplicius and Johannes Philoponus. Of the greatest importance for the Islamic elaboration of the Greek philosophy we have the neo-Platonic "Theology of Aristotle" and to some extent the tradition of Christian dogmatics. In reference to Aristotle's work Περὶ οὐρανοῦ ("On the Universe"), it should be noted that according to Hellenistic tradition the title of the Arabic tradition is *fi 'l-Samāʾ wa 'l-ʿĀlam* ("On Heaven and the World"). August Müller (*Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Überlieferung*, Halle 1873, 51) therefore suggested that the Arab translators of the Aristotelian work had added to it the Περὶ κόσμου which is three hundred years later and influenced by the Stoics. But so far no translation of this work ascribed to Aristotle has been found.

All Muslim thinkers asserted that God is the author of the world although they used different expressions for the coming into existence of the world in distinction to the existence of God: creation out of nothing, emanation (*fayḍ*) or manifestation (*tadjallī*). The image most used, whether emanation or manifestation was talked of, was that of light (*nūr*) which disseminates itself timelessly.

In general the theologian who adhered to tradition said that the reason for the world was the all-powerful will of God. Mutʿazilī thinkers

laid more emphasis on the benevolent wisdom of the Creator, who orders everything well for the good of his servants. Mystics talked a great deal about the overflow of divine love; finally the philosophers in the narrower sense, as well as a few speculative theologians, regarded the world as the product of pure thought, in itself accidental, but necessary on God's part.

The world forms a whole, a unity in plurality. Even the atomist theologians, who denied any interconnection in nature, were of the opinion that no part of the world but only the whole could be destroyed at once by an act or an omission of God.

The world is a plurality. The traditional distinctions between heaven and earth or between this world and the next continued. But Hellenistic mediatorial theories complicated this originally simple universe. From Plato came the distinction between the visible world of beings (κόσμος ὁρατός) and the spiritual intelligible world (κόσμος νοητός). Aristotle rather emphasised the distinction between our earthly world of origin and decline (*ʿālam al-kawn wa 'l-fasād*) and the world of the heavenly spheres. The world of heaven controlled by exalted spirits or souls, consisting of one element entirely, the ether, and provided from eternity with the most beautiful motion revolving in a circle, is far more perfect than the earthly world with its four elementary circles and motions of various kinds Then came the Stoics who brought God and the world together and worked out a theodicy. Finally came the Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists, who took over a great deal from Aristotle and the Stoics, but with Plato, and much more decidedly than he, transferred the central point into the world of God and of pure spiritual existence.

This is the starting point of the cosmological speculations of the Muslim thinkers just as it was for the Gnosis and the doctrine of the Eastern Christian church. Since God is the highest being and everything in the most exalted sense, so also is He the first world. The mystics in Islam (cf. al-Djīlī, *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, ch. 1 ff. and Horten, *Das philosophische System von Schirázi*, Strassburg 1913, 36, 276 f.) in so far as they were influenced by Christian dogmatics, ultimately talked of five worlds: 1. the world of the divine being; 2. of His names; 3. of His qualities; 4. of His actions; 5. of His works. Others established mediation between God and the world by triads and tetrads. Emphasis on three qualities of God was very common: power, knowledge, and life (in speculation these were no doubt interpreted as the power of the Creator, the knowledge of the *ʿaḳl* and the life of the soul). God's spheres of activity in the world were determined according to his qualities. When for example al-Ghazālī speaks of three worlds (*ʿālam al-mulk, al-malakūt, al-djabarūt*), this looks like a triad for the spheres of the Creator's power (for Ghazālī's immediate sources see Wensinck (*Bibl.*)).

To distinguish three or four worlds the philosophers as a rule used the neo-Platonic terminology from the "Theology of Aristotle": the world of the mind (*ʿaḳl*), of the soul (*nafs*) and of nature (*ṭabīʿa*). The soul of man is there the centre of interest which, although associated with a mortal body, remains, in so far as it is intelligent, always associated with the highest world, its origin and the goal of its longing, through the mediation of the world soul and the world intelligence. From the point of view of this soul, only two worlds are as a rule mentioned: the physical and the spiritual, the lower and the upper world. If it is desired to define more closely the sphere ruled by the soul it is called the world of the heavenly spheres and its site (*ufḳ*) is transferred to the sphere of the fixed stars. The world of pure intellectual being has a superheavenly site (*al-ufḳ al-aʿlā*) and nature has its special sphere of operation in the sub-lunary world.

It is not possible here to go into the modifications of this cosmogony in the different philosophers. The main object in all cases is to indicate the different stages of being and parallel with them the stages of cognition. The world is a man on a large scale and man a little world. Now man is made up of a natural body, a conceiving soul and a pure intelligence. The sub-lunary world is therefore also called the world of sensual perception (*shahāda, ḥiss*); the world of the heavenly spheres that of allegorical conception (*wahm, takhayyul*), if we assume, e.g. with Ibn Sīna that the souls of the spheres possess a power of imagining (Ibn Rushd denies this); and the super-heavenly world that of pure thought or of intellectual observation (*ʿaḳl, naẓar* etc.).

Of the great deal that could still be said let us only emphasise one thing in conclusion, that is the optimism of the philosophers, who with the Stoics regard this beautiful world as the best possible and with Plato and Aristotle they make it last for ever. Al-Fārābī, for example ("Model-State", Arab. text, ed. Dieterici, 17), sees in the general order of the universe God's goodness and justice. According to the general philosophical view, evil and wickedness are only imperfections without real existence. Even the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, although they call the physical world a hell for fools and a purgatory for the wise, are quite aware of the amenities of this world and appreciate the splendid life of its kings. The mystics also can be optimistic: everything comes from God and returns to Him. All thus endeavour to regard the relatively better as allied to the absolutely good.

Bibliography: in the text, cf. also: D. B. Macdonald, *The Life of al-Ghazzālī*, in *JAOS*, 1899, esp. 116 ff.; Tj. de Boer, *The Moslem Doctrines of Creation, Proceed. of the 6th Internat. Congr. of Philosophy*, New York 1927, 597 ff.; *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, ed. S. v. d. Bergh, Leyden 1924, chap. iv.; A. J. Wensinck, *On the Relation between Ghazālī's Cosmology and his Mysticism* (in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, vol. lxxv., ser. A, no. 6, 1933). (Tj. de Boer)

2. ʿĀlam al-Djabarūt, ʿĀlam al-Malakūt, ʿĀlam al-Mithāl. *ʿĀlam*, "world", is used here in the gnostic sense of "sphere of existence". The idea is a common one, and is derived from a dual stream of influences—Plotinian and Iranian: Ismaʿīlī traditions, the Hellenistic philosophers (*falāsifa*), notably al-Fārābī, and the ṣūfī schools. Introduced by the Ṣūfīs of the early centuries of Islam, it became one of the themes of al-Ghazzālī, and was adapted and developped by the "master of the *ishrāḳ*" and his school. Later, it was widely adopted by the ṣūfīs of the *waḥdat al-wudjūd*.

Platonist and Neoplatonist stream of influence: the world of sensual perception: *ʿālam al-mulk*, *ʿālam al-khalḳ*, is distinguished from the world of the mind or the world of ideas (*maʿānī, muthul*). The latter is the *ʿālam al-mithāl* (or *muthul*), translated by Henry Corbin as "world of archetypal images".

Oriental gnostic stream of influence: opposed to the *ʿālam al-mulk* are the worlds of the *malakūt* and

the djabarūt (Aramaic terms); and, transcending them both, the world of the *lāhūt*.

Lāhūt (antonym of *nāsūt*, "humanity"): the incommunicable world of the divine essence—a word occurring frequently in Ḥallādjian terminology. In general: the world of absolute divine transcendence, and therefore absolutely superior to all other "spheres of existence". For some supporters of Monist tendencies, *malākūt* and *djabarūt* are, as it were, assumed by *lāhūt*; this is then the *ʿālam al-ghayb*, the world of Mystery (uncreated).

ʿĀlam al-mulk, a term of Ḳurʾānic origin, "the world of kingship" (synonyms: *ʿālam al-khalḳ*, *ʿālam al-shahāda*, the latter expression being frequently used by al-Ghazzālī): it is the world of becoming, the world here below.

ʿĀlam al-malakūt, similarly of Ḳurʾānic origin, (cf. *Ḳurʾān*, vi, 75; vii, 185; xxiii, 88; xxvi, 83): "the world of Kingdom, of Sovereignty", of which the *ʿālam al-mulk* is the contingent reflection. It is the world of immutable spiritual truths (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*), and hence of the angelic beings, to which are added the *entia* of Islamic tradition, the Preserved Table, the Pen, and the Scales (see AL-WAʿD WA'L-WAʿĪD), and often also the Ḳurʾān. The spiritual reality (*rūḥ*) which is in man belongs to it. So too do the separated intellects, and hence the human *ʿaḳl* which partakes of them. Al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, 246) includes the *nufūs* (souls) which are sometimes assigned to the *ʿālam al-djabarūt*. Common synonyms: *ʿālam al-ghayb*, *ʿālam al-amr*. This "world of Sovereignty" recalls the "City of the Angels" of Gregory of Nyssa.

ʿĀlam al-djabarūt, a term originating in Tradition, occurring in various *ḥadīth* (see A. J. Wensinck, *La pensée de Ghazzālī*, 83 n. 3): "the world of (divine) Omnipotence". In general, the place of *barzakh*, an "intermediate" world (some texts, however, are inclined to put this last near to the *malakūt*). To it belong, according to al-Ghazzālī, the impressionable and imaginative faculties of the human soul. Sometimes, however, as is pointed out by al-Djurdjānī, following Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (*Taʿrīfāt*, 77), *djabarūt* is the world of the divine Names and Attributes. Al-Kāshānī assigns to it *ḳaḍāʾ* (decree of divine predestination); the Preserved Table has also been assigned to it.

The mutual inter-relation of these various "worlds". (1) The *ʿālam al-mithāl* can coincide either with the *malakūt*, or with the *djabarūt*, or with both together. It is in fact stated (al-Ghazzālī) that the world of sensual perception is the reflection, the image, the copy of the *ʿālam al-malakūt*: cf. the "shadows" of the cave of Plato. In so far as the *ʿālam al-mithāl* denotes the idea of archetypal images, it also recalls the *djabarūt* and the *barzakh*. To sum up: *malakūt* is the world of pure self-existent *intelligibilia*; *djabarūt*, the world of the archetypal images and symbols of the contingent world, evoking the idea of "transcendental imagination", in Heidegger's acceptance. According to the Avicennan cosmogony, the active intellects belong to *malakūt*, the celestial souls to *djabarūt*.

(2) Whether this hierarchy of "worlds" is considered as real or as a privileged myth, the *falāsifa*, al-Ghazzālī, and the *ishrāḳiyyūn* teach, from the standpoint peculiar to each school, how man can elevate himself from the *ʿālam al-mulk* to the two superior worlds. This is the *kashf* ("unveiling") or *mukāshafa*. Al-Ghazzālī (*Iḥyāʾ*, iii, 17-19) tells us that the heart (*ḳalb*) has "two doors", the one open towards the world of the *malakūt*, the other towards the world of the *mulk* or *shahāda*. Further, referring to the relationship of the macrocosm-microcosm, the same author sees in man—body, psychic faculties, and spirit—a reflection of the three worlds—*mulk*, *djabarūt* and *malakūt*. It can happen, however, that the relationship between the two worlds is reversed. The following summary classification can be made: the world of *amr* is opposed to the (perceptible) world of *khalḳ*, and the *amr* combines *djabarūt*, *malakūt*, and *mithāl*.

(3) Some ambiguity exists regarding the mutual relation between *malakūt* and *djabarūt*: (a) the thesis of al-Ghazzālī (cf. above): *malakūt*, the world of intelligible realities to which belong the Angels, "light-substances" (cf. the Ghazzālian text of the *Mishkāt al-Anwār*) is practically synonymous with *ʿālam al-amr*, the world of Command, of the divine Logos uncreated. The *djabarūt* becomes therefore a refraction of the light emanating from this higher world into an intermediate world of archetypal images, and is thence accessible to the insight of a prophet or a gnostic (*ʿārif*), who borrows from it symbols for the instruction of the people. In the *Iḥyāʾ*, al-Ghazzālī compares the journey through the *ʿālam al-mulk* to the progress of man on earth; that through the *ʿālam al-djabarūt* to a voyage on a ship; that through the *ʿālam al-malakūt* to the progress of a man with the power to walk directly on the waters. Clearly, therefore, the *djabarūt* is the "intermediate" world, "in contact with both the others". It "can be manifested in the visible world, although the eternal Power has linked it to the world of the *malakūt*", says al-Ghazzālī in the *Imlāʾ*. The superiority of the *malakūt* is also affirmed by Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh of Alexandria, etc. (b) In other texts, particularly, it seems, those representing the Ṣūfī line of thought of the *waḥdat al-wudjūd* [see ALLĀH], which itself had its origin in a Plotino-gnostic tradition, superiority is accorded to the *djabarūt*. Thus in the Turkish dictionary *Maʿrifet-nāme* (cf. Carra de Vaux, in *Bibl.*) the following hierarchy in descending order is given: (1) *ʿarsh* (divine Throne or Tabernacle), (2) *djabarūt*, (3) *kursī* (divine Seat), (4) *malakūt*, (5) human worlds, including Paradise. The (according to W. Montgomery-Watt, apocryphal) Ghazzālian text *al-Durra al-Fākhira* states: the race of Adam, and the animals, belong to the world of the *mulk*; the angels and the *djinn* to the world of the *malakūt*; the "elect among the angels" to the world of the *djabarūt* (cf. Wensinck, op. cit., 99). Or again: the Ḳurʾān (uncreated), the substantial Word of God, "exists personally" in the *djabarūt*, while *islām* (*ṣalāt*, *ṣawm*, *ṣabr*) belongs to the *malakūt*.

Al-Suhrawardī, "master of the *ishrāḳ*", brings together in the same passage (*Ḥikmat al-Ishrāḳ*, ed. Corbin, 156-7) the "light which permeates the world of the *djabarūt* and the entities of the *malakūt*". Other passages from the same work sometimes treat of the *djabarūt*, sometimes of the "victorial lights of the *malakūt*", both worlds being the hierarchized places of archangelic or intelligible irradiations (*ishrāḳāt*).

The mutual inter-relation between the suprasensory worlds can thus vary. Each case where the words are mentioned must be considered in its context, while the indications derived from the etymology can serve as a orientation.

Bibliography: Numerous texts by al-Ghazzālī, among others, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1933, i, 107, iii, 17-19, iv, 20, 212 ff., etc.; *Imlāʾ* (in margin of the *Iḥyāʾ*, with inversion of texts 168-71 and 135-41), in *Iḥyāʾ*, i, 49, 170-1, 135, etc. See also *Ḳisṭās*, *Arbaʿīn*, *Mishkāt*, *Durra*, etc.; Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh of

Alexandria, *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ*, Cairo, n. d., 5-6; Suhrawardī, *Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques*, ed. H. Corbin, ii, Teheran-Paris, 1952; *al-Muthul al-ʿAḳliyya al-Aflāṭūniyya*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1947. (On the concept of *mithāl*, see the texts of Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and others.) The *Rasāʾil* of Ibn ʿArabī, Ḥaydarābād 1367/1948, still remain to be analyzed.—Carra de Vaux, *La Philosophie illuminative d'après Suhrawerdi Meqtoul*, *JA*, 1902, 78; idem, *Fragments d'eschatologie musulmane*, Brussels 1895, 27 ff. (with an explanation of the figure in the *Maʿrifet-nāme*); S. Guyard, *Traité du décret et de l'arrêt divins par le Dr. Soufi Abd er-Razzaq*, 1879, 3-4 (text); A. J. Wensinck, *La pensée de Ghazzālī*, Paris 1940, chap. iii; idem, *On the Relation between Ghazālī's Cosmology and his Mysticism*, *Mede. Ak. v. Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam, 75, A, 7; M. Smith, *al-Ghazzālī the Mystic*, London 1944, passim; Henry Corbin, *Avicenne et le Récit visionnaire*, Teheran-Paris 1954, i, 34 ff. (Ibn Sīnā's idea of *mithāl*). (L. Gardet)

AL-AʿLAM AL-SHANTAMARĪ [see AL-SHANTAMARĪ].

ʿALĀMA, mark of ratification or initialling used in the Muslim west, from the time of the Muʾminid dynasty, on all official chancery documents. This *ʿalāma*, in principle inscribed by the sovereign's own hand in the space provided for the purpose at the head of the document, beneath the *basmala*, consisted of a doxology, which varied under the different dynasties: *al-ḥamdu li'llāh*, under the Muʾminids and Saʿdids; *al-ḥamdu li'llāh wa 'l-shukru li'llāh*, under the Ḥafṣids; *lā ghāliba illa'llāh* under the Naṣrids of Granada. The *ʿalāma* was gradually replaced by illegible arabesque initials, and supplanted, in modern times, by the seal in indelible ink. At the beginning of the 9th/15th century, the chronicler Abu 'l-Walīd b. al-Aḥmar devoted a short treatise, *Mustawdaʿ al-ʿAlāma*, to the formula of ratification (cf. *Hespéris*, 1934, 200).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, Paris 1942, 17-9; the same, *Arabica occidentalia*, v (in *Arabica*, ii, 1955, 277; on the *ʿalāma* of the ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād, al-Mustaẓhir bi-llāh al-Qāhir bi-llāh); H. de Castries, *Les signes de validation des Chérifs saadiens*, *Hespéris*, 1921, 231 ff. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

ALAMAK [see NUDJŪM].

ALAMBIC [see AL-ANBĪḲ].

ʿĀLAMGĪR [see AWRANGZĪB].

AL-ʿALAMĪ, the name of an old Jerusalem family, the *nisba* being to one ʿAlam al-Dīn Sulaymān (d. 790/1388). The family traces its descent to Ibn Mashīsh and may have been one of the many Maghribī families which immigrated to Jerusalem in the 14th century, though Mudjīr al-Dīn hints (ii, 616) that it was of Turcoman origin. Two sons of ʿAlam al-Dīn: Mūsa (d. 802/1399) and ʿUmar (d. 806/1403), succeeded one another as governors of the city (*nāʾib al-salṭana*), and keepers of the sacred places of Jerusalem and Hebron (*nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*), and at least three other members of the family became chiefs of police (*amīr ḥādjib*) before this post was merged into the governorship by al-Ashraf Īnāl about 857/1453. Muḥammad al-ʿAlamī (d. Jerusalem 1038/1628), for whose works see Brockelmann, S II, 470, was one of the more famous ṣūfī saints of his day in Syria. He conceived the plan of building a mosque near the site of the Place of Ascension on the Mt. of Olives, which the Christians of Jerusalem at first thwarted by appealing to Constantinople. But Shaykh Muḥammad enlisted the support of Shaykh Asʿad b. Ḥasan, the *mufti* of Constantinople (al-Muḥibbī, i, 396), after whom the building, when completed, in 1025/1616 was called al-Asʿadiyya, and where Muḥammad was later buried. Muḥammad's teaching was carried on by his nephew Ṣalāḥ (d. 1055/1645), who also became Shādhilī *khalīfa* in Jerusalem. Arab travellers to the city in the 18th century mention several ʿAlamīs, chiefly as lecturers at the Aḳṣā Mosque and Ḥanafī *muftīs*. Early in the present century the Alamīs re-entered administrative life with Fayḍ Allāh (who was also the author of the Concordance of the Ḳurʾān, *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*, Cairo 1927, 1955) and his son, Mūsā (still alive).

Bibliography: Mudjīr al-Dīn, *Uns*, ii, 506, 609; Muḥibbī, index; Murādī, i, 49, 71, 116, ii, 330, iii, 88, iv 218; Ḥusaynī, *Tarādjim Ahl al-Ḳuds*; Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaḍra al-Unsiyya* (both MSS in writer's possession); Kirk, *The Middle East 1945-1950*, London 1954, 314-5. (W. A. S. Khalidi)

AL-ʿALAMĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ṬAYYIB, Moroccan poet and man of letters belonging to the branch of the Shurafāʾ ʿAlamiyyūn (or descendants of the Moroccan saint ʿAbd al-Salam b. Mashīsh [*q.v.*], who is buried among the Djebāla, in Djabal al-ʿAlam, north Morocco). Born and educated at Fās, he lived for a while at Miknās, at the court of Mawlāy Ismaʿīl, and died at Cairo, on his way to Arabia to perform the pilgrimage, in 1134 or 1135/1721-23. He has left a work, which is at once an anthology of poetry and a compilation on certain technical subjects, in which there is much information on Moroccan literary life at the beginning of the 12th/18th century; this work, entitled *al-Anīs al-Muṭrib fī-man laḳītuhū min Udabāʾ al-Maghrib*, was lithographed at Fās in 1315 A. H.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 295-97 (and references quoted); Brockelmann, S II, 684; J. Berque, *La littérature marocaine et l'Orient au XVIIIe siècle*, *Arabica*, 1955, 311-2. (L. Lévi-Provençal)

ALAMŪT. (i) The fortress; (ii) the dynasty and state.

(I) THE FORTRESS.

The ruins of the fortress of Alamūt are situated on the summit of a lofty and almost inaccessible rock in the heart of the Alburz mountains two days's march north-north-east of Ḳazwīn. According to Ibn al-Athīr (x, 131), an eagle indicated the site to a Daylamite king, who built a castle there, hence the derivation of Alamūt from *āluh*, "eagle" and *āmū(kh)t*, "teaching". In 246/860 the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan al-Dāʿi ila'l-Ḥaḳḳ rebuilt the castle. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, the founder of the Assassins, seized Alamūt in 483/1090 and made it the headquarters of the Order. The Mongols took Alamūt in 654/1257 but the Assassins regained it in 673/1275, only to lose it finally soon afterwards. In Ṣafawid times, Alamūt was used as a state prison or "castle of oblivion". Remains of the walls and buildings are still to be seen.

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regarding the identification of Alamūt), *Some Ismaili Strongholds in Persia*, *IC*, xii, 382-92; F. Stark, *The Valleys of the Assassins*, London 1934. (L. Lockhart)

(ii) The dynasty.

Alamūt was the center of a Shīʿite state between 483/1090 and 654/1256 with territories scattered unevenly from Syria to eastern Iran, ruled by the head of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī [*q.v.*] sect, sometimes called the Assassins.

The state grew out of an attempt by the Ismāʿīlīs of Iran to break the power of the Sunnite Saldjūḳs on behalf of the Fāṭimid rulers of Egypt. Their revolt began in the last years of Malikshāh's reign, spreading especially during the troubled time of Barkiyāruḳ; Ismāʿīlīs seized strongholds in Ḳuhistān, Ḳūmis, Fārs, al-Djazīra, Syria, and elsewhere, and Ismāʿīlī troops intervened in the civil wars. Among the leaders the most important were the learned ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭṭāsh, *dāʿī* (chief propagandist) of Iṣfahān, his son Aḥmad b. ʿAṭṭāsh, who seized Shāhdiz near Iṣfahān in 494/1100, and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*], who seized Alamūt in Daylamān in 483/1090. On the death of the *imām* al-Mustanṣir of Egypt in 487/1094 the Ismāʿīlīs of Iran supported the claims of his son Nizār; when Nizār was defeated they refused to recognize al-Mustaʿlī, and carried on their revolt independently of Egypt, under the name of Nizārīs [*q.v.*].

With the concentration of Saldjūḳ power in the hands of Muḥammad Tapar the tide turned against the Ismāʿīlīs; Shāhdiz fell in 500/1107 and Alamūt was in grave danger when Muḥammad's death, in 511/1118, allowed the Ismāʿīlīs a time of recuperation. By this time the leadership was clearly in the hands of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ at Alamût. He controlled an essentially independent state consisting of the strongholds in the Rūdbār district around Alamūt, of the fortress of Girdkūh near Dāmghān in Kūmis, and of numerous towns in Ḳuhistān south of Khurāsān. In addition, he was the leader of most of the Ismāʿīlīs under Saldjūḳ rule in Iran and the Fertile Crescent and even a few partisans of Nizār in Egypt. With a later small addition in Syria, the territory of the state remained substantially the same till its end, while the importance of Ismāʿīlī adherents in the surrounding lands seems to have declined rapidly.

The history of the state was dominated by a sustained hostility between the Ismāʿīlīs and the surrounding Sunnite and even Shīʿite populations; a hostility expressed on the one side in repeated massacres of all suspected Ismāʿīlīs in a town and on the other side in assassinations of their most active enemies, such as Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*]. Assassination was not in itself unusual at that time, but its systematic use by the Ismāʿīlīs produced a special terror. Especially in the earlier years, Ismāʿīlīs owing allegiance to the sect leadership at Alamūt lived interspersed among the people, keeping their unpopular faith secret with Shīʿite *taḳiyya*. Those detailed to get rid of some persecuting *ḳāḍī* or *amīr* sometimes stalked their victim with signal devotion, finally killing him spectacularly in public. Any public murder therefore was likely to be ascribed to the Ismāʿīlīs; hence a nickname of theirs, al-Ḥashīshiyya, has become the word *assassin* in Western languages. (There is no evidence that the use of the drug *ḥashīsh* entered in any way into the assassinations.) Eventually, at least, assassination as a weapon became institutionalized, assassins being kept in readiness at hostile courts and their services perhaps even hired out to friendly rulers. Suspicion and war almost never ceased between the Ismāʿīlī state and the surrounding peoples; raiding Ismāʿīlī villages and slaughtering their inhabitants was considered a pious act among the Sunnites, while the Ismāʿīlīs in their isolated districts maintained a united front against outsiders until the end.

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ died in 518/1124, leaving the leadership to one of his generals, Buzurg-ummīd, as *dāʿī* of Daylamān. Buzurg-ummīd's son Muḥammad succeeded him in 532/1138. During these two reigns defense against Saldjūḳ rulers, especially Sandjar and Maḥmūd, alternated with local raids against mountain rivals or nearby towns like Ḳazwīn. Of symbolic importance were the assassinations of two ʿAbbāsid caliphs, al-Mustarshid and al-Rāshid. Meanwhile, after playing a calamitous role in the politics of Aleppo and Damascus, the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs finally acquired for the state the fortresses of a part of Djabal Bahrā, north of the Lebanon.

Muḥammad's son, Ḥasan II, who succeeded in 557/1162, declared himself in 559/1164 no longer simply *dāʿī* but *khalīfa*, plenipotentiary of the long-hidden *imām*; and probably hinted that he was himself that *imām*. Proclaiming the Day of Resurrection, the spiritual consummation of the world, he abolished the Shīʿite *sharīʿa* law as inconsistent with the mystical life in Paradise to which Ismāʿīlīs were henceforth called; thus consecrating irrevocably the breach with the Muslim community at large. Some objected to the new order, and in 561/1166 Ḥasan was murdered; but his young son Muḥammad II took firm control and carried through his father's policy. Henceforward the ruler of Alamūt was regarded as an ʿAlid *imām*, lineal descendant of Nizār. But external relations remained much as before; Muḥammad had a long and relatively peaceful reign, troubled toward its end by the enmity of the Khʷārazmshāh. During his reign Syrian Ismāʿīlism was dominated by the able Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān [*q.v.*], who acted with apparent independence of Alamūt in his quarrels and rapprochements with Aleppo and Saladin, with the Crusaders, and with the Nuṣayrī mountaineers about him. But after his death in 589/1193 the authority of Alamūt was unquestioned.

The son of Muḥammad II, Ḥasan III, succeeded in 607/1210 and declared himself a Sunnite Muslim, ordering all his followers to accept the Sunnite *sharīʿa*, and allying himself with, among others, the caliph al-Nāṣir. The Ismāʿīlīs accepted his decrees outwardly; he made minor conquests in alliance with Uzbag of Ādharbāydjān. But when he died in 618/1221 (perhaps by poison) his young son who succeeded, Muḥammad III, was not brought up a Sunnite; and though officially Ḥasan's decrees probably stood, in fact the *sharīʿa* was dropped and the state resumed its political isolation.

Nevertheless, a broad Islamic outlook was maintained. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] and other scholars were attracted to its fortresses; and ambitious quarrels were carried on with Djalāl al-Dīn Mangūbirtī [*q.v.*] and then with the Mongols; allies were sought even in western Europe. But the Sunnites' ingrained hatred finally prevailed. The Mongol Hūlāgū's first objective in Iran was to destroy the Ismāʿīlī state. Muḥammad had developed a degenerate character and his refusal to negotiate frightened his generals, who were evidently hoping to circumvent him when a courtier murdered him, in 653/1255.

After ambivalent negotiations and the fall of many fortresses, his son Kh*urshāh surrendered unconditionally in 654/1256. He was soon killed, and the Ismāʿīlīs of Daylamān, Ḳūmis, and Ḳuhistān were massacred; the survivors never succeeded in reestablishing the state. The Syrian fortresses survived the Mongols only to be taken by Baybars of Egypt, who however left them as an autonomous community, furnishing assassins to their new overlords.

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*; Djuwaynī, iii; Ibn al-Athīr, passim. Landmarks in modern research were Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoire sur la dynastie des Assassins, Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, iv, Paris 1818, part 2; C. Defrémery, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Ismailiens ou Bathiniens de Syrie*, *JA*, 1845/i, 373-421, 1855/i, 5-76, and *Essai sur l'histoire des Ismaéliens ou Batiniens de la Perse*, *JA*, 1856/ii, 353-387, 1860/i, 130-210. J. von Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte der Assassinen*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1818, was a hostile tract. Zambaur's notice is full of errors. Full bibliography will be found in M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955.

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

ALĀN (in Arabic usually taken as al-Lān), an Iranian people (Alān < Aryan) of Northern Caucasus, formerly attested also east of the Caspian sea (see al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd al-Amākin*, ed. A. Z. Validi, in *Bīrūnī's Picture of the world*, 57), as supported by local toponymy. The Alān are mentioned in history from the 1st century A.D. In 371 they were defeated by the Huns. Together with the Vandals, a part of the Alāns migrated to the West across France and Spain, and finally took part in the creation of the Vandal kingdom in North Africa (418-534). On conquering this kingdom Justinian assumed the title of king of "Vandals and Alans". The Alāns remaining north of the Caucasus became neighbours consecutively of the Bulghārs, the Turks and the Khazars, who pushed them out of the plains towards the mountains. In 119/737 Marwān b. Muḥammad "entered the Khazar country from the direction of Bab al-Lān (Darial)", see al-Balādhurī, 207 (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 160).

The Alāns were the ancestors of the present-day Ossets whose name (in Georgian: Ows-etʿi) is derived from Ās (very probably the ancient Aorsi; al-Masʿūdī, ii, 10, 12: *al-Arsiyya guards in Khazaria) who were apparently a sister tribe of the Alāns. The Armenian Geography calls the westernmost Alans "Ashtigor" (As-Digor), and the Digor are the western division of the present-day Ossetes, while "Asi" in Osset refers to the still more westernly region near Mt. Elbruz, which the Ossets must have occupied too in earlier days.

The Alans were converted *en masse* under the Byzantine Patriarch Nicholas the Mystic (between A.D. 901 and 925), though al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 43, states that in 320/932 they apostasised (probably temporarily) and expelled their bishops and priests. According to Ibn Rusta, 148, only the chief of the al-Lān was a Christian. Muslim authors do not know any other peoples between the dominions of the Alāns and those of the Ṣāḥib al-Sarīr, the ruler of the Daghistān Avar, who also professed the Christian faith. The tribe D.khsās (*Rukhs-ās) which Ibn Rusta, 148, mentions as the noblest tribe of the Alāns, may correspond to the Roxalani of the western authors, and the name Ṭwlās (see *Ḥudūd*, 445) should probably be read Tuwal-ās and refer to the Tualtae living now across the Caucasian range. The Alan capital M.gh.s mentioned in the *Murūdj*, ii, 42, should be read *Magas and explained in Arabic as *dhibbāna*, "a fly" (not *diyāna* as in the Paris edition).

The Alāns (or Ās) are frequently mentioned at the time of the Mongol invasion when they were Greek Christians. Their settlements in the 13th century extended towards Darband and the estuary of the Volga. The Alans had close relations with the Byzantines, the Georgians and the Russians (the latter called them Yasī).

The Mongol conquest led to a further dispersion of the Alāns, whose military contingents and settlers are known even in China. The Persian sources know the Ās as Christians at the court of the Mongol sovereigns, but according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Defrémery), ii, 448, the Ās in Sarāy on the Volga were Muslims.

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(W. Barthold-V. Minorsky)

ALANYA (ʿAlāʾiyya, ʿAlāyā), port in South Anatolia, 36° 32′ N, 32° E, at the foot of a mountain 250 m. high and towering above the sea; capital of the *ḳaḍā* of the same name, which belongs to the *wilāyet* (formerly *sandjaḳ*) of Antalya. In 1945 the town had 5884, the *ḳaḍā* 37, 971, inhabitants. The name is derived from the Rūm Saldjūḳ sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I, who, in 1220, conquered, and adopted as his winter residence, the castle on the mountain. This had been in the possession of a Greek, or Armenian, baron, called by Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), iii, 234-44, iv, 97-103, Kīr Fārd, and was known, on account of its beautiful situation, as Galonoros (i.e. καλὸν ὄρος; hence the name of Candeloro or Skandeloro in medieval European sources). From 692/1293 ʿAlāʾiyya belonged to the principality of Ḳaraman; Ibn Baṭṭūta (ii, 257 f.) found there in ca. 1333 Yūsuf Beg as prince of the Ḳaraman. According to al-Maḳrīzī (*al-Sulūk*, s.a.) the town was sold by the Ḳaraman to the Mamlūk sultan Barsbey in 830/1427; but according to the Ottoman chronicles the town was, later in the 15th century, in the possession of a descendant of the Saldjūḳ dynasty. In 876/1471-2 ʿAlāʾiyya was captured by Gedik Aḥmed Pasha, Meḥmed II's general (Neshrī (Taeschner), i, 205 f.). From then ʿAlāʾiyya remained in Ottoman hands and was the capital of a *liwā* (*sandjaḳ*) in the *eyālet* of Ičel (Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*, 611).

The old town of ʿAlāʾiyya was situated on the mountain, which slopes steeply to the W. and S., but descends more gradually to the E and N. To the north it is connected with the mainland only by a narrow neck of land, and thus forms together with the latter two bays, of which, however, only the eastern one served, and serves still, as a harbour. The old town on the mountain is surrounded by a wall which starts from a strong octagonal tower in

the NE side of the peninsula on the eastern shore, made of red sand-stone (hence the name Ḳizil Kule) and dated 623/1226, and ascends up to the summit of the mountain at the southern end of the peninsula. The area so enclosed is further divided by two transverse walls, of which the upper, southern one encloses, together with the outer wall, the citadel (Ič Kalʿe) lying at the summit, the other the outer fortress (Dīs̲h̲ Ḳalʿe). In Turkish times, the citadel served as barracks for the garrison; it is uninhabited today, but contains the ruins of a Byzantine church. The outer fortress was the residential area of the old town; it contains a *k̲h̲ān* (caravanserai; not, it seems, a *bedestān*, as is often stated) of the early Ottoman period, an old, though in its present state only Ottoman, mosque (Kalʿe D̲j̲āmiʿ) and the *türbe* (from 628/1230) of a certain Aḳs̲h̲ebe Sulṭān. The mosque called after ʿĀlāʾ al-Dīn, situated outside the outer fortress, does not seem to be very old. On the shore there is an arsenal (*tersāne*) built, according to its inscription, by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I; it consists of five large barrel-vaults with five arched openings in each partition-wall, the only building of its kind as yet known from the Saldiūḳ period.

The old town is at present but sparsely populated; a new town arose at the foot of the mountain on the isthmus and on the mainland. It contains no monuments worthy of mention.

Not far to the east of ʿAlāʾiyya in the coastal plain on a rivulet, is to be found the ruin of a small, *kös̲h̲k*-like building of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period, mainly consisting of a barrel-vault in the middle of an area surrounded by a wall. It was probably the country-house of a Sald̲j̲ūḳ nobleman with a garden. On the line of the wall lies the ruin of a small Christian church.

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ALARCOS [see al-arak].

ALAYA [see ālaba wa ʾl-ḳilāʿ].

ʿALAWĪ (ʿAlluwī < Ahl ʿAlī, according to v. Maltzan, *Reise*, 356), tribe and district on the caravan route ʿAdan-Ḳaʿṭaba-Ṣanʿāʾ, the smallest among the "nine cantons" of the Western Aden Protectorate. It lies between ʿĀmirī (N) and Ḥaws̲h̲abī (S) territory and formerly belonged to the ʿĀmir (v. Maltzan, loc. cit.), but later it became semi-independent and signed a treaty with the British in 1895. Population: 1000-1500. The *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* lives at al-Sawda, which is the only place of some importance, with a landing ground for aircraft.

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ʿALAWĪS (ʿAlawiyya), the reigning dynasty in Morocco.

Morocco at the advent of the ʿAlawid dynasty. When the ʿAlawid *S̲h̲urafāʾ* [see s̲h̲arīf] succeeded in asserting their sovereignty over Morocco, the country was rent by a serious political, social and religious crisis. The great movement of maraboutism and xenophobia for which the growth of Ṣūfism and S̲h̲arīfism and the development of the religious brotherhoods had for long paved the way, and which had manifested itself as early as the 15th century, the period of incursions by Portuguese and Spanish Christians on the coasts of Morocco, assumed a new form. While the two Saʿdid *mak̲h̲zens* established at Fez and Marrākus̲h̲ crumbled into ruin, strong provincial factions, based on a religious allegiance, divided up the country and warred amongst themselves. The marabouts of al-Dilāʾ [*q.v.*], supported by the Berber population of the Middle and Central Atlas, some of whom began to move down into the Atlantic plains, seemed to be on the point of establishing a Ṣinhād̲j̲ī domination in Morocco. Morocco needed rehabilitation, organisation, and also pacification, because anarchy and brigandage continued to spread. The ʿAlawids, if they were not faced with the task of overcoming the preceding dynasty, had to meet difficult problems on every side.

The establishment of the dynasty. The ʿAlawids, of Ḥasanid descent, had come from Arabia to Tāfīlālt at the end of the 13th century. For a long time they played no part in politics. But, in the anarchy which marked the decline of the Saʿdid dynasty, the inhabitants of Tāfīlālt, threatened simultaneously by Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Samlālī and by the marabouts of al-Dilāʾ, adopted as their leader Mawlāy al-S̲h̲arīf. His son Mawlāy Maḥammad (*sic*), who succeeded him during his lifetime in 1045/1635-6, strove for a period of twenty years to organise a small principality in eastern Morocco, but left no permanent structure. Maḥammad's brother, Mawlāy al-Ras̲h̲īd [*q.v.*], took up his task with greater foresight and determination. The moment was favourable; the country was tired of anarchy and the great marabout organisations were beginning to decline. It was in order to escape from his brother Mawlāy Maḥammad that Mawlāy al-Ras̲h̲īd, after the death of their father, al-S̲h̲arīf, in 1069/1659, sought his fortune in Morocco. He had managed to collect a small force and, after obtaining funds by killing a rich Jew, Ibn Mas̲h̲ʿal, he succeeded in establishing himself in eastern Morocco with the aid of the Maʿḳil Arabs and the Ayt Inassen Berbers. Gradually he extended his kingdom, and made Tāzā his provisional capital. In 1076/1666 he seized Fez; from then on he assumed the role of sultan and applied himself to the subjugation of the marabout powers which shared the Atlantic seaboard of Morocco. First he conquered northern Morocco, and then he defeated the Dilāʾites and took possession of their *zāwiya*. In 1079/1669 he entered Marrākus̲h̲, and occupied Sūs and the Anti-Atlas. But he died at Marrākus̲h̲ in 1082/1672 without having consolidated his achievements.

Thus the Filālī S̲h̲arīfs had achieved power as a result of a personal venture which for long was situated half-way between banditry and war, and which reached its climax with the conquest of the Morocco of the plains and oases. With a few Arab tribes forming his only genuine support, Mawlāy al-Ras̲h̲īd, thanks to the weak state of the country and the decline of the great marabout organizations, had successfully carried out the task of regrouping and of imposing law and order. But, in this country, practically everything had still to be put in order. Although the marabout crisis had suddenly ended, the Arab problem, always serious, was about to find a parallel in a formidable Berber problem, the essential phase of which was to be the push of the Ṣinhād̲j̲a of the Atlas towards the north and west. The tasks of organizing an army, re-forming a government, and of establishing the place which

Morocco intended to hold in the Mediterranean theatre, still remained.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1082-1139/1672-1727) and the consolidation of the dynasty. The work of pacification accomplished by al-Rashīd proved impermanent. His brother and successor Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] (1672-1727) had to face two rival claimants to the throne and to suppress numerous revolts both in the towns and among the tribes. He deprived Fez and Marrākush, to which he had been obliged to lay siege, of their status as capital cities, and installed himself with his government at Miknāsa. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl had first of all to solve the problem of the army. He had recourse first to the old expedient of the Arab *gīsh*, to which he added the Maʿḳil Arabs of the oases and to which he gave the name of *gīsh* of the Udāya. But more especially he pressed into service the descendants of the black slaves who had been imported in large numbers by the Saʿdids; these were the *ʿabīd al-Bukhārī*; but this black militia never had any great military value.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, who from the beginning of his reign had been unsuccessful in his Algerian ventures and had had to conclude peace with the Turks on the usual terms, succeeded in recovering from the Spanish Maʿmūra, Mahdiyya and al-Arāʾish (Larache). The British evacuated Tangier. Mazagan, Ceuta and Melilla remained in Christian hands.

Nearly the whole of his long reign was devoted to the suppression of internal revolts, risings by pretenders, and rebellions on the part of the tribes. The task was a heavy one; the country had a long tradition of anarchy, and the crushing financial burdens which the sovereign imposed on conquered territory were a clear incentive to revolt. The hardest campaigns were those against the Ṣinhādja Berbers. With the aid of some of these, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl pacified for a time the Middle Atlas. But he never succeeded in occupying the whole of Morocco.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl's diplomatic relations with Europe have often given rise to misconceptions. The sovereign hated the Christian world. His European policy, based on a desire for holy war and on cupidity, and implemented with reluctance, was fundamentally negative. In spite of the efforts of the European nations, the crying problem of the captives was not settled. Foreign trade continued to be negligible. Morocco isolated itself to an increasing extent from Europe and also from Turkish Algeria; the seeds of revival could not be planted from without.

At home, Ismāʿīl had strengthened the dynasty's position and pacified part of the country, but he had failed to resolve either the Arab or the Berber problem. After his death the black militia proved to be the principal fomentors of trouble. Ismāʿīl had not remedied Morocco's deep-rooted disorders, nor had he set the country on a new path. At his death, the ensuing anarchy was worse than ever.

The period of anarchy (1139-70/1727-57). For a period of thirty years, various sons of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl were elected and deposed by the *ʿabīd*, the *gīsh* and even by the Berber tribes, who had come down into the plains. Seven rulers came and went. One of them, Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, reigned twice, and ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], on four different occasions. This was one of the darkest periods in Moroccan history. Anarchy and brigandage laid waste the subject territory and the large towns.

The rehabilitation under Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1170-1204/1757-90). Muḥammad, when he was elected sulṭān in 1170/1757, had already, as *khalīfa* of his father at Marrākush, accomplished work of importance. Muḥammad had no more ability than his predecessors or his succ ssors to devise new solutions or to undertake a real reorga nization of the country. He failed to settle any of the major problems which confronted him. Conscious of the limitations of his resources, he gave his kingdom, as far as he was able and as far as the country itself allowed him, peace and prosperity. He organized the collection of taxes, minted a sound currency, and built up a small army from the remnants of the *gīsh* and the *ʿabīd*, and a few con tingents from subject tribes. Despite his alliances with the Berbers, he was unable to check the encroachment of the Ṣinhādjī tribes on the plains; the road from Fez to Marrākush via the Tādlā was cut.

He had the good fortune to reoccupy Mazagan, which the Portuguese evacuated in 1182/1769. After two defeats at Ceuta and Melilla, he made peace with Spain. He realised that a certain minimum of foreign trade was indispensable to Morocco; accordingly he signed treaties of trade and friendship with the principal European powers. He tried in vain to concentrate the majority of the European merchants and consular officials in the new town of Mogador, planned by European architects, which was commenced in 1179/1765.

The end of the reign of Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh was marred by the rebellions of his son and heir-apparent, al-Yazīd.

The conservative policy of the ʿAlawids: prelude to the Moroccan crisis (1204-1311/1790-1894). The short reign of al-Yazīd (1204-6/1790-2) was marked by conflict with Spain and a serious revolt in southern Morocco. On the death of this fanatical and bloodthirsty sultan, his brother Sulaymān rid himself of two rivals and gave Morocco a brief respite from warfare.

Up to the end of the 19th century, Morocco was spared crises concerning the succession; in each case the heir designate succeeded to the throne without difficulty.

The Sulṭāns Sulaymān 1206-38/1792-1822) [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām (1238-76/1822-59) [*q.v.*], Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1276-90/1859/73), and Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1290-1311/1873-94) [*q.v.*], were practical rulers endowed with common sense. But their policies, though persevering and flexible in detail, were not progressive. Throughout this period the internal problems of Morocco remained the same. The army was weak: the *ʿabīd* had been suppressed but the *gīsh*, restored to a position of supremacy, remained undisciplined and largely ineffective. The best troops were the contingents of the adherent tribes, which were mustered on the eve of an expedition. The energies of the sultans were entirely directed, not always with success, to levying the taxes in the subject territories. They had given up all pretensions to the pacification of the *bilād al-sība* [*q.v.*], which gradually increased in size.

In order to put down local revolts and to secure payment of the taxes, the ʿAlawid sultans of the 19th century spent part of their time conducting *ḥarkas* over their territories; the effect of these was often limited and temporary. Diplomacy was employed rather than force; and attempts were made to secure the aloof homage of the tribes which lived in actual independence. By all these means, the *makhzen* endeavoured to save face, if not at home, at least in the eyes of Europe. It avoided headlong collision with the powerful unsubdued

groups; the latter were, for their part, incapable of uniting against the central power. At the end of the 19th century, however, Mawlāy al-Ḥasan had the good fortune to bring within his orbit the powerful *ḳāʾids* who had established themselves in southern Morocco.

Both the military and political activities of the sultans were limited in scope and exhausting. Their financial resources, though administered with care, remained exiguous; the smallness of the sums at the disposal of the *makhzen* precluded any works of a lasting character.

In a Morocco which clung obstinately to a sort of paradoxical mediaevalism, European interventions steadily became more pressing, and questions of foreign policy eventually, at the beginning of the 20th century, took pride of place over domestic matters. The fate of Morocco, the last Mediterranean country to stand aloof from the modern world, was not settled earlier because rivalries between the powers, and above all the desire of France, the country principally interested, for peace, long preserved it in its existing condition. Morocco, however, imprudently provoked two wars with European powers. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān gave his support to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥyi'l-Dīn [*q.v.*] in his conflict with France. The Moroccan troops were defeated on the Isly (28 Djumādā II 1260/15 July 1844) and the ports of Tangier and Mogador were bombarded by the French fleet. The sultan hastened to conclude peace. His son and successor, Muḥammad, as a result of frontier incidents, declared war on Spain. The Spanish army, marching from Ceuta, occupied Tetuan and was advancing on Tangier when Great Britain negotiated peace. The ʿAlawid dynasty emerged unscathed from these two adventures into which it had been led by its xenophobia and its attachment to the holy war. Nevertheless European penetration increased during the reign of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. In 1297/1880 the Convention of Madrid gave rulings on questions of trade and protection; European trade in the ports expanded. Every endeavour of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan was directed towards the maintenance of his authority in the subject territory, and the prolongation of an independence which was in increasing jeopardy. This unstable and paradoxical position could only last so long as the diplomatic façade constituted by the Sharīfian empire remained intact.

The Moroccan crisis and the establishment of the French Protectorate (1311-30/1894-1912). The internal disintegration of Morocco grew more rapid during the first years of the 20th century. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] was only fourteen when he succeeded his father Mawlāy al-Ḥasan. Until 1900, the vizier Bā Aḥmad exercised the real authority and in all respects continued the practices of the preceding reign. Despite the blundering good intentions of the sultan and his attempts at reform, the *bilād al-makhzan* itself was breaking up; a pretender unrelated to the dynasty, the *rūgī* Bū Ḥmāra (Abū Ḥamāra), installed himself at Tāzā and defied the Sharīfian armies. The dynasty was tottering. Thus Morocco advanced involuntarily to the forefront of the diplomatic stage. Mounting confusion in the country set at nought the agreements concluded by the chancelleries of Europe with a view to the preservation of peace. The main episodes in this crisis had their origin in military or other moves on the part of Germany, which was trying to prevent the expansion of French influence in Morocco. The final act of the Conference of Algeciras, convened to resolve the first of these clashes, proclaimed the independence of the sultan, the inviolability of his empire, and economic equality among the Powers, while, however, recognizing a certain privileged position for France.

The murder of French dependents and agitation on the Algerian border induced France to pacify the Oujda region and to occupy the Chaouia. A new diplomatic crisis ended with the Franco-German agreement of 1909. France and Spain increased their activities in Morocco.

During all these events the ʿAlawid dynasty, engrossed in domestic disorders and preoccupied with its own defence, was singularly inactive. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was replaced by his brother Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ, who had rebelled against him at Marrākush. Finally the incident at Agadir, which for a moment threatened the peace of Europe, led to a new Franco-German agreement which gave the Reich compensations in Equatorial Africa and made possible the signature of the Protectorate agreement (11 Rabīʿ II 1330/30 March 1912). The ʿAlawid dynasty, which had seemed on the point of collapse, could thus, under French protection, maintain its position and enter a new phase. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ, who showed extreme ill will in promulgating the reforms anticipated in the Protectorate agreements, abdicated in 1913 and was replaced by his brother, Mawlāy Yūsuf, who was succeeded in 1926 by his son Sīdī Muḥammad; the latter was replaced in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1372/August 1953 by Sīdī Muḥammad b. Mawlāy ʿArafa.

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In October 1955, Sīdī Muḥammad b. Mawlāy ʿAfara went to reside in Tangiers, and a Council of the Throne was instituted in the Sharifian Empire; Sīdī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf was installed on the throne again on 16th November 1955. (ED.)

ALAWITES [see NUṢAYRĪ].

ALAY, a Turkish word probably derived from the Greek *allagion*, which was applied to certain divisions of the Byzantine army (cf. Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, *Bizans Müesseselerin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Te'siri*, *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, i, 277), signifying in Ottoman usage "a troop", "a parade", and hence "a crowd", "a large quantity", and used from the time of the 19th century military reforms to denote "a regiment". The most important parades to which the name was given were the *ḳılıč alayı*, held on the occasion of the sultan's visit to Eyyūb for his girding with the sword of ʿOthmān; the *alay-ı hümāyūn*, held on his departure from or return to the capital whether in connection with a campaign or for some other reason; the *ṣürre alayı*, held at the *sarāy* on the despatch of his annual gift to the Holy Cities; the *Mewlūd* and *Bayram alayları*, held for his visitation of mosques on the Prophet's Birthday and the two *ʿids*; and the *wālide alayı*, held on the translation of a new Wālide Sulṭān from the Old to the New Sarāy. The word also figures in designations such as *alay beyi*, applied to officers commanding the feudal cavalry of a *sandjaḳ* or *eyālet* and themselves fief-holders, and *alay čawushu*, applied either to *čawushes* whose duty it was to clear the route for processions or to those who conveyed commands in battle by shouting. The Alay Köshkü was a pavilion in the Ṭopḳapı Sarayı built in the reign of Murād III from which sultans might view parades.

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ʿALĀYA [see ʿALANYA].

ALBAICIN [see GHARNĀṬA].

ALBARRACIN [see RAZĪN, BANŪ].

ALBISTĀN [see ELBISTAN].

ALBUFERA [see BALANSIYA].

ALBURZ (now usually pronounced ELBURZ), in Old Persian Hara Berezaiti or "High Mountain", is a mountain chain which, besides separating the Persian central plateau from the Caspian depression, links the Caucasus range with the Paropamisus. The average height of the western portion is just under 10,000 feet, culminating in Damāwand [*q.v.*], which is 18,600 feet high. The northern slopes of the range are densely wooded, but vegetation is scanty on the southern side because of the much lower rainfall

Firdawsī gives the name Alburz to a mythical mountain in India. The first Persian geographer to apply the name to the range was Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī.

Alburz or Elburz is not to be confused with Elbruz, the Caucasian peak. Cf. Le Strange, 368 note. (L. LOCKHART)

ALCACER DO SAL [see ḲAṢR ABĪ DĀNIS].

ALCALA [see AL-ḲALʿA].

ALCANTARA [see AL-ḲANṬARA].

ALCAZAR, Spanish (from Arab. *al-ḳaṣr*): castle, citadel (Portug. Alcacer). Famous are the Alcazars of Seville, Cordova, Segovia, Toledo etc. Alcazar is also a frequent name of places, e.g.: Alcazar de San Juan, a town in the Spanish province of Ciudad-Real, Alcazarquivir, the Spanish name of Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*], a town in Morocco.

ALCAZARQUIVIR [see AL-ḲAṢR AL-KABĪR].

ALCHEMY [see AL-KĪMIYĀʾ].

ALCIRA [see DJAZĪRAT SHUḲR].

ALDEBARAN [see NUDJŪM].

ALEMBIC [see AL-ANBĪḲ].

ALEPPO [see ḤALAB].

ALEXANDER THE GREAT [see DHU 'L-ḲARNAYN, AL-ISKANDAR].

ALEXANDER OF APHRODISIAS [see AL-ISKANDAR AL-AFRŪDĪSĪ].

ALEXANDRETTA [see ISKANDARŪN].

ALEXANDRIA [see AL-ISKANDARIYYA].

ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA, "Thousand nights and one night" is the title of the most famous Arabian collection of fairy-tales and other stories. One often reads or hears nowadays "like a fairy-tale from the thousand-and-one nights", and, indeed, the fairy-tales are the most striking part of the collection. Like all Orientals the Arabs from the earliest times enjoyed imaginative stories; but since the intellectual horizon of the true Arabs in ancient times before the rise of Islam was rather narrow the material for these entertainments was borrowed mainly from elsewhere, from Persia and from India, as we gather from the accounts of the Prophet's competitor, the merchant al-Naḍr. In later times when Arab civilization had grown richer and more comprehensive the literary influence from other countries was, of course, much stronger. An attentive reader of the "Nights" will soon be astonished by the manifold variety of their contents: they resemble in a way an Oriental meadow with many different beautiful flowers intermingled with a few weeds. On the other hand, the reader will notice that these stories comprise a very wide field: there are stories of King Solomon, of the kings of

ancient Persia, of Alexander the Great, of the caliphs and the sultans on one side, and stories in which guns, coffee and tobacco are mentioned on the other side.

Its appearance in Europe. The entire work is enclosed in a "frame-story", and this was known in Italy in the Middle Ages. Traces of it are to be found in a novel by Giovanni Sercambi (1347-1424) and in the story of Astolfo and Giocondo which is told in the 28th canto of *Orlando Furioso* by Ariosto (beginning of the 16th century); travellers who had been in the East may have brought this knowledge to Italy. But the whole *Alf Layla wa-Layla* came to Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. The French scholar and traveller Jean Antoine Galland (1646-1715) published it for the first time. Travelling in the Near East at first as a secretary of the French ambassador, then as a collector of objects for museums commissioned by amateurs, he had known the world of the Orient, and his attention was directed to the great number of stories and fables told there. After his return to France he began in 1704 to publish his volumes *Les mille et une Nuits contes arabes traduits en Français*. By 1706 seven vols. had appeared: vol. viii appeared in 1709, vols. ix and x in 1712, vols. xi and xii in 1717, two years after Galland's death. This delay in the appearance of the later vols. is significant for Galland's difficulties as to material and also for his indifference to this side of his work as a scholar. He was a born story-teller; he had a flair for a good story and a knack of re-telling it well. Thus he adapted his translation to the taste of his European readers, changing sometimes the wording of the Arabic text and paraphrasing things that were foreign to Europeans. Hence the great success of his "Nights". But he was also fortunate in the material which fell into his hands. He began by translating Sindbād the Sailor from an unidentified MS; then he learned that this was part of a great collection of stories called "The Thousand and One Nights"; then he had the luck to have sent to him from Syria four vols. of a MS of that work which is, except for a small fragment found by Nabia Abbott, the oldest known and contains the best surviving text. The first three of his vols. are still in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but the fourth is lost. In the first seven vols. of his translation he exhausted his three vols. of Arabic text which we still have and added Sindbād and Camalzaman (Ḳamar al-Zamān) from unidentified MSS. Then for lack of material he stopped for three years until his publisher forced his hand by issuing, without authority, vol. viii containing Ganem (G̲h̲ānim), translated by Galland from an unidentified MS, and two stories, Zeyn Alasnam (Zayn al-Aṣnām) and Codadad (K̲h̲udādād), translated by Pétis de la Croix and intended for his *Mille et un jours*. Again Galland was completely out of material and stopped; he was also tired and disgusted with the whole matter. But in 1709 he met a certain Maronite from Aleppo, Ḥannā, brought to Paris by the traveller Paul Lucas, and at once recognized that he had got an oral source of the story material. Ḥannā told him stories in Arabic, and Galland inserted in his *Journal* abstracts of some of these. But Ḥannā also gave him transcripts of some. In this way the last four vols. of Galland's translation were filled out; his *Journal* gives full details. Ḥannā's transcripts have vanished, but two Arabic MSS of Aladdin have since come to light and one of Ali Baba. This, then, is the origin of the book which made the "Nights" known to Europe and which in the French text and in very many translations from the French became the "Arabian Nights" for the great multitude of readers. For details see H. Zotenberg, *Histoire d'ʿAlā' aldin . . . avec Notice sur quelques manuscrits des Mille et une nuits et la traduction de Galland*, Paris 1888. This contains the Arabic text of Aladdin (ʿAlā al-Dīn) and a study of certain MSS of the Nights and of the entries in Galland's *Journal*. See also V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie arabe*, iv, Liège 1900, and D. B. Macdonald, *A bibliographical and literary study of the first appearance of the Arabian Nights in Europe*, *The Library Quarterly*, vol. ii, no. 4, Oct. 1932, 387-420.

For more than a century Galland's French version meant the Nights for Europe, and two of his stories whose original Arabic texts were not known were even translated into Oriental languages. But meanwhile other MSS, more or less connected with the Nights, were brought to light and, from these, various supplements to Galland were translated and published. Just as the MSS of the Nights themselves varied enormously as to the stories which they contained, so these translators were prepared to attach to the Nights any story that existed in Arabic. The following supplements, partly separate and partly attached to editions of Galland, are of importance in themselves and as signs of the interests of their times. For further details on all of them see Chauvin's *Bibliographie*, iv, 82-120.

In 1788 there appeared as a supplement to the *Cabinet des Fées*, vols 38-41, a series of tales translated from the Arabic by Denis Chavis. It is significant for the interest at the time in the whole subject of the Nights that there appeared, 1792-1794, three separate English translations of this supplement. In 1795 William Beloe published in the third vol. of his *Miscellanies* some Arabic stories which had been translated for him orally by Patrick Russell, the author of *The Natural History of Aleppo* (1794). In 1800 Jonathan Scott translated in his *Tales, Anecdotes and Letters* certain stories from the MS of the Nights brought from India by James Anderson, and in 1811 to his edition of an English version of Galland he added a vol. of new stories from another MS, the Wortley Montague MS now in Oxford. In 1806 Caussin de Perceval had already added two vols. of supplement to his edition of Galland. But Edouard Gauttier in his professed edition of Galland (1822-1825) went much farther: besides two vols. of new tales drawn from all manner of sources he freely inserted others in the course of Galland's Nights. Von Hammer in his *Die noch nicht übersetzten Erzählungen der Tausend und einen Nacht*, Stuttgart 1823, had a much firmer foundation and used a real recension of the Nights. He had acquired in Egypt a MS of the recension now known as Zotenberg's Egyptian Recension, which through numerous editions has become the Vulgate text of the Nights; see the editions, below. Von Hammer's French translation of a number of stories not in Galland is lost, but Zinserling (1823) translated it into German, and this version was rendered in English by Lamb (1826) and in French by Trébutien (1828). In 1825 M. Habicht began to publish 15 volumes professing to be a new translation but consisting really of Galland with some supplements from Caussin, Gauttier and Scott and an ending from a so-called Tunisian MS. He began also to publish an Arabic text. From this text, later on also from Galland, from Gotha MSS and from a text printed in Egypt, Weil published his translation within the years 1837-1867.

Editions and translations. The main editions of the Arabic *Alf Layla wa-Layla* are the following.

1. The first Calcutta Edition: *The Arabian Nights Entertainments; In the Original Arabic, published under the Patronage of the College of Fort William*; By Shuekh Uhmud bin Moohummud Shirwanee ul Yumunee, Calcutta, vol. i 1814; vol. ii 1818. It contains only the first two hundred Nights and the story of Sindbād the Sailor.

2. The first Būlāḳ Edition, a complete Arabic edition, printed in 1251/1835 (from MSS found in Egypt) in the State Printing Office at Būlāḳ near Cairo founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī.

3. The Second Calcutta Edition: *The Alif Laila or the Book of the Thousand Nights and one Night, Commonly known as "The Arabian Nights Entertainments", now, for the first time, published complete in the original Arabic, from an Egyptian manuscript brought to India by the late Major Turner, editor of the Shah-Nameh.* Edited by W. H. Macnaghten, Esq. In four volumes, Calcutta 1839-42.

4. The Breslau Edition: *Tausend und Eine Nacht Arabisch. Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis herausgegeben* von Dr. Maximilian Habicht, Professor an der Königlichen Universität zu Breslau (etc.), nach seinem Tode fortgesetzt von M. Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, ordentlichem Prof. der morgenländischen Sprachen an der Universität Leipzig, Breslau 1825-43. D. B. Macdonald, in his article on Habicht's Recension in *JRAS*, 1909, 685-704, and in his article *A Preliminary Classification of some MSS of the Arabian Nights*, in the *E. G. Browne Volume*, Cambridge 1922, 304, discussed the value of this edition. His expert opinion is that Habicht wilfully created a literary myth and enormously confused the history of the Nights because a Tunisian recension of the Nights never existed, and out of many stories which had come to him from many sources he constructed a new recension of the Nights much in the same way that he had constructed his translation described above. However, Macdonald acknowledged that Habicht's texts are given verbatim without any attempt at correction, and are, therefore, "vulgar" in the exact sense whereas all other texts have been grammatically and lexicographically "improved" by learned s͟hayk͟hs.

5. Later Būlāḳ and Cairo Editions. In the latter half of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century the complete text of the first Būlāḳ edition, in the main the same as the second Calcutta edition, was several times reprinted. They are representatives of Zotenberg's "Egyptian Recension", which is the result of a compilation made by a certain s͟hayk͟h in the 18th century, according to a notice in U. J. Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*, Berlin 1854-5, iii, 188; the name of the s͟hayk͟h is not known, but this notice confirms Zotenberg's hypothesis. The Jesuit Press at Bayrūt has published an independent but expurgated edition from another MS of the same recension (1888-90).

From the Egyptian Recension have been made all the modern western translations. Lane's translation, incomplete but with a very valuable and full commentary, began to appear in parts in 1839 and was finished in 1841. It was made from the first Būlāḳ edition. Payne's translation from the Macnaghten edition, complete and privately printed, appeared in 9 vols. 1882-84. Three additional vols. contained tales in the Breslau and 1st Calcutta editions (1884), and a 13th vol. (1889) contained Aladdin and Zayn al-Aṣnām. Since Payne's death in 1916 there have been a number of complete reprints. The translation by Sir Richard Burton, also from the Macnaghten edition, is very largely dependent upon that of Payne and often reproduces Payne verbatim (10 vols., 1885; 6 supplementary vols., 1886-8). Besides the Smithers edition (12 vols., 1894) and Lady Burton's edition (6 vols., 1886-8) it has been completely reprinted several times. On the strange relation between the versions of Payne and of Burton see Thomas Wright, *Life of Sir Richard Burton* (2 vols., London 1906) and *Life of John Payne* (London 1919), and for an attempt at a comparative estimate of the above English translations see Macdonald's *On translating the Arabian Nights*, *The Nation*, New York, Aug. 30 and Sept. 6, 1900, In *Reclam's Universal-Bibliothek* (1895-97) Max Henning published a German translation, 24 small vols.; it is somewhat expurgated and rather prosaic and gives only half the verses. The first 17 vols. give the Nights from the Būlāḳ edition and vols. 18-24 various supplements, largely translated from Burton. In 1899 J. C. Mardrus began a French translation of the Nights professedly from the Būlāḳ edition of 1835. His translation is not very trustworthy, and it incorporates tales from all manner of other collections than the Nights. Moreover there are translations of the Nights in Spanish, English, Polish, German, Danish, Russian, Italian. The Spanish translation is by Vicente Blasco Ibañez; the English by E. Powys Mathers; the Polish translation is incomplete. The German translation by E. Littmann appeared in Leipzig, 6 vols., 1921-8; first re-edition Wiesbaden 1953, second re-edition ibid. 1954. It contains the complete translation of the second Calcutta edition and the following stories: *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and the Magic Lamp*, from the Paris MS edited by Zotenberg (cf. above); *ʿAlī Baba and the Forty Robbers*, from the Oxford MS edited by Macdonald (*JRAS*, 1910, 221 ff., 1913, 41 ff.); *Prince Aḥmad and Parī Bānū*, from Burton, i.e. an English rendering of a Hindustani version derived from Galland; *Abu'l-Ḥasan or the Sleeper Awakened*, from the Breslau edition; *The Craft of Women*, from the first Calcutta edition; the end of Sindbād's sixth journey and his seventh journey, from the first Calcutta edition; supplement in the *Story of the Brass City*; the end of the *Story of Sindbād and the Seven Viziers*; *The Story of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī and the Sixteen Guardians*, from the Breslau edition; *The Jealous Sisters*, from Burton-Galland; *Zayn al-Aṣnām*, from a Paris MS edited by F. Groff; *The Nocturnal Adventure of the Caliph, K͟hudādād and his Brothers, ʿAlī K͟hawād͟ja and the Merchant of Bag͟hdād*, from Burton-Galland.—The Danish translation by J. Oestrup was published at Copenhagen in 1927. The Russian translation by I. Kračkovsky appeared in 1934, the Italian translation by F. Gabrieli in 1949.

Problems of origin and evolution. When the Arabian Nights first became known in Europe they served only for the entertainment of European readers; but at the beginning of the 19th century western scholars began to take an interest in the question of their origin. Silvestre de Sacy, the founder of modern Arabian philology, discussed this question in several dissertations: *Journal des savants*, 1817, 678; *Recherches sur l'origine du recueil des contes intitulés les Mille et une nuits*, Paris 1829; in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*, x, 1833, 30. He denied, correctly, the possible authorship of one single writer and believed

that the book was written at a very late period without Persian and Indian elements; therefore, he regarded as spurious a passage in *Murūdj al-Dhahab* of al-Masʿūdī (written in 336/947 and re-edited in 346/957) referring to these elements. This passage, published by Barbier de Meynard in Arabic and French (*Les prairies d'or*, iv, 89), reads in English: "The case with them (viz. some legendary stories) is similar to that of the books that have come to us from the Persian, Indian (one MS has here: Pahlawī) and the Greek and have been translated for us, and that originated in the way that we have described, such as for example the book *Hazār Afsāna*, which in Arabic means "thousand tales", for "tale" is in Persian *afsāna*. The people call this book "Thousand Nights" (two MSS have here: Thousand Nights and One Night). This is the story of the king and the vizier and his daughter and her servant-girl; these two are called Shīrazād and Dīnāzād (in other MSS: and her nurse; in again other MSS: and his two daughters)".

In *al-Fihrist* by Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Abī Yaʿḳūb al-Nadīm (written in 377/987), ed. Flügel, i, 304, the *Hazār Afsān* are mentioned and a résumé of the frame-work story is given. The *Fihrist* adds that Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbdūs al-Djahshiyārī (d. 331/942), the author of the *Book of the Viziers*, began to write a book in which he selected a thousand stories from the stories of the Arabs, the Persians, the Greek and other peoples. He collected four hundred and eighty stories, but he died before he had attained his purpose, i.e. to complete a thousand stories.

Contrary to de Sacy, Joseph von Hammer (*Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1819, 236; *JA*, 1e série, x; 3e série, viii; Preface to his *Die noch nicht übersetzten Erzählungen* (see above) maintained the genuineness of the passage in al-Masʿūdī with all its consequences. William Lane tried to prove that the whole book was the work of one single author and had been written in the period 1475-1525 (Preface to *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*, London 1839-41).

The discussion was resumed by de Goeje (*De Arabische Nachtvertellingen, De Gids*, 1886, iii, 385, and *The Thousand and One Nights* in the *Encycl. Britann.*, xxiii, 316). He collated the passage in the *Fihrist* (see above), in which the *Hazār Afsān* are said to have been written for Humāy (var.: Humānī), the daughter of King Bahman, with a passage in al-Ṭabarī (9th century), i, 688, where Esther is called the mother of Bahman and the name Shahrazād is assigned to Humāy; and consequently tried to show that the frame-work story of the Nights was connected with the Book of Esther. August Müller seems to have been the pioneer towards a freer attitude in his *Sendschreiben* on the subject to de Goeje (*Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, xiii, 222) and in his article in *Die deutsche Rundschau*, xiii, July 10, 1887, 77-96. He distinguished various layers in the work, one of which he supposed to have been written in Baghdād, whereas to another and larger one he assigned an Egyptian origin. The idea of various layers was worked out with greater accuracy by Th. Nöldeke (*Zu den ägyptischen Märchen, ZDMG*, 1888, 68) who gave an approximate definition of the texts, by which each could be recognized.

The contents of the Nights were described and considered by Nöldeke several times. In this respect Oestrup's *Studier over* 1001 *Nat*, Copenhagen 1891, are of special importance; they were translated into Russian by Krymski (*Izsliedowanie o* 1001 *noči*, Moscow 1905, with a long introduction) and into German by Rescher, "*Oestrups Studien über* 1001 *Nacht*" *aus dem Dänischen* (*nebst einigen Zusätzen*), Stuttgart 1925, and a French résumé with notes was published by Galtier, Cairo 1912. Other ingenious discussions of the subject were given by Horovitz, mainly in his article *Die Entstehung von Tausendundeine Nacht, The Review of Nations*, no. 4, April 1927; idem, in *IC*, 1927. See also Littmann, *Tausendundeine Nacht in der arabischen Literatur*, Tübingen 1923, and *Die Entstehung und Geschichte von Tausendundeiner Nacht* in the *Anhang* to Littmann's translation (mentioned above).

The earliest testimony to the existence of the book of the Thousand Nights was discovered by Nabia Abbott, *A Ninth-Century Fragment of the "Thousand Nights". New Light on the Early History of the Arabian Nights, Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 1949. After that the work is mentioned by al-Masʿūdī and in the *Fihrist* (see above). In the 12th century a collection of tales called "The Thousand Nights and one Night" was known in Egypt as we learn from a certain al-Ḳurṭī who wrote a history of Egypt under the last Fāṭimid caliph (1160-71), and al-Ghuzūlī, who died in 815/1412, transmitted in his anthology a tale of the Nights, as Torrey recognized (*JAOS*, 1894, 42 f.). A MS discovered by H. Ritter in Istanbul which is of the 13th or 14th century contains four stories that are in the Egyptian recension. These stories are not stated to be a part of the Nights; they will be published and translated by H. Wehr on the basis of preliminary studies by A. von Bulmerincq. Then follow Galland's MS and a number of other MSS of the Nights which cover the period from the 15th to the 18th centuries.

We know then that in the common form of the Nights there are a Baghdād and an Egyptian part. Oestrup grouped the separate tales into three layers of which the first one was to comprehend the fairy-tales from the Persian *Hazār Afsāna* with the frame-work of the book, the second those which had come from Baghdād, and the third the stories which had been added to the body of the work; certain tales, as for example the extensive chivalric romance of ʿUmar b. al-Nuʿmān, were inserted when the number 1001 was taken in its literal sense. But the *Story of Sūl and Shumūl* in a Tübingen MS, which is professedly a part of the Nights and which was edited as such by Seybold, certainly never was an integral part of them, because in it a Muslim is converted to Christianity; in the true Nights Christians, Zoroastrians and pagans often adopt Islam, but a Muslim never adopts another religion.

The following forms of the Nights were established by Macdonald (*The earlier history of the Arabian Nights, JRAS*, 1924, 353 ff.)—meaning by that any collection of stories fitted into the frame-work which we know: i. The original Persian *Hazār Afsāna*, "Thousand Stories". ii. An Arabic version of the *Hazār Afsāna*. iii. The frame-work story of *Hazār Afsāna*, followed by stories of Arabic origin. iv. The Nights of the late Fāṭimid period; to its popularity al-Ḳurṭī testifies. v. The recension of the Galland MS. From notes in it that MS was in Syrian Tripoli in 943/1536 and at Aleppo in 1001/1592; it may, of course, be older. But it was written in Egypt. There remains the at present still unsolved problem of the relations between it and the other old and independent MSS; there are according to Macdonald at least six such MSS which must be considered.

Nabia Abbott (see above) stated the following six

forms. i. An eighth-century translation of the *Hazār Afsāna*. According to her belief this was most probably a complete and literal translation, perhaps entitled *Alf Khurāfa*. ii. An eighth-century Islamized version of the *Hazār Afsāna* entitled *Alf Layla*. This could have been either partial or complete. iii. A ninth-century composite *Alf Layla* containing both Persian and Arabic materials. While most of the former came undoubtedly from the *Hazār Afsāna*, other current story-books, especially the *Book of Sindbād* and the *Book of Shimās*, are not improbable sources. The Arabic materials, as Littmann had already pointed out, were not so slight or insignificant as Macdonald believed them to be. iv. The tenth-century *Alf Samar* of Ibn ʿAbdūs. Whether this was meant to include, among other materials, all the current *Alf Layla* and to supersede it, is not clear. v. A twelfth-century collection augmented by materials from iv and by Asiatic and Egyptian tales of local Egyptian composition. The change of title to *Alf Layla wa-Layla* belongs, in all probability, to this period. vi. The final stages of the growing collection extending to the early sixteenth century. Heroic tales of the Islamic countercrusades are among the most prominent additions. Persia and ʿIrāḳ may have contributed some of the later predominantly Far Eastern tales in the wake of the thirteenth-century Mongol conquest of those lands. The final conquest of Mamlūk Syria and Egypt by the Ottoman Salīm I (1512-20) closed the first chapter of the history of the Arabian Nights in its oriental homeland.

The title "Thousand Stories" may have been changed to "Thousand Nights" when, with the Arabs, the frame-work story and other stories were combined; that cannot have been done later than the 9th century. Originally "1000 stories" meant only a very large number of stories; in the same way it is said of Shahrazād that she had collected "a thousand books". For the simple mind even 100 is a high number, and "before 100 years" means—even for Oriental historians—the same as "a long time ago"; therefore the number 100 must not be taken in its exact sense. But 1000 is almost the same as "innumerable". And the Book of the Thousand Nights which was known at Baghdād scarcely contained a thousand separate nights. But why was 1000 changed to 1001? This change may partly owe its origin to the superstitious aversion to round numbers common among the Arabs as among other peoples. But it is very likely that it was also influenced by the Turkish idiomatic use of *bin bir* "thousand and one" for a large number: in Anatolia there is a ruin called *Bin-bir-kilise* "1001 Churches", but there are, of course, not nearly so many there. In Istanbul there is a place called *Bin-bir-direk* "1001 columns"; but there are only a few dozens of them there. The Turkish alliteration *bin bir* points to the origin of the Persian idiom *hazār yak* "1001" and of the title *alf layla wa-layla*. Since the 11th century Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria and the other countries of Eastern Islam were under the influence of the Turks. Thus the title "1001 Nights" at the beginning meant only a large number of nights, but later on the number was taken in its literal meaning, and it became necessary to add a great many stories in order to complete the number 1001.

The various component elements. If then India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt and in some way the Turks were partners in the origin of the Nights we must assume that materials derived from all these countries and peoples are to be found in them. The first outer tests might be the proper names. There are Indian names like Sindbād, Turkish names like ʿAlī Baba and Khātūn; the names Shahrazād, Dīnāzād, Shāhzamān are Persian and occur, as de Goeje has shown, in Persian legends; so also Bahrām, Rustam, Ardashīr, Shāpūr and many others are Persian. However, by far the majority of names are Arabic, i.e. old Arabic names used among the Arabian bedouin and later Islamic names. Greek and European names occur in a few cases in stories treating of the relations between Muslims and Byzantines and Franks. Egyptian names refer to places and to months in their Coptic forms. Of Hebrew names chiefly Solomon and David occur; both play an important rôle in Islamic tradition. Besides them Āṣaf, Barakhiyā, Bulūḳiyā and others are named. But since in very many cases stories are transferred to other persons and frequently persons without names act in them the question of the names must not be stressed.

However, the frame-work system, which is very common in India but very rare in other countries, is a test of the Indian origin of certain parts of the Arabian Nights. In the Indian popular books it usually runs like this: "You may not do such and such a thing or else you will go the same way as so and so".—"How was that?" asks the other, and then the admonisher begins his story.

The foreign elements in the Nights have been carefully studied by Oestrup. One of the interesting statements he made was that in the Iranian fairy-tales the demons or supernatural powers act on their own account and independently, whereas in the more recent tales, especially in those from Egypt, they are always subject to some talisman or magic object; hence its owner decides the development of the action, not the Djinns and ʿIfrīts themselves. Only a short summary of the foreign elements in the Nights can be given here.

The frame-story is of Indian origin. That it consists of three different parts which originally were independent stories was shown by Emmanuel Cosquin in *Études folkloriques*, Paris 1922, 265. These parts are: 1. The story of a man who was grieved by a disloyal wife but whose grief was allayed when he saw that a high personality had the same misfortune. 2. The story of a demon or a giant whom his wife or his captive betrayed with many other men in the most audacious manner. This is the same as the tale told by the seventh vizier in the *Story of Sindbād the Wise*. 3. The story of a clever girl who by her skilful telling of stories averts an evil threatening her or her father or both of them. Of these three parts only the third one seems to have belonged to the original frame-work story, as indicated by al-Masʿūdī and by the *Fihrist*; in it, then, only the cruel king, the clever daughter of the vizier and her true old nurse were known. It is probable that the story of the clever daughter of the vizier came at an early date from India to Persia, where it was "nationalized" and combined with the other two parts of the frame-story. A number of tales in the Nights are of Indian origin: such are the stories of pious men that remind us of Buddhist and Jainist saints, the fables of animals, the story-cycles of *Sindbād* [*q.v.*] *the Wise*, and of *Djaliʿād and Shimās*. Indian motifs are to be found in different passages of the Nights: such are, e.g., the *Story of the Magic Horse*; the poisoning by means of the leaves of a book (by the physician Dūbān), a practice which points to Indian customs (cf. Gildemeister, *Scriptorum Arabum De Rebus Indicis loci et opuscula*, Bonn

1838, 89). All this passed through Persian before it reached the Arabs.

Quite a number of tales are of Persian origin, especially those fairy-tales in which the ghosts and the fairies act independently; see above. The tales which Oestrup enumerates as being of Indian-Persian origin are the following: 1) *The Story of the Magic Horse*; 2) *The Story of Ḥasan of Baṣra*; 3) *The Story of Sayf al-Mulūk*; 4) *The Story of Ḳamar al-Zamān and of Princess Budūr*; 5) *The Story of Prince Badr and of Princess Djawhar of Samandal*; 6) *The Story of Ardashīr and Ḥayāt al-Nufūs*. And according to him the relation between the *Story of ʿAlī Shār* and the Persian original, the former containing many details which recur in the probably later narrative of *Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī and the Girdle-girl*, also to be found in the Nights, is uncertain. The *Story of the Jealous Sisters* and the *Story of Aḥmad and Parī Bānū* that are found only in Galland give a strong impression of being originally Persian, but Persian prototypes of them have not become known as yet.

Baghdād is situated in the region of ancient Babylonia: it is, therefore, probable that ancient Babylonian ideas should have survived there until Islamic times and might be reflected in the Nights. Even a whole story, the *Story of Ḥayḳār the Wise*, which in some MSS appears as a part of the Nights, is of Old Mesopotamian origin; it probably dates back to the 7th century B.C., and it found its way through the Jewish and Christian literatures into Arabic literature. Khiḍr the Ever-Youthful, has a Babylonian prototype; the journeys of Bulūḳiyā and the water of life fetched by Prince Aḥmad may seflect motifs of the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh. But Khiḍr and the water of life were probably iransmitted to the Arabs by the Romance of Alexander, and the journeys of Bulūḳiyā became known to them through Jewish literature. Above all, the frequent anecdotes about the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and their court and also some anecdotes about their subjects belong to the Baghdād recension of the Nights. The *Story of Sindbād* [*q.v.*] *the Sailor* found its definite shape probably in Baghdād, the romance of *ʿUmar b. al-Nuʿmān* [*q.v.*] contains Persian, Mesopotamian and Syrian materials; the romance of *ʿAdjīb and Gharīb* points to Mesopotamia and to Persia; the story of the clever slave-girl *Tawaddud* [*q.v.*] originated in Baghdād and was in some respects reshaped in Egypt. The Stories of *Bulūḳiyā*, of *Sindbād* [*q.v.*] *the Wise*, and of *Djaliʿād and Wird Khān* were certainly known in Baghdād. But there is no certain proof that all these tales were parts of the Baghdād recension. The same is to be said of the four stories of the Istanbul MS found by H. Ritter (see above); it contains four of our Nights stories but does not refer to *Alf Layla wa-Layla*. These stories are: 1) *The Story of the Six Men*, i.e. of the six brothers of the barber of Baghdād; 2) *The Story of Djullanār the Sea-girl*; 3) *The Story of Budūr and ʿUmayr b. Djubayr*; 4) *The Story of Abū Muḥammad the Slothful*.

Egyptian origin is to be postulated of the stories in which the tricks of clever thieves and rogues are related, of the tales in which the ghosts and demons appear as servants of talismans and of magic objects, and of stories that might be called "bourgeois novels", some of which resemble modern romances of adultery. All these stories date, of course, in their present form from the time of the Mamlūk sultans and of Turkish rule in Egypt. But some of the motifs go back to Ancient Egypt. The clever rogue ʿAlī al-Zaybaḳ and his companion Aḥmad al-Danaf have their prototype in the bold *condottiere* Amasis, and the treasure of Rhampsinit is found in the story of ʿAlī al-Zaybaḳ, as Nöldeke pointed out. The monkey-scribe in the story of the three dames of Baghdād may have his prototype in Thot, the scribe of the Egyptian gods who is often represented as a monkey, or in Hanuman the monkey-leader of the Indian *Ramayana*. It has also been suggested that the ancient story of the Egyptian shipwrecked person is to be connected with Sindbād's journeys, and that the story of the capture of Jaffa by Egyptian warriors hidden in sacks recurs in the story of ʿAlī Baba; but these connections are not very likely; see Littmann, *Tausendundeine Nacht in der arabischen Literatur*, 22.

For possible Greek influences in the Nights see von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1946, Chapter Nine, *Greece in the Arabian Nights*.

The various literary genres. It remains to give a summary account of the different classes of literature represented in the Nights; it is here, of course, impossible to mention every one of all the stories, as has been done in the *Anhang* to Littmann's translation. There six main groups were distinguished: 1) Fairy-tales; 2) Romances and novels; 3) Legends; 4) Didactic stories; 5) Humorous tales; 6) Anecdotes. A few examples of each group must suffice here.

1. The frame-story consists of three Indian fairy-tales. The tales which come first in all manuscripts (*The Merchant and the Djinnī*; *The Fisherman and the Djinnī*; *The Porter*; *The Three Calenders and the Three Dames in Baghdād*; *The Hunchback*) belong to this class; they are themselves examples of the frame-work system and contain some traits which remind us of Indian prototypes and even of some motifs which have parallels in stories from farther east. The best known fairy-tales are those of *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and the Magic Lamp* and *ʿAlī Baba*. Other examples are *Ḳamar al-Zamān and Budūr*, *The Jealous Sisters*, *Prince Aḥmad and Parī Bānū*, *Sayf al-Mulūk*, *Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*, *Zayn al-Aṣnām*.

2. The longest romance is that of *ʿUmar b. al-Nuʿmān* [*q.v.*] *and his Sons*; it has been discussed by Paret (*Der Ritterroman von ʿUmar an-Nuʿmān*, Tübingen 1927), and by H. Grégoire and R. Goossens (*ZDMG* 1934, 213: *Byzantinisches Epos und arabischer Ritterroman*). *The Story of ʿAdjīb and Gharīb* is the model of an Islamic popular romance. The stories of *the Porter and the Three Dames*, of *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Shāmāt*, of *Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn*, of *Nūr al-Dīn and Maryam the Girdle-girl* might be called "bourgeois" romances or novels, as also the story of *Abū Ḳīr and Abū Ṣīr*.

Here the love-stories may be added. There are a great many of them in the Nights, and they comprise three groups: a) ancient Arabian life before Islam; b) urban life in Baghdād and Baṣra, love-affairs with girls or slave-girls in the cities or in the palace of the caliphs; c) love-novels from Cairo which are sometimes frivolous and lascivious. See Paret, *Frühorabische Liebesgeschichten*, Bern 1927.

Also the stories of rogues and of seafarers are to be mentioned here. For *ʿAlī al-Zaybaḳ* see above; many short stories of the guardians are told before the rulers of Egypt. The famous story of *Sindbād* [*q.v.*] *the Sailor* is based on a book *The Wonders of India*, which contained adventures and sailors' yarns collected by a Persian sea captain at Baṣra in the 10th century. The first part of the story of *Abū Muḥammad the Slothful* is composed of sailors' stories and motifs of fairy-tales.

3. There are a few ancient Arabian legends inserted in the Nights: ***Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī, Iram the City of Columns***; ***The Brass City***; ***The City of Lebta***, which refers to the conquest of North-western Africa by the Arabs. Other legends refer to pious men and women, among them to pious Israelites (these need not necessarily be due to Jewish authors); the legend of ***The Pious Prince***, who was a son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and became a dervish, is reminiscent of the famous legend of Alexius.

4. Didactic stories, fables and parables, especially of animals, are known to many peoples and have found their way into the Nights also, where most of them seem to have originated in India, as e.g. the two long cycles of *Sindbād* [*q.v.*] ***the Wise*** (*Syntipas*) and of ***Djaliʿād and Wird Khān***, and many of the fables of animals, but they were sometimes remodelled in their Arabic forms. The long story of the clever slave-girl *Tawaddud* [*q.v.*] (in Spain *la doncella Teodor*, in Abyssinia *Tauded*) with its probable Greek prototype correctly discussed by Horovitz belongs in this category.

5. Humorous tales are the stories of ***Abu 'l-Ḥasan or the Sleeper Awakened***, of ***Khalīfa the Fisherman***, of ***Djaʿfar the Barmakid and the Old Bedouin***, and of ***ʿAlī the Persian***; the latter is a typical story of lies. In the stories of ***Maʿrūf the Cobbler*** and of ***the Hunchback*** there ary many humorous traits.

6. The group of anecdotes comprises here all the stories that are not classified in the preceding groups. Collections of anecdotes are the stories of the ***Hunchback*** and of ***the Barber and his Brothers***, and they are combined to a comedy of great style. The other anecdotes are to be divided into three groups: those of rulers and their circles, those of munificent men, those taken from general human life. Those of rulers begin with Alexander the Great and end with the Mamlūk sultans: a few of them refer to the Persian kings, a very large number of them refer to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, above all to Hārūn al-Rashīd who became the ideal ruler in the opinion of later Muslims. Some of these anecdotes may not originate from Baghdād but from Egypt where they were ascribed to him. The munificent men about whom the Nights tell are mainly Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī, Maʿn b. Zāʾida and the Barmakids. The anecdotes from general human life are of several kinds: they tell of rich and poor, of young and old, of sexual abnormities (***Wardān and the Woman with the Bear***; ***The Princess and the Monkey***), of bad eunuchs, of unjust and of clever judges, of stupid schoolmasters (a type known in Greek and Roman literature as well as in modern Egyptian Arabic tales). The ***Nocturnal Adventure of the Caliph*** transmitted only by Galland contains three long anecdotes told at large and intermingled with motifs from fairy-tales.

There are about 1420 poems or fragments of poetry in the 2nd Calcutta edition, according to Horovitz (in *Festschrift Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 375-9) Of these a number of 170 repetitions must be deducted, so 1250 insertions of poetry remain. Horovitz has been able to prove that those insertions whose authors he could discover are to be dated from the 12th to the 14th centuries, i.e. from the Egyptian period of the history of the Nights. These poems and verses are mostly of the kind that they might be omitted without disturbing the course of the prose texts, and, therefore, have been later added to them.

Bibliography: Has been given in the course of the article. Here special attention should be called to Oestrup's *Studier* and their annotated translation by Rescher (see above), to N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et Motifs des Mille et Une Nuits*, Beirut 1949, and to the full bibliography given by Brockelmann, II, 72-4, S II, 59-63. For the influence of the Arabian Nights on European literature cf. *The legacy of Islam*, 199 ff.; *Cassel's Encyclopaedia of literature*, s.v. (E. LITTMANN)

ALFARD [see NUDJŪM].

ALFŪNSHO, the transcription adopted by the majority of the Arab chroniclers of al-Andalus for Alfonso, the name of several monarchs of Christian Spain in the Middle Ages. The forms Idhfūnsho and al-Idhfūnsho, however, which correspond to the old Latin-Gothic form Ildefonso, are also occasionally found.

ALGARVE [see GHARB AL-ANDALUS].

ALGAZEL [see AL-GHAZĀLĪ].

ALGEBRA [see AL-DJABR WA'L-MUḲĀBALA].

ALGECIRAS [see AL-DJAZĪRA AL-KHAḌRĀʾ].

ALGEDI [see NUDJŪM].

ALGERIA (Ar.: BARR AL-DJAZĀʾIR), modern term indicating the central part of northern Africa between Morocco in the West, and Tunisia in the East.

(i) — Geography.
(ii) — History:
(1) To the 16th century.
(2) The Turkish period.
(3) After 1830.
(iii) — The population.
(iv) — The institutions.
(v) — Languages.

(i) GEOGRAPHY.

Algeria comprises the central section of North Africa (also called Maghrib, Barbary, Africa Minor, the Atlas region [cf. MAGHRIB] and a large part of the Sahara, and has an area of 2,191,464 sq. km. Situated between latitudes 37° and 19° N., it is bounded by Morocco and Spanish Rio de Oro in the West, by French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa in the South, and by Libya and and Tunisia in the East. Algeria proper, which extends roughly to the southern slopes of the Saharan Atlas, covers only 14.6% of this area, or 320,000 sq. km. It is 1000 km. long, with 1,300 km. of coastline; it is 350 km. in breadth at the Moroccan frontier and 240 km. at the Tunisian, and extends from lat. 32° 1° to 35° 1' in the West, and from lat. 34° 9' to 37° 1' in the East. Tlemcen is at the same latitude as the oasis of Biskra. Algeria proper is a plateau with a mean altitude of 900 m. Is is traversed by the Atlas Mts., a southern branch of the Alpine chain, which were thrown up in a series of folds during the tertiary and at the beginning of the quaternary period, on the edge of the hard Saharo-African platform. They are divided into two main groups, the Tell Atlas in the North and the Saharan Atlas in the South, which come together in the east and enclose upland plains.

The Tell. The Tell Atlas in relief presents a complex picture, by reason of its excessively folded structure and of the extensive erosion caused by the Mediterranean rains and by the fact that its coastline is near sea level. The successive ridges rise parallel to or at an angle to the coast, cut by deep transverse valleys and separated, in the West, by longitudinal depressions. South of the hills of the Sāḥil (Sahel) of Oran, Dahra, and Benī Menāṣer, and the mountains of Zaccar (1,579 m.) stretches a depression 350 km. in length, following the line of the Sebkha of Oran, the low marshy plains of the Macta and the Mina, and the valley of the lower Chélif (Shalaf). It is

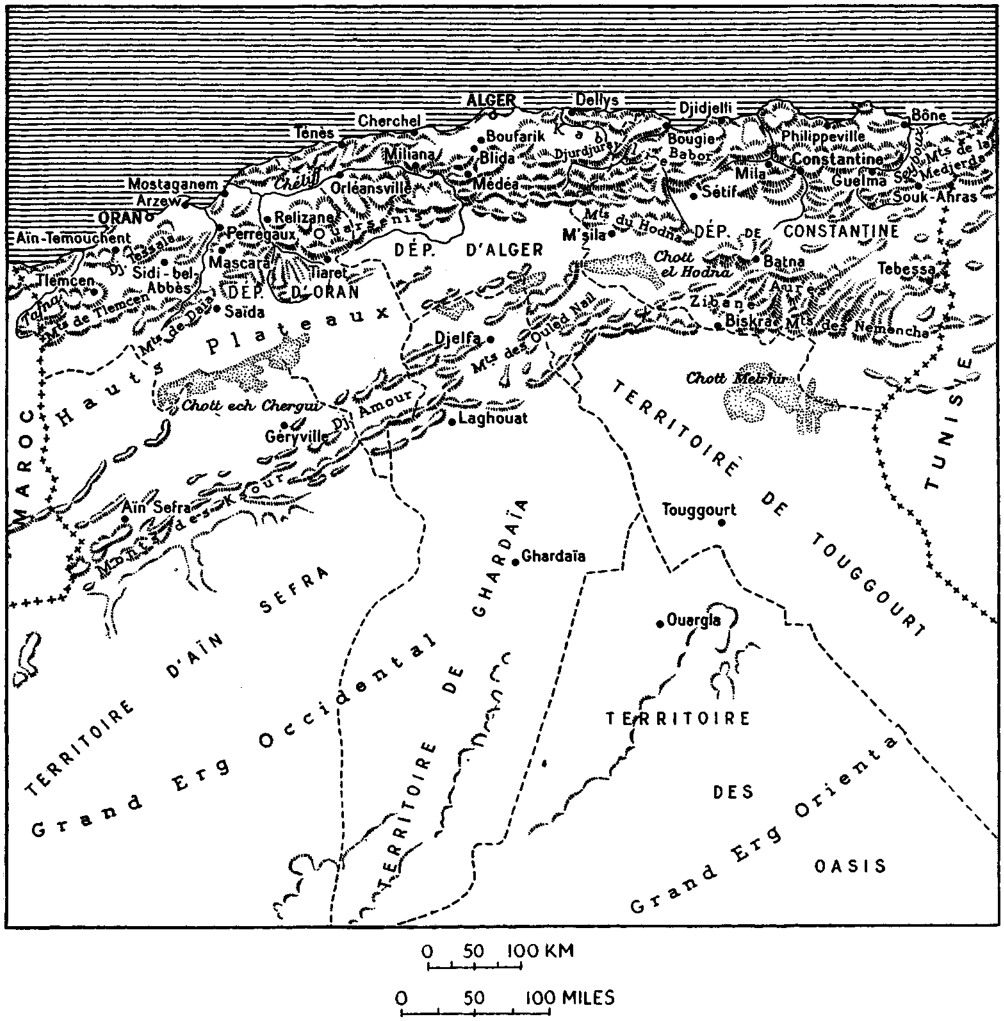

bounded in the South by lines of hills which rarely exceed 1000 m.: the Tessala, Ouled Ali, and Beni Chougran mountains, and the great massif of the Ouarsenis (Wan<u>sh</u>arīs) and the Maṭmāṭa which rises between the Chélif valley and the high plains. To the West of the valley of the Mina, the inner plains are dominated to the South by table-like limestone and sandstone formations, which rise to between 1000-1500 m.: these are the plateaus of Oran.

To the East of Algiers and the hills of the Sahel the mountain formations are higher and more massive. Between the plains of the Mitīdja and Bône (Būna) there is no important depression, except that of the Wādī Sāḥil-Soummam with its western extension. The mountains of Kabylia, between the Mitīdja and the Edough, are of great size and are dominated by a "limestone spine" formed by the Djurdjura (highest peak Lālla Khadīdja, 2,308 m.) [see KABYLIA], the Babor (Bābūr) (2,004 m.), and the highest peaks of the Numidian chain. To the South, the Mitīdja and the Medea mountains, the Bībān ranges, and the Constantine and Medjerda mountains, composed of non-durable marl and schistose material, have comparatively soft or deeply-furrowed contours. The littoral, precipitous and rocky nearly everywhere, affords scant natural shelter against the N-W gales; the bays of Mers el Kebir-Oran (Mars al-Kabīr), Arzeu, Algiers, Bougie (Bidjāya) and Bône face East.

The High Plains. The high plains, wrongly termed high plateaus, are monotonous expanses broken by isolated rocky humps whose moderately-folded structure makes them similar to the Saharan Atlas. Situated below the Tell Atlas, and subject to a climate which is already arid, they form a succession of enclosed basins: the *wādīs* discharge their alluvia and their waters into *sebkha* (or *zahrez*), whose surface in summer sparkles with salt, while their margins (*shoṭṭ*) have a covering of salt-loving plants. The high plains of the West, with the Gharbi (*gharbī*) and Chergui (*sharḳī*) *shoṭṭs* (1000 m.), the Zahrez (800 m.) and the shallow basin of the Ḥodna ([*q.v.*] 400 m.), drain partially into the sea. East of the mountains of the Ḥodna (1,890 m.) and the Belezma (2,094 m.), the high plains of Constantine (900-1100 m.) abound in mountain massifs which are extensions of the mountain chains of the Ḥodna, the Belezma and the Awrās.

The Saharan Atlas is formed, from Morocco to Biskra, by a group of asymmetrical minor ranges running SW-NE, the debris of moderately-folded ranges; they are separated by large depressions and

are half-buried under their own detritus. The Ksour (Ḳṣūr; 2,236 m.), the Amour (ʿAmūr [*q.v.*]; 2,008 m.) the Ouled Nail and the Zībān (or Zāb) mountains drop towards the NE.; they are easily negotiated. East of Biskra, the Aurès [see AWRĀS] is the largest and highest Algerian massif (Djabal Chélia, 2,329 m.), and is a succession of peaks and depressions running SW-NE.

The Desert. The varied terrain of the Atlas region contrasts with the extremely monotonous expanse of the desert; for instance its severe plateaus or *ḥamāda*, its immense plains which constitute enclosed basins and which are partly covered with sandy or pebbly *reg*, and finally its *erg*, vast agglomerations of sand-dunes which cover only 1/5 of its surface [see AL-ṢAḤRĀʾ].

The climate is Mediterranean in the Tell Atlas, but it deteriorates in the high plains and the Saharan Atlas where it becomes an arid without actually becoming a desert climate. On the littoral the variation in the mean monthly temperatures is small, because of the humidity. The climate is becoming continental; considerable heat has been known in depressions sheltered from the sea winds, with cold winters in the mountains and on the high plains. Everywhere, except on the littoral, where it rarely occurs, the sirocco (*shehīlī*) brings temperatures of 104° F and higher several times a year; in winter, on the other hand, snow covers the principal massifs for 2-3 weeks.

The summer is dry, apart from a few storms, and rain falls principally from October to May. The massifs of the Tell Atlas to the East of Algiers receive more than 31 ins. of rain, and sometimes more than 39 ins. The plains of the West, and the Ḥodna, receive only some 7-11 ins., except on their northern boundary, and the Saharan Atlas 11-15 ins. on its northern slopes. The desert receives less than 7 ins.

Only the main rivers of the Tell Atlas have water all the year round, and even then their summer flow is very small: these are Mediterranean torrents whose spate is sudden and violent. Such are the Tafna, the Macta (formed by the confluence of the Sig and the Habra), the Shalaf (Chélif), the Sebāw (Sebaou), the Wādī Ṣāhil, the al-Wādī al-Kabīr, the Seybūs (Seybouse), the Medjerda and its tributary, and the Wādī Melleg (the lower courses of the last two belong to Tunisia). Not one of them is navigable; some are used for irrigation. On the high plains and in the Saharan Atlas the *wādīs* contain water for only part of the year, and then only in their upper courses; many only contain water after heavy rains.

The vegetation has been much impaired by man. Thin forests of non-deciduous and resinous trees still cover the Tell mountains and certain more arid massifs; there are cork-trees on the siliceous and well-watered mountains of the Kabylias and the Bône region; evergreen oaks, or holm-oaks, indifferent to the soil, even in the Awrās; Aleppo pines on the limestone of the humid regions and on mountains already dry; Barbary thuyas and Kermes oaks in the Oran Tell, and thinly-sown junipers on the drier slopes. A few well-watered peaks still support plantations of cedars. Agricultural expansion and the demand for timber and charcoal have caused the forests to recede; the area under cultivation has chiefly increased at the expanse of dense thickets of wild olives and mastic trees, a characteristic of heavy, well-watered soils, and of a thin undergrowth of jujube trees on the drier plains of the Tell Atlas and the high plains of Constantine.

The areas which receive less than 13 ins. of rain annually are the regions of the steppe, a formation characterized by the scarcity of bushes and trees, especially of the latter, and by the presence of perennial herbaceous plants such as alfa (10 million usable acres) and esparto, of small ligneous plants such as the artemisia, salt-loving plants growing on the saline soil of the *shoṭṭs*, and of an annual herbaceous vegetation which burgeons every spring. The desert is only an open steppe without alfa.

Algeria, therefore, comprises two great natural regions in addition to the desert: a Mediterranean region, where the cultivation of cereals, wheat and and barley, and of trees like the olive, the fig and the almond is practicable without irrigation, and consequently where a sedentary mode of existence possible: it is known to the indigenous peoples as the Tell; and, secondly, the steppes, where cultivation is not practicable without irrigation or flood waters, and which is devoted to the breeding of livestock on a migratory basis, and to nomadism: natives know this area and that of the desert under the common name of Sahara. This distinction between Tell and Sahara is a fundamental one in the history of the country no less than in its geography.

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(ii) HISTORY.

(1) *To the 16th century.*

The region which later became known as Algeria presents a framework not readily acceptable to the historian of Muslim North Africa. The frontiers which are shown on the map cannot set bounds to his field of study; they only assume any significance with the establishment of the Turkish regency of Algiers in the course of the 16th century. During the nine hundred years prior to this event, the future Algeria, which comprises what the Arab writers call central Maghrib (al-Maghrib al-Awsaṭ) together with part of Ifrīḳiya (or near Maghrib), was closely linked with the two neighbouring countries, being almost invariably either subject to rulers coming from these countries or in fear of their domination. Although, in comparison with the two other subdivisions of Barbary or Maghrib, this central region appears to be a large rural area with few towns, populated by nomadic shepherds and hill farmers, it has nevertheless through the centuries played a not inconsiderable part in the history of the Muslim West. Only the more important episodes in its history will be mentioned here.

In the middle of the 1st/7th century, North Africa was invaded by the Arabs, the propagators of Islam. The military power of Byzantium rapidly

disintegrated; but the reduction of the Berbers was a more difficult task. Resistance was primarily organized in central Maghrib; inspired, it is said, by Kusayla [*q.v.*], chief of the Awrāba, native bands arose which, near Biskra, engaged Uḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*]—a battle in which the latter lost his life (63/682). The Awrās in particular seems to have been used as a strongpoint in the struggle against the Arabs; it was in the foothills of this mountain massif that the Kāhina [*q.v.*], legendary queen of the country, witnessed, after a brilliant success, the destruction of Berber independence (74/693).

The central Maghrib again became the centre of autochthonous resistance in the 2nd/8th century, when the Berbers had become converted en masse to Khāridjism. Tlemcen, where Abū Ḳurrā, chief of the Banū Ifran [*q.v.*] (148/765), was in command, was at first their chief centre. In the 3rd/9th century Tīhert (near the modern Tiaret), capital of the Rustamid [*q.v.*] *imāms*, became the centre of Berber Khāridjism.

The position of this central region, on the borders of the territory which the Aghlabids of al-Ḳayrawān held in the name of the ʿAbbāsids, explains how the Fāṭimid [*q.v.*] power was engendered there among the Kutāma [*q.v.*] Berbers of Lesser Kabylia at the end of the 3rd/9th century. These new masters, however, were not accepted without a struggle; the Awrās and its environs witnessed the terrible revolt of the Man with the Donkey, in which the Fāṭimid cause was nearly lost [see Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī].

Taking over the role of the Kutāma, the Ṣinhādja [*q.v.*; see also Zīrids] of central Maghrib became, in the 4th/10th century, the most useful allies of the Fāṭimids and supported their policy of opposition to the Zanāta [*q.v.*], who were vassals of the Umayyads of Spain. The Zanāta were for the most part nomads, and frequented the central and western plains. The Ṣinhādja were settled tribes, and inhabited the central and eastern mountain regions; they founded or developed towns, such as Ashīr and the Ḳalʿa, capital of the Ṣinhādja Banū Ḥammād [see Ḥammādids]. This latter kingdom experienced the repercussion of the serious events which occurred in Ifrīḳiya. The invasion of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] Arabs in the middle of the 5th/11th century, which destroyed the kingdom of al-Ḳayrawān, caused an influx into the Ḳalʿa of merchants and artisans, and palaces were built there which betrayed the influence of Fāṭimid Egypt and of Persia. But it was not long before the Arab scourge menaced, in their turn, the Banū Ḥammād, who emigrated to Bidjāya (Bougie).

While, in what was later the province of Constantine, the power and prosperity of the former rulers increased, the future provinces of Oran and Algiers acquired new masters. Emerging from Morocco, the Almoravids (5th/11th century) [see al-Murābiṭūn] overran the country as far as Algiers; the Almohads (6th/12th century) [see al-Muwaḥḥidūn and Muʾminids] extended their sway over the whole of North Africa. Both dynasties, which had in addition annexed Muslim Spain, enriched the cities of their Berber dominions, particularly Tlemcen, with the products of the magnificent civilization of al-Andalus.

At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the great Almohad empire collapsed, and Tlemcen, which had escaped ravage et the hands of the Arabs and the Almoravid Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*], became the capital of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād [see ʿAbd al-Wādids], formerly Zanāta nomads. This new kingdom achieved real economic prosperity; but it was constantly threatened by the Marīnids, its Moroccan neighbours, and, at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, it was annexed by the Turks of Algiers.

It was the appearance of the Spanish off the small Berber port of Algiers which led to Turkish intervention in the central region of North Africa and made Algiers the centre of a vassal State. For nearly three centuries piracy, a substitute for holy war, provided the Regency of Algiers with important resources. The country itself, which later became Algeria, and which was divided into three provinces, to some extent evaded the control of its Levantine masters, and its nomadic and settled populations pursued in relative independence an archaic mode of existence, the history of which is, and will doubtless long remain, obscure to us.

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(G. Marçais)

(2) *The Turkish period.*

The establishment of the Turks in Algiers was not the result of a deliberate policy of expansion planned and carried out by the Ottomans. It was, on the contrary, at least at its inception, a private venture by two intrepid corsairs, known in Western sources as the Barbarossa brothers, ʿArūdj [*q.v.*] and Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. These two, with a great reputation for valour gained in hunting down Christian vessels in the Mediterranean, came to the rescue of Islam in

Africa, which they saved from the hands of the Spaniards. In 922/1516, the inhabitants of Algiers appealed to ʿArūdj, who proclaimed himself sultan, and occupied Miliana, Medea, Tenes and Tlemcen. He was killed at Tlemcen after resisting siege by the Spanish for six months (924/1518). Khayr al-Dīn restored the situation, which had been rendered momentarily critical by the death of his brother, by presenting the Ottoman Sultan Selīm with the newly-acquired territories, thus gaining both increased prestige and the military and financial aid which he needed. He extended his authority over Collo, Bône, Constantine and Cherchell, and 1529 forced the surrender of the Peñon of Algiers, a fort which the Spanish had erected on an islet some 300 yards from the shore. In 940/1533 Khayr al-Dīn was appointed commander-in-chief of the Ottoman fleet, and was replaced at Algiers by *beylerbeys* who administered the country either directly or through lieutenants until 995/1587. Aspirations to independence on the part of some of these officials led the Ottoman Government, in 1587, to replace them by *pashas* appointed for a term of three years. The *pashas* were eclipsed, after 1070/1659, by the *aghas* of the army corps, who were in turn succeeded by a new power, that of the *deys*, who ruled until the capture of Algiers by France. The triennial *pashas*, *aghas* and *deys* were more often than not tools in the hands either of the army corps (*odjak*), recruited primarily from the townsmen of Anatolia, or of the *ṭāʾifat al-ruʾasā*, a guild of corsair captains which, for three centuries, furnished the Algerian treasury with the greater part of its resources. The four *aghas* who reigned successively from 1659-71 were all assassinated, and fourteen of the twenty-eight *deys* met the same fate.

The internal organization of the Algerian State is obscure; the scant information of a reliable nature which is available to-day deals for the most part with the era of the *deys*. The *deys*, when they managed to stay in power, governed as absolute sovereigns assisted by a council (*dīwān*) composed of the *khazinedār* or *khaznadjī* (treasurer), the *agha* of the camp (commander of the troops), the *wakīl al-khardj* (head of naval administration), the *bayt al-māldjī* (trustee of vacant estates), and the *khodjat al-khawl* or *atkhodjan* (receiver of tribute).

With the exception of the district of Algiers itself which constituted the *dār al-sulṭān* and was divided into seven regions (*waṭan*) administered by Turkish *ḳāʾids* under the direct control of the *dey*, the whole country was divided into three provinces (*beylik*), each under a *bey*, which anticipated the later French provinces. These were the province of Tīṭarī, with Medea as its chief town; the eastern province with Constantine as its centre; and the western province, the capital of which was successively Māzūna, Mascara and, after 1792, Oran. The *beys*, appointed and dismissed by the *dey*, ruled their provinces with absolute authority, assisted by *ḳāʾids*. In the eyes of the central government, they were no more than revenue collectors, tax-farmers who contracted, usually having bought their offices, to pay into the state coffers large sums, the size of which was determined in Algiers. The sum contracted was payable during the financial year, the commencement of which coincided with the appointment of the *bey*, in several instalments, effected by the *bey*, his lieutenant and a courier. The *bey* appeared in person at Algiers during the spring following his appointment and thereafter every three years. His lieutenant travelled to Algiers twice a year, spring and autumn, and the courier, whose office was occasionally discharged by an official described in the archives at Algiers as *wakīl-i sipāhiyān*, went to the capital regularly every month, or every two or three months. The sums remitted to the Treasury by each official remained constant, but each official remitted a different amount. This organization seems to have been designed solely to enable the *dey* to exercise the closest supervision of the provincial governors, and to dismiss them at the slightest sign of any shortcoming.

This preoccupation with financial matters was apparent throughout the internal organization of Algeria under the Turks. All commissions and offices involving the collection of taxes, dues, imposts or fines were farmed out by the State for sums payable, according to circumstances, in one or more annual instalments. Such a system gave rise to a host of abuses and led to exploitation of the people on such a scale as to render any attempt at winning their sympathies impossible. Moreover, Turkish ascendancy existed more in theory than in fact, and in their garrison-towns in the interior of the country (Bidjāya, Bordj Lehaou, Constantine, Medea, Miliana, Māzūna, Mascara, Tlemcen) the Anatolian *yoldash* had often the appearance of troops under siege. In order to maintain their own position, the Turks were obliged to inflame tribal rivalries; the *makhzen* tribes, when they espoused the Turkish cause, secured not only various financial immunities but also the right to oppress subject tribes (*raʿāyā*) and to exterminate rebel tribes. At the same time, the Turks established military colonies (*zumūl*) on all the main communication routes. Thus the Kabylian massif was ringed with posts responsible for ensuring the free passage of troops. Finally the Turks endeavoured to conciliate the religious orders. But they were not entirely successful, and the revolts which broke out at the beginning of the 19th century in in the province of Oran and in the Bābūr Kabylia were the work of the powerful Darḳāwa order encouraged and supported by the Sharīfs of Fez.

The Turks had no thought of improving the territories they conquered. The future of Algeria, they considered, did not lie in its hinterland. They had come by sea, and they continued to look seawards, and Mediterranean piracy provided the major part of their revenue. The 17th century was the golden age of privateering. In Algiers, about 1650, there were nearly 35,000 captives in the city prisons. Spain made several unavailing attempts to capture Algiers (1541, 1567, 1775). But thereafter French and British naval demonstrations checked the Algerian mariners' piratical career, and their power declined. Their crews became less audacious. Only one *raʾīs*, Ḥamīdū, deserves mention in the 18th century for the temerity of his exploits. After the middle of the century Algiers, impoverished and shorn of its former importance, suffered a decline in population, a decline hastened by famine and plague. In 1816, after the Congress of Vienna, when Lord Exmouth and the Dutch admiral Van der Capellen, the representatives of Europe, arrived to bombard the town, there were only 1,200 slaves in the prisons. On the eve of the French invasion, Algiers, which had at one time had 100,000 inhabitants, had been reduced to barely 40,000.

To sum up, little is known even now of the history of Algeria under the Turks; it is a period which has not aroused much interest. At that time, however, the frontiers of the region situated between present day Morocco and Tunisia, corresponded for the

first time with the frontiers drawn on the map of Barbary as we know it to-day. Moreover, the fusion between the Arab and Berber elements of the population had become more complete. Algeria entered on its career as an entity, and Algiers attained the status of a capital.

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(3) *After 1830.*

Following a dispute concerning the supply of wheat, the *dey* of Algiers Ḥusayn insulted Deval, the French Consul. The Government of Charles X instructed the fleet to blockade the old pirate stronghold. In 1830, influenced by considerations of internal policy, Polignac, the chief minister, decided, despite British objections, to send an expeditionary force to Algiers. The *dey* surrendered on 5th July and embarked with the majority of his janissaries. France, which did not aim at permanent occupation, entered into negotiation with the other powers. At first the July Monarchy was perplexed by the "embarrassing legacy" of the previous régime. It decided to begin with to confine itself to a limited and temporary occupation. It was not until 1834 that a Governor-General was appointed following the report of an "African Commission". Until 1841 the French occupation, frowned on by the Chambers, was limited to possession of the principal ports and their environs.

Meanwhile, the situation had changed in the interior. The Turks, the *ḳul-og̲h̲lus*, and the former *mak̲h̲zen* were harassed by the Arabs, and various native states came into being. The *bey* of Constantine, Aḥmad, consolidated his power within his province. In the west, after a period of anarchy, the people accepted or were subjected to the rule of the marabout ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], who was conspicuous for his bravery, his diplomacy and his organizing ability. French policy vacillated between collaboration with the former *mak̲h̲zen* and dealings with the new Arab chiefs. But although ʿAbd al-Ḳādir twice agreed to sign treaties which strengthened his position, Aḥmad refused, and repulsed a French army before Constantine in 1836. The following year a new expedition captured the town, and France decided to effect a definitive occupation of the eastern province. In 1839 ʿAbd al-Ḳādir declared war on France. The conduct of operations during Marshal Valée's governorship was apathetic. General Bugeaud was despatched to Algeria with a large force and, by employing new tactics, he succeeded, between 1841 and 1847, in crippling the power of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, in suppressing the risings organized in the mountains by religious agitators, in defeating in 1844 the army of the Sultan of Morocco, who supported the rebels, and in beginning the subjection of the nomads of the south. He put in hand the organization of indirect rule through "Arab bureaus", and encouraged European colonization in the coastal plains by populating villages, virtually military colonies, which were designed to consolidate his work.

These colonies were reinforced in 1848 by an influx of Parisian workers who formed forty-two new villages, followed by colonists of all kinds, who were given small grants of land by the State or who set themselves up on their own account.

The occupation of the country proceeded under the Second Republic, and at the beginning of the Second Empire, by the annexation of the oases and of Kabylia. In order to protect Algeria from the nomads of the south, and to control the desert trade routes, fortified posts were established on the plateaus, and columns scoured the Saharan borders. Kabylia, which was independent during the Turkish era, had already been penetrated by two expeditions under Bugeaud, and by the campaigns of Saint-Arnaud and Randon. France was thus enabled to extend her control over the Kabylia of the Babors, the Oued Sahel region and the Sebaou valley. The Kabylian confederations of D̲j̲urd̲j̲ura held out longer, and were subjugated by Marshal Randon in 1857. France allowed the people to retain their municipal organization and their customs. Since that time peace in Algeria has not been disturbed by any general uprising. The insurrection of 1871 was the result of Germany's defeat of France, of the reduction in the strength of the garrisons, and the discontent of the great Moḳrānī family. The Medjana, both the Kabylias, parts of the department of Algiers, and the southern half of the department of Constantine, rebelled. The rebels massacred colonists, and threatened the Mitid̲j̲a. Admiral de Gueydon, appointed Governor-General of Algeria, restored order. The rebels were heavily fined, and over a million acres of land were confiscated and set aside for colonization. Again in 1881 a comparatively serious revolt broke out in the south of the department of Oran, led by Bū ʿAmāma. This led to the establishment of a line of permanent posts on the southern edge of the plateaus. A revolt in the Sétif (Saṭīf) and Guelma (Ḳālama) areas in 1945 caused the death of about 100 Europeans, but was of short duration and was severely repressed.

The organization and colonization of Algeria since the time of Bugeaud have passed through several phases characterized by the application of quite distinct methods. The Second Republic favoured a policy of assimilation and of French colonization. The civil territory of the three departments was placed under prefects responsible for the administration of the colonists. The remainder was in the hands of the military authority under the control of the Governor-General, the supreme head of the "Arab bureaus". The native population was governed by Muslim chiefs, appointed and supervised by the military administration. This organization continued to exist under the Second Empire. Under Randon's governorship, European colonization was increased and the economic framework of the country was built up. Algeria was visualised as a source of

tropical foodstuffs; but the crop which succeeded best was corn, the colonists' crop until about 1881. An economic crisis and the increasing claims of the colonists, who were handicapped by the limited scope of their concessions and who wished to acquire land made available through the establishment of cantonments, led the Government to renew the policy of assimilation. From 1858-60, the country was governed from Paris by a Ministry for Algeria and the Colonies, entrusted at first to Prince Napoléon, and them to the Comte de Chasseloup-Laubat. The disorder of the administration forced Napoléon III to restore military government under Marshal Pélissier and, after the latter's death in 1864, under Marshal Mac-Mahon. During this period, despite opposition from the colonists, the Emperor tried to make Algeria an "Arab Kingdom". He protected the tribal collective lands by the *senatus consultum* of 1863; by that of 1865, Muslims were allowed to adopt French nationality.

In 1870 the colonists expelled the imperial agents and set up the revolutionary government of the "commune" of Algiers. The Government headed by Thiers decided on the establishment of a civil administration. From that time, although the first two governors, Admiral de Gueydon and General Chanzy, came from the armed forces, the civil territory increased steadily in extent and the "Arab bureaus" gave way to "mixed communes".

Complete administrative and financial autonomy was achieved in 1900. The powers of the Governor General were increased, and the budget was henceforth voted by the "Délégations financières", a body representing the various economic interests in the country. Algeria was empowered to raise loans in order to improve its industrial plant, ports, roads, railways, dams etc. An era of prosperity was inaugurated. More varied types of crops were grown, and over an ever-increasing area. European colonization was stimulated; the outlay necessitated by increasingly scientific agricultural methods gave it a capitalist character unknown before the large-scale cultivation of the grape and of citrus fruits. New mines of iron, zinc and phosphates were developed. The native population increased as the result of a high birth-rate coupled with a decreased mortality rate, the product of more hygienic methods. The economic achievement was very considerable, but social policy continued to be paternal in spirit.

Algeria played a prominent part in the 1939-45 war. After the Anglo-American landings in 1942, a French liberation force was organized there which took part in driving the Germans and Italians out of Tunisia, and participated in the Italian compaign and in the fighting in France. In recognition of the services rendered by Muslims during this common effort, the political régime was improved by the creation of an Algerian Assembly, elected by universal suffrage and consisting of two houses, European and Muslim, with equal rights. The work of economic development was resumed on a more generous scale; a comprehensive scheme for the education of Muslims was drawn up, and an era of social reform was ushered in.

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(M. Emerit)

(iii) Population.

Demography. The total population of Algeria, according to the census of 31 Oct. 1948, is 8,681,785, which represents a large increase as compared with previous censuses. It comprises 7,721,678 Muslims and 960,107 non-Muslims; the latter include 876,686 French and 45,586 other Europeans, of whom $^3/_4$ are Spanish. More than 75% of the Europeans live in the cities. In the country they are found chiefly in the Tell, especially in the wine-growing and market-gardening districts. In the department of Oran most of the French are of Spanish origin.

The majority of the Muslims live in the rural areas, and the movement to the towns is a recent phenomenon: 1/5 of them now live in them. They form the majority everywhere except in Algiers and Oran. The population of the largest towns (1948) is as follows:

	Muslims	*Non-Muslims*	*Total*
Algiers (incl. suburbs)	225,539	247,722	473,261
Oran (incl. suburbs)	90,678	174,036	264,714
Constantine	77,089	37,249	114,338
Bône	56,614	44,541	105,155

There are five other cities of from 50-100,000 inhabitants: Tlemcen, Philippeville, Sidi-bel-Abbès, Mostaganem, and Sétif, all situated in the Tell. The distribution of the population in the administrative districts and its density per sq. km. are as follows:

Department of Oran	1,990,729	density 30
Department of Algiers	2,765,896	density 50
Department of Constantine	3,108,165	density 35
Southern Territories	816,993	density 0.4

The most populous regions are those of the Tell Atlas where the density per sq. km. generally exceeds 30 and sometimes 60 (Trārā, the Algiers district, the Kabylias); it reaches 114 in the purely rural and mountainous arrondissement of Tizi Ouzou, but drops to between 10 and 30 on the high plains of Constantine (except in the NW) and in the Awrās and the Ḥodna, to less than 10 on the steppes, and less than 1 in the desert.

Ethnography. The Muslim peoples of Algeria, the Berbers [*q.v.*], have an obscure origin. Of white race, they are, and apparently have been since remote antiquity, of various physical types. The influx of foreigners has not been on a large scale in the course of the centuries, except for that of the Arabs (i.e., Muslims from the East) in certain

regions, and of Mediterranean elements in the cities, where the most recent arrivals are the Andalus (Muslims returning from Spain), Turks and Europeans. But although most of the population calls itself Arab because it speaks Arabic, although the descendants of Turks who married Algerian women call themselves *ḳul-oghlu* (*kouloughli*), although the older oitizens, of considerably mixed origin, pride themselves in the term *ḥaḍar* while others boast of being "Andalus", the bulk of the population has changed little, anthropologically, and has remained Berber. In the Saharan oases the coloured Ḥarāṭīn [see ḤARṬĀNI] cultivate the soil, and the coloured races of the Sudan were for long sold as slaves (*ʿabīd*) in the towns. In practice, the terms "Arabs" and "Berbers" are used for Arabic-speakers and Berber- speakers.

29% of Algerian Muslims still speak Berber; they are chiefly the Shāwiyya (Chaouia), who spill over extensively from the Awrās, and the Kabyles (*ḳabāʾil*) west of Djidjelli; there are also the Benī Menāṣer of the mountains between Tenes and Cherchell, and small groups in the Mitīdjian Atlas, the Wansharīs (Ouarsenis), the Tlemcen Mountains and, in the South, the mountains of the Ksour. In the Sahara Berber is spoken by the Tuareg [*q.v.*], by the Mzābites [*q.v.*] and some Ksourians (villagers) of the Saoura, Gourara, Wargla and the Wādī Rīgh (Oued Righ). The Berber dialects, which vary from district to district, do not constitute a literary language; Berber is not written, and its literature is transmitted orally. From the 11th century onwards, Arabic was propagated far more by the nomads than by the towns. The sedentary Arab dialects are localised in the cities, in eastern Kabylia and the Trāra; everywhere else Berber was pushed back by the bedouin dialects.

The Arabs, who have thus furnished 71% of Algerians with dialects derived from their language, have gradually converted them all to Islam (except for 130,000 Jews, at the present day). Virtually the only rite practised in Algeria is the Mālikite; there are a few followers of the Ḥanafī rite among people of Turkish descent in Algiers and Tlemcen. The Mzābites, Ibāḍī (Khāridjite) heretics, form a separate community.

Of the fundamental practices of Islam, which are the same everywhere, the five daily prayers are regularly performed in Algeria only by a minority of the population; the pilgrimage to Mecca, to which people now travel by sea or air, is performed by about a thousand believers a year; and the Ramaḍān fast is the most universally respected religious obligation.

Islam in North Africa is characterised by the development there of religious brotherhoods and of the cult of saints or marabouts. The religious brotherhoods once played a considerable part in political affairs, as a result of their moral authority in an Algeria in which law and order had not yet been fully established. Their importance has since greatly diminished; they maintain, on the whole, good relations with the French authorities, but they are strongly criticised by the townspeople. It is impossible to state the number of their adherents with any accuracy (250 to 450,000?). The most important is the Raḥmāniyya which comprises more than half the *ikhwān*, notably in eastern Algeria; next come the Ṭayyibiyya, still active in the province of Oran; the Shādhiliyya, whose adherents are primarily recruited in the department of Algiers; the Tidjāniyya in department of Constantine; and the Ḳādiriyya; there are also a few Darḳāwa in Oran, and ʿIsāwa and ʿAmmāriyya in Constantine. [Cf. the articles on these orders.]

The saints, or marabouts [cf. WALĪ], are not necessarily members of the brotherhoods. In former days some of them played a considerable moral and political role, especially in western Algeria where numerous marabout families or tribes still survive, such as the Awlād Sīdī Shaykh (Ouled Sidi Sheikh) of Southern Oran. Some of them trace their origin to the Prophet's family (though ʿAlī and Fāṭima): these are the *shurafāʾ* (*chorfa*) [cf. SHARĪF]. At the end of the Middle Ages, and later, many are said to have come from Morocco and Sāḳiyat al-Ḥamrāʾ (Saguiet el Hamra, Rio de Oro), but the majority pass as natives of the country. They all transmit the *baraka* to their descendants, if any. But many marabouts have never existed, and their cult is proof of the persistance of pre-Islamic nature cults involving trees, springs, rocks, and mountains (for instance Lālla Khadīdja at the highest point of the Djurdjura). The marabout cult has sometimes gained non-Muslim adherents. Pre-Islamic practices survive in various rites involving magic and sorcery; in the belief in the evil eye, and in sundry agricultural rites. All the non-orthodox popular practices are still widespread in certain country districts, especially among the women.

Islam, in Algeria as elsewhere, has permeated social life. Although the life of the Kabyles in the West, and of the inhabitants of the Awrās and of the Tuareg of the Sahara, remains faithful to customs which owe nothing to Muslim law, the private life of the majority of native Algerians is regulated by this law, especially as regards the law of succession, which, in detail, is extremely complex, and personal status. Polygamy, although of course authorized, is in fact not prevalent, particularly in the towns. Mālikite law does not forbid child marriage, and the young girls' consent to their own marriage, which is arranged by their father, is not required (the right of *djabr*); women can be repudiated by their husbands without any formality or indemnity, a practice which encourages "successive polygamy". Agrarian law in Algeria has undergone a radical transformation through the influence of French law.

Ways of life. Social life and economic activity are bound up with the way of life of the various elements of the population.

The tribes of the steppes and the desert, consisting of shepherds who breed sheep, goats, camels and horses, are still more or less nomadic. Omitting the Tuareg and the Shaʿānba who are pure Saharans [see AL-ṢAḤRĀʾ], only those tribes will be mentioned which roam between the desert and Algeria proper. Some still spend the summer in the Tell. The Arbāʿ (Laârba) of the Laghwāṭ region, and the Said Atba of the Wargla neighbourhood are almost solely pastoral in their way of life, and spend the summer in the Serson and on the southern slopes of the Wansharīs. The nomads of the Touggourt Territory, owners of palm-trees and with fewer flocks, spend the summer in the high plains of Constantine; they include the Ouled Djedi and Bouazid of the Oued Djedi, the Arab Sherāḳa (Cheraga), the ʿAmūr and Ouled Sidi Salah of the dependency of Biskra and the Arab Gheraba and the Ouled Moulet of the dependency of Touggourt. Other tribes, which live in the valleys of the Saharan foot-hills, cultivating a certain amount of grain and grazing the pasturages, spend the summer with their flocks in the Saharan Atlas; for instance the Awlād Sīdī Shaykh, the Awlād Naïl of the south and the Nememcha in the east.

The steppes are the province of the semi-nomads who, for 6-8 months of the year, remain close to their barley and wheat fields and their winter pasture grounds. The ʿAmūr and the Awlād Naïl of the north use the pasture grounds of the southern valleys of the Saharan Atlas and the folds of the high steppes, and spend the summer in the Atlas. The semi-nomads of the high steppes, cultivators of grain crops and collectors of alfa, spend the summer with their flocks on the southern slopes of the Tell Atlas. The Hamian, to the west, are former camel nomads. The tribes of the Ḥodna have no alfa and in the summer migrate with their flocks and as labourers to the high plains of Constantine.

The breeding of the horse, formerly used in battle, is on the decline; so also is that of the camel, the beast of burden and trade, owing to the competition of rail and road. Sheep breeding, which flourished between 1880 and 1920, is giving way to the cultivation of cereals. The collective ownership of agricultural land is developing into family ownership and even into private ownership; the tents, made of camel hair, goat's hair and wool, formerly grouped in great *douars*, are dwindling; they are only used as temporary dwellings by the semi-nomads, who spend the winter in huts or houses. The economic and social unit, which among the nomads is the tribe or a subdivision of the tribe, is a smaller subdivision or the patriarchal family among the semi-nomads.

In the principal mountain massifs the inhabitants often still retain their Berber dialects and customs; but their way of life depends on local conditions. The Awrās is the stronghold of the S͟hāwiyya, who are both agriculturalists and breeders of sheep and goats. Their terraced fields, usually irrigated, support cereals and, depending on the altitude, date-palms, figs, apricots and nuts. Although principally village dwellers, they undertake a winter migration, and to some extent follow a semi-nomadic existence, in the direction of the plains of the north and south; they spend the summer on the upland pasture grounds with the exclusively pastoral people. Their lofty villages, surmounted by fortified granaries (see AGADIR), are still under the effective authority of *d͟jemāʿas*. Among the Kabyles, only those of the west (D͟jurd͟jura, Soumman, Bābūr, Guergour) have retained their traditional dialects and customs. Their terraced fields chiefly support olive and fig trees; they lack cereals and livestock. For want of space they are emigrating in increasing numbers, principally to the towns of Algeria and to France. The village (*taddart*), whether its quarters (*k͟harrūba*) are combined, separate or scattered, forms the economic, social and political unit: the *d͟jemāʿa* officially maintains its traditional authority in Kabylia of the D͟jurd͟jura. The Kabyles of the east are arabicised. Like their non-Kabyle neighbours of the Bône region, they live in large clearings where they cultivate barley, sorghum and a few fruit trees; they breed cattle and sheep etc., and work in the forests, mainly stripping cork. Their neighbours have huts made with branches; they live in houses grouped in hamlets and are emigrating in large numbers. In western Algeria the way of life of the Beni Menāṣer (Berber-speaking) and of the Trāra (Arabicised) recalls that of the Kabyles of the west. The inhabitants of the high valleys of the Wans͟harīs and the Oran plateaus, once almost all semi-nomads, now have no more than a few tents.

The fertile plains and hills of the Tell, formerly coveted and menaced by both nomads and mountain dwellers, and only insufficiently exploited by people living in huts and tents and gaining a livelihood from the cultivation of cereals and extensive stock-breeding, have greatly changed in appearance. In the areas of dense colonization, some of the former *fellāḥs* have become agricultural labourers while others have profited by the examples before their eyes. The local populations everywhere, whose numbers have greatly increased, have considerably extended the area devoted to the cultivation of cereals, at the expense of rearing of livestock. The old semi-nomad tribes of the high plains of Constantine are now bound to the soil. Tribal connections are forgotten; society is crumbling, but private ownership of property often still remains vested in the family. French schooling, military service, and emigration—usually temporary—to the towns or to France accentuates individualism and family autonomy.

Individualism is getting the upper hand in the cities, without causing loss of solidarity between men of the same origin. The partly-Turkish bourgeoisie of the ancient cities of Algeria (Algiers, Constantine and Tlemcen) has been to a large extent regenerated by people of rural origin; artisans have gradually disappeared. Both old and new towns now have a prosperous or rich bourgeoisie of landed proprietors and a few business men, a middle class of civil servants, members of the liberal professions and various employees, and a large proletariat, burdened with an excessive number of rural immigrants with no manual skill and potentially only mediocre labourers.

Economy. The native elements remain the dominant factor in the Algerian economy. They cultivate nearly $^3/_4$ of the grain lands, sowing almost entirely barley and wheat, and nearly 2/3 of the bearing olive trees and of land devoted to pulses and tobacco. They own more than 96% of the date palms and nearly all the fig trees. They own 95% of the sheep and goats. The colonists, on the other hand, cultivate the vine almost exclusively, and are almost alone in growing early vegetables and citrus fruits. A fundamental problem is how to increase the volume, still very low, of the native output as a whole, and to improve the quality of livestock. Some Algerians have been trained in fishing by Frenchmen of Spanish or Italian origin. The native peoples provide only the labour force and fill a few lower grades in the mines (iron and phosphates, especially lead and zinc), but they are employed in large numbers in the transport services. Industry, still underdeveloped despite recent efforts, finds in them an ample source of labour, but few skilled craftsmen or specialists. Short-term emigration to the industrial cities and to dockyards in France assures an abundant flow of money into the country.

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(iv) Institutions.

Algeria is part of the French Union as defined by the constitution of 27 October 1946. In it Algeria holds a peculiar position, which was defined by the law of 20 September 1947 entitled "the Algerian Statute". At the head of Algeria, there is a Governor with wide powers. The inhabitants are represented by an elective Algerian assembly which not only has financial powers, as had the "*Délégations financières*" which it replaces, but also a part in the initiation and adaptation to the country of the laws, the principal legislative body being the French Parliament.

Personal status had previously been defined by the law of 7 May 1946, an entirely new law which bears the name of its author, Lamine-Gueye, and which proclaimed the equality of the inhabitants of the country: "all subjects of French nationality of the departments of Algeria enjoy, without distinction of birth, race, language or religion, the rights attaching to the status of French citizens and are subject to the same obligations". But since alongside the Europeans, who are mainly French, lives a large Muslim majority, whose private life is largely regulated by Muslim law, it is laid down that "citizens who do not possess French civil status keep their personal status as long as they have not renounced it". The citizens of French status are French citizens by birth, Algerian-born Jews, who have been citizens since the Crémieux decree of 24 October 1870, a few Muslims who have applied for French citizenship as a result of the facilities given by the *senatus-consultum* of 14 July 1865 and by the law of 4 February 1919, and finally naturalised foreigners, especially pursuant to the law of 26 June 1889. Citizens of local status are all the other Muslims. For these, the following matters remain subject to Muslim law (and, for certain Berber-speaking areas, to customary law): "marriage, marital authority, married women's rights, divorce, repudiation, affiliation, paternal authority, majority, minority, deprivation of control over property, emancipation, and guardianship" (J. Lambert). For foreigners the regulations are in general similar to those in force in France. Foreign Muslims, mainly Tunisians and Moroccans, have in certain cases, e.g. before the courts, the same status as Algerian Muslims.

Political Organisation. The Governor General "represents the Government of the French Republic throughout Algeria .... he resides at Algiers". The Algerian Assembly is composed of 120 members: 60 representatives of each of the two Colleges, elected for 6 years by universal suffrage, with two ballots on a single member basis, half the members being replaced every 3 years. The first College comprises citizens of French civil status. All other citizens of local status belong to the second College. The electoral laws are similar to those obtaining in France, but Muslim women do not vote. All citizens are eligible without distinction for election to one or other college.

The peoples of Algeria are represented in the Parliament of the Metropolis by 30 deputies in the National Assembly (15 per College), by 14 Councillors of the Republic (7 per College), and by 12 elected persons in the Assembly of the French Union, 6 of these being elected by the Algerian Assembly and 6 by the general councils.

Administrative organisation. The three departments (Algiers, Constantine and Oran), whose prefects have wider jurisdiction than in the metropolis, are divided into *arrondissements* (7, 7 and 6). Their general councils are made up of 3/5 of citizens of French status and 2/5 of elected Muslims. The communes are large and varied in character. Where the non-Muslim French are found in sufficient numbers, they are *Communes de plein exercise* (with full powers) in which both Colleges are represented (3/5 and 2/5); dependent on the mayor, where needed, are the *ḳāʾids* (*caïds*) of the *douars* (sections of communes), subdivisions which have their own elected representatives, the *dj̲amāʿa* (*djemâa*). The "mixed Communes", destined eventually to disappear, are headed by officials of the Algerian civil service. These preside over the municipal committee which consists of elected members, the *ḳāʾids*, and the presidents of the *dj̲amāʿa* of the various *douars*. In those areas with native populations which have reached a sufficient stage of development there have recently been set up "municipal centres" which, under the control of a civil servant, are undergoing their apprenticeship to public life.

The increase in the size of the departments has gradually pushed back towards the Sahara the former military districts, which have become the Southern Territories. Covering an enormous area, two of them encroaching on the Saharan Atlas and the high steppes of the west, the four Territories have as their centres Colomb-Béchar, Laghaout (Lag̲hwāṭ), Touggourt and Ouargla (Wargla). They are under the direct authority of the Governor General, acting in the capacity of a prefect; the military commanders who are subordinate to him have the administrative powers of a sub-prefect. The Territories used to be divided into dependencies (*annexes*) which have become the basis of the present communes: 10 mixed communes under civil administrators, and 9 "native communes" under officers for Saharan affairs or administrators. The *ḳāʾids* of the *douars* are subordinate to them, and members of the *dj̲emāʿa* are elected or nominated. The Algerian Statute provides for the gradual conversion of the Southern Territories into civil districts.

The Judicial System. The judicial system is closely modelled on that of the Metropolis. Algiers is the seat of a Court of Appeal; there are 17 assize courts (with French and Muslim jurors) and 17 courts of first instance. Questions concerning the personal status and the inheritance of French Muslims are dealt with by the *ḳāḍīs* of the 84 principal *maḥkamas* (*mahakma*) and by the *bas̲h̲ ʿādil* (*bachadel*) of the 23 dependencies. But their jurisdiction is always optional, and the interested parties can refer to the

justices of the peace, judges of common law in Muslim matters who apply the provisions of Muslim law, or to the French judicial authorities and to French law. The Kabyles of the west, the majority of whom have preserved their own customs, do not have *ḳāḍīs*. [Cf. also ʿĀDA.]

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(v) LANGUAGES.

(1) *The Arab dialects of Algeria.*

The territory forming the present Algeria was arabicised during two distinct periods, in common with North Africa in general. The first period commenced with the Muslim invasions at the end of the 1st/7th century. Although not important from the point of view of their ethnic contribution, these invasions had a considerable military, political, religious, and therefore linguistic, effect. They affected primarily the urban centres. The conquering Arabs established garrisons there, distributing units of the eastern *djund* throughout the countries which they wished to control and administer. Just as Idrīsid Fez and Aghlabid al-Ḳayrawān arabicised the rural and mountain regions around them, so Tlemcen and Constantine, in Algeria, caused the regions which lay between them and the sea, namely Trāra and eastern Kabylia, to foresake the native idiom and adopt the language of the conquerors. Later, the Shīʿite propaganda, by directly linking the Berber tribes to the Shīʿa movement, very probably played a part in imposing Arabic on certain peoples in the north of the department of Constantine. The arabicisation of this first period is responsible for the Arabic spoken in the old centres and in the adjacent mountainous regions; thus its various forms can be called "pre-Hilālī dialects".

The invasion of the Banū Hilāl, the Sulaym and the Maʿḳil inaugurated the second period of arabicisation. It began halfway through the 4th/11th century, unleashing the turbulent throng of Bedouin tribes against "perfidious Maghrib". This time the ethnic contribution was important. The movement of populations which was brought about by the invasion of these new-comers threw Barbary into a ferment, and resulted in the widespread diffusion of the language which they brought with them. Not merely small districts but vast areas abandoned Berber for Arabic; at first, no doubt, it was the steppes and high plains devoted to the pastoral life, where the nomads felt at home; then, as a result of alliances which were offered to them or which they imposed, vast settled regions of the Tell and even of the Sahel. Important transfers of populations continued to take place up to the end of the 8th/14th century; for example the establishment of the Hilāl Dawādida in northern Constantine province, and of the Maʿḳil ʿUbayd Allāh and the Hilāl Zughba b. ʿĀmir between Tlemcen and the sea. Through contact with the Bedouin Arabs or under their tutelage, entire Berber tribes, sharing a common mode of existence with the Bedouin, turned to Arabic; for example the Sadwikīsh of western Constantine province and sections of the Zanāta of northern Oran. Arabicisation has continued until our own times, penetrating the mountain massifs and ancient Saharan centres which remained the strongholds of Berberism. An unpublished work of al-Ṣabbāgh on the life of the great saint of the Chélif, Sīdī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, gives us an idea of the linguistic state of this region in the 10th/16th century, and quotes phrases in *lugha zanātiyya*. Berber was still spoken in the Chélif at that period, but now Arabic alone is spoken, except in the mountain massifs of the Banī Menāser and Wansharīs which skirt the region. One is tempted to consider that the propagation of the conquerors' language was particularly encouraged by the Turks between the 9th/15th and the 13th/19th centuries. In the northern regions which they endeavoured to control, they executed large transfers of rural and Bedouin groups, on a scale surpassing that of the dynasties which preceded them in central Maghrib.

The upheaval of populations in the course of centuries has been so great that linguistics cannot provide any ethnic criteria. It is doubtless permissible to conjecture that the groups which have remained Berber-speaking include a large proportion of elements of Berber origin, but nothing enables us to assess the proportion of the elements of Arab origin among the Arab-speaking populations. It is most likely that the latter are largely composed of arabicised Berbers. No shibboleth, or linguistic criterion, enables us to establish the ethnical origin of the various groups; no dialectal indication, as far as we know, makes it possible to identify the Berber groups converted to Arabic such as the Ulḥāṣa, the Huwwāra, the Sindjās, the ʿAdjīsa, the Luwwāta or the Kutāma, etc.

As regards the Arabic dialects introduced by the invasions of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, it is generally considered that the territory of the Sulaym was definitely to the east, and that of the Maʿḳil more to the west. The territory of the Hilāl cannot be defined exactly; it was certainly centrally situated, but probably encroached on the territories to the east and west. The dialectal variations of the language which they spoke or which they disseminated are known as "Bedouin dialects".

(A) Pre-Hilālī dialects. Included in this category are village (or mountain) dialects, and urban dialects (Jewish and Muslim).

(a) Village dialects. These are represented by two groups which have been clearly identified but have not been the subject of equal study; namely, Oran dialects, and Constantine dialects. The former embrace the mountain massif of the Trāra, which extends from the *wādī* of Moghniyya (Marnia) as far as the sea, and is bounded approximately by the course of the Tafna to the east. Nadrūma (Nédroma) is the urban centre. This region belongs to the Ulḥāṣa and the Kūmiyya, and is crossed by the routes connecting Tlemcen with the ports of Ḥunayn and Arashḳūn (Rachgoun). Its arabicisation dates probably from the Idrīsid era. The second group corresponds to eastern Kabylia, and is completely mountainous, having the form of a triangle whose apexes are Djidjelli, Mila and Collo. Historically, the region represents the seaward expansion of Constantine and Mila, which were Arab garrison towns in the Aghlabid period. This is the former Kutāma country, the centre of the Fāṭimid movement.

These dialects are characterised phonetically as follows: uvular *ḳ* is changed into velar *k*, e.g. *kalb* for *ḳalb* "heart"; *k* is pronounced as a palatal,

and often, with a marked degree of palatalisation, ***ky***, or as an affricate, ***ksh***, ***tsh***, or as a fricative ***sh***, with a voiceless *y* (Trāra), e.g. *tshelb*, *shelb* for *kelb*, "dog"; the interdentals ***th***, ***dh***, ***dh*** disappear, confounded with *t*, *d*, *ḍ*; *t* becomes the affricate *ts*; *ḍ* often becomes *ṭ*; the voiced sibilant is pronounced *ž* when it is single, *dj* when it is doubled; diphthongs with a short element are resolved, *ay* becoming *ī*, *aw* becoming *ū*; there is a very marked decay of the short vowels especially in eastern Kabylia, where the neutral vowel *e* predominates; changes occur in the syllabic structure which derive, in words containing short vowels, from the phonetic influence of radical consonants, rather than from etymology; the labials *m* and *b*, and the uvular *ḳ*, have the ability to assimilate the *l* or the article, e.g. *eb-bāb*, "the door", *eḳ-ḳemḥ*" the corn".

Morphologically these dialects are characterised as follows: by the constant reconstruction of defective verbs, *nsā-nsāt-nsāw*, *yensā-yensāw* "to forget", *bkā-bkāt-bkāw*, *yebkī-yebkīw* "to weep", and of verbs hamzated on the first radical, *klā-klit-klāw*, *yākel*, *kūl* "to eat"; by the use of *-āyen* as a sign of the dual in nouns of measure, *yūm-yūmāyen* "two days", *shber-shebrāyen* "two spans"; by the adoption of plural forms, *ṣnādeḳ* "coffers" and of diminutives, *mfīteḥ* "small key" (with a short vowel in the final syllable), for all quadriliterals; by the substitution in the case of diminutives for the form *ṭfeyl* (cl. *ṭufayl*) of *ṭfeyyel* "small child", from *ṭfel*. as in *žneyyen* (cl. *žunayyin*) "small garden", from *žnān*; by the confusion of gender in the expression of the second person, both in the verbal endings and in the inflexions of the independent personal pronouns, *ḍrabt* "thou (m. or f.) hast struck", *taḍrab* "thou (m. or f.) wilt strike", *enta* "thou" (m. or f.); by the frequent usage of the form *yāna* for *āna* "I"; by the pronunciation *u* of the 3rd person masc. sing. pronominal affix, after a consonant, *ḍarbu* "he has struck him", *weldu* "his son"; by the constant use of *-ayya/-iyya*, *āk/-īk*, *īh/-īh*, etc., pronominal endings suffixed to the duals of nouns denoting parts of the body. On all these points of morphology, the dialects of Trāra and those of eastern Kabylia are analogous, but they differ in certain other respects; in the plural persons of the imperfect of sound verbs with radical stems, the Trāra dialects have a doubled form *yeḍḍarbu*, while the rural Djidjellians have the non-doubled form *iḍarbu*, from *ḍrab* "to strike"; similarly in the case of nouns with a short vowel and final *-at*, the former have *reḳḳebtek*, the latter *rḳebtek* "thy neck", from *reḳbat*; in the perfect of hollow verbs, the Trāra dialects follow the sequence, as regards the radical vowel, of short with changed quality, or long with pure quality, according as it occurs in a closed syllable or not, *bāʿ - ibīʿ - beʿt* "to sell", while the rural peoples of Djidjelli maintain the same vowel quality and follow the sequence semi-long/long, *bāʿ - ibīʿ - bīʿt*; to express the continuous or customary present, the Trāra use the imperfect of the verb, without any special verbal prefix, while the rural Djidjellians make free use of the prefix *ka/ku* (probably derived from the verb *kān - ikūn*), *ka-yekteb*, *ku-nekteb* "he is writing, I am writing".

As regards syntax and vocabulary these dialects are characterised as follows: by the extensive use of an indefinite article *wāḥed* or *ḥa*; the latter is especially prevalent in eastern Kabylia; by the disappearance of the direct construct relationship (except in groups in which the idea of a possessive relationship impresses itself strongly on the speaker), and by the expression of this relationship by means of the particles *di*, *eddi*, *dyāl* and, especially in Collo, *elli*; by the impossibility, in the Djidjelli region, of expressing the noun of kinship unless it has a pronominal suffix denoting the person with whom the relationship is established: *ʿammu ddi-Keddūr* "his uncle (to him) of Keddūr". In both groups specifically Berber features have survived and been integrated into the grammatical system, such as the use of the genitive link *n* among the Trāra, e.g. *bbwāy en fāṭma* "the father of Fāṭma", or the use of the demonstrative *d*, which in the Djidjelli region plays the role of a logical copula, as in *khūh d - eḳ - ḳāyd* "his brother (the one who) is the *ḳāʾid*"; or again, the transference of the number and gender of the Berber word to the Arabic word which has superseded it, e.g., in eastern Kabylia, *ržel*, a feminine treated as a masculine (Berber *aḍar* is masculine) "foot", *ṣōf*, masculine changed to feminine (Berber feminine *taḍuf*) "wool", *ma*, a singular considered as a plural (Berber plural *aman*) "water"; and finally, certain elements of vocabulary have survived, such as words of Berber forms with the prefix *a-* (not taking the Arabic definite article), or of the form *t . . . t*, most of them associated with rural life (dwellings, domestic life, domestic utensils, country life, agricultural implements, animals, plants, etc.).

These two types of village dialects unquestionably possess considerable points of difference; but they have certain features in common with the dialect of the Moroccan Djbāla to the west. The Oran group is nearer to the Moroccan group than to the Constantine. To the ears of townsmen, and with even more reason to those of the Bedouin, the speech of the Djbāla, the Trāra, and the rural Djidjellians sounds like a foreign tongue, whose sounds, syntax and vocabulary seem to them alien to Arabic. It is, however, Arabic, and even Arabic of an ancient stock, as is witnessed by certain archaisms, such as the preservation of the old monoliteral *fa* "mouth" in the Nedroma district, and of the final *iyyesh* among the rural Djidjellians; but at the same time it is an Arabic in which appears the Berber method of presenting ideas, and through which the substratum of Berber vocabulary often emerges; an Arabic, finally, which, retaining the marks of the bilingualism which preceded the supersession of Berber by Arabic, is still handled by those, whose ancestors had adopted it, with a beginner's clumsiness.

(b) Urban dialects. These do not form a homogeneous group, and the listing and description of these dialects is far from complete. They are divided into two classes—Jewish and Muslim.

Jewish dialects. The North African Jews are almost entirely city-dwellers in Algeria. Apart from the semi-nomadic group of the Baḥūṣiyya in the Souk-Ahras region, now dispersed, they all live in towns. Only those Jewish communities which, because of their populousness and strong social cohesion, constitute societies distinct from and virtually alien to the Muslim majority around them, possess any special form of Arabic; for instance the communities of Oran, Tlemcen, Miliana, Médéa, Algiers and Constantine. Although the Jewish dialects differ from one city to another, they share certain common characteristics.

The phonetic system is rather changed in these dialects, especially as spoken by women: loss of the interdentals ***th***, ***dh***, ***dh***, which revert to *t*, *d*, *ḍ*; the unvoiced dental *t* becomes the affricate *ts*, in Oran and Tlemcen, a change which leads to confusion with the fricatives *sh* and *s* and the sibilants *ž* (*dj*) and *z*;

the excessive rolling of *r*, very noticeable in Algiers; a general inability correctly to pronounce back consonants; thus ʾ, glottal check, for *ḳ*, in Algiers, and, in Tlemcen and Oran (as in Jewish Fez), *k* for *ḳ*, and *tsh* for *k*; the muting of the aspirate, especially in Algiers; the decay of the short vowels, in which the neutral sound *e* predominates; an excessive syllabic curtailment which gives the impression that the language consists wholly of consonants, where the only vowels are those which are absolutely indispensable to the pronunciation of the consonants and to the definition of morphological groups; e.g. *yiktbu* "they write", *ḍrabtu* "she has struck him", *rḳebti* "my neck", etc. Schematically, the morphology has forms analogous to, if not identical with, those described in respect of the village dialects, especially as regards the normalisation of paradigms and the strengthening of grammatical forms; it is characteristically Arabic.

The dialects used by the Jewish communities differ from those of the urban Muslims primarily in vocabulary. The vocabulary, largely Arabic, nevertheless contains a considerable foreign element: important borrowings from Spanish — some dating from the first period (imported in the 14th and 15th centuries by Spanish-speaking Jewish émigrés from Spain), and some from the second period (the Jews of Algeria, particularly of Algiers and Constantine, had continuous intercourse with the Jews of Leghorn), these last coinciding chronologically with the Spanish contribution of the second period; borrowings from Turkish, common to both the Jewish and the Muslim dialects; a few Berber loan words; and finally considerable borrowings from Hebrew, especially of words appertaining to the intellectual or religious life. It should be emphasised that the Jews of Algeria write their Judaeo-Arabic in a special cursive Hebrew, and not in Arabic characters. But their more rapid Europeanization, stimulated by the progressive dislocation of communities and the break-down of the division into quarters, is leading to the substitution of French for the traditional dialect among the younger generation, and also of the latin script for the Hebrew cursive.

Muslim dialects. The Muslim urban populations present great human, and therefore, linguistic, variety. Some of them preserved the use of the Arabic of the first stratum, such as is found in Tlemcen, Nédroma, Cherchell, Dellys, Djidjelli, and Collo. On the other hand, at Ténès, Miliana, Médéa, Blida, Bougie, Mila, Philippeville, and Constantine, it is only discovered among the older generation, and seems doomed to early extinction, if, indeed, it has not already disappeared. The old cities everywhere bear the marks of the external influences to which they have been subjected in the course of centuries, and to which they are still subject; that of the rural populations and that of the Bedouin. The populations of certain towns are replenished by the contributions of their surrounding rural areas, as for instance in the cases of Nédroma, Djidjelli and Collo, where the dialect tends to conform to that of the surrounding villagers. In other cases, the townsmen have borrowed the language of the neighbouring Bedouin collective, or sedentary Bedouin, groups; for instance, in Tlemcen, Ténès, Blida, Miliana, Médéa, Mila, Philippeville, and Constantine. Although, on the whole, the language of these old centres has remained urban, there are others where the Bedouin dialect is almost completely dominant: for instance, in Oran, Mostaganam, Mascara, Mazouna, and Bône (and similarly, in the extreme east of the Maghrib, at Tripoli and Benghāzī). The case of Algiers and its environs, and that of Bougie, are more complex still. Algiers and the Faḥṣ form a melting-pot for urban elements, for old-established rural sedentary population, for newly-arrived rural elements, and for Bedouin who, after a period of acclimatization in the Chélif and the Mitīdja, flock to a city life which, although of a proletarian nature, attracts them; Kabylia, moreover, disgorges its emigrants there in an unending stream. The Kabylian element, indeed, has so far taken possession of Bougie as to render this ancient capital and mediaeval centre of Arab culture, a Berber-speaking city.

Phonetically, the urban Muslim dialects have on the whole the same characteristics as those of the village dialects and the Jewish dialects. Only the ancients in Ténès, Cherchell, Dellys and Constantine have preserved the interdentals. In Médéa, Blida and Algiers both the fricative and the occlusive pronunciation are heard together. *T* is everywhere converted to the affricate *ts*. The voiced sibilant is variously pronounced: *dj*, with an initial dental, in Tlemcen, Ténès, Cherchell, Médéa, Blida, Algiers, Dellys, Mila, and Constantine: elsewhere as *ž*. The exaggerated rolling of *r* could be said to be a typically urban "articulatory disease": its presence in the Jewish dialects has already been noted: it is common in Constantine, Djidjelli, Cherchell, Tlemcen and Nédroma (and similarly at Tunis and Fez.) The change of *ḳ* to ʾ, a simple glottal check, exists at Tlemcen; at Djidjelli, a back *k* is substituted for it; but in all the other towns, it remains *ḳ*. Ibn Khaldūn based the essential difference between the dialects of the sedentary peoples and the dialects of the Bedouin of the Maghrib on the contrast between the unvoiced *ḳ* voiced *g*, in the back velar. This distinction still exists; but the flow of nomadic elements into the cities has introduced *g* there; this has occurred at Tenes, Miliana, Médéa, Algiers itself, Mila and Constantine (where the two sounds, in the same words, are sometimes heard from the same mouth). Elsewhere, the presence of a *g* in a word stamps it as a loan word from Bedouin dialects. Everywhere the aspirate *h* is a weak consonant, liable to become mute; thus in Tlemcen *rām* is heard from *rāhum* "here they are!", and at Nédroma, *ma-ʿandā-sh* for *ma-ʿandhā-sh* "she has not".

The morphological forms contain both similar and dissimilar elements. Among the former should be noted reconstruction of defective verbs, for instance of *khdā* "to take" and of *klā* "to eat"; the general use of the plural quadriliteral form *ṣnādeḳ* "coffers" and the diminutive *mfīteḥ* "small key", and of the triliteral diminutive *ṭfeyyel* "small child"; the frequent use (except at Constantine, Mila, Philippeville) of a sort of curious adjectival diminutive *kbīber* "somewhat large" from *kbīr*, *kḥīḥel* "blackish" from *kḥel*, already vouched for in al-Andalus; the pronunciation *u* or *o* of the pronominal affix of the 3rd person sing. masc., after a consonant. The feminine *ah* is peculiar to Cherchell; elsewhere it is invariably *ha*, for the 3rd person pronominal affix: *ah* is doubtless an importation from al-Andalus, and there is evidence of other such importations in the Cherchell dialect. In the 2nd and 3rd persons plural of the independent pronoun, the Cherchell dialect is also distinctive, using the forms *entūmān*, *hūmān*, while elsewhere the forms always used are *entum*, *hum*, or *entūma*, *hūma*. Although Nédroma, Mostaganem, Ténès, Bougie and Djidjelli make no distinction between the genders of the 2nd person sing. of pronouns or verbs, *enta* "thou"

(m. and f.), *ḍṛabt* "thou hast struck" (m. and f.), Miliana, Cherchell, Médéa, Blida, Algiers and Dellys differentiate between them, *enta* "thou" (m), *enti* "thou" (f.), *ḍṛabt* "thou (m.) hast struck", *ḍṛabti* "thou (f.) hast struck"; differentiation of gender again disappears in the eastern dialects, in Collo, Mila, Philippeville and Constantine, but the feminine form *enti*, *ḍṛabti*, is extended to both genders; in Tunis the form is confined to the independent pronoun. The syllabic treatment of the persons of the plural, in the first form of sound verbs, produces a remarkable variety of forms: for "they strike" *yeḍḍarbu* is the form used at Tlemcen, Nédroma, Mostaganem, Ténès, Miliana, Cherchell, Médéa, Blida, Algiers, Dellys and Collo; but *iḍaṛbu* is used at Bougie, Djidjelli, Philippeville, and occasionally in the suburds of Algiers, and *yeḍaṛbu* (with the stress on the first syllable) at Mila and Constantine. The attachment of personal affixes with an initial vowel to feminine nouns of the form *faʿla(t)* poses the same problem of syllabic economy, to which according to dialect, the same solution is reached; for "my neck" *raḳḳebti*, *rḳebti* and *raḳebti*. *Ḍaṛbet* + *u* "she has struck him", is pronounced throughout western and central urban Algeria *ḍaṛbâtu*; in the Faḥṣ of Algiers it is sometimes *ḍṛabtu*; throughout the east, *ḍaṛbettu* (as in the cities of Tunisia). In all the cities, the plural of nouns of colour admits of a prolongation of the vowel *u*, which is known in the village dialects: e.g. *ḥūmoṛ* "red" (even expanded to *ḥūmṛīn* in Nédroma and Djidjelli,) except in Dellys, where *ḥmūṛa* is used, and in Collo, Mila, Constantine, and Philippeville, where the only form current is *ḥmoṛ*, the form used in the urban and rural dialects of Tunisia. To indicate the possessive relationship, the urban dialects only use the method of direct connexion (*iḍāfa*) to a limited extent; more often they have recourse to an analytical method, the governing word being linked to the governed by prepositions of dialectal origin, namely *di* (*eddi*), (*dyāl*, in use from Tlemcen to Djidjelli, or the rival *mrāʿ* (*ntāʿ* from Tlemcen to Dellys), which prevails in Constantine. Collo often uses the relative *elli* as a particle of connexion: *en-nās elli-d-dowwāṛ* "the people of the *douar*".

Every urban dialect possesses characteristics peculiar to itself, but the points of difference are becoming progressively less, only what is common to all being retained, and these dialects are gradually merging into a sort of *koine* of the towns. The constant growth of relations between urban centre and urban centre inspires the desire, conscious or unconscious, to eliminate dialectal peculiarities, and to produce a language which will be understood everywhere, which will avoid ambiguities, and which will not occasion surprise or be the target for mirth. This tendency towards uniformity is perhaps strengthened by a certain concern for purism awakened by listening to wireless broadcasts, which are heard in many homes and in a still greater number of shops, and in every café and meeting-place. Feminine society, which has always constituted an important factor in linguistic conservatism, is being profoundly influenced by the radio, which brings into the home a "universal Arabic" and effects its general adoption, and also by urban life, which affords ever greater freedom, and provides women with more and more opportunities for contact with the outside world. It seems that the time is not far off when the urban Muslim dialects of Algeria will have the featureless appearance of uniformity, and will no longer preserve traces of their original characteristics except those fossilized in songs, proverbs, and a few ready-made expressions.

(B) Bedouin dialects. In so far as they are known (and knowledge of them is only approximate and incomplete), the Bedouin dialects of Algeria present the appearance of a composite and heterogeneous mass. The isoglosses which some have attempted to trace form a complex picture; the interpretation of this picture, if it seeks to take an overall view, ignores the diversity of the material and glosses over numerous contradictions.

The following are the identifying marks of a Bedouin dialect. (a) Phonetic. A fairly general retention of the interdentals *th*, *dh*, *ḏh*; an occlusive pronunciation of the unvoiced dental *t*, except in certain oasis dialects in which it is affricated (as at Beni Abbès in southern Oran, or Touggourt in southern Constantine); the voicing of the back velar, *g*, *ḳ*, only appearing in loan words and especially in the vocabulary of law and religion; an occasional preservation of short vowels, often complicated by a change in quality attributable to the influence of adjacent consonants or, sometimes, to that of stress. (b) Morphological. A certain conservatism which preserves in the verbal and nominal forms traces of the ancient tongue; differentiation of gender in the second person singular of verbs and of the independent pronoun: *ḏhṛabt* "thou (m) hast struck", *ḏhṛabti* "thou (f.) hast struck", *enta* "thou (m), *enti* "thou (f.); a fairly widespread use of the dual, going beyond the limited use for nouns of measure and nouns denoting parts of the body which occur in pairs. (c) In syntax and vocabulary. A restricted use of the indefinite article *wāḥd-el*, the use of the undefined noun often being sufficient to indicate a state of indefiniteness; the frequent expression of the possessive relationship by the old method of direct connexion; the use of a vocabulary more exclusively Arabic than that of the sedentary populations.

This group of characteristic forms constitutes a common basis of the Bedouin dialects. They possess other peculiarities, but either they do not all possess them or they are not alone in possessing them: for instance the preservation of the diphthongs *ey*, *ow* or their contraction to *ē*, *ō*, the sedentary dialects usually resolving them fully, to *ī*, *ū*: the use of the form *īd*, not *yedd* "hand", and of the preposition *mtāʿ* (*ntāʿ*) "of", to the exclusion of *eddi*, *di*, *dyāl*; the use of the plural form *ṣnādig* (not *ṣnādeg*) "coffers" and of the diminutive *mfītīḥ* (not *mfīteḥ*) "small key", for quadriliterals, and of the dimutives *ṭufeyl*, *ṭfēl*, *ṭfīl* (not *ṭfeyyel*) "small child" for triliterals with a short vowel; the existence of a plural form for triliterals with a doubled medial consonant and short vowel, *sherref* from *shāref* "old, tough", and of a plural *mfaʿʿla* from *mafʿūl*, e.g. *mghabbna* from *maghbūn* "deceived, afflicted"; the preservation, in the numerals from 11-19, of the ʿ of *ʿashar*, e.g. *khumsṭāʿāsh* "fifteen" (especially in southern Oran), the sedentary dialects habitually having *khumsṭash* etc.

In order to attempt a provisional draft classification of the Bedouin group, only a limited number of those dialectal features which may properly be called distinctive will be selected, some phonetic, other morphological (but not distinctions of vocabulary, an enumeration of which would lead us too far afield):

(1) The pronunciation of the voiced sibilant: *ž* is the pronunciation of the Bedouin dialects of eastern Algeria. The line of demarcation *dj/ž* passes

to the east of Philippeville, Constantine and Ouled Rahmoun, curves south of Barika, keeps to the south of Hodna and veering north, reaches the neighbourhood of Mansoura des Bibans. It is also identical with that of the high plains and the Saharan regions of the centre and west of Algeria: the line of demarcation *dj/ž* passes to north of Aïn Bessem in the direction of Champlain, leaves Médéa, the Djerbel and the Ouarsenis to the south and, at the altitude of Teniet el-Hadd, crosses the Sersou, proceeds to the south of Trézel and north of Frenda and Saïda, and swings north towards Mercier-Lacombe, Saint Denis du Sig and the approaches of Tlemcen. *Dj* therefore represents the pronunciation of the regions of Constantine, Saint Arnaud, Sétif, Bord Bou Arreridj, Barika, Msila and the Hodna; of the Algerian Sahel, Mitīdja, the valley of the Chélif, Dahra, the plateau of Mostaganem, the mountains of Mascara and the plain of Macta; constituting a more northerly Bedouin group.

(2) The change of the velar fricative *gh* to the occlusive back velar *ḳ*. This characterises the Saharan Bedouin dialects (with the exception of certain oasis dialects), but also extends over a considerable area to the north towards the high Algerian plains: the line of demarcation *gh/ḳ* commences south of Aïn Sefra, passes to the east of Mecheria, turns back towards the Khreider, follows the Chergui *chott*, leaves Trézel to the west, crosses the Sersou, passes to the south of Teniet el-Hadd, Berrouaghia and Aïn Bessem, passes over the Hodna at the altitude of Msila, skirts Barika, El Kantara and Biskra, and plunges southwards, leaving Mraïer, Djemaa and Touggourt to the East.

(3) The pronunciation *ah* after a consonant of the 3rd person sing. masc. personal affix. This is characteristic of the Bedouin dialects of (i) Oran. The line of demarcation *ah/u* commences at Mostaganem, goes down towards Uzès-le-Duc, leaves Tiaret and Trézel to the east, follows the eastern prong of the Chergui *chott*, and passes approximately half-way between Géryville and Aflou: the Ouled Sidi Cheikh use *ah*, but the Douï Menia and the sedentary peoples of the Saoura use *u*; the Bedouin outskirts of Tlemcen and the region which lies towards Aïn Temouchent and Oran also uses *ah*. (ii) Eastern Constantine, comprising: to the north, the inhabitants of mountains of the Collo region, which are a continuation of the Kroumirs and Mogods of Tunisia; to the south, the nomads of western Souf and of the Saharan zone which skirts southern Tunisia (the *ah* frequently being curtailed to *a*); this form is found among a considerable proportion of the Bedouin of Tunisia, and throughout Libya; all the rest of Algeria, both north and south, uses the forms *u*, *o*.

(4) The structure of the 3rd person feminine of the perfect of sound verbs, when followed by a personal affix with an initial vowel, e.g. *ḏharbet* + *k* "she has struck thee": (i) *ḏharbātek* is the pronunciation of north-eastern Constantine, as far as a line which starts to the east of Philippeville, reaches Jammapes and the Khroub, turns westwards, touches Chateau-dun-du-Rumel, and proceeds in the direction of Périgotville; of the region situated to the south of this line, namely the high plains of Sétif as far as Bordj Bou Arreridj, and also of the eastern Sahara as far as the outskirts of Biskra and Touggourt; of the Algerian Tell where the voicid sibilant is pronounced as *dj*; and finally of north and west Oran, following a line which passes south of Ammi-Moussa, swings southwards between Tiaret and Frenda, follows the Chergui *chott* and again swerves south, leaving Mechéria and Aïn Sefra to the east: (ii) *ḏharbettek* is the pronunciation of the Constantine region, of Ferdjioua, and of the environs of Fedj-Mzala as far as Guergour; (iii) *ḏharebtek* (with the stress on the first syllable) extends south of a line joining Bordj-Bou-Arreridj and Colbert throughout the Hodna, south-west Constantine and the central Sahara; it is the pronunciation of all the Algerian nomads (including Teniet al-Hadd) who pronounce the voiced sibilant as *ž*; and it is also the pronunciation which prevails in eastern and southern Oran.

(5) The syllabic structure of the imperfect of sound verbs, first form, in the plural: *yeḏhrab* + *u* "they have struck"; and that of the triliteral noun *faʿla(t)* with a suffix commencing with a vowel: *raḳba(t)* + *i* "my neck"; (i) *yeḏharbu*, *raḳebti* (with the stress on the first syllable) is found throughout the Constantine region except in El-Kantara, on the high Algerian plains and in the whole of the east, central and west Sahara; the dialects of the south-east have a clearly-defined tendency to prolongate the vowel receiving the stress; (ii) *yeḏhḏharbu*, *raḳḳebti*, with doubling of the medial and stress of the second syllable, is prevalent in El-Kantara and the region of Philippeville; these are the forms in use in the north of Algeria, wherever the voiced sibilant is *dj*, including Teniet el-Hadd; they are also used throughout north and west Oran; the dividing-line *yeḏhḏharbu/yeḏharbu* passes between Tiaret and El-Ousseukh, follows the northern edge of the Chegui *chott*, and swings south, leaving Mechéria to the west and Aïn Sefra to the east.

(6) The conjugation of defective verbs (imperfect and imperfect *a*): *mshā* - *yemshī* "to go" and *nsā* - *yensā* "to forget": (i) northern Constantine, from the Tunisian frontier as far as a line which drops rapidly from Bône towards Ain Beïda, and the eastern Sahara as far as Sidi Okba and El-Oued, use the forms *mshā* (*mshē*) - *mshet* - *mshū* - *yemshī* - *yemshū*; *nsā* (*nsē*) - *nset* - *nsū* - *yensā* - *tensī* - *yensū*; (ii) central Constantine, from the northern boundary delineated above as far as the outskirts of Biskra and Mdoukal, along a line which follows the Hodna depression and rises again towards Mansoura des Bibans as far as Kabylia, has forms which are completely resolved: *msha* - *mshāt* - *mshāw* - *yemshī* - *yemshīw* -; *nsa* - *nsāt* - *nsāw* - *yensā* - *tensā* - *yensāw*, analogous to those of the sedentary dialects; (iii) throughout Bedouin Algeria, from the Sahara to the sea, and in a large part of Oran, bounded on the east by a line which, starting from the outskirts of Oran itself, passes to the south of Saint Denis-du-Sig and to the north of Cacherou, leaves Frenda to the east and proceeds southwards, passing between Aflou and Géryville, the conjugation of verbs with imperfect *i* and imperfect *a* is characterised by a peculiar usage: *yemshi* - *yemshū* on the one hand, *yensa* - *tensay* - *yensāw* on the other; this usage is found again in western Oran, from a line running east of Tlemcen, passing east of the Homeyan, and curving westwards north of Aïn Sefra; (iv) central Oran, comprising the regions of Aïn Temouchent, Sidi bel-Abbès, Mascara, Saïda, Méchéna, Géryville, Aïn Sefra and Ouled Sidi Sheikh, has the forms *yemshu*, *tensī*, *yensū*.

By drawing up a table of all the different characteristics, there emerge, despite the overlapping and contradictions which blur the boundaries and split up geographical areas, four, or perhaps five distinct basic groups:

(i) The Bedouin dialects of eastern Constantine, the region of La Calle and Souf (Cantineau's group

E): the pronunciations are *ṯ*, *gh*, *ah*, *dharbātek*, *yedharbu*, *raḳebti*, *mshet* - *mshū* - *yemshu*, *nset* - *nsū* - *tensī* - *yensū*. The final *y* vowel tends to become *i* (*imāla*); diphthongs are generally reduced to *ē*, *ō*.

(ii) The Bedouin dialects of central and western Oran (Cantineau's group D): the pronunciations are *ṯ*, *gh*, *ah*, *dharebtek*, *yedhdharbu*, *raḳḳebti*, *yemshu*, *tensī* - *yensū*; diphthongs are either correctly preserved *ey*, *ow*, or reduced to *ē*, *ō*.

(iii) The Bedouin dialects of central and Saharan Algeria (Cantineau's group A): the pronunciations are *ṯ*, *ḳ* for *gh*, *u*, *dharebtek*, *yedharbu*, *raḳebti*; diphthongs are either correctly preserved or reduced to *ē*, *ō*.

(iv) The Bedouin dialects of the Tell and of the Algerian-Oran Sahel (Cantineau's group B): the pronunciations are *dj*, *gh*, *u* (*o*), *dharbātek*, *yedhdharbu*, *raḳḳebti*; diphthongs are sometimes preserved sometimes reduced to *ī*, *ū*, and final *u* is pronounced *o*.

These two last groups have the same conjugation of the defective verb: *mshā* - *mshāt* - *mshāw* - *yemshū*; *nsā* - *nsāt* - *nsāw* - *tensāy* - *yensāw*.

(v) The dialects of the high plains of Constantine, covering the north of Hodna and the belt which extends roughly from Bordj Bou Arreridj to the valley of the Seybouse, occupies an intermediary position between groups i, iii and iv, and the sedentary dialects (Cantineau's group C): the pronunciations are *dj*, *gh*, *u*, *dharbettek*, *yedharbu*, *raḳebti*; the diphthongs are reduced to *ī* and *ū*, and the conjugation of the defective verb is completely restored, as in the urban and village dialects; these dialects can be regarded as a complementary group, if not as an independent one: they are the dialects of the old Zīrid state of the Ḳalʿa, a centre of sedentary peoples buried beneath the mass of the Bedouin.

It cannot be pretended that any interpretation of this classification can be other than a hazardous and debatable undertaking. Having due regard to the delicacy of the task, it may be hazarded that group i is connected with the Tunisian group which W. Marçais considers Sulaymite; following him let us call it group S. Group ii is probably an extension of the eastern Moroccan group, which G. S. Colin considers Maʿḳilian; let us call it group M. Group iii comprises the most truly Sahara Bedouin elements, at once the most imposing and the most united, including the Chaamba, the Larbaa, the Ouled Naïl, the Arab Cheraga; the dialectal area of these nomads extends over a wide area of the north—more to the east than to the west—covering the nomad's pasture grounds and the grazing lands of the high plains. The northern part of their domain forms a large zone of transition shared with group iv. They are grouped in the valley of the Chélif, and stretch as far as the environs of Relizane and Mostaganem in the west, and into Mittidja and as far as Kabylia in the east. Let us call group iii H^1 and group iv H^2, conjecturing a vast implantation there of Hilālī Arabic, the Arab element (perhaps that of the Athbedj and the Zoghba) intermixed with a Zenāta element. The proportion of Arabicised Berbers is doubtless more considerable in the north of the high plains and along the Tell Atlas. Group v, an extremely complex group, is inserted like a wedge between the still Berber-speaking groups of Kabylia and the Chaouia region; it to is perhaps consonant with an implantation of Hilālī Arabic (Riyāḥ?) in the formerly ʿAdjīsa and Kutāma territories; let us call it H^3.

We do not profess to define the precise disposition of the zones of transition between the various groups, or to determine the possible preponderance in them of one type of dialect as opposed to another. It is, however, suggested that group H^1 succeeded, in the course of centuries, in spreading further afield, to the detriment of groups H^2 and H^3, as a result of the political superiority enjoyed by those forming that group: it was a case of warlike pastoral nomads, imbued with the spirit of conquest, confronting people who were at the same time small agriculturalists and semi-nomadic, semi-settled. In the same way group H^3 must have impinged strongly on the territories of the settled regions of western Constantine: hence the presence of sedentary dialectal forms emerging from the superimposed Bedouin dialect as surviving witnesses to a group of dialects which have been superseded. On the other hands, more recently we see that not only is Bedouin linguistic expansion being checked, owing to the decline of the pastoral life, to its geographical limitation and even, at many points, to its disappearance, but that the sedentary dialectal elements are gaining ground, especially in the northern areas.

Although any forecast must be risky, one is inclined to believe that the social changes whose effects are daily experienced by the Arabic-speaking peoples of Algeria can divert the spoken idiom into new channels. In the land in which they live, the towns, few in number, enclosed with walls whose gates were closed at nightfall, have remained, for thousands of years, alien intruders in a rural and pastoral, composite and inorganic world. The towns of modern Algeria, whether legacies of the past or recent creations, some of them populous centres, all of them centres of economic activity, exercise a magnetic influence on many a district of the former Regency, even the most distant, to which they represent labour markets and a source of livelihood; and, one might add, melting-pots in which is being produced a *koine* of Algerian Arabic which is capable of causing the extinction of the old regional dialects.

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(2) *The Berber dialects* [see Berber].

ALGIERS [see al-Djazāʾir].

ALGOL [see nudjūm].

ALGOMAIZA [see nudjūm].

ALGORITHMUS is the old name for the process of reckoning with Arabic numerals. In mediaeval treatises the word is spelt in various ways: e.g. *Algorismus*, *Alchoarismus*, *Alkauresmus*, etc., corruptions of the *nisba* of the oldest known writer on Arabic arithmetic: Muḥammed b. Mūsa al-Khʷārizmī [*q.v.*]. His book was translated into Latin in the 12th century by an unknown author, and the only known copy at Cambridge has been edited by B. Boncompagni (*Trattati d'aritmetica* i, Rome 1857). It opens with the words: "dixit Algorithmi", the word is here correctly given in the form of an Arabic *nisba*, i.e. as a proper name; it is strange that it should afterwards have come to mean the new process of reckoning with Arabic figures, as contrasted

with the system of counting by the Greco-Roman abacus. Of the numerous attempts to explain the word it is enough to mention a derivation from a philosopher Algus, and a supposed origin from the Arabic article *al* combined with the Greek ἀριθμός, hence the form "Algarithmus". The right explanation was given by M. Reinaud in his *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, 303-4, in the year 1849, before the Cambridge manuscript had been edited, but the false acceptation prevailed, and Algorithm (or Algorism) is still used in the sense of "system of numeration, arithmetic".

(H. Suter)

ALHABOR [see nudjūm].

ALHAIOT [see nudjūm].

ALHAMA [see al-ḥamma].

ALHAMBRA [see gharnāṭa].

ALHUCEMAS [see al-khuzāmā].

ʿĀLĪ, Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Mawlā Čelebi, one of the most outstanding representatives of Turkish literature of the 16th century. Born at Gallipoli in 948/1541, from the age of 10 he studied under Surūrī, great expert in Persian language and literature, and then under the Arab poet Muḥyi 'l-Dīn. In 965/1557 he presented to the heir-apparent Selīm his work entitled *Mihr u-Māh*, a step which determined his future career (see Dozy, *Cat. cod. or. bibl. Acad. Lugd. Batavae*, ii, 128). He became a member of the circle of his fellow-citizen Muṣṭafā, tutor to the prince, and was for a long time attached to this important figure as a private secretary. Selīm II, on his accession, confirmed him in this post, and about the same time he made the acquaintance of Nishāndjī, through whom he acquired knowledge of numerous events. In 976/1568 he accompanied Muṣṭafā to Egypt, but this visit was abruptly terminated by the latter's dismissal. In 1570, Muṣṭafā was placed in command of the army charged with the conquest of Cyprus, and ʿĀlī, as his secretary, witnessed the achievements of the Ottoman fleet and army. During the following years he lived in Rumelia, and in 980/1572 he compiled the *Heft Madjlis* or *Heft Dastān* (MS Lāleli, Istanbul, no. 2114; printed edition in the collections of the *Iḳdām*) in which he described, in a pompous style, the end of the reign of Suleymān I and the accession of Selīm II. About the same time he compiled a collection of poetry in Turkish, consisting mainly of *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals*. He also produced a Persian *dīwān* (see Flügel, *Die arab., pers., und türk. Hss. der K.K. Hofbibl. zu Wien*, i, 651). ʿĀlī is, however, only ranked as a second-rate poet, as his poetry shows little feeling or sensibility. In 1577, he was again Muṣṭafā's secretary when the latter was placed in command of an expedition to Persia; he was the author of numerous victory proclamations sent from the Caucasus. He took advantage of his stay in those areas to collect a mass of information on the customs and legends of the populations of the Caucasus, and especially those of Gīlān, Shīrwān and Georgia. After the dismissal of Muṣṭafā, ʿĀlī returned to Istanbul; the sudden death of his protector placed him in a difficult position, but did not interfere with his literary activity. He dedicated to the Sultan his *Mir'āt al-ʿAwālim* which gives an account of the miracles of the Creation and the Prophets (MSS: İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, nos. 17397-96; Esad Efendi Kütüphanesi, no. 2407; cf. Flügel, loc. cit., ii, 94; Pertsch, *Verz. d. türk. Hss. . . . zu Berlin*, nos. 36, 558). Soon afterwards he completed the *Nuṣrat-nāme*, which deals with the expedition to Iran (Esad Ef. Kütüp., no. 2433; Rieu, *Cat. of the Turk. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 61). The ceremony of the circumcision of the heir-apparent Meḥmed, one of the most magnificent ceremonies which took place in the Ottoman Empire, was the occasion of a descriptive work which gained him an introduction to the prince: *Djāmiʿ al-Ḥubūr der Madjālis al-Sūr* (Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüp., no. 4318).

In 995/1586 he compiled the *Manāḳib-i Hunerwerān*, in which he collected important material on some hundreds of calligraphists, miniaturists, illuminators and bookbinders (see Flügel, loc. cit., ii, 386; edited by İbnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl, Istanbul 1926). The *Zubdat al-Tawārikh*, the Turkish translation of an Arabic work, dates from the same period (Flügel, ibid., ii, 90; İst. Üniv. Kütüp., nos. 2378-2386). Interested in mysticism and pantheism, he gave in the *Ḥilyat al-Ridjāl* (Rieu, loc. cit., p. 19; Pertsch, *Die türk. Hss. . . . zu Gotha*, 75; Ist. Üniv. Kütüp., nos. 1329, 404) detailed information on the saints, their hierarchy and their influence; he also composed a *dīwān* entitled *Lā'iḥāt al-Haḳīḳāt* (Rieu, loc. cit., 261; İst. Univ. Kütüp., nos. 651, 1963). Appointed *kātib* of the Janissaries, then *defter emini*, he applied himself to tracing the course of history down to his own times; he wished, however, to produce his work at Cairo, then the greatest book centre of the Muslim world. Meḥmed III who, on his accession, accorded him privileged treatment, appointed him *defterdār* of Egypt, but the hostility of certain *wazīrs* caused him to lose this post. From 1000-1007/1592-9 he wrote his great work, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, in four parts (printed at Istanbul between 1277/1861 and 1285/1869 in 5 vols., covering the period up to the reign of Meḥmed II; no printed edition of the remaining 150 years exists). In the first part, he recounts the ancient legends concerning the prophets; in the second, he treats of Muḥammad and Islam. He was so convinced of the important role played by his nation in the development of Islam that he entitled the third part "The Turko-Tatar chapter". The fourth part is devoted to the formation of the states and to Ottoman history. A geographical dictionary is appended to the work. The *Kunh al-Akhbār* is among the most important Ottoman historical works. Although the information given by ʿĀlī on the pre-Islamic period is of no great value, on the subject of Ottoman history, especially that of the 16th century, he is extremely valuable. His passion for truth even leads him to criticise the actions of certain sultans, and in general he speaks favourably of non-Muslims. His style, poetical to begin with, becomes more simple as he proceeds.

Later he wrote a historical summary of the Muslim World, entitled *Fuṣūl al-Ḥall wa 'l-ʿAḳd Uṣūl al-Khardj wa 'l-Naḳd*, which is one of the most popular works in Turkish (see, e.g., the MS in Nuruosmaniye Kütüp., no. 3399). As a reward for his literary activities he was appointed *pasha* of Djidda; in 1008/1600 he wrote his last work, *Ḥālāt al-Ḳāhira min al-ʿĀdāt al-Ṭāhira* (MSS: Esad Ef. Kütüp., no. 2407; Cairo, *Bibl. Khédiv., Cat. des ouvr. turcs*, 197), a short but significant work. He died the same year.

ʿĀlī is a particularly attractive character: although, in the circles in which he moved, violence and intrigue seem to have the rule, he showed himself always to be loyal, kindly and upright. His integrity and seriousness explain why he failed to win the goodwill of the rough and unpolished men of that period; even the Grand Vizier Siyāwush Pasha, a remarkable man, viewed him with contempt. On the other hand, every writer of the period was his friend.

Bibliography: His life and works have been described by J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. osman. Reiches*, iv, 308, 651 ff.; idem, *Gesch. d. osman. Dichtkunst*, iii, 115 ff.; by Meḥmed Ṭāhir b. Rifʿat, *Müwerrikhīn-i ʿOthmāniyyeden ʿĀlī we-Kātib Čelebi'nin Terdjüme-i Ḥālleri*, Salonica 1322/1906; and by Ibnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl, op. cit. Cf. also *Cat. cod. or. bibl. Acad Lugd. Bat.*, 1873, v. 57; Flügel, loc. cit., ii, 94; *JA*, 1869, 76, 90 ff. (K. Süssheim-R. Mantran)

ʿALĪ b. al-ʿABBĀS al-Madjūsī, medieval medical writer, commonly known to the West as Haly Abbas. He was born in al-Ahwāz from old Persian stock, as his title al-Madjūsī shows. He probably moved to Shīrāz at an early date, for he made his medical studies under a physician of that city, Abū Māhir Mūsā b. Sayyār, and dedicated his magnum opus to its ruler, ʿAḍud al-Dawla the Buwayhid. This book he named the *Kāmil al-Ṣināʿa* or *K. al-Malikī*; the medieval Latin translators named it the *Liber Regius*. It derives its title from the dedication to ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The exact date of ʿAlī's death is not known. It occurred between 982 and 995 A.D.

The *Kāmil al-Ṣināʿa*, upon which the importance of ʿAli b. ʿAbbās depends, was deliberately written to fall mid-way between the lengthy *al-Ḥāwī* and the brief *al-Manṣūrī*, both works of al-Rāzī. It was immediately recognised as a master-piece and was adopted as the chief textbook of medicine for students. Some hundred years later it was overshadowed by the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā. But it remained sufficiently popular to be translated into Latin in full by Stephan of Antioch in 1127 and this translation to be printed in Venice on 1492 and in Lyons in 1523. The surgical section of the book had already been translated by Constantine the African in the 11th century and was used by the School of Salerno. (Printed in *Constantini Africani Operum Reliquia*, 1539.) The Arabic text was reproduced in Cairo, Būlāḳ 1294/1877, and in 1903 the anatomical section was translated into French (P. de Koning, *Trois traités d'anatomie arabe*, Leiden 1903, 90-427).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳiftī (Lippert), 232; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 236; Brockelmann, i, 273, S i, 423; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, i; E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge 1921, 53 ff.; D. Campbell, *Arabian Medicine*, London 1926, 74; C. Elgood, *Medical History of Persia*, Cambridge 1951, 155.
(C. Elgood)

ʿALĪ b. ʿABD ALLĀH b. al-ʿABBĀS was the ancestor of the ʿAbbāsids. According to Muslim tradition, ʿAlī was born in the year 40/661, the very same night in which the caliph ʿAlī was assassinated; but there are also other statements concerning the year of his birth. His mother was called Zurʿa bint Mishraḥ. His grandfather al-ʿAbbās was the uncle of the Prophet, and on account of his high birth and his personal gifts ʿAlī attained to great distinction. He was looked upon as the handsomest and most pious Ḳurayshite of his time, and received the surname of "al-Sadjdjād" (he who prostrates himself often) because of his constant praying. His piety did not prevent him from plotting secretly against the Umayyads, and was therefore banished from the capital by the caliph al-Walīd I. He went to live in the province of al-Sharāt on the border between Arabia and Palestine. Here he died in 117/735-6 or 118 in the village of Ḥumayma. This place remained the headquarters of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda, after ʿAlī's son Muḥammed, the father of the future caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, had been recognised as the head of the ʿAbbāsids.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 229 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī (Houtsma), ii, 314 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 16 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 16 ff.; Ibn Khallikān (transl. by de Slane), ii, 216 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 333; ii, 18; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 444. (K. V. Zetterstéen)

ʿALĪ b. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, and fourth caliph, was one of the first to believe in Muḥammad's mission. Whether he was the second after Khadīdja, or the third after Khadīdja and Abū Bakr, was much disputed between Shīʿites and Sunnīs. He was at that time aged 10 or 11 at most, and Muḥammad had taken him into his own household to relieve the boy's father Abū Ṭālib, who had fallen into poverty. One narrative, which is open to criticism on several counts, represents ʿAlī as having occupied the Prophet's bed on the night when the latter left Mecca for Medina, so that the conspirators, on entering the house in order to kill Muḥammad, were surprised to discover his young cousin sleeping there. After restoring to their owners the objects which Muḥammad was holding on trust, ʿAlī rejoined the Prophet at Ḳubā. Some months later, he married Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima [*q.v.*], and of their marriage were born al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn [*qq.v.*]. During the lifetime of Fāṭima ʿAlī took no other wife.

Military exploits. In Muḥammad's lifetime ʿAlī took part in almost all the expeditions, often as standard-bearer, twice only as commander (at Fadak in 6/628, and in al-Yaman in 10/632). He always displayed a courage, which later on became legendary; at Badr he killed a large number of Ḳurayshites; at Khaybar he used a heavy door as a shield, and the victory of the Muslims over the Jews was due to his ardour; at Ḥunayn (8/630) he was one of those who stoutly defended the Prophet. After the Prophet's death, he took no part in any military expedition, for reasons unknown. ʿUmar is said to have prevented the Ḳurayshites from going out to the provinces, but ʿUthmān removed all obstacles to their movements. It is possible that ʿAlī himself had no wish to absent himself from Medina; perhaps it was simply his state of health which kept him from fighting, although several feats are attributed to him at the battles of the "Camel" and Ṣiffīn, in 36/656 and 37/657, when he was already sixty years old.

In addition, ʿAlī performed several other functions for the Prophet. He was one of his secretaries, and on occasion was charged with missions which might be called diplomatic; on two occasions he was deputed to destroy idols. He executed with his own hand enemies condemned to death by the Prophet, and with al-Zubayr supervised the massacre of the Banū Ḳurayẓa (5/627). In 9/631 he read to the assembled pilgrims at Minā the first seven verses of the sūra *Barāʾa* (ix).

Dispute with Abū Bakr. During the election of Abū Bakr [*q.v.*] as Muḥammad's successor, ʿAlī, with Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and several other Companions, remained apart in the Prophet's house to watch over his body and prepared for its burial. Although solicited to do so by al-ʿAbbās and also, it is said, by Abū Sufyān, he made no effort to keep the control of the Community in the hands of the Hāshimites. When those persons who had at first abstained from recognizing Abū Bakr gradually accepted his election, ʿAlī maintained his refusal for six months. His position was complicated by a

question of inheritance; Fāṭima had asserted a claim to the lands held by her father, which Abū Bakr firmly rejected on the ground of Muḥammad's saying that "Prophets have no heirs". Whether ʿAlī really hoped to succeed Muḥammad is doubtful. The Arabs as a rule chose as their chiefs men of mature age (in 11/633 ʿAlī was a little over thirty) and showed no inclination to legitimism. The S̲h̲īʿites, by inventing or interpreting in the light of their beliefs certain words said to have used by Muḥammad concerning ʿAlī (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. ʿAlī), have always maintained that the Prophet intended to transmit the succession to his son-in-law and cousin, but it is certain, in any case, that in his last illness he did not express this desire.

Relations with ʿUmar. According to the Muslim authors, ʿAlī was a valued counsellor of the caliphs who preceded him; but although it is probable that he was asked for advice on legal matters in view of his excellent knowledge of the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*, it is doubtful whether his advice was accepted by ʿUmar on political questions. In regard to the famous *dīwān*, at least, ʿAlī held a view entirely opposed to that of the caliph, for on being questioned on this subject by ʿUmar he recommended the distribution of the entire revenue without holding anything in reserve (al-Balād̲h̲urī, ap. Caetani, *Annali*, A.H. 40, § 275). During the lifetime of ʿUmar (and of ʿUt̲h̲mān), ʿAlī held no office, either military or political, except the lieutenancy of Medina during ʿUmar's journey to Palestine and Syria (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2404, 2522); for this reason he alone was absent from the meeting at D̲j̲ābiya [*q.v.*] at which the military commanders and leading personages convoked by ʿUmar gave approval to measures of the greatest importance on the regulation of the conquests and the *dīwān*. Further evidence of ʿAlī's lack of complete agreement with the policies of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar is contained in the received tradition relating to the *s̲h̲ūrā* [see ʿUT̲H̲MĀN B. ʿAFFĀN], according to which ʿAlī, on being asked by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf whether he engaged himself to follow, together with the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*, the work (*fiʿl*, *sīra*) of the preceding caliphs, gave an evasive answer.

The Opposition to ʿUt̲h̲mān. During the caliphate of ʿUt̲h̲mān, ʿAlī, with other Companions (notably Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr), frequently accused him of deviating from the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna* of Muḥammad, particularly in the application of the *ḥudūd* [see AL-HURMUZĀN]. ʿAlī insisted upon the duty of applying the divine Law; he was among those who demanded that the legal punishment for drinking should be inflicted on al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba, viceroy of Kūfa, and in some accounts is said to have carried out the whipping with his own hand. With ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf he reproached ʿUt̲h̲mān with introducing *bidaʿ*, such as making four *rakʿas* at ʿArafāt and Minā in place of two (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. ʿAlī). But on political questions also he ranged himself with ʿUt̲h̲mān's opponents and was recognized by them as their chief, or one of their chiefs, at least morally. E.g. (1) when Abū D̲h̲arr al-G̲h̲ifārī [*q.v.*], who preached against the misdeeds of the powerful, was exiled from Medina, ʿAlī with his sons went to salute him on his departure in spite of ʿUt̲h̲mān's prohibition, and provoked thereby a violent dispute with ʿUt̲h̲mān. (2) When the rebels who came from Egypt to Medina opened negotiations with ʿUt̲h̲mān, ʿAlī was their intermediary, or one of their intermediaries (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2969). (3) When they returned later on to Medina and besieged "the House," they asked ʿAlī to put himself at their head (idem, i, 2965); although he refused, nevertheless by his attitude he encouraged the rebels during the siege, and there are reasons for suspecting him to have been in agreement with them in demanding the caliph's abdication, at the same time that any participation by him in the bloody conclusion of the conflict is to be excluded. (4) After his election as caliph, his partisans included those persons who are known to have been hostile to the government on economic questions, such as al-As̲h̲tar [*q.v.*], Ibn al-Kawwāʾ, Ṣaʿṣaʿa and others (al-Masʿūdī, iv, 261; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2916, 2908, etc.). His own programme in face of the various financial demands put forward by the *muḳātila* (division of the surplus of the revenues, distribution of the domanial lands, etc.) is not known. It is recorded only that on becoming caliph he distributed the entire sums which he found in the *bayt al-māl* of Medina, Baṣra and Kūfa, and the whole of the provisions collected in the *bayt al ṭaʿām* (cf. also *Annali*, 40 A.H., §§ 276-80), an action which is to be regarded not simply as a demagogic gesture but as the consequence of the view that he had previously expressed to ʿUmar. He is said also to have wished to distribute the Sawād (i.e. the domanial lands in al-ʿIrāḳ), but to have refrained through fear of legal disputes (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 265 f.).

Apart from this, there is no statement which authorizes us to regard him as an extremist; on the contrary, he was hostile to the Sabaʾiyya, the followers of ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*], and when they exalted him beyond measure he rid himself of them; he tried to cut himself loose from the *nuffār*, the besiegers of "the House" (of ʿUt̲h̲mān) and their adherents, as soon as circumstances allowed him to do so (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3163-5, 3182). By his extreme attachment to Islam ʿAlī was driven to attach an absolute superiority in merit to priority of conversion and to services rendered to Islam in its early days, over other claims such as nobility of birth and political or administrative ability. In his conflict with the government he continually appealed to the duty of applying the Ḳurʾān and following the *sunna* of the Prophet, which in his view were being neglected. Whether by this policy, or because, aiming to defend the right of the Hās̲h̲imid house to the caliphate, he was bound to oppose the principle which extended this right to the whole of Muḥammad's tribe, he set the Ḳurays̲h̲ against him, although himself of Ḳurays̲h̲; in return he had the support of most of the Anṣār, of the other non-Ḳurays̲h̲ite Arabs who had been amongst the Old Believers, of the *muḳātila* in the provinces, and the depressed classes in general (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, xi, 31).

Election of ʿAlī and early measures. When ʿUt̲h̲mān was killed the Umayyads fled from Medina and the opposition remained masters of the situation. Since ʿAlī was the person for whom they had most respect, he was invited to succeed to the caliphate. The traditions on the manner and circumstances of his election (the most commonly accepted date is 18 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 35/17 June 656) are contradictory in regard to his willingness to accept it. His partisans on the other hand were ready to employ violence against those who refused to recognize him (including Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr); nevertheless there were some who would not yield and who left Medina, e.g. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, al-Mug̲h̲īra b. S̲h̲uʿba, Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī, Usāma b. Zayd.

Muʿāwiya was therefore able to maintain that the election was invalid because made by a minority; to this ʿAlī replied that the election of the caliph was a right of those persons (Anṣār, Muhādjirūn, or Badr-combatants) who were present in Medina at the relevant time. What is certain is that ʿAlī allowed himself to be nominated also by the rebels who had ʿUthmān's blood on their hands. This was an error, in that it exposed him to accusations of complicity in their crime, although some traditions represent him as vainly endeavouring to rid himself of the most factious of his partisans. In spite of counsels by Ibn ʿAbbās to go slowly, ʿAlī at once took some of the measures demanded by the opposition from ʿUthmān: he removed the governors appointed by the latter and wherever possible replaced them by governors of his own party, and satisfied the populace by distributions of money, made with a laudable equity. The report of ʿUthmān's murder and of ʿAlī's protection of those guilty of it had in the meantime provoked strong reactions in Mecca, Syria and Egypt. Muʿāwiya, governor of Syria and cousin of ʿUthmān, accused ʿAlī of complicity with the murderers and refused to pay homage to him. ʿAlī hastily collected troops to force him to obedience, but another serious rebellion compelled him to delay action in Syria, while Muʿāwiya for his part maintained a prudent waiting policy.

Rebellion of ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. Although ʿĀʾisha had supported the opposition against ʿUthmān, she had gone on pilgrimage to Mecca during the siege of "the House". On her way back she learned of the events in Medina, and in consternation, especially at the news of ʿAlī's election, returned to Mecca and engaged in active propaganda against the new caliph. Four months later she was joined by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, and shortly afterwards ʿAlī learned that all three, with several hundred troops, were marching to al-ʿIrāḳ by sidetracks. He immediately set out in pursuit, but could not overtake them. The rebels expected to find in al-ʿIrāḳ the forces and the resources which they needed. ʿAlī was absolutely compelled to prevent them from seizing this province, since Syria obeyed only Muʿāwiya, Egypt was in anarchy, and the loss of al-ʿIrāḳ would have involved also the loss of the eastern provinces dependent on it.

The three insurgents proclaimed that the *ḥudūd* must be re-established for all alike, and that a "reform" (*iṣlāḥ*) must be put into effect (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3093, 3131, 3132). Since these influential leaders were in part responsible for the fate of ʿUthmān, the reasons for their rising to demand vengeance for his murder, and the meaning which they attached to *iṣlāḥ*, are obscure. Social and economic motives, inspired by fear of the possible influence of the extremists on ʿAlī, seem to provide a more convincing explanation than personal feelings for their action, and especially ~~for the effect~~ which it produced. The moderates amongst those opposed to ʿUthmān had no doubt desired a change of policy, but not one so radical as that now foreshadowed.

While the insurgents occupied Baṣra, and there massacred many of the *nuffār*, ʿAlī sent his supporters to Kūfa to invite its population to take his part, and when he had collected an adequate force he marched towards Baṣra. Since both parties aimed at a peaceful settlement of the dispute, an agreement was negotiated, according to which ʿAlī should disengage himself from the *nuffār* (while guaranteeing their lives), but this was not the conclusion of the affair which the extremists of his party meant to reach. A brawl provoked by them developed into a battle, which became famous in Muslim annals as the "Battle of the Camel" (15 Djumādā II 36/9 Dec. 656) [see AL-DJAMAL], and in which Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr lost their lives, while ʿĀʾisha was peremptorily ordered by ʿAlī to return to Medina under escort.

Conflict with Muʿāwiya. Following on this success, ʿAlī had hopes of regaining the allegiance of the governor of Syria by opening negotiations with him, but in vain. Muʿāwiya demanded the surrender of the murderers of ʿUthmān in virtue of a verse of the Ḳurʾān (xvii, 32/35) which forbids the slaying of any person save for just cause (*illā bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ*), at the same time according the right of vengeance in the case of anyone slain unjustly (*maẓlūm*^{an}) to his *walī*, i.e. his near relative. Muʿāwiya maintained that ʿUthmān had been killed unjustly; consequently, he proposed to exercise the right accorded by God. In the meantime, he would hold to his refusal to pay homage to ʿAlī. The sources pass vaguely over the thesis maintained by ʿAlī in rejecting Muʿāwiya's demand, except for the explicit statement in the *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minkarī (570): since ʿUthmān was killed by the people, who were outraged by his arbitrary actions, the murderers should not be liable to the *lex talionis*. In reality the struggle had much deeper causes; what was at issue was the pre-eminence of Syria or of al-ʿIrāḳ, and probably also two different conceptions of the policy to be followed in the government of the Muslim State.

ʿAlī, finding that Muʿāwiya was not to be won over, passed to the offensive; the two armies, each some tens of thousands strong, faced one another on the plain of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*]. After some skirmishing, interrupted by a truce in Muḥarram 37/June-July 657 and some parleys, battle was joined; there was a week of combats between horsemen and foot-soldiers, followed by a violent conflict (the "night of clamour", *laylat al-harīr*, 10 Ṣafar 37/28 July 657). Muʿāwiya's star seemed to be sinking, when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ advised him to have his soldiers hoist copies of the Ḳurʾān on their lances. This gesture, famous in Muslim history, did not imply surrender; by this means Muʿāwiya invited the combatants to resolve the question by consultation of the Ḳurʾān. Weary of fighting—the number of the killed is swollen in the sources to 70,000 or even more—the two armies laid down their arms. ʿAlī was forced by his partisans to submit the difference to arbitration, as proposed by Muʿāwiya, and further to choose the arbitrator for his side from among the "neutrals" So sure were his followers that they were in the right! In these decisions the *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*], of whom many were in his army (though they were represented in Muʿāwiya's army also), played a large part.

Appointment and task of the arbitrators (*taḥkīm*). A convention was drawn up at Ṣiffīn itself (Ṣafar 37/657), by the terms of which the two arbitrators, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] for ʿAlī and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] for Muʿāwiya, would announce their decision at a place halfway between Syria and al-ʿIrāḳ in the presence of witnesses chosen by themselves; the date fixed for the meeting was Ramaḍān, but the arbitrators might advance it or postpone it until the end of the year 37. In the two versions of the convention which have come down to us the points to be examined by the arbitrators are not defined; all that is said is that they were to consult the Ḳurʾān "from the first to the last sūra" and, in default of clear indications in the sacred Book, the *sunna* of the Prophet, excluding what

might give rise to divergences. L. Veccia Vaglieri (see the art. cited in the Bibliography) has shown that their task was to determine whether the acts of which ʿUthmān was accused were or were not *aḥdāth*, arbitrary actions at odds with the divine Law. If the caliph were guilty, his murder could be regarded as an act of justice; but if he had committed no errors, the conclusion must be that he had been killed unjustly (*maẓlūm*[an]), and in consequence Muʿāwiya was justified in claiming the right of vengeance. But this was not all, for a decision in favour of Muʿāwiya would inevitably involve, for ʿAlī, the loss of the caliphate.

Protests against the arbitration. While awaiting the verdict, the armies returned to their bases. But already at Ṣiffīn certain individuals had protested against recourse to arbitration with the cry *lā ḥukm*[a] *illā li'llāh*, literally "No decision save God's". The phrase implied that it was absolutely improper to apply to men for a decision since, for the case in dispute, there existed a divine ordinance in the Ḳurʾānic verse xlix, 8/9: "*If two parties of the Believers fight with one another, make peace between them, but if one rebels* (baghat) *against the other, then fight against that one which rebels* (allatī tabghī), *until it returns to obedience to God*...". In fighting against his opponents ʿAlī had appealed to this verse, since in his view the "rebellious party" had been, firstly, that of ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, and now that of Muʿāwiya. The dissidents maintained, very logically, that it was his duty to continue to fight against Muʿāwiya, as no new fact had intervened to alter the situation.

During the return to Kūfa, those had first raised the cry *lā ḥukm*[a] *illā li'llāh* (hence called *al-muḥakkima al-ūlā*) persuaded many other partisans of ʿAlī that the arbitration was a sin against God, by substituting the judgment of men for His prescription. A group of some thousands proclaimed their repentance and stopped at Ḥarūrāʾ, near Kūfa (whence their name of Ḥarūrites [*q.v.*]). The caliph, on a personal visit to their camp, succeeded in reconciling the dissidents, all or in part, evidently by making concessions to them. After his return to Kūfa, however, he denied from the *minbar* the reports which asserted his intention of infringing the convention of Ṣiffīn. When it was learned that he had sent Abū Mūsā to the meeting with ʿAmr, a group of dissidents, 3,000 or 4,000, secretly left Kūfa, and some hundreds more left Baṣra. The rallying-point chosen by these dissidents, called Khawāridj (Khāridjites [*q.v.*]), was al-Nahrawān, on the canal of the same deriving from the Tigris.

The arbitration (*ḥukūma*). Muʿāwiya, with his escort, was the first to arrive at the meeting-place of the arbitrators (Ramaḍān 37/Feb. 658). ʿAlī, excusing himself on the ground of the troubles caused by the dissidents, did no more than send Abū Mūsā with the escort and his cousin Ibn ʿAbbās as his representative. The sources give vague or contradictory statements on the place and date of the meeting, some placing it at Dūmat al-Djandal (now al-Djōf), approximately halfway between Syria and al-ʿIrāḳ, as stipulated in the convention, others at Adhruḥ, between Maʿān and Petra. There are many grounds (see the art. cited above) for believing that a first meeting in the presence of six persons only was held at Dūmat al-Djandal, and a second meeting (see below) at Adhruḥ in Shaʿbān 38. At the former, the arbitrators must have reached an agreement on the result of their investigations, and this result was that ʿUthmān had committed no breach of his trust, since only on this ground can the later events be explained. A passage in *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (618 f.) explains why their verdict is known to us only indirectly: as a measure of precaution, "the two men agreed at Dūmat al-Djandal to say nothing". But though the verdict was not promulgated, it is certain that it became known to both parties; the Syrians, perhaps in the enthusiasm of the moment, took the *bayʿa* to Muʿāwiya (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 37/April 658: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 199), while ʿAlī publicly protested against both arbitrators, proclaimed that their sentence was contrary to the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*, and that he was therefore under no obligation to submit to it. Thereupon he assembled his forces and set out to engage Muʿāwiya in battle again. On reaching al-Anbār, he turned aside towards al-Nahrawān, in the conviction that it was necessary first of all to destroy this centre of insurgence. Muʿāwiya, in the same month in which ʿAlī was engaged with the Khāridjites, took possession of Egypt (Ṣafar 38).

Battle of al-Nahrawān. ʿAlī first tried to re-enlist the Khāridjites in his forces by a declaration that he would take the field again against Muʿāwiya, but without effect. The dissidents demanded that he should confess himself guilty of an act of impiety (*kufr*), which he indignantly refused to do. After promising the *amān* to those who should submit—and there were some—he attacked the rebels (9 Ṣafar 38/17 July 658). It was a massacre rather than a battle, and it seems that ʿAlī was the first to regret it. This action, condemned by contemporary opinion,—for many sincere believers, of well-known piety, had fallen on the field—had very grievous consequences for him; the defections, which had already begun, increased, and he was forced to return to Kūfa and to give up the campaign against Muʿāwiya.

Conference of Adhruḥ. The situation was completely changed after these events. Henceforward the opposing parties were no longer a caliph and a rebel governor, but two rivals for the supreme office in the State. While Muʿāwiya had gained ground, ʿAlī was struggling in a morass of difficulties: he had been disqualified in the eyes of the Muslim community by the verdict of the arbitrators, and he had lost many of his supporters by his refusal to submit to their decision after consenting to the *taḥkīm*, by the massacre of the Khāridjites, and in general by his vacillating policy. This was the position when the arbitrators and many eminent persons (with the exclusion of ʿAlī and also, it would seem, of his representatives) met at Adhruḥ in Shaʿbān 38/January 659. In this conference the meetings attended only by the arbitrators and certain personages must be distinguished from the final plenary session. In the former the verdict of the arbitrators was promulgated (several sources assert that Abū Mūsā recognized that ʿUthmān had been killed unjustly), and the selection of a new caliph was discussed. The information given in the sources is rather discordant, except as regards the final scene. It can be gathered that ʿAmr maintained the cause of Muʿāwiya against Abū Mūsā's preference for ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, who for his part refused to stand for election in default of unanimity; Abū Mūsā then proposed, and ʿAmr agreed, to declare both ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya deposed and to remit the choice to a committee. In the public discourses that followed, Abū Mūsā observed this agreement, possibly adding some counsels in which he alluded to his preference for the son of ʿUmar; ʿAmr in his

turn declared ʿAlī deposed and confirmed Muʿāwiya. Several modern historians have adjudged this scene entirely improbable, but this negative attitude towards traditions which are nevertheless explicit and fairly concordant on this point is due to an inadequate appreciation of the preceding events explained above. In the light of these the final scene at Adhruḥ can readily be accepted. The unexpected declaration of ʿAmr seems to have been a strictly personal proposal on his part, which, as a man charged with a grave responsibility, he believed himself entitled, if not in duty bound, to advance. But this declaration, which obviously contravened the agreement previously reached (since Abū Mūsā reacted to it with indignation), was generally judged in later times as a treacherous trick, and was certainly a disloyal act. It is worthy ot notice that even in the plenary assembly no voice was raised on behalf of ʿAlī; the clash which followed ʿAmr's declaration was a reaction against the Umayyads, not in favour of ʿAlī. In any case the conference had entirely negative results, for the participants separated without taking any decision on the caliphate.

Last years, death and burial of ʿAlī. ʿAlī continued to be regarded as caliph by his partisans, though their numbers were daily diminishing, and Muʿāwiya by his. In 39/659 the situation was still uncertain. ʿAlī, confined to Kūfa, remained passive even when Muʿāwiya made small expeditions into the heart of al-ʿIrāḳ and of Arabia. In Khurāsān and the East Arab rule was thrown off [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. SAMURA], but a rising in Fārs was skilfully put down by Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], as governor for ʿAlī. In 40/660 ʿAlī enjoyed no authority in the two Holy Cities, and could not stop an attack by Muʿāwiya on al-Yaman. Finally, a Khāridjite, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muldjam al-Murādī [see IBN MULDJAM], in revenge for the men slain at al-Nahrawān, struck ʿAlī with a poisoned sword before the door of the mosque of Kūfa. He died about two days later, being then 62 or 63 years of age. A questionable tradition asserts that Ibn Muldjam was only one of a group of fanatics who plotted to rid Islam of the three persons regarded as responsible for the civil war, and that Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr were to have been assassinated at the same time.

ʿAlī's burial place was kept secret, evidently for fear lest his body should be exhumed and profaned. It was not until the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd that it was announced that his tomb had been identified at a spot some miles from Kūfa, where a sanctuary subsequently arose; a town, al-Nadjaf [*q.v.*], grew up there, surrounded by an immense cemetery, due to the aspiration of pious Shīʿites to be buried in the vicinity of their Imāms.

Personal details. In person, ʿAlī is represented as bald, affected by ophthalmia, stout, short-legged and broad-shouldered, with a hairy body and a long white beard covering his chest. In manner he was rough and brusque, apt to give offence and unsociable. He had two nicknames: *Ḥaydara*, "lion", and *Abū Turāb*, "dustman", a name probably given to him contemptuously by his enemies, but which was afterwards interpreted as an honorific by invented episodes (see Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, 1898, 30). He had fourteen sons and nineteen daughters by nine wives and several concubines; of his sons, only three, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, played a historical role, and five in all left descendants. He was reputed to have a profound knowledge of the Ḳurʾān, of which he was one of the best "readers" (Suyūṭī, *Itḳān* (Sprenger), 169, 171; the statement that he compiled a recension is to be rejected: *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 8-11). Many political discourses, sermons, letters and wise sayings (*ḥikam*) have been ascribed to him; these can be read in *Nahdj al-Balāgha*, a collection of the 5th/11th century, which includes here and there old historical texts and passages of *adab* [see AL-SHARĪF AL-RAḌĪ]. On the *dīwān* (in which some poems are perhaps authentic) and the prose works attributed to him, see Brockelmann, i, 43 f., S I, 73 f. His gifts as an orator were doubtless remarkable, but the same cannot be said of his poetic art (H. Lammens, *A propos de ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, 1930, 1-11).

Personality. The personality of ʿAlī is difficult to define, since the historian finds no sure guide either in his actions or his discourses, or in the data supplied by the sources. His own will was paralysed or modified by events and the constraint of his partisans. His discourses are obscure in form, and it is not easy to distinguish the genuine from the forged. Since the conflicts in which he was involved were perpetuated for centuries, the sources are sometimes tendentious, and, though less idealizing or hostile than has been asserted, more often reticent. The hostile judgment of Lammens (especially in *Fāṭima* and *Moʿâwia Ier*), sometimes obtained by forcing the texts, is to be rejected. The milder presentation of Caetani which, while exposing the weaknesses of ʿAlī, gives due weight to the pressure of circumstances upon him, remains vague in its general lines. Neither Lammens nor Caetani has brought out the religiosity of ʿAlī and its reflections in his policy. There is an abundance of notices on his austerity, his rigorous observance of religious rites, his detachment from worldly goods, his scruples in regard to booty and retaliation; and there is no reason to suppose all these details invented or exaggerated, since all his actions were dominated by this religious spirit. Without attempting to decide whether his devotion to Islam was always wholly unmixed with other motives, this aspect of his personality cannot be disregarded for the understanding that it affords of his psychology. He engaged in warfare against "erring" Muslims as a matter of duty, in order "to sustain the Faith and to make the right way (*al-hudā*) triumphant" (al-Balādhurī in Caet., 40 A.H., § 235, *d*, etc.). After his victory at "the Camel", he tried to relieve the distresses of the vanquished by preventing the enslavement of their women and children, in face of the protests of a group of his partisans; when battles ended, he showed his grief, wept for the dead, and even prayed over his enemies. Even the apparent ambiguity of his attitude towards the Ḥarūrites can be explained by his fear of disobeying God; though persuaded by them that the arbitration was a sin, he recognized also that to infringe the convention of Ṣiffīn was equally a sin, and in this painful dilemma chose to allow the arbitration to proceed. Obedience to the divine Law was the keynote of his conduct, but his ideas were governed by an excessive rigorism, and it was perhaps for this reason that his enemies described him as *maḥdūd*, "narrow-minded". Imprisoned in his strict conformism, he could not adapt himself to the necessities of a situation which was very different from that of Muḥammad's time; thus he lacked that political flexibility which was, on the other hand, one of the pre-eminent qualities of Muʿāwiya. His programme, rather than uncertain, was utopian;

probably he himself discovered the impossibility of realizing it when the power came into his hands, and this may have contributed, along with the external events, to his discouragement in his last years. Caetani observed that the half-divine aureole which soon encircled the figure of ʿAlī was derived not only from his relationship with the Prophet, but also from the personal impression which he left on his contemporaries; but he did not indicate the qualities which gave rise to the legend. If it is recognized that his was a profoundly religious spirit, and that he supported by his authority a programme of social and economic reforms, at the same time placing them on a religious basis, this question also may find its solution. [For Shīʿite doctrines and legends concerning ʿAlī see SHĪʿA.]

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ʿALĪ B. AL-**DJAHM** B. BADR B. AL-DJAHM AL-SĀMĪ, Arab poet, of Banū Sāma b. Luʾayy, a tribe from Baḥrayn, whose claim to descent from Ḳuraysh was disputed. His father al-Djahm moved from Khurāsān to Baghdād and was appointed to various offices under al-Maʾmūn and al-Wāthiḳ; the poet's brothers also were prominent in official and literary circles. ʿAlī was born probably c. 188/804, and received his education in Baghdād. Under al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42) he held *maẓālim* jurisdiction in Ḥulwān, but, perhaps because of his support of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in opposition to the Muʿtazila, did not become prominent as a court poet until the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61). For some time he enjoyed, as a *nadīm*, the intimacy of that caliph, but fell from favour owing to his freedom of speech and the jealousy of his rivals. After a year's imprisonment he was sent to Khurāsān, and suffered further punishment there before being released, when he returned to lead a disorganized life in Baghdād. After the murder of al-Mutawakkil (which he lamented with fiery denunciation of all those involved) he set out to join the volunteer *ghāzī* troops on the Syrian borders, and was killed on the way by a raiding party of Kalb, in 249/863.

Only a selection from his *dīwān* has been preserved (ed. Khalīl Mardam Beg, Damascus 1949). It shows him to have been a gifted poet, whose verse is above all the simple expression of his own emotions, whether in praise or satire, in patient acceptance of adversity or reckless adventure. It is noteworthy also as displaying the attitudes of the Khurāsānian Arab supporters of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in opposition to Shīʿite and other unorthodox views. He was in friendly relations with Abū Tammām [*q v.*], who made him the subject of two poems, but was on the contrary coarsely satirized by al-Buḥturī (Istanbul 1300, ii, 99, 107) for his hostility to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

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ʿALĪ B. **GHĀNIYA** [see GHĀNIYA, BANŪ].

ʿALĪ B. **ḤAMMŪD** [see ḤAMMŪDIDS].

ʿALĪ B. AL-**ḤASAN** B. AL-**MUSLIMA** [see IBN AL-MUSLIMA].

ʿALĪ B. **ḤUSAYN** [see SĪDĪ RAʾĪS].

ʿALĪ B. **ḤUSAYN ZAYN** AL-**ʿĀBIDĪN** [see ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN].

ʿALĪ B. **ʿĪSĀ** B. DĀʾŪD B. AL-DJARRĀḤ, ʿAbbāsid vizier, b. 245/859 into a family of Persian origin settled at Dayr Ḳunnā on the Tigris below Baghdād, who had probably turned Christian before their adoption of Islam. Many of his relatives, including his father and grandfather, were officials in the ʿAbbāsid administration, and he himself seems to have received his first secretarial employment at the age of nineteen or twenty. In 278/892, on the formation of the *dīwān al-dār* by Aḥmad b. al-Furāt, both ʿAlī and his uncle Muḥammad b. Dāʾūd were employed in that department as secretaries under Aḥmad's brother ʿAlī, and some seven years later, when independent departments for the Western and Eastern provinces were created, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and his uncle were appointed to manage them respectively. During the later years of al-Muʿtaḍid's caliphate, a feud developed between members of the family of al-Djarrāḥ and the brothers Aḥmad and ʿAlī b. al-Furāt, and this came to a head on the death of al-Muktafī in 295/908, when, after the latter's brother al-Muḳtadir had succeeded as caliph largely owing to the exertions of Ibn al-Furāt, the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ engineered a conspiracy to depose him in favour of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was given control of the *dīwāns* in the short-lived government of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and was consequently fined and banished to Mecca on the restoration of al-Muḳtadir.

In Mecca, during the first vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt, ʿAlī was kept under surveillance until Ibn al-Furāt's fall in 299/912. In 300/913 he was recalled at the suggestion of the general Muʾnis [*q.v.*], to succeed al-Khāḳānī as vizier. His first term in office lasted exactly four years, and was marked by strenuous efforts on his part to rehabilitate the state finances. Although he succeeded in augmenting the revenues, his reduction of expenditure earned him the dislike of the court, including the irresponsible and extravagant caliph. During his first year as

vizier he despatched an embassy to the Ḳarāmiṭa, which secured the release of the ʿAbbāsid prisoners of war; and since for some ten years, whether or not partly as a result of this approach (which was repeated in 303/915-6), the Ḳarāmiṭa remained quiescent, this action later gave ʿAlī's enemies a pretext for alleging that he was in league with the sectaries. The economy in military expenditure on this front was, however, offset by the cost of expeditions against the Fāṭimids in Egypt (301/914) and other rebels in ʿIrāḳ (303/916); ʿAlī found himself unable to pay certain troops at the capital, who mutinied; and in the next year Ibn al-Furāt, by promising plentiful supplies of money to the caliph and his mother, and engaging the influence of the powerful *ḳahramāna* Umm Mūsā, whom ʿAlī had offended, was reappointed vizier. Although ʿAlī was fined, imprisoned, and impeached (though unsuccessfully) for complicity in the rebellion of Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj, which broke out shortly before his dismissal, the caliph began, little more than a year later, to consult him on whom to appoint in his rival's place; and early in 306/July 918 Ibn al-Furāt was dismissed and Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās made vizier. Shortly afterwards, on Ḥāmid's proving quite incompetent, ʿAlī was induced to accept office as his deputy, and it was not long before he exercised all real power. An attempt by Ḥāmid to regain his influence by undertaking to raise extra revenue from the Sawād, al-Ahwāz, and Iṣfahān, produced a sharp rise in the price of grain at Baghdād, followed in 308/920-1 by prolonged popular riots. ʿAlī thenceforward managed affairs on his own, but refused the office of vizier in the following year. He again incurred unpopularity by his measures of economy, which was rendered more than ever necessary by heavy expenditure on expeditions for the second expulsion of the Fāṭimids from Egypt and the defeat of Ibn Abi 'l-Sādj, and in 311/923 Ibn al-Furāt was reappointed vizier for the third time.

ʿAlī, once more arrested and questioned on his management of the finances and his relations with the Ḳarāmiṭa (who raided Baṣra four days after his dismissal), was cleared on the second charge but forced into signing a bond for 300,000 *dīnārs*, and subsequently tortured, by Ibn al-Furāt's son al-Muḥassin. He was nevertheless helped to pay off his fine and again allowed to retire under surveillance to Mecca, whence, after more than one attempt on his life by his guardian, he was exiled to Ṣanʿāʾ, remaining there until the summer of the following year, when, on the execution of Ibn al-Furāt, he was appointed Overseer of Egypt and Syria. Three years later, at the end of 314/beginning of 927, he was recalled and reappointed to the vizierate.

His second term of office lasted little more than a year. The ʿAbbāsid government was by now hopelessly insolvent; the Byzantines were tempted by its evident weakness to advance into Muslim territory and took Sumaysāṭ (Samosata); and the Ḳarāmiṭa, after taking Kūfa and defeating Ibn Abi 'l-Sādj, advanced on Baghdād and came near to taking it too. ʿAlī was forced to apply to the caliph and his mother for funds for the defence of the city and to raise the pay of the mutinous soldiery; and though, when he sought to resign in consequent despair over the finances, al-Muḳtadir refused to allow him to do so, he was dismissed shortly afterwards and imprisoned.

On al-Muḳtadir's second deposition nine nonths later, ʿAlī was released; and on the caliph's restoration (ʿAlī's partisan Muʾnis then becoming all-powerful) he was appointed to deal with *maẓālim* and subsequently, in 318/930, made head of the *dīwāns* and general adviser first to his cousin Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad and then to the latter's successor in the vizierate, al-Kalwādhī. Towards the end of 319/931, however, on the appointment of his second cousin and enemy al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim, he was again exiled, this time to his native Dayr Ḳunnā, though he was soon allowed to return to the capital. During the reign of al-Ḳāhir he held a minor fiscal office for some months; and after the accession of al-Rāḍī he was once more arrested, fined, and momentarily exiled to al-Ṣāfiya (near Dayr Ḳunnā), at the instance of Ibn Muḳla, who, however, at the end of 323/935, was obliged to enlist his help in negotiating peace with al-Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Haydjāʾ the Ḥamdānid (afterwards Nāṣir al-Dawla), with whom ʿAlī had been accused of intriguing.

In the summer of 325/936, ʿAlī, having as usual declined the vizierate for himself, acted as general assistant to his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān for three months. In 328/940, on the accession of al-Muttaḳī, he was against appointed to deal with *maẓālim*, and a few months later he again acted as assistant to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, though for little more than a week. These were his last employments; and apart from expressing the view, which was acted on, that the Christian relic known as the "Image of Edessa" should be handed over to the Byzantines in exchange for an undertaking to refrain from attacking that city in 332/944, he played no further part in public affairs. Six months after the arrival of the Buwayhid Muʿizz al-Dawla in Baghdād, he died at the age of eighty-nine (29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 334/1 Aug. 946).

Comparatively little is known of ʿAlī's private life. He had two sons, probably by different wives: Ibrāhīm, who became secretary to the caliph al-Muṭīʿ in 347/958-9 and died in 350/961; and ʿĪsā, b. 302/914-5, who likewise became secretary to al-Ṭāʾiʿ, earned some repute as a traditionist and student of the "Greek" sciences, and died in 391/1001. ʿAlī's ascetic tendencies in religion seem to have been intensified by an attraction to ṣūfism. He is known to have been a friend of the ṣūfī al-Shiblī; and his dealings with al-Ḥallādj, whom, when the latter was accused of heresy in 301/913, he examined, but declined to try when he was further accused in 306/918, suggest that there existed a secret sympathy between them. Some of ʿAlī's letters to al-Muḳtadir's Ṣābian physician, Sinān b. Thābit, are quoted by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa; according to the latter also the philosopher al-Rāzī addressed a medical treatise to ʿAlī, who displayed much interest in the improvement of public health, himself founding a hospital in the Ḥarbiyya quarter of the capital. Other foundations of his were at least one mosque on his private estates, a well (called after him al-Djarrāḥiyya) at Mecca, and another well and an aqueduct at Ṣanʿāʾ. He was also the author of three, possibly four, books, none of which appear to be extant.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, ed. Heyworth Dunne and transl. Canard, indices; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, index; ʿArīb, index; Kindī, *Wulāt*, index; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, i, 203-7; Tanūkhī, *al-Faradj baʿd al-Shidda*, Cairo 1903, i, 50, ii, 14; idem, *Nishwār*, index; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, index; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, index; *Fihrist*, 9, 31, 34, 82, 128-9, 136, 235, 298, 327; Hamadhānī, *Takmila*, MS Paris 1469, fols. 12r, 56r, 51, 89r, 99r-101r; Ibn

al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad 1357, index; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, v, vi, indices; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 4619, fols. 15v-16v, 56v, 59v, 62v, 63, 67r, 76r, 77, 81v, 82v-83r, 85v, 88r, 96v, 116v, 129r, 132r-136v, 137v, 138r, 139; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii, 544 ff.; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain*, 77, 79, 80, 88, 89, 90, 112, 139; L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, index; H. Bowen, *The Life and Times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā*, Cambridge 1928 (where other references are given).

(H. Bowen)

ʿALĪ B. ʿĪSĀ was the best known oculist (*kaḥḥāl*) of the Arabs. His work, the *Tadhkirat al-Kaḥḥālīn*, deserves the greater claim to our attention from the point of view of the history of civilization in that it is the oldest Arabic work on ophthalmology, that is complete and survives in the original. The name of the author is also recorded in the inverted form: ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī. Preference is to be given to the first form as follows from a reference in Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa (*ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*, i, 240) and from quotations in later authors as al-Ghāfiḳī, Khalīfa b. Abi ʾl-Maḥāsin and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The uncertainty as to the form of the name is due to confusion with the court physician of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, who lived some 150 years earlier (*Fihrist*, i, 297, 19; Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, i, 203), and also wrote medical treatises.

ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's life falls in the first half of the 5th/11th century; for (according to Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, *l.c.*) he was a pupil of Abu ʾl-Faradj b. al-Ṭayyib, the commentator on Galen, at Baghdad, who died in the third decade of the 5th/11th century (according to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Lippert, 223). ʿAlī, who, like his above mentioned teacher, professed the Christian religion, seems likewise to have practised at Baghdād. We know nothing of the external details of his life. As a physician he was full of foresight and prudence and of kindly feeling. This is evidenced by many a counsel given to the ophthalmic surgeon in the interests of the patient.

His *Tadhkirat al-Kaḥḥālīn* (promptuary for oculists),—sometimes also designated *Risāla* (epistle), on account of the introductory words—is a very detailed treatise. According to the Preface the first Book treats of the anatomy of the eye, the second of diseases externally visible and their treatment (diseases of the lid, of the corners of the eyes, of the conjunctiva, cornea, uvea, cataract and its operation), the third of hidden diseases and their treatment (visual illusions, diseases of the albumen, crystalline lense, spirit of vision, long-sightedness, short-sightedness, blindness during the day, and during the night, diseases of the vitreous humour, of the retina, of the visual nerve, of the choroid, of the sclerotic, squinting and weak sight). After a chapter on the preservation of health, the work closes with an alphabetical treatment of 141 simple remedies and their particular action on the eye.—We cannot judge to what extent the work can lay claim to originality, since the older Arabic works on the subject are not preserved. ʿAlī himself observes in his Preface: "I have searched the works of the Ancients throughout, and merely added the little of my own thereto, which I have learned publicly from the teachers of our own time and which I have acquired in the practice of this science". He mentions the work of Ḥunayn together with Galen as his principal sources. In addition he cites in the *Tadhkira* the Alexandrians, Dioscorides, Hippocrates, Oreibasius and Paulus.

The comprehensiveness of his work laid the foundation of his fame [cf. ʿAMMĀR]; it has been considerably used by later Arab oculists—until the present day—both for the practical and theoretical portions (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *l.c.*: "the physicians of this branch work at all times in accordance with this") and has frequently been quoted whole chapters at a time. A commentary on it, written by Dāniyāl b. Shaʿya, is mentioned by Khalīfa b. Abi ʾl-Maḥāsin [*q.v.*] in the introduction to his ophthalmological work. This commentary is not preserved; on the other hand a large number of manuscripts of the *Tadhkira* itself have come down to us. Even in the Middle Ages it was translated into Hebrew and twice into Latin (*Tractatus de oculis Jesu b. Hali*, Venice 1497, 1499, 1500; edited once more by Pansier with a second translation, made from the Hebrew version, under the title *Epistola Ihesu filii Haly de cognitione infirmitatum oculorum sive Memoriale oculariorum quod compilavit Ali b. Issa*, Paris 1903). That the great importance of the *Tadhkira* in the history of medicine has been entirely unrecognized is due to the barbarous character of the Latin translation and the fact that whole sentences are frequently omitted therein. So the continuity is destroyed and the sense made unrecognizable.

A German translation of the *Manual for oculists* based on the Arabic manuscripts is contained in vol. i of *Die arabischen Augenärzte nach den Quellen bearbeitet* by J. Hirschberg, J. Lippert and E. Mittwoch, Leipzig 1904.

Bibliography: cf. the introduction of the last-named work; Brockelmann, I, 635, S I, 884.

(E. Mittwoch)

ʿALĪ B. MAHDĪ [see MAHDIDS].

ʿALĪ B. MAʿṢŪM [see ʿALĪ KHĀN].

ʿALĪ B. MAYMŪN B. ABĪ BAKR AL-IDRĪSĪ AL-MAGHRIBĪ Moroccan mystic of Berber (though pretended ʿAlid) origin, born about 854/1450. In his youth he is said to have been the *amīr* of a *ḳabīla* of the Banū Rāshid in the Djabal Ghumāra, but to have relinquished that position because he was unable to enforce among his people the prohibition on wine-drinking. In 901/1495-6 he left Fez, visited Damascus, Mecca, Aleppo, and Brusa, and finally settled at Damascus where he died in 917/1511.

His mysticism was of a moderate character; in his *Bayān Ghurbat al-Islām bi-Wāsiṭat Ṣinfay al-Mutafaḳḳiha wa ʾl-Mutafaḳḳira min Ahl Miṣr wa ʾl-Shām wa-mā yalīhā min Bilād al-Aʿdjām*, he inveighed against the religious and social abuses which he had noticed in the East (cf. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, 1874, 293 ff.). He wrote this work at an advanced age (he commenced it on 19 Muḥarram 916). On his mystical writings, among which an apology for Ibn ʿArabī calls for special comment, see Brockelmann, II, 124; S II, 152. See also Tāshköprü-zāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya* (in the margin of Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1299), i, 540.

(C. Brockelmann)

ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD [see ṢULAYḤIDS].

ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ZANDJĪ, known as ṢĀḤIB AL-ZANDJ, was the leader of the Zandj [*q.v.*], the rebel negro slaves who for fifteen years (255-270/868-83) terrorised southern ʿIrāḳ and the adjoining territories. He was born in Warzanīn, a village near Rayy, and is said by some authorities to have been of Arab origin, being descended from ʿAbd al-Ḳays on his father's side and from Asad on his mother's. His name is generally given as ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm. According to Ibn al-Djawzī (*al-Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad 1357, v, 2, 69) his real name was

Bihbūdh. Al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, 332; translation, 330) states that he was known as Al-Burḳuʿī (the veiled one). He himself claimed to be an ʿAlid, and gave his pedigree as ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (al-Bīrūnī, loc. cit.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 31; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1742- who gives a slightly different pedigree. On an ʿAlid of this name, whose father died in prison under Al-Mustaʿīn, see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 404 and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*², Cairo 1949, 672 and 689). After a first attempt to win support in Baḥrayn, where he is said to have had family connexions, he sought to exploit the disturbed state of Baṣra in order to establish himself there. He failed, however, and only escaped imprisonment by fleeing to Baghdād. Not long afterwards new disturbances in Baṣra favoured his return. This time he sought for support among the negro slaves working in gangs on the salt-flats east of Baṣra. After a period of preparation he openly declared himself on 26 Ramaḍān 255/5 September 869. Though claiming to be an ʿAlid, and using the title of Mahdī, he did not adopt the Shīʿite doctrine, but instead professed the equalitarian creed of the Khāridjites. After a long period of military successes, including the temporary captures of Ubulla, Ahwāz, Baṣra and Wāsiṭ, the Zandj armies were at last overcome by a major expeditionary force mounted by the regent Muwaffaḳ, and besieged in their capital al-Mukhtāra. The Zandj leader refused the offer of a free pardon and a state pension, and after the final assault on 2 Ṣafar 270/11 August 883, his head was taken on a pole to Baghdād.

Bibliography: The fullest account is that of Ṭabarī, iii, 1742-1787; 1835-2103). Further details will also be found in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, as well as in Yaʿḳūbī, Ḥamza Iṣfahānī etc. For studies on the Zandj revolt see T. Noeldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, London-Edinburgh 1892, 146-175; Fayṣal al-Sāmir, *Thawrat al-Zandj*, Baghdād 1954; and ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Dūrī, *Darāsāt fi 'l-ʿUṣūr al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muta'akhkhira*, Baghdād 1945, 75-106. On the coins of the Zandj see P. Casanova in *Revue Numismatique*, 1893, 510-6, and J. Walker, in *JRAS*, 1933, 651-6.

(B. Lewis)

ʿALĪ b. RABBAN al-ṬABARĪ [see al-ṭabarī].

ʿALĪ b. SHAMS al-DĪN was the author of a history of Gīlān entitled *Ta'rīkh-i khānī*, and covering the years 880-920 (1475-1514). According to the introduction, the book would appear to have been written by Sultan Aḥmad Khān, but ʿAlī seems to be the real author. The work has been edited by B. Dorn, *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südl. Küstenländer des kaspischen Meeres*, vol. ii. Cf. the preface of this volume, 15 f.

ʿALĪ b. YŪSUF b. TĀSHUFĪN, Almoravid amīr and second sovereign of the Tāshufīnid dynasty, who ruled over a large part of the Maghrib and of southern Spain from 500/1106 to 537/1143.

The reign of ʿAlī, who succeeded his father Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn at the moment when Almoravid power was at its greatest on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar, was marked by a series of events of which hitherto the main facts were known, but the exact course of which was not always clear, owing to a lack of detailed sources old enough to be reliable. To-day, there is available on the one hand the volume of the *Naẓm al-Djumān* of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, and the "Memoirs" of the companion of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, al-Baydhaḳ, on the disintegration of Almoravid power before the onslaught of the Almohad rising, and on the other the unpublished fragments of the *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* of Ibn ʿIdhārī on the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, fragments which were to a large extent borrowed from the work of the historian Ibn al-Ṣayrafī [*q.v.*], the contemporary of the Almoravids. This information derived from the chronicles of the 8th/14th century has only a supplementary value; sometimes it must even be regarded with caution or even rejected, on account of its lack of objectivity and of its pro-Almohadism. This is particularly the case with the *al-Muʿdjib* of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, hitherto considered an essential source for the Almoravid period, which despite some picturesque and probably accurate accounts of the court at Marrakush, must be used with great care.

The reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf lasted for 37 years, despite the difficulties which faced him from the beginning—difficulties which soon appeared to be of little consequence compared with the danger occasioned by the rising in the Atlantic mountain region and the preaching of *tawḥīd* by Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*]. The first danger which ʿAlī had to face, from the time of his accession and in the years following, arose from disputes between members of his own family and the chiefs of the *murābiṭ* movement, who belonged to two related, but not solidary clans, namely the Lamtūna, the clan of the ruling branch, and the Massūfa. Under the Almoravid régime, in which fraternal relationship on the father's side was of less importance than uterine kinship, and in which legitimate Tāshufīnid amirs were only designated by the name of their mother (Ibn ʿĀ'isha, Ibn Gannūma etc.), disputes over precedence and conspiracies against the reigning prince were, as was the case a few decades earlier at the Ṣinhādjī courts of the Zīrids of Ifrīḳiya and al-Andalus, mainly the work of the royal princesses (*ummahāt*), with the aid of their immediate kin and *mawālī*, in favour of their own sons.

Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn had seen this danger so clearly that he was careful not to designate as his successor one of his sons by a Ṣinhādjian wife, not even his eldest son, Abu' l-Ṭāhir Tamīm, offspring of his marriage at Aghmāt to the influential Ifrīḳiyan Zaynab, who predeceased him by ten years. His choice fell on ʿAlī, born at Ceuta of his union with a Christian captive from Spain, in 477/1084, two years before the battle of al-Zallāḳa. This young man of 23 years was enthroned without opposition at Marrakush on the death of his father, 1 Muḥarram 500/2 September 1106, with the apparently disinterested support of his elder brother Tamīm. But he was obliged inmediately to bring to his senses a son of his brother Abū Bakr b. Yūsuf, Yaḥyā, who was in command at Fez and who submitted without delay. Relying on the judgement of his Andalusian advisers, who had belonged to his father's entourage, ʿAlī embarked on a policy of the pendulum which he was obliged to follow throughout his reign, namely, constantly to move, like pawns on a chessboard, the majority of the Almoravid *amirs*, including his brother, who held provincial governorships in the chief towns of Maghrib and Andalusia. The Almoravid governors received threatening letters of recall to the ruler's side, were dismissed or restored to favour, and were in addition assisted in their duties by administrative inspectors (*mushrif*) and secretaries of chancery, who were almost all Andalusians; such is the record of the greater part of the annals of his reign. It will not be recalled here in detail, but this

lack of continuity in the tenure of the important military and regional commands already shows that the structure inherited by ʿAlī b. Yūsuf from his father was not resting securely on its foundations.

On the other hand, the fortunes of war for long smiled on the Almoravid sovereign in his *djihād* expeditions against the Christians of Spain, led by himself or by one of his generals. The aged Alfonso VI had never abandoned the hope of revenging his defeat at al-Zallāḳa; but he suffered a further humiliation in Shawwāl 501/end of May 1108, when Tamīm, the elder brother of ʿAlī, defeated under the walls of the fortress of Uclés (*Uklīdj*) the Castilian troops of Count Garcia Ordoñez, accompanied by the infant Sancho, the son of Alfonso VI and Mora Zaida, the step-daughter of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād. The Christian general and the infant were overtaken and killed a few days later at Belinchón, not far from Uclés. Alfonso VI, aged and broken by this blow, had nothing to wait for but death, which overtook him barely a year later, on 30 June 1109. The throne of Castille was occupied until 1126 by his daughter Urraca. Meanwhile, the young kingdom of Portugal was becoming organised, and, in Aragon, Alfonso the Warrior aimed at the capture of Saragossa, which the Almoravids had finally taken from the Hūdids in 503/1110; Alfonso added it to his own dominions nine years later, in 512/1118.

All the chroniclers mention the four successive crossings of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf to al-Andalus; the first voyage, in the year of his accession, took him no further than Algeciras; the second was a *djihād* expedition in the summer of 503/1109, which led to the temporary occupation of Talavera, on the Tagus; the third, also inspired by the motive of holy war, was marked by a resounding success—the capture of Coïmbra in Ṣafar 511/June 1117, after a siege of twenty days. On his fourth crossing, in 515/1121, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf did not go beyond Cordova. But the operations of the Almoravid generals against Spanish Christendom continued without respite, both in Aragon and in New Castille. One of the last notable victories of the reign was that of Fraga, in the region of Lérida: this town, besieged by Alfonso the Warrior, was relieved by the Almoravid general Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. Ghāniya, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the King of Aragon, 23 Ramaḍān 528/17 July 1134.

ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, despite some undeniably good qualities, was far from possessing the stature of his father Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn. Although he spent the greater part of his reign in Morocco itself, he seems to have devoted his special attention to Spain and to have reserved the majority of his military forces for the *djihād* against Christendom, only retaining, for the security of his capital and to guard the Moroccan mountain region, light forces, mainly composed of Christian mercenaries, under the command of the celebrated Catalan Reverter (al-Rubertayr). This policy brought about the downfall of his kingdom. From the moment when the history of the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf became identical with that of the return of Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] to Morocco, the preaching of *tawḥīd* and the first military ventures of the Almohad chiefs, the game was lost, in default of strong and immediate measures against the rebel movement. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf was gradually forced to face the facts: he had been unable adequately to strengthen the structure bequeathed to him by his father, and had allowed ever larger cracks to appear in it. Soon it collapsed, but the son of Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn was not himself present at this dramatic climax; he died on 8 Radjab 537/38 January 1143, exactly five years before the capture of Marrakush by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, leaving his son Tāshufīn to succeed him on his tottering throne.

Despite these ultimate misfortunes, the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf must be considered one of the most brilliant periods in the history of the Muslim West. The pro-Almohad historians (followed by Dozy) have tried in vain to disparage the Almoravids; to-day it must be admitted that the first third of the 6th/12th century coincided with a positive renaissance of Spanish civilisation, both in al-Andalūs and the Maghrib. The sovereign's literary circle was of the same quality as during the era of the *ṭawāʾif*. Cordova once more became the intellectual and social capital of the kingdom. Ibn Ḳuzmān gives us an attractive picture of it in his *zadjals*, and at Sevilla, the *muḥtasib* Ibn ʿAbdūn gives us information on the urban economy and the part played in it by the representatives of Almoravid authority.

At the same time, however, the hand of Mālikism in its most intransigeant form continued to retard the wheels of society. The *faḳīhs*, almost all of whom were natives of al-Andalus, were in a dominating position both at Marrākush and at Cordova. They promulgated *autos-da-fé*, and burned the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazzālī in the parvis of the great mosque of Cordova as early as 503/1109. They fulminated against the laxity of morals and against innovations, in the knowledge that the sovereign would lend them an attentive ear. But the other Almoravid nobles and their wives paid no heed to their sermons. A steadily widening rift developed between the Lamtūnian aristocracy and the population of the towns. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf did not possess the necessary energy to seal it up in time.

Bibliographie: Of the Arabic sources, the most important (*Naẓm al-Djumān* of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān and *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī) still unpublished are to be published by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almoravide*; see also the same, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, index. For details of the other sources, belonging to later historiography, and assessed at the beginning of the article (ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya*, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nuwayrī, al-Nāṣirī, etc.), see the bibliography of the article AL-MURĀBIṬŪN. Cf. also the short work, now out-of-date, of F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en España*, Saragossa 1899; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Reflexions sur l'empire almoravide au début du XII*e* siècle, Islam d'Occident*, i, Paris 1948, 239-56. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿALĪ b. ṢĀLIḤ [see WĀSIʿ ʿALĪSĪ].

ʿALĪ AKBAR KHIṬĀʾĪ, author of a description of China in Persian (*Khiṭāy-nāma*), which was finished in 922/1516, and originally intended for the sultan Selīm, but later dedicated to Sulaymān. The book is not a travel-book, but a systematic description in twenty chapters, based partly on observations by the author himself, partly on information collected by him in China. The work was translated into Turkish in the reign of Murād III, probably in 990/1582 (lith. Istanbul 1270/1854); the translation served as the basis for the studies of Fleischer and Zenker.

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de Chatay-name, *Mélanges Orientaux*, Paris 1883, 31 ff.; P. Kahle, *Eine islamische Quelle über China um* 1500, *AO*, 1934, 91-110; *IA*, s.v. (by A. Zeki Velidi Toğan).

ʿALĪ AMĪRĪ, Turkish historian, b. in 1274/1857 at Diyâr Bakr, d. at Istanbul 23 December 1923 (1342). An official of the financial administration, he was primarily interested in the history of the Ottoman Empire, and he took advantage of his appointment to different towns to transcribe Arabic and Turkish inscriptions, to study local history and above all to seek out old documents and historical and poetical manuscripts. In this way he built up a library of unpublished and rare manuscripts, which later enriched the National Library of Istanbul. He published the review *Taʾrīkh we-Edebiyyāt*, edited the *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* of Maḥmūd Ḳāshgharī, and was a member of various learned societies. He wrote historical and literary works, but is principally known as an editor of texts. He also helped to classify the archives of the Sublime Porte at Istanbul, and gave his name to one of the catalogues: *Ali Emiri tasnifi*.

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(R. Mantran)

ʿALĪ ʿAZĪZ Efendi, **GIRIDLI**, Turkish diplomat and writer, d. 19 Djumādā I 1213/29 Oct. 1798. He was born in Crete, where his father Taḥmīsdji Meḥmed Efendi was *defterdār*. Son of a wealthy father, he lived a carefree life until circumstances constrained him to enter the service of the state (*muḥaṣṣil* of Chios, ca. 1792-93 in Belgrad). In 1211/1796-97, he was appointed ambassador to Prussia, arrived in Berlin early in June, 1797, and died there in the following year. Of his achievements as a diplomat little is known; he owes his fame to his writings. ʿAlī Efendi, who knew Persian, French, and even some German, is an interesting forerunner of the 19th century Turkish movement of Westernization and self-interpretation. In his treatise *Wāridāt* (unpublished, MSS in Istanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi, nos. T 3383, T 3470, T 1698, and Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, Şer'iyye 1154/23) ʿAlī Efendi defends the irrationalism of mystic religiousness (he himself was the disciple of a certain Sheykh Kerīm Ibrāhīm of Abana near Sinob) with arguments tinged with 18th century rationalism. He accepts the vacillation of the God-searching soul between faith and scepticism, and offers the story of his own salvation, modestly admitting its inapplicability to others. An exposé of the ideas of mysticism, and, especially, of the superhuman powers of the sheykh, is also found in ʿAlī Efendi's famous book of fairy tales, the *Mukhayyelāt-i Ledün-i Ilāhī* (written in 1211/1797-98, printed in Istanbul, 1268, 1284, 1290), based mainly on Petis de la Croix's *Les Mille et un jours* (first printed in 1710-12), but handling its material freely and adding many new stories of various character. This book, which was very popular in the 19th century, may be regarded as the first modern educational novel in Turkish; beside fantastic tales, it contains also stories depicting life in 18th century Istanbul with charming realism. ʿAlī Efendi has also left poems, mostly in the ṣūfī tradition. Finally, he is supposed to have written a (now lost) opus containing his discussions with European philosophers.

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ALĪ BABA [see alf layla wa-layla].

ʿALĪ BEY, a Caucasian by birth, was for nearly 20 years the chief personage in Egypt. He had been brought there at an early age, and had been offered as a gift to Ibrāhīm Katkhudā, who was the real master of the country from 1156 to 68/1743-54. Before his death, the latter conferred on ʿAlī the rank of *bey*, and made him a member of that curious council of "Powers", whose turbulent authority grew in proportion as the Pasha nominated by the Porte became a shadowy and passive spectator. This Ottoman governor, in order to survive, concerned himself with preserving an apparent neutrality in face of the sanguinary conflicts between the *beys*, a neutrality which he abandoned in order to hasten to the aid of the victor.

ʿAlī distinguished himself at the beginning of his career by the successful defence of a pilgrim caravan against Arab tribes. Appointed *bey*, he was plunged into an atmosphere of intrigue; each character in the drama was obliged to have recourse to murder, and was himself shadowed by assassins. At first, ʿAlī Bey maintained an attitude of prudent watchfulness, confining his activities to enriching himself by every means, and was thus able to collect a substantial number of *mamlūks*. This policy bore fruit when, from the year 1177/1763, his peers recognised him as their leader. In the course of the following year he conferred the rank of *bey* on his *mamlūk* Muḥammad Abu 'l-Dhahab [*q.v.*], the man who was destined to overthrow him. This rise to power, not achieved without setbacks and disputes, was abruptly checked: ʿAlī Bey, forced to take refuge in Syria, established relations with ʿUmar al-Ẓāhir, the ruler of Acre. Through the good offices of the latter, ʿAlī Bey returned to Egypt, with the support of the Porte, and again assumed his prerogatives as *shaykh al-balad*.

Two years later, ʿAlī Bey had to flee again, but he returned to the capital at the head of an armed force in 1181/1767. A new Ottoman governor was obliged to confirm ʿAlī Bey as *shaykh al-balad*; however, alarmed by the latter's independent attitude, he tried to provoke a rising against him. It was a failure, and the Pasha was forced to resign (1182/1768). From then on, ʿAlī Bey did not trouble to conceal his ambitious designs, and he refused to tolerate the presence of an officer who had any influence. He showed his hostility to the Porte and reduced the number of his Janissaries. Nevertheless he did not throw off the mask completely, and did not refuse the Sultan's request to send a contingent for the war against Russia. He was then denounced at the Porte as a traitor, and accused of having mobilised these troops to aid the Russians: a firman was issued at Constantinople condemning him to death.

Informed of this, ʿAlī Bey replied with an arrogant declaration of independence. From then on, ʿAlī Bey became entangled in a diabolical web and was

forced to keep his forces in the field without respite. First, he subdued the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt, and intervened at Mecca to instal there a pretender to the sharīfate who had sought his protection. The expedition was under the command of his right hand man, Muḥammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhabab.

Conscious of his power, ʿAlī Bey struck coinage in his own name: the coins still bore the sultan's name, but the initials of the master of Egypt were inserted under a date which no longer represented the date of the sultan's accession.

He then proceeded to invade Syria with a huge army, again under the command of Muḥammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab. Negotiations with the Russians were set on foot but there was no time for them to yield results. The whole of Syria was speedily conquered, but events took an unexpected turn when Muḥammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab, after his victorious entry into Damascus, led his army back to Egypt to seize possession of it from his master. ʿAlī Bey decided to flee from Cairo in Muḥarram 1186/April 1772, and took refuge once more with the Pasha of Acre. He set about raising another army, with the help of some Russian equipment, and, after a series of successful skirmishes, confronted his rival at Ṣāliḥiyya, in the eastern part of the Delta. His army was defeated, and ʿAlī Bey, mortally wounded on the field of battle, died a few days later, 15 Ṣafar 1187/8 May 1773.

It is difficult accurately to assess the autonomy of ʿAlī Bey. As already noticed, the form of his coins was unusual, although ʿAlī Bey had declared that the Ottomans had seized control of the country by force, aided by the treachery of the population. A document dated at the beginning of 1186 A.H., shortly before his final departure from Cairo, supplies evidence that he had not dared to proclaim himself officially sovereign of Egypt. It consists of a long inscription carved on the drum of the cupola of the tomb of al-Shāfiʿī; it makes no reference to the Ottoman Power, but does not mention ʿAlī Bey either, merely stating that the order to restore this tomb was given by the "powerful master of Egypt, who has increased the prestige of this country by his authority".

From a perusal of al-Djabartī, one gets the impression that ʿAlī Bey was in many respects a repulsive character, but the morals of the time and the environment must be taken into consideration, and one could express agreement with a contemporary judgment: "He was an extraordinary man, who only lacked a different education and a larger stage to have astonished the world".

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ʿALĪ BEY b. ʿUthmān al-**ʿABBĀSĪ**, pseudonym of the Spanish traveller Domingo Badia y Leblich (Leyblich), b. 1766, d. 1818 in Syria, author of *Voyages d'Ali-Bey el Abbassi en Afrique et en Asie pendant les années* 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 *et* 1807, 3 vols. and Atlas, Paris 1814; *Travels of Ali Bey ... between the years* 1803 *and* 1807, 2 vols., London 1816.

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ʿALĪ ČELEBI [see wāsiʿ ʿalīsi].

ʿALĪ EFENDI [see ʿalī].

ʿALĪ b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-**HAMADĀNĪ**, ṣūfī saint and the apostle of Kashmīr, born in Hamadān of a notable family of *sayyids* (claiming descent from ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn, grandson of the *imām* Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn), on 12 Radjab 714/22 Oct. 1314. His chain of initiation went back through two links to ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla al-Simnānī, and through him to Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā. He led the itinerant life of a *darwish* and is said to have visited all parts of the Muslim world. He arrived for the first time in the valley of Kashmīr in 774/1372, during the reign of Shihāb al-Dīn, accompanied by 700 *sayyids*; he remained for four months and then left for the Ḥidjāz. He came to Kashmīr for the second time in 781/1379, during the reign of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, and remained for two years and a half. For the third time he visited Kashmīr in 785/1383, but left it after less than a year for Turkistān. He died however, after having passed through Pakhlī, near Kūnār, on 6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 786/18 Jan. 1385; his body was carried to Khuttalān, where his mausoleum is still extant in modern Kulāb (cf. Sufi, *Kashir*, i, 116 ff.). The *khānḳā-yi Shāh-i Hamadān* in Srinagar, reputedly built on the site where the saint performed his prayer, is a well-frequented place of pilgrimage (cf. R. Ch. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London 1933, 77 ff.). This *khānḳā* and the mosque in Tral, built by ʿAlī's son, Muḥammad (774/1372-854/1450), during the reign of Sikandar, were centres of Islamic propaganda in Kashmīr. A favourite pupil of ʿAlī was Isḥāḳ Khuttalānī, who was in his turn the spiritual master of Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, founder of the Nūrbakhshiyya.

The best known of his works are the *Awrād-i Fatḥiyya*, a collection of prayers in Arabic, and the *Dhakhīrat al-Mulūk*, on political ethics (Lahore 1323; lith. Amritsar) cf. also H. Ethé in *Gr. I Ph.*, ii, 349). His teachings have received as yet little attention; for a preliminary study (more especially of his theory of dreams) and a translation of his *Risāla-yi Manāmiyya*, see F. Meier, *Die Welt der Urbilder bei Ali Hamadani*, *Eranos Jahrbuch*, xviii, 1950, 115 ff.

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ʿALĪ ILĀHĪ ("deifiers of ʿAlī"), a vague and popular designation of sects connected with, and issued from, Shīʿa extremism (*ghulāt*, [*q.v.*]). In Persia and Kurdistān it covers chiefly the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] and Ḳizil-bash [*q.v.*], but may occasionally refer to such smaller communities as Ṣarli, Shabbak [*qq.v.*] etc. (Ed.)

ʿALĪ KHĀN b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maʿṣūm b. Ibrāhīm Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī, author of biographical works and a book of travels, b. 15 Djumādā I 1052/12 August 1642 in Medina; he was a descendant of Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī. His father was since 1055/1644 in the service of the prince Shāhinshāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ḳuṭb Shāh. ʿAli joined him in Ḥaydarābād in 1068/1657. His father died in 1083/1672, a year after the death

of his patron, Shāhinshāh ʿAbd Allāh, and ʿAli himself incurred the displeasure of the ruler, Abu 'l-Ḥasan. He succeeded, however, in escaping to the court of Awrangzīb, who made him *khān* and *dīwān* at Burhānpūr. He went on the pilgrimage, and visited Baghdād, Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ. In Shirāz he taught at the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* and died in that town in 1117/1705 or 1120/1708.

In 1074/1663 he wrote a description of his journey from Mecca to Ḥaydarābād, entitled *Sulwat al-Gharīb wa-Uswat al-Arīb*. He is best known for his work on the poets of the 11th century A. H., which he wrote in 1082/1671 as a supplement to al-Khafādjī's *Rayḥāna : Sulāfat al-ʿAṣr fī Maḥāsin Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, Cairo 1324, 1334. As a supplement to the commentary on his own *Badīʿiyya* he gives biographies of writers on rhetoric, and also wrote, in addition to various treatises and poems, a biographical collection of Imāmī Shīʿīs.

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ʿALĪ KHĀN [see MAHDĪ ʿALĪ KHĀN].

ʿALĪ KÜČÜK [see BEGTEGINIDS].

ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-**ḲŪSHDJĪ**, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN, astronomer and mathematician, b. in Samarḳand, d. in Istanbul, on 5 Shaʿbān 879/19 Dec. 1474. He received his surname from his father, who served as the falconer (*ḳushdji*) of Ulugh Beg. He studied mathematics and astronomy in his native city under the *amīr* Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*], who was at the same time an able astronomer, and Ḳaḍī-zāde-i Rūmī, one of the rectors of the celebrated *madrasa* in Samarḳand which was especially favoured by the *amīr*. ʿAlī al-Ḳūshdjī succeeded Ḳāḍī-zāde as director of the renowned observatory of Samarḳand, and took part in the compilation of the *Zīdj Gurkānī*, the principal author of which was the *amīr* himself (cf. its preface). ʿAlī al-Ḳūshdjī is said to have left secretly for Kirmān, in order to perfect himself in his studies, and on his return to have presented his patron with his *Ḥall Ashkāl al-Ḳamar*.

After the murder of Ulugh Beg, ʿAlī al-Ḳūshdjī, left Samarḳand and stayed in Tabrīz with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan. He was sent by this ruler on an embassy to the Ottoman sultan Muḥammad II; he went back to Tabrīz to accomplish his political mission, but subsequently returned to Istanbul to establish himself there definitely. He was appointed as professor of sciences in the *madrasa* of the Aya Sofiya and greatly influenced the development of the sciences in Turkey.

He composed in Kirmān a commentary, dedicated to Abū Saʿīd Khān, on Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Tadjrīd al-Kalām*; he also wrote on grammar and rhetoric. His main works are the *Risāla fi 'l-Hayʾa*, *Risāla fi 'l-Ḥisāb*, and a commentary on Ulugh Beg's *Zīdj*. (The *Risāla al-Fatḥiyya* and the *Risāla Muḥammadiyya* are Arabic translations of the *Risāla fi 'l-Hayʾa* and the *Risāla fi 'l-Ḥisāb*).

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ʿALĪ MARDĀN, honorific title given to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib by the Shīʿites, being an abbreviation of ʿAlī *shāh-i mardān*, "ʿAlī, King of mankind".

ʿALĪ MARDĀN, a Khaldjī adventurer who acquired power in Bengal, centring upon the capital Lakhanawatī, in the first decade of the 7th/13th century. Appointed to the *iqṭāʿ* of Narān-go-e by Malik Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī, he took advantage of the latter's defeat by the Hindu Rai of Kāmrup, says Minhādj al-Sirādj, to murder his master at Dīwkot on a sick bed. This occurred in 602/1205-6. ʿAlī Mardān, however, was later imprisoned by Muḥammad Shirān, putting him in the charge of the *koṭwāl* of Narān-go-e. ʿAlī Mardān, in collusion with the *koṭwāl*, managed to escape to the court of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak and accompanied him to Ghaznīn where he became a captive of Tādj al-Dīn Yilduz when the latter recaptured Ghaznīn from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak (605/1208-9). After about a year ʿAlī Mardān escaped and presented himself again before Aybak at Lahore. He was treated with favour and was assigned the territory of Lakhanawatī. According to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ʿAlī Mardān proceeded to Dīwkot, assumed power there and brought the whole of Lakhanawatī under his sway. On the death of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak in 607/1210, ʿAlī Mardān had the *khuṭba* read in his own name and was styled Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. He brought the Khaldjī nobles of Lakhanawatī under control and overawed neighbouring Hindu chiefs. His overbearing behaviour caused discontent among the Khaldjī nobles and under the leadership of Malik Husayn al-Dīn ʿIwāz, they conspired against him and slew him. ʿAlī Mardān ruled for something over two years, the probable date of his death being 610/1213.

Bibliography: Minhādj al-Sirādj, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, trans. Raverty, i, 572-80; Sir Jadunath Sarkar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, ii, Dacca 1948; *Cambridge History of India*, iii, 50 ff. (P. HARDY)

ʿALĪ MARDĀN KHĀN, a Bakhtiyārī chief who rose to prominence in the troubled period following the assassination of Nādir Shāh in 1747. In 1163/1750 he captured Iṣfahān, and, in conjunction with Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*], placed Ismaʿīl, a grandson of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, on the throne. ʿAlī Mardān's oppressive measures led to an open breach with Karīm Khān, who, fearing for his life, attacked and defeated him. ʿAlī Mardān Khān fled, and was subsequently assassinated by Muḥammad Khān who, according to Mirzā Ṣādiḳ, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Gītī-gushā*, was a relative of Karīm Khān.

This ʿAlī Mardān Khān is not to be confused with his contemporaries and namesakes (a) the *wālī* of Luristān, a Faylī Lur who was wounded at Gulnābād in 1722 and later vainly endeavoured to relieve Iṣfahān, and (b) ʿAlī Mardān Khān Shāmlū, whom Nādir Shāh sent as ambassador to Delhi and Constantinople.

Bibliography: Mīrzā Ṣādik, *Tāʾrīkh-i Gītī-gushā* (quoted by Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, ii, 116-8); Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ-yi Nāṣirī*, Teheran 1853/6, ix, 7-9; Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 477, 478 (this authority's reference to ʿAlī Mardān's earlier career, iv, 278 is inaccurate); O. Mann (ed.), *Muǵmil et-Târîkh-i baʿdnâdirîje*, 7, 8. (L. LOCKHART)

ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD SHĪRĀZĪ [see BĀBĪ].

ʿALI PASHA ʿARABADJI, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born at Okhri between 1620 and 1622, died at Rhodes 16 Shaʿbān 1104/21 April 1693. At first *imām* to various eminent people, then *ketkhudā*, he became *agha* of the Janissaries in 1101/1689, and later *wazīr* and *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the imperial stirrup. Through the support of the *ḳāḍi ʾl-ʿasker* Yaḥyā Efendi and the Shaykh al-Islām Abū Saʿīd-zāde Feyḍ Allāh Efendi, he succeeded Köprülü-zāde Muṣṭafā Pasha, killed at Szalankamen as Grand Vizier, on 6 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1102/30 August 1691. Showing no desire to place himself at the head of the army against the Austrians, ʿAlī Pasha succeeded in disarming his opponents either by bribery or by dismissal. As a result of this policy he incurred the hostility of the sultan, who eventually dismissed him (28 March 1692), and replaced him by Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Pasha. ʿAlī Pasha ʿArabadjī was exiled to Rhodes, but as he represented a possible source of trouble and conspiracy, his enemies obtained his death warrant, and shortly afterwards he was executed at Rhodes. His cognomen is derived from the fact that he sent off one of the officials whom he had dismissed in an ox-cart.

Bibliography: Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 166 ff.; ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarā*, 118 ff.; Fındıḳlılı Meḥmed Agha, *Silāḥdār Taʾrīkhi*, ii, 596-634; *IA*, s.v. (by Reşad Ekrem Koçu).

(R. MANTRAN)

ʿALĪ PASHA ČANDĀRLI-ZĀDE (d. 1407), son of Čandārlı Khalīl Khayr al-Dīn Pasha, was, like his father, *ḳāḍī*, then *ḳāḍi ʾl-ʿasker*, and finally Grand Vizier, and also combined the functions of *wazīr*, that is to say head of the administration and finance, and of army commander, perhaps after the death of his father in 1387. After having directed a campaign in Anatolia against the Ḳaramānid ʿAlī Bey, he conducted the skilful operations in Bulgaria which led to the capture of several fortresses (Pravad, Tırnova, Shehirköyü etc.) before the battle of Kossova (20 June 1389), in which he played a decisive part. Murād I was killed in the battle, and was succeeded by Yıldırım Bāyazīd I, who appointed ʿAlī Pasha Grand Vizier. ʿAlī Pasha accompanied the Sultan in the campaigns in Greece and Bosnia, and played an important part at the siege of Constantinople, commenced in 1391, but abandoned as the result of the invasion of eastern Anatolia by Tīmūr. After the battle of Anḳara (1402) in which Bāyazīd I was taken prisoner, ʿAlī Pasha saved the heir apparent Sulaymān and took him first to Brusa and then to Adrianople. Up to the time of his death in Radjab 809/January 1407, ʿAlī Pasha remained Grand Vizier to Sulaymān Čelebi, and his skilful diplomacy secured for the latter mastery over the Ottoman territory from Anḳara to the Aegean Sea; deprived of his *wazīr*, Sulaymān Čelebī succumbed to the attacks of Meḥmed Čelebi, later Meḥmed I (1410).

ʿAlī Pasha Čandārlı-zāde, like his father, made a contribution to the organisation of the Ottoman administration, notably by codifying the functions of the *ḳāḍīs*, by creating the corps of the *ič-oghlān*—pages from whom numerous imperial officials were recruited, and by making the *wazīrs* persons of influence and respect. The chroniclers have criticised his predilection for the pleasures of life—a taste which he communicated to Bāyazīd I, and have stated that he was not loved either by the people or by government personnel. ʿAlī Pasha was buried at Iznik (Nicaea) in his father's tomb. At Brusa, a quarter, a mosque and a convent bear his name.

Bibliography: Āshıḳ Pasha-zāde; *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1332, 70, 71, 76, 77; Meḥmed Neshrī, *Djihān-nümā*, Ankara 1949, i, 220 ff.; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i, 138 ff.; Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, 171-2, 199-200, 234; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, i, l. 5, 262-77; l. 6, 316-20, 341; l. 8, 105, 125, 135-40; F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, *Die Vezirfamilie von Čandarlızade*, *Isl.*, 1929, 60-115, *IA*, s.v. (by I. H. Uzunçarsılı). (R. MANTRAN)

ʿALĪ PASHA ČORLULU, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born about 1670, the son of a peasant or barber of Čorlu, he was adopted for his good looks and intelligence by a courtier of Aḥmed II and placed as a probationer in the Ghalaṭa Sarāyı, whence he entered the Palace service, rising by way of the *seferli oda* to be *silāḥdār* under Muṣṭafā II. As *silāḥdār* he greatly enhanced the importance of his office, whose occupant thenceforward replaced the Dār al-Saʿāde Aghası as intermediary between the sultan and the Grand Vizier and the Bāb al-Saʿāde Aghası as controller of the *ič-oghlans*, and composed a *niẓām-nāme* re-defining the whole hierarchy of the *enderūn*. At the onset of the revolution of 1703 he was ousted from this position by the influence of the Shaykh al-Islām Feyḍ Allāh and the Grand Vizier Rāmī Meḥmed and given the rank of *wazīr*. But on the accession of Aḥmed III he was made a *ḳubbe wazīri* and continued as such, except for a short interval during 1704, when he was appointed *wālī* of Tripoli in Syria, until his elevation to the Grand Vizierate in May 1710.

Čorlulu was the first competent Grand Vizier of the reign, and for four years he enjoyed great favour with the sultan, becoming a *damad* in 1708 by marrying Emīne Sulṭān, a daughter of Muṣṭafā II. He devoted himself in particular to the redress of abuses in the standing and feudal armies, the reduction of state expenditure, and the improvement of the Arsenal and the fleet. But he was so far determined that the Porte should not be involved in war that he neglected not only the opportunity provided by the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession for a possible recovery of the Morea from Venice, but also that provided by the invasion of the Ukraine by Charles XII of Sweden, which might, if assisted by Ottoman forces, have obviated the threat offered to the Ottoman Empire by the designs of Peter the Great. He was criticized by his enemies on both counts; and after Charles's defeat at Poltava and his flight into Ottoman territory, the king himself refused to accept presents sent to him by Čorlulu or to deal with him, on the ground that he had been led to expect assistance from the Crimean Tatars that had not been forthcoming. This was perhaps due to a misunderstanding; but it was fatal to Čorlulu. Aḥmed lost confidence in him, and he was accordingly dismissed in June 1710 and banished, whilst on his way to assume the governorship of Keffe in the Crimea, to Mitylene, where he was executed in December of the following year at the age of about forty.

Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha was the founder of a number of fine monuments, notably two *djāmiʿ* mosques at Istanbul, at the Čarshı Ḳapı (where he is buried) and the Tersāne, and a school and fountain at his native Čorlu.

Bibliography: ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wüzerā*, ii, 10 f.; Ṭayyār-zāde ʿAṭā, *Enderūn Taʾrīkhi*, i, 160 f., 285, ii, 76-83; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, passim; A. N. Kurat, *Isveç Kırali Karl* (etc.), index; idem, *Prut Seferi ve Barışı*, index; Hammer-Purgstall, vii, 116 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (by R. E. Koçu).

(H. BOWEN)

ʿALĪ PASHA DĀMĀD (1667-1716), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born at Sölöz near Nicaea in 1079/1667, he entered the Seraglio of Aḥmed II, and filled successively the posts of *kātib*, *rikābdār*, *čūḳadār* and *silāḥdār*; he exercised great influence over Sultan Aḥmed III, who came to the throne in 1703, and who made him *wazīr* and gave him his daughter Fāṭima in marriage (Rabīʿ I 1121/May 1709); he had a hand in the appointment and dismissal of *wazīrs*, including Köprülü-zāde Nuʿmān Pasha and Baltadji Meḥmed Pasha. The Grand Vizier Khodja Ibrāhīm Pasha was condemned to death for attempting to assassinate Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha, and the latter then became Grand Vizier (Rabīʿ II 1125/April 1713). One of his first acts was to sign with Russia the peace of Adrianople, which fixed the frontier between the two countries between the Samara and the Orel (5 June 1713). Wishing to erase the treaty of Karlovitz, he undertook the Morean campaign, for which the motive was the attacks by Venetians and Montenegrins against Turkish vessels; in 1715, Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha occupied Napoli de Romania, Argos, Coron, Modon, Malvasia, and, in Crete, La Suda and Spina Longa. At the same time he had to suppress the revolts of ʿOthmān-oghlū Naṣūḥ Pasha in Syria, of the bandit ʿAbbās in Anatolia, and of Ḳaytas Bey in Egypt.

In 1716, he initiated an expedition against Corfu, but Venice and Austria concluded an offensive and defensive alliance which forced him to send his troops to Belgrade. The Austrian army, led by Prince Eugène, met the Ottomans at Peterwardein on 16 Shaʿbān 1128/5 August 1716; Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha was mortally wounded by a bullet in the forehead during the battle, when the Turkish troops had already begun to retreat. He was buried in the garden of the mosque of Sulaymān I at Belgrade; 70 years later, when he captured this town, the Austrian general Landon transferred the tomb to the forest of Hadersdorf at Vienna. While the campaign against Austria was in progress, Turkish forces were disembarked at Corfu, but the news of the death of the Grand Vizier resulted in the evacuation of the Turkish troops from the island (July-August 1716).

Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha was at once a fine military leader and a great statesman; he displayed a shrewd political sense, suppressed a number of abuses, restricted and controlled the expenses of the Seraglio, prohibited the system of giving presents, regulated the movements of government personnel and restored to their former state estates which had been converted into *malikāne*. He patronised men of letters, especially the historian Rāshid, and displayed great interest in science and poetry. He reopened the school for *ičoghlans* at Galatasarāy, which had become a *madrasa*. He built a mosque at Sölöz and repaired the Čınarlı mosque at Ayvansarāy.

Bibliography: Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, iii and iv, passim; Farāidī-zāde Meḥmed Saʿīd, *Gulshen -i Maʿārif*, ii; Muṣṭafā Pasha, *Natāʾidj al-Wuḳūʿāt*, iii, 22-6; Ṭayyār-zāde ʿAtāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 85-100. iii, 208, v, 25-38; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, xiii, ch. 63; *IA*, s.v. (by M. Cavid Baysun). (R. Mantran)

ʿALĪ PASHA GÜZELDJE ("the handsome"), (d. 1620) Ottoman Grand Admiral and Grand Vizier. Born at Istanköy (Cos), he was successively *bey* of Damiette, and *beylerbeyi* of the Yaman (1602), Tunis, Morea and Cyprus. In November 1617, he succeeded Khalīl Pasha as *ḳapudan-ı deryā*; in August 1618, a storm off the Dalmatian Coast caused the loss of eleven vessels of his fleet; dismissed at the accession of Muṣṭafā I, he again became *ḳapudan-ı deryā* shortly afterwards. On 16 Muḥarram 1029/23 December 1619, he succeeded Öküz Meḥmed Pasha as Grand Vizier following intrigues among the intimates of Sultan ʿOthmān II, who loaded him with gifts. He became notorious for his confiscation of property and extortion of money, in which he spared neither Muslim nor Christian; the Venetian dragoman Borissi, being unable to pay the 100,000 thalers demanded, was strangled; the Greek Skarlati, provider of the *odjaḳ* to the Janissaries, was forced to pay an enormous sum; the Greek patriarch obtained his release by paying 30,000 ducats on top of the 100,000 demanded. ʿAlī Pasha was trying to incite the Sultan to a campaign against Poland, when he died of calculus (15 Rabīʿ I, 1030/8 March 1621). He was buried at Beshiktash, near the tomb of Yaḥyā Efendi. He also received the cognomen of Čelebi ("the elegant").

Bibliography: Ibrāhīm Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 371-5; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 153-86; ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarāʾ*; Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-Kibār fī Asfār al-Biḥār*, 105 ff.; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, viii, l. 44, 251-3 and 263-72; *IA*, s.v. (by Reşad Ekrem Koçu). (R. Mantran)

ʿALĪ PASHA ḤAKĪM-OGHLU, Grand Vizier under the Ottoman sultans Maḥmūd I and ʿOthmān III. His father, Nūḥ Efendi, the physician of Muṣṭafā II, was a Venetian renegade. ʿAlī Pasha was born on 15 Shaʿbān 1100/4 June 1689; brought up in the seraglio, he held various administrative posts at Istanbul, and then in the provinces; in 1722 he was appointed as governor of Adana and subdued the tribes of Cilicia; in 1724 he became governor of Aleppo, and in the same year distinguished himself at the siege and capture of Tabrīz. Appointed *wazīr* in 1725, he was successively *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia, *ser-ʿasker* of the East, governor of Sīwās, and governor of Diyārbakir. In 1730, again *ser-ʿasker* of the East, he defeated Shāh Ṭahmāsp III at Ḳuridjān (13 Rabīʿ I 1144/15 September 1731), and captured Hamadān, Urmiya and Tabrīz. He became Grand Vizier soon after the peace called after Aḥmed Pasha, 15 Ramaḍān 1144/12 March 1732. His first term of office as *wazīr* was marked by wise administration and currency reform. In the field of foreign affairs, the Marquis de Villeneuve, the French ambassador, urged the Grand Vizier to conclude an alliance with France against Austria, but the conditions put forward by ʿAlī Pasha (and suggested by Aḥmed Pasha Bonneval) prevented the conclusion of the treaty. Dismissed on the resumption of hostilities with Persia (22 Ṣafar 1148/14 July 1735) ʿAlī Pasha was exiled to Mytilene, then appointed governor of Bosnia, where he held the Austrians in check for three years, successfully defended Trawnik, and, on 4 August 1737, defeated Marshal Hildburghausen near Banjaluka. In 1740 he was sent to Egypt, where he suppressed a *mamlūk* revolt; in 1741 he was made *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia, and on 15 Ṣafar 1155/21 April 1742 he became Grand Vizier for the second time. The following year he was dismissed for wishing to lead in person the eastern expedition against Nādir Shāh of Persia. Governor of Bosnia in 1744, then of Aleppo (1745), he was nominated commander-in-chief of the eastern army, but in the meantime peace was signed with Nādir Shāh (1746). Governor of Bosnia, then of Trebizond, he was made Grand Vizier by ʿOthmān III on his accession 4 Djumādā I 1168/16 February

1755; this third term of office as Grand Vizier only lasted 53 days; the *silihdār* Bïyïklï ʿAlī Āghā succeeded in securing his dismissal and his exile to Cyprus; but in the course of the year he was appointed Governor of Egypt, and in 1756 *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia. Recalled in 1757, he retired to Kütahya, where he died 9 Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 1171/14 August 1758. He was buried in the tomb adjoining the mosque which he was responsible for building at Istanbul (1732-4). He was reputed to be a learned, shrewd and liberal man, but quick-tempered and extremely severe in his dealings with officials guilty of extortion.

Bibliography: Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 50 ff.; Küčük Čelebī-zāde ʿĀṣim, *Taʾrīkh*, 301, 403. 566, 598; Dilāwer-zāde ʿÖmer, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarāʾ*, suppl. i, 42-51; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, xiv, xv, xvi, passim; Comte de Bonneval, *Mémoires*, ii, passim; *IA*, s.v. (by Reşad Ekrem Koçu). (R. Mantran)

ʿALĪ PASHA KHĀDIM, Ottoman Grand Vizier. At first *aḳ aghasï*, then *beylerbeyi* of Ḳaramān and subsequently of Rumelia, he distinguished himself in the course of a campaign in Wallachia (1485); *wazīr* in 1486, he defeated the Mamlūks of Egypt at the battle of Āghāčāyïr in Cilicia (1942), took the fortresses of Coron and Modon (1500), and was appointed Grand Vizier the following year in succession to Mesīḥ Pasha. Dismissed in 1503, he again became Grand Vizier in 1506 and remained in office until his death. He strove to secure the succession of the *shāh-zāde* Aḥmed, second son of Sultan Bāyazīd II, against the *shāh-zāde* Ḳorḳud, whom he defeated in 914/1508; he also defeated prince Selīm, who had rebelled against his father, at Čorlu (1511). He died while engaged in suppressing the revolt of Ḳara Bïyïk-oghlū, at Gökčay, between Sīwās and Kayseri (1511): he was the first Grand Vizier to die on the field of battle; his death shattered the hopes of the *shāh-zāde* Aḥmed. A skilful and upright statesman, esteemed by Sulṭān Bāyazīd II and by the people, ʿAlī Pasha was in addition the patron of men of letters and of science, notably of the poet Mesīḥī and the historian Idrīs Bitlīsī. He built at Istanbul the mosque known as ʿAtīḳ ʿAlī Pasha (1496), together with the adjoining *medrese*, school and *ʿimāret*; he was also responsible for a *ḥammām* at Ḳaragümrük and a mosque at Yassïören, and it was he who converted the monastery church of Saint Savior in Chora into a mosque, known as *Ḳaʿriyye Djāmiʿ*.

Bibliography: ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 223-9; ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarāʾ*, i, 20; Meḥmed Ḥemdemi Ṣolaḳ-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 299 ff.; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de L'Empire* Ottoman, iv, l. 20, 14, 19, 24-6, 69, 95-114; *IA*, s.v. (by Reşad Ekrem Koçu). (R. Mantran)

ʿALĪ PASHA MUBĀRAK, Egyptian statesman and man of letters. Born in 1239/1823 in Birinbāl (Daḳahliyya province) he gained admission to the recently founded government schools of Ḳaṣr al-ʿAynī and of Abū Zaʿbal, and studied at the polytechnic (*muhandis-khāne*) of Būlāḳ. In 1260/1844 he was sent to France as a member of the "Mission égyptienne" and was trained as an officer and military engineer. On his return to Egypt in 1266/1849-50, he won the favour of ʿAbbās I and began a distinguished career first in the topographical department of the Ministry of War, then as Director of the military training college al-Mafrūza. During the Crimean War he held appointments in Istanbul, in the Crimea and in Gümüshkhāne. Under Saʿīd he resigned, but under Ismāʿīl he occupied one after another almost all the ministerial posts and other offices of state. Everywhere he introduced reforms, though often acting with well-meant zeal rather than with thorough understanding. To him is due the establishment of printing-offices and the printing of textbooks, especially technical ones, the construction of a barrage in the Nile, near Cairo (*al-ḳanāṭir al-khayriyya*) which was, however, not very successful, of railways and irrigation-works, the foundation of the Dār al-ʿUlūm, a teachers' training college on the model of the "École normale supérieure" and of the Khedivial Library (1870). In matters of education he obtained the advice and cooperation of the Swiss educationalist Ed. Dor Bey (d. 1880). During his last tenure of office as Minister of Education in the government of Riyāḍ Pasha (from 1888 onwards), the defects of his administration became more and more apparent, and he had to resign, following, the intervention of Sir Alfred (later Lord) Milner, in 1891. He died in Cairo on Djumādā I 1311/14 Nov. 1893.

His publications are concerned with education, engineering, etc.; during his last period of office he published a reader for schools. His principal work, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda al-Tawfīḳiyya*, Būlāḳ 1306/1888-9, in 20 parts, compiled with the help of numerous assistants, is intended to be a modern counterpart of al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*. It contains descriptions of Cairo (i-vi) and Alexandria (vii) with biographies of the famous men buried in these cities; descriptions of the other principal places of Egypt, with biographies (viii-xvii); descriptions of the Nilometer (xviii), of canals and dams (xix) and of the coinage (xx). Part xi, s.v. Birinbāl, contains his autobiography. His sources for the biographies are al-Sakhāwī, al-Shaʿrānī, al-Suyūṭī, al-Muḥibbī and al-Djabartī; for the historical and archaeological part he also uses European works, including the writings of de Sacy and Quatremère. It is a useful compilation but must be used with caution.

Bibliography: K. Vollers, in *ZDMG*, 1893, 720 ff.; I. Goldziher, in *WZKM*, 1890, 347 ff.; L. Cheikho, *La litt. arabe au* 19e *siècle*, ii, 87, Dj. Zaydān, *Tarādjim Mashāhīr al-Sharḳ*, ii, 34 ff.; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, index; Brockelmann, II, 634, S II, 733. (K. Vollers *)

ʿĀLĪ PASHA MUḤAMMAD AMĪN, Ottoman Grand Vizier, born in Istanbul in February 1815, his father being a shopkeeper of the Egyptian Market. At the age of fourteen he obtained his first government post in the secretariat of the Imperial *dīwān* and, whether because of his short stature, or of his ability, acquired the nickname ʿĀlī. In 1833, having already learnt some French, he was appointed to the translation department of the *dīwān*, and three years later was sent with a mission, first to Vienna, where he remained some eighteen months, and then, in 1837, to St Petersburg. On his return he was appointed Interpreter to the *dīwān*; in the following year he accompanied Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*] to London as Counsellor, on the latter's appointment as Ambassador; and in 1839, on the accession of ʿAbd al-Medjīd, they returned together to Istanbul.

In 1840, ʿĀlī first deputized for the Counsellor to the Ministry of Foreign affairs and then replaced him. In 1841 he was appointed Ambassador in London. Returning in 1844, he was made a member of the *medjlis-i wālā*; and in 1845 he deputized for Shekīb Efendi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, until his replacement by Reshīd Pasha.

During Re<u>sh</u>īd Pā<u>sh</u>ā's tenure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ʿĀlī, who then again became Counsellor of that department, was also appointed *beylikči* of the *dīwān*; and when in 1846 Re<u>sh</u>īd was made Grand Vizier for the first time ʿAlī replaced him as Foreign Minister. In April 1848, after ʿĀlī had been raised to the rank of vizier, both Re<u>sh</u>īd and he were simultaneously dismissed, but were restored four months later and remained in office until 1852, when, on Re<u>sh</u>īd's again being dismissed, ʿĀlī succeeded him as Grand Vizier, with Fuʾād Pa<u>sh</u>a as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

His first Grand Vizierate, however, lasted only two months; and it was not until November 1854, after the outbreak of the Crimean War, when Re<u>sh</u>īd again became Grand Vizier, that ʿĀlī returned to high office, as Foreign Minister. In the interval he had been appointed first *wālī* of Izmīr (January-July 1853) and then *wālī* of <u>Kh</u>üdāwendigār (April-November 1854), also assuming whilst in the latter post, the presidency of the newly formed High Council of the *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. He continued to hold this position while Foreign Minister, as which, in March 1855, at the conclusion of the war, he was appointed a delegate to the preliminary peace conference in Vienna. Then, in the same year, on Re<u>sh</u>īd's resigning the Grand Vizierate, ʿĀlī again replaced him in that office, so that it fell to him in February 1856 to draw up and promulgate the famous *<u>kh</u>aṭṭ-i hümāyūn* of that year and in the following month to sign the Treaty of Paris as first Ottoman delegate. Within the next two years, however, the disputes of the western Powers over the affairs of the Principalities led first to ʿĀlī's resignation and replacement by Re<u>sh</u>īd Pā<u>sh</u>ā in November 1856 and then, in August 1857, to Re<u>sh</u>īd's dismissal and replacement by Muṣṭafā Nāʾilī Pa<u>sh</u>a, with ʿĀlī as Foreign Minister. ʿĀlī retained this post under Re<u>sh</u>īd during the latter's last tenure of the Grand Vizierate, and on Re<u>sh</u>īd's death in January 1858, replaced him in that office for the third time.

In 1859 ʿĀlī was again dismissed for having suggested a cut in palace expenditure as one remedy for the financial crisis that then faced the Ottoman government. But after deputizing first for the Grand Vizier Ḳïbrïslï Meḥmed Emīn Pa<u>sh</u>a during the latter's tour of Rumelia in the summer of 1860 and then for Fuʾād Pā<u>sh</u>ā as Foreign Minister during his absence in Syria, in July 1861 ʿĀlī was once more first appointed Foreign Minister himself and then, after the accession of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Grand Vizier for the fourth time. Two months later, in November 1861, although the new sultan, finding him too deliberate in action, dismissed him in favour of Fuʾād, ʿĀlī returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Moreover he continued in that office under successive Grand Viziers until February 1867, when, on the resignation of Müter<u>dj</u>im Rü<u>sh</u>dü Pa<u>sh</u>a, he took his place. On this occasion he remained Grand Vizier (it was his fifth term) for as long as four years, until his death.

ʿĀlī was more or less self-educated, poverty having obliged him, in order that he might earn his living, to forgo the receipt of an *i<u>dj</u>āzet* from the Bāyazīd *medrese*, where he began the study of Arabic, later continued with Aḥmed <u>D</u>jewdet Pa<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*]. But he was of a high natural intelligence; though shy and reserved, he was notably witty; he acquired a mastery of French; and from the date of the Paris peace conference he enjoyed a European reputation as an outstanding diplomatist of perfect manners and rare integrity. Among his countrymen he became unpopular. He was in fact secretive, solemn, and overbearing, and was regarded as vindictive. During his final Grand Vizirate ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz would have been glad to get rid of him, but recognized ʿĀlī's standing in Europe to be such that he could not afford to; and ʿĀlī profited by this security to insist on his correct treatment by the sultan, on his right to have all governmental matters of importance to be referred to him, and on the immunity of ministers and officials from banishment (in the bad old way) except after due trial.

Both ʿĀlī and Fūʾād owed all their official training and advancement to Re<u>sh</u>īd Paʾ<u>sh</u>a. But when in 1852 ʿĀlī took Re<u>sh</u>īd's place as Grand Vizier, the latter was hurt; and from that time on a coolness, which was exacerbated by calumniators, and even a certain rivalry, developed between ʿĀlī and Fuʾād on the one hand and Re<u>sh</u>īd on the other, although ʿĀlī was not thereby prevented from serving under Re<u>sh</u>īd on two further occasions. All three were regarded as pillars of the *tanẓīmāt* movement. But whereas it was in part Re<u>sh</u>īd's object to educate the Ottoman public in self-government, ʿĀlī was of an authoritarian temperament and after Re<u>sh</u>īd's death was bent rather on the firm establishment of the rule of law and the consequent limitation of the sultans' autocracy. The maintenance of the Empire now depending on the goodwill of the Powers, it was above all his constant concern to forestall their complaints and intervention. But by devoting too little attention to the internal reforms by the promise of which their favour had been gained, he contributed to its decline. However, in 1868, during his last Grand Vizierate, the *me<u>dj</u>lis-i wālā* was replaced by a Council of State (*<u>sh</u>ūrā-yï devlet*) on the one hand and a High Court of Justice (*dīwān-ï aḥkām-ï ʿadliyye*) on the other, with the aim of separating the judicial from the executive powers of the government; soon after an Imperial School (*mekteb-i sulṭānī*) was opened in the <u>Gh</u>alaṭa Sarāyi, where the instruction, on European lines, was in French and the pupils were non-Muslim as well as Muslim; and in 1869 a Ministry of the Interior was created. During the same period education was also promoted by an increase in the number of the Rü<u>sh</u>diyye schools; the army and navy were overhauled; the fleet was enlarged; and an agreement was concluded for the construction of railways in Rūmeli.

ʿĀlī's most notable actions at this time were his agreement to the evacuation of the Serbian fortresses by Ottoman troops (1876); his visit to Crete curing the insurrection, as a result of which he formulated the *niẓām-nāme* under which it was governed for the next thirty years (1868); his success in causing the Powers to oblige the Greek government to desist from aiding the Cretan rebels; his restraint of the <u>Kh</u>idīw Ismāʿīl from exercising powers beyond those already conceded to him; and his opposition to the formation of the Bulgarian Exarchate, which was consequently delayed till 1870, and to the absorption by Rome of the Armenian Catholic Church.

Owing to his lack of interest in the movement for an Ottoman constitution, ʿĀlī was savagely attacked during the last years of his life by its most ardent advocates, the refugee Yeni O<u>th</u>manlïlar (Jeunes Turcs), most of whom, however, recognized after his death, that they had done him an injustice; and he was further successively distressed by the death in 1869 of Fuʾād Pasha, after which he made himself responsible for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as

well as the Grand Vizierate; by the defeat in 1870 of France, on whom he had long particularly lent; and by the consequent denunciation by Russia of the Black-Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris. Exhausted by overwork and these calamities, he fell sick in the summer of 1871, and died after a three months' illness on 7th September, aged fifty-six, at his seaside villa at Bebek on the Bosphorus.

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ʿALĪ PASHA RIẒWĀN BEGOWIČ [see RIẒWĀN BEGOWIČ].

ʿALĪ PASHA SEMIZ, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born at Brazza in Herzegovina, he was carried off at an early age during a *dewshirme* operation to be brought up at Istanbul; in 953/1546 he became *agha* of the Janissaries, and later *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia. Appointed governor of Egypt in 1549, he took part in Sulaymān I's Persian campaign, and succeeded Rustam Pasha as Grand Vizier in Shawwāl 968/July 1561, a post which he held until his death in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 972/June 1565. Immediately after his appointment, he negotiated with the Austrian ambassador Busbecq a peace treaty which was signed at Prague 1 June 1562. But the peace policy of ʿAlī Pasha was wrecked by the new Emperor Maximilian II; on the death of the Grand Vizier, Sultan Sulaymān I had to undertake a fresh campaign against Austria. An intelligent and shrewd man, ʿAlī Pasha was famous for his corpulence (hence his cognomen Semiz, "the fat") and his wit.

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ʿALĪ PASHA SÜRMELI, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born in Dimetoka, he entered the financial administration and was eventually appointed *defterdār* in 1688; he was dismissed the following year, but in 1103/1691 was again *defterdār* and *wazīr*. Successively governor of Cyprus and Tripoli in Syria, he became Grand Vizier on 16 Radjab 1105/13 March 1694 in the place of Bozoḳlu Muṣṭafā Pasha, and conducted the Hungarian campaign, during which he unsuccessfully besieged Peterwardein. Sulṭān Muṣṭafā II, on his accession, retained ʿAlī Pasha in his post, but forced him to undertake a new campaign against Hungary; a revolt of the Janissaries led to his dismissal on 18 Ramaḍān 1106/22 April 1695; condemned at first to exile, ʿAlī Pasha was later executed on 4 Shawwāl 1106/18 May 1695. He instituted the practice whereby the Council of Ministers met four days a week, and changed the Egyptian crown lands, let at fixed perpetual rents, into fiefs on a life tenure. He was extraordinarily extravagant, and loved luxury; he owed his cognomen to his habit of using cosmetics.

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ʿALĪ PASHA TEPEDELENLI, governor of Yanya (Jannina). Born probably in 1744 of a family descended from a Mewlewī *derwish* of Kütahya who migrated to Rumelia. His grandfather and father had in turn held the *mutesellimlik* of Tepedelen in the Epirus; but being left fatherless as a child ʿAlī was brought up by his bold and ambitious mother, a native of Konitza, in an atmosphere of constant warfare between rival chieftains of the region.

After attaching himself in turn to the Warden of the Passes (*derbend bashbughu*) and the *mutaṣarrif* of Delwine (Delvino), of whom he facilitated the murder after marrying his daughter, in 1874 he was himself made *mutaṣarrif* of Delwine with the rank of *mir-i mīrān*, and shortly afterwards, though only temporarily, that of Yanya as well. In the following year he was transferred to Tīrḥala (Trikala); in 1786 he was appointed Warden of the Passes in addition; and after the outbreak of war in 1787, having meanwhile exchanged Tīrḥala for Yanya, he fought with distinction on the Austrian front and afterwards took part in the suppression of a rising in Serbia. Although in 1790 he incurred the displeasure of the Porte so far as to be dismissed from the Wardenship, in view of his further prowess in the war, his conduct in continually adding without warrant to the territory under his control was overlooked; and in 1792, after the restoration of peace, he and his son Welī al-Dīn were appointed joint Wardens for the specific purpose of preventing the passage of Albanians into Rumelia, where their employment for the suppression of outlaw bands had only added to the prevailing disorder. Shortly afterwards ʿAlī Pasha's influence was increased by the appointment, as a reward for his efforts to overcome the rebel Paswan-oghlu, of another son, Mukhtār, to the *sandjaḳ* of Eghriboz (Negropont) and Ḳarlī-ili.

One of ʿAlī Pasha's main concerns during and after the war of 1787-92, which had encouraged the Orthodox inhabitants of Suli to rebel against Ottoman rule, was to reduce them to obedience, though he was unable to do so finally before 1802. In the meantime, after the transference of the Ionian Islands and the "four districts" of Preveze (Prevesa), Parga, Voniče (Vonitza) and Butrinto from Venetian to French sovereignty by the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797, ʿAlī Pasha not only sent a contingent to assist the conquest by Russo-Ottoman forces of Corfu, but also occupied Butrinto and, after several successes against the French, took possession of Preveze and Voniče as well. By the settlement of 1802 the "four districts" were to be incorporated in the *sandjaḳ* of Yanya. But it was not until 1819 that the incorporation of Parga, after various vicissitudes, was in fact effected.

In April 1802 ʿAlī Pasha was appointed *wālī* of Rumelia. The Albanian irregulars employed to suppress the brigandage and revolts that were again rife in the province at this time had themselves mutinied at Edirne; and it was thought that ʿAlī Pasha was alone capable of pacifying them and overcoming the general disorder. However, his success in inducing many of the outlaws to return to their homes so far provoked the hostility of the many Rumelian *aʿyān* whose interest it was to resist any thorough pacification, that in 1803 his appointment was revoked. He was then given the *sandjaḳ* of Tīrḥala in addition to Yanya;b ut it was sought to counterbalance his influence in Albania

by replacing him in Rumelia by Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, the *mutaṣarrif* of Is̲h̲ḳodra (Scutari), whose authority among the Ghegs of the north was little less than ʿAlī's own among the Tosks of the south.

After the resumption of the European war in 1803 close relations were established between ʿAlī and the French, who supplied him with weapons, munitions, and even gunners. But after Tilsit in 1807, when the Ionian Islands were relinquished by Russia to the French, the latter then proposed regaining the "four districts", occupied Parga, and instigated a revolt of the Greeks of Tîrḥala against ʿAlī's authority, which, however, was suppressed by his son Muk̲h̲tār.

In 1810, after first marrying two of his sons and a nephew to daughters of the *mutaṣarrif* of Awlonya, and then contriving that the latter should be attacked in his capital, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a was able to appropriate this *sand̲j̲aḳ* as well, under the pretext of flying to the relief of a relatieve. Maḥmūd II was enraged by this episode, but powerless to refuse the appointment of Muk̲h̲tār Pas̲h̲a to Awlonya in place of the dispossessed governor. No less unwelcome to the Porte were ʿAlī's acquisition of Ergiri (Argyrocastron) in the following year, and still more his invasion of the Gheg country, where, after overcoming some local resistance, he was able to add the fortresses of Tirana and Peklin (Pekinje) and the *sand̲j̲aḳs* of Ok̲h̲rī and Elbaṣan to his dominions.

In the face of repeated protests from Istanbul ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a sought to excuse this high-handed conduct, and in the war with Russia resumed in 1809 sent a considerable force to the sultan's aid under the command of Muk̲h̲tār and Welī Pas̲h̲as. He also assisted the British forces in their occupation of the Ionian Islands; and in view of these services and his advanced age no attempt was made by the Porte to unseat him before 1820. Then, however, owing in the first place to his falling out with the all-powerful *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* Ḥālet Efendi, and the latter's wish to divert Maḥmūd from his intention of abolishing the Janissaries; in the second place to the intrigues of certain Phanariot Greeks, who saw that he constituted an obstacle to the already projected insurrection in the Morea; and finally to the attempted assassination, contrived by ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, of Pas̲h̲o Ismāʿīl Bey, a former *kāk̲h̲ya* of Welī Pas̲h̲a in Istanbul, in April 1820 he was dismissed from his Wardenship of the Passes and ordered to withdraw his troops from all regions outside the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Yanya, while Welī Pas̲h̲a was deprived of his governorship of Tîrḥala. Since there was little doubt that force would be needed to secure his obedience, all the governors of adjacent provinces had previously been warned to hold themselves in readiness to apply it; K̲h̲urs̲h̲īd Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a, recently made governor of the Morea, was appointed to command all the troops engaged in operations against him; and a flotilla was ordered to the Albanian coast. ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a responded by concluding an agreement for mutual aid with the Greek rebel leaders and seeking to provoke revolts also in the Aegean islands, Serbia, and the Principalities; on which the Porte in turn deprived him of his vizirate, dismissed him from Yanya, and ordered him and his whole family to reside at Tepedelen.

ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a was in fact deprived of all his acquisitions except Yanya itself, in the well stocked citadel of which he was then besieged, while three of his sons and a grandson, the governors of districts formerly in his control, surrendered. Owing to his provocation of a mutiny by the Albanians of the besieging force, a rising of the Suliotes, and the outbreak of the Greek revolt, it was not until the siege had continued for two years that ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a could be induced to give in. He then did so on condition that his life should be spared, retiring with a few supporters to a neighbouring monastery. But K̲h̲urs̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a's guarantee was repudiated by Ḥālet Efendi, whose purposes it suited that the trouble at Yanya should continue. ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, on learning that his execution had been ordered, decided to fight. He was accordingly attacked and died from a shot wound on 24 January 1822.

Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a attained some celebrity in Europe owing to his being visited by various writers, notably Lord Byron, and to his efforts to enlist help from both the French and the British in the prosecution of his ambitions. He was brave, bold, and clever, but treacherous and wholly self-seeking. Having acquired great riches, he maintained a semi-royal state. surrounded by a strange entourage of European officers, Greek doctors, poets, *derwīs̲h̲es*, astrologers, and the leaders of brigand bands. Of all the contemporary Muslim rebels against the Ottoman power he contrived to do it most harm, by facilitating the beginning of the Greek revolt.

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ʿALĪ AL-RIḌĀ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. D̲j̲aʿfar eighth Imām of the Twelver S̲h̲īʿa, was born in Medina in 148/765 (al-Ṣafadī) or, according to other and probably better informed authorities, in 151/768 or 153/770 (al-Nawbak̲h̲tī, Ibn K̲h̲allikān, Mīrk̲h̲ʷānd). He died in Ṭūs in 203/818; the sources agree on the year, but differ as to the day and month (end of Ṣafar—al-Ṭabarī, al-Ṣafadī; 21 Ramaḍān—al-Ṣafadī; 13 D̲h̲ū 'l-Ḳaʿda or 5 D̲h̲ū 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a—Ibn K̲h̲allikān). His father was the Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, his mother a Nubian *umm walad* whose name is variously given (S̲h̲ahd or Nad̲j̲iyya—al-Nawbak̲h̲tī; Sukayna—Ibn K̲h̲allikān; K̲h̲ayzurān—Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī). For the greater part of his life he played no political role, but was known only for his piety and learning. He related traditions from his father and from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Arṭāh, and gave *fatwās* in the mosque of the Prophet in Medina. His first appearance on the political stage was in 201/816, when the Caliph al-Maʾmūn summoned him to Marw and appointed him as heir to the Caliphate, giving him the title of al-Riḍā. The sources agree that ʿAlī al-Riḍā was reluctant to accept this nomination, ceding only to the insistance of the Caliph. The ʿAbbāsid and ʿAlid princes and dignitaries, led by Al-Maʾmūn's son al-ʿAbbās, took the *bayʿa* to the new heir, who was dressed in green.

By the Caliph's order, green flags and green uniforms replaced the ʿAbbāsid black all over the empire. It is unlikely that the green colour was at this early date specifically associated with the house of ʿAlī, and the precise significance of the change of colour is uncertain (cf. Weil, ii, 216, n. 3; Gabrieli, 37 n. 4). The full text of the document of appointment is preserved (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ix, 362-6; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, Paris Ms. Ar. 5903, f. 149 r-151 r; translation in Gabrieli 38-45). It shows that al-Maʾmūn carefully avoided the larger question of principle as between the claims of the houses of ʿAbbās and of ʿAlī, and simply appointed ʿAlī al-Riḍā as the person best fitted by his personal qualities—that is to say, on Sunnī rather than Shīʿī grounds. Nor does the document make any allusion to the delicate question of the succession after ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

The appointment aroused vigorous and conflicting reactions. The various ʿAbbāsid governors, with the exception of Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar in Baṣra, loyally carried out their orders, and exacted the oath of allegiance to the new heir. The Shīʿites were of course jubilant, though by no means won over by this partial recognition of their claims. In ʿIrāḳ however this step, added to the effective transfer of the imperial capital from Baghdād to Marw, aroused the fury of the inhabitants, who rose in revolt against the Caliph. They were joined by the garrison and the ʿAbbāsid princes in Baghdād, one of whom they elected as Caliph. The hatred of the ʿIrāḳīs was especially directed against the brothers Ibn Sahl, to whose activities they attributed all their troubles. It seems to have been the disinterested ʿAlī al-Riḍā himself who revealed to the Caliph the real meaning of the revolt in ʿIrāḳ. Al-Maʾmūn, realising the position at last, made a gradual change of policy. In 203/818 he set out for Baghdād, arriving there in the following year. On the way both Faḍl b. Sahl and ʿAlī al-Riḍā died—the former murdered in Sarakhs, the latter after a brief illness in Ṭūs. The Shīʿite historians attribute his death to poison, administered in a pomegranate given to him by ʿAlī b. Hishām (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 551), or in a drink of pomegranate juice prepared by a courtier and handed to him by the Caliph himself (*Maḳātil*, 566-7). Al-Ṭabarī makes no allusion to the possibility of murder. The Caliph mourned him publicly, and recited the last prayers. He was buried by the tomb of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and his sanctuary (*mashhad*) has given its name to the town, supplanting the older name of Ṭūs. In Shīʿite works he is credited with many miracles.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1029 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 3, 61; Yaʿḳūbī (Houtsma), ii, 550 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 249; Ibn Khallikān, no. 434; Ṣafadī, MS. B. M. Or. 6587, fol. 214 v-215 v.; Djahshiyārī (Cairo), 312-3; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, MS. Paris Ar. 1505, fol. 40 v.; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1930, ii, 174-5; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, iii, 18-23; Balʿamī, tr. Zotenberg, iv, 508 ff., 515 ff., 518. Shīʿite works: Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, (Ritter), 73 ff.; *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Cairo 1949, 561-572; for Shīʿite hagiographical accounts of the life and sayings of ʿAlī al-Riḍā, see Ibn Babūya al-Ḳummī, *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, (Brockelmann, I, 187, S I, 321), lith. Tehran, 1275, and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nuʿmān al-Ḥārithī al-Baghdādī al-Mufīd b. al-Muʿallim, *Al-Irshād fī Maʿrifat Ḥudjadj Allāh ʿala 'l-ʿIbād* (Brockelmann, S I, 322). Modern authors: F. Gabrieli, *Al-Maʾmūn e gli ʿAlidi*, Leipzig 1929, 35 ff.; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Caliphen*, ii, 216 ff.; J. N. Hollister, *The Shiʿa of India*, London 1953, 80-4.

(B. LEWIS)

ʿALĪ RIḌĀ-I ʿABBĀSĪ, calligraphist in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, who wrote out inscriptions for some of the great mosques of Iṣfahān (Masdjid-i Shāh, Masdjid-i Luṭf Allāh) as well as for the dome over the tomb of the shrine of ʿAlī al-Riḍā and the shrine of Khwādja Rabīʿ in Mashhad. He was also appreciated as a copyist of manuscripts, several of which in his handwriting are still preserved. Some miniatures are also attributed to him, but he is not to be confounded with Riḍā-i ʿAbbāsī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: I. Hubbard, *ʿAlī Riżā-i ʿAbbāsī, calligrapher and painter*, *Ars Islamica*, 1937, 282-91; Th. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, 146; *Survey of Persian Art*, 1739, 1891.

ʿALĪ SHĒR ḲĀNIʿ [see ḲĀNIʿ].

ʿALĪ SHĪR NAVĀʾĪ [see NAVĀʾĪ].

ʿALĪ TEGĪN [see ḲARAKHĀNIDS].

ʿALĪ WĀSIʿ [see WĀSIʿ ʿALĪSĪ].

ʿALĪ WERDĪ KHĀN, bearing the title of Mahābat Djang, was the governor of Bengal (1740-56) under the later Mughal emperors of India. Being the son of a Turkoman of the name of Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī, he started his career as the governor of Bihar, and after defeating the previous governor of Bengal, Sarfarāz Khān, entered Murshidābād [*q.v.*] on 12 May 1740, as viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. For most of the time, he was engaged in ceaseless and fruitless warfare against the Marāṭhās, who finally succeeded in taking Orissa from him. He died on 9 April 1756 and was succeeded by his grandson, Sirādj al-Dawla Mīrzā Maḥmūd, who proved to be the last Mughal governor of Bengal; for Clive's victory at Plassey on 23 June, 1757, established the supremacy of the British in that part of India.

Bibliography: *The Cambridge History of India*, iv, index, s.v. ʿAlī Vardī Khān.

(SH. INAYATULLAH)

ALICANTE [see LAḲANT].

ALIDADA [see ASṬURLĀB].

ʿALIDS, descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who had eighteen sons (according to most works on ʿAlid genealogy, but fourteen according to another version given by al-Ṭabarī and eleven according to al-Masʿūdī), and seventeen daughters. His sons were as follows:

By Fāṭima; al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and al-Muḥsin (or Muḥassin). The third does not appear in all sources.

By Khawla; Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya.

By Umm al-Banīn; ʿAbbās the elder, ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUthmān the elder, Djaʿfar the elder.

By al-Ṣahbāʾ, called Umm Ḥabīb; ʿUmar.

By Laylā bint Masʿūd; Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿUbayd Allāh.

By Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays; Yaḥyā, ʿAwn, Muḥammad the younger (according to al-Ṭabarī).

By Umāma bint Abi'l-ʿĀṣ; Muḥammad the younger (the second, according to al-Ṭabarī).

By other mothers; Djaʿfar the younger, ʿAbbās the younger, ʿUmar the younger, ʿUthmān the younger, Muḥammad the younger (according to Akhū Muḥsin, or the second, according to the *Maḳātil*).

Five of these sons left issue, viz. al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, ʿUmar and ʿAbbās. (*Ittiʿāẓ*, 7).

It was to al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*], al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], and, for a time, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] and

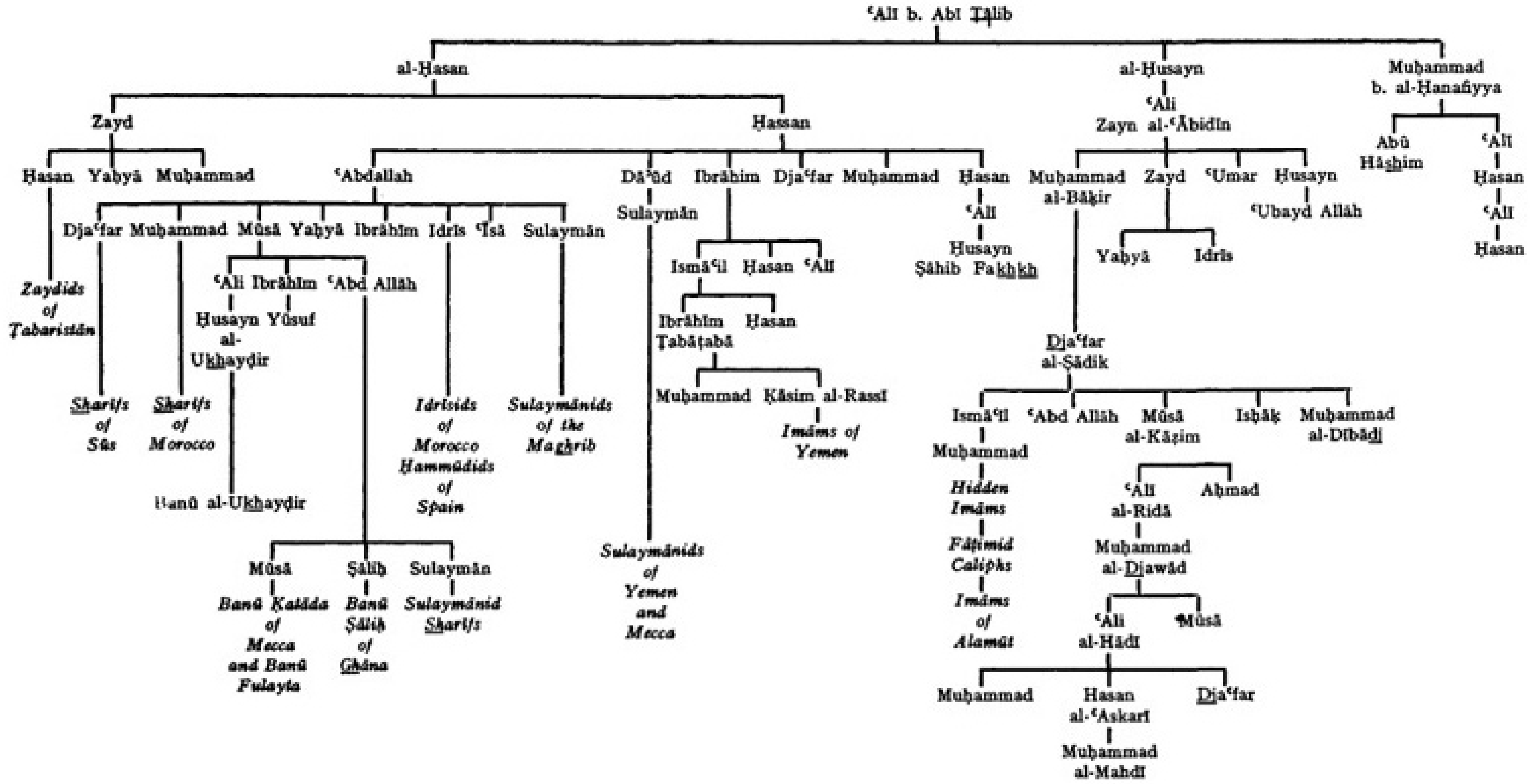

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib
al-Ḥasan
al-Ḥusayn
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya
Zayd
Ḥassan
ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn
Abū Hāshim
ʿAlī
Ḥasan
Yaḥyā
Muḥammad
ʿAbdallah
Dāʾūd
Ibrāhīm
Djaʿfar
Muḥammad
Ḥasan
Muḥammad al-Bāḳir
Zayd
ʿUmar
Ḥusayn
Ḥasan
Djaʿfar
Muḥammad
Mūsā
Yaḥyā
Ibrāhīm
Idrīs
ʿĪsā
Sulaymān
Sulaymān
ʿAlī
Ḥusayn Ṣāḥib Fakhkh
ʿUbayd Allāh
ʿAlī
Ḥasan
Zaydids of Ṭabaristān
ʿAlī
Ibrāhīm
ʿAbd Allāh
Ismāʿīl
Ḥasan
ʿAlī
Yaḥyā
Idrīs
Ḥusayn al-Ukhayḍir
Yūsuf
Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā
Ḥasan
Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ
Sharīfs of Sūs
Sharīfs of Morocco
Idrīsids of Morocco Ḥammūdids of Spain
Sulaymānids of the Maghrib
Muḥammad
Ḳāsim al-Rassī
Imāms of Yemen
Ismāʿīl
ʿAbd Allāh
Mūsā al-Kāẓim
Isḥāḳ
Muḥammad al-Dībādj
Muḥammad
Banū al-Ukhayḍir
Hidden Imāms
ʿAlī al-Riḍā
Aḥmad
Fāṭimid Caliphs
Muḥammad al-Djawād
Imāms of Alamūt
Mūsā
Ṣāliḥ
Sulaymān
Sulaymānids of Yemen and Mecca
ʿAlī al-Hādī
Mūsā
Banū Ḳatāda of Mecca and Banū Fulayta
Banū Ṣāliḥ of Ghāna
Sulaymānid Sharīfs
Muḥammad
Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī
Djaʿfar
Muḥammad al-Mahdī

their descendants that the loyalties of the different groups of the S͟hīʿa [*q.v.*] were given. The claims made by the S͟hīʿa on behalf of the ʿAlids were broadly of two kinds. For the extremist S͟hīʿa the ʿAlid Imāms were the spiritual as well as the religious and political heirs of the Prophet, whose spiritual inspiration they retained or resumed. For the moderate S͟hīʿa they were the legitimate heirs of the Prophet as heads of the *Umma* of Islam, with a better claim to the succession than that of the reigning Caliphs, whom the S͟hīʿa regarded as usurpers. The early ʿAlids, with the possible exception of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and the more probable exception of his son Abū Hās͟him, seem consistently to have refused to have any dealings with the extremists, or countenance their ideas (e.g. *Ag͟hānī*[1], vii, 24 and viii, 33). On the other hand they seem to have acquiesced—if somewhat passively—in the political claims made on their behalf by the moderate S͟hīʿa. The numerous traditions in which ʿAlids reject and denounce the claims of their own supporters (e.g. Ibn Saʿd, v, 77, 158, 235, 238) are almost certainly due to Sunnī propaganda, and a more accurate reflection of the political views and claims of the house of ʿAlī will be found in the letter written by the Ḥasanid pretender Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] to the Caliph Manṣūr in 145/762 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 209 ff.), and in the verses of such pro-ʿAlid poets as Kumayt and Kut͟hayyir. Muḥammad's letter is also interesting in that the writer claims pure Arab descent on both sides, without admixture of foreign or slave blood—thus accepting the aristocratic Umayyad principle of succession, (which had excluded sons of slave mothers like Maslama) and rejecting the Islamic rule followed by the Ḥusaynids (several of whose Imāms had slave mothers), and, later, by the ʿAbbāsids. In the early period the claims of the ʿAlids were based on descent from ʿAlī the Prophet's kinsman rather than from Fāṭima his daughter, since according to the ideas of the time kinship with the Prophet in the male line was more important than descent from him in the female line. (Thus in the revealing speech attributed to ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn, he speaks of himself only as "cousin of the Prophet", *Murūd͟j*, iv, 355). Claims based on kinship could thus be advanced on behalf of descendants of ʿAlī by wives other than Fāṭima, and even of collateral descendants of Abū Ṭālib (see AHL AL-BAYT). Only after the usurpation of ʿAlid claims by their ʿAbbāsid cousins was stress laid on direct descent from the Prophet via Fāṭima. In the development of this new claim, the sixth Imām D͟jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ seems to have played a role of some importance.

After the abortive rising of al-Ḥusayn and the massacre of Karbalāʾ in 61/680, when most of the ʿAlids were killed, the ʿAlid pretenders remained politically inactive, giving recognition and sometimes even help to the ruling house (examples in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 3, 409, 420, 1338; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 298 ff.; Ibn Saʿd, v, 83, 159; Buhl, 369). They preferred to reside in Mecca or Medina, far from the main political centres, and while maintaining their claims did little to advance them. Such action as they took may be qualified as litigious rather than rebellious, concerned with their estates rather than their political rights (cf. I. Hrbek, *Muḥammads Nachlass und die ʿAliden*, *Arch. Or.*, 1950, 43-9). In the tradition this passivity is naturally given a religious colouring, and appears as the prototype of the characteristic S͟hīʿa practice of *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*].

Towards the middle of the 8th century growing discontent brought new opportunities to the ʿAlids. In ca. 122/740 Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] led the first ʿAlid bid for power since Karbalāʾ. After his death, closely followed by that of his son Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] in ca. 125-6/743-4, the ʿAlid bolt was shot, and both the cause and the opportunity were taken over by the ʿAbbāsids. The first major expression of ʿAlid anger and disappointment at the ʿAbbāsid victory was the revolt of the Ḥasanid brothers Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh [*qq.v.*], in Medina and Baṣra respectively. Both movements were choked in blood, and the Caliph Manṣūr adopted a policy of violent repression towards the ʿAlids, great numbers of whom were arrested and put to death (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 445-6; *Murūd͟j*, vii, 404; *Maḳātil*, 178 ff.). Al-Mahdī dealt more kindly with the ʿAlids, as part of a general policy of appeasement, but when this failed to gain ʿAlid good will, it was abandoned by al-Hādī, whose harsh actions drove the ʿAlids to open revolt. The rising of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], known as Ṣāḥib Fak͟hk͟h (after the place of his death), in 169/786 was soon suppressed, (Ṭabarī, iii, 551-9; *Maḳātil* 431 ff.), but Idrīs [*q.v.*], a brother of the ill-fated Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, escaped to Morocco where he founded the first ʿAlid dynasty. Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd eased the severities of al-Hādī, but after the revolt of Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] in 176/792-3 he resumed the strict surveillance of the ʿAlids, and the Ḥusaynid Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] died in prison. Meanwhile, in 175/791, some Zaydids (of the line of Zayd b. Ḥasan) took refuge in Daylam, where in 250/864 they were able to establish the first of a series of local dynasties. Al-Maʾmūn on his accession faced the pro-ʿAlid revolts of Abu 'l-Sarāya [*q.v.*] in association with the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, called Ibn Ṭabāṭabā [*q.v.*] in Mesopotamia in 199/814, and of Muhammad b. D͟jaʿfar, [*q.v.*] known as Muḥammad al-Dībād͟j, in Mecca in 200/815-6. His subsequent nomination of the Ḥusaynid ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] as his heir and his adoption of a pro-ʿAlid policy brought some alleviation, but did not save him from a further ʿAlid rising, that of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad in the Yemen in 207/822-3. Under al-Maʾmūn's successors relations between ʿAbbāsids and ʿAlids again deteriorated, reaching their lowest point with the insults and persecutions of al-Mutawakkil. Al-Muntaṣir is reported to have treated the ʿAlids with consideration, but the revolts continued. Most of them were suppressed, some few resulted in the appearance of local dynasties of ʿAlid stock, in such remote places as Morocco, Yemen, and the Caspian provinces of Persia.

Most of the rebels and pretenders of the early ʿAbbāsid period came from the line of al-Ḥasan, that of al-Ḥusayn preferring a life of tranquil piety. It was however the latter that came to have the greatest influence. After the death in 148/765 of D͟jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*], the sixth Imām in the line of Ḥusayn, the succession was disputed between his sons Ismāʿīl and Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*]. Ismāʿīl, whose claims were accepted by the sect known as Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*], sired a line of Imāms from whom came the Fāṭimid Caliphs (some authorities however doubt the authenticity of their pedigree). Mūsā's line ended with the disappearance of the 12th Imām, known as Muḥammad al-Mahdī ca. 260/873-4. After this the aspirations of their followers [see ITHNĀ ʿAS͟HARIYYA] became eschatological rather than political, since they could offer no real alternative to the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, which was therefore accepted even by S͟hīʿite dynasties such as the Būyids.

Many dynasties claimed to be of ʿAlid descent. They may be grouped as follows:

1) Ḥasanids: a) N.W. Africa—Idrīsids [*q.v.*], Sulaymānids [*q.v.*], Sharīfs (Saʿdids [*q. v.*], Filālīs, [see ʿALAWIDS]).
b) Yemen—Sulaymānids, Banū Ukhayḍir, Rassids [*qq.v.*].
c) Mecca—Sulaymānids, Banū Ukhayḍir, Banū Fulayta, Banū Ḳatāda [see MAKKA].
d) N. Persia—Zaydids, ʿAlids.
e) Ghāna—Banū Ṣāliḥ [*q.v.*].
f) Āmul—Ḥasanids.
g) Cordova and Malaga—Ḥammūdids [*q.v.*].

2) Ḥusaynids: a) Ifrīḳiya and Egypt—Fāṭimids [*q.v.*].
b) Medina—Banū Muhannā [*q.v.*].

3) Unknown Mecca and Medina—Banū Mūsā.

Bibliography: Genealogies of the descendants of ʿAlī were compiled from an early date. One of them was that of the 10th century ʿAlid genealogist Akhū Muḥsin, who wrote a "complete account" of all the progeny of ʿAlī, in an attempt to disprove the legitimacy of the Fāṭimids. This work is lost, but is preserved in excerpts in Maḳrīzī's *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ*, (Shayyāl), Cairo, 1948, 4 ff. and in Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, Vol. vi, MS Sarāy, Aḥmed III, no. 2932, 5 ff. where the source is named. A parallel account of the descendants of ʿAlī will be found in the *Siḥāḥ al-Akhbār* of Abu 'l-Maʿālī Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī (9th/15th century), Cairo 1306. Slightly different versions are given by Ṭabarī (i, 3471 ff., followed by Ibn al-Athīr iii, 333-4), and by Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 298 and *Murūdj*, v, 148). Among later works on ʿAlid genealogy mention may be made of the *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib* of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī ... b. Muhannā, Bombay, 1318. Biographies of ʿAlids will be found in Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī's martyrology, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*[2], Cairo 1949, (cf. *Murūdj*, vii, 404, where martyred ʿAlids are listed), as well as in general works such as the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Saʿd and the *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* of Balādhurī (the ʿAlids appear in vol. 10). On the role of the ʿAlids in the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods see Fr. Buhl, *Alidernes Stilling til de Shiʿitiske Bevaegelser under Umajjaderne, Oversigt over det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Forhandlinger*, 1910, no. 5, 355 ff.; F. Gabrieli, *Al-Maʾmūn e gli ʿAlidi*, Leipzig 1929; Ḥ. I. Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*[2], Cairo 1948, ii, 113 ff.; ʿA. ʿA. al-Dūrī, *Al-ʿAṣr al-ʿAbbāsī al-Awwal*, Baghdad 1945. Genealogical tables of the descendants of ʿAlī, showing the interrelation of ʿAlid dynasties, will be found in Zambaur, ii, A-E. On the status and organisation of persons descended from the Prophet in later times see SAYYID and SHARĪF. (B. LEWIS)

ALIF [see HIDJĀʾ].

ALIGARH, town (27° 53′ N., 78° 4′ E.) and district in the Meerut (Mīrat) division of Uttar Pradesh (formerly the United Provinces). In 1941 the district (1946 sq. miles = 5024.5 sq. km.) had 1, 372, 641 inhabitants (186, 381 Muslims) and the town 112, 655 (51, 712 Muslims). The town was at first called Koil (Kol) and the citadel, built in 1542, was named Aligaṛh (high fort) when Nadjaf Khān restored it in 1776; previously it had been called Ramgaṛh, occasionally Sābitgaṛh after one Sābit Khān or Muḥammadgaṛh.

Koil, which was certainly an old town, was captured towards the end of the 12th century by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybeg and was usually subject to Delhi, being a fief of Balban's eldest son c. 1270. It was ruled from Djawnpur in 1393 and was independent for a time from 1447. In 1785 Mahrattas of the Scindhia family captured it but were driven out by Lord Lake in 1803. It was often described by Muslim writers, e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 6).

Modern Aligarh owes its place to its university. In 1871 (Sir) Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*] began to collect funds, some Hindus contributing, for a boys' school to be run more or less on English lines. In 1875 the high school was started and three years later it was raised to a second grade college. The institution then became a school and the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. Sir Sayyid kept the management in his own hands during his lifetime and had excellent helpers in the first principals, Th. Beck and (Sir) Theodore Morison. Finance was a trouble and there was opposition to this breach with traditional Muslim education. Entrance to the college was never restricted to Muslims and the language of instruction was English except in religious subjects. After the founder's death the management was put in the hands of Muslim trustees. In 1904 353 boys were in the school, 269 students in the college and 36 students of law; of the total 76 were Hindus. In 1909 there were eight teachers of European origin and for some years the professor of Arabic was a European. Later the number of teachers who were not Indians was much reduced. In 1920 the college was created a university and an intermediate college was established for the first two years of the university course, following the recommendations of the Calcutta Commission. At the same time the non-cooperation movement caused trouble, resulting in the foundation of the National University; this was active for two years or so and existed in name for some time longer. Aligarh University continued to develop; in 1929 teachers of Yūnānī (Unani) medicine appeared on the staff; in 1932 the intermediate college was absorbed in the university and new laboratories opened; in 1934 a college of Yūnānī medicine was started and in 1938 an institute of technology and electrical engineering and a Yūnānī hospital were opened. Women were admitted to some degrees in the same year and later further concessions were made to them. In 1945 an agricultural college was opened and in 1947 the staff is found grouped in four faculties, arts, science, engineering and technology, and theology. The separation of Pakistan from India caused a great upheaval and many of the staff left but their places were filled, the university survived and still flourishes. Aligarh has always upheld the Muslim ideal of opening the road to education to the needy; it is to be feared that the pursuit of this ideal may clash with the purpose of a university. In the year 1946-7 there were 5896 students of whom 775 were graduates and 501 first degrees were given in the faculties of arts, science, commerce and engineering; in the following year the numbers were 4285, 1186 and 365.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, v, 208-19; Th. Morison, *History of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College Aligarh*, Allahabad 1903, summarised in *RMM*, i, 380 ff. (A. S. TRITTON)

ʿĀLIM [see ʿULAMĀʾ].

ʿĀLIMA, in the Egyptian dialect of Arabic *ʿālme*, *ʿālime*, plural *ʿawālim*, literally "a learned,

expert woman", the name of a class of Egyptian female singers forming a sort of guild, according to the sources of the 18th and 19th centuries. They were engaged to perform in harems at celebrations of marriages or births, during Ramaḍān and on other occasions. Their art included the improvisation of poems of the *mawāl* [*q.v.*] type, singing and dancing. They withdrew from Cairo during the French expedition. Well-informed travellers were careful to distinguish them from the *ghawāzī* (sing. *ghāziyye*) who sang and danced primarily in the streets, making a speciality of lascivious dances and often becoming prostitutes (the most accurate descriptions are those of Savary, *Lettres sur l'Égypte*[2], Paris 1786, i, 149 ff., and Villoteau, *Description de l'Égypte*[2], Paris 1826, xiv, 169-82; useful information is contained in Sonnini, *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte*, Paris, year vii, ii 372 ff.; Chabrol in *Descr. de l'Égypte*[2], Paris 1826, xviii, 1, 173 ff., 212 ff., 330; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London 1836-7, i, 226, 261; ii, 65 ff., 270 ff., Laerty-Hadji (Baron Taylor), *L'Égypte*[2], Paris 1856, 263-5. The Arabic word as recorded by the travellers appears in French, from the time of Savary (*loc. cit.*; cf. *Journal encyclopédique*, 1787, ii, 519 ff.), in the form *almé*, later *almée*, and in English (first recorded in 1814 by Byron, *Corsair*, ii, 8) as *alma* or *almah*. But Baedeker, *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1877, i, 25-6 states that *ʿawālim* of the better class only survived in the harems of the most eminent houses; a debased type was frequently to be seen in the streets accompanied by one or two, usually blind, musicians. Travellers regularly confused the *ʿālmas* with the *ghawāzī*, who were however expelled from Cairo to Upper Egypt in 1834 by Muḥammad ʿAlī. The latter were found in large numbers at Ḳene, Esne, Luḳṣor (Baedeker, *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1891, ii, 81 ff., 258). Flaubert in 1850 associated with them there, and refers to them as *almées* (*Voy. en Orient*, Paris 1949, 63 ff.). Most of the *ʿawālim* and *ghawāzī* held an annual reunion at Ṭanṭā on the occasion of the *mawlid* of Sīdī Aḥmad al-Badawī (Baedeker, *loc. cit.*, i, 25, 245; cf., referring to the year 1865, A. Rhone, *L'Égypte à petites journées*, Paris 1877, 172-8, and, as late as 1933, the parade of prostitutes, in J. W. Mc Pherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941, 286.

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ALINDJAḲ or ALINDJA (in Armenian Erndjak, a district of the province Siunikʿ), now ruins within the Nakhičewān territory of the Azerbaydjan Soviet Socialist Republic. The river Alindja flows into the Araxes near Old Djulfa. The ancient fortress Alindjaḳ stood some 20 km. above its estuary on the right bank of the river, on the top of an extremely steep mountain (near the village Khānaḳā). The fortress played a considerable role at the Tīmūrid and Turkman period.

Bibliography: V. Minorsky, *Caucasica*, *JA*, 1930, 93-4, 112. (V. MINORSKY)

ALĪSAʿ (or ALYASAʿ) B. UKHṬŪB (or YAKHṬŪB), the biblical prophet Elisha. The Ḳurʾān mentions him twice (vi, 86 and xxxviii, 46, second Meccan period) together with other apostles of Allāh, without special comment. The Arabs have considered the first syllable as the article (discussion of variant readings in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vii, 156 ff.). Muslim tradition identifies Alīsaʿ with the son of the widow who sustained Elijah during the famine (I Kings xvii, 9 ff.). This son, a paralytic, was cured by Ilyās (Elijah) and became his disciple, his companion and, eventually, his successor. Because of his parentage, some authors call him Ibn al-ʿAdjūz (son of the old woman), but others, including al-Ṭabarī (loc. cit. and *Annals*, i, 535) give this sobriquet to Ḥazḳīl (Ezekiel). In traditional Muslim chronology, Alīsaʿ is placed much earlier in date than Ṭālūt (Saul), and it is he who is said to have been evoked by the witch of Endor. His identification with one of the guardians of the Ark of the Covenant is a further detail derived from the history of Samuel. Some identify him with al-Khiḍr [*q.v.*], or even with Dhu 'l-Kifl [*q.v.*], who is generally regarded as his successor.

Bibliography: In addition to the references quoted in the article, see Ṭabarī, i, 542 ff., 559; Kisāʾī (Eisenberg), 248-50; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-Madjālis*, Cairo 1370/1951, 259-61; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 152.

(M. SELIGSOHN-G. VAJDA)

ALJAMÍA, Spanish transcription of the Arabic *al-ʿadjamiyya* ("non-Arabic"), a term used by the Muslims of al-Andalus to denote the Romance dialects of their neighbours in the north of the Iberian peninsula—dialects soon coloured with Arabisms which, for the most part, were introduced from the 9th century by Mozarab emigrants who had settled in the Christian countries neighbouring the kingdom of Cordova. The Romance language, the use of which in al-Andalus by all classes of society, especially by the rural classes, alongside Spanish Arabic, has been established, was also called *al-ʿadjamiyya*. It was only in the latter Middle Ages that the Spanish equivalent of this term, *aljamía*, acquired the particular meaning which is attributed to it to-day, namely: a Hispanic Romance language (Portuguese, Galician, Castilian, Aragonese or Catalan, depending on the district) written, not in Latin, but in Arabic characters. The literature in *aljamía* which has been preserved is therefore termed *aljamiada*.

This *aljamiada* literature, of which there exists a number of manuscripts, has been the subject of numerous studies in Spain itself, especially towards the end of the 19th century. It comprises in general works of a religious or legal nature in addition to poetical compositions, usually didactic in tone, and a few works of fiction in prose. In considering this literature, a distinction must be made between the works written in Spain itself, before the expulsion of the Moors by Philip III in 1609, and those, more numerous, written after that date, in particular by the Moorish communities established in Tunisia [see MORISCOS]. In the first group, the most important work, which apparently dates back to the 14th century, is the anonymous "Poem of Yūsuf"; R. Menéndez Pidal, who has edited and commented on this poem (*Poema de Yuçuf: materiales para su estudio*, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, VIII, Madrid 1902; new edition, Granada 1952), thinks it is the work of an Aragonese Morisco. It consists of a version in Spanish verse of Ḳurʾān, xii (*Sūrat Yūsuf*), embellished with elements borrowed from the Muslim "legends of the prophets". In the second group, the poetical compositions of another Aragonese Morisco, Muḥammad Rabaḍān, a native of Rueda de Jalón, deserve special mention; composed about 1603, they consist of strophic poems which narrate,

following in general Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the various episodes of the *sīra* of the Prophet. About the same period (beginning of the 17th century), an account of a pilgrimage to Arabia was composed, also in rhymed strophes, by a Morisco known as Alhichante (*al-ḥādjdj*) of Puey Monzón. An anti-Christian polemical poem composed in 1627 by Juan Pérez, a Morisco from Alcalá de Henares, who had emigrated to Tunisia, and whose original name was Ibrāhīm Taybilī, must also be mentioned.

Dating from the same period are the Muslim apologetics written in *aljamiado*, for instance that composed in 1615 by ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAlī Pérez. To this literature also belong some novelistic prose narratives concerning the Prophet or one of his Companions (for instance Tamīm al-Dārī). Others recount biblical episodes or are biographies of more or less legendary characters (especially Alexander *Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn*).

Finally attention must be drawn to the discovery of private letters written in *aljamía*; the most characteristic—writte hardly later than the capture of Granada in 1492 by the Catholic Kings—has recently been published in facsimile by I. de Las Cagigas *Una Carta aljamiada granadina*, in *Arabica*, 1954, 271-5. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

Bibliography: Manuscripts: There are scattered MSS at Paris, Algiers, Aix-en-Provence, Uppsala, the British Museum, Cambridge, the Escorial. For the few MSS at Toledo see A. González Palencia, *Noticia y Extractos de MSS árabes y aljamiados*, in *Miscelanea de Estudios y Textos Árabes*, Madrid 1915. The three main collections are: (1) that of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (see F. Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de MSS arabes*, etc., Madrid 1889); (2) the "manuscritos de la Junta" now at the Escuela de Estudios Arabes, Madrid. This is particularly interesting as preserving almost intact a large hoard of MSS found at Almonacid in 1884 (see J. Ribera and M. Asin, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*, Madrid 1912, which also includes a description of MSS at Saragossa). (3) For the Gayangos collection at the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, the only description is in E. Saavedra, *Índice de la Literatura Aljamiada*, appendix to his *Discurso*, in *Memorias de la Real Academia Española*, vi, Madrid 1878, still a fundamental work, but made before the discovery at Almonacid. On the spelling of the texts, see J. D. M. Ford, *Old Spanish Sibilants*, Boston 1900. Published works in *aljamía*: P. Gil, J. Ribera and M. M. Sánchez, *Colección de textos aljamiados*, Saragossa 1888; H. Morf, *Poema de José*, in *Gratulationsschrift der Universität Bern an die Universität Zürich*, Leipzig 1883; K. V. Zetterstéen, in *MO*, 1921, 1-174; R. Menéndez Pidal, and I. de Las Cagigas, see above. In accurate transliteration: J. Cantineau, in *JA*, 1927, 9-17; J. N. Lincoln, in *American Geographical Riview*, 1939, 483 ff.; idem, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1937, 631 ff.; A. R. Nykl, *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature*, in *Revue Hispanique*, lxxvii; M.J. Müller, in *SBBayr. Ak.*, 1860, 201 ff.; M. Schmitz, in *Romanische Forschungen*, 1901, 315 ff.; D. Lopes, *Textos em aljamia portuguesa*, Lisbon 1897. In free transliteration: F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas Moriscas*, 3 vols., Madrid 1885-6; idem, *Leyendas de José y de Alejandro Magno*, Saragossa 1888; *Historia de los amores de Paris y Viana*, in *Revista Histórica*, no. xxii, Barcelona 1876; M. de Pano y Ruate, *Las Coplas del Peregrino de Puey Monçón*, Saragossa 1897; P. Longás, *Vida Religiosa de los Moriscos*, Madrid 1915; J. Sánchez Pérez, *Partición de Herencias entre los Musulmanes del Rito Malequí*, Madrid 1914. Works written in Latin characters: ʿĪsā b. Djābir, *Suma de los principales mandamientos*, ed. P. de Gayangos, in *Memorial Histórico Español*, v, Madrid 1853; H. E. J. Stanley, *The Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan*, in *JRAS*, 1867-72. Studies: J. Ribera, *Disertaciones y Opúsculos* I, Madrid 1928, 493 ff.; P. Gil, in *Homenaje Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 537-49; R. Basset, in *GSAI*, 1893, 3-81; J. Oliver Asín, *Un morisco de Túnez, admirador de Lope*, in *And.*, 1933, 413-8; J. Morgan, *Mahometism fully explained*, London 1723-5; A. González Palencia, *Hist. de la literatura arábigo-española*², Barcelona 1945, 303-9. (L. P. Harvey)

ʿALḲAMA b. ʿAbada al-Tamīmī, surnamed al-Faḥl, early Arab poet, was active in the first half of the 6th century. His poetry relates to the combats which took place between the Lakhmids and the Ghassānids; as the spokesman of his tribe he is reported to have obtained, by reciting a *ḳaṣīda* (no. 2, ed. W. Ahlwardt, *The Diwan of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870), the release of his brother Shaʾs and the other Tamīmites whom the Ghassānid king, al-Ḥārith b. Djabala (*ca.* 529-569), had taken prisoner. Arab tradition connects ʿAlḳama with Imruʾ al-Ḳays (d. *ca.* 540), with whom he is supposed to have fought and won a literary contest as a result of which Imruʾ al-Ḳays divorced and ʿAlḳama married the umpire Djundab. The style of their work would bear out the suggestion of some sort of artistic association such as the anecdote implies. The oft-remarked similarities between ʿAlḳama, 1 (Ahlwardt), and Imruʾ al-Ḳays, 4 (Ahlwardt), indicate a certain confusion of the two literary personalities on the part of the *ruwāt*. Already Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen*, 68 ff., noted that in all likelihood ʿAlḳama's is the older ode. ʿAlḳama shares with Imruʾ al-Ḳays a predilection for the longer and more tranquil meters. Stylistic and thematic kinship justifies the grouping of the two poets together as representatives of a distinct "school". A certain enrichment of the techniques of description may possibly be traced to ʿAlḳama. The poems Ahlwardt, 8 and 12, are spurious, so the chronological conclusions which Nöldeke (*Die Ghassânischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's Abh. Akad. d. Wissensch.* Berlin 1887, 36) and, following him, Brockelmann (I, 48) have based on them must be dismissed. The Arab critics include ʿAlḳama among the *fuḥūl* or powerful poets (literally "stallions").

Bibliography: The *Dīwān* of ʿAlḳama was first published, together with a German translation, by A. Socin, Leipzig 1867, then the text alone, by Ahlwardt in the edition mentioned above; text with commentary by al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī, by Mohammed Ben Cheneb (Algiers 1925); further references: *Aghānī*, vii, 127-8; xxi, 171-5; de Slane, *Le Diwan d'Amro 'l-kais*, Paris 1837, 80; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, ii, 314; G. E. von Grunebaum, in *Orientalia*, 1939, 328-45. (G. E. von Grunebaum)

al-**ʿALḲAMĪ** is, on the authority of the geographers Ḳudāma and al-Masʿūdī, the name used in the 3rd-4th/3th-10th centuries for the western branch of the Euphrates, between its bifurcation at or near the modern Hindiyya Barrage (44° 16' E, 36° 40' N) and its loss in the medieval Great Swamp. The proportion of Euphrates water using this or the eastern (al-Sūrāʾ, or modern Ḥilla) channel, has

varied from period to period thoroughout medieval and modern times: the western branch has finally been dominant, and the eastern merely a controlled canal, since the early 20th century; but al-ʿAlḳamī, using a bed not necessarily identical with the modern "Hindiyya river", probably represented the main stream. It passed by the important towns of al-Ḳanṭara (on both banks) and Kūfa (right bank). The name of the vizier Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī [*q.v.*] was taken from the river.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 74; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925, 311; cf. also AL-FURĀT. (S. H. LONGRIGG)

ALKANNA [see AL-ḤINNĀʾ].

ALḲĀṢ MĪRZĀ (or ALḲĀS, ALḲĀSP), second son of Shāh Ismaʿīl I of the Ṣafawī dynasty, and younger brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. Born Tabrīz 921/1515-6, he fought a successful action at Astarābād against the Uzbegs in 939/1532-3. In 945/1538-9 he subdued Shirwān, and was made governor of that province by Ṭahmāsp. He rebelled soon afterwards, but was granted a conditional pardon through the intercession of his mother Khān Begī Khānum. At the instance of Ṭahmāsp, he fought an inconclusive campaign against the Circassians, but again rebelled, minting his own coinage and including his name in the *khuṭba*. In 953/1546-7 Ṭahmāsp launched his second Georgian expedition, and from Gandja dispatched 5000 men against Alḳāṣ. Alḳāṣ, worsted in several engagements, fled to Constantinople via the Ḳipčāḳ plain and the Crimea (954/1547-8).

He incited Sulaymān I to send another expedition against Persia, and in 955/1548-9 he was sent ahead of the main Ottoman army which advanced on Tabrīz via Sīwās and Erzerum. The success of Ṭahmāsp's policy of laying waste the countryside obliged Sulaymān to retire from Tabrīz after only five days. Alkāṣ accompanied Sulaymān at the capture of the fortress of Wān, and interceded for the garrison. But he had fallen in Sulaymān's estimation because his presence in Persia had not evoked the support promised, and Sulaymān willingly agreed that Alḳāṣ should leave Baghdād and raid Persia with a force of irregulars (he refused to allow him any Janissaries). Alḳāṣ marched to Hamadān, where he destroyed the palace of his brother Bahrām and captured his son Badīʿ-al-Zamān Mīrzā, and thence to Ḳum, Kāshān and Iṣfahān. Then, instead of complying with Sulaymān's order to rejoin him, he went on to Shūshtar, and sent a conciliatory letter to Ṭahmāsp. (Dhū'l-Ḥidjdja 955/January 1549). Proceeding towards Baghdād, he was opposed by Muḥammad Pasha, Governor of Baghdād, and fled to Ardalān, where he was handed over to Ṭahmāsp by Surkhāb Beg, the ruler of Ardalān, on condition that his life was spared. According to Ṭahmāsp's own account, Alḳāṣ was imprisoned at Alamūt, where he was killed a few days later, ostensibly as the result of a private feud, but probably with Ṭahmāsp's connivance.

Bibliography: *Tadhkira-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, ed. Phillott, Calcutta 1912 (P. Horn, *Denkwürdigkeiten Schâh Tahmâsp des I.*, 38, 64 ff., 134); Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-Tawārikh*, Calcutta 1931; Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, St. Petersburg 1873; Pečewī, 267 ff.; Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, vi, 7 ff.; Sir John Malcolm. *History of Persia*, London 1815, i, 509-10, 505 note. (R. M. SAVORY)

ALLĀH, God the Unique one, the Creator and Lord of the Judgment, polarizes the thought of Islam; He is the sole reason for its existence.

Allāh was known to the pre-Islamic Arabs; he was one of the Meccan deities, possibly the supreme deity and certainly a creator-god (cf. Ḳurʾān, xiii, 16; xxix, 61, 63; xxxi, 25; xxxix, 38; xliii, 87). He was already known, by antonomasia, as *the* God, *al-Ilāh* (the most likely etymology; another suggestion is the Aramaic *Alāhā*).—For *Allāh* before Islam, as shown by archaeological sources and the Ḳurʾān, see ILĀH.

But the vague notion of supreme (not sole) divinity, which *Allāh* seems to have connoted in Meccan religion, was to become both universal and transcendental; it was to be turned, by the Ḳurʾānic preaching, into the affirmation of the Living God, the Exalted One.

I. ALLĀH IN THE ḲURʾĀN.

A Muslim tradition tells us that sūra xcvi was the first to "come down" to the Prophet Muḥammad; so the mission entrusted to him was from the first the preaching of the Word of *Allāh* ("Preach!", xcvi, 1 and 3). *Allāh*, as is said to Muḥammad in this first sūra, is *thy Lord* (*rabbuka*, xcvi, 1), Creator of man, the Very Generous, "Who teaches man that which he knew not" (xcvi, 3). The great Ḳurʾānic leit-motiv, *bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, "in the name of God, the merciful Benefactor" cf. R. Blachère's translation), opens the announcement of the imparted message and is repeated at the head of each sūra. It may be that it contains a reference to the *Raḥmān* of pre-Islamic south Arabia, and that *Raḥmān* should be taken as a divine proper name. The fact remains that the root RḤM came to connote, in the course of the Islamic centuries, precisely the concept of benefaction, of clemency, of mercy, and that the expression *raḥmat Allāh*, "God's mercy", was to become, in the spiritual writers, as it were an evocation of the mysterious profundities of divinity in its relations with man.—Hence, from the beginning of Muḥammad's preaching, the affirmation of God, *Allāh*, as benefactor, creator, bountiful, imparting instruction to men through a messenger, of whom He was, in a special way, the Lord.

(A) *The great themes.*

From a historical point of view, we shall accept the distinctions generally admitted to exist (with some differences as to detail, see Nöldeke, Grimme, Blachère) between the three Meccan periods and the Medinan period, distinctions which roughly agree with some Muslim traditions (cf. ḲURʾĀN). But although these various periods give us a multiplicity of perspectives and new flashes of illumination, there is strictly speaking no progressive revelation of *Allāh*. The Ḳurʾān is not a theological exposition of the existence, nature and attributes of God. Muslim faith has always regarded the text of the Ḳurʾān as God's Word made manifest to man, in which God says what He wishes about Himself. God is "the benefactor Who teaches the Preaching" (lv, 1-2), which is addressed to "the pious who believe in the Mystery (*ghayb*)" (ii, 2-3). God remains mysterious, unapproachable (xlii, 50-51). He is declared in His transcendent perfections and in His dealings with the world; and every action of the Almighty (*afʿāluhū taʿālā*) is the restatement of the inscrutable mystery, for "the sight cannot perceive Him, while He can perceive the sight" (vi, 103).

Without a risk of breaking the very rhythm of sūras and verses, it is not easy to pick out, still less easy to classify, the themes concerning God. Three seem to us to predominate, but they must be taken as a whole.

1. *God of creation, judgment and retribution.* He is "creator (*khāliḳ*) of all things" (xiii, 16). He is the absolute originator (*badīʿ*). He creates what He wishes (xlii, 49; v, 17) by His command (*amr*), by the *kun* ("Be!") which causes existence (e.g. xxxvi, 82; ii, 117). He is the bestower of all good, the supreme judge (*ḥākim*) and "the justest judge" (xcv, 8).

The oldest sūras proclaim God's unlimited sovereignty (*rubūbiyya*) over His creation, particularly His human creation, and His attributes of sovereign judge and king (*mālik*). The final shock is given to minds and hearts by the news of the Judgment (*yawm al-dīn*; see all sūra lxvi) and the imminence of the Hour (liii, 56-57; liv, 1, etc.), which is known to God alone (e.g. lxxix, 42-44; xliii, 85). The manner of this preaching may vary, but never its essential contents. For variations of theme relate less to God in Himself than to relations between God and the community of believers, depending on obstacles encountered or successive organisations. Thus, for example, the dichotomy of the Elect and the Damned (lxxxiv) at the end of the first Meccan period, and the Medinan leit-motiv of the "hypocrites" (*munāfiḳūn*) "whom God will mock" (ii, 15).—The Meccan sūras of the first two periods stress the eschatological advent of the Hour; in them, God appears essentially as the sovereign judge, having jurisdiction because He is the omnipotent creator of man (cf. lxxxii, 17-19, which follows logically on lxxxii, 6-8; lxxx, 18-22; xcv, 4-8, etc.). The theme of retribution is resumed however in the Medinan sūras (xxxiii, 63; xxiv, 25-26, etc.). Here and there perspective doubtless changes. At Mecca there is blunt teaching, intended to bring about an admission of faith in the mystery of God, the Judge and Creator, by means of the rhythmic rapping-out of asseverations. At Medina the same mystery is as it were recalled; presented to the heart's recollection (*dhikr*), as a witness to the eschatological value of daily life itself, urging the Muslim, whether he be "believer" or "hypocrite", to be constantly mindful of the Hour, in his every action; therefore urging the "hypocrite" to the "return", to conversion.

The same variations and resumptions of a single theme recur in the presentation of the divine management of human history. The Medinese sūras relate in minute detail the story of Adam, proceed to the history of the prophets, from Noah to Jesus, and state what God's will is of the community of believers. But there it appears as a sequence of discontinuous interventions of the immutable decree (*ḳadar*) of God, which, as the Meccan preaching had already said, encompasses all things, both in and out of time. For God is "the King of life and death" (xcii, 13; a theme constantly reverted to later, e.g. xv, 23; ii, 258, etc.). From the very first sūras Noah is evoked (liii, 52), and Abraham and Moses (lxxx, 19; liii, 36-37), and the tribes of Thamūd (xci, 11 and 14; liii, 51, etc.). In the second Meccan period, God's plans for the Nations, for Thamūd and ʿĀd, are mingled with intimations of the Judgment (cf. lxix and lxxix); to the second and third Meccan periods belong the most fully developed accounts of the history of the prophets. Mixed with the theme of the judgment of peoples, that of the judgment of every individual human being is constantly stated.

2. *God, Unique and One in Himself.* In all of the earliest sūras, God is *thy* Lord. Subsequently He is called Creator, Benefactor, Help, Judge. He is the Most High (lxxx, 1). He is given these names by virtue of those attributes of His godhead which have some connection with man. The particular attribute of His godhead in which the faith of Islam was to have its focus is first stated as an answer to man's errors and impieties: God the One.

Sūra lii, 39 and 43, contains a condemnation of the Meccans who have been accustomed to ascribe partners and daughters to Allāh. For Allāh is *wāḥid*, sole divinity. "Your God is One" (xxxvii, 4), the believers are told. The assertion is constantly repeated throughout the Book, constantly restated in the Medinan period (e.g. ii, 163). It is the very core of the preaching concerning God: "It has been revealed to me only that your God is One God", Muḥammad says again and again (e.g. xli, 6, etc.).

But in a verse of the first Meccan period is found what is perhaps a stronger affirmation that Allāh is One in Himself. In relation to man, sole divinity, *wāḥid*; in Himself, One in His nature of deity, *aḥad* (cxii, 1).—Sole and One, the two Names come together in the Unity, the *tawḥīd*, and its absolute transcendence. Such is the meaning of the "witness" of Islam, the *shahāda*. As early as that 73rd sūra, which, according to the traditions, gave rise to the conversion of ʿUmar, the assertion appears: "There is no divinity—save Him (*huwa*)" (lxxiii, 9). The second Meccan period declares: *innanī Anā Allāh—lā ilāh illā Anā*, "I, I am God—there is no divinity save Me" (xx, 14), and that the mystery of this divine "I" is the Real (*ḥaḳḳ*, xx, 114; xviii, 44).—Lastly, the short sūra cxii, of uncertain date (referred by some to the Medinan period), is known as the sūra of Unity (*tawḥīd*) *par excellence*: God Alone, the Master, not begetting and not begotten; without equal: an assertion of the unity of the divine nature as such, its intrinsic mystery unfathomed (cf. xxiii, 91).

3. *God omnipotent and merciful.* The twofold aspect of the mystery of God in relation to His creation: Lord of the worlds (lxxxiv, 29; a very frequent expression) in His unquestioned omnipotence and His forgiving benevolence, is found in all periods of the Ḳurʾān alike, with varying shades of expression and emphasis.

The quality of omnipotence is the first enunciated. He is "the Lord of Easts and Wests" (lxx, 49; cf. lxxiii, 9); but it is precisely this which encourages the believer to see in Him a protector, a surety (*wakīl*, lxxiii, 9) and to exalt that power of mercy and forgiveness on which the text is so insistent. The names *raḥmān*, *raḥīm*, *ghafūr*, *ghaffār*, benefactor, merciful, forgiving, everforgiving, are among those which occur most frequently. What is first brought into notice is, on the one hand, the inscrutable omnipotence of God and, on the other hand, the total and trusting committal of oneself which is demanded by night, by way of response to this omnipotence, of all who devote themselves to the Lord. A text of the Medinan period (v, 3) makes the "committal to God" (*islām*) into the religion itself, but already in the eschatological sūras of the first period, the believer is exhorted to entrust himself to the gracious bounty (*niʿma*, xciii, 11) of the Lord. God is the refuge and the guide (xciii, 6-7); the whole of sūra lv (of the second Meccan period, according to Grimme; with later additions, according to Bell) proclaims the wrath of the Merciful, Lord of majesty (*djalāl*) and generosity (*ikrām*), against those who reject His benefactions.

(B) *The Signs and Names of Allāh.*

Thus God, through His prophets, is continually revealing to man the unexpressed mystery of His

ineffability, in which man is asked to believe, and His explicit sovereignty over all creation, and the transcendental perfections by which it is made known. For He is at the same time "the First and the Last, the Manifest (*ẓāhir*) and the Hidden (*bāṭin*)" (lvii 3).

In the first place, man, since he has received a revelation about them, must be able to recognize the "signs of the universe", which are "signs of God" (*āyāt Allāh*). So wonderful indeed are the "unfailing" (lxvii, 3-4) order and harmony of the world, that man is in danger of worshipping them. But he must recognize that there is nothing imperishable in this order and harmony. As happened to the prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham); man's reason, guided by God, must grasp, in the perishable and the mutable, the incontrovertible evidence for the necessary and transcendent existence of the Creator. "To reflect", "to reason about the signs of the universe", is therefore a religious duty for man's reason, imposed on it by the Ḳur'ān (ii, 118, 164; iii, 190; vi, 99; xiii, 2-3; xxiv, 43-54, etc.). The Ḳur'ān also teaches it that God alone abides. "All perishes, save His Face" (xxviii, 88; cf. xxxix, 68; lv, 26-27, etc.). At the declared eschatological Hour, God, creator and therefore master of life and death, will annihilate all things, subsequently re-creating everything at the great Gathering (*ḥas͟hr*, 1, 44; lix, 2). The wonderful order and harmony of the present cosmos are presented as an invitation to prostrate oneself before the Power Which creates and annihilates (xxxii, 15; xli, 37).

God's perfections, which cause His transcendence to blaze forth in relation to this order of the world, are the same as those which God reveals. They are essentially the Names (*asmā'*) which He gives to Himself. "He has the most beautiful Names" (vii, 180; xvii, 110; xx, 8). Muslim piety has carefully picked out from the text of the Ḳur'ān, supplemented by tradition, the 99 "most beautiful Names" and has never ceased to memorize them and meditate on them. Without wishing to give here an exhaustive analysis of them (see complete list under AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ), we may say that the following are the main themes which emerge (we shall confine ourselves to a single reference for each, generally the oldest):

God is One and Unique (cf. above), the Living, the Self-subsisting (*al-ḥayy al-ḳayyūm*, xx, 111), the Real, the Truth (*al-ḥaḳḳ*, xx, 114, frequent), the Sublime (*al-ʿaẓīm*, lxix, 33, frequent), the High and Great (*al-ʿalī al-kabīr*, xxxi, 30), Light and "Light on Light" (*nur, nūr ʿalā nūr*, xxiv, 35), the Sage (*al-ḥakīm*, lxxvi, 30, frequent), the Omnipotent (*al-ʿazīz*, lxxxv, 8, frequent; *ḳadīr*, lxvii, 1, frequent), absolute Creator (*badīʿ*, vi, 101), creating the world (*k͟hāliḳ*, xl, 62), Who does not cease to create (*k͟hallāḳ*, xxxvi, 81), Who is unlike all creation ("Naught is like unto Him" *laysa ka-mit͟hlihi s͟hay'*, xlii, 11), the Hearing, the Clearsighted, the Omniscient (*al-samīʿ, al-baṣīr, al-ʿalīm*, e.g. xlii, 11-12, frequent), the Witness (*s͟hāhid*, lxxxv, 9, frequent), the Bountiful (*al-wahhāb*, li, 58), the Benefactor (*al-raḥmān*, lxxviii, 37, very frequent), the Surety (*al-walī*, xlv, 19), the Protector (*al-wakīl*, lxxiii, 9, frequent), the Generous (*al-karīm*, xliv, 49), the Merciful (*al-raḥīm*, lii, 28, very frequent), the Forgiver (*g͟hafūr*, lxxvi, 20, frequent) Who is ever forgiving (*g͟haffār*, xx, 84), the Compassionate (*al-ra'ūf*, iii, 30), the Benevolent (*al-wadūd*, lxxxv, 14), the "Best of Judges" (*k͟hayr al-ḥākimīn*, x, 109), Who punishes in all strictness and rewards in all fairness and forbearance.

A good many of these terms occur again and again. Stress may be laid on one or other of them, now in the Meccan period, now in the Medinan, but nearly all are at least recalled in sūras of both periods. Often the text proceeds by fulgurating affirmations, "with no hollow", "facing" the believer, like God Himself (*ṣamad*, cxii, 2); often too by allusive parables, which insist and "prove" by the literal veracity with which their parabolic mode of expression is then invested.

A single example: the divine omniscience extends to the smallest action of the smallest created thing. These are the words employed: "No leaf falls but He knows it; there is no seed in the darknesses of the earth, no green shoot or dry but it is inscribed in the perspicuous Book" (vi, 59). Or again: "No female conceives or brings forth without His knowledge" (xxxv, 11). The mind is thus powerfully disposed to recognize the full presence of God in every human deed, in every act of the human heart. He is the creator of every act, whatever it be (xxxvii, 96); He is, in a special way, close to the man He has created (cf. xxxiv, 50); He knows "that which his soul suggests to him"; He is "closer to him than his jugular vein" (1, 16).

(C) *Two groups of verses.*

Some remarks on two groups of verses which, in the course of the centuries, were to give rise to numerous controversies:

1. ***Retribution and the divine decree.*** God's sovereign omnipotence becomes explicit in His wishes for the world. It is affirmed in his efficacious decree (*ḳadar*), and man, like all creatures, belongs to Him. But at the same time it is affirmed as the omnipotence of the just Judge, the equitable Rewarder, and man must know that every one of his acts will carry its own weight,—of recompense for the good, of punishment for the bad (e.g. ii, 286).

It has been too often and too readily stated that the Ḳur'ān contains a mass of "contradictory" verses. The truth is that there is no contradiction at all, but contrasted and complementary affirmations, with the aim of producing the required attitude towards God in the heart of man.

The divine omnipotence is indeed monolithic. "God has no account to render", as Muslim tradition repeatedly says. But here we must be careful of the Ḳur'ānic manner of preaching. The Ḳur'ān poses neither the theological problem of predestination (it does not *pose* any *problem*), nor the philosophical problem of the nature of human freedom: it evokes the mystery of the relations between creature and Creator. Nor does it pose the problem of the nature of evil. "It is God Who has created you and all that you have done" (xxxvii, 96), an affirmation frequently applied later to every human act. Nevertheless, "every good which comes to you comes from God, every ill which comes to you comes from you" (iv, 79). There is nothing here to demand an acceptance of the positive nature of evil.

The verses of the Ḳur'ān tirelessly proclaim that nothing escapes God, His will and His power, and equally that God is the Bringer of retribution. In a way, the idea of retribution is even dominant. Reward is promised to the just, and punishment to "him who turns away" (xcii, 16). The damned are those "who refuse the help" of God (cvii, 7). —In his Index, R. Blachère (iii, 1223) notices between two and three hundred passages which promise retribution in the measure of one's works. On the Day of Judgment, every soul will be judged

by what it has acquired (xl, 17): "whoever has done an atom's weight of good shall see it; whoever has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it' (xcix, 7-8). The necessity of "doing good", of "ordering what is right" (*al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf*) and "forbidding what is wrong" (*al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*) is one of the first commands; the very first, one might say, since the pre-eminently good act is the declaration of faith in the One, the sincere *islām*. This command is not addressed only to each man, but, in precise terms, to the community of believers as such (iii, 104, 110, etc.). On the temporal plane of the fulfilment of the divine decrees in the contingent world, man is recompensed according to his works and his deserts.

But on the intemporal plane of the immutable decrees, a shift of perspective occurs. Nothing can have any effect on God's Will (*irāda*) or on His Command (*amr*). The elect are the chosen of God. "He bestows His favour on whomsoever He wishes" (iii, 73-74; v, 54; lvii, 21; lxii, 4); it is He "Who brings low and raises up" (iii, 25). And the great affirmation: "He turns astray whom He wishes, and guides whom He wishes" (xiv, 4; xvi, 93; xxxv, 8; vi, 39, 125),—and he whom God sends astray can have neither surety nor guide (xvii, 97; xviii, 17; xxxix, 29, 37; vii, 186; xiii, 33). Twice there occurs this image of specifically Semitic construction, so close to Isaiah vi, 9-10: "We have placed veils over their hearts, that they may not understand, and a dullness into their ears" (Ḳurʾān, xviii, 57); and "he whom God, knowingly, has sent astray, whose hearing and whose heart He has sealed, and on whose eyes He has set a blindfold . . ." (xlv, 23).

The first of these two texts (xviii, 57) in fact throws into sharp relief the divine action which seals hearing and heart, and the wrongness of the one who has turned away from the signs of the Lord. The second (xlv, 23), closes with a summons to reform. Verse xlv, 19, states that the wrongdoers are left to themselves ("they have no patrons but themselves"), while God is the patron of the righteous: thus according with iv, 79, quoted above.

The responsibility of man, the omnipotence and the peremptory decree of God: these two lines of thought combine in the ultimate affirmation of the Judgment. This way of access to the mystery was one which presented itself most forcefully to Muslim speculation in later ages.

2. *Anthropomorphic verses*. The other group of verses is one whose picturesque style, if taken absolutely literally, would seem to ascribe human attributes or acts to God. These are the *mutas̲h̲ābih*, "ambiguous", verses, as distinct from the *muḥkam* verses, whose sense is clearly established.—Thus: God dwells on His throne (xx, 5; lvii, 4, etc.); He "comes" (movement in place, lxxxix, 22); the hand of God (xlviii, 10; li, 47); His face (e.g. lv, 27); His eyes (xi, 37; lii, 48; liv, 14) etc. Our reason for noting these texts is that they were later the object of exegetic and theological dispute.

(D) *Conclusion*.

The Ḳurʾānic preaching about God is entirely centred on its affirmations of Oneness and Unity, of transcendence and subsistence, of absolute perfections. The forbidding inaccessibility of the divine nature is resolutely maintained; God, omniscient and "near", can be known only by His Word, by the Names, the attributes and acts of His paramount Sovereignty, which He Himself reveals.

It is indeed in His Sovereignty over every creature that Allāh is manifested. The attributes of omniscience and omnipotence relate to God's outward-directed knowledge and power. The declaration of Oneness pertains to the oneness of the divine nature, the godhead as such. God in Himself remains the unexpressed mystery, *g̲h̲ayb*.

For Islam, the name *Allāh* is indeed, as Macdonald said (EI[1]), the proper name of God; in that it expresses the sole and incommunicable godhead.

Ought one to describe the God of this preaching as a personal God? This question has no place emong the problems of Muslim theologians. It is weightily posed by the speculations of western students of Islam (cf. Macdonald's article, quoted above, in which he speaks of the "overwhelming personality" of Allāh): God, personal because living, creating, acting on the world, speaking to men. But never will Islam say that Allāh is *s̲h̲ak̲h̲ṣ* or *s̲h̲ak̲h̲ṣī*. They shrink from the assertion made by western scholars; indeed, they take positive exception to it. There is a twofold misunderstanding here. (a) *Vocabulary*. *S̲h̲ak̲h̲ṣ* has not undergone, in philosophical Arabic, the same shift as the Greek ὑπόστασις or the Latin *persona*. *S̲h̲ak̲h̲ṣ* always connotes the individual silhouette. There is no better term for the concept of "person"; moreover, it is well suited to the created person, but suggests a limiting individualization. (b) The very *concept* as applied to God: generally, the Muslim will feel loth to trammel with it the inaccessibility of the divine nature.

But the misunderstanding disappears if we make it plain that "personal God" implies, in the Indo-European languages, an absolute perfection: God, subsisting in Himself, incommunicable in His purpose of godhead. God, personal because perfect and the source of perfection, infinitely distinct from every creature, and the object of faith and worship. Now this is precisely what the Ḳurʾān teaches. If it leaves God's inmost Life in its own mystery, it is so as to insist on the Word communicated to man through the prophets, and on the inner attitude demanded of the believer.—God, sovereign Judge, just and terrible (*d̲j̲abbār*, lix, 23), is also, by the same token, protecting, beneficent, merciful. Faced with the incommunicable mystery, the Ḳurʾān demands of the believer, in respect of Allāh, reverent fear (*taḳwā*, ix, 109) and, at the same time, piety (*birr*), the act of which is the same as the act of reverent fear (ii, 189), gratitude (*s̲h̲ukr*; in the verbal form: "you may perchance be grateful", as the Book aften says, especially in the Medinan period), confidence (*tawakkul*; frequently in the verbal form: "have confidence in God", e.g. iv, 81).

The "God-fearing" of the Ḳurʾān bow down before the inscrutable omnipotence. For the damned alone, i.e., "those who have rebelled" (lxxix, 37), this fear becomes dread of punishment (cf. lxxv 25). The chosen "those who believe in the Mystery, perform the prayer, and give [in alms] of their goods" (ii, 3), those "who seek after His Face", to use the beautiful expression so often employed (e.g. xcii, 20), find in Him their protector (*wakīl*) and guide (*hādī*); they find with Him the supreme Refuge (*maʾāb*, e.g. iii, 14; lxxviii, 39).

II. THE DEVELOPMENT IN TRADITION AND KALĀM.

*In section iii we shall sketch the most notable attitudes of the Muslim schools concerning God. For the moment, we seek to devote ourselves to the body of problems and the axiology of Sunnite theology.

The traditional science which deals with divine matters is the *ʿilm al-kalām* or *ʿilm al-tawḥīd*, roughly "theology" or "defensive apology" (see below

for certain criticisms raised in Islam against its legitimacy). We shall take it in its established form, assuming a knowledge of its historical origins, the influences it underwent, the formation of the various schools (see KALĀM). A reminder: 1) under the Umayyads: the Murdji'ites, Ḳadarites, Djabbārītes; 2) the Muʿtazilites, originally political (1st/7th century), then doctrinal (2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries), who triumphed under Ma'mūn but were subsequently regarded as "heterodox" for centuries; 3) from the 4th/10th century onward, the official Ashʿarite and Ḥanafite-Māturīdite lines.— The conclusions vary with the diverse attitudes towards the relation of reason (*ʿaḳl*) and the Law (*sharʿ*), or of reason (*ʿaḳl*) and tradition (*naḳl, taḳlīd*), or of rational (*ʿaḳlī*) and authoritarian (*samʿī*) proofs.

The *ʿilm al-kalām* came to sustain itself by means of two other "religious sciences": 1) the science of *ḥadīth* provided texts regarded as authoritative proofs, which took up one theme or another of the Ḳur'ānic teaching, in a picturesque, even mythical, manner (cf. the six "authentic" collections, *ṣaḥīḥ*, particularly the *kitāb al-tawḥīd* of Bukhārī's *corpus*). Numerous traditions relate, on the one hand, to God's mercy and forgiveness (e.g. "My mercy outweighs My wrath or takes precedence of it", Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 169, 175); on the other hand, to His absolute kingship ("I am the King; where are the kings of the earth?", id., 167, 181); on the one hand, to human responsibility (texts in Bukhārī or Muslim, chap. *Ḳadar*), on the other hand, to the preordaining decree (e.g. these oft-quoted ḥadīths: "All the hearts of mankind are like one single heart between two of the fingers of the Merciful", and: "These for heaven, and I care not; those for hell, and I care not"). Many *ḥadīths* had great influence on the formation of current notions and the popular attitude concerning God.

2) The science of *tafsīr*, or exegetic interpretation, played a leading part in the use and understanding of those Ḳur'ānic verses which speak of God, particularly the anthropomorphic passages.

Ḥadīth and *tafsīr* were employed in various ways by the schools of *kalām*.

If we refer to the problems of the *kalām* (which is, in its essentials, of Muʿtazilite origin), we find two great principles directly concerning God: 1) the principle of *tawḥīd* or divine unity; 2) the principle of *ʿadl*, of the justice of God in connection with the requital of human actions. As against the "freethinkers" of their day, the Muʿtazilites had presented themselves as "the people of unity and justice", *ahl al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ʿadl*. These problems continued to inspire later schools. Only their titles changed. The great classic manuals of the Ashʿarites and Māturīdites (e.g. *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* of Djurdjānī, *Maḳāṣid* of Taftāzānī, etc.) called the first principle *wudjūd Allāh wa ṣifātuhu* ("the existence and attributes of God"), and the second *afʿāluhu taʿālā* ("the actions of the Exalted One"). Here are the main questions raised in connection with both.

(A) *Tawḥīd*.

1. *The Existence of God* (*wudjūd Allāh*).

All schools agree in quoting those Ḳur'ānic verses (cf. above) which bid the reason to "reflect on the signs of the universe", and to rise thereby to the affirmation of the Creator. But: (a) according to the Muʿtazilites, there is involved in this an obligation inherent in the nature of reason, prior to the promulgation of the Law; (b) according to the Māturīdites, reason should, by rights, have been able to attain to the knowledge of its Creator, but was actually brought to it by the promulgation of the Law; (c) for the Ashʿarites, the employment of the reason and of reasoning in order to rise to God is a purely legal (revealed) obligation. Cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, Cairo 1325/1907, i, 251 ff. In other words: if the Law had not laid down the obligation, human reason could never have attained to the existence of God (cf. al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iḳtiṣād*, Cairo, n.d., 77-8). The affirmation of the existence of God, for the Ashʿarite school as a whole, is therefore the result of a rational (*ʿaḳlī*) argument, prescribed by an argument of authority (here, *sharʿī*).

Whatever the nature of this obligation, the schools are as one with regard to the rational argument itself. What is involved is a proof of the existence of God *a novitate mundi*, linked with the entirely contingent and perishable character of the world, as the Ḳur'ān teaches and reason can convince itself. For the *kalām*, the temporal beginning and end of the world are demonstrable truths. There is then an inference (*istidlāl*) which proceeds, with no universal middle term, from this utter inadequacy of the created to the necessary (*wādjib*) existence of the Creator, Who alone exists from all eternity and alone is self-subsisting (truths taught by the Ḳur'ān and also accessible to the reason, *ʿaḳliyyāt*). This inference, in the early days of the *kalām* (Muʿtazilites as well as Ashʿarites) was set out as a piece of reasoning in two terms. Among the later *mutakallimūn*, more directly imbued with the Aristotelian logic, it frequently took the shape of a syllogistic deduction (both forms are found in al-Djuwaynī). The argument is given in all the manuals as a "decisive" (*ḳaṭʿī*) proof. Only rarely, under influences proceeding from the *falsafa*, does it take the form of the proof *a contingentia mundi* in the strict sense. The world is *muḥdath*, and in the treatises of *kalām* this term stays very close to its etymological sense of "begun" in time (see the works of Wensinck and S. de Beaurecueil, cited in the bibliography, on the proofs of the existence of God).

2. *The Attributes of God* (*ṣifāt Allāh*).

(a) *Relations between essence and attributes*. This was one of the most controversial topics. Some old traditionists held fast to the letter of the texts and set themselves against all research that might be called rational. Their opponents, exaggerating the rigidity of the position they were attacking, called them *mudjassima* ("corporealists", who give bodily attributes to God), or again, contemptuously, *ḥashwiyya*. They accused them of *tashbīh*: comparing God to the created.

In their anxiety to purify the concept of *tawḥīd*, the Muʿtazilites extolled, on the contrary, *tanzīh*, "withdrawal", the *via remotionis* which they applied with extreme rigour: one must deny God every created thing, as the Ḳur'ān commands. The Djahmites, disciples of the Djabbārite Djahm b. Safwān, had practically denied the existence of the attributes, God being known only as an inscrutable omnipotence. The Muʿtazilite *tanzīh*, on the other hand, took the theistic standpoint of a ruling God. They recognized the divine attributes of knowledge, power, speech, etc., but asserted that they were "identical with the essence", a distinction which was, for them, hardly more than nominal.

The "orthodox" schools likewise practised *tanzīh*, i.e., they denied God any resemblance to anything:

He is neither body nor substance (*djawhar*, in the sense of bounded substance) nor accidents, nor is He localized, etc. (It must be noted that the Karrāmites had recognized God as substance, by which they understood self-existent).—The Ashʿarite reform, in the name of the "golden mean", held itself equally aloof from the Muʿtazilite tendency to prove everything rationally, and from the literalism of the *mudjassima*. This was the famous principle *bilā kayf wa lā tashbīh*, "without 'how' or comparison". It accused the Muʿtazilite *tanzīh* of amounting to the same as *taʿṭīl*, divesting the attributes of all reality and making of God no more than an empty concept. The Ashʿarites, for their part, while recognizing the entire reality of the attributes, since the Ḳurʾān informs us of them, yet affirmed that this reality can in no way compromise the perfect divine Unity. Simultaneously opposing Muʿtazilites and *falāsifa*, and following al-Ghazzālī, they later arrived at this approximation: "the attributes subsist in the divine essence; they are not God and are nothing other than He".

A kindred solution was advanced by certain Ashʿarites who remained faithful to the conceptualist theory of "modes" (*aḥwāl*) of the Muʿtazilite Abū Hāshim: e.g. al-Djuwaynī (5th/11th century); on this point the so-called "modern" school (6th-7th/12th-13th century) of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Djurdjānī, etc. was at variance with him. The "mode" (*ḥāl*) is an attribute which is attached to an existing thing but is itself qualified neither by existence nor by non-existence: that is how the relation between the divine essence and the attributes is to be understood.

This difficult theological problem was served by a philosophical instrument which went on striving to improve itself, and making progress, though not without occasionally stumbling. Thus, at the beginning of the Ḥanafite-Māturīdite line, we find in the *Fiḳh Akbar II* (text of the time of Ashʿarī), that God is a "thing" (*shayʾ*). Much though this statement might later be ridiculed by some of the *mutakallimūn*, influenced by Greek thought, as used by the ancients it is clearly to be taken in the sense of "existing reality": "Allāh is thing, not as other things but in the sense of positive existence" (*Fiḳh Akbar II*, Art. 4; cf. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 190). It was in this same sense that the term "body" or "bodily substance" (*djism*) was used in speaking of God; this practice of certain Karrāmites and Ḥanbalites was noted by Macdonald (EI[1]).

The Māturīdites on the whole preferred not to distinguish God's attributes from Himself but to say: "God is knowing and has a knowledge which is attributed to Him in the sense of eternity", etc., thus laying stress on the divine Names (the Knowing, Willing, Powerful, Speaking, etc.).

(*b*) *List of attributes*. The guiding principle was to affirm no attribute not expressly indicated in the Ḳurʾān: the principle of *tafwīḍ*, "leaving it to God" to elucidate through scripture. The majority of the doctors of *kalām*, however, considered that it was not being false to the text to pass from the present participle, for example, to the noun, in accordance with the laws of language. Thus there evolved, in the course of the centuries, a list of attributes, enumerated in no particular order, to begin with (so in the *Ibāna* of al-Ashʿarī), and then, especially from al-Djuwaynī onward, sorted out and classified.

The order adopted, indeed the appellations themselves, vary with the different schools (cf. ṢIFA). To adhere to one commonly-held view, we offer the following list: 1) attribute of essence (*ṣifat al-dhāt*): *wudjūd*, existence; in the case of God, not distinguished from essence; 2) "essential" (*dhātī* or *nafsī*) attributes, sometimes divided into (a) "negative" attributes which emphasize the divine transcendance: eternity (*ḳidam*), permanence (*baḳāʾ*), dissimilarity to the created (*al-mukhālafa li 'l-ḥawādith*), self-subsistence (*ḳiyām bi 'l-nafsi*),—and (b) *maʿānī* attributes, "adding a concept to the essence": power (*ḳudra*), will (*irāda*), knowledge (*ʿilm*), life (*ḥayāt*), speech (*kalām*), hearing (*samʿ*), sight (*baṣar*), perception (*idrāk*: some denied that this was an attribute); 3) attributes of "qualification" (*maʿnawiyya*), the *maʿānī* attributes taken verbally: having power, willing, knowing . . .; 4) attributes of action (*ṣifāt al-afʿāl*), designating not an intrinsic quality but a "possibility" of God, which God may or may not do: visibility (*ruʾyat Allāh*), creation (*khalḳ*), actual creation of the contingent world (the Māturīdite *takwīn*), command (*amr*), decree and predetermination (*ḳadar* and *ḳaḍāʾ*), whose relations with the divine knowledge and will vary according to the school, consent (*riḍā*: especially in Māturīdism), etc.

The Ashʿarites and Māturīdites agree in taking the *maʿānī* attributes as eternal, even if their object is contingent; against the Muʿtazilites who maintained, for example (school of Baṣra), that God has a "contingent" knowledge, with a beginning, of free human acts. On the other hand, Ashʿarites and Māturīdites diverge over the "eternal" or "begun" character of the attributes of action: the Māturīdites generally regard them as eternal.

All but four of the attributes depend on the *ʿaḳliyyāt*: they are taught by the Ḳurʾān but human reason can "prove" them. The other four, visibility, speech, hearing and sight ("perception" is sometimes included), depend on the *samʿiyyāt* and are knowable only because they have been revealed.

(c) *Two controversial attributes*. The "vision of God" (attribute of visibility") and Speech were hotly debated.

The vision of God (*ruʾyat Allāh*) is understood as being through the eyesight, *bi 'l-abṣār*. The pious traditionists accepted it absolutely, interpreting in this sense Ḳurʾān, lxxv, 22-23, and numerous *ḥadīths*. The Muʿtazilites denied it no less absolutely, interpreting the Ḳurʾānic text by a philological *taʾwīl* (cf. below). Ashʿarites and Ḥanafite-Māturīdites upheld the vision of God, but emphasizing the *bilā kayf*: every man will see God with his eyesight on the Day of Judgment, the elect will see Him (transiently) in Paradise,—but they will not see Him as one sees an object spatially situated and limited, and it is impossible to specify the manner of this vision (*Ibāna*, Cairo 1348 h., 14, *Fiḳh Akbar II*, 17).

The "traditional" (*samʿī*) attribute of Speech is of major importance, since by means of it God manifests Himself to men. The Muʿtazilites, precisely because of this manifestation in time, made of it a contingent "created" Speech (whence the thesis of the created, *makhlūḳ*, Ḳurʾān). The Ḳurʾān *is* the Speech of God, but the latter is contingent. The Ashʿarites, taking up that great affirmation which had earned Ibn Ḥanbal imprisonment and flogging, saw in it essential (*nafsī*) Speech, subsisting by the very existence of God. Hence the thesis of the "uncreated Ḳurʾān" (*ghayr makhlūḳ*, *Ibāna*, 20-22). But the school distinguished between it and its "created" expression: the Book and its recitation by human lips. In the 8/14th century, Ibn Taymiyya, meditating on and reviving the faith of the "pious ancients" (*salaf*), found Muʿtazilites and Ashʿarites equally

wanting: he reaffirmed the essential Speech of God, which expresses Him and subsists in Him, and declared that this Speech, in its mystery, *is* Torah, Gospel, Ḳurʾān (*Fatāwā*, Cairo 1329 h., v, 265-7).

3. *Mutas͟hābih Verses.*

The veneration of the Ḳurʾānic text, coupled with the inscrutable mystery of the One God, soon confronted Muslim thought with the case of the "ambiguous" anthropomorphic (*mutas͟hābih*) verses, which apparently liken God to the created. Are they to be accepted in pure faith, or should they be interpreted (*taʾwīl*) by exegesis (*tafsīr*)?

(a) The ancient traditionists took these verses at their face value. But it would be idle to bring against them an unqualified accusation of "corporealism", as their opponents did. The As͟hʿarites themselves declared valid the attitude of the "ancients" who, eschewing all *taʾwīl* or interpretation, took refuge in the *tafwīḍ* or committal to God. God sits on His Throne (*istiwāʾ*), descends towards the earth, has eyes, has a hand, because the text says so. But no one knows the acceptation given by God to these terms: this attitude was attributed to Mālik b. Anas in particular. It is hardly necessary to add that an attitude like this became "corporealist" only insofar as it tried to conceptualize itself and to justify itself discursively, but not insofar as it interiorizes itself in adherence to faith.

(b) But the Muʿtazilite schools, for their part, wished to justify dialectically the Muslim notion of God, in face of the Greek-inspired "God of the philosophers". On the one hand the emphasis placed on the Oneness of God, on the other their confidence in the rational criterion (*mīzān ʿaḳlī*), led the Muʿtazilites to an extensive use of *taʾwīl*. Their representative in *taʾwīl* was al-Zamak͟hs͟harī, who adopted for his own purposes the philological method of al-Ṭabarī. In this way "shining countenances, looking at their Lord" became, as al-D͟jubbāʾī suggested, "beautiful countenances, aspiring to the bounty of their Lord": the vision of God could be denied without contradicting the Ḳurʾān.—Recourse was had to figures of speech, as well as to philology. The *mīt͟hāḳ*, the covenant granted by God to the race of Adam in pre-eternity (vii, 172) was regarded as a metaphor (*mad͟jāz*), as were all the anthropomorphic passages.

(c) The first As͟hʿarites reacted against this use of reason in *tafsīr*. For them, the anthropomorphic terms, including the sitting on the throne and the motion in space, are just the expression of actions and attributes which are consistent with the divine Majestry but of which we can know neither the nature nor the manner, and which have nothing in common with the corresponding human actions or attributes. This was the *bilā kayf* attitude, often confused with that of the "ancients" and advanced by the master, al-As͟hʿarī himself.

(d) Later, under an influence picked up from the Muʿtazilites and especially from the *falāsifa* opposition, another attitude, known as that of the "moderns", was admitted into the *kalām*. *Taʾwīl* was permitted. Thus al-D͟juwaynī, Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, etc. The "hand" of God was interpreted as "the protection extended over mankind", His "eyes" denote "the intensity of His providence and watchfulness", etc. (al-Rāzī, *Kitāb Asās al-Taḳdīs*), Cairo 1327 h., 149). A metaphorical interpretation, into which allegory may creep, if need be, and which comes very close to the Muʿtazilite legacy, with the following differences: 1) the attitude of the "ancients" is regarded as valid (cf. *Asās al-Taḳdīs*, last chapter); 2) only the specifically anthropomorphic passages are accepted as metaphors; where the "apparent" (*ẓāhir*) sense would lead to a real impossibility: this was the position which Ṭabarī had already taken up. But the vision of God, and the metahistorical fact of the covenant, were maintained in their strict sense, in conformity with the As͟hʿarite dogmatic.

(B) *The actions of God* (*afʿāluhu taʿālā*).

(The problem of justice and retribution).

The Ḳurʾān teaches the two great truths of divine omnipotence and human responsibility, good works rewarded, acts of "disobedience" punished. Muslim thinkers strove tirelessly to find the solution to this apparent conflict. This was the subject of the first controversies, as early as Damascus, between D͟jabarites, Ḳadarites and Murd͟jiʾites. The great schools of *kalām* inherited it from them.

1. The Muʿtazilites affirm human freedom: man acts by a power (*ḳudra*) which God has once and for all created in him. God knows these free actions; He does not create them. The school of Baṣra insisted that He knows them only from the moment of their production, by an attribute of knowledge which in this respect is contingent, "begun".—But these actions are rewarded or punished by God in all fairness. He is the just Judge, incapable of not acting for a purpose, with a fixed aim in view. There is a deliberate order in the universe (the wonderful order of which the Ḳurʾān speaks), an objective order: and therefore there are intermediate aims subordinated to a final aim. There are secondary causes (*asbāb*) which act efficaciously on their effects, and there is a good and an evil (literally beautiful, ugly, *ḥasan, ḳabīḥ*) in the nature of things, prior to the elucidation brought by the revealed Law (*s͟harʿ*). God is bound to do the best (*aṣlaḥ*). He does not want evil and does not order it; His will (*irāda*) and His command (*amr*) are identical. Evil is created by man, just as he creates the moral denominations of his acts, since he creates (*k͟halaḳa*) all his actions, good and bad.—The two Muʿtazilite groups, of Baṣra and Kūfa, parted company over the concept of the "best" which God always accomplishes, and over its extension.

2. The As͟hʿarite school revolted against this attempt at "justifying" God. God "does not come within the grasp of the intellect". He is the just Judge *because* He does what He wishes. "No obligation for God". What He does is the best, not because He is so obliged, but because He does it. Moral good and evil have no existence prior to the positive divine Law. "If God were to reverse the decision, and to declare good (*ḥasan*) what He has declared bad (*ḳabīḥ*), and bad what He has declared good, there would be no impediment" (al-D͟jurd͟jānī, *S͟harḥ al-Mawāḳif*, viii, 182).—Al-G͟hazzālī and al-Rāzī, it is true, recognize a "rational" (*ʿaḳlī*) meaning in the "beautiful good" and the "ugly-evil": only on the plane of being, for al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., 147; *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn*, Cairo 1353 h,, 249); on the plane of the sensible qualities inherent in things, for al-G͟hazzālī (*Iḳtiṣād*, Cairo n.d., 67).

And God, as the Ḳurʾān says, "guides whom He wishes, turns astray whom He wishes". Everything is fixed by His predetermination (*ḳaḍāʾ*), according to His eternal Will (*irāda*), encompassing in its generality the totality of things,—while His decree (*ḳadar*), existentialized by His command (*amr*), is

an "attribute of contingent action", particularizing in time the things that are "begun", as they pass from non-being to being. As al-Djurdjānī says (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, 1845, 181), "*ḳadar* is the relation of the essential Will to things in their individual realization"; and again: "*Ḳadar*: the passing of possible from non-being into being, one by one, in conformity with *ḳaḍāʾ*. *Ḳaḍāʾ* is of the order of pre-eternity (*azal*), *ḳadar* depends on the present order of things" (ibid.). It follows that one must distinguish between *irāda* and *amr*; it is the latter which is directly linked with man's obedience. God wishes the impiety of the infidel and creates it in him, yet commands him to believe.

For man's "free" action, his *ikhtiyār*, is only a special case of more general principles. God is the creator of human acts, whatever they be. The text "God is creator of all that you do" is interpreted in the sense of a creation *ex nihilo*. True, man has a feeling of his own responsibility. This means that God sets down to his merit or demerit the actions he performs, as the Ḳurʾān expressly states, and that He rewards or punishes him, as promised. Man receives the "acquisition", the attribution of his acts (*kasb*, *iktisāb*: cf. Ḳurʾān, ii, 281; lii, 21, etc.). At the end of the last century, Bādjūrī found this formula necessary: "man is a bound being, in the shape of a free being" (*Ḥāshiya ʿala ʾl-Djawhara*, Cairo 1352/1934, 62). On the empirical level, man must therefore continue to act as though he were free. But he must know that everything comes to him from God. If he acts well, it is because God in His Mercy has so decreed; if he acts badly, it is because God has so willed in His justice.

This negation of ontological liberty accords with the negation of the efficacy of the second causes (*asbāb*): as against the "reprehensible innovation" (*bidʿa*) of the Muʿtazilite thesis (efficacy of the *asbāb*, according to a "power" created by God), and against the absolute determinism of the causes ("cause" here rendered by *ʿilla*) taught in the *falsafa*, a thesis tainted with *kufr* (impiety). (Cf. al-Sanūsī, *Muḳaddimāt*, Algiers 1908, 108-109; al-Bādjūrī, op. cit., 58).—For the Ashʿarites, there is nothing efficacious about the second causes, because there is no conservation in being, on the part of God. There are discontinuous séries of instantaneous creations, temporal existentializations of the eternal *ḳaḍāʾ*. At every instant (*waḳf*), God creates and re-creates the world and the impermanent whole, extrinsically unified, which is man, and every act of man. The world of "free" acts, as well as the cosmos in its entirety, is a discontinuous sequence of inscrutable divine decrees. The "causes" are but the channels, the tokens, of this divine Will, and the "laws" are a "custom of God" (*sunnat Allāh*; the expression is still found in Muhammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, Cairo 1353, 7). It is a custom which God can always modify: as He does, for example, when He decides to give proof, by miracles (*muʿdjizāt*), of the mission of His prophets.

For most of the Ashʿarites, though by no means all, there is an atomistic cosmology corresponding to the discontinuous view of things. Everything is but a concourse of atoms (*nuḳṭa*, *dharr*), connected, disconnected, reunited, by divine decree. If it is true that al-Bāḳillānī (4th/10th century) declared atomism to be "coessential" (Massignon) with the Ḳurʾānic dogmas, it would, in our opinion, be going too far to see in this the pre-eminently characteristic aspect of Ashʿarism, still more of all "orthodox" Muslim theology. This physico-theological atomism is actually of Muʿtazilite origin (Abu 'l-Hudhayl; cf. studies by Horten and S. Pines), and matched well then with the *ḳudra*, the "power" which man was recognized as having over his acts. An impressive line of Ashʿarites, al-Bāḳillānī al-Īdjī, al-Djurdjānī (with some modifications), the "frozen conservatism" of such men as al-Sanūsī, al-Laḳānī and al-Badjūrī, remained faithful to the occasionalist atomism as being the most favoured explanation of the divine omnipotence over the world. But another line, influenced to some small extent by the disputed theses of the *falsafa*, passed over it in silence (al-Ghazzālī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) or greatly modified it (al-Shahrastānī), although still affirming the usual theses on God's *ḳaḍāʾ* and *ḳadar* and the simple human *iktisāb*.

3. Some Māturīdites (Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafī, al-Taftāzānī) were atomists. But we wish to lay particular emphasis on the more directly psychological aspect in which the Ḥanafite-Māturīdite school as a whole regarded the relations between the divine decree and human freedom. From the first, *ḳadar* and *ḳaḍāʾ* were no longer related to the divine Will, but to the divine Knowledge;—and, counter to the Ashʿarites, it was *ḳadar* that was to be eternal, while *ḳaḍāʾ* was connected with existentialization in time. *Ḳadar* was therefore an eternal foreknowledge whereby God knows, from all eternity, the beautiful (good), ugly (bad) or harmful qualities of His creatures, while *ḳaḍāʾ* was God's existentialization of these same things, created with wisdom and perfection (cf. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī, *Naẓm al-Farāʾid*, 2nd ed., Cairo n.d., 28-30; and al-Bādjūrī, *Djawhara*, 66).

For the majority of the Māturīdites, there exists in things a "rational" good (beautiful) and evil (ugly), on the plane of being, not directly on the moral plane (a thesis already noted in connection with the Ashʿarite al-Rāzī). On the moral plane, it is God Who directly creates the basis (*aṣl*) of man's "free" actions, but it is man's power which makes their qualification (*ṣifa*) good or bad. (It should be noted that al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn*, 227, and al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, viii, 147 ascribe this thesis, whose tenor is Māturīdite, to al-Bāḳillānī). All that happens is willed by God; but only the good depends on His consent (*riḍā*). God is not bound to be just, as the Muʿtazilites say; His action is not just because He wishes it, as the Ashʿarites say: He is above all justice by reason of His knowledge and wisdom. He is unable not to be just.

4. We have no need to follow here the abundant efforts of the doctors of the *kalām* to strengthen their arguments and to resolve the objections that were constantly cropping up. Those who were not satisfied with the Ashʿarite theory of *kasb*, of acts imposed from outside, undertook more recondite analyses: thus we have the theory (common to Ashʿarites and Māturīdites) of *istiṭāʿa* [*q.v*] or "capacity" [for an act], created by God previously or simultaneously (cf. al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, ed. Luciani, 1938, 122/196, 125/201; al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 18, etc.); the theory of *tawlīd* or *tawallud* [*q.v.*], which explains the "generation" of the transitive act by the divine occasionalism; and the theory of *tawfīḳ* [*q.v.*] or "facilitation" of acts, especially of good acts, faith and obedience, which is created in man by the divine favour (*luṭf*), and its (positive) opposite, *khidhlān* or divine "abandonment" ("creation in man of the power to disobey", according to a definition by the Māturīdite al-Taftāzānī, *Maḳāṣid*, Istanbul ed., 118), etc.

We can see that these efforts of minute analysis, applied to problems of great complexity, may well have looked like disheartening intellectual games, to those who wished to remain true to the sense of mystery of the "pious ancestors", and who refused to "prove dogma" (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, I, 34-35) as the later Ashʿarites aspired to doing. The *kalām* had its greatest opponents (apart from the *falāsifa* opposition) in the Ḥanbalite and Ẓāhirite systems of thought, which were wedded to tradition and mistrustful of the use of reason in matters of faith. Al-Ghazzālī too was very severe with the *kalām*, on occasion. Yet it is sometimes among these opponents that we find the most pertinent bases of analysis of the relations between the free act and the divine omnipotence.

Thus Ibn Ḥazm (4th-5th/10th-11th century) the Ẓāhirite, who denied any criteriological capacity to the reason (one can speak of Ibn Ḥazm's "nominalism", but it is a nominalism centred on the effective value of language and its internal laws), and who meant to hold fast to the precise declarations of the scriptures: he rejected the Ashʿarite *kasb*, since the texts, he said (*Fiṣal*, Cairo 1347 h., iii, 48) allow neither a "creation" by man of his acts (Muʿtazilite) nor an "acquisition" conferred by God (Ashʿarite); but his whole refutation, highly discursive, of the opposing theories (id., 51-52) is pertinently developed; while a valuable personal solution is outlined in connection with *istiṭāʿa* (id., 21-26 and 31).

Al-Ghazzālī, not indeed the Ghazzālī of the *Iḳtiṣād*, who confines himself to presenting or rather to improving the theses of the Ashʿarites, minimizing, moreover, the scope of the *kalām* (7-8), but the al-Ghazzālī of the *Tahāfut* and, above all, of the *Iḥyā'* (Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 219) carries out an extremely shrewd psychological analysis on the subject of "choice" and the relations of intellect and will in the free act. He defends an irrational concept of freedom and maintains that God alone, Who acts without motive (*ghayr gharaḍ*) is totally free, with a freedom conceived as a free human choice raised to the power of infinity. What the *mutakallimūn* called *kasb* is an "intermediate stage" (*Iḥyā'*, iv, 220) which is not at all a participation in the divine freedom. Man acts of necessity, in the sense that everything which happens in him comes not from him but from Another; he acts by free choice, in the sense that he is the place (*maḥall*) of the free act, which operates inevitably in him after the decision of the intellect, this last being only a matter of form. And al-Ghazzālī propounds this formula, which it would be well not to interpret loosely: "Man is forced into free choice" (*ibid.*).

This concern with analysis was to dwindle to vanishing point in the later manuals, which, from the 15th century onward, hardly did more than repeat the formulas of the past. At the end of the 19th century, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, wishing to free himself from the dialectic of the *kalām*, confined himself to saying: "As for seeking further, for wishing to reconcile God's omniscience and will, which are proved [by the Ḳur'ān and rational arguments], with the free activity of man, which is shown to us by the evidence [sensory, psychological]; that means seeking to penetrate the secrets of the divine decree. We are forbidden to plunge into this abyss and to concern ourselves with that which reason is scarcely capable of attaining" (*Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, 61).

III. VARIOUS MUSLIM ATTITUDES TO GOD.

Some pointers, chosen from the most characteristic:

1. *Ismāʿīlī Theology*. There is much that could be said about the "schismatic" theologies, of Khāridjite Islam on the one hand, of Shīʿite on the other. We shall confine ourselves to the Ismāʿīlī system, which had so many cultural contacts with the Sunnite majority. Integrated in it there is a twofold line of influence: Muʿtazilite (which continued to act on the Shīʿa after the condemnation of the Muʿtazilites in the time of Mutawakkil) and Neoplatonic (consequently, a certain influence from *falsafa*).

We know hardly anything of the very first phase of development or of its efforts to fix in an original direction such Muslim notions as *kun*, *ḳadar*, etc. Not until Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Nasafī (4th/10th century) do we find these primitive conceptions given a new setting in a largely Neoplatonic, emanationist system. Speculation was pursued, and enriched by various trends, with Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, al-Kirmānī (in whom S.M. Stern has found a probable influence of Fārābī: theory of the ten Intellects). Through the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', Ismāʿīlism was to influence many *falāsifa* and even Sunnite theologians, up to the time of the conflict waged by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in favour of Ibn Sīnā.

The emphasis is on the inscrutable mystery of God. A whole "negative theology" developed. No name or attribute can be attached to God in His essence. The perfect *tawḥīd* does not even attribute existence (Persian: *hastī*) to Him, and the Ḳur'ānic Names signify only that those who bear them come from Him (cf. Idrīs al-Ḳarsī, 8/14th century). The Command (*amr*), the Speech or Word (*kalima*), the Act of Creation (*ibdāʿ*), the Absolute Knowledge (*ʿilm maḥḍ*) are hypostatized. God is neither eternal nor existing at present. What is eternal is His Command and His Speech; what exists at present is the creation, which emanated from Him at His Command (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 395, quoted by G. Vajda, *Juda b. Nissim ibn Malka*, Paris 1954, iii, chap. 1). God remains, absolutely, the Unknowable (Nāṣir-i Khusraw). The *tashbīh-taʿṭīl* dilemma is absorbed into a *via negationis*, which refers the affirmation of the attributes to the Word or the Command, or to the First or Universal Intellect.—Al-Kirmānī identifies the First Intellect with the Word, and makes the *ibdāʿ* (Act of Creation) one of its attributes.

The emanationist system of al-Nasafī and his successors set up, in fact, the intermediary of the Universal Intellect, from which the world is produced by way of successive emanations. The echoes are heard in the *Fuṣūṣ fi 'l-Ḥikma* (which, after the researches of S. Pines, REI, 1951, 121-124, is to be ascribed not to al-Farābī but to Ibn Sīnā), and as far as al-Ghazzālī: the *muṭā'* of the *Mishkāt al-Anwār*.

Ismāʿīlī religious feeling attached itself to a group of Gnostic hypostases. The Will (*irāda*), Volition (*mashī'a*) and Command (*amr*) are sometimes "spiritual grades" above the First Intellect; most often, Will, Command and Speech are identified with one another, and the Universal or First Intellect is itself, as the "manifestation" of God, unknowable and ineffable, operated by His Command. These speculations were rooted in an allegorical *ta'wīl* ("hidden", *bāṭin*, meaning of Ḳur'ānic verses) and throve readily on Iranian myths. They were later interiorized by certain Shīʿite, and even Sunnite, Ṣūfīs.

2. *Falsafa*. It was in *falsafa* that the term *ilāhiyyāt* (taken up by *kalām*) gained currency as denoting the whole mass of questions concerning God. The body of problems was no longer that of the *kalām*. It came from Greece, particularly from Aristotle, but was pervaded, at least in eastern *falsafa* (especially al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā) by a considerable Neoplatonic inspiration (the pseudo-*Theology of Aristotle*). Ḳur'ānic influence had some effect on this body of problems (e.g. the problem of the divine knowledge of individuals), but the Ḳur'ān had ceased to be the chief source. We do not therefore need to set out the questions in detail, as we did in the case of the *kalām*. We shall note merely that Ibn Sīnā demonstrates the existence of God by the proof *a contingentia mundi* in the strict sense (not overlooking the proof by the "idea of being", *Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, 146). The more flexible philosophic instrument of the *falāsifa* enabled them to affirm the attributes, distinct from the divine essence, by a simple, reasonable (*ma'ānī*) distinction but with a basis in reality.

The Greek contribution led to an emphasis on the necessary acts of the divine essence. God is the Thought which thinks itself (cf. Aristotle), He is the supreme Good (cf. Plato), which necessarily loves itself. He is the Intelligence, exercising intellection on itself; He is Love and the object of love for Himself: *'aḳl, 'āḳil, ma'ḳūl, 'ishḳ, 'āshiḳ, ma'shūḳ* (cf. *Nadjāt*, Cairo 1357/1938, 243, 245; corresponding passages of the *Shifā'*, etc.). We should mention here an esoteric trend, still imperfectly known, which seems to take up several themes of the Isma'īlī *via negationis* (intermediaries: *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, al-Tawḥīdī; and, at an earlier date, the Isma'īlī tendency, pointed out by S. Pines, of certain recensions of the *Theology of Aristotle*; see *REI*, 1954, 7 ff.).

The *falāsifa* do not provide us with treatises on *'adl* or *af'āluhu ta'ālā*. Contrary to the *kalām*, they affirm (and set out to prove) the production of the world by way of necessary and deliberate emanation (cf. Ismā'īlism), and its temporal eternity: world without beginning or end, "possible" (*mumkin*) in itself, necessary by Another (*ab alio*); contingent in the order of essence, determined in the order of existence. Providence (*'ināya*) is the law of emanation itself, necessarily willed by the eternal thought of God.

The second causes cannot fail to act on their effects. There is no longer any problem of human freedom as against divine omnipotence (cf. *Nadjāt*, 302).

Whatever solution may be adopted as regards the personal survival of the soul, the Active Intellect (*'aḳl fa''āl*) appears as an intermediary between God and man, both in the order of knowledge and in the order of emanation. There is a hierarchy of discrete intellects, up to the First Caused; embracing these, there is the Universal Intellect. For Ibn Sīnā, there is a corresponding hierarchy of Souls, rejected by Ibn Rushd; the latter seems to have been the only one of the *falāsifa* to come back, by way of philosophy, to the divine knowledge of the individual in its very individuality, so forcefully taught by the Ḳur'ān.

What is at stake is the whole attitude of faith with regard to God. Certainly the *falāsifa* were Muslims and remained Muslims. But even though their theses might be amended, and reconciled with the affirmations of the Ḳur'ān, the God they proclaim is exactly the God attained through reason, and, at the highest, through the flash of intellectual intuition. They set out to prove (their notion of prophecy comes into it: a simple privileged moment of the universal determinism) that the God of reason and the God of the Ḳur'ān coincide in every respect. But it is not a question of a verity of faith corroborating reason on its own plane. They treat philosophy on the one hand, the Law on the other, as two sources of equal value; the point at issue is to show that they agree. They attain this end with the help of a rational *ta'wīl*, philosophical and at the same time allegorical. God is, first and foremost, the necessary Being, *al-wādjib al-wudjūd*.

The God of the great *falāsifa* is a lofty concept of Being, necessary and perfect, supreme Intelligence and supreme Love, producing the world by a mode of necessary and deliberate emanation: in short, an object not so much of faith as of philosophic experience and rich intellectual intuition. The seriousness with which they pursued their researches and reasonings (notwithstanding certain setbacks) led to the integration of real riches into Muslim culture; their analyses sometimes influenced religious thought itself. But here we find ourselves on a different plane from the inscrutable mystery of the Living God, which the Ḳur'ān presents for the adoration of the faithful.

3. *Kalām*. We return now to the schools of Sunnite *kalām*. The *falāsifa* no doubt despised the dialectic of the *mutakallimūn*, those people "who have broken the religious Law into pieces", as Ibn Rushd put it (*Faṣl al-Maḳāl*, ed. and tr. Gauthier, Algiers 1942, 29). Their subtleties and debates are often confused, their philosophic arguments questionable. But when they thus set out to defend the dogmas against "those who doubt", it is certainly the God of faith that is involved. The Mu'tazilites, just as much as the Ash'arites, are "men of religion first and philosophers second" (Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, Cairo 1362/1943, iii, 204).

The inner attitudes of the two *kalām*'s were nevertheless different. True, the Mu'tazilites took as their starting-point the Ḳur'ān and the sovereign Justice of Allāh. But their idea of *'aḳl* as a criterion of the Law, and later the impact of the "foreign sciences", led them to fix the sum total of faith on an idea of God as being "justified" in the eyes of human reason. They meant to serve and to purify the affirmation of the transcendent Existence, but their drastic *tanzīh* reached the pitch of attenuating the very notion of divine attributes; the Ash'arites were not wrong in accusing them of that. Thereafter the mystery of the divine Oneness, the *tawḥīd*, is as it were encircled by a human concept; expressed negatively, no doubt, but directly attainable on a discursive level. We find something corresponding to this in taṣawwuf, in the experience of Djunayd. In correlation, and, at the same time, as a counterpart, the *'adl*, the divine Justice, was in a way "humanized"; there was a touch of the idea of a just human judge, raised to the power of infinity.

In its origins, the Ash'arite reaction was by no means a pure renunciation on the part of the faithful of every elaboration of the data of faith. The "conversion" of al-Ash'arī was presented as a return to the inner attitude of the "ancients" and a profession of loyalty to Ibn Ḥanbal (*Ibāna*, 9). Yet the Ash'arites accepted the challenge to dialectical combat. This led them far afield; it led them to refine unceasingly, but also to complicate unceasingly, a body of problems which never came to an end, as a result of the multiplicity of objections and the rise of opposing schools. Amid the welter of arguments, it sometimes

becomes difficult to trace that complete resignation, in the nakedness of faith, to the One God, Creator and Judge, which we find in the sūras of the Ḳur'ān. The negation of human freedom in its ontological reality turned many lines of thought towards a divine voluntarism, conceptualized as such. This became still more marked after the 15th century, when the Ash'arite (or Māturīdite) *kalām*, instead of regenerating itself to keep pace with its contemporary opponents, as its primarily apologetic function would seem to demand, congealed in rather stereotyped manuals. This risk of sclerosis was no doubt one of the main considerations leading to the semi-agnosticism of Muḥammad 'Abduh.

There, we believe, lies the explanation of the half-contempt for the *kalām* (a half-contempt which sometimes grows to violent opposition), which is shown alike by the successors of the "pious ancients", notably represented by the ḥanbalite trend, and the mystics of the *taṣawwuf*.

4. *The taṣawwuf*. We cannot hope to analyse here the theological bases of the diverse Ṣūfī schools or attitudes, with all their fine distinctions (for the first centuries, see L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1922, and *Lexique technique*, 2nd ed. Paris 1954). The important thing to note is that we are no longer dealing with a rational endeavour towards the necessary Being, as in *falsafa*, nor, as in *kalām*, with a discursive endeavour to find "decisive" or formal arguments for the Ḳur'ānic doctrine about God. What is involved here is a spiritual experience, a life with God, soon to be understood as an experience of oneness, an inner realization of the *tawḥīd*.

There were some Ṣūfīs (al-Ḥallādj, al-Tirmidhī) who rethought for themselves the dogmatic bases of their era; some (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) who could, by stretching a point, be called "semi-Mu'tazilite"; others (Ibn Karrām) who gave their name to a theological school; some were linked to the Ḥanbalite way of thought; there were many Shī'ite Ṣūfīs; and there were many Sunnite Ṣūfīs who in no way challenged the regular conclusions of the Ash'arite *kalām* (al-Makkī, the al-Ghazzālī of the *Iḥyā'*, many Shādhilīs, etc.). Finally, a great many, especially from the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries onward, permitted themselves to be influenced by an existential monism of Neoplatonic tendencies.—From the point of view which concerns us, we shall confine ourselves to picking out two main lines of Ṣūfism, according to a distinction insisted on by L. Massignon:

(a) *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, the oneness of Witness, of which al-Ḥallādj was the exponent. It seems also to have inspired every mystic of Ḥanbalite influence. The union with God is achieved in God's bearing witness to Himself and to His mystery of Unity, in the mystic's heart. The divine transcendence and its absolute Oneness in relation to all creation remain the central object of the act of faith. But the meeting with God is brought about by love ("in His Essence, love, *'ishḳ*, is the Essence of the essence", said Ḥallādj); by love, the dialogue is established between the faithful heart and God, until the supreme "I", which consummates the dialogue in unity, without destroying it. It is well known how much the official Islām of the 3rd/9th century opposed this union of love (which claimed the support of Ḳur'ān, iii, 29 and v, 59), this oneness of the Witness in the duality of natures.

Two intermediate stages. The al-Ghazzālī of the *Iḥyā'* (5th/11th century), who gave the *taṣawwuf* citizen-rights among the recognized religious sciences: uniting, not without some eclecticism, the dogmatic values of developed Ash'arism and the spiritual values of the love of God (*maḥabba*), of dependence and trust (*tawakkul*), and of the diverse ascetico-mystic virtues. Another and more important intermediate stage is that of the *ishrāḳ* movement and its emanationism, which is by no means purely monist. The great figure of the master of the *ishrāḳ*, al-Suhrawardī of Aleppo (6th/12th century), so well studied by H. Corbin, illustrates a quest for unity which leads to identity in the order of knowledge; but the outer garb of Iranian myth permits him, on a plane of lofty poetic intuition, to leave the Witness its transcendence.

(b) *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, the oneness of Existence.—This came to dominate later Ṣūfism, since Ibn 'Arabī (6th/12th-7th/13th century). Ibn Taymiyya saw (and condemned) in it the influence of Ibn Sīnā (discrimination to modify and to complete, not to reject). One may say that the Ghazzālī of the minor works of the last period, so deeply imbued with *falsafa*, even with Ismā'īlism, was the forerunner of it. In it, the Neoplatonic monism of the pseudo-*Theology of Aristotle* meets the Ash'arite tendency which, the better to affirm the One God, denied the creature all real ontological density. In contrast with God, "sole Being and sole Agent", the created world is but impermanence. The illusory empirical existence, says the mystic, must obliterate itself (*fanā'*) in the only Existence which subsists (*baḳā'*),—that of God. Interpreting Ḳur'ān, xvii, 85, the Ṣūfī partisans of the monism of the Being said that the human spirit, the *rūḥ*, is a direct emanation from the divine Command (*amr*), and is therefore an emanation from God Himself. Cf. already the Ghazzālian text (ascription discussed by W. Montgomery Watt, *Authenticity of works attributed to al-Ghazzālī*, *JRAS* 1952, 1 and 2) the *Risāla Laduniyya* (Cairo 1353/1934, 25). Following some quite different references, we have here something like an echo of the "trace of the One in us" of Plotinus, even indeed—all question of historical channels aside—of the Indian "Thou art That". The supreme mystical experience is then an experience of unity (*ittiḥād*), understood as identification. It readily justifies its chosen course by an allegorical and gnostic *ta'wīl* of the scriptural texts.

The *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, for reasons partly doctrinal, partly historical, never aroused among the *fuḳahā'* and the *mutakallimūn* the opposition encountered in the 3rd/9th century by the *waḥdat al-shuhūd*. One cannot however forget how powerfully the latter might lead the *tawakkul*—the total dependence of the believer upon God, sovereign Judge and sovereign Unity—to spiritual experience in the strict sense of the term.

5) *The "pious ancients"*. The adherence to faith of many Ṣūfīs of the first centuries was in complete accordance with that of the "pious ancients". In the first centuries, Ṣūfī and traditionist circles often overlapped.—There was no question of a school, in spite of the fact that these people frequently set themselves in the Ḥanbalite tradition; it was a question of an inner attitude. This reference to the "ancients" (*salaf*) must be understood as a choice, much more than a chronological distinction: we find it as much in the 14th century, with Ibn Taymiyya, as at the beginning of the hijrī era; we find it again, systematized and with a predominantly anti-Ṣūfī note, among the Wahhābites and neo-Wahhābites, among the modern Salafiyya and their contemporary disciples (including, in some measure, the *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*).

This tendency raised itself many a time against the quibbles and subtleties of the *kalām*, against an excessive confidence in rational or dialectical proofs. In his *Dhamm al-Kalām*, al-Anṣārī claimed for the Muslim the right not to seek for explanation (*tafsīr*) of the divine attributes, not to proceed down the "blind alley" of the Ashʿarites, glossing texts and distinguishing between the attribute and its *kayf*, its "mode of being" (cf. quotation from al-Anṣārī in Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwā*, v, 275-78). The very personality of the mystic al-Anṣārī would suffice to show us that a tendency that is truly loyal to the "pious ancients" has no grounds for condemning *taṣawwuf* wholesale, as it often does nowadays; too easily confusing the *waḥdat al-shuhūd* with the *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, and the latter with the deviations of the "brotherhoods".

What remains affirmed is the faith in God Most High, Who speaks to men by His prophets and apostles, revealing no more of Himself than the "most beautiful Names" whereby He indicates and conceals Himself (*ḥidjāb al-ism*): a faith which does not require God to be explicit about Himself, while it holds fast (to His Word) and resigns itself (to Him),—in a unique act which bears witness both to the divine omnipotence and to the responsibility of the "slaves". The inner attitude of the believer is rightly then a total and confident surrender of the self, in the night, to God, to Whom one puts no questions, but Whom one knows, according to His Word, to be the just Judge and supreme Help.

It appears that this inner attitude which has been summed up is the most characteristic mark of the Muslim faith in God; that this, first and foremost, is what the Muslim has in his heart when he pronounces the name *Allāh*.—No enumeration is needed here. In every age there have been "freethinkers", "doubters and deniers". In every age, intellectual researches on the *ilāhiyyāt*, and the discursive expression of them, have abounded in Islām. Contemporary thought seems harried on all sides by the diverse trends of the modern philosophies, as it was formerly by Greek or Iranian thought. It may be that a new *kalām* will be called into being, a new "defensive apology", that will carry out an extensive re-examination of the questions and problems of its treatises on *wudjūd Allāh* and *afʿāluhu taʿālā*, in the varying light of the idealism, pragmatism, dialectical atheism or existentialism of the moment. But maybe it will be able to avoid the mishaps that befell the ancient *kalām* only by going beyond the "contradictory" appearances of the problems posed,—by a vital recourse to God, One, Living, Master of the worlds and of the retribution of mankind, *Allāh al-wāḥid, al-ḥayy, mālik al-ʿālamīn, mālik yawm al-dīn*, whereby many sincere believers and "bearers of the Ḳurʾān" have always endeavoured to live.

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ALLĀH AKBAR [see TAKBĪR].

ALLĀHĀBĀD (ILĀHĀBĀD), an important town in the State of Uttar Pradesh and the seat of the State High Court, is situated on the confluence of the rivers Gangā and Yamunā. Population in 1951: town: 366, 127, including 90, 829 Muslims; district: 2,048,250, including 12.8 % Muslims.

History: One of the most ancient towns in India, it was known as Prayāg and regarded as sacred by the Hindus. When the Ghūrid Turks occupied Banāras in 1194, the town came under the Sultanate of Delhi, but presumably continued under the administration of autonomous Hindu *rādjās*, the nearest important military centre of the Sultanate being located at Kaṛā [*q.v.*] about 45 miles to the west. With the overthrow of the independent Sharḳī Kingdom of Djawnpūr in the 16th century and the subsequent rise of the Afghāns, the usefulness of the ferry across Prayāg to Djhūsī began to be appreciated. In June 1567, Akbar crossed the Gangā at Prayāg after defeating Khān-i Zamān, the rebel Governor of Djawnpūr. In 1574, he again passed through the town on his way to Bengal. Realising its strategic importance he decided to make it a military centre. From a small township, it became a big city and was given by Akbar the name of Ilāhbās (being changed to Ilāhābād through popular usage). In 1579-80, when Akbar reorganised the administrative divisions of the empire, it became the capital of the *ṣūba* (province) of the name, thus

superseding both Kaṛā and Djawnpūr in importance. Most of the Indian writers and European travellers visiting India during the 17th and 18th centuries testify to its importance. In 1736 the Mahrattās conquered it. After 1750 it changed hands several times, till the British garrisoned the citadel in 1798 and the town in 1801.

Monuments: The citadel built by Akbar (with Asōka's pillar and its famous inscription). and the Khusraw Bāgh, with the tombs of Prince Khusraw, his mother and his sister, are the chief monuments of the Mughal period.

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ALLĀHUMMA is an old Arabic formula of invocation: "Allāh!", for which also Lahumma is found (cf. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik d. class. Arab.*, 6). Whether, as Wellhausen supposes in his *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 224, it was originally meant for the god Allāh, higher than and different from the old Arabian gods, is rather doubtful, because every god might be invoked as "the God" (just as "the Lord". It was used in praying, offering, concluding a treaty and blessing or cursing (see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen z. arab. Philol.*, i, 35 ff.; cf. also the expression *Allāhuma ḥayyi* = much good may it do you, al-Akhṭal iii, 7). The phrase *bi'smika 'llāhumma*, said to have been introduced by Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (according to a statement in *Aghānī*, iii, 187) and used as an introduction in written treaties, has been replaced by others by Muḥammed as being a heathen expression (Ibn Hishām, i, 747; Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarb.*, iv, 104, 128). The simple Allāhumma (Lāhumma), on the other hand, was retained as inoffensive (e.g. Ḳurʾān, iii, 26; xxxix, 46; *subḥānaka 'llāhumma*, x, 10), and in the same way *allāhumma naʿam* = "certainly!", being in fact the answer on being conjured to tell the truth (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1723). For the peculiar formula *allāhumma minka wa-ilayka* (or *laka*) used at the family-offering, cf. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, 1894, 95 f. (FR. BUHL)

AL-ʿ**ALLĀḲĪ**, name of a wādī in Lower Nubia between the Nile and the shore of the Red Sea, 62 miles south of Aswān.

In the Middle Ages, this small valley resembled a large populous and flourishing town, because it was a gold mining area, using black slave labour. "The nuggets of gold", wrote al-Yaʿḳūbī, "appear in the form of sulphide of arsenic, and are made into bars". Al-Idrīsī gives more curious information. The prospectors, he tells us, took up their positions at night in order to see the gold dust glistening in the darkness and to mark the sites so that they could be recognised the next day. The prospectors then proceeded to collect and transport the auriferous sand and to wash it in tubs of water to extract the metal, which was then blended with mercury and smelted.

These gold mines, exploited in early times, were abandoned at the end of the Middle Ages. The old workings can still be seen. Gold mining has recently been resumed in the area (Umm Gharayāt).

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ʿ**ALLĀMĪ** [see ABŪ 'L-FAḌL].

ALLĀN [see ALĀN].

ALMA ATA (formerly VERNYI), town, capital of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Ḳazakhistān since 1929 and administrative centre of the *oblast* (province) of the same name. Established in 1854 on the site of a Ḳazakh settlement called Almaty, in 1867 it became the administrative centre of the Russian military governorate of Semirechia. By 1871 it had been largely rebuilt on Russian lines and had become a thriving trade centre with a mixed population of 12,000 composed of Ḳazakhs, Dungans, Uyghurs, Tatars, Russians and Chinese. The population rose to 45,000 in 1926 and to 230,000 in 1939. Among the many educational and cultural establishments in the city are the Academy of Sciences, 50 schools, 4 theatres and 13 cinemas.

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ALMA-DAGH [see ELMA-DAGH].

ALMADA [see AL-MAʿDIN].

ALMADEN [see AL-MAʿDIN].

ALMAGEST [see BAṬLAMIYŪS].

ALMALÎGH, capital of a Muslim kingdom in the upper Ili [*q.v.*] valley, founded in the 7th/13th century by Ūzār (Djuwaynī, i, 57) or Būzār (Djamāl Ḳarshī, in W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russ. ed., i, 135 f.), who is said to have previously been a brigand and horse-thief. According to Djamāl, he assumed the title of Toghrîl Khān as ruler. Almalîgh is first mentioned as the capital of this kingdom, and later as a great and wealthy commercial city. We owe our information about its site mainly to the Chinese (Bretschneider, *Med. Researches*, i, 69 f., ii, 33 ff. and index); it lay south of Lake Sayram and the Talki pass, north of the Ili, probably northwest of the modern Kuldja.

Like other rulers of these regions, the king of Almalîgh had dealings with Čingiz Khān, (whose hunting-ground was near Almalîgh: Djuwaynī, i, 21). He was surprised and killed while hunting by Küčlük, the governor of the kingdom of the Ḳara Khitāy [*q.v.*]; but Küčlük failed to capture the town of Almalîgh. Ūzār's son and successor Suḳnāḳ (or Sughnāḳ) Tigin married a granddaughter of Čingiz Khān (a daughter of Djuči). On his death (851/1253-4 cf. Djuwaynī, i, 58; 648/1250-1 in Djamāl Ḳarshī, he was succeeded by his son whose name (Dānish) mand Tigin) like the names of the other rulers of this line are given only by Djamāl Ḳarshī (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 140 f.). Almalîgh in his time (beginning of the 8th/14th century) was still ruled by this dynasty. How long this line continued to reign is not known. The silver and copper coins struck at Almalîgh in the 7th/13th century apparently belong to them. After Čingiz Khān's death the territory of Almalîgh was under the suzerainty of Čaghatay, cf. B. Spuler, *Mongolen in Iran*, 277, note 2. The whole province (to which belonged also the old Ḳuz Ordu = Balāsāghūn) was called in the 13th-14th centuries Îl Arghū (cf. also the *nisba* Ilarghawi in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 138-40). Near Almalîgh was situated the "hord" of Čaghatay and his successors, such as Ergene Khātūn and Tarmashîrîn (Djuwaynī, ii, 241, 243, 272 f.; iii, 97; Waṣṣāf, lith. Bombay, 50; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 41, 49 f.

As a great commercial city on the main route through Central Asia to China, Almalîgh is frequently mentioned by European travellers and missionaries (see I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient etc.*, Göteborg 1906,

17 f.: Almalech). In 1339 some Franciscan friars were murdered in the town (cf. A. van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, i, 510-1; G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, ii, 72, iv, 244-8, 310-1). Here was the seat of a Roman Catholic missionary bishop and, probably, of the Nestorian metropolitan (cf. Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, 38; Barthold, *Očerk istorii Semiryečya*, Vyerniy 1898, 64-7; V. Rondalez, in *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1951, 1-17; S. Dauvillier, in *Mélanges F. Cavallera*, Toulouse 1948, 305-7).

Like the towns on the Čū [*q.v.*], the Talas and elsewhere, Almaligh was completely ruined by the constant civil wars and other fighting in the 8th/14th century (cf. Bābur, ed. Beveridge, 1; Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Ta'rikh-i Rashidī*, tr. E. D. Ross, 364). Muḥammad Ḥaydar mentions the ruins of the tomb with the tomb of Tughluḳ Tīmūr Khān (d. 764/1362-3; cf. DUGHLAT); these ruins (at present called Alimtu) lie between the Khorgos, the boundary river between the Soviet Union and China and the village of Mazār and have been fully described by N. Pantusov, *Kaufmanskiy Sbornik*, Moscow 1910, 161 ff. Inscriptions from graves of Nestorian Christians have also been found there (see especially P. Kokovtsov, in *Zap.*, xvi, 190 ff.).

A. N. Bernstamm (*Pamyatniki stariny almaatinskoy oblasti po materialam ekspeditsii 1939g.*, *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk Kazakh. SSR*, Archeol. series, i, Alma Ata 1948, 79-91) identifies Almalīgh with a town (also called Alimtu = Chinese A-li-tʿu) near the modern Alma Ata; but in reality this is another, different, town having the same name (as an appellative, "apple town"); it is mentioned in 1390 in connection with Tīmūr's campaign against Mughulistān (Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, i, 466 ff.; cf. F. Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire de Timur-bec*, ii, 66 ff.).

(W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER and O. PRITSAK])

ALMANAC [see ANWĀ'; TA'RĪKH].

ALMANZOR [see AL-MANṢŪR].

ALMĀS—frequently regarded as a noun defined by the article (*al-mās*; correctly *al-Almās* according to Ibn al-Athīr, in *LA*, viii, 97: the *'l* belongs to the root as in *Ilyās*), a corrupt form from the Greek ἀδάμας (l.c.: "*wa-laysat bi-ʿarabiyya*"),—the diamond. According to the pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-Aḥdjār* which, on the basis of cognate Greek sources, agrees in the main with the statements of Pliny, the diamond cuts every solid except lead, by which it is itself destroyed. On the frontier of Khurāsān is a deep valley in which the diamonds lie guarded by poisonous snakes whose looks alone are enough to kill. Alexander the Great procured some of them by a trick: he had mirrors made in which the snakes saw themselves and died; then he had the flesh of sheep thrown down into the ravine so that the diamonds stuck to it and were brought up by vultures who seized the pieces of flesh. This story, already found in Epiphanius *De XII gemmis*, is generally known in the East (*Arabian Nights*). Al-Bīrūnī ridicules this story and asks why the snakes did not die when looking at one another, but only when seeing themselves in the mirrors. He takes the opportunity to make fun of other stories about the diamond, and also of stories recounting the death of people who looked at certain animals and stones. On the other hand, he has many valuable notices on the qualities, mining and use of the diamond. He also tells of a piece which Muʿizz al Dawla Aḥmad b. Būya presented to his brother Rukn al-Dawla al-Ḥasan weighing 3 *mithḳāl* (12, 75 or even 14, 16 g). But al-Dimashḳī knows of no diamonds heavier than 1 *mithḳāl*. The sources differ widely about the places where diamonds are found. —Al-Tīfāshī and al-Ḳazwīnī relate that the pieces obtained through smashing the stone are all triagonal (observation of the octagonal scissure?), and the former also says that the diamond attracts little feathers.—It is generally mentioned as being used for cutting and piercing other stones. Aristotle is said to have used it for destroying stones in the bladder. The powder of it must not touch the teeth; applied externally it is a good cure for colic and stomach-ache.

Bibliography: J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, 1912; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenf.), i, 236-7; Tīfāshī, *Azhār al-Afkār*, transl. by Reineri Biscia, 2nd ed., 53-4; Clément-Mullet, in *JA*, 6th series, xi, 127-8; Bīrūnī, *al-Djamāhir fī Maʿrifat al-Djawāhir*, 1355, 92-102; Ibn al-Akfānī, *Nukhab al-Dhakhā'ir fi Aḥwāl al-Djawāhir*, 1939, 20-25 (with many valuable remarks by the editor, P. Anastase-Marie de St.-Élie, transl. by E. Wiedemann, *SB Phys. Med. Soz. Erlangen*, vol. 44, 218 f.); Dimashḳī, *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra*, 1318, 15 f. (transl. by E. Wiedemann, *ibid.*, 233 f.); J. Ruska, *Der Diamant in der Medizin*, *Festschr. f. Herm. Baas*, 1908; B. Laufer, *The Diamond*, 1915; *al-Machriq*, vi, 865-78.

(J. RUSKA-M. PLESSNER)

ALMEE [see ʿĀLIMA].

ALMERIA [see AL-MARIYYA].

ALMICANTARAT [see MUḲANṬARĀT].

ALMODOVAR [see AL-MUDAWWAR].

ALMOGÁVARES, or Almugávares, a name, apparently derived from the Arabic *al-mughāwir* "one who makes hostile incursions", which was given at the end of the Middle Ages to certain contingents of mercenaries levied from among the mountaineers of Aragon, a tough, sober but undisciplined race. Zurita (*Anales*, iv, 24) gives a picturesque description of them. These were the troops, fighting on foot, in the service of the Kings of Aragon and Castille, who cut to pieces the French army of Philip III the Bold during his campaign of 1285, at Roussillon, and who later, under the name of the Grande Compagnie Catalane, made daring raids in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Bibliography: Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leiden, 1869, 172, s.v.; R. Fawtier in *Hist. du moyen âge* of G. Glotz, vi/1, Paris 1940, 188-9, 283; P. Aguado Bleye, *Manual de historia de España*⁴, i, Madrid 1947, 908-9.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ALMOHADS [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN].

ALMORAVIDS [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

ALMUÑECAR [see AL-MUNAKKAB].

ALP (T.), «hero», a figure which played a great role in the warlike ancient Turkish society; synonyms: *batur* (*bahādur* [*q.v.*], *sökmen*, *čapar* [*qq.v.*]). (Turkish heroic tradition survived in an Islamicized form and appears in Anatolia in the stories of Dede Ḳorkud [*q.v.*] as well as in the poetry of ʿAshiḳ Pasha and the history of Yazīdjīoghlu; cf. Fuad Köprülü, *Bibl.*). The word *alp*, used since ancient times among the various Turkish peoples either as an element in compound proper names or as a title, occurs frequently in proper names also of the Islamic period (cf. the various persons called Alp Tigin, the Saldjūḳ *amirs* Alp Ḳush, Alp Aghadjl, Alp Argu, the Saldjūḳid Alp Arslan, etc.). Another form is Alpī (cf. the Artuḳids Nadjm al-Dīn ʿAlī Alpī, ʿImād al-Dīn Alpī); the word *alpaghu* (*yilpaghu*,

alpaghut, alpawut), found in various dialects and as the name of a tribe under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and the Ṣafawids, seems also to be related.

As a title, *alp* was used by Saldjūḳ *amīrs*, and together with other old Turkish titles such as *inandj*, *kutlugh*, *bilge*, was adopted by the rulers of the states which succeeded the Saldjūḳ empire. *Alp* alone is found in an inscription of Aḳ Sunḳur of Aleppo; in the inscriptions of the Syrian and Mesopotamian *atabegs* and of the Artuḳids occur the titles *alp ḳutlugh*, *alp inandj ḳutlugh*, *alp ghāzī* (cf. *RCEA*, nos. 2764, 3021, 3072, 3085, 3111-2, 3122, 3146; Van Berchem, *Amida*, 76, 92, 104, 120, 122; idem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Armenien und Diarbekr*, Berlin 1910, 148 ff.; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 284: *alp ghāzī* as title of Zengi; and the dedication of a translation of Dioscorides, in MS Mashhad, Cat. no. 27, to a prince with the title of *alp inandj ḳutlugh*).

Under the Ghūrids we find Nāṣir al-Dīn Alp Ghāzī as governor of Harāt (cf. also Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī, Calcutta 1846, 121; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, 159, 321; *Taʾrīkh-i Sistan*, ed. Bahār, 388; Muḥammad b. Ḳays, *al-Muʿdjam fī Maʿāyir Ashʿār al-ʿAdjam*, 346). In Rūmiyya we find in 564/1168 a *ṣāḥib-i kabīr* Alp Djamāl al-Dīn (see Sachau-Ethé, *Cat. Pers.* MS *MSS of the Bodl. Libr.*, i, 1424). A Turkish chieftain near Djand in the 12th century bore the title of *alp direk* (Djuwaynī, ii, 40 f.); for an Anatolian Saldjūḳ prince with that of *alp ilek* see *Bell.*, 1937, 288. In India we find *alp khān* (Barnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 240, 527; Firishta, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 176, 238; Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, 219).

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, 92; Z. Gombocz, *Árpádkori etc.*, 43 ff.; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyyātında Ilk Mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 272 ff.; idem, *Les origines de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1935, index; idem, in *IA*, s.v. (O. PRITSAK)

ALP ARSLAN ʿADUD AL-DAWLA ABŪ SHUDJĀʿ MUḤAMMAD B. DĀʾŪD ČAGHRIBEG, celebrated Saldjūḳ sultan, the second of the dynasty (455/1063-465/1073). Born probably in 421/1030, at an early age he led the armies of his father Čaghribeg with great success, especially against the Ghaznawids, and in 450/1058 he saved his uncle, the sultan Ṭughrilbeg, from the revolt of Ibrāhīm Inal in Persia. Two or three years later he succeeded Čaghribeg, who had been ill for a long time, and at the end of 453/1063 he succeeded Ṭughrilbeg, who died childless; he thus brought under his authority all the Saldjūḳid territories. He rid himself without difficulty of his half-brother Sulaymān, who had probably been adopted by Ṭughrilbeg; the vizier al-Kundurī payed with his life for the indiscretion of having at first supported him. Alp Arslan was recognized by the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim and invested with all his predecessor's prerogatives; he enforced the submission of his uncle Yabghū at Harāt, and defeated Ḳutlumush, a cousin of Čaghribeg and Ṭughrilbeg, who had been in revolt for some years in the mountains south of the Caspian, and who met an accidental death in this battle. He created difficulties for his elder brother Kawurt of Kirmān, who aspired at least to a share in the succession, by supporting against him the Kurdish chief Faḍlūya; later (in 457/1065, 459/1067 and 461/1069) he took direct action against him, and brought Fārs firmly under his control by suppressing Faḍlūya, who had come to terms with Kawurt. The latter was allowed to retain Kirmān, but as a subordinate. A demonstration of force in Ḳarakhānid territory and up to the Aral Sea (457/1065) reinforced the authority which his father had previously exercised there. As regards the Ghaznawids, he kept the peace concluded during the last years of Čaghribeg's rule.

His fame in the eyes of posterity rests on his activities on the western front. Like his predecessor Ṭughrilbeg and his successor Malikshāh, he had the ambition to march on Egypt to destroy the stronghold of Fāṭimid heresy. But he realised the necessity of maintaining his ascendancy over the Turkomans, who constituted the military strength of the dynasty, and who were primarily interested in the richly-rewarding campaigns of a holy war (*ghazwa*) on the Christian territories beyond Ādharbāydjān, where they where concentrated. Shortly after his accession, therefore, Alp Arslan conducted a series of campaigns against the Byzantines and their Armenian and Georgian neighbours, while independent bands of Turkomans raided more deeply into their territories; these campaigns also had the effect of increasing his prestige in certain autochthonous Muslim circles. In 456/1064 he captured Ānī and Ḳars, and extracted a pledge of submission from the tiny Georgian kingdom. A further expedition against Georgia, in which the Shaddādid prince of Arrān took part, became necessary in 460/1068. The main advantages accruing from these campaigns were that the security of the Ādharbāydjān frontiers was ensured, and that the Turkomans had free access to the pasture lands on the Aras. It is difficult to assess to what extent the peregrinations of the Turkomans, who simultaneously penetrated to the heart of Byzantine Asia Minor and permeated Muslim Diyār Bakr and Diyār Muḍar, were directed by Alp Aslan; the Turkomans opened the way for him, but withdrew after having gained their booty. Moreover, their activities provoked a Byzantine counterattack against the Syrian and Armenian borders of the Muslim world (1068-9), following which terms were negotiated between the two empires.

Alp Arslan then considered himself sufficiently secure against the Byzantines to listen to an appeal from rebels in Egypt and to undertake the anti-Fāṭimid expedition to support orthodoxy and the caliph. He occupied en route Ardjīsh and Mantzikert held by the Byzantines, attacked Edessa, and pushed on without delay to secure the submission of the Mirdāsid Maḥmūd at Aleppo, who attempted to save himself by a last-minute recognition of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate. The sultan's intention was to advance into Southern Syria, where various Turkoman groups had preceded him, when he heard that the Byzantine Emperor Romanus Diogenes, at the head of a formidable force, was threatening his rear in Armenia; and he had to return with all possible speed. He nevertheless succeeded in regrouping sufficient forces to give battle to the Byzantine army at Mantzikert in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 463/August 1071. The diversity of the Byzantine forces in both their composition and morale, combined with their lack of manoeuvrability, made them no match for the agile Turks who, though far fewer in number, were inspired by the fervour of holy war. By evening, the Byzantine army had been annihilated and, for the first time in history, a Byzantine Emperor was taken prisoner by a Muslim ruler. Alp Arslan's object was not to destroy the Byzantine empire; he contented himself with frontier adjustments, promises of tribute, and an alliance—a settlement which the downfall of Romanus Diogenes rendered impermanent. In fact, however, the battle

of Mantzikert laid open Asia Minor to Turkish conquest. In later years there was no princely family in Asia Minor but wished to boast an ancestor present on that glorious day.

Alp Arslan himself met an unworthy end not long after his triumph. At the other extremity of his empire, relations with the Ḳarakhānids, despite marriage alliances, were again strained. At the beginning of 465/end of 1072 he invaded their territory. In the course of a quarrel with a prisoner, the latter mortally wounded him. He died in the prime of life, at the end of Rabīʿ I/beginning of January 1073. He had nominated his son Malikshāh his heir.

In the eyes of orthodox Muslims, Alp Arslan was a leader of men and a commander capable of enforcing strict discipline, generous, just, devout, with an aversion for informers. Christians, remembering massacres such as that at Ānī, ascribed to him a reputation for brutality, in contrast to his son Malikshāh, who was regarded by them in a more favourable light. Space does not permit here an account of his administration, which was essentially the achievement of his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk and which is discussed in the article on the latter and in the general article on the Saldjūḳids. To Alp Arslan belongs the credit for singling out the Khurasānī who rose rapidly to fame and who became, under Malikshāh, the real head of the State. The influence of his new vizier may have led to the execution of al-Kundurī. Even at the height of his power, Alp Arslan appears to have deliberately refrained from setting foot in Baghdād, in order to avoid being involved in embarrassing and futile disputes with the Caliph and the Arabs of ʿIrāḳ such as had complicated the last years of Ṭughrilbeg. On the other hand, he energetically enforced in ʿIrāḳ the rights of the Sultanate. He saw no objection to the continued existence on his frontiers of dependent principalities, such as those of the ʿUḳaylids of Mawṣil and the Shaddādids of Arrān. The close watch which he kept, for example, on Hazārasp of Baṣra shows that he would tolerate no defection from that source, too. It is in this light, and in the light of respect for family traditions inherited from a tribal organization, that one must consider the distribution by Alp Arslan among the more important princes of his family of various apanages in the original domains of the dynasty in Khurāsān.

Culturally, the reign of Alp Arslan does not seem to have been of great importance, either from the traditional Islamic, or from the Turkish, point of view. It may be of some interest to mention that the *Malik-nāma*, an anonymous attempt to reconstruct the historical origins of the dynasty, was composed for Alp Arslan (cf. Cahen, in *Oriens*, 1949).

Bibliography: A more comprehensive list of sources will be found under SALDJŪḲIDS. The principal chronicles are those of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (in al-Bundārī's version, ed. Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii), the anonymous *Akhbār al-Dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya* (ed. M. Iqbal, Lahore 1933), the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr* of Rawandī, ed. M. Iqbal, 1921, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr and, a much-neglected work, the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī (of which the relevant section will shortly be published). In other categories, the chief works are the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn al-Balkhī and the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk. The Byzantine, Syriac, Armenian and Georgian sources should not be forgotten. Later Persian historical works should be distrusted. There is no good comprehensive modern work either on Alp Arslan or on the Saldjūḳids. For their activities in the east, see the masterly account of V. Barthold, *Turkestan*; for their activities in the west see general guidance in E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935; Cl. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure*, in *Byzantion*, 1948; and V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, Cambridge 1953. A provisional survey of Saldjūḳid history has been contributed by Cl. Cahen to *History of the Crusades* Philadelphia 1955, 135-176.

(CL. CAHEN)

ALP TAKĪN (ALP TIGIN), the founder of the Ghaznawid power. Like the majority of the praetorians of his time, he was a Turkish slave, purchased and enrolled in the Sāmānid body guard, who progressively rose to the rank of *ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb* (commander-in-chief of the guard). In this capacity he wielded the real power during the reign of the young Sāmānid ʿAbd al-Malik I; the vizier Abū ʿAlī al-Balʿamī owed his appointment to him, and did not dare to take any action "without the knowledge and advice" of Alp Takīn. In order to remove him from the capital, the sovereign invested him (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 349/Jan.-Feb. 961) with the post of Governor of Khurāsān, the highest military office in the empire. Dismissed from this post by Manṣūr b. Nūḥ, of whose elevation to the throne he had disapproved, Alp Takīn withdrew to Balkh; in Rabīʿ I, 351/April-May 962 he defeated an army sent against him by the Sāmānid ruler, and retired to Ghazna where, after overthrowing the local dynasty, he set up an independent empire. The records disagree as to the date of his death; according to some, he died before 352/963. His learned son Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm (on whom see Ibn Ḥawḳal, 13, 14) could only maintain his position, in face of a revolt by the former ruler of Ghazna, with Sāmānid aid. Thus the Ghaznawid kingdom only existed at first as a Sāmānid vassal state. Abū Isḥāḳ died childless, and the leaders of the army, on which the new state was based, selected as his successor first the commander of guard Bilgā Takīn (Tigin) (355-64/966/974), who left a reputation for integrity, and then Pirī Takīn (Tigin). During the latter's reign a final revolt by the supporters of the former dynasty was crushed. But the victor, Subuk Takīn, the son-in-law and former chief officer of Alp Takīn, was raised to power by the troops (Shaʿbān 366/April 977), and became the founder of the Ghaznawid [*q.v.*] dynasty.

Bibliography: A concise but comprehensive history of Alp Takīn and his immediate successors, with references to all the sources, is contained in Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, ch. i. The chief sources are Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, and Djuzdjānī, *Tabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*. Niẓām al-Mulk's account in the *Siyāsat-nāma* (Schefer), 95-101, is an idealized version designed to place Alp Takīn and Subuk Takīn in a more favourable light. On the effect on the frontiers of Sīstān of the foundation of the new kingdom of Ghazna, see now, in addition to Muḥammad Nāẓim's sources, the anonymous *Tarīkh-i Sīstān* published by Bahār, Teheran 1314, 326 ff.

(W. BARTHOLD-[CL. CAHEN])

ALPAMÎSH, One of the most famous Turkish epics (*dāstān*) of Central Asia, inspired by two classical themes, (1) the quest for the betrothed and the rivalry of the suitors; (2) the return of the husband on the day of his wife's remarriage (theme of the

return of Ulysses). The Özbek hero Alpamïsh of the Kungrat tribe repairs to Ḳalmïḳ territory in search of his fiancée and cousin Barčin. Alpamïsh triumphs over his Ḳalmïḳ rivals, marries Barčin and brings her back to his tribe. The second part is the account of a further expedition on the part of Alpamïsh to Ḳalmïḳ territory to rescue his wife's father. Alpamïsh is captured and held prisoner for seven years by the Ḳalmïḳ Khān, and is finally aided to escape by the Khān's daughter; he returns to his native land the very day on which his wife is about to marry—against her will—the son of a slave who has usurped his authority. Alpamïsh kills the usurper and regains his position as head of the tribe.

It is difficult to determine accurately the date of the composition of Alpamïsh, although it cannot be before the beginning of the 16th century, or later than the end of the 17th. In the *dāstān*, the Kungrat tribe lives a nomadic existence around Lake Baysun north of Tirmidh (now the Surkhān Daryā district of southern Özbekistān). The Kungrat only moved into this area with the armies of Shaybānī Khān, about 1500. Moreover, in the three versions, Özbek, Ḳazaḳ and Ḳaraḳalpaḳ, Alpamïsh and the Kungrat are called Özbek, which postulates an origin later than the Shaybānid conquests. On the other hand, the main theme of the epic, the struggle of the Muslim Turkish nomads against the "infidel" Ḳalmïḳs, places it between the 16th and the 17th centuries, the period when the Ḳalmïḳs of the Oyrat Empire were making a series of bloody raids in Central Asia.

Žirmunskiy and Zarifov believe that they can detect, beneath the existing versions of Alpamïsh, an older version, now lost, dating back to the 11th-12th century, a period when the ancestors of the Kungrat were nomads near the Aral Sea (analogy with the Oghuz poem Bamsi-Bayrek) or to still earlier times when they dwelt in the fringes of the Altai (analogy with the Mongol poem *Khān Kharangui*).

All the Central Asian versions of *Alpamïsh* are in verse, the prose passages serving only to mark the divisions between the various episodes of the poem. The versification is simplified. The repetition of the same rhyme divides the verses into stanzas of different length (2, 4, and up to 10 and 15 verses). This simple poetic form is perfectly suited to the way in which the poem is transmitted, whether recited by a *bakhshī* ("bard"), or chanted by a *shāʿir* ("minstrel") with accompaniment on the *ḳobuz* (two-string violin).

Several versions of *Alpamïsh* exist: Özbek, Ḳazaḳ, and Ḳaraḳalpaḳ, which correspond fairly closely to one another, but have occasional but obvious differences of detail. The best and the most popular is the Özbek version of the *bakhshī* Fāḍil (Fazyl) Yuldash (born in 1873 at Ḳïshlāḳ Layk in the district of Bulungur near Samarḳand), the text of which was published for the first time by Ḥāmid ʿAlīmdjan at Tāshkent in 1939, in a slightly abridged form, under the title "Yuldash oghly Fazyl: *Alpamysh*". The first part of this work in an abridged form has been translated into Russian verse by V. V. Deržavin and A. S. Kočetov, and the second, *in extenso*, by L. M. Pen'kovskiy. These two translations, based on ʿAlīmdjan's text and with a preface by V. M. Žirmunskiy, were published at Tāshkent in 1944 under the title: "Fazyl Yuldash: *Alpamysh*". Finally, in 1949, L. N. Penʾkovskiy published at Tāshkent the first complete translation of the Yuldash version, with the title *Alpamysh, uzbekskiy epos*. There are other Özbek versions, by other *bakhshīs*, which are still unpublished, and which differ in certain details.

The Ḳazaḳ version (2nd part only) was published by Shaykh ul-Islāmov at Ḳazān in 1896, and the complete text was edited by Divaev at Tāshkent in 1922, and re-edited some years later at Alma-Ata in 1933. It appears under the title *Alpamys Batyr* in the anthology *Batyrlar Žyry*, Alma-Ata 1939, 249-96.

The Ḳaraḳalpaḳ version (1st part only, with Russian translation) is based on the text of Djiya Murād Bek Muḥammedov, *bakhshī* of Törkül (A. Divaev, *Alpamys-Batyr*, *Etnografičeskie materyaly*, fasc. vii in *Sbornik materyalov dlya statistiki Syr-Daryinskoy oblasti*, ix, Tashkent 1901). The complete Ḳaraḳalpaḳ version was published in Moscow in 1937 and again in 1941 at Törtkül and Tāshkent, under the title "Aimbet uly Ḳally: *Alpamys*."

In addition there exist two prose versions, Bashkir and Altai, which are radically different from the central Asian versions. The Bashkir version, *Alpamysh hem Barsyn Khʾyluu*, was published by N. Dimitriev, with Russian translation by A. G. Bessonov, in *Bashkirskie Narodnye Skazski*, fasc. 19, Ufa 1941.

The text of the apparently earlier Altai version *Alyp-Manash*, established by N. U. Ulagashev, appears in *Altay Bučay* (the Oyrat national epic), published by A. Koptelev, Novosihirsk 1941, 79-126.

The longest version, that of Fazyl Yuldash, comprises 14,000 stanzas; the Ḳazaḳ and Ḳaraḳalpaḳ versions are shorter and comprise 2,500 and 3,000 stanzas respectively.

Bibliography: V. M. Žirmunskiy and Kh. T. Zarifov: *Uzbekskiy Narodniy Geroičeskiy Epos*, Moscow 1947; *Antologiya Uzbekskoy Poezii*. edited by M. Aibek, etc., Moscow 1950.

(A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse)

ALPHABET [see al-hidjaʾ, ḥurūf-].

ALPHARAS [see nudjūm].

ALPUENTE [see al-bunt].

ALPUJARRAS [see al-busharrāt].

ALRUCCABA [see rukba].

ALSH, now Eloche, a small town in the Spanish Levant (*Sharḳ al-Andalūs*) 12 m. S-W of Alicante, noted for its palm groves, which still exist to-day, and which were described by Muslim authors such as Ibn Saʿīd and al-Ḳazwīnī.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al Ḥimyarī, *Péninsule ibérique*, no. 26, text, 31, trans., 39; H. Pérès, *Le palmier en Espagne musulmane*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1938, 225-39; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 283-4.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

ALTAI, mighty, ca. 1000 miles long mountain system in eastern Central Asia, stretching from the Saisan Sea in the southwest to the upper Selenga and the upper Orkhon, with the sources of the Obʾ, the Irtïsh and the Yenissei. Here, and in the adjacent country to the north-east as far as the present-day Mongolia, was the oldest home of the Turks and the Mongols and their ancestors. The Turks had here for a long time after their "refuge" in the Ötükän [*q.v.*] mountains. The oldest Turkish designation for the southern Altai, as it appears in the inscriptions of the Orkhon, is Altin-yïsh ("gold mountains"), in Chinese Kin-shan (same meaning). The name of Ektag, however, mentioned by the Greeks (probably Aḳ Tagh, "white mountain"), seems to refer to the Tʿien-shan (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kieu occidentaux*, 236 f.). It is uncertain whether the modern name, which appears for the first time in the Kalmuck period, is connected with the Mongol *altan*, "gold"; the local population explains it by a false etymology as *alti ay*, "six month".

Bibliography: Cotta, *Der Altai*, Leipzig 1871; J. Granö, *Les formes du reliefs dans l'Altaï russe*, Helsongfors 1917; P. Fickeler, *Der Altai*, 1925; *Bol'šaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*², ii, 136-51. For its role in Turkish civilization, cf. A. von Gabain, *Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken*, *Isl.*, 1949, 30-62 and TURK.

(B. SPULER)

ALTAIANS is the name of a Turkish tribe in the Altai mountains, partly professing, more or less nominally, Orthodox Christianity, partly Shamanistic; though Islam is not to be found amongst them, they had some contact, though possibly not an immediate one, with Islamic civilization (as attested by loan words such as *kuday*, "God"; *shaytan*, "the devil"). (Cf. for them G. Teich and H. Rübel, *Völker ... der UdSSR*, Leipzig 1943, 28-43, 137 f., 142; W. Radloff, *Proben aus der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, i; idem, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 250 ff.; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*², 141 f.).

The name Altais has been substituted since about 1874, and more especially in the 20th century, following a proposal of M. A. Castrén, for the term Turanian [*q.v.*], coined by F. Max Müller, as the designation of the assumed community of the Turkish-Mongolian peoples; the even wider concept of Ural-Altaians comprises also the Samoyeds, Finno-Ugrians and Tunguses. (Cf. e.g. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, Wiesbaden, since 1952; J. Benzing, *Einführung in das Studium der altaischen Philologie und der Turkologie*, Wiesbaden 1953, with bibliography; W. K. Matthews, Languages of the *URRS*, Cambridge 1951). These peoples, however, with the exception of the Turks [*q.v.*], are not touched by Islam.

Bibliography: M. A. Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen über die altaischen Völker*, St. Petersburg 1857; the partly fanciful works of H. Winkler, the last being *Die altaischen Völker und ihre Sprachenwelt*, Leipzig 1921; O. Donner, *Die uralaltaischen Sprachen, Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen*, i/1, 1901, 128; M. Cohen, *Les langues du monde*, Paris 1924, 153-243; P. *Melioranskiy* in Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedičeskiy Slovar'*, xxxiv /A 862 f.; *IA*, s.v. (by M. Fuad Köprülü); O. Pritsak, *Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker*, *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher*, 1953-4. Maps: A. Hermann, *Atlas of China*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1935, 66-7; *Völkerkarte der Sowjet-Union, Europ. Teil*², Berlin 1941.

(B. SPULER)

ALTAIR [see NUDJŪM].

ALTAMISH [see ILTUTMISH].

ʿALTH, or AL-ʿALTH, town, to the north of Baghdād, between ʿUkbarā and Sāmarra, on the eastern bank of the old course of the Tigris. As the course of the Tigris has changed (cf. DIDJLA), ʿAlth is today on the western bank, on al-Shuṭayṭa. The extensive ruins of the town are known as ʿAlth up to the present day; they lie about 4½ m. N.W. of the modern town of Balad. The town is already mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 20) under the name of Altha. According to the medieval geographers the northern limit of the Sawād or al-ʿIrāḳ was formed by ʿAlth on the eastern, Ḥarba on the western side of the Tigris. The town was a *waḳf* for the benefit of the descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Yāḳūt) and some di tinguished traditionists of the 6th and 7th centuries A. H. came from it. A stone dam was built over the Tigris near ʿAlth, but no trace of it remains. Near ʿAlth lay the convent called Dayr al-ʿAlth or Dayr al-ʿAdhārā, described, among others, by the poet Djaḥdha al-Barmakī.

Bibliography: Maḳdisī, 123; Yāḳūt, iii, 711, ii, 679; Shābustī, *Diyārāt* (G. Awad), 62-3; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Marāṣid*, ii, 275; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, i, 258 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, 181; *TA*, i, 634; A. Sousa, *Rayy Sāmarra*, Baghdad 1948, 183-4, 218; J. F. Jones, *Memoirs*, Bombay 1857, 257; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach d. arab. Geographen*, ii, 224 f.; Le Strange, 50; M. Wagner, in *Nachr. d. Göttinger Ges. d. Wissensch.* 1902, 256.

(G. AWAD)

ALTI̊ PARMAK ("the man with six toes"), MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, Turkish scholar and translator. He was born in Üsküp, where he studied and joined the ṣūfī *ṭarīqa* of the Bayramiyya [*q.v.*], became a preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) and teacher in Istanbul and later in Cairo, where he died in 1033/1623-24. (1) His main work is the *Dalāʾil-i Nubuwwat-i Muḥammadī wa-Shamāʾil-i Futuwwat-i Aḥmadī*, a translation of the Persian *Maʿāridj al-Nubuwwa* by Muʿīn al-Dīn b. Sharaf al-Dīn Farāhī, known as Mullā Miskīn (d. 907/1501-02); there are numerous manuscripts in Istanbul, Cairo and elsewhere, and printed editions of Istanbul 1257 and Būlāḳ 1271 (see Storey, i, 188; Brockelmann, S II, 661). For a detailed account of the contents of this work, see Flügel, *Handschr. Wien*, ii, no. 1231. (2) He also translated from the Persian the *Nigāristān*, not the work of Djāmī (as in Brockelmann, ii, 590), but that of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghaffārī (d. 975/1567-68; cf. Storey, i, 114); the translation bears the title *Nuzhat-i Djahān wa- Nādirat-i Dawarān*, and exists in several manuscripts in Istanbul. (3) A further work of his is the translation of the *Kitāb-i sittīn*, *Djāmiʿ Laṭāʾif al-Basātīn*, a mystical interpretation, in sixty "sessions", of sūra xii by Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd Ṭūsī, an author of uncertain date (cf. Storey, i, 29, no. 10); a manuscript exists in the Köprülü Library in Istanbul. (4) Finally, there is his translation of a "commentary on an extract on rhetoric" (*Sharḥ Talkhīs al-Maʿānī*), with the title *Kāshif al-ʿUlūm wa-Fātiḥ al-Funūn*, preserved in a manuscript of the ʿUmumī Library in Istanbul; this is presumably identical with his translation of the *Muṭawwal* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, no. 3541) by al-Taftāzānī (cf. Brockelmann, i, 354).

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, iv, 174; Brusalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿUthmānlı Müʾellifleri*, i, 212 f.

(J. SCHACHT)

ALTI SHAHR, or ALTA SHAHR (the word "six" is always written *alta* in Chinese Turkistān), "six towns", a name for part of Chinese Turkistān (Sin-kiang) comprising the towns of Kuča, Aḳ Su, Uč Turfān (or Ush Turfān), Kāshghar, Yārkand and Khotan. It appears to have been first used in the 18th century (cf. M. Hartmann, *Der Islamische Orient*, i, 226, 278). Yangi Ḥiṣār, between Kāshghar and Yārkand, is sometimes added as the seventh town (though it also frequently counted as one of the six, in which case either Kuča or Uč Turfān is omitted). On account of this the country is often called in modern sources Djiti (or Yiti) Shahr, "seven towns"; cf. e.g. *Taʾrīkh-i Amāniyye*, written in 1321/1903 and printed by N. Pantasow, Kazan 1905. [See the articles on each of the towns and TURKISTĀN.]

(W. BARTHOLD *)

ALTILIK [see SIKKA].

ALTI̊N or ALTUN (T.), Gold, also used of gold coins. The word is often met with in Turkish proper names of persons and places, e.g. Altın Köprü, Altıntash (Altuntash). See also SIKKA.

ALTÎN (Altūn) **KÖPRÜ,** a town of ʿIrāḳ, built picturesquely on a small rocky island in the Lesser Zāb river (44° 8' E., 35° 42' N.)—and in modern times overflowing on to both banks—serves as a *nāḥiya* headquarters in the *ḳaḍā* of Kirkūk in the *liwā* (province) of that name, formerly in the *wilāyet* of Mosul. The Zāb here forms the boundary between Kirkūk and the Irbīl *liwās*. Known locally in Arabic simply as al-Ḳanṭara, the Turkish name ("Golden Bridge") is variously explained; some believe it to commemorate a Turkish or Kurdish lady of that name, others that it refers to the rich caravan-tolls of earlier days, since the place lies on the agelong Baghdād-Mosul highway; while others understand it as an abbreviation of Altin-Sū-Köprü, or the "Bridge of the Altin-Sū". But it is at least equally probable that the river name (now rarely used) itself merely reflects the town name.

The place, no more than an obscure and unrecorded village in medieval times, gained importance in and since the 11th/16th century, after the erection of the two bridges by (it is said) Sulṭān Murād IV and a period of settled administration. It was visited and has been described by many European travellers; and, now reckoned as healthy as well as highly picturesque, has in late years been greatly improved in cleanliness, amenities, and communications. The famous stone-built bridges, of which the southern contained an almost impractically high central arch, were destroyed by the Turks in 1918 and later replaced by modern steel structures. The Kirkūk-Irbīl branch of ʿIrāḳ Railways crosses the Zāb immediately upstream.

The inhabitants of Altîn Köprü, some 3500, are mixed Kurdish, Turkoman and Arab; this applies also to the thirty villages within the *nāḥiya.* Many of the latter lie within the area of the rich and extensive Kirkūk oilfield (discovered in 1346/1927, and in full development since 1353/1934); oilfield operations give employment to many of the inhabitants. Their other main occupations are those of agriculture (partly rain-fed, partly aided by modern-type irrigation), of services and supplies connected with road transport, of the characteristic *kellek* (skin-supported raft) traffic on the Zāb, and of wholesale and retail trade.

Bibliography: Turkish period, V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 855; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925, and many travellers' records, such as Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreib. nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1778, ii, 340; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire Ottoman*, Paris 1801, ii, 372; Rousseau, *Descriptian du Pachali de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 85; C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon*, London 1839, ii, 10-2; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861, ii, 319; Czernik, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, no. 44 (1875), 47; see also K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 637-9; E. Reclus, *Norw. géogr.* univ., ix, 431; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Martyrer*, 1880, 258, 263. For the 20th century, S. H. Longrigg, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953. (S. H. Longrigg)

ALTÎN ORDU, modern Turkish imitation of the Russian term "Zolotaya Orda", "Golden Horde" [see bātūids].

ALTÎNTASH (also Altuntash, local pronunciation Altindesh), village in Anatolia, 39° 5′ N, 30° 10′ E, and a *nāḥiye* in the *wilāyet* and the *ḳaḍā* of Kütahya (though the capital of the *nāḥiye* is not in the village, but in the village of Kürdköyü, a little to the west), on the small stream in the area of the sources of the Porsuk, somewhat to the west of the Afyōn Ḳara Ḥiṣār—Kütahya road. The village contains a *türbe* of the 19th century and a modern mosque incorporating older fragments. It stands on the site of an older and larger mosque, the building inscription of which (by the Rūm Saldjūḳ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād) is said to be in the museum of Aḳ Shehir. The inscription which is now above the porch refers to the building of a bridge and bears the date of 666/1267-8; the place has two small old bridges.

In the neighbouring Čakarsaz (called by the inhabitants Čakîrsaz) there is an early Ottoman *khān* (three naves with five girders) with a remarkable porch, into which there are also built antique fragments.

Altintash was a stage on the highway from Brusa (and Usküdar) via Kütahya to Afyōn Ḳara Ḥisar and Ḳonya, forming the stage probably together with Čakarsaz.

Bibliography: Cl. Huart, *Konia*, Paris 1897, 87, 254; ʿAli Djewād, *Memālik-i ʿOthmāniyyenin Taʾrīkh we-Djoghrāfyā Lughāti*, 26; Fr. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924-6, ii, index. (Fr. Taeschner)

ALTŪNTĀSH al-Ḥādjib, Abū Saʿīd (his alleged second name Hārūn which occurs in a single passage of Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 294, is probably due to an error of the author or of a copyist), Turkish slave, later general of the Ghaznawid Sebuk Tegīn and his two successors and governor of Khwārizm. Already under Sebuk Tegīn he attained the highest rank in the bodyguard, that of a "great *ḥādjib*"; under Maḥmūd he commanded the right wing in the great battle against the Ḳarakhānids (22 Rabīʿ II 398/4 Jan. 1008, and in 401/1010-1 he is mentioned as governor of Harāt. After the conquest of khwārizm in 408/1017 he was appointed governor of the province with the title of Khwārizmshāh and maintained himself in this office until his death in 423/1032. Altūntāsh seems to have administered the advanced border-province with energy and foresight and to have effectively guarded it against the neighbouring Turkish tribes. As, however, by this means he established his own rule even more than that of the sultans, his measures were always regarded with suspicion both by Maḥmūd and Masʿūd, and it is said that both of them made attempts to remove the troublesome governor by treachery. In the spring of 423/1032 Altūntāsh undertook, by order of the sultan Masʿūd a campaign against ʿAlī Tegīn (cf. ḳarakhānids) and received a mortal wound in the battle of Dabūsiyya. He was succeeded as governor by his son Hārūn, but Masʿūd bestowed the title of Khwārizmshāh on his own son Saʿīd and Hārūn administered the country only as Saʿīd's representative. In Ramaḍān 425/August 1034 Hārūn proclaimed himself independent, but was killed the very next year at the instigation of the Ghaznawids. His brother and successor Ismāʿīl Khandān ruled the country till 432/1041, when he was ousted, by order of the Ghaznawids, by Shāh Malik, the prince of Djand. Thus the dynasty founded by Altūntāsh came to an end.

Bibliography: ʿUtbī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Yamīnī*, 403-6; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, 73 ff.; Bayhaḳī (Morley), 59 ff., 91 ff., 389 ff., 419 ff., 499 ff., 834 ff.; the dates in Ibn al-Athīr (cf. index) are to be rectified according to these authorities. Cf. also the anecdotes, which are probably derived from the lost portions of Bayhaḳī's great work, in Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma* (Schefer), 206

and ʿAwfī (in Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russian ed., i, 89; cf. M. Nizámu 'd-din, *Introduction to the Jawámiʿul-Hikáyát*, index). Barthold, *Turkestan*, 275-9; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 56-60; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 115, 120. (W. BARTHOLD)

ALUDEL [see AL-ʿUTHĀL].

ʿALŪK [see AL-DJINN].

AL-**ĀLŪSĪ**, name of a family which included a large number of savants of Baghdād in the 19th and both centuries. The name is derived from Ālūs, a place situated on the west bank of the Euphrates, between Abū Kamāl and Ramādī; according to family tradition, the ancestors of the Ālūsī (whose descent is traced back to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn) fled there to escape from the Mongol conqueror Hūlāgū; their descendants only returned to Baghdād in the 11th/17th century. Among the numerous representatives of this family who have added lustre to the cultural and political history of ʿIrāk are:

(1) ʿABD ALLĀH ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN, forefather of the family (d. 1246/1830).

(2) ABU'L THANĀ' MAḤMŪD SHIHĀB AL-DĪN (1217-70/1802-54), son of the preceding; he was *muftī* of Baghdād for several years, but was also an outstanding professor, thinker and polemist. Among his numerous works are: *Rūḥ al-Maʿānī* (commentary on the Ḳur'ān, Būlāḳ 1301-10/1883-1892, 9 vols.); commentaries on grammar and prosody and attempts at *maḳāmāt*; his doctrinal arguments are contained in *al-Risāla al-Lāhūriyya* (ed. 1301/1883) and *al-Adjwiba al-ʿIrāḳiyya ʿan al-As'ila al-Īrāniyya* (Istanbul 1317). The account of his voyage to Istanbul in 1267-9/1851-2, after his dismissal from his post as *mufti*, provided the material for there works: *Nashwat al-Shamūl fi 'l-Dhahāb ilā Islāmbūl*, *Nashwat al-Mudām fi 'l-ʿAwd ilā Dār al-Salām*, and *Gharā'ib al-Ightirāb wa-Nuzhat al-Albāb*, published at Baghdād, the first two in 1291-3/1874-6, the third in 1327/1909.

(3) ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, brother of the preceding, (d. 1284/1867); a *khaṭīb* at Baghdād, he was called "the Ibn al-Djawzī of his age and the Ibn Nubāta of his generation".

(4) ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD, brother of the preceding, (1232-1324/1816-1906); professor and *wāʿiẓ*, author of some verse and a *Nathr al-La'ālī ʿalā Naẓm al-Amālī*.

(5) ʿABD ALLĀH BAHĀ' AL-DĪN, elder brother of (2) (1248-91/1832-74); *ḳādī* of Baṣra, author of a small treatise on grammar, two texts on logic and a commentary on a treatise on mysticism.

(6) ʿABD AL-BĀḲĪ SAʿD AL-DĪN, brother of the preceding (1250-93/1834-76); *ḳāḍī* of Kirkūk in 1292/1875; he wrote mainly commentaries on or adaptations of manuals on grammer or scansion, and a guide to the pilgrimage, *Awḍaḥ Manhadj ilā Maʿrifat Manāsik al-Ḥadjdj* (lith. Cairo 1277).

(7) NUʿMĀN KHAYR AL-DĪN ABU' L-BARAKĀT, brother of the preceding (1252-1317/1836-39), professor and *wāʿiẓ*; author of a defence of Ibn Taymiyya, *Djalā' al-ʿAynayn fi 'l-Muḥākama bayn al-Aḥmadayn*, which caused a great sensation. He wrote two other polemical works, *al-Djawāb al-Faṣīḥ* (against the Christians), and *Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nuʿmān fi Radd Shaḳāshiḳ Ibn Sulaymān*; his sermons and exhortations were collected in his *Ghāliyat al-Mawāʿiẓ*, a work of great length which exists in several editions.

(8) MUḤAMMAD ḤAMĪD, brother of the preceding (1262/1846-1290/1873-4).

(9) AḤMAD SHĀKIR, brother of the preceding (1264/1848-1330/1911-2), *ḳāḍī* of Baṣra.

(10) MAḤMŪD SHUKRĪ, known also as MAḤMŪD ĀLŪSĪ-ZĀDA, son of (5) (29 Ramaḍān 1273/14 May 1857/3 Shawwāl 1342/8 May 1924); the best known of his family, a fact which is partly due to the zeal of Muḥammad Bahdjat al-Atharī in publishing his works. He wrote some 50 works on history, *fiḳh*, biography, lexicography, rhetoric and dogmatic controversy; on history, the most noteworthy are the *Bulūgh al-Arab fī Maʿrifat Aḥwāl al-ʿArab* (printed in 1313/1896), a history on the Arabs of the *djāhiliyya* compiled in answer to a question raised at the 8th Oriental Congress (1889), and *Ta'rīkh Nadjd* (Cairo 1343); on biography, *al-Misk al-Adhfar* (Baghdād 1348/1930) on the savants of Baghdād in 12th-13th centuries; on dialectology, *Amthāl al-ʿAwāmm fī Madīnat al-Salām*; on controversy, a series of violent polemics against Shīʿism, against the Rifāʿiyya Order, in support of the neo-Ḥanbalite law reform, etc., notably the *Ghāyāt al-Amānī*, published under a pseudonym (Cairo 1327). He was one of the most vigorous representatives of modern Islam, striving by means of the written and spoken word and by his example to combat *bidʿa*, and he may be regarded as one of the leaders of the Salafiyya movement.

(11) ʿALĀ' AL-DĪN ʿALĪ, son of (7) (d. 1340/1921); a professor; his only work is a manual on grammar in verse; a collection of biographies was never completed.

(12) MUḤAMMAD DARWĪSH, son of (9) (d. after 1340/1922); professor and preacher; he wrote several unpublished works.

Bibliography: Maḥmūd Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ālūsī, *Rūḥ al-Maʿānī*, i, Preface; Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Ālūsī, *al-Misk al-Adhfar*, i, 3-59; Brockelmann, II, 498, S II, 785-89; Muḥammad Bahdjat al-Atharī, *Aʿlām al-ʿIrāḳ*, 7 ff., 57-68; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Suhrawardī, *Lubb al-Albāb*, ii, 218-24, 360-2, 2130-33; Sarkīs, col. 3-8; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, iii, 1013-14; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kittānī, *Fihris*, i, 97, ii, 84; Dj. Zaydān, *Ta'rīkh Ādāb al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya* iv, 285; idem, *Mashāhīr al-Sharḳ*, ii, 175-77 Sandūbī *Aʿyān al-Bayān*, 99-110; ʿUmar al-Dasūḳī, *Fi 'l-Adab al-Ḥadīth*, i, 49-51, 139-41; L. Cheikho, *Litt. ar. au XIXe s.*, i, 73, 85-6, 93, 97; H. Pérès, *Litt. ar. et Isl. par les textes*, 74-5; L. Massignon, in *RMM*, 1924, 244-6 (see also xxxvi, 320 ff. and lviii, 254); *Lughat al-ʿArab*, iv, 343-6, 399-402; *Mash.*, i, 865-69, 1066-71; I. Goldziher, *Ẓāhiriten*, 188, 190; Naʿīm al-Ḥimṣī, *Ta'rīkh Iʿdjāz al-Ḳur'ān*, in *MMIA*, xxix. 420-22. (H. PÉRÈS)

ʿALWA, name of a Nubian people and kingdom. The kingdom was adjacent to that of Maḳurra [*q.v.*] a little below the confluence of the White Nile and the Atbara and stretched southward well beyond the confluence of the White and Blue Nile; its capital was Sōba, near the modern Kharṭūm. The Christian kingdom preserved its independence even after the fall of the kingdom of the Maḳurra and only disappeared in the beginning of the 10th/16th century under the pressure of Arab tribes allied to the Fundj. [See also NŪBA, and AL-NĪL.]

Bibliogrphy: Ibn al-Faḳīh, 78; Yaʿḳūbī, 335; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 31; Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī, in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (transl. by G. Troupeau, in *Arabica*, 1954, 284); Yāḳūt, iv, 820; Dimashḳī, *Nukhba*, 296; J. Marquart, *Die Benin Sammlung*, Leiden 1913, index; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, 72-5; U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, Rome 1938, index; O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951; 25 ff.; P. L. Shinnie, *Excavations at Soba*, Khartoum 1955. (S. M. STERN)

ALWĀḤ [see LAWḤ].

ALWAND [see AḲ ḲOYUNLU].

ALWAND KŪH or Kūh-i Alwand (Elwend), is an isolated mountain-group lying to the south of Hamadhān, and rising to a height of 11,717 feet. To the north and north-east the Alwand Kūh drops steeply off to the plain; to the north-west it is united to the Kūh-i Dāʾim al-Barf, a mountain-mass of almost equal height, which is joined to the Kūh-i Almu Ḳulakh by lower mountain-chains. The latter forms the north-western extremity of the entire Alwand system. The core of the real Alwand consists of granite, judging from the geological formation; only at the base is there to be found isolated red clay of salt formation. Wild rocky precipices, bare cliffs and gorges alternate with fertile mountain pasturages; up to nearly 7,500 feet the southern slopes are clad with groves of walnuts, mulberries and fruit trees. The Alwand Kūh is noted for its abundant water-supply. Mustawfī observes (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, Bombay 1311, 152) that in addition to the spring which rises on the highest peak, no fewer than 42 streams flow from this central portion of the mountain chain, some of which are tributaries of the Tigris, others turning eastwards, flow to the interior of Iran. As the result of the plentiful irrigation by the Alwand streams the plain of Hamadhān has always been considered as the most highly favoured region of Irān. Hamadhān itself, the old Ekbatana, which is built in terraces along the foot of the mountain was a favourite summer residence for the Achaemenid kings on account of its cool, lofty position (1860 metres). Two cuneiform inscriptions dating from Darius I and Xerxes I still remain as vestiges of ancient Persian times at a place named Gandj Namah (= treasure-house) on the slope of the Alwand Kūh at a height of 7,000 feet.

Oriental writers relate many legends but few facts concerning the Alwand Kūh. (They mention a source on the summit of the mountain as one of the sources of paradise—probably following old beliefs concerning the locality; cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, 146, 170-3.) Al-Ḳazwīnī (682 = 1283) gives the best account; he names it Kūh Arwand. Yāḳūt also uses the form Arwand, whereas other Arabic writers employ the later term Alwand (Mustawfī: Alwand Kūh). The Old Persian name Aruanda (Avesta and Pāzend: Arwand) appears in Greek writers (Polybius, Ptolemy, Diodorus) in the form Ορόντης. In Old Armenian the word is found as the name of persons in the form Erwand (Arwand); cf. H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1897, i, 40, and in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1904, 426. The "white mountains" mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions are probably to be identified with the Alwand Kūh; cf. Streck in *ZA*, 1900, 371. Perhaps moreover, the "cedar-mountain" of the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh epic refers to the Alwand Kūh, as Jensen has conjectured in Schrader's *Keilinschriftl. Biblioth.*, vi/1, Berlin 1900, 573.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 225; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenf.), ii, 236, 311; Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, s. v. *Arwand*; Le Strange, 22, 195; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 48, 82-98; H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, Berlin 1878, 69; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 168 f.; Fr. Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i, 103, 104-143 ff.; Justi. in *Gr I Ph*, ii, 427 (on the places of worship of old Persian deities on the Alwand); C. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire Ottoman, l'Egypte et en Perse*, Paris 1801, iii, 163; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient* Leipzig 1861, ii, 252; *Mitteilungen der K. K. Geogr. Ger. Wien* 1883, 72 f.; A. F. Stahl, in *Petermann's Geograph. Mitteilungen*, 1907, 205 (geological observations) und also 1909, 6. Map: Iran series, $^1/_4$ inch Sheet no. 1-39, G (Hamadān) June 1942. (M. Streck-D. N. Wilber)

ALWĀR (ulwur in English spelling) was a "native" state in the east of Radjputāna, India, lying between 27° 3' and 28° 13' north and 76° 7' and 77° 13' east with an area of 3, 141 square miles and a population of 861, 993 (1951 census). The languages spoken are mainly Hindi and Mewāti; about one fourth of the inhabitants is Muslim.

The founder of the modern state of Alwār was Pratap Singh, 1740-1791, who, between 1771 and 1776, succeeded in carving out a principality which was recognised by the Mughal Emperor Shāh ʿĀlam II, and later, in 1811, by the British.

After the lapse of British paramountcy Alwār joined the Matsya Union with Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli; the Maharaja of Alwār become Uparpramukh of the new state. On the 15th May, 1949, Alwār and the other component states of the Matsya Union merged with the Union of Radjasthān.

The town of Alwār has some Islamic monuments, such as the mausolea of Bakhtāwar Singh (the adopted son and successor of Pratap Singh) and of Fatiḥ Djang (see Fergusson, *Indian Architecture*).

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(P. Hardy)

AMA [see ʿABD].

al-**AʿMĀ** al-**TUṬĪLĪ**, "the blind man of Tudela", Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (or Abū Djaʿfar) Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hurayra al-ʿUtbī (or al-Ḳaysī), Hispano-Arabic poet, b. in Tudela, but brought up in Seville; d. 525/1130-1. MSS of his *dīwān*, containing classical poetry, are to be found in London and Cairo (see Brockelmann, I, 320, S I, 480), but he is mainly famous as one of the great masters of *muwashshaḥ* poetry. His *muwashshaḥs* are preserved, apart from occasional quotations in general works, in such special anthologies of the genre as Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's *Dār al-Ṭirāz* (ed. Rikaby, nos. 1, 30, 34), Ibn Bushrā's *ʿUddat al-Djalīs*, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Djaysh al-Tawshīḥ* (ch. ii), and al-Ṣafadī's *Tawshīʿ al-Tawshīḥ* (nos. 14a, 16a; for the last two, cf. S. M. Stern, in *Arabica*, 1955, 150 ff.); cf. Muwashshaḥ.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, MS Oxford 749, fol. 167 v ff.; Ibn Khāḳān, *Kalāʾid al-ʿIḳyān*, 271-8; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, MS Oxford 664, fol. 73 ff.; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 139 (= 162), 235, 275, 336, 360, 652; Ibn Saʿīd, in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ii, 392; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index, s.v. L'Aveugle de Tudèle.

(S. M. Stern)

ʿAMĀDIYA, a town in Kurdistān, at about 100 klm. north of Mosul in the basin of the Gāra river (a right tributary of the Great Zāb). The town stands on a hill and is dominated by the citadel built on a steep rock. The water supplying the citadel comes from cisterns hewn in the rock. The stronghold is situated at a point which, in the east, controls communications with valleys of the left affluents of the Zāb (Shamdīnān, Rū-Kučūk, Rawānduz) and, in the west, those within the Khābūr basin. The climate of ʿAmādiya is hot and unhealthy.

According to Ibn al-Athīr the fortress received its name from ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī who built it in 537/1142 on the spot where a more ancient castle stood called Āshib (*al-Kāmil*, ix, 60) or al-Shaʿbāniyya (*Taʾrīkh al-Atābakiyya, Recueil des Hist. des croisades*,

ii/2, 114-5). Less probable is its attribution to the Būyid ʿImād al-Dawla (d. in 338/949, see *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 105.) The original form of the name is, therefore, ʿImādiyya, but the modern pronunciation is ʿAmādiya.

ʿAmādiya had Kurdish princes of the Bahdīnān family, originary of a place called Tārūn (cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 222) in the territory of the S̲h̲ams al-Dīnān (S̲h̲amdīnān). S̲h̲araf al-Dīn, i, 106-15, traces their arrival back to circa 600/1203. In its heyday the principality comprised a number of adjoining territories (ʿAḳr S̲h̲ūs̲h̲, Dahūk and even Zak̲h̲o). The later Bahdīnān shifted between the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans and were finally incoporated by the latter, under whom ʿAmādiya was reckoned now to the wilāyat of Wān and now to that of Mawṣil. Since the settlement of the Mosul question in 1926 ʿAmādiya has formed part of ʿIrāḳ.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 717; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 717-20, 727; xi, 590 ff.; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 430; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 203, 219 ff.; M. Hartmann, *Bohtan* (= *Mitteil. der Berliner Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1897-1898), 10, note 2; 62, note 1, 107; (M. Rousseau), *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 198 and elsewhere (see index, 235); H. A. Layard, *Nineveh and its remains* 1854, i, 157-62; Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mossul und Urmia*, iii, 275 ff.; Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus*, 1875, 529; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 795; Le Strange, 92 f.; Sir A. Wilson, *Mesopotamia* 1917-20, London 1930, index.

(M. Streck-[V. Minorsky])

ʿAMAL (a.). 1. *ʿAmal*, performance, action, is usually discussed by the speculative theologians and philosophers only in connection with belief [see ʿilm, īmān] or with *ʿilm* and *naẓar*. From Hellenistic tradition was known the definition of philosophy as the "knowledge of the nature of things and the doing of good" (cf. *Mafātīḥ*, ed. van Vloten, 131 f.). Many Muslim thinkers have emphasised the necessity or at least the desirability of this combination (cf. Goldziher, *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Nafs*, 54*-60*). But it is the intellectualism of the Greek philosophy, in ethics also, that explains how nine tenths of the philosophers and mystics influenced by it represented action if not of less importance than at least as dependent on knowledge. Plato placed wisdom (σοφία) as first of his cardinal virtues, the Stoics and Neo-Platonists followed him. Aristotle also esteemed theoretical (dianoetic) virtue higher than ethical. This is the doctrine of the so-called "Theology of Aristotle", that the soul of man is elevated, not through actions but by cognition, to perceive and enjoy the intellectual world.

Different opinions on the relation between knowledge and action are given by al-Tawḥīdī in his *Muḳābasāt*, Cairo 1929, 262 sff. We shall here confine ourselves to the predominantly intellectual conception and take as an example the *Fuṣūṣ*, attributed to al-Fārābī, *Philosophische Abhandlungen*, 72 ff. [Arabic] ed. Dieterici; in reality by Ibn Sīnā, where we find the psychological and metaphysical basis of the author's teaching. He distinguishes three practical faculties of the soul, which are only briefly mentioned and two theoretical, which are discussed more fully. The activity of the vegetable and animal soul is practical as is that of the soul of man, i.e. the reasoning soul, in so far as the latter chooses not only the useful but also the beautiful and prepares itself for the goals placed before it in this life. The theoretical faculties are of a higher rank. Beginning with sensual perception (animal soul) theoretical reason advances beyond the material world and rises to the intellectual sphere. Practical reason is only servile, theoretical however is independent (cf. al-Fārābī's *Musterstaat*, [Arabic] ed. Dieterici, 47).

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the philosophers following Aristotle divided sciences into theoretical (*naẓariyya*) and practical (*ʿamaliyya*). The latter are ethics, economics and politics.

Bibliography: A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, s. index, s.v. *Works*; and Tj. de Boer, *Ethics and Morality* (*Muslim*), in Hastings' *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*.

(Tj. de Boer)

2. *ʿAmal* (and the pl. *aʿmāl*), "that which is practised" and, following the usage of Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt̲h̲*, "the works". It is opposed complementarily to *naẓar* [*q.v.*], speculative knowledge, and must be distinguished from *fiʿl* [*q.v.*] (pl. *afʿāl*), acts. *ʿAmal* signifies the moral action in its practical context and, secondarily, the practical domain of "acting". In the terminology of *falsafa*, *al-ʿilm al-ʿamalī* is practical knowledge, which comprises, according to the list given by al-K̲h̲ʷārizmī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*), ethics, domestic economy and politics, thereby reproducing an Aristotelian distinction. This then is a notion which applies to the "foreign sciences". It was used and developed in *falsafa*, particularly in distinguishing the "practical" and the "theoretical intellect". Concurrently, the idea of *ʿamal ṣāliḥ*, a morally good action, synonymous with *maʿrūf*, became current in Islam. But the *Risāla al-Laduniyya* (a text usually attributed to al-G̲h̲azzālī) introduced the distinction between speculative knowledge (here *ʿilmī*) and practical knowledge (*ʿamalī*) as regards revealed knowledge (*ʿilm s̲h̲arʿī*) itself, and it is canon law (*fiḳh*) which is called an *ʿamalī* science. When works on *kalām* consider the nature of faith (*īmān*) and its relationships to Islām, the "external works" required by the Law are commonly termed *aʿmāl*. Ibn Ḥazm does the same. (*Afʿāl*, on the other hand, is commonly used in order to describe the human acts when discussing the question of free will.) Al-G̲h̲azzālī, especially in the *Iḥyāʾ*, when speaking of the faith, follows the usage of *kalām* with regard to the meaning of the term *ʿamal* and its plural *aʿmāl*. He considers as permissible the following definition: *īmān* is equivalent to the sum of inward assent (*taṣdīḳ*), verbal confession (*ḳawl*) and works (*aʿmāl*).

Bibliography: *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo 1342, 79) *al-Risāla al-Laduniyya*, Cairo 1353/1934, 31; *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, Cairo 1353, i, 103 ff.; see also the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm and the treatises of *kalām*, chap, on *al-asmāʾ wa'l-aḥkām*.

(L. Gardet)

3. *ʿAmal*, "judicial practice". The problem of "jurisprudence" as a source of law has arisen at every period and in every province of Islām. But Morocco has provided the best facilities for studying it, since the discovery there by L. Milliot in 1917 of an *ʿamal* which has regulative force.

In Andalusia, despite controversy, there prevailed a tendency to require judges to follow "practice of Cordova". Jurisprudence entered into compendia of "formularies" (*wat̲h̲āʾiḳ*), "responsa" (*fatāwā*) and even "regulations" (*ḳawānīn*). Part of this material was incorporated in a late manual, the *Tuḥfa* of Ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 829/1426), which was destined to have

a great success in Morocco, where the evolution was determined by local conditions.

At Fez, the jurisdiction of the *ḳāḍīs* was combined with the action of municipal authorities, and had to take into consideration special customs. The resultant of this complicated procedure, once set down in writing, was precisely the *ʿamal*, which found a recognised place in the system from the end of the 9th/15th century. A short guide to procedure, the *Lāmiyya* of ʿAlī al-Zaḳḳāḳ (d. S͟hawwāl 912/Feb.-March 1507), expressed already the technical aspect of the problem. *Fiḳh* is above all an "art" in the service of orthodoxy and of urban economy. At the same time, it reflects the difficulties met with in the existence of unusual practices, or even what we should call customary laws. Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāḍī (960 — Ṣafar 1025/1552 — Feb.-March 1611) expounds a Mālikī *ʿamal*. Al-ʿArabī al-Fāsī (6 S͟hawwāl 488 — 14 Rabīʿ II, 1052/14 Nov. 1588 — 12 July 1642) sanctions the evidence of the *lafīf*, "unsifted" witnesses, which emanates neither from "virtuous men" [cf. ʿADL] nor from professionals, but from the "man in the street", and relies therefore on the inherent integrity of the "group" (*d̲j̲amāʿa*). This innovation, which was not unconnected with conditions in rural areas, provoked controversy. Similarly the *ṣafḳa* which, by sanctioning the validity of a sale concluded by a joint owner, demonstrated the solidarity of the rural family, was the subject of a work by Maḥammad b. Aḥmad Mayyāra (15 Ramaḍān 999 — 3 D̲j̲umādā II, 1072/7 July 1591 — 24 January 1662).

In the second half of the 11th/17th century, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (17 D̲j̲umādā II 1040-16 D̲j̲umādā I 1095/21 Jan. 1631-20 April 1695) collected together several hundred rules in a mnemonic poem called *al-ʿAmal al-Fāsī*. This work, which acquired at least three commentaries, has given its name to a whole class of literature. There is also a "general practice" (*ʿamal muṭlaḳ*), and especially a Southern practice which, being based on an irregular local system, has great documentary value. An important part in its formulation was played by the *ḳāḍī* ʿĪsā al-Suktānī (d. 1062/1652) and by the jurists originating from the old intellectual centres in the Sūs and influenced by the spiritual movement which developed round the *zāwiyas*, such as Dilāʾ and particularly Tamggrūt.

Under the title of "opinions" (*ad̲j̲wiba*), "judgements" (*aḥkām*) or "precedents" (*nawāzil*), each doctor reproduced and, on occasion, revised the contributions of his predecessors. The lack of criticism of the sources, and the tendency to cover expedient solutions by the cloak of doctrinal pretexts, make it difficult to trace the evolution of ideas, as well as of this voluminous branch of legal literature as a whole. Nevertheless, European scholarship, justly impressed by the continuity and by the practical value of this literature, is inclined to regard it as tending to the creation of a positive law. This thesis has been propounded in a masterly fashion by L. Milliot. On its part, Moroccan exegesis reduces *ʿamal* to a purely technical plane; when local customs require it, the *ḳāḍī* has the right to prefer the "isolated" or "anomalous" opinion (*s͟hād͟hd͟h*) to the "predominant" opinion (*mas͟hhūr*). This right, limited by numerous conditions and differentiations, is therefore apt to produce only temporary and isolated solutions. In fact, *ʿamal* is virtually a pragmatic law. But it remains subject to doctrinal criticism which can at any moment revoke it. It is nevertheless of considerable interest to historians, to whom it offers factual information, too often neglected by the chroniclers, and a many-sided documentation on the development of Moroccan law.

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The theory of *ʿamal* as positive law was expounded for the first time by L. Milliot, *Démembrements du habous*, Paris 1918, 23-30, with translation of a passage from Sid̲j̲ilmāsī's commentary on the *ʿamal*, 109-17; idem, *Recueil de jurisprudence chérifienne*, Paris 1920-23, 3 vol., in section iv of the Introduction; idem, *La conception de l'État et de l'ordre légal dans l'Islam*, Paris 1949, 644-47. The most recent summary of L. Milliot's ideas is contained in his preface to vol. iv of *Recueil de jurisprudence chérifienne*, Paris 1952, v-xix.

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(J. BERQUE)

4. *ʿAmal* as a legal and economic term, denotes the labour, as opposed to capital; as such, it occurs in the discussion of a number of contracts, e.g. *idjāra* (hire), *muḍāraba* (or *ḳirāḍ*, sleeping partnership), *musāḳāt* and *muzāraʿa* (agricultural partnerships); [*qq.v.*]. It also denotes the performance of an act or a duty (opp. *niyya*, "intention"); hence Suyūṭī's [*q.v.*] *ʿAmal al-Yawm wa'l-Layla* ("Acts to be performed every day and night"; Brockelmann, II, 190, no. 113), and its Shīʿite counterpart, *Aʿmāl al-Yawm w'al-Layla w'al-Usbūʿ w'al-Shuhūr w'al-Sana* ("Acts to be performed every day and night, week, month and year") by Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī (Brockelmann, S, II, 795, no. 16), and the tradition *al-aʿmāl bil-niyyāt*, "acts are valid according to the intention" (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 45, *Vorlesungen*², 41). (Ed.)

AMĀLĪ [see TADRĪS].

ʿAMĀLĪḲ (or ʿAMĀLIḲA), the Amalekites of the Bible. Not mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, this ancient people is connected by Muslim literary tradition to the genealogical table in Genesis x, either to Shem (through Lud-Lāwudh or Arpakhshad), or to Ham. They take the place of the Philistines (the people of Djālūt-Goliath) and of the Midianites (Balaam persuaded them to incite the Israelites to debauchery), and the Pharaohs are alleged to be of their race. On the other hand, in the mythical pre-Islamic history of Arabia and in the legendary cycle of the Yamanite migrations, they are listed among the first tribes speaking the Arabic tongue, with Ṭasm, Djadīs and Thamūd. At the time of Hūd, they lived in the Ḥidjāz, but the same prophet is supposed to have preached to them in Babel. Ishmael's first wife, who was repudiated, was an Amalekite. Their moral corruption merited their destruction. The evil deeds of King ʿAmlūḳ belong to the folklore concerning *jus primae noctis*. Joshua fought against them, and the establishment of Jewish tribes at Yathrib is said to be an unforeseen result of the war of extermination waged on them by Jushua's order, but not fully carried out. David also made war on them. Reference is also made to an Amalekite settlement in the Yamāma. Even the confused memories of the Palmyrene empire of Odenathus and Zenobia have been associated with the Amalekites. Nöldeke has clearly shown that apart from the confused biblical references, there is no historical basis to these accounts.

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AMĀN, safety, protection, safe conduct, quarter; *musta'min*, the person who has received an *amān*. The term does not occur in the Ḳur'ān; it is derived from sūra ix, 6: "If a Polytheist asks you for *djiwār* (see below), give it to him so that he may hear Allāh's words, then let him go to his place of safety (*ma'man*)" (cf. also sūra xvi, 112). In Muḥammad's letters to the Arab tribes, *amān* (or *amana*) occurs as a synonym of *ʿahd* [*q.v.*], *dhimma* [*q.v.*] and *djiwār*. The institution of *amān* continues, in fact, the pre-Islamic Arab institution of *djiwār* by which a stranger, who was in principle outlawed outside his own group, received for his life and property the protection of a member of a group to which he did not belong, and therefore the protection of the group as a whole (cf. E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, 60 ff.). All this goes back to Semitic antiquity (cf. the Hebrew *gēr*). Muḥammad replaced tribal by religious solidarity, and stated in the so-called Constitution of Medina (year 1 or 2 A. H.): "The *dhimma* of Allāh is one and indivisible, and a *djiwār* given by the lowest (of the Believers) engages all" (Ibn Hishām, 342). Similar sayings are reported from the Prophet in traditions (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *dhimma*, *djār*). The opening passage of sūra ix, of which the verse quoted above forms part, details the scope of the pacts of security, called *ʿahd*, between the Believers and the Polytheists (cf. Blachère, *Le Coran*, trad., ii, 1076). The relevant letters, whether genuine or not, from the Prophet, the first Caliphs and their commanders (cf. M. Hamidullah, *Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane*, Paris 1935, with bibliography) are almost exclusively concerned with the granting of permanent security, which is acquired either by conversion to Islam or by political submission to the Islamic state (cf. AHL AL-DHIMMA); at least one reference to safe conducts for foreign travellers exists (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 37), but *amān* in its later technical meaning was not, as yet, distinguished from the general concept of *dhimma*. This distinction was made when the religious law of Islam was elaborated.

Amān, in Islamic religious law, is a safe conduct or pledge of security by which a *ḥarbī* or "enemy alien", i.e. a non-Muslim belonging to the *dār al-ḥarb* [*q.v.*], becomes protected by the sanctions of the law in his life and property for a limited period. Every free Muslim, man or woman, who is of age, and according to most doctrines even a slave, is qualified to give a valid *amān*, either to an individual or to a restricted number of *ḥarbīs*. The *imām* alone is qualified to give an *amān* to undetermined groups, such as the population of a whole city or territory, or to all traders. An *amān*, properly given, is valid whether the fundamental state of war exists between the Muslims and the community to which the *ḥarbī* in question belongs, or whether it has for the time being been suspended by treaty or truce. It can be given verbally in any language, or by an intelligible sign. The *musta'min* has the right to go, with his property, to his "place of safety", where he is not exposed to immediate attacks by the Muslims, when his *amān* expires (or earlier), or at the latest one lunar year (according to the Shāfiʿīs: four months) after the grant of the *amān*, unless he prefers to stay in Islamic territory under the status of the *ahl al-dhimma*. Diplomatic envoys who are known or can identify themselves as such, automatically enjoy *amān*; but that is not true of traders or of shipwrecked persons. During his stay in Islamic territory, the *musta'min* is, generally speaking, assimilated to the *dhimmī* as far as civil law is concerned; as regards criminal law, the doctrine hesitates, with many variants on details, between subjecting him to the *ḥadd* punishments applicable to the *dhimmī* or making him only civilly responsible; in any case, if the *musta'min* acts against the interest of the Muslims or otherwise misbehaves, the *imām* may terminate his *amān* and deport him to his "place of safety". The corresponding safe conduct given by the *ḥarbīs* to a Muslim in their territory, is not called *amān* but *idhn* (permission).

In practice, letters of *amān* for individuals are attested from the late Umayyad period (104-108/723-726) onwards. The oldest grants of *amān* proper, given to whole groups for the purpose of travel or trade, are contained in the treaties between the Muslim administrators of Egypt and the Nubians and the Bed͟ja, of 31/651-2 and 104-116/722-734 respectively. Formularies of a later period are found in al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿs͟hā*, xiii, 321 ff. (summarized in Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 170 f.). Al-Ḳalḳas͟handī mentions, too, the issue of letters of *amān* by the Muslim political authorities to Muslims and gives examples, mostly from the later period. These are free pardons issued to rebels, and they are, strictly speaking, superfluous or even incompatible with religious law. They were, nevertheless, issued frequently, and the historians provide numerous examples of this kind of *amān*, which was on occasion unscrupulously broken, from the early ʿAbbāsid period onwards. The institution of the regular *amān*, on the other hand, made not only diplomatic relations (cf. M. Canard, *Deux épisodes des relations diplomatiques arabe-byzantines au Xe siècle*, in *B Et. Or.*, xiii, 51-69) but trade between the Islamic and the Christian world down to the middle of the 6th/12th century possible, and letters of *amān* were regularly granted to traders and pilgrims. It has been suggested that the Islamic doctrine of *amān* was elaborated, on an old Arabian and Islamic basis, under the influence of the corresponding rules of Roman Byzantine law. From the end of the 6th/12th century onwards, coinciding with the increase in trade across the Mediterranean, the institution of *amān* was in practice superseded by state treaties between Christian and Islamic powers, which gave the strangers more security and rights. There are natural similarities in details, even the term *amān* is sometimes used in the Arabic versions of the treaties, and the Muslim scholars, when called upon to give *fatwās* on questions arising out of them, naturally thought only in terms of *amān* (cf. A. S. Atiya, *An Unpublished XVIth Century Fatwā*, in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens* [*P. Kahle Festschrift*], Leiden 1935, 55-68). Nevertheless, these treaties, which later gave rise to the Capitulations [cf. IMTIYĀZ], did not develop out of the Islamic concept of *amān*, but represent a type of treaty which had already come into being between the trading cities of Italy and the Byzantine Empire and the states of the Crusaders (cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, i, Paris 1940, 430-40).

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(J. SCHACHT)

AMĀN, MĪR, (commonly spelt in English Mir Amman, an Indian writer, born at Delhi, who was active at the beginning of the 19th century at the Fort William College, Calcutta. His fame as a graceful writer of Urdu prose rests almost entirely on *Bāg͟h o-Bahār*, which is an adaptation of the story of the four Dervishes, entitled *Ḳiṣṣa Çahār Darwīs͟h* in its Persian original. It was completed in 1217/1802; and thanks to its plain and perspicuous style, has been widely used as a text-book by Western students of Urdu, and has in consequence been repeatedly printed in India. It has also been translated into English by L. F. Smith under the title of *The Tale of the Four Durwesh*, Calcutta 1813. Other translations are due to Duncan Forbes, Hollings and Eastwick. There is also a French translation by Garcin de Tassy: *Bag o Behar, Le jardin et le printemps, poème hindoustani traduite en français*, Paris 1878. Another less known work of Mīr Amman is *Gand͟j-i K͟hūbī*, which is a free translation into Urdu of *Ak͟hlaḳ-i Muḥsini*, an ethical treatise by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kas͟hifī. The date of its composition is posterior to that of *Bag͟h o-Bahār*. He was stimulated to this literary activity by the Director of the Fort William College, Dr. J. B. Gilchrist (d. 1841). The writings of Mīr Amān are generally reckoned among those early works which have powerfully contributed to the development of a simple, natural and direct style in Urdu literature.

Mīr Amān occasionally wrote poetry under the poetical name of Luṭf; but he did not excel in it and his *g͟hazals* seem to have been lost.

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(SH. INAYATULLAH)

AMĀN ALLĀH [see AFG͟HĀNISTĀN].

AMĀNAT, the poetical name of SAYYID ĀG͟HĀ ḤASAN (1231-75/1815-58), a poet of Muslim India, in whom the artificiality and conventionality of the Lucknow school of Urdu poetry reached its culminating point. He began by composing *mart͟hiyas* or elegies on the tragic death of Ḥusayn the son of ʿAlī; but soon turned to the *g͟hazal*. His poetical compositions have been preserved in two collections, viz., *Guldasta-i Amānat*, compiled in 1269/1853, and his *Dīwān*, also known as *K͟hazāʾin al-Faṣāḥa*, collected in 1278 A. H. and published for the first time at Lucknow in 1285 A. H. He also wrote two *wāsok͟hts*, the second of which is longer (307 stanzas) and of a better literary quality. In the last days of his life, he became inordinately fond of composing

riddles and enigmas, which seem to have afforded him some sort of mental diversion. He is, however, chiefly remembered for his *Indar Sabhā*, a musical comedy, completed in 1270/1853 and published the next year, along with *Sharḥ Indar Sabhā*, lithographed on the margin. It took the Indian public by storm and became the prototype of many similar plays, written by various authors in subsequent years. In the *Sharḥ*, he reproduces the whole story and also describes the action scene by scene, for those unable to see the play on the stage.

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(SH. INAYATULLAH)

AMANUS [see ELMA DAGH].

'AMĀRA (47° 13′ E, 31° 50′ N), until 1333/1914 the capital of the Turkish *sandjaḳ* of that name in southern 'Irāḳ, has been since 1340/1921 the headquarter town of a *liwā* of the 'Irāḳ kingdom, containing also the dependent *ḳaḍās* of 'Alī al-Gharbī and Ḳal'a Ṣāliḥ. Pleasantly situated on the Tigris left bank thirty miles from the nearest Persian hills, and potentially rich from the great flood-canals, the abundant crops of rice and dates, and the sheep-breeding of its half marshy and half corn-land territory, 'Amāra was founded only in 1279/1862 as a Turkish military post to control the ever warring Banū Lām and Āl Bū Muḥammad tribes. It grew rapidly as a local market and entrepôt, as a centre for the civil administration, as a re-fuelling station for the river steamers, and as from 1308/1890 as a headquarters for administering the great estates acquired for Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II. The town's main population elements were, and are, Shī'ī and (fewer) Sunnī Muslim Arabs, with communities of Chaldaean Christians, of resident Lurs and Persians, of the "Sabaean" silversmiths, and, until 1370/1950, of Jews. Under the British occupation and Mandate (1334/1915 to 1351/1932) and the 'Irāḳ Government the town has expanded and acquired modern buildings, communications and public services; but the particularly difficult problems presented by this district in tribal administration and land-tenure remain largely unsolved.

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(S. H. LONGRIGG)

AMARKOT, town situated 25° 22′ N and 69° 71′ E, in the Tharparkar district of West Pakistan (population in 1951: 5,142, including 1,957 Muslims), was, according to tradition, founded by a branch of the Sūmra Rādjpūts who embraced Islam during the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī (694/1294-716/1316). The Sūmras lost the town in 624/1226 to the Soda Rādjpūts, who were expelled in 731/1330 by the Sūmras. In 843/1439 the Sodas again came into power. In 949/1542, Humāyūn, after his defeat by Shīr Shāh, sought refuge in Amarkot with the Soda prince, variously named Bīr Sāl, Prasād or Parsiyā. Akbar was born in Amarkot on 5 Radjab 949/23 Nov. 1542. In 999/1590, when 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān Khānān conquered Sind, Amarkot became part of the Mughal Empire, but in 1008/1599 Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sulṭān, an Arghūn prince, drove out the Mughal commander. In 1149/1736 Nūr Muḥammad Kalhorā, the ruler of Sind, expelled the last Soda chief and took possession of the town. In 1152/1739 Nādir Shāh, on his way back to Persia after the sack of Delhi, forced Nūr Muḥammad into submission. Later one of the Kalhorās sold the fort to the chief of Djodhpūr from whom it was captured by the Tālpūrs in 1228/1813, after which it lost its strategic importance. It passed into British possession with the conquest of Sind in 1843. The old fort in which Akbar was born was demolished by Nūr Muḥammad in 1746, and it was he who built the present fort. The birth-place of Akbar, about half-a-mile to the north-west of the town, is marked by a stone-slab erected in 1898.

Bibliography: *Gazetteer of Sind*, B, vi, 34; *Imp. Gaz. of India*, xxiv, 117-8; Gulbadan Begum, *Humāyūn-nāma*, 58; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, i, 182; *Ta'rīkh-i Ma'ṣūmī*, 177; Djawhar Āftābačī, *Tadhkirat al-Wāḳi'āt*, Urdu tr. Mu'īn al-Ḥaḳḳ (1955), 74-5; Erskine, *Hist. of India under Baber and Humayun*, ii, 250; 'Ali Shēr Ḳāni', *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, iii, 36, 109; *Journal of the Sind Hist. Society*, ii, iv; Goldsmid, *Historical Memoir on Shikarpur*, 17-8; H. T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, 30, *Ta'rīkh Rīgistān* (in Sindhi), Karachi 1956, 69 ff.; V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, 13; J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājast'hān*², London 1914, ii, 253; D. Seton, *History of the Caloras*.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

AL-A'MASH, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD SULAYMĀN B. MIHRĀN, traditionist and Ḳur'ān "reader". Born in 60/679-680, or 10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 681, of a Persian father, he lived at al-Kūfa and died probably in Rabī' I 148/May 765. He received traditions from al-Zuhrī and Anas b. Mālik, and his instructors in *ḳirā'a*, were: Mudjāhid, al-Nakha'ī, Yaḥyā b. Waththāb, 'Āṣim; Ḥamza was his disciple. His "reading", which followed the tradition of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy, appeared in the list of "the fourteen".

A great admirer of 'Alī, he is supposed to have furnished the poet al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*] with the material for the eulogies which he composed in honour of that Caliph.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 214, 230, 239; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrā'*, index; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 765; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif*, 91; A. Jeffery, *Materials*, Leiden 1937, 314 ff.; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, 123, 127.

(C. BROCKELMANN-[CH. PELLAT])

AMASYA, town in northern Anatolia and capital of a *wilāyet*. It preserves the name of Amaseia, under which it was known in antiquity (for its ancient history see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.; F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, ii-iii; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, index). In 712 it was for a short time occupied by the Arabs (cf. Brooks, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, 193).

In the 11th century Amasya came under the dominion of the Dānishmandids, and was annexed with the rest of their territories by the Rūm Saldjūḳ Ḳilidj Arslan II. At the division of his kingdom among his sons (588/1193) Amasya fell to Niẓām al-Dīn Arghūn Shāh (Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma, 5), but was seized by his brother Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān. Subsequently it was under Mongol governors, though it came for some time into the hands of Tādj al-Dīn Altıntash, the son of the last Saldjūḳ sultan, Mas'ūd II. In 742/1341 it was occupied by Hābil-oghlu, and

then passed under the rule of Eretna and his successors. The *amīr* Ḥādjdjī Shādgeldi seized Amasya from ʿAlī Bey Eretna-oghlu (Astarābādī, *Bazm u-Razm*, 100 ff., 137-40). Subsequently strife broke out between Shādgeldi and his confederate Malik Aḥmad on the one side, and Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn on the other, for the possession of the town (ibidem, 225, 235 ff.). After Shādgeldi's death, his son Aḥmad managed, with the help of the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I, to hold Amasya against Burhān al-Dīn; finally it fell into the hands of Bāyezīd. After the latter's capture by Tīmūr, his son, Meḥmed Čelebi, succeeded in escaping to Amasya, from which town he started on his campaign against his brothers. Under Ottoman rule Amasya enjoyed the special favour of the ruling house. Bāyezīd II when crown-prince was the governor of the town; Sulaymān I often stayed in it, and received there the Austrian ambassador, Busbecq. Amasya, which had been a cultural centre already in the Saldjūḳ period, became one of the main seats of learning in Anatolia. In the 17th century it was described by Ewliyā Čelebi and Kātib Čelebi. By the end of the 19th century Amasya, lying on the Samsūn-Sīwās-Kharpūt road, became an important centre of transit traffic; the Samsūn-Sīwās railway was completed in 1930. At the end of the 19th century the town had 25,000-30,000 inhabitants (some of them Armenians), in 1940 13,732 (500 non-Turks); the whole *wilāyet* in 1950 had 163,494 inhabitants. Its economy is based on fruit, silk and textiles.

Amasya is situated on the main arm of the Yeshil Irmaḳ (called Tozanlī or Tokat Suyu), above the confluence of the Tersakan Čay, 400 m. above sea-level, in a narrow and rocky gorge, running from east to west; the gorge widens above and below the town, where its renowned orchards are to be found. The mountain on the right, southern, side of the river is called Farhād Dagh (local legend makes Farhād the founder of Amasya), while that on the opposite side contains the tombs of the kings of antiquity and the fortress. The most populous quarters and the greater part of the old buildings are on the southern side, which suffered greatly from a fire in 1915. The two sides are joined by five bridges.

The fortress, of Hellenistic origin, was restored in the Byzantine, Saldjūḳ and Ottoman periods and is described by Ewliyā Čelebi; now it is in ruins. In the fortress are the ruins of a *medrese* built by Kara Meḥmed Agha (890/1485) and of a school added by his son Muṣṭafā Pasha (917/1511); also ruins of an ʿimāret, a Khalwetī *tekkiye* and two baths. The mosque called Burmalī Mināre was originally a Saldjūḳ foundation; the inscription over the gate bears the name of Kaykhusraw II and the date 634-44/1237-47, but it was repeatedly restored and is now derelict. The same is true of the Gök Medrese, also belonging to the Saldjūḳ period; it was built, together with the adjoining *türbe*, by Sayf al-Dīn Turumtāy, governor of Amasya, in 665/1266-7. Of the Ottoman mosques, those of Bāyezīd Pasha (812/1419), of Yürgüč Pasha (834/1430), of Sultan Bāyezīd (891/1486), of Meḥmed Pasha (891/1486), and the Pazar Djāmiʿi (unknown date) deserve mention. There are, furthermore, a lunatic asylum (708/1308), the *tekkiye* of Pir Ilyās (815/1412), the *medreses* of Ḳapī Aghasi (894/1488) and of Küčük Agha; the *türbes* of Khalīfet Ghāzi (622/1225), of Turumtāy (677/1278), one attributed to Sultan Masʿūd, those of Shādgeldi (783/1381), of „Shehzāde", and of various Ottoman princes: finally the ruins of the palace built for some Ottoman princes (Beyler Sarāyī). The monuments of the town have suffered from the earthquakes of 1734, 1825 and 1939.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Fidā' (Reinaud), ii, 138; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 292; Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 183 ff.; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*, 625 f.; W. J. Haton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt*, 1860; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineur*, 603 ff.; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix/1, 154 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 741 ff.; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, 199 ff.; Hüseyin Husameddin, *Amasya tarihi*, Istanbul 1330-2, 1927-35; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, ii, Paris 1934; *IA*, s.v. (by B. Darkot and M. H. Yinanç).

(Fr. Taeschner)

AMAZĪGH [see BERBERS].

AMBĀLA, town in East Pandjāb, India, situated 30° 21' N and 76° 52' E, 125 miles from Delhi on the way to Sirhind. The town consists of the old town and the cantonments, four miles away. The population in 1951 was 146,728. Though the neighbourhood of Ambāla played an important role in early Indian history, the town itself is first mentioned in the *Safar-nāma-i Ḳāḍī Taḳī Muttaḳī* (Bidjnawr 1909, 2 ff.), according to which it was occupied by the Muslims at the time of the second invasion of India by Muʿizz al-Dīn b. Sām in 587/1192. Iltutmish (608-33/1211-36) is reported to have appointed a *ḳāḍī* here. In 781/1379 Fīruz Tughluḳ occupied the town together with Sāmāna and Shāhābād. Bābur camped here on his march to Pānīpat for the decisive battle of 933/1526. In 956/1545 Ambāla was the scene of a severe engagement between the Niyāzī insurgents from the Pandjāb and the Pathān troops under Islām Shāh Sūr. During the Mughal period the town was a dependency of Sirhind and was a favourite camping ground of the Mughal sovereigns on their way to Lahore or Kashmīr (the place of the camp is still known as Bādshāhī Bāgh). It was also a centre of cultural activity. Two of its learned men (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir and Nūr Muḥammad) are mentioned in the *Maktūbāt* of Aḥmad Sirhindī (i, no. 284, ii, nos. 56, 63, 94, iii, no. 317). A number of *madrasas* flourished here in the days of Shāhdjahān. Ṣādiḳ Muṭṭalibī, the compiler of the *Ādāb-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, a collection of Awrangzīb's letters, was a native of Ambāla. In 1122/1710 the town was captured by the Sikhs under Banda Bayrāgī. During the anarchy which followed the rout of the Marathās at the hands of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in 1175/1761 and the decline of the Mughal empire, it was occupied in 1763 by the Sikh adventurer Sangat Singh. On his death it passed into the hands of his brother-in-law, Dhiyān Singh, who leased it to Gurbakhsh Singh Kabka; on the latter's death in 1198/1783 his widow, Māʾī Dayā Kawr, succeeded him. She was ousted in 1808 by Randjīt Singh, but re-instated by the British a year later. On her death in 1823 the town passed into the possession of the East India Company. During the Mutiny the town remained quiet. In it took place in 1864 the "Ambāla Trials", as an aftermath of the Ambeyla campaign against the followers of Aḥmad Brēlwī. The town is a rail-head, an important military and air base, and has a busy grain market; it is famous for its „durries", or cotton carpets. It has a mosque of the Pathān period and some pillars erected by Shīr Shāh Sūr; also the shrines of Ḥaydar Shāh Lakhkhī and Sāʾīn Tawakkul Shāh, and the congregational mosque, an imitation of the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā, deserve mention.

Bibliography: *Gazetteer of the Ambala District*, 1892-3; *Imp. Gaz. of India*, 276, 287; Muḥammad

Ṣāliḥ Kanboh, *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ* (Bibl. Ind.), i, 625, iii, 18; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh-nāma* (Bibl. Ind.), index; Shams Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī* (Bibl. Ind.), index; *Memoirs of Babur*, transl. Leyden and Erskine, 302; Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, Calcutta 1955, 181, 187; Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihlī*, Allāhābād 1932, 248; Lepel Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, 100; W. L. McGregor, *A History of the Sikhs*, 159; S. M. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Calcutta 1891, 328-9, 334, 368 ff.; H. R. Gupta, *Later Mughal History of the Punjab*, Lahore 1944, 297; W. Irwine, *Later Mughals*, i, 98; W. W. Hunter, *Our Indian Mussulmans*², Calcutta 1945, 76.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

AMBASSADOR [see elči, rasūl].

AMBON, the central island of the South Moluccas, Indonesia. Nearly one half (ca. 25,000) of the population is Muslim, especially in the northern part. Already before the arrival of the Portuguese (1512 A.D.), Islam had been introduced in Hitu, a supply station for the East Javanese spice trade, and in some other villages; according to local tradition, this was done by chiefs who had traveled to East Java, Pasai and Mecca. After the turbulent times of the 16th and 17th centuries the Muslims have remained a stationary, neglected but prosperous community, where the original language and much of the old costumes are preserved.

Bibliography: F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, Dordrecht 1724, vols. ii, iii; H. Kraemer, *Mededeelingen over den Islam op Ambon en Haroekoe*, Djåwå 1927, 77-88; F. D. Holleman, *Het adatgrondenrecht van Ambon en de Oeliassers*, Delft 1923; *Adatrechtbundel*, 1922, 60-64; 1925, 354-371; 1928, 201-208; 1933, 438-459.

(J. Noorduyn)

AMBRA [see ʿanbar].

ĀMEDDJI (t.), an official of the central administration of the Ottoman Empire; before the *tanẓīmāt*, he was directly subordinate to the *Reʾīs ül-Küttāb*; he made copies of reports written by the latter, and also drafted reports on minor matters; in short, he performed all the clerical duties connected with the office of *Reʾīs ül-Küttāb*. Moreover, he was present at meetings between the *Reʾīs Efendi* and ambassadors, and kept official minutes of the proceedings. He, like the *Beylikdji*, held the title of *Khʷādjagānlïḳ*. The name and origin of this office derives from the Persian word *āmad* meaning "has come, has been obtained", an endorsement on documents acknowledging receipt of the dues payable to the *Reʾīs ül-Küttāb* by newly installed military personnel for their *tīmārs* and *ziʿāmets*. The person making this endorsement was called the *Āmeddji*, and the administrative bureau where the formalities connected with these documents were completed, *Āmedī*. The terms *Āmedī Kātibi* (secretary to the *Āmedī*), and *Āmedī Ḳalemi* (the *Āmedī* department), were also used.

This office seems to have come into being later than the 17th century. After the *tanẓīmāt*, the office of *Āmeddji* increased in importance and was also known as *Āmedī-i Dīwān-i Hümāyūn*: its function was to make copies of the documents sent to the *ṣadāret* by other ministries and administrative departments which required the sanction of the Pādishāh, after resolutions of the Council of Ministers or the *Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam*; in the case of documents which did not require this formality, its duty was to correct them, register them and send them to the Head Chamberlain; and, on the other hand, to register imperia decrees communicated to the *ṣadāret*. The *Āmeddji* supervised the secretaries whose duty it was to keep the minutes of the Council of Ministers. He was one of the five principal officials of the Sublime Porte; this department was more important and more distinguished than the other departments of the *ṣadāret*. After the proclamation of the Second Constitution, the name *Āmedī-i Dīvān-i Hümāyūn* was changed to Secretariat of the Council and Interpreters' Department, under one official, but later (1912) it was restored. — See also my article in *I.A.*

(M. Tayyib Gökbilgin)

AMÉNOKAL, the current spelling of the Berber *amənūkal*, meaning "any political leader not subordinate to anyone else"; it is applied to foreign rulers, to highranking European leaders, and to the male members of certain noble families; in some regions of the Sahara, the title of *amənūkal* is given to the chiefs of small tribal groups, but in the Ahaggar [*q.v.*], it is only conferred on the overlord of a confederation of noble or subject tribes. The *amənūkal* must be selected from among the Ihaggarən nobles, and his nomination is submitted for approval to an assembly of the nobles and the chiefs of the subject tribes; political succession is, in principle, transmitted, according to rules deriving from the matriarchal regime, to the eldest brother of the preceding *amenūkal*, to the eldest son of his maternal aunt or to the eldest son of his eldest sister, but these rules are not always strictly observed. The *amənūkal* has as a sign of rank a drum (*əṭṭebəl*, see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict.*, iv, 1922-5), and receives tribute from subject tribal groups. His principal role was that of war leader, but in normal times, he applies the criminal law, settles disputes and concerns himself with relations with neighbouring tribes; he is always assisted by the assembly of notables which ratifies his decisions, and can dismiss him.

Bibliography: Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du Nord*, Paris 1864, 397; Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar*, Algiers 1908, 107; E. F. Gautier, *La conquête du Sahara*, Paris 1910, 191; Seligman, *Les races de l'Afrique*, Paris 1935, 128; F. Nicolas, *Notes sur la société et l'état des Touareg du Dinnik*, *IFAN*, i, 586; H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 154-6; G. Surdon, *Institutions et coutumes berbères du Maghreb*², Tangier-Fez 1938, 489-92; Ch. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-français*, Paris 1952, 1213-4.

(Ch. Pellat)

AMGHAR, Berber word corresponding to the Arabic *shaykh* [*q.v.*], and meaning "an elder (by virtue of age or authority)". Among the Touareg, it applies to chief of a tribal group who acts as an intermediary between the *aménokal* [*q.v.*] and his tribe (see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. touareg-français*, Paris 1952, iii, 1237; H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 157-8), or even to the chief of a confederation (cf. H. Bissuel, *Les Touaregs de l'Ouest* Algiers 1888, 23). In Kabylia (see A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneau, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*², Paris 1893, ii, 9) and among the Imazighən of Morocco (see G. Surdon, *Institutions et coutumes berbères du Maghreb*², Tangier-Fez 1938, 187-90), the *amghar* is both the president elected by the *djamāʿa* [*q.v.*] and its executive agent among the tribe or tribal groups which compose it. In the Shlūḥ group in Morocco, the chief elected by the *djamāʿa* has the title of *mḳəddəm* (*muḳaddam*), and the *amghar* is more particularly the temporal ruler who owes his authority to force and not to regular election (R.

Montagne, *La vie sociale et politique des Berbères* Paris 1931, 78 ff., 94 ff.; G. Surdon, *op. cit.*, 307).

(CH. PELLAT)

ĀMID [see DIYĀR BAKR].

ʿAMĪD (Ar.), title of high officials of the Sāmānid-Ghaznawid administration, which the Saldjūḳids, the inheritors of their institutions and personnel, extended throughout their empire. The word, properly speaking, does not denote a function, but the rank of the class of officials from whom the civil governors, *ʿāmil* (as opposed to the military governors, *sallār, shiḥna*), were recruited; thus Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, MS Paris 1503, 193v: "one of the *ʿumadā*" is appointed governor; the same author, supplemented by Ibn al-Athīr, enables one to follow with considerable accuracy the career of the *ʿumadāʾ* of Baghdād at the time of the Great Saldjūḳs. Some people continued to be known by the title of *ʿamīd* after ceasing to be governor: for instance the *ʿAmīd-Khurāsān* Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Nasawī, a celebrated personage under the rule of the Great Saldjūḳs; and (according to Ibn Khallikān) the cultured *wazīr* of the Būyids Ibn al-ʿAmīd derived his usual name from his father's title.

On the other hand Barthold, *Turkestan* 229, has established that the title *ʿamīd al-mulk* was held under the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids by the *ṣāḥib al-barīd*; this is supported by various passages, also in the *Dumyat al-Ḳasr* of Bākharzī; it is possible that the great *wazīr* of Tughril-Beg, ʿAmīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī, began his career in this way. Their former title of *ʿamīd* was perhaps also kept by *wazīrs*; the famous Djayhānī is perhaps a case in point (Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Kratchkovsky, 197b).

Under the Būyids, the word *ʿamīd* is found in compound titles like *ʿamīd al-dawla, ʿamīd al-dīn, ʿamīd al-djuyūsh*.

In the 6th/12th century the title still sometimes occurs, even at Baghdād, but it was becoming a rarity at a period when the prerogatives of the civil authorities were being curtailed by the military governors. It does not occur under the Mongols. It does not seem to have spread to other Muslim countries, which only possessed *laḳabs* with *ʿimād, ʿumda*.

Bibliography: All the Arab and Persian chronicles and the collections of letters and poetical anthologies of eastern Persia during the pre-Saldjūḳid period and of the Saldjūḳid empire, and Lane.

(CL. CAHEN)

ʿAMĪD AL-DĪN AL-ABZĀRĪ AL-ANṢĀRI, ASʿAD B. NAṢR, minister and poet, hailing from Abzār, south of Shīrāz. He was in the service of Saʿd b. Zangī, *atabeg* of Fārs; was sent by his master as an ambassador to Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh, refused the offers which were made to him, succeeded Rukn al-Dīn Salāḥ Kirmānī as minister and held his position until the death of Saʿd. Saʿd's son and successor, Abū Bakr, had him arrested on the charge of having held a correspondence with the ruler of Khwārizm and of having acted as a spy for him. He was imprisoned in the fortress of Ushkunwān, near Iṣṭakhr and died there at the end of five or six months (Djumādā I or II 624/April June 1227, after having dictated to his son Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad an Arabic poem of 111 verses (*al-ḳaṣīda al-*Ushkunwāniyya) in which he deplored his misfortunes and which achieved celebrity as a collection of rhetorical figures.

Bibliography: Mīrkhwānd, iv, 174 (= W. Morley, *Hist. of the Atabeks*, 28); Khwāndamīr, ii, 4, 129; Waṣṣāf, 156; Cl. Huart, *L'ode arabe d'Ochkonwân, Revue sémitique*, 1893; Brockelmann, I, 298, ii, 667, S I, 456.

(CL. HUART)

AL-ĀMIDĪ, ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ʿALĪ B. MUḤ. AL-TAGHLABĪ SAYF AL-DĪN), Arab theologian, born at Āmid in 551/1156-7; at first a Ḥanbalite, he later, at Baghdād, entered the ranks of the Shāfiʿites; he embarked on a study of philosophy which he continued in Syria, became a teacher at the *madrasa* of al-Ḳarāfa al-Ṣughrā adjoining the mausoleum of al-Shāfiʿī in Cairo, and in 592/1195-6 became professor at the Djāmiʿ al-Ẓāfirī. His intellectual powers and his knowledge of the "rational sciences" (*ʿaḳliyya*) gave him a brilliant reputation, but caused him to be accused of heresy and to flee to Ḥamāt, where he placed himself at the service of the Ayyūbid sovereign al-Malik al-Manṣūr (615/1218-9); on the death of the latter he was summoned to Damascus by al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam who conferred on him the chair of the *madrasa* al-ʿAzīziyya (617 1220-1); he was dismissed from this post after 629/1229 by al-Malik al-Ashraf, for having taught philosophy. He died at Damascus in Ṣafar 631/ November 1233.

His numerous works relate to theology (*Abkār al-Afkār*, in MS, a refutation of philosophers, Muʿtazilites, Sabeans, Manicheans); the sources of the law (*Iḥkām al-Ḥukkām fi Uṣūl al-Aḥkām*, dedicated to al-Muʿaẓẓam, Cairo 1347, summarized in the *Muntahā al-Suʾūl*, Cairo, n.d.); the art of controversy (*al-Djadal*, in MS); and philosophy (*Daḳāʾiḳ al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ fi 'l-Manṭiḳ*, in MS, *Kashf al-tamwīhāt*, in MS, dedicated to al-Manṣūr and aimed at Ibn Sīnā).

Bibliography: Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, v, 129-30; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, ii, 455, no. 405; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 174; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 240-1; al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, Damascus 1948-51, i, 362, 389, 393 and ii, 4, 129; Brockelmann, *GAL*, i, 393/494, *S*, i, 678; *Mash*. 1954, 169-81.

(D. SOURDEL)

AL-ʿAMĪDĪ, RUKN AL-DĪN ABŪ ḤĀMID MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤ. AL-SAMARḲANDĪ, Ḥanafī lawyer, d. on 9 Djumādā II 615/3 Sept. 1218 in Bukhārā. His chief merit lies in the art of dialectics, which he treated in his *al-Irshād* and his *al-Ṭariḳa al-ʿAmīdiyya fi'l-Khilāf wa'l-Djadal* (in MS).

His name is connected with the translation of an Indian work on Yoga, called *Amṛtakuṇḍa*. Of this work there exists an Arabic translation, under the title of *Mirʾāt al-Maʿānī li-Idrāk al-ʿĀlam al-Insānī*, the various MSS of which offer a slightly divergent text. It was published on the basis of five MSS (which are not all those extant) by Yusuf Husain, in *JA*, 1928, 291 ff. Persian and Turkish versions also exist. (Cf. also M. de Guignes, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, ancienne série, xxvi, 791; J. Gildemeister, *Script. ar. de rebus indicis*, 115; W. Pertsch, in *Festgruss an Roth*, 1893, 208-12). In the preface a story is told of a certain Bahučara Brahman Yogi, who came from Kamrup (modern Assam) to Lakhnawṭi under the governorship of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mardān (ca. 605/1208) and was converted to Islam by Rukn al-Dīn al-Samarḳandī; Rukn al-Dīn in his turn learned from him the practices of the Yoga, and according to the version in some of the MSS, translated the book into Persian and then into Arabic. The account, which is moreover coupled with another, different one, does not, however, throw full light on the true history of the translation of the work and more especially on al-ʿAmīdī's share in it.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 575; Ibn Ḳutlūbughā, *Tādj al-Tarādjim* (Flügel), 171; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, i, 280; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, svv. *Irshād, al-Ṭarīḳa, Mirʾāt al-Maʿānī*; Brockelmann, I, 568, S I, 785. (S. M. Stern)

ʿĀMIL (A.) signifies tax-collector, agent, prefect.

ʿĀMIL (pl. *ʿummāl*), active, agent. As the verbal adjective corresponding to *ʿamal* (see ʿAMAL, section 1), *ʿāmil* denotes the Muslim who performs the works demanded by his faith, and is often used in conjunction with the term *ʿālim* (pl. *ʿulamāʾ*, [*q.v.*]) as an epithet of pious scholars. As a technical term, *ʿāmil* denotes (1) the active partner in a society of *muḍāraba* [*q.v.*] or *ḳirāḍ*; (2) the government agent or official, particularly the collector of taxes. In this last meaning, it occurs already in Ḳurʾān, ix, 60, though not yet as a technical term.

The Prophet appointed representatives among the tribes or in the areas under his authority in order to collect the *ṣadaḳāt* [see ZAKĀT] from Muslims and the tribute from non-Muslims; some of them had political and military duties (M. Hamidullah, *Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane*, Cairo 1941, 63, 212; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1758, 1999-2008; Kattānī, *al-Tarātīb al-Idāriyya*, i, 243; Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, Būlāḳ 1302, 46 f.). The *ʿāmil* of Khaybar was sent to receive the Muslims' share of the crop (al-Kattānī, i, 245).

Under the Caliphs of Medina, *ʿāmil* generally meant a provincial governor or administrater (al-(Ṭabarī, i, 2665 f., 2933 f., 2936, 2944; Hamidullah, 224). Among ʿUmar's *ʿummāl* in ʿIrāḳ are mentioned the governor, the ḳāḍī who was also the keeper of the provincial treasury, and two assessors of *kharādj* (Abū Yūsuf, 20 f.; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 29). The commander of the fleet in Syria under ʿUthmān is called *ʿāmil* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3058). The collectors of *kharādj* and *djizya* [*qq.v*] and administrative officers in the districts (*kūra*), whose main function was the collection of taxes, were also called *ʿummāl* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3058, 3082-3087; Abū Yūsuf, 59).

In the Umayyad and the early ʿAbbāsid periods, *ʿāmil* continued to be used both of the higher and the lower ranks in the hierarchy of government officials. Under the Umayyads, *ʿāmil* could mean the governor of a province or his lieutenant (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1481; al-Balādhurī, v, 273; al-Kindī, *Governors*, 63, 65 f.). When finances were separated from other administrative matters, *ʿāmil* tended to be used more especially of the director of finances in the capital of a province, such as Egypt (al-Kindī, 73-75, 84), ʿIrāḳ (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1305) or Khurāsān (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1256, 1458). These *ʿummāl* were appointed either by the governors or by the Caliph (al-Kindī, 70-75; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1305, 1356). Tax collectors in the districts, too, were called *ʿummāl*, as appears from the papyri (A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, iii, 12 f., 121 ff., 137). ʿUmar ii complained of the grave injustices committed by the *ʿummāl* in Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1366). In Khurāsān, these *ʿummāl* were usually non-Muslims (ibid. 1740), in other provinces they were recruited both from Muslims and non-Muslims (Zaki Hasan, *Les Tulunides*, 213, 248). Occasionally the *ʿāmil was* appointed by the people (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1481: *ʿāmil al-ḥaḍar*). There is a mention of an *ʿāmil maʿūna* or chief of the local police (al-Tabarī, iii, 1740).

Under the early ʿAbbāsids, *ʿāmil* could still mean the governor of a province (al-Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1357, 134, 139, 151; al-Balādhurī, v, 402). For Egypt, the *ʿāmil kharādj* was usually appointed by the central government in Baghdād (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 15), though full powers were occasionally given to the governor (al-Kindī, 120, 125). More commonly, however, the term is used of tax collectors in the districts; we hear of an *ʿāmil kūra* (*Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, ed. Kurd ʿAlī, iii, 403), of *ʿummāl al-Sawād* [see SAWĀD] (al-Djahshiyārī, 134), of *ʿummāl kharādj* (ibid., 93, 233), of *ʿummāl* of a governor and *ʿummāl* of cities (al-Kindī, 194, 200; *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, iii, 86).

By the 4th (10th) century, *ʿāmil* had normally come to mean a finance officer. The *amīr* of a province had beside him an *ʿāmil* (al-Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 156), and when the *amīr* and the *ʿāmil* worked together, their power on the province was practically unlimited (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 165 f.). The local *ʿummāl* (*ʿāmil kūrā*, *ʿāmil ṭassūdj*, *ʿāmil nāḥiya*) were responsible for encouraging agriculture, for keeping irrigation works in order, for collecting revenue, and for submitting balance sheets of their areas (al-Ṣābī, 71, 193, 313, 318; Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, i, 27 f., ii, 23; al-Ṣābī, *Letters*, ed. Arslan, 211). There are also references to *ʿummāl* appointed for specific duties, not all of them purely financial, such as the *ʿāmil maʿāwin*, in charge of the police (Miskawayh, i, 139; combined with *kharādj*, ii, 29), the *ʿāmil masāliḥ*, in charge of the fortified frontier posts (ii, 48), or the *ʿāmil djahbadha*, in charge of the financial administration (Ḳummī, *Taʾrīkh*, 149). Occasionally, a chief *ʿāmil* was represented at the seat of the central government by a *nāʾib* (Miskawayh, i, 324).

The full development of the system of *ʿummāl* is presupposed by the writers on the constitutional law of Islam (*al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*), such as al-Māwardī and Abū Yaʿlā. They distinguish *ʿummāl* (governors) of provinces with full and with limited powers, and *ʿummāl* appointed for specific duties. The *ʿāmil* of a province is appointed by the Caliph, by the *wazīr* or by the governor, and the governor or the *ʿāmil* can appoint *ʿummāl* for the districts.

The same system prevailed under the independent dynasties, with variations in details. Under the Ṭūlūnids and Ikhshīdids in Egypt, most of the tax collectors were Copts (Zaki Hasan, *Les Tulunides*, 213, 248; Kāshif, *The Ikhshidids*, 136 f.). Mention is made of the *ʿāmil al-maʿūna*, the chief of police (Ibn al-Dāya, *al-Mukāfaʾa*, ed. A. Amīn and al-Djārim, 70 f.). The *ʿummāl* of the Fāṭimids in Egypt were supervised by *nāẓirs* and *mushrifs* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 179; *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 77 f.). The same is true of the *ʿummāl* of the Ayyūbids (Ibn al-Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Suryāl ʿAṭiyya, 303). Under the Mamlūks, the local *ʿummāl* or *ʿummāl al-bilād* were landlords of villages or local farmers (A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism*, 45 n. 1, 47 n. 1). For the Sāmānids, see Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, Berlin 1951, 51; for the Ghaznawids, Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār Maḳāla*, 48; for the Saldjūkids, Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, 28; Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 121; for the Ilkhānids, the Djalāʾirids and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushāy*, ii, 33; V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, ix, 950; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, 102 f.; for the Timūrids, Khʷāndmīr, *Dastūr*, 179; for the Ṣafawids, Minorsky, *Tadhkirat*, fol. 75*b*-76*a*, 82*a*-*b*; Lambton, 116.

In Muslim India, *ʿāmil* at first denoted a governor in charge of the general administration, then came to mean a collector of taxes in a small district (Moreland, *Agrarian System of India*, 270; Lybyer, *Ottoman Government*, 294).

The Ottomans used *ʿāmil* of a tax farmer; later, the term was little used, except occasionally for a

subordinate tax collector in the provinces (Mantran and Sauvaget, *Règlements fiscaux ottomans* 20).

Muslim North Africa and Spain continued the Umayyad usage, and *ʿāmil* meant a governor or administrative officer, responsible for general administration and finance. This continued until the end of the Umayyad Caliphate (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, passim; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, i, 92).

Bibliography: the sources mentioned in the text, and Dozy, *Supplement*, s.v.; A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*; F. Köprülü, in *IA*, s.v. (particularly useful for the later period).

(A. A. Duri)

ʿĀMIL (A.; pl. *ʿawāmil*), derived from *ʿamila fī* (= to act upon), signifies as a grammatical term a regens, or to express it in the way of the Arabic grammarians a word, which, by the syntactical influence which it exercises on a word that follows, causes a grammatical alteration of the last syllable of the latter, i. e. a change of case or mood. Two kinds of regentia are distinguished, one which can be recognized externally (*lafẓī*) and one which is only to be supposed logically, but which is not expressed (*maʿnawī*).

The *ʿāmil lafẓī* again is of two kinds: (1) the case where it concerns a whole series of mutually dependant words, which can be treated analogously according to the same rule (as for example in the *iḍāfa* construction); (2) the case in which each regens requires special treatment (e. g. *bi*, *lam*); these two sub-divisions are named *ʿāmil ḳiyāsī* and *ʿāmil samāʿī* respectively. It makes no difference whether the regens is expressed as in *ḳāma Zayd*, or whether it must be supplied grammatically from the sentence as a form of the verb, as in *Zayd fi 'l-dār*. Indeed the absence of a regens is a very frequent occurrence in Arabic grammar (cp. al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, index s. v. *iḍmār ʿāmil*). This case must be distinguished from the complete absence of the regens in the case of the *ʿāmil maʿnawī*, for in this second kind it is impossible to supply the *ʿāmil* grammatically, although it can be done logically; grammarians usually cite as an example the subject of the nominal sentence, whose *ʿamil* cannot possibly be supplied.

Bibliography: Sprenger, *Dict. of techn. terms*, 1045; Djurdjānī, *Kitāb al-Taʿrīfāt* (Flügel), 150; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, *Kitāb al-ʿAwāmil al-Miʾa* (ed. Erpenius). (G. Weil)

ʿĀMILA, an old tribe in North-Western Arabia. The reports concerning their past (al-Ṭabarī, i, 685; *Aghānī*[1], xi, 155) are unworthy of belief. In the later genealogic system the ʿĀmila are reckoned as belonging to the South-Arabian Kahlān [cf. DJUDHĀM]. At the time of the Muslim invasion we find them settled S. E. of the Dead Sea; they are mentioned among the Syro-Arabian tribes which joined Heraclius (al-Balādhurī, 59; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2347); but do not appear again in the history of the conquest. Shortly afterwards we find them established in Upper Galilee, which is named after them Djabal ʿĀmila (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 327; al-Maḳdisī, 162; al-Hamdānī, 129, 132). They play a very unimportant part and are almost completely absorbed by the Banū Djudhām. ʿAdī b. al-Riḳāʿ, the poet of al-Walīd I, was their chief pride; he celebrated the Djudhāmite Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ, as the *sayyid* of his tribe (*Aghānī*, viii, 179, 182); and thereby gives a further proof of their small importance. Ibn Durayd (*Ishtiḳāḳ*, 224-5; cf. *ʿIḳd*, ii, 86) finds few notable men among them; satire rarely deals with them (e. g. Ḥuṭayʾa, lx). After the 5th/11th the ʿĀmila seem to have spread S. of the Lebanon, in the present district of Bilād al-Shaḳīf which is still called Djabal ʿĀmila (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, 228; al-Dimashḳī, 221).

According to Yāḳūt, iv, 291, they also occupied a part of the country of the Ismāʿīlīs, a day's journey to the S. of Aleppo, which he says was named after them ʿĀmila Mountain. This isolated reference (cf. *JA*, 1855, i, 48) is the more surprising in that the corresponding text of the *Marāṣid* gives ʿĀmira instead of ʿĀmila. To avoid the difficulty, G. le Strange (*Palestine*, 75) supposes an emigration towards the N. during the crusades, but without giving references. The Arabic historians of this period are ignorant of this change of place, and continue to use the synonymy ʿĀmila-Djalīl (*Recueil des historiens des croisades, Hist. or.*, ii, 88 for *Khalīl* read *Djalīl*; iii, 491, 543). The application to the ʿĀmila of the passage from the Ḳurʾān, lxxxviii, 3, by the poet Djarīr is only a sneer of the Tamīmite who was jealous of the favours enjoyed by Ibn al-Riḳāʿ. The Djabal ʿĀmil(a) in the Lebanon was, and is, an important Shīʿite centre, and several eminent Shīʿite authors bear the *nisba* al-ʿĀmilī. [For further details see MUTAWĀLĪ.]

(H. Lammens-[W. Caskel])

AL-ʿĀMILĪ, Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bahāʾ al-Dīn, with the *takhalluṣ* of Bahāʾī, born in 953/1547, died 1030/1621; author of several works in Arabic and Persian, on a variety of subjects. Originating from Djabal ʿĀmila in Syria, he migrated to Persia, and eventually obtained an honoured place at the court of Shāh ʿAbbās. The best-known of his works is the anthology *al-Kashkūl* ("the beggar's bowl"), frequently printed in the East; he also wrote an exposition of Shīʿite *fiḳh* (in Persian), under the title of *Djāmiʿ-i ʿAbbāsī*, and was the author of various works on astronomy and mathematics. As a Persian poet, he distinguished himself by a *mathnawī* called *Nān u-Ḥalwā* which, according to Éthé, formed a sort of introduction to the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. A second *mathnawī* entitled *Shīr u-Shakar*, is less known.

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣāt al-Āthār*, iii, 440-1; I. Goldziher in *SBAK. Wien phil.-hist. Cl.*, lxxviii, 458-9; Brockelmann, II, 414 S II, 595; Éthé, in the Gr. I. Ph., 301.

AL-ʿĀMILĪ, AL-ḤURR [see AL-ḤURR AL-ʿĀMILĪ].

AMĪN, "safe", "secure"; in this and the more frequent form *āmīn* (rarely *āmmīn*, rejected by grammarians) it is used like *āmēn* and (Syriac) *amīn* with Jews and Christians as a confirmation or corroboration of prayers, in the meaning "answer Thou" or "so be it", see examples in al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 577 note 6; Ibn al-Djazarī, *al-Nashr*, ii, Cairo 1345, 442 f., 447. Its efficacy is enhanced at especially pious prayers, e.g. those said at the Kaʿba or those said for the welfare of other Muslims, when also the angels are said to say *amīn*. Especially it is said after *sūra* i, without being part of the *sūra*. According to a *ḥadīth* the prophet learned it from Gabriel when he ended that *sūra*, and Bilāl asked the prophet not to forestall him with it. At the *ṣalāt* the *imām* says it loudly or, according to others, faintly after the *fātiḥa*, and the congregation repeats it. It is called God's seal (*ṭābaʿ* or *khātam*) on the believers, because it prevents evil.

Bibliography: *LA*, *s.v.*; *tafsīr* to *sūra* i by Zamakhsharī and Bayḍāwī; Wensinck, *Concordance et Indices* de la tradition Musulmane, *s.v.*; Goldziher in *RSOI*, 1907, 207-9. (J. Pedersen)

AMĪN (Ar. pl. *umanā*), "trustworthy, in whom one can place one's trust", whence al-Amīn, with the article, as an epithet of Muḥammad in his youth. As a noun, it means "he to whom something is entrusted, overseer, administrator": e.g. *Amīn al-Waḥy*, "he who is entrusted with the revelation", i.e. the angel Gabriel. The word also frequently occurs in titles, e.g. Amīn al-Dawla (e.g. Ibn al-Tilmīdh others), Amīn al-Dīn (c.g. Yāḳūt), Amīn al-Mulk, Amīn al-Salṭana.

In addition to these general and undefined uses of the word *amīn*, there are other more technical uses, of importance in the history of Muslim institutions. Thus *amīn* is used to denote the holders of various positions "of trust". particularly those whose functions entail econimic or financial responsibility. In legal works the word denotes "legal representatives"; under the early ʿAbbāsids the *amīn al-ḥukm* was the officer in charge of the administration of the effects of orphan minors (Tyan, *Organisation judiciaire*, i, 384). In a wider connotation the word applied to treasurers, customs officers, stewards of estates etc. (see Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn* (Atiya), ch. 3, regarding Egypt, and for the West, Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. de l'Espagne Musulmane*, iii, 40, 52; Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, index, and in particular 299 n. 3; etc.).

The most important technical meaning of the word *amīn* is "head of a trade guild". In this sense the word often has the plural *amīnāt* (Le Tourneau *loc. cit.*). But the use of the word *amīn* in this sense seems to have been always limited to the various countries of the Muslim west; the east, in pre-Ottoman times, preferred in general the term *ʿarīf* [*q.v.*], and, in modern times, has employed a variety of terms. For general information on the heads of trade guilds, and for the bibliography, see ʿARĪF, ṢINF. For the Ottoman period, see EMĪN. (CL. CAHEN)

AL-**AMĪN**, MUḤAMMAD, ʿAbbāsid Caliph, reigned 193-8/809-13. Born in Shawwāl 170/April 787, of Hārūn al-Rashīd and Zubayda, niece of al-Manṣūr, he was thus of pure Hāshimite stock both on his father's and his mother's side; hence he was given priority in the order of succession over his brother ʿAbd Allāh (the future al-Maʾmūn), who was born six months before him but of a slave mother. In fact, the first *bayʿa* as heir to the throne was accorded to him by al-Rashīd in 175/792, when he was barely five years old, and it was not until 183/799 that al-Maʾmūn was designated second successor. The whole question of the double succession was settled with due solemnity by al-Rashīd in 186/802, in the "Meccan documents", designed to eliminate all uncertainty and all conflict between the two heirs: in the first of these documents, al-Amīn acknowledged al-Maʾmūn's right of immediate succession to himself, and his virtually absolute sovereignty over the eastern half of the empire; in the second document, al-Maʾmūn took cognizance of these rights, and declared in his turn his loyalty and obedience to his brother as caliph, whether or not the latter had respected his obligations. The system of obligations and counter-obligations by these documents shows clearly that al-Rashīd recognized the delicacy of the situation created by the double nomination and by the latent conflict between the two brothers (profoundly different both in character and interests), and tried to preserve a precarious equilibrium between them by these juridical and religious formulas.

When al-Rashīd died at Ṭūs, on 3 Djumādā II 193/24 March 809, al-Amīn was recognized as caliph at Baghdād and throughout the empire, while al Maʾmūn hastened to return to his fief of Khurāsān. The following year (194/810) al-Amīn, by suddenly introducing the name of his own son Mūsā in the Friday Prayer after that of al-Maʾmūn, took a step which, without formally violating the Meccan agreement, revealed his intention of setting it aside, by placing alongside his brother a later successor who suited him better. There followed a brisk exchange of diplomatic correspondence between the two brothers (supported respectively by the *wazīr* al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, and by the future *wazīr* al-Faḍl b. Sahl), the text of which has been preserved by al-Ṭabarī, and which assumed the form of political manoeuvring or a "cold war" between Baghdad and Marw preceding the armed conflict. Al-Amīn tried to entice his brother to Court, to persuade him to give up his right to the control of several important areas of Khurāsān, and to obtain his consent to a modification in the order of succession. The respectful and prudent, but firm, resistance of al-Maʾmūn induced him to precipitate matters and, at the beginning of 195/end of 810, he formally violated the Meccan documents and substituted the name of his own son for that of al-Maʾmūn (and of the third brother al-Ḳāsim, the future al-Muʿtaṣim), as direct heir to the throne. To smash the resistance of al-Maʾmūn, who was declared a rebel, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān was despatched at the head of an army, an act which marked the commencement of open hostilities between ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān (Djumādā II 195/March 811).

The war was conducted for al-Maʾmūn by his redoubtable general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*]: in the first clash near al-Rayy, the latter defeated and killed ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, and then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Djabala al-Abnāwī who was sent against him with a second army. The whole province of al-Djibāl fell rapidly into the hands of the Khurasānī troops, against whom al-Amīn vainly flung contingents levied from among the Syrian Arabs. The attempt to use this Arab element as a weapon against the Persian element, which supported al-Maʾmūn en bloc, failed completely, while in Syria grave disorders occurred, and in Baghdād itself, as the result of a coup effected by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, al-Amīn was temporarily declared deposed and al-Maʾmūn was recognized as caliph; but the attempt failed (Radjab 196/March 812) and al-Amīn, restored to the throne, had to face the Khurasānī armies which were then approaching the capital. Baghdād was invested in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 196/August 812 by two corps under the command of Harthama b. Aʿyan and Ṭāhir, who had meanwhile completed the conquest of Khūzistān; throughout the remainder of the empire (ʿIrāḳ, Mesopotamia, Arabia) al-Amīn's authority waned; he was declared deposed (*makhlūʿ*) and replaced by his brother. Despite this, the desperate defence of the capital lasted for more than a year, during which there grouped themselves around the Caliph the most turbulent social elements of the metropolis (known as "the naked", *ʿurāt*), who in the course of bloody fighting barred the path of the besiegers. The position was not clarified until Muḥarram 198/September 813, when all resistance was overcome and al-Amīn requested Harthama for a safe-conduct. But while he was making his way towards that former loyal general of his father, who had promised him his life, he was intercepted by Ṭāhir's men, who feared that their prey might escape, and was captured and put to death (night of 24 of 25 Muḥarram 198/24-5 September 813). It

appears that al-Ma'mūn was not directly responsible for the murder of his brother which, however, was not unwelcome to him and which left him *de facto* and *de jure* the sole ruler of the empire.

The war between the two brothers has been viewed by some as an aspect of the conflict between Arabism and Iranism at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty; in fact, it was primarily a dynastic dispute, although admittedly there were certain ethnic factors in the origin of the two rival brothers and in the deployment of the forces on which they relied for their support; but although Khurāsān and Persia in general supported the al-Ma'mūn bloc, it cannot be asserted that al-Amīn was the conscious champion of Arabism, or that the Arabs were solidly behind him. He had the superficiality and indolence of the hedonist, ignorant of the complexities of political intrigue, and was concerned solely to secure supreme power for himself and his descendants; the policy necessary for the achievement of this aim, conducted, incidentally, without much serious consideration, was less his own work than that of his minister and counsellor al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ [*q.v.*], who is depicted by the sources as his evil genius and who, in the hour of danger, abandoned him to his fate in order to secure a pardon for himself from the victor. The loyalty and obstinate resistance of Baghdād during the siege was not due so much to legitimist and dynastic ideals as to the excessive liberality of the Caliph and to the belligerent instincts of the dregs of the city, who regarded the situation as an opportunity for licence and booty. Thus al-Amīn had no one actually at his side except a small group of courtiers and poets, companions of his debauches, like Abū Nuwās, who remained faithfully at his side until the end and who sincerely lamented his death in his elegies. His memory, in Muslim historiography, is associated with that of the Umayyad Caliphs Yazīd I and Walīd II, who were also libertines and hedonists, but who possessed political and artistic abilities altogether lacking in the frivolous ʿAbbāsid. During the four years of his reign (or three years if the year of the siege is not counted), there is no outstanding administrative or political measure with the exception of the cold (and later hot) war designed to eliminate his brother who, far superior in intellect and political acumen, in the end justly supplanted him.

Bibliography: The chief source is Ṭabarī, iii, 603-974 (summarized in Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 152-207); other sources are Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 493 ff., 524-38; Dīnawarī, 388-96; *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum* (de Goeje), 320-344; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 291-97; more anecdotal, but valuable for the siege of Baghdād, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 415-87. Western works, apart from general histories of the caliphate, include F. Gabrieli, *Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amīn in aṭ-Ṭabarī*, in *Rend. Lin.*, 1927, 191-220, idem, *La successione di Hārūn al-Rašīd e la guerra fra al-Amīn e al-Ma'mūn*, in *RSO*, 1928, 341-97.

(F. Gabrieli)

AMĪNA, a legendary wife of Solomon. He one day entrusted to her the ring, on which his dominion and his wisdom depended. She gave it to a demon who had assumed the form of Solomon, and it only returned to the king after many adventures.

Bibliography: Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 222 ff.

ĀMINA, Muḥammad's mother. Her father was Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf of the clan of Zuhra of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, and her mother Barra bint ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā of the clan of ʿAbd al-Dār. It is said that she was the ward of her uncle Wuhayb b. ʿAbd Manāf, and that on the day he betrothed her to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib he also betrothed his own daughter Hāla to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 58). If this report is correct it may be an example of some forgotten marriage-custom. Āmina seems to have remained with her own family and to have been visited there by ʿAbd Allāh, who is usually said to have died before Muḥammad's birth. So long as Āmina lived, Muḥammad was under her charge, and hence presumably lived with her family (except when sent to a wet-nurse in a nomadic tribe). Āmina's death when Muḥammad was six is said to have taken place at al-Abwā', between Mecca and Medina, as she returned from a visit to Muḥammad's kinsmen there. Though this visit to Medina is mysterious, there are no strong reasons for rejecting the above details. The same is not true of the stories connected with her pregnancy, such as her alleged statement that she saw a light going from her, which lit up the palaces of Buṣra (Bostra) in Syria.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 70, 100-2, 107; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 60 f., 73 f.; Ṭabarī, i, 980, 1078-81; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 119 f., 150, 156 f.).

(W. Montgomery Watt)

AMĪR, commander, governor, prince. The term seems to be basically Islamic (Naḳā'iḍ, 7, 964; Ibn Durayd, Djamhara, iii, 437. In the Ḳur'ān, only the expression *ulu 'l-amr* is found (sūra iv, 59, 83), but *amīr* occurs often in traditions (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v.).

The sources for the early period frequently use the terms *ʿāmil* [*q.v.*] and *amīr* as synonyms (cf. Hamidullah, Documents, 36, 38 and 39, 83). In the reports on the meeting of the *saḳīfa*, *amīr* is used for the head of the Muslim community (Ṭabarī I, 1840, 1841; Ibn Saʿd, II, 3, 126, 129). During the caliphate of Medina, the commanders of armies, and occasionally of divisions of an army were called *amīrs* (or *amīr al-djaysh* or *amīr al-djund*), and so were the governors who were initially the conquering generals (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 1881-4, 2013, 2054, 2532, 2593, 2606, 2634, 2637, 2645, 2662, 2775, 2864, 3057; Kindī, *governors*, 12,13, 31, 32, 300, 302, 305; Hamidullah, 207, 257).

The Umayyads began to distinguish between administrative and financial duties. Yet during most of this period, *amīrs* had full powers, administrative and financial, and felt that their authority in their province was equal to that of the caliph (Ṭabarī, *annales*, II, 75; Kindī, *governors*, 35; Masʿūdī, Murūdj, V, 308-312). The local population in the Eastern provinces saw the *amīr* as a *Katkhudā* (Lord) (Tabarī, II, 1636) or *Shāh* (King) (Ṭabarī, II, 300).

The *amīr* organizes the army and appoints *ʿarīfs* who keep the register of their units, maintain discipline, distribute pay and report incidents. He conducts expeditions personally or through his lieutenants, and concludes agreements. He leads prayers, builds mosques and sees to the establishment of Islam in conquered territories. The administration of justice is usually in his hands and, with a few exceptions, *amīrs* appoint Ḳāḍīs. The amīr maintains peace and order through the prefect of police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) whom he appoints. He usually has a chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) and a bodyguard. He appoints a postmaster (*ṣāḥib al-barīd*) to report on his subordinates and generally on matters of interest. Representatives (*ʿāmils* or *amīrs*) in

important sub-provinces are appointed with the approval of the Caliph and at times directly by him (Ṭabarī, II, 1140, 1501, 1504).

The *amīr* supervises the mint and strikes silver coins, usually with his name on them. Some *amīrs* were famous for their good dirhams. But the type of currency, its weights and minting places are at times regulated by the caliph.

The *amīr* with full powers is responsible for financial policy. He issues instructions about the time and methods of levying taxes, the measures used and the amounts required. An *amīr* could revise the system of taxation and revise the rates of pay of the troops. The *amīr* pays his troops and officials, provides funds for public works such as the construction and repair of bridges, canals, roads, public buildings and fortresses, and sends the balance of the revenue to Damascus.

The powers of the amīr are greatly reduced, however, when the caliph appoints an *ʿāmil* for the *kharādj*. Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb, *ʿāmil* of Egypt under Hishām, could even have the amīr changed (Kindī, 72, 76; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ miṣr*, 178).

The amir takes the *bayʿa* or oath of allegiance in his province for the caliph or to the heir designate. He may lead a delegation from his province to convey their views to the caliph or to offer their homage. He tries to influence public opinion in his province through tribal chiefs, poets, quṣṣāṣ, or money and threats (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/ii, 101, 116-7; Pedersen, in *Mélanges Goldziher*, I, 232).

When the *amīr* leaves his province or capital, he appoints a *khalīfa* to represent him (Kindī, 13, 35, 49, 62, 65; Ṭabarī, II, 1140).

Amīrs receive salaries and administrative allowances (*ʿamāla*). Some *amīrs* looked for other sources of wealth such as trade, appropriation of part of the revenue, speculation on the sale of crops taken in taxation, and presents. Some *amīrs* amassed great wealth, and the caliphs tried to bring them to account; this degenerated to a system of torturous investigation at the end of the appointment under the later Umayyads.

The caliph, especially in difficult times, takes the views of the Arabs of the province into consideration when appointing an *amīr* (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 146; Djahshiyārī, 57). A new caliph usually appoints new *amīrs*, especially in the later Umayyad period.

Umayyad administrative traditions were carried by the ʿAbbāsids, but were gradually modified by new tendencies. The ʿAbbāsids created a bureaucracy to replace the tribal aristocracy and stressed centralization.

Amīrs were frequently members of the ʿAbbāsid family, but generally they were members of the bureaucracy, and whereas they were generally Arabs under the Umayyads, many were now Persians and later Turks. The *aṣḥāb al-barīd* now played a prominent role and were expected to report regularly on the actions of the *amīr* and the affairs of the province. The Ḳāḍī, too, became practically independent of the *amīr* since he was appointed directly by the caliph. The *amīr*'s term of office is generally short.

A new official, the *ṣāḥib al-naẓar fi 'l-maẓālim*, is appointed to consider complaints about injustices of the government officials, including the *amīrs*.

Most *amīrs* in the early ʿAbbāsid period continued to be responsible both for civil and financial administration, but soon it become customary to appoint a finance officer (*ʿāmil*) together with the *amīr* (Kindī, 185, 192, 213).

The *amīr* was primarily concerned with maintaining order and ensuring the collection of taxes. *Amīrs* occasionally increased taxes, abolished them or exempted people from paying arrears. Local discontent with the *amīr*, especially when it lead to trouble, was at times investigated and could lead to his dismissal (Djahshiyārī, 99-100; Kindī, 192; *Ṭabarī*, III, 716-721).

New developments took place before the end of the first ʿAbbāsid period. Maʾmūn appointed his brother Abū Isḥāḳ *amīr* of Egypt, but he stayed at the capital and sent two representatives, one for *kharādj* and the other for *ṣalāt*. Absentee *amīrs* in Egypt followed until the rise of the Ṭūlūnids (Kindī, 185 ff.).

Another development was the appearance of *amīrs* who, appointed by the caliph, were given a free hand in their province against payment of tribute. Such *amīrs* established dynasties and limited their relations with the caliph to receiving his *ʿahd* (decree of appointment), reciting his name in the *khuṭba* and striking coins in his name. This was the case of the Aghlabids and the Ṭāhirids. Others shared with the caliph the attributes of sovereignty by adding their own names to his in the *khuṭba* and on gold coins, for instance the Ṭūlūnids, the Ikhshīdids, the Sāmānids and the Ḥamdānids.

We further notice the rise of *amīrs* who conquered their territories by force and then sought the *ʿahd* of the caliph, in order to acquire a legitimate basis of their authority. Such were the Ṣaffārids and the Ghaznawids. These amirs were practically independent. The Buwayhids, *amīrs* by conquest, went even further. They conquered Baghdad, usurped all authority from the caliph and made him their pensioner, appointed *wazīrs*, and interfered with the succession to the caliphate. Only the fact that the Caliph was still considered the source of all political authority by the people prevented the Buwayhids from overthrowing the ʿAbbāsids and made them seek the *ʿahd* from them.

The Umayyads in Spain called themselves *amīrs* until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir assumed the title of caliph. Their governors and the governors of the Fāṭimids were called not *amīr* but *wālī*.

Al-Māwardī (d. 422/1031) reflects the full development of the institution. After distinguishing *amīrs* with full powers from *amīrs* with limited powers, he deals with the amīrate acquired by force (*imārat al-istilāʾ*); he admits this as lawful in order to avoid rebellion and division, on condition that the *ʿahd* given requires the *amīr* to follow the *sharīʿa* (cf. Gibb in Isl. Cult., 1937).

On the other hand, during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries the traditional bureaucratic administration collapsed and was replaced by the rule of the military. This influenced the status of the amīrate, and under the *Saldjūḳs*, the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks, the title *amīr* was given to military officers of all ranks (also to the smaller Saldjūḳ princes). Ibn Djamāʿa (d. 733/1333) reflects this development when he states that in his days *amīrs* were commanders who were given fiefs in order to maintain their troops, and that their primary duties were military (Isl. III, 367).

Bibliography: the main literary source for the ancient period is Ṭabarī, *Annales*, supplemented by the other historians, in particular Balādhurī, Ibn ʿAkd al-Ḥakam, Kindī Maḳrīzī and Ḳalḳashandī; the primary archaeological sources are the coins and (for Egypt under the Umayyads) the papyri. See also A. A. Dūrī, *al-Nuẓum al-islāmiyya*, and the references given in the text. (A. A. Duri)

AL-**ĀMIR** BI-AḤKĀM ALLĀH ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-MANṢŪR, the tenth Fāṭimid caliph, b. 13 Muḥarram 490/31 Dec. 1096. He was proclaimed caliph as a mere child of five by the vizier al-Afḍal on the death of his father al-Mustaʿlī (14 Ṣafar 495/8 Dec. 1101). For the next twenty years the government was in the hands of al-Afḍal [*q.v.*]. In 515/1121 al-Afḍal was assassinated by Nizārī emissaries, but the caliph was accused of complicity. Al-Maʾmūn b. al-Baṭāʾiḥī [*q.v.*] was made vizier, but was in his turn imprisoned on 4 Ramaḍān 519/1125 (and executed three years later). No new vizier was appointed, but the Christian chief collector of revenue, Abū Nadjāḥ b. Ḳannāʾ, exercised great influence until his arrest and execution in 523/1129-30.

During al-Afḍal's vizierate a certain activity was shown against the crusaders and various expeditions were undertaken, under the command of Saʿd al-Dawla al-Ṭawāshī (495/1101); Sharaf al-Maʿālī, al-Afḍal's son (496/1102); Tādj al-ʿAdjam and Ibn Ḳādūs (497/1103); Djamāl al-Mulk (498/1104); Sanāʾ al-Mulk al-Ḥusayn, another son of al-Afḍal (499/1105); and later under that of al-Aʿazz (505/1112) and Masʿūd (506/1113). (The main base in Palestine was ʿAsḳalān). Nevertheless, the greater part of Palestine and the Syrian coast fell into the hand of the crusaders; Ṭarṭūs, 495/1102; ʿAkkā, 497/1103; Ṭarāblus, 502/1109 [cf. ʿAMMĀRIDS]; Ṣaydā, 504/1111; Ṣūr, 518/1124). Egypt itself was invaded in 511/1117 by Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, who took Faramā and reached Tinnīs; he was, however, forced to retreat because of his illness and died on the way.

A noteworthy event was the invasion by the Luwāta in 517/1123, who reached as far as Alexandria, but were repelled by al-Maʾmūn.

During the reign of al-Āmir the Nizārī schism, which caused the Fāṭimids to lose the support of the greater part of the Ismāʿīlī "diaspora", threatened Egypt itself. Al-Maʾmūn had to take police measures in order to prevent the infiltration of their agents, and a great public demonstration was held in Cairo (Shawwāl 516/1122) in order to publicize the falsity of the Nizārī claims and the legality of the Mustaʿlian line. A document issued on this occasion has been preserved under the title of *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya* (ed. A. A. A. Fyzee, Oxford 1938).

In 524/1130 a heir, named al-Ṭayyib, was born to al-Āmir; his fate, however, is shrouded in obscurity. On 2 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 524/8 Oct. 1130 the caliph was assassinated by Nizārīs and a period of *coups d'état* followed [cf. AL-AFḌAL KUTAYFĀT, AL-ḤĀFIẒ].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr* (Massé), 42-3, 56-74 (some passages which are missing in the defective MS are preserved by al-Nuwayrī, chapter on the Fāṭimids); Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn Khallikān, nos. 753, 280 (transl. de Slane, iii, 455); Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (Reiske-Adler), index; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 68-71; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 326-91 passim; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, index; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 468-93, ii, 181, 289 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii, 16 ff.; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history by Najm al-Din ʿOmārah al-Ḥakamī*, index; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Königreiches Jerusalem*, passim; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, i, passim (especially 218-84, 597-618); E. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, 280 ff.; S. Lane-Poole, *A hist. of Egypt*, index; B. Lewis, in *History of the Crusades*, Philadelphia 1956, i, 118-9; S. M. Stern, *The Epistle of the Fatimid caliph al-Āmir* (*al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*, *JRAS*, 1950, 20-31; idem, *The succession to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Āmir*, Oriens 1951, 193 ff.; and cf. *Bibl.* to AL-AFḌAL, AL-MAʾMŪN B. AL-BAṬĀʾIḤĪ.

(S. M. STERN)

ʿĀMIR, the name of a South Arabian tribe [see DJAʿDA].

BANŪ **ʿĀMIR** (BENI AMOR), a camel- and cattle-owning nomadic tribe, pop. approx. 60,000, in Western Eritrea and the adjacent area of the Sudan. The tribe is divided into 17 sections, some speaking Bedja (a hamitic language) others Tigrē (a semitic one), though there is a firm tradition of common descent, traced in considerable detail to the ancestor ʿĀmir, some 10 generations ago. This applies only to the small ruling caste (*nabtāb*), not to the heterogeneous and much more numerous serf population (called *hedareb* or *tigrē*), which seems to have come under Banī ʿĀmir domination at different times, either through conquest or voluntary submission. A few serf groups are subject only to the Paramount Chief, while the large majority live in hereditary bondage to particular *nabtāb* families, tributary to them and charged with all the menial tasks, especially herding and milking. The masters, in turn, are bound to protect their serfs and care for their welfare. Though tempered by personal loyalties, the caste division is kept rigid by the prohibition of intermarriage and by certain taboos imposed on the serfs. Formerly there was also a class of slaves, who were the absolute property of their masters.

The whole tribe is Muslim, though the purity of the belief and adherence to observances vary widely not only individually but among the sections. Their political unity is a tenuous one, resting on a loose federation not infrequently threatened by secession. Tribal government is in the hands of a paramount chief (*diglāl*) and a council of headmen (*sherfaf*) elected by the different sections. Formerly elective, the chief's office became hereditary in 1829, and since 1897 separate chiefs, though close kin, have been ruling over the Eritrean and Sudanese branches of the tribe.

The relations of the tribe with neighbouring groups were, and still are, marked by frequent raids and blood feuds. Though internal conflicts were not infrequent they never followed class lines. The modern political and economic changes, however, which seriously weakened *nabtāb* prestige, also caused the serfs to show signs of restiveness, visible in sporadic acts of lawlessness and 'passive resistance'.

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(S. F. NADEL)

ʿĀMIR I. (al-Malik al-Ẓāfir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) founded in Yemen the dynasty of the Banū Ṭāhir, after the fall of that of the Rasūlids about the year 855/1451 in conjunction with his brother ʿAlī (al-Malik al-Mudjāhid Shams al-Dīn). He lost his life during an unsuccessful attempt to capture the town of Ṣanʿāʾ in 870/1466.

Bibliography: see the following art.

ʿĀMIR II. (b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, al-Malik al-Ẓāfir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), was the last prince of the house of the Banū Ṭāhir; he ruled in Yemen 894/1488-923/1517. Already in 922/1516, the Egyptian admiral Ḥusayn occupied the capital of Yemen, Zabīd, because ʿĀmir refused to supply the fleet sent out against the Portuguese with provisions. Ḥusayn left his brother Barsbay behind in the city; and in the following year ʿĀmir, who had taken flight together with his brother ʿAbd al-Malik, fell in a battle with Barsbay. As in the interval the Mamlūk dynasty had been overthrown by Selīm, the Ottoman Sultan, Yemen also fell into the power of the Ottomans.

Bibliography: Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, in *Notices et Extraits*, iv, 421; C. Th. Johannsen, *Historia Jemanae*, 1828, 186 f., 229 f.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, v, 398 f.; Zambaur 121, O. Löfgren, *Arab. Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden*, index; Khalīl Edhem, *Düwel-i Islāmiyye*, 133 f.

ʿĀMIR B. ʿABD AL-ḲAYS (later ʿABD ALLAH AL-ʿANBARĪ, *tābiʿī* and ascetic of Baṣra. His way of life attracted the attention of the agent of ʿUthmān, Ḥumrān b. Abān, who denounced him to the Caliph; ʿĀmir was interrogated by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir and exiled to Damascus where he died, probably during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya. His way of life seems to have consisted of various kinds of abstinence (he despised wealth and women) and pious works, and it is possible that the measures taken against him were dictated by the desire to prevent the advocacy of celibacy at a time when Islam needed fighting men; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 194, states on the other hand that his puritanism led to his being suspected of Khāridjism, even though these events happened between 29-35/650-6. In the eyes of posterity, ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Ḳays is not only an eloquent man whose sayings have been preserved, but Ṣūfism, which includes him among the "eight" principal *zuhhād*, still recognizes him as a forerunner and attributes to him a number of miracles.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 308, ii, 370, iii, 184; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 57-8; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/1, 73-80; Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, index; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, ii, 87-95, no. 163; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 6284; Massignon, *Essai*, index; Pellat, *Milieu baṣrien*, 96.

(CH. PELLAT)

ʿĀMIR B. ṢAʿṢAʿA, a large group of tribes in Western Central Arabia. It is mentioned first in a South Arabian inscription of Abraha in 547 or 544-45 (G. Ryckmans, No. 506, in *Le Muséon*, 1953; J. Ryckmans, ibid., 339-42; Caskel, *Entdeckungen in Arabien*, 1954, 27-31). Judging by that inscription and by the later area of the ʿĀmir, their original area began to the west of the Turaba oasis and extended towards the east, past Ranya, to the upland south of the Riyāḍ-Mecca road. Here it ended at about the 44th degree of longitude, but the north-western borderline can not be ascertained. From this area the tribe of Kilāb (b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir) advanced to the north and northwest into that territory in which the *ḥimā* Ḍariyya [*q.v.*] was later founded, and into the adjacent southern district as far as Siyy to the west; the tribe of Kaʿb (b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir) advanced to the east and northeast into the southern Ṭuwayḳ. Only the Hilāl (b. ʿĀmir) never left their territory, Ḥarrat Banī Hilāl = Ḥarrat al-Nawāṣif. Earlier inhabitants of the *Ḥimā*, such as a part of the Muḥārib, the Ghanī and the Numayr (who are counted among the ʿĀmir in later genealogies, cf. however ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, xiii, 1) became more or less dependent on the Kilāb, whilst the Kaʿb assimilated the little-known inhabitants of the Ṭuwayḳ oases, and later on settled there themselves, particularly the sub-tribes of Djaʿda and Ḥarīsh. Of the sub-tribes of the Kilāb, the Ḍibāb migrated between the centre of the *Ḥimā* and their old villages near Turaba, the ʿAbd Allāh along what is today known as ʿArḳ al-Subayʿ, the Abū Bakr migrated from the southern *Ḥimā* in a south-easterly direction to Karish = Ḳarsh on the Riyāḍ-Mecca road, and the ʿAmr from the south-eastern *Ḥimā* to Damkh, whence both turned to the southwest into the above mentioned upland. The sub-tribes of Kaʿb also migrated between their old and their new areas: the Ḳushayr north of the Wādī Birk (= Birḳ)-Surra towards the road, the ʿAdjlān went there along that Wādī, the ʿUḳayl migrated from the Wādī Dawāsir-Wādī Ranya northwards to the upland, but they also went south in the direction of Nadjrān. Thus the two areas of migration touched along a considerable stretch. This fact and also the fact their migrating areas were large, explains the remarkable solidarity of the Kaʿb and the Kilāb, while their internal unity, as usual, left much to be desired. The Kilāb had the Ribāb and Tamīm as neighbours in the east, the Asad in the northeast and tribes of the Ghaṭafān in the north and northwest. There was a latent state of war with all these, whilst relationships with the Sulaym, and especially the Hawāzin, in the south-west were amicable. To the south, Kilāb and Kaʿb had a feud with the tribes on the border, especially with the Khathʿam, but also with South Arabian tribes like the Murād, Ṣudāʾ and Djuʿfī (of Saʿd al-ʿAshīra) which had been bedouinized for some time and were pressing towards the north. They did, however, live in peace with the Bal-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb and their satellites Nahd and Djarm in the Nadjrān region, until that peace was broken by ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl's marauding expeditions. Noteworthy among the "days" of ʿĀmir are the battle of Shiʿb Djabala (on the eastern border of the *Ḥimā*), where they repulsed an army of Asad, Dhubyān and Dārim-Tamīm ca. 580).

The house of Djaʿfar (rather a family than a subtribe before the times of Islam) had some vague authority over the Kilāb. It held this position thanks to a pact with the ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir (b. Rabīʿa, according to the later genealogy a "brother" of the Kilāb and Kaʿb), without always being a match for the Abū Bakr, the strongest Kilāb tribe.

The ʿĀmir, as Ḥums [*q.v.*], were on good terms with the inhabitants of Mecca. Nevertheless, the relations with the rising community of the Muslims in Medina were peaceful, since both were opposed to the Ghaṭafān. These relations were not seriously threatened—not even by the incident of Biʾr Maʿūna—until the prophet demanded not only the political, but also the religious, union of the tribes. In 629, a gang of marauding Muslims penetrated as far as Siyy; soon afterwards, the head of the older line of the Djaʿfar, ʿAlḳama b. ʿUlātha, embraced Islam. ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, however, his opponent, remained unregenerate. After Muḥammad's victory over the Hawāzin near Ḥunayn (8/630), the ʿĀmir effected their union without further friction. There was hardly any fighting against the ʿĀmir in the *ridda*.

The part played in the wars of conquest by the ʿĀmir was not considerable. Yet the ʿUḳayl reached Spain with the Syrian armies, and the Djaʿda and Ḳushayr reached Persia with those of Kūfa and Baṣra. Other groups followed after the conquests.

Some ʿĀmir settled in Northern Syria and others on the far side of the Euphrates. There they settled on the land, whilst those on this side of the Euphrates slowly reverted to a nomad existence. Here we meet of the old units of ʿĀmir: Kilāb, Ḳus͟hayr, ʿAd͟jlān, ʿUḳayl, as well as Numayr. The Kilāb remained on the Syrian side. From them sprang the Mirdāsid [*q.v.*] dynasty. The Numayr and ʿUḳayl, however, went over to the D͟jazīra between 940 and 955. Some decades later, their leaders attained political power there [cf. NUMAYRIDS, ʿUKAYLIDS].

There was little immediate change amongst those ʿĀmir who had stayed in Arabia. Through the establishing of the *Ḥimā*, the existing dissensions between the D͟jaʿfar on the one side and the Ḍibāb and Abū Bakr on the other grew worse, while the ʿUḳayl temporarily occupied areas near Bīs͟ha and Tat͟hlīt͟h which had been left empty after emigration. Larger displacements did not occur until after the first ʿAbbāsids. The Ḳus͟hayr advanced into the steppes to the northwest until the Numayr stopped them. The Kilāb were also concerned, in the Central Arabian risings shortly before the middle of the 9th century (defeated 846). After the annihilation of the Numayr (847), the Kilāb began to advance from the west, and the ʿUḳayl from the south, into areas which had been swamped by the former for so long. The expeditions of the East-Arabian Ḳarmaṭians started a new wave of migrations: in the east, the K͟hafād͟ja [*q.v.*]—ʿUḳayl and later the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*], reached ʿIrāḳ, the ʿUḳayl in the west reached Palestine, and the Kilāb Transjordania.

There were no important poets among the Kilāb before the last quarter of the 6th century (Labīd, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl); among the Kaʿb until shortly before the *hid͟jra* (al-Nābig͟ha al-Djaʿdī). Of the poets of early Islam Ṭahmān must be mentioned among the Kilāb, Ibn Muḳbil al-ʿAd͟jlānī and Muzāḥim al-ʿUḳaylī among the Kaʿb.

Bibliography: The *dīwāns* of the poets mentioned above [cf. articles on each]; *Naḳāʾiḍ D͟jarīr wa'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, passim; Wāḳidi, transl. Wellhausen, 308; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv, 115, 142-6; the Arabic Geographers; Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, i, 58 f., 222-7, 281, ii, 174, iii, 12-8, 127-32, 208 ff. [Cf. also HILĀL, ḲUS͟HAYR, NUMAYR, ʿUḲAYL.]

(W. CASKEL)

ʿĀMIR B. AL-ṬUFAYL, ancient Arab hero and poet, sprung from the Mālik, the younger line of the D͟jaʿfar b. Kilāb, belonging to ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. In the nineties and past the threshold of the 7th century he took part in many marauding expeditions, sometimes leading his own men. After the death of his father, who appears to have fallen in the south fighting against the K͟hat͟hʿam, he took over the conduct of the war until the loss of an eye at the battle of Fayf al-Rīḥ (against the K͟hat͟hʿam, ca. 614) rendered him unsuited for this post. In the beginning he suffered some setbacks, and he himself lost eight or nine of his relatives. In one battle other tribes of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa must have suffered grievously, for bitter reproaches were made to him from their side. The unfortunate result of Fayf al-Rīḥ was not his fault; nevertheless the D͟jaʿfar held him responsible for the loss of men and horses. It is possible that this dissension formed the basis for the legal contest, or the struggle for precedence, which brook out a short time after between ʿĀmir and the head of the older line, ʿAlḳama b. ʿUlāt͟ha. Though the arbiter gave no verdict, ʿĀmir recovered his good reputation through this suit; the poet al-Aʿs͟hā seems to have provided essential help in accomplishing this. After the death of his uncle ʿĀmir Abū Barāʾ (ca. 4-5/624-5), he became, formally, the head of the D͟jaʿfar, the mightiest Bedouin leader of Central Arabia, as before he had been the greatest warrior.

Legend connects ʿĀmir several times with the Prophet and depicts him as his bitterest Bedouin opponent. He is supposed to have attacked Muslim missionaries treacherously at Biʾr Maʿūna and have organised a plot to assassinate the Prophet. This is true to the extent that he did not submit to the sovereignty of Medina and died a heathen, probably shortly before the taking of Mecca. The accusation of treachery goes back to an exchange of *hid͟jāʾ* between the poets of Medina and those of the D͟jaʿfar (the verses of whom have been lost or suppressed). In this ʿĀmir was accused of occasioning the catastrophe of Maʿūna by breaking the covenant of protection. It is true that there was an engagement of protection entered into by his uncle, only that ʿĀmir could not fulfil it among the Sulaym, who had killed the "holy band", in reality a pillaging expedition; cf. Lyall, *Dīwāns*, 84-91.

The fragmentary impression left by the *dīwān* of ʿĀmir is caused not only by the unsatisfactory tradition. ʿĀmir appears really to have cultivated only the small forms of *fak͟hr* and *hid͟jāʾ*. In the case of no. 29 he created a perfect work of art through expansion of a framework which also occurs elsewhere; no. 11 is moving through its humanity, the complaint about the loss of his eye. In no. 16 he shows himself, uplifted by a recently won victory, equal to the hurtful scorn of al-Nābig͟ha.

Bibliography: *The Dīwāns of ʿAbīd Ibn al-Abraṣ and ʿĀmir Ibn aṭ-Ṭufail*, ed. Sir Charles Lyall, 1913; Aʿs͟hā (Geyer), nos. 18,19; Labīd (Brockelmann), nos. 45, 51; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (Lyall), no. 5; *Ag͟hānī*², xv, 50-4, 132; Ibn al-At͟hīr, i, 482 f., 484 f.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, iii, *ayyām*, nos. 15, 16; *Mufaḍḍaliyyat*, 30-4, 704 ff.; *Naḳāʾiḍ* (Bevan), 469-72 and index. (The prose texts have no independent historical value and can serve only in helping to understand the poems.)

(W. CASKEL)

AMĪR ĀK͟HŪR, in Persian MĪR ĀK͟HŪR, "high equerry", one of the highest officials in the court of Oriental princes. Under the Mamlūks the *amīr āk͟hūr* was the supervisor of the royal stables. He was generally an *amīr* of a thousand and had under his orders three *amīrs* of fourty. In the Circassian period he occupied the fourth place among the grand *amīrs*, cf. A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, etc.*, London 1939, 30; D. Ayalon, *Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army*, *BSOAS*, 1954, 63, 68.

(D. AYALON)

AMĪR ʿALĪ, SAYYID (1849-1928), Indian jurist and writer, descended from a Shīʿite family which had come from K͟hurāsān with Nādir S͟hāh and remained in India, finding service with successively the Mug͟hal and Āwad͟h courts and finally the East India Company. He was educated at the Muḥsiniyya ("Hooghly") College near Calcutta, where he learned Arabic and also came into close contact with the English and their literature, as well as studying their law (see his *Memoirs*, in *IC*, 1931-2). He was in England in 1869-73, being called to the Bar in 1873, and settled there permanently with his English wife (née Isabelle Ida Konstam) on retirement from the Bengal High Court in 1904. His activities were significant in many fields: as a professor of

Islamic Law, at the Bar, on the Bench, in social service, government administration, politics, and as a writer. Some of his works became, and have remained, standard authorities for Anglo-Mohammedan Law. In 1883 he became one of the three Indian members (and the only Muslim) on the Viceroy's Council, and in 1909 he was appointed the first Indian member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. In the field of social service he sponsored a juvenile reformatory in ʿAlīpur (Calcutta), and in London he was a protagonist in the British Red Crescent Society.

On the political front he founded in 1877 a "National Mahommedan [*sic*] Association", which presently was a nation-wide organization with 34 branches from Madras to Karachi; its programme was "primarily to promote good feeling and fellowship between the Indian races and creeds, at the same time to protect and safeguard Mahommedan interests and help their political training" (*Memoirs*, 1932, 10). Amīr ʿAlī sensed, expressed and fostered a nascent political self-consciousness in Indian Islām, disagreeing with the then conviction of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān [see AḤMAD K͟HĀN] as to the adequacy of modern (western) education for the Indian-Muslim community as a guarantee of its position in the country. After moving to England he was instrumental in setting up the London branch of the Muslim League (speech in *IC*, 1932, 335 ff.); his loyalty to and real affection for Britain led him, however, to resign in 1913 when the League joined with the Indian National Congress in talk of "Home Rule." He was involved in negotiations in London over the projects for political reforms in India. After the First World War he came into prominence as London champion of the *k͟hʾlāfat* movement; a letter to ʿIṣmet Pas͟ha signed by him and the Ag͟ha K͟hān, being published in Istanbul before reaching the government in Ankara, roused drastic opposition in Turkey, where the *k͟hilāfa* was presently abolished altogether.

It is, however, as a writer that his basic contribution was made. While a student at the Inner Temple, he wrote in answer to a western account of Islam a study of Muḥammad's life and message, which was published in London (1873). This became the basis of a developing work which he subsequently kept revising and republishing throughout his life, under the eventual title of *The Spirit of Islam* (editions in 1891, 1922, 1953). This liberal modernist interpretation of Islam was favourably received and has remained influential in the West; its influence in the Muslim world, not least outside of India, has also been marked, and it has been translated into Turkish.

His other major book (apart from legal works), *A Short History of the Saracens* (London 1899; 10th repr. (revised) 1951; also in Urdu transl.), also contributed to a new attitude towards the Islamic past on the part of many, both western and Muslim. These two books, and the other smaller presentations on Islam which he proferred, were supplemented by a steady stream of articles, both in India and especially in Britain (chiefly in the *Nineteenth Century*), in which he pleaded the cause of Islam before the bar of world opinion. His historical significance lies in considerable part in his role in the creation of favourable appreciation of Islam in the West, and perhaps also in awakening or facilitating such a favourable appreciation of Islam among westernized Muslims.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article; Bibliography of Amīr ʿAlī's writings, by W. C. Smith, *Islamic Review*, London; *Eminent Mussulmans*, Madras c. 1922, 145-76; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islām in India*[2], London 1947, index; H. R. A. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947, index. (W. CANTWELL SMITH)

AMĪR DĀD, "*amīr* of justice", minister of justice during the Saldjūḳ rule, especially in Asia Minor; other *amīrs* bore this name as a fixed title (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, index s.v.).

AMĪR AL-ḤĀDJDJ, leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca. In 9/630, after which date non-Muslims were excluded from the *ḥadjdj*, the Prophet nominated Abū Bakr to conduct the pilgrimage and to prevent pagans from taking part in it. In 10/631 he presided over it himself. Thereafter this duty belonged directly to the caliphs, who either undertook it themselves or nominated an official to act in their place (e.g. the Governor of Mecca or Medina, a high official etc.). When the authority of the Caliph was disputed, there were sometimes several rival leaders of pilgrimages to the Holy Places (e.g. in 68/688 there were four, of whom one was ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr). Great importance was attached to the function of presiding at the ceremonies, which entailed authority over all the assembled pilgrims (*ḥadjdja bi 'l-nās*). When this president came from the seat of the caliphate, the sources sometimes underlined his role as leader of a particular caravan, for example by calling him *amīr al-ḥādjdj al-ʿIrāḳī*. Under the shadowy ʿAbbāsid Caliphs of Cairo (after 660/1262) the office became secularized and nominations were made by the Mamlūk sultans. The *amīr al-ḥādjdj al-Miṣrī*, usually a commander of a thousand appointed annually, claimed pre-eminence at the Holy Places. The title of *amīr al-ḥādjdj* was sometimes used for the leaders of other caravans (Damascus, ʿIrāḳ). Each of these had absolute authority over his own pilgrims (supply organization, travel arrangements, protection of merchants, the sick and the poor, police duties, application of Ḳurʾānic penalties). He was assisted by a specialized staff, and took any measures necessary to avoid attack by Bedouin. The Mamlūk sultans of Cairo used their *amīr al-ḥādjdj* to support their policy of establishing gradual control over the Ḥidjāz, symbolized by the *maḥmal* [*q.v.*], and to distribute gifts or *ṣurre* [*q.v.*]. The Ottoman sultans did the same after 923/1517, but their *amīr al-ḥādjdj* (Cairo, Damascus and, for a short period, Yemen), were appointed for a period of years until recalled. In Egypt under the Ottomans, up to the end of the 18th century, one of the principal *beys* held the post. The discharge of their duties necessitated heavy expenditure, a large part of which was met by the sultans; but as a result of the fact they received many gifts; that the effects of those who died on the way without heirs legally reverted to them, and that they carried on trade on their own account, the holders of this office could make a handsome profit. It was a great honour to be required to fill the post. Ibn Saʿūd, who ruled the Hidjāz from 1924-5, prohibited any practice which recalled former Egyptian or Ottoman control of the Holy Places. The military escorts and the *maḥmal* which formerly accompanied the *amīr al-ḥādjdj* could no longer appear in Saʿūdī Arabia. The *amīr al-ḥādjdj* had now only a diplomatic role, andt he ministries of their respective countries dealt with the material organization of the pilgrimages. In 1954, Egypt abolished the title of *amīr al-ḥādjdj*, replacing it by *raʾīs baʿthat al-ḥadjdj* (Head of the Pilgrimage Mission).

Bibliography: J. Jomier, *Le Maḥmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de La Mecque*, Cairo 1953 and references quoted. (J. JOMIER)

AMĪR ḤAMZA [see ḤAMZA B. ʿABD AL-MUṬṬAL`B].

AL-**AMĪR** AL-**KABĪR**, "great *amīr*", title which had originally been granted in the Mamlūk kingdom to "all those who had seniority in service and in years" Consequently there was a whole group of *amīrs* of which every individual was called *al-amīr al-kabīr*. In the days of Shaykhūn al-ʿUmarī (752/1352) the title became reserved for the commander-in-chief (*atābak al-ʿasākir*) of the kingdom. From that date onward it became the most common title of the commander-in-chief beside that of his rank.

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *CIA, L'Égypte*, 276, 290, 452, 593; Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, transl. Quatremère, i, 3; Poliak and Ayalon, as quoted in AMĪR ĀKHŪR.

(D. AYALON)

AMĪR KHĀN, 1768-1834, the famous Paṭhān predatory chief and associate of Djaswant Rāo Holkar, was born at Sambhal in the Murādābād district of Rohilkhand. As a young man he and his adherents were employed by various *zamindārs* and Marātha officials as *sihbandi* troops for the collection of the revenues. He rapidly developed into a leader of banditti and as such was successively employed by the rulers of Bhopāl, Indore and Djaypūr. In 1798 he received the title of *nawāb* from Djaswant Rāo Holkar. The following year he plundered Saugor and the surrounding country. In 1809, in combination with the Pindāris, he planned to attack Berar but his designs were frustrated by Lord Minto's despatch of troops to that area. By the year 1817 the strength of his army had increased to 8,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 200 guns. In the same year, realizing the strength of the British, he concluded a treaty with Lord Hastings, the governor-general, by which, provided he disbanded his army, he was guaranteed in the possession of his territories. He thus became the founder of the state of Tonk [*q.v.*] which, since 1948, has been merged into the Union of Rādjāstān.

Bibliography: Busawun Lal, *Memoirs of the Puthan Soldier of Fortune the Nuwab Ameer-ood-Dowlah Mohummud Ameer Khan* compiled in Persian, translated into English by H. T. Prinsep, Calcutta 1832; J. Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*, London 1823; M. S. Mehta, *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*, Bombay 1930; H. T. Prinsep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings*, 1825; *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* (ed. C. U. Aitchison, 1909) Vol. iii, No. xcix.

(C. COLIN DAVIES)

AMĪR KHUSRAW DIHLAWĪ, the great Indo-Persian poet, was born in 651/1253 at Paṭiyālī in the district of Etah, Uttar Pradesh, India. His father, Sayf al-Dīn Maḥmūd, was a Turk who had entered India in the time of Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish under whom he took service as an army officer. His mother was a daughter of ʿImād al-Mulk, muster master of the kingdom. Amīr Khusraw, according to his own statements, early showed great promise as a poet. From the age of eight when his father died, Amīr Khusraw was cared for by his maternal grandfather. After the latter's death, Amīr Khusraw took service with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kishlū Khān, nephew of Sultan Balban and then with Nāsir al-Dīn Bughrā Khān, son of the sultan, when he was appointed governor of Sāmāna. After accompanying Bughrā Khān to Bengal, Amīr Khusraw returned to Dihlī and accepted the patronage of the sultan's eldest son, Muḥammad Ḳāʾān Malik and accompanied him to Multān. In 683/1284 Muḥammad was killed in battle with the Mongols and Amīr Khusraw himself was captured only to escape soon after. He returned to Dihlī and attached himself to Malik ʿAlī Sardjāndār Ḥātam Khān and went with him to Oudh when Sulṭān Muizz al-Dīn Kayḳubād went to meet his father Bughrā Khān in 686/1287. Ḥātam Khān was appointed governor of Oudh and Amīr Khusraw remained with him for two years before seeking permission to return to Dehlī, where he accepted the patronage of the Sultan.

In the reign of Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī 689/1290-695/1295, Amīr Khusraw was given a royal pension of twelve hundred tankahs annually and, according to Barnī, was a great favourite of the Sultān. But on the murder of Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī the poet transferred his allegiance to his assassin ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaljī who confirmed him in his pension but proved an exacting patron. ʿAlā al-Dīn Khaldjī's reign, 695/1295 to 715/1315, saw Amīr Khusraw's most prolific period. Amīr Khusraw also enjoyed favour under Sultans Ḳutb al-Dīn Mubarak Shāh 716/1316-720/1320 and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ, 720/1320-725/1325.

During his lifetime, Amīr Khusraw became a disciple of the Čishtī saint Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā of Ghiyāthpūr and when the poet died in 725/1325, a few months after the accession of Sultan Muḥammad Tughluḳ, he was buried at the foot of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā's grave.

The following works of Amīr Khusraw are extant. (1) Five *dīwāns*, viz., (a) *Tuḥfat al-Ṣighār*, poems of adolescence collected about 671/1272; (b) *Wasaṭ al-Ḥayāt*, poems of middle life collected originally about 683/1284; (c) *Ghurrat al-Ḳamāl*, poems of maturity collected originally about 693/1293; (d) *Baḳiyya Naḳiyya*, collected about 716/1316; (e) *Nihāyat al-Kamāl*, collected about 725/1325.

(2) The *Khamsa*, viz., (a) *Maṭlaʿ al-Anwār*, 698/1298; (b) *Shīrīn u-Khusraw*, 698/1298; (c) *Āʾina-i Sikandarī*, 699/1299; (d) *Hasht Bihisht*, 701/1301; (e) *Madjnūn u-Laylā*, 698/1298.

(3) The *Ghazaliyyāt*, or lyrical poems.

(4) The Prose Works, viz., (a) *Khazāʾin al-Futūḥ*, the victories of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī; (b) *Afḍal al-Fawāʾid*, a collection of the sayings of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā presented to the saint in 719/1319; (c) *Iʿdjāz-i Khusrawī*, completed in 719/1319, specimens of elegant prose composition.

(5) The historical poems, viz., (a) *Ḳirān al-Saʿdayn*, completed in 688/1289, a *mathnawī* on the meeting of Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Kayḳubād and his father Nāṣir al-Din Bughrā Khān on the banks of the Sardjū in Oudh.; (b) *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ*, a *mathnawī* on four victories of Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Khaldjī, completed in 690/1291 and forming part of the *Ghurrat al-Kamāl*. (c) *Duwal Rānī Khiḍr Khān* or *ʿAshīḳa*, a *mathnawī* completed in 715/1316 on the love story of Khiḍr Khān, son of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, and Devaldi, the daughter of Rādja Karn of Nahrwāla, with a later continuation telling of Khiḍr Khān's estrangement from his father, his confinement in the fortress of Gwalior, his blinding and eventual murder at the instigation of Malik Kāfūr; (d) *Nuh Sipihr*, a *mathnawī* describing the glories of Sultan Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaldjī's time, completed in 718/1218; (e) *Tughluḳ-nāma*, a *mathnawī* on the victory of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ over Khusraw Khān in 720/1320.

Amīr Khusraw and the History of his Times. The works of Amīr Khusraw provide the fullest single expression extant of medieval Indo-Muslim civilisation. They reveal, as perhaps does no other surviving body of Indo-Persian literature of the time, the religious, ethical, cultural and aesthetic ideas of courtly, educated and wealthy Indian Muslims of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries.

Amīr Khusraw was not an historian. No more in his "historical poems" than in his *dīwāns* and *ghazals* does he attempt a critical account of the human past. Amīr Khusraw wrote to please his patrons by appealing to their imaginations, emotions and to their vanity as courtly educated Muslims. For Amīr Khusraw the life of man in history is a pageant of stereotyped formal action by god-like sulṭāns and great men, who personify Muslim ideals of conduct.

Bibliography: Storey, Section II, Fasciculus 3.M. History of India, London 1939; Muḥammad Wahid Mirza, *Life and Times of Amir Khusrau*, Calcutta 1935. (P. Hardy)

AMĪR MADJLIS, master of audiences or ceremonies, one of the highest dignitaries of the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor (see SALDJŪḲ). In the Mamlūk kingdom the *amīr madjlis* had charge of the physicians, oculists and the like. The sources do not elucidate the connection between the rank of *amīr madjlis* and this particular task, which seems to be of no special importance. Altho ı the rank of *amīr madjlis* was in the early Mamluk period superior to that of *amīr silāḥ* [*q.v.*], neither of them was of great significance at that time. In the Circassian period the *amīr madjlis*, though inferior to the *amīr silāḥ*, was third in importance amongst the highest *amīrs* of the kingdom.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans mamlouks* (transl. Quatremère), ii/1, 97; M. van Berchem, *CIA*, *L'Égypte*, 274, 585; M. Gaudefroi-Demombynes, *La Syrie etc.*, p. lvii; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 69, 101 etc.; D. Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 59, 69. (D. Ayalon)

AMĪR AL-MU'MINĪN, "Commander of the Believers" (the translation "Prince of the Believers" is neither philologically nor historically correct), title adopted by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb on his election as caliph. *Amīr*, as a term designating a person invested with command (*amr*), and more especially military command, is in this general sense compounded with *al-mu'minīn* to designate the leaders of various Muslim expeditions both in the lifetime of the Prophet and after, e.g. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], the commander of the Muslim army against the Persians at Ḳādisiyya. Its adoption as a title by ʿUmar may more probably, however, be connected with the Ḳur'ānic verse "Obey God and obey the Apostle and those invested with command (*ulī 'l-amr*) among you" (iv, 58/62). From this time until the end of the Caliphate as an institution, *amīr al-mu'minīn* was employed exclusively as the protocollary title of a caliph, and among the Sunnīs its adoption by a ruler implied a claim to the office of caliph [see KHALĪFA], whether in its universal significance (as by the Umayyads, ʿAbbāsids, and the Shīʿite Fāṭimids) or as implying independent Islamic authority (as by the Umayyads in al-Andalus from 316/928 [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN III], the Mu'minids in the Maghrib [see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades*, *Hesp.*, 1941, 1 ff.], and several of the minor dynasties in al-Andalus before and after the Muwaḥḥid conquest). The Mu'minid caliphate was claimed from 650/1253 by the Ḥafṣid *amīrs* of Ifrīḳiya, and was after the extinction of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate at Baghdād in 656/1258 fleetingly recognized as the universal caliphate by the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt, until their establishment of the new line of ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Cairo [see ʿABBĀSIDS]. In the Maghrib itself the Ḥafṣid claim was contested by the Marīnids in Morocco, who also adopted the title of *amīr al-mu'minīn* in the 8th/14th century, and were followed by all the succeeding dynasties in Morocco.

By the political jurists the title *amīr al-mu'minīn* was interpreted in a general sense, without special reference to command in the Holy War, except in so far as the proclamation of *djihād* remained a prerogative of the caliphate. In other Muslim circles, however, especially among the Zaydīs (see below), its association with active prosecution of the *djihād* still survived. In this sense it was occasionally employed by the early Ottoman sultans (see H. A. R. Gibb, in *Bibl.*); but it was never formally adopted by their successors as implying a claim to the universal caliphate, even after the occupation of Egypt by Salīm I in 922/1517. In the same sense it was assumed by various leaders of Muslim armies in West Africa [see AḤMAD AL-SHAYKH and AḤMAD LOBBO], and is still employed as the style of their successors in N. Nigeria.

Among the Shīʿa, the Imāmīs in general limit the title to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib exclusively; the Ismāʿīlīs apply it to such of the Fāṭimid caliphs as each sect recognizes; while the Zaydīs regard it as legimately claimed by any ʿAlid who seeks to establish his claim by force of arms (hence its present use by the Imāms of al-Yaman). Among the Khawāridj the title was rarely used, except by the Rustamids [*q.v.*] of Tāhart.

Very occasionally the term is applied in a figurative sense to outstanding scholars; e.g. the traditionist Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj is described as *amīr al-mu'minīn fī 'l-riwāya* (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, vii, 144), and the grammarian Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī as *amīr al-mu'minīn fī 'l-naḥw*(Makkarī, *Analectes*, 826).

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *Titres califiennes d'Occident*, *JA* 1907/i, 245-335; E. Tyan, *Institutions de Droit public musulman. I. Le Califat*, Paris 1954, esp. 198 ff.; H. A. R. Gibb, *Some Considerations etc.*, *Archives d'Histoire et de Droit oriental*, iii, Wetteren 1948, 401-10. See also general works under KHALĪFA. (H. A. R. Gibb)

AMĪR AL-MUSLIMĪN, i. e. lord of the Muslims, a title which the Almoravids first assumed, in contra-distinction to *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* [*q.v.*]. The latter title was born by the independant dynasties; the Almoravids, however, recognized the supremacy of the ʿAbbāsids and did not wish to arrogate to themselves this title of the Caliphs. So they established a kind of sub-caliphate with a title of their own. Afterwards the African and Spanish princes bore either the one or the other of these titles, according as they sought after the independent caliphate or recognized any supremacy.

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *Titres califiens d'Occident* (*Journ. As.*, series 10, ix, 245-335). (A. J. Wensinck)

AMĪR SILĀḤ, grand master of the armour. In the Mamlūk kingdom he was in charge of the armour-bearers (*silāḥdāriyya*) and supervised the arsenal (*silāḥkhāna*). It was his duty to bear the sultan's arms in public ceremonies and to convey them to him in battle and other occasions. In the early Mamluk period the office of *amīr silāḥ* was not

very high (cf. AMĪR MADJLIS); under the Circassians it was the second office among the highest *amīrs* of the kingdom. The *amīr silāḥ* had the right of sitting as the *raʾs al-maysara* in the sultan's presence.

Bibliography: L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, index; D. Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 60, 68, 69. (D. AYALON)

AMĪR AL-UMARĀʾ, chief Emīr, commander-in-chief of the army. As the name shews this dignity was originally confined to the military command. But the pretorians continued to become more powerful, and already the first bearer of the title, the eunuch Mūnis, soon became the real ruler, for it was to him that the weak and incapable Caliph al-Muḳtadir owed his rescue on the occasion of the conspiracy on behalf of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtazz in 296 (908). After the appointment of Muḥammed b. Rāʾiḳ the governor of Wāsiṭ in 324 (Nov. 936) as Amīr al-Umarāʾ by the Caliph al-Rāḍī, this desperate ruler could not but hand over to him the entire civil authority, and his name was even mentioned in the public prayers together with that of the Caliph. So the Emīrs became in reality virtua rulers, while the Caliphs sank more and more to mere shadows of their former power.

This title is very rarely met with in Mamlūk sources. According to one source it was synonymous with *baklarbakī*, a title given to the *atābak al-ʿasākir*. It seems, however, that other *amīrs* also bore the same title. Cf. D. Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 59.

In Ottoman usage *amīr al-umarāʾ* and its equivalent *mīr-i mīrān* are common synonyms for *beylerbeyi* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornb.), viii, 10 *et seq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 543 *et seq.*; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 532 *et seq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline* and fall (3rd ed.), 568; Defrémery, *Mémoire relatif aux Emirs al Oméra*. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN *)

AMĪRGHANIYYA [see MĪRGHĀNIYYA].

ʿĀMIRĪ (not Amīrī, as often implied in literature), territory of the ʿĀmir, a sub-tribe of the Djaʿda, forming one of the "nine cantons" in the Western Aden Protectorate, with some 27,000 inhabitants (Brit. Agency, 1946). The sultan (*amīr*) resides at Ḍāliʿ (Dhala), a small town on the south-eastern slope of Djabal Djiḥāf, about 10 miles south of Ḳaʿtaba and the border of Yaman. According to von Maltzan the name Shāfil was applied not only to the country and the capital (Bilād Shāfil) but also to the reigning sultan, a *mamlūk* of the Zaydī Imāms of Yaman who had made himself independent and created fairly good order in the district. A treaty with the British was signed in 1904 and supplemented in 1944 by an adviser agreement with the Government of Aden, which gives instructions to the tribal guards of the *amīr*. Ḍāliʿ has a permanent military landing ground for aicraft. A sub-grade school has an average of 50 pupils.

Bibliography: v. Maltzan, *Reise*, 353 ff. (with full details); Abdullah Mansûr (Wyman Bury), *The land of Uz*, 1911, 17 ff.; and the references given in ʿALAWĪ. (O. LÖFGREN)

ʿĀMIRIDS, the descendants (and clients of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿAmir [*q.v.*], in the first place his sons ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*qq.v.*]. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Manṣūr, a son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, founded the dynasty of the ʿĀmirids in Valencia, where he ruled 412-53/1021-61. He was succeeded by his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], 453-7/1061-5. After a ten years' interval under al-Maʾmūn of Toledo, ʿAbd al-Malik's brother, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ruled in Valencia 468-78/1075-85. In this last year the city was wrested from Abū Bakr's son, the *ḳāḍī* ʿUthmān b. Abī Bakr, and fell into the power of al-Ḳādir, who had been dethroned in Toledo. [For further details, see BALANSIYA.] — To the former clients of the house belong Muhārak and Muẓaffar, who ruled Valencia for a short time from 401/1010-1 onwards, and Mudjāhid al-ʿĀmirī [*q.v.*], who became the ruler of Denia and the Balearic Islands. (C. F. SEYBOLD *)

AL-ʿAMḲ, large alluvial plain of northern Syria, situated N-E of Antioch and framed in the tectonic depression which separates the Elma Dagh, or Amanus, from the Kurd Dagh, and which stretches as far as the lower spurs of the Taurus. With a mean elevation of 260 ft. above sea level, it is largely covered by a lake fringed with marshes, called Buḥayrat Anṭākiyya ("the lake of Antioch") or Buḥayrat Yaghrā, and in Turkish Aḳ Deniz; fed from the north by the ʿAfrīn [*q.v.*] and the Ḳara Su, streams which are violent when in spate, the lake discharges its waters in the direction of the Orontes which, before receiving this outlet, the Küčük ʿĀsī, follows the depression without discharging its waters into it; it flows several metres above the depression and is separated from it by an alluvial or rocky shelf. The marsh, which varies in size with the season, lends itself to the raising of buffalo and to fishing (eels and silurus; hence the alternative name Buḥayrat al-Sillawr, which appears in the "Casal Sellorie" of the Crusaders), while the perpetually flooded areas bordering the marsh are reserved for the extensive cultivation of cereals.

About the 9th century before Christ, Assyrian inscriptions point to a kingdom centred on the plain of Antioch, the lake being perhaps of less consequence than now, named ʿUnki; the toponym *ʿamḳ*, Semitic in origin and vouched for by the Aramaic stele of King Zakir, derives from a common noun which still has the meaning in Arabic of "depression", or more exactly, according to Ibn Khurradādhbih (97), "any prairie surrounded by mountains"; this explains the title *ʿamḳ* Tīzīn formerly given by historians to this country, as distinct from the *ʿamḳ* Marʿash [*q.v.*] further north.

As a corridor region commanding the approaches to Antioch, the plain of the ʿAmḳ, under the name of Amykès Pedion, was the site of important battles in the Hellenistic era. After the Muslim conquest, it became part of the disputed zone between the Arabs and the Byzantines, to whom it was given by the treaty of 359/969. Guarded by various forts which cut it off from the Syrian hinterland (Artāḥ, ʿImm, Ḥārim, Tīzīn), it was, like Antioch, momentarily reoccupied by the Muslims; the latter had to cede it to the Crusaders, and it was only finally recovered by Nūr al-Dīn in 543/1149 after the battle fought near Yaghrā, a place situated north of the lake where the sultan Ḳayt-bāy later camped during his famous tour of inspection of the Syrian territories. During the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, the ʿAmḳ formed part of the province of Aleppo, and was crossed by the routes from Antioch to Aleppo (via Djisr al-Ḥadīd, south of the lake) and from Antioch to Marʿash, and by the post road Ayas-Baghrās-Aleppo, which passed to the north of the marsh after crossing the Amanus by the Baylān pass [see BAGHRĀS].

The numerous projects under the French mandate, designed to increase the value of the plain and to drain the lake, all failed to provide a satisfactory solution. The return to Turkey in 1939 of the *sandjak* of Alexandretta, which included the ʿAmḳ, deprived

the plain of its position as a corridor region, which was one of the main reasons for the interest displayed in it, and explains its present neglected state.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 161-2, Ṭabarī, ii, 2016; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda* (Dahan), ii, 292; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 89 and *Hist. Or. Cr.*, ii, 164; Yāḳūt, i, 316, 514, 516, 727; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwim*, 41-2, 49, 261; Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1996, *Suppl.* i, 72; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 60, 71-2 (wrongly makes a distinction between the lake of Antioch and that of Yaghrā), 391; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, index (particularly 425 and 435-9); M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazīra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers 1951, 229, 831 ff.; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, index (particularly 133-8); M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 22; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. Archéol. or.*, iii, 255; J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux*, Paris 1941, 96; J. Weulersse, *L'Oronte*, Tours 1940, 77-80. (D. SOURDEL)

AL-ʿĀMMA WA'L-KHĀṢṢA [see AL-KHĀṢṢA].

ʿAMMĀN, capital of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Population (1953) approximately 108,304 plus a small floating population, chiefly refugees from Palestine of about 30,000.

The site has been occupied since earliest prehistoric times. The Citadel Hill (Djabal al-Ḳalʿa) is undoubtedly the site of the ancient city often referred to in the Old Testament as Rabbath Ammon, "Rabba of Ammon". Of this ancient city little now remains save some tombs on the hill sides, and a short stretch of Iron Age city wall, perhaps 9th or 8th. century B.C. The early Israelites (c. 1300 B.C.) failed to secure control of either the city or the district until the determined assault of David in the 11th century B.C. During this attack occurred the episode of Uriah the Hittite, whose name was still traditionally associated with the site in the 10th century A.D. (al-Maḳdisī, 175). Under Solomon ʿAmmān regained its independence. In common with the rest of the country it became a vassal of Assyria during the 8th. and 7th. centuries B.C., but maintained a precarious independence during the Babylonian period. When Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-227 B.C.) conquered the town he renamed it Philadelphia, by which name it was known in Roman and Byzantine times. The Seleucid King Antiochus III captured it about 218 B.C. In the first century B.C. ʿAmmān joined the league of the Decapolis, and the Nabateans occupied the city for a short time, but were driven out by Herod the Great about 30 B.C. From him the Romans took over and rebuilt it on the standard Roman provincial plan, with theaters, temples, Forum, Nymphaeum and a main street with columns. Some of these monuments still exist. In Byzantine times ʿAmmān was the seat of the Bishopric of Philadelphia and Petra, one of the sees of Palestina Tertia under Bosra. This title is still held by the Greek Catholic Bishop. (For details of ancient history, see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Philadelphia.)

Excavation on the Citadel on the site of the present Museum have shown that it was still flourishing when it was captured by the Arab general Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān in 14/635, almost immediately after the fall of Damascus, and on the Citadel at least there were some fine private houses of the Umayyad period. These are of some importance archaeologically, as only the palaces of the Ommayad Caliphs have so far been excavated, and they give us the first evidence of how the ordinary man lived in this period. There is also a square Ghassānid or Umayyad building on the Citadel.

In common with the rest of Jordan, a decline apparently set in with the removal of the Caliphate from Damascus to Baghdād. Ibn al Faḳīh, 105, writing in 292/903, mentions ʿAmmān as belonging to Damascus. Al-Maḳdisī, writing some 80 years later (375/985) gives a rather full account of the city as it then was (175; quoted by Yāḳūt, iii, 760). Al-Maḳdisī puts the town in the district of Filasṭīn and calls it the capital of the Balḳā' district (156; cf. also 180, 184).

Yāḳūt, iii, 710, in 622/1225 refers to it as the city of Dakiyanus or the Emperor Decius, and connects the legend of Lot and his daughters with ʿAmmān. He still calls it one of the fruitful towns of Filasṭīn and capital of the Balḳa. But al-Dimashḳi, 213, writing about 699/1300, assigns it to the Kingdom of Karak and says that only ruins remain. Abu 'l-Fidā', 247, writing a mere 20 years later says "it is very ancient town, and was ruined before the days of Islam".

It is difficult to account for this sudden drop in the town's fortunes, for no historical or natural catastrophe has been recorded from this period. Thereafter writers are silent on the subject of ʿAmmān, and when the first western travellers started to penetrate east of the Jordan in the early 19th century, it was no more than a very small village. In 1295/1878 a group of Circassians were settled there by the Turkish authorities, but it remained a mere handful of houses for many more years.

The first systematic exploration of the town and its environs was that made by Major Conder and his party in 1881, when the ruins of the mosque with a square minaret, perhaps the one mentioned by the al-Maḳdisī, were still standing. They were still there when the much fuller survey of Butler was carried out in 1907, but he considers the main wall to have been either Roman or Byzantine. Exactly when it was destroyed cannot be ascertained probably soon after the first World War.

In 1340/1921 ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] made it the capital of Transjordan, and it has grown steadily ever since. Its greatest period of prosperity came during and immediately after World War II since the end of which the city has increased in size at least 50%. It is now the capital and administrative centre for the Kingdom on both sides of the Jordan, and contains the Royal Palace, Houses of Parliament and head offices of all the Ministries. Some fine Government buildings, including a Museum, and Schools have been erected during the last few years, but in the early days of its growth many monuments of the past have disappeared.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, 126; Brünow and Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, ii, 216; J. S. Buckingham, *Travels among Arab Tribes*, 68-9; H. C. Butler, *Publications of the Princetown University Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, Div. II, Sec. A, Pt. I, 34 ff.; Major Conder, *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, 19 ff.; idem, *Heth and Moab*, 152 ff.; Laborde, *Voyage de le Syrie*, 1837, 99 ff., pl. LXXXII; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*; *Letters of Lord Lindsay*, ii, 1839, 108 ff.; A. S. Marmardji, *Buldāniyyat Filasṭīn al-ʿArabiyya*, 1948; S. Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 1881, 399 ff.; Puchstein, in *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen, Instituts*, 1902, 108; Saller and Bagatti, *Town of Nebo*, 225; J. Strzygowski, in

Jahrbuch der Königlich Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen, 1904; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, iii; H. B. Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 535; M. van Berchem, in *Journal des Savants*, 1903, 476; *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, i, 7 ff.; *Bolletina de Arte*, Dec. 1934; *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestina*, i, xi, xii, xiv; Khayr al-Dīn al-Zaraklī *ʿĀmān fī ʿAmmān*, Cairo 1925. (G. LANKESTER HARDING)

AMMAN, MIR [see AMĀN, MĪR].

ʿAMMĀR, BANŪ, a family of ḳāḍīs who governed the principality of Tripoli (in Syria) for forty years preceding the capture of the town by the Crusaders in 502/1109.

The first ruler of the family, Amīn al-Dawla Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār, who had been *ḳāḍī* of the town, declared himself independent after the death of the Fāṭimid governor, Mukhtār al-Dawla b. Bazzāl in 462/1070. He made the town an important intellectual centre and founded a rich library.

On his death in 464/1072 his two nephews quarreled about the succession. Djalāl al-Mulk ʿAlī b. Muḥammad succeeded in evicting his brother. The authority of Djalāl al-Mulk must have been considerable, as he maintained himself for almost thirty years. In 473/1081 he took Djabala from the Byzantines. He manoeuvred as well as he could between the Fāṭimids and the Saldjūḳids, as Ibn al-Ḳalānisī has pointed out: "The towns on the sea, Tyre and Tripoli, were in the hands of their *ḳāḍīs* who were their independent rulers. Not satisfied with renouncing the authority of the *amīr* of the armies Badr al-Djamālī, they tried to obtain the good will of the Turks by diplomacy and presents".

The last ruler, Fakhr al-Mulk ʿAmmār (brother of the preceding), succeeded in 49/1099, and for some years withstood the attacks of the Crusader Raymund of St. Gilles and his successor. In 501, however, he decided to leave the town in order to seek help against the Franks. The inhabitants, however, faithful to the Fāṭimid dynasty, called in the Egyptians, but in spite of the great efforts made by the Fāṭimids, their fleet arrived in Tyre eight days after the fall of Tripoli. Fakhr al-Mulk passed first into the service of the Saldjūḳids, then of the princes of Mosul, and finally that of the ʿAbbāsid caliph and died in 512/1118-9.

A fragmentary inscription by Djalāl al-Mulk is extant, in which his name figures alone. One can therefore conclude that the Banū ʿAmmār had detached themselves from the Fāṭimids and that this action drove them towards the caliphate of Baghdād; they proceeded, however, with caution, as their subjects showed ʿAlid sympathies.

Bibliography: M. Sobernheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Syrie du Nord*, 39 ff.; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Taʾrīkh Dimashk, arabic text* and translations of Gibb and Le Tourneau, index; Wiet, *Inscription d'un prince de Tripoli, Mémorial Henri Basset*, ii, 279, 84; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, iii, 785; *A History of the Crusades*, Univ. of Pennsylvania, i, 660.

(G. WIET)

ʿAMMĀR, BANŪ (or BANŪ THĀBIT, dynasty which ruled in Tripoli (of the West) 727/1327-803/1400. Its founder, Thābit b. ʿAmmār, a Huwwāra Berber, died after a rule of a few months, and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad. During the reign of Muḥammad's son, Thābit, the Genoese surprised and plundered Tripoli (756/1355); Thābit was killed by the neighbouring Arab chiefs with whom he was seeking refuge. In 771/1370 or 772/1371 Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad expelled from Tripoli the governor of the Banu Makkī of Ḳābis (Gabès). Abū Bakr died in 792/1392 and was followed by his nephew ʿAlī b. ʿAmmār. In 800/1397-8 the Ḥafṣid Abū Fāris succeeded in arresting ʿAlī whom he replaced by two members of the same family, Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr and his brother ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. On 6 Radjab 803/31 May 1401 Abū Fāris captured Tripoli, imprisoned the brothers and brought to an end the dominion of the ʿAmmārids.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, i, 196 ff.; Munadjdjimbashi, ii, 595; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, i, 150, 173, 191, 205-7, 212-3, ii, 106 (with further references).

(G. WIET)

ʿAMMĀR B. **YĀSIR** B. ʿĀMIR B. MĀLIK, ABU 'L-YAḲẒĀN, a Companion of the Prophet, later a partisan of ʿAlī. His father, a *mawlā* of the Makhzūmite Abū Ḥudhayfa, had married one of his master's slaves, Sumayya, who was manumitted, but Yāsir and his family remained with Abū Ḥudhayfa. They were early converts to Islām, and suffered severe tortures. ʿAmmār is said eventually to have emigrated to Abyssinia; after the *hidjra* he returned to Medina. He took part in the early campaigns, and fought at Badr, at Uḥud, and, in general, in all the battles of Muhammad, who at the time of the *muʾākhāt* between the Muhādjirūn and the Anṣār, paired him with Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān. Under Abū Bakr, he lost an ear at the battle of Yamāma; in 21/641 he was made governor of Kūfa by ʿUmar; in this capacity he took part in the conquest of Khūzistān. He was from the first a partisan of ʿAlī; from 35/656 onwards, ʿAlī placed exceptional confidence in him. Before the Battle of the Camel (see AL-DJAMAL), he helped to rally the population of Kūfa to ʿAlī, and he was one of those who led the Prophet's widow ʿĀʾisha prisoner to Baṣra. He lost his life at Ṣiffīn (37/657) at an extremely advanced age. Several centuries later, his tomb near Ṣiffīn was still pointed out.

ʿAmmār was considered to have an excellent knowledge of the Traditions of the Prophet, and in addition owed his renown to his great piety and to his devotion to Islām. Later, writers hostile to the Umayyads did not fail to glorify him by inventing *hadīths* in his favour, and by discovering in the Ḳurʾān allusions referring to him (ii, 207; iii, 62; vi, 52, 122; xvi, 43, 108, 111; xxviii, 4, 61; xxix, 1; xxxix, 12); a notable prophecy attributed to Muḥammad concerns the death of ʿAmmār at the hands of the "rebel band", which he condemns to Hell.

ʿAmmār had a son, Muḥammad, also famous for his knowledge of *ḥadīth*, and a daughter, Umm al-Ḥakam.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 176 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 48, 111-2, 239, 252; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 485-7; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 5704; Djāḥiẓ, *ʿUthmāniyya* (ed. by Pellat, in preparation), index. (H. RECKENDORF *)

ʿAMMĀR AL-MAWṢILĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿAMMĀR B. ʿALĪ, one of the most famous, and certainly the most original of Arab oculists. He lived first in ʿIrāḳ, then in Egypt; he travelled widely, as he himself informs us in his book, and on his travels, which took him to Khurāsān in one direction, to Palestine and Egypt in the other, he practised his profession and performed operations. His work on ophthalmology was composed in Egypt, in the reign of al-Ḥākim (996/1020); thus he was a contemporary

of the more famous, but less original, oculist ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]. If ʿAlī's *Tadhkira* became for the Arabs the standard work on ophthalmology and overshadowed ʿAmmār's work, the reason lies in the greater completeness of the former. ʿAmmār's book has a strictly logical arrangement and is extremely succinct, as even the title shows: *al-Muntakhab fī ʿIlādj al-ʿAyn*. After a preface containing an account of its compilation, the book deals first with the anatomy of the eye, then with diseases of the eyelid, the corner of the eye, the conjunctiva, the cornea, the pupil, the albumen, and the visual nerves. The descriptions of the diseases and of their treatment are in general very clear, and often, especially when he describes operations which he performed himself, of a dramatic vividness. This is more especially the case in the six cases of operation for cataract described by ʿAmmār; in effect, his most significant achievement was the radical operation for soft cataract by suction through a hollow metal tube invented by him. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn of Ḥamāt (end of 7th/13th century) has borrowed that part of ʿAmmār's book almost verbatim in his *Nūr al-ʿUyūn*. At an earlier date al-Ghāfiḳī (6th/12th century) made considerable use of ʿAmmār's book in his medical work *al-Murshid*.

The Arabic original is preserved in MSS of the Escurial. There is a Hebrew translation of a slightly different version by Nathan ha-Meathi (13th century). The Latin *tractatus de oculis Canamusali* is, however, a forgery. German transl. by J. Hirschberg, J. Lippert and E. Mittwoch, *Die arabischen Augenärzte nach den Quellen bearbeitet*, Leipzig 1905, ii.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 89; J. Hirschberg, etc., op. cit., introduction; Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übersetzungen d. Mittelalters*, 667; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the Hist. of Science*, i, 729; Brockelmann, S I, 425.

(E. Mittwoch*)

ʿAMMĀRIYYA, Algerian religious order deriving its name from Ammār Bū Senna, born about 1712; his tomb is situated at Bū Ḥammām in the province of Constantine, which is also the site of the parent foundation (*zāwiya*) of the order. Actually, the order was only founded in 1822 by al-Ḥādjdj Mubārak (Embārek) al-Maghribī al-Bukhārī. According to Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 356-7, the order comprised, at the end of the 19th century, 26 *zāwiyas* and 6,435 adherents.

ʿAMMŪRIYA, Arabic form of the name of the famous stronghold of Amorium (Syriac Amūrīn) in Phrygia, situated on the great Byzantine military road from Constantinople to Cilicia, S-E of Dorylaeum, S-W of Ankara, and S. of the Upper Sangarios (Saḳarya). The site of the town for long remained unknown. Its ruins were discovered by the English traveller Hamilton about 7½ m. E. of Emirdağ (formerly ʿAzīziyye) near the village of Hamza Hacılı and Hisar, at a place which, he said, was called by the inhabitants Hergan Kale. The name Hergan Kale is unknown to-day, and the ruins are called Asar (or, according to Murray's guide Asar Kale). The name Hergan Kale was also recorded by Texier, and was reproduced along with that of Asar Kale on Kiepert's map (scale 1 : 400,000, sheet B III Angora). The name Amorium, according to Ramsay, survived in the name of the plain which stretches to the east: Ḥadjdjī ʿUmar (Haciömer)-owa.

Amorium, fortified by Zenon (474-91) — al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 331, says that it was built by Anastasius (491-518) — was on several occasions threatened, besieged or captured by the Arabs. Muʿāwiya reached it in 25/646; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd forced it to capitulate in 46/666; it was occupied in 49/669 in the course of Yazīd's expedition against Constantinople, but was retaken by Andreas, the general of Constans. In 89/708, Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik defeated a Byzantine army before Amorium. In 98/716, at the time of Maslama's expedition against Constantinople, it was beseiged by one of his lieutenants, and relieved by the future emperor Leo the Isaurian. Leo subsequently made it a formidable stronghold, which successfully resisted al-Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥtaba in 162/779, in the reign of al-Mahdī, then in 181/797, in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. It only fell in 223/838 to the powerful forces of al-Muʿtaṣim, whose Turkish troops besieged it for twelve days, and who finally took it only as the result of treachery.

The capture of Amorium was the subject of a famous poem of Abū Tammām. Forty-two of the prisoners taken to Sāmarrā were executed there on 6 March 845. Their martyrdom is celebrated in the *Acta XLII martyrum Amoriensium*. The town destroyed by al-Muʿtaṣim was rebuilt, but was again burnt down in 319/931 by Thamal, *amīr* of Ṭarsūs. Thereafter it does not seem to have played a part in history, although in the 12th and 14th centuries it was still an important place, according to the geographers al-Idrīsī and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī.

Bibliography: W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, i, 1842, 448 ff.; Ch. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, 1849, 471; W. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, 1890, 230-1; Pauly-Wissowa, 1894, p. 1876; Murray's *Handbook for travellers in Asia Minor*, 1895, 16; Le Strange, 137-9, 153; Yāḳūt, i, 391, 568, 928; ii, 805, 864; iii, 264, 692, 730; iv, 95; v, 25. — For the Arab expeditions, see E. Brooks, *The Arabs in Asia Minor*, 641-750, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, 182-208; idem, *The campaign of 716-18 from Arabic sources*, ibid., 1899, 19-33; idem, *Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the Early Abbasids*, *English Historical Review*, 1900, 728-47, 1901, 84-92; J. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umaididen*, *NGW* Gött., Phil.-hist. Klasse 1901, 414 ff.; A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Fr. ed., I, *La dynastie d'Amorium* 1935, 144-74, Arabic trans., *al-ʿArab wa 'l-Rūm*, Cairo s.d., 130-57; Fr. ed., ii, *La dynastie macédonienne*, 2nd part, *Extraits des sources arabes* 1950, 152, 238; Russian ed., 232-3.

(M. Canard)

AMORIUM [see ʿAMMŪRIYA].

AMR, a term which occurs in many verses of the Ḳurʾān in the sense of command, viz. of God. (A paper by J. M. S. Baljon, *The amr of god in the Koran*, is to appear in *Acta Orientalia*.) These Ḳurʾānic passages formed the point of departure for speculations of theologians and philosophers, in which the Muslim element is often so contaminated, with doctrines of Hellenistic origin, that it loses all distinctive character. Nevertheless, the term itself does not seem to have an exact parallel in the relevant Greek terminology, so that it seems that the various theological notions about the divine command were originally conceived by Muslims.

This conclusion supports the hypothesis according to which the longer version of the *Theology of Aristotle*, the one which forms the basis of the Latin translation and of which the Arabic original has been discovered by Borisov, was elaborated in a

Muslim environment. In effect, there are in that version passages dealing with the theory of the *amr*. On the other hand, the fact that the doctrine as it appears in that version seems to be identical with the teaching of certain Ismāʿīlī theologians, is suggestive: it is very probable that the Ismāʿīlī authors and the author of the longer version of the *Theology* used a common source, which cannot, however, be identified.

According to the longer version of the *Theology*, the *amr* is one of the designations of the word (*kalima*) of God, also called His will, which is an intermediary between the Creator and the first intelligence and the immediate cause of the latter. In a certain sense it can be qualified as the cause of causes. It also can be called "nothing" (*laysa*), as it transcends movement and rest. Intellect, which is the first created thing, is so intimately united with the word that it is identical with it.

This theory recurs in an identical, or almost identical, form among the Ismāʿīliyya, for instance in the *Kh^wān-i Ikhwān* attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Other writings which go under the name of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, however, show doctrinal divergences. The *Zād al-Musāfirīn* does not regard as correct the thesis expounded in the *Kh^wān-i Ikhwān* according to which the *amr* is identical with the *ibdāʿ*, the creative act of God; and the *Gushāʾish wa-Rahāʾish* calls the *amr*, which in the *Kh^wān-i Ikhwān* is qualified as "non-being", "the first being".

Another Ismāʿīlī author, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, seems to have regarded the *amr* as an influx (this seems to be the meaning which ought to be attributed, in this context, to the term *mādda*) coming from God and united to the intellect. In his view, the *amr* is not a principle superior to the intellect; in common with other Ismāʿīlī theologians, he considers it identical with the divine will.

In the *Rawḍat al-Taslīm*, or *Taṣawwurāt* (ed. W. Ivanow, 54 f., cf. 29), an Ismāʿīlī work attributed to Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, the doctrine of the divine *amr* is connected with the notion that at the psychic level the ascension marked by the stages of the sense-perception, estimation (*wahm*), soul (*nafs*) and intellect, ends in the *amr*.

There is a certain similarity between these Ismāʿīlī doctrines and the concept of *amr* found in the theological dialogue commonly called *Kuzari*, by the Jewish thinker Judah Halewi. On the one hand he seems to postulate, or at least to consider as admissible, the identity of the *amr* with the will (ed. Hirschfeld, 76), on the other, he calls divine *amr* the power which is given to the prophet as an inherent faculty and which is superior to the intellect (e.g. 42 ff.).

On the basis of Ḳurʾān, vii, 53, *amr* is sometimes opposed to *khalḳ*: the first term then designates the creation of the spiritual substances, or these substances themselves, while the second refers to the creation of the material substances, or the material substances themselves (cf. ʿĀLAM; for the contrast between *amr* and *khalḳ* according to Ibn Ḥanbal, see Massignon, *La passion d'Al-Hallaj*, ii, 627, n. 2). This idea recurs in some Ismāʿīlī writings, such as the *Taṣawwurāt* (55), where it interferes with the concept of *amr* in the sense explained above; in texts related to Ismāʿīlism, such as the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* (cf. Goldziher, in *REJ*, 1905, 38 n. 4); and in the "dispute of the Ṣābians and the Ḥanīfiyya". This last is found in the *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal* of al-Shahrastani (ed. Ahmad Fahmī Muḥammad, Cairo 1948, ii, 118), a Sunnī author; nevertheless, in the discourse of the representative of the Ḥanīfiyya one finds notions current among the Ismāʿīlīs, but put in a form which avoids giving offence to Sunnī orthodoxy. In the *Djāmiʿ al-Ḥikmatayn* attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw (ed. Corbin, 154) the "world of the *amr*" is the Ismāʿīlī hierarchy, while the "world of the *khalḳ*" is the physical world.

Another theme, often treated by the Ṣūfīs, is the contradiction, assumed by some as possible, between the *amr*, God's command to perform an action, and the divine will which prevents it.

Bibliography: A. Borisov, *Ob iskhodnoy tochke volyuntarisma Solomona Ibn Gabirolya*, *Bulletin de l'Académie de l'U.R.S.S.*, 1933, 755-68; H. Corbin, in his ed. of the *Djāmiʿ al-Ḥikmatayn*, Étude Préliminaire, 75; I. Goldziher, *Le amr ilâhî (hâ-ʿinyân ha-elôhî) chez Juda Halévi*, *REJ*, 1905, 32-41; L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallâj*, ii, 624 ff.; S. Pines, *Nathanael ben Al-Fayyûmî et la théologie ismaélienne*, *Bulletin des Etudes Historiques Juives*, Cairo 1946, 7 ff.; idem, *La longue recension de la "Théologie d'Aristote" dans ses rapports avec la doctrine ismaélienne*, *REI*, 1954; J. M. S. Balyon, Jr., *Amr in the Koran*, *AO*, xxii. On the concept of *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, see MUʿTAZILA. (S. PINES)

ʿAMR b. ʿADĪ b. Naṣr b. Rabīʿa, first Lakhmid King of al-Ḥīra. His father ʿAdī employed a ruse (which frequently appears in Arab legend, cf. the story of ʿAbbāsa bint al-Mahdī) to win the hand of Raḳāsh, sister of Djadhīma al-Abrash [*q.v.*], whose favourite he was; ʿAmr, the offspring of this union, succeeded in winning the favour of Djadhīma, but was then carried off by the *djinn*, was considered lost, and was finally restored to his uncle. After al-Zabbāʾ (identified with Zenobia, queen of Palmyra) had seduced and killed Djadhīma, ʿAmr succeeded the latter on the Lakhmid throne and established his capital at al-Ḥīra; then, with the aid of the sage Ḳuṣayr, he succeeded, by means of a stratagem related at length in the historical sources, in avenging his uncle's death and in killing al-Zabbāʾ. Such is the account of the Arabic sources, and it is difficult to doubt the existence of ʿAmr b. ʿAdī, who lived in the 3rd century A.D. (Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, 35, gives the dates of his reigns as 268-88, but the historians credit him with a reign of 118 years); moreover, his name appears in the inscription of al-Namāra. On the other hand, the fact that he is mentioned in the commentary on numerous proverbs proves that, as the historical reality of this personage and of the events involving Zenobia became blurred, legend made use of his name to fix the time of events displaced from their historical sequence, and of stories invented to explain proverbs which had become unintelligible; thus, in representing him as the conqueror of Zenobia, legend attributes to him the role played by Aurelian who, in 270-3, seized possession of the Kingdom of Palmyra.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², i, 302, v, 279, vi, 209; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* Cairo 1353/1934, 202; Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 183 ff.; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 205; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb*, 505; Maydānī, Cairo 1352, i, 243-7, ii, 83-5, 145; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, 18-40; G. Rothstein, *Laḥmiden*, Berlin, 1899, index. (CH. PELLAT)

ʿAMR b. al-AHTAM (Sinān) b. Sumayy al Tamīmī al-Minḳarī, an eminent Tamīmite famous for his poetic and oratorical talent, and also for his physical beauty which earned him the surname of al-Mukaḥḥal ("anointed with collyrium").

Born a few years before the *hidjra*, he made his way to Medina in 9/630 with a delegation from his tribe; in 11/632, he was a follower of the prophetess Sadjāḥi [*q.v.*], but he was converted to Islam and took part in the wars of conquest; he conveyed the news of the capture of Rashahr to ᶜUmar in verse; he is said to have died in 57/676. His poems, some of which have come down to us, are superficially brilliant rather than profound; according to tradition his eloquence provoked the famous comment by the Prophet: *inna min al-bayān la-siḥr*[an].

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiᶜr*, 401-3; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, (Lyall), 245-54, 830-7; *Aghānī*[1], iv, 8-10, xii, 44, xxi, 174; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 387; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 476; Ṭabarī, i, 1711-16, 1919; *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), i, 722; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, Cairo 1286, iv, 87 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 5770; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ᶜUyūn*, Alexandria 1290, 77 ff.; Marzubānī, *Muᶜdjam*, 262. (A. J. WENSINCK-CH. PELLAT)

ᶜAMR B. AL-**ᶜĀṢ** (al-ᶜĀṣī) AL-SAHMĪ, a contemporary of Muḥammad of Ḳurayshite birth. The part which he played in Islāmic history begins with his conversion in the year 8/629-630. At that time he must already have been of middle age, for at his death which took place circa 42/663 he was over ninety years old. He passed for one of the most wily politicians of his time, and we must endorse this verdict. The more clear-sighted inhabitants of Mekka already foresaw shortly after the unsuccessful siege of Medīna that this fact was the turning-point in Muḥammad's career. It is not strange therefore that men like Khālid b. al-Walīd, ᶜUthmān b. Ṭalḥa and ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ went over to Islām even before the capture of Mecca. Not much importance is to be attached to the story of their conversion. That of ᶜAmr is said to have taken place in Abyssinia under the influence of the Christian Negus! — Muḥammad at once made use of his newly-gained assistance: after a few small expeditions he sent ᶜAmr to ᶜUmān, where he entered into negotiations with the two brothers who ruled there, Djayfar and ᶜAbbād b. Djulanda, and they accepted Islām. He was not to see the Prophet again. The news of the latter's death reached him in ᶜUmān, and occasioned his return to Medīna. But he did not remain there long. Probably in the year 12/633 Abū Bakr sent him with an army into Palestine. The accounts of the conquest of this country [see FILASṬĪN] are known to be somewhat confused (cf. also Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, A. H. 12); but this is certain, that in this undertaking ᶜAmr played a most prominent part. The subjection of the country west of the Jordan especially was his achievement, and he was also present at the battles of Adjnādayn and the Yarmūk as at the capture of Damascus.

Yet his real fame is due to his conquest of Egypt. According to some sources he betook himself there with his troops on his own responsibility. It is more probable, however, that ᶜUmar was informed of the matter (cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. p. 93) or even that it was undertaken under his orders. It is certain that re-inforcements were soon sent out to him, under al-Zubayr. For the history of the conquest cf. the article MIṢR; only the following need be mentioned here: In the summer of 19/640 the Greeks were defeated at Heliopolis. In 20/641 Babylon was occupied by the Arabs, in 21/642 Alexandria lay in their power [see MUḲAWḲIS]. But not only the conquest of Egypt was the work of the genius of ᶜAmr; he also regulated the government of the country, administration of justice and the imposition of taxes. He founded Fusṭāṭ, which was later called Miṣr and in the 4th/10th century al-Ḳāhira.

We can understand, that ᶜAmr felt himself wronged, when the Caliph ᶜUthmān recalled him in favour of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Saᶜd, shortly after his accession to the throne. He retired in disgust from active life, occasionally giving utterance to his mortification. When circumstances became threatening for ᶜUthmān, ᶜAmr was wise enough not to commit himself as a partisan of his enemies; but he secretly incited ᶜAlī, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr against him. From his estates of al-Sabᶜ (Beer-Shebaᶜ) and ᶜAdjlān he awaited the developement of events with the greatest anxiety. Yet it was not till after the Battle of the Camel (see AL-DJAMAL), when only the two opponents ᶜAlī and Muᶜāwiya survived, that he once more came to the front, associating himself with Muᶜāwiya. At the battle of Ṣiffīn he commanded the Syrian cavalry. When the battle turned in favour of ᶜAlī, he conceived the clever device of placing leaves of the Ḳur'ān on the lances. The ruse was successful and the battle remained undecided. A court of arbitration was agreed upon, which was to consist of Abū Mūsā 'l-Ashᶜarī and ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ. Before the day appointed came, ᶜAmr rendered Muᶜāwiya the important service of occupying Egypt for him. It was an easy task to dispose of the youthful ᶜAlid governor, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr: he defeated him (early in 38/658) and put him to death.

In the same year (*Shaᶜbān*) ᶜAmr proceeded to Adhruḥ [*q.v.*] to the court of arbitration (according to al-Wāḳidī's chronology in Ṭabarī, i. 3407). Here again he gave a brilliant proof of his political talent. He succeeded in conducting matters so far that Abū Mūsā declared both ᶜAlī and Muᶜāwiya unworthy of the highest office. ᶜAlī lost thereby his title of Caliph, Muᶜāwiya however, who had only fought for "ᶜUthmān's blood", lost nothing. Until his death [see above] ᶜAmr remained Governor of Egypt. On 15 Ramaḍān 40/22 January 661 he escaped by mere chance assassination at the hands of Zādawaih, one of the three Khāridjites who are said to have chosen the three leaders, ᶜAlī, Muᶜāwiya, and ᶜAmr, as the victims of their fanaticism. ᶜAmr felt unwell on that day and left the leadership of the *Ṣalāt* to Khāridja b. Ḥudhāfa. So the latter was mortally wounded. "I meant ᶜAmr, but God meant Khāridja", the assassin is reported to have said after accomplishing his deed.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii. 1 *et seq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba* (Cairo, 1286), iv, 115; Nawawī (ed. Wüstenf.), 478 *et seq.*; Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Ibn Saᶜd iii[a]. 21; Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten* (*Abh. d. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, xx); Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 51 *et seq.* 89 *et seq.*; Yaᶜḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), see Index; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, see Index; Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt* (London, 1902); S. Lane Poole, *A History of Egypt* (London 1901) vi. (A. J. WENSINCK)

ᶜAMR B. **HIND**, son of the Lakhmid prince al-Mundhir and of the Kindite woman Hind; after the death of his father, he became "king" of al-Ḥīra (554-570 A.D.). He was a warlike and cruel prince; the story of how he sent the poets al-Mutalammis and Ṭarafa to the governor of Baḥrayn with letters

containing their own death warrants, is well-known. The severity of his character earned him the surname of Muḍarriṭ al-Ḥidjāra ("he who makes the stones emit sounds"). He was also called Muḥarriḳ ("burner"); in explanation of this surname, the Arabs recount that in order to avenge the death of one of his brothers, he had ten Ḥanẓalites seized and burnt. However, as several other Lakhmids were also called Muḥarriḳ, this surname could well be the name of an ancient idol (see Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 46 ff.). He was assassinated while dining by the poet ʿAmr b. Kulthūm [*q.v.*], because the latter's mother had been offended by the mother of ʿAmr b. Hind.

Bibliography: G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in al-Ḥīra*, 94 ff.; Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 107 ff.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, ii, 115 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, (de Goeje), index, idem, *Maʿārif*, (Wüstenfeld), 318-9; *Aghānī*, ix, 178 ff.; xxi, 186-207; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 97-8; Ṭabarī, i, 900; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn*, Alexandria 1290, 240 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, i, 239-40; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, (Gottwald), i, 109-10; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 404 ff.

(A. J. Wensinck)

ʿAMR b. ḲAMĪʾA b. Dhirriḥ (Dharīḥ) b. Saʿd al-Ḍubaʿī, pre-Islamic Arab poet of the Bakrite tribe of Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba. The only biographical details we possess concern his disputes with his uncle Marthad b. Saʿd, whose wife had tried to seduce him, and his journey to Byzantium with Imru 'l-Ḳays [*q.v.*]. According to Ibn Ḳutayba (*Shiʿr*, 45), he lived in the entourage of Ḥudjr, father of Imru 'l-Ḳays, but according to the *Aghānī* (xvi, 165-6), the two poets met when ʿAmr had already reached an advanced age, and ʿAmr died in Byzantine territory (between 530-540 A.D.), thereby gaining the soubriquet of ʿAmr al-Ḍāʾiʿ. His poems, collected by the philologists of the 2nd/8th century, have often been quoted by critics who appreciate their delicacy and simplicity; they have been edited and translated into English by Ch. Lyall, *The Poems of ʿAmr son of Qamīʾah*, Cambridge 1919.

As he is commonly called Ibn Ḳamīʾa, he must not be confounded with others possessing the same *maʿrifa*, notably ʿAbd Allāh (or Maʿmar) b. Ḳamīʾa, father of Djamīl al-ʿUdhrī [*q.v.*], and the poet Rabīʿa b. Ḳamīʾa al-Ṣaʿbī (see Āmidī, *Mukhtalif*, 168).

Bibliography: Among the sources quoted in the edition of the *dīwān*, the following can be mentioned: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 222-3; *Aghānī*, xvi, 163-6; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ii, 247-50; Cheikho, *Naṣrāniyya*, 293-7. See also: G. Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, Berlin 1899, 76-7; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 71-3; Brockelmann, S I, 58. (Ch. Pellat)

ʿAMR b. KULTHŪM, pre-Islamic *sayyid* and poet; through his mother he was the grandson of the *sayyid* and poet al-Muhalhil [*q.v.*]. While still a youth he became chief of his tribe, the Djusham branch of the Taghlib [*q.v.*] of the Middle Euphrates. What we know of his life is confined to a few traditions (*khabar*); one describes the circumstances of his assassination of the King of al-Ḥīra, ʿAmr b. Hind, about 568 A.D.; another serves as a commentary on some epigrams against another ruler of that town, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir (580-602 A.D.). To his Taghlibite fellow-tribesman at the end of the 1st/8th century, ʿAmr. b. Kulthūm seemed a man weighty in years (he was included among the *muʿammarūn*!) surrounded by an aura of prestige derived from his resistance to the domination of the kings of al-Ḥīra, and from his being an incarnation of the virtues of the *djāhiliyya*. Above all, they proudly attributed to him a poem celebrating their deeds in their conflict with the Bakr. Inserted several generations later in the anthology of the *Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*], this poem, in so far as it is not a pastiche, bears the mark of a later hand; see Ṭ. Ḥusayn. In addition to this poem, there are several fragments attributed to ʿAmr, forming a small *dīwān* edited by Krenkow in *Machr.*, 1922, 591-611. These pieces, all of pre-Islamic inspiration, are notable for their impetuosity of style and simplicity of language.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* (de Goeje), 117-20; *Aghānī*[3], xi, 42-5, 52-60 (reproduced by Cheikho, *Poètes Chrétiens* 197-220 and followed by Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1847, ii, 363-5, 373-84; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam* (Krenkow), 202, Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 100; Nöldeke, *Fünf Moʿallaḳāt*, Vienna 1899, i; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Fi 'l-Adab al-Djāhilī*, Cairo 1345/1927, 236-41. Translations of the *Muʿallaḳa* by Kosegarten 1819, Caussin de Perceval 1847; see Brockelmann, S I, 52. (R. Blachère)

ʿAMR b. al-LAYTH, Persian general, brother and successor of Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth [*q.v.*[, the founder of the Ṣaffārid [*q.v.*] dynasty in Sidjistān. Said to have been a mule-driver in his youth, and later on a mason, he was associated with his brother's campaigns and in 259/873 captured for Yaʿḳūb the Ṭāhirid capital Naysābūr. After Yaʿḳūb's defeat at Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl and subsequent death (Shawwāl 265/June 879), ʿAmr was elected by the army as his successor. He made his submission to the caliph, and was invested with the provinces of the former Ṭāhirid principality in Eastern Persia and Sind, together with Fārs, and the command of the *shurṭa* in Baghdād and Sāmarrā (Ṣafar 266/Oct. 879). He reoccupied Fārs in 268/881-2, but obtained effective control of Khurāsān only in 280/893, after a long struggle with Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī (d. 268/882) and Rāfiʿ b. Harthama. In the interval, he was twice dismissed from the command of the *shurṭa* and formally divested of his provinces (in 271/885, after a severe defeat by the caliph's forces under Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, and again in 276/890), and also lost Fārs in 274/887. Confirmed for the third time as governor of Khurāsān and Sidjistān in 279/893, he finally reestablished his control of the former in 283/896, after a transient reoccupation by Rāfiʿ b. Harthama. Thereafter, at his own request (arising out of his ambition to restore in his own favour the former Ṭāhirid suzerainty over the Sāmānid family in Transoxiana) he was granted the *tawliya* of *Mā warāʾ al-Nahr*, in 285/898. His attempt to enforce his rights of suzerainty was, however, cut short when in Rabīʿ II, 287/April 900 the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] defeated his forces and captured him at Balkh. ʿAmr was sent to Baghdād and after remaining in captivity there for over a year was executed on 8 Djumādā I, 289/20 April 902. For his organization of government and the general significance of his campaigns in the history of Persia, see the art. ṣaffārids.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1930-2208 passim; Masʿūdī, viii, 46, 125, 144, 180, 193, 200 sqq.; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, London 1928, 14-19; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, Teheran 1314, 233-69 and index; Narshakhī, *History of Bukhārā* (trans. R. N. Frye), Cambridge Mass. 1954, index; Ibn Khallikān (Wüstenfeld), no. 838 (Cairo) no. 799; Th. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen* (Berlin 1887, 187-217 (Eng.

trans., *Sketches from Eastern History*, London-Edinburgh 1892, 176-206); W. Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 216-225; ibid., *Zur Geschichte der Saffariden*, *Festschrift Nöldeke* I, Giessen 1906, 177-191; B. Spuler, *Iran in Früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 69-81 and index. (W. BARTHOLD*)

ʿAMR B. LUḤAYY, the legendary founder of polytheism in Arabia and the ancestor of the Khuzāʿa [*q.v.*] at Mecca. The Kaʿba being, according to the Ḳurʾān (iii, 96/0), "the first sanctuary appointed for mankind", it was necessary to believe that polytheism was a later corruption. Neither the Djurhum, Ismāʿīl's relatives, nor the Prophet's tribe, the Ḳuraysh, were likely to be responsible for it. So the blame was laid on ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, the leader of the Khuzāʿa, who was said to have expelled the Djurhum from Mecca. He was said to have "changed the religion of Abraham" by introducing the idols either from Hīt in Mesopotamia or from Maʾāb in the Balḳāʾ and placing them around the Kaʿba. Others maintained that he fetched the five idols of Noah's contemporaries (mentioned in Ḳurʾan, lxxi, 23) from Djidda and distributed them amongst the Arabs over whom by dint of his wealth und liberality he was believed to have an absolute command. He was also accused of setting free certain camels in honour of the idols, a superstition denounced in Ḳurʾān, v, 103/2 as an invention of the unbelievers. He was made responsible for the divination by arrows, for the pagan *talbiya*, in short for everything heathen. It was even told, that the Prophet had seen him in hell and that he closely resembled in appearance to one of Muhammad's followers (showing that appearances are deceiving). The Prophet is also made to decide the dispute about the genealogy of Khuzāʿa by stating that "ʿAmr b. Luḥayy b. Ḳamaʿa b. Khindif is the father of Khuzāʿa" in contradistinction to the prevailing opinion of the genealogists that the Khuzāʿa are of Yamanite origin and that ʿAmr's father Luḥayy was Rabīʿa b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir al-Azdī. These differences and the fact that ʿAmr's name does not occur in any ancient poem, point to the conclusion that even if he be a historical personality, no reliable information about him exists.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 50 f.; Ibn Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, 8 (and Nyberg, *Bemerkungen zum Buch der Götzenbilder*, *Skrifter utg. af Svenska Instit. i Rom*, 1939, 355; Azraḳī (Index); Yaʿḳūbī i, 263, 295; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 276; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 114 f.; iv, 416; Shahrastānī, ii, 430 f.; Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, i, 61 f.; Yāḳūt, index.—Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, § 9; Muslim, *Djanna*, § 50, 51; *Kusūf*, § 3, 9; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, vi, 213; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 72. (J. W. FÜCK)

ʿAMR B. MAʿDĪKARIB B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ZUBAYDĪ, ABŪ THAWR, famous Arab warrior and *mukhaḍram* poet. Born of a noble Yamanite family, he is depicted as a fighter of uncommon strength who, armed with his legendary sword al-Ṣamṣāma, took part in many battles during the *djāhiliyya*. In 10/631, he went to Medina and was converted to Islam, without, however, making any radical change in his way of life; on the death of the Prophet, he apostatised and took part in the rebellion of al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī [*q.v.*]; taken prisoner in the course of the suppression of the *ridda* by Abū Bakr, he was freed by the caliph and fought at the battle of the Yarmūk (15/636) and with distinction at that of al-Ḳādisiyya (probably 16/637). The sources differ regarding the date of his death; some, relying on the legends which grew up about his exceptional longevity, place his death in the caliphate of Muʿāwiya; but it is more likely that he lost his life either at al-Ḳādisiyya or at the battle of Nihāwand (21/641), as stated by the most reliable authorities.

His poetry, devoted to fighting, seems to have been characterised by its brevity and clarity of expression, but only a few examples of it have come down to us.

Bibliography: Verses and appreciation can be found in: Abkaryūs, *Rawḍat al-Adab* 239-43; F. E. Bustānī, *al-Madjānī al-Ḥaditha*, i, Beirut 1946, 309-314; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* (de Goeje), 219-22; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 245; Ibn Hishām, index; Aghānī, index (especially xiv, 25-41); Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 208-9, Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ii, 445; Āmidī, *Mukhtalif*, 156; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 5970; see also: C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura* (= *Scritti*, vi) 48 (Fr. Trans. 76-7); O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 117. (CH. PELLAT)

ʿAMR B. MASʿADA B. SAʿĪD B. ṢŪL, secretary of al-Maʾmūn, was of Turkish origin, and was a relative of Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*]. His father had been secretary of chancellery under al-Manṣūr. He himself served the Barmakides, and was later for many years one of al-Maʾmūn's chief assistants, in charge of the Chancellery and also of various financial posts which seem to have brought him substantial profits, but he never received the title of *wazīr*. He accompanied the Caliph to Damascus and on his expedition into Byzantine territory, and died at Adana in 217/832. He was noted for his epistolary talent, and the Arab authors have preserved several specimens of his work.

Bibliography: Ibn Ṭayfūr, index; Yaʿḳūbī, index, Ṭabarī, index; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, index and D. Sourdel, in *Mélanges Massignon*; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, (Schwally), particularly 473-76; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 352; *Aghānī*, Tables; Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, Cairo 1938, i, 74-5, 105, ii, 25-6, 38-45; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 88-91; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, iii, 145-8, Muḥ. Kurd ʿAlī, in *MMIA*, 1927, 193-218. (D. SOURDEL)

ʿAMR B. SAʿĪD B. AL-ʿĀṢ B. UMAYYA AL-UMAWĪ, known as **AL-ASHDAK,** Umayyad governor and general. Governor of Mecca when Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya came to the throne (60/680), he was the same year appointed governor of Medina. On Yazīd's orders, he sent an army to Mecca to subdue the anti-Caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and entrusted the command to a brother of the latter, ʿAmr; but ʿAmr was taken prisoner and, with his brother's consent, flogged to death by his personal enemies. At the end of the following year, al-Ashdaḳ was dismissed. Later he went with the Caliph Marwān on his Egyptian expedition and, when Musʿab b. al-Zubayr invaded Palestine in an attempt to reconquer Syria during the Caliph's absence, Marwān sent against him al-Ashdaḳ, who forced him to withdraw. At the time of the conference after the death of Yazīd, ʿAmr had been mentioned as a possible eventual successor to Marwān; he was the Caliph's nephew through his mother, and was also related to him on his father's side; since he was also well liked in Syria, he could have become a source of danger; but when Marwān had consolidated his position he enforced the *bayʿa* in favour of his two sons ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. When ʿAbd al-Malik came to the throne, he entertained fears of ʿAmr which were not entirely without foundation; in fact, in 69/689, when the Caliph undertook a campaign against ʿIrāḳ, al-Ashdaḳ took advantage of his absence to assert his

right to the caliphate and to stir up a dangerous revolt at Damascus; ʿAbd al-Malik had to return, and ʿAmr only submitted after receiving a promise safeguarding his life and liberty. The Caliph, however, soon decided to remove this potential threat; he had al-Ashdaḳ brought to the palace where, according to tradition, he was killed by ʿAbd al-Malik himself (70/689-90).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, iv/B, index; Ibn Saʿd, v, 176-7; Yaʿḳūbī. ii, 81 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 1779 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 318 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 198 ff.; 206, 233 ff.; ix, 58, *Aghānī*, index; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 231; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 108, 118; Buhl, *Die Krisis der Umajjadenherrschaft im Jahre* 684, in *ZA*, xxvii, 50-64. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN*)

ʿAMR B. ʿUBAYD B. BĀB, one of the first of the Muʿtazila, with the *kunya*, Abū ʿUthmān. His grandfather Bāb was captured by Muslims at Kābul. He himself was born at Balkh in 80/699 and was a *mawlā* of a branch of Tamīm. His father apparently moved to Baṣra, and ʿAmr seems for a time to have been a member of the school of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, though al-Djāḥiẓ also speaks of him as a pupil of al-Faḍl b. ʿĪsā al-Raḳāshī. He also had some connexion with Yazīd III. He gained a great reputation as an ascetic, and was known at the court of al-Manṣūr, to whom he apparently spoke fearlessly on religious and moral questions, while refusing all reward. For his strength of character al-Manṣūr respected him highly, and on his death composed a eulogy of him in verse. He died in or about 144/761.

There is some obscurity about his precise relationship to Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ and their respective parts in founding the Muʿtazila. The story of how Wāṣil went apart (*iʿtazala*) from the circle of al-Ḥasan is also told of ʿAmr both with al-Ḥasan and with his pupil Ḳatāda; and the early writer Ibn Ḳutayba (d. about 270/884) knows of ʿAmr but not of Wāṣil. Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. 210/825) speaks of his own party as followers of ʿAmr and some opponents as followers of Djahm (*Intiṣār*, 134). ʿAmr's views are usually said to be similar to Wāṣil's, apart from a slight difference in attitude towards the parties at the battle of the Camel; and Wāṣil had married ʿAmr's sister. So there was doubtless some relation between them, but it is possible that ʿAmr did more than Wāṣil, who died thirteen years earlier, to create the later Muʿtazila, especially as Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf was ʿAmr's pupil (*Intiṣār*, 67).

Bibliography: Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), 67; 97 f., 134, 206; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 16, 148, 222 f.; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, 11; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 243, 301; al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, *Munya*, 18, 22-24; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (Cairo, 1345/1926), i, 202, 245; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 15, 98-101, 224, 306; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 17, 33 f.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murudj al-Dhahab*, vi, 208-12, 223; vii, 234-36; Ibn Khallikān, no. 514; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London, 1947, 50, 60-62 with further references. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AMRITSAR, capital of a district in the Pandjāb (India). Pop. (1951). town-325,747, district-1,367,047, of whom 4,585 Muslims. The population of the Muslims in the district declined sharply after Partition. It was founded by the fourth *guru* of the Sikhs [*q.v.*], Rām Dās (1574-81), upon a site granted by the emperor Akbar, where he excavated the holy tank from which the town derives its name (*amrita saras*, «pool of immortality»; initially it was called *guru ka chak* or *chak guru* and Rāmdāspura). The next *guru*, *Ardjun* (1581-1606) completed the *Harmandir* (in English, the «Golden Temple»), the chief worshipping place of the Sikhs. In 1762, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī destroyed the temple and the tank, but it was quickly rebuilt by the Sikhs. With the establishment of independent Sikh power after 1764, the importance of the town increased, and the Sikh rulers, especially Randjīt Singh, endowed the temple heavily. The town passed under British rule in 1849. For about two centuries the town has been important for its entrepôt trade.

Bibliography: Imperial Gazetteer v/319 ff.; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii/487; H. R. Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Pundjab*; Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*; Gurmukh Singh, *A brief History of the Harimanda or Golden Temple of Amritsar* (1894); Ratan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash* (1830, in Gurmukhi). Cf. also *Bibliogr.* under SIKHS. (NURUL HASAN)

ʿAMS [see NUṢAYRĪS].

ĀMŪ DARYĀ, the river Oxus.

Names. The river was known in antiquity as Ὄξος (also Ὦξος, Latin Oxus); length 2494-2540 kms. The present Iranian designation is traceable to the town of Āmul [*q.v.*], later Āmū, where the route from Khurāsān to Transoxania crossed the river as long ago as the early Islamic period. The Greek name is, according to W. Geiger and J. Markwart (*Wehrot*, 3, 89) derived from the Iranian root *wakhsh*, "to increase"; a derivation from the homonymous root meaning "to sprinkle" is also possible. (Cf. the name of the Wakhshāb, a tributary of the Āmū Daryā). In Sāsānian times the river was called Weh-rōdh or Beh-rōdh (Markwart, *Wehrot*, 16, 35). The Arabs and Islamicised Persians for a long time called it, especially in learned works, Djayḥūn (used by Gardīzī in the 11th century as an appellative for a river in general); this name derives from the Biblical Gihon, one of the rivers of Paradise. In Chinese it is known as Kui-shui, Wu-hu or Po-tsu. The region north of the Āmū Daryā is called by the Muslims Mā warāʾ al-Nahr [*q.v.*], "land on the other side of the river", Transoxania.

The upper course of the river. The Āmū Daryā rises from several rapid head-waters. The most southerly of these, the Pandj (rising from the Wakhkhāb—in the Middle Ages Djaryāb, cf. Markwart, *Wehrot*, 52; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 65—and the Pāmir Daryā), has its source in the Pāmir. After following initially a course from East to West, it turns North near Ishkāshim and receives on the right (E.) the Ghūnd and the Aḳ Ṣu [*q.v.*], and flows from there once more westwards. There follow as tributaries on the right bank the Yāzgulām and the Wančāb, and lastly the Kūlāb Daryā. All these rivers as well as those to be named later are fed by several headwaters and tributaries.

The most important and highest tributary of the Pandj on the right bank is the Wakhshāb (also known as Ḳïzïl Ṣu or Surkhāb), which is regarded as the upper course of the Āmū Daryā in the *Ẓafar-nāma* of ʿAlī Yazdī (1424-5, ed. M. Ilāhdād, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 179 ff.). On the other hand the inhabitants of today, as well as the mediaeval geographers, consider the Pandj as the upper course proper; modern geography favours the Aḳ Ṣu.

The area of the source of the Āmū Daryā began to become known from the 19th century onwards (cf. the map in A. Schultz, *Landeskundliche Forschungen im Pamir*, Hamburg 1916, 24-5; details in PĀMIR). The Arabic geographers did not entirely grasp the true state of affairs; moreover, the inter-

pretation of the names of the headwaters given by them is controversial. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 296 (= Ibn Ḥawḳal (Kramers), 475), names five headwaters of the Āmū Daryā; the co-ordination of these names with the designations in use today proposed by W. Barthold, with which, in general, V. Minorsky associates himself, appears the most plausible: (See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 68 ff.; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 208, 360; different identifications were proposed by Marquart *Ērānšahr*, 233 f., and *Wehrot*, 53, and Le Strange, 435). The area of confluence of these streams was known in the 13th century as Ārhan (in the *Ẓafar-nāma* Arhang), in al-Bīrūnī Ḥu(b)sāra. Al-Maḳdisī, 22, counts as sixth headwater the Kawādhiyān river. The Kūkča and the Kunduz river are other left-hand tributaries mentioned by the Arabs (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1590; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 33; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 324, Ibn Rusta, 93; Minorsky *Ḥudūd*, 353 f.). From the right enter the Kāfirnihān (260 kms.; in the Middle Ages Rāmidh, in Ibn Rusta, 93, Zāmil, today the name of one of its headwaters) and the Surkhān (200 kms.; in the Middle Ages and in the 14th century Čaghān Rūdh). It is from the mouth of the Kāfirnihān at Pandjāb (Aywadj of today; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72) that some geographers consider the Oxus proper to begin. The last (right-hand) tributary before the mouth (1175 km. distant) is the Surkhān Daryā, as the Shīrābād and Kālif rivers do not, under normal circumstances reach the Āmū Daryā, and the Zarafshān [*q.v.*] too loses its waters and does not join the Oxus. Similarly numerous rivers on the left-hand side run out in the sand before reaching the Āmū Daryā. The (lower) Murghāb did not in Islamic times reach it; it remains doubtful how far Greek sources, which indicate that this did occur in their time, are correct (Ptolemy, vi, 10 [cf. MURGHĀB]); the Harī Rūdh [*q.v.*], Arius, ran out in the sands of the Ḳara Ḳum (Strabo, xi, 58; Ptolemy, vi, 17, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, ii, 623 f.).

In the upper region of the Āmū Darya lie the districts of Wakhān (on the Pandj), then Badakhshān (on both sides) and Shughnān with Ghārān (Gharān) S. and S.E. of the junction of the Pandj with the upper Murghāb, further N. Darwāz. Between the Āmū Daryā and the Wakhsh lies Ghuttalān. The Wakhsh flows through the Pāmir region (the name Fāmir occurs already in al-Yaʿḳūbī, *al-Buldān*, 290 and al-Dimashḳī) and then touches Žasht (thus correctly in Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 35) and Kumīdh. Between the Wakhsh and Kāfirnihān lay in maedieval times Wāshdjird (the Faydābād of today) and Ḳuwādhiyān (the Ḳabādiyān of today). The Surkhān valley contained the province of Čaghāniyān (Arabic Ṣaghāniyān). On the left bank lay, W. from Badakhshān, the province of Ṭukhāristān (approximately up to Balkh). At this point the Āmū Daryā enters the desert tract between the Ḳara Ḳum of the present day (on the left) and the Ḳizil Ḳum (on the right) where it loses a considerable proportion of its waters through evaporation. It skirts the ancient Sogdia and finally reaches Khʷārizm.

In the 19th and 20th centuries the Amīrates of Bukhāra and Khīwa lay here, while towards the S, since the frontier adjustment of 1886-93, the Amu Darya forms the N. frontier of Afghānistān for 1100 kms. from the Pāmir Daryā past Kalʿa-yi Pandj to Bosaga below Kālif. Since 1924 the Āmū Daryā forms the southern boundary of Tādjikistān and, since the latest revision of provincial frontiers (1936) in the Soviet Union, in its lower course approximately separates Uzbekistān (with Ḳara-ḳalpaḳia which embraces the whole delta) from Turkmenistān.

Historical maps for the mediaeval period in Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 339; Le Strange, maps ix and x; *Atlas Istorii SSSR*, i, Moscow 1949, 6, 12, 26; A. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1935, 24, 32, 49, 60; for later times cf. *Atlas Istorii SSSR*, ii, Moscow 1949, 15, 17 right bottom, 18; Burhān al-Dīn Khān Kushkekī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, transl. from Persian into Russian by A. A. Semenov, Tashkent 1926; A. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, 66 (distribution of nationalities); *Westermanns Atlas zur Weltgeschichte*, iii, Brunswick 1953, 134, 135.

The following were places of particular importance on the Āmū Daryā in the Middle Ages: Tirmidh, Kālif, Zamm (Karkhī; left), opposite to which lies Akhshīkath, Āmul (Čārdjūy; left), opposite to which is Firabr, finally various towns of Khʷārizm. [Cf. the articles].

The water of the Āmū Daryā rises in its middle course, which is 3570-5700 ms. broad and 1, 5-8 ms. deep, in April-May, and becomes low again in July. It frequently floods the areas on its banks, particularly to the right, hence from time to time a more luxuriant growth of bushes and vegetation is produced there. The river is in this neighbourhood not directly tapped for irrigation; nevertheless there ran along its left bank in the Middle Ages a strip used for agricultural purposes; from the 14th century on it apparently began to turn into a steppe (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 81 f.).

The lower course and its changes. From the middle course onwards, somewhat beyond Kālif, the course of the Āmū Daryā shifted in various directions in prehistoric or even in historical times. According to Ptolemy the course of the Āmū Daryā in the area between Kālif and Zamm (Karkhī) turned in approximately a W. direction (as opposed to the NW direction of the present day) and ran into the region of the Ḳara Ḳum desert. Al-Bīrūnī too assumed such a course for the river in a previous epoch (cf. A. Z. V. Togan, *Biruni's Picture*). In actual fact it is possible to trace a former bed which branches off at Karkhī, goes between Repetek and Üč Hādjdjī and finds its continuation in the (former) Unguz river bed. Between 1928 and 1940 for instance the Āmū Daryā showed a tendency to flow S. in this vicinity, so that from the geological point of view a similar course is not out of the question. The theory of a bed in Unguz (in spite of the molluscs which al-Bīrūnī reports having found there) requires further geological research before further conclusions can be drawn from the extremely uncertain reports of the old geographers. Al-Bīrūnī's account is that the Āmū Daryā/Unguz flowed into a great desert lake but did not reach the Caspian. On the other hand Strabo (xi, 50) reports a discharge into the Caspian Sea. The culture of Khʷārizm, however, which has ten centuries' history behind it, and which would have been impossible without irrigation from the Āmū Daryā, is a sure indication that in that time the Unguz cannot have been the sole lower course of the Āmū Daryā.

Al-Bīrūnī supposes that as a result of obstructions of the riverbed, the Āmū Daryā later, instead of flowing into the Unguz, squeezed through the narrow river-gorge (360 m.) between the Düldül Atlaghān and the Tüye Moyun (at the present day Pitnyak, 384 kms. from its mouth); it is called Dahān-i Shīr = Fam al-Asad, "lion's mouth"). But geological research here too indicates that this break-through must have come about already in prehistoric times. Below this pass there branch off the large side canals which render possible the oasis culture of Khʷārizm.

The Arabic geographers of the 10th century give Ṭāhiriyya, S. of the river-gorge, as the southern limit of this area of irrigation. In the 11th century Dar<u>gh</u>ān, further NW (N. of the gorge) was generally regarded as the limit (Bayhaḳī, ed. Morley, 859). The S. boundary of the <u>Kh</u>ānate of <u>Kh</u>īwa was first fixed further S. (S. of Pitnyak) after the Russian conquest of 1873.

Opposite the present-day Sadwar (three *farsa<u>kh</u>s* on the other side of the gorge) there branch off to the right the Gaw<u>kh</u>ᵂāra, and after five more *farsa<u>kh</u>s* the Kirya canal. They extended, respectively, N. to the Sulṭān Uways Da<u>gh</u>ī chain and E. from it to the same latitude and formed the basis of the rich cultural development during and preceding the Islamic era on the lower right bank of the Āmū Daryā N. of the present-day Dörtkül (Turtkul), the capital of the province of Ḳaraḳalpaḳia. (Cf. Tolstov, in *Bibl.*, and <u>KH</u>ᵂĀRIZM).

Further NW and N. the main bed of the Āmū Daryā has repeatedly shifted in historical times and does so even at the present day. The question has been thoroughly debated whether the Āmū Daryā had in earlier times a different lower course. De Goeje quoted historical sources to the effect that this river has always in historical times emptied itself—albeit in separate main branches—into the Aral Sea. W. Barthold opposed this view and supposed that the Mongols by piercing a main dam with the object of conquering the town of (Old) Urgan<u>dj</u> [*q.v.*] in 1221, diverted the river towards the W., so that it flowed into the depression and the sea and marsh tracts of the Sarī Ḳamī<u>sh</u> and finally into the Caspian along the eastern edge of the Čiñ (Čink) ridge and further through the Özboy (Russian Uzboy) until the end of the 16th century. Barthold quotes in support of his thesis statements by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (213 transl., 206; 117, transl. 170), Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (see W. Barthold, *Aral*, 48 f.), and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿa<u>sh</u>ī. The latter (ed. B. Dorn, *Mohammed. Sources etc.*, i, St. Petersburg 1850, 436, transl. 436) speaks of a fleet which travelled up on the <u>Dj</u>ayḥūn from the mouth of the Özboy in the Caspian. <u>Kh</u>ᵂāndamīr (iii, 244-6) reports that the sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara travelled from A<u>gh</u>riča (the Bal<u>kh</u>ān mountains) to A<u>dh</u>aḳ (now Aḳ Ḳalʿa) and crossed the Āmū Daryā "after seven days". But most of this evidence is subject to doubt, and <u>Kh</u>ᵂāndamīr himself in his geographical appendix definitely makes the Āmū Darya flow into the Aral Sea. Everything considered, the evidence adduced by de Goeje seems to have more weight than that relied on by Barthold.

Barthold's views, however, found widespread support among historians and Le Strange, A. Herrmann and A. Zeki Velidī Togan (*Biruni's Picture*; recapitulated in *IA*, i, 423-6) contended that the Āmū Daryā flew into the Caspian even at an earlier period.

Barthold, and following him Togan, viewed the 16th century as the time of the shifting back of the mouth of the Āmū Daryā to the Aral Sea. Both refer in this connection to the reports of the English traveller Anthony Jenkinson in 1558 (in R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations etc.*, i, London 1927, 449) and of the Ottoman traveller Sayfī in 990/1582 (Barthold, *Aral*, 71; idem, *Oroshenie*, 93) as well as to Abu 'l-<u>Gh</u>āzī (b. 1603), who dates a shifting of the Āmū Daryā 30 years before his birth (thus ca. 1573). The <u>Kh</u>ᵂārizmian writer Āgihī and the chronicle of <u>Kh</u>īwa by Muʾnis (19th century) place this event in the year 1578 (Barthold, *Aral*, 69-74). Thus the discharge of the Āmū Daryā into the Aral Sea is unequivocally established for the period following the 16th century.

Although the question of the course of the lower Āmū Daryā seemed to be settled to the satisfaction of the historians by the theory that the Özboy up till the 16th century formed the lower bed of the river (cf. A. Herrmann, *Gibt es noch ein Oxus-Problem?*, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1930, 286 ff.), yet geographers and geologists have always rejected this view (see A. S. Keś, I. P. Gerasimov and K. K. Markov, and S. P. Tolstov, in *Bibliogr.*). At the present state of geological research, it appears that a temporary diversion of the Āmū Daryā into the Sarī Ḳami<u>sh</u> has been established; on the other hand, the Özboy was clearly not the river-bed of the Āmū Daryā on its way to the Caspian in historical times.

Shifting of the channels of the Āmū Daryā in the delta proper is not a matter of doubt either in historical times or at present. The early Islamic capital of <u>Kh</u>ᵂārizm, Kā<u>th</u> [*q.v.*] gradually decayed owing to shifting of the bed of the river. The interpretation of the reports of the 10th century geographers is, however, uncertain. They speak of a series of lakes (<u>Kh</u>alī<u>dj</u>ān); according to Ibn Rusta, 92, these were on the edge of the Siyāh Kūh (Čin), but according to al-Iṣṭa<u>kh</u>rī, 303, and Ibn Ḥawḳal (Kramers), 480, on the Aral Sea; al-Maḳdisī, 288, 343 f., gives no details. (Cf. also Barthold, *Turkestan*, 152; idem, *Oroshenie*, 84; idem, *Aral*, 22). The town of (Old) Urgan<u>dj</u> lay after the Mongol conquest "on the right bank of the river" (i.e. the Daryālik). The breaking off of the connection to the Sarī Ḳami<u>sh</u> in the 16th century may be accepted as a fact: possibly the resumed intensive irrigation took away the necessary water. At all events (Old) Urgan<u>dj</u> lost its water-supply and was replaced by the towns of Wazīr (since ca. 1450, ruined in the 17th century, ruins near the present day fortress of Dēw Ḳalʿa) and (New) Urgan<u>dj</u>. Finally the emergence of <u>Kh</u>īwa as capital of the province is to be attributed to these shiftings. The delta "island" (Aral) now took on importance. From here a new system of canals going to the left was constructed in the 19th century, and (Old) Urgan<u>dj</u> was once again enabled to regain some kind of existence.

For the settlement and the population in the area of the mouth of the Āmū Daryā, cf. <u>KH</u>ᵂĀRIZM, <u>KH</u>ĪWA, ALĀN, PEČENEG, O<u>GH</u>UZ, TURKMEN, UZBEK, ḲARAḲALPAḲ, SART.

In the delta and in the lower reaches of the Āmū Daryā occurs a covering of ice, which on the average holds from the end of December to the end of March, and which caused astonishment to the Arab geographers and travellers (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 450 f., iii, 1 f.). It nearly cost Yāḳūt his life in 1219 during his flight from the Mongols. In particularly severe winters it is up to 12 in. thick. The upper reaches also frequently freeze over in the mountainous regions.

In recent times there have been various projects for the diversion of the Āmū Daryā into the Caspian. In 1716 Peter the Great commissioned Prince Alexander Bekovič-Čerkasskiy (actually Dewlet Kizden Mīrzā, cf. Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsikl. Slovar*, iii, 356 f.; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsikl.*², iv, 406, with references) to investigate the possibilities of establishing a waterway almost right up to the frontiers of India. In 1873 the project was once more explored and pronounced basically feasible. It appeared that the way from Čar<u>dj</u>ūy through

the Unguz was the most suitable, since it would thus not be necessary to await the protracted fulling up of the Sarî Ḳamîsh depression (cf. A. I. Glučovskiy, *Propusk vod r. Amu-Dar'i po staromu yeya ruslu v Kaspiyskoe More*, St. Petersburg 1893). After an extensive flood in 1952 the Soviet Government is said to have tackled anew in 1953 the project for a diversion of the powerful and incalculable Āmū Daryā through a part of the Özboy. It is planned to have power-stations at Tashiz and Ṭash, on the old course of the river. The main portion of the water however would be led off by a canal 1100 kms. long into the lower Özboy, and would fall into the Caspian at Kîzîl Suw (Krasnovodsk). Two barrages with large lakes are to produce further electricity and in addition ensure the irrigation of 1.3 million hectares of land for cottongrowing. In order to provide for the settlements thus brought into being two fresh-water canals are to be constructed. It is impossible to ascertain how far this project has actually been put into effect, or when if ever its completion is to be expected.

Bibliography: General: For the pre-Islamic period cf. A. Herrmann, in Pauly-Wissowa, xviii/2 (1942), 2006-7. W. Barthold, in *EI*[1], s.v.; A. Zeki Velidî Togan, in *IA*, s.v. (the information given by these two scholars has been used in the text); *Entsiklop. Slovar'* of Brockhaus-Efron, i (1890), 676 f., xxxiv (1902), 610, 742 (Uzboy, Unguz); *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*[2], ii (1950), 304-6 (with a map of the river area).—Geographical: F. Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch-Turkestan*, Stuttgart 1922; *Trudy karakumskoy ekspeditsii*, Leningrad 1934, iv; W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, 110 f.; Th. Shabad, *Geography of the USSR*, New York 1951, 364-408 (cf. index),—Geographical-geological examination of the river-bed, etc.: *Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Ob.-va po obshčey geogr.*, iv (R. E. Lenz), ix, xvii (A. V. von Kaulbars), xiv (Zubov), xx (V. A. Obruchev, *Zakaspiyskaya nizmennost'*), xxxiii (A. Konshin, *Raz'yasnenie voprosa o drevnem tečenii Amu-Dar'i*); *Trudy Amu-Dar'inskoy ekspeditsii*, ii-iv, St. Petersburg 1877-81; A. I. Tkhorževskiy, *Amu-Dar'ya meždu g. Kerki i Aral'skim Morem*, St. Petersburg 1916; L. A. Molčanov, *Proiskhoždenie presnovodnykh ozer Uzboya*, *Izv. Gos. Gidrolog. Instituta*, 1929, 43-57; A. S. Keś, *Ruslo Uzboy i ego genezis*, *Trudy instituta geografii Ak. Nauk SSSR*, 1939; I. P. Gerasimov and K. K. Markov, *Četvertičnava geologiya*, Moscow 1939; iidem, *Lednikovyy period na territorii SSSR*, Moscow-Leningrad 1939.—General historical geography: W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen 1882 (especially 10-30); W. Barthold, *Turkestan* (especially 64-82, 142-55); idem, *Istoriya Orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901; *Ḥudūd al-ʿAlam*, index (also maps); A. Z. V. Togan, *Bīrūnīs Picture of the World*, New Delhi 1940; S. P. Tolstov, *Drevniy Khoresm*, Moscow 1948; idem, *Po sledam drevnekhorezmiyskoy tsivilizatsii*, Moscow-Leningrad 1948 (German transl. by O. Mehlitz, *Auf den Spuren der alt-chorezmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953)—cf. for the last two works S. P. Tolstow, *Die Arbeitsergebnisse der sowjetischen Expedition zur Erforschung des alten Choresm*, *Sowjetwissenschaft*, Geisteswiss. Abt., 1950, 105-30 and B. Spuler, *Chwārizms (Chorasmiens) Kultur nach S. P. Tolstovs Forschungen*, *Historia*, 1950, 601-15; S. P. Tolstow, *Die archäol. Forschungen der Choresm-Expedition vom Jahre 1952*, *Sowjetwissenschaft*, Geisteswiss. Abt., 1954, 267-80.—The upper course of the Oxus: J. Wood, *A journey to the source of the River Oxus*[2], London 1872 (with historical geographical introduction by H. Yule); J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938 (especially 52 ff.; cf. also index).—The Oxus-Özboy problem: M. J. de Goeje, *Das alte Bett des Oxus*, Leiden 1875; Barthold, *Svěděniya ob aral'skom more i nizovyakh Amudar'i*, Tashkent 1902 (in German: *Nachrichten über den Aralsee und den unteren Lauf des Amudarja*, Leipzig 1910); V. Lokhtin, *Rěka Amu-Dar'ya i eya drevnee soyedinenie s Kaspiyskim Morem*, St. Petersburg 1879; Le Strange, 433-45, 455-58 and index; D. D. Bukinič, *Starye rusla Oksa i amu-dar'inskaya problema*, Moscow 1906; A. Herrmann, *Alte Geographie des unteren Oxusgebietes* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.F. xv/4), Berlin 1914; F. Koláček, *Etait l'Ouzboï pendant les temps historiques un ancien lit de l'Amou-Daria?*, *Spisy vydávané přírodovědeskou fakultetou Masarykovy University*, 1927 (with map); W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1938, 491-3.

(B. Spuler, shortened by the Editors).

ʿAMŪD (Ar.) (tent pole, hence a monolithic column and capital; less commonly, a constructed pillar).

The use of the column and the capital in Muslim art, and in particular in religious architecture, is connected with the adoption by the builders of mosques of the oratory with multiple aisles and of the court surrounded by galleries. The column, like this type of oratory and peristyle, appears to be a Hellenistic legacy, especially since in Syria, Egypt, Ifrīḳiya and Spain the columns of the early mosques are constructed of used materials. However, after a period of more or less faithful imitation of earlier models, types which are characteristically Muslim emerge, with a more simple outline. The shaft of the column is no longer slightly convex, and its diameter is equal throughout its length, the plan being circular or polygonal. The capital assumes various forms which can be classified in two main groups, both perhaps derived from the Corinthian capital, but each possessing a distinctly localized development and descent.

The first group consists of capitals whose campanula or lyre-shaped outline (Herzfeld) has perhaps been contaminated by the lotus-bud capital of ancient Egypt. This capital appears in the 3rd/9th century in the ʿAbbāsid monuments of Sāmarrā and Raḳḳa (*A*). It passes, with many other elements, into the Ṭūlūnid architecture at Cairo (end of 3rd/9th century) (*B*), and is preserved in Egypt under the Burdjī (*C*) and Circassian (*D*) Mamlūks. The base has a similar, though inversed, outline. This bell-shaped capital is also found in Persia, whose brick and tile architecture admits of few real columns. It crowns the small imitation columns of the faience *miḥrābs* (*E*).

The general outline of the second group of capitals is rather that of the Corinthian corbel; it appears as a simplified form of the latter, by eliminating the vigorous reliefs of the Corinthian and its local variants, and predominates in western Islam. In the 3rd/9th century, al-Ḳayrawān possessed small capitals related to Coptic models, with four smooth leaves joined at the bottom and curving inwards at the point like a hook (*F*). From them derived, in

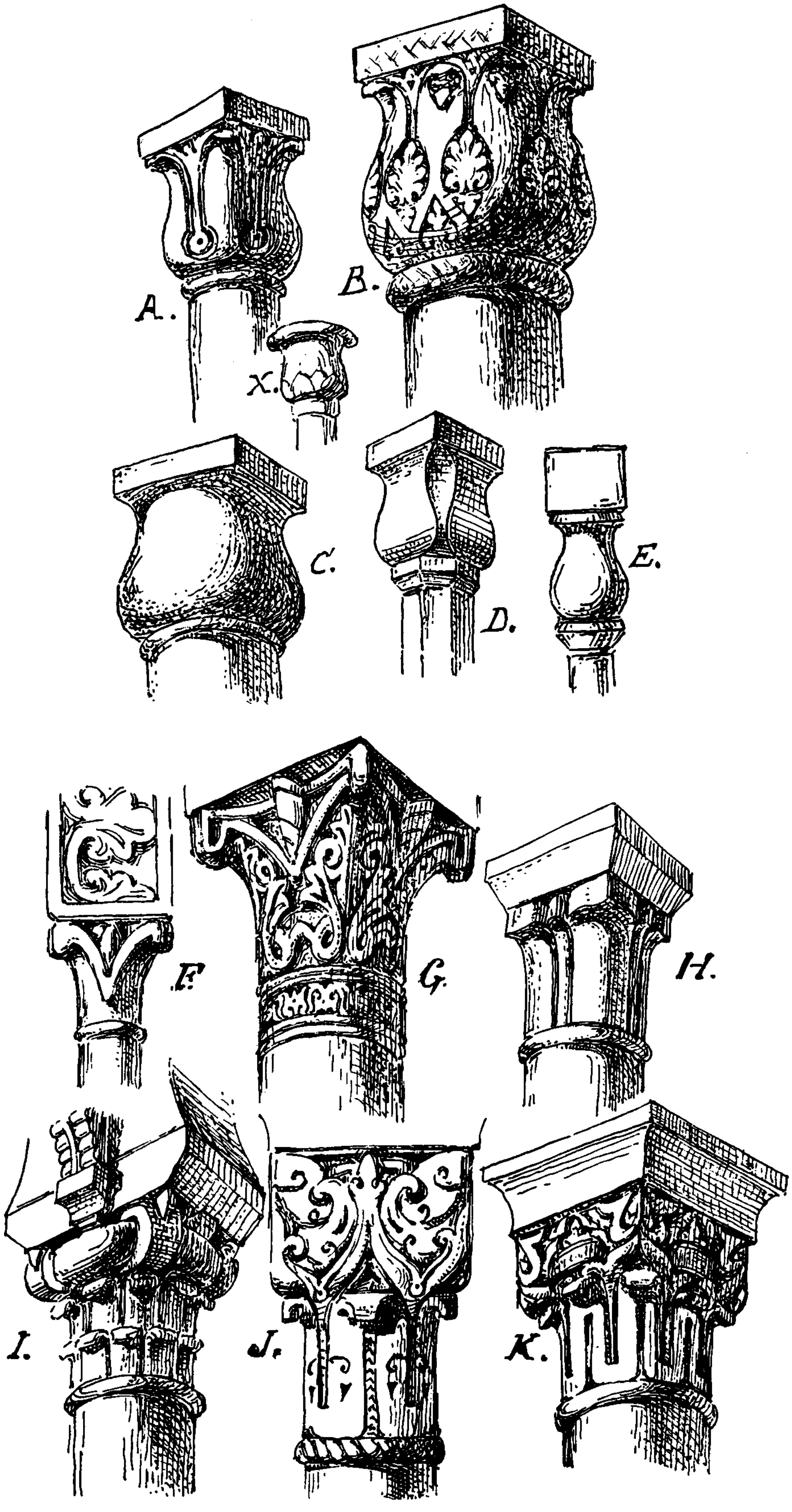
A.
B.
X.
C.
D.
E.
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G.
H.
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K.

the same region, the Fāṭimid capitals of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, with a limb of flowing floral designs surmounting shafts decorated with whorls or inscriptions in scroll form (*G*), and, from the 7th/13th century onwards, the Tunisian capitals (*H*). About the same period, the monuments of the Umayyads of Spain were ornamented with capitals copied from the two classical models: Corinthian and Composite (*I*), rounded off, as in the Great Mosque at Cordova, or scored with deep grooves as at Madīnat al-Zahrā (2nd half of the 4th/10th century). These were the prototypes of the many beautiful variants offered by the Aljaferia of Saragossa (5th/11th century) and the Almohad mosques of Tīnmāl (*J*) and Marrākush (6th/12th century). In the 7th/13th century there emerged the Hispano-Morisco capital with a cylindrical lower portion and a paralleliped upper portion (*K*), which is recognizably a development from the Corinthian corbel which is both logical and in harmony with the Islamic plastic ideal. Various types can be found in the mosques and *madrasas* of North Africa and in the Alhambra at Granada. The latter has also some capitals in the shape of stalactites, probably an imitation of Persian originals. (G. Marçais)

ĀMUL, name of two towns: (1) A town in the south-west corner of the east Māzandarān plain; it stands on the west bank of the Harhāz river, 12 miles south of the Caspian Sea, in the district which, according to the Classical writers, was the home of the Μάρδοι (ʼΑμάρδοι) (Āmul may be the Modern Persian form of the (hypothetical) Old Persian Amardha). Ibn Isfandiyār (*Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, Teheran 1941, 62 f.) states that Āmul was founded by Āmula, daugther of a Daylamite chieftain and wife of King Fīrūz of Balkh, while Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 159) maintains that King Ṭahmūrath was the founder, but these are mere legends. In the Sāsānid era, the district of Āmul, together with Gēlān (the modern Gīlān), formed a Nestorian episcopal see (*ZDMG*, xliii, 407); the town is also entioned several times in the *Shāh-nāma*. In Muslim times Āmul became an important industrial and trading centre. The great historian al-Ṭabarī and the famous jurist Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī were born there. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (134, 135) described Āmul as a great town and the capital of Ṭabaristān. It was then very prosperous, and many merchants and scholars resided there. It had a number of industries, and the surrounding disctrict produced large quantities of fruit of various kinds. Writing at much the same time, Ibn Ḥawḳal stated that Āmul was larger than Ḳazwīn.

Āmul was sacked by Masʿūd, the son of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, in 426/1035-36, and again by Tīmūr some 350 years later. Sir Thomas Herbert, who visited Āmul in 1628, described it as being "fruitfull and blessed", and as having "three thousand houses and those not builded in the meanest fashion" (*A Relation of a Journey begun in* 1610, London 1632, 106-7). Āmul has been devastated by earthquakes and floods several times; despite these disasters, it is still a considerable town (modern Āmul, however, stands a little to the east of the old town, the site of which is marked by extensive ruins).

Its houses of burnt brick, with their red-tiled roofs, give Āmul a picturesque apperance. It is connected with its suburb on the east bank of the Harhāz by a fine twelve-arched bridge. It is linked by roads with the small port of Maḥmūdābād on the Caspian, with Bārbul (Barfurūsh) to the East, and with Čālūs and Rasht to the west. In 1941 Āmul had a population of 14,166 (but the number of inhabitants undergoes seasonal variations, as many retire to the mountains in summer to escape from the heat and the mosquitoes).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 68; Le Strange, 370; Sir W. Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East*, London 1819, 296-316; B. Dorn, *Auszüge aus muhammed. Schriftstellern betreffend die Gesch. und Geogr. der südl. Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*, St. Petersburg 1858, 382; F. Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig 1871, i, 70; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 235, 237; Pauly-Wissowa, s.vv. Amardoi and Amarusa; H. L. Rabino, *Mazandaran and Astarabad*, London 1928, 33-40. (L. Lockhart)

(2) A town situated at 39° 5′ N. Lat. and 63° 41′ east of Greenwich, 3 miles from the left bank of the Oxus (Āmū Daryā). In the Arabic Middle Ages, Āmul belonged to the large province of Khurāsān; it is now (under the name of Čārdjū or Čardjūy) in the Turkmen S. S. R. Although surrounded on all sides by desert, Āmul was once of great importance for the caravan trade, as the meeting place of the roads connecting Khurāsān with Transoxiana and Khīwa. The Sāmānid Ismāʿīl routed the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. Bashīr and his army near Āmul in 287/900. The town is frequently mentioned in the sources dealing with the Mongol invasion and Tīmūr's campaigns. The name Āmul (like that of Āmul no. 1) may be connected with the Μάρδοι (Αμάρδοι), more especially with an eastern branch (cf. Pliny, vi, 47). In order to distinguish the town from Āmul no. 1, definitions were sometimes added to the name, as Yāḳūt points out, and it was called either Āmul Zamm (cf. *e.g.* al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 410 and 420), *i.e.* the Āmul near Zamm (the modern Kerki, 125 miles to the south-east), or Āmul Djayḥūn, *i.e.* the Āmul on the Djayḥūn (Oxus), or Āmul al-Shaṭṭ, *i.e.* the Āmul on the river. Yet another name of the town, which occurs already in the Middle Ages, is Āmūya (cp. especially al-Balādhurī, 410; Yāḳūt, i, 365) or Āmū (Yāḳūt, i, 70); this last is perhaps merely a dialectical form of Āmul, from which the later medieval name of the Oxus, Āmū Daryā ('river of Āmu') may have been derived (thus Barthold, cf. āmū daryā); it seems more likely, however, that Āmūya may be derived from Āmū, an ancient local name of the Oxus. The modern name, Čārdjūy, "the four streams", refers to the important ford over the Oxus near by. Čārdjūy is now connected by rail with Marw and Krasnovodsk to the west, and with Bukhārā, Samarḳand and Tashkent to the north-east; the railway crosses the Oxus by a long bridge go the north-east of the town.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 69, 70, 365; Le Strange, 403 f., 434; Marquart, *Ērānšahr n. d. Geogr. d. Pseudo Moses-Xorenacʿi*, Berlin 1901, 136, 311; id. *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. von Eran*, Leipzig 1895, ii, 57. (M. Streck*)

The town appears to have received its present name of Čārdjūy in the time of the Tīmūrids; in his account of the events of 903/1477-8, Bābur (*Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, f. 58) mentions the passage of the river at Čārdjū (*Čārdjū güzari*). In 910/1504 the fortress of Čārdjū (in Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Shaybānī-nāma* (Melioranski), 197: *Čārdjū ḳalʿasi*, in Banāʾī's Persian *Shaybānī-nāma*, quoted by Samoilovič, *Zap. Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshc.*, xix, 173: *Ḳalʿa-yi Čahār-djūy*) had to surrender to the Uzbegs.

During the period of Uzbeg domination, as in the Middle Ages, the most important passage of the

Oxus was at Čārdjūy; boats were always kept in readiness for this purpose; bridges of boats were occasionally built for the passage of large armies, as, for example, for Nādir Shāh's army in 1153/1740. Čārdjūy, is, however as far as is known, nowhere mentioned in any authority as a large town in this period, still less as the residence of a prince or governor of importance. (Cf. Burnes, *Travels*, iii, 7 ff. [visited the town in 1832]; more reliable than J. Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara*, 1844, 162 ff.; Mushketow, *Turkestan*, St. Petersburg 1886, 606 ff. [visit of 1879]).

In 1884, the Turkmens of Marw had to submit to the Russians; the old caravan route was replaced by a railway which reached the Āmū Daryā in 1886. The importance of Čārdjūy, as a result, rapidly increased; the town, which was the residence of a *beg* of Bukhara, had before the Revolution about 15,000 inhabitants.

10 miles from Old Čārdjūy near the Āmū Daryā railway station, on ground ceded by the *amīr* of Bukhārā to the Russian Government, a new town arose which was the seat of a Russian military commandant and which had a population in 1914 of 4-5,000. In 1901 a railway bridge was built across the Āmū Daryā thus ensuring railway communication between Čārdjūy-Bukhārā and Tāshkent.

Under the Soviet regime new Čārdjūy has become an important administrative and, since 1924 industrial centre. In 1926, its population increased to 13,959, of whom 8,069 were Russians, 846 Armenians, 525 Uzbeks and only 458 Turkmens; in 1933 it rose to 54,500, the Turkmens always forming a small minority. In 1955 it was the second town of the Soviet Republic of Turkmenistān, and for a time (before 1930) there was a proposal to make it the capital of the Republic. Since 21 Nov. 1939 New Čārdjūy has been the chief town of the *oblast'* of the same name. It is a modern town designed on a rectilinear plan, and the town-planning scheme visualises an eventual population of about 200,000. It is the home of numerous industries, and an important centre of communications—rail (Krasnovodsk-Tāshkent and Čārdjūy-Kungrat lines); road (the Čārdjūy-Khīwa motor road); and river, the Āmū Daryā being navigable from Termez (Tirmidh) to the Aral Sea.

Old Čārdjūy (now Kaganovičesk) is now a small workers' town situated 5 miles from the outskirts of Čārdjūy, and has retained its character as an ancient indigenous town. In 1931 its population was only 2,042, mainly Turkmens of the Salor tribe, and Uzbeks.

The district (*oblast'*) of Čārdjūy, created on 21 Nov. 1939, has a total area of 36,000 sq.m. and is situated in Eastern Turkmenistān. The oasis of Čārdjūy, which stretches between the Āmū Daryā and the Ḳara Ḳum desert, forms the centre of this disctrict; it is a rich agricultural area (cultivation of silk, horticulture, cotton plantations, vine-growing, breeding of *ḳaraḳul* sheep). (A. Bennigsen)

AMULETS [see ḤAMĀʾIL].

ʿAMŪR (Djabal), a mountain massif in southern Algeria. The mountains of the ʿAmūr, named after a section of the people who live there form part of the Saharan Atlas of Algeria, together with the mountains of the Ḳṣūr and the Ouled Nail which form a continuation to the S-W and N-E. Nearly all over 3,900 ft., they rise slightly above the high steppes of Oran (3,275-3,900 ft.), and drop sharply down to the Saharan foothills (2,975-3,275 ft.). Between the ranges, which run S-W to N-E, stretch large synclinal watercourses with flat beds, with the occasional contrast of deep valleys which form scarped plateaus such as that of El-Gāʿda. The altitude gives the region cold winters, temperate summers and a relatively heavy rainfall. Thus the mountains of the ʿAmūr, are still covered with forests, especially in the north-western ranges (4920-5575 ft.) and on El-Gāʿda (3935-4590 ft.) : these forests are mainly of juniper. Mediterranean flora mingles with that of the steppe, such as alfa, which prevails on the southern slopes.

Inhabited from very early times, as is witnessed by the rock carvings and graves scattered over the massif, the Djabal ʿAmūr was for long ignored by the historians. The earliest inhabitants mentioned are the Rashīd Berbers who have given their name to the massif. They were to some extent superseded, in the course of the 8th/14th century, by the Arabicised nomads of the Sahara, the ʿAmūr, perhaps partly of Hilālian origin, who settled in this mountain massif. and the name Djabal ʿAmūr was substituted for that of Djabal Rashīd.

Numerous traces of villages (*ḳṣūr*) point to the early existence of agricultural life on a wider scale than to-day. The Djabal ʿAmūr is primarily a pastoral mountain region; flocks of sheep and goats move from the north to the south of the massif and along its fringes, and the inhabitants live in tents often carried on the back of oxen. The ʿAmūr make excellent knotted carpets. Aflou, the administrative and economic centre, has developed at the expense of the four surviving *ḳṣūr*.

Bibliography: Derrien, *Le Djebel Amour* (*Bull. de la Soc. de geog. d'Oran*, 1895); Cauvet, *Le Djebel Amour* (*Bull. de la Soc. de géog. d'Alger*, 1935); L. Golvin, *Les Tapis algériens*, Algiers 1953; J. Despois, *Pasteurs et villageois du Djebel Amour* (in preparation). (G. Yver-[J. Despois])

ʿAMWĀS or ʿAmawās, the ancient Emmaus, still marked by a large village, was situated in the plain of Judæa at the foot of the mountains, some 19 miles from Jerusalem, and commanding one of the principal approach routes to the latter. The site of a victory won by Judas Maccabaeus in 166 B.C., it was fortified by the Seleucid general in 160 B.C. and became under Caesar the chief tow of a toparchy, only to decline to the size of a small market-town after being burnt by Varus in 4 B.C. Its strategic importance, however, led to its being selected by Vespasian as the site of a fortified camp, and it had again grown to the size of a small city when it obtained from Elagabalus in 221 A.D. the title of Nicopolis, its Christian colony embellished it with a basilica which, as excavations have discovered, was rebuilt successively by the Byzantines and the Crusaders.

The conquest of the area by the Arabs, which according to the sources occurred in 13/634 after the victory of Adjnādayn, or in 17/638 after that of the Yarmūḳ, marked its final decline; it was chiefly known as the source of the notorious "ʿAmwās plague" which left its tragic record in contemporary annals and which claimed 25,000 victims including the famous chiefs Abū ʿUbayda, Muʿādh b. Djabal and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. Its position as administrative capital was taken over by Ludd, and then by Ramla, founded in Umayyad times; the Arab geographers confined themselves to mentioning the small town, which played no part even during the period of the Crusades, when it experienced the same fortunes as Jerusalem down to the temporary

retrocession to the Franks under the treaty of Jaffa between al-Malik al-Kāmil and Frederick II.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, i, 172; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 138; Ṭabarī, I, 2516-20; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 388-9; Maḳdisī, 176; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam* (Wüstenfeld), ii, 669; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, Damascus 1953, 34; Yāḳūt, iii, 729; Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 209, *Annali*, iii, A.H. 13, 206, 17, 141; iv, A.H. 18, 4 and 47; G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 393; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 150-1; Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, Paris 1932; F. M. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, Paris 1952, i, 136-9, 167, 411-13; ii, 6, 187-9, 393-406; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1934-6, iii, 308. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

ĀNA [see sikka].

ʿĀNA—in the Middle Ages also ʿĀnāt, and in Turkish official usage ʿAna—is a town of modern ʿIrāḳ situated on the Euphrates right bank (41° 58′ E, 34° 28′ N.), some 245 kilometers southeast of Dayr al-Zūr and 148 north-west of Hīt. The river, not here navigable by steamers (in spite of attempts a century ago), is used by *shakhtūrs* (wooden rafts), downstream only; and the traditional caravan-road from central ʿIrāḳ to northen Syria, passing through ʿĀna—a main element in its early importance—is little used since the appearance of trans-desert motor traffic. The town is flanked to the west by the tribal area of the ʿAniza sections in the Syrian desert, and to the east by the Shammar Djarbaʿ in the Djazīra, while the river banks are the area of the settled cultivating and sheep-breeding Dulaym. It is, under the ʿIrāḳ Government, the headquarters of a *ḳaḍā* in the *liwā* of Dulaym (headquarters, Ramādī), and contains the additional *nāḥiyas* of al-Ḳāʾim, Djubba, and Ḥadītha. The townspeople, practically all Sunnī Arabs—with small Jewish communities till 1369-70/1949-50—were for centuries at bitter enmity with those of Rāwa, immediately across the river: the feud was composed in 1340/1921.

ʿĀna, utilising the thin strip of land between the river and the line of low cliffs to the west, has the singular form of great length—some 7 miles—and extreme narrowness. The buildings lie within a dense date-belt, irrigated by water wheels (*nāʿūr*, pl. *nawāʿir*): there is also cultivation, and dwellings, on the mid-stream islands in the river. The town is reckoned as healthy and picturesque.

The women of ʿĀna are famed for their beauty, and for their weaving of cotton-cloth and woollen mats and cloaks: the men, whom lack of space for expansion forces largely to emigrate, are known for their skill as Euphrates boatmen, and in earlier days for their monopoly of water-carrying in Baghdād. The educational standard, with eight schools in 1946, is relatively high.

The modern ʿĀna is the heir of a history disappearing into remote antiquity. Its name, recorded in cuneiform inscriptions as Anat or Khanat, was identical with the Greek Anatho (Ἀνάθω) (see Pauly-Wissowa, i, 2069, Suppl. i, 77; M. Streck, in ZA, xix, 25; idem, in *Klio*, vi, 197; *ZDMG*, lxi, 701) and occupation (probably with minor variations of site) has apparently been continuous, as a centre of cultivation, trading-post, and at times military headquarters; the islands, and sites on high ground west of the town, have at various periods been fortified as strong points or places of refuge. In ʿAbbāsid times ʿĀna belonged to Djazīra province, lying close to the frontier of al-ʿIrāḳ; it was known to travellers as a prosperous town with extensive date and fruit gardens and a reputation for wine-making. Its wine is already praised by the old poets; cf. S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 157; G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, 98, 248. The caliph al-Ḳāʾim took refuge here in 450/1058 from the contemporary Daylamī ruler of ʿIrāḳ. In early modern times, 8th/14th to 11th/17th centuries, it was the headquarters of tribal rulers, who about 1750 were replaced by first a rudimentary and later (after about 1267/1850) an organised Turkish administration; under the latter ʿĀna was the headquarters of a *ḳaḍā* grouped directly under the *wilāyet* of Baghdād. The town and district were occupied by the British in 1337/1918, and became part of the Kingdom of ʿIrāḳ, with their present administrative grouping, in 1340/1921.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 106, (with full references to Arab geographers); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894 iii, 145; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 141, 143 ff., xi, 717-26; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. un.*, ix, 450; M. Hartmann, in *ZDPV*, xxiii, 2, 122; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925: ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī, *al-ʿIrāḳ, Ḳadīman wa-Ḥadīthan*, Sidon 1948, 239 ff. (S. H. Longrigg)

ANADOLU, Anatolia, Asia Minor.

(i) — The name.
(ii) — Physical geography.
(iii) — Historical geography of Turkish Anatolia.
1. The conquest of Anatolia by the Turks, first phase, and the state of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm.
2. The conquest of Anatolia, second phase, and the beginnings of the Ottoman empire.
3. The political divisions of Anatolia.
4. Population.
5. Communications.
6. Economy.

(i) The name

Anadolu (Arabic spelling اناطولى, Anaṭōlī i.e. Greek Ἀνατολή in Byzantine pronunciation), Anatolia, Asia Minor, the mountainous peninsula—including its base—proceeding from the southern part of the Asiatic continent towards Europe (Balkan peninsula) —known as Asia Minor (Μικρὰ Ἀσία) in antiquity—is situated between 36° and 42° N and 26° and 45° E. Together with the Balkan peninsula it has formed a bridge between Central Europe and Western Asia throughout its history. Arab geographers in the Middle Ages, and Turks until far into Ottoman times, called the country Bilād al-Rūm (country of the Rhomaeans).

The name Ἀνατολή ("rising" of the sun) is used first and foremost as a geographical term by the Byzantines, as "Orient" or "Levant", to denote all that lies east of Constantinople, i.e. especially Asia Minor and Egypt. A prefecture "per Orientem" (ἔπαρχος τῆς Ἀνατολῆς) appears, however, in the reorganization of the administration by Diocletian and Constantine as one of the four large sections of the empire; it consists of the five dioceses of Aegyptus, Oriens (Ἀνατολή in the stricter sense), Pontus, Asiana and Thracia, that is to say, the Middle East, Thrace, Egypt and Libya. The administrative term Ἀνατολή disappears with the introduction of the division into themes (at the beginning of the first half of the 7th century); the name Ἀνατολικόν or θέμα τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν is now applied to the theme (administrative area) around Amorium and Iconium. This considerably smaller administrative unit is called al-Nāṭolūs, or some-

thing similar, (explained as *al-mas͟hriḳ*, "the east") by Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih (107, transl. 79); al-Nāṭolīḳ (explained as *al-mas͟hriḳī*, "the eastern") by Ḳudāma, (ed. de Goeje, 258, transl., 198); cf. H. Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themen-Verfassung*, Leipzig 1899, 83; F. W. Brooks, *Arabic Lists of Byzantine Themes, Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1901, 67-77). The name of the theme Anatolikon disappears again with the Turkish conquest. The general geographical term Anaṭōlī reappears, however, and gradually becomes Anadolu with the Turks. To begin with, this meant only western Anatolia. The large Ottoman province (*eyālet* or *wilāyet*) of this name embraced the area of the former western Anatolian Turkish principalities [see next article]. The term Anadolu as name of a province disappeared at the time of the reorganisation of the provinces during the *tanẓīmāt* (middle of the 19th century). From then on "Anatolia", used geographically, came to mean the whole peninsula (roughly as far as the line Trebizond (Trabzon) Erzind̲jan-Bired̲jik-Alexandretta) which today forms the main part of the area of the Turkish republic. "Anadolu", as it is used today in Turkish, is the whole Asiatic part of modern Turkey, including those areas which geographically belong to upper Mesopotamia: al-D̲jazīra (Diyārbakr), Kurdistān (Van and Bitlis), as well as to Armenia (Kars). It is in this sense that the term is used in the present article (the islands in the Aegean Sea are not taken into account). In 1950 the overall area of Turkey was stated to be 767,119 sq. km. Of these, Thrace has 23,485 sq. km. and Anatolia 743,634 sq. km. The number of inhabitants in the whole of Turkey was 20,934,670 in 1950; of these, 1,626,229 lived in the European part of Turkey, and 19,308,441 lived in Anatolia.

[For pre-Turkish Anatolia, see RŪM].

(F. TAESCHNER)

(ii) PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

General survey of the nature of the country. Anatolia consists of a spacious high plateau, ringed by longitudinal and even higher mountain ranges to the north and south. The central plateau contains Central Anatolia. The northern part of this ring may best be collectively called the northern Anatolian border mountains; the southern section is formed by the Taurus system. Central Anatolia is ringed off by hills to the east and west as well, where the northern and southern ranges come into contact. Thus there is the mountainous ridge of western Anatolia, with the Aegean coastlands lying beyond it. In the east, there are the chains of mountains of the upper Euphrates region and—as a sort of outpost of Anatolia—the high plateau of Mount Ararat.

As might be expected from the geographical position, the winter temperatures along the coast of Anatolia are mild, ranging from an average of over 5° C. on the Black Sea coast to over 8° C. on the southern coast during January. A large part of the country lies within the reach of the system of low atmospheric pressure which moves from west to east and influences the weather in western and central Europe throughout the year. Hence humidity in Anatolia is comparatively high during the winter. In summer, the coastal areas become oppressively hot, with average temperatures for July and August of 22° in the north and over 27° C. in the south. Northern winds prevail and bring a dryness, typical of the mediterranean climate, to the west and south coast in summer, whilst, coming from the sea, they bring rainfall even in summer to the northern coast. On the south and west coast, natural vegetation is largely of the evergreen variety common in mediterranean countries. In many places it has been made into arable land, whilst the rest has deteriorated into shrubs and sparse grazing ground. More luxuriant vegetation appears along the northern coast, which is more humid in the summer and where plants which need more water grow in woods, bushes and cultivated fields.

The border mountains naturally have colder —in parts extremely cold—winters, their summers are less hot, and the humidity is higher than along the coast. The sides of the mountains are naturally wooded. In the case of the western, southern, and eastern rims, these woods consist largely of "dry forest", particularly oak and coniferous trees. Many of them had to be sacrificed in the drive for arable and grazing land. In the northern mountain chains nearer the coast, "damp forest" prevails, in which the beech and the pine play a large part in the higher regions. "Dry forest" replaces "damp forest" even in northern Anatolia on the inner mountain ranges, owing to the decreased humidity. "Damp forest" has great resilience and is therefore less threatened by human activity.

The central Anatolian plateau—ringed by its border mountains—is cold in winter, with average temperatures for January below freezing point, whilst it is very hot in the summer, the July/August average reaching 24° C. Since there is considerably less rainfall here than there is in the coastal areas and their mountains, it is a steppe. Despite erroneous information on some maps, there are no stretches of desert in central Anatolia. Even in the driest districts it is possible to grow barley and wheat without artificial irrigation, relying solely on natural rainfall, with moderate success.

There are steppes on the southern edge of the eastern Taurus where Anatolia and Mesopotamia meet. Although they are not much above sea level, they are a long way from the sea, and as a result winters are less mild and less humid than along the mediterranean coast, and summers very hot and dry.

The Northern Anatolian border mountains. The range of north Anatolian border mountains (often known as the Pontic Mountains in Europe) consists of comparatively straight parallel mountain ranges from 1200 m. to 1500 m. in height, often rising to over 2000 m. These are fairly broad and some have plateaux. To the east, in the so-called Zigana mountains (called after the Zigana pass south of Trabzon) there is a long stretch over 3000 m. in height, and here one finds alpine formations. The mountains are made up largely of slate, sandstone, marl, volcanic stone, and crystalline substances. In the west one can trace—through the mountains south of the Sea of Marmara—a relation to the inner Dinaric mountain ranges of the Balkan peninsula. In the east, the southern Caucasus mountains form the link with the northern Iranian mountain ranges.

On the plateaux of the naturally wooded northern Anatolian mountain ranges, especially in the middle part, woodland has been turned into arable land up to a height of 1500 m. Growing of grain and raising of sheep and goats (in the east also cattle) form its economic basis. The long spacious valleys between the ridges, where hot summers and the presence of water make agriculture possible, are the main areas of settlement. Of these the most important is the row of basins of Bolu-Gerede-Čerkes̲h-Ilgaz-Tosya

in the eastern part of the ancient Bithynia, the basin area of Safranbolu-Ḳastamonu-Boyabat, the centre of the ancient Paphlagonia, and, in the regions of the ancient Pontus, the basins on the upper Yes̲h̲il Irmaḳ (Iris) around Amasya, Zile and Toḳat, and in the east, the Kelkit-Čoruh furrow which is over 500 km. long.

On the north coast, mountains rise steeply out of the Black Sea; there are few bays. The coastal strip is very narrow and much cut up by valleys; it is densely populated, especially in the east, and maize, beans, and particularly hazelnuts are grown around Giresun [*q.v.*] (Cerasus), Ṭarabzun [*q.v.*] (Trapezus, Trebizond, modern Trabzon), and Rize [*q.v.*] The only larger flats are in the deltas of the rivers Yes̲h̲il Irmaḳ [*q.v.*] (Iris) and the Ḳïzïl Irmaḳ [*q.v.*] (Halys), but these are partly swamp. The more fertile soil produces excellent tobacco. The peninsula of Kod̲j̲a-eli [*q.v.*] and the Thracian peninsula are flat, and the plains of Adapazarï [*q.v.*] on the lower Saḳarya (Sangarius) are very fertile.

A part from the Bosporus, there is only one harbour which is protected against the north-westerly gales of the Black Sea, and that is Sinob [*q.v.*] which, however, because of its unfavourable hinterland, is at present of little importance. Samsun [*q.v.*] (Amisus) has the best access—both rail and road—to central Anatolia. The coal-mining and industrial areas of Zonguldaḳ [*q.v.*] and Eregli [*q.v.*] (Heraclea Pontica) are now being greatly developed. In the past, the silver, lead, and copper mines in the Zigana mountains were of some importance (Gümüs̲h̲-k̲h̲āne [*q.v.*], Murgul near Borčka, and others).

The subsidence of land which has created the Aegean between Anatolia and the Balkan peninsula, has also affected the northern Anatolian mountain ranges in the Marmara region. As a result, there are hilly districts and plains around the Sea of Marmara (the basin of which is only deep in parts). These have a very favourable mediterranean climate. Silkworm is cultivated near Bursa [*q.v.*] (Brusa), and wine produced around Tekir Dag̲h̲ [*q.v.*] (Rodosto). Owing to its unique geographical position, the city of Byzantium, Constantinople, Istanbul [*q.v.*] grew up and retained its importance for thousands of years. Situated on the bridge between Anatolia and the Balkan peninsula, the most important times of the city were naturally those in which it played the rôle of the natural capital of an empire stretching over both areas. Yet even today, it is Turkey's gate to the world and her principal import harbour. The straits here are obviously not a borderline of continents or cultures. Such a boundary might rather be found in the sparcely populated steppes and heather regions in eastern Thrace.

The Taurus (Toros) System. On the whole, the Taurus system in southern Anatolia is considerably higher than the northern Anatolian border ranges. For long stretches, the mountain chains and broad waves of elevations rise to more than 2000 m. and at times to more than 3000 m. To the south-east of Lake Van (Wān) there are even heights up to 4176 m. in the ice-covered D̲j̲ilo Dag̲h̲. Limestone predominates in these mountains. The mountain ranges are often strongly bow-shaped, thereby making clear sections. To the west of the Gulf of Antalya (Adalia, Attalia) the mighty ranges of limestone mountains of the Western Taurus—the highest of which are sometimes referred to as Lycian Taurus—point outwards in a S and SW direction towards the sea and towards Rhodes, Crete and the outer fringes of the Dinaric Mountains of the Balkan peninsula. Between the Gulf of Antalya and the Adana plain stretches the mighty arc of the Central Taurus. The name Cilician Taurus, which often occurs, refers to its better known eastern wing. The Taurus system continues in two parallel chains to the east of the Gulf of Alexandretta. An outer chain stretches from the Amanus Mountains to the chains south of Lake Van by way of the chains south of Malatya and south of the Murād River. An inner chain—the western section of which is sometimes called Anti-Taurus (a name given with little justification)—runs from the ridges of the upper Seyhan region north of Adana to the Urmiya area by way of the chains south of the upper Euphrates (Ḳara Su) and the upper Aras (Araxes). Between these two there are a number of basins, those of Elbistan, of Malatya-Elaziğ (Elaziz, K̲h̲arpūt), of Čapakčur, Mus̲h̲ and Van. This whole mountain sytem is best called the Eastern Taurus. (In earlier works, nomenclature varied: in addition to Anti-Taurus, other names for parts of the system were employed, such as Armenian Taurus and Kurdish Taurus, without determining the precise use of each). The above-mentioned row of basins separates the chains of the inner from those of the outer Taurus. Thus, seen as a whole, the eastern Taurus system (with these two ranges) describes an arc towards the north, and its southern end merges into the southern Iranian border ranges.

There are considerable longitudinal basins between the mountain ranges in the Western and the western part of the Central Taurus. Several of them contain lakes, the famous lakes of the old districts of Pisidia and Isauria. These basins are the main centres of habitation. In some places there are valuable special cultures, as for instance near Isparta [*q.v.*] and Burdur [*q.v.*]. The limestone mountains are thinly populated because of the scarcity of water. Grazing ground of a poor quality—used by goats and sheep in summer—has largely replaced the former "dry forest". Habitation in the Central Taurus, which is really one large massif, is restricted to the few narrow valleys. Here, too, the higher regions serve chiefly as grazing ground (*yayla*) for sheep and goats in summer. The eastern Taurus, which, as we have seen, stretches out more broadly, has a larger area in its basins which could be inhabited, but at present they are only thinly populated. As far as rainfall—which decreases with the distance from the mountains—permits agriculture exclusively based on rain water, habitation is also possible in the as yet thinly populated southern foothills of the eastern Taurus. It is possible in the vicinity of the ancient centres of Diyarbakïr (Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*] Diyarbekir, Āmid), Urfa [see AL-RUHĀ] (Edessa), Gaziantep (ʿAynṭāb [*q.v.*]), Ḥalab [*q.v.*] (Aleppo), but not much further to the south. The most propitious area of these eastern foothills is the Hatay [*q.v.*] in the west around Anṭāḳiya [*q.v.*] (Antioch), where the nearby Mediterranean makes the growing of citrus fruits and other mediterranean crops possible.

On the whole, the coastal strip of the Taurus offers only a narrow stretch of alluvial land and few hills which invite habitation. These few make possible the cultivation of mediterranean plants, and in parts of citrus plants. There is, however, danger from malaria. Generally we find limestone mountains (with little water) rising at a small distance from the sea. The only really large arable area is the Adana [*q.v.*] plain—in which also Ṭarsūs [*q.v.*] lies—the Cilician plain of antiquity, formed by deposits from the rivers Sayḥān [*q.v.*] (Saros) and D̲j̲ayḥān [*q.v.*] (Pyramos). In recent years cotton growing in this

area has increased considerably. The tufaceous limestone plain of Antalya [q.v.] with sheer drops of 30 m. to the sea, is less favourable.

Anatolia's southern coast—in as much as it is a longitudinal one—has no protected landing places for larger ships. Iskandarūn [q.v.] (Alexandretta) and Mersīn [q.v.] have some importance as harbours of the Adana plain and the Hatay and as the harbours for shipping the chromium ore of the eastern Taurus. This part is played more to the west by the small harbour of Fetḥiyye for the western Taurus.

Aegean Anatolia (Ege region). The areas between the two bordering mountain systems show less relief. There are several distinguishable units. In the west, there is Aegean Anatolia, in modern Turkish called the "Ege region", between the southern Marmara mountains in the north, and the western Taurus in the south, which corresponds roughly to the area of Ionian colonisation of the ancient Greeks. Here the broad valleys of the Bakīr Čay (Caicus), Gediz (Hermus), the greater and lesser Menderes (Kayster, Maeander), penetrate to a depth of 200 km. into the peninsula, in an area of crystalline rocks (called Lydian-Carian rock by Philippson) between the mountain peaks running from west to east at heights between 1000 m. and 2000 m. Thanks to these valleys, the mediterranean climate can penetrate deeply into the country. This area is densely populated. Tobacco, olives, figs, and grapes —largely dried for raisins—are grown here. More recently, cotton growing has gained some importance.

The coast, running at right angles to the mountain ranges, has many bays, coves and good natural harbours. The larger rivers, however, carry a great deal of sediment and gradually fill in the bays. Ephesus and Miletus, which were harbours in antiquity, are today several kilometres inland, and the otherwise excellent harbour of Izmir (Smyrna) is only saved from being filled up by diversion of the river Gediz Čay. Izmir [q.v.] is linked by railway to all the above mentioned valleys, and has thus become the economical centre of the region and the principal harbour for exporting the agricultural produce of Turkey. Bergama [q.v.] (Pergamum), Manisa [q.v.] (Magnesia), Tire [q.v.] Aydīn [q.v.] (Güzel Ḥiṣār) and Denizli [q.v.] are local centres of this area.

The Western Anatolian Ridge. Where in the east the valleys of Aegean Anatolia come to an end, a huge ridge rises between the re-entrant angle of the Taurus system on the one hand, and the southern border chains of the sea of Marmara on the other hand, in the area around Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār-Kütahya-Ushaḳ. This is formed by huge plateaux which reach a height of 1200 m. to 1500 m. Massive ranges rise above these which frequently exceed 2000 m. There is a gradual decline in height to 1100 m towards the northeast and the upper Saḳarya (Sangarius). This large rise is the western Anatolian ridge. The plateaux consist largely of flat tertiary deposits of clay and sand which had once risen and were later cut into by the valleys we see today. They are steppes. Only the higher mountains reach the natural tree-line, but most of the woods have been cut down.

The growing of grain and the raising of sheep and goats form the livelihood of the scanty population. Several roads and railways lead to the inland plateau on the one hand and branch off near Afyun Ḳara Ḥiṣār [q.v.] (Afyonkarahisar) to the basins in the western Taurus, to the lowlands of the Ege region and to the Sea of Marmara on the other.

Central Anatolia. The inland plateau of central Anatolia comprises large stretches of flat country at a height of 800 m. to 1200 m. These were formed by recent sedimentation in the bottoms of the landlocked basins of Ḳonya (Iconium), such as the Tuz Gölü ("salt lake"), a huge flat salt pan at a height of 900 m. often erroneously marked down as Tuz Čölü ("salt desert") on our maps. They also exist on the upper Saḳarya and in certain places on the Ḳīzīl Irmaḳ. There are also other broad plateaux of horizontal new tertiary deposits, and flat plains over creased subsoil.

Mountains of considerable height are, however, also found in central Anatolia. They rise from 500 m. to 1500 m. above the surrounding plateaux. There are some gigantic recent volcanoes which are, however, not active at present, such as the Erdjiyas Dagh [q.v.] (3916 m.), the Argaeus of antiquity, near Ḳayseri, and the Ḥasan Dagh (3258 m.) near Nigde.

The mountains are of vital importance to human existence. In dry central Anatolia, surrounded by high mountains, the lowest areas are the driest, while the high mountains catch the rain. Hence the most favourable regions for settlement are, on the one hand, on the highest plateaus, such as for instance in the area of the bend of the Ḳīzīl Irmaḳ, in the Cappadocia of antiquity, and on the other hand at the foot of the surrounding mountains, where fast rivulets come forth. Most of the important towns are in the latter of these two positions, such as Anḳara [q.v.] (Ancyra, Angora), Eski Shehir [q.v.], Ḳonya [q.v.] (Iconium), Nigde [q.v.] Ḳayseri [q.v.] (Caesarea), and Sivas [q.v.] (Sebastia). All these have—or had—land that can easily be irrigated. There is little population in the steppes, where the basis of livelihood is the growing of wheat and barley and the raising of sheep and angora goats, although thanks to recent mechanisation the cultivated areas have been increased and improved; there is least of all in the particularly dry basin of the Tuz Gölü and of Ḳonya, the Lycaonia of antiquity, with a great deal of "Artemisian steppe".

Traffic is easier through the central plateau than through the mountainous borders. For this reason this plateau, which has always been the centre of Anatolia, has become even more important since the capital shifted to Ankara and the road and rail network of Turkey was extended.

The upper Euphrates area and the Ararat highlands. Geographically, the eastern limit of Anatolia is to be found on the upper Euphrates, where the mountain chains of the northern Anatolian border mountains and the eastern Taurus are joined by the rising of new mountains between the two systems. In this region of mighty chains of high mountains, where peaks generally exceed an altitude of 2500 m. (often 3000 m.), the scanty population is found only in the valleys, more especially in the longitudinal ones. Along these, too, run the roads from Anatolia to Ādharbaydjān and Iran. The rôle of the towns of Erzindjān [q.v.] and Erzurum [q.v.] (Erzerum) has always been to guard these roads.

The eastern Taurus on the one hand, and the northern Anatolian border mountains on the other, divide again east of the meridian of Erzurum, thus forming a highland which, at 1500 m. to 1700 m., is an even higher basin than that of Central Anatolia. There are considerable volcanic deposits of recent formation over a creased basis. Huge recent (at present inactive) volcanoes, such as Ararat (Aghrī-dagh [q.v.]) (5172 m.), Alagöz Dagh (4094 m.),

Sübḥān Dagh (4434 m.) rise above the highlands, and in places, such as at lake Van, have led to a damming up of basins.

This rough highland with low winter temperatures is used chiefly for grazing, since somewhat more favourable conditions for agriculture and habitation exist only in the comparatively small basins. It is generally known as Armenia. Historical events have resulted in the fact that there have been no Armenians living there for a generation. The scanty population speaks either Turkish or Kurdish. Thus it seems appropriate to give this eastern border region of Turkey—which is actually outside the geographical Anatolia—the name of the Ararat Highlands. This name would be neutral, yet geographically characteristic.

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(H. Louis)

(iii) HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF TURKISH ANATOLIA

(1) *The conquest of Anatolia by the Turks, first phase, and the state of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm.*

The main part of Anatolia remained untouched by the conquests of the Muslim Arabs. The boundaries of the Byzantine empire remained: in the north-east, the Christian states of Armenia and Georgia; to the south of these, Ḳālīḳalā (formerly Theodosiopolis, then Arzan al-Rūm, Erzurum) and —at times—Kamākh were the furthest outposts of the empire of the caliphs; thence the Taurus, the "land of the passes" (*bilād al-durūb*), formed the boundary as far as the Mediterranean. Although frequent raids into Byzantine territory were made, the Arabs never occupied the land. These border regions, comprising the outermost parts of Northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, were the "military area of the protecting fortresses" (*djund al-ʿawāṣim*, or simply *al-ʿawāṣim*, [*q.v.*]); Manbidj or Antāḳiya (Antioch) was the capital of this region, whilst the armed fortresses of the "Syrian marches" (*thughūr al-Shaʾm*) with Ṭarsūs as its centre, and the "Mesopotamian marches" (*thughūr al-Djazīra*) with Malaṭiya (Melitene) as their centre, formed the outer border. In the changing fortunes of the war between Byzantines and Arabs, these border areas suffered greatly, but they remained, on the whole, in the possession of the Arabs. Not until the conquests of the great emperors Nicephorus II Phocas (963-69), John Tzimiskes (969-76), and Basil II (976-1025) did these areas return to Byzantine ownership. At the time of the death of the last of these three, the whole of the territory of Turkey as we know it today, with the exception of Amida (Diyār Bakr) and its surroundings, was Byzantine (compare E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935). Then, however, the rivalries between the military nobility and the nobility of civil servants began in Byzantium. These, particularly when the latter were in power, led to a weakening along the borders.

The Turkish conquerors of the house of Saldjūḳ found the Byzantine borders in one of these weak periods, when, after conquering the whole of the Middle East, they sent their Turkish warriors against the frontier, in order to fight the holy war (*djihād*). They did, in fact, achieve several breaks through into Byzantine Anatolia (456/1064 conquest of Ānī in the Byzantine-Armenian border area, laying waste Cilicia and storming Caesarea (Ḳaysariyya). After the death of emperor Constantine X Ducas, a champion of the civilian nobility (May 1067), Romanus IV Diogenes, a member of the military nobility, was raised to the throne on the battlefield (1 Jan. 1068) because of the desperate position which had arisen. To begin with, he fought the Turks successfully, so that the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan was obliged to go against him in person. The numerically superior Byzantine army was routed by Alp Arslan near Mantzikert (Malāzgird) in the vicinity of Lake Van, (463/19 August 1071) because of lack of discipline among the mercenaries and treachery by the opponents of the emperor. The emperor was captured, but he was freed by the sultan after a lenient treaty had been concluded. The defeat, however, caused a revolution in Constantinople, which brought the opposing party to power. Romanus IV lost his throne and was blinded. He died soon afterwards (summer 1072).

With the fall of the Emperor Romanus, the treaties between him and Alp Arslan became void, and the Turks renewed the holy war against Byzantium. This was fought not by regular Saldjūḳ troops, but by individual leaders, the most successful of whom was Malik Dānishmand [*q.v.*] Aḥmad Ghāzī who operated in north-eastern Anatolia. Bands of Turkish warriors roamed the countryside and interrupted communications between towns, paralysing Byzantine administration. Eventually the successor of Alp Arslan, sultan Malikshāh (since 465/1072), despatched a member of the house of Saldjūḳ, Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumīsh, to lead the Turkish cavalry in Anatolia in the war being waged against Byzantium. His task was facilitated by the existing confusion over the succession to the throne in Byzantium. Emperor Michael VII Ducas and—after his abdication (1078)—Nicephorus III Botaniates, obtained Sulaymān's assistance to gain their aims. On their

part, they had to recognise his rights to those parts of the country which the Turks had occupied, and to hand over the recently conquered cities of Cyzicus and Nicaea (1081). Sulaymān established his headquarters in Nicaea (Turkish Iznik). The Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, who began his reign in 1081, confirmed Sulaymān's rights to settle his Turkish troops in the occupied territory, whilst nominally retaining Byzantine suzerainty. In actual fact, Sulaymān ruled over practically the whole of Anatolia through his troops which roamed the country. Byzantine administration was virtually superseded.

After his successes in Anatolia, Sulaymān turned to the east, to extend his rule in this direction. He did succeed in capturing Antioch (Anṭākiya), which was still Byzantine, but met with heavy opposition from the Saldjūḳ *amirs*, especially from Tutush, the brother of Malikshāh, when advancing towards Aleppo. He was beaten and fell in battle (1086).

In the meantime, Turkish bands fighting the holy war in Ādharbaydjān had conquered the Christian kingdom of the Bagratids in Armenia (473/1080). Following this, the Bagratid Ruben and his faithful followers founded a new state in Cilicia, known as the kingdom of "Lesser Armenia". It survived until the 14th century (1375) under his successors, the Rubenids. [See sīs.]

After the death of Sulaymān, Anatolia was left to its own devices for some time. Other Turkish leaders settled in the country together with their troops and founded dominions there: the aforementioned Malik Dānishmand Aḥmad Ghāzī in the north-east, with Sebastia (Sivas) as headquarters; the *amir* Mengüdjek [*q.v.*] Ghāzī with Tephrike (Divrigi) and Erzindjān; and in the west, in Smyrna, a certain *amir* called Tzachas by the Byzantines. Only after the death of sultan Malikshāh (1092) did his successor, Barkiyāruḳ, permit the son of Sulaymān, Ḳilidj Arslan, to return to Anatolia, but he found it difficult to establish himself among the Turkish princes. Tzachas, who was advancing against Constantinople by sea, was repelled with Byzantine aid.

At the beginning of the first crusade, the allied Byzantines and crusaders gained a victory over the Turks under Ḳilidj Arslan and Malik Dānishmand (or his son, Ghāzī Gümüshtegin) near Nicaea. The Turkish headquarters at Nicaea was besieged and taken on 20 June 1097. On 1 July 1097, the victory of the crusaders near Dorylaeum, near the Eskishehir of today, decided the fate of western Anatolia and opened the way for the crusaders through the rest of the Turkish territories. They reached Antioch, which was taken after a long siege (3 June 1098). Here the principality of Antioch, the first crusader state, was founded under the suzerainty of Byzantium. The county of Edessa (today Urfa), in Mesopotamia, was founded in the same year. After these successes by the crusaders, the Emperor Alexius found little difficulty in driving the Turks from western Anatolia and in re-incorporating this area into the Byzantine empire. He also re-inforced the border—running straight through the middle of Anatolia—against the region remaining under Turkish occupation. This, for the time being, checked the Turkish conquests.

After this set-back, the area of Turkish conquest remained limited to central Anatolia for over a century. The whole of the west (roughly from Dorylaeum), and the Black Sea and Mediterranean coasts remained in Byzantine possession, Cilicia became the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia, and the regions of Antioch and Edessa formed the afore-mentioned crusader states. Āmid (Diyār Bakr) was the seat of the *atabeg* dynasty of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*]. Later (1144), Edessa was conquered by the *atabeg* Zengī of Mosul; later still (1268), Antioch was taken by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars. Ḳilidj Arslan had to share the centre of the country, occupied by Turks, with Malik Dānishmand, or his son, and Mengüdjek. The former retained the steppe in Central Anatolia, with Ḳonya—the Iconium of antiquity—as his capital; the latter retained the mountainous northeast with Sivas and Erzindjān respectively. There was a heated quarrel over some places, especially Melitene (Malaṭya), which Ḳilidj Arslan eventually managed to decide in his own favour (1104 or 1106). Ḳilidj Arslan failed, however, in his attempt to make conquests further to the east, in Mesopotamia (Mosul). He was beaten by the confederated Saldjūḳ *amirs* on the banks of the Khābūr, and died during the retreat (9 Shawwāl 500/3 June 1107). Concerning events at this period, see also Cl. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure*, *Byzantion*, 1946, 5-67).

Thus the Rūm Saldjūḳ state [see SALDJŪḲ] or the Sultanate of Iconium, as the crusaders called it, was a rather limited territory in the poorest part of Anatolia. The Rūm Saldjūḳs under Masʿūd I retained this area and, having beaten the crusaders of the second crusade in the second battle near Dorylaeum (26 Oct. 1147), forced them to continue their way through Byzantine instead of Turkish territory. The Rūm Saldjūḳ state was considerably extended when Ḳilidj Arslan II succeeded in incorporating the Dānishmandid state (1174), which he secured against the claims of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus by the victory in the Phrygian mountain passes, near Myriocephalon (pass of Čardaḳ, 17 Sept. 1176), in which he surrounded and routed the Byzantine army. The aged Sultan Ḳilidj Arslan II was involved in the disputes which arose after he had divided his land among his sons. Owing to this, the German Emperor Frederic Barbarossa was able to take the route through Turkish Anatolia and even capture its capital Ḳonya (18 May 1190), but this had no lasting consequences, particularly as the emperor himself was drowned not long afterwards (10 June 1190) in the river Saleph (Calycadnus in antiquity, Göksu today).

The crusaders of the so-called fourth crusade conquered Constantinople (1204) and erected a Latin Empire there, at the instigation of the Doge Enrico Dandolo of Venice; the Byzantines, under Theodore Lascaris, founded a Greek Counter-Empire in western Anatolia with Nicaea for its capital; and the brothers David and Alexis, of the imperial house of the Comneni, had, with the help of Queen Thamar of Georgia, formed the empire of the so-called "Great Comneni" in Trebizond. The Rūm Saldjūḳ sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I, the youngest son of Ḳilidj Arslan II, succeeded in conquering Attalia (Adaliya, Anṭāliya), thereby gaining access to the Mediterranean for his kingdom (1207). He was not, however, successful in advancing further into western Anatolia. He was beaten by Theodor Laskaris near Honas, in 1210, and fell in battle (possibly in single combat with his adversary). Theodor Laskaris and his successors protected the eastern border of their Nicaean empire with a strong system of fortifications which, for the time being, made it impossible for the Turks to advance in that region. In 1214, Kaykhusraw's son and successor

ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus I, forced the emperor of Trebizond to cede Sinope (Sinob), and so the Rūm Saldjūḳ Kingdom also gained access to the Black Sea. This extension meant traffic with the outside world. Connections were made with the Italian trading republics, trade flourished and brought undreamed-of prosperity to the country. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād, the brother and successor of Kaykāwus, and the greatest of the Rūm Saldjūḳ sultans, extended the frontier of his empire on the mediterranean and took the fort of Galonoros (καλὸν ὄρος), which he expanded into a sizable harbour town, to which he gave the name ʿAlāʾiyya (now Alaya or Alanya), and where he had his winter residence. In the east, in upper Mesopotamia, he also won territory from the Artuḳids of Āmid and Ḥisn Kayfā and forced them to recognise his supremacy. In 625/1228, he annexed the Mengüdjek principality of Erzindjān, and in the east he also made further conquests (Erzerum 1230, Akhlāṭ 1231, Kharpūt 1234). Under his rule, Rūm Saldjūḳ culture and power reached their peak. His son and successor Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (acc. 634/1237) succeeded in incorporating Āmid into his empire, and at that time the eastern borders of the Rūm Saldjūḳ kingdom were roughly those of Turkey today.

(2) *The conquest of Anatolia, second phase, and the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire.*

Two things in the middle of the 13th century brought about a change of conditions. The first of these was the Mongol invasion of the Middle East, which also affected Anatolia. Although the Rūm Saldjūḳ army was defeated by the Mongols under Baydju Noyon near Köse Dagh in eastern Anatolia (6 Muḥarram 641/26 June 1243), there was no actual conquest of the Rūm Saldjūḳ Kingdom, but the Mongols advanced as far as Ḳaysariyya and did much plundering. The Kingdom grew more and more into the role of a vassal state of the Mongols, first of Bātū, the conqueror of eastern Europe, then of the Mongol rulers of Persia, the Ilkhāns. A new stream of Turkmens came to Anatolia with the Mongols, partly as their followers, partly because they had been driven by them from their original homes. They increased the partly-nomad Turkmen element already present in Anatolia, and played an important part. Those of most immediate importance were the hordes led by Ḳaraman [*q.v.*] b. Nūra Ṣūfī (thus probably a member of a *darwish* family). He founded a state on the border of Lycaonia and Cilicia around Ermenik (the ancient Germanicopolis) in the Taurus foothills. In 1277, Ḳaraman's son, Muḥammad Beg, tried to gain the dominion over the Rūm Saldjūk kingdom by means of a pretender by name of Djimrī, and he conquered Ḳonya for his protégé. But the town was re-taken by a Mongol retaliatory expedition, and Muḥammad Beg had to retreat into the mountains with his Turkmens. Djimrī escaped to the north-west, but he was beaten by Saldjūḳ troops on the Saḳarya (Muḥarram 676/June 1277), taken prisoner, and executed.

The other important event was the reconquest of Constantinople by the Byzantines under the Emperor Michael VII Palaeologus, and the restoration of the Byzantine Empire. The power of the empire was, however, past. The emperors of the house of Palaeologus were increasingly engaged in the Balkan peninsula, and they had to ward off the covetousness of the Latins. The remaining strength of the empire was taken up with this. The emperors were unable to devote the necessary attention to conditions in Anatolia, and allowed the defensive system—built up by the Lascarids—to fall into decay. This made it easy for the Turkmen hordes which were pouring into Anatolia to pursue the holy war and to gain a hold on the western parts. These, with their greater fertility as compared with the inner region, had already tempted them. The Palaeologi were thus forced progressively to surrender their Anatolian territories, and the Turks—especially in the open country—met with hardly any resistance. By about 1300 most of western Anatolia was in Turkish hands, and there was now hardly a district in which there were no Turks among the non-Turkish inhabitants. Eventually, only a few fortresses (such as Prusa, Nicaea and Nicomedia in Bithynia; Sardes, Philadelphia and Magnesia in Lydia) and some ports (such as Smyrna and Phocaea on the Aegean and Heraclia on the Black Sea) remained in Byzantine possession, as isolated Byzantine possessions in Turkish territory.

The Turkish hordes generally operated independently of each other under their leaders who founded principalities (amīrates) in the conquered districts. We know little about their early history, although one gathers that there were quite a number of such small semi-nomadic states, of which some were of only ephemeral importance. By about 1300, a small number of principalities had emerged. The most powerful of these was, to begin with, Germiyān [*q.v.*] in Phrygia, with Kütāhiya (the ancient Cotyaeum) as its capital. According to al-ʿUmarī, the Turkish *amīrs* of western Anatolia paid tribute to the Germiyān at some periods, and according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa they were feared by them. Temporarily they extended their power into central Anatolia, in 1300 as far as Ankara (according to an inscription). Incidentally, they do not seem to have been Turkmens originally, but possibly Yazīdī Kurds (compare Cahen, *Notes sur l'histoire des Turcomans d'Asie Mineure au XIIIe siècle* in *JA*, 1951, 335-54; concerning the origin of the Germiyān, especially 349 ff.). A whole circle of principalities grew up around Germiyān and some of the founders of these seem to have come from Germiyān. The second greatest of these western Anatolian principalities at that time, was Djāndār [*q.v.*] in Paphlagonia, with Ḳasṭamoni (Castra Comneni, today Kastamonu) as its capital, and the harbour town of Sinob (Sinop, Sinope) also belonging to it. To the west of it, in northern Phrygia (around Eskishehir-Dorylaeum), was the principality of ʿOthmān with Sögüd as its centre. After the conquest of some fortresses there, it soon expanded as far as the Sea of Marmara. Still further west, in Mysia, was Ḳarasī [*q.v.*] with Balikesri (Palaeocastro) and Berghama (Pergamum), which included the coastal area of the Sea of Marmara as far as the Hellespont (Dardanelles). Next to this, in the Aegean coastal region, were Ṣarukhān [*q.v.*] in northern Lydia, with Maghnisa (Magnesia, now Manisa); Aydīn [*q.v.*] in southern Lydia and the hinterland of Smyrna with Tire; and Menteshe [*q.v.*] in Caria, with Milas (Mylasa) and Mughla. Lastly, in furthest south-western Anatolia, were Tekke [*q.v.*] in Lycia and Pamphylia with Adalia (Antalya), and Ḥamīd [*q.v.*] in Pisidia with Isbarta.

At about the same time, the Rūm Saldjūḳ state ceased to exist. For some time past, the importance of the reigning sultans had been replaced by that of the Mongol governors who resided in Sivas. After the death of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād III (707/1307 or 708/1308), the last of the shadow sultans, the empire simply became a province of

the Mongol Ilkhān Empire of Persia. By exploiting this condition, the Ḳaramans [*q.v.*] tried to extend their territory from their Taurus foothills; they succeeded in conquering the town of Laranda (now Karaman), which they made their capital. They did not, however, succeed in taking Ḳonya, as this was held by the Ilkhān governor Čōpān and his son Temürtash. The latter actually extended the domain of the Ilkhān Empire by conquests in the west, where he fought with the Turkish petty princes. In the twenties, unrest in the Ilkhān Empire spread to Anatolia (Temürtash fled to Egypt in 728/1328). The conquered territories were lost, and the Ḳaramans succeeded in capturing Ḳonya; but they kept Laranda as their capital. During the course of the 14th century, the Ḳaramans extended their rule westwards in southern Anatolia, and thereby came into contact with the Turkish states which were developing in western Anatolia.

With the continuing decay of the Ilkhān Empire, the Mongol governors declared themselves independent as *amīrs* (or sultans) of Rūm, and sought the support of the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt. In 1375 the latter brought the kingdom of Lesser Armenia to an end, and a Turkmen dynasty, named Ramaḍān [*q.v.*], founded a new state in its Cilician territory soon afterwards, with Adana as capital, under Egyptian supremacy. Another family of Turkmens, the Dulghadir (Arabicised as Dhu 'l-Ḳadr [*q.v.*]) settled in the Eastern Taurus area including Elbistan, also under Egyptian supremacy.

In the west, the principality of Ghāzī ʿOthmān, and his descendants, the Ottomans [see ʿUTHMĀNLĪ], extended more and more at the expense of the remaining Byzantine territory. After northern Phrygia and the territory as far as the Sea of Marmara had become Ottoman, the towns of Prusa (Brusa, Bursa, 6 April 1326), Nicaea (Iznik, 2 March 1331) and Nicomedia (Iznikomid, now Izmit, 1337) fell into the hands of Orkhan, the son of ʿOthmān. Brusa became his capital. Turning quarrels over the succession in the neighbouring principality of Ḳarasī to his advantage, Orkhan annexed its territory (736/1336). Thus the whole southern coast of the Sea of Marmara became Ottoman territory, including the access to the Dardanelles. Acquisitions in Anatolia—usually peaceful ones—coincided with the conquests on the Balkan peninsula under Murād I. Soon after his accession (761/1360), he gained Ankara, which was nominally under the Mongol governors—and later under their successors the amīrs of Rūm (Sivas)—but governed in actual fact by the heads of the guilds forming the *akhī* [*q.v.*] union and practically independent. Some time later, he obtained the principality of Ḥamīd (783/1381), thereby extending Ottoman territory considerably to the east and south. Murād's son and successor Bāyezīd I simply annexed all Anatolian Turkmen principalities shortly after his accession (792/1389), including Ḳaraman and the territory of the Mongol governors. This, however, resulted in an attack by Tīmūr, and Bāyezīd I was beaten in the battle near Ankara (19 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 804/20 July 1402). Tīmūr reinstated the deposed Anatolian rulers, and, apart from the original Ottoman territory, only the original Mongol territory in the northeast of Anatolia remained in Ottoman hands. From there, Meḥemmed I unified the empire once more, and under Murād II the western Anatolian principalities gradually merged with the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans' only remaining rival was Ḳaraman. Murād's son, Meḥemmed II, completed the rounding off of Ottoman territory in Anatolia after having given it a natural centre by conquering Constantinople (29 May 1453). He put an end to the empire of Trebizond in 1461, and to the principality of Ḳaraman in 1467, incorporating both into the Ottoman Empire. The attempt of the Turkmen ruler Uzun Ḥasan, of the House of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, to force Meḥemmed to cede the annexed provinces failed with the loss of the battle of Terdjān (east of Erzindjān, 878/1473). Ottoman rule in Anatolia was completed in the east when Meḥemmed's grandson, Selīm I (921/1515) incorporated the principality of Dulghadir into the empire and conquered Diyar Bakr, and when he reduced the principality of the Ramaḍānoghullarī (in Cilicia) to vassalage and gained the allegiance of the Sunnite Kurdish chieftains. In the north-east, his rule was further extended into the Caucasian foothills by campaigns of the Ottoman Sultans and their generals against Persia. These were generally directed towards the north-east (Süleymān, 940/1534, 955-56/1548-49, the *ser-ʿasker* Muṣṭafā Pasha, 986/1578, against Georgia, and Murād IV, 1045/1634, against Erivan). The whole of Anatolia henceforth remained undisputedly in Ottoman possession and has been taken over by the Turkish Republic in our day.

The only change in more recent years has been the transfer of the districts (*sandjaḳs*) of Kars, Ardahān and Batum which went to Russia in accordance with the Berlin Treaty of 13 July 1878, which in this respect confirmed the peace of San Stefano (3 March 1878). But the peace of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) returned this territory to Turkey. This was finally ratified (with the exception of the town of Batum and a small hinterland, today known as Adjaristān) by the USSR in the Treaty of Moscow (16 March 1921), and by the—then still nominally independent—Soviet Republics of Georgia, Armenia and Ādharbaydjān in the Treaty of Ḳarṣ (13 Oct. 1921) (cf. G. Jäschke, *Geschichte der russisch-türkischen Kaukasusgrenze*, *Archiv des Völkerrechts*, 1953, 198-206). In the Franco-Turkish Treaty of 23 June 1939, Syria ceded the *sandjaḳ* of Iskandarūn to Turkey, and it was incorporated into her territory as the (63rd) *wilāyet* of Hatay.

(3) *Political division of Anatolia.*

The earlier Ottoman organisation. The Ottoman Empire extended so quickly that it soon became necessary to divide it up into political regions. In the beginning these were simply districts of the feudal cavalry, "standards" (*sandjaḳ* [*q.v.*] or *liwāʾ*) which were under a district commander of the "standard" (*sandjaḳ begi* or *mīr-liwāʾ*). Under Orkhan, the second Ottoman ruler, there were already four of these. (1) Sultan-üyügi [*q.v.*] which incorporated the original territory of the Ottomans around Eskishehir and Sögüd; (2) Khudāwendkār (eli) "the ruler's (land)", administered by the ruler himself, with Brusa and Iznik; (3) Ḳodja-eli [*q.v.*] the feudal tenure which Orkhan had bestowed upon his general Aḳče Ḳodja, the Bithynian peninsula with Izmid; and (4) Ḳarasī-eli [*q.v.*] the former principality of Ḳarasī, with Balikesri and Berghama. Under Murād I, when the empire extended still further after the conquests in the Balkan peninsula and further regions of Anatolia, Ottoman territories were united into one province on each side of the straits (*eyālet*, later *wilāyet*), each under a *pasha* with the title of *beglerbegi* (later *wālī*). Thus, to begin with, there were two provinces, with the names of Anatolia (Anaṭōlī, later pronounced

Anadolu) and Rumelia (Rūm-eli). Each of these was subdivided into districts of the feudal militia (*sandjak* or *liwā'*). When the Turkish principalities in Anatolia became part of the Ottoman Empire, they were made into such *sandjaks*, but retained their original names. The gradual growth of the empire is thus shown in its political divisions. Later on, when the Ottomans penetrated further to the east, under Bāyezīd I and particularly under Meḥemmed II and Selīm I, newly acquired areas no longer became *sandjaks* of the *eyālet* of Anadolu, but became provinces in their own right. Independent of this division into provinces and *sandjaks* was a separate division into judicial districts (*ḳaḍā*), each of which was under a judge (*ḳāḍī*). Furthermore, there were domains (*ḥükūmet*) ruled by local dynasties, direct vassals to the Sublime Porte. This whole system was finally fixed by the laws of Sultan Süleymān I Ḳānūnī. According to this, (cf. the printed edition of Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*; cf. also J. v. Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung* ii, 249 ff. and P. A. v. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnswesen in den muslimischen Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, 62 ff.), there were the following *eyālets* in Anatolia: (1) Adana (601, also mentioned as *sandjak* of Aleppo); (2) Anadolu (630; cf. also ANADOLU the following art.); (3) part of Čildir (408, later Akhiska in Transcaucasia); (4) Diyār Bakr (436); (5) Arzan-i Rūm (Erzerum, 422); (6) Ḳaramān (Ḳonya, 614); (7) Ḳarṣ (407); (8) Dhul-ḳadriyya (Mar'ash, 598); (9) Raḳḳa (Urfa, 443); (10) Sīwās (also simply called Rūm 622); (11) Ṭirabzon (Ṭarabzon, 429); (12) Wān (411); (13) from the *eyālet* of Ḥalab (Aleppo) the *sandjaks* Anṭāḳiya (595, the modern Hatay), Bīre (Biredjik, 597) and Kilis (598); (14) the western Anatolian *sandjaks* Bīghā (667), Ḳarasī (661) and Sughla (Izmir, 667), and the areas of Ičel (Selefke) and Alaya with the island of Ḳubrus (Cyprus) on the south coast, which were under the Ḳapudān Pasha. [See individual articles for each of the preceding.]

Basically, this division was adhered to until the beginning of the 19th century, although, at times of weak central governments, some local *pashas* rose and attempted to extend their rule beyond their original provinces. Such governors who acquired independent power and founded dynasties were known as "Princes of the Valleys" (*dere begi* [*q.v.*]). They were no longer civil servants, but vassals of the Sublime Porte, and—reluctantly—recognised as such, contributed troops to the sultan. Because they had an interest in the prosperity of their regions, their rule was generally a beneficial one, whilst the governors sent from the Porte changed frequently, and their main interest was to amass wealth for themselves as quickly as possible. The 18th century in particular saw the development of several such dominions in Anatolia, e.g. that of the Ḳara 'Othman in the Aegean region, and that of the Čapan (or Čapar) in the area of the middle Ḳizil Irmaḳ (Halys).

Tanẓīmāt. In the course of his reforms, Maḥmūd II abolished the dominions of the *derebeys*. During the subsequent times of reform (*tanẓīmāt*), a new division of the empire on European lines was made by the law of 7 Djumādā II 1281/8 Nov. 1864. Now there were provinces (*wilāyet*), administrative areas (*sandjak*) and districts (*ḳaḍā*); many of the old *sandjaks*, especially those of the *eyālet* of Anadolu—later (1875) also those of the *eyālet* of Erzerum—were raised to the status of *wilāyets* and then subdivided into smaller *sandjaks*. Some other *eyālets* of smaller size were assigned to a *wilāyet* as *sandjaks*. After some vacillation, Anatolia consisted of the following *wilāyets* (according to Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890): (1) Adana; (2) Anḳara, (3) Aydin (Smyrna/Izmir); (4) Bitlīs; (5) Diyār Bakr; (6) Erzerūm; (7) the *sandjaks* of Mar'ash and Urfa of the *wilāyet* of Ḥalab (Aleppo), as well as some *ḳaḍās*; (8) some *ḳaḍās* and *nāḥiyes* of the *wilāyet* of Istanbul; (9) Ḳasṭamūnī; (10) Khudāwendigār (Brusa); (11) Ḳonya; (12) Ma'mūret al-'Azīz (Kharpūt, since 1880); (13) Sīwās; (14) Ṭirābizōn; (15) Van; and the two independent *sandjaks*; (16) Bīghā; (17) Izmīd. [Articles on each of the preceding.] This division was kept—with some alterations—until after the First World War.

Under the Turkish Republic, the *wilāyets* were abolished, and *sandjaks* were raised to *wilāyets*. These were called *il* in the course of the language reform. Their number varied. On 20 October 1935, there were only 57 *wilāyets*, at the end of 1935, a further 5 were formed (from the districts, *ḳaḍā*, now *ilče*, of the neighbouring *wilāyets*); in 1939, Hatay was added (ceded by the French mandate of Syria, see above) as the 63rd. (The 63 provinces of January 1st 1940 with their districts at that time are enumerated by G. Jäschke, *Türkei*, Berlin 1941, 22-4). In 1953 Uşak was added as the 64th *wilāyet*. On January 4th 1954 the overall area of the Turkish state consisted of 64 provinces (of which only 4 are in the European part of Turkey, the other 60 in Anatolia) and 523 districts. Of the Anatolian provinces, however, Çanakkale is partly on European ground; the province of Istanbul, on the other hand, is mainly in Europe.

Geographically the provinces are grouped into the following 8 zones (*bölge*) (the names in the modern spelling): (1) the Black Sea Coast: the provinces of Trabzon, Ordu, Rize, Zonguldak, Giresun, Samsun, Sinob, Kastamonu, Bolu, Çoruh; (2) the coast of the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean Sea: the Asiatic parts of the provinces of Istanbul (districts Üsküdar, Kadiköy, Beykoz, Adalar, Kartal, Şile, Yalova) and Çanakkale (districts Çanakkale, Ayvacik, Biğa, Bayramiç, Bozcaada, Ezine, Lapseki, Yenice), and the provinces Izmir, Kocaeli (Izmit), Aydin, Balikesir, Bursa, Manisa, Muğla; (3) the Mediterranean coast, the provinces of Hatay (Iskenderun), Seyhan (Adana), Içel (Selefke), Antalya; (4) European Turkey: the European provinces of Istanbul, (districts Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş, Sariyer, Fatih, Eyüp, Eminönü, Bakirköy, Çatalca, Silivri) and Çanakkale (districts Eceabat, Gelibolu, Imroz), and the provinces Kirklareli, Tekirdağ, Edirne; (5) western Anatolia: the provinces of Denizli, Bilecik, Kütahya, Afyonkarahisar, Isparta, Burdur, Eskişehir—and since 1953—Uşak; (6) central Anatolia, the provinces Tokat, Çorum, Amasya, Kayseri, Malatya, Ankara, Çankiri, Yozgat, Sivas, Maraş, Niğde, Kirşehir, Konya; (7) south-eastern Anatolia: the provinces Gaziantep, Mardin, Urfa; (8) eastern Anatolia: the provinces Kars, Elaziğ, Diyarbakir, Gümüşane, Erzurum, Erzincan, Siirt, Bitlis, Tunceli, Ağri Muş, Bingöl, Van, Hakâri.

(4) *Population.*

Turks and non-Turks. At the time of the Turkish conquest of Anatolia, it had already been Hellenised. The Hellenisation of the various old-Anatolian peoples (begun in Greek and Roman times) was completed during the course of Christianisation. Now, remnants of the old peoples (for example the Lazes), remain only in the mountains, especially those near the Caucasian foothills. Such areas are at the same time refuges in which ancient

religious communities, such as the Paulicians, survived as sects. By the time the Turks came, Anatolia was, however, on the whole Greek speaking and mainly adhered to the Byzantine Orthodox Church. Only the Armenians in the east, who were Monophysites (Gregorians), remained ecclesiastically apart from the Greeks and were not Hellenised. Being merchants, Armenians had probably spread towards the west as far as the capital, even in pre-Turkish times.

A new central-Asiatic race with a new religion, Islam, came to Anatolia with the Turks. In the beginning it may well have been a minority, compared with the Greeks, but, since it consisted of the ruling classes in the Turkish occupied territories, it succeeded in spreading. The reason for this was probably that many members of the old population, who had lost contact with their spiritual centre in Constantinople, felt this spiritual isolation, turned to Islam and were thereby assimilated to the Turks. Initially, this process was a very slow one. In any case, at the time when Marco Polo travelled through Anatolia in 1272, the inhabitants do not appear to have been Turkicised (cf. E. Oberhummer, ***Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich***, Leipzig-Berlin 1917, 42). On the other hand, the documents of the Patriarchate of Constantinople prove clearly, as A. Wächter. (*Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1903) shows, that, especially in the 14th century, when increased numbers of Turks occupied Anatolia, the Orthodox Christianity gradually receded, and with it the land gradually lost its Greek character. This may be due, on the one hand, to emigration from the Turkish occupied areas, but on the other hand also to assimilation to the Turks. Here one must distinguish, however, between the regions with long established Greek inhabitants, such as the western Anatolian coastal regions, which held on to Greek culture and Christianity with great tenacity (as also did those areas which had been under Greek rule for a long time, like Trebizond), and the central Anatolian regions with their only superficially Hellenised and Christianised population (especially in northeastern Anatolia, where the Persian Mongols, the Il<u>kh</u>āns—who themselves had only taken to Islam since <u>Gh</u>āzān—ruled for some time with the true ardour of renegades). Christianity in Anatolia was hard hit by Tīmūr, who—as everywhere else he appeared—let the Christian population feel his hardness and cruelty with a special severity.

The position of the Christians improved when Meḥemmed II granted the Greek Orthodox Church a secure position in the Ottoman state for political reasons after the conquest of Constantinople, and made it into a pillar of his empire side by side with Sunnite Islam. Thus the Christian communities, Greek [see RŪM] as well as Armenian [see ARMAN] in Anatolia were freed from their spiritual isolation, and hold their own until this day. The so-called system of the *millets* [*q.v.*] according to which non-Muslim religious communities within the Ottoman Empire enjoyed considerable autonomy, saved these from further shrinking. In this manner, a *modus vivendi* evolved during the flowering of this empire which did justice to both Muslims and non-Muslims. In the 18th and 19th centuries, there was a positive revival of Anatolian Hellenism, and Armenians were still referred to as "The faithful nation" (i.e. faithful to the state) (*millet-i ṣādiḳa*) in the 19th century. On the whole, linguistic and religious areas were identical, except in central Anatolia (in Ḳonya and Ḳayseri), where the Greeks adopted Turkish as the language of social intercourse and of the house (partly in Greek script), whilst the Armenians by and large accepted Turkish as the language of social intercourse (partly in Armenian script), whilst retaining Armenian—their ecclesiastical language—as the language spoken at home.

Apart from Turkish inhabitants, either city dwellers or peasants, there are—or were—nomad and semi-nomad elements as well as migrating shepherds in Anatolia, who belonged to Islam but were of differing languages and races: Turks, Kurds and Circassians. In the case of Turks (so-called Yürüks and Turkmens [*qq.v.*]), their origin is debatable: they may be Turkmens who kept to their nomadic way of life, or remnants of races of varying origin which became Turkicised. By religion they are mostly ʿAlawites, i.e. they confess to <u>Sh</u>īʿism of some type or have at least <u>Sh</u>īʿite leanings. The Kurds [*q.v.*] who are for the most part Sunnite Muslims, have a closed area of settlement in the south-eastern provinces. The Circassians (Čerkes [*q.v.*]), lastly, had mostly immigrated from the Caucasus at the time whem Russo-Christian rule spread over the Caucasus. Apart from these, one frequently meets returned Muslim emigrants (*muhā-<u>dj</u>irūn*) all over Turkey especially from the Balkan countries, who preferred to leave a country with a Christian government and to seek a new home in Turkey which belongs to the *dār al-islām*. Those people are, however, not nomads but are assimilated by the town or country area in which they settle.

The comparatively amicable relations between Muslims and non-Muslims deteriorated when the western powers began to meddle in the affairs of Turkey in the 19th century. On the grounds of the treaty of Küčük Ḳaynar<u>dj</u>a (1774), Russia claimed the protectorate over the Christian Orthodox inhabitants of Turkey, and awakened anti-Turkish feelings in them. Coming from western Europe, nationalism gained ground amongst the Christian part of the population. The Turkish reaction to this was a dislike for these Christians which soon became hatred. The Armenians felt this most strongly, since they, as neighbours of Russia, were particularly under the suspicion of being in Russian service. The insistance on effecting the reforms laid down in the Berlin Treaty (1878) led to bloody clashes with the Kurds in the years 1894-96. In the First World War, following an invasion by the Russian Caucasus army into the Van region, during which —according to Turkish opinion—the Armenian population behaved disloyally, the whole population was forcibly moved to Mesopotamia, and many of them perished. The remainder emigrated after the war. There was a war against the Greeks in 1919, when, supported by Great Britain, they occupied Smyrna and advanced as far as the Sakarya in 1921. The Turks under Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pa<u>sh</u>a beat the Greek army which retreated from Anatolia, and the greater part of the Greek population retreated with it. The remainder was exchanged by treaty (30 January 1923) for the Muslim inhabitants of Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace and the Greeks in Istanbul). Through this action Anatolia became a 90% Turkish and 99% Muslim country. With the exception of the Arabs living on the Syrian border, the small non-Turkish Muslim pockets will hardly be able to withstand Turkish influence indefinitely. One may also expect a gradual Turkicisation through military service and the influence of the schools among the Kurds, who have no cultural tradition of their own.

End of the 19th century. The statistics on p. 472 show the population of Anatolia during the last decade of the last century according to their religions, as given in the work of V. Cuinet (see Bibl.) on the basis of the imperial and provincial *sāl-nāmes*. As there was no official census in Turkey at that time, the numbers are largely based on estimates and only to a small extent on actual figures. Additional inaccuracies come from the fact that the principle on which these statistics were based was not consistent throughout the various *wilāyets*. For some of them we have detailed figures (in certain cases, even separate data for men and women), in others only summary ones. Thus, for example, the fact that Shīʿites and Yazīdīs are mentioned separately only in some *wilāyets*, does not necessarily mean that there were none in some others. The statistics may, nevertheless, serve to give at least a rough picture of the composition of the population of Anatolia before the First World War.

Abbreviations:

w = *wilāyet*, s = *sandjak*, k = *kaḍā*,
n = *nāḥiye*, i.s. = independent *sandjak*.

In the case of the administrative areas belonging to the *wilāyets* of Istanbul and Ḥalab (Aleppo), Ist. and Ḥal. respectively is added in brackets.

The proportion prevailing there (1 : 4) might also prove right for the other *wilāyets*.

Concerning the races, the statistics show clearly that at that time the Armenians (Gregorian, Catholic and Protestant Armenians together 1,142,775) were concentrated in some eastern *wilāyets* (Erzerum, Bitlīs and Sivas, to a lesser extent also in Van, Maʿmūret al-ʿAzīz, Diyār Bakr and Adana), although even there they were a minority in comparison with the Muslim part of the population (Turks and Kurds). In the case of the Greeks, one must add to the Orthodox (1,042,612 — 25,890 Syrian Orthodox = 1,016,722 Greek Orthodox) the Uniates (16,811), who were included under Catholics in these statistics; their total was thus 1,033,533. They were concentrated in the districts belonging to the *wilāyet* of Istanbul, and in the *wilāyets* of Khudāwendigār, Aydīn (Izmir) and Trabzon, to a lesser extent in Sivas, Ḳonya, and Adana. They, also, were a minority everywhere compared with the Muslims (and in Sivas and Adana also as compared with the Armenians). It is more difficult to arrive at the racial composition of those elements of the population which are described as Muslims, because the statistics generally give merely a total figure. Only for some eastern *wilāyets* are the races for the Sunnite Muslims given as follows:

	Turks	Kurds	Arabs	Circassians	Total
w. Adana	93,200	39,600	12,000	13,200	158,000
w. Diyārbakr	310,644	—	8,000	10,000	328,644
Anat. districts of *w*. Ḥalab	177,048	119,588	123,536	4,500	424,672
w. Maʿmūret al-ʿAzīz	267,616	54,650	—	—	322,366
w. Van	30,500	210,000	—	500	241,000
	879,008	424,138	143,536	27,500	

If one adds up the members of non-Islamic religions, then the composition of the population —according to religions—appears as follows for the time of Cuinet (actual figures and percentages):

Muslims	9,676,714 :	78.9 %
Non-Muslims	2,577,745 :	21.1 %
Total	12,254,459 :	100.00 %

Of the non-Muslims, 2,410,272 were Christians of various denominations.

These statistics show some peculiarities which need explanation. Particularly obvious is the high number of "Copts" (2,867), but only a very small number of these are actual Copts (i.e. Christian Egyptians); by Copts (Ḳibṭī), the Turks usually mean the non-Muslim gipsies. These "Copts" should therefore be added to the number of gipsies (2,867 + 37,752 = 40,619). The Column "foreigners' includes not only real "foreigners", (*edjnebī*) but also immigrated Ottoman citizens (*yabandjī*), whose home is not in the *wilāyet* in question. The two categories are mentioned separately only for the *wilāyet* of Erzerum (1,220 *edjnebī* + 4,986 *yabandjī* = 6,206).

One can only surmise to which race the occasionally separately mentioned members of Muslim sects (usually Shīʿites) belonged (total number 533,677). In Van and Bitlīs they are given as Yazīdīs (5,400 + 3,863 = 9,263), and in the case of Diyār Bakr it is stated that the figure 6,000 for members of different sects also includes Yazīdīs. We may assume that these were on the whole Kurds. Of the others, by far the greater part probably consisted of Shīʿite Turks, in Arab areas probably also Nuṣayrī Arabs. If one deducts the figures for Shīʿites and Yazīdīs as well as those of Arabs, Kurds and Circassians there remains the figure 8,537,863 for supposedly Sunnite Turks, which still contains small elements of Shīʿites, non-Turkish Sunnites, and also Lazes, and emigrants from former Ottoman provinces which had come under Christian rule (*muhādjir*). To the number of Arabs a considerable number of Christians of various denominations should be added as follows:

	Syrian Orthodox	Syrian United	Chald. United	United Maronites	Total
w. Adana	20,900	—	—	4,539	25,439
w. Diyārbakr	4,990	—	—	—	4,990
w. Bitlīs	—	—	2,600	—	2,600
Anat. distr. of *w*. Halab	—	13,687	9,865	—	23,552
w. Van	—	—	6,002	—	6,002
Total	25,890	13,687	18,467	4,539	62,583

With the addition of the total of the non-Uniate Jacobites, Chaldaeans and Nestorians (168,706) one arrives at the total of 231,289 for Christian Arabs of differing denominations; of these, however, some Chaldaeans and Nestorians, as well as Uniate

	Muslims (* Shīʿites and Yazīdīs)	Greek and Syr. Orthodox	Armen. Gregorian	Armen. Catholic	Armen. Protest.	Other Catholics (Uniate and Latin)	Non-Uniate Jacobites Chaldaeans and Nestorians	Jews	«Copts»	Gypsies	Others (Foreigners)	Total
k. Adalar (Ist.)	2,990	5,010	1,300	300	—	903	—	—	—	—	—	10,503
w. Adana	158,000 *56,000	67,100	69,300	11,550	16,600	4,539	—	—	—	16,050	4,400	403,539
w. Anḳara	768,119	34,009	83,063	8,784	2,451	—	—	478	—	997	—	892,901
ḳ. Anṭākya (Ḥal.)	46,000	1,000	2,084	2,500	—	6,500	4,500	266	—	—	—	62,850
w. Aydîn (Izmir)	1,093,334	208,283	14,103	737	265	1,177	—	22,516	—	—	56,062	1,396,477
ḳ. ʿAyntāb (Ḥal.)	65,085	4,000	2,046	2,000	—	6,500	5,906	857	—	—	594	86,988
ḳ. Beyḳoz (Ist.)	5,444	2,150	1,900	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,494
i.s. Bîghā	106,583	17,585	1,636	—	60	92	—	2,988	—	—	494	129,438
w. Bitlīs	254,000 *3,863	210	125,600	3,840	1,950	2,600	6,190	—	372	—	—	398,625
w. Diyār Bakr	328,644 *6,000	14,240	57,890	10,170	11,069	206	38,974	1,269	—	3,000	—	471,462
w. Erzerum	500,782	3,725	120,273	12,022	2,672	—	—	6	16	—	6,206	645,702
ḳ. Gebze (Ist.)	14,000	5,100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	150	19,250
w. Khudāwendigār (Brusa)	1,296,593	230,711	85,354	3,033	604	—	—	3,225	—	—	7,319	1,626,839
k. Iskenderūn (Ḥal.)	12,500	1,000	1,142	1,500	—	4,146	3,000	42	—	—	—	23,330
i.s. Izmid	129,715	40,795	46,308	390	1,937	—	—	2,500	—	1,115	—	222,760
n. Ḳādîköy (Ist.)	9,374	8,137	10,480	200	100	—	—	450	—	290	3,180	32,211
n. Ḳanlîdja (Ist.)	16,796	3,387	4,080	—	—	—	—	120	—	—	800	25,183
ḳ. Kartal (Ist.)	10,870	5,000	2,200	180	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	18,300
w. Kastamoni	992,679	21,507	2,617	30	—	—	—	—	2,079	—	—	1,018,912
ḳ. Kilis (Hal.)	73,520	1,000	1,547	1,300	—	2,774	3,000	747	—	—	—	83,888
w. Ḳonya	989,200	73,000	9,700	—	—	—	—	600	400	15,000	100	1,088,000
w. Maʿmūret al-ʿAzīz (Kharpūt)	322,366 *182,580	650	61,983	1,675	6,060	—	—	—	—	—	—	575,314
s. Marʿash (Ḥal.)	134,438	5,505	1,850	2,463	7,806	18,505	8,918	368	—	—	—	179,853
w. Sivas	559,680 *279,834	76,068	129,523	10,477	30,433	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,086,015
k. Shile (Ist.)	15,750	3,200	800	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19,750
w. Ṭirabzon	806,700	193,000	44,100	2,300	800	400	—	400	—	—	—	1,047,700
s. Urfa (Ḥal.)	122,665	5,060	2,000	2,437	2,000	2,738	6,218	367	—	—	—	143,485
n. Üsküdar (Ist.)	71,210	12,180	15,800	250	250	—	—	5,100	—	700	200	105,690
w. Van	241,000 *5,400	—	79,000	708	290	6,002	92,000	5,000	—	600	—	430,000
Total	9,676,714 (9,143,037+ *533,677)	1,042,612	977,679	19,749	85,347	56,179	168,706	47,299	2,867	37,752	79,555	12,254,459

Chaldaeans have to be added to the Kurds. In these statistics, one may assume that the 2,675 Catholics not contained in the number of the Uniates were largely Latins, i.e. occidentals (missionaries etc.) with or without Ottoman nationality, who had not been included under the heading "foreigners".

Thus, for the time of Cuinet we have roughly the following picture of the ethnic composition of Anatolia:

H. Louis, *Die Bevölkerungskarte der Türkei*, Berlin 1940, bases his work on the publication of the census in Turkey in 1935. It can be seen from the map that the three most densely populated areas in Anatolia are the following: 1) the western Anatolian coastal strips together with the river valleys, leading into the interior, especially that of the Maeander (Büyük Menderes Čay), 2) the coastal area of the Black Sea, 3) Cilicia, the new *sandjak* of

	Sunnites	Shīʿites	Yazīdīs	Christians	Jews	unknown and foreigners	Total
Turks	8,547,863	462,414 ?	—	—	—	—	9,010,277
Kurds	424,138	?	9,263 ?	?	—	—	433,401
Arabs	143,536	62,000 ?	—	231,289 ?	—	—	436,825
Circassians	27,500	—	—	—	—	—	27,500
Greeks	—	—	—	1,033,533	—	—	1,033,533
Armenians	—	—	—	1,142,775	—	—	1,142,775
Jews	—	—	—	—	47,299	—	47,299
Gipsies	—	—	—	—	—	40,619	40,619
Unknown and foreigners	—	—	—	2,675	—	79,555	82,230
Total	9,143,037	524,414	9,263	2,410,272	47,299	120,174	12,254,459

The figures for several official censuses for the Turkish Republic are already available: namely, those of 1927, 1935, 1940, 1945, and 1950, but the last of these is given as only "provisional" (*muvakkat*). The particular figures can be found in the individual articles on the capitals of the various *ils* (*wilāyets*) enumerated above, ch. 3, last paragraph.

The total for 1945 is 18,790,174 and 20,934,670 for 1950: 1,496,612 and 17,293,562 in European Turkey and Anatolia respectively in 1945; 1,598,255 and 19,336,415 in European Turkey and Anatolia respectively in 1950.

Definite figures for some towns exist for 1950. According to these, there are 5 towns of over 100,000 inhabitants: Istanbul (1,000,022), Ankara (286,781), Izmir (230,508), Adana (117,799), and Bursa (100,007); and the following 6 towns between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants: Eskişehir (88,459), Gaziantep (72,743), Kayseri (65,489), Konya (64,509), Erzurum (54,360), Sivas (52,269).

There are also figures for the distribution of the town and the country population for 1945 and 1950. The percentage rate, worked out for the purpose of this article, is:

Hatay, and the plain towards the Euphrates, which, geographically, belongs to northern Syria; compared with this, the centre with its steppes and the mountainous north-east show the lowest density of population. The distribution is caused by the nature of the country, and has probably always been roughly the same—at least since the Middle Ages—and should remain so at any rate in the near future. Figures for religious and linguistic divisions are only available for 1945 (*21 Ekim* 1945 *Genel Nüfus Sayimi, Recensement général de la population du 21 Octobre* 1945, *Türkiye Nüfusu, Population de la Turquie*, vol. 65, Ankara 1950). According to these, Turkey can be divided up linguistically as follows:

people with		
Turkish as mother-tongue	16,598,037 :	88.34%
a non-Turkish language as mother-tongue	2,192,006 :	11.66%
Unknown	131 :	
Total	18,790,174 :	100.00%

	1945		1950	
in towns:	4,687,102 :	25.06 %	5,267,695 :	25.16 %
in the country	14,103,072 :	74.94 %	15,666,975 :	74.84 %
	18,790,174 :	100.00 %	20,934,975 :	100.00 %

At Turkey's overall area of 767,119 sq. km., this produces a density of population of 24.49 per sq. km. in 1945 and 27 in 1950. The official percentage of town and country population (both as a whole and according to individual *wilāyets*) is only available for 1935. According to this, there were then 23.5% of the population in towns and 76.5% in the country. With these figures, one must bear in mind that according to the law of 1930, every place with a municipal government (*belediye teşkilatı*) counts as a town. Such a body is to be set up both in all places of more than 2,000 inhabitants and also (irrespective of this minimum figure) in all *ḳaḍā* centres, of which some have hardly 500 inhabitants. If judged by western standards, the proportion would alter in favour of the country population.

According to religions:

Islam	18,497,801 :	98.45%
non-Islamic religion	292,152 :	1.55%
unknown denomination	221 :	
Total	18,790,174 :	100.00%

Of the non-Muslims there were:

Christians.	202,044 :	69.16%
Jews	76,965 :	26.34%
Without religion	561 :	0.19%
Other denominations	12,582 :	4.31%
Total	292,152 :	100.00%

These rough statistics, when compared with those at the end of the last century as given by Cuinet, clearly show an enormous change which was caused by the events during and shortly after the First World War.

More detailed information can be gained from the following division into both categories which is reproduced here in shortened form.

Language	Muslims	Catholics	Orthodox	Protestants	Gregorians	Christians of unknown denomination	Jews	Without religion	Others	Unknown	Total
Turkish	16,546,681	4,955	10,705	1,099	17,581	3,847	11,836	298	1,017	18	16,598,037
Kurdish	1,469,570	22	57	14	43	16	23	9	5,208	3	1,476,562
Arabic	235,668	964	7,071	657	92	617	1,027	1	1,517	3	247,204
Greek	9,898	4,546	73,083	6	177	460	290	2	80	3	88,680
Circassian	66,681	1	5	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	66,691
Armenian	3,396	2,295	2,880	979	42,019	4,301	124	40	136	9	56,179
Yiddish	602	22	57	14	43	16	50,216	5	42	2	51,019
Laz	46,979	2	3	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	46,987
Georgian	39,870	21	23	—	—	1	159	—	—	2	40,076
Other languages: Albanian, Bosnian, Judaeo-Spanish, Tartar etc.	78,447	11,214	19,951	2,342	305	10,712	13,286	196	4,582	181	118,608
Unknown	47	8	4	2	—	70	—	—	—	—	131
Total	18,497,801	21,950	103,839	5,213	60,260	10,782	76,965	561	12,582	221	18,790,174

With regard to the totals of the division into languages, the following facts stand out from the figures given for individual *wilāyets*, (the numbers are again given in round figures). The Kurdish speaking people live together densely in the south-eastern *wilāyets*, and form the large majority in the *wilāyets* of Ağrı (80,000), Bingöl (42,000), Bitlīs (43,000), Diyar Bakr (180,000), Hakâri (30,000), Mardin (155,000), Muş (53,000), Siirt (100,000), and Van (78,000). In Tunceli (48,000) and Urfa (123,000) they have a slight majority over the Turks (43,000 and 103,000), and in Elaziğ (82,000), Kars (66,000), and Malatya (141,000), they form a large minority. The Arabic speaking people are everywhere in the minority compared with the Kurds; 60,000 in Mardin compared with 155,000 Kurds, but in the majority compared with the Turks (15,000); 40,000 in Urfa compared with 123,000 Kurds and 105,000 Turks; 100,000 in Hatay, where the largest number of Arabs live, compared with 150,000 Turks. The smallest number of Turks is found in the *wilāyets* of Mardin and Siirt (in each ca. 15,000) and in Hakari (4,000). Greeks, Armenians and Jews (including ca. 10,000 who speak Judaeo-Spanish) live almost exclusively in Istanbul. There are also some 7000 Greeks in Çanakkale and some 12,000 Jews in Izmir; there are only extremely small groups elsewhere. Other small racial groups, such as the Circassians (most of these in the *wilāyet* of Kayseri), Lazes, and Georgians (both of these especially in the eastern Black Sea provinces), form a very small minority in all these places in comparison with the Turks.

The division into religions is also very informative. Above all, it is worth noting that all those religious groups which have Turkish as their mother-tongue have increased. In the case of Islam, no distinction is made between Sunnites and Shīʿites. But those mentioned under "other denominations"—with the exception of a few foreigners of unusual religious denominations—are largely Kurds (probably of extreme Shīʿite sects or Yazīdīs) who either do not count themselves members of Islam or are not recognised as such by the Sunnites and Moderate Shīʿites. Those giving Georgian as their mother-tongue are Lazes, and not real Georgians—who are Christians—as can be seen clearly from the fact that most of them give Islam as their religion. The relatively high figure for Catholics and Protestants under "other languages" obviously refers to foreigners. The number of Jews under "other languages" includes the 10,866 who speak Judaeo-Spanish. The Gipsies, who in Cuinet's statistics were given with the rather large figure of 40,000, have disappeared altogether from the new statistics. As they do not speak a different language from that of the people amongst whom they live, nor profess a different religion, one may assume that they are present, unrecognised, in the various groups of the statistics.

(5) *Development of Communications.*

Being a thinly populated peninsula with steppes in the centre and few usable harbours, Anatolia has little traffic. Long distance traffic from Istanbul to the east mostly tries to bypass Anatolia, preferring to the difficult overland roads the easier sea routes to Trabzon on the Black Sea, or to Ayas at the mouth of the Djeyḥān in the Middle Ages, to Payas in the Gulf of Issus under the Ottomans, and to Iskenderun (Alexandretta) in recent times. Throughout the ages the main caravan tracks led from these harbours to the interior of Asia. Traffic inside Anatolia was generally only of local importance. There were always through-roads, usually leading to or from Istanbul (which was regarded as the undisputed metropolis even at times when Anatolia did not regard it as its political capital).

Three types of such roads can be distinguished in Turkish times: (1) Military roads; (2) Caravan routes; (3) Postal routes. All three types follow the nature of the country and circumvent the interior steppes, passing through adjoining regions, but keeping to the inside of the border-mountains. They prefer the edges of the steppe where animals

can graze and where the towns are situated. The routes follow roughly the same lines, though they do not coincide altogether.

The main Military road (on which the armies of the sultans moved in the 16th and 17th centuries against Persia and Caucasia) described a large arc south of the central Anatolian steppe from Üsküdar via Izmid, Eskishehir, Akshehir, to Konya and from there via Eregli, Nigde, Kayseri to Sivas, then via Erzindjān and Erzurum to the east. When Selīm I marched against Syria, he too went to Kayseri and only from there through the Anti-Taurus to Elbistān and Marʿash. The route from Eregli through the Cilician Gate (Gülek Boghazl) to Adana and further into Syria was usually avoided, particularly for difficult transports, and especially because the Gülek Boghazl is easy to block. In 1638, for instance, Murād IV sent the artillery he needed for the capture of Baghdād by sea as far as Payas, only transporting it overland from there onwards with the aid of buffaloes. The northern Caravan route (to be mentioned below) was used for small detachments only. The reports of the Imperial armies often give the sites of the camps on the main Military road, but these are frequently at a considerable distance from the inhabited places along the route.

The most important of the Caravan routes is the one leading diagonally across from Üsküdar via Gebze, then, after crossing the Gulf of Izmid from Dil to Iznik, following roughly the Military route via Eskishehir to Konya and Eregli, then through the Cilician Gute (Gülek Boghazl) to Adana and thence to Syria or Mesopotamia. The route via Antākiya to Syria is, at the same time, the route which pilgrims took (via Damascus) to Mecca and Medina, the holy places of Islam, and it is often mentioned in this capacity. There is also a northern caravan route of some importance which goes from Üsküdar to Amasya via Izmid, Boll and Tosya (or, bypassing Amasya, via Niksar), and thence to Erzindjān and Erzerum and further to the east; alternately, from Amasya via Tokat, Sivas and Malatya to Diyārbakr and further to Mosul and Baghdād; from Üsküdar onwards this route is called Baghdād Yolu. An older variant of this—used by Busbecq in 1555—follows the diagonal route as far as Eskishehir and then goes on to Amasya via Ankara. Lastly, the north-south route which bypasses the central Anatolian steppe to the east is of some importance. In Saldjūk times, this route branched off at Konya, the capital, and went right across the steppe, past the beautiful Sultān Khān and Aksarāy to Kayseri and on to Sivas, where it connected with the northern route as well as with those leading to the east (Erzindjān and Erzerum). In Karaman and Ottoman times it went from places at the foot of the Taurus, Laranda (Karaman), or Uluklshla via Nigde to Kayseri. In western Anatolia, only roads leading from Izmir seem to have had some local importance and little is reported of them.

Postal routes, like the caravan routes, were divided into three "arms" (*kol*, for this term, which is also used as a technical term in administrative language, cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1942; H. W. Duda, *Balkantürkische Studien*, Vienna 1949, 98 ff. note 8). In the 17th century, according to the *Djihān-nümā*, the middle one of these "arms" embraced the entire length of the diagonal route together with its offshoots as far as Damascus; the right one, the whole west Anatolian network, and the left, the northern caravan route with its extension as far as Baghdād. According to reports of postal routes in the 19th century, the diagonal route forms the right arm together with the western Anatolian network, the northern caravan route the central one, whilst the left one does not leave the central one until Tokat, whence it embraces the eastern network to Erzerum. (Concerning the development of road and route-nets in Anatolia prior to the 19th century, cf. F. Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz nach Osmanischen Quellen*, Leipzig 1924; idem, *Die Verkehrslage und das Wegenetz Anatoliens im Wandel der Zeiten*, *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, 1926, 202-6).

The word "roads" can be applied to these routes only in a limited sense, as roads were not built with foundations; except where Roman roads could still be employed, they are simply much used and well-trodden tracks, along which caravanserais, wells, and bridges have been erected by benefactors for the comfort of the travellers.

This tripartite route-system has been gradually falling into disuse with the expansion of railways in the 19th and 20th centuries, though the railway follows roughly the track of the old routes—at least in the case of the diagonal road.

The building of railways naturally did not replace the building of roads, which also has been encouraged (to a certain extent) since the *tanzīmāt* period. (For the means devised to finance the building of the roads: corvée and road-tax, "*yol parasl*", see G. Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, IV, Oxford 1906, 245 ff., "Routes et Prestations").

The history of railway building in Anatolia began with the granting of a concession to a British company for a railway from Smyrna (Izmir) to Aydln in 1856, and the line was opened 10 years later. In the last decades of the Ottoman Empire the following sections were opened in Anatolia:

(1) British Company: Smyrna (Izmir)—Aydln 1866,—Dinar 1889 (with branchlines to Ödemiş, Tire, Söke, Denizli and Čivril)—Egirdir 1912; (2) Franco-Belgian Company (British until 1893): Smyrna (Izmir)—Manisa—Kasaba 1866,—Alashehir 1873 (?),—Afyūn Kara Ḥiṣār 1897; Manisa—Soma 1890,—Ballkesir—Bandlrma 1912; (3) Narrow Gauge Railway Mudanya-Brusa (Bursa) 1875, rebuilt by a Franco-Belgian Company in 1892 (not in use now); (4) German Company (since 1888) Anatolian Railway: Ḥaydar Pasha—Izmid 1873 (with a branchline to Adapazar)—Eskishehir—Ankara 1892; Eskishehir—Afyūn Kara Ḥiṣār (with a branchline from Alayunt to Kütahya)—Konya 1896; Baghdād Railway: Konya—Bulgurlu 1904; Toprakkale—Iskenderun 1913; Bulgurlu—Adana—Toprakkale—Aleppo (Ḥaleb)—Nuṣaybīn 1918 (with a branchline to Mardīn); (5) British Company: Mersin—Adana 1886 (1906 taken over by the Baghdād Railway Company).

Thus the railways consisted—with the exception of the short stretches which linked Adana and Brusa with their harbours—on the one hand of a network based on Smyrna (Izmir) and opening up the rich agricultural districts of western Anatolia, on the other hand of a diagonal line, with a branch to Ankara, which linked the capital to the far-distant Arab provinces of Mesopotamia, ʿIrāk and Syria. Plans for a railway system in the Black Sea area and in north-eastern Anatolia broke down because of Russian opposition.

Existing railways were nationalised at the beginning of the Turkish Republic in 1920 ("Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Demiryollarl"), and the system has since been extended and based on Ankara as

its centre. This extension began as early as 1922 with a narrow-gauge railway Ankara—Irmak—Yahşl Han 1925—Yerköy and in the Kayseri direction 1925. This was later extended in wide gauge.

There are the following lines: (1) Ankara-Kayseri 1927,—Sivas 1930,—Erzincan 1938,—Erzurum 1939, —Horasan 1950;—Sarlkamlş under construction. Here it will link up with the broad gauge railways which the Russians built in 1896: Gümrü (Alexandropol, now Leninakan) via Kars to Sarlkamlş. The line was continued in narrow gauge from there to Mamahatun via Erzerum during the First World War. (2) Illca (in the Gulf of Edremit)—Edremit—Palamutluk (narrow gauge) 1924 (unused since 1953); (3) Fevzipaşa (on the Adana—Aleppo line)—Malatya 1931,—Diyarbekir (Diyarbaklr) 1935 (with a branchline to Elazlğ),—Kurtalan 1944; (4) Samsun —Çarşamba (narrow gauge) 1926 (no longer in use); Samsun—Amasya—Sivas 1932; (5) Kütahya—Balikesir 1932; (6) Kayseri—Uluklşla (more specifically: Bogazköptü—Kardeşgediği) 1933 (since then through-trains to Syria and Iraq—the Taurus Express—go via Ankara and no longer via Konya); (7) Irmak—Filyos 1935,—Zonguldak 1937,—Kozlu 1943,—Eregli planned, under construction as far as Çamll; (8) Afyon Karahisar—Karakuyu (near Dinar), Baladiz (near Eğirdir)—Burdur, and Bozanönü (also near Egirdir)—Isparta 1936; (9) Çetinkaya (on the Sivas—Erzincan line)—Malatya 1937; (10) Elazlğ—Genç 1947, — Muş under construction — Tavan (on Lake Van) planned; (11) Köprüağrl (near Fevzipaşa)—Maraş 1948; (12) Narll (near Fevzipaşa)—Gazianteb 1953,—Karkamlş formerly D̲j̲arābulus (on the Euphrates, on the Aleppo—Nusaybin line) under construction. (Cf. G. Jäschke, *Geschichte und Bedeutung der türkischen Eisenbahnen*, *Zeitschrift für Politik*, 1942, 559-566; concerning the Bag̲h̲dād railway in particular, cf. H. Bode, *Der Kampf um die Baghdadbahn* 1903-1914, Breslau 1941; R. Hüber, *Die Baghdadbahn*, Berlin 1943.)

The increased use of motor-transport and the consequent decrease in rail-transport, has already resulted in the closing of local lines (Mudanya—Brusa, Illca—Edremid—Palamutlu) and threatens to outdo rail-transport in Turkey. As a result there has been a fresh emphasis on road construction (Mukbil Gökdogan, *Strassenbau und Verkehrspolitik in der Türkei*, Stuttgart 1938). In recent years the road network in Turkey has been greatly expanded —partly with American aid—and there are now numerous bus lines (cf. R. W. Kerwin, *The Turkish Roads Programme*, *The Middle East Journal*, 1950).

Since the Anatolian rivers are not navigable, there is no real inland shipping (except in the case of the greater rivers just above their months, and the use of rafts of inflated skins (*kelek* [*q.v.*]) on the Tigris). Nor are there any artificial waterways. The project of linking the Sabland̲j̲a lake with the Saḳarya on the one side and the Gulf of Izmit on the other by canal has been considered twice (999/1590-91 and 1064/1653), but on neither occasion did it get past the preliminary stages [see SABAND̲J̲A].

Conditions for sea shipping are not very favourable either: the north and south coasts have few natural harbours, and the many bays along the west coast are of little use because the river estuaries are silted up by the rivers (cf. above, ii, "Aegean Anatolia"). Apart from Smyrna (Izmir [*q.v.*]), the most important harbour, there are a few—admittedly unimportant—harbours along the west coast, such as Foča [*q.v.*] (Phocaea; in ancient times and in the Middle Ages it was a considerable rival of the port of Smyrna, because it jutted further out into the sea), Bodrum (Halicarnassus), and Fethiye (Makri), which are only of importance for coastal shipping. In recent times only Smyrna has had any importance as an overseas harbour, though Foča also held a similar position in the Middle Ages.

Unlike the ports on the western coast which can be easily reached by the river valleys from the centre of Anatolia, the few ports on the north and south coasts are difficult to reach. On the north coast, Sinob (Sinope) [*q.v.*]—rather inaccessible because of its mountainous hinterland—and Samsun [*q.v.*] (Amisos) are of some importance, particularly in traffic with the Crimea which lies opposite. Samsun, situated in the plain between the mouths of the rivers Ḳlzll Irmaḳ (Halys) and Yes̲h̲il Irmaḳ (Iris), has grown more important than Sinob, particularly in the 19th century. On the south coast, the ports of Antalya [*q.v.*] (Adalya, the ancient Attaleia and Satalia of the Crusaders) and Alanya [*q.v.*] (ʿAlāʾiyya, Galonoros in Byzantine times, the Candelor of the European merchants in the Middle Ages) have been of importance ever since the Middle Ages. More recently, the harbour of Mersina (now Mersin [*q.v.*]) has also been of importance since it was built in 1832. The only points for landing which would link up with traffic across the continent were actually those at the "base" of the Anatolian peninsula i.e. Ṭarabzun [*q.v.*] (Trebizond) on the Black Sea, and one on the Mediterranean (in the Middle Ages Ayas [*q.v.*], Laiazzo of the crusaders, Payas in Ottoman times, now Iskenderun, Alexandretta); caravans from Trebizond went to Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān and Persia, and from the above-mentioned Mediterranean ports to northern Syria (Aleppo), Mesopotamia (Mosul) and ʿIrāḳ (Bag̲h̲dād).

(6) *Economy*.

Anatolia has always been an agricultural country and it has largely remained one in spite of the considerable incipient industrialisation. In the centre—wherever the land is fit for more than grazing—the main crop is grain, whilst fruit and vegetables are cultivated in the coastal areas and near rivers where gardens can be watered with the aid of water-wheels. Fruit-growing is characteristic particularly of the districts on the Black Sea (apples from Amasya are famous throughout the country, and Cerasus, now Giresun, is supposed to be the original home of the cherry), hazelnuts are grown in many areas. Along the Aegean Sea (with its Mediterranean vegetation) figs, olives, melons (watermelon, *karpuz* and sweet melon, *kavun*), and mulberry trees and vines are grown. The woods in the Black Sea area (especially the "Wood Sea", *ag̲h̲ač denizi*, of former times near Saband̲j̲a) were extensive enough to meet not only the local demands for timber for building, wood for burning and charcoal but also part of the need of the capital, which got the remainder of its supply from woods on the European side.

The steppes in the centre of the country are most propitious for the raising of cattle. Various types of sheep and goats are found here, including Angora goats whose wool (*tiftik*) is in great demand (mohair). Anatolian horses have been famous since the Middle Ages. The ʿAzlziyye stud farm in Phrygia used to breed the horses for the Ottoman cavalry. The growing of silkworms is a speciality of north-west Anatolia thanks to the cultivation of the mulberry tree there. Brusa is the centre for this and for the silkspinning industry.

The silver mines of Gümüsh-khāne between Trabzon and Erzurum, and those of Gümüsh Ḥādjdji Köy near Amasya, must be mentioned as the oldest; here, too, were the mints for silver coins. Copper was found in Küre (between Inebolu and Ḳasṭamonu) and in Ergani Maʿden (near Diyārbakr). Near Eskishehir is the only area in the world where "Meerschaum" is found. This was in great demand in the 19th century for pipes (*lüle*) and similar articles, but since "Meerschaum" is no longer in fashion now, production is much reduced.

Arts and crafts have been playing a considerable part, especially ceramics (introduced from Persia as early as the Saldjūḳ period). Magnificent examples of Rūm Saldjūḳ ceramics are found especially in buildings in Ḳonya. The golden age of Ottoman ceramics began when Selīm I brought craftsmen back from Tabrīz during his Persian campain (1514), and settled them in Istanbul and Izniḳ. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Izniḳ was the centre for the production of the classical Ottoman pottery with blue and green as the main colours, contrasting effectively with the interspersal bright "Bolus-red". The tiles produced in Izniḳ adorn mosques and *türbes* in Istanbul, as well as the Topḳapı Sarāy. Of vessels, the plates (known as "Rhodes plates" to the trade) are the best known and most exported product of the potteries. In later years (under Aḥmed III) potteries were founded in the Teḳfūr Sarāy in Istanbul and in Kütahya (concerning Turkish Fayence manufacture in Izniḳ and other places, cf. K. Otto-Dorn, *Das islamische Iznik*, Berlin 1941, 109 ff., and the list of sources by R. Anhegger, ibid., 165 ff.). [Cf. also Khazaf].

Besides pottery, textile goods form a characteristic part of Anatolia's produce, particularly rugs. The Turks brought this skill from the east and developed it (mainly in ʿUshaḳ, Ḳula, Gördez and others) partly in the Persian tradition, partly in a more popular style. The rugs best known in Europe are those made in the 19th century, which are loosely knotted, with long threads and known as "Smyrna" rugs after their harbour of export, although they were actually made in the ʿUshaḳ area. The Anatolian silk industry was also of great renown; the centre for which was in Brusa. Its products, of which the brocades with inwoven gold and silver threads are of an especially high artistic quality, were chiefly woven for the court and for higher society. (Concerning Turkish textile production cf. Tahsin Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve Kadifeleri*, Istanbul 1946-51; idem, *Turkish Textiles and Velvets*, Ankara 1950). Lastly, coarser weaving (*kilim*) of rugs and mats must be mentioned; such mats cover the mosque floors in winter. [Cf. also Bisāṭ, Nasīdjī].

Trades in towns were organised into guilds. These guilds (*eṣnāf*, from the singular *ṣinf* [*q.v.*]) which were "fraternities" somewhat similar in character to a darwīsh order, maintained and guarded traditions, quality and integrity. In cases of accident, their members were protected against loss by the spirit of comradeship, and the resultant esprit de corps gave them a power to which—at times—even the government had to yield. The guilds were supervised by the clerk of the market (*muḥtesib*), who, in turn, was subordinate to the Ḳādī—an institution belonging to the sharīʿa. (Concerning Turkish guilds cf. Osman Nuri, *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, I, Istanbul 1922, chap. *Eṣnāf*, 479-768; Taeschner, *Die Zünfte in der Türkei*, *Leipziger Vierteljahrsschrift für Südosteuropa*, 1941, 172-88; and Ṣinf; concerning economy in early Ottoman times in general, cf. Afet Inan, *Aperçu général sur l'Histoire économique de l'Empire Turc-Ottoman*, Istanbul 1941.)

The ancient guilds began to disintegrate in the 19th century when state reform (*tanẓīmāt*) opened the way to commercial reforms on western European lines and to a western legal code (partly by direct adoption of European legal codes). Finally the guilds were formally dissolved on 13 Febr. 1325 M./26 Febr. 1910 (the *Gedik* on 16 Febr. 1328 M./1 March 1913). Modern organisations (grouped into trade unions in 1943) took their place. Improvements were made in agriculture, as for instance the irrigation to bring water to the Ḳonya plain carried out by the Baghdād Railway (1907-1913), and new cultivations (e.g. cotton in the Cilician plain) were introduced.

Attempts to bring Anatolia into line economically with European countries have been particularly marked since the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Cf. (amongst others): Orhan Conker and Emile Witmeur, *Redressement économique et industrialisation de la Nouvelle Turquie*, Paris 1937; Ahmed Oguz, *Die Wirtschaftslenkung in der Türkei*, Berlin 1940; Schewket Raschid, *Die türkische Landwirtschaft als Grundlage der türk. Volkswirtschaft*, Berlin-Leipzig 1932; M. Thornburg, G. Spry, G. Soule, *Turkey. An Economical Appraisal*, New York 1949; *The Economy of Turkey. An Analysis and Recommendations of a Development Program*. Baltimore 1951.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb Rudjār* or *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ* (K. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, iv, Stuttgart 1927, plates 35, 45, 55; *Edrisii Geographia Arabice*, Rome 1592, fol. 113r-114v, 139r-142r, 153v-154v; P. Amédée Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Paris 1836-40, II, 129, 305, 391); Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān* and al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, s.v. al-Rūm; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (*Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840; French translation by Reinaud, Paris 1848, continued by St. Guyard, Paris 1883); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Arabic text with French translation: *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, by Defrémery and Saguinetti, ii, Paris 1877, 254-354; French translation with annotations by Defrémery in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Dec. 1850-April 1851; English translation by H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, London 1953, 123-66); al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār* (F. Taeschner, *Al-ʿUmarī's Bericht über Anatolien*, Leipzig 1929; incomplete translation by Quatremère in *Notices et Extraits*, xiii, Paris 1838, 151-384); Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, (*The geographical part of Nuzhat al-qulub*, ed. by G. le Strange, Leyden-London 1915, English translation 1919); G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 127-58; F. Taeschner, *Ein altosmanischer Bericht über das vorosmanische Konstantinopel*, in *Annali Ist. Univ. Or. Napoli*, N.S. I, Rome 1940, 181-9. Muḥammad ʿĀshiḳ's *Manāẓir al-ʿAwālim* (1006/1598) brings to an end the geographical literature of the mediaeval type. In the geographical section, he begins with a Turkish translation of what older authors—al-Idrīsī, Abu 'l-Fidā' and others—have said; in the case of places which he himself has visited, this is followed by an account of what he has seen. These reports, which are interspersed throughout the work, are of the greatest importance and would merit an edition, especially since they were used as a basis for later works.

Those original works by Ottoman writers which have survived are more revealing than any of the

above-mentioned ones: Pīrī Reʾīs, *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, Istanbul 1935, Facsimile edition, from p. 746; Kātib Čelebi (or Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), *Djihān-nümā*, of which there are two recensions (cf. Taeschner, *Zur Geschichte des Djihānnumā*, *MSOS*, 1926, ii, 99-111; idem, *Das Hauptwerk der geographischen Literatur der Osmanen, Kātib Čelebis Gihānnumā*, *Imago Mundi* 1935, 44-7). The former exists only as an unfinished fragment in a series of manuscripts of which the Viennese one, Mxt. 389 (Cat. Flügel, ii, No. 1282) is the most important because it seems to have been the working copy of the great scholar. Abū Bakr b. Bahrām al-Dimashḳī (d. 1102/1691) continued Kātib Čelebi's work and wrote a description of Anatolia, a manuscript of which is in London (Brit. Mus., Or. 1038). Ibrāhīm Mutafarriḳa printed the *Djihān-nümā* (10 Muḥ. 1145/23rd July 1732; an inaccurate translation into Latin by Matth. Norberg, *Gihan Numa, Geographia Orientalis*, 2 vols. Lund 1818; French translation by Armain, *Déscription de l'Asie Mineure*, in Louis Vivien de Saint Martin, *Histoire des découvertes géographiques*, iii, Paris 1846, 637 ff.), in which he completed the part left unfinished by Kātib Čelebi from the work of Abū Bakr (p. 422 ff., Norberg, i, 618 ff.) Thus this book—which is one of the incunabula of Turkish printing—became a geographical description of Asia. Of Anatolia, however, (Norberg, i, 589 ff.) only the parts on the *eyālet* of Van (p. 411) are actually by Kātib Čelebi, everything else, i.e. the description of the *eyālets* Ḳarṣ (inserted, p. 407), Erzerum (422), Ṭirabzon (429), Diyārbakr (436; from here onwards Norberg, ii), Cilicia (Ičel, 610) Ḳaraman (614), Sivas (622), and Anadolu (631), is by Abū Bakr.

Further sources of information on Anatolia in Ottoman times are the few reports of travellers in Turkish and in Arabic: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme* (i-vi, badly edited in Istanbul 1314-6, vii and viii slightly better in 1928, ix and x (in Latin script) in 1935 and 1938; the first two volumes were rather inadequately translated into English from a bad manuscript by Joseph von Hammer, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, London 1834, 1846 and 1850), which we have only as a rough sketch. Those parts of the work which relate to Anatolia (vols ii-v) are brought together in Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, i, Leipzig 1924, 37-39, 44. Further, there are the travel guides for pilgrims going to Mecca, such as Muḥammad Adīb's work of 1193/1779 (printed in Istanbul 1232/1817, French translation by Bianchi, *Itinéraire de Constantinople à la Mecque*, Paris 1825, in which the date of writing is erroneously given as 1093/1682, cf. Taeschner, *Wegenetz*, i, 82).

To complete the picture given by the abovementioned Oriental travel accounts, there are those by Europeans (the older ones listed by L. Vivien de Saint-Martin in *Histoire des découvertes Géographiques*, iii, 743-808: vi, Bibliographie; the more recent by Selčuk Trak, *Türkiyeye ait Coğrafi eserler genel bibliоğrafyası*, i, Ankara 1942, 30-9).

A wealth of information may be expected from documents kept in Turkish archives, but research into these is only in its beginning (Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *Türkiyede Imperatorluk devirlerinin nüfus ve arazi tahrirleri ve Hakana mahsus defterler*, Istanbul 1941, and *XV ve XVInci asırlarda Osmanlı Imperatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları, Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943).

Finally, the official handbooks (*Dewlet-i ʿAliyye-i ʿOthmāniyye Sāl-nāmesi*) which are available for the 68 years from 1263 H/1847 to 1334 Māliyye/1918 and the *Sāl-nāmes* of the individual *wilāyets* may be used as sources of information for the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. (The imperial and provincial *Sāl-nāmes* of that time, together with other sources, are exploited in the important work by V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris i/ii, 1892, iii/iv, 1894). Under the Turkish Republic, a similar series was started (*Türkiye Djümhūriyeti Dewlet Sāl-namesi*), but only 5 volumes have appeared so far (i, 1926; ii, 1927; iii, 1928; iv, 1929; v, 1930), and they do not contain nearly as much material as the earlier *sal-nāmes* of Ottoman times.

Lastly, the lists of place-names may serve as sources for the most recent period, for instance: *Son teşkilat-i mülkiyede Köylerimizin adları*, Istanbul 1928; *Idare Taksimatı*, 1942, Istanbul 1942; *Türkiye'de Meskun Yerler Kılavuzu*, 2 vols., Ankara 1946 and 1950.

Key to the map of Anatolia in the 17th century.

This map is based on the *Bevölkerungskarte der Türkei*, 1 : 4,000,000, by H. Louis, 1938. The entries are mainly taken from the *Djihān-nümā* of Kātib Čelebi, and therefore reflect conditions in Anatolia in the 17th century. The map shows the approximate limits of the *eyālets* (within the present-day boundary of Turkey) as red broken lines, and in some cases those of the *liwās* (or *sandjaḳs*), within the *eyālets*, as red dotted lines. It further shows the more important roads indicated by Kātib Čelebi, Ewliyā Čelebi and other sources, the main communication routes as double red lines, other routes as single red lines. The names of towns (in red) and of mountain peaks (in black, with heights in metres) are abbreviated, and the following list explains these abbreviations; first comes the name as it appears in the *Djihān-numā* and in the other sources of the 17th century, then, in brackets, the antique or Byzantine name (if known), the modern name (if different from the old one), the administrative district (except in the case of towns which have gained importance only later and therefore do not occur in the ancient sources; these have been put in brackets on the map), and finally the reference to the squares of the map. The names of the capitals of *eyālets* are printed in small capitals, those of the capitals of *liwās* in italics. General abbreviations : B. = Büyük; Ç. = Çay, Çayı; D. = Dağ, Dağı; E. = Eyālet; G. = Göl, Gölü; I. = Irmaḳ; L. = Liwa; N. = Nehir, Nehri. For practical reasons, the transliteration has been based on modern Turkish orthography.

A D = Ağrı Dağı (Ararat: L 3)
AD = Adana (E. Adana: F 4)
Adc = Adilcevaz (E. Van: K 3)
(Adp) = Adapazar (D 2)
A Dy = Amid/Diyārbekr (Diyarbakır; E. Diyārbekr: I 4)
A E = Akşehir (Enderes: L. Karahisar-i şarki: H 2)
Ah = Ahiska (K 2)
Ahl = Ahlat (E. Van : K 3)
Ak = Antakya (Antiocheia; L. Antakya : G 4)
Akh = Afyon Karahisarı (L. Karahisar-i Ṣāḥib : D 3)
Aks = Aksaray (E. Karaman : E 3)
Al = Alaya (ʿAlāʾīya, Alanya, Kalonoros; L. Içel : E 4)
Ala D = Ala Dağ (F 4)
Alş = Alasehir (Philadelphia; L. Aydın : C 3)

Am = Amasya (Amaseia; E. Sivas : F 2)
Amr = Amasra (Amastris; L. Bolu : E 2)
Ank = Ankara (Ankyra, Angora; L. Ankara : E 3)
Anl = Antalya (Attaleia, Adalya : L. Tekke : D 4)
Ard = Ardahan (E. Clldlr : K 2)
As = Ayas (E. Adana : F 4)
Aş = Akşehir (Philomelion; E. Karaman : D 3)
Atb = ʿAyntāb (Gaziantep; E. Marʿaş : G 4)
Atş = Altlntaş (L. Germiyan : D 3)
Av = Artvin (E. Çlldlr : I 2)
Ay = Ayaş (L. Ankara : E 2)
Ays = Ayasoluk (Ephesos, Hagios Theologos, Selçuk; L. Aydln : B 4)
Bb = Bayburt (E. Erzerum : I 2)
Bb D = Binboğa Dağl (G 3)
Bd = Bodrum (Halikarnassos; L. Menteşe : B 4)
Bdr = Burdur (L. Hamid : D 4)
Be = Benderegli (Heraclea Pontica, Eregli; S. Bolu : D 2)
Bg = Biğa (L. Biğa : B 2)
Bir = Bire (Birecik; L. Bire : H 4)
Bk = Balikesri (Balikesir; L. Karasl : B 3)
Bl = Bolu (L. Bolu : D 2)
Blk = Bilecik (L. Sultan Üyügi : C 2)
Boz D = Boz Dağl (Tmolos : C 3)
Bp = Beypazar (L. Ankara : D 2)
Br = Bursa (Prusa, Brussa; L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Brg = Bergama (Pergamon; L. Karasl : B 3)
Bs = Bitlis (E. Van : K 3)
Bş = Beyşehir (E. Karaman : D 4)
Bt = Batum (I 2)
Buz D = Buz Dağl (H 3)
Bv = Bolvadln (L. Karahisar-i Sahib : D 3)
By = Bayezid (Doğu Bayazit; E. Kars : L 3)
Çav = Çay (L. Karahisar-i Sahib : D 3)
Çk = Çerkeş (L. Kânkİrl : E 2)
Çʟ = Çlldlr (E. Çlldlr : K 2)
Çln = Çaldlran (E. Van : K 3)
Çm = Çorum (E. Sivas : F 2)
Çmk = Çölemerik (E. Van : K 4)
Çrl = Çorlu (Tzurullon : B 2)
Dg = Divrigi (Tephrike; E. Sivas : H 3)
Dn = Denizli (L. Germiyan : C 4)
Dv = Develi-Karahisar (Develi; E. Karaman : F 3)
Dz = Düzce (L. Bolu : D 2)
Ec = Erciş (E. Van : K 3)
Ed = Edirne (Adrianopolis : B 2)
Edr = Edremit (L. Karasl : B 3)
Egn = Ergani (E. Diyarbekr : H 3)
Egr = Egirdir (L. Hamid : D 4)
Ek = Ermenek (L. Içel : E 4)
Elb = Elbistan (E. Marʿaş : G 3)
El D = Elma Dağl (E 3)
Elm = Elmall (L. Tekke : C 4)
Eᴍ = Erzerum (Arzan al-Rūm, Erzurum; E. Erzerum : I 3)
En = Erzincan (E. Erzerum : H 3)
Er = Ereğli (Herakleia; E. Karaman : F 4)
Er D = Erciyas Dağl (Argaios : F 3)
Eş = Eskişehir (L. Sultan Üyügi : D 3)
Fç = Foça (Phokaia; L. Saruhan : B 3)
Fn = Finike (L. Tekke : D 4)
Gbz = Geğbüze (Dakibyza, Gebze; L. Kocaeli : C 2)
G D = Geyik Dağl (E 4)
Gds = Gördes (L. Saruhan : C 3)
Gh = Gümüşhane (Gümüşane; E. Erzerum : H 2)
Gh A = Güzelhisar-Aydln (Aydln; L. Aydln : B 4)
Gk = Gülek kalesi (E. Adana : F 4)
Gl = Gemlik (L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Glb = Gelibolu (Gallipoli, Kalliopolis : B 2)
Gn = Gönen (L. Biğa : B 2)
Gnk = Göynük (L. Sultan Üyügi : D 2)
Gr = Gerede (L. Bolu : E 2)
Grs = Giresun (Kerasûs; E. Trabzon : H 2)
Grü = Gümrü (Alexandropol, Leninakan : K 2)
Gy = Geyve (L. Sultan Üyügi : D 2)
Gz = Gediz (L. Germiyan : C 3)
H B = Haci Bektaş (E. Karaman : F 3)
H D = Hasan Dağl (F 3)
H H = Hekim Hanl (E. Sivas : F 3)
Ḥ K = Ḥişn Kēf (Ḥişn Kayfā, Hasankeyf; E. Diyārbekr : I 4)
Hk = Hersek (L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Hʟ = Ḥaleb (Aleppo : G 4)
H M = Ḥişn-i Manşūr (Hüsnümansur, Adlyaman; E. Marʿaş : H 4)
Ḥm = Ḥamā (G 5)
Hns = Hlnls (E. Erzerum : I 3)
Ḫoy = Ḫoy (L 3)
Hp = Harput (Ḫartbirt, Elazlğ; E. Diyarbekr : H 3)
Ḥr = Ḥarrān (Karrhai; E. Rakka : H 4)
Hrs = Horasan (E. Erzerum : K 2)
Ḥş = Ḥimş (Emesa, Höms : G 5)
Hsk = Hasankale (Pasinler; E. Erzerum : I 2)
Ib = Inebolu (L. Kastamonu : E 2)
I D = Ilgaz Dağl (E 2)
Ig = Ilgün (E. Karaman : D 3)
Im = Iznikomid (Nikomedeia, Izmit; L. Kocaeli : C 2)
In = Iznlk (Nikaia; L. Kocaeli : C 2)
Iö = Inöñü (L. Sultan Üyügi : D 3)
Ir = Izmir (Smyrna; L. Suğla : B 3)
Is = Iskelib (E. Sivas : F 2)
Isk = Iskenderun (Alexandreia, Alexandretta; L. Antakya : G 4)
Isp = Isparta (L. Hamid : D 4)
Ka = Kuş adasl (Scala nuova; L. Aydln : B 4)
Kb = Karabuñar (Karapinar; E. Karaman: E 4)
Kc = Kalecik (L. Kânklrl : E 2)
K D = Kohu Dağl (C 4)
Kg = Klğl (E. Erzerum : I 3)
Kgl = Kangal (E. Sivas : G 3)
K H = Kadln Hanl (E. Karaman : E 3)
Kh = Kemah (E. Erzerum : H 3)
Khş = Karahisar-i şarki (Şabin Karahisar; L. Karahisar-i şarki : H 2)
Kk = Keskin (E. Sivas : E 3)
Kkl = Klrkkilise (Klrklareli : B 2)
Kkr = Kânklrl (Çanklrl; L. Kânglrl : E 2)
Kl = Kula (L. Germiyan : C 3)
Klh = Koyluhisar (L. Karahisar-i şarku : G 2)
Kls = Kilis (L. Kilis : G 4)
Klt = Kelkit (E. Erzerum : H 2)
Km = Kastamonu (L. Kastamonu : E 2)
Kmt = Kirmasti (L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Kɴ = Konya (Ikonion; E. Karaman : E 4)
Kr = Küre (L. Kastamonu : E 2)
K S = Kalʿe-i Sultaniye (Çanak Kalesi; L. Biğa : B 2)
Ks = Kars (E. Kars : K 2)
Ksr = Kaysariye (Kaisareia, Kayseri; E. Karaman : F 3)
Kѕᴛ = Kostantiniye (Konstantinopolis, İstanbul : C 2)
Kş = Klrşehir (E. Karaman : F 3)
Kş D = Keşiş Dağl (Ulu Dağ, Olympus of Bithynia: C 2)
Kş D = Keşiş Dağl (H 3)
Kᴛ = Kütahya (Kotyaion; E. Anadolu, L. Germiyan : C 3)

Kzm = Kağîzman (E. Kars : K 2)
Lb = Lüleburgaz (B 2)
Ld = Laranda (Karaman; E. Karaman : E 4)
Lf = Lefke (Leukai, Osmaneli; L. Sultan Üyügi : C 2)
Lt = Latakiye (Laodikeia : G 5)
Mb = Membiç (G 4)
Mc = Mucur (E. Karman : F 3)
M D = Mededsiz Dağî (F 4)
Md = Mudurnu (L. Bolu : D 2)
Mdn = Mudanya (L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Mf = Meyāfāriḳīn (Silvan; E. Diyārbekr : I 3)
Mg = Muğla (L. Menteşe : C 4)
Mgn = Mağnisa (Magnesia, Manisa; L. Saruhan : B 3)
Mhç = Mihaliç (Karacabey; L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Mk = Makri (Fethiye; L. Menteşe : C 4)
Ml = Milas (L. Menteşe : B 4)
Mlk = Malkara (B 2)
Mlt = Malatya (Melitene; E. Marʿaş : H 3)
Mlz = Malazgird (E. Van : K 3)
M N = Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmān (G 5)
Mr = Marʿaş (Maraş; E. Marʿaş : G 4)
Mrd = Mardin (E. Diyārbekr : I 4)
(Ms) = Mersin (F 4)
Msl = Mosul (K 4)
Mss = Misis (Mopsuestia; E. Adana : F 4)
Muş = Muş (E. Van : I 3)
Mv = Manavgat (L. Içel : D 4)
Mz = Merzifun (E. Sivas : F 2)
Nb = Nusaybīn (Nisibis; E. Diyārbekr : I 4)
Ngd = Niğde (E. Karaman : F 4)
Ns = Niksar (Neokaisareia; L. Karahisar-i şarki : G 2)
(Nv) = Nevşehir (F 3)
Oc = Osmancîk (E. Sivas : F 2)
Or = Ordu (E. Trabzon : G 2)
Ps = Payas (Baiai; E. Adana : G 4)
Ra = Raʾs ul-ʿayn (E. Rakka : I 4)
R U = Rohā/Urfa (Edessa; E. Rakka : H 4)
Rv = Revan (Erivan : L 2)
Rz = Rize (E. Trabzon : I 2)
Sb = Sabanca (Sapanca; L. Kocaeli : D 2)
Sc = Sürüç (E. Rakka: H 4)
S D = Sultan Dağî (D 3)
Sf = Selefke (Seleukeia; Silifke; L. Içel : E 4)
S G = Seydi Gazi (Nakoleia; L. Sultān Üyügi : D 3)
Sg = Söğüt (L. Sultan Üyügi : D 3)
Sh = Sivrihisar (L. Ankara : D 3)
Sis = Sis (E. Adana : F 4)
Sk = Siverek (E. Diyārbekr : H 4)
Sp = Sinop (L. Kastamonu : F 1)
Ss = Samsun (Amisos; E. Sivas : G 2)
Ssl = Susîğîrlîğî (Susurluk; L. Karasî : C 3)
St = Siʿirt (Siirt; E. Diyārbekr : I 4)
Sv = Sivas (Sebasteia; E. Sivas : G 3)
Şk = Şarkîşla (E. Sivas : F 3)
Şl = Şile (L. Kocaeli : C 2)
Tc = Tercan (Mamahatun; E. Erzerum : I 3)
T D = Tekeli Dağî (G 2)
Td = Tadmur (Palmyra : H 5)
Tf = Tefeni (L. Hamid : D 4)
Tfl = Tiflis (L 2)
Th = Turhal (E. Sivas : G 2)
Tk = Tokat (E. Sivas : G 2)
Tkd = Tekirdağ (Rhaidestos, Rodosto : B 2)
Tr = Tire (L. Aydîn : B 3)
Trb = Trabzon (Trapezûs; E. Trabzon : H 2)
Trş = Tarābulus-i Şām (Tripolis : G 5)
Ts = Tosya (L. Kânkîrî : F 2)
Tss = Tarsus (Tarsos; E. Adana : F 4)
Tş = Tavşanlî (L. Germiyan : C 3)
Tt = Tortum (E. Erzerum : I 2)
Tv = Tatvan (E. Van : K 3)
Ub = Uluburlu (L. Hamid : D 3)
Uk = Ulukîşla (E. Karaman : F 4)
Ur = Urmiya (L 4)
Uş = Uşak (L. Germiyan : C 3)
Üsk = Üsküdar (Skutari; C 2)
Vst = Vostan (E. Van : K 3)
Y D = Yîldîz Dağî (G 2)
Yş = Yenişehir (L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Yv = Yalovaç (L. Hamid : D 3)
(Yz) = Yozgat (F 3)
Zb = Zafranbolu (L. Kastamonu : E 2)
(Zg) = Zonguldak (D 2)
Zl = Zile (E. Sivas : F 2)
Zr = Zara (E. Sivas : G 3)

(F. Taeschner)

ANADOLU. In the time between the 15th and the 18th century, this was the name applied to the province (*eyālet*) comprising the western half of Anatolia [cf. preceding article] and embracing largely the western Anatolian Turkish principalities. At the beginning, Ankara was the capital and the seat of the governor (*beglerbeg*), later it was Kütahya. The *eyālet* of Anadolu contained the following military districts (*sandjaḳ* or *liwā*) which were partly former principalities (in the order given by Katib Čelebi in *Djihān-nümā*): 1) Germiyān with Kütāhya as its capital; 2) Ṣarukhan with Maghnisa (now Manisa); 3) Aydîn with Tire; 4) Menteshe with Mughla; 5) Tekke with Anṭāliya; 6) Ḥamîd with Isbarta: 7) Ḳaraḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib with the capital of the same name (later Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār); 8) Sulṭān Üyügi (often in the corrupted form of Sulṭān Öni) with Eskishehir; 9) Anḳara with the capital of the same name (also called Engüri); 10) Kânkîrî with the capital of the same name (now Çankîrî); 11) Ḳasṭamoni with the capital of the same name (now Kastamonu); 12) Bolî with the capital of the same name (now Bolu); 13) Khudāwendigār with Brusa (Bursa); 14) Kodja-eli with Iznikomîd (later Izmid, Izmit). In addition there were the following *sandjaḳs* which were under the Ḳapudan Pasha: 1) Ḳarasî with Balikesri; 2) Bîghā with the capital of the same name and Ḳalʿe-i Sulṭāniyye (or Čanak Kalʿesi); 3) Sughla with Izmir. [Cf. individual articles on each of the preceding].

When other *eyālets* besides Anadolu were formed in the Asiatic part of Turkey, the term Anadolu was loosely applied to the whole Asiatic half of the empire, inasmuch as there was in addition to the "Military Judge" (*ḳāḍī ʿasker*, pronounced *kazasker*) of Rumélia as highest judge in the European part of the empire, also such a one for the Asiatic half. The latter had to accompany the Pādishāh on his campaigns into Asia. Besides the "accountant" (*defterdār*), i.e. the Minister of Finance, in Rumelia there was also one in Anatolia whose post, however, became a mere sinecure in comparison with the former.

The law of 7 Djumādā 1281/5 Nov. 1864, concerning *wilāyets*, dissolved the exessively large *eyālet* of Anadolu, raised the *sandjaḳs* of Khudāwendigār, Aydîn, Anḳara and Ḳasṭamonî to the status of *wilayets*, and assigned the remaining *sandjaḳs* to these.

Bibliography: Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 630 ff. For further bibliography cf. Anadolu, preceding article.

(F. Taeschner)

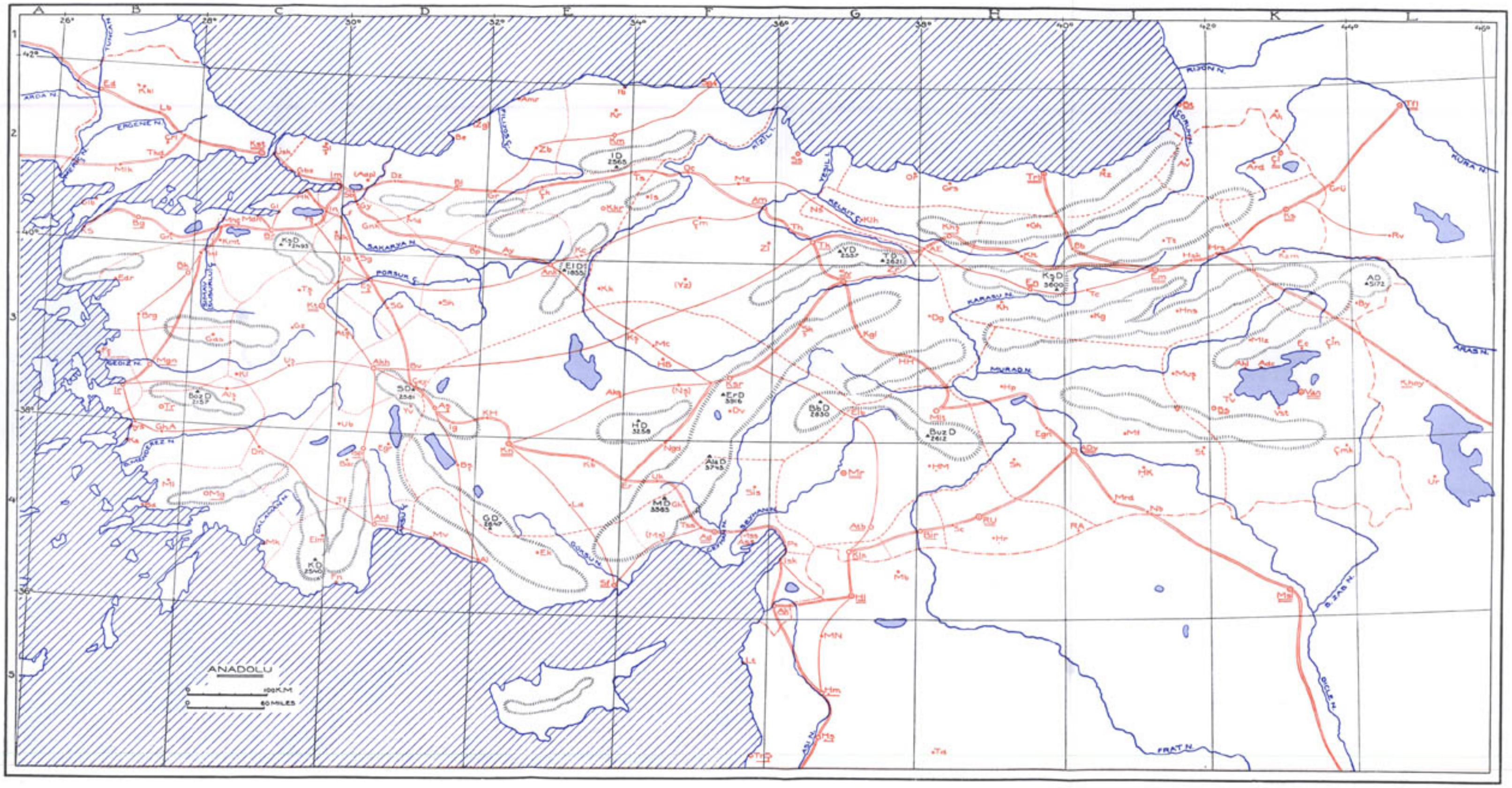

ANATOLIA IN THE XVIITH CENTURY

ANADOLU ḤIṢĀRI, a fortress (also known as Güzeldje Ḥiṣār, Yenidje, Yeni, or Akča Ḥiṣār) at the narrowest part of the Bosporus, built by Bāyezīd I in 797/1395 in order to cut off communications between Byzantium and the Black Sea (cf. ʿĀshīkpasha-zāde, ed. Giese, Leipzig 1928, 61, 121, 131; Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, Leipzig 1951, 90; Bihishtī, *Taʾrīkh*; Ṣolaḳ-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1298, 64; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1279, i, 148; Münedjdjim-bashī, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Akhbār*, Istanbul 1285, 310). Some improvements were made by Meḥemmed II during the erection of Rūmeli Ḥiṣārī [*q.v.*] in 856/1452 (hence he is wrongly named as the founder of Anadolu Ḥiṣārī cf. Ḳātib Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, i, 664). Anadolu Ḥiṣārī played an important role before the battle of Varna, during the passage of Murād I's army from the Anatolian to the European shore (cf. Neshrī, loc. cit.; Saʿd al-Dīn, 379; Münedjdjim-bashī, 358; Luṭfī Pasha, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1341, 117). After the conquest of Istanbul, the fortress lost its military importance, and when further changes in political power made it necessary to protect the Bosporus again, Murād IV built fortifications at Rūmeli Kavaghī and Anadolu Kavaghī in order to repel the incursions of the Cossacks. The fortress is described by Ewliyā Čelebi (*Siyāḥat-nāme*, loc. cit.); after a long period of neglect, it was thoroughly restored in 1928. The sub-district called Anadolu Ḥiṣārī (already mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi), has about 5000 inhabitants (including Kanlīdja and Čubuklu). The rivulets Gök-su and Küčük Su, known as the Sweet Waters of Europe, were formerly one of the most popular places for excursions from Istanbul, often mentioned in literature. Here, between the fortress and Kanlīdja, stands the "maison de plaisance", the only surviving part of a villa built by ʿAmūdja-zāde Ḥusayn Pasha towards 1695, and one of the few remaining examples of early Ottoman civil architecture.

Bibliography: S. Toy, *The Castles on the Bosporus*, Oxford 1930, 225 ff.; H. Högg, *Türken-Burgen am Bosporus und Hellespont*, Dresden 1932, 9 ff.; A. Gabriel, *Châteaux Turcs du Bosphore*, Paris 1943, 9 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (R. Anhegger)

ANĀHĪD [see zuhara].

ʿANĀḲ, name given by the Arabs to the daughter of Adam, the twin sister of Seth, wife of Cain and mother of ʿŪdj [*q.v.*]; see Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ* (Pellat) index.—In zoology, *ʿanāḳ* denotes a kind of lynx, the caracal (from the Turkish *ḳara ḳulaḳ* "black-ear", Persian *siyāh gūsh*) found in much of Asia and Africa, which is thought to walk in front of the lion and, by its cry, to announce the latter's approach.—In astronomy, *ʿAnāḳ al-Banāt* is the ζ of the Great Bear, and *ʿAnāḳ al-Arḍ*, γ Andromedae; see A. Benhamouda, *Les Noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, Algiers, ix, 1951, 84, 97. (Ed.)

ANAMUR, small town and harbour on the southern coast of Anatolia, 36° 6′ N, 32° 10′ E, capital of a *ḳaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Ičel, with 2734 inhabitants (1945; the *ḳaḍa* has 23,725 inhabitants). It is situated in a plain formed by the mouth of a little river, ca. 5 km. from the promontory of Anamur Burnu which forms the southernmost point of Anatolia. The town is called in medieval portulans Stallimuri, Stalemura, etc. On the coast, at the foot and on the slopes of the Anamur Burnu lie the extensive ruins of the late antique and early Christian town of Anemurium or Anemorium.

At the east end of the plain of Anamur, close to the shore, lies Maʿmūriyye Ḳalʿesi, a well-preserved medieval fortress, which was made use of and repaired by the Ottomans; this is recorded by an inscription from 874/1469-70. Inside there is a small mosque.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 81 f.; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, Vienna 1891, 59. (F. Taeschner)

ʿĀNĀNIYYA, Jewish sect of the adepts of ʿĀnān b. David (*c.* 760 A.D.), rather incorrectly considered to be the founder of the Karaite schismatic faction; his schism was only one of many which affected Rabbinical Judaism during the 8th-9th centuries. The Muslim authors seem to have taken most of their information about ʿĀnān and his sect from Karaite sources, especially Ḳirḳisānī, but they have only used a small part of the mass of information supplied by him. The author of the *al-Badʾ wa 'l-Taʾrīkh* represents ʿĀnān as a sort of Muʿtazilite, who professes the divine unity and justice and rejects anthropomorphism. The ʿĀnāniyya of Ibn Ḥazm are in fact the Karaites. Al-Bīrūnī is interested in their particular views regarding the calendar. Al-Shahrastānī, in addition to briefly mentioning their calendar and their prohibitions concerning food (M. Badran has rejected the correct reading into the footnote) comments on their favourable attitude to the person of Jesus. The later Muslim sources throw no fresh light on the subject. No Muslim author mentions the alleged meeting between ʿĀnān and Abū Ḥanīfa in the prisons of al-Manṣūr. Although *ḳiyās* is recognized as a source of the law both by the Karaites and by the Ḥanafīs, there is nothing to suggest that the latter influenced the former.

Bibliography: Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Ḳirḳisānī, *al-Anwār wa 'l-Marāḳib*, ed. L. Nemoy, New York 1939-45, index, s.vv. Anan and Ananites; *Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire*, ed. and trans. by Cl. Huart, iv, Paris 1907, text 34-6, trans. 32-5; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317, i, 99 (1347, 82); Bīrūnī, *Āthār* = *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. and trans. by E. Sachau, text 58-9, cf. 284, trans. 68-9, cf. 278; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, 167-8, ed. M. Badran, 503-5. The most recent statement of the problems concerning ʿĀnān and the origins of Karaism is contained in the articles of Leon Nemoy: *Anan ben David. A re-appraisal of the historical data*, *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*, Budapest 1947, 239-48; idem, *Yivo-Bleter*, 1949, 95-112; *JQR*, 1950, 307-15: the essentials of the earlier bibliography will be found there. (G. Vajda)

ANAPA, a former fortress on the Black Sea, situated on the Bugur river 40 km. S. W. of the Kuban estuary. Built by French engineers for Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I in 1781, it was unsuccessfully attacked by the Russians in 1787 and 1790, but stormed by Gen. Gudovich in 1791. Returned to Turkey by the treaty of Yassy (1791), it was in 1808 taken by the Russians but returned to Turkey in 1812. In 1828 it was blockaded by Admiral Greig and Prince Menshikov and ceded to Russia by the treaty of Adrianople of 1829 (article 4). In 1846 a town was built at Anapa. During the Crimean war it was first blown up by the Russians, then reoccupied in 1856. In 1860 the inhabitants of Anapa were transferred to Temruk. In recent decades Anapa was used as a beach and rest home for children. It was destroyed by enemy action in 1942-3, and is now restored.

Bibliography: Novitsky, *Anapa*, *Zap. Kavk. Otd. Imp. Geogr. Obš.*, 1853, ii, 14-43; P. P. Semenov, *Geogr. Slovar Ross. imperii*, i, 96; Russian and Soviet Encyclopaedias. (V. Minorsky)

ANAS b. MĀLIK Abū Ḥamza, one of the most prolific traditionists. After the *hidjra* his mother gave him to the prophet as servant; according to his own statement he was then ten years of age. He was present at Badr, but took no part in the battle, and is therefore not counted among the combatants. He remained in Muḥammad's service up to the time of the Prophet's death; later he took part in the wars of conquest. He also played small parts in the civil wars. In the year 65/684 he officiated as *imām* of the *ṣalāt* at Baṣra on behalf of the rival caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath revolted, al-Ḥadjdjādj charged Anas with being a partisan of the rebel just as he had formerly taken the part of the enemies of the Umayyads, ʿAlī and Ibn al-Zubayr; and although Anas was highly respected as a Companion of the Prophet, al-Ḥadjdjādj had no scruples in putting round his neck a cord with his seal (72/691). It is said however that the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik apologised for al-Ḥadjdjādj's disrespectful act. Anas died at Baṣra at a very advanced age, which is variously given as from 97 to 107 years, the dates most frequently mentioned are 91-93/709-711.

Traditions attributed to Anas are found, collected together, in the *Musnad* of al-Ṭayālisī (Ḥaydarābād 1321, Nos. 1959-2150) and in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (Cairo 1313, iii, 98-292). Al-Dhahabī states that al-Bukhārī and Muslim record between them 278 traditions from Anas, of which 80 occur in al-Bukhārī alone, 70 in Muslim alone, and 128 are common to both. It is not surprising that many traditions were attributed to the servant of the Prophet; but while they may contain some genuine material, it is likely that they are mainly attributions of a later age; so Anas should not be blamed for all the strange statements given currency on his authority.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaḳāt*, vii, 10 ff.; Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1361, no. 1579; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 157; Nawawī, *Biographical Dictionary*, 165 ff.; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 42; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 127 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* (Cairo 1358/1939), no. 277; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 276 ff.; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, f. 553 b; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (Wüstenfeld), index; Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, i, 587 f.; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, 350 (quoted by Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Introd., § 26, note 1). (A. J. Wensinck-J. Robson)

ANATOLIA [see anadolu].

ANATOMY [see tashrīḥ].

ʿANAZA, short spear or staff (*LA*, vii, 251), usually synonymous with *ḥarba*. In the Muslim ritual the *ʿanaza* first appears in the year 2/624. When Muḥammad first celebrated the *ʿīd al-fiṭr*, Bilāl carried a spear (reputedly the gift of al-Zubayr, who had received it from the Nadjāshī) before him on his way to the *muṣallā* [*q.v.*]; during the service this spear was planted in the ground and served as *sutra* and *ḳibla* [*q.v.*]. The same was done on the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*. This custom or carrying a spear or staff on ceremonial occasions was observed and expanded by the early caliphs. It became the rule for the preacher to hold in his hand, or to lean upon, a staff (*ḳaḍīb*), sword or bow when he ascends the pulpit at the Friday service. All these are symbols expressing the same idea as the *ʿanaza*, essentially that of authority (cf. the spear of Marduk). Among the ancient Arabs staff and pulpit were attributes of judge and orator.

The word survives as an architectural term in the Maghrib, where it signifies an external *miḥrāb* for those praying in the court of the mosque; see *Ḳirṭās* (Tornberg), 30, 31, 32, 37 (inscript. dated 524 H.; cf. *RCIA*, no. 3031); E. Pauty, in *Hesp.*, 1923, 515-6.

Bibliography: Bukhārī, i, 107, 135-6, 241; Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 167 ff.; Samhūdī, Būlāḳ 1285, 187 = Wüstenfeld transl. 127-8; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *sutra*; idem, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 141 ff.; Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 84, 87-8; Schwarzlose, *Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 212 ff.; G. C. Miles, *Miḥrāb and ʿanazah*, *Archaeologica orientalia in memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, N.Y. 1952, 156-171 (early iconographical representation, full references). (G. C. Miles)

ʿANAZA, a very ancient, but still existing, Arab tribe. The classical genealogical scheme ʿAnaza b. Rabīʿa (Wüstenfeld, Tab. A 6) has in recent times been changed in the same way as in the case of other tribes such as the Banū ʿAṭiyya in Northern Ḥidjāz and Wāʾil, the ancestor of the Bakr and Taghlib, is taken to be their tribal ancestor; in the most recent genealogies Ḳuraysh appears above Wāʾil. Whether or not the Rabīʿa groups are inter-related, as implied in the genealogy, they were in any case connected by neighbourly and other ties in their home, the Yamāma. The ʿAnaza were living in the Ṭuwayḳ to the south of the Wādī Nisāḥ; there, in Haddār, a remnant of them, the Banu Hizzān, remain to this day. Sections in al-Aflādj have disappeared and ʿAnaza villages south of Ṭāʾif were destroyed by the plague in about 1200. The Banū ʿOtba/ʿOtūb, to which the ruling houses of Kuwayt and Baḥrayn belong, also come from Haddār.

Accompanying some migrating Bakr, ʿAnaza elements reached as far as the Euphrates in the second half of the 6th century, and like them, eventually stayed there. As allies of the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, whose area was to the south of Baṣra, they took part in the East Arabian *ridda*. It is not known how and when they, and the ʿAnaza who had remained behind, went over to Islam. It is said that they had previously worshipped the god Suʿayr/Saʿīr, and, together with the "Rabīʿa", Muḥarriḳ, whose image stood in Salmān, to the south of Ḥīra.

Some ʿAnaza settled in Kūfa, others migrated together with a group of Shaybān (Bakr) to the region of Mosul, where they can be traced up to the second half of the 9th century. The ancestors of the present-day ʿAnaza appear in the Ḥarra of Khaybar in the 12th century. We do not know exactly whence they came: perhaps from the Ṭuwayḳ, perhaps from the area between ʿAyn al-Tamr and al-Anbār (Ibn Saʿīd quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, i, 14). This new emigration must be connected with the movements of the Eastern Arabian Ḳarmaṭians which completely changed the face of Bedouin Arabia. In the 16th century they extended as far as the Ḳasīm in the east, to Djafr ʿAnaza (= Wāḳiṣa ?) east of al-ʿUlā in the north. Later they occupy that oasis itself and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ. The tribal division we find today begins to be recognisable as early as 1700: the Djelās (Ruwalā) roomed to the south of the Ḥarrat Khaybar from Medina via Ḥanakiyya to Samīrā, the Sbaʿa in the Wādi ʾl-Ruma, as far as the Ḳasīm; the ʿAmārāt in the Shammar mountains and in Eastern Arabia. The Fadʿān may have been to the north of the Ḥarra

where we find today the Wald Sulaymān, who are closely connected with them. The Wald ʿAlī were to the west of Khaybar, and their close relatives, the Ḥesene, were most probably there too.

The new migration of the ʿAnaza, the first stage of which lasts for over a century (ending with the arrival of the Djelās (Ruwalā) in Syria in the second half of the 18th century), began before 1700. In 1703 there is mention of them in Maʿān, in 1705 on the Euphrates. This migration achieved its aims because the power of the *amīrs* of the Mawālī in the north of the Syrian desert had been waning since the end of the 17th century, and because the tribe of Ghaziyya was about to vacate the hinterland of Karbalāʾ and go over the Euphrates. The second stage of immigration into Syria and Mesopotamia began about 1800 and was due to the Wahhābīs: the ʿAnaza were partly on their side (ʿAmārāt), and partly fled from their tax-collectors. In the 19th century the history of the ʿAnaza is governed by their relations with the Turkish authorities and the house of Rashīd, the Shammar *amīrs* of Ḥāyil. At the turn of the 20th century the Ruwalā and their hereditary *shaykhs*, the Shaʿlān, play an important part (the oasis of Djōf was in the possession of the Shaʿlān from 1909 to 1922). In the first World War, the ʿAmārāt joined the English after the fall of Baghdād (11 March 17). The Ruwalā did not take part in allied operations until September 1918. Their *shaykh*, al-Nūrī b. Shaʿlān, entered Damascus with the British and Arab troops in October 1918. In the post-war troubles the ʿAnaza frequently changed sides. The political reorganisation in the Middle East distributed the ʿAnaza over Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Transjordan and Saudi-Arabia. The Fadʿān, Sbaʿa and Ruwalā are regarded as Syrian, the ʿAmārāt (with the exception of those who stay permanently in the Nadjd), are regarded as ʿIrāḳī citizens, although they periodically leave the territory of that state during their migrations.

There have always been two opposing groups within the ʿAnaza: the Ḍanā Muslim (Ḥesene, Wald ʿAlī, Djelās/Ruwalā) and the Bishr (Fadʿān, Sbaʿa and ʿAmārāt). The last flare-up of this old animosity was quelled by the French in 1929. The Shammar, especially since the ʿAnaza's advance to the north, and the inhabitants of the Ṣafā and the Ḥawrān, particularly the Druzes, are the hereditary enemies of the ʿAnaza. This is the reason why the ʿAnaza sided with the government in all Druze risings.

The ʿAnaza's modern grazing areas are as follows. The Fadʿān: in summer the area east of Aleppo and Ḥamā, especially to the east of the Euphrates; in winter the Syrian desert (al-Bishrī—al-Ḳaʿara, at times as far as al-Rōḍa). The Sbaʿa: in summer to the east and northeast of Ḥamā; in winter in the Syrian desert to the south of the Syria-ʿIrāḳ border. The ʿAmārāt: in summer in the Djazīra, southeast of the Khābūr, mostly on ʿIrāḳī territory, in winter in the south-eastern Syrian desert (al-Wudyān). The Ḥesene: in summer to the east of Ḥoms; in winter in the Syrian desert close to the Syria-ʿIrāḳ border. The Wald ʿAlī: in summer to the northeast of Damascus and in the Ḥawrān plain; in winter in the heart of the Syrian desert as far as Djōf and Taymāʾ. Of the sections which remained in Arabia, the Fuḳarāʾ and the Wald ʿAlī (both Ḍanā Muslim) have their tents between the Ḥarra of al-ʿUwayriḍ and that of Khaybar; the Wald Sulaymān (Bishr) migrate between the Ḥarra of Khaybar and the southern border of the Nufūd as far as Bēḍā Nathīl (to the southwest of Ḥāyil), where a *hudjra* settlement of the *ikhwān* was founded in the twenties.

The northern ʿAnaza are camel breeders. Sheep breeding is the main occupation of the Ḥesene and the Wald ʿAlī (since 1900), and since 1920 the Fadʿān and Ruwalā have also increasingly taken to this. The Ḥesene and Wald ʿAlī—also, more recently, the Sbaʿā—have for some time been farming the land. In former times the ʿAnaza had a right to part of the harvest of Khaybar; the tribes living there have retained that right. In Ottoman times the ʿAnaza had a right to the *ṣurra*, a payment for protecting the pilgrims' caravan in their area. If this was not, or only partly, paid, then they reimbursed themselves by plundering the *ḥadjdj* (as e.g. in 1700, 1703, 1757). A further source of income was the tolls raised from the caravans, and the *khuwwa* (protection money) collected from the settled population. The more prominent families among whom the office of shaykh is held, have considerable property in land, some of which dates back to donations of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. In the Djazīra this is partly cultivated, following American methods, in partnership with town-dwellers.

Bibliography: Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, in collaboration with E. Bräunlich and W. Caskel, *Die Beduinen*, i, Leipzig 1939, 62-130, 305, (Mawālī); ii, Leipzig 1943, 342-51; iii (compiled and edited by W. Caskel), Wiesbaden 1952, 351, 412 (Ghaziyya), with full bibliography; A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1925; Aḥmad, Waṣfī Zakariyyā: *ʿAshāʾir al-Shaʾm*, Damascus 1945-47. ʿAbbās al-Azzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayn Iḥtilālayn*, Baghdad 1935-49, index s.v. ʿAnaza. Ashkenazi, *The Anazah Tribes*, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, New Mexico, 1948, 222-39. [See also RUWALĀ.] (E. GRÄF)

ANBADUḲLĪS, the Arabic form of the name of Empedocles (often corrupted into Abīduḳlīs, etc.). Some authentic information about his doctrines came down to the Muslims by way of such channels as the works of Aristotle, the doxography of Ps.-Plutarch (e.g. i, 3, cf. ed. Badawī; also quoted in Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī, *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, introduction; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ*, i, 139, ii, 75), etc. The authentic Empedocles, however, plays no role in Islamic philosophy; on the other hand, his figure was appropriated by late Neoplatonic circles, and treatises in which Neoplatonic speculations were put into his mouth were translated into Arabic. The main representative of this literature is the *Book of the Five Substances*, the Arabic translation of which is lost, but parts of which are preserved in excerpts from a Hebrew translation made from the Arabic (see D. Kaufmann, *Studien über Salomon b. Gabirol*, Budapest 1899, 1 ff.). It seems that the quotations in Ps.-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*, 285, 289, 293-4, are from some closely related source (289 = ed. Kaufmann, § 13). Various Neoplatonic ideas are attributed to Empedocles in Ammonius, *Ārāʾ al-Falāsifa* (MS Aya Sofiya 2450: see fols. 109v ff., 130r), in which Neoplatonic doctrines are distributed among a number of ancient Greek philosophers. This work, quoted in al-Bīrūnī, *India*, 41-2, transl. 85 (the passage from Empedocles = MS Aya Sofiya, fol. 130r), was also the main source of al-Shahrastānī's account of the ancient philosophers and also of that of Empedocles (*al-Milal*, 230 ff.). In addition, however, al-Shahrastānī reproduces another text by "Empedocles" (262 l. 1-263 l. 18) from some other source. Al-Shahrazūrī, in his *Rawḍat* al-Afrāḥ, though mainly basing himself on al-Shahrastānī and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, also has some additional passages (extracts in Asín Palacios).

According to Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī Ibn Masarra was acquainted with books by Empedocles; for a discussion of his alleged indebtedness to Ps.-Empedoclean doctrines, see IBN MASARRA.

In the biographical literature Empedocles is counted as the first of the five great philosophers Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle) and is deemed to have been a contemporary of David and to have derived his philosophy from Luḳmān; see al-ʿĀmirī, *al-Abad ʿala 'l-Amad*, quoted in the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, introduction; Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, 21 (who follows al-ʿĀmirī or a common source); Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 15-6 and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 36-7 (both of whom follow Ṣāʿid); al-Shahrastānī, loc. cit. (who uses the *Ṣiwān*).

Bibliography: M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, Philosophie, § 4; idem, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, index; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, index; M. Asín Palacios, *Ibn Masarra y su escuela*, chs. iv-v (= *Obras escogidas*, i, 53 ff.); a monograph on the Ps.-Empedoclean writings is being prepared by S. M. Stern. (S. M. STERN)

ʿANBAR (A.), ambergris (*ambre gris*, *ambra grisea*, to distinguish it from *ambre jaune* = *amber*), a substance of sweet musk-like smell, easily fusible and burning with a bright flame; highly valued in the East as a perfume and as a medicine. It is found floating on the water in tropical seas, (spec. gravity 0.78-0.93), or on the shore, sometimes in large lumps. Ambergris probably is a morbid secretion of the gall-bladder of the sperm-whale in whose intestines it is found. Ḳazwīnī mentions it amongst the oily minerals, together with mercury, sulphur, asphalt, mineral tar and naphtha, and states, in addition to various marvellous theories of its origin, that it is secreted by an animal and found in the body of salt-water fish. There is, he says, no difference of opinion as to its originating in the sea; the 'sea of Zandj' especially (i.e. the part of the Indian Ocean stretching along the east coast of Africa) washes it ashore at certain times in big lumps, mostly of the size of a head, the largest lumps weighing 1000 *mithḳāl* (4-5 kg).—He states further, that it strengthens the brain, the senses and the heart in a wonderful way; it increases the mental substance, and is of the greatest use to old men owing to its subtle warming effect.—The fullest account of the medicinal effects of ambergris are found in Ibn al-Bayṭār, the most detailed account of its origin, of the various commercial varieties and their provenance in the Encyclopaedia of al-Nuwayrī who follows Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿḳūb (*i.e.* al-Yaʿḳūbī) and al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Sīrāfī (*i.e.* Abū Zayd al-Ḥasan al-Sīrāfī, the continuator of the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*; both sources are known to him through the *Djayb* (or *Ṭīb*) *al-ʿArūs wa-Rayḥān al-Nufūs by* the physician Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī (*GAL*, I, 237). There is an interesting reference to varieties called 'fish-ambergris' and 'beak-ambergris': the former also called 'swallowed ambergris' (*al-mablūʿ*) is said to be got from the belly of a large fish called *bāl* or *ʿanbar* which swallows the ambergris floating on the sea and dies in consequence; the body is cast ashore and, bursting open, gives forth the ambergris which it contains. The 'beak-ambergris' (*al-manāḳirī*) contains the claws and beak of a bird which alights on the lumps and being unable to get away perishes on them. This fable is obviously founded on the fact (pointed out by Dr. Swediaur) that ambergris frequently contains the hard mandibles (beaks) of a cuttle-fish which serves as food to the spermwhale. Al-Dimashḳī specifies various kinds with regard to their commercial value.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, vii, 366 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* i, 333 ff.; 366; al-Muḳaddasī, 101 (transl. by E. Wiedemann, *SB Phys. Med. Soz. Erlangen*, vol. 44, 253 f.); Idrīsī, transl. by Jaubert, i, 64; Ibn al-Bayṭār, 1291, III, 134 f. (transl. by Leclerc, *Notices et Extraits*, xxv[a], 469 ff.); Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenf.), i, 245; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, Būlāḳ 1284, ii, 186; Dimashḳī, *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra*, 1318, 19 (transl. by E. Wiedemann, *ibid.*, vol. 45, 38 ff.); Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, xii, 1937, 16-22 (transl. by E. Wiedemann, *ibid.*, xlviii 16 ff.); G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân etc.*, 1922, 132-3.—On *bāl* cp. Ḳazwīnī, i, 131; Damīrī, i, 141. (J. RUSKA-M. PLESSNER)

ʿANBAR, BANU 'L- [see TAMĪM].

AL-ANBĀR, town on the left bank of the Euphrates, 43° 43' E, 33° 22.5' N. Arab geographers give the distance from Baghdād to al-Anbār on the mail route as twelve (Yāḳūt: ten) *farsakhs* (cf. Streck, *Babylonien*, i, 8); as measured by Musil (p. 248) it is 62 km. = 38 m.

Al-Anbār lies on the north-western projection of the Sawād on a cultivable plain near the desert, near the first navigable canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris (the Nahr ʿĪsā), and controlled an important crossing on the Euphrates (cf. Musil, 267-9, 307; Le Strange, in *JRAS*, 1895, 66). The town is pre-Sāsānid. Maricq identifies it with MŠYK or Maskin, but Arab authors (al-Balādhurī, 249-50; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7; Ḳudāma, 235) distinguish between the two. The suggestion that al-Anbār is of Babylonian origin (Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible lands*, Philadelphia 1903, 298) needs confirmation by excavations, though the head of an ancient canal and the remains of an ancient settlement (Tell Aswad, ca. 3000 B.C.) can be seen north of the plain.

Al-Anbār's strategic importance as the head of the irrigation system of the Sawād and the western gate (from the side of the Roman Empire) to the capital led Shāpūr I (241-72 A.D.) to rebuild it and turn it into a garrison town with a double line of fortifications and a citadel. He named it Pērūz Shāpūr ("victorious Shāpūr") to commemorate his victory over Gordian IV in 243 A.D. (Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 12; Maricq, 47; cf. al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ*, 94; Ḥamza, 49; al-Dīnawarī, 51). Other authors erroneously referred the name to Shāpūr II (al-Ṭabarī, i, 839; Yāḳūt, i, 367, ii, 919; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, 37). The official name appears as Pirisabora in Ammianus Marcellinus, as Βηρσαβῶρα in Zosimus; it is also used in Syriac and by the Jews. The Arabs retained the name Fīrūz Shāpūr for the surrounding district (*ṭassūdj*) belonging to the province (*astān*) of al-ʿAlī (Le Strange, *Lands*, 56-66; Streck, i, 16, 19). The name Anbār (storehouse" or "granary" in Persian) came into use by the 6th century A.D. and is due to the storehouses of the citadel (Maricq, 115-6; cf. al-Balādhurī, 296; Yāḳūt, i, 368, 749).

The town was an extensive and populous one, the second in ʿIrāḳ (Ammianus, xxiv, 2). It was the seat of a Jacobean and a Nestorian bishop (cf. I. Guidi, in *ZDMG*, xliii, 413), and was an important Jewish centre (Musil, 356; Maricq, 114; Newman, *Jews in Babylonia*, 14). Its garrison was Persian, while its population contained an Arab element (al-Ṭabarī, i, 749, 2095). The tower played a considerable part in the Emperor Julian's campaign against Persia

Al-Anbār was taken as early as 12/634 by Khālid,

who expelled the Persian garrison and concluded a treaty with the inhabitants (al-Balādhurī, 245; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2059; Musil, 295, 308-9). The third mosque in ʿIrāḳ was built in al-Anbār by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ (al-Balādhurī, 289-90). When asked by ʿUmar to found a garrison town (*dār hidjra*) in ʿIrāḳ, Saʿd first thought of al-Anbār, but changed his mind because of the fever and the flees infesting the town (al-Dīnawarī, 131; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2360). Al-Ḥadjdjādj cleared the canal of al-Anbār (al-Balādhurī, 274-5, 333).

In 134/752 Abu 'l-ʿAbbās moved his seat to al-Anbār and built a city at half a *farsakh* (ca. 2.5 km.) above the town for his Khurāsānī troops, with a great palace in the centre (al-Baladhurī 287; al-Dīnawarī, 273; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 80); he died and was buried there (al-Yaʿḳūbi, i, 434; al-Balādhurī, 283; cf. al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ*, iv, 97). Al-Manṣūr resided in the town before the foundation of Baghdād (145/762). Al-Rashīd stayed twice (180/799 and 187/803) at al-Anbār, the population of which partly consisted of descendants of the Khurāsānīs (al-Dīnawarī 38; al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 510; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 678). Judging by its *kharādj*, al-Anbār was still prosperous in the early decades of the 3rd/9th century (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 8, 42; Ḳudāma, 237). As the caliphate weakened, al-Anbār was exposed to the raids of the bedouins, who attacked the town in 269 and the district in 286 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2048, 2189). Its capture and devastation by Abū Ṭāhir the Ḳarmatian in 315/927 accelerated the process of decay (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, 382). In 319/929 the bedouins caused much damage (ʿArīb, 158). Al-Istakhrī (73) describes the town as a modest but populous town, in which the remnants of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās' buildings could still be seen. Ibn Ḥawḳal (227) states that al-Anbār was declining and al-Maḳdisī (123) says that the number of the inhabitants was small. The population was mainly engaged in agriculture, but as the the town was lying on both the land and river route to Syria (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, transl. Wiet, 250; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 166; Le Strange, in *JRAS*, 1895, 14, 71; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 154), it had some commercial importance, and there were boat-builders in the town. An anecdote in Ibn al-Sāʿī (597/1200, p. 19-20) shows that the town was divided into quarters with a *shaykh* responsible for each. In 1262 the Mongol commander Kerboka plundered al-Anbār and slew many of the inhabitants (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk* (Quatremère), i/5, 171-3). Under the Mongols al-Anbār remained an administrative centre. Djuwaynī dug a canal from near al-Anbār to Nadjaf. Reference is still made to al-Anbār during the first half of the 8th/14th century (al-ʿAzzāwī, *ʿIrāḳ*, i, 204, 337, 548) as the centre of a district; it was surrounded by a wall of sun-dried bricks (part of which is visible at the north end of the ruins).

The ruins of al-Anbār are situated five km. north-west of al-Fallūdja (cf. Musil, 296; Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 13); they extend from NW to SE and have a circumference of irregular shape of about six km. The ruins have kept the name Anbār (cf. Musil, 174; Obermeyer, 219; Ward, in *Hebraica*, ii, Chicago 1885, 83 ff.). The remains of a square fortified building, built of Parthian sun-dried bricks, are to be seen in the NE corner. The mosque lies ca. one km. SW from the former and belongs to early Islamic architecture: it is rectangular, with one line of columns on three sides and five lines on the side facing the *ḳibla*.

The Nahr al-Ḳarma or al-Saḳlāwiyya, which leaves the Euphrates to the west of these ruins, cannot (at any rate in the earlier part of its course) be identical with the Nahr ʿĪsā (see Herzfeld, 13; Le Strange, *JRAS*, 1895, 70), as the latter was excavated under the ʿAbbāsids and branched off one *farsakh* below al-Anbār. It is more probable that Nahr al-Saḳlāwiyya is identical with the pre-Islamic Nahr al-Rufayl, and flows partly in the bed of a ancient canal (cf. Musil, 268; Maricq, 116; Suhrāb, 123; map of the Iraqi Directorate of Survey, 1934, 1: 50,000). It seems that this canal lost its importance in Islamic times.

Bibliography: Chesney, *The expedition for the survey of the river Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, ii, 438; Bewsher, in *JGS*, 1867, 174; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 145 f., 147 f.; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrisch. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 83, 88 f.; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, 57; Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1780-95, xx, 1950; Le Strange, 25, 65; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927; A. Maricq and E. Honigmann, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae divi Saporis*, Brussles 1953, 116-7. (M. STRECK-[A. A. DURI])

AL-ANBĀRĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḲĀSIM (properly IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ), traditionist and philologian, son of Abū Muḥammad [cf. AL-ANBĀRĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMAD]; b. 11 Radjab 231/3 Jan. 885, d. Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 328/Oct. 940. He was a disciple of his father and of Thaʿlab, lectured in his father's lifetime in the same mosque, and was famous for his phenomenal memory and his abstemiousness.

The following of his works are extant: *al-Aḍdād*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1881; *al-Zāhir*; *al-Īḍāḥ fi 'l-Waḳf wa 'l-Ibtidaʾ*; on the passages in the Ḳurʾān where *tāʾ* is written instead of *hāʾ*, probably an extract from *al-Hāʾāt fi Kitāb Allāh*; *Mukhtaṣar fi Dhikr al-Alifāt*; *al-Mudhakkar wa 'l-Muʾannath*. Of his commentary on the *Muʿallaḳāt* (for MSS see Brockelmann, S I, 35) the following portions were published by O. Rescher: Ṭarafa, Istanbul 1329/1911; ʿAntara, in *RSO*, iv-v; Zuhayr, in *MO*, 1913, 137-95. Ibn al-Athīr in the preface to the *Nihāya* mentions al-Anbārī's *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* among his sources.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 75; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 111-2; Azharī, in *MO*, 1920, 27; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 181-6; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 330-42; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 73-7; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-Ruwāt*, iii, 201-8; Ibn Khallikān, no. 653; G. Flügel, *Die gramm. Schulen der Araber*, 168-72; Brockelmann, I, 122, S I, 182. (C. BROCKELMANN*)

AL-ANBĀRĪ, ABU 'L-BARAKĀT ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤ. B. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH B. ABĪ SAʿĪD KAMĀL AL-DĪN (properly IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ), Arabic philologian, b. Rabīʿ II 513/July 1119, studied philology at the Niẓāmiyya in Badjdād under al-Djawālīḳī and Ibn al-Shadjarī and himself became a professor for this subject in the same *madrasa*; subsequently, however, he retired from public life in order to devote himself entirely to his studies and pious exercises. He died on 9 Shaʿbān 577/19 Dec. 1181. He wrote a biographical history of philology, from the beginning to his own time, under the title of *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ fi Ṭabaḳāt al-Udabāʾ*, lith. Cairo 1294. His easy manual of grammar, *Asrār al-ʿArabiyya*, has been edited by C. F. Seybold, Leiden 1886, his great collection of differences between the schools of Baṣra and Kūfa, *al-Inṣāf fi Masāʾil al-Khilāf bayn al-Naḥwiyyin al-Baṣriyyin wa 'l-Kufiyyin* by G. Weil, Leiden 1913. Other treatises by him are extant in MS. A dictionary by him, *al-Zahūr*, is quoted by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, ii, 352; *al-Waḳf wa 'l-Ibtidāʾ* by al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī*, 158.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-Ruwāt*, ii, 169-71; Ibn Khallikān, 469; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 262; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iv, 248; Brockelmann, I, 334, S I 494. (C. BROCKELMANN*)

AL-ANBĀRĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḲĀSIM B. MUḤ. B. BASHSHĀR, traditionist and philologian, d. 304/916 or 305/917. He wrote a commentary on the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* which was revised by his son, Muḥammad: *The Mufaḍḍaliyāt ... according to the recension and with the commentary of Abū M. al-Q. b. M. al-Anbārī*, ed. Ch. J. Lyall, Oxford 1918-21.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 75; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 144; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, xii, 440-1; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 196-8; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-Ruwāt*, iii, 28; A. Haffner, in *WZKM*, xiii, 344 ff.; F. Kern, in *MSOS*, xi/2, 262 ff.; Brockelmann, S I, 37. (ED.)

AL-ANBĪḲ, in medieval Latin Alembic, is the name for that part of the distilling apparatus which is also called "head" or "cap". The word was borrowed from Greek ἄμβιξ. *Al-anbīḳ* occurs as early as the 10th century in a translation of Dioscorides, in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* and in al-Rāzī. The *anbīḳ* is often referred to as "one of the apparatuses used in distilling rose-water".

The complete distilling apparatus consists of three parts: the "cucurbit" (*ḳarʿa*), the "head" or "cap" (*anbīḳ*) and the "receiver" (*ḳābila*). Modern retorts have the "cap" and the "cucurbit" made into one. —Illustrations of distilling apparatuses in Arabian manuscripts are to be found in al-Dimishḳī's *Cosmography* (Mehren) 194 ff. Whereas usually however the cucurbit is surmounted by the cap, here it is placed in front of it. In the former case the cap has the shape of a cupping-glass, as it is represented in the *Mafātīḥ* (ed. van Vloten, 257). The *anbīḳ* is described by Ibn al-ʿAwwām (transl. Clément Mullet, ii, 344) where he explains how rose-water is distilled. But in this description the name does not always refer to the entire "cap", but often to the additional faucet-pipe only, which fits onto it (that is, if the text is not corrupt). The *anbīḳ* is also called the *ra's* (head) of the cucurbit.

The *anbīḳ* is mentioned in the various lists of chemical apparatuses, amongst others in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, in the *Kitāb al-Asrār* of al-Rāzī, where different kinds are enumerated and described, and in a text written in Karshūnī, which has been published by Berthelot and shows close similarity to al-Rāzī's account.

Special kinds of *anbīḳ* are the blind *anbīḳ*, which has no additional faucet and is consequently closed, the *anbīḳ* with a beak, and others of various shapes. In Ibn al-ʿAwwām the appendix is also called *dhanāb* (as Cl. Mullet prefers to read it) or *dhabāb* as the text has it and as Dozy would like to retain, because he combines the additional faucet with a worm-pipe used in condensing (but no illustrations of the latter can be found).

As the Arabian alchemists mainly depend on the Greek alchemists, the illustrations which are found in the works of the ancients can be turned to account. Some also occur in the Latin translations of works which are attributed to Geber.

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AL-ANDALUS, or DJAZĪRAT AL-ANDALUS, geographical term which, in the Islamic world up to the end of the Middle Ages, denoted the Iberian peninsula, that is, modern Spain and Portugal.

(i) Toponymic significance of the term al-Andalus; (ii) Geographical survey; (iii) Outline of its historical geography; (iv) Population of al-Andalus; (v) Development; (vi) Survey of the history of al-Andalus; Appendix: The *Andalus* in North Africa; (vii) Islam in al-Andalus; (viii) Andalusian literature and culture; (ix) Andalusian art; (x) Spanish Arabic.

(i) TOPONYMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERM AL-ANDALUS

The name al-Andalus is hypothetically connected with that of the Vandals (al-Andalīsh), who named Baetica "Vandalicia" when they crossed the Iberian Peninsula before their invasion of North Africa; al-Andalus is mentioned as early as 98/716 on a bilingual *dīnār*, the Latin inscription giving as its equivalent the term "Spania". The latter term, or its doublet "Hispania", were the only ones by the earliest Spanish Latin chroniclers to denote the Iberian Peninsula as a whole, that is, the two Spains, Christian and Muslim. On the other hand, the use of the term al-Andalus by Arab writers appears always to have been confined to Muslim Spain, whatever its territorial extent, which was progressively reduced in size by the Christian Reconquest (the Spanish equivalent "Reconquista" will always be used in this article). Even when Islamic power in the Peninsula was restricted to the tiny Naṣrid principality of Granada, the term al-Andalus was used to denote the territory of this small Kingdom alone. On the other hand, there had been in existence for some time in the Muslim chroniclers the names (in Arabic form) of Ishbāniya (Hispania, España) and the Christian principalities formed as a result of the Reconquista: Liyūn (Leon), Ḳashtālla or Ḳashtīla (Castilla, Castile), Burtuḳāl (Portugal), Arāghūn (Aragon), Nabārra (Navarre).

From the name al-Andalus—the form al-Andulus is sometimes found, especially in Ibn Ḳuzmān—derive the ethnic form *andalusī* and the collective form *ahl al-Andalus*. This term is retained in modern usage to denote the geographical area formed by the Sub-Mediterranean region (littoral zones and highlands) corresponding, from East to West, from the modern province of Almeria to that of Huelva, to the natural region of Andalusia (Span. Andalucía), the inhabitants of which are called Anduluces (sing. Andaluz).

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 71-3; idem, *Esp. mus. Xe siècle*, 5-6; Ch. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, Paris 1955, 56, 57 and note 1.

(ii) GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

1. Physical situation. S-W of Europe, the Iberian Peninsula forms a massive promontory almost pentagonal in shape, joined to the continent by the range of the Pyrenees, and washed on the remaining sides by the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. It is situated between 43° 27′ 25″ and 35° 59′ 30″ N, and 9° 30′ and 3° 19′ E. Its surface area is about 229,000 sq. m., modern Portugal constituting less than a fifth of this total (modern Spain has an area of 195,000 sq. m.).

The situation of the peninsula at the western end of the Mediterranean basin, with a large Atlantic seaboard, explains many episodes in its history.

Cut off by the barrier of the Pyrenees from the rest of the continent of Europe, it is only separated from Africa by the narrow Straits of Gibraltar, bounded to the N. and S. by the bridgeheads of Tarifa and Ceuta. It has as a result acquired an insular character, which has for long isolated the Iberian bloc from trans-Pyrenean influences, while leaving it open from earliest times to Oriental influences via the classical Mediterranean approach route.

The Spanish Peninsula has one of the most broken terrains in Europa. A general examination of its structure reveals that it consists basically of a large central plateau which constitutes at least half of the total area, the Meseta, with a mean altitude of 1,965 ft., comprising the two Castiles, Old (Castilla la Vieja) and New (Castilla la Nueva), and the Estramadura. The Meseta is bounded by high mountain escarpments; to the North, the Cantabrian range; to the North-East and East, the range of the Iberian Mts., to the South, the successive tiers of the Sierra Morena (Subbaetic range); to the West, the high table-lands of Galicia and Portugal. The plateau possesses three deep lateral depressions; those of the Ebro, the Gualdaquivir and the lower Tagus. To the South, the upheaval of the "Penibaetic system" has thrown up a mountain mass which comprises the greater part of Upper Andalusia and forms a confused series of ranges (Span. *sierra*, "saw"; Ar. *al-shārrāt*), of which the highest is the Sierra Nevada (highest point; the Mulhacén, 11,420 ft.).

As a result of this tortuous orographic formation, the mean ground elevation of the Peninsula is not less than 2,160 ft. The additional fact that the proportion of lowlands, of an altitude of less than 1,645 ft., is only 40%, shows the difficulties which have always been encountered, over the greater part of the country, in exploiting a soil which, because of the inadequate rainfall and the meagre supply from the rivers, is generally arid.

2. Climate.—The Peninsula has a dry, generally temperate, climate, despite extreme variations of temperature in the high and mean altitude regions, which escape the moderating influence of the Atlantic or the Mediterranean. Here the winters are severe and the summers torrid. The sub-littoral zones are an exception, especially the largely exposed depression of maritime Andalusia.

As regards rainfall, a distinction must be drawn between dry Spain and wet Spain. The latter comprises, starting from the western prong of the Pyrenees, the Basque country, the Cantabrian coast and nearly all modern Portugal. Dry Spain, which covers nearly 2/3 of the Peninsula, has an essentially erratic rainfall, varying from the annual average of 23 ins. to less than 15 ins. In many cases, the beneficial effects of the rain are nullified by evaporation, wherever it is not possible, as in the Levant (the region of Valencia and Murcia), to remedy this state of affairs by the irrigation of parched lands.

The North and North-West of the Peninsula, and in general all the Atlantic seaboard, enjoy, as a result of the humidity and prevalence of clouds which are features of the region, comparatively mild weather. Similarly, in the Mediterranean zone, from Catalonia and Levante to the Andalusian coast, the winters are mild, with a characteristically high sunshine record and clear, bright atmospheric conditions.

3. Hydrography. The physical formation and climate of the country, and the frequently impermeable nature of the soil, explain the Peninsula's water shortage and the irregularity of the supply from its rivers, which are nearly always dry during the dog-days, when evaporation is at its highest. These rivers have the same characteristics as North African *wādīs*; they are either almost completely dry, or else sudden spates transform them into torrents, with the disastrous concomitant effects of erosion and removal by alluvion.

The rivers which flow towards the north and west are in general coastal rivers of no great length, the chief one being the Miño (Portuguese Minho), which forms the northern frontier of Portugal and discharges its waters into the Atlantic. Three other rivers, which have an extremely irregular supply of water and which drain the waters of the Meseta, also flow towards the Atlantic; the Duero (Port. Douro), the Tagus (Span. Tajo, Port. Tejo), and the Guadiana, whose estuary forms the southern frontier between Spain and Portugal. The most important river of the Peninsula is the Guadalquivir which, rising in one of the mountain groups in the South-East of the Meseta, is swelled by several tributaries, the most important being the Genil, which issues from the Sierra Nevada and is fed in summer by the melting snows from that massif. The Guadalquivir is the only river in the Peninsula whose lower course is navigable (over the last 75 miles). Several *wādīs* of a torrential nature reach the Levantine coast; they issue from the edge of the Meseta and provide, by means of dams, rather uncertain reserves of water for irrigation. The chief of these are the Segura and the Jucar, to-day used for the improvement of the *huerta* of Valencia.

The Ebro, which rises in the Basque country, is fed by the southern slopes of the Pyrenees (Aragón, Segra) and, after a difficult course, during which the gentleness of the gradients gradually reduces the volume of its waters in its lower reaches, turns towards the Mediterranean, into which it discharges after crossing an alluvial delta of considerable size.

4. General characteristics. The subsoil of the Peninsula is especially rich in metalliferous strata: lead, silver, iron, copper, manganese, marble. It is also rich in the natural salts, saltpetre, magnesium and silicates. The vegetation varies completely between dry Spain and wet Spain. In the former, three types of vegetation, more often associated with the Mediterranean zone, predominate: the forests (non-deciduous trees, various kinds of pines and holm oaks or cork-trees), the foothills (Span. *monte bajo*), and the steppe (scrub, esparto). In wet Spain, on the other hand, the countryside is green all the year round, owing to the presence of forests and natural prairies.

As a result of this natural variety Spain is a country of the greatest possible contrast. It is a commonplace to state that it is frequently possible to pass almost without transition from a river valley (*vega*), with its luxuriant vegetation, to the steppe burnt by the sun and the wind.

Bibliography: Geography manuals; in particular, M. Sorre, *La Péninsule ibérique*, vol. vii of the *Géographie universelle* by Vidal de Lablache and Gallois.

(iii) Outline of the historical geography of al-Andalus

1. Descriptions of al-Andalus. The works of the Arab geographers, both eastern and western, which have come down to us constitute the essential part of our knowledge of al-Andalus in the Middle Ages, its development and the exploitation of its

natural resources. First, there are the Road Books (*masālik*) published by De Goeje in *BGA*, which only devote a limited amount of space to Spain: the oldest, those of Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn al-Faḳīh and Ibn Rusta, contain such brief descriptions that one assumes that up to the 4th/10th century al-Andalus was a province of Islam little known to the eastern world. From the time of the restoration of the Marwānid Caliphate at Cordova, the geographical documentation on al-Andalus becomes systematised, although still not elaborated in great detail. The expositions on al-Andalus by al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. 322/934) concern agriculture and commerce, and describe fourteen itineraries in the interior of the Peninsula. His contemporary Ibn Ḥawḳal had the advantage of having himself visited Spain and of having brought his documentation up to date by the interrogation of informants en route; the picture of al-Andalus revealed by the pen of this pro-Fāṭimid writer, is too often partial, but it is nevertheless the first rational description, at once full and coherent, of the Cordovan Kingdom, which has come down to us. Equally worthy of attention is the account of the Palestinian al-Muḳaddasī (end of 10th century) who, although he had not himself visited the Peninsula, makes important statements, apparently based on good authority, concerning in particular the intellectual life, the language, the metrology and the trade of the country.

From the time of the Caliphate, and in the centuries following, all the descriptions of al-Andalus, written primarily in the West, were indebted to the description which the celebrated Cordovan chronicler of oriental origin Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955) placed at the head of his great history of al-Andalus, now lost, and which was used as a source for quotation, usually without acknowledgement, particularly by the compiler Yāḳūt in his *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*. The "Description" of al-Rāzī is only known to us in a Castilian version, published in 1852 by P. de Gayangos and derived from a Portuguese version executed about the beginning of the 14th century at the order of King Denis of Portugal (1279-1325); the author of the present article has translated it into French and attempted to reconstruct the original Arabic (in *And.*, 1953, 51-108).

It is thus clear that the plan of the "Description" of Aḥmad al-Rāzī, though on the whole only sketched in outline, has served as a framework for most later descriptions; among the latter pride of place must be given to the description of the Andalusian Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), which unfortunately is lost, but which can be largely reconstructed from the notices on al-Andalus in the *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār* of the Maghribī compiler of the 7th/14th century Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, who has also made use of material from al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī. To this list must be added, in addition to the collections of *ʿadjāʾib* relative to al-Andalus contained in the works of al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Dimashḳī, the notices, sometimes of considerable length, collected by the Maghribī al-Maḳḳarī (17th century) in the first volume of his *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*.

Bibliography: General survey in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 233-9. The descriptions of Spain appearing in the *BGA*, are: Ibn Khurradādhbih and Ibn Rusta (French trans. by G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 217-221), al-Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA*, v, 37-46; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *BGA*, ii, 74-9, to be studied in the new edition of J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, i, 108-17; al-Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 215-48 (French trans. by Ch. Pellat, Algiers, 1950). On the geographical literature of al-Andalus, the most complete work, despite many imperfections, is that of J. Alemany Bolufer, *La Geografia de la Peninsula ibérica en los escritores árabes*, Granada 1921 (extract from the *Rev. del Centro de Est. hist. de Granada y su reino*). Cf. also al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ* (Dozy and de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Éspagne*, Leiden 1866, text 165-214, Fr. trans. 197-266); E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique au moyen âge d'après le Kitab al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, Leiden 1938.

2. Physical geography of al-Andalus according to Muslim geographical tradition.—According to al-Rāzī, al-Andalus forms the extremity of the fourth clime towards the West. It is a country mainly watered by numerous rivers and sweet water springs. The geographers, after this declaration, usually launch into panegyrics and devote much space to *laudes Hispaniae* rather in the manner of Isidore of Seville.

Al-Andalus is triangular in shape. Each of the angles of this triangle corresponds to a place famous in the traditions of Hispanic legend. On the angle at the apex, in the South-West, rises the temple of Cadiz, *Ṣanam Ḳādis* [*q.v.*]; the second angle is situated on the latitude of the Balearic Islands between Narbonne and Bordeaux (*sic*); the third, in the North-West, corresponds to the Torre de Hercules, near Corunna. These ideas are also partly illustrated by the maps of the Road Books, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Idrīsī. Al-Rāzī has clearly grasped one of the characteristics of the physical structure of the Peninsula: in his opinion, a distinction must be made between western Spain and eastern Spain, taking into account the differences in the direction of the winds, the rainfall and the course of the rivers. In western Spain, the rivers flow towards the Atlantic and rain in brought by the westerly winds. The opposite is true of eastern Spain, where easterly winds prevail and the rivers flow eastwards.

Other landmarks are often given to mark some of the points of the "triangle" formed by al-Andalus: Cape St. Vincent, at the south-western extremity of Portugal, in Arabic the "Church of the Crow" (Kanīsat al-Ghurāb); the Temple of Venus, at the opposite extremity, Haykal al-Zahra (Port-Vendres).

On approaching al-Andalus from continental Europe, Gaul (*Ghālish*) or the "Great Land" (*al-Arḍ al-Kabīra*), one must cross the range of the Pyrenees by one or other of the passes (*abwāb*) or "gates" (*burtāt*) in order to reach the land of the Gascons (al-Bashkūnish) or that of the Franks (al-Ifrandj). From there, it is possible to reach the shores of the Atlantic, called the "Sea of Darkness" (*Baḥr al-Ẓulumāt*) or the "green sea" (*al-Baḥr al-Akhḍar*) or the "Surrounding Sea" (*al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*). In this dangerous ocean a number of intrepid mariners carried on coastal trade from the land of the Blacks and the Canary Islands, the "Fortunate Islands" (*al-Khālidāt*), as far as the confines of Great Britain (Briṭāniya). The Mediterranean is known as the "Great Sea" (*al-Baḥr al-Kabīr*), the "Middle Sea" (*al-Baḥr al-Mutawassiṭ*) or even the "Tyrrhenian Sea" (*Baḥr Tīrān*).

In the opinion of al-Rāzī, there are only three mountain ranges in Spain, which traverse the Peninsula from one sea to the other, and none of which is crossed by a river. The first of these ranges is the Sierra Morena, called Mountains of Cordova (Djibāl Ḳurṭuba), which rises from the Mediterranean coast of Levante and terminates in Algarve, on the Atlantic. The second is the Pyrenean range,

between Narbonne and Galicia. The third cuts Spain obliquely, from Tortosa to Lisbon. It corresponds to the transverse range called al-S͟hārrāt, according to al-Idrīsī. However, the geographer is obliged to mention in addition the Sierra Nevada (D͟jabal S͟hulayr, "Mons Solarius") and the Serrania of Malaga (D͟jabal Rayyo) which extends as far as Algeciras.

The chief river of al-Andalus is the "Great River" (*al-Wādi 'l-Kabīr*), Guadalquivir, also known as al-Nahr al-Aʿẓam and Nahr Ḳurṭuba "River of Cordova". It is sometimes referred to by its ancient name of Nahr Bīṭī ("Baetis"). It is 310 miles in length. It is the river of Baetica, the richest part of the Peninsula, and waters Cordova and Seville. Its chief tributaries are the Genil (Wādī Sind͟jīl or S͟hanīl), which flows through Granada, Loja and Ecija; the Guadajoz (Wādī S͟hūs͟h); the Guadalimar (al-Wādi 'l-Aḥmar), thus named because of the reddish colour of its waters; and the Guadalbullón (Wādī Bullūn).

The Guadiana (Wādī Ānā) has a total length of 320 miles and rises not far from the source of the Guadalquivir. It runs underground for part of its course, and re-emerges in the Calatrava region. It discharges into the Atlantic at Ocsonoba.

The Tagus (Wādī Tād͟jū) rises in the mountains of Toledo and, after a course of 580 miles, flows into the Atlantic at Lisbon. Further north still is the Duero (Wādī Duwayro), 780 miles long, which is fed by several tributaries and flows into the Atlantic at Oporto (Burtuḳāl). Another important river, also flowing into the Atlantic, is the Miño (Portuguese Minho), Nahr Mīnyo, which crosses Galicia from East to West and is 300 miles long.

Of the rivers which flow towards the Mediterranean, al-Rāzī only mentions the Segura (Wādī Shaḳūra) which rises near the sources of the Guadalquivir and the Ebro (Río Ebro = Wādī Ibro); the latter rises at Fontibre, in Upper Castile and eventually reaches the sea not far from Tortosa, a distance of 204 miles. The Ebro has numerous tributaries, including the Río Gallego (Nahr D͟jillīḳ), which comes down from the mountains of Cerdagne (D͟jibāl al-Sīrṭāniyyīn).

3. Urban toponymy and territorial divisions of al-Andalus. Al-Andalus is notable, at all periods of its Muslim history, for the number of its urban centres, and provides a contrast with the relative poverty of North Africa, as regards population centres of equal importance. Nearly all the towns of Roman Spain survived the Arab invasion and continued to prosper. On the other hand, the new towns founded by the conquerors were not numerous and were almost always built for strategic reasons or as coastal bases intended to neutralise the aggressive ambitions of the Fāṭimids in the western Mediterranean, for instance, Murcia (Mursiya) which replaced the old town of Ello, and Almeria (al-Mariyya), which was at first simply a coastal observation post before being developed in the 10th century as an arsenal and naval station. In most cases, the old Latin place-names survived virtually intact, for instance, Corduba/Ḳurṭuba, Hispali/Is͟hbīliya, Caesaraugusta/Saraḳusṭa, Valentia/Balansiya, or else assumed a diminutive form, as *Toletum*, Toledo becoming Toletula/Ṭulayṭula. Certain place-names of historical interest had their origin in puns, Ocili becoming Madīnat Sālim/Medinaceli, which gave rise to the mythical existence of a pseudo-founder named Sālim. Towns with a descriptive Arabic name were the exception: e.g. the "Green Island", al-D͟jazīra al-K͟haḍrā᾽ (Algeciras). Some places bore the name of the Arab or Berber tribe which had populated them after the conquest: Baliy (Poley), G͟hāfiḳ north of Cordova, Miknāsa (Mequinenza) in Aragon. In Levante, as evidence of a more profound Arab influence, many place-names were the names of "stages" coupled with an Arab forename: e.g. Manzil ʿAṭā᾽ (Mislata) and Manzil Naṣr (Masanasa), in the suburbs of Valencia. Many place-names of the Valencia region were formed like names of tribes, with *Beni* plus the name of the eponymous ancestor (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 326-8).

At the time when Aḥmad al-Rāzī wrote his description of al-Andalus, Muslim Spain was already separated from Christian Spain by a boundary line, a sort of no man's land, flanked along its periphery by three Marches (t͟hug͟hūr): *al-aʿlā, al-awsaṭ, al-adnā*. Already many regions of the Peninsula, long since evacuated under the pressure of the first manifestations of the Reconquista, had been finally severed from al-Andalus; the Hispanic March in the East, the Basque country in the centre, the Cantabrian coast in the West. The famous expedition led against Santiago de Compostela (S͟hant Yāḳūb) by the ʿĀmirid al-Manṣūr was no more than a spectacular raid without lasting effect. During the period of the Caliphate, therefore, Islam definitively lost part of Spain and did not seek to recover it. The provincial organisation of al-Andalus, however, remained unchanged.

This organisation dated from the 8th century, and was therefore prior to the Marwānid restoration. It was based on the provincial districts (*kūra*), which had a chief town, a governor and a garrison. The lists of *kūras* under the Caliphate differ widely; al-Muḳaddasī gives an incomplete list of only 18 names. Yāḳūt enumerates 41, a figure approached by al-Rāzī, who describes successively 37. Later, al-Idrīsī introduced a division not into *kūras*, but into "climes" (*iḳlīm*), with no administrative significance and putting forward many names which must be firmly rejected as apocryphal. By utilising the information given by al-Rāzī, who follows a concentric order round the capital, and al-Bakrī, the principal features of each of the main *kūras* of the provincial organisation under the Caliphate can easily be determined. The *kūras* usually had the same name as their chief town, apart from a few exceptions noted below: the most important *kūra* was that of Cordova, bounded to the north by that of the Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ (Llano de los Pedroches, "plateau of the oaks"), whose chief place was G͟hāfiḳ (doubtless the modern Belalcazar: cf. F. Hernandez, in *And.*, 1944, 71-109). On the other side of the fluvial plain of Cordova (al-Ḳanbāniya, modern la Campiña), to the south of the Guadalquivir, lay the small *kūras* of Cabra (Ḳabra) and Ecija (Istid͟jd͟ja). Further west were the rich districts of Carmona (Ḳarmūna), Seville (Is͟hbīliya) and Niebla (Labla). The *kūra* of Ocsonoba (Uk͟hs͟hūnuba), with Silves (S͟hilb) as its chief town, corresponded to Algārve (G͟harb al-Andalus, i.e., the southern border of modern Portugal on the Atlantic. North of this district lay that of Beja (Bād͟ja). The southernmost part of al-Andalus was divided into four *kūras*: Meron (Mawrūr), Sidona (S͟had͟hūna), chief town Calsena (Ḳals͟hāna), Algeciras and Tacaronna (Tākurunnā), chief town Ronda (Runda). Further east, the *kūra* of Malaga (Mālaḳa), which was called Rayyo, had as its first chief town Archidona (Urd͟jud͟hūna); it was adjacent to the *kūra* of Elvira (Ilbīra, formerly Iliberris), a

little to the west of modern Granada (Gharnāṭa). The *kūra* of Elvira adjoined those of Jaén (Djayyān) and Pechina (Badjdjāna), the chief town of which was transferred to Almeria under al-Ḥakam II.

The Levante seaboard (Shark al-Andalus) on the Mediterranean was divided from South to North into three large *kūras*: Tudmīr, the old kingdom of prince Theodemir the Goth, with Murcia as its chief town, Játiva (Shāṭiba) and Valencia (Balansiya), which extended as far as the delta of the Ebro. Inland, beyond the Sierra Morena, the region of Toledo constituted a *kūra*, extended eastwads by the *kūra* of Santaver (Shantabariyya), with Uclés (Uklīdj) as its chief town. It is probable that, under the Caliphate, the Balearic Islands (al-Djazā'ir al-Sharkiyya) constituted a separate provincial district. In the western half of al-Andalus, the same applied to regions which had recently been pacified, such as Merida (Mārida), Badajoz (Baṭalyaws), Santarem (Shantarīn), Lisbon (al-Ushbūna) and perhaps Coïmbra (Ḳulumriyya).

Nine of these *kūras*, called *mudjannada*, still enjoyed under the Caliphate a privileged position, because their territories had been granted as fiefs in 125/742 by the Governor Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Kalbī to the Syrian *djunds* brought to Spain by the general Baldj b. Bishr [*q.v.*]: these were the districts of Elvira, fief of the Damascus *djund*; Rayyo, fief of the al-Urdunn *djund*; Sidona, fief of the Filasṭīn *djund*; Niebla and Seville, fief of the Ḥimṣ *djund*; Jaén, fief of the Ḳinnasrin *djund*; Beja, Ocsonoba, and also Murcia, fief of the *djund* of Egypt.

A certain number of outlying districts are mentioned by al-Rāzī in the territory of the Upper Marches: Tarragona (Ṭarrākūna), adjacent to Lerida (Lārida); Barbitāniya (Boltaña), with its stronghold of Barbastro (Barbashtro); Huesca (Washka); Tudela (*Tuṭīla*), with the fortified towns of Tarazona (Ṭarasūna); Arnedo (Arnūṭ); Calahorra (Ḳalahurra); and Najera (Nādjira).

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *La "Description de l'Espagne" d'Ahmad al-Razi*, in *And.*, xviii, 1953, passim *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, chap. vii (4) and xiii. See also separate articles on the various towns.

(iv) Population of al-Andalus

The complete absence of reliable statistics, and the silence of the geographers, precludes any computation, even a relative one, of the size of the population of al-Andalus at the period of its greatest geographical expansion, i.e. at the end of the 10th century. If one agrees with the conjectural estimate that the population was about ten millions during the Visigoth period on the eve of the Conquest, it must, in view of the small number of Muslim emigrants of other races, have remained roughly the same, with probably a higher proportion of urban dwellers and villagers than rural elements. On the other hand, more weight can be attached to the hypothesis that the distribution of the population over the various regions of the Peninsula was always dictated by physical environment, and that the density of the population in any particular area depended on the altitude and the nature of the country, the climate, the fertility of the soil and the possibility of irrigating it. It is not going too far to conjecture that those regions of al-Andalus which to-day have the smallest numbers of inhabitants already displayed the same characteristic at the time of the Caliphate of Cordova.

Among the components of the Muslim population of al-Andalus, a distinction must be drawn between the mass of neo-Muslims, i.e. Spaniards who became Muslims after the Conquest as the result of more or less spontaneous conversions, and the elements of other races. Among the latter, who settled in the country in the wake of successive, though numerically small, waves of immigrants, the Berber element seems to have been the most important; the Berbers do not seem to have come from all parts of Barbary, but from the regions of the Maghrib nearest to al-Andalus, the Moroccan Djabal and Rīf. These Berbers, who came from the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar, when political or economic circumstances did not force them to return with all speed to their country of origin, were thrust back towards the uplands by the Arab emigrants who formed the aristocracy so that the latter might enjoy exclusive rights over the most fertile tracts of Andalusian soil. From certain information given by authors such as Ibn Ḥazm, in particular in his *Djamhara*, it might be supposed that the Berber colonies only occupied in a sporadic fashion certain territories of the coastal zone, and that they were obliged to settle in the Meseta. Once they were established, presumably these Berbers of al-Andalus rapidly became arabicised, even to the extent of ceasing to use their original dialects. It was not until the end of the 10th century that the influx of further contingents, justified by the large-scale recruitment of Berber mercenaries in central and eastern Maghrib, introduced into al-Andalus a mass of North Africans, who precipitated the ruin of the structure of the Caliphate and congregated in ethnical groups, which formed the following century the Berber *ṭā'ifa* opposed to the Andalusian *ṭā'ifa*.

The Arab element in al-Andalus was never more than a minority. The majority entered the country either at the time of the Conquest or in the course of the following years, and were later reinforced by contingents of Syrian *djundīs* and by the emigrants who flocked from Asia at the time of the Marwānid restoration in Spain. The Arabs originally probably only numbered a few thousand before inter-marriage with the native women and the system of *walā'* produced an impressive number of people who, rightly or wrongly, claimed an Arab origin. At all events, it is a fact that the Arabs represented an especially turbulent and aggressive element in the early centuries of the history of al-Andalus, and that although they despised work on the land, they nevertheless retained for themselves the best land, and left to crop-sharing colonists the task of farming the land and paying them their due share of the crops.

A third alien element in Andalusian society, which should be alluded to here although it formed only a relatively small proportion of the population, was the Negroes and Slavs. The Negroes (*ʿabīd*) of the Sudan, brought to Spain by traders specialising in the slave trade, eventually not only constituted a steadily increasing guard of mercenaries, but intermixed with the rest of the urban populations as the result of the marriage of Negro women, who were specially prized, and sought after also for their domestic virtues. The Slavs (Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*]), on the other hand, who were the product of captures in continental Europe from Germany to the Slav countries, or were captured in the course of *ṣā'ifas* on the borders of al-Andalus, eventually, during the second period of the Caliphate, constituted, especially at Cordova, a numerous and active group which weighed heavily in the economy of the Cordovan

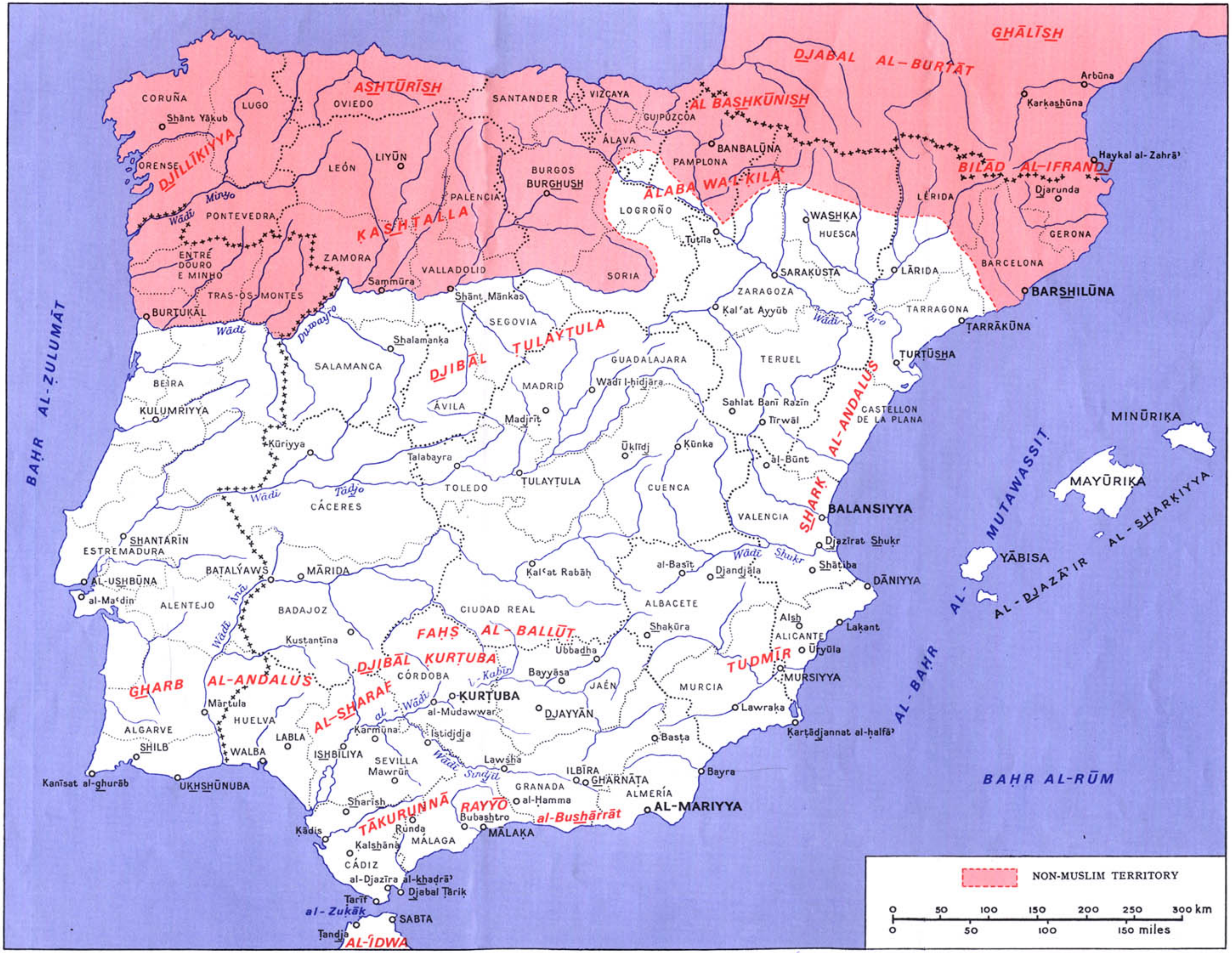
GHĀLĪSH
DJABAL AL-BURTĀT
ASHTŪRĪSH
AL BASHKŪNISH
CORUÑA
LUGO
OVIEDO
SANTANDER
VIZCAYA
GUIPÚZCOA
Arbūna
Karkashūna
Shānt Yākub
ĀLAVA
BANBALŪNA
PAMPLONA
Haykal al-Zahrā'
DJILLĪKIYYA
ORENSE
LEÓN
LIYŪN
BURGOS
BURGHUSH
ĀLABA WA'L-KILĀ'
BILĀD AL-IFRANDJ
Minyo
Wādī
PALENCIA
LOGROÑO
LÉRIDA
Djarunda
PONTEVEDRA
KASHTALLA
WASHKA
HUESCA
GERONA
ENTRE DOURO E MINHO
ZAMORA
Tuṭīla
BARCELONA
VALLADOLID
SORIA
SARAKUSTA
LĀRIDA
Sammūra
BARSHILŪNA
TRAS-OS-MONTES
Shānt Mānkas
ZARAGOZA
BURTUKĀL
Kal'at Ayyūb
TARRAGONA
Duwayro
SEGOVIA
Wādī
Ibro
ṬARRĀKŪNA
Wādī
Shalamanka
TULAYṬULA
ṬURṬŪSHA
SALAMANCA
DJIBĀL
GUADALAJARA
TERUEL
BAḤR AL-ẒULUMĀT
BEIRA
MADRID
Wādī l-ḥidjāra
AL-ANDALUS
Sahlat Banī Razīn
CASTELLON DE LA PLANA
ĀVILA
MINŪRIKA
KULUMRIYYA
Madjrīṭ
Tirwāl
AL-MUTAWASSIṬ
Ūklīdj
Kūnka
Kūriyya
al-Būnt
Talabayra
TOLEDO
TULAYṬULA
Tādjo
CUENCA
MAYŪRIKA
SHARK
Wādī
CÁCERES
BALANSIYYA
VALENCIA
AL-SHARKIYYA
SHANTARĪN
Djazīrat Shukr
ESTREMADURA
Wādī
Shukr
YĀBISA
al-Basīṭ
Kal'at Rabāḥ
Djandjāla
Shāṭiba
AL-USHBŪNA
BATALYAWS
MĀRIDA
DĀNIYYA
AL-DJAZĀ'IR
al-Ma'dīn
ALENTEJO
Ānā
ALBACETE
BADAJOZ
CIUDAD REAL
Alsh
Lakant
Shakūra
FAḤṢ AL-BALLŪṬ
ALICANTE
Wādī
Kusṭanṭīna
Ubbadha
Ūryūla
DJIBĀL KURṬUBA
TUDMĪR
AL-BAḤR
Bayyāsa
CÓRDOBA
l-Kabīr
MURSIYYA
GHARB AL-ANDALUS
JAÉN
MURCIA
KURṬUBA
Mārtula
al-Mudawwar
AL-SHARAF
DJAYYĀN
Lawraka
al-Wādī
HUELVA
ALGARVE
Karmūna
LABLA
Kartādjannat al-ḥalfā'
Istidjdja
Basṭa
SHILB
WALBA
ISHBĪLIYA
SEVILLA
Wādī
Lawsha
Mawrūr
Sindjil
ILBĪRA
GHARNĀṬA
Bayra
BAḤR AL-RŪM
Kanīsat al-ghurāb
UKHSHUNUBA
GRANADA
ALMERÍA
Sharīsh
RAYYO
al-Ḥamma
AL-MARIYYA
TĀKURUNNĀ
Bubashtro
al-Bushārrāt
Rūnda
Kādis
MĀLAKA
MÁLAGA
Kalshāna
CÁDIZ
al-Djazīra al-khaḍrā'
Djabal Ṭārik
Ṭarīf
al-Zukāk
SABTA
Ṭandja
AL-'IDWA
NON-MUSLIM TERRITORY
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 km
0 50 100 150 miles

AL-ANDALUS

state and contributed in no small measure to its rapid collapse.

The Berber, Arab and other Muslim foreign elements, important though they were, were numerically far inferior to the much more important group of the Spanish neo-Muslims, who were known in al-Andalus by the generic terms *musālima* or, more especially, *muwalladūn*. These were Spaniards who, during or after the Conquest, had adopted Islam in order to enjoy a better personal status than that of *dhimmī*. The complete and rapid arabicisation of all these converts to Islam, to which in the vast majority of cases they displayed a deep and sincere attachment, is a remarkable phenomenon. In a short time the *muwallads* became assimilated into Muslim society and enabled the rulers of the country, by the rational use of their services, to make good the lack of emigrants of old Muslim stock. Many *muwallads*, soon fused in the melting-pot of Andalusian society, lost even the memory of their Spanish (Iberian or Gothic) origin, although they often bore Romance names. The co-existence within Islam of elements of population of such diverse origin, led to their gradual fusion, a process which was aided by the adoption of an identical way and rhythm of life and by the bilingualism which, at least in everyday life, placed Spanish Arabic and the Romance tongue (*al-ʿadjamiyya*) on the same footing.

The Muslim population of al-Andalus, which was so composite in origin, but which gradually became relatively homogeneous, was divided in the 10th century into a certain number of social classes, in the same way as the rest of the Islamic world: *khāṣṣa* and *ʿāmma*. The former comprised the great noble families who were often hereditary grantees, while the middle class, composed of merchants and small land owners, soon became a sort of urban bourgeoisie, though without charters or immunities. In contrast, the plebs or *ʿāmma*, in the towns and particularly in the country, constituted an obscure mass subjected to severe vexation by authority. As there is virtually no information on the agrarian law which was in force in al-Andalus, one is compelled to postulate the existence, undoubtedly necessary, of a rural proletariat, composed of day-labourers tied to the soil and leading a particularly wretched existence, mostly unable to escape their servile condition.

The tributaries (*muʿāhidūn*) in Andalusian society formed an important part of the population and comprised both Christians and Jews. The former, usually grouped under the general name of Mozárabes, all belonged to that part of the Spanish population which, at the time of the Conquest, had refused to renounce its faith in order to adopt that of the conquerors. In the large towns at least, notably in Cordova, Seville and Toledo, the Mozarab communities were organised under the protection and control of the Muslim central authority, with a leader responsible to that authority, the *comes* (*ḳūmis*), sometimes also called *defensor* or *protector*. He exercised over his community the powers of a police magistrate, and had the duty and responsibility of collecting the taxes; he was assisted by a special judge, *censor* or *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿadjam*, who settled disputes between the Mozarabs. The territory of al-Andalus, up to the end of the 11th century, remained divided into the same ecclesiastical districts as at the time of the Visigoths, namely, three metropolitan provinces (Toledo, Lusitania and Baetica), each with an archbishopric and several dioceses. The details have been preserved for us by al-Bakrī in what he calls "Constantine's partition". The names have been preserved of some very rare church dignitaries of al-Andalus under the Caliphate. The Mozarab community about which we possess the most information, though not numerically the most important, is that of Cordova.

We have even less information as to the numbers and activities of the Jewish communities in the towns of al-Andalus, each of which had a Jewish quarter (*ḥārat* or *madīnat al-Yahūd*, Span. *Judería*). At the same time, in the 11th century, and especially in the Zīrid Kingdom of Granada, the part played by Jewish excise officials and treasurers, the importance of the Banu 'l-Naghrallā family, the pogrom unleashed in Granada following the murder of the Crown Prince Buluggīn b. Bādīs b. Ḥabūs b. Zīrī, and the importance accorded in the economy of the small state of Granada to the large Jewish community which formed the bulk of the population in the town of Lucena (*al-Yussāna*), give rise to the belief that the Jews of al-Andalus, at all stages of the Reconquista, in the service of Muslims or Christians, played an active part in the country as counsellors and ambassadors, and that they controlled the main commercial channels between al-Andalus and continental Europe on the one hand, and the Muslim East on the other. In this connection, much may be expected from the study of the documents obtained in particular from the Geniza of Cairo.

Bibliography: The material given above in outline will be found in greater detail, with references, in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 163-232. See also, idem, *Esp. mus. Xe siècle*, 18-39 and passim; F. J. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, Madrid 1897-1903; F. de las Cagigas, *Les Mozárabes*, Madrid 1947-49; H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vols. 5-7, Leipzig 1871-3; idem, *Les Juifs d'Espagne*, trans. into French by Stenne, Paris 1872; J. Amador de los Rios, *Historia social, politica y religiosa de los Judios de España y Portugal*, Madrid 1875.

(v) The development of al-Andalus

It is primarily the geographers who have given us more or less detailed information on the manner in which the soil of al-Andalus was cultivated and its vegetable and mineral resources exploited. We also possess a fairly extensive technical literature, formed by agronomic works of various periods, notably those of al-Ṭighnarī, Ibn Wāfid, Ibn Baṣṣāl, Ibn Luyūn and Ibn al-ʿAwwām. Mention must also be made of the "Cordovan Calendar of the year 961", published in 1873 by Dozy, at the same time as a definitely later version, and attributed to the Cordovan chronicler ʿArīb b. Saʿd [*q.v.*]. Unfortunately, this technical literature gives us practically no information on the methods of cultivation and on contracts of lease, questions on which certain juridical works give us information which is too vague for complete reliance to be placed on it.

1. Agriculture. As to-day in Spain, there was a distinction between dry land (Span. *secano* = Ar. *baʿl*) and irrigated land (Span. *regadío* = Ar. *saḳy*), the former being reserved for the cultivation of cereals. Owing to the poor quality of the soil and unfavourable climatic conditions, the cultivation of cereals was quite inadequate to provide the population with wheat and other bread grains; consequently al-Andalus, at certain periods of famine, had to rely on imports of North African wheat. Some varieties of Andalusian wheat (Toledo) were especi-

ally renowned. Millers used either horse-driven mills (*ṭāḥūna*) or water-mills (*raḥā*).

Vast stretches of country, especially in Andalusia and the Aljarafe region, were covered with olive-trees, and the olive oil industry was always extremely active there. Extraction methods were primitive, but the quantities of oil produced were sometimes in excess of local needs, and the surplus was exported to the rest of the Islamic world.

The cultivation of the vine, like other forms of dry cultivation, seems to have been extensively practised. Raisins were used for cooking, and above all the consumption of wine was virtually tolerated and its sale regulated.

It was, however, in the sphere of crops needing suitable irrigation that the Andalusians soon achieved an unchallenged supremacy, although it is not possible to attribute to them the invention of the system of irrigation which they used, in particular in the East of al-Andalus, and which still exists without substantial modification. The simplest form of irrigation was that practised with the aid of a network of irrigation channels (*sāḳiya*, Span. *acequia*) which criss-crossed the littoral plains of the Murcia and Valencia regions, and in which the flow of water depended entirely on differences of level. Water rights were fixed by custom according to a code, patriarchal in character, which is also still in use to-day. On the higher ground and in the valleys of rivers such as the Guadiana, Tagus and Ebro, irrigation could only be carried on with the aid of pumping machines, named, according to their type and function, *naʿūra* (Span. and Fr. *noria*) or *sāniya* (Span. *aceña*). This irrigation was used for the cultivation of vegetables and trees. The geographers vie with one another in their praises of the fruits of al-Andalus: cherries, apples and pears, almonds and pomegranates, and above all figs, of which numerous varieties were known in Spain. In some unusually sheltered coastal strips it was possible to grow crops of a sub-tropical nature: sugar-cane, bananas. The palm-groves of Elche (*Alsh* [*q.v.*]) were one of the sights of the country.

Finally, the cultivation of aromatic herbs and plants used for making cloth was also carried on on a considerable scale; saffron, safflower, cumin, coriander, madder and henna, on the one hand, flax and cotton on the other. Silk cultivation flourished, mainly between Granada and the Mediterranean.

The geographers, in their descriptions, have devoted little space to the rearing of saddle- and draught-animals or animals for meat. Horses were bred in the grass-lands of the lower Guadalquivir, and Andalusian mules were already celebrated by the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal. Cattle, sheep and goats were reared everywhere, making use of the meagre pasture available. Apiculture, for the production of honey, was also practised.

The forest region of al-Andalus was exploited for the needs of the towns, notably charcoal. Pines, numerous on the edge of the Meseta, were felled for use as joists or ships' masts. The great steppe-like expanses of the south-east furnished an abundance of dwarf palms and esparto, used in basket-making and domestic purposes.

2. Mineral exploitation. The richness of the subsoil of al-Andalus justified mineral exploitation from earliest times, and the process continued during the Muslim era. Apart from gold, extracted from the gold-bearing sand of certain rivers, veins of silver and iron were mined north of Cordova, and deposits of cinnabar were exploited at Almaden and Ovejo. Copper was produced from pyrite mines of the Huelva region. Alum, sulphate of iron, lead and galena were also extracted. Muslim Spain was also renowned for its marble and precious stones. Like the Romans before them, the Andalusians made use of many thermal springs, nearly all of which still retain their old name of Alhama (Ar. *al-ḥāmma*).

The exploitation of the rock-salt mines and the salt-deposits on the coast at Cadiz, Almeria and Alicante was a flourishing industry. Fishing was carried on, especially with string-nets and tunny-nets (Ar. *al-maḍraba*): sardines and tunny were caught in large quantities.

Bibliography: The preceding is developed at length in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 233-98; see also idem, *Esp. mus. Xe siècle*, 157-94. Cf., for the period 11th to 13th century, C. E. Dubler, *Über das Wirtschaftsleben auf der iberischen Halbinsel vom XI. zum XIII. Jahrhundert*, Geneva-Zürich 1943; A. Carbonel T.-F., *La mineria y la metalurgia entre los Musulmanes en España*, Cordova 1929.

(vi) General survey of the history of al-Andalus

It is only possible to give here a brief outline of the development of the history of al-Andalus during the seven centuries of Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. For greater clarity, this outline will be divided into a number of chronological compartments, which will allow the presentation of a chronologically connected account without the necessity in most cases of going into events in greater detail.

1. The conquest of al-Andalus.
2. The history of al-Andalus up to the Marwānid restoration.
3. The Marwānid Kingdom of Cordova.
4. The Caliphate and the ʿĀmirid dictatorship.
5. The collapse of the Marwānid Caliphate and the partition of the Kingdom of al-Andalus.
6. The Kingdoms of the *ṭāʾifas* up to the battle of al-Zallāḳa.
7. Spain under the Almoravids.
8. Spain under the Almohads and the progress of the Reconquista.
9. The Naṣrid Kingdom of Granada and the conclusion of the Reconquista.

1. The conquest of al-Andalus. Of all the conquests undertaken by the Arabs in the first century of Islam, the conquest of al-Andalus is most remarkable for the speed and despatch with which it was accomplished. The accounts which have reached us of successive stages culminating in the extension of Muslim power over the whole of the Iberian Peninsula are particularly brief and unreliable; legend rapidly obscured historical reality with a veil which is nearly always impenetrable. It is clear that at the opportune moment the Arabs profited by the decayed state of the Visigoth Kingdom of Spain to turn their attention to it, and that they had the effective co-operation of many of the Spaniards themselves, desirous of throwing off a yoke which had become insupportable to them, to aid them in conquering it. The opportunity was tempting, at a moment when Arab power had just established itself firmly in North Morocco, and when the post of Governor of Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib was in the hands of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*]. To the latter, and to his lieutenant, the *mawlā*

Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], belonged the glory of the conquest of al-Andalus.

It seems certain that Mūsā b. Nuṣayr himself took the decision to try to occupy new territories on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar before referring the matter to the Caliph at Damascus; Mūsā took this step as a result of promises of support which he had received from the exarch of the town of Septem (Ceuta), which had remained a Byzantine possession despite the recent fall of Carthage into Muslim hands. This dignitary, Count Julian, facilitated the first Muslim landing, which was merely a raid led by the Berber officer Ṭarīf on the island of Tarifa (Djazīrat Ṭarīf) in Ramaḍān 91/July 710. The success of Ṭarīf's raid encouraged Ṭāriḳ, the lieutenant of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, to place on a war footing an assault force of 7,000 men, which, with the aid of Count Julian's flotilla, established itself on Andalusian soil in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar (Djabal Ṭāriḳ) in Radjab or Shaʿbān 92 April-May 711.

The decisive battle between the Muslim assault force and the regular troops of the Visigoth king, Roderic, which occurred a few weeks later, on 28 Ramaḍān 92/19 July 711, at Wādī Lago (Rio Barbate), ended in disaster for the Visigoths, who wavered and fled, while Ṭārik decided to advance further. The cities of the Gothic kingdom fell one after another: Cordova was taken by the freedman Mughīth at the beginning of 93/Oct. 711 and Toledo fell without resistance. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, anxious not to leave to Ṭārik alone all the prestige of the conquest, entered Spain shortly afterwards, in Ramaḍān 93/June 712, with a force of 18,000 men, mainly Arabs, and captured successively Seville and Merida (Shawwāl 94/June-July 713). Mūsā effected a junction with Ṭāriḳ at Toledo and from there marched to occupy Saragossa. At that moment he received the order of the Caliph al-Walīd to return to Syria with Ṭāriḳ. They both left Spain, which was almost completely conquered, never to return.

2. The history of al-Andalus up to the Marwānid restoration. The departure of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr to the East inaugurates a period during which a number of governors (*wāli*) succeeded one another as rulers of the newly-conquered territory with powers delegated by the central authority at Damascus, or simply as delegates of the nominal governor at al-Ḳayrawān. It is an extremely obscure period during which the rivalry of the Arab clans re-awoke in Spain, resulting in the greatest political confusion, and only marked by various fruitless attempts to extend Muslim power towards Gaulish territory (capture of Barcelona, Gerona and Narbonne), a raid against the Narbonnaise and Toulouse (100-2/719-721), and, in 725, an expedition to the valley of the Rhône as far as Burgundy. The last expedition of any size, led by the governor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiḳī, who was killed in action, ended in the defeat of the Muslims by the Duke of the Franks Charles Martel, at *Balāṭ al-Shuhadā*ʾ, a battle more commonly known as the Battle of Poitiers (Ramaḍān 114/October 732).

List of the governors of al-Andalus responsible to the Caliphs of Damascus

1. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], succeeded his father on the latter's death on 94/712-3. Assassinated in Radjab 97/March 716.
2. Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī (97/716), for six months.
3. al-Ḥurr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*] (97-100/716-719).
4. al-Samḥ b. Mālik al-Khawlānī (Ramaḍān 100-Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 102/719-721).
5. ʿAnbasa b. Suḥaym al-Kalbī (102-107/721-726).
6. ʿUdhra b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Fihrī (107/726).
7. Yaḥyā b. Salāma al-Kalbī (107-110/726-728).
8. Ḥudhayfa b. al-Aḥwaṣ al-Ḳaysī (110/728).
9. ʿUthmān b. Abī Nisʿa al-Khathʿamī (110-111/728-729).
10. al-Haytham b. ʿUbayd al-Kilābī (111/729-730).
11. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashdjaʿī (111-112/730).
12. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghāfiḳī ([*q.v.*], 112-114/730-732).
13. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan al-Fihri [*q.v.*] (114-116/732-734).
14. ʿUḳba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj al-Salūlī (116-123/734-741).
15. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan (for the second time) to 123/741.
16. Baldj b. Bishr al-Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*] (123-124/741-742).
17. Thaʿlaba B. Salama al-ʿĀmilī (124-125/742-743).
18. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Ḥusām b. Ḍirār al-Kalbī (125-127/743-745).
19. Thawāba b. Salama al-Djudhāmī (127-129/745-746).
20. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī (129/746-138/756, date of the proclamation of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I.

Bibliography: (For 1 and 2): Sources and bibliography listed in detail in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, p. 8, note 2, *Ibid.*, 1-89, contains a detailed account of the conquest and the period of the governors. Cf. also Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i, 1-83; E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasion de los Arabes en Espana*, Madrid 1892.

3. The Marwānid Kingdom of Cordova. (138-300/756-912). The circumstances attending the arrival in Spain of the Marwānid pretender ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya, which enabled him to rally to his cause a large number of clients and partisans of his family and eventually defeated the governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī near Cordova, where he was proclaimed *amīr* of al-Andalus on 10 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 138/15 May 756, are narrated in the article on this prince [see ʿAbd al-Raḥman I].

List of amīrs of al-Andalus up to the proclamation of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III

1. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, born 113/731, *amīr* of al Andalus 138/756 to 172/788.
2. Hishām I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, born 139/757, *amīr* 172/788 to his death, 3 Ṣafar 180/17 April 796.
3. al-Ḥakam I b. Hishām I, born 154/770, *amīr* 180/796 to his death, 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 206/21 May 822.
4. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II b. al-Ḥakam I, born 176/792, *amīr* 206/822 to his death, 3 Rabīʿ II 238/22 September 852.
5. Muḥammad I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, born 207/823, *amīr* 238/852 to his death, 28 Ṣafar 273/4 August 886.
6. al-Mukdhir b. Muḥammad I, born 229/844, amīr 273/886 to his death, 15 Ṣafar 275/29 June 888.
7. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad I, brother of the latter, born 229/844, *amīr* from 275/888 to his death, 1 Rabīʿ I 300/16 Oct. 912.

Among the noteworthy features of this period of the Marwānid amīrate of al-Andalus, which lasted more than a century and a half, are the introduction

of the Mālikī *madhhab* into Spain during the peaceful reign of Hishām I, and the efforts of the *amirs* throughout almost the entire period to deal with the revolts instigated in the Marches by the Berbers, the Arabs and the *muwallads*, and to wage a holy war on the frontiers of the Kingdom. The attempts made against al-Ḥakam I (in particular the famous "revolt of the Suburb") on several occasions placed him in a dangerous position. Moreover the Reconquista, as a result of the aggressive spirit of the first Asturio-Leonese princes and the Franks of the Spanish March, gradually gained ground (final recapture of Barcelona).

The internal crisis was relieved for a time by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*], who fought simultaneously against the Franks, the Gascons and the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] of the Ebro valley, crushed the Mozarab revolt at Cordova (850-9), and threw back into the sea the Norsemen (*Urdumāniyyūn* or *Madjūs*) who had landed on the coast of Seville. This great ruler, who broke with the "Syrian tradition" introduced into Spain by his great-grandfather ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, organized the state of the ʿAbbāsid model.

His work was continued by his son Muḥammad I, at the end of whose reign, however, occurred the renewed insurrection of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān b. al-Djillikī [*q.v.*] and the rising of the whole of southern Andalusia under ʿUmar b. Hafṣūn [*q.v.*], whose revolt continued during the following reigns; further, during the reign of the amir ʿAbd Allāh, serious fighting broke out between Arabs and *muwallads* in the Elvira and Seville regions.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 91-396, with details of sources and bibliography. Dozy's history, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*², vol. ii, is now out of date.

4. The Caliphate and the ʿĀmirid dictatorship. On the long and fruitful reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, the restoration of the Cordovan Caliphate, and home and foreign policy, see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 1-164.

His reign of fifty years represented not only the high-water mark of Marwānid rule in the Peninsula, but also the most flourishing period in the Muslim history of al-Andalus. On the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 22 Ramaḍān 350/4 November 961, he was succeeded by his son al-Ḥakam II, who was already nearly fifty years old, and who reigned until his own death on 3 Ṣafar 366/1, October 976. The latter's reign was also a successful and prosperous one. Cordova, in the words of the Saxon poetess Hroswitha, was the "ornament of the world", and at the same time, under the stimulus of a prince like al-Ḥakam II, who was a man of letters and a bibliophile, one of the most active centres of philological, literary and juridical culture in the entire Muslim world at that time, Christian Spain requested his arbitration, and the Reconquista seemed finally to be checked.

When he died, al-Ḥakam II only left as his successor a young son unfit to rule, Hishām II, born in 354/965 of the union of the Caliph with the Gascon *umm walad* Ṣubḥ. Once the palace intrigues were frustrated, the way was clear for a man of ambition and energy, who soon seized the reins of power and directed the destinies of the Caliphate with a dictatorial hand: the celebrated "major-domo" Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir, the future al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*]. The stages in the brilliant career of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, which speedily led him to the highest honours, will not be recounted in detail here. But this highly-talented politician showed himself also to be a general and a strategist who was both able and successful in his undertakings. He mounted successive attacks in the *djihād* against the Christian kingdoms to the North, inflicted on them severe defeats and even succeeded in capturing and destroying the famous sanctuary of Saint James of Compostela (Santiago, *Shant Yāḳub*) in the course of his campaign of 387/997 against Galicia. Al-Manṣūr died at Medinaceli (Madīnat Sālim), on his return from a final campaign to North Castile, on 27 Ramaḍān 392/9 August 1002. He left Muslim Spain intact and, following ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II, had even been able to extend Andalusian political influence over the whole of western Barbary.

One of al-Manṣūr's most skilful archievements was to respect throughout his life the external trappings of the Caliphate and to keep intact certain of its prerogatives on behalf of his nominal master Hishām II. The latter bequeathed the same powers of "major-domo" or *ḥādjib* to the favourite son of al-Manṣūr, ʿAbd al-Malik, who succeeded his father and adopted the honorific surname of al-Muẓaffar. He remained in power until his death in 399/1008 see ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī ʿĀmir for the details of the history of his "septennate". The death of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī ʿĀmir and his replacement by his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ushered in a period of disastrous disorders in the Spanish Caliphate which soon brought about its downfall.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 1-290.

5. The collapse of the Marwānid Caliphate and the partition of the Kingdom of al-Andalus. The military policy of al-Manṣūr had resulted in the introduction into Muslim Spain of a large number of mercenaries of North African Berber origin who, after his death and that of his successor, formed a centre of agitation against the Andalusians themselves and against the powerful Slav bloc. The train was fired by the insane desire of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo to have himself designated heir-presumptive to the throne by the Caliph Hishām II (Rabīʿ I 399/November 1008). This designation was extremely badly-received at Cordova and, following a plot against him, the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib* was executed by the supporters of the Marwānid pretender Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār near Cordova on 3 Radjab 399/3 March 1009 [see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿĀmir].

From then on, the Kingdom of Cordova went through a period which was fatal to its destinies: pretenders and counter-pretenders, supported by the Berbers or by the enemies of the Berbers, hastened the ultimate downfall of the Caliphate.

List of the last Caliphs of Cordova

1. Hishām II b. al-Ḥakam II al-Muʾayyad biʾllāh (366-399/976-1009: 400-403/1010-1013).
2. Muḥammad II b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Mahdī (399-1009).
3. Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Mustaʿīn (399/1009; 403/1013).
4. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Murtaḍā (408/1018).
5. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Mustaẓhir (414/1023-24).
6. Muḥammad III b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Mustakfī (414-416/1024-1025).
7. Hishām III b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Muʿtadd (420-422/1029-1031).

Ḥammūdid Caliphs

1. ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd (407-408/1016-1018).
2. al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd (408-413/1018-1023).

The Andalusian, Slav and Berber "factions" (*ṭāʾifa*, pl. *ṭawāʾif*) did not wait for the collapse of the Cordovan caliphate before splitting up the territory of al-Andalus into a multitude of small states, most of which had only an ephemeral existence and among which emerged only a few large political blocs, the Kingdoms of the ʿAbbādids of Seville, the Afṭasids of Badajoz, the Zīrids of Granada, the Dhu 'l-Nūnids of Toledo and the Hūdids of Saragossa.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 291-341 (and bibliography quoted on p. 291, note 1); and see Ḥammūdids. For 3-5 see Umayyads.

6. The Kingdoms of the *ṭāʾifas* up to the battle of al-Zallāḳa. The history of Spain in the 11th century is characterized by the vigorous efforts of the Reconquista, stimulated by energetic and enterprising Christian monarchs who were more and more conscious of the necessity of re-establishing national unity at the expense of Islam. The internal history of the Kingdoms created by the dismemberment of the Spanish Caliphate is particularly dull and devoid of interest. As portrayed by the chroniclers, it presents a picture of constant turmoil—opposing interests, rivalries and perpetual disputes, through which it is not always possible to trace a guiding thread. The ethnic groups, to which belonged the dynasties which outlived those which were rapidly absorbed by their more powerful rivals, joined issue with one another. Andalusians fought against Berbers, and Slavs fought against both. Before long there was no hope of restoring the Caliphate, and the increasing weakness of each of these states only whetted the appetite of the Christian monarchs, who levied heavy tribute from them: this policy was followed particularly by King Alfonso VI, who succeeded, by skilful diplomacy, in effecting the peaceful occupation of Toledo (1085) and in making himself the arbiter in disputes between the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*.

The danger became so great that, whether they wished to or not, the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* were forced to seek help from the Almoravids. The turning-point came with the intervention of North African troops led by the *amīr* Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, who defeated the forces of Alfonso VI at Sagrajas (al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]) on 22 Radjab 479/2 November 1086. This victory was not followed up, and Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, soon wearying of the spectacle of the disunion of the Andalusian kings and their compromises with the Christian monarch, dethroned them one after the other and simply annexed the greater part of al-Andalus to his dominions. From that moment, Muslim Spain was only the vassal of the Maghrib.

Bibliography: See the usually accurate lists given by A. Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas: estudio historico-numismatico de los Musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la hégira (XI de J. C.)*, Madrid 1926. See also Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*², vol. iii; A. Gonzales Palencia, *Hist. de la Esp. mus.*, 54-69; and ʿAbbādids, Afṭasids, Dhu'l-Nūnids, Hūdids, Zīrids etc.; for a list of the dynasties of the *ṭawāʾif* cf. Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif.

7. Al-Andalus under the Almoravids. The Almoravid occupation of Muslim Spain was completed by the recapture of Valencia (495/1102), which had fallen into the hands of the Cid Campeador Rodrigo Díaz in 478/1085, and by the surrender of the Hūdid capital of Saragossa on the death of al-Mustaʿīn (503/1110). Al-Andalus then experienced, despite the domination of society by the *faḳīhs*, several decades of prosperity, marked by the indisputable successes of Almoravid arms (victory of Uclés in 502/1108) which, however, were unable to recapture Toledo. Saragossa itself fell in 512/1118 into the hands of Alfonso the Warrior. Christian pressure on al-Andalus increased, and achieved the greater success because the son and successor of Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, ʿAlī, threatened in Morocco itself by the Almohads, soon became incapable of offering serious resistance to the manifestations of revolt which were appearing on all sides. The time was ripe for another change of masters in al-Andalus. [See al-Murābiṭūn].

Bibliography: R. Menendez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, definitive edition, Madrid 1947, F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en Espana*, Saragossa 1899.

8. Al-Andalus under the Almohads, and the progress of the Reconquista. After a period of thirty years, in the middle of the 12th century, during which certain movements took shape to weave a new pattern of "Kingdoms of *ṭāʾifas*", al-Andalus submitted to the authority of the Muʾminid dynasty of Morocco. The Almohads maintained for nearly a century an increasingly precarious grasp on those parts of the Peninsula which still belonged to Islam. The Reconquista won back more territory each year. In Catalonia, Ramón Berenguer IV occupied successively Tortosa and Lerida, but the chief architect of the Reconquista was King Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214), who gained possession of Silves, Evora, and Cuenca. The Muslim victory at Alarces (*al-Arak*), won by the Almohad Caliph Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, 8 Shaʿbān 591/18 July 1195, had no lasting effect. Less than fifteen years later, the Christian coalition, comprising troops from Castile, Leon, Navarre and Aragon, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Muslims at Las Navas de Tolosa (*al-ʿIḳāb*), 15 Ṣafar 609/17 July 1212, which was followed by the fall of Ubeda and Baeza. The capture of Cordova occurred less than a quarter of a century later, followed by the capture of Valencia by Jacques I of Aragon (636/1238) and of Seville by Ferdinand III (646/1248).

Bibliography: See al-Arak, al-ʿIḳāb, Ishbīliya, Balansiya, Ḳurṭuba, Muʾminids.

9. The Naṣrid Kingdom of Granada and the conclusion of the Reconquista. For a further two and a half centuries the "Kingdom of Granada", despite successive amputations, continued to be the only territory on the Iberian Peninsula still under the authority of a Muslim ruler; bounded by the Mediterranean from Gibraltar to Almeria, this Kingdom did not extend inland beyond the mountain massifs of the Serranía de Ronda and the Sierra d'Elvira. The ancestor and founder of the Naṣrid dynasty (or Banu 'l-Aḥmar), Muḥammad I al-Ghālib bi'llāh, took possession of Granada in 635/1237-8 and organized the fortress called al-Ḥamrāʾ, the Alhambra, as a royal palace; at the same time, he agreed to become the tribute-paying vassal of the King of Castile, Ferdinand I, and then of his successor Alfonso X. Henceforth the policy of kings of Granada was to try to achieve a precarious balance in their alliances concluded either with the Christians, or with the Mārinids of Morocco, who intervened militarily on Andalusian territory and occupied certain points such as Ṭarīfa. Moroccan co-operation was gradually proved to be illusory:

the sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan suffered a grave defeat on the Rio Salado (741/1340). Granada still retained some of the prestige of a capital by virtue of its monuments and literary gatherings, in which men like Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb were conspicuous. In the following century, with the advent of the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, the Christian offensive became co-ordinated and was conducted on a wider scale. Loja fell in 1486, Vélez-Malaga, Malaga and Almeria the following year, Baza in 1489, and Granada eventually surrendered to the Catholic monarchs on 2 Rabīʿ I 897/3 January 1492.

Bibliography: See NAṢRIDS. See also, on the fate of Spanish Muslims, whether converted to Christianity of not, after the conclusion of the Reconquista, MORISCOS. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

Appendix: the "Andalus" in North Africa

As a generic term *al-Andalus* is especially well known in the North African context where it denotes that element of the Islamic population which derives its origins from Spain. Generally speaking, the Andalusian element only appears in relief from about the end of the 15th century, but here we have to do with nothing more than the culmination of a long historical trend.

In the course of Hispano-Islamic history emigration to the Maghrib not infrequently served the inhabitants of al-Andalus as a means of escape from internal crisis. Andalusian commercial and external interests also played a great part in bringing Hispano-Islamic elements to the littoral of the Western and Central Maghrib.

From about the middle of the 12th century, when Muslim disasters in Western Andalusia sent a stream of emigrants to Ḳaṣr al-Kutāma (al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr), the advance of the Reconquista was to prove an increasingly important, though by no means the sole cause of emigration to North Africa. With the protracted disintegration of Islamic Spain emigration progressed sporadically until the 15th century when the critical events which foreshadowed the fall of Granada marked the beginning of what was to prove a veritable diaspora, of which North Africa experienced appreciable effects. By the end of the 16th century the number of Andalusian expatriates on Maghribī soil was such that they could be accounted an important minority of its population.

The advent of the 17th century brought new developments and it is not long before we see the outcome of the general expulsion of the Moriscos. From their ports of disembarkation large numbers are said to have made for Fez and Tlemsen, but of these a great proportion suffered death or spoliation at the hands of the Arab tribes. Many others succeeded in joining their compatriots at Algiers, and in Tunisia, where a policy of immigration was actively encouraged by ʿUthmān Dāy, the influx was considerable.

Of the Andalusians thus established in 17th century Tunisia a fairly detailed picture can be drawn. Their case is somewhat different from that of their 13th century precursors who are best known for their great political role in the Ḥafṣid state. Appearing as a highly organised and exclusive community under a supreme head (*shaykh al-Andalus*), they seem in their village communities to have enjoyed certain legal rights together with a large measure of independence in local government. The monopoly of a highly successful and well organised *shāshiya* industry enabled them so to modify the economic system that the *amīn al-shawwāsha* became *de jure amīn* of commerce, presiding over a commercial tribunal to which all corporations were subject and whose members were, with only two exceptions, recruited from the Andalusian *shawwāsha*. In the agricultural field Andalusian skill, fostered by the enlightened ʿUthmān Dāy, was turned to the exploitation of the fertile north, where the Moriscos ably applied their knowledge of irrigation and the techniques of husbandry to arboriculture and market gardening. During the 16th and 17th centuries the production and traffic of raw silk as well as the manufacture of stuffs, fabrics and embroidered goods were great specialities of the exiles. At Algiers, for instance, the silk industry was very much in their hands and contributed much to the wealth of the city. Much, on the other hand, that they might have contributed to the Maghrib was lost. In Morocco, for instance, the Saʿdids sought mainly to exploit them as a military force. For the rest, their occupation with piracy, and the slave trade must have accounted for the disappearance of traditional skills. Their traces, however, still survive in many spheres and many North Africans proudly proclaim their Andalusian origin which is in many cases apparent from their patronymics.

Bibliography: No comprehensive work has yet been published. The following list is a selection from the vast literature. For the earlier centuries, see: Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afrique sept.* (de Slane), 55, 61-2, 65, 70-1, 104, 112, etc.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Fondation de Fès*, Paris 1939; id., *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 169-70 etc.; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès*, Casablanca 1949, 35, 47, 136 ff. For Morocco, see: Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-ʿArabī, *Mir'āt al-Maḥāsin*, lith. Fez, 135-6, 142, 144, 146 etc.; *Chronique anonyme saʿdienne* (Colin), 38-9, 48, 53 ect.; Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī* (Houdas), 62, 116, 237, 264-5, 267, 303; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, transl. Graulle etc., i, 219, 322-4, 328-9, ii, 39, etc.; *K. Nubdhat al-ʿAṣr* (Bustani and Quiros), Larache 1940, 47-8/56-7, etc.; Leo Africanus, *Descr. dell'Africa*, in Ramusio, *Navigationi*, Venice 1563, 31, 35, 48, etc.; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, iv, 148-9, vi, 279-81; Marmol, *Descr. de Affrica*, Granada 1573, ii, 33, 83-5, etc.; M. J. Müller, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der westl. Araber*, i, 42-4; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 147, 154, 214; Abū Djandār (Boujendar), *Ta'rīkh Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ*, Rabat 1345, 194-7, 202 ff. etc.; *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, passim; Caillé, *La ville de Rabat*, Paris 1949, i, 213 ff. and passim; Michaux-Bellaire, *El-Qçar el-Kabir*, *AM*, 11/2, 1905, 153, 173-4, 177-8, 182-3, 187, 191-2, etc.; Terrasse, *Hist. du Maroc*, index. For Algeria see: Ghubrīnī, *ʿUnwān al-Dirāya* (Ben Cheneb), 171 and passim; Marīnī, *ʿUnwān al-Akhbār*, transl. Féraud, *RAfr.*, 1868, 251-2, 254-5, 337, 342-3, etc.; Leo, op. cit.; Marmol, op. cit.; Haedo, *Topographia e historia de Argel*, passim; Salvago, *Africa overo Barbaria* (Sacerdoti), Padova 1937, passim; Lea, *Moriscos of Spain*, London 1901, 273-4, 329-31, 350, 364 and passim; Trumelet, *Blida*, Algiers 1887, i, 572 ff., ii, 760, 764 and passim. For Tunisia see: Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, transl. de Slane, ii, 23, 299, 362; id. *Berbères*, ii, 365, 373, 382 and passim; Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, index. For the 17th century and after see G. Marçais, *Testour et sa grande mosquée*, *RT*, 1942, 147-69 and references; Ibn al-Khōdja, *Ta'rīkh Maʿālim al-Tawḥīd*, Tunis 1939, 82-3, 186, etc.; Grandchamp, *La France en*

Tunisie, Tunis 1920-30, ii-iv passim; Peiresc, *Lettres inéds. communiquées par M. Millin*, Paris 1815, passim; id., *Lettres publ. par Th. de Larroque*, vii, Paris 1898, passim; Ximenez, *Colonia Trinitaria de Tunez* (Bauer), Tetuan 1934, passim; Atger, *Corporations tunisiennes*, Paris 1909, passim; Despois, *Tunisie orientale*: *Sahel et Basse Steppe*, Paris 1955, index. (J. D. LATHAM)

(vii) ISLAM IN AL-ANDALUS

Al-Andalus was always a stronghold of Mālikism and a centre of orthodoxy from the beginning of the 9th century, when the *madhhab* of Medina was adopted and supplanted that of al-Awzāʿī. During the Marwānid period, as the new *madhhab* had the official support of the rulers of the country, there was no possibility of the implantation of other rites, and all Khāridjī or Shīʿī tendencies were suppressed in their early stages; the Andalusians could only direct their legal and theological activity towards the elaboration of manuals of *furūʿ*, and to a permanent attachment to the method of *taḳlīd*. In the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, however, there is apparent an infiltration, admittedly slight, of the Shāfiʿī and Ẓāhirī schools, the latter represented in Spain by the *ḳāḍī* Mundhir b. Saʿīd al-Ballūṭī (d. 355/966) until it found its "standard-bearer" in the person of the famous Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*]. Similarly, there is apparent at certain periods a certain spread of Muʿtazilism, which corresponded to a revival of ascetic tendencies, whose principal representative was the Cordovan philosopher Ibn Masarra [*q.v.*] (d. 319/931).

The representatives of Andalusian Mālikism whose names and sometimes works have come down to us are legion. Nearly all of them have received biographical notices in the collections printed in the *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*. After the fall of the Caliphate, jurisprudence was held in even greater esteem than before, and the social class of the *faḳīhs* frequently formed the most influential and active section of the population, especially under the Almoravids. From a doctrinal point of view, al-Andalus was scarcely affected by Almohad propaganda, and Mālikism reigned supreme up to the end.

Bibliography: General survey in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 453-88. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

(viii) ANDALUSIAN LITERATURE AND CULTURE

See ʿARABIYYA, B, *Appendix*.

(ix) ANDALUSIAN ART

The Iberian Peninsula, by virtue of its geographical position, which encloses the western end of the Mediterranean, and by reason of its predominantly Mediterranean characteristics, has been since ancient times an area favourable to the germination of Oriental influences. Possession of a common religion and a common language, the two factors, says Sarton, which constitute the strongest bond between peoples, strengthened relations between the two regions, relations which benefited also by the religious obligation of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Artistic trends and forms reached the Iberian Peninsula from the Orient over a period of eight centuries; some of these were developed to a greater degree and extent than in their country of origin. In Hispanic art there are echoes of the art of Byzantium and its cultural zones, of Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and Ifrīḳiya. In Syria as on Iberian soil, the art of the Middle Ages was modelled on the pattern of the art of Imperial Rome. The coincidence of certain forms in the works of these two countries points sometimes to their common origin and not to a direct relationship between the two. But, whereas in the eastern Mediterranean, civilisation developed without interruption from the first centuries of the Christian era and during the first centuries of Islam, the Iberian Peninsula, and the West as a whole, experienced grave crises and a considerable decline in its standard of civilisation.

We do not know many details of the transition from Visigothic Spain, whose lack of homogeneity and decadence are shown by its feeble resistance to the invaders, to Spain under Islamic domination. In the artistic sphere, works and remains of this obscure period and of the subsequent Islamic periods are lacking, with the result that in many cases the gaps must be filled by guesswork.

The art of al-Andalus developed with an original and distinctive character of its own. During the period of contact with the Orient, between the 2nd/8th and 9th/15th centuries, certain monuments of incomparable beauty, perfection and originality, such as have been preserved in no other Muslim country, were built there: the mosque at Cordova, unique both for its complex and skilful construction and for the richness of its decoration; the palaces of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, whose art and magnificence have never been surpassed; the Aljaferia of Saragossa, a palace of extraordinary originality and decorative profusion, the reconstruction of which is being undertaken at the present time; the Giralda tower, a monumental minaret which is one of the most beautiful in the Islamic world; and, finally, a huge palace, the Alhambra of Granada, wonderfully preserved despite its extreme fragility, in which architecture and the natural beauties of water and vegetation have combined to create one of the most inspiring scenes in the world.

Architecture

Umayyads. In default of older buildings, the study of Islamic architecture in al-Andalus must start from the oldest part of the Cordova mosque, built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I between 168 and 170/784-6, i.e. three-quarters of a century after the invasion and conquest of the Peninsula. By the time of the death of this *amīr*, only the finishing touches remained, and these were executed by his son Hishām (172-180/788-96).

This early oratory occupies the N.-W. portion of the building, which is still preserved to-day. The mosque is rectangular, with stone walls, divided into eleven aisles running North to South, perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall, the central aisle being larger than the others. The aisles are separated by marble columns deriving from Roman or Visigothic buildings. On the capitals rest square impost blocks, which in their turn carry rectangular stone piers, the overhang being supported transversely by means of corbels and terminating above in an impost. The piers are linked longitudinally by two ranges of arches; the lower arches, horseshoe-shaped, are suspended and support nothing; above, a second range consisting of semi-circular arches, springs from the imposts and supports the walls. By this method of construction it was possible to erect a huge building on slender columns, making the maximum use of the interior space and, for the faithful, ensuring a good view of the *imām* leading the prayer. Owing to the fact that the width of the supports was

increased in proportion to their height, it was possible to support the roofs and to place rain-water gutters in the thickness of the walls.

The method of construction with double superimposed arches, which gives the Cordova mosque an original beauty and a unique character in mediaeval architecture, is not found in any other mosque. In the other hypostyle mosques, the arches separating the aisles are supported by means of wooden beams which give them the appearance of temporary constructions. It is astonishing to find in Cordova in the second half of the 8th century such a perfect structure, in view of the apparent lack of architectural ability which is suggested by the use of columns originating from earlier buildings.

Repeated attempts have been made to establish the origin of these forms. The system of double arches could be inspired by Roman architectural works, for example aqueducts. Stone was used as constructional material in Syrian architecture, but also in Visigothic architecture in Spain. The arrangement of the ashlars alternately as stretchers or as parpens is frequently found in Roman buildings of the East and the West, which have inherited it from Greek buildings. Visigothic architecture made more general the use of the horseshoe arch, specimens of which are found in Roman and eastern Islamic architecture, although fewer than in the Peninsula. The alternate use of stone and brick in the voussoirs of the arches was frequent in Roman architecture, from which it passed into Byzantine architecture. The originality of the mosque of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I resides in the plan and general arrangement of the building, with its numerous parallel aisles, the central aisle being larger, as in the eastern mosques, and perhaps also in the wall buttresses and probably in the stepped crenellations which crown them.

The growth of the population of Cordova, in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52), necessitated the enlargement of the mosque. By demolishing the *miḥrāb* and piercing the *ḳibla* wall, the aisles were extended southwards. The portion added follows the lines of the earlier work, but, among a large number of capitals originating from earlier buildings, there are eleven which were finely cut for the purpose and were inspired by classical models, and four, from the *miḥrāb*, which were later transferred to that of al-Ḥakam II. The latter are not inferior to the finest Roman capitals, and are evidence of the existence of a workshop of selected artisans. These works were commenced in 218/833; the first prayer before the new *miḥrāb* took place in 234/848, but the work was incomplete at the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. His son and successor Muḥammad I completed them in 241/855, a date which appears in an inscription on the St. Stephen door, whose bevelled decorations, inspired without doubt by Roman mosaic motifs, are of the Byzantine type.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300-50/912-61), left in the Great Mosque a memorial of his long and glorious reign, by constructing in 340/951 a new and monumental minaret, of square section like the Syrian minarets.

In 326/936, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, proclaimed caliph, began the construction of the royal city of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, at the foot of the Sierra, less than five miles from Cordova. The work proceeded until 365/976, a period of forty years during which the grandeur and power of the Andalusian caliphate reached their zenith, as is witnessed by the disfigured ruins of the palaces of this city, the seat of the court and officialdom, and by the enlargement of the Cordova mosque on the initiative of al-Ḥakam II.

The portions of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ until now brought to light are the ruins of stone buildings-dwellings, offices and reception halls; the last-named situated at the end of *patios* and consisting of several parallel aisles, separated by horseshoe arches on columns, following a basilica-type arrangement common in the East. For its decoration, the two caliphs, fired by the ambition to construct buildings of exceptional spendour and richness, imported materials and skilled craftsmen from the other end of the Mediterranean. The roofs and ceilings have gone—Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ was sacked and burnt several times during the early years of the 11th century and later served as a quarry up to a recent date—but there remains part of the stone and marble surfaces of the walls of many of the rooms, numerous columns and capitals of the same materials, and pavements of stone, marble and brick. The richly decorated surface of these buildings was entrusted to workshops of skilled craftsmen, some of whom came from the eastern Mediterranean; they possessed different training and different techniques for the working of stone and marble, but were especially familiar with the general characteristics of two-dimensional reliefs with vegetal motifs (there are a few simple geometrical motifs, of Byzantine origin), the majority far-removed from the vine and the acanthus motifs which derive from them. A magnificent hall, discovered in 1944, and at present in course of reconstruction because among its ruins were found many reliefs from the decorated surfaces of the inner walls, was decorated from 342 to 345/953-7.

The same craftsmen from the palaces of al-Zahrāʾ worked on the enlargement of the Great Mosque at Cordova; this work, initiated by al-Ḥakam II, was put in hand in 350/961, and the principal part was completed in 355/966. Workers in mosaic, requested from the emperor of Byzantium, had a hand in its decoration. An Oriental influence is also noticeable in the four vaults of intersecting arches in the extension, although no comparable example of an earlier date has yet been discovered in the East. The increase in the height of the walls of some bays in order to form vaulted lanterns probably comes from the mosques of Ifrīḳiya of the 9th century, although the vaults of the latter are of Byzantine origin. The arches, intersecting equally, but in plan and not in space, form an open lattice-work which, by an ingenious and skilful constructional technique, supports the cupolas. Some of the arches are cusped and ʿAbbāsid in origin; there are also a number of broken arches. The former were, from then on, combined with intersecting arches, one of the favourite themes of Hispano-Muslim art, used purely as decoration—following a process common to all Islamic art, but in al-Andalus carried to its ultimate conclusion.

In this extension, which dates from the reign of al-Ḥakam II, and which in fact constitutes a new mosque contiguous to the original, decorative forms of an incredible richness blend with a magnificent blaze of colour to cover the walls and the vaults, composed of vivid mosaics, with arabesques (*ataurique, al-tawrīḳ*), the majority of cut stone, with the background painted red and inscriptions in other kinds of blue, and veined marble in the columns and pedestals. The mosque of al-Ḥakam II, like the hall of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III at al-Zahrāʾ, illustrates an art utilising its resources to the full, at its peak,

which, without parallel in the contemporary West, is an expression of the grandeur of the Cordovan caliphate.

The third and final enlargement of the Great Mosque was due to the initiative of the powerful al-Manṣūr, the minister of Hishām II, and was carried out between 377-80/987-90. It maintained the unity of the whole by repeating once more, as regards the engaged piers and the arches, the construction of the originals, without any novel feature, and inferior in richness and style. The doorways reveal a process of unification of the great variety of decorative techniques displayed at Madīnat al-Zahrā', but the result is heavy and monotonous.

Few traces remain of the work executed during the period of the *ṭā'ifas* in the 5th/11th century. In the mosques, on the evidence of the texts and such traces as remain, the division into aisles perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall by means of horseshoe arches on columns, is repeated. The princes of the *ṭā'ifas* built palaces rather than religious edifices. They could not rival their predecessors, rulers of a unified Spain, in power or wealth but they tried to imitate, at least in appearance, their splendid residences. In place of the solid stone walls of Madīnat al-Zahrā' they erected walls of clay and brick. The surfaces of stone and marble covered with arabesques (*ataurique*) were replaced by decoration in plaster, and the columns of marble, as in the Alcazaba of Malaga, by wooden columns. The polychromy conceals the poverty of the interior under an ephemeral display of richness and luxury. The reduction in grandeur and solidity, and the lack of architectural greatness, were compensated for not only by the more agreeable and picturesque aspect of the 5th/11th century buildings, but also by the introduction of running water in the halls and patios, and by the use of plants in the patios, doubtless as a result of an Oriental influence, perhaps via Ifrīḳiya.

The decorative art which sought to conceal the structural poverty of these palaces was a direct successor of the art of the caliphate but with an evolution towards the baroque, essentially Hispanic, by the transformation of the architectural elements of Cordova and Madīnat al-Zahrā' into other purely decorative elements, consisting of involved and complex designs and profuse ornamentation.

A work which is highly characteristic of the art of the *ṭā'ifas* is the palace built in the immediate vicinity of Saragossa by al-Muḳtadir b. Hūd (441-74/1049-81).

The 6th/12th century, i.e., the period of Almoravid and Almohad domination in al-Andalus, was one of the most fruitful periods of Western Islamic art, and at the same time one of the periods in which there occurred the greatest assimilation of forms originating from the eastern Mediterranean.

The Almoravids, Berber nomads from Africa, without a cultural tradition, remained on the fringe of the artistic trend. But the political union of Muslim Spain and Barbary for a period of just over a century (the 6th/12th and the first years of the 7th/13th), at first under the Almoravids and then under the Almohads, resulted in the spread of Andalusian art across the Straits of Gibraltar, into regions with a mainly rural civilization and without large urban centres. [Cf. AL-MURĀBIṬŪN (section on art)].

The construction of the Almoravid mosques shows changes as compared with the earlier Hispanic mosques, probably as the result of Mesopotamian influence. In place of the columns which had hitherto separated the aisles, they built brick pillars; this resulted in increased stability, enabling them to do away with the wooden tie-beams, but also in a loss of space and in reduced visibility. Compared with a hypostyle oratory, an oratory with brick pillars always seems heavy and monotonous.

No Almoravid mosque has been preserved in al-Andalus. The Great Mosques of Tlemcen and Algiers, originally devoid of decoration, were built probably in the last years of the 5th/11th century, before Andalusian influence reached the African shore. This occurred during the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf (500-37/1106-43), during which the mosque at Tlemcen was enriched with splendid and profuse Hispanic decoration, which covers the surface of the *miḥrāb* as well as the walls and the cupola of the bay which precedes it. This decoration, according to an inscription in cursive letters which forms part of it, was completed in 530/1136. About 529/1135, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf enlarged the al-Ḳarawiyyīn Mosque at Fez, still closed to non-Muslims, in which there are intersecting arches obviously of Cordovan origin, and vaults formed by stalactites (called *mocárabes* in Spanish), originating from Persia or ʿIrāḳ, which span some of the bays. Its amazing perfection shows that this was not one of the first experiments with these imported elements.

The most characteristic Almoravid work of the decorative style is the Ḳubbat al-Barūdiyyīn of Marrākush, built probably between 514 and 526/1120-1130. The central portion of this small rectangular building is covered by a small cupola of curved brick. Within, eight arches intersect, in a fashion similar to those of the cupola which covers the bay before the *miḥrāb* in the mosque at Cordova. The arches are mixtilinear in the Marrakush specimen, composed of cusps, curves and right-angles, and the surfaces contained between their springings are covered, like almost all the others, with delicate plaster arabesques, around large scallops. This is a Hispanic work of extraordinary richness and unusual imagination; it expresses in an eloquent manner the anti-classical tendency to fragmentation and decorative excess which breaks out periodically in the course of the history of Spanish art.

The Almohads who, like their predecessors, lacked a cultural tradition, and were governed by their fundamental asceticism which condemned all luxury and all excess, as befitted a movement purporting to restore the purity of early Islam, influenced artistic evolution by placing severe restrictions on ornamentation, which was reduced to basic essentials, with precise and well-defined lines, on large, plain backgrounds. [Cf. AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN, section on art]. As no Almohad oratory has survived in Spain, we do not know whether these characteristics extended to them also; the remains of the Great Mosque at Seville, completed during the reign of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (572-94/1176-98), lead one to suppose that they displayed richer decoration than those preserved in the Maghrib.

The Almohads influenced artistic evolution in other respects as well. Inspired hy the memory of the past greatness of the Cordovan caliphate, as witnessed by its buildings, they built huge, symmetrical and well-planned mosques, solid, tall minarets, and great city gates, veritable triumphal archways in honour of the dynasty.

In the remainder of the Almoravid and Almohad palaces there appear two types of patios which later reached an extraordinary pitch of development in the art of Granada: the court with two transverse

pathways forming four squares of vegetation, with projecting pavilions on the shorter sides (El Castillejo, in the Vega of Murcia), and the type with a portico on one or two of its sides (the Yeso, in the Alcazar of Seville).

Almohad military architecture uses, in al-Andalus, arrangements deriving from Byzantine architecture and as yet unknown in the West. For instance, the bent gates (walls of Badajoz, Seville and Niebla); the barbicans; the polygonal towers (Cáceres, Badajoz, Seville) and the *albarranas* or towers outside the walls (Cáceres, Badajoz, Écija). With the stalactites, there arrived from the Orient cursive epigraphy (plaster decorations of the Mauror at Granada, and of the Castillejo at Murcia), and glazed or varnished ceramics used for exterior architectural decoration, of which the first example known in Spain is in the Torre del Oro at Seville (617/1220-21).

After the collapse of the Almohad empire, the last foothold of Islam in Spain was the tiny Kingdom of Granada, established a little before the middle of the 7th/13th century. The universally famous palace of the Alhambra at Granada, and nearly all the other buildings remaining from this final period, are not earlier than the 8th/14th century.

Naṣrid [see NAṢRIDS] or Granadan art, is a brilliant final phase of Islam in the Peninsula, which maintained its position partly on the fringes of official dynastic Almohad art, enriched by the legacy of the latter and by a few importations from the East, without forgetting the changes wrought by the inexorable march of time. It also represented, in its decorative aspect, the revival of the national tradition of dense, flat and fine ornamentation, after the brief Almohad deviation; the extent to which the latter spread through Spain is not known.

The craftsmen of Granada adorned the last days of a moribund civilisation with the most exquisite examples of what human genius and art can produce in the decorative field. With poor and fragile materials, they created large, strong, plain masses and severe, purely architectural volumes, like the Tower of Comares and the Gate of Justice, in the Alhambra, compositions as serene, harmonious and original as the patio of the Alberca, and cleverly planned interiors, such as those which are arranged in echelon from the Lions' Court to the platform of Daraja, in the royal palace at Granada. At the same time they constructed fortifications which are more important than the Hispano-Almohad ones which have been preserved, and Granada was enriched by public buildings, houses and palaces embellished with exquisite art. From modest residences to the royal palaces which surrounded the city, every building had its patios, fountains, cisterns, pavements of brilliant coloured tiles, plaster decoration and skilfully-assembled wooden roofs.

It is in the royal palace of the Alhambra, miraculously preserved despite its great fragility, that the art of Granada acquires its characteristics of magnificence and grandeur. The patios of the Alberca and of the Lions, built in the middle of the 8th/14th century, are the development are the development respectively of the types with porticos built on the shorter sides and with two transverse pathways of the Almoravid era. The stalactites in the Alhambra form complex vaults, cover the extrados of the arches, serve as imposts and cover the surface of some capitals. Above the socles of the glittering *alicatados* (*al-lukāṭ*)—mosaics of coloured tiles—the walls of the rooms are covered, as if hung with carpets, with plaster panels in which vegetal motifs—leaves divided into small leaflets, in Almoravid tradition, and others smooth, derived from Almohad decoration—are combined with complex geometrical outlines and inscriptions in Kufic and cursive. There is a tremendous wealth of ornamentation in the Alhambra, but the paucity of relief and the orderly arrangement on the walls within the panels obviate any sense of superabundance disorder. The whole is harmonious, light, and pleasant to look at.

At the time when these palaces were being built, Granada was being enriched by the construction of a series of important public buildings: a *funduḳ*, the "Alhondiga nueva"; a *madrasa* completed in 750/1349; a *māristān* or lunatic asylum (767-8/1365-7). These three buildings—only the first is preserved—conform to foreign plans, but their form represents the local style.

In the first half of the 9th/15th century, which coincided with the final political decadence, the art of Granada, failing to receive new contributions from the eastern Mediterranean, and exhausted by amazing but sterile refinements and subtleties, owing to self-repetition and dwelling exclusively in the past, became an empty formula. In a petrified form, it still survived in the Maghrib for several centuries, almost up to the present day.

Industrial Arts

Trade, mainly in the hands of the Jews and Syrians, distributed throughout al-Andalus many products of the decorative and industrial arts of the Orient, a number of which were easily transported. During the reigns of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II and his son Hishām I, a taste for refined luxury and ostentation prevailed at Cordova, under the influence of Baghdād and Byzantium. There rapidly developed in al-Andalus the manufacture of textiles, jewelry, productions in ivory and ceramics, furniture, etc., imitations of imported work, in order to satisfy the demands of a large clientele in Muslim territory and the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula and north of the Pyrenees. The copy was sometimes so faithful that it is difficult to say whether certain articles emanated from countries at the other end of the Mediterranean, or whether they were made in al-Andalus. In the case of various bronze works in the Fāṭimid style, it is impossible to say definitely whether they were made in Egypt or Spain. It is only after a most careful scrutiny that one can say whether certain fabrics had their origin in the workshops of the ʿAbbāsids or al-Andalus.

The activity of the Hispanic workshops did not slacken in the 5th/11th century, but only in the following one, when the austerity of the first Almohad caliphs imposed a check, particularly on the royal workshops. In the Kingdom of Granada, in contrast, in spite of its smallness, the industrial arts reached a magnificent and final peak of development. In addition to satisfying the needs of an extravagant court, the export of its products helped to support a large population, which was obliged to pay a heavy tribute to the King of Castile.

Religious furniture in al-Andalus, commencing at least from the 4th/10th century, was of extraordinary richness and perfection. "The most skilful craftsmen", wrote an 8th/14th century historian, "agree that the *minbars* of the mosque at Cordova and of the Kutubiyya at Marrākush are the finest in existence; Orientals, to judge from their works, are not experts in wood-carving". According to al-Idrīsī, the *minbar* of the Great Mosque at Cordova is without equal in the world; it was made in the reign

of al-Ḥakam II. It is described as an incomparable example of the cabinet-maker's art, with inlays of ivory and fine woods.

The *minbar* of the Kutubiyya was made at Cordova between 534/1139 and 538/1143. It is covered with a delicate ornamentation of geometric interlacing figures in marquetry, consisting of small pieces of rich woods of various colours, bordered by fine lamellae of ivory; exquisite wood-carving fill the spaces between the traceries.

One of the greatest artistic glories of the caliphate was the caskets and jars of ivory (*ʿād̲j̲*, [*q.v.*]), whose antecedents must be sought in the sphere of Byzantine culture. They were in the court workshops during the 4th/10th century and the first half of the 5th/11th, Arabesques are the predominant feature of their ornamentation, although there is no lack of representations of animals and human beings, whose Mesopotamian origins go back to eras well before Islam.

Ceramics also achieved a singular development in al-Andalus [cf. K̲H̲AZAF]. During the period of the caliphate were manufactured what are known as "ceramics of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ", or of "Medina Elvira", because numerous examples have been found in the ruins of these two cities. On a white background, the decoration consisted of patterns in green (oxide of copper) outlined in dark brown (manganese). These ceramics are of Byzantine origin, but they developed independently in al-Andalus.

From ʿIrāḳ and Iran came the immensely rich gold faience. There is evidence of its manufacture in al-Andalus from the 5th/11th century; it may be earlier still. This luxury technique reached its greatest development and perfection in the 8th/14th century, with productions which were exceptional for their shape and richness, such as the superb vases of Malaga, the pride of those museums and collections which possess the rare specimens which have been preserved. Some have only decoration in gold; in others, gold ornamentation is combined with blue. From the 4th/10th century, we have fragments of ceramics with the colours separated by thin outline plates (*cuerda seca*), which appear to be of Spanish manufacture; on the other hand, engraved pottery, without glazing, only appeared, it seems, in the 6th/12th century.

Several specimens of the famous "baldachins", imported from Bag̲h̲dād, which mark the peak of mediaeval silk-manufacture, are preserved in Spain. *Sirico* (Syrian) and *Grecisco* (Byzantine) fabrics, mentioned in numerous documents of Christian Spain of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, are evidence that the rich fabrics emanating from the Orient reached Spain.

At Seville and Cordova, there were in the 4th/10th century workshops producing *ṭirāz*, i.e., silken fabrics and brocades designed for ceremonial robes. Fabrics and robes were among the best-appreciated gifts. At the time of the Almoravids, the looms of Almeria were famous. During that period, the Byzantino-Sasanid tradition of decoration was still in force; it consisted of tangential circles with representations of animals arranged symmetrically inside, following the technique and the style of the ʿAbbāsid capital. The Almohad sovereigns suppressed the *ṭirāz*. The circle then disappeared from silks, and was replaced by geometric designs, traceries of straight and curved lines, rhombi, star-shaped polygons, etc.; from the 7th/13th century, decoration by means of multiple parallel bands bearing inscriptive and geometric elements, finally prevailed. The silks of Granada are of this type.

We have already alluded to the bronzes of the caliphate—lamps, chandeliers, *ḳandīls*, waterspouts in the form of animals, mortars, perfume-burners, etc.—and to the difficulty of establishing their place of origin because of their resemblance to the Fāṭimid bronzes. The perfection of the artistic metal-working technique in the 6th/12th century is illustrated by the plaques of engraved and chased bronze which cover the wooden leaves of the door of the patio of the Great Mosque at Seville, and its magnificent door-knockers, of cast and chased bronze, which remain on the very spot where they were made.

Museums and collections have preserved specimens of repousse silver bracelets dating back to the period of the caliphate. The technique of *repoussage* is less commonly found in gold jewelry, in which there is a predominance of filigree-work and wire threads forming settings filled with precious-stones or pieces of glass, a technique which survived until the last days of the Kingdom of Granada. Several swords are of this type, such as that of Boabdil in the Military Museum at Madrid, a masterpiece of the goldsmith's craft, of consummate elegance, whose hilt, of silvergilt and ivory, has a decoration of filigreework and polychrome enamels set in frames.

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(L. TORRES BALBÁS)

(x) SPANISH ARABIC

I. Of all post-classical Arabic dialects, the Arabic spoken in the Iberian Peninsula is the best known, as regards the mediaeval period.

As early as the 4th/10th century, the philologist al-Zubaydī al-Is̲h̲bīlī wrote a treatise on the errors of speech of the common people in al-Andalus. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Ḳuzmān [q.v.] wrote some *zad̲j̲al*s [*q.v.*] full of linguistic and sociological interest, the majority of which have been preserved. In the 7th/13th century, the mystic al-S̲h̲us̲h̲tarī [*q.v.*] also composed *zad̲j̲al*s of which numerous collections are known. Unfortunately, the nature of the subjects dealt with in these dialect poems means that they are of less interest than those of the preceding poet.

In the middle of the 13th century, too, the reconquest of the Kingdom of Valencia by the Christians and the requirements of religious propaganda among the Muslim population, resulted in the production of a copious anonymous *Vocabulista*, Arabic-Latin and Latin-Arabic, which has been published. At the end of the 9th/15th century, the reconquest of the Kingdom of Granada led Br. Pedro de Alcala to compile in his turn an *Arte* and a *Vocabulista*, giving the Arabic in Roman transcription; the latter work is particularly valuable, but the prose texts of the *Arte* are often incorrect.

These are only the essential sources. Many secondary sources exist: minor composers of *zad̲j̲al*s; several *k̲h̲ard̲j̲a*s of *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*s [*q.v.*]. As regards

prose, there are documents in archives, private correspondence, account sheets, etc. Finally, as regards vocabulary, the authors of technical works written in classical Arabic point out numerous dialectal names: historians, geographers, doctors, botanists, agronomists, works on *ḥisba*, etc.

There is reason to suppose that Spanish Arabic must have ceased to be a living language towards the end of the 10th/16th century, the date of its extinction probably varying in different provinces. At all events, the Moriscos who, driven out of Spain, reached Tunisia and Morocco about 1610, seem to have no longer spoken Arabic, but Spanish. The Arabic-speaking period, in the Iberian Peninsula, would therefore have lasted for about eight centuries. This long period of time, combined with the division of the country into separate physical and political units, as well as the heterogeneous character of the Arab population, ought, it would seem, to have favoured the formation of separate Arabic dialects, as had occurred within the Romance linguistic framework: this does not seem to have happened. It is true that the documents we possess are disparate, both in time and space, thus precluding any worthwhile comparison. At the most, one can try to distinguish between the dialects of the South (Seville, Cordova, Granada), those of the East (Valencia, Murcia) and those of the Marches (Aragon). In the case of Toledo, we only possess notarial documents, drawn up in an extremely debased form of the classical language.

To sum up, as far as we are able to tell, Spanish Arabic seems to have preserved a high degree of homogeneity. But one must not forget that our only documentation relates to the urban dialects. It is possible that the rural dialects, spoken by people who moved about less than the inhabitants of towns, may have been more differentiated.

Although Spanish Arabic became extinct towards the end of the 10th/16th century, as a spoken language, it survived in the poems which still served as 'words' to the "Andalusian" airs that were played and sung by the inhabitants of the towns, from Tunisia to Morocco.

II. General characteristics: (In what follows, the origin of certain linguistic facts will be denoted as follows: Q = Ibn Ḳuzmān; V = *Vocabulista* of Valencia; G = *Vocabulista* of Granada).

A. *Phonetics. Consonants*

As in all post-classical dialects, the lateral *Ḏ* (ض) is represented, phonetically, by *Ḏ* (ظ) and, exceptionally, by *Ḏ*. The interdentals: *t*, *d*, *ḍ* are preserved, at least until late 15th century Granadan. ج appears to have been, originally, an affricate: *ǧ* = *dž*. In Q and V it does not assimilate the definite article. In G, it does assimilate, which can correspond either to a pronunciation *ž*, or to a weakening of the first occlusive element. As regards *ḳāf*, there is evidence of a "weak" Spanish pronunciation, but we do not know exactly what this "weakness" consists of. Apart from the consonants of classical Arabic, Spanish Arabic has the following, usually in Romance loan-words (or developments from the substratum): *p* and *č*, written respectively in Arabic بّ and جّ. *G* (Old Romance or Ibero-Visigoth), transliterated by غ; this creates a problem for Romance scholars. There is a noticeable tendency, especially marked in G, for the final-*n* after *ay* to disappear: *ay* "where?", *bay* "between", *shaharay* "two months".

Vowels.

Short Vowels. We must wait for the transliteration of *G* into Roman characters in order to have an idea of the nuances of the short vowel system: a/e, i/e, u/o, governed by the nature of the preceding or following consonants. This is largely the position in present-day Maghribī.

Up to the end of the 15th century, short vowels in open syllables are relatively stable. The only short vowel threatened with elimination is that occurring in the second of two *internal* open syllables: *yat(a)kallam* "he speaks", *yat(a)khāṣamu* "they quarrel with one another", *dakh(a)lat* "she enters". Of the short vowels, that of the quality *a* is the most dominant. In nouns, it is that of *segol* whatever the nature of the preceding stressed vowel. It is also that of the first syllable of nouns of instrument of the classical type *mifʿal*, and that of the last syllable of the diminutives = $C^1uC^2ayya\ C^3$ and $C^1uC^2aiC^3aC^4$. In verbs, the quality *a* appears at the beginning of the imperative of I: *aktub*! "write!", and at the beginning of the imperfect of the forms V, VI, VII, VIII and X. By analogy with the vocalisation of the perfect, this quality also appears in the imperfect of all derived forms (except, sometimes, III) and in both forms of the quadriliterals. Many vowels (short and always unstressed), seem to separate consonantal groups which are difficult to pronounce. Such a group may be initial (a process known to classical Arabic): *ufrunṭāl* "frontal" or final: *katábti-lak* "I have written to you". In addition, in poetry, a disjunctive vowel freely appears after a word ending in CVC and followed by another word beginning with a consonant. It can be internal, as in the case of nouns of the type, $R^1vR^2R^3$, in which $R^3$is either *R*, *L*, *N*, *M*, or *B*, or ʾ. E.g. *ʿaḳal* "intellect", *ʿidjal* "veal", *shoghal* "work", *raṭab* "smooth and supple", *ḥumar* "red", *Aben-Zuhar* "Ibn Zuhr".

Long Vowels. In nouns, the sequence *ā-ū* tends to become *ai-ū*. The vowel *ā*, not supported by a strong (back) consonant tends to become palatalised. The stage most readily reached is *ē*; the Arabic letter *alif* is also regularly used in *aljamiado* to transliterate the Romance vowel *e*. In G., this last pronunciation is reserved for the *ā* of bookish vocabulary. In the words (not verbs) belonging to popular vocabulary, the palatalisation reaches the maximum degree: *ī*, hence *bīb* "door" written بيب, with a *yāʾ*.

Diphthongs: The classical diphthongs *ai*, *au* are preserved in their correct form, except in a few link-words: *kif*, *kaf*, *kayfa*; *lis las*, *laysa*.

Accent: This is only known to us as regards of the 15th century—the result of the notations of P. de Alcala, which have been assembled and studied by A. Steiger. Several Granadan scripts in Arabic characters show that, under the influence of stress accent, short vowels in open syllables become prolonged.

B. *Morphology*

The Verb: There are no 2nd persons feminine. In the perfect tense, the suffix of the 2nd person plural is—*tum*. In the imperfect, the 1st persons are of the pattern *naktub—naktabu*. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the perfect, the "doubled" verbs in the 1st form follow the classical conjugation: *ḥalalt* "I have opened". In the case of verbs with R^3 weak, the imperfect plural is of the pattern *yamsu* "they set out", *yaltaḳu* "they meet". In the derived forms including the IInd, the form of the imperfect is in—*a*—,

like that of the perfect. The use of the passive with vowel-change is well attested, but only in the Ist form; it is sometimes imitated by the VIIth. While the majority of the real settled dialects created an indicative present, Spanish Arabic evolved a contingent tense, which also functions as an unfulfilled conditional (after a protasis with *lau*) and as an optative. It is formed by the imperfect preceded by *kan* (G. = *kin*), which is constant and of which the final *-n* is normally assimilated by the preformatives *t-* and *y-*. The patterns of the perfect, for forms V and VI, are *atfaʿʿal, atfāʿal*, derived secondarily from the imperfects *yat(a)faʿʿal, yat(a)fāʿal*. On the same basis, we have *atfaʿlal* for the IInd form of the quadriliteral. Note that, in these forms, the formative *t* is assimilated, not only by the dental occlusives, but also by the sibilants (*s, z, ṣ*) and the fricatives (*ṣ, g*). In a nominal clause, various negative copulas derived from the classical *laysa*; *las*; *lis*; *is*; *is* G. are used. Finally the use of *-shi*, to reinforce an interrogative or a negative, appears to be unknown.

Substantives: A real indefinite article is found: *waḥd-al-faras* "a (certain) horse". The dual is clearly obsolescent. It is only used for parts of the body occurring in pairs, and for words expressing measure. The plurals *afʿul* and *afʿila* are those ordinarily used. The type *mafāʿil* is only used for singulars with second vowel long. The diminutive of triliteral words without medial or final long vowel is of the type fuʿayyal: *kulayyab* "small dog (m.)", but *kulaiba* "small dog (f.)". In the construct state, the ending *-a* becomes *-at-*.

Numerals: For "2", we find *zaudj* followed by a plural. From 11 to 19 the numerals in their free state retain the ending *-ar*.

Qualifiers: Note, in Granadan, a diminutive of the type *fuʿaiʿal* for qualifying adjectives of the patterns *kabīr* and *aḥmar*.

Personal Pronouns: 2nd pers. sing.: *ant, att, at*. The third person has the abridged forms: *hu, hi, hum*, which perform the function principally of copulas in a nominal clause. On the other hand, there are the expanded forms: *huwat, hiyat, humat* (emphatic forms). For the 1st person of the plural, there are many variant forms: *nuḥan, niḥin, niḥinat* V.; *aḥan, ḥan, ḥenat* G. The reflexives are of the form *ana annassi* "myself", perhaps for *la-nafsi*. We find traces of a suffix *-ah* for the 3rd pers. fem. (after a consonant).

Relatives: The most usual is *alladhī*, indeclinable. Sometimes, from *Q.* onwards, we find it appearing as *addi*. In *G.*, there occurs a mysterious form *allé*. Between an undefined noun and the adjective or clause (nominal or verbal) which qualifies it, there occurs an indeclinable conjunctive particle: *-an-*. This may possibly have some connexion with an old *tanwin* with a highly-developed usage: *laḥyat-an baydha* "a white beard", *ʿaynayn-an sūd* "black eyes", *hawādjib-an riḳāḳ* "eyebrows", *kilmat-an fīha ḳāf* "a word containing a *ḳāf*, *kiṭṭ-an madhā-li* "a cat which I have lost", *waḳt-an tudhkar* at the moment when your name is mentioned".

C. *Prepositions*

The word *matāʿ/mitāʿ* is used as a preposition to introduce, analytically, the determinative complement (noun or pronoun) when direct connexion (*iḍāfa*) would be awkward. Between two nouns, the shortened form *mata/mité* (written مَتَى) is found. The preposition *maʿ-* is used to express a meaning corresponding to our verb "to have"; before personal suffixes with an initial vowel, it becomes *māʿ-*: *māʿu ḳiṭāʿ* "he has money". The preposition *dh* which one meets fairly frequently in Toledan texts, is merely the transcription of the Romance *de*.

Grammatical link-words: The following should be noted: *ashḥāl*? "how much?", *baḥāl* "as", *dhāba* "now", *ḥurma f-ash* "for what reason?", *makkaī*, "at all events, at least", *yaddā* "also, equally" (the classical *ayḍan*), *niʿma, saraf, akdās* "very, many" *shuway* "a little", *fawāt* "late", *ikkān* "if" (for *inkān*), *yā-ʿalā* .... "would to God that ...." (*utinam*).

D. *Vocabulary*

Attention will only be drawn to the following: *duḳām* "mouth"; *udjdj* "face"; plur. *ḳiṭāʿ* "coins, minted silver"; *wild* "father"; *muḳārib* "poor, bad"; *akḥal* "black".

Bibliography: A) *Texts*: De Gunzburg, *Le Divan d'Ibn Quzman*, fasc. I (the only one which has appeared): photographic reproduction of the *unicum*, Berlin 1896; Nykl, *El Cancionero de Aben Quzman*, Madrid 1933 (-the preceding text transliterated in Roman characters, with the translation of a selection of *zadjal*s; see review, in *Hesp.*, 1933, 165). Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in Arabico*, Florence 1871; Pedro de Alcala, *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arauiga-Vocabulista arauigo en letra castellana*, Granada 1505 (photographic reproduction issued by the *Hispanic Society of America*, New York 1928; a re-issue, partially corrected of the first edition by Paul de Lagarde, *Petri Hispani de Lingua Arabica libri duo*, Göttingen 1883); Martin de Ayala, *Doctrina, en lengua arauiga y castellana*, Valencia 1566 (reproduction in photogravure by Roque Chabas, Valencia 1911). The Arabic Ms. No. 3 (1389) of the Fagnan catalogue of the Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger shows that it consists of a translation, in Spanish Arabic, by a certain cleric Bartolome Dorador, at Guadix, of a Castilian text written in 1554 by M. de Ayala, then Bishop of Guadix; Yafil, *Madjmūʿ al-aghānī wa 'l-alḥān min kalām-al-Andalus*, Algiers, n.d.

B) *Special studies*: M. Alarcon, *Carta de Abenaboo en arabe granadino*, in *Miscelanea de estudios y textos arabes*, Madrid 1915; M. Asin Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances*, Madrid-Granada 1943; G. S. Colin, *Sur une charte hispano-arabe de* 1312, in *Islamica*, 1927, III; idem, *Les voyelles de disjonction dans l'arabe de Grenade au XVe siècle*, in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, P.I.H.E.M., Paris 1928, 211; idem, *Notes sur l'arabe d'Aragon*, in *Islamica*, vol. 4, p. 159, 1928; idem, *Les trois interdentales de l'arabe hispanique*, in *Hesp.* 1930, 91; idem, *Un document nouveau sur l'arabe dialectal d'Occident au XIIe siècle*, in *Hesp.*, 1931, 1; De Eguilaz, *Glosario* ..., Granada 1886 (contains the Arabic words which have passed into Romance Spanish); Gonzalez Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, 4 vol., Madrid 1926-30; Simonet, *Glosario* ..., Madrid 1888 (contains the Iberian and Latin words used in Spanish Arabic); A. Steiger, *Contribucion a la fonética del hispano-arabe* ..., Madrid, 1932 (cf. C. R. Colin in *Hesp.*, 1933, 171); Neuvonen, *La negacion ḳaṭṭ en el cancionero de Ibn Quzman* in *Studia Orientalia*, XVII, 9, Helsinki 1952; L. Seco de Lucena, *Un nuevo texto en árabe dialectal grenadino*, in *al-Andalus*, xx, 1955, 153.

(G. S. COLIN)

ANDARĀB "between the waters", a frequent toponymic in Iranian countries.

(1) A district in northern Afghānistān watered by the river Andarāb and its tributary Kāsān, al-Iṣṭakhrī 279 (Andarāba). Its present centre is Banū, see Burhān Kūskhakī, *Ḳattaghān wa-Badakhshān*, Russian transl., Tashkent 1926, 28-34. The Khāwak pass connects it with the silver-mines of Pandjhīr (Pandjshīr). The mint of Andarāb was used by several dynasties, and especially by the local Abū Dāwūdids (coins 264-310/877-922), see R. Vasmer in *Wien. Num. Zeit.*, 1924, 48-63. The rulers of Andarāb bore the title of *shahrsalār*. See *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 109, 341; Le Strange, 427.

(2) A town (Andarāba) near Marw in which Sultan Sandjar had a castle built, see Barthold, *Istoriya oroshen̄iya Turkestana*, 1914, 63.

(3) A place in Arrān, at one day's march from Bardaʿa, al-Iṣṭakhrī 182, probably identical with the present-day Lambarān on the Khačēn river, which flows to the south of the Terter.

(4) According to the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 223, a place on the river of Ardabīl (now Balīkhlī-su), where it flows north of Mt. Sawalān above its junction with the Ahar river. (V. Minorsky)

ANDARŪN [see enderūn].

ANDI. The term "Andi peoples" embraces eight small Ibero-Caucasian Muslim peoples, some 50,000 in number, ethnically akin to but linguistically distinct from the Awar [*q.v.*]. They live in the basin of the Koysu of Andi, which runs from north to south across the mountainous western portion of the Soviet Autonomous Republic of Dāghistān [*q.v.*].

The group comprises: (1) the Andi proper, numbering 8,986 in 1933, about 10,000 in 1954; (2) Akhwakh (or Ačwado); 4,610 in 1933; (3) Bagulal (or Kvanada), 3,637 in 1933; (4) Botlikh, 1,864 in 1933; (5) Godoberi, 1,500 in 1946; (6) Čamalal, 5,101 in 1933, about 7,000 in 1954; (7) Karata (or Kirdī-Kalal), 6,235 in 1939; (6) Tindi (or Tindal, Ideri), 4,777 in 1933.

The Andi peoples were converted to Islam by the Awar between the 13th and the 15th centuries, and are, like them, Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿite school. Each Andi people has its own language, belonging to the Awar-Ando-Dido group of the Dāghistān branch of the Ibero-Caucasian languages, differing both from the language of the neighbouring people and from Awar; only the following peoples are able to understand the language of each other: Karata-Akhwakh, Bagulal-Tindi, and Godoberi-Botlikh. No language of the Andi group is fixed by writing, the Andi using Awar, or less commonly Russian, as the language of administration and of education. Bilingualism (Awar and the local tongue) is general. On the eve of the 1918 Revolution Andi still had a pre-feudal system, and had never formed or belonged to a principality (despite the attempts of the Awar Khānate to subdue the Botlikh and the Akhwakh in the 17th-18th centuries). They formed clans or "free societies", some of which combined as "federations". Each clan was governed by the assembly (*djamāʿa*) of the *uzden* (free peasants). Women had more freedom than among the other Dāghistān peoples (absence of the *čadra* and of polygamy). Before 1918, the economy of the Andi was linked with Čečnya, which imposed its authority on them [see čečen], and with Central Causasia. To-day, especially since the suppression of the Soviet Republic of Čečeno-Ingushen in 1945, they incline politically and culturally towards the Awar, and constitute with the latter, the Dido [*q.v.*], and the Arči [*q.v.*], a single "Awar nation". The economy of the Andi peoples is still of the traditional type—based on sheep-breeding on the seasonal migration system, cultivation on the terrace system, and the existence of a skilled body of artisans. The *aul* of Botlikh is an important market in the mountainous part of Dāghistān.

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(H. Carrère d'Encausse)

ANDIDJĀN, town in Farghāna, 40 43° north, 72 25° east, on the left of the upper Jaxartes (Sîr Daryā). In the 4th/10th century the town—then known as Anduk(g)ān—was under the rule of the Ḳarluḳs and later under their Ḳarakhānid rulers; in the 11th century it was under the Saldjūḳs (Yāḳūt, Cairo ed., i, 347). In the 12th century the town is mentioned as the centre of Farghāna (cf. *Zap. Imp. Russk. geogr. ob-va xxix*, 72). Apparently the town suffered greatly from the Mongol raids and had to be rebuilt towards the end of the 13th century under the Čaghatay Khāns Kaydū and Duwā (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, 246). Since then the place has been inhabited almost exclusively by Turks whose separate tribes apparently settled in different quarters of the town (Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 221 following "the Anonym of Iskandar"). Their language became the model for the whole of Farghāna. It was used by ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī (according to the *Bābur-nāma*, Kazan 1857, 3). Andidjān remained the capital of Farghāna and the centre of trade with Kāshghar throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. In the 15th century it became the capital of the Khānate of Khūḳand [*q.v.*] and continued to be an important market for agricultural products.

In 1875, when the Khanate was subjected, it was conquered by the Russians (Russian form of the name: Andižan). At that time it had 30,620 inhabitants who lived largely by agriculture and horticulture. Since then, petroleum fields and iron mines have been opened in the district. On the 17th and 18th of May 1898 a national-religious rising under the *īshān* [*q.v.*] Madalī from Miñ Tepe (in the Margilān district) which Soviet historians attribute entirely to social motives, was put down after much bloodshed. (cf. such Soviet literature as *Revolyutsiya v Sredney Azii*, i, Tashkent 1928, in which: Sang-zāda: *K 30-letiyu Andižanskogo vosstaniya 1898 g.*; E. G. Fëdorov, *Očerki natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dviženiya v Sredney Azii*, Tashkent 1925; K. Ramzin, *Revolyuciya v Sredney Azii v obrazakh i kartinakh*, Moscow 1928). In 1902 the town lost 4500 inhabitants (there were 49,682 in 1900) in an earthquake (F. N. Černyšëv, etc., *Andižanskoe zemletryasenie 1902 g.*,

St. Petersburg 1914). After the suppression of the Basmači [*q.v.*] rising (since 1916) Andidjān became part of the Soviet Republic Uzbekistān in 1924 (number of inhabitants in 1939: 83,700; partly Russian) and it is now the centre of a separate district (since 6 March 1941; 3,800 sqkm.) and the centre of an important cotton-growing area. Since 1937/38 there have been petroleum finds in the area (comp. W. Leimbach: *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, 340 f., with map). Today the town has a teachers' training college, an agricultural college a training college for women, an Uzbek theatre, a regional museum etc.

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ANDJUMAN, a Persian word already in frequent use in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi (5th/11th century) in the sense of "meeting, assembly, army". In modern times, it denoted primarily religious or confessional associations; then, at the beginning of the 20th century, at the time of the establishment of the parliamentary régime in Īrān, political groups. One of the most celebrated of these groups was the *andjuman-i millī* ("national club") of Tabrīz, founded 1 Ramaḍān 1324/17 December 1906, by the leaders of the constitutional movement; other groups, moved by the same liberal tendencies, were then organised in the principal provincial towns [see ĪRĀN]. Later, other *andjumans* were set up by Persians in Istanbul and Bombay, and in India by the inhabitants of those parts. To-day, the term is applied primarily to learned or professional societies: the *andjuman-i adabī-i Īrān* ("Persian Literary Society" preceded the foundation of the Farhangistān-i Īrān ("Iranian Academy") in 1355/1936; since 1346/1926, the *andjuman-i āthār-i millī* ("Committee for National Monuments") has published scholarly editions of old texts (notably the works in Persian attributed to Avicenna). More recently, this term is also used for local associations, for example *andjuman-i Khurāsānīhā* ("Association of the People of Khurāsān resident in Tehran").

Bibliography: *As. Fr. B.*, May 1908, 175-6; *RMM* (National Club of Tabriz), May 1907, 1-9; August, 116-7; January 1908, 85, 161; March, 597; May, 167; Sept. 745; Oct. 291; Nov. 534; Women's Club: August 1905, 145; May 1907, 311, 379; Nov. 569; Muslim Associations of India: Nov. 1906, 77-8; Nov.-Dec. 1907, 579; Jan. 1908, 172; March 600). (H. MASSÉ)

The term is also used in Turkey, where it is pronounced *Endjümen*. In 1267/1851 the first modern academy of letters and sciences in the Middle East was created in Istanbul, under the name of *Endjümen-i Dānish*. Inspired by Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*], it was modelled on the French Academy, with forty Turkish members and a number of corresponding members, including such European orientalists as Hammer, Bianchi, and Redhouse. Its programme included the encouragement of the letters and sciences in Turkey and the advancement of the Turkish language. The Academy was first mooted at the Council of Education (*Medjlis-i Maʿārif*) in 1261/1845, and was formally authorised by an *irāde* of 27 Radjab 1267/26 May 1851. It was publicly inaugurated on 19 Ramaḍān 1267-18 July 1851, with a speech by Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, indicating the part the academy was to play in the renovation of Turkey. Its work was however impeded by the political instability of the time, and it petered out in 1279/1862 without having accomplished much more than the sponsorship of a few books, which included the Ottoman Grammar of Djewdet and Fuʾād Pashas, part of the history of Djewdet Pasha and his Turkish translation of the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldūn. After the revolution of 1908 a number of learned societies appeared, the most important of which was the Ottoman Historical Society (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni*), founded in 1911.

The term *Endjümen* was also used in Turkey for various parliamentary and administrative committees, for the standing provincial and municipal committees, and for certain educational committees operating under the Ministry of Education. Such were the *Endjümen-i Teftīsh we-Muʿāyene*, (established 1299/1882, and the provincial and local educational committees (*Maʿārif Endjümeni*) established in 1328/1910 to initiate and supervise elementary education.—The word was also used for certain clubs founded on the European model, the first of which appears to have been the *Endjümen-i Ülfet*, founded in Istanbul in 1287/1870. In recent yars it has been replaced in most contexts by words of Western or Turkish origin.

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In India and Pakistan there have been and are several *andjumans* in different fields; the two most important, influential, and enduring are:

(1) The *Andjuman-i Taraḳḳi-i Urdū* which was founded in 1913 within the scientific section of the *Mohammadan Educational Conference* (itself established by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān) with Sir Thomas Arnold and Muḥammad Shiblī Nuʿmānī as its first president and secretary respectively. Its aims were to defend the Urdū language against Hindī as the *lingua franca* of India, and to develop and enrich it. Under its impulse and auspices books were written in Urdū and various others were translated from the English. In 1912 the *Andjuman* moved its headquarters from Aligarh to Awrangābād (Deccan) since when it ha been under the able and zealous secretaryship of Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ. In its new seat, where it was supported by the Ḥaydarābād State, the *Andjuman* showed vigorous activity not only in writing and editing Urdū works and classics but also in translating from the English (some translations were also made from the French, Arabic and Persian), works on history, philosophy, science and others of general interest. The *Andjuman*, thus, supplemented the work of the ʿUthmāniyya University (established 1918) which, in pursuance of its programme of giving all instruction in Urdū, concentrated on translating texts rather than general

works. But, besides issuing a learned quarterly called "Urdū" (which still continues) and another entitled "Science", and attempting to find means of improving Urdū script and print, perhaps the most important pioneering work has been the publication of the lists of translations of scientific, philosophical and professional technical terms and the issuing of English-Urdū and Urdū-English Dictionaries, modelled on the Oxford Concise Dictionary of English. In 1936, the *Andjuman* moved to Delhi and in 1948 to Karachi, where an Urdū College has been established giving all instruction (including modern science) in Urdū and hoping to become a University.

(2) The *Andjuman-i Ḥimāyat-i Islām* of Lahore, founded in 1884 under Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's inspiration of spreading Western education among Muslims and working for their social welfare, established in 1912 the Islāmiyya College at Lahore (and since the creation of Pakistan, has acquired another, a formerly Hindu College), where, like Aligarh, Western education was given along with the compulsory instruction of Islamic theology. The *Andjuman* has played, through its institutions and its leaders, an important role in the awakening of the Muslims of the Panjāb. Besides High Schools for boys and girls, the *Andjuman* runs an Islāmiyya College for Women, an Industrial School, a Ṭibbiyya College and Dispensary (on traditional lines but with some blend of modern medicine), an orphanage etc., and had a missionary school (Ishā'at-i Islām College). It also issues a weekly paper called *Ḥimāyat-i Islām* and has its own press.

Bibliography: For (1) see a detailed account in *Oriente Moderno*, 1955, 331-43 and 536-48 by A. Bausani, also *Ta'rikh-i Adab-i Urdū* by Rām Babū Saksena (Urdū translation by Muḥammad 'Asfarī, Nawalkishore, Lucknow 1929, 392-4). For (2) see *Pakistan* by Dr. Gamāl-Eddine Heyworth-Dunne, Cairo 1952, 38.

(F. Rahman)

ANDKHŪY, in Yāḳūt, i, 372, Andakhūdh, also written Addakhūd and al-Nakhūd, name of a town in Afghānistan situated in the northwestern province of Mazār-i Sharīf. Located on the steppes sloping north some 50 kilometers to the Amū Daryā (Oxus) river, this town of about 25,000 people is on the perennial Andkhūy river and along the motor road which joins Harāt, Mazār-i Sharīf and Kābūl. Its modern fame is as a leading center of the *ḳaraḳul* (lambskin) trade. The single structure of architectural interest and considerable antiquity is the domed shrine of Bābā Walī Ṣāhib, a local Moslem saint whose proper name may have been Bābā Shukr Allāh Abdāl.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 426, with references M. N. Kūhī, *Armaghān-i Maymana*, Maymana 1949, 43-4, 54.

(D. N. Wilber)

ANEIZA [see 'Unayza].

ANFĀ the old name of Casablanca (Ar. al-Dār al-Bayḍā', dial.: Ḍār l-Bēḍa), often written as Anafe in the Portuguese chronicles. The word, according to E. Laoust (*REI*, 1939) is a variant of the Berber *afa* «summit, hillock», which induces one to place the early site on the hill now occupied by the residential quarter called «upper Anfa». Marmol attributes the foundation to the Carthaginians, Leo to the Romans, but neither theory is supported by any text or archaeological remains. Al-Zayyānī ascribes it to the Zānāta *amirs*, and places it at the end of the 1st/7th century, but does not quote his sources. Al-Idrīsī mentions the port, already busy with the export of cereals. Nothing is known of the part played by the town during the episode of the Baraghwāṭā. Under the Marīnids, it figures as the capital of the province of Tāmasnā; it had fortifications, a governor, and a *ḳāḍī*; Abu 'l-Ḥasan built a *madrasa* there. In the anarchy which accompanied the decline of the dynasty, the town became virtually independent, and formed a small corsair republic. The Portuguese decided to terminate the activities of the corsairs, and in 1468 or 1469, during the reign of Alfonso V, an expedition led by the *infante* D. Fernando captured Anfā, which had been evacuated by its inhabitants. The Portuguese destroyed the town, razed the ramparts and re-embarked. Several authors state that they returned in 1515 and occupied the town until the middle of the 18th century. This is a legend, probably having its origin in the plan actually conceived by the Portuguese in 1515 of reoccupying Anfā and building there a stronghold when they had completed that of al-Ma'mūra. Their setback at the latter place forced them to abandon their plan. Anfā remained deserted and in ruins until its reconstruction by the sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, in the 18th century, when it assumed the name of al-Dār al-Bayḍā' [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afr. et de l'Esp.*, ed. and tr. into French by Dozy and de Goeje, 1866, 84; Marmol, *L'Afrique*, trans. into French by Perrot d'Ablancourt, 1667, ii, 140; Leo Africanus, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, ed. Scheffer, 1897, ii, 9-13; *Une description géographique du Maroc d'Az-Zyâny*, trans. into Fr. by Coufourier, *AM*, 1906, 452; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un nouveau texte d'histoire mérinide*: *le Musnad d'Ibn Marzūḳ*, *Hesp.* 1925, 69; David Lopes, in *História de Portugal*, edited by Damião Peres, 1932, iii, 536-7; Robert Ricard, *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1st series, Dynastie sa'dienne, Portugal, v, 1933, pp. xv-xvi.

(A. Adam)

ANGELS [see Malā'ika].

ANGORA [see Anḳara].

ANHALWĀRA, in Arabic and Persian literature nahrwāla, modern Paṭan (pop., 1951 census, 43,044), situated 20° 51′ N, 72° 11′ E on the left bank of the Saraswatī in the Miḥsāna district of Bombay State, was the headquarters city of the Muslim *wilāyat* of Gudjarāt from 699/1299 to 816-817/1413-1414 when Aḥmad Shāh, grandson of Muẓaffar Khān, the first of the independent ṣulṭāns of Gudjarāt, made Aḥmadābād his capital.

History. Hindu and Jain tradition ascribes the foundation of Anhalwāra to the Cāvaḍā ruler Vanarāja in either 128/746 or 148/765 (see K. M. Munshī, *The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, II, Bombay, 1944). Capital of the Chaulukya-Solānkī dynasty from the beginning of the 4th/middle of the 10th century, Anhalwāra was abandoned to Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn by Bhīmadeva in 416/1025, but Maḥmūd, intent upon Somnāth, paused there only to replenish his supplies. Although Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak plundered the city in 593/1196-7, the definitive Muslim conquest by the forces of the ṣulṭān of Dihlī did not occur until 699/1299, when Anhalwāra, ruled then by the Chaulukya-Vāghelās, was sacked by Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān, generals of Ṣulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī. (See K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, Allahābād, 1950, on the date of this conquest). For a century Anhalwāra remained within Dihlī's area of paramountcy. Under the descendants of the wālī Muẓaffar Khān, who formally proclaimed himself independent in 810/1407, Anhalwāra sank to a *djāgīr*; after Akbar's conquest of

Gudjarāt in 980/1572, it became the centre of the *sarkār* of Paṭṭan in the *ṣūba* of Gudjarāt. (See Āʾīn-i-Akbarī, ed. H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1877).

Buildings. The Muslim remains at Anhalwāra date from the beginning of the 8th/14th century. The Ādīna or Djāmiʿ Masdjid, built of white marble c. 705/1305, was destroyed by the Mahrattas in the 12th/18th century and was used as a quarry for the modern town walls. The Gumada und Shaykh Djodh masdjids still stand, but the most magnificent Muslim construction now at Anhalwāra is the Khān Sarowar, "a really noble sheet of water", 1228 by 1273 feet, given its present form by Akbar's foster brother Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōka between 997/1589 and 1002/1594.

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(P. Hardy)

ĀNĪ, ancient Armenian capital, whose ruins lie on the right bank of the Arpa-Čay (called by the Armenians Akhuryan) at about 20 miles from the point where that river joins the Araxes. A suggestion has been made that the town may owe its name to a temple of the Iranian goddess Anāhita (the Greek Anaïtis). The site was inhabited in the pre-Christian period, for pagan tombs have been found in the immediate vicinity of the town. As a fortress Ānī is mentioned as early as the 5th century A.D. Its foundation was conditioned by its position between the ravine of Tsalkotzadzor, through which a stream coming from the hills of Aladja flows towards the Arpa-Čay, and the steep bank of that river. In the ensuing centuries the princely house of the Kamsarakan (connected with the Arshakids) had a castle at Ānī, and the foundations of this building erected of stone blocks without mortar right on the rock, have been discovered. The oldest portion of the structure seems to be a little church which may have been built before the 7th century castle, and later used by the Kamsarakan as a house-chapel.

From the 8th century onward the district of Ānī, like the rest of Armenia, was under the suzerainty of the caliphs. During this period the dynasty of the Bagratids succeeded in gradually consolidating their possessions and establishing direct relations with the caliphs. In A.D. 887 the Bagratid Ashot, "prince of the princes of Armenia and Georgia", was proclaimed king by the nobles of his country and confirmed in this dignity by the caliph. The son of this first king, Smbat (called by Arabic authors Sanbāṭ b. Ashūṭ), was crucified in the year 914 by the governor Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj, whose act is stigmatised as tyranny and rebellion against God and His Prophet" by Ibn Ḥawḳal, 252. Even under Smbat the kingdom of the Bagratids is said to have included the whole region from Dwin (Arab. Dabīl) to Bardhaʿa reaching southwards as far as the frontiers of Mesopotamia (al-Djazīra; thus al-Iṣṭakhrī, 188, 194). The son of the murdered king, "the Iron" Ashot, succeeded, partly with Byzantine assistance, in reconquering his kingdom; as ruler of Armenia he bore the Persian title *shāhānshāh* (king of kings) which had already been conferred on his predecessor and rival, Ashot, son of Shapuh, by Sabuk, the successor of Yūsuf.

In the first half of the 9th century the Bagratid Ashot Msaker ('the meat-eater') bought the district of Ānī from the Kamsarakan; but only under Ashot III (961-77) did Ānī become the royal capital. The wall which is still extant was built by Smbat II (977-89); the site of an older wall erected in 964 has been fixed by the excavations of 1893, and a comparison of the areas enclosed by the two walls indicates the rapid growth of the population. At a later period, town life overstepped the comparatively narrow space within the walls. The Bagratids built several bridges over the Arpa-Čay thus enabling the trade between Trebizond and Persia to take the shorter route through Ānī instead of passing through Dwin. The zenith of the Bagratids and their capital was reached under Gagik I (990-1020); from 993 onwards Ānī was the residence of the Catholicos of Armenia. As numerous inscriptions prove, Gagik retained the Persian title of *shāhānshāh* which also appears in an Armenian form (*arkʿayitz arkʿai*); he was also styled "king of the Armenians and Georgians". The remains of a church erected by Gagik in 1001 were excavated in 1905 and 1906; among them was found a statue of the king, with the model of the temple in his hand, and wearing a Muslim turban; the same headgear is also found in a relief portrait of his predecessor Smbat II, preserved in the monastery of Halbat.

Under Gagik's successors the kingdom rapidly decayed and in 1044 it became a part of the Byzantine empire but the growth of the town of Ānī was further encouraged by the Byzantine governors (*catapans*): an Armenian inscription ascribes to the catapan Aaron the erection of a magnificent aqueduct conducting water from the hills of Aladja to the town.

The Greek rule was ended by the sultan Alp Arslan who conquered and destroyed Ānī in the year 1064; according to Ibn al-Athīr, x, 27, the town possessed at that time 500 churches. In 1072, a year after the defeat of the emperor Romanos Diogenes, the sultan sold Ānī to the Muslim dynasty of the Shaddādids [*q.v.*], and down to the end of the 12th century the town remained (apart from a few interruptions) the residence of a branch of that family. At that period the town had two mosques, one of which collapsed during the second half of the 16th century; the other, which had survived, was used (since 1907) as a museum for the objects discovered during the excavations. There are also Christian buildings belonging to the same period; the Shaddādids acted as beneficent rulers even towards their Christian subjects, and being related by marriage with the Bagratids, they were recognised by the Christian population as native and lawful kings. The walls of the town were repaired and furnished with some towers during their rule.

Ānī was for the first time conquered by the Georgians in 1124, under David II, who laid the foundation of the power of the Georgian kings; the town was given as a fief to the Armenian family of the Zakʿarids, (in Georgian: *Mkhargrdzeli* = Longimani), who extended the walls of the town so as to reach the steep banks of the Arpa-Čay. The Armenian tradition ignores the fact that the Georgian rulers (like their Greek predecessors) favoured the Greek-Orthodox tendency, which accordingly predominated in the architecture of the period. There was no religious persecution of Muslims during this period, just as there had been no persecution of Christians under the Shaddādids; a Muslim contemporary, whose gloss is found in Ibn Ḥawḳal, 242, confirms that the Georgian king protected Islam against all injury, and made no distinction between Muslim and Georgian. Probably in connection with the

foundation of the Trebizond Empire (1204), Ānī became an important centre of international trade; see A. Manandian, *O torgovle i gorodakh Armenii*[2], Erevan 1954, 278.

Ānī was besieged unsuccessfully by the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn in 1226, and conquered by the Mongols in 1239; but even after this conquest the town remained for a time in the possession of the Zakʿarids; an inscription on the main gate shows that at a later period it was considered the 'private domain' (*khāṣṣ-indjū*) of the Mongol rulers of Persia; but it never regained its former importance. According to tradition, Ānī was finally destroyed by an earthquake in the year 1319; but both inscriptions and coins of a later date have been found. A variety of copper coins struck at Ānī by the Īlkhān Sulaymān (1339-1344) is called by the Turks "monkey-coin" (*maymūn sikkesi*), the coins bearing the image of a hairy figure. Coins bearing the name of Ānī were struck as late as the 14th century by the Djalāʾir, and even in the 15th century by the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, though actually the mint must have stood outside the town, perhaps in the fortress of Maghazberd (less than 2 miles from Ānī). The excavations have shown that, after the decay of the palaces and churches, a rude and miserable population had built their dwellings on the ruins. At the time of Ker Porter's visit (November 1817) it was possible to distinguish these houses and their separate rooms, as well as the streets of the later period, which are but 12-14 feet wide. Later the name of Ānī was preserved only by a Muslim settlement standing near the ruins. After the war of 1877-8 Ānī was incorporated in Russia, but restored to Turkey by the treaty of 1921. It is now in the *ḳaḍā* of Arpaçay in the *wilāyet* of Kars, and has a population of ca. 350.

Bibliography: Accounts of the history of Ānī are chiefly found in Armenian sources, especially in Stephan Asolik, a contemporary of king Gagik I. The Arabic and Persian accounts are extremely scanty, and the town is not mentioned by the Arabic geographers of the 9th and 10th centuries; Yāḳūt, i, 70, gives Ānī a single line; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat* 93, states merely that the district has a cold climate and produces much corn and little fruit. The only Islamic source containing firsthand material on Ānī in the 6th/12th century is al-Fāriḳī's *Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriḳīn*, Br. Mus., Or. 5803 and Or. 6310; see also the didactic chronicle by the local scholar Burhān al-Dīn Anawī (*Anīs al-Ḳulūb*, written in Persian in 608/1211, and described by F. Köprülü in *Bell.*, 1943, 379-521). Cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, x, 27 (not quite accurate). See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* 1953, 79-106.

The ruins were first visited in 1693 by Gemelli-Carreri (*Collection de tous les voyages faits autour du monde*, ii, Paris 1788, 94) and described at length in 1817 by Ker Porter (*Travels*, i, London 1821, 172-5). In 1839 plans of the town were sketched by Texier (*Voyages en Arménie*, Paris 1842, *Atlas*, plate no. 14) and in 1844 by Abich (cf. M. Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie*, St. Petersburg 1851, *Atlas*, plate no. 23 and Brosset, *Les ruines d'Ani*, St. Petersburg 1860, *Atlas*, plate no. 30). The Christian monuments were described by Muravyev, *Gruziya i Armeniya*, St. Petersburg 1848; for the Muslim inscriptions see Khanykov (in 1848), cf. *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i, 70 ff. and M. Brosset, *Rapports etc.*, 3-*e rapport*, 121-50); the *Album* compiled by Kästner (1850) contains pictures of architectural monuments on 36 leaves, and a collection of Armenian, Arabic, Persian and Georgian inscriptions on 11 leaves (cp. Brosset, *Les ruines d'Ani*, 10-63). Among Armenian writers Nerses Sarkisyan and Sarkis Djalalyantz collected Armenian inscriptions, and their material was used in Alishan's historical work on the history of the town (Venice 1855, in Armenian, cp. Brosset in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iv, 392-412), now obsolete.

Russian excavations began in 1892 and were carried on systematically by Prof. N. Y. Marr in 1904-1917. Their results were published in numerous reports in Russian periodicals and in a special series (*Aniyskaya seriya*) containing guide books and studies by Marr, J. Orbeli, Barthold etc. In more detail see N. Marr, *Ani. Kniznaya istoriya goroda i raskopki*, Moscow 1934, and the architectural studies by Tʿoros Tʿoramanian (in Armenian), Erevan 1942-4. V. and I. Kratchkovsky, *Iz arabskoy epigrafiki v Ani*, in the presentation volume to N. Y. Marr, Moscow 1935, 671-93. (W. Barthold-[V. Minorsky])

ANIMALS [see ḤAYAWĀN[.

ANĪS, the pen-name of Mīr Babar ʿAlī, Urdu poet of Lucknow, India, who was noted chiefly as a writer of *marthiyas* or elegies on the tragic fate of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and other martyrs of Karbalā. He was born at Fyzabad (Fayḍābād) in 1216/1801 or 1217/1802; but, in his early manhood, migrated to Lucknow, where he enjoyed the patronage of the Shīʿite rulers of Oudh and their nobles. When the kingdom of Oudh was annexed by the British in 1856, he left Lucknow and visited many other places like Patna, Benares, Allahabad and Hyderabad-Deccan; but ultimately returned to his favourite city in his old age and died there in 1291/1874.

The chief merits of his poetry lie in the beauty and appropriateness of his diction, the perfection of his art, his remarkable powers of description, his successful delineation of character and the striking use of rhetorical figures. The emotional effect of his *marthiyas* was heightened by the forceful and dramatic manner in which he recited them in the presence of large audiences. In his special branch of poetry, Anīs had a serious rival in the person of his contemporary Dabīr [*q.v.*]. Each poet had thousands of enthusiastic partisans, who maintained that he was superior to his rival. The citizens of Lucknow were thus divided into two camps, the Anīsites and the Dabīrites, each extolling the qualities of its own favourite poet. Opinion is still divided on their relative merits; but there is general agreement that they share the honour of raising the Urdu *marthiya* to its greatest heights and that their cultivation of the poetic art undoubtedly contributed to the refinement and enrichment of the Urdu language.

The works of Anīs were published under the title, *Marāthī Anīs*, in four volumes at Lucknow in 1876, and have been reissued several times since then. There is another edition in three volumes by S. ʿAlī Ḥaydar Ṭabātabāʾī (Badāyūn 1921-30). A good idea of his writings may also be obtained from *Wāḳiʿāt-i Karbalā*, a volume of selections so arranged by S. Manẓūr ʿAlī Kākawrawī as to make a single connected story (2nd ed., Lucknow 1342).

Bibliography: R. B. Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allahabad 1940, 126-130, 131-33; T. G. Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature* No. 152, Calcutta 1932; M. Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i Ḥayāt*, Lahore c. 1880; Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Muwā-*

zana-i Anīs o-Dabīr, Agra 1906; S. Naẓīr al-Ḥasan Fawḳ, *al-Mīzān*, Aligarh, n.d.; Amdjad ʿAlī Ash-harī, *Ḥayāt-i Anīs*, Agra 1907; Mīr Mahdī Ḥasan Aḥsan, *Wāḳiʾāt Anīs*, Lucknow 1908; L. Srī Rām, *Khumkhāna-i Jāwīd*, vol. i, Delhi 1325; S. Masʿūd Ḥasan Riḍawī, *Rūh-i Anīs*, Allahabad 1931; Amīr Aḥmad ʿAlawī, *Yādgār-i Anīs*, Lucknow 1353; S. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *Gul-i Raʿnā*, Azamgarh 1370; Abu ʾl-Layth Siddīḳī, *Lakhnaw kā Dabistān-i Shāʿirī*, Aligarh 1944; S. Muḥammad ʿAbbās, ed., *Rubāʿiyyāt Mīr Anīs*, Lucknow 1948. (Sh. Inayatullah)

ʿANḲĀʾ (often followed by *mughrib* as an epithet or in *iḍāfa*) a fabulous bird approximating to the phoenix, which was also located by the Greeks in the deserts of Arabia. The belief in this creature is of long-standing among the Arabs, who connect it with the Aṣḥāb al-Rass [*q.v.*], but it received its confirmation in a *ḥadīth* reported by Ibn ʿAbbās (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 19 ff.), which states that, created by God, the *ʿanḳāʾ*, in the beginning endowed with all perfections, had become a plague; one of the prophets of the "Interval" (*fatra*), either Khālid b. Sinān or Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān, is credited with having put an end to the havoc wrought by this species of bird. After Islam, the *ʿanḳāʾ* was definitely assimilated with the *sīmurgh*, which plays some part in Iranian mythology, and probably with the Indian *garuda*, the mount of Vishnu; thus a Shīʿite group, the Shumayṭiyya (see al-Shahrastānī, in the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, ii, 3), adopted it and included it among the attributes of the Hidden Imām. Some authors give precise descriptions of this bird, although recognizing that it is extinct, but others claim that the Fāṭimids possessed specimens of it in their zoological gardens; there is no doubt that it is a type of heron.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], vii, 102 ff. and index; idem, *Tarbīʿ* (Pellat), index; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 356-7; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ii, 190-1; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1352, i, 210; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 419-20; Damīrī, s.v.

(Ch. Pellat)

ʿANKABŪT (a.), the spider. Al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī mention several species, the most dangerous of which is the poisonous tarantula, *al-Rutailāʾ* or *al-Ruthailāʾ*. Al-Damīrī also describes a fieldspider of reddish colour with fine hair on its body; at the head it has four claws with which it bites; it digs a nest in the ground, and seizes its prey by night. The weaving spiders make their webs according to mathematical rules; according to some the male spins the warp and the female the woof; according to others the female only is capable of making a web; as material they use spittle. When the web is finished the spider sits down in a corner waiting for a fly to enter the web, and pounces on it at once. Others suspend themselves on threads, others sit motionless on the ground and catch their prey at a jump; after rendering it helpless by entangling it in their web they carry it off to their lair and suck its blood. According to al-Djāḥiz the spiders young are among the most wonderful of existing things because they are able to spin without being taught. The spider lays eggs out of which come small worms which, after three days, change into spiders; the act of copulation lasts a very long time, Damīrī describes how the male approaches the female.—Spiders webs are applied to external wounds to stay the flow of blood; they are also used for polishing cornished silver. The spiders themselves when pounded, are said to be a good remedy against mucous fever etc.—According to the tradition a spider once saved Muḥammad from a great danger. When during the Hidjra he and Abū Bakr had sought refuge in a cave the Ḳuraish who pursued him found a spider web in its opening. They therefore gave up the search thinking that no one could have entered the cave a short time previously. This and similar legends are founded on the fact that the spider makes its web with extraordinary rapidity.—*Sūrat al-ʿAnkabūt* is the title of sūra 29. See also asṬurlāb.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index; Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 439; Damīrī, Cairo 1298, vi, 132 ff. (J. Ruska)

ANḲARA (Greek and Latin Ancyra, modern Greek Angora; known as Anḳira, Anḳūriyya and also as Ḳalʿat al-Salāsil, "fortress of the chains", to the Arab geographers; in Turkish times formerly Engüriye, Engüri, Engürü, forms which also occasionally appeared on coinage), town in the district of Galatia, in central Anatolia, capital of the Turkish Republic (at the same time of a *wilāyet*); 38° 55′ N, 32° 55′ E; 835 m. above sea level. It is situated near the northern edge of the central Anatolian steppe where three small rivers meet: the Bent Deresi or Hatip Suyu, the Incesu (Indje Su) and the Čubuḳ Suyu, which subsequently flow into the Saḳārya under the name of Anḳara [formerly Engürü] Suyu (or Čayl). It is at the foot and on the slopes of a mountain which lies north to south and rises towards the north, being crowned at its summit by an extensive castle. This summit is 978 m. above sea level and 110 m. above the valley of the neighbouring Hatip Deresi. The other side of the valley is flanked by a second hill, called Hīzīrlīk (Khīḍīrlīḳ).

Anḳara has probably always been a centre for the caravans going through Anatolia in all directions, and thus also a political centre. The old town—dating back to prehistoric times—was situated on the plateau of the castle hill; it gradually spread over the slope outside the fortifications and even to the western side of the plain at its foot. The original layout of the castle itself may well date back to the prehistoric period. In its present form it dates back to Byzantine days, and it was frequently extended and restored in Saldjūḳ times. Its walls contain many ancient remains. There are three distinct parts: the "outer castle" (Dīsh Ḳalʿe) which can be reached by the Ḥiṣār Ḳapīsī, whose walls encircle the castle to the south and to the west; the "inner castle" (Ič Ḳalʿe), a fairly regular rectangle; and, on the crest of the mountain to the north, the citadel, called Aḳ Ḳalʿe ("white castle").

Ancyra, at one time the capital of the Galatian tribe of the Tectosages, and later within the sphere of power of the Pontic King Mithridates, was finally incorporated into the Roman Empire in the year 25 B.C. It was then embellished with the buildings required by a Roman town. Of those which survive, the one deserving most mention is the temple of Roma and Augustus, erected on older foundations. On its walls we find the most famous of all antique inscriptions: the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, an account (in Latin and in Greek) given by the Emperor Augustus of his reign. In Christian times the temple was converted into a church; in Muslim times, the building was the seat of a Dervish saint, Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Walī, whose *türbe* and mosque stand beside the ruined temple. A column (Bilḳīs Minâresi) erected by Emperor Julian (or Jovian?) should also be mentioned. The foundations of a large Roman bath have recently been discovered on the road towards the north (to Čankīrī).

In the year A.D. 51 Ancyra was visited by St. Paul, who founded one of the oldest Christian communities there—to which he addressed his *Epistle to the Galatians*. Christianity survived in this town until the First World War.

In A.D. 620 Ancyra was taken by the Persian King Khusraw II Parwīz on his campaign against Asia Minor. After his defeat near Niniveh A.D. 627 he had to withdraw from the country—hence also from Ancyra. Subsequently Ancyra—capital of the Bukellarion theme—frequently suffered at the hands of Arab raiders. As early as 654, the Arabs held the town for a short space of time. In 806, the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd besieged and plundered the town; as did his son, the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, in 838. In 871 the town was plundered by the Paulicians of Thephrike (Diwrigi), and in 931 it was threatened by the Arabs of Ṭarsūs.

Ancyra came under Turkish supremacy after the Emperor Romanus IV was defeated by the Saldjūḳ Sultan Alp Arslan, near Malāzgerd, in 1071 (the exact date is not known—the city was still Byzantine in 1073). During the First Crusade, however, it was re-conquered for the Byzantine Emperor by Raymond of Toulouse in 1101. Soon afterwards (it is not known exactly when), the city reverted to the Turks: first the Saldjūḳs; then, in 1127, the Dānishmendids; and finally, after the death of the Dānishmendid Malik Muḥammad Ghāzī (1143), back to the Saldjūḳs. When the Rūm Saldjūḳ empire was divided up under Ḳilidj Arslan II (1190), Anḳara went to his son Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Masʿūd. In 1204, however, it was taken from him by his brother Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān Shāh, who re-unified the Rūm Saldjūḳ empire. The oldest dateable work of Rūm Saldjūḳ art is of the time of Prince Masʿūd (Safar 594/Dec. 1197-Jan. 1198), a wooden *minbar* in the so-called ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque in the fortress of Anḳara.

After the death of the Sultan Kaykhusraw I in 1210, his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḳayḳobād—revolting against his elder brother, the Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I—obtained the fortress of Anḳara. After a year's siege, however, the city had to surrender to the other brother and Kayḳobād was imprisoned in Malaṭya, whence he returned only after the death of Kayḳāwūs (in 1219) to succeed to the throne. His reign (1219-37) introduced the Golden Age of the Rūm Saldjūḳ Empire. It is commemorated by the "White Bridge" (Aḳ Köprü) over the Čubuḳ Suyu, of 619/1222, an hour's journey to the north-east of Anḳara. This bridge connects Anḳara with Beypazar and the west. It cannot be stated with any degree of certainty whether the beautiful bridge over the Ḳizil Irmaḳ near Köprüköy (to the south-east of Anḳara) on the road to Ḳirshehir and Ḳayseri, the Çeşnigir Köprüsü, is of the same period. It bears no inscription but its name may well refer to the *amir* Sayf al-Dīn Ayna Čāshnegīr who is repeatedly mentioned by Ibn Bībī, e.g. in connection with the handing over of Anḳara to Kaykāwūs I (Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma, index).

The large so-called Arslan-Khāne mosque, outside the gate to the fortress (which may be regarded as the main Friday Mosque for the area of the city lying outside the fortress), dates from the late Saldjūḳ period, when the empire had sunk to the position of a protectorate of the Mongol Ilkhān Empire of Iran. It is a mosque with wooden pillars and with open beam work, containing a beautiful wooden *minbar* which was donated by two brothers belonging to the Akhīs in the year 689/1290. It also contains a *miḥrāb* with beautiful faience facing. The Ḳizilbey Djāmiʿ is of roughly the same period. Its *minbar* bears an inscription of 699/1299-1300 mentioning a certain *amir* Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAlī Shīr as donor. He was possibly a member of the Turkmen dynasty of the Germiyan-oghlu. Towards the end of the 13th century the Saldjūḳ rule appears to have been merely nominal, whilst other rulers made their influence felt in Anḳara, such as the Germiyanid Yaʿḳūb and the members of the Akhī fraternity [*q.v.*].

In the beginning of the 14th century, after the collapse of the empire of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, Anḳara belonged to that part of Anatolia which was incorporated into the Mongol Ilkhān empire of Iran. There are coins made in Anḳara for the Ilkhāns from the year 703/1304 to 742/1342. There is also a Persian inscription of the Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd (over the entrance to the fortress) dated 730/1330, in which the taxes payable by the population are recorded (cf. W. Hinz, in *Bell.*, 1949, 745 ff.). The Ilkhān rule extended over the area towards the west, beyond Anḳara, as far as Siwri-ḥisār. After the collapse of the Ilkhān Empire, Anḳara belonged to the territory of the *amir* (after 1341, Sultan) Eretna of Sīwās, and his descendants. It may be assumed, however, that the rule over Anḳara of both the Ilkhāns and the Eretnids, was merely one of military occupation and tax collection, whilst the actual government remained in the hands of rich merchants and craftsmen of the city who were able to exercise considerable influence through the Akhī organisation. Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 751/1350) appears to have been the most prominent personality. He made donations to the main mosque in Anḳara, the Arslan-Khāne mosque, and he lies buried in a *türbe* beside this mosque. In the inscription on his wooden sarcophagus (now in the ethnographical museum in Anḳara), he calls himself *akhī muʿaẓẓam*.

According to John Cantacuzenus (ed. Bonn, iii, 284), Anḳara is supposed to have been occupied for the first time by the Ottomans in 1354 under Süleymān, the son of Orkhan, but the Ottoman chronicles make no mention of this. This occupation, if it occured, can only have been a temporary one. It was not until the beginning of the reign of Murād I (762/1361) that Anḳara became Ottoman. The early chronicler Neshrī (ed. Taeschner, i, 52, ii, 80 (57) reports that Anḳara was at that time in the hands of the Akhīs, and that they handed it over to Murād Beg. Murād's rule in Anḳara in the year 763/1361-2 is proved by an inscription in the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque in the fortress. In the early days of Ottoman rule, the wealthy Akhī families seem to have retained some influence in Anḳara, as we can gather from inscriptions in the mosques they built (such as that of a certain Akhī Yaʿḳūb of 794/1391 and a certain Akhī Evran of 816/1433). Later on there is no mention of them.

On July 20th 1402, there took place, on the Čubuḳ Owasi, north of Anḳara, the battle in which Tīmūr defeated Bāyezīd I and took him prisoner. During the time of the subsequent fights between Bāyezīd's sons, Anḳara belonged to the area of Meḥmed Čelebi. On various occasions he had to defend the city against his brothers, in 1404 against ʿĪsā Čelebi, in 1406 against the *amir* Süleymān. During the quarrels between Sultan Bāyezīd II and his brother Djem, the governor of Anḳara decided in favour of Djem in 1482, until Bāyezīd succeeded in conquering the city. During the reign of Aḥmed I, Anḳara became the centre of a revolt led by a native of the town, a robber chieftain by name of Ḳalender-

oghlu. This revolt spread over most of Anatolia (1607) until it was put down by the Grand Vizier Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha in 1608.

The most prominent figure in Ottoman Anḳara is Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Walī [*q.v.*] (753/1352 to 833/1429-30), the founder of the darwīsh order of the Bayrāmiyya. His *türbe* and the mosque belonging to it (an attractive building with a tiled roof and a flat wooden ceiling inside, built in the beginning of the 15th century) are close up against the ruins of the temple of Augustus.

There are a number of small and medium sized mosques of Ottoman times in Anḳara. Amongst these some are worthy of special mention, such as the ʿImāret Djāmiʿ (built in 831/1427-28 by a certain Ḳaradja Beg, perhaps the one killed in the battle of Varna in 848/1445) in the style of an ancient Ottoman mosque on a ⊥ shaped plan, and the mosque of Djenābī Aḥmed Pasha, also called Yeni or Kurshunlu Djāmiʿ. This was built in 973/1565-66 by Sinān, the greatest of Ottoman architects. It has one dome, and beside it stands the *türbe* of its founder (d. 969/1561-62; concerning mosque and *türbe* see Hikmet Turhan Dağlıoğlu and A. Saim Ülgen, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 1942, 213-22; E. Egli, *Sinan, Der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, Stuttgart [1954], 86-8). Other ancient buildings of Ottoman times which deserve a mention here, are the *khān* (Ḳurshunlu Khān, *waḳfiyye* of 1159-1746; see A. Galanti, ii, 133) and the *bedistān* beside it, which are halfway up the fortress hill. Both these were in ruins until recently, when they were restored for use as a museum of antiquities.

In Ottoman times, Anḳara was the capital of a *sandjaḳ* (*liwā*) of the *eyālet* of Anadolu. In the beginning it was at the same time the capital of the *eyālet*, until Kūtāhiya took over this function. Under the re-organisation of the internal government in the *tanẓīmat* times (law of 7 Djumādā II 1281/7 Nov. 1864), Anḳara became the capital of a *wilāyet* with the *sandjaḳs* of Anḳara, Yozgad, Ḳırshehir and Ḳayseri. The *sandjaḳ* of Anḳara had the following *ḳaḍās*: Anḳara, Ayash, Bala, Zir, Beypazar, Djībuḳābād, Haymana, Sifriḥiṣār, Mihalıčdjıḳ, Nallıhan, Yabanābād.

Anḳara is famous under the name by which it was formerly known in Europe, Angora, as the home of the beautiful white long-haired goats, which are bred all over central Anatolia. Their silky hair (mohair, Turk. *tiftik*) is a commodity in great demand.. The long-haired Angora ("Persian") cats and rabbits also enjoy considerable fame.

Since 1892, the town has been connected by railway with Ḥaydarpasha, opposite Istanbul. Before the First World War it was a small town; Cuinet gives 27,825 inhabitants for the time round about 1890, with a Christian minority of ca. 10%. Other reports about the number of inhabitants of Anḳara agree with this. The figure 70,000, given by Sāmī Bey Frāsherī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, i, 439, is undoubtedly exaggerated.

After the meeting of the National Congress at Sīwās in June 1919, that town remained for some months the centre of the revolutionary government. The seat of the government was moved to Anḳara in October, and Muṣṭafā Kemāl entered it on 27 Dec. 1919. On 13 Oct. 1923, by a decision of the Great National Assembly, Anḳara was declared the capital of Turkey. (Cf. Gazi Mustafa Kemal, *Nutuk*, i, 240, 372; G. Jäschke, in *WI*, 1924, 262 ff.). In view of its increased importance and growing population Anḳara underwent great and rapid changes after 1925. The town plan was designed by H. Jansen. The most important suburb, on a spur of the Elmā Dagh, is Čanḳaya. The mausoleum of Atatürk, a work of the Turkish architect Emīn Onan, stands on a hill in the SW. Anḳara is the seat of a University and of other educational institutions. According to the preliminary returns for the census of 1955 Anḳara had 453,151 inhabitants.

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ANNA [see SIKKA].

AL-ʿ**ANNĀBA**, the present town of Bône, on the Algerian coast, east of Algiers. It is not known when it received the name of al-ʿAnnāba or, according to Leo Africanus, *Bilād al-ʿUnnāb*, "city of the jujubes", a reference to the fruit grown there. The early Arab geographers call it Būna, derived from its ancient name Hippona and testifying to its long history. It was successively a Phoenician settlement, a Punic city, a possession of the Numidian kings, and a Roman city named Hippo Regius, it played a major role during the Christian era when Saint Augustine was bishop there (395-430). Captured by the Vandals (430), retaken by the Byzantines, it became a Muslim possession at the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century.

The urban centre has occupied various sites in the course of the centuries. Al-Bakrī is the most precise on the question. He distinguishes three settlements: the town made famous by "Agushtīn, the doctor of the Christian religion", situated on an eminence, very probably that on which the basilica of Saint Augustine stands to-day. At its foot, stretches "the city of Sibus", also called Madīnat Zāwī, from the name of the Zīrid prince who had received it as his portion (?). This site of the old town, which is in the process of being uncovered by excavation, and of the first Muslim city which in the 5th/11th century was flourishing, must gradually have been abandoned, as being too exposed to raids from oversea, and disappeared under the silt of the Seybouse. Finally, three miles from Madīnat Zāwī, rose New Bône, *Būna al-Ḥaditha*, in a more secure position and, after 450/1058, encircled by a rampart. This is the present Muslim quarter, which occupies the height overlooking the port and the European city. Since 425/1053 it has possessed a Great Mosque, certain

features of which recall the Great Mosques at al-Ḳayrawān and Tunis, and which later received the name of the holy man Sīdī Abū Marwān (died 505/1111).

Like al-Bidjaya, Bône was a base for active piracy, and was for this reason attacked by the Pisans and Genoese (1034). Roger II of Sicily captured it in 1153 and installed a Ḥammādid prince there. In 1160, it was taken by the Almohads. In the middle of the 13th century, it was annexed to the Ḥafṣid dominions; but, frequently independent of Tunis, it was furnished with governors, from al-Bidjaya or Constantine. In 1533, it appealed to Khayr al-Dīn, the ruler of Algiers, and was occupied by a Turkish garrison, which remained there until 1830.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, French trans. by de Slane, *JA*, 1842, I, 182; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, text (1911) 54, French trans. by de Slane (1913), 116-17; al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and trans. into French by Dozy and de Goeje, text, 116-17; trans. 136; Leo Africanus, ed. Ramusio (Venice 1837) 117, French trans. by Temporal, ed. Schefer, III, 107; Féraud, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de Bône*, *R. Afr.* 1873; G. Marçais, *La mosquée de Sidi bou Merouān*, in *Mélanges William Marçais*, 225-236. (G. Marçais)

ʿANNĀZIDS (Banū ʿAnnāz), a dynasty (c. 381-511/991-1117) in the frontier region between ʿIrāḳ and Iran, which was one of the manifestations of the period "between the Arabs and the Turks" when, in the wake of the westward expansion of the Būyids, numerous principalities of Iranian origin sprang up in Ādharbāydjān and Kurdistān.

As the rise of the Banū ʿAnnāz was based on the Shādhandjān Kurds, the dynasty should be considered as Kurdish, although the Arabic names and titles of the majority of the rulers indicate the Arab links of the ruling family. The organisation of the Banū ʿAnnāz was typically semi-nomadic, in that it combined clans living in tents with strongholds serving as treasuries and refuges in time of danger. The characteristic feature of the Banū ʿAnnāz dominion was the unusual flexibility of the organisation, now expanding and now shrinking. The existence of several rival branches of the family contributed even more to the vagueness of their territories and the constant displacement of their little-known centres.

There were two periods in the history of the ʿAnnāzids. At first the external centres between which the family shifted were Baghdād, with its branch of the Būyids issued from ʿAḍud al-Dawla, and Rayy, with its branch of descendants of Rukn al-Dawla. In the immediate west the Shādhandjān were constantly involved in the tribal affairs of the Arabs Banū ʿUḳayl and Banū Mazyad. In the east, they were separated from Rayy by the dominions of the Kurdish Ḥasanwayhids. In the second period, the appearance of the Saldjūḳs and their Turkish (Ghuzz) tribes completely disorganised the life of the Banū ʿAnnāz who leaned now on the newcomers, now on the Būyid epigons, or fended for themselves in various tribal combinations.

The founder of the dynasty was (1) Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAnnāz who ruled in Ḥulwān (at the foot of the pass leading up to the Iranian plateau). The fact that Hilāl b. Muḥassin (*Eclipse*, iii, 422) calls him *ḥādjib* and *nadjīb* suggests that he was attached to the administration of Bahāʾ al-Dawla (379-403/989-1013) and through that channel established himself in Ḥulwān where he ruled 20 years (381-401/991-1010). In 387/997 he temporarily seized Daḳūḳā from the ʿUḳayl. In 392/1002 he joined the commander Ḥadjdjādj b. Hurmuz in the campaign against the Banū Mazyad. Later in the year he entered the service of ʿAmīd al-Djuyūsh. In 389/999 he destroyed the family of Zahmān b. Hindī, lord of Khāniḳin. In 397/1006 Badr b. Hasanūya temporarily dislodged him from Ḥulwān and he retired to Baghdād, though according to Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 157, he died in Ḥulwān.

(2) His son Ḥusām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Shawk Fāris (401-37) succeeded him in the principal fief (Ḥulwān), but at the same time his brothers became autonomous: Muhalhil b. Muḥammad in Shahrazūr [*q.v.*], and Surkhāb in Bandanīdjīn (Mandalī), on the border of the southern Kurdish tribes and the Lurs [*q.v.*]. This division led to a number of complications. In 405/1014 the Būyid Shams al-Dawla (of Hamadān) clashed with the Ḥasanwayhid Hilāl b. Badr who was killed and his son Ṭāhir captured. During Shams al-Dawla's absence in Rayy Abu 'l-Shawk occupied Kirmānshāh (Ḳarmīsīn). Shams al-Dawla returned to Hamadān and released Ṭāhir (in 405/1015) who rapidly defeated the ʿAnnāzids. Abu 'l-Shawk submitted to him and gave him his daughter, but then suddenly attacked and killed him. Shams al-Dawla himself marched against Abu 'l-Shawk but in the battle fought near Kirmānshāh (and witnessed by Avicenna, see his autobiography in Ibn Usaybīʿa, ii, 4), lost the day (*c.* 406/1015).

The Būyids of Rayy were succeeded (in 398/1007) by their maternal relative the Kākūyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla. By that time Abu'l-Shawk had already expanded up to Daynawar (and Shābūr-khast?), which ʿAlāʾ al-Daula now occupied. In the struggle between the western Būyids Abū Kālidjār and Djalāl al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Shawk (420/1020) helped the latter but insisted on the reconciliation of the rivals. In the same year parties of Ghuzz occupied Mawṣil and Abu'l-Shawk was ready to assist Djalāl al-Dawla, but the Arabs lost the day. In 428/1037 Abu 'l-Shawk sided with Abū Kālidjār who was besieging Djalāl al-Dawla. In 460/1039 he again occupied Kirmānshāh and the castles Khūlandjān and Aranba (probably Khalindje and Aranga near Kangāwar?) which belonged to the Ḳūhī Kurds (i.e. the Kurds of the Ḥasanwayhid federation).

In 431/1040 a war broke out in the region of Daynavar between his son Abu 'l-Fatḥ and Muhalhil, who took Abu'l-Fatḥ prisoner. Abu'l-Shawk marched against his brother (in Shahrazūr). But Muhalhil appealed to the Kakūyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla who arrived and annexed Kirmānshāh and Daynawar (432/1040). When his other brother, Surkhāb, made a pact with the Djāwānī (now Djāf) Kurds, Abu 'l-Shauk turned for help to Djalāl al-Dawla. Meanwhile ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla pushed on to Mardj (Kerind?) and Abu 'l-Shawk took refuge in the castle of Sīrwān (on the Diyālā?). Finally ʿAlā al-dawla contented himself with Daynawar and then suddenly died in 433/Sept. 1041. In 434/1042 Abu 'l-Shawk again attacked Muhalhil who fled to Snda (perhaps Senne?). Abu 'l-Fatḥ had died in captivity and the brothers made peace.

In 435/1043 Djalāl al-Dawla died and at the same time a new enemy threatened the ʿAnnāzids. In 437/1045 Tughril sent his half-brother Ibrāhīm Yinal to the west, and Abu 'l-Shawk fortified himself in the castle of Sīrwān (see above), while the Ghuzz devastated his dominions. He died in Ramaḍān 437/April 1046.

The Kurds rallied now round (3) Muhalhil who hastened to reoccupy Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh and Daynawar (438/1047), whence he ousted Badr b. Hilāl appointed by Ibrāhīm Yinal. It is possible that Muhalhil relied on some local tribes of S̲h̲ahrazūr, for his nephew (4) Saʿdī (Suʿdā) b. Abi ʾl-S̲h̲awk felt disappointed by his uncle's neglect of himself and the Shād̲h̲and̲j̲ān. He went to join Ibrāhīm Yinal (438/Sept. 1046), who reinforced his Shād̲h̲and̲j̲ān by a troop of Ghuzz. In Ḥulwān Saʿdī read the *khuṭba* for Ibrāhīm. He also occupied Bandanīd̲j̲īn, and his uncle Surk̲h̲āb sought refuge in Diz-i Dēlōya (cf. the name of the Kurdish tribe Dēlō between Sharabān and Khaniḳīn), but then defeated and captured Saʿdī and his ally, the chief of the D̲j̲āwān tribe. Soon, however, the Lurs, who were Surk̲h̲āb's subjects, extradited their master to Ibrāhīm who had one of his eyes blinded. By that time, Saʿdī had been liberated by a rebel son of Surk̲h̲āb. As Saʿdī was not too favourably received by Ibrāhīm, he returned to Daskara (near S̲h̲ahrabān) and sought the help of Bag̲h̲dād.

Ibrāhīm appointed a relation of his to occupy Surk̲h̲āb's dominions and remitted Surkhāb to him to facilitate the surrender (D̲j̲umādā II 439/Dec. 1047), but the envoy was defeated by Saʿdī's ally Abū ʾl-Fatḥ b. Warrām (*Warām < Bahrām?) D̲j̲āwānī. Then the G̲h̲uzz defeated Saʿdī and spread on the left bank of the Tigris. Saʿdī sought refuge among the Banū Mazyad Arabs and Ibrāhīm captured the last important castle of the ʿAnnāzids, Ḳalʿat al-Sīrwān (see above). Muhalhil had also to flee from S̲h̲ahrazūr (439/1047). During the siege of Tīrānshāh (Tirhān?) by the G̲h̲uzz, plague broke out among them and in 440/1048 Ibrāhīm Yinal recalled them to Māhīdas̲h̲t (west of Kirmānshāh).

Muhalhil re-occupied S̲h̲ahrazūr but in 442/1050 he felt obliged to pay homage to Tug̲h̲ril-bek, who received him kindly and re-instated the ʿAnnāzids: Muhalhil in Sīrwān, Daḳūḳā, S̲h̲ahrazūr and Ṣāmghān (Zimkān? a left affluent of the Diyālā); Surk̲h̲āb in Diž-i Māhkī (cf. the Kurds Māhkī in north-western Luristān) and Saʿdī in the two Rāwands (near Nihāwand). In 444/March 1053 Saʿdī was placed in command of Tug̲h̲ril's van and advanced to Nuʿmāniya, clashed with his uncle Muhalhil and made him prisoner.

Meanwhile Baghdad was occupied by al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*]. Muhalhil's son (5) Badr went to ask Tug̲h̲ril to intervene for the liberation of his father. Tug̲h̲ril offered to exchange Muhalhil for one of Saʿdī's sons kept by him as a hostage. Saʿdī disliked the offer and suddenly revolted against Tughril and sided with al-Malik al-Raḥīm, the Būyid. He was defeated by Tughril's generals and Badr. Muhalhil must have died at that time. Badr proceeded to S̲h̲ahrazūr, while Saʿdī remained in the castle of Raws̲h̲an-Ḳubād̲h̲ (on the right bank of the Diyālā?), and even in 446/1054 the G̲h̲uzz were unable to dislodge him.

After the occupation of Bag̲h̲dād by Tug̲h̲ril (447/18 December 1055) the sources are silent on the ʿAnnāzids but some survivors of the dynasty can be traced even at a considerably later time. Under 495/1101, Ibn al-At̲h̲ir, x, 238, reports on the attack of Ḳarabuli (a Salg̲h̲ur Turkman) on (6) Surkhāb b. Badr. The commanders in K̲h̲uftīd̲h̲agān (Yāḳūt, ii, 456, K̲h̲uftiyān Surk̲h̲āb, which G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 1880, 264, identifies with Koysand̲j̲aḳ?), seized his treasure, out of which they sent a present to Sultan Bark-yaruḳ. The Turkmans occupied Surk̲h̲āb's dominions, except Daḳūḳā and S̲h̲ahrazūr. K̲h̲uftid̲h̲ag̲h̲ān was also restored to Surk̲h̲āb, who died in 500/1106 and was succeeded by his son (7) Abū Manṣūr. On this occasion Ibn al-Athīr, x, 305, mentions Surk̲h̲āb's great wealth and great number of horsemen adding that (up to that date) the family had ruled for 130 years. Nothing is known of Abū Manṣūr but from the *Tārīk̲h̲-i Guzīda*, 547 (clearer in the *Sharafnāma*, 32-4) we learn that in the second half of the 6th/12th century under the Afs̲h̲ār ruler of K̲h̲ūzistān called S̲h̲ūhla (read: *S̲h̲umla? [cf. AFS̲H̲ĀR]) there existed a ruler in Luristan called (8) Surk̲h̲āb b. ʿAnnāz (misspelt: *ʿAyyār*). After *S̲h̲umla's death (in 570/1174, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 280) the founder of the dynasty of Lesser Lur [*q.v.*] K̲h̲urs̲h̲īd (Silūrzī) curtailed Surk̲h̲āb's possessions, until the latter contented himself with being a mere *shiḥna* on his behalf in Mānrūd (near the Mungerre range in Central Luristān). Finally the whole of Mānrūd was incorporated by K̲h̲urs̲h̲īd. This Surk̲h̲āb was undoubtedly a descendant of Surk̲h̲āb, lord of Bandanīd̲j̲īn and Māhkī, and with him the last scion of the ʿAnnāzids must have diasppeared.

Bibliography: Hilāl b. Muḥassin, in Margoliouth, *The Eclipse*, iii; *Mud̲j̲mal al-Tawārik̲h̲* (written in 520/1126), Teheran, 1318/1938; this book adds some interesting details to our principal source Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix-x, who repeats some of Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī's data in *al-Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād, viii-ix, but is much more explicit. S̲h̲araf-K̲h̲ān, *S̲h̲araf-nāma* (Veliaminof-Zernof), 22-3; Müned̲j̲-d̲j̲im-bas̲h̲i, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Ak̲h̲bār*, Turk. translation, ii, 503; C. Huart, *Les Banoû-ʿAnnâz*, *Syria*, 1921, 265-79, and 1922, 66-79 (based mainly on Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix). See also Bergmann, *Beiträge z. muh. Numismatik*, in *WNZ*, 1873, 25. An undated coin struck by Ḥusām al-Dawla Abu ʾl-S̲h̲awk (or one of his vassals?) under the caliph al-Ḳāʾim (422-67) belongs to the American Numismatic Society (information by G. C. Miles). (V. MINORSKY)

ANNIYYA, an abstract term formed from the conjunct particle *ʾan* or *ʾanna*, "that", is the literal translation of the Aristotelian term τὸ ὅτι and means therefore the fact that a thing is, its "thatness" (the particle *ʿanna* is used also substantively and *al-ʾanna* has the same meaning as *al-ʾanniyya*). The principal passage where Aristotle employs this term is in *Anal. Post.* II. 1 and the important distinction he makes there between the fact that a thing is (τὸ ὅτι) and the question what it is (τὸ τί ἐστιν) is the fundamental source of the later discussions about *existentia* and *essentia*. Indeed, the most pregnant sense in which the term *ʾanniyya* is used by the Muslim philosophers is the meaning of *existentia*, i.e. the existence in reality of a particular individual in opposition to its *essentia*, its intrinsic nature, its "whatness", *māhiyya*, *quidditas* in the Latin translations. When, for instance, G̲h̲azālī in his *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa* expounds the general doctrine of the Muslim philosophers that in God existence and essence are unified, he uses the terms *ʾanniyya* and *māhiyya*. Since, however, in philosophy existence and non-existential being are often confused—in Greek philosophy the terms ὄν and εἶναι serve to express both meanings and Aristotle himself uses (*Met.* VII 17. 1041ᵃ 15) τὸ ὅτι and τὸ εἶναι as synonyms (the Arabic translation of these terms here, in the edition of Bouyges p. 1006.9, is *al-ʾanna* and *al-ʾanniyya*)—we find the term *al-ʾanniyya* used also for non-existential being. For instance in a passage in Aristotle's Metaphysics IX 10.1051ᵇ 23 the non-existential being of truth and falsehood is rendered

by *ʾanniyya* (the Greek has ὑπάρχειν) and Averroës in his comment on this passage explains the term by *māhiyya*.

A special feature of the pseudo-Aristotelian neoplatonic treatises the "Theology of Aristotle" and the *liber de causis* in which ὄν and εἶναι are constantly translated by *ʾanniyya*, is the introduction of Plotinus' five intelligible categories (cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* VI, 2); the category ὄν (being) is translated here by *ʾanniyya*, whereas the category ταὐτότης (identity) is rendered by *huwiyya*. But in other translations e.g. the translation of Aristotle's Metaphysics ὄν is often translated by *huwiyya* (e.g. in Book V. 7, where a definition of ὄν is given) and we find the terms, *ʾanniyya*, *wudjūd* and *huwiyya* often used interchangeably.

It may be remarked that the fanciful derivation of *ʾanniyya* from *ʾanā*, ego, given by some Persian mystics and which has been adopted also by some modern European scholars, cannot be maintained, if only for grammatical reasons. The correct derivations from *ʾanā*: *ʾanāniyy^un* and *ʾanāʾiyy^un* are both found in later Arabic philosophy for instance in Shīrāzī (17th Century).

Bibliography: We do not possess a satisfactory lexicon of Arabic philosophical terms. However, the examples given by Bouyges in the accurate indexes to his edition of Aristotle's Metaphysics with Averroës' Commentary may be studied with profit. Although the term is frequently used by Avicenna, it is found neither in Ghazālī's *Tahāfut* nor in Averroës' *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*. (S. VAN DEN BERGH)

AL-ANṢĀR, 'the helpers', the usual designation of those men of Medina who supported Muḥammad, in distinction from the Muhādjirūn or 'emigrants' i.e. his Meccan followers. After the general conversion of the Arabs to Islam the old name of al-Aws and al-Khazradj jointly, Banū Ḳayla, fell out of use and was replaced by Anṣār, the individual being known as an Anṣārī (cf. Ḳurʾān, ix, 100/101, 117/118). In this way the early services of the men of Medina to the cause of Islam were honourably commemorated. *Anṣār* is presumably the plural of *naṣir*, but the latter is never used as a technical term. The verb *naṣara* has the connotation of helping a person wronged against his enemy. This is sufficient to explain why the Muslims of Medina were called *al-Anṣār* (sometimes *anṣār al-nabī*, "the helpers of the Prophet"), but the choice of the name may have been influenced by the resemblance to Naṣārā, "Christians"; e.g. Ḳurʾān, lxi, 14, "Be helpers of God as ʿĪsā b. Maryam said to the disciples, Who are my helpers towards God?" (cf. iii, 52/45).

Muḥammad's first effective contacts with Medina were at the pilgrimage of 620 A.D. with six men of the Khazradj. As the reconciliation of the Aws and the Khazradj, however, was part of his aim, he seems to have insisted on the Aws being represented at the negotiations; and in the traditional accounts of "the first and second ʿAḳaba" [*q.v.*] about a sixth of those who pledged themselves to Muḥammad were men of the Aws. Medina had suffered so much from the feuds of the two tribes [see AL-AWS, AL-KHAZRADJ, AL-MADĪNA], that the ready acceptance of Muḥammad's claims must have been partly due to the hope that he would be able to restore and maintain peace. While there is much obscurity about the details, it is clear that most of the inhabitants of Medina, apart from the Jews, had entered into the agreement with him. The chief exceptions were four clans of the Aws, called Khaṭma, Wāʾil, Wāḳif and Umayya b. Zayd, and part of a fifth, ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, all of which had close relations with the Jews. These non-Muslims are to be distinguished from the Munāfiḳūn or 'hypocrites', since the latter were parties to the agreement with Muḥammad who afterwards disapproved of him. Despite these defections, the Aws were important among the Anṣār, and indeed the leading Anṣārī, until his death in 5/627, was Saʿd b. Muʿādh, chief of the clan of ʿAbd al-Ashhal of the Aws.

The following table shows the number of men of the various clans present at "the first ʿAḳaba" (A 1), "the second ʿAḳaba" (A 2), and the battle of Badr (B). The last column (W) gives the number of women of the clan who are given notices in Ibn Saʿd, viii; this may be taken as a rough indication of the total strength of the clan

Clan	A1	A2	B	W
ʿAbd al-Ashhal	1	3	15	35
Ẓafar	—	—	5	23
Ḥāritha	—	3	3	23
ʿAmr b. ʿAwf	1	5	40	28
Aws Manāt (Khaṭma)	—	—	—	12
al-Aws (total)	2	11	63	121
al-Nadjdjār	3	11	56	83
al-Ḥārith	—	7	19	30
Banu 'l-Ḥublā, al-Ḳawāḳila	3	6	25	21
Sāʿida	—	2	9	12
Salima	2	29	43	54
Zurayḳ	2	4	16	16
Bayāḍa	—	3	7	12
al-Khazradj (total)	10	62	175	228

These figures suggest that a leading part in the approach to Muḥammad was played by clans like al-Nadjdjār and Salima, which had many members but had produced no great leaders in war. The two chief men of Medina at this time, Saʿd b. Muʿādh and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy were not at al-ʿAḳaba, and their clans (ʿAbd al-Ashhal and Banu 'l-Ḥublā) seem to be relatively badly represented.

It is disputed in the primary sources whether the Anṣār took part in any of the first small Muslim expeditions. They constituted, however, about three quarters of the Muslim force at Badr. Of the leaders Saʿd b. Muʿādh was the most zealous in the cause of Islam; not merely ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, but Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr (a rival of Saʿd b. Muʿādh for the chieftaincy of ʿAbd al-Ashhal) and Saʿd b. ʿUbāda were absent from Badr. At least until the siege of Medina in 5/627 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy was trying to prevent the growth of Muḥammad's power; but the others threw in their lot with Muḥammad after Badr. At the meeting to deal with "the affair of the lie (*ifk*)" against ʿĀʾisha's chastity, it was clear that the first man among the Khazradj was now Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. Indeed, shortly afterwards, on the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh, he was recognized as the leader of the Anṣār as a whole. These continued to be one of the main foundations of Muḥammad's power, though about the time of the expedition to Tabūk in 9/630 a small section became disaffected.

Throughout Muḥammad's residence at Medina the old feuds were slowly being forgotten, and the

Anṣār were coming to feel themselves a unity, especially in contrast to the Muhādjirūn or "emigrants", with whom they rarely intermarried. The cleavage between the Aws and the Khazradj was a factor of occasional importance as late as the meeting after Muḥammad's death at which Abū Bakr was made caliph; but nothing is heard of it subsequently. After the wars of conquest the Anṣār, despite their honourable position in the new Islamic nobility, declined in influence. They mostly opposed ʿUthmān and supported ʿAlī. Later they constituted a "pious opposition" to the Umayyads and took the side of the ʿAbbāsids. Before the ʿAbbāsids came to power, however, the Anṣār had largely become merged with members of Ḳuraysh and other tribes who had settled in Medina.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2; Caetani, *Annali*, i, ii/1; F. Buhl, *Muhammed*, Leipzig, 1930; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ʿANSĀRA, the name of a festival. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (*Tādj al-Mulūk*, Cairo 1312) derives the word from the Arabic root *ʿṣr*. For more than three-quarters of a century, Dozy, on the one hand, and Eguilaz y Yancas on the other, have attributed it to the Hebrew *ʿaṣārā* (*ʿaṣereth*) "an assembly of the people to celebrate religious festivals, especially Pentecost". Among the Copts, it is still the name for Pentecost (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii, 365). In Spain, existing in the forms *alhanzaro*, *alhanzara*, *alhansara*, it is the feast of St. John, among both Christians and Muslims (Cf. Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire*, 135-7; Eguilaz y Yancas, *Glosario*, 187-8). In the Maghrib, *ʿanṣara* (with the variants *ʿanṣra*, *ʿanṣla*, *ʿansāra*, *ʿansereth*, depending on the district) denotes the festival of the summer solstice, celebrated on the 24th June in the Julian calendar, or the 5th-6th July in the Gregorian. Though known throughout Morocco, and almost everywhere in Algeria, it is not known, it appears, in Tunisia. The magico-religious character of the acts which make up its popular ritual is not in doubt: (a) fire rites intended perhaps to give greater strength to the sun at the time of the solstice; the burning of braziers full of plants, of hives, or of huts, thus producing copious smoke which is supposed to have the virtue of purification and fecundation; (b) water rites, ablutions, sprinklings, the mingling of water with the ashes of the ritual brazier, by virtue of which the fructifying humidity is besought to combine itself with warmth, at the beginning of a new period of the solar cycle. It is reasonable to accept as clearly established the relationship between the rites of the *ʿanṣra* of the Maghrib and those of the Middle Eastern *nawrūz* [*q.v.*], and also the transference of the popular practices of the *ʿanṣra* to another festival, that of *ʿāshūrāʾ* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire de mots espagnols dérivés de l'arabe*, 135-7, with a summary of the information provided by the early European travellers to the Maghrib; Eguilaz y Yancas, *Glosario de palabras espanolas de origen oriental*, 187-8, with numerous references to Spanish sources; Destaing, *Fêtes et coutumes saisonnières chez les Beni Snous*, *R.Afr.*, 1907, with an abstract of the principal Arab authors who have referred to the *ʿanṣara* (Maḳrīzī, Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, Sūsī, Madjāwī, Warzīzī, Būnī); Westermarck, *Midsummer customs in Morocco*, in *Folklore*, 1905; idem, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, ii, 182-207; E. Doutté, *Marrakech*, 377-82; idem, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 505 ff.; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 152 ff., and 392; A. Bel, *Feux et rites du solstice d'été en Berbérie*, *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 48-83; G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 205; E. Laoust, *Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'anti-Atlas*, *Hespéris* 1921.

(PH. MARÇAIS)

AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-HARAWĪ, ABŪ ISMĀʿĪL ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤ. B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤ. B. AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. DJAʿFAR B. MANṢŪR B. MATT AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-HARAWĪ AL-ḤANBALĪ, born at Kuhandiz, the citadel of Harāt, on 2 Shaʿbān 396/4 May 1005. An infant prodigy, he was at a very early age the pupil of Abū Manṣūr al-Azdī, of Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Djārūdī and of Yaḥyā b. ʿAmmār, who instructed him in *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*. Although commencing under Shāfiʿī teachers, he soon adopted Ḥanbalism with enthusiasm, because of its devotion to the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. In 417/1026, he went to continue his studies to Nishāpūr, where he frequented the disciples of al-Aṣamm, and then to Ṭūs and Bisṭām. In 423/1031, he made the pilgrimage, breaking his journey at Baghdād in order to attend the lectures of Abū Muḥammad al-Khallāl; on his return he met Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Khirḳānī, who had a decisive influence on his mystical career, on which he had first embarked under the guidance of his own father Abū Manṣūr, the *murīd* of the *sharīf* al-ʿAḳīlī of Balkh. He finally settled at Harāt, and divided his time between teaching his disciples and polemics against the theologians; as a result of the latter activity he was threatened with death on five occasions, and was thrice exiled. He died, honoured with the title of Shaykh al-Islām, in the city of his birth, on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 481/8 March 1089.

His biographers are unanimous in praising his piety, the breadth of his knowledge in all branches of the religious sciences, and the indomitable fervour of his devotion to the Ḳurʾān, the Sunna, and the school of Ibn Ḥanbal, which led him to be accused by his enemies of bigoted fanaticism and anthropomorphism.

His works are the exact expression of the varied aspects of his rich personality: in the field of mysticism, he bared his soul in the *Munādjāt* and other writings in *sadjʿ* or in verse, which are considered to be among the masterpieces of Persian literature; the *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn*, a valuable spiritual guide, impresses by its originality, its conciseness and its masterly psychological analyses (the number of the commentators on this work alone places it in an eminent position in the history of Ṣūfism). The *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, forming a link between al-Sulamī's work and the *Nafaḥāt* of Djāmī, is valuable both as a biographical document and as evidence of the dialect spoken at Harāt in the 5th/11th century. Finally, the *Dhamm al-Kalām wa-Ahlih* is a principal source for the history of the struggle against rational theology in Islam.

Among his chief disciples, the following are worthy of note: Abu 'l-Waḳt ʿAbd al-Awwal al-Sidjzī, Muʾtamin al-Sādjī and, above all, Yūsuf al-Hamadhānī, the inheritor of his ideas.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 924-6; Brockelmann, I 433, S I 774; H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, 1935, 89-100 (his extant works, and more especially the MSS of them preserved in Istanbul); Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus 1350, 400; Ibn Radjab al-Baghdādī, *Ṭabaḳat al-Ḥanābila* (Laoust), no. 27; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, (Lees), 316; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, MS Brit. Mus. Or.

50 P 27524, 176 b; idem, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād, 375; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo, iii, 117. On the *musadjdjaʿāt*, see Browne, ii, 264; *Munādjāt*, ed. Kaviani, Berlin 1924; *Ilāhī-nāma*, ed. and trans., in *BIFAO*, xlvii. On the language of the *Ṭabaḳāt*, see Ivanow, in *JRAS*, 1923, 1-34, 337-82. On the *Manāzil*, see comm. by Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Madāridj al-Sālikīn*, Cairo 1956, the collection *Anṣāriyyāt* at *IFAO*, several articles in *MIDEO*, Cairo, and the edition of *K. ṣad maydān*, in *Mél. Islam.*, *IFAO*, 1954. (S. DE BEAURECUEIL)

AL-**ANṬĀKĪ**, DĀʾŪD B. ʿUMAR AL-ḌARĪR, Arab physician born at Antioch, son of the *raʾīs* of Ḳaryat Sīdī Ḥabīb al-Nadjdjār, undertook, though blind, long journeys which led him also into Asia Minor. There he learnt Greek, on the advice of a Persian physician who had cured him of a malady from which he had long suffered, in order to be able to study the sources of medical science in the original texts. Later, he lived at Damascus and Cairo, and died in 1008/1599 at Mecca, after less than a year's stay there.

His chief work is a large, exhaustive medical hand-book in which he followed Ibn al-Bayṭār, named *Tadhkirat Ūli 'l-Albāb wa 'l-Djāmiʿ li 'l-ʿAdjab al-ʿUdjāb*, Cairo 1308-9/1890-1 (in the margin: the *Dhayl* of a pupil and the work *al-Nuzha al-Mubhidja fī Tashḥīdh al-Adhhān wa Taʿdīl al-Amzidja*, on therapeutics); see Leclerc, in *Notices et Extraits*, XXIII, 13; recent study by Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Salām. As the Art of Love was then considered as an appendix of medicine, he also edited the work of Muḥammad al-Sarrādj (d. 500/1106) on love, under the title *Tazyīn al-Aswāḳ bi-Tafṣīl* (*Tartīb*) *Ashwāḳ al-ʿUshshāḳ*, Būlāḳ 1281/1864, 1291/1874, Cairo 1279/1862, 1302/1884, 1305/1887, 1308/1390; see Kosegarten, *Chrestom. arab.*, 22; A. V. Kremer, *Ideen*, 408; Goldziher, in *SBAK Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl., lxxviii, 513 ff., no. 7. In addition to a few short monographs, he also wrote a work on the philosophers' stone, *Risāla fī 'l-Ṭāʾir wa'l-Uḳāb* (de Slane, *Cat. d. mss. de la Bibl. Nat.*, no. 2625, 8) and another on the use of astrology in medicine, *Unmūdhadj fī ʿIlm al-Falak* (ibid., no. 2357, 7).

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, ii, 140-149; Leclerq, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, ii, 304; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arab. Aerzte und Naturforscher*, no. 275; Brockelmann, II, 364; S II 491; Hasan ʿAbd al-Salām, *Dhakhīrat al-ʿAṭṭār aw Tadhkirat Dāʾūd fī Dawʾ al-ʿIlm al-Ḥadīth*, Cairo 1366/1947.

(C. BROCKELMANN-[J. VERNET])

AL-**ANṬĀKĪ** (Abu 'l-Faradj), Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā, Arab physician and historian, a Melkite Christian, and close relative of Eutychius of Alexandria (Saʿīd b. Baṭrīḳ). He was born probably about 980 A.D., and spent the first 35-40 years of his life in Egypt. After the persecutions perpetrated against the Christians of Egypt by the Caliph al-Ḥākim, the latter, in an access of goodwill, in 404/1013-14 allowed the Christians to leave Egypt, and in 405/1014-15 Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd settled on Byzantine soil at Antioch, where he lived from then on. There, in 455/1063, he met the physician Ibn Baṭlān. He lived to an advanced age, and did not die until 458/1066.

Yaḥyā is mainly known as a historian and author of a sequel (*Dhayl*) to the Chronicle of Eutychius from 326/938. After publishing the first edition of this work about 397/1006-7, he modified it, on the basis of fresh historical sources, shortly before 405/1014-5. At Antioch, he had at his disposal new works, and he again revised his history and gradually completed it by an account of contemporary events, neglecting no opportunity to obtain material for this purpose. Although none of the manuscripts of his work which we possess goes beyond 425/1034, it is probable that his history continued beyond that date and that he brought it down to 455 and perhaps even to 458. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd does not describe events year by year, but arranges his material under the reigns of the caliphs (first the ʿAbbāsids, then the Fāṭimids) and under countries. He displays special interest in Egypt, Syria and the Byzantine Empire, and a moderate interest in Baghdād, but only mentions North Africa in connection with the early Fāṭimids. He used not only the Muslim sources, but also the Greek and local Christian sources with which he became acquainted at Antioch. His work abounds in chronological information, in most cases both the *hidjrī* and the Seleucid dates being given, the latter being taken from the sources and converted, perhaps by himself, into the *hidjrī* dates. Yaḥyā's work is very important for the history of Syria—Mesopotamia and Byzantium in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries; it is equally important for Fāṭimid Egypt and naturally for the life of Christian circles and ecclesiastical affairs. The problem of his sources and the relationship between his history and the Arab chronicles of the same period is difficult to solve.

Bibliography: This will be found in the notice on the author in the French edition of A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii, *La dynastie macédonienne*, 2nd part, *Extraits des sources arabes*, by M. Canard, Brussels 1950; in this use was made of the fundamental study by V. Rosen in his work *The Emperor Basil the Bulgar-Slayer, Extracts from the Chronicle of Yaḥyā of Antioch* (in Russian), St. Petersburg 1883, a brief summary of which had been given by A. Vasiliev in the Russian edition of *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii, St. Petersburg 1902, 58-9. The only complete edition is that of L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux and H. Zayyat, *CSCO*, *Script. ar.*, 3rd Series, bol. 7, Paris 1909; the ed. and transl. by Vasiliev (*Patrologia orientalis*, xviii, 1924, and xxiii, 1932) stops at the year 404; cf. also G. Graf, *Gesch. der christl. arab. Litteratur*, ii, 49-51. (M. CANARD)

ANṬĀKIYA, Arabicised form of ANTIOCHEIA, town in northern Syria, situated on the Orontes (ʿĀṣī) river, 14 m. from the Mediterranean coast. Founded about 300 B.C. by Seleucus I, and occupied by Pompey in 64 B.C., it became the largest and most important Roman city in Asia and capital of the Asian provinces of the Roman empire. Its gradual decay dates from the foundation of the Sāsānid empire, which diminished its political and economic influence in the Tigris-Euphrates basin and made it the object of repeated Persian attacks. It was occupied and pillaged for the first time in 258 and 260 by Shāpūr I, who removed many of its inhabitants to Djundē-Shāpūr [*q.v.*] in Susiana (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 827), and from 266 to 272 it was subject to Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. Nevertheless, despite endemic internal conflicts and disastrous earthquakes (to which the region has always been liable), it maintained its prosperity until its siege and destruction by Khusraw I (Anūsharwān) in 540, and a further deportation of its inhabitants to the Persian empire (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Ges. d. Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leipzig 1879 165, 239; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach*

d. arab. Geographen, ii, 1901, 266 ff.). Rebuilt by Justinian within a much reduced but strongly fortified perimeter (which remained that of the city throughout the mediaeval period), it was again sacked by Persian armies in 602 and 611, and was occupied by the Arabs in 16/637-8.

Under the early caliphates Antioch is seldom mentioned. It was the headquarters of the frontier military organisation called al-ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*], and appears to have remained an active centre of intellectual life. With the rest of N. Syria, it was annexed by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] in 265/878, remaining in the possession of his successors until 285/898, and occupied by the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in 333/944. Recaptured in 358/969 by the Byzantine general Michael Burtzes, it was governed by Byzantine dukes until 477/1084, when it fell by treachery to the Saldjūḳid Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumish [*q.v.*]. His possession of the city was disputed by the ʿUḳaylid ruler of Mosul and Aleppo, Muslim b. Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*]; Sulaymān defeated the latter (who fell in the battle) near Antioch in Ṣafar 478/June 1085, but was himself defeated and killed by his kinsman Tutush in the following year. This conflict brought about the intervention of the Saldjūḳid sultan Malikshāh, who gave Antioch in fief to the Turkish amīr Yāghisiyān. It was from this governor that the city was captured by the Crusaders in Djumādā II, 491/2 June, 1098; and, after their defeat of a siege by the governor of Mosul, Karbughā, it remained in their hands until recaptured and destroyed by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars Bunduḳdārī [*q.v.*] on 4 Ramaḍān, 666/19 May, 1268. During this period it was ruled by the Norman dynasty descended from Bohemond, whose principality waxed and waned with the changing fortunes of the Crusading forces, but whose capital was never seriously challenged except for a brief moment by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] in 584/1188.

Antioch remained thereafter a minor dependency of the Mamlūk *niyāba* and later Ottoman pashalïḳ of Aleppo. After the first World War it was occupied by French troops in February 1919 and attached to the French mandated territory of Syria. When a separate régime was established for the Sandjāḳ of Alexandretta (later called Republic of Hatay) in 1938, Antioch was selected as its capital, but the Sandjāḳ was ceded by France to the Turkish Republic on 23 June, 1939 (see M. Khadduri, *The Alexandretta Dispute, American Journal of International Law*, 1945, 406-425).

The extant remains of the Byzantine and mediaeval city are relatively small, the inhabitants having been permitted to use the remains of the walls to rebuild their homes after a severe earthquake in 1872. It has no Muslim monuments of importance except the sanctuary below Mt. Silpius, the former citadel, called by the name of Ḥabīb al-Nadjdjār ("the Carpenter") [*q.v.*], identified by Muslim tradition with the unnamed believer referred to in Ḳurʾān, xxxvi, 12 ff. In 1931, the population of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Anṭākiya numbered about 99,347 (36,500 Turkmens, 32,602 ʿAlawīs, 21,926 Arabs, 8,319 Armenians).

Bibliography: There is an extensive literature on the Byzantine period; see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Antiocheia; *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vols. i-iv, Princeton 1934-0; on its ecclesiastical rôle: R. Devresse, *Le Patriarchat d'Antioche ... jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1945. For the Islamic period: (a) Geography: the data of the Arabic geographers collected in G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *Naẓm al-Djawhar, Corpus scr. chr. or.*, ser. II, ii, vii, (1906-10) and *Dhayl, Patr. or.*, xviii, 5 and xxiii, 3 (1924, 1931); A. von Kremer, *Denkschriften d. Wiener Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1852; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 226 f., 282 f.; iii, 406-10; iv, 55, 91; viii, 68-70: anon. Arabic work (cod. vat. arab. 286), ed. and trans. I. Guidi in *Rendiconti ... Lincei*, Rome 1897 (corrections by D. S. Margoliouth, *JRAS*, 1898, 157-69), utilised also by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa in *Djihān-numā*, Istanbul 1145, 595 ff. See also R. Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, index; (b) History: bibliographies of the articles referred to in the text; A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ed. fr. by H. Grégoire etc., i-iii, Brussels 1935; E. S. Bouchier, *A short history of Antioch*, Oxford 1921; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923; (c) Travel literature: R. Pococke, *A Description of the East &c.*, London 1743-45, ii, 188-93; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Amsterdam 1774, iii, 15-18; J. Russegger, *Reisen in Europa, Asien, u. Afrika*, Stuttgart 1841, i, 363-73; T. Chesney, *Expedition ... to the rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, i, 425 ff.; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1867, ii, 366 ff.; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 462 ff. See also V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 193-7; P. Jacquot, *Antioche, Centre de Tourisme*, Beirut 1931, vol. ii; J. Weulersse, *Antioche, Essai de géographie urbaine*, *B.E.O.*, 1934, 27-79.

(M. Streck-H. A. R. Gibb)

ANTALYA (the form Anṭāliya occurs already with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 258, and the Arab geographers; Turkish formerly also Adalya, Greek Attaleia, in mediaeval western sources Satalia), *town* and harbour on the south coast of Anatolia in the innermost bend of the bay of Antalya, on a fertile plain, 36° 55′ N, 30° 42′ E; capital of a *wilāyet* with the *ḳaḍās* of Antalya, Akseki, Alanya, Elmalï, Finike, Gündoğmuş, Kash, Korkuteli, Manavgat, Serik; in 1945 the number of inhabitants was 25,037 (the *ḳaḍā* 56,935; the *wilāyet* 278,178); in pre-*tanẓīmāt* times the capital of the *sandjaḳ* of Teke in the *eyālet* of Anadolu, after the *tanẓīmāt*, capital of a *sandjaḳ* in the *wilāyet* of Konya. The town is 50 m. above sea level and surrounded by three city walls lapped by the river Düden Su. These walls date back to Roman times.

Antalya was conquered on 3 Shaʿbān 601/5 March 1207 by the Rūm Saldjūḳ Sultan Kaykhusraw I. When the Rūm Saldjūḳ empire collapsed, Antalya was occupied by the Turkomans under rulers of the house of Teke (an offshoot of the house of Ḥamīd) [see TEKE-OGHLU]. In 792/1390, the principality of the Teke was appropriated by the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd I, but it was re-established after Tīmūr had defeated him at Ankara in 1402. In 826/1423 it finally came under Ottoman rule, and the principality of Teke became an Ottoman *sandjaḳ* of the same name.

The Ulu Djāmiʿ (adapted from a Christian basilica) in Antalya dates from Saldjūḳ times, the Yïwlï Mināresi of 774/1373, which stands isolated and may well have been a lighthouse in the past, dates from the time of the princes of Teke, and the mosques of Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha and Meḥmed Pasha (beside the Yïwlï Minaresi) date from Ottoman times.

Antalya is a famous and favourite holiday resort because of its mild sub-tropical climate, its fertile surroundings (producing citrus fruit and sub-

tropical plants such as bananas) and because of its beautiful countryside. There are many waterfalls, and the Lycian mountain ranges on the western shores of the bay rise to a height of 2000 m. like a backcloth. The mountains are inhabited by a primitive population of Shīʿite religion, called the Takhtadjis "woodcutters") [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Attaleia, Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 638 f.; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 285-90; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 705 ff.; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XIX, 624 ff., 640 ff.; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle géogr. univ.*, ix, 650; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 853-63; R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish architecture in south-western Anatolia*, 41-53 (inscriptions by P. Wittek, 78-90); Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), 23 ff.; 51 ff.; 97, 103 ff.; 112 ff., 123, 127 ff., 142, 147, 153, 182, 199, 212, 273, 284, 287 ff., 296; Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, i, 197-234; ii, 38, 48, 113, 181 ff. 198; de Mas Latre, *Hist. de l'Ile de Chypre*, Paris 1861, i, 174, ii, 13 ff., 365 ff.; Süleymān Fikrī, *Anṭāliya Taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1339-40; S. Fikri Erten, *Antalya Vilayeti Tarihi*, Istanbul 1940; idem, *Antalya Tarihi, Üçüncü Kîsîm*, Antalya 1948; *IA*, s.v. (by B. Darkot); cf. also TEKE-OGHLU.

(F. TAESCHNER)

SĪRAT **ʿANTAR**, the romance of ʿAntar, rightly considered the model of the Arabic romance of chivalry. This *sīra* surveys five hundred years of Arab history and includes a wealth of older traditions. The story in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of how ʿAntar, the son of a slave-girl, was adopted into the tribe of Banū ʿAbs for saving them at a time of great crisis bears the stamp of a flourishing but already legendary tradition. The *Sīrat ʿAntar* far transcends the unconscious development of a legend. By a bold stroke ʿAntar, the solitary hero, is raised to be the representative of all that is Arab, ʿAntar the pagan is made the champion of Islām. The romance thus comes to reflect the vicissitudes of the Arabs and Islām through half a millennium; the tribal feuds of the old Arabs; the wars against Ethiopian rule in Arabia; the subjection of Arabia and especially of ʿIrāḳ to Persian suzerainty; the victories of the rising Islām over Persia; the remarkable historical position of the Jews in Arabia down to the seventh century; the conquests from Christianity by the Arabs, especially in Syria; the continuous wars of the Persian and later of the Muslim East against Byzantium; the victorious advance of Islām in North Africa and in Europe; the influence of the Crusades is also undeniable. The contacts between East and West are numerous. The romance is written in smooth rhymed prose into which have been interwoven some 10,000 verses. The editions printed in the East since 1286 A.H. divide the *Sīra* into 32 little volumes, none of which, like the separate nights of the 1001 *Nights*, ever ends at the conclusion of a tale.

Contents. The romance brings us through numerous legendary stories from early times down to the period when King Zuhayr is ruling over the Banū ʿAbs. The ʿAbsī hero Shaddād on a raid captures the negro slave-girl Zabība (not till the xviiith book do we get the denouement that she is a king's daughter, who had been carried off from the Sūdān), who becomes the mother of ʿAntar. As an infant, ʿAntar tears the strongest swaddling clothes, when two years old pulls down the tent, at four slays a large dog, at nine a wolf and as a young shepherd a lion. Soon he comes to the rescue of his oppressed tribe, for which he is acknowledged by his father and adopted into his tribe. He seeks ʿAbla, his uncle's daughter, in marriage; the latter promises her to him in an hour of need; but after ʿAntar has averted the danger, he imposes the most dangerous conditions to be carried out before the marriage. ʿAntar fulfils them all but is only allowed to marry ʿAbla after ten volumes of wonderful exploits. The area of his exploits widens continually. In his own tribe ʿAntar has first to overcome the resistance of his father, then the hostility of ʿAbla's relatives, to win over his rivals including the poet ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, to put an end to the feuds of the Banū Ziyād, Rabīʿ and ʿUmāra. In the feuds between the sister-tribes of ʿAbs and Fadhāra, ʿAntar proves himself the saviour of the Banū ʿAbs; outside of his tribe, he fights and overthrows the strongest heroes and makes them his friends; such are Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, Muʿammar, Hāniʾ b. Masʿūd, the victor over the Persians at Dhū Ḳār, ʿAmr b. Maʿdikarib, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, ʿAmr b. Wudd, the knight of the Ḥarām, Rabīʿa b. Muḳaddam, the pattern of Arab chivalry and many others. He hangs up his *muʿallaḳa* in the Ḥaram of Mecca after defeating the other *muʿallaḳa*-poets in a competition, overcoming all his rivals in duels and passing an examination in Arab synonyms set by Amru 'l-Ḳais. From Mecca he goes to Khaybar and destroys the town of the Jews. But ʿAntar is also taken beyond the bounds of Arabia. The *Sīra* does not lack reasons for this. ʿAbla's father demands *aṣāfīr*-camels as a bridal gift, which are only bred by Mundhir, King of Ḥīra. This takes ʿAntar to ʿIrāḳ. From there he is summoned to Persia to fight the Greek champion Badramūṭ. Next we find him in constant association with the kings of ʿIrāḳ, Mundhir, Nuʿmān, Aswad, ʿAmr b. Hind, Iyās b. Ḳābiṣa and their viziers, notably ʿAmr b. Buḳayla. He also has constant dealings with the Shāhs, Khusraw Anosharwān, Khudāwand (no shāh of this name is found in Sāsānian history), Kawādh (probably Kawādh Shiroe) sometimes as a dreaded opponent, sometimes as a most welcome ally. The son of the king of Syria woos the promised bride of a friend of ʿAntar. The latter goes to Syria, kills his friend's rival, defeats King Ḥārith al-Wahhāb (Aretas), but becomes his friend and after the death of Aretas at the request of the princess Ḥalīma becomes guardian of the new king ʿAmr b. Ḥārith, who is still a minor, and as such ruler of Syria. Here ʿAntar comes into contact with the Franks, sometimes as an enemy and sometimes as their ally against the Persians. Syria is under Byzantine suzerainty. For the services which ʿAntar renders the Christians here, he is invited to Constantinople and entertained and honoured. Laylamān, the king of the Franks, objects to this and demands that the emperor should hand over ʿAntar to him. ʿAntar along with Heraclius, the emperor's son, then leads the Byzantine army into the land of the Franks, subjects them to the emperor, reaches Spain, defeats King Santiago, pursues his victorious march through his provinces in North Africa from Morocco to Egypt. When he returns from these conquests on behalf of Byzantium to Constantinople, an equestrian statue of him is erected out of gratitude; the statues of his two brothers, who had accompanied him to Byzantium, are placed at the side of his. Shortly before his death, ʿAntar comes to Rome. The king of Rome, Balḳām b. Markas is hard

pressed by Bohemund; ʿAntar kills Bohemund and liberates Rome. On a campaign of reprisal against the Sūdānese, ʿAntar goes from kingdom to kingdom deeper into Africa till he reaches the land of the Negus. Here he discovers in the Negus the grandfather of his mother Zabība. Even more fantastic are the campaigns against Hind-Sind, against the Christian king Laylamān in the land of Bayḍā, in the land of the demons. ʿAntar's death is brought about by Wizr b. Djābir called Asad al-Rahīṣ. ʿAntar had repeatedly defeated him and taken him prisoner but always set him free again. Wizr feels humiliated by this magnanimity and continually renews his attack. Finally ʿAntar blinds him. Though blinded, Wizr learns to shoot birds and gazelles with bow and arrow from their sound. ʿAntar is struck by one of his poisoned arrows, but Wizr dies before ʿAntar under the delusion that he has missed. While dying, and indeed when dead, still sitting on his steed Abdjar, ʿAntar still wards the enemy off from his people. ʿAntar's marriage with ʿAbla was childless but from his secret marriages and love-affairs, several children were born including two Christians, and indeed Crusaders, Ghadanfar, Coeur-de-Lion, son of ʿAntar and the sister of the king of Rome whom ʿAntar had married in Rome and left in Constantinople, and Djufrān (i.e. Geoffroi, Godfrey), the son of ʿAntar and a Frankish princess. ʿAntar's children avenge and lament the death of their heroic father. Ghadanfar and Djufrān then return to Europe. ʿAbs becomes a convert to Islām.

Analysis. The following are the main elements that have contributed to the growth of the *Sīra*: 1. Arab paganism; 2. Islām; 3. Persian history and epic; 4. The Crusades. 1. To Arab paganism it owes the chivalrous and knightly Bedouin spirit of the work, the majority of the characters in it, who often have historical features, the feuds between the sister tribes of ʿAbs and Fadhāra; in connextion with the race between Dāḥis and Ghabra, the most powerful of the Akhbār al-ʿArab, like king Zuhayr's marriage with Tumāḍir, Zuhayr's death, Mālik b. Zuhayr's death, Ḥārith and Lubna, Djaida and Khālid, anecdotes of Ḥātim Ṭayyī, the splendid figure of Rabīʿa b. Muḳaddam etc. 2. To Islām belong the introduction with a long midrash of Abraham, repeated legends of Muḥammad and ʿAlī, the conclusion of the work which forms a transition to Islām; the tendency of the book, to make ʿAntar really prepare the way for Islām; ʿAntar's victorious campaigns through Arabia, Persia, Syria, North Africa and Spain are modelled on the conquests of Islām. Certain details give the *Sīra* a slightly Shīʿite colouring. 3. Persian influence is found in the knowledge of Persian history and the Persian epic, in places of the Persian language, in the conception of kingship by grace of God, in the knowledge of Persian court life and ceremonial (throne, crowns, imperial carpet), court-hunts (falcons, cheetahs), pigeon-post, Persian offices and ranks (vizier, mōbedān mōbed, marzpān, pehlewān, eyes and ears of the Shāh) even the *sahāridja* (gentleman-carvers). 4. Christianity and the Crusades. The *Sīra* knows of Christians in the Syria of the Sāsānians, in Byzantium and among the Franks. The Franks appear as Crusaders (the romance even mentions the cross worn on the breast), fighting for Shiloe and Jerusalem. Djufrān (Godfrey) besieges Damascus and sends troops against Antioch. The *Sīra* mentions the cross, the dress of the priests and friars, the girdle of the order (which in the *Sīra* is the most important symbol of Christianity next to the cross), the crozier, the bell (clapper), incense, holy water, prayers for the dead, unction, sacrament and of holy-days, Christmas, Palm-Sunday, is aware that among the Franks the clergy are first in Church and state, that marriages between cousins are illegal, seems also to know of excommunication and describes a Spanish place of pilgrimage and day of pilgrimage. The Christians swear by Jesus, Mary, the Gospels, John the Baptist (Māri Ḥanna al-Maʿmadān, Yukhna), by Luke (Lūḳa), Thomas (Mar Tōma) and Simon. The Emperor Radjīm rules in Byzantium and his son is called Heraclius; Balḳām b. Markas is king of Rome. The Christian rulers of North Africa have names which end with the -*s*, common in Greek and Latin, e. g. Martos, Kardus, Hermes, Ibn al-ʿUrnūs, Kindaryas b. Kirmās, Sindaris, Theodoros. The king of Spain is called Santiago; of the names of Frankish kings and princes that of Bohemund alone is certain. The names of his brothers Mūbert, Sūbert, Kūbert and that of the prince "Shūbert of the Sea" show what is perhaps the commonest ending in personal names in Old French. ʿAntar's son by the Frankish princess is called Djufrān, which conceals the old French form (Jofroi, Jefroi, Geffroi) of the name of Godfrey of Bouillon. As the romance of ʿAntar knows nothing of Europe, but a good deal about Europeans, the author must have become acquainted with them outside of Europe, of course at the period of the Crusades; Bohemund is slain by ʿAntar. Godfrey is the son of ʿAntar, who comes as a Crusader to Asia, learns his paternity there, avenges the death of his father and then returns to Europe. Even the name "Tafur" of the king of the beggars in the army of Peter of Armenia, seems to be preserved in the *Sīra*: "Ḍāfūr" is the name of the usurper who drives the infant prince ʿAmr from the throne of Syria but is overthrown by ʿAntar. In regard to intelligent sympathy with and toleration of Christianity, the picture we get from the *Sīrat ʿAntar* is far in advance of that which the mediaeval Christian epic reveals of Islām, where the Muslims are made to worship idols, like Apollo, Cahu, Gomelin, Jupiter, Margot, Malquedant, Tervagant etc. The romance of ʿAntar regards the Crusades not without sympathy and admiration. It is true that Crusaders are mentioned, who go to the Holy Land to seek plunder and to escape punishment; but the Franks are fighting for God the Father, for the Son and for the spread of religion.

Folk-lore and literary parallels. There is remarkably little folk-lore in the *Sīrat ʿAntar* but it includes several noteworthy features: a splendid witches' kitchen, fine examples of allegorical speech, of omens, life-token. Most of the agreements with other narrative poetry may be regarded as commonplaces of the epic; the strength and growth of the hero, his exploits, the killing of a lion, *muʿammarūn* (longevity is as common in the ʿAntar as in the *Shāh-nāma*), dreams, visions, Amazons, fights between father and son, the Gudrun motif of the bride's fidelity, the motif of the stupid man. There are very few borrowings: Nuʿmān's lucky and unlucky day, Khusraw's bell of justice (the motif of the legend of the Emperor Charles and the snake), a flight to heaven in a box borne by eagles, several African traditions (probably taken from geographical works on Africa). There are also links with

European legends. The marvellous signs at the birth of Charlemagne (in Pseudo-Turpin) resemble those recorded in our romance at the birth of Muḥammad, but Pseudo-Turpin undoubtedly borrowed from an older source. Artificial birds made of metal, which sing in various tunes by means of bells and organ pipes are described in French and German epics and also in the *Sīrat ʿAntar*. But here we have to deal with the historical marvel of the Chrysotriklinium in Constantinople, and with a similar thing in the Ctesiphon of the Sāsānids and also in the capital of the Tatar Khāns. Some coincidences are very striking. Ḥārith al-Ẓālim beats his sword Dhu 'l-Ḥiyāt against a rock, so that it may not fall into the enemy's hands; the rock is broken but the sword is uninjured, just as is the case with Roland's Durandal. ʿAntar instructs his son Ghadbān, who wishes to slay Khusraw and seize the power for himself, on the subject of kingship by God's grace just as Girard de Viane does his nephew Aimeri who wants to kill Charlemagne. ʿAntar's horse Abdjar takes flight to the desert after ʿAntar's death, so that he may not serve another master, just as Renaud de Montauban's Baiart escapes to the forests of the Ardennes. Very remarkable is the parallel between the duel between Roland and Oliver and that of ʿAntar and Rabīʿa b. Muḳaddam; the sword of the one combatant breaks in two and his magnanimous opponent gets him another; the duellists are reconciled and become brothers-in-law. But such poetical developments have their origin in a similar chivalrous outlook, the relations of the knight to his sword, to his horse, to his overlord and to his opponent.

Chivalry in the Sīrat ʿAntar. The *Sīra* is rightly recognised to be a romance of chivalry. In the pagan period among the Arabs the ideal of masculine virtue was *muruwwa, futuwwa*; alongside of this we have more frequently in the *Sīrat ʿAntar furusīya* along with *farāsa* and *tafarrasa*. The knight is called *fāris*. ʿAntar is called "a father of knights", *Abu 'l-Fawāris*, sometimes *Abu 'l-Fursān, ʿAlā 'l-Fursān, Fāris al-Fursān, Afrasu*. Not everyone who rides a horse is a knight. The knight's qualities are courage, fidelity, love of truth, protection of widows, orphans, and the poor (ʿAntar arranges special meals for them), magnanimity, reverence for women (ʿAntar begins and ends his heroic career protecting women; he swears by ʿAbla, by ʿAbla's eye, conquers in ʿAbla's name), liberality, especially to poets. The knights are also poets, especially poets of the Ḥidjāz, who are found in hundreds in the *Sīrat ʿAntar*. The *Sīra* also knows the institutions of chivalry. We meet pages and squires, not only the *sahāridja* of Ctesiphon; ʿAntar himself trains several thousand squires. The *Sīra* even describes tournaments on a great scale, in the Ḥidjāz, in Ḥīra, in Ctesiphon, the most splendid in Byzantium where ʿAntar's lance strikes the ring 476 times. These tourneys have many features in common with those of Europe, fighting with blunted weapons, tilting at the ring, decorating and beflagging the lists, the presence of ladies and girls. These agreements have been explained in the most diverse ways. On the one hand Delécluze saw in ʿAntar the model of the European knight, in the *Sīrat ʿAntar*, the source from which Europe had obtained all its ideas of chivalry, while on the other hand Reinaud simply found European ideas, customs and institutions imitated in the *Sīra* (*JA*, 1833, i. 102-105). In this some have seen the starting point for the study of the question of the origin of the *Sīrat ʿAntar*.

Origin. The *Sīrat ʿAntar* itself frequently and readily talks about itself and its origin. It professes to have been composed by al-Aṣmaʿī in the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd at his court in Baghdād; Aṣmaʿī lived for 670 years, of which 400 were in the Djāhilīya; he was personally acquainted with ʿAntar and his contemporaries, concluded the composition in the year 473/1080 and recorded traditions from the mouths of ʿAntar, Ḥamza, Abū Ṭālib, Ḥātim Ṭayyī, Amru 'l-Ḳais, Hāniʾ b. Musʿūd, Hāzim of Mecca, ʿUbayda, ʿAmr b. Wudd, Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl. In fact we have a regular romance regarding the origin of the romance. The repeatedly mentioned *rāwī, nāḳil, muṣannif, ṣāḥib al-ibārat*, Aṣmaʿī and other authorities have the same significance for the *Sīrat ʿAntar* as the Dihḳāns, Pehlewi books and the hoary authorities in Firdawsī, or as the chronicles of St. Denis for the French epic. It is simply fiction when the *Sīrat ʿAntar* tells us that it exists in two versions, one for the Ḥidjāz and the other for ʿIrāḳ. The invention of a Ḥidjāz recension is intended to encourage the belief that Aṣmaʿī collected from ʿAntar and his companions in the Ḥidjāz the information, which was utilised in the romance. The Ḥidjāz as the home of the romance is a pure invention. On the other hand ʿIrāḳ may really have made a considerable contribution to the composition of the *Sīrat ʿAntar*. For the date of origin of the *Sīrat ʿAntar* we have the following clues: 1. In a religious dialogue between a monk and a Muslim (*Das Religionsgespräch von Jerusalem um* 800 *A.D. aus dem Arabischen übersetzt* von K. Vollers, *Ztschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, xxix, 49) the monk mentions the exploits of ʿAntar. 2. About the middle of the xiith century the former Jew Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī, a convert to Islām, describes his career and mentions that in his youth he was fond of long tales like that of ʿAntar (*MGWJ*, 1898, xlii, 127, 418). 3. The evidence contained in the book itself. The appearance of Bohemund, Djufrān (Godfrey of Bouillon), perhaps also of the king of the beggars, Tafur, brings us to the period after the first Crusade, that is at the earliest in the first half of the xiith century. The composition of histories of ʿAntar must therefore have already been begun in the viiith century—on the evidence of the religious dialogue above mentioned. According to Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā a book of ʿAntar of considerable size was actually in existence in the middle of the xiith century and if Bohemund and Djufrān already appeared in it, it must have been completed at the beginning of the xiith century. At the same time the meddāḥs may have continued to add a great deal to it and in particular continued its islāmisation. The midrash of Abraham which is quite an inorganic addition and the legends of Muḥammad and ʿAlī could belong to any period. An original ʿAntar can be reconstructed with philological probability. In vol. xxxi., the dying ʿAntar reviews his heroic career in his swan-song. He proudly recalls his victories in Arabia, ʿIrāḳ, Persia, and Syria. But he makes no mention of Byzantium or Spain, of Fez, Tunis, or Barka, of Egypt, or Hind-Sind, of the Sūdān or Ethiopia. This original ʿAntar may have arisen in ʿIrāḳ (under Persian influence or perhaps in emulation of Persian epic poetry). The swan-song makes

no mention of children, and knows of only one love of ʿAntar's. This original ʿAntar therefore should be called ʿAntar and ʿAbla. Following a genealogical stimulus, the later epic made royal ancestors be found in the Sūdān and royal descendants in Arabia, Byzantium, Rome, and the land of the Franks. The Crusades next found an echo and a reaction in the ʿAntar story. The Crusaders came from the land of the Franks via Byzantium to Syria. ʿAntar goes in a kind of reversed crusade from Syria via Byzantium to the land of the Franks and brings about the victory, if not yet of Islām, at least of Arab ideals and culture over European Christianity. The whole geographical area and historical range of the novel is filled with the exploits of ʿAntar.

The romance of ʿAntar seems to be first mentioned in Europe in 1777 in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans* (*JA*, 1834, xiii. 256); it was first introduced to European scholarship in 1819 by Hammer-Purgstall and to comparative literature in 1851 by Dunlop-Liebrecht (*Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, xiii-xvi). The study of the problem of scholarship raised by the *Sīrat ʿAntar* was begun by Goldziher (mainly in his Hungarian works). The *Sīrat ʿAntar* was for long a favourite subject of study in France. In the *Journal Asiatique* the work was often discussed and partly translated. Lamartine went into raptures of admiration and enthusiasm for ʿAntar (*Voyages en Orient*: *Vie des grands hommes* I. *Premières Méditations Poëtiques*, Première Préface). Taine places ʿAntar beside the greatest epic heroes —Siegfried, Roland, the Cid, Rustam, Odysseus and Achilles (*Philosophie de l'Art*, ii, 297). These tributes are not unmerited. The *Sīrat ʿAntar* unfolds before us the ever changing, glowing panorama of a particularly attractive period with an extravagant power of imagination, a skill in narration which never palls throughout the 32 volumes, and a poetical style of inexhaustible richness.

Bibliography: A very full collection of references to the manuscripts, editions, translations of and treatises on the *Sīrat ʿAntar* is given in V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*, etc., iii; *Louqmâne et les fabulistes. Barlaam ʿAntar et les Romans de chevalerie*, Lüttich-Leipzig 1898, 113-126. Cf. also: I. Goldziher, *Der arabische Held ʿAntar in der geographischen Nomenclatur* (*Globus*, 1893, lxiv., no. 4, 65-67); do., *Ein orientalischer Ritterroman, Pester Lloyd*, Mai 18, 1918; B. Heller, *Der arabische ʿAntarroman, Ungarische Rundschau*, v. 83-107; do., *Az arab Antarregény*, Budapest 1918; do., *Der arabische ʿAntarroman, ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte*, Hanover 1925.

(B. HELLER)

ʿANTARA, "the valiant" (see *LA*, vi, 283, which also gives the meaning "blue-bottle"); the word is probably derived from the root *ʿtr* which expresses the idea of violence. Several warrior-poets of Pre-Islam bore this name; see Āmidī, 151-2.

"Antara b. Shaddād, warrior-poet of the 6th century A.D., belonged to the ʿAbs tribe of central Arabia (see GHAṬAFĀN). The short notice by al-Iṣfahānī, in the *Aghānī*, suggests that by the 4th/10th century responsible people tended to dismiss exaggerated popular accounts which had already made ʿAntara a hero of fiction. Restricted to positive facts, the biography of this man is extremely sketchy. Born of an Arab father and a black slave, ʿAntara, in his youth, lived in slavery as a shepherd; in the course of the conflicts between the ʿAbs and their Central Arabian neighbours, he had opportunity to display his prowess; in the "War of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrāʾ" especially between the ʿAbs and the Dhubyān, then the Tamīm, he seems to have particularly distinguished himself (see Cheikho, 805 f. and the scholia on *Dīwān* nos. 13 ff.; see also *Dīwān* nos. 12 and 26, diatribes against other poets). It is probable that ʿAntara was emancipated as a result of these exploits and that, at an advanced age, he fell in a raid against the Ṭayyiʾ (see the *Aghānī* for the different versions of his death). Legend soon clothed this bare outline, under the influence of ʿAbs particularism and Kharidjite equalitarianism. ʿAntara provided proof that a person of mixed race could, in the pre-Islamic era, achieve the status of a pure-blooded Arab. The embellishments were concerned with a limited number of themes: the valiant achievements of the hero, his passion for his cousin ʿAbla, his vain efforts to overcome her scorn and to be worthy of this heartless beauty. These developments eventually resulted in the composition of a celebrated epic entitled *Sīrat ʿAntar* (see the preceding article). As is frequently the case, fragments and poems form the sub-stratum of the biographical legend. At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the collection of these poetic works was undertaken by the scholars of Baṣra, notably by al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*]; in a recension with commentary by the Spaniard al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī (d. 476/1083), there are 27 poems and fragments: one of these, the *Ḳasīda* in *mīm* also appears in the *Muʿallaḳāt* anthology; numerous fragments, often of considerable lengtb, attributed to ʿAntara, and appearing in various works, have been assembled by Cheikho, 816-82 (without exact references). On the whole, these last texts appear to be clumsy pastiches; see for example the fragments given by Cheikho, 812, 820, 829, 855; scholars—or forgers—have too often been led to attribute to ʿAntara any poem containing the name of ʿAbla (see Cheikho, 846, 848-9 where a poet addresses himself to ʿAbla and celebrates his exploits against the Persians); many of the items attributed to ʿAntara are dubious (see Cheikho, 853 and *Agh*[3], 235); the *Muʿallaḳa*, suspect on account of its length, is composed to begin with of elements in juxtaposition. Taken as a whole, the poems and fragments placed under the name of ʿAntara which do not betray too obviously the forger's hand are generally short; poems introduced by a *nasīb* are rare (see *Dīwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, nos. 13, 21; and Cheikho, 817, poem in *bāʾ*). With the exception of a threnody (*Dīwān*, no. 24) and a few fragments of invective like *Dīwān* no. 11, the majority of the poems celebrate the poet's valour, his exploits, and the claim which these give him to the love of ʿAbla. Those which have some chance of not being clumsy forgeries are distinguished by their simplicity of language and style.

Bibliography: Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Shāir, 128; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, ed. De Goeje, 130-4; *Aghānī*[3], viii, 237-46 (taken up again by Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, Beirut 1890, i, 794-882, who reproduces in an expurgated form the *Dīwān* (ed. Ahlwardt) and numerous poetic texts); Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1847, ii, 441ff., 514-21; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Iḳd*, ed. ʿUryān, *Index*; Āmidī *Muʿtalif*, 151, Nöldeke, *Fünf Muʿallaqāt*, ii, 1-49; Thorbecke, *Antarah*, Leipzig 1867 followed by Derenbourg, *Le Poète antéislamique Antar*, in *Opuscules d'un Arabisant*, Paris 1905, 3-9; Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen*

über die Ächtheit der alten arab. Gedichte, Greifswald 1872, 50-7; Nallino, *La Littérature arabe*, trans. Pellat, Paris 1950, 44-5; Iskender Agha, *Munyat al-Nafsi fi As͟hʿār ʿAntara al-ʿAbsi*, Beirut 1864. The *Dīwān* has been edited by Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870, 33-52 + additions, 178ff.; other editions at Cairo, 1315 and at Beirut, 1888, 1901, upon which see Brockelmann, S I, 45. (R. Blachère)

ʿANTARĪ (a.), noun derived from ʿAntar [*q.v.*], denoting in Egypt: 1) a story-teller who narrates the *Sīrat ʿAntar*; 2) a short garment worn under the *ḳaftān*. The latter usage, assimilated by popular etymology to ʿAntarī, derives from the Turkish Entari, a word of Greek origin.

Bibliography: Dozy, Suppl. ii, 180 and references quoted. (Ed.)

ANṬARṬŪS [see ṬARṬŪS].

ANTEMURU, tribe of south-eastern Madagascar, comprising 85,000 sedentary agriculturalists living in the low river valleys, from the Matatana in the south to the Namurana in the north, and eking out their livelihood by fishing. Of their number, 25,000 members of certain clans claim to come from Emaka, a region which they liken to Mecca. According to their written traditions, some *silamu* "Muslims", accompanied by *kafiri* "pagans", passing through the Comores and the north-east of Madagascar, settled, during the 7th/13th century, near their present territory. They found there, and assimilated, other groups of the same origins.

It seems likely that an Indonesian community was augmented by an influx of groups which had in varying degree been Islamicised, and came probably from the east coast of Africa, which had been penetrated by the descendants of immigrants from the Persian Gulf. The prestige of these "Islamicised" elements was such that the Indonesian dynasties and some clans ascribed to themselves an Arab origin.

It is possible to distinguish two successive waves of immigrants; the earlier introduced divination based on geomancy, while the Antalaotra of the more recent influx introduced writing in Arabic characters and paper-making. The Islamicised elements introduced in addition : plants (the vine, pomegranate, hemp, the copal-tree), the game of chess, a few prayers, a period of comparative fasting, some words of Arabic origin, and above all a calendar.

Since the 10th/16th century, the fame of the Antemuru magicians has extended their influence throughout Madagascar. Isolated from the Muslim world, they look upon writing not as a vehicle of communication, but as a means of preserving their magico-religious secrets. The development of the occult sciences has represented a corresponding decline of the Islamic tradition. The astrological calendar has supplanted the Muslim lunar calendar; prayers, their meaning not understood, have become magic formulas. This decadence is most marked in the tribe which dwells to the north of the Antemuru, namely the 12,000 Antambaok or Antambahwaka.

Since the beginning of the 19th century the over-population of Temuru territory has led to a temporary exodus to the north-west of Madagascar. There, they live with the Cormorian Muslims. This has given rise since 1913, and especially between 1926 and 1939, to an Islamic revival among some of the 2,000 literates belonging to the clans of the Antalaotra group.

After 1924, the development of coffee-planting, which created new resources, checked the migration to the north-west. Relations with true Muslims again came to an end. The Islamic revival, opposed by the Christians as well as by the traditionalist magicians, declined, despite several attempts by Pākistānī K͟hod͟jas to make converts.

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ANTIOCH [see ANṬĀKIYA].

ANṬŪN FARAḤ [see FARAḤ].

ANŪS͟HARWĀN, Arabic form of the surname of Chosroës I (al-Ṭabarī, I, 862) [see KISRĀ], in Pahlawi *anos͟hag͟h-ruvān*, in Pazand *anos͟h-ruān* "possessed of an immortal soul", then in Persian Nūs͟hīravān (Nūs͟hīrvān), which is popularly explained as *nūs͟hin-ravān* "possessed of sweet soul" (*Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ*). Several persons in Islam bore this name (Zambaur mentions four), particularly a son of Manūčihr and of a daughter of Maḥmūd al-G͟haznawī, who was *amīr* of D͟jurd͟jān from 420/1029 to 434/1042 (Ibn al-At͟hīr, IX, 262), and Anūs͟harwān b. K͟hālid b. Muḥammad al-Kās͟hānī (see the following art.).

Bibliography: A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, chapter VIII; Zambaur, index, s.v. (H. Massé)

ANŪS͟HIRWĀN b. K͟HĀLID b. Muḥammad al-Kās͟hānī, S͟haraf al-Dīn Abū Naṣr, was treasurer and *ʿāriḍ al-d͟jays͟h* to the Sald͟jūḳ sultan, Muḥammad b. Maliks͟hāh. After being succeeded by S͟hams al-Mulk b. Niẓām al-Mulk as *ʿāriḍ al-d͟jays͟h* he went to Bag͟hdād. He was imprisoned during the reign of Maḥmūd b. Maliks͟hāh for a short period but subsequently appointed *wazīr* by Maḥmūd (521/1127-522/1128). From 526/1132-528/1134 he was *wazīr* to the caliph, al-Mustars͟hid. In 529/1134 he became *wazīr* to Masʿūd b. Muḥammad and held office until 530/1135-6. He died in Bag͟hdād in 533/1138-9 according to Ibn al-At͟hīr, but according to the *Tad͟jārib al-Salaf* of Hindū S͟hāh b. Sand͟jar in 532/1137-8. He composed a work in Persian on the

events of his time, entitled *Futūr Zamān al-Ṣudūr wa Ṣudūr Zamān al-Futūr*, which was later translated into Arabic by ʿImād al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Al-Bundārī's abridged version of this translation has been edited by Houtsma (*Recueil de textes relat. à l'hist. des Seldjoucides*, ii). Hadjdjī Khalīfa mentions another work by him, entitled *Nafthat al-Maṣdūr*, but this is probably the same as the *Futūr Zamān al-Ṣudūr* mentioned above (see Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *Maḳāla-i Taʾrīkhī wa Intiḳādī*, Tehran, 1308 solar). Anūshirwān was praised by various contemporary poets. It was he who encouraged al-Ḥarīrī to compose his *maḳāmas*.

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ANWĀʾ (A.), a system of computation among the early Arabs. The singular *nawʾ*, connected with the root *nāʾa* "to rise with difficulty, to lean, to support a load with difficulty" (cf. Ḳurʾān, xxviii, 76), denotes the acronychal setting of a star or constellation and heliacal rising of its opposite (*raḳīb*); by extension, it is applied to a period of time and, in the language of the later Middle Ages and the modern era, it has come to mean "cloud, rain, storm, tempest" (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.; Beaussier, s.v.; H. Wehr, *Arab. Wörterbuch*, s.v.), on account of the pluvial role ascribed to the stars contemplated. In the plural, *anwāʾ* denotes the whole system based on the acronychal setting and helical rising of a series of stars or constellations; it also appears in the title of a number of works which constitute a separate class of their own.

1. The system of the *anwāʾ*.—To estimate the passage of time, the early Arabs possessed a primitive system—perhaps already influenced by the "Calendar of the Pleiades" (cf. J. Henninger, *Sternkunde*, 114 and references quoted)—which can be summarized as follows:—(a) on the one hand, the acronychal setting of a series of stars or constellations marked the beginning of periods called *nawʾ*, but within which the duration of the *nawʾ* proper was from 1-7 days. The stars themselves were responsible for rain and were invoked during the *istisḳāʾ* [*q.v.*]; knowledge of these *anwāʾ* enabled Bedouin trained in this science to foresee the state of the weather during a given period; (b) on the other hand, the helical rising of the same series of stars or constellations, at six monthly intervals, marked out the solar year by fixing a number of periods probably about 28. Such maxims as have survived suggest that this was the very basis of the calendar.

Some time before Islam (cf. Ḳurʾān x, 5; xxxvi, 39) the Arabs learnt from the Indians to distinguish the "stations" or "mansions" (*manzila*), pl. *manāzil* [*q.v.*]) of the moon, numbering 28. Perceiving that the list of these mansions corresponded *grosso modo* with their own list of *anwāʾ*, they proceeded to combine the two ideas and to adjust their *anwāʾ* to make them coincide with the *manāzil*, by dividing the solar zodiac into 28 equal parts of approx. 12° 50'; thus the 28 *anwāʾ* identified with the 28 *manāzil* (see list in the article MANĀZIL) are determined by 28 stars or constellations constituting 14 pairs (the acronychal setting of the one corresponding to the heliacal rising of the other) and marking the beginning of 27 periods of 13 days and one of 14. These modifications, the date of which cannot be fixed accurately, were definitely completed after Islam, the passage from one system to the other being favoured by the development of astronomy, and by the anathema hurled by the Prophet against the *anwāʾ*, which are not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. The old system, however, still survived, on the one hand empirically among the Bedouin tribes (cf. for example the *nūwa*, pl. *nwāwi* of the Marāzīg of southern Tunisia in G. Boris, *Documents linguistiques* . . ., Paris 1951, 208-11), on the other hand traditionally, and with complete identification of the *anwāʾ* with the mansions, in the specialised works which have perpetuated it among certain rural populations (see Ed. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 177, and *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco*, London 1930, 313-17).

2. The *anwāʾ* in Arabic Literature.—As might be expected, it was the lexicographers who first assembled Bedouin ideas on the subject of the *anwāʾ* and published them in lexicographical works of which we shall consider only those entitled *K. al-Anwāʾ*, leaving aside the *K. al-Azmina* and others which fall into the same category. The following are the principal writers mentioned as being authors of works entitled *K. al-Anwāʾ*, none of which has as yet come into our possession: Ibn Kunāsa (d. 207/822), Muʾarridj (d. 195/810-11), al-Naḍr b. Shumayl (d. about 245/859), al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 233/846), al-Shaybānī (d. about 245/859), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898). On the other hand, we have the *K. al-Anwāʾ* of Ibn Ḳutayba (d. about 276/889) which has recently (1957) been printed at Ḥaydarābād, and we have fragments of that of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. after 282/895); the works of al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d. 315/927), al-Zadjdjādj (d. 310/922), Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), the *ḳāḍī* Wakīʿ (d. 330/941) and others are also lost. Basically these works contain an explanation of the system of the *anwāʾ*, a list of the mansions (i.e. the modified *anwāʾ*), a table of the dates of the rising and setting of the stars which determine them, the system of the winds and the rains, etc.; the explanation is accompanied by maxims and poetry, usually with a commentary.

From the 3rd/9th century, however, astronomers in their turn showed interest in the *anwāʾ*: al-Ḥasan b. Sahl b. Nawbakht, Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī (d. 272/885-6), Thābit b. Ḳurra (d. 289/902), and Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. 300/912-3), wrote *K. al-Anwāʾ* while al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) devoted to this subject a chapter of his *Āthār* and reproduced in part (243-75) the *K. al-Anwāʾ* of Sinān b. Thābit b. Ḳurra (d. 331/943), which is an almanac.

One would expect, indeed, to see Arab authors producing almanacs on the lines of those which they found in conquered territories, and, although we only have the almanac of Sinān for ʿIrāḳ, it is probable that Egyptian authors composed them at an early stage, as is proved by certain chapters of Ibn al-Mammātī and al-Maḳrīzī, and by the names of the Coptic months which appear in the calenders produced in Spain. For the latter country, we in fact possess an almanac published by Dozy under the title of *Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961* (Leiden 1873) and still entitled *K. al-Anwāʾ*, as is that of the mathematician of Marrākush, Ibn al-Bannāʾ (d. 721/1321) which has been published by H. P. J. Renaud (Paris 1948); other *K. al-Anwāʾ*, now lost, are attributed to al-Gharbāl (d. 403/1012-13) and al-Khaṭīb al-Umawī al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 602/1205-6). These calendars are solar and, under each day, the author gives information on the *anwāʾ*, the length of the day and night, agricultural practices, etc., with, in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, notification of

the Christian festivals. The modern popular calendars (*raʿdiyya, taḳwīm* etc.) are a final re-incarnation of the *K. al-Anwāʾ*.

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ANWARĪ, the *takhalluṣ* of AWḤAD AL-DĪN MUḤ. B. MUḤ. (? or ʿALĪ B. MAḤMŪD) KHĀWARĀNĪ, proclaimed in a well-known *bayt* to be master of the Persian *ḳaṣīda*. Of his life little is known for certain except that he became one of the court poets of the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar (d. 1157) at some period towards the end of the prince's life and that he was writing *ḳaṣīdas* in 540/1145—two of them being thus dated—when he must still have been quite young. He was born in the district of Khāwarān in Khūrāsān and received part of his education at the Manṣuriyya *madrasa* in Ṭūs. Either while he was there or subsequently his studies embraced astrology, his skill in which brought him renown, though it also, if legend can be trusted, led to his downfall. This was in 581/1185, when an extraordinary conjunction of the planets failed to produce the upheaval of the elements which he had foretold. He died a few years afterwards, probably in 585/1189 or in 587/1191, being buried at Balkh (thus Dawlatshāh) or at Tabrīz, in the Poets' Cemetery alongside Khāḳānī and Ẓahīr-i Fāryābī (cf. Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 78), the former seeming more probable. His literary powers are considerable, as shown in his famous lament over the ruin caused by the Ghuzz tribesmen in Khurāsān, and his exercises in irony and ridicule make pungent reading. He shows little of self-criticism, being satisfied that he is an adept in astrology and superior to his contemporaries in logic, music, theology, mathematics and all other intellectual pursuits. It appears that his patrons after Sandjar failed to value his services as highly as he did himself; at any rate he considered their rewards inadequate. Either that fact or jealousy of his rivals caused him to renounce the writing of eulogies and of *ghazals*, although it is difficult to decide at what point in his career this took place. His satires doubtless brought him enemies and declining fortunes led to persistent complaint against capricious Fate. In style and language he is sometimes obscure, so that Dawlatshāh declares that he needs a commentary. That obscurity, and a change in literary taste, may be reasons for his comparative neglect in recent times.

Bibliography: Browne, ii, 365 ff., incidentally epitomising V. Zhukovski's Russian monograph, *Alī Awḥad al-Dīn Anwarī*; *Materials for a Biography* etc., St. Petersburg 1883; Dawlatshāh (Browne), 83-86; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb* (Browne), ii, 125-138; *Dīwān*, Tabrīz 1266/1850; *Kulliyyāt*, Lucknow 1880 and 1889 (both deficient). (R. LEVY)

ANWARĪ, AL-ḤĀDJDJ SAʿDULLAH [see ENWERĪ].

ANWĀR-I SUHAYLĪ, title of the Persian version of *Kalīla wa Dimna* by Kāshifi [*q.v.*].

APAMEA [see AFĀMIYA].

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA [see BALĪNŪS].

AL-ʿ**ĀRA**, a place on the S. shore of Yaman, W. of ʿAdan, on Ṣubayḥī territory, between ʿUmayra (Khor Omeira) and Suḳyā (Sukayya). Ibn al-Mudjāwir (ca. 600/1200) makes it the starting point of several routes. Al-Shardjī (d. 893/1488) still calls this headquarter of the Banū Mushammir "a big village" (cf. Abū Makhrama *Taʾrīkh Thaghr ʿAdan*, ii, 91 f., in the biography of Saʿīd b. Muḥ. Mushammir). Since then, with the diminishing caravan trade, there has been a steady decline. The place is still on the map of von Maltzan (ca. two miles from the coast), but nowadays the name seems to survive only in Biʾr ʿĀra and Rās ʿĀra, which is the utmost Southern point of Arabia, the Promontorium Ammonii of the ancients.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, 52, 74, 79; ʿUmāra (Kay) 8/11; Maḳdisī, 85; Shardjī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Khawāṣṣ*, 194; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, 101 ff.; Sprenger, *Alte Geogr. Arabiens*, 72; *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Pilot*, 1932, 130. (O. LÖFGREN)

AL-ʿ**ARAB**, the Arabs.

(i) The ancient history of the Arabs.
(ii) The expansion of the Arabs; general, and the "fertile crescent";
(iii) The expansion of the Arabs: Iran in early Islamic times; Appendix: The Arabs in Central Asia.
(iv) The expansion of the Arabs: Egypt.
(v) The expansion of the Arabs: North Africa.

(See also AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT, as well as ʿARABIYYA and the articles on the several Arab countries).

(i) THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE ARABS

(For the ethnic origins of the Arabs cf. AL-ʿARAB (DJAZĪRAT AL-), section on Ethnography, cf. also para ii, below).

The early history of the Arabs is still obscure; their origin and the events governing their early years are equally unknown to us. Probably we would know a good deal more about them, if Uranius' five books of Ἀραβικά, which constituted a special monograph on the Arabs, had been preserved. What we know about them is derived chiefly from the Assyrian records, the classical writers, and, as far as the history of the last three centuries before Islam is concerned, from Muslim tradition and some pre-islamic Nabataean and Arabic inscriptions.

Possibly "the Aramaean Bedouins", who in 880 B.C. interfered in the affairs of Bet-Zamāni on the upper Euphrates and helped to overthrow the local vassal of the Assyrian king Assur Naṣirpal, were predecessors of the Arabs. Their anti-Assyrian policy was subsequently followed by the Arabs, who first appear in the light of history in 854 B.C.: Gindibu, the Arab with 1000 camel troops from Aribi territory, joined Bir-ʾidri of Damascus (the biblical Benhadad II) against Salmanassar III at the battle of Ḳarḳar in which, it is said the Asyrian king was successful. Perhaps the camp of Gindibu

was situated somewhere south-east of Damascus. Certainly the bedouin element of the Arabian Peninsula—for which Aram, ʿEber, and Khabiru are probably synonyms—was to be found originally in the area which extended between Syria and Mesopotamia and which, including Syria, was the oldest centre of the Semites.

If the hypothesis, presented by F. Hommel (*Ethnologie*, 550), that the land of Magan corresponds to Arabic Maʿān and forms the starting point for the foundation of the South-Arabian kingdom of Maʿīn, were established—though it would be difficult to prove it—the South-Arabian tribe of the Minaeans must have detached themselves from Arab nomads settled in this country, which had already been included in the Babylonian Empire by Naram-Sin (2320 to 2284 B.C.). The traditional pro-Babylonian policy of the Arabs would, therefore, be understandable because of their old political and cultural relations with Babylonia.

The geographical position of the land of Aribi between Syria and Mesopotamia, and the rôle of the Arabs in the traffic on the commercial routes leading from the Persian Gulf to Syria, from Syria to Egypt and Southern Arabia, and along the Wādī Dawāsir through the highlands of Nadjd to Maʿīn, influenced historical events in the Near East. The struggle for the possession of these important high roads characterises the course of history during the last two millennia B.C. and the Roman period.

Already in 738 B.C., during the reign of Tiglat-Pilesar III (745 to 726 B.C.), who had occupied Gaza, the terminal point of the "incense" road from Southern Arabia to the Mediterranean Sea, Zabibē, the queen of the Aribi region, sent tribute to the Assyrian king. She probably ruled the oasis of Adumu (Dūmat al-Djandal) and was high priestess of the Ḳedar tribe, to which the oasis paid tribute. In 734 B.C. Tiglat appointed the Arab Idibaʾil as his representative in the land of Muṣri (Midian and Northern Hidjaz), through which the "incense" road passed, and in 732 B.C. he subdued another queen of Aribi, Samsī—who had apparently joined a coalition of the king of Damascus and several Arab tribes, among them Masʾa (Massa in Genesis xxv, 13 f.), Tema (Taymāʾ), Khayappa (ʿEfa, a Midianite tribe in the territory of Ḥesma, east of Taymāʾ), the Badana (south-east of the oasis of el-ʿElāʾ-Daydān) and Sabʾa (the Sabaeans)—conquered two of her cities and besieged her camp, so that she sent white camels as a tribute; the aforementioned Arab tribes were also compelled to pay tribute, and Idibaʾil (the Adbeʾēl of Genesis xxv, 13), who resided near Gaza, was forced to recognise Assyrian suzerainty. In order to be sure of the loyalty of queen Samsī's land, Tiglat-Pilesar III appointed a resident at her court. As the cities subdued by the Assyrian king were situated on the caravan road in southern Ḥawrān and northern Ḥidjāz, it is obvious that the object of the struggle was the possession of the northern part of the caravan road from Mārib to Gaza (Ghazza). Nevertheless his success in subduing these people was neither complete nor lasting, for in 715 B.C. king Sargon II (722 to 705 B.C.) again defeated the Khayappa as well as the Tamūdi (Thamūd, west of the oasis of Taymāʾ) and the Marsimani (south of al-ʿAḳaba), and Samsī, queen of Aribi, and the Sabaeans are again recorded as paying tribute. In 703 B.C. the Arabs (Yatiʾe was then queen of Aribi) helped the Babylonian king Marduk-apal-iddina against Sennacherib, king of Assyria (705 to 681 B.C.); but the Arab troops were taken prisoner by the Assyrians, and Sennacherib seems to have possessed considerable influence over the Arabs, as Herodotus (ii, 141) calls him "king of the Arabs and Assyrians" (F. Hommel, *Ethnologie*, 574). In 689 B.C., after the defeat of Babylon, Sennacherib attacked the camps of the Arab clans subject to queen Teʾelkhunu, routed them and pursued them into the inner desert around Adummatu (Dūmat al-Djandal). The settlers of this large oasis were dependent upon the Ḳedar tribe which had control over Northern Arabia (the Palmyrene). The queen and priestess of Adummatu, Teʾelkhunu, and her lieutenant Khazaʾil, king of Aribi, had taken refuge here; the latter, after a dispute with the queen, fled into the inner desert, but was pardoned by Assarhaddon, Sennacherib's successor, who recognised him as chief of all the Ḳedar. Khazaʾil died in 675 B.C., and his son Uaiteʾ (Yataʾ) succeeded him, paying a heavy tribute to the Assyrian king, who had sent back Teʾelkhunu's daughter Tabuʾa to Khazaʾil as queen and priestess. In 676 B.C. Assarhaddon made an expedition against the Bāzu (Būz) and Khazu (Khazō) in the depression of the Wādī Sirḥān. When Shamash-shum-ukīn, the king of Babylon, revolted against Assurbanipal, the Ḳedar under Uaiteʾ began hostilities against him and plundered the western borders of the country between Ḥamāʾ and Edom, but were driven back to the desert; when they again plundered the Assyrian provinces, they were forced to flee to Ḥawrān, while king Uaiteʾ, expelled by his own subjects, who were enraged by the devastation of their lands during the campaign, was captured and brought to Niniveh. The Nabayati and the Ḳedar, settled in the Palmyrene and south of Damascus, and the Ḥarar in the southern Sirḥān valley were also subdued by Assyrian forces coming from Damascus, while an auxiliary detachment, which fought in Babylon on the side of the Babylonian king, was completely destroyed after the capture of that capital. Aribi and the tribes of the Nabayati and Ḳedar again recognized Assyrian suzerainty. About 580 B.C. the Ḳedar are mentioned as having been subdued by Babylon.

Strenuous efforts had been made during the Assyrian period to restore order in Arabia, but as a whole this was an impossible task. The utmost that could be achieved, was the protection of the important trade routes and the punishment of razzias, undertaken by the independent or rebellious tribes. If the title of "kings" reappears frequently in the Assyrian records, this title scarcely meant more than a local chief or shaykh, and it is much later before a really kinglike power is exercised by these Arabian chiefs. So "the kings of Arabia and all the kings of the Arabs, who live in the desert", of whom Jeremiah xxv, 23 f. foretells the ruin, are the nomad chiefs. The kings of Arabia are the chiefs of the settlements, e.g. the inhabitants of the oasis of Būz in the depression of Wādī Sirḥān. Some of these settlements are occupied by the Neo-Babylonian kings, e.g. Taymāʾ, which was occupied by Nabonid (552 to 545 B.C.). Some years later (539 B.C.) Arab warriors helped King Cyrus II to take Babylonia (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, vii, 4, 16; v, 13).

When the Near East was annexed to the Achaemenid Empire, the Arabs again furnished camel troops to the Great King of Persia, e.g. to Xerxes (Herodotus, vii, 86), but sometimes the Arabs also joined the kings of Asia Minor in their struggle against Persia; for instance their king Aragdes (or Maragdes, Khāridja?) was a confederate of Croesus

(Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, ii, 1, 5). The "King of the Arabs" mentioned in Herodotus (iii, 4) may be a king of the Liḥyānites (the Laianitai of Agatharchides; the latter had occupied the Northern Ḥidjāz, i.e. the colony of the Minaeans known as Muṣrān ("border-land") in the land of Midian, with the centre of Agra-Hegra, between 500 and 300 B.C., and were followed by the Nabataeans.

When Alexander the Great had conquered the Achaemenid Empire, he also subdued Arabia according to Livy (xlv 9) and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xii, 62). The Arabs now had to supply clothes and arms to the Greek army, and they participated in military actions, e.g. in the defence of Gaza (Arrian, *Anabasis*, ii, 25, 4, Curtius Rufus, *Memorabilia*, iv, 6, 30) and in the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.) on the side of Antiochus III. Although the western part of Arabia was occupied by Ptolemy after the death of Alexander, the majority of the Arabs joined Antiochus (Polybius, v, 71); presumably these Arabs are the predecessors of the Nabataeans. Arab colonies, established at the foot of the Lebanon and in Syria, mainly served the traffic on the great commercial route Petra-Damascus-Mesopotamia (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 142; Strabo, xvi, 749, 755, 756), as nomad Arabs (Ἄραβες Σκηνῖται) were also settled by Tigranes with this end in view (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 21; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 142). In the Mithridatian war Arabs fought along side the Romans, but in the Syrian war they harassed the Roman army under Pompey and were defeated by him. Arabs served with Cassius (53 B.C.) and Crassus against the Parthians. The Roman policy of winning over Arabs as confederates and auxiliaries against their own kindred in the Arabian-Syrian desert and against the Parthians was continued and extended by the Eastern Roman Emperors. The Arabian-Syrian border-land was under the rule of the Ghassānids [*q.v.*] as phylarchs, as was the border-land of the Euphrates in Southern Babylonia (al-Ḥīra) which remained under the rule of the Lakhmids [*q.v.*] until 602 A.D.

In the meantime Arabs had even infiltrated in the 4th century A.D. into Southern Arabia apparently in connection with camel-breeding and traffic on the "incense" road. They are mentioned in the Sabaean inscriptions as Aʿrāb and form a notable part of the population, along with the ancestral sedentary population. Their importance is emphasised by the mention of these Aʿrāb in the title and style of the Sabaean ruler. But this political position did not prevent their kindred in North-West Arabia from entering into warlike disputes with the South Arabian kings. King Amr al-Ḳays b. ʿAmr besieged Nadjrān, which belonged to the king Shammar Yurʿish, and it may have been this Amr al-Kays who put an end to the prevailing influence of South Arabia in the region of ʿAsīr and Southern Ḥidjāz.

At the beginning of the fourth century, the aforementioned Amr al-Ḳays b. ʿAmr, who succeeded in gaining power over the tribes of Asad and Nizār and called himself "king of all the Arabs", put a detachment of Arab cavalry at the disposal of the Romans. This fact is clearly stated in the Nabataean inscription of al-Namāra dated 328 A.D.

From the end of the fourth century A.D. for about a hundred years the princes of the family of Dadjāʿima, the leaders of the tribe of Banū Ṣāliḥ, were vassals of the Byzantine Empire on the Syrian border, and held territories there which were gradually yielded to the Ghassānids in the second half of the fifth century A.D. Unfortunately we do not learn very much about them from Arabic sources.

About the middle of the 4th century A.D., the tribe of Kinda [*q.v.*], which after a long struggle with Ḥaḍramūt, to which it was inferior, had to leave the Yaman, and migrated to the country of Maʿadd, where it settled at Ghamr Dhī Kinda in the south-western corner of Nadjd, two days journey from Makka. Although the leaders of Kinda, as kings of the tribes of Rabīʿa and Muḍar, may have possessed a certain influence on the Bedouin tribes in Nadjd from the time when they settled there, the real kingdom of Kinda, governing a coalition of Arabian tribes in close connection with the Ḥimyarite Power in the Yaman, actually begins with Ḥudjr Ākil al-Murār. Yamanī tradition says that he was made king of Maʿadd, when Tubbaʿ ibn Karib invaded al-ʿIrāḳ, but possibly the attacks, directed against Persia or its vassals in al-Ḥīra, were made by the Kindites supported by the Ḥimyarites. It is further said that Ḥudjr made military expeditions with the tribes of Rabīʿa to al-Baḥrayn and at the head of the Banū Bakr attacked the frontiers of the Lakhmids, depriving them of their possessions in the country of Bakr, so that Ḥudjr is called "King of the Arabs in Nadjd and of the border-lands of al-ʿIrāḳ". His dominion probably comprised most of Central Arabia including al-Yamāma, and he died after a long and successful reign; he was buried in Baṭn ʿĀḳil on the road between Makka and al-Baṣra south of the Wādī al-Rumma. After his death about 478 A.D., the tribe of Rabīʿa denied ʿAmr al-Maḳṣūr, son of Ḥudjr, the dominions of his father; we find the tribe of Rabīʿa now under the guidance of Kulayb Wāʾil, leader of the Banū Taghlib, and at war with the Ḥimyarites, who supported ʿAmr b. Ḥudjr. Kulayb as well as ʿAmr were killed in these struggles about the last decade of the fifth century (*c.* 490 A.D.). With al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAmr the dynasty of Kinda attained its greatest power. He is known to the Byzantine historians as Arethas, chief of the Saracens, and concluded an alliance with the Romans, directed against Persia and the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra. In the struggles and expeditions against the latter, the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib played the most important rôle (about 503 A.D.).

At any rate al-Ḥārith succeeded in uniting the tribes of the Nadjd into a great kingdom and made invasions into Roman as well as Persian territory. The statement that al-Ḥārith subjugated Syria and the Ghassānid kings may be an exaggeration. The peace of 502 A.D. put an end to the war against the Romans, and in the following year (503 A.D.) al-Ḥārith's troops attacked al-Ḥīra, doubtless with the consent and help of the Romans. Al-Ḥārith became master of all the Arabs in al-ʿIrāḳ (503-506 A.D.), and the Lakhmid al-Mundhir, who got no assistance at all from his suzerain, the Persian king Ḳubādh, submitted to al-Ḥārith and married his daughter Hind. However, the domination of the Lakhmid country was not complete; according to a South Arabian tradition, by an agreement between Ḳubādh and al-Ḥārith, the Euphrates or the canal al-Ṣarā near the Tigris not far from Baghdād was fixed as the northern boundary of al-Ḥārith's territory, and it is said, that, after King Anūshirwān had restored al-Mundhir to power in al-Ḥīra, al-Ḥārith kept what was on the other side of "the river of al-Sawād" until 527-28 A.D. So the Kindite interregnum in al-Ḥīra may have lasted some time between the years 525 to 528 A.D., when the Persian Empire was weakened by the Mazdakite movement. It seems, that al-Ḥārith for some period even ruled

over al-ʿIrāḳ as far as ʿUmān, possibly as a feofee of the Persian king Ḳubādh. After the fall of the Mazdakites al-Ḥārith had to flee; he lost all his property and 48 members of his family were put to death by al-Mundhir. He nevertheless could again approach the Romans and was even appointed as a phylarch of the Arabs, on the side of East-Roman Empire. In 528 A.D., the date of his death, he is mentioned in this position by Byzantine sources. With his death the second climax of the Kindite power in Arabia came to an end. Al-Ḥārith had divided his dominion, comprising all Nadjd, great parts of al-Ḥidjāz, al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāma, between his sons, who had been placed as chiefs over the tribes of Maʿadd. His eldest son Ḥudjr, who had a certain supremacy over the whole kingdom of Kinda, was killed in a rebellion of the tribe of Asad. Between Shuraḥbīl and Salama, ruling the tribes of Rabīʿa and Tamīm and possessing the eastern half of the kingdom of Kinda, a discord arose concerning the division of power after their father's death, and Shuraḥbīl was killed in the battle of al-Kulāb (a well between al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra) a few years after 530 A.D.; it is highly probable that this dissension was caused or nourished by the intrigues of al-Mundhir, whom the Banū Taghlib as well as the Bakr joined after the expulsion of the victorious Salama. Maʿdikarib, the chief of the Ḳays-ʿAylān, went mad, or fell in the battle of Uwāra, and the fifth son of Ḥudjr, ʿAbdallāh, who ruled over the Rabīʿa tribe of ʿAbd al-Ḳays, in al-Baḥrayn, is not mentioned further. So the kingdom of the family of Ḥudjr Ākil al-Murār broke down, and the Kinda, or considerable parts of them, migrated to Ḥaḍramūt, where they settled about 543 A.D. according to a Sabaean inscription at the dam of Mārib. Ḥudjr's son, the famous poet Imraʾ al-Ḳays, tried in vain to regain the power of his father with the help of the Byzantine Emperor, and died in Anḳara perhaps before the year 554 A.D. A cousin of Imraʾ al-Ḳays, Ḳays ibn Salama, chief of the Kinda and Maʿadd, is possibly identical with Kaisos (Κάϊσος), who received from the Emperor the governorship of Palestine and defeated the Lakhmid al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʿmān, who died in 554 A.D.

The disputes and struggles between the nomad tribes in Arabia are listed under the well known "Ayyām al-ʿArab", and an expedition to Khaybar in 567 A.D. is referred to in the Arabic inscription of Ḥarrān (dated 568 A.D.). That there existed "kings" of individual tribes along with those mentioned here is proved by a Nabataean inscription found in Umm al-Djimāl and dating from about 250 A.D., in which a king of Tanūkh is mentioned.

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(A. GROHMANN)

(ii) THE EXPANSION OF THE ARABS: GENERAL, AND THE "FERTILE CRESCENT"

If the expansion of the Arabs is regarded as a continuous process certain permanent features can be detected: the expansion consists usually in the emigration of large or small nomadic groups, rarely in that of groups with permanent habitations; it may be military, by means of service in foreign armies or in their own army which has set out for conquest; or through the founding of trading colonies. Apart from this last case, the extent of emigration depends partly on particular coincidences, partly on a recurrent, but incalculable, factor, the increase in the pressure of population in Arabia. This is brought about by the decline of cultivation (in South Arabia also of industry) and of the caravan trade (in Islamic times also of the pilgrim traffic); there is a corresponding increase in the nomadic population. The expansion was preceded by the immigration into the central parts of the peninsula, which had been sparsely occupied by an earlier population. It was facilitated by the taming of the camel in the second (?) half of the second millennium B.C. Nor is it likely that the occupation of South Arabia took place earlier, to judge from the philological, ethnological and archeological evidence. The forerunners of these immigrants into South Arabia were presumably traders who followed the ancient trade routes into the land of incense and myrrh. A little later the Arabs begun to expand in the North, at first in the direction of Sinai and Transjordan. The evidence of the inscriptions shows that in 853 they were present in the north of the Syrian desert, shortly afterwards on both edges of the Fertile Crescent; they were camel-breeders, oasis-dwellers, traders. This formed the chief objective of the Arab expansion. It did not, however, remain the only one, as the emigration of the Sabaeans into Ethiopia (about 400?) shows. It depended on the strength of the various states of the Fertile Crescent whether this immigration could be canalised in the form of colonisation, and, on the borders, of semi-nomadic life, or whether it led to the flooding of the cultivated land by nomads. In the 1st century B.C. the nomads (Scenites) on the near side of the Euphrates crossed the border of the arable land as far as the line Apamaea-Thapsacus, while in the Djazīra they roved as far as the border of the arable

land to the south of the Khābūr and the Sindjār. We cannot here examine exceptional developments, like that of the trading state of the Nabataeans which expanded in the same century, in the north to the Ḥawrān, in the south to N.-W. Arabia.

The incorporation of the Syrian part of the Nabataean kingdom in 105 A.D., and the abandonment of the Roman sphere of interest in N.-W. Arabia some sixty years later, shook the security of these countries. It is, however, impossible to discern what were the consequences of the incursions of the "Saracens" in the west and of the Ṭayyiʾ settled in the central mountain ridges of North Arabia (al-Djabal). Different is the case of the entry of two tribes into the steppe lying between the Lower Euphrates and the sandy desert, which was perhaps originated by Ardashīr I, the first Sāsānid (d. 241). They were the Tanūkh and Asad (2), who came from East Arabia; and they were followed by Nizār from Middle and Western Arabia. The Nizār, with the exception of Iyād, were absorbed by the population of the Euphrates frontiers; the Tanūkh and the Asad, on the other hand, continued their wanderings, the Tanūkh, for the most part, to Northern Syria and the Asad to the south of the Ḥawrān. Since the 4th century these countries saw also the arrival of tribes from West Arabia. In the meantime, the recession in the incense trade (from the 3rd century ?) and its extinction (at the latest in the 5th century) had led to the bedouinisation of part of the population of South Arabia. Groups of such tribes, taking part in military expeditions of the Ḥimyārite kings, reached the district of Nadjrān and also Central Arabia (e.g. Kinda). All through the 6th century we can observe an advance into the north, sped forward initially by the campaigns of the kings of Kinda; its path lay along the northerly ʿĀriḍ = Ṭuwayḳ to the steppe on the lower Euphrates (Bakr, Tamīm), from Bīsha to the Wādī al-Ruma (ʿĀmir), from the country north of Medina in the direction of Palmyra (Bahrāʾ, Kalb). The Taghlib, dwelling formerly on the lower Euphrates, moved upstream and settled at the beginning of Islam in the Djazīra to the north of the Sindjār.

The expansion at the beginning of the Islam came about in the first place through enlistment in the armies and auxiliary troops which were sent by Medina to the Euphrates, to Transjordania and to Southern Palestine and after that conquered al-ʿIrāḳ, Syria and al-Djazīra; later through participation in the campaigns which led, across the Persian Gulf or from the garrison cities of Kūfa and Baṣra, to Iran, from Damascus to Egypt, North Africa and Spain. It occurred further through the displacement of tribes from Transjordania to Palestine (in the north ʿĀmila and Djudhām, in the south Lakhm); the emigration of parts of Balī and Djuhayna from the Ḥidjāz to Egypt; through continuous infiltration of families and groups into the garrison towns and the Djazīra; and through resettlement of the people of Kūfa and Baṣra in Khurāsān. With the enrolment of 400 families of the Sulaym and other West Arabian Ḳaysites as colonists for Lower Egypt, followed spontaneously by three times their number, the first period of expansion in Islamic times ends. The curtain between the Fertile Crescent and Arabia falls again.

It took a considerable time before the loss which the population of Arabia incurred by the emigration during and after the campaigns of conquests was made good again. The first new movement led from the Djabal towards the north-east: before the middle of the 9th century the Asad (1) began to advance along the pilgrims' road of Kūfa, and Ṭayyiʾ followed close on their heels. In the second half of the 10th century, quarrels under the Buwayhids allowed the Asad to penetrate into the cultivated land; a part of them wandered on to Khūzistān, where already before Islam a small Arab island (Tamīm) had been formed. In the meanwhile the campaigns of the Ḳarmaṭians of East Arabia into ʿIrāḳ (311-25/923-37), Syria and Egypt (353-68/964-78/9), had driven new waves of migration to the north: Khafādja (ʿUḳayl) moved out of East Arabia into the steppe on the lower Euphrates, followed in the 11th century by Muntafiḳ (also of ʿUḳayl). Their place in East Arabia was filled by tribes which immigrated from ʿUmān; part of these too later moved to ʿIrāḳ. Some Ṭayyiʾ settled in southern Transjordania, and subsequently acquired the overlordship over the older immigrants of the same tribe in Palestine. The stream of tribes from South Palestine to Egypt, which began in early Islamic times, began again in the middle of the 11th century (originated by orders of the government), until in the late Middle Ages it was brought to a halt by a movement in the opposite direction. Since the end of the 12th century there is a trickle of Djudhām from Northern Ḥidjāz over Sinai to Egypt and particularly to Transjordania, until in the 17th century this source dries up. They are followed by Balī. Finally since the end of the 15th century groups of the pariah tribe of Hutaym penetrate into the same districts from the territory east of Khaybar. Meanwhile a new expansion had begun in the Djabal. Around 1200 the Ghaziyya (Ṭayyiʾ) appeared in the north between Transjordania and ʿIrāḳ, the Banu Lām (also of Ṭayyiʾ) in the south between Medina and the Ḳasīm. Since the 15th century Ghaziyya camped on the Euphrates, but did not cross it for good till around 1800. The Banū Lām penetrated at the end of the 15th century to the northern frontier of the Ḥidjaz, but were repelled by the Ottomans, and following their ancient route turned in the middle of the 16th century to the east, and on to the lower Tigris and Khūzistān.

The last great emigration, that of Shammar and ʿAnaza, commenced in the same district. At the end of the 17th century the Shammar came from the Djabal to the frontier of ʿIrāḳ. ʿAnaza (whose territory had been till that time from Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ to the Ḳasīm) penetrated at the same time, accompanied by the Banū Ṣakhr, as far as Transjordania. In the 18th century ʿAnaza, coming from S.-W. and S.-E., occupied the Syrian desert. Into the midst of this movement burst the campaigns of the Wahhābīs. In the nineties the Shammar-Djarbā left their homeland occupied by the Wahhābīs and went to the Euphrates. At the beginning of 1802 they crossed it with the agreement of the government and soon pushed on into the Djazīra up to the edge of the mountains of Asia Minor. Other parts of ʿAnaza reached the Syrian Desert together with the troops of the Wahhābīs or in the course of flight from their tax-collectors.

As the result of the progress of agriculture in North Arabia since 1911 and the exploitation of the oil resources in the last two decades, the expansion of the Arabs has ended for the moment.

Some features of the expansion must still be mentioned, which it was not possible to fit into this article: the settlement on the Iranian coast of the

Persian Gulf (which had pre-Islamic antecedents); the foundation of trading colonies on the coasts and the islands of the Indian Ocean from the early to the late Middle Ages: Malabar, Madagascar, East Africa (Peta-Kilwa, with antecedents in the ancient South Arabian period); the more recent colonial policy of ʿUmān; the continuous emigration from Ḥaḍramawt, which in the 19th century was principally, but not exclusively, directed towards Indonesia (mercenaries in Ḥaydarābād); and infiltration into Upper Egypt across the Red Sea. (W. Caskel)

(iii) The expansion of the Arabs: Iran in early Islamic times

The Arab conquest of Iran brought a part of the Arab people to that country. There appear to be two separate developments in settlement. (1) The immigration from the opposite Arab coast to the south coast of Iran along the Persian Gulf. The Arabs also spread in a south-easterly direction along the coast from the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris. Apparently Arab settlements could be found here already in pre-Islamic times (see A. Christensen: *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², 87, 128). The number of Arabs increased considerably here in early Islamic times; there is, for example, explicit mention as settlers of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays from the coast of ʿUmān (al-Balādhurī, 386, 392; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 142; Ibn al-Athīr (Būlāḳ), iii, 49). From then on Arab settlements remained along the coast and at some places inland (e.g. Māhān, in the district of Bardsīr, 985 A.D.: al-Maḳdisī, iii, 462) until at least the times of the Mongols (B. Spuler: *Die Mongolen in Iran*, ²Leipzig 1955, 142, 149 f., 164). It seems reasonable to suppose that there is a connection between those settlements and the ones of today, in view of the continued migration of Arabs across the Persian Gulf and from Baṣra. (2) There was a second influx of Arab settlers into Iran from Mesopotamia. In the 7th century Arab colonies were formed in several towns such as Kāshān, Hamadān and Iṣfahān; Ḳumm became a predominantly Arab (and Shīʿite) town, and remained so for a considerable time (al-Balādhurī, 314, 403, 410, 426; Narshakhī (Schefer), 52; Ibn al-Athīr (Būlāḳ), v, 15; E. G. Browne, *Account of a rare ms. hist. of Iṣfahān*, Hertford 1901, 27 [offprint from *JRAS*, 1901]; B. Spuler: *Iran* [see *Bibl.*] 179). The number of Arab settlers in Ādharbaydjān (al-Balādhurī, 328, 331; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2805 f.; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 353; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 446; *Aghānī*¹, xi, 59) was apparently much smaller.

Khurāsān, however, remained the main goal throughout all these migrations. The actual settlement was partly made by large groups: there are reports of 25,000 from Baṣra and an equal number from Kūfa, who arrived in 52/672; a further batch reached the country in 683. On the basis of this number of men capable of bearing arms (50,000) and in view of the strictness of recruiting, J. Wellhausen (cf. *Bibl.*) estimates the number of Arab settlers in the beginning of the 8th century at 200,000. They did not live only in the towns—where in some cases quarters were put at their disposal after the conquest—but were scattered all over the country, as for example in the oasis of Marw, where they acquired possessions and adapted themselves to the *dihḳāns*' way of living. The geographical contours of Khurāsān suited the Arabs very well: they could easily travel across the large plains and the steppes, although they were somewhat more awkward than the natives both at crossing rivers and in the mountains (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 182).

The main body of Arabs in Khurāsān had come from Baṣra. Of the tribes settled there, the Ḳays (especially in the 8th century: al-Ṭabarī, ii 1929) were in the majority in the west, while the Tamīm and Bakr were mixed together in the east and in Sīstān; thus the outcome of inter-tribal feuds was varied. Ibn al-Athīr (Būlāḳ, v, 6) states their numbers for 715 as follows: Baṣrans 9,000, Bakr 7,000, Tamīm 10,000, ʿAbd al-Ḳays 4,000, Azd 10,000, Kūfans 7,000 (= 47,000 which tallies almost exactly with the above mentioned number for Kūfans and Baṣrans); in addition altogether 7,000 *mawālī* of these tribes. (In this list the people from Baṣra and from Kūfa must stand for elements from the two towns which could not be reckoned among the tribes mentioned). The tribal divisions valid in Baṣra were taken over into Khurāsān. On the one side were the Rabīʿa (= Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays) and the Yamanite Azd (who had arrived later), and on the other the Tamīm and Ḳays (collectively known as "Muḍar"), who were very pround of their descent [cf. articles on these]. The bloody battle between these began in connexion with the great civil war for the Caliphate in 683; a static war raged outside Harāt for one year, 64-5/684-5 between Bakr and Tamīm (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 490-6), which eventually came to an end because of internal dissensions among the Tamīm. Inspite of the fact that a neutral Ḳurayshite became governor in 74/693-4, fighting continued until 81/700 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 859-62). The attitude of the governor often made the difference between victory and defeat, and his attitude, in turn, depended to a great extent on the party divisions in the west (Syria and Mesopotamia). In 85-6/704-5, the ascendancy of the Azd and Rabīʿa was temporarily checked by a change of governors. Ḳutayba b. Muslim, the conqueror of Transoxania, who was not linked to either of the powerful groups by descent, tried to remain neutral. It was thanks to him that the Arabs had the chance of spreading to Samarḳand, Bukhārā and Khᵛārizm, often moving into specially cleared quarters (al-Balādhurī, 410, 421 f.; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 156; Ibn al-Athīr (Būlāḳ), iii, 194; Narshakhī, 52). After his death the Azd resumed power under Yazīd II, until the Tamīm took over in 720. The misrule of the latter and of the Ḳays brought Umayyad rule in Khurāsān into such disrepute that even the open-minded governor Naṣr b. Sayyār could not find a way to settle the disputes of the opposing groups after 744. The ʿAbbāsid revolution, caused largely by the behaviour of the Arabs, passed them by. Its victory in 748-50 brought about new conditions for the Arabs in the east.

A few of the Arabs had, of course, entered into friendly relations with the Iranians soon after the conquest of Khurāsān. Some of the *marzbāns* and *dihḳāns* had come quickly to terms with the Arab rule and the Arabs frequently took part in the cultural life of the Iranians (especially the celebrations of the *nawrūz* and the *mihragān*, as, similarly, they had also done in Egypt on the occasion of Coptic festivities). There were mixed marriages (mentioned expressly only where more prominent persons were concerned, yet even more likely to have taken place among the ordinary people) and the descendants of such unions in Iran were undoubtedly inclined to attach themselves to, and disappear among, the islamicised Iranians. In addition, there were cases of Arabs (as, for instance, Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim in Tirmidh) who quarrelled with the government and joined forces politically with the natives. Furthermore, since the time of ʿUmar II

717-20, there was a growing religious consciousness among some Arabs (such as Ḥārit͟h b. Suraydj) which demanded—with increasing insistance—equal treatment for the Iranian Muslims (cf. Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 280). Hence the many attempts to come to a reasonable solution of the question of the personal and land taxes where converted Iranians were concerned. In any case, one has the impression that the tribal feeling was more and more superseded by a new, predominantly religious, grouping from round about 720 onwards, when a new process of assimilation began which became important for the general feeling of pan-Arab unity. From this time onwards, political events can no longer be explained as deriving their main spring from tribal feuds.

Because of this, Umayyad politics, which had been built up on the tribal structure, were doomed, and the future belonged to the ʿAbbāsid movement (and also to that of the ʿAlids connected with the former in the beginning) which worked on a different basis. The collaboration between the Arabs, who often took a leading part in the ʿAbbāsid movement, on the one hand, and the Iranians on the other, went smoothly—at least until the fall of the Umayyads (nor was there much friction on a national basis subsequently). Hence the victory of the years 746-50: at that time, however, the greater part of Arabs in Abū Muslim's army spoke Persian (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 51, 64 f.).

There were, however, Arabs, who took no part in this process of assimilation. The greater part of these were pushed out of K͟hurāsān in the course of the ʿAbbāsid campaign. The remaining settlers, towards whom the Iranians showed no more animosity, were politically (i.e. as Arabs) of little importance. Tribal warfare now ceased completely, although some tribes are still mentioned in the 10th century (cf. the authorities quoted below). Assimilation continued, however, without interruption so that many Arabs eventually merged completely with the Iranians: more quickly, certainly, where they lived in isolation on their estates (as for instance in the oasis of Marw). One must also take into account a further distribution of the Arab element all over the country during the ʿAbbasid period, and further immigration from the west. Consequently there were places which had a partly Arab population as late as the 11th and 12th century, though the gradual decrease in their numbers is already recognisable in the 10th century. Detailed statements regarding this are rather rare: compare for Iṣfahān: al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 274, for various places in K͟hurāsān, ibid., 294; al-Iṣṭak͟hrī 322/323, Ibn Ḥawḳal², 499; al-Maḳdisī, 292, 303; for Kās͟hān: *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 133, and ibid. 104, 108, 216 (Djūzdjān); al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tria opuscula*, (van Vloten), 40; *Ag͟hānī*¹, xiv, 102, xvii, 69; Djuwaynī, ii, 46, (read *manzilgāh-i ʿArab*); S. A. Volin, *K istorii sredneaziatskikh arabov*, (in the *Trudy vtoroy sessii assotsiatsii arabistov*, Moscow and Leningrad 1941), 124; B. Spuler, *Iran*, 250. The family histories in Ibn al-Balk͟hī, *Fars-nāma*, xix f. = 116 f., and Ḳummī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ḳumm* (Tihrānī), 266-305 (family of al-As͟hʿarī) are most illuminating for the gradual assimilation of Arab families of civil servants into the Persian people.

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APPENDIX: ARABS IN CENTRAL ASIA AT THE PRESENT DAY

The origin of the Arabs living at the present day in Central Asia, and apparently also in Afg͟hān Turkistān (where they speak Persian: *The Imperial Gazeteer of India*, V, Oxford 1908, 68; without definite mention of places) can not (or not yet) be fixed with certainty. According to their own tradition, they were brought there by Tīmūr, and they mention the Andk͟huy [*q.v.*] district in Afg͟hānistān and the nearby Aḳča (in the privonce of Mazār-i S͟harīf) as the site of their original settlement, and Ḳars͟hī, Buk͟hārā and Ḥiṣār as places through which they had passed. There is, however, no mention of Tīmūr re-settling Arabs, in the sources concerning his life, nor can his son-in-law, Mīr Ḥaydar, who is frequently mentioned in the oral tradition, be identified. On the other hand there is proof that inhabitants of Marw were transplanted to Buk͟hārā, and those of Balk͟h, S͟haburg͟hān and Andk͟huy into the Zarafs͟hān valley in the year 1513 (ʿUbayd Allāh, *Zubdat al-Āt͟hār*, in the *Zap. Vostočnago Otděleniya*, XV, 202 f.). We know, furthermore, that migration of "Arabs" was still possible in the first half of the 16th century between (Persian) ʿIrāk on the one side, and the areas of Buk͟hārā, Samarḳand and the valley of the Kas͟hka Daryā on the other (ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Marwarīd: *Tarassul*, quoted by Volin 121-3; cf. also H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 94 f., 177, with facsimile 38b-39a [without the factual part of the document]).

Thus it appears that the Arabs living in Central Asia today are not the immediate descendants of the immigrants of early Islamic times [see above iii], although one must allow for the possibility of an association with these settlers, who had already been Iranised in the 11th and 12th centuries. In the 16th century, the Central Asian Arabs were under a *mīr hazār* who collected taxes for the government; they were generally known as nomads (*aʿrāb*) (in addition to the above mentioned document cf. also an *ins͟hā*-collection of Samarḳand of ca. 1530, published by Volin 117-20). In the 17th and 18th centuries there is no information concerning these Arabs, but there is mention of them in the beginning of the 19th century, especially in various travel reports (quoted by Volin). Here we must distinguish two concepts:

(1) A close group marked by strict endogamy, who are, however, in their physical appearance hardly different from their Iranian neighbours; they call themselves "Arabs" but accepted the language of the country they live in. There is a group of Tādjīk and a group of Uzbek-speaking "Arabs' in the Samarḳand area. Travellers mention similar groups of "Arabs" in Turkmenistān, K͟hīwa, Farg͟hāna and mountain Tādjīkistān. In the 19th century their number was assessed at between 50 and 60,000; Vinnikov (see *Bibl.*), 9, sticks to these numbers (in spite of the rësult of the census) in 1926. In the 19th century these "Arabs" were still under a *mīr hazār*, but by this time he no longer exercised any fiscal function. The figure mentioned in a Soviet census of 1926 is 28,978, that of 1939, 21,793. According to this it would appear that these groups of "Arabs" who already spoke the language of their area, were absorbed more and more into their Uzbek or Tādjīk surroundings. Their economic situation is also like that of their neighbours. As

survivals of the matriarchal system, however, we still find the institution of the "avunculate" (a special connection between the nephew and his maternal uncle and the marriage of first cousins), in which at least one third of these "Arabs" lived before the revolution. (Compare M. O. Kosven, *Avunkulat* in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1948, no. i).

(2) From these self-styled "Arabs" (obviously in a historical sense), we must distinguish groups which still speak Arabic. According to the above mentioned documents, it appears that this distinction goes back as far as the 16th century. This would mean that the seltlement of these Arabs must have taken place some generations earlier, otherwise there could have been (in the case of nomads) no possibility of a partial linguistic assimilation. The Soviet census of 1926 gives the figure 4,655 for these Arabs, who can be divided into the dialectally different tribes of Saʿnōnī and Saʿbōnī. They live largely in Uzbekistān (2,170) and in Tādjīkistān (2,274). In 1939, Arab speaking inhabitants of Uzbekistan numbered about 1,750. It would appear that the Russian census of 1897, mentioning 1696 Arabs, had only the Arab speaking ones in mind; yet some doubt about this figure must remain, in view of the numbers mentioned in later years. Apparently this group, too, is in the process of being assimilated by its surroundings.

The language of these Arabs has developed from a Mesopotamian dialect but has (like Maltese) developed into an independent branch of Arabic, and has split in two. The Central Asian Arabic language developed *p* and *č* even in pure Arabic words, on the other hand it lost the *th*, *dh* and partly the *hamza*. *F* often disappeared, and *ḳ* often became *g*; the *ā* usually became *ā*, the *u* in the personal suffix *uh* (*u*): *ü*. Stress vacillates; assimilation, inversion, and elision are frequent. The 2nd and 3rd person fem. pl. retain their endings (as in the bedouin dialects). One of the two dialects developed the prefix *mi-* in the imperfect tense (would this correspond to Iranian, or to Syrian and Egyptian Arabic?). A *durativus praesentis* developed under the influence of Turkish. As in the Caucasian languages (e.g. Old Georgian), the direct object is taken up again by a personal suffix in the verb (cf. also the Syrian development). "*Kāna*" is often used as an auxiliary verb (originally with a pluperfect meaning). The infinitive ends regularly in either *-aḥān* or *-ān*. The nūnation of the nouns is almost completely absent; plurals end in *-īn*/*-āt* (this also frequently in the case of masculine nouns), while broken plurals are rare. Arabic numerals have been replaced by Tādjīk ones almost completely. *Status Constructus* is retained, but word combinations of the Indo-Germanic type are frequent (*Ḥaṭab mibīh*, "wood-seller"). Usual word order: subject, object, predicate. Vocabulary largely Semitic, leaning to ʿIrāḳī and occasionally to peninsular Arabic.

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(B. Spuler)

(iv) EXPANSION OF THE ARABS IN EGYPT

At the end of the year 18/639, an Arab army appeared on the Syro-Egyptian frontier and commenced the conquest of Egypt. On 20 Rabīʿ II 20/9 April 641, a treaty was signed which wrested Egyptian territory or, more precisely the autochthonous population, from Byzantine domination. Alexandria still held out, and only surrendered eighteen months later. Viewed as a whole, the operations give the impression of an advance carried out no doubt with enthusiasm, but also of a carefully planned offensive. Certain papyri of this period assume particular importance. We possess requisition orders for the billeting and provisioning of Arab troops, and we learn that the expenses incurred by the villages were remitted from the taxes for the following year. From information supplied by the same documents, we see advancing into the country a well-equipped army: armoured cavalry and infantry, accompanied by a flotilla for operations in Upper Egypt. Teams of blacksmiths and armourers were formed for the repair of weapons. This information is based on Greek texts, some of which are indeed accompanied by an Arabic translation, but if the initiation of similar measures was the duty of the Coptic civil administrators, it is a fact that the Arab military leaders were fully aware of them. All this indicates training and discipline, and we may suppose that Bedouin elements did not form the major part of the Arab army. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ relied in the main on a first contigent of Yemenite origin, nearly all from the ʿAkk tribe, and it is apparent from the names of the districts of Fusṭāṭ that the majority of the groups were Yemenite. On the other hand, contingents of the Djudhām and Lakhm tribes, who had formed part of the population of the Ghassānid Kingdom and had remained neutral at the battle of the Yarmūk, had joined the army of Egypt. The largest figure recorded of the numbers of the Arab warriors is 15,000 men; this seems to be a maximum figure, but not an impossible one.

After the conquest the Arabs remained in their tribal groups: in this connexion, the names of the districts of Fusṭāṭ are again revealing. It may be questioned whether, in the beginning, the Arabs thought of anything but exploitation of the country by the military, who formed a *de facto* aristocracy which did not admit to its ranks any native of the country or mix with the inhabitants since it was forbidden to acquire land. The army of occupation was distributed between Fusṭāṭ, Alexandria, and various posts scattered along the Mediterranean coast, on the desert frontiers of the Delta, and on the Nubian borders. We lack any critical basis on which to form an estimate of the numbers of these garrisons, which were heavily reinforced, since in 43/663 12,000 men were needed in Alexandria alone. With a view to increasing their cohesion, these elements were organised in tribes. The members of each tribe were divided into sections of seven or ten,

under the control of a syndic, who received their pay, and also administered orphans' pensions under the supervision of the *ḳāḍī*. Every morning an official visited the tribes and registered new births.

In 109/727, the Comptroller of Finance in Egypt installed an important part of the Ḳays tribe in the region of Bilbais: the figure 3,000, which we are given, seems to include women and children. These Ḳaysites who, as camel-drivers, participated in the traffic on the Fusṭāṭ-Ḳulzum route, were probably liable to military service, since they were registered on the pay-rolls. These reinforcements had been to some extent necessitated by the first revolt of the Copts, which occurred in 107-725. When the Christian historian of the Alexandrian patriarchate is describing this, he writes "One tribe was situated in the eastern desert of Egypt, between Bilbais and Ḳulzum on the coast; these were Muslims, who were known as Arabs". This mode of expression seems to postulate that the indigenous Muslims, doubtless a minority of the whole population, were at that time more numerous than the Arabs.

These Arabs preserved for more than two centuries the memory of their tribe of origin, and in the majority of the funeral steles, in the cemeteries at Aswān and Fusṭāṭ, the name of the deceased is habitually followed by the ethnic appellation indicating the tribe. It was the Arab title of nobility, and Coptic converts were, in the beginning, second-class Muslims. Some of the latter aspired further, and a judicial scandal which took place in 194-5/810-2 proves that the Arab tribes were still strong enough to appeal to Baghdād against the judgement of a *ḳāḍī* of dubious integrity which conferred on Copts the status of pure-bred Arabs. We observe that in the course of the 3rd/9th century surnames relating to tribes give way gradually to surnames of geographical significance; here, too the funeral steles are documents of the greatest value, and furnish us with toponymic surnames.

The Muslims of Fusṭāṭ, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, must have been mainly autochthonous elements, installed in all types of sedentary employment, in government service or in trade; the Arabs, occupied in suppressing revolts in the Delta in the course of the preceding century, were then struck off the military rolls as a result of the influx of Khurāsānīs, and later of Turks, and had probably resumed in the country side the principal occupation of their ancestors, the raising of live-stock. At all events, from then on they are not mentioned in the towns. Descendants of former soldiers, moreover, acquired land: we find the proof of this in the fact that the government claimed from them the *kharādj*, or land tax. They thus became mingled with the indigenous population, which, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, was mainly Muslim; on the other hand, the Arabic language was used to an increasing extent by the Copts. The majority of the army, of Turkish stock, could not have made any distinction between the truly autochthonous elements and the descendants of Arab immigrants.

Finally, in 219/834, groups of the Lakhm and Djudhām tribes rebelled in the Delta: they were easily dispersed, and no further mention is made of their rights. The Arabs re-appear, even frequently, in the history of Egypt: they remained organised in tribes, some of which retained their nomad habits. They were mobilised as reserve troops in times of crisis, for example at the time of the landing by the Crusaders at Damietta. Later governments were obliged periodically to exercise their authority against them, either to collect taxes, or to suppress banditry. In general, these interventions were bloody affairs, and were virtually punitive expeditions.

The most significant events were set in train by the temporary migration, in the 5th/11th century, of the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Sulaym before their destructive onslaught on North Africa. It should not be forgotten that a group of Bedouin from the Arabian Peninsula tried to resist the advance of French troops in Upper Egypt in 1799.

Recent censuses have been vague in the extreme: it is estimated that the Bedouin scattered among the deserts of Egypt number about 50,000.

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(v) Expansion of the Arabs in North Africa

It is extremely difficult to enumerate the Arab elements which, from the year 27/647 onwards, entered North Africa. Wec an only accept with the usual reservations the first number of 20,000, representing the fighting men from the Ḥidjāz, furnished by the tribes and grouped round their chiefs, reinforced by contingents taken from the army of Egypt. The first expeditions were nothing more than long-distance raids, without any intention of settling in the country. This ambition appears with ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, who founded al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] in 50/670. The death of this chief and the occupation of al-Ḳayrawān by the Berbers led to the despatch of fresh contingents. From then on, every serious failure on the part of the invaders, every Berber rising, every new phase in the arduous task of conquest, occasioned the arrival of reinforcements. Under the Umayyads, elements derived from the *djund*, detached from the Syrian garrisons, and constituting regiments which already had an individual character, took the place of the fighting men recruited in Arabia. Under the ʿAbbāsids, the Khurāsān militia joined forces with the Syrians, or relieved them. All these elements, living in groups as in the East, were distributed among the towns of the conquered territory. As is well known, their haughtiness as conquerors, their demands and their lack of discipline were a source of the gravest embarrassment to the governors of Ifrīḳiya, and the Aghlabid amirs, obliged to subdue them with great bloodshed, found them employment in Sicily.

Along with the fighting men intended to effect the first occupation of the country, the Arab world sent civilian elements. Apart from the governors and their entourage, kinsmen and clients, there were men of a religious character, who, from the time of the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99-101/717-20), undertook the methodical conversion of the Berbers. There were also merchants hoping to prosper in fresh territory reputedly rich in resources.

These Arab immigrants constituted exclusively urban elements. The towns, where they formed a considerable proportion of the population, were centres of arabisation. By virtue of the prestige enjoyed by the conquerors, through the education given in the Ḳurʾānic schools and the mosques, and through economic relations and mutual contact in

the markets, the Arabic language spread simultaneously with Islam in the cities and their environs. Al-Ḳayrawān played an important part in this process, but the other garrisons of Ifrīḳiya and its western marches were also able to spread their influence over a limited area.

The Arab immigration of which the Hilāli invasion was the first phase was very different from the Muslim conquest and its consequences, both as regards those who took part in it and their role in the history of Barbary. The initial cause of this disaster was as follows:—in the middle of the 5th/11th century, the amir al-Muʿizz of the Banū Zīrī [see ZĪRIDS] branch of the Ṣanhādja, which governed Ifrīḳiya in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, broke with his suzerain in Cairo, and the latter, on the advice of his minister al-Yāzūrī, despatched against the rebel kingdom the Arab nomads then encamped east of the Nile, recognising in advance their title to any towns and rural districts which they could conquer.

The Banū Hilāl [see HILĀL], who formed the first wave of this "westward movement" (*taghrib*), and also the Banū Sulaym, who came on the scene later, were connected through their common ancestor Manṣūr b. Ḳays with the powerful line of Muḍar. Both had previously dwelt in Nadjd, and groups of the two families continued to live there. Brought late within the pale of Islam, they had migrated in considerable numbers to Upper Mesopotamia and the Syrian desert. Their independent nature revealed itself immediately after the death of the Prophet. The Umayyads, and the ʿAbbāsids even more, had to punish their plundering activities conducted in particular at the expense of Meccan pilgrims. In the 4th/10th century they took part in the Carmathian revolt. The Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz crushed the movement (368/978) and forced the Arabs who had supported it to transfer themselves to Upper Egypt. It was from there that they set out to conquer Ifrīḳiya.

At the moment when their first bands, which could have numbered barely a million, reached the Zīrid kingdom of al-Ḳayrawān and caused its downfall, the most powerful of the Banū Hilāl were the Riyāḥ, who occupied the plains of Tunisia. Further east, the kingdom of the Ḥammādids [*q.v.*] and the Zāb]*q.v.*] received the Athbedj. This Arab expansion, whose limits in the 6th/12th century are described by Idrīsī, caused the exodus of Ḥammādids from the Ḳalʿa to al-Bijāya and drove the Zanāta nomads towards the plains of Oran.

The arrival of fresh bands led subsequently to an extension of the territory and to alterations in the distribution of the Arabs. The most important of these waves of immigrants was, starting from the end of the 12th century, that of the Banū Sulaym, who came from Tripolitania. At first allied to the Armenian adventurer Ḳaraḳūsh, then to the Banū Ghāniya who attempted to revive Almoravid power, they placed themselves at the service of the Ḥafṣids, the Almohad governors of Ifrīḳiya, who assured the fortunes of this great tribe. Thus Ifrīḳiya, the first domain of the Banū Hilāl, remained, with the Sulaym, the region where the Arabs were the most numerous and most powerful. But no part of North Africa escaped what was considered by Ibn Khaldūn to be an irreparable disaster. The quest by new arrivals for lands as yet unoccupied and for sedentary populations to exploit, the repulse of the weak by the strong, the advance of certain tribes, such as the Maʿḳil of Southern Morocco, from the western boundaries of the desert, were the quasi-normal causes of their "westward movement". To these must be added the mass transfers effected by the Maghribī rulers within their own territories of Arab contingents on whose collaboration they rashly counted. For example the transfer in 583/1187 of the tribes of Ifrīḳiya by the Almohad al-Manṣur who, wishing to use them in Spain, granted them the sub-atlantic plains of Morocco which were then uninhabited.

The whole economy of Barbary was overthrown by this expansion. With their North African territory, where they lived during the summer, these pastoral nomads combined the corresponding Saharan territories, where they migrated in autumn with their families and where they found new pasturages for their camels. At the two extremities of the annual migration, they possessed a source of income: by right of protection they claimed taxes in kind from the people of the oases, cultivators of date-palms; on the sedentary population of the north they levied imposts which the rulers had assigned to them in the form of *iḳtāʿ* [*q.v.*], or as part of the tax (*djibāya*) for whose collection they were responsible.

Intimately associated with Berber life, these eastern Bedouin naturally played a large part in the propagation of the Arabic language, and it has been thought possible still to recognise in dialect characteristics which seem to mark the difference between the contributions of the great tribes, Hilāl, Sulaym, and Maʿḳil. Simultaneously, however, with arabisation of the Berbers, one must take into account the berberisation of the Arabs, the progressive tendency towards a sedentary form of existence, and the adoption of the way of life of the autochthones by groups of immigrants who had become irremedially impoverished.

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(G. MARÇAIS)

DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB, "the Island of the Arabs", the name given by the Arabs to the Arabian Peninsula.

(i) Preliminary remarks.
(ii) Physical structure and principal geographical features.
(iii) Climate, drainage, and water resources.
(iv) Political divisions.
(v) Flora and fauna.
(vi) Ethnography.
(vii) History:
 1. Pre-Islamic.
 2. Islamic Middle Ages.
 3. The making of modern Arabia—from the 10th/16th century to the present.

(i) PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Although the Peninsula may not be the original cradle of the Arab people, they have lived there for thousands of years and regard it in a very special sense as their homeland. For students of Islam, Western Arabia occupies a unique position as the land in which the Prophet Muḥammad was born, lived, and died. It was there that the inspiration of Allāh descended upon the Prophet, and to this Holy Land come many thousands of Muslims every year from all parts of the Islamic world to make the pilgrimage to the Kaʿba, the House of Allāh in Mecca (Makka), and to visit the Prophet's tomb in Medina (al-Madīna al-Munawwara).

The Peninsula has the shape of a rough quadrilateral with a length of c. 2200 km. from north-west to south-east and a breadth of c. 1200 km. The symmetry of the quadrilateral is marred by the bulge of Oman (ʿUmān) on the eastern side reaching out close to the Iranian coast. On the west, south, and east the Peninsula is clearly defined by the Red Sea (al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar), the Gulf of Aden (Khalīdj ʿAdan), the Arabian Sea (Baḥr al-ʿArab), the Gulf of Oman, and the Persian Gulf (al-Khalīdj al-Fārisī). In the north, the Arabs themselves have often disagreed as to where Arabia ends and Syria (in the broad sense) begins. A vast steppe unrolls northwards from the Great Nafūd with no natural feature suitable as a limit for the Peninsula. For the purposes of this article the Peninsula is considered as extending only to the borders separating Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt from Jordan and ʿIrāḳ, even though these borders represent little more than artificial political concepts. This definition places the northernmost point of the Peninsula at ʿUnāza, a low mesa in the desert farther north than either Jerusalem or ʿAmmān. From ʿUnāza the borders between Saudi Arabia and Jordan, not yet fully agreed upon, reach the sea near the head of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba, while the borders between Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt on the one hand and ʿIrāḳ on the other run to the head of the Persian Gulf south of al-Baṣra. Along these eastern borders lie two small neutral zones, in one of which Saudi Arabia and ʿIrāḳ and in the other Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt share undivided half interests.

It is impossible to make a reasonably reliable estimate of the size of Arabia's population. All figures found in reference works are highly suspect, as none is based on proper statistics or sufficient familiarity with the whole Peninsula. In view of the extensive areas inhabited solely by scattered nomads and the relatively light density of population in most of the settled areas, one may doubt whether the total approaches 10,000,000, and it may well fall several millions short of this figure. The most densely populated country is the Yaman (al-Yaman). In Saudi Arabia the main concentrations are in a few cities of al-Ḥidjāz, the well watered mountains and plains of ʿAsīr and its Tihāma, some of the valleys of Nadjd, and the eastern oases of al-Ḥasā and al-Ḳaṭīf. Ḥaḍramawt and Oman both contain many towns and Bedouin tribes.

Present state of knowledge. The inhabitants of Arabia have naturally always known much about the land, but each man's knowledge is restricted to a certain region, being detailed and particularistic rather than general and comprehensive. No single work in Arabic gives a full and accurate description of Arabia. The best volume in the language is still *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab* by al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945-46), which, though rich in information, fails to provide a coherent panoramic view of the whole Peninsula.

The serious scientific exploration of Arabia began with Carsten Niebuhr and the Danish expedition of 1762. While travellers of different nationalities pressed on with the penetration of the interior during the 19th century, British officers of the Indian Government undertook technical surveys of the surrounding seas and stretches of the coast. Technical surveying in the interior had to wait for the 20th century, when it began with an investigation of the southern border of the Yaman and preliminary studies for the Ḥidjāz Railway. In recent years oil companies have surveyed large parts of Eastern Arabia, using the highly refined methods of modern geological and geophysical exploration, besides engaging in extensive reconnaissance in other regions.

By 1374/1955 travellers—both Western and Arab—had visited virtually all of the remoter places, so that none of the old major mysteries regarding the surface of the land had been left unsolved. Travellers' reports, however, are often incomplete and sometimes inaccurate, and much remains to be done in checking and correlating those now available. A number of important reports remain unpublished or buried in archives.

Recent years have also seen the introduction of aerial photography as an indispensable procedure in mapmaking. By 1954 a good part of the Peninsula had been photographed for cartographic purposes, and some of the results had already been transferred to maps. Aerial photographs, however, are of maximum value only if supported by ground control, i.e., the establishment of fixed points on the ground whose relationship to the photographs is precisely determined. For much of Arabia such control is still lacking.

The general outlines and main features of the map of Arabia have now been delineated with a fair degree—and in a few instances a high degree—of reliability, but years of study lie ahead before all the details can be filled in. Surveys done in the earlier days, such as those of the Persian Gulf, are now being redone in the interests of greater thoroughness and accuracy. Errors of the past, many of which have become established on maps, are being corrected, but the process is long drawn out.

Arabian governments are now making available information about their countries in a growing body of official publications, and modern Arab authors keep producing books and articles dealing with different parts of the Peninsula. Interest in such diverse things as oil and South Arabian antiquities has called forth a flood of material by Western authors, part of which is sound but much of which is superficial, misleading, or flagrantly contradictory to fact. Arabic sources likewise are often unreliable, so that the student of Arabia must constantly be on the lookout for pitfalls along his path.

(ii) PHYSICAL STRUCTURE AND PRINCIPAL GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

Lying between Asia and Africa, Arabia is of such size and individuality of character as almost to justify its classification as a sub-continent. Usually considered an appendage of Asia, it also joins Africa through Sinai, which, though politically a part of Egypt, is closer to Arabia in both physical environment and the nature of its human life. Before the development of rift valleys provided a bed for the Red Sea, Western Arabia formed a part of the African land mass, and the southern half of Western Arabia still has a greater affinity in many ways with

Somalia-Ethiopia than with Northern Arabia or the rest of Asia. Northern Arabia, on the other hand, merges imperceptibly with Arab Asia through the Syrian steppe, and the Oman bulge contains a mountainous area closely resembling the ranges of Iran.

Geomorphologically the Peninsula consists of two main provinces: the ancient Arabian Shield of igneous and metamorphic rocks in the west, and the more recent sedimentary areas sloping away from the Shield to the north-east, east, and south-east into the vast basin consisting of Mesopotamia, the Persian Gulf, and the eastern part of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī. The Arabian Shield is actually only the eastern part of the Arabian-Nubian Shield, an immense mass of basement rocks—greenstones, schists, granite, gneiss, &c.—which have thrust upwards to form bare and forbidding mountains, with the whole mass split into two by the rift valleys running southwards from the Dead Sea and along the course of the Red Sea. The older igneous rocks of the Arabian part represent primarily plutonic activity of the more remote past, while more recent volcanoes have blanketed the surrounding ground with fields of lava (*ḥarra*, pl. *ḥirār*) often imposing in extent. Regions of igneous and metamorphic rocks may be rich in minerals and precious stones, but only insignificant quantities of these have so far been found in Arabia.

To the north and south the eastern limit of the Arabian Shield lies not far inland from the Red Sea. Between these two extremities the limit sweeps around in a rough bulge reaching as far east as the vicinity of al-Dawādimī, less than 200 km. west of the western wall of Ṭuwayḳ. The geomorphologically confused mountains of the Yaman, though composed of similar rocks, are physiographically highly different from the remainder of the Shield. Volcanic areas occur in the Yaman as well as in the mountains fringing the southern coast and those of the Oman bulge.

Valleys drop sharply westwards to the coast plain of Tihāma from the high mountains paralleling the Red Sea. The gentler eastward slope to the Persian Gulf is interrupted by cuestas in Nadjd such as Ṭuwayḳ and al-ʿArama, whose steep escarpments face westwards and whose backs then resume the downward trend. From the highlands of Ḥaḍramawt and Ẓufār the slope southwards to the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea is short, while a longer slope runs northwards to al-Rubʿ al-Khālī. The Oman bulge has a short descent north-eastwards to the Gulf of Oman and a much longer descent south-westwards to the same sand sea, though the mountains here, unlike those elsewhere near the coast, are steep on both sides, forming a hogback range.

The sedimentary province consists predominantly of limestone, along with an abundance of sandstone and shale. These rocks are products of sediments left behind by seas that in the distant past spread out as far west as the Shield. The sedimentary deposits reach a depth of over several kilometers in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf. Organic matter from the plants and animals that lived in the old seas is the source of the enormous accumulations of petroleum discovered in Eastern Arabia during the 20th century.

Islands. The islands, islets, and coral reefs (*shaʿb*, pl. *shiʿbān*) off the Arabian coast increase in number as one proceeds southwards down the Red Sea. The Farasān Bank parallels the coast for nearly 500 km., its southern part including the Farasān [*q.v.*] Archipelago, where the largest islands on the eastern side of the Red Sea are found. Kamarān [*q.v.*] Island lies close to the coast of the Yaman. West of Kamarān the volcanic peak of Djabal al-Ṭayr in the fairway of the sea is reported to have been in eruption as late as the early 19th century. Also in the fairway is al-Zuḳur, the highest island in the Red Sea (nearly 700 m.). The island of Perim [*q.v.*] (Mayyūn) in the straits of Bāb al-Mandab, the entrance to the Red Sea, stands nearer Arabia than Africa.

The island of Suḳuṭrā [*q.v.*], c. 110 km. long and nearly 400 km. distant from the mainland on the southern side of the entrance to the Gulf of Aden, must for both political and ethnographic reasons be regarded as belonging to the Peninsula. The Kuria Muria Islands stand off the mainland in a large bay east of Raʾs Naws. The Arabic name for the group, Khūriyā Mūriyā [*q.v.*], is seldom used today, the more familiar names being al-Ḥallāniyya, al-Ḥāsikiyya, and al-Sawdāʾ, which belong to individual islands. Separated from Oman by a narrow channel is Maṣīra, the only island of considerable size lying along the whole southern coast. The Arabian side of the Gulf of Oman is also almost entirely devoid of islands worthy of the name; one encounters only rocky islets standing alone, such as al-Faḥl north-west of Muscat, or in clusters, such as al-Daymāniyyāt a little farther towards the west.

The mountains of Oman end abruptly at the Strait of Hormuz, the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and some of the peaks detached from the main range form inhospitable islands, the northern tip of one of which is Raʾs Musandam. Abū Mūsā, an island in the Persian Gulf north-west of the port of al-Shāriḳa, has deposits of iron oxide which are worked commercially. Close to the southernmost shore of the Gulf are a number of sandy islands, the largest of which is Muḳayshiṭ (shown on most charts as Abā al-Abyaḍ, the name of its northern part). In the western half of the embayment between the Trucial Coast and the Ḳaṭar Peninsula are islands presumed to be salt domes rising above the sea, among which are Ṣīr Banī Yās [*q.v.*], Dalmāʾ, Zarakkūh, Dās, and Ḥālūl. The main island of Baḥrain (al-Baḥrayn) has a scattering of attendant islets and a dependency of fair size, Ḥawār, which almost touches Ḳaṭar. Tārūt, Abū ʿAlī, and other islands hug the coast of Saudi Arabia, while al-ʿArabiyya [*q.v.*] and al-Fārisiyya [*q.v.*] lie out near the middle of the Gulf.

The Great Pearl Banks (*hayr*, pl. *hayarāt*) stretch along nearly the entire length of the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, with the richer banks in the central portion. The term *shaʿb* is not used for a reef in this Gulf, its place being taken by *fasht* (pl. *fushūt*), *nadjwa*, and *ḳuṭʿa*. A *ḥidd* (pl. *ḥudūd*) is a sand bank, a *ḥāla* (pl. *ḥuwal*) is a low sandy islet which may be covered at high tide, and a *ḳaṣṣār* is a projecting rock. *Ruḳḳ* is the common word for a shoal, while an area of deep water—15 fathoms (*bāʿ*, pl. *abwāʿ* or *bīʿān*, the Arab fathom being a little less than the English fathom of 6 feet) or more—is called a *ghubba* (pl. *ghabīb*). The Persian Gulf is a shallow sea, with few depths greater than 90 m., in contrast to the Red Sea, the depth of which in places is in excess of 2,000 m.

Bays and Coasts. The coasts of the Peninsula on the three sides facing the sea are relatively unmarked by major bendings or indentations; no other great land mass on the surface of the globe provides such a paucity of shelter for ships. The Red Sea has few bays on the Arabian side, but many narrow inlets of the type called *sharm*, which penetrate

some distance inland and then broaden out into lagoons in which small sailing vessels can anchor. The one good natural harbour along the southern coast is Aden. Between Raʾs Fartak and Raʾs al-Ḥadd there are four large bays, here called *ghubba* (cf. the use of this term in the Persian Gulf mentioned above), but all are so open to the sea that they give no protection. Muscat on the Gulf of Oman offers a hill-encircled bay large enough for steamers of medium size. Excellent harbours exist in the cliff-walled inlets in the vicinity of Musandam, but they are so hot and inaccessible from the interior that good use has never been made of them. The Persian Gulf has a proportionally larger number of bays, here called *dawḥa*, but their waters are almost without exception extremely shallow. Inlets in the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf go by the name of *khawr*, a term also used here for a submarine valley. One of the best examples of these inlets is Khawr al-ʿUdayd, which pierces the coast on the eastern side of the base of the Ḳaṭar Peninsula.

Mountains, Plateaux, and Plains. The chain or chains of mountains paralleling the coast of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba and the Red Sea are known collectively as al-Sarāt [*q.v.*], though use of this name is not particularly widespread. In many places a lower range lies close to the coast and is separated by a plateau from a higher range farther inland. The average height of al-Sarāt is considerably below 2,000 m. Between the region of Madyan and Mecca only the famous crags of Raḍwā [*q.v.*] west of Medina and a few other mountains reach noteworthy heights. Southeast of Mecca several peaks go up to over 2,500 m., and thence the chain rises to its greatest heights in southern ʿAsīr and the Yaman (Ḥaḍūr Shuʿayb west of Ṣanʿāʾ, c. 3,760 m.). The more precipitous western slopes are generally the higher, but many bold features are also met with along the inner eastern slopes. The range of Ḥaḍn east of Mecca, the historic boundary between al-Ḥidjāz and Nadjd, appears to have lost this distinction in the popular mind, though the dividing line is considered to be along the eastern slopes or among the foothills of al-Sarāt. Passes across al-Sarāt, called *ʿaḳaba* in ʿAsīr and *naḳīl* in the Yaman, are few and far between, and are usually difficult of transit. Notable gaps in the chain are those leading through to Medina and Mecca.

Interspersed among the mountains and occurring frequently along their eastern slopes are plateaux, among the most fertile of which are those in ʿAsīr and those surrounding Ṣanʿāʾ and Dhamār in the Yaman. The plateaux are often capped with a bed of lava, and in places the lava has spilled down the western slopes to reach the verge of the Red Sea.

The highlands of the Yaman present a steep face towards the south, the eastern stretch of which is al-Kawr, called after its indigenous tribes Kawr al-ʿAwādhil in the west and Kawr al-ʿAwāliḳ in the east. Northeast of Kawr al-ʿAwāliḳ is the highly dissected limestone plateau of al-Djawl which is split in twain by the eastward-trending channel of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. The southern part of al-Djawl reaches heights of nearly 2,000 m., while the higher elevations of the northern part do not greatly exceed 1,000 m. The cliffs along the edges of al-Djawl are often awe-inspiring in their sheerness.

Farther east in the region of Ẓufār are the mountains of the tribe of al-Ḳarā with peaks well over 1,500 m. in height. The growth of trees and grasses on the range is so thick that the residents often call it the Black Mountain. North-eastwards of Raʾs Naws the mountains paralleling the coast begin to dwindle in size and number, and the coast from Raʾs Ṣawḳira to Raʾs al-Ḥadd has generally lowlying country behind it.

Mountains reappear again overlooking the Arabian shore of the Gulf of Oman, along which the range of al-Ḥadjar runs from Raʾs al-Ḥadd to Raʾs Musandam. The towering peaks of al-Ḥadjar are in the central portion, in the vicinity of Djabal al-Akhḍar, the highest exceeding 3,000 m. by a bare margin. Northwest of Djabal al-Akhḍar the mountains called al-Kawr form a part of the main range, while Djabal Ḥafīt rears its formidable hogbacked ridge in the open country west of the northern half of the range.

In the interior the range of al-Ṭubayḳ lies in the borderland between Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Just south of the Great Nafūd the parallel ranges of Adjaʾ [*q.v.*] and Salmā are together known as Djabal Shammar. The hills of al-Nīr lie in the central bulge of the Arabian Shield, near its eastern edge.

East of the Shield a series of roughly parallel cuestas curve around from north to south, following the contour of the crystalline bulge. The most striking of these is Ṭuwayḳ [*q.v.*], the backbone of Nadjd, with a length of c. 1,000 km. from Khashm Djazra to Khashm Khaṭma, where the sands of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī encompass its southern end. Just east of the sands of al-Dahnāʾ is the low rocky plateau of al-Ṣummān (classical al-Ṣammān [*q.v.*]).

Mesas, buttes, and ridges often rise singly or in groups above the plateaus and plains. The Bedouins use the term *djabal* for rocky hillocks as well as massive mountains, and other terms in common use are *ḍilʿ* (pl. *ḍulūʿ* or *ḍilʿān*, a general synonym for *djabal*, not necessarily a rib-shaped hill), *ḥazm* (usually lower than a *djabal*), *abraḳ* (pl. *burḳān*, whence the name of the great oil field of Kuwayt, al-Burḳān), and *barḳāʾ* (pl. *burḳ*), the last two being applied to hills whose sides are mottled with patches of sand. The promontories jutting out from the inland escarpments are called *khashm* (pl. *khushūm*), the word for nose.

Within the northern border of Arabia lies the southernmost portion of al-Ḥamād, a stony plain stretching on northwards into the steppe, and south-east thereof is al-Ḥadjara, another stony plain. Among the major *ḥadabas*—plains with a mantle of gravel—are al-Dibdiba in the north-eastern corner of the Peninsula and Abū Baḥr and Raydā south of the southern end of al-Dahnāʾ. The plain of al-Djalada south-west of Raydā is completely ringed about by the sands of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī. Other plains are found along the southern and eastern edges of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, all sloping towards the basin occupied by the sands.

The coast plains in the west and south are confined within a fairly narrow space nearly everywhere by the mountains crowding down towards the sea. Tihāma [*q.v.*], the general name for the coast plain along the Red Sea, is sometimes subdivided into Tihāmat al-Ḥidjāz, Tihāmat ʿAsīr, and Tihāmat al-Yaman. On the Gulf of Oman no more than faint traces of plains exist between Raʾs al-Ḥadd and Muscat, but between Muscat and Shināṣ the plain broadens out into al-Bāṭina [*q.v.*], one of the great date-producing districts of Arabia. Salt pans are particularly common along the southern shore of the Persian Gulf, and much of the low ground in this region is covered with sand.

Sandy Deserts. Dunes may be star-shaped, dome-shaped, or crescent-shaped (the crescentic or

barchane dune = *muḳawwī*, pl. *maḳāwī*). Dunes bare of vegetation are called *ṭuʿūs* (sing. *ṭiʿs*, probably from classical *diʿṣ*), with the term *naḳā* (pl. *niḳyān*) being used for the larger ones. Masses of sand may form long single or parallel veins (*ʿirḳ*, pl. *ʿurūḳ*) or more complex arrangements underlying which an orderly pattern can often be discerned. Wide expanses of ground are covered with relatively thin sheets of drift sand. Barchane dunes occur in sizes ranging from c. 1 m. to c. 200 m. in height, and the largest are several km. or more in length. Almost all of the dunes consist of pure sand, with no core of rock or other substances. The colour and composition of the sand itself vary from place to place, with the predominant colour in the interior approaching red.

A sandy area is generally called a *nafūd* (pl. pauc. *nafāʾid*, pl. abund. *nifd*) in the north and a *ramla* (pl. *rimāl*) in the south. The term *ʿirḳ* may be applied to a whole area containing a number of *ʿurūḳ*, e.g., ʿIrḳ al-Maẓhūr embraces seven major veins. As frequently happens with the Arabs, these common nouns are transformed into proper names applied to the most noteworthy examples of their categories: the northern desert known to Westerners as the Great Nafūd is called by the Arabs simply al-Nafūd, the whole southern desert known to Westerners as al-Rubʿ al-Khālī is ordinarily referred to simply as al-Ramla, while al-ʿUrayḳ is a sandy area south of Ḳaṭar.

Almost all of the principal sandy deserts lie in the sedimentary province, where they curve around the central bulge of the crystalline Shield in the same fashion as the cuestas, along the western bases of which many of them lie. The two largest are the Great Nafūd [*q.v.*], with an area estimated at c. 70,000 km²., and al-Rubʿ al-Khālī [*q.v.*], with an area estimated at over 500,000 km²., making the latter the largest continuous body of sand in the world. These two are connected by the long thin arc of al-Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*] lying east of Ṭuwayḳ and al-ʿArama. A similar arc runs west of Ṭuwayḳ between the two main sandy deserts, but its continuity is broken in several places. This lesser arc begins with ʿIrḳ al-Maẓhūr, which leaves the Great Nafūd south of the point of departure of al-Dahnāʾ and merges into three parallel fingers of sand, which from east to west are Nafūd al-Thuwayrāt, Nafūd al-Sirr, and al-Shuḳayyiḳa. The southern extension of al-Thuwayrāt is named Nafūd al-Balādīn after the towns of the district of al-Washm lining its south-western edge. Almost connected with al-Sirr is Nafūd Ḳunayfidha, the south-eastern end of which nestles under the western wall of Ṭuwayḳ. South of Ḳunayfidha occurs a major interruption in the arc, after which the sands reappear in ʿIrḳ al-Daḥy, which ends north of Wādī al-Dawāsir. The principal direction in which the sands migrate is southwards; in other words, they are slowly but steadily forsaking the Great Nafūd and working their way along the two arcs towards al-Rubʿ al-Khālī.

Although on the map al-Rubʿ al-Khālī appears to have two long arms extending northwards, the western of these, al-Djāfūra, is regarded by the Arabs as constituting a separate desert cut off from al-Rubʿ al-Khālī by the low ground of al-Djawb (Djawb Yabrīn). The eastern of the two arms, also regarded as a separate region, penetrates deep into the hinterland of the Trucial Coast.

Ramlat al-Sabʿatayn south of the south-western corner of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī lies outside the system just described. Perhaps the largest accumulation of sand on the Arabian Shield is ʿIrḳ Subayʿ in the southern part of the central bulge.

Various geographical features associated with drainage and water resources are discussed in the following section.

(iii) CLIMATE, DRAINAGE, AND WATER RESOURCES

The Tropic of Cancer bisects Arabia, passing between Medina and Mecca, between the districts of al-Khardj and al-Aflādj, and between Muscat and Raʾs al-Ḥadd, so that most of the land enjoys a generally temperate climate. Even in the south, where the tip of the Peninsula approaches 12° N. lat., much of the country is sufficiently elevated to avoid the rigours of tropical heat. Only the lowlands along parts of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Arabian Sea have a semitropical rather than a temperate environment.

Meteorological records, though improved in recent years, are still too scanty to provide a completely detailed picture of Arabian weather. The summer heat (*ḳayẓ*) is intense throughout the Peninsula, reaching over 50° C. in the hottest places. The dryness of much of the interior makes the heat tolerable there, but along the coasts and in some of the southern highlands the humidity in summer is high and debilitating. Fogs and dews are common in the humid regions, but over Inner Arabia the sun shines the year round, obscured only by an occasional sandstorm or even rarer shower. Although not the happiest on earth, the Arabian climate has often been damned more violently than it deserves. Many days in fall and spring are fresh or mild. The winters are invigoratingly cool, with bitter cold occurring only at the higher altitudes, where snow crowns some of the peaks, and in the far north, where the winds are biting.

The winds vary greatly in different parts, being subject in particular to the influence of the surrounding seas. In Eastern Arabia the wind tends to blow from the same quarter, but on occasion it suddenly shifts halfway round the full circle, the prevailing *shamāl* from c. NNW yielding to the *kaws* from c. SE. Winds whipping up into sandstorms may subside quickly or go on for days. In Nadjd the wind may box the compass, with drastic changes sometimes taking place every half hour. The monsoons of the Indian Ocean reaching parts of Southern Arabia profoundly affect the character of the country and the life of the people there.

Most of Arabia has been made and kept a desert by the scarcity of rainfall. In portions of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī no rain at all may fall for ten years on end, and in many other parts of the Peninsula the annual fall seldom if ever exceeds 150 mm. When rain does fall over the desert, it may come as a torrential downpour, providing enough moisture to carpet the ground with wild flowers. Periods of drought sometimes last for several years, bringing misery and even death to the people and causing some to migrate abroad. Higher areas tend to catch more rain than lower areas nearby: heavy winter rains may fall on the plateaus and plains in the north while the depression of Wādī al-Sirḥān remains completely dry. Only the areas where the monsoons blow receive fairly ample rains.

Although Arabia contains no large perennial rivers, in the monsoon zone water may be found throughout the year in some stretches of the valleys (called *ghayl* in the south-west). A few of the valleys descending to the sea blend their fresh water with the salt, but most of them dissipate it throughout

their alluvial fans on the coast plains. In the dry zone rainwater from the higher areas occasionally comes down in spate through the stream channels (*wādī*, pl. *widyān*, or *shaʿib*, pl. *shiʿbān*), which otherwise contain only a few pools or none at all. These flash floods (*sayl*, pl. *suyūl*) sometimes cause great damage, and much of their precious water may flow away unused. Other floods come in sheets over flat surfaces such as gravel plains or the fans at channel mouths. Part of the water that seeps underground is recovered by man through wells and springs.

Although the courses of some valleys can be traced for considerable distances, bodies of sand lying athwart them in places tend to prevent through drainage. A characteristic feature of the Arabian drainage system is the local enclosed basin, varying in size from very large to very small. Wādī al-Sirḥān is not a true *wādī* but a depression c. 300 km. long and 50-70 km. broad into which many *wādīs* on both sides empty their *sayls*. Types of smaller basins are the *khabrā*ʾ, a hollow with an impervious bottom holding water for a while after rain, and the *rawḍa* (called *fayḍa* in the north), whose bottom does not hold water, so that wild vegetation may be fairly abundant there. Another type of basin is the salt pan or saline flat (*sabkha*, pron. *ṣabkha*), which occurs with great frequency along the coasts and also in the interior, where it is fully enclosed.

The eastern tributaries of Wādī al-Ḥamḍ, which runs down to the Red Sea, originate in Ḥarrat Khaybar. A short distance farther east are the headwaters of Wādī al-Rumah (al-Rumma in al-Hamdānī), which through its extension al-Bāṭin runs to the Persian Gulf basin in the vicinity of al-Baṣra, though the connecting link between al-Rumah and al-Bāṭin is choked with sands of al-Dahnāʾ. The small area in Ḥarrat Khaybar between the sources of al-Ḥamḍ and those of al-Rumah is the one place in the whole Peninsula from which an easy slope to the seas on both sides can clearly be discerned.

Descending from the eastern slope of al-Sarāt, the three large valleys of Ranya, Bīsha [*q.v.*], and Tathlīth converge on the upper reaches of Wādī al-Dawāsir [*q.v.*], which receives their waters in times of exceptional floods only to lose them again as it fans out against the sands of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī after piercing through the wall of Ṭuwayḳ. Ḥabawnā (Ḥabawnan in al-Hamdānī) and Nadjrān [*q.v.*] are valleys coursing eastwards to the sands which lie south of the southern end of Ṭuwayḳ. From the highlands of the Yaman the valley of al-Khārid [*q.v.*] flows down into the basin of al-Djawf [*q.v.*] (Djawf Ibn Nāṣir), the home of the ancient Minaeans.

The mountains of the Yaman send water southwards towards the coast in the vicinity of Aden through Tuban, Banā, and other valleys. Water from Banā is used for an extensive development of agriculture at Abyan. The southern outriders of al-Djawl give rise to Wādī Mayfaʿa and Wādī Ḥadjar. Ḥadjar is the one truly perennial river in Arabia, but its total length probably does not exceed 100 km. Its water, part of which comes from the hot springs of al-Ṣidāra in the uplands, supports cultivation in the area of Mayfaʿ at the river delta (not to be confused with Wādī Mayfaʿa to the west).

Wādī Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], the principal artery of a great drainage system, is fed by valleys coming from both the southern and the northern parts of al-Djawl, those from the south being far more thickly settled than those from the north. Just beyond the town of Tarīm the Valley of Ḥaḍramawt assumes the name of al-Masīla, which it bears for the remainder of its course to the sea.

Samāʾil, one of the valleys flung out by the range of al-Ḥadjar towards the Gulf of Oman, provides passage for the main road from the coast to Inner Oman. The chief valleys of al-Bāṭina are named after the tribes inhabiting their banks, al-Maʿāwil and others. Going up Wādī al-Djizy and Wādī al-Ḳawr, one comes to passes leading over the mountains to the Trucial Coast.

In the region east of al-Dahnāʾ between al-Bāṭin and al-Sahbāʾ the insufficiency of surface water has militated against the formation of true *wādīs* of any size. Wādī al-Miyāh northwest of al-Ḳaṭīf is a basin rather than a stream channel, deriving its name from the numerous wells and springs found within its confines. Other large basins are al-Farūḳ south of Wādī al-Miyāh and al-Shaḳḳ southwest of the city of Kuwayt.

In the far north a series of valleys known as al-Widyān (Widyān ʿAnaza) runs north-eastwards towards the Euphrates; among these are Tubal, ʿArʿar, and al-Khurr. In Nadjd a number of valleys between al-Rumah and Wādī al-Dawāsir cut through Ṭuwayḳ; al-ʿAtk [*q.v.*] is the northernmost of these. Wādī Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], rising on the crest of Ṭuwayḳ rather than making a gap in the escarpment, twists down to the basin of al-Khardj where several important valleys empty into al-Sahbāʾ [*q.v.*], the course of which can be traced across al-Dahnāʾ and al-Djāfūra into the Persian Gulf basin. The valley of Birk cleaves through the wall of Ṭuwayḳ via a picturesque gorge and turns northwards under the name of al-ʿAḳīmī to follow a course towards al-Sahbāʾ.

Arabia contains no large permanent lakes. Deep pools occur in places, with the most unusual ones being those in the districts of al-Khardj and al-Aflādj. In oases such as al-Ḥasā big ponds may be formed by the run-off from irrigation. Dry lakes in the north may be filled with water over an area of 10 or more km². after a rain.

The thousands of wells (*biʾr*, pron. *bīr*, pl. *abyār*, or *ḳalīb*, pl. *ḳulbān*) in the desert, some of them even in the central portions of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, make possible the nomadic life of the Bedouins. The deepest is reported to descend c. 170 m. into the earth, and depths in excess of 70 m. are not uncommon. The wells may be steyned or unsteyned; they may be frequently visited or seldom seen by man. Other watering places are spots in the sand or in valley bottoms where exiguous water is secured by digging down a meter or more. Blowing sand rapidly fills in these shallow holes, so that finding them may tax even the navigational skill of Bedouins bred in the wild. The water in some of the desert wells is too salty for humans (such a well is called a *khawr*, pl. *khīrān*), but camels drink it and furnish milk to sustain their masters.

Around most of the flowing springs (*ʿayn*, pl. *ʿuyūn*) oasis settlements or towns have grown up. Other communities draw their water only from dug wells, while sometimes tanks and cisterns are used to catch rainwater. The larger oases consist of several or more villages or towns grouped close together, each with its own belt of date groves. The oasis name may apply to the whole group, which may cover tens or hundreds of square kilometers, rather than to any single community within its confines, e.g., al-Ḥasā with its chief towns al-Hufhūf and al-Mubarraz, and Bīsha with al-Rawshan and Nimrān.

Various methods of irrigation are used wherever there is sufficient water. Terracing is much practised in the south with water being led from enclosure to enclosure. In some regions an old system of underground aqueducts (*faladj*, pl. *aflādj*) similar to the *ḳanāts* of Iran is common, while in others it is not known. In large oases such as al-Ḥasā and in Tihāma the rules governing the distribution of water for irrigation are elaborate and firmly fixed by custom. The building of dams, once an art in which the Arabs excelled, has been neglected in more recent times, but now, with a growing population and higher standards of life demanding an expansion of agriculture, it is being revived.

(iv) POLITICAL DIVISIONS

Political divisions in Arabia are often ill defined. Few international boundaries have been agreed upon by the parties concerned, and none has been properly demarcated throughout its full length. A rapid survey of the main political divisions as they existed in 1374/1954-5 will furnish examples of the truth of these statements.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia occupies the whole northern half of the Peninsula—with the exception of the small states of Kuwayt, Baḥrayn, and Ḳaṭar, and parts of Oman—and a good share of the southern half as well. Stretching from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, it incorporates the large regions of al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*], ʿAsīr [*q.v.*], and Nadjd [*q.v.*], and also most if not all of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī. Saudi Arabia and the Yaman agreed in 1354/1936 upon a boundary running from the Red Sea coast to a point short of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, but no serious attempt has since been made to extend the line southwards from this point over a gap between 100 and 200 km. in breadth. No land boundaries have been fixed between Saudi Arabia and any of the following states, all of which may be assumed to have territories abutting on the Kingdom: the Aden Protectorate, the Sultanate of Muscat, the Imamate of Oman, the Amirate of Abū Ẓabī (the southernmost of the Trucial States), and the Amirate of Ḳaṭar. The boundary between Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt and the boundaries of their neutral zone have been agreed upon in a general way. [See further SAʿŪDIYYA, AL-AFLĀDJ, AL-ʿĀRIḌ, AL-ḤASĀ, AL-YAMĀMA.]

The Mutawakkilite Kingdom of the Yaman lies along the Red Sea between Saudi Arabia and the Aden hinterland. The British and Yamanite Governments have a not entirely satisfactory working arrangement regarding the boundary between the Yaman and the Aden Protectorate, and the joint commission provided for in the Agreement of 1370/1951 to demarcate boundary locations and to recommend solutions to disputes arising from conflicting positions has not yet been constituted. [See further AL-YAMAN.]

The British Crown Colony of Aden, the only possession of a Western power on the Arabian mainland, occupies a tiny area c. 160 km. east of the south-western tip of the Peninsula. Perim Island forms a part on the Colony, and Kamarān is subject to its administration. The Governor of Aden Colony is also Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Aden Protectorate, which runs c. 1200 km. along the southern coast from Bāb al-Mandab to Raʾs Ḍarbat ʿAlī and reaches inland an undetermined distance. [See further ʿADAN, ḤAḌRAMAWT.]

The Sultanate of Muscat (Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*]) provides an outstanding example of the peculiarities of the political scene in Arabia. The ruler, who styles himself Sultan of Muscat and Oman, lays claim to virtually all the territory east of the eastern edge of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, a space roughly 1200 km. long and 500 km. broad. Within this space, however, the Sultan administers only three relatively small areas, the remaining areas coming under the Imam of Oman or other independent chieftains. The Sultan's foothold on the southern coast—Ẓufār, which abuts on the Eastern Aden Protectorate—is separated from the main base of his power—the towns of Muscat and Maṭraḥ and the coast of the Gulf of Oman, including al-Bāṭina—by nearly 1,000 km. of coastline with its hinterland. Again, his domains on the coast of the Gulf of Oman are interrupted in the north by territories belonging to the Trucial States around Kalbā and al-Fudjayra before the third centre of his authority appears near Raʾs Musandam. The Sultan is of the line of Āl Bū Saʿīd, an Ibāḍī dynasty which first came into power c. 1157/c. 1744. Unlike his neighbours on both sides, the Sultan is not formally under British protection, though he does have special ties with the British Government.

Another Ibāḍī ruler, the Imam of Oman, whose authority rests more firmly on a religious foundation than does that of the Sultan, directs the destinies of the interior region occupied by the Ibāḍī community. No clear dividing line exists between the territories of the Imamate and the Sultanate; those of the Imam reach the crests of the main mountain range of al-Ḥadjar throughout much of its length, and a few of his governors (*wālīs*) are established on the seaward slopes. The Imam, whose theocratic realm is a continuation of the Khāridjī state founded in Oman c. 133/c. 750, has his capital at Nazwā, and his two principal lieutenants reside at Tanūf in Inner Oman and al-Ḳābil in the district of al-Sharḳiya. Of all the major rulers in Arabia, the Imam, who maintains no formal diplomatic relations with any other power, is the most self-sufficient and the least known to the outside world. [See further ʿUMĀN.]

The Trucial Coast (Sāḥil ʿUmān or simply al-Sāḥil) is the southern shore of the Persian Gulf running southwestwards and then westwards for an undetermined distance towards Ḳaṭar. When the Arabs living there in the early 19th century were preying vigorously on shipping in the Gulf, the region was known as the Pirate Coast; after the British forcibly stopped the marauding and imposed a maritime truce on the rulers of the ports, it came to be called the Trucial Coast. The Trucial States, all of which are in special treaty relations with the British Government, are regarded as being under that government's protection, though without having the formal status of protectorates. [See further BAḤR FĀRIS.]

The Sultan of Muscat claims a part of the oasis of al-Buraymī, but Saudi Arabia challenges this claim on the basis of its own connexions with the place. Saudi Arabia likewise challenges the claim of the Trucial State Abū Ẓabī to al-Djiwāʾ. Saudi Arabia claims an outlet to the Persian Gulf on the coast between Abū Ẓabī and Ḳaṭar, but the British Government, which by treaty controls the foreign relations of these two states, disputes this claim. In 1373/1954 the two parties agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration.

The Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*] Peninsula, jutting northwards into the Persian Gulf about halfway between its mouth and its head, is the seat of an Amirate under the rule of Āl Thānī, a dynasty of recent origin, with its capital in the port of al-Dawḥa. The boundary

between the Amirate and Saudi Arabia in the vicinity of the base of the peninsula has not been agreed upon, and the Amir of Baḥrayn claims a piece of territory around al-Zubāra in the northwestern part of the peninsula.

The archipelago of Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] between Ḳaṭar and the Saudi Arabian mainland constitutes an Amirate under the rule of Āl Khalīfa, a family from Nadjd which established itself in the islands in 1197/1783 and has ruled there ever since, with its capital in the port of al-Manāma on the main island. British interests in the Persian Gulf come under the supervision of a Political Resident with headquarters in al-Manāma. Also subject to his administration are the Kuria Muria islands, which belong to Great Britain.

On the Arabian mainland at the head of the Persian Gulf is the small roughly triangular Amirate of Kuwayt, partially separated from Saudi Arabia by a neutral zone and bounded on the north and west by ʿIrāḳ. Āl Ṣabāḥ, a family related to Āl Khalīfa of Baḥrayn, has ruled Kuwayt for over two centuries [see KUWAYT].

Ḳaṭar, Baḥrayn, and Kuwayt have all granted the British Government by treaty the right to conduct their foreign affairs and have agreed not to enter into relations with other powers without the consent of that government. Questions dealing with water boundaries and the appurtenance of a number of islands in the Persian Gulf remain to be settled between Baḥrayn and Kuwayt on one hand and Saudi Arabia on the other.

(v) FLORA AND FAUNA

Throughout most of the Peninsula a sharp contrast exists between the untilled stretches of desert and the green patches of cultivation in the oases. In places, particularly along the margins of the Peninsula where rain falls more frequently or where stream channels bring sufficient water down from the highlands, cultivation is more widespread, sometimes climbing the heights in skilfully built terraces and sometimes carpeting the narrow plains between the mountains and the sea. Arabia, however, boasts no endless prairies or pampas tamed by the plough, nor does it boast any rich belt of forests—the best it can offer are the juniper woods of High ʿAsīr.

The plant beyond compare in the oases is the date palm (*nakhla* [*q.v.*]), so much in a class by itself that the Arab tends to think of it as a thing apart from all other trees. Not only is the date the most important staple food, but the branches and bark of the palm are also used in building huts, in making baskets and mats, and for a myriad other purposes. The date palm does not flourish at the highest altitudes, so that the villagers there depend on grains. In Ẓufār and a few other spots coconut palms grow in place of or alongside the date, which is also replaced on occasion by the *dawm* palm (gingerbread tree).

Wheat, barley, and the millets are the chief grains. Alfalfa (lucerne = *ḳatt* or *ḳaḍb* or *barsīm*) is a common crop raised in the shade of the date palms, and cotton, rice, and tobacco are cultivated on a small scale.

On high terraces in the Yaman and ʿAsīr grows the coffee which made Mocha a goal for Western traders after the Portuguese found the way around Africa to India. Introduced only about five centuries ago into Arabia, coffee gave its Arabic name (*ḳahwa* [*q.v.*]) to the world, but the world now goes to Brazil for its everyday bean, the bean of the Yaman having become an exotic luxury. On many terraces coffee has yielded place to the more profitable *ḳāt* [*q.v.*], whose slightly narcotic leaves are chewed by people of all classes in the Yaman and other parts of the south.

Frankincense (*lubān*) [*q.v.*] and other aromatics, exported to the West over two thousand years ago by the Incense Road from South Arabia to the Mediterranean, still grow in the south, especially in the land of Mahra, but as articles of commerce they are now of virtually no value. Of greater use today is indigo, much favored as a dye in the south (the tree is called *ḥawīr* and the dye *nīl* [*q.v.*]). Other common dyes are the yellowish *wars* and the reddish henna.

Among the larger trees are tamarisks—sometimes planted in a row as a wind break or to stop the advance of drifting sand—acacias, mimosas, and carobs. The jujube (*Zizyphus spina christi* = *sidr* [*q.v.*] in the north, *ʿilb* in the south) bears an edible fruit, called *dawm* (a homonym of the name of the palm) by the Bedouins and *kunār* by the townsmen. The aloe and the euphorbia often grow to a considerable height, and some varieties of euphorbia closely resemble cactus.

Arid though Arabia is, it is not without flowers and fruits. For roses and pomegranates al-Ṭāʾif is famed, al-Khardj for watermelons (*djiḥḥ* in Nadjd, *ḥabḥab* in al-Ḥidjāz, and *dibshī* in the north), and al-Buraymī for mangoes (*anbā* or *hanb*). Figs, grapes, peaches, bananas, and other fruits sometimes vary the monotonous diet of the townsman, but the Bedouin seldom savours anything more than his milk and dates.

In the cool season the Bedouins roam far afield, sometimes going for months without resort to water wells—the forage supports the camels, whose milk supports their masters. The most sought after plants for forage are the annuals (*ʿushb*, pron. *ʿishb*)—grasses, wild flowers, and herbs which spring up green after a rain, especially in the *rabīʿ*, the season of plenty following the first and best rains (*wasmī*). The sands provide favorable soil for the growth of such annuals and so are reckoned by the nomads as among the most attractive types of desert terrain. Perennial shrubs and bushes (*shadjar*) eaten by camels are *naṣī*, *ḥādhdh*, and *sabaṭ* (pron. *ṣabaṭ*), as well as others too numerous to mention. From time to time camels hanker after bushes of the category called *ḥamḍ*, a prime source of the salt needed by their system. Among the many plants falling in this category are *rawtha*, *rimth*, *ʿarād*, *ʿudjrum*, *sūwād*, *shinān*, *ghaḍā*, and *ḥādhdh* (not *ḥādh* as in classical Arabic). Dry bushes are also essential to the Bedouins for firewood (*ḥaṭab*), among the best for this purpose being *ʿabl*, *ghaḍā*, and *rimth*. Burning with a fragrant scent, these woods help to make the ceremony of brewing coffee for a guest at the open door of the tent one of the chief pleasures of life. The Bedouin likes truffles (*faḳʿ*) and eats other desert plants, though by preference and philosophy there is little of the vegetarian in his being. Twigs of the *arāk* (pron. *rāk*) are in common use as a toothbrush (*miswāk*), and senna (*sanā*) is chewed as a purgative.

Vegetation would be more abundant in the deserts were it not for the migrating dunes, some of which move 20 m. in a year. In many places, however, bushes have taken root and fixed the sand, a hummock of which is built up around each bush. An area of such hummocks may extend for many kilometers, making very rough country known as *ʿafdja*. Less difficult types of sandy terrain with vegetation are called *marbakh* or *dikāka* (pl. *dikāk*, cf. class.

dakk, pl. *dikāk*; and *dakdak* = flat surface, sandy plain).

Among animals the camel occupies a place analogous to that of the date palm among plants. The vast majority of Bedouins in Arabia depend on the camel above all other material possessions. The tribes which herd sheep rather than camels range over the steppes north of Arabia, close to the great rivers of Mesopotamia, and do not pass beyond the territory of Kuwayt in their southward migrations. Milk is the camel's most precious product, but its meat, hide, and wool are also put to good use, its dung (*dimn*) is collected to be burned as fuel, and the tail of a dead camel makes a strong rope. Camels are sometimes harnessed for ploughing or drawing water from wells, and the nomads sell part of their stock to secure money for clothing and other necessities. In time of great thirst a Bedouin may slaughter a camel to drink the water stored in its stomach (*karsh*) and the urine in its bladder (*mibwāl*).

The general term for camels is *ibil* [*q.v.*] (often pronounced *bil*), with *bawsh* being common in the south. A riding camel is a *dhalūl* (pl. *djaysh*); the plural *rikāb* is used for both those that are ridden and those that are not. The most highly desired camels are the thoroughbreds (*aṣāʾil*), whose pedigree has been controlled and recorded over a number of generations. Many of these are from the breeds of Oman (ʿUmāniyyāt), among which the Bawāṭin of al-Bāṭina are particularly well known, though these have the disadvantage of wanting to drink every day and of not being adapted to rough country. The camels of the sands tend to be smaller and lighter in color than those raised in the mountains of the Yaman. Among the multitudinous names in the special vocabulary reserved for camels are ones describing beasts which graze on certain plants, e.g. *hawārim* (fem. sing. *hārim*) from the *harm* bush, and *awārik* (fem. sing. *ārika*) from the *arāk* tree. Along the coasts camels are often fed on dried sardines.

Along with camels, most of the nomads keep sheep and goats (*ghanam*), though not in great flocks like those of the northern steppes. Sheep and goats are valued for their milk, fleece, and skins. Sheep are in demand as the *pièce de résistance* of the Arab banquet; even royalty can offer nothing more appetising than a young lamb (*ṭali*, pl. *ṭulyān*) basted in a pot with *samn* and served on a platter heaped high with rice. *Samn*, clarified butter for cooking and greasing made from the milk of the ewe (*naʿdja*) or she-goat (*ʿanz*), is considered superior to *djabāb* from the milk of the she-camel (*nāḳa*) or *wadak* from the fat of camels, sheep, or cattle.

The Arabian horse, the ancestor of the Western thoroughbred and once the pride of the Peninsula, is a disappearing strain. Few Bedouins now own horses, and the export of stock to India, Egypt, and the West, formerly an important item in the Arabian economy, has dwindled away to insignificance. An occasional man of rank still maintains a stud, but even this is likely to be neglected. The speed of the motor car has captured the Arab's fancy; cars are now used in place of horses for hunting and as cavalry in some of the Arabian military forces.

Fine breeds of donkeys are raised, particularly the large white ones of Baḥrayn and al-Ḥasā. Donkeys are used for riding, drawing water, and as pack animals in the mountains, where their surefootedness makes them more reliable than camels. Cattle, which in most places are not numerous, are usually of the small humped variety, except in Suḳuṭrā, where the humpless kind is found.

The gazelle (*ẓaby*), which in days past used to speed across the plains in great herds, is rapidly being thinned out by rifles in the hands of hunters hurtling by in trucks or cars. The three common types are the *riʾm* (pron. *rīm*), the *ʿifrī* (cf. class. *yaʿfūr*), and the *idm*; the term *ghazāl* is used only for the newly born kid. The swift greyhound (*salūḳī*) of the Bedouins can on rare occasions outrun even the gazelle. Of the oryx (*wuḍayḥī* in the south, *baḳar waḥsh* in the north), a larger antelope, small numbers survive in the remoter parts of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī but none or almost none is now left in the Great Nafūd. The ibex or mountain goat (*waʿl* or *badan*) also seeks refuge in distant retreats on higher cliffs. Other large wild beasts are the hyena (*ḍabʿ*), jackal (*wāwī*), wolf (*dhiʾb*, pron. *dhīb*, pl. *dhiyāba*), and cheetah (*nimr*). The lion has long been extinct in Arabia. In the mountains of the south baboons are common, often chattering along in troops; they are fond of raiding the millet fields. Smaller animals are the fox (*thaʿlab* or *thaʿl* or *ḥuṣnī*), the ratel (*ẓarinbān*, class. *ẓaribān*), the cony or hyrax (*wabr*), and the hare (*arnab*). The hedgehog (*ḳunfudh*) with its short quills is much commoner than the unrelated long-quilled porcupine (*nīṣ*). The jerboa (*djarbūʿ*, cf. class. *yarbūʿ*) hops about the desert on its long hind legs, resembling a miniature kangaroo; its cousin the *djirdhī* (cf. class. *djuradh*), on the other hand, runs on all fours.

Snakes live in the sands and rocks, though seldom seen because of their nocturnal habits. Some are poisonous, including the horned viper, as well as a species of Arabian cobra (= Egyptian asp) and a large snake called the *yaym* (cf. class. *aym*), which the Bedouins say has the power of flying or leaping over a considerable distance. According to popular report, perhaps the most deadly of all is the *bathn*, a small innocent-appearing snake living in the sands. The striped seasnakes of the Persian Gulf are poisonous, but they rarely if ever bite human beings. The two large lizards are the *ḍabb* and the Arabian or desert monitor (*waral*), the first of which is eaten by all the Bedouins with relish, while the second is ordinarily shunned. Among the smaller lizards of the sands are the fierce-looking *ṭuḥayḥī* and the slippery sand-swimming skink (*dammūsa*).

The ostrich appears to have become extinct in Arabia during the past few years. Fragments of ostrich eggshells are often found in the desert, and the word *naʿām* and other terms relating to ostriches occur frequently in place names. Trained falcons, often called simply *ṭuyūr*, are much used in the chase, their chief game among other birds being the lesser bustard (*ḥubārā*). Species of the sand grouse such as the *ḳaṭā* and the *ghaṭāṭ* are too fast for trained falcons, though they can be overtaken by the wild variety. The presence of wild falcons is attested to by the number of high places called *maṣḳara* = nesting-place of the falcon (*ṣaḳr*). Among the larger birds of the desert are the eagle, the vulture (*nasr*), and the owl, while the flamingo, the egret, and the pelican are found along the coasts. Smaller birds are commoner in the cultivated regions, among them being the cuckoo, the thrush, the swallow, the wagtail, the Syrian nightingale (*bulbul*), and the hoopoe (*hudhud*). The bifasciated lark (*umm sālim*) is ubiquitous in the desert, and the courser (*daradj*) nearly so. The pigeons of the Great Mosque in Mecca are famous throughout Islam.

The seas embracing the Peninsula are rich in fish, many of which, such as the king mackerel (*kanʿad*) and the grouper (*hāmūr*) of the Persian Gulf, are tasty and nutritious, but are not eaten as much by

the Arabs as might be expected. Whales occasionally enter the Persian Gulf from the Indian Ocean. Both sharks and sardines are caught in great numbers off the southern coast, and the Persian Gulf produces delicious shrimps.

The most disastrous plague visited upon Arabia by living creatures is that of the locusts (*djarād*). The solitary mitigating aspect of a locust invasion is that a number of the invaders themselves are eaten by the people they afflict. Minor plagues by comparison are those of flies, camel ticks, and similar vermin, which are no worse in Arabia than in many other countries, even though the Bedouin may describe his life as all *raml wa-ḳaml* (sand and lice). A more agreeable insect, even in spite of its sting, is the bee, kept for its honey.

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(vi) Ethnography

In the study of the ethnography of the Peninsula an array of formidable problems remain unsolved. Who were the first inhabitants? Did they arise from the soil or did they come from abroad? If immigrants, what was their original home? What was the environment in which they lived—did it differ greatly from the Arabia of today? What intrusive elements intermingled with the earliest dwellers as time went by? Who were the first people to deserve the name of Arab, and where did they come from?

A measure of progress has been made in the attempt to elicit answers to these and similar questions, but far more work must be done before any of the more likely hypotheses can achieve the status of historical fact. Much more needs to be known about the geology and geography of the Peninsula, many promising archaeological sites need to be excavated, and an exhaustive investigation must be made of the various segments of the present population and their history. Moreover, the solution of Arabian problems may well depend to a considerable degree on the success of work relating to other areas. The problem of the identity of the Arabs, for example, dovetails inextricably into the broader problem of the identity of the Semites, the host of people speaking languages of the family to which Arabic belongs.

Space does not permit a review of the numerous hypotheses receiving serious consideration with respect to the early history of man in Arabia. Suffice it to say that available evidence indicates that the highlanders of the Yaman may form the least adulterated large group anywhere in the world now representing what anthropologists call the Mediterranean race. East of the territory of these highlanders a Veddoid strain is said to appear, particularly among the tribe of Mahra and other tribes in the south speaking their own Semitic languages, which are distinct from Arabic. This Veddoid strain and other data suggest an ancient connection with lands farther east, perhaps India or Ceylon. The Bedouin of the north, to most Westerners the classic Arab type, is also basically Mediterranean, though not quite as characteristically so as the mountaineer of the Yaman. All along the coasts and with less frequency in the interior, other strains occur, sometimes in easily recognisable forms and at other times lying so far below the surface as almost to defy identification.

The unraveling of these mysteries is the concern of the archaeologist and the anthropologist [cf. also

BADW]. More important for the student of Islam is the concept the Arab—especially the Muslim Arab—has had, and in many cases still has, of his ethnographical development, a concept so prevalent and tenaciously held that it merits the careful consideration of the anthropologist as well.

The seeds of the Arab's own concept go far back into his past; how far can not be determined because of the relative lateness of the sources available, though the basic particulars of the concept had developed before the appearance of Islam. In weighing data pertaining to pre-Islamic times, however, one must use caution, bearing in mind the fact that most of the existing sources were recorded not only long after the event but also subsequent to the introduction of Islam with its new ways of looking at many aspects of life, so that the complete genuineness of these data may often be open to question. Furthermore, various refinements of the Arab concept were still being made in the time of the Prophet, and other refinements came even later. Finally, Islam with its doctrine of the brotherhood of Muslims and the equality of Arab and non-Arab presented a fundamental challenge to the validity of the Arab concept as a guiding principle for the life of the community.

Muslim genealogists have worked out an elaborate and ingenious system for the illustration and application of the Arab concept. Although this system has weaknesses—obscurities in the early stages, obvious gaps, unexplained riddles, inconsistencies, and contradictions—on the whole it hangs together well. Most important, its primary theses—the core of the Arab concept—have been by no means the exclusive property of scholars; they have belonged to the people, and their influence on the politics and social life of Arabia has been penetrating and pervasive.

According to the Arab concept, the Arabs constitute a race, not simply a community of people speaking the same language. This race is made up of innumerable men and women each descending in a direct line from one or the other of two ancestors, who probably were not closely related (the connection between these two eponyms is one of the major unresolved aspects of the system). Greater homogeneity could have been attained only by insisting on the descent of all Arabs from a single ancestor. That the Arabs recognized in their clear and undisputed tradition the duality of their origin is a significant fact, and its effect on the history of the Arabs and Islam has been far-reaching.

The system of the genealogists begins with a nod at those whom the Arabs regarded as the original inhabitants of the Peninsula, tribes such as ʿĀd, Thamūd, Iram, Djurhum, Ṭasm, and Djadīs [*qq.v.*], all of which are believed to have disappeared before the beginning of Islam. Some of these, such as ʿĀd and Iram, may well have been entirely legendary, while the historicity of others, such as Thamūd, is not in doubt. Nothing certain is known about the identity of these tribes, though they are generally reckoned to have been Arabs, the Lost Arabs (*al-ʿarab al-bāʾida*). Sometimes they are even called the True Arabs (*al-ʿarab al-ʿāriba*), though this has little meaning, as in the Arab concept they are mainly a historical curiosity and an example of the terrible fate visited on people who heeded not their prophets. Although in later times there were men who claimed descent from these ancients or even tribes reputed to have sprung from them, the conclusion of the genealogist Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) was that "on the face of the earth there is no one whose descent from them is verified" (ed. Lévi-Provençal, 8).

Disposing of the autochthons in this fashion, the Arab concept concentrates on the two great ancestors—Ḳaḥṭān and ʿAdnān [*qq.v.*]—and the two great divisions of the Arab race they fathered. As all men go back to Adam, these two must have been at least remotely related. The question of a closer relationship depends on whether Ḳaḥṭān was a descendant of Ismāʿīl, who was recognised as an ancestor of ʿAdnān. One opinion commonly held opposes such a descent for Ḳaḥṭān, whose presumed line from Noah's son Shem (Sām b. Nūḥ) is separately traced. Ḳaḥṭān's offspring are generally denominated the True Arabs (*al-ʿarab al-ʿāriba* or *al-ʿarbāʾ*) and ʿAdnān's the Arabised Arabs (*al-ʿarab al-mutaʿarriba* or *al-mustaʿriba*), though the uncertainty of this classification is revealed by the existence of other versions, one of which brackets the Lost Arabs with Ḳaḥṭān as the True Arabs, while another reserves the title of True Arabs for the Lost Arabs, designating the people of Ḳaḥṭān as *mutaʿarriba* and those of ʿAdnān as *mustaʿriba*. In any event, Ḳaḥṭān clearly comes out closer than ʿAdnān to genuine Arabness.

The descendants of Ḳaḥṭān are the Southern Arabs, Ḳabāʾil al-Yaman, whose origin is traditionally assigned to the south-western corner of the Peninsula, while the descendants of ʿAdnān are the Northern Arabs, held to have made their first appearance in the northern half of the Peninsula. Whether this traditional division has a basis in truth is open to question. Certain data, for example, suggest that Sabaʾ came from the north into the Yaman, though in the scheme of the Arab genealogists Sabaʾ is the great-grandson of Ḳaḥṭān and the father of Ḥimyar and Kahlān, the eponyms of the two main branches of the Southern Arabs.

The peoples of the ancient South Arabian states—Sabaeans, Minaeans [*qq.v.*], and others—were regarded as descendants of Ḥimyar, so that Ḥimyar in Arabic became the comprehensive term embracing the civilisation of these states. Few of those recognised without qualification as descendants of Ḥimyar played an important role during the Islamic period, the centre of the stage having by then been occupied by the sons of Kahlān, among whom were numbered Ṭayyiʾ, Madhḥidj, Hamdān, and al-Azd. Among the subdivisions of al-Azd were al-Aws and al-Khazradj, residents of Medina who rose to fame in Islam as the Prophet's Anṣār. Lakhm, Ghassān, Kinda, and other tribes of Kahlān became solidly established in the north and centre long before the beginning of Islam, so that a tribal map of Arabia in the 6th and early 7th centuries reveals a curious patchwork in which the ranges of many Arabs of Southern descent lie north of those belonging to Arabs of Northern descent.

ʿAdnān, the putative progenitor of the Northern Arabs, appears to have been even more of a misty figure than Ḳaḥṭān, so that the Northern Arabs in popular practice often trace their descent back no further than ʿAdnān's son Maʿadd or even his grandson Nizār. Muḍar and Rabīʿa, sons of Nizār, were the eponyms of the two main branches of the Northern Arabs, the descendants of a third son, Iyād, having largely sunk out of sight by the time of Islam. Ḳays ʿAylān, one of the two major divisions of Muḍar, was of such importance that the term Ḳaysī was often used for all Northern Arabs. This division embraced Hawāzin and Sulaym, and Hawāzin alone included such notable tribes as Thaḳīf and the whole group of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa

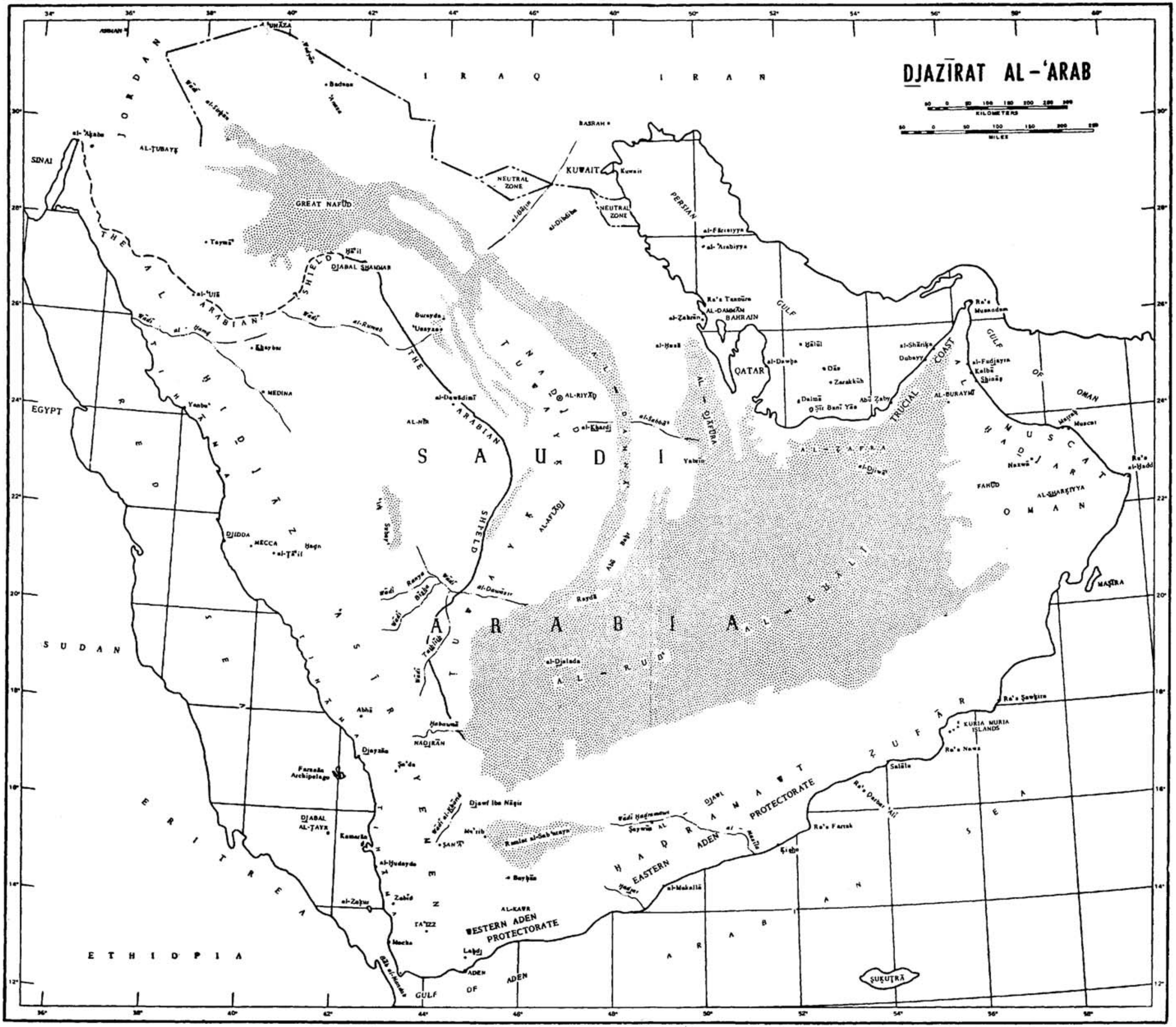
DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB
KILOMETERS
MILES
SAUDI ARABIA
IRAQ
IRAN
JORDAN
KUWAIT
QATAR
BAHRAIN
EGYPT
SUDAN
ETHIOPIA
ERITREA
SINAI
NEUTRAL ZONE
GREAT NAFŪD
RED SEA
PERSIAN GULF
GULF OF OMAN
OMAN
MUSCAT
TRUCIAL COAST
YEMEN
WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE
EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE
GULF OF ADEN
ARABIAN SEA
ṢUḲUṬRĀ
MECCA
MEDINA
DJIDDA
AL-RIYĀḌ
ADEN
KURIA MURIA ISLANDS
MAṢĪRA

(Kushayr, ʿUkayl, Djaʿda, Kilāb, and Hilāl). Khindif, the other major division of Muḍar, numbered in its ranks Hudhayl and Tamīm and above all Kināna, the tribe of which Kuraysh formed a subdivision. Although the Northern Arabs by origin lacked the same identification with Arabdom that their Southern cousins enjoyed, the fact that the Seal of the Prophets came from the Northern tribe of Kuraysh has redeemed their prestige under Islam in ample measure.

From Rabīʿa sprang the tribes of ʿAnaza, ʿAbd al-Kays, al-Namir, Taghlib, and the strong group of Bakr b. Wāʾil, one of whose members was Ḥanīfa. Well before Islam the original groups of Muḍar and Rabīʿa dissolved, early folk of Muḍar moving to the territory on the Euphrates called after them Diyār Muḍar and early folk of Rabīʿa to the territory on the Tigris called Diyār Rabīʿa. Many of their offshoots, however, remained behind in the Peninsula: Hudhayl in the vicinity of al-Ṭāʾif; Sulaym in the mountains between Mecca and Medina; Tamīm and Ḥanīfa and various members of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa in the center; and ʿAbd al-Kays in the east.

An attitude of hostility between Kaḥṭān and ʿAdnān, which went far back into the past, was enhanced by the rivalry that developed between the Anṣār of Medina and Kuraysh of Mecca, so that it became a factor of extraordinary significance in the history of the early Islamic dynasties, the effect of which extended as far afield as Spain. The struggle between South and North finally faded away into an affair of dwindling consequence with the eclipse of the Arab element in the Islamic world. Only in one section of the Peninsula—ʿUmān—has the ancient hostility endured down to the present as a vital force. For centuries the Northerners were known in ʿUmān as Nizārīs, and the Southerners as Yamanīs. As the result of a civil war there in the early 18th century, the Northerners came to be called Ghāfirīs and the Southerners Hināwīs, a distinction which still carries weight.

A major anomaly in the system appears in the case of Kuḍāʿa. A number of tribes—Bahrāʾ, Djuhayna, Balī, Tanūkh, Kalb, and others—recognised a common ancestor named Kuḍāʿa, but agreement was lacking as to whether he was a Southerner or a Northerner. Some said he was a son of ʿAdnān, while others said he was a grandson or later descendant of Ḥimyar. The genealogists also resorted to the device of declaring that all the Arabs were descended from three men—Kaḥṭān, ʿAdnān, and Kuḍāʿa—but without the suggestion that Kuḍāʿa represented a third element, neither Southerner nor Northerner. In the conflicts between the Southerners and the Northerners during the early period of Islam, the tribes of Kuḍāʿa tended to side with the Southerners; genealogy was used for political purposes, the attribution to Kuḍāʿa of a descent from Kaḥṭān through Ḥimyar prevailed, and the tribe of Kalb of Kuḍāʿa advanced to the fore as champions of the Southern Arabs in the days of the Umayyads.

In studying the history of Arabia from ʿAbbāsid times to the present, one encounters great difficulty in determining the links between the tribes of a thousand years ago and the tribes of today. Oppenheim, Bräunlich, and Caskel in their work *Die Beduinen* have made the most ambitious attempt so far with respect to the tribes of northern and central Arabia, but much remains to be done in spite of the laudable degree of success they have achieved. Information on the tribes during the time when the government of Islam was in or near Arabia is fairly abundant, and the same is true of the last two centuries or so, but for hundreds of years in between their story remains for the most part concealed from view. Great migrations took place of which only trifling records have been recovered. Elements broke off from one tribe to join another, or whole tribes reshuffled themselves into new groupings. Popular tradition among the Bedouins has preserved some recollection of the changes, but this tradition is often far from trustworthy. In the 4th/10th century al-Hamdānī remarked on the tendency of tribes bearing a given name to associate themselves with stronger or more renowned tribes of the same name, and this tendency still holds true. In the time of the Caliph Abū Bakr the appearance of the false prophet Musaylima among Ḥanīfa brought this tribe into disrepute; descendants of Ḥanīfa in Nadjd today prefer to name as their ancestor Rabīʿa, from whom Ḥanīfa sprang, but so many other tribes have been named Rabīʿa and popular knowledge of the traditional genealogical system is so scant that the result is often complete confusion. The modern tribe of al-Dawāsir has a tradition that its ancestor was named ʿUmar; the ordinary Dawsarī today glibly identifies him as ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb without knowing who ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was. The modern tribe of Banī Ghāfir in al-Bāṭina of ʿUmān provides an example of the often unstable status of the tribes; although the Northern Arabs of ʿUmān are now called Ghāfirīs after this tribe, the tribe itself is notorious for the way in which it has shifted its allegiance back and forth between the Northerners and the Southerners.

Some of the great tribes of the present, such as Tamīm in the centre and Hamdān in the southwest, apparently represent in a generally faithful manner the ancient entities which bore these names, though many members of each have in the course of time broken away and lost their identity, while outsiders have attached themselves to this tribe or that and become completely absorbed into the community. The modern tribe of Kaḥṭān may be the residue of one or more segments of the original nation of Southern Arabs, or the connexion may be even more tenuous than this, despite the fact that the Bedouins of Arabia still associate this tribe with the father of all Southerners. To follow the vicissitudes of the tribe of Kuraysh since the beginning of Islam, one would have to investigate—among other things—the history and current status of the many thousands of real and reputed *sayyid*s and *sharīf*s scattered not only throughout Arabia, but from one end of the Islamic world to the other.

Members of one modern tribe may tenaciously insist on their homogeneity in descent from a single ancestor, while members of another tribe readily admit that they are a confederation of diverse elements. The tribes of al-ʿUdjmān and Āl Murra, which migrated from the vicinity of Nadjrān to Eastern Arabia about two centuries ago, maintain that they share a common descent from Hamdān of the Southern Arabs through Yām. Their physical characteristics, their speech, and other facets of their life and history lend credence to this claim. On the other hand, large tribes such as ʿUtayba and Muṭayr in Inner Arabia are closely knit composites the original components of which probably first coalesced not more than five or six centuries ago. These confederations may be transitory, e.g., the confederation of Nuʿaym in ʿUmān appears at present to be in the process of breaking down into its two

main constituents, Āl Bū Khuraybān and Āl Bū Shāmis, with the old name of Nuʿaym frequently being applied to Āl Bū Khuraybān alone, while other members of Nuʿaym, living c. 500 km. to the west, are no longer in close contact with the main body.

Despite all the genealogical vagaries and uncertainties, it is impressive how much importance is attached by most of the Arabs of Arabia to purity of descent. Mankind is divided into those whose race is universally recognised as purely Arab (*aṣīl*) and those of a lower category whose blood is mixed or impure (*ghayr aṣīl*). The Bedouin who knows his immediate forebears through no more than six or eight generations is still profoundly convinced of his own nobility; his membership in a tribe of acknowledged purity of descent is sufficient guarantee that the line further back is without taint. Purity of blood is preserved by strict rules governing marriage, which among the Bedouins at least are seldom violated. The distinction between pure and impure, strongest among the Bedouins, is carried over to a considerable extent into the oases and towns, particularly those away from the coasts, where many of the townspeople keep alive their sense of affiliation with one tribe or another. Other townspeople are grouped together in Nadjd under the appellation of Banī Khaḍīr, a generic term for those whose origin can not be traced back to a specific tribe.

In the desert a few nomadic tribes by general consent bear the stigma of non-Arab descent. Among these is the tribe of al-Ṣulaba [*q.v.*] in the north, the physical characteristics of whose members, as well as the popular traditions regarding them, suggest an origin hidden in an unusual aura of mystery, though there is no foundation for the oft-repeated legend that they are the offspring of wandering Crusaders. Others of this category in the north are Hutaym and al-Sharārāt. The tribe of al-ʿAwāzim in the east has succeeded in rising somewhat above its inferior status as a result of its prowess in battle during the past forty years in the ranks of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of Saudi Arabia.

Along the coasts, in the seaports, and in towns not far inland are found the greatest infusions of foreign or nondescript racial elements. In some cases these are well defined types from abroad, such as Somalis and Indians along the southern coast and on the Red Sea; banians or Indian merchants are also numerous in the ports of the Sultanate of Muscat and on the Persian Gulf. In other cases people of obscure origin are classified primarily on the basis of their occupations, such as the servants in Southern Arabia called Ṣibyān and Akhdām. Because many Muslims from distant lands desire to live and die on hallowed ground, Mecca contains a strikingly heterogeneous population, in which the so-called Javanese and Bukhāran colonies (made up respectively of settlers from Indonesia and Central Asia) are among the largest. Certain foreign elements, such as the Abyssinians from the west and the Persians from the east, have a history in Arabia going back two millennia or more, yet they have never immigrated in great force and few are the places where the majority of the population has not retained its basic Arab character, at least in such important aspects as language and religion. Other foreign elements, such as some of the Baluchis settled in the interior of ʿUmān, have become so thoroughly Arabised that they are now considered by their Arab neighbors as *aṣīl*.

Racial matters in Arabia are often intermingled with religious considerations. Descendants of the Prophet, who usually bear the title of *sharīf* in al-Ḥidjāz and *sayyid* in the Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt, sometimes form a privileged caste in the community, while at other times they lead the life of simple nomads in the desert. The numerous *sayyid*s of Ḥaḍramawt, who enjoy exceptional prestige, all claim descent from a small group of families who emigrated from ʿIrāḳ to Ḥaḍramawt in the first half of the 4th/10th century. In ʿUmān the title *sayyid* is popularly accorded to the Sultan of Muscat, who does not claim descent from the Prophet, and in Nadjd the incidence of *sharīfs* is remarkably low. In Eastern Arabia most of the *sayyid*s are found among the Shīʿites, a fact which prompts the Sunnite Bedouins to question the authenticity of their descent. The Jews, whose history in Arabia goes back well into the pre-Islamic period, may have been in the beginning Israelites who moved southwards or Arabs converted to the Judaic religion or a combination of the two. Once fairly numerous in the south-west, almost all of the Jews have departed within the last few years for Israel.

Slavery as an institution sanctioned by Islam flourished in the Peninsula until very recent times, though now it appears to be slowly dying out. The great majority of the slaves came from Central Africa, and Negro blood is found even in villages of al-Aflādj in the heart of Arabia. Like other Islamic lands, Arabia has remained uncursed by a colour bar, and emancipated slaves have on occasion attained positions of influence in society. Another Negro element exists in the so-called Takārina, who come halfway across Africa, often on foot, to make the pilgrimage; some of these stay on to eke out a living in the Holy Land, where their huts stand in the outskirts of Djidda.

Although migrations of persons and tribes from place to place within the Peninsula and from the Peninsula to the fertile lands farther north have been common throughout the centuries, only a relatively small proportion of the Arabs of Arabia have shown a fondness for crossing the seas to settle in foreign lands. Chief among these have been the people of ʿUmān, who since ancient times have moved down along the coast of East Africa and into southern islands such as Zanzibar, and the people of Ḥaḍramawt, many of whom have more recently established themselves in the Indonesian Archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, and India, where they have been influential in the domains of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād. Arabs of Eastern Arabia have moved across the Persian Gulf to occupy much of the Iranian coast, and seafarers from the Yaman have founded tiny colonies in such distant spots as Cardiff in Wales.

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(vii) HISTORY

1. — *Pre-Islamic*

Arabia before the First Millennium B.C. — The Arabian Peninsula has as yet no history earlier than the first millennium B. C., though future investigations will certainly bring many new facts to light. Excavations have been few and limited in extent, and even the surface in many regions has not been scrutinised by trained searchers.

Scattered finds indicate that the Peninsula was inhabited in both Palaeolithic and Neolithic times, but nothing is known about who the people were or where they came from. The problem of the site of the original home of the Semites is still a matter of speculation. The Semitic nomads who began filtering into the Fertile Crescent from the adjacent deserts in the fourth millennium B. C. relied chiefly on the donkey, a beast not as well adapted as the camel to wide ranging in waterless tracts.

The cuneiform inscriptions of Mesopotamia contain numerous references to Magan, Melukhkha, and Dilmun, places which may have lain in Arabia, though much of the geography of the time remains vague. The Egyptian records relating to Punt are similarly imprecise. Egypt's connections with Sinai and the Red Sea are very ancient, and the availability of frankincense in Southern Arabia led to indirect or even direct intercourse at an early period.

A development of vast importance in the later history of Arabia and the Islamic world occurred, probably in the early second millennium B. C., with the devising of a system of alphabetic writing from which later Semitic alphabets, including South Arabic and North Arabic, derived. Tribal migrations about which little is yet known took place inside Arabia; in this millennium many of the "sons of Ḳaḥṭān" may have gone south to their new homes. The last centuries of this millennium were a time of change, with the Iron Age beginning in the Near East and the Semitic Aramaeans entering the Fertile Crescent in strength. The domestication of the camel appears to have been achieved during this period in Arabia, the first contribution of the Peninsula to the material progress of mankind.

Arabia during the First Millennium B.C. — The tenth chapter of Genesis, believed to belong to about the 10th century B. C., mentions Joktan and Hazarmaveth, who may be identified with Ḳaḥṭān and Ḥaḍramawt. In the same century Solomon sent vessels into the Red Sea from the port of Ezion-geber, while his caravans traded with Northern Arabia. The location of Ophir, from which Solomon received gold and other products, continues to be a mystery. From the 9th century on, Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions make frequent mention of the Aribi, camel-owning inhabitants of Northern Arabia who paid tribute to the masters of Mesopotamia.

In recent years knowledge of the ancient civilisation of Southern Arabia has expanded tremendously. So many new inscriptions and other traces are coming to hand that current conclusions must often be regarded as tentative. An intensive review of the chronology is in progress, with the general tendency favoring a downward revision of dates. Available information suggests that organised states came into being in Southern Arabia during the second half of the first millennium B. C.

The four chief states—Sabaʾ of the Sabaeans, Maʿīn of the Minaeans, Ḳatabān, and Ḥaḍramawt—throve on agriculture and commerce. The Mārib dam in Sabaʾ was the most imposing structure in an elaborate system of irrigation. For centuries the Southern Arabian merchants monopolised the frankincense trade and controlled traffic between India and the West, sending their goods by overland routes which traversed Arabia from south to north. Colonies were established in Northern Arabia, and evidence of business activity has been found in Egypt, the Aegaean, and the Persian Gulf region. Strong Graeco-Roman influence on Southern Arabian culture is shown by archaeological discoveries. Southern Arabians migrated to Abyssinia, to which they gave its name, and their influence reached along the eastern coast of Africa.

Many impressive buildings in Southern Arabia were temples dedicated to pagan deities. The earlier rulers of Sabaʾ, who bore the title of Mukarrib, combined the functions of prince and priest; later they gave way to the more secular rule of kings. [For details see AL-YAMAN.]

In the north, Aramaean influence was strong in the oasis of Taymāʾ, briefly the capital of the Neo-Babylonian Empire under Nabonidus (regn. B. C. 556-539). Dedan, near modern al-ʿUlā, became the center of a culture now called Liḥyānitic, using an

alphabet derived from South Arabic. Thamūd, mentioned as a tribe in an Assyrian inscription of the 8th century B. C., held Egra (al-Ḥidjr or Madā'in Ṣāliḥ) just north of Dedan. The recent finding of widely dispersed Thamūdic inscriptions has raised new questions regarding the spread of this derivative of the South Arabic script and those who used it.

After the Persian capture of Babylon in B. C. 539, a short-lived satrapy called Arabāyā was created in Northern Arabia. Darius I (regn. 521-485), who sought to stimulate trade via the Persian Gulf, sent out Scylax of Caryanda, who sailed from India to the northern end of the Red Sea. The world's knowledge of Arabia increased through Alexander's expeditions and the reconnaissance of the Persian Gulf carried out by Nearchus the Cretan. Alexander died in 323 just as he was planning the circumnavigation of the Peninsula and the subjugation of its peoples. Not long afterwards the Greek naturalist Theophrastus wrote an account of Southern Arabia and its products.

The Ptolemies of Egypt, who often pursued a forward policy in the Red Sea, threatened the trade monopoly held by the Arabs, while the Seleucids of Syria promoted the use of the northern routes from India. The establishment of the Parthian state in the mid-3rd century B. C. weakened the Seleucids, but Antiochus III was still strong enough to conduct an expedition in 205-204 against Gerrha on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf.

Late in the millennium the Nabataeans, a people of Arab stock with their capital at Petra, began playing a considerable role in the affairs of Syria, and Arabs appeared as rulers in various places in the Fertile Crescent, such as Charax Spasini at the head of the Persian Gulf. Arab vassal chiefs enjoyed a large measure of autonomy under Parthian rule, and the immigration of Arabs into Mesopotamia went steadily on.

Towards the end of the 2nd century B. C. Eudoxus of Cyzicus sailed from Egypt to India, and in time Westerners learned the secret of using the south-west and north-east monsoons for voyaging across open water. The growing competition of the West seriously undermined the commercial dominance of the Southern Arabians, in whose homeland radical changes were taking place. An important event near the close of the 2nd century, later taken as the starting point of the "Sabaean era", has been plausibly connected with the assumption of royal power in Saba' by the mountain tribe of Hamdān. Both the kingdoms of Maʿīn and Ḳatabān came to an end in the 1st century B. C., and the Ḳatabānian capital Timnaʿ in Bayḥān was destroyed. Rome, which had made a client state of Petra in B. C. 60, coveted the wealth of Arabia Felix. Augustus sent the Prefect of Egypt, Aelius Gallus, supported by Nabataeans from Petra, on a long march in B. C. 24 towards the incense country, but the expedition, finding the deserts inhospitable and its Arab allies treacherous, did not get beyond Saba'. [For details see AL-YAMAN.]

Arabia during the First Six Christian Centuries. — About A. D. 50 an unknown author wrote in Greek the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, an invaluable account of trade in the Red Sea and along the southern coast of Arabia. The King of Ḥaḍramawt in his capital Shabwa controlled the whole territory from Bayḥān in the west to Ẓufār in the east, while the "King of Saba' and of Dhū Raydān" (a recently assumed title) sat in Ẓafār in the mountains of the Yaman, where the power of Ḥimyar was growing.

In A. D. 105 or 106 the Roman province of Arabia was created in the old Nabataean domain, stretching from Ayla (al-ʿAḳaba) in the south to al-Namāra in the northeast, with its capital first at Petra and later at Bostra. Merchants were encouraged to trade via the Red Sea through the port of Ayla, and Bedouin raids were warded off by the building of a limes along the desert borders. Roman knowledge of the Peninsula in the mid-2nd century was summarized by the geographer Claudius Ptolemy.

Ardashīr I, the first Sāsānid (d. A. D. 241), is said to have founded a city in Eastern Arabia and to have induced the tribe of al-Azd to settle in ʿUmān. Sāsānid authority on one flank of Northern Arabia and Roman authority on the other were challenged by the Arab rulers of Palmyra, but the Roman Emperor Aurelian defeated Queen Zenobia and captured her desert stronghold in 272.

Something of the old glory of Saba' and Dhū Raydān was regained by Shammar (or Shāmir) Yuharʿish, who signified his triumphs about the end of the 3rd century by adding the names of Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat to his royal title. His reign was followed by a relapse into weakness, during which Nadjrān on the northern border was besieged by the Lakhmid Mar' (= Imru') al-Ḳays, extravagantly described as "King of all the Arabs" in the oldest North Arabic inscription known (al-Namāra 328). Later Kings of Saba' made their title even longer by appending "and of their Arabs in the mountains and the lowlands".

One of the most obscure periods in Arabian history fell in the 4th and 5th centuries. The decline and impoverishment of the Roman Empire affected the Peninsula, where urban civilisation waned and the simpler ways of nomadism attracted more adherents. Christianity with its promise of a better life in the hereafter made headway in Arabia as elsewhere. The Arabs proved particularly susceptible to the doctrines of Nestorianism, coming from Mesopotamia, and Monophysitism, coming from Egypt and Abyssinia. The Abyssinians occupied the Yaman for a brief period in the 4th century, with ʿĒzānā, the first Christian King of Aksum, proclaiming himself ruler of Ḥimyar, Raydān, Saba', etc. Shāpūr II (regn. 310-79), called Dhū 'l-Aktāf by the Arabs, subjugated Eastern Arabia; the Sāsānid yoke was later removed, only to be reimposed shortly before the dawn of Islam. Judaism also made a successful appeal in Arabia, among its reputed converts being the King of Saba' in the early 5th century, Abkarib Asʿad, known to Arab tradition as Tubbaʿ Asʿad Kāmil, and one of its centres being the oasis of Yathrib (later Medina).

Both the Sāsānids and the Byzantine successors of Rome found it necessary to protect their territories from the unruly folk of Arabia by relying on buffer states ruled by Arab princes, the Lakhmids [*q.v.*] standing guard on the edge of Mesopotamia and the Ghassānids [*q.v.*] shielding Syria. The two client states, like their suzerains, often came into conflict. In the first half of the 6th century al-Ḥārith b. Djabala, the greatest of the Ghassānids, proved stronger than al-Mundhir b. Mā' al-Samā', the most famous of the Lakhmids. In the late 5th century the chief of the Southern Arab tribe of Kinda [*q.v.*], Ḥudjr Ākil al-Murār, assumed the leadership of a confederacy of tribes in Central Arabia, but this loosely knit Kingdom of Kinda lasted only about half a century before it was overthrown by al-Mundhir the Lakhmid.

In the 6th century Southern Arabia lay open to

attack by the Christian Kings of Aksum and the Sāsānid Khusraw I Anūshirwān (regn. A. D. 531-79). Persecution of the Christians of Nadjrān by the Judaising Arab Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*] led to a new Abyssinian occupation of the Yaman c. 521. The Abyssinian Abraha [*q.v.*] as ruler of the Yaman carried out the last repair of the dam of Mārib before its final abandonment, marched into the heart of Nadjd on a campaign against the Arabs of Maʿadd, clients of the Lakhmids, and, according to Islamic tradition, undertook an unsuccessful expedition against Mecca in the Year of the Elephant (c. 570). Under Khusraw the Persians evicted the Abyssinians, and the Yaman was Persian territory at the rise of Islam.

Mecca, a town of some antiquity on the main route paralleling the Red Sea, achieved greater prominence and prosperity in the late 6th century, aided by foreign domination of the Yaman and chaotic conditions along the northern routes resulting from the long drawn out wars between Persia and Byzantium. The Meccan merchants of Ḳuraysh showed astuteness and industry in profiting from their participation in international trade.

The last centuries of this period gave birth to the form of Arabic now called classical, the dialectal sources and the exact process of the development of which remain uncertain. Used by the poets of the *djāhiliyya*, many of whom were Bedouins and some Christians or Jews by faith, this language became the instrument of expression for the supreme masterpiece of Islam, the Ḳurʾān, and the great works of Arabic literature in succeeding ages (see ʿARABIYYA).

2. — *Islamic Middle Ages*

Muḥammad and the Rise of Islam (*A. D. c. 570-632*). — About A. D. 570 Muḥammad [*q.v.*] b. ʿAbd Allāh of Ḳuraysh was born in Mecca, then a principal centre of pagan worship. Only traditional accounts survive of Muḥammad's early years, during which he became well acquainted with the tribal structure of both urban and nomadic life and saw something of the world outside Arabia while accompanying merchant caravans to Syria. About 610 he received his first revelation; two or three years later he began preaching in public, after which the nature of Islam was elaborated upon in a series of revelations during the rest of his career as God's Messenger and Prophet.

The men in authority in Mecca did not welcome Muḥammad's message. A small body of Muslims went into exile in Christian Abyssinia; later the whole Muslim community migrated northwards from Mecca to Yathrib, an event taken afterwards as having marked the beginning of the Islamic era (A. H. 1/A. D. 622). During the ten years Muḥammad maintained his capital at Medina, he erected a state guided in all its functions by the precepts of Islam. Two revolutionary concepts emerged which transformed the face of Arabia. The Ḳurʾān, as emphasised by the divine revelations of which it consisted, was Arabic, a standard under which all Arabs could unite. Arabia had never before known an entity larger than relatively petty states or independent tribes and tribal confederations, usually at loggerheads with each other if not openly at war. At the same time, the Ḳurʾān and Islam were not limited to the Arabs: the Ḳurʾān is a revelation to all men, and under Islam the noblest man is the most Godfearing, not the one of highest lineage. This universal appeal opened the way for Islam to go far beyond the borders of Arabia.

Muḥammad's efforts during the Medinan period were devoted in large measure to settling affairs with Mecca, which was finally incorporated in the Islamic state in 8/630. Before this a fair number of tribes had been won over to Islam, but the great flood of applications to join Islam from tribes all over the Peninsula did not come until 9/630-1, the Year of the Delegations. Muḥammad died in 11/632, before there had been time to anchor the Ḳurʾānic religion in the hearts of all who had taken the name of Muslim. Neither had there been time to carry Islam abroad, though a halting attempt had been made in that direction, and the moment was indeed ripe for shattering the fragile shells of Byzantine and Sāsānid defences in the Fertile Crescent.

The First Three Caliphs (*11-35/632-56*). — Soon after Abū Bakr (regn. 11-13/632-4) succeeded Muḥammad as head of the Islamic state, many tribes reasserted their independence, with prophets in several cases preaching doctrines contrary to Islam. Abū Bakr reacted vigorously, dispatching Muslim columns to Central Arabia, Baḥrayn, ʿUmān, and the Yaman. When Ḥaḍramawt, which held out the longest, was subdued, the Arabian Peninsula for the first and last time in history was effectively united throughout its length and breadth.

The other great achievement of Abū Bakr's brief rule was the inauguration of the grand programme of Muslim conquests outside Arabia. After invading ʿIrāḳ Khālid b. al-Walīd marched across the Syrian Desert in 13/634 to participate in a victory over the Byzantines.

The conquests started by Abū Bakr were carried forward with verve during the rule of ʿUmar (13-23/634-44). ʿIrāḳ was taken from the Sāsānids, and Arabs from both the Northern and the Southern tribes peopled the newly founded military settlements of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. After a decisive victory over the Byzantines at al-Yarmūk and the capture of Jerusalem, ʿUmar came to visit this holy city, the first journey of a Caliph beyond the confines of Arabia. Islam next advanced into Egypt, the occupation of which brought about stronger economic and cultural ties with Western Arabia. Although ʿUmar is reputed to have ordered the expulsion of all Christians and Jews from the Peninsula, numbers of them lived on there for a long time to come.

In the days of ʿUthmān (regn. 23-35/644-56) of the House of Umayya, wealth and luxury abounded in Medina and Mecca, into which poured booty from the lands recently subdued. ʿUthmān had no ear for the voice of Abū Dharr decrying the decay of the stern and frugal virtues of earlier Islam. Even more dangerous to the future of Arabia and Islam was the rift developing between the most powerful figures in the state, which led to the murder of ʿUthmān in Medina.

The Struggle over the Caliphate (*35-73/656-692*). — The rift in high circles widened into a chasm when ʿAlī, Muḥammad's son-in-law and cousin, came to the fore as Caliph on the death of ʿUthmān. Muḥammad's wife ʿĀʾisha and his Companions al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥa rose in opposition to ʿAlī, who left Medina to march against them in 36/656. In the Battle of the Camel ʿAlī overthrew his rivals and won ʿIrāḳ, only to find himself faced with a more formidable adversary in ʿUthmān's Umayyad kinsman Muʿāwiya, the governor of Syria. When ʿAlī fixed his capital at al-Kūfa in order to marshal strength against Muʿāwiya, Medina lost

the preeminence it had held since the Prophet's migration.

ʿAlī's tactics against Muʿāwiya so exacerbated the extremists among his own followers that they turned against him as the Khawāridj. Despite the crushing victory ʿAlī gained over these seceders at al-Nahrawān in 38/659, their party survived, Arabia long providing a fertile field for its propaganda. Muʿāwiya was proclaimed rival Caliph in Jesuralem, and his forces clashed with ʿAlī's in Western Arabia from Medina to Nadjrān and the Yaman. When a Khāridjī assassinated ʿAlī in 40/661, the ʿAlids set up his son al-Ḥasan as Caliph in al-Kūfa, but he soon renounced his claims in favor of Muʿāwiya, who thus temporarily reunited the community of Islam.

For the rest of Muʿāwiya's life no serious rising took place against the new Syrian Caliphate, but resentment was stirred up by his advocacy of hereditary succession. After the accession of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (regn. 60-4/680-3), ʿAlī's second son al-Ḥusayn left Mecca to rally support in ʿIrāḳ, only to fall a martyr at Karbalāʾ in 61/680. His death cleared the field for a stronger candidate, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the foremost representative of the sons of the Prophet's Companions. Yazīd's army defeated the rebellious Medinans in the battle of Ḥarrat Wāḳim and laid siege to Mecca, Ibn al-Zubayr's stronghold, where the Kaʿba caught fire, but Yazīd's death brought a pause in the hostilities. Ibn al-Zubayr won recognition as Caliph in nearly every quarter of Islam; in fact, had he proceeded to Syria immediately, he might well have destroyed the Umayyad power forever. While Ibn al-Zubayr lingered on in Mecca, ʿAbd al-Malik (regn. 65-86/685-705) of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads gradually regained ground outside Arabia. The Khawāridj, who had at first leagued themselves with Ibn al-Zubayr, turned against him, the Khāridjī Nadjda b. ʿĀmir of Banū Ḥanīfa making himself master of much of Arabia, only to be overthrown by another Khāridjī, Abū Fudayk. ʿAbd al-Malik gave al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf command of an army which captured Mecca in 73/692 after a long siege. Ibn al-Zubayr fell in the struggle, leaving the Holy Land of Islam in the hands of the Umayyads. Another Umayyad army marched to Eastern Arabia and put an end to Abū Fudayk.

Arabia under the Umayyads (73-132/692-750). — The Umayyads of Syria regularly appointed governors for Medina and Mecca, and exercised a measure of control, often shadowy, over other parts of Arabia. Powerful Umayyad governors of al-Baṣra such as al-Ḥadjdjādj and Yazīd b. al-Muhallab made their word law in the Persian Gulf and along its Arabian shore.

The Umayyad Caliphs honoured the sanctity of the Holy Cities in Arabia and lavished large sums on their shrines, even while favouring at times the claim of Jerusalem, which was easier of access, to an equal or higher rank. During much of this period Western Arabia was at peace, enjoying a prosperity such as it was not to know among the dissensions of later ages. The Umayyads developed the irrigation system, and many personages of Islam lived in their days of retirement on estates near Medina, Mecca, or al-Ṭāʾif. The Holy Cities became renowned not only for Islamic learning but also for indulgent living, poetry, and singing.

The intense rivalry in Umayyad politics between the Northern Arabs and the Southern Arabs had its repercussions in Arabia, where Kalb, the principal tribe among the Southerners, owned land in Wādī al-Ḳurā near Medina.

Towards the end of the Umayyad period an alliance of Khawāridj was formed under the leadership of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ of Kinda and Abū Ḥamza of al-Azd. Abū Ḥamza took Mecca, won a victory at Ḳudayd in 130/747, and then entered Medina, while Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ supported him from their base in Ḥaḍramawt and the Yaman. Despite the waning might of the Umayyads, Marwān II summoned sufficient strength to overcome these Khāridjī chiefs, but only after they had contributed to his final undoing. Mecca was also used by the ʿAbbāsids as a centre for their plot aiming at the supersession of the Syrian Caliphs.

Arabia under the Early ʿAbbāsids (132-266/750-879). — The ʿAbbāsid transfer of the Caliphate to ʿIrāḳ enhanced the importance of the Persian Gulf as a seaway for trade reaching out to China and East Africa. Wares bound to and from the ʿAbbāsid capital passed through al-Baṣra, while in the Gulf itself Sīrāf on the Persian side in the 3rd/9th century became the busiest port.

ʿAbbāsid authority in Arabia kept its strength for not much over a century, during which time governors were sent to the Holy cities and the Yaman, and on occasion to the central and eastern regions. The earlier Caliphs, notably al-Mahdī and Hārūn, and their wives, notably Zubayda, were diligent in making the pilgrimage and encouraging their subjects to do so by improving communications and the amenities of the route.

A sect of the Khawāridj known as the Ibāḍiyya set up its own Imamate in ʿUmān under al-Djulandā b. Masʿūd of al-Azd, but an ʿAbbāsid expedition under Khāzim b. Khuzayma defeated and killed al-Djulandā in 134/752. Soon afterwards this Imamate was revived to endure with few interruptions for the next four centuries. ʿUmān, however, was an out of the way region, and the Khawāridj on the whole gave the ʿAbbāsids little trouble. [Cf. ʿUMĀN.]

Taking the place of the Khawāridj as a thorn in the Caliphs' flesh were the ʿAlids [*q.v.*], both Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids. Through skilful propaganda the ʿAbbāsids in their campaign against the Umayyads had forestalled the ʿAlids and usurped the leadership they regarded as rightfully theirs. For this the ʿAlids never forgave them, and one after another they contested the ʿAbbāsid title to rule. Even though the ʿAbbāsids themselves came from a Meccan ancestor close to the Prophet, the ʿAlids almost invariably found ready followers in Arabia; in the Holy Cities their rallying cry inspired the hope of regaining the place lost to Damascus and Baghdad.

The first ʿAlid pretender in Arabia was the Ḥasanid Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, who appeared as the Mahdī in Medina and had his claim to the Caliphate certified by no less a scholar than Mālik b. Anas, but all to no avail when he fell in 145/762 before the troops of al-Manṣūr.

A major split took place among the ʿAlids following the death of their sixth Imam, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, c. 148/765. The main body, giving loyalty to Djaʿfar's son Mūsā al-Kāẓim and five of his descendants, came to be known as the Twelvers. Others, the Seveners, advocated the cause of Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar and his son Muḥammad, for which they worked, often in secret, in the movement of Ismāʿīlism. As time went by the Ismāʿīlīs in particular tended to attract to their side the discontented and oppressed elements of society, enemies of the ruling classes.

Another Ḥasanid pretender, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, met a martyr's death fighting against an ʿAbbāsid army at Fakhkh near Mecca in 169/786. The ʿAlid cause, however, made progress in the Yaman, where it received the support of the great jurist al-Shāfiʿī, who finally won a pardon after being delivered as a prisoner to Hārūn's presence.

The end of the 2nd century H. saw a new upsurge of ʿAlid strength in Western Arabia: in Mecca the Ḥusaynid al-Ḥusayn al-Afṭas put forward Muḥammad al-Dībādj, a son of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, while the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. Sulaymān established himself in Medina. These pretenders did not hold their ground against the ʿAbbāsids, but greater success was achieved by Ibrāhīm al-Djazzār, a grandson of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, in the Yaman. Yielding to the tide of pro-ʿAlid sentiment, the Abbāsid Caliph al-Maʾmūn designated ʿAlī al-Riḍā, the eighth Imam of the Twelvers, as his heir apparent and substituted ʿAlid green for ʿAbbāsid black as the royal colour, but this change evaporated with ʿAlī's death in 203/818.

To cope with the ʿAlid threat in the Yaman, al-Maʾmūn appointed as his governor there one Muḥammad, who claimed descent from Muʿāwiya's lieutenant Ziyād b. Abīh. Refounding the city of Zabīd in 204/820 and carving out a domain for himself, Muḥammad established the dynasty of the Ziyādids [*q.v.*], which, while according nominal allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids, was actually the first of the numerous independent dynasties to spring up in Arabia as the Caliphate disintegrated.

Although not a strong Caliph, al-Wāthiḳ (regn. 227-232/842-847) executed a vigorous policy in Arabia. When Bedouins of Sulaym made the region around the Holy Cities unsafe with their depredations, al-Wāthiḳ dispatched the Turkish general Bughā the Elder to bring the culprits to heel. For the next two years Bughā campaigned against other tribes, climaxing his operations in 232/847 with a hard won victory over Numayr at Baṭn al-Sirr deep in the interior, after which a man of Udākh in Nadjd was appointed governor of al-Yamāma, Eastern Arabia, and the pilgrim route to Mecca.

Following the death of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, the career of the ʿAbbāsids both at home and in Arabia took a turn for the worse. The dynasty of the Yaʿfurids [*q.v.*], claiming descent from the ancient Tubbaʿs of Ḥimyar, arose in the highlands of the Yaman with Ṣanʿāʾ as capital. Ḥaḍramawt secured its independence, and local rulers set themselves up in the east, where ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—either a genuine Ḥusaynid, as he gave himself out to be, or a member of ʿAbd al-Ḳays—began an agitation among the nomadic tribes. Another Ḥasanid revolt in Mecca, inaugurated by Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf al-Ukhayḍir, led to the establishment under Ismāʿīl's brother Muḥammad of a new state in al-Yamāma, where these Ukhayḍirids maintained themselves until submerged by the onrush of Ḳarmaṭianism.

Another blow was dealt the ʿAbbāsid empire by the recalcitrant governor of Egypt, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, who by occupying Syria broke down the control once exercised over the tribes of the Syrian Desert. The most direct menace to the empire, however, came from the agitator in Eastern Arabia, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who transferred his activities to Southern ʿIrāḳ, where he stirred up the Zandj, the negro slaves laboring in the salt marshes, in a massive insurrection (255-70/863-83) extending as far as the Holy Cities.

Ismāʿīlīs and Ḳarmaṭians in Arabia (266-567/879-1171). — At this juncture in ʿAbbāsid affairs the rapidly spreading movement of Ismāʿīlism (see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA) took full advantage of its opportunities. Ismāʿīlī missionaries carried out a well laid plan of penetration, with the Persian Gulf coast and the Yaman as the principal foci for their activity in Arabia. As these two parts of Arabia remained relatively isolated from each other, the connexion between later developments in them was slight.

Ismāʿīlism was first introduced into the Yaman by Ibn Ḥawshab (Manṣūr al-Yaman) and ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl in 266/879-80. Collaborating closely, these two won many followers, and ʿAlī occupied both Ṣanʿāʾ and Zabīd for brief periods. The Ziyādids and the Yaʿfurids fought the Ismāʿīlīs, and a new opponent arose against them in 280/893 with the arrival in the Yaman of the first Zaydī Imam, al-Hādī Yaḥyā, a grandson of the Ḥasanid al-Ḳāsim al-Rassī (d. 246/860), who had fashioned legal foundations for a Zaydī government closer to Sunnism than to the extreme Shīʿism of the Ismāʿīlīs. The two Ismāʿīlī leaders eventually fell out, and by 303/915 both were dead, but their doctrines did not die with them.

Ismāʿīlism appeared c. 286/899 in Eastern Arabia, where under Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan al-Djannābī and his son Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān a strong state was organised. The name Ḳarmaṭian, the origin and meaning of which are still in doubt, remains the popular designation for this particular aspect of Ismāʿīlism, though its application is not restricted to this region. The ʿAbbāsids were too feeble to prevent these Ḳarmaṭians from sacking al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, and in 317/930 they entered Mecca and carried off the Black Stone to their new capital al-Aḥsāʾ (al-Ḥasā). With the conquest of ʿUmān soon thereafter the Ḳarmaṭians held the greater part of Arabia. These disturbances prompted the Ḥusaynid Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, the most famous ancestor of the *sayyids* of Southern Arabia, to leave al-Baṣra on a migration ending in Ḥaḍramawt, where Ibāḍīs from ʿUmān then held the upper hand.

New threats to the ʿAbbāsids came from the Būyids of Iran and the Ikhshīdids of Egypt, who reached out at times to Mecca, though neither got a lasting foothold there. The Būyids, who by taking Baghdād in 334/945 assumed *de facto* authority over the ʿAbbāsid realm, also brought ʿUmān within their sphere.

Abū Ṭāhir died in 332/944, and the Ḳarmaṭians at the behest of the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimids of North Africa restored the Black Stone to Mecca in 339/950-1. Under al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam, a nephew of Abū Ṭāhir, the Ḳarmaṭians joined the Fāṭimids in a pincer movement on Syria and Egypt, the former exerting pressure from the east as the latter advanced from the west. However, after the Fāṭimids occupied Egypt in 358/969, the Ḳarmaṭians broke with them and sided with the Būyids in resisting their designs on Syria. Damascus was captured by al-Ḥasan in 360/971, but he was repulsed on two expeditions against Egypt before reaching the newly founded Fāṭimid city of Cairo.

Following the death of al-Ḥasan, the Ḳarmaṭian government was placed in the hands of a Council of six *sayyids*. The Fāṭimids won a military victory over the Ḳarmaṭians, but had to pay a large sum to induce them to return to al-Aḥsāʾ. The Ḳarmaṭians lost ʿUmān in 375/985-6, were checked by the Būyids in ʿIrāḳ and defeated in their own territory by a chief of al-Muntafiḳ, who plundered al-Ḳaṭīf. [Cf. also ḲARMAṬIANS.]

About the mid-4th/10th century the Sharīfate of Mecca [for which see MAKKA], destined to last a thousand years, was established by a family of Ḥasanids known as the Mūsāwids. The most prominent member of this family was Abū al-Futūḥ al-Ḥasan, who in 402/1011-2 tried to make himself Caliph, only to be thwarted by the Fāṭimids, liege lords of the *sharīfs*. Contemporary with the early Mūsāwids were Ḥusaynids descended from al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar, a younger brother of the fifth Shīʿite Imam, who began ruling as *amīrs* of Medina. This line, which lasted until the 9th/15th century, came later to be known as the House of Muhannā.

An offshoot of Ismāʿīlism was the Druze movement, which had its origins during the reign of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim. The Druze al-Muḳtanā sent a letter to the Ḳarmaṭian *sayyids* of Eastern Arabia, proposing that they combine forces on the basis that they shared a common doctrine, but nothing concrete came of this.

Early in the 5th/11th century the Maʿnids [*q.v.*] came to power in Aden and Ḥaḍramawt, and the Ziyādids in the Yaman gave way before the Nadjāḥids [*q.v.*], originally their own Abyssinian slaves. Ismāʿīlism in the Yaman enjoyed a revival under the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*], rulers sprung from the tribe of Yām who held Ṣanʿāʾ as nominal vassals of the Fāṭimids, while the Zaydī Imams kept their base at Ṣaʿda.

In 443/1051 Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited al-Aḥsāʾ, where he found the Council of Six still in control. The details of his eyewitness account of the Ḳarmaṭian state in its later days are unfortunately not supported by corroborating testimony.

The Shīʿism of the Būyids, Ḳarmaṭians, and Fāṭimids aroused a Sunnite reaction championed by the Saldjūḳ Turks, whose leader Ṭughril took Baghdad in 447/1055. A Saldjūḳ of Kirmān, Ḳāwurd Ḳarā Arslān, brought ʿUmān under his sway. About this time Sīrāf was yielding its place as the chief port of the Persian Gulf to the island of Ḳays, the rulers of which made themselves also lords of ʿUmān, where in the mid-5th/11th century a break came in the line of Ibāḍī Imams. For the next three and a half centuries records survive of only one Imam.

The Ṣulayḥids of the Yaman seized Aden from the Maʿnids and also expanded northwards, the authority of the Mūsāwid *sharīfs* over Mecca having faded away. In 455/1063 the Ṣulayḥid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad installed an agnate branch of *sharīfs*, the Hāshimids, in Mecca. Under Malik Shāh in Baghdād the Saldjūḳs reached the zenith of their power, and thanks to him the shadowy ʿAbbāsid of the day had lipservice paid to him in the Holy Cities as the Caliph of Islam. Malik Shāh and his minister Niẓām al-Mulk concerned themselves with the affairs of the pilgrimage, spending freely to put them to rights.

About 470/1077-8 the Ḳarmaṭians of al-Aḥsāʾ met their final defeat at the hands of a native dynasty, the ʿUyūnids [*q.v.*] of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Ḳays. There is no trace of Ḳarmaṭianism left today among the Arabian people. The Shīʿites of al-Ḳaṭīf and modern al-Ḥasā, sometimes described as the remnants of the Ḳarmaṭians, are in fact orthodox Djaʿfarīs of the Twelver persuasion or Shaykhīs.

In 461/1068-9 Aden was granted as a dowry to a remarkable woman of the Ṣulayḥid house, Sayyida bint Aḥmad, upon her marriage to al-Mukarram Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī, and soon afterwards the government of the town was transferred from the Maʿnids to the Zurayʿids [*q.v.*], who like the Ṣulayḥids were Ismāʿīlīs of the stock of Yām. The Zurayʿids ruled Aden for nearly a century, gradually acquiring a larger measure of independence. Under Sayyida, into whose hands al-Mukarram placed the authority of the state so that she was recognized by the Fāṭimid Imam as Suzerain of the Kings of the Yaman, the Ṣulayḥids enjoyed their last days of real dominion. Her death in 532/1137-8 marked the effective end of the dynasty, the succeeding representatives of which were a feckless lot.

Upon the death of the Fāṭimid Imam of Egypt al-Mustanṣir in 487/1094, two parties arose among the Ismāʿīlīs which have persisted to the present day. From the party supporting al-Mustanṣir's eldest son Nizār descended the Ismāʿīlī Assassins of Alamūt and the Khōdjas, the head of many of whom is now the Āghā Khān. The party favoring al-Mustanṣir's youngest son al-Mustaʿlī Aḥmad, allied with the Ṣulayḥids through Queen Sayyida, was strong in the Yaman.

The rule of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, one of the greatest of the earlier Zaydī Imams, ran from 532 to 566/1137-71, during which time he held Ṣaʿda, Nadjrān, and al-Djawf, occupied Ṣanʿāʾ and Zabīd, and made his influence felt as far north as Khaybar and Yanbuʿ.

Like the Ṣulayḥids, the Nadjāḥids also produced a queen to rule during the dynasty's declining years, ʿAlam, originally a slave girl, whose death in 545/1150-1 was followed about a decade later by the ephemeral sway of the Mahdids [*q.v.*], who called themselves Ḥimyarites and were accused of being Khawāridj.

The Fāṭimids of Egypt succumbed to the Ayyūbids in 567/1171, and a plot to restore them was nipped in the bud in 569/1174 by Saladin, who executed the poet and historian ʿUmāra b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakamī of the Yaman. The center of the Mustaʿlian party was transferred from Egypt to the Yaman, where it stayed until the 10th/16th century, when it shifted to India, after which a split divided the party into the Dāʾūdīs of India and the Sulaymānīs of Southern Arabia [see BOHORĀ]. Extensive secular dominion in Arabia eluded the grasp of the Ismāʿīlīs until the reign of the Sulaymānī Makramids [*q.v.*] of Nadjrān in the 12th/18th century.

***Arabia in the Later Middle Ages** (567-end of 9th Century/1171-end of 15th Century).* — The advent of the Ayyūbids meant the triumph of Sunnism over Shīʿism in Arabia as well as in Egypt. Saladin, recognized as sovereign in Mecca, sent his brother Tūrān Shāh to depose the third and last Mahdid and occupy the Yaman in 569/1173. During the half century or so of Ayyūbid rule there members of collateral branches of the dynasty sat on this southern throne. Ḥaḍramawt was conquered, but did not become an integral part of the Ayyūbid domains. Closer home the Ayyūbids had their hands full with the Crusaders from the West, one of the boldest of whom, Renaud de Châtillon, raided Taymāʾ, sent his men cruising against the Muslims in the Red Sea, and even thought of attacking Medina.

About 598/1200 the Ḥasanid Ḳatāda b. Idrīs moved from Yanbuʿ to Mecca, where he founded the dynasty of all the later *sharīfs*. Endeavoring to build a strong independent state in al-Ḥidjāz, he found the rivalries of the day too great to overcome. Ḳatāda died in 617/1220-1, and soon afterwards al-Malik al-Masʿūd Yūsuf, the last Ayyūbid in the Yaman, took Mecca and appointed the founder of the Rasūlids, who claimed descent from the Ghassānids, his governor there.

On the other side of the Peninsula the Salghurid Atābeg of Fārs, Abū Bakr b. Saʿd, the patron of the poet Saʿdī of Shīrāz, annexed islands in the Persian Gulf and set foot on the mainland at al-Ḳaṭīf and al-Ḥasā. The local dynasty of the ʿUyūnids gave way before the Salghurid pressure and that of the tribe of ʿĀmir of ʿUḳayl, which supplied a new dynasty in the ʿUṣfūrids [*q.v.*].

Succeeding the Ayyūbids, the Rasūlids [*q.v.*] reigned in Taʿizz and Zabīd from 625 to 850/1228-1446 as the most illustrious house in mediaeval Yaman. Islamic architecture reached one of its higher points, and scholars received the stimulus of royal approbation, some of the Rasūlid Sultans themselves being authors of note. Embassies came to the court from China and other distant lands. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī (regn. 626-47/1229-50) ruled from Mecca to Ḥaḍramawt, and after Hūlāgū executed the last ʿAbbāsid in Baghdad in 656/1258 ʿUmar's son Yūsuf styled himself Caliph of Islam, but full enjoyment of such rank lay beyond the capabilities of the Rasūlid state.

Baybars, the first great Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt, assumed nominal overlordship of the Holy Cities, leaving Meccan affairs in charge of the *sharīf* Abū Numayy I Muḥammad (regn. 652-701/1254-1301), who strengthened the foundations of Ḳatādan rule. Bedouins of Āl Mirā and other tribes roamed through the Syrian Desert, exacting large fees from pilgrim caravans and penetrating into Nadjd on their raids. In Damascus the religious reformer Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) laid the theological basis for the Wahhābī movement of the 12th/18th century.

About the beginning of the 8th/14th century the port of Hormuz on the Persian mainland at the entrance to the Persian Gulf was moved to a nearby island, after which it grew apace and in time surpassed its rival the island of Ḳays in attracting to its warehouses the merchandise of the East.

Political disturbances in Mecca during the reign of the *sharīf* ʿAdjlān b. Rumaytha (746-77/1345-75) provoked interference by the Mamlūks of Egypt, who took the Rasūlid Sultan of the Yaman prisoner in a battle at ʿArafa in 751/1351. Rasūlid fortunes were temporarily recouped by Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl (regn. 803-27/1400-24), who held the Red Sea coast as far north as Ḥaly, but after his death the state swiftly disintegrated. The later Rasūlids carried on a lively competition with merchants in Egypt for Indian trade via the Red Sea.

In the early years of the 9th/15th century the Ibāḍī community of ʿUmān returned to its old practice of electing Imams, who succeeded one another in a series lasting over 150 years. About the same time the House of Kathīr under ʿAlī b. ʿUmar set out on its long course through the tortured politics of Ḥaḍramawt and Ẓufār, while Ḥaḍramī missionaries carried the gospel of Islam into Somaliland.

In the mid-9th/15th century Māniʿ b. Rabīʿa al-Muraydī, the ancestor of Āl Saʿūd, migrated from the vicinity of al-Ḳaṭīf to Nadjd, where he settled in Wādī Ḥanīfa. In the latter half of the century Adjwad Āl Zāmil of the Djabrid branch of the ʿUṣfūrids ruled as lord of al-Ḳaṭīf and Baḥrayn, making his name a byword for generosity in Eastern Arabia. Mecca prospered under the *sharīf* Muḥammad b. Barakāt and the Mamlūk Sultan Ḳāʾitbāy, who erected many buildings there, while the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] in Zabīd and Aden supplanted the Rasūlids in the south.

3. — *The Making of Modern Arabia (from the 10th/16th century to the present).*

In the late 9th/15th century Portuguese explorers made their way from the Mediterranean down the Red Sea, and in 903/1498 Vasco da Gama, after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, was guided to India by an Arab pilot, probably the Nadjdī Aḥmad b. Mādjid. Portuguese vessels soon appeared in the Red Sea, and under Afonso de Albuquerque the invaders seized Arabian ports on the Gulf of ʿUmān and the great mart of Hormuz. Pedro, Afonso's nephew, toured the Persian Gulf in 920/1514, but Afonso died the following year without having achieved his ambitions of reducing Aden and launching an expedition against Mecca.

About 912/1506-7 a new line of Zaydī Imāms was inaugurated by Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā, and from then onwards the Zaydīs tended to fix their capital, if possible, at Ṣanʿāʾ. Coffee appears to have been introduced into the Yaman from Abyssinia about this time, and the use of *ḳāt* and tobacco spread among the people.

Badr Abū Ṭuwayriḳ of Āl Kathīr (regn. 922-76/1516-68), whose authority in his palmier days reached from the land of al-ʿAwāliḳ through Ḥaḍramawt to Sayḥūt, did not hesitate to offer fealty to the Ottoman Sultan. Before Badr died he lost all his territories and suffered long imprisonment at the hands of his Ḥaḍramī enemies.

Salīm I, the Ottoman conqueror of Egypt in 923/1517, assumed the high title of Servant of the Holy Cities, and the reign of Sulaymān the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66) fenced other regions within the empire. The Portuguese in alliance with the King of Hormuz attacked Baḥrayn, where Muḳrin, the uncle and successor of Adjwad the Djabrid, lost his life defending the island in 927/1521. Reacting to the aggressive policy of the Portuguese, the Turks bestirred themselves in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Sulaymān at Baghdād in 941/1534 received the homage of the Arab chiefs of al-Ḳaṭīf and Baḥrayn, and later his troops pressed up into the mountains of the Yaman. Aden and Muscat were occupied briefly, and an Ottoman governor was installed in al-Ḥasā.

For a period of some sixty years after c. 968/1560 there were no Ibāḍī Imams in ʿUmān, where the secular Nabhānid [*q.v.*] princes in their mountain fastnesses reached the climax of their power.

The slow receding of the Ottoman tide from the highwater mark reached under Sulaymān was observable in Arabia as elsewhere. The diversion of trade from the overland routes to the sea route round Africa contributed to the serious economic depression which beset the Near East during the early modern age. Besides the Austrians and other foes in Europe, the Turks had to face the Ṣafawids, the strongest of whom, Shāh ʿAbbās I, pursued an expansionist policy in the Persian Gulf, where he subjected Baḥrayn in 1011/1602. In the Yaman the Zaydī Imams kept alive resistance to the Turks, and al-Muʾayyad Muḥammad succeeded in expelling them completely in 1045/1635.

The formation of the East India Company in 1009/1600 was the prelude to a burst of activity by English traders in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Allying themselves with the Persians, the newcomers drove the Portuguese out of Hormuz in 1031/1622. Once the Portuguese monopoly had been broken, the English found themselves involved in competition with the Dutch, who secured commercial

preeminence during the second half of the 11th/17th century.

After the election of Nāṣir b. Murs͟hid of the Yaʿrubids of al-Azd c. 1034/1624 as Ibāḍī Imām, this Imāmate remained in his family for more than a century. The Yaʿrubids in their early days drove the Portuguese out of Muscat and all other *pieds-à-terre*, and in their later days extended their authority overseas to Mombasa, Pemba, and Kilwa in East Africa.

Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the third and last Pas͟ha of the House of Afrāsiyāb, under whom al-Baṣra in the early 11th/17th century had become virtually independent of Ottoman rule, incited Āl Ḥumayd of the tribe of Banū K͟hālid to overthrow the Ottoman governor of al-Ḥasā in 1074/1663-4. These Bedouin chiefs kept the oases and grazing grounds of Eastern Arabia subject to their will until the Wahhābīs advanced to the Persian Gulf in the early 13th century H.

In Ḥaḍramawt the Zaydīs of the Yaman encouraged the spread of their version of Islam at the expense of S͟hāfiʿism. About 1070/1660 Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, a nephew of the reigning Zaydī Imam, led into the main valley of Ḥaḍramawt a terrifying force known as the Night Flood (*sayl al-layl*) which undermined the position of the House of Kat͟hīr, but Zaydism failed to secure a permanent triumph over S͟hāfiʿism in this region.

In the 12th/18th century a new era began in Arabia with the spread of the reforming movement inspired by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of Nad͟jd. In a sense this also marked the beginning of the modern history of the whole Near East. Placing the unity of God above all else and demanding that the popular faith be cleansed of innovations, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's call reverberated throughout the Islamic world from West Africa to the East Indies and moved the spirits of the modernists of the Salafiyya in Muslim countries closer than Arabia to the encroaching lands of the West. As an Arab movement opposed to the remote and vitiated rule of the Ottomans, Wahhābism [*q.v.*] influenced the nationalistic tendencies developing among the Arabs in the 19th and 20th centuries. Within Arabia political unity supplanted petty particularism, and orderly Islamic government functioned as it seldom had before.

Soon after first preaching in public in 1153/1741, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb concluded a basic alliance with Muḥammad b. Saʿūd, ruler of the insignificant town of al-Dirʿiyya. When Muḥammad died, his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz carried on, and by 1202/1788 all Nad͟jd had accepted the doctrines and sway of the reformers, who had withstood three expeditions directed against them by the Ismāʿīlī Makramids of Nad͟jrān, then a power in their corner of Arabia. [Cf. also SAʿŪDIDS.]

In 1156/1743 the Yaʿrubid line of Imams died out in ʿUmān while the Persians were trying to establish themselves there. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd of Āl Bū Saʿīd expelled the invaders from the Bāṭina coast and won election as Imam. After Aḥmad's death the electors chose his son, but he proved such an obscure figure that even the date of his death is unknown. Later rulers of Āl Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] made Muscat their capital and gave up the title of *imām*, calling themselves at first simply *sayyid* (though they claimed no descent from the Prophet) and afterwards *sulṭān*. The Persians also held suzerainty over Baḥrayn for about thirty years until the occupation of the islands by Āl K͟halīfa in 1197/1783, since which date no part of Arabia has been subject to Persian dominion.

The rapidly expanding puritan state of Nad͟jd came into conflict with the *s͟harīf*s of Mecca in a war lasting fifteen years (1205-1220/1791-1806), with the Saʿūdīs occupying Mecca for the first time in 1218/1803. Shortly after the death of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1206/1792) Saʿūdī authority flowed eastwards to the Persian Gulf, along which it extended to ʿUmān. In the south the reformers reached the Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt, while in the north their forces threatened to overrun Syria and Iraq. The Ottoman government, unable itself to dam the flood, turned in desperation to the new Viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī.

In the 13th/19th century foreign intervention in Arabia, both Muslim and Western, became more effective and extensive than ever before. Muḥammad ʿAlī annihilated the first Saʿūdī state when his army captured al-Dirʿiyya in 1233/1818. The British, at first welcoming and then fearing the advent of the Egyptians, carried out military actions against the Persian Gulf Arabs and in Inner ʿUmān and occupied Aden in 1254/1839, after which their influence gradually advanced along the southern and eastern coasts and penetrated into the hinterland.

Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, the most famous ruler of Āl Bū Saʿīd (regn. 1221-1273/1806-1856), wielded little or no authority in Inner ʿUmān, where he was hard pressed by the Saʿūdīs, to whom he often paid tribute. In the latter part of his reign he devoted most of his attention to his East African possessions, but five years after his death the British established Zanzibar as a Sultanate independent of Muscat. The only Ibāḍī Imam elected during the century, ʿAzzān b. Ḳays, failed to win recognition by the British and was overthrown in 1287/1871 after two years of rule. The Sultans who followed him depended upon British support for the maintenance of their position in Muscat in the face of the hostile Ibāḍī tribes of the interior.

During the century internecine warfare was common in Ḥaḍramawt, where much power rested in the hands of mercenaries imported from the mountains behind Aden, particularly of the tribe Yāfiʿ. In 1283/1867 the Ḳuʿayṭīs of this tribe occupied al-S͟hiḥr and fourteen years later acquired full possession of al-Mukallā.

Proving resilient in recovering from disastrous blows struck by Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces, the Saʿūdī state rebuilt its strength under Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh, who fixed his capital at al-Riyāḍ, and later his son Fayṣal, though al-Ḥid͟jāz was not occupied again. Civil war between Fayṣal's sons after his death in 1282/1865 caused another decline in Saʿūdī fortunes, facilitating the reimposition of Ottoman sovereignty over part of Eastern Arabia and the rise of Āl Ras͟hīd [*q.v.*] of Ḥāʾil to dominance in Nad͟jd, where al-Riyāḍ itself was made subject. The Ottomans also reestablished themselves in the highlands of the Yaman with headquarters at Ṣanʿāʾ, but they failed to crush the resistance of the Zaydī Imams. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1286/1869, making communications between Istanbul and D͟jidda easier and faster, helped the Turks to exercise more control in al-Ḥid͟jāz.

Āl Saʿūd, thrice crushed to earth, rose once more under the leadership of Faysal's grandson ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who took al-Riyāḍ from its Ras͟hīdī governor in 1319/1902. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz fought for twenty years before finally overcoming Āl Ras͟hīd in the north. In 1331/1913 he drove the Turks out of al-Ḥasā and then lent the British sympathetic support during the First World War. Although the Ḥid͟jāz Railway from Damascus to Medina had been inaugurated in

1326/1908, the Turks had to yield Mecca when *sharīf* al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, encouraged by the British, proclaimed the Arab Revolt in 1334/1916. The end of the war brought the end of Ottoman sovereignty in Arabia, the Zaydī Imam al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad becoming fully independent in the Yaman.

In 1331/1913 a new Ibāḍī Imam was elected in Inner ʿUmān in opposition to the Sultan of Muscat. Two years later the British intervened to forestall the capture of Muscat by the Imam's army. Through British mediation a treaty was concluded at al-Sīb in 1339/1920 providing that the people of ʿUmān and the Sultan's government should abstain from interference in each other's internal affairs, but in 1373-4/1954-5 the Sultan's forces, trained and led by British officers, occupied points not held before, hemming the Imamate in on all sides.

Although homage was paid to *sharīf* al-Ḥusayn as King of the Arabs and later as Caliph of Islam, successor of the Ottomans, he was defeated by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd when war broke out between the two. Following the conquest of al-Ḥidjāz, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz annexed the territories of the minor dynasties of Āl ʿĀʾiḍ and the Idrīsids in ʿAsīr and its Tihāma, received the title of King of Saudi Arabia in 1351/1932, and defeated Imam Yaḥyā of the Yaman in a brief war in 1353-4/1934, as a result of which Nadjrān was recognized as belonging to Saudi Arabia.

Killed in an abortive insurrection in 1367/1948, Imam Yaḥyā was succeeded by his son Aḥmad. Dying in 1373/1953, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was succeeded by his son Saʿūd. Thus passed from the scene two monarchs who did far more than simply bequeath their names to the realms they wrought and guided for half a century.

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ARABA. I. — The Turkish word *araba* (*arba, abra*), meaning "wagon" or "cart", is as old as the 14th cent. A.D., but it does not look like a pure Turkish word; neither does it have an obvious Arabic or Persian etymology. In Osmanli the usual spelling was *ʿaraba* with an *ʿayn*; and although Sāmī Frasheri in his *Ḳāmūs-i-Turkī* (Istanbul 1318), in an effort to prove the purely Turkish nature of the word, described this spelling as a "shocking solecism", it is in fact the more correct. The etymology of the word was correctly explained in the (18th cent.) *Sanglakh* of Mīrzā Mahdī Khān (folio 36 v. of the Gibb Memorial Trust MS.) in the following words: "*arāba*, which rhymes with *kharāba*, is a corruption (*muḥarraf*) of *ʿarrāda*, also called *ʿadjala*, in Arabic". *ʿArrāda* means "a ballista, a military siege weapon". Admittedly a ballista is not a wagon, but the word came to mean "a gun, a mobile gun, a carriage carrying a gun", from which the transition to "wagon, cart" was an easy one. The transitional stage is seen in the Emperor Babur's *Memoirs* (Gibb Memorial

Series, i, fol. 336 v., l. 7), where the phrase *ḍarbu-djanlık arabaları* ("culverin carts" in Beveridge's translation) occurs. There is at present no direct evidence of the date of the transition from *ʿarrāda* to *araba*, but the guess may be hazarded that the word was adopted as a technical term in the Mongol army during the invasion of Persia early in the 13th cent. and that the change took place there. It had certainly taken place before the 14th cent., since there is no trace of *ʿarrāda* in Turkish at that date and *araba* occurs in both the Italian and the German sections of the Codex Cumanicus (early 14th cent., with a late 13th cent. substratum); on the other hand there is no trace of either word in such 11th cent. authorities as Kās͟hg͟harī's *Dīwān Lug͟hāt al-Turk* or the *Kutadg͟hu Bilig*. It is interesting to note that *araba*, in one form or another, occurs in practically every modern Turkish dialect, except apparently Yakut and Čuvas͟h, which corroborates the general belief that these dialects had broken away from "common Turkish" before the 13th cent., and establishes the less generally accepted fact that the other peripheral dialects in Siberia, Chinese Turkestan and Europe had not yet broken away by that date. (G. L. M. CLAUSON)

II. — It appears that the plains and steppes of Central Asia, inhabited by the Turco-Mongols, were the centre where, about the beginning of the Christian era, a type of vehicle with two wheels and with shafts (carts), earlier developed in China, was furnished with a yoke of modern type relying on traction by the shoulders (A. G. Haudricourt and M. Jean-Brunhes Delamarre, *L'homme et la charrue*, Paris 1955, 173 ff.). From there the use of this vehicle spread in both directions, towards China and towards Europe. These carts play an important part in the history of the peoples of the Steppe, particularly in the period of the Mongol empire.

The word *ʿaraba* appears in the 8th/14th century in the *Codex Comanicus*, where it is glossed by *currus*, and in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The latter describes, in the Crimea, a vehicle called by the inhabitants *ʿaraba*, which had four wheels, carried a *yurt*, was pulled by two or more horses, by oxen or by camels, and controlled by a driver mounted on one of the animals. He travelled from Sarā to K͟hʷārizm on an *ʿaraba* pulled by camels (ii, 361-2; 385; 389, 451 etc.; iii, 1 ff.). This is therefore a different vehicle, at least in the first case, from those of Central Asia, and is of a type (waggon) which probably had a pole (with old-fashioned yoke; traction by the neck), invented in the Danube region of Europe or in the Ukraine in pre-historic era, and perpetuated among the Tatars of the same region under the same name (P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des russischen Reichs* ..., Leipzig, 1799-1801, i, 144 s. and pl. 6). In the 14th century also, *ʿarabas* appeared in the Mamlūk Empire as a "Turkish custom" (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. M. Ziyāda, ii 1, Cairo 1941, 232, concerning an event in 721/1321). The word, in the form *ʾaraba* or *ʿaraba*, considered to be Ottoman by Ibn Iyās (*Die Chronik* ...., ed. P. Kahle, etc., v = *Bibl. Islamica*, v 5, Istanbul-Leipzig 1932, 131; trans. by W. H. Salmon, London 1921, 100 ff.), was introduced into Arabic and denoted wooden vehicles, on wheels, pulled by camels, horses, mules or oxen, used to transport people and principally, it seems, articles, and possessing an astonishing turn of speed (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, *apud* Habīb Zayyāt, article quoted below). The Mamlūk army sent against Selīm I included one hundred wooden *ʿarabas*, each carrying a culverin and pulled by two oxen (Ibn Iyās, *loc. cit*).

In Central Asia, where wheeled transport lost its importance after the 15th century as a result of the economic decline of the nomad world, the word *araba, arba* denotes chiefly a vehicle with two extremely large spoked wheels (diameter from 2 m. to 2 m. 30 cm.), with a reed floor which acts to some extent as a shock absorber; the vehicle is often covered with a sort of hood, decorated in varying degree, and is pulled by a horse between two shafts (sometimes by an ox or camel). Often one of the wheels is fixed to the axle while the other revolves on it, a factor which facilitates turning. It is considered to be extremely practical because its height from the ground enables it easily to cross fords, canals, and rivers in spate (the best description, with excellent photographs, is to be found in O. Olufsen, *The Emir of Bokhara and his Country*, Copenhagen 1911, 351-3; on the wood used in its construction, see *Aziatskaya Rossija*, St. Petersburg 1914, ii, 402, with a good photo of a Sart *ʿaraba*, i, 166; cf. A. Woeikof, *Le Turkestan russe*, Paris 1914, 139-40 and pl. IXa). When heavy loads are carried, the number of horses is increased (F. Grenard, *Géographie universelle*, viii, 326). There are two distinct types of *ʿaraba*: the *ʿaraba* of Khʷārizm and Kās͟hg͟har, in which the driver sits in the vehicle and steers with reins, and the common *ʿaraba* of Turkistān, called the Khoḳand, in which the driver sits on the horse's withers, his feet resting on the end of the shafts, and steers with a short bridle (A. D. Kalmykov, *Protokoly zasedanii i soobs͟hčenija členov Turkestanskago kruz͟hka ark͟heologii*, xiii, 1908, Tashkent, 1909, 41). At Touva, the *ʿaraba* is described as having four wheels (A. A. Palʾmbak͟h, *Russko-tuvinskii slovar*, Moscow 1953, 25), and in Kirghiz the word is so common that a locomotive is termed "fire *ʿaraba*" (*ot araba*) (K. K. Yudahin, *Kırgız sözlügü*, tr. A. Taymaş, Ankara 1945, 39).

The word has infiltrated into the Slav and Balkan languages: Rumanian *(h)araba*; Russian *arba*; Ukrainian *harba*; Bulgarian, Serbian *araba* (K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europ. Wörter orient. Ursprungs*, Heidelberg 1927, no. 90). The word has also been borrowed by Iranian: Persian *ärabe*, Tādjīk *aroba*.

In Ottoman Turkish, the word, usually written *ʿaraba* in Arabic characters, is the generic term for all types of carriage. In Ottoman Istanbul, people always went about the town on horseback. This was also the normal mode of travel for the sultans when they left their residences. When they were indisposed, however, and on various other occasions they travelled by *ʿaraba*. Sulaymān the Magnificent, an invalid at the time of his departure for his last campaign, passed through Istanbul on horseback, but had to transfer to an *ʿaraba* in the plain of Dāʾūd Pās͟hā and never left this vehicle (with four wheels and a pole), the driver remaining seated on one of the two horses even during the sultan's conferences with his viziers (Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 439; illustration based on a MS. in the article in *Cumhuriyet* quoted in the bibl.), etc. etc. The *ʿarabas* of the sultans, princes and important personnages were highly decorated (*ibid.*, v, 413; cf. the vehicle of the *sulṭān wālide* depicted in F. Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben, ein Türkisches Miniaturenalbum aus dem 17. Jhrdt.*, Hanover 1925, pl. 28). They were especially used in royal marriage processions. In 1048/1638, the guild of *ʿaraba*-makers at Istanbul numbered 40 members and possessed 15 shops (Ewliyā Čelebi, I, 628; tr. Hammer, I, 231).

In the 18th century, the drivers' corporation at Istanbul was organised on regular lines. The profusion of vehicles was at its height at the beginning of the 18th century during the "tulip epoch" (*lāle dewri*) (Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Lāle dewri*², Istanbul 1331, 47). Later the sumptuary laws restricted this luxury, and the vogue of the *ʿaraba* declined (Ahmed Refik, *Hicri on ikinci asirda Istanbul hayati*, Istanbul 1930, 175, no. 210).

Apart from these luxury vehicles, the rural type of *ʿaraba* drawn by oxen (*ot ʿarabasi*) circulated in the streets of the capital. It was a disgrace for a high personage to ride in one, and the Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pasha (1102-3/1691-2) was surnamed *ʿArabadji* because he inflicted this ignominious treatment on his political enemies, a treatment to which he himself was in the end subjected (Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 566 ff.).

Up to the beginning of the 19th century, the right to use *ʿarabas* in Istanbul was restricted to very important functionaries (*Sheykh ül-Islām*, Grand Vizier; Djewdet, *Taʾrikh*, x, Istanbul 1309, 185 ff.). At this period the importation of European carriages was in its initial stages. The number of vehicles increased, and they were increasingly adapted to conform to European fashions. In 1852 Théophile Gautier wrote: "Paris and Vienna send the masterpieces of their coach-builders to Constantinople, from whose streets the *talikas* with their brightly-painted and gilded coachwork, the typical *arabas* (carriages with shafts used by ladies for their drives in company and properly called *ḳočü*) pulled by huge grey oxen, will soon completely disappear" (*Constantinople*, Paris 1853, 318). But in 1863 Emmanuel Scherer, living at Ḥamīdiyye, a suburb of Istanbul, built coupés, victorias, omnibuses and every kind of carriage to order (*Taṣwīr-i Efkār*, no. 193, 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1280/26 April 1864). Standing-places for *ʿarabas* were provided at many points. Their number, combined with the narrowness of the streets, caused congestion. The *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* of 19 November 1909 complains about this, and demands that the constitutional régime should no longer tolerate the inconvenience caused by the arrogance of the pashas and the beys.

ʿArabas made their appearance in Turkish literature with the exile to Keshān of ʿIzzet Molla in 1238/1823; his celebrated poem *Miḥnet-keshān* was composed in the *ʿaraba* which conveyed him there, the author conversing with his reflection in the mirrors which decorated its interior (Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 308, 314). In his novel *ʿAraba sewdāsi* (1895), Redjāʾīzāde Maḥmūd Ekrem describes a snob with a passionate love of carriages. To-day the rural four-wheeled vehicles are divided into *yayli* "with (double) springs", and *yarim yayli* "semi-sprung", that is to say with a single spring for each axle-tree (cf. *Inönü Ansiklopedisi*, iii, Ankara 1949, 194-6); they are framed by wooden uprights, covered by a semi-circular tilt; as they are not provided with seats, a mattress is used to sit on. Freight vehicles (*yük arabasi*) are often unsprung (but some are "semi-sprung"; this category in particular is subject to decoration in various styles. The *ṭāliḳa* (sometimes written *taʿlīḳa* by false Arabic etymology, but in fact from the Slav word *taliga*, *telega*, etc., itself derived from the Mongol *tārgān*) provided greater amenities for the comfort of passengers. This carriage, widely used in the 19th century and still in use, especially on the Asiatic coast of the Bosphorus, is a sort of open fiacre; it has no door, but a footboard, surmounted by a small platform; the equally comfortable "long carriage" (*uzun ʿaraba*), a sort of benched carriage, is also open, with a door to the rear, and is equipped with curtains and two benches placed lengthwise inside.

Bibliography: See the article ʿADJALA above. In addition, *Arabalar* (in the supplement to the journal *Cumhuriyet*, 17 şubat 1955 = *Asirlar Boyunca Istanbul*, 97-100); M. Rodinson, *Araba*, in *JA* (printing). (M. RODINSON)

ʿARABA, (WĀDĪ ʿARABA), is the southern extension of the Jordan fault, which includes the deep depression of the Dead Sea. The term ʿAraba in the Old Testament refers also to the Jordan Valley. From approximately three to five miles in width, the Wādī ʿAraba extends for about 110 miles between the south end of the Dead Sea and the north end of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, which is the east arm of the Red Sea. Along much of its length are numerous ancient copper mining and smelting sites. They were probably worked by the Ḳenites and were intensively exploited in King Solomon's times. There are also extensive haematite deposits in the Wādī ʿAraba.

The route of the Exodus led in part through the Wadī ʿAraba. The few springs in the Wadī ʿAraba attracted settlements as early as Middle Bronze I (21st-19th centuries B.C.), Iron II (10th-6th centuries B.C.) and particularly in Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine times. Near the centre of the north shore of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, at the south end of the Wadī ʿAraba, is Tell el-Kheleyife, which has been identified with Solomon's port-city and industrial center of Ezion-geber: Elath. The Nabataean to Byzantine site of Ayla [*q.v.*] is situated near the east side of this shore, with the modern village of ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] immediately east of it, and the modern Israeli town of Elath is located on the west side of the shore.

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ARABESQUE. For a long time this term was used in literature devoted to art to designate several kinds of typical Islamic ornament: geometric, vegetal, calligraphic and even figural. In the first edition of the *EI*, E. Herzfeld still took into account this wider interpretation of the arabesque, which however was already antiquated since the time when A. Riegl had defined in his *Stilfragen* its distinctive character as being a particular, and exclusively Islamic, form of denaturalised vegetal ornament consisting of shoots or split or bifurcated leaves on inorganic tendrils. The leaves may be flat or curved, pointed or round or rolled, smooth or rough, feathered or pierced, but never isolated and always joined to the stalk for which it serves as an adjunct or a terminal. The stalk itself may be undulating, spiral or interlaced, going through the leaf or issuing again from it, but always intimately connected with it. To quote Herzfeld's definition: stalk and leaf are completely grown into each other, the leaves forming additions growing from the main stalk.

The principles which regulate the arabesque are reciprocal repetition, the formation of palmette or calice forms by pairs of split leaves, the insertion of geometric interlacings, medallions or cartouche compartments. In every instance, two aesthetic rules are scrupulously observed: the rhythmical alternation of movement always rendered with harmonious effect, and the desire to fill the entire surface with ornament. By its balanced and serene

Fig. 1. Mosque of ʿAmr in Fusṭāṭ ca. 800 (after E. Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra*, fig. 49a)

Fig. 2. Mosque of Sīdī ʿUḳba in al-Ḳayrawān (after G. Marçais, *Coupole et Plafonds de la Grande Mosquée de Kaironan*, Paris 1925)

Fig. 3. From a Ḳurʾān, Granada 15th century (in the Islamische Abteilung, Berlin Museum)

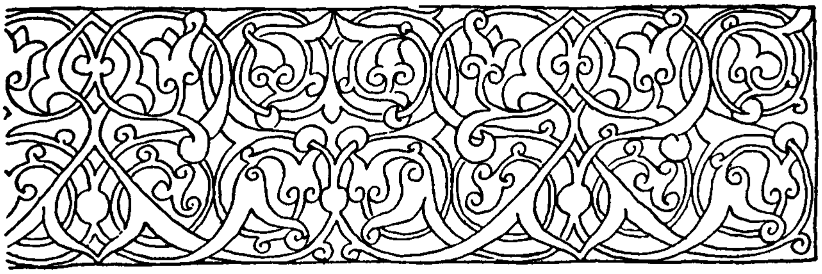

Fig. 4. Wood-carving, Egypt 13th century (after Bourgoin, *Précis de l'Art arabe*, Paris 1892, iii, pl. 88)

convolution, the arabesque avoids the dynamic excitement, the restless whirling and violent twisting of the nordic ornament with which it otherwise has much in common. The effect of contrast is obtained by

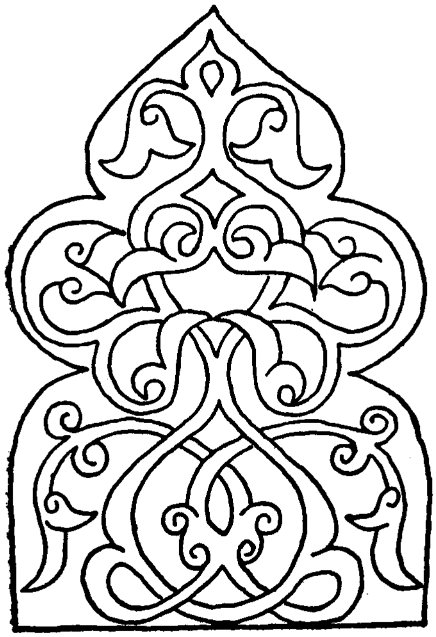

Fig. 5. Fayence mosaic in the *türbe* of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, Ḳonya, 13th century (after F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, fig. 185)

differences in density, the stalk sometimes nearly disappearing beneath an abundance of foliage, at other times vigorously dominating the pattern.

The denaturalised vegetal ornament conforming to the rules described above is termed "arabesque"

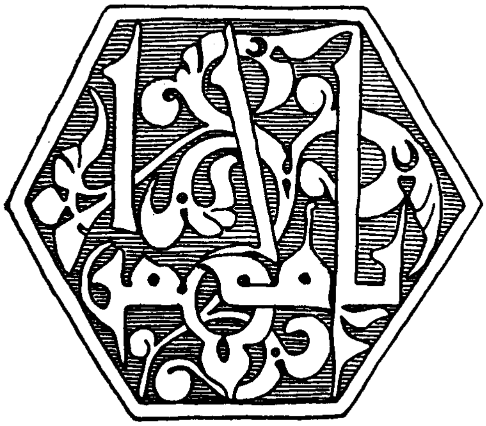

Fig. 6. Stucco tile, Persia 12th century (in Islamische Abteilung, Berlin)

with good reason, because its invention was certainly the outcome of a particular Arab attitude and parallel developments occur in Arabic poetry and music. The Arabic term *tawrīḳ* [*q.v.*] clearly implies that the description was restricted to foliage; it is preserved in *ataurique*, a term commonly used by Spanish authors to designate the genuine arabesque as understood by Riegl.

Fig. 7. Wood carving, Egypt 11th century (in Arab Museum, Cairo)

The arabesque may be combined with every kind of geometric decoration. In epigraphy, it may form a background to the calligraphy, or the letters

Fig. 8. H. Holbein the Younger, 1537 (after Jessen, *Der Ornamentstich*, Berlin 1920, fig. 72)

may terminate in arabesques, or letters and arabesque may be interwoven. Animals may be drawn in the form of arabesques, which may also be combined

with human figures; the animals and the human figures may then be rendered more, or less, recognizable. Sometimes, an Islamic "grotesque" decoration occurs in which masks and protomes of animals are combined with an arabesque scheme. It seems unnecessary to emphasise that the arabesque never has any symbolic significance but is merely one ornament from a large stock which includes other vegetal forms such as palmettes, rosettes and naturalistic flowers, and abstract forms such as cloud-bands. At certain periods, however, it played a predominant role.

The arabesque has its prototype in certain acanthus, vine leaf and cornucopia forms of late antiquity which tend to progress in undulations or with bifurcations. It is not yet completely developed in the Umayyad period, acquires its typical shape in the 9th century under the ʿAbbāsids and in Islamic Spain and appears fully developed in the 11th century under the Saldjūḳs, Fāṭimids and Moors. From then on it occurs throughout the Islamic world in countless variations, so that it is impossible to classify the various forms according to a chronological order or according to national or dynastic predilections. Persian, Turkish and Indian artists understood the language of the arabesque quite as well as Arabic-speaking artists, and through the centuries they competed one against the other in creating ever more varieties and combinations. Its use is not restricted to any one material, but is used in architectural decoration as well as carved or painted decoration, in pottery and glass and metal-work, and above all in book illumination.

In Hispano-Mauresque art of the 12th century and later the arabesque predominates almost to the exclusion of other ornamental forms, and from Islamic Spain it found its way in the late 15th century to the Christian countries. Known as ***moresque*** it became fashionable in the first half of the 16th century and was introduced into Italy by Francesco Pellegrino, into France by the unknown master G. J., and into Germany by Hans Holbein and Peter Flettner. Like them, other artists tried to imitate, with more or less understanding, the particular character of the arabesque, principally in their pattern-books for jewellers and armourers (e.g. the *Livre de moresques*, Paris 1546).

[See also ORNAMENT].

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(E. KÜHNEL)

ʿARABFAḲIH, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, chronicler of 16th century Muslim Ethiopia. He personally took part in the war between the imām Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, lord of Harar, and the Negus Lebna Denghel; but, when he wrote his chronicle, he had already left Ethiopia for Djizān in Arabia. His (Harari) surname ʿArab-Faḳīh "the Arab doctor" can be explained either as the sobriquet of an Ethiopian who was particularly well-versed in the Arabic language and *fiḳh*, or as the local *laḳab* of an Arab who emigrated at first to Ethiopia (and who later returned to his native country). His chronicle bears the title (in the colophon) of *Tuḥfat al-Zamān*, but it is given in the MSS. as *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* ("Conquests of Ethiopia"). The narrative closes with the events of the year 1537; but the colophon describes the work as the "First Part". A second part, however, has never been found, and it is quite possible that the author was never able to complete his work as planned.

The *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha*, of which we possess only a few MSS., all recent, is also quoted and to a large extent summarised in the (Arabic) Chronicle of Gujarat (*Ẓafar al-Wālih bi-Muẓaffar wa-Ālihi*) by al-Ulugh-Khānī, also an Arab writer, who emigrated to Muslim India during the second half of the 16th century.

Bibliography: René Basset, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie* (Arabic text and French translation) 2 vols., Paris 1897; E. Denison Ross, *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, 2 vols., London 1910-28.

(E. CERULLI)

ʿARĀBĪ PASHA [see ʿURĀBĪ PASHA].

ARABIAN NICHTS [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA].

ARABIC WRITING [see KHAṬṬ].

ʿARABISTĀN, 'the Arab country', a term much in use until recently to denote the Persian province of Khūzistān; the latter name was revived during the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī. Fur further particulars see KHŪZISTĀN. Following Persian usage, ʿArabistān denotes occasionally the Arabian peninsula. In Ottoman administrative documents from the 16th century it is occasionally applied to the Arabic-speaking provinces of the Empire, more especially to Syria. (ED.)

ʿARABIYYA. ARABIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

A. The Arabic Language (al-ʿArabiyya).

(i) Pre-classical Arabic.

(1) The position of Arabic among the Semitic languages; (2) Old Arabic ("Proto-Arabic"); (3) Early Arabic (3rd-6th centuries A.D.).

(ii) The Literary Language.

(1) Classical Arabic; (2) Early Middle Arabic; (3) Middle Arabic; (4) Modern Arabic.

(iii) The Vernaculars.

(1) General survey; (2) The Eastern dialects; (3) The Western Dialects.

B. Arabic Literature.

Al-ʿarabiyya, sc. *lugha*, also *lisān al-ʿarab*, is: (1) The Arabic language in all its forms. This use is pre-Islamic, as is shown by the appearance of ***lāshōn ʿărābhī*** in third-century Hebrew sources, ***arabica lingua*** in St. Jerome's ***Praefatio in Danielem***; this probably is also the sense of ***lisān ʿarabī*** (***mubīn***) in Ḳurʾān, xvi, 103 (105); xxvi, 195; xlvi, 12 (11). (2) Technically, the Classical Arabic language (Cl. Ar.) of early poetry, Ḳurʾān, etc., and the Literary Arabic of Islamic literature. This may be distinguished from *ʿarabiyya* in the wider sense as *al-ʿarabiyya al-faṣīḥa* or *al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā*, from *faṣuḥa* "to be clear, pure" (cf. Assyr. *piṣû* "pure, bright", Aram. *paṣṣīḥ* "bright, radiant"); it means "clear", i.e. "(universally) intelligible" Arabic, not "pure Arabic", as is shown by *afṣaḥa* (*al-kalāma*) "to speak clearly" (*LA*, iii, 377), cf. also *aʿraba* "to speak clearly, intelligibly" and "to use correct Arabic".

Cl. Ar. is the chief literary dialect of Arabic, though not the only written one (cf. Old Arabic and some modern colloquials, notably Maltese). The other forms of Arabic known to us belong to three distinct stages: 1) Old Arabic, also called Proto-Arabic (though this term would better be reserved for the hypothetical common ancestor of all Arabic dialects), German ***altnordarabisch***. 2) The Early Dialects (***lughāt***). 3) The Colloquials (medieval ***lughat al-ʿāmma***, modern ***al-lugha al-ʿāmmiyya*** or ***al-dāridja***, or ***lahadjāt***).

(i) Pre-classical Arabic

(1) The Position of Arabic among the Semitic Languages

Arabic belongs to the Semitic language family, which is part of a wider Hamito-Semitic family

including, inter alia, also Ancient Egyptian. Within that family, it belongs to the South-Semitic or South-West-Semitic branch, which includes two further sub-groups: (a) South-Arabian (comprising ancient Sabaean, Minaean, Ḳatabanian, Ḥaḍramitic, etc. in Yaman and Southern Ḥaḍramawt and modern Mehri, Shkhauri etc. in Northern Ḥaḍramawt and the language of the island of Soḳoṭra); contrary to a widespread assumption, ancient South-Arabian is a language-group quite different from Arabic; (b) Ethiopian (comprising ancient Ethiopic or Geʿez, modern Tigre, Tigrinya, Amharic, Harari, Gurage, etc.); it is not yet quite clear whether Ethiopian originally derived from some form of South-Arabian (cf. E. Ullendorff, *Sem. Languages of Ethiopia*, 1955). The common traits of the S.-Sem. branch (partly obscured in the modern forms) are: almost complete preservation of the proto-Sem. sound system, except for *p* becoming *f* and *sh* coalescing with *s* (Arabic ش is proto-Sem. *ś*); plural of nouns formed by internal vowel changes; *fāʿala* and *istafʿala* patterns in the verb. S.-Ar. and Eth., however, have some features in common with Accadian which Arabic does not share (W. Leslau, in *JAOS*, 1944, 53-8).

On the other hand Arabic shares with North-West Semitic (Hebrew, Ugaritic, Aramaic) certain traits not found in S.-Ar. and Eth.: the pl. masc. suffix *-ī*^{n}/$_{m}$*a*, the internal passive (W. Christian, in *WZKM*, 1927, 263; for S.-Ar. see M. Höfner, *Altsüdarab. Gramm.*, 82), and the *puʿayl* diminutive (F. Praetorius, in *ZDMG*, 1903, 524-9), see also I. al-Yasin, *Lexical Relation between Ugaritic and Arabic*, 1952. Some forms of Arabic had closer connection with N.W.-Sem.: Old Arabic had, like Hebrew, a definite article *ha-* with doubling of the following consonant (as in Αμμασιχος); names like Αβισιλα (3rd cent. B.C.) and Αβινουν (3rd cent. A.D.) show that *ab* had the construct *abī* in all cases, as in Hebrew. Among the Early Dialects, the Ṭayyiʾ rel. pron. *dhū* corresponds to poetical Hebrew *zū*, while the *dhī* of other Western dialects has its equivalent in older Aramaic; the W. dialects also sounded long *a* as *ō*, like Canaanite and W.-Syriac, and changed *iya* to *ā*, like Hebrew. The Eastern dialects, on the other hand, had *i*-prefixes with the *a*-imperfect, like Canaanite and W.-Syriac (cf. C. Rabin, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 1950, 22-6).

Arabic as a whole thus stands between S.-Sem. and N.W.-Sem., having contacts with both. There existed perhaps dialects intermediate between N.W.-Sem. and Arabic: this has been claimed for the local dialect which influenced the Hebrew book of Job (cf. B. Moritz, in *ZATW* 1926, 81-93; Foster, in *Am. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1932, 21-45).

(2) Old Arabic ("Proto-Arabic")

The oldest record of Arabic are some 40 proper names in Assyrian accounts of fighting against the Aribi (Arubu, Urbi, cf. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, 95) during the years 853-626 B.C., collected by T. Weiss-Rosmarin, in *JSOR*, 1932, 1-37, and F. Hommel, *Ethnologie u. Geogr. d. alten Orients*, 1926, 578-89. Almost all can be identified as Arabic: the view of Landsberger and Bauer (in *ZA*, 1927, 97-8) that the Aribi were Aramaeans has as little foundation as that of B. Moritz (*Or. Studies ... Paul Haupt*, 1926, 184-211) that the Arammu mentioned in texts of the same period were Arabs. The Gambulu were closely allied with the Aribi (Assurbanipal's Rassam Prism iii, 65); among their chiefs (Sargon's Annals 254-5) were Hamdanu, Zabidu, and Ḥazaʾilu, as well as some bearing Aramaic names. Most had Assyrian names, however, showing that some of these tribes had undergone the influence of the higher culture.

Assyrian influence also marks the earliest texts written by Arabs, in the 8th-7th cent. B.C., in a North-Arabian script close to the Dedanite, but in the Accadian language, except for the mixed form *yzbl*, which is Accadian *izbil* "he carried" with West-Semitic *y*-prefix. These include two short inscriptions found at Ur (Burrows, in *JRAS* 1927, 795-806) and some seal cylinders (W. F. Albright, in *Bull. Am. School f. Or. Res.*, no. 128, 39-45). Albright identified the group from which these texts originated as the Chaldaeans.

The Dedanite inscriptions at al-ʿUlā are probably only slightly later (H. Grimme, *Buch u. Schrift*, iv, 19-28; id., in *OLZ*, 1932, 753-8). At the same locality, but later, are the Liḥyānite inscriptions. The latest are about 150 A.D., and show Early Arabic features. About this time (see, however, Boneschi, in *RSO*, 1951, 1-15) "Masʿūd king of Liḥyān" put up inscriptions in archaic Nabataean Aramaic.

Bibliography: Texts: Jaussen & Savignac, *Mission archéol. en Arabie*, 1904-14, ii, 363-534. Grammar: Winnett, *Study of the Lihy. and Thamudic Inscr.*, 1937; id., in *Mus.*, 1938, 299-310; W. Caskel, *Liyhan u. Lihyanisch*, 1954.

Grave inscriptions in Lihyanic script exist in al-Ḥaṣā (G. Ryckmans, in *Mus.* 1937, 239; Cornwall, in *GJ*, 1946, 43-4; Winnett, *Bull. Am. School for Or. Res.*, no. 102, 4-6); S. Smith (in *BSOS* 1954, 442) thinks they emanate from the people of al-Ḥīra.

Thamūdic is represented by graffiti in northern Hidjāz, Sinai, Transjordan, southern Palestine (3,000 in A. v.d. Branden, *Inscriptions thamoudéennes*, 1924; 524 in Harding & Littmann, *Some Th. Inscr. from ... Jordan*, 1952), Asir (9,000 discovered by G. Ryckmans in 1952), and Egypt (Kensdale, in *Mus.*, 1952, 285-90). For grammar see v. d. Branden, op. cit.; E. Littmann, *Thamūd u. Ṣafā*, 1943; id., in *ZDMG* 1950, 168-80. The latest Thamūdic texts occur in conjunction with Early Ar.: one line on the stele of Ḥedjrā of 267 A.D. (in Nabataean script), some graffiti on the temple of Ramm in Sinai, ca. 300 A.D., next to the oldest graffiti in Arabic script. The language hardly changed during the 600 years of its use; this suggests some literary tradition.

Ṣafātene or Safaitic graffiti are found in the Ṣafā, Ḥarra, and Ledjā east of Damascus (for texts outside that area, see E. Littmann, in *Mélanges Dussaud*, 1939, 661-71; G. Ryckmans, *ib.*, 507-20). Around al-Namāra there are some graffiti intermediate between Ṣafātene and Thamūdic. Historical allusions provide dates as far as the 3rd cent. A.D. (G. Ryckmans, in *Comptes Rend. Ac. Inscr.* 1942, 127-36; M. Rodinson, in *Sumer*, 1946, 137-55), according to Winnett (in *JAOS*, 1953, 41) even until 614 A.D. One Thamūdic text may be Christian (E. Littmann, in *MW*, 1950, 16-8; against this v. d. Branden, in *Mus.*, 1950, 47-51).

Bibliography: Texts: 396 in M. de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale: Inscr. Sémit.*, 1868-77; 904 in Dussaud & Macler, *Mission dans ... Syrie moyenne*, 1903; 136 in E. Littmann, *Public. Amer. Arch. Exp.* iv, *Semitic Inscriptions*, 1904; 390 in H. Grimme, *Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Saf.-arab. Religion*, 1929; 1302 in E. Littmann, *Safaitic Inscr.* = *Syria, Publ. of the Princeton Archeol. Exp.* iv, C, 1943, with best sketch of grammar, cf. also id., *Thamūd u. Ṣafā*; 5380 in *Corp. Inscr. Sem.*, v/1, 1950. See also R. Dussaud, *Arabes en Syrie avant*

l'Islam, 1907; id., *Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, 1955.

For further bibliography, cf. G. Ryckmans, in *Revue Biblique*, 1932, 89-95; idem, in *Med. Kon. Vlaamsche Acad.*, 1941, 12-13; idem, in *Mus.*, 1948, 137-213.

Since graffiti mostly consist of names, our knowledge of all these idioms is scanty. It is probable that the method of elucidating them by reference to the Arabic lexicon makes them appear more similar to Cl. Ar. than they really were. The transliteration of the Aribi names shows that *ʿayn* was sounded weakly, *djīm* was like Accadian *g*, *ḳāf* like *k*, *thā*ʾ like *t*, and *fā*ʾ like *p*. Greek transliterations of names from the Safatene area show a vowel-system reminiscent of Hebrew or Colloquial Arabic, e.g. Οσεδου = *Usayd*. Spellings like *bny* = بني and *ngy* = نجا suggest that all defective verbs ended in *-iya*, as in Hebrew.

While all these peoples wrote their own languages in varieties of a script closely related to Old S.-Arabian, the Nabataeans (100 B.C.-4th cent. A.D.) and the Palmyrenians (1st-3rd cent. A.D. used local varieties of Imperial Aramaic (the *lingua franca* of the Achaemenian empire) and Aramaic script, but their names show that the Nabataeans were wholly Arab, and at Palmyra there was an important Arab element (cf. Goldmann, *Palmyr. Personennamen*, 1937). In Palmyrenian, Arabic words are few (J. Cantineau, *Gr. du Palm. épigr.*, 1935, 150-1; even fewer in F. Rosenthal, *Sprache d. palmyr. Inschr.*, 1937, 94-6). Nabataean has many Arabisms; their number increases sharply in later texts (Cantineau, *op. cit.*, ii, 171-80; id., *AIEO*, 1934, 77-97; see also F. Rosenthal, *Aramaistische Forschung*, 1939, 89-92). This Arabic substrate—which was probably different in various regions—includes Thamudic ʾ*ṣdḳ* "legitimate heir"; in contrast to the epigraphic Old Arabic dialects it had the *al-* article (*Shy*ʿ ʾ*lḳwm* against Safat. *Shy*ʿ *hḳwm*, name of a god; ʾ*lhgrw* = *ḥgrā*); long *a* was sounded *ô* as in the Early Western Dialects.

A source of Old Arabic hardly tapped is the study of the personal names, thousands of which are known. These show a striking continuity from the Aribi to present-day bedouins and form a common stock in various Old Arabic idioms (instructive diagram in Harding & Littmann, *op. cit.*, 50). They preserve obsolete forms into Cl. Ar., as in *Udad* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2360) = Αυδαδου, Safat. ʾ*dd* (i.e. *Ôdadu*), which in Cl. Ar. would be **Awadd*, and give valuable information on the vocabulary of Old Arabic.

Bibliography: G. Ryckmans, *Noms propres sud-sémitiques*, 1934; Wuthnow, *Semit. Menschennamen i. d. griech. Inschr. u. Papyri d. Vorderen Orients*, 1930; Gratzl, *Arab. Frauennamen*, 1906; Bräu, *Altnordar. kultische Personennamen*, *WZKM*, 1925, 31-59, 85-115.

Another valuable source for reconstructing the phonetic history of Arabic is the geographical names preserved in texts in Accadian (cf. under Aribi above), Hebrew (J. A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, 1934; idem, in *Haverford Symposium on Archeol. and Bible*, 1938, 188-201), and Greek and Latin (A. Sprenger, *Alte Geogr. Arabiens*, 1875; Glaser, *Skizze* etc., 1889-90; A. Musil, *Topographical Itineraries*, ii, Appendix 3; cf. on all the material F. Hommel, *Ethnologie* etc., 538-634). O. Blau, *Altarab. Sprachstudien*, *ZDMG*, 1871, 525-92, is methodically unsatisfactory.

Possibly Old Arabic was the dialect of Djurhum, from which Abū ʿUbayd (d. 223/838) gives ca. 30 words in his monograph on dialect words in the Ḳurʾān (cf. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 7; ed. by S. al-Munadjdjad as a work of Ismaʿīl b. ʿAmr al-Muḳriʾ, Cairo 1946). The Djurhum, of course, belong to the *ʿArab al-ʿāriba* [*q.v.*] or *al-bāʾida*, from whom, according to the Arab historians, the *ʿArab al-mustaʿriba*, the tribes making up the bulk of the population in the 6th cent. A.D., took over the country and the language. More specifically we learn that the Ṭayyiʾ adopted the language of the Ṣuḥār (Yāḳūt, i, 127). We must ask (1) whether the *ʿĀriba* tribes were identical with the known speakers of Old Arabic, 2) what language the *mustaʿriba* tribes spoke before they adopted Arabic. To neither question have we any answer. The matter is further bound up with the cleavage between Eastern and Western Early dialects: on the whole the latter appear to have been somewhat closer to Old Arabic, but it is likely that the real successor of Old Arabic were the Ḳuḍāʿa dialects, spoken over the same area as the former, our knowledge of which is practically nil; on the other hand we possess practically no epigraphic material from those areas where either the Eastern or the Western dialects were spoken, and the speech of those regions during the Old Arabic period may have been quite different from the Old Ar. dialects perpetuated by inscriptions.

(3) Early Arabic (3rd-6th centuries A.D.)

Following precedents in the nomenclature of English and German, we may give this name to the period from the 3rd to the 6th cent. A.D., when over a large part of Arabia dialects quite distinct from Old Arabic, but approaching Cl. Ar. were spoken, and during which Cl. Ar. itself must have evolved.

Outside evidence for this period is scarce, but we possess a number of quotations in contemporary Jewish sources (partly coll. by A. Cohen, in *JQR*, 1912/13, 221-33), including even sentences, e.g. מבעד לצמתך = *mabʿad li-ḍammatika* "make room for thy throng" (*Midrash Rabba* on Canticles, iv, 1).

This is the period during which hundreds of Aramaic loan-words entered the language through Christian and Jewish contacts (S. Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, 1886); their phonological study throws some light on the Arabic of the period. Thus there is an older layer where Aram. *sh* = س, and a younger one where it = ش, due no doubt to a sound-change in Arabic (D. H. Müller, *Acts VII Or. Congr.*, 1888, 229-48; Brockelmann, *Grundr. Vergl. Gr.*, i, 129-30). Other words penetrated during this period from South-Arabian (H. Grimme, in *ZA*, 1912, 158-68; cf. also F. Krenkow, in *WZKM*, 1931, 127-8) and Ethiopic (Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 31-66; but see Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 109, on *tābūt* and *mishkāt*) — owing to our restricted knowledge of S.-Ar., the two sources cannot always be clearly distinguished. Some Persian loan-words, found in the Ḳurʾān and poetry, entered during this period, though the great influx of Persian words took place in the first Islamic centuries (A. Siddiqi, *Studien über d. pers. Fremdwörter*, 1919). Greek words entered mainly via Aramaic, Latin words via Greek and Aramaic: thus *ḳinṭār* < Syr. *ḳanṭīrā* < Lat. *centenarius*; *mandīl* < Syr. *mandīlā* < Gk. μανδήλη (with typical late Gk. soundchange) < Lat. *mantele*. Some military terms, e.g. *ṣirāṭ* < *strata* or *ḳaṣr* < *castra* (cf., however, Palest. Jew. Aram. *ḳaṣrā*) may have come directly from Latin.

Bibliography: Djawālīḳī, *Muʿarrab* (Sachau), 1867; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 23-30; A. Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 1938; A. Salonen, *Alte Substrat- und Kulturwörter im Arab.*, 1950 (= *St. Or. Soc. Or. Fennica*, xvii, 2).

It must be assumed that these words originally entered some specific dialect area in contact with the culture in question and then spread into Cl. Ar. We hear of foreign words used only at Medina (Rabin, *op. cit.*, 96; Fück, *Arabiya*, 10.

Arab philological literature preserves much material about the Early Dialects of Nadjd (Tamīm, Asad, Bakr, Ṭayyiʾ, Ḳays), Ḥidjāz and the highland area of the South-west (Hudhayl, Azd, Yaman), very little about those of other areas. The information seems to have been gathered during the 2nd-3rd Islamic centuries—when these dialects were probably rapidly disintegrating—partly from tribesmen in the *amṣār*; it is distorted by the scholastic approach and by the use made of it for elucidating difficulties in texts which had nothing to do with the dialects cited. Interest in the dialects for their own sake developed only late, and many data are preserved only in late works whose sources we cannot check.

A sharp cleavage clearly emerges between an Eastern group centred on the Persian Gulf, and a Western one, including besides the south-western and Ḥidjāz dialects also that of Ṭayyiʾ. Within the latter the characteristic features are most clearly marked in Yaman and Ṭayyiʾ, while Hudhayl and Ḥidjāz show evidence of Eastern influence. The differences are in rhythm (vowel-elisions and assimilations in the East), phonetics (e.g. West distinguished *ā*—sounded *ō*—and *ē*, while in the East both coalesced into one *ā*, sounded *ǣ*; *hamza* was strongly sounded in East and even became *ʿayn*, but was completely elided in the West,) grammar (e.g. Eastern *alladhī*: Western *dhū*, *dhī*; E. passive *ḳūla*: W. *ḳīla*; E. imper. *ruddu/i*: W. *urdud*), syntax (e.g. the "Ḥidjāzī *mā*"; E. *djāʾa(ti) ʾr-ridjālu*: W. *djāʾū ʾr-ridjālu*) and vocabulary.

It cannot be determined whether this cleavage had but recently developed or was old-inherited; the possibility must be taken into account that the inhabitants of Arabia had come from different parts of the Semitic world and that the common "Arabic" features were produced by mutual influence or by a common substrate after their settlement in Arabia.

The dialects of Yaman hold a special place: owing to the lexica of Ibn Durayd and Nashwān b. Saʿīd information is plentiful, and can be evaluated because the modern colloquial here continues the ancient dialect (cf. data in C. de Landberg, *Daṯina*, 1905-13; idem, *Glossaire Daṯinois*, 1920-47). The dialect of "Ḥimyar" as described by the philologists was an archaic Western Arabic idiom strongly influenced by South-Arabian. We possess some rhymes and sayings in it, as well as a number of "inscriptions" (*Musnads*) forged by Nashwān and al-Hamdānī in the belief that the South-Arabian kings of ancient Ḥimyar and Saba spoke the language of the 7th-cent. A.D. "Ḥimyar".

Bibliography: Older literature (to be used with caution): G. W. Freytag, *Einführung* etc., 1861, 65-125; P. Anastase Marie, in *Mash.*, vi, 529-36; Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī, in *Acts VII Or. Congr.*, 1888, ii, 69-104; K. Vollers, *Volkssprache*, 1906. Modern research begins with Sarauw, *Die altarab. Dialektspaltung*, *ZA*, 1908, 31-49; H. Kofler, *Reste altarab. Dialekte*, *WZKM*, 1940, 61-130, 233-62; 1941, 52-88, 247-74; 1942, 15-30, 234-56; I. Anīs, *Al-Lahadjāt al-ʿArabiyya*, ca. 1946; E. Littmann, *B. Fac. Ar.*, 1948, 1-56; C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 1951; K. Petráček, *ArO*, 1954, 460-6.

To the Early Arabic period belong two inscriptions in Nabataean characters but practically pure Arabic language: One is at *Ḥigrā* (Arabic *al-Ḥidjr*, now *Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ*), northern Ḥidjāz, dated 267 A.D. (M. Lidzbarski, in *ZA*, 1909, 194-7; Jaussen & Savignac, in *Rev. Biblique*, 1908, 241-50; Chabot, in *Comptes Rend. Ac. Inscr.*, 1908 269-72; I. Cantineau, *Nabatéen*, ii, 38), with a line in Thamūdic; the other the inscription of Imraʾ al-Ḳays "king of all Arabs" at al-Namāra, dated 328 A.D. (R. Dussaud, in *Rév. Archéol.*, 1902, 409-21; id., *Mission ... Syrie Moyenne*, 314; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii, 34; (*Rép. Epigr. Sém.*, no. 483; Cantineau, ii, 49). M. Hartmann (*OLZ* 1906, 573; *Arab. Frage* i, 1908, 501; now also Dussaud, *Pénétration* etc., 64 sqq.) thought Imraʾ al-Ḳays to have been a king of al-Ḥīra, but the language of the inscription is shown to be a Western dialect by the pronouns *ty* fem. sg. demonstr. and *dhū* relat.

(ii) The literary language

(1) Classical Arabic

The oldest texts in Arabic script are three graffiti on the wall of the temple of Ramm in Sinai, dating from ca. 300 A.D. (H. Grimme, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1935, 270; 1936, 90-5). Christian inscriptions, accompanied by Greek versions, are at Zabad, dated 512 A.D. (E. Sachau, in *Mitth. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1881, 169-90; id., in *ZDMG*, 1882, 345-52), and at Ḥarrān in the Ledjā dated 568 A.D. (Schröder, in *ZDMG*, 1884, 34; Dussaud, *Mission . . . Syrie Moyenne*, 324; Cantineau, *Nabatéen*, ii, 50; on both inscrr. E. Littmann, in *RSO* 1911/12, 193-8). The text of an inscription on the church of Hind at al-Ḥīra, about 560 A.D., is recorded by Muslim historians (al-Bakrī, 364; G. Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 1899, 24). An undated graffito is at Umm al-Djimāl (E. Littmann, in *ZS*, 1929, 197-204). All four inscriptions in N. Abbott, *Rise of the North-Arabian Script*, 1939, plate I.

The Christian character of the dated inscriptions suggests that the Arabic script was invented by Christian missionaries, as were so many Eastern alphabets. Abbott (op. cit. 5) localises its invention, with much probability, at Ḥīra or Anbār.

It is probable that at least partial Bible translations into Arabic existed before Islam. Stylistic reminiscences of the Old and New Testaments are found in the Ḳurʾān (W. Rudolph, *Abhängigkeit d. Ḳ. v. Judentum u. Christentum*, 1922; T. Andrae, *Ursprung d. Islams u. d. Christentum*, 1926; A. Mingana, *Bull. J. Rylands Library*, 1927, 77-89; Ahrens, in *ZDMG*, 1930, 15-68, 148-90). A. Baumstark claimed pre-Islamic date for the text of some Arabic Bible MSS (*Islamica*, 1931, 562-75; *BZ* 1929/30, 350-9; *OC*, 1934, 55-66; against this Graf, *Gesch. d. Chr.-Arab. Lit.*, i, 142-6). There also is a fragment of the Psalms in Arabic in Greek characters (Violet, in *OLZ*, 1901, 384-403). Examination of this and of two of Baumstark's texts (B. Levin, *Griech.-Arab. Evang. Uebers.*, 1938) shows a language slightly deviating from Cl. Ar. towards the colloquials. This is typical for Chr.-Arab. literature (Graf, *Sprachgebrauch d. älteren Chr.-Arab. Liter.*, 1905), for early papyri and for the language of scientific writing; it may be early colloquial influence, but also a Cl. Ar. not yet standardised by grammarians.

The Arabian Jews are less likely to have participated in the literary formation of Cl. Ar., since

at that period written translations of the O.T. were not being made by Jews (though a Jewish translation is mentioned Bu**kh**ārī iii, 198). The Jewish traditions in Umayya b. Abi ʾl-Ṣalt (J. W. Hirschberg, *Jüd. u. Chr. Lehren im vor- u. frühislam. Arabien*, 1939) and in the Ḳurʾān (cf., e.g., Torrey, *Jewish Foundations of Islam*, 1933; A. Katsh, *Judaism in Islam*, 1954), show all signs of oral transmission. Jews, however, used Cl. Ar. before Islam, as e.g Samawʿal b. ʿĀdiyāʾ (cf. also I. Guidi, *Arabie antéisl.*, 1921, 145-6; Hirschberg, *Dīwān des as-S. b. ʾĀ.*, 1931, Introd.), and are said to have taught the Muslims to write at Medina (Balā**dh**urī, *Futūḥ*, 473).

Wellhausen (*Reste arab. Heidentums*², 1927, 232) plausibly suggested that Cl. Ar. was developed by Christians at al-Ḥīra. Muslim tradition names among the first persons who wrote Arabic Zayd b. Ḥamād (ca. 500 A.D.) and his son, the poet ʿAdī, both Christians of Ḥīra (*Aghānī*³, ii, 100-2). ʿAdī's language was not considered fully *faṣīḥ*, which may be taken as meaning that Cl. Ar. was still in course of evolution. Al-Mufaḍḍal (*apud* al-Marzubānī, *Muwa**shsh**aḥ*, Cairo 1343, 73) says that ʿAdī drew on many tribal dialects, a procedure alleged by other scholars to account for the excellence of the Ḳuray**sh** dialect. This statement gains in substance if we recall that nowadays the poetry of settled Arabs is often couched in bedouin dialects, and that the oldest genuine bits of poetry, those connected with the War of Bāsūs, come from the Euphrates region. The court of Ḥīra remained a centre for bedouin poets: this helped in developing and unifying the language of poetry; its written use at Al-Ḥīra also furthered its standardisation.

As to the origins of that poetical language itself, earlier Muslim tradition sought it in various tribes, while later scholars, no doubt for theological reasons, identified it with the dialect of Ḳuray**sh**. This view was accepted by Grimme (*Mohammed*, 1904, 23), Ṭaha Ḥusayn (*Al-Adab al-Djāhilī*, 1927), and Dhorme (*Langues et écritures sémit.*, 1930, 53). Most western scholars agree in seeking its home among the bedouins of Nadjd—as did in practice the Muslim philologists of the 2nd-4th centuries who would only accept Nadjdī bedouins as authoritative informants. Some believe it to have been originally the language of one definite tribe, others a compromise between various dialects; others again think it acquired some purely artificial characteristics. An important feature is its archaic character, both in phonetics (it lacks the contractions typical for the Eastern Dialects) and in syntax, where it keeps alive constructions lost in early prose (Bloch, *Vers und Sprache im Altarab.*, 1946). It is beyond doubt, however, that in the late 6th cent. A.D. it was a purely literary dialect, distinct from all spoken idioms and super-tribal. It is today often referred to as the "poetical *koinē*". Its continuity was assured by the professional reciters, or *rāwīs*. The language was practically uniform throughout Arabia: even allegedly local features like the ***dh**ū Ṭāʾiyya* and *mā Ḥidjāziyya* occur in poetry from outside those regions. There may have been differences in the choice of words: Prof. F. Krenkow, in a letter to the present writer, suggested that northern poets used *asad* for "lion", southern ones *layth*. The main differences, as in the case of other standard languages, were no doubt in pronunciation; it is interesting that Abu ʾl-Aswad al-Duʾalī of ʿAbd al-Ḳays chose from thirty men an ʿAbḳasī as the one with the best pronunciation (al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 11) and the Ḥidjāzī ʿU**th**mān thought a Hu**dh**alī the best person to dictate to a scribe (*Gesch. d. Qor.*, iii, 2). It is, however, likely that some regionalisms and archaisms in the poems were eliminated by editors, for it is not rare to find that a verse is quoted by a grammarian for some peculiarity which is absent in the *dīwān* of the poet, the verse being slightly recast.

Bibliography: K. Vollers, in *ZA*, 1897, 125-39; I. Guidi, *Una somiglianza fra la storia dell' arabo e del latino, Miscellanea linguist. ... G. Ascoli*, Torino 1901, 321-6; id., *Arabie antéisl.*, 1921, 41-4; A. Fischer, in *Verhandl. d. Philologentags zu Halle*, 1903, 154; Nöldeke, *Beitr. z. Sem. Sprachwiss.*, 1904, 1-14; C. de Landberg, *La langue arabe et ses dialectes*, 1905; C. Brockelmann, *Grundr. d. vergl. Gramm.*, i, 23; M. Hartmann, in *OLZ*, 1909, 19-28; R. Geyer, in *GGA*, 1909, 10-56; Nallino, in *Hilāl*, Oct. 1917 = *Scritti*, vi, 181-90; J. H. Kramers, *Taal van den Koran*, 1940; H. Fleisch, *Introd. à l'étude des langues sém.*, 1947, 96-104; H. Birkeland, *Språk og religion hos Jøder og Arabere*, 1949; J. Fück, *Arabiya*, 1950, 5; R. Blachère, *Hist. de la litt. arabe*, i, 1952, ch. iii; W. Caskel, in *ZDMG* 1953, *28*-*36* = *Amer. Anthrop. Assoc. Memoir*, no. 76, 1954; C. Brockelmann, *Handbuch d. Orientalistik*, iii/2/3, 1954, 214-7; Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 1951, ch. iii; idem, in *Stud. Isl.*, 1955, 19-37.

Our sources for the investigation of Cl. Ar. proper are: (1) pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry; (2) the Ḳurʾān; (3) the official correspondence of Muḥammad and the first caliphs, as recorded by historians, and the early papyri; (4) the Ḥadī**th**; (5) the prose portions of the *Ayyām al-ʿArab*.

Utilisation of pre-Islamic poetry for the study of Arabic would, of course, be pointless if we were to reject all these poems as forged, as did A. Mingana (*Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, ii, 1920, 125) and D. S. Margoliouth (in *JRAS*, 1925, 415-49)—Ṭaha Ḥusayn, who in *al-Adab al-Djāhilī* rejects most of them, admits at least those by Ḥidjāzīs as genuine—, though even then the language of the earlier Islamic poets would still be evidence of a bedouin tradition distinct from the Ḳurʾān.

In assessing the language of the Ḳurʾān, we must distinguish between the consonantal skeleton, unaltered since the revision under ʿU**th**mān, and the vowels, inserted considerably later. The genuine Ḳurʾān spelling (*Gesch. d. Qor.*, iii, 19-57)—unfortunately "corrected" in the Flügel edition—differs in some respects from the current orthography; the difference was already felt in the time of Mālik b. Anas (al-Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, *nawʿ*, 76/2). Some of these peculiarities are no doubt pure spelling archaisms (e.g. the omission of *alif* when = *ā*), others probably represent grammatical deviations (P. Schwarz, in *ZA*, 1915/6, 46-59), not always amenable to interpretation, e.g. تقتل for *tataḳattalu*, which some Readers pronounce *taḳḳattalu*, others *taḳattalu*. The diacritic points and vowels differ according to the *ḳirāʾāt* [*q.v.*]. Readers differ not only in interpreting the polysemous consonantal outline, but also in grammar and pronunciation. Some readings agree, or are said by commentators to agree, with Early Dialects (cf. Ḥammūda, *al-Ḳirāʾāt wa ʾl-Lahadjāt*, 1948), others resemble the colloquials.

In 1906 K. Vollers (*Volkssprache u. Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*) asserted that these colloquial readings represented the townsman's speech of Muḥammad, while the *faṣāḥa* of the official, "canonical" reading systems was the result of a

revision in accordance with bedouin language. This theory found little acceptance; it has partly been revived by P. Kahle (in *Goldziher Memorial Volume*, i, 1948, 163-82, etc.) who sees in a saying of al-Farrāʾ promising reward to those reciting the Ḳ. with *iʿrāb* support for Vollers' view that the original Ḳurʾān had no *iʿrāb*. Fück (*Arabiya*, 2-3) cites verses which would have been ambiguous without *iʿrāb*; the dialect variants prove that Readers sometimes did not have command of Cl. Ar. or were slovenly. There is thus no proof for a revision by adding *iʿrāb*, though we know of another revision: the introduction of the *hamza* into a spelling based on its absence. We learn, however, that the *hamza* sign was added later than the vowels and at first written in a different colour (al-Dānī, *al-Nuḳaṭ* (Pretzl), (133-4) and there was opposition to it (*TA*, iii, 553), while we hear of no hesitation with regard to *iʿrāb*.

As far as we can see, the language of the Ḳurʾān stands somewhere between the poetical standard *koinè* and the Ḥidjāzī dialect. A slightly different mixture of the same elements marks the style of the Meccan poet ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (P. Schwarz, *Diwan des U. b. A.R.*, iv, 1909). Either their command of the ʿArabiyya was not perfect, or Muhammad used Meccan dialect, but was influenced by the Cl. Ar. used by the *kāhins* or soothsayers (Brockelmann, in *Handb. d. Orient.*, iii/2/3, 216)—not of the poets whom he detested—, or there existed already before Muḥammad a Meccan variety of Cl. Ar., used perhaps in writing (*e.g.*, commercial accounts and letters) and public speaking. The differences from the poetical language may be partly due to the needs of prose expression; here, too, some of the developments may well antedate Muḥammad.

Bibliography: Nöldeke, *Sprache d. Korans*, in *Neue Beiträge*, 1-30, trsl. by G. H. Bousquet as *Remarques critiques sur le style et la syntaxe du Coran*, 1953; G. Bergsträsser, *Verneinungs- u. Fragepartikeln im K.*, 1914; T. Sabbagh, *La métaphore dans le K.*, 1943; Zayat, *Les néologismes arabes au début de l'Islam*; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, 1947, 156-81; G. E. v. Grunebaum, in *WZKM*, 1937, 29-50.

The language of Ḥadīth, especially in dialogue, often deviates from Cl. Ar., mostly in the direction of colloquial Arabic, but sometimes in that of the Ḥidjāzī dialect. In traditions invented about 100 AH such features may show, at best, that at that time a more "popular" variety of Cl. Ar. existed (cf. our remarks above on Christian Arabic), but in fact the earliest recordings of traditions, in Ibn Wahb and Mālik, are much freer from these peculiarities: unless we assume that they corrected the style of the texts they noted down, we must admit the likelihood that these stylistic artifices were introduced later in order to create "atmosphere". The value of Ḥ. for linguistic research is thus a complex problem.

The language of the *Ayyām al-ʿArab*, which were handed down by philologists, shows only few aberrant features (W. Caskel, in *Islamica*, 1931, 43).

Cl. Ar. had an extremely rich vocabulary, due partly to the bedouin's power of observation and partly to poetic exuberance; some of the wealth may be due to dialect mixture. It was not rich in forms or constructions, but sufficiently flexible to survive the adaptation to the needs of a highly urbanised and articulate culture without a disruption of its structure.

Already in Pre-Islamic Arabia, the *koinè* had to be learnt, and the men who preserved and taught it, the *rāwīs*, were ready when the need arose for non-Arabs to acquire it under the Umayyads and Abbasids. Abu 'l-Aswad ad-Duʾalī and Khalīl b. Aḥmad belonged to that class, but they were soon joined by men who had inherited the habits of thinking taught in the Hellenistic Schools of Rhetoric, and who systematised the traditional lore of the *rāwīs* and applied the science thus created not only to poetry but also to the Ḳurʾān, harmonising wherever the texts "deviated" from the rules. Before turning into the Literary Arabic of the Islamic period, Cl. Ar. thus underwent a process of sifting and systematisation, with subsequent refurbishing of the old sources, poetry and Ḳurʾān, according to the new stricter standards.

Bibliography: (see J. Fück, *Arab. Studien, in Europa vom 12. bis . . . 19. Jahrh.*, *Beiträge zur Arabistik*, Leipzig 1944, 85-253).

The history of the European study of Arabic is at first one of increasingly effective utilisation of the Arab philologists' work. The first grammars, by Postel (1538) and Erpenius (1613), were based on late school manuals. The first systematically to use older and more advanced Arabic works was S. de Sacy (1810). C. P. Caspari (1848) was based on Zamakhsharī; in the 3rd edition of W. Wright's translation (1896 and reprints) this base is much enlarged. D. Vernier (1891-2) utilized Sībawayh; M. S. Howell (1880-1911) digested all Arab grammarians. In lexicography, the evolution goes from Raphelengius (1613) and Giggeius (1632, based on the *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī), via Golius (1653, based on the *Ṣaḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī) to E. W. Lane's gigantic translation and rearrangement of the *TA* (1883-93; parts 6-8, ed. by S. Lane Poole, are less useful) and the practical dictionaries of Belot and Hava, based on *LA*.

In its second stage, European scholarship attempted to improve on the achievements of the Arabs by direct reference to texts and independent analysis. In grammar, the process begins with H. L. Fleischer's notes on S. de Sacy (*Kleinere Schriften* i-ii, 1886-8); further of special importance Th. Nöldeke, *Zur Gramm. d. klassischen Arabisch*, *SBAk. Wien*, 1897, ii; H. Reckendorf, *Syntaktische Verhältnisse d. Arab.*, 1895-8; id., *Arabische Syntax*, 1921; C. Brockelmann, *Grundr. d. vergl. Gramm.* ii, 1913; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes and R. Blachère, *Gramm. de l'Arabe Classique*, 1937. In lexicography, the principal fault of the Arab works is that—apart from some specialist vocabularies and al-Fayyūmī's *Miṣbāḥ al-Munir*—they largely neglect the post-classical accretions to the language. Texts were utilised already by G. W. Freytag (1830-7) and A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski (1860). In spite of the *Supplément* of R. Dozy (1881), the *Additions* of E. Fagnan (1923), the glossaries added to the Leiden Ṭabarī edn. (1901) and vols. iv, v, viii of the *BGA*, etc., the vocabulary of medieval Arabic is still far from fully recorded. I. Krachkovsky, Neustadt and Shusser (1947), and H. Wehr (1952) deal with modern Arabic. Yet even for Cl. Ar. there is still much work to be done. Some gaps are closed by glossaries with editions of poems, e.g. that of A. Müller to Nöldeke's *Delectus* etc. (1890), A. A. Bevan to C. J. Lyall's edn. of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (ii, 1924), and those added by Ch. Lyall to *ʿAbīd and ʿĀmir b. Ṭufail* (1913) and F. Krenkow to *Ṭufail and Ṭirimmāḥ* (1927). The Hebrew University of

Jerusalem has prepared a card-index concordance to Pre-Islamic poetry. Publication is planned at Cairo of the lexicon of A. Fischer; the edition by J. Kraemer of Nöldeke's *Belegwörterbuch* (incorporating collections by Bevan and others) began in 1952. No scientific dictionary exists as yet for the Ḳurʾān, those by F. Dieterici (1881) and Penrice (1873) being unsatisfactory.

(C. Rabin)

(2) Early Middle Arabic

The Arabic literary language has been academically standardised since the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Its grammar, syntax, vocabulary and literary usages were clearly defined after systematic and laborious research. Since that time and down to the present it has had a continuous and uninterrupted existence. Although every Arabic-speaking country has developed its own colloquial language for everyday life, they have all continued to use the standard literary language for purposes of writing.

The scholars of the early centuries of Islam—who were responsible for that remarkable achievement of linguistic standardisation—made their starting point the historically authentic text of the Ḳurʾān which described itself as a "Clear Arabic Book", and which was recorded, put together, and officially circulated in the 1st/7th century. Collections of the traditions, epistles and speeches of the Prophet; sayings and speeches of the Caliphs and the famous orators of the early Islamic period, and anthologies of Arabic poetry were also used as references and textual examples of the literary language. But the greatest efforts of the scholars in the 2nd/8th, 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries were directed towards the collecting, reviving and verifying what was still kept in the memories of rāwīs and bedouins of pre-Islamic literature. The poetry as well as proverbs and speeches of the last hundred and fifty years of the *dj̲āhiliyya* period were collected, studied and commented upon, and were used as explanations of Ḳurʾānic usages and as proofs of linguistic and literary correctness.

The assumption on which this work of reconstruction and standardisation was built was the identity of pre-Islamic and post-Islamic literary language. This assumption is borne out by many historical and literary data. The Ḳurʾān claimed to have spoken to the Arabs in their own tongue as was God's way with every Divine mission ("We have never sent any messenger except in his people's tongue"; xiv, 4). When the Arabs heard the Ḳurʾān they understood it, appreciated its literary excellences, and were greatly struck by its superior eloquence (Ibn His̲h̲ām, Cairo 1914, I, 201, 216-7).

Many references could be quoted to strengthen the claim to authenticity of what was retrieved of the *dj̲āhiliyya* poetry, and the identity of its construction, style and language with the text of the Ḳurʾān and the manner of composition of post-Islamic poetry. The second fact upon which historical references are agreed is that the *dj̲āhiliyya* poetry as it has been collected and handed down to us was recited and appreciated all over Arabia. The poetic language heard in the courts of the Lak̲h̲mids in al-Ḥīra and the G̲h̲assānids in Syria was the same as that heard and applauded in Nad̲j̲d and Ḥid̲j̲āz.

Claims for priority in evolving the literary language were advanced for different tribes. A statement often quoted in Islamic books advances the theory that pre-Islamic poetry began in Rabīʿa with Muhalhil; then shifted to Ḳays where the two Nābig̲h̲as and Zuhayr flourished, and finally reached Tamīm where it remained till the days of Islam (*al-Muzhir*, II, 476, 477). Light on the subject may be sought in the many attempts at explaining the tradition "The Ḳurʾān was revealed in seven *aḥruf* (tongues or languages)". According to Ibn ʿAbbās those were the seven dialects of Upper Hawāzin and Lower Tamīm. This may be taken to mean that these seven dialects, being the clearest and the most eloquent, contributed largely to the formation of the literary language (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itḳān*², Cairo 1935, 47). Al-Ṭabarī raises the question as to whether the Ḳurʾān was revealed in all or some only of the Arab dialects, and uses the tradition referred to above to argue that the Ḳurʾān was revealed in some only (seven) as the Arab dialects were too numerous to count. (*Tafsīr*, Cairo 1323, I, 15).

The second stage in the development and spread of literary Arabic begins with the rise of Islam. The new religion chose to make its challenge to the poetically-minded Arabs through a literary composition. The new Holy Book, by its excellence, proved to the Arabs as miraculous as the turning of a stick into a snake, or the healing of the sick was to former peoples. The whole revolution in the life, belief and practical philosophy of the Arabs was embodied in the chapters of this new Book. From the beginning of its revelation it was being learnt by heart by the Muslims and recorded in writing by the special scribes employed by the Prophet (al-D̲j̲ahs̲h̲iyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ wa 'l-Kuttāb*, ed. Saḳḳā and others, Cairo 1938).

The general practice was that a Muslim would learn a few verses (ten for example) and would not exceed them until he knew their meaning and followed their precepts in practical life (al-Ṭabarī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Bayān*, I, 27, 28). It was not long before a group of companions (e.g. Ibn ʿAbbās. Ibn Masʿūd, ʿIkrima, and ʿAlī) became specialists in the interpretation of the Ḳurʾānic text. Thus a new branch of literary and linguistic learning started which became later an important factor in the standardisation of literary Arabic. But there was another important aspect of Ḳurʾānic reading which had some bearing on the development of literary Arabic, namely the variants which caused concern to many a faithful believer.

The danger of this variation in the reading of the Ḳurʾānic text was removed only by the preparation of standard copies at the command of the third Caliph, ʿUt̲h̲mān (see ḳurʾān).

Thus the first and foremost Islamic literary work in the Arabic language became the most authentic model for literary usage. Wherever the Islamic faith went in its rapid spread, it carried with it this religious and literary constitution. Every believer learnt part -or all, of it by heart, and was influenced in his literary activities by its diction and modes of expression.

Many of the variant readings of the Ḳurʾān, however, were preserved to us through the *Ḳirāʾāt* literature and have proved valuable in the reconstruction of Arabic dialects.

The Ḳurʾān had, yet, another aspect in which it influenced the course of the literary language, namely its miraculous unsurpassable excellence. The literary Arab celebrities admitted impotence before its challenge, and Muslims down the ages looked up to it as their literary guide and linguistic authority. The study of the secrets of Ḳurʾānic eloquence (*iʿd̲j̲āz*) has given Arabic literary criticism a special approach and a wealth of material (see M. Khala-

fallah, *Qur'ānic Studies as an Important Factor in the Development of Arabic Literary Criticism, Faculty of Arts' Bulletin*, Alexandria 1953).

During the Prophet's life-time and some time after, poetical activities among the Arabs gave way to the propagation of the new faith by word and by sword. Some devout Muslims found better occupation in learning the Ḳur'ān and pondering on the beauty of its style, others joined the invading Muslim armies in Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Persia. The art of public speaking, for a period, took the place of the art of poetry. The literary language now was turning more and more into a language of religious guidance, moral uplifting and legislation for the new order. New shades of meaning and literary usages began to develop within the framework of the pre-Islamic literary language. "The Arabs in their *djāhiliyya* days", says Ibn Fāris, "had inherited from their ancestors a heritage of dialects, literature, rituals and sacrificial practices. But when Islam came conditions changed, religious beliefs were discarded, practices abolished, some linguistic terms were shifted from one usage to another, because of matters added, commandments imposed, and rules established". (Examples of these changes are given by as-Suyūṭi, Ibn Khālawayh, al-Thaʿālibī and Ibn Durayd, see, *al-Muzhir*, i, 294, 295, 296, 298, 301, 302).

Thus the second stage in the development of the Arabic literary language has brought in new important factors, religious and social, and introduced many necessary linguistic changes. But that was not all. The scene was considerably widening and shifting. The Arabs were no longer contained in their Peninsula, but were spreading out with the rapidly sweeping conquests of Islam. Wherever they went they carried with them not only their new Arabic Holy Book with its polished and appealing language, but they carried also their tribal linguistic characteristics, and their traditionally inherited literature (poetry, proverbs, narratives, and oratorial speeches) which they stored in their memories.

These conquests were an important factor in the process of Arab linguistic unification. Several of the big invading armies were composed of mixtures of tribes, many of whom were accompanied by their women and children. Thus a good deal of intermixing and intermarriage between the tribes took place in the conquered cities. Newly established settlements—such as *al-Kūfa*—had in them elements from North as well as from South-Arabia, and from Ḥidjāz as well as from Nadjd.

The Arabs were now passing from the tribal stage to the stage of cities and countries. Their social units were no longer tribal, but urban, as in Baṣra or Kūfa, and regional, as in Syria or Egypt. This new regrouping of the Arabs must have reduced considerably the differences of the dialects, and reinforced the unifying processes already begun in pre-Islamic times.

With those conquests, Arabic was now spreading to new non-Arab territories. Its fortunes in the different units of the vast Islamic empire were varied. In some countries like Syria and Egypt it became—and is still at the present time—the national language of the country. In others like Persia it remained for a few centuries the language of culture, but with time it gave way to the native Persian language. The story of this spread in its early stages, and the emergence of the colloquial languages in the Arabic-speaking countries is a long and interesting one. (See, S. Fayṣal, *al-Mudjtamaʿāt al-Islamiyya*, Cairo 1952, Vol. II). The spread and establishment of Arabic in some countries as a national language was aided by various factors. In Syria Arab elements had already settled, Arabic poetry had been welcomed at the Ghassānids' courts, and many of the inhabitants spoke Aramaic, a kindred language. In ʿIrāḳ, too, Arab tribes had already settled from pre-Islamic times, and an Arab state had established itself in al-Ḥīra. In those regions of ʿIrāḳ where Persian was prevalent, the long-established neighbourhood of Arabs and Persians paved the way for the conquering language. Some Persian kings—such as Bahrām Gūr—are said to have been brought up in the Arabic courts and to have composed Arabic poetry. H. C. Woolner (in *Language in History and Politics*) states that Persian was influenced in the seventh century A.D. by a strong Aramaic current which prepared the way for the spread of Arabic. Another form of that influence came through Syriac which occupied an important position as a cultural medium in Persia.

In Egypt, Greek had been, since Ptolemaic times, the language of culture, politics, administration, and later of the Church, while Coptic was the vehicle for daily intercourse among the population. Yet the adoption of classical Arabic as a state language, and of colloquial Arabic as a conversational medium among the Egyptians was accomplished within a century after the conquest. Authorities state that Coptic disappeared almost completely after that period from most parts of Egypt, and could only be found among the scholars who specialised in studying it (A. Amīn, *Fadjr al-Islām*[3], 259). When Islam entered North Africa it found three languages there; Latin, which was the language of administration and culture; a mixed language composed of Greek, Latin and semitic elements which was bequeathed by Carthage; and Berber in the interior of the country. Arabic became the dominant language in the cities through the spread of the new religion and the arrival of wave after wave of Arab settlers. The Berber language, however resisted the spread of Arabic in its strongholds in the interior.

These conquests, then acted as carriers of Arabic both as a literary and as a colloquial language in many different lands. As many Arabs migrated to these new territories, taking their language with them, so did great numbers of non-Arabs migrate in the opposite direction; many as slaves and clients (*mawālī*), and they settled in the big Arab centres of Mecca, Medina, al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. They naturally adopted Arabic as their medium of intercourse, and some of them mastered literary Arabic and became famous writers and poets. Some of the Persian *mawālī* found in the two capitals of Ḥidjāz a fertile soil for their music and singing. Thus a movement of interaction between Arabs and non-Arabs was taking place all through the Islamic empire during the 1st/7th century. This movement produced a great civilisation which became known as Arab-Islamic civilisation. The contribution of the conquered races to this civilisation consisted in culture, learning, and administration, while the purely Arabian contribution lay in the linguistic and the religious fields. The ancient Aramaic and Iranian cultures, under the aegis of the Caliphate, were woven into a new pattern and expressed through the medium of the Arabic tongue. Arabic was thus invigorated by new elements of ideas and images, stimulated with fresh conceptions of excellence and eloquence, and enriched even with a new vocabulary. Persian, in particular, was responsible for the introduction

of new terms in the fields of luxury, ornaments, handicrafts, fine arts, government administration, and public registers (A. Amin, *Fadjr al-Islam*, Section iii). (M. Khalafallah)

(3) Middle Arabic

The creation of an Arabic Empire stretching at the height of its power from the Pyrenees and the Atlantic to the shores of the Sīr Daryā and the Indus had far-reaching consequences on the development of the Arabic language. Arabic, hitherto spoken in Arabia proper and its immediate neighbourhood, went with the Muslim armies to the farthest ends of the far-flung empire. Life in camp and on expedition brought men of different tribes into close contact and the vicinity of the tribal quarters (*khiṭaṭ*) in the great cities soon led to a levelling of their dialects. In addition to these dialects, some forms of interdialectal speech were in existence, notably the language of oratory used by the tribal spokesman (*khaṭīb*) in his harangues, and the poetical language, both of which had been cultivated in pre-Islamic days and were now enriched by the language of the Ḳurʾān. The poetical language was characterised by certain peculiarities of metre and rhyme, vocabulary and phraseology, figures of speech and imagery inherited from the ancient bards, but otherwise it was presumably still close to the language of everyday conversation; verses were still improvised on the spur of the moment, nor did their understanding require any sort of education on the part of their hearers.

It is only in the latter half of the first century that we find new linguistic traits in the love-poetry of the Ḥidjāz. These poets, whose surroundings gave them leisure to reflect upon their emotional experiences, felt the conventions of bedouin poetry inadequate for their purposes and began to use the conversational style of the new aristocracy, which was modified by the Ḥidjāzī dialect as well as by the exigencies of settled city-life (see Paul. Schwarz, *Der Diwan des ʿUmar b. abī Rabīʿa*, iv, 1909, 94-172).

In the new provinces—except perhaps Syria—the Arabs were considerably outnumbered by the indigenous population who continued to use their mother-tongues, but had in their dealings with government to adapt themselves to the idiom of the conquerors, though at the beginning they used some sort of makeshift language. Then there were those non-Muslims who had been taken prisoner and were brought into the houses and harems of their Arab masters. They quickly adopted Arabic and as a rule embraced Islam. Many of them or their descendants were freed from bondage and played as freedmen (*mawālī*) an important rôle in the economic life of the empire, especially in the cities where they formed the bulk of the population. They spoke Arabic with many alterations, due partly to the influence of the language of their forebears, partly to the dialect of their Arab patrons and neighbours, and last but not least to the rapid changes in their economic and social environment. These widely differing idioms were the forerunners of the Middle-Arabic local dialects, which were spoken by the lower classes in the towns of the various provinces. They were characterised by a simplified pronunciation; the glottal stop was dropped; *ḳ*, voiced in bedouin speech became voiceless; emphatic and non-emphatic sounds and also *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ* were confused; in the areas where Aramaic was formerly dominant, the interdental spirants were replaced by the corresponding occlusives. But the most telling feature of Middle Arabic was the weakening and loss of the short final vowels and along with it the abandonment of the desinential inflexion (*iʿrāb*), which had momentous consequences for the structure of the language (J. Cantineau, *Bulletin de la société linguistique*, 1952, 112). The old system of inflexion fell into disuse; cases, status, moods were no longer distinguished. Their functions had to be taken over by word order, periphrastic expressions, and other means common in languages of an analytical type. Middle-Arabic was also adopted by the Christians of Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia and by the oriental Jews, and from the 2nd/8th century onwards used by them for literary purposes, whilst with the Arab Muslims the classical language remained the proper medium for literary activities. In this appreciation of the language of the Ḳurʾān and of the ancient Arabic poetry they were followed by the *mawālī*, who from the first tried to conform to the higher standards of Arabic and were already in the 1st/7th century contributing to Arabic poetry (e.g. Ziyād al-Aʿdjam). By the end of the 1st/7th century the *mawālī* felt the necessity for some sort of training in the classical language, thus giving an impetus to the beginnings of grammatical studies, whilst the Arabs grew apprehensive of unidiomatic speech and realized the necessity for preserving the purity of their language.

Once taken up by the *mawālī*, the classical language survived the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty and continued to be the medium of Islamic culture throughout the Muslim world, not only in those provinces where Arabic was dominant or gaining ground but even in countries where it was never to gain a firm footing. In the schools of Baṣra and Kūfa the rules of the "*ʿarabiyya*" were standardised according to the idioms of those bedouins who were credited with the purest language. This standard language was used at court and in good society, and to master it was one of the first accomplishments of a man of letters or learning. Its application to literary purposes shows a great variety of types. All narratives referring to Arabic and bedouin life (e.g. the *amthāl al-ʿArab*, *ayyām al-ʿArab*, but also the *maghāzī* and the *sīra*) preserved to some extent the uncouth originality and artless naïveté of the old language. In the literature of *ḥadīth* (traditions) and *fiḳh* (jurisprudence) the social and economic changes left their marks on the vocabulary, phraseology, and even morphology. Of a quite different type is the language of the secular prose-writers of the early ʿAbbāsid period (e.g. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ). Here the changes in Muslim society brought about by the ascendancy of the non-Arab races, the pre-Islamic heritage and the revival of Oriental Hellenism, took full effect. It is polished, lucid, flexible and well adapted to the expression of thought in a precise manner; its vocabulary, though lacking the exuberant abundance of the bedouin language (as witnessed e.g. by the *urdjūza*-poetry), is rich and expressive, and its grammatical structure free from the cumbersome overgrowth of nominal and verbal forms so conspicuous in the bedouin language. The same simplicity and smoothness is found also in the verses of the so-called "modern" (*muḥdath*) poets of the same period (e.g. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya), although in poetry as a rule the imitation of the old patterns has always been closest.

On the language of every-day life and the dialects spoken by the different strata of Muslim society during this period very little is known. How complicated the linguistic situation had grown by the

end of the 2nd/8th century we can gather from occasional remarks of al-Djāḥiẓ (165-255) not only about the correct language of true bedouins, its gradual corruption through the vicinity of towns and intercourse with the peasantry, about the patois of the lower orders, the cant of pedlars, the argot of beggars, the technical terms of trades and professions, but also about mispronunciation and faulty speech on the one hand and euphemism and mannerism on the other.

These divergent tendencies soon affected the written language. The translators and scientists who made the legacy of Greek philosophy, medicine, mathematics, and other sciences accessible to the Muslim world, enriched the vocabulary considerably by innumerable technical terms. But they were often Christians (e.g. Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ) or Jews, and had neither a good grounding in Arabic grammar nor any aptitude for literary perfection and accomplished style. Their translations, therefore, show as a rule some Middle Arabic features (see G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ und seine Schule*, Leiden 1913, 28-53).

The decline of the ʿAbbāsid power and the ascendancy of the Turkish soldiery in the course of the 3rd/9th century led to a general lowering of the standards of education; even the court-language no longer preserved its former purity but became marred by vulgarisms. About the year 300/912 the classical language ceased to be used in the conversation of good society, in the law-courts and colleges, and froze into a literary idiom; to stick to the rules of the *iʿrāb* was considered a sign of pedantry and affectation. At the same time the former enthusiasm for the bedouins began to wane, and their language—the dialects of which had in the meantime undergone many changes—was no longer looked upon as the best representative of Arabic speech. The classical language was spoken only on solemn occasions, otherwise its use was restricted to the domain of literature. Here its application was mainly a problem of style. Henceforward the term *ʿarabiyya* meant an unalterable system of words, phrases, grammatical forms and syntactical structures, which was strictly regulated by the rules of grammarians and lexicographers and could not—at least theoretically—be improved upon. In applying this artistic language to his theme—which in its turn he had to select from a limited number of topics (*maʿānī*)—an author had a choice between different styles, differing in the employment of rhyme, rhythm, figures of speech and other embellishments. But once he had chosen his theme and its style he was committed to the traditional patterns (see G. E. von Grunebaum, *The Aesthetic Foundation of Arabic Literature*, *Comparative Literature*, 1952, 323-40). It is for this reason that a writer had not only to possess a thorough knowledge of the intricacies of Arabic grammar and lexicography, but had also to study and learn by heart the best pieces of classical prose and poetry (though the question as to what authors were of classical rank was often hotly debated). In these circumstances the *ʿarabiyya* was bound to become a learned medium and its study was cultivated by Arabs and non-Arabs alike. The non-Arab races contributed even some of the best prose-writers (e.g. al-Khwārazmī, and Badīʿ al-Zamān) and philologists (e.g. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī). High literature was the privilege of an élite and required sometimes a commentary either by the author (e.g. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī) or by his admirers (e.g. al-Mutanabbī) in order that it might be understood by the hearers. Occasionally vulgarisms were used for artistic purposes (in *muwashshaḥ*, *zadjal*) and even the argot of the beggars and swindlers was made use of by Abū Dulaf in his *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Sāsāniyya*; but on the whole the vocabulary of high literature was choice and exquisite.

These high standards, however, were required in high poetry and ornate prose only. In the other branches of literature there is a great variety in language and style. Often it is only the preface which is written in rhymed prose and in choice wording, whilst the bulk of the book betrays the Middle-Arabic character of the author's speech. In books written for practical purposes the technical terms of the subject had to be used. If the author had no proper knowledge of the grammar, faulty speech was unavoidable; the worst example is perhaps the *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* by Buzurg b. Shahriyār al-Rāmhurmuzī written after 342/953 (*Le Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, éd. par P. A. van der Lith et L. M. Devic, Leiden 1883-6). It is full of vulgarisms (see de Goeje's remarks in van der Lith's edition, 205), some of which are common in Middle-Arabic whilst others are probably due to the author's non-Arab mother-tongue and his profession.

These disrupting tendencies were fostered by the disintegration of the ʿAbbāsid empire. Already in 375/985 al-Maḳdisī could in his description of the Muslim world attempt to characterise each country by the peculiarities of its language. It appears from his account that in his days in all Arabic-speaking countries the conversational language of the upper classes had suffered considerably under the inroads of local dialects and that the most correct Arabic was heard in the Eastern (Iranian) countries where much attention was paid to the study of grammar.

Already in the days of al-Maḳdisī the increasing independence of the Sāmānid dynasty led to the revival of New-Persian literature, which had momentous consequences on the position of Arabic as the Islamic language in the Eastern regions. Outside the Arabic-speaking world, Arabic was in the dominions of the Saldjūḳs gradually superseded by New-Persian not only as the language of court, society, diplomacy and administration, but also in poetry, belles-lettres and other branches of secular—and later on even religious—literature. At the same time the rise of independent dynasties in the Arabic-speaking countries gave a new impetus to the development of the dialects spoken in their dominions and increased the already existing tension between literary language and colloquial. Thus the picture of the Arabic language as reflected in the literature of the Saldjūḳ period (5th/11th-7th/13th centuries) is of a bewildering complexity. There are masterpieces of ornate prose, written in a faultless style like the Maḳāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), which could be appreciated only by a small group of connoisseurs. In high poetry the imitation of the time-honoured patterns continued, but some poets succeeded in modernising the poetical diction by adapting it to the conversational style of their contemporaries, e.g. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr (d. 656/1253). Others even made use of the local dialects, e.g. Ibn Ḳuzmān (d. 555/1160) and Ibn Dāniyāl (c. 693/1294). Usāma b. Munḳidh (d. 584/1188) composed verses in the conventional fashion, but his famous memoirs are written in an unpretentious style which savours of the dialect of Syria. Some grammarians grew lenient in admitting expressions which were formerly excluded from correct speech,

whilst others, like Ibn Yaʿīsh (d. 643/1245) (see G. Jahn in the preface to his edition, i, 10-12) wrote in a slovenly style, without regard for the rules of grammar they were expounding. In ordinary prose, offences against grammar are rather the rule than the exception, as witnessed by the works of Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) (see Wüstenfeld in vol. v, 58-65 of his edition) and al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283) (see Wüstenfeld in vol. ii, ix of his edition). Works written outside the Arabic-speaking countries sometimes betray the fact that their authors had not a full command over the language; Persian (and later Turkish) writers e.g. Ibn al-Mudjāwir (d. 690/1291) (see Löfgren, *Arab. Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, ii/2, 21) were apt to disregard the differences of gender, the concord of gender and number, and the rules concerning the article. There are further works of a popular character, such as the epic romances (e.g. the *Sīrat ʿAntar*, *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*), the *Maghāzī*-legends (e.g. by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, c. 693/1294) and the mystic poems of the religious orders; they were destined for the edification and entertainment of the middle and lower classes and were therefore written in a rather vulgar language and style. Similar vulgarisms are found in the writings of the Druzes (see de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe* ii, 236, n. 9, etc.) and the religious poetry of the Yazīdīs (see R. Frank, *Scheich ʿAdī*, 107 ff.). Naturally the writers of other denominations, as e.g. the Christians, the Jews (see J. Friedlaender, *Der Sprachgebrauch der Maimonides*, i, Frankfurt a.M. 1902) and the Samaritans (see Abu 'l-Fatḥ, *Annales Samaritani*, ed. E. Vilmar 1865) had no part in the literary traditions of the Arabs, though men like Maimonides were otherwise deeply imbued with Islamic culture. But many more inquiries into the language of individual authors will have to be made before the development of literary Arabic in these centuries can be elucidated. For these studies a perusal of autographs or at least of contemporary manuscripts will be necessary, for our editions are as likely as not "corrected" by oriental printers (see August Müller in the preface to his Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Königsberg 1884, VII-VIII) or European editors (see S. L. Skoss in the preface to his edition of al-Fāsī, *Djāmiʿ al-Alfāẓ*, i, 1936, CXL-CXLIII).

After the devastation of the Asiatic countries caused by the invasions of the Mongols, there began a new period in the history of literary Arabic. Egypt rose into prominence and became under the Mamlūks (648-923/1250-1517) the centre of Islamic culture and of Arabic literature. The literary language during these centuries was post-classical. Prose-writers like Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 668/1270; see August Müller, *Über Text und Sprachgebrauch in Ibn abī Uṣaibiʿas Geschichte der Ärzte*, *Sitz.-Ber. Bayr. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1884, 853-977) represent the colloquial as it was then spoken in good society. Later authors such as Ibn Iyās (c. 930/1524; see P. Kahle in the preface to his edition, vol. iv, 1931, 26-8) and Ibn Ṭūlūn (c. 955/1548; see R. Hartmann, *Das Tübinger Fragment der Chronik des Ibn Ṭūlūn*, 1926, 103) are even more influenced by the local dialect, especially in vocabulary. Others, such as the Amīr Bektāsh al-Fākhirī (c. 741/1341; see K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, Leiden 1919, 1-33) show by their style that Turkish was their mother-tongue. In poetry the dialect was sometimes utilised e.g. by Ibn Sūdūn (d. 868/1464) in his humorous and satirical poems.

The great changes which took place in the world from the end of the 9th/15th century deeply affected literary Arabic. After the capture of Granada in 897/1492 and the expulsion of the Moors the Arabic language vanished from the Iberian peninsula. In the Maghrib, where the classical language had always stood in sharp contrast to the local dialects, there sprang from the latter a new poetical language, the so-called *malḥūn*, which since the 10th/16th century has enjoyed an ever-increasing popularity in Morocco. The other Arabic-speaking countries were sooner or later conquered by the Ottoman Sultans who were not primarily concerned with the cultivation of the Arabic language and literature. Even in Egypt, hitherto the mainstay of Arabic culture, literary activity sank to its lowest ebb. Literary Arabic was the prerogative of an élite. The dialect was occasionally utilised for literary purposes (e.g. by al-Shirbīnī, c. 1098/1687, in his *Hazz al-ḳuḥūf*). Already in the 10th/16th century poems were composed in the vernacular (see M. U. Bouriant, *Chansons populaires arabes*, Paris 1893, and Fuad Hasanain Ali, *Ägyptische Volkslieder*, i, 1939). In Syria, the Maronite archbishop of Aleppo, Germanus Farḥāt [*q.v.*] (d. 1145/1732) did much to revive the study of Arabic grammar, lexicology and rhetoric amongst his countrymen. Outside the Arabic countries Arabic continued to be used by scholars, more especially in theology, jurisprudence and kindred subjects; but though its sphere comprised by now parts of North and East Africa, Zanzibar, Malaya, and the Indonesien Archipelago, yet it was less influential than in the preceding period. This period of stagnation and decay lasted till the beginning of the 13th/19th century.

Bibliography: References are already given in the article. Many observations on the classical and postclassical usage are found in the prefaces to editions of Arabic texts, in grammars and dictionaries and especially in H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, i-iii, Leipzig 1885-8; Th. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch*, Wien 1896; see also J. Fück, *Arabiya, Untersuchungen zur arabischen Sprach- und Stilgeschichte*, Berlin 1950 (Arabic translation by ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Nadjdjār, Cairo 1951; French translation by C. Denizeau, 1955). (J. W. Fück)

(4) Modern written Arabic

The intrusion of Europe into the range of vision of the Arab world begins with Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798. The adoption of innumerable elements of Western civilisation had far-reaching effects on the written language. This began already with Muḥammed ʿAlī's programme of reform which set out deliberately to take over Western achievements and was focussed on France, which everywhere remained the model until after the first World War. As a result of the sending of student missions to study in France, the formation of schools on European lines and the foundation of an Arabic press, and, above all, of the translation of numerous European books, the necessity of finding expressions for a host of foreign ideas was felt first in Egypt and then too in other countries—foreign ideas for which at first only foreign words were available. Even the works of early translators in Egypt, of whom the most notable was al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-1873; cf. Brockelmann, II 481, S II 731, W. Braune in *MSOS* XXXVI 2, 119-125, J. Heyworth-Dunne in *BSOS* IX 961-7, X 399-415) already contain, side by side with numerous foreign words taken over indiscriminately, pure Arabic neologisms to express Western concepts.

But a real counter-movement against the excessive use of foreign words did not begin until the second half of the 19th century. The question of how to meet the ever-growing need for new expressions in Arabic became one of the major problems of intellectual life. The impact of Europe in itself awoke among the Arabs, after an interval of centuries, reconsideration of their own linguistic and literary tradition. The revival of the old philological learning was facilitated by the printing of many old literary works and especially of native dictionaries and grammars. The dogma that the ʿArabiyya as the oldest literary form of the language was better and more "correct" than any later forms and that it must therefore be the highest authority for linguistic correctness at the present day too became the guiding idea for the whole language movement, even if there were voices in opposition. Thus the old purism was revived again, and with it the tendency artificially to control the development of the language, with recourse wherever possible to the old model language. This movement started in the Syrian-Lebanese area. Outstanding among the earlier language critics was Ibrāhīm al-Yāzid̲j̲ī (1847-1906; Brockelmann, S II 766), who criticised the language of the journalists of his time in *Lug̲h̲at al-D̲j̲arāʾid* (published in book form, Cairo 1319). The inevitable modernisation and expansion of the vocabulary of the ʿArabiyya ought, according to the wishes of the purists, to be carried out by drawing to the greatest possible extent on the wealth of words, roots and forms in the ʿArabiyya. The question of how to proceed in detail and how far European words should be employed has been actively discussed again and again. In innumerable essays in nearly all periodicals and in many separate publications right up to the present moment, immense quantities of neologisms have been proposed, although it must be said that only a small percentage pass into general usage. Extending far beyond the circle of professional philologists, this movement has also affected large circles of the general educated public. The struggle with technical terms (*muṣṭalaḥāt*) is a difficult problem for every specialist in any technical or scientific branch and gives many of them the impetus themselves to become linguistically creative and to publish their own technical terms. The literature on this subject written in Arabic is very vast and scattered, and cannot be treated here more than generally. There are large collections of the terminology for many special fields (Aḥmed ʿĪsā, *Muʿd̲j̲am Asmāʾ al-Nabāt*, Cairo 1930; Amīn al-Maʿlūf, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932; Muṣṭafā al-S̲h̲ihābī, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-Alfāẓ al-Zirāʿiyya*, Damascus 1943; M. Ashraf, *English-Arabic Dictionary of Medicine, Biology and allied Sciences*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1929—to mention only a few). But such works do not confine themselves to listing expressions which are already in current use; they also introduce suggestions of their own; they cannot therefore be considered as descriptive scientific material but are contributions to the establishment of terminology. The idea of co-ordinating these efforts and of establishing language academies for the standardisation of vocabulary dates from the 80's of the last century (cf. Braune l.c. 133). After several unsuccessful attempts, a scientific academy (*al-Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī*) was founded in Damascus in 1919, which also devoted itself to the reform of the language and published many contributions to the language problem in its review, which first appeared in 1921. In 1932 the Egyptian *Royal Academy of the Arabic Language* (now *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-Lug̲h̲a al-ʿArabiyya*) came into existence. Apart from the study of the old language and literature its main concern is the regulation and expansion of the modern vocabulary. In its review (*Mad̲j̲allat Mad̲j̲maʿ al-Lug̲h̲a al-ʿArabiyya*, Vol. I-VII, 1934-1953) and since 1942 in a sequence of special publications, the use of a great many *muṣṭalaḥāt* has been recommended, so far without the anticipated and desired effect being achieved. The official principles on which the Academy works can also be gathered from the minutes of meetings (*Maḥāḍir*, since 1936). Even in Irāḳ, where formerly the review *Lug̲h̲at al-ʿArab* (Vol. I-IX, 1911-1931) of P. Anastase al-Karmalī was the leading organ of the purist trend, an Academy was formed in 1947 (*al-Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*) which, *inter alia*, is also concerned with the problems of terminology. The real difficulty, however, with all these official attempts at creating standard terminologies for technical and scientific fields lies not so much in coining new expressions, as in securing their general use among the specialists concerned. Although the possibility of popularising newly-coined technical terms in specialist circles has often been overestimated, the practical effect of the purist movement on actual language usage cannot be denied. In many individual cases one can observe how artificially created words have quickly entered into the general stock of words of journalists and writers. The efforts of the purists however are concentrated almost entirely on the isolated word, that is, on the extrinsic elements of the language.

Turning to the linguistic facts, the striking feature is the infiltration of English and French phraseology, translated into Arabic (so-called loan translation or "calques") and the change in the inner form. In particular the language of daily communication (press and radio) and of writers with little or no classical education has a distinct European touch. Phraseology and style are far more difficult to check than terminology. This development is therefore inevitable and must be accepted as a fact. In the field of *belles lettres*, on the other hand, we find in many cases a strong attachment to tradition. Authors with a classical education are still today able to keep close to the ideal of the ʿArabiyya in their style; they sometimes make use of uncommon words and phrases of the old literature and especially of the Ḳurʾān as artistic stylistic devices. But no-one can completely escape the influence of European phraseology.

Grammar, on the other hand, which can be defined in rules and which is much more subject to conscious control, gives quite a different picture. The written language has remained untouched by the sound-change, and the morphology has remained constant from the earliest times till the present day; the same is true of the syntax at least in its basic features. Here the conservative attachment to the ʿArabiyya has proved itself astonishingly effective.

In vocabulary a considerable basic stock has remained alive since the earliest times. Post-classical words, including those from the later Middle Ages, form a further element of the modern vocabulary. A host of generally accepted expressions are available to express ideas which come from Europe, most of which are in full accordance with the above-mentioned wishes of the purists. Forgotten words of the ʿArabiyya have been revived and are used without formal alteration but with meanings more or less modified (e.g. *ḳiṭār* = train of camels drawn up one

behind the other > railway train); words of the ʿArabiyya still in use have been given a new additional meaning (e.g. *barḳ* = lightning > telegraph); sometimes the change of meaning is made by analogy with the foreign word, which served as model (e.g. *ṣundūḳ* = box > cash-box, cash office, after the French "caisse"). Moreover a large number of completely new nouns formed from old roots with the help of the Arabic nominal forms (most frequent: *mafʿal, -a, mifʿal, -a, faʿʿāl, -a*) have passed into general usage (e.g. *matḥaf* = museum, *naffā̲t̲ha* = jet-plane); likewise verbal nouns and participial forms are used for new expressions (e.g. *id̲h̲āʿa* = broadcasting, *muḥarrik* = motor). The *nisba*-ending is widely employed in the formation of new words (e.g. *is̲h̲tirākī* = socialist, *is̲h̲tirākiyya* = socialism); by the expansion of its use many new adjectives have been derived from nouns, and with them European compounds can easily be reproduced (e.g. *al-barīd al-d̲j̲awwī* = airmail); genuine compound forms are still confined to those with the negation *lā* (e.g. *lā-silkī* = wireless). Until the first World War the majority of foreign words were borrowed from French, others from Italian. English became an influence after the first World War, especially in Egypt and Irāḳ. The decrease of foreign words in Arabic is a considerable achievement of purist efforts. Words of Turkish origin have disappeared almost entirely in the last decades. We may consider as loan-words such as correspond to an Arabic nominal form or can easily be assimilated to it, and for which broken plurals are formed (e.g. *bank-bunūk, film-aflām, duktūr-dakātira*) and such as are assimilated through the addition of the ending *-iyya* which serves as abstract ending (*dīmūḳrāṭiyya* = democracy).

The numerous accepted new words are still not sufficient. Very specialised scientific and technical details to the present day still cannot be expressed in Arabic in a form understood by all concerned. The anarchy in the field of specialised terminology even within one country is far from being at an end. The situation is aggravated by the fact that Greek and Latin technical terms which so often help specialists towards an international understanding even on complicated matters, are translated into Arabic. There are often several terms in circulation for the same thing; on the other hand cases occur where the same term means different things to different authors. Nevertheless the standardisation of technical terminology which is the basic problem of present-day Arabic has undoubtedly made considerable progress and thus we can also expect further favourable developments in the future.

The fact that there exists a basically uniform written language in all Arabic countries from Irāḳ to Morocco is of great value, ideal and practical, to the Arabic peoples. It is the symbol of their old cultural unity and their political union in the present day. Thus we can conclude that there is no reason to anticipate that the written language will anywhere be replaced by a local dialect and forced out of practical use.

Bibliography: W. Braune, in *MSOS* xxxvi, 2, 130-40; H. Wehr, ibid. xxxvii, 2, 1-64 and *ZDMG* xcvii, 16-46; D. V. Semyonov, ***Sintaksis sovremennogo arabskogo yazyka***, Moscow-Leningrad 1941; Brockelmann, S III 5-7; J. Fück, *ʿArabīya* xiv; R. B. Winder and F. J. Ziadeh, ***An Introduction to Modern Arabic***, Princeton 1955; Ch. Pellat, ***Introduction à l'arabe moderne***, Paris 1956.—Dictionaries and most important contributions to lexicography: Ch. K. Baranov, ***Arabsko-Russkiy Slovar'***, Moscow-Leningrad 1940-6 (with Preface by I. Kratchkovskiy with further references); L. Bercher, ***Lexique Arabe-Français***, 2nd ed., Algiers 1944 (Supplement); M. Brill, D. Neustadt and P. Schusser, ***The basic word list of the Arabic Daily Newspaper***, Jerusalem 1940; Elias, ***Modern Dictionary Arabic-English*** 4th ed., Cairo 1947; D. Neustadt and P. Schusser, *Millōn ʿArabī-ʿIbrī*, Jerusalem 1947; Ch. Pellat, *L'arabe vivant*, Paris 1952; H. Wehr, ***Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart***, Leipzig 1952, 1956. (H. Wehr)

(iii) The Vernaculars

(1) General survey

AREA IN WHICH ARABIC IS USED

Arabic is spoken to-day by about 60 million people ranging from Hither Asia to North Africa, from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean; these regions are: Arabia with the Fertile Crescent up to the Persian and Turkish frontiers; Egypt and most of the Sudan (from the Nile to the Chad); Tripolitania; Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco; Mauritania, French West Sudan, and the northern Sahara. In addition to this continuous geographical area, there exist isolated pockets; in Africa: Djibuti and Zanzibar; in Europe: Malta (formerly with the Balearic Is., Sicily, Pantellaria up to the 18th century), Spain (up to the 15th century [see AL-ANDALUS]). Finally, attention should be drawn to the Syro-Lebanese diaspora in North and South America and French West Africa.

Within the limits of the geographical area mentioned above, Arabic has found itself in contact with a series of foreign languages which it has tended to supplant, although some have still retained great vitality side by side with Arabic (e.g. Berber), but it is characteristic that Arabic has only succeeded in replacing indigenous languages when the latter have possessed structural features akin to its own; this has been the case in Egypt, where Coptic ceased to be spoken in the Middle Ages, while the Indo-European sphere has successfully resisted it, despite the implantation of Islam.

ORIGIN

The Arabic spoken to-day is derived basically from old dialects of Central and Northern Arabia. To the limited extent to which one can form an idea of them, these dialects, although differentiated, do not seem to have presented any essential points of difference, because the classical philologists, who remain the most important source, only note variations in pronunciation and vocabulary, while the structure of the languages seems to have been homogeneous. The same philologists, using *faṣāḥa* [*q.v.*] as their criterion, divided the old dialects into three main groups: those of the Ḥid̲j̲āz, considered the purest, those of the Nad̲j̲d, and finally those of the neighbouring tribes, considered to be contaminated to a greater extent by other Semitic or by non-Semitic languages. This distinction, always a fine one, is no longer tenable to-day, because the dialects concerned have developed markedly. Of all the classifications worthy of consideration, the most convenient, although it is based on a geographical division rather than on linguistic criteria (which are: the formation of the 1st person s. and pl. of the imperfect of the verb, and the treatment of short vowels in open syllables), consists of distinguishing two major groups, the

first (see below, section II) comprising the Eastern dialects, east of a line running approximately from Sollum to Chad, the second being formed by the Maghribī dialects, situated geographically west of the above line.

The dialect of the Ḥidjāz, and more particularly that of the Ḳuraysh of Mecca, is known to have been one of the pre-Islamic Arabic dialects; it was elevated to the status of a literary language, not, however, without some interference with the pre-Islamic poetic *koine*. But the old dialects remained none the less alive, not only in their own country, but also outside the Arabian Peninsula, because they were spread abroad by the Arabs in the territories which they conquered. Organised in their traditional groups, the Arab conquerors preserved for some time their own tongue, but dialectal peculiarities tended to become less marked as the result of the blending of tribes within the fighting units. It was this sort of *koine*, rather military in character, which constituted the language of the conquered or newly-founded towns, but a contrary development soon occurred, with the appearance of indigenous elements and elements from the linguistic substratum, which resulted in an ever greater differentiation between the urban dialects, although on the whole the dialects of the large cities of the Arab world still displayed common characteristics. It is therefore possible, in order to rely on a sociological rather than a geographical criterion, to distinguish on the one hand the dialects of the urban and settled populations (because the role of the large cities had aided the rapid spread of the urban dialects in concentric circles), and on the other the Bedouin dialects. The latter were the dialects of more or less homogeneous and nomadic tribes which had emigrated from the Arabian peninsula either before or after the conquests. In general, the boundaries between the two major groups defined above are not fixed absolutely, and it is even possible to discern the existence of an intermediate group of dialects which display both urban and Bedouin characteristics. The criteria which enable one to distinguish between urban and Bedouin dialects are set forth in sections II and III below, but it should be noted here that, in general, the Bedouin dialects exhibit more conservative tendencies, and greater homogeneity within the framework of the tribe. The urban dialects display pronounced evolutive tendencies; they have introduced morphological and syntactical innovations and, further, differentiated dialects quite often appear within the same urban area, not only between the following of different religions (Muslims, Jews and Christians for example), but also between the social classes and even between the sexes and different generations.

If Classical Arabic is compared, in the most general terms, with present-day dialectal Arabic, the main point to be noted is the early abandonment, by spoken Arabic, of case endings and the inflexions of the verb. Perhaps less characteristic, in the phonetic sphere, are the loss of the phoneme represented by ض and the tendency of short vowels in open syllables to disappear; further, short internal vowels, even in stressed syllables, have become weakened in the most developed dialects. Morphologically, in addition to the disappearance of terminations, one notes the almost complete disappearance of the passive with vowel change, the decreased use of the dual and the feminine plural. On the other hand the phonetic system is richer than that of classical Arabic and the vowel range greater; a present indicative *a*, in a number of dialects spoken by settled populations, was derived from the imperfect by means of various preverbs; the syntax, less synthetic, used an analytical construction simultaneously with the relationship of annexation (*iḍāfa*). Finally, as regards vocabulary, the basic vocabulary is also found in classical Arabic, with losses due to the disuse of a large number of special terms (notably those relative to Bedouin life, in the case of the settled populations), but also with gains due to loan words from foreign languages which continued to co-exist with Arabic.

DIALECTAL LITERATURE

The religious prestige of classical Arabic naturally prevented dialectal Arabic from playing the part of a literary language, at least among Muslims; further, with the exception of a certain number of proverbs and poems (see especially ZADJAL) dialectal literature is fundamentally oral; it consists of songs and poems, which treat of the same themes—epic, religious, lyric, satiric, eulogistic, erotic etc.—as classical Arabic, of tales, legends and even epics. When, exceptionally, a dialectal work of importance has been set down in writing, it has never preserved its original form, but has been transformed into more or less correct literary Arabic, which deprives us of documentary evidence which would otherwise be of great interest. The most typical example is that of the Thousand and One Nights (see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA). For the attempts made in recent years to create a dialectal literature, and for the use of colloquial Arabic in novels and plays, see *Arabic Literature* below.

Christian Arabic literature should not be overlooked (see G. Graf, *Geschichte der Christlich-Arabischen Literatur* and *Der Sprachgebrauch der ältesten christlich-arabischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1905), nor that, in Roman script, which developed, but without great originality, at Malta, nor the Judaeo-Arabic writings. On these last, which until the present time form a vast branch of literature, see the article TUNISIA, and E. Vassel, *La littérature populaire des Israélites tunisiens*, in *RT*, 1904; G. Vajda, *Un Recueil de textes historiques judéo-marocains*, Paris 1951; M. Steinschneider, *Arabische Litteratur der Juden*, Frankfurt 1902.

No complete work has yet been devoted to dialectal literature, but the reader is referred to the references given in Ch. Pellat, *Langue et littérature arabes*, Paris 1952, 54. For North Africa, H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Paris 1920, deals with a subject which is closely connected with Arabic dialectal literature.

Sources: — The works of modern Orientalists, who often give texts in dialectal Arabic and help to give a fixed form to popular literature, are enumerated in sections II and III below, which are specially devoted to the modern dialects. For a historical study, apart from the references of the Arab philologists and the glossaries quoted in the article AL-ANDALUS, special reference should be made to the transcriptions of Arabic texts in Coptic or Greek script (see especially the ancient psalm fragment given by Violet in *OLZ*, 1901), to the early Egyptian papyri and to the Sicilian documents edited by S. Cusa (*I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, I, Palermo 1868). (ED.)

(2) The Eastern dialects

THE ARABIAN AND NORTH ARABIAN DIALECTS

The geographical area covered by these dialects extends from Egypt to Syria in the case of the

former, and in the case of the latter, comprises on the one hand the Arabian Peninsula, and on the other the Syrian desert and ʿIrāḳ.

The non-Arab languages represented are as follows: in Egypt, the Sīwa Berber group. In Syria-Lebanon, the Aramaic dialect of Maʿlūlā, Dj̲ubbaʿdīn and Bak̲h̲ʿa; the language of the Circassians living in villages in various parts of Syria: Ḳunayṭira, ʿAīn Zāt, Tell Améri, K̲h̲anāsir, Manbidj̲, and in Jordan Dj̲arash̲; the Armenian (or Turkish) of about 200,000 Armenians (principal centres Beirut, Aleppo); the language of about 230,000 Kurds living in the region of Hassetché, Dj̲arablūs, Dj̲abal Akrād and certain cities, notably Beirut and Damascus. In ʿIrāḳ, these Kurds constitute a quarter of the population; in addition, there is the neo-Syriac of the Mawṣil plain. In Arabia, Kumzārī (peninsula of Masandām, in ʿUmān), a Persian dialect; the modern South Arabian languages, between the Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān: Mahrī, Ḳarawī, Harsusī, and Botaharī. In Israel, modern Hebrew.

Egyptian Arabic (nomad dialects) has penetrated into the republic of Sudan among the Nilotic and Kushitic languages, and then, with Mag̲h̲ribī influences, among the Negro-African languages in the region of Lake Chad. Yemenite Arabic is used as the second language in Africa among the Somalis. The Arabic of ʿUmān has found its way to Zanzibar. In Turkmenistān, K̲h̲azaristān, Tādj̲ikistān traces have been found of Arabic nomadic dialects. Finally, in America, there is the Syro-Lebanese *diaspora*.

The eastern dialects. In Egypt, Cairo usage is well-known, that of Alexandria less well, that of the *fallāḥ*s very little, and that of the nomads and the whole of Upper Egypt hardly at all. In Palestine, a tripartite division must be carefully observed between sedentary urban-dwellers, the sedentary rural population (*fallāḥ*s), and nomads. In Syria-Lebanon, the dialects of the sedentary urban and rural populations are indeed distinguishable, but their differences are less marked; they contrast with the nomad dialects; the dialects of the large towns (Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem) are curiously similar to one another. The Mountain region of Lebanon, divided into separate districts, introduces local variations, the anti-Lebanon still more. In ʿIrāḳ, the urban and rural dialects have been submerged by the dialects of the North Arabian nomads; this has resulted in blending and compromise in varying degree between the two types of dialect, even in the large towns. Only assiduous linguistic research can show what remains of the dialects of the sedentary populations. In general, nomad dialects are linguistically dominant; thus ʿIrāḳ remains within the sphere of the North Arabian dialects. A study of the dialects of the Jews of Bag̲h̲dād and Baṣra would be most useful; recent migrations have disorganised these communities. It is interesting to note the use of dialect in a literary context, in Egypt (*al-Ḥāgg Darwish*, plays for the theatre), and in the Lebanon (*Finiānūs*, *S̲h̲mūne*); see J. Lecerf, *Littérature dialectale et renaissance arabe moderne*, in *BEOD*, ii, 1932, 179-258; iii, 1933, 43-175.

The eastern dialects have not received equal treatment as regards actual publications. A concise bibliography will be given here, within the limits of this general outline (for convenience, ʿIrāḳ will be included here):

At least six works deal primarily with the Arabic of Cairo; the following will suffice: W. Spitta-Bey, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Ägypten*, Leipzig 1880, xv-519 pp. in 8vo. (Texts 441-516; K. Vollers, *Lehrbuch der ägypto-arabischen Umgangssprache, mit Übungen und einem Glossar*, Cairo 1890. xi-231 pp. small 8vo. (English ed. by F. R. Burkitt, Cambridge 1895); C. A. Nallino, *L'arabo parlato in Egitto, grammatica, dialoghi e raccolta di circa 6,000 vocabuli*, Milan 1900, xxviii-386 pp. small 8vo., 2 ed. Milan 1913; D. C. Phillott and A. Powell, *Manual of Egyptian Arabic*, Cairo 1926, xxxiv-911 pp. small 8vo., In addition: Spiro-Bey, *Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Arabic of Egypt*, 3rd ed., Cairo 1929, xvi-518 pp. in 8vo. (arranged in purely alphabetical order). For Upper Egypt there are only the *Contes arabes* ...., published by H. Dulac, *JA*, 8th series, v, 5-38 (in Arabic characters with translation but without transcription); the *Chansons populaires*, collected by G. Maspero (*Ann. Serv. Ant. Égypte*, xiv, 97-291) are inadequate for a linguistic inquiry. For the nomads of Lower Egypt a number of the *Lieder der libyschen Wüste of M. Hartmann*, Leipzig 1899; it should be used with caution.

The Sudan is hardly better known, nor is the Lake Chad area. For the former: A. Worsley, *Sudanese Grammar*, London 1925, vi-80 pp. in 8vo.; S. Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic, English-Arabic Vocabulary* (p. 205-19, Cambridge 1935, xxiv-219 pp. in 8vo., see especially pp. xi-xxiv of the Introduction; idem, *Sudan Arabic, English-Arabic Vocabulary* [with transcription] 2nd ed., London 1930, xxviii-351 pp. in 12vo.). For the latter: G. J. Lethem, *Colloquial Arabic, Shuwa Dialect of Bornu, Nigeria and the region of Lake Chad*, London 1920, xv-487 pp. in 8vo. (Part III English-Arabic Vocabulary, 235-487). Lethem gives good conservative Bedouin Arabic; a form of Arabic which already shows changes (disappearance of the emphatics) is found in *Méthode pratique pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé au Ouaday et à l'Est du Tchad* by H. Carbou, Paris 1911, 251 pp. (reprinted, 1954). Narrative texts: C. G. Howard, *Shuwa Arabic Stories*, with an Introduction and Vocabulary (p. 83-115), Oxford 1921, 116 pp. in 12vo.; J. R. Patterson has published the *Stories of Abu Zeid the Hilali in Shuwa Arabic*, London 1930, Arabic text with translation but without transcription.

For linguistic geography, we are indebted to G. Bergsträsser's *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina* (incl. the Lebanon and Jordan), *ZDPV*, xxxviii, 169-222, 42 maps. This *Sprachatlas* is an excellent beginning. J. Cantineau has added his *Remarques sur les parlers de sédentaires Syro-Libano-Palestiniens*, *BSL*, no. 118, 80-8, in which he proposes a classification; his article on *Le Parler des Drûz de la montagne Ḥôranaise*, *AIEO*, Algiers, iv, 157-84, in which he shows that a dialect of the sedentary population of the Lebanon is involved; his profound study of Ḥawrān, *Les parlers arabes du Ḥôrân, Notions générales, Grammaire*, Paris 1946, x-475 pp. in 8vo. (Publ. SL, lii), and an *Atlas* of 60 maps, *ibid.* 1940. Haim Blanc has studied the dialects of the Druzes in northern Galilee and on Mt. Carmel in his *Studies in North Palestinian Arabic*, Jerusalem 1953, 139 pp. in small 8vo. (Or. Notes and St. Isr. Or. Soc., No. 4), phonological and phonetic survey 22-78; texts 79-108.

For Syria-Lebanon, Palestine, the following should be mentioned: (1) General descriptive works: A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, 5 fasc., Paris 1935-54 (the last two published by H. Fleisch), 943 pp. in large 8vo. (deals exhaustively with the vocabulary of Aleppo (1900), and gives the elements

of the Lebanon, Damascus and Jerusalem). G. R. Driver, *A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine*, London 1925, x-257 pp. in 8vo. L. Bauer, *Das palästinische Arabisch, die Dialekte des Städters und des Fellachen, Grammatik, Übungen und Chrestomathie* p. 164-256, 3rd edition, Leipzig 1913, viii-264 pp. in 8vo., 4th edition, Leipzig 1926, and *Wörterbuch des Palästinischen Arabisch, Deutsch-Arabisch*, Leipzig and Jerusalem 1933, xvi-432 pp. in 16vo. Feghali (Mgr. Michel), *Syntaxe des parlers actuels du Liban*, Paris 1928, xxv-635 pp. in small 8vo. (PELOV). The *Grammaire du dialecte Libano-Syrien* of R. Nakhla, Beirut 1937, does not describe a fixed dialect. (2) Monographs: a) on the Lebanon: M. T. Feghali, *Le parler de Kfarʿabîda* (Lebanon-Syria), Paris 1919, xv-304 pp. in 8vo.; this type of dialect only obtains in part of the Lebanon. H. Fleisch, *Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Zaḥlé* (*Liban*), MUSJ, xxvii, 75-116, in part a monograph on an important dialect of the Béka. H. El-Ḥajjé, *Le Parler arabe de Tripoli* (*Liban*), Paris 1954, 203 pp. in 8vo. (Text in transcription and translation pp. 176-99). b) on Syria: J. Cantineau, *Le dialecte arabe de Palmyre*, i, Grammar, x-287 pp. in 8vo., ii, Vocabulary and Texts, vii-149 pp. in 8vo., Beirut 1934 (Mém. Inst. Fr. Damas, ii), which describes a dialect of the settled population. The only works dealing with Damascus are the phonetic survey of Bergsträsser (see below), the *Manuel élémentaire d'arabe oriental* (*Damas musulman*) of J. Cantineau and Y. Helbaoui, Paris 1953, 124 pp. in 8vo., and the elements given by J. Oestrup in his *Contes de Damas* (Leiden 1897, 163 pp. in 8 vo.), pp. 122-155. (3) Useful texts: for Palestine, it is sufficient to mention here the *Chrestomathie* of L. Bauer; for the Lebanon, the *Contes, Légendes et Coutumes populaires du Liban et de Syrie* of M. Feghali, Arabic text, transcription, translation and notes, Paris 1935, xiii-195-87 pp. in 8vo.; for Damascus (Christian), *Zum arabischen Dialekt von Damaskus* of G. Bergsträsser, I *Phonetik* (p. 1-50), *Prosatexte*, Hanover 1924, 111 pp. in 8vo. (*Beitr. z. sem. Phil. u. Ling.*, No. 1), Arabic text in transcription with translation); for Ḥamā, the story (in transcription, with translation) *Mḥammad il-ḥalabi*, published by E. Littmann, *ZS*, ii, 20-50.

Little is known about ʿIrāḳ: the *Neuarabische Geschichten aus dem Iraq* of B. Meissner, Leipzig 1903, lviii-148 pp. in 8vo., and the *Beiträge zur Kunde des Irak-Arabischen* of F. H. Weissbach, i, *Prosatexte*, Leipzig 1908, xlvi-208 pp. in 8vo., ii, *Poetische Texte*, Leipzig 1930, 357 pp. in 8vo. (Leip. sem. St., iv, 1 and iv, 2), deal with the same dialect of the rural population of northern ʿIrāḳ; Meissner's work contains a substantial section on grammar, pp. vii-lviii, and a short vocabulary, pp. 112-48. For Mawṣil and Mārdīn, we have only the texts collected by A. Socin, *ZDMG*, xxxvi, *Der Dialekt von Mosul*, 4-12; *Der Dialekt von Mārdin*, 22-53 and 238-77, in transcription with translation, accompanied in part by the Arabic text, without study of the grammar or vocabulary. L. Massignon, in his *Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Bagdad* (reprint from *Bull. IFAO*, xi, 24 pp. in 8vo.) has emphasised the linguistic complexity of Baghdad, where he has distinguished "at least seven stable indigenous groups, all of the Arabic language, but differing in dialect" (p. 2). A survey of Baghdād, which will be a particularly difficult task, is still awaited. The *Bagdadische Sprichwörter*, published by A. S. Yahuda in *Or. Studien* (collection of studies dedicated to Th. Nöldeke, Giessen 1906), pp. 399-416, deals with Jewish Baghdād. The two works: J. van Ess, *The Spoken Arabic of Iraq* (above all Baṣra), 2nd ed. Oxford 1936, and M. Y. van Wagoner, *Spoken Iraqi Arabic* (Baghdād), Ling. Soc. of America, 1949, are a medley of dialects and are not so far of use as linguistic information.

The western dialects bear a certain family likeness, and the same can be said for the eastern dialects. For the purposes of this comparison the more conservative nomad dialects (this does not exclude the facts of their own evolution), which are much less well-known, will be disregarded. We are concerned with the dialects of the settled populations of east and west. We will consider first the elements which link them (and also those which distinguish them): cf. G. S. Colin, *L'arabe vulgaire*, 150th anniversary of ELO (Paris 1948), pp. 100-1.

Phonetically: 1) The disappearance of the velarised latero-interdental phoneme represented by the old ض, replaced in general by *ḍ* (emphatic); *dh* (emphatic) among the fellahs of P. and at T.*). 2) The development of the three interdental fricatives (*dh, th, dh* emphatic) into dental occlusives (*d, t* then *ts* in M. and Alg., *ḍ* emphatic except among the fellahs of P. and at T. 3) The tendency of the short vowels to disappear in open syllables, particularly when they are not stressed (especially *i, u*). 4) The tendency to reduce the diphthongs *ay, aw* to the simple sounds *ē, ō*, (even *ī, ū* in Oc.), except in a large part of the Lebanon.

Morphologically: 1) The disappearance of the old inflexional vowels (*iʿrāb*); as a result the dialect becomes less synthetic, and makes greater use of grammatical instruments. Word order assumes importance in denoting relationship (construct state), the subject and the complement of the direct object. 2) The dual retrogressively becoming a survival without influence as such as regards grammatical concord. 3) The periphrastic expression of relationship (determinative complement of the noun), in place of the construct state, for various reasons: Eg. *betaʿ*; P., S-L. *tabaʿ*; (M. *dyāl*, Tl. *ntsāʿ*, T. *mtāʿ*). 4) The use of an indeclinable simplified relative pronoun: *elli* (similarly *dī, eddi* in M. and in several Arabic dialects (W. Marçais, *Tlemcen*, 175). 5) The formation of a new interrogative pronoun for things: Eg. *ʾesh*; P., S-L *shu, ʾeysh, ʾēsh* (M. *ash, wāsh*; Tl. *wāsh*; T. *āsh, ashnūa*). 6) The abandonment of a special form for the feminine plural of personal pronouns and verbs. 7) The abandonment of the passive formed by change of vowels: *ḳatala* "he has killed", *ḳutila* "he has been killed" (except in Oman). 8) A form indicating duration: Eg. *ʿammāl, ʿamm*; P., S-L. *ʿam* (M. *kā*, verb expressing duration or habitual action). 9) The formation of an indicative by means of various auxiliary words prefixed to the old imperfect. 10) The conjugation of the imperfect of doubled verbs with the intercalation of a phoneme *ay* (*ē*), e.g.: L. *maddāyt* or *maddēt*. 11) The reduction of the number of types of broken plurals and still more of the types of infinitive (*maṣdar*).

The Eastern and Western dialects, over and above these common characteristics, give respectively a certain impression of unity, in so far as evolutionary tendencies have culminated, in each of the two groups, in different results. They can only be contrasted when, on both sides, the different result is identically constant. For example the method of

*) Abbreviations used: Alg. = Algeria; Eg. = Egypt; Ir. = ʿIrāḳ; L. = Lebanon; M. = Morocco; Oc. = Occidental; Or. = Oriental; P. Palestine; S. = Syria; T. = Tunis; Tl. = Tlemcen.

forming the first persons of the imperfect of the verb. The Eastern dialects have formed an indicative: imperfect with *b-* being contrasted in general with the subjunctive-jussive (without *b-*): L. *birīd yiktob* "he wishes to write". This indicative has in the 1st pers. s. a preformative *b-*: L. *bektob* "I write", *mnektob* "we write", whereas the Western dialects have a preformative *n-* and, secondarily, by analogical normalisation, a distinctive plural form in *-u* e.g.: T *niktib* "I write", *niktbu* "we write"; this is an excellent and characteristic example of contrast between the Eastern and the Western dialects; but it is not absolute: a preformative *n-* of the 1st pers. s. impf. is found in the Nad̲j̲d (Socin, *Diwan*, Part iii, 133c and 194b) and is confirmed in the Ḥaḍramawt (de Landberg, *Arabica*, iii, 55). The loss of short vowels in open syllables, largely complete in the Western dialects, is a much less reliable indication: in fact in the Lebanon at Kfarʿabīda, all short vowels in open unstressed syllables disappear; at Palmyra, there is a fairly general disappearance of *i* and *u*, even when stressed, if they occur in an open syllable (this is one of the dialects called "differential" by J. Cantineau, *Études*, in *AIEO*, ii, 49).

The dialects also reveal a certain individuality, by comparison with the Western dialects, by virtue of the presence of grammatical characteristics which are lacking in the latter. Note for instance, in Eg., P., S-L.: 1) In the vocalisation of the simple verb, the retention of vowel contrasts reduced to a pattern *ḳatal byiḳtel* or *byiḳtol* and *ḳetel byiḳtal* (in Eg. the pattern is not quite so clear). 2) The formation of the plural of the demonstrative pronouns in a similar manner: the addition to the singular of the old demonstrative form of the pl. *ʾul* (cl. *ʾul-ā*, *ʾul-aʾi*: Eg. *da* + *ʾul* > *dōl*: P., S. *hāda* + *ʾul* > *hadōl*; L. *heyda* + *ʾul* > *heydōl*, Baʿalbek *ha* + *ʾul* > *hōl*; and other forms. These two phenomena, however, also obtain in the case of a number of North Arabian nomad dialects (Cantineau, *Études*, Ann. ii, 79 and 107) and their ʿIrāḳī extension; in addition, a form *hādhūla* occurs at T. (which seems to have been brought in by an ʿIrāḳī dialect, according to Barthélemy, *Dict.*, 876 *fin.*). 3) The frequent use of the present participle in Eg., P., S-L., as a present-perfect: *s̲h̲āyef*? "do you see?" (= "have you seen and do you still see?). But ʿUmān presents similar features and in the Mag̲h̲rib certain participles serve as a present-perfect.

As regards vocabulary (here ʿIrāḳ is included), a distinction must be made between: 1) The vocabulary of the dialects at the time of their formation. This consists of the Arabic basis brought by the invaders and words taken from the languages of the conquered and arabicised peoples (substratum): Coptic in Eg., Aramaic-Syriac in P., S.-L.; Syriac in ʿIrāḳ. L. only has been made the subject of study: M. Feghali, *Étude sur les emprunts syriaques dans les parlers arabes du Liban*, Paris 1918. 2) Vocabulary borrowed since the formation of the dialects. Pahlawī, Persian, Aramaic-Syriac, Greek and Latin (by various routes) have given words to literary Arabic, received through it and with it into the dialects at the time of their formation (such words form part of the Arabic basis) or received from it after their formation. The history of these borrowings from within is completely unknown to us. The loan-words proper are distributed as follows: Persian words in ʿIrāḳ; Turkish, Turkish-Persian and Turkish-Italian words, throughout the whole area from ʿIrāḳ to Egypt; Italian words in Eg., P., S.-L.; French words (recent borrowings) in Eg., P., S.-L.; English words (recent borrowings) in Eg.

The co-existence of Arabic and Aramaic-Syria in the Lebanon, and of Arabic and Coptic in Eg. has provided the occasion for a certain amount of borrowing. But how can the loan-words be distinguished from the vocabulary of the substratum?

The Turkish contribution (in its different forms) is very important at Mawṣil, Bag̲h̲dād, Aleppo, and slightly less so at Damascus, in P. and in Eg. A study has been made, for Damascus, by E. Saussey, *Mélanges Inst. Fr. Damas* (Section des arabisants), i, 77-129, and for Eg., by E. Littmann in *Festschrift Tschudi* (Wiesbaden 1954), 107-27. The *Dict. Ar.-Fr.* of A. Barthélemy, deals with all the loan-words in its etymologies; there is a systematic study for Aleppo in the *Introduction*, (to appear shortly) Part 2, Section 3, B.

Greek can have given certain liturgical terms directly to the dialects; its contribution is primarily indirect through literary Arabic, Syriac and Coptic.

A peculiarity of the substratum: *baḳḳ* "mosquito" at Aleppo, "bug" in L. and Alg. (literary Arabic *baḳḳu-* = "bug"). Aleppo has retained the meaning of the Syriac *baḳḳā* "mosquito". *Daḳn* "chin, beard", in L., perpetuates two different words: the literary Arabic *d̲h̲aḳanu-* "chin" and the Syriac *daḳnā* "beard". The etymology, however, is complicated; the Syriac *daḳnā* also has the meaning of "chin".

Certain loan-words pose questions: how did the Persian *kes̲h̲tebān* "thimble", which is not known in literary Arabic or in Turkish, reach S-L? How did the Pahlawī *randad̲j̲* "plane", an early loan-word, of which there is no evidence in literary Arabic or Turkish (Persian *randa*), reach Aleppo, and by what route? The comparative study of vocabulary has not yet been pursued sufficiently to enable us to dwell further on this subject here.

The Arabian and North Arabian dialects. The North Arabian dialects have been studied by J. Cantineau: *Études sur quelques parlers de nomades d'Orient*, in *AIEO*, Algiers, ii, 1936, 1-118, iii, 1937, 117-237; these studies in linguistic geography have enabled him to make a classification which he considers allows at least the main points of the subject to be clearly defined. There is not space here to repeat the critical appreciation made by J. Cantineau, at the beginning of his 1st *Étude*, of the publications of G. A. Wallin, I. G. Wetzstein, A. Socin, E. Littmann, C. de Landberg (Anazeh), A. Musil (Rwala), J. J. Hess and A. de Bouchemann (complete references, Cantineau, *AIEO*, iii, 126). In addition, R. Montagne *Contes poétiques*, *Ghazou* (critical appreciation and references, J. Cantineau, *ibid.*). The following should also be mentioned: R. Montagne, *Sālfet S̲h̲āyeʿ Alemsāḥ gᵉedd errmāl*, in *Mél. Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1939, 125-30; H. Charles, *Tribus moutonnières du Moyen-Euphrate ʿAgēdât*, *Inst. Fr. Damas*, *Doc. Et. Or.* viii, 1939, an ethnographical study containing several phrases, vocabulary and 14 lines of narrative. H. Charles, *Quelques travaux de femmes chez les nomades moutonniers de la région de Homs-Hama ʿEmūr and Bani K̲h̲âled*, an ethnographical and dialectal study, *BEOD*, vii-viii, 1937-38, 195-213; 3 texts of considerable length and a short passage of 6 lines, transcribed and translated. For the other regions [1]:

1) The nomads of Arabia Petraea are only known through the ethnographical study by A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii, Vienna 1908; these texts must be used judiciously.

Ḥidjāz: only the *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten* of Snouck-Hurgronje, The Hague 1886.

Yemen: S. D. F. Goitein, *Jemenica*, 1432 *Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen* (Jews of Ṣanʿa), Leipzig 1934, xxiii-194 pp. in 8vo., grammatical study pp. vii-xxiii. E. Rossi, *L'arabo parlato a Ṣanʿa, grammatica, testi, lessico* [ital.-ar., 190-246], Rome 1939, vi-250 pp. in 8vo. (Pub. Is. Or.); see particularly by the same author *RSO*, xvii, 230-65 and 460-72 (a classification of the dialects, p. 472). Aden: E. V. Stace, *An English-Arabic Vocabulary for the use of the students of the Colloquial*, vii-218 pp. in 8vo., London 1893, in printed Arabic characters without transcription.

Dathînah: Count C. de Landberg, *Glossaire Dathînois*, i, xi-1038 pp., Leiden 1920; ii, vii-1039 to 1814, *ibid.* 1923; iii (published by K. V. Zetterstéen), xxxiv-1815 to 2976 pp. in 8vo.; idem, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*: ii, *Dathînah*, Leiden 1905, ix-774 to 1440; iii *Dathînah*, *ibid.* 1913, xv-1440 to 1892 pp. in 8vo.

Ḥaḍramawt: Count C. de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*: i, *Ḥadramoût*, *ibid.*, 1901, xvii-774 pp. in 8vo. (Glossary 517-748).

Ẓfār: N. Rhodokanakis, *Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im Dofâr* (*Ẓfâr*) I, *Prosaische und poetische Texte*, Wien 1908, ii, *Einleitung, Glossar, Grammatik*, Wien 1911, xxxvi-219 pp. in 4vo. (*Südarabische Exp.* viii and x).

ʿUman (and Zanzibar): C. Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in ʿOman und Zanzibar*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1894, xxv-428 pp. in 8vo. (Lehrbücher des Seminars f. Or. Spr., Berlin); texts 297-428.

J. Cantineau, *Remarques* (*BSL*, no. 118) has indicated (p. 81-2) the main general characteristics which enable a distinction to be drawn between the dialects of the settled populations of the East and the dialects of the Arab nomads. The sole effective criterion is the unvoiced pronunciation of ق (irrespective of what might otherwise be the articulation-point): all the dialects of the settled populations, and only the dialects of the settled populations have this pronunciation; the voiced pronunciation of ق is the mark of a nomad dialect (as it is in the case of western dialects).

We owe our present knowledge of the classification of the dialects of the Arabian nomads to J. Cantineau in his *Études*, in *AIEO*, iii, 222 f. The brief summary which follows is based on him:

As regards the North-Arabian dialects, he distinguishes: dialects A (ʿAnaza), dialects B (Shammar), dialects C (Syro-Mesopotamian); ʿAnaza dialects: Ḥsāne, Rwala, Sbaʿa, Weld, ʿAli, etc.; Shammar dialects: ʿAbde, Khroṣe, Rmāl, etc.; are linguistically akin to the Shammar dialects, group Bc: in ʿIrāḳ probably the Ṭayyiʾ, in Syria and Jordan: ʿAmūr, Ṣlūt, Sardiyya, Sirḥān, in part the Banū Khālid of Jordan and the Banū Ṣakhar; Syro-Mesopotamian dialects: the population of the town of Regga and the tribes: Ḥadīdīn, Mawālī, Nʿēm of Djolān, Faḍᵉl (these last two forming a sub-group), which fall into the category of lesser nomads called *shwāya* or *rāʿye*. The case of the Djōf dialect is a separate question; the dialect of ar-Rass (Ḳasīm) is to some extent a Ba dialect.

It is difficult to demarcate, even approximately, the southern limit of the North Arabian dialects; their existence is definitely confirmed in Ḳāsīm, al-Ḥasā, and probably in the ʿĀriḍ, the Woshm and the Sdeir. Of the dialects of the Ḥidjāz very little is known, and nothing of those of ʿAsīr. The dialects of the Ḥaḍramawt and the Dathīna, known through Landberg's texts, seem to be related, distantly it is true, to the dialect of the North Arabian nomads, and it is possible that the dialects of the nomads of the Rubʿ al-Khālī are connected with the same group. On the other hand, through the efforts of C. Reinhardt, E. Rossi, H. Burchardt, and S. D. Goitein, we know that the dialects of ʿUmān and the Yemen are of a completely different type.

Bibliography: In the body of the article. Works treating of the dialects as a whole: C. de Landberg, *La langue arabe et ses dialects*, Leiden 1905; C. Brockelmann, *Das Arabische und seine Mundarten* in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, iii, Semitistik (1954), 207-45; J. Cantineau, *La Dialectologie arabe*, in *Orbis*, iv, 1955, 149-69; this work gives additional bibliography and information on the current position as regards studies in Arabic dialectology. (H. Fleisch)

(3) The Western Dialects

The Arabic language is widely used in North Africa, but is by no means the only language in use. Berber is extensively used [see BERBERS], and the Berber language, though losing ground in some instances, can for the most part be considered to be in an extremely flourishing state and not on the retreat.

The elimination of the old autochthonous language naturally has taken place in those cases and in those countries in which the tide of Arabic spread without meeting any obstacles: first of all, in the towns which the Arab conquerors rebuilt, colonised or founded, and their environs; then in Cyrenaica and above all in Tunisia, which were reached by the first and largest waves; finally in those regions of the Maghrib, probably Zenata, where the old pastoral life prepared the way for Bedouin Arabism: the Sahara, the Saharan fringe, the high plains of Algeria and Constantine, the valleys of the Tell, and practically the whole of Orania. This Arabic tide surrounded but did not submerge the settled centres of the Saharan oases, and similarly the mountainous regions in the interior and on the coast, which were difficult of access. In Morocco, arabicisation followed the Atlantic seaboard, reached the Fez and Taza corridor, flooded the Gharb, and left almost intact the riparian massifs of the Mediterranean and the interior, the Berber mountains.—The area in which Arabic is dominant in the Maghrib is thus immense. Nearly fifteen million people there speak it. They are to be found in widely-differing regions, and following very dissimilar ways of life: all town-dwellers, nearly all the agriculturalists and semi-pastoral peoples of the plains, plateaux and steppes, a large number of villagers, several groups of the settled population of the oases, and hill peoples arabicised by the neighbouring towns. This geographic dispersion (which, unlike that of the Berber dialects, is still in progress) and the diversity of these modes of existence are the result both of the complex configuration of the country and of the historical circumstances of its arabicisation. These two aspects will not be dealt with here. It will be sufficient to emphasise that, given physical and human conditions such as these, it is not surprising to discover great dialectal variations in spoken Arabic; variations so great that it seems difficult to define the Arabic dialects as a whole by common, specific characteristics; and that it is perhaps rash to employ the term ʿMaghribī Arabicʾ. It will never-

theless be employed, if only for the convenience of this *exposé*.

C. Brockelmann, at a time when few documents on the various Arabic idioms spoken in North Africa were in our possession, said in his *Grundriss* that the Maghribī dialects were mainly of the Bedouin type. He doubtless based this on the accentuation of the verb in the 1st form, which he considered as the primitive form in all Semitic languages: *faʿala, faʿila, faʿula* culminating in *fʿal, fʿel*. This syllabic reduction, doubtless attributable to stress, can already be found in Andalusian, but it is not Maltese. And it is far from being the only example which is found in the Maghrib, on the one hand, nor is it on the other hand exclusively Bedouin. This appreciation by Brockelmann, without doubt open to dispute in principle, is clearly completely inaccurate when one compares it with the extraordinarily complex reality of the dialectal facts.

This is a phonetic characteristic which applies to the great majority of the Maghribī dialects, without being common to them all or being confined to them alone (since it is found in certain Middle East dialects): a considerable loss of vocalic content, and consequently a marked tendency towards the neutral tones of the short vowel system. Obviously such a general statement takes no account of dialectal variations. In order to try to justify it, the actual facts must be examined more closely. In all the dialects of northern Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and in all the dialects of the western Sahara, the short vowel drops out in an open syllable $v + c + v$. The articulatory effort is directed towards the end of the word and disregards the beginning: the word, from being a disyllable, becomes a monosyllable. Thus *ḍaṛab* becomes *ḍṛab* "he has hit", *faṛaḥ* becomes *fṛaḥ* "joy". Naturally the reduction also operates, and in the same sense, when the root of the word is followed by a suffix or an inflexion, or is preceded by a prefix. Thus *ḍaṛabu* becomes *ḍaṛbu* "they have hit", *taḍribuhu* becomes *teḍṛbu* or *tḍaṛbu* "thou hast hit him", *shadjara* becomes *shedjra* "tree", *maḥkama* becomes *meḥkma* or *mḥekma* "court of a *ḳāḍī*", etc. The concentration of elements is sometimes so strong that the whole vocalic element disappears, the articulation of series of consonants being made possible by a consonant with a vocalic function, with an ultra-short vocalic point. Thus *q.ṣba* "reed", *sh-kh.ṣṣk* "who is taking you?". These are the dialects of Morocco, especially the extremely degenerate dialects of the towns (for example, Fez), where this feature can be readily observed. In this evolution, which leads correctly-spoken idioms to reduce the elements of the language (thus taking the line of least resistance), it has often been noticed that the short vowels of quality *i* and *u* are most in danger. Being of small aperture, they seem to be by nature extremely vulnerable: the slightest relaxation of the organs of speech alters the nature of their original quality, if it does not cause their disappearance pure and simple. One is tempted to think that the loss of the short vowels in open syllables started with the vowels of quality *u* and *i*. This is what emerges from the position of the Syrian dialects, on which J. Cantineau has written some excellent monographs (one, in particular, devoted to Palmyra): the conjugation of sound verbs in the basic form differs according as the radical vowel is *u* or *i*, or *a*; the former have become monosyllabic, the latter have remained disyllabic. This is similarly the case in a considerable number of the dialects of Fezzan-Cyrenaica and in the extreme south of Tunisia, which constitute, from this point of view, the link between the eastern and the Maghribī dialects: some trace of the vowel *a* always remains, whether it is a well-preserved qualitative element, as in *ḍaṛab* "he has hit", *ḥalīb* "milk", or an element with a different form, as in *rubaṭ* "he has joined", *ṭubag* "basket", etc.

Morphologically, there are also traits which can be in differing degrees considered to be typically Maghribī. The most characteristic, it appears, is the presence of the sign *n*—in the first person singular of the imperfect of the verb, replacing the initial *hamza* which is general throughout Middle East dialects. This morpheme *n*—is, to the exclusion of all others, that of all the dialects, without exception, of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, the Sahara, Fezzan, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Malta. Egypt seems indeed to form the eastern limit of its use. Ch. Kuentz, during recent years, has precisely defined the extreme limits (dialects of Alexandria and of certain settled populations of the Delta). The substitution of *u*- for ʾ-, already reported by Ibn Khaldūn in the Hilālī popular songs which he collected, is recorded by Ibn Ḳuzmān for Almoravid Andalusia, and recurs in mediaeval Norman Sicily. It can be considered as a morphological innovation proper to the Muslim West; it consists in the creation of a personal sign of the singular, clearly on the analogy of the signs of the plural: *nafʿal* from *nafʿalu nafʿalū*. The purely Maghribī creation (all the dialects give evidence of this, including Maltese) of a verbal derived form *fʿāl*, originating perhaps from the old forms IX-XI, must also be accounted an innovation. It expresses a resultative meaning: *kḥāl* "he has become black", *byāḍ* "he has become white", *ʿwār* "he has become one-eyed", *ḥṛāsh* "he has become rough-skinned", *ṭwāl* "he has become tall", *smān* "he has become fat", *shāl* "he has become compliant", *zyān* "he has become handsome", etc. The presence of a long vowel *ā* between the 2nd and 3rd radical, creates a phonetic problem of conjugation which the dialects answer in different ways (L. Brunot, *Sur le thème verbal fʿāl en dialecte marocain*, in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, Paris-Maisonneuve 1950, 55-62).—On the analogy of the derived forms with a reflexive and middle-passive significance, with a prefix *t*- (V *tfaʿʿal* originating from II *faʿʿal*, VI *tfāʿal* from III *fāʿal*), Maghribī has formed, like certain eastern dialects, a *tfʿal* (which recalls the very old *ethpeʿel*) as opposed to the 1st form *fʿal*; it uses it by preference, often to the detriment of *nfʿal*; then, carrying this further still, it arrives at a combination of *tfʿal* and *nfʿal* and produces *ntfʿal* and *tnfʿal*, for instance *entejṛaḥ* "he is wounded", *tenḥṛaḳ* "he is burnt".—The old system, for forming nouns of action corresponding to verbs of the basic form, resorted freely to the subtle interplay of contrasts of vocalic quality: *faʿl, faʿal, fuʿl, fiʿl* etc. It is the decay of the short vowel system, fairly general in the Maghrib (and the syllabic upheavals which accompany it), which has doubtless induced the dialects to display a preference, in the case of verbal nouns, for nominal forms with long vowels. Among them, there is one which recognises an unusual prolongation, which can be held to be specifically Maghribī (Malta also uses it): namely, *fʿīl*. Formerly a *maṣdar* form of limited application (verbs denoting a noise, a cry), to-day it constitutes the most frequently used *maṣdar* of verbs of action, especially those denoting material operations: *shṭīḥ* "act of dancing", *ghsīl* "act of washing", *ṭbīkh* "act of cooking", *slīkh* "act of flaying", etc. This form *fʿīl* perhaps owes its success to the analogical influence of *tefʿīl*, *maṣdar* of the 2nd form, a characteristic of

verbs of action, and of transitive action.—Just as in the case of this *maṣdar fʿil* the case of the analogical extension of the plural *fʿāli* seems to be an entirely Maghribī peculiarity. It is, as elsewhere, a plural form *fʿālil* of nouns with a weak radical, *ḳahwa* "coffee" pl. *khāwi*, *maʿnā* "sense, allusion" pl. *mʿāni*. It is widely extended to nouns with sound, not defective, roots, such as *ebra* "needle" pl. *abāri*, *ḳaṣʿa* "large bowl" pl. *ḳṣāʿi*, *meshṭa* "comb" pl. *mshāṭi*, etc.

The establishment of syntactic connexions has caused the appearance of a certain number of dialectal innovations. The most noteworthy of these in the Maghrib include: (1) the creation of a true indefinite article to express the state of the undefined noun (cl. *radjulᵘⁿ*). The numeral "one" is used for this purpose: *wāḥed*, made indeclinable (sometimes contracted to *waḥi*, *waḥ*, *ḥa*) is then followed by the noun, defined either by the definite article *el-*, *wāḥd-er-rājel* "a man", *wāḥd-el-mra* "a woman", *wāḥd-ed-dār* "a house", or by a determinative complement, *wāḥed-bāb-ed-dār* "a house door", *wāḥed-ṣāḥbi* "a friend of mine". Where it is prevalent, that is to say in the dialects of Morocco, Algeria and the Algero-Tunisian borders, the use of *wāḥed*, the article, does not exclude the use of *wāḥed*, the pronoun, which remains declinable, *wāḥed rājel* "someone, a man", *wāḥda mra* "someone, a woman", the only construction possible in central and northern Tunisia and in Libya. (2) The tendency to eliminate the direct annexation of the determinative complement to the noun (classical *iḍāfa*), of the type *riḥt-el-warḍ* "the perfume of roses", and to substitute for it an indirect annexation, which makes use of a copulative particle, of the type *er-riḥa mtāʿ-el-ward*. This phenomenon is found in the dialects of the Near East (Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, ii, 238, 161), but there are some particles of annexation peculiar to those of the Maghrib: *d*, *di*, *dyāl* in Morocco and Algeria, *mtāʿ* or *ntāʿ* in Algeria and Tunisia, *ta* (derived from *mtāʿ*) in Malta, *jen* in Fezzan. The presence of *mtāʿ*, from the cl. *matāʿ* "goods" is already attested in the dialects of Andalusia and in the Almohad chronicle of Baydhaḳ (6th/13th cent.) and extends from the Atlantic to Egypt, where it assumes the form *betaʿ*. (3) The use of the preverb *ba*, *b*, so common in a number of eastern dialects, is also found in Cyrenaica and as far as Fezzan to mark a sense of completion, result or finality in the imperfect of the verb. In the Moroccan dialect *ta* (or *ka*) appears, preceding verbs in the same tense, in order to mark actual action in the present; the Moroccan *ka* is perhaps the same preverb which occurs in the semi-flexible form *ka-ku* (derived from *kān-ikūn*) with a clearly analogical meaning, in Algeria (eastern Kabylia). In addition to these preverbs, the Maghrib, Morocco and Libya use in their own right a presentative of the verbal idea which combines the imperative of the verb "to see", *rā*, with the personal suffixes, in the sense of "I am here, thou art here", etc., or "here I am, thou art" etc., *rāni*, *rāk*, *rāh*, *rāha* (or *rāhi*) *rāna rākum*, *rāhum*, to express the reality of a state or action, in the present or past, both before a verb (in the perfect or imperfect), *rāni jit* "here I am, I have come", *rāh yebki*, "there he is, crying", and in a nominal clause, *rāk mriḍ* "it is thou who art ill", *rāhum l-temm* "there they are below". A negative sense is formed in a completely analogous way: *mā-rā-ni-sh* and *māni-sh* "I am not", *māk-sh* "thou art not", *māhū-sh* "he is not" etc., more often used in nominal clauses than in verbal: *māni-sh mriḍ* "I am not ill". (4) The revival of particles: it is a general linguistic fact, that the originality of the Maghribī dialects consists in the creation of a sign *-āsh* (or *-āh*), deriving from the cl. *ʾayy-shayʾ*, which is in use from one end of North Africa to the other (*-esh* in Malta, *iyyesh* in northern Constantine), in order to form, in combination with nouns or prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions: *bāsh* "from what" and "in order that, in such a way that", *lāsh* "towards which, with what object", *kifāsh* "how", *ʿalāsh* "on which" and "why", *ḳaddāsh* "of what size, how much"; the word *kayf*, *kif* is used as a preposition "like, resembling" and as a conjunction "when, granted that". (5) Recourse to the expression *ma-zāl*, *mā-zāl mā-*, conjugated or indeclinable, to render the sense "still, not yet", *ʿād* being used in Malta and elsewhere.

More than phonetic, morphological or syntactic differences, there are points of vocabulary which place the Arabic dialects of the Maghrib in the clearest, if not the deepest, contrast to those of the Middle East. Without making a systematic inquiry to determine the origin, Arabic or non-Arabic, of the Maghribī dialectal terms, the commonest will be mentioned here. The word *lāmīn* (with an agglutinate article) has the sense of "head of a corporation" only in the Maghrib; for "pears" *angāṣ* or *anjās* (*lanjāṣ*, *lanzās*), formerly Andalusian, is spreading everywhere; *berrād* is the usual term for "teapot", and *berrāda* for "water-jug"; "bosom, breast" is always *bezzūl* or *bezzūla* from Senegal to Libya, as well as in Malta, *thedi* making an appearance at Fezzan; *bākūr* is the only term for "fig blossom" in Morocco and Algeria; it was formerly Andalusian; Tunisian and Maltese have *bitḥar*, *baytar* with the same meaning; *bekkūsh* everywhere means "dumb"; the "stork" is commonly *bellārej* (*bellārenj*, *berrārej*), from the Greek πελαργός; the word for "tea" is *tāy*, *atāy*, *lātāy* in Mauretania, Morocco, and Algeria, *et-tey* in Tunisia, *shāhi*, *shāy* only appearing in southern Tunisia and Libya; "individual, person, pedestrian" is very commonly *terrās*, apparently derived from the cl. *tarrās* "*valet d'armes*, shield-bearer"; truffles are called *terfās*; *terma* is the usual word for "rump, buttocks"; "hail" is everywhere called *tabrūri*, a Berber word which is found as far as Libya, where *ḥjar* "stones" is preferred; for "to find", *jbār* is used together with, depending on the region, *lḳā*, *lgā* or *ṣāb*, with different shades of meaning ("to discover" or "to find what one is looking for"); *jarra* (or *jurra*) is the word for "trace"; the Pan-Maghribī word for 'frog" is *jrān*, where the Berber *agro* is not found as well; *jughma* is one of the most characteristic terms of the Maghrib, Mauritania and Tripolitania, in the sense of "draught (of liquid)"; for "orange" *tshīna*, *letshīna* is used in Morocco and Algeria, *burdgān* appearing in Tunisia; *tshellūḳ* (*tshellīḳ*, *shlāleg*) reappears, in varying forms, throughout North Africa, in the sense of "rag" or "piece of cloth"; for "to open" the whole of the Maghrib uses *ḥall* (which also means "to untie"), *ftaḥ* being reserved for a rarer and more literary usage; *ḥarḳūs* is the name of the "black cosmetic", from the Greek χαλκός; for "fish" the word *samak*, which is completely unknown, gives way to *ḥūt*; *khdem*, properly "to serve", is the usual word for "to work" and sometimes "to do (in general)"; *khādem*, without any morphological indication of gender, denotes a "negress"; for "knife" the whole Maghrib uses *khudmi*, formerly Andalusian; "to come upon, to befall" is usually expressed by *khlaṭ*; for "to reflect", *khammem* is used; *deshra* is the name of "rural dwellings" or even of "peasants' huts", and has a rival in *meshtā*, originally "winter dwelling" (*shtā*); *dhib* signifies, not "wolf", but "jackal";

rāshī is the usual adjective for "unstable, rotten"; *arṭab* "soft, tender", opposed to *aḥrash* "coarse, rough", follows the declension of nouns denoting colours and deformities; *zarbiyya* "carpet", which is ḳurʾānic (*Ḳurʾān*, lxxxviii, 16), has continued to exist in this sense throughout the Maghrib; to express "to hurry, to hasten", the verb *zreb* is used; *zūj* (*zūz, jūz, jūj*), properly "pair", serves for the numeral "two", either supplanting *thnīn*, or existing in competition with it—formerly an Andalusian usage, which predominates in the Saharan and eastern Maghrib, as well as at Malta; *zāyla* is the current term for "beast of burden"; *azʿar* signifies "blond"; *zwā* "to scream, to shout"; "cock" is expressed everywhere, including Malta, by *serdūk*, *dīk* being heard only in Orania and Fezzan; from the Greek σπόγγος "sponge" is derived a dialectal *shfenj* (or *sfenj*) which means exclusively "fritter", "sponge" being *neshshāfa* or *jeffāfa*; "hot" is *skhūn* and *sukhn*; *slek* means "to extricate oneself" and *sellek* "to extricate"; the cl. *sullam* always appears in the recast form *sellūm* "ladder"; "to beg" is nearly everywhere *sāsā-isāsī*; *seyyeḳ* has the particular sense of "to swill with water"; *shāreb* is the word for "lip" and *shelgūm* that for moustache"; "axe" is *shāḳūr* and "sack" *shkāra*; *ṣabb* "to pour out" is the commonest verb for "to fall (talking of rain)"; the word for shoes is *ṣebbāṭ* (formerly the Andalusian *sebbāṭ*); everywhere in the Maghrib the "minaret of a mosque" is called *ṣomʿa*; "to be cooked, ripe" is *ṭāb-iṭīb* and "to cook, make ripe", *ṭayyeb*; *ṭarf*, in addition to its universal meaning of "end, extremity", in the Maghrib also means "piece"; *ʿarsh* is fairly general in the sense of "tribe"; the word for "he-goat" is *ʿatrūs*, and that for "lamb" is frequently *ʿallūsh*; to denote "fire" the euphemism *ʿāfya* "tranquillity, peace", is used, from the root *ghshsh*, the sense "to deceive" is well-known; Maghribī derives from it a 2nd form "to cause resentment, irritation" and a 5th form "to be vexed, irritated"; from *ghnā* "chant" derives the Maghribī *ghnāwa* "song", with *y* of the 3rd radical, while the eastern dialects only recognise *ghnāwa*, with *w*; "scurvy" is expressed throughout the Maghrib by *farrās*, which means "bald" in Malta; for "chicken", *fellūs* is used, and for "tortoise", *feḳrūn*, *fekrān*, of Berber origin; from Berber is also borrowed the word for "butterfly" *farṭaṭṭo*, *farṭaṭṭīn* and its variants; to "urinate (of a horse, donkey)" is *fāg*; *ḳadd* means "to suffice", *ḳdam* (*gdem*) "heel"; the word for "dried meat" is *ḳeddīd* with doubling of the medial radical; *garjuma* is the usual word for "throat"; "to belch" is *tgarraʿ*; one of the most characteristic Maghribī words is that for the "lock of hair which is allowed to grow long", *guṭṭāya*; "to cough" is *kaḥḥ*; side by side with *aswed* there occurs, sometimes with a marked difference of meaning, *akḥel* "black"; "figs" are called *karmūs* and "fig-trees" *kram*; "cliff, escarpment" is *kāf*; *lbān* means "whey", never "milk"; "sheet" is *mlaf* or *malf*; the form *mishmish* "apricots" is recast as *meshmash*; to express "late, last-born", the word in use is *mazoẓi*, taken from Berber; for the Pan-Arab *ḳder* "power" is often substituted *najjem*; *hdar* is a common verb for "to speak"; "widow" is *hajjāla*; *wujh* (*ujah*), known in its proper sense of "face", also has a particular meaning, namely "shot (of a fire-arm)"; *wellā-iwellī* means "to return", but also "to become, happen to be", etc.

Thus marked differences of vocabulary separate the Maghribī dialects from those of the Near East, either as regards the actual words employed, or their form, or in a semantic sense. Equally important and equally numerous variations, if not more so, occur among the Maghribī dialects themselves, from end to end of the vast area in which they are spoken. The terms expressing the adverb of time "now' differ according to region: 1) *dāba*, without doubt an Andalusian contribution, is known in the whole of Morocco (except the South), and, in Algeria, among the Jewish dialects of Tlemcen and Algiers. 2) From the cl. *dhā-l-waḳt* derive numerous forms, *delwoḳ, derwoḳ, delwek, drūg, dlūk, derwekh* etc. (with or without an emphatic *r*), which are in use in Mauretania, Southern Morocco, the whole of Algeria—cities, villages and countryside—(and which are also known in the East). 3) *el-ān* is the term of polished speech; it is also that of the Bedouin dialects of Algeria. 4) *es-sāʿa* (*es-sa*) is the form used in Malta. 5) *taw, tawwa* belong to the eastern zone of the Maghrib, from eastern Algeria as far as Libya. "Much" is *barsha* in Tunisia, *bezzāf* in Algeria and Morocco, *belʿa* in southern Morocco, *yāser* among the Bedouin of Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, where it is a declinable adjective, not an adverb.—"Enough, that is enough", is *kāfī* in Mauretania, *tekfī, yezzī, bārka, bārāka* from Morocco to Tunisia, but *bess* in Malta and Libya.—"There is, there is not", can always be expressed by means of the verb *kān* in a personal form or as a participle; *kān, kāyn, mā-kān-sh*; these are the forms usually spoken in Algeria and Morocco; but in Tunisia the forms *themma, mā-themmā-sh*, prevail, and in the south of Tunisia and in Libya *fī mā-fī-sh*.—"Nothing" can everywhere be rendered as *shey*; it is, in fact, so rendered in Algeria and Tunisia, by freely strengthening the negative adverb by *ḥatta, ḥatt-shey*; but this is often replaced in Tunisia and Libya by *kān-el-barka* "(nothing else) than benediction"; in Morocco and as far as Orania, *wā-lū* is used, properly "and if".—The exclamation "good, very good" is expressed by *mezyān* in Morocco and up to Tlemcen, *mlīḥ* (*amlīḥ*) in Algeria, *ṭayyeb* in Tunisia, *bāhī* in Fezzan.—To express "what, what is it?", *wāsh* is the Pan-Maghribī form, but Maltese recognises more particularly *shi*, Moroccan and Mauritanian *āsh*, Fezzanese *shen* or *esh*, Tlemcenian *asem*.—The equivalent of "how much?" is *kem* in Malta, Mauritania and in the majority of the Bedouin-type dialects; it has lost ground to *sh-ḥāl, āsh-ḥāl* (cl. *ʾayy-shay-ḥāl*), an Andalusian contribution which permeated the urban dialects of western Morocco, and then won the countryside and the rural and pastoral regions; eastern Constantine, Tunisia, and Libya prefer *ḳaddāsh, ḳoddāsh*. —"Eggs", doubtless because they represent an idea which lies under the interdict of language, are designated by various words; *deḥī* in Libya, *ʿḍām* in Tunisia, northern Constantine and the villages of Algeria, *bīḍ* in rural and pastoral Algeria and in Morocco, *awlād-jāj* in Algiers, Tlemcen, Fez, Tangier. —Apart from the word *mṭar*, which is understood nearly everywhere and is used freely in Bedouin regions, there exists *naw* which means "rain" in the majority of pastoral and rural areas, except in the western Sahara, where *shāb* seems to predominate; the word used in the towns and villages, and exclusively in Malta, is *shtā*, properly "winter".—"Grocer" is *aṭṭār* in Tunisia and Libya, *ḥwānti* in Algeria and Constantine, *ḥadrī* among the rural populations of Orania; in Morocco it is *baḳḳāl*, which was formerly Andalusian.—The verbs meaning "to sit down" are *ḳʿad* in Tunisia and the Algerian villages, *gʿad* in Tlemcen, Constantine, *jammaʿ* in the Oranian countryside, *gles* in the towns of Morocco, *gaʿmez*

in Fezzan.—"To send" is *ṣiſoṭ* (*ṣāfoṭ, ziſoṭ, sāfed*, etc.) in Morocco and a considerable part of Orania, *bʿat͟h* in Algeria, *seyyeb* in the South, *dezz* in Tunisia and Libya, *rsel* representing a term of educated speech.—For "to lift, remove", *rfed* is the verb of the west, Moroccan, Oranian and Algerian, and of part of Constantine; *hazz* is the word of eastern Constantine and Tunisia, *rfaʿ* that of Sūf, Tripolitania and Fezzan.—"To do" is a vague idea expressed by a variety of verbs: *ʿmal* is the most general; *dār-idīr*, essentially Bedouin, has everywhere infiltrated into the urban dialects; *sāwā* (and its metathesis *wāsā*) as well as *ʿaddel, sawwel* prevail in the western Mag͟hrib, *lḳā-yelḳī* extends into the north-west of Orania, *k͟hdem* in northern Constantine.

Whatever the difference between the dialects of the Mag͟hrib, they remain closely akin to one another and are in varying degrees peculiarly Arabic. From the Arabic system proceeds the vast majority of the sounds of the language, the grammatical forms, the lexicographical material and the methods of presenting ideas. The dialectal variations found in the Mag͟hrib seem, in general, scarcely more palpable than those which appear in the dialects of the Middle East. They can, to some extent, be attributed to influences alien to Arabic: 1) that of the Berber substratum which clearly gained new strength in certain regions and in certain fields of expression (those concerning the things of the material life, especially rural); but there are also areas where the memory of Berber has almost entirely disappeared from the language; 2) that of the languages of the coloured races in the northern zones bordering on the Negro lands; 3) that of the Romance language: of Latin, often transmitted through the medium of Andalusian, and also of Spanish and Italian;—4) that of Turkish, particularly in Algeria and Tunisia;—5) finally, that of French, an influence which is still exerted to-day.

The part played by inherited or loan elements, however, does not seem to be the only reason to put forward to explain the original and motley character of Mag͟hribī. There is the diversity of the Arabic dialects, which were already differentiated when they were imported by the conqueror at various periods during the process of establishing himself in the Mag͟hrib There is also, and perhaps this is the most important differentiating factor, the caprice of innovations, spontaneous or conditioned, which have come into being and have spread in different directions, sometimes propagating themselves throughout vast geographical groups, sometimes confining themselves in districts divided into rigid compartments.

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B. Arabic Literature

(I) Early Arabian Literature.
(a) Pre-Islamic; (i) Poetry; (ii) Prose; (b) First-Century Poetry.

(II) Second-Century Literature.
(i) Poetry; (ii) Prose.

(III) Third to Fifth Centuries.
(i) Prose; (ii) Poetry.

(IV) Sixth to Twelfth Centuries.

(V) Modern Arabic Literature.
(a) To 1914; (b) Since 1914.

General Bibliography: No complete history of Arabic literature has yet been written. Many important works still exist only in manuscript, critical studies of individual poets and writers are relatively few, and several periods and regions have not yet received monographic treatment. The fullest bio-bibliographical details are to be found in C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Literatur* and *Supplementbände*. Outline surveys are given by F. Gabrieli, *Storia della Letteratura araba*, Milan (1952); H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature*, London 1926; R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1930; Ch. Pellat, *Langue et Littérature arabes*, Paris 1952; O. Rescher, *Abriss der arab. Literaturgeschichte*, i, ii, Stuttgart 1925; Djirdjī Zaydān, *Ta'rīkh Ādāb al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya*, 4 vols., Cairo 1911; Aḥmad al-Iskandarī and M. ʿInānī, *al-Wasīṭ fi 'l-Adab al-ʿArabī*, Cairo 1919 etc.; and numerous other text-books in Arabic. Monographs on separate periods are cited in the sectional bibliographies below; those on particular writers will be found in the relevant articles.

(I) Early Arabian Literature

(a) Pre-Islamic

(i) Poetry. The history of Arabic literature begins with the emergence, towards the end of the 5th century A.D., of a school of Arabic poets in N.E. Arabia and the Euphrates border, of whose productions more or less extensive fragments have survived. The second generation of poets of this school, of whom the most outstanding was Imru' al-Ḳays, brought its technical and artistic methods to a high degree of perfection. Their odes, technically called *ḳaṣīda* (pl. *ḳaṣā'id*, coll. *ḳaṣīd*), served as standards and models for later generations of Arabian poets, whose odes were, almost without exception, cast in the same structural mould, with some variation in content and treatment of the themes. The productions of this school spread with great rapidity in Arabia and the regions of Arab settlement in Syria and Mesopotamia, and found in all parts imitators and practitioners, who in some regions gave rise to local schools. The poets of the third generation (middle of the 6th century A.D.) already represent widely diverse regions; those of the fourth (end of the 6th century), drawn from all tribes and regions, are beginning to show characteristic epigonic features. With the rise of Islam and the consequent shift in tribal interests, this type of poetry was temporarily eclipsed.

The *ḳaṣīda*, the distinctive artistic production of this poetic literature, is essentially an art-form, which has little in common with the forms of artistic poetry in other literatures. Its main theme is boasting or panegyric, led up to by a journey theme. The latter is elaborated: (i) by an elegiac-erotic prelude (*nasīb*), recalling a former attachment to a woman of another tribe, leading to or connected with the journey-theme; (ii) by description and praise of the poet's camel or horse, more especially (iii) by comparing it with a beast of the chase, developed into a finely-executed tableau of animal life in the desert. The main theme is similarly elaborated by the introduction of idealised pictures of beduin hospitality or drinking, thunderstorms, war and battle scenes, and satire of rivals. The whole poem runs from 60 to 100 lines in length, being composed throughout in the same metre ending in the same rhyming syllable [see further ḲAṢĪDA].

The pre-history of the *ḳaṣīda*, i.e. the origins of Arabic poetry in general, are lost in obscurity and apparently irrecoverable. The Arabic philological tradition (which constitutes almost the only source of information) itself knows nothing earlier than the rise of the *ḳaṣīd*-poets. It can scarcely be doubted that the poets of this school stood on the shoulders of a long chain of predecessors, who perfected its diverse metrical systems [see ʿARŪḌ] and who laid the foundations of the special literary idiom (*ʿarabiyya* [see above, ARABIC LANGUAGE, ii (1)]) and of the artistic devices utilised by them. The hypothesis (put forward by al-Bahbīṭī, v. *Bibl.*) of an earlier production of lengthy homogenous odes, reconstructed fragments of which supplied the model for the *ḳaṣīda*, is purely speculative and improbable. The rise of the new school contemporaneously with the kingdom of Kinda [*q.v.*] in N.E. Arabia, and its relations with the princes of Ḥīra and Ghassān, suggest the possibility of a stimulus from the Fertile Crescent, but nothing has been adduced in evidence for this supposition. In any case, it seems reasonably certain that the *ḳaṣīda* constituted a new departure in Arabic poetic art, consisting of the combination of a number of existing themes of Arabic poetry into a subjectively related pattern, and that (prefiguring a characteristic often to be seen in later Arabic literature) such a pattern, one established, became normative for future generations of poets and by reason of its combination of different

subjects furnished the supreme test by which their poetic powers were judged.

The *ḳaṣīd* poets also illustrated certain linguistic and aesthetic features which were to dominate all later Arabic poetry. The chief of these is verbal concision, in which all the resources of morphology, suggestion and allusion are utilised to present a sharply focussed picture in the smallest compass of words. Metaphors are limited to a few traditional images, mainly relating to war and feasting; similes, on the other hand, are extensively used to give imaginative depth to a descriptive passage; for similar reasons, situations of time or place are often indirectly indicated by pictorial imagery, and a particular situation may be universalised by adding a phrase cast in a proverbial mould. The most fully developed sections are usually those devoted to descriptions of animals, which are vivid and realistic; by contrast, the *nasīb* briefly indicates the site of a former encampment in stereotyped terms and rarely describes the woman whom it recalls, although passages of erotic description occasionally occur as separate themes. Throughout, the poet appeals to the hearer's eye, and the imaginative response is determined by the completeness and precision of the concrete visual image; hence the importance attached by critics to the single line as evidence of poetic skill. This imaginative interplay between artist and hearer had the further effect that the range of visual images so presented was circumscribed by the communal basis and pattern of tribal life and its popular sentiments. Pre-Islamic poetry (or at least almost all of it that has survived) is tied to a limited number of themes treated in conformity with the prevailing aesthetic standards and moral values. Thus the content of the literary product was not only known in advance, but dictated to the extent that anything more than a slight deviation from what was expected was disapproved, and the whole emotional response was determined by the form. Form therefore acquired an absolute value; the content was merely the substrate by which the superior excellence of form was realised. The pursuit of formal perfection was, however, limited by the realism and sobriety of the poet's imagination. Excessive elaboration of any theme is in general avoided, except for a limited range of accepted exaggerations in boasting and panegyric, particularly in the theme of hospitality. Finally, it was a major function of the poets to preserve the collective memory of the past, so giving an element of continuity and meaning to the otherwise fleeting and insubstantial realities of the present; and in the two main themes of eulogy and satire they pressed home the moral antitheses and sanctions by which this collective existence was regulated and sustained. Thus the *ḳaṣīd*-poets, with relatively few exceptions, express, and even prescribe, a high standard of tribal morality, and noticeably avoid any reference to the humbler and ruder features of beduin life and environment. [See further under ʿABĪD B. AL-ABRAṢ, ABŪ DHUʾAYB, AMR B. KULTHŪM, ʿANTARA, AL-AʿSHĀ, AL-ḤĀRITH B. ḤILLIZA, IMRUʾ AL-ḲAYS, LABĪD, MUʿALLAḲĀT, AL-NĀBIGHA, ṬARAFA, ZUHAYR.]

In addition to *ḳaṣīdas*, a considerable body of shorter poems and fragments has been transmitted, representing the more ordinary output of occasional verse on single subjects. All of these, however, date from the age of the *ḳaṣīd*-poets and, having presumably been influenced in technique by them, cannot be regarded as representative of the poetry of an earlier period. Partial exceptions are offered by war-poems in the *radjaz* metre, and by the elegy [see MARTHIYYA], which in a few surviving examples presents some primitive features; but the later elegy approached more closely the general type of art-poetry, while retaining the characteristics required by its special function. Of the other subjects of occasional verse, the commonest is praise or boasting of courage (*ḥamāsa* [*q.v.*]), a special branch of which is formed by the poems of solitary brigands and outlaws (*ṣaʿālīk* [see AL-SHANFARĀ and TAʾABBAṬA SHARRAN]).

Peculiar significance attached to the satire (*hidjā* [*q.v.*]), in which there still survived the primitive conception of the poet (*shāʿir* [*q.v.*]) as the mouthpiece of supernatural forces (see I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i, 1896, 1-121). It seems that the concentration of the aesthetic sensibilities of the Arabs on the apt use of words endowed the words themselves with mystical and magical power. Poetry was a source of pride and rivalry; and the poet who, by skilful ordering of vivid imagery in taut, richly-nuanced phrases, could play upon the emotions of his hearers, was not merely lauded as an artist but venerated as the protector and guarantor of the honour of the tribe and a potent weapon against its enemies. Tribal contests were fought out as much, or more, in the taunts of their respective poets (*mufākhara*) as on the field of battle, and so deeply rooted was the custom that even Muḥammad, though in general hostile to the influence of the poets, himself conformed to it at Madina (see *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit (Hirschfeld), comm. on no. XXII). The sensitiveness of the Arabs to satire (noted by al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², i, 359) did not prevent its almost universal employment against chiefs and men of note, but few of these poems have survived.

A remarkable feature is the total absence of love-poetry (apart from the conventional *nasīb*); wine-songs (*khamriyya* [*q.v.*]) as such are also rare, but their existence is attested by examples contemporary with the rise of Islam [see ABŪ MIḤDJAN]; and there are no independent examples of hunting-poems (*ṭardiyya* [*q.v.*]). In the urban settlements also there were poets, whose productions differed from those of the desert poets both in texture and content, but little of these have survived except some of the drinking-songs and religious poetry of ʿAdī b. Zayd of Ḥīra, and the religious poems doubtfully ascribed to Umayya b. Abi ʾl-Ṣalt of Ṭāʾif.

Transmission and authenticity. There is no certain evidence for the fixation and transmission of any pre-Islamic poetry in written form prior to the 1st century A.H. (reference by al-Farazdaḳ to a written text of Labīd: *Dīwān* (Ṣāwī), 721), although the use of Arabic script for literary purposes before the rise of Islam cannot be totally excluded [see KITĀBA]. Arabic tradition represents the transmission and survival of such poems as survived as due to the existence of professional "reciters" (*rāwiⁿ*, pl. *ruwāt*), either of the production of particular poets or of some general body of poetry, and its fixation in written form as due to the efforts of the philologists of the 2nd/8th century to collect what could be saved of the dwindling repertoire of pre-Islamic poetry. Thus the date of written fixation was by 200 to 300 years later than the date of production. The fact itself lays the poetry so collected open to question, firstly as to the reliability of the text as finally established, and secondly (and more seriously) as to its authentic attribution to the original poet—the more so since

many Arabic philologists freely charged one another with forgery in this field. (See, on the latter point in particular, D. S. Margoliouth in *JRAS*, 1925, 417-449; and on the question in general, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Fi 'l-Adab al-Djāhilī*, Cairo 1927 (a logical argument based on erroneous premises), and R. Blachère, *Litt.*, i). On historico-critical and logical grounds the argument admits of no conclusion, and it will seldom be possible to prove the authenticity of any specified poem with complete certainty. On literary and stylistic grounds, on the other hand, it is no less certain that the commonly accepted nucleus of poems ascribed to the pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīd*-poets (allowing for verbal modifications or rearrangement by successive generations of *rāwīs*) is a faithful reproduction of their poetic output and technique, which lies behind but is yet markedly distinct from the poetic production of the 1st/7th century.

(ii) Prose. The absence of any written Arabic prose literature in pre-Islamic Arabic is even less open to doubt (in spite of occasional arguments to the contrary, e.g. Z. Mubarak, *La Prose arabe*, Paris 1931). Parallel, however, to the cultivation of the art of poetry, there existed several forms of artistic speech which were distinguished from ordinary speech by the conscious application of aesthetic principles to their selection and polishing. One of these was the compression of a complete visual observation or social experience into a brief proverbial phrase [see MATHAL], using the same technique of concision (*īdjāz*) as was applied in poetry. Judicial decisions and maxims also were probably couched in the same style. Casual references occur to the existence of "written sheets" (*ṣuḥuf*, sing. *ṣaḥīfa*) containing proverbial phrases or *ḥikam* (cf. I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 204-5), and it is probable that judicial maxims also were occasionally committed to writing.

In oratory, the leading principle, in contrast to *īdjāz*, was elaborate expansion or "adornment" of the theme, by processes resembling in some respects those employed in poetry, together with the balancing of phrase with phrase, often emphasised by parallelism in structure, assonance, and especially end-rhyme (*sadjʿ* [*q.v.*]). The authenticity of the pre-Islamic discourses quoted by later anthologists is almost certainly to be rejected; probably only such fragments as were preserved by al-Djāḥiẓ in *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn* can be regarded with any confidence and accepted as evidence of style. As regards the language of oratory, there is good reason to assume that distinguished orators employed much the same idiom as that of the poets, but more freely adapted to local usage. The original language of the proverbs (except those which originated from poetic quotation) is more uncertain; although the vast majority, as transmitted by the later philologists, are in the *lughat al-fuṣḥā*, the surviving exceptions suggest that many of them were at first framed in more or less divergent local forms of speech.

A few traces have survived also of elements of folk-literature, namely the riddle and the beast-fable. How far, on the other hand, the pre-Islamic narrative materials handed down by the later collectors, especially those of the battle-days [see AYYĀM AL-ʿARAB], have preserved their original linguistic form, is more doubtful. The narrative content and the literary technique, with complementary prose and verse passages, are certainly authentic (see F. Rosenthal, *Hist. of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden 1952, 17 ff.), but the method of narrative presentation is closely paralleled by similar materials of the 1st/7th century and may have been considerably modified before they were first written down at the end of the 2nd/8th century. Other pre-Islamic narratives, particularly those which relate to South Arabia, are still more suspect.

A third form of artistic speech in pre-Islamic Arabia was the conventional oracular style affected by the diviners [see KĀHIN], consisting of a series of obscure rhyming oaths, generally relating to celestial phenomena, followed by two or three brief rhymed phrases, often as obscure. In the history of Arabic literature, the fragmentary remains of such oracular utterances would be of little importance, had it not been that (if reliance is to be placed on the traditions related, professedly by Muḥammad himself, of the Christian preacher Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*]: al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 247) they were adapted by revivalist preachers at the Arab fairs to their own purposes, and through this medium came to literary fruition in the early Meccan suras of the Ḳur'ān. Otherwise, as a literary production, the Ḳur'ān stood apart from the main vehicles of conscious artistic style in Arabia, being linked to them only by adoption of the *ʿarabiyya* idiom as its medium (adapted in points of phonetic detail and vocabulary to the speech of the Ḥidjāz, following what may be assumed to have been regular oratorical practice), and the common feature of *sadjʿ*. As the oracular style was replaced by narrative and argument, the singularity of the Ḳur'ān became still more marked, since its narrative style appears to have little in common with the pre-Islamic *ḳaṣaṣ* [*q.v.*], and the argument arose out of the personal circumstances of the preacher. The prose structure of the Madinian sūras is equally distinctive, except possibly in regard to the form of some legal enactments. For its literary art in general, therefore, the Ḳur'ān discards most of the methods of conscious artistic decoration common to the literary or aesthetic productions of its time. Form is subordinated to content, and in forcing the literary idiom into the expression of new ranges of thought it depends for its effectiveness rather on the suggestive modulation of the syntactical phrase [see further ḲUR'ĀN]. In this highly personal art, the Ḳur'ān found few imitators in later Arabic prose literature, partly by reason of its special content, but also because the growing standardisation of literary usage limited the freedom of prose writers to handle syntactical structure with the same measure of originality. The Ḳur'ān thus stands by itself as a production unique in Arabic, having neither forerunners nor successors in its own style; and its literary heritage is to be found mainly in the pervasive influence of its ideas, language and rhythms in later artistic contexts.

During the 1st/7th century, however, the flexibility imparted to the *ʿarabiyya* idiom by the Ḳur'an made it an instrument ready to hand for the multifarious new tasks about to be imposed on it as a result of the Arab conquests and the new needs of administration. Although the traditions of pre-Islamic oratory still dominated among the tribal and Khāridjī orators, the influence of the Ḳur'ān is to be seen in a new style of oratory developed, probably, out of the formal *khuṭba* pronounced by the caliphs and their governors (cf., e.g., a *khuṭba* of ʿUmar I in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 80), in which more emphasis was laid on the content and less on external adornment, *sadjʿ* in particular being avoided. It was

in all probability this style which furnished the models for the first literary art of Arabic written prose, at the hands of the *kuttāb*, the secretaries of the Umayyad caliphs and governors, of which, however, there are few authentic examples until the papyrus documents of the period of Sulaymān and the chancery records of ʿUmar II at the end of the 1st century (between 715 and 720 A.D.).

(b) First-Century Poetry

The Arabic poetry of the 1st/7th century closely reflects the social and economic changes resulting from the Islamic movement and the Arab conquests, the military settlements of the Arabs outside Arabia, the growth of luxury and a money economy, the rise of an imperial government and the imposition of its authority over the tribesmen, and the emergence of religious and political parties and tribal factions. The results of these changes are most clearly seen in the transformation of the occasional poem, and the cultivation of particular themes or types by individuals or schools. The old satire (*hidjā*) loses its aura of supernatural influence and develops either into a string of indecencies or a theatrical display of mutual taunting by poets of rival groups (see below). The *ḥamāsa* poem becomes the vehicle of religious exaltation and defiance among the Khāridjīs [*q.v.*]. The most remarkable new development is the rise of the independent love-poem (*ghazal* [*q.v.*]) in the wealthy and luxurious cities of the Ḥidjāz, using a simplified linguistic structure influenced by Ḥidjāzī conversational style, and, through its close association with the rise of a new musical profession [see GHINĀʾ], metrically adapted to the needs of singing. This *ghazal* was of two kinds: one, connected more especially with Mecca [see ʿUMAR B. ABĪ RABĪʿA], realistic, urbane, and gay; the other, connected especially with Madina [see DJAMĪL and ʿUDHRA], depicting an idealising and hopeless love, with beduin protagonists. New themes of politico-religious poetry were inspired by the disasters and aspirations of the ʿAlid *shīʿa* [see AL-KUMAYT and KUTHAYYIR], and the *radjaz* poem, a simple iambic piece formerly used especially to rouse the ardour of combatants, was made into an instrument for displays of linguistic virtuosity in lengthy and consciously archaising *ḳaṣīdas* by a school of beduin poets [see AL-ʿADJDJĀDJ].

All these give evidence of the new vigour and plasticity which had been imparted to the literary arts of the Arabs by the Islamic movement and its political and social consequences. Poetry, without losing any of its artistic qualities, becomes less formal and more functional; style and content complement and harmonise with one another. The *ḳaṣīda* also, revived after a short intermission during the conquests, was shaken out of the rigid mould and obligatory canons of style which had circumscribed it in the old tribal society. During the 1st century it was cultivated almost exclusively by a group of beduin extraction in al-ʿIrāḳ and Mesopotamia, represented especially by al-Akhṭal, Djarīr, al-Farazdaḳ, and Dhu 'l-Rumma. Al-Akhṭal, the authentic representative of the schools of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm and al-Nābigha, stands closest to the spirit of pre-Islamic poetry, both in his tribal odes and his panegyrics of the Umayyad caliphs. For the poets of al-ʿIrāḳ, on the other hand, the *ḳaṣīda*, while preserving the traditional external structure, changes both in inner content and in function. Al-Farazdaḳ in his boasting odes may celebrate the renown of his ancestors, but for him, as for Djarīr, beduin life is poor and brutish, and the *ḳaṣīda* an instrument to gain riches from the powerful and wealthy at the price of often hypocritical adulation, no longer phrased in terms of tribal virtues, but of political and religious controversy. Alternatively inter-tribal *mufākhara* is overlaid by a flood of personal taunts in slanging matches on parallel themes (*naḳāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*]), of considerable ingenuity and virtuosity, for the delectation of the tribesmen of Kūfa and Baṣra. Both of these developments went far towards changing the original art-form of the *ḳaṣīda* into an artificial convention; and in language also the poets sought the suffrages of the rising philological schools in al-ʿIrāḳ by conscious exhibitions of luxuriant and sonorous vocabulary. This is still further developed in the special art of Dhu 'l-Rumma, devoted mainly to descriptions of desert scenery and life, emotionalised by a *ghazal* theme.

The outstanding difference between the pre-Islamic poetry and that of the Umayyad age in general is, however, psychological. The passions of the pre-Islamic age were strong, but moved within narrow limits; and the poets held them to a high moral plane. Those of the Umayyad age were multiple and conflicting, and the poets shared in the general psychological instability and conflict of principles and parties. The emotional foundation of the *ghazal* is self-evident; but emotion enters also into the traditional themes, bringing them closer to the popular taste and giving them a sharper and coarser tone, which lowers the ethical plane, in spite of a copious sprinkling of Ḳurʾānic phraseology and pious sentiment. The political role also of much of this poetry required the poets to play to the gallery and pander to the debased taste and love of excitement of the masses, especially in their *naḳāʾiḍ*.

As regards the authenticity and transmission of Umayyad poetry, it is evident from the relatively complete state of the *dīwāns*, as compared with those of the pre-Islamic poets, that they were written down either during the poet's lifetime or immediately afterwards. Specific references are found to a written corpus of the poetry of al-Farazdaḳ, kept by a secretary (*Aghānī*, xix, 22), and also to that of Dhu 'l-Rumma (al-*Djāḥiẓ*, *Ḥawayān*², i, 41), and to a written text of the *naḳāʾiḍ* (ed. Bevan, 430).

Bibliography (in addition to general works and works cited in the text): R. Blachère, *Litt.*, i; C.A. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, vi, Rome 1948; Aḥmad Amīn, *Fadjr al-Islām*, Cairo 1928; N.M. al-Bahbītī, *Taʾrīkh al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī ḥattā ākhir al-Ḳarn al-thālith al-hidjrī*, Cairo 1950; Shawḳī Ḍayf, *al-Taṭawwur wa 'l-Tadjdīd fi 'l-Shiʿr al-Umawī*, Cairo 1952; M.M. al-Baṣīr, *ʿAṣr al-Ḳurʾān*, Baghdad 1947.

(II) Second-Century Literature

(i) Poetry. The Arabic literature of the 2nd/8th century is sharply distinguished from that of the 1st/7th century by two main features. It was, with few exceptions, the literature of an urban society, concentrated for the most part in al-ʿIrāḳ; and the majority of its producers were half-Arabs or non-Arabs, converts or descendants of converts from the original Aramaean and Persian population. The resulting changes and developments in literary production are more marked in prose than in verse production, but are clearly to be seen also in the poetry of this period.

In contrast to the new prose literature, however, the transition to the early ʿAbbāsid age made no

violent breach in the tradition of Arabic poetry. Metrical systems and technique evolved within the older framework, and structural innovations met with little or no success [see ABU 'L-ʿATĀHIYA]. The permissible metres and deviations were ingeniously systematised by al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791) and strictly adhered to. In language also the poets are as precise and meticulous in their pursuit of *ʿarabiyya* as their predecessors, but begin to aim at smoothness and simplicity in place of the sonority of the beduin poets. These changes are masked to a certain extent by the continued cultivation of the *ḳaṣīda*, which now, however, even more than in the Umayyad age, acquired a ceremonial function. The poet who presented himself at the court of the caliphs or of lesser authorities was required to demonstrate his qualities by his *ḳaṣīdas* and was rewarded accordingly. Since it was by their patronage that the poet gained his livelihood, he was compelled to conform to their expectations, especially when the reward was not infrequently proportioned to the length of his ode. To these factors must be added the natural conservatism of the Arab, which tended to restrict the poet to conventional forms, and of the poets themselves, for whom (as for their critics in the rising philological schools) poetry was the guarantor of the pure tradition of Arabic linguistic art, and the *ḳaṣīda* the highest proof of the poet's mastery of it. Internally, in spite of the conventionality of its form and matter, the *ḳaṣīda* shows a development away from the old beduin themes, and both panegyric and satire are handled with considerable diversity and originality, while at the same time the newer types of poetic production affect to some extent the traditional modes of expression.

It is, however, in these newer types that the social changes and currents in the new age found their fullest expression. The first impulses came from the *ghazal* poetry of the Ḥidjāz and its musical accompaniment, both directly and through Syria, where they were combined with the (probably native Syrian) tradition of wine-songs by the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd II (d. 126/744), with whom tradition connects the first representatives of the new school in al-ʿIrāḳ [see MUṬĪʿ B. IYĀS]. Their witty, uninhibited, and often scandalous verses met with a delighted reception in the new secular and pleasure seeking society of Baṣra and Baghdād, and were even, set to music, enjoyed in the private entertainments in caliph's palaces. The general intellectual effervescence resulting from the contact of Islamic society with Persian and Aramaean culture stimulated, both by attraction and by repulsion, a wide range of emotional attitudes and reactions, which were freely exposed in verse, and at the same time created a social atmosphere which, in spite of the opposition of the nascent legal and theological schools, encouraged freedom of thought and expression. Together with the new trends of urban poetry, several of the movements of the Umayyad age (notably Shīʿism) still continued to furnish themes for poetic elaboration, and the old ʿIrāḳī tradition of religious and moral verse was revived by the Muʿtazilī Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, and others. Two other lesser poets also were originators of new literary genres: ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. c. 192/807), the inventor of the court-*ghazal*, short poems on themes of chivalrous love; and Abān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (d.c. 200/815), who first used the rhymed *radjaz* couplet (*muzdawidj*) for verse romances and didactic poems. In sum, therefore, the output of Arabic poetry in this century was enormous, and characterised for the most part by an originality, achieved not so much by breaking out along new lines as by fusing new elements with the traditional themes in such a way that the effect is almost that of a wholly new art.

Yet, for all this, the poetry of the 2nd century prefigures, if it does not itself illustrate, the decline of the true poetic art and the growth of artificiality in Arabic poetry. The freshness and sincerity of the Ḥidjāzī *ghazal* were not compensated for by wit and cynicism; and the pursuit of wit led to a straining after verbal brilliance and originality in metaphor. This was the origin of the so-called *badīʿ* [*q.v.*], the embellishment of verse by tropes and antitheses and ingenious exploitation of Arabic morphology. The earliest exponent of this "new style"—not as yet exaggerated or formalised—was the blind poet Bashshār b. Burd (d. 168/784), of Iranian extraction, and the first major Arabic poet of non-Arab origin. The elaboration of the traditional *ḳaṣīda* with *badīʿ* devices is generally ascribed to one of the poets of the next generation, Muslim b. al-Walīd, who was in consequence highly esteemed by some critics and condemned by others as "the first who corrupted poetry". There is, in contrast, little trace of these artifices in the work of his greater contemporary Abū Nuwās (d.c. 198/803), who in poetic genius, fecundity, manysidedness and command of language has few rivals in Arabic literature. Witty, gay, cynical and foul-mouthed, he was at his best in his incomparable wine-songs, most virulent and coarsest in satire and *ghazal*, versatile in panegyric, and a linguistic virtuoso in the beduin style of hunting-poems (*ṭardiyyāt*), the fashion for which he revived.

On the other hand, Abū Nuwās and the other poets of the latter half of the century exemplify a new development which was soon to affect all Arabic poetry, not generally to its advantage. Hitherto the poets had learned their art exclusively by association with, their predecessors. With the rise of the philological schools, particularly at Baṣra, they began to perfect their training by systematic instruction from and association with the philologists. The common ground of this association has already been noted above, but its effect was to imbue the poets themselves (exclusive of the purely popular poets) with a more or less philological approach to their art and the acceptance of philological criteria of poetic merit. To this, probably, is due, more than to any other cause, the increasing formalisation of Arabic poetry in later centuries, and its degeneration, in the hands of the less gifted, to an almost mechanical recapitulation of well-worn themes with a surface decoration of *badīʿ*.

Transmission. Paradoxically, the situation in regard to the texts of the early ʿAbbāsid poets is often much worse than to those of the Umayyad poets, since the philologists (who did not regard them as reliable authorities for linguistic usage) made no efforts to collect their *dīwāns*. Some have never been collected, and such *dīwāns* as survive in later MSS (including that of Abū Nuwās) are far from reliable. The authorship of single verses and even of whole poems is sometimes in question, and later collectors of *badīʿ* figures have caused much confusion by lack of care in citation and attribution (see I. Kratchkowsky, *Abu 'l-Faraj al-Waʾwā*, Petrograd 1914, Introduction, 68-96).

(ii) Prose. As already mentioned [I (a) (ii) above, ad fin.], the first essays in Arabic prose were made by the *kuttāb*, the chancery secretaries of the

Umayyad caliphs, in a style based on that of the official *khuṭbas*. In the earliest known literary productions, those of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (d. 132/750), however, in which the matter called for a logical expansion of general principles in complex detail, the adaptation of Arabic syntax to these unfamiliar demands could be met only by ingenious experiment. As in other literatures, flexibility in prose style was first acquired by the processes of translation, in this instance from the Pahlawī court-literature of Sāsānid Persia, initiated by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's disciple Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. 139/757). In their existing forms, the extant works of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ have probably undergone some rehandling in subsequent decades; but it is clear that he posed the problem which was gradually solved by his successors: that of creating a smooth and palatable prose style which was capable of expressing systematic thought, within the limits of the available vocabulary. The function of this literature was didactic and ceremonial; it laid down rules of conduct for princes, court officers, secretaries and administrators of all kinds, and supplied the general knowledge required for the performance of their duties, in the form of manuals, anecdotes and romances, the whole being comprised under the general head of *adab* [*q.v.*]. Their agreeable literary style and diverting contents procured a wide popularity for these works in the new urban society, and for several decades the translations from and imitations of Persian literature held a dominant place in Arabic prose literature.

In the meantime, native forms of Arabic prose were being developed. The primitive narrative arts were organised into conscious literary styles, such as the *ḳaṣaṣ*, the combination of a number of *ḥadīths* into a connected story (exemplified in the *Sīrat al-Nabī* of Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 151/768), the *ḳiṣṣa* [*q.v.*] or anecdote, and *khabar* [*q.v.*] or narration, particularly in the romances of beduin lovers (*ʿushshāḳ*) and of the "battle-days" (*ayyām al-ʿarab* [see I (a) (ii) above]). In contrast to these narrative genres, which preserved in a greater or less degree their original Arabian structure, the rapid expansion of intellectual energies in Baṣra and Kūfa, especially in the schools of philology and law, was creating, with the help of Greek logic, a new argumentative prose which was far more flexible and close-knit than either the new narrative forms or the translations of the secretaries. At the same time, the philologists, consciously opposing the increasing degeneration and impoverishment of Arabic in the mixed society of the ʿIrāḳī cities, and with the support of Islamic religious circles, set themselves to define the correct modalities of Arabic speech and to preserve both the extensive vocabulary (*lugha*) and the pure idiomatic usage (*faṣāḥa*) of the peninsula. Thus, in opposition both to the jurists and to the secretaries, for whom the Arabic language was primarily an instrument, they reasserted—in a new context—the old Arabian insistence on the importance of form, and thereby contributed to maintain the concept of the *ʿarabiyya* as a standardised and unchanging artistic structure, which remained unaffected by the varieties and evolution of spoken Arabic. Closely related to these activities, and also in conscious opposition to the secretarial school, was their activity in searching for and preserving the memorials of the old Arabic culture, such as poems, proverbs and tribal traditions, to serve (in conjunction with the Ḳurʾān and all the materials relating to the Islamic movement) as the basis of the "Arabic humanities". Except for technical monographs, mainly on philological subjects—the most important of which are the dictionary, *K. al-ʿAyn*, of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791), the grammar, *al-Kitāb*, of his pupil Sībawayh (d.c. 180/796), and the monographs of Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825) and al-Aṣmaʿī (d.c. 216/831)—few original literary works, in the strict sense, had been produced in philological circles by the end of the century, and it was only in the 3rd/9th century that the Arabic humanities came into full fruition.

Much the same may be said of the associated field of historical studies [see TAʾRĪKH], in which, except for the rather conscious adaptation of the *ayyām*-technique in the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ, the activities of historical students were devoted mainly to the compilation of source-materials in the form of monographs on particular episodes of Arab or Islamic history [see ABŪ MIKHNAF, AL-MADĀʾINĪ, AL-WĀḲIDĪ] or on tribal genealogies [see HISHĀM B. MUḤAMMAD AL-KALBĪ].

The legal schools, on the other hand, had already attained the stage of producing major works, both expository and controversial [see FIḲH]. The lead was taken by the Ḥanafī school of al-ʿIrāḳ with Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804), while the school of al-Madīna produced the first important corpus of legal *ḥadīth* in *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795). As early as the next generation, al-Shāfiʿī was able to set out and defend in a series of tractates (*al-Umm*) the principles which were henceforth to govern legal reasoning in Sunnī Islam.

Finally, in regard to Ḳurʾānic studies, the practice of oral transmission still predominated, and the first collected work on exegesis appears to have been made by the above-mentioned Abū ʿUbayda.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited at the end of § I): Ch. Pellat, *Le Milieu Basrien et la Formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1952; Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuha 'l-Islām*, i, Cairo 1933; A. F. Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, ii, Cairo 1927; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-Arbaʿā*, i, ii, Cairo 1925, 1926; J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950.

(III) Third to Fifth Centuries

(i) Prose

By the opening of the 3rd/9th century, the philological, historical, legal and Ḳurʾānic studies just described had laid the foundations for an Arabic-Islamic prose literature, which could challenge the predominance hitherto enjoyed by the secretarial school in the field of polite letters (*adab*). The problem that remained to be solved was that of mobilisation, or how to bring these studies out of their scholastic or technical isolation into a positive relation with the public interests and social issues of the day. This problem was illuminated, rather than solved, by the genius of al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), who brought them to bear on all aspects of contemporary life in a series of tractates and epistles, written in a sonorous and witty style, of unequalled linguistic vigour and variety, but too individual to serve as a stylistic model for general literature. The final solution was found by his later contemporaries who blended the clarity of the secretarial style with the traditional art-language and the argumentative prose of the philological and legal schools into a medium capable of expressing all varieties of factual, imaginative and abstract subjects with great refine-

ment and precision, though at some cost to the wealth and vigour of the ancient idiom cultivated by the philologists. One of the first results of this "modernised" prose medium, with its superior flexibility and adaptation to social changes, was to restrict and ultimately to displace poetry from its former social function, and to relegate it more and more to a purely aesthetic role in social and literary life.

The success achieved by the writings of al-Djāḥiẓ and his successors was not due solely, however, to their command of the Arabic sciences and a more flexible linguistic instrument. The schools of Baṣra, with their rationalising tendencies, had already been attracted (especially in the theological groups of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*]) by the surviving elements of Hellenistic culture in Western Asia. Early in the 3rd/9th century the revival of Hellenistic learning received a strong impulse from the establishment by al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) of the *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] for the translation of Greek philosophical and scientific works. During the whole period treated in this section, the dominant feature of Arabic culture is the fruitful interaction of the Arabic and Greek traditions which is already illustrated in the writings of al-Djāḥiẓ, and was subsequently displayed in almost all branches of Arabic literature, both secular and religious. These internal developments were further expanded and accelerated by the vast extension of literary activities, which, hitherto all but confined to al-ʿIrāḳ, began in the 3rd century to be cultivated in a large number of centres, from Samarḳand to Ḳayrawān and al-Andalus. The material foundation of this expansion was the rapid economic development of the Islamic empire, supplemented by the introduction of paper (*waraḳ* [*q.v.*]) manufacture from the Far East in the second half of the 2nd century.

The range and extent of these new literary movements rapidly overwhelmed the Sāsānid tradition of the *kuttāb*, in spite of their rearguard movement of resistance [see SHUʿŪBIYYA] and denigration of the Arabs and their culture. A reconciliation was effected by Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889-90), who in a long series of works furnished the secretaries with compendia and extracts from all branches of Arabic learning, but incorporated in them also such elements of the Persian historical and courtly traditions as had established themselves at the court and could be harmonised with the Arabic-Islamic humanities. Henceforward, *adab*, in the strict sense, was confined to treatises and other literary works based on this widened Arabic-Islamic tradition, including both the Persian and the Hellenistic components.

Simultaneously, the widening of general intellectual interests was displayed in the cultivation of a great variety of specialist disciplines, the cumulative productions of which constitute the climax of the mediaeval Islamic culture, and for this reason cannot be entirely excluded from any general survey of Arabic literature. In the 3rd century the Hellenistic contribution was greatly expanded by the many translations of Greek works made by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā (fl. 220/835), Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 260/873), his son Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn (d. 298/910), and other translators. Already before the middle of the century, the first independent Arabic works on philosophy were being written by Yaʿḳūb al-Kindī (d.c. 236/850), to be followed in the next century by the Turk Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) and the Persian Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), to mention only the most prominent names [see FALSAFA]; on mathematics by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khʷārizmī (fl. 230/844) and Thābit b. Ḳurra al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 288/901) [see RIYĀḌA]; on astronomy by al-Farghānī, Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī (d. 272/885), and al-Battānī (d. 317/929) [see TANDJĪM]; and on medicine by Ibn Māsawayh (d. 243/859) and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d.c. 311/923) [see ṬIBB]. Although the technical literature of the sciences cannot be dealt with here, yet the importance of these studies, and of other popular works on Hellenistic origin (such as *Sirr al-Asrār*, attributed to Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīk, c. 200/815), in determining or at least influencing the intellectual climate of the period must not be underrated. In geography, in particular, they not only directly inspired the "revision" of Prolemy's geography by the above-mentioned al-Khʷārizmī, but also indirectly contributed to the first road-book, by the postmaster Ibn Khurradādhbih (fl. 230/844), and in conjunction both with the older philological interest in the place-names of Arabia and with Indian materials [see SINDHIND] and old Persian concepts, stimulated the intellectual curiosity which produced the rich geographical literature of the following century [see DJUGHRĀFIYĀ].

The opposition to these hellenising tendencies was led by those 'orthodox' students of theology and law who rejected the rationalist principles of the Muʿtazila. The search for Prophetic Tradition (*ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]), which had developed in the 2nd century as a weapon against the pragmatic tendencies of the local schools of Law, was vigorously cultivated in the 3rd by the orthodox everywhere, partly (as in the famous "Six Books" of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāʾūd, Ibn Mādja, and al-Nasāʾī) in order to consolidate the dominant place which it had gained in the juristic sciences, but partly also (as in the more comprehensive *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, d. 241/855) against the critical attitudes of the Muʿtazila. So potent a force did the *ḥadīth* prove to be, with its appeal to simple piety and veneration for the Prophet, that in the next century the Shīʿa also, both among the Ismāʿīlīs (*Daʿāʾim al-Islām* of the ḳāḍī al-Nuʿman b. Muḥammad, d. 363/974) and in Imāmī circles (the "Four Books" of al-Kulīnī, d. 328/939, and others [see SHĪʿA]), aimed to rival the achievement of the Sunnīs by the collection and attribution of *ḥadīths* to the Imāms.

Nevertheless, although the schools of law, thanks to the early standardisation of their methodology, seem to have been little affected by the hellenistic revival and continued to produce an extensive literature of their own, both theology and popular religion could not but be coloured by their environment. Orthodox theologians, in the schools of al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935) and al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), reconciled Greek physics with the data of the Ḳurʾān and the *Ḥadīth* by a skilful dialectic [see KALĀM], which by the end of the 5th century had established itself as the universal scholastic theology of Sunnī Islam; while Shīʿī theology, especially in the Ismāʿīlī schools, was still more strongly influenced by the neoplatonism expounded, together with the Greek sciences in general, in the popular encyclopaedia of the 4th/10th century called the *Epistles of the Sincere Brethren* [see IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ]. The literature of theological polemics also, as well as that on "comparative religion" (i.e. on the differences between the Muslim and the non-Muslim religions), is clearly aware of the general positions of

Greek philosophy and prepared on occasion to discuss them in detail. The most celebrated work in these two fields is the incisive *K. al-Faṣl* by the Andalusian Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), equally noted for his delicate anatomy of love under the title of *The Dove's Neckring*.

While popular religion was less affected by theological problems as such, it had from the first been influenced by the older religious movements in Western Asia and North Africa. By the 3rd century most of these accretions had been pruned away, except for gnosticism and Syrian mysticism (itself incorporating many Stoic and Neoplatonic elements), which were exercising an increasingly profound influence upon ascetic and pious circles, and transforming piety and asceticism into mystical ṣūfism [see TAṢAWWUF]. Already in the 3rd and 4th centuries a new ṣūfī literature was fully developed, ranging from systematic treatises (beginning with al-Muḥāsibī, d. 213/857) and *rasāʾil* (al-Djunayd, d. 297/910) to collections of aphorisms, symbolist poetry [see AL-ḤALLĀDJ], and séances by Dhu 'l-Nūn (d. 245/859) and al-Niffarī (d. 354/965).

The total result of these specialist literary activities was immensely to expand the range of mediaeval Arabic as a linguistic instrument. Not only in the technical vocabulary of the various sciences, but also as a medium for expressing fine shades of philosophical and psychological analysis, it had developed capacities far beyond the old classical language. But this must not be taken to imply that the range of literary *adab*, or even its expressiveness, was widened in an equal degree. Much of this technical and analytical vocabulary was probably little understood outside the restricted circles of specialists. No doubt (indeed, it could hardly have been otherwise), some of these wider intellectual horizons were occasionally reflected in works of polite letters. Nevertheless, the *adab* works also demonstrate very clearly the marginal position of the purely Hellenistic elements and of the special sciences dependent on them (as distinguished from the generalized influence of Hellenistic culture) in relation to the main body of Arabic and Islamic elements in the mediaeval Islamic culture. A few *udabāʾ* show in their writings an interest in metaphysical and scientific disciplines, e.g. Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/899), Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023) and Abū ʿAlī Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) [see also AKHLĀK]. But such works are on the whole exceptional. The mainstream of Arabic letters after Ibn Ḳutayba runs through miscellaneous topics drawn from Arab poetry and history, politics and rhetoric, anthologies and collections of anecdotes, and popular ethics, illustrated by such writers as Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), the Andalusian Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940), Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946), Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967), author of the *K. al-Aghānī*, al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994), collector of "table-talk" and anecdotal literature, and Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038 [see below]). The huge output and popularity of such works show how sharply, on the whole, the social and intellectual interests of literary circles were circumscribed, and the consequent limitation of the concept of *adab*. On a more technical level of *adab*, but essentially of the same kind, were the "sessions" (*madjālis*) and "dictations" (*āmālī*) of the professional philologists (e.g. al-Mubarrad, d. 285/998, Thaʿlab, d. 291/904, Ibn Durayd, d. 321/934, al-Ḳālī, d. 356/967), in distinction from their pedagogical works on philology proper, which included the first major dictionaries of the classical language by Ibn Durayd, al-Djawharī (d. c. 393/1002) and Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004-5).[1]

This intense absorption in literary and linguistic production was bound to produce in due course a considerable volume of technical literary criticism. Although as late as the *K. al-Aghānī* criticism seems to consist mostly of subjective judgments on the relative merits of given poets or verses, the first steps towards a more systematic criticism had already been taken by al-Djāḥiẓ and, from a different angle, by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who in his *K. al-Badīʿ* classified the figures of speech employed in the "new" poetry. Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (d. 310/922) introduced the practice of classifying poetic "beauties" and "faults", and by the end of the 4th/10th century the *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005) offers a complete critical analysis of poetry and prose in terms of structure, rhetorical devices, and figures of speech. The significant feature of most of this discussion was the insistence upon form rather than matter as the decisive criterion of quality; the declared assumption is that little if anything new can be originated in poetry, and that the only difference between one poet and another lies in his manner of expression. The balance was to some extent redressed by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078), who supplemented the excessively formal analysis of his predecessors by a system of logical and psychological analysis which demanded an at least equal consideration for the "ideas" expressed. Additional point was given to the argument on literary aesthetics by its bearing on the doctrine of the incomparability (*iʿdjāz*) of the Ḳurʾān; inevitably, in spite of protests in theological circles and by al-Djurdjānī, the prevailing concentration of literary criticism upon form tended to emphasize unduly its supreme verbal qualities in terms of the current stylistic theories.

A further consequence, equally inevitable, was that rhetorical and literary prose began to be affected by the same theories and to display the same pursuit of verbal elaboration. The virtuosity of the *adīb* was displayed in "Paragraphs" (*fuṣūl*) describing scenes, persons, emotions, events, and objects, or in Epistles (*rasāʾil*) addressed to friends or colleagues on a variety of occasions. Ibn al-Muʿtazz seems to have been, if not the inventor, at least the populariser of this art, which in the 4th century swept over the whole field of Arabic letters. The secretarial class fell victim to it almost at once; in the intense competition for office every refinement of literary style was eagerly exploited. The technique of secretarial correspondence was elaborated into an art (*inshāʾ* [*q.v.*]), based upon admired models of elegant, florid, insinuating or pungent writing, and it was not long before rhyming prose (*sadjʿ*), which the best stylists had hitherto used only as occasional ornament, became inseparable from official style. By the middle of the 4th century the vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd (d. 359/369-70) was composing his correspondence in *sadjʿ*; with his disciple and successor Ibn ʿAbbād, known as "the Ṣāḥib" (d. 385/995), its use had become a mania. Contemporary littérateurs, the most celebrated of whom are Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (d. 383/993) and al-Hamadhānī, known by the sobriquet of Badīʿ al-Zamān (d. 398/1007), developed the new style more freely and flexibly in their *rasāʾil*, which often resemble a kind of unscanned verse rather than prose. From then onwards every writer with a reputation to make or to maintain had perforce to

follow their example; and industrious compilers like al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, in his *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ḥuṣrī of Ḳayrawān (d. 453/1061), in his *Zahr al-Ādāb*, were quick to compose anthologies and treasuries of the most successful verses and *fuṣūl* and the most approved metaphorical descriptions and imagery. The additional premium which this placed on wit and agility produced, it is true, not a few masterpieces of artistic invention by those who possessed a natural gift for this style, but exacted in return a heavy price. The enforced cult of rhyming prose not only contorted the style of men of natural but more ponderous genius like Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057), but by rewarding artificiality it contributed to turning Arabic writers still further away from the solid ground of real life and living issues and to sap the vitality of Arabic literature.

For the moment, however, the revival of *sad̲j̲ʿ* coincided with a search for new or original methods of presenting literary themes. Badīʿ al-Zamān found a new setting (or revived a Hellenistic genre) in the popular theme of the witty vagabond, and created the dramatic anecdote or *maḳāma* [*q.v.*]. About 416/1025 the Andalusian Ibn S̲h̲uhayd in *al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-Zawābiʿ* imagined a series of interviews with the *d̲j̲innīs* who had inspired the great poets of the past. Eight years later Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī wrote his *Risālat al-G̲h̲ufrān*, in which, more daringly, he imagined a visit to heaven and hell to interview the poets themselves. These extravaganzas, however, were less appreciated by literary taste in their respective regions than the wittily allusive *risāla* of Ibn Zaydūn of Cordova (d. 463/1070), satirising his rival Ibn ʿAbdūn, and the letters in tightly-knit and decorated *sad̲j̲ʿ* of Ḳābūs b. Was̲h̲mgīr, prince of Ṭabaristān (d. 403/1012), collected under the title of *Kamāl al-Balāg̲h̲a*. Even the *maḳāmāt* of al-Hamad̲h̲ānī seem to have found few imitators until the end of the 5th century, when they were revived by al-Ḥarīrī of Baṣra (d. 516/1122), with the same motif as that of his predecessor, but with a refinement of philological subtlety and wit equalling the most ingenious of the *rasāʾil* and a striking poetical gift in addition. It is something of a paradox that with all their formal perfection and qualities of erudition and virtuosity, al-Ḥarīrī's *maḳāmāt*, like those of al-Hamad̲h̲ānī, are firmly rooted in the common life of the Islamic city, and portray its manners and its humours so realistically as to constitute one of the most precious social documents of the Islamic Middle Ages.

Historical composition, though properly distinct from *adab*, was to some extent affected by the same influences. At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the continued association of history with religious studies is seen in the histories of Mecca by al-Azraḳī (d. after 217/832) and al-Fākihī (d. after 272/885), and in the biographical and genealogical works on the Companions by Muḥammad b. Saʿd (d. 230/845), the secretary of al-Wāḳidī, and on Ḳuraysh by al-Zubayrī (d. 233/848). It is still present in the first (and last) attempt to compile a comprehensive Universal History based on the corpus of Islamic materials (which by now incorporated the Sāsānid tradition) and significantly entitled "The History of the Prophets and Kings", by Muḥammad b. D̲j̲arīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), as a complement to his Commentary on the Ḳurʾān, and also, though with a difference of emphasis, in the History of the Conquests and the "Genealogies of the Arab Nobles" of al-Balād̲h̲urī (d. 279/892). In the same century, however, the concept of history as an independent branch of study and of literary activity begins to appear in such diverse forms as the historical encyclopaedia of al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 284/897) and the history of Bag̲h̲dād by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893). By the 4th century historical writing not only flourished luxuriantly, but took in a wide range and variety of subjects: universal history (combined by the traveller al-Masʿūdī, d. 345/956, with a hellenistic curiosity about all things terrestrial and celestial), local histories of regions and cities from Central Asia to Spain, antiquarian research, memoirs on current events, histories of viziers and ḳāḍīs, biographies of individuals, biographical dictionaries of different classes and professions, even historical pseudographs and forgeries. History became an essential part of the equipment of an educated man, and as such entered into the general concept of *adab*.

It is possible, generally speaking, to draw a broad line of division between two attitudes to history among the educated classes. On the one side stand the scientific or serious historians, whose writings conform to certain standards of accuracy and veracity. By the 5th century these were mostly, though not exclusively, officials and courtiers, such as Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 448/1056) in al-ʿIrāḳ, al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029) in Egypt, and Ibn Ḥayyān al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 469/1076-7) in Spain, together with a few independent scholars, of whom the mathematician and astronomer Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) is the most outstanding. On the same side of the line stand the compilers of biographical dictionaries of scholars, notably al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī (d. 463/1071). On the other side are those for whom history is no more than a branch of *adab*, a quarry for ethical or entertaining anecdotes, or an instrument of propaganda, as in the biographies of saints, the literature of ʿAlid martyrology, and the largely forged collection of ʿAlī's letters and speeches known as *Nahd̲j̲ al-Balāg̲h̲a* [see AL-S̲H̲ARĪF AL-RAḌĪ].

The elaboration of literary prose also, in time, invaded the field of historical writing, but only, it seems, in the composition of eulogistic dynastic annals. The example was set by Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 384/994) in his lost work *al-Tād̲j̲ī* on the history of the Buwayhids, and was followed by al-ʿUtbī (d. 427/1035) in its counterpart *al-Yamīnī* on the history of the early G̲h̲aznawids. It may be more than coincidence that these works are contemporary with the revival of the old Persian historical tradition and the Persian epic. At all events, no other examples of this style seem to be known until the later Sald̲j̲ūḳ period (see § IV below).

(ii) Poetry

It has been pointed out at the beginning of the preceding section that from the 3rd century onwards poetry was displaced from its former social function by the new prose literature. Partly this was due to the adaptation of the artistic tradition of the *ʿarabiyya* to produce a vigorous prose style, which deprived poetry of its previous aesthetic monopoly. But to a far greater extent it was the result of the wide expansion of intellectual interests, with which the poets were unable to keep pace. As at the end of the pre-Islamic age, they were prisoners of their own conventions, broadened out and diversified as these conventions had been during the 1st and 2nd centuries. To a certain extent also they were the prisoners of their society. In his private verse the poet was no doubt free to amuse

himself as he pleased, but the doctrine which finally prevailed was that his major function was to "immortalise" his patron by his panegyrical *ḳaṣīdas*: a curious and remarkable revival of the tribal function of the pre-Islamic poet.

From the literary-historical angle, one of the most interesting features of 3rd century poetry is the effort made, but without substantial success, to break through these conventions in different ways. Abū Tammām "al-Ṭāʾī" (d. 231/846), a self-taught Syrian, tried to revive the weighty sonority of beduin poetry and to marry it to the *badīʿ* ornamentation of the poets of al-ʿIrāḳ; at the same time he attempted to make his verse the vehicle of a more complex structure of thought. His poetry is in consequence often strained and overloaded, or alternatively relaxed to an excessive degree, although it has found warm admirers in both mediaeval and modern times. His fellow-townsman and disciple, al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897), with a more natural gift, remained closer to the ʿIrāḳī tradition in his smoother and more polished verse. In al-ʿIrāḳ, on the other hand, Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896) attempted to create a new introspective and analytical poetry, in which each poem develops a single theme in an organic unity, and which has sometimes, but doubtfully, been genetically linked with his "Greek" origin. The originality of this poetry (though marred by an excessive sense of grievance) was appreciated, but not imitated; and the more typical and influential representative of ʿIrāḳī modernism was the ʿAbbāsid prince Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), who freely adapted traditional themes and metres to poetical *rasāʾil* and descriptive verse, corresponding to the prose *fuṣūl*. His innovations in technique and ingenuity (including a historical poem in 450 *radjaz* couplets celebrating the reign of his cousin, the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid) rest, however, on the established conventions of Arabic poetry; they revise, rather than reform, its characteristic methods and outlook.

From the 4th/10th century on, such pieces of natural description, epistles, poems on social occasions and the like constitute, together with epigrams and ceremonial *ḳaṣīdas*, the stock-in-trade of all minor poets in every part of the Muslim world, and in varying degrees of excellence. By now the use of *badīʿ* had become so universal in poetry as to be a natural constituent of the finished poetic imagination; in the *ghazal* or wine-song it might be allowed to play only a minor part, but no poem with any pretensions could be composed without it. It required, however, the genius of a greater poet to blend in just proportions the Arabian *ḳaṣīda* of the Syrian school and the smoothness and technical ingenuity of the ʿIrāḳī school. This was accomplished by Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), of Kūfan origin and an admirer of Ibn al-Rūmī and Ibn al-Muʿtazz, but Syrian in his poetical apprenticeship, and the brightest ornament of the "Circle of Sayf al-Dawla". For skill in construction, felicity of language, and mastery of the lapidary phrase, al-Mutanabbī has no equal among the later *ḳaṣīd*-poets, although his chief rival in Aleppo, the Ḥamdānid prince Abū Firās (d. 357/968) may have surpassed him in the direct emotional appeal of his best poems. A greater rival was his contemporary Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī (d. 362/973), the panegyrist of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz, whose *ḳaṣīdas* (sometimes unjustly depreciated on sectarian grounds) are more faithful to the pre-Islamic models.

Little need be said of the later poets in the eastern provinces, whose production remains on the whole within the frame of subjects, conventions and techniques established in the 3rd and 4th centuries. The leading poets in al-ʿIrāḳ were the Shīʿites al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) and Mihyār al-Daylamī (d. 428/1037), who seem, however, to have been less appreciated in their own time than a number of writers of popular poetry (in the literary language), of which only a few fragments have survived. The most notable of 5th century poets was the Syrian Abu ʾl-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057); a follower of al-Mutanabbī in his earlier *dīwān* (*Siḳt al-Zand*), he broke with convention in his later collection of short pieces (*Luzūm mā lam Yalzam*), the fame of which, however, probably owes less to their poetical quality and elaboration of technique than to the unorthodox freedom of the ideas which they expressed.

In the Maghrib and al-Andalus also, the mainstream of poetry, like that of Arabic letters in general, still flowed in the channels dug for it in the East, distinguished only by local colouring. As Ibn Hāniʾ took Abū Tammām and the pre-Islamic bards for his models, so Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1071) followed al-Buḥturī—but with an elegance and freshness that sometimes surpasses his model—and Ibn Darrādj (d. 421/1030), the panegyrist of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir, followed al-Mutanabbī. With these may be mentioned, though of later date, the Sicilian Ibn Ḥamdīs (d. 527/1132), and among the many minor poets the ʿAbbādid prince al-Muʿtamid (d. 488/1095). During the 5th/11th century, however, a new strophic type of poetry, of local inspiration, began to be cultivated in Spanish-Arab literary circles, but did not reach its full development until the following century (see § IV below).

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(IV) Sixth to Twelfth Centuries

The beginning of the 6th/12th century witnessed the triumph of the two forces which were henceforth to dominate the intellectual life of the Arab countries: scholasticism and ṣūfism. Both of these movements were associated in the Sunnī revival under the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] which, beginning in Khurāsān in the middle of the 5th century, spread to ʿIrāḳ under the Saldjūḳ sultanate, and to Syria and Egypt under its Zankid and Ayyūbid offshoots. In the West a similar movement, led by the Berber Muḥammad b. Tūmart (d. 524/1130) on his return from Baghdād, was associated with the Muwaḥḥid (Almohad) régime in the 6th century, and their parallel development in the two halves of the Arab world was maintained by multiple contacts and interactions.

The chief material factor in the spread of scholasticism was the gradual concentration of all literary education in the *madrasa* [*q.v.*], the new type of organised college introduced by the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk ([*q.v.*]; d. 485/1092) into Baghdād for the training of *ʿulāma*ʾ and administrators, and thence spread over the entire Muslim world. The formalisation of education involved also the formalisation of the disciplines taught, and contributed powerfully to the substitution of text-book and encyclopaedic compilation for original composition. This tendency is already visible in the first generation of leading scholars at the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa*: in the philologist al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109), a pupil of Abu ʾl-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī, whose production was confined to schoolworks and commentaries, as also was that of his successor al-Djawālīḳī (d. 539/1145); and in the Shāfiʿī theologians al-Djuwaynī Imām al-Ḥaramayn (d. 478/1085) and his pupil Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), whose earlier works were devoted to methodology and the scholastic defence of orthodoxy against Hellenistic philosophy and Islamic heresy. In their footsteps followed the immense majority of Sunnī theologians and jurists of the later generations, producing a vast literature of doctrinal summaries (*ʿaḳīda* [*q.v.*], pl. *ʿaḳāʾid*) (the most reputed being those of the Ḥanafī Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (d. 537/1132), ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī (d. 756/1355), and Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486))—works on *ḥadīth* (especially the supplement to the "Six Books" by Ibn al-Haythamī (d. 807/1405) and the comprehensive *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* of the Indian ʿAlī al-Muttaḳī (d. 975/1567)—school textbooks of law and collections of *fatwās*, as well as handbooks on special branches of it [see FIḲH]—commentaries on the Ḳurʾān or on particular sections of it [see TAFSĪR] or on the *ḳirāʾāt* [*q.v.*]—and on all of these and similar works a ponderous structure of commentary (*sharḥ*) and super-commentary (*ḥāshiya*). The Shīʿa, in turn, on the basis of the 4th and 5th century works, produced similar theological and dogmatic compends (especially by al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, d. 726/1326, and Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī, d. 1110/1700), textbooks of law, and Ḳurʾān-commentaries.

The exceptions to this increasing stratification and narrowing down of scholastic thought are few but important. The outstanding original religious thinker and reformer, the Ḥanbalite Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), and his pupil Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350) engaged in a vigorous polemic against both the inertia of the schools and the ṣūfī cults, but with little success until the revival of his teaching by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1791) in Central Arabia. In India, an important and little-studied school of religious philosophy, founded at Djawnpur by Maḥmūd al-Djawnpurī (d. 1062/1652), remained active for several generations, and influenced the work of the religious reformer (Shāh) Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1176/1762). In law, original contributions were made to the study of legal principles by the Shāfiʿī Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) and the Ḥanafī Ibn Nudjaym al-Miṣrī (d. 970/1563). In philology also, fresh minds were occasionally brought to the study of the congealed schooltexts, as, for example, by the Andalusian Abū Ḥayyān (who, amongst other works, composed grammars of Turkish, Persian, and Ethiopic; d. 745/1344) and his Egyptian pupil Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360).

The effects of scholasticism were not, however, confined to the religious and philological sciences. It affected every branch of literary composition, not even excluding poetry, by encouraging an intellectual tendency to standardisation on the part of both writers and readers. Originality of thought, though not stifled, reaped little reward, and was less valued than the ability to refurbish familiar themes in a more pointed or elegant manner. The output was enormous, yet characterised in every field by a sameness of method and treatment which reduces any survey of the literature of this period to little more than lists of names. But there was also another factor which contributed its share to this levelling process. In the vast new territories added to the Islamic world between the 7th/13th and 9th/15th centuries, as indeed already in Persia and Central Asia, although the parallel extension of the *madrasa* system carried with it an extension of the area of Arabic scholastic studies, the medium of *belles lettres* and poetry was no longer Arabic, but Persian or Turkish. These new literatures, while drawing to a greater or less extent on the traditions of Arabic literature, not only contributed nothing to Arabic letters, but siphoned off the talents which might otherwise have rejuvenated Arabic literature or opened it up to new experiences. When it is recalled how much that had given variety and resilience to the literature of the preceding centuries was produced or initiated in the Persian provinces, the effect of their loss to Arabic letters can be readily appreciated.

At the same time, the intellectual energy and literary taste that displayed themselves in this period must not be underrated. Original works of *belles lettres* may be few, but the same vigour and freshness of mind that broke through even in the scholastic disciplines found other fields of exercise, especially in the first four centuries. It was in the continuing impulse of the Hellenistic tradition, in the immense development of historical composition, and under the growing stimulus of ṣūfism that they were most active; yet from time to time certain writers found ways and means to express their interests and personalities in works which bear an individual stamp. Amongst memoirs, there are some which throw a vivid light upon the authors and their times, especially the reminiscences of war and the chase of the Syrian Usāma b. Munḳidh (d. 584/1188), the more literary narrative of ʿUmāra of al-Yaman (d. 569/1175), and the autobiography of the Tunisian historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406). Among the books of travel, which were stimulated more especially by the Pilgrimage, there are some which betray a lively interest in the observation of manners and customs of other countries; of the travellers from the West the most remarkable are Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (d. 565/1169-70), Ibn Djubayr (d. 614/1217), and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa of Tangier (d. 779/1377), and of those from the East ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr, "the shaykh of Harāt" (d. 611/1214). Memoirs and travels, it is true, succumbed in most cases to the prevailing scholasticism and ṣūfism, being reduced to little more than lists of teachers and books, or of visitations to religious personnages and shrines. But even to a few later travellers we owe interesting narratives of missions to different parts, such as those of the Moroccans Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Tamghrūtī (fl. 1000/1591) and Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Zayānī (d. 1249/1843), and there is even a journal of a visit of a Chaldean priest, Ilyās b. Yuḥannā, to America (1668-83).

A third and still newer branch of letters which flourished for a time was devoted to the arts of war, stimulated especially by the Crusades. During the following two or three centuries there was a

considerable output of works on military tactics and the handling of weapons, the management of horses, and the *djihād* in general.

Even in al-Andalus prose literature was largely a belated reflection of eastern models, as in the "Fürstenspiegel" *Sirādj al-Mulūk* of Ibn Abī Randaḳa al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 525/1131), the reworking by Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185) of Ibn Sīnā's philosophical romance *Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān*, and Ibn Hudhayl's treatise on horsemanship *Tuḥfat al-Anfus*. Granada, however, produced in the versatile Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374) one of the last all-round masters of Arabic literary art.

In the field of *belles lettres* in general, the cult of *sadjʿ* reached its culmination in the 6th/12th century. Rhyming-prose *fuṣūl* were pressed into the service of ethics in the *Aṭwāḳ al-Dhahab* of the philologist al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143). Secretarial prose received a fresh impulse from the rich and flexible *inshāʾ* of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1199), secretary of the last Fāṭimid caliphs and of Saladin; and the examples of historical composition in *sadjʿ* set by al-Ṣābiʾ and al-ʿUtbī were followed and even surpassed by the loquacious virtuosity of ʿImād al-Dīn, known as al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201), in his histories of the Saldjūḳs and of Saladin. In the next generation, the arts of rhetoric and euphuism were reduced to text-book form by the Khwārizmian al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229) in his *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*, probably the most frequently and widely abstracted, glossed and commented on of all secular works in Arabic literature. But the cult of *sadjʿ* itself suffered some decline in the following centuries, except in secretarial *inshāʾ*, in works imitated from or modelled on the *maḳāmāt*, and in the introductions and dedications of books of every kind. It is on the whole sparingly used in the new type of homiletic *adab* popularised by the Ḥanbalite preacher Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), and even in the numerous later anthologies, florilegia, and similar works of literary compilation. Its reintroduction into such works seems to date from the *Rayḥānat al-Alibbāʾ* of the Egyptian stylist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659) and its continuation by Ibn Maʿṣūm (d. 1104/1692), and it continued thereafter to impose a veneer of literary artistry upon utilitarian works of various kinds.

The Hellenistic element in Arabic-Islamic culture remained active for several centuries, not only in the special fields of medicine, the sciences and philosophy, but also in combination with the branches of *madrasa* learning. Medical works based on independent study continued indeed to be written down to the time of Dāʾud al-Antāḳī (himself the the compiler of one of the most celebrated florilegia of poetry and *adab*, extracted from an earlier work by al-Sarrādj (d. 500/1106); d. 1008/1599). Mathematics, after the Persian encyclopaedist Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273), became increasingly confined to astronomy. Philosophy, also cultivated in the East by Ṭūsī and the more orthodox encyclopaedist Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), but thereafter passing into ṣūfistic metaphysics, flowered brilliantly for a time in Muslim Spain with Ibn Bādjdja (d. 533/1138), Ibn Ṭufayl, and the great Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 595/1198), before yielding likewise to ṣūfism with Ibn al-ʿArabī [see below] and Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 668/1269). Scientific geography, which attained one of its peaks in the world-map and descriptive text compiled by the sharīf al-Idrīsī for Roger II of Sicily in 548/1154, still survived to the time of Abu 'l-Fidā, sultan of Ḥamāh (d. 732/1331), but was already giving way to the electic literary art of cosmography, exemplified by Zakariyyā al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283), Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327) and Sirādj al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī (d.c. 850/1446). Natural science was cultivated chiefly in the field of medical botany (notably by al-Ghāfiḳī, d. 560/1165, and Ibn al-Bayṭār, d. 646/1248), and was included, along with a variety of literary materials, in the zoological dictionary of al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405).

On a more restricted scale, the Hellenistic legacy entered into the encyclopaedic tendency, exemplified not only by Ṭūsī and al-Rāzī, but also by many lesser compilers. Encyclopaedism, it might be said, was one outlet for scholarship which found itself, consciously or unconsciously, cramped by the prevailing emphasis on religious studies and philology. It took many forms. The simplest and most compact was the alphabetical arrangement of data in a given field or fields, as in the dictionary of *nisbas* (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*) compiled by Tādj al-Dīn al-Samʿānī (d. after 551/1156), on the basis of which the Greek Yāḳūt compiled his geographical dictionary (*K. al-Buldān*). The field which offered the widest scope for this treatment was that of biography, whether general (beginning with the *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* of Ibn Khallikān, d. 681/1282, and followed by others, notably the voluminous *Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt* of Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, d. 764/1363), or limited to particular classes of savants ~~and men of letters~~: of scientists by Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-Bayhaḳī (d. 565/1169-70) and ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Ḳifṭī (d. 646/1248); of physicians by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 668/1270); of philologists by al-Ḳifṭī also and by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505); of men of letters by Yāḳūt; of jurists of the different schools, notably by Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī (Shāfiʿite, d. 771/1370), Ibn Ḳutlubughā (Ḥanafite, d. 879/1474), and Ibn Farḥūn (Mālikite, d. 799/1397; supplemented by Aḥmad Bābā of Timbuktu, d. 1036/1626); of Ḳurʾān-readers by Ibn al-Djazarī (d. 833/1429-30); of the Companions of the Prophet by ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1234) and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1448); of traditionists by Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348); and many others. The already established practice of compiling dictionaries of scholars and eminent men and women associated with a particular city or region was continued on an extensive, and sometimes massive, scale, e.g. for Damascus by Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), for Aleppo by Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262), for Egypt by Taḳī al-Dīn al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442), for al-Andalus by Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183) and Ibn al-ʿAbbār (d. 658/1260), for Granada by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, for the Ottoman empire by Ṭāshköprüzāda (d. 968/1560), in addition to many other biographical works less systematically arranged. A novel principle, introduced by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, was to organise biographical dictionaries by centuries; his dictionary of notabilities of the 8th century (*al-Durar al-Kāmina*) was followed for the 9th by al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), for the 10th by Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651) (supplemented with special reference to South Arabia and Gudjarāt by Ibn al-Aydarūs, d. 1038/1628), for the 11th by al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699), and for the 12th by al-Murādī (d. 1206/1791). A concise summary for the first millenium, in order of years, was compiled by Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbali (d. 1089/1678). Here too may be mentioned the bibliographical encyclopaedia (*Kashf al-Ẓunūn*) made by the Turkish scholar Kātib Čelebi Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa (d. 1068/1658), and the

elaborate dictionary of technical terms (*Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn*) written in 1158/1745 by the Indian Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Tahanawī.

A second direction taken by encyclopaedism was to combine several branches of learning in a single work. Al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332) dealt in *Nihayāt al-Arab* with geography, natural science, and universal history; and the Egyptian secretary al-Ḳalḳas͟handī (d. 821/1418) combined and supplemented two works by his predecessor al-ʿUmarī (d. 748/1348) in his *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿs͟hā*, to serve as a manual of history, geography and chancery procedure, and to supply models of *ins͟hāʾ* for the secretaries.

More frequently, however, the encyclopaedists wrote separate works on a variety of subjects. The physician ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Bag͟hdādī (d. 629/1231), for example, wrote not only on medicine, but also on *ḥadīt͟h* and literary subjects, as well as a remarkable "Description of Egypt". The historians in particular were fertile in many fields besides history, and the Mamlūk period in Egypt closes appropriately with the greatest polygraph in Islam, D͟jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who in some 400 monographs presented an almost complete conspectus of the entire range of religious sciences and Arabic humanities.

In the secular sciences, the most impressive production was in the field of history. The Sunnī movement encouraged the revival of the "universal history" (often conjoined with, and even overshadowed by, necrology), begun by *al-Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-D͟jawzī (d. 597/1200), expanded in the magisterial *Kāmil* of Ibn al-At͟hīr (d. 630/1234), and continued with varying emphases by Sibṭ ibn al-D͟jawzī (d. 654/1257), al-Nuwayrī, Abu 'l-Fidā, al-D͟hahabī, Ibn Kat͟hīr (d. 774/1373), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn K͟haldūn (d. 808/1406) and al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451). Regional and dynastic chronicles were cultivated in every province from Central Asia to West Africa, and more especially by the sequence of major historians in Mamlūk Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, d. 845/1442; Ibn Ḥad͟jar, d. 852/1449; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, d. 874/1469; Ibn Iyās, d. 930/1524) and those of the Mag͟hrib down to the 13th/19th century (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922). Ras͟hīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318), the historian of the Mongols, produced an Arabic version of his work; the history of the Berbers was exhaustively treated by Ibn K͟haldūn; that of the Muslims in Spain was comprehensively summed up by al-Maḳḳarī (d. 1041/1632) in *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*; that of the Muslims in India to his own time by al-Āṣafī al-Ulug͟hk͟hānī (d. after 1020/1611); and the Muslim negrolands likewise produced their historians, notably al-Saʿdī of Timbuktū (d. after 1066/1656). So great a concentration upon history could scarcely fail to produce some reflection upon the principles and methods of historical writing, as in the scholastic defence of history by al-Sak͟hāwī (d. 902/1497); and it was out of such roots that there sprang the bold and original theories of society put forward by Ibn K͟haldūn in the justly celebrated "Prolegomena" (*Muḳaddima*) to his universal history. It is noteworthy that after the brilliant works of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī the ornate style of rhyming-prose chronicle was largely discarded in favour of plain annalistic, and is represented only by two later works of any importance in Arabic literature: a history of the Mamlūk sultans by Ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimas͟hḳī (d. 779/1377) and the virulent history of Tīmūr by another Damascene, Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 845/1450). On a smaller scale, but also conceived primarily as a work of *adab*, was the popular *Fürstenspiegel* and anecdotal history of the caliphs and their viziers compiled, under the title of *al-Fak͟hri*, by the ʿIrāḳī Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā in 701/1301.

The growing fixation of the traditional literary arts bore with especial weight upon the secular poetry of this period. *Dīwāns* abound, but few of the more classical poets gained more than a fleeting reputation except the ʿIrāḳī Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1349), the Syrian Ibn Ḥid͟dja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434), and of the lyrical poets Bahā al-Dīn Zuhayr "of Egypt" (d. 656/1258). A panegyric on the Prophet, known as *al-Burda*, composed in elaborate *badīʿ* by the Egyptian al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1296), became and has remained one of the classics of religious poetry. The poetic art found more congenial expression in newer patterns of strophic poetry, related in the East to the popular *mawāl* and *dubayt*, and already partially exploited by al-Ḥarīrī. In al-Andalus the more complex strophic art of the *muwas͟hs͟hah* [*q.v.*] was given finished form by the blind poet al-Ṭuṭīlī (d. 523/1129) and Ibn Baḳī (d. 540/1145-6). Although it owed something to popular poetry in its origin, the *muwas͟hs͟haha*, as a developed literary form, retained only in its final line (*k͟hard͟ja*) a trace of its provincial source and was cultivated as a courtly art in Spain, becoming a highly ornate lyric with musical accompaniment. In this function it was transplanted to the East by Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1211), and continued to flourish there for a time, but as a formalised art which lacked the freshness and apparent spontaneity of the earlier Andalusian poets. [For the *muwas͟hs͟hah* in ṣūfī poetry, see below.] Of the more genuinely popular poetry using the vulgar speech very little has survived, except for the *zad͟jal* [*q.v.*] poems of the Andalusian Ibn Ḳuzmān (d. 555/1160), the satyrical *Hazz al-Ḳuḥūf* of the Egyptian al-S͟hirbīnī (c. 1098/1687), and the *s͟hiʿr malḥūn* of the Mag͟hrib and of the Yaman. An isolated attempt made by the oculist and wit Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310) to give a place in literature to the popular shadow-play seems to have met with no success. On the other hand, the popular romances celebrating the epics of the Banū Hilāl in Arabia and Africa and the Banū Kilāb against the Greeks, and the exploits of various heroic or legendary figures (ʿAntar, Sīdī Baṭṭāl, the Yamanite Sayf b. D͟hī Yazan, and the Mamlūk sultan Baybars) reached in these centuries the climax of their development, together with the miscellaneous collections of popular tales, drawn from all ages and strata, out of which the *Alf Layla wa-Layla* finally emerged in a more or less established form about the 9th/15th century.

The literary output of the ṣūfī movement in Arabic was at first small in bulk compared to the scholastic literature described above, but of much greater significance in the cultural development of Islam. The 6th century opened with the epoch-making reconciliation of *taṣawwuf* with orthodoxy in *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, and the equally orthodox homilies and writings of the Ḥanbalite ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D͟jīlī (or Gīlānī) (d. 561/1166). The ṣūfī *k͟hānḳāh* or *zāwiya* everywhere took its place alongside the *madrasa* in the Sunnī revivalist movement, and received the same patronage from the governing classes. It was not long, however, before the ṣūfī movement began to develop its own systems of theology and metaphysics. The "oriental" platonist and illuminationist (*is͟hrāḳī*) doctrines were restated by S͟hihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī (executed by order of Saladin in 587/1191, and hence

known as *al-maḳtūl*), in opposition to the Aristotelian school; but another Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar (d. 632/1234) issued a more orthodox exposition of *ishrāḳī* mysticism in *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*. Both works had a deep and lasting influence in the East, but much less in the Arab world. Here the new monistic mysticism (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*) was founded, on a basis of neoplatonism and Moroccan ṣūfism, by the Murcian Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. in Damascus 638/1240), carried to Anatolia by this pupil al-Ḳonawī (d. 672/1273), and spread still more widely by the ordered exposition of its metaphysics in *al-Insān al-Kāmil* of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Djīlī (d. 832/1428).

The prose literature of Arabic ṣūfism down to the 10th/16th century offers little that calls for remark. Paraenetic in function, it gradually became affected by the scholasticism of the *madrasa*, especially as in course of time the *ʿulamā* themselves were increasingly drawn into the ranks of the ṣūfī orders. At a more popular level it produced a voluminous body of hagiography, more interested in the miracles of the saints than in their teachings, illustrated at one extreme by al-Shaṭṭanawfī's (d. 713/1314) *manāḳib* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (*Bahdjat al-Asrār*), at the other by the lives of the saints of the Moroccan *rīf* (*al-Maḳṣad*) by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Bādisī (d. after 722/1322). More important was its poetical output, which, though never rising to the heights of the great ṣūfī poetry of Persia, played a considerable role in stimulating and conserving the religious enthusiasm of its adepts among both the literate and the illiterate. Its chief characteristic was the adaptation of the themes of love and wine songs, whether in the ornate styles of the traditional art-poetry or in popular verse, to those of Divine Love and ecstasy. The most gifted representative of the former is the Egyptian ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), but in bulk of output he is far surpassed by Ibn al-ʿArabī himself, who displayed an astonishing virtuosity in modelling his mystical poems not only on pre-Islamic and ʿAbbāsid odes, but also in the form of *muwashshaḥas*. His most highly esteemed successors in this art were the disciple of his pupil al-Ḳōnawī, ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291), and the latter's son Shams al-Dīn, known as al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf (d. 688/1289).

The rapid desiccation of most other branches of literary activity which followed the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt at the beginning of the 10th/16th century gave an added impulse to ṣūfī activity, which almost alone displayed an element of vigour, though often expressed in extravagant and even fantastic terms, as in the writings of the Egyptian ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565). The outstanding figure in the Arabic literature of the Ottoman period was ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731), not only for his theological and ṣūfī treatises, but also as a poet and the originator of a new kind of mystical travel-literature in rhyming prose. Almost all the later 18th-century writers of Egypt and Syria came directly or indirectly under his influence, which reached even to the Maghrib. In the East, the prevailing ṣūfī philosophy continued to follow the *ishrāḳī* school, which through the Persians Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640) and his pupil Fayḍ al-Kāshī (d. after 1090/1679) influenced both the Indian schools of ṣūfism and the founder of the reformist Shīʿite school of the Shaykhīs, Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī (d. 1242/1827). Only at the end of this period there appeared the first indications of a return to earlier orthodox ṣūfism, with the writings of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, of Indian birth but domiciled in Egypt (d. 1205/1791), and among the Shādhiliyya in the Maghrib.

Bibliography: J. Rikabi, *La Poésie profane sous les Ayyûbides*, Paris 1949; ʿA. L. Ḥamza, *al-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyya fī Miṣr* . . ., Cairo, n.d.; G. Graf, *Gesch. d. christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ii, iii, Vatican City 1947-9; and see also TAṢAWWUF.

(V) Modern Arabic Literature

(*a*) To 1914

The term "modern Arabic literature" implies a development differing from, and a degree of change greater than, a simple revival of literary activity, whether within the narrower circle of the philological arts or in the wider humanistic range of the 3rd and following centuries. Such minor local revivals had occurred from time to time, as, for example, in Aleppo under the influence of the Maronite archbishop Djarmānūs Farḥāt (1670-1732), and in Baghdād in the first half of the 12th/18th century (see al-Alūsī, *al-Misk al-Adhfar*, Baghdād 1348/1930). In the 13th/19th century also, the rise of a new literature was preluded by a sustained movement for the revival of classical Arabic and an output of literary works directly or indirectly inspired by classical models. The first object of the leaders of this movement was to rescue the Arabic language from its degeneration in the preceding centuries and to restore the heritage of classical literary art; in its purest form it is represented by Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī (1800-1871) among the Syrians, by Naṣr al-Hūrīnī (d. 1874) and ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak (1823-93) in Egypt, and by Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Alūsī (1857-1923) in ʿIrāḳ. All of these, and many others, were consciously ambitious to revive the classical traditions, both in their pedagogical work, and in their original productions, e.g. al-Yāzidjī's *maḳāmāt* (*Madjmaʿ al-Baḥrayn*) in the manner of al-Ḥarīrī, ʿAlī Pasha's *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya* in continuation of al-Maḳrīzī, and al-Alūsī's *adab* collection *Bulūgh al-Arab*.

Alongside these, but also fundamentally sharing their aims, was another group of writers who were led by circumstances or personal choice into closer contact with the literature and the ideas of the western world. The first major impulse in this direction was given by the needs of the military academies set up by the viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī, for translations of technical works from the French, together with the establishment of a printing press in Egypt in 1828, and others soon afterwards in Syria. The chief of the Egyptian translators was Rifāʿa Bey Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī (d. 1873), whose original works included a vivid narrative of his experiences in France as *imām* of the Egyptian educational mission, and many later educational handbooks. It is questionable how widely the large body of translated technical works of this period circulated, or how far they affected the outlook of men of letters; but it seems clear that for Rifāʿa Bey and others like him the western materials which they used in their literary works were simply adjuncts embedded in the framework of the established Islamic categories or (in the case of their translations from French literature) supplements to them. The literary productions of the contemporary Lebanese scholars who were in contact with the western educational missions in Syria, and in particular Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-83), Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāḳ (1801-87), and Nāṣīf's son Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī (1847-1906), as also of the

Tunisian Muḥammad Bayram (1840-89), were to a large extent similarly motivated; but along with this all these men were also among the creators of the new Arabic periodical press and experimenting in the formation of a modern journalistic medium.

The development of the new periodical press in Egypt, at first largely under Syrian direction but soon followed by a vigorous native Egyptian production, provided the real forcing-bed of modern Arabic literature. During the last decades of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th, the press was the theatre in which (except for poetry) literary reputations were made and literary Arabic was adapted to modern social themes and currents of ideas. This did not exclude the widest diversity in literary styles: the strict but vigorous classicism of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905), the modernised *maḳāmāt* of Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī (1868-1930), the elegant neoclassicism of Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī (1876-1924), the functional prose of D̲j̲ird̲j̲ī Zaydān (1861-1914), Yaʿḳūb Ṣarrūf (1852-1927) and Ḳāsim Amīn (1865-1908), the fiery rhetoric of Walī al-Dīn Yakun (1873-1921) and Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874-1908), the satirical colloquialism of Yaʿḳūb Ṣannūʿ "Abū Naḍḍāra" (1839-1912) and ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm (1844-96). At the same time the Syrian press transported to America was producing a type of literary essay and Whitmanesque "prose poems" which entirely discarded the classical traditions and even sought to remodel the linguistic structure in part; its leading figures were D̲j̲ibrān K̲h̲alīl D̲j̲ibrān (1883-1931) and Amīn al-Rayḥānī (1877-1940).

This stylistic experimentation in the press in the treatment of modern themes was reinforced by a very extensive output of translations of European works of literature, often by the same hands. Of the translations so made few have much claim to literary distinction, except those made by al-Manfalūṭī and perhaps one or two others. But the activity in translation played a vital part in the development of modern Arabic literature. "It may be said that, just as the works of an Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ or an al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ would have been impossible without the translators of the ʿAbbāsid period, so without the translators of the 19th century modern Arabic literature could never have been called into existence" (Kratchkowsky). The translated works served not only as exercises in expanding the range of Arabic literary expression, but also as models. Not a few translators themselves tried their hands at original works of a similar kind, and many others were stimulated to original composition by them. In the former group, the most interesting are the attempts to develop a dramatic literature. The earliest of these were made by the Syrian Mārūn al-Naḳḳās̲h̲ (1817-55), inspired by Molière; he was followed by Nad̲j̲īb al-Ḥaddād (1867-99), in the style of Corneille, Hugo, A. Dumas and Shakespeare, and more successfully, by the Egyptian Muḥammad ʿUt̲h̲mān D̲j̲alāl (1828-98), who adapted Molière to Egyptian settings and speech, besides producing a remarkable adaptation in literary Arabic of *Paul et Virginie*. In spite of this, however, it cannot be said that the Arabic drama achieved much success in the 19th century. On the other hand, some progress was made with the novel, particularly in the series of historical novels written in the manner of Scott by D̲j̲ird̲j̲ī Zaydān and the psychological novel *Urūs̲h̲alīm al-D̲j̲adīda* by Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874-1922). Many other original compositions also depend largely on European materials, e.g. the politico-social writings of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1849-1903), while the literature of the nascent Egyptian feminist movement, illustrated by ʿAʾis̲h̲a al-Taymūriyya (1840-1902), Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1886-1918), and Ḳāsim Amīn, betrays its original inspiration even though adapted to its own social and literary environment.

In the sphere of poetry, on the other hand, the continuing classical tradition far outweighed any literary influences from the west down to 1914. With the rise of nationalism, its range was widened by patriotic themes, developed first by Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī (1839-1904), then with more classical polish by Aḥmad S̲h̲awḳī (1868-1932) and more depth of social feeling by Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1871-1932). But neither the new themes, whether patriotic or social or individual, nor the techniques of western poetry affected to any marked extent the long-established structure, genres, and modes of expression of Arabic poetry (in the hands, at least, of its most competent artists). The only outstanding exceptions are found in ʿIrāḳ, where the native Arabic poetic tradition had remained more vigorous and less cramped by artifice than in Syria and Egypt in the previous centuries. In more unconventional forms and freer language D̲j̲amīl Ṣidḳī al-Zahāwī (1867-1936), and with more classical restraint Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī (1875-1945), both achieved an authentic expression of current ideas and aspiration. An isolated attempt to acclimatise Greek poetry in Arabic was made by Sulaymān al-Bustānī (1856-1925) with his translation of the *Iliad* (1904); in itself not unsuccessful as a translation, it nevertheless failed to make much impression.

(*b*) Since 1914

In contrast to the preceding period, which was on the whole a period of experiment and imitation in modern Arabic prose, the decades since 1914 have seen the beginnings of a new and original Arabic literature which to a much greater extent reflects the social and intellectual interests of the Arab peoples. A leading part in this development was taken by the "liberal" group of Egyptian writers, inspired by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who were associated with the journal *al-D̲j̲arīda* (issued from 1907, edited by Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid) and its successor *al-Siyāsa* (from 1922, edited by Muḥ. Ḥusayn Haykal); but the movement itself soon extended widely beyond this circle. The principal types of production were at first the short story (followed by the novel) and the literary essay; later on these were followed by the literary drama.

The first major work of the new school was *Zaynab*, a noval of Egyptian village life, published anonymously in 1914 by M. Ḥ. Haykal (b. 1888). In spite of its merits, the technical weaknesses of the work threw a sharp light on the deficiencies of literary Arabic at that time for the adequate presentation of the novel of manners. During the decade 1920-30 these were largely surmounted by a growing output of realistic short stories of contemporary life, beginning with the sketches (*Mā Tarāhu 'l-ʿUyūn*) of the talented Muḥammad Taymūr (1891-1921), and continued with increasing skill and success by his brother Maḥmūd Taymūr (b. 1894) and by several others (ʿĪsā ʿUbayd, S̲h̲iḥāta ʿUbayd, Ṭāhir Lāshīn, etc.). The most brilliant stylist in this field was Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Māzinī (1890-1949), who eventually produced also the first successful novel of manners (*Ibrāhīm al-Kātib*, 1931). From 1930 the output of novels slowly increased, among the more notable of the earlier works being *ʿAwdat*

al-Rūḥ (by Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm, 1933), *Sāra* (by ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād, 1938), and *Nidā al-Madjhūl* (by Maḥmūd Taymūr, 1939). The historical novel had already been recreated by Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd with *Ibnat al-Mamlūk* (1926). The psychological novel also was successfully attempted on a smaller scale by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (b. 1889), who in his autobiographical work *al-Ayyām* (1926) endowed modern Egyptian literature with one of its masterpieces in content and literary style. Innumerable short stories have been produced also in Lebanon, Syria, ʿIrāḳ and America, with the variations in subject, style and technique which one would expect. The output of novels, on the other hand, has been more fluctuating, and is still relatively small in proportion to the total literary production.

The literary essay envisaged a different purpose. It aimed not only at the critical evaluation of both classical Arabic and modern western literature (extending sometimes even to classical Greek and Latin literature) and social criticism in general, but also at the valorisation of the Arabic cultural tradition, in the widest sense, in the circumstances of the modern world. The rapid increase in daily, weekly and monthly journals after 1920 provided endless opportunities for the publication of such essays, and the representation of all points of view. The collected essays of many writers were subsequently reissued as separate works, whose very profusion makes it difficult and invidious to single out individual names. It must suffice to mention, from among the older generation of writers, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and al-ʿAḳḳād as particularly influential thinkers and critics on the modernist wing; Shaykh Rashīd Riḍā (the editor of the reformist religious journal *al-Manār*, 1865-1935) and Farīd Wadjdī as equally influential in conservative and religious circles; Muṣṭafā Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfiʿī (1880-1937), who carried neo-classicism to the verge of preciosity; in Syria, the classicist Muḥammad Bey Kurd ʿAlī (president of the Arab Academy of Damascus, 1876-1952); and of the Syro-Americans Mikhāʾīl Nuʿayma (b. 1889). Out of this more or less ephemeral production there gradually arose a more developed literature of literary and social criticism, with a dominantly academic bias, but also borrowing in some hands (e.g. Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm) the technique of the novel, and even other literary media, as in the scientific travel narrative *al-Sindibād al-ʿAṣrī* by Ḥusayn Fawzī (1938). Another noteworthy later development was the application of these newer literary methods to the early history of Islam, exemplified by M. Ḥ. Haykal, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, and al-ʿAḳḳād, and in dramatic form, somewhat earlier, by Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm.

The technical advance made in the presentation of the realistic narrative and novel was reflected also in dramatic literature. With few exceptions, the lead was taken by Egyptian authors, beginning again with Muḥammad Taymūr, and continued more especially by Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm, who, after some experiments in literary drama on themes drawn from Islamic literature (*Ahl al-Kahf*, *Muḥammad*, *Shahrazād*), has shown himself a major dramatist on modern social themes. Together with these may be mentioned the experiments made by the poet Aḥmad Shawḳī to create a literary genre of "classical tragedy", based on traditional Arab themes, followed more recently by Maḥmūd Taymūr.

Among the technical problems confronted by the Arabic drama, and to a lesser degree by the short story and novel, the question of language constitutes a peculiar difficulty. In the purely literary drama and in historical plays generally the use of the written language needs no justification; but in the contemporary realistic drama this involves a degree of artificiality which tends to destroy the theatrical effect. Whereas, however, the popular theatre has always flourished on plays in the colloquial language, the attempts made to produce a more developed drama in colloquial speech have neither been markedly successful on the stage nor met with much approbation in literary circles. Even in the short story the introduction of colloquial speech in dialogue (attempted in their earlier works by Maḥmūd Taymūr and Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm) was felt to involve a stylistic dislocation, and has not been commonly practised. Even less consideration has been given to more ambitious attempts to produce literary works in the colloquial throughout, chiefly by Lebanese writers and poets. A definite solution of this problem is not yet in sight, but for the time being a working compromise is provided by the use of a simplified form of the literary language for dialogue both on the stage and in the novel.

At the same time, and in the opposite direction, one consequence of the vogue of the literary essay has been to mobilise more effectively the resources of classical Arabic, and to facilitate the growth of a neo-classical style in the novel and general literature since 1940. With the richer and more flexible range of vocabulary and construction thus made available, together with the more technical concentration of meaning in modern Arabic (in contrast to the conceptual looseness of the older literary language), the contemporary writer has at his disposal an instrument which can express with grace and precision all normal aspects of contemporary Arab life and thought. Beyond this range, however, neo-classical Arabic is still deficient in both the fine nuances and the contextual associations which are the product only of long use and habit. For this reason, the attempt (first made by Bishr Fāris, in his play *Mafraḳ al-Ṭarīḳ*, 1938) to create a symbolist or impressionist style in modern Arabic must be considered premature.

This applies even more especially to the poetical production of recent years. Since 1914, the situation of prose and poetry have been reversed. Whereas in prose-writing Arabic authors, after the period of translation and imitation, moved on to original compositions, Arabic poetry has moved towards the freedom of western poetry and the imitation of its techniques. On the one hand, the intensity of political aspirations and frustrations could not fail to inspire many poets in the Arab countries (particular mention may be made of the Tunisian Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shābbī, 1909-34), who have applied traditional themes and imagery to modern situations with great effect, most of the younger poets have been experimenting with the creation of a psychological poetry in new strophic and rhythmical forms, and wrestling with the traditional linguistic structure and its associations. The Syro-American poets were the first to challenge the traditional formalism, and have been followed particularly by the Lebanese poets in Brazil (Rashīd Salīm al-Khūrī and Fawzī Maʿlūf, 1899-1930), in North America (Ilyā Abū Māḍī), and in Lebanon itself (Ilyās Abū Shabaka, 1903-47, and others). The leader of the "new school" in Egypt was Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī (1892-1955), whose magazine *Apollo* for a short time (1932-3) provided a forum for the younger poets, in competition with the older "modernising" school represented by the Lebanese Khalīl Maṭrān

(1871-1949), and with greater freedom by al-ʿAkkād, which, though no less contemporary in subject and psychological approach, made a less violent breach with the formal and linguistic traditions of Arabic poetry. Much the same may be said also of the contemporary poetry of ʿIrāk, within the framework of its own tradition.

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(H. A. R. Gibb)

Appendix—Arabic Literature in Spain *).

General bibliography: Apart from the general histories of Arabic literature (see above, B), which devote one or more chapters to Muslim Spain, the work of A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábigo-española*, Barcelona, Madrid, etc., 1928, 2nd. ed. 1945 (a recast edition, with an extensive bibliography) is the only comprehensive work which exists on Arabic literature in Al-Andalus. A brief general account will be found in: Elías Terés Sadaba, *La Literatura Arábigo-española*, *apud* F. M. Pareja, *Islamología*, ii, Madrid 1954, 979 ff. Apart from a few monographs on authors (see under the names of these authors) and, fewer still, on periods, specialists have been primarily concerned with the production of short studies (such as are to be found in the journal *al-Andalus* in particular); the following, however, should be mentioned; for poetry: E. García Gómez, *Poemas arábigo-andaluces*, Madrid 1930, [2]1940, [3]1943; idem, *Poesía arábigoandaluza, breve síntesis histórica*, Madrid 1952; for history and geography: F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo biobibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898; in addition: E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Civilisation arabe en Espagne. Vue générale*, Cairo 1938, [2]Paris 1948 (Spanish translation, Buenos-Aires-Mexico 1953); Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la litt. de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge*, Leiden 1849, [2]1860, [3]1881.

1.—Down to the Almoravids (92-485/711-1092).

2.—From the Almoravids to the end of the period of Arab domination (485-897/1092-1492).

It would certainly be possible, if not desirable, in a more detailed account of the history of Arabic literature in Spain, to distinguish five or six periods corresponding to the political history of the country under Arab domination, but, for the purposes of this article, it seemed simpler to keep to a division into two long periods of four centuries each, in order to take into account two facts: first, up to the time of the Almoravids, Spain was governed by amīrs, caliphs and kings who, although defenders of Islam, did not act in the name of strict religious principles, while the Almoravids and Almohads were prisoners of an ideology; secondly and reciprocally, up to the end of the kingdoms of the *Ṭawā'if*, profane literature, especially poetry, predominated over religious literature proper, whereas after the Almoravids, the religious sciences—and, through a shift of emphasis, science pure and simple—took precedence over profane literature. In addition, the Arabic literature of Spain seems scarcely to have experienced any sudden setbacks, despite an unusually turbulent political and military history; it appears on the contrary to have pursued a steadily upwards path until the 5th/11th century; it then altered course somewhat, and came to an abrupt end when the last Arabs were driven out of Spain.

(1) *Down to the Almoravids* (92-485/711-1092)

When the conquerors set foot on Spanish soil, at the end of the 1st/beginning of the 8th century, Arabic literature was still only represented, in the East, by the Kur'ān and the religious sciences, as yet in their infancy, and by a lively poetic muse. It is therefore probable that the Arab warriors, who were poets to a greater or lesser degree, respected the old tradition, but probably confined their literary activity to the composition of a few poems designed to extol their tribe, celebrate their military exploits, lament their dead, or bewail their exile from their homeland, in the same way as their fellow-Muslims sent to conquer other parts of the world (cf. C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura* = *Scritti*, vi, 51, 110-4; French trans., 81-2, 170-7). None of this has been preserved; a late notation states however that in ancient times, "the inhabitants of al-Andalus sang in the style of Christians or of Arab cameleers" (*apud* E. García Gómez, *Poesía*, 30-1).

Nevertheless, the foundation of the Umayyad amirate brought about the establishment of close contact with the East, which did not fail to send religious notabilities to catechise Spain, and the rapid islamisation of a considerable part of the indigenous population required the development of juridico-religious studies. From 200/816 onwards, the substitution, encouraged by the Umayyads for political motives, of Mālikism for the *madhhab* of al-Awzāʿī [see AL-ANDALUS, vii], soon bore fruit in the formation of a school of jurists who, to a varying

*) Circumstances beyond our control have obliged us to insert here an article which, in a more expanded form, was originally designed to form part of the article AL-ANDALUS. [Editors' note].

but not inconsiderable degree, contributed to the propagation of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik. In his defence of Muslim Spain, Ibn Ḥazm (see *Al-Andalus* 1954/1) cites in the first place ʿĪsā b. Dīnār (m. 212/827), Ibn Ḥabīb (180-238/796-852), al-ʿUtbī (m. 255/869), Ibrāhīm b. Muzayn (m. 258/872), Mālik b. ʿAlī al-Ḳaṭanī (m. 268/882); these studies were pursued with enthusiasm by the successors of these pioneers, Muḥ. b. ʿUmar b. Lubāba (225-314/840-926), Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ayman (252-330/866-941), Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh (247-340/861-951), Aḥmad b. Saʿīd (284-350/897-961) and especially the great *faḳīh*, traditionist and man of letters Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (368-463/978-1070). The attempt made by Baḳī b. Makhlad (201-76/817-89), on his return from the East (his meeting there with Ibn Ḥanbal is worth special mention), to introduce into Spain the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, had little effect, but this traditionist is the author of a collection of *ḥadīths* presented in the combined form of a *muṣannaf* and a *musnad*, of a work on the Companions of the Prophet, and above all of a commentary on the Ḳurʾān which Ibn Ḥazm considers to be superior to that of al-Ṭabarī. Ẓāhirism, on the other hand, was introduced by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳāsim (d. 272/885-6) and supported by Mundhir b. Saʿīd al-Ballūṭī (d. 355/962), before being made famous by Ibn Ḥazm (384-456/994-1064) who dominates, in nearly every sphere, the intellectual activity of the first half of the 5th/11th century, and whose *K. al-Fiṣal*, going beyond the strict limits of Islam, set forth the history of religious ideas in terms of Islamic thought. Muʿtazilism itself was not unknown; among its supporters were Khalīl Ghafla (3rd/9th century), Yaḥyā b. al-Samīna (d. 315/927), and Mūsā b. Ḥudayr (d. 320/932). Finally, philosophy appeared on the scene with the mystic Ibn Masarra (d. 319/931) and his school (see Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914).

The disciplines connected with the religious sciences developed on parallel lines. From the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 8th century, the first oriental works on grammar were introduced into Spain and a course of instruction was devoted to them, but it appears that philological and lexicographical studies received their greatest stimulus from the arrival at Cordova, in 330/941, of the ʿIrāḳī philologist Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī (288-356/901-67), whose *Amālī* are only a reflection of the knowledge which he disseminated there, because he also composed, *inter alia*, the *K. al-Nawādir* and an important work on lexicography, the *K. al-Bāriʿ*; his contemporary Muḥ. b. Yaḥyā al-Riyāḥī (d. 358/968) and Muḥ. b. ʿĀṣim (d. 382/992) are considered by Ibn Ḥazm to be the equals of the great disciples of al-Mubarrad. Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (d. 367/977) also devoted himself to the study of grammar, while a disciple of al-Ḳālī, Ibn al-Sayyid (d. 385/995) produced a lexicon, which was followed by that of Ibn al-Tayyānī (d. 436/1044) and above all by the masterly work of Ibn Sīda (Sīdo) (398-458/1007-66), *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*.

As regards history, the Andalusians were not averse to retracing the course of universal history, as for instance Ibn Ḥabīb, already mentioned, who did not make any clear distinction between history and legend, or ʿArīb b. Saʿd (d. 370/980), who took up again and continued the Annals of al-Ṭabarī, but they applied themselves in determined fashion to the history of Spain, in the form either of dynastic chronicles—in particular of the ʿĀmirids, but also of the Zīrids of Granada by the last king of that dynasty, ʿAbd Allāh (447-after 483/1056-after 1090)—or of biographies of jurists and traditionists (Ibn al-Faraḍī, 351-403/962-1013), of ḳāḍīs (al-Khushanī, d. 361/971), of physicians (Ibn Djuldjul, d. after 372/982), of secretaries (Sakan b. Saʿīd, d. 457/1065), or of chronicles covering the period from the conquest to the author's own times. This last genre was the particular concern of Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Rāzī (274-344/888-955) and his son ʿĪsā, whose work is quoted in part in the *Akhbār Madjmūʿa* [*q.v.*], by Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya—or at all events by the editor of the book published under his name—and above all by the great historian Ibn Ḥayyān (377-469/987-1075), whose important chronicle, *al-Muḳtabis*, has been partially recovered. An apt disciple of Ibn Ḥazm—who himself also took an interest in history, preferring mainly the genealogical genre highly esteemed by the Andalusians—Ṣāʿid of Toledo (419-63/1029-69), wrote his *Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, in which both the Greeks and the Romans figured. In the realm of geography, apart from al-Rāzī (Aḥmad b. Muḥ.) whose description of Spain has been partially reconstructed, the principal author is Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094).

As a result of the beneficent influence of al-Ḥakam II, a school of mathematicians and astronomers arose under the leadership of Maslama al-Madjrīṭī (d. about 398/1007) and continued under Ibn al-Samḥ (370-426/980-1034) of Granada, while in the following century there flourished at Toledo al-Zarkalī and, at Saragossa, the Hūdid kings themselves. Finally, the study of medicine and botany received a powerful stimulus as a result of the arrival at Cordova, in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, of the work of Dioscorides. After Ibn Djuldjul, who has already been mentioned, and Muḥ. b. al-Hasan al-Madhḥidjī (d. about 420/1029), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khalaf b. ʿAbbās al-Zahrāwī (325-404/936-1013), known to Europe in the Middle Ages as Abulcasis, and Ibn Wāfid (388-466/988-1074) were the first of a series of great physicians and botanists who achieved fame during the era which followed.

According to customary practice when dealing with Arabic literature, it has been necessary up to this point to give an account of disciplines and *genres* which the historian of most other literatures would certainly disregard, and an attempt has been made to make a rapid list of works which for the most part bear the characteristic imprint of Islam and which differ little from similar works written in the East. The same consideration obtains when one embarks on a study of the first literary works proper, whether in prose or verse. It is nevertheless astonishing that it was not until the 4th/10th century that there appeared in Spain an *adab* work written by an Andalusian, the famous *ʿIḳd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940), the contents of which are still specifically oriental; it is equally remarkable that this *genre* had no great success in Spain and that Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih had few imitators during the first period with which we are dealing. Yet for more than a century, the country had been "ʿirāḳicised", from the time of the arrival at Cordova, at the beginning of the amirate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, of the celebrated ʿIrāḳī singer Ziryāb (173-243/789-857), who brought to Spain the fashions of the ʿAbbāsid court (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Civilisation*, 69 ff.). Baghdād was indeed still a model to be imitated, but an event of the utmost importance had occurred, of a kind which gave to the Arabic literature of Spain an orientation slightly different from that which obtained in the East. In fact, from the 3rd/9th century, the two strongly disparate ethnic elements which populated the Peninsula had,

after a long period of mutual ignorance, been gradually drawn closer together and had finally achieved a sort of fusion eminently favourable to the production of an original literature.

Our information on the Arabic poetry written during the early centuries of Muslim domination is very scanty, and the loss of the oldest collections—especially the *K. al-Ḥadāʾiḳ* of Aḥmad b. Faradj (d. 344/976)—deprives us of essential documentation. Perhaps Yaḥyā al-Ghazāl (d. 251/864), who was sent by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II on an embassy to Constantinople (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d'Occident*, 81 ff.), wrote poetry of merit; it is known that he favoured a minor epic form, by his use of the *urdjūza*, and this form was also employed by Tammām b. ʿĀmir (184-283/801-96) and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. It is not the epic, however, but the *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*] which is the most typical Spanish form. From the end of the 3rd/9th century dates the creation, attributed to a poet of Cabra named Muḳaddam b. Muʿāfā (d. at the beginning of the 4th/10th century) of this new verse-form; its fundamental characteristics were the arrangement in strophes, an arrangement virtually unknown to the Arab lyric, and the addition of an *envoi* (*khardja*) not in Arabic, but in Romance, as has recently been revealed by S. M. Stern (*Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwaššaḥs hispano-hébraïques . . . .*, in *al-And.*, 1948, 299-346): we have here a unique example of the combination of the two languages and the two systems. As long as there are manuscript collections of *muwashshaḥāt* still unpublished (see S. M. Stern, in *Arabica*, 1955/2), it would be premature to draw up a list which, if not exhaustive, would at least be fairly comprehensive, of authors of poems of this type; in any case, some of them are later than the period under review.

The importance attributed in recent years to the *khardja* can be explained on the one hand by the attraction of a novelty and, on the other, by the renewed controversy on the relationship between Spanish poetry and that of the troubadours, but it must be admitted that the *muwashshaḥāt*, however much appreciated by the Andalusians, even by Orientals, constituted no more than a minor literary category which could in no way supersede the other poetic forms esteemed in the Muslim Orient, and the necessary concomitant of the establishment of the western caliphate was an original poetic form which neither showed clearly signs of indigenous influence, nor followed too closely oriental forms. Nevertheless, oriental works were well known in Spain, from the pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīdas*—studied as relics of a bygone age but not imitated—to the *dīwān*s of "modern" and neo-classical poets, in particular al-Mutanabbī—who was the subject of commentaries by al-Iflīlī (352/441/963-1049), al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī (410-76/1019-83), and Ibn Sīda—and it was these works which inspired Andalusian poets when Cordova, the metropolis of the Muslim West, possessed all the conditions favourable to the production of poetry of a characteristic flavour. As was to be expected, this poetry passed through various phases; somewhat official to begin with, it later became progressively independent and free, and finally blossomed in the 5th/11th century with incomparable richness.

Without going so far as to claim that the Umayyad caliphs were the centre of literary circles, one may legitimately affirm that they regularly played their part as patrons of letters by promoting Arab culture —notably by creating libraries, including the celebrated library of al-Ḥakam II—and by granting pensions to poets commissioned to sing their praises and to give, through their compositions, the customary lustre to the various solemn functions of official life; the *wazīr* of al-Ḥakam II and Hishām II, al-Muṣḥafī, (d. 372/982) is the perfect example of such poets (see E. García Gómez, *La Poésie politique sous le califat de Cordoue*, in *REI*, 1949, 5-11).

Although this type of poet did not hesitate on occasion to embark on other kinds of poetry than the political, it was under al-Manṣūr—who had ordered the burning of those books on philosophy, astronomy and other sciences which were considered to be contrary to the interests of Islam—that truly urban poetry came into being with Ibn Darrādj al-Ḳasṭallī (347-421/958-1030), Ṣāʿid of Baghdād (d. 418/1026), al-Ramādī (d. 403 or 413/1013 or 1022). Moreover, from the end of the period of the caliphate, a literary group was established which, aristocratic in origin, but revolutionary in its ideas, was hostile to the *muwashshaḥāt genre* which was considered too popular, stoutly defended arabism without however submitting wholly to oriental influence, and proclaimed that the production of good literature depends on the genius of the authors and not on erudition or imitation. The leader of this school was Ibn Shuhayd (382-426/992-1035), who developed his ideas in a prose work of undoubted originality, the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-Zawābiʿ* (see García Gómez, *Ibn Hazm de Córdoba y El Collar de la Paloma*, Madrid 1952, 6 ff.); his natural heir was Ibn Ḥazm who, although he did not give evidence of superior poetic talent, was none the less the author of a charming analysis of ʿUdhrite love, the *Ṭawk al-Ḥamāma* which, unique of its kind, belonged henceforth to universal literature.

The momentous events which led to the fall of the caliphate and the establishment of the kingdoms of the *taifas* (*Ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*]) did not appear to have a fatal effect on the future of poetry, and it was precisely in the 5th/11th century that poetry reached its peak—a "false" peak, according to E. García Gómez, *Poesía*, 65 ff. It is no mere chance that we possess, on this period, not only anthologies and *dīwān*s, but also the most important monograph which has been devoted to the literary history of Muslim Spain, *La Poésie andalouse, en arabe classique, au XIe siècle*, Paris 1937, 2nd ed. 1953, by H. Pérès who, while seeking to bring out its documentary value, has at the same time painted an overall picture of the poetry of this period. Although it is possible to distinguish at each of the courts which came into being a kind of specialisation in some branch of knowledge, poetry dominates all literary activities; everywhere it reigns supreme, it opens all doors and "an extempore poem can be worth a viziership" (García Gómez). For the most part in neo-classical verse, and in the form of *ḳaṣīda*s, which is an indication of a recrudescence of oriental influence, every imaginable theme is dealt with; satires, elegies, ascetic poems, songs of love and war, panegyrics, songs of wine and passion. Every *genre* is found, and the most trivial incidents of daily life are recounted in verse; nevertheless the poets show a certain preference for descriptions, whether of nature, cities, gardens, animals or human beings.

At Cordova flourished Ibn Zaydūn (393-463/1003-70), who sang the praises of the princess Wallāda; at Seville the sovereign himself, al-Muʿtamid (d. 488/1095), whose life was "pure poetry in action" (García Gómez, *Poesía*, 70), gave inspiration to a court which attracted not only

Spanish poets like Ibn ʿAmmār (d. 477/1084) and Ibn al-Labbāna (d. 507/1113) but even the Sicilian poet Ibn Ḥamdīs (447-527/1055-1132) (see S. Khalis, *La Vie littéraire à Séville au XIe siècle*, Sorbonne thesis 1953, unpublished); at Almeria, al-Muʿtaṣim (d. 484/1091) received Ibn Sharaf (444-534/1052-1139), while at Granada flourished the celebrated Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ilbīrī (d. 454/1069), and at Badajoz Ibn ʿAbdūn (d. 529/1134).

(2) *From the Almoravids to the end of the period of Arab domination* (488-897/1092-1492)

The Almoravid conquest, which here and there brought the careers of these poets to an abrupt close, for a time reassembled the fragments of al-Andalus. It was unfavourable to the development of poetry, because the new rulers lacked the refinement and the taste of the *reyes de taifas*, and showed less interest in literature than in religion. While a wholly conventional type of poetry flourished at court, only Valencia maintained the tradition of the preceding century with the "landscape-painters" Ibn Khafādja (450-533/1058-1138) and Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ (d. 529/1135), who did not despise, respectively, erotic poems and bacchic songs. Under the Almohads, the only names of any note are those of al-Ruṣāfī (d. 572/1177) and Ibn Sahl (d. 649/1251); later, up to the fall of Granada, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713-76/1313-74) and Ibn Zumruḳ (733-96/1333-93) merely maintained the tradition. Their contemporaries did not fail to note the decline of poetry and, thinking that the time had come to gather together the legacy of the past in order to save it from oblivion, they compiled anthologies: Ibn Bassām (d. 542/1147) his *Dhakhīra*, al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān (d. 529/1134) his *Kalāʾid al-ʿIḳyān* and *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus*, while Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 672/1274), in extracting from his *Mughrib* the *K. Rāyāt al-Mubarrizīn*, seemed to be writing "the last testament of Arabo-Andalusian poetry" (García Gómez, *Poesía*, 86).

If, however, noble or classical poetry shone with but a feeble lustre, the *muwashshaḥāt*, which the most aristocratic poets had continued to produce in the preceding century (see *Arabica*, 1955/2), again flourished with singular brilliance through the efforts of al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī (d. 520/1126), Ibn Bāḳī (d. 540/1145) and many others. In addition, the *zadjal* [*q.v.*], whose origin is attributed, perhaps erroneously to the 3rd/9th century, came truly to life with "one of the highest poetic peaks of the entire Middle Ages" (García Gómez, *Poesía*, 81), Ibn Ḳuzmān (555/1159), and a host of popular poets mastered this form and kept it alive until the end of the period of Arab domination.

Prose literature, which had made such a promising beginning with Ibn Shuhayd and Ibn Ḥazm, again became orientalised with the *Sirādj al-Mulūk* of al-Ṭurṭūshī (451-520/1059-1126), the encyclopaedia of Ibn al-Shaykh al-Balawī (576-604/1132-1207), and the several imitations of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī which found their most prolific commentator in Spain in the person of al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222).

While particularly unfavourable to poetry and literature properly so-called, the Almoravid conquest was, on the other hand, an advantage to the sciences, both religious and profane, which developed to a considerable degree from then on. Space will not be devoted here to the religious disciplines which, though they had innumerable devotees, produced few noteworthy works apart from the *Tuḥfa* of Ibn ʿĀṣim (760-829/1359-1426), or to philology or lexicography, because, apart from Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (508-80/1114-85), the masters of these sciences, Ibn Mālik (605-72/1208-74) and Abū Ḥayyān (655-744/1257-1344), preferred to go and give the fruits of their knowledge to the peoples of the East.

As regards history, the biographical *genre* achieved great success, with the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (478-544/1085-1149), Ibn Bashkuwāl (493-578/1100-83), al-Ḍabbī (d. 599/1202), Ibn al-Abbār (595-658/1198-1260), Ibn al-Zubayr (628-708/1231-1308); to the dynastic chronicles was added a great work by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, a continuation of the *Mushib* of al-Ḥidjārī (500-49/1106-55), the *Mughrib*, which made extensive use of earlier historians including once again Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. In the sphere of geography, the greatest name is, of course, al-Idrīsī (493-564/1100-69), while the Maghribīs, and especially Andalusians, applied themselves successfully to the *genre* of narratives of travel: Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (473-565/1080-1169), Ibn Djubayr (560-614/1145-1217), al-ʿAbdarī (7th/13th century).

The 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries were for Andalusia the golden age of science: mathematics, astronomy, medicine, pharmacology, botany. There is no need to repeat here the names of those who achieved fame in these sciences (see above, B, from the 6th to the 12th century); the names of the principal philosophers and mystics of the period under review will also be found in that section.

For *aljamiada* literature, see ALJAMÍA. On the question of the possible influence of the Arabic poetry of Spain on European works of the Middle Ages, see MUWASHSHAḤ and ZADJAL.

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AL-ʿ**ARABIYYA**, DJAZĪRAT, island in the Persian Gulf in Lat. 27° 46′ N, Long. 50° 10′ E, about 50 miles from the Saudi Arabian mainland and 60 miles from that of Iran. It is one of a five-island group—the others being Ḥarkūṣ, al-Fārisiyya, Karān, and Kurayn—on the Arabian side of the Gulf. Al-ʿArabiyya is less than a mile square and is normally uninhabited, but it is claimed by three of the Gulf states: Saudi Arabia, Kuwayt, and Iran.

(W. E. Mulligan)

ʿ**ARABKĪR**, (taken to mean ʿArabgīr, i.e. "conquest of the Arabs"), in modern Turkish orthography Arapkir, in Armenian Arabkēr, in the Byzantine sources Arabrakes, a town in eastern Anatolia, 19° 3′ north, 38° 30′ east, about 70 km. north of Malaṭya, situated on the Arapkir Su, a tributary of the Karasu, which later becomes the northern Euphrates, 1,200 m. above sea-level. Capital of a *kaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Malaṭya, with 6,684 inhabitants (1945); the *kaḍā* itself has 23,612 inhabitants.

The town is situated on a hill in a lowland which is surrounded by steeply rising walls of basalt. Because of the altitude, the climate of the town is harsh. Extensive orchards which surround the town are worthy of special mention. The town, as we find it at present, dates back only to the beginning of the 19th century, and is consequently of a modern appearance. Until then, the town had been situated at a place half an hour further to the north, which is still called Eskishehir ("old city") and still shows traces of buildings.

The town is not mentioned by any of the older Arabic geographers; it is, however, mentioned several times in the Saldjūk Chronicle of Ibn Bībī (written 680/1281, ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1902). In the 11th century, the town was occupied by the Saldjūks; in the 15th century, it came under Ottoman rule. As the centre of a *sandjak*, the town belonged to the *eyālet* of Sivas, but it changed its orientation several times; since 1216/1878, it has belonged to the *wilāyet* of Maʿmūrat al-ʿAzīz (Kharput).

During the 19th century, the town began to flourish. Ainsworth gave the number of inhabitants as 8,000 (amongst them 6,000 Armenians) in the year 1839, whilst the British Consul General, J. Brant, who travelled a few years earlier, mentioned 6,000 houses (4,800 inhabited by Turks, 1,200 by Armenians), from which one might assume a higher total of inhabitants. Taylor mentions 35,000 inhabitants in the year 1868 and Cuinet 20,000 towards 1890 (11,000 Muslims, 8,500 Gregorian Armenians). A considerable part of them, particularly Armenian families, made its living by weaving (cotton goods from English yarn). Every year, emigrants come down from the mountains of Arapkir and Kharput to try and make their fortune in Istanbul, Diyārbakr, Damascus, Aleppo and the sea-ports. In former days one used to find a servant from Arapkir in most houses in Aleppo.

In the First World War 1914-18, the town suffered greatly, most of the houses and their famous gardens were destroyed, and trade died down. In post-war years, it recovered and began to flourish again.

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(M. Streck-[F. Taeschner])

ʿ**ARAB SHĀHIDS** [see KHʷĀRIZM].

ʿ**ARAḌ**, translation of the Aristotelian term συμβεβηκός, accident is defined as that which cannot subsist by itself but only in a substance (*djawhar* [*q.v.*]) of which it is both the opposite and the complement. Thus, anything that is asserted of a subject is an accident, by which term the Muslim philosophers understand the Aristotelian categories (*maʿkūlāt*, [*q.v.*]) except that of the substance. The theologians (*mutakallimūn*) held different views on the subject (e.g., some believed that there can be substances without qualities and vice versa etc.) which cannot be described here (see e.g. *al-Ashʿarī*, *Makālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, vol. ii). Some held the doctrine of *aḥwāl* (states) [*q.v.*] which they described as qualities which are neither existent nor non-existent. An important tenet held by the *mutakallimūn* was the thesis that an accident cannot subsist in another accident.

In another sense ʿ*araḍ* is the opposite of *māhiyya* (quiddity) or *dhāt* (essence) [*q.v.*] and denotes an attribute which is not a constituent element of an essence. Two kinds of ʿ*araḍ* are distinguished: (a) that which, though it is not a part of an essence, is its necessary concomitant (ʿ*araḍ lāzim*) e.g., laughing with regard to man συμβεβηκὸς καθ' αὑτό in Aristotle, *Met.*, iv, 1; (b) that which is found in some members of a species but not in others (ʿ*araḍ lāḥik* or *zāʾil*) e.g. writing with regard to man (simply συμβεβηκός, in Aristotle. An essential attribute, on the other hand, is e.g. rationality in relation to man.

Discussions on ʿaraḍ will be found in Muslim works on logic. For the views of the *mutakallimūn* see *makālāt al-islāmiyyīn* of al-Ashʿarī, ed. C. Ritter, ii; Dict. of Technical Terms, s.v.; S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, etc. (F. Rahman)

AL-Aʿ**RĀF** (A.), plur. of ʿ*urf*, "elevated place", "crest". In an eschatological judgement scene in Ḳurʾān, vii, 46 a dividing wall is spoken of which separates the dwellers in Paradise from the dwellers in Hell, and men, "who are on the *aʿrāf* and recognise each by his marks" (v. 48: "those of the *aʿrāf*"). The interpretation of this passage is disputed. Bell makes the doubtful conjecture *iʿrāf* and translates:

"(Presiding) over the recognition are men, who recognise ...". According to T. Andrae the "Men on the elevated places" are probably the dwellers in the highest degrees of Paradise, "who are able to look down both on Hell and on Paradise". Perhaps the reference is in particular to the messengers of God, who come into action again at the Last Judgement in order to separate the good from the bad.

According to the traditional explanation "those of the elevated places" are to be supplied as subject of the sentence at the end of v. 46 (*lam yadkhulūhā*) and in v. 47. According to this they would be—at any rate provisionally—neither in Paradise nor in Hell, but in an intermediate place or condition. As a result of this explanation *al-aʿrāf* was given the meaning "Limbo" [see BARZAKH].

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(R. PARET)

ʿARAFA, or ʿARAFĀT, plain about 21 km. (13 miles) east of Mecca, on the road to Ṭāʾif, bounded on the north by a mountain-ridge of the same name. The plain is the site of the central ceremonies of the annual Pilgrimage to Mecca; these are focussed on a conical granite hill in its N.E. corner, under 200 feet in height, and detached from the main ridge; this hill also is called ʿArafa, but more commonly Djabal al-Raḥma (Hill of Mercy). On its eastern flank, broad stone steps (constructed by order of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Djawād, vizier of the atābek Zankī) lead to the top, which is surmounted by a minaret; on the sixtieth step there is a platform containing the pulpit from which the ritual *khuṭba*, the Pilgrimage address, is delivered on the afternoon of the "Day of ʿArafa" (9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja). On the top there stood formerly a *ḳubba* named after Umm Salama (Ibn Djubayr 173), which was destroyed by the Wahhābīs. The hill is also said to have been called Ilāl, but this name is more probably to be regarded as that of a shrine or perhaps of the deity worshipped on the spot in the pre-Islamic period (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidenthums*², 82-3).

The plain of ʿArafāt (about 4 miles in breadth from E. to W. and 7-8 miles in length) lies outside the *ḥaram* or sacred territory of Mecca; the pilgrim coming from Mecca emerges through a defile called Maʾzamayn and passes the pillars which delimit the *ḥaram*; to the east of these is a depression called ʿUrana, at the further edge of which is a mosque called by the names of Ibrāhīm or Namira or ʿArafa. The *mawḳif* or place of assembly extends immediately to the east of this mosque and southwards from the Djabal al-Raḥma, and is bounded on the east by the mountain-chain of Ṭāʾif. In the early centuries of Islam, a number of wells were dug in the plain and several plantations and dwellinghouses are mentioned. The aqueduct built by order of Zubayda to bring water from the region of Ṭāʾif to Mecca also runs at the base of the ridge of ʿArafa. The plain is now covered with rough herbage and normally unpopulated, and is filled with life only on the "Day of ʿArafa", when the pilgrims pitch their camp for the celebration of the prescribed *wuḳūf* or festival assembly. This begins after the midday *khuṭba* and prayer and lasts until just after sunset. For further details of the ceremonies see the art. ḤADJDJ.

The origin of the name ʿArafa is unknown. The legendary explanation is that Adam and Eve, separated after their expulsion from Paradise, met again at this spot and recognised each other (*taʿārafa*). Arabic writers mention also other etymologies of a similar kind.

Bibliography: Azraḳī and Fāsī *apud* F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, 418-9; ii, 89, etc.; Maḳdisī 77; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam māʾstaʿdjam*, s.v.; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Ibn Djubayr (Wright-de Goeje), 168-176; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Paris), i, 397-9; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 186; ʿAlī Bey, *Travels*, i, 67 f.; R. F. Burton, *Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah*, 2nd ed., ii, 214 f.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, 141 f.; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjaziyya*, 186 ff.; Ibrāhīm Rifʿat, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn*, i, 335 ff.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pélérinage à la Mekke* (Paris 1923), 240-253; E. Rutter, *Holy Cities of Arabia* (London 1928), i, 156-163. Pictures of the hill and of the plain during the Pilgrimage ceremonies in ʿAlī Bey, Burckhardt, Rifʿat Bey, and Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, xiii-xvi.

(A. J. WENSINCK-[H. A. R. GIBB])

ARAGHŪN [see SUPPLEMENT].

AL-ʿ**ARĀʾISH** ("the trellises of grape vines"), in French and Spanish orthography *Larache*, town on the Moroccan seaboard situated on the Atlantic coast, about 44 m. S.-W. of Tangier and 83 m. N.-W. of Fās. Astronomical position: 35° 13′ lat. N., 8° 28′ 22″ long. W. (of Paris).

Larache covers the slopes of a hill which juts out into the sea in the form of a headland and dominates the left bank of the Wādī Lukkos at the point where this river discharges into the sea. The Muslim town is insignificant, and has no feature of interest except the *sūḳ*, quadrilateral in form, which is lined with arcades and presents a vaguely monumental appearance. As a legacy of the first Spanish occupation (1610-89), there remains a fortress called *Castillo de las Cigüeñas* (of the storks) or *Santa Maria de Europa*. To the S. and S.-W. of the Muslim town, the Spanish, who re-occupied Larache in 1911, built a European town, the centre of which in 1955 was a circular area called *Plaza de España*. The alluvial deposits of the Wādi Lukkos have formed a bar which renders the harbour inaccessible to vessels of large tonnage. The population of Larache in 1955 numbered just under 43,000, of whom (in round figures) 28,000 were Muslims, 1,300 Jews and 13,000 Europeans, almost all Spanish. In the neighbourhood of Larache potatoes and fruit trees are chiefly cultivated. Industry is of little importance, but fishing has increased to some extent (more than 230 small craft in 1953). The patron of Larache is Lallā Mennāna, whose *ḳubba* marks the beginning of the *Madina* as one approaches it from inland.

Al-ʿArāʾish is not a very old town. Al-Idrīsī does not mention it, and the Arab authors do not mention it before the 7th/13th century. Further, it only occurs infrequently in texts. It was apparently founded by the Banū ʿArūs tribe, who gave it, on account of the abundance of vines in the neighbourhood, the name of al-ʿArīsh mtāʿ Bnī ʿArūs. The Almohad sultan Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr built a fort at the mouth of the Wādī Lukkos, and, in 1270, Spanish Christians carried out a successful surprise attack on the place. However, as is often the case with places of secondary importance on the Moroccan coast, the history of Larache is only known with any certainty from the time that the Portuguese set foot in Morocco. In the years immediately following their occupation of Ceuta (1415), the Portuguese launched a successful attack against the town, but the results of this victory were short-lived. The occupation of

Arzila and Tangier by King Alfonso V of Portugal in 1471 led to the evacuation of Larache, which the peace treaty included in the zone of Portuguese influence and which remained depopulated for twenty years. In 1489, King John II of Portugal took advantage of this circumstance to consolidate his position in northern Morocco and to constitute a more direct threat to Fās and al-Ḳaṣr al-Kbīr, by erecting a fort named *la Graciosa* on the right bank of the Lukkos a little below the confluence of that river with the Wādī Mkhāzen. Besieged by the Moroccans, decimated by marsh-fever, ill-supplied and ill-reinforced because the river was barely navigable, the Portuguese garrison, after a long resistance, was obliged to accept an honourable surrender, which enabled it to retire unmolested. Al-ʿArāʾish was restored by Mawlāy al-Nāṣir, son of the Waṭṭāsid Sultan Muḥammad al-Shaykh. Leo Africanus, who gives an account of the town at the beginning of the 16th century, informs us that large numbers of eels were caught there, that a plentiful supply of game was to be found there, and that on the banks of the Lukkos there were woods abounding in wild animals. The inhabitants made charcoal which they sent to Arzila and Tangier. But they lived in fear of the Portuguese, who continually raided the area and who attacked the port itself in 1504 (there was also an unsuccessful attack by the Spanish from Cadiz in 1546). This insecurity did not prevent the development of a certain amount of maritime trade due to the fact that al-ʿArāʾish was then the only port in northern Morocco not occupied by the Christians, and that it was one of the channels through which passed the trade of Fās, to which it was relatively near. The Portuguese maintained a commercial agent there (*feitor*); Genoese merchants visited it regularly, and a castle situated at the entrance to the harbour became known as "Genoese Castle". From then on, Larache became a pirates' lair, and piracy increased after the evacuation of Arzila by the Portuguese in 1550. The havoc wrought by the pirates on the Spanish coast led Philip III to occupy Larache in 1610, following an agreement with the Saʿdid Sultan Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Shaykh. The town was retaken by the Moroccans in 1689 during the reign of the ʿAlawid Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, and was repopulated by the Djabāla and the tribes of the Rif. From that date until 1911, the operations of the European powers against Larache were confined to bombardments or to more or less successful attacks from the sea. In 1765, the French Admiral Du Chaffault suffered a heavy defeat there. In 1860, during the Spanish-Moroccan war, Larache was bombarded by a Spanish squadron. During the "Moroccan crisis", Spanish troops landed at Larache on 8 June 1911, and the town remained within the Spanish zone of influence until the proclamation of the independence of Morocco in 1956.

Opposite Larache, on the other bank of the Wādī Lukkos, on the Shammish hill, there stand the ruins of the Punic town of Lixos or Lixus, where many excavations have been made.

Bibliography: — Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. by Schefer, ii, Paris 1897, 215-19; León Galindo y de Vera, *Historia, vicisitudes y política tradicional de España respecto de sus posesiones en las costas de África*, Madrid 1884, 224-84 (to be used with care); Eugène Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, 6th ed., Paris 1910, 89-95; Maximiliano Alarcón y Santón, *Textos árabes en dialecto vulgar de Larache*, Madrid 1913; Real Sociedad Española de Historia Natural, *Yebala y el bajo Lucus*, Madrid 1914, 44-51, 287; *Relato de la expedición de Larache* (1765) *por Bidé de Maurville* ... Translation of the French edition Amsterdam 1775, Tánger-Larache 1940 (on the expedition of Du Chaffault); Tomás García Figueras, *Miscelánea de estudios africanos*, Larache 1947-48, 109-47. For *la Graciosa*, see the bibliography given in *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Portugal, I, Paris 1934, XV, n. 3 (by Pierre de Cenival), to which should be added: Tomás García Figueras, *Miscelánea de estudios varios sobre Marruecos*, Tetuán 1953, 7-33. The statistical information was supplied by the "Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas" at Tetuán. For Lixus, cf. Jérôme Carcopino, *Le Maroc antique*, 7th ed., Paris 1948, passim, especially 49-56, 66-72, 85-105, 308-9; Pierre Cintas, *Contribution à l'étude de l'expansion carthaginoise au Maroc*, Paris n.d. (1954), 60-6; and the bibliography given in *I Congreso arqueológico del Marruecos español*, Tetuán 1954, 469-72, 474-5.

(G. Yver-[R. Ricard])

AL-**ARAK**, to-day Santa Maria de Alarcos, a small citadel in the district of Calatrava la Vieja, situated about seven miles S.-W. of Ciudad Real, on the summit of a mountain whose spurs descend to the Rio Guadiana. In the undulating plain which lies at its feet, between Poblete and Guadiana, was fought the famous battle between Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr and the Castilians, which ended in the rout of Alfonso VIII (see the article ABŪ YŪSUF YAʿḲŪB, for details of events immediately prior to the battle).

We have little information on the details of the actual battle, because we only have at our disposal on the Muslim side accounts which are rather fanciful. The Christian sources are more objective, although briefer. It seems that the Castilians launched a surprise attack on the Almohad advance guard, commanded by the Vizier Abū Yaḥyā, grandson of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Intī [*q.v.*], but only achieved a partial success. Yaʿḳūb, with his own force, attacked the flank of the Christians who, as the struggle became prolonged, were forced, exhausted by the heat and by thirst, to take refuge in the castle of Alarcos or to flee with their King in the direction of Toledo. Moreover the Castilian Pedro Fernández de Castro, a personal enemy of Alfonso VIII, contributed with his own squadron of cavalry to the success of the Almohad ruler, on whom he lavished advice. Don Diego Lopez de Haro, the great *alférez* of Castile, took refuge with the royal standard in the castle, but was soon forced to surrender.

The Muslim chroniclers, on the subject of this battle, have absurdly exaggerated the numbers of the troops on either side, that of the Christian dead and that of the prisoners taken in the castle. At all events, the army of Alfonso VII suffered heavy losses and experienced such a severe blow that, in the years following, despite the aid of the King of Aragon, it did not dare to risk a further engagement with Yaʿḳūb when the latter penetrated into its territory. The battle of Alarcos took place under the most favourable conditions for the Almohads. Alfonso VIII was at war with Leo and Navarre. Accustomed to easy and fruitful raids into Andalusia, where his troops did not meet with serious resistance, he completely underestimated the strength of the Muslim forces and the strategic ability of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr.

Bibliography: To the references given by E. Lévi-Provençal in *La Péninsule ibérique d'après*

al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār, 18, no. 1, the following should be added: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iv, trans. Huici, 155 ff.; al-Sharīf al-Gharnāṭī, *Sharḥ Maḳṣūrat Ḥāzim al-Karṭādjannī*, Cairo 1344, ii, 153-6; *Primera Crónica General*, ed. by R. Menéndez Pidal, i, 680; *Chronique des Rois de Castille*, ed. by Cirot, 41, app. 45; A. Huici, *Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista*, 137 ff. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

ARAKAN, The most westerly Division of Lower Burma, lying between the Arakan Yoma range and the Bay of Bengal. Until 1199/1784, Arakan was an independent kingdom, and thereafter formed part of Burma, (under British administration from 1241/1826). From the 9th/14th to the 13th/18th century the history of Arakan was closely linked with that of Muslim Bengal.

From the 3rd/10th century Arakan was Buddhist, but in 809/1406 King Narameikhla, defeated by the Burmese, took refuge with the Muslim ruler of Bengal. He was restored to his throne, in 833/1430, by troops of the Bengal sultan, whose tributary he became. (For the identity of this sultan see Phayre, 76-7; Collis, 34-52; *History of Bengal* ii, 120-29).

If Narameikhla's connection with Bengal had been that of a tributary, that of his nephew, Basawpyu, was a conqueror's, for he took the important port of Čittagong. Lost about 918/1512 to the Tippera *rādjā*, recaptured by King Minyaza, and then in the hands of the Ḥusayn Shāhīs from 923/1517 until 946/1539, Čittagong was absorbed into the Arakan kingdom from the time of King Minbin until that of King Sandathudamma.

The naval forces of Arakan based on Čittagong, working with those of Portuguese freebooters settled in the head of the Bay, now dominated the riverine tracts of Bengal. The Noakhali and Backergunge districts were swept for plunder and slaves, (see *Travels of Father Manrique*, ed. C. E. Luard for the large numbers involved), and, indeed, for some years they were virtually Arakanese possessions. In 1034/1625 even Dhākā, the Mughal provincial capital was sacked.

In 1070/1660, Shāh Shudjāʿ, defeated in Bengal by the forces of his brother, the emperor Awrangzīb, sailed with an Arakanese flottilla which had operated in his support, and sought asylum with King Sandathudamma at Mrohaung. The Mughals offered the King large sums for his extradition, while Shudjāʿ, denied shipping in which to leave, intrigued with the many Muslims in Arakan. On 6 Djumādā II 1071/7 Feb 1661 Arakanese troops surrounded his house, and the Prince was probably killed in the struggle which followed. (See G. E. Harvey, *Jour. Burma Research Soc.* 1922/ii, 107-15).

Awrangzīb's viceroy, Shāyista Khān, avenged the death and curbed Arakanese raids by destroying two Arakanese fleets and taking Čittagong in 1076/1666. (The Portuguese had been won over the previous year, and the Mughals were accompanied by Kamāl, son of Prince Mangat Rai, the governor of Čittagong who had fled to Dhākā in 1048/1638).

This ended the Arakanese ascendency in Eastern Bengal, though slave raiding continued far into the 12th/18th century. Moreover, in 1103/1692 Muslim soldiers of fortune, combining with the many captive Bengalis, rose in the capital and for twenty years had the mastery in Arakan. The Bengali Muslim poets Dawlat Ḳāḍī and Sayyid al-Awwal, who wrote at the courts of Kings Thirithudamma and Sandathudamma, were under the patronage of such Muslim officers and officials at the court. Descendants of these Muslim soldiers still live in the Ramri and Akyab areas, and are called Kaman (Pers. *kamān*—a bow). (Bisveswar Bhattacharya, *Bengal Past and Present* No. 65, 1927, 139-44)

The Arakanese connexion with Muslim Bengal found expression in the assumption of Muslim titles by the Buddhist kings and in the issue of coins on which appear those titles, or the *kalima*, in the Persian script.

Arakanese title	Regnal years	Muslim title	Coinage
Narameikhla	833/1430—837-8/1434		Tributary of sultan
Meng Khari	837-8/1434—863-4/1459	ʿAlī Khān	
Basawpyu	863-4/1459—887/1482	Kalima Shāh	*kalima*
Kasabadi	929-30/1523—931-2/1525	Ilyās Shāh Sulṭān	*kalima* & title
Thatasa	931/2/1525—937-8/1531	ʿAlī Shāh	*kalima* & title
Minbin	937-8/1531—960-61/1553	Zabuk Shāh	title
Minpalaung	978-9/1571—1001-02/1593	Sikandar Shāh	title
Minyazagyi	1001-02/1593—1021/1612	Salīm Shāh	title
Minhkamaung	1021/1612—1031-2/1622	Ḥusayn Shāh	title
Thirithudamma	1031-2/1622—1047-8/1638	Salīm Shāh	Persian lettering
Sandathudamma	1062-3/1652—1096-7/1685	No Muslim title or coinage	

It is clear that the Arakanese coins are modelled upon those of Bengal. Thus in Bengal the use of the *kalima* begins about the time when Narameikhla was restored by the sulṭān to the Arakan throne, and in both countries a clumsy Kūfic is used. (See Phayre, *Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma*, in *International Numismata Orientalia*, 1882; M. S. Collis, *Jour. Burma Research Soc.* 1925/i, 34-52; J. W. Laidley, *J.A.S.B.* 1846 pl. IV no. 12; H. F. Blochman, *J.A.S.B.* 1873/i, 209-309).

Muslims in Arakan left their traces in the Sandihkan mosque at Mrohaung, and in the Buddermokan at Akyab and Sandoway—shrines of Badr al-Dīn Awliyā, whose most famous shrine is at Čittagong. He is the guardian saint of sailors of Arakan and Bengal. (See E. Forchhammer, *Monograph on Arakan Antiquities*, and Sir R. C. Temple, *Jour. Burma Research Soc.* 1925, 1-31).

Bibliography: Sir A. P. Phayre, *History of Burma*, 76-81, 171-84; G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, 137-49; *History of Bengal* ii, ed. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Dacca 1948; Sir J. Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, 1933, 191-213.

(J. B. HARRISON)

ARAL, a large, slightly salty lake in west Turkistān, 46° 45′ to 43° 43′ N and 76° to 79° 27′ E, with a surface area of (1942) 66,458 sq.km.; of this 2345 sq.km. are islands. (The largest islands are the Toḳmaḳ Aṭa in front of the mouth of the Āmū Daryā, Ostrov Vozroždeniya, "Island of the Resurrection", formerly Nicholas Island, discovered in 1848, 216 sq.km.; Barsa Kelmez, "arrival without

return", 133 sq.km.; and finally Kug Aral, in the north, eastward in front of the Ḳara Tüp peninsula, 273 sq.km.) The maximum length from NE to SW is 428 km., the breadth at 45° N 284 sq.km. The average depth of the lake is 16 m., in the middle it is up to 20-25 m., in the west up to 68 m. The lake has today in the N, E and S numerous bays, and, particularly in the SE, rocky islands offshore. Only the western shore, which borders on the Üst Yurt plain partly with cliffs up to 190 m. high, has no bays. The east bank is flat and sandy.

In prehistoric times (diluvium and ice ages) the level of Lake Aral stood some 4 m. above the present waterline; hence the lake had (particularly in the bays in the NE and NW) a considerably larger extension and was besides (through the Özboy [cf. ĀMŪ DARYĀ]) connected with the Caspian Sea and through this, at the time, with the Ocean. Since the production of the present geological conditions it has no longer any outlet. (Cf. Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedičeskiy Slovar'*[1], ii, 10-12, and *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*[2], xx, 326.) In historical times also the water-level fluctuated by several meters, and the banks altered because of this, especially in the E and NE; but there is no evidence of significant changes at this time. In fact the description of the delta of the Āmū Daryā by al-Maḳdisī, 288: two days from Mizdā<u>kh</u>kān to the Kerder, one day and four *farsa<u>kh</u>s* to Parategin (B(F)aratigīn) and a further day to the bank of the lake, corresponds as well with modern conditions as Ibn Ḥawkal's account (ed. Kramers, 512). He says that the place Dih-i Naw = Arabic al-Ḳarya al-Hadī<u>th</u>a = Turkish Yeñi Kent (al-Mas^cūdī: Naw Karda?), identical with the present ruins of <u>Dj</u>ankent, some 22 km. SW of the modern Kazalinsk (ill. in S. A. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der alt-choresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 254; further details, ibid., 266) is two days distant from the bank of the lake (both 10th century accounts, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 178). In the 19th-20th centuries the level fell and rose alternately: 1860-80 it fell, then the waterline rose till 1915 by 2 m; within the period 1874 to 1931 it fluctuated by 3.1 m. Accordingly its height above sea-level is given variously as 49 m. (as an average: *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*), 52 m. (Leimbach), and as its highest point in 1931: as 54 m. This changes also correspondingly the estimation of its depth. The lake, whose salt content (1.03-1.08%) is considerably lower than that of the Ocean, scarcely ever freezes up completely. Mostly only the bays in the north turn solid, or the whole northern part (as far as the Barsa Kelmez island). To this northern part (some 5500 sq.km.) the Ḳaza<u>kh</u>s have given the special name Kičik Teñiz ("small sea"); so the main southern part is called Ulu Teñiz ("great sea").

The Āmū Daryā ([*q.v.*] concerning the possible change of its course) and the Sīr Daryā run into the Aral Sea. Of the Sīr Daryā al-^cUmarī (1301-48) claims in his *Masālik al-Abṣār* (reproduced by W. von Tiesenhausen, *Materialy otnosyashčiesya k istorii Zolotoy Ordy*, i, 1884, 215, transl., 237), following the account of the merchant Badr al-Dīn al-Rūmī, that it changed its direction three travelling-days below <u>Dj</u>and, and Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (1424-5), who disputes the existence of the Aral Sea, makes it join the Āmū Daryā. Finally in the *Bābur-nāma* the great conqueror of India (d. 1530) reports that the Sīr Daryā subsides into the sands in the west. One should not attach much weight to these accounts, of which that of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū may be regarded as legendary and that of al-^cUmarī conveys nothing conclusive; Abu 'l-<u>Gh</u>āzī too knows nothing of the Sīr Daryā at one time not reaching the Aral Sea [cf. also SĪR DARYA].

It is uncertain whether the Aral Sea was known to classical antiquity. A. Hermann does not refer the reports about the Ὀξειανὴ λίμνη (palus Oxiana) to the Aral Sea; on the other hand he sees in the palus Oxia of Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 6, 59 the Aral Sea (Pauly-Wissowa, xviii/2, 1942, 2004-5). Also the quite general accounts of the Chinese and the λίμνη of the Byzantine ambassador Zemarchos, 568 A.D. (Menander Protector, *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*, xviii, 238 f.; C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv, 229) cannot be interpreted with any certainty.

In Islamic times Ibn Rusta, 92, is the first to describe the lake, without naming it. He gives its circumference as 80 *farsa<u>kh</u>s*; al-Iṣṭa<u>kh</u>rī, 304, makes it 100, the *Ḥudūd al-^cĀlam*, 53, 300 *farsa<u>kh</u>s*. Whether the earlier report in Ibn <u>Kh</u>urradā<u>dh</u>bih, 173, about the lake of Kerder (for this form instead of Kurdar cf. A. Zeki Velidî Togan in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, ii, 340) can be referred to the Aral Sea, is questionable. At that time the O<u>gh</u>uz (<u>Gh</u>uzz) and the Pečeneg nomadised round the lake, except on the southern bank (<u>Kh</u>^wārizm).

The Aral Sea was called by al-Iṣṭa<u>kh</u>rī, the *Ḥudūd*, and the later geographers, Buḥayrat <u>Kh</u>^wārizm and rightly described as a closed salty lake, which lay to the right on the journey from Gurgan<u>dj</u> (Old Urgan<u>dj</u>) to the Pečeneg (so Gardīzī, reproduced in W. Barthold, *Otčët o komandirovkě v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, 1897, 95) and so had no connexion with the Sarī Ḳamī<u>sh</u> [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ]. On the other hand al-Mas^cūdī (*Tanbīh*, 65; in more general terms also in *Murūdj*. i, 211) says that the "Lake of <u>Dj</u>ur<u>dj</u>āniyya" is connected with the Caspian Sea. <u>Dj</u>ur<u>dj</u>ānī (d. 861/1476-7), following the *<u>Dj</u>ihān-nāma* (from the beginning of the 13th century), calls it also "Lake of <u>Dj</u>and" after the city on the lower reaches of the Sīr Daryā. Finally, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū claims (in 820/1417) that the lake has vanished (and furnishes thus new proof of the fact that one must by no means blindly trust isolated accounts by Islamic geographers of the Middle Ages).

Between the 13th and 16th century no report about the Aral Sea has been handed down. Abu 'l-<u>Gh</u>āzī Bahādur <u>Kh</u>ān speaks in the *<u>Sh</u>a<u>dj</u>arat al-Atrāk* (Desmaisons), 338, for the first time of Aral ("island") as the place where the Āmū Daryā runs into the lake. After this "island" (which in the 18th century formed a separate state with the capital Ḳungrāt [*q.v.*] and was not re-united with <u>Kh</u>īwa until the reign of Muḥammad Raḥīm <u>Kh</u>ān, 1806-26) the lake later received the name of Aral Teñizi, "Aral Sea", among the Ḳazaḳs. Following this the Russians call it Aral'skoe More, "Aral Sea" (first occurrence in 1697). Previously the Russian work *Kniga bol'shogo čerteža* (finished in 1626) called it Sinee More, "Blue Sea"—it does in fact have a deep blue colour. This name appeared in 1697 also on the Dutch map in Witsen, *Noord- en Oost-Tartarye*[1], 1687, while J. N. de l'Isle, in 1723, uses the modern name (Barthold, *Aral*, 77 f.).

The Russians erected first in 1847 a fortress Raīmskoe (the name probably derives from Raḥīm) on the right bank of the lower Sīr Darya, 60-65 km. from its mouth. Already from 1819 several expeditions had more closely explored the lake and furnished descriptions (1819 N. N. Murav'ëv; 1820-1 A. F. Negri and A. K. Baron Meyendorff; 1825-6 F. W. R. Berg; 1833-5 G. von Helmersen; 1839 V. A. Count

Perovskiy; 1840 M. M. Žemčužnikov; 1840-1 Antov; 1841 I. P. Blaramberg and D. I. Romanov; 1842-3 Danilevskiy; 1843 Schulz and Lemm; then in 1848 A. I. Butakov and A. I. Maksheyev). Between 1853 and 1883 the Russians kept a flotilla on the Aral Sea, which was stationed in the beginning in Aral'sk, then in Kazalinsk (on the lower Sīr Daryā). It was disbanded after the Aral Sea had become a Russian inland lake with the conquest of the Khānate of Khīwa in 1873. Since 1906 the lake is reached by the railway line Orenburg-Tashkent at the NE corner near Aral'sk. Otherwise the lake is still to-day situated inconveniently for traffic.—During the civil war of 1918-21 a flotilla was formed again on the Aral Sea. Since the reorganisation of territories in 1924 and 1936 the southern part of the lake belongs to the autonomous republic of Ḳarakalpakia in the framework of the Uzbek SSR, the northern part to Ḳazaḳistān. The lake is of importance for the surrounding population and altogether for the USSR principally because of its fishing industry.

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ARAR [see HARAR].

ARARAT [see DJABAL AL-ḤĀRITH].

ARAS [see AL-RASS].

ʿARBĀN, site of ruins in Mesopotamia, on the Western bank of the Khābūr, to the South of the Djabal ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, situated under 36° 10′ N. Lat. and 40° 50′ E. Long. (Greenw.). The remains of the old town are hidden under several hills, after one of which the site is also called Tell ʿAdjāba. It was here that H. A. Layard found several winged bulls with human heads, products of the genuinely Mesopotamian civilization which is closely related to that of ancient Babylonia. ʿArbān is probably identical with the Gar (Sha)-dikanna of the cuneiform inscriptions. During the later Roman period the town, then called Arabana, possessed considerable military importance as the principal station on the line of frontier against the Parthians. In the Arab period ʿArbān played an important part as the centre of the Khābūr district and as place of storage for the cotton cultivated in the Khābūr valley. Geographers (cf. e.g. Yāḳūt s.v. ʿArabān) and historians refer to it frequently as a flourishing town. The date of its destruction is unknown; possibly it took place during the Mongol invasion under Timur.

Bibliography: K. Ritter, *Erdkunde* xi, 271; H. A. Layard, *Niniveh und Babylon* (German transl. by Zenker), 208 ff.; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* (Berlin 1900) ii, 19-21; id., in *Z G Erdkunde* xxxvi, (1901), 69 ff.; Streck, in the *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie* xviii, 190; Le Strange, 97. (M. STRECK)

ARBŪNA, the name by which the Arab historians designated the town of Narbonne. Reached by the early Muslim expeditions, it was taken in 96/715 under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, was probably then lost or abandoned, and was retaken in 100/719 by al-Samḥ b. Mālik al-Khawlānī. In 116/734, two years after the battle of Poitiers [see BALĀṬ AL-SHUHADĀʾ], the Duke of Provence concluded a treaty with the governor of Narbonne, Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, whereby the latter was allowed to occupy a certain number of places in the valley of the Rhône, in order to protect Provence against the attempts of Charles Martel and to procure a new invasion route to the north; Charles Martel reacted at once, took Avignon in 119/737 and invested Narbonne, but without success. It was not until 142/759 that the town, after a long siege, was finally taken from the Muslims by Pepin the Short. In 177/793, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Mughīth advanced as far as Narbonne, set fire to the outskirts, defeated the Duke of Toulouse not far from the city, and withdrew with considerable booty; another expedition, which was unsuccessful, took place in 226/840. Narbonne and its region still maintained relations with the Umayyad court, Jewish merchants being particularly active in this respect.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i (see index), gives the main facts and enumerates (8, n. 2, 30-1 and 54, n. 1) the sources and studies, amongst which should be noted: Codera, *Narbona, Gerona y Barcelona bajo la dominación musulmana* in *Est. crit. hist. ár. esp.* (viii); M. Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France*, Paris 1836 (Eng. tr. by H. K. Sherwani in *Islamic Culture*, iv/1930, 100 ff., 251 ff., 397 ff., 588 ff., v/1931, 71 ff., 472 ff., 651 ff.); A. Molinié and H. Zotenberg, *Invasions des Sarrazins dans le Languedoc d'après les historiens musulmans* in Devic and Vaissette, *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, ii, Toulouse 1875. There is also the *Chronicum Fredegarii*, the *Chronicon Moissiacense*, the *Chronicon Fontanellensis*, and other Latin chronicles (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Les Sarrasins en Avignon*, in *En Terre d'Islam*, 1944/iv, 178-90). (ED.)

ARCHIDONA [see URDJUDHŪNA].

ARCHITECTURE.

I. EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE

(1) *The Time of the Prophet*

Arabia, at the rise of Islam, does not appear to have possessed anything worthy of the name of architecture. Only a small proportion of the population was settled, and these lived in dwellings which were scarcely more than hovels. Those who lived in mud-brick houses were called *ahl al-madar*, and the Bedawīn, from their tents of camel's-hair cloth, *ahl al-wabar*.

The sanctuary at Mecca, in the time of Muḥammad, merely consisted of a small roofless enclosure, oblong in shape, formed by four walls a little higher than a man, built of rough stones laid dry. Within this enclosure was the sacred well of Zamzam. This little sanctuary, known as the Kaʿba, lay at the bottom of a valley surrounded by the houses of Mecca, *which came close up to it*, and we are expressly told that when ʿUmar wanted to surround it by an open space, large enough to contain the Faithful, he

had to demolish many houses (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 46).

The Kaʿba, being in a bad state, was demolished and reconstructed by the Ḳuraysh, when Muḥammad was in his thirty-fifth year, i.e. in A.D. 608. The Ḳuraysh took the wood of a ship which had been wrecked, and employed a carpenter and builder named Bāḳūm, who had been on the ship, to help them in the rebuilding. Azraḳī (Wüstenfeld's ed., *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, 110, last line—112, l. 12) says that the new Kaʿba was built with a course of stone alternating with a course of wood up to the roof, there being sixteen courses of stone and fifteen of wood. The door, which had previously being at ground level, was now placed with its sill four cubits and a span from the ground. The roof rested on six pillars (*sawārī*, pl. of *sāriya*) arranged in two rows of three each. Total height of structure-18 cubits. Azraḳī says that on the ceiling, walls and columns were pictures (*ṣuwar*) of the Prophets, trees and angels. (Cf. Creswell, in *Archaeologia*, 94, Oxford 1951, 97-102).

This curious style of architecture, of alternate courses of stone and wood, resembles the style practised in Abyssinia in early times (see Krencker, in the *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, ii, 168-94) and Bāḳūm is probably an abbreviation of ʿEnbāḳōm, the Abyssinian form of Habakkuk, that is to say the "carpenter and builder" employed was most probably an Abyssinian (see my *Kaʿba in A.D.* 608, in *Archaeologia*, XCIV (1951), 97-102).

When Muḥammad migrated to Madīna he built a house for himself and his family. It consisted of an enclosure about 100 cubits square of mud brick, with a portico on the south side made of palm trunks used as columns to support a roof of palm leaves and mud. Against the outer side of the east wall were built small huts (*ḥudjra*) for the Prophet's wives. All opened into the courtyard. We have the description (preserved in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, I_2, 180) of these huts, due to a man named ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd who saw then just before they were demolished by order of al-Walīd: "There were four houses of mud brick, with apartments partitioned off by palm branches, and five houses made of palm branches plastered with mud and not divided into rooms. Over the doors were curtains of black hair-cloth. Each curtain measured 3 × 3 cubits. One could reach the roof with the hand".

Such was the house of the leader of the community at Madīna. Nor did Muḥammad wish to alter these conditions; he was entirely without architectural ambitions, and Ibn Saʿd records the following saying of his: "The most unprofitable thing that eateth up the wealth of a Believer is building" (*Ṭabaḳāt*, I_2, 181, ll. 7-8; also VIII, 120, l. 1). At this time Ṭāʾif was the only town in the Ḥidjāz that possessed a wall. When Madīna was attacked in 5/627 it had no wall, so Muḥammad had a ditch dug to defend it; the idea is said to have been due to a Persian slave named Salmān, and it created a great sensation for nobody had ever heard of such a thing before. The word *khandaḳ* given to it is Persian. Madīna was first surrounded by a wall in 63/682-3; (Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 305, l. 4).

(2) *The Patriarchal and Umayyad Caliphates*

The men who formed the Arab armies of conquest were mainly Bedouin, but even those who came from permanent settlements, such as Mecca and Madīna, knew nothing of art or architecture. They soon found themselves in two totally different cultural environments, one of which had been under Hellenistic influence for a thousand years, the other under Persian influence for even longer.

And not only were the cultural conditions different, the material conditions were different also. Syria was a country of splendid building materials. Syrian limestone was the best of its kind, resisting weathering and taking a beautiful amber lint on exposure, and cedar wood was plentiful, for the Lebanon had not yet been deforested. So the seventh century invaders found themselves in a country of splendid buildings — churches of cut stone, some of ashlar in courses 90 cm. high, with arcades on marble columns, gable roofs of cedar wood and large surfaces decorated with coloured glass mosaics on a glistening gold background.

In the other cultural sphere they met with buildings of brick, sometimes only of mud brick, sometimes vaulted and sometimes with flat roofs of palm trunks, palm leaves and mud.

In these early days, the Muslims, when they conquered a town in Syria, usually took one of the churches and used it as a mosque, or merely *divided* one of the churches if the town had surrendered without resistance. At Ḥimṣ, for example, they took a fourth part of the Church of St. John. How was a church converted into a mosque? One can easily guess. In Syria the *ḳibla* (direction of Mecca) is due south, whereas churches are turned towards the east. Under these circumstances it was only necessary to close the western entrance (or three entrances), pierce new entrances in the north wall and pray across the aisles. That this is exactly what happened can be verified in the Great Mosque of Ḥamā where the west front of the *Kanīsat al-ʿUẓmā* (Great Church) which was converted into a mosque in 15/636-7, now forms the west end of the sanctuary. Its three western doors have been converted into windows and it is now entered from the north.

At Jerusalem they made use of the remains of the basilical hall of Herod, ruined by the army of Titus, which ran along the south side of the Temple Enclosure. This primitive mosque was seen by Arculf about A.D. 670 (Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, i, 145). In Persia, at Persepolis and Ḳazwīn, they appear to have taken *apadānas*, or hypostile audience-halls of the Persian kings, with flat roofs resting on columns with double bull-headed capitals.

But the situation was different in ʿIrāḳ, for here the Arabs founded new towns (which they did not do in Syria) so pre-existing buildings could not be employed, and they had to construct some sort of place for themselves. What manner of buildings were the first mosques of the earliest towns in Islam?

The following is a list of those Umayyad Friday mosques the essential features of which are known from literary or archaeological evidence:

1. — Baṣra, reconstructed in 45/665.
2. — Kūfa, reconstructed in 50/670.
3. — Damascus, construction begun in 87/706.
4. — Medina, reconstructed 88/706-91/710.
5. — al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā, Jerusalem, built under Walīd I, 86/705-96/715.
6. — Aleppo, built under Walīd I or Sulaymān, 86/705-99/717.
7. — Fusṭāṭ, reconstructed 92/710-93/712.
8. — Ramla, completed 98/717-102/720.
9. — Buṣrā, built in 102/720-1.
10. — Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī (identified by Sauvaget as Ruṣāfa, the residence of Hishām) built in 110/728.

11. — Ḥarrān, built in 126/744-133/750.
12. — Ḥamāt, reconstructed, date uncertain.
13. — Dar'a, date uncertain (?).

At Baṣra, founded about 14/635, the first mosque (according to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 341, 342 and 346-7) was simply marked out (*ikhtaṭṭa*) and the people prayed there without any building. According to another version, also given by al-Balādhurī (346 and 350), it was enclosed by a fence of reeds. At Kūfa, founded in 17/638, the first mosque was equally primitive. Its boundaries were fixed by a man who threw an arrow towards the *ḳibla*, then another towards the north, another to the west and a fourth to the east (al-Balādhurī, 275-6; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2481, ll. 12-13). A square with each side two arrow-casts in length was thus obtained. This area was not enclosed by walls but by a ditch only, and the sole architectural feature was a covered colonnade (*ẓulla*), 200 cubits long, which ran the whole length of the south side.

The columns were of marble, taken from some buildings of the Lakhmid Princes at Ḥīra, about 4 miles away. This *ẓulla* was open on all sides so that, in the words of al-Ṭabarī (i, 2494), a man praying in it could see the convent known as Dayr Hind and the gate of the town known as Bāb Djiṣr. On the *ḳibla* side and only separated from the praying place by a narrow street was built a dwelling for Sa'd the Commander-in-Chief.

The first mosque in Egypt, the Mosque of 'Amr, built at Fusṭāṭ in the winter of 641/2, was equally primitive. It measured 50 × 30 cubits and had two doors on each side except on the *ḳibla* side. (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 247). The roof was very low and probably consisted of palm trunks resting of palm-trunk columns as in Muḥammad's house at Madīna.

The first mosques to be worthy of the name of architecture were the second Great Mosques at Baṣra (45/665) and Kūfa (50/670). Regarding the latter al-Ṭabarī (i, 2492) says that Ziyād b. Abīhī summoned "Masons of the Days of Ignorance" (i.e. non-Muslims). Then a man who had been one of the builders of Khusraw, came forward and described how columns of stone from Djabal Aḥwāz should be used to carry a roof 30 cubits high. Ibn Djubayr, who saw this mosque, says (de Goeje's ed., 211) that "the *ḳibla* side has five aisles whereas the rest have two only; the aisles are supported ou on columns like masts, . . . extremely high and not surmounted by arches" (Fig. 1). It is obvious that the roofing system resembled that of an *apadāna*, or Hall of Columns of the Achaemenian kings, exactly as was the case in the first Great Mosque at Baghdād.

The Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, the oldest existing monument of Muslim architecture, was built by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik and completed in 72/691. It is an annular building and consists in its simplest analysis of wooden dome 20.44 m. in diameter, set on a high drum, pierced with sixteen windows and resting on four piers and twelve columns, placed in a circle and so arranged that three columns alternate with each pier. This circle of supports is placed in the centre of a large octagon averaging 20.60 m. a side, formed by eight walls 9½ m. high (excluding the parapet which adds 2.60 m.) each pierced in their upper half by five windows (Plate III*a* and Fig. 2).

There is a door 2.60 m. wide and 4.30 high in each of the four sides which face the four cardinal points, and on these sides the central window above the door is consequently much reduced. The space between the circle and the octagon being too great to be conveniently spanned by single beams, an intermediate octagon, consisting of arches borne by eight piers and sixteen columns, so arranged that two columns alternate with each pier, has been placed between the two to provide the necessary support for the roof (Plate IV*a*). The two concentric ambulatories thus formed were of course used for the *ṭawwāf* or ceremonial circumambulation of the sacred object, the Rock.

The exterior was always panelled with marble for half its height, as it is to-day, but the upper part was originally covered with glass mosaic (*fusayfisā*) like the inner arcades. This was replaced by the present coating of fayence by Sultan Sulaymān in 959/1552. The vaults of the four entrance porches were also decorated with mosaic, but it has only been preserved in the eastern porch. The lintels of the four doorways are decorated on their under side with sheet metal, either copper or bronze, worked *en repoussé* and exhibiting a variety of designs, chiefly vine leaves, bunches of grapes and acanthus. The raised parts of the design are gilt, the background of the central part is painted black and the outer border bright green. The inner side of the outer wall is panelled with marble from top to bottom, likewise all the piers. The tie beams of the arches of the octagonal arcade are decorated beneath with a bronze sheathing like the door soffits (Plate III*b-c*), but their inner faces are treated like a Corinthian entablature. The arcades above are covered with glass mosaic on both faces and their soffits also (Plate IV*b*, V and VI). The arcades of the central circle are also decorated with glass mosaic on their outer faces, but their soffits and inner faces have been given a coating of marble at some unknown date, but before A.D. 1340. The drum above is also decorated with mosaic. The ceiling of the outer ambulatory is probably the work of Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 718/1318 like the present lining of the dome. The ceilling of the inner ambulatory dates from the end of the 18th century. The original dome, until it fell in 407/1016-7, was covered with sheets of lead, over which were placed 10,210 plates of brass gilt (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, *al-'Iḳd*, iii, 367). The harmony of its proportions and the richness of its decoration make the Dome of the Rock one of the most beautiful buildings in the world.

The Great Mosque of Damascus. Al-Walīd began the construction of the Great Mosque of Damascus immediately after his accession in 86/705. A curious situation had prevailed here since the conquest. A great sanctuary of a Syrian god existed here, consisting of a *temenos*, or sacred enclosure, measuring 100 m. from N. to S. and 150 m. from E. to W., set in an outer enclosure over 300 m. square.

At each corner of the inner enclosure, which had pilastered walls nearly 13 m. high resting on a socle of at least 4 m., was a square tower, and all round the interior ran a double colonnade. There were four axial entrances and in the centre, or a little to the west of it, was the temple, its entrance facing east. In the 4th century Christianity became the state religion and Theodosius (A.D. 379-95) converted the temple into a church (Malalas, *Chronographia*, 344-5). After the Arab conquest the *temenos* was divided between Muslims and Christians. Ibn Shākir says that they both "entered by the same doorway, placed on the south side where is now the great *miḥrāb*. Then the Christians turned to the west towards their church (i.e. the converted temple), and the Muslims to the right to reach their mosque".

Where? Opposite the traditional "*miḥrāb* of the Companions of the Prophet", i.e. under that part of the interior colonnade which was to the east of the entrance. As for the corner towers, Ibn al-Faḳīh (p. 108) says: "The minarets (*mi'dhana*) which are in the Damascus Mosque were originally watch-towers in the Greek days ... when al-Walīd turned the whole area into a mosque, he left these in their old condition". Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 90-91) says: "Then came Christianity and it became a Church; then came Islam and it became a mosque. al-Walīd built it solidly and the *sawāmi'* (the four corner towers) were not changed, they serve for the call to prayer at the present day".

This state of affairs lasted until al-Walīd, after bargaining with the Christians, demolished everything except the outer walls and the corner towers and built the present mosque. He first of all reduced the interior of the enclosure into a rectangle by building the long rooms to east and west, leaving a vestibule in front of the east and west entrances. He then built the sanctuary with three aisles running parallel to the south wall and cut through its centre by a transept about 8 m. higher. The arcades are in two tiers, the lower of large arches being 10.35 m. high, the upper, in which two small arches correspond to each one below, is nearly 5 m. high. Similar arcades form porticoes on the three sides of the court. The aisles of the sanctuary have gable roofs covered with sheets of lead, and so has the transept, but the porticoes on the three sides of the court have roofs which slope slightly inwards (Plate VII*a-b*). Over the transept was a wooden dome, very high and conspicuous.

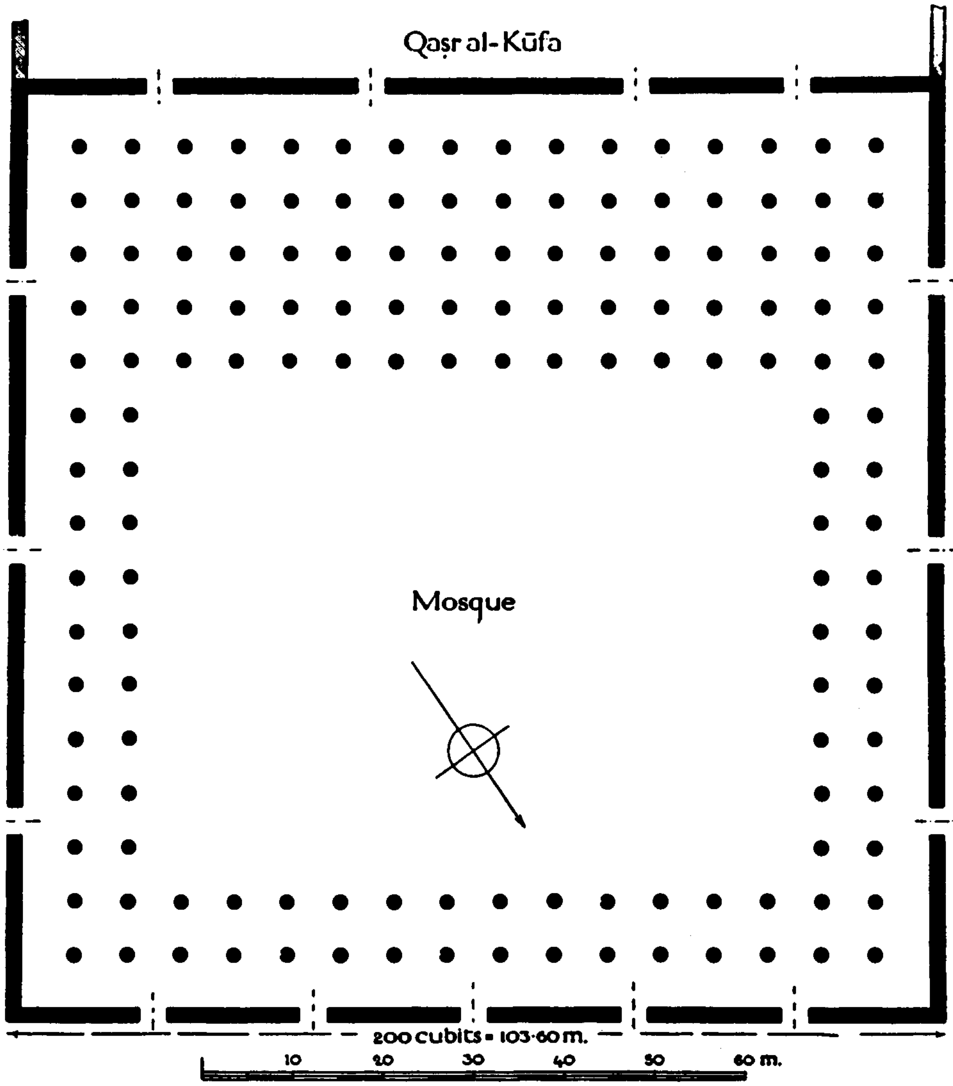

Fig. 1. Plan of Great Mosque of Kūfa.

The decoration consisted of marble panelling (some parts of the original panelling exist next the east entrance) above which ran a golden *karma* or vine-scroll frieze, and above that was glass mosaic (*fusayfisā*) right up to the ceiling. A considerable amount has survived the three fires of 1069, 1401, and 1893, and may still be seen under the west portico, where the famous panorama of the Baradā

(the river of Damascus) is over 34 m. in length and nearly 7 m. high (Plate VIII *a*). When intact the surface of the *fusayfisā* must have been greater than in any other building in existence! There were also six marble window-grilles (Plate VIII *b*) which

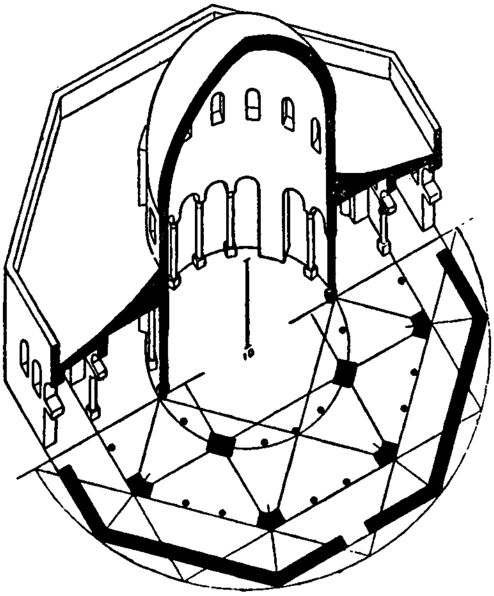

Fig. 2. Dome of the Rock.

constitute the earliest geometrical designs in Islam. The Great Mosque of Damascus was rightly regarded by mediaeval Muslims as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

Another building due to al-Walīd is the audience hall and *ḥammām*, known to-day as Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra, in Transjordan. It consists of an audience hall about 10 m. square, with two slightly pointed transverse arches supporting three tunnel-vaults (Plate IX and Fig. 3). There is a vaulted recess on the side opposite the entrance, with a small vaulted room on either side of it. A door on the east side gives access to the *ḥammām*, which consists of three small rooms covered by a tunnel vault, a cross vault and a dome. The latter was the *calidarium*, and under the floor are hypocausts exactly as in a Roman bath. But most remarkable of all are the paintings which cover the walls (Plate X), mostly scenes from daily life, a hunting scene and figures symbolising History, Poetry and Philosophy with the words in Greek above their heads. The dome of the *calidarium* was painted to represent the vault of heaven, with the Great Bear, the Little Bear, the signs of the Zodiac, etc. But most important of all was the painting of the enemies of Islam defeated by the Umayyads, with their names written above them in Greek and Arabic: Ḳayṣar (the Byzantine Emperor), Rōdorīk (the Visigothic King of Spain), Chosroes, Negus (the King of Abyssinia), and two more the names of which have been obliterated. Painting, contrary to the popular idea, is not forbidden by any passage in the Ḳur'ān, and hostility to it only took proper theological form towards the end of the 8th century A.D. (see my *Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam*, in *Ars Islamica*, XI-XII, 159-66).

The Umayyad Caliphs were great builders of palaces. Their external fortified appearance, although built in the heart of their Empire, hundreds of miles from the nearest frontier, is to be explained by the route taken by the armies of the conquest. They passed a long series of Roman frontier forts, the *castra* of the Roman *limes*, which ran from the Gulf of ʿAḳaba to Damascus and thence to Palmyra. The most important of these (for which see Brünnow and von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*) are:

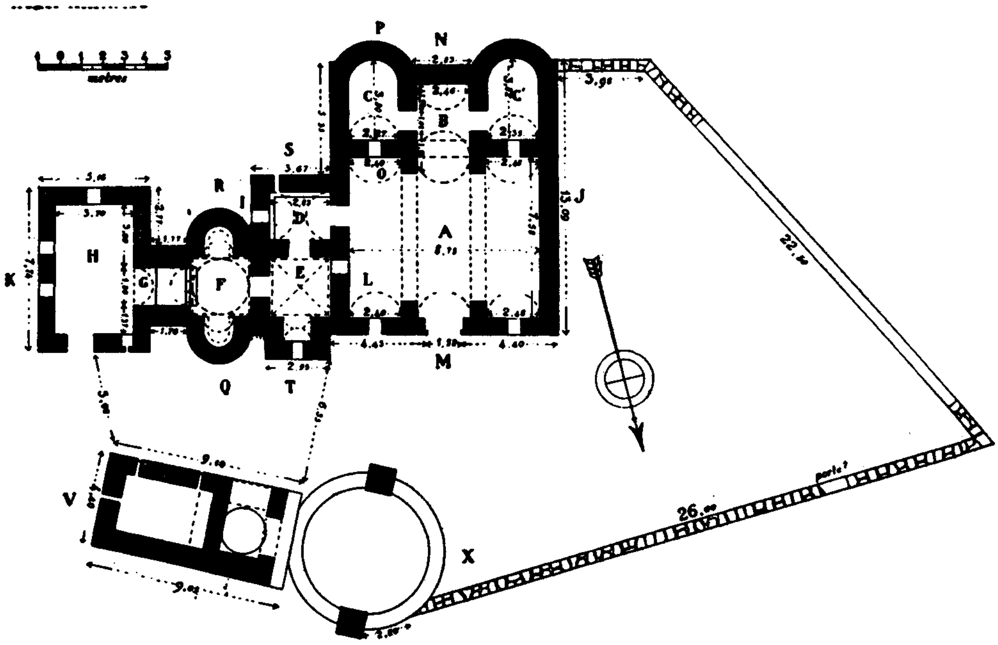

Fig. 3. Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra, plan.

Udhruḥ	built by Trajan
Daʿdjanīyya	probably Trajanic
Ladjdjun	probably Trajanic
Bshayr	inscription of Diocletian (A.D. 284-304)
Dumayr	A.D. 162.

Some of these frontier forts were lived in by Umayyad princes. For example, Walīd II sometimes lived at Azraḳ, which was rebuilt in 634/1236-7, but which in his day (A.D. 744) was a Roman fort of Diocletian and Maximian. When he was attacked by conspirators he fled north to the Ḳaṣr al-Bakhrāʾ, which is the Arabic name of a Roman fort about 15 miles S.-W. of Palmyra.

Now the result of this was twofold. It not only gave the Umayyad Caliphs the necessary knowledge when they wanted to built fortresses on the Byzantine frontier, e.g. Massīsa in 83-4/702-3, al-Muthaḳḳab, Kaṭarghāsh, Mūra, Būḳā and Baghras, all in 105/724 (see al-Balādhurī, 165-7), but it affected the design of their palaces. Here is a list of them:

1. — al-Walīd's palace at Minyā on Lake Tiberias, A.D. 705/15.
2. — al-Walīd's *ḳaṣr* at Djabal Seis, A.D. 705/15.
3. — Hishām's palace of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, *c.* 727.
4. — Hishām's palace of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī, 110/729.
5. — Hishām's palace at Khirbat al-Mafdjar, 4 miles N. of Jericho.
6. — Walīd II's palace of Mshattā, *c.* A.D. 744.
7. — Walīd II's palace of Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūba, *c.* A.D. 744.

All these palaces, although built in the midst of Muslim territory, look externally like forts, for they are stone enclosures with round flanking towers. Nos. 1-5 are approximately 70 m. square externally, No. 7 is twice as large, 70 × 140 m. and No. 6 is four times as large, i.e. 145 m. square. Why this fortified appearance when it was not necessary? It would seem that having been in the habit of occupying forts belonging to the Roman *limes*, they came to look upon a rectangular enclosure flanked by towers as a necessary feature of a princely residence.

When Hishām about 727 A.D. built his palace, known to-day as Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, he chose a site on a small mound about 40 miles to the west of Palmyra, where there was a monastery built by the Ghassānid Arethas (= al-Ḥārith) under Justinian in A.D. 559. He incorporated the tower of this monastery, which had a door protected by a mâchicoulis (of one opening only) high above it, so that it formed a tall watch-tower at the north-west corner of his 70 m. square *ḳaṣr*. This is how the mâchicoulis first passed into Muslim architecture.

Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī has been admirably excavated by M. Daniel Schlumberger, (see *Syria*, XX, 195-238 and 324-73). The entrance was found to consist of two great stone door-posts and a lintel decorated with vine ornament, which must have been taken from Palmyra. He has also brought to light masses of stucco ornament, wall panelling, window grilles and frames, and human figures, part of which has been skilfully assembled and put together in the Museum at Damascus. Two large fresco paintings were also discovered, one representing the Caliph on horseback hunting with bow and arrow and using stirrups, which is almost the oldest known record of their use.

Two years later Hishām built another palace, known to-day as Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī, together with a small walled city provided with a mosque of three aisles, cut through the centre by a transept of greater height, exactly as at Damascus (Plate XII*a* and Fig. 4).

As for the Palace Enclosure it averages nearly 67 m. a side internally and 71 m. externally with walls of stone flanked by 12 round towers, of which the total height must have been at least 14 m. There is only one entrance in the centre of the west side; it is defended by a mâchicoulis as are the four gates of the *Madīna* alongside. The walls are decorated with a string-course of brickwork at the level of the rampart walk and each tower was crowned by a room with a brick dome. The tops of the pair which flank the entrance are decorated with arched panels of stucco, acanthus leaves and also apparently vine leaves and grapes (Plate XI). The interior consisted of an open court, which must have measured about 37 × 45 m., surrounded by two tiers of rooms, the lower tunnel vaulted, the upper with flat wooden ceilings. It awaits excavation.

Another palace of Hishām at Khirbat al-Mafdjar, 4 miles north of Jericho, has also been excavated in recent years. It consists of a palace enclosure about 70 m. square with its own mosque, a large forecourt, a tank with a little open octagonal pavilion in the centre, another mosque with aisles (two) on the *ḳibla* side only, and to north a very large *ḥammām*, consisting of nine domed bays arranged three by three, with a small annexe on the north side containing the most beautiful floor mosaic ever discovered in Palestine. It consists of a fine tree executed in three shades of green, with two gazelles grazing on the left and a lion pouncing on another on the right. In Muslim palaces the staircases are generally narrow and inconspicuously tucked away, but here there are fine broad staircases which led to the upper floor. Here again masses of stucco ornament have been recovered and put together in the Palestine Museum at Jerusalem. It consists of panels decorated with geometrical ornament, window grilles, human heads and dancing girls (see the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities*, V, VI, VIII and X-XII).

These three palaces each had an enclosure which is Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī is about 1½ km. wide and 7 km. long, with walls of stone to the height of a metre and a half and above that at least 2 m. more of mud brick. There are half-round buttresses at intervals, first on one side of the wall and then on the other alternately. Traces of a similar wall exist at Mafdjar. Such an enclosure was called a *ḥayr*, and here is the proof. Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, p. 263) describing the foundation of Sāmarrā by the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim in A.D. 836 says: "And wherever these streets of al-Ḥayr touched land granted to other people, he would order the wall [of al-Ḥayr] to be built farther back. Behind the wall were wild animals, gazelles, wild asses, deer, hares and ostriches, kept in by an enclosing wall in a fine broad open tract". And Miskawayhī (Margoliouth's text, i, 159) under the year 315/925-6, says: "This year there was a rising of the disbanded cavalry, who went out to the Oratory, plundered the palace called al-Thurayyā (the palace of the Pleiades at Baghdād), and *slaughtered the game in the Ḥayr*".

Mshattā, about 4 miles from Zīza and about 20 miles south of ʿAmmān, is the largest of all the Umayyad palaces, measuring about 145 m. each way, but it was never finished. The outer walls with their half round towers are of well dressed limestone, but all the walls of the interior are of red bricks resting of three or four courses of cut stone. The bricks are of two sizes, 21 cm. square and 28 cm. sq., and 6½ cm. thick.

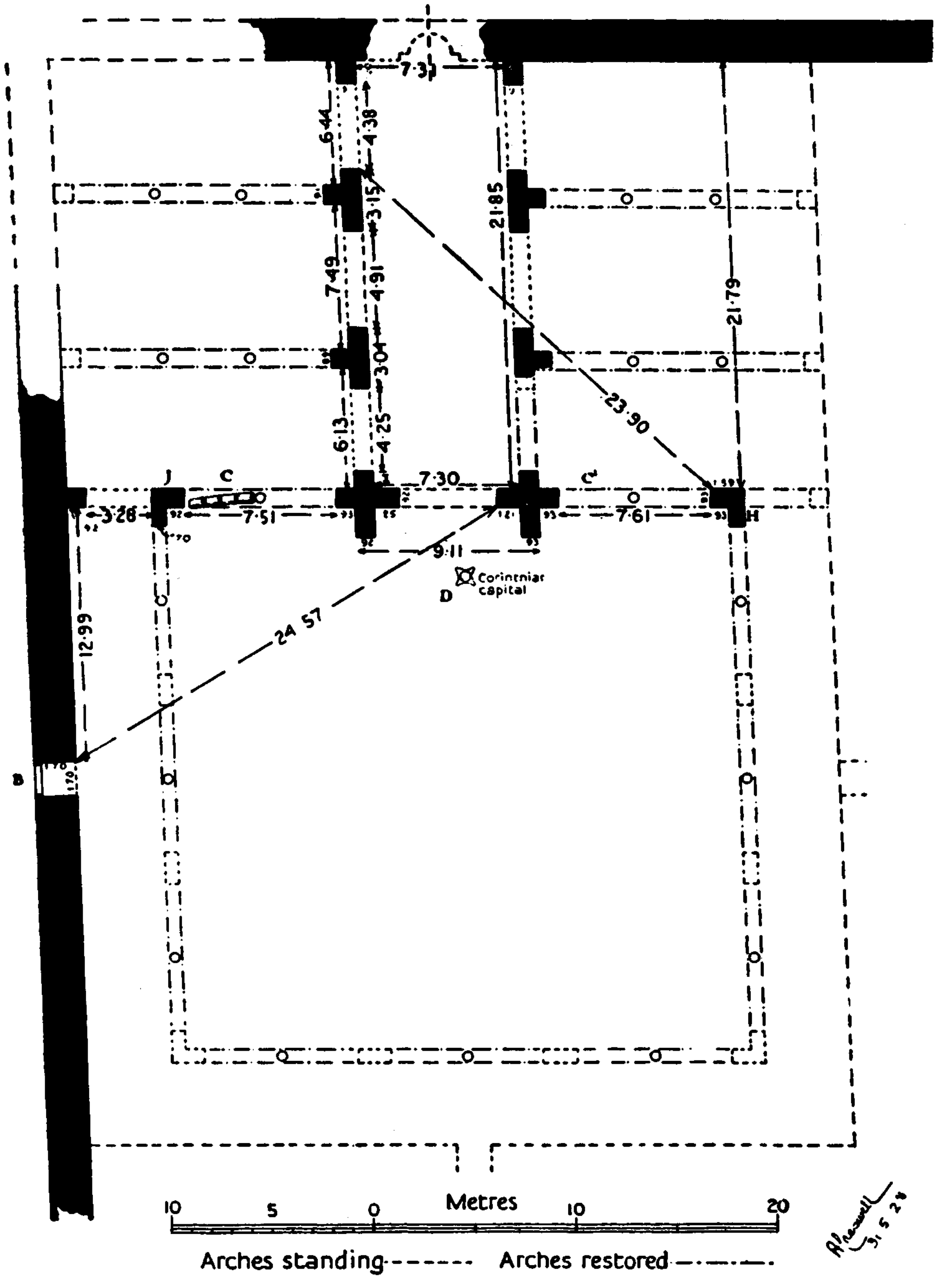

Fig. 4. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī, mosque.

The entrance is in the centre of the south side. Internally it is divided into three tracts running from north to south, the central one being 57 m. in width and the lateral ones about 42 m. The buildings intended to occupy the lateral tracts have never been begun, and even those projected for the central tract have never been finished. Of the latter, however, the group at the north end must have been very nearly finished, and the plan of the group at the south end can be clearly seen, for a great stone grid is visible formed by the stone foundation course (Fig. 5).

The part immediately behind the gateway was obviously intended to be an entrance hall 17.40 m. long, leading into a court 27.14 m. broad and 23 m. deep; these two elements were flanked by other rooms and courts. This group may be called the Gateway Block. Beyond the court just mentioned is an enormous central court, just over 57 m. sq. on the north side of which is a triple-arched entrance (the

arches have fallen) leading into a great basilical hall, 21.60 m. deep, ending in a triple apse (Plate XII *b-c* and Fig. 6). This basilical hall, which presumably was the Throne Room, is flanked by two symmetrical complexes composed as follows: on either side of an oblong court, placed perpendicular to the basilical hall, is another court at right angles to it, flanked on each side by a pair of vaulted chambers. These rooms were intended to have a marble panelling, for great block of a fine green stone (looking like marble, but really a calc-schist), some already sawn into slabs 3 cm. thick, were once to be seen lying in the east side tract.

But Mshattā really owes its fame to the marvellous carving on its south façade, or rather on the two half-octagonal towers that flank the entrance and the first length of curtain wall to right (13.20 m.) and left (13.50 m.). It consists of a plain socle 47 cm. high, a richly decorated base 1.25 m. in height, a decorated wall-face 2.95 m. in height and an entablature, 90.4 cm. The base consists of a torus moulding with a hollow moulding above and below. The torus moulding is decorated with a network of interlacing vine tendrils which form loops, each occupied by a vine leaf and a bunch of grapes. The wall-surface is divided into twenty upright and twenty inverted triangles by a cornice-like moulding, which runs up and down zig-zag fashion from the socle to the entablature. The triangles are about 2.85 m. in height and 2.50 in width at the base. Exactly in the centre of each is a rosette, those in the upright triangles being lobed hexagons, those in the inverted triangles straight-sided octagons. The kernels of all the rosettes vary. The surface of the upright triangles is decorated with extraordinary richness in high relief, vine tendrils, bunches of grapes, birds which pluck at the fruit, etc. In the lower part of some of the triangles is a chalice, out of which two animals drink (Plate XIII). On the right hand side of the façade there are neither animals nor birds and the ornament is on a much smaller scale, in fact the differences are sufficient to justify the suggestion that it was executed by a different school of craftsmen.

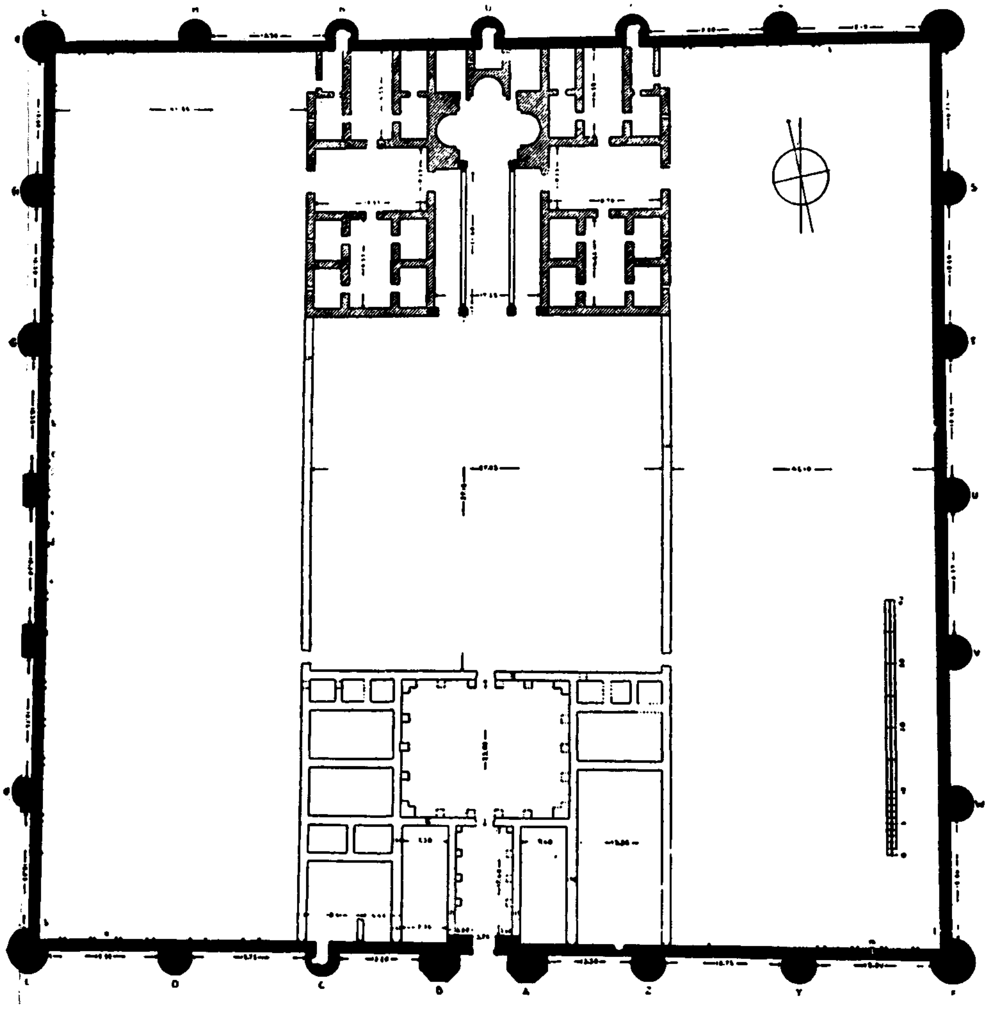

Fig. 5. Mshattā, plan.

Summary: The monuments of Umayyad architecture are really splendid structures of cut stone with arcades resting on marble columns and richly decorated internally with marble panelling and

mosaic (*fusayfisā*). The mosques are nearly always covered with a gable roof (*dj̲amalūn*). The minarets were tall square towers, derived from the church towers of pre-Muslim Syria, and the triple-aisled sanctuaries were due to the same influence. Umayyad monuments exhibit a mixture of influences, Syria occupying the first place and Persia the second, and Egyptian influence is definitely demonstrable at the end of this period in Ms̲h̲attā. Umayyad architecture employed the following devices: the semi-circular, the horse-shoe and the pointed arch, flat arches or lintels with a semi-circular relieving arch above, joggled voussoirs, tunnel-vaults in stone and brick, wooden domes and stone domes on true spherical-triangle pendentives. The squinch does not appear to have been employed. But we know from descriptions of early authors that a type of mosque prevailed in ʿIrāḳ and Persia quite different from the Syrian type. It was square in plan, had walls of brick (sometimes of mud brick) and its flat timber roof rested directly on the columns without the intermediary of arches. Here we have a direct link between the ancient Persian audience-hall (*apadāna*) and the flat-roofed portico (*tālār*) of more recent Persian palaces.

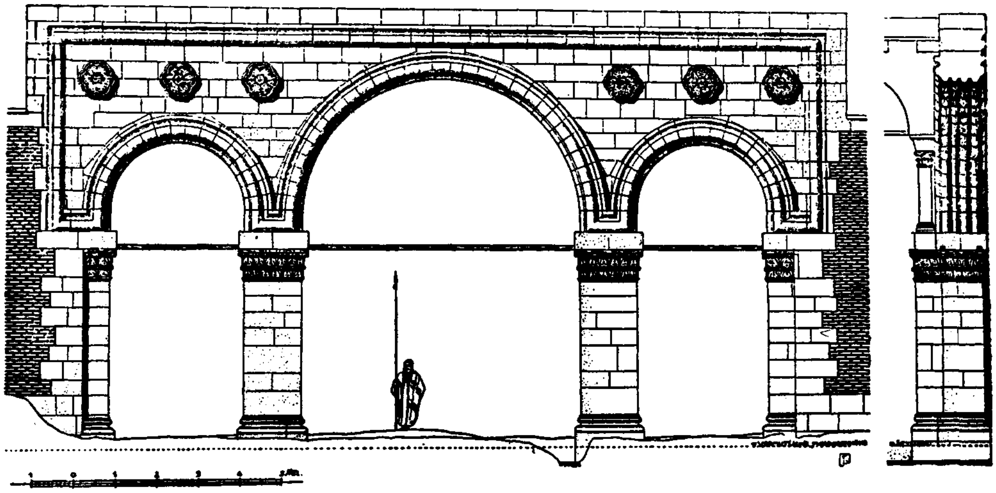

Fig. 6. Ms̲h̲attā, triple-arched entrance.

(3) *The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*

The effect of the foundation of Bag̲h̲dād was as far reaching as the transfer of the capital cf the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople. The whole centre of gravity of the Empire was changed; hitherto its capital had been in territory which since the time of Alexander had been in the sphere of Hellenistic culture. The transfer resulted in the weakening of this influence and its replacement by the cultural influences of Sāsānian Persia, to which sphere ʿIrāḳ belonged. This made itself felt in the design of the new city, for which we possess such detailed accounts in al-Yaʿḳūbī and al-K̲h̲aṭīb that its form can be reconstructed, although no trace of the Bag̲h̲dād of al-Manṣūr has survived. The foundation took place in A.D. 762 and everything was finished in 766.

It was a circular city with an outer and inner wall, and a *faṣīl* or *intervallum*, about 35.40 m. wide between. The outer wall was about 14 m. high and 4 m. thick, the inner about 17 m. high including the crenellations and about 5 m. thick; the towers, of which there were 28 between each gate, rose about 2½ m. higher. There were four equidistant gateways. al-K̲h̲aṭīb says that "each was composed of two gateways, one in front of the other, separated by a *dihlīz* and a *raḥaba* opening on the *faṣīl* between the two walls. When one entered by the K̲h̲urāsān Gate one first turned to the left in an oblong passage (*dihlīz āzāj*) with a vault of brick, 20 cubits wide and 30 long, *the entrance of which was in the width and the exit in the length* and passed out into a *raḥaba* ... 40 cubits wide leading to the second gateway. At the far end of this court was the second gateway which was that of the city ... The four gates were constructed on the same model". It is clear from the words of al-K̲h̲aṭīb—"when one entered by the K̲h̲urāsān Gate, one first turned to the left, etc." that the outer gateway was a bent entrance. Al-K̲h̲aṭīb continues: "The second or inner gate, which was that the city ... gave access to an oblong corridor, vaulted with bricks and gypsum (*dj̲iṣṣ*) 20 cubits long and 12 wide. Above the vault was an audience hall ... covered by a gigantic dome 50 cubits high" (Fig. 7).

The Muslim historians insist that the circular form of the city was a feature that had never been known before, but such is far from being the case, for many earlier examples are known, e.g. the Hittite city of Sinjerli, Abra, Agbatana, Parthian Ctesiphon and Tak̲h̲t-i Sulaymān, Dārābdj̲ird in Fārs and also Fīrūzābād.

A mosque was built in the centre of the new city. According to al-K̲h̲aṭīb it was 200 cubits (roughly 100 m.) square and had a roof supported by wooden columns. There were 17 ailes from right to left, and the side aisles were two deep, the sanctuary was probably five deep as at Kūfa and Wāsiṭ. It was rebuilt by Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd with burnt bricks and teak-wood, in 193/808-9.

The palace of al-Manṣūr measured 400 cubits each way. It was on the *ḳibla* side of the mosque and in contact (*mulāṣiḳ*) with it, as was the practice in early Islam, e.g. at Damascus about 30 A.H., at Baṣra in 45 A.H., at Ḳayrawān in 50 A.H., at Wāsiṭ in 83 or 84 A.H., at Merv in 132-8 A.H., and (if we count

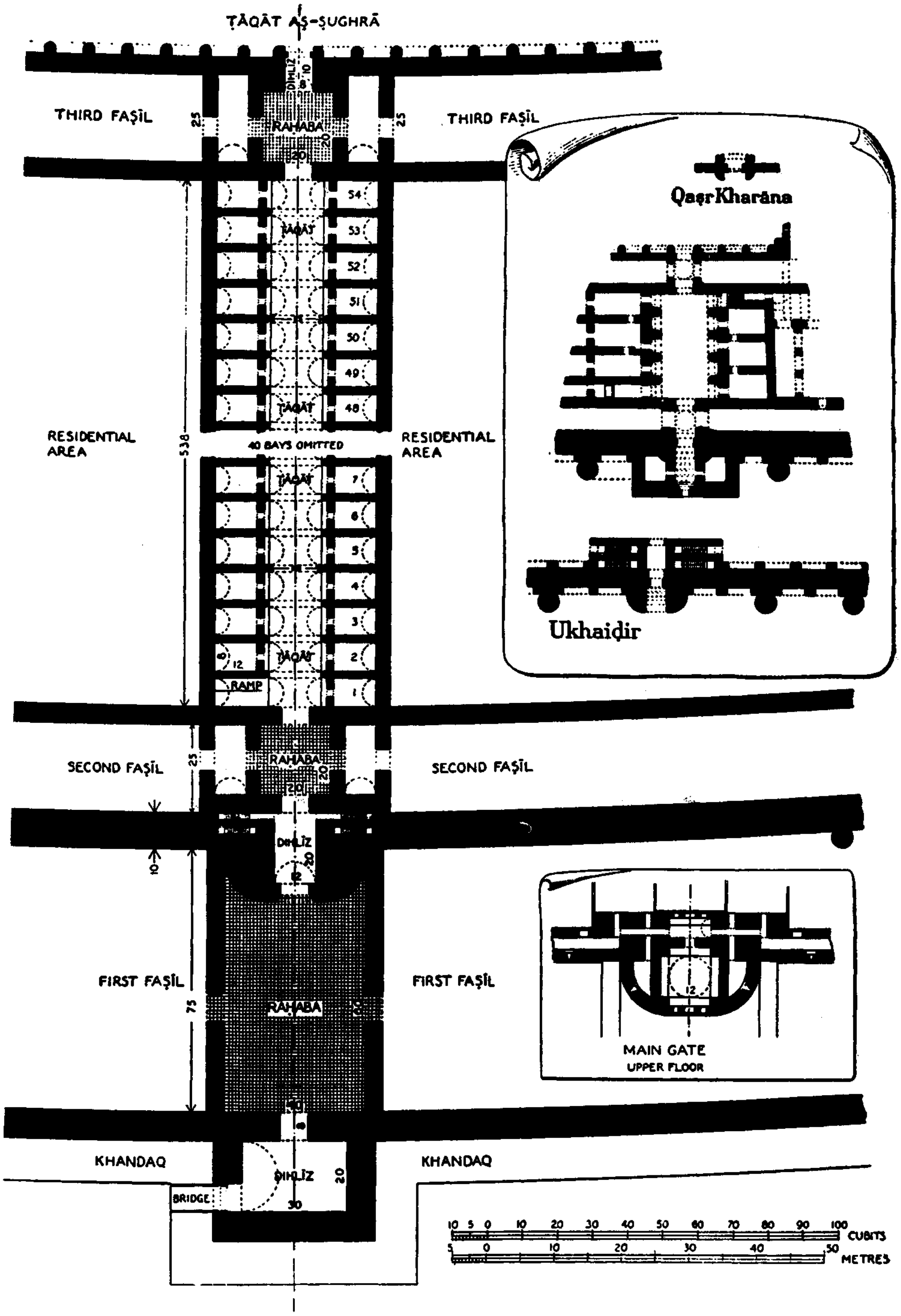

Fig. 7. Baghdād, ṭāķāt

the Dār al-Imāra as a palace) in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn at Cairo, in 265 A.H.

Palace and Mosque have long since disappeared but fortunately a fairly well preserved ʿAbbāsid palace of this period has survived, viz: Ukhayḍir, on the Wādī ʿUbayd about 30 miles west of Karbalāʾ.

It consists of a fortified rectangular enclosure measuring 175 × 169 m. with a gateway in the centre of each side. There are four round corner towers and ten intermediate half-round towers, not counting the peculiar gateway towers, on each side (Plate XIV *a*-*b*). Within the great enclosure and in contact with its northern face, is the Palace proper, measuring 111 m. from north to south and 82 from east to west. It also is provided with half round towers. Its main entrance forms one with the northern entrance of the main enclosure. The masonry is composed of roughly shaped slabs of limestone set in gypsum mortar. The walls with the parapet must have been about 19 m. high. The palace proper consists of a great court of honour, with a *līwān* for the Hall of Public Audience and a square room behind it, presumably a hall of private audience. On either side are other vaulted rooms. A great vaulted corridor about 3½ m. wide runs completely round this group of rooms and the court of honour, and on the east and west sides of it are four isolated and self-contained sets of vaulted chambers, each with its own courtyard, which I regard as four *bayt*s for the four lawful wives of the Muslim prince for whom it was built, as at Mshattā (Fig. 8).

In these *bayt*s the side next the great corridor is bounded by a blind arcade of five arches, the central arch being occupied by the door. On the far side was a portico 2.80 m. deep of five arches resting on four round piers, and covered by a tunnel vault. The north and south sides are occupied by a triple-arched façade. These arches form a portico, behind which are three parallel tunnel-vaulted rooms. A passage leads from the courtyard to a room 17.60 m. long and 3½ wide, placed transversely behind the three tunnel-vaulted rooms. It is covered by two lengths of tunnel-vault with a space open to the sky between. It must have been intended to contain a fire, for the vault next the outer wall is pierced by a pair of terra-cotta pipes, so it must have been a kitchen.

The palace was also provided with a mosque 24.20 m. wide and 15.15 deep, with a portico one aisle deep on the east, south and west sides, but without one on the north.

Ukhayḍir was probably begun by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, uncle of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, in 161/778.

At about this time the Aḳṣā Mosque at Jerusalem was partly rebuilt by the Caliph al-Mahdī. Recent research enables us to affirm that it then consisted of a central aisle 11.50 wide with seven aisles to right and seven to left about 6.25 m. in width, all covered by gable roofs and all perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall. There was a great wooden dome at the end of the central aisle. On the north side was a large central door with seven smaller ones to right and left, and ten "unornamented" ones on the east side (Fig. 9).

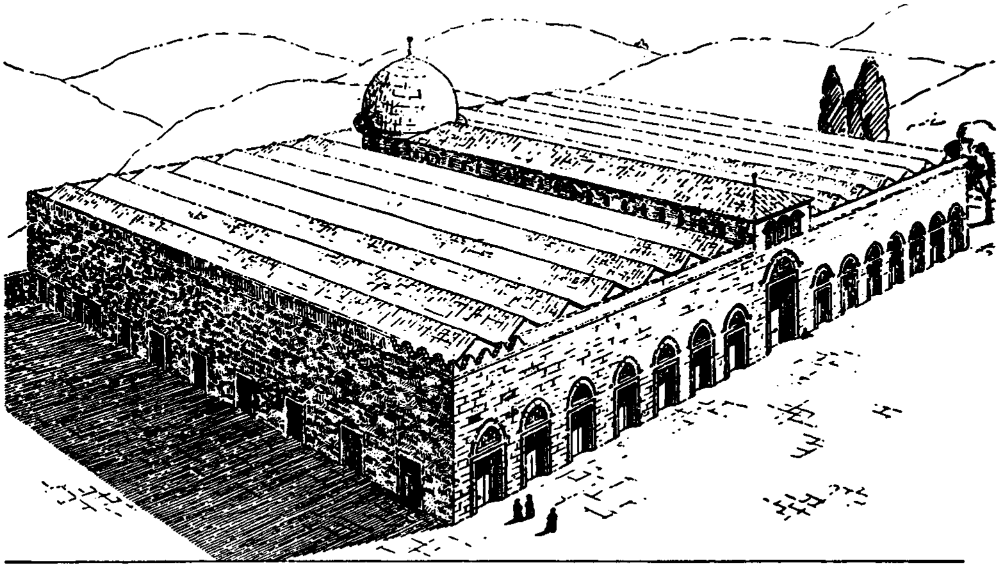

Fig. 9. The Aḳṣā Mosque in A.D. 780.

There can be no doubt that this mosque had a great influence on the Great Mosque of Cordova built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in 170/786-7. It was added to on three occasions but this earliest part still exists; as at Jerusalem the aisles, of which there are eleven, run perpendicular to the back wall, they are all covered by parallel gable roofs, and the central one is wider than the rest. The influence of Syria in Spain at this time is not surprising for Spain was full of Syrian refugees. The arcades each consist of twelve arches with twelve more above, an ingenious device whereby a height of ceiling of about 9.80 m. was obtained with columns which, with their capitals and bases, only measure 3.80 m. (Plate XIV *c* and XV *a*).

Another building of this period, of great importance for the history of architecture, is the Cistern of Ramla in Palestine, for it consists of a subterranean excavation 8 m. deep divided into six aisles by five arcades of four arches each, all of which are pointed and appear to be struck from two centres, varying from one seventh to one fifth of the span apart (Plate XV *b* and Fig. 10). And there can be

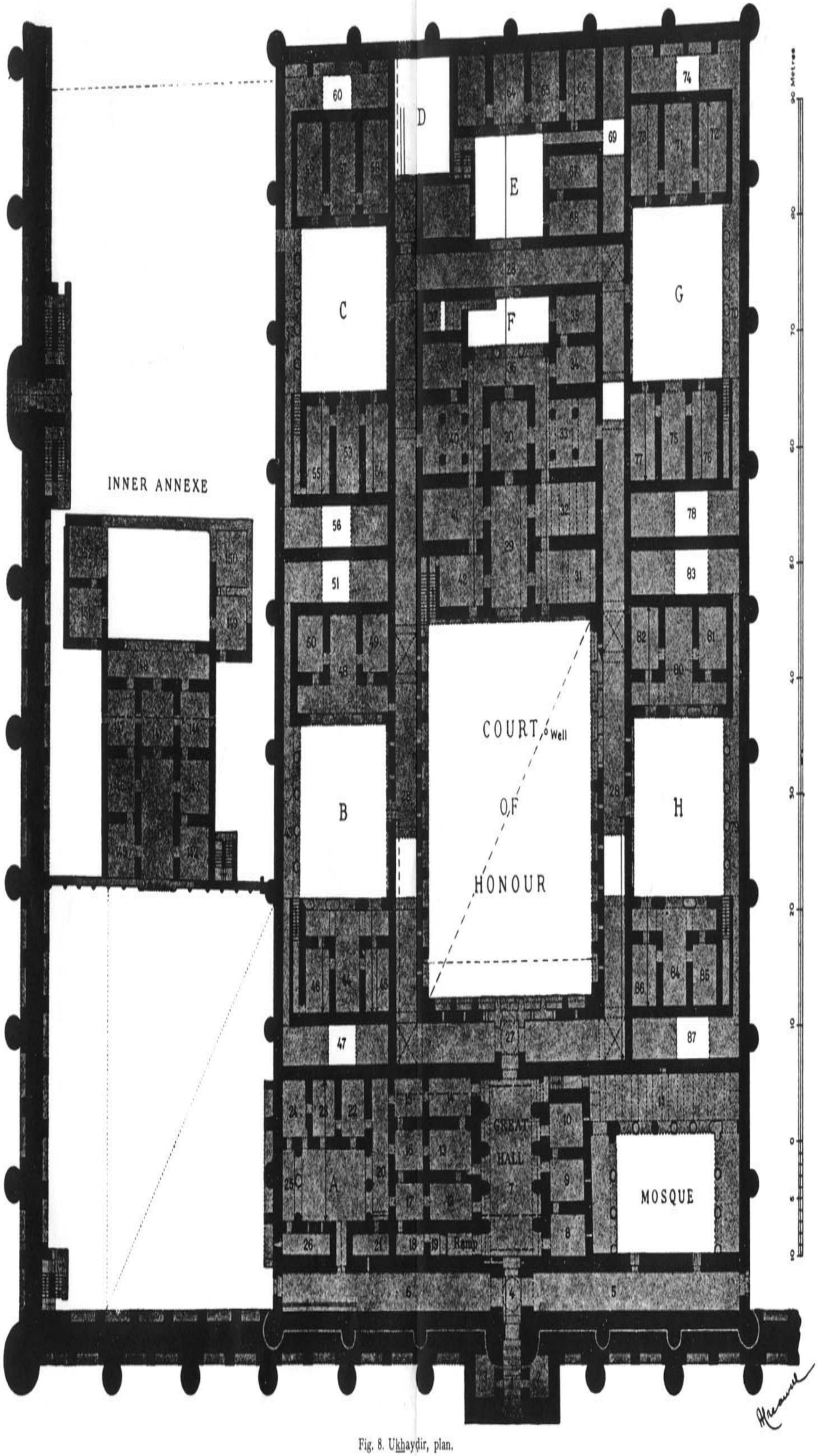

Fig. 8. Ukhaydir, plan.

no doubt about the date for on the plaster of the vault is a Kūfic inscription of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 172/May 789. It is therefore centuries earlier than the earliest pointed arches in Europe.

In 212/827 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, the Governor of Egypt, ordered the Mosque of ʿAmr at Fusṭāṭ to be doubled in size by the addition to the west of its exact area in the same shape. Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 253) says that the part added included the great *miḥrāb* and all that is to the west of it. The number of doors was now thirteen: five on the N.-E., three on the N.-W., four on the S.-W., and one for the *khaṭīb* on the *ḳibla* side. This is the last recorded extention of the mosque, and its significance is of far reaching importance for it follows that no part of the present structure lying to the right of a line drawn through its centre can possibly be older than 212 A.H. The Mosque then measured internally (as it does to-day) 109 m. on the S.-E. side, 105.28 on the N.-W., 120.55 on the N.-E. and 117.28 on the S.W. As a result of a number of trial trenches made

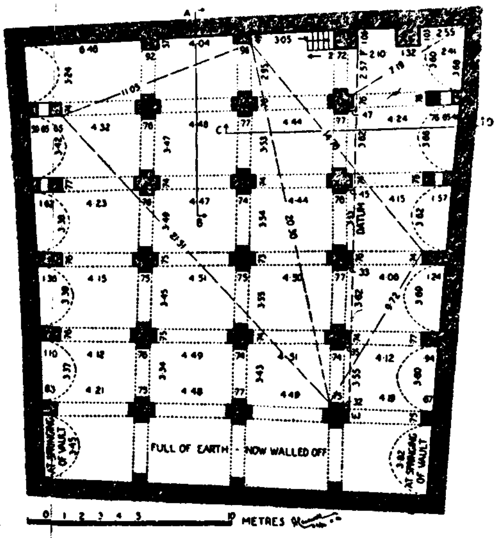

Fig. 10. Ramla, cistern, plan.

between 1926 and 1933, we now know from the foundations that there were 7 arcades running from right to left on the *ḳibla* side and the same number on the side opposite, and four on the S.-W. side. On the N.-E. side the arcades ran perpendicular to the wall. The outer walls were about 10.50 m. high without their cresting, about which we know nothing. There were seventy-eight windows of very interesting construction. The span was about 2.70 m. There were engaged colonnettes at the inner and outer corners and a pair of dwarf marble columns placed on either side in the opening. A transverse beam resting on the latter reduced the span to about 1.90 m. The springing of the arch began about 1.40 m. above the sill, and the rise was about 1.40. Those arches which have survived are considerably stilted and very slightly pointed, and the broken edge of a stucco grille is visible along their intrados. A beam ran across the opening at the springing of the arch, and nailed to its inner side was a strip of carved woodwork which continued along the face of the wall. The decoration consists of a flowing acanthus frieze in which four-leaved whorls alternate with five-lobed leaves (Fig. 11). This is of fundamental importance, for it is derived from the Hellenistic art of Syria and it shows that the ʿAbbāsid art of ʿIrāḳ, which we find fifty years later in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, had not yet reached Egypt.

The Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān is another famous mosque, founded in the early days of Islam, of which no part (excepting the minaret only) is earlier than the IXth century A.D. The oldest part of the present mosque dates from the rebuilding carried out by the Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh in 221/836.

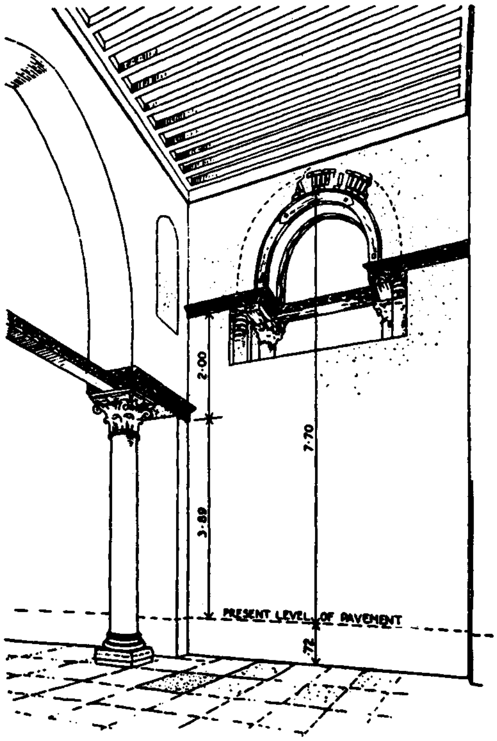

Fig. 11. Mosque of ʿAmr, bay.

The measurements of the mosque are as follows: N. 65.60 m., S. 70.28, E. 121.80, W. 120.50. The sanctuary consisted of sixteen arcades of seven arches each, running perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall, but without reaching it, for a transverse arcade runs at a distance of about 6 m. from it and it is against this arcade that the sixteen arcades abut. The side aisles are 3.30 m. in width against 5.40 for the central aisle, which must have measured 6.60 m. originally, for its width has been subsequently reduced by two arcades built in contact with the old ones, without any bond or liaison of any sort. The columnsev en have their own impost blocks instead of each pair being tied together by a common impost block, and the arches of the "lining arcade" are pointed horse-shoe arches instead of round horse-shoe arches like all the rest (Plate XVI). There is no doubt that they are the work of Ibrāhīm II b. Aḥmad, 261-89 A.H. (see below). The whole was covered by a flat roof of uniform height, even over the central aisle, for the latter was only raised during the extensive works of Ibrāhīm II. There were no *riwāḳ*s on the three sides of *ṣaḥn* until the time

of Ibrāhīm III. The outer walls were of stone, strengthened at intervals by buttresses.

This same year 221/836 was marked by an event of great importance — the foundation of Sāmarrā. The palace was built on the edge of the plateau, which is about 17 m. above the alluvial valley of the Tigris. In the valley itself is a great basin, 127 m. square, from which a great flight of steps, 60 m. broad, gently ascended to the terrace in front of the Bāb al-ʿĀmma. The latter consists of a great triple-arched façade, about 12 m. high, with three parallel tunnel-vaulted rooms behind it (Plate XVII *a*). This is the best preserved part of the whole palace; nearly everywhere else the walls either only rise a metre or two or have been exposed by excavation. Behind the Bāb al-ʿĀmma were six transverse halls, then a square court. To the north one reached the rooms of the Caliph, on the south was the *Ḥarīm*. But going directly forward led to an oblong Court of Honour, with the triple entrance of the Throne Room beyond it. The latter consisted of four T-shaped halls arranged in a cruciform fashion. Each one resembled a three-aisled basilica so as to obtain light from the clerestory. Between the arms of the cross are smaller rooms with marble dados, also a mosque for the Caliph with a *miḥrāb*. Beyond this again is the Great Esplanade, a great court or garden, 180 m. wide and 350 m. deep, intersected by little canals. Beyond again was the polo-ground, and the distance from the great basin to the race-course must have been nearly 1400 m.

The decoration consisted of dados, generally of moulded stucco, except in the Throne-Room group where they are of marble slabs. The upper part of the walls in the *Ḥarīm* were decorated with fresco paintings, which included living forms and foliage. All woodwork was of teak, carved and painted.

The Great Mosque of this period has not survived, as it was entirely rebuilt in 234-7 H. Before describing it we must speak of the Great Mosque of Sūsa in Tunisia built in 236/850-1.

The mosque proper, excluding its annexes, is a perfectly regular rectangle built of stone in courses about 1/2 m. high and measuring internally 49.39 m. deep and 57.16 wide. The *ṣaḥn*, which measures 41 × 22¹/₄ m., is surrounded by low arcades of slightly horse-shoe form, resting on squat T-shaped piers. There are eleven arches to north and south and six to east and west, and the height of the façade is about 6¹/₂ m. It is perfectly plain except for a splay-face moulding, immediately above which is a fine inscription frieze in simple undecorated Kūfic, the maximum height of the characters being 28 cm. The band on which they are carved curves forward slightly to compensate for foreshortening and thus help the observer at ground level. This is the earliest known example of this treatment, which passed into Egypt with the Fāṭimids and appears in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, 380-403/990-1013. The three *riwāḳs* vary in depth from 4.08-4.27 m. and each is covered by a tunnel-vault (Plate XVIII *a*).

The sanctuary consists of thirteen aisles formed by twelve arcades of six arches each running towards the *ḳibla* wall. Each aisle is divided into six bays by other arcades running from east to west. All these arches, which rest on squat cruciform piers, are of horse-shoe form. The first three bays going south are covered by tunnel-vaults, with one exception, the third bay in the central aisle, which is covered by a dome on an octagonal drum with slightly incurved faces.

The next three bays going south are covered by cross-vaults at a slightly higher level. Here again the third bay in the central aisle is covered by a dome on squinches. It is obvious that the mosque has been extended towards the south, that the first three bays are the original part and that the first dome marks the bay in front of the original *miḥrāb* (Plate XVIII *b*), which has been removed together with the original back wall. Before that the depth of the mosque must have been 44 m. The date of the original work is given by the great Kūfic inscription as 236/850-1.

The Great Mosque of Sāmārrā was rebuilt by Mutawakkil; the work was begun in 234/848-9 and finished in Ramaḍān 237/Feb.-March, 852. It is the largest mosque ever built, for its outer walls form an immense rectangle of kiln-baked bricks measuring roughly 240 m. deep internally by 156 m. wide (proportion approximately as 3 : 2); its area therefore is nearly 38,000 sq.m. Only the enclosing walls have been preserved; they are 2.65 m. thick, strengthened by half round towers averaging 3.60 m. in diameter with a projection of 2.15 m., and the curtain walls between them average 15 m. in length. There are four corner towers, twelve intermediate towers to east and west and eight to north and south making forty-four in all. There were sixteen rectangular doorways spanned by beams with a relieving arch above.

The towers are perfectly plain, but each curtain wall is decorated with a frieze of six recessed squares with bevelled edges; in each square is a shallow saucer about a metre in diameter and 25 cms. deep. The total height of the walls is now about 10.50. In spite of its simplicity the whole effect is truly monumental (Plate XVII *b*).

The south wall is pierced by twenty-four windows placed on the axis of the twenty-five aisles of the sanctuary, except the central one, for there was no room above the *miḥrāb*. There were two more windows on each side making 28 in all. Externally they are narrow rectangular openings, but internally they are splayed and covered by scalloped arches of five lobes resting on little engaged columns, the whole being set in a sunk rectangular frame.

Herzfeld's excavations showed that the roof rested directly on octagonal piers of brick, with marble colonnettes at the four corners, making a support 2.07 m. square. The clear height within was 10.35. *There were no arches.*

The mosque proper was surrounded by an outer enclosure, or *ziyāda*, on the east, north and west sides, and air photographs show that the great rectangle thus formed stood in a still greater enclosure measuring 376 × 444 m.

The minaret, the famous Malwiyya, stands free at a distance of 27¹/₄ m. from the north wall of the mosque. There is a square socle, 33 m. a side and about 3 m. high, on which rests a spiral tower with a ramp about 2.30 m. wide, which winds round in an anti-clockwise direction until it has made five complete turns. The rise for each turn is 6.10 m., but as the length of each turn is less than the previous one it follows that the slope inevitably becomes steeper and steeper. At the summit of this spiral part is a cylindrical storey, decorated with eight recesses, each set in a shallow frame (Plate XVIII *c*). The southern niche frames a doorway at which the ramp ends; it opens on to a steep staircase, at first straight then spiral, leading to the top platform which is 50 m. above the socle. From eight holes to be seen Herzfeld concluded that there was probably a little pavilion on wooden columns here.

A few years later, between A.D. 860 and 861, another immense mosque was built by the same Caliph at Abū Dulaf to the north of Sāmarrā. It measures internally 213 m. from north to south and 135 from east to west. Here the outer walls are of mud brick about 1.60 m. thick strengthened by half-round buttresses, but the roof rested on arcades of burnt brick running from north to south; it was apparently only about 8 m. high. The sanctuary is divided into seventeen aisles by sixteen arcades of five arches each with an average span of 3.13 m. The two outer arcades are carried right through to the north end of the mosque, forming side *riwāḳs* 14 m. in depth. The northern *riwāḳ* resembles the southern one, except that it is only three arches deep. On the north side and about 9.60 m. from the mosque is a miniature Malwiyya on a socle about 11.20 m. square, above which is the much damaged spiral part which barely makes three turns.

Ten years later important works were carried out in the Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān by Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad, who reduced the width of the central aisle by about 1.20 m. by constructing two new arcades in contact with the old ones. The arches of these arcades are pointed horse-shoe arches instead of round horse-shoe arches like those they are in contact with. He also built three free-standing arches and one wall-arch of the same type to carry a fluted dome in front of the *miḥrāb*. They rise to a height of 9.15 m., and the square thus formed is terminated above by a cornice, its top edge being 10.83 m. from the ground. On it rests the octagonal zone of transition, 2.15 m. in height, which is formed by eight semicircular arches springing from colonnettes resting on little corbels inserted in the cornice just mentioned. The drum is composed of eight arched windows and sixteen arched panels arranged in pairs between the windows. The dome, which is 5.80 m. in diameter, has twenty-four ribs, each springing from a little corbel. Between the ribs are concave segments, 30 cm. deep at the base and diminishing to nothing at the apex. The whole composition is charming. Externally the dome resembles a cantaloup melon, with 24 convex ribs (corresponding to the 24 concave segments) which taper to nothing at the apex (Plate XIX *a* and XX). Abū Ibrāhīm's work was carried out in 248/862-3. He also lined the *miḥrāb* with a series of very beautiful carved marble panels assembled in four tiers of seven panels each; total height 2.72 m. He also decorated the face of the *miḥrāb* and the wall surrounding it with lustre titles about 21 cm. square (Plate XIX *b*). The marble panels and the tiles had been imported by him from ʿIrāḳ, and *the latter constitute the oldest examples of lustre pottery of certain date.*

The Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn

In 263 A.H. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn decided to built a new mosque on an outcrop of rock called Djabal Yashkur. The scheme of the mosque can be seen from the plan (Fig. 12) and the general view (Plate XXI) taken from the minaret of the Madrasa of Ṣarghitmish. It consists of a *ṣaḥn* of about 92 m. square surrounded by *riwāḳs*, five aisles deep on the *ḳibla* side and two aisles only on the other sides. This part—the mosque proper—is enclosed by a wall with a remarkable cresting, and forms a great rectangle measuring 122.26 m. in width and 140.33 in width. It is surrounded by a great outer court or *ziyāda*, except on the south-eastern (*ḳibla*) side which was occupied by a private apartment of the amīr, the Dār al-Imāra. This outer *ziyāda* is roughly 19 m. broad and its outer walls are lower than those of the mosque proper. The whole forms a great rectangle almost exactly square, measuring 162 m. in depth and 162.46 in width, constructed of red bricks, measuring roughly 18 × 8 × 4 cm., coated with a very hard stucco in which the ornament is cut. No wooden ties are used anywhere, except at the tops of the piers.

It results from careful measurements that the unit employed for setting out the mosque was the Nilometric cubit of 54.04 cm., for the principal dimensions are almost exact multiples of it.

The scheme of the façade of the mosque proper is as follows. It would seem that the architect set out his design by bisecting the façade as regards its height and then took this median line for the level of the window sills. Then the plain lower part was pierced by seven rectangular doorways, and the upper part by thirty-one pointed-arched windows, with their sills from 5.70 to 5.86 m. above the floor. The window-arches rest on stumpy engaged colonnettes of brick exactly as in that part of the Mosque of ʿAmr which dates from 212 A.H. The walls are 10.03 m. in height up to the roof level, above which is a row of pierced circles in squares and then a curious open work cresting, making a total height of 13.03 m. above the sills of the doorways (Plate XXII *a*). The latter are perfectly plain except for the carved wooden soffits, of which four original ones remain. In addition to the seventeen large and two small doors leading from the *ziyādas* into the mosque proper there are four in the *ḳibla* wall, one of which leads into the room behind the *miḥrāb*. This must be the door mentioned by Maḳrīzī (ii, 269, l. 22 ff.) which enabled Ibn Ṭūlūn to go directly from the Dār al-Imāra to the *maḳsūra* next the *miḥrāb* and the *minbar*, as was the practice during the first three centuries of Islam.

The *ṣaḥn* is roughly 92 m. square with thirteen pointed arches on each side (Plate XXII *b*). The sanctuary is formed by five arcades of seventeen arches each, and the *riwāḳ* opposite by two arcades. These seven arcades are carried right through to the side walls. The arcades of the lateral *riwāḳs*, however, abut against the outer arcades of the sanctuary and N.-W. *riwāḳ* and consequently consist of thirteen arches only. The arches rest on piers 2.46 m. wide and 1.27 m. deep, with engaged brick columns at the corners. They are placed about 4.60 m. apart. Dovetailed wooden plates are used round the tops of these piers to strengthen them. The pier-capitals are derived from late Corinthian capitals, the two tiers of acanthus being replaced by conventionalized Sāmarrā vine leaves (Plate XXIII *a*).

The soffits of the arches are decorated with bands of stucco ornament, of which about ten are fairly well preserved (Plate XXIV). All consist of a very broad central strip between narrow double borders. The central strip in every case consists of a geometrical frame-work, the interstices of which are filled with various elements belonging to style B of Sāmarrā (Fig. 13). In addition to this a continuous border of ornament, 46 cm. wide, runs round the arches on both faces, turns at right angles at the springing, runs across the top of the pier, and then turns again at right angles to run round the next arch. A frieze of stucco ornament runs along just above the band of ornament running round the arches. About 20 cm. above this ran the famous Kūfic inscription carved on wood, of which a fair amount still remains, running along about 30 cm. below the beams of the ceiling. Calculation shows that this frieze, which must have been over 2 km. long, may have contained about one seventeenth part of the Ḳurʾān.

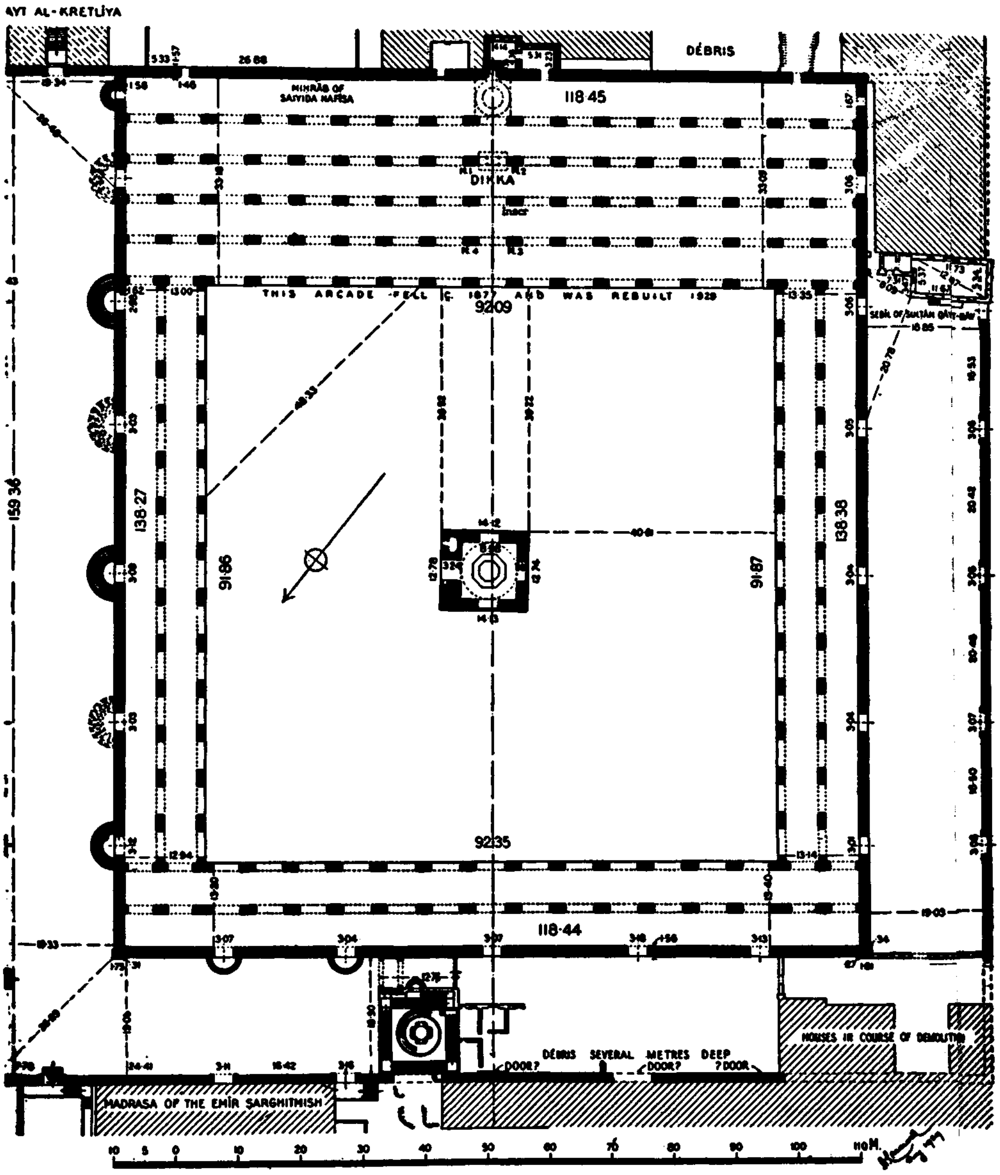

Fig. 12. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, plan.

The windows, in the shadow of the aisles, stand out against the sky like delicate lacework and form one of the most beautiful features of the mosque. There are 128 in all. Each consists of a pointed arch springing from a pair of engaged dwarf columns with stucco capitals, and a border of stucco ornament runs round each, turns at right angles at the springing and runs along horizontally to the next window (Plate XXIII *b-c*). Unfortunately only three, or at most four, of the window-grilles are original. These are mainly composed of compass work, i.e. intersecting circles and segments of circles; two have been set out by a method similar to that employed for one of the marble grilles in the Great Mosque at Damascus (Plate VIII *b*), the third on a network of equilateral triangles (Fig. 14).

The pendentives of the present wooden dome in front of the *miḥrāb*, on stylistic grounds, are undoubtedly the work of Lāḏjīn in 696 A.H., and the dome is much later. I very much doubt if there was a dome here originally. The present minaret is likewise the work of Lāḏjīn, the original one (seen by Muḳaddasī) was probably fairly similar to the Malwiyya of Sāmarrā.

The statement of al-Ḳuḍāʿī, quoted by Ibn Duḳmāḳ and Maḳrīzī, that the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was built after the style (*ʿalā bināʾ*) of the Mosque of Sāmarrā (unless it refers to the general impression produced by the minaret) is certainly not correct, for its plan does not in the least resemble either of the two mosques of Sāmarrā, except that all three are surrounded by *ziyādas*. It differs from

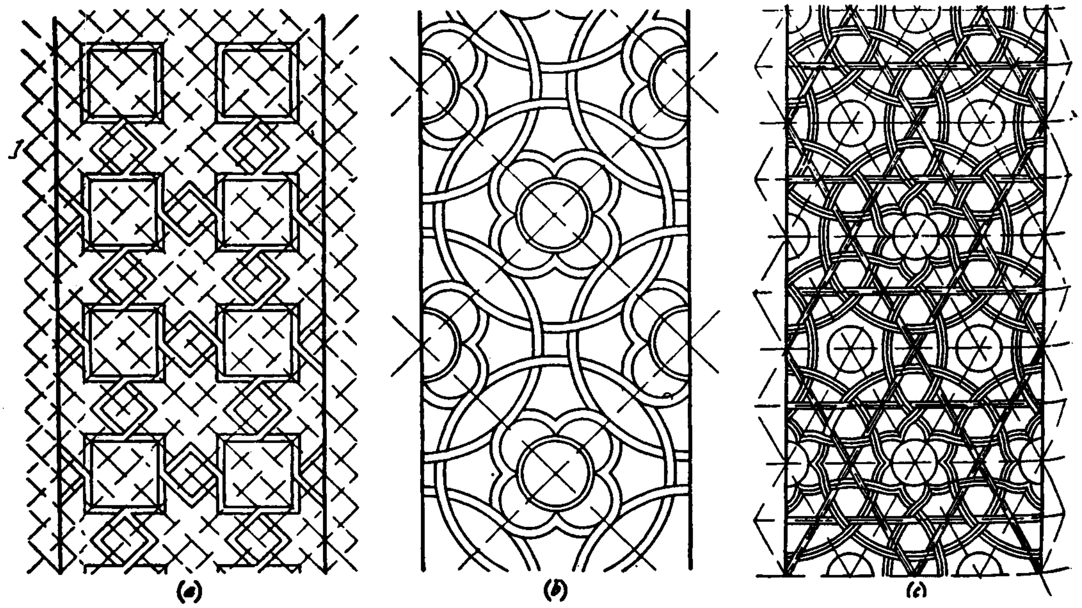

Fig. 13. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, analysis of soffits of arches (see Plate XXIV).

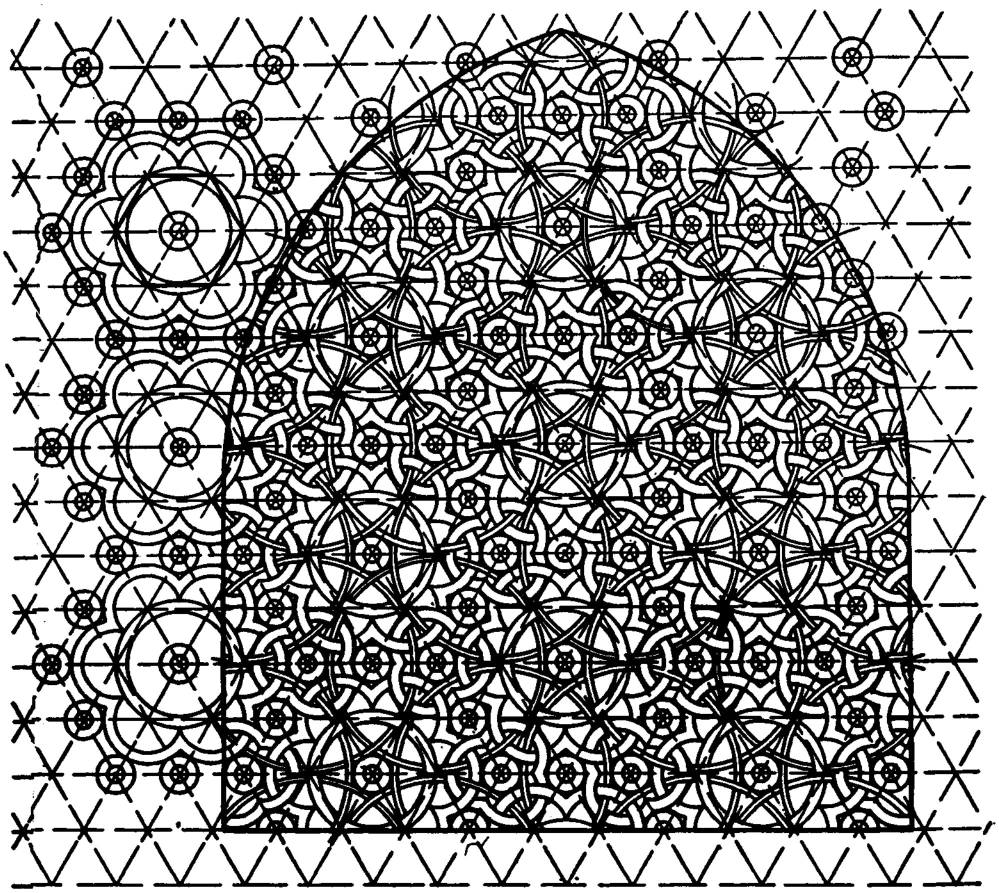

Fig. 14. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, analysis of window-grille (see Plate XXIII*c*).

the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā in the number of its aisles 5, 2, 2, 2 instead of 9, 4, 4, 3. As for the Mosque of Abū Dulaf, its aisles run perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall instead of parallel to it. It also differs from the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā in that its roof rests on arcades instead of directly on the piers. Its piers alone recall those of Sāmarrā, but whereas the piers at Sāmarrā are square and have engaged marble columns at the corners, those of Ibn Ṭūlūn are oblong and the columns at the corners are only counterfeited in the brickwork. Neither does the scheme of the façade recall either of the mosques of Sāmarrā for it has no bastions. The sole feature of the façade that recalls Sāmarrā is the row of circles in squares below the cresting. Its windows in no way resemble those of the Great Mosque, which are few in number, have lobed arches internally and are treated externally like arrow-slits, but they do resemble those of the mosque of ʿAmr of 212 A.H., except that they lack the transverse beam and carved wooden frieze. In other words, Ibn Ṭūlūn's façade is derived from that of the Mosque of ʿAmr of 212/827 and, as no such façade is known elsewhere, must be regarded as Egyptian.

As regards the ornament, everybody now agrees that it is derived from Sāmarrā, but whereas at Sāmarrā the three styles, A, B and C, occur separately, in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn they are combined and mixed. By its ornament and in certain other respects the mosque may be regarded as a foreign, ʿIrāḳī building planted down on the soil of Egypt, and large numbers of ʿIrāḳī craftsmen must have been employed for its decoration in wood and stucco. Its ornament and that of the Dayr al-Suryānī in the Wādī Natrūn are the two most westerly examples of the art of the ʿAbbāsid Empire, which prevailed over a large area from Baḥrayn and Nīshāpūr to Samarḳand.

Summary: Under the ʿAbbāsids the Hellenistic influences of Syria were replaced by the surviving influences of Sāsānian Persia, which profoundly modified the art and architecture, and this gave birth to the art of Sāmarrā, the influence of which extended to Egypt under Ibn Ṭūlūn, to Nīshāpūr and Baḥrayn. In palace architecture there was a vast difference between that of the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids, partly due to the adoption of Persian ideas of royalty which almost deified the king. Hence elaborate throne-rooms, generally domed, for private audience, preceded by a vaulted *līwān* (or four radiating *līwāns*) for public audience. The *bayt*s also were different, following the type of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn and not the Syrian type of Mshattā and Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūba. The scale was immense and axial planning is a marked feature. But all are built of brick and a great part of that basest of materials — mud brick — hidden by thick coats of stucco. A new type of pointed arch appears, the four-centred arch. The earliest existing squinches in Islam date from this period. An important innovation was the introduction of lustre tiles, the earliest examples being those brought to Ḳayrawān from ʿIrāḳ in 248 A.H. Bands of inscription were usually made to stand out on a blue background. But the widespread influence of ʿAbbāsid art did not extend to Spain, where Umayyad art, brought thither by Syrian refugees, was still full of life.

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(K. A. C. Creswell).

II. For later architectural developments, see the articles on individual countries, cities, and dynasties.

III. For the types of buildings, see bināʾ.

ARCHIVES [see başvekalet arşivi, daftar, dār al-maḥfūẓāt al-ʿumūmiyya, wathīḳa].

ARČI, (Arshashdib), a small Caucasian nation of Upper Dāghistān, ethnically akin to the Awar [*q.v.*], but distinct from the Ando-Dido group [see andi, dido]. In 1933 it comprised 1,930 people, living in the high valley of the Kara-Koysu (Soviet Autonomous Republic of Dāghistān). The Arči have their own language, which belong to the Dāghistān branch of the Ibero-Caucasian languages, and which represents an intermediate stage between Awar [*q.v.*] and Lak [*q.v.*]; it is not fixed by writing, and the Arči use Awar and, less commonly, Russian and Lak, as the languages of civilisation. Since the 1918 Revolution, they have been merged in the Awar nation. Converted to Islam by the Awar, towards the end of the 15th century, the Arči are, like the former, Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī rite.

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(H. Carrère d'Encausse)

ARCOS [see arkūsh].

ARCOT (Ārkāt), a town in North Arcot district of Madras, on the right bank of the Pālār. From the Tamil *Ārkkaḍ*—'forest of Ar', or *Āru-kaḍu*—'six forests'. A Čōḷa foundation, the *Arkatos* of Ptolemy, it is much earlier than is suggested by the tradition of its foundation by a son of Kolōttunga Čōḷa, and the building of its fort and refoundation by Timmi Reddi. (See K. A. Nīlakanta Sastri, *The Čōḷas*, 1955; R. Sewell, *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, i, 165). In the 12th/18th century it became the capital of the Mughal Nawwābs of Ārkāt.

During the previous century, Ārkāt had passed from Vidjayanagar to Bīdjāpūr and Golkonda, to the Marāṭhas, and then to the Mughals. In 1109/1698, Awrangzīb formed a new province, the Carnatic, and Dāʾūd Khān, its governor from 1115/1703, made Ārkāt the capital.

His successor, Muḥammad Sayyid Saʿādat Allāh Khān, was a Nawāyat, who parcelled out the whole province of Ārkāt among his relatives. His nephew succeeded him and extended the province. His son

a. The Dome of the Rock. General view from the south-west.

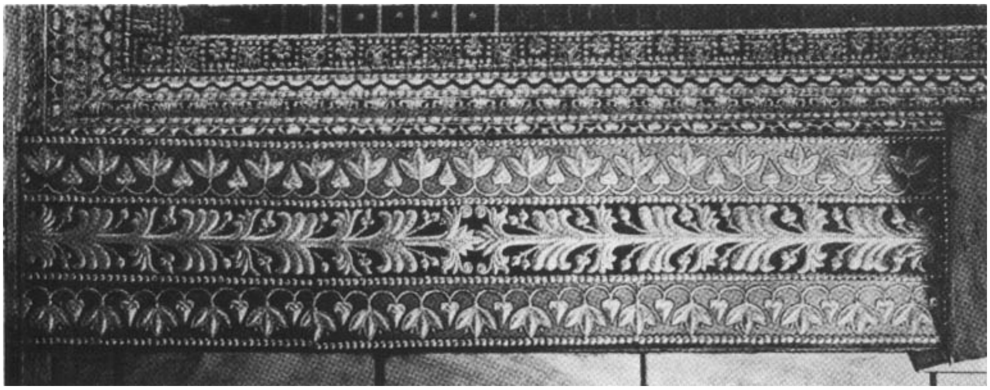

b. The Dome of the Rock. Bronze covering on under-side of tie-beams.

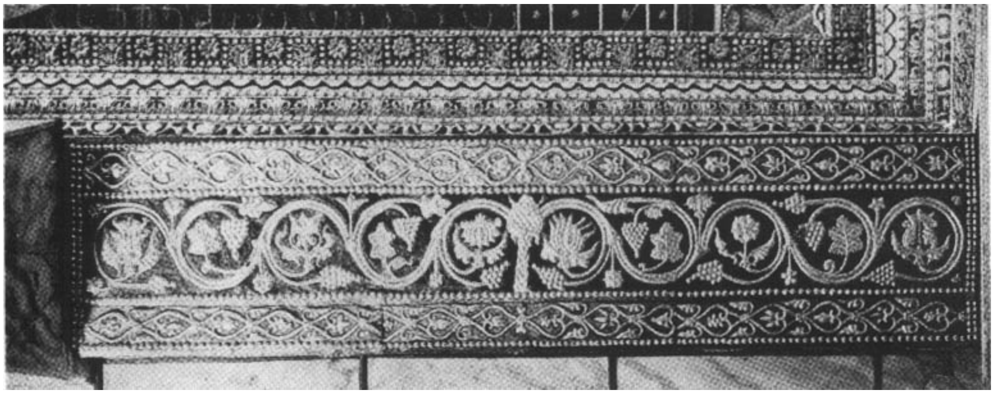

c. The Dome of the Rock. Bronze covering on under-side of tie-beams.

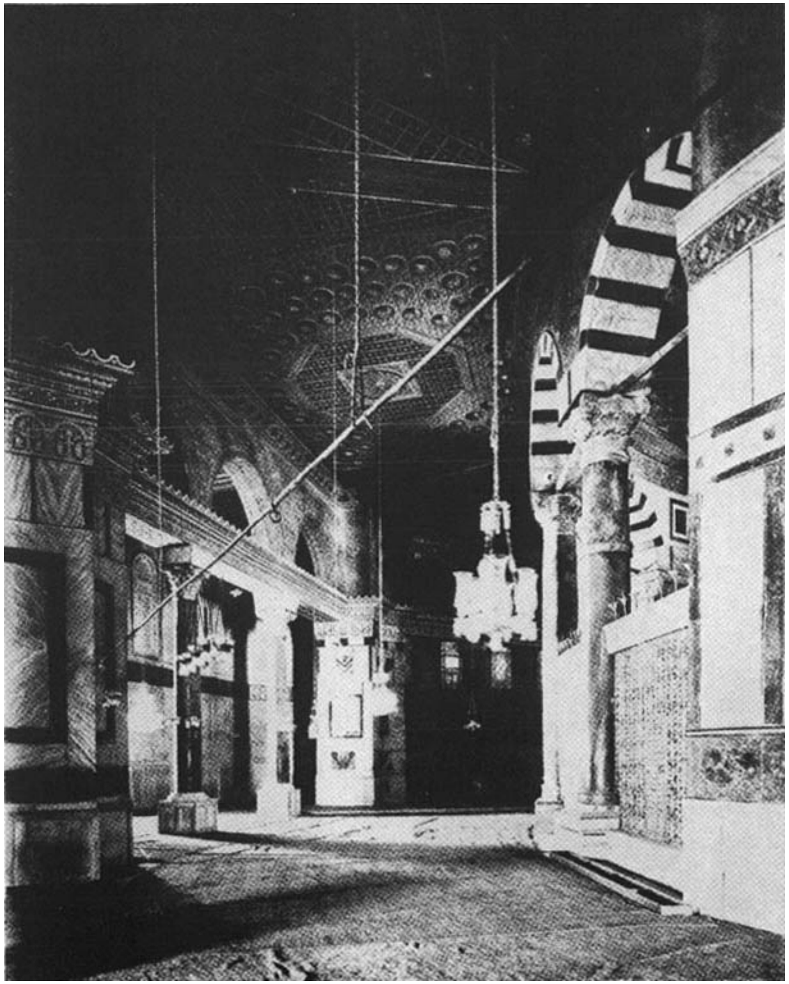

a. The Dome of the Rock. Inner ambulatory, ring of dome-bearing supports on right.

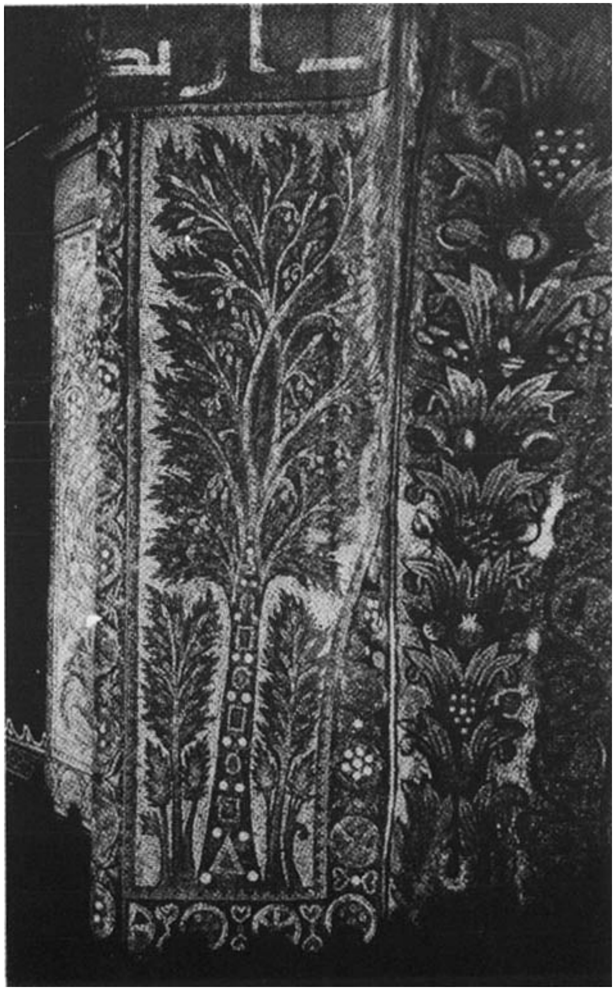

b. The Dome of the Rock. Decoration on flanks of piers which strengthen the inner corners of the octagonal arcade. To right: soffit.

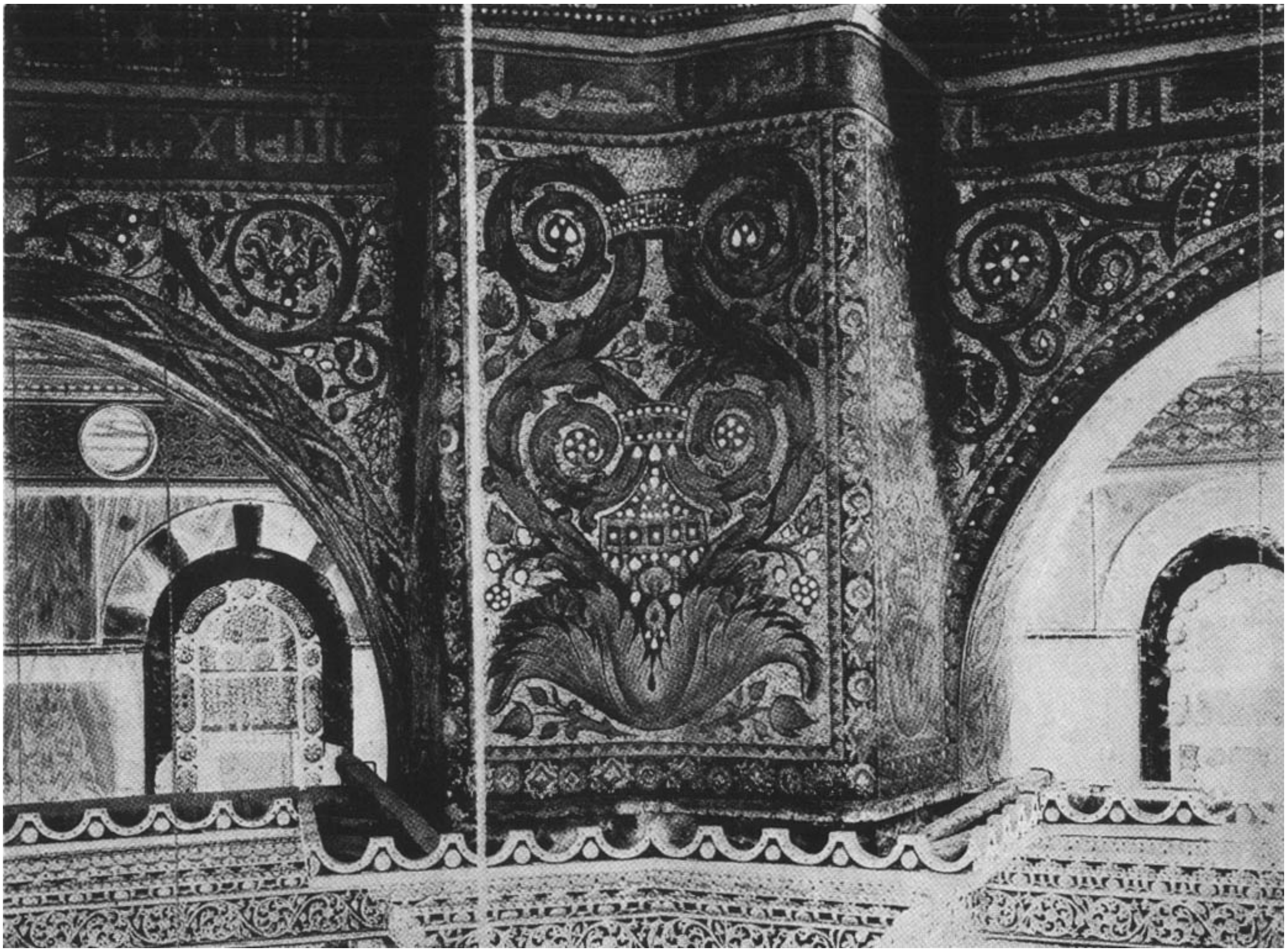

THE DOME OF THE ROCK. Mosaic decoration of inner face of octagonal arcade.

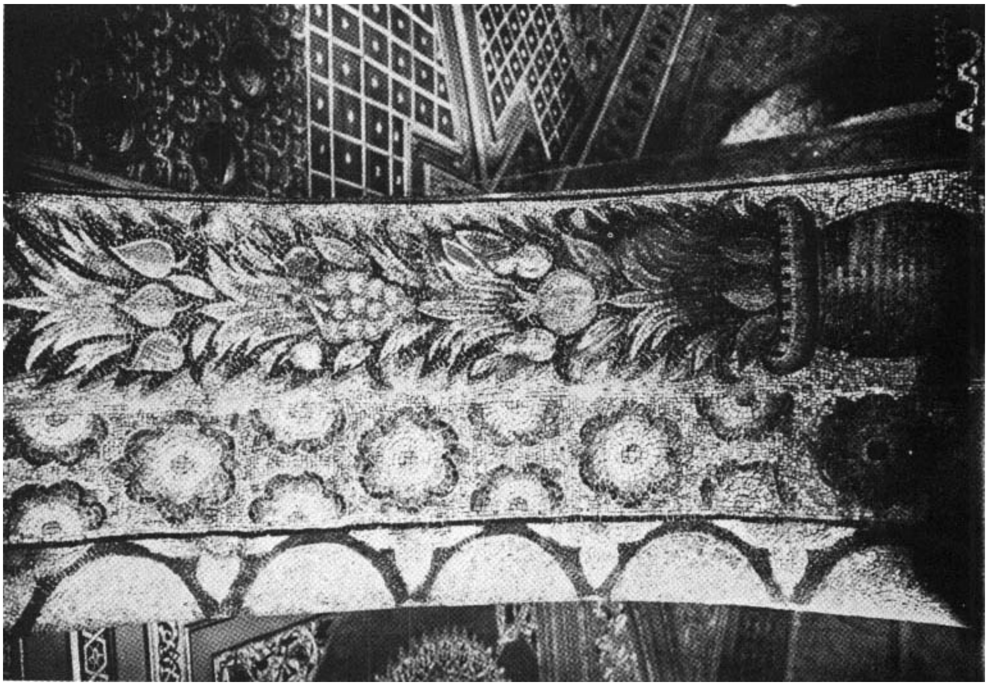

b.

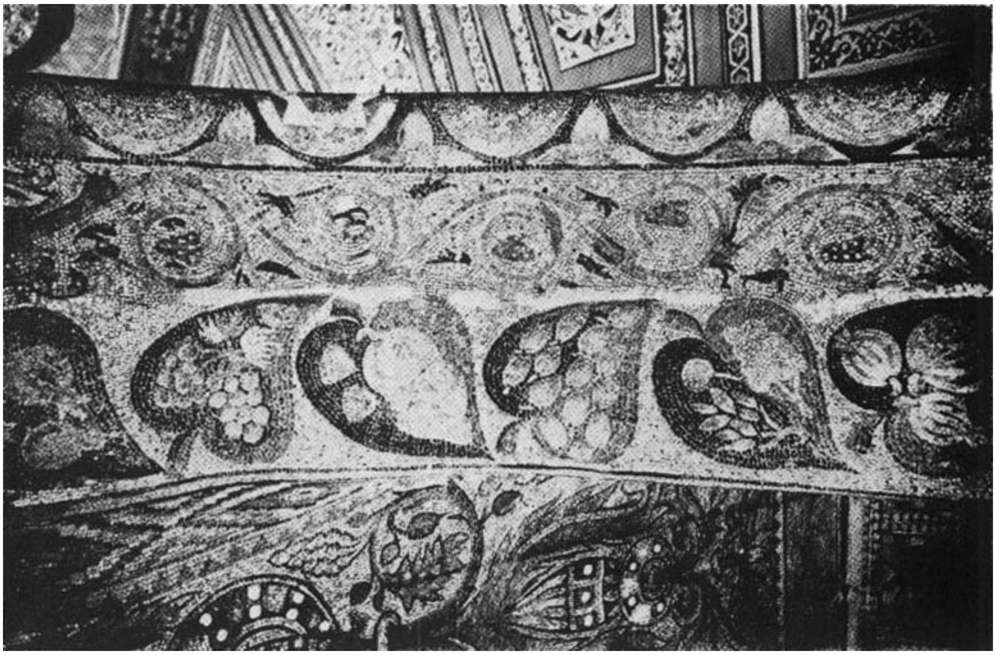

a.

THE DOME OF THE ROCK. Mosaic decoration on soffits of arches of octagonal arcade.

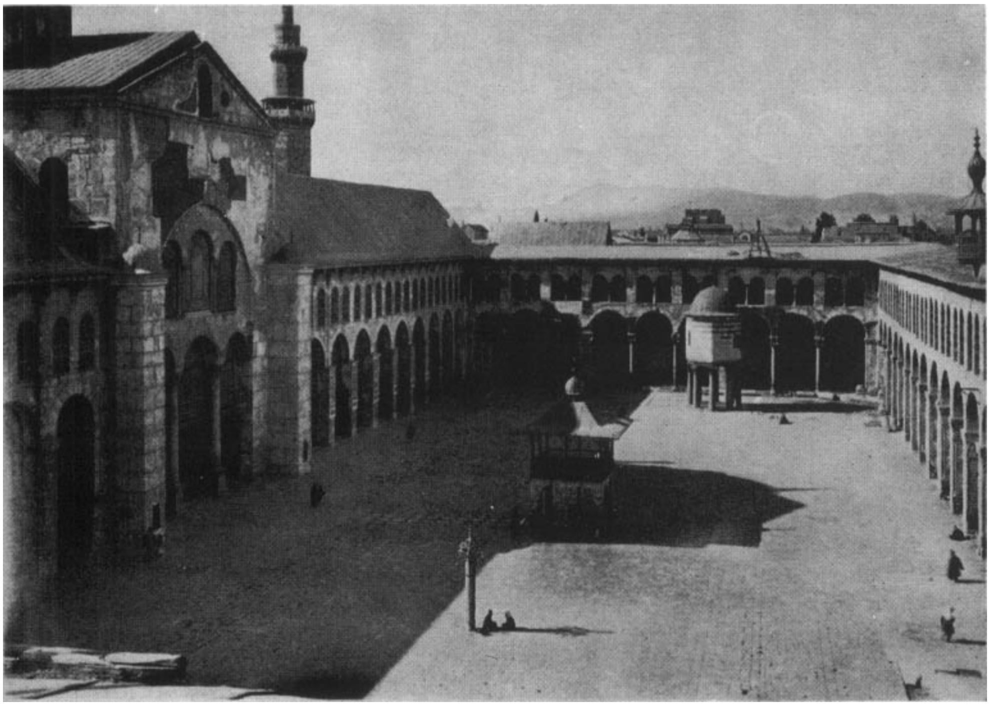

a. The Great Mosque of Damascus. View of *ṣaḥn* taken from roof of east *riwāḳ*.

b. The Great Mosque of Damascus. Façade of sanctuary.

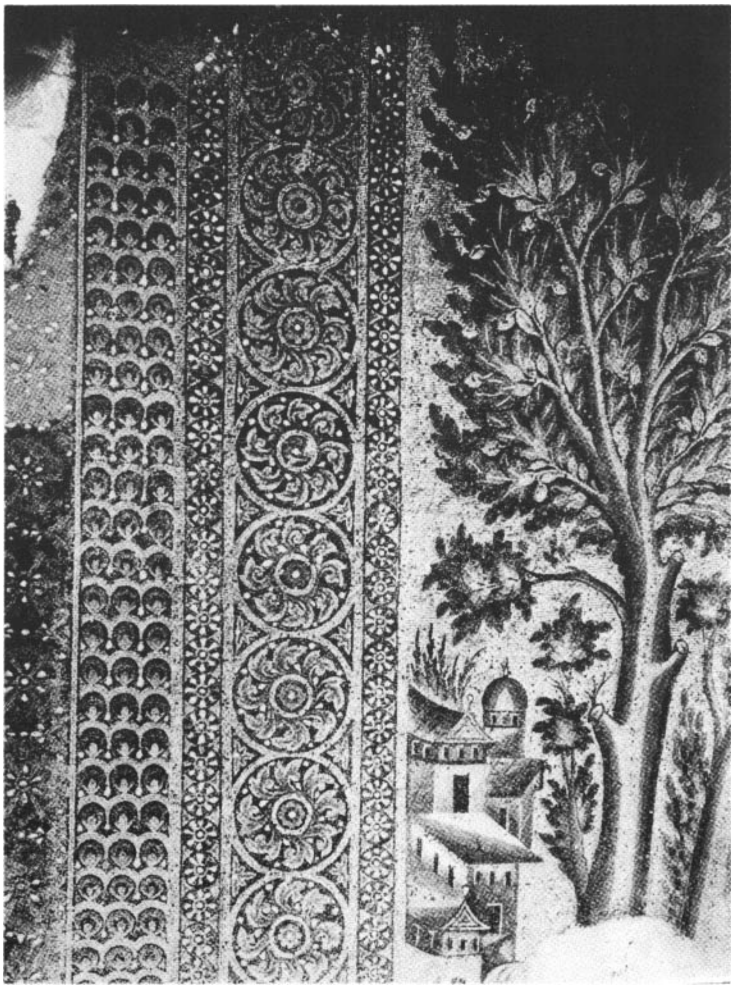

a. THE GREAT MOSQUE OF DAMASCUS. Part of mosaic panel under western *riwāḳ*.

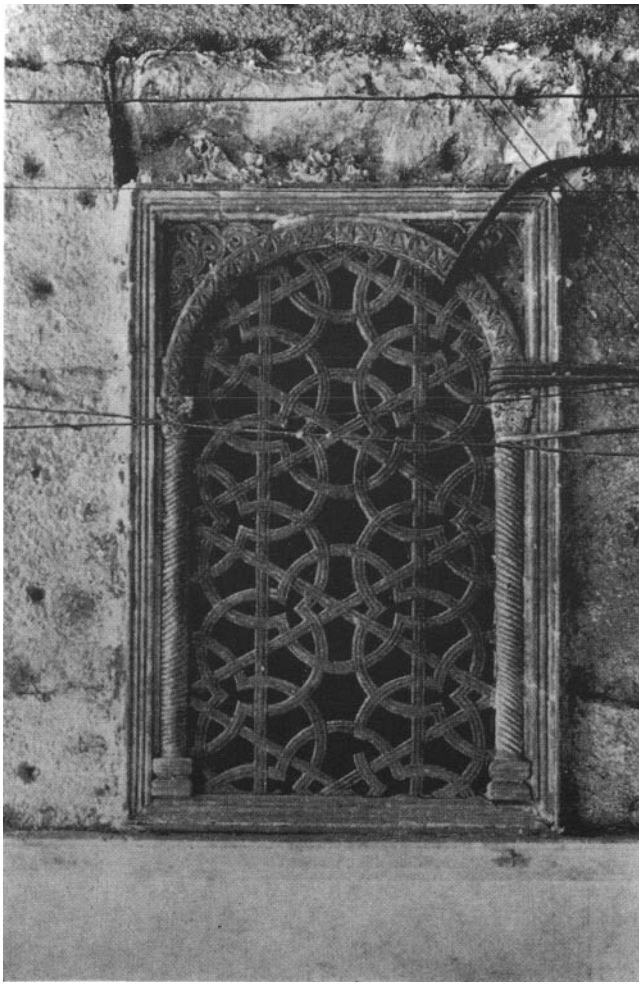

b. THE GREAT MOSQUE OF DAMASCUS. Marble window grille.

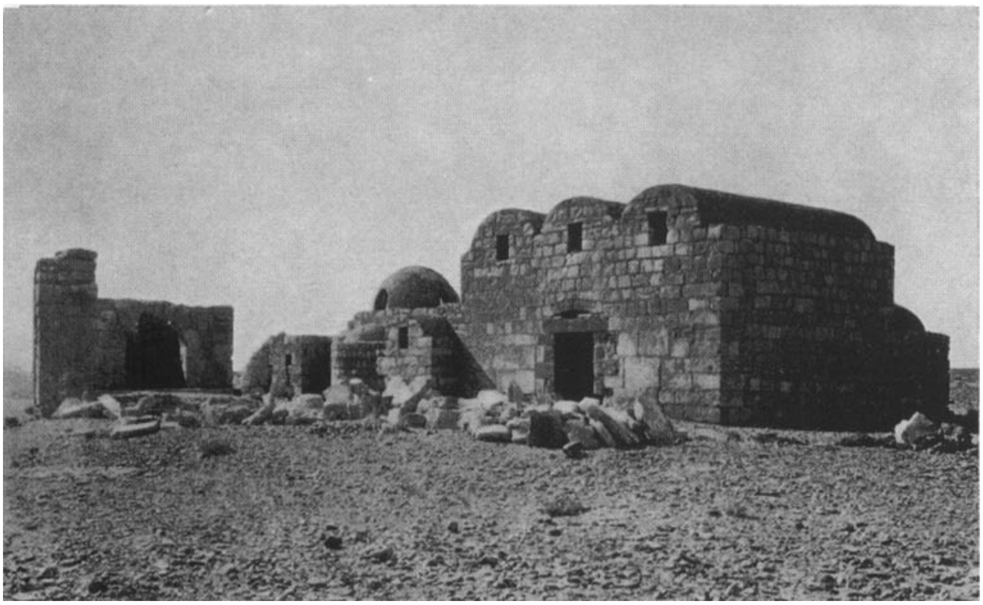

a. Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra. West side.

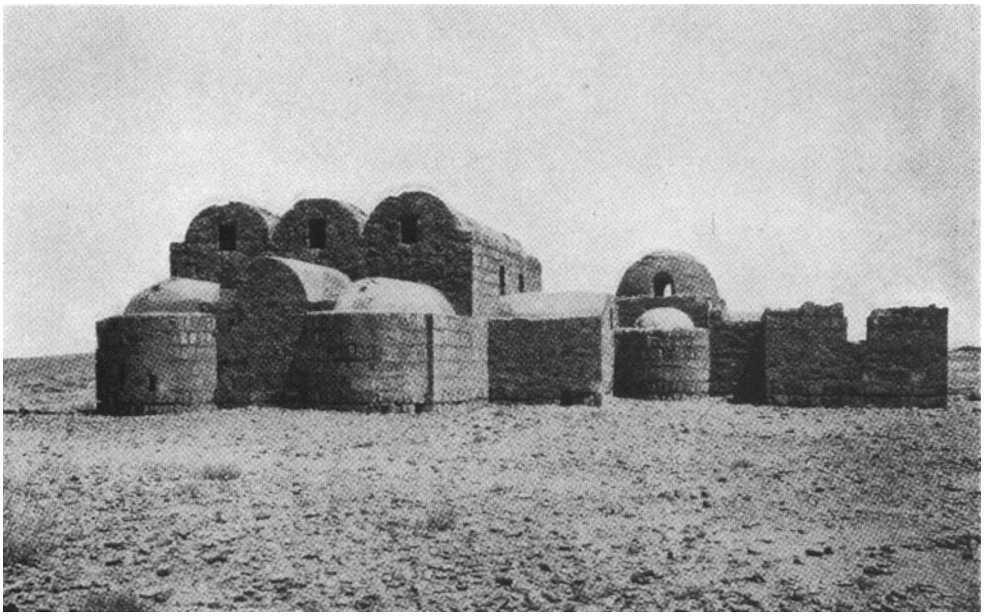

b. Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra. East side.

a. Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra. Painting on vault.

b. Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra. Painting of the Enemies of Islam (after A. Musil)

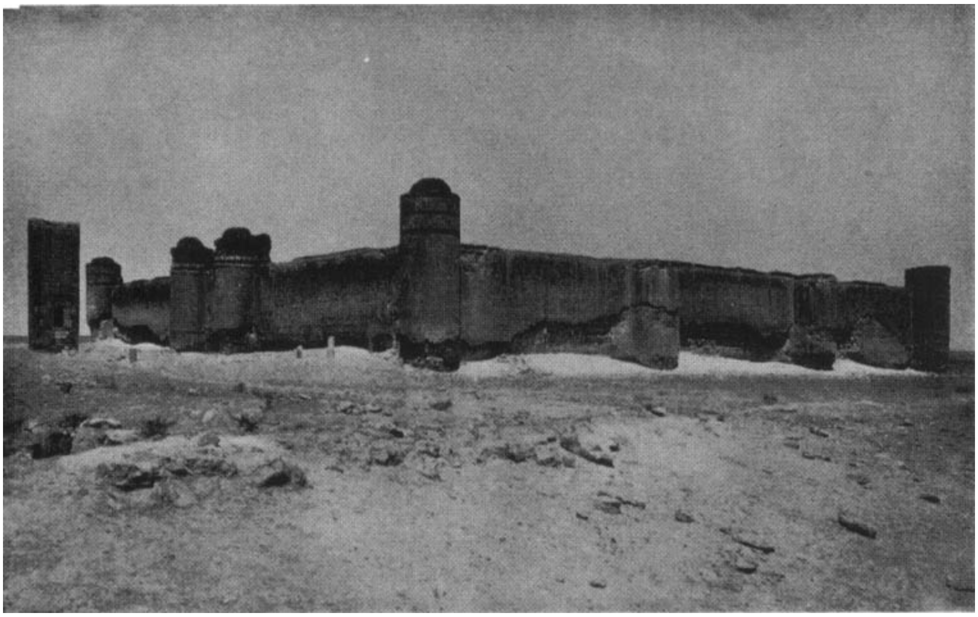

a. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-S͟harḳī. Royal enclosure from the S.-W.

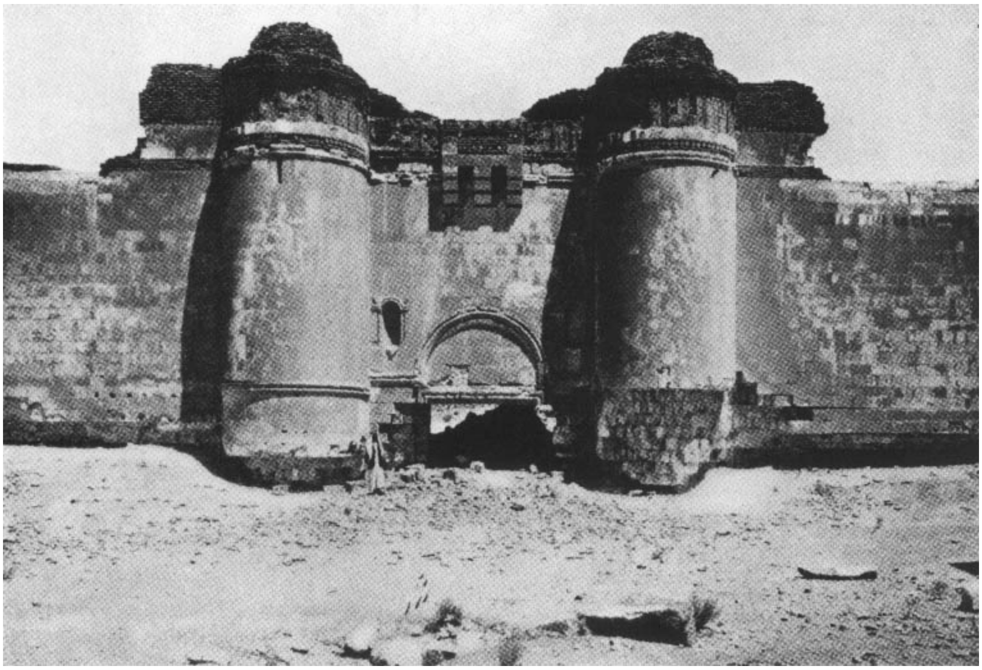

b. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-S͟harḳī. Entrance of royal enclosure, defended by a mâchicoulis.

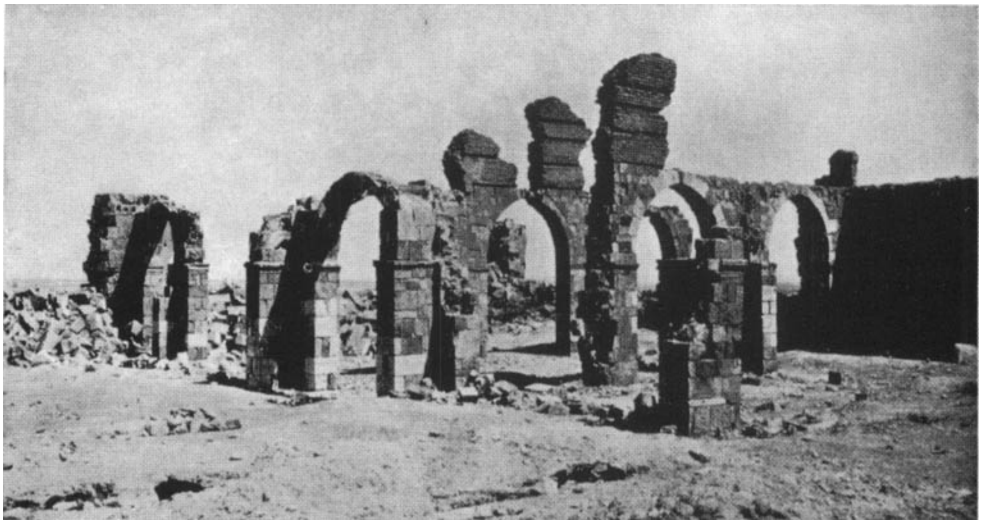

a. ḲAṢR AL-ḤAYR AL-SHARḲĪ. Remains of mosque.

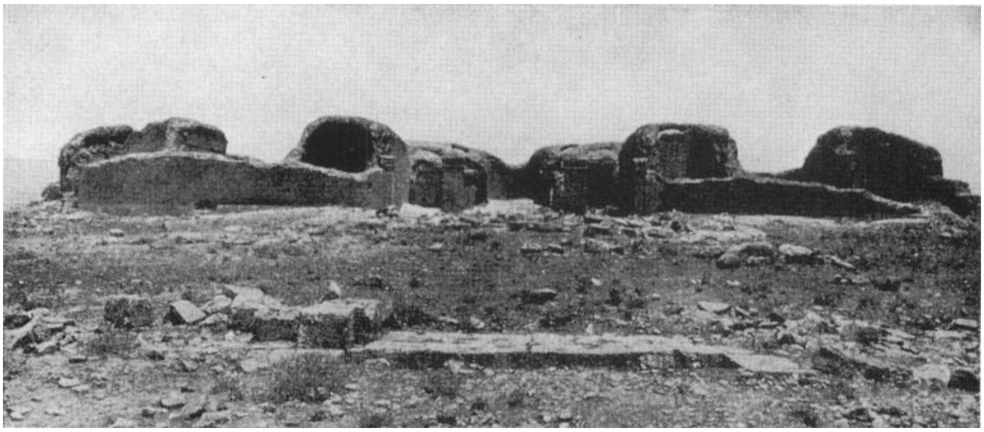

b. MSHATTĀ. The main building.

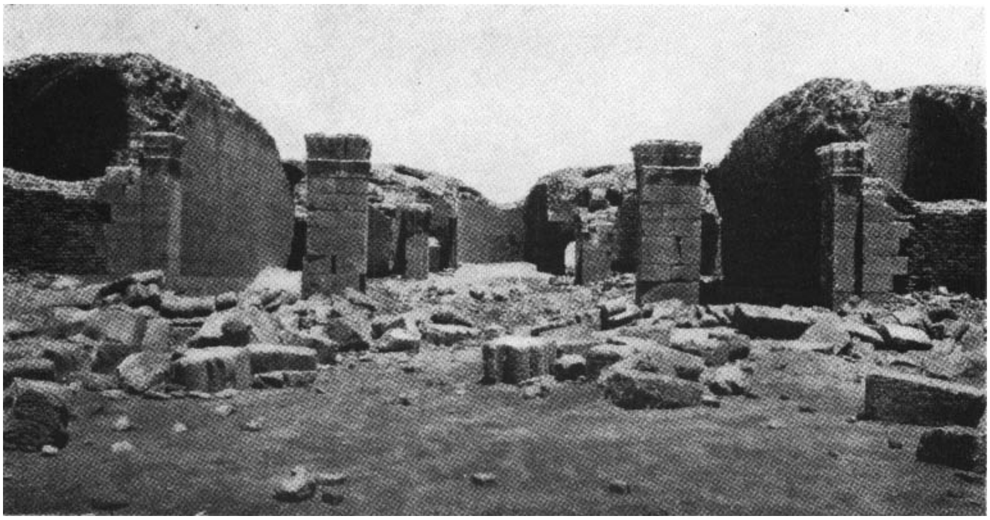

c. MSHATTA. The triple-apsed Throne Room.

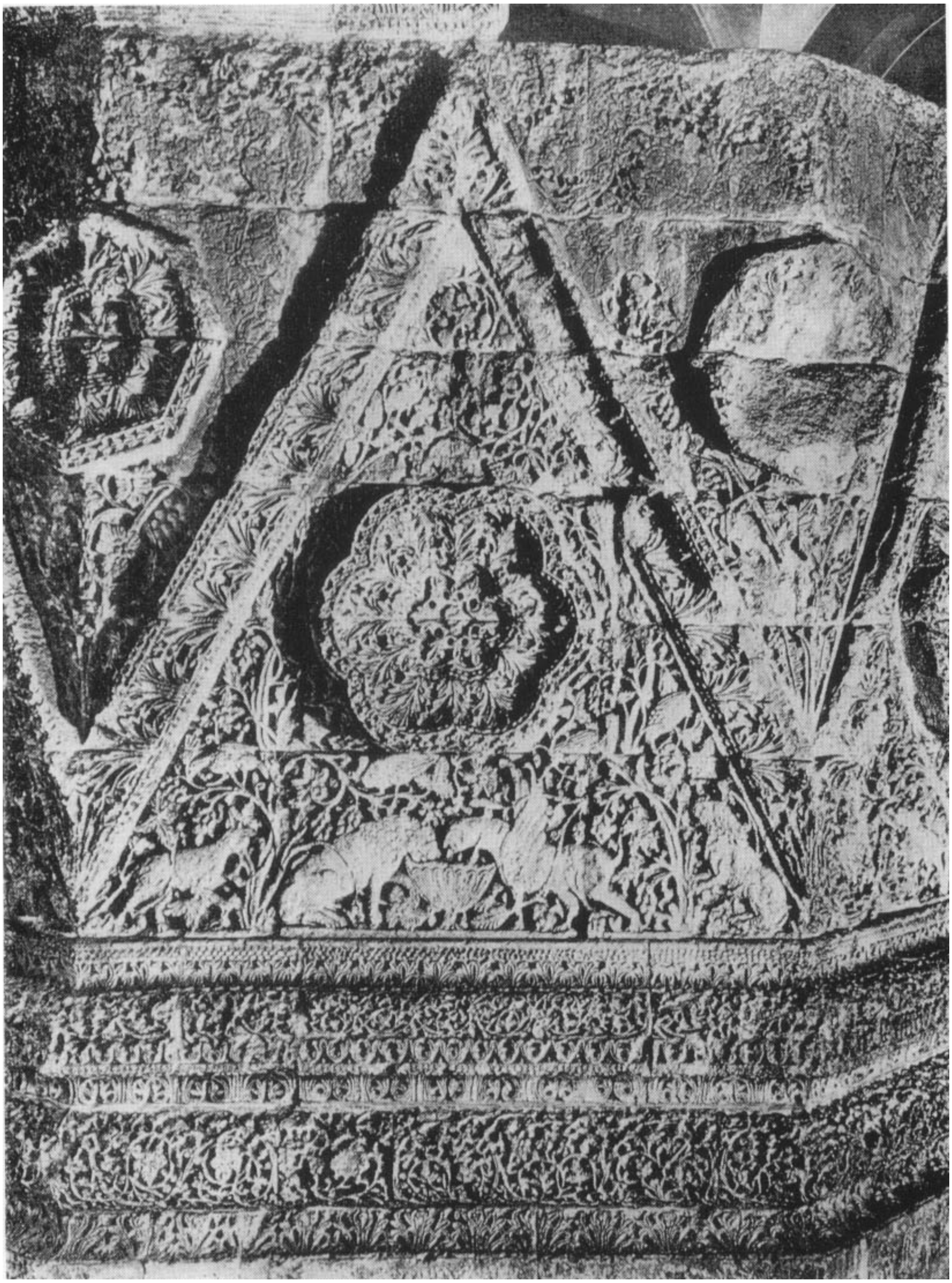

MSHATTĀ. Decoration of tower of façade.

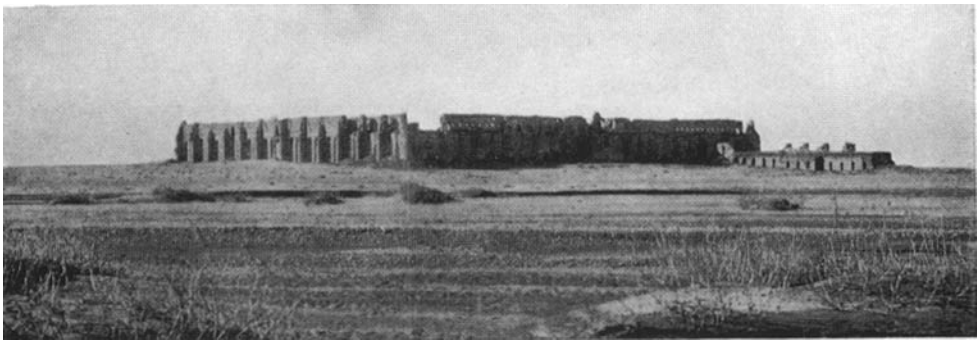

a. UKHAYḌIR. From the north-east.

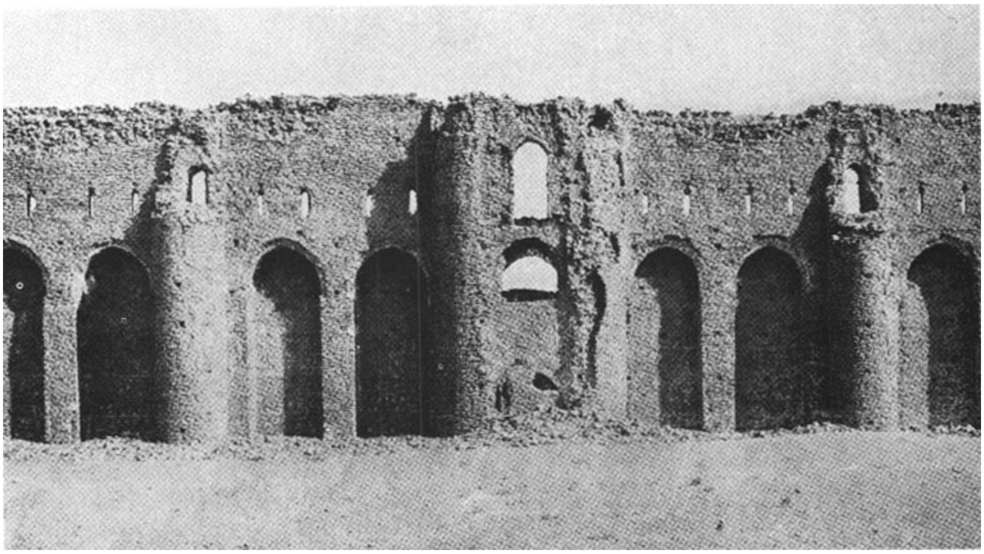

b. UKHAYḌIR. Walled-up entrance in centre of east side.

c. CORDOVA, THE GREAT MOSQUE. View of sanctuary from campanile.

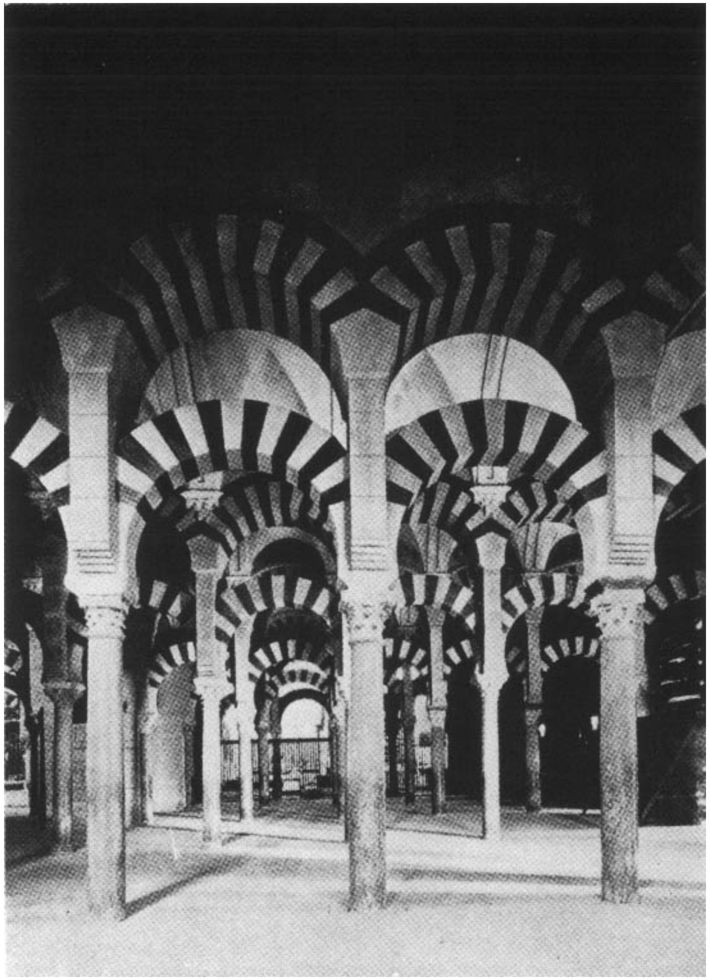

a. CORDOVA, THE GREAT MOSQUE. Interior looking west.

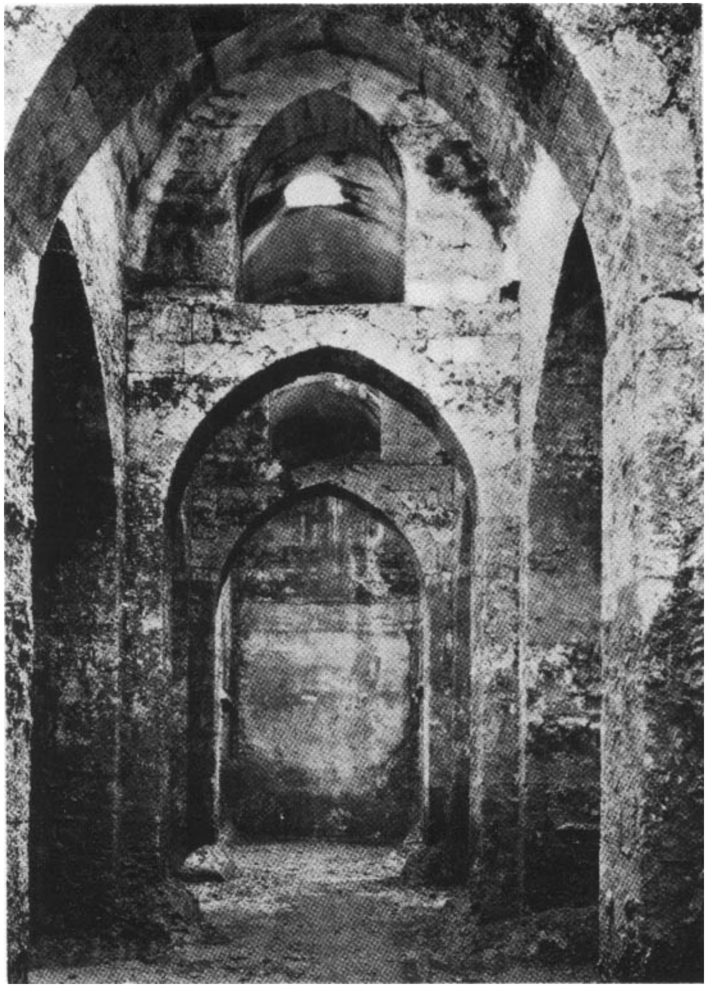

b. RAMLA. Cistern, entirely built with pointed arches and dated 172/789.

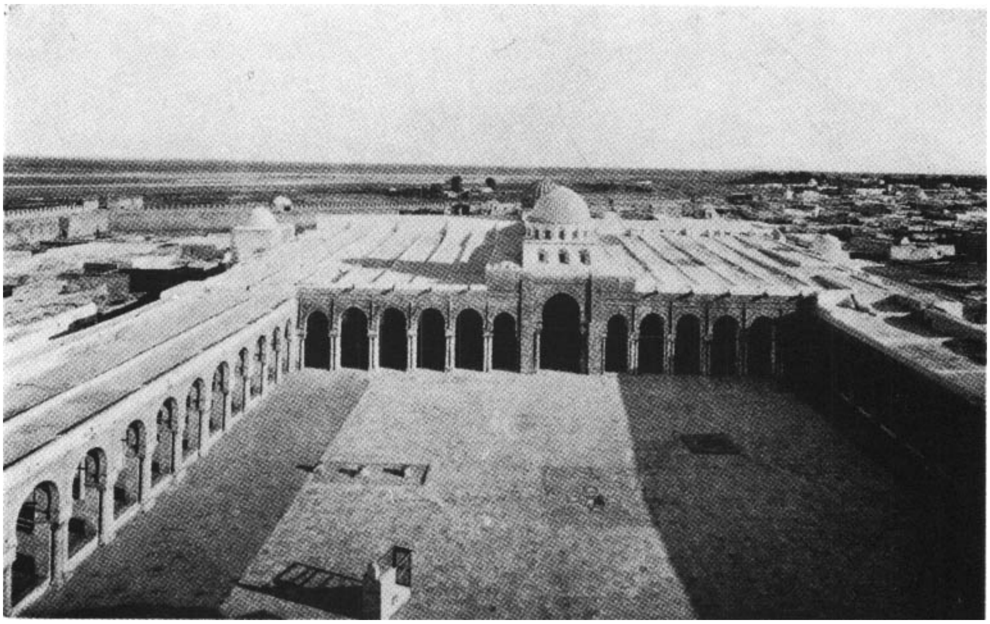

a. Ḳayrawān, the Great Mosque. From the minaret.

b. Ḳayrawān, the Great Mosque. Interior of sanctuary, looking east.

a. Sāmarrā. The Bayt al-Khalīfa.

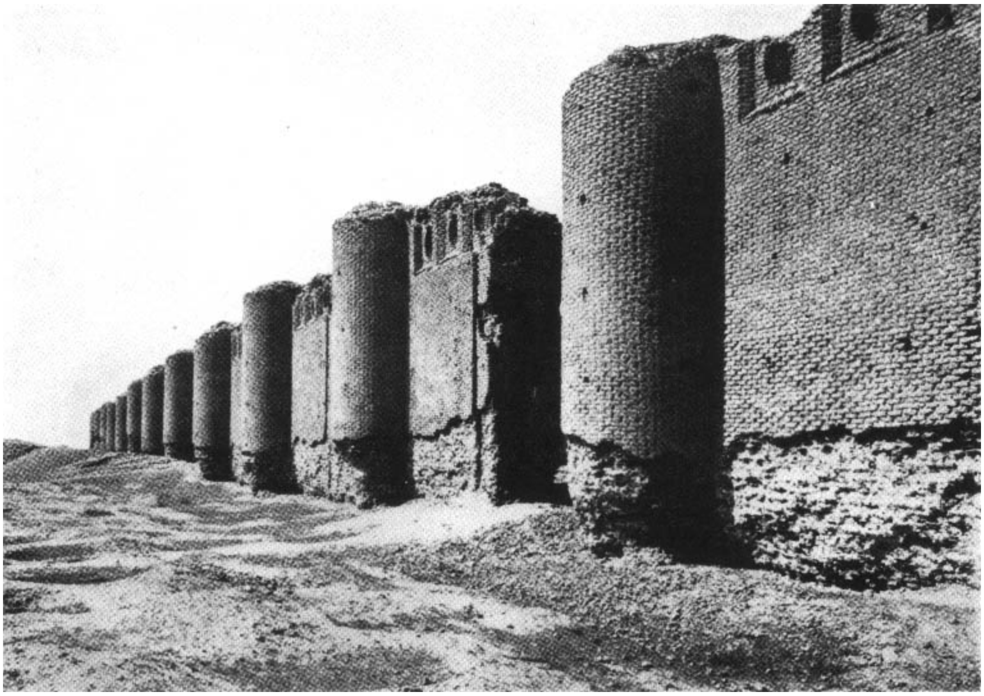

b. Sāmarrā. The Great Mosque.

a. SŪSA, THE GREAT MOSQUE. From the Ribāṭ nearby.

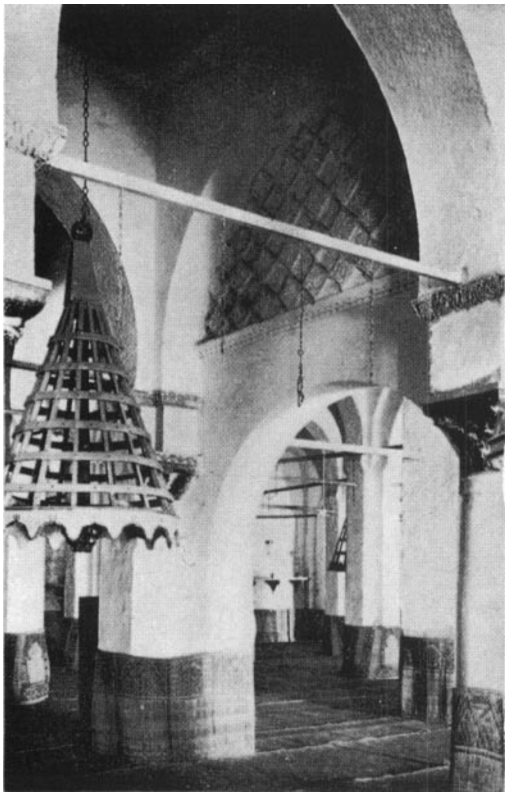

b. SŪSA, THE GREAT MOSQUE. Part under first dome.

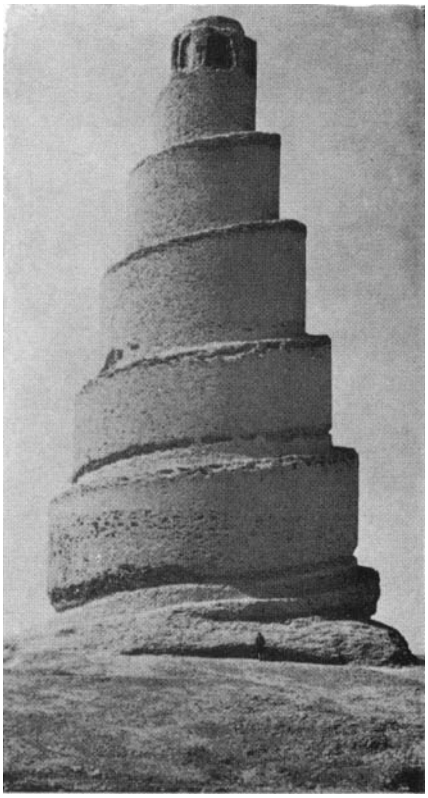

c. SĀMARRĀ. The Malwiyya.

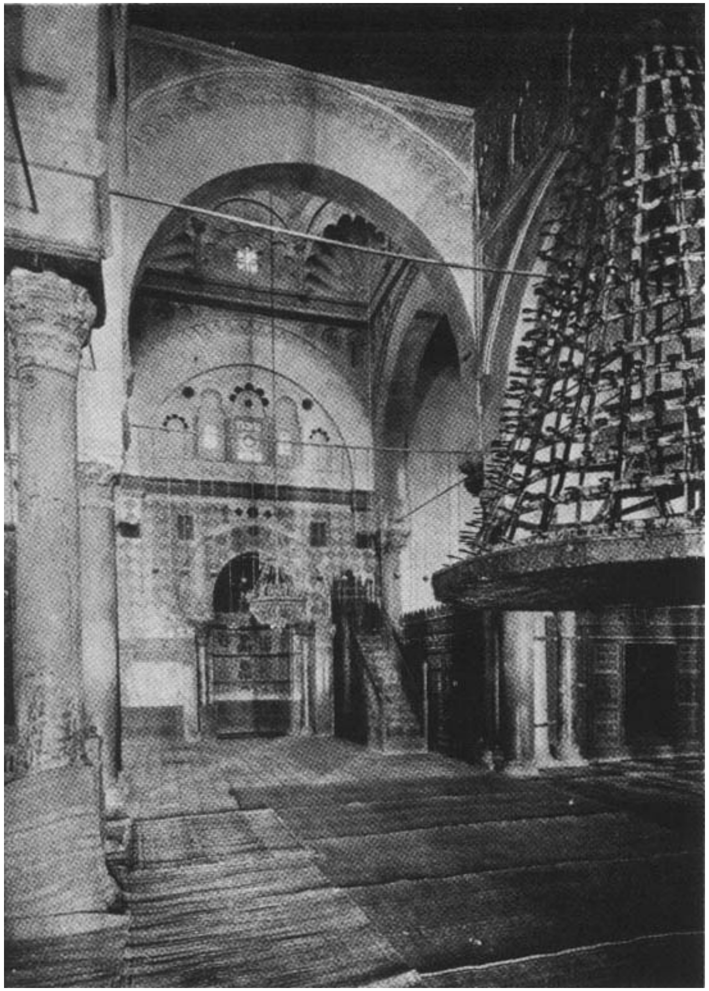

a. Ḳairawān, the Great Mosque. The *miḥrāb* and its surroundings.

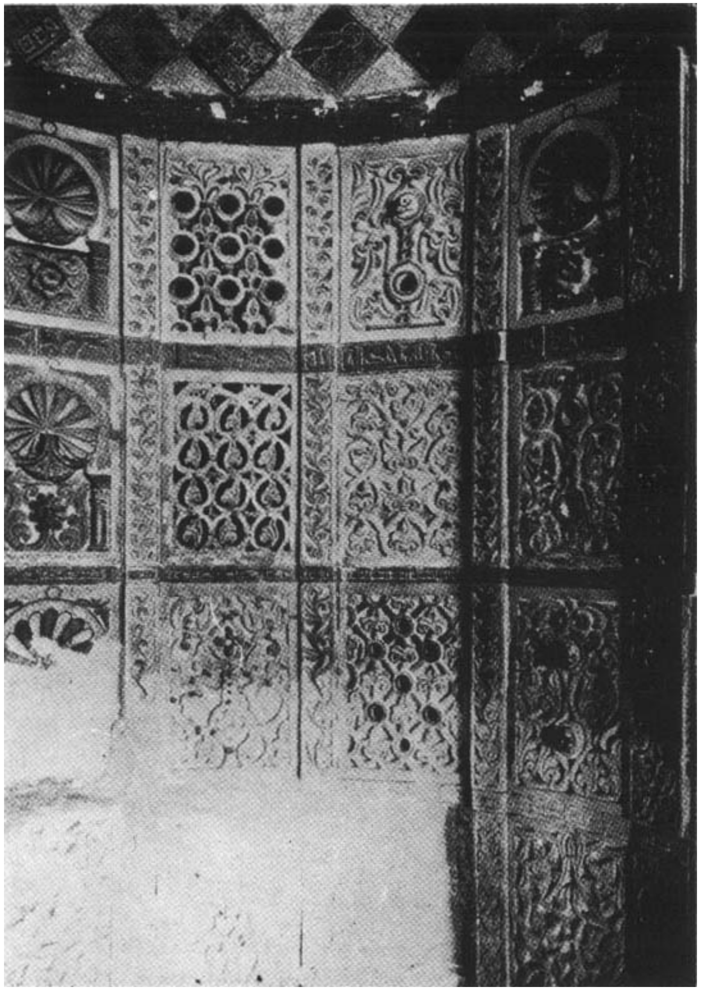

b. Ḳairawan, the Great Mosque. Marble panelling of *miḥrāb*

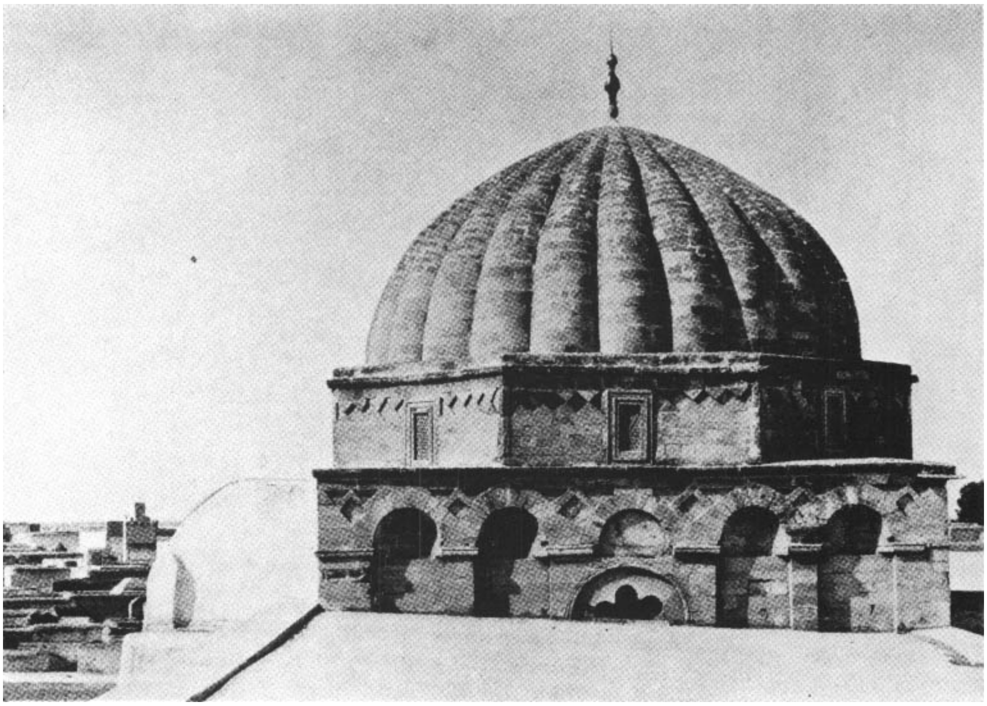

a. Ḳairawān, the Great Mosque. Dome in front of *miḥrāb*.

b. Ḳairawān, the Great Mosque. Setting of dome.

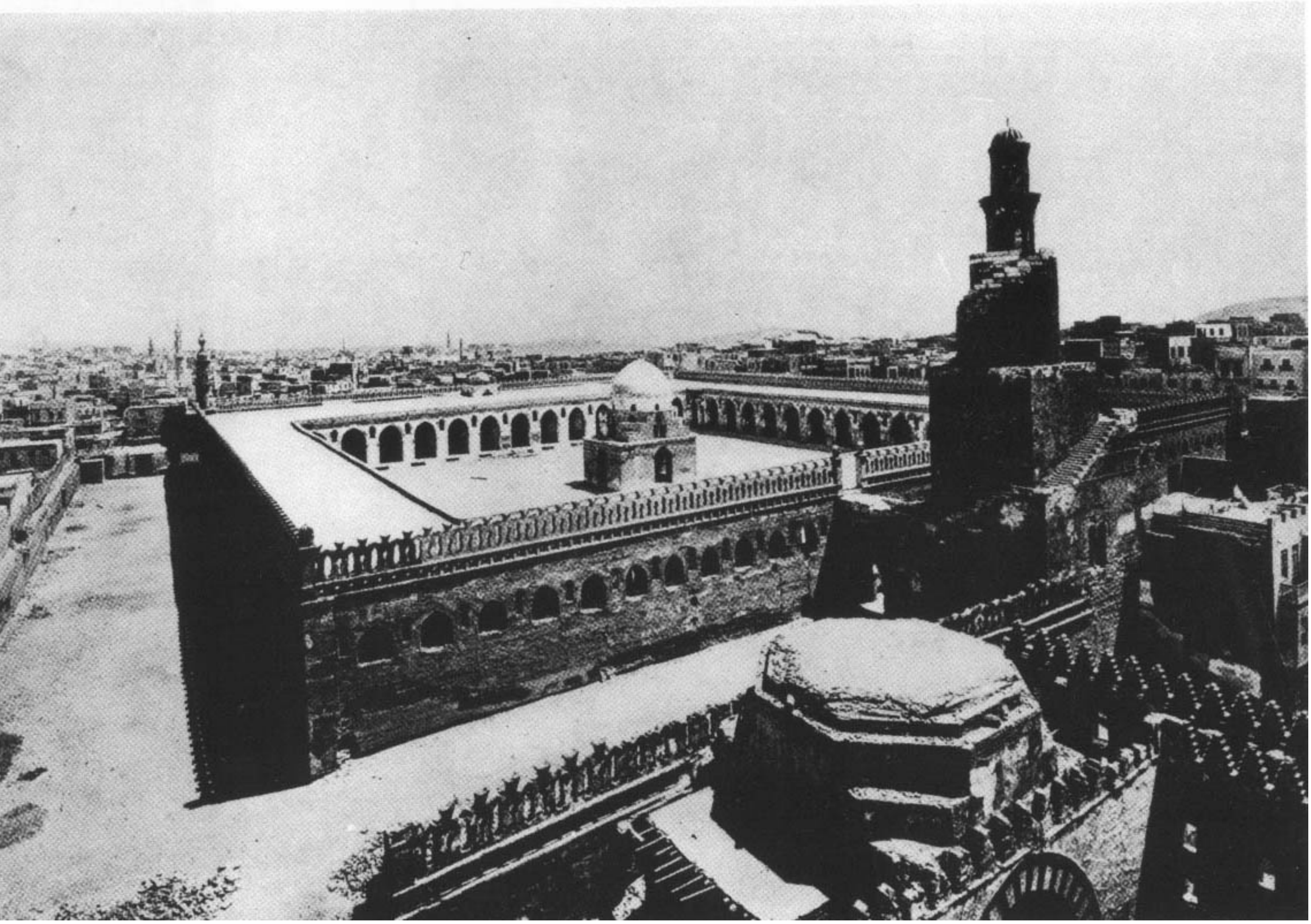

Cairo, the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. General view.

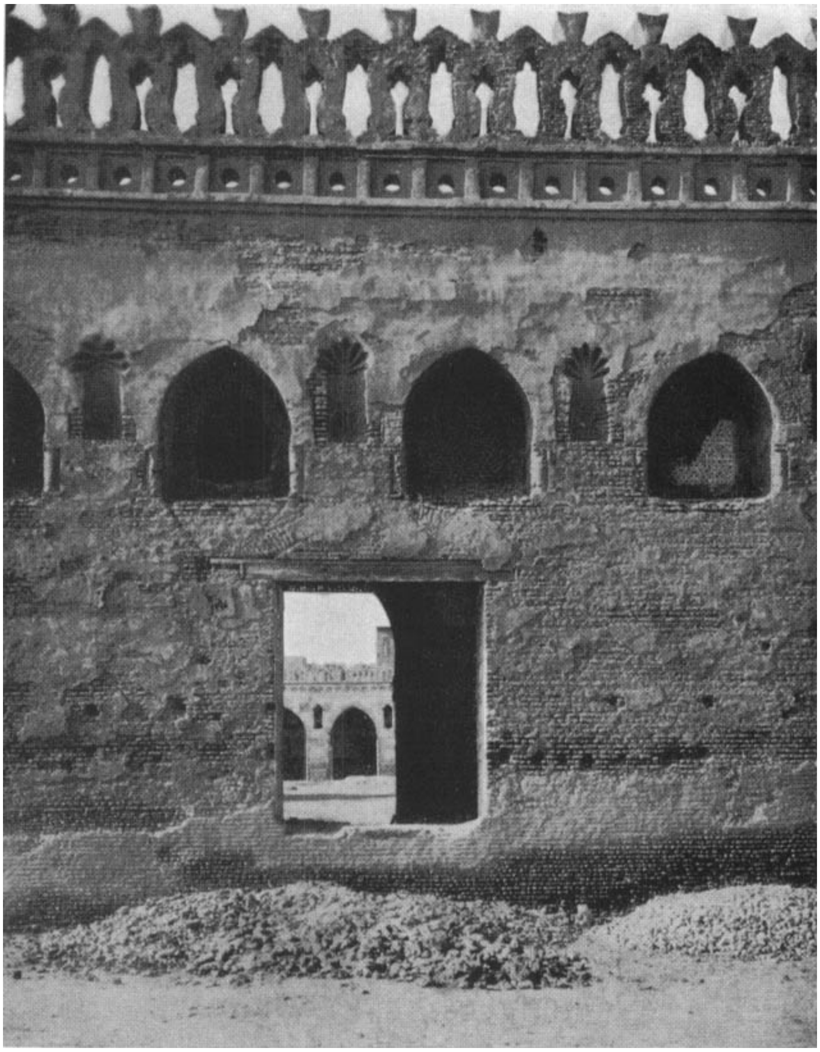

a. Cairo, the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Façade.

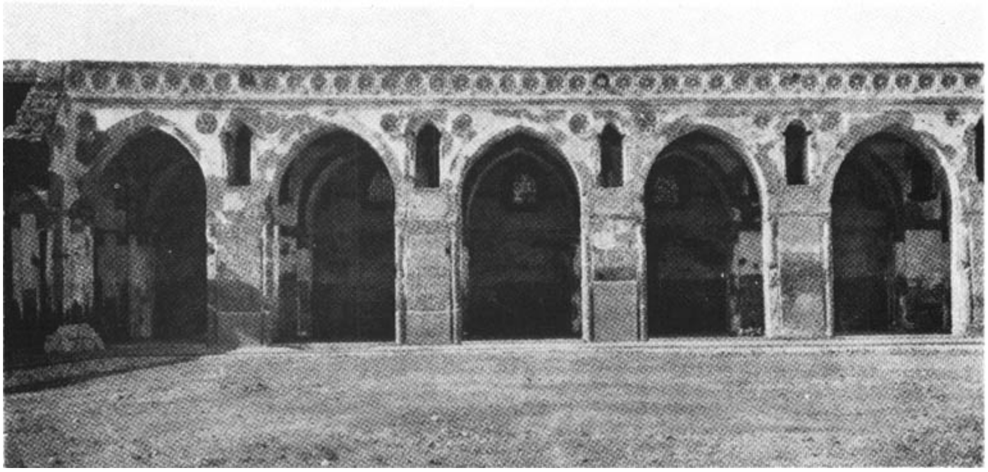

b. Cairo, the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Arcades of south-west side of *ṣaḥn*.

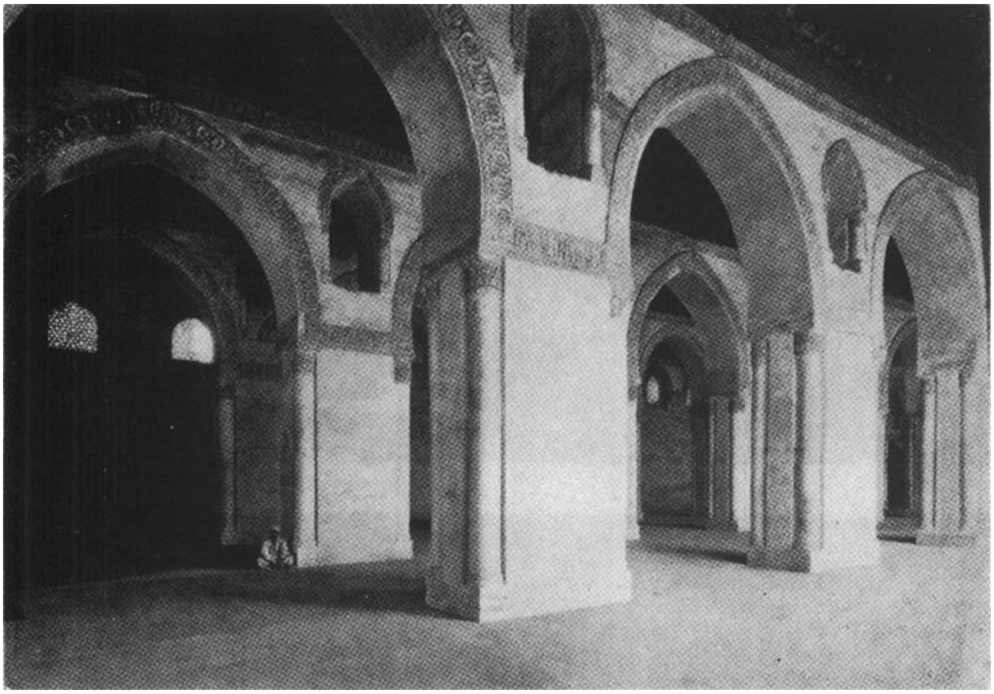

a. Cairo, the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. The sanctuary.

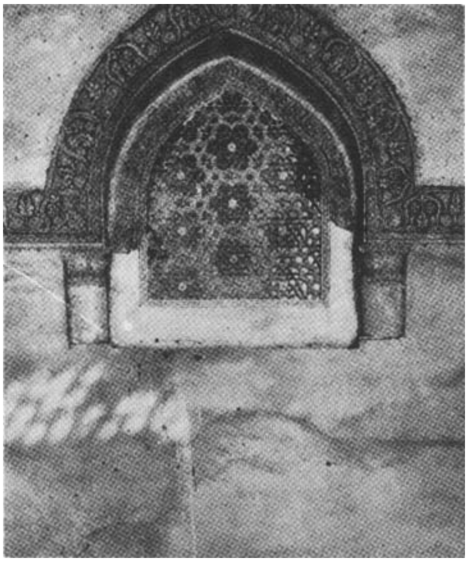

b. Cairo, the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. One of the original windows and Kufic inscription on wood below ceiling.

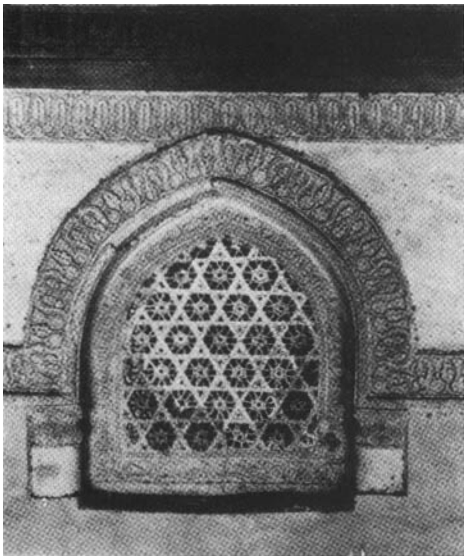

c. Cairo, the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. One of the original windows.

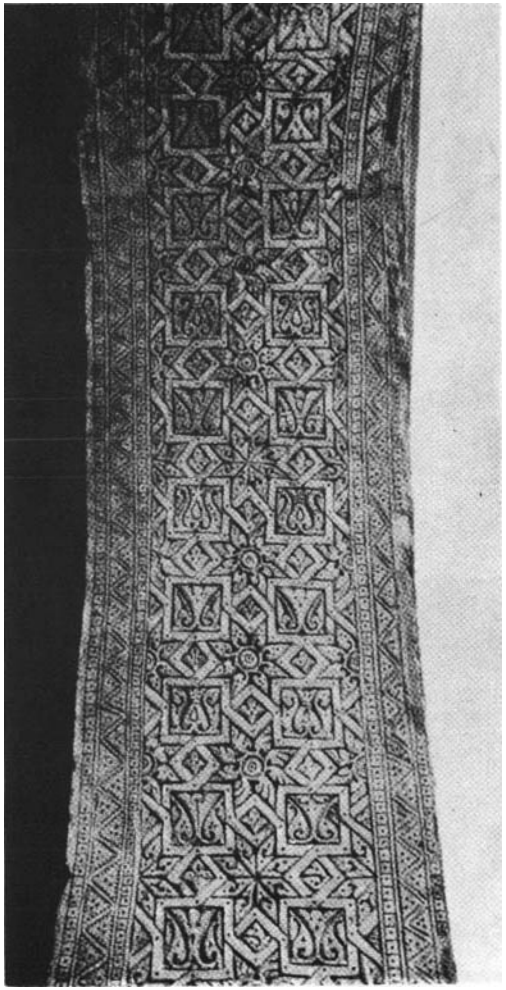

a.

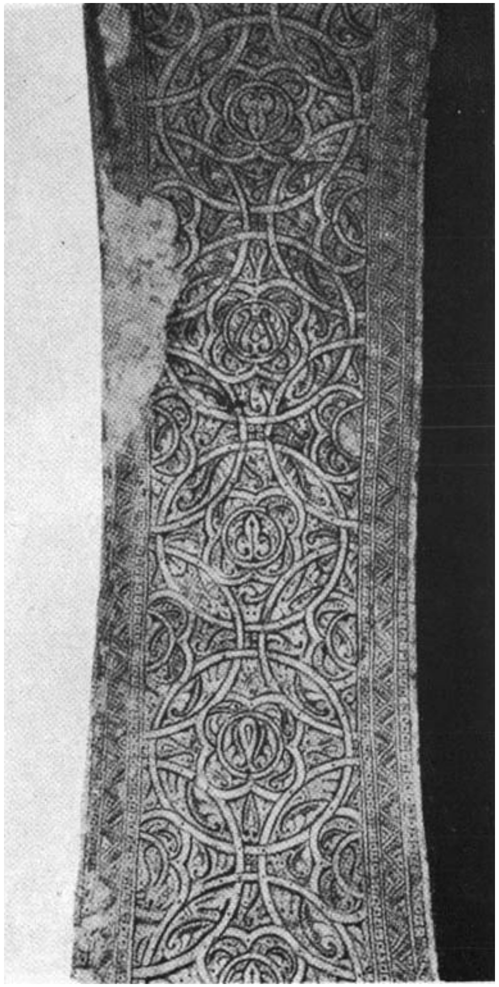

b.

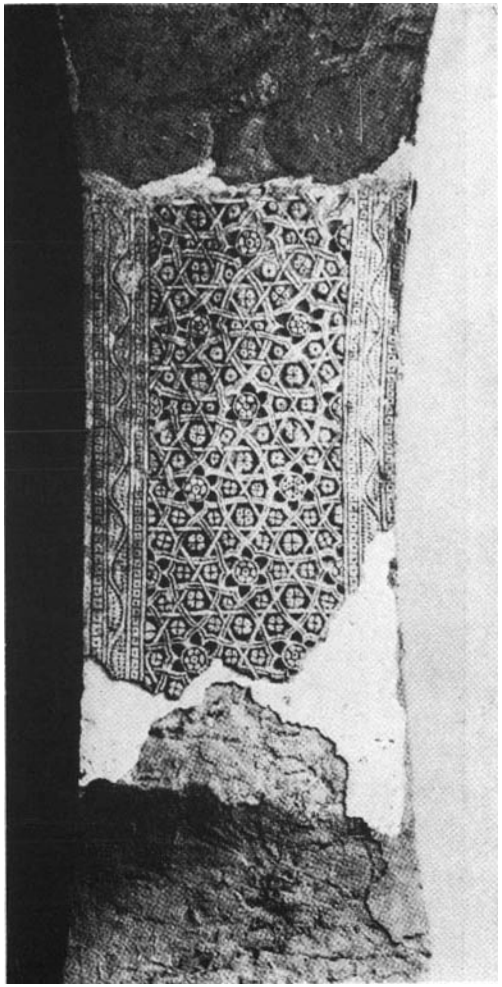

c.

CAIRO, THE MOSQUE OF IBN ṬŪLŪN. Decoration of soffits of arches.

Ṣafdar ʿAlī attacked Marāṭha Tanjore, while his son-in-law Ḥusayn Dūst Khān, (Čandā Ṣāḥib) took Trichinopoly by a trick.

This aggression brought the Marāṭhas down upon Ārkāt in 1153/1740. The Nawwāb was killed at the Damalcherry pass, Ārkāt sacked, and Chandā Ṣāḥib carried off prisoner to Satara.

Ṣafdar ʿAlī succeeded to power but was murdered in 1155/1742. The *ṣūbadār* of the Dakhan thereupon appointed an outsider, Anwār al-Dīn, a move resented by the many Nawāyaṭs who held subordinate posts in the province.

Their hostility allowed Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, to intervene. In 1161/1748 Dupleix assisted the release of Čandā Ṣāḥib, the Nawāyaṭ candidate for Ārkāt. Next year French troops under Čandā Ṣāḥib slew Anwār al-Dīn at Ambur, and in 1164/1750 when the *ṣūbadār* of the Dakhan was killed, Čandā Ṣāḥib was proclaimed Nawwāb of Ārkāt.

In the next eleven years Ārkāt was a pawn in the Anglo-French struggle, now taken and held by Clive, now lost to Lally. The war ended with the British protégé, Muḥammad ʿAlī, established as Nawwāb. His troops twice surrendered Ārkāt to Ḥaydar ʿAlī of Maysūr, he became deeply involved in debts, but his line continued till 1272/1855, when the estate escheated to the Company on failure of male heirs. (The administration of the province of Ārkāt had passed to the British in 1216/1801).

The palace and fort, and the fortifications of the town, elaborately constructed on European lines by Muḥammad ʿAlī, are now in ruins. There are numerous mosques, a fine tomb of Saʿādat Allāh Khān, and the shrine of Tipū Mastān Awliyā, after whom Tipū Sulṭān of Maysūr (Mysore) was named. (L. B. Bowring, *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sulṭan*, 117-18 n.).

Bibliography: M. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*; Sewell, op. cit, i, 165; ii, 198-9; *Imperial Gazeteer of India*, v, 419, 1908; *Cambridge History of India*, v, ch. viii and bibl.; S. K. Aiyangar, *Jour. of Indian Hist.*, 1930, 173-217; S. M. H. Nainar, *Sources of the History of the Nawabs of the Carnatic*, 4 vols., 1934-44; C. S. Srinivasachari, *A History of Gingee.*

(J. B. HARRISON)

ARḌ, earth, land. For the terrestrial globe, see KURAT AL-ARḌ. For land law, see IKṬĀʿ, ḲAṬĪʿA, KHĀLIṢA, KHARĀDJ, KHĀṢṢ, MAḤLŪL, MATRŪK, MAWĀT, MISĀḤA, MUḲĀSAMA, MUḲĀṬAʿA, MULK, SOYURGHĀL, TIMAR, ʿUSHR, WAḲF, ZIʿĀMET.

ʿARḌ, [see ISTIʿRĀḌ].

ʿARḌ ḤĀL, petition. In the Ottoman Empire of the 18th century, the writing of petitions was the prerogative of the *ʿArḍ-ḥāldjis* (*Arzuhalci*). Admission to their number was regulated by the *ʿArḍ-ḥāldji-bashi*, the *Čavushlar emini*, and the *Čavushlar kātibi*, the qualifications required being personal respectability, proficiency in calligraphy, and a knowledge of *sharīʿa* and *ḳānūns*. Petitions were considered by the *Čavushbashi* on behalf of the Grand Vizier, and answers to them were drafted by the two *Tedhkiredjis* (known as *Tedhkire-i ewwel* and *-thānī*).

Bibliography: Ahmet Refik, *Hicrî 12inci asırda Istanbul hayatı* (Istanbul 1930), 207; I. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray teşkilâtı* (Ankara 1945), 417, 419.

(G. L. LEWIS.)

ARDABB [see KAYL].

ARDABĪL (Turkish Erdebīl). A district and a town in eastern Ādharbāydjān. The town is located at 48° 17′ E. long. (Greenw.) and 38° 15′ N. lat. The distance to Tabrīz is 210 km. by road, and it is 40 km. to the Soviet frontier. The altitude of the town is 4,500 ft. above sea level, and it is situated on a circular plateau surrounded by mountains. The district (*shahristān*), of which the town is the capital, comprises four counties (*bakhsh*), capital county, Namīn, Āstārā, and Garmī.

There are few trees around the town and irrigation is necessary for cultivation. Some 20 m. west of the town is Mt. Savalān (Sablān of Arabic geographers) 15,784 ft. at the summit, with perennial snow. The climate of the town and capital county is cold in winter (average monthly temp. below freezing) and the town is assigned to the cold districts (*sardsīr*). The other three counties, however, are reckoned in the warm districts (*garmsīr*). The river Balīkhlū or Bālīḳṣū (or chāy), a tributary of the Ḳarāṣū, flows through the southern part of the town. In the vicinity of the town are warm springs which have attracted visitors throughout history.

The etymology of the name is uncertain, but Minorsky in *JA*, 217 (1930), 68, proposes a meaning "willows of the sacred law". The pre-Islamic history of Ardabīl is unknown, for we find the name only in Islamic times. Samʿānī vocalises the name as Ardubīl, while the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* writes Ardawīl. In Armenian we find Artavēt (Ghevond) and later Artavel. Firdawsī and Yāḳūt say the town was founded by Pērōz the Sāsānian king (457-484 A.D.), hence it was called Bādān Pērōz or Bādhān Fayrūz. Ḳazwīnī in his *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* attributes its founding to a much earlier monarch.

It is uncertain whether the mint mark ATRA, on Sāsānian and pre-reform ʿUmayyad coins (Ādharbāydjān?) refers to Ardabīl, but it was the residence of the *marzbān* at the time of the Arab conquest of Ādharbāydjān, according to al-Balādhurī. The city was taken by treaty, and under the caliph ʿAlī his governor al-Ashʿath made Ardabīl his capital. It probably did not remain the capital continuously throughout the ʿUmayyad Caliphate; for example in 112/730 the Khazars captured it. Marāgha may have been a second capital of Ādharbāydjān, for the seat of authority seems to have shifted between it and Ardabīl.

The district of Ardabīl suffered from the uprising of Bābak [*q.v.*]. Ardabīl was in the domain of the independent Sādjid governors at the beginning of the 10th century A.D., and the district suffered from internecine struggles of local rulers, as well as from the invasions of the Rūs in the first half of the 10th century. We find dirhems with the name Ardabīl on them for the first time in 286/899.

The town of Ardabīl was captured and destroyed by the Mongols in 617/1220. It lost its former importance until the rise of the Ṣafawids Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn had made Ardabīl the centre of his Ṣūfī order at the end of the 13th century. In 1499 Ismaʿīl, his descendant, returned from exile in Gīlān to Ardabīl where he started the Ṣafawid dynasty, and shortly thereafter he became shāh in Tabrīz.

Ardabīl became a Ṣafawid shrine and Shāh ʿAbbās especially enriched the mausoleum and mosque of Shaykh Ṣafī by gifts, among them Chinese porcelains and rugs. The city was held by the Ottomans for a short time at the end of Ṣafawid rule, but Nādir Shāh retook it and was crowned shāh in the nearby Mughān steppe in 1736. During the Ottoman occupation a survey of population and land was made for the city and province; a copy of this is preserved

in the Başvekalet Arşivi [*q.v.*] in Istanbul. In the time of Napoleon Gen. Gardanne fortified the city and built ramparts, and ʿAbbās Mīrzā established court there.

European visitors who visited the town and briefly described it were Pietro della Valle (1619), Adam Olearius (1637, with a pictoral map of the town), J. B. Tavernier, Corneille Le Brun (1703), and James Morier (1821). Much of the library of the shrine of Shaykh Ṣafī, as well as art objects, were carried to St. Petersburg by the Russians after 1827.

Morier (*Second Journey*) estimated the population of the town at 4,000; now it is ca. 23,000. Historical structures include the shrine of Shaykh Ṣafī, the *masdjid-i djumʿa* (built in 1382) and the mausoleum of Shaykh Djibrāʾīl (father of Shaykh Ṣafī?) 6 km. to the north of Ardabīl.

Bibliography: P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* 8 (1935), 1026-47, where references to Islamic sources are given in footnotes; F. Saare, *Ardabil Grabmoschee des Schech Safi, Denkmäler persischer Kunst*, Teil II, Berlin 1925; J. A. Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardabil Shrine*, Washington D.C. 1956; Le Strange, *Lands*, 168; Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djughrāfyā-yi Īrān*, 4, Tehran 1952, 11-13; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1950, 1290-2; *Rāhnamā-yi Īrān* (Ministry of War map service, Tehrān, 1952), 10-12 (where a sketch map of the town appears). (R. N. Frye)

ARDAHĀN, town in the remote north-east of Turkey, 41° 8′ north, 42° 42′ east, on the Kuručay, which becomes the Kura, 1,800 m. above sea-level. At one time capital of a *sandjak* in the *iyālet* of Kars. By the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, the town, its surrounding district and Kars were ceded to Russia. On Feb. 23rd 1921, it was ceded back by Georgia; it has since remained Turkish, and is the capital of a *ḳaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Kars. In 1945, the town had 6,182 inhabitants, and the *ḳaḍā* 49,699.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Kātib Čelebi), *Djihān-numā*, 407. (Fr. Taeschner)

ARDAKĀN (dialect (Erdekūn), town in Persia situated 32° 18′ N. Lat. and 53° 50′ E. Long. (Greenw.) on the present route from Nāʾīn to Yazd. It is located on the edge of the desert. To the north is the district (*bulūk*) of ʿAḳdā, and to the south Maybūd. It is located at a height of 3280 ft. above sea level. The identification with Ptolemy's Ἀρταχάνα (Tomaschek, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v.) is open to doubt, and there are no ancient ruins in the town. Ibn Ḥawḳal (Kramers), 263, mentions a town Adharkān on the edge of the desert near Yazd which may be identical with Ardakān. There is no certain mention of the town until the 7th/13th century when a Ṣūfī *khānaḳāh* was erected there; cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ayatī, *Taʾrīkh-i Yazd*, Yazd 1939, 50, who also lists the famous people from this town. The name Ardecan appears on European maps beginning in the early 18th century. Today the town is the centre of a district with 5 villages and 10,430 population (in 1930), according to Masʿūd Kayhān, *Djughrāfiyā*, ii, Tehran 1933, 438. Some of the population are Zoroastrians. The people are known for their metal work and sweets. The former flourishing cloth and carpet industry is now unimportant.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1950, 1774; General Razmārā, *Djughrāfiyā-yi Niẓāmī-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1945; for references to European travellers cf. A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 58 (von Poser), 188 (Buhse), 304 (Baier); Stahl in *Peterman's Geogr. Mitteil.*, Supplement 118 (1985), 29.

Another Ardakān, in Fārs, 30° 16′ N. Lat. 51° 59′ E. Long. (Greenw.) is a Ḳashḳāʾī tribal centre. (R. N. Frye)

ARDALĀN. This name was formerly used for the ill-defined province of Persian Kurdistān, the major part of which at present is the district (*shahristān*) of Sanandadj (formerly Senna). For the geography see KURDISTĀN (Persian).

Usually the name refers to the Banū Ardalān who were rulers of much of Kurdistān from the 14th century A.D. The origin of this extended family is unknown, but according to the *Sharaf-nāma*, Bābā Ardalān was a descendant of the Marwānids of Diyār Bakr, who settled among the Gūrān in Kurdistān. Another source (B. Nikitine, *Les Valis*) says Ardalān was a descendant of Ardashīr the first Sāsānian king. Several histories of the rulers of Ardalān were written in Persian in the 19th century which are primarily biographies of the rulers (Storey, 369, 1300). The rulers received the title *wālī* from the Ṣafawid shahs, but sometimes they declared their allegiance to the Ottomans.

One of the most illustrious of the rulers was Amān Allāh Khān who ruled at the beginning of the 19th century, and his son married the daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. Nāṣr al-Dīn Shāh appointed a Ḳādjār prince as governor of Kurdistān and the rule of the Ardalān family came to an end. [See KURDISTĀN, SENNA].

Bibliography: B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, Paris 1956, 34-6, 167-170; idem, *Les Valis d'Ardelan*, in *RMM*, 49 (1922), 70-104; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1948, 1775. For the *Sharaf-nāma* and other sources cf. Storey, 366-9. (R. N. Frye)

ARDASHĪR, old Persian: Artakhshathra, Greek Ἀρταξέρξης, well-known name of Persian kings. Muslim tradition has certain knowledge only of the later Sāsānid kings of that name, viz. Ardashīr I (226-241), Ardashīr II (379-383) and Ardashīr III (628-629). [See SĀSĀNIDS].

Bibliography: A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides* (Introd., ii, 2: Littératures arabe et persane, and index, s.v. Ardashēr). (H. Massé)

ARDASHĪR KHURRA [see FĪRŪZĀBĀD].

ARDIBEHISHT [see TAʾRĪKH].

ARDISTĀN (dialect Arūsūn), a town in Persia located on the edge of the desert east of the present road from Naṭanz to Nāʾīn, at a height of 3575 ft. and 33° 22′ N. Lat., 52° 24′ E. Long. (Greenw.) It was a well known town in the Middle Ages. Arabic and Persian histories say a fire temple was erected by Ardashīr the first Sāsānid (226-42 A.D.) and Khusraw I Anūsharwān (531-79) was born here. On the early (4th/10th century) mosque here cf. A. Godard, in *Athār-é Īrān*, 1936, 285. Zawāra, NE and near Ardistān, has an old mosque and pre-Islamic ruins. The population of the district of 50 villages (1930) was ca. 27,000.

Bibliography: Schwarz, *Iran*, v, 638; Le Strange, 208; ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1950, 1692; Masʿūd Kayhān, *Djughrāfiyā*, ii, Tehran 1933, 425; for a town plan and information on the present town, cf. *Rāhnamā-yi Īrān* (Ministry of War map service), Tehran 1952, part. ii, 14. (R. N. Frye)

AL-ʿ**ARDJĪ** ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, great-grandson of the Caliph ʿUthmān, and a poet regarded as the best of those who belonged to the Umayyad family. Of a generous but violent disposition, he tried to play a part in politics and took part in several

expeditions (especially with Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, against the Byzantines), but, thwarted of power, he retired to the Ḥidjāz, dividing his time between Mecca and one of his estates near al-Ṭāʾif, al-ʿArdj, from which he took his *nisba*. Reduced to a life of idleness, like so many of the aristocracy of the Ḥidjāz, he turned to amusements, frivolous or riotous, and joined the erotic poets who flourished at that time in the two Holy Cities. Doubtless moved by jealousy, he satirised the Governor of Mecca, Muḥammad b. Hishām, the maternal uncle of the Caliph Hishām, and went so far as to compose, in order to discredit him, erotic verse regarding his mother Djaydāʾ. His behaviour led to his being molested, placed in the pillory and thrown into prison, where he died, probably about 120/738.

Bibliography: His *dīwān* was recently printed in Baghdād (1956) with an Introduction. See also Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 365-6; idem, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 86; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; Aghānī, i, 147-60 and index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 99; Yāḳūt, s.v. al-ʿArdj; Brockelmann, i, 49; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, ii, 72-81; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 146-7; C. A. Nallino, *Scritti*, vi (= *Letteratura*, 61; French trans. 97-8); F. Gabrieli, *Un pöeta minore omayyade: al-ʿArǧi*, in *Studi Orient. in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, 361-70, with bibl.

(Ch. Pellat)

ARDJĪSH, a small and ancient town situated on the north-eastern bank of Lake Van, which in the Middle Ages was still called the Lake of Ardjīsh. Its existence seems to be vouched for since the Urartaean period, and more expressly by the Graeco-Roman geographers. It was occupied for a time by the Arabs during the time of ʿUthmān, but remained an integral part of the Armenian principalities up to the 8th century A.D.; from 772 onwards, it was incorporated into the Ḳaysite emirate of Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*]. In the 10th century A.D., it belonged to the Marwānids, but about 1025 it was taken by the Byzantines, who proceeded to annex southern Armenia. In 1054, it was retaken by the Saldjūḳid sultan Tughril Beg [*q.v.*], and, when the Saldjūḳid empire was divided up at the end of the 5th/11th century, it was incorporated in the principality of the Shāhs of Armenia of Akhlāṭ and, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, in that of their Ayyūbid successors. Pillaged repeatedly in the 13th century by the Georgians and the Mongols, it was nevertheless of sufficient importance for the Ilkhānid *wazīr* ʿAlī Shāh to fortify it at the beginning of the 8th/14th century (it does not appear to have been fortified before). Later, it suffered from the devastations of Tīmūr and during the disorders associated with the Perso-Ottoman wars. It was still the chief town of an Ottoman district in the 17th century; but the growth of Van, and the northward movement of the lake waters, acted to its detriment. The last inhabitants left the town about the middle of the 19th century, and to-day the ruins are mainly under water. A small modern township has sprung up half an hour's journey to the north.

Bibliography: See ARMENIA and AKHLĀṬ. To the Arabic sources (al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Azraḳ al-Fāriḳi studied by Amedroz in *JRAS*, 1902, 785-812, Ibn al-Athīr, etc.), should be added the Armenian sources used in R. Grousset, *Histoire d'Arménie*, Paris 1948, and F. Nève, *Histoire des Guerres de Tamerlan d'après Thomas de Medzoph*, Brussels 1860, in Persian, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, and, in Turkish, the *Djihān-nüma* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and the *Travels* of Ewliyā Čelebī, vol. iv, cf. also M. Canard, *Les Hamdânides*, i, 188 and 473 ff.; E. Honigman, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935; and Besim Darkot, article *Erciş* in *IA*, which gives the references to the earlier modern works (Hübschman, Markwart).

(Cl. Cahen)

ARDJĪSH-DAGH [see ERDJIYĀS DAGHI].

ARGAN (Berb.), argan-tree (*argania spinosa* or *argania sideroxylon*), a tree of the family *Sapotaceae* which grows on the southern coast of Morocco. A shrub with hard, tough wood, it produces a stone whose kernel, when ground, yields a much-valued oil; the oil-cakes are given to cattle.

The word is also known to some of the Arabic-speakers of Morocco, but they look upon it as a loan-word.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 1248; L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, Glossary, Paris 1952, 6-7; V. Monteil, *Contribution à l'étude de la flore du Sahara occidental*, ii, Paris 1953, no. 409 (with a bibl.); A. Roux, *La vie berbère par les textes*, i, Paris 1955, 34-6.

(Ed.)

ARGHANA [see ERGHANI].

ARGHŪN, name of a Mongol dynasty claiming descent from Hulāgū. (Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, 580, refuses to accept this claim). The Arghūns rose to prominence towards the end of the 15th century when Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā of Harāt appointed *Dhū 'l-Nūn Beg Arghūn* governor of Ḳandahār. He soon began to assume an independent attitude and resisted all attempts of the ruler of Harāt to coerce him. As early as 884/1479 he occupied the highlands of Pishīn, Shāl and Mustang which now form part of Balūčistān. In 890/1485 his two sons, Shāh Beg and Muḥammad Muḳīm Khān, descended the Bolān Pass and temporarily wrested Sīwī (Sibi) from Djām Nanda, the Sammā ruler of Sind. In 902/1497 he espoused the cause of Badīʿ al-Zamān, the rebel son of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, and gave him his daughter in marriage. He was killed at the battle of Maručak, in 913/1507, during the invasion of Khurāsān by Shaybānī Khān the Uzbeg leader. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Shāh Beg, who was forced to acknowledge the overlordship of Shaybānī Khān in order to maintain his position at Ḳandahār. After the defeat and death of the redoutable Uzbeg leader at Marw, in 1510, he was threatened by Bābur who had established himself at Kābul and by Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī who had annexed Harāt. He was saved for a time by Shāh Ismāʿīl's wars against the Ottomāns and by Bābur's attempt to recover Samarḳand. Realising that his expulsion from Ḳandahār was merely a matter of time, he sought to establish his power in the Balūč country and Sind. In Sind, Djām Nanda had been succeeded by his son Djām Fīrūz whose hold over the country was weakened by faction fights. In 926/1520 Shāh Beg entered Sind, defeated Djām Fīrūz's army and sacked Thatta, the capital of Southern Sind. A treaty was made by which upper Sind was surrendered to Shāh Beg while lower Sind was to remain under the Sammās. This agreement was almost immediately repudiated by the Sammās as a result of which they were once more defeated. Shāh Beg now dethroned Djām Fīrūz and founded the Arghūn dynasty of Sind. After the complete loss of Ḳandahār to Bābur, in 928/1522, Shāh Beg made Bakhar on the Indus his capital. He died in 930/1524 and was succeeded by his son, Shāh Ḥusayn, who had the *khuṭba* read in Bābur's name, and immediately, probably by arrangement with Bābur, proceeded to attack the Langāh kingdom of

Multān. In 1528, after a long siege, Multān capitulated. Shāh Ḥusayn, after appointing a governor, retired to Thatta. When, shortly afterwards, his governor was expelled, he made no attempt to retake the city. After a brief period of independence those in authority in Multān deemed it expedient to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor. Shāh Ḥusayn was reigning in 947/1540 when Humāyūn, after his defeat and expulsion from northern India by Shīr Shāh Sūr, sought refuge in Sind. Probably because he did not wish to be drawn into a war with Shīr Shāh, the Arghūn ruler refused to help Humāyūn. This was followed by Humāyūn's attempt to seize the strong fortresses of Bakhar and Sihwān for which he lacked the necessary resources, energy and generalship. In 950/1543, Humāyūn was granted an unmolested passage through Sind to Ḳandahār. Towards the end of his days Shāh Ḥusayn's character degenerated. As a result his nobles deserted him and elected as their sovereign Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿĪsā Tarkhān, a member of the elder branch of the Arghūn clan. Shāh Ḥusayn died childless in 1556 and with him ended the Arghūn dynasty.

The Arghūn Tarkhān dynasty lasted from 1556 to 1591. Muḥammad ʿĪsā Tarkhān was forced to come to terms with a rival claimant, Sultan Maḥmūd Gokaldāsh. It was arranged that Muhammad ʿĪsā Tarkhān kept lower Sind with his capital at Thatta, and Sultān Maḥmūd upper Sind with his capital at Bakhar. In 982/1573 upper Sind was annexed by Akbar. ʿĪsā Khān died in 1567 and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Bāḳī who committed suicide in 1585. During the reign of his successor, Djānī Beg, Akbar, in 1591, sent ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, Khān Khānān, to annex lower Sind. Djānī Beg was defeated and lower Sind incorporated in the Mughal empire. Djānī Beg died of delirium tremens in 1599.

Bibliography: Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (*Bibl. Ind.*); Muḥammad Ḳāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832; Muḥammad ʿAlī Kūfī, *Čač-nāma*; *Bābur-nāma*, (Beveridge); H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (i, Sayyid Djamāl's *Tarkhān-nāma* or *Arghūn-nāma* based without acknowledgement on Mīr Muhammad Maʿṣūm's *Taʾrīkh al-Sind*); W. Erskine, *A History of India under Baber and Humayun*, London 1854; M. K. Fredunbeg, *A History of Sind*, ii, Karachi 1902); M. R. Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, London 1894; H. G. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and Part of Baluchistan*, London 1888.

(C. Collin Davies)

ARGHŪN [see IL-KHĀNIDS].

ARGYROCASTRO [see ERGERI].

ʿARĪB B. SAʿD AL-KĀTIB AL-ḲURṬUBĪ, an Andalusian *mawlā* who held various official posts (he was in particular *ʿāmil* of the district of Osuna in 331/943), lived in the entourage of al-Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [see AL-MANṢŪR] and was the secretary of the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II (350-66/961-76); the date of his death is not known, but is put by Pons Boigues at about 370/980.

A man of wide learning, ʿArīb distinguished himself as physician and poet, but is primarily known for his work as a historian. He was in fact the author of a résumé of the Annals of al-Ṭabarī, which he continued down to his own times; the section relating to the Orient has been published by M. J. De Goeje (Arīb, *Tabari continuatus*, Leiden 1897), while R. Dozy added to his edition of the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī (Leiden 1848-51) the fragments relating to Spain (from 291 to 320), which constitute the principal source for the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 506 and index). ʿArīb probably also wrote a work on obstetrics (*K. Khalḳ al-Djanīn wa Tadbīr al-Ḥabālā wa 'l-Mawlūd*, a MS. of which has been preserved; see H. Derenbourg-H. P. J. Renaud, *Mss. ar. de l'Escurial*, ii/2, Paris 1941, 41-2, No. 833) dedicated to al-Ḥakam II, and a *K. ʿUyūn al-Adwiya*. The *K. al-Anwāʾ*, of which he is certainly the author, has clearly been merged in the liturgical calendar of bishop Rabīʿ b. Zayd (= Recemundo), in a composite text which R. Dozy published under the title of *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année* 961, Leiden 1873 (a new edition by Ch. Pellat will appear shortly).

Bibliography: Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa 'l-Takmila* (part of this has been edited by F. Krenkow in *Hespéris*, 1930, 2-3); A. A. Vasiliev, *Vizantiya i Arabi*, ii/2, 43 ff. (French ed. H. Grégoire and M. Canard, ii, Brussels 1950, 48 ff. with a bibliography); Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 88-9; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Xe Siècle*, 107; González Palencia, *Literatura*, index; Brockelmann, i, 134, 236, S I, 217; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, § 428; idem, in *Zeit. für Math. und Physik*, 1866, 235ff.; R. Dozy, in *ZDMG*, xx, 595-6; idem, Préface of *Cal. de Cordoue*; idem, Introd. to the ed. of *Bayān*, 43-63; Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. ar.*, i, 432; Sarton, i, 680.

(Ch. Pellat)

AL-ʿĀRIḌ, the central district of Nadjd. Originally applied to the long mountainous barrier Ṭuwayḳ [*q.v.*], the name al-ʿĀriḍ is still very commonly used in this sense. In a more restricted sense it refers to the central part of the barrier, the district between al-Khardj to the south and al-Maḥmal to the north. On the west al-ʿĀriḍ is bounded by the western escarpment of Ṭuwayḳ and the district of al-Baṭīn below it, in which lie Ḍarmā, al-Ghaṭghaṭ, etc. On the east Wādī 'l-Sulayy, the escarpment of Djāl Hīt, and the land of al-ʿArama separate al-ʿĀriḍ from al-Dahnāʾ.

The district is traversed from northwest to southeast by Wādī Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], formerly known as al-ʿIrḍ, the head of which lies below ʿAḳabat al-Ḥaysiyya (formerly Thaniyyat al-Aḥīsā), whence it flows for c. 160 km. before emptying into al-Sahbāʾ near the modern town of al-Yamāma in al-Khardj.

The principal towns of al-ʿĀriḍ, all of which lie in or near Wādī Ḥanīfa, are: (1) al-ʿUyayna [*q.v.*], the birthplace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*]; (2) al-Djubayla, near which the battle of ʿAḳrabāʾ between Musaylima and Khālid b. al-Walīd is supposed to have been fought; (3) al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], the first capital of Āl Suʿūd, the picturesque ruins of which still overlook the modern town in the valley; (4) al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*], the present capital of Āl Suʿūd; (5) Manfūḥa, which is presumed to lie on or near the site of the poet al-Aʿshā's home; and (6) al-Ḥāʾir (also called Ḥāʾir Subayʿ or Ḥāʾir al-Aʿizza, the latter being the section of the tribe of Subayʿ dominant in the oasis). Ḥāʾir Subayʿ lies at the junction of the valleys Luḥā (not Ha as shown on most modern maps) and Buʿaydjāʾ (the lower stretch of al-Awsaṭ) with Wādī Ḥanīfa.

The Bedouin tribes roaming through al-ʿĀriḍ are Subayʿ, al-Suhūl, and al-Ḳurayniyya. Many other tribesmen are drawn there by the presence of the capital. The townspeople are descended from Tamīm, ʿAnaza, al-Dawāsir, and many other sources.

Since the beginning of the reform movement preached by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*]

al-ʿĀriḍ has been the great stronghold of the faith. In the myriad campaigns conducted by Āl Suʿūd the people of al-ʿĀriḍ, both townsmen and nomads, have almost invariably been in the front rank. One of the main reasons the reformation began in al-ʿĀriḍ in the 12th/18th century was that this district had preserved a tradition of Islamic learning, and since then al-ʿĀriḍ has contributed more than its share of highly honoured religious scholars.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*; Ibn Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1370; Ibn Ghannām, *Rawḍat al-Afkār*, Cairo 1368; Ibn Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-Madjd*, Mecca 1349; H. Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, London 1922; idem, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London 1928. (G. RENTZ)

ʿARĪF, "one who knows", a term applied to the holders of certain military or civil offices, based on competence in customary matters, *ʿurf*, as opposed to knowledge of the law, which characterises the *ʿālim*. There may have existed in some cases *de facto ʿurafāʾ* in Arabia already prior to and at the time of Muḥammad (al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, iv, 81) who is said to have condemned them (Ibn Ḥanbal, iv, 133; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, iii, 86; al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, i, 98; al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Kabīr*, ii, 341). But such traditions are obviously influenced by later conditions.

During the periods of the caliphs of al-Madīna and of the Umayyads, the *ʿarīfs* collected taxes from the tribes and handed them over to the *muṣaddiḳ* who was appointed by the caliph (al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, ii, 61, 72, 74; *Aghānī*[3], iii, 62, xi, 248). No details are available concerning their appointment, except that they were chosen among the tribe concerned, though not among its chiefs.

From the time of ʿUmar I onwards there are frequent references to the office of *ʿarīf* in connection with the military organisation of the empire and the *amṣār*. Sayf b. ʿUmar claims that the armies of Kūfa were divided after the battle of Ḳādisiyya into numerous units (*ʿirāfa*), with an *ʿarīf* over each unit (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2496); but most of the details concerning the functions of the *ʿarīfs* apply to the period of Muʿāwiya only. Each *ʿarīf* was assigned to an *ʿirāfa* and was responsible for the distribution of the stipend (*ʿaṭāʾ*) among its members, for which purpose he had to keep a register (*dīwān*) of the payees and their families. He was furthermore responsible for security inside his own *ʿirāfa*, and probably also had other responsibilities, such as collecting blood-money and arbitrating in disputes among the members of the *ʿirāfa*.

The governor of the *miṣr* (or the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) was the sole authority with the power to appoint and dismiss *ʿurafāʾ* and it was not necessary for him to seek the approval of the caliph or of the clan; he was, however, probably obliged to choose influential persons (cf. the authorities quoted in Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt, etc.*, 97-100).

The military office of *ʿarīf* continued throughout the Middle Ages; the rather scanty evidence indicates that its scope varied. At the time of al-Rashīd, for instance, the *ʿarīf* was responsible for ten to fifteen men (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 196), while in Spain, at the time of al-Ḥakam, he is mentioned as a commander of a hundered horsemen (*Akhbār Madjmūʿa*, 129-30). (In the ʿIrāḳī and Syrian armies of the present day the *ʿarīf* is in charge of ten men). We also hear of *ʿurafāʾ* of the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*], when it was desired to organise these into official military units (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 179; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 452).

Among the civil offices whose incumbents bore the name of *ʿarīf* we hear, in the first two centuries of the Hidjra, of a special official responsible for the interests of orphans and illegitimate children. An *ʿarīf* of *dhimmīs* is also occasionally mentioned. But the most frequent use of the title of *ʿarīf* in the mediaeval Arabic-speaking Orient is to denote the head of a guild, although the term was used concurrently (or in varying hierarchical relationships) with others, such as *naḳīb*, *raʾīs* or simply *shaykh*, fell into disuse during the Ottoman period, and in the west was usually replaced by *amīn* [*q.v.*]. We find instances of *ʿarīf* in this sense, it seems, from Umayyad times, in direct relationship with the *ḳāḍī*, prior to the appearance of the office of *muḥtasib* (according to *Wakīʿ Akhbār al-Ḳuḍāt*, ii, 347, referring to the time of the *ḳāḍī* Shurayḥ, who died about 80/700). But it is mainly from the 6th/12th century onwards that references to *ʿurafāʾ*, now in the rôle of assistants to the *muḥtasibs*, occur frequently in works designed for the use of the latter.

It is impossible to discuss the position of the head of a trade-guild in detail except in the general study of the organisation of the guilds which will appear in the article ṢINF. The basic problem, in assessing the position of the *ʿarīf* or the *amīn*, is to know to what extent this individual, situated midway between the administrator and the guilds, was the representative of an autonomous corporation comparable to those of the mediaeval Christian west at the time of the communes, or the agent of authority supervising a guild governed from above, like the colleges of the late Empire and Byzantium. His actual position must have varied according to the relative strength of the forces concerned. In general, the *ʿarīf* or *amīn* figures mainly as an assistant of the *muḥtasib* as regards the regulation, internal jurisdiction and financial obligations of the guild; he could not however discharge his duties unless he was regarded with a certain minimum of confidence by the leaders of the guild, from amongst whom he himself was chosen and who often, by acclamation, accepted or proposed him. In practice he also to a certain extent represented the guild in its dealings with authority. He organised the participation of his guild in certain festivals. He was often duplicated by a *khalīfa*, and exercised his powers of arbitration and jurisdiction, in the large centres, assisted by a small customary tribunal subordinate to the *muḥtasib*. It sometimes happened that there was also an *amīn al-umanāʾ*. The *amīn* kept a register of the members of the guild, and admitted new members, in accordance with various initiatory rites. His function was of an eminently temporary nature. This organisation has, of course, been undermined to-day by the progress of trade-unionism on the European pattern.

Bibliography: In addition to the references quoted in the article, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.; I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur Arab. Philologie*, i, 21; Dj. Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī*, i, 148; P. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London 1946, 328; *IA*, s.v. (by M. F. Köprülü); Rāshid Barrawī, *Ḥālat Miṣr al-Iḳtiṣādiyya*, Cairo 1948, 190-4; A. A. Duri, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-Iḳtiṣādī*, Baghdad 1948, 82; Ṣāliḥ A. al-ʿAlī, *al-Tanẓīmat al-Idjtimāʿiyya wa ʾl-Iḳtiṣādiyya fi ʾl-Baṣra*, Baghdad 1953, 97-100.

For matters relating more particularly to the *ʿarīf* and *amīn* as technical terms of the guilds, the essential sources are the Syro-Egyptian works on *ḥisba* (Shayzarī, ed. ʿArīnī, 1946, analysed by Bernhauer, who calls him Nabrawī, in *JA*, 1860,

61; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, ed. R. Levy, 1938; Ibn Bassām, extracts by Cheikho in *Mash.*, 1907) or the similar works of Spanish origin (Ibn ʿAbdūn, ed. Lévi-Provençal, in *JA*, 1934, trans. in *Seville musulmane au XIIe s*, and especially, from our point of view, Saḳāṭī of Malaga, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, 1931), not to speak of other similar works, as yet unpublished, written in other countries. The material which they provide on the *ʿarīf* has been utilised by E. Tyan, *Organisation judiciaire*, ii, to be completed, as regards the *amīn* of Spain and mediaeval Tunisia, by the remarks of Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, especially 300-2, and Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, 150, 203, etc. For the modern period, on North Africa, see the study of Massignon on the Moroccan guilds (*RMM*, 1924), to be completed as regards Fez before the Protectorate by the work of Le Tourneau on that town (with bibliography); for Tunisia, Payre, *Les amines en Tunisie*, 1940, should be consulted. No equivalent study exists for the Orient, where we are still dependent on the valuable, but restrained picture of the guilds at Damascus at the end of the 19th century, by Elyas Qudsi (*Travaux de la VIe Session du Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Leiden 1884, 3 ff.), and for Egypt, on the information given in the *Description de l'Egypte*, xvii and xviii, and on certain special monographs such as G. Martin, *Les Bazars du Caire*, 1910. For a comparison with central Asia see M. Gavrilov, *Les corps de métiers en Asie Centrale*, in *REI* 1928, 209 ff.; with Persia, the lecture by Ann K. S. Lambton, *Islamic Society in Persia*, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1954; with the Ottoman Empire, the description of the guilds at Constantinople in the 17th century by Ewliyā Čelebi (*Siyāḥat-nāme*, i, 473 ff.; Hammer's English translation I, 2, 90ff.) and H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens auf Grund von Basṭ Madad et-Taufīq*, (Türkische Bibliothek 16) Berlin 1913.

(Salih A. el-Ali and Cl. Cahen)

ʿĀRIF HIKMET BEY (1201-1275/1786-1859) *shaykh al-islām* from 1262 to 1270/1845-54, and one of the last representatives of Turkish classical poetry. Descended from a family of high officials (his father, Ibrāhīm ʿIsmet was *ḳāḍi 'l-ʿaskar* under Selim III), he became *molla* of Jerusalem (1231/1816), then of Cairo (1236/1820) and Medina (1239-1823); later appointed *naḳīb al-ashrāf* (1246/1830) and *ḳāḍi 'l-ʿaskar* of Anatolia (1249/1833), then of Rumelia (1254/1838), he finally became *shaykh al-islām*, a post which he held for seven years. ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Bey maintained relations with the principal poets of his period, notably Esʿad Efendi, Ziwer Pacha and Ṭāhir Selām. He himself wrote poetry, and his *Dīwān*, which contains poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, is considered to be one of the last works of note of the old school of Turkish poetry; in it may be perceived the influence of Nefʿī, Nabī and Nedim (see M. F. Köprülü, *Türk divan edebiyatı antolojisi*, 18th and 19th centuries); this *Dīwān* was printed in Istanbul in 1283/1867. His other works are: *Tedhkire-i Shuʿarā'* (biographies of Turkish poets up to the year 1250/1834); *Madjmūʿat al-Tarādjim*: *Dhayl li-Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (see İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *Son asır türk şairleri*, iv, 626-628); *al-Aḥkām al-Marʿiyya fi 'l-Arāḍī al-Amīriyya* (quoted in *Osmanlı müellifleri*); *Khulāṣat al-Maḳālāt fi Madjālis al-Mukālamāt* (MS. in İstanbul University Library, no. 3791; cf. İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *ibid.*, 626). ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Bey enjoyed great fame during his lifetime, and Namık Kemal wrote that he was, with Ṭāhir Selām, the most notable poet of the era of Maḥmūd II.

Bibliography: On the life of ʿĀrif Ḥikmet, there are numerous references in the historical and biographical works written in the second half of the 19th century; see in addition: Fāṭima ʿAliyye, *Djewdet Pasha we zamani*, Istanbul 1332, *passim*. On his poetry: the Introduction to his *Dīwān*, written by Meḥmed Ziwer (İstanbul 1283); Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 350 ff., Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *Son asır türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1937, iv, 620 ff., *IA*, s.v. (article by Fevziye Abdullah).

(R. Mantran)

al-ʿ**ARĪSH**, or 'the ʿArīsh of Egypt', the Rhinokorura of the ancients, town on the Mediterranean coast situated in a fertile oasis surrounded by sand, on the frontier between Palestine and Egypt. The name is found as early as the first centuries of our era in the form of Laris. According to the ordinary view, which is presupposed also in the well-known anecdote about ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's expedition to Egypt, the town belonged to Egypt. The inhabitants, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, belonged to the Djudhām. Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of two principal mosques in the town and refers to its wealth of fruit. It was at al-ʿArīsh that King Baldwin I died in 1118. Yāḳūt states that the town contained a great market and many inns, and that merchants had their agents there. Al-ʿArīsh was occupied by Napoleon in 1799; in the following year a treaty was concluded in the town, by which the French were forced to evacuate Egypt.

Bibliography: Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, 196-7; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 95; Muḳaddasī, 54, 193; al-Yaʿḳūbī, 330; Yāḳūt iii, 660-1; Wilhelmus Tyrensis, 509; Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, 2, *Edom* i, 228 ff., 304-5; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 125; Capitaine Bouchard, *La chute d'el-Arich*, ed. and ann. by G. Wiet, Cairo 1945; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, *IFAO* ed., iv, 24-7.

(F. Buhl *)

ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS or **ARISṬŪ**, i.e., Aristotle, the 4th century B.C. Greek philosopher, the study of whose works became permanently established in the Greek philosophical schools from the first century B.C. onwards.

I. The commentators Nicolaus of Damascus (*saec.* I B.C.) Alexander of Aphrodisias (± A.D. 200), Themistius (*saec.* IV), John Philoponus and Simplicius (*saec.* VI) show the way in which Aristotle was understood in such late Greek teaching. With very few exceptions (cf. below), most of the writings of Aristotle eventually became known to the Arabs in translation, and a great number of the commentaries (which are partly familiar to us in the Greek original, partly only preserved in Arabic versions or even in Hebrew versions from the Arabic) were also thoroughly studied by Arabic teachers of Aristotle and by Islamic philosophical writers. The oriental tradition of Aristotle reading follows his late Greek interpreters without a gap, and the medieval Western tradition depends as much on the Islamic study of Aristotle (particularly in the huge sections of Al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd made available to the Schoolmen) as on the late Greek and Byzantine expositions of his thought. A. is without reservation considered by most Arabic philosophers as the outstanding and unique representative of philosophy from al-Kindī (cf. *Rasā'il* I, 103, 17 Abū Rīda) to Ibn Rushd's unqualified praise (*Comm. Magnum in Arist. De anima* III, 2, 433 Crawford): Aristotle is 'exemplar quod natura invenit ad demonstrandum

ultimam perfectionem humanam'. A. is often referred to as 'the philosopher'. He is by implication 'the first teacher', al-Fārābī being described as the second (*al-muʿallim al-thānī*).

Since a full survey of Muslim Aristotelianism would virtually constitute a complete history of Islamic philosophical thought, it must be sufficient to point out the main facts and name the instruments of study at present available. In agreement with the Greek commentators Aristotle is understood as a dogmatic philosopher and as the author of a closed system. He is, moreover (again in a way not unknown to the Greek neo-Platonic teachers), supposed to agree with Plato in all the essential tenets of his thought or, at least, to be complementary to him. The Arabs could even go as far as to credit Aristotle himself with neo-Platonic metaphysical ideas, and it is hence not altogether surprising that extracts from a lost Greek paraphrase of Plotinus and a rearrangement of a number of chapters of Proclus's *Elements of Theology* could pass as Aristotle's *Theology* and Aristotle's *Book of the Pure Good* or *Liber De Causis* respectively.

The Arabs eventually became acquainted with almost all the more important lecture-courses of Aristotle, with the exception of the *Politics*, the *Eudemian Ethics* and *Magna Moralia*. They had no translation of the *Dialogues*, which had become less popular in post-Hellenistic times. Their knowledge of Aristotle thus went far beyond the few logical writings known to the early Latin Middle Ages in Boethius's translation, and comprehended the whole late Greek syllabus (cf. also the interesting passage *Comm. in Arist. Graeca* iii/1, xvii f.). Surveys of the treatises and the ancient commentaries known are to be found in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 248-52, Flügel (347-52 in the Egyptian edition) and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamā*, 34-42 Lippert. It is odd that Ibn al-Ḳifṭī *op. cit.*, 42-8 (cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbāʾ* I 67 ff.) has preserved an otherwise lost but originally Greek list of Aristotle's writings ascribed to a Ptolemy, cf. A. Baumstark, *Syrisch-Arabische Biographien des Aristoteles*, Leipzig 1900, 61 ff. and P. Moraux, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote*, Louvain 1951, 289 ff.

Aristotle's lecture courses did not become known to the Arabs in their entirety at once, but in stages. The first texts translated of which we are informed are, in conformity with the syllabus followed in the Syrian monastic schools and by Greek patristic writers, limited to formal logic, i.e. Porphyry's *Isagoge*, *Categories*, *De Interpretatione* and part of the *Prior Analytics*. The first translator of Aristotle whose work is known (although still unedited) is Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdallāh, the son of the famous Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (cf. P. Kraus, *RSO* 1933). The *Topics* and the *Posterior Analytics* and *Rhetoric* and *Poetic* (which belong to the logical writings in late Greek tradition) were soon added but it was not before the foundation of the *bayt al-ḥikma* during the reign of al-Maʾmūn that non-logical writings by Aristotle were made accessible as well. Details about the history of the early translations are still scarce, but 'ancient' versions of the books *On the Heaven*, the *Meteorology*, the main zoological writings, the greater part of the *Metaphysics*, the *Sophistici Elenchi* and (most probably) the *Prior Analytics* have survived until the present day; whilst the so called *Theology of Aristotle* (cf. above) was also translated at this early stage. Al-Kindī's understanding of Aristotle is based on these translations (cf. M. Guidi-R. Walzer, *Studi su al-Kindī I, Uno scritto introduttivo allo studio di Aristotele*, Rome 1940). Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ and his son Isḥāḳ and other associates of this renowned centre of translations of philosophical, medical and generally scientific Greek works produced a great number of partially improved and partially first translations of Aristotle. The translators sometimes worked from the Greek original, sometimes from older or recent intermediate Syriac translations. The better ones were eager to establish a Greek text before they started upon their task. We eventually find a well established tradition of Aristotle reading in the 10th century, in Baghdād, upheld by Christian Arabic philosophers such as Abū Bishr Mattā and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī and others who considered themselves, probably correctly, as late descendants of the Greek philosophical school of Alexandria. The syllabus which they followed was partly based on earlier translations and partly on translations of their own (made from older or recent Syriac translations), since most of the representatives of this school were no longer able to read Greek. Al-Fārābī's acquaintance with Aristotle presupposes the achievement of this circle (his treatise *On Aristotle's Philosophy* will be published by Muhsin Mahdi), and all the subsequent Islamic philosophers equally base themselves on the same corpus of translations which had eventually emerged (after an activity of almost 200 years) in Baghdad and spread from there all over the Islamic world, from Persia to Spain. The work of these translators seems to have surpassed even Ibn Rushd in accuracy and knowledge of textual variants. These Arabic versions of Aristotle are certainly not without importance for the establishment of the original Greek text, and they deserve the same attention as a Greek papyrus or an early Greek MS. or the variants recorded in Greek commentators. They help us moreover to get a more common sense view of the history of texts in general.

The Greek commentators became known to the Arabs together with the text of Aristotle. We meet their influence in different forms: Full texts comprising the lemmata of the Aristotelian groundwork, terse paraphrases by Themistius and his like, shorter surveys of the argument of individual treatises, and marginal notes in manuscripts which quote sentences and views taken from the larger works. Not many of the translations of these Greek commentaries have survived, since they were used by the Arab successors of the Greek Aristotelian scholars who wrote commentaries and monographs in their own name. Of these, again, not very many have come down to us in the original text. Not one of Al-Fārābī's commentaries on Aristotelian treatises has yet been traced in any library. Ibn Badjdjā's elaborate summaries of works of Aristotle are still unedited. A certain number of Ibn Rushd's shorter and more elaborate commentaries are also known, whilst more survive only in Hebrew and Latin translations.

A list of the works of Aristotle (mentioning the more important spurious ones as well) which are at present available for study is following.

I

Categories. Al-Ḥasan b. Suwār's edition of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's translation was published, with all the marginal comments to be found in Paris Bibl. Nat. Ar. 2346, a French translation of the notes and an index of terms by Khalil Georr, *Les Catégories d'Aristote dans leurs versions Syro-Arabes*, Beirut 1948 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1953, 101 ff.). Other edition

(without the marginal notes) by A. Badawi, *Manṭiḳ Arisṭū*, 1-55, 307 f., 673 ff. Ibn Rushd's *Middle Commentary* is available (together with a critical text of the groundwork) in an edition by M. Bouyges, *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum*, tom. IV, Beirut 1932.

De interpretatione: Best edition of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's translation by I. Pollack, Leipzig 1913. Other edition by A. Badawī, *op. cit.*, 57-99.

Prior Analytics: Al-Ḥasan b. Suwār's edition of Theodorus' (Abū Qurra's?) translation with copious marginal comments was published for the first time by A. Badawī, *op. cit.*, 103-306 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1953, 108-28).

Posterior Analytics: First edition of Abū Bishr Mattā's translation (based on Ishaḳ b. Ḥunayn's Syriac version) and later scholars' marginal comments published by A. Badawī, *op. cit.*, 309-462 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1953, 129 ff.

Topics: First editions of Abū ʿUthmān ad-Dimashḳī and Ibrāhim b. ʿAbd Allāh's translations and later scholars, marginal comments published by A. Badawī, *op. cit.*, 467-733.

Sophistici Elenchi: First edition of three translations (Yaḥya b. ʿAdī, ʿIsā b. Zurʿa and Ibn Nāʿima) by A. Badawī, *op. cit.*, 736-1018. C. Haddad, *Trois versions inédites des Refutations Sophistiques*, Thesis, Paris 1952.

Rhetoric: No edition of cod. ar. 2346 Paris exists, cf. S. Margoliouth, *Semitic Studies in memory of A. Kohut* (Berlin 1897), 376 ff. S. M. Stern, *Ibn al-Samḥ*, *JRAS* 1956, 41 ff. F. Lasinio, *Il commento medio di Averroë alla Retorica di Aristotele* (Florence 1877—edition of part of book I). A. M. A. Sallam, *Averroes' commentary on the third book of Aristotle's Rhetoric*, Thesis (Oxford 1952), Typescript.

Poetics: Editions of Abū Bishr's translation by D. S. Margoliouth (1887, Latin translation 1911), J. Tkatsch (*Die arabische Übersetzung der Poetik und die Grundlage der Kritik des griechischen Textes*, 2 vols., Vienna 1928-1932) and A. Badawī (*Arisṭūṭalīs. Fann al-Shiʿr*, Cairo 1953, 85-143). The texts of the *Poetics* by Al-Fārābī (*fī Kawānīn Ṣināʿat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Arberry, *R.S.O.* 16, 1938), Ibn Sīna (from the *Shifā*, ed. Margoliouth) and Ibn Rushd ('Middle Commentary', ed. Lasinio) are reprinted in the same volume.

Physics: About the Leiden MS (no. 1443) of Isḥāḳ ibn Ḥunayn's translation cf. S. M. Stern, *Ibn al-Samḥ*, in *JRAS*, 1956, 31 ff. A critical edition will be published in the *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum*. Ibn Rushd's 'Middle Commentary' is available in a Hyderabad edition of 1947: *Rasāʾil I.R.*, fasc. 1.

De caelo: cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 7453 (Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq). A critical edition will be published in the *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum*. The Hebrew text of Themistius's otherwise lost commentary was edited (with a Latin translation) by S. Landauer, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* V 4, Berlin 1902. Ibn Rushd's 'Middle Commentary': *Rasāʾil* (cf. above) fasc. 2.

De gen. et corr.: cf. *Rasāʾil Ibn Rushd*, fasc. 3. For a fragment of Alexander of Aphrodisias's lost commentary cf. MS. Chester-Beatty 3702, fol. 168^b.

Meteorology: Translation by Yaḥya b. al-Bitrīḳ in cod. Yeni Cāmi 1179 and Vat. Hebr. 378. *Rasāʾil Ibn Rushd*, fasc. 4.

De naturis animalium (= *On the parts of animals, On the generation of animals, History of Animals*): Translation by Yaḥyā b. al-Bitrīḳ in cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 7511 and cod. Leyd. 166 Gol. G. Furlani, *R.S.O.* 9, 1922, 237.

De plantis (by Nicolaus of Damascus): Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's translation, as revised by Thābit b. Ḳurra, was edited (from cod. Yeni Çāmi 1179) by A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1933-4, and edited a second time by A. Badawī, *Islamica* 16, Cairo 1954, 243 ff. Cf. H. J. Drossaart Lulofs, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77, 1957, 75 ff.

De anima: First edition of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's Arabic version by A. Badawī, *Islamica* 16, Cairo 1954, 1-88 (from cod. Aya Sofya 2450). Anonymous Paraphrase, ed. Aḥmad Fouād al-Ahwānī, Cairo 1950 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1953, 126 ff. and *JRAS* 1956, 57 ff.). Arabic translation of sections of Themistius's paraphrase (Comm. in Arist. Graeca V 3), cf. M. C. Lyons, *BSOAS* 17, 1955, 426 ff. *Ibn Bādjdja, Paraphrase of Aristotle's De anima*, edition and English translation by M. S. Hasan, Thesis, Oxford 1952 (Typescript). Rasāʾil Ibn Rushd fasc. 5 (other edition Cairo 1950). *Averrois Commentarium Magnum in Aristotelis De anima Libros*, rec. F. S. Crawford, Cambridge Mass. 1953 (critical ed. of the Latin translation). Cf. also Ibn Sīna, *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* 75-116 (ed. Badawī, *Arisṭū ʿinda-l-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947).

De sensu et sensato. De longitudine et brevitate vitae: Ibn Rushd's paraphrases were edited by A. Badawī, *Islamica* 16, Cairo 1954, 191 ff. *Averrois Compendia Librorum qui Parva Naturalia vocantur*, rec. A. L. Shields, Cambridge Mass. 1949 (Latin version).

Metaphysica: First edition of Arabic text (from MSS. Leiden or. 2074 and 2075) of books α, A 5, 987a 5 ff., B-I and Λ by M. Bouyges, in *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum* V-VII, Beirut 1938-1952 (together with Ibn Rushd's *Great Commentary*). Part of the Arabic version of the commentary on book Λ by Themistius was published by A. Badawī, *Arisṭū ʿindaʾ l-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, 329 ff.; 12 ff., the full text in Hebrew and Latin by S. Landauer, *Comm. in Aristotelem Graeca* V 4, Berlin 1903 (the Greek original is lost). For Alexander of Aphrodisias cf. J. Freudenthal, *Die durch Averroes erhaltenen Fragmente Alexanders zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles*, Berlin 1885. Cf. also Badawī, *Arisṭū etc.*, 3-11 and Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-inṣāf*, 22-33 (ed. Badawī, *Arisṭū etc.*).

Nicomachean Ethics: The last four books have been traced in Morocco, together with a paraphrase of another section of the work ascribed to Nicolaus of Damascus, cf. A. J. Arberry, *BSOAS* 1955, 1 ff. Books 1, 7 and 8 of the '*Summaria Alexandrinorum*' are available in cod. Taimūr Pāshā, *Akhlāḳ* 290.

De Mundo: Translation from the Syriac (by ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Nafīsī) in cod. Princetonianus RELS 308, ff. 293^v-303^v. Cf. W. L. Lorimer, *American Journal of Philology* 53, 1932, 157 ff.

2

Fragments of lost works

Eudemus (?): R. Walzer, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, N.S. 14, 1937, 125 ff.; Sir David Ross, *The Works of Aristotle translated into English* XII, Oxford 1952, 23 (cf. Al-Kindī, *Rasāʾil* I, 179; 281).

Eroticus (?): R. Walzer, *JRAS* 1939, 407 ff.; Sir David Ross, *op. cit.*, 26.

Protrepticus (?): S. Pines, *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et litteraire du Moyen Age*, 1957 (from Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ*, ch. 3).

De philosophia (?): S. van den Bergh, *Averroes' Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, London 1954, II 90.

3

Books attributed to Aristotle in Arabic tradition.

De pomo (*Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa*): J. Kraemer, *Das arabische Original des 'Liber de pomo'* (Köprülü 1608), *Studi Orientali in onore di G. Levi della Vida*, Rome

1956, i, 484 ff. D. S. Margoliouth, *The Book of the Apple, ascribed to Aristotle*, ed. in Persian and English, *JRAS* 1892, 187 ff.

J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1912.

Secretum Secretorum (*Sirr al-Asrār*): ed. A. Badawī, *Islamica* 15, Cairo 1954, 67-171.

Περὶ βασιλείας, ed. J. Lippert, Dissert. Halle 1891. Cf. I. Goldziher, *Der Islam* 6, 1916, 173 ff.

'*Theology of Aristotle*', based on a probably Greek paraphrase of sections of Plotinus, ed. F. Dieterici, Leipzig 1882 (German translation, ibid. 1883); new edition by A. Badawī, *Islamica* 20, Cairo 1955. Ibn Sīna's comments are published by A. Badawī, *Arisṭū ʿinda-l ʿArab*, 37 ff. and translated into French by G. Vajda, *Revue Thomiste* 1951, 346 ff. Cf. also S. Pines, *Revue des Études Islamiques* 1954, 7 ff.

'*Liber de causis*', based on Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, ed. O. Bardenhewer, Freiburg i. Br. 1882 (with German translation); new edition by A. Badawī, *Islamica* 19, Cairo 1955.

II. The Arabic 'Lives of Aristotle' add almost nothing to the information available in Greek texts. To be mentioned are the accounts of his life in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (cf. above), in Mubashshir b. Fātik's *Mukhtār al-Ḥikam* (cf. J. Lippert, *Studien auf dem Gebiet der griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungs-literatur I*, Berlin 1894, 4 ff. and F. Rosenthal, *Orientalia* 6, 1937, 21 ff.), Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, 24 ff., Ibn al-Ḳifti, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamā*, 27 ff. Lippert, Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbāʾ wa-l-Ḥukamā* (ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, 1955), 25 ff., Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ* I 54 ff. Müller. Sections from these biographies were translated and compared by A. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 39 ff., 117 ff., 128 ff. A very comprehensive list of all the works and commentaries translated into Arabic (cf. above), to be found in Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī was discussed by A. Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Überlieferung*, Halle 1873 and M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* V, 1893. The lost Greek catalogue by a still unidentified Ptolemy (cf. above) was published by A. Müller, *Morgenländische Forschungen, Festschrift Fleischer*, Leipzig 1875, 1 ff., by M. Steinschneider in vol. 5 of the Berlin edition of Aristotle, 1870, 1469 ff. and in Aristotle, *Fragmenta*, ed. V. Rose, 18 ff., by A. Baumstark and P. Moraux (cf. above). A new and comprehensive treatment of the whole Arabic biographical tradition is to be found in I. Düring, *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition*, Göteborg 1957. (R. Walzer)

ARITHMETIC [see ḤISĀB].

ʿĀRIYYA (A.) or *ʿāriya*, also *iʿāra*, the loan of non-fungible objects (*prêt à usage, commodatum*). It is distinguished as a separate contract from the *ḳarḍ* or loan of money or other fungible objects (*prêt de consommation, mutuum*). It is defined as putting some one temporarily and gratuitously in possession of the use of a thing, the substance of which is not consumed by its use. The intended use must be lawful. It is a charitable contract and therefore "recommended" (*mandūb*), and the beneficiary or borrower enjoys the privileged position of a trustee (*amīn*); he is not, in principle, responsible for damage or loss arising directly from the authorized use of the object. In working out the details, however, the several schools of law differ greatly, the doctrines of the Ḥanafīs and of the Mālikīs being more favourable to the borrower than those of the Shāfiʿīs and of the Ḥanbalīs.

Bibliography: E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1897, 457 ff.; D. Santillana, *Sommario del diritto malichita di Ḫalīl ibn Isḥāq*, II, Milan 1919, 417 ff.; id., *Istituzioni*, II, 373 ff.; O. Pesle, *Le crédit dans l'Islam malékite*, Casablanca (n.d.), 31 ff.; *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, ed. J. Schacht, Berlin and Leipzig 1935, 76 f.; H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, 101; A. Querry, *Droit musulman, recueil de lois concernant les musulmans schyites*, I, Paris 1871, 537 ff.; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazīrī, *al-Fiḳh ʿala 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, III, Cairo 1354/1935, 366 ff. (Ed.)

al-ARḲAM, an early companion of Muḥammad's, commonly known as al-Arḳam b. Abi 'l-Arḳam, and having the *kunya* Abū ʿAbd Allāh. His father's name was ʿAbd Manāf, and he belonged to the influential clan of Makhzūm at Mecca. His mother's name is variously given, but she is usually said to be of the tribe of Khuzāʿa. As al-Arḳam's death is placed in 53/673 or 55/675 at the age of over eighty, he must have been born about 594; and he must have become a Muslim when very young, since he was one of the earliest converts, one source alleging that he was seventh, another twelfth. For reasons which are not stated he was in a position, perhaps round about the year 614, to offer to Muḥammad the use of his house on the hill of al-Ṣafā, and this was the centre of the new community until after the conversion of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Ibn Saʿd frequently says that conversions and other events took place when Muḥammad was in the house of al-Arḳam or before he entered it, but Ibn Hishām is silent on the subject. Al-Arḳam migrated to Medina with Muḥammad and was at Badr and on the other chief expeditions, but was not prominent in any way. The house, which contained a place of worship (*masdjid* or *ḳubba*) remained in the family till the caliph al-Manṣūr purchased it. It passed into the hands of al-Khayzurān, mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and came to be known as "the house of al-Khayzurān".

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 172-4; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 59 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta 1856-73, i, 205; Ibn Hishām, 457; al-Wāḳidī (tr. by J. Wellhausen as *Muhammed in Medina*), Berlin 1882, 67; F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1858-61, iii, 112, 440; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 261 f., with further references. (W. Montgomery Watt)

ARKĀN [see RUKN].

ARKUSH (Span. Arcos). There are at least twenty places in Spain which bear this name, which is also given to a large number of rivers, streams, ravines and river basins, either in the sing. Arco or the plur. Arcos; there is also a commune, 4½ m. (7 km.) from Valencia, which retains the Arab name Alacuas (*al-Aḳwās*, the Arcos). As regards the history of Muslim Spain, the most important of these localities is Arcos de la Frontera, north-west of the province of Cádiz, on the last western spurs of the sub-Betic chain and in the grape-growing region of the *campiña* of Seville. It numbers about 30,000 inhabitants, and its situation is extremely interesting both from the point of view of geography and of strategy, because it occupies the axis of a rock-mass which is lapped by a sharp bend of the Guadalete; throughout the Middle Ages, its important *castillo* and its suburbs were at different times razed and repopulated. Numerous traces of the prehistoric era, concrete evidence and Roman paving-

stones prove its antiquity. Arcos declared for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I when the latter undertook his campaign against Yūsuf al-Fihrī; it was subsequently sacked by Shaḳyā b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Miknāsī, leader of the most important and most dangerous Berber revolt against the first Umayyad *amīr*. During the Arab-*muwallad* conflict at the end of the 3rd/9th century in the region of Seville, the rebel *castillos* of Arcos, Jerez and Medina Sidonia were assaulted by the troops of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn stopped at Arcos on his way to Zallāḳa. The Almohad caliph Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, in his campaign of 586/1190 against Portugal, concentrated his troops at Arcos de la Frontera; from there he dispatched his cousin al-Sayyid Yaʿḳūb b. Abī Ḥafṣ against Silves, while he himself proceeded to lay siege to Torres Novas and Tomar. Ferdinand III took possession of Arcos in 648/1250, after having captured Granada; its Muslim inhabitants rose in revolt in 659/1261, and it was reduced to submission by Alfonso the Learned in 662/1264. In 739/1339, when the Marīnid *amīr* Abu 'l-Ḥasan undertook his Andalusian campaign, which resulted in his defeat at the battle of the Salado or Tarifa, the Andalusian Councils routed the troops of prince Abū Mālik a short distance from Arcos, and put him to death on the banks of the Barbate, which marked the frontier between the two countries. Up to 856/1452, the Moors of Granada encroached on the territory of Arcos, which for two centuries was a frontier town, kept constantly on a war footing and thus deserving its name of Arcos de la Frontera.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, Arabic text 174, trans. 208; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, Arabic text 14, trans. 20; *Dic. geog. de España*, 1957, ii, 697; A. Huici, *Las Grandes batallas de la Reconquista*, 336. (A. Huici Miranda)

ARMAN [see ARMĪNIYA].

ARMĪNIYA, Armenia, a country of Hither Asia.

I. Geographical Outline.

Armenia is the central and most elevated part of Hither Asia. Encompassed between two mountain chains, the Pontic chain to the north and the chain of the Taurus to the south, it lies between Asia Minor to the west of the Euphrates, Ādharbāydjān and the region south-west of the Caspian (on a level with the confluence of the Kurr [Kura] and the Araxes) to the east, the Pontic regions to the north-west, the Caucasus (from which the line of the Rion and the Kurr separates it) to the north, and the plain of Mesopotamia to the south (area of the Upper Tigris). To the south of Lake Van, Gordjaïk (the ancient Gordyene, now Bohtan) and the land of the Hakkiari Kurds (the region of Djulamerk and Amadiye) form geographically a part of Armenia, although they have not always been subject to the Armenians. Armenia thus embraces almost the whole of the territory extending between long. 37° and 49° East and lat. 37.5° and 41.5° North. Its area can be estimated at about 300,000 sq. kms.

The geological framework of the land consists of mountains having an archaean core and covered with sedimentary strata and tertiary deposits, but vast volcanic masses and lava flows of more recent date have modified its structure. High plains extend between the mountain ranges and vary in altitude from 800 to 2 000 metres (Erzerūm: 1,880 m.; Kars: 1,800 m.; Mūsh on the Murād Ṣū: 1,400 m.; Erzindjān: 1,300 m.; Erivān: 890 m.). The eruptions have produced a whole series of volcanic cones which are among the highest peaks in the land: Ararat (5,205 m.) to the south of the Araxes; the Sīpān dāgh (4,176 m.), already known to al-Balādhurī (ed. De Goeje, 198. Cf. *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 67, 162; Le Strange, 183); the Bingöl dāgh (3,680 m.) to the south of Erzerūm; the Khoridāgh (3,550 m.), the Ala-dāgh (3,520 m.), and the Alaghöz (4,180 m.) which forms to the north an almost completely isolated massif.

Armenia is the cradle of great rivers: the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes and the Kurr (Kura). The Euphrates is formed through the confluence of two branches, the northern branch or Ḳara Ṣū (Ar. Furāt) and the southern branch or Murād Ṣū (Ar. Arsanas) which come from the Armenian plateau; the Tigris is born in the border range of the South called the Armenian Taurus. While the system of the Tigris and the Euphrates irrigates the lands inclined towards the Persian Gulf, the Araxes (Ar. al-Rass, [*q.v.*]) which comes from the Bingöl dāgh, waters the lands turned towards the Caspian Sea and, before flowing into it, joins the Kurr which, with its parallel prolongation, the river Rion, a tributary of the Black Sea, separates the Caucasus sharply from Armenia. The Euphrates and the Araxes cut deeply into the Armenian plateau and these breaches facilitate the drainage of water with the result that Armenia has but a small number of lakes, Lake Van (1,590 m.) called in Arabic the lake of Khilāṭ and Ardjīsh [*q.v.*] and the Gök Čay [*q.v.*] or Sevanga (2,000 m.) mentioned already in 1340 by al-Mustawfī, and several smaller lakes.

The orographical and hydrographical systems of Armenia are such that the land is divided into a number of basins separated the one from the other by high mountains, a fact that helps to bring about the feudal disunion in which the Armenians have always lived.

The climate of Armenia is very severe. The winter lasts regularly for eight months on the plateau, the short and very hot summer rarely exceeds two months; it is very dry and crops have need of artificial irrigation. The region of the plains along the Araxes enjoys, however, a more favourable climate. The snow-line in the mountains of the South lies at 3,300 m., but rises to 4,000 m. in eastern Armenia.

II. History.

1. — Armenia before Islam.

Armenia is thought to have been inhabited towards the 17th century B.C. by an Asiatic people, the Hurrites, who were neither of Semitic nor of Indo-European origin; this people was organised in the first half of the second millennium by a conquering Indo-European aristocracy and later became subject to the Hittite empire and thereafter to the Assyrians. In the 9th century B.C. a people closely related to the Hurrites, the Urartians, also called Khaldi, established there the powerful kingdom of Urartu (the biblical Ararat), of which Lake Van formed the centre. This kingdom, which had to fight against the Assyrians, attained its apogee in the 8th century, but was destroyed towards the middle of the 7th century by the Cimmerian and Scythian wave that flowed over Hither Asia. During and after these changes an Indo-European people of the Thraco-Phrygian family, a branch, probably, of the Phrygians whose state had just been destroyed by the Cimmerians, came from the West and conquered Urartu. These new inhabitants were called Armenians by the Achaemenid Persians (Greek: Ἀρμένιοι), a name of

which the meaning and origin are still unexplained, and the region became known in the course of time as Armenia. The Armenians, however, call themselves Haik (from the name of the hero who led the Armenian people to the conquest) and refer to their land as Hayastan.

The Armenians, save in the time of Tigranes II (Tigranes the Great), have never played a dominant rôle in Hither Asia. The reasons for this were, to a large degree, the feudal régime favoured by the geographical nature of the country and itself a source of internal dissensions, and also the proximity of powerful empires. From the time of their settlement in Armenia the Armenians were vassals of the Medes and then of the Achaemenid Persians who placed the land under the control of satraps. These latter, taking advantage of the troubles caused by the death of Alexander the Great, became veritable kings who afterwards recognised the suzerainty of the Seleucids. When Antiochus III was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia (189 B.C.), the two "strategi" who governed Armenia made themselves independent, took the title of king and formed two kingdoms, the one, Artaxias, in Great Armenia or Armenia proper and the other, Zariadris, in Little Armenia (Sophene-Arzanene). Great Armenia fell afterwards under the suzerainty of the Arsacids. In the first century B.C. a descendant of Artaxias, Tigranes the Great, threw off the Parthian yoke, dethroned the king of Sophene and united all Armenia under his sceptre; having achieved Armenian unity, he established at the expense of the Parthians and the Seleucids a vast Armenian empire and played an important political rôle. After him, however, Armenia was reduced more and more to the role of a buffer state between the two empires, the Arsacid Parthian and the Roman, each of which desired to impose a king of its choice, internal troubles furnishing a perpetual pretext for intervention and encroachments. In general, from the year 11 A.D. down to the fall of the Arsacids in 224, it was, for the greater part of the time, cadets of the Arsacid family who ruled in Armenia, now supporting their relatives in their wars against Rome, and now accepting the Roman protectorate. When the Arsacid Parthians were replaced by the Sāsānids, Armenia, continuing under the rule of Arsacid kings and embracing Christianity at the close of the 3rd century, became once more a new apple of discord between the two empires which in the end reached an agreement to share the weak vassal state. By a partition which took place about 390 Persia received the eastern portion, four-fifths of Armenia, over which Khosraw III reigned with Dwīn (Ar. Dabīl) as capital, while Rome kept the western part where Arshak III ruled at Erzindjān. After the death of Arshak the Romans (Byzantines) entrusted to a count (*comes*) the administration of the land. The Persian part of the country or Persarmenia retained its national princes until 428-9 and was thereafter administered by a Persian *marzbān* residing at Dwīn. According to the Armenian historian Sebeos, the most important native source for the period extending from the 5th to the middle of the 7th century, the Persian domination never succeeded in implanting itself solidly in Armenia, all the more since the Sāsānids persecuted Armenian Christianity. The Armenian lords (the *nakharar*) availed themselves of every opportunity to shake off the detested yoke of the fire-worshippers and in their quarrels with the Persian *marzbāns* invoked frequently the aid of their co-religionists in Byzantine Armenia, a procedure that led to frontier skirmishes and at times to real battles. A wide breach in the community of interests between Armenia and Byzantium was made, however, in 451 by the Council of Chalcedon, the decisions of which were condemned by the Armenians at the Council of Dwīn in 506. This schism, which was definitive despite the efforts of the Greeks to restore union, facilitated political relations between the Armenians of Persarmenia and the court of Ctesiphon, now become more tolerant towards Christianity.

Under the emperor Maurice (582-602) the Byzantines, profiting by the troubles of the Persian empire, reconquered a part of Persarmenia. Armenia now enjoyed a period of peace, but Khusraw II Parwīz (590-628) resumed in 604 against the Byzantines a war which was to last until 629 and was marked by the celebrated campaigns of Heraclius (610-41) in Atropatene.

Throughout the Sāsānid period the intervention of the two great powers, the internal discords between the great families which vied with each other for pre-eminence and the incursions of the Khazars on the north-eastern frontier maintained a complete anarchy in the land. Armenia, ravaged and torn, found itself at the moment of the Muslim invasion in a state of weakness that did not allow it to oppose a strong resistance to the Arab assault. Favoured by this anarchy, there now developed in the region of Lake Van the power of the Ṛshtuni family which had for its base the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van and whose chief Theodore played a great rôle at the time of the Arab invasions.

2. — Armenia under Arab domination.

The history of the conquest of Armenia by the Arabs still presents in its details many uncertainties and obscurities, for the information found in the Arab, Armenian, and Greek sources is often contradictory. The Armenian account by Bishop Sebeos, who speaks to us as an eye-witness of these memorable events, is by far the most important source for this period; to this account there must be added, as a valuable complement, the work of the priest Leontius which constitutes indeed for the years 662-770 the only notable testimony. Among the Arab authors the first place belongs to al-Balādhurī who made use to a unique degree of accounts drawn from the inhabitants of Armenia.

After the conquest of Syria and the defeat of Persia by the Arabs, the latter began to make repeated irruptions into Armenia and to contend with the Byzantines for possession of the land. ʿIyāḍ b. Ghānim, the conqueror of Mesopotamia, undertook between the close of the year 19 and the beginning of the year 20/639-40 a first campaign in south-western Armenia, where he penetrated as far as Bitlīs. Al-Balādhurī (176), al-Ṭabarī (i, 2506) and Yāḳūt (i, 206) agree on the date of this campaign, but differ in regard to its details. A second Arab attack took place, according to the accounts of al-Ṭabarī (i, 2666) and Ibn al-Athīr (iii, 20-1), in the year 21/642. In four corps, two of which were under the command of Ḥabīb b. Maslama and of Salmān b. Rabīʿa, the Muslims advanced into the frontier regions of north-eastern Armenia, but, driven back on all sides, soon had to retire from the land. Nor did the brief razzia carried out in the year 24/645 by Salmān b. Rabīʿa from Ādharbāydjān into the Armenian border territory have any more enduring effect: see, on this raid, al-Yaʿḳūbī, 180; al-Balādhurī, 198; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2806.

According to the evidence of the Arab historians and geographers (see especially al-Yaʿḳūbī, 194; al-Balādhurī, 197-8; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2674-5, 2806-7; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 65-6), the greatest invasion of Armenia, the one which for the first time reduced the country to effective Arab control, occurred during the caliphate of ʿUthmān towards the end of 24/645-6. Muʿāwiya, the governor of Syria, charged the same general Ḥabīb b. Maslama, who had already distinguished himself in the battles of Syria and Mesopotamia, with the conquest of Armenia. The general marched first against Theodosiopolis (Armen. Karin, Ar. Ḳālīḳalā, now Erzerūm), the capital of Byzantine Armenia and took the town after a short siege. He inflicted a heavy defeat on a great Byzantine army which, reinforced by Khazar and Alan auxiliary troops, had moved forward to stop him on the Euphrates. He turned next towards the south-east in the direction of Lake Van and received the submission of the local princes of Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*] and Moks. Ardjīsh on the north-eastern shore of Lake Van also yielded to the Arab troops. Ḥabīb then marched to besiege Dwīn, the centre of Persarmenia, which likewise capitulated after a few days. He concluded a treaty of peace and guarantee with the town of Tiflīs in return for the recognition of Arab suzerainty and the payment of a capitation tax (*djizya*). At the same time, Salmān b. Rabīʿa with his army of ʿIrāḳī troops, subjugated Arrān (Albania) and conquered its capital Bardhaʿa.

The Armenian tradition differs from the Arab tradition in the matter of dates as well as in various details. On one point alone, the direction given to the great Arab invasion, is there complete agreement in Sebeos and al-Balādhurī, as a comparison of the routes indicated in each of these authors reveals.

According to the Armenian historians, an army entered Armenia in 642, penetrated to the region of Airarat, conquered the capital Dwīn and then left the country by the same route, carrying off 35,000 prisoners. In the next year the Muslims made, from Ādharbāydjān, a new irruption into Armenia. They ravaged the region of Airarat and penetrated even into Georgia; a sharp defeat which the prince Theodoros Ṛshtuni inflicted on them compelled them, however, to retreat. Soon after this event the emperor recognised Theodoros as commander of the Armenian troops. Armenia, spared the Arab incursions for a number of years, then recognised anew the suzerainty of Byzantium. When the truce of three years concluded between the Arabs and Constans II, the successor of Heraclius, who had died in 641, came to an end in 653, a resumption of hostilities had to be expected in Armenia. In order to prevent a threatening invasion by the Arabs, Theodoros surrendered the land voluntarily to them and concluded with Muʿāwiya a treaty very favourable to the Armenians and which imposed on them only the recognition of Muslim suzerainty. In the same year, however, the emperor, with an army 100,000 strong, appeared in Armenia, where most of the local princes ranged themselves on his side. He brought all Armenia and Georgia once more under his authority without much trouble. Yet scarcely had Constans II left the country (654), having wintered at Dwīn, than an Arab army entered the land in its turn and took possession of the districts on the northern shore of Lake Van. With the aid of these Arab forces Theodoros drove the Greeks from the country once more and was thereafter recognised by Muʿāwiya as prince of Armenia, Georgia and Albania. The attempts of the Greeks, with an army under the orders of Maurianos, to reconquer the lost provinces failed completely. In 655 the Arabs extended their domination over the whole of Armenia and the Greco-Armenian capital Karin (Ḳālīḳalā) had also to open its gates to them. Two years later the Muslims saw themselves constrained, however, to renounce for the time being a possession that was ill assured. When, in the year 36/657, the first civil war between Muʿāwiya and ʿAlī broke out, the former had need of his army of occupation established in Armenia and the country, empty of troops, fell back immediately under its old master, Byzantium.

It transpires from the account of Sebeos that all these events, merged by the Arab sources in the great campaign of Ḥabīb in 24-25/644-646, occurred only after the end of the three year truce; it is on this date, too, that the information in the *Chronography* of Theophanes is based. There is, in the Arab historians, no mention at all of the fact that Armenia, after the first Arab invasion which occurred in the reign of ʿUmar, had been subjected anew to Byzantine domination, nor of the events which unfolded themselves in the land during the period before the accession of Muʿāwiya. That Theodoros Ṛshtuni submitted voluntarily to Muʿāwiya, a fact attested not only by Sebeos, but also by Theophanes, would be incomprehensible, if, ever since the first invasion of the Arabs, the country had been subjected to their full authority. According to Ghazarian, who, in the *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.* (ii, 173-4), has made a close analysis of the divergences between the Arab and the Armenian sources, the contemporary account of Sebeos deserves more trust than the tradition of the Arabs; it is on Ghazarian that Müller relies (*Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 259-61); a different opinion is that of Thopdschian (*Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 70-1), according to whom there can be established in the Armenian and Arab historians a concordance of dates and facts relative to the first great Arab invasion. In the view of J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 90, 371, there were six Arab invasions between 640 and 651. H. Manadean, *Brèves Études*, Erivan 1932 (trans. by H. Berberian in *Byzantion*, xviii, 1946-8) has submitted the traditional data to a close criticism and has arrived at the conclusion that until 650 there were only three Arab invasions: (i) in 640, a first invasion through the Taron region and the capture of Dwīn on 6 October 640; (ii) in 642-3, a second invasion by way of Ādharbāydjān into Persarmenia; (iii) in 650, a third invasion carried out from Ādharbāydjān and marked by the taking of Artsapʿ in the Kogovit district to the north-east of Lake Van on 8 August 650.

The Arabs, who had carried off Theodoros Ṛshtuni in 655 to Damascus, where he died in 656, had set in his place at the head of Armenia Hamazasp Mamikonian, a member of a rival family, the fiefs of which extended from the Taron to Dwīn. Mamikonian took, however, the side of Byzantium and was nominated by Constans II to the command of the country in 657-8. The Byzantine domination did not last long. Muʿāwiya, after he had come to power (41/661), wrote to the people of Armenia, inviting them to recognise anew the Arab sovereignty and to pay tribute, and the Armenian princes dared not oppose this demand. According to the Armenian sources, members of the most notable families (the Mamikonians, the Bagratuni or Bagratids) assumed the government of the land under the first Umayyads down to ʿAbd al-Malik. The Arab historians, on the other hand, describe Armenia as being under the

administration of Muslim governors since the conquest of Ḥabīb (see al-Yaʿḳūbī, al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī for the period extending from ʿUthmān to the ʿAbbāsid al-Muntaṣir, and the list of governors in Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, 177-82, Laurent, *op. cit.*, 336-47, R. Vasmer, *Chronology of the governors of Armenia under the first ʿAbbāsids*, in *Memoirs of the College of Orientalists*, Leningrad 1925, i, 381 ff., in Russian).

The first century of Arab domination in Armenia was, despite the destructive wars, an era of national and literary efflorescence for the country. And yet Muslim rule, in the time of the Umayyads and still less in the time of the ʿAbbāsids, under whom the hand of the Arab governors weighed heavily on Armenia, was not able to implant itself solidly in the land. Disturbances and rebellions were therefore frequent. The greatest and most dangerous insurrection against the Arab yoke occurred in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. The Caliph sent his most skilful general, the Turk Bughā the Elder, with a strong army which, after sanguinary and desperate battles in the year 237-8/851-2, succeeded in overcoming the rebellion. The entire nobility was then carried off into captivity. Al-Mutawakkil renounced his hostile policy only when he had need of his troops to fight the Byzantines and in order to prevent a new uprising fomented by the latter. He therefore freed the captive *nakharar* and recognised (247/861-2) as the chief prince of Armenia the Bagratid Ashot (Ar. Ashūṭ) who had already rendered to the Arab cause most important services. During the twenty-five years of his rule as the prince of princes Ashot won the affection of all his subjects as well as that of the local lords to such a degree that, on the request of these latter, the Caliph al-Muʿtamid conferred on him in 273/886-7 the title of king. He received the same distinction from the emperor, who concluded with him at the same time a treaty of alliance. The relations of Ashot with the Caliph were never troubled; he paid his tribute regularly, but administered and governed his possessions in his own fashion; the native princes likewise acquired during his reign an almost independent status.

After the death of Ashot (862-90) there reigned his eldest son, Smbat I (Ar. Sambāṭ), a man indeed of heroic character, but one who was in no wise capable of withstanding his external foes, the Shaybānids of Diyār Bakr and the Sādjids of Ādharbāydjān. He was unsuccessful in his conflict with the Shaybānids. Nevertheless, a little later in 286/899 the intervention of the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid brought to an end the Shaybānid domination and delivered the Armenian provinces from these invaders. The Sādjid Afshīn, however, in his thrust towards the west and the north menaced Armenia unceasingly. The situation of Smbat became still more difficult in the time of the astute Yūsuf, the brother and successor of Afshīn (d. 288/901). Yūsuf understood that above all else he must draw to his side the Ardzruni family which had become, since the reign of Ashot I, the most powerful princely house next to that of the Bagratids. About 909 he even conferred the royal crown on the head of this family, Gagik, the lord of Vaspurakan, a distinction that the Caliph al-Muḳtadir renewed in 304/916 and 306/919.

Yūsuf, from the year 910, ravaged Armenia in the course of his expeditions and at length, in the fortress of Kapoit, besieged Smbat, now abandoned by all the princes. In 913 (according to Adontz in 911) the king of Armenia surrendered to his adversary, who, after having inflicted on him a year of imprisonment, had him put to death by cruel tortures (914; according to Adontz 912). Anarchy ensued in Armenia after the fall of Smbat I. His vigorous son, Ashot II, the "Iron King" (915-29), succeeded in recovering the throne with the support of Byzantine arms; he was at first thwarted by Yūsuf who raised against him one of his cousins, but Yūsuf, seeing that Ashot was getting the better of his foes, granted him recognition and sent him a royal crown (about 917). After the capture of Yūsuf, who had risen in revolt, by the troops of the Caliph in 919, his successor Sbuk (Subuk) allied himself with Ashot II in order to drive out the Caliph's forces and bestowed on him the title of Shāhānshāh, a title which recognised as belonging to Ashot suzerainty over the principalities of Vaspurakan, Iberia, Georgia and other regions. Ashot II raised the Bagratid power to its apogee and ruled over the greatest part of central and northern Armenia where Smbat had already considerably enlarged the territory of this family. His reign ended in tranquillity after a reconciliation of the Armenian princes and the nominal recognition of his supremacy by his rivals, notably the Ardzruni. Dwīn, however, remained in the hands of Yūsuf's lieutenant.

In southern Armenia the Ardzruni (see above) ruled over a less extensive territory (Vaspurakan, with Van as the capital). Apart from these two great kingdoms there still existed a series of smaller principalities which for the most part recognised only nominally the suzerainty of the Bagratids. Moreover, in the south, in the region of the Apahunik and Lake Van, there were several Arab emirates, independent but isolated from the Caliphate. The history of Armenia is not therefore conterminous with that of the Bagratids.

Throughout the entire reign of Ashot II and for much of the reign of his successor Abas (929-53) the war between Byzantium and the Arabs continued without interruption and was at times fought out in Armenia. The Greeks operated in northern Armenia as well as in southern Armenia against the Armeno-Arab emirates of Lake Van which, according to the Byzantine sources, were compelled to submit to the emperor Romanus Lecapenus (919-44). The last Sādjid amīrs of Ādharbāydjān retained hardly any influence in Armenia. The Ḥamdānids, who were the masters of Diyār Bakr, bordering on Armenia, and were in constant war against the Byzantines, succeeded for a time in exacting from all Armenia (according to the historians Ibn Ẓāfir and Ibn al-Azraḳ) a recognition of their sovereignty and established a more effective dominion over the Armeno-Arab emirates in the region of Lake Van. These emirates later recognized the suzerainty of Bādh, the founder of the Marwānid dynasty [*q.v.*] of Diyār Bakr, and of his successors.

After the Ḥamdānids, it was the Musāfirids [*q.v.*] of Ādharbāydjān who exacted from the princes of Armenia a recognition of their suzerainty, imposed tribute on them (see Ibn Ḥawḳal², 354, for the year 955-6) and became the masters of Dwīn.

Ashot III (952-77) transferred the official capital of the Bagratid kingdom to the little fortress of Anī [*q.v.*] which he and his successor Smbat II, by erecting there magnificent buildings, transformed into a pearl of the Orient. It is during his reign that the territory of Kars was raised to the rank of a kingdom for the benefit of a prince of the Bagratid house and that Byzantium, moreover, in 968 annexed the region of Taron, the fief of another Bagratid.

Smbat II (977-89) and his brother Gagik I (990-1020) ruled with vigour and success but, in consequence of a ridiculous family policy, became involved in almost continual strife with the neighbouring Christian principalities; they were also in conflict with the neighbouring Muslim amirs who in turn took possession of Dwīn, imposed tribute on the Armenians and were at times invited by the Armenians themselves to intervene in their quarrels. Thus the Bagratid of Kars called in a Musāfirid amir against Smbat. In 987-8 Smbat had to recognise the authority of the Rawwādid prince of Ādharbāydjān, the successor of the Musāfirids, and to pay him the tribute due in former years.

In the conflict against the Rawwādid Mamlān concerning the other emirates of southern Armenia Gagik allied himself with Davitʿ of Taikʿ who was the master of a great part of Iberia (Georgia) and, about 993, had seized Malāzgerd from the Marwānid prince of Diyār Bakr. Mamlān was twice defeated, the second time decisively, in 998, at Tsumb near Ardjīsh, and to take refuge in that place.

The emperor Basil II (976-1026) aimed, however, at gaining possession of all the Armenian principalities. Having succeeded in obtaining from Davitʿ of Taikʿ, in 990, the promise that he would cede to him his territories after his death, the emperor annexed Taikʿ and also Malāzgerd in 1001 after the death of Davitʿ. Following the death of Gagik I, troubles arose in the Bagratid kingdom owing to the competition for the throne between his sons, Johannes-Smbat and Ashot IV, the younger brother, to the intervention of the king of Georgia and the king of Vaspurakan in this matter, and to the first Saldjūḳid incursions. Basil II took advantage of these events and succeeded, partly through annexation and partly through mediation between the princes, in extending his authority over Armenia. Senekʿerim, the last Ardzruni, abandoned Vaspurakan to Byzantium in 1021 through fear of a threatening Turkish assault and received in exchange the region of Sebasteia (Sivas), to which were added other territories in Cappadocia (Caesarea, Tzamandos). The Muslim amirates of Lake Van (Akhlāṭ, Ardjīsh, Berkri) were annexed between 1023 and 1034. King Johannes of Anī, intimidated and seeing his lands encircled by Byzantium, proclaimed the emperor his heir, retaining temporary possession of Anī until his death. On the death of Ashot IV (1040), which was soon followed by that of Johannes (1041), with whom he shared possession of the Bagratid realm, the emperor Michael IV resolved at last to incorporate Armenia wholly within his empire, but his army was defeated and the son of Ashot IV, Gagik II, then only 17 years old, was proclaimed king by the Armenian nobles (1042). As soon, however, as Constantine Monomachos had ascended the throne, he decided to annex Anī and, in order to weaken Gagik, did not hesitate to launch against him the amīr of Dwīn, Abū 'l-Aswār, of the dynasty of the Shaddādids of Gandja (see SHADDĀD, BANŪ). Taken between two fires, Gagik allowed himself to be drawn to Constantinople and was obliged to cede Anī (1045). He received in recompense lands in Cappadocia in the themes of Charsianon and Lykandos. Thereafter the greater part of Armenia was governed directly by Byzantium and the discontent provoked by the centralising policy of the empire and the favours granted to the Chalcedonian clergy explain in part the success of the Saldjūḳids in Armenia.

The Bagratid kingdom of Kars was only annexed by Byzantium in 1064 after the Saldjūḳid invasion; the last king Gagik-Abas surrendered it to the emperor Constantine X Ducas, who indemnified him with estates in Cappadocia.

Thus, following their kings, an important part of the Armenian people settled down in the territories of the Byzantine empire. Armenians, however, had long been found outside Armenia. It is well known that they furnished Byzantium with soldiers and a number of generals and even emperors. It was Armenians who, under the famous Melias (Arm. Mleh), colonised the regions of Lykandos, Tzamandos, Larissa and Symposion, when, at the beginning of the 10th century, Byzantium decided to reoccupy these territories of Cappadocia which had been devastated by the Arab raids, and who assured the defence of these lands and at the same time won renown in the Arab-Byzantine wars. There were Armenians, too, in the Muslim territories, serving the Caliphs, but converted to Islam, like the celebrated amīr ʿAlī al-Armanī who died in 863, not long after he had been named governor of Armenia and Ādharbāydjān. Armenians were also to be found in Egypt in the army of the Ṭūlūnids. It is above all in Byzantine territory, however, that the immigration was important and contributed, in the second part of the 10th century to the repopulation of the lands in Cilicia and northern Syria reconquered by Byzantium and evacuated by the Muslim inhabitants. The geographer Muḳaddasī (*BGA* iii, 189) states that in his time the Amanus was peopled with Armenians. Asoghik tells us that under the pontificate of Khačik I (972-92) there were Armenian bishops at Antioch and Tarsus. During the course of the 11th century the rôle of the Armenians in these regions (Cappadocia, Commagene, northern Syria and even Mesopotamia, e.g., at Edessa) was considerable; numerous Armenian officers acted as governors of towns for Byzantium and, profiting from the troubles caused by the first Saldjūḳid invasions, founded Armenian principalities (see ARMAN). During the same period Armenians were to be found with the Fāṭimids of Egypt. Following the Armenian Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] who, after being a slave, had become commander of the Egyptian troops in Syria and then rose to the rank of wazīr at Cairo (1073/94), there entered into Egypt, first, the Armenians with whom he had already surrounded himself, and later all those whom he summoned there and who took service in the army and even in the administration. These Armenians furnished to the Fāṭimid Caliphate a number of wazīrs, of whom one, Bahrām [*q.v.*] remained a Christian. The introduction into Egypt of an important Armenian population led to the creation of numerous Armenian monasteries and churches and also of an Armenian catholicosate. The Armenians were regarded with favour by some of the Fāṭimid Caliphs. See on this subject M. Canard, *Un vizir chrétien à l'époque fatimite*, in *AIEO*, Algiers, xii (1954) and *Notes sur les Arméniens en Égypte à l'époque fatimite. ibid.*, xiii (1955). Cf. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides dans l'Asie Occidentale jusqu'en* 1081, in *Annales de l'Est*, 28th year, fasc. 2, Paris, 1914 (1919).

(M. CANARD).

II(b). *The Armenians under the Turks and the Mongols.*

While these last events were taking place, the Turkomāns, before long led by the Saldjūḳid dynasty, were conquering Muslim Iran as for as the Armeno-Byzantine borders. Although this thrust was probably not, as is sometimes alleged, the cause of

the first losses of Armenian territory to Byzantium (*JA*., 1954, 275-9 and 1956, 129-34) it nevertheless constituted a tragic threat to the Armenians in the middle of the 5th/11th century. After a period of Turkomān ravages, the battle of Manāzgird (1071) [see MALAZGERD] marked the end of Byzantine supremacy, and the Turkomāns settled in Armenia, Cappadocia and throughout most of Asia Minor. The Armenian territories on the borders of Ādharbāydjān were incorporated in the Saldjūḳid empire, while those in the centre and west took shape as different principalities: that of Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*], founded by a Saldjūḳid officer and vassal, Sukmān al-Ḳutbī, who assumed the ambitious title of *Shāh-i Arman*; that of Ani [*q.v.*], assigned by the Saldjūḳids to a branch of the former Kurdish dynasty of Arrān, the Shaddādids (V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953, 79-106); and finally the autonomous Turkomān states of the Saltuḳids at Erzerum and the Mangudjakids at Erzindjān, while the Dānishmandids of Cappadocia and the Saldjūḳids of Anatolia and the Taurus contended for possession of Malaṭya, and Diyār Bakr was eventually absorbed by the Artuḳids. The position changed at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, when the greater part of Diyār Bakr and the principality of Akhlāṭ were annexed by the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria; later, following the temporary invasion of Armenia and Asia Minor by the Khwārizmians, the principalities of Erzindjān and Erzerum, together with that of Akhlāṭ, were incorporated, as the Dānishmandid territories had been earlier, in the united and powerful Saldjūḳid state of Asia Minor. In the regions of Arrān and Ani however, the Armenians again became, if not independent, at least subjects of a Christian state (but of a different Church), as a result of Georgian expansion at the expense of the Atabeks of Ādharbāydjān and the Shaddādids.

Although some Armenians had made agreements with the invaders, and most in any case had tried to come to terms with them, the devastation caused in the early stages had accentuated and increased the emigration which had been set in motion by Byzantine policy, and which now took the direction of the Taurus Mountains and the Cilician plain. For a time, after Manāzgird, all the territories from the Cilician Taurus to Malaṭya, including Edessa and Antioch, were reunited under the control of a former Armeno-Byzantine general, Philaretes, whose descendants still maintained their position in the Taurus at Edessa and Malaṭya, under Turkish suzerainty, at the time of the arrival of the Crusaders. The Armenian populations of the Syro-Euphrates borders were then incorporated in the free states of Antioch and Edessa, but, in Cilicia, a national dynasty, that of the Rupenians, gradually achieved freedom; its rise, sanctioned in 1198 by the recognition of the royal title of Leo the Great, attracted so many Armenians that the area could with justice be referred to as a "Little Armenia". We are not required here to follow its history, but only to draw attention to the fact that the struggle against his neighbours and hostile factions impelled Prince Mleh temporarily (from 1170 to 1174) to become a Muslim in order to obtain the protection of Nūr al-Din [*q.v.*], and that for a longer period, in the 7th/13th century, under the new Hethumian dynasty, the kingdom had to wage hard battles against the Saldjūḳids of Asia Minor, to whom they were obliged at intervals to pay a vague allegiance (cf. a treatise by P. Bedoukian in course of publication for the Amer. Numismatic Society).

Nevertheless, once the initial devastation was over, and stable states had been organised, the lot of the Armenians under Muslim domination was no worse than it had been under earlier Muslim régimes. Quite apart from Malikshāh, whose generosity the Armenian historians are unanimous in praising, it is difficult to see major difficulties occurring in the principalities of Asia Minor, where there remained an ecclesiastical organisation, monasteries, some cultural activity (cf. for example S. Der Nersessian, ***Armenia and the Byzantine Empire***, Harvard 1947, 133), and large Armenian towns, such as Erzindjān and Erzerum. The only dramatic events which occurred were due to special causes. There was first of all, about 1180, the massacre of the Armenians of Djabal Sassūn, as a result of the disorders among the almost autonomous Turkomāns and Kurds of that region, and especially, the massacre of part of the Christian population of Edessa, at the time of the recapture of the city from the Franks by Zangi in 1144 and Nūr al-Dīn in 1146.

Fundamentally, in fact, it was not for religious but political reasons that the Armenians at different times suffered at the hands of their Muslim masters. Despite some friction, the Armenians of the west generally acted as "accomplices" of the Franks. This was the reason, moreover, for the frequent disputes in the Armenian Church, especially between the Armenians of the Muslim States of Great Armenia, who were primarily concerned not to incur the ill-will of their masters, and those of Cilicia, who were drawn more towards the Latin world; and it was similarly the attitude of the Armenians to the Mongol invasion which determined the reactions of the Muslim powers towards them.

The establishment of the Mongol empire heralded profound changes in the conditions of life in the different religious communities of the Near East. In the Muslim states conquered by them, the Mongols usually relied on the support of the religious minorities, Christians in particular. Favourably impressed by the news received from his eastern co-religionists, Hethum I acted as the precursor of the Mongols on the shores of the Mediterranean, against the Muslims of Syria and Asia Minor. But this action of the Armenians in itself provoked the wrath of the Muslims, with the result that, when the Mamlūks of Egypt took the offensive against the Mongols, the Cilician kingdom was one of their principal targets. The break-up of the Mongol empire in the 8th/14th century left the Armenians defenceless, and the capital of the Cilician kingdom, Sis, succumbed in 1375. The seat of the Katholikos was moved back to Etchmiadzin, near the Araxes, in the 9th/15th century.

In Great Armenia, however, the situation was not favourable for long. About 1300, the Mongols became Muslims, and, although their toleration was not affected, all the same there was no longer any question of special protection. Moreover, Mongol rule had increased in Armenia the size of the nomad element, primarily Turkomān, which inflicted great injury on the peasants, for the most part Armenians. Later Great Armenia, in common with all its neighbours, experienced the savage assault of Tīmūr, and the establishment in the 9th/15th century of a stable and well-organised principality under the Turkomān dynasty of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] was not sufficient to restore the former strength of the Armenian community; again many Armenians emigrated, this time mainly to the regions north of the Black Sea. The wars between the Ottomans and the Ṣafawids

were still to be fought on Armenian soil, and part of the Armenians of Ādharbāydjān were later deported as a military security measure to Iṣfahān and elsewhere. Semi-autonomous seigniories survived, with varying fortunes, in the mountains of Ḳarabagh, to the north of Ādharbāydjān, but came to an end in the 18th century.

Bibliography: (in addition to the general works): the general sources, in all languages, for the history of the Near East from the 11th to the 15th century will not be enumerated here; a study of these will be found, with regard to the period of the Crusades, in *Syrie du Nord* mentioned below, 1-100; special attention will be drawn here to the not inconsiderable number of 12th and 13th century Armenian historians, especially Matthew of Edessa and the anonymous "Royal Historian" used in the works of Alishan mentioned below (an edition of the text has been prepared by Skinner), and to the historians of Great Armenia at the time of the Mongol conquest; in connexion with the latter, the *History of the Nations of the Archers*, for long attributed to Malachi the Monk, has been restored by its editor-translators R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye (*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, xii, 1949) to its real author Gregory of Akanc). For the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, only one noteworthy Armenian chronicle exists, that of Thomas of Medzoph, part of which has been made accessible in French by F. Nève, *Exposé des guerres de Tamerlan* etc., Brussels 1860; for the Ṣafawid period, Arakel of Tabriz, trans. by M. F. Brosset, *Collection d'Auteurs arméniens*, i.

Modern works: J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides*, 1920; Cl. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Anatolie*, *Byzantion* 1948; idem, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 1940; the histories of the Crusades of de Grousset, Runciman, and the syndicated *History of the Crusades* of Philadelphia; L. Alishan, *Sissouan*, French trans., Venice 1899; the Introduction by Dulaurier to *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, *Historiens arméniens* i. Among other special studies of recent date, O. Turan, *Les Seldjoucides et leurs sujets non-musulmans*, in *Studia Islamica*, i, 1953. (CL. CAHEN)

II(c) *Ottoman Armenia*.

The Ottomans conquered western Armenia in the last decade of the 14th century, under Bāyezīd I, and eastern Armenia in the following two centuries under Meḥemmed II and Selīm I. They eventually became masters of the whole of Armenia, Great and Little (separated *grosso modo* by the upper reaches of the Euphrates), except the Khanate of Erivan (or rather Erevan), in Persian and Turkish Revan, a region containing the patriarchal seat of Ečmiadzin (in Turkish *Üč Kilise*) and relics of the ancient capitals of the Kings of Armenia. This region, situated in Transcaucasia on the middle Araxes, for long disputed by Turks and Persians, was ceded by the treaty of Türkmen-Čay (1 February 1828) to the Russians, who have since created from it the Soviet Federal Republic of Armenia. In the south of this region is situated Mt. Ararat (in Turkish Aghrı Dagh, in Armenian Masis), on which western expeditions periodically seek and claim to discover the wreckage of Noah's Ark. It is the point where the Turkish, Persian and Russian frontiers meet.

The province of Kars on the other hand, ceded to the Russians in 1878, was recovered by Turkey in 1918.

Ottoman administrative terminology—especially with respect to the programmes of reforms promised to the European Powers—adopted the term *wilāyāt-i sitte* "the six provinces (*scil.*, populated by Armenians)": *viz.*, Van, Bitlis (alternating with Mush), Erzerum, Harput, Sivas and Diyārbekir. No account was taken by this convention of the *sandjak* of Marash, forming part of the former *wilāyet* of Aleppo, or of the former *wilāyet* of Adana (Cilicia or Little Armenia in the strict sense of the term).

Turkish domination did not result in the assimilation of the Armenians, who were preserved by the difference of religion. Many Armenians, especially among the men and the Catholics, adopted Turkish as their second, or even as their first language.

After the capture of Constantinople an important change occurred in the life of the Armenian community. Up to 1453 it had at its head three patriarchs or *katoghikos* (katholikos): (1) the patriarch of Ečmiadzin, restored to this monastery since 1441; (2) the patriarch of Sis (now Kozan) in Cilicia, who had resided in this town since 1292 and did not recognise (1); (3) the patriarch of Aghtamar, (a small island in the Lake Van), since 1113. The Armenian bishop of Jerusalem also bore the title and ornaments of a patriarch.

After the conquest of Byzantium, Meḥemmed II, true to his political views, summoned to Istanbul the Armenian bishop of Brusa, Joachim, and made him a patriarch with the same prerogatives the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. In this way the Armenian "nation" (Turkish *millet*) was formed. A council of the clergy and a council of the laity assisted the patriarch who was elected from the "prelates" superior to the ordinary bishops and called *markhassa*, properly "saint priest" (from the Syriac *mārkassa*; the etymology through the Turko-Arabic *murakhkhaṣa* must be rejected). The residence of the patriarch of Constantinople is in the Kum Kapu quarter.

From then on on a better footing, the Armenians succeeded in occupying an important position in Turkey, notably as bankers (*ṣarrāf*, properly "money-changers"). Ubicini (*Lettres sur la Turquie*, 1854, ii, 311-14) gives interesting details about the position of genuine strength which they had achieved in their dealings with the provincial pashas and the Ottoman government in general. They were also merchants (often cloth merchants) and active caravan leaders who maintained connexions between Istanbul, Moldavia, Poland (Lemberg, Lwów), Nuremburg, Bruges and Antwerp. As artisans they were architects, house-painters, manufacturers of silk stuffs and gunpowder, and printers (Armenian printing-press at Istanbul in 1679). Like the Jews they were exempt from military service until the revolution of the Young Turks.

The most important events in the history of Ottoman Armenia are:

1) The religious schism, which resulted in the formation of a (Uniate) Catholic Community and internal persecution (Protestant propaganda played a less important part);

2) The revolutionary activity;

3) The repression and massacres.

Roman propaganda had been sporadically effective in Armenia since the 12th century. It was resumed by the oecumenical council of Florence (1438-45) and, in 1587, by the famous Pope Sixtus Quintus, among the Armenians of Syria, but found its greatest driving force in Mechitar (born at Sivas in 1675, died Venice 1749). Converted to Catholicism by the Jesuits, he

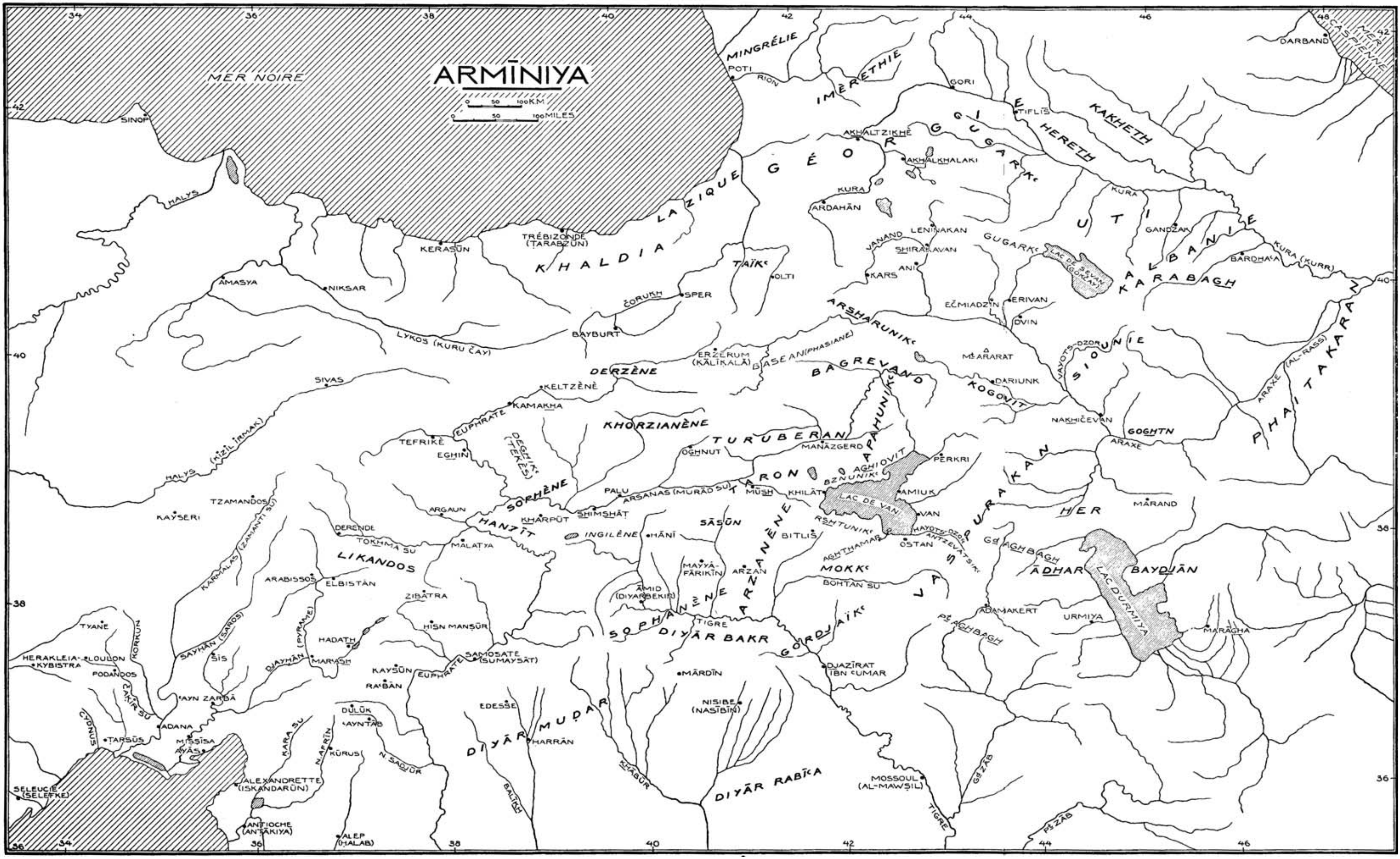
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GORDJAÏKʿ
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succeeded in founding a remarkable order which bore his name. The Republic of Venice ceded in 1717 to the Mechitarists the small island of Saint-Lazare, near Lido, where their monastery was installed in an old leper hospital. After the death of Mechitar a schism occurred, and a certain number of clergy retired to Trieste and then to Vienna (1810). There was also a subsidiary branch of the order at Padua which, transferred to Paris, continued to exist there for twenty years. The Mechitarists possessed rich libraries (numerous oriental MSS.), and printing-presses; from these they published historical and philological works which gave a place to Turkish as well as Armenian studies.

Even during the lifetime of Mechitar the over-zealousness of Catholic propaganda, which was gaining ground in the richest and most enlightened section of the Armenian community, provoked a lively reaction among the patriarchs of the Gregorian persuasion. The latter were supported by the Ottoman government, which regarded with disfavour these "Frankish plots".

There were martyrs among the Armenian Catholics who refused to abjure their faith, as in the case of Der Gomidas or Don Cosme and two of his followers (1707). He was the grandfather of Cosme Comidas of Carbognano, an interpreter at the Spanish embassy and author of a Turkish grammar in Italian (Rome, 1794). The Catholics suffered further presecutions in 1759, and even during the reign of the reforming Sultan Maḥmūd II, in 1815 and 1828.

They found allies, on the other hand, in the French ambassadors and the Jesuits. Thus the imprudent M. de Ferriol secured from the Porte the banishment of the patriarch Avedis, who was hostile to the Catholics, after which the latter was abducted and incarcerated in the Bastille. He died in 1711 at Paris in the house of François Pétis de la Croix. The Jesuits at the same period secured the closure of the Armenian printing-press.

In 1830 General Guilleminot, who also was a French ambassador, secured for the Catholics a separate ecclesiastical organisation, and in 1866 Mgr. Hassun, already patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, assumed the title of Catholic-Armenian Patriarch of Cilicia for all the Ottoman empire.

To what cause are the Armenian revolts to be attributed? Certainly not to utilitarian considerations. "The Armenians", wrote the impartial Ubicini (*op. cit.* ii, 347), "are of all the nations subject to the Porte, the one which has most interests in common with the Turks and is the most directly interested in preserving them". See also Victor Bérard, *La Politique du Sultan* (Abdulhamid II), 1897, 149. In the official texts, and when compared with the Greeks and Macedonians, the Armenians were termed *millet-i ṣādiḳa*, "the loyal nation".

The causes of Armenian discontent were as follows:

1) The vexatious and troublesome behaviour of, and the acts of brigandage committed by, the Kurdish and Circassian immigrants.

2) The negligence, exactions and extortions of Ottoman officials.

3) Russian incitement, especially from 1912 onwards.

4) A keen love of independence in a generally courageous people which prides itself on being one of the most ancient known, and which still looks back nostalgically to the short periods during which it succeeded in maintaining its autonomy. Certain districts even succeeded in remaining virtually independent; for example the unconquerable mountaineers of Zeytun (now Süleymanli, in the present *wilāyet* of Maraş), Haçin (now Saimbeyli, in the present *wilāyet* of Seyhan) and Sasun (Kabilcoz, in the present *wilāyet* of Siirt).

5) The activities of the revolutionary committees, sometimes particularly audacious, as in the case of the armed attack in broad daylight by 24 Armenians, and the siege of the Ottoman Bank at Galata (26 August 1896). The extremist or terrorist revolutionaries were called *Tas͟hnaksutyun*. There existed a more moderate committee, the Hinčak, formed in 1867 at Paris by Avedis Nazarbek, an Armenian from the Caucasus.

All these factors served as reason or excuse for a violent campaign of repression which took the form of mass deportations or massacres. With the connivance or at the instance of the authorities there occurred, among a people who were by nature kindly and even chivalrous, a long and contagious outburst of religious fanaticism and racial hatred. The calvary of the Armenians in Turkey began with the Erzerum affair (25 February 1890), went through numerous crises, notably in 1895-6 and in 1909 (Adana), and reached its culmination during the First World War, in 1915, during the systematic suppression of the Armenians organised by the government of the Young Turks.

Armeno-Turkish war of 1920. — After the collapse in 1917 of the Bolshevised Russian front, which in Turkey passed to the west of Trebizond and Erzincan, it was in the main the Armenian corps formed by the government of Transcaucasia which had to contain the Turkish counter-thrust. It was defeated and driven from Turkish territory (Turkey concluded the treaty of Batum with the Armenian Republic on 4 June 1918). In 1920 Mustafa Kemal Pas͟ha, in order to put an end to a state of undeclared war, appointed General Kâzim Karabekir Pas͟ha, commanding the 15th army corps, to the command of the north-east front. The troops of the "United Armenian Republic" of Tas͟hnakist allegiance, were again defeated, and the treaty of Alexandropolis (in Turkish Gümrü, now Leninakan) of 2 December 1920 confirmed the gains won by the Turks, the most important of which was the recovery of Ḳarṣ.

Bibliography: As far as is known, no works specially devoted to Turkish Armenia exist in any western language (the works in Armenian are not accessible to me). Such information as exists, often bearing the imprint of a strongly partisan bias, is to be gleaned here and there in the general works on Turkey. The following should be mentioned: Amédée Jaubert, *Voy. en Arm. et en Perse*, 1821; Comte de Cholet, *Arm., Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, 1892; André Mandelstamm, *La Soc. des Nations et les Puissances devant le problème armén.*, 1925; Aghasi, *Zeïtoun depuis les orig. jusqu'à l'insurrection de 1895*, translation by Archag Tchobanian, preface by Victor Bérard, 1897.—There is a copious bibliography on the massacres. The following only will be mentioned: *Le traitement des Armén. dans l'Emp. Ott.* (1915-1916), extracts from the "Blue Book" with a preface by Viscount Bryce, 1916; René Pinon, *La suppression des Armén.*, 1916, *Les massacres d'Arménie; témoignages des victimes*, preface by G. Clemenceau, 1896; *K͟hāṭirāt-i Ṣadr-i esbaḳ Kāmil pas͟ha*, Istanbul 1329/1911, 2nd ed, 184 ff.; *Saʿīd pas͟hanin Kāmil pas͟ha K͟hāṭirātina D͟jewāblari*, Istanbul 1327/1909, 78 ff.

(J. Deny)

III. Division, Administration, Population, Commerce, Natural Products and Industry.

Division.

Since the size of Armenia, in its territorial delimitation, has varied much in the course of the centuries, the regions into which the lands designated under this name were divided have not always been the same. In ancient times the Armenians (see the *Geogr. of the Pseudo-Moses Xorenaçi*, 606) separated the land into two unequal sections: Mez-Haik (Armenia major) and Pokr-Haik (Armenia minor). Great Armenia, i.e., Armenia proper, extended from the Euphrates in the west to the neighbourhood of the Kur in the east and was divided into 15 provinces; Little Armenia ran from the Euphrates to the sources of the Halys. The Arabs also were acquainted with this twofold division (see, e.g., Yāḳūt, i, 220, 13). Yet, in contradistinction to the Armenians, the Romans and the Byzantines, they extended the name Armīniya to the whole of the land situated between the Kur and the Caspian, i.e., to Djurzān (Georgia, Iberia), Arrān (Albania) and the mountainous regions of the Caucasus as far as the pass of Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb), the reason being that the history of this country, especially in the struggle against the Muslims, reveals itself as closely linked with that of Armenia. By Armīniya al-Kubrā, "Great Armenia", the Arabs (see Yāḳūt, ibid.) understood particularly the districts which have Khilāt (Akhlāṭ, [*q.v.*]) as their centre, whereas they applied the name Armīniya al-Ṣughrā, "Little Armenia", to the region of Tiflīs (i.e., to Georgia). Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. De Goeje, 295) was acquainted with yet another division of Armenia proper (excluding Albania and Iberia) into Inner (Armīniya dākhila) and Outer (Armīniya khāridja); to the former belonged the districts of Dabīl (Dwīn), Nashawā (Nakhčawān) and Ḳālīḳalā, later Arzan al-Rūm (Karin) and to the latter the region of Lake Van (Berkri, Akhlāṭ, Ardjīsh, Wasṭān, etc.).

Apart from this division there existed also another of ancient date which was adopted by the Byzantines (partition of Justinian in 536) and which, with the changes introduced by Maurice (591), remained in force until the Arab invasion. This system (Armenia prima, secunda, tertia, quarta) was also taken over by the Arabs; but, in the classification of the various districts among these four groups, the Arabs deviate so markedly from their predecessors that the explanation of this divergence can only be found by supposing a new distribution of districts to have occurred after the conquest. The data given by the Arab historians and geographers differ, moreover, greatly among themselves. Here, in essentials, is a table of the Arab division: (1) Armenia I: Arrān (Albania) with the capital Bardhaʿa and the land between the Kur and the Caspian (Shirwān); (2) Armenia II: Djurzān (Georgia); (3) Armenia III: comprising central Armenia proper with the districts of Dabīl (Dwīn), Basfurradjān (Vaspurakān), Baghravand, and Nashawā (Nakhčawān); (4) Armenia IV: the south-western region with Shimshāṭ (Arsamosata), Ḳālīḳalā, Akhlāṭ and Ardjīsh.

Furthermore, when mention is made in the Arab authors (al-Sharīshī, ii, 156 ff., and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwim*, 387 = al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 364, 5, 12) of a threefold partition of Armenia reproducing very exactly the division that existed before Justinian, it transpires, from the enumeration of the districts included therein, that this division is obtained only by the complete exclusion of Armenia II.

See, on the pre-Islamic divisions of Armenia, H. Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Leipzig 1889, 66 and, by the same scholar, the edition of George of Cyprus (Lipsiae 1890), xlvi ff. (ed. E. Honigmann, Brussels 1939, with the *Synecdemos* of Hiéroclès, 49-70); and, for the Arab period, Ghazarian in the *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 207-8, Thopdschian, *l.c.*, ii, 55 and in the *Mitteil. des Semin. für orient. Sprachen*, 1905, ii, 137, J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 299 ff., and R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 239.

Administration.

In regard to the internal situation in Armenia during the Arab period (see especially Ghazarian, *loc. cit.* ii, 193-206; Thopdschian, *loc. cit.*, ii, 123-7; Laurent, *op. cit.*, *passim*) this land did not always constitute a separate province, but was frequently united with Ādharbaydjān or with the Djazīra under a single government. The governor (*ʿāmil* or *wālī*), usually appointed by the Caliph himself, resided to the south of Erivān, near the Araxes, at Dwīn, which had already been, before the Muslim conquest, the seat of a Persian *marzbān*. The principal task of the governor consisted in protecting the country against its external and internal enemies; he had at his disposal for this purpose an army which was garrisoned, not in Armenia itself, but in Ādharbaydjān (Marāgha and Ardabīl were the general headquarters). The governor had above all to see to the punctual payment of taxes. For the rest, the Arabs did not concern themselves with the internal administration; this was left to a number of local lords (Arm. *ishkhān*, and *nakharar*, Greek *archōn*, Ar., *baṭrīḳ*, patrikios) who, after the Arab invasion, retained all their possessions and enjoyed within their domains a certain independence. Each of these lords, from ʿAbbāsid times onward, was also obliged, in case of war, to furnish a contingent of troops without receiving any indemnity.

Armenia was, among the provinces of the empire of the Caliphs, a land taxed only moderately. In place of the various kinds of taxes (*djizya*, *kharādj*, etc.: capitation tax, land tax, etc.) the system of *muḳāṭaʿa* was applied from the beginning of the 9th century, i.e., the Armenian princes had to pay a fixed sum. The list of contributions given by Ibn Khaldūn, which relates to the period of greatest prosperity for the Caliphate, notes for Armenia (taken in the broad sense of the Arabs) the sum of 13 million dirhems, i.e., more than $15^1/_2$ million gold francs, as the revenue of the years 158-70/775-86; in addition to this there were also the revenues in kind (carpets, mules, etc.). Ḳudāma gives as the average figure for taxes during the years 204-37/819-52 no more than 9 million dirhems only. The treaties, in respect to taxation, were scrupulously observed by the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids and were violated only by Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj. See, in regard to financial matters, A. von Kremer, *Kulturgesch. des Orients*, i, 343, 358, 368, 377; Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, 203 ff.; Thopdschian, *op. cit.* (1904), ii, 132 ff. The Arab monetary system was also introduced into Armenia; under the Umayyads, coins were already being struck there (see Thopdschian, ii, 127 ff.).

According to Yāḳūt (i, 222, 12) there were in Armenia not less than 18,000 localities great and small, of which 1,000 were situated on the Araxes alone (according to Ibn al-Faḳīh). In Arab mediaeval times the most important towns of Armenia proper were: Dabīl (Dwīn) which, as the residence of the

Muslim government, filled the rôle of a capital throughout the period of the Caliphs — while it had a large population at this time, it became, in the modern period, nothing more than an insignificant village; in addition, Ḳālīḳalā, later called Arzan al-Rūm (Erzerūm), Arzind̲j̲ān (Erzind̲j̲ān), Malāzd̲j̲ird (Manazkert, Mantzikert), Badlīs (Bitlīs), Ak̲h̲lāṭ (K̲h̲ilāṭ), Ard̲j̲īs̲h̲, Nas̲h̲awā (arm. Nak̲h̲čawān), Anī and Ḳarṣ (see the separate articles).

The native Armenians formed, in the time of the Caliphs, the main part of the population; but there were strong Arab colonies at Dabīl, Ḳālīḳalā, and likewise at Bard̲h̲aʿa in Arrān and Tiflīs in D̲j̲urzān, which were the chief bases of Arab power. Outside these great towns there existed also more extensive settlements of Arab tribes, notably to the south-west in the region of Alznik (Arzan in the Arzanene); the old district of Bad̲j̲unays (Arm. Apahunik) with its capital Malāzd̲j̲ird was controlled by a branch of the famous tribe, the Ḳays, who also held a number of places on the northern shore of Lake Van. The growth of the Bagratid dominion was "like a thorn in the flesh" to these Muslim colonies, since it hindered the consolidation and extension of their own power (see especially, on these colonies, Thopdschian, *op. cit.*, 1904, ii, 115 ff.; Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 501 ff.; and, on their situation in the 10th century, M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Ḥamdānides*, 471-87).

After the Russo-Persian and Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th century, Turkey, Russia and Persia shared possession of the Armenian territory and, until the war of 1914-18, there existed a Persian, a Russian and a Turkish Armenia.

(1) Persian Armenia: the smallest of the three sections, with an area of about 15,000 sq. km.; it embraces only a few districts and forms, as it were, an appendix to Russian Armenia; politically, it is joined to the province of Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān. To the west it touches the Turkish *wilāyet* of Van, while to the north, facing Russia, the Araxes serves as the frontier over a distance of about 175 km. from the eastern foot of Ararat as far as Urdābād̲h̲ (Ordūbād̲h̲). The chief town is K̲h̲oy. In addition, Maku, Čors and Marand should be mentioned. In general Persian Armenia corresponds to the eastern part of the old Armenian province of Vaspurakān (Ar. Basfurrad̲j̲ān). There exists, moreover, an Armenian population at Iṣfahān, resulting from the deportation of the inhabitants of D̲j̲ulfa [*q.v.*] by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I in 1605.

(2) Russian Armenia: before the war of 1914-18 it formed the southern and south-western part of the province of Transcaucasia and covered an area of about 103,000 sq.km. It embraced the regions bordering on Persia and Turkey and, in particular, the whole of the governments of Erivān (27,777 sq. km.), Ḳarṣ (18,749 sq.km.) and Baṭūm (6,976 sq.km.). The governments of Elizavetpol and Tiflīs were Armenian only in their southern and western parts, and that of Kutaīs only on the right bank of the river Rion. The most notable towns of Russian Armenia were: Baṭūm, important strategically and commercially, and capital of the government of the same name; in the government of Tiflīs, the two strongholds of Ak̲h̲alčik̲h̲ [*q.v.*] and Ak̲h̲alk̲h̲alaki; in the government of Ḳarṣ, the very strong fortress of the same name, important also as a commercial centre, and the old town of Ardahān set high on its hill, a citadel of the first order; in the government of Erivān, which once belonged in great part to Persia, Erivān itself, and 18 km. to the west the famous monastery of Ečmiadzin, the religious centre of the Armenians, Nak̲h̲čawān (Nas̲h̲awā, [*q.v.*]) which, like Erivān, has played a pre-eminent rôle in Armenian history, and Alexandropol (the ancient Gumri), an important frontier fortress until 1878 and thereafter a town given over to the silk industry; in the government of Elizavetpol, Elizavetpol (the ancient Gandja, [*q.v.*]), S̲h̲ūs̲h̲a situated in the region of Ḳara-Bag̲h̲ and formerly the capital of a separate k̲h̲ānate, and the frontier town of Ordūbād̲h̲ (Urdābād̲h̲) on the Araxes.

(3) Turkish Armenia: the greater part of the Armenian territory, far superior in size to the Russian and Persian sections taken together, had been for 500 years in the hands of the Turks and included the *wilāyets* of Bitlīs, Erzerūm, Maʿmūret al-ʿAzīz (now Elaziğ, i.e., K̲h̲arpūt), Van and, although only in part, Diyārbekir, with a total area of about 186,500 sq.km. The most important towns were Sīvās, Erzerūm, Van, Erzind̲j̲ān, Bitlīs, K̲h̲arpūt, Mūs̲h̲ and Bāyazīd [*qq.v.*].

Save in Persian Armenia, the war of 1914 brought about important changes in this situation. In 1917, after the retreat of the Russian troops from the Caucasian front, the regime which was then created in Armenia and itself formed part of the provisional government of Transcaucasia (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaid̲j̲an), undertook the task of defending the front against the Turks, but could not prevent the latter from regaining Erzind̲j̲ān and Erzerūm (February-March 1918), and then Ḳarṣ (25 April) after the peace of Brest-Litovsk which granted to the Turks possession of Turkish Armenia, together with Ḳarṣ and Ardahān, previously in Russian hands since 1878. After the dissolution of the Trans-caucasian government and the formation of an independent Armenian republic (28 May 1918), the republic itself was reduced, by the treaty of Baṭūm (4 June 1918) to Erivān and the region of Lake Sevān, the Turks and the Azerbaid̲j̲anis sharing between themselves the remainder of Russian Armenia. There now ensued the collapse of the Turks on other fronts and the armistice of Mudros (30 October 1918). At the beginning of 1919 Armenian forces reoccupied Alexandropol (Leninakān) and Ḳarṣ and came into conflict with Georgia over the region of Ak̲h̲alk̲h̲alaki and with Azerbaid̲j̲an over the Ḳara-Bag̲h̲. The Armenian Republic, recognised *de facto* in January 1920 by the Allies, received *de jure* recognition by the treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920). Nevertheless, the arbitration of President Wilson, which gave to this republic the regions of Trebizond, Erzind̲j̲ān, Mūs̲h̲, Bitlīs and Van, remained a dead letter, the Turkish government of Mustafa Kemāl having resumed the war, while the Soviet government, on its part, reconquered the Caucasus. After the Turks had entered Ḳarṣ and then Alexandropol, the Armenian Republic was compelled, on 2 December 1920, to accept the Turkish peace conditions. Turkey retained Ḳarṣ and Ardahān, annexed the region of Iğdir to the south-west of Erivān and demanded that the district of Nak̲h̲čawān (Nak̲h̲itchevan) be transformed into an autonomous Ṭatar state. On the same day, the Armenian Republic, within which there had been formed, some time earlier, a pro-Soviet revolutionary committee, changed itself into the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia. The Russo-Turkish treaties of 1921 ratified the cession of Ḳarṣ and Ardahān, but Turkey abandoned Baṭūm to Georgia.

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia embraces the territories of Erivān and Lake Sevān, but the Ḳara-Bag̲h̲ and Nak̲h̲itchevan are attached to the

Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaidjan under the designation of autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh (mountainous Ḳara-Bagh) and autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Nakhitchevan, while the districts, formerly included in Russian Armenia, of Akhalkhalaki, Akhalčikh (Akhaltzikè) and Baṭūm, this latter in the form of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Adjarie, are part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia. The principal towns in the Republic of Armenia are Erivān, Leninakān (formerly Alexandropol), Kirovakān (the old Elizavetpol) and Alaverdy.

The former Turkish Armenia, which can no longer bear this name, since it is now empty of Armenians as a result of the deportations and massacres of 1915-18, has been increased by the addition of Ḳarṣ, Ardahān and Igdir.

Population.

Owing to the invasion of Turkish and Turcoman tribes on the one hand and, on the other, to the advance of the Kurds (in the south) the composition of the population had undergone, ever since the second half of the mediaeval period, a transformation so profound that the Armenians properly so called constituted, over the whole extent of their ancient homeland, no more than a quarter of the total inhabitants. According to the statistics of L. Selenoy and N. Seidlitz (*Petermann's Georg. Mitt.*, 1896, i ff.), out of the 3,470,000 people to be found in the provinces of Transcaucasia enumerated above 897,000 (27%) were Armenians; in the purely Armenian districts, out of 2,000,000 inhabitants, the Armenians numbered 760,000 (more than a third). The government of Erivān, however, had a population of which 56% was Armenian. In the whole of Transcaucasia the towns were more strongly peopled by Armenians than the countryside (notably Tiflīs: 48%); but, in regard to the total number of inhabitants (4,782,000), the Armenians (960,000) constitued only 20% of the population.

The five *wilāyets* of Turkish Armenia had 2,642,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,828,000 were Muslims, 633,000 were Armenians, and 179,000 were Greeks; in the *sandjaḳ* of Mūsh, however, and also in that of Van the Armenians possessed the numerical superiority (almost twofold).

The total population of Russian and Turkish Armenia, according to the estimates given above, amounted to about 4,642,000, of whom 1,400,000 were Armenians. In Russian Armenia the Caucasian peoples were more numerous, while in Turkish Armenia it was the Kurds, Turks and other racial elements (Greeks, Jews, Gypsies, Circassians, Nestorian Christians to the south-east of Lake Van, nomad Tatar tribes) who had the majority.

In Persian Armenia there were, in 1891, 42,000 Armenians, only half of them to be found in Ādharbaydjān (see above concerning Iṣfahān).

Such was the estimate of the Armenian population given by Streck, for a period anterior to 1914, in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* He noted that as a result of massacres and of emigration the number of Armenians on Turkish soil was constantly diminishing. The settlement of Armenians in foreign lands and their dissemination throughout the world had continued, although in varying degree (see above for the emigration into Byzantine territory, and then into Syria and Egypt). Cf. on this subject Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 594-611; R. Wagner, *Reise nach dem Ararat*, 239-50. The total number of Armenians living in the Old World amounted to between 2 and 2½ millions.

According to the figures given by Pasdermadjian *Histoire de l'Arménie*, Paris 1949, 444, the total number of Armenians in the world in 1914 was approximately 4,100,000, of whom 2,100,000 lived in the Ottoman empire, 1,700,000 in the Russian empire, 100,000 in Persia and 200,000 in the rest of the world. In Russian Armenia proper they numbered 1,300,000 (including Ḳarṣ, Nakhitchevan, the Ḳara-Bagh and Akhalkhalaki) and, in Turkish Armenia (with Cilicia), 1,400,000. They represented in Russian Armenia the majority of the population, 1,300,000 out of 2,100,000.

Here, on the other hand, are the figures of the Armenian population in the world and in the Soviet Union for 1926 and 1939, according to W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion, Natur, Volk und Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart 1950. In 1926 the total number of Armenians in the world amounted to 2,225,000 (the difference from the figure given for 1914 being explained to a certain degree by the losses due to the war, to the massacres and to the sufferings endured during the deportations); of these, two thirds were in the Soviet Union, while one third remained in the Near East (130,000 in Syria, 100,000 in Persia, approximately 100,000 in Turkey, Palestine, Egypt and Greece, with a further 100,000 in America). The Soviet Union held 1,568,000 Armenians, of whom 1,340,000 were in Transcaucasia and 162,000 in Ciscaucasia. Of those to be found in Transcaucasia 744,000 lived in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia (29,900 sq.km.) and constituted there 85% of the total inhabitants (831,290), i.e., the half of the Armenian population of the Soviet Union and one third of the entire Armenian population in the world. 311,000 dwelt in Georgia, 112,000 in the autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh (89% of the total population there) and 173,000 in the rest of the Republic of Azerbaidjan.

According to the census of 1939 the Armenians of the Soviet Union numbered 2,152,000; in the Republic of Armenia they were 1,100,000 out of a total population of 1,281,599; they constituted 90% of the total population in the autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh, but, in the remainder of the Republic of Azerbaidjan, only 10% of the total population. In Georgia they numbered 450,000. The Armenian population of the Soviet Union, taken as a whole, had increased by 37% between 1926 and 1939.

In Syria and the Lebanon there were in 1914 about 5,000 Armenians; in 1939 they numbered approximately 80,000 in the Lebanon, and more than 100,000 in Syria. In 1939, after the reunion of the *sandjaḳ* of Alexandretta with Turkey, 25,000 Armenians left the country. When, in 1945, the Soviet government issued its appeal to the Armenians, inviting them to return to Soviet Armenia, this invitation concerned, in Syria, about 200,000 Armenians who lived especially at Aleppo and Beirut (Aleppo: 100,000 out of a total of 260,000; Beirut: 50,000 out of 160,000). In Persia, between 1926 and 1939, the Armenian population had risen from 50,000 to 150,000; approximately 93,000 expressed the wish to emigrate to Soviet Armenia and the Armenians of Persia formed a great part of the 60,000 to 100,000 Armenians who, from Syria, the Lebanon, Persia and Egypt, went to Soviet Armenia after this appeal. Of the 27,000 Armenians who dwelt in Greece, 18,000 emigrated to Soviet Armenia in the period down to 1947.

In 1945 (see H. Field, *Contribution to the anthropology of the Caucasus*, Cambridge, Mass. 1953, 5) the population of Soviet Armenia amounted to 1,300,000, with a figure of 200,000 for the capital, Erivān. Today (see P. Rondot, *Les Chrétiens d'Orient*, Paris 1955, 191 and 196) the Republic of Armenia approaches a total of 1,500,000 inhabitants and there are almost as many Armenians in the rest of the Soviet Union. Erivān numbers 300,000 inhabitants and has formulated plans for 450,000. 400,000 to 500,000 Armenians are to be found in the Near East, 100,000 in the countries where 'popular democracy' prevails, 200,000 to 300,000 in North America, 20,000 in France and important nuclei in South America, India, Palestine and Greece.

The Armenian question had been given a definite form. Various Armenian groups in Brazil, the United States, etc. have presented to the U.N.O. demands which seek to bring about the restoration to the Armenians of the former Turkish Armenia with the frontiers fixed by President Wilson and the Armenian question continues to be an obstacle to the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey.

Commerce.

As a land of transit between the Pontus and Mesopotamia and as a frontier territory between Byzantium and the Muslim empire, Armenia played an important economic rôle in the mediaeval period. The numerous merchants and the caravans that crossed it contributed to the development of a native industry which was favoured, like the flow of commerce, by the richness of the country in natural products. The commercial importance of Armenia arose also from the existence of numerous transit routes which cut across the land and of which the Arab geographers have described the most important. The Arabs attached to the support which these routes furnished to their military interests a greater weight than to their commercial usefulness. For this reason they linked together the principal routes at Dabīl, the bulwark of the Arab domination. The maintenance and security of the routes was a duty which fell to the Muslim governor. Even today Erzerūm, a point of junction for all the great routes, is a place of high strategic importance and, as it were, the key to Asia Minor.

Armenia communicated with Byzantium through Trebizond (Ṭarābazanda), the main entrepôt for Byzantine merchandise (above all, precious materials). The great fairs held there several times a year were visited by merchants from the entire Muslim world; the traffic ran ordinarily from Trebizond to Dabīl and Ḳālīḳalā (Erzerūm). In Persia, Rayy was the most important market for the Armenian merchants (see Ibn al-Faḳīh, ed. De Goeje, 270); they were also in direct business relations with Baghdād (see al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 237).

Natural Products and Industry.

Armenia was considered to be one of the most fertile provinces of the Caliphate. It produced so great a yield of cereals that some of it was exported abroad, e.g., to Baghdād (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 272, 275). The lakes and rivers, which were full of fish, also favoured the export trade; Lake Van provided enormous quantities of a certain kind of herring (Ar. *ṭirrīkh*) which, from mediaeval times, was sent out in salted form even to the Indies (according to al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 352). This salted fish is encountered even today as a food much sought after throughout the whole of Armenia, Ādharbaydjān, the Caucasus and Asia Minor.

Armenia is rich, above all, in minerals; copper, silver, lead, iron, arsenic, alum, mercury and sulphur are especially to be found there; gold, too, is not lacking. Very little is known concerning the exploitation of these products by the Arabs; the only Arab author who has furnished us with information on the natural products of Armenia is Ibn al-Faḳīh. According to the Armenian writer Leontius, silver mines were discovered at the close of the 8th century A.D.; these mines correspond no doubt to the silver (and lead) mines which are exploited at Gümüsh-Khāne (now Gümüşhane) = House of Silver, halfway between Trebizond and Erzerūm (see, on this subject, Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 272 and Wagner, *Reise nach Persien*, i, 172 ff. and cf. also the article GÜMÜSH-KHĀNE). There were important mines, too, at Bayburt and Arghana [*qq.v.*]. The great and ancient copper mine of Kedabeg with its offshoot at Kalakent (between Elizavetpol-Gandja and the lake of Gökčay) had been much developed before 1914 (see Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i, 122 ff.). Today there are important copper foundries at Alaverdy, Zangezur and Erivān. It was, however, the salt mines which, in the past, were the richest in Armenia, their products being exported to Syria and Egypt. The salt beds mentioned by the mediaeval authors were probably to the north-east of Lake Van; there was also an extensive salt-bearing deposit at Kulp to the south of the Upper Araxes and east of Keghizman (see Ritter, *op. cit.*, x, 270 ff. and Radde, *Vier Vorträge über den Kaukasus*, 47). Erivān today is an industrial town with workshops for the building of machinery and factories for preserves, tobacco, synthetic rubber, etc.

The industries for which Armenia was most renowned during the mediaeval period were weaving, dyeing and embroidery. Dabīl was the centre of this industrial activity; magnificent woollen cloths were made there, carpets and heavy materials of silk decorated with flowers and multi-coloured (Ar. *buzyūn*) which were also sold abroad. The *ḳirmiz*, a kind of purple-bearing worm, was used for dyeing. Armenian carpets were long considered to be of the finest workmanship. Ardashāt (Artaxata), some kilometres from Dabīl, was so famous for its dye-works that al-Balādhurī calls it "the town of the kermes" (*ḳaryat al-ḳirmiz*) (ed. De Goeje, 200; cf. *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 67 and 217). See in particular, on the commerce and industry of Armenia in the mediaeval period, Thopdschian in the *Mitt. des Sem. für orient. Sprache*, 1904, ii, 142-53. On the carpets, see Armeniag Sakisian, *Les tapis à dragons et leur origine arménienne*, in *Syria*, ix (1928) and, by the same author, *Les tapis arméniens*, in *Revue des Ét. arm.*, i/2 (1920). On Armenian textiles in general, see R. B. Serjeant, *Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, x (1943), 91 ff.

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(M. CANARD)

ARMS [see SILĀḤ].

ARMY [see DJAYSH, LASHKAR, ORDU etc.].

ARNAWUTLUḲ, the Ottoman Turkish name for ALBANIA.

1.—Language. Allegedly descended from Pelasgian, Albanian is an Indo-European language of "satem" type like Armenian, Indo-Iranian and Slavonic. No literary records occur before 1496 A.D., but ancient Illyrian and ancient Epirote, on the basis of personal and place names, are held to be the prototypes of Geg (northern) and Tosḳ (southern) Albanian respectively. Illyrian *mantua*, *mantia*, "bramble", and *grŏssa*, "file", are Albanian *mand*, *manzë* and *grresë* respectively. Macedonian, Thracian and Dacian were languages of Albanian type.

Known as *shqip* in Albania, *arbëresh* in the Albanian colonies, the Albanian language is spoken by some 1,500,000 in Albania, 700,000 in the adjoining Kosovo-Metohija area of Yugoslavia, and some 40,000 in Epirus. An archaic form of the language survives on the Greek islands of Hydra and Spetsa, and in Sicily and Calabria, brought there by Tosḳ exiled from the Turkish invasions. Impoverished by centuries of neglect, Albanian has a small native, but a large borrowed vocabulary. Thus the wheel, the cart and the plough are represented by borrowings and the usual Indo-European terms of kinship are absent. City life, road-building, horticulture, law, religion and family relationship are expressed by Latin loanwords, much disguised by phonological breakdown. Terms used in the Orthodox ritual are Greek; names of prepared dishes, garments, parts of the house, and Islamic terms have come in via Turkish.

The composite alphabet is: *a*, *b*, *c* (like *ts*), *ç* (like *ch*), *d*, *dh* (like *th* in *this*), *e*, *ë* (like French *e* in *le*), *f*, *g*, *gj* (like Turkish *g* before *e*, *i*, *ö*), *h*, *i*, *j* (like *y* in *yoke*), *k*, *l* (as in French), *ll* (as in English *all*), *m*, *n*, *nj* (as in *cañon*), *o*, *p*, *q* (like Turkish *k* before *e*, *i*, *ö*), *r* (weak), *rr* (strong trill), *s*, *sh* (as in *shop*), *t*, *th* (as in *thin*), *u*, *v*, *x* (as in *adze*), *xh* (as in *judge*), *y* (German *ü*), *z*, *zh* (as in *pleasure*). The vowels *â*, *ê*, *î* are Geg nasals.

Geg is the dialect of Tiranë, the capital, and the North, including Kosovo-Metohija. Tosḳ has a considerable literature. Its main deviations are: replacement of the infinitive by subjunctive constructions, absence of nasal vowels, occasional conversion of *n* to *r*, and representation of *ue*, *uem* as *ua*, *uar*. There are small differences of vocabulary.

The noun has three genders and five cases. A noun is linked to a following genitive or adjective by an inflected particle, thus *mali i veriut*, "the mountain of the north", *mali i bukur* "the beautiful mountain", in which *-i* of *mal-i* is the detachable masc. definite article. Similarly *molla*, f. "the apple", but *mollë* "apple". The verb possesses an imperfect, aorist, subjunctive, optative imperative, a mediopassive, and a compound mood called the admirative.

2.—Literature. From the third century A.D. the Roman Church has maintained a bishopric at Scutari in N. Albania. This became the first cultural centre; evidence of this is Bishop John Buzuk's Liturgy of 1555, and the 17th century religious works of Budi, Bardhi and Bogdani. Literary activity, tolerated by the Turks in the Catholic North, was suppressed in the Muslim centre and the Orthodox South, but took root among the exile colonies of Sicily and Calabria. Matranga, descendant of the exiles, began a tradition of hymn-writing using folk-rhythms (1592), which was continued by Brancato (1675-1741) and the Calabrian Variboba (born 1725). The movement became secular with the folksongs and rhapsodies of De Rada (1813-1903), an ardent spokesman of Albanian liberation, and was continued well into the present century by Zef Schirò (1865-1927), Sicilian-born author of two allegorical epics and a collector of folksongs.

The work of de Rada was helpful in inspiring three Tosḳ patriots, the brothers Abdyl, Sami and Naim Frashëri, to form a league at Prizrend in 1878. Under the stimulus of the San Stefano settlement they sought Albanian autonomy and literary freedom. After several years of activity in Istanbul, where they were joined by the lexicographer and Bible translator Kristoforidhi (1827-1895), they were forced into exile. At Bucharest Abdyl the politician, Sami the educationist, and Naim, the Bektashi lyricist of Albanian nostalgia, formed a literary society and printed Albanian books from 1885 onward. Thimi Mitko and Spiro Dine, exiles in Egypt, collected folksongs from the local colony. In Sofia Midhat Frashëri, son of Abdyl, published an almanach, an anthology and a journal, and wrote didactic essays and short stories with a moral. Books printed in exile were smuggled into Albania by caravan.

The absence of a literary centre, and the want of a standard alphabet, hampered the movement, and Sami's difficult phonetic spelling was replaced by a digraphic one resembling that of A. Santori of Calabria and the linguist Dh. Camarda (1821-1882) of Sicily. After independence in November 1912 the various literary currents combined. A. Drenova (born 1872), the Tosk lyricist, Bubani, and L. Poradeci (born 1899) continued the Bucharest tradition, the last in an unorthodox style of his own; the Catholic North was represented by the nostalgic F. Shiroka (1847-1917), the linguist and historian A. Xanoni (1863-1915), N. Mjeda (1866-1937), the satirist Gj. Fishta (1871-1940), the folk-poet and elegist V. Prennushi (1885-1946), and the short-story writer E. Koliqi (born 1903). Foqion Postoli, and M. Grameno (1872-1931), the Tosk novelists, Kristo Floqi (born 1873), the dramatist, and F. Konitza (1875-1943) transferred their activity to Boston, U.S.A., where a literary society Vatra, and a journal Dielli ("The Sun") were founded in 1912.

The brief fascist regime (1939-1943) attracted a few writers with pro-Italian leanings; the present communist regime encourages writing on the partisan movement, the class struggle, work themes and peace. Textbooks are based on Russian models. There are three active theatres and a writers' union. This activity is paralleled in Kosovo-Metohija, where the communist themes are Titoist.

3.—Geography. Albania (Shqipní, Shqipëri) lies on a N-S axis 20° E of Greenwich. With a total area of 11,097 square miles (28,748 sq. km.) it is bounded by Yugoslavia, Greece and the Adriatic. Lying between N Latitudes 39° 38′ and 40° 41′, its total length is 207 miles. It narrows to 50 miles at Peshkopi, and widens to 90 miles at the lake of Little Presba. Its ten prefectures formerly had 39 subprefectures, now redrawn and renamed as 34 districts. Continuing the limestone formation of the Dinaric Alps, the terrain is highest in the E, reaching some 7,000 feet in places. Of the western lowlands, some below sea-

level, the largest is the fertile Myzeqeja plain. The longest river, the Drin, rises in Lake Ohri (Ochrida), and flows N-W and S-W to the Adriatic below Shëngjin. The Mat, Ishém, Arzén, Semén-Devoll-Berat and the Vijosë flow in general N-W, but the Shkumbî, a torrent in winter, flows broadly E to W dividing the country into two roughly equal areas, Gegnija and Toskërija.

The mountain massif consists of three north-to-south barriers in Gegnija, and four N-W to S-E parallel ranges in Toskërija. The highest mountain is Tomorr near Berat (7,861 feet: 2396 metres). Denudation and deforestation have given the country a bare, rugged character. The lakes of Shkodër (Scutari), Ohri and Presba are only partly in Albania; Tërbuf in the central plain is a marsh, and Malik, below Korçë, has been drained.

Durrës (Durazzo) is the main port, with wharves and a shipyard; Valona has a fine natural harbour, and handles refined oil and bitumen; Saranda is a fishing port, and Shëngjin handles ore. Chief towns are Tiranë, the capital (100,000), Shkodër (35,000), Korçë (25,000), Durrës (16,000), Vlorë or Valona (15,000) and Gjinokastër or Gjirokastër (12,000). Railways (80 miles) link Tiranë with Durrës, Peqin and Elbasan, but most towns are reached by road.

Climate ranges from European in the high country to sub-tropical in the S-W, and the vegetation is Mediterranean. Forests, mainly deciduous, include hornbeam, turkey oak, sumach, avellan oak, holm oak, jujube and celtis. The foothill scrub includes arbutus, bush heather, pomegranate and juniper. Densest forests are at Mamuras near Kruja.

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(S. E. Mann)

4.—Population.

According to the census of 1955 the population of Albania was 1,394,310 (in 1930 it was 1,003,097). Outside Albania there are Albanians in Yugoslavia (750,000 according to the Yugoslav census in 1948), in Greece (estimated between 30-60,000) and in Italy (estimated at 150-250,000). The number of Albanians by birth all over the world is estimated at 3 millions (see *Albania*, ed. S. Skendi, New York 1956, 50). According to the 1930 census there were 45,000 Vlachs, 35,000 Slavs, 20,000 Turks and 15,000 Greeks in Albania. Approximately 20 percent of Albania's total population lived in towns in 1949-50. In the same year the larger towns were Tirana, the capital, with an estimated population of 80,000 (in 1930, 30,806), Shkodër 34,000, Korčë 24,000, Durrës 16,000, Elbasan 15,000, Vlorë 15,000, Berat 12,000, Gjinokastër 12,000.

The Albanians are divided into two principal ethnic groups: The Gegs to the North of the Shkumbi River and the Tosks to the South. The Turks called these two regions Gegalık and Toskalık. Not only in their dialects but also in the outlook and social behaviour the Gegs differ from the Tosks. The Gegs are considered as keeping national characteristics purer than the Tosks.

Generally speaking the barren mountains of Albania provided too little for an increasing population to subsist. Especially when an epidemic decimated livestock, the helpless people had no choice but to emigrate or to fall upon neighbouring plains. They usually went out as mercenaries, shepherds or agriculturists.

Toward the middle of the 14th century the Albanians, under the pressure of the Serbs or as mercenaries of feudal seigneurs in Greece, migrated and settled in Epirus, Thessaly, Morea and even in the Aegean Islands. There most of the Albanians were gradually graecised, or migrated to Southern Italy under the pressure of the Ottomans later on. But about 1466 in Thessaly there were still Albanian districts in the towns as well as 24 Albanian *katunes* in Livadia (Lebadea) and 34 in Istifa (see my *Fâtih Devri*, Ankara 1954, 146). Under the Ottomans these *katunes* had a special status and, later, are known as *armatols*.

When Iskender-beg died in 1468 a number of the Albanians involved in his struggle against the Ottomans either retired to the mountains or migrated to the kingdom of Naples. In 1478, 1481 and 1492 more Albanians migrated to Southern Italy and Sicily where they preserved their language and customs down to the present day.

In the 15th century the Ottoman government transferred some Albanian *timar*-holders [see TĪMĀR] of the feudal families (Mazeraki and Heykal) to Trebizond.

No large Turkish settlement is recorded in Albania except a small number of exiles from Konya, locally called Konici. There are also the Yürüks of Kodja-djik on the mountains to the East of Dibra where they were stationed apparently to safeguard the Rumeli-Albania highway. The *sürgüns* (the deported), sent *c.* 1410 from such parts of Anatolia as Sarukhan, Kodja-ili, Djanik were also few in number (see *Sûret-i Defter-i Sandjâk-i Arvanid*, index).

The second significant expansion of Albanians in Rumeli occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries. They came to settle in the plains of Djakovë (Yakova), Prizren, Ipek (Peč), Kalkandelen (Tetovo) and Kossovo, especially after the mass migration of the Serbs from these areas in 1690. It seems that Albanian settlement was mostly the result of the land *mukâta'a* system (see my *Tanzimat nedir?*, in *Tarih Araştırmaları*, Ankara 1942) prevailing there in this period. Albanians came to lease small tracts of lands from big *mukâta'a* owners in these rich plains and settled there as tenants permanently.

As for the Vlachs in Albania, they had lived a pastoral life on the mountains of North Albania side by side with the Albanians since the Slavic invasion in the 7th century and they took part in the Albanian expansion from the 11th century onwards. In the Ottoman Register of 835/1431 we find the Vlachs and their *katunes* (*Eflak-katune*) in Southern Albania especially in the region east to Kanina.

The Albanian tribes to the North of the Drin River are called by the general term of *Malj-i-sor* (highlanders). Toward 1881 there were 19 tribes belonging to this group with a population of 35,000 Roman Catholics, 15,000 Muslims and 220 Greek Orthodox. The most famous tribes among them were Hotti, Klementi, Shkreli, Kastrati, Koçaj, Pulati, living on the mountains east of Scutari.

It seems that during the Ottoman conquest of Albania from 1385 to the end of the 15th century the rebellious clans had to retire once more to the most rugged parts of the highlands. Their reappearence in the lowlands coincided later with the weakening of Ottoman control in the provinces in the 17th century, and, later on, they became "the terror of Rumeli".

From the beginning the Ottoman government had to respect the tribal organisation and autonomy of these tribes. As they had actual control of the important mountain passes from Rumeli into Albania the government charged them with the guardianship of these passes and in return for these services made them exempt from taxation. A regulation dated 1496 (*Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul, Tapu Def.* no. 26) reads as follows: "The *nāḥiye* of *Klemente* (Klementi) consists of five villages. Their inhabitants of Christian faith pay one thousand *aḳča* of *kharādj* and one thousand *aḳča* of *ispendje* to the Sandjaḳbegi and they are exempted from *ʿushr* and *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwānī* and other taxes, but they are made *derbenddji* (guardians of the passes) on the route Scutari-Petrishban's territory-Altun-ili as well as the route Medun-Kuča-Plava". Later in the 17th century the Klementi caused troubles through their depredations in Rumeli and their co-operation with the rebellious tribes of Montenegro (Karadagh).

To the south of Drin lived the Mirditë tribe, 32,000 in number (in 1881) and all Roman Catholics. They were divided into five clans called *bayraḳs*, namely Oroshi, Fândi, Spashi, Kushneni, Dibri. Distinguished by their service to the Ottomans against the Venetians in 1696, the Hotti were promoted to the first place among the clans. Their *bayraḳ* headed all the others. But today the Shalë tribe is the chief.

In tribal tradition the origin of the *bayraḳs* goes back to the Ottomans. In fact it was an Ottoman institution to give a *bayraḳ* or a *sandjaḳ* to military chiefs as a symbol of authority. Each clan was under a *bayraḳdār* i.e. standard-bearer, who was a hereditary chief. The public affairs of the clan were decided in the council of the hereditary elders. In order to discuss general affairs the five clans had their annual meeting at Orosh. A *bölük-bashi*, appointed by the Ottoman governor, arranged all kinds of affairs between the administration and the clans. The "captains" of the five clans of Mirditë claimed to descend from Lekë Dukagjin who played an outstanding rôle in Iskender-beg's struggle against the Ottomans. Lekë Dukagjin is believed to have codified the customary law practiced among the tribes, which is called *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit* (A. Sh. K. Gječov, *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*, Shkodër 1933).

These tribes used to send to the Ottoman army an auxiliary force composed of one man per household, an Ottoman practice which was also applied to the Yürüks and the Kurds. When from the end of the 16th century onwards the empire came to need more troops for its lengthy wars the Albanian auxiliaries seemed to gain an increasing importance. They were used especially in the local wars against the Montenegrins. The Mirditë were regarded as the bravest soldiers in Rumeli. But at the same time H. Hequard (1855) calls them "the greatest plunderers in the world". In 1855 when the *Tanẓīmāt* administration attempted to disarm them and enrol them in the regular army they rose up and infested the Zadrima (Zadrimë) area with the result that the next year the government gave up these attempts. Later the Mirditan chief Prenk Bib Doda played an important part in the Albanian independence movement (1908). The "Republic of Mirditë", proclaimed under Yugoslav auspices in 1921, collapsed the next year.

5.—Religion.

According to the Italian statistics of 1942 (see, *Albania*, ed. S. Skendi, 58) out of a total population of 1,128,143, 779,417 were Muslims, 232,320 Orthodox and 116,259 Catholics. The only significant Catholic group is located in the Shkodër (Scutari) district, while large Orthodox groups live in the districts of Gjinokastër (Argyrokastro), Korčë (Körice), Berat and Vlorë (Avlona). Muslims are spread all over the country, but mostly in the Central Albania.

Albania which became attached to the Partriarchate of Constantinople in 732 A.D., was split between Rome and Constantinople in 1054, the northern part coming under the jurisdiction of Rome. The Normans and the Angevins strengthened Catholicism in the country; Antivari was the seat of the Archbishop of Albania and Durazzo that of Macedonia.

Orthodox Albania was dependent directly on the Archbishopric of Ohrida. As the protectors of the Orthodox Church the Ottomans, even before their restoration of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1454, favoured Orthodoxy against Catholicism. However, for political reasons the Porte tolerated the Catholic church in Albania. The Albanian lords wavered between East and West according to the political conditions. The Orthodox Albanian immigrants to southern Italy had their own Uniate church recognising the Pope's supremacy. According to the Ottoman year-book of 1895 there were, in the province of Yanya (Epirus and Albania south of the Devoll River), 223,885 Muslims, 118,033 Greeks, 129,517 Orthodox Albanians, 3,517 Jews and only 93 Roman Catholics. It must be added that a part of these Greeks were in origin Orthodox Albanians graecised through the Greek religious and educational institutions which were zealously founded beginning with the second half of the 18th century. After the independence of Albania an autocephalous Orthodox church of Albania was finally recognised by the Patriarchate (1937). The first converts to Islam were the Albanian feudal lords holding *tīmārs* from the Ottomans. Contrary to what is generally held conversion was not required as a condition for keeping their lands as *tīmārs*; allegiance to the Ottoman state was sufficient in order to receive *tīmārs*. Throughout the 15th century Christians were granted *tīmārs*. By the end of the 15th century, however, only a few Christian *tīmār*-holders were left because of voluntary conversions. Elbasan, built by Meḥemmed II in 870/1466, became a Muslim centre from the outset, as did Yenishehir in Thessaly. It appears, however, that Islam had then only a few converts among the common people, *raʿāyā*. At the beginning of the 16th century in four *sandjaḳs* of Albania (Elbasan, Ohri, Awlonya and Iskenderiye) there were about three thousand Muslim *raʿāyā* families. In Catholic sources written around 1622 it was estimated that only one thirtieth of the Albanian population was Muslim. During the 17th century the Venetians and Austrians attempted to foment an insurrection of the Catholic Albanians as well as the Orthodox Serbs who were feeling hostile to the government because of an increase in the *djizye*. In 1614 at a meeting of church dignitaries at Kuči it was decided to ask for aid from the Pope. Toward 1622 the first Franciscan missionaries appeared in Albania and Southern Serbia. Albanian Catholics and the Serbs co-operated with the Venetians in 1649 and with the Austrians in 1689-1690, which made the Porte decide to have recourse to retaliatory measures. To escape these, the Christian populations in the plains of Peč, Prizren, Djakovë and Kossovo, who were partly Albanian, migrated in mass or adopted Islam; but many of them became

crypto Christians, locally called *laramanë* (motley). The albanisation and islamisation of these plains went hand in hand in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Conversion to Islam received a new impetus under the Bus͟hatlīs and ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] of Tepedelen. According to the contemporary witnesses, the latter forced a number of villages to adopt Islam. He is believed to have been a Bektās͟hī himself and in his time Bektās͟hism (see BEKTĀS͟HIYYA) made its greatest progress in Albania. Under King Zog its adherents were estimated at about 200,000. With its prosperous *tekkes* in Tiran, Akčahisar (the old centre of the Bektās͟hīs), Berat, and on the Tomor mountain, as well as its central organisation in the capital, Bektās͟hism assumed importance in Albania. During the Congress of Korčë in 1919 the Bektās͟hīs sought to establish a community of their own, separate from the Sunnīs. This was to be accomplished only under the Communist régime in 1945.

Islam played an essential part in ottomanising the Albanians, and the Christian Albanians often referred to their Muslim compatriots as Turks. On the other hand Islam prevented the Albanians from being assimilated by her Greek or Slavic neighbours. It is asserted that under the veneer of Christianity as well as Islam the primitive religious beliefs survived with the Albanians, especially in the highlands.

6.—History.

The Illyrian origin of the Albanian people is generally admitted, but their ethnic relationships to the Thracians, Epirots and the Pelasgians are still subject to argument. The Illyrian tribes first came into contact with Greek culture, through the Greek colonies founded on the Albanian coastland, in the 7th century B.C. The principal one was Epidamnos near Durazzo (Durrës). The Illyrians formed their first independent political organization in the third century B.C. Conquered by the Romans in 167 B.C., they were subject to strong Roman influence for centuries. The Roman highway to the Orient, Via Egnatia, started at Dyrrachium (Durrës) and followed the Shkumbi valley. Ptolemy mentions, for the first time, the Αλβανοι among Illyrian tribes and their capital Αλβανόπολις (near Croya). In the 7th century the invasion of Albania by the Slavs put an end to the romanisation of the Albanians who retired to the mountains in north Albania to live a pastoral life for half a millennium. In the 9th and 10th centuries the Bulgarian empire extended its rule over southern Albania, including Dyrrachium (Greek Dyrrachion), and toward the end of the 12th century the Serbs under Nemanja occupied northern Albania. The long coexistence with the agriculturist Slavs left a deep cultural imprint on the Albanian people. Finally, Emperor Basil II restored Byzantine rule in southern Albania, and conquered Dyrrachion (1005) which had been the capital of the Byzantine *thema* of Dyrrachion since the 9th century. When toward the middle of the 11th century the control of Byzantium was weakened in the provinces the Albanians came out from their mountain retreats. From this time on, the Albanians, who were then located between the lines of Skodra (S͟hkodër)-Dyrrachion and Ohrida-Prizren, are seen to be mentioned more by the contemporary sources, 'Αλβανοι or 'Αρβανίται in Greek, *Arbanenses* or *Albanenses* in Latin and *Arbanaci* in Slavic sources. The Ottomans first used the Greek form *Arvanid* and then its turcicised versions *Arnavud* and *Arnawut*.

Again from the 11th century on, Albania became a bridge-head for feudal Europe to attack the Byzantine empire. Dyrrachion was temporarily taken by the Normans in 1081 and 1185, and by the Venetians in 1204. Then, it came into the possession of the Despot of Epirus, Theodore Angelus (1215-1230). In 1272 Charles of Anjou occupied Dyrrachion as well as the rest of the Albanian coastland, and called himself the "King of Albania". This started a long struggle between the Byzantines and the Angevins in Albania.

Anatolian Turks, as a result of their alliance with the Byzantine emperor, first came to know Albania in 737/1337. During the Byzantine civil war the Albanian highlanders had increased their depredations in Albania, taken Timoron (Timorindje), and threatened the other Byzantine strongholds, Kanina, Belgrade (Berat) Klisura and Skarapar. In order to establish his control in Albania as well as in Epirus, Andronicus III entered that province with an army which included a Turkish auxiliary force. It was sent by his ally Umur Beg, ruler of Aydīn. The army overran the country as far as Durazzo (Dyrrachion). The rebels who retired into the mountains suffered great losses at the hands of the Turks. The Turks returned home through Thessaly and Boeotia (Cantacuzenus).

Before long Stephan Dushan occupied Albania (Croya in 1343, Central Albania 1343-1346). This seems to have accelerated the migration of Albanians into Greece. Native Albanian feudals and soldiers joined Dushan in his conquests further south (L. von Thallóczy—C. Jireček, *Zwei Urkunden* . . ., 85). The *voyniks* whom we later find in Albania under the Ottomans settled there apparently with Dushan at this time. When in 1355 Dushan's empire collapsed, local feudal lords, Slav, Albanian or Byzantine in origin, appeared in all parts of Albania. Soon the Bals͟has (Bals͟hići), in the north and the Thopias in the centre emerged as the most powerful of these lords. The Bals͟has possessed the coastland between Durazzo and Cattaro, and tried to secure control of a large area as far Prizren. They came into conflict with Twrtko, king of Bosnia, as well as with the Serbs who sought to bring this region, Zeta, again under their control. Soon the Bals͟has, who had already settled themselves in Avlona, Belgrade and Kanina, threatened Carlo Thopia in Durazzo. He asked for help from the Ottoman Turks in 787/1385, as their *ud͟j* (frontier) units had appeared near Yannina already in 783/1381. Bals͟ha II was defeated and killed by an Ottoman army at Savra (on the Vijosë River in Myzeqe) on 12 S͟haʿbān 787/18 September 1385. This is recorded in Ottoman chronicles as the expedition to "Karli-ili", that is "the land of Karli" (Carlo Thopia), and it is dated correctly as 787/1385. The Albanian lords, including Bals͟ha's heirs, recognised the Sultan's overlordship. The Dukagjini of Alessio notified the Ragusans of their peace with the Ottomans in 789/1387. Alarmed by the Ottoman advance, Venice sent Daniel Cornaro to Murad I to protect Thopia (Ramaḍān 789/October 1387), but on the other hand started negotiations with Thopia to take over the city. Thus the long Venetian-Ottoman rivalry over Albania had begun. As a vassal of the Sultan, Gjergj Stratsimirović, Bals͟ha's heir in Scutari (S͟hkodër) and Dulcigno, now wished to profit from the Ottomans in his conflict with the Bosnians. Kefalia S͟hāhīn (in Turkish chronicles Kavala S͟hahin, later S͟hihāb al-Dīn S͟hāhīn Pas͟ha) an *ud͟j-begi* and probably *subas͟hī* of Liaskovik, embarked on a series of successful raids into Bosnia; but he was finally defeated by Bosnians near Trebinje 23 S͟haʿbān 790/27 August 1388). According

to Neshrī, this expedition was made at the request of the "Lord of Skutari" (G. Stratsimirovic) who after Shahin's defeat was accused of a secret understanding with the enemy. After their victory at the Kossovo plain (791/1389) the Ottomans made Skoplje (Üsküb) a strong frontier centre by settling there the Turks from Sarukhan under Pasha-Yigit (toward 793/1391). Then Shāhīn came back and drove out G. Stratsimirovic from Scutari, and St. Sergius (1393-1395) who had returned to the Venetians for protection. Venice for its part took Alessio, Durazzo (1393), Drivasto (1396), all given up by the native lords for a yearly pension. The Ottomans too tried to keep the local lords on their side by guaranteeing them their lands as *tīmārs*. Thus Dimitri Yonima (Gionima), Konstantin Balsha, Gjergj Dukagjin as Turkish vassals all co-operated with Shahin against the Venetians.

The establishment of the Ottoman rule in Albania with its *taḥrīr* (see Tapu) and *tīmār* [*q.v.*] system started first in the region of Premedi (Premetë) and Korčë (Körice). The regular Ottoman administration with its *subashīs* and *ḳāḍīs* in towns and *sipāhīs* in villages is found there in the records going back to the time of Bayazid I (*Başvekalet Archives, Istanbul, Maliye no.* 231). This must have followed the Ottoman expeditions in Albania in 796/1394 and 799/1397. The Ottoman records also show that Aḳčaḥisar (Croya, Krujë) was granted tax exemption in the same period. Albanian forces under Coïa Zaccaria, Dimitri Yonima, Gjergj Dukagjin and Dushmani were present at the battle of Ankara in 804/1402. Upon the collapse of Bayazid's empire in 1402, many of these Albanian lords (Ivan Kastriot, Coïa Zaccaria, Niketa Thopia) recognised Venetian suzerainty. When in 1403 Georg Stratsimirović died, Venice, which had already taken Scutari, seized a part of his heritage—Dulcigno, Antivari and Budua. But his son Balsha, supported by Stephan Lazarević and Vuk Branković of Serbia embarked upon a long struggle against Venice. The latter finally reached an agreement on Albanian affairs with their suzerain, Emīr Süleymān (19 Djumādā I, 812/29 September 1409). Then Pasha-Yigit of Üsküb forced Ivan Kastriot to submit to the Sultan's suzerainty (813/1410). In the South the Ottomans supported Albanian Spatas against the Toccos. Finally war was declared against Venice during which the Ottomans made the real conquest of Albania from Northern Epirus to Croya (Aḳčaḥisar) and formed the province of Arvanid-ili or Arnavud-ili (818-20/1415-1417).

The conditions which the Ottoman conquest brought into the country can be fully ascertained with the help of the details contained in the *tīmār* register of 835/1432 (*Sûret-i defter-i Sancâḳ-i Arvanid*, ed. H. Inalcik, Ankara 1954). The names of various regions in the register frequently contains references to the chief feudal families who were vassals of the Ottomans about 819/1416: Yuvan-ili (land of Kastrioti), Balsha-ili (east of Kavajë and south of Shkumbi), Gionomaymo-ili (North of Pekin), Pavlo-Kurtik-ili (the Jilema Valley), Kondo-Miho-ili (area west of Elbasan), Zenebish-ili (Zenebissi, Gjinokastër and its surroundings), Bogdan-Ripe-ili (north of Elbasan), Ashtin-ili (Premetë). Besides these great families, many smaller Christian feudals kept some of their lands as *tīmārs*. Among them we may mention Dobrilë (in Čartolos), Simos Kondo (in Kokinolisari), Bobza Family (Gion and his sons Ghin and Andre in the Village of Bobza or Bubës), Karli family (Matja). This kind of *tīmārs* constituted 16 per cent of all the *tīmār*-holders in Arvanid-ili. Conversion to Islam was not considered necessary for possession of *tīmār*. One *Metropolid* in Belgrade (Berat) and three *Peskopos* in Kanina, Aḳčahisar and Čartolos were given their former villages as *tīmārs*. The Turkish population in the province consisted only of the military and religious personnel. The Turkish *tīmār*-holders with their men did not exceed 800 in number. The whole *sandjaḳ* was distributed among about 300 *tīmār*-holders who lived in the villages or castles, namely, Argiriḳasrī (Argyrocastro, Gjinokastër), Kanina, Belgrade, Iskarapar, Bratushesh or Yenidje-ḳale and Aḳčahisar. Argiriḳasrī (later on Argiri or Ergiri) became the seat of the *sandjaḳ-begi* and in each county (*wilāyet*) centre there was a *subashī* and *ḳāḍī*. The revolutionary step taken by the Ottoman state was that it considered almost all the agricultural lands as owned by the state, because only such a system would enable it to apply its *tīmār* system. The peasants, therefore, must have had the feeling that they were under an impersonal central government as compared to their close dependence upon the feudal lords under the old régime.

In the north, the Ottomans supported first, Balsha III, and upon his death (824/1421), Stephan Lazerević of Serbia, against Venice, which finally had to return to Stephan, Drivasto, Antivari and Budua (826/1423). In the south the Despot Carlo Tocco died in 832/1429 and Murad II, taking advantage of the conflict between his heirs, took Yannina (Muḥarram 834/October 1430). After that a new land and population survey of Albania was effected (Shaʿbān 835/spring 1432) which meant the tightening of the Ottoman administrative control there. This survey may be regarded as the real starting-point of the long Albanian resistence during the subsequent decades. Moreover it demonstrates the real character of the rebellion. Firstly some of the villages in the mountainous Kurvelesh and Bzorshek areas refused to be registered. In a few places they even killed their Ottoman *tīmār*-holders. Great feudal lords such as Ivan (Yuvan) Kastriot in the north, Arianites (Araniti, Arnit) Comnenus in the Argirikasrī region, had to give up considerable parts of their lands for distribution to the Ottoman *sipāhīs* as *tīmārs*. First Araniti took up arms, killed many *sipāhīs* in the autumn of 836/1432, and Thopia Zenebissi besieged Argiriḳasrī. Alfonso V. of Naples, Venice and Hungary encouraged the rebels, who defeated ʿAlī, son of Evrenuz, governor of Albania, at the Bzorshek pass. Encouraged by these developments Christian lords in central and northern Albania joined the rebellion. Finally in 837/1434 all the forces of Rumeli under Sinān Beg, governor-general of Rumeli, combined to put an end to this dangerous rebellion which was giving hope to Hungary of a new Crusade. But Araniti managed to escape to the mountains. The additional records made after 836/1432 in the *defter* of Arvanid-ili indicate that the rebellion did not affect the Ottoman control of the country to any considerable extent. A great majority of the Ottoman and Christian *tīmār*-holders remained in possession of their *tīmārs*. It appears that mostly the highlanders co-operated with the feudal families who had matrimonial connexions with their chieftains.

From 847/1443 onwards Iskender-beg [*q.v.*], the son-in-law of Araniti, assumed the leadership of the rebellion; his unusual energy and boldness, and the international situation which obtained at the time, gave the movement a character of international

significance. Setting aside the legend that has grown up around his person, it must be emphasised that the origin and the motives of his rebellion were not different from those of the other Albanian lords. Appointed *subas͟hī* of Aḳčaḥisar (Croya) about 842/1438, he was dismissed in 1440. He wished to recover Croya and his father's lands in their entirety and to possess them as a feudal lord, not as a *tīmār*-holder. It is true that he made an alliance with other feudal families, Thopias, Bals͟has, Dukagjini, Dus͟hmani, Lecca Zaccarīa and Araniti (The Alessio Meeting, 1st March 1444), but the idea of an Albania unified by a national leader is far from reality. He controlled only northern Albania while central and southern Albania always remained under Ottoman control. *Subas͟hī*s and *sand̲jaḳ-beg*s, based on Argiriḳasrī (Gjinokastër), Ohrida or Belgrade (Berat) tried to suppress him with local forces. He waged guerilla warfare all the time. Many of the battles described by Marino Barlezio with such fantastic figures were nothing but local clashes. Iskender-beg's own forces seem never to exceed 3,000. By the treaty of 26th March 1451 he became vassal of Alfonso V of Naples and surrendered Croya to the king's men. Araniti, who had claims on southern Albania (Vagenetia, Valona, Kanina) followed his example. Araniti was authorised by the king to accept in his name oaths of allegiance by other Albanian lords. So Zenebissi and others also became Alfonso's vassals. In return, the King agreed to grant a yearly pension varying between 300 and 1400 ducats to each of these vassals and to provide them a place to take refuge in case of danger. This simple change of masters was obviously determined by the fact that the Aragonese system appeared much more favourable than the Ottoman regime to the Albanian feudals. But as witnessed by a contemporary Aragonese document, "the common people had hardly any complaints against the Ottoman administration". (see C. Marinesco, *Alphonse VIII., Mél. de l'école Roum. en France*, Paris 1923, 104). A *tīmār* register made in 871/1466-67 included Dibra, Dlgobrdo, Rjeka, Mat and Čermeniḳa (*Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul, Maliye no.* 508). It is therefore seen that after Meḥemmed II's [*q.v.*] expedition in 870/1466, the *tīmār* system was extended into these areas. Whatever his real motives may have been, Iskender-beg, who defied, in his mountains, Murād II (in 852/1448 and 854/1450) and Meḥemmed II (in 870/1466 and 871/1467), was also glorified in his time as "Champion of Christ", by the Pope, and as the Albanian National hero, by the nationalists in the 19th century.

During the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1463-1479 Albania became one of the main scenes of operation. Finally the Ottomans were able to take Croya, Drivasto, Alessio and Jabljak (Jabyak) in 1478, Scutari in 1479, and Durazzo in 1501. Alessio (Lesh), which the Ottomans lost during the war of 1499-1503, was retaken in 1509. After having failed in their attempts in 1538, the Ottomans finally took Antivari (Bar) and Dulcigno (Ulćinj, Ölgün) in 1571, and thus completed their conquest of Albania.

It appears that up to the end of the 16th century Ottoman rule in Albania created a peaceful and prosperous era. Most of the old feudal families then adjusted themselves to the Ottoman régime, and even one of the Aranitis named ʿAlī beg had a large *tīmār* around Kanina, Argiriḳasrī and Belgrade toward 1506.

Until about 870/1466 Ottoman Albania was organised as a *sand̲jaḳ* under the name of Arvanid (or Arnavud)-ili. Its subdivisions were the *wilāyet*s of Argiriḳasrī, Klisura, Kanina, Belgrade, Timorind̲je, Iskarapar, Pavlo-Ḳurtik, Čartalos and Akčaḥisar. When in 1466 Meḥemmed II erected the fort of Elbasan, this region was set up as a new *sand̲jaḳ*.

*Sand̲jaḳ*s	Communities			Population			Officials and soldiers**						Tax revenues
	Towns	Forts	Villages	Christian households	Muslim households	Jewish households	*Sand̲jaḳ-begi*	*Ḳāḍī*	*Zaʿīm*	*Tīmār sipāhīs*	*D̲jebelus*	*Mustaḥfiẓ* in fortresses	in *aḳča* (one Venetian ducat was worth 52-6 *aḳča* in this period)
Iskenderiye; Its *ḳaḍā*ʾ divisions: Iskenderiye, Podgoridja, Bihor, Ipek, Prizrin, Karadag͟h.	5	6	895	23,355	371	—	1	4	8	137	?	297	4,392,910
Awlonya; its *ḳaḍā*ʾ divisions: Belgrade, Iskarapar, Premedi, Bogonya, Depedelen, Argiriḳasrī, Awlonya.	7	7	?	33,570*	1,344*	528* in Awlonya 25 in Belgrade	1	7	68	479	654	346 and 107 ʿ*azab*	6,991,830 in three *ḳaḍā*s Argiriḳasrī, Awlonya and Belgrade
Elbasan; its *ḳaḍā*ʾ divisions: Elbasan, Čermeniḳa, Is͟hbat, Dīrač.	3	4	250	8,916	526	?	1	3	2	109	1,031	400 250 ʿ*azab*	1,260,087
Ohri; its *ḳaḍā* divisions: Ohri, Dibra, Aḳčahisar, Mat.	4	6	849	32,648	623	—	1	4	8	388	655	193	2,947,949

* These figures are for the *ḳaḍā*s of Belgrade, Argiriḳasrī and Awlonya only.

** We have not included in this list *dizdār*s, *ketk͟hudā*s, *k͟haṭīb*s, *imām*s, or *s͟hayk͟h*s, who were present almost in every town.

Moreover in the south the *sandjak* of Awlonya (Avlona) and in the east that of Ohri were created and in 1479 the *sandjak* of Iskenderiye (Scutari) was formed in the north. The following is a list established on the basis of the surveys of 912/1506 and 926/1520. (*Başv. Archives, Tapu* no. 34 and 94), showing the administrative and military situation in the 16th century.

A comparison of the survey of 835/1431 with those of the 16th century reveal the fact that everywhere, in towns and villages, the population more than doubled during the intervening period, and in consequence the tax revenues increased similarly. The following illustrates this for the principal towns.

Towns	1431		The beginning of the 16th century	
	Christian households	Muslim households	Christian households	Muslim households
Argiriķasrî	121	—	143	—
Belgrade	175	—	561	11
Kanina	216	—	514	—
Premedi	42	—	260	—
Klisura	100	—	514	—
Aķčaḥisar	125	—	89	65

(These figures do not include the military or the civil officials).

The Albanian towns, which numbered 19 in the four Albanian *sandjaķs*, were small local market-towns with populations varying between 1,000 and 4,000. Only Awlonya (Avlona) became a commercial centre of some importance (population 4 to 5 thousand). In order to further commerce, the government settled there a sizeable Jewish colony of the refugees from Spain (end of the 15th century). According to the *Ķānūn-nāme* of Awlonya (see *Arvanid Defteri*, 123) the port handled goods imported from Europe, and velvets, brocades, mohairs, cotton goods, carpets, spices and leather goods came from Bursa and Istanbul. Some of the citizens of Awlonya even had business associates in Europe. Quite a large amount of tar and salt, produced near the city, was bought by state agencies at fixed prices. The tax income from Awlonya for the sultan's treasury alone amounted to about 32 thousand gold ducats a year. A garrison and a small fleet were stationed there permanently (for vols. 7 and 8). It must be noted that the Ottomans Albanian towns *circa* 1081/1670 see Ewliyā Čelebi, continued the tax privileges of Aķčaḥisar and Iskarapar which went back to Byzantine times (see L. von Thallóczy-C. Jireček, *Zwei Urkunden aus Nordalbanien, Archiv für slavische Phil.* xxi, 1899, 83). The *defter* of 835/1431 reads as follows: "Let the inhabitants of Aķčaḥisar guard the castle and be exempt from all kinds of taxation with the exception of *kharādj*". These tax exemptions were abolished toward the end of the 16th century.

The Ottomans did not radically change the taxation system which had existed in Albania under the Byzantines and the Serbs. *Ispendje*, most probably a Serbian tax, was paid by every adult Christian male at the rate of 25 *aķča*. The basic Ottoman taxes were the *ʿushr*, which was actually one eighth of agricultural products, and the *djizya*. The Byzantine tax of two bushels of wheat and two of rye a year survived in some parts of Albania under the Ottomans. So did fines called *bād-i hawā* [*q.v.*], apparently an adaptation of Byzantine *aerikon. Tavuķ ve boghača* (Byzantine *kaviskia*) also survived in Albania as an *ʿādet*. All these taxes except the *djizya*, which was collected for the sultan's treasury, were assigned to *tīmār*-holders. Under the Ottomans the rate of taxation seems not to have been lighter than before. But they abolished forced labour and determined, in advance, for each peasant, the amount of taxes due. Unlawful practices did exist, and the *Ķānūn-nāme* of 1583 would seem to give a good idea concerning such abuses. It states that no *tīmār*-holder should subject his peasants to forced labour, make them carry hay for themselves, take their lands away without lawful reason, or force them to pay in cash the *ʿushr*, which was to be paid in goods. The commonest complaint of a semi-nomadic people was that they were liable to the sheep-tax more than once a year during their move from one pasture to another.

At the beginning of the 16th century the public revenue in the *sandjaķ* of Iskenderiye (Scutari) amounted to 4,392,910 *aķča*, half of which was assigned to the sultan and the other half to the *sandjaķ-begi* (449,913) and the *tīmār*-holders (1,776,118).

The Albanians occupied an outstanding place in the ruling class of the empire. At least thirty Grand-Viziers can be identified as of Albanian origin—among them Gedik Aḥmed, Ķodja Dāwud, Duķaginzāde Aḥmed, Lutfī, Ķara Aḥmed, Ķodja Sinān Pasha, Nasūḥ, Ķara Murād, and Tarhoncu Aḥmed. In the Ķapî-kulu army, too, the Albanians were always present in great numbers. One obvious reason for it was that the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] system was practised extensively in Alhania, as in Bosnia.

Two fundamental changes in the structure of the empire, namely the disruption of the *tîmār* system on the one hand, and the deterioration of the fiscal system on the other, had their impact on the situation in Alhania as elsewhere. The first change, which coincided with the weakening of the central authority at the end of the 16th century made possible the formation of large estates in the provinces, while the second made it necessary for the state to assess new taxes and to reform the *djizya*, which due to its increased rate, affected particularly the Christian population. The discontent is manifested especially in the rebellious attitude of the Catholic highlanders in Albania in the 17th and 18th centuries and in their co-operation with hostile powers. For example, the original tax of 1000 *aķča* a year paid by the Klementi clan had become a trivial amount by the end of the 16th century due to the depreciation of the *aķča*, and the government therefore wanted instead to assess the *djizya* at 1,000 gold coins. This caused the rebellion of the trihes of northern Albania. They started to attack and plunder the plains of Rumeli as far as Filibe. In order to stop these depredations the Porte sent several armies against them and built a new castle near Gusinje. Their new uprising in 1638 was quelled by Duče Meḥmed Pasha (see Naʿīma, iii, 399-409). The Klementi, Kuči (Ķcčaj), Piperi in the North, and the Himariots on the coastal range of Himara, co-operated also with the Austrian and Venetian armies during the wars of 1683-99, 1714-8, 1736-9.

On the other hand, as the central control weakened, the highlanders began to penetrate into Rumeli and even in Anatolia from the beginning of the 17th century. In the 18th century, pashas, begs and

aʿyān everywhere took into their service these highlanders who were reputed to be the best mercenaries. They were organised in *bölüks* of about 100 men under a *bölük-bas̲h̲ī*, who, as a perfect condottiere, arranged everything for his men with the hirer. The part played by such *bölüks* is well illustrated by the example of Meḥmed Ali in Egypt. Many Albanians also joined the mountain bands in Rumeli, called *Dag̲h̲lî es̲h̲kiyāsî* or *Kîrčaali*.

In the same period the lease system of the state-owned lands (*mîrî arāḍî muḳāṭaʿasî*) on the lowlands, coastal plains or inland basins, in Albania gave birth to the big land-owning class of *aʿyān* [*q.v.*]. These absentee land-lords used every means to obtain more and more *muḳāṭaʿāt*. Among them, the Bus̲h̲atlî family in the North, in the land of Gegs, and Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a (see ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a tepedelenli) (1744-1822) in the south, in the area of Tosḳs, emerged as semi-independent despots. The first Bus̲h̲atlî (in Turkish chroniclers Bud̲j̲atlî or Bučatlî), Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, built up his power by acquiring large *muḳāṭaʿāt* and by making an alliance with the Malisors, the highlanders, and thus forced the Porte to confer him the governorship of Scutari (Is̲h̲ḳodra, S̲h̲ḳodër) (1779). After his death (1796), the Porte's attempt to get back these *muḳāṭaʿāt* caused his son Kara Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] to rebel. ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, too, possessed about 200 estates (*čiftliks*). The Porte at first did not challenge the increasing power and authority of the Bus̲h̲atlîs and ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, as they were rightly considered to check the domination of the local *aʿyān*, and the rivalry between these two *pas̲h̲as* seemed to counterbalance each other. ʿAli Pas̲h̲a once tried to extend his control into the zone of the Bus̲h̲atlîs and fought them. Through his sons whom he managed to have appointed governors of Thessaly, Morea, Karli-ili he actually formed a semi-independent state in Albania and Greece. In 1820, when the central government finally took action against him, he rebelled, and instigated the Greeks to revolt. The power of the last Bus̲h̲atlî, named Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a, was destroyed only in 1832 by the reformed army of Maḥmūd II. The centralist policy of the *Tanẓīmāt* caused troubles with the autonomous tribes in North Albania.

The "Albanian League for the Defence of the Rights of the Albanian Nation" had been set up at Prizren on June 13, 1878, only to influence the decisions of the Congress of Berlin; but it proved to have great significance for the birth of an Albanian state later on. Encouraged by the Ottoman government at the beginning, the League set up resistance to the Montenegrins and Greeks in order to keep the Albanian provinces united (the four Ottoman *wilāyets* of Yanya, Is̲h̲kodra, Manastîr and Kosova). But when the league tended to further the idea of an autonomous Albania, the Porte sent an army and dispersed the League (1881). The great powers, especially Austria-Hungary and Italy, encouraged this autonomy movement with the purpose of extending their influence over Albania while Russia was supporting Montenegro's territorial claims over Albania. On the other hand, by enlisting Albanians in his bodyguard and conferring special favours on them, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II was trying to win Albanian support. But the Albanian intellectuals, in co-operation with the Young Turks in Paris and elsewhere, were anticipating an autonomous Albania. In 1908 the stand taken by the Albanians against ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd at the Frizovik Meeting did actually help the Revolution to succeed. In the Ottoman Parliament the influential Albanian deputies, such as Ismāʿīl Kemal, Esʿad Toptanī, Ḥasan Pris̲h̲tina, joined in the *Ḥürriyyet we Iʾtilāf* Party which sought decentralisation as against the centralist ottomanisation policy of the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī* Party. While the heated discussions on an Albanian educational system was going on (the Congress of Manastîr, November 1908) an uprising broke out among the Albanian highlanders who resisted the Ottoman government attempt to collect their arms. Finally, on 4th September 1912, the new Ottoman government accepted the Albanian demands for an autonomous administration. But the Balkan War completely changed the situation in the Balkans. A short time after the declaration of war, in November 1912, Ismāʿīl Kemāl declared the independence of Albania at Awlonya (Vlorë). The London Conference proclaimed Albania an autonomous principality under the guaranty of the six powers (29th July 1923); but the newly elected prince, Wilhelm von Wied, had soon to leave the country (3rd September 1914). After the first world war Serbia laid claims to S̲h̲ḳodër and Durrës. Seeing their country dismembered, the Albanian leaders hastily convoked a congress at Lushnjë (21st January 1920) and demanded the independence of Albania. A national government was formed in Tirana, and an Albanian partisan army drove out the Italians from Vlorë. Italy finally recognised the independence of Albania with the treaty of Tirana (3rd August 1920). The small Albanian state experienced a tumultuous parliamentary life during the first years of its existence (1921-4). The Muslim land-owning beys of the western and central plains came into conflict with the Popular Party (under its leader Fan S. Noli). A revolution forced Aḥmed Zog, the Prime Minister, to flee to Yugoslavia. With Yugoslav support he came back into power (24th December 1924). A constituent Assembly proclaimed Albania a Republic and named Aḥmed Zog (Zogu) President. He then signed a series of treaties with Italy (12th May 1925; 27th November 1926; 22nd November 1927 and March 1936) putting the country practically under Italian protection. In September 1928 Zog was proclaimed the King of Albanians. He fled from Albania one day before the Italians invaded the country on April 6, 1939.

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(Halil İnalcik)

ARNĪṬ, Span. Arnedo, a small town in the province of Logroño, chief town of a *partido judicial*; it numbers about 10,000 inhabitants and is situated on the left bank of the Cicados, a tributary of the Ebro, about 22 m. (35 km.) from the capital. Arnedo is a toponym of Iberian origin which is found in the provinces of Burgos, Albacete and Logroño, and which also occurs, in the last-named, in the diminutive form Arnedillo. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, Muslim Spain consisted, according to al-Idrīsī, of twenty-six climes (*iḳlīm*) or regions, among which figured that of Arnedo, with the towns of Calatayud, Daroca, Saragossa, Huesca and Tudela. The only Arabic work which describes it is the *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*; according to this, it is "an ancient town of al-Andalus, 30 m. from Tudela, surrounded by rich cultivated plains. It is a place of great strength, and ranks among the most important. From this fortress one looks down on to Christian territory". Arnedo, Tudela and Oñate were the principal towns of the seigniory of the Banū Ḳasī. In 308/920, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, in the famous campaign, called the Muez campaign, against Navarre, occupied Calahorra, which had been conquered two years previously by Sancho Garcés, and forced the latter to take refuge in Arnedo; Sancho Garcés left Arnedo when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān moved off in the direction of Pampeluna to inflict a bloody defeat on the united forces of Navarre and Leon at Valdejunquera.

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(A. Huici Miranda)

AROR [see arūr].

ARPA. 'Barley' in Turkish. The term *arpa tanesi* —'a barley grain'—was used under the Ottoman régime to denote both a weight and a measure: a weight of approximately 35.3 milligrams (half a *ḳabba*), and a measure of rather less than a quarter of an inch, 6 equalling one *parmaḳ* (itself equivalent to 1¹/₄ inches). (H. Bowen)

ARPALĪḲ, (literally, "barley money"), a term used in the Ottoman empire up to the beginning of the 19th century to denote an allowance made to the principal civil, military and religious officers of state, either in addition to their salary when in office, or as a pension on retirement, or as an indemnity for unemployment. This term does not appear in the historical sources before the 16th century, and corresponds, to begin with, to an indemnity for fodder of animals, paid to those who maintained forces of cavalry or had to look after the horses: the first beneficiaries were the Agha of the Janissaries, the Aghas of the imperial stable and the Aghas of the *bölük*, that is to say the principal army and palace officers; this benefit was later extended to religious officials: the *shaykh al-islām*, the *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker*, the tutor of the sovereign, and later (17th century) to the viziers and *ʿulamā'* who were already titular holders of *ziʿāmet*, and also to officials of the central or provincial administration, or to military officers who had specially distinguished themselves; the Khāns of the Crimea were also numbered among the beneficiaries. The maximum amount of the *arpalıḳ* was fixed at 70,000 aspers for religious officials, 58,000 aspers for the Agha of the Janissaries, and 19,999 aspers for palace officials. These endowments took the form of the grant of fiefs of varying degrees of importance; it is said that some holders of *arpalıḳ* farmed its revenues. The haphazard distribution of these grants caused serious disturbances in the military, economic and social organisation of the state, and from the 18th century onwards only the principal religious authorities could benefit by the grant of an *arpalıḳ*. The *arpalıḳ* disappeared at the time of the *Tanẓīmāt*: a fund for retirement pensions was then created and, after the proclamation of the Constitution, an indemnity for unemployment was instituted.

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(R. Mantran)

ʿARRĀDA, a mediaeval artillery engine. In general, from Europe to China, there were everywhere in existence two main types of engines of projection which were operated by more than one man. In the case of the one, the heavy type of engine, the projectile was hurled from a great distance by virtue of the centrifugal force produced by the rocking of a great arm: these were the *mandjanīḳ* or mangonels; in the case of the other, a lighter engine, the projectile was discharged by the impact of a shaft forcibly impelled by the release of a rope: these were the *ʿarrāda*. The principle of the *ʿarrāda* only differs from the large arbalest mounted on a fixed chassis in the comparative lightness of the latter, and in the fact that the arbalest discharges its arrow itself instead of using it to propel a projectile. *ʿArrāda*, like *mandjanīḳ*, were naturally siege and not field weapons. The word itself comes from an almost identical Syriac form, and corresponds to the Classical Greek *onagros*; but, strangely enough, it seems that in mediaeval Greek *manganikon* denoted a light weapon: this is a source of possible confusion.—To-day, *ʿarrāda* is applied to cannon. [See also ʿaraba].

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ARRADJĀN, town in Fārs. According to the Arabic authors it was founded by the Sāsānid king, Ḳawādh I (488, 496-531), who settled there the prisoners of war from Āmid (Diyārbakr) and Mayyāfāriḳīn, and gave to the new settlement the official name Weh Āmid-i Ḳawādh = "Good (or Better)-Āmid of Ḳawādh", run together and arabicised into Wāmḳubādh or usually simply Āmid-Ḳubādh (Marquart proposed to read so in al-Ṭabarī, i, 887, 888)! Some Arabic writers have erroneously given to Arradjān the name Abar(z)ḳubādh, which was borne by a district and a town on the western frontier of Ahwāz (Khūzistān); see also ABARḲUBĀDH In any case, the name which is in common use, Arradjān, comes from an older town which existed before the new one founded by Ḳawādh.

In the Arabic mediaeval age Arradjān was a very frequently mentioned frontier-town of Fārs against Ahwāz, and down to the end of the 7th/13th century was the capital of the most westerly of the five provinces of Fārs; a part of the province of Arradjān belonged earlier not to Fārs but to Khūzistān (cf. Ibn Faḳīh, 199; al-Maḳdisī, 421). Arab geographers describe Arradjān as a large place with excellent bazaars, which manufactured much soap, grew great quantities of corn, possessed numerous date and olive plantations, and was considered to have one of the healthiest situations of the "hot land" (Garmsīr). The rise of the Assassins portended its decline; for they seized possession of several strongholds on the neighbouring hills and from there made frequent plundering raids on the town and its adjacent district, and finally took it in the 7th/13th cent. Arradjān never recovered from the horrors of this conquest. The inhabitants emigrated mostly to the neighbouring town, Bihbahān, which succeeded Arradjān as capital of the province.

According to the Arab geographers Arradjān lay on the road leading from Shīrāz to ʿIrāḳ, 37 miles distant from Shīrāz and al-Ahwāz, and a day's journey from the Persian Gulf; it was situated on the river Ṭāb, which here formed the boundary between Fārs and al-Ahwāz.

The ruins of Arradjān were discovered by C. de Bode on the river Ṭāb (modern Āb-i Kurdistān or Mārūn) at 31 40′ N. Lat. and 50 20′ E. Long. (Greenw.). Mustawfī shows that the form Arghān or Arkhān for the town, was in popular use at the beginning of the 8th/14th century. The site of the ruins, according to Herzfeld, is a ride of two hours by horse east of the town of Bihbahān on a canal leading out of the Mārūn River, and it forms an almost rectangular plain of ruin ca. 3930 × 2620 ft. near the Kūh-i Bihbahān. Cultivation has now effaced all structural remains, according to Stein. About two miles farther up the river remains of a bridge from the Middle Ages, and of a barrage below the bridge, still exist. The bridge was mentioned by Arab geographers.

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AL-**ARRADJĀNĪ,** NĀṢIḤ AL-DĪN ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ANṢĀRĪ, Arab poet born at Arradjān in 460/1067, died in 544/1149-50 at Tustar or ʿAskar Mukram. Religious studies, pursued mainly at the Niẓāmiyya at Iṣfahān, enabled him to be nominated *ḳāḍī* of Tustar, but he early devoted himself to poetry, which he considered as a means of livelihood, and wrote panegyrics, addressed in particular to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mustaẓhir, in *ḳaṣīda* form, with the traditional *nasīb.* Although some critics praise his work, al-Arradjānī must be considered as a versifier of limited stature. His *dīwān*, compiled by his son, was printed at Beirut in 1307/1889; several Mss. exist in London and Cairo.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa*, Ḥaydarābād 1345, 283; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 24a; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād 1359, x, 139-40; Yāḳūt, i, 193-5; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 96-7; Ibn Khallikān, ed. 1299/1881, i, 83-5; Brockelmann, S I, 448; ʿAlī Āl Ṭāhir, *La Poésie arabe en Irak et en Perse sous les Seldjoukides*, Sorbonne thesis 1954, index. (ED.)

ʿARRĀF. (A.; the abstract is, *ʿirāfa*) one of the names for a diviner. Literally "eminent in knowledge" or "a professional knower"; the European equivalent would be "wise woman" with a change of sex. There are several synonyms. *Ṭabīb* (physician); "I said to the *ʿarrāf* of Yamāma, "Treat me, for if you cure me you are indeed a physician"; and "I will give the *ʿarrāf* of Yamāma his due and the *ʿarrāf* of Nadjd, if they cure me." The two were respectively Rabāḥ b. ʿAdjala and al-Ablaḳ al-Asadī. *Kāhin* (diviner) [*q.v.*] is especially one who deduces his answer from the words, behaviour or circumstances of the enquirer or finds things which have been stolen or lost. It is said that the *ʿarrāf* is somewhat less than the *kāhin.* Of course, opinions differ on the precise meaning of these words; a proverb says that the *ʿarrāf* takes what escaped the thief. *Ḳunāḳin* or *ḳinḳin*, dowser. *Ḥāzī* one who divines from the shape of the limbs or moles on the face. A tradition says that he who consults the *ʿarrāf* or *kāhin* is an unbeliever. Nevertheless the examples of their activity are Islamic. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ was not a professional *ʿarrāf* but was famous for his practical wisdom; from the names of two travellers, Ḥaṣīra and Ḳaṭṭāl, he deduced that ʿUthmān had been first besieged and then killed (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3250). The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā say that the *kāhin* uses no tools, books or calculations but relies on his motherwit and interprets what he sees or hears. *Zadjr* is employed to describe this method of divination though it first meant drawing omens from birds or animals. Ibn Khaldūn sets out a theory of divination. "It is a property peculiar to the human soul. The soul is so constituted that it can divest itself of its fleshly integument and rise to a higher spiritual state. Men who belong to the rank of prophets through their natural disposition receive as it were a flash (of intuition), and this comes to them without effort on their part, without the aid of sensual means of perception, and without forcing the imagination; nor need they bring their bodies into play by uttered word or hurried movement. They need employ no artificial means. By divesting themselves of the flesh they put on the angelic state which is natural to them in less than the twinkling of an eye."

Bibliography: *LA*, s.v. Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 352 f; Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ch. 60; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*, 263-68; *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* (Cairo), ed., iv, 382; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima* bk. I. preface 6.2; Tashköprī-zāde, *Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda* i, 293 f.; A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination*, ii, 7 ff., 198 f.; I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i, 25. (A. S. Tritton)

ARRĀN. The name is usually applied in Islamic times to the district in Transcaucasia between the Kur (Kura) and Aras (Araks) Rivers. In pre-Islamic times, however, the term was used for all of eastern Transcaucasia (present Soviet Azerbaijan), i.e. Classical Albania (cf. article "Albania" in Pauly-Wissowa). By the 15th century A.D. the name Arrān was not in common parlance, for the territory was absorbed into Ādharbāydjān.

The origin of the name Arrān, Georgian *Rani*, Greek Ἀλβανοί, and Armenian Ałwankʿ (people), is unknown. (In some Classical authors one finds the form Arian/Aryan, and in Arabic sources one can find al-Rān). Before 387 A.D. the land between the two rivers was considered part of Armenia, comprising the provinces of Ardzakh, Uti, and Pʿaitakaran. After the division of Armenia between the Greeks and Sassanians in 387 A.D., the first two provinces went to Albania/Arrān and the last to Persia. This is one reason for much confusion in the designation of Arrān, since the Armenians considered only the land north of the Kur River as Arrān.

By the 7th century A.D. the population of "greater" Arrān was thoroughly mixed, and one can hardly speak of a distinctive people. Iṣṭakhrī, 192, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, 349, however, mention *al-rāniyya* as a language still spoken in the city of Bardhaʿa in the 10th cent. A.D.

The Arabs, adopting the Roman system of designation of Armenia, extended the terminology, including all of eastern Transcaucasia under Armenia I (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 122; al-Balādhurī, 194). When the Arabs appeared in the country they found it divided among many small lords, some of whom held allegiance to the Khazars, especially after the fall of the Sassanians. Arrān had been Christianised from Armenia and during the Umayyad Caliphate was nominally under the rule of the princes of Armenia, who in turn were subject to the Arabs. Since it was on the Islamic frontier, subject to Khazar raids and rule, Arrān in fact enjoyed a great measure of independence.

The early Arab raids under Salmān b. Rabīʿa and Ḥabīb b. Maslama at the end of the caliphate of ʿUmar and the early years of ʿUthmān brought the nominal submission of Baylaḳān, Bardhaʿa, Ḳabala, and Shamkūr, the principle towns of Arrān. Afterwards the Arabs warred constantly with the Khazars and local princes (cf. Balādhurī, 203; Ṭabarī, i, 2889-91).

After the first civil war, and in the caliphate of Muʿāwiya Arab rule in Arrān was established, but the Khazars continued to raid south of the Caucasus Mountains. In the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik the Christian church of Arrān, which had been joined to the Greek Orthodox church, was united with the Armenian church by the Armenian clergy with Arab aid and approval (cf. J. Muyldermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie*, Louvain 1927, 99). On the Umayyad governors of Armenia (including Arrān) cf. Balādhurī, 205-9. During the governorship of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, appointed by the Caliph Hishām in 107/725-6, large Arab garrisons were brought into Arrān, and Bardhaʿa served as headquarters in operations against the Khazars. On the campaigns against the Khazars cf. D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 60-87, and F. Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hisham*, Alexandria 1935, 74-84. Under the governorship of Marwān b. Muḥammad, last of the Umayyad caliphs, from 113-26/731-44, the Khazars were decisively defeated and Arab rule firmly established.

During Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid rule in Arrān local Armenian and Arrānian dynasties continued a semi-independent existence subject to the Arabs. Taxes were paid in Islamic coins, and we find a mint with the appelation Arrān on ʿAbbāsid dirhams as early as 145/762. This mint was either in Bardhaʿa or Baylaḳān. By 207/822 we find coins bearing *madīnat Arrān*, and after 226/840 the mint seems to have been abandoned.

The local ruler from the ancient house of Mihrān was called the *baṭrīḳ* of Arrān by the Arabs, and the last of the family, Varaz Trdat, was assassinated in 821 or 822. Shortly after this the lord of Shakkī, north of the Kur River, a certain Sahl b. Sunbāṭ, extended his sway over all of Arrān declaring his independence of the caliphate. He became reconciled with the Arabs by delivering the rebel Bābak to them after Bābak had taken refuge with him. Later he, or his son and successor, was taken to Samarra about 854 when the new governor of Armenia Bughā deported many of the local princes. At this period the lords of Sharwān and Derbend interfered in Arrān, but the Sādjids were the most powerful rulers in Arrān.

The Sādjid governors of Armenia at the end of the 9th and early 10th centuries A.D. were especially harsh to the Christian population of Transcaucasia, but local dynasties continued to rule, especially north of the Kur River (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 348). Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir ruled over Arrān, as well as Ādharbāydjān from 941-57 A.D., and most of the lords of Arrān were his vassals. It was under his rule, in 943, that the environs of Bardhaʿa were ravaged by the Russians. After this Arrān fell under the sway of the Shaddādids of Gandja. The strongest member of the Shaddādid dynasty was Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwur b. Faḍl b. Muḥ. b. Shaddād, who ruled from 441-459/1049-1067. In 468/1075 Alp Arslan sent one of his generals, Sawtegin, to rule Arrān displacing the Shaddādid dynasty. Turkish tribes, primarily Ghuzz, settled in Arrān and gradually Turkish replaced all other languages in common use.

In the Turkish period Baylaḳān seems to have replaced Bardhaʿa as the most important city of Arrān, but the former was destroyed by the Mongols in 1221. After this Gandja became the leading city of Arrān. Under the Mongols Arrān was joined to Ādharbāydjān and single governors ruled both provinces. The process of islamicisation and turkicisation was hastened after the Mongol invasion. The land between the rivers came to be called Ḳarabāgh. After the conquests of Tīmūr, who did much building and repair of canals, Arrān only appears as a memory, and its affairs are part of the history of Ādharbāydjān.

Bibliography: The religious history of the Arrānians is told by Moses Kałankatuaci in Armenian (Tiflis, 1912); for the contents see A. Manandian, *Beiträge zur albanischen Geschichte* Leipzig 1897, 48. On the pre-Islamic history cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 117. For geography cf. Le Strange, 176-9, and *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 398-403. On the early Islamic history of Arrān see

J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam* (Paris, 1919). For Sahl b. Sunbāṭ see Minorsky, *Caucasica IV*, in *BSOAS* 1953, 504-29. On the Shaddādids cf. his *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953. Many details of nomenclature and linguistics may be found in the article *Arrān* in *IA* by Zeki Velidi Togan.

(R. N. FRYE)

ARSENAL [see DĀR AL-ṢINĀʿA].

ARSH [see DIYA].

ʿARSH [see KURSĪ].

ʿARSH, the name given in Algerian legislation, during about the last hundred years, to some of the lands under collective ownership. This meaning of the word, which has various senses in the Maghribī dialects: "tribe" (for example, on the high plains of Constantine), "agnatic group" (for example, in the Tunisian Sahel), "federation" (for example, in Kabylia), only seems to be vouched for from the time of the preparatory enquiries for the Law of 16 June 1851.

A dispute has long existed in Algeria between those who support recognition of the collective ownership, or only usufruct, of these lands, and those who support recognition of their private character. This dispute overlies the conflict between the administrative theory, which tends to safeguard the patrimony of the tribes, and the expansion of private interests, which want the rapid conversion of these lands into movable property. Arguments have been borrowed, somewhat superficially, from *fiḳh*, which offered the theory of tenure subject to payment of the *kharādj*, and of the Islamic community as the paramount landowner. A secular dispute, which is not yet resolved, has raged over the title to the lands of the Maghrib. It is certainly more in conformity with the facts to say that the system of exploitation, itself a function of the climatic conditions, of divorce from the central power, and of vitality of the local seignories, is the factor fundamentally responsible for the forms of land tenure in the ancient Maghrib: (1) *milk* or "private property"; (2) *ʿazīb*, or *ʿazl*, or *hanshīr*, depending on the district, "latifundium"; (3) *mushāʿ*, or *mushūʿ*, or *blād djamāʿa*, "collective, communal holding"; (4) *waḳf* or *ḥubūs*, "domain constituted into a pious endowment". According as one or other factor predominated, it seems that there was a certain alternation, characteristic of the social history of North Africa, between these different concepts and the realities that they correspond to.

At all events, the decree of the Senate of 22 April 1863 lays down, (article 1), that the tribes of Algeria "are the owners of the territories of which they enjoy the permanent or traditional usufruct, under what title soever". This patrimony, under the tutelage of the administration, is, however, liable to come under the privative statute through the medium of "partial inquiry". This legislation aroused lively opposition. With less clarity than the Moroccan law, but with greater resolution than the Tunisian law, it seems to have found a compromise solution to this long-standing and difficult problem of real estate and society.

Bibliography: Dr. Worms, *Recherches sur la constitution de la propriété territoriale*, 1846; M. Pouyanne, *La propriété foncière en Algérie*, 1895, 130 ff.; Mercier, *La propriété foncière en Algérie*; and especially F. Dulout, *Des droits et actions sur la terre arch ou sabga en Algérie*, 1929. On the word, see Ph. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Djidjelli*, 1955, 27, n. 3.

(J. BERQUE)

ARSHGŪL, a town, not now in existence, on the Algerian coast, which was situated between Oran and the Moroccan frontier, at the mouth of the Tafna, facing the island of Rachgoun, which perpetuates its name.

The Muslim city, which took the place of Portus Sigensis, the port of Siga, the capital of King Syphax, is first heard of at the beginning of the 4th/10th century as being assigned by Idrīs I to his brother ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. It is mentioned in the second half of the 4th/10th century by Ibn Ḥawḳal, who informs us that it had then just been rebuilt by an amīr of the Miknāsa Berbers, a vassal of the caliph at Cordova al-Nāsir. Some years later, al-Bakrī describes Arshgūl, a town on the "coast of Tilimsān", as possessing a harbour accessible to small vessels, and surrounded by a rampart which had four gateways. Within the city were a seven-aisled mosque and two baths, one of which was pre-Islamic, a fact which indicates that the Muslim city occupied the ancient site. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, it was regarded by al-Idrīsī only as a populous place, recently a stronghold, where ships could replenish their water supplies.

Political vicissitudes account for its decline. During the struggles between the Fāṭimids of al-Ḳayrawān and the Umayyads of Cordova (4th/10th century), its Idrīsid rulers were driven out and its inhabitants were deported to Spain. Partially repopulated by Andalusians, it was again laid waste at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. Again, in the first half of the 7th/13th century, it fell prey to the B. Ghāniya Almoravids, and was finally abandoned at the end of the 10th/16th century, at the time of the Spanish expeditions against the coast of Oran.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, trans. by de Slane, *JA* 1842 i, 187; Bakrī, text, Algiers 1911, 79-80; trans., Algiers 1912, 161; Idrīsī, ed. by Dozy and de Goeje, 172, trans. 206; Leo Africanus, *Il viaggio*, ed. by Ramusio, Venice 1892, 107 (transl. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 330-1); Gsell, *Atlas archéologique*, sheet 31, no. 2.

(G. MARÇAIS)

ARSHĪN [see DHIRĀʿ].

ARSLAN (T.), lion; also frequently appears as a Turkish proper-name.

ARSLAN B. **SALDJŪḲ**, the son, probably the elder son, of the ancestor and eponym of the Saldjūḳid dynasties, Saldjūḳ. His history is merged in that of the first contacts between the Oghuz led by his family and the Muslim states of Central Asia. His personal name was Isrāʾīl (cf. his brothers Mīkhāʾīl and Mūsā, fore-names in which it is possible to see Jewish Khazar or Nestorian Central-Asian influence), with Arslan as a totemic name (cf. his famous nephews Ṭughril Muḥammad and Čaghrī Dāʾūd). The beginnings of his history are confused. During his lifetime the Saldjūḳid family, which had settled at Djand, was converted to Islam and freed itself from the Kingdom of the Yabghū of the Oghuz; it is not disputed that his father, Saldjūḳ, then sent him to the aid of one of the last Sāmānids who was engaged in a struggle with the Ḳarakhānids, as is affirmed by the tradition of the *Maliknāma*, a history of the family written under Alp Arslan about 1060; and it is generally thought that it is he who is mentioned, under the title of Yabghū, by the Ghaznawid historian Gardīzī, as assisting in 1003 the last Sāmānid attempt at resistance to the Ḳarakhānids; but latterly this version has been contested by O. Pritsak, according to whom the title of Yabghū can only be understood to refer to the last Yabghū of the Oghuz Kingdom north of the

Aral Sea. It is true that manuscripts of the Arab and Persian chronicles frequently attach to individual Saldjūkids an appellation which can be read *yabghū*, but O. Pritsak has shown that side by side with the title of *yabghū*, which alone has been taken into consideration hitherto, there existed a totemic name *payghū*, and it is probable that the word must be read thus in some cases; I think however that as far as Arslān Isrā'īl is concerned, he could not have had two totemic names, and did in fact bear the title of yabghū, indicative of the revolt of his family against the pagan kingdom of the north, and it seems to me probable, although not certain, that he is, in agreement with the traditional account, the person mentioned by Gardīzī.

The main features of his later history are less open to dispute. After the final collapse of the Sāmānids. he is found associated with the Karakhānid rebel at Bukhārā, ʿAlī Tegīn, in whose service he was eventually joined by his nephews Ṭughril and Čaghrī. In 416/1025 he was involved, to a greater extent than they, in the defeat of ʿAlī Tegīn by the combined forces of the supreme Karakhānid Kadr-Khān (supported mainly by the Karluks) and Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and his Oghūz were transferred to Khurāsān, separated from those of Tughrïl and Čaghrī who soon emigrated to Khwārizm. Legend or adulation has obscured the account of this move which, according to some, was voluntary, but more probably was carried out on the orders of Maḥmūd, as is asserted by others, in order to weaken ʿAlī Tegīn. At all events it is not open to dispute that Maḥmūd kept Arslan-Isrā'īl prisoner, and that he died in captivity, about 427/1034, in a fortress on the borders of Hind. It is impossible to say what the connexion was between this fate and the persistent tendency to rebellion on the part of the Oghuz of Khurāsān from 418/1027 onward. Those historians, like Rāwandī, who wished to flatter the Saldjūkid dynasty of Asia Minor, descended from Arslan's son Kutlumush (Kutalmïsh?), ascribed to the latter the role of secret liaison agent between the prisoner and his Oghuz, but it is impossible to verify this.

Bibliography: Cl. Cahen, *Le Maliknâmeh et l'histoire des origines seldjukides*, in *Oriens* ii, 1949, which contains a survey of the sources, but which is to be revised in the light of the studies of Omelyan Pritsak, in particular *Der Untergang des Reiches des Oghuzischen Yabghu*, in *Köprülü Armağani*, Istanbul 1953, or in *Annals of the Ukranian Academy of Arts in the USA*, ii, 2, 1952, together with my discussion in *JA*, 1954, 271-275; cf. also Pritsak's *Die Karachaniden*, in *Isl.* 1953. For the relations between Arslan and the Ghaznawids, a comprehensive account will be found in Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The Life and Time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931.

(CL. CAHEN)

ARSLAN B. ṬOGHRUL [see SALDJŪKIDS].

ARSLAN-ARGHŪN, brother of Malikshāh who, on the death of the latter, seized possession of Khurāsān and the province of Balkh, defeated and put to death another brother, Buribars, who had been sent against him (488/1095), but incurred odium as a result of his punitive measures against the supporters of his defeated brother and his destruction, as a preventative measure, of the ramparts of Marw, Nīshāpūr, Sarakhs, Sabzawār etc.; he was finally killed in 490 by one of his slaves. His young son, aged seven, was easily swept aside by Sandjar, the brother and lieutenant of the Sulṭān Barkyāruk. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 34, speaks of an Arslan-Arghūn, a brother of Alp Arslan, who received from him the government of Khwārizm at the time when Malikshāh was proclaimed heir-presumptive; the author of the *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Saldjūkiyya*, 40, gives the same information, but calls this Arslan Arghūn the son of Alp Arslan, and therefore identical with the brother of Malikshah; but according to ʿImād al-Dīn Bundārī, 257, followed by Ibn al-ʿAthīr, 178-80, the brother of Malikshāh was twenty-six years old at the time of his death, and only possessed at the death of the former a small *iḳṭāʿ* in Western Persia; although nothing else is known of a brother of Alp-Arslan of this name, it seems as though we must conclude that two individuals of this name existed. Descendants of the brother of Malikshāh were still living at Marw in the middle of the 6th/12th century.

Bibliography: ʿImād al-Dīn/Bundarī, ed. Houtsma, *Receuil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides*, ii, 84, 255-8, whence Ibn al-Athīr, x, 178-80; *Akhbār al-Dawla al-Saldjūkiyya*, ed. Moh. Iqbāl, Lahore 1933, 33, 34 (relations between Arslan-Arghūn and the ʿAmīd-i Khurāsān known as Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Nasawī), 40 (cf. Ibn al-Athīr 34), 54; ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī called Ibn Funduḳ, *Tarīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Teheran 1337/1938, 72, 270. (CL. CAHEN)

ARSLAN KHĀN [see KARAKHĀNIDS].

ARSLAN SHĀH B. KIRMĀN SHĀH [see SALDJŪKIDS].

ARSLAN SHĀH B. MASʿŪD ABU 'L-ḤĀRITH [see ZANGIDS].

ARSLAN SHĀH B. MASʿŪD [see GHAZNAWIDS].

ARSLAN SHĀH B. ṬOGHRUL SHĀH [see SALDJŪKS OF KIRMĀN].

ARSLANLI̊ [see GHURŪSH].

ARSŪF, small fishing port on the coast of Palestine, 10 miles north of Jaffa. The Arabic name probably preserves its original dedication to the Semitic god Reseph. Under the Seleucids it was renamed Apollonia. In the early centuries of the Caliphate it was one of the principal fortified cities of the province of Filasṭīn. It was occupied by the Crusaders under Baldwin I in 494/1101 and called by them Azotus; recaptured by Saladin in 583/1187; scene of an engagement between Saladin and Richard I, 14 Shaʿbān 587/7 Sept. 1191; restored to the Crusaders under the truce with Richard 588/1192; refortified by John of Arsūf 640/1242; captured by sultan Baybars Bundukdārī after a forty-days' siege, 11 Radjab 663/29 April 1265, and left in ruins.

Bibliography: Maḳdisī 174; Yāḳūt s.v.; Abu 'l-Fidā (Reinaud) 239; ʿImād al-Dīn, *al-Fatḥ al-Kudsī* (Landberg), 383-7; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i (Cairo 1934), 528-30; general histories of the Crusades; G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, index; G. Beyer in *Zeitschr. d. deut. Palästina-Vereins*, lxviii (1951), 152-8, 178-84.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ART [see articles on countries, cities and dynasties, ʿADJ, ARABESQUE, ARCHITECTURE, BINĀ', ḲĀLĪ, NAḲSH, RASM etc.].

ARTENA [see ERETNA].

ARTILLERY [see BĀRŪD, TOP].

ARTUKIDS, (not URṬUKIDS), a Turkish dynasty which reigned over the whole or part of Diyār Bakr, either independently or under Mongol protectorate, from the end of the 5th/11th to the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

Artuk, son of Ekseb, belonged to the Turkoman tribe Döger [*q.v.*]. In 1073 he was in Asia Minor, operating for and against the Byzantine Emperor

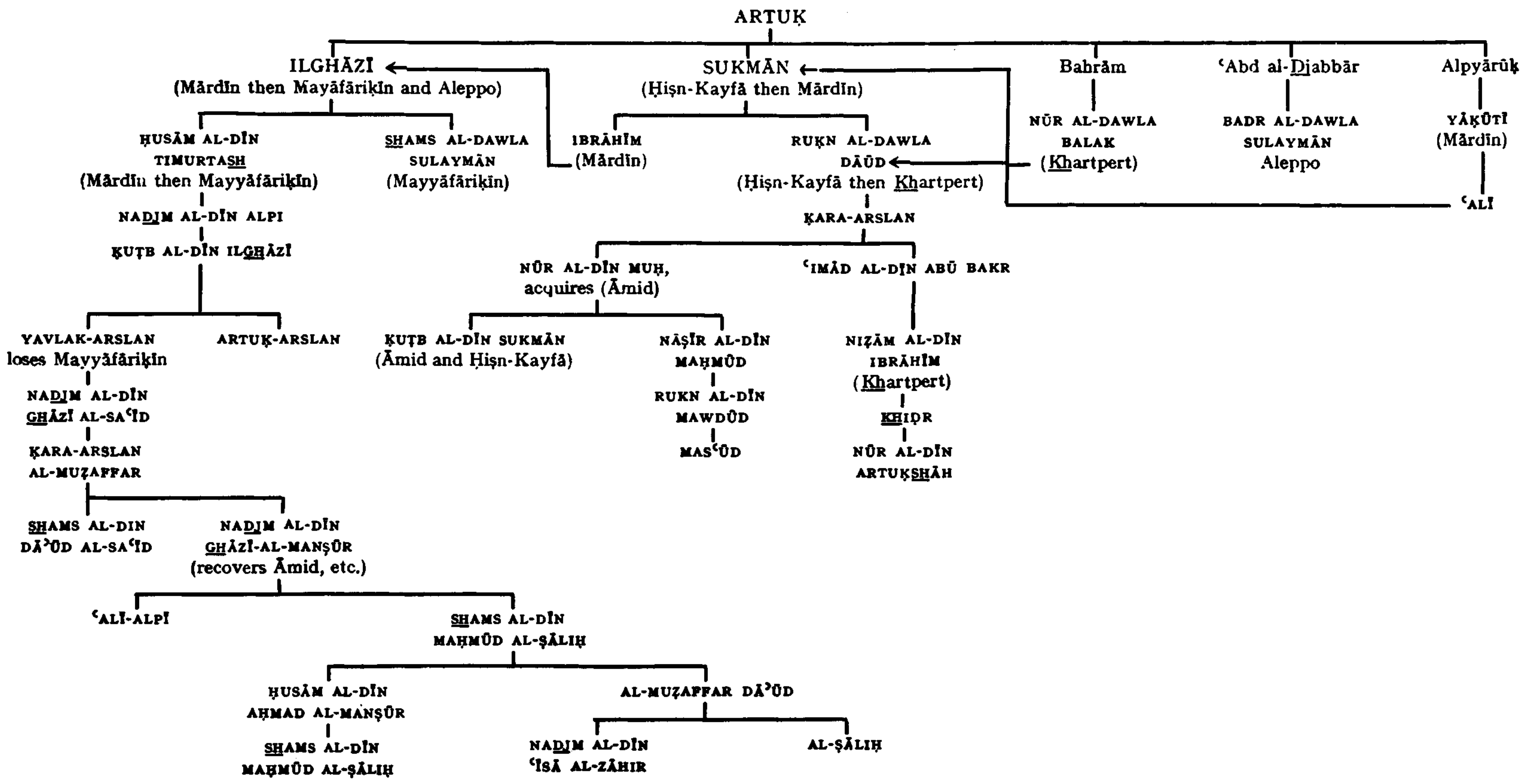
ARTUḲ
ILGHĀZĪ
(Mārdīn then Mayāfāriḳīn and Aleppo)
SUKMĀN
(Ḥiṣn-Kayfā then Mārdīn)
Bahrām
ʿAbd al-Djabbār
Alpyārūḳ
ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN
TIMURTASH
(Mārdīn then Mayyāfāriḳīn)
SHAMS AL-DAWLA
SULAYMĀN
(Mayyāfāriḳīn)
IBRĀHĪM
(Mārdīn)
RUḲN AL-DAWLA
DĀŪD
(Ḥiṣn-Kayfā then Khartpert)
NŪR AL-DAWLA
BALAK
(Khartpert)
BADR AL-DAWLA
SULAYMĀN
Aleppo
YĀḲŪTĪ
(Mārdīn)
ʿALĪ
NADJM AL-DĪN ALPI
ḲARA-ARSLAN
ḲUṬB AL-DĪN ILGHĀZĪ
NŪR AL-DĪN MUḤ,
acquires (Āmid)
ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN ABŪ BAKR
YAVLAK-ARSLAN
loses Mayyāfāriḳīn
ARTUḲ-ARSLAN
ḲUṬB AL-DĪN SUKMĀN
(Āmid and Ḥiṣn-Kayfā)
NĀṢIR AL-DĪN
MAḤMŪD
NIẒĀM AL-DĪN
IBRĀHĪM
(Khartpert)
NADJM AL-DĪN
GHĀZĪ AL-SAʿĪD
RUKN AL-DĪN
MAWDŪD
KHIḌR
ḲARA-ARSLAN
AL-MUẒAFFAR
MASʿŪD
NŪR AL-DĪN
ARTUḲSHĀH
SHAMS AL-DIN
DĀʾŪD AL-SAʿĪD
NADJM AL-DĪN
GHĀZĪ-AL-MANṢŪR
(recovers Āmid, etc.)
ʿALĪ-ALPĪ
SHAMS AL-DĪN
MAḤMŪD AL-ṢĀLIḤ
ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN
AḤMAD AL-MANṢŪR
AL-MUẒAFFAR DĀʾŪD
SHAMS AL-DĪN
MAḤMŪD AL-ṢĀLIḤ
NADJM AL-DĪN
ʿĪSĀ AL-ẒĀHIR
AL-ṢĀLIḤ

Michael VII, but he later appears principally as an officer in the service of the Great Saldjūḳ Malikshāh. In 1077 he brought the Carmathians of Baḥrayn under the rule of Malikshāh; in 1079 Malikshāh placed him under the command of his brother Tutush in the Syrian campaign, and in 1084 under Ibn Djahīr in the Diyār Bakr campaign; in 1085 he was sent to Khurāsān against the sultan's brother, Töküsh. He received as an *iḳṭā*ʿ Ḥalwān, a strategic point in southern Kurdistān. From 1085 onwards, however, he intrigued in Diyār Bakr with Muslim, the Arab prince of Mawṣil and Aleppo, who was at variance with Malikshāh. The death of Muslim obliged him to re-enter the service of Tutush, who gave him Palestine (1086). The date of his death is not known; he left several sons, among whom were Sukmān and Ilghāzī.

After the death of Malikshāh, the Artuḳids, led by Tutush into Djazīra, helped him to dispute the throne with his nephews (1092-5); on the death of Tutush, they supported his son Ruḍwān of Aleppo against another son, Duḳāḳ of Damascus; they later lost Palestine, and its reconquest by Egypt (1098) and subsequent occupation by the Crusaders finally prevented their return there. One of the two Artuḳid leaders, Ilghāzī, then entered for a time the service of Muḥammad, one of the sons of Malikshāh, whom he had supported against his brother Barkyāruḳ, and who made him governor of ʿIrāḳ, but the Turkomans from whom the family derived its strength remained in Diyār Bakr. In 1097, the nephew of Suḳmān succeeded in occupying Mārdīn. Suḳmān himself, who had taken possession of Sarūdj, was expelled from there by the Crusaders (1097), but, as a result of quarrels between the chiefs of Djazīra, obtained possession of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (1102), controlled numerous districts further north, and then inherited Mārdīn. He took part in the wars against the Franks, and in 1104 before Ḥarrān captured Count Baldwin of Edessa. He died soon afterwards.

Muḥammad, who became sole sultan by the death of Barkyāruḳ, sent Ilghāzī back to Diyār Bakr, where in 1107 he had a hand in the defeat of Kilidj Arslān of Rūm, who had been summoned by Muḥammad's enemies, and in 1108 he took the place at Mārdīn of one of the sons of Suḳmān (another son, Dāʾūd, retained Ḥiṣn Kayfā). Other chiefs, at Āmid, Akhlaṭ, Arzan etc., carved out seignories for themselves. Muḥammad tried to unite them for the Holy War against the Franks; he could not prevent the rupture, in the middle of the campaign, between Ilghāzī and Suḳmān of Akhlāṭ, who, however, died (1110). From then on, relations between Ilghāzī and Muḥammad became strained; the former more and more avoided participation in the expeditions sent against the Franks by the Sultan, from which, having regard to the risks run, only Saldjūḳ authority stood to gain. In 1114, Ilghāzī formed a Turkoman coalition against the governor of Mawṣil, Aḳsunḳur al-Barsuḳī. He was victorious, but, apprehensive of retaliation by Muḥammad, fled to Syria, and reached an understanding not only with Tughtegin, the *atabeg* of Damascus, who was also disturbed at the Sultan's Syrian ventures, but even with the Franks of Antioch; the latter, by crushing the Saldjūḳ army (1115), saved Ilghāzī. In 1118, Muḥammad died, and Ilghāzī seized possession of the last Saldjūḳid post in Diyār Bakr, Mayyāfāriḳīn. He was now a power to be reckoned with. Aleppo, threatened by the Franks and rent by anarchy, appealed to him, despite its leading men's dislike of handing over power to him. Ilghāzī, secure as regards the Saldjūḳids, did not wish to see the power of the Franks increase. In agreement with Tukhtegin, he answered the appeal (1118), and, in 1119, his Turkomans inflicted on the Franks of Antioch a resounding defeat. Their base, however, remained in Diyār Bakr, and, in face of the reaction of other Franks, Ilghāzī was disposed to make peace. He was also called into action against the Georgians; this time he was defeated (1121). Nevertheless his prestige was unimpaired at the time of his death in 1122.

From 1113 onwards, his nephew Balak had been progressively building up, north-east of Diyār Bakr, astride the eastern Euphrates, a stable principality whose chief town, from about 1115, had been Khartpert. Moreover, as tutor of the Saldjūḳid of Malaṭya, who was a minor, he achieved fame by crushing, with the aid of an alliance with the Dānishmandid Gümüshtegin, Ibn Mangudjak of Erzindjān and the Byzantine governor of Trebizond, Gavras (1120), and later, while in the service of Ilghāzī, by capturing Joscelin of Edessa (1122), and, after the death of Ilghāzī, Baldwin of Jerusalem, who had come to protect the Franco-Armenians of the border regions of the Euphrates (1123). He was then able to take the place of another nephew of Ilghāzī at Aleppo but was killed while besieging Manbidj in 1124. Aleppo then passed out of Artuḳid hands.

In Diyār Bakr, where they remained firmly entrenched, Shams al-Dawla Sulaymān, son of Ilghāzī, who had succeeded at Mayyāfāriḳīn, also died at the end of 524/1129-30. Another son of Ilghāzī, Timurtash, already master of Mārdīn, succeeded him. Balak's principality had passed to Dāʾūd, the son and successor, since 1104, of Suḳmān at Ḥiṣn Kayfā. From then on, the two branches maintained a separate existence for two centuries.

The period of expansion, however, was at an end. From 1127 Zenkī ruled at Mawṣil, and from 1128 at Aleppo also; he built up a strong kingdom there. Timurtash acted as Zenkī's vassal, by hostile action against Dāʾūd, then (1144) against his son Ḳara-Arslan, as well as against the prince of Āmid whom Zenkī and he besieged in 1133. Dāʾūd had been active in the north, where he had also conducted an anti-Georgian expedition; he had absorbed the small seignories bordering on his own, especially to the east of Ḥiṣn Kayfā. But he was subjected to relentless pressure from Zenkī, who conquered Buhtān, east of Diyār Bakr, and, on the accession of Ḳara Arslan, the districts lying between Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Khartpert. Ḳara Arslan was forced to effect a rapprochement with the Franco-Armenians of Edessa against whom, like Timurtash, he had waged war from time to time; the capture of Edessa by Zenkī (1144) was a disaster for him too, but he was saved by his enemy's death (1146). Not without difficulty Timurtash and Ḳara Arslan divided Diyār Bakr between them.

Zenkī's dominions were divided between Nūr al-Dīn at Aleppo, and at Mawṣil a line of other princes, brothers and nephews of Nūr al-Dīn, who increasingly brought them under his tutelage. His struggle against the Franks and his efforts in the Mawṣil direction led him again to seek an alliance with the Artuḳids; he did not contend with them for Diyār Bakr and allowed them north of the Euphrates to take their share of the spoils of the Count of Edessa, but dragged them along in his wake in holy wars against the Franks or Byzantines. Nevertheless his relations with them were excellent, especially with Ḳara Arslan, and Alpī, the son and successor of

Timurtas͟h, sought to secure his position by obtaining the protection of the S͟hāh-i Armin of Ak͟hlāṭ, whom he was obliged in return to aid against the Georgians. Ḳara Arslan himself, in 1163, attempted to take Āmid from the Inālids and the Nīsānids, but was prevented from doing so by a Dānis͟hmandid attack; but soon his son Muḥammad, with Nūr al-Dīn, went to the aid of the Dānis͟hmandids who were threatened by the expansionist policy of the Sald͟jūḳids of Ḳonya. The growing power of Nūr al-Dīn had imperceptibly caused the Artuḳids to assume the rôle of vassals, when Nūr al-Dīn died in 1174.

The history of the following years is mainly concerned with the resistance offered by the princes of Upper Mesopotamia to the ambitions of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who, master of Egypt, gradually took possession of the Syro-D͟jazīran heritage of Nūr al-Dīn. The Artuḳids to begin with gave their united support to the Zenkids of Mawṣil. Then Muḥammad considered it more prudent to come to terms with Ṣalāh al-Dīn, who captured Āmid, for long the object of his envious regard, and gave it to Muḥammad as fief; from then on it became the family seat (1183). Muḥammad's death shortly afterwards, which left only young princes on the throne of Āmid, Mārdīn, Ak͟hlāt and Mawṣil, together with the division of Muḥammad's dominions into two branches, Ḥiṣn Kayfā with Āmid, and K͟hartpert, increased their subjection to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; the latter directly established his authority in Diyār Bakr in 1185 by the occupation of Mayyāfāriḳīn.

The Artuḳids were from then on only remnants gradually whittled away by the successors of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn of the Ayyūbid dynasty, his brother al-ʿĀdīl and the latter's descendants, who became masters of Ak͟hlāṭ in 1207 but were sometimes divided among themselves. Against the most powerful of them, al-Kāmil of Egypt, the Artuḳids became for a time vassals of the Sald͟jūḳids of Rūm, then expanding rapidly to the east, and then of the K͟hʷārizms͟hāh D͟jalāl al-Dīn Mangubertī, who had become master of Ad͟harbāyd͟jān and Ak͟hlāṭ; Sald͟jūḳid vengeance caused them to lose the towns north of the Euphrates (1226), and the vengeance of al-Kāmil deprived them of Āmid and Ḥiṣn Kayfā (1232-3). Al-Kāmil quarrelled with the Sald͟jūḳid Kayḳubād͟h and was defeated, and as a result the Artuḳid of K͟hartpert, who had supported him, was dispossessed in his turn (1234). From then on only the Mārdīn branch remained; this continued to exist for nearly another two centuries. In 1260 its representative, al-Malik al-Saʿīd, endured a lengthy siege by the Mongols; but his death saved the dynasty, for his son, al-Muẓaffar, submitted to Hūlāgū and thus, as a humble vassal, preserved the heritage of his ancestors.

The internal organisation and the civilisation of the Artuḳid principalities are too little known and, on the whole, too lacking in originality, for them to merit a general study on their own. Forming, with the exception of K͟hartpert, part of the Muslim world since the Arab conquests, the territories over which the Artuḳids reigned continued to be governed by the same people (for example the illustrious family of the Banū Nubāta at Mayyafāriḳīn) and according to the same principles (summarised in the *ʿIḳd al-Farīd* of Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa al-Ḳars͟hī al-Adwī, *wazīr* of Mārdīn in the 7th/13th century) which had existed formerly or still existed in the neighbouring principalities. The taxes recorded in one or two inscriptions are those obtaining everywhere, and it would be unwise to attach more than a passing significance to the anecdote which emphasises the lightness of the burdens borne by the rural elements subject to Timurtas͟h compared with those subject to Zenkī. The introduction of the Turcoman element had no effect on the traditional economic activity of the country, which was based on agriculture and stock-breeding, the iron and copper mines, and trade with ʿIrāḳ and Georgia. Culturally, although we do not know of any writer of note who lived in the entourage of the Artuḳids, the Arabic literary tradition was sufficiently alive among them for a Usāma b. Munḳid͟h, for example, an exile from Syria, to have lived for several years at the court of Ḳara Arslan at Ḥiṣn Kayfā.

When all this has been said, we still have to see whether, by virtue of its origin or otherwise, the Artuḳid régime had any particular characteristics. The first problem is that of Turcoman influence. The Turcomans remained until the end an important element in the life of Diyār Bakr, in the south perhaps more than in the north, where the Kurds were always dominant; and Diyār Bakr was one of the starting points for the vast Turcoman migration of Rustem, which embraced about 1185-90 the whole of eastern and central Asia Minor. It is known, on the other hand, that the few verses which constitute the earliest specimen of popular literature in the Turkish language in western Asia, emanated from Artuḳid territory. There is no doubt that the Artuḳid dynasty did not remain purely Turcoman. The use of the symbolic arrow, however, continued for some time, and the princes (but not more than the Zenkids, who were not of direct Turcoman origin) preserved in their style, alongside Arab and Persian names, specifically Turkish titles. There has been much discussion on the significance of the animal motifs on certain coins or in decorative work on buildings, which perhaps belong to a general group of Turkish traditional symbolic signs. None of this has much bearing on the actual organisation of the Artuḳid principalities. What perhaps has a greater bearing on this, if it must be attributed to an original tribal practice deriving from authority which was more family than individual, is the impossibility which faced the dynasty of avoiding apportionment, and the numerous and detrimental grants of apanages to "princes of the blood". All the same, it is hardly open to dispute that the continued existence of the dynasty at Mārdīn, and its replacement by the Ayyūbid Kurds north of the Tigris, should be related to the redistribution of the population and consequently to the support given to the Artuḳids by the Turcomans despite the existence of numerous Turks in the Ayyūbid army. This does not mean to say that the Artuḳids had had much quarrel with their Kurdish subjects, despite memories of the Marwānids; nevertheless one sees them pursuing on their eastern frontiers the same policy of reabsorbing the autonomous Kurdish states which Zenkī was following a little further south, and at the end of the century a massacre of Kurds, with whom they were indeed formerly half intermixed, marked the beginning of the migration of the Turcomans of Rustem.

As regards religious belief, the attitude of the Artuḳids seems in general to have been fairly tolerant. It is true that they took part in the general trends towards orthodoxy which characterises the Sald͟jūḳid and post-Sald͟jūḳid period, and were among the most active builders of *madrasas* and mosques and executors of public works (bridges, *k͟hān*s, etc.) and military defence works. Ilg͟hāzī, who was of necessity a diplomat, had avoided a complete break with

the Assassins; none of his successors had the appearance of a champion of orthodoxy comparable to that of Nūr al-Dīn, and one of them, at Khartpert, favoured the Persian mystic Suhrawardī who, it is true, had at that time not yet been denounced as heterodox. The same tolerance, on the whole, characterised the relations of the Artuķids with their Christian subjects. The latter complained, in the second half of the 6th/12th century in particular, of various tribulations; but popular disturbances sometimes among the Kurds, rather than any action by the government, seem to have been at the root of the matter. About 1180, Turkomans and Kurds massacred, on the borders north of Diyār Bakr, the Armenians of Djabal Sassūn, but the latter constituted a quasi-autonomous group, intriguing frequently with the Shāh-i Armīn, and the action of which they were the victims was therefore of a political rather than religious nature. Towards their ordinary Christian subjects, it has to be admitted that the Artuķids acted with correctitude. There is no other explanation for the fact that the Armenian Catholicus resided for a period during the 12th century at Dzovk, in the province of Khartpert, and that the patriarch of the Monophysites constantly alternated his periods of residence at the Convent of Mār Barṣawma (itself momentarily subject to the Artuķids, but normally a dependency of Edessa, and then of the princes of Malaṭya) with periods of residence at Āmid or at Mārdīn, where their election frequently took place with Artuķid permission. Several bishoprics, especially Monophysite, always existed in Diyār Bakr, the Christian population remained numerous and, on the south-eastern frontiers of the province, the district of Ṭūr-ʿAbdīn remained a great centre of monastic life until the 8th/14th century.

The strange character of Artuķid coins, which, like those of the Dānishmandids, for long resembled ancient Byzantine coins, is sometimes explained as a Christian influence. This does not seem to me to be a sufficient explanation. To speak of the impossibility of finding an artisan capable of striking Muslim coins in an ancient Muslim country does not make sense; nor does the importance of trade with Byzantium carry greater weight, because it is impossible to believe that it had suddenly assumed greater importance than trade with neighbouring Muslim states, or that the copper pieces with which we are exclusively concerned could be used for any other purpose than local consumption. These arguments are admissible for the Dānishmandids, but not for the Artuķids, and the problem deserves to be reconsidered as a whole.

The history of the Artuķids after the Mongol conquest, despite their disappearance from the larger political stage, should not cease to attract our interest as an example of how an autonomous principality adapted itself to new circumstances; unfortunately very little is known about it. The Artuķids played the role of loyal servants of the Ilkhāns; they gained, apart from the title of sultan, the advantage of being considered for a time as auxiliaries or delegates of Mongol authority, and of recovering more or less permanently a considerable part of Diyār Bakr (Āmid, in a state of decay, Mayyāfāriķīn, perhaps Isʿird) and in addition Khābūr, only Ḥiṣn Kayfā (Ayyūbid) and Arzan (Saldjūķid) remaining autonomous. Moreover, like all the vassals of the Ilkhāns, the Artuķids, in the second quarter of the 8th/15th century, as a result of the break-up of the Mongol state, found themselves once more free, and subsequently free to bow momentarily before one or other of the new powers created by this break-up. The little which is known of their "foreign policy" shows them trying to preserve their pre-eminence in the face of, on the one hand, the Ayyūbids of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, against whom they waged in 735/1334 an unsuccessful war which cost them their possessions on the left bank of the Tigris, and on the other hand the Mongols, Turcomans and Mamlūks who contested Upper Mesopotamia with them. On the one hand they appear to have joined forces with the Turcomans against the Kurds of the north, supporters of the Ayyūbids; there is, however, no further mention of any special link with their parent tribe, the Döger, now settled further to the west, on the borders of the Mamlūk state; on the other hand, with the formation of the two great rival Turcoman federations of the Aķ Ķoyūnlū and the Ķara Ķoyūnlū in Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia in the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Artuķids seem at first to have supported the enemies of the latter (although it is not possible to affirm that they belonged strictly to the Aķ Ķoyūnlū group); but, some time before the invasion of Tīmūr, a general rapprochement seems to have taken place between the Mongols (Djalāʾirids) of Baghdād, the Ķara Ķoyūnlū, the Artuķids and the Mamlūks.

Whatever the position regarding these disputed questions, on another plane, that of economic and social life, the increase, by comparison with pre-Mongol times, of the nomad element compared with the settled element, and the consequent decline of agricultural life, are not open to dispute. Nevertheless some towns, among them Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Mārdīn, perhaps derived profit from the surrounding decadence, which made them valuable places of refuge. Building was definitely still going on at Mārdīn in the 8th/14th century, and Arab culture, represented, for example, by the poet Ṣayf al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, still held an honoured position there. Christianity, favoured by the Mongols, but sometimes ill-treated by their descendants, retained for its part a certain vitality in Artuķid territory: the Monophysite patriarch often resided at Mārdīn, and Daniel bār al-Khaṭṭāb is a theologian still held in respect there.

The invasion of Tīmūr caused fresh upheavals. Ṣultān al-Ẓāhir ʿĪsā, suspected of maintaining a connexion with Egypt, could not save his principality from the ravages of the conqueror. He contended with the Ayyūbids, zealous vassals of Tīmūr, and especially with the Aķ Ķoyūnlū who, to begin with on behalf of Tīmūr, then, after his death, on their own account, sought to conquer the Artuķid principality; in 809, al-Ẓāhir was killed making a vain attempt to save Āmid, and in 811/1409 his successor al-Ṣāliḥ decided to abandon Mārdīn to Ķara Yūsuf, the leader of the Ķara Ķoyūnlū. This represented the end of the dynasty and of the period of comparative autonomy of southern Diyār Bakr.

Bibliography: The sources are those for the general history of the Near East from the end of the 5th/11th to the beginning of the 9th/15th century. For the 12th-13th centuries see the introduction to my *Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940. Special note should be made of the following: for the 11th century, the History of Aleppo of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm (ed. Sāmī Dahhān, Damascus vol. 1, 1951, vol. 2, 1954, vol. 3 in preparation), the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (the portion relevant to this period has not been published), and, for the Baḥrayn eposide,

the annotator of Ibn al-Mukarrab (De Goeje, *La fin des Karmates*, in *JA* 1895); for the 12th century, the Syriac chronicle of Michael the Syrian, ed. and trans. by Chabot, iii, and above all, a unique extant chronicle originating from Artuḳid Diyār Bakr, the History of Mayyāfāriḳīn of Ibn al-Azraḳ al-Fāriḳī (unpublished; analysis of the political events in my *Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, in *JA* 1935); for the 13th century, before the Mongol intervention, the great histories of Ibn al-ʿAdīm (mentioned above), Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Wāṣil (edition in course of preparation by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Alexandria; vol. 1, appeared in 1953), al-Djazārī (*Oriens* 1951, 151), and especially the section relating to Djazīra in the *Aʿlāḳ* of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (unpublished; analysis in my *Djazīra au XIIIe s.*, in *REI* 1934), which constitute the Arab sources, and, in addition, in Persian, the History of the Saldjūḳids of Asia Minor of Ibn Bībī (facsimile edition by A. S. Erzi, Ankara 1956, critical edition by N. Lugal and A. S. Erzi, i, Ankara 1957; a Turkish version was edited by T. Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii, A. German translation by H. W. Duda is in the press.) and, in Syriac, the *Chronography* of Gregory Abu 'l-Faradj Bar Hebraeus (ed. and trans. by Budge); for the Mongol, post-Mongol and Tīmūrid period, one must glean the fragments of information scattered among the standard chronicles of the Mamlūks, the Ilkhānids and Tīmūr, and more especially in the *History of the Ayyubids* (of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, unpublished, analysis by the author in *JA* 1955), and augment this by the *inshāʾ* works of the period, the continuation of the Syriac Eccleciastical Chronicle of Bar-Hebraeus (ed. Abbeloos and Lamy) and (for the period since Tīmūr) the anonymous Syriac work edited and translated by Behnsch (Bratislava 1838) and the Armenian history of Tamerlane by Thomas de Medzroph (ed. and trans. by Nève); see also the *dīwān* of Sayf al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, and, perhaps, the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* of Abū Bakr Tihrānī (end of the 15th century), which is not accessible to me (see *IA*, articles Diyarbekir and Akkoyunlu, and Faruk Sumer, article mentioned below).

The inscriptions, collected up to the beginning of the 14th century in *RCEA*, have nearly all been studied by Sauvaget in the appendix to A. Gabriel, *Voyage archéologique en Turquie Orientale*, 1940; see also Sauvaget, *La tombe de l'Ortokide Balak* (*Ars Islamica* 1938) and Sül. Savci, *Silvan Tarihi*, Diyarbekir 1949. — For buildings, see Gabriel, *op. cit.* — For *objets d'art*, see J. T. Reinaud, *Monuments Blacas*, ii, 40, and P. Casanova, *Inventaire de la collection Princesse Ismail*, 1896. For coins (not a few unpublished coins exist in private collections), the Istanbul and British Museum catalogues, and S. Lane Poole, *The Coins of the Urtukis*, in *Marsden Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875; B. Butak, *Resimli turk paralari*, Istanbul 1947-50.

The only comprehensive modern studies are those, necessarily brief, by Mukr. Halil Yinanç (*Diyarbekir*) and Köprülü (*Artuk-oğullarî*) in *IA*. My *Diyar Bakr* etc. mentioned above, one of my early works, is only of value for political events; see also my *Première Pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure* (*Byzantion* 1948) and my *Syrie du Nord* mentioned above: the histories of the Crusades of Grousset and Runciman; the valuable commentaries on inscriptions by Van Berchem in *Abh. G. W. Göttingen* 1897, and in Strzygowsky, *Amida* 1910; H. Derenbourg, *Ousama b. Mounkidh*, i, 1886; Faruk Sümer, *Döğerlere Dair*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1953. For the 14th century, see my *Contribution à l'histoire du Diyār Bakr au XIVe s.*, in *JA*, 1955; on Daniel bar al-Khaṭṭāb, Nau, in *Rev. Or. Chrét.* 1950. (CL. CAHEN)

ARTVIN, town in the far north-east of Turkey, 41° 10′ north, 41° 50′ east, situated on the Çoruh. It was ceded to Russia by the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878 together with Kars and Ardahan, and ceded back by Georgia on Feb. 23rd, 1921. Since then, it has been the centre of the *ḳaḍā* and the capital of the *wilāyet* of Çoruh. In 1945, there were 3,980 inhabitants in the town itself and 16,966 in the *ḳaḍā*. (FR. TAESCHNER)

ʿARŪBA [see TAʾRĪKH].

ʿARŪḌ. I. *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ* is the technical term for ancient Arabic metrics. *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ* and *ʿIlm al-shiʿr* are occasionally used synonymously in the sense of "science of versification", and in this extended sense *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ* embraces not only the Science of Metre, but also the Science of Rhyme. Usually, however, the rules governing rhyme (*ʿIlm al-Ḳawāfī*, sg. *Ḳāfiya*) are treated separately, and *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ* is confined to metrics in the stricter sense. As such, Arabic philologists define it in the following manner: *Al-ʿarūḍ ʿilm bi-uṣūl yuʿraf bihā ṣaḥīḥ awzān al-shiʿr wa-fāsiduhā* (*ʿArūḍ* is the science of the rules by means of which one distinguishes correct metres from faulty ones in ancient poetry).

There is no generally accepted etymology for this sense of the term *ʿArūḍ*. Some Arabic grammarians maintain that it acquired the meaning of metrics because the verse is constructed on its analogy (*yuʿraḍ ʿalayhi*); others say that the term was used because al-Khalīl developed it in Mecca, and this city is also called al-ʿArūḍ. Georg Jacob (*Studien in arabischen Dichtern*, 180) has suggested a curious explanation by pointing to the passage in the *Dīwān* of the Hudhaylites (95, 16), where the poem is compared to an obstinate female camel (*ʿarūḍ*) which the poet tames. The most plausible explanation still remains the one based on the concrete meaning which *ʿArūḍ* has as part of a tent, and the transferred sense which it acquired in metrics, as the last foot of the first hemistich: originally it describes "the transverse pole or piece of wood which is in the middle of a tent, and which is its main support and hence the middle portion (or foot) of a verse" (Lane). Since the last foot of the first hemistich in the centre of the line (*bayt al-shiʿr*) is as important for its structure as the centre pole is for that of the tent (*bayt al-shaʿr*), one may readily assume that *ʿArūḍ* then came to be the general term for the science of metric structure.

There are few works on metrics by Arab philologists, and their contents are of little value. This fact is all the more surprising if one bears in mind how many works of lasting value have been written by prominent Muslim scholars on grammar and lexicography. The *Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ*, which al-Khalīl, the founder of the science of metrics, is said to have written, has not survived, nor have any of the works on the subject written by the older grammarians. The earliest monographs which we have concerning *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ*, in the wider sense, date from the turn of the 3rd century A. H. There are sections on metrics in some of the larger *Adab* works; the oldest and best known of these can be found in the *ʿIḳd al-Farīd* (Ed. Cairo, 1305, III, 146 ff.) of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (died 328/940). The following list gives the names o

4th century		
Ibn Ḳaysān	1, 110	*talḳīb al-ḳawāfī wa-talḳīb ḥarakātihā*; ed. W. Wright in *Opuscula arabica* (1859) 47-74.
Al-Ṣāḥib al-Talkānī	S. 1, 199	*al-iḳnāʿ fī 'l-ʿarūḍ*
Ibn Djinnī	1, 126; S. 1, 192	
5th century		
Al-Rabaʿī	S. 1, 491	
Al-Ḳundhurī	1, 286	
Al-Tibrīzī	1, 279; S. 1, 492	1) *al-kāfī* 2) *al-wāfī*
6th century		
Al-Zamakhsharī	1, 291; S. 1, 511	*al-ḳusṭās fī 'l-ʿarūḍ*
Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ	1, 308; S. 1, 540	*al-ʿarūḍ al-bāriʿ*
Al-Dahhān	1, 281	
Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī	1, 301	
Al-Saḳḳāṭ	1, 282; S. 1, 495	
7th century		
Abū 'l-Djaysh al-Andalusī	1, 310; S. 1, 544	*ʿarūḍ al-Andalusī*; first printed Istanbul 1261; much commented upon.
Al-Khazradjī	1, 312; S. 1, 545	*al-ḳaṣīda al-khazradjiyya*; critical ed. by R. Basset: *Le Khazradjiyah, Traité de métrique arabe* (Alger 1902); the text can also be found in all editions of the *Madjmūʿ al-mutūn al-kabīr*; much commented upon.
Ibn al-Ḥādjib	1, 305; S. 1, 537	*al-maḳṣad al-djalīl fī ʿilm al-Khalīl*; ed. Freytag in: *Darstellung der arab. Verskunst* (1830) 334 ff.; much commented upon.
Al-Maḥallī	1, 307; S. 1, 539	1) *shifā* 2) *urdjūza*
Ibn Mālik	1, 300	*al-ʿarūḍ*
8th century		
Al-Kalāwisī	2, 259	
Al-Sāwī	2, 239; S. 2, 258	*al-ḳaṣīda al-ḥusnā*
9th century		
Al-Damāmīnī	2, 26	
Al-Ḳināʿī	2, 27; S. 2, 22	*al-kāfī fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūḍ wa 'l-ḳawāfī*. First printed Cairo 1273; copied in the *Madjmūʿ*; much commented upon.
Al-Shirwānī	2, 194	
11th century		
Al-Isfarāʾinī	2, 380; S. 2,513	
12th century		
Al-Ṣabbān	2, 288; S. 2, 399	*manẓūma* [*al-shāfiya al-kāfiya*] *fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*; printed several times in Cairo; also copied in all editions of the *Madjmūʿ*.

those Arab philologists whose works on metrics are preserved in manuscripts (—mere commentators are omitted). They are arranged in centuries, reckoning from the Hidjra, and details are given only in the case of the better known works; references to Brockelmann are, however, given in every case.

Just as the ancient Indians and Greeks developed their own form of metric poetry, so did the ancient Arabs. Ancient Arabic poems were already written and recited in the known metres a hundred years before Islam, and they retained their form more or less unchanged in the succeeding centuries. The usual ancient Arabic poem, the so-called *Ḳaṣīda*, [*q.v.*] is comparatively short and simple in its structure. It consists of 50 to 100 monorhyming lines (rarely of more), and there is no strophic division in ancient Arabic poetry. Each line (*bayt*, pl. *abyāt*) consists of two clearly distinct halves (*miṣrāʿ*, pl. *maṣārīʿ*); the name for the first hemistich being *al-ṣadr*, that for the second *al-ʿadjuz*. Only these more obvious attributes of the line were recognised and named during the 1st century A.H. Al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (died ca. 175 A.H. in Baṣra) was the first to investigate the inner, rhythmical structure of Arabic verse; he distinguished between different metres, gave them the names by which we still know them, and divided them up into their subordinate metric elements. The written description and analysis of observations made by ear presented, however, very serious difficulties.

In all languages the choice and position of words in prose is solely governed by generally accepted syntactic rules and by the desire of the speaker to express his thoughts as clearly as possible. In poetry, however, when it is based on rhythm, the choice of words and their sequence within the line is not so uncontrolled. The rhythm of the verse and the metres in which it finds its external expression are

created by the following factors: 1) the observance of a definite order in the sequence of syllables within the line, and 2) the regular recurrence of accent, indicated either by stress or some other means. The rhythm of a line in poetry is as completely tied to the phonetic properties of the language in which it is written as are the syllables of the words in the prose of the language concerned. This is, above all, a matter of the *duration* of the syllables and the *stress* with which they are pronounced. Syllables have a measurable length in all languages, but whereas in some (e.g. in the Germanic languages) there is no fixed and definite proportion of length of syllables (for, although there are admittedly some syllables in these languages which are always long and others which are always short, there are many which have no fixed quantity), there are, on the other hand, other languages (such as ancient Greek) where the quantity of every syllable in every word is absolutely fixed. In these, there is a strict distinction between long and short syllables in prose, too; the ratio of their length is roughly 2 : 1. The position is similar with regard to the element of stress: whilst in every language there is one syllable in a word which is somehow raised above the others, the strength of this accent is, however, something which differs widely in the individual languages. Thus, for example, ancient Greek uses musical pitch, whereby individual syllables are distinguished only by a higher tone, whilst in the Germanic languages they are distinguished by an expiratory stress which renders them more emphatic in comparison with the other syllables. The rhythmic structure of the verse has in all languages to adapt itself to these qualities of the syllables. If the quantity of the syllables is definitely fixed, then the rhythm of the verse is attained largely by regularly recurring sequences of short and long syllables, forming metrical 'feet', which last the same length of time. One then speaks of 'quantitative' verse. If, on the other hand, stress, rather than any fixed quantity, is the characteristic by means of which definite syllables are distinguished from their neighbours, then the rhythm of the verse and the structure of its metre, will both be largely produced by the alternation of accented and unaccented syllables. In this case we speak of 'accentual' verse.

From the prose of the Ḳorʾān, and the poetry of the ancient poets, as it has come down to us, we know that in the ancient Arabic language the quantity of the syllables was definitely fixed. From certain grammatical facts one may assume that an expiratory accent was also present, though only slightly developed. *A priori* one can therefore assume that the rhythm in ancient Arabic verse (as in ancient Greek verse) found its expression in 'quantitative' metrics. The theoretical treatment of this problem, however, was at that time a far more difficult one for the Arabic philologist than for the Greek prosodist. The latter used the term 'syllable', made a clear distinction between short and long syllables, and chose the short syllable, the χρόνος πρῶτος, as the basic unit for measuring the duration of the verse. They also had a term and a graphic sign for the pitch by which one syllable in every word was distinguished. Arabic philologists, by contrast, did not possess the *concept* of syllable, let alone the refinement of the 'short syllable'. Al-Khalīl, too, did not know the words 'syllable' and 'stress', yet his ear surely perceived what we call syllables and stresses, for his graphic paraphrase —which we can understand if we try hard—does give us a clear picture of the rhythm in ancient Arabic verse.

Primarily, Al-Khalīl made good use of the peculiarities of Arabic script, in which the face of each word is a guide to the quantity of its syllables: one individual 'moving' consonant (*ḥarf mutaḥarrik*), i.e. a consonant with a vowel sign (e.g. وَ ،بِ), corresponds to what we call a short syllable, and two consonants, of which the first is 'moving' and the second 'quiescent' (*sākin*) (e.g. قَدْ ،لَوْ ،فِي), correspond to what we call a long syllable. There are only a few fixed spellings which fail to comply with this rule (e.g. ابْنٌ = بِنْ، وَلْ = وَاْلْ، أَاخُرُ = آخَرُ، قَتَتَلَ = قَتْتَلَ، ذَالِكَ = ذٰلِكَ). Thanks to this peculiarity of the Arabic script, Al-Khalīl was able to take the face of the verse as a basis for his treatment of Arabic metres. In order to be independent of the changing shape of the letters, graphic symbols were introduced, namely the symbol | o for the 'quiescent' and the symbol o for the 'moving' consonant (e.g. قِفَا نَبْكِ = o | o | o o).

Both al-Ḥarīrī and Ibn Khallikān report that Al-Khalīl had noticed the different rhythms produced by the hammering in different copper-workshops in the bazaar in Baṣra, and that this gave him the idea of developing a science of metre, in other words, of determining the rhythm in the structure of the ancient poems. This late report agrees with the earlier one by Al-Djāḥiẓ, who states that Al-Khalīl was the first to distinguish between different metres, that is to say, that he was the first who in listening had distinguished different rhythmic structures in the ancient verses, and that he was the first to analyse this rhythm, by dissecting it into its metric elements. His theory was supplemented in its details by later Arabic prosodists, but these additions made no difference to the basic conception. Even today, the 16 Arabic metres are still given in the very order in which Al-Khalīl gives them, because it is only in this order that they can be united in the graphic presentation of the five metric circles (*dawāʾir*, sg. *dāʾira*).

According to him, every metre comes into being by the repetition of 8 rhythmic feet which recur in definite distribution and sequence in all metres. The term applied to these feet is *djuzʾ*, pl. *adjzāʾ* ("part"). In accordance with the common practice of Arabic grammarians, he represents each of these 8 "parts" by a mnemonic word, derived from the root *fʿl*. Of these eight mnemonics, 2 consist of five consonants each, namely: faʿūlun فَعُولُنْ and fāʿilun فَاعِلُنْ, 6 of seven consonants each, namely mafāʿīlun مَفَاعِيلُنْ, mustafʿilun مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ, fāʿilātun فَاعِلَاتُنْ, mufāʿalatun مُفَاعَلَتُنْ, mutafāʿilun مُتَفَاعِلُنْ, mafʿūlātu مَفْعُولَاتُ. The following table of the 5 metric circles will clarify how the 16 metres are made up of these 8 feet. For the sake of clarity, the circles are opened out and given as straight lines, and only one hemistich is given in the rhythmical mnemonic words for each metre (see Circle 1-5, p. 670).

Circle 1

Ṭawīl	| FAʿŪ́	-lun	MAFĀ́	-ʿī-	lun	FAʿŪ́	-lun	MAFĀ́	-ʿī	-lun |
Basīṭ	-ʿILUN	fā	-ʿILUN	| mus	-taf	-ʿILUN	fā	-ʿILUN	mus	-taf- . . . . . |
Madīd	-ʿILUN	| fā	-ʿILĀ	-tun	fā	-ʿILUN	fā	-ʿILĀ́	-tun	fā . . |

Circle 2

Wāfir	| MUFĀ́	-ʿala	-tun	MUFĀ́	-ʿala	-tun	MUFĀ́	-ʿala	-tun |
Kāmil	-ʿILUN	| muta	-fā	-ʿILUN	muta	-fā	-ʿILUN	muta	-fā- . . |

Circle 3

Hazadj	| MAFĀ́	-ʿī	-lun	MAFĀ́	-ʿī	-lun	MAFĀ́	-ʿī	-lun |
Radjaz	-ʿILUN	| mus	-taf	-ʿILUN	mus	-taf	-ʿILUN	mus	-taf- . . |
Ramal	-ʿILĀ	-tun	| fā	-ʿILĀ	-tun	fā	-ʿILĀ	-tun	fā- . . . |

Circle 4

Sariʿ | mus-taf-*ʿilún* mus -taf -*ʿilún* māf -ʿu -LĀ́TU mus -taf -*ʿilun* mus -taf -*ʿilún* maf -ʿū-LĀ́TU |
Munsariḥ | mus -taf -*ʿilun* maf -ʿū -LĀTU mus -taf -*ʿilun* |
Khafīf | fā -*ʿilā* -tun mus -TAFʿI -lun fā -*ʿilā* -tun |
Muḍāriʿ | *mafā* -ʿī -lun FĀʿI -lā -tun *mafā* -ʿī -lun |
Muḳtaḍab | maf -ʿū -LĀTU mus -taf -*ʿilun* mus -taf -*ʿilun* |
Mudjtathth | mus -TAFʿI -lun fā -*ʿilā* -tun fā -*ʿilā* -tun |

Circle 5

Mutaḳārib	| FAʿŪ́	-lun	FAʿŪ́	-lun	FAʿŪ́	-lun	FAʿŪ́	-lun |
Mutadārik	-ʿILUN	| fā	-ʿILUN	fā	-ʿILUN	fā	-ʿILUN	fā- . . |

The order of the 5 circles is based on an arithmetical principle. They are arranged according to the number of consonants in the mnemonic words of the metres which compose them. The three metres *Ṭawīl*, *Basīṭ* and *Madīd*, whose hemistiches consist of 24 consonants each, form the first circle; the two metres *Mutaḳārib* and *Mutadārik*, whose hemistiches consist of only 20 consonants each, form the last circle. The remaining metres, whose hemistiches consist of 21 consonants each, are divided among the three circles in the middle. The order of the metres within the circles is also a formal one: the *Adjzāʾ* of a metre are first written around the periphery of a circle, thus the three *mafāʿīlun mafāʿīlun mafāʿīlun* of the *Hazadj* are inscribed around the periphery of circle 3. If one reads the same circle again, but starting at a different point, one automatically gets the mnemonic words of another metre: thus if, for instance, in circle 3 one does not begin with *mafā-* (as in *Hazadj*), but only with the *-ʿī-* of *mafāʿīlun*, one obtains the metric scheme of *Radjaz*, and if one advances still further and does not begin reading till the *-lun*, one obtains the scheme of *Ramal*. The possibility of dividing the *Adjzāʾ* of a circle in various ways, and of reaching different metric schemes by doing so, is only due to Al-Khalīl having purposely constructed his circles so that the mnemonic words united in each circle not only produce the same total number of consonants, but coincide completely in their 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants as well, if they are written in a certain relationship to one another. This can be clearly seen in the above table of the 5 circles if one transcribes the Latin letters into Arabic ones. The agreement emerges even more obviously if we substitute the signs which are used by the Arabic prosodists for the 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants themselves. The following picture will then emerge for circle 3:

Hazadj			o	o	oo	o	o	oo	o	o	oo
Radjaz		oo	o	o	oo	o	o	oo	o	o
Ramal	o	oo	o	o	oo	o	o	oo	o	

The same relative coincidence is also found between the metres contained in the remaining 4 circles. Al-Khalīl's object in arranging the metres in this purely formal system of the 5 circles has not been handed down to us either by himself, or by any of the later prosodists. It is quite certain, however, that this merely external superimposition of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in the mnemonics is not meant to imply a rhythmic development of one metre out of another.

The 8 *Adjzāʾ*, which, as we have seen, recur again and again in different distributions in the 16 metres, can be further split into their metric components. For Al-Khalīl, however, the metric component means something different than for the occidental prosodist. It is not the smallest indivisible unit of sound, but the smallest independent word occurring in the language. Accordingly, he distinguished two pairs of metric components which he apparently regarded as such because none of the 4 words concerned (each with its particular sequence of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants), could be derived from any of the other 3, whilst all 8 feet could be formed by combinations from these 4 words. He took the terms for these two pairs of components from two important parts of the tent, and he distinguished between:

A: The two *Asbāb* (sg. *sabab* "cord") which consist of two consonants each, namely

1) *sabab khafīf* = 2 consonants, the first 'moving', the second 'quiescent', as in words like قَدْ
2) *sabab thaḳīl* = 2 consonants, both 'moving', e.g. words like لَكَ

B: The two *Awtād* (sg. *watid* "peg") which consist of three consonants each, namely

1) *watid madjmūʿ* = 3 consonants, the first two 'moving', the last 'quiescent', as in words like لَقَدْ

2) *watid mafrūḳ* = 3 consonants, the first and third moving, the middle one 'quiescent', e.g. words like وَقْتَ

In this manner, each of the 8 feet can be reduced to its metric components as follows; thus مَفَا|عِيـ|ـلُنْ *mafā-ʿī-lun* = B1 + A1 + A1 or مُتَ|فَا|عِلُنْ *muta-fā-ʿilun* = A2 + A1 + B1. Each of the 16 metres given in the circles can therefore be scanned on this basis, e.g. *Wāfir* = *mufāʿalatun mufāʿalatun mufāʿalatun* = B1 + A2 + A1, B1 + A2 + A1, B1 + A2 + A1 or *Sarīʿ* = *mustafʿilun mustafʿilun mafʿūlātu* = A1 + A1 + B1, A1 + A1 + B1, A1 + A1 + B2.

Since it is thus possible to reduce all the metres to their basic components, one might assume this metric system to be complete. The fact remains, however, that the 16 metres never actually appear in the form in which they are given in the 5 circles, but nearly always deviate from this ideal form—at times to a considerable extent. In other words, the sequence of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in ancient Arabic poems does not correspond to the sequence determined by the circles. Therefore one can no longer split the metric forms used by the poets into the 8 ideal feet, nor yet divide these into their two metric elements, because that method of scanning is based completely on the sequence of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in the ideal metres of the circles. This fact was, of course, known to Al-Khalīl just as well as it is to us, and in fact his circles are just a kind of rhythmic *Uṣūl*, from which the actual metric forms used by the poets deviate in a certain manner as *Furūʿ*. Consequently, there are also two different terms designating the metres. The ideal forms in the circles are called *buḥūr* (sg. *baḥr* "river, ῥυθμος"); those deviating from them, and actually occurring in ancient poetry are called *awzān al-shiʿr* (= metres).

The smallest of the deviations is the shortening of the metre. This is immediately visible, because then the metre no longer has its full (*tām*) number of *adjzāʾ*. According to the degree of shortening, there are three possibilities. The line is either

a) *madjzūʾ*, if there is one *djuzʾ* missing in each of the two hemistiches (if, for instance, in *Hazadj*, *Kāmil* or *Radjaz* the foot is repeated only twice and not three times); or

b) *mashṭūr*, when a complete half (*shaṭr*) is absent (as, for instance, when the *Radjaz* is reduced to *one* hemistich); or

c) *manhūk*, when the line, on rare occasions, is "weakened to exhaustion" i.e. (as for instance in *Munsariḥ*) when it is reduced to a third of its size.

All these deviations only concern the external shape of a metre and not its rhythmical structure, which does find its expression in the sequence of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants.

The very numerous cases in which this particular sequence in the ancient poems differs from that prescribed by the circles have been covered by a special set of rules. This forms a necessary supplement to the circles, because the deviations would be arbitrary—and thus the circles would lose their authoritative character as *Uṣūl*—if there were no such rules. Just as one is amazed at the regularity of the first part of the system—the five circles and their normal metres—so one is confused by the second part with its casuistry and its complications. This, however, is inherent in its very nature. Neither Al-Khalīl nor the later prosodists use the term 'syllable', and we can therefore not expect any *general* rules (e.g. concerning the reduction of long syllables to short, the omission of short syllables etc). In effect, they were obliged to mention in each individual case whether and to what extent the 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in ancient poetry showed a plus or a minus as compared with the ideal scheme of the circles. This had to be done in every metre and every one of its feet in both halves of the line, and in order to denote them clearly, individual terms had to be created to cover each one of these numerous differences. A certain order and clarity emerges from this baffling list thanks to the fact that all deviations fall into two classes, which perform different functions and appear in different parts of the line.

The last foot of the first hemistich (*al-ʿarūḍ*, pl. *aʿāriḍ*) and the last foot of the second hemistich (*al-ḍarb*, pl. *ḍurūb*), that is to say, the ends of the two halves of the line, suffer most from deviations. The terms for these two vulnerable parts of the verse are definite, the terms for the other feet vary and are usually given the collective name *al-ḥashw* ('stuffing'). By analogy, one also distinguishes two groups of deviations, the *Ziḥāfāt* and the *ʿIlal*. The *Ziḥāfāt* ('relaxations') are, as the name suggests, smaller deviations which occur only in the *Ḥashw* parts of the line in which the characteristic rhythm runs strongly, and their effect is a small quantitative change in the weak *Asbāb*-syllables. As accidental deviations, the *Ziḥāfāt* have no regular or definite place, they just appear occasionally in the feet. By contrast, there are the *ʿIlal* ('diseases', 'defects') which appear only in the last feet of the two halves of the lines, and there, as their name suggests, they cause considerable change as compared to the normal feet. They alter the rhythmic end of the line considerably, and are thus clearly distinct from the *Ḥashw* feet. As rhythmically determined deviations, the *ʿIlal* do not just appear occasionally but have to appear regularly, always in the same form, and in the same position in all the lines of the poem. A further difference between the two groups of deviations is the fact that the *Ziḥāfāt* fall only on the *Sabab* (and there on its second consonant), whilst the *ʿIlal* alter the *Watid* in each of the last feet of the two hemistiches as well as in their *Sababs*.

By applying the definite *Ziḥāfāt* and *ʿIlal* rules, and taking the normal form of the feet of each metre as a point of departure, one arrives at the forms actually occurring in the *Ḳaṣīdas*. Just as the normal feet are denoted by their 8 mnemonic words, (*faʿūlun, mafāʿīlun*, etc.), which express the normal sequence of their 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants, there are also mnemonics denoting the forms which have undergone alteration because of *Ziḥāfāt* and *ʿIlal*, and these indicate the changed sequence of consonants. Thus, for instance, *mu[s]tafʿilun*, when its *Sīn* is lost, should become *mutafʿilun*. If, however, as in this case, the resulting form is not one linguistically possible in Arabic, then the same sequence of consonants (i.e, the same sequence of 'longs' and 'shorts') is expressed by an equivalent word which is linguistically acceptable, in this case, for instance, by *mafāʿilun*. By contrast with the *Uṣūl* forms of the feet, these modifications are known as the *Furūʿ* forms of the feet. In the following, the *Furūʿ* will be added in brackets, if their form

differs from that of the *Uṣūl*. Space here does not permit a detailed list of all *Ziḥāfāt* and *ʿIlal* (cf. for the details the arabic compendia of the *ʿIlm al-ʿarūḍ*). A few examples will be given, however, in order to illustrate the theoretical exposition, and to show how peculiar and complicated this particular part of the system is.

As already stated, the *Ziḥāfāt* appear when the *Sabab* in a line does not possess its full normal form, but shows a change in the second consonant. Then, however, one does not simply speak of a *Ziḥāf*, because this would be ambiguous. In order to describe the *Ziḥāf* accurately, one must state which consonant of a foot is affected, and whether that is a 'moving' or a 'quiescent' consonant. For example, one can divide the so-called 8 'simple *Ziḥāfāt*' into two groups, according to whether a *sabab khafīf* or a *sabab thaḳīl* is affected. Even then, one must denote the eight cases by individual terms. 1) We have a *khabn*, if the second consonant of a foot is missing, e.g., the *sīn* in مُ[سْ]تَفْعِلُنْ [= مَفَاعِلُنْ], or the *alif* in فَ[ا]عِلُنْ; we have a *ṭayy*, if the 4th consonant is missing, e.g., the *fā* of مُسْتَ[فْ]عِلُنْ [= مُفْتَعِلُنْ]; a *ḳabḍ*, if the 5th consonant is concerned, e.g., the *nūn* in فَعُولُ[نْ] or the *yā* in مَفَاعِ[يْ]لُنْ; and a *kaff*, when the 7th consonant is missing, e.g., the *nūn* of فَاعِلَاتُ[نْ]. 2) In the *sabab thaḳīl*, there can either be only the vowel of the second consonant missing (then one speaks of an *iḍmār*, in the case of the *fatḥa* of *mut[a]fāʿilun* [= *mustafʿilun*], and of an *ʿaṣb* in the case of the *fatḥa* of *mufāʿal[a]tun* [= *mafāʿīlun*]) or both this consonant and its vowel (then one speaks of a *waḳṣ*, if the *ta* of *mu[ta]fāʿilun* [= *mafāʿilun*] is missing, and of an *ʿaḳl* in the case of the *la* of *mufāʿa[la]tun* [= *mafāʿilun*]).

Whilst the *Ziḥāfāt* always lead to a minus, when compared with the normal *Sabab*, the *ʿIlal* (which change the last feet of the two hemistichs) fall into two groups, according to whether they arise out of an addition (*ziyāda*) or an omission (*naḳṣ*). 1) the *tadhyīl*, for example, adds a 'quiescent' consonant to the *watid madjmūʿ* (thus مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ becomes مُسْتَفْعِلَانْ), the *tarfīl* a *sabab khafīf* (thus مُتَفَاعِلُنْ becomes مُتَفَاعِلَاتُنْ). 2) On the other hand, the *ḥadhf* means the loss of a *sabab khafīf* (as for *mafāʿī[lun]* [= *faʿūlun*] or for *faʿū[lun]* [= *faʿal*]), the *ḳaṭf* means the loss of a *sabab khafīf* and the preceding vowel (as, for instance in *mufāʿal[atun]* [= *faʿūlun*]) and the *ḥadhadh* means the loss of a whole *watid madjmūʿ* (as in *mutafā[ʿilun]* [= *faʿilun*]).

These examples give only a rough impression of the complexity of the classical system. Even more complicated changes take place when two deviations obtain within one foot and in certain other special cases. In this manner one can derive from the 8 basic feet no less than 37 *Furūʿ* feet, all of which actually appear in old poetry. Feet undergoing a change through *ʿIlal* play the greater part for two reasons. Firstly because they produce a greater plus or minus in the normal feet than the weaker *Ziḥāfāt*, and secondly because they cause rhythmic variants, which recur throughout the whole poem. Because of the large range of varying line endings, a great number of sub-divisions appear in all metres; and because the *Ḍarb*, the last foot of the second hemistich, is (being the end of the whole line) more concerned with these changes than the *ʿArūḍ* (the last foot of the first hemistich), the possible metres are named after their different *Ḍurūb*. The *Ṭawīl*, for example, has only *one ʿArūḍ*, i.e., the last foot of its first hemistich always has the same form (shortened by *ḳabḍ*) of *mafāʿilun*; but it has three *Ḍurūb*, i.e., apart from the normal form of the last foot of its second hemistich there are two further forms of its *Ḍarb*. Accordingly, one speaks of the first, second, or third *Ṭawīl*, depending on whether the *Ḍarb* has the form *mafāʿīlun*, *mafāʿilun* or *faʿūlun*. The same goes for all other metres. The *Kāmil*, which has 9, has the greatest number of *Ḍurūb*. The sum of all possible *Aʿāriḍ* of all 16 metres is 36, and that of all *Ḍurūb* is 67; in other words, the 16 ancient Arabic metres are used by the poets in a total of 67 rhythmic variations, merely counting the changes caused by *ʿIlal* in the line-endings and ignoring the sporadic *Ziḥāfāt* in the *Ḥashw* of the line.

We are now—if we trust the Arabic prosodists and follow them on their circuitous ways—in a position to scan all the metres which appear in ancient Arabic poetry, and this would appear to bring to an end the exposition of *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ* in its general structure. Nevertheless, European Orientalists have never relied unreservedly on the Arabic prosodists, because the inner reason for the complicated structure of their system has not been understood. What was the reason for constructing the circles? And why formulate statements about ideal metres when one cannot arrive at the actual forms of the metres except by a complicated system of permissible deviations? To these objections we must add that the underlying concepts of Arabic prosodists, and the way in which they expound the patterns of sound and rhythm, are completely alien to us. They describe prosodic phenomena externally, according to the changes which the consonants of the words in the line undergo, whereas we are accustomed—as already mentioned—to explaining the changing metrical shape of a line in different languages by giving the characteristics of the syllables of the language concerned. In the system of the Arabic prosodists we do not, however, find any direct statement concerning the length and stress of syllables in ancient Arabic poetry. Therefore it seems that we have nothing to learn from them concerning the real essence of Arabic metrics, that is to say, nothing about the way in which the characteristic rhythm of ancient Arabic poetry originated, whether—as in ancient Greek—it came into being exclusively through the harmony of periodically recurring sequences of 'shorts' and 'longs', i.e., purely quantitatively, or whether the element of accentual stress was also a factor in deciding the shape of the rhythm of their poetry. Hence one has generally tended not to accept their system, making use of its terminology with reluctance and only to the extent required in order to understand the commentaries on the ancient poems.

It has already been pointed out that the quantity of the syllables is absolutely fixed in the ancient

literary Arabic language, so that one can assume that the rhythm in their verse has found its expression in some form of quantitative metrics. This basic assumption is shared by almost all the experts who have dealt with Arabic metrics. There is no agreement, however, on the question as to whether (and to what extent) factors other than the quantity of syllables shaped the rhythm of ancient Arabic verse. There are various views as to the composition and sequence in which 'shorts' and 'longs' are arranged into feet, and these, in turn, into metres; and there is furthermore the particularly vexed question of whether the rhythm of the lines found its expression exclusively in a quantitative pattern of 'shorts' and 'longs' in the individual feet (as in ancient Greek), or whether there was also a rhythmic stress (ictus), which recurred regularly and emphasised certain syllables in the line.

Heinrich Ewald, disregarding the theories of the Arabs, produced an entirely fresh theory regarding the organic growth of ancient Arabic metrics. He began with the thesis that its rhythm originated not only from the quantity of the syllables but also from the presence of marked stress on some of them (*rhythmum constat aequabili arseos et theseos vicissitudine contineri*). To begin with (in 1825), he found only iambic metres (marked by a recurrance of short and long syllables); but in his second presentation (1833) he distinguished 5 rhythmic kinds: *genus iambicum, genus antispasticum, genus amphibrachicum, genus anapaesticum, genus ionicum*. This classification has gained currency because W. Wright accepted it and printed it at the end of his *Grammar of the Arabic Language* (3rd ed. 1898, vol. II, 361 ff.). Whereas Ewald could start on secure basis concerning the quantity of syllables, his conclusions, as far as the second rhythmical factor (stress) was concerned, could only be based on assumptions at which he had arrived by comparing the structure of Arabic verse with the structure of Greek metres and the sequence of 'longs' and 'shorts' within them. His conclusions not only cannot be proved, but are not, in fact, tenable because they start with the assumption that the same rhythm obtains in both Arabic and Greek metres, without adducing any proof to this effect and without taking into account that the very presence of rhythmic stress in ancient Greek poetry is itself a matter of controversy. This is the reason why all the later experts who started from the same or similar assumptions as Ewald disagree both with Ewald and with each other on the important question of how to divide up the feet and whether any syllables are to be stressed (and, if so, which).

Stanislas Guyard advanced an entirely different explanation of the essence of Arabic metrics: he decided to adopt a musical beat, measuring the exact time of each syllable and fixing it by a musical note, instead of merely distinguishing metric 'longs' and 'shorts' at the ratio of 2 : 1. Accepting the division of feet and metres, handed down in the Arabic mnemonics, he concluded from his musical measurements that a *temps fort* and a *temps faible* had to alternate every time. Apparent contradictions were explained either by describing a *temps fort* as weak or by inserting a pausal note (*silence*)—which was not, however, graphically expressed—to play the rôle of a *temps faible*. Other deviations were explained by the assumption of a double ictus in every Arabic foot, and he discarded the *mafʿūlātu* foot as imaginary because it would not fit in with his theories. He was then in a position to assert that the 16 metres with all their variations did correspond to the musical rhythm which he had assumed; but far from explaining the essence of the metric line-structure in Arabic poetry he had simply transposed it into a sequence of musical terms.

Martin Hartmann is concerned with the development of the various metres and with their derivations from each other, rather than with the actual essence of Arabic metrics. He therefore does not argue with Ewald, though one may assume that he disagrees with him because he goes so far as to say that there was nothing to indicate that the Arabs ever thought of quantitative distinctions in their poetry. Although Hartmann never explicitly says this, it has been asserted that ancient Arabic poetry was in his opinion accentual in character. On the other hand, he rightly asserts that the syllable with the main stress must always be of a constant length and that its preceding short syllable must equally be of a constant duration. Concerning the origin of the metres, he assumed that these were in the last resort instinctive rhythmical imitations of the regularly recurring sounds made by camels' feet. As a camel advances its feet in pairs, he assumes the basic metre to be the one which consists of the alternation of an accented and an unaccented syllable. Depending on whether one starts with the animal's first step, as it starts off from the static position, or from one of the intermediate paces, one gets the *Hazad̲j̲* (⏑–́⏑–) or *Rad̲j̲az* (⏑–⏑–́); the difference between them being that the stress is on the first element in the first case and on the second in the other. According to him, *Mutaḳārib* and *Mutadārik* developed from these two basic metres by inserting not one, but in each case two, unstressed syllables between the two steps, i.e. between the two stressed syllables; and *Wāfir* and *Kāmil* respectively by the alternate insertion of two unstressed syllables and one unstressed syllable between the two stressed ones. Similarly, he takes *Basīṭ* (––⏑–[–]–⏑–) and *Ṭawīl* (⏑–[–]–⏑–––) to be defective forms of *Rad̲j̲az* and *Hazad̲j̲*. He, too, has difficulties with the derivation of other metres from the diiamb, because in that case there is no alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, but two stressed ones have to come together. Hartmann's expositions are subjective assumptions concerning the origin of Arabic poetry in general, and the derivation of metres from one original metre in particular. His arguments do not convince as he offers no conclusive proof, and also because he appears to believe that rhythmic occurrances can be adequately explained by the arbitrary inclusion or exclusion of syllables or by the simple assumption of an anacrusis or a pause. Hartmann himself admits that he has been unable to show what made the Arabs choose the particular combinations which appear in the 16 metres.

Gustav Hoelscher, too, has advanced a theory concerning the origin of Arabic metrics and the derivation of its metres from each other. The simplest, and according to tradition the oldest, metre, the *Rad̲j̲az*, developed from rhymed prose, *Sad̲j̲ʿ*, by regulating the number and quantity of syllables; it has a rising rhythm and is dipodically bound. In his opinion, all other metres developed from *Rad̲j̲az*: first *Sarīʿ*, *Kāmil* and *Hazad̲j̲*; and then, with varying forms of syncope, *Wāfir, Basīṭ, Ṭawīl* and *Mutaḳārib*. The same objections must be raised here as were raised in the case of Hartmann's theory of derivation: Hoelscher himself admits that *K̲h̲afīf* and *Munsariḥ* cannot be derived from *Rad̲j̲az*, and apart from diiambic metres he also lists ditrochaic metres of a falling rhythm. In addition,

Hoelscher deals extensively with the basic rhythmic factors which determine the essence of all metres. He says that the simplest rhythmical group, the beat or foot, has a "division of time into fixed proportions" and consists of a "regular change from light to heavy"; but he does not define these two factors any further. The rhythmical time-value of the syllable, according to him, is always one single "counting-unit", irrespective of its quantity, and the law according to which a long syllable has twice the length of a short one is not to be applied to Arabic poetry. Similarly, he admits the presence of an ictus, and states that a "bar" consists of two dynamically related parts (of which the second is always the heavier); at the same time he asserts that the stronger ictus, being free, is not tied to either of the two stresses.

Alfred Bloch, in contrast to Hoelscher, stresses the existing clear difference between longs' and 'shorts'. His detailed study of the patterns in ancient Arabic prose and the facility with which it can be fitted into all metres lead him to the conclusion that—compared with other languages—ancient Arabic possessed truly ideal phonetic conditions which rendered it suitable to quantitative metrics. Furthermore, he regards quantity as the only factor shaping the rhythm of the verse, and (following Rudolf Geyer) decides against the assumption of an ictus.

The reason why such varying and contradictory theories concerning the essence of Arabic metrics have been advanced lies in the fact that we have no record of the recitation of ancient poems, and that the casuistic expositions of the Arabic metricians have such a repellent character that it seemed justifiable to disregard them completely. Thus, different experts approached the subject from personal points of view (the musical analogy, analogies with the poetry of other peoples, etc.). Neither attitude towards the teaching of the Arabic metricians (uncritical acceptance or outright rejection) is in fact justifiable. Surely as renowned a philologist as Al-Khalīl, whose fundamental achievements as a phonetician, grammarian and lexicographer are recognised even today, did not construct the five circles and the complicated metric system connected with them just for fun. One may assume with certainty that thereby he meant to express certain observations which he had made when he heard the ancient poems. Starting from this assumption, the author of this article has analysed all the parts of Al-Khalīl's system in order to arrive at the actual core of the theory of the circles. The following gives the most important results of these investigations, which bring out clearly the particular peculiarity of ancient Arabic metrics.

a) Al-Khalīl purposely arranged the feet of the metres within the circles in such a relation to one another that all 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants (i.e. all their long and short syllables) should coincide. In this way, the length of the syllables was graphically shown, and he did not have to use a term for it. Since the Arabic language *in itself* already mirrors the quantity of syllables, there would have been no need for Al-Khalīl to construct the circles if he had only wanted to make statements concerning the length of the syllables in the feet. One must therefore assume from the start that he meant to express something else in addition, concerning the rhythm of Arabic poetry, by this arrangement of the metres in the circles.

b) Whilst the Greek metricians used terms for the metric feet which state nothing other than a certain sequence of 'longs' and 'shorts', Al-Khalīl chooses mnemonic words to represent the 8 basic feet which correspond to words actually occurring in the Arabic language. But it is the stress which is the bond that integrates the syllables into the unity of a word. One is therefore tempted to assume that the mnemonics for the feet are meant to indicate that in them, too, one syllable was always to be stressed in each case.

c) This assumption is strengthened by the way in which Al-Khalīl further divides the feet up into their components. Whilst the Greeks accept the short and long syllables as basic metric units, Al-Khalīl again used actual words—the shortest words pronounceable in themselves (i.e. monosyllabic and disyllabic words)—to denote these smallest parts. These words too, state something concerning the stress obtaining in them. The two *Asbāb*, i.e. (sequences of syllables like قَدْ (ḳad = –) and لَكَ (laka = ⏑⏑), do not have a stress of their own in prose either, but (proclitically or enclitically) adapt themselves to the preceding or subsequent words, whilst the two *Watid* words لَقَدْ (*laḳád* = ⏑–́) and وَقْتَ (*wáḳta* = –́⏑) have a marked stress of their own in opposite directions. When these sequences of syllables form a line, as metric components of a foot, then they have definite rhythmical functions. The two *Asbāb*, being unstressed parts of the foot, have no influence over the shaping of the rhythm, and are thus exposed to quantitative changes, the *Ziḥāfāt*, but the *Watid*, as the bearer of the stress, constitutes the rhythmical core of the metre, and as such within the line it is (as has been shown) proof against any change whether in sequence of syllables or in its quantity. Depending on which of the two opposing *Awtād* forms the core of the foot, we have a rising or a falling rhythm.

d) This substantiated assumption that *those* syllables in the line which form the *Watid* element carry the rhythmic stress becomes a certainty as a result of the following argument, which brings out the obvious purpose for the construction of the 5 circles. Only 4 of the 8 basic feet can be absolutely and unambiguously scanned. These are the following: *FAʿŪ́-lun, MAFĀ́-ʿi-lun, MUFĀ́-ʿala-tun, maf-ʿū-LĀ́TU.* Since every foot must have a *Watid*, one cannot divide those 4 feet into their components except as shown in print, the *Watid* being represented by capital letters. In other words, the syllables which carry rhythmic stress in these 4 feet are clearly established; consequently it is equally clear which syllables carry the stress in the 4 metres *Ṭawīl, Wāfir, Hazadj* and *Mutaḳārib*, because these metres consist exclusively of unambiguous feet. But, according to the teaching of Al-Khalīl, there are two ways of analysing the other 4 basic feet. Either: *fā-ʿILŪ́N, mus-taf-ʿILŪ́N, fā-ʿILĀ́-tun, muta-fā-ʿILŪ́N*, or: *FĀ́ʿI-lun, mus-TÁFʿI-lun, FĀ́ʿI-lā tun, muta-FĀ́ʿI-lun.* In other words, the rhythmic stress in these 4 feet could actually lie on a different syllable in every case, and, accordingly, all metres which consist of these 4 feet could also have either a rising or a falling rhythm. In the case of these ambiguous metres—which form the greater part of those in existence—there is only one possible method of showing clearly in which of the two possible ways it is to be read, namely by placing it

in one of the 5 circles. The following well thought-out inner mechanism emerges as the actual reason for the construction of the circles: the *first* metre of every circle—with the exception of circle 4—is the leading metre, and consists only of unambiguous feet, for which the position of their *Awtād* is absolutely fixed; the second and third metres, however, consist of the 4 ambiguous feet. If one writes down the mnemonic words of these metres in relation to the first metre (as reproduced in the table), it will be found not only that the short and the long syllables coincide, but also that in every circle from the second metre onwards, *one* of two possible *Awtād* falls in its entirety (i.e. in its indivisible syllable-sequence) under the unambiguous *Watid* of the first metre. This, in turn, means that the second possibility of scanning is out of the question. Thus the circles are graphic figures whose purpose is to show which syllables bear the rhythmic stress as *Watid* elements by means of the arrangement of all metres in relation to one another. Thus, for example, the two feet *mustafʿilun fāʿilun*, which form the *Basīṭ*, cannot be unambiguously scanned. However, the fact that their *TAFʿI* and *FĀʿI* do not fall under the *Watid* of the *Ṭawīl*, but that in both cases their *ʿILŪN* falls under the unambiguous *Awtād* *FAʿŪ* and *MAFĀ* of the *Ṭawīl*, shows (as clearly as if it were written in a table) which syllables of the *Basīṭ* actually bear the rhythmic stress. In this way it has been proved that the metres brought together in the circles 1, 2, 3 and 5 have, without exception, a rising rhythm, and we also know, on what syllables the stresses were laid.

e) Circle 4 differs from this rule. This is already clearly visible externally, because its first metre, the *Sariʿ*, does not consist exclusively of unambiguous feet. This deviation was surely intended by Al-Khalīl, because (1) in contrast with the other circles, which are homogeneous and only incorporate metres of rising rhythm, circle 4 is not uniform; in it—and only in it—one finds the foot *maf-ʿū-LĀTU*, the only one of the 8 basic feet which has a falling rhythm, but that, too, never alone, but always together with one of the other 7 feet. The metres of this circle thus have a mixed rhythm of rise and fall. (2) The *Watid madjmūʿ*, the representative of rising rhythm, (⏑–́) has a particularly rigid structure in Arabic verse; it never undergoes any change within the hemistich and therefore clearly and distinctly dictates the rhythm of *those* metres in which it is to be found. In contrast with it, the *Watid mafrūḳ*, the core of the falling rhythm (–́⏑) is less clearly fixed in composition, hence variable and weaker in shaping rhythm. This explains why the syllables carrying the stress in the metres *Sariʿ*, *Khafīf* and *Munsariḥ* do not stand out with the same clarity as in the other metres. It is certain that Al-Khalīl realised this because he gave this circle the name "*al-mushtabih*" ("the dubious one, the one of several meanings").

It becomes evident that analysis of the circles produces an answer to the questions which have been in dispute, and on which arabists have hitherto held such different views. (1) The rhythm of ancient Arabic metres was not only produced by the quantity of the syllables, but also by the element of rhythmic stress; we even know on which syllables this stress lay in all the metres. (2) Nearly all the metres have a clear, rising rhythm; in no metre was there exclusively a falling rhythm; only a few metres—namely those in circle 4—which occur more rarely, have a rhythm which changes from rise to fall and which, because of this mixture, has less of a clear character. (3) The rhythmical core of all feet and metres (excluding the few in circle 4) is formed by the sequence of a short and a long syllable (⏑–́) which is inseparable in its sequence and unchangeable in its quantity, and where the long syllable always carries the stress.

Al-Khalīl listened to recitals of ancient poetry and embodied his observations graphically in the construction of the circles, hence the results of their analysis can be taken to be contemporary evidence; and, indeed, they lead us to a complete understanding of the peculiarities of ancient Arabic metres. As we shall see, a metric system, theoretically constructed from the inseparable core of the rising rhythm (⏑–́), is completely identical with the system of metres used by the ancient Arabic poets.

If neutral syllables are grouped around the core, we get feet of a rising rhythm; these cannot have less than 3 or more than 5 syllables. Thus we arrive at the following 7 feet: (1) ⏑–́×, ×⏑–́ (2) ⏑–́××, ××⏑–́, ×⏑–́⏑ (3) ⏑–́⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑–⏑–́. No further or different forms of feet can be derived from the core ⏑–́. If one does not represent these feet by symbols, but in the manner of the Arabic grammarians by *voces memoriabiles*, then one gets exactly those mnemonic words which Al-Khalīl fashioned for the 7 feet of the rising rhythm: (1) *FAʿŪ-lun*, *fā-ʿILŪN*, (2) *MAFĀ-ʿi-lun*, *mustaf-ʿILŪN*, *fā-ʿILĀ-tun*, (3) *MUFĀ-ʿala-tun*, *mutafā-ʿILŪN*.

Whilst the actual rhythmical core of these feet always appears in the same indivisible and unalterable form, with the stress on the 'long', the neutral syllables (which have no part in the shaping of the actual rhythm) are neither bearers of stress nor stable in their quantity; they can be either a 'long' or a 'short', and their only function is to bring some variation into the rhythm. Such variations do appear, and the difference between them depends on whether (a) the foot begins immediately with the core, which makes a rising rhythm especially strong: ⏑–́×, ⏑–́××, ⏑–́⏑⏑–; (b) whether the core is at the end of the foot, which gives the rhythm a somewhat hurrying and skipping character: ×⏑–́, ××⏑–́, ⏑⏑–⏑–́; (c) or whether the core is enclosed within the foot, which somehow hampers the forcefulness of the rising rhythm: ×⏑–́×. Just because the grouping of neutral syllables around the core determines the rhythmical variations, it is absolutely necessary to keep to this fixed shape of the feet when scanning the metres.

By combining these 7 feet, one gets metres of rising rhythm of the following 3 groups: (1) The 7 "simple" metres are arrived at by the repetition of the 7 feet in identical form. These 7 theoretically constructed metres are completely identical with the metres *Wāfir*, *Kāmil*; *Hazadj*, *Radjaz*, *Ramal*; *Mutaḳārib*, *Mutadārik* used by the ancient poets. (2) If the 7 feet are combined not with themselves (as sub 1) but with each other, there result according to the calculation of variables many possibilities of "combined" metres. Most these potential metres, however, are incapable of realisation chiefly because they would offend against the general metric law according to which two cores can never succeed each other directly, but must always be separated by not more than two neutral syllables. It will then be seen that the three groups of feet, distinguished above, can be combined into compound metres only with

themselves, but never with each other. Consequently of the list of possible combined metres only three pairs are left, namely those which correspond exactly to the metres *Ṭawīl, Basīṭ, Madīd* used by the ancient poets and to their reverses.

(3) The gap which is caused by the absence of metres combined by feet of diverse variations of rising rhythm (as shown sub 2) is filled in by "mixed" metres which commence with one of the 7 feet of rising rhythm and are then varied by the foot of falling rhythm maf-ʿū-LÁTU. In this case too the theoretical construction again leads to the mixed metres used by the ancient poets, and which Al-Khalīl has united in circle 4.

The fact that the metrical system constructed theoretically from the core of the rising rhythm ⏑⏒ is identical with the metres actually used by the ancient poets affords us full insight into the ground-plan and the system of the ancient Arabic metres.

If the rising rhythm was "the" poetic form, by means of which Arabic poets fashioned their poems, one can, *a priori*, assume, that those metres which displayed the core of the rising rhythm most strongly were preferred and used most readily. Such are, primarily, the two metres *Ṭawīl* and *Basīṭ*, which combine unequal feet, and of the simple metres *Wāfir* and *Kāmil* (in which the rhythm is more variable because of the sequence of the two 'shorts'), rather than the other simple metres. In fact, this accords with the results obtained by various arabists (cf. Bräunlich, in *Islam*, XXIV, 249) in their statistical investigations into the frequency of metres: three-quarters of all *Ḳaṣīdas* were composed in these 4 metres, and amongst these *Ṭawīl* (as the strongest) heads the list.

Thus the peculiarity of ancient Arabic metres lies in the fact that they unlike the ancient Greek ones are not formed by the joining of *single* syllables, but are developed from an inseparable *pair* of syllables, the core of the rising rhythm. Only this one rhythmical idea has taken shape in Arabic metrics, but the principle is carried out in all its possible variations and effects. The reason why poets unconsciously developed this one principle to perfection can only be explained by the fact that the ancient Arabic literary language, in its structure of sound and syllable, conforms to the shape of the rising rhythm and invites such development. It is this monorhythm which basically distinguishes ancient Arabic metrics from the polyrhythm of ancient Greek metrics (which expressed various rhythmic figures without developing any one, as it were, systematically to its ultimate possibilities, as the Arabic does). Because Arabic metrics are sometimes wrongly simply equated with Greek ones, a further basic difference between the two systems of versification must be pointed out: the only factor which governs the rhythm of Greek verse is the quantity of the basic metric units which recur at regular intervals, and it is therefore a case of a quantitative metric (measuring the time); the ictus (the element of energy of rhythmic stress), if indeed it was present, merely had the task of regulating the quantity when this was disturbed by an anceps-syllable. Ancient Arabic metrics are also of a quantitative nature (every syllable in the language has an absolutely fixed duration), but in poetry the number of neutral syllables which can be either a 'long' or a 'short' is so great that the quantity alone cannot have been decisive for the rhythm. Therefore, with it we have—not only in a regulating but in a shaping capacity—stress; these two together, in an indivisible and unchangeable unit, form the rhythmic core of the feet and metres. In most lines, the ictus and the word-accent will coincide on the same 'long', but even when a word-accent falls on a syllable without an ictus there could be no discord. Within a line, the ictus—being the factor which shapes the rhythm—acts more strongly than the word-accent; but in ancient Arabic, with its contrast of 'long' and 'short', both are dependent on the quantity of the syllables, and hence are not as strong as in accentual languages.

The special peculiarity of the rhythmical structure in ancient Arabic poetry is in itself proof enough that Arabic metrics are an autochthonous growth which has not been transplanted from somewhere else to Arabic soil. Merely for the sake of completeness, let it be mentioned here that Tkatsch (*Die arabischen Uebersetzungen der Poetik des Aristoteles*, vol. I, Vienna 1928, 99 ff.) supposes that "the illiterate sons of the desert" had received knowledge of Greek metrics through Aramaic-Christian intervention, and that they had then developed it further. This assumption, however, has been accorded little attention and no acceptance because of its lack of substantiation.

The form of the *Ḳaṣīda* and the ancient metres used in it, have survived—though in a limited range—until today. There is considerable material on this in Socin's *Diwan aus Centralarabien* (Leipzig, 1901, T. 1-3), where the older literature is also mentioned (vol. III, 1 f.). The *Ḳaṣīda* and its ancient metres are still used today by the Bedouin; but they are rarely used by other poets, and then only when they want to appear consciously archaic. The metre of the modern Bedouin *Ḳaṣīda* is usually a *Ṭawīl* with the first syllable missing; *Ramal, Basīṭ, Radjaz* and *Wāfir* are also used. As this form of modern verses is a direct continuation of ancient Arabic poetry in content, form, and language, the rules of the *ʿIlm al-ʿarūḍ* are applicable to it. They can, however, *not* be applied to the actual Arabic folk-poetry, of which there are traces even in pre-Islamic times, and which was greatly cultivated in later centuries. This *'muse populaire'* is different from the ancient *Ḳaṣīda* because it no longer has the monotonous rhyme which recurs throughout the poem but a rich strophic structure, and because it is freer in its choice of themes, but most particularly because the language of folk-poetry is the language of every-day life. The sound-structure of this, however, is fundamentally different from that of ancient literary Arabic. The emphatic stress which is evident in the colloquial language caused a shortening of the vowels and omission of the endings. Consequently one can no longer find the regular alternation of 'long' and 'short' and the absolutely fixed relation in the quantity of the syllables which were the most characteristic feature of the old literary language, and as such determined the rhythm of the poetry. Therefore we cannot expect to find in popular poetry the metres which the ancient poets created and adapted to the phonetic structure of the Arabic literary language. In it, as well as in the colloquial language, stress prevails; it even gains in force when the songs are recited, because the stressed syllables are then emphasised by beating on instruments or by hand-clapping. The different forms of Arabic popular poetry are therefore outside the framework of the article *ʿArūḍ*, which is concerned only with the metrics of the ancient poetry.

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(GOTTHOLD WEIL)

II. The most outstanding feature of the *ʿArūḍ* system as adopted by the Persians is the emphasis laid on quantity, which gives to Persian verse a lilt and swing which can be more readily appreciated by ears to which the more subtle rhythms of Arabic verse are unfamiliar. To words ending in two consonants (*nūn* excepted) preceded by a short vowel, or one consonant preceded by a long vowel, an extra short vowel was added. This *nīm-fatḥa*, as it is called, is now not pronounced by the Persians. By poetic licence, certain monosyllabic long syllables may become short according to scansion. Of the types of poem in use the *Mathnawī* and the *Rubāʿī* are most characteristic of Persian poetry. The former is a many-rhymed poem in couplets of which each hemistich rhymes with the other. The freedom thus allowed in rhyming renders this form eminently suitable for epic and didactic verse. The *Rubāʿī* (Quatrain), also called *Tarāna*, is said (Browne, i, 472-3) to have been the earliest of the verse-forms invented by the Persians. It is derived from no less than twenty-four varieties of the *Hazadj* metre, and it is perhaps the form best known to the West. The *Ḳaṣīda* lost much of its importance at an early period in Persian literature and became more and more artificial under such poets as Khāḳānī (d. 582/1185). In scope and subject matter, it much resembled its Arabic prototype except that in Persian hands it became more of a eulogy of the poet's patron. Of the same single-rhymed type but shorter (five to fifteen verses), the *Ghazal* achieved more fame at the hands of Persian poets and lent itself to a graceful sonnet-like form. Only in the opening lines do the hemistichs of these poems rhyme. The two types of refrain poem—the *Tardjīʿ-band* and *Tarkīb-band* were a Persian innovation. The former consists of about five to ten lines which differ in rhyme with a refrain (*wāsiṭa*) in the same metre. If the refrain differs in each instance where it occurs, the poem is then called *Tarkīb-band*. Of the various types of multiple poem which have internal rhymes and are grouped under the general term of *Musammaṭ*, the *Mustazād* deserves special mention. It is a poem of which each second hemistich is followed by a short metrical line which has some bearing on the sense of the first hemistich without altering the meaning. All these lines rhyme together throughout the poem. The Persians have been credited with the invention of three new metres—the *Djadīd*, *Ḳarīb* and the *Mushākil*, but these are of rare occurrence.

The adoption by the Turks of the Perso-Arabic metrical system was facilitated, not only by a genuine admiration for Persian *belles-lettres*, but also by the resemblance which the ancient Turkish method of versification (*parmaḳ ḥisābī*) bore to the *ʿArūḍ* metres. For example, the *Ḳutadghu Bilik*, composed in 462/1069, was written in a metre which was not unlike the *Mutaḳārib*, and the Turkoman *tuyuğ* was similar to the *rubāʿī*. Both the original and the *ʿArūḍ* systems enjoyed a parallel existence until the former was ousted by the latter during the XVth century. The main difference between the two forms is that in the *parmaḳ ḥisābī* the verses were based not on quantity but on the number and beat of the syllables. The old system survived only in the folk-poetry of Anatolia of which the most representative types are the *türkü*, *sharḳī* and the *mani* (*maʿnī*). In the XVIIth century, a revival of the old prosody began under such poets as Ḳaradjaoghlan, and, in the course of last century, the growth of national feeling led to the victory of the Turkish system. The *ʿArūḍ* system is now obsolete and is cultivated only by a few conservative or neo-classicist poets. The most important innovation produced by the Turks in the ʿArūḍ was somewhat artificial, although it was very necessary. In purely Turkish words there are, of course, no long syllables, but the Perso-Arabic letters of prolongation were used as vowel-letters. By a poetic licence, these were regarded as long where the metre demanded it.

The metres in use in Persian and Turkish are rather less numerous than those used in Arabic. Some of the more popular metres such as the *Ṭawīl*, *Basīṭ*, *Wāfir*, *Kāmil* and *Madīd* are scarce. For details of the metres most used the reader is referred to the bibliography.

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(G. MEREDITH-OWENS)

ARŪḌĪ [see NIẒĀMĪ ʿARŪḌĪ].

ʿARŪDJ, Turkish corsair who seized possession of Algiers at the beginning of the 10th/16th century. He is sometimes designated by the name of Barbarossa (a term which is sometimes interpreted as a corruption of Bābā ʿArūdj), but it appears this surname more often refers to his brother Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*].

ʿArūdj came from the island of Midilli (Mytilene-

ancient Lesbos); his father was a Turk, a Muslim soldier of the garrison of occupation (*Ghazawāt*), or a Greek potter (Haëdo). He had at least two brothers, who were with him in the Maghrib; Khayr al-Dīn and Isḥāḳ. A sailor and a Muslim from an early age (*Ghazawāt*), or only from his twentieth year (Haëdo), he began to act as a privateer in the eastern Mediterranean. He later decided (the exact reasons for this decision are not known) to operate off the coast of the Maghrib.

It is fairly certain that from 1504 onwards, or soon afterwards, ʿArūdj and his brothers made their base at Goletta; they started in a small way with two ships, but soon took some remarkable prizes; as a result of these they increased both the numbers of their fleets, which comprised eight galliots in 1510, and their capital, which enabled them to honour their obligations to the ruler of Tunis. The latter, Abū ʿAbd Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (1494-1526), in fact only authorised them to establish a base on his territory on condition that he received a share of the prizes. The *Ghazawāt* describes on one occasion the magnificent cortège organised by the corsairs in Tunis to carry to the Ḥafṣid ruler his share of the booty (text, 15-16; tr., 28-30). They were authorised to establish a secondary base on the island of Djerba, and ʿArūdj was even appointed *ḳāʾid* of the island in 1510 (Haëdo). Until 1512, they cruised in the western Mediterranean and off the Spanish coast.

The Spanish, however, occupied various points on the coast of North Africa, notably Oran (1509), the Peñon of Algiers, Bidjāya (Bougie) and Tripoli (1510). Despairing of being able to retake Bidjāya (Bougie) by his own efforts, the Ḥafṣid governor of that town appealed to ʿArūdj who had then at his disposal twelve ships armed with cannon, and a thousand Turkish soldiers. ʿArūdj established a naval blockade of the port, while the "king" of Bidjāya (Bougie), supported by the Turkish troops, laid seige to it by land with three thousand "Moors". After eight days' bombardment, ʿArūdj lost his left arm. His brother Khayr al-Dīn took him back at full speed to Tunis where he spent his time recovering his health. In August 1514, he attacked Bidjāya (Bougie) for the second time, with twelve ships and 1100 Turkish troops. Again ʿArūdj was forced to raise the siege, this time because of bad weather, the appearance of a Spanish relief squadron, and perhaps the desertion of local contingents; it is even possible that he was forced to burn some of his vessels in the gulf of Bidjāya to prevent them falling into the hands of the Spanish.

He may perhaps have been already established at Djidjelli [*q.v.*], as the *Ghazawāt* lead one to believe. At all events, he took refuge there after his second reverse before Bidjāya, because his relations with the Ḥafṣid ruler had undergone a change—we do not know for what reason.

At this juncture, apparently, ʿArūdj conceived political ambitions. Haëdo describes him as supplying corn to tribes in the vicinity which had been smitten by famine, thereby acquiring great popularity, and intervening in the quarrels of the Kabyle chiefs.

When King Ferdinand the Catholic died on 22 January 1516, the inhabitants of Algiers sought to rid themselves of the threat from the Peñon, and appealed to ʿArūdj, who had both ships and cannon. He answered their appeal, and bombarded the Peñon without success. The leader of the Arabs of Algiers, Sālim al-Tūmī, then sought to get rid of ʿArūdj and his Turks, who behaved as though they were in conquered territory. But ʿArūdj forestalled him, put him to death and seized power with the help of his Turks. Despite the intrigues of the son of Sālim al-Tūmī, who had taken refuge with the Spanish, he succeeded in maintaining his position at Algiers by exercising the greatest severity. He also succeeded in repulsing a Spanish landing carried out by Diego de Vera (30 September 1516).

The Spanish then sent the Sultan of Ténès against him, but ʿArūdj went out to meet him and inflicted on him a severe defeat, as a result of which ʿArūdj made himself master of Miliana and Ténès. According to the *Ghazawāt* he then organised the territory he had conquered; Khayr al-Dīn had the territories to the East, with Dellys as his seat, while ʿArūdj took Algiers and the western territories.

ʿArūdj then received an appeal from the inhabitants of Tlemcen, whose king had accepted a sort of Spanish protectorate. He at once organised an expedition with the greatest thoroughness, and entrusted the government of Algiers to his brother Khayr al-Dīn. He occupied in passing the strongpoint of the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Rashīd, now the site of Oued-Fodda, and left his brother Isḥāḳ there with a small garrison. He then proceeded to Tlemcen, which he took possession of without great difficulty, after having defeated the troops of King Abū Ḥammū in the field (September 1517). Instead of raising to power the pretender Abū Zayyān who had no link with the Spanish, ʿArūdj assumed power and despatched expeditions as far as Oudja and the Beni Snassen; he seems to have had the intention of negotiating with the ruler of Fez against the Spanish.

The latter did not give him time for this: in January 1518, a Spanish column under the command of Don Martin of Argote captured the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Rashīd, thus cutting communications between Tlemcen and Algiers. In May, the Marquis of Comarès, governor of Oran, marched on Tlemcen. There he laid siege to ʿArūdj, who hoped, it appears, to be relieved by the troops from Fez. The inhabitants of Tlemcen rebelled against the Turks, and forced ʿArūdj to shut himself up in the fortress of Mishawār [see TLEMCEN]. As supplies were running low, ʿArūdj attempted a sortie and managed to escape with a few men, but he was overtaken, probably in the vicinity of the present Rio Salado (department of Oran) and put to death; he was 44 or 45 years of age (Autumn 1518).

It will be seen that on the whole very little is known about the history of ʿArūdj. It seems likely that political aspirations awoke within him, when he realised the political anarchy existing in the central Maghrib and the possibilities it offered to a bold man backed by a body of men equipped with fire-arms and artillery. But the possibilities were so great that ʿArūdj allowed himself to be carried away by ambition, and he failed because he was too far from his base, and had not prepared the ground politically to a sufficient extent.

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250-6. The best known Turkish account is that given by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa in his *Tuḥfat al-Biḥār* (Istanbul 1141/1728 and 1329/1914, Eng. tr. of chaps. 1-4 by J. Mitchell, *History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, London 1831). This narrative, which was used by Hammer in his account of the naval wars, rests on earlier sources, some of which are still extant. A list of Ottoman *ghazawātnāmes* dealing with the campaigns of ʿArūdj and Khayr al-Dīn is given in Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Ġazavatnameler*, Ankara 1956, 70 ff. (R. LE TOURNEAU)

ARŪR (AROR) also written AL-RŪR, town in Sind; it is surmised to have been the capital of king Musicanus, defeated by Alexander the Great, and to be mentioned in the 7th century A.D. by Hiung-tsang. The town was conquered by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim before 95/714 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 439, 440, 445) and it is mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī, 172, 175, and al-Bīrūnī, *Hind* (Sachau), 100, 130, according to whom it lay thirty *farsakhs* S-W of Multān and twenty *farsakhs* upstream from al-Manṣūra. The Indus used to flow near the town, but later it changed its course, destroying the prosperity of the town. The date of the change is uncertain; the local historians of the 17th-18th centuries (cf. Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, i, 256-8) give a legendary account. Five miles west from the old site there exists a small town, Rohri, chief place of the *taluka* of the same name (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi, 4, xx, 308). One of the names of the Gypsies, Lūlī < *Rūrī, may be connected with Arūr [see LŪLĪ].

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, ii, 833; H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta 1929, 76-9; V. Minorsky, in *JA*, 1931, 285; idem, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 246. (V. MINORSKY)

ʿARŪS [see ʿURS].

ʿARŪS RESMI, also resm-i ʿarūs, resm-i ʿarūsāne, ʿādet-i ʿarūsī, etc., in earlier times gerdek degheri and gerdek resmi; an Ottoman tax on brides. The standard rates were sixty aspers on girls and forty or thirty on widows and divorcees. There are sometimes lower rates for persons of medium and small means. In some areas the tax is assessed in kind. Non-Muslims are usually registered as paying half-rates, but occasionally double rates. On timar lands the tax was normally payable to the timar-holder, though part or all of it might be reserved for the Sandjaḳ-beyi or the Imperial Treasury. The destination of the payment was determined by the status of the bride's father or, in the case of widows, of the place where she resided or where the marriage occurred. Tax was also payable on the daughters of sipāhīs, garrison janissaries, etc. These were paid to the Sandjak-beyi, the Beylerbeyi, the Su-bashī, or the representative of the Treasury, according to the rules inscribed in the *ḳānūns* and registers of the province. These also contain rules for the bride-tax paid on the daughters of Tatars, yürüks, müsellems, miners, and other special categories. No tax was payable by an owner who married two of his slaves to one another.

The tax, which seems to be of feudal origin, is already established in *ḳānūns* of the 15th century in Anatolia and Rumelia, and was introduced into Egypt, Syria and ʿIrak after the Ottoman conquest. It was abolished in the 19th century and replaced by a fee for permission to marry (*idhnnāme*) given by a ḳāḍī. This was at the rate of 10 piastres for girls and 5 for widows.

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ʿARŪSIYYA, Dervish-order, according to Rinn a branch of the Shādhilīya which takes its name from Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad (b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Abī Bakr) b. al-ʿArūs, who died c. 1460 in Tunis.

Bibliography: Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, 268; Depont et Coppolani, *Les confréries musulmanes*, 340.

ARZACHEL [see AL-ZARḲĀLĪ].

ARZAN (Syriac Arzōn, Armenian Arzn, Ałzn). The name of several towns in eastern Anatolia. The most important was the chief city of the Roman province of Arzanene, Armenian Ałdznikh, located on the east bank of the Arzanṣū River (modern Garzansu) a tributary of the Tigris, at about 41° 41′ E. long. (Greenw.) and 38° N. lat. By Islamic authors Arzan is linked with the larger city to the west, Mayyāfāriḳīn.

The origin of the name is uncertain but of undoubted antiquity; see the discussion in H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 16 (1904), 248, 311. On the pre-Islamic history of the town, a Syrian bishopric, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 25.

Arzan surrendered to ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm in 20/640, and the district was included in the territory of Djazīra (Balādhurī, 176), later in Diyār Bakr. The town was in a rich agricultural district, and the average combined revenue from Arzan and Mayyāfāriḳīn in ʿAbbāsid times was 4,100,000 dirhems, according to Ḳudāma (BGA vi, 246). Until the rise of the Ḥamdānids Arzan was ruled by Armenian amīrs allied by marriage, as well as allegiance, to the Arabs. Cf. Canard (below), 472.

At the beginning of the 4th/10th century the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla resided in Arzan when preparing expeditions against the Armenians or the Byzantine Empire. In 330/942 the Byzantines captured and sacked Arzan (Canard, 748). The Ḥamdānids recovered the town but had to fight many times with the Byzantines in the Diyār Bakr district. Afterwards the town lost its importance and in the 12th cent. A. D. Yāḳūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 205) wrote that it was in ruins.

Few travellers have visited the site, but it was identified by J. G. Taylor in *JRGS*, 35 (1865), 26, where a plan of the ruins is given.

One should not confuse Arzan with a smaller nearby site also on a river, the Bohtansu, called Arzan al-Zarm; see J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen* (Vienna 1930), 41*, and 341. Also to be distinguished from Arzan is Arzan al-Rūm (Erzerum), and nearby Byzantine Ἄρτζε.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text cf. Marquart, *Die Entstehung und Wiederherstellung der armenischen Nation*, Potsdam 1919, 33; M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des Ham-*

danides, Algiers 1951, 84, with a bibliography of references to Arzan in the Arabic geographers in footnote 17. The map on 240 is of special interest.
(R. N. Frye)

ARZAN al-RŪM [see erzurum].

ĀRZĀW (Berb. Arzyu; modern orthography Arzew or Arzeu), town on the Algerian coast situated between Oran and Mostaganem, 7 km. E. of the present small town of Arzeu. The Muslim town of the Middle Ages doubtless occupied "on the littoral of the plain of Sīrāt" the site of the ancient Portus Magnus (modern Saint Leu, still called Vieil Arzeu). In the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī speaks with admiration of the Roman town and its ruins, but declares that it was completely uninhabited. He notes however, on the nearby mountain (the one which dominates the present Arzeu), three castles which were used as *ribāṭ*. This is the more remarkable because fortified monasteries were very rare on the northern coast of Barbary. The Ārzāw region thus appears to have played a military and religious role. One assumes that maritime activity was, here as in other towns on the same coast, carried on not by the Berbers of the region but by Andalusian immigrants. In the 6th/12th century, Ārzāw furnished the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin with ships for the conquest of Ifrīḳiya. About the same time al-Idrīsī mentions its economic activity. "It is", he says, "large village to which is brought the wheat produced in the surrounding countryside, which is sought after by merchants who export it to numerous countries". In the 10th/16th century Leo Africanus, in his list of the large and small towns on this coast, does not mention Ārzāw.

At an unspecified period, probably in fairly recent times (18th century?) there arrived in the region an important Berber tribe which came from the Moroccan Rif, the Boṭṭīwa, among whom the original dialect was still spoken forty years ago.

Bibliography: Bakrī, text, Algiers 1911, 70, French trans. by de Slane, Algiers 1913, 143; Idrīsī, ed. by Dozy and de Goeje, 100, trans. 117; Gsell, *Atlas archéologique*, Mostaganem sheet, 5, 6; Biarnay, *Notice sur les Bettioua du Vieil Arzeu*, *R. Afr.* 1910-11, 101 ff.; R. Basset, *Loqmân berbère*, Paris 1890, 9, 13; idem, *Dial. berb. du Rif*, 1897, 168-71.
(G. Marçais)

ĀRZŪ KHĀN (Sirādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Khān Ārzū) 1099/1687-8 or 1101/1689-90—1169/1756, Indo-Muslim scholar and poet in Persian and Urdū. Son of Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥusām, Ārzū Khān was, according to Shams al-ʿUlamā Mawlāna Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, descended from the family of the saint Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Čirāgh-i Dihlī on his father's side and from the saint Muḥammad Ghawth Guwāliyārī on his mother's.

A native of either Gwalior or Akbarābād (Āgra), in 1132/1719 he went to Dihlī and obtained a *manṣab* and a *djāgīr* also receiving patronage from Muʿtaman al-Dawla Isḥaḳ Khān, Khān-sāmān to Muḥammad Shāh. The former's sons Nadjm al-Dawla and Nawwāb Sālār Djang continued their father's favours to Ārzū Khān and when Sālār Djang went to Awadh in 1168/1754-5 Ārzū Khān accompanied him there and secured a stipend from Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, the Nawwāb-Wazīr of Awadh. Ārzū died at Lucknow but his body was brought back to Dihlī for burial.

In Persian literature Ārzū Khān was an important commentator on the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī, on the *Sikandarnāma* of Niẓāmī and upon the *Ḳaṣāʾid* of Khāḳānī and ʿUrfī. His other Persian writings include a lexicon, *Sirādj al-Lughāt*, the *ʿAṭiyya-i Kubrā* on simile, metaphor and metonymy, the *Zāʾid al-Fawāʾid*, a dictionary of Persian verbs and the nouns derived from them, the *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, a criticism of the poems of Ḥazīn, and the *Madjmaʿ al-Nafāʾis*, a biography of ancient and modern poets with extracts from their works.

In Urdū literature Ārzū Khān was more of an influence than a figure. Although he composed a few verses in Urdū he is more important as a teacher of such luminaries of the Dihlī school of Urdū poets as Mirzā Djān Djānān Maẓhar, Muḥammad Rafīʿ Sawda, Muḥammad Taḳī Mīr and Mīr Dard. He also composed an Urdu dictionary of mystic words, the *Gharāʾib al-Lughāt* and a Hindūstāni dictionary, the *Nawādir al-Farz*.

Bibliography: Extensively given in Storey, Vol. I, Part 2, 834-840.
(P. Hardy)

ʿAṢĀ: rod, stick, staff. From *LA*, xix, 293 ff. it is clear that the word was in common use among the ancient Arabs for the camel herdsman's staff.

In the Ḳurʾān it is used of Moses' stick with which he beat down leaves for his flock (xx, 18 (19)). Later it is the rod that at the Bush became a snake (xxvii, 10; xxviii, 31), and in Egypt the rod that devoured those of the magicians (vii, 107 (104), 117 (114); xxvi, 32 (31), 45 (44). Since the same word is used for the rods of the Egyptian magicians (xx, 66 (69); xxvi, 44 (43) it is clear that it has become his magic wand, so that with it he smites the sea to make a crossing (xxvi, 63), and smites the rock in the wilderness to procure water (ii, 60 (57); vii, 160). All this follows closely the Biblical narrative in Exodus, iv to xvii though in the Ḳurʾān no distinction is made between Moses' rod and that of Aaron.

In later tradition we are told that it was a rod cut from a celestial myrtle bush which Adam brought from Paradise. It was inherited by Seth and passed to Idrīs, Noah, Ṣāliḥ, Abraham and his family, and finally to Shuʿayb, who is identified with Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses. Through his daughter it came to Moses, for whom it was not only a shepherd's staff but a magic rod whereby he could light his way at night, find nourishment in the ground, split rocks and mountains, and defend himself from animal and human enemies. This material also is mostly derived from Rabbinic sources such as those we have in *Yalḳūṭ Shimʿoni*, *Midrash Wayyosha*, *Pesīḳta de-Rab Kahana*, and *Midrash Rabba*. That certain Muslim circles were embarrassed by these stories is clear from al-Maḳdisī's, *al-Badʾ wa ʾl-Taʾrīkh*, iii, 42, 55, 112. In popular eschatology this rod is one of the things that will reappear in the Last Days, for when the Beast (cf. al-dābba) appears as one of the greater signs of the approaching Hour, it will bring with it the Rod of Moses and the Seal of Solomon (al-Tirmidhī in *Bāb at-Tafsīr* on Sūra xxvii; *Musnad Aḥmad*, ii, 295).

Al-Djāḥiẓ in his *al-Bayān wa ʾl-Tabyīn*, ii, 49 ff. has a chapter on the use of the *ʿaṣā* among the Arabs, and Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xi, 18 devotes a section to its various names. Certain men of letters, e.g. Usāma b. Munkidh, have written a *Kitāb al-ʿAṣā*. For the *ʿaṣā* as used in public worship see ʿanaza.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 460, 461; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1339, 122, 123; al-Kisāʾī (Eisenberg), 208; the Ḳurʾān Commentaries, ad loc.; L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, ii, 291, 292; v, 411; vi, 165; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 161 ff.; Sidersky, *Origines des légendes musulmanes*, 78-80.
(A. Jeffery)

ʿAṢABA [see MĪRĀTH].

ʿAṢABIYYA, Arabic word meaning originally "spirit of kinship" (the *ʿaṣaba* are male relations in the male line) in the family or tribe. Already used in the *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet condemns *ʿaṣabiyya* as contrary to the spirit of Islam, the term became famous as a result of the use to which it was put by Ibn Khaldūn, who made this concept the basis of his interpretation of history and his doctrine of the state. *ʿAṣabiyya* is, for Ibn Khaldūn, the fundamental bond of human society and the basic motive force of history; as such, the term has been translated as "esprit de corps" (de Slane), by "Gemeinsinn" and even by "Nationalitätsidee" (Kremer), which is an unjustified modernism. The first basis of the concept is undoubtedly of a natural character, in the sense that *ʿaṣabiyya* in its most normal form is derived from tribal consanguinity (*nasab, iltiḥām*), but the inconvenience of this racial conception was already overcome in Arab antiquity itself by the institution of affiliation (*walāʾ*), to which Ibn Khaldūn accords great importance in the formation of an effective *ʿaṣabiyya*. Whether it is based on blood ties or on some other social grouping, it is for Ibn Khaldūn the force which impels groups of human beings to assert themselves, to struggle for primacy, to establish hegemonies, dynasties and empires; the validity of this principle is tested firstly in Arab history, pre-Islamic and Muslim, and secondly in the history of the Berbers and other islamicised peoples: the Arab empire is the product of the *ʿaṣabiyya* of Ḳuraysh, especially of the Banū ʿAbd Manāf group, but once power (*mulk*) has been seized, the dominant group tends to detach itself from the natural *ʿasabiyya* on which it is based, and to substitute for it other forces which become the instrument of its absolutism. This extraordinary appreciation of a non-religious force as the motive power of history (the religious element only superimposes itself as a secondary element) involved Ibn Khaldūn in delicate problems of reconciliation with the traditional view of Muslim history and civilisation, a view, moreover, which he supported with whole-hearted conviction; this effort of harmonisation, apparent in more than one page of the *Muḳaddima*, prevented him from making a deeper examination and rendering fully coherent his ingenious theory.

Bibliography: F. Gabrieli, *Il concetto della ʿaṣabiyyah nel pensiero storico di Ibn Ḫaldūn, Atti della R. Accad. delle scienze di Torino*, lxv, 1930, 473-512; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldūn's political Theory, BSOS*, vii, 1933, 23-31. (F. GABRIELI)

AL-**ASAD** (A.), plural usually *al-usūd, al-usud, al-usd,* the most usual word for lion. It is also frequently found as a personal or tribal name (see following article; concerning the presumable etymology and connexions with other roots, see dicussion by C. de Landberg, *l.c.*, II/II, 1237-40). The old poetic word, which has been more and more replaced by *al-asad*, is *al-layth*; this is found not only in Semitic languages (Akk. *nēšu*, this, however, generally only in prose: Landsberger, l.c., 76), but also, according to Koehler (*Lex. in VT Libros*, 481b), in Greek λῖς, λεῖς, where it is also used by poets—though rarely—from Homer onwards. The same author, 472a, also gives, alongside the kindred Akk. *labbu* etc., the Arabic fem.: *labuʾa* (with numerous kindred forms for lioness), and gives λέων, λέαινα, *leo* as an "Asianic" word, referring to *ZDPV*, LXII (1939), 121-4 (with a geographical distribution of the words). H. Oštir, in *Symb. Rozwadowski*, I (Cracow 1927), 295-313, derives the name of the lion in the Semitic languages (including the Arabic forms *labuʾa* and *layth*), Egyptian Coptic, Greek, Latin, German and Slavonic from an original Alarodic form and its variants. Recently, Indo-Germanic scholars once more refused to admit any connexion between the Semitic languages and the words for "lion", but they are unable to give any Indo-Germanic alternative (Paul Thieme, *Die Heimat der idg. Gemeinsprache*, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 32-9; also Walde-Hofmann, *Lat. etym. Wb.*[3], Heidelberg 1938, I, 785; and Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, XIII, col. 968). The phonetic difficulties involved in the undoubted relationship between the words for "lion", "elephant" etc., in the different languages, remain a problem. It is noteworthy that all the cases concern animals which appear as characters in fables, playing a great part both in literature and ornamentation (see below, and *Indogerm. Jahrbuch*, XIII [1929], 94, No. 85).

It is a matter of common knowledge that various hypotheses have been advanced concerning the distribution of the lion in Arabia. M. Grünert, *l.c.*, 3-4, 11, states that more than two-thirds of the great number of words for the lion (3 Arab philologists vie with one another in mentioning 600 and more) can be found in the ancient poets. In his opinion, the "epitheta ornantia" which he has collected are proof of "such a perceptive way of observing nature" that "some ancient Arabic poets really observed the lion". Here, however, it is not the great quantity, but the significance of these epithets which must be the decisive factor: they do not so much give a clear picture of the animal itself, but—and this is typical in Arabic lexicography—they give a great number of synonyms for the general conception, such as "tearer-to-pieces, crusher, smasher" etc. (cf. *ibid.*, 15 f.). B. Moritz (*l.c.*, 40 f.) is likewise led to accept Grünert's view, in the main, because of this wealth of synonyms (following Ibn Sīda, *Kitāb al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 59-64). On the other hand we have the objections by G. Jacob *l.c.*, 17; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, XLIX (1895), 713; H. Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, I, 128 f. In addition to these objections, there is, above all, the fact that the figure of the lion as the king of animals—and hence as a personification of kingly power—appears very early in places where the living animal never existed (for example in Ceylon, Indonesia, and in parts of Europe; cf. M. Ebert, *l.c.*, vii, 318a). It was in such places that it could most easily turn into a semi-mythical animal, engaging an imagination which had already endowed it with those ideals which its appearance evokes. This may perhaps also serve as an explanation for attributing other qualities to it, such as courage, bravery, magnanimity and the like, which some experts definitely deny to the real animal (cf. R. Lydekker, *The Royal Natural History*, London-New York 1893/4, i, 357 f., as opposed to Brehm, *l.c.*, i, 144, 150). — Arabia, which has a predominantly desert character is, furthermore, hardly a country for an animal like the lion, which prefers a certain amount of vegetation (Jacob, *l.c.*, 16). As far as Arabia proper is concerned, geographers can only find mention of a few lions' dens (*maʾsada*) in the Yemen, in the ancient poets; but the lion is no longer found there today. Some others, difficult to localise, were on the northern border, especially in the Babylonian marshes [cf. AL-BAṬĪḤA], where it is also extinct today (cf. M. Streck, *l.c.*, 416 f.; O. Rešer, *Sachindex zu Jâqût's "Muʿǧam"*, 42 f.; Hommel, *l.c.*, 287 f.; Grünert, *l.c.*, 13; Landsberger, *l.c.*, 67; Jacob, Lammens, Moritz, *ibid.*). There are different types of lion according to

the colour of the animal and the growth of its mane. Facts for a more detailed description of these (cf. e.g. Jacob, *ibid.* and Moritz, *l.c.*, 41, n. 3) are, however, scanty. In Islamic countries today, one finds, according to Brehm, *l.c.*, i, 144 ff., the Berber lion, the Senegalese lion, the Persian lion and the Gudjarāt lion.

The Arabs caught lions in pits, a primitive method which is still found in some parts today (Grünert, *l.c.*, 14; Ebert, *l.c.*, vi, 146; Brehm, *l.c.*, i, 151f.; according to Pliny, this was the method employed to catch animals for the circus: *RE*, XIII, col. 980). Following the example of the rulers of the ancient Orient, as well as that of the Achaemenids, Sāsānids and the Caesars, the Caliphs later went on lion-hunts themselves and in Islam, too, it became a prerogative of the rulers. They kept the lions in zoological gardens, trained them as companions, and organised shows with them in the Roman manner (cf. *RE*, XIII, col. 980 f.; Ebert, *l.c.*, vi, 144-6; G. Contenau, *La vie quotid. à Bab. et en Assyrie*, Paris 1950, 140-3; W. von Soden, *Herrscher im AO*, Berlin 1954, 37, 75, 82, 134; C. de Wit, *l.c.*, 10-4; Streck, *ibid.*; Mez, *Renaissance*, 385 f.; M. F. Köprülü, *l.c.*, i, 599 f.).

"In Islamic art, the lion is probably the most frequently and diversely represented animal. It rarely has an apotropaic meaning, it sometimes has an astrological or symbolic one, but it is generally merely decorative and without any deeper significance. The main forms are:

1) In the round, as in the Fountain of the Lions in the Alhambra, hewn in stone in Ḳonya, in Fāṭimid and Saldjūḳ metal work, and in Persian ceramics of the 12th to 14th century (particularly as pouring vessels and censers).

2) In bas-relief, and also flat, in the various spheres of art, and in almost any material, either:

a) passant, statant, sejant, rampant, either alone or paired, in the so-called 'heraldic style';

b) either in battle with other animals—such as bulls, gazelles or camels—or attacking them (thereby going back to ancient Iranian tradition);

c) explicitly heraldic: as in the Persian coat of arms (where it appears with the sun); as the animal in the coat of arms of the Mamlūk Baybars and perhaps also in that of the Rūm Saldjūḳs of the name of Ḳilidj Arslan; also in numismatic representations;

d) as a lion mask (the head only) on later carpets and textiles.

3) Partial representations are rare; the most frequent are: lions' paws, used as ornamental legs; lions' heads (modelled fully in the round) as door-knockers, as handles and in similar functions, usually in bronze.

There seems to be little direct debt to the ancient Orient or Hellenic art; the stylisation of the figure of the lion, at least, is nearly always typically Islamic, both in details and ornamentation. — There is as yet no iconographic study of the lion in Islamic art." [Information given in a letter from Professor E. Kühnel].

Fr. P. Bargebuhr in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1957, mentions occasions where plastic representations of lions are alluded to in Arabic literature. According to the results of his research, the Alhambra lions are of the 5th/11th century.

In heraldry, the best known example of the lion is in the Iranian Imperial coat of arms [see below], which has its predecessor in numismatics. As M. F. Köprülü shows, *l.c.*, i, 609, it dates from the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834). — For *Asadī* or *Arslanlı* coins see *ibid.*, i, 615.

The use made of the lion in all these spheres is based largely on astronomical and astrological configurations. The constellation of *Leo* "with 27 stars and 8 shapeless ones" is, according to L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung u. die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin, 1809, 154: "a fiction of grammarians ignorant of the skies, which owes its existence to false interpretations and arbitrary changes of the older star-names. It is impossible to say in all cases exactly how they arrived at such corruptions" (see *ibid.*, 152-5, 159-68, 20-31, 52 f., 252 f., 272, 279, 317 f., 409 f., 422). The Babylonians already saw a heavenly hierarchy of kings in the zodiacal sign of *Leo* (α leonis = *šarru*, later: Regulus = *malakī*, the "royal", also: *ḳalb al-asad* "lion-heart": *ibid.*, 164 f. and A. Jeremias, *Handb. d. ao. Geisteskult.*², 1929, 203, 218 f., 347), and they put the king of their animal kingdom into the place in the zodiac in which the summer solstice occurs. Hence it became the symbol of the victory of the sun (cf. *RE*, XIII, col. 983; Keller, *l.c.*, I, 52). Just as Jesus is called the Lion of Judah (comp. the title of the Negus) because he triumphed over death (*Apoc.* V, 5), the Shīʿites call ʿAlī b. Ṭālib the "Lion of God" (cf. Cassel, *l.c.*, 72, 87-93; Ḥamza was also called *Asad Allāh*: Grünert, *l.c.*, 4). In the Persian coat of arms he draws his sword Dhū 'l-Faḳār [*q.v.*], and the rising sun appears in the background. — When the sun is in *Leo*, on July 20th, the flooding of the Nile begins, hence the lions' heads as water spouts and fountain heads (cf. Keller, *l.c.*, i, 47 f.; C. de Wit, *l.c.*, 84-90, 396 ff.). — The apotropaic nature of the lion is of considerable significance. With his fierce look, warding off all hostile attack, he becomes the guardian of the throne (also of the throne of Allāh: Grünert, *l.c.*, 5), the gate, halls and graves (cf. Keller, *l.c.*, i, 58; Bonnet, *l.c.*, 429; like the Sphinx: cf. C. de Wit, *l.c.*, 66 f.). — Some representations of lions may, of course, have resulted from mere playful joy in modelling. However, W. Andrae, *Dargestelltes u. Verschlüsseltes in der ao. Kunst*, in *Welt d. Or.*, II/3 (1956), 250-3, shows that there was often a deeper reason behind it, especially when the lion, bull, and eagle occur together. Here, Islam took a great deal from older cultures without enquiring into its significance. Frequently, ancient Egyptian art provides the answer in its added explanation of what is portrayed (cf. C. de Wit, *l.c.*, especially 78, 84-90, 159 f., 398 f., 461-8).

It is impossible here to go further into the part played by the lion in the literature of mythology (some of this may be found in M. F. Köprülü, *l.c.*, i, 601-3), the fable (e.g. of Luḳmān; in animal-fables he is often called (*al-*)*Usāma*, similar to our "noble beast"), and the proverb (examples from al-Maydānī in Grünert, *l.c.*, 17).

The description of his biological attributes, too, his daring, strength and wildness (especially his roar), on the other hand, are repeatedly stressed. Mixed up with this, are superstitious ideas concerning him, such as the tale that he flees from the (white) cock —or from its crowing—that is to say, that he was originally shy of the light of day before he himself became the symbol for it (see above), according to the views held in antiquity (cf. *RE*, XIII, col. 975 f.; Cassel, *l.c.*, 59; Grünert, *l.c.*, 18). The same is true of the use—sometimes medicinal—made of parts of

his body: brain, teeth, gall, flesh, fat, etc.; these are held to be infallible in their magic effects. The court apothecary in Stuttgart sold lions' excrement as late as 1561 as a remedy (cf. Keller, *l.c.*, i, 44; *RE*, XIII, col. 982; Grünert, *l.c.*, 19 f.).

Names show most clearly how much the lion entered into the cultural history of man. *Usd al-Ghāba* "the lions of the thicket" is what Ibn al-Athīr (died 632/1234) calls his biography of the companions of the Prophet. The names formed with *Asad(ī)*, *Layth(ī)* are numerous (sometimes theophorous: J. Wellhausen, *RAH*², 2, 64); in Turkish those formed with *Arslan* (particularly the Saldjūḳs; M. F. Köprülü, *l.c.*, 600-4 deals with personal names, place names and titles); in Persian, *shīr*, either alone or in compounds, such as *shīrdil* "lionhearted", *shīrmard* "hero" (like *asad*: Landberg, *l.c.*, II/ii, 1239f.; Fr. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdōsī's Shāhnāma*, 1935, 584-7). In the Turkish of today, the word is usually *aslan*, which also means "brave, upright, good"; *arslancığım* "my little lion", is practically a term of endearment for boys. —Thus the likable traits of the animal, its traditional virtues, the dignity of its appearance, have triumphed everywhere.

Bibliography: Owing to lack of space, the subject can only be roughly sketched.

Max Grünert, *Der Löwe in der Literatur der Araber*, Prague 1899, is little more than a study from a lexicographic standpoint. — M. Fuad Köprülü's article ARSLAN in *IA*, i, 598a-609a is hitherto the best exposition, not only for Turkish. There is no general survey of the Islamic field, nor are there any monographs on particular areas. —For comparison with antiquity, the following will be found useful: the article "Löwe" (by Steier) in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, xiii, 1927, col. 968-990; Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, i (Leipzig 1909), 24-61; further: Max Ebert, *Reallex. d. Vorgesch.*, vi, 114a-6b, VII, 318a-9b and especially Paulus Cassel, *Löwenkämpfe von Nemea bis Golgatha*, Berlin 1875, this also for oriental conditions. — For relationship with the ancient Orient: B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1934; M. Streck, in *Vorderas. Bibliothek*, vii/2 (1916), 416 f.; H. Bonnet, *Reallex. d. ägypt. Religionsgesch.*, Berlin 1952, articles "Löwe", "Sphinx", and others; especially C. de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Egypte anc.*, Leiden 1951, *passim*. — Concerning Arabic and Semitic matters in general, cf. F. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugetiere bei den südsemit. Völkern*, Leipzig 1879, 287-94; C. de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, II/ii, Leiden 1909, 1237-40; G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*², Berlin 1897, 16-18; B. Moritz, *Arabien*, Hanover 1923, 40-41. — For zoology in general: Brehm's *Tierleben*³, I (1893), 144-152.

(H. KINDERMANN)

ASAD, BANŪ (later, dialect: Benī Sed), Arab tribe. They are a tribe related to the Kināna [*q.v.*]; the awareness of this interconnexion remained remarkably alive, though it had little practical effect owing to the great distance separating them.

The homelands of the Asad are in North Arabia, at the foot of the mountains formerly inhabited by the Ṭayy [*q.v.*]. In contrast to the latter, the Asad led a mainly nomadic life. Their grazing lands extended to the south and south-east of the Nefūd, from the Shammar mountains [*q.v.*] to the Wādi 'l-Rumma in the south, and beyond it in the neighbourhood of the two Abān in the direction of Rass and further eastwards up to Sirr. Here their territory overlapped with that of the ʿAbs [*q.v.*], in the north with that of the Yarbūʿ [*q.v.*] of the Tamīm [*q.v.*], for there the Asad owned the spring of Līne beyond the Dahnā' [*q.v.*], as well as the adjacent tract of Ḥazn (Ḥedjera) to the north.

An important event in the pre-Islamic history of the Asad is their revolt in which Ḥudjr fell, the son of the last great ruler of the Kinda and the father of the poet Imru' al-Ḳays [*q.v.*], and in which they struck the disintegrating kingdom of Kinda [*q.v.*] a mortal blow. — The Asad's relationship both with their immediate and their more distant neighbours, the Tamīm and the tribes beyond the Wādī, varied. In contrast, at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies of the 4th century A.D., a permanent alliance with the Ṭayy and the Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*] was developped, in which the Dhubyān [*q.v.*] and finally the ʿAbs joined. A few decades later, however, a rift among the allies occurred, as a result of which clashes ensued, particularily between the Asad and the Ṭayy, until Islam established peace among the tribes.

An Asad family, the Ghanm, who had long been settled in Mecca, belonged to the inner circle of Muḥammad's disciples. But these connexions in no way affected the great Asad tribe. At the beginning of the year 4 /625, Muḥammad sent a raiding expedition to the Asad wells at Ḳaṭan, where were encamped the sub-tribe Faḳʿas, with their chief Ṭulayḥa (Ṭalḥa) and who, according to tradition, were contemplating an attack on Medina, already weakened by the battle of Uḥud. It is conceivable that Ṭulayḥa took part in the siege of Medina, the so-called Battle of the Trench (6/627). When, after further unsuccessful struggles against Muḥammad, famine broke out among the Asad, Ṭulayḥa appeared with other chiefs in Medina at the beginning of 9/630 to embrace Islam. Though it is uncertain that Sura XLIX, 14-17 refers to their emissaries, as is maintained by tradition, nevertheless these verses undoubtedly reflect their attitude towards Islām. However that may be, their leader Ṭulayḥa is said to have proclaimed himself a prophet even before Muḥammad's death. During the ensuing widespread troubles of the *Ridda* wars, he succeeded in re-establishing the alliance with the Ghaṭafān and the Ṭayy, which was joined by sections of the ʿAbs and Fazāra (Dhubyān). After being abandoned by the leader of the Fazāra [*q.v.*] at the battle of Buzākha against Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], he took to flight (11/632). This victory of the Muslims broke the resistance of the insurgents in North Arabia, who then for the first time were converted to Islām, the Asad among them.

In the ensuing wars of conquest, we find the Asad predominantly on the ʿIrāḳ front; Ṭulayḥa also, having in the meantime returned to Islām, fought both there and in Persia. — Most of the Asad were absorbed by al-Kūfa; here in the course of time, they evolved from warriors to men of learning; as a result many of those who handed down the Shīʿa tradition, were men of the Asad from al-Kūfa. Smaller groups of the Asad were incorporated in the Syrian army and subsequently settled near Aleppo and beyond the Euphrates.

When the withdrawal of the Bakr [*q.v.*] and Tamīm left the way to the north open to them, in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, they extended their grazing lands along the Kūfa pilgrim road from al-Biṭān (Bṭāne) in the Dahnā' as far as Wāḳiṣa. Later it was extended still further northwards: up to al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] on the frontier of the Sawād. In the East the Asad extended right up to Baṣra and in the West to ʿAyn al-Tamr [*q.v.*].

In the second half of the 4th/10th century, the Asad penetrated into the settled lands. Shaykh Mazyad of the sub-tribe Nāshira settled on the Nīl canal at al-Ḥilla [*q.v.*], whilst another chief, Dubays, crossed the Tigris and set up his camp in the neighbourhood of the later Ḥuwēze (Ḥuwayza; see Ḥawīza) (Khūzistān).

The internal troubles under the Būyids [*q.v.*] favoured the rise of the Banū Mazyad [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī b. Mazyad was confirmed in his office as a vassal of the Būyids in 403/1012-3. His son Dubays (408-474/1018-1082) and the latter's son Manṣūr (474-479/1082-1086) were considered to be the ideal type of Arab aristocracy. Both were surpassed by Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr [*q.v.*] (479-501/1086-1108), in personal nobility and political significance. In the struggle between Sulṭān Barkiyāruḳ [*q.v.*] and his brother Muḥammad b. Malikshāh [*q.v.*], he sided with the latter and occupied al-Kūfa (494/1101), Hīt, Wāsiṭ, Baṣra and Takrīt and brought several Beduin tribes of ʿIrāḳ under his influence; thus he was well justified in calling himself Malik al-ʿArab (Prince of the Beduin). Later however, he quarrelled with his overlord Sulṭān Muḥammad, who defeated him at al-Madāʾin in 501/1108, in which battle he fell. Ṣadaḳa united in his person the virtues of an old-time Arab warrior and those of an Islamic prince. He stands on the threshold of the transition from the Beduin way of life to that of urban civilisation. Though at the outset he still lived in tents, in 495 (1101/2) he set up his residence al-Ḥilla. The sons of his son and successor Dubays II [*q.v.*], who led a restless and adventurous life and was murdered at the court at Marāgha of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] in 529/1135, ruled at al-Ḥilla until 545/1150.

The Asad had followed the Banū Mazyad to al-Ḥilla and remained there after their princely family had become extinct. Because they had supported Sulṭān Muḥammad II b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] in the last Saldjūḳ feat of arms in Irāḳ, the unsuccessful siege of Baghdād (551/1157), the Khalīfa al-Mustandjid [*q.v.*] determined to expel them from al-Ḥalla (558/1163). They entrenched themselves in the neighbourhood and were, with the help of the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*], finally compelled to submit. Four thousand of them were slaughtered and the remainder banished for ever from al-Ḥilla. The victors were perhaps induced to adopt this merciless procedure, because the Asad belonged to the Shīʿa (see above).

The Asad then dispersed, but must have reassembled again later. In any case, in the 14th and 15th centuries they lived to the south east of Wāsiṭ.

In the course of time they finally found a new home in al-Djazāʾir. The Banū Asad or Benī Sed as they are called in dialect, are apparently to be found here as early as the 10th/16th century.

In the 19th century they found their territory round el-Čebāʾish too constricted. In the forties they are said to have advanced under Shēkh Djenāḥ as far as the region east of ʿAmāra and later, under the latter's son Kheyūn, to Little Medjer. 1894-5 they were punished by Turkish troops for having set fire to Medina (below el-Čebāʾish on the Euphrates) under Ḥasan el-Kheyūn. Ḥasan was driven out of el-Čebāʾish and perished miserably in Hōr al-Djazāʾir (ca. 1903). His son Sālim, thanks to the influence of the family of Sēyid Ṭālib, was appointed to the office of Shaykh over the Benī Asad in 1906. After the first world war, he remained faithful to Sēyid Ṭālib and declared himself opposed to the choice of Fayṣal as King of ʿIrāḳ. In 1924/5 he revolted against the Government, was taken prisoner and then exiled from his home. He now lives on his estates in Beledrūz (North East of Baghdād).

Bibliography: The best comprehensive historical description with source-references is in: Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, vol. III/part 2 (= VIII. Section: ʿIrāḳ), revised and published by W. Caskel, Wiesbaden 1952, 452-458 (all geographical names mentioned above may be found on the appended maps). — For the early Islamic period: The Prophet's biographies, especially: Frants Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, German edition by H. H. Schraeder, Heidelberg[2] 1955, 261, 271, 277, 321, etc., 352; also L. Caetani, *Annali*, see Index, *s.v.* (H. Kindermann)

ASAD, ancient Arab tribe. The Ασατηνοι mentioned by Ptolemy VI, 7, § 22 (Sprenger, 206), and stated by him to have lived in central Arabia, to the west of the Θανουιται = Tanūkh [*q.v.*]. Like them, and perhaps with them, the Asad had emigrated to the Euphrates line before the middle of the 3rd century. They appear in the inscription on the grave of the second Lakhmid of Ḥīra (in al-Numāra, 328 A.D.), together with the Tanūkh, as al-Asadayn, "the two Asads". Here the dual *a potiori* may well have been chosen in order to erase, together with the name, the memory of the Tanūkh rule, whose kings had preceded the Lakhm in Ḥīra. It is not obvious what this term is based on—possibly on some relationship. This is also accepted by the Arab genealogists, who say that the core of the Tanūkh arose from the Asad. The inscription in Numāra mentions that "he reigned over both the Asad ...... and their kings". It is not known for how long the Asad were under the Lakhm. Some of their descendants, the B(anu) 'l-Ḳayn [*q.v.*], lived until Islamic times to the south and south-east of the Ḥawrān on the eastern border of the Balḳāʾ and down to Arabia; other branches had joined the Tanūkh.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Ms. Escorial, 450, 490. (W. Caskel)

ASAD [see nudjūm].

ASAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH b. Asad al-Ḳasrī (of the Ḳasr sept of Badjīla; not al-Ḳushayrī, as sometimes printed in error), governor of Khurāsān, 106-9/724-7 and 117-20/735-8, under his brother Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], governor of al-ʿIrāq and the East, in the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. His first period of governorship coincided with increasing pressure by Turkish forces against the Arabs in Transoxiana, which he was unable to counter effectively, although he conducted successful raids into the fringes of the Parapomisus. In 107/726 he rebuilt the city of Balkh (destroyed by Ḳutayba b. Muslim after the rising of Nēzak) and transferred the Arab garrison troops to it from Barūḳān. The Caliph was forced to remove him from office, however, owing to his violence against the local Muḍarites. But when the disorders in Transoxiana and Eastern Khurāsān came to a climax with the revolt in 116/734 of al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], supported by the native princes, Asad was reappointed to the province. He drove the rebel forces across the Oxus but in spite of a raid towards Samarḳand failed to restore the Arab position in Ṣughd. In order to control the disturbed sector of Ṭukhāristān he established a garrison of 2500 Syrian troops in Balkh in 118/736. In the following year he led an expedition into Khuttal, but the local princes called for support from the powerful khāḳān of the Türgesh, Su Lu, who drove Asad back to Balkh with severe losses (1 Shawwāl 719/

1 October 737). The joint forces of the Türgesh and the princes of Ṣughd, supported by al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj, now crossed the Oxus in their turn, to make a raid on Khurāsān. Asad, with the Syrians from Balkh and some local forces, surprised the main body at Kharistān, and the remainder were all but cut off in their retreat (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 119/December 737). By this fortunate victory Asad restored the Arab power in Eastern Khurāsān but himself died a few months later (120/738). In his second government, as in his first, he had had to take severe measures against the emissaries and local agents of the ʿAbbāsids [*q.v.*, p. 15 above], but he also endeavoured to reform the local administration, and gained the friendship of many *dihḳāns*, who applauded him as a prudent "steward" (*katkhudā*) of his province. Among other nobles, Sāmānkhudāt, the ancestor of the Sāmānid [*q.v.*] dynasty, was converted by him to Islam, and named his eldest son Asad in his honour. The village of Asadābād near Naysābūr is said to have been built by him, and remained in the possession of his descendants until the government of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir. In Kūfa also, the suburb of Sūḳ Asad was established by and named after him.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara* (Lévi-Provençal), 366; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Narshakhī (Schefer), 57 sq.; Ch. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, History of Balkh; Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination des Arabes* (Amsterdam 1894), 24-5,30; J. Wellhausen, *Arab. Reich*, 284, 291-5; H. A. R. Gibb, *Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (London 1923), 65-89; F. Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hisham* (Alexandria 1935), 38-41, 54-64. (H. A. R. Gibb)

ASAD B. AL-**FURĀT** B. SINĀN, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, scholar and jurist of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century, born at Ḥarrān (Mesopotamia) in 142/759. At the age of two he went with his father to live in Ifrīḳiya. He completed his early studies there, and in 172/788 went to Medina, where he received an initiation in Mālikism from Mālik b. Anas himself. From there he went to ʿIrāḳ, where he profited by the teaching of several disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa. The lessons he received from Mālik provided him with the material for his great work, the *Asadiyya*. On his return to Ifrīḳiya, be established himself as a master in the science of *ḥadīth* and as an eminent jurist; he was appointed by the Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyādat Allāh *ḳāḍī* of al-Ḳayrawān, jointly with Abū Muḥriz (203/818), an unusual division of this office between two holders. Of a violent nature, he sometimes quarrelled with his colleague and disagreed with the famous Saḥnūn, a Mālikite doctor whose *Mudawwana* outlived the success of the *Asadiyya*.

His passionate convictions and perhaps his belligerent energy led to the appointment of this man of learning as *amīr*, leader of the expedition which left Sūs in 212/827 to attack Byzantine Sicily. He marched at the head of the Muslim troops and took the first step towards the conquest of the island by the capture of Mazzara. He died of wounds or of the plague before Syracuse in 213/828.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, ed. and trans. by Ben Cheneb, 81-3, 153-6; Houdas and R. Basset, *Mission scientifique en Tunisie* (*Bulletin de Correspondance africaine*, ii, 1884). Extract from Ibn al-Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-Īmān*; Amari, *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula*, index; idem, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, i, 382 ff.; Ben Cheneb, in *Centenario M. Amari*, i, 242-3. (G. Marçais)

ASAD ALLĀH IṢFAHĀNĪ, celebrated Persian sword-maker (*shamshīrsāz*) of the time of Shāh ʿAbbās I. It is said that the Ottoman sultan presented a helmet to Shāh ʿAbbās, and offered a sum of money to anyone who could cleave the helmet in two with a sword. Asad made a sword with which he achieved this feat, and, as a reward, Shāh ʿAbbās remitted the tax of the sword-makers, who continued to obtain exemption until Ḳādjār times (see A. K. S. Lambton, *Islamic Society in Persia*, London 1954, 25). For a description of Asad Allāh's work, see *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 2575. (R. M. Savory)

ASAD AL-**DAWLA**, a title held by several princes, of whom the most important was ṢĀLIḤ B. MIRDĀS [*q.v.*].

ASʿAD EFENDĪ [see ESʿAD EFENDI].

ASADĀBĀDH, town in al-Djibāl, 7 *farsakhs* or 54 kms. southwest of Hamadhān, on the western slope of the Alwand Kūh at the entrance to a fruitful well-tilled plain (5659 ft. high). As a permanent caravan-station on the famous, ancient highway Hamadhān (Ekbatana)-Baghdād (or Babylon), it is a settlement reaching back into antiquity, and (according to Tomaschek) is probably the Ἀδραπάνα of Isidor of Charax and the Beltra of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (cf. Weissbach, in Pauly-Wissowa's iii, 264). In the Arab Middle ages, and even into the Mongol period, Asadābādh was a flourishing, thickly populated place with excellent markets, and its inhabitants were considered well-to-do because of the rich yield of their domains, to which canals gave a plentiful supply of water. In 1872, according to Bellew, it was a fine village with some 200 houses, some of which were occupied by Jewish families. The Persians call it, according to the accounts of European travellers, Absadābādh (Petermann, Bellew), also Saʿīdābādh (Duprée, Petermann) or Sahadābādh (Ker Porter). In 514/1120 there was fought at Asadābādh a battle between the two Saldjūḳ sultans Masʿūd of Mawṣil (Mosul) and Maḥmūd of Iṣpahān, which resulted in favour of the latter. 3 *farsakhs* from Asadābādh there stood imposing buildings of Sāsānid times which the Arabs called Maṭbakh or Maṭābikh Kisrā, i. e. the Kitchen(s) of Chosroes; for the explanation of this name cf. the legend deriving from the *Risāla* of Misʿar b. Muhalhil in Yāḳūt, iv, 593 s.v. Maṭbakh Kisrā.

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ASADĪ. This poetical name (*takhalluṣ*) is probably that of two poets born at Ṭūs (Khurāsān): ABŪ NAṢR AḤMAD B. MANṢŪR AL-ṬŪSĪ and his son ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD. According to the extremely doubtful statement of Dawlatshāh, the father was the pupil of Firdūsī (born ca. 320-2/932-4), while the epic composed by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad is precisely dated 458/1066; H. Ethé concludes from this that it is impossible to attribute to the same author the works placed under the name of Asadī. Thus Abū Naṣr, about whom it is only known that he died during the rule of Masʿūd al-Ghaznawī, becomes the author of the *Munāẓarāt* ("Debates"), which show analogies with the Provençal *tensones*, and are consequently important from the point of view of literary history,

apart from their originality of matter and form. On the other hand ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, situated at the court of a prince of Arrān, Abū Dulaf composed on the advice of a minister, his *Gers͟hāsp-nāma*, the oldest of the epics complementary to the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdūsī: this work is remarkable not only for its spirited narrative and for its style, but also for its supernatural episodes and philosophical discourses which foreshadow the later development of the Persian epic. The valuable *Lug͟hat-i Furs*, a dictionary of rare words with quotations from Persian poetry, was probably written after the epic. A copy of the pharmacopoeial treatise of Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAlī of Harāt dated 447/1055-6 one of the oldest Persian manuscripts, is in the handwriting of ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, and is dated and signed by him. K. I. Tchaikin has tried to show that all these works are by one and the same author, Abū Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aḥmad (*Iztadelsvo Akademii Nauk SSSR*, Leningrad 1934, 119-59; resumé by H. Massé in introd. *Gers͟hāsp-nāma*).

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ĀṢĀF b. BARAK͟HYĀ (Hebrew Āsāf b. Bērek͟hyā), name of the alleged *wazīr* of King Solomon. According to the legend he was Solomon's confidant, and always had access to him. When the royal consort D͟jarāda was worshipping idols Āṣāf delivered a public address in which he praised the apostles of God, Solomon among them, but only for the excellent qualities he had manifested in his youth. Solomon in anger at this took him to task, but was reproved for the introduction of idol-worship at the court. This was then done away with and the consort punished; the king became repentant.

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ĀṢĀF-D͟JĀH, title of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*].

ĀṢAF K͟HĀN Abu 'l-Ḥasan, second son of D͟jahāngīr's *wakīl-i-kul* Iʿtimād al-Dawla G͟hiyāt͟h Bēg and elder brother of Nūr D͟jahān.

After Nūr D͟jahān's marriage to D͟jahāngīr in 1020/1611 Abu 'l-Ḥasan became *K͟hān-sāmān* with the title of Iʿtiḳād K͟hān. In 1021/1612 his daughter Ard͟jmand Bānū Begam Mumtāz Maḥall married Prince K͟hurram, the future S͟hāh D͟jahān. He himself received the title of Āṣaf K͟hān in 1023/1614 and attained in 1031/1622 the rank of 6,000 *d͟hāt* and *suwār* and was appointed *ṣūbadār* of Bengal in 1033/1623. In 1025/1616 the imprisoned Prince K͟husraw, eldest son of D͟jahāngīr, was delivered over to the charge of Āṣaf K͟hān, now sharing the real power in the empire with Nūr D͟jahān, Iʿtimād al-Dawla and Prince K͟hurram. Despite his negligence in allowing Mahābat K͟hān, the enemy of the Nūr D͟jahān faction, to capture D͟jahāngīr on the banks of the Jhelum in 1035/1626, his own flight to Atak and eventual seizure there by Mahābat K͟hān's forces, Āṣaf K͟hān survived to become governor of the Pand͟jāb and *wakīl*.

Āṣaf K͟hān quickly despatched the news of the death of D͟jahāngīr in 1037/1627 to Prince K͟hurram in the Dekkan. Always a supporter of the latter's succession, Āṣaf K͟hān diplomatically proclaimed Dāwar Bak͟hs͟h as *pāds͟hāh* at Bhimbar, pending the arrival of Prince K͟hurram. He also placed Nūr D͟jahān, who supported Prince S͟hahriyār, under restraint. His services in securing the succession of S͟hāh D͟jahān were rewarded by the title of *Yamīn al-dawla*, the rank of 9,000 *dhāt* and *suwār*, *do-aspa sih-aspa* and the office of *wakīl*. In 1041/1631-2 Āṣaf K͟hān was employed as commander of the Mug͟hal armies fighting against Muḥammad ʿĀdil S͟hāh of Bid͟japūr.

Āṣaf K͟hān died in 1051/1641 and was buried in Lahore not far from D͟jahāngīr's tomb. A patron of Mug͟hal miniature painting and a great builder, he left a fortune estimated, in European sources, at more than twenty five million rūpīs apart from his residences and gardens.

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AL-AṢAMM, "the deaf", a soubriquet applied to several people, notably: 1. Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī, called al-Aṣamm, an Umayyad general famous for his eloquence, who led several campaigns against the K͟hārid͟jites, the most notable of which, about 78/677 or 79/678, led to the crushing defeat and death of the Azraḳī K͟hārid͟jite Ḳaṭari b. al-Fud͟ja'a [*q.v*].

Bibliography: al-Ṭabari, *Annales*, ed. by de Goeje, ii, 1018 (Cairo ed. v, 126); D͟jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. by Hārūn, i, 61, 407 and iii, 264.

2. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Nīsābūrī, called al-Aṣamm, a celebrated doctor and traditionist of the S͟hāfiʿī school, born in 247/861, died in 346/957-8. A disciple of al-Rabīʿ al-Murādī (d. 270/883) and al-Muzanī (d. 264/876) [*q.v.*], he helped to make the latter's *Muk͟htaṣar* more widely known through the medium of a recension which attained great popularity; see *Fihrist*, 212. The S͟hāfiʿī Sahl b. Muḥammad al-Ṣuʿlukī (d. 387/997), who was a pupil of his at Nīsābūr, also won great renown.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 211, 212; Ibn K͟hallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i, 219 and ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, n.d., iii, 154; D͟hahabī, *Tabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ* (*Liber Classium*, etc.), ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1833 fol., ii 94, no. 61. Our edition of the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Subkī does not contain any notice on him. (R. Blachère)

ASĀS [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA].

ʿASAS, the night patrol or watch in Muslim cities. According to Maḳrīzī the first to carry out this duty was ʿAbdallah b. Masʿūd, who was ordered by Abu Bakr to patrol the streets of Medina by night. ʿUmar is said to have gone on patrol in person, accompanied by his *mawlā* Aslam and by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 223, cf. Ṭabarī, i, 5, 2742; R. Levy, (ed.) *Maʿālim al-Ḳurba*, 216; al-Ghazzālī, *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* (ed. Humāʾī, 13, 58). Later the *ʿasas* was commanded by a police officer, known as the *ṣāḥib al-ʿasas* (Maḳrīzī, loc. cit.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 73; Nuwayrī, iii, 151). Maḳrīzī says that in his day the *ṣāḥib al-ʿasas* was popularly known as the *wālī 'l-ṭawf* (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 103); a *ṣāḥib al-ṭawf* is reported in Baṣra in the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* 364. On the *Ṭawf*, apparently a synonym of the *ʿAsas*, see also Badīʿ al-Zamān, *Maḳāmāt, al-Maḳāma al-Ruṣāfiyya*; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiii, 93, citing the instructions given to them in 697/1297 by the Sultan). In Mamlūk times there were also night patrols known as *aṣḥāb al-arbāʿ*, coming under the authority of the *Wālī*, or chief of police; in Spain they were called *darrābūn* (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, Cairo, ii, 54; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 135).

In the East, a diploma issued by the *dīwān* of the Saldjūḳid Sandjar (d. 552/1157) orders the *nāʾib* of Rayy to appoint *ʿasas* in the town wherever there may be the suspicion of vice and corruption (*ʿAtabat al-Katabat*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1950, 44).

In Ottoman times the commandant of the *ʿAsas* (*ʿAsesbashī*) was a Janissary officer (according to ʿOthmān Nūrī the čorbadjī of the 28th *bölük*, according to Hammer from an unspecified regiment). He was in charge of the public prisons and exercised a kind of supervision over public executions. He attended meetings of the Dīwān of the Agha of the Janissaries and at the Saray and the Porte, in case anyone was to be handed to him for execution. He also played an important role in public processions. He received one tenth of the fines imposed by the Su Bashī for drunkenness and similar offences by night, though not by day; in addition the *ʿAsas* levied a due (*Resm-i ʿAsesiyye*) from every shop. (Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 517 = Hammer's translation, i, 2, 108-9, attributing their foundation to Meḥemmed II; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, i, 901-2, 954; Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları* I *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 69, 70, 134, 139, 147, 160, 162, 163, 164, 178, 400).

In Ṣafawid Persia the night patrols were under the command of the dārūghā, and were called *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*] and *gezme* as well as *ʿasas*. (Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 149). In 19th century Shīrāz the head of the night watchmen was known as *mir ʿasas* (Ann K. S. Lambton, *Islamic Society in Persia*, London, 1954, 14-15).

In Ghardaïa and in the other cities of the Mzāb, the organisation of night watchmen not only assures public security and morals, but possesses a secret and almost absolute authority, superior even to that of the *Ḥalḳa* of the *ʿAzzāba* and the *Djamāʿa* of the laymen, in the important affairs of the community. (M. Vigourous, *La garde de nuit à Ghardaïa*, in *Bulletin de Liaison Saharienne*, no. 9, Algiers 1952, 9-16). The minaret of the Abāḍī mosques in the Mzāb is called *ʿassās*, «watchman». (M. Mercier, *La civilisation urbaine du Mzab*, Algiers 1922, 60 f.).

Bibliography: in addition to sources quoted in the article: W. Behrnauer, *Mémoire sur les Institutions de Police chez les Arabes, les Persans et les Turcs*, *JA*, June 1860, 461 ff.; G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, *Egypte*, ii, Cairo 1929-30, *Mém. I.F.A.O.* vol. lii, 61-62; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922, 393-4; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, 1/i, 119, 324-326; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilatından Kapukulu Ocakları*, i, Ankara 1943, 170, 358, 370, 397, 421; id. *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, Ankara 1948, 21, 124, 139, 141-2, 283, 285, 286; D'Ohsson, *Tableau General de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1788-1824, vii, 167, 319; J. Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i, 247, ii, 105-6; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, i, Istanbul 1946, 93-4; an example of the use of the term in Morocco is given in *Archives Marocaines* 1/ii, 186.

(ED.)

The term *ʿassās* is used in North Africa in the sense of "night-watchman". R. Brunschvig (*La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, 203) uses it in connexion with the night-watchmen in the *sūḳs* at Tunis. It is also found in Budget Meakin (*The Moors*, London 1902, 174) to denote the watchman who keeps guard at night over the caravans which have halted in the villages; the same custom, but without the word being used, is mentioned by M. Rey (*Souvenir d'un voyage au Maroc*, Paris 1844, 124). At Fez, the word was used at the beginning of the 20th century to denote not only night-watchmen, but policemen in general.

Whether the word *ʿassās* is indicated or not, the use of guards at night, particularly in the central market, at warehouses and on the ramparts, was the general practice in North African towns up to the advent of the French. There is evidence of its use in Algiers (R. P. Dan, *Histoire de Barbare et de ses corsaires*, Paris 1637, 102), where the *mizwār* [*q.v.*] and his agents patrolled the main streets at night, and in Fez (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i, 206), where "four police officers, not more", went the rounds from midnight until 2 a.m., and where the central market and warehouses were guarded by Berber porters or *zarzāya* (R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca-Paris 1949, 196), while the police of the ward commanders (*ʿassāsa*) kept watch on the ramparts (*ibid.*, 253). At Wazzān, the head of the family of the *Shorfa* of the town paid each night 58 guards who kept watch over the city (Budget Meakin, *The land of the Moors*, London 1901, 325), while at Safi, the Moroccan army took part in guarding the city by night (*ibid.*, 200).

In Spain, the term *ʿassās* does not appear to have been used. E. Lévi-Provençal (*Xe siècle*, 253), mentions the use of the word *darrāb* to denote night-watchmen; the person responsible for nocturnal security was sometimes known as *ṣāḥib al-layl*, which is apparently the equivalent of the term: *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 155, following al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 134).

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

AṢFAR (A), yellow: also, in distinction from black, simply light-coloured. Some Arab philologists and exegetes indeed claim for *aṣfar* also the meaning "black"; see the discussions thereon in the *Khizānat al-Adab*, ii, 465. The Arabs called the Greeks *Banu 'l-Aṣfar* (fem. *Banāt al-A.*: *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 274, ab

infra) according to Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, i, 357, 11; 354, 15) signifying "Sons of the Red One" (Esau). In the Ḥadīth mention is made of the contest of the Arabs with the Banu 'l-Aṣfar and of the conquest of their capital Constantinople (*Musnad Aḥmad*, ii, 174). *Mulūk Bani 'l-Aṣfar* (*Aghānī*, 1st ed., vi, 95, 18) = the Christian princes, especially those of the Rūm (ib. 98, 7 ab infra; cf. Abū Tammām, Dīwān, ed. Beirut. 18 ult. in a poem to al-Muʿtaṣim after the battle at ʿAmmuriya). Later this designation was applied to Europeans in general, especially in Spain. *Taʾrīkh al-Ṣufr* (Spanish Era) can thus be best explained; other views in *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 626, 637. Many genealogists have explained Aṣfar as the name of the grandson of Esau (Σωφάρ in the Septuagint, Gen. 36, 10) and father of Rūmīl (Reʾūʾēl, Gen. 36, 11), ancestor of the Rūm. According to the explanation of De Sacy (*Not. et Extr.*, ix, 437; *Journ. As.*, 3. Serie, Pt. i, 94), which Franz Erdmann accepts (*ZDMG*, ii, 237-241), the designation Banu 'l-Aṣfar was a literal translation originally referring to the Flavian dynasty, then became extended beyond it to the western nations. From his travels among the Nuṣayrīs [*q.v.*] H. Lammens relates that they designate the Emperor of Russia *Malik al-Aṣfar* (*Au pays des Nosairis* in *Rev. de l'Or. chrétien*, Paris, 1900, 42 of the separate edition).

Bibliographie: I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 268 ff.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 242; *ZDMG*, iii, 363; *JA*, 10th series, ix, 230; 10th series, xii, 190. (I. Goldziher)

ASFĀR B. SHĪRAWAYHĪ, (Aspar the son of Shērōē), a Daylamite *condottiere*, to be more exact a Gīlite, who played an important rôle in the civil wars which followed the death in 304/917 of the ʿAlid Ḥasan al-Uṭrush [*q.v.*], the master of Ṭabaristān, and put an end to the domination of the ʿAlids in this region. He made his appearance with another Daylamite *condottiere*, Mākān b. Kākūy (Ar. another Daylamite brigand, Mākān b. Kākūy (Ar. Kākī), in 311/923, in the struggles which brought al-Uṭrush's son-in-law and successor, Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim, surnamed *al-dāʿī al-ṣaghīr*, "the little missionary", into conflict with some of al-Uṭrush's sons, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. He revolted against Mākān or was dismissed from his army by the latter for his execrable conduct, and entered the service of the Sāmānid prefect of Naysābūr. After the death of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim in 312/925, Mākān proclaimed one of the latter's sons, Ismāʿīl, in opposition to one of his nephews Abū ʿAlī, whom he had imprisoned in Djurdjān; Abū ʿAlī succeeded in escaping, killing his custodian, Mākān's brother, and appealed to Asfār (315/927-8). Asfār came to Djurdjān and with ʿAlī b. Khurshīd, another Daylamite, the leader of Abū ʿAlī's army, defeated Mākān and expelled him from Ṭabaristān. After Abū ʿAlī's death in the same year, Mākān recovered Ṭabaristān and Asfār returned to Djurdjān, where he was appointed governor by the Sāmānid amīr Nasr. Then with the help of the Gīlite Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār, he again took possession of Ṭabaristān. Mākān had brought the *Dāʿī* Ḥasan back to power and they then tried to take Ṭabaristān from Asfār, but were routed and the *Dāʿī* was killed in the battle by Mardāwīdj. In this way the ʿAlid dominion in Ṭabaristān came to an end, for Asfār seized the other ʿAlids and sent them to the Sāmānid at Bukhārā (316/928-9).

Asfār, now master of Ṭabaristān, extended his power over Djurdjān, over Rayy (from which he expelled Mākān), over Ḳazwīn and the other towns of the Djabal. However he lefts Āmul to Mākān on condition that he did not seek to dominate the rest of Ṭabaristān. He proclaimed the sovereignty of the Sāmānid. He removed his family and treasures to Alamūt (Ibn al-Athīr: Ḳalʿat al-Mawt), the famous future fortress of the Ismāʿīlīs to the North of Ḳazwīn, which he took by a ruse. Within a short time, he conducted himself as an independent prince, adopted the external marks of sovereignty at Rayy (golden throne and crown) and defied the Sāmānid and the Caliph. At this point the Caliph al-Muḳtadir sent an army against him, under the command of his maternal uncle Hārūn b. Gharīb, which Asfār completely routed near Ḳazwīn. However, Asfār found himself the object of the hostility of both Mākān, who had not renounced his claims to Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān, and the Sāmānid, who marched against him and reached Naysābūr. Asfār's minister persuaded his master to make peace with the Sāmānid, paying him tribute, and recognising his suzerainty. In this manner Asfār avoided war and took advantage of the situation to further extend his authority by deceit and fraud. He became increasingly tyrannical, took the most fearful revenge on the people of Ḳazwīn for having helped Hārūn b. Gharīb, and, in order to pay the tribute to the Sāmānid, collected a poll-tax of one dīnār per head on all the inhabitants of his possessions and even on foreign merchants in the country, in fact the *djizya* (the word occurs in al-Masʿūdī).

His tyranny caused his lieutenant Mardāwīdj to rebel against him; the latter made an alliance with the prince of Shamīrān in Ṭarum, Sallār, and with Mākān, and wons over a large part of Asfār's troops. After fleeing to Ray, where he was only able to collect a small amount of money, Asfār wanted to set out for Khurāsān and reached Bayhaḳ; then he turned back towards Ray, his purpose being to reach Alamūt so as to regain possession of his treasures there, raise new troops and take up the struggle again. But on the way, he was overtaken by Mardāwīdj, who cut his throat (there are several versions of this occurrence). The chronology of events between 316 and 319 is not well established: Ibn al-Athīr gives them under 316 and Ibn Isfandiyār under 319. The latter is the most likely date for Asfār's death. It is with Asfār that the domination of the Daylamites in North-West Iran really begins, continuing with Mākān and Mardāwīdj, and then the Buwayhids. According to al-Masʿūdī, who stresses Asfār's behaviour at Ḳazwīn (the *muʾadhdhin* thrown from the top of the minaret, the suspension of the prayers, the ruined mosques), he was not a Muslim.

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(M. Canard)

AṢFĪ, Asafī, (Fr. Safi, Sp. Safí, Port. Çafim or preferably Safim), town and port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, a few kilometers to the south of Cap Cantin; about 25,000 inhabitants in 1936, and about 70,000 in 1953, of whom, in round figures, 62,000 were Muslims, 3,500 Jews and 4,000 Europeans.

Safi does not appear to date from any very considerable antiquity. Al-Bakrī (5th/11th century) mentions it, without treating it as a place of any great importance. Al-Idrīsī in the following century considers it to be a relatively busy port, though its roadstead was not very safe. According to the same geographer, this was the point where the flotilla of the "Adventurers", who set out to explore the Atlantic Ocean, made landfall on its return (with a popular etymology of the toponymic; cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Pén. ibér.*, 24). In the 7th/13th century there was a *ribāṭ* there. The history of the town is chiefly known since the intervention of the Portuguese, who accepted its submission just prior to the death of King Alfonso V (1438-1481) and who occupied it in the first months of 1508. They built a great enclosure, which contained a castle called "Castle of the Sea" by the sea-shore, and adapted the old *ḳaṣba* which they turned into their citadel (now Kechla). Almost the whole of these fortifications still survive. Safi was the main Portuguese stronghold in Southern Morocco. The Portuguese made it the centre of the manufacture of the rugs called *hambels* (Ar. *ḥanbil*), which were one of the basic articles of their trade with the rest of the Barbary States, with the Western Sahara (through their trading post at Arguin) and with Negro Africa (through their trading post at Mina on the Gulf of Guinea). Enterprising and bold captains (governors), the most famous of whom was Nuno Fernandes de Ataide, working through native notables, especially through one man who seems to have been a great chief, Yaḥyā b. Taʿfūft, gave Safi a vast military and political sphere of influence which was expressed by at least two expeditions against the town of Marrakes͟h. But this brillant period was of short duration: the death of Nuno Fernandes de Ataide, killed in a fight in 1516, then that of Yaḥyā, ambushed and killed in 1518, weakened the Portuguese and forced them to curtail their activity. In 1534 the Saʿdī Sharīf of Marrakes͟h subjected the town to a close and dangerous siege. After the fall of Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué in March 1541 (see AGADIR), which jeopardised the whole Portuguese position in Southern Morocco, King John III (1521-1557) decided to concentrate his forces at Mazagan and to evacuate Safi and Azemmūr: this operation took place towards the end of October 1541 (the famous João de Castro's participation in this operation is a legend).

Safi became the main port ot the Saʿdī Sharīfs, owing to its nearness to Marrakes͟h, the residence of the Sulṭāns, and played a considerable rôle until the accession of the ʿAlawīs; it was one of the centres of Christian trading. When the ʿAlawī Sultans transferred their residence to the North (Fez and Meknes), the activity of Safi declined to the advantage of Rabat; yet European merchants were still numerous there at the end of the 18th century. In the 19th century the town's decline became increasingly evident. The establishment of the French Protectorate gave Safi a new lease of life; it is today a busy port, exporting the agricultural produce of the ʿAbda region and the Louis-Gentil phosphates. Recently the number of factories for producing salted goods has been increased. The name of one of the two quarters of the old *ribāṭ* has been preserved, whilst the other is absorbed in the old Portuguese walls.

From 1487 (?) to 1542, Safi was the seat of a bishopric, held by Portuguese prelates, the best known of whom was D. João Sutil (1512-36); the remains of a Christian church, which was probably the Cathedral, are still to be seen.

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(H. BASSET and R. RICARD)

ASFIZĀR [see SABZAWĀR].

AL-AʿS͟HĀ, "the night-blind", is the surname of a number of early Arab poets (17 in all; see al-Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif*, 12 ff.; *Ag͟hānī*, index; *L.A.*, s.v.); each of them is connected with a tribe (Aʿs͟hā Banī Fulān) and, apart from the most celebrated of their number, al-Aʿs͟hā of the Bakr (or the Ḳays) [*q.v.*] and al-Aʿs͟hā of the Hamdān [*q.v.*], the following are worthy of note: al-Aʿs͟hā of the Bāhila (ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārit͟h b. Riyāḥ) who is included among the *aṣḥāb al-marāt͟hī* by Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. S͟hākir, 169, 175 (with refs.); see also al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Abu Zayd al-Ḳuras͟hī, *D͟jamhara*, 135; al-D͟jāḥiz, *Ḥayawān*, i, 387; Ibn al-S͟had͟jarī, *Mukhtārāt*, Cairo 1306, 9-12; al-Aʿs͟hā of the Banū Māzin (ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Aʿwar), who is reckoned among the Companions of the Prophet; see Ibn Ḥad͟jar, *Iṣāba*, no. 220. Al-Aʿs͟ha of the Banū Nahs͟hal = al-Aswad b. Yaʿfur [*q.v.*].—al-Aʿs͟ha of the Banū Rabīʿa (ʿAbd Allāh b. K͟hārid͟ja), a poet of Ḳūfa of the 1st/7th century; see *Ag͟hānī*, xvi, 155-7; C.A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, index; Brockelmann, S I, 95.—al-Aʿs͟hā of the Banū S͟haybān, see al-Buḥturi, *Ḥamāsa*, 156; Ibn Sallām, 377 and refs.—al-Aʿs͟hā of the Banū Tag͟hlib (d. 92/710), see *Ag͟hānī*, x, 98-100; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn* iii, 263; Brockelmann S I, 95.—al-Aʿs͟hā of the Banū Sulaym, a 2nd/8th century poet, see al-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index.—al-Aʿs͟hā of the Ṭarūd (Ṭirwad), Iyās b. ʿĀmir, see al-Bag͟hdādī, *K͟hizāna*, i, 311-2.

(ED.)

AL-AʿS͟HĀ, MAYMŪN B. ḲAYS. Prominent ancient Arab poet of the tribe of Ḳays b. T͟haʿlaba of the Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*]. Born before 570 in Durnā, a place in the Manfūḥa oasis (south of Riyāḍ), died in the same place after 625. As his cognomen indicates, he suffered from an eye disease, and went completely blind whilst still in the prime of life. He set out in search of wealth in his youth. For years he travelled, probably as a merchant, and visited Upper and Lower Mesopotamia, Syria, southern Arabia, and Abyssinia in this way. After he became blind, he lived by his art, i.e. by writing panegyrics; yet he still travelled: to the governor of Ḥīra, Iyās b. Ḳabīsa (+ 611), to Ḥaḍramawt to see Ḳays b. Maʿdīkariba (the father of As͟hʿat͟h), to Hawd͟ha b. ʿAlī, prince of D͟jauw a village in Yamāma. He had already tried his luck as a panegyrist in earlier days. But poem No. 1, celebrating the triple victory of Prince Aswad of Ḥīra (the brother of King Nuʿmān), does not appear to have been a success. The poet was

deeply involved in politics. After the fall of King Nuʿmān (in 501 or 502), the Bakr had begun their raids into the cultivated land of ʿIrāḳ, along the Euphrates border where Aʿshā resided—presumably with the powerful Shaybān b. Thaʿlaba, who shared the area in which they migrated in summer with the nomad Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba. He threatened to bring death and destruction upon the valley of the Euphrates in an insolent reply to Khusraw II, who had demanded hostages. With equal boldness he confronted Ḳays b. Masʿūd, the head of the Shaybān, when the latter—under the impression of the great losses he had suffered—went to the court (No. 34; 26). Thus the poet may be said to have helped to bring about the battle of Dhū Ḳār (605). If the stray and corrupted verses 5, 32-50 do indeed refer to Iyās b. Ḳabīṣa, then he was also active in that change which soon brought the victors of Dhū Ḳār under Persian influence again. In his home country, he interceded in favour of the rightful prince, Hawdha, to whom he was indebted, and ridiculed the usurper al-Ḥārith b. Waʿla (7, 4-6; 30). Meanwhile he had left the Shaybān in favour of the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, because he considered that the Shaybān had violated the honour of his tribe (6; 9). He was therefore deeply hurt, when (a few years later) he was accused in his own homeland and lost the case. Actually, he had been quite ready to reach an amicable solution until his opponent opposed him with a poetaster by name of Djihinnām. The two met at a fair near Mecca. A mob—stirred up by Djihinnām—closed in on him with whips and spear-staffs, but was then dumbfounded by his verses, in which Aʿshā allowed Misḥal—his demonic *alter ego*—to appear for the first time (14; 38; 15). He had once previously had occasion to save himself from great danger by means of a hastily improvised poem (on Samawʾal [*q.v.*]). He subsequently, with or without their consent, interfered in the quarrel between ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl [*q.v.*] and ʿAlḳama b. ʿUlātha (18; 19). He also defended ʿUyayna and Khāridja of the Fazāra (Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*]) against Zabbān b. Sayyār, a well known chief of the same tribe (20, 27-37): *Oriens* 7, 302. This probably took place in the beginning of the twenties. As can be seen from 1, 67; 3, 32. 54; 5, 62-64; 13, 69; 34, 13 al-Aʿshā was a Christian.

The poet was educated at Ḥīra, where the tradition of legend and poetry was broader than that of any other individual tribe. His style is rhetorical and at times (especially in 1), artificial. Connected with this is his preference for sound-effects and for sonorous (Persian) foreign words, as well as for effective endings. He occasionally treats the traditional themes of the *ḳaṣīda* with a high-handed indifference. He likes many types of allusion. Thus, for instance, *Ḥurayrata waddiʿ*, 9, 1, prepares one for the recurrence of the theme, only with the motto inverted, in No. 6. The praise of Mecca and his panegyric on the leaders of the Ghaṭafān (20, 27-37), both of which are otherwise apparently meaningless, indicate the whereabouts of Aʿshā, who had good reason on both occasions to avoid his homeland. The first passage discloses furthermore the place where he clashed with Djihinnām, and the second shows Aʿshā's intention to proceed against Zabbān, who is left out of the panegyric on leaders of the Ghaṭafān.

The immediate impact of the poet seems to have been confined to his anonymous (Christian?) pupils and forgers, who counted on gaining the patronage of Ashʿath. Their works fill almost the whole of the second part of his *Dīwān* (No. 52-82), although the first part, too, contains many a verse which is not authentic.

Bibliography: *The Diwan of al-Aʿshā*, ed. R. Geyer (Gibb Mem. N. S. VI), London 1928; GAL, G 37; S I, 65-67; Muḥ. b. Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 18 f.; Caskel, *Oriens* 7, 302. (W. CASKEL)

AʿSHĀ HAMDĀN, properly ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH, Arab poet, who lived in Kūfa in the second half of the 1th/7th century. In his early career a traditionist and Ḳurʾān reader he was married to a sister of the theologian al-Shaʿbī, who in turn had married a sister of al-Aʿshā. Later he concentrated on poetry, acting on occasion as the spokesman of the Yamanite faction. He was active in the wars that marked the governorship of al-Ḥadjdjādj and his health appears to have suffered during an expedition into Mukrān. The role which he played under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath is best known. He took part in his campaign against the Turks and was taken captive but escaped with the aid of a Turkish woman whose passions were enflamed for him. When Ibn al-Ashʿath turned against al-Ḥadjdjādj the poet's sharp tongue aided him with satires. The decisive battle at Dayr al-Djamādjim resulted unfortunately; Ibn al-Ashʿath took to flight, and al-Aʿshā was led prisoner before al-Ḥadjdjādj, who immediately recalled to him some of his malicious songs. His extemporaneous flatteries availed him no longer: al-Ḥadjdjādj's sentence of death was carried out on the spot (83/702). The poems of Aʿshā Hamdān which have been preserved to us are reflexes of his adventures and political sentiments. The level of his poetry which remained curiously unaffected by the modernism of the Medinese school is considerable, both as regards his partisan verse and his treatment of the traditional motifs of erotic description. The vigour of his diction lends a certain attraction even to his handling of conventional topics.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[1], V, 146 ff., 162 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, V, 355 ff.; Ṭabarī, index; *The Diwān of al-Aʿshà*, ed. R. Geyer, London: 1928, 311-345 (50 pieces); Brockelmann, I, 62, S. I, 95; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 149-50; Guido Edler von Goutta, *Der Aganiartikel über ʿAʾšà von Hamdân*, Diss. Freiburg i. B., 1912, contains translations of practically all Aʿshā's preserved verse.

(A. J. WENSINCK-[G. E. VON GRUNEBAUM])

ASHʿAB, nicknamed "the Greedy", a Medinese comedian who moved in the circles of the grandchildren of the first four caliphs and flourished in his profession in the early years of the 8th century. He is said to have survived until 154/771. The historical information about him is rather plentiful; though contaminated by much legendary material, it permits us to get a glimpse at the life of a professional entertainer in the Umayyad period. The jokes and stories connected with his name concern politics, religion, and middle-class life. The middle-class jokes come last in the chronological development of the Ashʿab legend; but then, ever since early ʿAbbāsid times, they have enjoyed the greatest popularity in Islam. Among the famous jokes under Ashʿab's name, there is a brilliant parody of the foibles of *ḥadīth* transmitters: Ashʿab says that he heard ʿIkrima (or some other well-known transmitter) report that the Prophet had said that two qualities characterised the true believer. Asked which they were, Ashʿab replied: "ʿIkrima had forgotten one, and I have forgotten the other." Even more famous is the story of greedy Ashʿab who tries to get rid of annoying children by telling them that free gifts

are being distributed in some place, and then runs after them because he thinks his story might be true.

Bibliography: *al-Aghānī*[1], xvii, 82-105; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 235-9; F. Rosenthal, *Humor in Islam and its Historical Development* (Leiden 1956), which centres around Ashʿab.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

AṢḤĀB [see ṢAḤĀBA].

AṢḤĀB AL-ḤADĪTH [see AHL AL-ḤADĪTH].

AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF, "those of the cave". This is the name given in the Ḳurʾān, and further in Arabic literature, to the youths who in the Christian Occident are usually called the "Seven Sleepers of Ephesus". According to a legend, in the time of the Christian persecution under the Emperor Decius (249-51), seven Christian youths fled into a cave near Ephesus and there sank into a miraculous sleep for centuries, awoke under the Christian Emperor Theodosius, were discovered and then went to sleep for ever. Their resting place and grave was considered, at any rate since the beginning of the 6th century A.D., as a place of worship. The story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus is found in various Oriental and Occidental literatures, particularly in Greek and Syriac; the Greek version would appear to be the earliest one (texts edited by Land, I. Guidi, Bedjan, Allgeier). Since Muḥammad the legend is handed down in Arabic as well.

Muḥammad has got to know the legend, like so many other stories of Jewish and Christian origin, has assimilated it and put it to edifying use in the Ḳurʾān (xviii, 9-26; hence the whole *sūra* is called *sūrat al-kahf*). The main outlines are clearly recognisable: The youths and their flight into the cave, so as to be able to remain true to the belief in the one God; their miraculous sleep, which lasts 309 years (v. 25), but which appears to them as at the most one day (v. 19); the circumstances of their discovery (by means of the ancient coinage, with which one of them attempts to buy provisions in the city). But some details remain doubtful. Muḥammad himself points out that the number of the youths is variously given as three, five or seven, and that only God really has knowledge of the length of their sleep. It is strange that the dog who "stretches out his paws on the threshold" (v. 18), is taken into consideration when the number of the youths is given (v. 22); thus he also appears to be considered as holy. Not quite clear is the hint at the building of a place of worship over the resting place of the youths (v. 21). Particularly disputed is the expression *al-raḳīm* (v. 9: "those of the cave and (of) *al-raḳīm*"; N.B. the definite article).

The Arabic commentators and historians have attempted to overcome the difficulties in the interpretation of the Ḳurʾānic text and to fill in gaps, making use of much material from the Christian-Oriental tradition about the Seven Sleepers. Consequently their accounts are also of significance for the history of the transmission of the legend in pre-Islamic times. J. Koch and M. Huber have been at great pains to make use of the various reports for the history of legend and literature. Here a certain amount remains to be done. Huber's monograph *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern* (1910), and his translation of Arabic texts in *Romanische Forschungen*, xxvi (1909) are however still to-day useful as collections of material.

The expression *al-raḳīm* is variously interpreted by the commentators. As the name of the dog (to whom the name *Ḳiṭmīr* is otherwise given); as a place name; and as the name for an inscription, which is supposed to have been put up in that place (cf. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 95). Torrey suspected here a misreading for Decius, such an interpretation can however not be maintained (cf. Horovitz, loc. cit.).

Once the legend had taken root with the Muslims it was connected with various places within the Islamic world, so with a cave in Transjordan, in Cappadocia, in East Turkistan and in Spain. This does not however alter the fact that originally it belongs to Ephesus.

In the course of time the story of "the people of the cave" has drifted into the realm of the magical. In this way can be explained the custom of hanging up leaves on which the names of the sleepers are inscribed, for the sake of *baraka* or for averting evil. The name of the dog, *Ḳiṭmīr*, plays a special part. Among the Turks of East Turkistan, as in Indonesia it was still customary in recent times to inscribe letters which it was desired to protect from loss, with the word *ḳiṭmīr* instead of "registered".

In a treatise somewhat overloaded with symbolistic details, L. Massignon has attempted recently to do justice to the story of the Aṣḥāb al-Kahf, as it were from the inside, that is, in the sense in which it has become meaningful for Muslim believers.

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(R. PARET)

AṢḤĀB AL-RASS, "the people of the ditch" or "of the well", are twice mentioned in the Ḳur'ān (xxv, 38; L, 12), along with ʿĀd, Thamūd and other unbelievers. The commentators know nothing for certain about them, and so give widely divergent explanations and all manner of fantastic accounts. Some take al-Rass to be a geographical name (cf. Yāḳūt, s.v.); some hold that these people, a remnant of Thamūd, cast (rassa) their prophet Ḥanẓala into a well (*rass*) and were consequently exterminated. It is also related that the mountain of the bird ʿAnḳā' [*q.v.*] was situated in their region. Al-Ṭabarī mentions the possibility of their being identical with the Aṣḥāb al-Ukhdūd [*q.v.*]; otherwise he does not know anything about them; just as little do we.

Bibliography: The Commentaries on the verses of the Ḳur'ān in question, esp. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xix, 9 f.; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, s.v. ʿAnḳā'; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1292, 129-33; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, 94 f. (A. J. Wensinck)

AṢḤĀB AL-RA'Y, also Ahl al-Ra'y, the partisans of personal opinion, a term of deprecation applied by the *ahl al-ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] to their opponents among the specialists in religious law. *Ra'y* [*q.v.*] originally meant "sound opinion", and was used of the element of human reasoning, whether strictly systematic [see ḳiyās] or more personal and arbitrary [see istiḥsān], which the early specialists used in order to arrive at decisions on points of religious law. The *ahl al-ḥadīth*, however, who rose in opposition to the ancient schools of religious law, regarded this as illegitimate; in particular they thought it wrong to reject, as the followers of the ancient schools used to do, traditions which were reported as coming from the Prophet, on account of *ra'y*. As a consequence of the success of this point of view in the theory of religious law [see uṣūl], each group was apt to qualify those who on any particular question gave to personal opinion a wider scope than they themselves did, as *aṣḥāb al-ra'y*, and it became impossible for those who did, in fact, use *ra'y*, to recognise this and to justify it from Islamic premises. There never was a school of thought in religious law that called itself, or consented to be called, *aṣḥāb al-ra'y*, and the distinction between *ahl al-ḥadīth* and *aṣḥāb al-ra'y* is to a great extent artificial. From the point of view of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, both Abū Ḥanīfa and his school and Mālik and his school belong to the *aṣḥāb al-ra'y*, and they were indeed so called by al-Shāfiʿī, Ibn Ḳutayba, and others. For adventitious reasons, Abū Ḥanīfa and his school became the principal objects of the attacks of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, and this gave rise to the erroneous opinion that they were the *aṣḥāb al-ra'y* par excellence. Warnings against *ra'y* and its partisans, sometimes with explicit mention of Abū Ḥanīfa and his followers, were even put into the mouth of the Prophet, his Companions and their Successors, and thereby became themselves traditions.

Bibliography: al-Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, vii, passim; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, introductory chapters; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 248 ff.; idem, *Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, 62 ff.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 323 ff. (attack on Abū Ḥanīfa); Shahrastānī, 161; Sachau, in *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien.*, Phil.-Inst. Classe, 1870, 713 ff.; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i, 490 ff.; Goldziher, *Ẓâhiriten*, 2 ff.; idem, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 74 ff. (transl. Bercher, *Études sur la tradition islamique*, 88 ff.); Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 46 ff.; J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* 98 ff. and *passim*; idem, *Esquisse d'une histoire du droit musulman*, 53 f. (J. Schacht)

AṢḤĀB AL-UKHDŪD, "those of the trench", an expression at the beginning of Ḳur'ān, LXXXV, which is difficult to understand. The verses 4-7 run: "Slain be those of the trench, of the fire fed with fuel, (lo) when they are sitting by it (i.e. the fire), while they are witnesses of what they do (were doing) with the believers!" The ancient Ḳur'ān commentators and historians refer the passage inter alia to the persecution of the Christians in Nadjrān under the Jewish king of South Arabia Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*] which—as far as is historically established—is to be placed in the year 523. It is alleged that the Christian martyrs were burnt alive in a trench (*ukhdūd*) which had been specially dug for the purpose. Occasionally the passage in the Ḳur'ān is connected with a story which goes back ultimately to Daniel iii ("The men in the firing-oven").

In fact however the passage is to be understood in an eschatological sense, as Grimme has recognised and Horovitz more closely explained. We are dealing with a scene of judgement typical of the Ḳu'rān. The *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* are unbelievers, who will go into the hell fire, as a punishment for what they did to the believers (verse 7). The objections, which K. Ahrens (*ZDMG*, 1930, 149) and R. Blachère (*Le Coran*, i, 120) have raised against this interpretation, are not decisive.

There remains the difficulty of explaining the expression *al-ukhdūd*. A. Moberg thinks—though with strong reservations—of an influence of the Hebrew Gē Hinnōm (of Hinnom) in the sense of Hell (*Legenden*, 21; cf. Speyer, 424). According to R. Bell, "it may be that in 'the fellows of the pit' there is a sub-reference to the Quraysh slain at Badr, whose bodies were thrown into a well" (*The Qur'ān*, ii, 646). Both interpretations are questionable.

Bibliography: The Ḳur'ān commentaries on LXXXV, 4-7, especially Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xxx, 72-5 (cf. Loth, in *ZDMG*, 1881, 610-22); Ibn Hishām (Wüstenfeld), 24 f.; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 922-5; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 1879, 182-7; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 129 f.; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1292, 380-2; Caussin de Perceval *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i, 128 f.; *Acta Sanctorum, Octobris T. X*, Bruxelles 1861, 721-62; Fell, in *ZDMG*, 1881, 1-74; I. Guidi, *La Lettera di Simeone vescovo di Bêth-Aršâm sopra i martiri omeriti*, *Raccolta di scritti*, i, 1945, 1-60); A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, Lund 1924, especially p. xliii-xlvii, lvi; idem, *Ueber einige christliche Legenden in der islamischen Tradition*, Lund 1930, 18-21; Duval, *Littérature syriaque*, 1907, 136-41; T. Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Uppsala 1926, 11-3; K. Ahrens, *Christliches im Qoran*, *ZDMG*, 1930, 148-50; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, 12, 92 f.; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Gräfenhainichen, 424. (R. Paret)

ASHĀM (Turkish Eshām), plural of Arabic Sahm (Turkish Sehim), share. In Turkey the word was used to designate certain treasury issues, variously described as bonds, assignats, and annuities. The *eshām* are called annuities by Hammer (*Leibrenten*) and also in the Ottoman budget of 1862-3, where they are mentioned as *rentes viagères*. The description is not strictly accurate, as although the *eshām* reverted to the state on the death of the holder, they could be sold, the state claiming a duty

of one year's income on each such transfer. According to Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, the *eshām* were introduced in the early years of the reign of Muṣṭafā III, when assignats on the proceeds of the customs of Istanbul and other revenues were issued to creditors of the state and other applicants, with an annual income of 5%. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ remarks that most of the proceeds were spent in the war with Russia beginning 1182/1768. The handling of the *eshām*, he says, was at first entrusted to a *muḳāṭaʿadji*, and later transferred to a *muḥāsebe*. The records of the *Eshām Muḥāsebesi ḳalemi* in the Istanbul archives begin in the year 1189/1775, and end in 1281/1864. According to Djewdet the *eshām* were introduced by the finance official Peykī Ḥasan Efendi, who first became bashdefterdār in 1192/1778, after having previously been defter-emīni. The issue of *eshām* on provincial revenues is reported in 1198-1200/1783-5. The practice of issuing *eshām* was continued by later Sultans, and Maḥmūd II used them to compensate the *tīmār*-holders dispossessed by the land reform of 1831.

The first regular bond issue in the European style dates from 1256/1840, when bearer treasury bonds were floated, carrying a high rate of interest. These bonds, which circulated like banknotes, were called *Ḳāʾime-i Eshām* and *Ḳāʾime-i Muʿtebere-i Naḳdiyye* (see ḲĀʾIMA).

In 1864, in the course of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms, the old *Eshām Muḥāsebesi Ḳalemi* was abolished. Meanwhile, however, in 1274/1857, a new internal loan was floated under the name of *Eshām-i Mümtāze*, and was followed by a series of others—*Eshām-i Djedīde*, *Eshām-i ʿAzīziyye*, *Eshām-i ʿĀdiyye* etc. These mid-19th century loans are sometimes referred to collectively as *Eshām-i ʿOthmāniyye*.

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AʿSHĀR [see ʿUSHR].

AL-ʿASHARA AL-MUBASHSHARA, the ten, to whom Paradise was promised. The term does not occur in canonical *ḥadīth*, to which however the conception goes back. The traditions in question usually have the form: "Ten will be in Paradise", whereupon the names are enumerated. There are differences in the lists. Those who appear in the various forms extant are: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa, Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, Saʿīd b. Zayd. In some traditions Muḥammad himself is put before these nine (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna*, bāb 8; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 187, 188 *bis*). In others Muḥammad is absent and the tenth place is taken by Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ (Tirmidhī, *Manāḳib*, bāb 25; Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 279; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 193). Conceptions of this kind owe their origin to the hierarchic tendencies that were prominent in the Muslim community, and that found expression even in the earliest creeds.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍira fī Manāḳib al-Aṣḥāb al-ʿAshara*, Cairo 1327.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-ASHʿARĪ, ABŪ BURDA, ʿĀMIR B. ABĪ MŪSĀ, according to the accepted opinion one of the first ḳāḍīs of Kūfa. Apart from the fact that he was a son of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], little that can be considered authentic is known of his life and work. As a member of the Islamic aristocracy, it was only natural for him to be appointed as an official of the treasury (Ibn Saʿd); he also appears as one of the notables of Kūfa in 51/671, when he gave evidence against the followers of Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] (Ṭabarī, II, 131 f.; *Aghānī*, xvi, 7), and again in 76/695-6, when he did homage to the Khāridjī insurgent Shabīb b. Yazīd [*q.v.*] (Ṭabarī, II, 928). It is generally taken for granted that he was ḳāḍī of Kūfa, but even early sources give contradictory reports of the circumstances of his alleged appointment by al-Ḥadjdjādj (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 285, l. 20 f.; Wakīʿ, ii, 391 f.), of the persons of his predecessor (Shurayḥ, according to Ibn Saʿd, to the *K. al-Muḥabbar*, and to Wakīʿ, *loc. cit.*; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā, according to Wakīʿ, ii, 407) and his successor (Saʿīd b. Djubayr, according to the *K. al-Muḥabbar*; Shaʿbī, according to Wakīʿ, ii, 392, 413; his brother Abū Bakr, according to Wakīʿ, ii, 412 f.), and of the length of his tenure of office (a very short time, according to Wakīʿ, ii, 392; three years, according to Wakīʿ, ii, 413; an unspecified time, between three and eight years, from 79/698-9 onwards, according to Ṭabarī, ii, 1039, 1191). The accounts that Shurayḥ should have recommended Abū Burda and Saʿīd b. Djubayr as his joint successors to al-Ḥadjdjādj (Wakīʿ, ii, 392), or that Muʿāwiya on his deathbed in 60/680 should have advised his son Yazīd to avail himself of Abū Burda's good counsels (Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 83; Ṭabarī, ii, 209), are certainly apocryphal (cf. Lammens, *Moʿâwia Ier*, 139). Another anecdote (Wakīʿ, ii, 409 f.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, Būlāḳ 1293, iii, 140) makes Abū Burda peevishly complain to Muʿāwiya of an attack by a poet. From Ibn Khallikān onwards, however, the person of Abū Burda is idealised. Abū Burda died in 103/721-2 or 104/722-3, at the age, it is stated, of more than 80 lunar years.

The traditional biography of Abū Burda reflects an absence of positive information, combined with the desire of fitting his name into the fictitious picture of the development of Islamic law and the administration of Islamic justice in the first century of the *hidjra* which came to prevail. He played no part in the formation of the doctrine of the school of Kūfa, and he does not belong to its authorities. The one report on a judgement of his, on the ownership of household chattels, that occurs in an early source (Wakīʿ, ii, 211), represents him as undecided among the secondary opinions held in the second century (cf. J. Schacht, *Origins*, 278 f.), and is therefore not authentic. In his time, the implications of the prohibition of *ribā* were only in the course of being worked out in ʿIrāḳ rather than in Medina; the anecdotes which report that Abū Burda, having been sent by his father to Medina for study, was warned by his teacher there against the laxness of the ʿIrāḳians in matters of *ribā*, must therefore be later, although they bear Baṣrian *isnād*s (on this phenomenon, see

Schacht, *Origins*, 130 f.). Abū Burda appeared as a transmitter of traditions because his name was used in "family *isnāds*", which were meant to authenticate sayings which his father was claimed to have related on the authority of the Prophet. The fact is attested already by Ibn Sa'd, but traditions themselves are quoted for the first time only by Wakī'; some express repugnance for accepting government office (Wakī', i, 65 ff.; ii, 22), an attitude which became fashionable only under the 'Abbāsids (cf. E. Tyan, *Organisation judiciaire*, i, 387, n. 2; N. J. Coulson, in *BSOAS*, xviii/2, 1956, 211 ff.); another (Wakī', i, 100) aims at enhancing the reputation of Abū Burda's father, Abū Mūsā, to the detriment of that of Mu'ādh b. Djabal (it seems to presuppose the well-known tradition about the instructions of the Prophet to Mu'ādh, and could then be hardly earlier than the last third of the second century of the *hidjra*); there are, finally, the alleged instructions of the caliph 'Umar to Abū Mūsā on the administration of justice, which appear for the first time in Wakī' (i, 70 ff.); these are certainly not earlier than the third century of the *hidjra* (cf. Tyan, i, 106 ff.). Abū Burda's reputation as a traditionist in his own right, with a respectable number of authorities from whom he was supposed to have heard traditions, had been established by the time of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, and it continued to grow, together with the number of authorities from whom he was alleged to have transmitted, until Ibn Ḥajar could ascribe to Ibn Sa'd the statement that Abū Burda "was reliable and transmitted many traditions", although Ibn Sa'd said nothing of the sort.

A son of Abū Burda, Bilāl, became *ḳāḍī* in Baṣra, and authentic, contemporary information on him is ample (cf., e.g., Wakī', ii, 21 ff.; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 288 f.).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, vi, 187; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 378; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 136; Wakī', *Akhbār al-Ḳuḍāt*, Cairo 1366/1947, ii, 408 ff.; al-Ṭabarī, index; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *K. al-Djarḥ wal-Ta'dīl*, iii/1, Ḥaydarābād 1360, no. 1809; *al-Aghānī, Tables*; Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *K. al-Djam'*, Ḥaydarābād 1323, no. 1437; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 653 f.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, s.v. 'Āmir b. Abī Mūsā; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād 1333, i, no. 86; Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-Djanān*, Ḥaydarābād 1337, i, 220; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, xii, no. 95. (J. SCHACHT)

AL-ASH'ARĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN, 'ALĪ B. ISMĀ'ĪL, theologian, and founder of the school of orthodox theology which bears his name. He is said to have been born in 260/873-4 at Baṣra, and was ninth in descent from the Companion Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. Little is known of his life. He was one of the best pupils of al-Djubbā'ī, head of the Mu'tazila in Baṣra, and might have succeeded him, had he not left the Mu'tazila for the party of the orthodox traditionists (*ahl al-sunna*). This change or conversion is placed in 300/912-3. In later life he moved to Baghdād, and died there in 324/935-6.

The story of al-Ash'arī's conversion is told with many variations of detail. Three times during the month of Ramaḍān he is said to have seen Muḥammad in a vision, and to have been commanded to adhere to true Tradition. He regarded this vision as authoritative, and, since the traditionists disapproved of rational argument (*kalām*), he gave up this also. In the third vision, however, he was told to adhere to true Tradition but not to abandon *kalām*. Whatever be the truth of this story, it is a succinct account of al-Ash'arī's position. He abandoned the dogmatic theses of the Mu'tazila for those of opponents like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, whom he professed to follow; but he defended his new beliefs by the type of rational argument which the Mu'tazila employed.

The chief points on which he opposed the doctrines of the Mu'tazila were:

(1) He held that God had eternal attributes such as knowledge, sight, speech, and that it was by these that He was knowing, seeing, speaking, whereas the Mu'tazila said that God had no attributes distinct from His essence.

(2) The Mu'tazila said that Ḳur'ānic expressions, such as God's hand and face, must be interpreted to mean "grace", "essence" and so on. Al-Ash'arī, whilst agreeing that nothing corporeal was meant, held that they were real attributes whose precise nature was unknown. He took God's sitting on the throne in a similar way.

(3) Against the view of the Mu'tazila that the Ḳur'ān was created, al-Ash'arī maintained that it was God's speech, an eternal attribute, and therefore uncreated.

(4) In opposition to the view of the Mu'tazila that God could not literally be seen, since that would imply that He is corporeal and limited, al-Ash'arī held that the vision of God in the world to come is a reality, though we cannot understand the manner of it.

(5) In contrast to the emphasis of the Mu'tazila on the reality of choice in human activity, al-Ash'arī insisted on God's omnipotence; everything, good and evil, is willed by God, and He creates the acts of men by creating in men the power to do each act. (The doctrine of 'acquisition' or *kasb* [*q.v.*], which was in later times characteristic of the Ash'ariyya, is commonly attributed to al-Ash'arī himself, but, though he was familiar with the concept, he does not appear to have held the doctrine himself; cf. *JRAS*, 1943, 246 f.).

(6) While the Mu'tazila with their doctrine of *al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* held that any Muslim guilty of a serious sin was neither believer nor unbeliever, al-Ash'arī insisted that he remained a believer, but was liable to punishment in the Fire.

(7) Al-Ash'arī maintained the reality of various eschatological features, the Basin, the Bridge, the Balance and intercession by Muḥammad, which were denied or rationally interpreted by the Mu'tazila.

Al-Ash'arī was not the first to try to apply *kalām* or rational argument to the defence of orthodox doctrine; among those who had made similar attempts earlier was al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī. Al-Ash'arī, however, seems to have been the first to do this in a way acceptable a large body of orthodox opinion. He had the advantage, too, of having an intimate and detailed knowledge of the views of the Mu'tazila (as is shown by his descriptive work, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, Istanbul, 1929; cf. R. Strothmann, in *Islam*, xix, 193-242). His many followers came to be known as the Ash'ariyya [*q.v.*] or Ashā'ira, though they mostly deviated from him on some points.

To a European reader his argumentation differs little at first sight from that of the ultra-conservative followers of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, since many of his proofs depend on the interpretation of Ḳur'ān and Tradition (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge, 1932, 91). This, however, was because his opponents also, including even the Mu'tazila,

used proofs of this sort, and he was always arguing *ad hominem*. Yet when opponents would admit a purely rational premiss, al-Ashʿarī had no hesitation in using it to refute them. Once the permissibility of such arguments was established, at least for many theologians, it was possible for the Ashʿariyya to develop this side of his method until in later centuries theology became thoroughly intellectualistic. This, however, was far removed from the temper of al-Ashʿarī himself.

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(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AL-ASHʿARĪ, ABŪ MŪSĀ, IBN ḲAYS, Companion of the Prophet and military leader. Bornp about 614 A.D., Abū Mūsā, a native of the Yemen, left South Arabia by sea with several of his brothers and members of his tribe (the Ashʿar) and joined Muḥammad at Khaybar at the time of the famous expedition against the Jews of that oasis (7/628) to swear allegiance to him (the information given in some sources [for example Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, ii, 1265] according to which he was one of the emigrants who went to Abyssinia, is therefore most unlikely to be authentic; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318, 392, no. 1622; 678-79, no. 678). In 8/630 he took part in the battle of Ḥunayn (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1667); in 10/631-2 he was sent to the Yemen with Muʿādh b. Djabal to spread Islam there and was one of the lieutenants of Muḥammad and then of Abū Bakr in that region. ʿUmar appointed him governor of Baṣra when he recalled al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] from that post in 17/638 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2529; see also 2388). At the request of the inhabitants of Kūfa, ʿUmar appointed him governor of that town in 22/642-3, but after retaining him in the office for a few months, until the reappointment of al-Mughīra (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2678 f.), he sent him back to Baṣra.

As governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā organised and carried out the occupation of Khūzistān (17-21/638-42), of which he must be considered the conqueror (Caetani, *Annali*, 16 A.H., para. 261). The capital Sūḳ al-Ahwāz (or simply al-Ahwāz) fell into his hands as early as 17/638, but the campaign continued and offered many difficulties, for the numerous well fortified towns of the region had to be subdued one after the other, some of them having to be retaken after 21/642, the date of the fall of the second capital of Khūzistān, Tustar (= Shustar or Shushtar). Abū Mūsā also took part in the conquest of Mesopotamia (end of 18-20/639-41), uniting his forces with those of ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm, and in the campaign on the Iranian plateau, where he is mentioned as being present at the battle of Nihāwand; the occupation of several towns is ascribed to him (al-Dīnawar, Ḳumm, Ḳāshān, etc.).

In 23/643-4, in a bloody but indecisive battle, he defeated numerous Kurdish tribes which had gathered with hostile intentions at Bayrūdh (in the province of al-Ahwāz) and had attracted many of the inhabitants of the territory to their ranks; he laid siege to the town, where the survivors of the insurgents had found shelter, and took it after having subdued the rest of the country. It was on account of the distribution of the booty taken on this occasion that an accusation was made to the Caliph against him, to whom he had to justify his conduct (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2708-13). After this success, he advanced into Fārs (end of 23/644) and, in several expeditions, gave support to ʿUthmān b. Abiʾ l-ʿĀṣ, who had begun the conquest of this province from Baḥrayn and ʿUmān (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 387).

There is an episode showing that discontent against Abū Mūsā was already threatening in 26/646-7 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2829, where a movement of insubordination amongst his troops is reported under the year 29, which in fact took place in 26: Caetani, *Annali*, 26 A.H. para. 38). But the most serious protest against the abuses committed by him was brought to Medina by a delegation of Baṣrans in 29/649-50 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2830), whereupon the Caliph ʿUthmān decided to replace him at Baṣra by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir. However Abū Mūsā had won the respect of the inhabitants of Kūfa to such an extent, that they demanded his reappointment, when they drove out the governor Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ in 34/654-5, (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2930; *al-Aghānī*¹, xi, 31), and he was governor of the town at the time of ʿUthmān's assassination. Upon the election of ʿAlī, Abū Mūsā took the oath of allegiance to him in the name of the Kūfans (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3089; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, 296 etc.), retaining his office, when the other governors of ʿUthmān were dismissed (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 208); but when war broke out between ʿAlī and ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, he called on his subjects to remain neutral (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3139; al-Dīnawarī, 153 ff., etc.), and, inspite of pressure, did not relinquish this attitude; as a result the partisans of ʿAlī expelled him from the town at the first opportunity (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3145-9, 3152-4) and the Caliph wrote him a letter of dismissal couched in the severest terms (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3173; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 308; cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 220); yet a few months later he granted him *amān* (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minḳarī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1365, 572; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3333).

Abū Mūsā was one of the two arbitrators appointed at Ṣiffīn in 37/657 to settle the dispute between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya and more exactly the arbitrator nominated to represent ʿAlī, whose supporters had obliged him to choose someone neutral, so certain were they that the decision would be in their favour (for the details of the arbitration, see ʿALI B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB). After the meeting at Adhruḥ, Abū Mūsā withdrew to Mecca, but when Muʿāwiya sent Busr b. Abī Arṭāt to occupy the holy cities (40/660), he was afraid of his vengeance, for at Adhruḥ he had opposed his election to the Caliphate, and according to some sources, he took to flight; Busr reassured him (see Caetani, *Annali*, 40 A.H., para. 8, note 3 for the different versions of this episode). After that Abū Mūsā took no further part in politics, as is shown by the uncertainty of the date of his death (41, 42, 50, 52, 53; 42 is the most probable date).

Abū Mūsā was very highly thought of for his recitation of the Ḳurʾān and the prayers, for he had a pleasant voice (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/2, 106), but above all his name continues to be connected with ḳurʾānic studies, for he established a *muṣḥaf* which locally outlived the composition of the vulgate of ʿUthmān (see Ch. Pellat, *Milieu baṣrien*, 73 ff.).

Bibliography: All the chroniclers and historians of early Islam, and all the collections of biographies of early personalities speak of Abū Mūsā (the main ones have been indicated in the body of this article). Numerous quotations are to be found in Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 42 A.H., 479; idem: *Annali*, Indices and vols. vii-x, *passim*; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, Cairo 1329, iii, 287-9, 291, 293 f., iv, 199 f., 237 f. On the conquest of Khūzistān: *Wellhausen, J.*, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1899, 94-113.

(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

ASHʿARIYYA, a theological school, the followers of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], sometimes also called Ashāʿira. (The history of the school has been little studied, and some of the statements in this article must be regarded as provisional).

External history. During the last two decades of his life al-Ashʿarī attracted a number of disciples, and thus a school was founded. The doctrinal position of the new school was open to attack from several quarters. Apart from members of the Muʿtazila, certain groups of orthodox theologians attacked them. To the Ḥanbalīs [*q.v.*] their use of rational arguments was an objectionable innovation. On the other hand, to the Māturīdiyya [*q.v.*], who also were defending orthodoxy by rational methods, some of their positions seemed too conservative (cf. the criticisms made by an early member of that school in *Sharḥ al-Fiḳh al-Akbar* ascribed to al-Māturīdī). Despite such opposition the Ashʿariyya apparently became the dominant school in the Arabic-speaking parts of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate (and perhaps also in Khurāsān). In general they were in alliance with the legal school of al-Shāfiʿī (though al-Ashʿarī's own school of religious law is not clear), while their rivals, the Māturīdiyya, were almost invariably Ḥanafīs. Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Ashʿariyya were persecuted by the Buwayhid sultans, who favoured a combination of the views of the Muʿtazila and Shīʿa. But with the coming of the Saldjūḳs the tables were turned, and the Ashʿariyya received official support, especially from the great *wazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk. In return they gave intellectual support to the caliphate against the Fāṭimids of Cairo. From this time on, until perhaps the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the teaching of the Ashʿariyya was almost identical with orthodoxy, and in a sense it has remained so until the present time. The Ḥanbalī reaction centring in Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1327) was of limited influence. From about the time of the shaykh al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490), however, though al-Ashʿarī and the great names of his school were honoured and accepted, the leading theologians no longer regarded themselves as belonging to the Ashʿariyya, and were in fact eclectic.

Important members of the Ashʿariyya (see the individual articles): al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013), Ibn Fūrak (Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan) (d. 406/1015-6), al-Isfarāʾīnī (d. 418/1027-8), al-Baghdādī (ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir) (d. 429/1037-8), al-Sumnānī (d. 444/1052), al-Djuwaynī Imām al-Ḥaramayn (d. 478/1085-6), al-Ghazālī (Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad) (d. 505/1111), Muḥammad b. Tūmart (d.c. 525/1030), al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), al-Īdjī (d. 756/1355), al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413).

Internal evolution. Little is known about the views of the Ashʿariyya in the half-century after the founder's death. Al-Bāḳillānī is the first person whose work is extant and accessible, and by his time it is noteworthy that the Ashʿariyya are making use of certain conceptions of the Muʿtazila (notably Abū Hāshim's doctrine of the *ḥāl*), and have perhaps been influenced by the criticisms of the Māturīdiyya. One point on which the school was beginning to differ from al-Ashʿarī himself was in the interpretation of the corporeal terms applied to God, such as hands, face and sitting on the throne. Al-Ashʿarī had said these were to be taken neither literally nor metaphorically but *bi-lā kayf*, "without asking how"; but al-Baghdādī and al-Djuwaynī interpreted "hand" metaphorically as "power", and "face" as "essence" or "existence"; and the attitude of most of the later Ashʿariyya was similar (cf. Montgomery Watt, *Some Muslim Discussions of Anthropomorphism*, in *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, xiii, 1-10). Again, while al-Ashʿarī had insisted that man's acquiring (*kasb*) of acts was created, thus emphasizing God's omnipotence at the expense of man's responsibility, al-Djuwaynī was able to put forward the view that the doctrine of the Ashʿariyya was a *via media*.

Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century there was a change in method. Ibn Khaldūn (tr. de Slane, iii, 61) speaks of al-Ghazālī as the first of the "moderns", doubtless because of his enthusiasm for the Aristotelian syllogism, but there are already in al-Djuwaynī traces of methodological advance (cf. Gardet and Anawati, op. cit. infra, 73). It was al-Ghazālī, however, who steeped himself in the doctrines of Ibn Sīnā and others of the *philosophers* until he could attack them on their own ground with devastating success. Little more was heard of the *philosophers*, but from this time onward their Aristotelian logic and much of their Neoplatonic metaphysics was incorporated in the teaching of the Ashʿariyya. This teaching rapidly became intellectualised in a bad sense. sometimes even views of doubtful orthodoxy were taken over, and the philosophical prolegomena occupied more space and attention than the strictly theological doctrines (notably in al-Īdjī and his commentator al-Djurdjānī). In the end the school may be said to disappear in a blaze of philosophy.

Bibliography: (see also bibliographies for al-Ashʿarī and individual members of the school): Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī*, Damascus 1347, (for trs. by McCarthy and Mehren v. art. al-Ashʿarī); M. Schreiner, *Zur Geschichte des Asʿaritentums*, in *Actes du 8e Congr. des Orient.*, i A, 79 ff.; Carra de Vaux, *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris 1923, iv, 133-94; L. Gardet and M. M. Anawati, *Introduction à la Théologie Musulmane*, Paris 1948, esp. 52-76.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AL-ASHʿATH, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD MAʿDĪKARIB B. ḲAYS B. MAʿDĪKARIB, of the clan of al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiya, a chief of Kinda in Ḥaḍramawt. The nickname, by which he is most commonly known, means "with unkempt or dishevelled hair"; he is also called, but less frequently, *al-Ashadjdj*, "the scar-faced", and *ʿUrf al-Nār*, said to be a South-Arabian term for "traitor". In earlier life he led an expedition against the tribe of Murād, who had murdered his father, but was taken prisoner and

had to pay 3000 camels for his ransom. In 10/631 he was leader of the delegation (*wafd*) which offered the submission of a section of Kinda to the Prophet at al-Madīna. It was arranged that his sister Ḳayla should be married to Muḥammad, but he died before she arrived in al-Madīna. After Muḥammad's death (11/632) al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ rose in revolt with his clan and was besieged by Muslim troops in the castle of al-Nud̲j̲ayr; according to the legend he surrendered the castle on condition of immunity for himself and nine others, but omitted to include his own name in the document of surrender, and barely escaped execution. He was, however, sent to al-Madīna, where Abū Bakr not only pardoned him but married him to his own sister Umm Farwa or Ḳurayba (according to other reports this marriage had taken place already at the time of the delegation to Muḥammad). He took part in the wars in Syria and lost the sight of an eye at the battle of the Yarmūk; he and his tribesmen were sent thereafter by Abū ʿUbayda to join Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ at Ḳādisiyya, and he commanded one of the Arab forces which occupied northern ʿIrāḳ. He settled in Kūfa as chief of the Kindite sector, and appears to have taken part in the expedition to Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān in 26/646-7. At the battle of Ṣiffīn he played a leading part both in the fighting and in the negotiations, and is represented as having forced ʿAlī to accept the principle of arbitration and to agree to the selection of Abū Mūsā on the ʿIrāḳī side (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬALIB). Pro-S̲h̲īʿite tradition accordingly represents him and his whole house as inveterate traitors. He died in Kūfa during the government of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (40/661), to whom one of his daughters was married. For his descendants see IBN AL-AS̲H̲ʿAT̲H̲.

Bibliography: L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, A.H. 40, § 29; Ibn Saʿd, vi, 13-14; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, index; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (Cairo 1365), passim; general histories of the Caliphate. (H. RECKENDORF*)

AL-ASHDAḲ [see ʿAMR B. SAʿĪD].

(AL)-ASHDJAʿ B. ʿAMR AL-SULAMĪ, Abu 'l-Walīd, Arab poet of the end of the 2nd/8th century. An orphan, he settled at an early age at Baṣra with his mother, and, when he showed signs of talent, the Ḳaysites of the town who, since the death of Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār b. Burd (a *mawlā* of the Banū ʿUḳayl) had not possessed any poet of eminence, adopted him and fabricated for him a Ḳaysite genealogy. His formative period at an end, he went to al-Raḳḳa to D̲j̲aʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, who presented him to al-Ras̲h̲īd, and, from then on, he became the panegyrist of the caliph and his entourage (Barmakids, al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ras̲h̲īd, al-Amīn, al-Faḍl. b. al-Rabīʿ, Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Ziyād and others). The greater part of his surviving work consists of panegyrics which were assured of the widest possible circulation through the agency of the Ḳaysites of Baṣra; there are also a few funeral orations, notably for al-Ras̲h̲īd and al-As̲h̲d̲j̲aʿs own brother Aḥmad, who was also a poet, but confined himself to erotic poetry (on him, see Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, 137-43).

Bibliography: Ṣūlī, *K. al-Awrāḳ*, ed. by J. H. Dunne, Cairo 1934, i, 74-137, which reproduces an important part of the poet's work; D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. by Sandūbī, iii, 194-5; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, GMS, N.S. xiii, 117-9; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 562-5; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xvii, 30-51; Marzubānī, *Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*, 295; *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, vii, 45; Ibn ʿAsākir, iii, 59-63; Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, ii, 419-22; Brockelmann, S I, 119. (CH. PELLAT)

ʿĀSHIḲ, an Arabic word meaning lover, frequently in the mystical sense. Among the Anatolian and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ānī Turks, from the late 9th/15th or 10th/16th century, it is used of a class of wandering poet-minstrels, who sang and recited at public gatherings. Their repertoire included religious and erotic songs, elegies and heroic narratives. At first they followed the syllabic prosody of the popular poets, but later were subjected to Persian influence, both directly and through the Persian-influenced Turkish Ṣūfī poets. Köprülü has argued that they represent a social element distinct alike from the popular poets, the court poets, and the *madrasa* or convent-educated religious poets, and are the successors of the earlier Turkish bards known as ozan [*q.v.*]. They are especially numerous in the 17th century, when we find them among the dervish orders, the Janissaries, and other branches of the armed forces. The most famous among them are Gewherī and ʿĀs̲h̲iḳ ʿÖmer.

Bibliography: Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuʾad [= M. F. Köprülü], *Türk Sazşairlerine ait metinler ve tetkikler*, i-v, Istanbul 1929-30; idem, *Türk Edebiyatında ilk Mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 390-2; M. K. Köprülü, *Türk Sazşairleri antolojisi*, i-ii, Istanbul 1939-40; numerous other writings by M. F. Köprülü on this subject will be found listed in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, xxvii-l. For an account of the impression made on a young Turk in the 19th century by the ʿās̲h̲iḳ poets, see the autobiography of Ziyā Pas̲h̲a, translated in Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, v, 46, 51-2. A contest between ʿās̲h̲iḳs in Mug̲h̲la is described by H. J. van Lennep, *Travels in little-known parts of Asia Minor*, 1, New York 1870, 253-4. See further H. Ritter, *Orientalia*, i, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, i, Istanbul 1933, 3 ff. (*Der Sängerwettstreit*). (B. LEWIS)

ʿĀSHİḲ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUT̲H̲MĀN B. BĀYEZĪD, Turkish cosmographer, born about 964/1555 in Trebizond, the son of a teacher at the Koran elementary school of the K̲h̲ātūniyya mosque. At the age of 20, he left his native town to see the world. The geographical part of his writings (mentioned below), contains references to his travels covering Anatolia and Rumelia. He did, for instance, take part in ʿUt̲h̲mān Pasha's (died 993/1585) campaign in the Caucasus and southern Russia in the years 989-992/1581-1584. After 994/1585, the spent several years in Salonica, whence he participated—in 1002-1003/1593-1594—in Ḳod̲j̲a Sinān Pasha's (died 1004/1596) Hungarian campaign. In 1005/1596, he settled in Damascus, where he completed the writing of his cosmographic work in Ramaḍān 1006/April-May 1598. The date of his death is not known.

Muḥammad ʿAs̲h̲ıḳ's work, *Manāẓir al-ʿawālim* is composed of two parts. Part I begins with the creation of the world and describes the 'upper' world, and something of the 'lower', i.e. the stars, paradise and its inhabitants, and hell and its inhabitants. Part II treats the 'lower' world in 18 chapters. Chapters 1 to 12 are strictly geographical, and 13 to 18 are of a more general nature. In a final chapter, he speaks of the duration and the end of the world. The work is a vast compilation of the reports of the older Arabic and Persian cosmographers, geographers and natural scientists. It is clearly arranged under headings and written in Turkish, giving precise references to the source in every case. In the geographical part, he mentions in addition—again with references—what the personal view of each author on individual objects was. There are consi-

derable additions to the purely traditional geographical material where Rumelia and Hungary are concerned. Chapter 12, which treats the towns, is the most important one. The material is arranged according to the Ptolemean climates (*aķālīm-i ḥaķīķiyya*), and within these, according to the districts (*aķālīm-i ʿurfiyya*) of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. Later writers on geography, such as Kâtib Čelebi (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa) and Abū Bakr b. Bahrâm frequently based their writings on Muḥammad ʿAshlķ, sometimes copying parts of his *Manāẓir al-ʿawālim* verbatim, without, however, his clear references.

Bibliography: Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, p. 138 f.; Franz Taeschner, *Ankara nach Mehmed Ashik* in *Zeki-Velidi Togan Armağani*, Istanbul, 1957, 147-156. An edition, with translation, of that part of the *Manāẓir* dealing with Rumelia is being prepared by R. F. Kreutel.

(Fr. Taeschner)

ʿĀSHIĶ ČELEBI, Pīr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad Naṭṭāʿ (ʿĀshlķ is his *takhalluṣ*), Ottoman man of letters, born at Prizren in 926/1520, his father then being ķāḍī of Üsküb, died at Üsküb in Shaʿbān 979/Jan. 1572. He came of a family of *sayyids*, originally from Baghdad, his great-grandfather having come to Bursa in the time of Bāyezīd I. His childhood was spent in Rumeli, but after studying in Istanbul (where his teachers included Abu 'l-Suʿūd) he settled at Bursa and became *mutawalli* of the waķfs of Emir Sultan, a post hereditary in his family. Dismissed in 953/1546, he returned to Istanbul and spent four years there as a *kātib*. He then became a ķāḍī, and spent the rest of his life, except for a brief period in ʿAlāʾiyya, in a succession of towns in Rumeli. In 976/1568-9, tired of repeated changes, he applied in vain for the post of *naķīb al-ashrāf* which his great-grandfather and grandfather had held. However, through the favour of the Grand Vezir Sokollu, to whom he had presented his *dhayl* to the *Shaķāʾiķ*, he was appointed ķāḍī of Üsküb for life, but died there shortly afterwards. His tomb was seen by Ewliya (*Seyāḥatnāme* v, 560).

His most important work is his book of Biographies of the Poets, entitled *Mashāʿir al-Shuʿarāʾ*, presented to Selīm II in 976. In order of time it is the fourth Ottoman *tadhkira* and contains over 400 entries. Whereas for the early period ʿĀshlķ adds nothing to the information given by his predecessors (Sehī, Laṭīfī, ʿAhdī), his work is of the first importance for the poets of the XVIth century, many of whom were personally known to him. MSS are fairly numerous, but the British Museum's exemplar Or. 6434, dated 977, deserves mention.

His other works are a *Dīwān* (Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa ed. Flügel No. 5536) a *Shehrengīz* for Bursa (*ibid.* No. 7697), a *Sigetvār-nāme* in verse (Babinger p. 68f.), a translation of Ṭāshköprüzāde's *al-Shaķāʾiķ al-Nuʿmāniyya*, and a *dhayl* in Arabic to the same work. ʿAṭāʾī attributes to him a *Madjmūʿa-i Ṣukūk*. He also translated a number of works into Turkish (cf. Ḥ. Kh. Nos. 2366, 6558 and 7303 [but not 4772 as stated in *EI*[1]]); his translation of Kemāl Pashazāde's *Sharḥ-i ḥadīth-i arbaʿīn* has been printed (Istanbul 1316; cf. A. Karahan *Islam-Türk Edebiyatında Kırk Hadis*, Istanbul 1954, pp. 175-8).

Bibliography: For his exhaustive article in *IA* (*s.v.*), on which the above is based, M. Fuad Köprülü has used the primary sources, ʿĀshlķ's *Mashāʿir al-Shuʿarāʾ* and ʿAṭāʾī's *dhayl* to the *Shaķaʾiķ* (*Ḥadāʾiķ al-Ḥaķāʾiķ*, Istanbul 1268, pp. 161-5). This article gives a detailed biography, a complete list of ʿĀ.'s works, and references to the secondary sources which it supersedes. A list of the poets recorded in ʿĀ.'s *tadhkira* and specimens of his poems are given by S. Nüzhet in *Türk Şairleri* I, pp. 117-121. A satirical poem by ʿĀ. is quoted by ʿAṭāʾī (p. 153). There is a copy of his *dīwān* in Istanbul (*Ist. Kit. Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu* [1947] I p. 157 f.).

(V. L. Ménage)

ʿĀSHIĶ PASHA, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī (670/1272-733/1333). Turkish poet and mystic. The little which is known about his life is half legendary. Ḥusāyn Ḥusām al-Dīn, the only author who gives detailed information about his life and his family, does not mention his sources (*Amasya Taʾrīkhi* I, 1327, II, 1332, III, 1927, IV, 1928). ʿĀshlķ Pasha was the son of Bābā Mukhliṣ, whose father the shaykh Bābā Ilyās migrated from Khurāsān to Anatolia and founded the Bābāʾī sect. A disciple of his, Bābā Isḥāķ, was the organiser of the famous 13th century religious revolt in Anatolia. ʿĀshlķ Pasha, educated at Ķlrshehir [*q.v.*], then an important cultural centre, had a chequered political career, was sent as an envoy to Egypt and died at Ķlrshehir in 733/1333, where his tomb sanctuary, of remarkable architectural interest, has been a place of pilgrimage for centuries. A devout shaykh, he seems to have been a rich and influential man. One of his sons, Elwān Čelebi, was a poet of some distinction and his great-grandson is the famous 15th century chronicler ʿĀshlķ Pasha-Zāde [*q.v.*]. ʿĀshlķ Pasha's main work is the *Gharībnāme* (630/1330) sometimes wrongly called *Dīwān-i ʿĀshlķ Pasha* or *Maʿārifnāme*. This is a mystic-didactic *mathnawi* of more than 11.000 couplets in *ramal*. The work begins with a preface in Persian and a long panegyrical introduction, and is systematically divided into ten chapters (*bāb*) and each chapter into ten discourses (*dāstān*). Each chapter treats of a subject in relation to its number (i.e. Chapter Four—The Four Elements, Chapter Five—The Five Senses, Chapter Seven—The Seven Planets, etc.). The whole can be described as a collection of moral precepts and exhortations illustrated by quotations from the Ķurʾān and the Ḥadīth and followed by relevant anecdotes. The influence of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn's great *Mathnawi* is apparent in the *Gharībnāme* as in most contemporary mystic works. But ʿĀshlķ Pasha's poetry is plain and merely didactic and lacks the lyrical élan of both Mawlānā and Yūnus Emre. The *Gharībnāme* represents on the whole Sunnī Islam and the question how far the heterodox tendencies which were very active at the time in Central Anatolia find an echo in it has not yet been sufficiently studied. The language of the *Gharībnāme* offers interesting philological material for the study of old Ottoman, since it was written at a period when Turkish was struggling with Arabic and Persian to secure its place as a written language in Anatolia, and ʿĀshlķ Pasha's conscious contribution towards this is not unimportant. But his handling of the *ʿarūḍ* is less secure and skilful than that of his contemporaries Gülshehrī and Dehhānī. The numerous copies of the *Gharībnāme* witness its great popularity as one of the main mystic-religious works in Turkish. It has not yet been edited. Among dated copies the oldest are: Berlin No 259 (840 h), Paris No 313 A.F. (848 h.), Vatican Turkish 148 (854 h.), Casanatense No 2054 (861 h.), Bāyezīd No 3633 (861 h.), Lâleli No 1752 (882 h.). Apart from the *Gharībnāme* we have from ʿĀshlķ Pasha a number of poems,

mostly hymns (*ilâhis*), preserved in certain *Gharīb-nāme* MSS, or other codices. In recent years some minor works by ʿĀshiḳ Pasha or attributed to him have come to light. The most important is the *Faḳrnāme*. This is a short mathnawī (160 couplets) in praise of mystic poverty, and is developed, like the *Gharībnāme* but on a smaller scale, upon quotations from the Ḳurʾān and the Ḥadīth. The commentary on the well-known ḥadīth "Poverty is my pride» introduces the subject. It has been published in facsimile and edited in transcription (v. Bibliography).

Bibliography: Tashköprü-zāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya* (trans. O. Rescher, 2); Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. Osm. Dichtkunst*, i, 54 ff.; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 176 ff.; Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Şairleri*, i, 129 ff.; *I.A.*, s.v. (by M. Fuad Köprülü); Fr. Babinger, *Aśyq Paśas Gharīb-nâme*, MSOS, xxxi, 91 ff.; C. Brockelmann, *Die Sprache Āśyqpaśas und Ahmedīs*, ZDMG, lxxxiii, 1 ff.; E. Rossi, *Studi su manoscritti del Ġarībnāme di Aśîq Paśa nelle biblioteche d'Italia*, RSO, xxix, 108 ff.; Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Âşık Paşa'nın Bilinmiyen iki Mesnevisi Faḳr-nâme ve Vaṣf-ı Ḥal, Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* 1953, 181 ff.; E. Jemma, *Il Faqrnâme («Libro della Povertà») di Āśîq Paśa*, RSO, xxix, 219 ff. (Fahir İz)

ʿĀSHIḲ-PASHA-ZĀDE, great-grandson of the poet ʿĀshiḳ Pasha, his actual name was Dervīsh Aḥmad b. Shaykh Yaḥyā b. Shaykh Salmān b. ʿĀshiḳ Pasha (makhlaṣ ʿĀshiḳī), one of the oldest Ottoman historians. He was born in 803/1400, probably in Elvan Čelebi near Amasya, and died some time after 889/1484. His historical work (*Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿUthmān*) has been edited three times; by ʿĀlī Bey, Istanbul 1332, by Friedrich Giese (*Die altosmanische Chronik des ʿĀšiḳpašazāde*), Leipzig 1929 and by Çiftşioglu N. Atsız in *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, i, Istanbul 1949. In addition to these, and to the manuscripts enumerated by Babinger (see below), mention must be made of the manuscript in the *Riwāḳ al-Atrāk* of al-Azhar in Cairo, Taʾrīkh No. 3732 (completed in 1021/1612), a copy of which is in my possession (No. 140 of my collection).

Bibliography: Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, 35-38; ibid., *Wann starb ʿAšyq-pašazade?* in *MOG*, ii, 315-318; Paul Wittek, *Zum Quellenproblem der ältesten osmanischen Chroniken* in *MOG*, i, 77-150; ibid., *Neues zu ʿĀšikpašazāde* in *MOG*, ii, 147-164; also by the same author, *Die altosmanische Chronik des ʿAšiḳpašazāde* in *OLZ*, 1931, 697-708 (a criticism of the edition by Giese); Fr. Giese, *Zum ʿAšik-pašazāde-Problem*, in *OLZ*, 1932, 7-18 (a reply to Wittek's criticism), ibid., *Die verschiedenen Textrezensionen des ʿAšikpašazāde bei seinen Nachfolgern und Ausschreibern* (Abh. d. Pr. AW 1936, Phil.-hist. Kl., No. 4, 1-50); Joachim Kissling, *Die Sprache des ʿĀšiḳpašazāde*; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Aśîḳ Paša-zāde*, in *IA*, i, 706-709. (Fr. Taeschner)

ASHĪR, an old fortified town in North Africa situated 100 km. SSW of Algiers in the Tiṭerī mountains, makes its appearance in history during the first half of the 4th/10th century. It belonged to the country occupied by the Ṣanhādja on the western borders of their territory. The founding of the town by Zīrī b. Manād, chief of the main tribe of the Ṣanhādja, is an episode in the struggle which brought these Berber highlanders, the supporters of the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya, into conflict with the Zanāta of the plains of Oran, adherents of the party of the Umayyads of Cordova.

As a reward for services rendered to the Fāṭimids, especially during the terrible revolt of Abū Yazīd, "The Man with the donkey" [*q.v.*], in 324/935 Zīrī obtained permission from the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḳāʾim to found a town, which to a certain extent gave this tribal chief the prestige and autonomy of a sovereign. However it should be noted that it is to Zīrī's son Buluḳḳīn that al-Bakrī and Ibn al-Athīr attribute the founding of the fortified town of Ashīr, which the former dates from 364/974 and the latter from 367/977.

The new city was artificially populated by elements brought from Tobna, Msila and Hamza (now Bouira), and later from Tlemcen, which had served as a gathering place for the Zanāta. Palaces, caravanserais and baths were erected there. Buluḳḳīn, after being invested by the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz, who quitted the government of Ifrīḳiya for Cairo (363/973), left Ashīr and repaired to al-Ḳayrawān; this exodus, however, took place in stages, the chief's family remaining at Ashīr.

The protection of this frontier region of the Zīrid kingdom was entrusted to the Banū Ḥammād (b Buluḳḳīn), and Ashīr was incorporated into their territory, when their secession was recognised by the arrangement of 408/1017. Possession of Ashīr, the town of the Banū Ḥammād, was moreover, disputed by members of the family. It was taken by Yūsuf the son of Ḥammād just after 440/1048 and completely pillaged by his troops. In 468/1076 it was besieged and occupied by the Zanāta, being subsequently retaken by the Banū Ḥammād. In 495/1101 the Almoravid governor of Tlemcen, Tāshfīn b. Tināmer, took and destroyed it. Resurrected once more from its ruins by its Ḥammādī masters, it fell into the power of Ghāzī the Ṣanhādjī, ally of the Banū Ghāniya, (about 580/1184). After this date the name of Ashīr disappears from history.

The uncertainty which surrounds the founding of Ashīr and its attribution to either Zīrī or Buluḳḳīn is to some extent illustrated on the actual site, for anybody wishing to study what has survived.

The same region of the Tiṭerī, which dominates from afar the high plains of Southern Algeria, retains traces of three inhabited places, rather different in appearance, but all three showing the characteristics of Muslim origin.

1. One of them, called Manzah Bint al-Sulṭān, is a fortified enclosure crowning a rocky eminence 276 metres in length, surrounded by deep ravines, jutting out in a northerly direction from the Kāf Lakhdar range. A building—a guard-house or storehouse—stood near the centre. A large cistern was intended to assure the temporary food supply of the small garrison holding the position.

2. On the slopes falling away from the same range towards the South, there stretches a rectangular enclosure, part of the perimeter of which was encircled by a rampart two metres thick. Inside it, walls appear to mark off terraces at different levels; but no other building is visible there. A spring called ʿAyn Yashīr flows along a ravine which borders on the enclosure. According to Rodet, the name Yashīr is used to denote the enclosure itself.

Outside this enclosure, recent excavations by M. L. Golvin have revealed the existence of a castle built of stone, the plan of which is remarkably symmetrical. A projecting porch in the middle of the south façade gives access to an entrance-hall

closed at the far end by a wall. Two side passages connect this entrance-hall with the rest of the building. This entrance shows a clear similarity to that of the Fāṭimid palace of al-Ḳāʾim recently excavated at Mahdiyya (see M. S. Zbiss, in *JA*, 1956, 79-93).

3. The site of another fortified town faces Ya*sh*īr and the castle, from which it is separated by a distance of two and a half km. and a valley. This is Benia (Banya), which covers an area sloping down towards the north of Kāf Tsemsāl. Near the bottom of the slope, the rampart crowns the escarpment which borders the valley and a continuation of it extends towards the Kāf, against which the town rested. At the foot of this rocky eminence there used to be a dungeon. Three gates are set in the rampart. The ground is covered by numerous ruins. Of these the most easily identifiable is the mosque. The prayer chamber, which is preceeded by the courtyard, had seven naves and four bays. Several copious springs discharge themselves in the town.

It is possible to regard these three sites in the same region as marking three phases in the history of the Zīrid Ṣanhā*dj*a, and to see in them three successive foundations. Manzah Bint al-Sulṭān is not a town, but a refuge and an observation post of the Ṣanhā*dj*a, and probably preceeded the founding of a real city.

The affinity between the neighbouring castle of Ya*sh*īr and the palace of Mahdiyya permits the identification of the castle and the town with the foundation of Zīrī (324/934), authorised by al-Ḳāʾim and carried out with the collaboration of an Ifrīḳiyan architect.

Benia, on the other hand, probably represents the city of Buluḳḳīn (364/974), of which al-Bakrī gives such a remarkably exact description.

Bibliography: Nuwayri, *apud* Ibn *Kh*aldūn, trans. de Slane, ii, 487-93; Ibn *Kh*aldūn, text i, 197 ff., 326, trans. ii, 6 ff., 209; Ibn ʿI*dh*ārī, *Bayān*, ed. Dozy, i, 224, 248, 258 ff., trans. Fagnan i, 313, 350-1, 365, 367 ff.; Ibn al-A*th*īr, viii, 459, ix, 24, 38, 47, 90, 107, 110, 177, 180, trans. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, 374-5, 394-5, 397-8, 404-4, 406, 414, 418; Ḳayrawānī (Ibn Abī Dīnār) trans. Pellissier et Rémusat, 124-34; Bakrī, text, ed. de Slane (1911) 60, trans. (1913) 126-7; Istibṣār, trans. Fagnan, 105-6; al-Idrīsi, *Ma*gh*rib*, 99; Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie*, folio Boghar nos. 80, 82, 83; Chabassière et Berbrugger, *Le Kef el-Akhdar et ses ruines*, in RAfr. 1869, 116-21; Capitaine Rodet, *Les ruines d'Achir*, in RAfr. 1908, 86-104; G. Marçais, *Achir* (*Recherches d'archéologie musulmane*) in RAfr. 1922, 21-38. (G. Marçais)

ʿA*SH*ĪRA, usually a synonym of *ḳabīla* [*q.v.*] "tribe", can also denote a subdivision of the latter. Thus ʿAbd al-*Dj*alīl Ṭāhir, after using the word in the former sense in the title of his lectures on "The Bedouin and the Tribes in the Arab Countries" (*al-Badw wa 'l-ʿA*sh*āʾir fi 'l-Bilād al-ʿArabiyya*, Inst. des Hautes Études arabes, Cairo 1955), gives it a more technical definition (20, 1. 2-7): "The social unit or nucleus of tribal society is the family *ʿāʾila* [*q.v.*]); several families descended from a common ancestor, most commonly of the fifth degree, form a *fa*kh*dh* [*q.v.*]. The *ʿa*sh*īra* comprises several *afkhādh*, and the *ḳabīla* several *a*sh*āʾir*". The difficulties encountered by the author in chapter vii, in an effort to give precise definition to "the actual designations of these fluid social ideas", are explained by the instability of the groups, and are a reminder that "Arab authors have experimented with them over a period of centuries; from this fact derive the contradictory versions of dictionaries .... and, as anyone can verify for himself, in al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, and in Bishr Fares, *L'honneur chez les Arabes*", (77-8). Josef Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete* (Leiden 1943, 134-5), by means of the extremely inconsistent extension of the units which marks his theory, supported by numerous references, gives the same explanation of tribal structure in four stages: 1) family, *ʿayle*; 2) offspring up to the fifth degree, *āl* or *ahl*; 3) clan; 4) tribe, *ʿa*sh*īre, ḳabīle, badīde, firḳa*. These last expressions are synonymous, but "sometimes *ʿa*sh*īre* or *badīde* are regarded as subdivisions of *ḳabīle* (134) ... *ʿa*sh*īre* and *ḥamūle* are often used interchangeably, and *ahl* for a whole people" (135). On the other hand the definition of *LA* (vi, 250, 1. 9) suggests that some of these fluctuations may be accounted for by the normal conflict between the proper meaning and the ordinary, less precise, usage: "The *ʿa*sh*īra* of a man is constituted by the nearest male offspring of his father" (proper meaning) "who are also called the *ḳabīla*" (meaning altered by synecdoche). Comparison with other Semitic languages gives no clue, because Arabic is alone in affording, from the 10th root, a small group of apparently isolated derived forms with the dominant idea of "direct, intimate, relationship", and this etymological problem has only been touched on, as far as is known, by Marcel Cohen (*Essai comparatif ... chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947, 86). The roots of nouns of number do not seem to give, apart from a few obscure names of animals or plants, derived forms without semantic connexion with their number, and it is perhaps not impossible that the original idea was one of a group of about ten persons. This would still be an extremely flimsy basis of evaluation, because the additional remark of *LA* (*ibid.*, 19): "The *ʿa*sh*īra* consists exclusively of men" (also valid for *maʿ*sh*ar, nafar, ḳawm, rahṭ* and *ʿālam*) can equally well support *a contrario* a current use of the term which is considered corrupt, as give an indication of its social and juridical value, as a group consisting only of warriors.

Bibliography: The work first mentioned, edited by the Arab League, gives much information. The work of J. Henniger, which is absolutely fundamental for all these problems, ought also to have appeared in the bibliography of the article ʿĀʾila. (J. Lecerf)

ʿA*SH*ĶĀBĀD (properly ʿI*sh*ḳābād; according to the Turkish pronounciation of the Arab word ʿi*sh*ḳ, "love", called by the Russians since 1924 A*sh*kh*abad, previously till 1921 Askhabad, 1921-4 Poltorack), a town, since 1924 the capital of the SSR of Türkmenistān. It lies in an oasis south of the desert Ḳara Ḳum and developed out of a Turcoman *awl* with (1881, time of the Russ. conquest) 500 tents. Already in the year 1897 it had, as capital of the district Transcaspia (Zakaspiyskaya Oblast'), 19,428 inhabitants, chiefly merchants and officials. The city developed rapidly, and possessed already before 1914 a museum (which contained inter alia objects of interest for the ethnology of the Türkmen) and a library (with some Persian manuscripts). After 1917 in spite of the difficulty of maintaining a sufficient water supply the city became an important industrial centre in this district (woven wares, silk factories, foodstuffs, building materials), possessing also cultural significance (since 1950 Gor'kiy-University and four other higher schools, a branch

of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and other research institutes). The number of inhabitants rose (1926) to 51,593 and (1939) 127,000; no information in particular concerning their nationality has been given. Doubtless however numerous Russians live there.

The place has been very frequently (17-xi-1893, 17-i-1895, 1929) struck by earthquakes and possesses since 1947 a Soviet seismic observatory. A particularly destructive earthquake took place on 6 October 1948. Numerous buildings were destroyed and many people lost their lives. (The centre of the earthquakes is mostly fifty miles south in the Kopet Dagh.)

The district of ʿAs̲h̲ḳābād is notable for its cotton and corn cultivation; vines, melons and vetegables are cultivated here. It contains the foothills of the Kopet Dagh, the oasis Tedjen and the central parts of the desert Ḳara Ḳum [*q.v.*]. Minerals: zinc, lead, sulphur, barytus.

Four-five miles west of ʿAs̲h̲ḳābād lie the ruins of the city of Nasā [*q.v.*]; six-seven miles east the ruins of the city of Anaw with the remains of a beautiful mosque with an inscription by its builder, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Bābur (d. 861/1456-7) where during excavations (1904) a rich neolithic culture of the time 3000-500 (?) B.C. came to light.

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al-As̲h̲mūnayn [see ushmūnayn].

As̲h̲rāf [see s̲h̲arīf].

al-As̲h̲raf, al-Malik [see ayyūbids].

As̲h̲raf, town in the Persian province of Māzandarān, and chief town of a district (*bulūk*) of the same name, situated 36° 41′ 55″ N, 53° 32′ 30″ E, five miles from the shore of the Caspian Sea, 35 miles E. of Sārī and 43 miles W. of Astarābād on the road between these two towns. The town lies at the foot of wooded spurs of the lofty Alburz range, and commands a fine view northwards over the bay of Astarābād. Although the approaches to As̲h̲raf are fertile and produce excellent cotton and wheat, the plain of As̲h̲raf itself tends to be marshy. The cypress, the wild vine, the citron and the orange grow in profusion.

Formerly an unimportant town named K̲h̲arkūrān, the new town of As̲h̲raf dates from its foundation by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I in 1021/1612-3. Intended by ʿAbbās to be a rural retreat, As̲h̲raf at first consisted of a group of large farmhouses surrounding the royal palace and scattered along the Sārī road, but eventually the royal residences extended over a considerable area, and comprised six separate establishments, each with its gardens. According to Fraser five of these, the Bāg̲h̲-i S̲h̲āhī, the ʿImārat-i Ṣāḥib-i Zamān (used as a banqueting hall), the Ḥaram, the K̲h̲alwat, and the Bāg̲h̲-i Tappa, were enclosed by one wall, while the sixth, the ʿImārat-i Čas̲h̲ma, lay outside. Spacious accommodation was provided for guests and travellers. Great skill was employed in the construction of the palaces and of the famous causeway, large blocks of stone and marble being brought from Bākū, and joined by iron clamps cemented with lead.

The gardens were laid out with walks bordered by pines, and by orange and other fruit trees, and were watered by an elaborate system of reservoirs, cisterns and channels, fed by a spring which also supplied numerous fountains and cascades. On the hills above were situated the observatory known as Ṣafīābād, and a dam which controlled the water supply to the rice fields round As̲h̲raf.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the power of the Ṣafawī dynasty declined, and As̲h̲raf suffered heavily in the ensuing civil wars, and from Turcoman invasions from the N-E. It was plundered by the Afg̲h̲āns and again by the Zand armies. The great *aywān* called Čihil Sutūn was burnt down in the time of Nādir S̲h̲āh, and Nādir's replacement was a much meaner edifice. Muḥammad Ḥasan K̲h̲ān Ḳādjār carried out certain repairs, but what remained of the imperial residences was destroyed by Muḥammad K̲h̲ān of Sawādkūh, Governor of Māzandarān, and As̲h̲raf remained virtually uninhabited until Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Ḳādjār escaped from Zand captivity at S̲h̲īrāz and, making Māzandarān his base, rebuilt the town in 1193/1779-80. Though making a slow recovery—in 1826 it numbered 500 houses, in 1859 845, and in 1874 over 1200—As̲h̲raf has never regained its former prosperity, nor can its ruined palaces do more than hint at their former magnificence.

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As̲h̲raf ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Fārūḳī, was born at Tʾhāna Bhawan (Muẓaffarnagar district, India) on 12 Rabīʿ I, 1280/19 March 1863 and died on 6 Radjab 1362/9 July 1943. He received his education at his home-town and at Deoband [*q.v.*]. Leaving Deoband in 1301/1883-4 he started life as a teacher at Cawnpore. The same year he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca where he met Ḥādjdjī Imdād Allāh al-Hindī al-Muhādjir al-Makkī with whom he was already in correspondence. He renewed his *bayʿa*, contracted *in absentia*, and formally became his disciple. In 1307/1889-90 he again left for Mecca and stayed there for a number of months with Imdād Allāh. He left Cawnpore in 1315/1897-8 and settled down at Tʾhāna Bhawan for the rest of his life.

An eminent scholar, theologian and *ṣūfī*, he led a very busy life, teaching, preaching, writing and lecturing, and making occasional journeys. A prolific writer, his works exceed one thousand in number. These are mostly on *tafsīr*, *ḥadīt̲h̲*, logic, *kalām*, *ʿaḳāʾid* and *taṣawwuf*. His first work, a Persian *mat̲h̲nawī* entitled "*Zīr o-Bam*", was written while he was still a student; his last is *al-Bawādir al-Nawādir*, published in 1365/1945-6, being a selection of his innumerable writings. His most famous works are: i) *Bayān al-Ḳurʾān*, a commentary of the Ḳurʾān, in 12 vols. in Urdu, completed in 2½ years and first published at Delhi in 1334/1916-7. A revised and enlarged edition was published at Tʾhāna Bhawan, in 1353/1934-5 and at Delhi in 1349-2. Since then several editions have appeared; (ii) *Bihis̲h̲tī Zēwar*, in 10 vols., also in

Urdu, a compendium of Islamic teachings meant for women. The 11th vol. "*Bis͟hti Gawhar*" for men, was added much later. It has been frequently printed in India and Pākistān and is still in great demand. A collection of his *fatāwā* in 8 vols., compiled posthumously, is in process of publication.

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AS͟HRAF ʿALĪ K͟HĀN, foster-brother of Aḥmad S͟hāh, King of Delhi (1161/1748-1167/1754) was born in Delhi c. 1140/1727. His father Mīrzā ʿAlī K͟hān "Nukta" was a courtier of Muḥammad S͟hāh [*q.v.*]. His uncle Īrad͟j K͟hān was the *nāẓim* of Murs͟hidābād during the reign of Aḥmad S͟hāh. A composer of poetry in both Urdu and Persian, he wrote under the pen-name of "Fug͟hān" (Fig͟hān) and enjoyed the title of "Ẓarīf al-Mulk Kokaltās͟h K͟hān Bahādur", conferred on him by Aḥmad S͟hāh.

He lived in Delhi till the dethronement of Aḥmad S͟hāh in 1167/1754, when he left for Murs͟hidābād. He seems to have been unfavourably received by his uncle and after a brief stay with him returned to Delhi. In 1174/1761 when the Durranis again attacked India he left Delhi for good and went to Fayḍābād. He, however, soon fell out with his patron S͟hud͟jāʿ al-Dawla [*q.v.*] and left for ʿAẓīmābād (Patna) where he was well received by Rād͟ja S͟hitāb Rāyʾ, Governor or Bengal and Bihar and a great patron of learning. Offended by an unkind remark of S͟hitāb Rāyʾ he decided to leave him. But soon after he somehow came into contact with officials of the East India Company and appears to have entered their service. Thereafter he led a comfortable life and died at ʿAẓīmābād in 1186/1772-3.

A good poet, his compositions are, however, marred by biting satire and lampoon. His Urdu and Persian *dīwān* was published at Karachi in 1950.

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AS͟HRAF D͟JAHĀNGĪR b. S. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was born in 688/1289 at al-Simnān (K͟hurāsān), the principality of his father. His mother, K͟hadīd͟ja, was a grand-daughter of Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*]. A *ḥāfiẓ* of the Ḳurʾān, with its seven readings, he completed his education at the age of 14. His love for mysticism took him to ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla al-Simnānī [*q.v.*], a leading *ṣūfī* of his days, whose company he frequented. Succeeding his father, on the latter's death in 705/1305-6, to the principality he soon abdicated in favour of his brother Muḥammad and set out for India having been told to do so in a dream. Passing through Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, he visited Buk͟hārā and Samarḳand and then left for Uččh [*q.v.*] where he met D͟jalāl al-Dīn al-Buk͟hārī, surnamed D͟jahāniyān D͟jahān Gas͟ht [*q.v.*]. After a long series of travels covering Delhi, several places in the Indo-Gangetic plain, Bihār and Bengāl, including Sunārgāʾōn, near Dacca, he finally settled at Rūḥābād (an old name for Kačhawčha, a village 53 miles from Fayḍābād), where he died on 27 Muḥarram 808/July 6, 1405 and was buried in his own *K͟hānaḳāh*.

A short time after having settled at Kačhawčha he again left on his global travels, this time visiting Mecca (twice), al-Madīna, Karbalāʾ, al-Nad͟jaf, Turkey, Damascus, Bag͟hdād, Kās͟hān, al-Simnān, Meshed, G͟hazna and Kābul, returning to Rūḥābād *via* Multān, Pākpattan and Delhi. On his first voyage to Mecca he was accompanied by Badīʿ al-Dīn S͟hāh Madār [*q.v.*].

The statement in the *Laṭāʾif-i As͟hrafī* (ii, 105-6) that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm S͟harḳī (804/1401-848/1444) was introduced to him by Ḳāḍī S͟hihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī early on his arrival in India is apparently wrong as the Sulṭān succeeded to the throne in 804/1402 while the saint died four years later in 808/1405. The meeting, therefore, must have taken place during the closing years of the life of As͟hraf D͟jahāngīr.

He is the author of *Bas͟hārat al-Murīdīn* and *Maktūbāt-i As͟hrafī*, the latter is highly spoken of by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī [*q.v.*]. His shrine is visited, in thousands, by persons possessed and patients suffering from mental derangement in the hope of obtaining a cure.

Bibliography: Niẓām al-Yamanī, *Laṭāʾif-i As͟hrafī*, 2 vols. Delhi 1298/1880-1; G͟hulām Sarwar Lāhorī, *K͟hazīnat al-Aṣfiyāʾ*, Cawnpore 1914, i 371-77; ʿAbd Allāh K͟hʷes͟hgī, *Maʿārid͟j al-Wilāyat* (Punjab University MS.); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Čis͟htī, *Mirʾāt al-Asrār*, Dār al-Muṣannifīn, Aʿẓamgarh MS. fol. 529; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Bazm-i Ṣūfiyya* (in Urdu), Aʿẓamgarh 1369/1948, 441-82; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddit͟h Dihlawī, *Ak͟hbār al-Ak͟hyār*, Delhi 1332/1914, 156; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Nadwī, *Nuzhat al-K͟hawāṭir* (where a large number of his works is enumerated), Ḥaydarābād (Dn.) 1371/1951, iii, 32-4; Muḥammad Ak͟htar, *Tad͟hkirat-i Awliyāʾ-i Hind*, Delhi 1950, ii, 177-9. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

AS͟HRAF OG͟HULLARİ, march-wardens of the Sald͟jūḳs in Anatolia during the second half of the 13th century. Members of a Turkoman tribe which had been settled by the Anatolian Sald͟jūḳ state on its western frontiers, they embellished the town of

Gorgurum, and subsequently Beyshehri, and established a principality in that region.

The first of the family who is known to us is the Saldjūķ amīr Ashraf-oghlu Sayf al-Dīn Sulaymān Bey, who played an important part during the reigns of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd II. After the Mongols of the west, the Ilkhānids, had put Kaykhusraw III to death, they ordered Mas'ūd II to rule in his stead (Rabī' I 682/June 1283), but Kaykhusraw's mother, who was at Ķonya, proclaimed his sons as his successors, with the approval of the Ilkhānids, thus declaring herself against Mas'ūd. She invited the Ashrafid Sulaymān Bey to Ķonya and appointed him regent to these infant sovereigns (8 Rabī' I 684/14 May 1285). With assistance from the Mongols, Mas'ūd II, who was at Ķayseri, disposed of the two children and seized power, whereupon Sulaymān Bey withdrew to Beyshehri. Subsequently (687/1288) he made submission to Mas'ūd and came to Ķonya.

Mas'ūd II wished to have his brother Siyāwush, whom he regarded as a rival, placed under restraint. He therefore sent him to Beyshehri, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing back the Ashrafid's daughter as a bride for himself. By prior arrangement the Ashrafid arrested and imprisoned Siyāvush, but was compelled to release him and send him to Ķonya by the threats of the Ķaramānid Güneri Bey, who was favourably disposed towards Siyāvush (*Seldjūķnāme*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Persian MS no. 1553).

By this time the Saldjūķ state had lost its authority, and Sulaymān Bey was in perpetual conflict, sometimes with his neighbours and sometimes with the Saldjūķ governors: at one point he was even in danger of falling into the hands of the Ķaramānid, who was attacking Beyshehri, but he later gained the victory. He also suffered considerably at this period from assaults on this territory by the Ilkhānid Gaykhātū.

Sayf al-Dīn Sulaymān Bey died on Monday 2 Muḥarram 702/27 August 1302, and was buried in the mausoleum he had had constructed a year before beside his mosque in Beyshehri. Sulaymān had embellished Beyshehri, which he called Sulaymānshehri, with a number of foundations, and had repaired the fortress, placing his inscription over the fortress gate in 689/1290. He built his mosque, a distinguished work of art, in 696/1296, and his mausoleum in 1302. In his *waķfiyya* he appointed his sons Muḥammad and Ashraf as *mutawallīs* of these foundations (Khalīl Edhem, *Anadoluda islāmī kitābeler*, *TOEM* year 5, 139-44; Yusuf Akyurt, *Beyşehri kitabeleri ve Eşref oğlu camii ve türbesi*).

He was succeeded by his elder son Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Bey, who added the towns of Aķshehir and Bolvadin to his domains. The Ashrafid amīr Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Shikārī built the market mosque in Aķshehir in 720/1320 (I. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Kitabeler*, ii, 26). When the amīr Čōbān, the Ilkhānid governor-general, visited Anatolia in 1314 there was an Ashrafid among the Anatolian beys who came to offer him their obedience (*Musāmarat al-Akhbār*, 311); this must have been Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Muḥammad Bey died after 1320 and was succeeded by his son Sulaymān II, whose reign however was of short duration. The influence of the Ilkhānids in Anatolia having begun to wane, Demirtash, son of the amīr Čōbān, was appointed governor of Anatolia. In his efforts to subdue the Anatolian beys, who had grown accustomed to acting independently and rebelliously, he first took Ķonya (1320), which had come under Ķaramānid control. A few years later he marched on Beyshehri, seized Sulaymān Bey, killed him, and threw his corpse into the Beyshehri lake (the *Masālik al-Abṣār* records that he was tortured to death: his eyes were put out, his nose and ears cut off, and his severed testicles were hung about his neck) on 11 Dhu 'l-Ķa'da 726/9 October 1326 (this is the date shown in the Paris MS of the *Seldjūķnāme*; the *Taķwīm-i Nudjūmī* gives the year of his death as 722/1322-3.

With the murder of Sulaymān II the principality of the Ashrafids came to an end. After Demirtash's time, their territories fell into the hands partly of the Ḥamīdids, partly of the Ķaramānids. No coins of the Ashrafids have yet come to light, but is possible that coins of Muḥammad Bey exist.

In his *Masālik al-Abṣār*, Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umarī says that the Ashrafids possessed almost 70,000 cavalry, 60 towns, and 150 villages.

It is evident from the titles used by Sayf al-Dīn Sulaymān Bey in his inscription which he placed over the gate of the fortress of Beyshehri (which he called Sulaymānshehri) in Djumādā I 689/May 1290 (*Amīr-i Mu'aẓẓam*), and on his other inscriptions (*al-Amīr al-'Ādil*: see Halil Ethem and Yusuf Akyurt) that he was an amīr of the Seldjūķs.

The mosque of Sulaymān Bey, its *minbar* and *miḥrāb*, are choice works of art. The ornate ceiling of the mosque, which is rectangular in shape, is supported on 48 wooden pillars, decorated with stalactites. The *miḥrāb* is adorned with porcelain mosaics, Ķur'ānic verses and *ḥadīths*. The *minbar* is a masterpiece of the woodcarver's art, made of jointed sections of ebony. Around the front of the door to the *minbar* is inscribed the Throne-verse, in Saldjūķ *naskhī* script, while above the doorway are seen the names of the first four caliphs, in Kūfic lettering. The mausoleum of Sulaymān Bey, though most artistic, has become dilapidated with age.

There exists a philosophical work in Arabic, in 9 sections, entitled *al-Fuṣul al-Ashrafiyya fī Uṣūl al-Burhāniyya wa 'l-Kashfiyya*, written for the Ashrafid Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Bey by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tushtarī. The author's autograph copy, written at Ķonya in 710/1311, is in the library of St. Sophia (no. 2445).

The Ashrafid family:

Ashraf
|
Sayf al-Dīn Sulaymān I
|
Güldjemāl Khātūn — Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad — Ashraf
|
Sulaymān II (son of Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad)

Bibliography: I. H. Uzunçarşili, *Anadolu Beylikleri, Karakoyunlu ve Akkoyunlu Devletleri*, Ankara 1937; *Kitâbeler* ii, Istanbul 1929; *Anadolu Türk tarihinde üç mühim sima: Demirtaş, Eretna ve Kadı Burhanettin Ahmed, TTEM*, 7, 1931; *Seldjūķnāme* in Persian: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Persian MS no. 1553, and text and translation by Dr Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, 1952; *Manāķib al-'Ārifīn*, Süleymaniye library MS Halet Efendi no. 321, and annotated Turkish translation by Tahsin Yazıcı, 1954; Khalīl Edhem, *Anadoluda islāmī kitābeler*, *TOEM* year 5; Yusuf Akyurt, *Beyşehri kitabeleri ve Eşref oğullari camii ve türbesi*, in *Türk Tarih, Arkeolojya ve Etnografya Dergisi* year 4, 1940; Khalīl Edhem, *Düwal-i*

Islāmiyya, Istanbul 1927; *Musāmarat al-Akhbār*, ed. Osman Turan, Ankara 1944; *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Fr. Taeschner, Leipzig 1929.

(ISMAIL HAKKI UZUNÇARŞILI)

ASHRAFĪ [see SIKKA].

ASHRAFIYYA, Dervish-order (according to d'Ohsson), which takes its name from ʿAbd Allāh Ashraf (Eshref) Rumī, died 899/1493 in Čīn Iznīk.

AL-ʿ**ASHSHĀB** (A.), the gatherer or vendor of herbs, from the Arabic *ʿushb*, a word which means a fresh annual herb which is afterwards dried. In medical literature, the word is chiefly used to denote simples, and consequently *al-ʿashshāb* means a vendor of or authority on medicinal herbs. Thus for example the celebrated physician Ibn al-Suwaydī (d. 690/1291), in a note preserved in his own hand on the title-page of Ms. No. 3711 of the Aya Sofya, calls his teacher, the famous pharmacologist Ibn al-Bayṭār [*q.v.*], *al-ʿashshāb al-mālaḳī*, "the herbalist of Malaga". In this connexion it should be noted that the word *al-shadjdjār*, which is lacking in most dictionaries, means an authority on plants or a botanist; it is derived from *shadjar*, which is used for tree, bush, shrub or any plant with a strong woody stem, and also for plants in general.

(M. MEYERHOF)

AL-A**SHTAR,** Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakhaʿī, warrior and political agitator of the time of the Caliph ʿUthmān and supporter of ʿAlī. He was surnamed al-Ashtar, "the man with inverted eyelids", as the result of a wound received at the battle of the Yarmūk (15/636). He distinguished himself by his boldness in the campaign against the Byzantines and even dared to venture beyond Darb in enemy territory (see Caetani, *Annali*, index). He was one of the most persistent agitators against the Caliph ʿUthmān and the ruling class of the period and defended the rights—or the claims—of the warriors to the *fay*ʾ (booty consisting of landed property). After a violent scene in the presence of ʿUthmān's governor at Kūfa, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ (33/653-4), he was banished from Kūfa to Syria together with ten other agitators; Muʿāwiya subsequently sent him back to ʿIrāḳ, but Saʿīd sent him on to the governor of Ḥimṣ. As the agitation persisted in Kūfa, he lost no time in returning and stirring up the masses (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2907-17, 2921, 2927-31). He is to be found at the head of the band of seditious elements who prevented the return of the governor Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and who took upon themselves to obtain the appointment by the Caliph (34/654-5) of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2927-30; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 262-5). At the time of the insurrection in Medina, which ended with the assassination of the Caliph ʿUthmān (35/656), he brought two hundred men from Kūfa (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 49) and was one of those who besieged "the House" (*al-nuffār*) (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2989 f., etc.); his name is even cited among the murderers of the Caliph (Ibn ʿAsākir, in Caetani, *Annali*, 35 A.H., paras. 137 and 169; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, (Būlāḳ 1293), ii, 278 etc.).

His violence came to the fore also during the election of ʿAlī, for he threatened several recalcitrants, forcing them to swear the oath of allegiance to him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3068-9, 3075-77: al-Dīnawarī, 152). He then attached himself to ʿAlī, but was often among those of his supporters who presumed to impose their own will on him.

During ʿAlī's campaign against ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, he was sent to Kūfa with other men of importance to persuade the inhabitants to take ʿAlī's side, and after succeeding in this objective, he brought reinforcement to his master. He took part in the battle of the Camel (36/656); the sources mention a duel which he fought with ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and other brave deeds. At the head of the vanguard of ʿAlī's army in the campaign against Muʿāwiya, he obliged the inhabitants of Raḳḳa to build a bridge of boats over the Euphrates to enable the troops to cross (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3259-60). At the battle of Ṣiffīn in which he commanded the right wing of the army, he displayed zeal and bravery (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3283, 3284, 3294-300, 3327, 3328; al-Dīnawarī 194-8; al-Masʿūdī, IV, 343-9).

ʿAlī wanted to have him as an arbitrator at the time when the famous arbitration between himself and Muʿāwiya was proposed (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), but his supporters refused, well aware that such a choice would mean the continuation of the war; when al-Ashtar was informed that a truce had been decided upon, he wanted to go on fighting, for he thought that victory was near and the speech which he delivered on this occasion has come down to us (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minḳarī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, 562 f.; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3331 f.; cf. al-Dīnawarī, 204); he then tried to avoid signing the agreement. It was probably because of his uncompromising attitude towards the truce with Muʿāwiya, that ʿAlī got rid of him, by appointing him firstly governor of Mawṣil (as well as of other towns of ʿIrāḳ and Syria which were in his possession, but al-Ashtar encountered opposition from al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī, appointed governor by Muʿāwiya, and had to withdraw to Mawṣil) and then governor of Egypt; it is not known precisely whether this took place immediately after the recall of Ḳays b. Saʿd or after the dismissal of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr who had proved himself a bad politician (al-Kindī, *Governors* 22-4; al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 336; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3242; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 227; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 492; Caetani, *Annali*, 37 A.H. paras. 221-3). However that may be, al-Ashtar never reached the seat of his appointment, for when he arrived at al-Ḳulzum (37/658 or 38?) he was poisoned by the local *djāyastār* (not the *quaestor* but the *logistarius*, see J. Maspero, in *BIFAO*, xi, 155-61), (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3392-5). On hearing of his death, ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya are said to have spoken the words which have subsequently become famous: — the former: *li ʾl-yadayn wa li ʾl-fam* "[fallen] hands and mouth [to the ground]" an expression indicating the pleasure felt on seeing someone fall (Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ii, 475; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, 37 A.H. para. 224, n. 1); the latter: "God even has troops in the honey". Muʿāwiya has been suspected of being the instigator of al-Ashtar's assassination; more certain is the fact that Muʿāwiya considered al-Ashtar one of the "arms" of ʿAlī, the other, according to him, being ʿAmmār b. Yāsir.

From the physical point of view, al-Ashtar was a giant; his sword bore the name *al-ludjdj* "the sheen of running water" (*TA*, ii, 93).

Bibliography: Information on al-Ashtar is to be found in all the chronicles and histories dealing with the early period of Islam as well as in the collections of biographies of early personalities; Caetani, *Annali*, Index and vols. vii-x *passim*; several quotations of sources, *ibid.* 37 A.H. paras. 332-9; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minḳarī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn, Cairo 1365, Index; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, Cairo 1329, i, 158-60, ii, 28-30, 80, iii, 416, 417.

(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

ASHTURKA [see SUPPLEMENT].

ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ, name of a voluntary fast-day which is observed on the 10th Muḥarram.

I.—When Muḥammad came to Madīna he adopted from the Jews amongst other days the ʿĀshūrāʾ. The name is obviously the Hebrew *ʿāsōr* with the Aramaic determinative ending; in Lev. xvi, 29 it is used of the great Day of Atonement. Muḥammad retained the Jewish custom in the rite, that is, the fast was observed on this day from sunset to sunset, and not as in other fasts only during the day. When in the year 2 Muḥammad's relations with the Jews became strained, Ramaḍān was chosen as the fast month, and the ʿĀshūraʾ-fast was no longer a religious duty but was left to the option of the individual. —On which day of the Arabian year the fast was originally observed cannot now be ascertained owing to our defective knowledge of the calendar of the period; naturally its observance coincided with the Jewish on the 10th Tishri, and so fell in the autumn. The 10th Muḥarram finds early mention as the ʿĀshūrāʾ; probably the tenth day of the first Muslim month was selected to harmonise with the tenth day of the first Jewish month. From the calculations which have already been made, it does not seem possible that it could have been originally celebrated on the 10th Muḥarram (see Caetani, *Annali*, i, 431 f.).

Presumably for the sake of distinguishing themselves from the Jews some fixed the 9th Muḥarram either along with or in place of the tenth as a fast day with the name *Tāsūʿāʾ*.

The Jewish origin of the day is obvious; the well-known tendency of tradition to trace all Islamic customs back to the ancient Arabs, and particularly to Abraham, states that the Meccans of olden time fasted on the ʿĀshūrāʾ. It is not impossible that the tenth, as also the first nine days of Muḥarram, did possess a certain holiness among the ancient Arabs; but this has nothing to do with the ʿĀshūrāʾ.

The fast of the ʿĀshūrāʾ was later and is still regarded by Muslims as commendable; the day is kept by the devout of the entire Sunnī world; it is holy also on "historical" grounds: on it Noah left the ark, etc. In Mecca the door of the Kaʿba is opened on the day of the ʿĀshūrāʾ for visitors (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 51). In lands which are Shīʿite or come under Shīʿite influence quite different usages have become associated with the 10th Muḥarram; in this connexion see MUḤARRAM.

Bibliography: The Chapter *Ṣawm ʿAshūrāʾ* in the Collections of Traditions, and the appropriate sections in the Fiḳh-books; Goldziher, *Usages juifs d'après la littérature des musulmans*, in *Rev. des Etudes juives*, xxviii, 82-84; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 121-125; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, 115 f.; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 179, note; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, iii, 53, note; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 214, 226; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, Ch. xxiv. (A. J. WENSINCK)

II.—ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ (ĀSHŪRA) in the Maghrib. In practice a distinction is usually made between *ʿĀshūr*, the name given to the month of *Muḥarram*, and *ʿĀshūra*, the name of the feast celebrated on the tenth of that month. The supererogatory fast enjoined on that day seems to be unevenly kept, whilst alms-giving is a ore usual practice. Perhaps this is why children from the ḳurʾānic schools, at *ʿĀshūra*, go from door to door, singing and making collections for their masters. The dead are also honoured by visits to their tombs, which are copiously watered, and branches of myrtle are placed on them. The feast is celebrated by eating special dishes (fritters, flat cakes and gruel), and especially, eggs and poultry. Popular manifestations of *ʿĀshūra* vary according to the region and are at times on an extraordinary scale.

Three essential elements can be distinguished in the practices in use: 1) *Fire and water rites*. A bonfire of branches, leaves and grasses is built; this is very frequently lit by a person of repute, who is possessed of *baraka* [*q.v.*]. Whilst the bonfire burns, those present jump over it (*ʿammi ʿōf* of Takroûna). Also very common practices are throwing burning faggots from the bonfire into the river, mixing water with the ashes, bathing and sprinkling oneself with water. 2) *Marriage rites* (when a sacrificial animal is sometimes slaughtered). These are especially observed in Morocco: Douzrou ceremony (Tafilalet); the making of dolls and puppets representing *ʿĀshūr* and his fiancée *ʿĀshūra*, in the Region of Agadir, in the Sūs and the Middle Atlas, etc.,3) *Carnival rites*, mainly in Morocco, in Western Oran, all along the edge of the Sahara, in the Sahara, Tunisia and Libya. The Maghribī carnival (*farja*), with numerous variations, almost always includes a trial, an execution and a funeral; the victim is usually an old man or an old woman, dressed up in a burlesque costume, at times wearing animal skins or pelts or a tunic made of plaited plants (*shāyb ʿāshūra* at Ouargla, *bū-līfa* at Biskra, *bū-jlūd* in Morocco and at Tlemcen, *bū-heremma* in Southern Morocco and Oran, *bu 'l-fdām, bābā ʿēshōr* elsewhere, etc. ...). One of the figures in the *farja* is usually that of an enormous beast, a lion, a mule or a camel, which both delights and terrifies the spectators.

It is generally agreed that the complex customs of *Āshūra* in the Maghrib reflect the survival of very ancient agrarian rites, in fact the celebration of the death of the year coming to its end and the birth of their popular aspects, which are both sad and joyful. The traditional Muslim Shīʿite mourning has, in all likelihood, become grafted on to this magico-religious substratum, whilst the lunar calendar has taken over a solar year cult, subjecting it to a temporal displacement. Through these superimpositions, remains of this ancient disrupted ceremonial have, here and there, become haphazardly attached to Muslim feasts (the two *ʿīds* and *mawlid* [*qq.v.*]) and to the various periods and holidays of the agricultural year (*rās el-ʿām, ennāyr, rbīʿ, ʿanṣāra* [*qq.v.*].)

Bibliography: Gaudefroy-Demembynes, *La fête de Achoura à Tunis*, in *Revue des Traditions populaires* 1903, 11; E. Doutté, *Merrakech*, Paris 1905, 371-2; Biarnay, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère de Ouargla*, Paris 1908, 212; A. Bel, *La population musulmane de Tlemcen*, in *Revue des Études ethnographiques et sociologiques* 1908, 8-9; S. Boulifa, *Textes berbères en dialecte de l'Atlas marocain*, Paris 1908, 146-67; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger 1909, 526-40; Monchicourt, *La fête de Achoura*, in *Revue tunisienne* 1910, 299-324; Castells, *Note sur la fête de Achoura à Rabat*, in *Archives berbères* 1916; E. Laoust, *Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas*, in *Hespéris* 1921; W. Marçais et A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, Paris 1925, i, 347 ff. (copious bibliography); E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 58-86; Godard, *Croyances et coutumes du Fezzan*: *la fête de Achoura à Edri*, in *Bulletin de liaison saharienne*, Algiers 1956, 79-84. (PH. MARÇAIS)

AL-ʿĀṢĪ is the name in use among the Arabs for the Orontes. The classical name of this river, the most important in northern Syria, is preserved in Arabic literature as al-Urunṭ, al-Urund. Presumably the origin of the word ʿĀṣī, like that of the Greek Axios, must be sought in an ancient native name. The common explanation of al-ʿĀṣī = "the rebel" is a popular etymology with no actual foundation, and the name *al-nahr al-maḳlūb* = *fluvius inversus* is probably a scholarly invention.

The river-system of the ʿĀṣī begins to the north of the watershed formed by the highland-valley of al-Biḳāʿ not far from Baʿalbakk, but really only obtains its volume of water farther north near al-Hirmil from a spring, generally called simply the Orontes Spring, which wells forth in a strong stream from the rock. Following the line of the Syrian canal to its northern end, the river flows through several lakes or marshes (those of Ḳadas and of Fāmiya = Ḳalʿat al-Mudīḳ); on its banks are situated the most important towns of central Syria, Ḥimṣ and Hamāt. At the point where the Syrian buttresses rejoin the faults of Armenia and Asia Minor the river turns away from the north and flows towards the south-west, receives the streams which, rising in the most northerly regions of Syria, discharge into the marshes of al-ʿAmḳ, and reaches the sea below Anṭākiya, to the south of the Amanus, at a point where the coast is flat and devoid of natural harbours (Seleucia and al-Suwaydiyya were artificial harbours).

The geographical peculiarities of the course of the Orontes, and its comparatively abundant flow, have long permitted the traditional use of its waters for irrigation. But the favourable conditions which it presents for large-scale modern development have as yet only given rise to partially realised projects.

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AṢĪLA (now Arzila in Fr. and Port., Arcila in Span.), town and port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, situated about 50 kms. S.S.W. of Tangiers and not far from the mouth of al-Wādī al-Ḥulw (Oued el-Helou). According to Spanish statistics, the population rose from slightly over 6,000 inhabitants in 1935 to just under 16,000 in 1949, with a majority of Muslims, a negligible Jewish minority and a small number of Europeans, mainly Spaniards.

The name Aṣīla seems to derive from the forms Ζῆλις (Strabo), Zilis (Itinerary of Antoninus and the Anonymus of Ravenna) or Zilia (Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela); but the ancient authors tell us hardly anything about the town, which may have originally been a Phoenician trading-post. In contrast, it is frequently mentioned and described by the Arab historians and geographers, among others by Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Bakrī. According to the latter, Aṣīla was twice visited by the Normans in the 3rd/9th century. In the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī describes it as a small town in complete decay. But trade must have enjoyed a certain prosperity there in the 9th/15th century, because at the time of the disaster suffered by the Portuguese before Tangiers (1437), Jewish merchants and Genoese and Castilian business men were to be found there; the Waṭṭāsid sultans of Fez seem also to have made Aṣīla one of their principal bases. However, the history of the town is only really well known in the period during which it was occupied by the Portuguese (1471-1550). They took it, partly with a view to taking Tangier in the rear, on 24th August 1471, under the command of King Alfonso V, called "the African" (1438-81), with the aid of his son, the future John II. The almost immediate result of the fall of Aṣīla was the fall of Tangier, which the Portuguese entered without striking a blow. The new masters built a strong citadel at Aṣīla with a dungeon and a vast walled enclosure, which contained the whole town; the whole of these fortifications still survive today. The Portuguese garrison, in conjunction with the garrisons of Ceuta, al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr and especially of Tangier, had constantly to contend with the hostility of the marabouts, of local chiefs (Djabal Harub), of the Ḳāʾids of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, Larache, Tetuan and Chechaouen (Mawlāy Ibrāhīm) and of the Waṭṭāsid sultans of Fez, especially Muḥammad al-Burtuḳālī: they endured several sieges; the most serious was that of 1508; the Portuguese lost the town and only retained the citadel; they were saved by the intervention of a squadron which arrived from Portugal, which was soon after reinforced by the Spanish fleet of Pedro Navarro. Furthermore, the fortress was handicapped by the insecurity of its port, which was blocked by a reef. In August 1550, King John III of Portugal (1521-57) had it evacuated —a few weeks after al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr—with a view to concentrating all his forces in Northern Morocco at Tangier and Ceuta. In 1577, Aṣīla was reoccupied by King Sebastian (1557-78), as the price of his alliance with the Saʿdid prince Muḥammad al-Maslūkh and with a view to the expedition in which he lost his life, at the battle of the Three Kings, or the battle of al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr (4th August 1578): it was at Aṣīla that the Christian army landed and it was from Aṣīla that it set out on 29th July 1578 to meet the Moroccan army. Philip II, King of Portugal since 1580 following the death of Cardinal Henry, gave the town back to the Saʿdid sultan al-Manṣūr in 1589. From this date onwards, Aṣīla has led a quiet and obscure existence. It formed part of the region subject to the authority of the Sharīf Raysūnī, when it was occupied in 1912 by the Spaniards, who incorporated it in their zone.

Bibliography: All the requisite information on Aṣīla prior to 1589 is collected together in David Lopes, *História de Arzila durante o domínio português*, Coimbra 1924-5 (based strictly on the sources, especially *Bernardo Rodrigues*, *Anais de Arzila*, ed. David Lopes, 2 vols., Lisbon 1915-9); see also Adolfo L. Guevara, *Arcila durante la ocupación portuguesa*, Tangier 1940, and Pierre de Cenival, David Lopes and Robert Ricard, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Portugal, 5 vols., Paris 1934-53, and the bibliography of the article *Asfi* concerning the Portuguese period. For recent events: Tomás García Figueras, *Miscelánea de estudios históricos sobre Marruecos*, Larache 1949, 421 ff. (R. RICARD)

ʿĀṢIM, ABŪ BAKR ʿĀṢIM B. BAHDALA ABI 'L-NADJDJŪD AL-ASADĪ, a *mawlā* of the Banī Djudhayma of the Asad. Some say Bahdala was his mother's name and his father's name ʿAbd Allāh, though he was known Abu 'l-Nadjdjūd. He is said to have been a dealer in wheat (*ḥannāṭ*) who succeeded as-Sulamī as head of the Kūfan School of Ḳurʾān Readers, where his preeminence in Ḳurʾānic studies secured him a place as one of the Seven Readers whose systems became canonical. Indeed

through his pupil Ḥafṣ [*q.v.*] his system of pointing and vowelling the Ḳurʾānic text has become the *textus receptus* in Islam. He is classed as a Follower and had a small part in transmitting *ḥadīth*. His fame, however, was as a *ḳāriʾ* and a teacher of *ḳirāʾāt*, in which he had the reputation of being a *ḥudjdja*. In this branch of learning he is said to have been the pupil of Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 74/693-4), Zirr b. Ḥubaysh (d. 82/701-2) and Abū ʿAmr Saʿd b. Iyās al-Shaybānī (d. 96/714-5), through one or other of whom his readings may be traced back to all the most famous names in Ḳurʾānic learning among the Companions. He had a large number of pupils who transmitted his system, but his two *rāwīs* in the canonical list are Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh (d. 194) and Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān (d. 190). He died late in 127 or early in 128/745.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, i, 304, 305 (no. 314); Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 263; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 29; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* i, 175; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, no. 1496; idem, *Nashr*, i, 156; al-Dānī, *Taysīr*, 6; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, v, 38-40; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, ii, 5 no. 26. (A. JEFFERY)

ʿĀṢIM, AḤMAD, imperial historiographer of the Ottoman empire, born in ʿAyntāb (the modern Gaziantep) in south-eastern Anatolia about the year 1755. He was the son of Seyyid Meḥmed, a clerk of the court, who became famous as a poet under the name of Djenānī. His family was one of the old-established ones in the place. In his early youth he acquired an equally fluent knowledge of Arabic and Persian, and this helped him in later years to achieve his fame as a translator (*müterdjim*) of well-known dictionaries. To begin with, Seyyid Aḥmed was the secretary of the law-court of his home town, and later in nearby Kilis. In 1790 he went to Istanbul, where he gained the sultan's favour with a translation of the *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ* which was dedicated to Selīm III. He subsequently became a professor. In 1802 he was sent to the Ḥidjāz, and on his return he brought his whole family from ʿAyntāb to Istanbul. In 1807 he became imperial historiographer (*wakʿa-nüvis*); as such he compiled a history of the Ottoman empire (later printed in two volumes) from the peace treaty of Sistova (4 August 1791) to the accession of Maḥmūd II (28 July 1808). Later, he translated the *Ḳamūs al-Muḥīṭ* (which was reprinted several times) into Turkish. In later years he returned to his calling as a teacher, then as judge (Mulla of Selānīk, Feb. 1814), and died on 28 Sept. 1819 in Skutari, where he owned a house near the well of Nuḥ (*Nūḥ ḳuyu*). He lies buried in the Ḳaradja Aḥmed cemetery, and the inscription on his tomb is in *ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri* i, 375.

In his capacity as imperial historioriographer, he surpasses his predecessors in a presentation which is at the same time a fluent day-to-day chronicle, yet also critical in its treatment of events. Finally, he translated the Cairo chronicle of the French occupation, by al-Djabartī—which became known in Europe too (French ed. by A. Cardin, Paris 1838)—from Arabic into his mother-tongue. This version is preserved in manuscript form in Paris (Bibl. Nationale s.t. 1283; cf. E. Blochet, *Catal.*, ii, 221) and in Cairo. It was never printed because the Cairo chronicle was soon afterwards translated again by the court-physician Muṣṭafā Behdjet Efendi, and then printed (as *Taʾrīkh-i Miṣr*, 260 Ss. 12°, Istanbul 1282) after having previously appeared as a feuilleton in *Djerīde-i ḥawādith* (cf. *JAS*, 1868, i, 477 f.).

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 283; A. D. Mordtmann, in *Augsburger Allgem. Zeitung* of 29 June 1875, supplement no. 180; Faṭīn, *tedhkire*, 226; *GOW*, 339 f. with further bibliographical details; ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri, i, 375 f.; *Türk Meşhurlari* (Istanbul, n.d., ca. 1946) 47 f. (with a picture which pretends to be a portrait). (FR. BABINGER)

ʿĀṢIM EFENDĪ ISMĀʿĪL [see ČELEBI-ZĀDE].

ASĪR, the *takhalluṣ* of Mīrzā Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mīrzā Muʾmin, Persian poet and pupil of Faṣīḥī Harawī. Born at Iṣfahān: probable date of death 1049/1639-40, though some sources give later dates. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not migrate to the Mughal court, but became a boon companion and close relative (according to one account the son-in-law) of Shāh ʿAbbās I. He composed most of his poetry under the influence of alcohol, from an excess of which he died. His *dīwān*, comprising *ḳaṣīdas*, *mathnawīs*, *tardjīʿ-bands* and *ghazals*, was lithographed at Lucknow in 1880.

Bibliography: The MSS. Catalogues of Rieu (British Museum), ii, 681, and Pertsch (Berlin), no. 938. *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Khāḳānī*, 163*v*.; Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 311. (R. M. SAVORY)

ʿASĪR, a region in Western Arabia named after a confederation of tribes in al-Sarāt [*q.v.*]. The concept of a separate region intervening between al-Ḥidjāz and the Yaman developed in the 19th century and is now sanctioned by official Saudi Arabian practice, which uses the name ʿAsīr for the highlands southwards from al-Nimāṣ to Nadjrān, and Tihāmat ʿAsīr for the lowlands bordering the Red Sea between al-Ḳaḥma and the Yaman frontier.

From al-Ṭāʾif to the Yaman there is no gap in the bold range of al-Sarāt. The core is crystalline rock, but in certain fault zones volcanic activity has produced lava fields, one of which, reaching the Red Sea just south of Ḥaly, used to form the natural boundary between al-Ḥidjāz and the Yaman. The main drainage divide, some 50 to 75 m. (80 to 120 km.) inland, rises abruptly to heights of over 6000 ft. (2,000 m.), with peaks over 9000 ft. (3,000 m.). Streams fed by rain from the fringe of the monsoons have carved great gorges in the steep seaward flanks. Drainage on the gentler eastern slope follows fracture zones northwards, creating the major wadi systems of Bīsha and Tathlīth, which eventually turn eastwards to empty their flood waters into Wādī al-Dawāsir. Along these wadi systems Philby traces the Road of the Elephant (*Darb al-Fīl*).

The highland capital is Abhā [*q.v.*], the centre of the confederation of ʿAsīr, which consists of Banī Mughayd, Banī Mālik, ʿAlkam, and Rabīʿa wa-Rufayda. Other important tribes are Ridjāl Almaʿ on the western slopes, Ridjāl al-Ḥidjr and Shahrān north of Abhā, and elements of Ḳaḥṭān, including ʿAbīda, from Abhā south to Ẓahrān.

Along the reef-lined coast of Tihāmat ʿAsīr are the little ports of al-Ḳaḥma, al-Shuḳayḳ, and Djayzān (classical Djāzān), the last being the capital of the district, which also embraces the Farasān Archipelago. Inland from Djayzān is an extensively cultivated area surrounding Umm al-Khashab (Baysh), Ṣabyā, and Abū ʿArīsh. Among the larger wadis debouching on the plain of Tihāmat ʿAsīr are those of ʿItwad, Baysh, and Ḍamad.

Terracing is widely practiced in the highlands, where rainfall of c. 12 ins. (30 cm.) a year provides for the cultivation of grains and fruits. Coffee is grown near the Yaman border, and *ḳāt* on the slopes of Djabal Fayfā. Grains and vegetables are raised

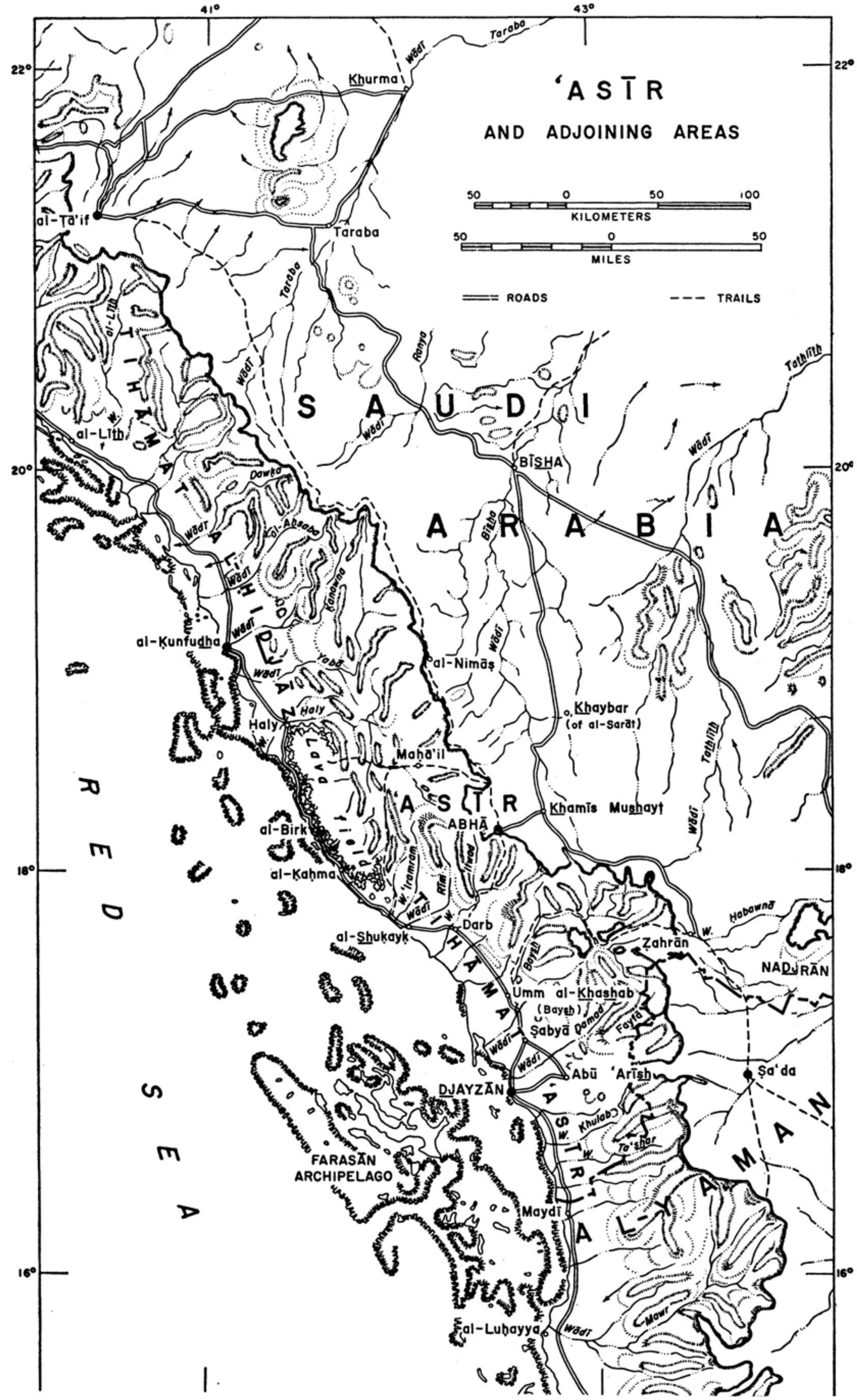
ʿASĪR
AND ADJOINING AREAS
KILOMETERS
MILES
ROADS
TRAILS
41°
43°
22°
20°
18°
16°
SAUDI ARABIA
RED SEA
ʿASĪR
TIHĀMAT AL-ḤIDJĀZ
TIHĀMA
ʿASĪR
AL-YAMAN
Khurma
al-Ṭāʾif
Taraba
al-Līth
BĪSHA
al-Ḳunfudha
al-Nimāṣ
Khaybar
(of al-Sarāt)
Haly
Mahāʾil
Khamīs Mushayṭ
ABHĀ
al-Birk
al-Ḳaḥma
Darb
al-Shuḳayḳ
Zahrān
NADJRĀN
Umm al-Khashab
(Baysh)
Ṣabyā
Abū ʿArīsh
Ṣaʿda
DJAYZĀN
FARASĀN
ARCHIPELAGO
Maydī
al-Luḥayya

in Tihāma, and some indigo around Ṣabyā and Abū ʿArīsh. The *dawm* palm is cultivated for its fruit and leaves, which are woven into baskets and mats, but almost all dates come from Bīsha or by sea.

The ways of the mountaineers tend towards those of Nadjd, while the ways of the lowlanders indicate the closeness of their contact with Africa. Dwellings vary from mud-brick buildings with projecting stone tiles in the mountains to thatch huts on the coast. There are virtually no tent-dwellers in the mountains or on the coast plain, the nomads using a mat shelter. The isolation of mountain towns and ranges has contributed to the complexity and fragmentation of the tribal system. The Arabic speech of some of the tribes is held to be remarkable for its purity and freedom from outside influence, but *kashkasha* and other dialectal deviations are not uncommon.

The name ʿAsīr was originally borne by several Ḳaḥṭānite tribes centred on Abhā who had attached themselves to the ʿAdnānites of ʿAnz b. Wāʾil. Among the early divisions of ʿAnz were Rabīʿa, Rufayda, and Mālik. Other old tribes in the region were Khathʿam (including Shahrān and Aklub) and al-Azd (including al-Ḥidjr, Almaʿ, and Azd Shanūʾa, among whose branches were Ghāmid and Ẓahrān). Sections of Kināna were established along the coast.

In the time of the Ziyādids [*q.v.*] in the Yaman (204-409/819-1018), the lord of ʿAththar, Sulaymān b. Ṭarf al-Ḥakamī, held Tihāma from al-Shardjā to Ḥaly (Mikhlāf Ibn Ṭarf or al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, a name still used on occasion by the inhabitants). In 460/1067-8 the Ṣulayḥid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad defeated a Ṭarfid and his Abyssinian allies at al-Zarāʾib, ʿUmāra al-Ḥakamī's birthplace.

The Ṭarfids gave way as rulers of the Mikhlāf in the 5th/11th century to the Sulaymānid Sharīfs, who after a passing hegemony in Mecca had been supplanted there by the Hāshimids (see MAKKA). The principal Sulaymānid capital was Djayzān while lesser Sulaymānid dynasties arose in Ṣabyā, Ḍamad, etc. One of the Sulaymānids, ʿUlayy b. ʿĪsā Āl Wahhās, taught al-Zamakhsharī in Mecca; many others turned to nomadic life in the Mikhlāf. A victory of the Mahdids of the Yaman over the Sulaymānids in 560/1164-5 was instrumental in bringing about the occupation of the Yaman by Saladin's brother Tūrān Shāh. Sulaymānid authority, impaired by the advent of the Ottomans, yielded to a more vigorous local dynasty. The Khayrātids, *sharīfs* descended from the House of Ḳatāda in Mecca, in time installed themselves in the position once held by the Sulaymānids as independent rulers in the Mikhlāf; the foremost figure among them in the early 19th century was Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad Abū Mismār of Abū ʿArīsh (d. 1233/1818).

For centuries intertribal feuds had kept the highlands disunited. The missionary zeal of Wahhābism, advancing westwards from Central Arabia late in the 19th century, provided a basis for unification under Muḥammad b. ʿĀmir Abū Nukṭa al-Rufaydī, the first Amir of ʿAsīr al-Sarāt under Āl Saʿūd (1215-18/c. 1801-3). Under the chiefs of Rufayda, who held power until 1233/1818, the year of the fall of the Saudi capital al-Dirʿiyya, the Wahhābī tribesmen of ʿAsīr came into conflict with Sharīf Ḥamūd in the lowlands, who, though he recognised the authority of Āl Saʿūd at times, was never a sincere convert.

Muḥammad ʿAlī Pāshā's forces from Egypt, which had occupied al-Ḥidjāz as a base for the war against Āl Saʿūd, carried on campaigns to the south in al-Sarāt and Tihāma on various occasions until 1256/1840, the year of their withdrawal from Arabia under pressure from the Western powers. In 1239/1823-4 a chief of Banī Mughayd, Saʿīd b. Muslaṭ, became the dominant figure in ʿAsīr al-Sarāt, a position held by himself and his successors, with one main interruption, for the next century. In 1248/1833 ʿAlī b. Mudjaththil al-Mughaydī cooperated with Türkče Bilmez and other Albanians who had mutinied against the Egyptian authorities; later the men of ʿAsīr broke with the mutineers and defeated them. Upon ʿAlī's death in 1249/1833-4, the succession fell to ʿĀʾiḍ b. Marʿī al-Mughaydī, the first to found a dynasty in the highlands. A new advance southwards by Muḥammad ʿAlī's commanders, who took control of the Mocha coffee trade, coupled with a forward movement in Central and Eastern Arabia, prompted the occupation of Aden by the British in 1254/1839. The departure of Muḥammad ʿAlī's troops from Arabia shortly thereafter left ʿĀʾiḍ master of ʿAsīr al-Sarāt and the Khayrātids masters of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī as well as much of Tihāmat al-Yaman.

Following the death of ʿĀʾiḍ in 1273/1856-7, his son Muḥammad drove al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, the last of the Khayrātids, out of Abū ʿArīsh in 1280/1863. The expanding power of Āl ʿĀʾiḍ in Tihāma provoked Ottoman intervention, facilitated by the opening of the Suez Canal. In 1289/1872 Muḥammad Radīf Pāshā defeated Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾiḍ at Rayda and put him to death. ʿAsīr, established as a *mutaṣarrifiyya* attached to the *wilāyet* of the Yaman, remained under Turkish rule for more than forty years, but this rule often extended no farther than the towers of the garrison town of Abhā.

Early in the 20th century the place of the Sulaymānids was taken by Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī. He was the great-grandson of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, the founder of the Aḥmadiyya (Idrīsiyya) *ṭarīḳa* who had migrated from Morocco to Ṣabyā, which was to become the Idrīsī capital. Relying on his great prestige as a man of religion, al-Idrīsī brought the lowlands under his sway, negotiated with the Italians on the other side of the Red Sea, and laid siege to the Turks in Abhā. The Sharīf of Mecca, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, led an expedition southwards to relieve the beleaguered garrison of Sulaymān Shafīḳ Kamālī Pāshā in 1329/1911.

During the First World War, al-Idrīsī was the first independent prince in Arabia to join the British against the Turks by virtue of a treaty signed in 1333/1915. After the defeat of the Turks the British awarded the port of al-Ḥudayda to him rather than Imam Yaḥyā of the Yaman. An attempt to annex the highlands having failed, al-Idrīsī solicited the mediation of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd, but this was rejected by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Āl ʿĀʾiḍ, the lord of Abhā since the evacuation of the Turks in 1337/1918. An expedition sent by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz occupied Abhā in 1388/1920. Āl ʿĀʾiḍ later revolted and continued the struggle briefly, but in 1342/1923 the resistance of the dynasty ebbed away and the highlands were incorporated in the Saudi state. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī concluded a treaty with Ibn Saʿūd in 1339/1920, but the dissensions within the Idrīsid realm subsequent to his death resulted in the establishment of a Saudi protectorate. The Imam of the Yaman maintained a claim to the Idrīsid territories until the Treaty of al-Ṭāʾif finally determined their appurtenance to Saudi Arabia in 1353/1934.

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(R. Headley, W. Mulligan, G. Rentz)

ASĪRGARH, a fortress situated 21° 28′ N., 76° 18′ E in the Burhānpūr *taḥṣil* of the Nimār district of Madhya Pradesh, about 2,200 feet above sea level and 850 feet high from its base, dominating the only route through the Satpūra range between the Narbada and the Taptī from north west India to the Dekkan.

Probably of great antiquity (see H. Cousens, *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berar*, Arch. Sur. India, 1897, P. 39, A. Cunningham, *Report on a Tour in the Central Provinces*, Calcutta 1879, 120-1, *Gazetteer*, (Khāndesh) Bombay 1880, 557-58), Asīrgarh was certainly a stronghold of the Tak branch of the Čouhan Radjputs from the 3rd/9th century. It was stormed by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, then *muḳtaʿ* of Karra, in the winter of 695/1295-6 on the way back from his Dekkan raid (see Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. Crooke, 1920, iii, 1463 and 1467 where the date Samvat 1351 is given), but not permanently occupied by Muslim forces until about 802/1400 when it was seized by Malik Nāṣir Khān Fārūḳī to become the supposedly impregnable stronghold of the Fārūḳī sulṭāns of Khāndesh. (See Firishta, text, ed. Briggs, ii, 544, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, text, ed. Blochmann, i, 475 and *Bombay Gazetteer*, loc. cit.).

Asīrgarh was captured by Akbar in 1009/1600-1, becoming the headquarters of the *marzubān* of the frontier *ṣūba* of Dāndīsh. (On Akbar's conquest see Vincent Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Sec. ed. 1902, 272-286).

In 1032/1623 Shāh Djahān, then in rebellion against Djahāngīr, took refuge at Asīrgarh and later c. 1061/1650-1 built a mosque there. In 1132/1720 it passed into the hands of Niẓām al-Mulk, *ṣūbadār* of Malwā, and was lost entirely to the Mughals in 1173/1760 when the Mahratta Badjirāo Peshwā occupied it. Asīrgarh was first captured by the British in 1218/1803 and finally occupied by them in 1234/1819.

Bibliography: see text; also *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, ed. C. Grant, Nagpur 1870, *Imperial Gazetteer*, vi, Oxford, 1908, and Arch. Sur. India Report, 1922-23. (P. Hardy)

ĀSITĀNA [see istanbul].

ĀSIYA. This is the name given by the commentators to Pharaoh's wife, who is twice (xxviii, 9 and lxvi, 11) mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. She plays the same part as Pharaoh's daughter in the Bible, so that there is obviously confusion. In the second passage these words are put into her mouth: "My Lord, build me a house with thee in Paradise, and deliver me from Pharaoh and his doings and deliver me from the wicked". In connexion with this passage it is related that Āsiya endured many cruelties at the hands of Pharaoh because of her faith (she was an Israelite); and finally he even caused her to be cast down upon a rock; at her prayer God took her soul to himself, so that only the body fell on the stone.—It is also related that Pharaoh scourged her to death, but on Moses' praying to God she did not feel any pain. J. Horovitz explains the name as a corruption of Āsenath, the name of Joseph's wife in Gen. xli, 45.

Bibliography: The Ḳurʾān commentaries on xxviii, 9 and lxvi, 11 esp. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xx, 19-21, xxviii, 98; idem, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 444 f., 448-50; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 119, 121 f., 130; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1292, 146-50, 164; Kisāʾī (Eisenberg), 199 ff.; G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, 1845, 138-41; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 1889, 155 f., 159 f.; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, 86; H. Speyer, *Die Biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, 281 f.

(A. J. Wensinck)

ʿASḲALĀN, a town on the coast of southern Palestine, one (Hebrew: ʾAshḳelōn) of the five Philistine towns known to us from the Old Testament; in the Roman period, as *oppidum Ascalo liberum*, it was (according to Schrürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu*⁴, ii, 65-7) "a flourishing Hellenistic town famous for its cults and festal games" (Dercetis-Aphrodite-shrine); in the Christian period a bishop's see (tomb of the *tres fratres martyres Aegyptii*).

ʿAsḳalān was one of the last towns of Palestine to fall into the hands of the Muslims. It was taken *ṣulḥ*ᵃⁿ by Muʿāwiya shortly after the capture of Ḳayṣariyya in 19/640, but may have been briefly occupied by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ before that. It was reoccupied for a short time by the Byzantines during the time of Ibn al-Zubayr and was subsequently restored and refortified by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 142-4). According to an inscription from a building which was discovered by Clermont-Ganneau, the Caliph al-Mahdī in 155/772 caused a mosque and minaret to be erected there (*RCEA*, i, 32-3). After varied fortunes the town passed into the hands of the Fāṭimids, under whose rule, according to Muḳaddasī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, it attained some prosperity. It housed a mint, and served at times as a secondary naval base. Together with some other coastal towns, it was retained by the Fāṭimids, even after the loss of the rest of Syria and Palestine to the Saldjūḳs, though sometimes this retention amounted to no more than a nominal suzerainty over the local rulers. In 492/1099 the Egyptian army retreating from Jerusalem entered the town, and for a while it seemed that ʿAsḳalān itself was about to pass under Frankish rule. It was however saved by the internal dissensions of the Crusaders, and was retained by the Egyptians. For the next century and a half it was a frontier city and a key military objective in the struggle between the Crusaders and the Muslim rulers of Egypt. For the first 53 years after the coming of the Crusaders, it

was held by the Egyptians, and used by them as a bridgehead and as a base for raids into Frankish territory. With its population swollen by refugees from the Frankish occupied areas, and its garrison reinforced from Egypt, it became a major military centre. Despite the partial resumption of trade with Jerusalem, life in this outpost was difficult, and the Egyptians found it necessary to send new supplies and relief troops several times a year (William of Tyre, XVII, 22; Ibn Muyassar, *Annales*, 92). According to William of Tyre, the whole civil population, including children, was on the army payroll. After the fall of Tyre to the Crusaders in 1134, the position of ʿAsḳalān was much weakened. To neutralise the threat which it offered to Jerusalem, the Crusaders surrounded it with a ring of fortresses, and in 548/1153, after a siege of seven months, Baldwin III got possession of the town by a combined land and sea attack. It now became the base for Frankish military and political adventure in Egypt. After the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn it had, like most of the Crusader strongholds in Palestine, to surrender to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (583/1187). In 587/1191, after the defeat at Arsūf, the latter found himself unable to hold ʿAsḳalān against Richard of England and therefore destroyed the town. The Muslim population migrated to Syria and Egypt, the Christians and Jews moved to Jerusalem. A vivid description of the destruction of the town and the evacuation of its inhabitants is given in the anonymous Mamlūk chronicle published by K. V. Zetterstéen (*Beiträge*, 233-5). Richard reached ʿAsḳalān in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 587/January 1192 and rebuilt the fortress, but according to the peace terms of August-September of the same year, it had again to be demolished. The rivalries between al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt and al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl of Damascus once more let it slip into the hands of the Franks. It was garrisoned and refortified by the Hospitallers, who successfully defended it against an Egyptian attack in 642/1244. After the decisive battle of Ghazza (17 Oct. 1244), ʿAsḳalān could, however, no longer expect help, and it fell in 645/1247 to Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Shaykh. In order to make it impossible for the Christians to effect a landing, the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] demolished a number of places on the Palestine coast, and in 668/1270 levelled the last vestiges of ʿAsḳalān, filling the harbour with trees and rubble (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1, 590). The town, which had never recovered from its demolition by Saladin, remained desolate until modern times. Abu 'l-Fidā (239), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 126), Mudjīr al-Dīn (432), Pīrī Re'is (*Baḥriyye* 724, English trans. by U. Heyd, *A Turkish Description of the Coast of Palestine*, *Israel Exploration Journal*, vi, 1956, 205-7) and Volney (*Syrie*, ch. 10) all describe it as ruined.

In antiquity and the Middle Ages the environs of the town were famous for their wine, sycamores and henna (Kypros). It has given its name to a species of onion (shallot = *allium ascalonicum*). Mediaeval authors, using an expression attributed to the Prophet, often call ʿAsḳalān the "Bride" of Syria, *Sponsa Syriae*, "*ʿArūs al-Sha'm*".

In the period of the Shīʿite supremacy of the Fāṭimids falls the construction by al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Djamālī (491/1098) of the Mashhad for the reception of the head of the Prophet's grandson, Ḥusayn. This highly venerated relic was in 548/1153-54 saved from the Franks and carried off to Cairo (cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 427; Mehren, *Câhirah og Kerâfat*, Copenhagen 1870, ii, 61-2; *RCEA* vii 261-3; Ibn Taymiyya (ed. Schreiner, *ZDMG*, 53, 81-2) dismisses the whole story as a fable). Besides Ḥusayn's chapel, later Muslim pilgrims visited, in particular, Abraham's Well.

Bibliography: G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 400-3; A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris, 1951, index; F. M. Abel, *Géographie*, s.v.; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVI, 66-89; F. Buhl, *Geog. des alten Pal.*, 189; P. Thomsen, *RLV*, i, 1924, 237 ff.; H. Guthe, *ZDPV*, ii, 1879, 164-71; G. Beyer, *ZDPV*, 1933, 250-3; V. Guérin, *Judée*, ii, 133-71; N. G. Nassar, *The Arabic Mints in Palestine and Transjordan*, *QDAP*, xiii, 1948, 121-7; W. J. Phythian-Adams, *History of Askalon*, in *PEFQS*, 1921, 76-80; Y. Prawer, *Ascalon and the Ascalon strip in Crusader Politics* (Hebrew with English summary), *Eretz-Israel*, iv, 1956, 231-248; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 142 ff.; Muḳaddasī 174; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 103; ʿAlī al-Harawī, *Kitāb al-Ziyārāt*, Damascus 1953, 32-3 (transl. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1957, 75-6); K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, Leiden, 1919, 233-5; Yāḳūt, iii, 673 ff.; Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reinaud), 239; Ibn Baṭūta (ed. Defrémery), i, 126 ff., tr. Gibb, Cambridge 1958, 81-2; Mudjīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Djalīl*, Cairo 1283, 422; *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and tr. A. Asher, New York, n.d., i, 79-80, ii, 99-100; William of Tyre, xvii, 22; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, (ed. Kaviani) 51; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 562-3. On the excavations at ʿAsḳalān, see *PEFQS*, 1921-3.

(R. Hartmann-[B. Lewis])

al-**ʿASḲALĀNĪ** [see ibn ḥadjar].

al-**ʿASKAR** [see djaysh].

al-**ʿASKAR** [see sāmarrā].

ʿASKAR MUKRAM ("Mukram's Camp"), formerly a town built on the site of a camp pitched by an Arab leader named Mukram whom al-Ḥadjdjādj had sent to Khūzistān to suppress a revolt near al-Ahwāz. This camp or cantonment adjoined the ruins of Rustam Ḳawādh (corrupted by the Arabs into Rustaḳubādh), a Sāsānian town which the Muslim Arabs had destroyed. ʿAskar Mukram was situated on both sides of the Masruḳān canal (the modern Āb-i Gargar) just above the point where it now flows into the Shaṭayṭ (= Shuṭayṭ, "the small river"), the main arm of the Kārūn (at the time of which we write, the Masruḳān canal joined the Shaṭayṭ much further to the south, near al-Ahwāz); furthermore, the Dizfūl Rūd (modern Āb-i Diz) flowed into the Shaṭayṭ just west of the town. Owing to its favourable situation and its relatively good climate (see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 112), ʿAskar Mukram developed into a flourishing town and became the chief place on the Masruḳān canal; two bridges of boats linked the two parts of the town. It was a mint-town during the 4th/10th century, under the Būyid ruler Muʿizz al-Dawla; cf. *ZDMG*, xi, 452. The ruins now known as the Band-i Ḳīr ("Bitumen Dam") are those of ʿAskar Mukram; the remains of that town and of earlier cities cover an area of nearly 9 sq. m. (see Layard, *A Description of the Province of Khuzistan*, in *JR Geog. S* xvi, 52, 63, 64, 95 and 96). The inhabitants of Shushtar (Arab. Tustar) wrongly identify with ʿAskar Mukram some ruins near their city, which they therefore call Lashkar (Persian = Arab. al-ʿAskar; according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, ʿAskar Mukram was formerly known as Lashkar).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 383; Yāḳūt, iii, 676; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 130; Le Strange, 236, 237, 242, 246; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, iv, 164 f., 182 f., 191-193, 227.

(M. Streck-[L. Lockhart])

ʿASKARĪ; from *ʿaskar*, soldier; in Ottoman technical usage a member of the ruling military caste, as distinct from the *reʿāyā*—the subject population of peasants and townspeople (*reʿāyā* sometimes means the subjects generally, sometimes only the peasants). The term ʿaskarī denoted caste rather than function; it included retired or unemployed ʿaskarīs, the wives and children of ʿaskarīs, manumitted slaves of the Sultan and of the ʿaskarīs, and also the families of the holders of religious public offices in attendance (*mulāzemet*) on the Sultan.

The Ottoman ʿaskarī class comprised both the slave military establishment (see KUL) and the feudal levies (see SIPĀHĪ). The latter seem to have originated with the g͟hāzīs who established themselves in the conquered lands. They were further recruited from the military landed gentry of the newly acquired territories, some of whom retained their Christian faith for a generation or two before becoming assimilated to Ottoman Islam.

In matters of personal status the Muslim ʿaskarīs, like the Muslim reʿāyā, were generally subject to the provisions of the S͟harīʿa but were under the special jurisdiction of the Ḳāḍī-ʿasker [*q.v.*]; in administrative, fiscal, and disciplinary matters they were ruled by special codes of regulations issued by by the Sultan—the *ḳānūn-i sipāhiyān*. This assured them important privileges and exemptions, as against the *reʿāyā*, who were, for example, forbidden to bear arms, ride horses, or hold fiefs. The ʿaskarīs were in theory not a privileged feudal aristocracy; they had no prescriptive or hereditary right to fief, office, or status, all of which could be conferred or withdrawn at the will of the Sultan. In fact the Sultan normally confined these fiefs and offices to members of the ʿaskarī class, who were still considered as such even when deprived of office or fief. On the other hand it was regarded as contrary to the basic laws of the Empire to appoint men of peasant stock (apart of course from the *dews͟hirme* of boys) to ʿaskarī positions; Koču Bey and later memorialists adduce the violation of this rule as one of the causes of Ottoman decline. An ʿaskarī could, by decree, be demoted to the *reʿāyā* class or a *raʿiyya* promoted as a reward for exceptional services to be an ʿaskarī. Both were infrequent in the early period. By the early sixteenth century, however, Sultan Suleymān found it necessary to issue a decree confirming sipāhīs of peasant descent in their fiefs, and protecting them from dispossessment on these grounds. In the period of decline the dilution of the military caste by the intrusion of peasants and townspeople becomes a common complaint. By the 18th century the extension of the fiefs to the peasantry and of Janissary affiliation to the merchants and artisans had distributed the status of ʿaskarī so widely as to deprive it of any real meaning.

Bibliography: *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOt͟hmān*, *TOEM* supplement; 1329 A.H., 39 ff.; *Risāle-i Koču Bey*, chapters 7 and 13; Sarī Meḥmed Pasha, *Naṣāʾiḥ ül-Vüzerāʾ*, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1935, 118; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 109-110; Halil Inalcîk, *Fatih devri üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, Ankara 1954, 168 ff.; id., *Ottoman methods of Conquest*, *St. I.*, ii, 1954, 112 ff.; id., *Timariotes chrétiens en Albanie au XV siècle*, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, iv 1952, 118-138; Gibb-Bowen, index; Ismail Hakkî Uzunçarşîlî, *Osmanli Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtî*, Ankara 1948, 230 and 240-1.

(B. LEWIS)

AL-**ʿASKARĪ**. Two Arabic philologists of the 4th/10th century, both bearing the same name al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, but of a different *kunya*, are known by this name, a relative noun derived from ʿAskar Mukram in K͟hūzistān.

(i) ABŪ AḤMAD AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAʿĪD was born in ʿAskar Mukram, on 16 S͟hawwāl 293/11 August 906 and died there on 7 D͟hu ʾl-Ḥid͟djdja 382/3 Febr. 993. The date 387/940 is less probable. He began his studies under his father and the traditionist ʿAbdān, d. 306/919, and continued them at Bag͟hdād, Baṣra, and Iṣbahān under Ibn Durayd, d. 321/933, and the traditionists al-Bag͟hawī, d. 317/929, and Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sid͟djistānī, d. 316/929. He also met al-Ṣūlī and other men of letters. Then he returned to ʿAskar Mukram. He declined an invitation of the vizier al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, but paid him a visit when the latter came to ʿAskar Mukram. He went several times to Iṣbahān where his brother, the traditionist Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad had settled, e.g. in 349/960 and again in 354/965. He was a scholar of vast erudition and wrote a number of books (see Brockelmann S I, 193) but he was little known outside of K͟hūzistān; Yāḳūt had great difficulties in obtaining information about him. His chief work, the *Kitāb al-Taṣḥīf*, contains useful information about rare and difficult words and proper names occurring in traditions and poems and misunderstood by their transmitters. It was utilised by Yāḳūt (*Muʿd͟jam*, vi, 384) and by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Bag͟hdādī (see *Iḳlīd al-K͟hizāna*, 31 f.). Much of his learning has been preserved through the writings of his pupil Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī.

Bibliography: Abū Nuʿaym, *Geschichte Iṣbahāns*, i, 272, ii, 291; Samʿānī, *Ansāb* fol. 390 b; Yāḳūt, *Irs͟hād*, iii, 126-135; Ibn K͟hallikān, Cairo 1299, i, 234 f.

(ii) ABŪ HILĀL AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAHL. Of his life very little is known. He was a pupil (but not a sister's son, for he never calls him *k͟hālī*) of the aforesaid Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī and owed to him the bulk of his learning, as is proved by the numerous references in his writings. He wrote amongst other works (see Brockelmann, I, 126 and S I, 193 f.) for the benefit of budding writers (1) *Kitāb al-Ṣināʿatayn al-Kitāba wa ʾl-S͟hiʿr* (Istanbul 1320, Cairo 1952; cf. P. Schwarz, in *MSOS* ix, 206-230), a systematic handbook of rhetoric. (2) *Dīwān al-Maʿānī* (Cairo 1352), an anthology of the most elegant and original expressions of ideas met with in poetry and prose. (3) *Kitāb al-Furūḳ al-Lug͟hawiyya* (Cairo 1353) dealing with synonymous words. (4) *al-Muʿd͟jam fī Baḳiyyat al-As͟hyāʾ* (Cairo 1353; abridged ed. by O. Rescher, in *MSOS*, xviii, 103-130), a list of words meaning "remainder". (5) *D͟jamharat al-Amt͟hāl* (Bombay 1306-7 and on the margin of al-Maydānī, Cairo 1310), a collection of proverbs. Not yet published is his *tafsīr* whose title *Maḥāsin al-Maʿānī* suggests that he dealt mainly with the stylistic beauties of the Ḳurʾān. The latest known date of his life is the year 395/1005 in which he finished dictating his *Kitāb al-Awāʾil* on the so-called inventors of arts etc. (Yāḳūt, *Irs͟hād*, iii, 138). He is said to have died after 400/1010.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irs͟hād*, iii, 135-9; Suyūṭī, *Bug͟hya*, 221; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *K͟hizānat al-Adab*, i, 112; Zaki Mubarak, *La prose arabe au IVe siècle*; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague 1954, 138-42.

(J. W. FÜCK)

al-ʿ**ASKARĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAli b. Muḥammad. the tenth Imām of the Twelver S͟hīʿa. He is commonly known as al-Naḳī and al-Hādī. He was the son of the ninth Imām Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*], and was born in Medīna. Most S͟hīʿite authorities give the date of his birth as Rad͟jab 214/Sept. 829, though others say that he was born in D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 212 or 213/Feb.-March 828 or 829. His mother, according to some sources, was Umm al-Faḍl, the daughter of al-Maʾmūn; according to others she was a Mag͟hribī *Umm Walad* called Sumāna or Sūsan. The latter story seems more likely in view of the statement in some chronicles that the marriage between Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Riḍā and Umm al-Faḍl, though contracted in 202/817-8, was not consummated until 215/830. (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1029, 1102-3; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, vii, 61-2; al-Yaʾḳūbī, ii, 552-3. Some S͟hīʿite traditions say that Umm al-Faḍl poisoned her husband and died childless—al-Mad͟jlisī, *Biḥār*, xii 99 ff.). His father died in 220/835, and like him he became Imām while still a small child. (Echoes of the doctrinal problems which this raised may be found in S͟hīʿite theological works). He lived peacefully in Medina until the accession of al-Mutawakkil, whose anti-ʿAlid policy soon brought him into difficulties. In 233/847-8 or 234/848-9, on the bsais of reports reaching the Caliph that Abu 'l-Ḥasan was engaged in seditious activities, Yaḥyā b. Hart͟hama b. Aʿyan was sent to Medina to escort him to Sāmarrā (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1379; al-Nawbak͟htī, 77; *Nud͟jūm* ii, 271). He seems to have won the Caliph's respect and, though kept under surveillance, was not molested. He was greatly esteemed for his piety and modesty. He remained in Sāmarrā until his death, which took place in D͟jumādā II or Rad͟jab 254/June-July 868. His *nisba* al-ʿAskarī derives from ʿAskar Sāmarrā. He was buried in his home in that town. According to S͟hīʿite tradition he was poisoned by the Caliph (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j* viii, 383, who already appears to know this story). The *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, however, does not include him among the ʿAlid martyrs. His *bāb* was Muḥammad b. ʿUt͟hman al-ʿAmrī (d. 304 or 305/916-8), whose father ʿUt͟hmān b. Saʿīd had been *bāb* and *wakīl* of the eighth and ninth Imāms (al-Mad͟jlisī, 150, where his *t͟hiḳāt* and *wukalā* are also listed; al-Astarābādī, *Minhād͟j al-Maḳāl*, Tehran 1306, 305). The Twelver S͟hīʿa recognised his son al-Ḥasan, also called al-ʿAskarī, as eleventh Imām. Another group, however, believed that his son Muḥammad, who predeceased him, was the hidden Imām (al-Nawbak͟htī, 78-9, 83). Possibly connected with this group was Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr al-Namīrī, who attributed divine status to ʿAlī al-Naḳī and claimed to be his *bāb* and his prophet; he is regarded as founder of the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*] (al-Nawbak͟htī 78; al-As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, i, 15; al-Kas͟hs͟hī, *Rid͟jāl*, 323; cf. the Nuṣayrī, *Mad͟jmūʿ al-Aʿyād*, ed. R. Strothmann in *Isl.*, 1946, index s.v. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Alī al-Askarī).

Bibliography: a full account, with citation of sources, of the life, works, miracles, companions, and dealings with the Caliphs of the 10th Imām is given in Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Mad͟jlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, xii, Tehran 1302, 126-153. Earlier notices are contained in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, vii, 206-9, 379-383; al-Yaʿḳūbī (Houtsma), ii, 614; Ibn K͟hallikān, i, 445-6 (De Slane's translation, ii, 214-6); al-Nawbak͟htī, *Firaḳ al-S͟hīʿa*, ed. Ritter, 77; Mufīd, *al-Irs͟hād*, Tehran 1308, s.v.; In addition to the texts cited in the article, reference may also be made to al-S͟hahrastānī, ed. Cureton, i, 128 ff., ed. Badrān 347-8; Abu 'l-Maʿālī, *Bayān*, ed. Schefer, 164 ff., ed. Ikbāl 42; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shiʿite Religion*, London 1933, 209 ff.; J. N. Hollister, *The Shiʿa of India*, London 1953, 87-89.

(B. Lewis)

al-ʿ**ASKARĪ**, al-**ḤASAN** [see al-ḥasan al-ʿaskarī].

AṢL [see uṣūl].

al-**AṢLAḤ**, the most suitable or fitting, a term used by theologians in a technical sense. The "upholders of the *aṣlaḥ*" were a group of the Muʿtazila who held that God did what was best for mankind. It is nowhere stated who composed the group. Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl held that God did what was best for men. Al-Naẓẓām introduced the refinement that there were an infinite number of equally good alternatives, any of which God might adopt instead of acting as He does; in this way he avoided the implication that God's power is finite. Others, because of the difficulty of maintaining that the actual world is the best possible, said that it was only in religion that God did what is best for men, viz. sent prophets to guide them. There was much diversity of opinion on this point among the Muʿtazila. The orthodox later used the story of the three brothers to show the absurdity of the view. One brother died young and went to Paradise; one grew up and was good and went to a higher place in Paradise; and one became wicked and went to Hell. If one tries to justify the lack of opportunity of the first to gain the highest position by saying that God knew he would become wicked if he grew up, then, on the suppositions of the "upholders of the *aṣlaḥ*", it is impossible to explain why God did not cause the third to die young (cf. al-Bag͟hdādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1346/1928, 150 f.). The later Muʿtazila of Baṣra seem to have made similar criticisms of the Muʿtazila of Bag͟hdād.

Divested, however, of the suggestion that a certain course of action was obligatory for God, the concept of *aṣlaḥ*, identified with God's wisdom (*ḥikma*), has survived in orthodox Islam and found literary expression, for instance, in the *al-Risāla al-kāmiliyya* of Ibn al-Nafīs [*q.v.*] (cf. J. Schacht, in *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, ii, Barcelona 1956, 325 ff.).

Bibliography: As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, Istanbul 1929, i, 246-51, ii, 573-8; K͟hayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, Cairo 1344/1925, 8 ff., 24 f., 64 f., Bag͟hdādī, *Farḳ*, 116, 167; D͟juwaynī, *Irs͟hād*, Paris 1938, 165 ff. (= tr. 255 ff.); Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*², 99; A. J. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 79-82; on the origin and background of the term, J. Schacht, in *St. I.*, i, 29.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

ASMĀʾ, daughter of the caliph Abū Bakr by his wife Ḳutayla bint ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā of ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. She was the elder half-sister of ʿĀʾis͟ha, and one of the early converts to Islam in Mecca. At the time of Muḥammad's flight from Mecca with Abū Bakr, she tore her girdle in two to serve for the Prophet's provision-bag and the strap of his water-skin; this is the traditional explanation of her nickname *D͟hāt al-Niṭāḳayn*, "She of the Two Girdles". After the Hid͟jra she was married to al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], and their son ʿAbd Allāh was reputedly the first child born in the Muslim community at al-Madīna. She is said to have had four other sons and three daughters. Apart from several anecdotes illustrating her piety and self-denial, little more is reported of her except her courageous behaviour before and after the death of her son ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]; in connexion with this she is credited with circulating a Tradition

from the Prophet denouncing the "two liars" (*al-kadhdhābāni*) who should issue from Thaḳīf (i.e. al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba and al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf). She died in Mecca shortly afterwards, in 73/693.

Bibliography: L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, A.H. 73, § 36; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 182-6; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, vi, 344-55.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ.—"The most Beautiful Names", these being the divine Names. "To God belong the most Beautiful Names—pray to Him, using (these Names)", Ḳurʾān, vii, 179. Cf. xvii, 110; xx, 8; lix, 24 etc. Pious Muslims have always revered the mystery of the Name, which at one and the same time both designates and veils the Named (cf. *ḥidjāb al-ism*).

The Theological question. A chapter of "Muslim theology" (*ʿilm al-tawḥīd*) is devoted to the divine Names. Problem stated: can one name God, and what, with regard to God, do the Names attributed to Him mean? *Preliminaries*: What is the name (*ism*)? Is it identical with the named (*musammā*) and with the denomination or definition (*tasmiya*)? On this problem in general see ISM. *Application of the divine Names.* The reply of the narrators of Tradition, reiterated by the strict Ashʿarites, is: the divine Names can only be given to God by *tawḳīf*, i.e. by preconcerted "determination"; by which we understand: as God Himself has "determined" it in the Ḳurʾān and secondarily in the *Sunna*. The employment of the latter in this connexion must be limited to "authentic" (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and "good" (*ḥasan*) *ḥadīth*. Some people admit a possible determination derived through *idjmāʿ*. According to the Muʿtazilites and the Karrāmiyya: when *ʿaḳl* (Reason) proves that an attribute (either of existence, or negative or of action) is suitable to God, it is permissible to employ the corresponding Name, whether or not it is mentioned by the texts. This is a case of attribution of the Name by human reason. Al-Ghazzālī admits this solution for those attributes (*ṣifāt*) which, he says, designate a significate added to the essence; he does not admit it for the employment of the Name designating the divine essence itself. "Middle" solution of the Ashʿarite al-Bāḳillānī, followed by many later Ashʿarites: if the text or the tradition gives an attribute to God or speaks to us of an act of God (but in these cases only), "according to the rules of the language", one may designate Him by the corresponding Name, even though the texts do not "determine" it. And one should in particular exclude non-scriptural names, which would evoke a notion incompatible with the absolute divine perfection. (God should not be called *ʿārif*, as *maʿrifa* "presupposes that some inattention has been overcome"; likewise He should not be called *faḳīh*, *ʿāḳil*, etc.). According to this thesis, which has become current, the Names must, therefore, either be scriptural or at least have a scriptural derivation. *Two related problems*: a) the Names are eternal, Ashʿarite thesis, in opposition to the Muʿtazilite thesis, which holds them to be contingent; b) Ḥanafite-Māturīdite line: they are equal in importance and excellence (cf. *Fiḳh Akbar*, ii, 26); Ashʿarite line: a hierarchy exists among them with the Name *Allāh* taking precedence (or, as the Ṣūfīs are prone to say, with some other Name known to the initiated, or even the ineffable Name, only attained through initiate experience, taking precedence).

The 99 Names. A *ḥadīth*, transmitted by Abū Hurayra, states: "To God belong 99 Names, a hundred less one; for He, the Odd Number (= the Unique) likes (to be designated by these enumerated Names) one by one; whosoever knowns the 99 Names, will enter paradise". The meditated recitation of these Names became one of the most diligent devotions in Islām. The pious Muslim repeats them and meditates on them, usually with the help of the 99 beads of the *subḥa* ("rosary") [*q.v.*], except for the Wahhābīs, who object to this custom as being a reprehensible *bidʿa* ("innovation"). It appears that a Syriac (Christian) custom already made use of the *subḥa* to count off an enumeration of divine Names, which was much shorter than the Muslim enumeration.

In fact, on the one hand, the traditional 99 "most Beautiful Names" do not exhaust the list of all the Ḳurʾānic Names; on the other hand, some of them do not occur *ad litteram* in the Ḳurʾān. As a result, the list was not always absolutely fixed and was liable to contain variants. It does not suffice, therefore, to settle the entire question of the divine Names. But the place held by this recitation in Muslim piety gives it an outstanding importance. It expresses clearly enough the pious Muslim's faith in God, and what the supreme Name *Allāh*, which, in itself, recapitulates all the others, means for him. We shall reproduce the most usually accepted list, in accordance with the *ḥadīth*, with a translation and a brief commentary. As space does not permit us to trace its usage historically, we shall take it in its finished form, as given by most of the *tafsīr* to Ḳurʾān, xvii, 110. Fairly frequently the Name *Allāh* is as though set apart, the hundredth Name if one so desires (thus the *tafsīr* of the Djalālayn). But it is also at times considered as the first of the enumeration; in which case the 67th Name *al-wāḥid* is suppressed and joined to the 68th *al-aḥad*. Main references: *al-Maḳṣad al-Asnā* of Ghazzālī (Cairo ed. n.d.), especially 23-72; *Mawāḳif* of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī, commentary by al-Djurdjānī (*Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* Cairo ed. 1325/1907 vol. 8 211-17) who himself refers to al-Ghazzālī and to Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī.

The usual order may be established as follows: the first 13 Names (or Names 2 to 14 when the list starts with *Allāh*) refer to the Ḳurʾānic enumeration of verses lix, 22-24. The subsequent order seems to be mainly mnemotechnic, governed by assonances, associations of verbal forms, doublets having both a correlative and paradoxical sense, etc. Connexion with the attributes (*ṣifāt*), where indicated by us, is that put forward by al-Ghazzālī or al-Djurdjānī. Also to be noted: the Arabic root of several of these Names expresses different, sometimes opposite meanings, which are, therefore, present together in the mind of the Muslim reciting and meditating on the *subḥa*. It is therefore impossible at times to translate a Name into a European language by one single word.

List of the "99 most Beautiful Names". 1) *Allāh*, name belonging to God, "designates God Himself and may not be applied to any other thing"; 2) and 3) *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, the Benefactor (or the Merciful), the Compassionate: depend on the attribute of will, both connoting the same sense; however according to al-Ghazzālī, *raḥmān*, unlike *raḥīm*, may only be applied to God (reminder of Raḥmān, divine proper Name?); 4) *al-malik*, the King, indicates independence (negative attribute) towards all things, the dependence of everything as regards God (active attribute), and the perfection of the divine power (attribute of power); 5) *al-ḳuddūs*, the

Holy, in the sense of Separated (negative attribute), indicates: a) the absence of all blemish; b) that neither imagination nor sight can penetrate the mystery of God; 6) *al-salām*, Peace: a) possessor of a flawless peace (negative attribute); b) giver of peace and salvation at the beginning of the creation and at the time of the resurrection (active attribute); c) will pronounce the benediction of peace over his creature (attribute of speech); 7) *al-muʾmin*, the Believer: a) with regard to this Name, the doctors of *kalām* speak of God's "increate faith" in Himself; Īdjī comments: God is *muʾmin* in as much as He puts faith in Himself and in His Messenger, meaning that He authenticates Himself and authenticates His Messenger by His supreme Veracity; this He accomplishes either by affirming Himself and His Messenger (attribute of speech), or by working, by "creating" the miraculous proof; b) God may also be called *muʾmin* towards his disciples as a source of security and protection (*amān*); 8) *al-muhaymin* the Vigilant: a) ever present witness, whose cognisance is on guard over everything (attribute of knowledge); b) to be associated with *amīn*, taken as sincere, truthful in His speech (attribute of speech); 9) *al-ʿazīz*, both the Powerful and the Precious; a) negative attribute: means according to al-Ghazzālī, rare, very precious and difficult to obtain,—God is so rare that He is absolutely Unique, so necessary that nothing would exist without Him, so inaccessible that He alone can know Himself; according to al-Īdjī: without father or mother, whom no place can contain, and nothing resembles Him; b) attribute of action: He punishes whomsoever He wishes, is the Master of the retribution for actions; 10) *al-djabbār*, the Very Strong, the "Oppressor", which no thing or will may resist; according to another sense of the root *djbr*: who sets to right, who restores, according to His Desire, what concerns His creatures. Depending on the circumstances: attribute of action, or negative and positive together. Synonym: *ʿaẓīm*, with the sense "all deficiency is diverted therefrom"; 11) *al-mutakabbir*, the Haughty;—according to al-Ghazzālī: everything seems base to Him in the sight of His Essence; al-Īdjī—al-Djurdjānī: meaning also very close to *ʿaẓīm*; 12) *al-khāliḳ* and 13) *al-bāriʾ*, according to al-Īdjī—al-Djurdjānī have a single sense: the Producer, the Creator of things; 14) *al-muṣawwir*, the Organiser, who ordains and composes the forms (*ṣuwar*) of things. These last three Names depend on attributes of action. Al-Ghazzālī analyses them more closely: all three connote the passage from non-being to existence, the first towards determination, in accordance with the divine decree (*ḳadar*); the second towards existentialisation properly so called (*wudjūd*); the third towards the co-ordination of forms, according to the best of ordinances.

The Names 2 to 14 are given in the same order ap. *Ḳurʾān*, lix, 22-24. Now follow Names grouped in preference according to euphony.

15) *al-ghaffār*, the Indulgent, pre-eminently the Pardoner, who knows how to remit the sentence of punishment even for one who deserves it (al-Ghazzālī makes it, by participation, the human qualificative of Jesus, just as he made *al-djabbār* the qualificative of Muḥammad): attribute of will; 16) *al-ḳahhār*, the Dominator, He who always subdues, dominating and never dominated (negative attribute of action); 17) *al-wahhāb*, the constant Giver, who gives abundantly, receiving nothing in return (active attribute); 18) *al-razzāḳ*, the Dispenser of all good, who dispenses what pleases Him; primarily concerns the physical needs of every human being (al-Djurdjānī), but also the spiritual needs of rational creatures (al-Ghazzālī),—attribute of action; 19) *al-fattāḥ*, (three shades of meaning according to the various connotations of the root), a) the Victorious, who vanquishes difficulties and brings about victory (active attribute); b) the Judge, whether pronouncing sentence (attribute of speech), or making known the decision (attribute of will); c) the Revealer, who discloses to men that which remained concealed from them (al-Ghazzālī); 20) *al-ʿalīm*, Knowing in a perfect manner everything which is knowable: Name directly bound to the attribute of knowledge (*ʿilm*) which is an attribute of essence (*dhātī*); a "natural" (*ḥaḳīḳī*) attribute is involved, says al-Djurdjānī.

The six following Names, whilst referring to Ḳurʾānic roots, are not to be found *ad litteram* in the Ḳurʾān: they are therefore regarded as "traditional". They go in pairs, opposites and correlatives at the same time, and express the absolute gratuitousness of God's gift. 21) *al-ḳābiḍ*, he who restrains, and 22) *al-bāsiṭ*, he who expands (the lives, the hearts of his servants); 23) *al-khāfiḍ*, who humbles and humiliates, and 24) *al-rāfiʿ*, who raises in dignity; 25) *al-muʿizz*, who gives honour and strength, and 26) *al-mudhill*, who abases and degrades;

27) *al-samīʿ*, the Hearer, and 28) *al-baṣīr*, the Seer: God hears and sees all things, according to two "attributes of the essence", which the Ḳurʾān affirms, and which reason, this time, cannot prove; *al-ḥakam*, the Judge in his act of sovereign decision; idea of wisdom and providence (al-Ghazzālī), attached to the attributes of knowledge, speech, action; 30) *al-ʿadl*, the Just, who is supreme Justice,—nothing bad can come from Him (negative attribute); 31) *al-laṭīf*, the Benevolent, who creates in His servants a grace of benevolence (*luṭf*), to come to their help (attribute of action); 32) *al-khabīr*, a) the Sagacious, very close to *ʿalīm*, in the sense of knowing the intimate secrets of creatures (attribute of knowledge); b) who choses, who decides freely (attribute of speech); 33) *al-ḥalīm*, endowed with gentleness, who is slow to punish (negative attribute); 34) *al-ʿaẓīm*, the Inaccessible (cf. the sense given with regard to *al-djabbār*); according to al-Ghazzālī: is beyond the limits of human understanding, just as the earth and sky cannot be taken in at a single glance;

35) *al-ghafūr*, the Very Indulgent, who pardons much; a) according to al-Īdjī—al-Djurdjānī: identical in meaning to *al-ghaffār*, just as *al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm* are identical in meaning; b) according to Ghazzālī: *al-ghaffār* stresses that God pardons even repeated sins, whereas *al-ghafūr* conveys in an absolute manner and without precision the infinite pardon of God; 36) *al-shakūr*, the "Very Grateful", in a metaphorical sense, coming from *shukr* (gratefulness), i.e.: a) who gives much as reward for little (attribute of action), b) and proclaims the eulogy of whomsoever obeys him (attribute of speech);

37) *al-ʿalī*, the High; for al-Īdjī: synonym of *al-mutakabbir*; for al-Ghazzālī: God, primary Cause, is on the highest step of the scale of beings; 38) *al-kabīr*, the Great; for al-Īdjī: synonym of *al-mutakabbir* and of *al-ʿalī*; for al-Ghazzālī: synonym of *al-ʿaẓīm*, stresses the absolute perfection of the being of God, whose eternal existence is the source of the being of all creatures; 39) *al-ḥafīẓ*, the vigilant Guardian! sense close to *ʿalīm* according to al-Īdjī, for vigilance (*ḥafẓ*) is the opposite of negligence and forgetfulness, and therefore has its origin in *ʿilm*; a) God is Vigilant, continually

in action, by this action watching over the whole universe, without having to give His attention to things one after the other (negative attribute); b) He assures the permanence of created forms, by a vigilance which resists depredations (attribute of action); 40) *al-muḳīt* (four shades of meaning), a) the Nourisher, source of strength, for He creates nourishment (physical and spiritual): synonym of *al-razzāḳ* (al-Ghazzālī), b) the Determiner, who decrees and fixes destiny, attribute of power (*ḳudra*); c) the Witness (*shahīd*), who knows the Mystery (*al-ghayb*), attribute of knowledge; d) the Present; 41) *al-ḥasīb*, the Calculator, He who settles accounts: a) who gives sufficiency, for He creates for His servants what is sufficient for them (active attribute); b) who, by His words, asks of whomsoever is submissive to the Law, account of what he does of good and of evil (attribute of speech); 42) *al-djalīl*, the Majestic, worthy of veneration: a) according to al-Ghazzālī, it is the stress placed on the Beauty of the divine Being which distinguishes this Name from *al-mutakabbir* and *al-ʿaẓīm*, with their adjacent meanings; b) according to al-Īdjī, synonym of *al-mutakabbir*; c) according to al-Djurdjānī, qualified by the attributes of majesty (*djalāl*) and of beauty (*djamāl*): 43) *al-karīm*, the Generous; four shades of meaning: a) endowed with liberality (attribute of action); b) who fixes the measure of generosity (attribute of power); c) from whom comes all nobility (attribute of relation); d) who pardons faults; 44) *al-raḳīb*, the jealous Guardian, sense close to *ḥafīẓ* (and thus derived from the sense of *ʿalīm*); according to al-Ghazzālī, with a stress placed on an absolute and jealous vigilance; 45) *al-mudjīb*, the Assenter, who grants prayers; al-Ghazzālī: who hastens to satisfy the needs of creatures, who anticipates them; 46) *al-wāsiʿ*, the Omnipresent, who embraces and contains all things: He extends His generosity to everything which exists, His knowledge to everything which is knowable, His power to everything which may be determined by it, absolutely and without His having to pay attention successively to things (al-Djurdjānī); 47) *al-ḥakīm*, the Wise; a) synonym of *al-ʿalīm* (al-Īdjī), endowed with wisdom, i.e. with knowledge of things as they come from Him and with the production of actions according to what is expedient; b) the Prudent in His decisions: which corresponds to the perfect soundness of His providence in the guidance of the world and to the benefit from the accomplishment of His decrees; 48) *al-wadūd*, the Very Loving; a) who loves the well-being of His creatures and procures it for them gratuitously; b) refers to the attribute from which proceeds the praise He bestows on the believer and the reward which He gives him; 49) *al-madjīd*, the Glorious, a) whose actions are resplendent, whose favours abound; b) the praise due to him belongs to Him alone; 50) *al-bāʿith*, the Revivifier, who will revivify every creature on the day of the Resurrection (this name has only a traditional origin); 51) *al-shahīd*, the Witness, a) who knows the Mystery, b) and who is Present (cf. 3rd. sense of *al-muḳīt*); 52) *al-ḥaḳḳ*, the Real, supreme Truth, connotes *al-ʿadl* (same kind of attribute): a) necessary by essence (ontological truth); b) perfectly truthful in His speech; c) who makes the Truth); manifest; 53) *al-wakīl*, the Trustee, He to whom everything is entrusted, who takes care of all the needs of creatures; 54) *al-ḳawī*, the Strong, who has power over all things; 55) *al-matīn*, the Unshakable, whose power is without limit; 56) *al-walī*, the Friend, the Protector, in the sense of helper, defender; and also: the Holder of authority; 57) *al-ḥamīd*, Worthy of praise (attribute of relation); 58) *al-muḥṣī*, the Numberer, who comprehends and knows comprehensively all numbered things (*al-ʿālim*) and has power over them (*al-ḳādir*); 59) *al-mubdiʿ*, the Innovator; a) absolute creator of beings; b) whose favours are purely benevolent; 60) *al-muʿīd*, He who resuscitates, who causes the creature to "return" after its destruction; 61) *al-muḥyī*, the Creator of life, and 62) *al-mumīt*, the Creator of death,—He who causes to live and to die; 63) *al-ḥayy*, the Living, one of the "essential attributes", "in the obvious sense" (al-Īdjī): God is always acting and watching, whereas none can act upon Him in any way and none can perceive Him without dying; He is Living in the highest and most perfect degree of life, by reason of the absolute perfection of His Activity and His Knowledge (al-Ghazzālī); 64) *al-ḳayyūm*, the Self-Subsisting: a) who subsists in Himself and by Himself, without any reason for being other than Himself (negative attribute); b) who rules and co-ordinates creatures, and none can subsist without Him; 65) *al-wādjid*, the Opulent (the Perfect), to whom nothing can be lacking or be needed (negative attribute); 66) *al-mādjid*, the Noble, the High (*al-ʿālī*), attribute of relation; to whom sovereignty and power belong (attribute of action). (N.B.-Here the majority of the enumerations insert the Name *al-wāḥid*, the Unique; al-Ghazzālī and al-Īdjī, who omit it, recall the sense in connexion with the commentary on the following Name:) 67) *al-aḥad*, the One, pre-eminently essential attribute, the very attribute of divine perfection,—differs from *al-wāḥid* as follows: *al-aḥad* the One by Essence, absolute simplicity of the Essence, insuperability and inimitability of the divine attributes; *al-wāḥid*, the One God, there is no other God; 68) *al-ṣamad*, the Impenetrable; a) the Master, He who reigns (attribute of relation); b) sense close to *al-ḥalīm*: whom the acts of His adversaries neither trouble nor move (negative attribute); c) the Very High in dignity; d) He to whom one prays and supplicates (attribute of relation); e) in whom there is no "hollow": negation of all mixture and of all possible division into parts; 69) *al-ḳādir*, the Powerful, and 70) *al-muḳtadir*, the All-powerful; 71) *al-muḳaddim* and 72) *al-muʾakhkhir*, He who brings near and sends away: He brings near to Himself whomsoever He wishes and shows him his preference; He sends away and sets aside whomsoever He wishes; 73) *al-awwal* and 74) *al-ākhir*, the First and the Last (Alpha and Omega): He is before everything and nothing is before Him; He is after everything and nothing is after Him (Primary Cause, efficient and final, according to al-Ghazzālī),—negative attributes; 75) *al-ẓāhir* and 76) *al-bāṭin*, the Patent and the Latent;—Patent: a) known by decisive proof (attribute of relation), b) which manifestly dominates all things (attribute of action);—Latent: a) screened from the senses (negative attribute), b) who knows the hidden things (attribute of knowledge); 77) *al-wālī*, the Reigning (al-Īdjī); 78) *al-mutaʿālī*, the Very High, the Exalted, synonym of *al-ʿālī*, the High, but with a supplementary idea of triumph; 79) *al-barr*, who causes piety (*birr*) to function in the heart and is the source of benefits; 80) *al-tawwāb*, the "Repentant": God, by pure and gratuitous favour, returns to His servants if they return to Him, repenting of their faults; 81) *al-muntaḳim*, the Avenger, chastising whomsoever disobeys him; 82) *al-ʿafū*, who rubs out the traces of faults on the leaves where actions are inscribed; 83) *al-raʾūf*, the Merciful, the Compassionate, who

wishes to lighten the burdens (sense close to *raḥmān*, according to Ghazzālī); 84) *mālik al-mulk*, the Master (King) of the Kingdom, who possesses in complete sovereign independence the world and each creature; 85) *dhu 'l-djalāl wa 'l-ikrām*, the Lord of Majesty and Generosity, sense close to *al-djalīl*, observe al-Īdjī and al-Āmidī; 86) *al-muḳsiṭ*, the Just, —al-Ghazzālī specifies "on the Day of Judgement", (al-Djurdjānī recalls that the root, according to the verbal forms, has both the meaning of "just" and "unjust"); 87) *al-djāmiʿ*, the Assembler: a) who assembles beings according to their similitudes, their differences, their oppositions (al-Ghazzālī); b) who reunites adversaries on the Day of Judgement (al-Īdjī—al-Djurdjānī); 88) *al-ghanī*, the Rich, the Independent, who lacks nothing; 89) *al-mughnī*, the Enricher, who embellishes every creature, from whom creatures derive their perfection; 90) *al-māniʿ*, (traditional Name only), the tutelary Defender: correlative of *al-ḥafīẓ*, the vigilant Guardian; *al-ḥafīẓ* stresses the idea of guarding, protecting,—and *al-māniʿ* the idea of prohibiting and suppressing obstacles; 91) *al-ḍārr*, He who afflicts, and 92) *al-nāfiʿ*, He who favours: two traditional Names only; they teach that evil and good, affliction and favour, harm and benefit derive only from God; 93) *al-nūr*, the Light,—God is Light: a) of a perfect and manifest evidence in Himself, b) and He it is who makes all things manifest and evident, by causing them to pass from non-being to being; 94) *al-hādī*, the Guide, who creates the "right direction" (*al-hudā*) in the hearts of believers; and leads every being, rational and irrational, towards its end; 95) *al-badīʿ*, the Creator-Inventor, who is at the beginning of everything: a) who creates and invents without a model; b) who is Himself First absolutely, and nothing is similar to Him; 96) *al-bāḳī*, the Eternal, who permanes,—without end; 97) *al-wārith*, the Inheritor,—who continues to exist after the annihilation (*fanāʾ*) of His creatures;—to whom returns everything which His creatures possess; 98) *al-rashīd*, the Leader: who directs with justice; who leads on the way of the Good; 99) *al-ṣabūr*, the Very Patient, slow to punish, and who always acts in due time: sense close to *al-ḥalīm* (traditional Name only).

Such is the list of the 99 "most Beautiful Names". Other lists exist, which sometimes exceed this number: one then encounters *al-rabb*, the Lord, *al-munʿim*, the Benefactor, *al-muʿṭī*, He who gives, who grants (his gifts), *al-ṣādiḳ*, the Sincere, the Truthful, *al-sattār*, who protects and who veils, etc.

To conclude, there are numerous studies on the divine Names which seek to group them according to the attributes(thus, al-Ghazzālī, *Maḳṣad*, 72 ff.), with a predilection for imparting an appearance of spiritual meditation to this presentation. There are many examples of this in *taṣawwuf*. It is then no longer so much a question of providing a commentary on the 99 "most Beautiful Names", as of applying all the rules of *tawḳīf* and of language to magnify the divine Mystery. For the use of the divine Names in *ṣūfī* prayers, see the article DHIKR.

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(L. GARDET)

AL-AṢMAʿĪ, ABŪ SAʿĪD ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ḲURAYB, Arabic philologist, d. 213/828 (also other dates in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, and later writers). The date of his birth, often stated as 123/828, is said not to have been known to himself; (see *Irshād*, vi, 86). The *nisba* al-Aṣmaʿī is derived from one of his ancestors, Aṣmaʿ, that of al-Bāhilī from the ill-reputed Ḳaysite tribe al-Bāhila, a relationship which is alluded at in a satirical poem of a contemporary poet; (see Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, 130, and *al-Sīrāfī*, 58 f.). In an anecdote he presents himself as an offspring of Banū Aʿṣur b. Saʿd b. Ḳays ʿAylān; (see al-Ḳālī, *al-Amālī*, i, 117).

This scholar and his contemporaries Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] constitute a triumvirate to which later philologists owe most of their knowledge about Arabic lexicography and poetry. They were all of them disciples of the leading philologist of Baṣra, Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*]. Among their numerous disciples the littérateur al-Djāḥiẓ has left in his works a monument of their learning. An astonishing memory and an unusually critical mind distinguished al-Aṣmaʿī. From his teacher he had taken over also an accurate consciousness of the limits fixed to philological knowledge; (see an utterance of Abū ʿAmr quoted by Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, i, 323). The method of seeking information from the bedouins in matters concerning grammar and lexicography which seems to have been developed in Baṣra under the stimulus of Abū ʿAmr was taken over by his dicsiples. A list of the bedouin teachers of the Baṣrans is given in *Fihrist*, 43 f.; (cf. *al-Muzhir*, ii, 401 f.). In Baṣra common people were familiar with his scholarly interests and could suggest to him where he could find a *shaykh* possessing a perfect knowledge of the *lugha*; (see *al-Muzhir*, ii, 307). Anecdotes tell also of his rides into the desert to visit bedouins and collect pieces of poetry from their lips. Already as a young man he was sought by students who were anxious to learn from him, and his *madjlis* was widely known. Of the different branches of philological work which had already developed, lexicography particularly corresponded to his talent, whereas Abū Zayd is said to have been his superior in grammar and al-Khalīl to have been in despair about him in metrical matters; (see Ibn Djinnī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*, 367).

There are several traditions about the circumstances which brought al-Aṣmaʿī to Baghdād and the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. According to a story told by al-Marzubānī and quoted by al-Yāfiʿī, ii, 66, he had met the caliph already in Baṣra. As a crown-prince Muḥammad al-Amīn summoned him and he was introduced to the caliph by the vizier al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ; (see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 411). According to al-Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ*, 189, he was introduced to Hārūn al-Rashīd by Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. The Barmakids bestowed substantial benefits on him; (see Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *op. cit*, 98). This did not restrain him however from satirising

them after they had fallen into disgrace; (see al-Djahshiyārī, 206). As an intimate of Djaʿfar he was himself in fear of his life when he got to know about the fall of Djaʿfar in 187/803; (see al-Djahshiyārī, 206). In al-Aṣmaʿī's opinion, the poet Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, his rival at the court, was more successful in obtaining from the caliph a ready-money consideration for his wit; (see *Aghānī*[1], v, 77, al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb*[2], 1014, and *Irshād*, ii, 205). The *ʿIḳd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih contains a number of the "extraordinary tales" (*nawādir*) and the "amusing stories" (*mulaḥ*) with which al-Aṣmaʿī entertained the caliph. After the death of Hārūn, al-Aṣmaʿī seems to have returned to Baṣra. According to an isolated piece of evidence he died in Marw; (see Ibn Khallikān, nr. 389).

Among the disciples of al-Aṣmaʿī and related circles of Baṣra and Baghdād there circulated numerous stories told by him or about him which found their way into Arabic literature. Some of them certainly catch authentic features of his character. Thus we are told that, at the summit of his career, though possessing at that time considerable property, he persisted in living as a poor man. As against the luxuriousness of the Persians, the plain living ascribed in tradition to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī represented to him the pure Arab way of living; (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bukhalāʾ* (al-Ḥādjirī), 186). The numerous sayings of unlearned men and women of the desert told by him are certainly meant also to illustrate, not only the *balāgha* but also the sincere piety of plain-living people. His predilection for the sentimental and pathetic elegy—he is said never to have transmitted satirical poetry—is in accordance with his idealisation of the Arab race according to his own religious feelings. In authentic traditions he relates the sayings of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Numerous traditions beginning with the formula "I heard a bedouin saying in his prayer" are in the same spirit. In the works of later writers these sentimental features dominate the character of al-Aṣmaʿī. We find them in the romantic story put into the mouth of al-Aṣmaʿī in one of the fictitious 'traditions' (*aḥādīth*) of Ibn Durayd; (see al-Ḳālī, *al-Amālī*[1], ii, 7). In the *Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār* of Ibn al-ʿArabī, the learned philogist of Baṣra tells, as did his contemporary the Egyptian mystic Dhuʾl-Nūn, about his meetings with poor bedouins and young girls who revealed to him an unexpected and extraordinary insight into the mysteries of the divine love; (see *op. cit.*, i, 81 and 133).

His orthodox contemporaries and later writers agree that al-Aṣmaʿī was an orthodox Sunnī. According to Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī (d. 285/889), there were among the philologists of Baṣra only four definite adherents of the *sunna*, one of them being al-Aṣmaʿī, (see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 418; cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, 170). As an instance of his piety tradition adduces that in order to "avoid sin" he answered with strict silence to any philological question which evidently had or could have a bearing upon the reading of the Ḳurʾān or the wording of tradition. (A list of examples is given in *al-Muzhir*, ii, 325 f.). Whereas for Abū ʿAmr and Abū ʿUbayda the study of the *lugha* was dependent on that of the Ḳurʾān, al-Aṣmaʿī thus separated in himself the "reader" from the grammarian and the transmitter of poetry. In accordance with the attitude held by his teacher Nāfiʿ and the readers of Medina (see about this subject *Two Muqaddimas to the Quranic sciences*, ed. A. Jeffery, Cairo 1954, 183) al-Aṣmaʿī consequently abstained also from *tafsīr*; (see *al-Muzhir*, ii, 416, and *Irshād*, i, 26 f.). In this respect he was opposed to people of Muʿtazilite and Ḳadarite outlook who, in his view, commented upon the Ḳurʾān according to their "opinion" (*raʾy*), as did Abū ʿUbayda in his *al-Madjāz*; (see *Irshād*, ii, 389 and vii, 167).

As a transmitter of poetry al-Aṣmaʿī and his generation were essentially influenced by "the great transmitters", Ḥammād al-Rāwiya and Khalaf al-Aḥmar [*qq.v.*]. The inconveniances connected with the unreliable character of these persons were clearly seen by him; (see *Irshād*, iv, 140 and *al-Muzhir*, ii, 406; cf. Blachère, 99 f.) In order to collect in a complete and definite form the odes of the great pre-Islamic poets he sought persons known to have a reliable knowledge of the tradition. In his work he developed a critical method remarkable for his time, a deep knowledge of the topography of the Arabian peninsula, of the genealogies of the tribes and, above all, of *lugha* and of grammar. Handed down by his disciples, these critical remarks found their way into the works of later commentators. On the basis laid by al-Aṣmaʿī, his disciples Ibn Ḥabīb, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭūsī and, finally, al-Sukkarī, prepared the definitive editions of the *dīwāns*.

From the 72 pieces or fragments of pre-Islamic or early Islamic poets which he collected in an anthology called *al-Aṣmaʿiyyāt* (ed. Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter*, i, Berlin 1902), we can get an idea of al-Asmāʿī's literary taste. On the subject of criticism (*naḳd al-shiʿr*) numerous sayings of al-Aṣmaʿī are quoted in later writers. In a note-book called *Fuḥūlat al-Shuʿarāʾ* (ed. Torrey, *ZDMG*, 1911, 487-516), his disciple Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī collected answers given by his teacher to the question which poets are to be regarded as *faḥl*. Whereas Abū ʿAmr, according to al-Aṣmaʿī, was never heard to quote an Islamic poet (Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 73), his disciple valued the new poets who mastered the *lugha*; (see for instance Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *al-Waraḳa*, 60. For his criticism of the *muwalladūn*, see J. Fück *Arabiya*, 22 f.).

Applying to the rich lexicographical materials collected by him the systematic methods employed by philologists from the very beginning of these studies in ʿIrāḳ, i.e. of grouping together items of similar materials, al-Aṣmaʿī composed a series of monographs the titles of which are listed in the *Fihrist*, 55. In his *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, which is lost but is copiously quoted by Yāḳūt in his *Muʿdjam*, he often seems to adduce a first-hand knowledge of topography; (see for instance *Muʿdjam*, i, 705). About the size of these treatises we know from *Fihrist* only that the *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* was written in 200 folios. A number of them, however, have been preserved; (see Brockelmann, I, 104 and S I, 164). That these specimens of al-Aṣmaʿī's lexical work do not represent the final state of his collections seems obvious, if one compares for instance the rather meagre text of his *al-Nabāt wa'l-Shadjar* (ed. Haffner, Beirut 1898) with the rich material on the subject quoted from al-Aṣmaʿī by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī in his *Kitāb al-Nabāt*.

Among the disciples of al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ḥātim al-Bāhilī was known to be his *rāwiya*. He is said to have transmitted the books of his teacher to Thaʿlab; (see *Irshād*, ii, 140). As a transmitter of them there is mentioned also Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim [*q.v.*], who divided the books of al-Aṣmaʿī into chapters and added some pieces of information to them on the authority of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and the philologists of Kūfa; (see *Irshād*, vi, 162 f.).

For later lexicographers the main source of information about materials collected by al-Aṣmaʿī was the *Tahdhīb al-Lugha* of al-Azharī. In the introduction (ed. Zetterstéen, *MO*, 1920, 1 f.), al-Azharī mentions the direct and indirect sources from which he drew these materials.

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AL-AṢMAʿIYYĀT [see AL-AṢMAʿĪ].

ASPER [see AḲČE].

ʿAṢR (A), time, age; particularly the early part of the afternoon, until the sun becomes red; hence *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*, the ritual prayer in the afternoon, cf. ṢALĀT. (Ed.)

ASRĀFĪL [see ISRĀFĪL].

ĀṢṢ [see ALĀN].

ASSAB, town and port at the N.W. end of the Bay of Assab on the coast of Eritrea. The surrounding country is arid and is inhabited by Afar (Danākil). Assab is generally identified with the ancient Sabae, described by Strabo (xvi, 771) as πόλις εὐμεγέθης. Its importance is due to its position opposite Mukhā and at the end of a caravan route leading to the Ethiopian plateau, both the Red Sea and the coastal desert being comparatively narrow at this point. In 1936-39 the Italians built a motor road from Assab connecting with the main Addis Ababa-Asmara road near Dessye. Assab was known to the Jesuit missionaries of the early seventeenth century; they describe it as Ethiopian territory. It was occasionally visited by European voyagers who found it a useful place in which to careen their ships. In 1611 it was called "a very good road ... where you may have wood and water freely, and refreshing for your money or coarse calicoes". (Sir W. Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, i, 131). It is mentioned from time to time in the Company's records and is said to have been ruled by a Muslim "King". In 1869 it was acquired from the Sultan of Rahayta by the Italian traveller, ex-missionary and propagandist for colonial expansion, Giuseppe Sapeto, acting for the Rubattino shipping company, by which it was used as a coaling station. It became an Italian colony in 1882 and with the extension of Italian rule was made the capital of a *commissariato*. In 1928 Ethiopia was granted freedom of trade at Assab which became increasingly important commercially.

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ASSAM, name of the easternmost province in the Republic of India, situated between East Pakistan and Burma, within 22° 19′ and 28° 16′ N. Lat., and 89° 42′ and 97° 12′ E. Long. It comprises the Brahmaputra valley and the hill ranges enclosing small plateaux, the shelter of numerous hill tribes and refuge of the Mongol hordes. The province covers 85,012 English square miles, and its population in 1951 was 9,043,707, of whom 1,996,456 were Muslims, three-fourths of these being concentrated in the westerly districts of Goalpārā and Kāmrūp, contiguous to North Bengal, and Cachar, adjacent to Pakistani Sylhet. Since 1920 their percentage has considerably increased in other neighbouring districts owing to immigration from Bengal, the eastern portion of the valley remaining unaffected.

In Sanskrit records the valley is called "Lawhitya", Prāg-jyotisha", or "Kāmarūpa". The word, Assam (correctly Āsāma, locally pronounced Āhōm), is connected with the *Shans* or *Tais*, a group of Tibeto-Burmans, who settled about 8th century A.D. in Siam, Upper Burma, and finally in this province. Its derivation from Sanskrit A+sama (= "peerless") is unwarranted. The Ahom migrants had a sense of history, and produced works called *Burañjis*. The first king known is Sukaphā, who, in 1228, occupied a portion of the Upper Valley. His successors gradually conquered the neighbouring tribes and established the Ahom kingdom. The western valley, with the city of Gawhātī, which lay outside their domains, retained the name of Kāmrūp, and was ruled by petty landlords, collectively called Bārā-bhuiṅyas. Twice they were integrated into the kingdom of Kāmrūp-Kāmtā, first by the Khens, and next by the Kochas, northern rival neighbours of the Muslim Sulṭāns of Bengal.

The Muslim advance into Kāmrūp falls into three stages. The first, which began in A.D. 1206 with Bakhtiyār Khaldjī, is a period of raid, occasional occupation and imposition of tribute. It culminated in 1357, when Sikandar Shāh founded the mint of Čawlistānʿurf Kāmrū (possibly Gawhātī). It is in one of the neighbouring caves that Ibn Baṭṭuṭa possibly met the famous saint Shāh Djalāl Tabrīzī. The second period began with the defeat of Kāmeśvara, the king of Kāmtā, by Bārbak Shāh, and the final occupation of Kāmrūp by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh after overthrowing the Khen king, Nīlambar, in 1498. So far the Muslims had not contacted the Ahoms, Kāmrūp being alone mentioned in contemporary Muslim records. The *Burañjis* speak of a first Muslim invasion in 1532 by Turbak (possibly Baḥr-bak = "naval officer"), obviously an official posted in Kāmrūp, but the invading forces were utterly routed. With the downfall of the Ḥusayn Shāhī dynasty in 1538, the Kochas emerged and established their kingdom. Oç this period the tomb of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Awliyā at Hājo is an important memorial. The third period began in 1612, when Islām Khān, the Mughal Governor of Bengal, subjugated the Kochas and occupied Kāmrūp once again. Hereafter wars with the Ahoms became frequent, and Assam loomed large in Persian chronicles. In 1662 Mīr Djumlā finally reduced the Ahom king and imposed an annual tribute on him. The subsequent weakness of the Mughals encouraged the Ahoms, who by 1682 occupied the whole Brahmaputra valley and continued to rule till 1824, when the British intervened to check the threat of the Burmese and integrated Assam into their territory. The Ahoms retained the services of the Muslims for their skill in arts and crafts. The *Marias* (braziers) and the *Garias* (tailors by profession) are even now common in some districts. In the middle of the 19th century a large percentage of the Muslims were affected by the "Farāʾiḍī" movement. The humbler peasants have developed a peculiar local culture, combining with their faith in Islam the local rites and customs and national festivals of this region.

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ʿAṢṢĀR, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, Persian poet, born in Tabrīz, died in 779 or in 784/1382-3; he was one of the panegyrists of the prince Uways [*q.v.*] and is chiefly known for his poem *Mihr u Mushtarī*, at the end of which he gives the date of its completion (10 Shawwāl 778/1377); this poem consists of 5,120 distichs and was later translated into Turkish. In the words of Ethé (*Gr. I. Phil.*), it is "the story of a love, free from every frailty and pure from every sensual lust, between Mihr, the son of Shābūrshāh, and the comely stripling Mushtarī".

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ASSASSINS [see nizārīs].

ASSUAN [see uswān].

ASTARĀBĀDH, Astarābād, (Istirābād in Samʿānī, *Ansāb*).

1. A town in Iran situated ca. 23 m. east of the S-E corner of the Caspian Sea at 36° 49′ N. lat. and 54° 26′ E. long. (Greenw.) on a tributary of the Ḳarāṣū. It is 377 ft. above sea level and 3 m. from the foothills of a mountain chain, a spur of the Elburz. The town lies on a plain which ends in the Turkoman steppes to the north. Astarābādh is now called Gurgān (not to be confused with medieval Gurgān, Arabic Djurdjān, to the N-E).

The pre-Islamic history of the town is unknown, and it is uncertain whether it existed before Islam, although Mordtmann in *SB Bayr. AK.* 1869, 536, identifies it with ancient Zadrakarta. The etymology of the name is also obscure. Folk etymology connects the name with the Persian word for "star", or for "mule", and appropriate stories are told of the origin of the town.

Astarābādh was the second city of the province of Gurgān in Islamic times and underwent the same fortunes as the capital city Gurgān. The province was raided by the Arabs in the time of the caliph ʿUthmān (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 334), and again by Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān under Muʿāwiya, but it was not conquered until Yazīd b. Muhallab defeated the ruling Turks of the area in 98/716. There is a tradition that Yazīd founded Astarābādh on the site of a village called Astarak.

There were frequent rebellions in Gurgān during both the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid caliphates. Astarābādh is rarely mentioned by historians, and the geographers also give little information. It was a silk centre according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, 213. The port of Astarābādh (and Gurgān) on the Caspian, Abaskūn, was an important trading centre. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 134, says the people of Astarābādh spoke two languages, one of which is probably preserved in the dialect used by the Ḥurūfī sect.

After the Mongol conquest of Iran we find Astarābādh replacing Gurgān as the most important town of the area. The province was the scene of strife between the last Īl-Khāns, the Tīmūrids, and local Turkish tribal leaders. Sometime during this period the Ḳādjār tribe of Turkomāns became the leading power in Astarābādh. Aghā Muḥammad, first of the Ḳādjār Shāhs, was born in Astarābādh. Shāh ʿAbbās I, Nādir Shāh, and Aghā Muḥammad all erected buildings in Astarābādh. The town, located on the steppes, continually suffered the depredations of Turkomāns.

Astarābādh had many mosques and shrines (see Rabino, below), and was called *dār al-muʾminīn* probably because of the many *sayyids* living there.

The name of the town was changed to Gurgān under Riḍā Shāh, and in 1950 it had ca. 25,000 inhabitants. There are few old remains in the town, and only two are noteworthy, the Imāmzāda Nūr and the mosque of Gulshān. Rabino (below, 73-5) lists the shrines of the town as well as the inscriptions.

2. The province of Astarābādh, as it existed under the Ḳādjārs, was bounded on the north by the Gurgān River, on the south by the Elburz Mts., on the west by the Caspian Sea and Māzandarān, and on the east by the district of Djādjarm. The district (*shahristān*) of Gurgān under Riḍā Shāh was smaller. The province could be divided into two parts, the mountain area and the plains. The former is well-watered with many trees, while the latter is fertile, even marshy but becomes desert to the north. Wheat and tobacco are grown extensively here. The population is mixed, with Persian speakers predominant in the mountain area and the towns, and Turkomāns on the plains.

Bibliography: A history of Astarābādh was written by a certain al-Idrīsī (d. 405/1014) which has not survived, (see Brockelmann, S I, 210); H. L. Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, London 1928, 71-5; Yāḳūt, i, 242; G. Melgunov, *Das südl. Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, 101-24; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, i, Paris 1894, 82-112; Le Strange, 378-9. For recent information on the town and province of Gurgān, see *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, ed. Razmārā, 3, Tehran 1951, 254-5. A plan of the town appears in *Rāhnumā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1952, 205. See also art. on Astarābād in Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1952, 2143-6.

(R. N. Frye)

al-**ASTARĀBĀDHĪ**. The *nisba* of several Muslim scholars of whom Raḍī al Dīn al-Astarābādhī and Rukn al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī (see below) are the best known. Yāḳūt describes Astarābādh as a city producing scholars proficient in all sciences and mentions the *ḳāḍī* Abū Naṣr Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Muṭrafī al-Astarābādhī (d. circa 550/1155-6), the *imām* Abū Nuʿaym ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ʿAdī al-Astarābādhī, author of a treatise on the verification of traditions (d. 320/932) and the *ḳāḍī* al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Rāmīn al-Astarābādhī, a much-

travelled scholar who consorted with Ṣūfīs (d. in Baghdād in 412/1021-2). There were several well-known Astarābādhī *ʿulamā* in Ṣafawid times, including Aḥmad b. Tādj al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Sayf al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, author of a biography of the Prophet, ʿImād al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sharīf al-Ḳārī al-Astarābādhī, author of a treatise on the recitation of the recitation of the Ḳurʾān, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Anṣārī al-Astarābādhī, who translated an Arabic work on ethics. The *nisba* al-Astarābādhī is given also to several lesser known scholars, such as al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Astarābādhī, a grammarian and lexicographer, and the traditionist Muḥammad b. ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 242; Storey, 42, 177, 192; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326/1908, 218; Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, Oxford 1903-37, 724-826 (1162); Loth, *Catalogue of Arabic MSS in the Library of the India Office*, London 1877 i, 258; Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥāʾirī, *Muntahā al-Maḳāl* (lithographed Tehran 1302/1885; the *Manhadj al-Maḳāl* of Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Astarābādhī is published as a supplement to this); ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1332/1953, s.v. *Astarābādhī*. (A. J. MANGO)

AL-ASTARĀBĀDHĪ, RAḌĪ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN, author of a celebrated commentary on the *Kāfiya*, a well-known grammatical work of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. Al-Suyūṭī, who praises the commentary as unique, admits to knowing nothing of Raḍī al-Dīn's life, except that the work was completed in 683/1284-5, and that Raḍī al-Dīn was reported to have died in 684 or 686/1285-8. He also wrote a lesser known commentary on the *Shāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. The *ḳāḍī* Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī interprets a reference in the introductory prayer as meaning that the commentary on the *Kāfiya* was written in Nadjaf, but the term *ḥaram* which occurs in the Arabic edition could refer just as well to Mecca, where Suyūṭī obtained his information on the date of Raḍī al-Dīn's death. There seems no doubt, however, that Raḍī al-Dīn was a Shīʿī.

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326/1908, 248; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, lithographed, Tehran 1302/1885, 61; Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī, *Madjālis al-Muʾminīn*, fifth *Madjlis*; Brockelmann I, 21, 303, 305; S. I. 532, 535, 713; M. S. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, Allāhābād 1894, Introduction, xi. Raḍī al-Dīn's commentary on the *Kāfiyya* was published in Cairo in 1358/1939. (A. J. MANGO)

AL-ASTARĀBĀDHĪ, RUKN AL-DĪN AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD B. SHARAFSHĀH AL-ʿALAWĪ, known as Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil al-Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn, a Shāfiʿī scholar best known for his commentary on the *Kāfiya*, a grammatical work of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. This commentary, the *Wāfiya*, is known also as the *Mutawassiṭ*, or "intermediate", as it was the second of three commentaries. Al-Suyuṭī, quoting Muḥammad b. Rāfi's appendix to the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (the passage is not included in the abridged Baghdād edition of 1938) says that he enjoyed the patronage of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] in Marāgha where he taught philosophy and composed commentaries on Ṭūsī's *Tadjrīd al-ʿAḳāʾid* and *Ḳawāʿid al-ʿAḳāʾid*. He accompanied Ṭūsī to Baghdād in 672/1274 and, after the death of his patron in the same year, settled in Mawṣil, where he taught in the Nūriyya *madrasa* and composed his commentary on Ibn al-Ḥādjib. From Mawṣil he went on to Sulṭāniyya, where he taught Shāfiʿī jurisprudence. He died in 715/1315-6 or 718/1318-9 (two MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale give the date of his death as 717/1317-8 and 719/1319-20). Rukn al-Dīn was reputed for his modesty as well as for the honour in which he was held in the Mongol Court.

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, 228; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1906, vi, 86; Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, Oxford 1903-37, 724-826 (1162); idem, *Arabic MSS. in the British Museum*, London 1894, 946; de Slane, *Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, Paris 1883-95, 2369, 4037; Brockelmann I, 305, SI, 536; M. S. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, Introduction, v. (A. J. MANGO)

ASṬARLĀB [see ASṬURLĀB].

ASTORGA [see ASHTURḲA, in the Suppl.].

ASTRAKHĀN, city and district. The city lies on the left bank of the Volga, some sixty miles from the point where it runs into the Caspian Sea, 46° 21′ N, 48° 2′ E, 20.7 m. below normal sea level, 7.6 m. above the level of the Caspian Sea. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 410-2, who passed through here in 1333, mentions for the first time a settlement supposed to have been founded by a Mecca pilgrim, whose religious reputation brought the district exemption from taxes; this was supposed to explain its name, viz. Ḥādjdjī Tarkhān (*tarkhān* means among the Mongols in later times a man exempt from taxes, a nobleman). Other forms of the name are Cytrykań or Zytrykhań, in Ambr. Contarini's account (1487) Citricano, in Turkish-Tatar sources also Aždarkhān and Ashtarakān. The settlement lay on the right bank of the Volga on the Shareniy (or Žareniy) hill; the first coins discovered are from 776/1374-5 and 782/1380-1. (777/1375-6: Chr. Frähn, *Münzen d. Chane etc.*, St. Petersburg 1832, 22, no. 102; idem, *Recensio etc.*, St. Petersburg 1826, 300, no. 1; A. K. Markov, *Inv. Katalog*, St. Petersburg 1896, 860; 1380-1; ibidem, 476; P. S. Savel'ev, *Monety Džučidov*, ii, St. Petersburg 1858, 18, no. 416; also the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, possessed a specimen.) In the winter of 798/1395-6 Tīmūr destroyed the city, as well as Sarāy [*q.v.*] (Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Tauer, i, 158-62). In contrast to the latter Astrakhān rose again and took over eventually its importance as a centre of trade; in the course of this it became, as earlier the neighbouring Khazar city of Itil (Atil) [*q.v.*]. eventually the centre of the traffic on the Caspian Sea and the lands bordering on it.

In 871/1466 there was established in Astrakhān, during the decline of the Golden Horde [cf. BĀTŪIDS] a Tatar dynasty of the Noghay princes stemming from the Tatar Khān Küčük Meḥmed. The territory ruled by the Khāns Ḳāsim (871-896/1466-90) and his brother ʿAbd al-Karīm (in Russian and Polish Ablumgirym; 896-910/1490-1504) encompassed the country as far as the modern Stavropol', Orenburg (Čkalov), Samara (Kuybïshev) and Saratov, and was divided into various *uluses*. The population supported themselves mainly by cattle raising, hunting and fishing. Conflicts with the *begs*, the rapid changes of Khāns after 910/1504 and the interference of the Crimean Tatars and the Noghays brought the Khānate into difficulties; the Khān ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 941-5/1534-8) sought help against these and the Ottomans from the Russian Czar. (For a list of the Khans see Zambaur, 247, and for a genealogical table ibid., 24[1].)

In 962/1554 the Khānate (since 951/1544 under Yamghūrčāy or Yaghmūrčī) was conquered by the Russians; since the Khān Darwīsh ʿAlī (in Russian Derbīsh), who was nominated by them, allied himself with the Crimean Tatars and the Noghays, he was deposed in 964/1556-7 and the Khānate incorporated into the Russian state. Apart from the Russian there immigrated into the country Kalmucks [*q.v.*], since 1632; those of them who lived east of the Volga returned in 1770-1 to the East, while those who settled west of the Volga were driven out in 1944-5. They were followed with Russian permission by Ḳazaḳs [*q.v.*] since 1801. As a counter-balance 25,000 so called Astrakhān Cossacks were settled here in 1750 (new organisation in 1817; their corporation dissolved in 1919). In 1717 the *Gouvernement* of Astrakhān was established by the Russians; 1785-1832 the territory belonged to Caucasia. The re-established *Gouvernement* of Astrakhān received in 1860 new boundaries (208, 159, according to other calculations 236, 532 sq.km.). In 1918-20 the territory became part of the Russian SSR and forms since 27 Dec. 1943 (after the dissolution of the Kalmuck territory) an *oblast'* of 96,300 sq.km.

Astrakhān was rebuilt by the Russians in 1558 seven miles downstream on the left bank and has since then always contained an overwhelmingly Russian population; there was a Tatar and an Armenian suburb. Indian settlers of the 16th century mixed with the Tatars ("Agryžans"). The city was threatened in 1569 by an Ottoman-Crimean Tatar army (cf. Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Baḥr-i Khazer—Ḳara Deñiz Ḳanalī we-Ežderkhān Seferi*, *TOEM*, viii, 1-14; Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı-rus rekabetinin menşei we Don-Volga kanalı teşebbüsü*, *Bell.*, 1948, 349-402; cf. also ḲAZĀN). Consequently in 1582 the Russians built a stone wall and in 1589 a fortress. In spite of this the city was repeatedly plundered by Tatars and Cossacks (especially Stenka Razin, 1667-8); it suffered too from repeated earthquakes and epidemics. In 1722-1867 it was the naval port for the Caspian Sea (since then Bākū); in 1918-21 also, during the civil war, a flotilla operated from here. Astrakhān had in 1897: 113,001 inhabitants (among them 12,000 Muslims: Persians, Tatars, etc., and 6,200 Armenians), six Shīʿī mosques and one Sunnī, 73 *madrasas* and three *maktabs*. In 1939 the city had 253,655 inhabitants and possessed over ten Tatar schools and several Tatar newspapers. For the Soviet Union it is important mainly as a starting-place for Caspian ships and because of its fisheries (with caviar and blubber factories) and its fishing industry.

Bibliography: *IA*, s.v. (by R. Rahmeti Arat); Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklop. Slovaŕ*, ii/3,349-66, Suppl., i, 168; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*[1], iii, 651-2, [2]iii, 278-90; A. N. Shtyl'ko, *Illyustrirovannaya Astrakhań. Očerki proshlago i nostoyashčego goroda*, Saratov 1896; *Astrakhan i Astrakhanskaya guberniya*, St. Petersburg 1902; Astrakhan. *Spravočnaya kniga*, Stalingrad 1937; G. Peretyatkovič: *Povolž'e v 15-16 vekakh*, Moscow 1877; P. G. Lyubomirov, *Zaselenie Astrakhanskogo kraya v XVIII v., in Nash Kray*, Astrakhan 1926, no. 4; W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, 284, 449; T. Shabad, *Geography of the USSR*, New York 1951, 194-203; F. Sperk, *Opyt khronologičeskago ukazatelya literatury ob Astrakhanskom krae* (1473-1877), St. Petersburg 1892.

(B. SPULER)

ASTROLOGY [see NUDJŪM, AḤKĀM AL-].

ASTRONOMY [see HAYʾA, ʿILM AL-].

ASṬURLĀB or AṢṬURLĀB (Ar.; on the vocalisation see also Ibn Khallikān, no. 779; idem, Būlāḳ, no. 746), Astrolabe. The word was derived from the Greek ἀστρολάβος or ἀστρολάβον (ὄργανον), name of several astronomical instruments serving various theoretical and practical purposes, such as the demonstration and graphical solution of many problems of spherical astronomy, the measuring of altitudes, the determination of the hour of the day and the night, and the casting of horoscopes. In Arabic the word *Asṭurlāb* when used alone always means the flat or planispheric astrolabe based on the principle of stereographic projection; it is the most important instrument of mediaeval, Islamic and Western, astronomy. The linear astrolabe, depending on the same principle, is an ingenious simplification of the planispheric astrolabe, though of little practical interest. The spherical astrolabe represents the terrestrial and the celestial spheres without any projection. No specimens of linear or spherical astrolabes seem to have been preserved. *N.B.* The Ptolemaic astrolabe as described in *Alm.* 5,1 is an improved armillary sphere, having only the name in common with the instruments treated here; the astrolabe mentioned in *Tetrab.* 3,3 probably refers to the planispheric astrolabe (see below).

I. The flat (*saṭḥī* or *musaṭṭaḥ*) astrolabe, being the astrolabe in its stricter sense, Latin (*astrolabium*) *planisphaerium*, in Arabic called also *dhāt al-ṣafāʾiḥ* (from *ṣafīḥa* = Lat. *saphaea, alzafea*, etc., "disc"), "the instrument having, or consisting of, discs (tablets)". Another alleged Ar. synonym: *waztalcora* (also *wazzalcora, walzagora*, etc.), corresponding with Ar. *basṭ al-kura* (not *waḍʿ al-kura*, see Millás [1], 169 f.), "the spreading out of the sphere", is known only from Lat. MSS. originating from Spain. The word appears to refer rather to the principle of projection than to the instrument itself, and discloses a striking similarity with the original title of Ptolemy's Planisphaerium as recorded by Suidas (ed. A. Adler, Leipzig 1928-38, iv, 254, 7): ἅπλωσις ἐπιφανείας σφαίρας.

1. History. While the theory of stereographic projection (by which circles of the sphere are represented again as circles, and angles formed by intersecting circles of the sphere remain unchanged in the plane of projection) can be traced back to Hipparchus (150 B.C.), Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium* (preserved only in a Latin translation made by Hermannus Dalmata from Maslama al-Madjrīṭī's Ar. version; crit. ed. by J. L. Heiberg, *Cl. Ptolemaei opera quae exstant omnia*, Vol. ii, Leipzig 1907, 225-59; German transl. by J. Drecker: *Das Planisphaerium des Cl. Ptolemaeus*, in *Isis* ix, 1927, 255-78) is the earliest special treatise on the subject. The references made there (ch. 14) to the *aranea* ("spider") of the *horoscopium instrumentum*, and (*Tetrab.* 3, 3) to the ἀστρολάβον ὡροσκοπεῖον as the only useful instrument for determining the hour of birth, can leave no doubt that Ptolemy really knew the planispherical astrolabe (Neugebauer [1], 242; Hartner [1], 2532, n. 1). For a critical analysis of subsequent references to the astrolabe prior to the Arabic conquest (Theon of Alexandria, Synesius of Cyrene, Johannes Philoponus, Severus Sebokht) see Neugebauer [1]. The earliest Ar. treatises mentioned in the *Fihrist* are by Mā shāʾa 'llāh (Messahalla, d.c. 200/815, Suter no. 8), ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (flor. c. 215/830, Suter, no. 23), and Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (d.c. 220/835). Ever since, the construction and the use of the astrolabe remained one of the favourite subjects of Islamic astronomers. The earliest Islamic

instruments preserved date from the second half of the 4th/10th century. In learned European circles the astrolabe and its theory became first known through the writings (spurious?, see Millás [1], ch. vi) of Gerbert d'Aurillac, the later Pope Sylvester II (ca. 930-1003) and Hermann the Lame of Reichenau (1013-54); they, as all posterior European compositions, strictly depend on Islamic models, above all Messahalla, whose influence proves particularly strong in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Conclusions of the astrolabe* (*"Bread and milk for children"*); see Gunther [2]. The earliest European instruments that have survived date from c. 1200. After the invention of the telescope, the astrolabe fell into disuse in the West, whereas, in the East, the tradition was carried on till late in the 18th and even the 19th century. As is attested by the laḳab *al-asṭurlābī* encountered since the beginning of Islamic science, the making of astrolabes was a handicraft of its own cultivated by specially trained craftsmen, but many astrolabes prove to have been wrought by other artisans, too, as is shown by the sobriquets *al-ibarī*, "the needle-maker", *al-nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār*, "the carpenter", etc., frequently found in colophons. According to Chardin (*Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse*, ed. Langlès, iv, Paris 1811, 332) the most highly valued instruments were manufactured, not by artisans, but by astronomers. For illustrations of astrolabes (Eastern and Western), see Gunther [1]; for the names of astrolabe-makers see Mayer [1] and Price [1].

2. Description of the instrument. The planispherical astrolabe is a portable metal (brass, bronze) instrument in the form of a circular disc with a diameter varying from 4″ to 8″ (10-20 cm.). The simplest type of this astrolabe, taken over with respect to its essential features from Greek and Syrian models, consists of the following pieces:

(A) The suspensory apparatus, which comprises three parts: a triangular piece of metal called *kursī*, "throne" (large and richly decorated in the *Mas̲h̲riḳ*, esp. Persia, smaller and simpler in the *Mag̲h̲rib*), which is firmly attached to the body of the instrument; a handle, *ʿurwa*, *ḥabs*, L. *armilla suspensoria*, affixed to the point of the *kursī* so that it can be turned to either side in the plane of the latter; a ring, *ḥalḳa*, L. *armilla rotunda*, passing through the handle and moving freely. When in use, the astrolabe is suspended with a cord, *ʿilāḳa*.

(B) The body of the astrolabe, which has a "front", *wad̲j̲h*, L. *facies*, and a "back", *ẓahr*, L. *dorsum*.

(a) The front of the astrolabe consists of an outer rim, *ḥad̲j̲ra*, *ṭawḳ*, *kuffa*, L. *limbus* or *margo*, which encloses the inner surface, usually depressed, called "mother", *umm*, L. *mater*. A number of thin discs, *ṣafāʾiḥ*, L. *tympana* or *tabulae regionum*, are fitted into the *ḥad̲j̲ra* over the *umm*; a bit of metal, *mumsika*, projecting from the *ḥad̲j̲ra* and fitting into an exactly corresponding indentation on the edge of each disc, prevents the discs from turning. A hole is bored through the centre of the *umm* and the *ṣafāʾiḥ*; a broadheaded pin, *ḳuṭb*, *watad*, or *miḥwar*, L. *clavus*, *axis*, passing through it holds the parts together and serves as an axis around which turn the two movable parts of the instrument, viz., on the front, the "sp der", *ʿankabūt* (also called "net", *s̲h̲abaka*), L. *aranea* or *rete*, and, on the back, the "alidad" (from the Ar. *al-ʿiḍāda*), L. *radius* or *regula*. A wedge called the "horse", *faras*, L. *equus*, *caballus*, or *cuneus*, which is fitted into a slit in the narrow end of the *ḳuṭb*, prevents the latter from coming out. A small ring, *fals*, placed under the horse, protects the spider and ensures a smooth turning. *N. B.* A ruler in the shape of the hand of a watch turning on the face of the astrolabe (L. *index*, *ostensor*) is often found on European, but never on Islamic, astrolabes.

The mathematical divisions of the parts mentioned are as follows:

The *ḥad̲j̲ra* carries a circle graduated from 0 to 360°, beginning at the middle point of the *kursī*, i.e., at the top of the astrolabe.

The *umm* may either function as one *ṣafīḥa* (see next section), or carry a list of the geographical latitudes of a number of cities.

The *ṣafīḥa* carries on each of its two sides the stereographic projection of the equator, the tropics, and the horizon for one particular geographical latitude, with its parallel circles called "almacantars" (from Ar. *al-dāʾira al-muḳanṭara*) and vertical circles, *dawāʾir al-sumūt*. For a northern astrolabe, the centre of projection is the South Pole of the heavens, and the plane of projection, the equator; then the southern tropic constitutes the edge of the *ṣafīḥa*. For a southern astrolabe, the centre of projection is the North Pole, the plane of projection, again, the equator; then the northern tropic coincides with the edge of the *ṣafīḥa*. Most, if not all of the astrolabes preserved are northern; only for the spider northern and southern projections may be used simultaneously (see below, section on the *ʿankabūt*). Fig. 1a illustrates the face of an astrolabe with a *ṣafīḥa* constructed for the geographical latitude 36° 0′. There NS represents the meridian, *k̲h̲aṭṭ wasaṭ al-samāʾ*, L. *linea medii coeli*; its section CS is called the "line of midday", *k̲h̲aṭṭ niṣf al-nahār*, L. *linea meridionalis*, and section CN, "line of midnight", *k̲h̲aṭṭ niṣf al-layl*, L. *linea mediae noctis*. The diameter EW represents the "straight horizon", *ufḳ al-istiwāʾ*, also called east-west line, *k̲h̲aṭṭ wasaṭ al-mas̲h̲riḳ wa 'l-mag̲h̲rib*; its sections CE and CW bear, respectively, the names "east line", *k̲h̲aṭṭ al-mas̲h̲riḳ*, and west line, *k̲h̲aṭṭ al-mag̲h̲rib*. On the meridian NS, the following points are marked (for their construction, see Fig. 1b): C = projection of the North Pole, being the centre of the three concentric circles represented, viz., counting from within, the northern tropic, *madār raʾs al-saraṭān*, the equator, *dāʾirat al-iʿtidāl*, and the southern tropic, *madār raʾs al-d̲j̲ady* (outer rim). The points $R_0, R_{10} \ldots R_{80}$ mark the centres of the horizon, *ufḳ*, L. *horizon obliquus* (meeting NS at α_0) and of the almacantars from 10° to 10° (intersecting with NS at $\alpha_{10} \ldots\ldots \alpha_{80}$). $R_{90} = \zeta$ marks the "zenith" (from Ar. *samt al-raʾs*). The points $\eta_0, \eta_{10} \ldots\ldots \eta_{90}$ $(= \zeta)$ represent the second intersections of the almacantars with NS, south of the zenith.

The horizon, the equator, and the east-west line meet in the east and the west points, from which Islamic astronomy counts the azimuths (from 0-90° towards N and S). The vertical circles, *dawāʾir al-sumūt* pass through the zenith and the points 0, 10°, etc. on the horizon. M_0 marks the centre of the "first vertical", *awwal al-sumūt*, through the east and west points. For the construction of the other vertical circles, see Hartner [1], 2529 and Fig. 846.

The lines under the horizon indicate the equal or unequal hours (*sāʿāt al-iʿtidāl*, *horae aequales*, and *al-sāʿāt al-zamāniyya*, *horae inaequales seu temporales*), to be counted from sunset and sunrise; for their construction, see Hartner [1], 2540. The European way of counting equal hours from midday and midnight was known to Islamic astronomers, but never used in civil life. Therefore the second division

of the *ḥadjra* into 2 × 12 hours, starting from 0° and 180°, as shown in Fig. 1a (outer rim), is often found on European, but never on oriental astrolabes. The latitude for which a *ṣafīḥa* is designed is usually engraved near the middle of the disc; it may be expressed in various ways: by degrees and minutes (e.g. "valid for the lat. of 38° 54′"), by the name of a particular city ("valid for the lat. of Mecca"), or by the duration of the longest day ("valid for 14^h 45^m"). *N.B.* Astounding errors are sometimes found in the descriptions of astrolabes in European collections, where *abdjad* numbers are misread for names of (non-existing) places. The number of the *ṣafāʾiḥ* varies; a good instrument may contain nine and even more. Certain astrolabes have also a *ṣafīḥa* which gives for a particular geographical latitude the projection of the circles of position, as required for the calculation of the astrological *directiones* (*tasyīr*); others have a *ṣafīḥa* "for all latitudes" (*li-djāmiʿ al-ʿurūḍ*) also called the "tablet of the horizons" (*ṣafīḥa āfāḳiyya*) or "general tablet" (*djāmiʿa*), which carries only the projection of the

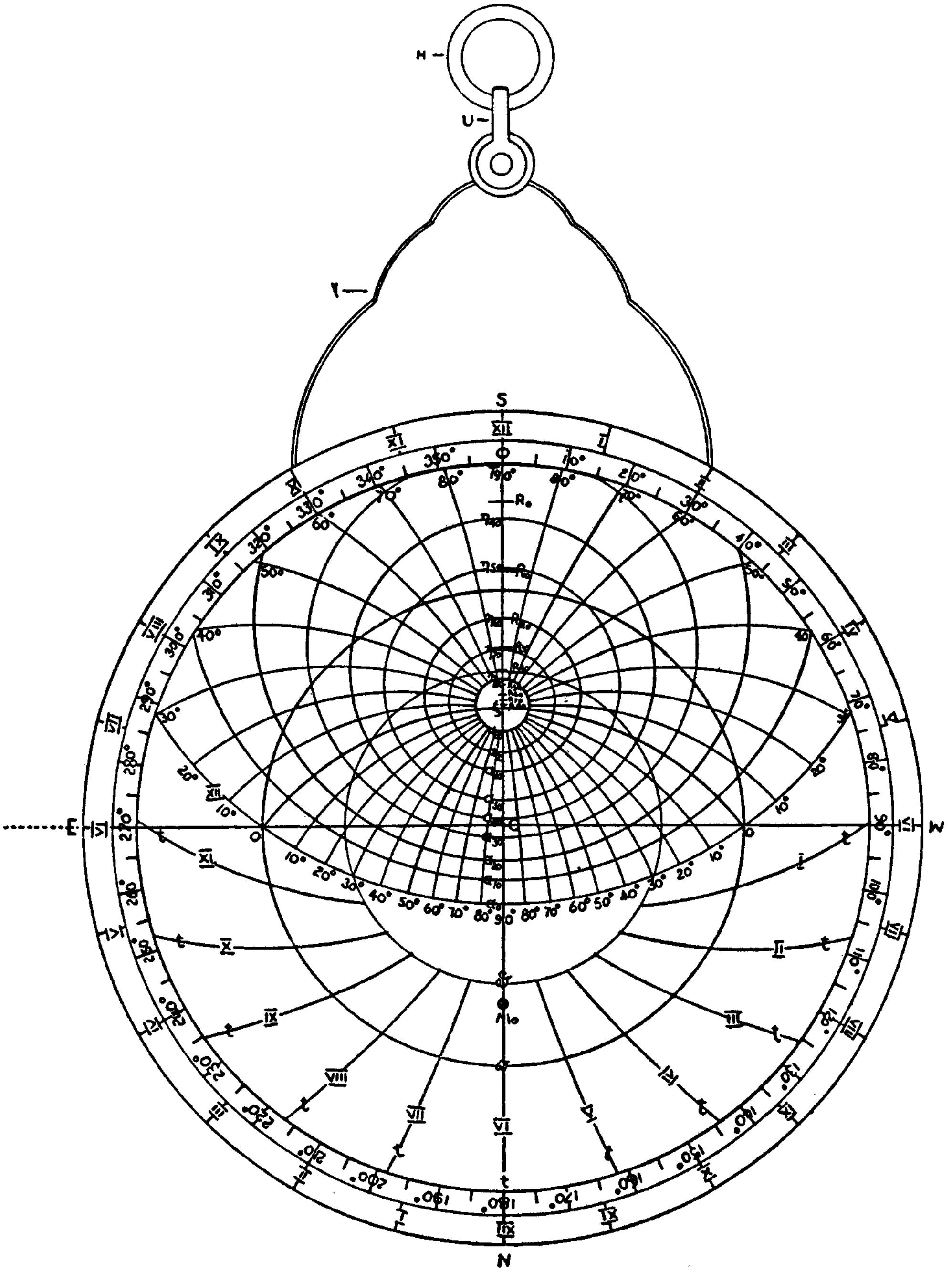

Fig. 1a. Face of an astrolabe showing the division of the *Ṣafīḥa*.

meridian and that of the horizon for a number of latitudes; the projection of the latter is often reduced to one-half of each arc of horizon. This disc serves to solve, for any latitude, the problems concerning the hour and the azimuths of the rising and setting of stars (cf. Michel [1], 91-2). The "perfect" (*kāmil*) astrolabe, moreover, bore the circle of the sun's equation. Finally, by interchanging the four quadrants of a *ṣafīḥa*, such fanciful figures as the "ogival tablet" are obtained (see Michel [1], 61 and Fig. 44); although being only a geometrical play, they allow the same measurements to be carried out as does an ordinary *ṣafīḥa*. An astrolabe on which all of the 90 almacantars are marked, is called "complete" *tāmm*, L. *solipartitum*. If only every second, third, fifth, sixth, ninth, or tenth, almacantar is marked, it is called *niṣfī* (*bipartitum*), *thulthī* (*tripartitum*), *khumsī*, *sudsī*, *tusʿī*, *ʿushrī*.

The *ʿankabūt* represents the vault of the fixed stars turning around the earth at rest represented by the *ṣafīḥa*. In order to allow the diagram of the *ṣafīḥa* to be seen as clearly as possible it is wrought in the shape of an openwork plate, having of course due regard to its solidity and the space required for attaching the protuberances or pointers (in the sing. *shaṭba*, *shaẓiyya*) indicating the fixed stars. It is because of this reticulated form that it has been called a "spider", referring of course to the spider's web (Gr. ἀράχνη and L. *aranea* may both mean the spider and its web). In designing this "spider", no limits are imposed on imagination, and almost every conceivable type is found, from the simplest geometrical pattern to the most beautiful leaf and scroll designs. As shown in Fig. 2, its most important part is the circle of the zodiac, (*minṭaḳat al-burūdj*), which is constructed in exactly the same way as all other circles represented on the *ṣafīḥa*. It is divided into the 12 *burūdj* comprising 30° each, but it is well to note that this division, radiating *not* from the pole of the ecliptic, but from that of the equator, does not indicate ecliptical longitudes, but the points of the zodiac having the *right ascensions* 0°, 30°, etc., and their subdivision into degrees (*mediationes coeli*, see Michel [1], 67 f., and Hartner [1], 2543). At the point of contact with the southern tropic, the zodiac carries a little point or hand, A, which serves to read the graduation on the *ḥadjra*. The spider is rotated by means of one or several handles, M, called *mudīr* or *muḥrik*. By combining parts (halves, fourths, sixths, even twelfths, i.e., single signs) of the zodiac represented in northern with others represented in southern projection, the zodiacal belt assumes more or less fantastic shapes for which equally fantastic names were invented: al-Bīrūnī and others tell us about *ṭablī*, "drum", *āsī*, "myrtle", *saraṭānī* or *musarṭan*, "crab", *ṣadafī* "shell", *thawrī*, "bull", *shaḳāʾiḳī*, "anemone" astrolabes, etc. Probably the *asṭurlāb zawraḳī*, "boat astrolabe" of *Aḥmad al-Sidjzī* (c. 400/1009) belongs to this category. For more detailed information, see Frank [1], 9 ff. and Michel [1], 69 f.

Other planispherical astrolabes based on other projections than the stereographic are to be regarded as theoretical constructions without practical significance, e.g. the astrolabe devised by al-Bīrūnī and called *usṭuwānī* "cylindrical", because of its projection (Ptolemy's "Analemma"), which al-Bīrūnī called cylindrical, and which we now call orthographic; the circles of the sphere are projected there in the form of straight lines, circles and ellipses. The *mubaṭṭaḥ* ("flattened") astrolabe, described by al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, 358-9), appears to have been only a stellar chart in equidistant polar projection, i.e., the pole of the ecliptic was the centre of the projection, the parallels with the ecliptic or circles of latitude (*dawāʾir al-ʿarḍ*) were represented by equidistant concentric circles and the circles of longitude (*dawāʾir al-ṭūl*; *N.B.*: in European

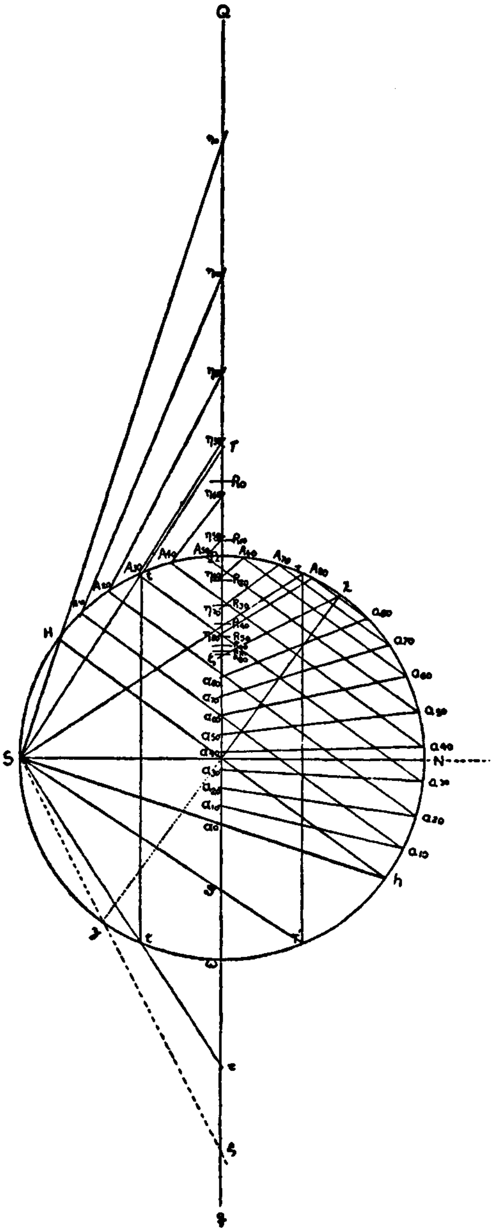

Fig. 1b. Stereographic projection on the equator.

astronomy, illogically, these great circles through the poles of the ecliptic are called "circles of *latitude*") by equidistant radii. The other projection mentioned on 359 f. is a peculiar variant of the one devised by al-Zarḳālī (see below).

(b) The back of the astrolabe is nearly always divided into four quadrants. The outer rim of the two upper are graduated from 0-90°, starting

from the horizontal line; the altitude of the sun or a star, taken with the aid of the alidad, is directly read on this graduation. Although the rules for the arrangement of the designs on the back are less strict, it can be said that the distribution of the diagrams in most cases is as follows: The upper left quadrant carries horizontal and/or vertical lines representing sines and cosines; the upper right, several sets of curves, one of which indicates the altitude of the sun when standing in the azimuth of the *ḳibla*, valid for a number of cities and for any position of the sun in the zodiac,—while another set indicates the altitude of the sun at midday for various geographical latitudes at all seasons of the year; the lower two quadrants contain the shadow squares, one devised for a gnomon of seven "feet" (*ḳadam*), the other, for a gnomon of twelve "fingers" (*aṣbaʿ*). As these divisions, which were first introduced by al-Zarḳālī (hence lacking only on the very oldest instruments, such as the one made by Aḥmad and Muḥammad, the sons of Ibrāhīm of Iṣfahān, in 374/984-5, Oxf. Lew. Evans Coll.), may be interpreted

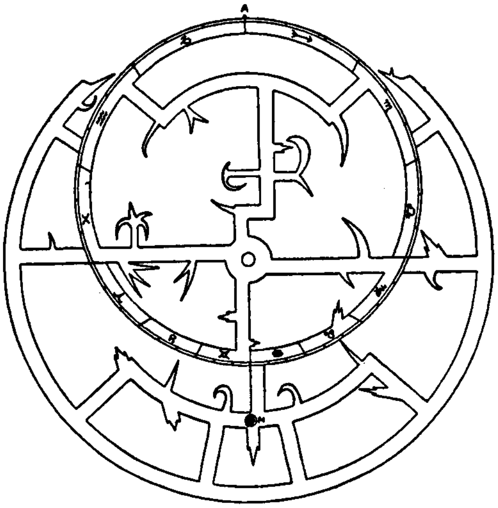

Fig. 2. Spider of an astrolabe.

as the tangents and cotangents of the altitudes measured, it can be said that the back of the astrolabe offers a graphical demonstration of the main four trigonometrical functions.—Apart from these divisions, all kinds of calendaric, astrological, and religious information can be found. Characteristic differences must be noted here: Spanish-Moorish astrolabes always have a Julian calendar, Egyptian, a Julian or Coptic, while Persian never have any solar calendar. Similarly, the lines indicating the times of prayer are apparently found only on Maghribī (including Spanish-Moorish) astrolabes (according to a personal communication from M. Henri Michel).

The alidad is a flat ruler turning around the *ḳuṭb* on the back of the astrolabe. Figs. 3 a and c show the two principal types employed, Fig. 3b being a drawing in perspective of 3a. The straight line A B passing through the centre is called *ḳuṭr*, L. *linea fiduciae* or *fidei*. The two arms of the alidad are sharpened to a point (*shaṭba*, *shaẓiyya*) and each has a rectangular plate (*libna*, *daffa*, *hadaf*) standing at right angles to the plane of the alidad itself, through which a hole (*thuḳba*) is bored above the *linea fiduciae*.

The inconvenience that a special *ṣafīḥa* is required for each latitude was remedied by the Spanish Arab al-Zarḳālī (Azarquiel, Arzachel) who made the vernal or the autumnal point the centre, and the solstitial colure (i.e. the meridian passing through the solstitial points) the plane, of projection. In its final form, which al-Zarḳālī called *al-ʿabbādiyya* in honour of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād, king of Sevilla (461-84/1068-91), the entire instrument consists of a single tablet with two small subsidiary pieces. On the face of the tablet in stereographical "horizontal" (as opposed to the ordinary, "vertical") projection the equator is represented with its parallels (*madārāt*) and its circles of declination (*mamarrāt*), and the ecliptic with its circles of latitude and longitude; the projections of the equator and the ecliptic, then, are straight lines through the centre. Then evidently the tablet is valid for any geographical latitude; moreover, since the projections of the two hemispheres exactly coincide, it suffices to add the principal stars, to make it replace the "spider" of an ordinary astrolabe. A rod (*ufḳ māʾil*) "oblique horizon", with an attached perpendicular ruler, both turning about the centre of the graduated face, fulfils the functions of the *ṣafāʾiḥ* of the common astrolabe; by inclining it at an appropriate angle to the line of the equator

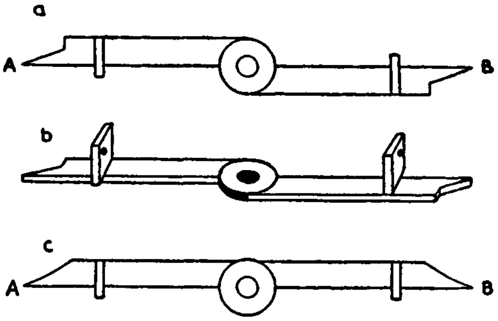

Fig. 3. Types of alidads.

we obtain the horizon of the place of observation, and can then deduce from its divisions the eastern and western amplitudes or else solve any other problem of spherical astronomy. On the back of the tablet are the alidad and the markings found on the back of the common astrolabes; but al-Zarḳālī further added the "circle of the moon", which enabled him to follow also the course of our satellite. —This simple and perfected astrolabe was called by the other Arabs *al-ṣafīḥa al-zarḳāliyya*, "the tablet of al-Zarḳālī". As mentioned above, the idea of making the solstitial colure the plane of projection appears to have been first conceived by al-Bīrūnī, whose *Chronology* was composed 30 years before al-Zarḳālī was born. But curiously enough, he there (359 f.) acquiesces in devising a purely schematical, not projective, diagram, with the circles of longitude and latitude drawn through *equidistant* parts of the radii. It is, therefore, really al-Zarḳālī who must be credited with the invention of this new type of an astrolabe. Through the *Libros del Saber* (Vol. 3, Madrid 1864, 135-237: *Libro de le açafeha*) the instrument became known and famous under the name *Saphaea*. It is practically identical with Gemma Frisius's *Astrolabum* (sic) *Catholicum* of 1556; the astrolabe of Gemma's pupil, D. Juan de Roias Sarmiento (published 1550) is a variety of it, where the stereographic is replaced by orthogonal projection (cf. above, al-Bīrūnī's "cylindrical" pro-

jection). Another early variety of al-Zarḳālī's astrolabe is the *ṣafīḥa shakāziyya* (or *shakāriyya*), about which we do not yet possess any accurate information.

For the difficult problem of deriving the date of manufacture of an astrolabe from the astronomical data on which it was based (position of the vernal point, longitudes of stars and, in some cases, the longitude of the perihelion), see Michel [1], 133 ff. and Poulle [1]; for a demonstration that the application of modern astronomical methods necessarily leads to false conclusions, see also Hartner [2] 104, 135-8. No conclusions whatever can be drawn from the (extremely slow) variation of the obliquity of the ecliptic; astrolabists nearly always assume it to be $23^1/_2°$ sharp.

II. The linear (*khaṭṭī*) astrolabe, also called *ʿaṣa 'l-Ṭūsī*, "the staff of al-Ṭūsī", after its inventor al-Muẓaffar b. Muẓaffar al-Ṭūsī (d.c. 610/1213-4) consists of one single piece, viz., a rod, with a plumb-line attached to its mid-point (i.e. the projection of the North Pole) a second thread fastened at its lower end, and a third thread, which is freely movable. The rod represents the NS line of an ordinary *ṣafīḥa*; its main divisions are those points in which the horizon, the almacantars, etc. meet the NS line. In the upper part are marked, moreover, the centres of the horizon and the almacantars, in the lower, the points in which each of the 12 *burūdj* and its subdivisions, as represented on the "spider", intersect with the NS line, in the course of one complete revolution of the latter. Another graduation, serving for measuring angles, indicates the cords of the angles 0-180°, where the cord of 180° equals the length of the whole rod. For further information, see Michel [1], 115-22, and Michel [2]; a first description was given by Carra de Vaux, *L'astrolabe linéaire ou bâton d'Et-Tousi*, in *JA*, 9th series, v, 464-516.

III. The spherical (*kurī, ukarī*) astrolabe, called *astrolabio redondo* in the *Libros del Saber* (Vol. 2, Madrid 1863, 113-222, text compiled by Isaac b. Sid (Isaac ha-Ḥazzan, called Rabbi Zag), exhibits without projection the diurnal movement of the sphere relatively to the horizon of the place of observation. Its history is at least as long as that of the flat astrolabe. P. Tannery, *Recherches sur l'hist. de l'astronomie ancienne*, Paris 1893, 53 ff., in dealing with the principle of the latter, demonstrates how easily the idea of a globe carrying the main constellations, surrounded by a hemispherical "spider" carrying the horizon and the hour lines, could have been derived from the hemispherical sundial, σκάφη (called ἀράχνη by Eudoxus). The *Fihrist* (trans. by Suter in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. math. Wiss.*, Vol. 6, 19, 1892) mentions Ptolemy as the first manufacturer of a spherical astrolabe, but this is evidently due to a confusion with the ἀστρολάβον ὄργανον described in *Alm.* 5, 1 (see introduction to the present article). Neither can the instrument devised by al-Battānī (*Op. astr.*, ed. Nallino, Vol. i, 319 ff.) be called a spherical astrolabe, as it is a combination of a celestial globe with an armillary sphere which lacks the essential characteristics of the astrolabe, above all the "spider". The main steps in the development of the spherical astrolabe before Alphonse X are marked by the treatises of Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā (d.c. 300/912), Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nayrīzī (d.c. 310/922), al-Bīrūnī (*K. fī Istīʿāb al-Wudjūh al-Mumkina fī Ṣanʿat al-Asṭurlāb*), and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Marrākushī (d.c. 660/1262, see L. A. Sédillot's trans. of the section on the spherical astrolabe in *Mém. sur les instruments astron. des arabes*, Vol. i, Paris 1834).

The spherical astrolabe serves the same purposes as the planispherical astrolabe. Its main disadvantage is, that it is considerably less handy than the latter and yet does not yield better results. The instrument as described in the *Libros del Saber* consists of the following pieces: (a) a metal globe on which are engraved three complete great circles representing the horizon, the meridian, and the first vertical; furthermore, in the upper hemisphere, the almacantars and the halves of the vertical circles that lie between the horizon and the zenith. The lower hemisphere, as on the flat astrolabe, carries the lines of the unequal hours (the equal hours can be read directly on the equator). On the meridian a number of pairs of diametrically opposite holes are bored so as to make the instrument adjustable to any geographical latitude; (b) the openwork "spider" containing the ecliptic, the equator, a number of fixed stars, a quadrant of altitude, and (only on the Alphonsine astrolabe) a shadow quadrant and a calendar; (c) a narrow semicircular strip of metal fitting closely to the surface of the "spider" and fastened with its centre to the pole of the ecliptic, about which it can be turned freely; together with the two diopters (tangent to the globe and parallel to one another) fastened at either end of it, it forms the alidad of the spherical astrolabe; (d) an axis passing through the appropriate pair of holes on the globe and through the equatorial pole of the "spider".—On the Alphonsine astrolabe, the equator, otherwise always represented as a half great circle, is given the shape of a small (!) circle parallel to the equator proper. The astrolabe of al-Marrākushī, instead of the alidad, has a metal strip (*ṣafīḥa*) turning about the pole of the *equator*, with a small gnomon fixed at right angles to it, which can thus be set on any point of the equator. For detailed information, see Seemann [1].

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(W. Hartner)

al-**ASWAD** b. Kaʿb al-ʿAnsī, of the tribe of Mad͟hḥid͟j, leader of the first *ridda* in al-Yaman. His proper name is said to have been ʿAyhala or ʿAbhala, and he was also known as D͟hu 'l-K͟himār, "the veiled one" (or D͟hu 'l-Ḥimār, "the man with the donkey"). After the murder of K͟husraw II Parwīz (Ar. Abarwīz) in 628, but possibly not before the capture of Mecca in 630, the Persians in al-Yaman, under Bād͟hām (or Bād͟hān), made an alliance with Muḥammad, since they realised that they could obtain no further aid from Persia. The Arabic sources say they also became Muslims, but some European scholars place their conversion to Islam after the *ridda* (or "apostasy"). Whatever the date of conversion, the alliance meant that the part of al-Yaman controlled by the Persians had become part of the Islamic political system. After the death of Bād͟hām Muḥammad seems to have recognised a number of local leaders as his agents in different parts of the region, besides sending some agents from Medina. The neighbourhood of Ṣanʿāʾ remained under Bād͟hām's son, S͟hahr. About the end of 10 (March, 632) men of the tribe of Mad͟hḥid͟j under al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī expelled two of Muḥammad's agents (K͟hālid b. Saʿīd and ʿAmr b. Ḥazm) from Nad͟jrān and the surrounding district, defeated and killed S͟hahr, occupied Ṣanʿāʾ, and brought much of al-Yaman under the authority of al-Aswad. Ḳays b. al-Maks͟hūḥ al-Murādī acted in concert with al-Aswad against his rival for the leadership of Murād, Farwah b. Musayk, who had been recognised by Muḥammad. Al-Aswad's movement was thus directed against the political system established by Muḥammad, not against the Persians as such, since some of them retained important positions in Ṣanʿāʾ. The religious aspect is not as evident as in the *ridda* elsewhere, but al-Aswad increased his influence by claims to be a soothsayer (*kāhin*), speaking in the name of Allāh or al-Raḥmān, and by practising sleight-of-hand. His monotheism is probably derived from the Christianity or Judaism of al-Yaman, not from Islam, since there is no record of his having become a Muslim. Al-Aswad's rule lasted only a month or two, for his death is said to have been before that of Muḥammad (in Rabīʿ I 11/June 632). He was killed by some of those who cooperated with him, namely, Ḳays b. al-Maks͟hūḥ and the Persians Fayrūz (or Fīrūz) al-Daylamī and Dād͟hawayh, assisted by the widow of S͟hahr whom al-Aswad had married. Muḥammad is said to have instigated this movement against al-Aswad, but this report is perhaps only a later reconstruction of the events.

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al-**ASWAD** b. **YAʿFUR** (also called Yuʿfur and Yaʿfir) b. ʿAbd al-Aswad al-Tamīmī, Abu 'l-D͟jarrāḥ, pre-Islamic Arab poet who lived probably at the end of the 6th century A.D. He is said to have travelled about among the tribes, composing eulogies or satires in verse, and was for some time the companion of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mund͟hir. He is sometimes called al-Aʿs͟hā of the Banū Nahs͟hal, because he was night-blind, but he lost his sight at the end of his life, which is thought to have been extremely long. Of the poems which have come down to us, the most celebrated are a *ḳaṣīda* in *dāl* dating probably from his later years and containing the usual commonplaces on life's difficulties, the approach of death, the flight of youth, the infirmities of old age, etc.

Bibliography: His poems have been collected by L. Cheikho, *S͟huʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 475-85; two *ḳaṣīdas* figure in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, i, 445-57, 846-9; Ibn Ḳutayba, *S͟hiʿr*, 134 f.; idem, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 282; D͟jumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 33-4; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Durayd, *Is͟htiḳāḳ*, 149; Ag͟hānī, xi, 134-9; Bag͟hdādī, *K͟hizāna*, i, 193-6; Abkāryūs, *Rawḍa*, 44 ff.; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 178. (Ch. Pellat)

ASYŪṬ, town in Upper Egypt. Asyūṭ, the largest and busiest town of Upper Egypt, is situated Lat. 27° 11′ N. on the west bank of the Nile. Owing to its situation in one of the most fertile and sheltered districts of the cultivable Nile valley, and also to its being the natural terminus of great desert highways it was in antiquity an important town (Syowt, Greek: Lykopolis) and the chief town of a Nomos. Under Islām Asyūṭ remained the chief town of a *kūra* (modern *markaz*, "district"), and on the inauguration of the division into provinces became the capital of a province (*ʿamal*, now *mudīriyya*).

Asyūṭ is the colloquial form of the literary Usyūṭ. Both are Arabisms for the Coptic Siout, to which in the land registers of the Middle Ages the form Suyūṭ or Sayūṭ corresponded. But as early as the time of al-Ḳalḳas͟handī (d. 821/1418) the popular pronunciation was Asyūṭ.

A history of Asyūṭ cannot be written for the reason that we scarcely find any mention of it in the historians, and only towards the end of the Mamlūk period, under ʿAlī Bey, did it play any historical part, viz. in the year 1183/1769-70, when it was for a time the centre of revolt. From the accounts of geographers and travellers we ascertain that it enjoyed unbroken prosperity throughout the entire Islamic period. At the end of the 19th century, it gained considerably in importance, especially after it became linked by rail with Cairo (in 1292/1875). Its population has risen from 28,000 in 1293/1876 to 42,000 before the first world war and about 120,000 at the present time.

In the Middle Ages Asyūṭ was famed for its agricultural products, its industry and trade. Besides corn and dates, quinces of an exceptional size were found here. The main industries were the weaving of woollen, cotton and linen goods. Owing to the alum and indigo obtained from the adjacent oases dyeing was extensively carried on; *e.g.* the materials manufactured for export to Dār Fūr were dyed here. Its specialities were fine linen goods, called *dabīḳī* after their chief place of production Dabīḳ in Upper Egypt, and fine woollen goods and carpets modelled on the classical Armenian products. Today Asyūṭ still manufactures black and white tulle shawls with silver appliqué-work, which are much sought

after in Europe, and represent the last remains of an industry once very famous throughout the Orient. Further Asyūṭ was engaged in the preparation of opium and in the making of high-quality pottery which, with its antique patterns, is still much in demand as black and red "Asyūṭ-ware".

There was a brisk trade in all these products throughout Egypt and abroad. The direct trade with the Sūdān is specially famous. The annual Dār Fūr caravans (numbering about 1500 camels) brought slaves, ivory, ostrich-feathers and other products of the Sūdān, and received in exchange the products of Egypt's industries, especially stuffs. The scholars of Napoleon's expedition made careful investigations into this trade which has now so much declined.

Like all the industrial towns of Egypt, Asyūṭ had a large Christian population—60, according to others as many as 75, churches and chapels—, but no Jews at all, a fact explicitly stated.

Caravanserais, bazaars, baths—one of the latter famous and very ancient—, mosques and other public buildings adorn the town to-day as formerly. In one of the mosques stood a *minbar* which at certain seasons was filled with corn and carried through the streets as a *maḥmal* (Ibn Duḳmāḳ). Like all the flourishing towns of modern Egypt, Asyūṭ has a strong admixture of Levantines.

Asyūṭ is the birth place of Plotinus, the Coptic Saint John of Lykopolis and of several Arab scholars named al-Suyūṭī, of whom the versatile historian Djalāl al-Dīn (d. 911/1505) is the best known.

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ATA. A Turkish word meaning "father", and also "ancestor" (cf. the expression *ata sözü* "proverb"). Among the Oghuz, the qualifier *ata* was appended to the names of people who had acquired great prestige; this term can also bear the derived meaning of "wise", and even of "holy", "venerated".

ʿAṬĀʾ, "gift", the term most commonly employed to denote, in the early days of Islam, the pension of Muslims, and, later, the pay of the troops. It is impossible to give here the history of the system of pay throughout the Muslim world, and this article will be confined to a general outline.

The traditional starting-point is the organisation of the pensions by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The first Muslims had derived no material advantage except their share of the booty from successful expeditions. The flow of taxes into the coffers of the nascent caliphate enabled a better regulated form of reward to be envisaged, which the traditionists and jurists explain in connexion with the organisation of the first *dīwān* and within the framework of their theories, subsequently evolved, on the utilisation of *fayʾ*; the various versions which they give accord ill with one another, because they all reflect the desire, conceived at a later date, to find in the decisions of ʿUmar a precedent which did not exist. The main outlines, however, are clear: according to a hierarchic order which took into account kinship with the Prophet and especially seniority as regards admission to Islam, graduated pensions were distributed to the whole Muslim population which had been displaced from its homes by the holy war (the *muhādjirūn* and *anṣār* of the early days, together with the fighting men of a later date), women, children, slaves and clients (still not numerous and not by definition foreigners), but excluding, of course, the Bedouin and others who remained, in Arabia and elsewhere, unaffected by the military expansion of Islam. The amount ranged from 200 to 12,000 dirhams, the great majority of the men receiving from 500 to 1,000 dirhams annually. The registration and classification of those eligible necessitated the organisation of a service which constituted the first *dīwān*, and the division of the beneficiaries into groups, *ʿirāfa*, under the control of an *ʿarīf* [*q.v.*]. All the quotations relevant to these questions are given with a commentary in Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 368-417, to which should now be added Abū ʿUbayd Ibn Sallam, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, 223-71, and the references in Tritton, *Notes on the Muslim system of pensions*, in *BSOAS* 1954, 170-2, which also deals with the century following.

This system, conceived in terms of conditions at the time of ʿUmar, obviously could not continue unchanged. The ramification of family trees, conversion on a large scale, the slowing-up of the rate of the conquests and the reduction in the benefits derived from war, the increasing complexity and specialisation of military techniques during the Umayyad period, and later, during the ʿAbbāsid period, the increasing professionalism and progressive "de-arabicisation" of the army, led, after many tentative procedures and irregularities, to a distinction between, on the one hand, civil pensions, reserved for the descendants of the Prophet's family (ʿAlid and ʿAbbāsid branches) and in general more of an honorary than concrete nature (we are, of course, not discussing here the salaries of officials, cf. rizḳ), and on the other hand military pay; as regards the army, a distinction was made between the class of professional soldiers, registered in the *dīwān* and entitled to regular pay, and occasional volunteers, not registered in the *dīwān*, who received a smaller allowance confined to their period of effective service. On the other hand, whereas under the Umayyads, in spite of the ephemeral effort of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (cf. Wellhausen, *Arabische Reich*, 186-7), the *mawālī*, who were by that time numerous and were for the most part Iranians, were virtually excluded from the benefit of pay, under the ʿAbbāsids, it was the Khurāsānīs, and later the other elements, Turks, Daylamites, etc., who, as professionals, were almost the only persons to receive pensions, and the Arabs in the end were systematically removed from the registers in the course of the 3rd/9th century, at least in the East. In the early days, payment was made principally on a provincial basis, or, in Syria and Spain, on the basis of military districts called *djund* [*q.v.*], as a charge on the local taxes; but ʿAbbāsid centralisation made the majority of these payments a charge on, or placed them under the direct control of, the Treasury (*bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*]).

Although the amount of the payments seems to have been subject to considerable fluctuation, the

annual pay of a foot-soldier, in the second century of ʿAbbāsid rule, can be estimated to be of the order of 1,000 dirhams = 70 dīnārs, or three times the pay of a Bag͟hdād journeyman, and that of a cavalryman twice as much. Commanders and specialised corps naturally received more. Ḳudāma describes in detail the functioning of the system, the differences between the various categories, the minute detail of the rolls, the different intervals at which different payments were made (W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der Abbasiden*, in *Isl.*, 1949). But, dating from before his time, *ad hoc* payments were made, especially on the occasion of an accession, in addition to the regular pay; and it seems that there had always been, in addition to pay proper, distributions of provisions and equipment. Arms were a charge on the Treasury. The army was therefore always expensive, and became increasingly so as military technique became more complex and heavy cavalry and siege operations played a greater part in it. Disturbances prevented the government from reducing the number of its effectives; and the troops, realising that they were indispensable, increased their demands; the Treasury found it increasingly difficult to maintain regular payments, and the discontent of the troops could only be appeased by increases in lieu of arrears, thus creating a vicious circle.

From the 4th/10th century onwards, the control exercised by the military over the political authority caused the replacement of payments by fiscal assignments which the interested parties collected from a domain the revenue of which was the equivalent of the amount of pay due (see IḲṬĀʿ).

Bibliography: In the article; cf. also D͟JAYS͟H. On the pay of the Ottoman forces, see ʿULŪFA. (CL. CAHEN)

ʿAṬĀʾ B. ABĪ RABĀḤ, a prominent representative of the ancient Meccan school of religious law. Born in Yaman of Nubian parentage but brought up in Mecca, he was a *mawlā* of the family of Abū Maysara b. Abī K͟hut͟haym al-Fihrī. He died in Mecca in 114 or 115 (732 or 733) at a very old age (88 or even 100 years are mentioned). ʿAṭāʾ is the only ancient Meccan jurisconsult who is more than a name to us; an analysis of the doctrines ascribed to him enables us to separate an authentic core from later, fictitious accretions. In the manner common to his contemporaries, he did not hesitate to use his personal opinion (*raʾy*), both in its disciplined and in his arbitrary form (*ḳiyās* and *istiḥsān*, respectively); statements which, reflecting a later fashion of thought, make him reject *raʾy*, are therefore spurious. The extent to which ʿAṭāʾ may have used traditions from the Prophet and from the Companions as legal arguments, is difficult to ascertain; if he did so, he presumably made use of *mursal* [*q.v.*] traditions. Owing to the rapid development of Islamic law at the beginning of the second century of the *hid͟jra*, some of the distinctive opinions of ʿAṭāʾ seem to have become unfashionable already towards the end of his life; this is probably reflected in the statement that some younger contemporaries of his ceased attending his lectures, and that the *mursal* traditions transmitted by him are weak. This was more than compensated by attributing to him, when the attitude to traditions had changed, personal contact with an ever increasing number of Companions of the Prophet, though some Muslim critics themselves point out that he did not hear traditions from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, Umm Salama and others, and express doubt concerning his direct contact with ʿAʾis͟ha. At the beginning of the second century, the interest of the specialists in Islamic law had already spread from purely religious problems to more technically legal questions; the authentic doctrines of ʿAṭāʾ bear this out, and he did not specialise in the ceremonies of *ḥad͟jd͟j* as some sources assert in deference to the fiction that this was the favourite subject of the scholars of Mecca. Already during the life-time of ʿAṭāʾ, his reputation spread far beyond Mecca, and Abū Ḥanīfa states that he was present at his lecture meetings; this is perhaps the earliest authentic piece of evidence on technical instruction in Islamic religious law.

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ʿAṬĀʾ BEY, Ṭayyārzāde ʿAtāʾ Allāh Aḥmad, known as ʿAṭāʾ Bey, Ottoman historian. He was born in Istanbul in 1225/1810, the son of a palace official. He himself was educated in the palace, and held various official positions. In 1293/1876 he went to the Ḥid͟jāz to take up an appointment as administrator of the sacred territory (ḥarām) of Mecca, and died in Medina in 1294/1877 or 1297/1880. His most important work is his five volume history, known as *Taʾrīk͟h-i ʿAṭāʾ* (Istanbul 1291-3/1874-6). Its chief interest derives from his intimate knowledge of the organisation, customs, personalities, and affairs of the Imperial household in the 19th century. An autograph copy of his *dīwān* is preserved in the *Millet* library.

Bibliography: Babinger 366-7; *Sid͟jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī* iii, 481-2; *ʿOt͟hmānlī Müellifleri* iii, 108. (ED.)

MEḤMED **ʿAṬĀʾ BEY**, (1856-1919), Ottoman scholar, journalist, and public official. After the revolution of 1908 he became a member of the Financial Reform Committee and was for one week Minister of Finance. He published many articles in journals and periodicals, under the names of Mefk͟hari and ʿAtāʾ, and also produced a literary anthology called *Iḳtiṭāf*, which was extensively used as a school text-book. His most important undertaking was the Turkish translation of Hammer's History of the Ottoman Empire. This version, based on the French translation of J. J. Hellert, began to appear in Istanbul in 1329/1911. Of the fifteen volumes that were planned, only ten actually appeared, the last in 1337/1918.

Bibliography: Babinger 400-1; *ʿOt͟hmānlī Müellifleri* iii, 110-1. (ED.)

ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH EFENDI [see S͟HĀNĪZADE].

ʿAṬĀʾ MALIK D͟JUWAYNĪ [see AL-D͟JUWAYNĪ].

ʿATĀBA, modern Arabic four line verse, common in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and ʿIrāḳ. The first three lines not only rhyme, but generally repeat the same rhyming word with a different meaning (*tad͟jnīs tāmm*). The last line rhymes with the paradigm *ʿatāba* ("lovers' reproach"), the last syllable of which is often supplied without making sense. The metre is a sort of *wāfir*. A peculiar form common in ʿIrāḳ is called (*a*)*būd͟hiyye* ("man of sorrow") or *lāmī* and ends with *iyya* (*eyya*).

Bibliography: E. Sachau, *Arabische Volkslieder aus Mesopotamien*, *Ab.Pr.Ak. W*, 1889, 17 ff.;

G. H. Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwan*, Leipzig 1901, passim; B. Meissner, *Neuarabische Gedichte aus dem Irâq*, ii, in *MSOS As.*, 1903, 65-75, 96-124, iii, in *MSOS As.*, 1904, 268-9; P. Kahle, *Zur Herkunft der ʿAtāba-Lieder*, in *ZDPV*, 1911, 242-4; H. Ritter, *Mesopotamische Studien*, ii: *Vierzig arabische Volkslieder*, in *Isl.*, 1920, 120-33; W. Eilers, *Arabische Lieder aus dem Irak*, in *ZS*, 1935, 234-55; idem, *Zwölf irakische Vierzeiler*, Leipzig 1942.

(H. Ritter).

ATABAK (Atabeg), title of a high dignitary under the Saldjūḳids and their successors. The term is Turkish and first makes its appearance in Muslim history with the Saldjūḳids; it is therefore reasonable to enquire whether any precedents exist in the Turkish societies of Central Asia. So far no occurrence of the actual word seems to have been reported and the fact that in the Orkhon civilisation there is apparently a person called *ata*, father, acting as a tutor to a young prince, is too vague to enable one to affirm a connexion; the same is true of similar cases existing in other civilisations (see for example Hārūn al-Rashīd and Yaḥyā al-Barmakī); moreover no such office has so far been noted even under the Ḳarakhānids. The term *atabeg*, therefore, seems to be more precisely characteristic of the Oghuz or the Saldjūḳids. Even under these latter, the first definite indication of the title, which was subsequently to make history as the title of Turkish military chiefs, applies to an Iranian "civilian": Malikshāh, who was very young when he came to power, added the term *atabeg* to the *laḳab* of his *wazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk, thereby indicating that he conferred upon him the entire delegation of his own authority, as though he were his father (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x, 54; *RCEA*, vii, no. 2734-2737). Nevertheless the fact that from the death of Malikshāh the title is to be met with in all branches of the Saldjūḳid dynasty, including that of Asia Minor, which has a specific evolution, prompts one to admit its existence already at the origin of the régime. In these circumstances there is no reason to reject the evidence, not apparently previously adduced, of the *Akhbār al-Dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, ed. Muḥ. Nāẓim, 28-29, which places a Turkish *atabeg* beside the young Alp Arslan during his father's lifetime in the person of a certain Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Kulsāriʿ (Ḳizil Sāriʿ?). The honour conferred on Niẓām al-Mulk, a non-Turk and *wazir*, appears to have been something of an exception, all the more characteristic of his ascendancy.

However that may be, from the death of Malikshāh, the *atabegs* appear more and more regularly, whilst the role played by them increases, favoured by princely minorities and strife between pretenders. Henceforth only Turkish military chiefs are involved, corresponding to the growing influence acquired by this element during the period of the Saldjūḳid regime's decay. Malikshāh's son Barkyāruk, apparently during his father's lifetime, had the *djāndār* Gümüshtakin as "preceptor (*murabbiy*ᵘⁿ) and *atabeg*" (ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, abridgement by Bundarī, ed. Houtsma, 83; cf. al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī, 140). He, in turn, created others for his young brothers Sandjar and Muḥammad, when he accorded them autonomous appanages, and on his death-bed, also for his son Malikshāh, who was still a child. At the same time, on the death of Malikshāh's brother Tutush, whose appanage was in Syria and who was the unfortunate rival of Barkyāruk, we find an *atabeg* with each of his sons Ruḍwān and Duḳāḳ. Henceforth every Saldjūḳid prince seems to have had an *atabeg*, at least if he was endowed with an appanage whilst still a minor; in other words, wherever there were several sons, there were also several *atabegs*. As they now issued exclusively from the category of military chiefs of servile origin, their function may in a way be associated with the duty of every slave or manumitted slave to guard the interests of his master's family to which he himself belonged. Furthermore the *atabeg* frequently made his position as a "father" complete by marrying his pupil's mother, when the latter became a widow (for example early on, Tughtakin at Damascus, the mother of Duḳāḳ). As for his authority, this consisted in his sharing in the unrestricted power of the prince and therefore it cannot be defined by precise attributions, as in the case of ordinary functions. However, he could be dismissed by another *atabeg*; in any case, when the prince grew up, the *atabeg*'s authority naturally disappeared, only leaving room for his influence as a counsellor, who had the prince's ear; if the *atabeg* assumed more than that, a rupture with the prince followed (for example, Ruḍwān and Duḳāḳ), or even the *atabeg*'s execution (Kutlughtakin by Barkyāruk's brother Muḥammad).

This, at least was the initial state. But relatively soon the *atabeg*'s position was consolidated at the expense of that of the prince. The office of *atabeg* gave its holder great authority, which he was normally tempted to perpetuate. But in addition, from the second generation of Malikshāh's heirs, the respective roles of prince and *atabeg* were reversed. The starting point now was that either willingly or under duress the sultan would bestow a major governorship on a powerful *amīr* and, in order to safeguard the formal dependence of the latter, he attached one of the Saldjūḳid children to him, whose *atabeg* he became. For a while the young prince continued to serve as a cloak beneath which the chief concealed his own ambitions; such was the case in the disputes which brought Sultan Masʿūd into conflict with various of his relatives, each of whom was urged on by his *atabeg*. Thus Fārs, Ādharbāydjān and, at one time, Mawṣil, each had their respective *atabeg* and their claimant to the Sultanate. A corresponding evolution took place in the case of the minor Saldjūḳid dynasty of Kirmān (Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm, *Histoire des Seldjukides du Kirmān*, ed. Houtsma, 35-132 passim and index, especially under Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Būzḳush).

A further new stage was reached when the *atabeg* succeeded in making hereditary, in addition to his office, possession of the governorship, which in theory constituted his reward for it. This was accomplished after the middle of the 6th/12th century by the family of the *atabegs* of Ādharbāydjān, who were descended from Ildegiz, the *atabeg* of Sulṭān Arslan. Lastly at the beginning of the century, the death of Duḳāḳ without heir at Damascus, far away from the centres of the Saldjūḳids, enabled the *atabeg* Tughtakin to found a dynasty which was both autonomous and in his own name. Elsewhere all-powerful *atabegs* reached the same results by suppressing their sultans, who were completely devoid of resources: this was accomplished at Mawṣil on the death of the *atabeg* Zangi by his heirs in 539/1144 and was similarily achieved against the last Persian Saldjūḳid, with the help of the Caliph, by the heirs of Ildegiz, who summoned the Khʷārizmshāh into central Iran (588/1192). Moreover the sultan's disapperance did not hinder the masters of Ādharbāydjān and of Mawṣil from continuing to have themselves called *atabegs*; the word, hence-

forth, had in practice the exclusive sense of territorial prince. Thus it seems that from the middle of the 6th/12th century the title in Fārs had been adopted by the Salg͟hūrids, the vanquishers of the real *atabegs*, without their having any longer a sultan under their tutelage. The most famous of the Atabeg dynasties is that of Mawṣil, by reason of the work devoted to them by their historian and subject Ibn al-Ath͟īr. A further new dynasty of pseudo-atabegs was to appear in the 7th-13th century in Luristān (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Guzīda*).

The title *atabeg* was still to be met with among the successors of the Saldj͟ūḳids, in particular under the K͟hwārizm-s͟hāhs, who did not allow those who bore it, exclusively tutors of young princes, to acquire much influence (Dj͟uwaynī, ii, 22, 33, 39, 209). Later on, in all those states which derived from the Mongol conquest, the appellation *atabeg* is to be met with upon occasion fortuitously, applied to indefinite princely tutors or as one of a number of simple honorific titles inherited from the past (see references in M. F. Köprülü, art. *Atabeg* in *IA*). More remarkable is the penetration of this title, attributed to military and feudal leaders, into Christian Georgia, which had borrowed other institutions from neighbouring Ād͟harbāydj͟ān, with whom they were alternatively at war or in matrimonial relationship (J. Karst, *Le code géorgien du roi Vakhtang, Commentaire*, i, 211 ff.; M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de Géorgie*, 1/2, passim; Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, 1932, chap. xxiii).

Among the Saldj͟ūḳids of Asia Minor, the *atabeg* is attested from the beginning of the reign of Ḳilīdj͟ Arslan I, in the person of K͟humartās͟h al-Sulaymānī (consequently a manumitted slave of his father Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumus͟h) (Ibn al-Azraḳ, quoted in a note by Amedroz to the History of Damascus of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 157). Shortly afterwards the mother of the young Saldj͟ūḳid of Malaṭya, to protect him against his brother of Ḳunya, gave him a series of *atabegs*, whom she took in marriage, the last of them being the neighbouring Artuḳid Balak [*q.v.*] (Michael the Syrian, trans. Chabot, 194 and 200). In the main branch, *atabegs* are also reported in the 6th/12th century (*RCEA*, no. 3376-3377), and then in the 7th/13th century; the power of the sovereigns prevented them from expanding and it is only after the disaster which ended in the Mongol protectorate that the title occurs borne by men with a decisive influence on the régime, such as Dj͟alāl al-Dīn Ḳaratāy. However, in Asia Minor the actual conditions of the evolution had given the power to a team of high dignitaries, friends or enemies according to the case, rather than to a single individual, and the *atabeg* was not the most important. In this area he does not appear to have survived the Ilk͟hānid regime and he was unknown to the Ottomans.

The title of *atabeg*, however, still had a fairly long independent career in the Mamlūk state. The Ayyūbids had made it known in their realms; it may perhaps have found expression in the ephemeral tutelage which al-Afḍal exercised in 595/1198 over his young nephew, the son of al-ʿAzīz in Egypt; in any case it was used more permanently and formally during princely minorities in the Yemen and particularily at Aleppo (History of Aleppo of Ibn al-ʿAdīm, passim). This is the way in which it reached the Mamlūks. The founder of the regime, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak, bore the title, not as tutor to a prince, but as regent-spouse of the famous heir and widow of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, S͟hadj͟arat al-Durr; and the title, sometimes accompanied by considerable power, at other times devoid of it, survived down to the end of the dynasty. If one may believe al-Maḳrīzī (*Sulūk*, trans. Quatremère i/1, 2), Aybak bore the title of *atabeg* of the armies; but no contemporary author has attributed it to him and one must perhaps envisage a confusion in al-Maḳrīzī's mind with the title of *atabak al-ʿasākir* [*q.v.*], which was usual in his time. In effect it then corresponded with a kind of supreme military command, though it only acquired this extended meaning apparently under the Circassians, following the suppression of the office of *nāʾib*.

Bibliography: The only general study is by M. F. Köprülü, *op. cit.*, where detailed references and additional information will be found. For the sources and other materials, apart from those already cited in the article, see below the articles MAMLŪKS and SALDJ͟ŪḲIDS. On the Great Saldjūḳs and their Irano-ʿIrāḳī successors, the information used here has been taken mainly from Ibn al-Ath͟īr, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, and Rāwandī. See also Sanaullah, *The decline and fall of the Seldjukid Empire*, Calcutta 1938; M. A. Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu Imparatorluğu Tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1954; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 50-1. For Asia Minor, see principally the chronicles of Ibn Bībī and Aksarayi, *passim*. For the Mamlūks, see the following article.. (CL. CAHEN)

ATĀBAK AL-ʿASĀKIR. After the decline of the office of the viceroy (*Nāʾib al-Salṭana*) the Atābak al-ʿAsākir (Commander-in-Chief) of the Mamlūk Army became the most important *amīr* in the Sultanate. His functions were much broader than the name of his office indicates. For all intents and purposes he had become the sultan's viceroy. Very frequently the title *mudabbir al-mamālik* or *mudabbir al-mamālik al-islāmiyya* was appended to his name. It was common, especially in the Circassian period, for him to succeed the sultan on the throne. (See D. Ayalon, *Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army*, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 58-59, and references on p. 59, n. 6). (D. AYALON)

ATABEG [see ATABAK].

ATABEG AL-ʿASĀKIR [see ATABAK AL-ʿASĀKIR].

ʿAṬĀʾĪ. ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH B. YAḤYĀ B. PĪR ʿALĪ B. NAṢŪḤ, known as NEWʿĪ-ZĀDE ʿAṬĀʾĪ, prominent Ottoman poet of the early 17th century and continuator of Ṭas͟hköprü-zāde's biographical work on the Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ* and dervishes. (Muḥibbī, *K͟hulāṣa*, iv, 263, incorrectly gives his *ism* as Muḥammad). He was born in Istanbul in S͟hawwāl 991/1583, where his father (who, under the *mak͟hlaṣ*, Newʿī, enjoyed high esteem as a poet and scholar—from 998 to 1003, he was tutor to the ill-fated sons of Murād III) was at this time professor of the Dj͟aʿfar Ag͟ha *madrasa*; his mother was the daughter of the famous Nis͟hāndj͟ī Meḥmed Pas͟ha (*Sidj͟ill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, iv, 131). Having studied under Ḳāf-zāde Fayḍ Allāh Ef. (the father of the anthologist Fayḍī) and Ak͟hī-zāde ʿAbdülḥalīm Ef., he began his career as professor of the Dj͟ānbāziyye *madrasa* in Istanbul (Ṣafar 1014/1605), but was soon to be transferred to the judicial class by his appointment as *ḳāḍī* of Lofdj͟a in S͟haʿb. 1017. He held a number of such posts in Rūmili (S͟hayk͟hī gives the most detailed information about these), the last of which was Üsküb, whence he was dismissed at the end of 1044/1635. He returned to Istanbul where he died in Dj͟umādā I, 1045 (ʿUs͟hs͟hāḳī-zāde, f. 26b and

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 724, et al., id., *Fadhlaka*, ii, 168 erroneously give the year 1044; characteristically unreliable, Riḍā gives 1046) and was buried beside his father in the court-yard of the Shaykh Wafā mosque. He was survived by a son, Meḥmed, who was also of the *ʿulamāʾ* (*Fadhlaka*, loc. cit.).

The most famous and valuable of his works is the *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī Takmilāt al-Shaḳāʾiḳ* (completed in Rabīʿ II, 1044 and printed in Istanbul, 1268), in which he brings down to his own day the biographical sketches of the Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ* and dervishes begun by Ṭashköprüzāde in his Arabic *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya* (Brockelmann, ii, 425). Like the latter, it is organised according to the reign in which the individual died, the last being that of Murād IV, but the language is now Turkish and the notices are far more precise in detail and frequently contain ʿAṭāʾī's personal remarks and reminiscences. The style is similar to that used by Medjdī in his translation of the *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, and, while to the taste of recent generations almost intolerably elegant, was greatly admired by his contemporaries; and, indeed, it is this alone which redeems the work from being a mere statistical summary. The popularity of his poetry, too, has not survived (cf. Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 232 ff. for the 19th century Ottoman critics), though at least one modern scholar, M. F. Köprülü, has found his mathnawī works deserving of study. These latter are included in his *khamsa*, of which the fifth portion, entitled *Ḥilyat al-Afkār*, was until recently regarded as lost or non-existent. For a full analysis of the other four works and a short account of his divan, all still unpublished, cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. osman. Dichtkunst*, iii, 244-283. (It should be remarked that the chronogram given here for the date of completion of the *Nafḥat al-Azhār* is 1020, while that given by A. S. Levend is 1034). The only other work ascribed to him is a legal monograph, *al-Ḳawl al-Ḥasan fī Djawāb al-Ḳawl Liman*... (Brockelmann, ii, 427), which, from its title, appears to be a reply to an unfinished work by his contemporary Mollādjiḳ Aḥmed Ef. (cf. *Ḥadāʾiḳ*, 667).

Bibliography: To the works mentioned by Babinger, 171 and Brockelmann, II, 427, should be added those given by Behcet Gönül, *Istanbul Kütüphanelerinde al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya Tercüme ve Zeyilleri, Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vii-viii, cüz 2 (1945), 161; Shaykhī, *Waḳāʾiʿ al-Fuḍalāʾ*, (*Süleymāniyye*, Beshīr Ağa, 479), f. 3a; Riyāḍī, *Riyāḍ al-Shuʿarāʾ*, (Nuruosmaniye, 3724), f. 116b. ʿUshshāḳīzāde's *Dhayl-i Shaḳāʾiḳ* was used in the Murād Mollā MS., nr. 1432, f. 26a. Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergün, *Türk Şairleri*, ii, 541-550, gives the most extensive selection of his verse and reproduces in his article the statements of Shaykhī, Riyāḍī and Riḍā, as well as the opinions of M. F. Köprülü. On the *Khamsa*, cf. Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Atayiʾnin Hilye-tül-Efkarʾı*, (Ankara, 1948); however, his argument in support of 1046 as the year of ʿAṭāʾī's death is unconvincing.

(J. Walsh)

ATAK (Attock), a fort in West Pākistān 33° 53′ N, 72° 15′ N, commanding the passage of the Indus just below the junction with the Kābul river. Atak was founded by Akbar in 989/1581 (under the name Atak-Banāras) to defend the main invasion route from Kābul via Peshāwar against the incursions of his brother Mīrzā Ḥakīm. For contemporary explanations of the name see Firishta, i, 502 and Abu ʾl-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. Text, iii, Calcutta 1881-87, 355; for a comment on its possible historical derivation see Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. India*, ii, 1871, 7.

Coming into British occupation at the end of the second Sikh war, Atak lost some of its military value with the opening (1300/1883) of the combined road and rail bridge to carry the Grand Trunk road and the North-West railway.

Bibliography: see text; also *Gazetteer of Rawalpindi District*, (rev. ed.), 1893-4, Lahore 1895, 260 and *Imperial Gazetteer* VI, 138.

(P. Hardy)

ATALİḲ. A term synonymous with *atabeg*, used not only among the Turks, but also in the Caucasus, Turkistan, and by the Tīmūrids and the Turkish dynasties of India. It was still used in the 19th century by the *amīrs* of Bukhārā and Khiva, and the *amīr* of Kāshghar, Yaʿḳūb Bey, bore the title of *atalīḳ ghāzī*.

Bibliography: See the article, with a very full bibliography, by M. F. Köprülü in *IA*, s.v.

(R. Mantran)

ʿATAMA (a.), the first third of the night, according to the lexica, from the time of waning of the *shafaḳ* (the red colour of the sky after sunset). This definition covers exactly the right time for the *ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ*, which is therefore often called *ṣalāt al-ʿatama*, even in quite large a number of traditions. But later on, pious circles rejected this name, since the *ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ* is expressly called thus in the Ḳurʾān. A tradition appeared which declared the use of *ʿatama* with regard to the prayer to be characteristic of Bedouins, who used to milk their camels at that time and call the milking itself *ʿatama*. Muslims are requested to use the name which Allāh himself used in the Holy Book.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.vv. *ʿatama*, *ʿishāʾ*. (M. Plessner)

ATAR, town in Mauritania, chief place of the Circle of the Adrar, situated at a height of 230 m., on the route Saint-Louis to Tindouf, about 420 km. to the east of Port-Etienne. The Ḳṣar has 4500 inhabitants belonging for the most part to the Smacids, a tribe of marabouts. According to local tradition Atar was founded in the 16th or 17th century. At this period the pilgrims' caravan to Mecca was organised each year by the Idau ʿAli of Chinguetti (Shinḳīṭī) who used to give the imamate to a distinguished member of the Smacids. It happened that they broke with this tradition in favour of a Ghellawi. Outraged, a group of the Smacids left the town in protest and arrived at an important settlement of the Azougui which has now disappeared, but was then rich enough for the Portuguese to have established a factory there in the 15th century. So this display of temper gave birth to Atar.

Although Chinguetti has remained the spiritual and religious capital of the Adrar, Atar is now the principal commercial centre, providing a market for the great nomads and the southern outlet for the products of Moroccan workers. It is here that graziers come to sell their camels and sheep and to stock themselves up with tea, sugar, indigo, oil etc. It is also to its important palm-grove that they come to perform the process known as *geṭna*, the cleaning of the dates, which brings in great wealth at the time of the date-harvest.

When, at the beginning of the 20th century, Coppolani and his successor, Colonel Montane-Capdebosc, extended French influence to the north of Senegal, they were soon forced to the conclusion that no peace was possible in Mauritania while the

mountainous range of the Adrar provided an ideal centre for armed malcontents.

It was Atar, capital of the Adrar, "the Key to the Situation", that Colonel Gouraud chose as the objective for his column in 1908.

After defeating the Emir's warriors and the *ṭālibs* of Shaykh Mā al-ʿAynayn at the pass of Hamdoun, he entered the Ḳṣar on 9 January 1909 and received the submission of the chief of the Smacids, Sidia Ould Sidi Baba.

Since then Atar, linked by road and air to Senegal and Morocco has considerably increased its economic and commercial importance.

Bibliography: Gouraud, *Mauritanie-Adrar*, Paris 1945; Psichari, *Les Voix qui crient dans le désert* (Complete works, vol. ii), Paris 1948; Cdt. Modat, *Portugais, Arabes et Français dans l'Adrar mauritanien*, in *Bull. du Comité d'Études historiques et scientifiques d'A.O.F.*, 1922, 550; *R.M.M.* xix, 1912, 260; *Études mauritaniennes* (*IFAN no.* 5) *Ahmed Lemine ech Chinguetti.*

(S. d'Otton Loyewski)

ATATÜRK (Muṣṭafā Kemāl), the founder and first President of the Turkish Republic, was born at Salonica 1881 and died at Istanbul on 10th November 1938. He lost his father, ʿAlī Riḍā, whilst still very young, so that it was his mother, Zübeyde Khānïm, who saw to his education. When twelve years of age, he entered the military preparatory school at Salonica, where one of his teachers made him take the name of Kemāl in addition to Muṣṭafā. In 1895 he entered the Military School of Monastir, then in 1899 that of Istanbul, where he started to take an interest in political life and to play an active part in the secret opposition movements, which the despotism of Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [*q.v.*] had called into being. He obtained the diploma of the Academy of War of Istanbul in 1905, and was then sent to Damascus as a Captain, where he founded the *Waṭan we Hürriyet* (Fatherland and Freedom) group. Upon his return from Salonica, he only took part from a distance in the activities of the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī* (Union and Progress) movement. He took part in the defence of Tripolitania, when it was invaded by the Italians (1911-2), was appointed Military Attaché in Bulgaria and, during the first world war, distinguished himself in the Dardanelles' fighting (1915) and, as an Army Commander, in the fighting in the Caucasus (1916) and in Palestine (1917). After a short visit to Germany, he reassumed command of the 7th Army in Palestine, with which he retreated as far as the area north of Aleppo, where he was at the time of the Mudros Armistice (30th October 1918). Muṣṭafā Kemāl did not agree with the Draconic terms of the Armistice and came into conflict with Sultan Meḥemmed VI. Recalled to Istanbul, where his national feelings were severely tested, he was then appointed Inspector of the Army of the North at Erzurum on 30th April 1919. On 19th May, he landed at Samsun with his mind made up to fight for the total independence of Turkey, threatened by the designs of the Allies, by relying on the troops which had remained faithful to him. On 22nd June he issued a circular from Amasya condemning the government of the Sultan and of the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ferīd Pasha. Through the medium of the congresses which he assembled at Erzurum (23rd July) and at Sivas (4th September) he launched the demand for the independence and unity of Turkey. On 23rd April 1920, having won a certain number of political and military personalities to his cause, he assembled the first Great National Assembly (*Büyük Millet Medjlisi*) at Ankara, which elected him President. The struggle had begun against both the Government of Istanbul and the Allies, more particularly the Greeks (1920-2). His decisive part in the campaigns conducted against the latter caused the Assembly to bestow on him the title of *Ghāzī* ("The victor").

The Armistice of Mudanya (11 October 1922) set the seal on Muṣṭafā Kemāl's victory, and on 1st November 1922 he obtained the vote abolishing the Sultanate. The Lausanne Conference (November 1922-July 1923) gave complete independence to Turkey as well as national frontiers. The second Great National Assembly, the majority of whose members belonged to the People's Party (*Khalḳ Fïrḳasï*, modern Tk. *Halk Firkasï*), founded by Muṣṭafā Kemāl (subsequently the People's Republican Party: *Cümhuriyet Halk Partisi*), on 29th October 1923 proclaimed the Republic; Muṣṭafā Kemāl was elected President—an office to which he was constantly re-elected until his death—whilst ʿIṣmet Pasha (Ismet Inönü) was appointed Prime Minister and Ankara became the capital of Turkey. The abolition of the Caliphate was voted on 3rd March 1924.

The first years of the Turkish Republic were marked by the fierce determination of Muṣṭafā Kemāl to modernise the country, to free it from foreign economic tutelage and to secularise it. Relying on a single absolutely devoted party, he imposed a Constitution which virtually placed all power in the hands of the President of the Republic (30th April 1924). Secularisation, marked by the suppression of the religious courts, Ḳurʾānic schools and dervish orders, the prohibition of the wearing of the fez, the abolition of the article of the Constitution declaring Islam the state religion, brought about local risings (Kurdistan and the Izmir region) and reactions in some political circles, which were swiftly suppressed. Modernisation and turkisation proceeded hand in hand through the nationalisation of foreign companies, the impulse given to agriculture and industry, the creation of national banks, the development of means of communication, the reform of the alphabet, the vote for women and the introduction of new civil, criminal, and commercial codes. Muṣṭafā Kemāl's decisions, sanctioned by the Assembly without opposition, were disseminated throughout the country by the local sections of the People's Party and by the *Halk evleri* (Houses of the people); the whole nation was affected and impregnated by the new ideas. In November 1934, a law required all citizens to use family names; the Assembly accorded Muṣṭafā Kemāl that of Atatürk. In foreign policy, he showed himself to be pacific, though determined to protect the independence of his country: he concluded treaties of friendship or alliance with the neighbouring states and with the Great Powers. He signed a pact with Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia, "the Balkan Entente" (9th February 1934), which was extended eastwards by the Pact of Saʿdābād (Turkey, ʿIrāḳ, Īrān and Afghanistān, July 1937).

Muṣṭafā Kemāl died on 10th November 1938 at Istanbul, mourned by a whole nation, who saw in him the liberator and the renovator of their country. A provisional tomb was erected at the Ethnographic Museum in Ankara; on 10th November 1953, his remains were solemnly transferred to the vast mausoleum erected in his honour in the capital.

Muṣṭafā Kemāl was a man uncompromising by nature, impatient of opposition, exacting in his

demands both upon himself and others, his sole objective being the restoration of his country and the promotion of its greatness. Opposed to the Sultanate and to Islam, he strove relentlessly to suppress them both, for he considered them responsible for the decay of the Ottoman Empire. His passionate love of his country led him into the severe treatment both of ethnic minorities long settled in Turkey and of prominent Turks whose crime was that they did not subscribe to all his political ideas. Yet Atatürk has imparted to the new Turkish régime the deep imprint of his personality. There could be no question for his successors of going back on his work, except in the matter of religion and in the democratisation of the régime.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography of works dealing with Atatürk will be found in *IA*, vol. i, fasc. 10, Istanbul 1949. Additional bibliography: Atatürk, *Nutuk* (1919-27), vols. i and ii, Istanbul 1934 (English translation: *A Speech delivered by Ghazi Mustapha Kemal*, Leipzig 1929); *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri* (1919-38), Istanbul 1945; Burhan Cahit, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal*, Istanbul 1930; Ziya Şakir, *Atatürk'ün hayatı*, Istanbul 1938; Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Atatürk*, Istanbul 1946; J. Deny, *Souvenirs du Gazi Moustafa Kemal Pacha*, in *REI*, 1927, i, 119-36; ii, 145-222; P. Gentizon, *Moustafa Kemal ou l'Orient en marche*, Paris 1929; H. E. Wortham, *Mustapha Kemal of Turkey*, New-York and Boston 1930; H. Armstrong, *The Grey Wolf, Mustafa Kemal. An intimate study of a dictator*, London 1932, New-York 1933; H. Melzig, *Kemal Atatürk*, Frankfurt a.M. 1937; Enver Ziya Karal, *Türk Inkilâbının Mahiyeti ve Önemi*, Istanbul 1937; Gotthard Jaeschke-Niyazi Recep Aksu, *Türk Inkilâbi Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. i-ii, Istanbul 1939-41. To the detailed bibliography published in *IA*, vol. i, fasc. 10, 800-4, should be added: *Tarih Vesikaları*, new series, vol. i, fasc. I (16), August 1955, 1-15; *Harp tarihi vesikaları dergisi*, nos. 1-10, September 1952-December 1954; *Belleten*, vol. xx, no. 80, October 1956.

(R. MANTRAN)

ATBARA, a tributary of the Nile, known to the ancients as Astaboras. It rises in Abyssinia not far from Gondar and, entering the Sūdān near Gallabat (Ḳallabāt) is joined lower down by the Salām and Setīt; it joins the Main Nile at a point about 200 miles north of K͟hartūm. During the flood season (end of May to end of September) it contributes a considerable amount of silt-laden water to the Nile; for the rest of the year it dries up into a series of pools.

The town of Atbara near the river mouth is important as the headquarters of the Sūdān railways (population of the Municipal council area 36,143), and as the junction for the Red Sea line. In the battle of the Atbara fought on 8 June 1898 at Nak͟hayla, a short distance upstream from the river mouth, the Anglo-Egyptian forces under Sir Herbert (later Lord) Kitchener destroyed a Mahdist army of 12,000 infantry and 4,000 horsemen commanded by the Darwīs͟h *amīr* Maḥmūd Aḥmad.

Bibliography: *Sudan Almanac* (K͟hartūm, annually); H. E. Hurst, *The Nile*, London 1952; A. B. Theobald, *The Mahdiya*, London 1951.

(S. HILLELSON)

ʿATEIBA [see ʿUTAYBA].

ATEK, district in Soviet Türkmenistān on the northern slope of the frontier-mountains of K͟hurāsān (Kopet Dag͟h), between the modern railway-stations Gjaurs and Dus͟hak. The name is really Turkish, Etek, "edge border" (of the mountain-chain), and is a translation of the Persian name given to this district, viz. Dāman-i Kūh, "foot of the mountain"; but the word is always written Ātak by the Persians. During the Middle Ages no special name for Atek appears to have been in use; being a district of the town of Abīward [*q.v.*] it belonged to K͟hurāsān. In the 10th/16th and 11th/17th cents. it fell into the power of the K͟hāns of K͟hwārizm, and later into that of the Turkomāns; before the appearance of the Russians the frontier with Persia was never clearly defined. Previous to the delimitation of the borders in 1881 a part of Atek with Abīward belonged to the principality of Kalāt, which was subject to the overlordship of Persia. (W. BARTHOLD*)

ʿAṬF (= connexion), an Arabic grammatical term denoting a connexion with a preceding word. Two kinds of *ʿaṭf* are distinguished: *ʿaṭf al-nasaḳ* or *aṭf* properly so-called, and *ʿaṭf al-bayān*:

1. The simple co-ordinative connexion (*ʿaṭf al-nasaḳ*) consists of the co-ordination of a word with a preceding word by means of one of the ten particles of connexion, e.g.: *ḳāma Zayd wa-ʿAmr*. The co-ordinative particles (*al-ʿawāṭif* or *ḥurūf al-ʿaṭf*) are distinguished according to their degree of strength: *wa* is used for the simple co-ordinative relationship (*li 'l-d͟jamʿ*); *fa*, *t͟humma* and *ḥattā* express relationships of governance and subordination (*li 'l-tartīb*); *aw*, *immā*, or *am* express a fluctuation between these two terms (*li-taʿlīḳ al-ḥukm bi aḥadi 'l-mad͟hkūrayn*), and *lā*, *bal*, or *lākin* an antithesis (*li 'l-k͟hilāf*). *ʿAṭf* can connect words (*mufrad ʿalā mufrad*) as well as clauses (*d͟jumla ʿalā d͟jumla*). According to Ibn Yaʿīs͟h, *nasaḳ* is a term belonging to the terminology of Kūfa, *ʿaṭf* to that of Baṣra.

2. The explicative connexion (*ʿaṭf al-bayān*) is an apposition, which however cannot be an adjective, and which, in contrast to *badal*, explains the preceding word (*mūḍiḥ li-matbūʿihi*), e.g.: *d͟jāʾa ak͟hūka Zayd*, or *aḳsama biʾllāh Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar*. From this point of view *ʿaṭf al-bayān* has exactly the same value as *wa-huwa*.

In both kinds of *ʿaṭf*, the second word is called *al-maʿṭūf*, and the preceding *al-maʿṭūf ʿalayhi*.

Bibliography: See the works on grammar, especially Zamak͟hs͟harī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 50,[2]-51,[8]; 140,[12]-142,[11]; *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, 1007-10.

(G. WEIL)

AṬFĪḤ, town in Middle Egypt. Aṭfīḥ (also written with *t* instead of *ṭ*) is a small town of 4,300 inhabitants on the east bank of the Nile at the latitude of Fayyūm. The name of the town in old Egyptian was Tep-yeh or Per Hathor nebt Tep-yeh, i.e., "house of Hathor, lady of Tepyeh". The Copts changed this name to Petpeh, the Arabs to Aṭfīḥ. The Greeks, identifying Hathor with Aphrodite, called the town Aphroditopolis, abbreviated to Aphrodito. The town must still have possessed importance in the Christian period, for it had over twenty churches, of which ten were still standing in the 13th century. The ancient νομός, later known as Kūrat Aṭfīḥ, was also called al-S͟harḳiyya by reason of its position on the east bank. On the occasion of the division of Egypt into provinces, towards the end of the Fāṭimid period, a whole province, Iṭfīḥiyya, was named after the town of Aṭfīḥ. Not until the year 1250/1834-5 was the region of Aṭfīḥ reunited to the province of D͟jīza, of which it constituted a district (*markaz*).

Information about Aṭfīḥ is very scanty. There is no doubt that at the time of the Mamlūks the town

was already in a state of complete decay. It was only under the Khedives that the government again began to do something for this region. The incessant raids by Bedouins and Mamlūks came to an end; canals were built or restored. Aṭfīḥ is to-day a port of no more than local importance importance; trade is only on a small scale.

Bibliography: Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḍawʾ al-Ṣabḥ al-Musfir*, (trans. Wüstenfeld, 93, 104); Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 73; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, viii, 77; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv, 133; Yāḳūt, i, 311; Abū Ṣāliḥ, 56a ff.; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 81; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte*, 326; Boinet, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Égypte*, 86; Baedeker, *Égypte*, s.v.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. *IFAO*, i, 312; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 21.

(C. H. BECKER *)

AṬFIYĀSH, MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF B. ʿĪSĀ B. ṢĀLIḤ, called Ḳuṭb al-Aʾimma, Ibāḍī scholar and author of Béni Isguen (arabicised: Banū Yasdjan) in the Mzāb, d. 1332/1914, 94 years old. Descendant of a family of scholars, he brought about, by his extensive literary activity (of which the few items in Brockelmann, S II, 893, cannot give an adequate idea), a real renascence of Ibāḍī religious studies in the West. This went parallel with an increasing strictness in religious practices and in social life, the effects of which, seen through the eyes of the women of the Mzāb, have been described by A. M. Goichon (*REI*, 1930, 231 ff.). Shaykh Aṭfiyāsh was in close relations with his coreligionaries in the East, where another great Ibāḍī scholar, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayyid al-Sālimī (Brockelmann, S II, 823), was his contemporary. Whilst defending his point of view vigorously, he did much to make the Ibāḍīs known to and respected by the other Muslims, and this brought him into contact with sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. The leading Ibāḍī scholars in the Mzāb in the present time are his disciples. His library, a unique collection of Ibāḍī and other works in manuscripts and in printed and lithographed editions, is a *waḳf* in Béni Isguen; it contains many of his autograph manuscripts.

His main works are: commentaries on the Ḳurʾān: *Himyān al-Zād ilā Dār al-Maʿād*, 14 vols., Zanzibar 1350; *Taysīr al-Tafsīr*, 6 vols., Algiers 1326; traditions: *Wafāʾ al-Ḍamāna*, 3 vols., Cairo 1306-26; religious law: *Sharḥ al-Nīl* (commentary on the *K. al-Nīl* of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm al-Musʿabī, d. 1223/1808; Brockelmann, S II, 892), Cairo 1305-43; *Shāmil al-Aṣl wal-Farʿ*, 2 vols., Cairo 1348; *Sharḥ Daʿāʾim Ibn al-Naẓar* (on this author, see Brockelmann, II, 538), 2 vols., Algiers 1326; *Tafḳīh al-Ghāmir*, Algiers 1319; dogmatics: *Sharḥ Risālat al-Tawḥīd* (commentary on the *ʿaḳīda* of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Djamīʿ; Brockelmann, S II, 357), Algiers 1326; *al-Dhahab al-Khāliṣ*, Cairo 1343; also works on grammar and philology, some poetry, and writings on various subjects.

Bibliography: biographical notice in Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm Aṭfiyāsh (nephew of the author), *al-Diʿāya ilā Sabīl al-Muʾminīn*, Cairo 1342/1923, 100-9; J. Schacht, *Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites*, in *R. Afr.*, vol. 100, 1956, 373 ff.

(J. SCHACHT)

ATHAR (A.), pl. *āthār*, literally "trace"; as a technical term it denotes: 1) a *tradition* [see ḤADĪTH]; 2) a *relic*: *al-athar al-sharīf* (pl. *al-āthār al-sharīfa*), relics of the Prophet, hair, teeth, autographs, utensils alleged to have belonged to him and especially impressions of his footprints [see ḲADAM]; these objects are preserved in mosques and other public places for the edification of Muslims. Relics are also called, both by Christians and Muslims, *dhakhīra* ("treasure").

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Muh. St*, ii, 356-68. For a description, with illustrations, of the sacred relics preserved in Istanbul see Tahsin Öz, *Hirka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Emanet-i Mukaddese*, Istanbul 1953. (I. GOLDZIHER)

3) *Athar* is also used as a technical term in the theory of causality, although it is less commonly used than *fiʿl*, *ʿilla* and *sabab* with their derivatives [*qq.v.*]. From the *muʾaththir*, i.e. from a higher, active being or thing, (for example, God), emanate *taʾthīrāt*, "influences", to which correspond under certain conditions *āthār*, "impressions", in lower beings or things. In contrast to the higher beings, the latter behave in a passive (or better: receptive) manner. This use of the word is most frequently found in the astrologers and natural philosophers, with reference to the influence of the stars (considered as higher beings possessing a soul) on the terrestrial world and on men. In addition, the atmospheric phenomena, which are also under the influence of the stars, are called *al-āthār al-ʿulwiyya* [*q.v.*]. The *Meteorology* of Aristotle was translated into Arabic under this title. *Āthār fi 'l-nafs* (παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς) is the name given to the emotions and ideas of the sentient soul, because the soul experiences the impressions of things. (TJ. DE BOER *)

AL-**ĀTHĀR** AL-ʿ**ULWIYYA**, "The meteorological phenomena", title used by the Arabs to designate the Meteorology of Aristotle and that of Theophrastus.

1. In his *Risāla fī Kamiyyat Kutub Arisṭūṭālis wa mā yuḥtādju ilayhi fī Taḥṣīl al-Falsafa*, al-Kindī mentions, in fourth place among the books of physical sciences (*al-ṭabīʿiyyāt*), The Book of the phenomena of the air and of the earth (*Kitāb Aḥdāth al-Djaww wa 'l-Arḍ*); (see M. Guidi and R. Walzer, *Uno scritto introduttivo allo studio di Aristotele*, *Studi su al-Kindī*, i, *Atti della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, *Mem. della classe di scienze morali*, 6: 6, 1937). The same division of the *ṭabīʿiyyāt* occurs in al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 149, who cites the book *Fi 'l-Sharāʾiʿ wa huwa Kitāb al-Manṭiḳ fi 'l-Āthār al-ʿUlwiyya*; (see also Klamroth, *Über die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Yaqubi*, *ZDMG*, 41, 1887, 415-42). The title *al-Āthār al-ʿUlwiyya* also appears in the *Fihrist*, 251, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, 58. In Djābir's work *Kitāb al-Baḥth*, the Meteorology belongs to the middle books, i.e., the physical writings; (see P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Ḥayyān*, i, 322 ff. *Mém. de l'Institut d'Egypte*, 45, 1942).

The first attempts to make Aristotle's works on the physical and biological sciences accessible in Arabic are represented by the paraphrases translated by the Melchite Yuḥannā (Yaḥyā) b. al-Biṭrīḳ, *mawlā* of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn. His translation of the Meteorology, clearly made on the basis of a Syriac original, has come down to us in two manuscripts, one of which is preserved at Istanbul (*Yeni* 1179), and the other at Rome (Vat. hebr. 378). The first three books of Ibn al-Biṭrīḳ's work were translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona; (see Lacombe, *Aristoteles latinus*, i, 56). Of the fourth book, the *Treatise on Chemistry*, three versions of the Arab-Latin type have been indicated by Fobes; (see *Classical philology*, 10, 1915, 297-314). One of these texts, contained in the *ms. cod. Bibl. Nat.*, lat. 6325, represents a version made on the basis of the work of Ibn al-Biṭrīḳ.

Among the works of Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan b. Suwār (born 331/942), the *Fihrist*, 265, mentions the translation of a *Kitāb al-Āthār al-ʿUlwiyya*, but whether this title in fact refers to the Meteorology of Aristotle is uncertain. On another meteorological work of Ibn Suwār, see also Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 323.

The great commentary of Olympiodorus on the text of Aristotle was translated, according to the *Fihrist*, 251, by Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (died 328/940), and that of Alexander of Aphrodisias by Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (died 363/973). None of these translations has come down to us. On the commentary of al-Fārābī see Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 279, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 138. In the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* of Ibn Sīnā, the Meteorology and the Geography form part of the fifth *fann*; that part of it dealing with the halo and the rainbow has been translated by Horten and Wiedemann (*Meteorologische Zeitschr.*, 30, 1913, 533-544). In the *Kitāb al-Nadjāt* (Cairo ed. 1938, 152-7), Ibn Sīnā gives the extract of the detailed account of the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ*. Of Ibn Rushd's commentaries on the Meteorologies, we possess the Arab text of his abridgement (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1365).

The ideas expounded by Aristotle in the Meteorology, especially those of the fourth book, have played an important rôle in the history of physical ideas in Islam. At the beginning of the third century of the Hidjra, the Muʿtazilite theologian al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*], criticised the doctrine expounded by the *dahriyya* of the four elementary qualities (*ḳūwa ghariziyya*): this he considered to be arbitrary, since it was based only on the sense of touch (*lams*, *malsama* = τὸ ἁπτικόν). He knew the fundamental theory of the two exhalations (*bukhār arḍī*, *bukhār māʾī* = ἀναθυμίασις, ἀτμίς) and expounded an opinion on the saltness of the sea; (see the fragments of his writings cited by al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, v). In Djābir's system, the doctrine of the elements is clearly based on that of Aristotle; (see Kraus, *op. cit.*, 163 ff.). In the Arab tradition of the Meteorology, starting from Ibn al-Biṭrīḳ, down to Ibn Rushd, the doctrine vaguely indicated by Aristotle (339a 20 f.) of the influence of the Spheres on the sub-lunar world is interpreted in conformity with the astrological theory expounded for example in the Book of the Treasure of Alexander, the Arabic text of which is cited by Ruska, *Tabula smaragdina*, 80. According to this theory, "the world below follows the world above, and the individual bodies of the former are subject to those of the latter, because the air is contiguous (*muttaṣil*) to the exterior of all the bodies and to the Spheres as well". In the *Sirr al-Khalīḳa*, a hermetic work attributed to Balīnās (Apollonius of Tyana) (see Kraus, *op. cit.*, 147, n. 2), the idea of the influence of the Sphere is presented under the form of a cosmogony, according to which the successive development of minerals, plants and animals is due to the increasingly rapid motion of the Sphere. This idea is also present in Ibn al-Biṭrīḳ's paraphrase of *Meteor.*, i, I: "The movement of things directed (by the celestial bodies) belonging to the earth such as plants, the creation and production of animals, minerals, etc. taking into account their transformation and mutation, is produced by the celestial influences". This theory is also expounded by the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* in the chapter on *al-Āthār al-ʿUlwiyya*, *Rasāʾil*, ii, 54 ff. It is explicitly attributed to Aristotle by ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-Ḥikma*, 21. See also Ibn Rushd, *al-Āthār al-ʿUlwiyya*, 6.

2. The Meteorology of Theophrastus (Περὶ μεταρσίων), the Greek original of which is lost, was partly translated by the celebrated lexicographer Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Bahlūl al-Ṭīrhānī (this is how it should be read, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 109); see Bergsträsser, *Neue meteorologische Fragmente des Theophrast* (*Sitzungber. der Heidelb. Akad. der Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1918 : 9). The Syriac text translated by Bar Bahlūl has come down to us; see Drossaart Lulofs, *The Syriac translation of Theophrastus's Meteorology* (*Autour d'Aristote. Recueil d'études offert à A. Mansion*, Louvain 1955, 433-49).

(B. LEWIN)

ATHENS [see ATĪNA].

ʿATHLĪTH, formerly a harbour on the coast of Palestine between the promontory of Carmel and al-Ṭanṭūra (Dora), on a little tongue of land which lies to the north of a small bay and is washed on three sides by the sea. According to the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* there was a mutatio Certha there, but the name ʿAthlīth appears to be ancient. ʿAthlīth appears in the light of history in the period of the Crusades. In 583/1187 it fell into Saladin's hands. In 1218 the Castellum Peregrinorum, as the Franks called it was reconstructed as a powerful Templar-fortress. Along with Districtum-Détroit (Khirbet Dustrē) it had to guard the passes of Carmel leading south. In 690/1291 it was conquered and demolished by the Mamlūk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl. In the late 14th century al-ʿUthmānī speaks of ʿAthlīth as the southernmost *wilāya* of the *mamlaka* of Ṣafad (*BSOAS*, xv, 1953, 483).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 616; Ḳalḳashandī, *Mukhtaṣar Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* (Cairo, 1906), i, 306; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi, 612-619; G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie*, 93-105; E. von Mülinen, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels*, 258-277 (= *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, xxxi, 167-186); A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 137; reports by C. N. Johns on excavations at the Pilgrims' Castle will be found in *QDAP*, ii, 1933, 41-104; iii, 1934, 145-164; vi, 1938, 121-152.

(R. HARTMANN)

ʿATHR or ʿATHTHAR (both pronunciations are well attested, the second one mostly in poetry, cf. *LA*, *TA* s.v.).

(1) Mountain not far from Tabāla [*q.v.*], known as a haunt of lions (*maʾsada*), like ʿItwad, Sharā etc. (cf. Hamdānī, 54, 127, tr. Forrer 222; Kaʿb b. Zuhayr, *Bānat Suʿād*, 46; ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, ii, 6).

(2) District in NW Yaman on the Red Sea, between Djāzān (Djizan) and Ḥamiḍa (al-Hamdānī), or Shardja and Ḥaly (ʿUmāra). Main towns: ʿAthr (see below), Baysh, Djurayb, Ḥaly, Sirrayn. *Wādīs*: al-Amān, Baysh, Rīm, ʿIramram, Zanīf, al-ʿAmūd. Having united ʿAthr, Shardja, Ḥaly and Zarāʾib (= al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī) under his dominion, Sulaymān b. Ṭarf, the viceroy of the Banū Ziyād in Zabīd, made himself actually, although not formally, independent of Abu 'l-Djaysh ca. 350/960, and the territory enjoyed great prosperity until the expulsion of Banū Ṭarf in 453/1061. The annual revenue of Ibn Ṭarf from the trade is given by ʿUmāra as 500,000 *ʿathrī* dīnārs (= 2/3 of a *mithḳāl*, just as the *muṭawwaḳ* of Mecca: al-Maḳdisī 99). With the succession of the Sulaymānī *sharīfs* from Mecca there was a rapid decline, until Yaman was conquered by the Ghuzz, the mercenary troops of the Ayyūbids, ca. 560/1165.

(3) The capital of the district and a seaport of importance. It was situated on the pilgrim road

from Ṣanʿāʾ, between al-Hadjar (= Djāzān) and Bayḍ, and is quoted already in the year 11/632 as belonging to the insurgent al-Aswad [*q.v.*]. Scarcity of water and the silting up of the bay brought about the decline of the town in the 6th and 7th/12th-13th centuries. In the time of al-Djanadī (ca. 700/1300) it was since long in ruins. According to him (MS Paris 2127, fol. 153b, in the biography of Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAthrī) the name ʿAthr also was transferred to the opposite island(s), usually called Farasān [*q.v.*]. The name is not on the maps; the closest correspondents would be Khor Abū es-Seba, or Qawz (al-Djaʿāfira) 32 km. N of Djizan.

(4) A small place on the maritime road ʿAdan-Mekka, between ʿĀra and Suḳyā (ʿUmāra, 8), three farsakhs from the former village (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, 100).

Bibliography: Hamdānī, tr. Forrer, 47-51; Yāḳūt, iii, 615; Maḳdisī, 53, 70, 86; Kay, *Yaman* 7, 11, 141 ff., 240 f.; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, 54 (*baṭn*/*khabt* ʿ*Athr*), 100; Sprenger, *Post- u. Reiserouten*, 150; idem, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 45-54, 197; on the orthography of the *nisba*: Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, ii, 122 and Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, 377 f.

(O. Löfgren)

ʿĀTIKA, Meccan lady, the daughter of the *ḥanīf* Zayd b. ʿAmr and sister of Saʿd b. Zayd, of the clan ʿAdī b. Kaʿb. She embraced Islam early and took part in the *hidjra*. She was married first to ʿAbd Allāh, a son of Abū Bakr, then after his death to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (in 12/633 according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2077), whom she bore a son ʿIyāḍ (Ibn Saʿd iii/1,190). When ʿUmar was killed, she married al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, whose death she lamented in a much quoted elegy (Ibn Saʿd iii/1,79 etc.). The sad story of this beautiful woman and her husbands whose lives ended so tragically was soon turned into a fanciful romance and embellished with spurious love-poems and elegies.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd viii, 193-5; ii/2,97; Ibn Ḳutayba, ʿ*Uyūn al-Akhbār*, iv, 114 f.; Ḥamāsa (Freytag), 493 ff.; *Aghānī*¹, xvi, 133-5; ʿAynī, ii, 278 f.; *Khizānat al-Adab*, iv, 351 f., etc.

(J. W. Fück)

ATIL, or Itil, sometimes Atil (Itil)-Khazarān, also Khazarān Atil, the Khazar capital, a double town on the lower Volga, itself called Atil, Itil [q.v.] in the early mediaeval period. The exact site is unknown. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 7), the capital was transferred to Atil from Samandar in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus in the time of Sulaymān (Salmān) b. Rabīʿ a al-Bāhilī, i.e. about 30/650, though elsewhere (*Tanbih*, 62) he says that Balandjar, also in the Caucasus region, was the original Khazar capital. Already at this date the Arabic sources speak of al-Bayḍāʾ, 200 parasangs from Balandjar (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2668), by which doubtless the later capital is intended. Ibn Rusta (139) gives what are apparently the earlier Khazar names for the double town on the Volga. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī (220), the west part, which was the larger, was a straggling town of felt tents with a few clay houses, several miles in extent and surrounded by a wall. The Khazars proper, i.e. the Judaised ruling class, as well as the army and the royal castle, built of brick, were on this bank. Most of the Muslims, estimated in all at 10,000, lived on the east bank, which was the commercial part of the town. Markets, baths, mosques, etc. are mentioned. There was also a considerable Christian population, and a colony of pagan Ṣaḳāliba and Rūs (*Murūdj*, ii, 9, 12). The correct naming of the double town appears to be: west bank, Khazarān; east bank, Atil (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 389 note). Like its modern counterpart Astrakhān, it was an important entrepôt of trade. The products of the north, especially furs, passed through the Khazar capital, while contact was made with Kievan Russia to the west and with Khʷārizm to the east. The slave-trade seems to have been of importance. In the sixties of the 10th century the Khazar capital was destroyed by the Rūs (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 15, 392; Russian Chronicle, *anno* 965) and never recovered its former prosperity, though the Rūs withdrew and attempts were made to rebuild it (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 398; cf. al-Maḳdisī 361). The Khazar state appears to have drawn out a precarious existence for some time afterwards, but Khazarān Atil ceases to be mentioned.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 452 ff.; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, 91 n., 106, 217 n.

(D. M. Dunlop)

ATĪNA, Athens, capital of Greece. The history of Athens in pre-Islamic times will not be treated here. The first closer—admittedly hostile—contact with the Muslims was made in 283/896 , when Saracen pirates occupied the town for a short time (cf. D. G. Kambouroglous, Ἡ ἅλωσις Ἀθηνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, Athens 1934). Certain Arabic remains, and influences on the ornamental style in Athens, have been traced back to this event (cf. G. Soteriou, *Arabic remains in Athens in Byzantine times*, in: *Praktiká* (*Proceedings*) *of the Academy of Athens*, iv (Athens 1929), reproduced by D. G. Kambouroglous, *l.c.*, 160; cf. also *Byzant.-Neugriech. Jahrbücher*, xi (Berlin and Athens), 233-69). The whole question still appears to be in need of clarification (cf. K. M. Setton, *On the raids of the Moslems in the Aegean in the ninth and tenth centuries and their alleged occupation of Athens*, in: *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. LVIII (1954), 311-9). Shortly after the time of Justinian I, Athens had sunk to the level of a provincial town, and apart from its great buildings, there was nothing left of its ancient cultural importance. During the period of western rule in Greece, Athens became (1205) the capital of a duchy which was successively held by the Burgundians and the Catalans, who occupied it in 1311, bringing it under the sovereignty of the kings of Aragon (cf. Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens* 1311-1388 (Cambridge, Mass., 1948 with excellent bibliography on pp. 261-301). From 1388 to 1458 the Florentine house of the Acciajuoli ruled in Athens. In 1397 it was temporarily taken by sulṭān Bāyazīd I. In some Turkish sources this capture is mentioned as taking place before the battle of Nicopolis (which took place on 28 Sept. 1396); after the conquest of Salonica (which is mentioned as having taken place in the previous year) (Neshrī, Rūḥī); in others, as taking place after that battle (Saʿd al-Dīn and his plagiarists, Solaḳzāde and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa as well as Münedjdjim-bashī). The later date seems preferable, as Timurtash is mentioned as the conqueror of Athens, and the *Chronicum breve* mentions a raid by Yaʿḳūb-Pasha and 'Mourtasis', Μουρτάσης = Timurtash against Morea in summer 1397. Doubtlessly it was only a temporary occupation of the town, perhaps no more than a raid, so that Greek sources do not mention the event explicitly (cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārikh*, i, 149 f. also Neshrī in ZDMG, XV (1861), 344; and concerning the whole question J. H. Mordtmann, *Die erste Eroberung von Athen durch die Türken zu Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrbücher*, IV,

346-350). It was not until Meḥemmed II, that Athens, "the city of wise men" (*madinat al-ḥukamā'*) finally came under Ottoman rule, when the Conqueror personally made his triumphal entry in the last week of August, thus beginning nearly 330 years of Turkish occupation. Concerning this event and all its details, cf. F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1953, 170 f.; (Italian edition, *Maometto II il Conquistatore ed il suo tempo*, Turin 1956, 246). In the following centuries, Athens sank into insignificance, as one can gather clearly from reports of western travellers (cf. in particular Comte de Laborde, *Athènes aux XVe, XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, Paris 1854, 2 vols.). The Parthenon had been converted into a mosque, and barracks were built in the Propylaea. Turkish domination meant a time of decadence for Athens, which sank to the status of a small country town. In autumn 1687, it was besieged by a Venetian admiral, Francesco Morosini (subsequently Doge), and on this occasion the Parthenon was largely destroyed (on Sept. 26th) by a bomb which hit the ammunition stored there. The two mosques of the city were turned into places of Catholic and Protestant worship (the latter because a considerable number of German mercenaries were present) by the Venetian Provveditore Daniele Dolfin. Shortly afterwards, however, on April 9th 1688, Athens was abandoned by the occupying troops (which were much reduced by an epidemic) and the Turks re-entered. A city-wall—built largely from the remains of ancient monuments—was erected in 1777. From the 17th century onwards, there was great interest in the monuments of Greek antiquity in Athens, hence there are detailed descriptions dating from that time, especially in French (e.g. J. Spon (1678) and G. Wheler (1682); cf. also Sh. H. Weber, *Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and adjacent Regions made previous to the Year* 1801, Princeton, 1953. These describe vividly to what a pitiable state Athens had sunk. The Greek fight for liberation increased this devastation. In 1822 Athens was conquered by the Greeks, but had to be ceded to the Turks again no later than 1826 (the Acropolis in 1827). It was only after the London Conference (1830), that Athens was incorporated into the new kingdom of Greece. It became the capital of the country at the end of 1834, and soon developed into an intellectual and cultural centre. Owing to the quick economic and political development there was a steep rise in population. Today, Athens has about one million inhabitants. The university was founded in 1835.

Bibliography: The best bibliography of the history of Athens during the periods of Catalan and Florentine rule is found in Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens* 1311-1388 (1948) in chapter XII, from 261 onwards. Concerning the Turkish rule cf. Th. N. Philadelpheus, Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας (Athens 1902, 2 vols.) A detailed description of Athens in the 17th century is found in Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 249-67; in connexion with this, see also short notices by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, in J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 109-10. There is a thorough study of Athens in the Middle Ages and in modern times by Wm. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, 335 ff., with numerous further bibliographical details. Ferd. Gregorovius, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1889, 2 vols. See also G. C. Miles, *The Arab Mosque in Athens* in *Hesperia, Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, xxv (Athens 1956), 329-44 (with plate 49). (Franz Babinger)

ʿATĪRA (pl. *ʿatā'ir*) denoted, among the Arabs of the *djāhiliyya*, a ewe (and by extensions its sacrifice) offered as a sacrifice to a pagan divinity, either as a thanksgiving following the fulfilment of a prayer (concerning in particular the increase of flocks), or when a flock reached the total of a hundred head (cf. the word *faraʿa*); the head of the idols before which the sacrifice was performed was smeared with the blood of the victims. If one bears in mind on the one hand that these sacrifices (which were also called *radjabiyya*; hence the phrase *radjdjaba ʿatīratan*) took place in the month of *radjab* (i.e., in the spring), and on the other hand that in principle the first born were used for the sacrifice, a close connexion will be established with the sacrifice which took place during the *ʿumra* [*q.v.*], and also with the Jewish Passover and the magic rites which introduce a scapegoat. It seems that the Prophet forbade these sacrifices (cf. the *ḥadīth*: *lā faraʿata* (sacrifice of firstlings) *wa lā ʿatīrata*).

Bibliography: *LA*, s.vv. *ʿatīra*, *radjabiyya*; Wellhausen, *Reste*², 118; J. Chelhod, *La Sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, 151 and refs. quoted; cf. Jaussen, *Moab*, 359; see also Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², i, 18, v, 510. (Ch. Pellat)

ATJÈH [1]) (Atchin, Achin), the most northerly part of the island of Sumatra. Here flourished the once powerful Muslim empire of Atjèh, which is now a province of the Indonesian Republic. The southern limit was, under Dutch rule, formed by the residencies of Tapanuli and "Sumatra's Oost-kust", now the province Sumatra Utara. In earlier times the province (or at least the sphere of political sovereignty) of Atjèh extended much farther towards the south. A considerable part of both the east and west coasts of Sumatra was subject to the authority of Atjèh, and even pagan chiefs in the Batak regions received their rank at the hands of the princes of Atjèh.

Great-Atjèh. Only the district to the north-west with the Atjèh river and the port Atjèh, the former residence of the princes of Atjèh, was from the first reckoned as Atjèh proper. The Dutch named it Great-Atjèh and the capital Kuta Radja (i.e. fort of the prince). The port of Sabang situated on the island of Pulò Wè (to the north-east of Kuta Radja) only dates from the beginning of the present century. The inhabitants of the littoral (Barōh) are distinguished in many respects from the population of the highlands of the interior (Tunòng); the customs and speech of the former (who live of course in the vicinity of the residence) are always considered to be the more refined.

The Dependencies. The other districts situated on the west, north and east coasts were under Dutch rule usually referred to as the Dependencies. Among the important towns are: on the west coast: Meulabōh, Tapa' Tuan and Singkil; on the north coast: Sigli in the region of the former empire of Pidië (Pedir), Meureudu, Bireuën, Peusangan, Lhō'Sukōn and Lhō' Seumawè. In the region between the latter place and the river Djambō Ayé stood the flourishing empire of Pasè, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv, 228 ff.) visited in

1) In this article *tj* is retained in deference to the official orthography in Indonesia; *é* = closed, *è* = open *e*; *ò* = open, *ō* = closed *o*; *eu* is one vowel (not a diphthong).

the year 746/1345. On the east coast are situated among others: Idi, Langsa and Kuala Simpang. A steam tramway joins the east and north coasts with Kuta Radja. A part of the population has migrated thither from Great-Atjèh; many Malays have also settled here from the neighbouring districts.

With an estimated rice export surplus of 45,000 tons in 1942, and an important export of betel nuts, patchouli, copra, rubber and live-stock, Atjèh developed under the Dutch government into a thriving country, in spite of the ruin of the traditional pepper culture, to which the settlements in one part of the Dependencies had owed their original existence. Large irrigation works were completed or were under construction. The road system was extended. In addition on the West and East Coasts of Atjèh extensive acreages of waste ground were cleared by Western estate companies for the planting of rubber, oil-palms and fibres. The BPM (Bataafse Petroleum Maatschappij) had fields in operation in Rantau (Kuala Simpang), and Peureula' (Langsa); whilst in Meulabōh a concession was granted to a gold mining concern.

Gayō and Alas-Countries. High mountain-chains overgrown with virgin forest separate the littoral from the Gayō-country; transverse chains divide the region of the Gayōs into four tablelands. The most northerly (containing the great Tawar lake and the sources of the river Peusangan) is occupied by the so-called "Urang Laut" (i.e. people of the lake), the plain to the south of it is occupied on the other hand by the "Urang Döröt" (i.e. people of the land); to the southeast lies the table-land of Sĕrbödjadi containing the sources of the river Peureula' which flows in an eastly direction. The fourth tableland, situated in the south and containing the bed of the river Tripa which discharges its waters on the west coast, is called Gayō Luös (i.e. the wide, spacious Gayō-countries). The Alas-countries lie south of this. The population of these regions, who differ in many respects from that of Atjèh, have from the first recognised the authority of Atjèh. The four chiefs appointed by the princes of Atjèh in the several parts of the Gayō-country (the so-called "Kĕdjuruns") were the mediators between the Gayōs and Atjèh. Two of these Kĕdjuruns had their sphere of influence in the region of Lake Tawar (their distinctive titles were Rödjö Bukit and Siah Utama), one among the Döröt (with the title Rödjö Linggö), and the fourth in Gayō Luös (Kĕdjurun Pĕtiambang). Sĕrbödjadi was formerly without inhabitants; later its most eminent chieftain was also called Kĕdjurun (Kĕdjurun abuk). In the Alas countries the authority of Atjèh was represented by two Kĕdjuruns.

The most important administrative centres are Takéngön, on Lake Tawar, and Blang Kĕdjĕrèn, in Gayō Luös. In the sub-district of Takéngön, which has an area of 70,000 hectares under fir trees, an important government resin and turpentine industry has developed. Plans for the establishment of a paper factory were in an advanced state of preparation at the time of the Japanese invasion in 1942.

For accurate information about the people of Atjèh we are indebted above all to C. Snouck Hurgronje, who (first in the years 1891-1892) investigated the previously but little known social, political and religious conditions of this nation (*De Atjèhers*; Batavia 1893-1894; cf. the English translation of this work which is provided with a new introduction and some additions by the author: *The Achehnese*, Batavia-Leiden 1906; *Ambtelijke adviezen* I, The Hague 1957, 47-438), and later described at length the land and customs of the Gayōs (*Het Gajōland en zijne bewoners*, Batavia 1903). A wealth of ethnographical details was collected by J. Kreemer and published in his work *Atjèh*, 2 vols., Leiden 1922-'23, which also includes the Alas region.

Population and Language. Little is known about the origin of the people of Atjèh. Linguistically they belong to the Malay-Polynesian peoples. Slaves (from the island of Nias, etc.) and other foreigners (e.g. merchants from Hindustan) have influenced to some extent the composition of the population. Atjèh has many dialects, and each dialect again many variants; the literary language has in general closest affinity with the idiom of the Barōh-district. For the literature of Atjèh see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 66-189. Gayō is an independent language, whilst Alas is a Northern-Batak dialect. In the 19th century Malay was almost unknown in Atjèh except among a portion of the inhabitants of the sea-ports, but formerly it was the language of the court and from earliest times in Atjèh letters, official documents and many works on theology were written in Malay. The earliest Achehnese adaptations of Arabic and Malay works date from the 17th century. Now Indonesian is the official language. For further details see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Studiën over Atjèhsche klanken schriftleer*, in *TBG*, xxxv (1892), 346-442, also *Atjèhsche Taalstudiën*, *ibid.*, xlii (1900), 144-262; K. F. H. van Langen, *Handleiding voor de beoefening der Atjèhsche Taal*, The Hague, 1889; H. Djajadiningrat, *Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, Batavia 1933-1934; P. Voorhoeve, *Three old Achehnese MSS.*, in *BSOS* 14 (1952), 335-345; G. A. J. Hazeu, *Gajōsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek met Nederl.-Gajōsch register*, Batavia 1907.

Tribes and Families. There are still preserved traces of a division of the population of Atjèh into 4 tribes. The members of such a tribe or family—Achehnese: *kawōm* (from the Arabic *ḳawm*, people)—regard themselves as blood-relations in the male line, and have (especially in regard to blood-feud and the payment of blood-money) common rights and obligations. The members however of the various *kawōms* are scattered throughout the country; only where many kinsmen dwell together are they wont to choose a chief to represent their common interests. The Gayōs are divided into families who dwell together under their chiefs (Rödjös). When Rödjös disagree decision rests with the Kĕdjurun.

Administration of the Villages. In Atjèh the Keutjhi' (i.e. the elder) is the head of the Gampōng—i.e. the village, also a quarter of a town (Mal. *kampung*); in case of necessity he consults the "eldest" (i.e. the people who have had experience of life). The religious affairs of the Gampōng, e.g. leading the community in the Ṣalāt, are the concern of the *Teungku meunasah*. The title *teungku* is borne in Atjèh both by people whose functions are connected with religion, and by those who have acquired some acquaintance with the sacred law. The Gampōng-Teungkus or Teungku meunasah are not men of learning. Their rank has become hereditary, and in Snouck Hurgronje's time the ignorance of many Teungkus was so great that they were scarcely able to administer their office without the help of other people.

The Princes, Ulèëbalangs and Sagi-chiefs. In historical times Atjèh has always been divided into many small districts, whose hereditary chiefs—

the so-called Ulèëbalangs (i.e. commanders-in-chief) —lived in constant feud with each other. They paid homage however to the prince of the port of Atjèh as their common over-lord. The latter had the title of Sultan in official (Malay) documents, but was usually called by the Achehnese *Radja* or *Pòteu* (i.e. "our master"). Whilst the Sultans and their male relatives bore the title *tuanku*, the male members of the Ulèëbalangs families bore the title *teuku*.

The power and dignity of the Achehnese princes and the riches and splendour of their court, which are mentioned both in the earliest Malay and European accounts, depended on the tribute of the neighbouring regions on the coasts and the harbour-dues of the capital Atjèh. The bold Achehnese mariners were master of sea and harbours; if they demanded tribute few dared resist. The interior of the country possessed little interest for the princes. Even when the empire was flourishing (2nd half of the 16th cent. and particularly during the 1st half of the 17th) the authority of the Sultan was confined to the immediate vicinity of the capital.

By the end of the 17th cent. the princes had become quite dependent on the Ulèëbalangs in Great-Atjèh. The latter had at that time apparently on the ground of common interests formed themselves into three federations, the so-called *Sagis*, "sides", i.e. of the triangular-shaped Great-Atjèh. Each Sagi had an overlord (*Panglima-Sagi*), whose authority however did not extend beyond the common Sagi-interests. (In the Dependencies also such federations are found). The Sultan chosen by the three Sagi-chiefs used to pay to them a certain sum. He usually belonged to the family of the previous ruler, but strangers, e.g. Sayyids, who dwelt in Atjèh, were sometimes elected to the Sultanate. In the course of time other chiefs obtained a voice in the choice of a ruler; according to tradition at one period 12 chiefs (including the 3 Sagi-chiefs) formed a kind of electoral college.

The majority of the Ulèëbalangs in Great-Atjèh and the Dependencies later received their authority from the Sultan's hand and in witness thereof were given a document bearing the ruler's seal (a so-called *Sarakata*; on the Hindustani origin of this seal see G. P. Rouffaer, in *BTLV*, Series 7, v, 349-384; cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *ibid.*, Series 7, vi, 52-55). Not all the Ulèëbalangs thought it worth while to go to the expense involved in the acquisition of a *sarakata* or deed of recognition; more important than the "*tjab sikureuëng*" (the nine-fold seal of the sultan) was the "*tjab limòng*" (the five-fold seal, i.e. signifying the hand as a symbol of power, meaning the ability to protect one's own interests). The Kĕdjuruns of the Gayō and Alas peoples on the other hand usually received a kind of dagger as symbol of their rank.

Division into Mukims. The Friday-service according to the Shāfiʿite doctrine is only valid if 40 *Muḳīm*-s are present. A Muḳīm is a person domiciled in the place and satisfying the stipulations of the law. Since the population of most of the Gampōngs was not numerous enough to be able to hold a regular Friday-service with 40 participants, it became the custom to group together several Gampōngs and as near the centre as possible of such a district to construct a mosque for the Friday-service. Hence Muḳīm (here pronounced Mukim) acquired, not only in Atjèh but also in some other Malay regions, the meaning: department, circle. Each Ulèëbalang was lord over several of these Mukims. Further the names of the 3 Sagis have been derived from the original number of their Mukims; i.e. they are called: the Sagi "of the 22 Mukims" (in the south), the Sagi "of the 25 Mukims" (in the west) and the Sagi "of the 26 Mukims" (in the east of the triangular-shaped Great-Atjèh). These ancient names were preserved even after the number of the Mukims in the Sagi of the 25 Mukims and especially in that of the 22 Mukims had mounted up owing to the increase in the population.

The chiefs of the Mukims bore the title of *Imeum*. This word denoted originally the leader of the Friday-service (Arab. *Imām*). The Imeums became however gradually hereditary, secular chiefs, who transferred the leadership of the Friday communal prayer to special officials.

Administration of Justice. Laws. As a general rule the chiefs themselves were wont to fulfil the functions of judges; they based their decisions on the unwritten law of custom (*ʿĀdat*). There are indeed some statutes (*Sarakata*), which tradition credits Meukuta ʿĀlam and other famous rulers with having issued, and the Achehnese, who know these laws only by name, ordinarily assume that they contain an exact statement of their law; they really consist however only of brief regulations regarding matters of administration, court-ceremonial (including the homage to be rendered to the ruler by the ulèëbalangs), the division of the harbour-dues and the fulfilment of several religious obligations. These regulations date from the time when the princes attempted, without permanent result however, to centralise their imperial administration; Muslim scholars at the court also left their impress on these laws (for fuller information see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 4-16; K. F. H. van Langen, *De inrichting van het Atjehsche staatsbestuur onder het sultanaat* in *BTLV*, Series 5, iii, 381-471; *Translations from the Majellis Ache* [by T. Braddell] in *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, V (1851), 26-32; an edition of the Malay text by G. W. J. Drewes and P. Voorhoeve is in the press). Further both the Sultan and the Panglimas had their *Kali* (= Ḳāḍī), but these ecclesiastical judges only took a share in the administration of justice on certain special occasions (e.g. in the division of an inheritance, in some forms of divorce, in contracting marriages, and in other cases where the religious law was usually followed; on other occasions only if the chiefs expressly took them into council). The judge of the sultan bore the title *Kali Malikōn Adè* = *Ḳāḍī Maliku 'l-ʿĀdil*; his hereditary office degenerated in course of time; he became the peculiar chief of several Gampōngs within the sultan's realms. Also the rank of the other Kalis became hereditary, and if those people who were Kali in virtue of their hereditary right possessed the knowledge requisite for this office it was by a rare chance.

Religion. From earliest times there existed trade relations between Atjèh and Hindustan. The civilisation and language of Atjèh were at first subject to Hindu influence; later Islām reached the shores of Atjèh, probably conveyed thither by Hindustani merchants. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Pasè in 1345 Islām held the field; the ruler of the country warred against his unbelieving neighbours. The Achehnese are orthodox Muslims, but Islām as it exists in Atjèh and elsewhere in Indonesia has some peculiar features which are to be explained by its Indian origin. Such are, for instance, the existence of a heterodox

mysticism and some characteristics distinctively Shīʿite. The first month, *e.g.*, is in Atjèh always called *Asan Usén*, obviously from the two martyrs Ḥasan and Ḥusayn who are held in special honour in Shīʿite countries. The representation on a captive standard of ʿAlī's sword Dhu 'l-Faḳār with a Shīʿite marginal inscription has formerly led some scholars to the false opinion that the Achehnese were partly Shīʿite (cf. A. W. T. Juynboll, *Een Atjineesche vlag met Arabische opschriften* in *Tijdschrift voor Ned.-Indië*, 1873, ii, 325-340; 1875, i, 471-476; M. J. de Goeje, *Atjeh* in *De Nederl. Spectator*, 1873, 388). The Achehnese in general were lax in the fulfilment of many religious duties. The *Ṣalāt* for instance was usually neglected by the majority. On the other hand many Achehnese are wont annually to join in the *Ḥadjdj*. Further the *Kitāb*-s (Malay, Arabic and Achehnese) were studied in various places under the guidance of masters learned in the law (cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Eene verzameling Arab. Mal. en Atjèhsche handschriften en gedrukte boeken* in *Notulen van het Batav. Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetensch.*, xxxix (1901), n°. vii; also *The Achehnese*, ii, 1-32). The students who mostly came from remote districts lived in a common residence (*rangkang*). Whilst yet the Empire flourished the splendour of the court not rarely induced foreign scholars from India, Syria and Egypt (including a son of the celebrated Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī) to settle in Atjèh.

Many Achehnese pilgrims became members in Mecca of one of the orthodox mystic brotherhoods (especially the Ḳādiriyya or Naḳshbandiyya) but these *Ṭariḳa*-s did not have in Atjèh the same importance as in many other parts of Indonesia. Formerly there were prevalent in Atjèh the forms of pantheistic mysticism which at that period were generally spread throughout Hindustan. The most famous representatives of this heterodox tendency in Atjèh were Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrāʾī (i.e. of Pasè; d. 1630) [*q.v.*] and his predecessor Ḥamza Fanṣūrī [*q.v.*]. Its chief opponents were Rānīrī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkilī [*q.v.*]. Certain forms of the ancient heterodox mysticism have been preserved till recent times, but such differences from the orthodox teaching, which are based on ignorance, are gradually disappearing before the increasing communication with the centre of Islam. (Fuller information in Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 13 f.). Veneration of saints has still an important place in the popular faith of the Achehnese. The pilgrim visits the tombs of illustrious saints and seeks by gifts and vows to secure their favour and intercession. Some of the most celebrated Achehnese saints were foreigners, as e.g. the Arab Teungku Andjōng, who died in 1782, and the Turkish or Syrian "saint of Gampōng Bitay", who according to tradition came to Atjèh in the 16th cent.

At the summit of religious life stood the *ulama* (Arab. *ʿulamāʾ*, used as a singular in Achehnese) the supreme authorities in the field of religious law and doctrine, who were held in great respect by the people. They ranked much higher than the *além*, who however learned was not considered as a real authority, any more than was the ess scholarly *malém* or the *leubè*, as anyone would be described who—even though he was quite unlearned—carried out his religious duties more or less faithfully. The *ulama*s were much more respected too than the village religious functionary, the *teungku meunasah*. In the same way that the *ulèëbalang*s were the exponents of the *adat*, so were the *ulama*s the champions of the *hukōm*, although the *ulèëbalang*s, in accordance with the *hukōm*, were at the same time the religious head of their own territory. The essential co-operation of *hukōm* and *adat*, described by Snouck Hurgronje as the basis of Achehnese society, must—as this author observed—be seen in this light:

'the *adat* assumes the part of mistress, and the *hukōm* that of her obedient slave. The *hukōm*, however, revenges herself for her subordination whenever she sees the chance; her representatives are always on the look-out for an opportunity to escape from this servile position.' (*The Achehnese*, i, 153).

History. The province of Atjèh was the first part of Indonesia where Muslim kingdoms were founded. The first mention of such a kingdom is by Marco Polo; when he visited Atjèh's north coast in 1292, there was a Muslim king in Ferlec, i.e., Pĕrlak (Ach. Peureulaʾ), whilst two other countries, Basma or Basman and Samara, were still heathen. These last names cannot be identified with Pasè and Samudra, as the first Muslim king of Samudra-Pasè, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, died in 1297, so that it seems unlikely that in 1292 the people of Samudra were still 'wild idolaters' and 'brutes of man-eaters' (H. K. J. Cowan in *Djawa* 19 (1939), 121 ff). For some centuries the port of Samudra, afterwards called Pasai (Ach. Pasè), remained an important centre for the diffusion of Islam in the Indian Archipelago. Its dynastic history may one day be reconstructed from the inscriptions on tomb-stones and coins, Malay chronicles (*Sĕdjarah Mĕlayu* and *Hikayat Radja-radja Pasai*, ed. from the unique MS. R. A. S. Raffles Mal. 67 by E. Dulaurier, *Chroniques Malayes*, 1849; romanised ed. J. P. Mead, in *JSBRAS* 66 (1914)), Chinese, Arabic (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, see above) and European sources; until now, much material has been collected but a publication of the inscriptions is still lacking. (Reports on the work of the Archaeological Survey in: *Oudheidkundig verslag*, 1912 ff.; cf. *Encyclopaedie v. Ned. Indië*, I, 1917, s.v. Blang Mè). Many of the tomb-stones were imported from Cambay in Gudjarāt (J. P. Moquette in *TBG* 54 (1912), 536-548); one tomb, dated 781 A.H., has inscriptions in Arabic and in Old-Malay (W. Stutterheim, *AO* 14 (1936), 268-279; cf. G. E. Marrisson, *JMBRAS* 24 (1950), pt. i, 162-165); another stone, dated 823 A.H., on the grave of an Indian immigrant, is inscribed with a Persian *ghazal* by Saʿdī (H. K. J. Cowan, *TBG* 80 (1940), 15-21). The kingdom lasted until the 16th century. It was still independent when Tomé Pires collected information for his *Suma Oriental* in Malacca, 1512-'15 (ed. A. Cortesão, Hakluyt Soc. 2nd Ser. 89, 90 (1944)), and its trade profited greatly by the decline of Malacca after its capture by the Portuguese. This prosperity was not to last long. Though Pasè's traditional enemy Pedir (Ach. Pidië) was at that moment in decay owing to the death of its king Madaforxa (Muẓaffar Shāh?) and its being at war (apparently with Atjèh), the rising power was not Pasè but Atjèh. Pires describes its ruler as a pirate-king, 'a knightly man among his neighbours'. He had already subdued the adjoining country of Lambry (Lamuri, Lambri) and the land of Biar, between Atjèh and Pedir (Ach. Biheuë). This probably refers to Sultan ʿAlī Mughāyat Shāh, the first sultan in Djajadiningrat's list, whose date of accession is uncertain. Tomb-stones of some of his predecessors have been found after H. Djajadiningrat compiled his list from Malay chronicles and European

sources (*BTLV* 65 (1910), 135-265), but the exact relations between these predecessors are still unexplained, and Sultan ʿAlī Mug͟hāyat S͟hāh, by conquering Daya to the west and Pidiė and Pasè to the east, became the real founder of the empire of Atjèh. Leaving aside, for the time being, the data on the earlier sultans, we reproduce Djajadiningrat's list of the princes of Atjèh with only a few modifications in the dates:

I. ʿAlī Mug͟hāyat S͟hāh (?-1530).
II. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (1530-± 1537).
III. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Riʿāyat S͟hāh al-Ḳahhār (± 1537-1571).
IV. ʿAlī Riʿāyat S͟hāh or Ḥusayn (1571-± 1579).
V. Sulṭān Muda (a child, reigned only some months in 1579).
VI. Sulṭān Sri ʿĀlam (1579).
VII. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (1579).
VIII. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn of Perak or Manṣūr S͟hāh (1579-± 1586).
IX. ʿAlī Riʿāyat S͟hāh or Rad̲ja Buyung (± 1586-± 1588).
X. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Riʿāyat S͟hāh (± 1588-1604).
XI. ʿAlī Riʿāyat S͟hāh or Sulṭān Muda (1604-1607).
XII. Iskandar Muda (posthumous name: marḥūm Makota ʿĀlam) (1607-1636).
XIII. Iskandar T͟hānī ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mug͟hāyat S͟hāh (1636-1641).
XIV. Tād̲j al-ʿĀlam Ṣafiyyat al-Dīn S͟hāh (1641-1675).
XV. Nūr al-ʿĀlam Naḳiyyat al-Dīn S͟hāh (1675-1678).
XVI. ʿInāyat S͟hāh Zakiyyat al-Dīn S͟hāh (1678-1688).
XVII. Kamālat S͟hāh (1688-1699).
XVIII. Badr al-ʿĀlam S͟harīf Hās͟him D̲jamāl al-Dīn (1699-1702).
XIX. Pérkasa ʿĀlam S͟harīf Lamtuy b. Sharīf Ibrāhīm (1702-1703).
XX. D̲jamāl al-ʿĀlam Badr al-Munīr (1703-1726).
XXI. D̲jawhar al-ʿĀlam Amāʾ al-Dīn S͟hāh (reigned only a few days).
XXII. S͟hams al-ʿĀlam or Wandi Tĕbing (reigned only a few days).
XXIII. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad S͟hāh or Maharad̲ja Lela Mĕlayu (1727-1735).
XXIV. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn D̲johan S͟hāh or Pòtjut Auk (1735-1760).
XXV. Maḥmūd Shāh or Tuanku Rad̲ja (1760-1781).
[XXVI. Badr al-Dīn (1764-1765)].
[XXVII. Sulaymān S͟hāh or Rad̲ja Udahna Lela (1773)].
XXVIII. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad S͟hāh or Tuanku Muḥammad (1781-1795).
XXIX. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn D̲jawhar al-ʿĀlam S͟hāh (1795-1824).
[XXX. S͟harīf Sayf al-ʿĀlam (1815-1820)].
XXXI. Muḥammad S͟hāh (1824-1836).
XXXII. Manṣūr S͟hāh (1836-1870).
XXXIII. Maḥmūd Shāh (1870-1874).
XXXIV. Muḥammad Dāwūd S͟hāh (1874-1903).

ʿAlī Mug͟hāyat S͟hāh's two sons Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and more especially ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Riʿāyat S͟hāh al-Ḳahhār increased the importance of the new kingdom. From Turkish archive documents we learn that the latter sent an embassy to Constantinople in 973/1563 asking for help against the Portuguese and saying that several of the heathen rulers of South East Asia had promised to embrace Islam if the Ottomans would save them. The arrival of the embassy coincided with the Szigetvar campagn and the death of Sulaymān. The embassy therefore waited two years in Constantinople and then a naval expedition was prepared under the command of the Admiral of Suez, Kurdog͟hlu K͟hiẓir Reis, consisting of 19 galleys and some other ships with guns, supplies, etc. This expedition was however diverted to deal with an insurrection in the Yemen and instead two ships with supplies and military technicians were sent to Atjèh. It would seem that they entered the service of the Sultan of Atjèh and stayed there. (See Saffet, *TOEM*, 10, 604-614; 11, 678-683; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 1949, 388-389, and iii/1, 1951, 31-33). In the first half of the seventeenth century Atjèh reached its greatest prosperity, attaining its zenith during the reign of Iskandar Muda, honoured after his death by the title of Meukuta ʿĀlam, i.e., Crown of the World (*supra* n°. XII). The dominion of the Achehnese was extended far to the south during his reign. Iskandar's expedition with a great fleet against Pahang and Malacca forms the subject of an inportant Achehnese epic the *Hikayat Malém Dagang* (ed. H. K. J. Cowan, The Hague, 1937). In 1638, during the reign of his successor (Iskandar T͟hānī, *supra* n°. XIII) a Portuguese embassy came to Atjèh and tried in vain to win over the Sultan to their side in the war against the Dutch (see: Agostino di S. Teresa, *Breve racconto del viaggio . . . al regno di Achien*, Roma 1652; Ch. Bréard, *Histoire de Pierre Berthelot*, Paris 1889). Four princesses ruled over Atjèh in the second half of the seventeenth century (1641-1699). This period of feminine rule was naturally much to the advantage of the Ulèëbalangs whose power and authority were thereby increased; but on the other hand many disapproved of this state of affairs and declared on the authority of a *fatwā* received from Mecca that it was forbidden by law for a woman to rule. Thereupon at the beginning of the eighteenth century arose a series of dynastic wars. Some of the princes who contended for the throne were Sayyids (i.e. descendants of Ḥusayn) born in Atjèh. The best known among these was D̲jamāl (*supra* n°. XX). After he was deposed in 1726, he held out for a considerable time against the later Sultans, amongst others against Aḥmad (*supra* n°. XXIII, a man of Bugis descent, ancestor of the last dynasty of Achehnese princes) and his son D̲johan S͟hāh (*supra* n°. XXIV). The contest between D̲jamāl and D̲johan S͟hāh and the death of the former are the subjects of another great Achehnese epic, the *Hikayat Pòtjut Muhamat* (still unpublished; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 88-100). Even after the authority and wealth of the court had gradually become insignificant, there survived, indeed till quite recent times a great reverence among the Achehnese for their rulers whom they honoured as the representatives of a glorious past.

(Th. W. Juynboll-[P. Voorhoeve])

The Atjèh War. In the 19th century the piracy and slave trade of the Achehnese and their raids on neighbouring territories constituted a constant danger. The Dutch government were at first not in a position to put a stop to this evil as they had pledged themselves to England in 1824 not to extend their dominion in Sumatra to the north, but this obligation was removed by a new

treaty with England in 1871. The landing of Dutch troops in 1873 was the beginning of a war (the Atjèh War), which lasted—with several pauses—from 1873 until 1910, in which year the pacification was considered complete.

Broadly speaking the three components inspiring this unexpected opposition were the *ulamas*, the *ulèëbalangs*, and the sultanate. Of these three the *ulamas* were the strongest, and the sultanate the weakest component. This last fact is understandable, since—as we have seen above—the influence of the sultan was very limited. With the capture of Kutaradja, the sultan's stronghold, the Dutch considered the sultan's government as at an end, and the Dutch administration took over his position and rights. Meanwhile, after the death of Sultan Maḥmūd Shāh, the six-year old Muḥammad Dāwūd, grandson of Sultan Manṣūr Shāh (*supra* No. XXXIII), was elected sultan. The "pretender-sultan" Muḥammad Dāwūd, who had taken refuge with his court at Keumala in Pidië, hunted by Dutch troops from hiding place to hiding place, finally made his submission in 1903. In 1917, because of underground activities, he was banished from Atjèh. The *ulèëbalangs*, the secular authorities or "lords of the country" (*The Achehnese*, i, 88), so far as they were not willing to accept Dutch authority, had to be subdued one by one. One of the most influential of them was Teuku Panglima Pòlém Muḥammad Dāwūd, the chief of the *sagi* of the XXII *Mukims*. Now that the sultan's government had lapsed the Dutch recognised the *ulèëbalangs*—with the exception of those in Great-Atjèh, which was regarded as the personal domain of the sultan—each as independent rulers in their own right, whose relationship with the Dutch government must be determined by treaty. On the advice of Snouck Hurgronje the form of treaty selected from 1898 onwards was the so-called *korte verklaring* [short contract]. In this the rulers recognised that their territories formed part of Netherlands India, and undertook not to have any kind of political contacts with foreign powers, to follow and maintain all the regulations, and to obey all the orders given them by the Civil and Military Governor of Atjèh. The *ulamas*, the spiritual leaders of the people, were the real inspirers of the struggle. Here we can mention only one well-known family, the *Tirò-teungkus*, of whom Tjhèh Saman (d. 1890) was the best known. They were named after the *gampōng* Tirò in Pidië, an important centre of Islamic scholarship. The *ulamas* went throughout the land preaching the holy war; their war-chest was the *zakāt*-tax levied on the people. The native chieftains were ignominiously thrust into the background. The long duration of the war and the fanaticism with which it was fought are explained by the character of a holy war which it assumed. From this period comes the *Hikayat Prang Sabi* (ed. H. T. Damsté, *BTLV*, 84, 1928, pp. 545 ff). in which the faithful were called to a holy war. After the submission of the "pretender-sultan" the *ulamas* and some *ulèëbalangs* conducted a guerrilla warfare, though Panglima Pòlém also submitted a few months after the sultan. In 1911 Teungku Maʿat, the last survivor of the *Tirò-teungkus*, was killed.

It was a long time before the Dutch government came to comprehend the full significance of these three fundamental components in the Atjèh War, and to adapt their policies and tactics accordingly. The investigations of Snouck Hurgronje were the first to provide the political insight upon which the military campaigns of Governors J. B. van Heutsz (1898-1904), G. C. E. van Daalen (1905-1908), and H. N. A. Swart (1908-1918), could be based (cf. K. van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjèh-Oorlog*, 2 vols., Oostersch Instituut, Leiden 1948, and the literature listed therein). Governor Swart was the last governor to be charged both with the civil government and the military command in Atjèh.

The Dutch administration. Since the sultanate was swept away by the Atjèh War, the highest authority was considered to have passed to the "regents" of the sultan, the *ulèëbalangs*. This administrative institution which drew its sanction from *ʿādat* (local customary law) was fitted into the Dutch administrative system in the following way. The *ulèëbalangs'* territories were recognised as "native states" (*zelfbesturende landschappen*), and their relationship with the Dutch government was regulated by the *korte verklaring*. Exceptions to this were the district of Great-Atjèh, and the sub-district of Singkel, both of which were classed as "directly ruled territories" (*rechtstreeks bestuurd gebied*). Great-Atjèh, the territory of the three *sagis*, was included in this category because after the conquest it had wrongly been assumed that here, in contrast to the rest of Atjèh, the chiefs were dependent officials of the sultan. The border territory of Singkel was included on historical grounds. A section of this district had been brought under Dutch rule earlier, forming part of the residency of Tapanuli, and therefore in determining the form of administration the system in force elsewhere in that residency was followed. But here too the existing administrative frame-work based on *ʿādat* law was maintained, so that the *panglimas sagi*, the *ulèëbalangs*, and so on, as 'native chiefs' were made government officials.

The *ʿādat* system which was thus embodied in the administration presented a picture of infinite diversity. It embraced about 100 *ulèëbalangs* acting as independent rulers, and about 50 *panglimas sagi*, *ulèëbalangs* and local chiefs with various other titles in the directly ruled territories. The size of each territorial unit varied from a village to the equivalent of a Dutch province, the populations from a few hundreds to more than 50,000, and the educational background of the rulers from a simple primary school course to training at the Civil service college (*Bestuursschool*) in Batavia.

Over this Indonesian administrative framework extended the Dutch administration; its task was the creation and enforcement, through these institutions, of peace, order and the rule of law, and the economic and cultural development of the land. The Government (later Residency) of Atjèh and Dependencies, administered by a Governor (later a Resident), was for these purposes divided eventually into four districts, each administered by an Assistant Resident. These were the district of Great-Atjèh, and the districts of the North Coast, the East Coast, and the West Coast. They in their turn were subdivided into a total of 21 sub-districts, each administered by a *Controleur* (District Officer).

The policy of government was consistently directed towards promoting a larger measure of personal initiative on the part of the chiefs, and bringing the Indonesian administration into line with Western standards. So the old type of chief, ruling like a patriarchal despot, gradually made way for more progressive younger men.

Thus under the Dutch régime the administration remained wholly in the hands of the hereditary *ulèëbalang* caste, a caste consolidated on the one hand

by intermarriage between families already related to each other in a variety of ways, and divided on the other hand through the operation of historical feuds. The hegemony of this caste, moreover, was not confined to the sphere of government. In accordance with the *ʿādat* the administration of justice was also in the hands of the *ulèëbalangs*, whilst in accordance with the *ḥukōm* they were the religious leaders of their own territory. In addition they had often important trading and other economic interests, and usually disposed of extensive estates, particularly in Pidië, where a medieval system of feudal holding still prevailed. Finally—their sons being considered first for all forms of education and training—they had in a certain sense also an intellectual monopoly.

When the Japanese War broke out there were three *ulèëbalangs* of outstanding importance. Teuku Nja' Arif, the chief of the *sagi* of the XXVI *Mukims*, had represented Atjèh in the *Volksraad* until 1931. Teuku Muḥammad Ḥasan, ruler of Glumpang Payōng (Pidië), had previously been employed in the Residency offices at Kutaradja, where he exercised a great influence on political policy. Teuku Ḥadji Tjhi' Muḥammad Djōhan Alamsjah was the ruler of Peusangan (Bireuën).

Whilst the *ulèëbalang* group thus linked itself increasingly closely with the Dutch régime, amongst the *ulama* group, taken as a whole, the anti-Dutch tradition was maintained. The predominant position which the *ulamas* had attained during the Atjèh War was lost again with the return of peace, and the traditional superiority of the *ulèëbalangs* was restored. So there developed gradually between these two groups, which had co-operated during the war, an antipathy—a recurring theme in the history of Atjèh—as the result of which the *ulamas* regarded the *ulèëbalangs* as traitors.

Religious life itself was left to develop freely, in keeping with the tradition of the Dutch régime. At first Tuanku Radja Keumala (whose father was a great-grandson of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, *supra* XXXI), acted as adviser on religious affairs. But after his death this office was not refilled, whilst the advisory council on religious affairs established in 1919 under the title *"raad ulama"* ["Council of ʿUlamā'"], of which this learned descendant of the sultan formed the central figure, was discontinued. For this reason the Dutch authorities were subsequently dependent for their information about developments in the religious sphere upon the *ulèëbalangs*, who were considered legally the religious leaders of their own territories. Ultimately, just before the Japanese invasion, another descendant of a former sultan, Tuanku ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Imeum* of the great mosque at Kutaradja, was made unofficial religious adviser. He was not an *ulama* in the sense which was attached to that word in Atjèh, and although known as *além* (see above) he did not enjoy anything like the prestige of his eminent predecessor.

Religious instruction retained an important place next to secular education. Besides elementary religious education Atjèh possessed a large number of so-called religious secondary schools in which geography, history, economics, etc., were also taught. Many *ulèëbalangs* made a point of having one or more religious schools in their territory, which through the fame of the *ulamas* trained in Egypt, Minangkabau, or in Atjèh itself who taught in them, would enhance their own reputations. That these *ulamas* were often more or less openly anti-Western in outlook they accepted as part of the bargain.

As for the third component in the struggle against the Dutch—the Sultan's party—its rôle was played out. The "pretender-Sultan" died in exile in 1939 in Batavia. His son was allowed to return to Atjèh. The other descendants of the sultanate remaining in Atjèh wielded little influence. An exception was Tuanku Maḥmūd, an important political figure, who had been trained at the Civil service college in Batavia. He held a government post in Celebes for some years before returning to Atjèh as senior native official in the service of the resident there. In 1931 he succeeded Teuku Nja' Arif as a member of the *Volksraad*, and after the death of the "pretender-Sultan" became undisputed head of the sultan family. A campaign started in 1939 by some Achehnese merchants for the restoration of the sultanate met with little response; there was practically no support for it from the *ulèëbalangs*, who saw in it a threat to their own position.

The political situation itself developed favourably. The last resistance incident took place in 1933, and the military garrison was gradually reduced. The *kāfir*-hate and the idea of a holy war—negative expressions of the religious consciousness—gave way to a positive local Achehnese patriotism, which expressed itself in the normal impulse to be master in one's own house, or more specifically to get an increased number of posts in the administration occupied by one's fellow countrymen.

Modern nationalist ideas had as yet hardly any hold on the Achehnese people. The same was true of the Muḥammadiyya movement, which originated in Java. Though it fixed as its target the advancement of religious life, and had its connexions over the whole of Indonesia, it struck no responsive note in Achehnese religious life. It remained—despite its Achehnese leadership—a distinctly non-Achehnese movement, which attracted mainly non-Achehnese elements, or locally the militant part of Achehnese society, which in the absence of a purely political movement sought in it satisfaction for their political and social aspirations. The religious ideas of this young Islamic modernist movement were quite alien to the more conservatively orientated religious life of the Achehnese.

As a counter-weight to the modernist ideas of the Muḥammadiyya, the *PUSA* or *Persatuan Ulama-ulama Seluruh Atjèh* was founded at Bireuën in 1939, under the influential patronage of the ruler of Peusangan. Under the direction of Atjèh's most prominent *ulamas* it was to be the vehicle of that typically Achehnese strictly orthodox religious life. Its membership was not necessarily limited to *ulamas*. Anyone else who could identify himself with its aims could join it, and its most prominent leader was Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'éh from Keumangan (Pidië). The movement seemed to fulfil an important need. Through it both conservative and progressive *ulamas* were brought together, and branches were set up throughout Atjèh. To have assumed a political, let alone an anti-Dutch, character, would have been inconsistent with the aims of the movement. Its attitude towards the government and the *ulèëbalangs* was completely correct, and many *ulèëbalangs* accepted the position of adviser to their own local branch. The position of patron was offered to Tuanku Maḥmūd. A youth movement was founded under the name *Pemuda Pusa*, with its headquarters at Idi. The more advanced and militant elements, reacting against the pressure of the *adat* authorities, sought within this movement a refuge, and a means of expressing

their own ideas. As a result the youth movement quite quickly began to take on a more militant and subversive character. So the *Pusa* itself gradually developed into a new and potent weapon in the hands of the *ulamas* in their struggle against the Dutch régime and the *ulèëbalangs*.

We have already dealt briefly with economic developments in this period, and with education in its religious aspect. Secular education expanded steadily. At the time of the Japanese invasion Atjèh had one higher grade school, thirteen schools giving Western elementary education, 348 elementary vernacular schools, 45 *vervolgscholen* or advanced vernacular schools and one trade and handicraft centre, founded either by the Dutch government or the native states. There were besides a number of private schools giving elementary Western education, supported by the Muḥammadiyya and Taman Siswa societies.

The Japanese occupation. Even before Japanese troops occupied Atjèh in March 1942 rebellions against the Dutch government broke out in Great-Atjèh and in the North and West Coast districts. These took on the character of a national rising, particularly in the *sagi* of the XXII *Mukims* and in the sub-district of Tjalang, on the West coast. After the Japanese troops had landed the rebellion spread quickly. As during the Atjèh War the most important component of the rising was formed by the *ulamas*. It was led by Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beuereu'èh at the head of the Pusa and the Pemuda Pusa, which provided a single organisation spread over the whole of Atjèh, admirably suited for the preaching of the holy war. The participation of the *ulèëbalangs* was at first limited to a number of discontented political elements of purely local importance. That the rebellion in the *sagi* of the XXII *Mukims* was able to assume the character of a national rising is explained by the support which the *ulamas* experienced from the chief of the *sagi*, the son of the great resistance leader of the Atjèh War, Teuku Panglima Pòlém Muḥammad Dāwūd, who had died shortly before the outbreak of the war. In Tjalang the participation of Teuku Sabi of Lageuën, one of the only two native rulers who had earlier supported the movement for the restoration of the sultanate, set its stamp on the nature of the rising there, so that the third component from the Atjèh War, that of the sultanate, re-appears at this time too. The movement was stimulated from the Japanese side, for immediately after the fall of Penang in December 1941 a fifth column organisation was formed from the Achehnese colony there, which sent its agents back to Atjèh as "refugees" from Japanese violence. Shortly before the Japanse landing Teuku Nja' Arif, the chief of the *sagi* of the XXVI *Mukims*, joined the rebellion, whilst later Teuku Muḥammad Ḥasan of Glumpang Payōng also declared that he had already been in contact with the Japanese before their attack.

From the beginning the Japanese stood in a different relationship *vis à vis* the *ulèëbalangs* and the *ulamas* than had the Dutch. From the outset they received support from the *ulamas* more perhaps than from any one else. An attempt by the Pusa to take over power locally from the *ulèëbalangs*, however, was not sanctioned by the Japanese, since they could not allow the existing social order to be dislocated by the sweeping aside of the government machinery based on the *ʿādat*. It would have undermined their own military strength. Instead Japanese policy was aimed at linking both of these political forces, that of *ʿādat* and that of *ḥukōm*, in order to obtain the co-operation of the people as a whole in their war effort. The Japanese tried therefore just like the Dutch to keep a balance between both groups. The fact that the *ulèëbalangs* too had taken an important share in the rising made this policy acceptable.

The rule of the *ulèëbalangs* was thus maintained. In the sphere of government the position of the *ulèëbalangs* was even strengthened. Dutch government officials made way for Indonesian *gun-chōs* who were chosen, with a single exception, from leaders of the *ulèëbalang* families. Two *ulèëbalangs* represented Atjèh in the delegation from Sumatra which visited Japan in 1943, one—Teuku Muḥammad Ḥasan—being designated as its leader. In the advisory Council for Atjèh created at the end of 1943, Teuku Nja' Arif was appointed chairman, and Teuku Muḥammad Ḥasan deputy chairman. As it was first constituted, the majority of its members belonged to the *ulèëbalang* class; but this was no longer the case when it was re-constituted in 1945.

Nevertheless the position of the *ulamas* was considerably strengthened, at the expense of the *ulèëbalangs*. At the beginning of 1943 Tuanku ʿAbdul ,Azis was appointed adviser for religious affairs for the whole of Atjèh, and some months later he was made chairman of the newly created advisory council on religious affairs. Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh was appointed deputy chairman of this council, which had branches throughout Atjèh, and he quickly became the leading figure in it. The principal object of this and similar organisations was to bring religion into the service of the Japanese war effort. In 1944 a court was established to hear religious cases under the name *shūkyō-hōin*, and in this too Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh and his Pusa predominated. Eventually one of the members of the executive committee of Pusa was appointed inspector of religious education. Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh and a number of other *ulama* were members both of the first and of the second Council for Atjèh.

The administration of justice too was re-organised, and largely withdrawn from the control of the *ulèëbalangs*. In the magistrates courts (*ku-hōin*) in particular a large number of those appointed as members were supporters of Pusa, leaders of the resistance movement, and other enemies of the *ulèëbalangs*.

This policy of holding a balance between both groups could satisfy neither the *ulèëbalangs*, nor the *ulamas*. To be sure, the *ʿādat* was no longer the mistress and the *ḥukōm* her obedient slave-girl. But the *ulamas* would only be satisfied with a position in which the *ḥukōm* would be mistress and the *ʿādat* the slave. So both groups conducted a remorseless struggle over the heads of the Japanese.

Meanwhile the pressure on the Japanese was growing from day to day. The Japanese army of occupation was dependent on what the country itself could provide both for its food and for the labour supply needed for the construction of roads, airfields and fortifications. To provide this, an almost intolerable burden was through the agency of both the *ulèëbalangs* and the *ulamas* imposed on the people. Increasing discontent was the result. More and more *ulèëbalangs* refused to provide the services of their men for the use of the occupying forces, whilst it became ever harder for the *ulamas* too co-operate in satisfying the Japanese demands. In September 1943 mass arrests took place throughout

Atjèh and amongst those arrested were several *ulèëbalangs*. In August 1944 the ruler of Glumpang Payōng, who was suspected of underground activities and of conspiring with the Dutch, was arrested with some other *ulèëbalangs*, and executed shortly afterwards. At the moment of these mass arrests the ruler of Peusangan was already for some months in prison. The possession of a copy of the *Hikayat prang sabi* ("Summons to the Holy War") or its recitation was made an offence. In two instances there was open resistance. As early as 1942 there was an insurrection in Bayu, in the sub-district of Lhō' Seumawè. There an *ulama* Teungku ʿAbd al-Djalil who, despite his youth, was already head of a large religious school, is said to have preached the *prang sabi* against the Japanese. He and his followers were killed in the bloody conflict which followed. In 1945 there was another insurrection in Pandraīh, in the sub-district of Bireuēn. Here the heavy economic burden of compulsory deliveries and "voluntary" labour produced an outbreak which was savagely repressed.

The Japanese invasion brought at first a revival of the negative element of *kāfir* hatred. But as Japanese pressure increased the positive element of local patriotism grew, stimulating the urge to take control into Achehnese hands. In the end, as the result of the Japanese promise of independence, this developed into the idea of a unity, based on religion, which would embrace the whole of Indonesia.

Indonesian Independence. The Japanese surrender in August 1945 did not bring any restoration of the Dutch régime in Atjèh and only the island of Sabang was occupied by Dutch troops. The way was thus open for a final reckoning between the *ulamas* and the *ulèëbalangs*. In December 1945 a civil war broke out which ended in February 1946 with the annihilation of the power of the *ulèëbalangs*. A number of *ulèëbalang* families were massacred to the last male child. Hundreds of members of *ulèëbalang* families disappeared into republican internment camps as "enemies of the Republic", and their property was confiscated. Amongst them were the chief of the *sagi* of the XXVI *Mukims* and the ruler of Peusangan.

This annihilation of the power of the *ulèëbalangs* cannot be viewed solely as a result of the antithesis between *ʿādat* and *ḥukōm*. Social, political and economic factors were also involved. Religion played the part of the instrument of a social revolution against the position which the *ulèëbalang* class held in society as a whole, a position which has been described at some length above.

Soon after the Pusa emerged victorious from the civil war, its leader Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh became military governor of Atjèh. His adherents filled those posts in the administration, the police and the judicature which had formerly been occupied by the *ulèëbalangs*. The lack of experience, high-handedness and corruption of the new rulers, who in fact were supported by only a minority of the population, soon led to increasing unrest, and in 1948 there was an abortive insurrection in Kutaradja. But so long as the central government of the Republic had not reached a settlement with the Dutch, its hands were full elsewhere and there was no question of its intervening in Atjèh. The common struggle for the recognition of Indonesian independence was in these years the only aim; Achehnese local patriotism and the idea of Indonesian unity for the moment coincided.

After the transfer of sovereignty from Holland to the Republic of Indonesia at the end of 1949 the intervention of the central government could no longer be avoided. For administrative purposes Atjèh was included in the province of North Sumatra, so that Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh lost his position as governor. Achehnese military units were gradually replaced by non-Achehnese troops, thus depriving the Pusa of their military support. In 1951 a large number of Pusa leaders were arrested under cover of the general round up of Communist leaders, undertaken throughout Indonesia at this time, and inefficient Pusa adherents in official positions were removed from their posts. But the expectation of the central government that they could in this way gradually steer the government in Atjèh back into normal channels, was not realised. In September 1953 Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh and his followers launched a rebellion against the central government. A bloody guerrilla warfare followed, which lasted until the middle of 1957 when an informal truce was reached between Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh and the local authorities. The year before, in October 1956, Atjèh was again granted the status of an autonomous province. (A. J. Piekaar)

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AL-ʿATK, a valley in Nadjd, the northernmost of those cutting through the western wall of the cuesta of Ṭuwayḳ. It is a true *wādī* with a strong flood whenever there is enough rain. The valley forms the dividing line between the district of Sudayr to the north and the district of al-Maḥmal to the south. Its head (*farʿa*) is in the low ground west of Ṭuwayḳ in the vicinity of the oasis of al-Ḳaṣab, south of which there is a large salt pan (*mamlaḥa* or *sabkha*). After passing north of the hills of al-Bakarāt (pl. of *bakra* = she-camel 3-5 years old), the valley goes through the escarpment of Ṭuwayḳ by a narrow passage. Just east of this passage, the valley of Urāṭ descends from the uplands of Sudayr and the valley of Thādiḳ comes up from the south to join al-ʿAtk.

Farther on, the main valley of Sudayr—in which lie Djalādjil, al-ʿAwda, and other oases—and the valley of ʿUshayra come together and then empty into al-ʿAtk from the north, as does the valley of al-Ḥisy (a settlement of the Wahhābī Ikhwān belonging to the tribe of Subayʿ) from the south. After passing south of Khashm Abū Rukba and north of Ruwayghib (a settlement of the Ikhwān belonging to al-Suhūl), al-ʿAtk cleaves through the escarpment of al-ʿArama. The valley runs by a few kilometres north-west of the wells of Ḥafar al-ʿAtk and comes to an end at Rawḍat al-Tanhāh just west of the sands of al-Dahnāʾ. This basin also receives the waters of the valleys of al-Shawkī and al-Ṭayrī, the latter of which runs only c. 1 km. west of Ḥafar al-ʿAtk.

The sweet water wells of Ḥafar al-ʿAtk (25° 57′ 04″ N, 46° 30′ 28″ E) are over a dozen in number, all lined with stone, with a depth of c. 23 *bāʿ* (c. 40 m.). Each well has its own name; those with the most water are al-Ghabbāshiyya and Sudayra. These wells mark the western end of Darb al-Kunhurī, a well beaten desert trail coming from the town of al-Djubayl (ʿAynayn) on the Persian Gulf coast. From the wells the traveller may ascend the valley to Sudayr or al-Maḥmal or proceed westwards to the district of al-Washm lying beyond Nafūd al-Balādīn. Popular tradition has it that the first wells here were dug by the chiefs of Banū Khālid, masters of Eastern Arabia until its conquest by the rising Wahhābī state of Āl Saʿūd at the close of the 18th century. During the summer several thousand Bedouins may congregate at Ḥafar al-ʿAtk, their tents filling the depression in which the wells lie and lining the edges of the circumambient hills.

The valley is regarded as lying within the range of the tribes of Subayʿ and al-Suhūl, while the wells belong to al-Khuḍrān, a group consisting of al-Nabaṭa and al-ʿUraynāt, both sections of Subayʿ. Members of these tribes, like most of the townsfolk of Nadjd, pronounce the name *ʿatts*, while other Bedouins in Nadjd and the east say *ʿatsh*, associating the name with the word *ʿatsha* = having many bushes and trees. The pronunciation *ʿatk* is seldom if ever heard, but the written form Baṭn al-ʿAtk is in al-Hamdānī, i, 141, who also mentions al-Bakarāt and Baṭn Dhī Urāṭ. Ibn Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-Madjd* (Mecca ed.), i, 44, 72, 108; ii, 26, speaks of al-ʿAtk and Ḥafar al-ʿAtk, and Ibn Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Akhbār*, i, 137, identifies al-ʿAtk as one of the two places called al-ʿItkān or al-ʿAtkān in early Arabic poetry.

(GEORGE RENTZ)

ATLAS, general name for the mountains of North Africa (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia), which give it its originality and variety in contrast to the monotonous Sahara platform. Although this name, of unknown origin, was already used by the Greeks, the classical authors, Strabo (Book xvii) for example, give us few details. The Arab geographers lack precision and, like Strabo, often apply the name to the mountain chains otherwise called Adrār n-Deren, a term in fact reserved for the High Moroccan Atlas and the Saharan Atlas of Algeria (al-Bakrī, trans. de Slane, 2nd. ed., 281, 295); some authors (al-Bakrī, 303-4, al-Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib* 73-4, Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, trans. de Slane, i, 158) erroneously extend it as far as the Nefūsa, to Egypt and even beyond. The Northern chains—the Rif and Tell Atlas—were known to Strabo (xvii), and the Rif, to al-Bakrī (214); according to Ibn Khaldūn (i, 128) the Deren chains form "a girdle enclosing the Maghrib al-Akṣā from Asfī to Taza", including, therefore, the Middle Atlas. Leo Africanus (*Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 4 and 49-50), rather more exact, distinguishes the northern chains from the Atlas in the strict sense extends the latter right into Egypt. Marmol (*Africa*, i, 5) distinguishes between 'la Sierra menor' and 'la Sierra de Athalante mayor' in the south, which will henceforth be referred to as the Little Atlas and the Great Atlas. French geologists and geographers, above all in the last half century, have determined their characteristics and various aspects.

The chains of the Atlas are structurally folded mountains, related to the Tertiary chains of Europe; like these, they have been rejuvenated by Pliocene and Quarternary upheavals, which raised them considerably above the Mediterranean and the rigid Sahara platform. The Sahara begins to the south of the Southern Atlas accident (fault, flexure, abrupt straightening out of the strata), which extends from Agadir to Gabès. The Dahar of Southern Tunisia and the Nefūsa, therefore, do not form part of the Atlas. As for the Anti-Atlas of Morocco, of which the Dj. Saghro is merely an extension, this stands on its own: it is only the raised edge of the Sahara platform. It is a great asymmetrical massif, reaching 2,531 metres at the Dj. Akhni, and consists of consolidated rocks of the Pre-Cambrian and Primary ages. It falls away to the depressions of the Sūs and the Dadès (which the great granitic and volcanic mass of the Sirwa, 3,304 metres, separates) and runs down to the plains of Dra (Darʿa) and Tafilalet, intersected by the wrinkle or scarp of the Dj. Bani.

In the "Atlas regions" a first complex, and the most extensive, contains both moderately folded mountains, often of considerable height, and relatively low zones: plateaux and high plains. The High Atlas is a huge "fundamental fold", a chain 750 kms. in extent, which rises to 4,000 metres and over (4,165 m. at the Tubkal, 4,070 at Mgūn); in spite of its latitude, it bears traces of quarternary glaciation, though it no longer retains everlasting snows. Hemmed in to the west between the Sūs and the Ḥawz of Marrakesh, it breaks up, despite several considerable peaks, into ridges and deep transverse valleys, and may only be crossed by high cols, historical routes to the Sūs (Tizi n-Test) and the High Dra (Tizi n-Tishka). In the centre and the East it becomes primarily calcarious (liassic and jurassic), with narrow faulted anticlines and broad synclines; after the Dj. ʿAyyashī (3,751 m.), the chains lose height and peter out in the South of Eastern Morocco. The "wādīs" Dadès, Gheris, Ziz (the route from Fez to Tafilalet) and Guir break away from it by majestic cross valleys—the Saharan Atlas of Algeria continues the High Atlas. Its massifs, the mountains of the Ḳṣūr, of the ʿAmūr (Dj. ʿAmūr), of the Ouled Nail and of the Zab loose height progressively from the South-West (2,236 m. at the Dj. Aissa) to the North-East (less than 1,000 m.). These are remains of folded mountains, ridges isolated by broad pediments, which the nomads easily cross in spite of their elevation above the Sahara. On the further side of the Biskra depression, rises the Aurès (Awrās), the only massif of the Saharan Atlas and the highest mountain in Algeria (2,329 m. at the Chélia). Its majestic chains with their very broad folds lying S.-W./N.-E., are separated by the deep vallies of the "wādīs" Abdi, el-Abiod and el-Arab: these "wādīs" flow through savage gorges to reach the "southern Aurès depression", which sinks down to below sea level. The Nememcha

mountains to the East of the Aurès tower above this depression and then subdivide northwards into isolated ridges, the remains of broad domes. In Tunisia, the chains deriving from the Saharan Atlas cover the entire mountain country, except the north-west. The structure of domes, frequently faulted, and of broad basins, to be observed in the Tebessa mountains, is continued in the Dorsal range of Tunisia. Its anticlines, generally calcarious, (1,154 m. at the Dj. Chambi) and separated at times by broad transverse rift valleys, rendering communications easy, converge towards the N.E. to form one single chain bristling with sierras (Dj. Zaghwân, 1,298 m.) extending as far as the Gulf of Tunis North of the Dorsal range, the High Tell and the Medjerda regions are composed of compressed folds, which, however, only produce mountains of moderate height, separated by broad basins, by the deep depression of the Middle Medjerda and by its tributary valleys: the "wâdîs" of Mellègue, Tessa and Siliana. In the south the anticlinal chains of limestone or sandstone rise among broad plains, generally synclinal and covered by alluvium: from a W.-E. direction on the parallel of Gafsa, they are turned back in a S.-N. direction, bordering the plains of Eastern Tunisia.

North of the High Atlas and of the Sahara Atlas of Algeria, extend vast regions of low relief, which, however, are twice intersected by transverse chains: the Middle Atlas and the mountains of the Hodna. The Middle Atlas has the same rocks and the same style as the central High Atlas with narrow faulted anticlinal folds (Dj. Ben Nacer, 3,354 m.) and broad synclinal depressions. But in the N.W. it descends in step plateaux; the faults separating them are covered with volcanic cones and coulées. Heavily watered, it gives birth to the principal rivers of Morocco: Oum er-Rebia (*Umm al-rabî*ʿ), Sebou, Moulouya. The Middle Atlas separates the rigid block of primary terrains of the Moroccan "meseta" (central plateau, hills of the Reḥama and of the Djebilet, sedimentary phosphate plateau, alluvial plains of the Tadla, the Bahira and of the Ḥawẓ of Marrakesh) from that of the Oran-Moroccan borders, which is almost completely concealed by secondary sediments. The Rokam, to the East of the Moulouya, is extended by the Debdou and Djerada plateaux, in Morocco, and by the undulating and faulted plateaux of the Tell Atlas of Oran: the mountains of Tlemcen, of the Mekarra, of Saida and Frenda. North of the Sahara Atlas, the High Algero-Moroccan plains, rising to 1,200 metres in the West and 800 metres on the meridian of Algiers, are structurally similar, consisting of simple exhausted folds, which, however, are three quarters buried beneath considerable old alluvial deposits (basins of the Chott Gharbi and Chott Chergui and of the Ẓahrez); only the Oued Touil (Upper Chelif) reaches the sea. Further to the E., the narrow chain of the Hodna mountains and the Belezma massif, separate the very low lying basin of the Hodna (400 m.) from the high plains of the eastern and Constantine regions of Algeria (800 to 1,050 m.). The W.-E. secondary chains of which they are made up, calcarious domes or ridges, leave gaps between them and continue, intermittently spaced out, across the high Constantine plains, which they dominate, rising to several hundred metres. The so-called region of the Sebakh in the south escapes the drainage of the Rhumel, the Seybouse and the Meskiana (Mellègue). As for the plains of Eastern Tunisia, these are incompletely drained behind the camber of the Sahel.

Bordering the Mediterranean, a second complex is formed, extending from Tangiers to Bizerta, by the chains of the Rif and the Tell Atlas. They are very complex in structure. The cemented and loose sediments of the Secondary and Tertiary have on several occasions been heavily folded. They have been pushed and overlapped southwards by the primary eruptive massifs of the "coastal belt", which only subsist still South of Ceuta and Kabylia; these massifs dominate in the south the lofty calcarious sierras of the Djebala and the Bokkoya (Morocco), the Djurdjura and the chain of Numidia. All the rest is formed of a thick and plastic mass of clay, sandstone and schistous sediments, usually discharged in "slip sheets" and, in Morocco, clearly carried down in a southerly direction. These structurally very complex mountains have been cut and broken up by transverse gorges and longitudinal valleys due to the vigorous erosion caused by Mediterranean torrents. The chain of the Rif, from Ceuta to Melilla, forms a crescent of mountains (2,450 m. at the Dj. Tidighine), which is enlarged in the south by a variety of hills carved by the tributary rivers of the Ouergha and Sebou in the Rif and Pre-Rif sheets. From the Melilla peninsula to the Trara massif, the heavily folded zone narrows and follows the hills of the Low Moulouya, the Beni Snassen mountains and the Tell plateaux of Oran. Then it bifurcates, continuing on both sides of a long depression, running from the *sebkha* of Oran to the elbow of the Middle Chelif; to the North are the hills of the Sahel of Oran, which are succeeded by the Dahra and Miliana mountains (Zaccar, 1,579 m.), and to the south, the Tessala and the Ouled Ali and Beni Chougrane mountains, which border the inland plains of Sidi Bel Abbès and Mascara, giving way in the East to the great Ouarsenis massif (1,985 m.), which directly dominates the high plains. The longitudinal depression recommences East of Medea and runs down by the valley of the wâdî Sahel-Soummam as far as Bougie (al-Bidjâya); along its northern edge runs the Mitidja Atlas, rising above the alluvial plain of the Mitidja and the hills of the Sahel of Algiers, after which it is bordered by the Djurdjura Kabylia, culminating in the Lalla Khasidja peak (2,308 m.); to the south rise the Titeri mountains and the long Biban chain. East of Bougie, the Babor (2,004 m.) and the chain of Numidia are contiguous to Eastern Kabylia and directly dominate the softer reliefs of the Ferdjioua and Constantine mountains. The crystalline terrains of Eastern Kabylia are partly obscured by oligocene clays and sandstones, bearing cork forests. These same sandstones form the mountains encircling the littoral plain of Bône and, in Tunisia, Khroumiria and the Mogod regions.

The Atlas makes North Africa a country of mountain chains encircling plains, which are often both elevated and arid. The relief accentuates and diversifies the climatic contrasts due to the proximity of the Mediterranean and the Sahara. Dominating the Tell regions, the steppe areas of the high plains and the desert of the Saharan Piedmont, the principal massifs are original geographical environments, which have played a considerable though mainly negative rôle in the history of the Maghrib.

Bibliography: See the articles MOROCCO, ALGERIA, and TUNISIA. (J. DESPOIS)

ATOM [see AL-DJUZʾ ALLADHÎ LÂ YATADJAZZAʾ].

AṬRÂBULUS [see ṬARÂBULUS].

ATREK, a river in the north of Khurâsân, which has its source on the mountain of Hazâr

Masdjid on the Gulistān ridge of the Kopet Dagh, 37° 10′ N, ca. 59° E, NE of Kočan (Kūčān), 3,975 ft. above sea level. The Atrek has a course of some 320 miles (Mustawfī: 120 *farsakhs*), running mainly westwards and runs, being some 32 ft. wide, 2-3 ft. deep, into the bay of Ḥasan Ḳulī in the SE of the Caspian Sea. On its upper reaches lie the fertile districts of Kočan and Budjnurd (in the Middle Ages Ustuwā), which are inhabited by Kurds since about 1600 A.D. From its junction with the Sīmbār (Zumbar) coming from the right (by the village of Čat or Čatlī), the Atrek has been since 1882 the frontier between Russia (or the Türkmen SSR) and Iran. Below Kharakī the Atrek flows through a region which is occupied only by a few Türkmen settlements and is almost deserted; yet there are many signs of Middle Ages irrigation and near Gudrī there has been constructed by means of a dam a northern canal wholly on Russian (Soviet) territory. The river is described by Mustawfī as scarcely permitting a crossing.—The name Atrek cannot be found in the works of the geographers of the 4th/10th century (al-Muḳaddasī, 354, 367); they speak in general of the numerous rivers of the district. It occurs for the first time in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (212, transl. 205) and was later in popular etymology explained as the plural of Turk (Atrāk). — In the Middle Ages the district of Gurgān (Djurdjān, Hyrcania) bounded on the Atrek in the south, that of Dahistān [*q.v.*] in the north.

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ATSÎZ b. Muḥammad b. **ANŪSHTIGIN**, Khwārizmshāh [*q.v.*] from 521-2/1127-8 to 551/1156, b. around 1098, followed his father as vassal of the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar in 521/1127 or 522/1128. All through his life it was his desire to make himself independent of this ruler, to maintain his position also with respect to the newly founded might of the Ḳara Khiṭāy and to bring under his domain the districts in the north which in earlier centuries had been temporarily connected with the Khwārizm state in order thus to achieve an expansion of it. In effect he was able (according to Djuwaynī partly still during his father's lifetime) to subject the lands between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea with the peninsula of the Min Ḳîshlak (Russian: Mangyshlak), as well as the country up to the Jaxartes (downwards from about Otrār) having Djand for its centre; since 536/1141 he secured the latter territory against the Ḳara Khiṭāy by the payment of tribute in kind and in money (30,000 gold *dirhams* p.a.). After a first rebellion against Sandjar, the latter was able, after initial hesitation, to drive off Atsîz by means of the bloody victory at Hazārasp, 10 Rabīʿ I 533/15 Nov. 1138 (Atsîz's son was taken captive and executed). Sandjar put in his own nephew Sulaymān b. Muḥammad (thus Djuwaynī) as Khwārizmshāh. But already in the following year Atsîz was able with the help of the inhabitants to drive him out again and to capture Bukhārā. Nevertheless Atsîz now saw fit to submit again to Sandjar (middle of Shawwāl 535/end of May 1141); but after the latter's defeat at the hands of the Ḳara Khiṭāy in the steppe of Ḳatwān (5 Ṣafar 536/9 Sept. 1141) he fell away again and took Marw (17 Rabīʿ II/19 Nov. 1141) and Nīshāpūr (Shawwāl 536/May 1142). However, by 538/1143-4 Sandjar by a campaign forced him again to recognise his authority. In spite of a third defection accompanied by the murder of Sandjar's envoy, the latter allowed Atsîz to retain his position, after the capture of Hazārasp (Jan. 1148) and the siege of Gurgandj, and in the course of a meeting (Muḥarram 543/June 1148) where Atsîz showed little submission. Yet Atsîz now remained loyal to Sandjar even after the latter's capture by the Oghuz (548/1153) and obtained from Sandjar for his support the promise to receive—though only at a later date—the fortress of Āmul (modern Čardjūy) and other fortresses. After Sandjar's escape from emprisonment Atsîz sent him a high-flown message of congratulation and appeared (551/1156) before him at Nasā, but died shortly afterwards at Khabūshān on the Atrek (9 Djumādā II 551/30 July 1156).

Despite his own reverses he secured the power of the Khwārizmian state by his stand against the Saldjūḳs and the Ḳara Khiṭāy (to both of whom he had eventually to pay tribute), as well as by the expansion of his territory northwards, and so layed the foundation stone of its position as a great power which lasted up to the Mongol invasion.

Bibliography: Djuwaynī, ii, 3-14, and following him Mīrkhwānd, *Histoire des Sultans du Kharezm*, ed. C. Defrémery, Paris 1842, 5-11; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 183, 476, xi, 44-63, 118 f., 138 (both following Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaḳī's lost *Mashārib al-Tadjārib*; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, 169, 174, 370; Bundārī, *Zubdat al-Nuṣra* (Houtsma), 281; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russian ed., i, 26-27 (official documents concerning the dispute between Atsîz and Sandjar); Yāḳūt, iv, 70. — W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, Engl. ed., 33, 323-31; idem, 12 *Vorlesungen zur Gesch. der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 122 f.; S. P. Tolstow, *Auf den Spuren der alt-choresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 295 f. (with map, 297); Mehmet Altay Köymen, *Der Oghusen-Einfall und seine Bedeutung im Rahmen der Geschichte des grossen Seldschukenreiches*, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, v, 1947-8, 621-60 (Turkish, 563-620). (W. Barthold-[B. Spuler])

ATSÎZ b. **UVAK** (and not Abak), was one of the chiefs of the Turkomāns (perhaps of the tribe of the Îwāī and perhaps at the beginning of the Saldjūḳid expansion established in Khwārizm), who in 1070 had followed Erisgen (?), husband of a daughter of Alp-Arslan, into Asia Minor in his flight to Byzantine territory; but he refused to take service in the Christian army, and had responded to the appeal made to him by the Fāṭimid government, requesting him to come and bring some of the Palestine Bedouin to heel (1071). An initial appearance which, if one calls to mind the orthodox anti-Fāṭimid position of the Saldjūḳids, adequately discloses the extent to which the brief traditional version, portraying Atsîz as one of their lieutenants, is inaccurate. However Atsîz did not consider himself adequately paid and occupied Jerusalem, Palestine and Southern Syria on his own account and he then made an attempt at reconciliation with Malikshāh, Alp-Arslan's successor. It was in vain that the government of Cairo obtained the help against him of his own lieutenant at Acre, then that of the Saldjūḳids, the descendants of Kutlumush, who were engaged in establishing themselves in Asia Minor: Atsîz defeated them (1075), conquered Damascus (1076) and attacked Egypt itself (1077). There, however, he was defeated, and was then confronted by a revolt of the pro-Egyptian elements in Palestine, which he drowned in blood (1078). He was unable to prevent the Egyptian army coming to threaten him

in Syria proper, and appealed to Malikshāh, who decided to make Syria an appanage for his own brother, Tutush. Atsiz may perhaps have hoped to be able to retain a territory as a vassal, but in the interview which took place between the two chieftains, Tutush rid himself of Atsiz by assassination (1079).

The episode of Atsiz is interesting as the first successful attempt to establish a Turkomān principality on the Western confines of the Saldjūḳid empire. As such it is directed against the Saldjūḳid regime. Naturally the Turkomāns made themselves felt by their ravages in the surrounding countryside, as everywhere else; but once he had subdued the country, he took care to restore agriculture; the townspeople, in contrast, complained that he showed no interest in them. The episodes narrated above are sufficient evidence of his religious indifference; the hostility shown to him by the urban aristocracy, both pro-Saldjūḳid and pro-Fāṭimid, doubtless explains in part his evident good relations with the Christians, especially the Monophysites, who, in spite of what has been said on the subject, were spared at the time of the Jerusalem massacre in 1078. It is therefore wrong to consider him, as one of those responsible, by repercussion, for the preaching of the crusade in Europe.

Bibliography: Claude Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure*, in *Byzantion* xviii, 1946-48; Mukrimin Halil Yinanç, *Türkiye tarihi* i, 2nd. ed. 1944; Faruk Sümer, *Yiva Oğuz boyuna dāir*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuasi*, IX, 1951; Cl. Cahen, *En quoi la conquête turque appellait-elle la Croisade?* in *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, xxix-2, 1950; E. Cerulli, *Gli Etiopi in Palestina*, i, Rome 1943.

The sources are indicated particularly in the first of these works; much the most important is the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī.

(CL. CAHEN)

ʿATTĀB B. ASĪD B. ABIʾL-ʿĪṢ B. UMAYYA AL-UMAWĪ, a Companion of the Prophet, who was converted on the day of the capture of Mecca; shortly afterwards, during the battle of Ḥunayn (8/629), he was appointed governor of Mecca by Muḥammad, and continued to hold this post under Abū Bakr. He agreed to marry Djuwayriya bint Abī Djahl in order to prevent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib from taking a second wife in addition to Fāṭima. The date of his death varies between 12 and 23/634-44.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, no. 5391; Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, index; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, index; al-Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, index; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 405; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 123; idem, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, i, 230, ii, 55; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 54; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivB, 150. (ED.)

AL-**ʿATTĀBĪ** (Abū ʿAmr) Kulthūm b. ʿAmr b. Ayyūb, letter-writer and poet, died at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. A descendant of the pre-Islamic poet ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, al-ʿAttābī belonged to a sub-group of the Arab tribe, the Taghlib (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, 287), from the neighbourhood of Ḳinnasrīn in Northern Syria. The date of his birth and of his appearance in Baghdād are unknown. According to an indication by Ibn Ṭayfur, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ed. Kelley, X, 157-8, taken up again by A. Amīn, he stayed for a while at Marw and at Nishāpūr, for the purpose of consulting Persian (*sic*) manuscripts. In so far as this indication is valid, al-ʿAttābī had, therefore, a dual culture, Arab and Iranian. He held an office in the administration. Anecdotes show him as being attached to the Barmakid family. Their disgrace, moreover, was almost fatal for him, and as he was furthermore accused of *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*], he was obliged to flee to the Yemen to escape Hārūn al-Rashīd's punishment; see Yāḳūt and especially al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 351. By his cleverness, al-ʿAttābī was nevertheless able to regain the Caliph's favour. He was also well regarded by the general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] and al-Maʾmūn. According to one indication, he seems likewise to have been protected by his patron, the general Mālik b. Ṭawḳ (died 259/873). In his last years, al-ʿAttābī is said to have done penance. He is thought to have died about 220/835 (date given by Kutubī, i, 139, who follows Ibn al-Nadīm, but there is a lacuna here in the Flügel edition). Al-ʿAttābī has left the reputation of being a witty and brillant courtier, though not always scrupulous, as is borne out by the rôle he played at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd to bring about the fall of a rival poet; (see Ibn Ḥazm, 285).

Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 121 and also 316-18 (reproduced by al-Kutubī and Yāḳūt) gives a list of six works written by al-ʿAttābī; to judge from the titles, these were probably works on philology and *adab*. To assess al-ʿAttābī's merits as a prose writer, one must turn to the citations made by al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. Al-ʿAttābī's poetical writings seem to have been considerable (the *Fihrist*, 163, speaks of a collection of 100 folios) and Ibn Abī Ṭayfur, d. 280/893, gave a selection from them; see *ibid.*, 146 *in fine*. Today they are only known to us by the quotations from them by al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih and al-Iṣfahānī. These fragments have been collected together by F. Rifāʿī. His work is that of a court poet; free in style, it seems to bear the imprint of the influence of Abu ʾl-ʿAtāhiya and Abū Nuwās, whom al-ʿAttābī admired (see *Aghānī*[3], iv, 39); a panegyric on al-Rashīd enjoyed considerable fame (see the quotation by al-Djāḥiẓ, iii, 353 and the note by the ed.). With the exception of al-Marzubānī, this poet was greatly esteemed by the men of the Islamic Middle Ages. As regards literary history, al-ʿAttābī represents the beginning of the neo-classical current, which started in Northern Syria and was later represented by Abū Tammām and Buḥturī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 121; 125 *in fine*; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1299, i, 139; *Aghānī*, xii, 2-10; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 212-5, Cairo ed., xvii, 26-31; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 549-51 and *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, index; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 285, 287; Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān waʾ l-Tabyīn*, ed. Hārūn, index; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, ed. al-ʿUryān, index; al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Krenkow, 351-2 and *Muwashshaḥ*, Cairo 1343, 293-5; A. Amīn, *Ḍuḥaʾ l-Islām*, Cairo 1351, 180-1; Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, Cairo 1340/1928, iii, 249-54; Brockelmann, S I 120.

(R. BLACHÈRE)

AL-**ʿAṬṬĀR**, like *al-ṣaydalānī*, primarily meant a perfume merchant or druggist; but as most scents (*ʿiṭr*, pl. *ʿuṭūr*) and drugs (usually *ʿaḳḳār*, pl. *ʿaḳāḳīr*) were credited with some healing properties, *ʿaṭṭār* also came to mean chemist and homoeopath (*mutaṭabbib*). His activities combine commerce with science and medicine. He has to know "the diverse drugs, curatives, drafts and scents, their good and bad varieties, as well as what is fraudulent; he must know which things change quickly or go bad, and which do not, and what means there are for their preservation or reconstitution. Finally, he must

know the mixing of drafts and potions, powders and spices" (al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *Kitāb al-Is̲h̲āra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tid̲j̲āra*; cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.* 7, 59). Today the term also sometimes includes dyers and dye-merchants, although the perfume merchants are the noblest and wealthiest of the *ʿaṭṭārūn*. As in the Middle Ages, herbal remedies—that is to say, the greater part of the medicines offered—are still sold dry (i.e., roots and wood chopped small; herbs, leaves, and flowers whole or crushed; and fruit or seed just dried). The containers were generally provided by the bazaar druggist (Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw, *Safar-nāma* [ed. Ch. Schefer], Paris 1881, 53). The plants and animals which a druggist used, and the methods of obtaining his raw materials, are particularly vividly presented in the illuminated Persian Dioscorides-manuscript Topkapı Saray Ahmed III. 2147 f. 204-475 (written in the year 867/1463 Medicines were usually given in simple form (*adwiya mufrada, Simplicia*), but they were sometimes compounded (*adwiya murakkaba, Composita*) by the *ʿaṭṭār* in the presence of the patient, who, if need be, was given a dose right away. Compare with this the miniatures in H. Buchthal, *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 5 (1942), 24-33; Bishr Farès, *Le Livre de la Thériaque* in *Art Islamique*, vol. ii, Cairo 1953, plates XI and XII.

The professional knowledge of the bazaar druggist is usually scanty, and his medicines are often completely spoilt by storage under unsuitable conditions for excessive periods. Druggists have always been known for their cheating in measures and general quackery, as is attested to both by specialised works on fraudulent practices, (such as *Kitāb al-Muk̲h̲tār fī Kas̲h̲f al-Asrār wa-Hatk al-Astār* of D̲j̲awbarī [7th century A.H.; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Sitzungs-Berichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen* 43, 206-32], which is still much read in the Orient) and by treatises on the duties of a market superviser (*muḥtasib*). M. Meyerhof reports, for instance, how French perfumes are diluted and tampered with in the bazaar, bottled in oriental flasks, and then sold to the Europeans as genuine oriental scent and to the local inhabitants as improved Parisian products. Concerning weights, measures, and vessels used by the *ʿaṭṭārūn*, more information can be found in G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps*, Supplement, New York 1951 (illustrated); for a container for measuring cf. F. E. Day, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 11, 259. In *Der Bazar der Drogen und Wohlgerüche in Kairo, Archiv für Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient* 3 (1918), 1-40, 185-218, M. Meyerhof describes how the druggists worked in mediaeval and more modern times. The best known druggists' quarter (*sūḳ al-ʿaṭṭārīn*) of ancient times was in al-Fusṭāṭ (E. J. Worman, *JQR* 8, 1906, 16-18), which was burned down almost completely in 563/1168 (but was, according to Ibn Duḳmāḳ, rebuilt under the Mamlūks), also referred to in documents from the Geniza. The *sūḳ al-ʿiṭr* of Damascus is also worthy of note (H. Sauvaire, in *JA* 9th series, vol. vii, 1896, 381, 404). A woodcut in E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* ii, facing p. 9, gives a vivid picture of a druggist's shop in the 19th century. Original bills for medicines, prescriptions, and similar texts from a druggist's practice, exist in considerable numbers on papyrus. The fact that this particular calling was very widespread is borne out by the frequency with which the term *al-ʿaṭṭār* appears as a cognomen, especially amongst poets and scholars for whom this calling may well have served as an additional source of income. The best known instance is Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār.

The same word is used in India to denote an alcohol-free perfume-oil produced by the distillation of sandalwood-oil through flowers (for instance, roses).

Bibliography: (Apart from works already mentioned in the text): A. Dietrich, *Zum Drogenhandel im islamischen Ägypten* (*Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, N.F. no. 1), Heidelberg 1954; G. Wiet, *Les marchands d'épices sous les sultans mamlouks* (*Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*), Cairo 1955. (A. Dietrich)

ʿAṬṬĀR, Farīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. Persian mystical poet. The dates of his birth and death cannot be fixed with any certainty. According to Dawlats̲h̲āh, he was born in 513/1119 and the general belief is that he was killed by the Mongols in Nīs̲h̲āpūr in the year 627/1230. This would mean that he lived to the age of 114, which is improbable, and besides, Nīs̲h̲āpūr was conquered by the Mongols as early as 617/1220. According to a *taʾrīk̲h̲* verse in some manuscripts (e.g. Ibrahim Ef. 579), in other sources (Saʿīd Nafīsī, *D̲j̲ustud̲j̲ū*, 607), and according to the inscription on the tomb erected by Mīr ʿAlī S̲h̲īr, he died as early as 586/1190, that is to say, three years after writing *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr* (Saʿīd Nafīsī 129). Saʿīd Nafīsī adheres to 627 as the date of his death, but he bases this assumption on the spurious book *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ* and on the statement of D̲j̲āmī that ʿAṭṭār had given the *Asrār-nāma* to D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī who had emigrated from Balk̲h̲ with his father in 618/1221. This emigration, however, probably took place as early as 616/1219 (Ritter in *Isl.* 26, 1942, 117-8). Nothing definite concerning the dates of his life can be got from ʿAṭṭār's own works. The one which seems to contain most biographical information, *Maẓhar al-ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, is a forgery, which unfortunately misled Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī as well as the author of this article. ʿAṭṭār was a pharmacist and doctor, and whilst not actually a Ṣūfī, he admired the holy men and was edified by the tales told about them, from his youth onward.—When attempting to compile a list of ʿAṭṭār's works, one meets with a peculiar difficulty: the works attributed to him fall into three groups which differ so considerably in content and style that it is difficult to ascribe all three to the same person. The main works of the first group are *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr, Ilāhī-nāma* and *Muṣībat-nāma*; those of the second group are *Us̲h̲turnāma* and *D̲j̲awhar al-D̲h̲āt*; and those of the third *Maẓhar al-ʿAd̲j̲āʾib* and *Lisān al-G̲h̲ayb*. There is, in addition, a fourth group of works which can—on the basis of internal evidence—be proved not to be by ʿAṭṭār. With the exception of *Asrār-nāma*, the epics of the first group consist of a clear, well-constructed main story, which is interspersed with numerous—generally short—subsidiary tales. These tales reflect a wealth of religious and profane life. Told with masterly skill, these subsidiary tales are richly varied in subject, and they are the main charm of the works of this group. In the second group the number of tales is much reduced, and the interest is withdrawn from the external world and all that occurs in it. A limited number of ideas are pursued with intensity and great emotion, and with many repetitions. The recurring themes are: complete *fanā*, even through physical death, monistic pantheism (there is nothing other than God, and all things are of one substance), the knowledge

of one's self as everything, as God, as identical with all prophets. People are repeatedly recognised as God by others, and addressed as such. The presentation is broad and ill-ordered, and full of tiresome repetitions. Frequently one does not know who is speaking or who is being addressed. Anaphora is used excessively: on occasions a hundred consecutive lines begin with the same words. Saʿīd Nafīsī considers the works of this group as spurious, and attributes them to the writer of the third group, a man from Tūn who lived in Ṭūs for a long time, who was undoubtedly a Shīʿite and must have lived in the 9th/15th century. He considers the change of style, which had been accepted both by Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and by the author of this article, to be impossible. One might object that a change of style and a limitation of the field of interest are not out of the question in a poet; that the beginnings of the use of anaphora can be found in the works of the first group; and also that some of the themes frequent in the second group are traceable in the first. I therefore do not regard it as utterly impossible that the works of the second group should be genuine, though it is rather doubtful. In the time of Djāmī—that is to say in the 9th century—at least, these works were considered genuine, because Djāmī's remark in the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* that the light of Ḥallādj had manifested itself after 150 years in ʿAṭṭār, can be based only on the works of the second group, in which Ḥallādj plays an extensive part.

The epics of the third group, on the other hand, have been conclusively proved to be spurious. In the *Maẓhar al-ʿAdjāʾib* the poet asks the reader to read Ḥāfiẓ (died 791 A.H.) and Ḳāsim-i Anwār (died 837 A.H.) and prophesies the appearance of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Saʿīd Nafīsī 146 ff.). I find such a difference in style and content between the works of the second and those of the third group, that—unlike Saʿīd Nafīsī—I should not ascribe them to the same poet. With regard to the probable chronology of the works (on the basis of self-quotation), see my *Philologika* X, in *Isl.* 25, 1939, 144-156. The conclusions drawn in that article from the statements in the *Maẓhar al-ʿAdjāʾib* (whose author has the audacity to claim all ʿAṭṭār's genuine and famous works as his own) as also in my own article "Aṭṭār" in *IA*, are now superseded.

Individual works: First group:

1) *Dīwān*: apart from love poems, this contains the exposition of the same religious thoughts as govern the epics. Printed in Tehran, but not in a critical edition.

2) *Mukhtār-nāma*: a collection of quatrains arranged according to themes, with an elucidatory prose introduction describing the origin of the work —which originally formed part of the *Dīwān*—and the destruction of the two works *Djawāhir-nāma* and *Sharḥ al-Ḳalb* (Ritter, *Philologika* X, 152-155). Incomplete publication, Teheran 1353.

3) *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr* (*Maḳāmāt al-Ṭuyūr*): grandiose poetic elaboration of the *Risālat al-Ṭayr* of Muḥammad or Aḥmad Ghazzālī. The birds, led by the hoopoe, set out to seek Sīmurgh, whom they had elected as their king. All but 30 perish on the path on which they have to traverse seven dangerous valleys (*Haft wādī*: this part appears as an independent work in some manuscripts). The surviving 30 eventually recognise themselves as being the deity (*sī murgh* = *Sīmurgh*), and then merge in the last *fanā* in the divine Sīmurgh. Inadequate edition by Garcin de Tassy, Paris 1857; *Mantic uttair ou le langage des oiseaux .... par Farid-uddin Attar*; *Traduction française* and *La poésie philosophique et religieuse chez les Persans d'après le Mantic uttair, ou le langage des oiseaux de Farid-uddin Attar*, 3rd edition, Paris 1860; on the translation by Baron E. Hermelin, Stockholm 1929, see Jan Rypka in *Archiv Orientalní* 4. 1932, 149-160. The best edition known to me is the one which appeared in Bombay in 1313 A.H., published by Cooper and Cooper. For other editions of *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr* and for works of ʿAṭṭār in general, see E. Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian printed books in the British Museum*, London 1912; A. J. Arberry, *A Catalogue of the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, Part IV. Persian Books*, and the catalogues of manuscripts. A Turkish commentary was written by Shemʿī in 1005/1596-7 (MS. Carullah 1716). For Turkish translations and studies, cf. my article on "Attar" in *IA*.

4) *Muṣībat-nāma*: a *ṣūfī* disciple (*sālik*), in his helplessness and despair, is advised by a *pīr* to visit successively all mythical and cosmic beings: angel, throne, writing tablet, stilus, heaven and hell, sun, moon, the four elements, mountain, sea, the three realms of nature, Iblīs, the spirits, the prophets, senses, phantasy, mind heart and soul (the self). In the sea of the soul, in his own self, he eventually finds the godhead. The tale may have been inspired by the *ḥadīth al-shafāʿa*. Printed in Tehran 1298 A.H.

5) *Ilāhī-nāma*: a king asks his six sons what, of all things in the world, they wish for. They wish in turn for the daughter of the fairy king, the art of witchcraft, the magic cup of Djam, the water of life, Solomon's ring, and the elixir. The royal father tries to draw them away from their worldly desires and to inspire them with higher aims. Edition by H. Ritter, Istanbul-Leipzig 1940, *Bibliotheca Islamica* 12. Concerning a Turkish version, cf. the article Attâr in *IA*.

6) *Asrār-nāma*: it has no framework-story, and repeatedly mentions the gnostic motif of the entanglement of the pre-existing soul in the base material world. ʿAṭṭār is supposed to have given a copy of this book to the young Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Printed in Tehran 1298/1880-1 Cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele, Mensch, Gott und Welt in den Geschichten des Farīduddīn ʿAṭṭār* (Leiden 1955) for content and ideas of Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6.

7) *Khusraw-nāma*: a romantic novel of love and adventure, concerning Khusraw, the son of the emperor of Rūm, and Gul, the daughter of the king of Khūzistān, with many adventures, befalling above all the faithful Gul, who is besieged by a succession of suitors. Synopsis in *Philologika* X, *Isl.* 25, 160-173. Printed in Lucknow 1295/1878.

8) *Pand-nāma*: a small moral treatise which enjoyed great popularity; it has been printed in Turkey alone at least eight times (1251, 1252, 1253, 1257, 1260, 1267, 1291). Concerning further editions see Saʿīd Nafīsī 109-10 and the above mentioned catalogues. It has been translated into several languages (compare Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ii, 603 and Saʿīd Nafīsī 108-10). As early as 1809 it was published in London by J. H. Hindley, then by de Sacy together with a French translation: *Pandnameh ou Livre des Conseils*, Paris 1819. For the Swedish translation by Baron Erik Hermelin, see Jan Rypka in *Archiv Orientalní* 4, 1932, 148 ff. The Turkish translation, completed in 964/1557, was by Emrī, who died in 988/1580, and it was repeatedly printed in Turkey together with the Persian text (1229, 1266, 1280, 1282). Turkish commentaries: Shemʿī (died 1009/1600-1), *Saʿādat-nāma*; Shuʿūrī

(died 1105/1693-4 autograph of 1083 A.H. Istanbul, Darülmesnevi 185; ʿAbdī Pasha (died 1113/1701-2), *Mufīd*; Bursalī Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī (died 1137/1724-5), in great detail, printed Istanbul 1250; Meḥmed Murād (died 1264/1849) *Māḥaḍar*, Istanbul 1252, 1260.

9) *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā*: an extensive prose work which contains the biographies and sayings of Muslim mystics. It ends with a biography of Ḥallādj, who plays such an extensive part in the works of the second group. Other biographies—over 20 in number—have been added in some manuscripts. In these, as also in his epics, ʿAṭṭār has treated his sources freely, and has often altered them in the light of his own religious ideas. For the numerous Turkish studies and translations, see the article Attâr in *IA*; in addition Saʿīd Nafīsī 110-112. The text of the edition by R. A. Nicholson, *The Tadhkiratu 'l-awliyá of Shaykh Farídu'd-dín ʿAṭṭár*, London-Leiden 1905-1907, Persian Historical Texts 3 and 5, is not always trustworthy. Other editions in Saʿīd Nafīsī 112 and in the above mentioned catalogues.

10) *Bulbul-nāma*: the birds complain to Solomon about the nightingale which, they say, disturbs them with her song to the rose. The nightingale is called upon to defend herself. Eventually Solomon orders that she be left in peace. Saʿīd Nafīsī (106-7) regards this book as spurious. Printed in Tehran 1312.

11) *Miʿrādj-nāma*: could well be an excerpt from the *naʿt* of any *mathnawī*. In the only manuscript which I have seen, it covers a mere two pages.

12) *Djumdjuma-nāma*: a rather short story which might come from any of ʿAṭṭār's epics. Jesus resurrects a skull in the desert; the dead man, who had been a great king, tells Jesus about the torments of the grave and of hell; he then embraces the true faith and dies for a second time. For Turkish editions of this little work, see *IA*: Attâr.

The works of the second group (described above):

13) *Ushtur* (*Shutur*)*-nāma*: the central figure of the first part of this work is a Turkish puppet player, who appears as a symbol of the deity. He has seven curtains to his stage and has seven assistants. He breaks the figures which he himself had created and tears the curtain. He sends his assistants in all directions and himself withdraws in order to guard his secret. A wise man asks him for the reason for his actions. By way of a reply, he is sent in front of seven curtains. There he beholds a strange, fantastic series of events, the meaning of which is to be understood symbolically. He is always sent on by a *pīr* without any clear information, and on his arrival at the 7th curtain he is asked to fetch from a grave some writing written on silk in green letters. On this God has revealed matters concerning Himself, the way towards Him, the creation, and the prophet Muḥammad. There is repeated mention of decapitation as a means of reaching God, and Ḥallādj is repeatedly pointed to as the great example. The fruitless wandering from one curtain to another is reminiscent of the cosmic journey of the *sālik* in the *Muṣībat-nāma*. The second part deals almost exclusively with Ḥallādj. On the scaffold he has talks with Djunayd, Shaykh-i Kabīr (Ibn al-Khafīf), Bāyazīd and Shiblī, and in these, as God, he develops a monistic-pantheistic theology. In spite of its length, the *Ushtur-nāma* is an important and interesting work which deserves closer study. Metre: *Ramal*.

14) *Djawhar* (*Djawāhir*) *al-Dhāt*: this epos was written after the *Ushtur-nāma*, because the latter (as well as the *Muṣībat-nāma*) is quoted in it. In this work, too, Ḥallādj is continuously presented as a model of the *fanā* and of becoming God. Among other stories, it contains the one of ʿAlī whispering the divine secrets into a cistern. These secrets are then betrayed by a reed which had grown in the cistern and had been cut into a flute. The connexion with the 18 introductory lines of the *Mathnawī*, by Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, is obvious. My assumption is that it is this story (which goes back to Midas' donkey-ears via Niẓāmī) which has inspired Djalāl al-Dīn; Saʿīd Nafīsī, who considers the work a later forgery, assumes the reverse to be the case (p. 114) (H. Ritter, *Das Prooemium des Mathnawī-i Mawlawī*, in *ZDMG* 93, 169-196). The epic also contains the story of the youth who went on a sea voyage with his father, recognised himself as God and jumped into the sea in order to lose himself completely in the divine nature. The youth is also recognised as God by a fellow-passenger. The *motif* of the recognition of a man as a God by another man also appears in other works of this group. This work was printed in Teheran in 1315/1355.

15) *Haylādj-nāma*: a poor imitation of the second part of the *Ushtur-nāma*. Metre: *Hazadj*. Lithographed, Tehran 1253.

16) *Manṣūr-nāma*: a short tale in the metre *Ramal*, beginning: *Būd Manṣūr ay ʿadjab shūrīda ḥāl*. It is a short description of the martyrdom of Ḥallādj.

17) *Bisar-nāma*: a short *Mathnawī*, the centre of which consists of self-deification (*Man khudāyam man khudāyam man khudā*) and *fanā* by decapitation. It contains verses from other *mathnawīs* of this group. Its content is connected with the second part of the *Ushtur-nāma*. Lithographed, Tehran 1319 and several times in Lucknow.

The works of the third group (undoubtedly by another hand):

18) *Maẓhar al-ʿAdjāʾib* (the "place where miracles appear") is an honorary name for ʿAlī, to whose glorification this work is dedicated. He is the divine man, the bearer of divine secrets, the Shāh of all beings, prophets and angels. Legends about ʿAlī play a large part. The author claims all the works of ʿAṭṭār as his own, and gives great biographical detail, including the meeting with Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā. Lithograph, Tehran 1323. Saʿīd Nafīsī 126 ff.

19) *Lisān al-Ghayb*: again a Shīʿite work by the same poet, who explicitly renounces Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān. Saʿīd Nafīsī 122-3. These two works have no literary value.

Works of the fourth group (demonstrably spurious on the basis of internal evidence):

20) *Khayyāṭ-nāma*: for contents see E. Berthels, *Farīdaddīn ʿAṭṭār's Khayyāṭ-Nāma*, in *Bull. de l'Ac. des Sc. de L'URSS*, Classe des Humanités 1929, 201-214. Ḥādjdjī Khalīa attributes the work to a certain Khayyāṭ-i Kāshānī. Berthels considers it genuine.

21) *Waṣlat-nāma*: the poet is a man called Buhlūl. Saʿīd Nafīsī 131-132.

22) *Kanz al-Asrār* (= *Kanz al-Baḥr* = *Tardjamat al-Aḥādīth*): compiled 699/1299-1300. *Philologika* X, 157; Saʿīd Nafīsī 120.

23) *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ*: compiled 688/1289-90, according to other manuscripts 587/1191-2, by a man from Zandjan, *Philologika* X, 157; Saʿīd Nafīsī 127-128.

24) *Waṣiyyat-nāma*: compiled 850/1446-7. *Philologika* X 158. Perhaps = *Waṣlat-nāma*?

25) *Kanz al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*: contains a panegyric to a prince by name of Nīkū Ghāzī. Concerning the possibly corrupt name of this prince see Saʿīd Nafīsī

121, Ritter, *Philologika* X, 158. Concerning four other spurious works, compare *ibid.*, 154.

Bibliography: Works other than those mentioned in the text: Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, Introduction to E. G. Browne's edition of the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā*; H. Ritter, *Philologika* X in *Isl.* 25, 1939, 134-173; idem, the article in *IA*. (All three articles still take *Maẓhar al-ʿAdjāʾib* to be genuine and use it as a source for biographical matter); Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Djustudjū dar Aḥwāl u Āthār-i Farīduddīn ʿAṭṭār-i Nishābūrī*, Tehran 1320. Apart from these, histories of literature and catalogues of manuscripts.

(H. Ritter)

al-ʿAṬṬĀR, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, Egyptian scholar of Maghribine origin, born in Cairo after 1180/1766. He studied at al-Azhar, and was one of the few *ʿulamāʾ* who, after the occupation of Egypt by Bonaparte, entered into relations with the French scholars and took an active interest in the new learning. He then spent many years in Syria and Turkey, and on his return to Egypt was employed as editor of the Official Journal (*al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*) founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī (1244/1828). In 1245/1830 he was installed as Shaykh al-Azhar by Muḥammad ʿAlī, with whose programme he was thought to be in sympathy, and died in office in 1250/1835. He was probably most influential as the teacher of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*], but his handbook of correspondence (*Inshāʾ al-ʿAṭṭār*) enjoyed a wide vogue, and was frequently reprinted at Cairo and in India.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, iv, 38-40; Ph. Tarrāzī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ṣaḥāfa al-ʿArabiyya*, i, Beirut 1913, 128-30; Brockelmann, II, 473; S II, 720; E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. ix; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Hist. of Education in Modern Egypt*, London 1940, 154, 265, 397; Sulaymān Raṣad, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo 1320, 138-41.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ATTACK [see atak].

ATTRIBUTE [see ṣifa].

AURÈS [see awrās].

AVARS (Awar, from Ādharī Turkish *avarali:* "unstable", "vagabond") *Ibero-Caucasian people*, inhabiting the mountainous part of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Dāghistān (basins of the rivers Ḳoysu of Andi, Ḳoysu Awar, Ḳara-Ḳoysu and Tleyserukh) and the northern part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan. The Avars are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī rite. In 1955 their numbers were estimated at 240,000, of whom 40,000 approximately were in the Belokanī and Zakatalī districts of Azerbaijan.

The Avars are divided into two major groups—formerly federations of tribes (*bo*), which are subdivided into clans (*kʿibilʿ*): the Maarulal group (from *maar* "mountain" in Avar, in Russian *tawlinsti* from the Ḳumīḳ *taw*: mountain) to the North of the plateau of Khūnzāḳ, and the Bagaulal (in Avar: rough men), composed of the southern clans. The Avars claim to have been converted to Islam by the Arabs. According to a legendary tradition, Islam is said to have been introduced to Khūnzāḳ by the Amīr Abū Muslim, and his tomb and sword are still shown there. In point of fact, this tradition confuses Amīr Abū Muslim, who never went to Dāghistān, and the Shaykh Abū Maslama, who is reputed to have lived there in the 5th/11th century. In point of fact, when the Arabs arrived in Dāghistān, Christianity and even Judaism had already taken root in the Avar country and Islam only penetrated very slowly, since Christianity in the Georgian rite survived at Kakhib until the 10th/16th century. However, in the 5th/11th century, the Tanush *aul*, capital of the Avar principality of the Nutsal, originally a vassal of the Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ (see lak), was already a Muslim stronghold and one of the principal centres of Arab culture of Upper Daghistān. The islamisation of the country was completed during the brief period of Ottoman domination (965-1015/1558-1606), that is to say at the time of the formation of the Avar Khānate, whose rulers claimed (legendary) descent from the Arab governors of Khūnzāḳ.

In the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries, the Avar Khānate dominated Upper Dāghistān culturally and politically, especially with Ummu-Khān Avar (died 1634), who codified the Avar *ʿādat*, and his successors who received tribute from the King of Georgia and from the Khāns of Shirwān, Shekkī and Darband. However, the lords of Khūnzāḳ were never able to completely unite Avaristān, which remains divided amongst a multitude of clans, some grouped in free federations (*bo*) and others tributary to the Khānate.

In 1727 the Avar Khānate accepted the Russian protectorate for the first time, but soon rejected it. It was again imposed for a second time on ʿUmar Khān in 1802, then once more in 1803 on his son and successor Ṣulṭān Aḥmad Khān.

In 1821, after the revolt of Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān, Avaristān was occupied by Russian forces which, without assuming power directly, were content to provide the ruler with military advisers. From that time, the plateau of Khūnzāḳ served the Russians as a springboard for the conquest of Upper Dāghistān. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Avar country became the field of activity of the initiates of the Naḳshbandiyya order, who in 1830 instigated a popular movement there directed both against the Khānate, which was in alliance with the Russians, and against the "infidels". The Khānate was overthrown in 1834 by the Imām Ḥamza Beg [*q.v.*] and the Russians were shortly afterwards expelled from Avaristān. The surrender of the Imām Shāmil [*q.v.*] on 25 August 1859 put an end to the imāmate; the Russians re-established the Avar Khānate, placing Ibrāhīm Khān of Meḥtulin at its head. However, on 22 February 1863, Ibrāhīm Khān was arrested and sent into exile; on 2 April 1864, the Khānate was finally suppressed and its territory annexed to the Avar *okrug* administered directly by the Russian authorities.

After the October Revolution, the Avar territory became part of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Dāghistān, attached to the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist republic (decree of the Supreme Soviet of January the 20th 1921).

The Avar language belongs to the North-Eastern branch (Dāghistānī) of the Northern group of Ibero-Caucasian languages. Its sphere extends from the *aul* of Čirinot to Novo-Zakatali in Azerbaijan, 170 km. further to the South; it is subdivided into numerous dialects (almost one to each clan) forming two main groups: the Northern (or Khūnzāḳ) dialects and the Southern dialects (Antsukh, Čokh, Gidatli and Zakatali). The literary language was formed from the *Bolmats* ("language of the army"), the vehicle of inter-tribal relations from the 16th century onwards. In the middle of the 17th century, Avar was endowed with an Arabic alphabet (completed by numerous signs for the transcription of

Ibero-Caucasian phonemes), (called "Old ʿAdjam") which was finally perfected by Dibir, ḳāḍī of Khūnzāḳ (1747-1827). Avar literature was born at the same period with Muḥammad b. Mūsā of Kudatli (died 1708), who wrote in Arabic, and Dibir, ḳāḍī of Khūnzāḳ, who translated *Kalīla wa Dimna* into Avar. At the beginning of the 19th century, it was enriched by a spate of religious and didactic works, then, in Shāmil's time, by satricial and lyrical works, the chief representative of which was the poet Maḥmūd of Betl-Kakhab rosso (1873-1919). This literature first of all found expression in Arabic and then in Avar. In 1920 the old alphabet was replaced by a simplified Arabic alphabet of 38 letters (called "New ʿAdjam"), for which in 1928 a new Latin alphabet was substituted and then in 1938 a Cyrillic alphabet.

At the present time (1957), the Avars are numerically the largest nationality in Dāghistān (200,000 for a total population of one million) and the most advanced. They have a literature of their own, the most famous representative of which is Ḥamzat Tsadasa (1873-1951), Lenin Prize winner in 1950, an Avar language press and a well developed network of schools, where instruction is given in the national language up to the 5th class, and in Russian in the senior classes.

The literary Avar language is used by the Arči [*q.v.*] and by the thirteen small, Andi [*q.v.*] and Dido [*q.v.*] nationalities which have no written language and are rapidly becoming absorbed into the Avar nationality; it also serves as a secondary language for certain other peoples of Upper Dāghistān, who are subject to the cultural influence of the Avars (Dargin, Laks [*q.v.*]). Russian, however, continues to be the administrative language of Dāghistān. The Avars of Azerbaijan are losing the use of their mother tongue, which is being replaced by Ādharī Turkish.

In the territory of Avaristān occupying the mountainous and little accessible region of Central Dāghistān, the Awars remain essentially nomadic sheep breeders, and in the valleys horticulturists on a small scale (terraced orchards). Traditional crafts are very much developed: woven woollen goods, carpets, copper work (*auls* of Yotsatl' and Čičali), work on leather, work in gold, artistic work on wood (*auls* of Untsukul and Batsada), wrought iron work (*auls* of Sogratl', Golotl', Kakhih). The industrialisation of the country, which was started about 1936, is still in the initial stages.

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(H. Carrère d'Encausse and A. Bennigsen).

AVENPACE [see ibn bādjdja].

AVENZOAR [see ibn zuhr].

AVERROES [see ibn rushd].

AVICENNA [see ibn sīnā].

AVROMAN [see hawrāmān].

ĀWA (*Āvah, Āveh*), the name of two towns in central Īrān.

1) A town of Āwa, at present called Āwadj, lies 70 m. (111 km.) S.-W. of Ḳazwīn on the road to Hamadān, ca. 35° 35′ N. lat. and 49° 15′ E. long. (Greenw.). The town is reckoned in the cold zone (*sardsīr*) because of its altitude. In 1950 it had ca. 1800 Persian and Turkish speaking inhabitants.

There are only short notices of the town in medieval geographers. Yāḳūt, i, 387, mentions a savant called Āwaḳī from there. The only old building in the vicinity is a caravanseray from the time of Shāh ʿAbbās.

2) Another town, also called *Ābeh*, is now a village in the Djaʿfarābād county of the Sāwa district, ca. 18¾ m. (30 km.) west of Ḳumm on the usually dry Gāwmāhā River, 34° 45′ N. lat and 50° 20′ E. long (Greenw.). The medieval geographers mention it together with Sāwa. It was plundered by the Mongols but apparently regained importance, if this is the Āwa where Īl-khānid coins were minted (see B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1955, 129).

The present village had 885 inhabitants in 1950, ardent Shīʿites as in the past of the town. There are many ancient artificial mounds in the vicinity of Āwa, and an old *imāmzāda* in the village.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 196, 211; P. Schwartz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 5, 549, 542; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 60, 221 (only the second Āwa); Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, 1, Tehran 1950, 26-7; P. Schwartz, *Drei Ortslagen in Nord-Iran*, in *Isl.* 8, 1918, 18, (only the first Āwa = Ud?).

(R. N. Frye)

AWADH (Oudh), a tract of country comprising the Lucknow and Fayḍābād divisions of the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh. It has an area of 24, 168 square miles and a population of 15, 514, 950, of which 14, 156, 139 are to be found in the rural districts. (Census of India, 1951). From very early times Awadh, which forms part of the great alluvial plain of northern India, has been the peculiar home of Hindu civilisation. It corresponds roughly to the Middle Country, the Madhya-desha of the sacred Hindu writings, where dwelt the gods and heroes of the Epic Period whose deeds are recorded in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. Here too arose a number of religious reactions against the sacerdotalism and the social exclusiveness of Brahmanism.

Apart from marauding expeditions, such as Maḥmūd of Ghazna's attack upon Manaič and the doubtful exploits of Sālār Masʿūd Ghāzī recorded in the *Mir'āt-i Masʿūdī* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Čishtī, it was not until the last decade of the twelfth century, in the days of Ḳutb al-Dīn Aybak, that the Muslim invaders established themselves in Awadh and annexed it to the Dihlī Sultānate. It formed a province of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's extensive empire, but towards the close of the fourteenth century was absorbed by the Sharḳī kingdom of Djawnpūr, of which it remained an integral part until reconquered by the Lodī sultans of Dihlī. In the reign of Akbar it was annexed to the Mughal empire. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl it was divided into five *sarkārs* and thirty-eight *parganas*. It extended from the Ganges on the south-west as far as the Gandak on the north-east; and from the river Sai in

the south to the Tarai of Nepāl in the north. (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, 170-7. Jarrett, H.S., *Bib. Ind.*, 1891). Local traditions in Awadh, however, conflict with the Muslim accounts and suggest that the Rādjput chiefs maintained their authority practically intact throughout the Mug̲h̲al period. (W. C. Benett, *The Chief Clans of the Roy Bareilly District*, 1895). The weakness of the central government after the death of Awrangzīb gave the nawābs of Awadh an opportunity of asserting their independence, although nominally they still acknowledged the authority of the Mug̲h̲al emperor.

Saʿādat K̲h̲ān Burhān al-Mulk, the founder of the Awadh dynasty, was descended from a respectable Sayyid family of Nīs̲h̲āpūr (*Muntak̲h̲ab al-Lubāb* of K̲h̲āfī K̲h̲ān, ii, 902). During his nawābship (1722-39) Benares, G̲h̲āzīpūr, D̲j̲awnpūr and Čunār were annexed to his dominions. His successor, Ṣafdar D̲j̲ang (1739-54), was appointed *wazīr* of the empire in 1748. He invited the Marāthās to assist him against the Bangash Pathāns of Farruk̲h̲ābād who were supported by the Rohillas. The engagements entered into at that time formed the basis of later Marāthā claims on Rohilk̲h̲and. Ṣafdar D̲j̲ang's son and successor, the *nawāb-wazīr* S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla (1754-75), came into conflict with the rising power of the English East India Company and was totally defeated at Baksar in 1764 This left Awadh at the disposal of the Company By the treaty of Allāhābād (1765) Clive restored Awadh to S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla with the exception of Kora and Allāhābād, which were handed over to the emperor for the upkeep of his dignity and expenses. This alliance with S̲h̲ud̲j̲ā al-Dawla was purely defensive. It was the germ of all subsequent subsidiary alliances with Awadh because the extraordinary expenses of all troops supplied by the Company were to be defrayed by S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla. By these means Awadh was converted into a buffer state against Marāthā encroachments. In the main this was a sound policy. Its chief weakness from a strategical point of view was the handing over of Kora and Allāhābād to the Mug̲h̲al emperor as the defence of Awadh necessitated the defence of these districts. The reinstatement of S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla was a wise move as the Company at that time were in no position to annex and administer Awadh. By the treaty of Benares (1773) Warren Hastings placed the Company's relations with this important buffer state between Bengal and the Marāthās on a firmer footing. In future its ruler had to defray all the expenses of the Company's troops required for the defence of his country, namely 210,000 rupees a month. Because the emperor had deserted the Company and become a puppet in the hands of the Marāthās, Kora and Allāhābād were sold to the ruler of Awadh for fifty lakhs of rupees. (For these negotiations *see The Benares Diary of Warren Hastings*, ed. C. Collin Davies, Camden Miscellany, Royal Historical Society, vol. lxxix, 1948).

The accession of the incapable Āṣaf al-Dawla (1775-97) enabled the hostile majority on Warren Hastings' council to alter his policy towards Awadh. By the treaty of Fayḍābād (1775) the subsidy for the use of the Company's troops was raised to 260,000 rupees *per mensem* and the new nawāb was forced to cede Rāja Chait Singh's *zamīndārī* of Benares, D̲j̲awnpūr and G̲h̲āzīpūr in full sovereignty to the Company. By the treaty of Čunār (1781) Hastings, who had regained control over his council, proposed to reform Āṣaf al-Dawla's administration by reducing the number of English troops stationed in his territories. Unfortunately the weakness of the nawāb's government prevented this and Hastings was forced to retain both the permanent and temporary brigades. His share in the resumption of the *d̲j̲āgīrs* and in the sequestration of the treasures of the bēgums of Awadh, the mother and wife of Āṣaf al-Dawla, formed one of the charges against him on impeachment. Certain conclusions may be drawn from Hastings' conduct of the Company's relations with Awadh. His object was to prevent any development which would impair the efficiency of the buffer state and weaken the Company's defences. He therefore contended that the Company had a right to dethrone a disloyal or unsuitable ruler. He also insisted on ministers favourable to the British connexion. The trouble he experienced in controlling the English Residents in Awadh, both Middleton and Bristow, illustrates the difficulty of formulating written instructions which were not liable to misinterpretation. Because of the close connexion between Awadh and Bengal a policy of non-intervention was impossible. Under the incapable Āṣaf al-Dawla Awadh could not have preserved its independence without the Company's assistance. It certainly would not have been free from Marāthā depredations. In the main Hastings' policy was followed by Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore. Cornwallis reduced the Company's demands on Awadh to fifty lakhs of rupees a year, but, on the accession of Saʿādat ʿAlī K̲h̲ān (1798-1814) Shore raised the subsidy to seventy-six lakhs. In 1801 Lord Wellesley forced Saʿādat ʿAlī K̲h̲ān to cede Rohilk̲h̲and, Farruk̲h̲ābād, Mainpurī, Etāwah, Cawnpore, Fatehgarh, Allāhābād, Azimgarh, Bastī, and Gorak̲h̲pur. This meant that Awadh ceased to be a buffer state, for, except where it was bounded by Nepāl, it was entirely surrounded by British territory. Its weakness as a buffer state had been Wellesley's excuse for these annexations. Saʿādat ʿAlī K̲h̲ān was succeeded by his eldest son, G̲h̲āzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar, who was the first ruler of Awadh to assume the title of king. The remaining kings of Awadh were Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḥaydar (1827-37), Muhammad ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (1837-42), Amd̲j̲ad ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (1842-47) and Wād̲j̲id ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (1847-56).

It was a provision of the treaty of 1801 that the ruler of Awadh should introduce into his country a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and calculated to secure their lives and property. In spite of repeated warnings nothing was done and misgovernment continued unchecked. On these grounds Awadh was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1856. Wād̲j̲id ʿAlī S̲h̲āh received a pension and was allowed to reside at Calcutta where he died in 1887, his title expiring with him. The annexation of Awadh was one of the causes of the 1857 Mutiny. Some of the fiercest fighting during this uprising took place at Lucknow and Cawnpore.

After its annexation Awadh was controlled by a Chief Commissioner, until, in 1877, both Agra and Awadh were placed under the same administrator, who was known as the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Awadh. The title of Chief Commissioner was dropped on the formation of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1902. It was not, however, until 1921 that this administration was raised to the status of a Governor's province.

The first land revenue settlement after annexation was carried out with a lack of consideration for the great *taluḳdārī* families of the province, who were ousted from the greater part of their estates. This

was reversed after the Mutiny when Lord Canning reverted to a *taluḳdārī* settlement and confirmed the rights of the *taluḳdārs* by *sanads*.

To-day in Awadh Muslims are to be found chiefly where they held sway in the past, their preference for urban life explaining their presence in the chief towns. The old *taluḳdārī* system has been abolished and a new rural hierarchy of officials and village organisations has sprung up as a result of the Uttar Pradesh Village Panchayat Act of 1947. Villages or groups of villages with a population of 1,500 have been constituted into a *gāon sabhā* with certain powers of local administration. Groups of *gāon sabhās* are controlled by *panchāyat ʿadālats* with judicial powers extending to civil, criminal and revenue cases. There are about 9,466 *gāon sabhās* and 2,180 *panchāyat ʿadālats* in Awadh.

Bibliography: (For the Persian authorities on the history of Awadh see Storey, i, 703-13); C. U. Atchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* i, Calcutta 1909; P. Basu, *Oudh and the East India Company* 1785-1801, Lucknow 1943; W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*. 4 vols., Calcutta 1896; C. C. Davies, *Warren Hastings and Oudh*, Oxford 1939; *The Benares Diary of Warren Hastings*, Royal Historical Society, vol. lxxix 1948; D. Dewar, *Handbook of the Records of the United Provinces*, 1919; C. A. Elliott, *Chronicles of Oonao*, Allahabad 1862; M. R. Gubbins, *The Mutinies in Oudh*, London 1858; *Tafḍīḥ al-Ghāfilīn*, transl. W. Hoey, Allahabad 1885; Muḥammad Fāʾiz Bakhsh, *Taʾrīkh-i Faraḥbakhsh* (transl. W. Hoey, *Memoirs of Dehli and Faizabad*, 2 vols., Allāhābād 1888-9); H. C. Irwin, *The Garden of India*, London 1880; W. Knighton, *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, Oxford 1921; Khayr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Tuḥfa-i Tāza* (Balwantnāma); W. Oldham, *Historical and Statistical Account of the Ghazeepoor District*, Allāhābād 1870; *Papers relating to Land Tenures and Revenue Settlement in Oudh*, Calcutta 1865; *Papers respecting a reform in the administration of the government of ......* the *Nawab-Wazir*, London 1824; *Parliamentary Papers, Oudh*, vol., xliii, 1857-8; *Report on the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, published annually; W. H. Sleeman, *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh in* 1849-1850, 2 vols., 1858; A. L. Srivastava, *The first two Nawabs of Oudh*, Lucknow 1933; idem, *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, 2 vols., Calcutta 1939-45. (C. Collin Davies)

AWĀDHILA [see ʿAwdhila].

AWĀʾIL. Plural of *awwal* "first", technically used to denote various ideas such as the "primary data" of philosophical or physical phenomena; the "ancients" of either pre-Islamic or early Islamic times; and the "first inventors" of things (or the things invented or done first).

In the last mentioned connotation, the term characterises a minor branch of Muslim literature with affinities to *adab*, historical, and theological literature. Among the Muslims themselves, only the 10th/17th-century Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), i, 490; Istanbul 1941-3, col. 1996, defines the *awāʾil* as a separate "science" relating to history and *adab*.

Curiosity about the origin of things was deeply rooted in the historical consciousness of the ancient Semites and reached the Arabs through such literary media as the Bible. The Hellenistic world possessed a literature on the first inventors (*Peri Heurêmatôn*, cf., most recently, A. Kleingünther, *Prôtos Heuretês*, in *Philologus, Supplementband* XXVI, i, 1934), the history of science, such as the origins of medicine, became known in Islam directly through translation (cf. Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn, *Taʾrīkh al-Aṭibbāʾ*, in *Oriens*, 1954, 55-80, whose source was Ps.-Galen's *Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath*, or, more generally, the ample material preserved in the introduction of Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī's *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*). For the Muslims, the knowledge of the "firsts" connected with the history of Muḥammad and the beginnings of Islam was a matter of far-reaching legal and practical importance in many respects, and already the earliest known literature on the biography of Muḥammad pays attention to it. Muslim customs, such as clipping the moustache, using the toothpick, etc., were justified by ascribing their first use to the great religious leaders of the past, in this case Abraham (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-Maʿārif* (De Jong), 6). With the growing historical interest of the Muslims not only in political history but also in the history of civilisation and science (cf., especially, the introductory remarks to each chapter of the *Fihrist*, on the origin of the science treated in that particular chapter), the question: Who was first ?, was soon asked in connexion with every conceivable subject and always answered, though often in a rather fanciful manner. Nevertheless, the *awāʾil* works are brilliant expressions of the cultural outlook and historical sense of their authors, and they are full of valuable material and interesting insights. The wide intellectual appeal of the subject shows itself in the fact that since the beginning of our era, the Chinese also had a literature on the origins (cf. J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* I, 51 ff., Cambridge 1954) and again in late medieval Europe, successful works on the first inventors were produced, such as the alphabetically arranged chapter on the inventors from *De viris illustribus* by the fourteenth-century Guglielmo da Pastrengo (published in Venice 1547, under the title of *De originibus rerum* fols. 78a-89a) and the famous, widely read *De originibus rerum*, by Polydore Vergil which first appeared in 1499.

Our oldest known representative of the Muslim *awāʾil* literature dates from the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. The large *Muṣannaf* of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849; Brockelmann, S I, 215) is said to contain, at (or rather, near) the end, a section on *awāʾil*, which was used as a source in al-Shiblī, *Maḥāsin al-Wasāʾil ilā Maʿrifat al-Awāʾil*. It appears to deal with the *awāʾil* of early Islam and the origins of Muslim history and customs. The end of the section is preserved in MS Berlin 9409; the large sets of the *Muṣannaf* could not be consulted.

At the same period, works entitled *Kitāb al-Awāʾil* were composed by Hishām b. al-Kalbī (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 252); al-Madāʾinī (*Fihrist*, 104); al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb (*Fihrist* 221), whose list of works is duplicated in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 32, under the name of Aḥmad al-Raḳḳī; and a certain Saʿīd b. Saʿdūn al-ʿAṭṭār (*Fihrist* 171) of unknown date. Since none of these works is preserved or quoted in the later *awāʾil* literature, it remains extremely doubtful whether they dealt with *awāʾil* in the sense discussed here (or, at any rate, contained some *awāʾil* material). According to the description given in *Fihrist* 133, the *Kitāb al-Awāʾil* by the 4th/10th-century al-Marzubānī appears to have dealt not with first inventors but with the history of the ancient Persians and the Muʿtazila.

Late in the 3rd/9th century, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 273-7, devoted to the *awāʾil* a chapter in a historical context (cf. also the later

al-Thaʿālibī, *op. cit.*, 3-17). In an *adab* context, a chapter on *awāʾil* appears in the early 4th/10th century in al-Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin* (Schwally), 392-6. Theological *awāʾil* works were written at about that time by Abū ʿArūba [*q.v.*] and al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971; Brockelmann, S I, 279).

Adab literature provided its first monograph treatment of the subject in the *Kitāb al-Awāʾil* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005), who claims to have had no predecessors. He restricts himself to material derived from Arab and Muslim history, with the inclusion of some Persian and biblical references, and ignores 'Greek' cultural and scientific data. He succeeds in clearly underscoring the view of Muslim historians that every important and good invention dates back to the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period while subsequent ages as a rule produced insignificant and undesirable inventions. Al-ʿAskarī's book remained a much quoted standard work which served as a basis for later efforts, such as the *awāʾil* works of the 8th/14th century al-ʿAtāʾiḳī and al-Suyūṭī (cf. Brockelmann, I, 132; S I, 193 f.).

There appears to have been a gap of about two centuries in the *awāʾil* literature. From the early 7th/13th century, we then have the *Ghāyat al-Wasāʾil ilā Maʿrifat al-Awāʾil* by al-Mawṣilī (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 597 f.; H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, 1950, 80 f.). A historical handbook based on the *awāʾil* scheme is the above-mentioned *Maḥāsin* by the 8th/14th century Shiblī (cf. Brockelmann, II, 90 f.; S II, 82; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 129, fn. 1), a highly informative work. Al-Shiblī's literary effort appears to have been continued by the poet Ibn Khaṭīb Dārayyā (cf. Brockelmann, II, 17; S II, 7; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), i, 490). On the other hand, the theological inclination of some 9th/15th-century scholars finds expression in their *awāʾil* works, which might have followed the lead of Ibn Ḥadjar's *Iḳāmat al-Dalāʾil ʿalā Maʿrifat al-Awāʾil* (which has not yet been recovered, cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *loc. cit.*). Abū Bakr b. Zayd al-Djirāʿī (form uncertain, d. in 883/1478, cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, xi, 32 f.) thus arranged his *Kitāb al-Awāʾil* (Ms. Berlin 9368) more or less according to the chapters of the science of traditions, and the same was done by al-Suyūṭī, in his instructive *Wasāʾil ilā Maʿrifat al-Awāʾil* which was based to some degree upon al-ʿAskarī. In turn, al-Suyūṭī's work was used by ʿAlī Dede al-Bosnawī (d. 1007/1598, cf. Brockelmann, II, 562 f.; S II, 635) who, as was the custom among certain later authors, also included the "last things (*awākhir*)" that happened (cf., in this connexion al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, Damascus 1349/1930-1, 13; F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 214 f. For a further user of al-Suyūṭī, cf. G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1950, 3). Another great historian of that time, Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546), wrote *ʿUnwān al-Rasāʾil fi Maʿrifat al-Awāʾil* (Ms. Cairo, Taymūr, *Taʾrīkh* 1467; cf. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn*, Damascus 1348/1929-30).

The subject was also versified in a work entitled *Wasāʾil al-Sāʾil ilā Maʿrifat al-Awāʾil* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), vi, 435) which appears to have been preserved in MS. Cairo, *Madjāmīʿ* 474, fols. 28b-36b. In the Cairo manuscript, the author is called Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. (Abi) 'l-Luṭf, apparently either the father or the son, who died in 971/1564 and 993/1585, respectively (cf. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*; Brockelmann, II, 367; S II, 394). The active literary interest in the subject continued into modern times (cf. M. al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā Taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, ii, 481).

Bibliography: R. Gosche, *Die Kitāb al-awāʾil. Eine literarhistorische Studie*, Halle 1867, which includes the edition of a small portion of al-Suyūṭī. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasāʾil ilā Maʿrifat al-Awāʾil*, Cairo 1950. None of the independent *awāʾil* works has so far been edited in its entirety. Brockelmann, I, 132, S I, 193 f., S III, 1265; S I, 279 f.; S I, 597 f.; II, 90 f., S II, 82; II, 203. S II, 197; II, 562, S II, 635; A. J. Wensinck and others, *Concordance*, i, 134 f.; Ahlwardt, Catalogue Berlin nos. 9368-76 (most of the works cited under no. 9376 are, however, no *awāʾil* works); *MMIA*, 1941, 357-9, on the section dealing with *awāʾil* in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī (Brockelmann, II, 300 f.; S. II, 323 f.), *al-Fawāʾiḥ al-Miskiyya*. The *awāʾil* are treated as part of the historical equipment of the government secretary by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 412-36. A short Syriac text of the Muslim period in E. Sachau, *Verzeichniss d. syr. Hss.*, 331. Berlin 1899. (F. Rosenthal)

ʿAWĀLIḲ [see ʿAWLAḲĪ].

ʿAWĀMIR, al- (sg. ʿĀmirī), a tribe of Bedouins and villagers in Southern and Eastern Arabia. The tribe is split into three main groups living in the following areas: (1) al-Ḳaff between the southern edge of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī and Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, (2) southern al-Ẓafra between Ḳaṭar and al-Buraymī, and (3) ʿUmān. The groups are completely separate and have little intercourse with each other, though they recognize their common kinship, and the two main divisions of the tribe, Āl Badr and Āl Lazz, exist in all three groups. The southern group, whose range abuts on that of al-Ṣayʿar at the well of Tamīs in the west and on that of al-Manāhīl at the well of Thamūd in the east, is mainly nomadic, though its members are not accustomed to pasturing their herds in the sands of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, as is done by most of the Bedouin tribes in this region. The chief (*tamīma*) of this group is Ibn al-Ṭabāzā of Āl Badr. Like most of the Arabs in this part of Arabia, the southern ʿAwāmir are Shāfiʿīs. The central group consists entirely of nomads, who are among the hardiest sand-dwellers of eastern al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, moving about so much that they have no claim to a range of their own. The shaikhly clan headed by Ibn al-Rakkāḍ of Āl Badr is said to have had an origin outside the tribe. Some of these ʿAwāmir are Ḥanbalīs, the rest Shāfiʿīs. The eastern group is found almost entirely in villages in the area between Wādī Ḥalfīn and Wādī ʿAndām south of the Samāʾil pass through the mountains of al-Ḥadjar, with some offshoots in al-Bāṭina, al-Ẓāhira, and the vicinity of Muscat. There are two principal chiefs in this group, Ibn Khamīs of Āl Badr in Ḳalʿat al-ʿAwāmir and Ibn Sulaymān of Āl Lazz in al-Ḥumayḍa. As Ibāḍīs the eastern ʿAwāmir recognise the Ibāḍī Imam of ʿUmān and the temporal authority of his lieutenant in al-Sharḳiyya, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿĪsā al-Ḥārithī. These ʿAwāmir have a tradition of having emigrated long ago from Nadjd, and their war-cry of *Yā awlād ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa* indicates their claim to a descent from the famous tribe of ancient times (see ʿĀMIR B. ṢAʿṢAʿA). Certain smaller elements in Eastern Arabia such as Āl Silm and Bayt Ḳayʿāl tend to associate themselves with the ʿAwāmir; in some cases this may be due to the attraction of a glorious name.

Bibliography: Arabian American Oil Co., *Oman and the Southern Shore of the Persian Gulf*, Cairo 1952; S. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, London 1919; *Memorial of the Government of Saudi Arabia* [Buraimi Arbitration], 1955. (R. L. Headley)

ʿAWĀNA b. al-ḤAKAM al-KALBĪ, Arabic historian, d. 147/764 or 153/770. His genealogy and descent are disputed. His father's name is given as al-Ḥakam b. ʿAwāna b. ʿIyāḍ b. Wizr (Yāḳūt, vi, 93; cf. *Djamhara* (Lévi-Provençal), 428, and *Fihrist* 134); Abū ʿUbayda, however, asserted that al-Ḥakam's father was a slave tailor (Yāḳūt, *ibid.*, citing verses by Dhu 'l-Rumma, for which cf. Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shuʿarāʾ* (M. Shākir), 482, and *Aghānī*, xvi, 121). Al-Ḥakam was the lieutenant of Asad al-Ḳasrī in Khurāsān in 109/727 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1501; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 428) and later governor of Sind, where he founded al-Maḥfūẓa and al-Manṣūra (Balādhurī, 444). According to Ibn al-Nadīm, ʿAwāna was a blind Kūfan narrator and scholar in poetry and genealogy, and compiled two historical works, on the life of Muʿāwiya and the Umayyads. The latter are known only from citations in later works; al-Ṭabari quotes ʿAwāna in 51 passages, all of which (except for one passage relating to ʿUmar and another to the battle of «the Camel») relate to events from Muʿāwiya to ʿAbd al-Malik; al-Balādhurī cites him frequently for the same events, and in *Futūḥ* adds further citations relating to the conquest of al-ʿIrāḳ, also to the conquest of Ṭabaristān under Sulaymān. He is thus one of the chief authorities for the earlier Umayyad period. He seldom cites his own sources, but shows some care in fixing the dates of events; his style is clear and lucid, and his narratives are often detailed. He is also interested in poetry and literary events (for which he is often cited in the *Aghānī* and in other literary works), as well as in social life and administration. Although he is charged with partiality towards the ʿUthmāniyya and the Umayyads (Yāḳūt, vi, 94), the quotations from his works show little evidence of prejudice, whether for the Umayyads, or for Kūfa, or for Kalb. They are transmitted chiefly through Hishām b. al-Kalbī, al-Madāʾinī, and al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, but occasionally also by other scholars; he is not, however, as is asserted by one of Yāḳūt's authorities, the source of most of al-Madāʾinī's information.

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AWAR [see avars].

ʿAWĀRIḌ. A term used under the Ottoman régime down to the second quarter of the nineteenth century to denote contributions of various types exacted by the central government in the sultan's name, and hence often referred to as *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye*. The Ottoman fief-system dispensed the central government from the collection of revenues for the payment of the feudal militia and many officers and officials, while the institution of *waḳf* likewise relieved it of responsibility for the initiation and upkeep of public works of all kinds. But both deprived it of vast revenues, and those that remained to it, whose collection was sanctioned by the *sharīʿa*, often proved insufficient for its needs. At first only in emergencies, but later annually, therefore, it resorted to the exaction, by the sultan's *ʿurfī*, or customary, authority, of money payments, of unpaid services, or of contributions in kind, either from the generality of tax-payers, or from those of particular areas; and it was to these demands that the term *ʿawāriḍ* was applied, apparently because the total exacted varied according to the government's need and was hence regarded as *ʿāriḍ*, "accidental".

ʿAwāriḍ were imposed, not directly on individuals, but on what were called *ʿawāriḍ-khānes*, which, however, were not actual "households", but rather "contribution units", so that a whole village or quarter of a town, for instance, might constitute no more than a fraction of one of them. Care was taken, when *ʿawāriḍ* were first imposed, or at least when their imposition was regularised, to ensure a just apportionment of the burden amongst all contributors according to their resources, and if for any reason those resources were impaired as time went by, the government's demands were adjusted accordingly.

It seems to be uncertain whether *ʿawāriḍ* were originally money payments on the one hand, or contributions in kind or by way of service on the other. Eventually, in any case, units that rendered services, or furnished supplies, were exempt from payments in cash (*ʿawāriḍ aḳčesi*). As regards these latter, when in any emergency it was decided how much mony was needed, the total was apportioned amongst all the *ʿawāriḍ-khānes* concerned and the provincial *ḳāḍīs* were instructed to collect a similar sum from each. As for persons rendering services to the state on the *ʿawāriḍ* principle, typical of these were the *kürekčis* (oarsmen supplementing the war captives and criminals likewise employed in the imperial galleys), each of whom was supported during his term of service by contributions from the other members of his *ʿawāriḍ-khāne*. Among supplies furnished as *ʿawāriḍ* were barley, straw and other provisions, together with carts and animals to transport them, for troops on campaign; timber, pitch, sailcloth, etc. for the admiralty; foodstuffs for the imperial kitchens; and cloth for the uniforms of the Janissaries.

Units that normally performed services or furnished supplies might be obliged, if they were unable, or were not required, to do so for any reason, to make cash payments to the treasury instead. The term applied to such payments was *bedel* (plural *bedelāt*) (see badal); they became more and more usual from early in the seventeenth century, by which date the exaction of *ʿawāriḍ* was no longer occasional; and that these *bedelāt* were distinguished from the *ʿawāriḍ aḳčesi* proper may indicate that *ʿawāriḍ* had been in origin cash exactions, from which units performing services or furnishing supplies were exempted by way of recompense, and that this exemption endowed those units with as it were an *odjaḳ* status, which they preserved by paying *bedelāt* instead of reverting to the payment of *ʿawāriḍ aḳčesi*.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many fresh *ʿurfī* contributions were exacted from tax-payers under a large variety of names; and since little care was by that time taken to ensure that the tax-payers could meet the demands made upon them, many found it hard to do so. It therefore became a practice among the charitable, when founding *waḳfs*, to devote all or part of the revenues so engaged to the assistance of such needy contributors; and the term *ʿawāriḍ waḳfī* was used of such foundations. In course of time, however, the original object of such *waḳfs* would often be forgotten; and then the revenues in question would be devoted to

other needs of the village, or the quarter of the town, concerned.

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AL-ʿAWĀṢIM, name of a part of the frontier zone which extended between the Byzantine Empire and the Empire of the Caliphs in the North and North-East of Syria. The forward strongholds of this zone are called *al-Thughūr* [*q.v.*] or frontier strongholds properly so called, whilst those which were situated further to the rear, are called *al-ʿAwāṣim*, literally "the protectresses" (sing. *al-ʿāṣima*).

Following their quick successes in Syria and Mesopotamia, the Arabs for a while made no attempt to extend their conquests and confined themselves to making raids into Byzantine territory, on the further side of the Amanus (al-Lukām, [*q.v.*]) and the Taurus. In the time of ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, the Muslim frontier strongholds were those which were later to be called *al-ʿAwāṣim*, situated between Antioch and Manbidj, whilst those which were more precisely to bear the name al-Thughūr were in a kind of *no man's land*, in the vast region extending to the North of Antioch and Aleppo, up to Tarsus and the Taurus, where the towns had been purposely depopulated by Heraclius when he withdrew from Syria, and where the Byzantines only left guard-posts (*masāliḥ*) held by local irregular troops, the Mardaïtes; they are perhaps to be identified with the Djarādjima [*q.v.*] who were sometimes on the Byzantine side and sometimes on the side of the Arabs, whom they also provided with *masāliḥ* and spies. This region, periodically ravaged by Muslim incursions, was designated by the Arabs by the name *al-ḍawāḥī*, the outside countries, the exterior zone, or *ḍawāḥī al-Rūm* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1317; cf. Ibn al-Athīr under 98), an expression still in use in ʿAbbāsid times by the poets Abū Tammām and Buḥturī. The Umayyads began to acquire a footing in this zone on the further side of Antioch and to occupy the main strategical points situated where roads intersected or at the entrance to the mountain passes. According to Theophanes (ed. Bonn, 555-6, A. M. 6178), the withdrawal of the Mardaïtes, as a result of the treaty of Justinian II with ʿAbd al-Malik, left this whole region undefended, and was subsequently disastrous for the Byzantine Empire.

The whole of this frontier zone in the beginning was dependent on the *djund* of Ḥims. But from the time of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, it was detached and made into a special *djund*, that of Ḳinnasrīn. In 170/786, Hārūn al-Rashīd, with a view to ensuring the defence of the frontier region exposed to Byzantine attacks, rather than with any offensive objective, (for he also organised the advanced zone for defence), detached from the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn a certain number of strongholds, Manbidj, Dulūk, Raʿbān, Ḳūrus, Antioch, Tīzīn, which he called *al-ʿawāṣim*, because the Muslims protected themselves by them and because they afforded them protection and defended them when they returned from their expeditions and left the frontier (*thaghr*) (al-Balādhurī). Another definition is provided by Ibn Shaddād: "because the inhabitants of the frontier strongholds (*ahl al-thughūr*) protected themselves by them when a danger threatened them from the enemy", and al-Ḳalḳashandī gives another: "because they protected from the enemy the Muslim territory which was behind them (*dūnahā*), for they bordered upon the country of the Infidels". The same author thinks that the expressions *al-thughūr* and *al-ʿawāṣim* are different names applied to the same thing, which is certainly not correct, for they are both quite distinct and must have been so at an early period. But as, at the time of the creation of this province, which from 173 had the ʿAbbāsid ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ as governor with residence at Manbidj, the advanced strongholds were included in it, both expressions must have been used interchangeably (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 604: Hārūn al-Rashīd separated all the frontier strongholds of the Djazīra and Ḳinnasrīn, made them into a single territory and called them *al-ʿawāṣim*).

ʿAwāṣim and *thughūr* are often united under a single command, at times with the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn. At other times the *thughūr* form a separate province. The geographers do not agree on the number of localities which form part of the *ʿAwāṣim*: Ibn Khurradādhbih also includes al-Djūma, Būḳā, Bālis and Ruṣāfat Hishām; Ibn Ḥawḳal: Bālis, Sandja, Samosate (Sumaysāṭ), Djisr Manbidj. Ibn Shaddād also names Baghrās, Darbasāḳ, Artāḥ, Kaysum, Tall Ḳabbāsīn. Yāḳūt includes other localities. In the 10th century, the capital of the *ʿAwāṣim* was Antioch.

The region of the *ʿAwāṣim*, like that of the *thughūr*, was the scene of bloody wars between Byzantium and the Arabs; it was reconquered by Nicephorus Phocas, who obliged the emirate of Aleppo to cede him the whole western and northern part of the region. Thenceforth, the word *al-ʿawāṣim* is simply a geographical expression, which continues to be used in the period of the Crusades and the Mamlūks by the Arab geographers.

We have only sparse information on the economic situation of this region, which seems to have been fairly prosperous in ʿAbbāsid times. The sum of the taxation of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and the *ʿawāṣim* together was 400,000 dinars according to Ibn Khurradādhbih, and 360,000 according to Ḳudāma. The population was very mixed. It included, besides indigenous elements (Christians of the towns and settlements, Djarādjima of the Amanus) several elements which had emigrated or been transported thither: Arab tribes, especially Ḳaysites, who had established themselves there, the Kilāb extending up to Dulūk, foreign elements coming from India via Mesopotamia, such as the Sayābidja [*q.v.*], brought to the region of Antioch by Muʿāwiya, and the Zoṭṭ [*q.v.*], also transported to the same region by Muʿāwiya, then by al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. It is known that one of the reasons why the Zoṭṭ were settled in this country (as in Cilicia by Yazīd II and by al-Muʿtaṣim), is that this tribe practised the breeding of water buffaloes, and the presence of buffaloes cleared marshy territories, such as those of the ʿAmḳ [*q.v.*] of Antioch, or of Cilicia, of the lions which infested them (see al-Balādhurī, 162, 376; Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich*, 415; M. Hartmann, *Das Liwā Haleb*. 71).

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120; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 75; Ḳudāma, 246; Ibn Rusta, 107; Ṭabarī, i 2396, iii 604, 775, 1352, 1697, 2187; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 233; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 192, 214; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-Khaṭīra*, ed. Ch. Ledit, in *al-Mashriḳ*, xxx$^{\infty}$ (1935), 179-223; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-Muntakhab*, Beirut 1909, 9, 11, 158, 190, 201, 221, etc. (see Index); Yāḳūt, i 136, 928, iii 240, 741 and *passim* (see Index); Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, iv, 91, 130 ff., 228; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, 25-7, 36, 39, 42, 45-7; Sachau, in *Sitz.-Ber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1892, 319, 325, 327; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umaiyiden*, in *Nachr. der Göttinger Ges. der Wiss.*, 1901, 415, 429-31; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie a l'époque des Mamelouks*, 9-10, 31, 95, 217; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byz. Reiches*, 39-41; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, i, 224 ff.

(M. CANARD)

ʿAWĀZIM, AL- (sg. ʿĀzimī), a Bedouin tribe in North-eastern Arabia of reputedly ignoble origin, in that its descent is not regarded by other tribes as pure (*aṣīl*). Although Arabs of pure stock do not intermarry with the ʿAwāzim, the tribe has earned their esteem for its desert lore and courage in battle, having been one of the most loyal and effective supporters of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd during his conflicts with other tribes in Eastern Arabia in 1333-48/1915-29. During this period the ʿAwāzim broke away from their relationship as clients of the powerful tribe of the ʿUdjmān. The ʿAwāzim range through the northern part of the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, mainly in the areas of al-Sūda and al-Radā'if, and along the coast of Kuwayt and in the Neutral Zone between the two countries. Although the Ruler of Kuwayt has a number of ʿAwāzim as personal retainers, the tribe is officially recognised as subject to the authority of Saudi Arabia. Its members are preponderantly Mālikīs. It has *hidjras* at Thādj, al-Ḥinnāh, and ʿUtayyiḳ. The chief of the tribe (1957) is ʿĪd ibn Djāmiʿ.

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(W. E. MULLIGAN)

AWDAGHOST (or Awdaghosht) African town, now no longer extant. According to al-Bakrī, it was situated between the country of the Blacks and Sidjilmāssa, at about 51 days' march from this oasis and 15 from Ghāna. Barth thinks that it must have been situated between long. 10°-11° W. and lat. 18°-19° N., not far from Ḳṣār and Barka, that is to say to the South-West of the post of Tidjikja in French Mauritania.

Little is known about this town, which seems to have been at the outset a trading colony established by the Zenāga (Ṣanhādja) on the Northern border of the Kingdom of Ghāna. At the end of the 4th/10th century, after the Zenāga had conquered a large part of the Kingdom of Ghāna, Awdaghost became the capital of a powerful state. As its sovereign, from 350-60/961-71, it had a Ṣanhādjī, who numbered more than thirty black kings among his vassals and whose empire measured sixty days' march in length and breadth. In the following century, Awdaghost was attacked by Ibn Yāsīn, the founder of the Almoravid dynasty. The town was taken by assault, pillaged and its inhabitants massacred (446/1054-5). From that time onwards, the power of the Zenāga progressively declined; their kingdom was invaded by the Sūsū, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century; they had to abandon it, or were reduced to the rôle of tributaries.

In al-Bakrī's time (5th/11th century), Awdaghost was still a flourishing city. The population, quite considerable in numbers, was composed of Arabs from the Maghrib and Ifrīkiya, Berbers (Berkadjenna, Lawāta, Zanāta, Nafūsa and especially Nafzāwa) and doubtless also Blacks. The town, surrounded by a suburb of gardens and palm groves, contained mosques and schools, sumptuous public buildings, elegant houses and busy markets. An important trade flourished there in cereals and fruits from the Muslim lands, ambergris brought from the Atlantic coast, worked copper and gold thread; gold dust served as money. Signs of decadence were already visible in the time of al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century). The population was very scanty, trade exiguous, and the inhabitants maintained themselves almost exclusively by camel breeding. Doubtless, Awdaghost's disappearance coincided with the ultimate destruction of the power of the Zanāta.

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(G. YVER)

ʿAWDHALĪ, (pl. ʿAWĀDHIL, coll. ʿAwdhilla; cf. al-ʿAwd (with *d* for *dh*) in al-Hamdānī, *passim*), dynastic title of (a) tribe, (b) district (ca. 2,000 sq.km., 10,000 inhabitants) in the Western Aden Protectorate. It lies between the Lower Yāfiʿī (W), Faḍlī (S) and ʿAwlaḳī (E) territories. In the N, beyond the "*status quo* line" of 1934, are the districts Ḍāhir (Dahr) (< Ẓāhir, cf. al-Hamdānī) and Raṣṣāṣ (capitals: Bayḍā' *viz.* Meswara). Part of Ḍāhir (with ʿAryab as its centre) and Dathīna (with Ḳulayta) have been incorporated into the ʿAwdhilla-district. Its N part is dominated by the mighty mountain al-Kawr (Kōr), serving as a barrier between Sarw Ḥimyar and Sarw Madhidj (al-Hamdānī 80, tr. Forrer 102: Kūr, with erroneous vocalisation); it is ca. 2,000 m. high. On the terraced hill-slopes and in the fertile plateaus round Mukayras and Lōdar (N respectively S of al-Kawr) fruit and vegetables are grown for export. Honey is an essential product of the country, the climate of which is near tropical. The Sultan belongs to the ʿAwāsidj, a branch of the old Haytham tribe, hence the dynastic name Ibn al-ʿAwsadjī. His residence is at Lōdar (also called al-Ghudr). After family feuds at the turn of the century (Landberg, *Daṯīna*, 1624) the political situation was stabilised; a treaty with the British was made in 1912 by Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥusayn Djibil. The population mostly consists of free tribes, who only obey the Sultan in case of war. In the border countries (especially Dathīna) the local *shaykhs* are almost independent. There is a *sharīʿa*-court at Zara, two self-supporting schools and two dispensaries in the district. At Lōdar and Mukayras are landing-grounds for aircraft.

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social and economic conditions in the Aden protectorate, 1949, *passim* (with map). (O. Löfgren)

AWDJ [see nudjūm].

AWDJILA. This name designates both an oasis and a group of three palm groves situated on the traditional caravan route, which in the South of Cyrenaïca and between the 30th and 29th parallels, joins Sīwa, in Egypt, and Djarabûb to Tripolitania and Fezzān by Marada and the Djofra. Awdjila has been known, since Herodotus (iv, 172, 182) and the classical authors, for its abundance of dates and as a halting place. Its rôle as a halting place seems to have been enhanced by the Arab conquest of the Maghrib. Ibn Ḥawḳal (trans. de Slane, *JA*, 3rd series, xiii, 163) describes it in the 4th/10th century as a small town recently attached to the province of Barḳa; likewise, 200 years later, al-Idrīsī (trans. Jaubert, i, 248); in the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. de Slane, 32) speaks of it as an important centre with several mosques and bazaars; he notes that Awdjila is the name of the district, that of the town being Arzaḳiyya. In the 10th/16th century, grain was imported from Egypt (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Épaulard, 4564). Awdjila was occupied by the Turks in 1640. It has been visited and described by the travellers Hornemann (1798), Hamilton (1852), Beurmann (1862) and Rohlfs (1869 and 1879) (see the bibliography). The development, from the middle of the 19th century, of the intransigeant Sanūsī order has kept Europeans away, except Rosita Forbes and Hasseneïn-bey (1920). It has only been studied during the Italian occupation (1928-1943), in particular by the geographer Scarin. Since then, it has formed part of the Kingdom of Libya.

The name Awdjila only designates the most westerly oasis whilst that of Djālo (which is applied to El-Erg and El-Lebbe, 30 km. to the S.S-E.) has imposed itself on a whole area, which also includes the mediocre palm grove of Djikerra (or Leshkerreh), 30 km. to the North. The three oases, which are situated in slight depressions with scanty pastures in the middle of a vast desolate plain of sand and gravel (*serīr*), have a continental and very arid climate, with little wind: the annual rainfall between 1931 and 1940 was 11 mm. 7.

Water, which is not far below the surface and is fairly copious, is obtained by draw-wells (worked by donkeys) and from wells functioning with balance-beams. It is used primarily to water the palms, occasional pomegranate and fig trees, little patches of cereals, lucerne and vegetables. Stock-breeding is very poor and trade dwindling, even at Djālo, which for a century has taken Awdjila's place in the caravan trade with the Sudan and Egypt. This economic and demographic decline, due to emigration, was halted by the Italians, who established their residence at El-Erg (Djālo) and joined the oases to Adjdābiya by a track extending for 270 km. (and from there a road, 190 km. long, goes to Benghāzī).

Awdjila itself, very much in decay, possessed in 1934 18,000 palm trees, 170 gardens, and 1,500 inhabitants, who have remained Berber-speaking and are grouped in four divisions, living in four adjoining wards: Es-Sobka, Es-Sarahna, El-Hati and Ez-Zegagna—plus a small group of Madjabra, Arabic-speaking, living dispersed in the palm grove. Djālo, which has not declined to the same extent, has 50,000 palm trees, 123 gardens and 2,700 inhabitants divided up into 14 "families". They are distributed between two villages, one of which, El-Erg, is rather dispersed, whilst the other, El-Lebba, is more concentrated, and in a number of dwellings scattered throughout the oasis. These are the Madjabra most of whom are former nomads who have become arabicised and who have a taste for trade. Djikerra is simply a palm grove (13,000 palm trees) and not systematically irrigated; it is inhabited only by a few very poor families (400 inhabitants) and visited for the date harvest by the Zūiya nomads of the Ouadi Fareg region to the North-West. The houses of these settlements, built of large unbaked bricks and more rarely of loose stones, have no upper storeys, and are strung out along twisting lanes and blind alleys. The dwellings, located apart in the gardens, often inhabited by former slaves, are usually palm huts (*zeriba*). The mosques, very rustic in character, have multiplied under the influence of the Sanusiyya; those of Awdjila generally have several domes; the mosque of Djikerra is made of palm trees, including the minaret.

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AWFĀT (or Wafāt; in the Ethiopian chroniclers Ifāt), an Ethiopian Muslim state (1285-1415) situated in the plateau region of Eastern Shoa, including the slopes down to the valley of the Ḥawāsh. At the end of the 7th/13th century a number of Muslim states existed in eastern Shoa; the predominant one (whose Makhzūmid dynasty had been founded according to tradition in 283/896) shown in a document recently discovered by E. Cerulli to be in the last stages of disruption, was conquered in 684/1285 by the ruler of one of its tributories, whose dynastic title was Walasmaʿ. He conducted campaigns to reduce various Shoan and ʿAfar regions, including the nomad state of Adal. The reconstituted state, under the name of Awfāt, is first mentioned by Ibn Saʿīd, who says that the region was also known as Djabara (Djabarta). Awfāt seems to have been alternately tributary to the powerful pagan kingdom of Dāmot, to the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, and at times independent. The northernmost of a number of Muslim states (Hadya, Faṭadjār, etc.), it became the buffer-state against the advance of the Abyssinian power southwards. Ḥaḳḳ al-Dīn, warring against ʿAmda Ṣyōn, was overwhelmed in 1328 and Awfāt made tributory to Abyssinia. Al-ʿUmarī's important account of Awfāt at this time shows that its territory extended eastwards to include Zaylaʿ. Continually in revolt against Abyssinia, its last attempt to regain independence was under Saʿd al-Dīn, with whose defeat and death in 817/1415 the kingdom came to an end and its original territory was annexed to Abyssinia. When the Walasmaʿ, after brief exile in Yaman, returned to

Africa they formed a new state out of their former provinces of Adal-Zaylaʿ, and took the title of kings of Adal or Zaylaʿ [*qq.v.*] with their capital at Dakar and later Harar [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, transl. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1927, 1-14; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm*, 161, transl. ii, 229; Ibn Khaldūn (de Slane), i, 262, transl. ii, 107-9; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 325-332; Maḳrīzī, *al-Ilmām bi Akhbār man bi-Arḍ al-Ḥabasha min Mulūk al-Islām*, Cairo 1895; E. Cerulli, *Studi Etiopici*, I, 5 ff.; idem, *Documenti Arabi per la Storia dell 'Etiopia*, *Mem. Linc.*, 1931; idem, *Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel Secolo XIII*, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 1941, 5-42; J. Perruchon, *Histoire des Guerres d'Amda Ṣyon*, *JA*, 1889; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 1952, 58-60, 67-75.

(J. S. Trimingham)

ʿAWFĪ, Muḥammad b. Muḥ., Sadīd al-Dīn (wrongly called Nūr al-Dīn) Bukhārī, renowned Persian anthologist. ʿAwfī traced his descent from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, a companion of the Prophet, from whom he derived his surname. He came from a learned family of Transoxiana, and was probably born and certainly educated at Bukhārā. The exact date of his birth is not known. In 597/1201 he went to Samarḳand to serve at the court of Ilak Khān Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn Ṭamghādj Khān of Samarḳand where his maternal uncle Sharaf al-Zamān Madjd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAdnān al-Surkhakatī was serving as a court-physician. In 600/1203, when the tension between the Ghūrid Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn, or Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī, and Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khʷārazmshāh had become acute, he went to Khʷārazm. Soon afterwards he went to Shahr-i Naw and Nasā, and attended some of the meetings of Shaykh Madjd al-Dīn Sharaf Ibn al-Muʾayyid al-Baghdādī. Then he started on his literary tour of Khurāsān and was in Nīshāpūr in 603/1206, where he stayed for a considerable period and made the acquaintance of various eminent persons. From there he went to Harāt and remained in Sidjistān till 612/1215. It appears that he returned to Bukhārā, journeyed through Khurāsān and Ghazna, crossed the river Indus, and, passing through Sind and Gudjarāt came for the first time to Lahore to seek the patronage of the *wazīr* ʿAyn al-Mulk Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn at the Court of Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča, to whom he dedicated his famous anthology, the *Lubāb al-Albāb* in 617/1220. He served for a time as *ḳāḍī* in Kanbāyat or Cambay, where he completed his Persian translation of al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faradj baʿd al-Shidda* in 620/1223. This period coincides with the attack of the Mongols on Khʷārazm and their advance towards Multān and Delhi, when Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish besieged the fort of Bhakkar and overthrew Ḳabāča in 625/1228. ʿAwfī changed masters and attached himself to the court of Iltutmish, to whose *wazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk Muḥammad ibn Abī Saʿd al-Djunaydī he dedicated his famous collection of anecdotes, the *Djawāmiʿ al-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmiʿ al-Riwāyāt* in 625/1228. It appears that ʿAwfī lived in Delhi till 630/1232, in the early years of Raḍīyya's reign.

The *Lubāb* occupies an honourable place among Persian anthologies, but Awfī's *magnum opus* is the *Djawāmiʿ* which contains more than 2000 historical and literary anecdotes relating to various dynasties that ruled in Persia before the Mongol invasion. Much of the material for this book is drawn from rare or lost works, hence its importance as an original source. A comprehensive *Introduction* to this work was published in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1929. The Persian text, based on the earliest MSS., is ready for press, and the first volume is to appear shortly.

Bibliography: ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*; Muḥammad Nizāmud-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmiʿ ul-Ḥikāyāt*, London 1929; Storey, i, 781-4.

(M. Nizamuddin)

al-**AWḤAD** [see Ayyūbids].

AWḤADĪ, Rukn al-Dīn, Persian poet, born c. 680/1281-2 at Marāgha in Ādharbāydjān. The fact that he lived for many years in Iṣfahān has led the author of the *Haft Iḳlīm* to state that he was a native of that city. Little is known about his life, but there is scarcely any doubt that he died in 738/1337-8. He was buried at his birthplace where his tombstone is still to be seen.

Awḥadī, who took his *takhalluṣ* from the name of his master, Shaykh Awḥad al-Dīn of Kirmān, was the author of a *dīwān* which amounts to about ten thousand verses. Some of these are eulogies of his patrons, Abū Saʿīd, the Īlkhān, and his vizier, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh. In one of his poems he attacks the pretensions of a contemporary poet, Salmān of Sāwa.

As a poet, Awḥadī displays little originality. He is reckoned by most Persian critics as second-rate in view of some weakness which is to be found in his poetic diction. Moreover, the greater part of his verse, although not without some grace, is often laboured and lacks that subtle light and shade in bringing his ideas before the reader which is characteristic of the best Persian poetry.

Awḥadī's best work is to be found in his two *mathnawī* poems, the earlier of which is entitled *Dah-nāma* or, as it is called in some MSS., *Manṭiḳ al-ʿUshshāḳ*. This consists of ten letters addressed by an imaginary lover to his mistress and is not of outstanding poetic merit. It was dedicated to Wadjīh al-Dīn, grandson of Naṣīr al-Dīn of Ṭūs, in 706/1306-7. The other *mathnawī*, the *Djām-i Djam* (the goblet of Djamshīd), is longer and far better known. It displays a more fully developed talent, and when it was first composed, achieved a great measure of popularity. Like the *Ḥadīḳat al-Ḥaḳīḳa* of Sanāʾī, it covers the whole field of ethics, with advice on moral discipline, the upbringing of children, civic responsibilities and so forth; but the last part changes its theme and deals with the Ṣūfī Path and all that appertains to it. The *Djām-i Djam* was written in 733/1332-3 and was dedicated to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh 210 f.; Browne, iii, 141-6; Ethé in the *G.I.P.*, ii, 299. Edition of the *Djām-i Djam*, Tehrān, 1347/1928-9, and of the *Dīwān* by A. S. Usha, Madras 1951.

(G. Meredith-Owens)

AWḲĀF [see waḳf].

ʿAWL (a., literally "deviation by excess"), the method of increasing the common denominator of the fractional shares in an inheritance, if their sum would amount to more than one unit. This has, of course, the effect of reducing each individual share. For instance, a man dies leaving a widow, two daughters and both parents. The share of two daughters would be $2/3 = 16/24$, that of the widow $1/8 = 3/24$, that of the father $1/6 = 4/24$, and that of the mother $1/6 = 4/24$, total $27/24$. The denominator is therefore increased to 27, and the two daughters receive $16/27$, the widow $3/27 = 1/9$, and the

father and the mother each $^1/_{27}$. This particular problem is called *al-masʾala al-minbariyya*, because ʿAlī is reported to have solved it off-hand when it was submitted to him, whilst he was on the *minbar*. The *ʿawl* is accepted by all the Sunnī schools of Islamic law. The Ibāḍīs, too, recognise it, but they ascribe its introduction to ʿUmar. The *Ith̲nā-ʿas̲h̲ariyya* or "Twelver" S̲h̲īʿites, on the other hand, reject it and reduce the share of the daughter (or daughters) or that of the full or consanguine (but not of the uterine) sister (or sisters) instead.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Muḥammad, (*K. al-Nahr al-Fāʾiḍ*), *Der überfliessende Strom in der Wissenschaft des Erbrechts der Hanefiten und Schafeiten*, ed. and transl. L. Hirsch, Leipzig 1891, 96 ff.; W. Marçais, *Des parents et alliés*, Rennes 1898, 74 ff.; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1897, 256 (a special case); D. Santillana, *Sommario del diritto malechita di Ḫalīl ibn Isḥāq*, ii, Milan 1919, 829; id., *Istituzioni*, ii, 512 f.; Sayf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ruwāḥī, *al-Nabʿ al-Fāʾiḍ*, Cairo 1357, 60 ff.; A. Querry, *Droit musulman, recueil de lois concernant les musulmans schyites*, ii, Paris 1872, 379; Sir R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, 6th ed., § 459. (Ed.)

AWLĀD [followed by the name of the eponymous ancestor of a tribe, see under the name of that ancestor].

AWLĀD AL-BALAD was the term used during the Sudanese Mahdiyya (1881-98) to designate persons originating from the northern riverain tribes, of which the Danāḳla group and D̲j̲aʿliyyīn were the most important. Many *awlād al-balad* were domiciled, temporarily or permanently, away from their tribal centres by the main Nile. The Danāḳla were boatbuilders and sailors, especially on the White Nile, while both they and the D̲j̲aʿliyyīn played an important rôle as merchants and slave-traders in Kurdufān, the Baḥr al-G̲h̲azāl and Dār Fūr. The Mahdī Muḥammad Aḥmad found much support among the *awlād al-balad*, particularly those dispersed in the west and south. In general they formed the ruling class under him. After his death in June 1885, they were gradually displaced from the chief offices by his successor, the K̲h̲alīfa ʿAbd Allāh, but clerical and other subordinate posts were largely filled by *awlād al-balad* until the end of the Mahdiyya. Chief among the *awlād al-balad* were the *As̲h̲rāf*, relatives of the Mahdī, whose nominal leader was the K̲h̲alīfa Muḥammad S̲h̲arīf. In 1886 this group attempted to overthrow ʿAbd Allāh but failed. The *awlād al-balad* were seriously weakened by the defeat of the Mahdist invasion of Egypt at Ṭūs̲h̲kī in 1889, since they had formed the bulk of the expeditionary force and large numbers perished, including their leading general ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nud̲j̲ūmī. A rising of the *As̲h̲rāf* and Danāḳla in Omdurman in 1891 was foiled by ʿAbd Allāh and was followed by repressive measures. In 1897 the D̲j̲aʿliyyīn of al-Matamma under their chief, ʿAbd Allāh Saʿd, revolted and communicated with the Anglo-Egyptian forces under Kitchener. A Mahdist army under Maḥmūd Aḥmad put down the rebellion and sacked the town.

Bibliography: Special allusion to the term is made by F. R. Wingate (J. Ohrwalder), *Ten years captivity in the Mahdi's camp*, London 1892, many ed. (P. M. Holt)

AWLĀD AL-NĀS. The mamlūk upper class constituted an exclusive society. Only a person who himself was born an infidel and brought as a child-slave from abroad, who was converted to Islam and set free after completing his military training and who usually bore a non-Arab name, could belong to that society. These rules implied that the mamlūk upper class should be a non-hereditary nobility, for the sons of the mamlūks and mamlūk amīrs were Muslims and free men by birth, were born and grew within the boundaries of the mamlūk sultanate and bore Arab names. As such they could not belong to the upper class and were automatically ejected from it. They were joined to a unit of non-mamlūks called the *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*] which was socially inferior to the pure mamlūk units. Within the *ḥalḳa* the sons of amīrs and mamlūks formed the upper stratum. They were known as *Awlād al-Nās* 'children of the people', i.e. 'of the best people, of the gentry', for *the* 'people' were the mamlūks, the members of the exclusive society.

The *Awlād al-Nās*, but for quite a small number of exceptions, attained no higher rank than that of Amīr of Ten and Amīr of Forty. Occasionally the *Awlād al-Nās* were favoured for political reasons. Thus sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (748/1347-752/1351) preferred amīrs from *Awlād al-Nās* to mamlūk amīrs. The privileged position of the *Awlād al-Nās* under sultan Ḥasan was, however, exceptional, and contrasted sharply with their status under other rulers. Since theirs was an element which, by its very nature, was excluded from the ranks of the mamlūks, their chances for advancement and for attaining key positions were seriously limited. In the course of time they declined together with the *Ḥalḳa*, and saw the same restrictions applied to them as to the rest of that body, viz. reductions in pay, sale of their fiefs, exemptions from military expeditions in exchange for cash payments (*badil*), tests in the use of the bow and arrow designed to prove that they were badly trained and thus not entitled to all the privileges of full-fledged soldiers. Toward the end of the mamlūk era, the name *Ḥalḳa* fell into disuse, while that of the *Awlād al-Nās* became extremely common.

There was, both among the *Awlād al-Nās* and the other members of the *Ḥalḳa*, a strong leaning toward piety and pre-occupation with other-worldly affairs. Many of them left the military service and became theologians or *faḳīhs*. (See D. Ayalon, *Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army*, in *BSOAS*, 1953, 456-58 and references on p. 456, n. 1).

(D. Ayalon)

AWLĀD AL-S̲H̲AYK̲H̲ (Banū Ḥamawiya) were originally an Iranian family of *ṣūfīs* and S̲h̲āfiʿī *fuḳahā*, a branch of whom emigrated to Syria and became influential under the later Ayyūbid kings, al-Malik al-Kāmil (615-35/1218-38) and his sons. The member of the clan earliest known, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥamawiya (Pers. form Ḥamawayh) al-D̲j̲uwaynī, died in 530/1135-6, was a celebrated ṣūfī, *faḳīh* and author of several works on mysticism (al-Samʿāni; Ibn al-Ath̲īr, xi, 30; Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād, x, 63-4; Yāḳūt, ii, 425; Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, ed. Flügel, iii, 612, no. 7231). His grandson ʿImad al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, (died 577/1181), went to Damascus, and in 563/1167 Nūr al-Dīn, 541-69/1146-74, appointed him inspector of all the *ṣūfī* institutions at Damascus, Ḥamāh, Ḥimṣ, Baʿalbak and other places in Syria. Hence he became the ancestor of the Syrian and Egyptian division of the family; but the connexions with the Iranian branch were maintained (Sibṭ Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, Ḥaydarābād, 272). Of these his brother

ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (died 588/1192; Ibn al-Furāt, *cod. Vind.* iv, 146a), and his grand-nephew Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad (died 650/1252; *EI* ii, 260 & IV, 33; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 651) are the best known.—ʿImād al-Dīn ʿUmar had two sons: *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* Ṣadr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad (543-617/1148-1220), was born in Khurāsān, came with his father to Damascus and became his successor. He married the daughter of the famous *Ḳāḍī* Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn (died 585/1189; Ibn Khallikān, no. 334; transl. de Slane ii, 32-5) by whom he had four sons, famous as Awlād (Banū) *shaykh al-shuyūkh*. Ṣadr al-Dīn, a friend of Sulṭān al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, 595-615/1198-1218, later went to Egypt, where he was invested with the same offices as he had held at Damascus. He died at Mawṣil on the way to Baghdād as an ambassador of al-Malik al-Kāmil.—His younger brother Tādj al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, 572-642/1177-1244, went in 593/1196 to the Maghrib and served under the Almohād sultans al-Manṣūr Yaʿḳūb (580-95/1184-98) and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (595-610/1198-1213) for seven years in a military capacity. After his return he settled down at Damascus and followed his father and brother as an inspector of the *ṣūfī* institutions of the Syrian capital. He wrote several works on history only the titles of which have survived; Ibn Khallikān saw the autograph of one of his books about Spain at Damascus in the year 668/1269 (Ibn Khallikān, no. 839, transl. de Slane, iv, 337).—The fame of the family rests upon the four sons of Ṣadr al-Dīn, especially on Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf. Born about 580/1184, he entered upon a political career, and al-Kāmil sent him in 614/1217 as his envoy to the caliph. He gained his reputation as a skilled diplomat, being al-Kāmil's ambassador to the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II from 624/1229 until the conclusion of the treaty concerning Jerusalem, February 18th, 1229. During this period he became the friend of the emperor who discussed with him even non-political problems and wrote him two letters after his return to Italy (Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī, *Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, M. Amari, *Bibl. Sic. App.* ii, 25). Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf held several high posts during the latter part of the reign of al-Kāmil and was a member of the crown council at Damascus after the king's death in Radjab 635/Feb.-March 1238. After his return to Cairo al-ʿĀdil II b. al-Kāmil (635-7/1238-40) dismissed him despite his good services and even threw him into prison. He remained out of office until 643/1246, when al-ʿĀdil's successor and brother al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb b. al-Kāmil (637-47/1240-9) restored him to all his former honours and appointed him commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army. When in 1249 Louis IX of France threatened to attack Egypt, Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf was entrusted with her defence; but after the Frankish invasion of the Nile Delta he sacrificed Damietta and retreated with his army southwards to al-Manṣūra. When al-Ṣāliḥ died shortly afterwards (Monday 14th Shaʿbān 647/22th Nov. 1249) the sultana Shadjar al-Durr made Fakhr al-Dīn regent in the absence of the new sultan al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh b. Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb. In the meantime the crusaders slowly advanced towards al-Manṣūra and in a surprise attack crossed the Nile and entered the city. In the fighting Fakhr al-Dīn was killed on Thursday 4th Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 647/8th Feb. 1250.—The three brothers of Fakhr al-Dīn, ʿImād al-Dīn ʿUmar, Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad and Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥasan started their political activities only in the later part of al-Kāmil's reign having been before engaged in the teaching of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* at Cairo. They, too, belonged to the crown council after al-Kāmil's death at Damascus and thanks to the influence of ʿImād al-Din ʿUmar the nephew of the late sultan, al-Djawwād Yūnus b. Mawdūd b. al-ʿĀdil, died 641/1243 was elected vice-regent of Damascus. When he conspired against al-ʿĀdil II, the sultan sent ʿImād al-Dīn back to Damascus in order to force the abdication of al-Djawwād. But al-Djawwād had him arrested soon after his arrival and murdered on Thursday, 26th Djūmadā I 636/4th January 1239.—Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad, the least famous of the four brothers, was appointed by al-Ṣāliḥ in 637/1240 as an ambassador to negotiate a peace-treaty with Count Theobald of Jaffa and the king of Navarre, and afterwards commander-in-chief of an army to regain Damascus. But Kamāl al-Dīn was defeated by al-Djawwād and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd b. al-Muʿaẓẓam (died 656/1258) in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 638/May-June 1241, and taken prisoner. He died a year later on 13th Ṣafar 640/12th Aug. 1242 at Ghazza.—The youngest brother Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥasan was appointed *wazīr* by al-Ṣāliḥ in 637/1240 and four years later became his representative and commander-in-chief in the campaign for the reconquest of Damascus. The siege began at the end of 642/May 1245, and six months later Muʿīn al-Dīn forced ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. al-ʿĀdil (died 648/1250-1) to give up the Syrian capital, which he had held since 637/1239, in return for Baʿalbak, Boṣrā and some other places. Muʿīn al-Dīn survived his triumph for only a few months and died of typhoid on Monday 24th Ramaḍān 643/12th Febr. 1246.

Of the two sons of Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad the elder Saʿd al-Din Khiḍr, 592-674/1196-1246, is known as the author of a small chronicle from which Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī and al-Dhahābī drew most of their information about the Banū shaykh al-shuyūkh.

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(H. L. Gottschalk)

ʿAWLAḲĪ (pl. ʿAwāliḳ, vulg. Mawāleḳ; for the etymology, see Landberg, ii, 1684 f.) (a) tribal confederation and (b) territory in South Arabia, between the Indian Ocean and the desert (Ramlat Sabateyn). It is the eastermost district of the Western Aden Protectorate. The boundaries are, in the W the Faḍlī, ʿAwdhalī and Bayḥānī districts, in the E the Dhiēbī territory of ʿIrḳa, the Wāḥidī sultanate of Bal-Ḥāf and the indeterminate area of Djerdān, ʿIrma (ʿUrma) with Shabwa, and Āl Burayk. This country is divided by Kawr al-ʿAwd (the continuation of Kawr ʿAwdhilla) into two halves of very different character:

1. Upper ʿAwlaḳī territory (ca. 100,000 sq.km., 30-50,000 inhabitants) is by far the richest and most powerful. The climate is tropical, the fertile ground produces wheat, maize, tobacco and indigo. Arḍ al-Maḥādjir in the N belongs to this tribal confederation (cf. al-Hamdānī, 89) which comprises the subtribes Marāzīḳ, Rabīz, Hammām, Dayyān and Daḳḳār. They inhabit the district round Anṣāb (Niṣāb), where the Sultan of Upper ʿAwāliḳ has his residence.

He also controls the wide plateau Arḍ Markha, where Nisiyyīn bedouins live in Wāsiṭ, Hadjar and Hudjayr. The main *wādīs* are: ʿAbadān, Ḍurā, Khawra, Markha. In the NW, not far from Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, are rich salt-mines at Khabt. The other great tribal federation, the Maʿn or Maʿan (cf. Maʿīn, Maʿān "Minaeans"), is grouped round the old town (Sūḳ) Yeshbum, in the SE part of the territory. Here resides the second chieftain, the *shaykh* of Upper ʿAwāliḳ, who like the Sultan always is chosen from the Maʿn. Their sub-tribes are: Madḥidj, Bū Bekr, Bā Rās, ʿAtīḳ, Sulaymān, Ṭawsala, Miḳraḥa and Thawbān. For the most part these tribes are independent *ḳabīlīs*, they are fond of fighting and often enlist for service abroad. Treaties with the British were signed in 1903 by the *shaykh* of Yeshbum, Muḥsin b. Farīd, and in 1904 by the Sultan of Anṣāb, ʿAwaḍ b. Ṣāliḥ. There is an aerodrome at Anṣāb.

2. Lower ʿAwlaḳī territory (ca. 80,000 sq.km., 12-15,000 inhabitants) is for the most part arid and barren; there is seldom rain enough in the mountains to make the *wādīs* flow. The most important valley-system is that of W. Aḥwar (also called ʿUthrub), formed by the junction of W. Djahr, coming from Dathīna, and W. Ḍēḳa (Laiḳa), which starts S of Ḥabbān [*q.v.*] and passes through the highland of Munḳaʿa. Here live Ḥimyaritic clans (*mashāʾikh*), the Ḳumūsh in W. Labākha and Ahl Shamʿa in Maḥfid S of Yeshbum; they exercise a certain authority over the primitive bedouins of the tribe Bā Kāzim, who are scattered all over the W and S parts of the territory. Other towns in W. Ḍēḳa are: Khabr, Shadjma and Ḳulliyya. On the coast are small villages, inhabited by fishermen. The Sultan resides at Aḥwar (Ḥawar), ca. 5 km from the coast and a little E of the wādī. Just as Abyan and Laḥdj, Aḥwar properly denotes the district, then its centre, al-Madjābī (acc. to Landberg II, 273, 326, 1834), which is a series of villages rather than a town. The population (ca. 5,000) is chiefly agricultural. A treaty with the British of 1888 was renewed in 1944 by Sultan ʿAydarūs b. ʿAlī (murdered in 1948). The adviser agreement has resulted in better security and a revival of agriculture and trade. There is an aerodrome and a wireless station. One sub-grade and one indigenous school are reported in the district.

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AWLIYĀ ATA, (T., "holy father") is the old name of the city called since 1938 Djambul after the Ḳazakh poet Džambul Džabaev (1846-1945), which lies on the left bank of the Ṭalās in the Ḳazakh SSR. Until 1917 it was the capital of the district of the Sīr Daryā in Russian Turkistān and obtained its name from the grave of the holy man Ḳara Khān (which is mentioned as early as the 17th century; see Maḥmūd b. Walī, *Baḥr al-Asrār*, MS India Office 545, fol. 119r). His mausoleum dates from the 19th century and bears no inscription. On the other hand the grave of the "little holy one" (*Kičik Awliyā*) there is an inscription of 660/1262; the grave is that of the prince Ulugh Bilge Iḳbāl Khān Dāʾūd Beg b. Ilyās. (The inscription is published in *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkheol. Ob.va*, xii, V.)—The city of Awliyā Ata which came into being only in the 19th century, was conquered by the Russians in 1864, became a fortress, and contained, in 1897, 12,006 inhabitants; it was famous for its fruit growing and its cattle and wool trade. In the surrounding district of Awliyā Ata (71,097 sq.km., with 297,004 inhabitants) ancient Turkish inscriptions were found in 1896 (*Zap. etc.*, xi).

The present day city of Djambul lies on the Turksib line just north of the frontier of the Ḳirgiz SSR, and contained in 1926 19,000 and by 1939 as many as 62,700 inhabitants. It possesses a sugar, a meat processing, and other factories, and is besides a centre of trade. The district of Djambul (since 1936) contains 138,600 sq.km. and is mountainous in the south; in the north there lies the Bad Pak Dala steppe.

Close to Awliyā Ata—Djambul lay evidently the city of Ṭarāz [*q.v.*], which may be regarded as its precursor.

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AWLONYA, Alb. Vlora, Valona, town in southern Albania. (see Arnawutluḳ) Awlonya, usually called Valona, is today a town of about 10,000 inhabitants. It lies in the bay of the same name, and is some 2½ m. (4 km.) inland from the harbour. It played an important part in antiquity as Aulon (hence Avlona). Concerning its history in the Middle Ages, cf. Konst. Jireček, *Valona im Mittelalter*, in: Ludwig v. Thallcózy, *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen*, i, Munich and Leipzig 1916, 168/87. In June 1417, the Ottoman armies entered the area of Valona, and occupied the town, together with the fortress of Kanina and Berat. The general Ḥamza-Beg became commander-in-chief of Awlonya, and the Ottomans—who had never before possessed an Adriatic port—soon began to build ships there. In 1418, there was a vain attempt by the seigniory of Venice to regain Awlonya for its former owner Rugina (the widow of Duke Mrkša), a citizen of Venice. Awlonya remained Ottoman property, admitted Christians as farmers of taxes, and was governed by a Sandjaḳ-Bey; it was an important bulwark against the West. As late as the 14th century, the inhabitants (apart from Albanians and Slavs) were mostly Greeks, and denominationally belonged to the autocephalous archbishopric of Ohrid up to the 18th century. Awlonya was used twice during the 15th century by the sultan Meḥemmed II as a base for a raid on Apulia, Italian territory only 47 m. (75 km.) away. (Otranto; cf. F. Babinger, *Mehmed II. der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1953, 430 ff. and Ital. transl., *Maometto II il Conquistatore, ed il suo tempo*, Turin 1956, 570 ff.). As governors, Valona had particularly capable civil servants who were devoted to the sultan, as for instance Gedik Aḥmed Pasha, who maintained this as a base for ambassadors and emissaries sent to Italy. In the nearby fortress of Kanina, there were the Vloras, who had been there

since the time of Bāyezīd II and were related to him by marriage (cf. Ekrem Bey Vlora, *Aus Berat und vom Tomor*, Sarajevo 1911, *Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel*, No. 13) and who traced their origin back to Ghāzī Sinān-Pasha (cf. F. Babinger, *Rumelische Streifen*, Berlin 1938, 24 f.). In the 17th century, the fortress of Awlonya was surrounded by high and thick walls with many bastions. Within the fortress, there was a mosque endowed by Sulaymān the Magnificent, and in the middle there was a tower—identical with the white tower of Salonica—built for the same sultan, supposedly by the Ottoman architect Sinān. There is a clear description by Ewliyā Čelebi of the Awlonya of his day (cf. the German translation by F. Babinger, *Rumelische Streifen*, 25 f.). The order of the Bektāshī appears to have been very active around Valona. After 400 years of Turkish rule, Albanian independence was declared in Awlonya in 1912, and it seceded from the Ottoman Empire. From 1914 to 1920, the town was occupied by the Italians, and during the First World War it formed an important base for military operations in the Balkans. By the Treaty of Rapallo, this bridge-head on the Adriatic and barrier in the Straits of Otranto had to be returned to Albania—with the exception of the island of Saseno. From April 1939 to autumn 1943 Awlonya, together with the rest of Albania, was once again in the hands of the Italians.

Bibliography: Apart from works mentioned in the text of the article, cf. the travels of Pouqueville, W. M. Leake, Lord Holland, L. Heuzey, G. Weigand, C. Patsch, which give a description of old Awlonya. (F. Babinger)

ʿAWNĪ [see muḥammad II].

AWRANGĀBĀD, a town and district in the state of Bombay having in 1951 a population of 1,179,404. During the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī the Hindu rulers of this part of the Deccan were forced to pay tribute to the Muslim invaders. In 1347 it was incorporated in the Bahmanī kingdom and with the disintegration of that kingdom became part of the Niẓām Shāhī sultanate of Aḥmadnagar. Under Malik ʿAmbar, an able Abyssinian minister, Aḥmadnagar offered a stubborn resistance to the Mughal invaders, but, after his death in 1626, it was annexed to the Mughal empire. During the decline of Mughal power in the first half of the eighteenth century Awrangābād was added to the dominions of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād. In 1956 it was incorporated in the state of Bombay.

The town of Awrangābād, previously named Khirkī, was the capital of the Aḥmadnagar sultanate in the days of Malik. ʿAmbar It was burned to the ground by Mughal forces in 1612, but was rebuilt and renamed Awrangābād in honour of Awrangzīb, who lived there during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. The neighbouring village of Khuldābād contains the tombs of Malik ʿAmbar, Awrangzīb, and Āṣaf Djāh, the founder of the Ḥaydarābād state. It was once famous for its gold brocade, but this and other industries have declined.

There is another small town of the same name in the Gāyā district of Bihār.

(C. Collin Davies)

AWRANGĀBĀD SAYYID, a small town in the Bulandshahr district of Uttar Pradesh, founded in 1704 by Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, a descendant of Sayyid Djalāl al-Ḥusayn of Bukhārā.

(C. Collin Davies)

AWRANGZĪB, Abuʾl-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Muḥyi ʾl-Dīn Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr Bādshāh-i Ghāzī (1027-1118/1618-1707), the third son of Shāhdjahān and Mumtāz Maḥall (daughter of Āṣaf Khān) was born at Dhod in Mālwa on 15 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1027/3 Nov. 1618.

I. *Early Years* (1027-68/1618-58). He certainly received a very good education according to the standards of the day, for throughout his life he could hold his own in disputations with the *ʿulamāʾ* as well as men of letters, and his Persian compositions have been regarded with respect.

In 1044/1635 Awrangzīb was made a commander of ten thousand and put in nominal charge of a successful campaign against Djūdjhar Singh Bundelā. In 1045/1636 he was appointed Viceroy of the Dakhin but resigned in 1053/1644, either owing to a fit of religious fervour or on account of his bitterness against Dārā, his elder brother, whom Shāhdjahān seems to have had chosen as his successor. Nevertheless he accepted the governorship of Gudjarāt and was thence transferred in 1055/1646 to the command of Balkh, which the Mughal officers had conquered under the nominal command of Murād Bakhsh, the Emperor's youngest son. But the Uzbegs were too strong and Dihlī was too far; Awrangzīb established his reputation as a general and an administrator, but he had to give up Balkh to Naẓar Muḥammad Khān and beat a retreat. Appointed governor of Multān in 1057/1648, Awrangzīb was directed by the Emperor to recapture Ḳandahār from the Persians. He besieged Ḳandahār twice — in 1058/1649 and 1061/1651—but the enterprise was too difficult and he had to retreat. Awrangzīb can hardly be blamed for this, for Dārā Shukōh to whom the third siege of Ḳandahār was assigned failed even more disastrously.

Awrangzīb was assigned the Viceroyalty of the Dakhin for a second time in 1062/1652. His revenue expert, Murshid Ḳulī Khān, did much to settle that desolated territory by his revenue system (*dhara*). In 1065/1655 Awrangzīb laid siege to Gulkunda and could have extinguished that kingdom but the Emperor ordered him to accept a tribute and make peace. In 1066/1657 he attacked Bidjāpūr and had captured Bidār and Kalyānī when orders once more came from the Emperor directing him to accept peace terms. Soon after that Shāhdjahān fell ill (27 Dhuʾl-Ḳaʿda 1067/6 Sept. 1657) and his four sons prepared to fight for the throne.

II. *War of succession*, 1067-68/1658-59. The war of succession shows Awrangzīb at his best as a general and an administrator; he was never to attain that standard again. Dārā Shukōh, the heir-designate at Āgra, had the prestige of the imperial authority and the advantage of moving on interior lines. But he showed himself lacking both in capacity of organisation and strategy. Shudjāʿ, the second son, who was governor of Bengal, assumed the crown (as did the youngest brother, Murād) and moved towards the capital. But he was decisively beaten at Bahādurpūr (11 Djumādā I 1068/14 Feb. 1658) by the imperial army under Radja Djai Singh and Sulaymān Shukōh and fled back to Mungīr. But Dārā's southern army, under Djaswant Singh, could not prevent Awrangzīb and Murād from joining their forces near Udjdjain. The two brothers crushed Djaswant's forces at Dharmat (12 Radjab 1068/15 April 1658) and then crossing the Chambal, defeated Darā decisively at Sāmūgarh, eight miles from Agra (26 Shaʿbān 1068/29 May 1658). Awrangzīb interned his father in the Āgra fort and then arrested Murād near Mathurā and sent him to Gwāliar where he was executed in Rabīʿ II-Djumādā I 1072/ Dec.

1661. Awrangzīb crowned himself hurriedly at Dihlī and then pursued Dārā as far as Multān. Then he had to march eastwards to meet Shudjā', whom he defeated signally at Khadjwāh, near Allāhābād (10 Rabī' II 1069/5 Jan. 1659). Leaving Mīr Djumla to pursue Shudjā' to Arrakān, where that unfortunate prince met his death, Awrangzīb once more marched west because Dārā, supported by Shāh Nawāz Khān, the governor of Gudjarāt, had entrenched himself at Deorai, near Adjmēr. Dārā was defeated after a three day battle (28 Djumādā II 1069/ 23 March 1659) and, while he was fleeing towards Ḳandahār, Malik Djuwān, his Baluči host, captured him and brought him to Āgra, where, after being paraded with every disgrace, he was put to death as a heretic. Awrangzīb's power was now unchallenged and he celebrated his second coronation on 14 Ramaḍān 1069/5 June, 1659.

First half of the reign, 1068-92/1658-81. The Mughal Empire during Awrangzīb's long reign was really ruined by a series of wars, many of which were of his own seeking. His general, Mīr Djumla, conquered Kuč Behār and Assām (1071-3/1661-3) with a terrible loss of life, including his own, but the territory was lost within four years. The Paṭhāns rose in revolt—the Yūsufzaīs in 1077/1667 and the Afrīdīs in 1083/1672—but though the Emperor stationed himself at Ḥasan Abdāl (Rāwalpindī district), the efforts of the imperial officers were strangely unavailing and peace could not be restored till 1085/1675. The death of Mahārādja Djaswant Singh of Mārwār on 25 Shawwāl 1089/10 Dec. 1678, started the Rādjpūt war. Awrangzīb stationed himself at Adjmēr for the better conduct of the campaign, but his own son, Prince Akbar, rebelled against him and fled to Sambhādjī. The Emperor made peace with Rāna Rādj Singh in Djumādā I or II 1092/June 1681, but the Raṭhors of Mārwār continued their struggle till Adjīt, son of Mahāradja Djaswant, entered Djodhpur as a victor in 1118/1707. Meanwhile a new opponent of the Empire had risen in the Deccan, Shīwādjī son of Shāhdjī Bhonsla, a first rate diplomat, guerrilla warrior and organiser of victory. Shāyista Khān, the Emperor's uncle, was sent against him and failed disastrously, but Djai Singh, who succeeded Shāyista, compelled Shiwādjī by the treaty of Purandar (Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da-Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1075/June 1665) to hand over 23 out of his 37 forts. Shīwādjī came to Awrangzīb's court, found that he would only be given the status of a *pandj-hazārī* (commander of five thousand), and pretended to faint owing to a weak heart; he was interned by the Emperor's order but succeeded in escaping back to his homeland. In 1080/1669 he began offensive operations against the Empire, plundered Sūrat for a second time (1081/1670) and started a series of plundering raids for the levy of *čauth* (one-fourth) against the imperial territories. Though Shīwadjī, who had crowned himself in 1085/ 1674, died in 1091/1680, Mughal administration in the Deccan was completely demoralised. Meanwhile all the great officers of Awrangzīb, including even Radja Djai Singh, had failed disastrously against Bidjāpūr. In Sha'ban-Ramaḍān 1092/Sept. 1681 Awrangzīb decided to march to Burhānpūr; he was not destined to return to northern India again.

Second half of the reign, 1092-1118/1681-1707. In spite of the increasing inefficiency of the imperial civil and military machine, which Persian writers have loved to make the object of their humour, the Emperor succeeded in his three immediate objectives. The city of Bidjāpūr, governed by a minor king, Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh, and torn by internal strife, only surrendered after it had withstood a siege of sixteen months (23 Shawwāl 1097/12 Sept. 1686. Gulkanda was conquered after a siege of eight months, owing to the treachery of one of its principal officers (14 Dhu'l-Ḳa'da 1098/21 Sept. 1687). Lastly, Sambhādjī, son of Shiwādji, was captured at Sanganeshwar and executed (26 Sha'bān 1100/ 15 June 1689). But this did not bring the Deccan under Awrangzīb's control. The absence of a centralised Mahratta power left the field open to Mahratta captains—half heroes, half bandits—and the imperial officers often preferred to make a separate peace with them. Forts were captured and lost. "All the various tribes residing in central and southern India were up in arms with Mahratta aid and concert against the officers of the Emperor and the cause of law and order in general." In the midst of this turmoil Awrangzīb died on 27 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1118/ 2 March 1707.

One need not go beyond these exhausting wars to discover the reason for the failure of the Mughal Empire. The picture left for us by Khāfī Khān, a historian whose family had been in Awrangzīb's service, is one of increasing corruption, harassment of the peasantry, neglect of government orders by officers in charge and failure of the state's financial resources. Whatever the reason, the Emperor was lax in the maintenance of discipline and Khāfī Khān repeatedly tells us that no imperial officer, whatever his offences, was seriously punished. Awrangzīb's religious policy has been a matter of controversy, which will continue to simmer on for some time to come. Equally valid evidence seems to be available on both sides. Even with reference to his *djizya*, (1090/1679), a retrogressive poll-tax on the higher classes of Hindus at the rate of Rs. 3-1/3, 6-2/3 and 13-1/3 (but not higher) per year, we have Khāfi Khān's statement that it could not be levied and remained largely a tax on paper. To avoid misunderstanding it should be added that the term *djizya* was used in a very loose sense in medieval India and often meant any tax other than the land-tax (*kharādj*). [See also AL-FATĀWĀ AL-'ĀLAMGĪRIYYA].

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(W. IRVINE-[MOHAMMAD HABIB])

AWRĀS (Aurès; Αὐράσιον ὄρος in Procopius, *De bello vand.*, i, 8, ii, 12-13. 19-20) mountain massif of Algeria, forming part of the Eastern Saharan Atlas. So far it has not been possible to discover the meaning of the word Awrās.

The Awrās is a compact massif 8,000 sq. km. in area, which extends from the depression leading from Batna to Biskra as far Khenchela and the valley of the Wādī 'l-ʿArab, between the high plains of southern Constantine (Sbākh) and the Saharan depression of the Zibān. Its summits (Djibāl Chélia, 2,327 m., and Kef Mahmel, 2,321 m., the highest in Algeria) and its ridges tower nearly 1,000 m. above the "South-Aurasian" depression. The western Awrās comprises three long chains running S.W.-N.E., separated by the deep valleys of the Abdi and al-Abiod Wādīs, which discharge through narrow gorges into the Sahara. The eastern Awrās is much more massive. Differences of altitude and aspect create a diversity of bio-geographical zones. The northern and north-western slopes, short and steep, nevertheless have an adequate rainfall and can be cultivated without irrigation; they are covered with forests of holm-oak and, on the often snow-clad peaks, there are forests of cedar and grassy mountain glades. The southern slopes, which are much longer and drier, comprise three zones in which crops are irrigated in terraced fields : a cool zone, above 1,500 m., also often covered with snow, and characterised by forests of holm-oak, pastures, summer crops and walnut-trees; a middle zone, with patches of badly-neglected Aleppo pine and juniper forest, and, in the foothills, winter (barley and wheat) and summer (maize and sorghum) cereal crops, figs, apricots; below 800 m., the first palm-trees appear, growing along the *wādīs*, at the foot of slopes on which are found only occasional junipers, clumps of *alfa* and extremely poor pasture.

The inhabitants of the Awrās live on cereals, which they sow on the mountain and at the foot of the northern (Chara) and southern (Sahara) slopes, fruit, and a few vegetables, and by stockbreeding, in which goats play a greater part than sheep. For the cultivation of the crops, the men move from the northern slope to the Sahara. The winter migration, during which the flocks are moved from the high zone to the foot of the mountain, involves families in a semi-nomadic way of life.—The inhabitants of the Awrās are villagers, except in the east, where they live in hamlets of *gourbis* dispersed in the woods. Their villages, often built on the hillside, with the houses in terraces, are sometimes dominated by a *guella* (*ḳalʿa*, fortified granary). The people of the Awrās (115,000) are still Berber-speaking, except on the borders where there has been penetration by arabicised tribes.

These Berbers are called Shāwiya by the Arabs. The women continue to speak Berber whilst the men adopt Arabic for use outside the family.

Worked stones show that the Awrās has been occupied since Old Neolithic times. Roman influence is indicated by the ruins of cisterns and irrigation ditches, oil-mill grinding stones, etc. The Byzantines confined themselves to building a line of forts along the foot of the Northern face of the Awrās. When ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*] entered the Maghrib, the Berbers inflicted serious losses on him and it was near the Awrās, at Tahūda, that he met his death when returning from his great expedition towards the West. After the destruction of the Kingdom of Kusayla [*q.v.*], the Awrās became the centre of the resistance offered to the Muslims, who only succeeded in suppressing it at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, after the bloody struggles to which the legend of the Kāhina [*q.v.*] is attached. Following upon these wars, Berbers from Tripolitania and the South of Ifrīḳiya established themselves in the Awrās; converted to Islam willingly or by compulsion, they retained a spirit of independence which was shown by the eagerness with which they adopted heretical doctrines, Ibāḍism in the 2nd/8th century, the Nakkārī doctrines in the 4th/10th century; it was from the Awrās that Abū Yazīd appeared, whose revolt for a brief moment imperilled the Fāṭimid Empire. The Hilālī invasion contributed to the arabisation of the whole area of the mountain massif, but the populations succeeded in retaining their independence intact, escaping from the authority of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*], then from the domination of the Turks; the latter, however, set up in the area some chieftains devoted to their policy, whose authority remained precarious. From the 10th/16th century, preachers from the extreme South of Morocco gave the Islam of the Awrās the appearance which it was to retain until about 1935: a religion closely linked with a specific social structure. At this last date, the Algerian *ʿulamāʾ* intervened, especially against the cult of Saints.

The inhabitants of the Awrās have always retained their old political organisation, of which the village remained the basis, a true municipal republic administered by the assembly of the people, or *djamāʿa*, in conditions analogous to, though rather more sketchy than, those which existed in Kabylia. The French occupation only superficially put an end to this state of affairs. In 1845 the Duc d'Aumale took Mshūnesh, whilst Bedeau made the main tribes recognise French authority; further expeditions, however, were required in 1848-1849 and 1850 to repress a revolt; French troops had to intervene again in 1859 and 1879, when risings had broken out. In 1866, the judicial system of the Mālikīs was applied to the Awrās and *Ḳāḍīs* were sent there, but local customary law continued to be applied, as a supplement to Islamic Law and the French Penal system.

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(G. YVER*)

AL-**AWS**, one of the two main Arab tribes in Medina. The other was al-Khazradj, and the two, which in pre-Islamic times were known as Banū Ḳayla from their reputed mother, constituted after the Hidjra the 'helpers' of Muḥammad or Anṣār [*q.v.*]. The genealogy as given by Ibn Saʿd (iii/2,1) is: al-Aws b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr (Muzayḳiyāʾ) b. ʿĀmir (Māʾ al-Samāʾ) b. Ḥāritha b. Imriʾ al-Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba b. Māzin b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ b. Yashdjub b. Yaʿrub b. Ḳaḥṭān. The following table gives the genealogical relationships of the chief divisions of the tribe:

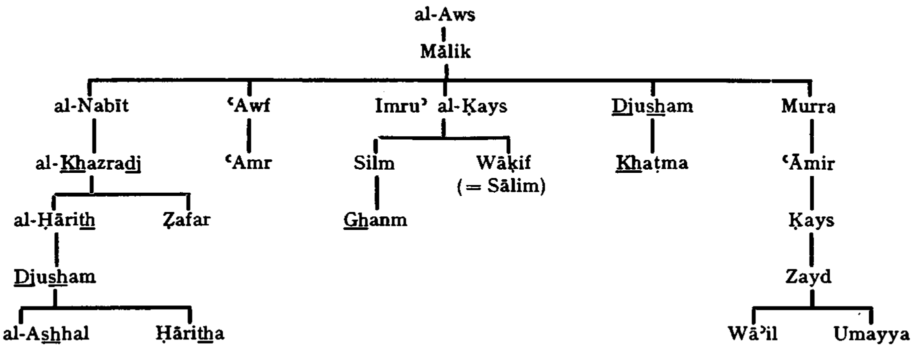

the genealogies lead one to suppose, since the genealogies, which are later compilations, are entirely patrilineal, whereas there are many indications that matrilineal kinship was important in Medina. The feuds at Medina in the decades before the *hidjra* are commonly said to be between the two tribes, but the sources speak of fighting between clans and groups of clans; and even in the Constitution of Medina the units responsible for blood-money, which are apparently independent political entities, are single clans or groups of clans, like al-Nabīt, which consisted of the clans of ʿAbd al-Ashhal, Ẓafar and Ḥāritha. It is probable that the conception of the Aws and the Khazradj as tribes was fostered in order to create closer ties between the clans in alliance with one another, and that this was happening shortly before the *hidjra* and more particularly after it.

In the generation before the *hidjra* the leading man among the Aws was Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk, who by genealogy belongs to ʿAbd al-Ashhal, but appears at one point as leader of the clan of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf against the Khazradjī clan of al-Ḥārith, while the chief of ʿAbd al-Ashhal was Muʿādh b. al-Nuʿmān. Another leader was Abū Ḳays b. al-Aslat of the clan of Wāʾil, but on several occasions when he was in command of a party his followers fled, and latterly he yielded the supreme command to Ḥuḍayr where both were present. During this period various small feuds

The name al-Aws probably means 'the gift' and seems to be a contraction for Aws Manāt, 'the gift of Manāt' (the goddess whom they worshipped). The fuller form tends to be restricted to the clans of Wāḳif, Khaṭma, Wāʾil and Umayya b. Zayd, and was changed in Islamic times to Aws Allāh; but these four clans seem to be called simply 'Banu 'l-Aws' in the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, 341-3).

The traditional story is that, some time after the emigration from the Yaman led by ʿAmr Muzayḳiyāʾ, his descendants quarrelled, and al-Aws and al-Khazradj separated from Ghassān and settled in Yathrib or Medina, which was then controlled by Jewish clans. For a time Banū Ḳayla were subordinate to the Jews, but under the leadership of Mālik b. al-ʿAdjlān of the Khazradjī clan of Sālim (Ḳawāḳila) they became independent and obtained a share of the palm-trees and strongholds (*(āṭām*, sing. *uṭum*) A contemporary and rival of Mālik was Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ, chief of B. Djaḥdjabā, a branch of the Awsī clan of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf.

It is to be doubted whether there was at this time any conception of the Aws (or the Khazradj) as a unity. The effective units seem to have been the subdivisions of these two tribes, here called 'clans'. Even the clans may not have been constituted as became linked with one another, until there was a conflagration in which most of Medina and some of the surrounding nomads were involved. After a serious defeat the clans of ʿAbd al-Ashhal and Ẓafar had withdrawn from Medina, while ʿAmr b. ʿAwf and Aws Manāt had made peace. The oppressive policy, however, of the Khazradjī leader, ʿAmr b. Nuʿmān of Bayāḍa, drove the Jewish tribes of Ḳurayẓa and al-Naḍīr into alliance with the two exiled clans, and enabled them to fight back. They were also helped by the nomadic clan of Muzayna, and the other clans of the Aws joined in, with the exception of Ḥāritha, which had been driven from its lands by ʿAbd al-Ashhal. The ensuing battle of Buʿāth went in favour of the Aws and their allies, but their leader Ḥuḍayr was killed. Peace was not made after this battle, but there was no further large-scale fighting.

Such was the situation when Muḥammad commenced negotiations, first with the Khazradj and then with the Aws also. While nearly all the Khazradj entered into agreement with Muḥammad, many of the Aws held back, viz. the clans of Khaṭma, Wāʾil, Wāḳif and Umayya b. Zayd, and some of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. Nevertheless the conversion of Saʿd b. Muʿādh b. al-Nuʿmān, chief of ʿAbd al-Ashhal,

was a decisive event in the growth of Islam in Medina, and from the battle of Badr until his death in 5/627 he was the leading Muslim of the Banū Ḳayla or Anṣār [*q.v.*]. The enmity between the Aws and the Khazradj died away gradually, and is not heard of after the institution of Abū Bakr as caliph.

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AWS B. ḤADJAR, the greatest pre-Islamic poet of the tribe of Tamīm; al-Aṣmaʿī frequently praises and comments on his poetry; in contrast the early anthologies, except the *Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī, do not mention him at all. Whether al-Farazdaḳ, when he boasts of having "inherited from the family of Aws a tongue like poison", means our poet, cannot be ascertained. Fragments of some length do not appear before the time of Ibn al-Sikkīt, who probably wrote a commentary to his *dīwān*, and quotes him in his lexicographical work.

With the early critics Aws was famous for his description of the (wild) ass, the bow, and "noble virtues". He exhorted the Lakhmid king ʿAmr b. Hind to avenge his father al-Mundhir III, who was murdered in 544, and mentions the battles of al-Kāʿ and al-Suʾbān in which his tribe was involved. A charming anecdote tells the story of his acquaintance with Faḍāla b. Kalada of the Banū Asad to whom he dedicated a well-known elegy. Aws seems to be earlier than al-Nābigha.

Tradition relates that Zuhayr was the transmitter (*rāwī*) of both Aws and Ṭufayl al-Ghanawī. Krenkow makes Aws the *rāwī* of Ṭufayl without indicating his source.

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AWTĀD (Ar., sing. *watad*), literally "pegs", the 3rd category of the hierarchy of the *Ridjāl al-Ghayb*, comprising four holy persons, also called *al-ʿUmūd*, "the pillars" [see ABDĀL]. Each of them is charged with the surveillance of one of the four cardinal points, in the centre of which they have their dwelling-place. (I. GOLDZIHER)

AL-**ʿAWWĀʾ** [see NUDJŪM].

AWWAL (fem. *ūlā*, plur. *awāʾil*), first. — I. As a philosophical term, *awwal* was brought into Muslim thought by the Arab translators of Aristotle and Plotinus as the equivalent in Arabic of the Greek words πρῶτος and ἀρχαί. Thus in the *Pseudo-Theology* of Aristotle, that is to say, in the Arabic translation of the last three *Enneads* of Plotinus, *awwal* indicates either the *First Being* or the *First Created*. Similarly, in the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā we already find the expression *al-ḳaṣd al-awwal* to express the first causality derived from God, the same expression being again found in the *Budd al-ʿĀrif* and the *Sicilian Questions* of Ibn Sabʿīn. The word *awwal* is likewise used by the Muʿtazilites, al-Kindī and al-Fārābī; but it was Ibn Sīnā who systematised its use in philosophical terminology. The word *awwal* subsequently became customary among those Eastern and Western thinkers familiar, either directly or indirectly, with the thought of Avicenna.

II. Used in the singular, *awwal* indicates among the philosophers God in the sense of *First Being*. With the expression the *Necessary Being*, it is the name of God most frequently employed by Muslim philosophers; in this sense it is usually employed alone, though at times such reiterative expressions as *al-mabdaʾ al-awwal*, *First Principle*, are to be encountered.

III. In several compound expressions, *awwal* indicates essentially causal priority, and secondarily temporal priority, as in the terms *al-maʿlūl al-awwal* (First Caused), *al-adjsām al-ūlā* (*First or Elementary bodies*), *al-ḥaraka al-ūlā* (*First movement*).

IV. Used in the plural, *awāʾil* [*q.v.*] indicates the first ones in date and, in philosophy, the thinkers of former ages.

V. Likewise in the plural, *awāʾil* also indicates the *first principles* in the order of being and knowledge; for example: *al-mabādi al-ūlā*, the *First Principles* in the order of Being or *Separate Intelligences*, or *al-maʿḳūlāt al-ūlā*, the *First Intelligibles* that is to say, the *First Principles* of Knowledge.

VI. From *awwal* is derived the abstract noun *awwaliyya* (plur. *awwaliyyāt*), which in the Philosophers indicates the essence of *that which is first*.

VII. In the plural, *awwaliyyāt* translates τὰ πρῶτα and ἀρχαί indiscriminately and means the *First Principles* in the order of knowledge, that is to say, the propositions and judgements immediately evident by themselves.

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AL-**AWZĀʿĪ**, ABŪ ʿAMR ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿAMR, the main representative of the ancient Syrian school of religious law. His *nisba* is derived from al-Awzāʿ, a suburb of Damascus, so called after a South Arabian tribe, or an agglomeration (*awzāʿ*) of clans, who lived there (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. al-Munadjdjid, ii, 1954, 144; Yāḳūt,

i, 403 f.). An ancestor of his had been made a prisoner in Yaman (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 214). He seems to have been born in Damascus, and he did part of his studies at least in al-Yamāma, where he went in Government employment. Later, he moved to Bayrūt where he died, about 70 years old, in 157 (774); he is buried in the village of Ḥantūs, near Bayrūt, where his tomb is still visited by pilgrims (Heffening, 148, n. 4).

Al-Awzāʿī's writings, which he dictated to his disciples and of which the *Fihrist*, 227, mentions a *Kitāb al-Sunan fi 'l-Fiḳh* and a *Kitāb al-Masāʾil fi 'l-Fiḳh*, have not been preserved in their original form. His *Musnad* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 12006) was presumably composed at a later date, as were the other works of this kind. Al-Awzāʿī's opinions, however, are extensively quoted (1) in Abū Yūsuf's *al-Radd ʿalā Sīrat al-Awzāʿī* (Cairo 1357; also, with comments by al-Shāfiʿī, in his *K. al-Umm*, vii, Būlāḳ 1325, 303-336; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 251), a refutation of al-Awzāʿī's criticisms of the opinions of Abū Ḥanīfa; an original version of al-Awzāʿī's *K. al-Siyar*, by one of his immediate disciples, was still in existence in the 11th/17th century (Heffening, 149 f.); (2) in al-Ṭabarī's *K. Ikhtilāf al-Fuḳahāʾ* (ed. F. Kern, Cairo 1902, and J. Schacht, Leiden 1933).

Al-Awzāʿī's opinions, as a rule, represent the oldest solutions adopted by Islamic jurisprudence. The archaic character of his doctrine makes it likely that he, who was himself a contemporary of Abū Ḥanīfa, conserved the teaching of his predecessors, who are nothing more than names for us, in the generation before him. His systematic reasoning, though explicit, is on the whole rudimentary; it is overshadowed by his reliance on the "living tradition". By this he understands the uninterrupted practice of the Muslims, beginning with the Prophet, maintained by the first Caliphs and by the later rulers, and verified by the scholars; this is the "*sunna* of the Prophet", even though it may not be expressed in formal traditions going back to him. Al-Awzāʿī opposes this idealised concept of *sunna* to the actual administrative practice, and he makes the "good old time" last until the killing of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd (II) b. Yazīd (II) in 126 (744) and the civil war which followed it, so that it includes most of the Umayyad period. In this concept of *sunna* and in other respects, al-Awzāʿī's doctrine comes nearest to that of the ancient ʿIrāḳians.

Al-Awzāʿī shows as yet no trace of the anti-Umayyad feeling which became fashionable under the ʿAbbāsids, and it is likely that his attitude to the ʿAbbāsids was cool (this is reflected by an anecdote about his meeting with the ʿAbbāsid conqueror ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, though the story itself seems to be legendary; cf. Barthold, in *Isl.*, xviii, 244). Nevertheless, he succeeded in gaining the respect and esteem of the new rulers, and in particular of the future Caliph al-Mahdī as a prince, whom he seems to have met. The applications which al-Awzāʿī addressed to this prince, to the Caliph al-Manṣūr, and to influential persons at the Court, on behalf of political prisoners, the public of Bayrūt, and others (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdimat al-Maʿrifa*, 187 ff.), are doubtless genuine. The statement that Ibn Surāḳa (governor of Damascus on behalf of the Umayyad al-Walīd II and of the ʿAbbāsid ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī; cf. al-Ṣafadī, *Umarāʾ Dimashḳ*, ed. al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1955, 55) made al-Awzāʿī come from Bayrūt to Damascus (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *ibid.*, 187), is difficult to fit into what little is known of al-Awzāʿī's biography.

A number of al-Awzāʿī's disciples, amongst whom al-Walīd b. Mazyad (d. 203) is prominent, are mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 785 f., s.v. Bayrūt). Similarly to what happened in the other schools of religious law, the ancient school of the Syrians transformed itself into the personal *madhhab* [*q.v.*] of al-Awzāʿī. It prevailed not only in Syria but in the Maghrib, including al-Andalus (Islamic Spain), before it was superseded by the *madhhab* of Mālik, in the Maghrib about the middle of the 3rd (9th), in Syria towards the end of the 4th (10th) century (J. Lopez Ortiz, *La recepción de la escuela malequí en España*, Madrid 1931, 16 ff.; R. Castejon Calderon, *Los juristas hispano-musulmanes*, Madrid 1948, 32, 43 ff.; Heffening, 148; Barthold, *ibid*). The anecdotes on how al-Awzāʿī overcame Mālik in disputation (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *ibid.*, 185 f.), reflect the struggle between the two schools.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vi/II, 185; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 249; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2514; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Taḳdimat al-Maʿrifa*, Ḥaydarābād 1952, 184 ff.; idem, *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-Taʿdīl*, ii/II, Ḥaydarābād 1953, 266 f., Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, vi, Cairo 1936; 135 ff.; al-Samʿānī, 53r; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* (in MS; cf. Yūsuf al-ʿIshsh, *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya* (*Taʾrīkh*). Damascus 1947, 113); al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1842-47, 382 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1333, 168 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-Nihāya*, Cairo 1351-8, x, 115 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, Ḥaydarābād 1326, 238 ff.; Anonymous, *Maḥāsin al-Masāʿī*, ed. Shakīb Arslān, Cairo 1352 (cf. O. Spies, in ZS, 1935, 189 ff.); W. Heffening, *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925, 148 ff.; O. Spies, *Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1932, 52 f.; J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*[2], Oxford 1953, index, s.v. Auzāʿī. (J. SCHACHT)

ĀYA—plu. *āyāt*, a sign, token, miracle, verse of the Ḳurʾān. The original meaning is a *sign* or *token* and as such is found in the pre-Islamic poetry (plur. *āy* and *āyāt*, with plur. of plur. *āyā*, cf. *Nöldeke's Belegwörterbuch*, sub. voc.), where it is the equivalent of the Hebrew *ōth*, Aramaic *āthā*; Syriac *āthā*, the plur. *ōthōth* occurring in the Lachish Letters (iv, 11) for the fire-beacons used for signalling. This original meaning occurs in the Ḳurʾān, where the ark is called the token of Saul's kingship (ii, 248/249), and the sun and moon are signs of day and night (xvii, 12/13). The wonders of nature are also tokens of Allāh's presence and power (xxx, 20/19 ff.; xii, 105 etc.), but such are also portents from which men should take warning (ii, 164/159, 266/268; xxvi, 67 ff. etc.). It is the duty of the Messengers whom Allāh sends to rehearse to men these demonstrations of Allāh's power, or wisdom, or judgment as they appear in nature or in history, and it is the condemnation of communities that they reject the signs of Allāh that are rehearsed to them (ii, 61/58; x, 73/74; xxvii, 81/83 ff.; vii, 182/181). From wonder to miracle is an easy step (xliii, 47; iii, 49/43; xiii, 38; xxvi, 154), and by a further step the accounts telling of such portents or tokens of Allāh's might could be called His signs (ii, 252/253; xii, 7; xv, 75; xxxiv, 19/18; v, 75/79). By a final step each verse of such an account becomes a sign (vi, 124; xxviii, 87; iii,

108/104 etc.). In the Massorah to the Ḳur'ān *āyā* (plur. *āy*) always means verse, and there was considerable discussion as to verse-endings (*ru'ūs al-āy*), verse-numbering, and the *faḍā'il* of certain verses such as the "Throne Verse" (ii, 255/256), the "Light Verse" (xxiv, 35), the final verses of *sūra* ii, etc., which brought peculiar blessings to such as recited them in specified ways. These various meanings of *āya*, save the last, correspond closely with Jewish and Christian usage, where the particular religious use of the word is for the signs that attest the divine presence and which accompany and testify to the work of the Prophets.

Bibliography: Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmiʿ fi Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, i, 57 ff.; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xviii, 66 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, ch. i, xix, xxviii, lix, lxii, lxiii; Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, i, 619 no. 2; Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Ḳur'ān*, 72, 73; A. Spitaler, *Die Verszählung des Qorans*, 1935; C. A. Keller, *Das Wort Oth als Offenbarungszeichen Gottes*, 1946; R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 153-4. (A. Jeffery)

AYA SOFYA, the largest mosque in Constantinople (Istanbul), and at one time the leading Metropolitan Church of Eastern Christendom. It was known generally as Ἡ Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία up to 1453, having been called Σοφία (without the article) around 400 A.D., and since the 5th century, Ἡ Ἁγία Σοφία.

According to the most recent research, the original Aya Sofya was not built by Constantine the Great, but, in accordance with his last wishes, by his son, Constantius, after the latter's victory over his brother-in-law Licinius. It was then built in the shape of a Basilica, and consecrated on 15 February 360 (cf. A. M. Schneider, *Die vorjustinianische Sophienkirche*, in *BZ*, 1936, 36). This" Great Church" met with frequent and diverse changes. There were fires and earthquakes which ravaged it (the first wooden-roofed basilica went up in flames on 20 June 404 on the occasion of the expulsion of Bishop John Chrysostom). Reopened on 8 October 415, it remained undamaged for over a century until the night of the 13th of January 532, when once again it went up in flames (as did the greater part of the city, including the imperial archives) during the fight between the rival hippodrome factions.

The emperor Justinian immediately made known his decision to rebuild the church in such splendour as had never been seen before. Even before this, Justinian had already ordered that valuable materials from old monuments in the provinces of his vast empire (where heathen works of art were deliberately left to decay) were to be sent to the imperial residence, and after the fire these materials were largely used to rebuild Aya Sofya. Two of the greatest architects of all times, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus, were placed in charge of the reconstruction. Since the emperor had ordered that the new building must be proof against both fire and earthquake, they decided to use a dome-and-cupola design as being the surest means of escaping these dangers. The opening of this magnificent building took place on 27 December 537 with enormous pomp, and the proud Justinian could exclaim "Solomon, I have surpassed you!" Even during his own reign, however, the eastern part of the dome collapsed in an earthquake (on 7 May 558) and the ambo, tabernacle, and altar were smashed. The dome had been designed too flat, and it was now raised by more than 20 feet, whilst the supports of the big pillars were strengthened. It was ready for reopening on 24 December 562. The church has an enviable position: to the south there is the Augusteum, with an equestrian statue of Justinian, meant for national festivities; to the north (well within the Saray walls of today) are court churches, noble monasteries and the palaces of the court officials; and to the east, that is to say towards the sea, stands the imperial palace.

The west presented a court-yard called the Atrium, flanked by open halls, to the visitor. From here, a number of doors (perhaps four or five) led into an enclosed hall (Exonarthex) which still belonged to the Atrium. From this, five doors led to the actual Narthex (Esonarthex), in addition there is a door at the extreme north and south ends. Further passages branch off, and nine rectangular openings from the entrances to the inner part of the church. The centre one of these was elaborately coloured and used to be the king's door.

The area covered by the church is almost square: the internal length is about 75 metres (excluding the main apse to the east) and the breadth is about 70 metres. The floor is shaped in the form of a cross, and above it the almost hemispherical pendentive dome rises to a height of 56 metres. Since the outside walls alone could not have carried it, it had to be supported in addition by four pillars, and these in turn are supported by small but structurally important arches and their corresponding pillars. To the east and west of the dome, there are two further semi-circular chambers, each of which has three semi-domes over it. Of greatest importance for the shaping of the interior was the two-storey arrangement of all the side-chambers adjacent to the centre aisle, where the galleries (as was customary in Byzantine churches) were reserved for women. The weight of the building is carried by 107 columns (40 below and 67 above), usually monoliths of coloured marble (*verde antico*), but in some cases of red porphyry. An overwhelming impression was created for the mediaeval spectator by the wealth of ornament: the lavish use of marble everywhere, the pictures of Christ and of the Mother of God, the Prophets, Apostles, and other saints which turn the walls into a sea of colour, not to mention the mighty Seraphim (in the spherical triangles of the main dome), and the gold-mosaic which adorned the dome and walls with such a splendour as had never been seen before. The mosaic ornamentation was probably not finished until the last years of Justinian, and during the reign of Justinos II.

The original walls and vault of the original building consist of brick throughout. The sanctuary (βῆμα) lay to the east of the central part of the church and was divided from it by an iconostasis of considerable height, adorned with pictures and open-work pillars. It contained the altar and the ciborium and led into the main apse. There were 425 priests (who admittedly also served three other churches) and 100 doorkeepers in the days of Justinian. Shortly before the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, the number of church officials in the Aya Sofya was estimated at 800.

The first major repairs to Aya Sofya were made in the time of the emperor Basil II. A part of the dome collapsed during an earthquake on 26 October 986. The emperor had the damage repaired (the clumsy flying buttresses on the western façade probably date from that time; cf. A. M. Schneider, *Die Grabungen im Westhof der Sophienkirche*, Berlin 1941, 32 ff.). In 1204 the church was severely damaged during the Latin

sack of Constantinople, when it was ruthlessly plundered, the holy vestments and vessels even being used to clean and feed the invaders' horses; yet it became, nevertheless, the chief church and place of coronation for the new dynasty. The most extensive changes still undertaken in Byzantine times were made in the 14th century. In the first half, the walls were strengthened on all sides, the eastern wing in particular being buttressed from outside by high and broad supports.

We have no description of the interior of Aya Sofya in Byzantine times from Muslim reports. The first Muslim who mentions the cathedral in detail is Aḥmad b. Rusta (124 ff.; trans. G. Wiet, Cairo 1955, 139 ff.); the author lived around 290/902-903 but derives his description from Hārūn b. Yaḥyā, who was a prisoner of war in Constantinople some time during the ninth century. Hārūn does not really describe the building, which he calls al-Kanīsa al-ʿUẓmā (i.e. Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία), but he does describe in vivid detail a feast-day procession, to the church of the Byzantine emperor. On this occasion, the Muslim prisoners of war were led to the church (this might perhaps mean to the atrium of it), and there they greeted the emperor with the cry "May God preserve the king for many years" (*ibid.* 125). One detail is of particular importance: he mentions that beyond the *Madjlis* (by which he presumably meant benches) there were 24 small doors with openings a span square, at the western gate (these are not mentioned anywhere else). One of these little doors opened automatically, and closed again of its own accord, at the end of each of the 24 hours. With the decline of the Caliphate, the Muslims after Ibn Rusta grow more and more silent about far-away Constantinople. Only four centuries later, after Asia Minor had been occupied by Turkish tribes, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dimashḳī (ed. Frähn and Mehren, St. Petersburg, 1865, 227)—who, however, is dependent on the work of the slightly earlier paper-merchant Aḥmad (*ibid.*, VIII)—mentions the Aya Sofya in a few lines. The one remarkable thing is his statement that the church harboured an angel whose home was surrounded by a barrier (*darābazīn*), presumably meaning the area of the altar and ciborium together with the iconostasis itself.

A few decades later, Muḥammad b. Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, 434) is the first to ascribe the erecting of Aya Sofya to Āṣaf b. Barakhyā [*q.v.*], supposedly a cousin of king Solomon. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's main merit is the detailed description of the atrium. As he stresses, he was not allowed to enter the church itself, possibly because he would not comply with the order (mentioned by him) to kneel before the cross at the entrance.

When the Turks conquered Constantinople (29 May 1453), crowds of the defenceless population fled into the church, in the firm belief that an angel would appear in the sky and drive the victors forever back into their Asiatic home-country after they had advanced as far as the column of Constantine the Great. However, the Turks came on, smashed the doors of the house of God, and dragged the frightened people—both men and women—away to slavery. Eye-witnesses do not, however, mention any blood-bath in the holy place, as was often stated to have been the case. After this wild spectacle of loot and plunder, the ruler himself—though not seated upon a horse, as it was usually stated—entered the church. His *muʾadhdhin* spoke the invitation to prayer which contains the confession of faith, and he threw himself down—together with his followers—before the one God, and thereby the temple of Constantius and Justinian was dedicated to Islam.

There are very considerable changes in the interior resulting from the rules of the victorious religion. The mosaics which had formerly adorned the walls and vaults, and which had seemed to their Greek creators to have been fashioned for eternity, were hidden under a grey lime-wash (since Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme* i, mentions the mosaics, a few must still have been visible in his time, that is to say, in the 17th century). The iconostasis between the priests and the lay folk was torn down, and the rich decorations of the east wing, the *Bēma*, were stripped. As the ancient Byzantine churches faced Jerusalem, whilst the Ṣalāt had to be performed facing Mecca, the Turks have prayed more towards the south, and not towards the eastern wing of the mosque, ever since the days of the conquest. From the time of Meḥemmed II, the preacher— bearing a wooden sword—ascended the pulpit on Fridays, on every afternoon of Ramaḍān, and on Bayrām festivals (see the article ʿANAZA and Juynboll, *Handbuch des islam. Gesetzes*, 84, 87); and there were always two flags by the side of the pulpit. Furthermore, we know that Meḥemmed II erected the mighty buttresses against the south wall, where he also built the first of those high, slim minarets. Selim II erected the two buttresses in the north and the second minaret on the north-east corner. His son, Murād III, was responsible for the other two.

Sultan Murād III undertook thorough repairs of the mosque. In the first place, this meant the correction of minor defects which had come to light as time went on, but he also contributed considerably to the embellishment of the bare chamber. He placed the two huge alabaster urns on the inside near the main entrance; each of which holds 1250 litres; he also donated the two large estrades (*maṣṭaba*). On the right hand one, the Ḳurʾān was recited during most of the day in that chanting intonation which is peculiar to the oriental liturgy of all denominations, whilst the other was meant for the prayer leaders. At great expense, Murād III also gilded the half-moon which crowned the dome. This had a diameter of 50 ells, and had replaced the cross. Thus the Muslim subjects of the Porte could behold the emblem of their faith from as far off as the summit of Bithynian Olympus.

In the second half of the 16th century, the conversion of the churchyard immediately to the south of the mosque into a mausoleum for the sultans was begun. The oldest tomb is that of sultan Selīm II. His son Murād III and his grandson Meḥemmed III are also buried there. Sulṭān Meḥemmed III's 19 brothers, whom he had killed on his accession to the throne, are also entombed here. A few decades later, the dethroned sultan Muṣṭafā I suddenly died, and a suitable grave could not be found immediately; the old baptistry (on the southern side of the narthex), which the Turks had used for oil storage since their conquest, was taken over for the purpose. Later on, the nephew of Muṣṭafā I, Sultan Ibrāhīm, was likewise buried there. Since then, the large oil stores have been kept in the hall and courtyard on the north side of the baptistry.

Sultan Murād IV (1623-1640), whose reign saw a certain measure of general revival, had the bare walls embellished in a memorable way by the great calligrapher Bičaḳdji-zāde Muṣṭafā Čelebī, with large gold-lettered quotations from the Ḳurʾān. Some

of these letters, such as *Alif*, are as much as ten ells long. These beautifully painted and often intertwining verses are, however, dwarfed by the clear and boldly drawn names of the first four Caliphs (these are written by Teknedji-zāde Ibrāhīm Efendi, cf. *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, i, 4). There is a magnificent *minbar* dating from those days. It is also known that it was Aḥmed III who erected the enclosed raised throne for the ruler, the *maḳṣūra*, on the north side of the main apse. Maḥmūd I (1730-1754) donated the large sultan's loggia on the first floor in the gallery and also a charming fountain and a school (both in the courtyard on the southern side), the large eating-house (*ʿimāret*) in the north, and above all the valuable library in the mosque itself. There is, however, indubitable proof that this last was built on an older foundation already in the mosque. All of this is essentially part of the House of God in the Orient.

From the time of Murād IV, the conqueror of Baghdād, there was a perceptible decline in the maintenance of the mosque, which coincided with the general decline of the empire. In 1847, Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd commissioned the Italian brothers Fossati as architects to renovate the building in order to avoid the threatened collapse of some parts, as well as to give the whole a more dignified appearance. The work took two years. The lime-wash was only left in the places which depicted human forms; apart from this, the walls came back into prominence with the disclosure of their old splendour. The red and yellow striped paint on the outside dates from the restoration. The way in which the sultan showed his veneration for the great deeds of his forbears is somewhat strange: all the minarets were repaired with the exception of that of Meḥemmed II, who had dealt the final and decisive blow against the Byzantine empire. The Italian architects, however, were eventually allowed to make this minaret as high as the others. The eight round tablets inscribed by the calligrapher Muṣṭafa ʿIzzet Efendi were put into Aya Sofya under Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd.

It is fortunate indeed that the mosque has not suffered from earthquakes since the 10th century. It must be admitted that it is largely thanks to the buttresses which the last Byzantines and the Turks put up against three sides of the walls that this gigantic building (standing, as it does, on seismic ground) has served mankind longer than any other building in Europe. The storms which blow from the Balkans or from the sea, on the other hand, seem to be increasingly dangerous to the mosque.

In summer 1906 the Minister of Education ordered thorough repairs in the library building, which was looked after by 5 *Khōdjas* who officiated one day of the week each.

In Ramaḍān, the mosque made an interesting picture when princes and officials assembled for afternoon prayers. At the *tarāwīḥ* prayers (said an hour and a half after sun-down) there was less ceremony. The dome was lit by innumerable lamps which were arranged in a circle. The greatest splendour of all was to be seen during the 27th night or the *Laylat al-Ḳadr* (Turk. *Kadîr gecesi*), in which the Ḳurʾān descended from heaven to earth. The earlier rulers frequently attended the ceremony, but Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II only honoured the mosque with his presence (if at all) in the middle of Ramaḍān, when he came by boat to do honour to the relics of the Prophet in the ancient castle of his ancestors during a short visit (*Yawm-i Ziyāret-i Khîrḳa-i Saʿādet*).

Immediately after the conquest, the Turks took over the many legends which had grown up concerning the origin and the excellence of the church during the last years of Byzantine rule, refurbishing them in Muslim terms. A history of Aya Sofya (library of Aya Sofya, No. 3025) was written very shortly after the victorious entry, by Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Gīlānī (in Persian, on a Greek model) at the order of Meḥemmed II. This was later translated into Turkish by Niʿmat Allāh (died 969/1561-2). According to Kâtib Čelebī (ed. Flügel, II, 116) there was a second Persian work written for the same ruler by the astronomer and cosmographer ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḳushdjī [*q.v.*]. This work, however, can apparently no longer be identified. There is another version of the year 888/1483-4, by an anonymous author, which is now in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (MS. Orient. 8°. 821) as an appendix to an Ottoman history (the *Tawārīkh-i Ḳosṭanṭiniyya* [Fleischer, *Kat. Dresden*, No. 113; Pertsch, *Türkische Hss. zu Berlin*, no. 231] written three years later) which is more interesting but otherwise similar in thought and sources. According to the *Tawārīkh-i Ḳosṭanṭiniyya* the story is that Āṣafiyya, the extremely wealthy wife of the great Ḳonsṭanṭin b. ʿAlāniyya, died very young and ordered in her last testament that a church should be built which should exceed all other buildings of the world in height. An architect is said to have arrived from Firangistan. He is reported to have begun by digging down 40 ells, in order to reach water; then, having built the church with the exception of the dome, he is said to have fled. The building then stood untouched for 10 years, until he returned and put on the dome. It is also stated that the particular marble —otherwise only known by the Dīws (it is actually a "marble metal", *Mermer Maʿdeni*)—was brought from many countries. The "metal" for the four mottled (*ṣomāḳī*) pillars (in fact, of course, they are simply of the hardest marble) is said to have come from Mount Ḳāf, and the large doors are alleged to have been made from planks of Noah's ark and already used by Solomon for his buildings in Jerusalem and Kyzikos (Aydîndjîḳ). The total expenditure is said to have come to 360,000 gold bars (each of 360,000 filori). In the time of the grandson of Constantine the Great, emperor Heraclius (a contemporary and secret follower of the Prophet), the dome is said to have crashed down, but the pious ruler rebuilt it immediately. The *Tawārīkh-i Ḳosṭanṭiniya wa Āyā Ṣōfya* of ʿAlī al-ʿArabī Ilyās, who was then in the service of the Grand Vizier ʿAlī the Fat (died 28 June 1565) and was a teacher (Flügel, *Kat. der Kais. Hofbibl. Vienna*, iii, 97), dates from the time of Suleyman the Great. The earliest edition belongs to the year 970/1562-3. Two years later, the author added a few insignificant details to the work and brought it out under a different title (*Tawārīkh-i Binā-yi Āyā Ṣōfya*, in the Bibl. Nationale in Paris, Turkish MSS. Suppl., no. 1546; *Tawārīkh-i Ḳosṭanṭiniya wa Āyā Ṣōfya wa baʿd-i Ḥikāyāt*, in Pertsch: *Catalogue of Turkish manuscripts of the Kgl. Bibl. Berlin*, no. 232. Fourmont has a further manuscript, *Cat. cod. man. Bibl. Reg.*, 319, no. 147, I). According to this, Aya Sofya was built under the emperor Ustūniānō by the architect Ignādūs (as also in Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ). Generally speaking, the author of this is more plausible. He also gives far more detail than his predecessor of the 15th century, because he gives various versions. Thus, he must be regarded as the best Turkish authority on the history of their greatest mosque,

although he is utterly unreliable from our point of view.

The contents of the legends which continue to be woven around Aya Sofya change from one epoch to the next. They seem to have their spiritual peak in the 17th century, a time when the Ottomans in general also appear as the greatest despisers of this world. At that time the place was shown on which the Arabic heroes of the first century A.H. were said to have prayed on the occasion of their siege of Constantinople; the place in the centre of the nave, from which Khiḍr supervised the building of the church. In the southern gallery a hollowed stone is pointed out as having been the cradle of Christ. One of the anecdotes which one could still hear told by young theologians in much later years mentioned Ḥusayn-i Tabrīzī and the way in which he is supposed to have got his professorship in the mosque: the mystic (*Ṣūfī*) Sultan Meḥemmed II the Conqueror had held out his hand to him so that he had to kiss the inside (*āyā*), instead of the back of the hand, whereupon he promptly asked for the appointment as *mudīr* of the Aya Sofya. The so-called "Damp Pillar" (*yash direk*) and the "Cold Window" (*so'uk pendjere*) near the *Ḳibla* gained great fame as places of pilgrimage where miracles happened within the holy walls in the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. The window was the place where Shaykh Aḳ Shams al-Dīn (whose words had a truly rousing influence on the men of his time, amongst them Meḥemmed the Conqueror himself) first expounded the Ḳur'ān. Until very recently, everyone was still convinced that the blessings brought by the currents of fresh air which entered through this "Cold Window" were of beneficial influence to the depth of theological knowledge.

In 1934, President Kemal Atatürk decreed that Aya Sofya was to cease being a place of Islamic worship, and put it under a museum administration. Subsequently, the lime-wash which had covered the figures in the mosaics was removed, and amongst others the following pictures reappeared in 1936: a beautiful representation of an enthroned Madonna and Child, surrounded by the emperors Constantine (with a model of the town he founded) and Justinian (with a model of the church of St. Sophia) above the southern narthex door; and over the central door, leading from the narthex to the church (the old Emperor's Door), a representation of Christ enthroned, with an emperor (Leo VI? or, more likely, Basil I, cf. A. M. Schneider in *Oriens Christianus* 1935, 75-79) at his feet in adoration; and, finally, a Madonna in the curve of the apse.

Bibliography: Procopius, Agathias, and Paulus Silentiarius are the most trustworthy of the Byzantine sources of the time of Justinian. Of the more recent ones, there are above all: Pierre Gilles, *De topographia Constantinopoleos libri* iv (Lyons, 1561 and repeatedly after that date); idem, *De Bosphoro Thracio libri tres* (Lyons 1561, and repeatedly after that date); Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, Paris 1680; J. von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus*, i, Pesth 1822; Σκαρλάτος Α. Βυζάντιος, Κωνσταντινούπολις, i, Athens 1851; C. Fossati, *Aya Sophia of Constantinople as recently restored*, London 1852; W. Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmäler von Konstantinopel*, Berlin 1854; Auguste Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, Paris 1883; J. P. Richter, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, special number of *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters*, Vienna 1897, by Eitelberger von Edelberg and Ilg; W. R. Lethaby and Har. Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople; a study of Byzantine building*, London and New York 1894; Heinr. Holtzinger, *Die Sophienkirche und verwandte Bauten der byzantinischen Architektur* (in *Die Baukunst*, edited by R. Borrmann and R. Graul, no. 10, Berlin and Stuttgart 1898); Εὐγένιος Μιχαὴλ 'Αντωνιάδης, 'Εκφρασις τῆς 'Αγίας Σοφίας (in: Βι βλιωθήκη Μαρασλῆι 3 vols., Athens and Leipzig, 1907-1909); Alfons Maria Schneider, *Die Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel*, Berlin n.d. (1938); a Turkish account, giving the inscriptions and a description of the additional buildings in Turkish times: Ḥāfiẓ Hüseyn, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281/1864, i, 3-8; further bibliography in *IA*, ii, 47-55 (Arif Müfid Mansel). On the description of Hārūn b. Yaḥyā see M. Izzedin, *Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance* ..., in *REI*, 1941-6, 41 ff., where earlier studies are cited; on the Muslim legends see F. Tauer, *Notice sur les versions persanes de la légende de l'édification d'Aya Sofya, in Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, Istanbul 1953, 487 ff.; idem, *Les Versions persanes de la légende sur la construction d'Aya Sofya, in Byzantinoslavica* xv/1, 1954, 1-20.

Not far from the Great Sophia, there is the Small Āyā Ṣōfya (Küčük Āyā Ṣōfya) near the Djundī square. It was built by Justinian, and was formerly dedicated to Saint Sergius and Saint Bacchus. A cupola rose from an octagonal base (which was extended by four apses). The guardian of the ḥarem of Meḥemmed II (Ḳîzlar Aghasî) changed it into a mosque, and since then it has been fully equipped for Muslim teaching and worship. The porch, and the five flat cupolas rising from it, are of Turkish origin.

(K. Süssheim-[Fr. Taeschner])

AYA SOLŪK, Ayasulūḳ, Ayasulūgh, Ayatholūgh (from "Αγιος θεόλογος, i.e., the apostle and evangelist John, who lived and died there). In mediaeval western (Latin) sources, the town is referred to as Altoluogo, today (since 1914) it is known as Selčuk. It is a small town on the western coast of Anatolia, 37° 55′ north, 27° 20′ east, on the site of the Ephesus of antiquity (still referred to as Afṣūs or Ufsūs by Arabic geographers) in the plain which surrounds the mouth of the river Küčük Menderes (the Kaystros of antiquity), at the foot of the Bülbül Daghî (Koressos), and now on the railway between Izmir and Aydîn. It is the capital of the *nāḥiye* of Akîncîlar in the *kaza* of Kuşadasî (*wilāyet* of Izmir). At the end of the 19th century it had 2,793 inhabitants (according to V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 505), in 1935 it had 4,025 (the *kaza* of Kushadasî had 17,819).

In the Middle Ages, Aya Solūk was a town of considerable importance. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited it in 733/1333 (ii, 308 f.), describes it as having 15 gates, and it was an important commercial centre on the banks of the river Kaystros, where gardens and vineyards flourished. The harbour, which had been the source of the town's prosperity, was silted up with deposits from the river Kaystros as early as the Middle Ages. Instead of Ephesus, the harbour of Kushadasî, some 15 kms. to the south-east (referred to as Scala nova in western mediaeval sources) began to flourish; this had 5,442 inhabitants in 1945.

The advance of the Arabs to Ephesus was only a temporary one (182/798). Similarly, the occupation by Turkish troops after the victory of Melāzgerd (1071)—under the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan—came to an end with the victory of the crusaders of the

first Crusade near Dorylaeum (1097). When the Rūm-Saldjūk Empire fell into decline, Turkish troops again penetrated western Anatolia as far as the Aegean coast. Under their leader, they founded principalities, and then Ephesus/Aya Solūk came under the principality of Aydin. Here Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met the Aydin-oghlu Khiḍir Beg as the local prince. He was in contact with the Italian Republics, and there was a Venetian and a Genoese consulate in Aya Solūk. In 1391, when Bāyazīd II absorbed the principality of Aydin, Aya Solūk came under Ottoman rule for the first time, but after his defeat, it was returned to the princes of Aydin by Tīmūr in 1402. Under Murād II, Aya Solūk finally became part of the Ottoman Empire in 1425, and henceforth it was a *kaḍā* of the *sandjak* of Aydin (*eyālet* of Anadolu, later *wilāyet* of Aydin). The fortress, however, was under the Kaptan Pasha, being a part of the *sandjak* of Ṣughla (Izmir). Aya Solūk gradually fell into decay, and is now little more than a village. This is due in part to the changes at the mouth of the river Kaystros, where the plain is now a fever-infested swamp, and in part to the growth of the neighbouring Kushadasi.

Noteworthy monuments include the ruins of the ancient Ephesus, the remains of the Basilica of St. John, and the imposing Mosque of Aydin-oghlu ʿĪsā Beg I (towards the end of the 14th century)—built on the same plan as the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. At the foot of the fortress hill, the Panayir Daghi (the ancient Pion), one can see the cave in which the Seven Sleepers are said to have slept. Up on the Bülbül Daghi, there is a small early Christian building, in which the Virgin Mary is said to have lived and died (Panaya Kapulu). In recent times, this has developed into a place of pilgrimage, and the Turkish government has built a road to it.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 155; W. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels*, cf. index; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme* ix, 137 ff.; *Sālnāme* of the *Wilāyet* of Aydin 1324/1908; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 310 ff.; A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien* iii, 87 ff.; A. Grund, *Vorläufiger Bericht über physiogeographische Untersuchungen im Delta-Gebiet des kleinen Mäander bei Ajasolug (Ephesus)* (*SBAW*), (*SBAW*, Vienna 1906, cxv 241-62, 1757 ff.); Besim Darkot, *Coğrafi araştirmalari*, i, 39 ff.; *IA*, ii, 56 f. (Besim Darkot); L. Massignon, *Les Fouilles archéologiques d'Éphèse et leur importance réligieuse*, in *Les Mardis de Dar El-Salam*, Cairo 1951, 1 ff., the same (and others), *Les Sept Dormants d'Éphèse* ..., in *REI*, 1954, 59-112, 1955, 93-106, 1957, 1-11.

(Fr. Taeschner)

AYA STEFANOS]see Yeshilköy].

AʿYĀN. Plural of the Arabic ʿ*Ayn* in the sense of 'notable person' and often used to denote the eminent under the caliphate and subsequent Muslim regimes (cf. the celebrated *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*—'Obituaries of Notable Men'—of Ibn Khallikān). Under the Ottoman regime, from having at first denoted merely the most distinguished inhabitants of any district or town-quarter, the term, often used as a singular, acquired a more precise significance, coming, in the eighteenth century, to be applied to those among such persons as then first exercised political influence and were accorded official status. A factor in their rise to such influence was the institution by the Porte, during the 17th century, of *Mālikāne* tax-farms—that is to say of farms leased to holders for life. For many of these were taken up by such local notables, who not only prospered financially thereby, but also came virtually to control the districts to which these tax-farms related. During the Russo-Ottoman war of 1767-1774 it was largely to *aʿyāns* all over the country that the Porte resorted in order to raise funds and recruits for the army; and in due course they were accorded official recognition as the chosen representatives of the people vis-à-vis the government, the provincial *wālīs* furnishing them with documents known as *aʿyānlik buyuruldusu* on payment of a fee called *aʿyāniyye*. In 1779 this right of appointment was transferred from the *wālīs*, who had abused it, to the Grand Vizier; and in 1786 it was decided to abolish *aʿyānliks* altogether. On the outbreak of war again in the following year, however, the Porte, as before, found itself unable to dispense with the aid of these local notables; and in 1790 *aʿyānliks* were duly revived. Many *aʿyāns* in both Rumelia and Anatolia came during the reigns of Selīm III, Muṣṭafā IV, and Maḥmūd II, to play a part in Ottoman affairs very similar to that of the *dere-beyis* [*q.v.*], often defying the Porte for long periods and managing the districts over which they had extended their control in virtual independence, although often providing contingents for the Ottoman army in time of war. Among these the most celebrated were perhaps Pāswān Oghlu [*q.v.*] (who, if not strictly speaking an *aʿyān* himself, was the son of one), the Bayrakdār Muṣṭafā Pāshā [*q.v.*] (who became one early in his career), and Ismāʿīl Bay of Serez. It was chiefly to breaking the power of the *aʿyāns* (and *dere-beyis*) in the provinces that Maḥmūd II successfully devoted the first half of his reign.

Bibliography: *I.A.* s.v. (article by I. H. Uzunçarşili); Mouradjea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, 286; Aḥmed Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, x, 87, 116-118, 147, 191, 194, 197, 209, 216; Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 11-12; Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾidj al-Wuḳūʿat*, iii, 74, iv, 35-6, 42, 71-2, 98-9; Aḥmed Rāsim, ʿ*Othmānli Taʾrīkhi*, iii, 1029, iv, 1663-4, 1714; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, 1, Istanbul 1922, 1654 ff.; A. F. Miller, *Mustafa Pasha Bayraktar*; *Ottomans-kaya Imperia v Načale XIX veka*, Moscow 1947, 363-5; I. H. Uzunçarşili, *Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1942, 2-7; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i, Oxford 1950, index. (H. Bowen)

ĀYĀS, town on the coast of Cilicia, on the western shore of the gulf of Iskenderun, to the east of the mouth of the river Djayhan (Pyramos), 36° 53′ north, 35° 46′ east, capital of the *nāḥiye* of Yumurtalik in the *kaḍā* of Ceyhan (*wilāyet* Seyhan/Adana). In antiquity it was known as Aigai (Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 385 f.). Italian seamen and merchants in the Middle Ages knew it as Ajazzo or Lajazzo. In 1935 it had 667 inhabitants (the *nāhiye* 11,024) (Pauly-Wissowa, i, 945).

The harbour of Āyās (which at that time formed part of the Christian principality of Little Armenia) only became important in the second half of the 13th century. As a result of the withdrawal of the Franks from the lands of the Crusaders on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and also of the silting up of the harbour of Tarsus, the whole of the trade between the West and the Orient was concentrated in this harbour, which was also connected by good overland routes with Syria and Mesopotamia, as well as with Iran via eastern Anatolia. It was from here that Marco Polo started out on his journey across country through Asia in the year 1271. At the end of the 14th century, the Florentine Pegolotti describes the caravan route to

Tabriz which began here (*La pratica della Mercatura scritta da Francesco Balducci Pegolotti*, vol. iii of *Della Decima e delle altre Gravezze .... de Fiorentini fino al Secolo XVI*, Lisbon and Lucca 1766, 9-11 [critical edition by Allan Evans, Cambridge Mass. 1936, index s.v. Laiazo]; cf. W. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels*, index). Āyās was the seat of a Venetian Bailo.

The town was plundered by Muslim armies in 665/1266 and 674/1275, conquered in 722/1322 by the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and rebuilt by the Christians after the peace treaty of 1325; it finally fell into the hands of Egyptian Mamlūks in 748/1347. It then began to decline, and the process was accelerated by the fact that sedimentation broadened the mouth of the river Djayḥān, until the whole area around Āyās became a fever-infested swamp. It is, however, still mentioned in 1400 as the administrative centre of the province of Ḥalab. After the conquest of the Mamlūk Empire by the Ottoman Selīm I (1517), Āyās became a *ḳaḍā* in the *evālet* of Adana. Today, Āyās/Yumurtalık is an impoverished coastal town with a great number of ruins.

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(FR. TAESCHNER)

AYĀS PASHA (886-7?-946/1482?-1539), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Ayās Pasha was an Albanian born in the region of Cimera (Himara) not far from Valona (ʿĀlī; Bragadino (9 June 1526); Geuffroy). According to Bragadino, Ayās Pasha was 44 years old in 932/1526, had three brothers ("tre fradelli": not, as in Hammer, "tre fratelli monachi") and sent each month 100 ducats to his mother, "christiana monacha a la Valona". The inscription on the gravestone of Ayās Pasha at Istanbul refers to him as Ayās b. Meḥmed. Recruited through the *devshirme* in the reign of Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512), Ayās Pasha went out from the Palace with the rank of *agha* (ʿĀlī). He fought at the battle of Čaldirān (920/1514) as Agha of the Janissaries (Shukrī; Ewliyā Čelebi) and also in the war (921/1515) against ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, prince of Albistān (Ewliyā Čelebi). Holding the same office, he served throughout the Syrian and Egyptian campaigns 922/3 1516-1517) of Selīm I and, according to one version of the events, had a considerable share in the ultimate defeat and capture of Ṭūmān Bāy, the last Mamlūk Sulṭān of Egypt (Suhaylī). At the time when Sulṭān Sulaymān ascended the throne (September 1520) Ayās Pasha seems to have been Beglerbeg of Anatolia, a new Agha of the Janissaries having been appointed in 925/1519 (Muṣṭafā Čelebi; Ṣolāḳ-zāde).

After helping to crush the revolt of Djānberdi al-Ghazālī in Syria (1520-1521) (Suhaylī), Ayās Pasha became governor of Damascus, an appointment that he held from Rabīʿ II 927 to Muḥarram 928/ March-December 1521 (Laoust; Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī; Ibn Iyās). He fought, as Beglerbeg of Rumeli, at the siege of Rhodes (928/1522) (Muṣṭafā Čelebi; Ferīdūn) and, rising thereafter to the rank of third and, later, of second vizier, served in the campaigns of Mohács (932/1526), Vienna (935/1529), Güns (938/1532) and ʿIraḳ (941-2/1534-1535) (Muṣṭafā Čelebi; Ferīdūn; Pečewī; Ṣolāḳ-zāde; Kemāl Pashazāde). On the death of Ibrāhīm Pasha (22 Ramaḍān 942/15 March 1536) Ayās Pasha became Grand Vizier and retained this rank until his own death in 946/1539. The main events which occurred during his tenure of the office were the war against Venice (944-7/1537-1540), the Austrian raid on Eszék (944/1537), the Moldavian campaign (945/1538) and the expedition of Sulaymān Pasha, governor of Egypt, against Diu in India (945-6/1538-1539). In the course of the Corfu campaign (944/1537) Ayās Pasha brought under Ottoman control the Albanians settled in the neighbourhood of Valona, a new *sanjaḳ* of Delwīne being now created in this region (Muṣṭafā Čelebi; ʿĀlī; Pečewī). Ayās Pasha died on 26 Ṣafar 946/13 July 1539. In the eyes of his contemporaries he had the reputation of being an illiterate man endowed with no great political talent (ʿĀlī; Bragadino; Gévay). Of his daughters one was married to Güzeldje Rustem Pasha, who became Beglerbeg of Buda (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*), while another (or perhaps the same?) daughter is mentioned as having married the *sandjaḳ beg* of Silistria (Gévay). A brother of Ayās Pasha, Aḥmed, was governor of Ḳaramān and, later, of Damascus, according to the information given in Ibn Ṭūlūn (Laoust).

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no. 26 (*penče* of Ayās Pas͟ha); M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livasi*, Istanbul 1952, 75, 81; L. Fekete, *Einführung in die Osmanisch-Türkische Diplomatik* ...., Budapest 1926: Documents, 3-5 and Plate I (letter of Ayās Pas͟ha (1536): the same document as in Gévay); Hammer-Purgstall, iii (1828), 52, 211, 629, 647, 652, 685, 686; *Sid͟jill-i ʿOthmānī*, i. 446-447; *Arşiv Kilavuzu*, fasc. I, Istanbul 1938, 48; *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, iii, s.v. Ayas Paşa Türbesi (the inscription on the gravestone of Ayās Pas͟ha); *IA*, ii (1949), s.v. Ayas Paşa (M. Cavid Baysun).

(V. J. Parry)

ĀYĀT [see Āya].

AYĀZ, Abu 'l-Nad͟jm, favourite slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of G͟haznīn. Details of the life of the historical Ayāz are difficult to discover, but he was a Turkomān and, if the tradition utilised by D͟jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, iv, 887, is accepted, of humble origin also. The *Taʾrīk͟h-i Bayhaḳī* reports Maḥmūd's successor Masʿūd as describing Ayāz as his father's 'sneeze' and as unsuitable for appointment to the governorship of Ray because of his lack of experience of life outside the court. His death is recorded by Ibn al-At͟hīr under 449/1057-8. According to the *Čahār Maḳāla*, Ayāz was not remarkably handsome but possessed a sweet expression and olive complexion, and was greatly endowed with the arts of pleasing, in which respect he had few rivals in his time. This tradition is also found in Saʿdī.

In Persian literature Ayāz appears as a symbolical figure under many guises. In the *Gulistān* and *Bustān* of Saʿdī he appears as a symbol of true love, in the *Mat͟hnawī* of D͟jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī he figures as a type of the Perfect Man, in ʿAwfī's *D͟jawāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt* as a model of loyalty and sagacity and as a fit brother-in-law to Maḥmūd. In the *Čahār Maḳāla* the cutting off of Ayāz's locks in a fit of passion by Maḥmūd is made the occasion of a display of poetical skill by ʿUnṣurī; in the *Tad͟hkirat al-Awliyā* an unsuccessful attempt by Maḥmūd to pass off Ayāz as sultan before S͟hayk͟h Abu'l-Ḥasan K͟hurḳānī is used as proof of that saint's sagacity. In his *Maḥmūd u Ayāz*, Zulātī has woven romance around the relationship of the sulṭān and his catamite.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. Tehrān 1324/1945, i, 82, 264; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ix, 439; Niẓāmī al-ʿArūḍī, *Čahār Maḳāla*, Gibb Mem. Series, London & Leiden, 1910, 34-6; Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tad͟hkirat al-Awliyā*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, London & Leiden 1907, ii, 208; Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿAwfī, *D͟jawāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt*, British Museum MS., Or. 2676, fol. 95a & 173b; Saʿdī, *Gulistān*, 122, *Bustān* 111·2 in *Kulliyāt*, Tehrān 1320/1942; Ḥāfiẓ, *Diwān*, Tehrān, 1320/1942, 29, 175, 230; Abu 'l-Ḥasan Farrūk͟hī, *Diwān*, India Office Library, Ethé 1841, fol. 148b-149b; D͟jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mat͟hnawī*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, Gibb Mem. Series, London 1925-1933, ii, verse 1049, iii, 3337, v, 1858 ff.,3251 ff., 3351 ff., 3635 ff., 3708 ff., 4054 ff., vi, 385 ff.; Abu 'l-Ḥasan Zulātī, *Maḥmūd u Ayāz*, SOAS Persian MS. 42625; Amīn Rāzī, *Haft Iḳlīm*, SOAS Persian MS. 19618, fol. 231b; Ch. Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, Paris 1883, i, 110-1; Browne, ii, 38, 119, 140; Ferdinand Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 10.

(P. Hardy)

AYĀZ, the Amīr, lord of Hamad͟hān, played an important rôle in the struggles for the throne between the rival Sald͟jūḳ princes Barkiyāruḳ and Muḥammad I. After having first taken the side of the latter, in 494/1100 he went over to the side of Barkiyāruḳ, and, after the latter's death, became the Atabeg of his son Maliks͟hāh, who was a minor. He could not, however, hold his own against Muḥammad, and was treacherously murdered by him in 499/1105.

Bibliography: Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 199 ff.; Houtsma, *Receuil*, ii, 90; see also barkiyāruḳ and muḥammad b. maliks͟hāh.

(Ed.)

AYBAK (Turkish pronunciation Aybeg), properly called ʿIzz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Manṣūr Aybak (Aybeg) al-Muʿaẓẓamī (as a *mamlūk* of al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam) S͟haraf al-Dīn ʿIsā, who was first (597-615/1200-1218) governor of Damascus and then (615-624/1218-1227) sultan of the empire of Damascus after the death of his father al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. In 608/1211-2, Aybeg received the town of Ṣalk͟had in the Ḥawrān and the adjacent lands as a fief and was appointed major-domo (*ustād͟h-dār*). When al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd succeeded his father on the throne of Damascus, Aybeg even became regent of Damascus and had the entire political administration in his hands. Shortly afterwards, however, al-Malik al-As͟hraf, Dāwūd's uncle, took possession of Damascus; Aybeg was deprived of the office of regent, but retained his fiefs in the Ḥawrān. In 636/1238-9, he was still called "Lord of Ṣalk͟had and of Zurʿa". He was subsequently suspected of treason and lost his political standing; he died in Cairo in 646/1248-9. His remains were taken to Damascus and placed in the mausoleum built for him. The districts dependent on Aybeg were indebted to him for buildings of various types which he undertook. He erected three Ḥanafī academies at Damascus and one in Jerusalem. As major-domo, it fell to him especially to attend to the building of k͟hāns: as governor of Ṣalk͟had, he sought to render flourishing that part of the trade route from Northern Arabia and from Babylonia to Damascus which crossed his territories; he built the desert fortress, Ḳalʿat al-Azraḳ and repaired the great reservoir (*matk͟h*; elsewhere *birka*) at ʿInāk and had a great *k͟hān* set up at Sāla. His zeal for building communicated itself to his subordinates, especially to his *mamlūk* ʿAlam al-Dīn Ḳayṣar. Among the buildings which he erected in his fiefs, the following are especially worthy of mention; a *k͟hān* at Ṣalk͟had (611/1214-5); a tower in the fortress of Ṣalk͟had (617/1220-1); arcades and a tower (minaret) in the mosque of Ṣalk͟had (630/1232-3); a fort in the Ḳalʿat al-Azraḳ (634/1236-7); a *k͟hān* at Zurʿa (636/1238); a reservoir at ʿInāk (636-637/1238-1240); a mosque at al-ʿĀyin (638/1240-1). The mosque and *k͟hān* of Sāla must have been built about 630/1232-3. The exact date cannot be established because of the fragmentary state of the inscriptions. S͟haraf al-Dīn ʿIsā and his *mamlūk* Aybeg are both known at the time of the Crusades.

Bibliography: Ibn K͟hallikān, see under *al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿIsā*; van Berchem, in *ZDPV*, xvi, 84 ff.; E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, 204 ff.; Dussaud and Macler, *Missions dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*, 326 ff., 336 ff.

(E. Littmann)

AYBAK ḲUṬB AL-DĪN [see Delhi, Sultanate of]

ʿAYDARŪS (ʿEdrūs, often misunderstood as Idrīs; etymology obscure, cf. S͟hillī, *Mas͟hraʿ*, ii, 152) a family of learned *sayyids* and *ṣūfīs* in South Arabia, India and Indonesia, belonging to the Saḳḳāf branch of the Bā ʿAlawī [*q.v.*] and still playing an important rôle in Ḥaḍramawt. Wüstenfeld (*Çufiten*, 29 ff.) quotes from al-Muḥibbī the details on more than thirty members of the family down to the 11/17th century. In the 19th century there

were in Ḥaḍramawt five ʿAydarūs *manṣabs*, at Ḥazm, Bawr, Ṣalīla, Thibī and Ramla. Among the numerous members of the clan, known for its literary activity, are:

1. The ancestor, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr (al-Sakrān) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saḳḳāf (811-865/1408-1461) of Tarīm, who was called by his father al-ʿAydarūs. He received the *khirḳa* from his uncle ʿUmar al-Miḥḍār and succeeded him at his death (833/1430) as *naḳīb* (*manṣab*) of the Bā ʿAlawī. By that time he had already won a reputation for piety by means of severe asceticism. He taught *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, but had a predilection for the mystics (al-Ghazzālī). Writings: (a) *al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar*; (b) *Manāḳib* of his *shaykh* Saʿd b. ʿAlī (i.e. al-Suwaynī Bā Madhidj, d. 857/1453); (c) *Rasāʾil*. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣāḥib al-Ḥamrāʾ wrote his biography: *Fatḥ al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān* etc. See Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, v, 16 (without *laḳab*!); *Mashraʿ*, ii, 152 ff.; Wüst., *Çufiten* 5, 29; Brockelmann, S II, 566.

2. His son, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs, Fakhr al-Dīn (b. 851/1447 in Tarīm, d. 914/1508 in ʿAdan), the patron saint of ʿAdan, where he spent his last 25 years and won great fame for piety and hospitality. He was initiated into Ṣūfism by Saʿd b. ʿAlī Bā Madhidj (cf. above) and others. Among his disciples were Ḥusayn b. Ṣiddīḳ al-Ahdal [*q.v.*], Djār Allāh b. Fahd and Muḥ. b. ʿUmar Baḥraḳ (d. 930/1524) who wrote *Mawāhib al-Ḳuddūs f Manāḳib Ibn al-ʿAydarūs*. Writings: (a) *al-Djuzʾ al-Laṭīf fī ʿIlm al-Taḥkīm al-Sharīf* (on Ṣūfism) cf. Serjeant, *Mat.*, 581; (b) three litanies (*awrād*); (c) *Dīwān* (a *muwashshaḥ* was commented upon by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, below, no. 4). His mausoleum, built by the *amīr* Murdjān, who also was buried there in 927/1521, and his mosque are in the Aden Crater, where the *ziyāra* of the saint is celebrated on the 15th Rabīʿ II. Al-Ghazzī in his chronicle (see below) has the curious tradition, taken over by Ibn al-ʿImād, of Ibn al-ʿAydarūs having introduced the habit of drinking coffee into Arabia. The *nisba* al-Shādhilī is perhaps due to some sort of confusion with the famous *shaykh* of Makhāʾ (Mokha) ʿAlī b. ʿUmar (d. 821/1418), cf. KAHWA. The non-ascetic attitude of Ibn al-ʿAydarūs is in harmony with a trend of the Shādhiliyya, but the ʿAydarūsiyya is reckoned as a branch not of this order, but of the Kubrāwiyya (see ṬARĪḲA). See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 39 f. (s.a. 909! an error of the compilator, repeated in Brock.), 62 ff.; Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, i, 113 f.; *Nūr*, 81 ff.; *Mashraʿ*, ii, 34 ff.; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 105 ff.; Brockelmann II, 181, S II, 233.

3. Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh (no. 1), b. 919/1513 in Tarīm, d. 990/1582 in Aḥmadābād (Gudjarāt). After studies in Mecca, Zabīd and Shiḥr he removed to India, where he had many disciples and entered the service of the vizier ʿImād al-Dīn. Writings: (a) *al-ʿIḳd al-Nabawī wa ʾl-Sirr al-Muṣṭafawī*; (b) *al-Fawz wa ʾl-Bushrā*; (c) *Tuḥfat al-Murīd* (*ḳaṣīda*) with commentaries: *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-Tawḥīd* and *Sirādj al-Tawḥīd* (cf. Brockelmann); (d) *Dīwān*. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Baskarī wrote *Nuzhat al-Ikhwān wa ʾl-Nufūs fī Manāḳib Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs*. See *Nūr*, 372 ff.; *Mashraʿ*, ii, 119 ff.; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 171 ff.

4. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Shaykh (no. 3) al-Hindī, Muḥyi ʾl-Dīn (978-1038/1570-1628) of Aḥmadābād, Ṣūfī scholar, author of numerous works on mysticism and biography. He was initiated into Ṣūfism by his brother ʿAbd Allāh (945-1019) and Ḥātim al-Ahdal [*q.v.*], in whose memory he wrote *al-Zahr* (*al-Darr*) *al-Bāsim min Rawḍ al-Ustādh Ḥātim*. He made wide travels for the sake of study and collecting books. Among his disciples was Aḥmad Bā Djābir al-Ḥaḍramī, on whose premature death in 1001 he wrote *Ṣadḳ al-Wafāʾ bi-Ḥaḳḳ al-Ikhāʾ*. On his father's mystic ode *Tuḥfat al-Murīd* he wrote the commentary *Bughyat al-Mustafīd*. Other works: (a) *al-Futūḥāt al-Ḳuddūsiyya fī ʾl-Khirḳa al-ʿAydarūsiyya*; (b) *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* etc. (see below); (c) *Taʿrīf al-Aḥyāʾ bi-Faḍāʾil al-Iḥyāʾ* (Cairo 1311, in the margin of *Itḥāf al-Sāda* by Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī). For further details see *Nūr* 334-343 (autobiogr.); *Mashraʿ*, ii, 148 ff.; Wüst., *Çuf.* 31 ff.; Brockelmann ii, 418 f., S II, 617; Sarkis 1399 f.

5. Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaykh (no. 3), b. 993/1585 in Tarīm, d. 1041/1631 in Dawlatābād. After studies in his native town, in Yaman and Ḥidjāz he sailed for India in 1025, visited his uncle ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in Aḥmadābād and was taught by him. From there he went to Deccan and was favourably received by Sulṭān Burhān Niẓām Shāh and his Grand Vizier, Malik ʿAnbar (Ambar). After a rupture he entered the service of Ibrāhīm II ʿĀdil Shāh at Bīdjāpūr. He held a privileged position with this sultan, whom he had cured from a disease. After the death of ʿĀdil Shāh he returned to Dawlatābād and was in high favour with the vizier Fatḥ Khān, the son of ʿAnbar. He wrote a book on Ṣūfism called *al-Silsila* but it fell into oblivion. See *Mashraʿ*, ii, 117 ff.; Wüst., *Çuf.*, 39 f.

6. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaykh (no. 5), b. 1017 (?)/1608 in Tarīm, d. 1073/1662 in Shiḥr. He was educated by his uncle ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (no. 7) and his cousin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saḳḳāf, whom he succeeded in the dignity of a *manṣab*. After two visits to Mecca and Medina he went to India, visited his cousin Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (no. 8) in Sūrat, a disciple of his father, the Grand vizier Ḥabash Khān, and Sultan Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm Shāh at Bīdjāpūr. Back in Arabia he spent his last years in the seaport of Shiḥr, where his grave and mosque are venerated and visited by pilgrims. See *Mashraʿ*, ii, 177 f.; Wüst., *Çuf.* 40 f.; Berg, *Hadhramout*, 85, 94.

7. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaykh (no. 3), called Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and Tādj al-ʿĀrifīn (984-1041/1577-1632) of Tarīm. He had many disciples, and won great influence at the court of the Kathīrī sultan. His literary production is restricted to a collection of *Rasāʾil*, among them one sent to the Zaydī Imām al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim in answer to his claim for obedience from the people of Ḥaḍramawt. See *Mashraʿ*, ii, 221 ff.; Wüst., *Çuf.* 58.

8. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (no. 7), b. 997/1589 in Tarīm, d. 1064/1654 in Sūrat. Having finished his studies in Arabia he migrated to the Deccan in India, where he had a hight position a the court of the Grand Vizier Malik ʿAnbar. During his stay there he learnt Persian and translated *al-ʿIḳd al-Nabawī* (above, no. 3) into that language. After the fall of Fatḥ Khān in 1038 he continued his literary activity at Sūrat. He translated the Persian work of Dārā Shikūh (ca. 1065/1655) into Arabic with the title *Tuḥfat al-Aṣfiyāʾ bi-Tardjamat Safīnat al-Awliyāʾ*. See *Mashraʿ*, ii, 85 ff.; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 214 and (enlarged) ii, 9 ff.; Wüst., *Çuf.* 37 f; Brockelmann, S II, 619.

9 Djaʿfar b Muṣṭafā b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (no 7), b. 1084/1673 in Tarīm, d. 1142/1729 in Sūrat. In 1105 he left his home and sailed from Shiḥr to India, where he witnessed the conquest of Sūrat by Bahādur Shāh, and found favour with the sultan. Writings: (a) *Kashf al-Wahm ʿan mā Ghamaḍa min al-Fahm*; (b) *Miʿrādj al-Ḥaḳīḳa*; (c) *al-Fatḥ al-*

Ḳuddūsī fī 'l-Naẓm al-ʿAydarūsī (comm. on a *muwashshah* of Abū Bakr, no. 2); (d) *ʿArḍ al-Laʾālī* (on a *ḳaṣīda* by ʿUmar Bā Makhrama, [*q.v.*]); (e) *Dīwān*. See al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 78 ff.

10. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā b. Shaykh b. Muṣṭafā b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (no. 7), b. 1135/1723 in Tarīm, d. 1192/1778 in Cairo, the most extensive traveller and most productive writer among the Bā ʿAlawī. Having spent the years 1151-1155 in India (Sūrat, Bharūč) he returned to Arabia, stayed for some time in Ṭāʾif, then settled in Cairo (1174). After a visit to Damascus (1182) he returned to Egypt. The long series of his travels in the Near East was concluded by a visit to Istanbul in the year before his death. He had numerous disciples from all parts of the Islamic world, among them Sulaymān al-Ahdal, his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī [*q.v.*], who wrote *al-Nafaḥāt al-ḳuddūsiyya* (cf. Brock.) on the principles of the *ṭarīḳa*. His literary production comprises more than sixty works, the titles of which are given by al-Saḳḳāf and Brockelmann. Only two collections of poetry have so far been published: (a) *Tarwīḥ al-Bāl wa-Tahwīdj al-Balbāl*, Būlāḳ 1283; (b) *Dīwān* (1304) in three parts: *Tanmīḳ al-Asfār*, *T. al-Safar* and *Dhayl*. Among the remaining titles the following categories can be distinguished: (a) treatises on Ṣūfism, *e.g. Mirʾāt al-Shumūs* (on the ʿAydarūsiyya), *al-Irshādāt al-Saniyya* (on the Naḳshbandiyya), *al-Nafḥat al-ʿAliyya* (on the Ḳādiriyya); (b) commentaries, *e.g. al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn* (on a *muwashshah* by Abū Bakr, no. 2, with the supercommentaries *Tashnīf al-Kuʾūs min Ḥumayyā Ibn al-ʿAydarūs* and *Tarwīḥ al-Humūs min Fayḍ Tashnīf al-Kuʾūs*), *Sharḥ al-Raḥmān bi-Sharḥ Ṣalāt Abī Fityān* (i.e. al-Badawī, cf. Brockelmann I, 450) and a comm. on a poem by ʿUmar Bā Makhrama [*q.v.*]; (c) *manāḳib* works, e.g. *Ḥadīḳat al-Ṣafāʾ* (on ʿAbd Allāh al-Bāhir b. Muṣṭafā), *Tanmīḳ al-Ṭurūs* (on Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh, no. 3). *Tashnīf al-Samʿ bi-baʿḍ Laṭāʾif al-Waḍʿ*, listed by al-Saḳḳāf among his works, is accord. to Brockelmann, S III, 1290 a comm. on his *Risāla fī 'l-Waḍʿ* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Udjhūrī, who also commentated *al-Istighātha al-ʿAydarūsiyya*. In his poetry this author also used the special Ḥaḍramī form called *ḥumaynī* (see Serjeant, *Poetry* 5). His grave with a monument is in an open place close to the mausoleum of Zaynab bint Fāṭima in Cairo. His biography (*manāḳib*) was written by his son Muṣṭafā with the title *Fatḥ al-Ḳuddūs*. See Murādī, *Silk al-Durar*, ii, 328; Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Athār*, ii, 27-34; ʿAli Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, v, 11-14; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 183-214; Sarkis, 1398 f.; Brockelmann, II, 352, S II, 478 f.

11. Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr al-ʿAydarūs (d. 1798 in Batavia), Indonesian saint. His grave and big mosque at Luar Batang constitute one of the most frequented goals of pilgrimage in the Indian Archipelago.

On the ʿAydarūs dynasty of Kubu (Borneo), founded ca. 1770 by a *sayyid* of that name, see Berg, *Ḥadhramout*, 202; cf. ʿAWLAḲĪ (Lower).

ʿAydarūs as an individual name is rather common; the Ḥaḍramī *sayyid* ʿAydarūs b. ʿUmar b. ʿAydarūs al-Ḥabshī (d. 1314/1895 in al-Ghurfa) wrote *ʿIḳd al-Yawāḳīt al-Djawhariyya fī Dhikr Ṭarīḳat al-Sāda al-ʿAlawiyya* (Sarkis, 1399; Brockelmann, S II, 812).

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ʿAYDHĀB, harbour on the African coast of the Red Sea, the ruins of which still exist on a flat and waterless mound 12 miles N. of Ḥalayb, at 22° 20′ N., 36° 29′ 32″ E. It is mentioned already in the 3rd/9th century as a port used by pilgrims to Mecca and merchants from al-Yaman (Yaʿḳūbī 335; cf. *BGA* iii, 78), and was linked to the Nile valley by caravan roads from Aswān (15 days) and Ḳūṣ (17 days). Originally a small village of huts, it grew in importance from the 5th/11th century in consequence of increasing Egyptian commerce with al-Yaman, and was especially flourishing in the period of the Kārimī merchants, when it is described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 109-11) in 725-1325 as a large town. The local population was formed mainly of Muslim Budjāh (Bejas), whose ruling family, called by the Arabic name of al-Ḥadrabī (or Ḥadrubī) frequently clashed with the Egyptian representatives over their share in the control and revenues of the port. It was destroyed during the reign of the Mamlūk sultan Barsbay (825-42/1422-38), allegedly in retaliation for the pillage of a caravan proceeding to Mecca, and its place was taken by Sawākin [*q.v.*].

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(H. A. R. GIBB)

AYDIN, also known as Güzel Ḥiṣār ("Beautiful Fortress"), formerly Tralleis, a town in western Anatolia 60-80 m. above sea level, 37° 50′ north, 27° 48′ east. It lies at the foot of the Gevizli Daghî (Messogis), which forms the northern boundary of the valley of the Büyük Menderes (in antiquity the Maeander), on the little river Tabak Çay (formerly Eudon) which flows thence to the Menderes. It is surrounded by fields and gardens, and the railway line from Izmir (via Dinar) to Afyon Ḳaraḥiṣār passes through it. It is the capital of the *wilāyet* of the same name and has 18,504 inhabitants (1945; at the end of the last century there were, according to Cuinet, 36,250 inhabitants with a strong Greek minority); the *vilāyet* (with 294,407 inhabitants) consists of the following *kazās*: Aydîn (105,155 inhabitants), Bozdoğan, Çine, Karacasu, Nazilli and Söke.

Tralleis was occupied by the Turks for the first time after the victory of the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan over the Emperor Romanus IV at Malāzgerd in 1071. It was surrendered, however, after the crusaders' victory at Dorylaeum in 1098. It was occupied by the Turks for the second time—together with the Maeander valley—in 1176, after Sulṭān Kîlîč-Arslan II's victory over the Emperor Manuel; the Emperor succeeded in winning it back before long. The *sāḥil begi* Amīr Menteshe brought it finally under Turkish rule in 1280, in the time of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw III, and henceforth it became known as Güzel Ḥiṣâr. In 1310, another

Turkish prince took possession of the town, Aydîn-oghlu Meḥmed Beg, whose family name was henceforth added to that of the town; the actual capital of the principality of Aydîn was, however, generally Birgi. The Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd I absorbed the principality of Aydîn, but Tīmūr re-established it. In 806/1403 both town and principality finally came into Ottoman possession, and from then on formed a *sandjaḳ* of their own (with Tire as capital) within the *eyālet* of Anadolu. In the 18th century, the *sandjaḳ* of Aydîn and the *sandjaḳ* of Saruhan together formed the hereditary governorship of the family of the Kara-ʿUthmān-oghullarî; it was not until 1249/1833 that Maḥmūd II brought it again under the direct administration of the Porte, when it again became a *wilāyet* in its own right. In 1850, however, it was brought under the *wilāyet* of Izmir as a *sandjaḳ*. Kemal Atatürk re-instituted it as a *wilāyet* in 1924. In the war between Turkey and Greece, the town of Aydin was burnt down on 7th September 1922.

Historical buildings of the town are the Uways Djāmiʿ (before 998/1589), Ramaḍān Pasha Djāmiʿ (1000/1594-95), Süleymān Bey Djāmiʿ (1005/1683) and Djihānzāde Djāmiʿ (built in 1170/1756 by Djihānzāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi).

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(Fr. Taeschner)

AYDÎN-OGHLU, a Turkomān dynasty which reigned from 708 to 829 (1308 to 1425) over the emirate of the same name. Aydîn-oghlu Meḥmed Beg (708-734/1308-1334), *ṣubashî* of the emir of Germiyān, separated from him in the early years of the 8th/14th century and started to make war on his own account, associating himself with Sasa Beg, son-in-law of the emir of Menteshe. After having conquered Birgi, Ayaṣoluḳ and Keles, Sasa turned against his former ally and was defeated and put to death by him in 708/1308. Meḥmed Beg added to his conquests those of the acropolis of Izmir, Tyre, Sulṭān-Ḥiṣārî and Bodemya. His son Umūr Beg (734-748/1334-1348) added to the glory of the dynasty by his victories which were celebrated in a *destān*. He took possession of the fortress of the port of Izmir, held by the Genoese Martin Zaccaria, and organised a fleet, with which he proceeded to lay waste the islands of the Archipelago, even extending his incursions into Greece. On the death of Andronicus III, John VI Cantacuzenus, who a few years previously had succeeded in winning the emir's friendship, appealed to him for help in his war against the supporters of the rightful heir, John V Paleologus. Umūr Beg proceeded to Rumelia in 743/1342, 744/1343 and 745/1345 and helped Cantacuzenus to subdue Thrace. But whilst he was engaged in making his contribution to the triumph of his friend, Pope Clement VI preached a Crusade against him, in which Venice, Genoa, the King of Cyprus, the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes and the Duke of Naxos participated and which culminated in the taking of the fortress of the port of Izmir in October 1344. Shortly afterwards, the leaders of the Crusade perished in a fight against the emir, who also, in 746/1346, repulsed the Crusade of the Dauphin, Humbert II le Viennois. Umūr, however, was killed in the spring of 1348 whilst attempting to retake the fortress of Izmir. The immediate result of his death was the treaty of 18 August 1348 which gave the Latins great advantages. During the reigns of his brothers, Khiḍr 748-760/1348-1460) and ʿĪsa (760-791/1360-90), the emirate lost its importance and was finally annexed by Bāyazīd I, who in 1390 ratified the treaty of commerce of 1348, to the Venetians' advantage. In 1402, after the battle of Ankara, Tīmūr restored their principality to ʿĪsa's two sons, Mūsā and Umūr II. After the death of these princes, the power passed to their cousin Djüneyd (808-828/1405-25), the son of Ibrāhīm Bahādur b. Meḥmed, well known for his intrigues against the Ottomans. He supported the claims of Düzmedje Muṣṭafā and his son, but was defeated by Murād II and took refuge in the fort of Ipsili, from whence he sought unsuccessfully to obtain the assistance of Ḳaramān-oghlu and of Venice. He was besieged by the Sulṭān, taken prisoner and executed together with all the members of his family in 829/1425-6. This was the end of the Aydîn-oghlu, and the emirate was finally annexed by the Ottomans.

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AL-AYKA [see Madyan].

AYLA, seaport at the north end of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, now succeeded by al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*].

Nelson Glueck, who excavated the site of Biblical Ezion-geber (Tall al-Khulayfa) near the shore of the Red Sea about three kilometres north-west of al-ʿAḳaba, has concluded that the original sites of Biblical Ezion-geber and Elath (the predecessor of Ayla) are identical. The Biblical narrative sometimes distinguishes the two (Deut., ii, 8, I Kings, ix, 26, II Chron., viii, 17), while at other time it gives the impression that they were one (II Kings, xiv, 22, 16: 6). The Old Testament name Elath, of doubtful etymology, is the ancestor of the Arabic Ayla.

Judaean control of Elath-Ezion-geber, established since the time of Solomon, was finally lost to the Edomites in the reign of Ahaz (735-15 B.C.), and the site remained occupied until the 4th century B.C. In the following century the town was transferred, probably by the Nabataeans, a short distance to the south-east, where it was situated at the time of the Islamic conquest.

During the Ptolemaic period (when it was known for a time as Berenike), Ayla continued as a port for trade with Arabia and Ethiopia. Under Roman rule it was garrisoned by the 10th Legio Fretensis and constituted the southern terminus of the road built by Trajan (A.D. 98-117) to connect the port with the important commercial centre of Bostra (Buṣrā) in Syria. Already in A.D. 325 Ayla was the seat of a bishopric and four capitals of its Byzantine church were to be seen in the courtyard of the customs house at al-ʿAḳaba in 1940. Just prior to Islam, Ayla lay in the territory controlled by the Ghassānid phylarchs on behalf of Byzantium.

Ayla first makes its appearance in the Islamic

period in the year 9/630-1, when the town under its bishop Yuḥanna b. Ru'ba made peaceful submission to the Prophet during his Tabūk campaign. Under Islam Ayla became an important meeting-place for Mecca-bound pilgrims coming from Egypt and Syria, and trade flourished. Although the town stood at the meeting-point of Egypt, Syria, and the Ḥidjāz it was generally considered as belonging to Syria and is described by al-Muḳaddasī (178), writing in 985-6, as "the port of Palestine." The 4th/10th century marked the height of its prosperity under Muslim rule, as is clear from the account of al-Muḳaddasī. In 415/1024-5) Ayla was sacked by ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Djaʿfarī and some of the Banū al-Djarrāḥ, while in 465/1072-3 it is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm* (Popper), ii, 239).

The Crusading period brought a long era of strife to Ayla and at the end of it the town lay largely in ruins. Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, took Ayla (Helim) in 1116 and it became incorporated into the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem under the barony of al-Karak and Montréal. In 1171 the Franks were driven out by Saladin, who left a garrison in the town. Frankish control was briefly reasserted by Renaud de Châtillon, lord of al-Karak, in 1182-1183 during his remarkable but foolhardy campaign against the coast of the Ḥidjāz and the Red Sea. With the destruction of Renaud de Châtillon's fleet by Saladin's commander Ḥusām al-Dīn Lu'lu' in 1183, Ayla passed permanently into the hands of Islam, but in a depleted condition. Abu'l-Fidā' (1273-1332) states that in his time nothing was left of the town but the stronghold near the shore (*Taḳwīm*, 86-7).

This stronghold, which probably was the predecessor of the still-standing late Mamlūk fortified caravanserai in al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*], does not represent the original fortification of Ayla. The original fort that protected Ayla lay on the island now known as Djazīrat Firʿawn, which lies on the opposite side of the Gulf of the coast of Sinai but within sight of the town. This island was already occupied in Byzantine times. It was this island fort which was besieged by Renaud de Châtillon in 1182, and the first fort on the mainland appears to have been built by Renaud de Châtillon in 1182 or 1183. In Abu'l-Fidā's day this mainland stronghold was the residence of an Egyptian governor.

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(H. W. Glidden)

AYLŪL [see Taʾrīkh].

AYMAK, Mongol and Eastern Turkish word meaning "tribe" and "group of tribes" (= Turkish *il*); in Modern Mongolian, "province", in the USSR, "*rayon*". In Afghānistān the four nomadic tribes of partly nomad origin: Djamshīdī, Hazāra, Fīrūzkūhī and Taymanī, are called the "Four Aymaḳs" (Čār, or Čahār. Aymaḳ) [see čahār aymak].

(B. Spuler)

AYMAN b. **KHURAYM** b. Fātik b. al-Akhram al-Asadī, Arab poet of the Umayyad period, son of the Companion of the Prophet Khuraym al-Nāʿim, whose *ḥadīths* he has handed down. After settling at Kūfa, he composed, like many of the poets of that town *ghazal* poems, but also panegyrics on the Umayyad princes ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Bishr, son of Marwān; although he contracted tubercular leprosy (*abraṣ*), his poetry allowed him to enjoy their intimate friendship, and this favour won him the surname of *khalīl al-khulafāʾ* (the friend of caliphs). In some of his poems he touches on political matters; he ventures to compose a panegyric on the Banū Hāshim, and manifests his desire not to take up arms against other Muslims (particularly against ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, with regard to whom he wished to remain neutral); on the other hand, he is hostile to the Khāridjites and the murderers of ʿUthmān, so that, contrary to the *Aghānī* which makes him a Shīʿī, he must rather be considered a partisan of ʿUthmān.

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(Ch. Pellat)

ʿAYN [see Hidjāʾ].

ʿAYN in its basic sense signifies the eye, the organ of sight, acquires then the meaning of the function of sight, the seeing, and as is frequent in semantics compare e.g. *khalḳ*, creation, and *fiʿl* action, which can mean in Arabic as in English the acting and the effect of the acting—can also denote the effect of the function of sight, the aspect, the thing viewed, and especially in the plural, *aʿyān*, the particular things that are perceived in the exterior world. It is therefore not astonishing when we read in Khʷārizmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* (ed. van Vloten, 143) that in an old translation of Aristotle's *Categories* which he ascribes to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ, the first category, οὐσία, substance, which signifies a particular concrete individual, e.g. a particular horse or a particular man, was rendered by *ʿayn*. However, in a later translation of the *Categories* by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn the word *ʿayn* is replaced by the Persian word *djawhar* and this word becomes the technical term in all later philosophy for all the meanings of οὐσία, substance. But in a less technical sense to express the concrete things the philosophers still frequently use the term *ʿayn*. When e.g. Avicenna in his *Nadjāt* repeats the Aristotelian statement at the beginning of the *Hermeneutics* that the written words are the signs of the spoken words, the spoken words the signs of what is in the soul, i.e. its representations and concepts, and these representations and concepts in the soul the signs of the things in the exterior world, he uses for the things in the exterior world (in Greek τὰ πράγματα) the term *aʿyān*. It is interesting to note that Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn in his translation of the *Hermeneutics* translates τὰ πράγματα by the term *al-maʿānī*, a literal translation of the Stoic term σημαινόμενα or λεκτά, "meanings" (these "*meanings*" are called by the Stoics πράγματα —see Sextus Empiricus, *adv. log.* II. 12—but in another sense than that which the term πράγματα has in Aristotle). The Muslim philosophers accept from the Stoics the division of the "something", τι, in

Arabic *shay*ʾ, (i.e. anything that can be thought of) into two classes, things that exist in the exterior world, and things that exist in the mind, and they use for the former the expression *fi 'l-aʿyān*, for the latter *fi 'l-adhhān* (*adhhān* is the plural of *dhihn*, mind) and it is in this opposition of the exterior world to the purely mental entities that the term *aʿyān* is specially used by the philosophers. In this sense *ʿayn* is synonymous with *shakhṣ*, *individuum*, and it can express also the identity of the individual thing. But a common word denoting a concrete individual, like "horse", can signify both a particular horse, e.g. the horse in my stable, and the class "horse", when you say "this is a horse", meaning that this is an animal which possesses the nature, the general characteristics of a horse (according to the Arabian grammarians an *ism ʿayn*, a word denoting a concrete individual is an *ism djins*, a generic word). The philosophers give to this universal character of a thing the name of *māhiyya*, quiddity, or *dhāt*, essence, but in theology and mysticism the term *ʿayn* is frequently used to express this meaning. And since according to the neoplatonising mystics and philosophers the universals exist eternally in God's mind, these eternal ideas are called by the mystics *aʿyān* or *aʿyān thābita* (*thābita* means stable or eternal), whereas the philosophers use different other terms like *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* and *maʿānin* (some Muʿtazilites too employ the terms *aʿyān* or *ḥālāt* to express the eternal ideas in God). Now, since for the neoplatonising mystics our world is but a dream—world and true reality lies in a world beyond and God is the one truly Real and the ultimate source from which all being and all beings spring, *ʿayn* in its double sense of the real and of source—for in Arabic *ʿayn* can mean also source—is used by the mystics to indicate the super-existence of God's deepest essence. In this sense it is rare in philosophy, but we find it in Avicenna, for instance when he speaks in the *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget 205) of those mystics who penetrate to the *ʿayn*, the contemplation of God's inner nature. Finally it may be remarked that the term *ʿayn al-yaḳīn*, the contemplation of the evident, can be used in the double sense of "intuition", i.e. the pre-rational sense of intuitive understanding of the philosophical first principles, and the post-rational sense of the intuitive understanding of super-rational mystical truth.

Bibliography: see ANNIYYA; for the mystical use of the term see R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism.* (S. VAN DEN BERGH)

ʿAYN in the medical terminology of the Arabs, like "eye", "oeil", "Auge" etc. in that of the Europeans, not only refers to the bulb or eye-ball, Ar. *muḳla, ḳurat al-ʿayn*, but also to the whole of the organs which make up the apparatus of vision, *djamiʿ ālāt al-baṣar*.

The study of the human eye, for the doctors of medicine and those who wrote on the subject in the Islamic world, constituted one of the most remarkable branches of their science. This branch of knowledge, which is the equivalent of the ophthalmology of the West at the present day, has borne different names at various periods. Thus it was called *kuḥl*, a word which originally designated collyrium (black) of antimony—the pre-eminent medicine and cosmetic in the East—, which was subsequently used in a much wider sense for the "science and art of caring for the eyes";—*kaḥḥāla*, from the same root and used in the same wide sense;—*ṭibb al-ʿayn, ṭibb al-ʿuyūn*, an expression still in use;—*ṭibb ramadī* and *ʿilm al-ramad*, where this latter term, which originally only meant "conjunctivitis", now embraces eye diseases of all types.

From the point of view of the history of medicine, this branch synthesises and reflects the evolution of Arab Medicine as a whole. Thus it is that two periods are distinguishable here: the initial period of formation, when the scholars of the East, for the most Christians, translated Greek ophthalmological science into Arabic and used it as it stood; and secondly, the period of development, during which other scholars systematised this material, perfected it and enriched it by their original contributions. Among the former must be mentioned Yuḥannā b. Māsawayh, a native of Djundīshāpūr and the author of the *Kitāb Daghal al-ʿAyn*, and Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ of Ḥīra (194-264/809-877), to whom the *Kitāb al-ʿAshr Maḳālāt fi 'l-ʿAyn* has been attributed; and among the latter, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*], also a Christian, of Baghdād (first half of the 5th/11th century), author of the celebrated *Tadhkirat al-Kaḥḥālīn*, and his great contemporary ʿAmmār b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], a Muslim of Mawṣil who practised in Cairo, author of the *Kitāb al-Muntakhab fi ʿIlādj Amrāḍ al-ʿAyn*. The works of these four authors must be considered as the cornerstones of Arab ophthalmology.

To give an idea of the originality of Arab thought on this subject, it is sufficient to recall the relationships of cause and effect, which ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was the first to discern, between trachoma (*djarab al-ʿayn*, today *ramad ḥubaybī, tarāḳūma, tarākhūma*) and the acute conjunctivitises which precede it, on the one hand, and the "cornea pannus" (*sabal*) and "entropion-trichiasis" (*inḳilāb al-shaʿar*) which follow it, on the other hand; and in the operation of cataract (*māʾ, māʾ nāzil fi 'l-ʿayn* and in the modern language *katārakta*) the astonishing suction of the (soft) crystalline lense performed by al-Mawṣilī, which eight centuries later, was to be adopted in the West and continued down to the the present day. New contributions in this special field are to be sought in the treatises on general medicine, like the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā, where, for example, we find the first "anatomical" description of the eye motor muscles, as well as of the lachrymal ducts; also in the works of non-medical authors, such as the famous treatise on Optics, the *Kitāb al-Manāẓir*, of Abū ʿAlī b. al-Haytham, of Baṣra (died *ca.* 431/1039), in which this great scholar put forward his rational theory of vision, refuting that of the Greeks' "sight-spirit", inherited by the Arabs (*rūḥ al-baṣar, rūḥ baṣarī, rūḥ nūrī* etc.). Neither should the numerous minor works on ophthalmology be neglected which appeared everywhere and with great frequency in Islamic countries, some of which are in dialogue form (see the *Kitāb al-Masāʾil fi 'l-ʿAyn* of Ḥunayn) and even in poetic form (see the *Manẓūma fi 'l-Kuḥl*, author unknown, Vat. Borg. 87/3). Finally it should not be forgotten that there were oculists who enjoyed great fame, none of whose works on the subject have yet come to our knowledge. Such is the case, for example, of Isḥāḳ al-Isrāʾīlī (3rd/9th century), who practised in Cairo before moving to al-Ḳayrawān, where he became one of the most enlightened masters and authors on general medicine of the Middle Ages.

Bibliography: (confined to works by oculists who were themselves Arabic scholars, or who worked in collaboration with Arabic scholars): J. Hirschberg, *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde bei den Arabern*, Leipzig 1908; M. Meyerhof, *The Book of the Ten Treatises on the Eye oscribed to Hunain ibn Ishaq*, Cairo 1928, and the whole of his valuable series of studies and original memoranda

on Arab Ophthalmology; A. Casey A. Wood, *Memorandum Book of a Tenth-Century Oculist* (ʿAlī b. ʿIsā), Chicago 1936. (T. Sarnelli)

ʿAYN, "evil eye". Belief in the evil eye is well established in Islam. According to Abū Hurayra, the Prophet said *al-ʿaynᵘ ḥaḳḳᵘⁿ* "The evil eye is a reality" (al-Bukhārī, commentary of al-Ḳasṭallānī on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, viii, 390, 463); it is the evil action of an envious glance which is envisaged by the recommendation given in the Kurʾān, cxiii, 5. Orthodoxy, however, makes the Prophet condemn this belief (*Muntakhab Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, iv, 22; *Nihāya fi Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, iv, 202). This superstition, universally current, dates from before Islam in the Muslim countries, where it continues to be prevalent. It frequently finds expression both in religious traditions and in popular folklore: "the majority of human beings die as victims of the evil eye", "the evil eye empties the houses and fills the graves", etc. The effect of the evil eye, *iṣāba bi 'l-ʿayn*, *laḳʿ*, *shawba*, etc. is generally instigated by a desire to harm transmitted by a look pregnant with hate or envy, *nāfis*, *nadjūʾ* or *nadjīʾ*, but it can be involuntary and result from the naturally injurious power of a strange or staring look *masfūʿ* (Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Tahdhīb al-Alfāẓ*, ed. Cheikho, 545-46; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 329). Deep-set eyes, blue eyes or eyebrows which meet are reputed to be baneful. Some animals, such as the viper (al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, i, 24) are considered as having a poisonous glance. The eye suffices to disseminate the evil. Its power, however, may be coupled with that of the spoken word: evil eye, *fascinum oculo*, and evil mouth, *fascinum lingua*, frequently go together. An unfortunate word or misplaced praise is capable of harming the person to whom they are addressed and of releasing the malefic action. Of all people suspected of possessing the evil eye, the most feared are women, especially old women or those who are unmarried or sterile. But likewise equally all who are ill-favoured or consider themselves placed at a disadvantage by nature. As a corollary, pregnant women, small children and, generally speaking, everything which is beautiful, happy, or precious, is liable to the assaults of envy, and certain circumstances augment the vulnerability of persons and things which are enviable: pregnancy, childbirth, marriage and in general, feasts and celebrations. Illness, debility, death of those concerned; loss of livestock, deterioration or destruction of objects or situations; the consequences feared from the evil eye are innumerable. People strive to protect themselves against it or to remedy its calamitous effects. Whether preventative or curative, the prophylaxis of the evil eye is varied (al-Suyūṭī, *Raḥma*, 56-58): use of formulas, gestures; fire rites, fumigations; use of salt, alum, horn, metal, etc.; the wearing of phylacteries, amulets, jewels; tattooing. Originally, doubtless the veil worn over the face was one of these means of prophylaxis. The most effective protective symbol is the number five, *khamsa* [*q.v.*] and the figuration of the five-fingers of the hand spread out (Lefebure, in *Bull. Soc. géogr. Alger*, 1907, 411-417). The ritual attaching to the evil eye, like the belief itself, is very much more a matter of magic and superstition than of religion, even where the formula is derived from orthodox Islam.

Bibliography: Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, see *evil eye* in the index; Chauvin, *Bibl. ouvr. ar.*, v, 161; Blau, *Altjüd. Zauberw.*, 152-56; Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, 30-31, 48; I. Goldziher, *Einige arab. Ausrufe und Form*, in *WZKM*, xvi, 140 and 59; idem, in *ARW*, 1907, 41-46; 1910, 35; A. von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte or.*, ii, 253; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 196; L. Einzler, *Das böse Auge*, in *ZDPV*, 1889, 200-22; Lane, *Modern Egypt*, 1895, 71, 160; Vassel, in *RT*, 1905, 549-51; idem, in *RI*, 1907, 323-5; Desparmet, *Coutumes, institutions et croyances*, passim; A. Bel, *La Djāzya*, in *JA*, 1903, 359-365; E. Westermarck, in *JAnthr.* I, 1904, 211-3; idem, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, I, chap. viii; idem, *Survivances païennes dans la civilisation mahométane*, 34-75; Legey, *Essai de Folklore marocain*, passim; A.-M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, passim; Mathéa Gaudry, *La femme chaouïa de l'Aurès*, passim, Dubouloz-Laffin, *Le Bou-Mergoud*, 149-64; W. Marçais et A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, 323-4, 371-2, 396 (with copious references); E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 317-27 (good synthesis). (Ph. Marçais)

ʿAYN DILFA is a spring in the north of Syria which is of some importance on account of its situation on the road between Antioch and Aleppo, somewhat west of the large ruins of the monastery of Ḳaṣr al-Banāt. Its source is on the northern slope of the Djabal Bārīshā and it runs through a narrow channel cut out in the rock into a well-house (*sabīl*). According to an Arabic inscription, this well-house was built in 877 (1472-1473) by an inhabitant of the neighbouring village, of the name of Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad. It is highly probable that on account of the spring a settlement already occupied the spot in ancient times. A few remains of buildings from the Christian era, still more from Islamic times, can yet be seen. There are also a few inscribed Muslim tombstones. The place is nowadays uninhabited; it belongs to the people of Sermedā. From time to time nomadic Turcomans or Kurds used to camp there in their tents. The spring was of importance for the caravans between Antioch and Aleppo, which often used to rest there.

Bibliography: *Syria. Publ. of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Exp. to Syria in* 1904-5 *and* 1909. Division IV, Section D: *Arabic Inscriptions* (by E. Littmann), Leyden 1949, 88 f.

(E. Littmann)

ʿAYN DJĀLŪT, spring of Goliath, mentioned by the mediaeval geographers as a village between Baysān and Nābulus, in the Djund of Filasṭīn. It stood at the head of the Wādī Djālūt, and is said to have owed its name to a tradition that by it David slew Goliath (cf. A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 152; G. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 384, 461). In the chronicles of the Crusaders the neighbourhood is called Tubania or Tubanie. It first achieves mention in Djum. II 578/Sept. 1183, when the armies of Saladin and of the Franks camped there face to face and then separated without an engagement (W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, Cambridge 1907, 232-3; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, ii, Paris 1948, 724; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, ii, Cambridge 1952, 439; K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, i, Philadelphia 1955, 599).

ʿAyn Djālūt is chiefly known as the site of the famous battle, fought on Friday 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260, in which a Mongol army, commanded by Kitbuga Noyon, was defeated by a Mamlūk army from Egypt, led by the sultan Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḳuṭuz. The vanguard of the Mamlūk army was commanded by Baybars [*q.v.*]. The strength of the Mamlūk force was estimated at 120,000; that of the Mongols at 10,000 horsemen

(thus the Syriac and Arabic texts of Bar-Hebraeus; Ras͟hīd al-Dīn speaks of "a few thousand"). The Mongol forces and their Christian auxiliaries, after at first sweeping the Mamlūk left wing (or, according to others, vanguard) before them, were set upon and annihilated by the main body of the Mamlūk army. The Mongol general Kitbuga was captured and put to death. Hülekü, infuriated by the defeat, prepared to send a punitive expedition to Syria, but was prevented from doing so by the inner struggle within the Mongol Empire following the death of Möngke Ḳaan (Mangu K͟hān) in September 1259 (cf. Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, 359).

The Arabic and especially the Egyptian chroniclers regard the battle of ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt as a decisive victory, which saved the Syro-Egyptian Empire and indeed Islam itself from the Mongol menace. For the first time, a Mongol army had been defeated in pitched battle; the fact that the victors were largely Turkish, and overcame the Mongols by using their own methods of warfare against them, if anything added to the significance of the victory, for it meant that the vitality and energies of the steppe peoples were now being harnessed to the service of Islam (see for example the remarks and verses of Abū S͟hāma, *Tarād̲j̲im*, 208 and Yunīnī 367; D. Ayalon, in his *The Wafidiya in the Mamlūk Kingdom, IC*, 1951, 90, has drawn attention to the highly significant comments of Ibn K͟haldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, v, 371, on the rôle of the steppe peoples in rejuvenating and renewing Islam). The Persian and other sources sympathetic to the Mongols tend rather to present the battle as an inconclusive engagement in which a small Mongol force was overwhelmed by vastly superior numbers, who were saved from retribution only by Hülekü's preoccupation with other and more important matters.

The victory by no means ended the danger from the Mongols, who continued to hold Mesopotamia and 'Irāḳ and to threaten Syria from both north and east. In the event, however, ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt was the high water mark of Mongol advance, though it seems likely that the ebbing of the Mongol tide was due to events in the East at least as much as to Mamlūk resistance.

Bibliography: the contemporary Egyptian accounts of the battle are those of the two biographers of Baybars, Ibn S͟haddād and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, whose narratives seem to underlie those of most subsequent Egyptian historians. Ibn S͟haddād's account of ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt is unfortunately not included in the surviving fragment of his work (MS. Selimiye 1507, Edirne; published in Turkish translation only: M. Şerefüddin Yaltkaya, *Baypars Tarihi*, Istanbul 1941). which, however, contains several allusions to the victory. A probably abridged version of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's narrative was published from the B. M. manuscript by S. F. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca 1956 (13 ff., and index). A fuller text of the same book is to be found in Istanbul (MS. Fatih 4367). Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir is at some pains to emphasise Baybars' vital contribution to the victory. Of the later Egyptian accounts, the most accessible are those of Maḳrīzī (*Sulūk*, i, 430 ff. = Quatremère, *Sultans Mamelouks*, 1, i, 104-6) and Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, Cairo ed., vii, 79. There are also Syrian (Abū S͟hāma, *Tarād̲j̲im Rid̲j̲āl al-Ḳarnayn al-Sādis wa 'l-Tāsiʿ*, Cairo 1948, 207-9; Yunīnī, *D̲h̲ayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1954, 360 ff., citing Ibn al-D̲j̲azarī, etc.) and ʿIrāḳī (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Al-Ḥawādit̲h̲ al-D̲j̲āmiʿa*, Bag͟hdād 1351, 344) accounts, as well as brief allusions in Frankish and Eastern Christian sources (*Eracles*, ii, 444; Wm. Tyre Cont. ed. Migne 1044; the Armenian chronicle of Grigor of Akancʾ, ed. R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *HJAS*, xii, 1949, 349; Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Fadāʾil, ed. and tr. E. Blochet, *Patr. Or.* xii, 417; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronographia*, Oxford 1932, 439-40; Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲, *Taʾrīk͟h Muk͟htaṣar al-Duwal*, Beirut 1890, 489; al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd (ed. Cl. Cahen), *BÉt. Or.* xv, 1955-7, 175). The chief Persian source is Ras͟hīd al-Dīn (ed. and tr. E. Quatremère, Paris 1836, 349-352). See further B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Leipzig 1939, 57; H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, London 1888, 167 ff.; R. Grousset, *Croisades*, iii, 603 ff.; Runciman, *Crusades*, iii, 312-3; Stevenson, *Crusaders*, 334; A. Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, i, Freiburg 1956, 317; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, 710-1.

(B. LEWIS)

AYN AL-D̲J̲ARR, an ancient and important site in the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*] and an Umayyad residence, the Arab name of which, now pronounced ʿAnd̲j̲ar, corresponds to the Greek and Syriac Gerrha and ʿIn Gero. The main source of the Litani, which comes forth at the foot of the Anti-Lebanon, not far from the modern road from Beirut to Damascus, for a long time formed a swampy lake there stretching to Karak Nūḥ, which was only finally drained in the Mamlūk period. The remains of a temple, later converted into a small fort (hence the expression *ḥiṣn Mad̲j̲dal* used at the period of the Crusades), which still dominate the present-day village of Mad̲j̲dal ʿAnd̲j̲ar, doubtless mark the site of ancient Chalcis of the Lebanon, the capital of a state which extended from Coelesyria to Ituria, before being annexed to the Roman Empire. In contrast, the archaeological remains which exist not far away, in the interior of a vast enclosure furnished with towers, and which the excavations now being undertaken will make better known to us, have been identified by J. Sauvaget with the Umayyad town founded about 95-96/714-715 by the Caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and built, as is attested by inscriptions and the Aphrodito papyri, with stones from the quarries of Kāmid in the Biḳāʿ and by the use of forced labour. Its character as an agricultural settlement has been inferred from the existence of hydraulic works, contemporary with the ruins, but at what period it was completely abandoned is not known. The Arabic texts, which first speak of the victory there of Marwān b. Muḥammad, in Ṣafar 127/November 744, over the troops of Sulaymān b. His͟hām and the passage of the ʿAbbāsid forces when they occupied Syria, continue in fact to mention it incidentally without giving any precise information as to the actual condition of the old Umayyad town at the time.

Bibliography: R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, esp. 400-02; J. Sauvaget, *Les ruines omeyyades de ʿAnd̲j̲ar*, in *Bull. du Musée de Beyrouth*, iii, 1939, 5-11; idem, in *Syria*, xxiv, 1944-45, 102; M. Chéhab, in *Actes du XXIVᵉ congrès int. des Orientalistes*, Munich 1957; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 463; Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 219; Yāḳūt, ii, 57; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 1617; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 403; Ṭabarī, ii, 1876-77; iii, 48; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ii, ed. Dahan, 263; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 184, 314; M. Canard, *H'amdanides*, Algiers 1951, 203 and n., 243.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

ʿAYN MŪSĀ: (1) A spring at the entrance of the Sīḳ at Wādī Mūsā (Petra). It was a source of water for a large Edomite site now known as Ṭawīlān, occupied in the 13th-6th centuries B.C. (Nelson Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, New Haven, 1940, 24). Islamic tradition associates this spring with Ḳuʾrān 2 : 57, where Moses strikes a rock with his staff and brings forth twelve springs. This appears to represent a blending of the twelve springs of Elim (Exodus 15 : 27) with the striking of the rock at Horeb in Exodus 17 : 6. Yāḳūt (s. v. Wādī Mūsā) gives the same story repeated later by al-Bayḍāwī (*Tafsīr*, commentary on Ḳuʾrān 2 : 60 according to the Egyptian verse numbering) that the twelve springs burst forth from a stone that Moses had carried with him and set down on this spot. William of Tyre (*A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, tr. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, New York, 1943, ii, 144) associates the spot with Exodus 17 : 6, which probably represents the then current Crusader tradition. Musil (*Arabia Petraea*, iii, Vienna 1908, 330) reports that in his day the spring was venerated by the Liyāthina Arabs because of its association with Moses.

(2) A spring north of al-Kafr in Ḥawrān, in Syria (René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 349; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, Leipzig 1912, 165).

(3) A small spring near the foot of Djabal al-Muḳaṭṭam east of Cairo (Les Guides Bleus, *Egypte*, Paris 1950, 253).

ʿUYŪN MŪSĀ: (1) A group of springs rising near Mt. Nebo north of Maʾdabāʾ in Jordan. They give their name to the Wādī ʿUyūn Mūsā, which drains into the Dead Sea. The springs, which are now used as a water supply for the town of Maʾdabāʾ, probably were associated with Moses already in Byzantine times (F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, i, Paris 1933, 460). The local Arabs are reported to believe that the springs are inhabited by spirits, to whom the Arabs annually make a sacrifice (Archimandrite Būlus Salmān, *Khamsat Aʿwām fī Sharḳ al-Urdunn*, Ḥarīṣā (Lebanon) 1929, 185).

(2) A group of about a dozen springs approximately 12 km. SE of Suez, near the shore of the Gulf of Suez. Al-Maḳdisī (2nd ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1906, 67) mentions them by name, but says nothing further about them. At this spot there exists a small settlement, which formerly carried on trade in turquoise with the Bedouin from Sinai (T. Barron, *The Topography and Geology of Sinai (Western Portion)*, Cairo 1907, 36-37, 101, 212; Léon Cart, *Au Sinaï et dans l'Arabie Pétrée*, Neuchâtel 1915, 15-16). (H. W. GLIDDEN)

ʿAYN SHAMS is a town in Egypt. ʿAyn Shams is the Arabic name of the ancient Egyptian town of Ōn, which the Greeks called Heliopolis because of its famous sun-temple. A recollection of this cult is contained in the Arabic name ("the spring, or the eye, of the sun"), which must be a popular arabicised form of an old name. In the first centuries of Islam ʿAyn Shams was still, according to some authorities, an important town, and the capital of a district (*kūra*), but according to others, a collection of ruins used as a public quarry. The Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz built castles on the spot but afterwards the buildings fell completely into ruins. The extensive ruins, especially the two obelisks (*misallatān*) of the temple, stirred the imagination of the Arabs. One of them has been preserved until the present day; the other fell down in 656/1258. It is said to have contained over 200 *ḳinṭār*s (quintals) of brass. During the Arab period a statue of a beast of burden with a man on its back still stood between the two obelisks.

The other curiosity of ʿAyn Shams was its balsam-garden, which was cultivated under the supervision of the government. During the Middle Ages the balsam-tree is said to have grown only here, though formerly it had also been a native plant in Syria. According to a Coptic tradition known also by the Muslims, it was in the spring of ʿAyn Shams that Mary, the mother of Jesus, washed the clothes of the latter on her way back to Palestine after her flight to Egypt. From that time onwards, the spring was beneficent, and during the Middle Ages balsam-trees could only produce their precious secretion on land watered by it.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* i, 228 ff.; de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte* 20 ff., 86 ff.; al-Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib*, 145; *BGA*, i, 54; viii, 22; Ḳalḳashandī *Ḍawʾ al-Ṣubḥ al-Musfir* (trans. Wüstenfeld) 13, 96; Yāḳūt, iii, 763, iv, 564; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v, 44; Baedeker, *Egypt*; Casanova, *Les Noms Coptes du Caire et Localités voisines* 40 ff.; W. Heyd, *Levantehandel*, ii, 566 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. *IFAO*, iv, 89-102; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériauxpour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 131.

(C. H. BECKER)

ʿAYN AL-TAMR, a small town in ʿIrāḳ in a fertile depression on the borders of the desert between Anbār and Kūfa. It is 80 miles west of Karbalāʾ.

The Arabic name means fountain of dates. It was probably called so because of an abundance of palm trees (Yāḳūt, iii, 759).

According to Ibn al-Kalbī, it was part of the Ḥīrite kingdom of Djudhayma al-Abrash (al-Ṭabarī, 750; Yāḳūt, ii, 378). There Shāpūr is said to have married Naḍira, the daughter of the King of Hatra. (Al-Ṭabarī, i, 829; Yāḳūt, ii, 283; al-Hamdānī, *al-Buldān*, 130). It was probably also a *tassūdj* of the *astān* of Bihḳubādh al-Aʿlā, as it was in the ʿAbbāsid period (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 8; Ḳudāma, 236; Yāḳūt, i, 241, 771).

When the Muslim commander Khālid b. al-Walīd attacked it in the year 12 A.H., ʿAyn al-Tamr was a military post (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2057; al-Balādhurī, 246) with a fortified citadel (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2064, al-Balādhurī, 246-7). Khālid defeated and massacred the garrison (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2064; al-Balādhūrī, 110; Yāḳūt, iii, 759; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 261, 940, 991). He captured and enslaved some of its non-combatant inhabitants. These were the first enslaved captives to arrive in Medina (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2076). The sons and grandsons of many of these captives became prominent figures in the military, administrative and intellectual life of Islam (cf. their names in al-Ṭabarī, i, 2064, 2121, 3472, ii 801; al-Balādhurī, 247, 230, also 14, 142, 352, 367; Yāḳūt, iv, 807; Aghānī, iv, 3256).

Scanty information about the Muslim conquests indicates that ʿAyn al-Tamr had a Christian population and a church (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2064; al-Balādhurī, 247; Yāḳūt, iv, 807), and also a Jewish Community and a synagogue (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 151). But probably the majority were Arabs from the tribes of Taghlib, Namīr and Asad, who were sedentary agriculturists.

ʿAyn al-Tamr preserved its importance in the Islamic period, not only for its products by which the nomads of Arabia and ʿIrāḳ were supplied, but also for its geographical situation on the routes of communication between the fertile centre of ʿIrāḳ and the Syrian desert. It also commanded the military approaches from the western desert to ʿIrāḳ and especially to Kūfa (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2069,

2072, 2121, ii, 946, 1352; al-Balādhurī, 62; Yāḳūt, iv, 137; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 97; Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 34; A. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 41, 295-311).

Its importance led the governors of Kūfa to station in it a military force to protect one of the approaches to their *Miṣr* (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 3444: ii, 773, 1352, 1945, 1946, ii 21; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 295).

Its rather isolated position induced some of the Khāridjites to make it a centre for grouping revolutionary forces (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 183, 773; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 228, 387; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 45; Yāḳūt, iii, 759).

By the end of the 3rd/9th century ʿAyn al-Tamr was inhabited by the Banī Asad (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 225).

ʿAyn al-Tamr was a fortified town (al-Muḳaddasī, 117) in the 4th/10th century, a *tassudj* of the *astān* of Bihḳubādh al-Aʿlā. At this time its products included 14 *baydar*, 300 *kurr* of wheat, 400 *kurr* of barley and 45,000 *dirhems* per year (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 10; Ḳudāma, 237). Its lands were considered *ʿushrī* (al-Balādhurī, 248).

For the period of the decline of ʿIrāḳ from the 6th/12th century onwards, information on ʿAyn al-Tamr is scanty and it is confused with Shthatha, a neighbouring village. It was captured and looted by the Mongols who captured Baghdād (ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayn Iḥtilālayn*, i, 357). During the turbulent 10th/16th century some of the Bedouins used it for a refuge (ʿAzzāwī, *op. cit.*, v, 182).

Gertrude Bell visited ʿAyn al-Tamr and described it as a walled village with a citadel. She mentioned its sulphurous waters, cereals and 170,000 palm trees (*Amurath to Amarath*, London 1924, 139).

At present ʿAyn al-Tamr is the centre of a district (*nāḥiya*). It has four quarters: Albu Hardan, Ḳaṣr Thamir, Ḳaṣr al-ʿAyn, and Ḳaṣr Abū Hwaydī. The sedentary population numbers 2144, and the rural and nomadic population is 3183 (1947 Census of ʿIrāḳ).

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(SALEH A. EL-ALI)

ʿAYN TEMUSHENT, a town in Algiers situated 45 m. (72 km.) S-W of Oran, on the road to Tlemcen, and on the site of the Roman city of Albulae and of Kaṣr Ibn Sinān, mentioned by al-Bakrī in the 5th/11th century (de Slane's trans, 1913, 146, 160) to the S-E of the plain of Zīdūr. A redoubt, erected by the French in 1839 near the spring called Aïn Temouchent (French orthography), and unsuccessfully attacked by the troops of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in 1845, is the source of a centre of colonisation which has grown into a town with now more than 20,000 inhabitants, one-third of whom are Europeans. It is the market for the rich agricultural region of Orania; its black, fertile soil, of volcanic origin, is used primarily for the cultivation of the vine, and also for market gardening and the cultivation of citrous fruits, cereals and pulses. (J. DESPOIS)

ʿAYN AL-WARDA is a locality which, according to Yāḳūt, is identical with Raʾs ʿAyn [*q.v.*]. It owes its fame to the great battle of 24 Djumādā I 65/6 Jan. 685, in which the Shīʿites of Kūfa were slaughtered by the Syrians. See Weil, *Chalifen*, i, 360 ff.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 374; al-Ṭabarī, index and especially i, 257 and ii, 554 f. (ED.)

ʿAYN ZARBA, deserted town of Anatolia, situated to the south of Sīs and to the north of Miṣṣīṣa (the former Mopsuestia), a little to the north of the confluence of the Sombaz Čay with the Djayḥān, built on an isolated hill in the middle of the plain, on top of the ruins of an ancient town which was called Anazarba (cf. Hirschberg in Pauly-Wissowa, i, col. 2101). The Arabs took the first element of the name *Ana* for *ʿAyn*, spring; cf. Sachau, in *ZA* VIII, 98. It acquired a certain importance from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd who organised the frontier for defence. In 180/796 he rebuilt and fortified it, and settled people from Khurāsān there (al-Balādhurī, 171; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 113; Ibn Shaddād, in Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-Muntakhab*, 185). In 212/827 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, governor of the region between Raḳḳa and Egypt, settled Africans from Egypt in the town (Michael the Syrian, iii, 60). In 220/835 al-Muʿtaṣim brought in some Zoṭṭ (al-Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*, al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 355) were the object of a Byzantine attack in the same year, and of another in 241/855 when they were captured with their families and their buffaloes and carried off to Constantinople (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1169 and 1426; cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Fr. edit., i, La *dynastie d'Amorium*, 126 and 224). In 287/900, the eunuch Waṣīf, who wanted to cross from ʿAyn Zarba into Byzantine territory was captured by the troops of al-Muʿtaḍid to the north of the place.

ʿAyn Zarba is included by the Arab geographers among the frontier towns of the Thughūr (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 100, Ḳudāma, 229, 253, Ibn Rusta, 107, al-Yaʿḳūbī, 362 etc.). It flourished mainly in the 4th/10th century. In his book on the Thughūr, Ibn Ḥawḳal, 121, described it as a town like those of the Ghawr (probably because of the similarities of climate and products), in the middle of a plain where palms grow, and surrounded by fertile lands (cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, 55, 63). It was fortified by the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla who, says Yāḳūt, iii, 761, spent 3 million dirhems on it. Nevertheless it was taken by Nicephorus Phocas, to whom it surrendered at the end of the year 350/962 (see the detailed description of the siege and the ravages of the Byzantines, particularly the felling of 50,000 palm trees, in Ibn Miskawayh, ii, 190-1; for other references see M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Ḥamdanides*, i, 806-8). The Muslims were expelled and emigrated to Syria. The town remained in Byzantine hands until the time when the Armenians, expelled from Armenia, occupied it together with the other towns of Cilicia, and it became part of the territories belonging to Philaretus. But, a little before the arrival of the First Crusade the Saldjūḳs took Tarsus, Miṣṣīsa and ʿAyn Zarba (Michael the Syrian, iii, 173, 179). Tancred, nephew of Bohemond, conquered Cilicia in 1097 and Bohemond, installed in the principality of Antioch, took possession of it and also of Tarsus, Adana and Miṣṣīsa in 1098. These places, the object of a dispute between Bohemond and the Byzantines, were recaptured by the latter, but the Armenian Thoros I, a descendant of Roupen, who was established in the mountains to the north of Sīs, and who reigned from 1100 to 1129, took Sīs and Anazarba from the Byzantines (*RHC Arm.* I, 499). During the reign of Leo I, brother of Thoros, Bohemond wanted to establish himself again in Cilicia and marched on ʿAyn Zarba, but he came into conflict with the Dānishmandid of Cappadocia who also wanted the country, and was killed in 1130. After Leo had conquered Tarsus, Adana and Miṣṣīsa in 1132-33, the Byzantines invaded Cilicia in 1137 and John Comnenus recaptured ʿAyn Zarba and took Leo prisoner (Kamāl al-Dīn, ed. S. Dahan, ii, 263), but in 1151 Thoros II, son of Leo, regained ʿAyn Zarba as well as the other large towns in Cilicia. Ḳilīdj Arslān II of Ḳonya, at the instigation of his ally Manuel Comnenus, attacked ʿAyn Zarba without success. In 1159

Manuel reoccupied it with the other places in Cilicia, but Thoros II took it again in 1162 (cf. concerning these events, F. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, ii, 115-6, 426-30 and R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, ii, 51, 86, 333, 399, 566).

The Rupenians kept Cilicia until the 14th century. From 1266 the Mamlūks of Egypt made numerous invasions into the kingdom of Little Armenia (see the articles ARMENIA, CILICIA, MIṢṢĪSA, SĪS); during one of them the region of ʿAyn Zarba was pillaged (in 1279, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 462). Finally in 823 Arm. = 776 A.H. = 1374 A.D., in the reign of Malik As͟hraf S͟haʿbān, Cilicia was conquered, ʿAyn Zarba destroyed, and Leo led into captivity in 1375 (see *RHC Arm.* i 686 and 719). After this the town lost all importance. Like the rest of Cilicia it passed into the hands of the Turkomān family of Ramaḍān-og͟hlu in the 15th century and then to the Ottomans in the 16th.

In the 14th century the name of the town was corrupted into Nāwarzā (cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ii, 2nd part, 29). To-day the place is in ruins and is known as Anavarza.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the course of this article, see Le Strange, 129; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xlx, 56; G. Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au Xme siècle, Nicéphore Phocas*, 191 ff. (M. CANARD)

AYNABAKHTĪ, Turkish name for Lepanto, or Naupaktos, in Greece. It is on the Gulf of Corinth, has a picturesque position, but is—these days—an impoverished small town, called Epaktos by the people and Lepanto by the Italians. It is surrounded by crumbling walls which date from the times of Venetian rule, and is dominated by a fortress. In the Middle Ages, Aynabak͟htī ruled over the Gulf of Corinth, and in 1407 it came under Venetian rule (cf. Vitt. Lazzarini, *L'acquisto di Lepanto*, 1407, in: *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, XV (Venice 1898), 267-833; in 1483 it was unsuccessfully besieged by the Ottomans, but was taken by them in 1499. Don Juan of Austria (at the age of 26) won a victory near the Oxia islands on 7 Oct. 1571 in a very bloody sea-battle, in which he commanded 250 ships (partly Venetian, partly Spanish), supported by the Pope, and met a Turkish fleet of equal strength of which he sank 200 vessels. The town remained the seat of a Turkish Sand͟jaḳ-Bey until it was once more conquered by the Venetians in 1687, who retained it until the Peace of Karlovac (26 Jan. 1699). After this it became Turkish again, and on 12 March 1829 it became Greek. Opposite the Bay of Aynabak͟htī, the Gulf of Corinth narrows to a width of 1¼ m. (2 km.). The fortifications erected here by the Venetians, called Kástro Moréas in the south, and Kástro Roumelías in the north, were formerly known as the Small Dardanelles, but have long fallen into ruins. Today, the town has about 2000 inhabitants and is the seat of a bishop.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii (1928), 612ff.; J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 125-7 (with the strange statement that Aydīn-og͟hlu Umūr-Beg transported ships overland with the aid of machines); Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, *Tuḥfat al-Kibār fī Asfār al-Biḥar* (*incunabulum* 1141 A.H., Istanbul) 42-3. Concerning the sea-battle of Lepanto, cf. the bibliography in H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, iii, Gotha 1934, 579 ff. and the older one in Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 787 f.; as well asC. Manfroni, *Storia della Marina Italiana*, iii, Rome 1897, 437-51; F. Hartlaub, *Don Juan d'Austria und die Schlacht bei Lepanto* (1940); and R. C. Anderson, *Naval Wars in the Levant 1559-1853*, Princeton 1952, ch. 2. Further bibliographical notes can be found in W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, *passim* (cf. 670b), idem, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge 1921, *passim* (cf. 568a). (F. BABINGER)

ʿAYNĪ, ḤASAN EFENDI AL-SAYYID ḤASAN B. ḤASAN AL-ʿAYNṬĀBĪ, one of the most celebrated poets of the reign of Maḥmūd II, born at ʿAynṭāb in 1180/1766 and died at Constantinople in 1253/1837. Of very humble origins, he left his native town in 1780, travelled about Anatolia for ten years and settled in Istanbul, where he studied at the *madrasa* of Sulṭān Aḥmad; after holding various appointments in the offices of the administration, in 1831 he became professor of Arabic and Persian in the Chancellery of the Sublime Porte. His poetry caused Sulṭān Maḥmūd II to look on him with particular favour, and to grant him pensions and honours. On his death he was buried at the Mawlawī monastery at Galata. His contemporaries did not have a very high opinion of him, and have left us a picture of him as having been very much a courtier in outlook, with a love of luxury and money, and profoundly egoistical. Though belonging to the Mawlawī sect, he was in constant communication with members of the Naḳs͟hbandī sect, who exerted a strong influence over him.

Works: *Naẓm al-D͟jawāhir* (1236/1820-1), Turkish, Arabic and Persian dictionary; *Nuṣrat-nāma*, a *mat͟hnawī* on the destruction of the Janissaries; *Kulliyyāt* (1258/1842), comprising the *Dīwān*, which contains *ḳasīdas* and encomia written for the Sulṭāns Selim III and Maḥmūd II, *g͟hazal*s, stanzas, chronograms and *mat͟hnawī*s, and the *Sāḳī-nāma*, a résumé of his philosophical reflections on the life of man from the Creation. It cannot be said that ʿAynī displayed either great poetic temperament or great literary culture.

Bibliography: ʿĀrif Ḥikmet, *Ted͟hkire-i S͟huʿarā*; Esʿad Efendi, *Bāg͟hče-i Ṣafā-andūz*; Fatīn, *Ted͟hkire*; ʿĀṣim, *Taʾrīk͟h*, i, 121; Luṭfī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, i, 173; v, 27, 42; D͟jewdet, *Taʾrīk͟h*, v, passim; vi, 211, 273; ix, 39, 71; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte d. osman. Dichtkunst*, iv, 502; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 336 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (article by Fevziye Abdullah). (R. MANTRAN)

AL-ʿAYNĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD MAḤMŪD B. AḤMAD B. MŪSĀ BADR AL DĪN, was born 17 Ramaḍān 762/21 July 1361, at ʿAynṭāb, a place situated between Aleppo and Antioch. He belonged to a family of scholars (his father was a *ḳāḍī*) and began his studies at an early age, first in his birthplace and then at Aleppo. When he was 29 years old, he visited Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo. He was initiated into the mystical doctrines of Ṣūfism in the latter town and for a time entered the darwīs͟h monastery of the Barḳūḳiyya, which had recently been founded. After making several journies to Damascus and to the town of his birth, he established himself finally in Cairo, where he was appointed *muḥtasib* in 801/1398-1399, during the reign of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir; he was several times dismissed and re-appointed, and, in 803/1400-1, he succeeded in obtaining the much envied post of inspector of pious foundations (*nāẓir al-aḥbās*). On the accession of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Muʾayyad S͟hayk͟h (815/1412), he was disgraced. However, shortly after he was again in favour and was again appointed to the office of *muḥtasib*. His knowledge of the Turkish language, moreover, contributed to making him

persona grata with the rulers of his time, the Sulṭāns al-Muʾayyad, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Tatar and al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf Barsbāy. He translated al-Ḳudūrī's legal treatise into Turkish for Tatar; he read his Arabic chronicle, translating it orally into Turkish as he went along, to the Sulṭān al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf in the long and frequent interviews he had with him. For the rest, the one-time Ṣūfī of the Barḳūḳiyya, now become a perfect courtier, composed panegyrics in honour of his masters (a *Life of Muʾayyad*, a *Eulogy of al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf*). Appointed in 829/1425-6 chief *ḳāḍī* of the Ḥanafīs, he occupied this post for 12 consecutive years. In 846/1442-3, he even succeeded in combining the offices of *muḥtasib*, inspector of pious foundations and chief *ḳāḍī* of the Ḥanafīs, a unique achievement according to his biographers. In addition he was professor at the Muʾayyadiyya *madrasa*. He lost favour in 853/1449-50 and died two years later (4 D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 855/28 December 1451). He was buried in the ʿAyniyya *madrasa*, which he had founded and where, later on, another commentator of al-Buk̲h̲ārī, al-Ḳasṭallānī, also found his resting place.

The life of al-ʿAynī affords a most interesting testimony on the relationships of the scholar class with the Mamlūk Sulṭāns. This scholar took an active part in the intellectual movement of his century and was in contact, though on rather bad terms, with two of the most outstanding men in Muslim science of the period, al-Maḳrīzī and the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-Asḳalānī; he supplanted the former in the office of *muḥtasib*, thus incurring his hatred; he sustained a very lively argument against the latter concerning his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buk̲h̲ārī.

Al-ʿAynī's works are very numerous; some of them are in Turkish, though the majority are in Arabic. The three best known are: (1) his general history called *ʿIḳd al-D̲j̲umān fī Taʾrīk̲h̲ Ahl al-Zamān* (an extract in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Hist. or.*, II[a], 183-254); (2) his commentary on the poetical examples cited in four commentaries of the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik, entitled *al-Maḳāṣid al-Naḥwiyya fī S̲h̲arḥ S̲h̲awāhid S̲h̲urūḥ al-Alfiyya* (printed on the margin of the *K̲h̲izānat al-Adab* of al-Bag̲h̲dādī, Būlāḳ 1299, 4 volumes); (3) his great commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buk̲h̲ārī, entitled *ʿUmdat al-Ḳārī fī S̲h̲arḥ al-Buk̲h̲ārī* (printed in Cairo 1308, and Constantinople 1309-1310, 11 volumes); in this last work, al-ʿAynī shows proof of a certain method, which contrasts with the usual confused disorder prevalent in the work of Muslim exegetes; in the study of each *ḥadīt̲h̲* he proceeds in the following order: connexion between the *ḥadīt̲h̲* and the chapter heading; study of the *isnād*, of its peculiarities and its authorities; enumeration of other works or other chapters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* where the *ḥadīt̲h̲* occurs; study of the literal sense; study of the juridical or ethical rules which can be deduced from the *ḥadīt̲h̲*.

Bibliography: Quatremère, *Histoire des Mamlouks*, I[b], 219 ff.; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, 489; Brockelmann, II, 52, 53, S II 50-1; on the al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar controversy: Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, II, xxiv. (W. MARÇAIS)

ʿAYNṬĀB (Arm. Antaph, Lat. Hamtab, to-day Antep or Gaziantep since 1921: ethnically *ʿaynī* and also *ʿanṭabī*, see *1001 Nights*, Night 864, Cairo edition) important town, chief place of a *vilāyet* in the south-east of Anatolia, with 50,965 inhabitants (1935). The *vilāyet* has five *kazas*: Gaziantep, Kilis, Nizip, Islahiya and Pazarcik.

The town is situated on the upper Sad̲j̲ūr, a tributary of the Euphrates, near the junction of two important roads, one running north-south from Marʿas̲h̲ to Aleppo, with a fork just south of Marʿas̲h̲ to Malaṭya; the other east-west; the latter runs from Diyarbakir, Urfa (Edessa) and Bired̲j̲ik on the Euphrates, and, after following a short section of the Marʿas̲h̲ road just outside Gaziantep, branches off towards Adana. Secondary roads also diverge from Gaziantep, one to Besni (Bahasnā) to the north-east, the other to the Syrian frontier in the south-east. A new railway line links, through Gaziantep, the Adana-Malaṭya line to the Bag̲h̲dād line, thus avoiding the détour into Syrian territory via Aleppo. Gaziantep is 55 km. from Bired̲j̲ek, 45 from the Syrian frontier and 100 from Aleppo.

The region of ʿAynṭāb has always been the hub of important routes, but it was Dolichè (Dulūk, now Dülükbaba), a little to the north-east, which in ancient times took the place of ʿAynṭāb, and the latter, which was probably the Diba of Ptolemy, the Tyba of Cicero, was only a dependency of it. It was not until Dulūk had been taken by the Byzantines in 351/962 under the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla that ʿAynṭāb began to assume the importance lost by Dulūk, with which Yāḳūt wrongly identifies it. On the eve of the First Crusade it was part of the domain of the Armenian Philaretus. It was allotted in fief, with Tell Bās̲h̲ir, to Joscelin of Courteney, vassal of Baldwin of Le Bourg, count of Edessa, then to his son Joscelin II. After the capture of Joscelin II by the troops of Nūr al-Dīn in 1150, it was ceded by the Franks, together with the rest of the region, to the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus, but in 1151 the Sald̲j̲ūḳ of Konya, Masʿūd, annexed it. After his death in 1153, it was taken by Nūr al-Dīn. It was from then on part of the province of Aleppo and was an advance post, first for the Ayyūbids and then the Mamlūks, against the Sald̲j̲ūḳs and the Armenians. It was temporarily occupied by the Mongols in the course of their expeditions against northern Syria in 1271 and 1280. Taken in 1400 by Tīmūr, it was then annexed by Ḳarā Yūsuf of the Turkomān dynasty of the Ḳara-Koyūnlū, master of the two ʿIrāḳs, and then it passed to the Turkomān dynasty of the D̲h̲uʾl-Ḳadr, who submitted to the Ottomans in the 16th century. It was from then on part of the Ottoman empire, and was only temporarily detached to Egypt in the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī, between 1832 and 1840. At the end of the First World War, ʿAynṭāb was occupied by the English in 1919, then by the French until 1921.

Before the First World War ʿAynṭāb contained a large proportion of Armenians, nearly a third of its total population. It was also the centre of an American mission which had a college there. The region is also the centre of the preserve or must of grapes called *pekmez*. It was a stronghold with its citadel towering on a great mound of which the ruins are still visible.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 759; Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 205; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, ii/2, 45; Ibn S̲h̲addād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-K̲h̲aṭīra*, MS. in the Vatican, f. 156 r., (*cf.* A. Ledit, in *Mas̲h̲riḳ*, xxxiii 1935, 211-2 under Dulūk); Ibn al-S̲h̲iḥna, *al-Durr al-Muntak̲h̲ab*, Beirut 1909, 171-2 and *passim*; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Ḥalab*, Damascus, 1951-4, ii, 302-311; *RHC*, Or. I and III in the index; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, Oxford 1932, i 277, 281, 315, 372-3, 400; G̲h̲azzī, *al-Nahr al-D̲h̲ahab fī Taʾrīk̲h̲ Ḥalab*, Aleppo 1927, i, 416-55; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 1034 ff.; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii,

188 ff.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 42,386; Honigmann, *Hist. Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum*, in *ZDPV*, 1923-4 no. 160; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie antique et médieval,é* Paris 1927, 299, 434, 472 and *passim*; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisàdes*, 1934-6, i, 49, 392, ii, 192, 296-7, 299 ff., 302 ff., 306-7, iii, 661, 697; Cl.Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, 115 ff., 118, 388, 405, 705. For the fighting round ʿAynṭāb in 1920, see Andréa, *La vie militaire au Levant*, Paris 1923, — see also the article Ayintab in *IA*, which lists the Turkish monographs on the town. (M. Canard)

AYT, a Berber word meaning "sons of", the singular of which, *w* (and var.: *u*, *aw*, *əg*, *ag*(*g*), *i*) appears in compounds and before proper nouns. *Ayt* consists of a suffix of number *t*, a complementary element *a* and the radical velar sonant *w* palatalised as the second element of a diphthong; it is known to most of the Berber dialects, which use it either in compounds (thus: *ayt-ma* "sons of mother = brothers"), or before a proper noun to indicate a tribe (Ayt Izdəg, Ayt Warayn, etc.), in the same conditions as the Arabic *Banū* (>*Bni*) or Awlād (> *Ūlād*); in the more evolved dialects, *Ayt* tends to be replaced by these Arabic terms, but it is still very prevalent in the more conservative dialects (particularly in Morocco, where, however, in the Sūs, it is challenged by a composite *id-aw*: Id-aw Səmlal); in the spirant dialects (Rif, Kabylia, etc.), the evolved form *Ath*, from which the actual radical has disappeared, has replaced *Ayt* (*Ath* Iznasən, *Ath* Iratən, etc.). In Touareg, *ayt* is very prevalent in its primary function (see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. touareg-français*, Paris 1951, iii, 1440 ff.), but in the names of tribes, although it is known, it disappears before *Kgl* (Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. abrégé touareg-français des noms propres*, Paris 1940, *passim*).

(Ch. Pellat)

AYWALİ̊K (Greek Kydonia), small town on the Aegean coast of western Anatolia. Situated on a peninsula in the gulf of Edremit, 39° 18′ north, 26° 40′ east, opposite the island of Mytilene (Midilli). It is the capital of a *ḳaḍā* of the same name in the *wilāyet* of Balikesir [*q.v.*]. In 1945 it had 13,650 inhabitants (V. Cuinet gives the number 20,974—largely Greek Orthodox—for the end of the last century), and the *ḳaḍā* 24,742. There is a small group of islands in the gulf, called the Yund Adalarl, in antiquity known as Hekatonnesoi.

Aywallk was completely destroyed in the Greek War of Independence (1236/1821), but soon regained its former prosperity. Following the agreement between Turkey and Greece (30th January 1923) to exchange minorities, the Greek population—which had hitherto formed the greater part of the inhabitants—left, and was replaced by returning Turks from Midilli, Crete and Macedonia. Today the population is exclusively Turkish and Muslim.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 2799 (Hekatonnesoi); ix, 2307 (Kydonia); A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien* i, 31 and 86 ff.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 207; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 268-71; D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, xi, 283-5 (details concerning the reasons for the destruction of the town); *IA*, ii, 78 (Besim Darkot).

(Fr. Taeschner)

AYWĀN [see Īwān].

AYWAZ, ʿAYWĀḌ. (1) A term applied to the footmen employed in great households in the later Ottoman Empire. They were generally Armenians of Van, sometimes Kurds. A *ḥukm-i s̲h̲erīf* to the çavus̲h̲bas̲h̲ī, dated Rabīʿ I 1164/January-February 1751, speaks of "the Armenian *d̲h̲immī*s who have for some little time been employed in the houses of the *rid̲j̲āl-i dewlet-i ʿaliyye*" and who drink wine and steal in their places of employment and evade payment of *d̲j̲izya*: henceforth Armenian and Greek *d̲h̲immī*s are not to be employed in the houses of the great, but are to be replaced by Muslims (Ahmet Refik, *Hicrî on ikinci asirda Istanbul hayati*, Istanbul 1930, 171). To what extent Greeks were in fact so employed is not clear. This order could have had no lasting effect, for an *aywaz* called Sergis, an Armenian of Van, is one of the stock figures in the Ḳaragöz shadow-plays: in modern Arabic he is known as *ʿeywāz*, and has a wife, Umm Maʿwaẓa (A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, Paris 1935-54, 562, 567).

The duties of the *aywaz* included waiting at table, lighting and stoking the *mangals*, filling and cleaning the lamps, and doing the shopping for the household (*bazara giden* in the *ḥukm* quoted above). There is reason to suppose that this last duty was sometimes a source of profit to both servant and tradesman: *ayvaz kasap hep bir hesap* ("*aywaz* and butcher; it all amounts to the same") is still a Turkish saying used of two identical things. A senior *aywaz* who acted as steward was entitled *aywaz kyaḥya* (*ketk̲h̲udā*).

The usual dress of an *aywaz* was a purple jacket, waistcoat and trousers, variously coloured woollen stockings and black shoes, with a white towel over the shoulders, a broadstriped apron, and a fez surrounded by a turban.

Pakalln (see Bibliography) states that certain men-servants in government offices were also called *aywaz*, and that there was an *aywaz* in the Foreign Ministry "till recently", whose job was to clean the carpets.

The origin of the word is dubious: it is thought to be a corruption of the Arabic *ʿiwaḍ* (so *IA*: see Bibliography): the plural *aʿwāḍ* would seem a more likely etymon, on formal grounds, though *ʿayvaz* is the form taken by the Arabic *ʿiwaḍ* in the dialect of Gaziantep (Ömer Asîm Aksoy, *Gaziantep ağzî*, Istanbul 1945-6, iii, 60). Either way, the connexion of ideas is hard to see.

(2) Ayvaz (ʿAywāḍ or ʿIwaḍ K̲h̲ān) is the name of a leading character in the Körog̲h̲lu folktales: he is the son of a butcher (from Georgia, Urfa, or Üsküdar in the several versions), who is kidnapped by Körog̲h̲lu and eventually becomes his most valiant follower (see Pertev Naili, *Köroğlu destanî*, Istanbul 1931, passim; and Pertev Naili Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikâveciliği*, Ankara 1946, Index s.v. Ayvaz).

Bibliography: *IA*, article *Ayvaz*, by Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, from which the present article is largely drawn, as is the article Ayvaz in M. Z. Pakalln, *Osmanlî tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-56. (G. L. Lewis)

AYYĀM AL-ʿAD̲J̲ŪZ "the days of the old woman". In the Islamic countries bordering on or near to the Mediterranean, certain days of recurrent bad weather, generally towards the end of winter, are called "days of the old woman". This expression, which is old, is also to be met with in contemporary folklore. It refers to a period of variable duration, from one to ten days, though more frequently of one, five or seven days duration. Its place in the yearly cycle varies according to the country. There is only

one reference mentioning the winter solstice (see R. Basset). It often involves the last four (or three) days of February and the first three (or four) days of March (months of the Julian calendar or their equivalents): this is the case with the Turks, in Syria and the Lebanon and in Egypt. These seven days each have a special name: Ṣinn, Ṣinnabar, Wabr, Āmir, Muʾtamir, Muʿallil, Muṭfiʾ al-Djamr (var. Mukfī al-Ẓaʿn); if there are five days, the fourth, fifth and sixth names are omitted: the study of these eight names has still to be undertaken (see an interpretation in R. Basset). In the West, this seven day period at the end of February and the beginning of March bears another name, and it is the last day of January or the first of February which is connected with the legends about the "old woman", though it is rarely called "day of the old woman". In point of fact, this appellation, even in the East, has numerous variants based on Arabic, to which must be added, for the West, the Berber variants: 1.—"days of the old women"; or indeed "cold of the old woman" (Turkey, Persia, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt); "the old woman" (Berber Morocco); 2.—"the borrowed day or days" (Syria, Lebanon, Kabylia, Northern Morocco). 3.—"cold or bad weather or period of the goat" (Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco). These various expressions are almost always connected with a legendary commentary in which an old woman is the main actor; an old woman dead from cold, an old woman predicting a cold spell, an old woman killed by the wind when the people of ʿĀd were exterminated, in the case of the old texts, and, as regards contemporary folklore, in the majority of cases, a story about the old woman and her calf, her goat or her flock, combined with the legend of the borrowed days, explaining why February has only 28 days (hence the expressions 2 and 3 above). This legendary old woman seems to come from remote ages. No doubt this tradition should be linked with those existing in the countries of Europe and which concern certain meteorological phenomena, certain place names and perhaps certain themes of folklore involving an old woman.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ*, ed. Hamidullah-Pellat, Haydarābād 1956, para. 73, 130; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vol. iii, 410-1; *Calendria Cordova*, 26th February-2nd March; Ḳazwīnī, *Kitāb ʿAdjab al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848-9, 77; idem, *Calendarium syriacum* . . ., ed. Volck, Leipzig 1859, 4, 13, 27 n. 42 (text and translation and notes in Latin with references to old variants of the legend); Ḥarīrī, *Séances*, ed. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris 1822, 256; 1853, i, 295, ii, 131; *Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannāʾ de Marrakech* . . ., ed. H. P. J. Renaud, Paris 1948, 15, 33, 35, Lane; *Lexicon* 1961; R. Basset, *Les jours d'emprunt chez les Arabes* in *Revue des traditions populaires*, 1890, 151-153; Westermark, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 161-2, 174-5; idem, *Ceremonies and beliefs connected with agriculture . . . in Morocco*, Helsingfors 1913, 71; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 295, 301; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Textes arabes de l'Ouargha* . . ., Paris 1922, 101, 151 and n. 1; P. Galand-Pernet, *La vieille et la légende des jours d'emprunt au Maroc*, in *Hesperis*, 1958/1-2, 29-94).

(P. GALAND-PERNET)

AYYĀM AL-ʿARAB, "Days of the Arabs", is the name which in Arabian legend is applied to those combats (cf. *Lisān*, s.v. *yawm* xvi, 139, 1 according to Ibn al-Sikkīt) which the Arabian tribes fought amongst themselves in the pre-Islamic (sometimes also early Islamic) era. The particular days are called for example *Yawm Buʿāth* = "Day of Buʿāth", or *Yawm Dhī Ḳār* = "Day of Dhū Ḳār". Their number is considerable. Many of them however are not commemorative of proper battles like the "Day of Dhū Ḳār", but only of insignificant skirmishes or frays, in which instead of the whole tribes, only a few families or individuals opposed one another. The Arabs themselves sometimes noticed this fact. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār for example, when speaking of the combats between the Aws and Khazradj tribes, observes that only on the day of Buʿāth a proper battle had been fought, and that on the remaining days the fight had been limited to throwing of stones and beating with sticks (*Aghānī*, ii, 162, l. 12; this passage was evidently derived from Zubayr's account of the combats between the Aws and Khazradj, which is mentioned in the *Fihrist* i, 110). The number of these combats, handed down by tradition, has moreover been increased by the fact that a great many were called by different names after the settlements, well-springs, hills etc., near which they took place. Consequently one and the same occurrence has been recorded in various places under different names.

The course of events on each individual day follows a somewhat similar pattern. In this respect what has been said by Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, 28 ff.) about the particular combats between the Aws and Khazradj, applies to the Ayyām in general. At first only a few men come to blows with one another, perhaps in consequence of a border dispute, or some insult offered to the protégés of a man of influence. Then the quarrel of a few grows into the hostility of whole races or even of entire tribes. They meet in battle. Bloodshed is generally followed by the intervention of some neutral family. Peace is soon restored. The tribe which has lost fewer men, pays to the adversary the price of blood for the surplus of dead bodies.

The accounts of the Ayyām, written in good old prose, together with the ancient poems, supply excellent information concerning conditions before Islām. They especially afford us an insight into the chivalrous spirit, by which the old Arabian warriors were inspired. Popular memory kept the recollection of these heroes alive for centuries. Hence similar subject-matter to that found in the Ayyām often recurs in later popular romances, drawn out, it is true, in legendary fashion. One example may suffice: Zīr, a hero of the *Siyar Banī Hilāl* is none other than Muhalhil, brother to Kulayb Wāʾil, who acts a leading part in the Basūs war between the Bakr and Taghlib tribes (Muhalhil is already called al-Zīr = "the visitor of women" in *Aghānīʾ* iv, 143, 13).

Tradition affirms (cf. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1302, iii, 61 towards the end), that Muḥammad's companions already discussed the events of the *Djāhiliyya* in their assemblies (*madjālis*). Consequently the Ayyām al-ʿArab afforded at an early period a favourite subject of study to the *Akhbāriyyūn*, i.e. traditionists, who were engaged on the *Akhbār al-ʿArab*, the old Arabian tales, amongst which the Ayyām are included. In the *Fihrist* (*maḳāla* iii, *fann* i) several of these authors are mentioned as having written narratives of particular battle-days or of all of them. None of these works on the Ayyām has come down to us in its original form; but considerable extracts by

subsequent writers are extant. Most of these have borrowed from Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825). Of his work on our subject only the title is mentioned in the *Fihrist* (i, 53 ff.). Something more concerning him is reported by Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 741, who is followed by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 499 no. 1513 s.v. *ʿIlm ʿAyyām al-ʿArab*). According to these authorities Abū ʿUbayda wrote two books on the Ayyām, a shorter one describing 75 days, and a more extensive one, in which he treats of 1,200.

The information concerning the Ayyām which later writers have preserved, is partly given in scattered bits, and partly in entire chapters in proper sequence. Instances of the former are found in al-Tibrīzī's *Ḥamāsa* commentary, in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, where they are inserted by way of explanation of events alluded to in the ancient verses, in the collections of proverbs, and in the works on geography (al-Bakrī, Yāḳūt). Examples of the latter are contained in the *ʿIḳd al-Farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (iii, 61 *ff.*), in al-Nuwayrī's encyclopaedia *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (*fann* v, *ḳism* iv, *kitāb* v) and in Ibn al-Athīr's historical work *al-Kāmil fi 'l-Taʾrīkh* (i, 367-517).

The account in the *ʿIḳd* was probably based on the minor work of Abū ʿUbayda. It is very concise, often to such an extent as to obscure the meaning, which can only be ascertained by comparison with more detailed accounts by other writers. Al-Nuwayrī has—apart from details—copied the whole chapter on the Ayyām from the *ʿIḳd*. Ibn al-Athīr has tried to arrange the separate "Days" in chronological order, in accordance with the character of his history. His account goes into greater detail than that of the *ʿIḳd*. A great deal of it must doubtless be traced back, either directly or indirectly, to the larger version of Abū ʿUbayda's work; much also to other sources all of which cannot be retraced.

Finally, it should also be noted that al-Maydānī treats of the Ayyām al-ʿArab in the 29th chapter of his *Madjmaʿ al-Amthāl*. His narratives are extremely short, but very useful for quick orientation. He restricts himself as a rule to giving the pronunciation of the name, explaining its meaning and enumerating the tribes which engaged in the battle. In this way 132 pre-Islamic days are dealt with by al-Maydānī. In addition to those, 88 Islamic days are moreover enumerated in a second section of that chapter. For further bibliography cf. E. Mittwoch, *Proelia Arabum paganorum* (*Ajjâm al-ʿArab*) *quomodo litteris tradita sint* (Diss.) Berlin 1899; C. I. Lyall, *Ibn al-Kalbī's account of the First Day of al-Kulāb*, in *Orientalische Studien* (Nöldeke-Festschrift) 127-154; W. Caskel, *Aijām al-ʿArab*, in *Islamica*, iii, Suppl. (1930), 1-99; I. Lichtenstädter, *Women in the Aiyam al-Arab*, London 1935. (E. MITTWOCH)

AYYĀR [see TAʾRĪKH].

ʿAYYĀR, literally 'rascal, tramp, vagabond'; Arabic pl. *ʿayyārūn*, Persian pl. *ʿayyārān*. From the 9th to the 12th century it was the name for certain warriors who were grouped together under the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāḳ and Persia, and gradually also in Transjordania, similar to the *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*] in Syria and Mesopotamia, and to the *rindān* (v. AKHĪ) in Anatolia. Occasionally, the term is used to mean the same as *fityān* (v. FATĀ). Thus one of their leaders might sometimes be referred to as *sar-ʿayyārān*, and sometimes as *raʾīs al-fityān*. On occasions they appeared as fighters for the faith in the inner Asian border regions, on others they formed the opposition party in towns and came into power at times of weakness of the official government, when they indulged in a rule of terror against the wealthy part of the population, as they did, for instance, in Baghdād in the years 1135-44.

It is perhaps of interest, concerning the attitude of the *ʿayyārān*, that in the *Kābūs-nāma* (written in 475/1082), or *Andarz-nāma*, ed. R. Levy, 142, ll. 13-143, l. 4; trans. 248, there is mention of rivalry between the *ʿayyārān* of Marw and those of Ḳuhistān over the *futuwwa* (*djuwānmardī*) being resolved by virtue of "juridical expedients" (*ḥiyal* [*q.v.*]). In Ṣūfī literature there is mention of a Ṣūfī by the name of Nūḥ al-ʿAyyār al-Nīsābūrī as a representative of the *futuwwa* (cf. R. Hartmann in *ZDMG* 72, 1918, 195; and idem, in *Der Islam*. 8, 1918, 191; Fr. Taeschner in: *Der Islam*, 24, 1937, 50 f.). At any rate, a distinction was made between the *ʿayyārān* and the Ṣūfīs as far as the *futuwwa* was concerned. In this connexion, the following remark is of some interest: Hudjwīrī (d. 465/1072) mentions that this very Nūḥ al-ʿAyyār has said that the *futuwwa* of the *ʿayyārān* consisted in their wearing the *murakkaʿa* of the Ṣūfīs, in other words that they behave like Ṣūfīs and keep the holy law, the *sharīʿa*, whereas the *futuwwa* of the Ṣūfīs of the Malāmatī persuasion (see MALĀMATIYYA) consisted not in wearing any external marks, but in keeping the mystical spirit (*ḥaḳīḳa*). (The *Kashf al-maḥjúb* . . . . . . by ʿAlí . . . . al-Hujwírí, transl. . . . . . by R. A. Nicholson, Leiden and London 1911, 183; *Kitāb-i Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, ed. V. Schukovskij, Leningrad 1926, 228. lines 10-18; Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, i, 332, lines 9-16). The same Nūḥ al-ʿAyyār defines the difference between these two *futuwwa* by saying that the one of the *ʿayyārān* consists in faithfulness to the spoken word, whilst that of the gnostics (*ʿārifūn*, i.e. the Ṣūfīs) consists in faithfulness to the spirit. This report first appears in Ibn Djaʿdawayhi (5th/11th century) (Fr. Taeschner in: *Documenta Islamica inedita, Festschrift R. Hartmann*, Berlin 1952, Sentence No. 19, 113 and 118).

Bibliography: Apart from works already mentioned in the article: Compilation of excerpts concerning the *ʿayyārūn* (*ʿayyārān*) by Fr. Taeschner in: *Die Welt als Geschichte*, iv, 1938, 390-392; idem, in: *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft*, ed. R. Hartmann and H. Scheel, Leipzig 1944, 348-352; idem, in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 1956, 132-135. Concerning the rule of the *ʿayyārūn* in Baghdād between 1135 and 1144, compare my review of Gerard Salinger's essay, *Was the Futuwwa an Oriental form of Chivalry*? in: *Oriens* 5 (1952), 332-336, where the relevant passages are translated.

(FR. TAESCHNER)

AL-ʿAYYĀSHĪ, ABU 'L-NAṢR MUḤAMMAD B. MASʿŪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿAYYĀSH, a Shīʿite writer of the 3rd/9th century. He was a native of Samarḳand, and was said to have been descended from the tribe of Tamīm. Originally a Sunnī, he was converted while still young to Shīʿism, and studied under the disciples of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl (d. 224/839-al-Ṭūsī 93) and of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Ṭayālisī (al-Astarābādī, 211). He spent his patrimony of over 300,000 dīnārs on scholarship and tradition, and his house was a centre of Shīʿite learning. He is credited with the authorship of over 200 books. Though accused of relating traditions on weak authorities, he is often cited by later Shīʿite writers. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Kashshī, author of a well-known Shīʿite biographical work, was his pupil.

Bibliography: al-Kashshī, *Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 379; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist Kutub al-Shīʿa* (*Bibl. Ind.* no. 60) 317-320; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿUlamāʾ*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1934, 88-9; al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 247-50; al-Astarābādī, *Minhādj al-Maḳāl*, Tehran 1306, 319-310; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (ed. Fluegel) 194-6; Brockelmann, S.I. 704; W. Ivanow, *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, Bombay 1946, 15, 95.

(B. Lewis)

AL-ʿAYYĀSHĪ, Abū Sālim ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, man of letters, traditionist, lawyer and Ṣūfī scholar, born in the Berber tribe of the Aït (Ayt) ʿAyyāsh of the Middle Moroccan Atlas at the end of Shaʿbān 1037/April-May 1628, died of plague in Morocco on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1090/13 December 1679. After having travelled through Morocco "in search of knowledge" and obtained an *idjāza* from ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī [*q.v.*], in 1059/1649 he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca going via Touat, Ouargla and Tripoli; then, in 1064/1653-4 he made a second pilgrimage, on returning from which he wrote his *Riḥla*, called *Māʾ al-Mawāʾid* (Fez 1316/1898, 2 vols). This is one of the most important travel accounts for information on the road taken by caravans going from the Maghrib to Mecca, in spite of the fact that the author attaches less importance to describing the countries through which he passed than he does to the enumeration of the celebrated men whom he met, especially scholars and Ṣūfīs; the style of the *Riḥla* is faitly simple when al-ʿAyyāshī is not speaking of Ṣūfism, though it is lacking in colour and vivacity. This work, which enjoys great popularity in the Maghrib, has only been partially translated into French (see A. Berbrugger, *Voyages dans le Sud de l'Algérie* ..., in *Exploration scient. de l'Algérie*, ix, 1846, and Motylinski, *Itinéraires entre Tripoli et l'Égypte*, Algiers 1900). Another travel account, composed in letter form, has been translated into French by M. Lakhdar (*Les étapes du pèlerin de Sidjilmasa à la Mecque et Médine*, in *4e Congrès Fédér. Soc. sav.*, Algiers 1939, ii, 671-88).

Al-ʿAyyāshī is, moreover, the author of several further works: *Manẓūma fi 'l-Buyūʿ*, a treatise in verse on sales, with a commentary; 2) *Tanbīh Dhawi 'l-Himam al-ʿĀliya ʿala 'l-Zuhd fi 'l-Dunyā al-Fāniya*, treatise on Ṣufism; 3) a study on the particle *law*; 4) *al-Ḥukm bi 'l-ʿAdl wa 'l-Inṣāf al-Dāfiʿ li 'l-Khilāf fi-mā waḳaʿa bayn Fuḳahāʾ Sidjilmāssa min al-Ikhtilāf*; 5) *Iḳtifāʾ al-Āthār baʿd Dhahāb Ahl al-Āthār*, biographical collection; 6) *Tuḥfat* (*Itḥāf*) *al-Akhillāʾ bi-Asānīd al-Adjillāʾ*, biographies of his masters (these last two works probably forming his *Fahrasa*).

Bibliography: Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, 191; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, ii, 45; Yūsī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, 76, 150; Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Āthār*, Būlāḳ 1297/1880, i, 65 (Cairo 1323/1905, i, 68); Ibn Zākūr al-Fāsī, *Nashr Azhār al-Bustān*, Algiers 1902, 60; R. Basset, in *Recueil de mémoires* ... *XIVe Congrès Orient.*, Algiers 1905, 31; E. Fagnan, *Cat. mss Bibl. Nat. d'Alger* nos. 1670, 1902; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 262-4 and index; R. Blachère, *Extraits Géog. arabes*, 369 ff.; M. Hadj-Sadok, in *Bull. Ét. Ar.*, Nov.-Dec. 1948, 204-5; Brockelmann, II, 464, S II, 711.

(M. Ben Cheneb-[Ch. Pellat])

AYYIL. The word, for which different pronunciations are transmitted (also *uyyal* and *iyyal*, the latter being considered as the best one), is commonly explained by Arab lexicographers as meaning the mountain-goat (*waʿil*). This identification, however, is not fully borne out by the descriptions of the *ayyil* which are given by Muslim zoologists. Here, the properties and ways of behaviour ascribed to the animal only partly apply to the mountain-goat, while, in the main, they rather point to the deer, which is also in keeping with the meaning commonly attributed to corresponding forms in other Semitic languages. This conclusion, moreover, gets support by a comparison of the terms used in earlier foreign sources and in the respective accounts as transmitted in Arabic zoological literature. However, in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry (see, e.g., *Nöldeke's Belegwörterbuch*, 53, and *TA*, ii, 121_{18}; against Hommel, 279) *ayyil* may actually mean the mountain-goat, since the deer probably never existed in the Arabian peninsula.

These facts can serve as an illustration of the inconsistencies in medieval zoological terminology, which not infrequently denotes different animals by one name and vice versa. For this reason, too, part of the information given by several writers with regard to the *ayyil* is to be found, e.g., in Ḳazwīnī under the heading *baḳar al-waḥsh*. Comp. also Djāḥiẓ, iv, 227 with vii, 30 f. (on *waʿil*). Because of the graphic similarity of *ayyil and ibil* both words have sometimes been confused through mistranscription, and the accounts on either animal became transferred to the other.

A considerable part of the information on the *ayyil* contained in Arabic works goes back to foreign sources, such as Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* (quoted, e.g., by Djāḥiẓ) and the ancient *Physiologus* literature. The latter, especially, contributed a number of fabulous accounts.

According to Arab pharmacologists certain parts of the *ayyil*'s body and in particular its horns can be put to various medicinal uses.

Al-Damīrī does not indicate the rôle of the *ayyil* in the interpretation of dreams, which is pointed out, e.g., in ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī's *Taʿṭīr al-Anām* (s.v.).

Bibliography: Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ* i, 166, 167, 170, 172, 176, 184, 185 (transl. Kopf, *Osiris* xii [1956], 463 [index]); Damīrī, s.v. (transl. Jayakar i, 222 ff.); Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; Hommel, *Säugethiere*, index s.v. *Steinbock*; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 72-73; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 99, 100 (transl. Kopf, 75, 76); Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 386-87; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* vii, 32; A. Malouf, *Arabic Zool. Dict.*, Cairo 1932, index; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ix, 324 ff.; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1324; i, 58-59; al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī (Stephenson), 12-13; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Naturwiss.*, liii, 236, n. 1.

(L. Kopf)

AYYŪB, the Biblical Job. The name apparently occurs in pre-Islamic Arabia but only as a name derived from the Biblical story. Job is mentioned twice in the Ḳurʾān in lists of those to whom Allāh had given special guidance and inspiration (iv, 163/161; vi, 84), and fragments of his story are given in xxi, 83-84; xxxviii, 41/40-44, Muḥammad being expressly bidden to make mention of him in his preaching. These fragments merely tell of his suffering affliction at the hands of Satan, crying unto his Lord for relief, and being healed, so that his case becomes an admonition for men. In the story of the miraculous spring by which he was healed there seems to be a confusion with the Naaman story of II Kings v, and in the obscure verse about his

taking a bundle in his hand and striking with it, there may be a similar confusion with the story in II Kings xiii, 14 ff. (See Bell, *Qur'ān*, 454 and *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 162, 163).

Later Muslim writers greatly amplified this meagre Ḳur'ānic account, drawing partly on the Biblical Book of Job, (which Ibn ʿAsākir actually quotes), partly on Rabbinic tales from Talmud and Midrash (for which cf. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. Job) and the Greek Testament of Job, but also exercising pious imagination in developing various details of the story. That Job was a descendant of Abraham through Isaac is generally agreed, though there is great confusion in the names which appear in his genealogy. His mother was a daughter of Lot. His wife, who figures so largely in the story, is generally called Raḥma, daughter of one of the sons of Joseph, though some said she was Leah the daughter of Jacob (obviously a confusion of Leah with Dinah, who in Rabbinic sources is said to have been Job's wife). His great wealth is described in detail, and his unparalleled kindness and generosity to the poor, the unfortunate, the guest and the stranger. This piety excited the enmity of Iblīs who challenged Allāh to let him test Job. The testing is permitted in three stages, against his property, his family and his body, Iblīs being assisted in the afflicting of Job by the *ʿafārīt* under his command. Job is abandoned by all save his faithful wife, who continues to tend him even when he is cast out on the dunghill, and to his bodily afflictions is added that of lack on understanding on the part of his friends. Failing to move Job by these afflictions Iblīs attempts to seduce him through his wife as he had formerly seduced Adam through Eve. Job, however, sees through his stratagems and takes an oath that he will beat his wife for having listened to Satan. The exegetes are obviously puzzled by Allāh's granting permission for His faithful servant to be so afflicted and so are at pains to suggest a variety of explanations, the favourite being that Job's pride in his piety needed a lesson. Finally Gabriel brings him news of his release from his sufferings by the water of a miraculous spring from which he drinks and in which he bathes and so is restored. His wealth, his property, his children are also restored to him double and he dies at the age of seventy-three in the place where he had lived.

Since he was a prophet (*nabī'*) we are told that he came after Joseph in the prophetic series (though Ibn al-Kalbī placed him after Jonah), that he had a *risāla* and preached to his own community in the Ḥawrān, being peculiar in that he was a prophet whom no one ever treated as false. Job will appear in the events of the Last Day, for at the Accounting Allāh will use him as an example to answer those who seek to excuse their negligence in religion on the ground of their ill health, and he will be the leader of "those who patiently endured" as the various groups make their way to Paradise. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 91 reports that the shrine over his grave was a place of visitation at Nawā near Damascus, where people were still shown the rock on which he sat during his affliction and the spring in which he bathed and was healed (Cf. also Yāḳūt, ii, 645).

Bibliography: The Commentaries on Ḳur'ān, xxi and xxxviii; Ṭabarī, i, 361-364; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1339, 106-114; Kisā'ī (Eisenberg), 179-90; Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Tā'rīkh al-Kabīr*, iii, 190-200; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-Nihāya*, i, 220-225; Pseudo-Balkhī, *Le Livre de la Creation* (Huart), iii, 72-5; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 262 ff.; D. Sidersky, *Origines des légendes musulmanes*, 69-72; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Unterschungen*, 100-1.

(A. Jeffery)

AYYŪB KHĀN, the fourth son of Shīr ʿAlī, Amīr of Afghānistān, and brother of Yaʿḳūb Khān. Like all rulers of Afghānistān, Shīr ʿAlī had trouble with his sons. When, in 1873, he nominated his favourite son ʿAbd Allāh Djān as his heir-apparent, Ayyūb Khān fled to Persia. In 1879, when Yaʿḳūb Khān succeeded Shīr ʿAlī as amīr, Ayyūb Khān returned to Afghānistān and was appointed governor of Harāt. Towards the end of the Second Afghān War (1878-80) Lord Lytton's government selected a Sadōzai prince, named Shīr ʿAlī, as the *wālī* of Ḳandahār. From this position he was ousted by Ayyūb Khān, who also decisively defeated a British army under General Burrows at Maiwand, on 27 July 1880. The situation was retrieved by Sir Frederick (afterwards Lord) Roberts, who marched rapidly from Kābul to Ḳandahār, routing Ayyūb's troops and forcing him to retire on Harāt. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān became Amīr of Kābul, his first task was to extend his control over the country. In July, 1881, Ayyūb Khān, who was in possession of Harāt, declared a *djihād* against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān because he was a British nominee, and occupied Ḳandahār. Towards the end of 1881, he was crushingly defeated by ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who also expelled him from Harāt and forced him to seek refuge at Mashhad in Persia. Once more, in 1887, during the Ghalzai rebellion, he attempted to regain his position in Afghānistān but was defeated and compelled to flee to India. Here he remained until his death on 6 April 1914.

Bibliography: S. Gopal, *The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon*, 1953; S. M. Khan, *Life of Abdur Rahman*, 1900; and Lord Roberts, *Forty-One Years In India*, 1897.

(C. Collin Davies)

AYYŪB ṢABRĪ PASHA, Ottoman naval officer and author. A graduate of the naval college, he held various appointments, and served for a while in both the Ḥidjāz and Yemen. He died in Istanbul in 1308/1890. He was the author of a number of historical and descriptive works on Arabia, including an account of Mecca and Medina (*Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1301-6), and a history of the Wahhābīs (*Ta'rīkh-i Wahhābiyyān*, Istanbul 1296). Besides these he wrote a biography of the Prophet called *Maḥmūd al-Siyar* (Edirne 1287).

Bibliography: Babinger 372-3; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 451; *Othmānlī Müellifleri*, iii, 26-7.

(B. Lewis)

AYYŪBIDS. Name of the dynasty founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Ayyūb, which, at the end of the 6th/12th century and in the first half of the 7th/13th century, ruled Egypt, Muslim Syria-Palestine, the major part of Upper Mesopotamia, and the Yemen.

The eponym of the family, Ayyūb b. Shādhī b. Marwān, born in the village of Adjdanaḳān near Dvin (Dabīl) in Armenia, belonged to the Rawwādī clan of the Kurdish tribe of the Hadhbānī, and, at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, had been in the service of the Shaddādid dynasty, likewise Kurdish, which had been installed in the government of this region by the Saldjūḳid Sulṭān Alp Arslan in the middle of the preceding century. Gradually, however, all the Kurdish princes and lords were eliminated by the Turks, many of them, to avoid losing everything, entering the service of the latter, with whom their Sunnī ardour and taste for war provided a close affinity. When in 524/1130, the Shad-

dādids lost Dvin, Shādhī entered the service of the Saldjūḳid military governor of ʿIrāḳ, Bihrūz; Bihrūz, who held Takrīt as an *iḳṭaʿ*, made Shādhī governor of that town, a post in which his son Ayyūb soon succeeded him (V. Minorsky, *Prehistory of Saladin*, in *Studies in Caucasian History*, Cambridge 1953, 107-129). It was in this capacity that Ayyūb earned the gratitude of the master of Mawṣil and Aleppo, Zankī (Zangī), who after being defeated by the Caliph, was able, with the help of Ayyūb, to cross the Euphrates and withdraw without a disaster. In the country behind Mawṣil, Zankī first of all adopted a systematic policy of subduing and then of recruiting the Kurds. In 532/1138, Ayyūb entered his service. He was at once used by him in Syria, being appointed governor of Baʿlbak, opposite Damascus. On Zankī's death, Ayyūb placed himself under the Būrid prince of Damascus, who gave him the governorship of that town, whilst his brother Shīrkūh, followed Zankī's son, Nūr al-Dīn, the master of Northern Syria, who gave him Ḥimṣ as an *iḳṭāʿ*. However, the trend of public opinion in Damascus finally led to the unification of Muslim Syria, with a view to the more effective prosecution of the war against the Franks, under the command of the prince with the most power and the greatest enthusiasm for the *djihād*, Nūr al-Dīn; in the surrender of Damascus the activities of the two brothers Shīrkūh and Ayyūb played a major rôle, and Ayyūb chose the side of Nūr al-Dīn, the governor of the Syrian capital.

It is impossible to describe the activities of Shīrkūh in Nūr al-Dīn's service in detail here. The family fortunes began, when he was chosen, rather against his will, by Nūr al-Dīn to lead the army to Egypt, which, at the request of the *wazīr* Shāwar, was to intervene in that country against his adversaries. The result of several years of difficult fighting was the assassination of Shāwar and the proclamation of Shīrkūh as his successor to the wazīrate. It is true that he died a few weeks later (564/1169), but his nephew, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Ayyūb, was with him, and quickly succeeded in getting himself recognised by the occupying troops as his successor.

Ṣalāḥ al-Din (known in Europe as Saladin) is the real founder of the dynasty. Its history can be divided into three periods: that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself, a formative period bearing the imprint of his personality, the strongest in the family, to which, however, the policy of his successors was opposed on many points; the period of his early successors, a period of organisation, up to the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil (635/1238); lastly, the period of long-drawn-out decline. Under the second period it will be convenient to group together the study of several problems of interior organisation, which are common to the whole history of the régime.

I. The detailed history of the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn cannot be given here, but will be given in the article concerning him; an attempt will only be made to reveal those features which are indispensable for the understanding of the following period, which one has especially in mind when speaking of the Ayyūbids.

Although the assumption of power by Shīrkūh and Ṣalāh al-Dīn took place in Egypt with much the same forms as in the case of the preceding *wazīrs* of the Fāṭimid régime, by the conferring of a diploma by the Caliph al-ʿĀḍid, they were none the less the representatives of the orthodox militant tradition inherited from the Saldjūḳids, more or less common to all the Turkish princes of Muslim Asia at that time, and especially typified by Nūr al-Dīn. In 566/1171, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn considered he was able to suppress the Fāṭimid Caliphate and proclaim the return of Egypt to the family of states owing allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph of Baghdād. For the first time in two centuries, Egypt became officially Sunnī again; in point of fact, the majority of the population had never been won over to the Ismāʿīlism of the Fāṭimids, and although those elements which were most strongly attached to the régime, and which were, moreover, partly of foreign origin, attempted to re-establish their position by revolts, the advent of the new régime was received among the masses with the same passivity which they had shown to its predecessor.

Invested by the Fāṭimid Caliph, then by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, and at the same time a vassal of Nūr al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn found himself in an equivocal position vis-à-vis the latter, which would doubtless have led to conflicts, had Nūr al-Dīn not died in 569/1174. Disagreements and the weakness of his successors produced the immediate result that the dominant military power in the neighbourhood of the "Latin Orient", which for fifty years had resided in Northern Syria, now passed to Egypt. Whilst Nūr al-Dīn's successors dropped the policy of the holy war, which had given the former his prestige and strength, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn adopted the idea, though it is not possible to discern to what extent ambition was combined with undoubtedly sincere conviction. (H. A. R. Gibb, *The Achievement of Saladin*, in *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv-1, 1952, 46-60). However that may be, this idea led him to claim for himself the unified command of the Muslim armies, to win a large share of public opinion for his cause and, ultimately, to constitute to his own advantage a state, in which the heritage of Nūr al-Dīn, including Egypt, Muslim Syria and a part of the Djazīra, was regrouped and extended, in a more solid manner than that of his predecessor's kingdom, at the time of its brief and final apogee; this was an accomplished fact in 1183. At the same time, relatives of his established themselves in the Yemen and one of his generals, Ḳarakush, on the borders of Tunisia.

The power formed in this way enabled Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to utilise the internal crisis of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the difficulties of the Byzantine Empire and the tension which had arisen since 1180 between himself and the Latins, to undertake to drive the latter out of Palestine and Syria. His success was his main title to glory among his contemporaries and posterity; in 583/1187 the Franks were crushed at Ḥaṭṭīn, Jerusalem became Muslim again after eighty years, and in the ensuing months, almost all the Christian territories fell, including a large part of the coast, where only Tyre, Tripoli and Antioch still held out against him.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's power was founded on the strength of the army, and his whole policy required a strong army. This was no longer, with the exception of a few contingents of irregulars, the army of the Fāṭimids. It was the Kurdo-Turkish army, completely alien to the Egyptian population, inherited from Nūr al-Dīn and developed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by means of the resources of Egypt. In 577/1181, the Egyptian army amounted to 111 amīrs, 6,976 *ṭawāshī* (cavalrymen with full equipment) and 1,153 *ḳaraghulām* (second grade cavalrymen), without mentioning the Arab frontiersmen, unfit for foreign campaigns (H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, iii/4, 1951, 304-320). To this

army must be added the Syro-Djazīran contingents, including those of Mawṣil, which the treaty subsequent to the hostilities of 1174-1183 allowed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to call together in case of need: a little over 6,000 men in all. It was with almost his entire forces, some 12,000 horsemen, that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn won the victory at Ḥaṭṭīn and his later successes. But, as was the case with the European armies, such an assembly of troops could not normally be kept on campaign for a protracted period, owing to the revictualling requirements of the soldiers (cf. *infra*). And considerable efforts and conviction would be required to maintain the indispensable effective strength over the whole of the time which the struggle against the Third Crusade lasted. Campaign and siege equipment, which had probably increased in quantity and quality, was also the object of attention, as is shown by the treatise on gun-making of Murḍā (or Marḍī) b. ʿAlī, which has come down to us (ed. Cl. Cahen, in *B. Ét. Or.*, xii, 1948, 108-163).

In the first years of his rule, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had been threatened by the Byzantine, Norman and Italian fleets, using the bases in the Latin Orient. He made a great effort to reconstitute the Mediterranean navy of the Fāṭimids, which had deteriorated in the 6th/12th century as the result of internal troubles and the progress of the Crusaders and the Italians. By this means he was even able to carry out offensive operations against the nearest Frankish ports. The possibility cannot be excluded that the expansion of Ḳarakush along the African coast had as its aim, at the same time as providing an outlet for turbulent Turkomāns, the control of the shores along which Muslim vessels were able to range, and a closer approach to the source of supplies of wood and sailors. The Crusade put an end to this effort, which was weakened by Egypt's inferiority in these last two respects, and it does not seem to have been repeated by his successors (A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *The place of Saladin in the naval history etc.*, in *JAOS.*, LXXV-2, 1955, 100-116).

There is no doubt that it was partly the need to procure the raw materials required by his armament on land and sea, and not only preoccupation with commercial interests, that led Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, very soon after he came to power, to renew and increase the connexions which had existed under the Fāṭimids with the Italian trading cities, including Pisa, which had gone furthest in encouraging the Franks to attack Egypt. Pisans, Genoans and Venetians flocked to Alexandria, where the Venetians found, more than at Acre, compensation for the impossibility of trading at Constantinople, a situation in which the Byzantine government placed them from 1171 to 1184 (Cl. Cahen, *Orient Latin et commerce du Levant*, in *Bull. de la Fac. des Lettres de Strasbourg*, xxix-8, 1951, 332). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn could boast in his letters to the Caliph that Franks themselves were delivering arms to him which were destined to be used against other Franks (Akū Shāma, i, 243).

Saladin also took advantage of political developments in Byzantium and Cyprus to negotiate, unbeknown to either of them, with their princes against the Franks. When he felt the approach of the European menace, he attempted, after having been, via Ḳarakush, the ally of the Almoravid Banū Ghāniya of the Balearic Islands against the Normans and the Almohads, to draw near to the latter to form an alliance, mainly maritime, against the Crusaders: this attempt, however, met with no success (cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Mélanges René Basset II*, and Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, in *Bull, Fac. Arts Univ. Alexandria*, vi-vii, 1952-3, 24-100). The same reasons explain his negotiations with the Saldjūḳids of Asia Minor.

A war policy, naturally, was expensive and all the evidence goes to show that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was a bad financial administrator, always on the point of going bankrupt. In necessary conformity with the religious ideal with which he infused all his propaganda, he everywhere suppressed the taxes deemed by *fiḳh* to be illegal. Similarly, his desire to eliminate all traces of the Fāṭimid régime, led him to replace the coinage by a new one, of variable weight, in the case of both gold dinars and dirhams, which could no longer be obtained at a fixed value; but the burden of expenditure, the decline in income, especially to begin with, as the result of disorders, the exhaustion of Egyptian gold, the precariousness of the routes towards Sudanese gold, which were controlled by the Almohads, even caused instability in the standard of the dinar, the minting of dirhams containing variable quantities of alloy in addition to the legal Egyptian dirham, (which contained 30 % silver, worth 1/40th. of a dinar), and, as a natural consequence, the disappearance of sound coinage. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and after him, al-ʿAzīz, lived on loans from the merchants and amīrs, which were never repaid. Of course, it could be maintained that the profits derived from the war would make it possible, in the long run, to restore financial stability. But this calculation, if ever made, turned out to be wrong, as the result of the Third Crusade (cf. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Contribution to the knowledge of the fiscal administration of Egypt . . . .*, in *BSOAS*, xv-3, 1953 and xvi-3, 1954; *The standard of fineness of gold coins in Egypt* . . . in *JAOS.*. LLXIV/3, 1954; *The crisis of the dinar in the Egypt of Saladin*, *ibid.*, LXXIV/3, 1956.

One of the results of Saladin's policy was the formation of a coalition, for the salvation of the Latin Orient, of the western forces, which was even joined by the Italian towns, adversely affected by the loss of the Syrian ports. In the end, even if the Franks did not retake Jerusalem, at least they recovered the major part of the Syro-Palestinian coast; moreover, they laid hands on Cyprus, which henceforth provided a secure naval base and a position to which they could withdraw. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was by no means defeated. But the formidable effort which he had had to sustain for two years, convinced him that it was fruitless to wish to expel the Franks, and made a period of *détente* and recovery a matter of urgency. It is impossible to know what Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn might have done, for he died a few months after the conclusion of peace (589/1193).

II. The period of the reigns of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil and al-Malik al-Kāmil (died in 635/1238) appears essentially as one of *détente* and organisation after the disorders which followed the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

The first eight years which followed the disappearance of the founder of the dynasty put to the test the conception of family unity which he had entertained as regards his monarchy and succession. He had granted, either in the form of fiefs during his lifetime or as shares in his inheritance, in addition to the Yemen, where two of his brothers reigned in succession, Central and Southern Syria to his son al-Afḍal, Egypt to his other son al-ʿAzīz, Aleppo to a third son, al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, whilst Ḥamā passed to his nephew Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar, Ḥimṣ to his cousin, Shīrkūh's grandson, al-Mudjāhid, and lastly the Djazīra to his brother al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr. The

latter, who had played an important rôle during the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as a diplomat and administrator, was now the eldest member of the family and indisputably the most eminent of its surviving members. The sons of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who were incapable of doing anything but amuse themselves or wrangle among themselves, upon several occasions sollicited his alliance or his arbitration. Whether or not al-ʿĀdil was an ambitious man, it was becoming clear that the security of the Ayyūbid monarchy required him to take over its destinies. In 597/1200, he had himself proclaimed Sulṭān in Cairo, distributed the governments of Damascus and Djazīra among his sons, and after the last hostilities in 1201, of the other former princes, he only permitted those of Aleppo, Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā, who were forced to do homage to him, to continue to exist. Naturally, after al-ʿĀdil's death, similar problems again arose. The presence at that moment (615/1217) of a Crusade at Damietta maintained solidarity for a time around his eldest son, al-Kāmil, who, like him, governed Egypt, and was moreover an imposing personality. Once the Frankish danger was removed, the agreement between him and his brother al-Muʿaẓẓam of Damascus, who died in 625/1228, and then the latter's son and successor, al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd, was disrupted. Al-Kāmil was helped by the loyalty of his other brother Al-Ashraf, to whom he gave Damascus in exchange for Diyār Muḍar, whilst Dāʾūd was relegated to Karak. Then, for a few years, al-Kāmil was the undisputed head of the family; however, a coolness was making itself increasingly felt between al-Ashraf and himself, when the former died (635/1237); al-Kāmil then took Damascus away from the other brother, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, whom al-Ashraf had designated as his successor, but he himself died at the beginning of the following year; he was the last Ayyūbid who might have been able to unite the whole Ayyūbid family behind him. One should not be misled by the disagreements; up till then there had always been a majority of members of the family willing to place solidarity in the face of their common enemies above their individual interests, and, in one way or another, solidarity had always been restored for half a century or so; after the death of al-Kāmil the situation changed.

Ayyūbid rivalries with neighbouring princes, however, interfered with their dissensions among themselves. In 604/1207, the troubles at Akhlāṭ provided al-Awḥad, the son of al-ʿĀdil and at that time governor of Diyār Bakr, with the possibility of annexing to Ayyūbid territory the inheritance of the Shāh-Armin (upon al-Awḥad's death, he was succeeded there by al-Ashraf). Other annexations were carried out in Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabīʿa, and lastly, in 631/1233, that of Āmid and Ḥiṣn Kayfā; only a single branch of the old Artuḳid dynasty subsisted, that of Mārdīn. Thus it was that the Ayyūbids emerged from these wars increased in stature.

However, from about 1225, Mesopotamo-Iranian politics were dominated by the approach of Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubertī, who at the head of his Khwārizmians fleeing before the Mongol invasion, was putting Iran and its borders to fire and sword. Al-Muʿaẓẓam and the Djazīran opponents of al-Ashraf and al-Kāmil adhered to him, and he was eventually able to take Akhlāṭ, which was pillaged in terrible fashion (1229). The Khwārizmshāh then invaded Asia Minor, where the Saldjūḳid Sulṭān was reinforced by al-Ashraf: this time the invader was crushed near Erzindjān (628/1230).

There were more lasting causes of friction between the Saldjūḳids and the Ayyūbids. The interests of the two dynasties had already clashed at Diyār Bakr in the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and in the 13th century the development of the Saldjūḳid power made conflicts inevitable. The Saldjūḳids sought to spread from their mountains over the Arab plains, from Northern Syria to Diyār Bakr. According to circumstances, they achieved this either by attacking the Ayyūbid territories or by posing as the sovereign-protectors of the Aleppo branch against their Egyptian cousins. Al-Ashraf's expedition to the assistance of Kaykubādh gave al-Kāmil the impression that the conquest of the Eastern part of the Saldjūḳid territory would be an easy matter: in 1233, a coalition of all the Ayyūbid forces invaded it. Ignorance of the country and the lack of enthusiasm of some of those taking part led to failure of the enterprise. Later, the Saldjūḳid army took Āmid from al-Kāmil's successors (1241). It had already taken the ruins of Akhlāṭ from the lieutenants of al-Ashraf.

Finally, there were the Christian enemies: the Georgians, whom it had been necessary to fight in the vicinity of this same Akhlāṭ, and, naturally, the Franks themselves. In the latter case, the Ayyūbids drew from the Third Crusade a moral diametrically opposed to the policy of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Their aim was to preserve the peace, by avoiding any hostile action, on the one hand in view of the economic advantages of peaceful relations, and on the other hand to avoid giving any pretext for further crusades. Further crusades did in fact take place, but their immediate initiative came entirely from Europe, rather than from the Franks of the East. Naturally the Ayyūbids took every precaution in their power to resist them, and there was no question of military negligence. The fall of Byzantium and the decline of the Almohads deprived them of the possible allies which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had endeavoured to obtain, and, having relinquished the maintenance of a large and vulnerable fleet, they afforded Egypt protection by the land army, by fortifications, sometimes by destroying coastal installations (Tinnīs), and by espionage. However, with the Crusaders, even al-ʿĀdil and al-Kāmil had tried as far as possible to replace the costly chances of war by diplomacy.

In accordance with the tendencies of this policy, in 1204 al-ʿĀdil restored to the Franks the coastal places which he was occupying, which reconstituted the continuity of the Frankish territories, with the exception of the enclave of Lādhiḳiya, which belonged to the principality of Aleppo. At the time of the Fifth Crusade, his successor al-Kāmil, whilst calling his brothers in Asia to his assistance, offered to restore Jerusalem to the Franks, who refused it, in exchange for the evacuation of Damietta, and took care to avoid any real battle. It was especially at the time of the Crusade of Frederick II that this attitude was disclosed in a manner most calculated to affect public opinion. Al-Kāmil's desire for peace with the Franks was then strengthened by the menace of al-Muʿaẓẓam, the ally of the Khwārizmians. Aware of circumstances which predisposed the Emperor for his part to negotiations, he finally granted him Jerusalem, with the reservation that it should not be fortified and freedom of worship should be maintained; pious Muslims and pious Christians were equally scandalised. A real friendship arose between the two sovereigns, which was to continue even between their successors.

The principality of Aleppo was confronted by slightly different local problems. These princes,

disturbed at being the only direct descendants of Saladin to confront the family of al-ʿĀdil, sought both to ally themselves with them by marriage and to guard themselves against the masters of Egypt, sometimes through the Ayyūbids of Djazīra, Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā, and at other times through the Saldjūḳids of Rūm, and naturally also, at times, with the ones against the others who had encroached too far. The ambitions of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia also troubled them, and they several times intervened, with the Saldjūḳids against it, giving assistance to the Frankish princes of Antioch, who were weaker.

A normal and intended consequence of the peace policy adopted towards the Franks was the resumption and intensification of commercial relations with the Italians (and now, to a lesser extent the Southern French and the Catalans). Even before formal treaties had been concluded once more, as is shown by the private documents in the Venetian and Genoan archives, Genoan, Pisan and Venetian ships, after the Third Crusade, were once again going to Alexandria, and, to a lesser extent to Damietta. Under al-ʿĀdil, a series of agreements confirmed their rights, a reduction in customs' dues and administrative and judicial facilities. Furthermore, the accessibility of the principality of Aleppo to the sea had the result that even in Syria, Italian merchants were to be seen no longer confining themselves to Frankish ports, but were also disembarking at Ladhiḳiya and regularly visiting the markets of Aleppo and Damascus. An important personage of Genoa, William Spinola, seems at one time to have enjoyed al-ʿĀdil's special favour, accompanying him on his journeys through his estates (this can be seen from a comparison between the *Annals of Genoa* used by Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Mittelmeer-Romanen* 121, and Ibn Naṭīf, cited in Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, ii, Appendix, 35, which was unknown to Schaube). Egypt sold to Europe, besides the products of the Indian Ocean which passed through its territory in transit, native resources, the chief of which at this time seems to have been alum. Naturally the Crusades, or the fear of surprise attacks, were liable to provoke crises, as for instance the day in 1215 when three thousand merchants assembled at Alexandria were temporally arrested. But even after the Damietta Crusade, relations were resumed (as is shown among other things by a document of immunity in Arabic from al-Kāmil to the Venetians which is to be published by Subḥī Labīb) and lasted in the main without undue interruption until the middle of the century.

But, though the Italians were the masters in the Mediterranean, and Egypt played a purely passive rôle in trading with them, only making a profit from the taxes and commissions, they were prevented from access to the Red Sea, and the commerce of the Indian Ocean remained exclusively in the hands of the subjects of Muslim (or Hindu) states. We are not in a position to determine exactly what rôle the Egyptians played, or that of the Yemenites or other more easterly peoples. The exact nature of the merchants called Kārimī, specialists at Aden and in Egypt in the trade in products brought from the Indian Ocean and especially spices, still remains obscure; they appear to have existed since Fāṭimid times, but it is in the Ayyūbid period that they really make their appearance in the rôle which was to be more especially theirs in the following century (cf. the elucidations of Goitein and Fischel in the press for the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1958, and G. Wiet, *Les marchands d'Épices* ... in *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, 1955). The occupation of the Yemen may have had as its primary motive the hemming in of the supporters of a Fāṭimid restoration or the formation there of an eventual refuge for the Ayyūbids; but its object was doubtless also the improvement, which in any case occurred, of commercial relations, of primary importance for both parties, between the Yemen and Egypt, with whom Yemenite currencies and some measures were aligned (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, ed. Löfgren, 12 ff.).

The almost complete internal peace which Egypt enjoyed, and the relatively long periods of peace from which Syria profited, certainly had a favourable influence, though it is difficult to give precise indications, on their economy, which was also stimulated by the possibilities of trade and which the Ayyūbids deliberately strove to promote, even though only for their fiscal interests. For Syria and the Djazīra we are able to gain a certain idea of their resources through the *Aʿlāḳ* of Ibn Shaddād, who describes the situation on the eve of the Mongol assault; more precisely, for the crafts of Damascus, much information is to be found in the treatise on *ḥisba* composed about 600/1200 by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr al-Shayzarī (ed. ʿArīnī, Cairo 1946, trans. Bernhauer, *Les institutions de police etc.* in *JA*, 1860, where the author is called Nabrawī), apparently the prototype of all successive treatises of this kind in Syria and Egypt. For Egypt, besides the information preserved by al-Maḳrīzī, many indications are to be found in the treatises of Ibn al-Mammātī and al-Nābulusī (cf. *infra*); the latter especially attests al-Kāmil's interest in the maintenance of forests, irrigation works, state cultivation of sugar cane etc. In general, Egypt, in contradistinction to the other Ayyūbid states, remained, as always, the country *par excellence* with a partly nationalised economy, especially for mining and forest production, trade in metals and wood, certain means of transport and tools, arms etc. The *Lamʿ* of al-Nābulusī, a pamphlet composed after the disorders which followed al-Kāmil's death, stresses the harm done by the interference of private undertakings with those of the State, and by the frauds perpetrated by officials at the first relaxation of control.

Under al-ʿĀdil and al-Kāmil, in addition to the attention paid to economic matters, a strict financial policy was maintained. Al-ʿĀdil's great minister, Ibn Shukr, made himself famous by his competence combined with intractable behaviour towards everyone, including his own sovereign. After him, al-Kāmil maintained an equally energetic control over expenditure and resources (including the *iḳṭāʿ* of the amīrs) and on his death left a treasure almost equivalent to a year's budget. For Egypt, the inquiry carried out by al-Nābulusī in the Fayyūm, although relating only to 642, shows the minuteness of the cadastral survey and accounts (cf. Cl. Cahen, *Le régime des impôts dans le Fayyūm ayyūbide*, in *Arabica* iii/1, 1956). For the northern states, Ibn Shaddād has left us lists of taxes for the towns of Aleppo, Manbidj, Sarūdj and Bālis. The care taken with the finances and the economy also made possible the resumption of the large-scale minting of dinars at the standard normal before Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Nevertheless, it seems to have been difficult to check the flight of silver coinage before that of copper (De Boüard, *L'évolution monétaire de l'Égypte medievale*, in *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, 1939).

The internal history of the Ayyūbid states has been the subject of few studies. Yet it is essential that it should be known, especially for Egypt, since it is at this period, by means of a partial break with the Fāṭimid past and the introduction of Saldjūḳid and Zankid traditions from further Asia, but also inevitably with some retention of the Egyptian heritage and with innovations and adaptations, that the foundations were laid of the régime which, to a large extent, the Mamlūks, for two centuries, simply prolonged and completed in detail. Naturally only a few rather incidental allusions can be made here.

The Ayyūbid régime, approximately up to the late years of al-Kāmil, was a semi-feudal family federation, as, for example, had been that of the Būyids and, to a lesser extent, of the Saldjūḳids and Zankids. Under a sovereign to whom all owed allegiance, a certain number of territories were distributed to vassal "princes of the blood" who, apart from the limitations imposed by their primarily military allegiance to the ruler, enjoyed complete autonomy in administering them (cf. for example, the diploma of investiture of a prince of Ḥamā by al-Kāmil preserved at the end of the Chronicle of Ibn Abi 'l-Damm, Oxford Bodl. Marsh 60). Within these great appanages, there were lesser ones, likewise distributed to princes of the blood of second rank or to a few great officers, whose loyalty was to the vassal prince, and whose effective independence was naturally more restricted. It was only still lower down the scale that the military *iḳṭāʿ* properly so-called, of which we shall speak later, were to be found. However, towards the end of al-Kāmil's reign, this régime began to undergo certain modifications; the aggravation of family conflicts obliged the Sulṭān, who during his absence in Egypt had himself represented by a *nāʾib*, sometimes belonging to his family and sometimes not, to replace the princes in the Asiatic provinces also by governors, taken from among their domestic attendents, as for example at Diyār Bakr, Shams al-Dīn Ṣawāb, either standing beside a young prince or not, and whose title of *nāʾib* also stressed his dependence better than any other title would have done. The conditions in which, after al-Kāmil, al-Ṣālih Ayyūb reconstituted Ayyūbid unity, led to the triumph of this centralist conception; moreover, in Egypt, there had never been autonomous appanages, except as a quite exceptional and temporary measure (for example in Fayyūm). In Asia, on the other hand, all the autonomous princes, like the sovereign in Egypt, now bore the title of Sulṭān, which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had never officially made use of, perhaps because of its connexion, in the Fāṭimid heritage, with that of *wazīr*; and even the subordinate Ayyūbids bore that of *malik*.

The organisation of the Ayyūbid states, as a natural result of the preceding considerations, was never unified. In general, leaving aside the Yemen, there can be distinguished on the one hand the territories of Asia, which perpetuated Zankid institutions without any great modifications, and on the other, Egypt, where newer institutions were introduced, or at least newer as regards Egypt. As is normal, the central organs of government there were transformed to a greater extent, in relationship to the Egyptian past, than the fundamentals and rules of local administration. An attempt to adjust matters was made, once the initial troubles were over, during the lifetime of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself, as is shown by the description of Fāṭimid institutions composed for the new régime by Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (extracts in al-Maḳrīzī and Ibn al-Furāt), the treatise of the ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥasan on *kharādj* (extracts in al-Maḳrīzī) and the famous *Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn* of Ibn al-Mammātī, which have been preserved; others could be added, as, for example, a little later the more literary work of Ibn Shīt al-Kurshī on the *dīwāns*. As the counterpart of and a contrast to these methodical accounts, there appeared at the end of the Ayyūbid régime the various treatises, preserved or known only through quotations, of ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī, which are a vivid witness of his concrete experience.

The central government was naturally directed, more or less effectively according to temperament, by the Prince himself; most of the princes holding appanages had a *wazīr*, that is to say, an official who ensured in the Prince's name the unity of direction of the whole administration. But the institution was less usual in Egypt; whatever prestige the ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil may have enjoyed in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's eyes, he certainly never, despite what has been said, bore the title or fulfilled the functions of *wazīr*, first because this sovereign himself performed the functions of government, and second because it was as *wazīr* that he had originally come to power in Egypt in accordance with the late Fāṭimid practice endowing the wazīrate with plenary authority. For quite a long time his brother al-ʿĀdil had the redoubtable Ibn Shukr as his *wazīr*, whom he had learned to value as his associate in directing Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's navy; al-Kāmil took him back for a time, but then subsequently assumed the direction of the administration himself, with the help of high officials, to whom he sometimes, but not always, gave the title of *nāʾib* of the wazīrate. After him, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had as his *wazīr* one of the "Sons of the Shaykh", of whom we shall speak again later. Princes who were minors and orphans had an *atabeg* [*q.v.*]. The *ustādhdār*, a kind of intendant of the Sovereign's "Household", played an important political rôle.

Below the prince and the *wazīr*, the central administration was divided between the *dīwāns*, the names and attributions of which no longer exactly corresponded to those of the Fāṭimid period. It was essentially the army for which the régime still operated, hence the importance of the *Dīwān al-Djuyūsh*, a section of which dealt with the *iḳṭāʿ* and, in this respect, possessed a competency which in part coincided with that of the *Dīwān* of Finance; on this latter were dependent all questions of taxation, income and expenditure, and the Treasury, with a section devoted to the finances of 'the Gate' itself; it is described in detail, with the exclusion of the others, in the treatise of Ibn al-Mammātī. The third great *Dīwān*, which in certain respects was pre-eminent among those just mentioned, was the *Dīwān al Inshāʾ*, the Chancery, entrusted with correspondence and the composition of diplomas; of this the director enjoying the greatest reputation was al-Fāḍil, who had been taken over from the Fāṭimid regime (ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, who emulated him in belles-lettres, was private secretary to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn). Finally, marginal, though of no less importance, was the *Dīwān* of the *ḥubūs*, indicated by al-Nābulusī, which naturally enjoyed complete autonomy as against those just mentioned. The Ayyūbids adopted the Saldjūḳid *ṭughrāʾ*, which they distorted (Cl. Cahen, in *BSOAS*, xiv/1, 42). The work of these offices involved large numbers of documents and employees supervising

one another. The most striking institution of the Ayyūbid régime seems to have been the *shadd*, the office of the *mushidd*. The administration was dependent, naturally, on a native personnel, frequently Copts, who alone possessed the requisite traditional training; but either because it did not inspire sufficient confidence or because on its own it had insufficient power to make its decisions effective against powerful, especially military officials, there was attached to each *Dīwān* and also, perhaps, to the *Dīwān*s as a whole, a *mushidd*, that is to say an amīr entrusted with the supervision of the ordinary civil administration, which he supported with his own military contingents.

The army seems to have had contingents at least equal to those of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's time and, in case of need, it could of course be temporarily augmented by the distribution of new provisional *iḳṭā*ʿ. Though pay or direct distribution did not entirely disappear, the *iḳṭā*ʿ, however, was the main source of revenue for the army, or at least for the amīrs. The Ayyūbid *iḳṭā*ʿ was connected with both the Fāṭimid and Saldjūḳid traditions, but, especially in Egypt, did not exactly correspond to either of these models. It was freer, economically, than the Fāṭimid *iḳṭā*ʿ, in the sense that it was no longer subject to tithes; but, compared with the Zankid *iḳṭā*ʿ, which conferred on the holder a kind of seigneurial autonomy over his territory, it was much more closely incorporated in the State administration: although the *muḳṭā*ʿ was responsible for some items of expenditure, in reality he possessed no actual administrative rights, being merely the assignee of a definite revenue, the composition of which did not depend on him, and which could be withdrawn from him or transferred elsewhere at any time. This revenue was calculated according to an estimate, ʿ*ibra*, in a unit of account, the *dīnār djayshī*, which was made up of a specific combination of payments in cash and in kind from the crops; however, generally speaking, it was the interested party who, at the time of the harvest, was obliged to go and supervise the levying of the tax due to him (hence the difficulty of maintaining an army in the field for any considerable time). The *iḳṭā*ʿ of the great amīrs were, generally speaking, made up of parcels of land at a distance from one another. The number of men, which the *muḳṭā*ʿ could and had to maintain on them, was stated precisely (likewise in the Ayyūbid territories in Syria), and it became the custom, unknown until then, to speak of amīrs of 10 men, 100 men etc. (Cf. Cl. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iḳṭā*ʿ, in *Annales ESC*, 1953).

One of the weaknesses of this army lay in the fact that the various corps of which it was constituted were lacking in unity and were mutually jealous. A few traces of ethnic hostility can be found between Kurds and Turks. It does not appear to be attributable to any great extent to the fact that the former were apparently free men and the latter, at least prior to their promotion to the amīrate, slaves. The most seriously significant factor was that each ruler tended to form a body of troops of his own, acquired by him individually and therefore personally devoted to his cause; the disappearance of a ruler, however, did not entail that of the body or bodies of troops formed by him, within which there prevailed a vigilant solidarity, arising out of fear of the new bodies of troops. The rivalries between *asadiyya* (from Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh), *ṣalāḥiyya*, ʿ*ādiliyya*, *kāmiliyya*, *ashrafiyya* etc. play a great part in the quarrels between Ayyūbid pretenders.

The military policy of the Ayyūbids was completed by the construction of impressive fortresses both urban (Aleppo, Cairo etc.) and rural, which they matched especially against those of the Crusaders.

At times there has been speculation as to the extent to which certain characteristics of the Ayyūbids can be attributed to their "Kurdism". Considerations of this kind too often derive from gratuitous prejudices and falsified information. It does not seem that the presence of Turks beside Kurds in the Ayyūbid regime differed profoundly from that of Kurds beside the Turks in the Zankid régime, and both institutionally and intellectually the two régimes are related, allowance being made for the consequences of environmental conditions. Yet it is probably not a matter of chance that the Ayyūbids sought to expand to Diyār Bakr and Akhlāṭ, that is to say towards their country of origin, or at least into Kurdish territory, so as to ensure the continuity of Kurdish recruitment. However, within the actual dynasty, in the course of successive generations, Turkish and Kurdish blood was mixed; and we shall see that in its last days the régime divested itself of its Kurdish aspect.

The Ayyūbids in any case, like the Zankids and their other contemporaries, were staunch Sunnī Muslims, working, under the aegis of the sovereign, to promote Orthodox Islam against heresy. This attitude was first of all revealed by the reintroduction of Egypt into the ʿAbbāsid family, and more durably, at a time when the Caliph al-Nāṣir had restored a certain prestige to the Caliphate, it was manifested by an expression of respect, of a concordance of opinions which, whilst naturally not diminishing the autonomy of the Ayyūbids, were not however purely verbal, authorising, for example, in the settlement of disputes, the frequently effective mediation of such caliphal ambassadors as Ibn al-Djawzī. Furthermore, the Ayyūbids, like other rulers of their times, entered the kind of *futuwwa* order by which al-Nāṣir tried to take in hand the lower classes of Baghdād and at the same time consolidate his administration and reassert his moral authority among the aristocracy; he hoped to associate the princes with himself in this undertaking, both in order to attach them to himself and to enable them to conduct a similar line of action among their own people (cf. the latest assessment of this question by Fr. Taeschner, *Die Futuwwa* etc., in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, LIII, 1956).

The orthodox attitude of the Ayyūbids is also shown in the concrete encouragement which they and their high dignitaries gave, after the Saldjūḳids and Zankids, to increasing the numbers of *madrasas* in Syria and the Djazīra, and to their introduction into Egypt. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb appears to have been the initiator of a new form, the *madrasa* for the four rites including in its buildings the tomb of the founder. On the other hand, the Ayyūbids welcomed the mystical orders, often originating in the East, for whom they founded various *khānaḳāh*s, under the direction of a *shaykh of shaykhs*. More generally evident is the fact that quite a few immigrants of recent or remote Iranian origin are to be found surrounding them, as with the Saldjūḳids and Zankids, especially in the controlling spheres of intellectual life; there seems also have been a tendency for them to associate the ḳāḍīs and religious circles more extensively with the government. Especially remarkable under their rule was the so-called family of the Sons of the Shaykh, of Khurāsānian origin (see AWLĀD AL-SHAYKH), who,

contrary to the almost universal particularisation between the military, religio-legal and administrative castes, succeeded in being eminently represented in all three, especially in the case of the *wazīr* Maʿīn al-Dīn and his brother the amīr Fakhr al-Dīn who, for a short time before his death in the battle of Manṣūra, acted as regent of the realm.

Nevertheless, if one compares the behaviour of the Ayyūbids with that of the Great Saldjūḳs, a greater flexibility is certainly to be observed. This is doubtless connected with the general aim of relaxing tension which we have noted, moreover, in the policy adopted towards the Franks. But it must also be said that the heretics of Syria had been sufficiently weakened by the Zankids for it to be no longer really necessary to fight them, and that in Egypt Ismāʿīlism seems hardly to have left any regrets. At Aleppo, however, the government of al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī was stained by the blood of the Iranian mystic Suhrawardī Maḳtūl, executed during the lifetime of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; but it must be said that this was a very special individual case, and that this measure was demanded by pietistic circles of Aleppo. The majority of the Ayyūbids were Shāfiʿīs, in contradistinction to the Turks who were Ḥanafīs; and although doctrinally this does not impute to the latter a stronger degree of intolerance, the result may nevertheless have been that the Ayyūbids had a less intimate contact with the pietists, devoted to the militant spiritual mission of the Saldjūḳids. However, al-Muʿaẓẓam and his son Dāʾūd were Ḥanafīs, and this perhaps partly explains their conflicts with al-Kāmil; they certainly appear, for example, at the time of the dealings with Frederick II, doctrinally to represent the intransigent party.

Christians and Jews, generally speaking, likewise appear to have had no grounds for complaint against the dynasty. As is almost always the case, when an exception occurs, the motive is political and not confessional. There is no doubt that the Ayyūbid occupation impaired the exceptionally favourable conditions enjoyed by the Armenians under the last Fāṭimids (see ARMĪNIYA). But it was the Copts who profited from these confiscations and not the Muslims. Similarly, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn retook Jerusalem, he favoured such of the native Christian communities there as could not be suspected of covenanting with the Franks (cf. *inter alia* Cl. Cahen, *Indigènes et Croisés, un médecin d'Amaury et de Saladin*, in *Syria* 1934, and E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, i, Rome 1943). The Ayyūbid period in Egypt was one of vitality for the Coptic Church. When moments of tension arose, it was generally as a counter effect of Crusades, in so far as collusion might be feared, for example, between Melkitis and Latins. That it was not considered necessary, however, in normal circumstances, to prohibit intercourse between indigenous and Latin Christians is shown by the permission accorded by the Ayyūbids for Dominican and Franciscan missionaries to enter their kingdom, provided that no attempt was made to convert Muslims. It is true that the traditional discriminatory measures in respect of non-Muslims were from time to time revived, always with the same ineffectiveness. The Jews were also passably well treated, even being invited to return to reconquered Jerusalem, and refugees from Spain, such as Maimonides, were favourably received (see E. Ashtor-Strauss, *Saladin and the Jews*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 1956, 305-26).

The climate certainly offers a partial explanation for the intensity of cultural life in the Ayyūbid domains. Syria in the 13th century was truly the heart of Muslim culture in the Arabic language. Egypt was soon to rival her, but had not as yet quite achieved a synthesis between the survivals from her own past and the imported elements favoured by the Ayyūbids. All the credit for this flowering cannot indeed be claimed by the Ayyūbids, but it would be injust to deny any credit to princes who were themselves frequently men of letters and scholars, and who in general sought to protect and attract the representatives of all disciplines compatible with orthodoxy. The economic progress and the general advance of Muslim recovery in the area which the Crusades had involved most directly in the struggle, must have accomplished the rest. There is little object in giving a list of names of men of letters and scholars. The names of the historians and geographers will be found in the bibliography of sources; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (*wazīr* of Aleppo) and Ibn Abī ʿUsaybiʿa, biographers of scholars and physicians, draw our attention to the importance of the support given to these latter in the hospitals; among the poets (some of whom were studied by Rikabi, *La Poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides*, 1949), the historian will perhaps more especially note al-Amdjad Bahrāmshāh, himself an Ayyūbid, or a man of the *sūḳs* such as Ibn al-Djazzār (cited in the *Mughrib* of Ibn Saʿīd). Furthermore, emphasis should be laid on the many Spanish refugees who established themselves in the Ayyūbid domains, men as diverse as the historian-geographer Ibn Saʿīd, the grammarian Ibn Mālik, the botanist Ibn al-Bayṭar and the mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī.

It is not possible to speak at length here of the Ayyūbid principality of the Yemen; Ayyūbid intervention here certainly had the same importance for the country as was the case in Egypt. Ayyūbid rule to a certain extent restricted the quarrels of sects and princelings who divided the country among themselves, and brought about a political unity which was to survive them; although, from 629/1232, the Ayyūbids were supplanted by the Rasūlids, the latter had their origins in their officer *milieu* and continued their traditions. The Ayyūbid régime reintroduced Sunnī Islam to the Yemen and linked it more closely to Egypt, politically, economically and institutionally. The persistence of religious divisions in the population may have been the origin of the strange attempt on the part of the third Ayyūbid to pass himself off as an autonomous Umayyad Caliph; after his overthrow, al-ʿĀdil and al-Kāmil stressed their intention of not allowing the Yemen to escape from their hands by sending one of the sons of the latter to take over the succession. Al-Kāmil, however, was unable to prevent the accession of the Rasūlids, but the latter were at pains to show themselves, at least at the outset, as allies of the Ayyūbids; later there arose conflicts of influence between them at Mecca; commercial relations, however, seem never to have been broken off.

III. The death of al-Kāmil marks the end of the true Ayyūbid régime, with the reservation that the resulting degradation was, in a large measure, implicit in its very constitution. Al-Kāmil had relegated his eldest son al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to the government of Ḥiṣn-Kayfā and designated his youngest son al-ʿĀdil to succeed him; al-ʿĀdil made himself disliked and his opponents appealed to al-Ṣāliḥ. The latter, in the course of fierce struggles, accompanied by

many reverses, conquered his throne and restored the unity of command of the Ayyūbid states (a unity rendered ephemeral by his death), not only at the expense of his younger brother, but also of the majority of the Ayyūbids of Syria, especially al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, who had become master of Damascus. It is true that there had already been conflicts between Ayyūbids, but these conflicts did not prevent either of the protagonists from in the first place receiving the territories which they governed from the Sulṭān, the head of the family, or family solidarity from keeping the harmful effects of these conflicts within definite limits. This time, the adversaries viewed one another as usurpers, and it was naked strength which gave the victory to al-Ṣāliḥ. Nevertheless, this strength was no longer derived from the old Kurdo-Turkish army; during al-Kāmil's lifetime, the disgrace of al-Ṣāliḥ had been due to the fact that, as his father's lieutenant in Egypt, in his distrust of the Kurds, he had carried out a large scale recruitment exclusively of Turkish slaves. The army which he organised on becoming master of Egypt was exclusively Turkish. But, in the meantime, his successes had been due to an even more disquieting element: the Kh̲wārizmians who, after the defeat and death of Dj̲alāl al-Dīn, had been driven back from Asia Minor where for a time they had served the Saldj̲ūḳids, and were seeking an employer and a territory. He invested them with Diyār Muḍar and summoned them to fight against his enemies in the Dj̲azīra and in Syria; it was partly due to them that these wars were of so devastating and ruthless a character, until at last al-Ṣāliḥ, having no further need of them, caused them to be annihilated by his cousins of southern Syria. Furthermore, though the previous Ayyūbids had kept the peace with the Franks, and at one point al-Kāmil had even entertained an alliance with Frederick II against his brothers, such plans had never been actually realised. This time, the Franks appeared in alliance with al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl and with al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd of Karak himself against al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and the Kh̲wārizmians, which resulted in an irreparable disaster for both of the former. This marks the appearance in al-Ṣāliḥ of a warlike spirit against the Franks which was unknown to his predecessors, and the ordeals of the Franks gave rise to a new Crusade, that of St. Louis, at the beginning of which the Ayyūbid ruler died.

In effect, he was the last Ayyūbid. His son Tūrānsh̲āh was massacred after a few months by his troops, and even though several child puppets still carried on the name of the Ayyūbid dynasty for a time, it was in fact from 647/1249 that the establishment of the new so-called Mamlūk régime dated. Al-Ṣāliḥ was the real creator of this régime. The well-knit and well-disciplined army of Turkish slaves, called the Baḥriyya from the name of the barracks on an island in the river (Baḥr), was the real arbiter of the situation; neither al-Ṣāliḥ nor Tūrānsh̲āh were military leaders. The dynasty might have lasted longer if the latter had not been unbalanced; it was inevitable that sooner or later the Baḥriyya would supplant him by a leader promoted from among themselves, which they in fact did when, on the death of Tūrānsh̲āh, they raised the Turkomān ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak to power, first as *atabeg* and then as sultan. The "Kurdish" dynasty was succeeded by the "Turkish" régime, in the words of contemporaries.

The Northern Ayyūbids continued for a little while longer, but without further success. Their lives were spent under the shadow of the terror caused by the approach of the Mongols. They hesitated between submission which they feared might be annihilation, and armed resistance of which they despaired in advance. However, al-Nāṣir of Aleppo, with the advent of the Mamlūk régime, had become the standard-bearer of the Ayyūbid cause, and it required the mediation of the Caliph in face of the Mongol danger to bring about an agreement that all Syria belonged to him, the Mamlūk Sulṭān being satisfied with Egypt. But in 1258 Bag̲h̲dād fell and, in 1260, Aleppo, Damascus and Mayyāfāriḳīn were either taken or capitulated of their own accord before the invader, who seemed to be invincible. The unfortunate al-Nāṣir, who unlike others did not dare to seek refuge in Egypt, was finally captured by the Mongols and, well treated at first, paid with his life when news arrived of the defeat of a Mongol army by the Mamlūks at ʿAyn Dj̲ālūt [*q.v.*] in Syria at the end of the same year. In the ensuing conquest of Syria by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars, the principality of Karak (which moreover had been lost to the family of Dāʾūd in 1248), which was of great strategic importance, was subjugated; the principalities of Aleppo and Ḥimṣ had disappeared of their own volition; that of Ḥamāh alone, made illustrious by its writer-prince Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, was restored, and existed (with one interval) until 1342, by reason of its absolute docility.

There was however another branch which survived for more than two centuries under the Mongols and their successors, in the vicinity of Ḥiṣn Kayfā; reduced to the level of a local seigniory, it returned in a rather odd way to its origins, in that it drew a large part of its strength from the Kurdish tribes who had become powerful in the region and among whom it attempted to play an ever-repeated rôle as arbiter. It succeeded in surviving the Tīmūrid catastrophe, preserving a centre of culture, but in the end succumbed to the Āḳ Ḳoyūnlū; nevertheless several of its members regained a minor local importance at the time of the Ottoman conquest (cf. Claude Cahen, *Contribution à l'Histoire de Diyār Bakr au XIV*[e] *siècle*, in *JA*, 1955).

Bibliography: A. Sources. A number of archival documents of the Ayyūbid period have been preserved; official documents, reported in Sinaī (A. S. Atiya, *The Arabic MSS. of Mt. Sinaī*, Baltimore 1955), or discovered in the Italian archives and published (M. Amari, *Diplomi arabi del Archivo Fiorentino*, 1863-67; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handelsgeschichte Venedig*, 3 vols. 1856-7); cf. also Ṣubḥī Labīb cited above); private documents, in the collections of papers of Cairo, Vienna. etc. (cf. for example A. Dietrich, *Eine Eheurkunde aus der Aiyubidenzeit*, in *Doc. islam. ined.*, Berlin Akad. Wiss. 1952). Moreover partial collections have been preserved of copies of the correspondence of the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil (on whom see A. N. Helbig, *Der Kadi al-Fadil*, 1909, inadequate), of the Ayyūbid al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd (Brockelmann, I, 318, and Cl. Cahen, *REI*, 1936, 341), and of al-Afḍal's *wazīr*, Ḍiyā al-Dīn b. al-Ath̲īr (analyses of MSS. by Margoliouth, Xth Congress of Orientalists, Ḥabīb Zayyāt, in *Machriq* xxxvii/4, 1939; and Cl. Cahen, in *BSOAS*, xiv/i); numerous extracts of the first also occur in Abū Sh̲āma cited infra; various Jewish documents in the collections of the Cairo Genīza.

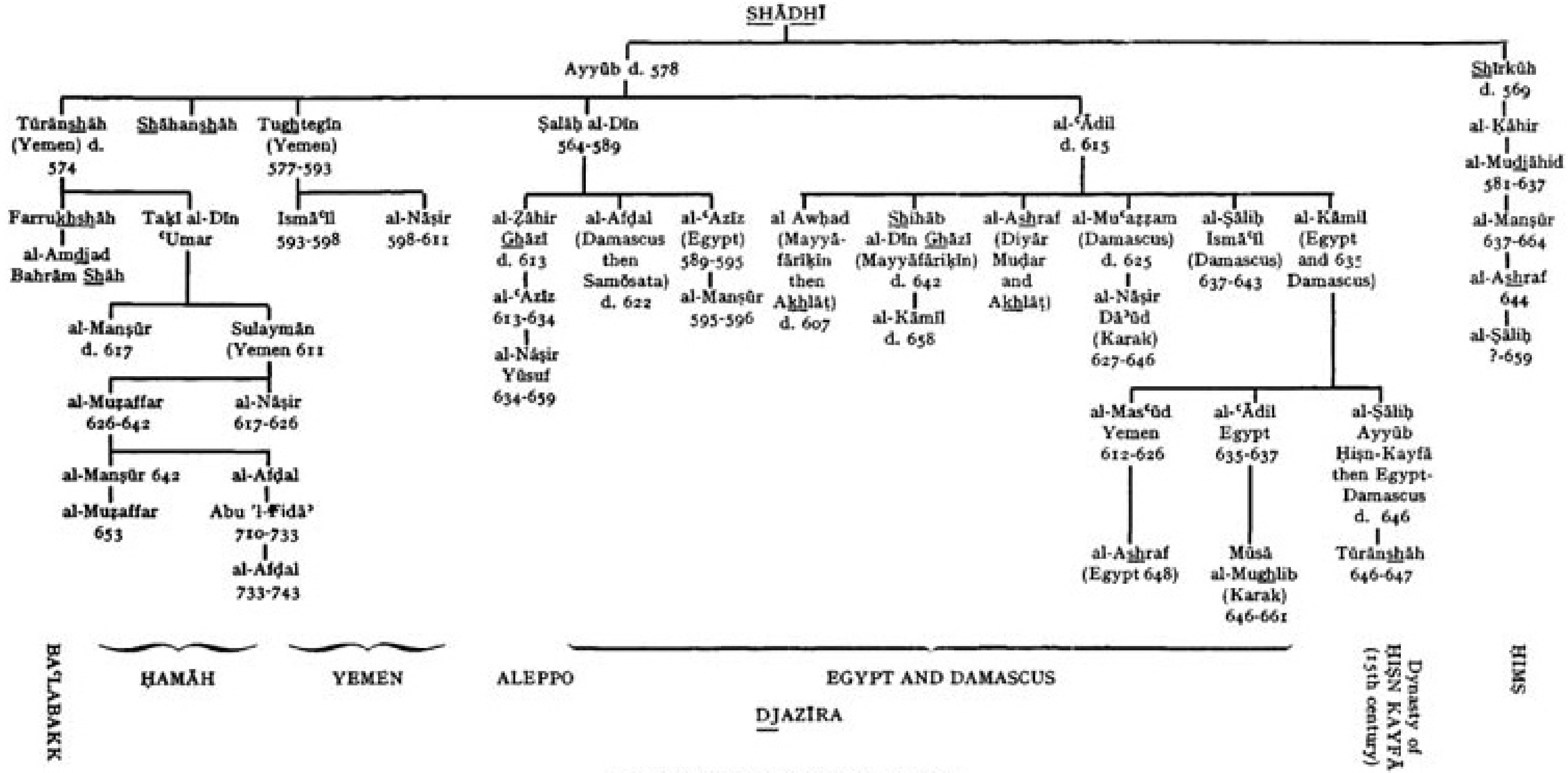

ABRIDGED GENEALOGICAL TABLE

(3 detailed tables in Zambaur)

On the whole, the essential sources for us continue to be the narrative sources, on which several comprehensive studies are to be found in the Introductions of Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 1940, and H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil* (in the press); for the times of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin*, in *Speculum*, xxv/i, 1950. For this first period, the main source is ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Barḳ al-Shāmī*, of which only two fragments exist, at Oxford (cf. H. A. R. Gibb, in *WZKM*, LII, 1953), but of which more or less complete summaries are given in all the subsequent literature and especially in Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo ed. 1287/1872, 2 vols. (the first part of a new critical edition by Hilmy M. Ahmad appeared in Cairo in 1956; it goes as far as 558/1163); extracts in *Hist. Or. Crois.*, iv and v); it should be completed by *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, idem, ed. C. Landberg, devoted to the events of 1187 (cf. J. Kraemer, *Der Sturz des Königreichs Jerusalems in der Darstelling* des —, Wiesbaden 1952). The other important Arabic sources are Ibn Shaddād, *Life of Saladin*, in *Hist. Or. Crois.* iii; Ibn Abī Ṭayyī quoted in Abū Shāma, op. cit.; the *Bustān al-Djāmiʿ*, ed. Cl. Cahen, in *BEO*, Damascus 1937 and the Christian Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian, *Churches*, etc., ed. Evetts. For the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr becomes the main Arab source, to which must be added the last pages of Ibn Abī 'l-Damm (Oxford MS. Marsh 360), Ibn Naṭīf (MS. Leningrad IM 159 ed. in preparation by H. Gottschalk: a few extracts in Amari, *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, ii, Appendices; continually utilised in Ibn al-Furāt, *infra*), the extracts from the Memoirs of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf preserved in the *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* of Dhahabī and the authors quoted for the following period. For the 7th/13th century of the Ayyūbids as a whole and especially from about 1220, the fundamental source is the *Mufarridj al-Kurub* of Ibn Wāṣil (ed. undertaken by al-Shayyāl, who so far has published the first two volumes stopping at the death of Saladin; extracts quoted in the *Bibliothèque des Croisades* of Michaud, iv (by Reinaud) and in the comments on the translation of Maḳrīzī by Blochet in *ROL*, ix-xi); this work and the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (facsimile ed. Jewett, on which is based that of Ḥaydarābād, ii, 1952, inadequate, cf. *Arab.* 1957/2 review by Cl. Cahen), especially important for Damascus, are the two sources used almost exclusively for the whole of subsequent historiography; the overrated Abu 'l-Fidāʾ in the main only reproduces the work of his less noble compatriot for this period; Ibn Wāṣil had previously written a more concise *Taʾrīkh Ṣāliḥī*, based on different sources of information (unpublished). To these authors must be added especially Abū Shāma, *Dhayl ʿala 'l-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo ed. 1366/1947, the Christian al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd (edition in *BÉt.Or.*, 1958, by Cl. Cahen), the *History of the Partiarchs of Alexandria* (this part unpublished, quotations, among others, in Blochet-Maḳrīzī *loc. cit.*), the extracts of Saʿd al-Dīn (Cl. Cahen, *Une source pour l'Histoire des Croisades, les Mémoires de* —, in *Bull. Fac. Lettres Strasbourg*, xxviii-7, 1950); for Northern Syria, the *Zubda* of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm (ed. undertaken by Sami Dahān; meanwhile, Blochet trans. in *ROL*, iv-vi) and the *Bughya* by the same author (unpublished), and ʿIzz al-Dīn Shaddād, cf. *infra*; the ʿIrāḳī point of view is to be found in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith, etc.*, ed. Must. Djawād; the Khwārizmian in Nasawī, *Vie de Djalāl al-dīn*, ed. trans. Houdas; the Saldjūḳid (of Rūm) in Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma (somewhat abbreviated: in Persian). See also the historians of the Mongols and of the first Mamlūks. Among later Arab historians who have preserved some original materials, Djazarī (Cl. Cahen, in *Oriens*, IV/1, 1951, 151-3), Dhahabī (ed. in preparation), Nuwayrī (Cairo ed.), Ibn al-Furāt (this part unpublished), Maḳrīzī (*Sulūk*, ed. Must. Ziadā; *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ ed. and, for the beginning, ed. Wiet, the only good edition). For the Yemen under the Ayyūbids, better than the celebrated Khazradjī (ed. trans. *Gibb Mem. Ser.*), of late composition, the contemporary Ibn Mudjāwir (ed. Löfgren) and Hamdānī (Brockelmann, I 323, unpublished). For the principality of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, the anonymous Vienna manuscript studied in Cl. Cahen, *Contributions etc.* cited above. A general history of the whole Ayyūbid family was composed at the beginning of the 9th/15th century by an anonymous Syrian (Brit. Mus. Add. 7311, unpublished). On the whole, too many important sources are still in manuscript form and their publication (at least photographically) is a pressing desideratum. Translated extracts from the Arabic historians will be found in F. Gabrieli, *Storici arabi delle Crociate*, Rome 1957, and J. Østrup, *Arabiske Krøniker til Korstogenes Periode*, Copenhagen 1906.

To the historians must be added the biographers, not only Ibn Khallikān, but also Ibn al-Kifṭī (ed. Lippert) and Ibn Abī ʿUsaybiʿa (ed. Aug. Muller), and the geographers, Yāḳūt, Ibn Saʿīd (unpublished), and especially ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād (Northern Syria, ed. Ledit in *Machriq*, 1935; Aleppo, ed. Sourdel, Damascus 1958; Damascus, ed. Dahān 1957; Djazīra, analysis by Cl. Cahen in *REI*, 1934; further extracts by Sobernheim in *Centenario di Amari*, ii, (Baʿlbak) and in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Arab.* passim), historical and administrative, to be completed by Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAdjamī, *Les Trésors d'Or*, analysis and trans. Sauvaget, 1950, and ʿUlaymī, *Description de Damas*, ed. Sauvaire, in *JA*, 1894.

As administrative treatises must be cited (besides the extracts preserved by Maḳrīzī) Ibn al-Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al Dawānīn* (ed. Atiya, 1943), Ibn Shīt al-Kurshī, *Maʿālim al-Kitāba*, ed. Khūrī Ḳusṭantīn Pasha, 1913; and the tracts of Nābulusī, *Akhbār al-Fayyūm*, ed. B. Moritz, cf. Cl. Cahen, *Les Impôts*, etc., quoted above, and *Lamʿ al-Ḳawānīn*, ed. Cl. Cahen to appear shortly, extracts by C. Owen in *JNES*, 1935; finally the *Nihāyat al-Rutba* of al-Shayzarī and the technical treatises like the treatise on gun-making, and the monetary treatise of Ibn Baʿra analysed by Ehrenkreutz in *Contributions etc.* quoted above; I do not know the *Tadhkira fi 'l-Ḥiyāl al-Ḥarbiyya* dedicated by ʿAlī al-Harawī to al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (Rescher in *MFOB*, v, 1912, 495 ed. in preparation by J. Sourdel-Thomine). The *dīwāns* of the poets should not be neglected.

Naturally non-Arab and non-Muslim literature must also be consulted, which cannot be given in detail here: especially the Latin and French historians of the Crusades and of the Latin Orient, and Syriac literature (Michael the Syrian, ed. and trans. Chabot; Bar-Hebraeus, ed. and trans.

Budge; *Chronique anonyme syriaque*, ed. Chabot, in *Corpus Script, or.*, iii, 14-15).

The epigraphical material has been collected in the *RCEA*, vii-ix; the inscriptions of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn studied by Wiet in *Syria*, iii. To the numismatic material provided by the usual catalogues, should be added the recent studies of Balog, Minost and Jungfleisch in *MIE* since 1950.

B. Modern Works. There is no complete general study on the Ayyūbids. The two best general accounts, though short, are those of G. Wiet in the *Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne* edited by Hanotaux, iv, and of H. A. R. Gibb in *History of the Crusades* (Philadelphia), i, (Saladin) 1955 and, ii (The Ayyūbids after Saladin) in the press. There is not even a serious biography of Saladin; the latest is that of A. Champdor, Paris 1956, and the least bad still that of Lane-Poole, New York 1898. Of the rest of the Ayyūbids, al-Kāmil alone has just been the subject of an important work, by H. Gottschalk (in the press; the same author has given notice of an article on Ayyūbid Yemen). The studies on various special problems have been quoted in the article. For trade, hardly anything new has been added from our point of view to the two old classical works of W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i, 1882, and of Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Mittelmeerromanen*, 1906, which view matters from the Western point of view. Some information on institutions is contained in W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1929. See also the general histories on the Crusades and the Latin Orient; F. Butcher, *The history of the church of Egypt*, 1897; and *supra* and *infra* the articles devoted to the individual rulers, as well as the section on *madrasa* in the article MASDJID.

(CL. CAHEN)

AL-ʿAYYŪĶ [see NUDJŪM].

ʿAZAB. An Arabic word meaning "an unmarried man or woman", "a virgin", applied to several types of fighting men under the Ottoman and other Turkish régimes between the 13th and the 19th centuries. The soldiers of various Ottoman formations, notably all those recruited by *dewshirme* [*q.v.*], were forbidden to marry before retirement; and it may be assumed that the earliest *ʿazab*s we read of —those employed as marine troops by the Aydln Oghullarl in the 13th century—were bachelors recruited from coastal villages. The term was probably used likewise for marines both in the Saldjūķid state of Ķonya and in those of its smaller successor states that were possessed of seaboards.

Presumably because the men concerned were again unmarried, the term *ʿazab* was also applied from early Ottoman times to the light archers, recruited *ad hoc* for campaigns in whatever numbers were considered necessary, whose office in battle it was immediately to face the enemy from a station in front of the artillery and the Janissaries and to open the fight with a hail of arrows. These *ʿazab*s were drawn one from every twenty or thirty "*khānes*" in the provinces, and supported whilst on service from the contributions of those *khānes*, which stood in lieu of tax payments (cf. ʿAWĀRIḌ).

From the middle of the 14th century, further, there were *ʿazab*s employed in the garrisons of Ottoman fortresses. These *ķalʿe ʿazablarl*, as they were called, were organised more or less like the Janissary and other *odjaķ*s recruited by *dewshirme* (though not so recruited themselves) and paid in cash by the Treasury. Though they may all have started their service as bachelors, these men must have been permitted eventually to marry, since places in these corps were heritable by competent sons. After the 16th century the *ķalʿe ʿazablarl* were sometimes employed as bridge-builders and sappers (*laghlmdjllar*). It is perhaps these *ʿazab*s of whom D'Ohsson states (*Tableau*, vii, 309) that they were charged with the care of munitions and were incorporated in the corps of the *djebedji*s, and again (*Tableau*, vii, 363) that though really *djebedji*s, they were often called *ʿazab*s, particularly in Egypt. This "incorporation" presumably took place after the *djebedji*s ceased being recruited by *dewshirme*. Another late reference to "frontier" *ʿazab*s is made by Juchereau de Saint-Denys (*Révolutions* i, 90). Writing of the second decade of the 9th century (between the collapse of the *Niẓām-i Djedīd* and the abolition of the Janissaries), he lists the *ʿazab*s, under *Serḥadd Ķullarl*, as élite infantry stationed on the frontiers.

Finally, the Ottomans continued the tradition of the Aydln Oghullarl in employing *ʿazabs* at sea, as Treasury-paid musketeers, organised in companies under officers (*reʾis*) who might rise either to the command of galleys or to some of the chief posts at the Admiralty (next to which there was an *ʿazab* barracks), as for instance its *kāhyallk*. The men of the Admiralty *odjaķ* were indeed also known as *ʿazab*s, who, like those employed at sea, were Treasury-paid. Their duty was to guard war-ships whilst in dock.

Bibliography: Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾidj al-Wuķūʿāt*, i, 144; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, loc. cit.; Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung*, etc. ii, 280, 287-8; Zinkeisen, iii, 202; *EI*¹ art. *Lewend* (Kramers); *IA* art. *ʿAzab* (Uzunçarşılı); Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i (part I) index.

(H. BOWEN)

ĀZĀD, ABUʾL-KALĀM [see Supplement].

ĀZĀD, MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN, an Indian Muslim writer and poet, who wrote in Urdū and is noted for the unique charm of his agreeable and picturesque style and for the important rôle he played in the field of literature and education. He was born in Delhi about 1834, being the son of Mawlawī Muḥammad Bāķir, himself a pioneer of journalism in Northern India. After the political upheaval of 1857, he left Delhi and after several years' wandering arrived in Lahore in 1864. He spent the rest of his life there in the service of the education department of the Government of the Pandjāb, writing among other things text-books for students of the Urdū and Persian languages. He also made journeys to Persia and Central Asia. He died at Lahore in 1910.

His principal works are: *Āb-i Ḥayāt*, a history of Urdū poetry, with an introduction on the history of the Urdū language; it is his greatest and best-known work, which is celebrated and highly prized not only for its subject-matter but also for its vivid and graphic style; *Sukhandān-i Pārs*, on Persian philology and the development of Persian prose style; *Nigāristān-i Pārs*, dealing with Persian poets of India and Persia; *Nayrang-i Khayāl*, a collection of allegorical essays, translated or adapted from the English; *Darbār-i Akbarī*, which deals with the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar the Great and his brilliant court, and *Ķiṣaṣ-i Hind*, or stories from Indian history. He also collected and edited the poetical compositions of his master, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Dhawķ.

He used Āzād as his pen-name; and along with Alṭaf Ḥusayn Ḥālī [*q.v.*] he is regarded as a pioneer

of the new school of Urdū poetry, which is characterised by naturalness and greater breadth of subject and treatment and also by increased attention paid to thought and matter as opposed to language and form.

Bibliography: B R. Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allāhābād 1927; M. Bāḳir in *Supplement to the Oriental College Magazine* (Lahore) for Feb., 1939; Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ, *Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, his Life, Work and Influence*, Doctoral Dissertation in the Pandjāb University, 1939; S. M. Ḥusayn Riḍawī, *Āb-i Ḥayāt ka Tanḳīdī Muṭālaʿa*, Lucknow 1953.

(Sh. Inayatullah)

ĀZĀD BILGRĀMĪ, Mīr Ghulām ʿAlī b. Nūḥ al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāsiṭī, b. at Bilgrām on 25 Ṣafar 1116/ 29 June 1704; he received his early education from Mīr Ṭufayl Muḥammad Bilgrāmī (*Subḥat al-Mardjān* 99-4) and later studied with Mīr ʿĀbd al-Djalīl Bilgrāmī (*Maʾāthir al-Kirām*, i, 257-77). In 1151/1738 he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina and learnt *ḥadīth* from Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt Sindī al-Madanī and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ṭanṭāwī (*Maʾāthir al-Kirām*, i, 162). He returned to India in 1152/1739, and settled at Awrangābād where he died in 1200/ 1786; he was buried at Khuldābād (Deccan) (T. W. Haig, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, Allāhābād 1907, 58).

When his friend Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Shāh Nawāz Khān [*q.v.*], *dīwān* of Ḥaydarābād, was murdered and his house plundered (1171/1758), Āzād recovered most of the dispersed fragments of the unfinished MS. of the latter's *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, which he re-arranged and edited. The works of Āzād himself cover *ḥadīth*, belles-lettres, history, biography and poetry. His Arabic *ḳaṣāʾid* in praise of the Prophet have earned him the title of Ḥassān al-Hind, after the Prophet's panegyrist Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*].

His notable works are: In Arabic: (1) *Subḥat al-Mardjān fī Āthār Hindustān* (lith. Bombay 1303/ 1886), incorporating two independent works by the author: *Shammāmat al-ʿAnbar* and *Tasliyat al-Fuʾād*, the former containing references to India in Ḳurʾānic commentaries and *ḥadīth* and the latter on biographies of Indian scholars and *ʿulamāʾ*. The chapter on rhetorical figures was later translated into Persian by the author himself under the title of *Ghizlān al-Hind* (MSS. Āṣafiyya, i, 169; Ethé, 2135; Berlin 1051); (2) *Dīwān* in 3 vols. (Ḥaydarābād 1300-1/1882-3) containing more than 3000 verses; a selection from his seven other *dīwāns* entitled *al-Sabʿa al-Sayyāra* was published at Lucknow, 1328/1910; (3) *Ḍawʾ al-Darārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, an incomplete commentary on al-Bukhārī (MS. Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ, Lucknow, 99); In Persian: (4) *Khizāna-i ʿĀmira*, alphabetically arranged notices of some 135 ancient and modern Persian poets with a brief history of the Marathas, (Cawnpore 1871, 1900); (5) *Maʾāthir al-Kirām*, on the pious and learned men of Bilgrām (lith. Agra 1910); (6) *Sarw-i Āzād*, biographies of 143 Persian and Urdū poets of India (Lahore 1913); (7) *Yad-i Bayḍāʾ*, alphabetically arranged lives of 532 poets, originally compiled at Sīwastān (i.e. Sihwān, in Sind, where he was *nāʾib Waḳāʾiʿ-nigār*) in 1145/1732 (MS. Āṣafiyya, iii, 162; Ind. Off. 3966 (b); (8) *Rawḍat al-Awliyāʾ*, a short compendium on the saints of Deccan (lith. Awrangābād 1310/1892). For a detailed list of his works see *GJASB (L)*, 1936, 119-30; Shams Allāh Ḳādirī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām* i, 32-5; Storey, i/2, 855-66.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

AZAḲ, Russian Azov; called Tana by the Italians after the ancient Tanaïs (the Old-Tana of Jos. Barbaro) is first found on an Italian map of 1306. The Turkish name Azaḳ has appeared on coins since 717/1317. First the Genoese around 1316, then the Venetians in 1332, established trade colonies in Azaḳ. It appears, however, to have remained essentially a Muslim-Tatar city which was administered by Tatar governors such as Muḥammad Khʷādja about 1334, Sichi-beg in 1347 and 1349, Tolobey about 13ˢ8. A mint of the khāns was active there as late as 1411. An emporium of the East-West trade in the 14th century, Azaḳ declined perhaps more from the competition of the Genoese Kaffa than Djani-bek's hostile policy toward the Italian colonies (1343-1358) or Tīmūr's depredations (September 1396). Conquered by the Ottomans in 1475, Azaḳ is described as a *ḳaḍā* of the *sandjaḳ* of Kaffa in the *defter* of 1545. The town consisted of three parts: 1. Venedik-ḳalʿesi (in Ewliyā Čelebi, Frenk-hisārī) with 198 Muslim families including garrison; 2. Djeneviz-ḳalʿesi (later Orta-ḥiṣār) with 109 Muslim families including garrison; 3. Toprak-ḳalʿe with 500 Tatar akındjı and 104 families of fishermen and 57 Greek families. Extensive fisheries and large production of caviar as well as slave-trade were the chief economic resources in this period. Later when the Cossacks, Čerkes and Russians began threatening it Azaḳ was transformed into the main Ottoman bastion in the North. The first serious siege was attempted by Dimitrash, a chief of the Cossacks, in 1559. They eventually captured it in 1637, but had to abandon it in 1642. As the attacks were renewed in subsequent years especially in 1656 and 1659, the Ottomans made it stronger than ever (in 1666 Ewliyā Čelebi saw a garrison of 13 thousand men and numerous cannons in it) and later erected new fortifications around it such as Sedd-i Islām. After an unsuccessful attack in 1695, Peter the Great captured Azaḳ on August 6, 1696. Compelled to surrender it at the treaty of the Prut (1711), he only evacuated it two years later. The Russians recaptured it in 1736.

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(H. Inalcik)

AZAL [see ḳidam.]

AZALAY (current orthography: *azalai*), a term for the great caravans made up of several thousand camels (or to be more precise, dromedaries), which in the spring and autumn carry the salt from the salt deposits of the Southern Sahara to the tropical

regions of the Sahel and the Sudan. This salt, which used to be exchanged by the Blacks against its weight in gold, if one is to believe al-Bakrī (trans. de Slane, 2nd. ed., 327), is exchanged today for food-stuffs: rice, millet, sugar, tea ... The salt from Idjil, to the West, which has perhaps been known since the 6th century A.D. (Anonymus of Ravenna), is collected by manumitted slaves of the Kounta (Moors) of Chinguiti and transported by the Moors to the markets of the Western Sudan. The salt deposits of Taoudenni have replaced those of Teghaza, a source of wealth of the kings of Mali and of Gao (14th-15th centuries), and have been worked since 1585; the salt, after being collected by sedentary miners, is taken to Timbuctoo by the Kounta and by a few small Touareg caravans; it is distributed throughout the whole of the Central Sudan and the Upper Volta. To the East, the salt deposits of Bilma, Seguedine and Fachi are worked by the Kanouri and the salt transported by *azalay* by the Touareg of Aïr and Damergou; it is sold in Nigeria and in the Niger Colony. The salt of Borkou (Faya) and of Ennedi furnishes supplies to the blacks of the plains of French Equatorial Africa. As regards the salt of Amadror, to the North of Tamanrasset, this is collected and transported by the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer.

The *azalaï* is the only type of great caravan which has survived. The salt trade has always been a source of wealth to the nomads of the Southern Sahara. It persists, in spite of the competition from salt from Europe and of the sea salt deposits of Kaolak.

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AZALĪ, name given to those Bābīs [*q.v.*] who followed Mīrzā Yaḥyā, called Ṣubḥ-i Azal [*q.v.*], after the death of the Bāb.

AʿẒAMGARH, town and head-quarters of the district of the same name in the province of Uttar Pradesh (India), situated in 26° 5′ N. and 83° 12′ E. on the river Tōns, notorious for its frequent and devastating floods; it was founded in 1076/1665-6 by Aʿẓam Khān I, a scion of an influential Rādjpūt family, whose head Abhīman Singh, embraced Islām during the reign of Djahāngīr (1014/1605-1037/1627) and was named Dawlat Khān. Population in 1951: 26,632; district: 2, 102, 423. A series of battles between the successors of Aʿẓam Khān I and the Nawābs of Awadh for political supremacy culminated in the battle of Djawnpūr in 1175/1761-2, which resulted in the death of both the Rādja of Aʿẓamgarh and the *ʿāmil* (revenue collector) of Niẓāmābād (Awadh). Aʿẓamgarh was then occupied by Faḍl-i ʿAlī Khān, ruler of Ghāzīpūr. On the defeat of Shudjāʿ al-Dawla at Buxar in 1178/1764-5 at the hands of the British, Aʿẓam Khān II returned to his ancestral estate. On his death in 1185/1771-2 the entire estate was annexed to the kingdom of Awadh. In 1216/1801-2 it was ceded by Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān, Nawāb of Awadh, to the East India Company. The town was badly disturbed during the Mutiny of 1857 when the local prison was stormed and the inmates were set free.

The dilapidated fort built by Aʿẓam Khān I and a temple erected towards the close of the 12th/18th century are the only buildings of note. Aʿẓamgarh has been frequently visited by serious floods causing widespread damage. The floods of 1871, 1894, 1896, 1898 and 1956 were particularly heavy. It has earned a bad name for Hindū-Muslim riots, which frequently took place.

Aʿẓamgarh is now famous as a centre of cultural activity, being the seat of the Dār al-Muṣannifīn (Shiblī Academy) and its Urdū organ the "*Maʿārif*".

Bibliography: *Azamgarh District Gazetteer*, 1935, 39ff.; *Imp. Gazetteer of Ind.* 1908, vi, 155-6, 162-3; Sulaymān Nadwī, *Ḥayāt-i Shiblī*, Aʿẓamgarh 1362/1943, 50-5; Gird'hārī (Lāl), *Intiẓām-i Rādj-i Aʿẓamgarh*, (Edinburgh Univ. MS. No. 237); Amīr ʿAlī Riḍawī, *Sargudhasht-i Rādjahā-i Aʿẓamgarh*, (Edinburgh Univ. MS. No. 377); Anon., *Tāʾrīkh-i Aʿẓamgarh* (I.O. MS. 4038); Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *A History of Aʿẓamgarh* (in the Press). (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

AZAMMŪR (Fr. Azemmour, Span. and Port. Azamor), town on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, about 75 km. South-West of Casablanca and 10 km. North-East of Mazagan, on the left bank and some 3 km. from the mouth of the Wādī Umm al-Rabīʿ (Oum er-Rbiʿa). It possessed approximately 15,000 inhabitants in 1953, mostly Muslims, with a small Jewish minority (*mellāḥ*) and a very small number of Europeans. The name is connected with the Berber *azemmūr* (wild olive tree). The town is famous for shad fishing, which is one of the population's principal means of livelihood and takes place each year from December to March. Its patron saint is a *sayyid* who lived at the time of the Muʾminid dynasty: Mūlāy Būshʿīb (= Mawlāy Abū Shuʿayb).

The history of Azammūr remains obscure until the time of its contacts with the Spanish and Portuguese. The former, setting out from the maritime coast of Lower Andalusia, appear to have made several incursions, between a date which it has not been possible to fix and the ratification at Toledo in 1480 of the Hispano-Portuguese treaty of Alcáçovas, which ceded the Atlantic part of Morocco to Portugal. In 1486, the town appears under the sovereignty of the King of Portugal, who was then John II (1481-1495). Twenty years later, doubtless at the instigation of a party formed among the local chieftains, the Portuguese wished to occupy it effectively; in August 1508, during the reign of Manuel the Fortunate (1495-1521), they made an unsuccessful attempt to carry this out; they repeated their efforts at the beginning of September 1513, under the command of the Duke of Braganza, and this time their efforts were completely successful. As in their other places in Morocco, the Portuguese built strong fortifications at Azammūr the whole of which still exists. When their positions in Southern Morocco were shaken by the fall of Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué in March 1541 (see art. agadir), King John III (1521-7) decided to concentrate all his forces at Mazagan, and had Azammūr evacuated at the same time as Safi, towards the end of October 1541 (see aṣfī). Azammūr, which thus became a centre of the holy war, from then onwards lived in a state of permanent hostility with Mazagan, until the Portuguese abandoned the latter place in 1769. Azammūr was first occupied by French troops in 1908 and was incorporated into the French Protectorate in 1912.

Azammūr is probably the home of Estebanico de Azamor, a Moroccan negro, celebrated in the history of the exploration of the American continent, who took part in 1528 -1536 in the great trek of the Spaniard Cabeza de Vaca across the southern part of the present-day United States.

Bibliography: See the works listed under the article, AṢFI, especially *Sources inédites*, etc., and Ricard, *Études*, etc. In addition: *Villes et tribus du Maroc*, xi, *Région des Doukkala*, ii, *Azemmour et sa banlieue*, Paris 1932 (the historical

part is rather uncertain), and Ch. Le Coeur, *Le rite et l'outil*, Paris 1939. (R. Ricard)

ĀZAR, the commonly accepted name of Abraham's father, based on Ķur'ān, vi, 74 "When Abraham said to his father, Āzar: 'Dost thou take idols as gods?' ", where Āzar is taken as a proper name, in apposition to "father", though some of the commentators, aware that the name of this father was Terah, explain Āzar as an exclamation of disgust, an abusive epithet, or the name of an idol. The majority opinion, however, is that it is the name of Abraham's father, either a second name for Terah, as Israel was for Jacob, or a title. In any case it was recognised as a foreign word and is listed among the *mu'arrabāt* of the Ķur'ān. There can be little doubt that it is a deformation of the Hebrew Eleazar, the name of Abraham's faithful servant in the Genesis story which, as that story came to Muḥammad, was mistaken for the name of his father. [Cf. also IBRĀHĪM].

Bibliography: The commentaries on the passage: Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, v, 76; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 253 ff.; Tha'labī, *Ķiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1339, 51; Suyūṭī, *Itķān*, 318; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-Nihāya*, i, 142; Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr*, ii, 134; S. Fraenkel, in *ZDMG*, vi, 72; A. Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of Qur'ān*, 53-55; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 85, 86. (A. Jeffery)

AZĀRIĶA, One of the main branches of the Kharidjites [*q.v.*]. The name is derived from that of its leader Nāfi' b. al-Azraķ al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥanẓalī, who, according to al-Ash'arī, was the first to cause disputes among the Khāridjites by supporting the thesis according to which all adversaries should be put to death together with their women and children (*isti'rāḍ*). As regards the man himself, it is known that he was the son of a manumitted blacksmith of Greek origin and that in 64/683 he came to the aid of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, beseiged in Mecca by the troops of the Syrian general Ḥusayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī. Once the seige was raised, Nāfi' with other Khāridjite leaders, including Nadjda b. 'Āmir and 'Abd Allāh b. Ibāḍ, returned to Baṣra, where he at once took advantage of the disturbances which had broken out on the announcement of the death of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya. It was the Khāridjites under his orders who assassinated the governor nominated by 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-'Atakī, and who subsequently refused to recognise the governor sent by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, 'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allāh, so that the latter was obliged to use force to gain possession of the town; in this he was helped by the inhabitants, who found it difficult to tolerate the Khāridjites' importunities. Expelled from Baṣra, Nāfi' encamped at the gates of the town and, after collecting reinforcements, succeeded in defeating 'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allāh in the course of fierce fighting and in retaking the town. To re-establish the situation, Ibn al-Zubayr dispatched an army under the command of the general Muslim b. 'Ubays. It is probable that it was on this occasion that the opposition between the moderate elements and the extremist elements arose in Baṣra which led to the division of the Khāridjites into Ibāḍites and Azāriķa, an event placed by tradition in that year (65/684-5). Whilst the former, less courageous, preferred not to fight Muslim and remained in Baṣra, the latter, resolved to fight to the end, left the town and under the leadership of Nāfi' withdrew to Khūzistān (al-Ahwāz). Muslim caught up with them at Dūlāb: in the severe fighting which ensued, both Nāfi' and the Zubayrid general met their deaths (65/685). The Azāriķa, however, reorganised themselves under the command of 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Māḥūz and continued the struggle until the enemy troops, exhausted and discouraged, withdrew to Baṣra. For several months the region between Baṣra and a-Ahwāz was the scene of massacres, looting and arson, the Azāriķa massacring all who refused to recognise their sect. The population of Baṣra in alarm called upon al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, who agreed to lead the struggle against the Azāriķa. After dislodging them from the Tigris, he inflicted a severe defeat on them near Sillabrā to the East of Dudjayl, (66/686), following which they withdrew into Fārs. 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Māḥūz was killed in the fighting and the command passed to his brother Zubayr, who, having reorganised his supporters within a short space of time, again set out on a campaign. Descending once more into 'Irāķ, he advanced as far as al-Madā'in, which he sacked, massacring the inhabitants. But, faced by an army from Kūfa, he turned about and attacked Iṣfahān, which was governed by 'Attāb b. Warķā'. In an engagement near the town, the Azāriķa suffered a reverse and, on the death of Zubayr b. al-Māhūẓ, they fled in complete disorder into Fārs and thence into the mountains of Kirmān (68/687-8). It was a warrior from Luristān, Ķaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a, who, combining fierce energy with exceptional gifts as an orator and a poet, succeeded in rekindling their enthusiasm and reorganising their ranks. After a period of time, he became active and, having occupied al-Ahwāz, descended once again into 'Irāķ and advanced towards Baṣra. The new governor of the town, Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, convinced that only al-Muhallab would be capable of opposing the Azāriķa, recalled him from Mawṣil, where he had sent him as governor, and entrusted him with the direction of the campaign. But, although al-Muhallab succeeded in launching a wide offensive against the Azraķī condottiere, the latter succeeded in keeping him in check for a long time and in holding his position on the left bank of the Dudjayl, even after 'Irāķ had fallen into the hands of 'Abd al-Malik following the defeat of Muṣ'ab at Maskin (71/690). The situation did not change until al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, having completed the pacification of Western Arabia, took over the government of 'Irāķ (75/694). The latter confirmed al-Muhallab in his command of the operations and ordered him to go over to the attack at once. Then it was that there started a long series of campaigns, conducted by al-Muhallab against the Azāriķa, which led to their being increasingly relegated to the periphery of the Empire. For, in spite of their fierce resistance, they were compelled to abandon Dudjayl, retreat to Kāzirūn and finally to evacuate Fārs and withdraw into Kirmān. Having established their headquarters in the town of Djīruft, they managed to hold their positions for a few years until the divergencies which arose in their army between Arabs and *mawālī* led to a split. Whilst Ķaṭarī with the Arabs was compelled to abandon the town and to take refuge in Ṭabaristān, the *mawālī* continued to hold Djīruft under the command of 'Abd Rabbih al-Kabīr (in addition to whom the sources speak of an 'Abd Rabbih al-Ṣaghīr, who is supposed to have commanded a second group of dissidents). Whilst al-Muhallab was easily able to deal with the Azāriķa remaining in Kirmān and massacred them all, the Kalbī general Sufyān b. al-Abrad, who had joined the governor of Ṭabaristān, caught up with Ķaṭarī in the mountains of this region and inflicted a

decisive defeat on him. The brave condottiere, having fallen from his horse and been abandoned by his own men, was discovered and killed (78-79/698-99). His head was taken to Damascus to be shown to the Caliph. The remnants of the Azāriḳa who, under the leadership of ʿAbīda b. Hilāl, had barricaded themselves in at Sadhawwar, near Kūmis, after a prolonged siege were exterminated in an attempted sortie. In this manner the revolt, which of all the Khāridjite disturbances was undoubtedly the most dangerous to the unity of the Muslim Empire and the most terrible by reason of its savage fanaticism, came to an end.

Doctrine: The principal religious theses which separate the Azāriḳa from the other Khāridjites are, according to al-Ashʿarī: 1. The exclusion from Islam (*barāʾa*) of the quietists (*al-ḳaʿada*); 2. The examination (*miḥna*) of all who wished to join their army; 3. Regarding as unbelievers (*takfīr*) those Muslims who did not make the *hidjra* to them; 4. The slaughter of the women and children of their adversaries (*istiʿrāḍ*); 5. The exclusion from Islam (*barāʾa*) of those who recognised *taḳiyya* either in word or deed: 6. The children of the *mushrikūn* are in Hell, as are their parents. Further, according to al-Shahrastānī and al-Baghdādī: 7. Suppression of the stoning of adulterers which is not prescribed by the Ḳurʾān; 8. The possibility of God's sending a Prophet, whom He knows will of necessity become impious or who was so before his mission; further, according to Ibn Ḥazm: 9. Amputation of the thief's hand, *i.e.* arm, from the humerus; 10. Women during the menses must perform the prayers and observe ritual fasting; 11. Ban on killing those who acknowledged that they were Jews, Christians or Zoroastrians (evidently because they enjoyed the *dhimma*).

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AZARQUIEL [see al-Zarḳālī].

ʿAZĀZĪL, fallen angel or *Djinn* in the legendary tradition of Islam (does not occur in the *Ḳurʾān*). He gets his name from the biblical ʿAzāzēl (Leviticus xvi, 8, 10, 26), perhaps demon of the desert (see L. Koehler, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 693). In point of fact the Muslim tradition extends and develops that of some of the Apocrypha (Enoch and the Apocalypse of Abraham) and of Jewish texts, in which ʿAzāzēl is more or less connected with the fallen angels ʿUzza and ʿAzāʾēl (in Muslim tradition, Hārūt and Mārūt, [*q.v.*]); the *ḥadīth*, however, would appear to innovate in considering ʿAzāzʾēl as the name of Iblīs [*q.v.*] before his fall, a tradition which is traced back to Ibn ʿAbbās and which is even repeated in *al-Insān al-Kāmil* of al- Djīlī.

Bibliography: the article *Asasel* in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* iii, 418-421 (Jehoschua Gutmann) gives the previous bibliography; L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, passages indicated in the index (Philadelphia 1946, 52) s.v. *Azazel*; Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, Tübingen 1951, especially 69 and 114; B. J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels*, Philadelphia 1956, passages indicated in index s.v. *Azazel*; Ṭabarī, i, 83; idem, *Tafsīr*, on ii, 34 [32], Cairo 1321, i, 173; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-Madjālis*, 32; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 539; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, Paris 1957, 347. (G. Vajda)

AZD (by assimilation from Asd, both spellings are current), name of two ancient Arab tribal groupings in the highlands of ʿAsīr (Azd Sarāt) and in ʿUmān (Azd ʿUmān), which united in Basra and Khurāsān in Islamic times. Hence the later reports that the Azd were a tribe in Yaman, of whom part migrated to the north and part to the east, after the breach of the Maʾrib dam. One cannot, however, prove any basic relationship between these two tribes of the same name. In the genealogical system (al-Azd b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ, where al-Azd is the surname of the tribal ancestor Dirʾ/Darrāʾ b. al-Ghawth) there is a fusion not only of the Azd Sarāt and the Azd ʿUmān, but also the Ghassān, Khuzāʿa, al-Aws and Khazradj appear as part of the Azd in it. The name Azd, however, can only be applied to those tribes who derive from Naṣr b. al-Azd (in Sarāt and ʿUmān), to the Bāriḳ and Shakr (Sarāt), derived from ʿAdī b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr Muzayḳiyāʾ, to the al-ʿAtīk and al-Ḥadjr (ʿUmān), derived from ʿImrān b. ʿAmr Muzayḳiyāʾ, and to the tribes of al-Hinw b. al-Azd, Ḳarn b. ʿAbd Allah b. al-Azd, ʿArman, Almaʿ and Ḥidjina b. ʿAmr b. al-Azd (Sarāt).

The Azd Sarāt, who were well known as weavers, were largely settled, hence their homes remained essentially static. The tribes of Daws (Sulaym b. Fahm, Ṭarīf b. Fahm, Munhib b. Daws) and the Banū Māsikha were the ones furthest north, parts of them as far as north-east of Ṭāʾif, most of them on the upper Wādī Dawḳa. To the east and south-east of them were the tribes of Zahrān (Salāmān, Kadāda, ʿUbayd b. ʿUbra); further east, in the Sarāt Ghāmid were the Namir b. ʿUthman, al-Ghaṭārīf, Zāra, Athbāb, Lihb, Thumāla, Ghāmid, Ḳarn b. Aḥdjan and others. Their area reached from the upper Wādī Ḳanawnā eastwards. These tribes were separated from their relatives living further east by the Khathʿam. To the east of the Khathʿam were the al-Buḳūm (from Ḥawāla b. al-Hinw) in Turabā, the Banū Shakr (Banū Wālān) were to the north-west and the Ḳarn b. ʿAbd Allāh to the south of Tabāla. Further south, still in the Sarāt al-Ḥadjr, were the numerous branches of al-Ḥadjr b. al-Hinw (the most important were the Banū Shahr with the Bal-Asmar) who were in the area round Ḥalabā in the north and reached as far as the areas south of the Wādī Tanūma/Wādī

Bal-Asmar. Their main centres were: Ḥalabā, al-Khaḍrā᾽, Nimās, Tanūma. Some few lived further south still, towards the Wādī Ibil, as neighbours of the ʿAnz. The Bāriḳ lived in the area of the Wādī Bārīḳ to the west, enclosing the Khathʿam enclave from the south. On the whole they lived in the valleys, whilst the Khathʿam inhabited the highlands. A few groups of the Azd (Almaʿ, Yarfā b. al-Hinw and parts of the al-Ḥadjr b. al-Hinw) were settled as neighbours of the Kināna on the coast around Ḥalī. Originally, the Azd Sarāt had been much further south, and only in comparatively recent times did they penetrate to their later region, after continuous battles against the Khathʿam. Remnants were still living under the Banū Maʿāfir in Islamic times, south-west of Taʿizz, and under the Banū Awd in the Dathīna. The frequent term Shanū᾽a remains obscure. As the name appears as a war-cry in a poem by the poet Ḥādjiz b. ʿAwf, one may suppose that it is a genealogical rather than a geographic term. The current explanation (Shanū᾽a = al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. al-Azd) is obviously erroneous; which individual tribes belonged to the Shanū᾽a can no longer be ascertained.

The Azd ʿUmān consisted of those tribes which derived from Mālik b. Fahm in genealogy (Hunā᾽a, Farāhīd, Djahāḍim, Nawā, Ḳarādīs, Djarāmīz, ʿUḳā᾽a, Ḳasāmil, Ṣulaymī, Ashāḳir), some descended from Naṣr b. Zahrān (Yaḥmad, Ḥuddān, Maʿāwil) and those descended from ʿImrān b. ʿAmr Muzayḳiyā᾽, that is, the al-ʿAtīk and al-Ḥadjr b. ʿImrān (it is probable that the link with ʿImrān, which made them brother tribes of the Anṣār, was postulated in honour of the Muhallabids; the true link was preserved in the genealogy al-ʿAtīk b. al-Asd b. ʿImrān). There is little information concerning the sites on which the individual tribes lived. The Maʿāwil were in and around Ṣuḥār; the Yaḥmad and the Hunā᾽a in the neighbouring coastal areas. The Humaym (from Maʿn b. Mālik b. Fahm) were in Nazwā; al-ʿAtīk in Dabā and al-Ḥadjr nearby; the Ḥuddān were in the hinterland of the Pirate Coast. In between, there were some non-Azd tribes, particularly the Sāma b. Lu᾽ayy, who were later collectively known as the Nizār. The Banū Djudayd (from Ashāḳir) advanced in Islamic times to the west as far as Ẓufār Ḥaḍramawt, where they captured the sea-port of Raysūt after battles against the Mahra. Even in pre-Islamic times, parts of the Azd ʿUmān, such as the Salima b. Mālik b. Fahm, migrated to the islands in the Persian Gulf and to Kirmān. As fishermen, sea-farers and merchants, the Azd ʿUmān did not enjoy a good reputation among the other Arabs. The term Muzūn, occasionally applied to them, seems to have been a nickname. It may be supposed that they immigrated from the north and imposed themselves on the previously settled non-Arab inhabitants. The tradition which identifies them with the Asad (2), [*q.v.*] mentioned in inscriptions, and which makes them the allies of the Tanūkh, is erroneous.

Little is known of the Azd Sarāt in pre-Islamic times, as there are hardly any poetic writings; the only well-known poet was Ḥādjiz b. ʿAwf (Banū Salāmān). There is mention of battles against Khathʿam and Kināna, and fights by some tribes against the powerful clan of the Āl Ghiṭrīf (in the Wādī Ḳanawnā) at the beginning of the 7th century. Members of that clan are said to have been the keepers of the shrine of Manāt in Ḳudayd. It is possible that the name Ghiṭrīf in the genealogical lists of Medina from came that quarter. The following are mentioned as deities of the Azd Sarāt: Dhu ᾽l-Sharā, Dhu ᾽l-Khalaṣa (shrine in Tabāla), Dhu ᾽l-Kaffayn and ʿĀ᾽im. Still less is known of the early history of the Azd ʿUmān. Apart from mythical fights against Persians and Mahra, there is mention of one against the ʿAbd al-Ḳays. Bādjar/Nādjir is mentioned as their deity.

The Azd Sarāt accepted Islam in 10/631. Small risings during the *ridda* were quickly put down in 11/632 by ʿUthmān b. al-ʿĀṣ, the governor of Ṭā᾽if. As early as 13/634, there were a few Azd in the contingent which ʿUmar sent to the Euphrates. Some Azd Sarāt were amongst the first settlers in Basra and Kufa and some went to Egypt. On the whole, however, there was little emigration. Islam had already entered ʿUmān a few years before. This was due to a difficult situation into which the brothers Djayfar and ʿAbd—heads of the ruling group, the al-Djulandā (from Banū Maʿāwil in Ṣuḥār)—had got themselves in relation to al-ʿAtīk and other tribes of the inland regions under the leadership of Laḳīṭ b. Mālik al-ʿĀtikī. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ was sent to Ṣuḥār in the year 8/629, and with his assistance, the brothers managed to recover their power completely. Laḳīṭ tried his luck once more during the *ridda* and ʿAmr had to flee, but in the year 11/632 the rising was finally put down by ʿIkrima b. Abī Djahl. The Banu ᾽l-Djulandā remained practically complete rulers in ʿUmān for many years. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd b. al-Djulandā took over the rule in the time of ʿUthmān. He was killed in battle against the Khawāridj of the Yamāma in 67/686. His sons Saʿīd and Sulaymān succeeded him. It was not until the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj that the two brothers could finally be ousted from ʿUmān, and the territory re-incorporated. A great number of Azd ʿUmān had emigrated to Baṣra in 60-61/679-680. In the process, some of them remained in eastern Arabia, where an Azd emirate was founded in Zāra in the 3rd/9th century. They united themselves with the Azd Sarāt who were already settled in Baṣrā, made an alliance with the Rabīʿa and thereby became the opponents of the Tamīm. As early as 38/658, the Azd Sarāt of Basra had protected the governor Ziyād b. Abīhi against the Tamīm. Similarly, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād got assistance from the Azd, when, after the death of Yazīd I (64/683) the Tamīm rose against him. The subsequent tribal warfare, in the course of which Masʿūd b. ʿAmr al-ʿĀtikī, the leader of the united Azd and Rabīʿa was killed, with be settled by al-Aḥnaf, the leader of the Tamīm. The enmity, however, remained and spread to Khurāsān, especially when the Azd there (again in league with the Rabīʿa) became the leading tribe under the Muhallabids after 78/697. They were greatly offended at the removal of the Muhallabids and were largely responsible for the events which led to the defeat and death of Ḳutayba b. Muslim in 96/715. The Azd remained the leading group up to the beginning of the reign of Yazīd II in 101/720. The subsequent systematic extermination of the Muhallabids brought for them a time of subjugation by Ḳaysid governors. Their enmity against these contributed greatly to the fall of the Umayyads. During the troubled times at the end of the reign of the Umayyads, the Azd—apart from a few short-lived alliances—remained in opposition to the governor Naṣr b. Sayyār, a fact which considerably facilitated the advance of Abū Muslim. In Baṣra too, the Azd followed the ʿAbbāsids, having risen against Umayyad rule and having been beaten by Tamīm and Syrian troops. Ibāḍī teaching, brought

over from Basra, began to be accepted in ʿUmān atba out the same time. In 132/749, al-Djulandā b. Masʿūd, a member of the old ruling house of the Banu ʾl-Djulandā, was elected the first Imām. He was killed in 134/751, fighting against Khāzim b. Khuzayma, general of Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās. The subsequent years were very troubled ones for the country. Nominally, it was under an ʿAbbāsid governor, but there were constant battles, usually between the Banu ʾl-Djulandā—who were trying to re-establish their former rule—and the Ibāḍīs. It was not until 177/793 that the latter gained the upper hand and elected a new, rightful Imām. Henceforth, Nazwā became the seat of the Ibāḍī Imāms, who were, almost without exception, of the Yaḥmad tribe. After 230/844 troubles broke out again. In addition to the activities of the Banu ʾl-Djulandā, there was tribal warfare between the Azd and the Nizār. The Banū Sāma b. Luʾayy applied for assistance to the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid in 277/890, to help them against the Ibāḍīs. The last independent Imām, ʿAzzān b. Tamīm fell in 280/893, fighting against Muḥammad b. Nūr, the ʿAbbāsid governor of Baḥrayn. After 282/875, there were again Ibāḍī Imāms in Nazwa, but their powers remained limited.

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(G. Strenziok)

AL-AZDĪ, Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yazīd b. Muḥ. b. Iyās b. al-Ḳāsim, historian of Mosul, who died in 334/945-6. While the work on Mosul by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥ. b. Yazīd al-Mawṣilī, who lived a generation before Al-Azdī, appears to have been concerned only with the biographies of religious scholars, al-Azdī wrote both on the "Classes of Mosul *ḥadīth* Scholars" and on the political history of Mosul, either in one combined or in two separate works. His treatment of *ḥadīth* scholars is known only from quotations and seems to have been restricted to the limited information usually found in *ridjāl* works. The political annalistic history of the city, the first work on this particular subject, is preserved for the years 101/719-20—224/838-9. It treats the history of Mosul in the framework of general contemporary history and is a highly creditable achievement of early Muslim historiography.

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(F. Rosenthal)

AZEMMŪR [see azammūr].

AZERBAYDJĀN [see ādharbaydjān].

ĀZERĪ [see ādharī].

AẒFARĪ, Muḥammad Ẓahīr al-Dīn Mīrzā ʿAlī Bakht Bahādur Gūrgānī, a lineal descendant of Awrangzīb and a grandson of ʿIffat Ārāʾ Begum (daughter of Muḥammad Muʿizz al-Dīn Pādshāh (i.e. Djahāndār Shāh), son of Shāh ʿĀlam (Bahādur Shāh I), was born in the Red Fort at Delhi in 1172/1758 and educated within the fort. Like other princes of the line of Tīmūr, Aẓfarī was in receipt of an allowance from the East India Company. Aẓfarī decided in 1202/1789 to escape from the fort. Passing through Djaypur and Djodhpūr, Aẓfarī reached Lucknow where he was received with open arms by Āṣaf al-Dawla, the ruler of Awadh. For seven years he stayed there and then left for Patna *en route* to Maḳṣūdābād, (an old name for Murshidābād [*q.v.*]) where he arrived in 1211/1797. After a stay of some ten years he left for Madras, where he stayed until his death in 1234/1818.

Aẓfarī was polyglot and spoke Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdū fluently; during the closing years of his life he also learned a little English. He was well-versed in different sciences such as medicine, astrology, prosody, geomancy and metrics, but was more attracted by poetry. In addition to an Urdu *dīwān* he left behind a large collection of verses in Persian and Turkish. These Persian and Turkish collections as well as some of his works enumerated at the end of his memoirs (a Čaghatay grammar, *Tenkarī-Tār*—a Turkish-Hindī compilation) are, however, lost.

His chief work is the *Wāḳiʿāt-i Aẓfarī* (MSS Berlin 496, Rieu, iii, 1051 b; Madras, i, 450, 451) commenced in Murshidābād in 1211/1797 and completed at Madras in 1221/1806. It is an account of his wanderings and personal experiences in addition to being a valuable historical sketch of the ephemeral rise of Ghulām Ḳādir Rohilla [*q.v.*], who captured Delhi in 1203/1788 and blinded the Emperor Shāh ʿĀlam I. This work is also of great geographical value.

At the end of his above-noted memoirs Aẓfarī mentions 7 of his works, in addition to an earlier one: (i) *Lughat-i Turkī-i Čaghatāʾī* (compiled during his stay in Lucknow); (ii) A Persian translation in rhymed prose of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī's [*q.v.*] Turkish work *Maḥbūb al-Ḳulūb*; (iii) *Niṣāb-i Turkī*, (in verse); (iv) *Tenkarī Tār*, a Turkish-Hindi compilation on the lines of *Khāliḳ-bārī*, erroneously ascribed to Amīr Khusraw; (v) A Persian metrical translation, from Arabic, of the *Risāla-i Ḳabriyya*, a supposed treatise by Hippocrates on the signs of approaching death; (vi) *Nuskha-i Sāniḥāt*, detailing his experiences and tribulations. It contains 109 anecdotes; (vii) A metrical grammar of Čaghatay Turkish (composed at ʿAẓīmābād (Patna) on the request of Rāyīʾ Tīkā Rām, a hereditary *bakhshī* [*q.v.*] of his family; (viii) *Fawāʾid al-Mubtadī*.

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AL-AZHAR (al-Djāmiʿ al-Azhar). This great mosque, the 'brilliant one' (a possible allusion to Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ, although no ancient document

confirms this) is one of the principal mosques of present-day Cairo. This seat of learning, obviously Ismāʿīlī from the time of its Fāṭimid foundation (4th/9th century), whose light was dimmed by the reaction under the Sunnī Ayyūbids, regained all its activity—Sunnī from now on—during the reign of Sultan Baybars. Its influence is due on the one hand to the geographical and political position which Cairo occupies in the Muslim world (especially since the downfall of the Baghdād ʿAbbāsids), attracting scholars and students and accommodating many Maghribī pilgrims on their way; on the other hand it is due to the situation of this capacious mosque itself in that quarter which was up to the 19th century the epicentre of the town of Cairo. One institution of learning among many others in the Mamlūk era, it benefited from the almost complete disappearance of all the Cairo colleges under Ottoman domination, and became the only stronghold in the capital where the study of the Arabic language and religious learning could be maintained. From the 18th century, in spite of the decadence of its intellectual methods, its organisation, becoming consolidated, gained for it the dignity of a harmonious whole, at once a school and a university; and it can be considered from that time as the principal religious university of the Islamic world. In the 20th century al-Azhar, outgrowing the framework of its mosque, began to acquire a whole network of establishments of Islamic education. With its faculties in Cairo of university status, and with the various primary and secondary institutions in Egypt which are directly connected with it, its strength in 1953 was a total of 30,000 pupils and students, 4,500 of whom were foreigners. Some institutions situated outside Egypt, moreover, function within its orbit. Its work is at present carried out by its teachers, a certain number of whom are sent out to different Muslim countries; it makes its influence felt by its monthly journal and, in a special way, through the foreign pupils and students who come to take its courses in Egypt. A few of the latter remain in Cairo, but the majority return to their native lands, thus contributing to the propagation of the knowledge of the Arabic language and Muslim political and religious ideas.

I. Buildings and furnishings. The mosque of al-Azhar was conceived as the place of worship of the capital al-Ḳāhira which the conquering Fāṭimid general Djawhar al-Kātib al-Ṣiḳillī established as an entity, and where his master, the Fāṭimid Caliph Abū Tamīm Maʿadd al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh, his entourage and his troops, were intended to reside. The construction of the mosque, situated at the South and in the neighbourhood of the palace, began on 24 Djumādā I 359/4 April 970, and lasted for two years. It was inaugurated immediately, on 7 Ramaḍān 361/22 June 972, cf. the text of an inscription, now disappeared, on the cupola, with the date 360 (in al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1326, iv, 49 ff.). It was frequently referred to as the 'mosque of Cairo', *Djāmiʿ al-Ḳāhira*, and indeed played the same rôle in Fāṭimid Cairo as the mosque of ʿAmr at Miṣr-Fusṭāṭ or that of Ibn Ṭulūn at al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ. All three of these were the religious centres of their respective quarters, at that time small, independent, neighbouring towns; the Friday prayer was conducted in these three mosques, and the Caliph from time to time caused the *khuṭba* to be read in them. After 380/990 the new *al-Djāmiʿ al-Anwar* (al-Ḥākimī), which was built on the Northern side of Fāṭimid Cairo, enjoyed the same privileges as al-Azhar. Many Fāṭimid Caliphs worked for the enhancement of al-Azhar and enriched it with gifts and endowments. The original roof, which was too low, was soon raised, at an unknown date (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 53). Al-ʿAzīz Nizār (365-86/976-96)—who perhaps added the two (North and South) lateral *liwāns* of three bays—and al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (386-411/996-1020) made some improvements there. A deed of *waḳf* dating from the year 400/1009-10 throws light on the organisation of its personnel and on its apparatus of worship (but none on the teaching; text in *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 49 ff.). From this epoch dates the appearance of the vast central courtyard surrounded by porticos with Persian arches, as does that of the prayer hall of five parallel bays on the *ḳibla* wall. The construction is of brick rendered with either plain or chased plaster; the arches of the courtyard, of the prayer-hall and of the lateral *liwāns* are supported by slender columns which have been used for a second time. One must mention the work of the Caliphs al-Mustanṣir, al-Ḥāfiẓ (improvements, rearrangement of the Fāṭimid *maḳṣūra* from beside the west door) and al-ʿĀmir (wooden *miḥrāb* now in the Cairo museum). During the whole of this epoch al-Azhar, by its teaching, played an important rôle in Fāṭimid propaganda, which explains why it suffered from the Sunnī reaction of the Ayyūbids (rulers of Egypt from 567/1171-2 on). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had certain ornaments torn down (silver band from the *miḥrāb*), and took to himself the privilege of the *khuṭba*; the Friday prayers in al-Ḳāhira took place only in the al-Ḥākimī mosque. This mosque had been restored to Muslim worship by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn after having been used by the Franks as a church. Al-Azhar continued to exist, although on the decline (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī taught medicine there at the end of the 6th/12th century: see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 207), but the buildings were very neglected. With the Mamlūk sultans the situation changed. The amīr ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydimur al-Ḥillī, residing in the neighbourhood, was so distressed by the dilapidation of al-Azhar that he financed some works with the help of sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars, who amongst other things permitted the *khuṭba* to be read again in 665/1266 (*Corp. Inscr. Arab. Egypt*, i, no. 128). Some *waḳf*s were allocated to provide for Sunnī teachers. Once again vigorous life returned to it, never to cease up to the present day. Badly damaged (*saḳaṭa*) by the well-known and disastrous eartquake of 702/1302-3, it was restored by the amīr Salār. Marble made its appearance, discreetly, in the undated repairs of the *miḥrāb* (beginning of the 14th century), though it was used with magnificent effect in the *miḥrāb*s of the three small new erections of fine stone built against the exterior of the mosque, which were later to be incorporated with it: the *madrasa* of the amīr Ṭaybars, founded in 709/1309 to the right of the west door; that of the amīr Aḳbughā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid in 740/1339-40 to the left of this door; and the charming *madrasa* founded by the eunuch Djawhar al-Ḳanḳabāʾī, who was buried here in 844/1440-1, at the eastern corner of the mosque. In 725/1325 some constructions are recorded, and about 761/1360 the *maḳṣūras* were rebuilt, some improvements were made, funds for feeding the poor and for teaching were established, *e.g.*, a *sabīl* for water, and teaching the Ḳurʾān to orphans. A minaret which was at a dangerous angle was demolished and then rebuilt on three occasions for the same reason (800, 817, 827/1397-8, 1414-5, 1423-4). On this last date, a cistern (*ṣahridj*) with a wash-basin (*miḍaʾa*) was built in the middle of the mosque, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to

establish four trees in the courtyard. The sultan Ḳāytbāy was responsible for much work: for the west door, which he demolished, he substituted an elegant doorway with minaret attached (873/1469; *Corp. Inscr. Arab.* i, no. 21), had a host of little dwellings, which were excrescences on the terraces, cleared away (881/1476), and ordered a general restoration (901/1496). Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī bestowed on al-Azhar another minaret, thanks to which it can today be recognised from afar among the assembly of minarets in Cairo (915/1510). Funds for teaching continued during this period. At the time of the Ottoman conquest the sultan Selīm looked with favour on al-Azhar. The 18th century was, in the history of al-Azhar, as important as the Fāṭimid era; possessing from that time on the monopoly of religious studies in Egypt, the mosque was considerably enlarged. A chapel for the blind (*Zāwiyat al-ʿUmyān*) was built by ʿUthmān Katkhudā al-Kazdoghlī (Ḳaṣid Oghlu), who died in 1149/1736. But its greatest benefactor was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā or Kiḥya (died 1190/1776, buried in the mosque), who caused the following constructions, which lack the beauty of the ancient works, to be carried out: demolition of the *ḳibla* wall of the prayer-hall except for the original *miḥrāb* which remains, the addition at the rear of four new bays of stone arches on slightly raised ground, a new *miḥrāb*, a *minbar*, his tomb, a cistern, and a Ḳurʾānic school for children. Victuals and gifts in kind were provided for poor students. A new enclosure, with doorway, brought in on the west the two *madrasas* of Ṭaybars and Aḳbughā, whose façades were rebuilt (1167/1753).

The Azharīs, like students of all countries, came out into the streets from time to time. Al-Djabartī indicates that there were some troubles in the quarter, in which they took part. He makes mention of the rising against the French under Bonaparte who were occupying Cairo (10 Djumāda I 1213/20 October 1798); the immediate repression found in al-Azhar and its neighbourhood the last bastion of resistance. The mosque suffered from the final bombardment, and was profaned by the troops. The restoration of autonomous rule, under Muḥammad ʿAlī, was scarcely favourable to al-Azhar, whose *waḳf*s were misused. Later the Khedives and then the kings of Egypt became its benefactors, reserving to themselves the upper hand in its affairs, and hoping in return for the tractability of its shaykhs, a hope which was generally realised except in a few cases of proud and sudden boldness which even today form a topic of conversation. ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak (*Khiṭaṭ Dj.*, iv, 14-26) gives a minute description of the buildings and of Azharī life about 1875. The great wretchedness and decay of so many mosques in Cairo in this period had not left al-Azhar untouched. The Khedives Tawfīḳ and ʿAbbās Ḥilmī had important restorations carried out. That of the courtyard and of the porticos which surround it date from 1890-2. At the western corner of the mosque, on the site of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's Katkhudā's minaret which was demolished, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī had the *riwāḳ* built which bears his name, a vast building with lodgings for students and an oratory (inaugurated in 1315/1898). The participation of the Azharīs in the risings of 1882 (ʿUrābī Pasha) and 1919 (against the British) did not entail any material damage to the buildings, but only a temporary suppression of the courses at the time of the second incident. The number of students up to 1935 caused al-Azhar to conduct part of its courses in the neighbouring mosques, which were used as annexes. In 1930 the separation of the three faculties of higher study had as a necessary consequence the taking over of lay buildings in Cairo, to house these faculties outside the mosque. These places were given up when a new area was built behind al-Azhar (modern installations, classrooms with desks and benches, chemical laboratory, etc.). There were erected in 1935-6 a general administrative building, on the site to the north of al-Azhar, and three more four-storied buildings intended as the primary and secondary institutes, and medical block with boarding infirmary. In 1950, again to the east, a building was constructed for the Aula Magna with room for 4,000, with a high minaret, and a building for the faculty of *sharīʿa* law; in 1951 came the building for the faculty of the Arabic language. In 1955, again on the East, some old houses were pulled down, in order to prepare a site for the future faculty of theology (still housed in the Shubrā quarter). At the present time the principal library (of manuscripts, etc.) is housed in Aḳbughā's *madrasa* (rebuilt by the Khedive Tawfīḳ). A *cité universitaire* for foreign Azharīs is in construction (1956-1957) on the site of the ancient Mīdān al-Ghafīr at ʿAbbāsiyya, in conformity with the social policy of the new Egyptian Republic. This will allow for the rehabilitation of students, who were overcrowded in the precincts of the mosque itself, or were sleeping in the town in properties belonging to the trustees of the *waḳf*s, or with private families. The courtyard and the prayer-hall of the mosque are still used for certain courses for foreigners, and for exceptional private lessons. Some young Azharīs do come here to go over their books again; walking up and down, or even seated on the ground, they still keep up the old tradition and thus help to maintain the ever busy appearance of the mosque. In addition, the Azharīs have modern installations everywhere; likewise in the provinces, the local institutions have special buildings outside the mosques.

Bibliography: Texts, among which the most important are those of Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 49-56, 60-2, 223-4), Djabartī, ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, and for the modern period Van Berchem and Flury, are collected with references in Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, i, Oxford 1952, 36-64, with plates and plan. See also Hautecœur and Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, 2 vols; Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Taʾrīkh al-Masādjid al-Athariyya*, i, Cairo 1946. See also *EI*[1], article *Azhar* § I.

II. Al-Azhar as a sanctuary and house of the people. Like all mosques, al-Azhar had this dual function. The regular prayers were said here, as well as those on exceptional occasions. Its history from this point of view is linked with that of Egypt: people collected here in times of catastrophe (such as epidemic, famine, or war) to call upon God, and to hear special readings from the Ḳurʾān or from al-Bukhārī; it was also a place of refuge for fugitives (see Ibn Iyās, ii, 177, 264, iii, 106, 132, 167). In modern times also, some events of national significance have been organised there. The spaciousness of its buildings, and the constant presence of students, were appropriate for large meetings, *e.g.*, that of 1919 (see *Madjallat al-Azhar*, XXVII, 396-400). Here they exalted the *Mudjāhidūn* or combatants during the Palestine war (1948), and at the time of the guerilla warfare against the British in the Suez Canal in 1951-2. Al-Azhar is, moreover, a 'people's house' for those poor men who, since its

foundation, have found there either a temporary or a permanent shelter: many have spent the night there, as al-Maḳrīzī points out with regard to the intervention of the *amīr* Sudūb, *nāẓir* of al-Azhar, who in 818/1415-6 wished to free the mosque of all who were dwelling therein, whether students or otherwise. His intervention was the occasion for pillage, and opinion turned against him. Some inhabitants of Cairo, even the well-to-do, would pass the night here, specially in Ramaḍān, at the beginning of the 15th century (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 54-5). At the present time, among the poor pilgrims coming on foot from as far as North Africa and the Atlas Mountains (1400 in 1952), many stay at al-Azhar during the month of Ramaḍān before setting off for the Ḥidjāz. Many Azharī students give them moral and material help (in the middle ages the Maghribī pilgrims camped at Ibn Ṭulūn—*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 40). Countless gifts have been made by rich Muslims at all times for the poor of al-Azhar, In the middle ages al-Azhar was open to Ṣūfīs also, although its tendencies were predominantly juridical. ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ chose to live there towards the end of his life (Ibn Iyās, i, 82, 3). One text mentions the *dhikrs* which took place there (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 54). Aḳbughā's *madrasa* is also said to have had a permanent group of Ṣūfīs (*ibid.*, iv, 225). The mosque of al-Azhar was above all a "people's house" for the teachers and the pupils whom it housed under its arcades, and its history here again is inseparable from that of Islamic teaching in Egypt (see Ibrāhīm Salāma, *L'enseignement islamique en Égypte*, Cairo 1939). Teachers found within it peace and adequate quarters; sometimes, however, their position there was not official: at times we hear of passing scholars supported by a sovereign during their stay. There were above all the *waḳf*s maintaining what could be described as chairs of learning, and others again for the maintenance of certain categories of students.

III. Teaching in the mediaeval and post-mediaeval periods. Information on the situation in early times is both fragmentary and incomplete. Under the Fāṭimids in 365/975 the great official propagandist ʿAlī son of al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān taught Ismāʿīlī law at al-Azhar, and dictated the *Mukhtaṣar*, a work of his father's (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 156; Brockelmann, SI, 325). After having been named *wazīr*, Yaʿḳūb b. Killis held in his own home meetings of *littérateurs*, poets, jurists and men of the *kalām* (theologians), to whom he gave a pension, and who thereafter taught the Ismāʿīlī doctrine in the mosque of ʿAmr. Al-Azhar profited by this trend. In 378/988-9 al-ʿAzīz assigned to 35 jurists a house near to al-Azhar, with provision for their support. On Fridays, between midday and the *ʿaṣr* prayers, they held meetings, and their chief, Abū Yaʿḳūb Ḳāḍī al-Khandaḳ, was responsible for the teaching. (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 49; al-Ḳalḳashandī, III, 367). Al-Maḳrīzī, writing of the al-Anwar (al-Ḥākimī) mosque only recently inaugurated, notes that in Ramaḍān 380/991 'groups of listeners followed courses there given by the teachers who instructed in the mosque of Cairo, that is to say, al-Azhar' (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 55), which implies that it must have always had a stable organisation. It is known, moreover, that Ibn al-Haytham elected to live at al-Azhar (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 90-91). But the remarkable effort of the Fāṭimids in both sacred and secular culture is specially evident in the *Dār al-ḥikma* founded by al-Ḥākim in 395/1005, which became the real cultural centre of Cairo at this period (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 158). Under the Ayyūbids the Shīʿite teaching was swept away. Al-Azhar had always opened its doors to scholars (*e.g.*, for ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī), but it was supplanted by the official Sunnite *madrasas* recently created. Under the Mamlūks al-Azhar regained its position.

In 665/1266 the *amīr* Bīlbak al-Khāzindār installed a vast *maḳṣūra* and provided it with a fund in order that a group (*djamāʿa*) of jurists might teach Shāfiʿī law there. He appointed a teacher of *ḥadīth* and spiritual doctrine (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*), seven people to 'read' the Ḳurʾān, and a tutor (*mudarris*) (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 52). In 761/1359-60 a course of Ḥanafī law was started, at the same time as a Ḳurʾānic school for orphans. In 784/1382-3 a decree of Sulṭān Barḳūḳ provided that students should inherit their property of those of their friends who died without heir (see Tritton, *Education* 123, for a discussion of arrangements of this kind). Al-Maḳrīzī, on the events of 818/1415-6, mentions 750 provincial or foreign inhabitants, ranging from Maghribīs to Persians, as residing in the mosque, grouped according to strict *riwāḳ*s. They read the Ḳurʾān and studied it. They devoted themselves to law (*fiḳh*), to tradition (*ḥadīth*), to commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, to grammar (*naḥw*), to meetings devoted to preaching and to *dhikr* (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 53-4). It is often said nowadays that al-Azhar was always the Egyptian Muslim university *par excellence*; in fact, in the Cairo of the Mamlūks, bursting with life, it was an important centre of learning, but a centre among many others (see MASDJID). Al-Maḳrīzī, writing in the 15th century, makes mention of more than 70 *madrasas* in Cairo (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 191-258). He points out the intellectual activity within the mosques: in that of ʿAmr, before the great plague of 749/1348, he mentions forty-odd courses or *ḥalḳa* (*ibid.*, iv, 21); in that of Ibn Ṭulūn, at the beginning of the 14th century, courses in the law of the four schools and a course in medicine (*ibid.*, iv, 40-1); in that of al-Ḥākim, in the same period, law courses in the four schools (*ibid.*, iv, 57). There was moreover still *ṣūfī* teaching in the convents or *khānḳāh*s. Ibn Khaldūn, for example, from the time of his arrival in Cairo in 784/1383, taught at al-Azhar, which he later left in order to teach elsewhere (Ibn Khaldūn, *Taʿrīf*, 248). The Ottoman era was a time of decadence for learning in Cairo. Ibrāhīm Salāma, *L'enseignement*, 111-121, has enumerated the causes of this: economic unrest, the impoverishment of Egypt, the devaluation of the *waḳf*s or the perversion of these latter to other purposes (the Ḥanafī law administered by the Ottomans permitted a judge to modify the provisions of a *waḳf*), and finally the triumph of the Ṣūfī *khānḳāh*s in tending to replace the *madrasas*. All that obtained of non-mystical teaching activity was concentrated in al-Azhar. One could name the titles of a good thousand works preserved in this era in the library of al-Azhar and those of the neighbouring mosques, from Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, vii, 3-22. A catalogue of more than 2000 works belonging to the '*riwāḳ* of the Syrians', probably at al-Azhar, exists in a manuscript of the 18th century (no. 4.476, Slane. Bibl. Nat. de Paris). (On the Ottoman period see further H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/2, London 1957, index).

But henceforward, and up to the end of the 19th century, scholarship consisted of learning by heart a traditional corpus of material, encumbered by all that successive generations had added to it. Instead of the direct study of those great texts which were capable of engendering noble thoughts, there were substituted the studies of manuals, of commentaries (*sharḥ*), of marginalia on the commentaries (*ḥawāshī*),

and sub-commentaries on these glosses (*taḳārīr*). All the energy of the students was absorbed by the effort of memory necessary to retain by heart this complicated learning, which was presented with no pedagogical method whatever. General culture was non-existent. Arithmetical studies were limited to that elementary technique necessary for apportioning an inheritance, and astronomy to that which allowed the times for prayer, or the beginning of the lunar months (*al-miḳāt*), to be determined. But one should not judge the mediaeval intellectual activity of Cairo by this period of post-mediaeval decadence.

In the middle ages, the office of superintendent (*nāẓir*) of al-Azhar was held by a person of high rank. Moreover, each *riwāḳ*, a group analogous to the 'nations' of the mediaeval universities of Europe, as well as each faculty, had its own head (*shaykh*, *naḳīb*). From Ottoman times al-Azhar had its rector (*shaykh al-Azhar*), who remained in office until his resignation, dismissal or death. The *shaykh*s of the different departments were subordinate to him, and he was directly responsible to the government. Al-Djabartī gives us a partial roll of these from the beginning of the 18th century (see § V, below). ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak has described (*Khiṭaṭ Dj.*, iv, 26-30) life at al-Azhar as it was in 1875 at the dawn of the modern reforms. This picture gives an idea of the ancient customs: the students were grouped in a 'circle' (*halḳa*, literally 'circle', extended to mean 'course'), seated on the mats (*ḥaṣīra*) of the mosque around the teacher, who himself was seated Turkish-fashion on a low wide armchair placed at the foot of a pillar, each pillar having its own accredited holder and being, moreover, up to 1872 the undisputed property of one juridical school. Morning lectures were reserved for the most important subjects, that is to say successively *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, then at noon the Arabic language; other subjects were kept over for the afternoon. At the end of each class the students kissed the hand of their teacher. The Azharī lived meagrely on the regular issues of food (*djarāyāt*), supplemented by that which came from his family, and would often work in order to earn a little more, by giving readings from the Ḳurʾān, copying manuscripts, etc. He lived in the mosque or in the town. There was no examination at the end of the course of study. Many of the students were well advanced in years. Those who left al-Azhar obtained an *idjāza* or licence to teach; this was a certificate given by the teacher under whom the student had followed courses, testifying to the student's diligence and proficiency. Teacher-pupil relationships had a rather patriarchal aspect, disturbed only by rather rare rebellions. Quarrels between rival cliques of students were more frequent. A proctor (*djundī*) was responsible for the administration of the rules, for the care of the books, and for distributing the provisions in kind; he had a staff of some size under his command. In 1293/1876 the distribution of the 361 teachers and 10,780 students according to schools was: Shāfiʿīs: 147 teachers, 5,651 students; Mālikīs: 99 teachers, 3,826 students; Ḥanafīs: 76 teachers, 1,278 students. The Ḥanbalīs were poorly represented: 3 teachers, 25 students. There were in addition some non-registered students. The students were grouped into 15 *ḥāras* and 38 *riwāḳs* (*Khiṭaṭ Dj.*, iv, 28). There were numerous foreign students (see list of *riwāḳs*, EI[1], s.v. *Azhar*, § II, VI). The vacation began in the month of Radjab and ended in mid-Shawwāl; there was in addition the twenty days leave for the great Bayrām (festival of sacrifices), the same for the *mawlid* of the saint of Ṭanṭā, Aḥmad Badawī, etc. . . . (*Khiṭaṭ Dj.*, iv, 28).

IV. The reform of al-Azhar. The shock that Bonaparte's expedition gave to Egypt, and the efforts of Muḥammad ʿAlī and his successors to modernise the country, left al-Azhar indifferent or hostile. There were individual sympathisers, but they were immobilised by the unshakable apathy of the majority. Al-Azhar rightly feared the influence of certain European ideas; but very few understood how to draw the line between the contributions which were acceptable to Islam and those which were inadmissible. Others became obdurate in passive resistance. It was, however, from among the Azharīs (there was no other intellectual group at that time) that the activist element of the new Egypt was recruited. (Educational mission of Egyptians sent to Paris with Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī in 1825-31; journey of Muḥ. ʿAyyād al-Ṭanṭāwī to Russia; later Saʿd Zaghlūl, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, and others. But these people were always at cross purposes with the conservative element of al-Azhar, since they emerged and acted in a way which was not that of the traditionalists. Al-Azhar at the beginning of the 19th century could well have been called a religious university; what it was not was a complete university giving instruction in those modern disciplines essential to the awakening of the country. However, it seems that the conservative section of al-Azhar did not appreciate at the time either the necessity of creating new academic branches (in al-Azhar or outside it) or that of reforming the organisation and programmes of religious teaching in al-Azhar. The fear of being contaminated by imitating Europe paralysed everything.

Al-Azhar had nevertheless to take the path of reform. The interference of the government in its affairs, an everyday phenomenon which was sometimes suffered with some resentment, proved decisive at this juncture. When authority had opposed reform (for example during the last years of Muḥ. ʿAbduh) the conservative forces, having no counterweight, paralysed everything. Nothing less than the full Khedival (later the royal) power was necessary to impose reform. The principal stages of reform were these: in 1288/1872, a decree instituting a diploma at the end of the course of study; a maximum of six students would each year sit for a long and exacting examination in eleven subjects. Success would obtain for them the title of *ʿālim* (1st, 2nd or 3rd class, according to their ability), would assure for them material advantages, and would give them the right to teach in al-Azhar. This measure was still clearly inadequate (*Khiṭaṭ Dj.*, iv, 27-8; the newspaper *Wādī al-Nīl*, 26 Feb. 1872).—In 1872, the creation of the higher school of *Dār al-ʿulūm* where a certain number of Azharīs could specialise and prepare themselves for teaching in the new schools. (Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Djawwād, *Taḳwīm Dār al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo 1952; résumé in *MIDEO*, I, 160-2).—In 1312-3/1895 the Khedive ʿAbbās instituted an advisory council (*madjlis idārat al-Azhar*) consisting of members *outside* al-Azhar as well as others from al-Azhar itself. This institution, demanded by Muḥ. ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], was the prelude to the reform of 1896. Muḥ. ʿAbduh, as a member of the council, was its inspiration.—In 1312-3/1895 the institutes of Ṭanṭā, Damietta and Dasūḳ became affiliated to al-Azhar. —A decree on the salaries of teachers, some of whom had only very meagre salaries.—A law of 20 Muḥarram 1314/1 July 1896, inspired by Muḥ. ʿAbduh, decreed that the council of al-Azhar should

consist of three *ʿulamā* from al-Azhar and two official *ʿulamā* from the government; it fixed the minimum age for the admission of pupils at 15; declared that conditions of admission were to be able to read and write, and to know half the Ḳurʾān by heart; it reorganised the programmes, forbade the teaching of glosses to new pupils and restricted it for the older ones. Two examinations led, either after a minimum of 8 years study, to the diploma of *ahliyya*, or after 12 years, to the diploma of *ʿālimiyya* (with three honour classes). Modern subjects were introduced, either obligatory (such as elements of arithmetic, algebra) or optional (such as the history of Islām, composition, elements of geography, etc). The length of the vacations (summer, Ramaḍān, festival of sacrifices) was fixed. A medical officer was appointed to be in charge of health and hygiene. A list of prescribed texts for the syllabus was drawn up. The implementation of this law came up against fierce resistance, which was likewise expressed in the press. —In 1903 came the foundation of the institute of Alexandria, affiliated to al-Azhar.—In Muḥarram 1325/Feb.-March 1907 came a law instituting the *ḳāḍīs*' school (for the *sharʿī* tribunals) within the orbit of al-Azhar.—The law of 2 Ṣafar 1326/6 March 1908 set out the studies in three standards, primary, secondary and higher, each of four years' duration with a certificate given after each final examination. The optional subjects of 1896 were made compulsory. This law was regarded as a blow to the autonomy of al-Azhar, and provoked an outcry. There was a serious student revolt in Cairo, and in Ṭanṭā (quickly put down), but nowhere else. It was decided to apply this law only gradually.—In December 1908 came the foundation of the Free University of Cairo, the embryo of the four present State universities, and of the western type. This was the origin of a competition that was painful for al-Azhar.—The law of the 14 Djumādā I 1329/13 May 1911 harked back to that of 1908: it laid down that the rector was to be nominated by the Khedive, enlarged the advisory council (the rector, the *shaykhs* of the four schools, the director-general of the *waḳfs*, and three members nominated by the decision of the council of ministers), created the tribunal of the 30 chief *ʿulamā* who were incumbents of the 30 special chairs, from among whom the rector was to be elected. In the conditions of entry for pupils, the age limit was from 10-17 years; other provisions were as in 1896. Modern studies were slightly augmented, etc. This law was still the subject of opposition. One interesting problem arose, in that the graduates of the *Dār al-ʿulūm* and of the school of the *ḳāḍīs* obtained situations more easily than the Azharīs, and earned more. —In 1921 the conditions for entry required the knowledge of the whole of the Ḳurʾān, no longer just half.—In the law of 13 Muḥarram 1342/26 August 1923 the highest standard was renamed 'specialisation' (*takhaṣṣuṣ*) and comprised many branches. The school of the *ḳāḍīs*, which since 1907 had been bandied about between different ministries, was at last affiliated to al-Azhar and abolished as such, becoming simply a branch of specialisation (1923-5). In this period several missions from al-Azhar were sent to study in Europe before returning to teach at al-Azhar.—In 1925 the State University of Cairo (Fuʾād al-Awwal University) replaced the Free University.—A law of the 24 Djumāda II 1349/16 November 1930 laid down that the Tribunal of the chief *ʿulamā* was competent to judge whether any *ʿālim* was guilty of any act not in conformity with his dignity. It enlarged the advisory council of al-Azhar (Grand *muftī*; the *shaykhs* of the three faculties instead of the *shaykhs* of the four schools, etc.), and stipulated that students should be under 16 years of age on admission (18 in the case of foreigners, who were exempted from knowing the whole Kurʾān by heart). The primary course was 4 years, the secondary 5 years, the higher 4 years, in one of the three faculties constituted by this law (Islamic law or *sharīʿa*, theology or *uṣūl al-dīn*, the Arabic language or *lugha ʿarabiyya*), and in appropriate cases more specialisation or *takhaṣṣuṣ*, in those faculties which existed only in Cairo, was allowed. The programme of the higher standard (*ʿālimiyya*) was completed by the special mention of those who had attained distinction in their specialist studies, for example the grade of *ustādh* in such and such a subject, etc. A 'general section' was created for those unable to take the normal courses. The vacations were to be fixed each year.—The law of the 3 Muḥarram 1355/26 March 1936, still in force in 1955, provided that the age of entry be from 12-16 years; duration of specialisation, 2 years. The regulations concerning the subjects to be taught (these were to be still more detailed in the individual syllabuses printed later) make this law the real charter of present-day teaching. Apart from the traditional subjects, the following should be noted: English or French language (compulsory for the *uṣūl al-dīn* faculty, optional for the two others); rudiments of philosophy, history of philosophy, etc., for the *uṣūl al-dīn* and *lugha ʿarabiyya* faculties; common international law, and comparative law, in the *sharīʿa* faculty. Certain branches of *takhaṣṣuṣ* had in addition a compulsory Oriental language (section of *waʿẓ wa irshād*), or the elements of Hebrew and Syriac (sections of *naḥw* and *balāgha*), the history of religions, etc. The normal programme (*niẓāmī*) of the secondary course had as modern subjects the rudiments of logic and the art of rhetoric, of medicine (with the use of the microscope), of chemistry, zoology, botany, history and geography. The primary course comprised history, geography, arithmetic, algebra (up to simple equations with one unknown), and hygiene. The *ḳism al-buʿūth*, reserved for foreigners who were unable to follow the normal courses, comprised 12 years' study divided into three courses of four years, with an easier syllabus. Of modern subjects they had only arithmetic, history, geography and logic. It must not be forgotten that all these modern subjects take a secondary place in the teaching, and that little time is given to them.—In 1945 the *dār al-ʿulūm* was affiliated to the University of Cairo, with the status of Faculty. In 1952 the *dār al-ʿulūm* ceased to be reserved for Azharīs, and admitted candidates coming from Government schools. A women's section was opened in 1954.—About 1954 there was a slight alteration of the programmes at al-Azhar; a foreign language became compulsory in the faculty of *lugha ʿarabiyya*. The retirement age for teachers was fixed at 65; this applied equally to the chief *ʿulamā*, who previously had been appointed for life.—In 1955 came the abolition of the *sharʿī* tribunals, thus doing away with the chief outlet for the Azharīs of the *sharīʿa* faculty. There was talk of opening a women's section at al-Azhar; by the end of 1957, everything was ready, only budgetary credit was lacking.

In 1953, the faculties comprised respectively 1,603 *sharīʿa* students, 1,655 for *lugha ʿarabiyya*, 707 for *uṣūl al-dīn*. The institutes had 12,398 primary students, 6,559 secondary, and 3,703 in the attached

sections; the free institutes had 2,458. At the end of 1955 there were in Egypt some institutions directly affiliated to al-Azhar (*niẓāmī*) in the following towns: (*a*) primary and secondary, Cairo, Ṭanṭā, Manṣūra, Shībīn al-Kōm, Ḳenā, Suhādj, Girgā (Djirdjā), Asyūṭ, Minyā, Fayyūm, Manūf, Samannūd, Zaḳāzīḳ, Dasūḳ, Damiette (Dumyāṭ), Alexandria, Damanhūr; (*b*) primary only, Banī Suwayf, Banhā, Kafr al-Shaykh; (*c*) free institutes supervised (*taḥt ishrāf*) by al-Azhar, primary only, Ṭahṭā, Balasfūra, Banī ʿAdī, Mallāwī, Abū Ḳurḳās, Abū Kabīr, Fāḳūs, Minshāwī, Cairo (ʿUthmān Māhir).

In 1953 the number of foreign students was as follows: Sudan, 2,634; Nigeria, Gold Coast, Senegal 141; Abyssinia, Eritrea, Somaliland, Zanzibar, 309; French Sudan, 57; Uganda and South Africa, 37; India and Pakistan, 46; China, 8; Java and Sumatra, 80; Afghānistān, 13; Kuwayt, 6; ʿIrāḳ, Bahrayn, Īrān (*riwāḳ al-Akrād*) 21; Turkey, Albania, Yugoslavia (*r. al-Atrāk*), 206; Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine (*r. al-Shawwām*), 724; Yemen, 20; North Africa and Libya (*r. al-Maghāriba*), 267; Ḥidjāz, 17; total, 4,586.

In 1953 the group of *ʿulamā* at al-Azhar had 112 teachers or preachers on missions in the following countries: ʿIrāḳ, 2; Kuwayt, 16; Sudan (the Umm Durmān Institute), 23; the Muslim School of the Philippines, 2; Eritrea (the Asmara Institute), 7; Malakal, 5; Barḳa, 3; Gaza, 1; Ḥidjāz, 40; Lebanon, 5; the Islamic Cultural Centre, London, 1; the Islamic Cultural Centre, Washington, 1; Equatorial Africa, 1; Syria, 3; the School of Djūbā, 3. (1953 statistics from *al-Sidjill al-thaḳāfī sanat* 1953, Cairo 1955; 473-4; Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, *Ḥawliyyat al-thaḳāfa al-ʿarabiyya*, iv, Cairo 1954, 301).

Until the Law no. 15 of 1927 was promulgated, al-Azhar was directly responsible to the King. The Council of Ministers had until then to consider his opinion in the matter of appointing rectors, etc. Its budget was submitted for Government approval, and increased continually (£E 136,000 in 1919; in 1954, £E 1,617,200, of which only £E 94,380 was provided by the *waḳf*s, the rest furnished by the Ministry of Finance.) All the scholars and students benefited from the gratuity, and received a grant for food, and a lodging allowance, if they found no room in the official quarters. For the primary and secondary grades this was about 50 piastres per month in 1955, plus school books and gifts from Egyptian charitable societies. There was a minimum of £E 2½ for foreigners in lodgings For students of the faculties, help was available, and could exceed £E 5. The Sudanese, who were favoured, received in all £E 8. Certain countries added a supplementary lodging allowance for their nationals. The Islamic Congress, dating from 1953, has aided certain Azharīs (*MIDEO*, iii, 471-8). The *Dār al-ʿulūm*, likewise, gave help to students (discontinued for those who entered after 1953). These material advantages made al-Azhar, and still makes it, the only place for higher studies open to poor families (except for the bursaries of the State University). There is now a medical service for Azharīs.

The well-organised library of the mosque contains upward of 20,000 manuscripts, and has a printed catalogue. The libraries of some *riwāḳ*s have interesting manuscripts, but still uncatalogued in 1955. Each establishment has in addition a library for its students. Since 1349/1930 al-Azhar has had its monthly review, the official organ of its teachers, and whose title *Nūr al-Islām* was changed to *Madjallat al-Azhar* at the end of its sixth year. A second monthly review, the organ of the *waʿẓ wa irshād* section, has retained the name of *Nūr al-Islām*. In addition, certain courses are printed, and many Azharīs contribute to the literary productions of present-day Egypt. To answer numerous juridical questions addressed to al-Azhar, a commission, *Ladjnat al-fatwā*, was set up in 1354/1935 (having a president and 11 other members, at the rate of 3 per school); this is not to be confused with the *Dār al-iftāʾ*, dependant on the Grand Mufti of Egypt.

V. List of Rectors. The chronicle of al-Djabartī has preserved for us the names of the *shaykh*s (plural *mashāyikh*) of al-Azhar since the year 1100 A.H. The rectorship (*mashyakha*) was a coveted post which was occupied by the most prominent scholars, and which gave rise to long disputes between the schools. The rectors came from the most varied social strata: there were members of the landed aristocracy, as well as simple men who had done copying to earn a living at the beginning of their careers. Most of them, in the 18th and 19th centuries, composed commentaries or other works, as their biographers have noted. In 1954 the budget of al-Azhar provided £ E 2,000 for the rector per annum (see list and references in al-Khafādjī, *al-Azhar fī alf ʿām*, Cairo 1374, i, 147-96). It is, incidentally, with regard to the biographical notice of a third party, that al-Djabartī mentions the name of a rector, the earliest that is known to us. 1, Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khirshī, d. 1101/1690; 2, Muḥ. al-Nashratī, d. 1120; 3, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Ḳalīnī, whose nomination was the occasion of a battle, and some firing, within the mosque; 4, Muḥ. Shanan, one of the richest men of his time, d. 1133; 5, Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Fayyūmī, d. 1137; 6, ʿAbd Allāh al-Shabrāwī, poet and wit, frequented and defended the Ṣūfīs, d. 1171; 7, Muḥ. b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī al-Khalwatī, Ṣūfī and jurist, author of glosses, d. 1181, perhaps poisoned by the *amīrs*; his tomb became an object of veneration (Brockelmann, II, 323; S II, 445); 8, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sadjīnī, d. 1182; 9, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Damanhūrī, d. 1192; 10, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿArīshī, of the Ḥanafī school, who had been initiated into Ṣūfism by the *Shaykh* al-Ḥifnāwī, and was rapidly dismissed under Shāfiʿī pressure; 11, Aḥmad al-ʿArūsī, Ṣūfī and commentator, d. 1208/1793-4; 12, ʿAbd Allāh al-Sharḳāwī, whose rectorship saw the expedition of Bonaparte, a scholar whose works were very widely read in their time, d. 1227/1812; 13, Muḥ. al-Shanawānī, who supplanted a rival, al-Mahdī, who was rector only in name, d. 1233; 14, Muḥ. al-ʿArūsī, d. 1245; 15, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Damhūdjī, d. 1246; 16, Ḥasan b. Muḥ. al-ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] who had associated with Bonaparte's French and had been a supporter of the reforms, d. 1250; 17, Ḥasan al-Ḳuwaysnī, d. 1254; 18, Aḥmad al-Ṣāʾim al-Saftī, d. 1263; 19, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥ. al-Bādjūrī, d. 1277, known as a theologian (Brockelmann, II, 487; S II, 741); 19*a*, an interregnum of four years during which a council of four curators conducted al-Azhar's affairs; 20, Muṣṭafā al-ʿArūsī (to 1287/1870-1), paved the way for the reforms which his successor introduced; 21, Muḥ. al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī al-Ḥanafī, temporarily replaced by Muḥ. by Muḥ. al-Anbābī during the uprising of ʿUrābī Pasha (1299/1882), ceded his place in 1304/1886; 22, Muḥ. al-Anbābī, a scholar but opposed to all innovations, who had to be pressed for a long time before his retirement in 1313/1895 (Brockelmann, S II, 742); 23, Ḥassūna al-Nawawī, a man of character, admired by the Egyptians, had had in the law school an influence on his disciples, who played an im-

portant part in Egyptian politics; he had presided over the Governing Body of al-Azhar, was chosen to supervise the 1896 reforms, and resigned in 1317/1899; 24, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḳuṭb al-Nawawī, his brother, d. the same year: the rapid resignations of his successors show the unrest that the reforms had provoked; 25, Salīm al-Bis̲h̲rī, a pious man who had known poverty, the last in date of the *muḥaddit̲h̲ūn* (he knew the very authorities for the traditions), fiercely opposed to Muḥ. ʿAbduh and to the reforms which he instigated, resigned in 1320; 26, ʿAlī al-Biblāwī, resigned in 1323; 27, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-S̲h̲irbīnī, greatly esteemed for his piety and integrity, resigned 1324; 28, Ḥassūna al-Nawawī, for the second time, resigned in 1327/1909 consequent on the 1908 law. 29, Salīm al-Bis̲h̲rī, for the second time, d. 1335; 30, Muḥ. Abū ʾl-Faḍl al-D̲j̲īzāwī, d. 1346/1928; 31, Muṣṭafā al-Marāg̲h̲ī, disciple of Muḥ. ʿAbduh, resigned in 1348/1929; 32, Muḥ. al-Aḥmadī al-Ẓawāhirī, resigned in 1354/1935; 33, Muṣṭafā al-Marāg̲h̲ī, second time d. 1364/1945; 34, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, a very cultured man, admirer of Muḥ. ʿAbduh, had taught Arabic at the University of Lyons (France), and later Muslim philosophy at the Egyptian University. He was nominated by King Fāruḳ although he was not of the body of the chief *ʿulamā*, and was at al-Azhar the victim of such hostile demonstrations that he died of a heart attack in 1366/1947; 35, Muḥ. Maʾmūn al-S̲h̲innāwī, d. 1369/1950. The brief duration of the following rectorships corresponds to the political undercurrents of Egypt: the struggle against the British in the Canal Zone, the Cairo riots of 26 January 1952, the *coup d'état* of 23 July 1952. In several cases, the Government brought pressure to bear on the rectors in order to secure their departure. 36, ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd Salīm, resigned, 4 September 1951; 37, Ibrāhīm Ḥamrūs̲h̲, resigned 10 February 1952; 38, ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd Salīm (second time), resigned 17 September 1952; 39, Muḥ. al-K̲h̲iḍr Ḥusayn, resigned at the beginning of January 1954; 40, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Tād̲j̲, *docteur ès lettres* of the University of Paris, nominated 8 January 1954.

VI. Results of the reform. It is difficult for those who are neither Muslims nor Egyptians to assess these; one requires to know in what spirit the programmes were implemented, and in each case the portion of them which is made effective in the classes. From the outside it can only be assumed that, in spite of the significant improvements referred to above, all is not well. Further signs, indicated by the Egyptians themselves, are revealing. Many teachers of al-Azhar send their sons to Government schools and not to their own establishment. The Government has not accepted the principle of equality between the teachers of the State Universities and those of the higher standard at al-Azhar. Outside their functions as teachers in their own establishment, as *imāms*, and as preachers, which are theirs by law, the Azharīs have positions in life inferior to those of their colleagues in the State universities. The recent suppression of the *s̲h̲arʿī* tribunals has abolished a traditional outlet for Azharīs. The channel of Azharī study to which one is committed at the age of 6 on entry into a Ḳurʾānic school, and that of normal secular study, are poles apart. Entry as a student into the State Universities is refused to Azharīs. If the latter wish to be admitted as teachers of Arabic into the cadre of the Ministry of National Education they have to pass through the *Dār al-ʿulūm* or through the Institute of Education. Furthermore, al-Azhar feels that she is criticised by the State Universities, and suspects certain opponents of resenting her autonomy, and of wishing to abolish the primary and secondary institutes, perhaps even of wanting to tamper with the faculties (see *Mad̲j̲allat al-Azhar*, xxvii, no. 4, Rabīʿ II 1375/1955, entirely devoted to defending herself against such attacks). The question becomes complicated when one sees, among the Egyptians who desire more far-reaching reform, not only atheists but also sincere Muslims, even members of the Muslim Brotherhood. For sixty years the question of al-Azhar has from time to time been a vexed one. Fundamentally it is a question of knowing what exactly al-Azhar's real mission is with respect to the needs of the Muslim community of the twentieth century, and further whether the intellectual and moral instruction that she provides is adapted to these needs.

Al-Azhar has laid great stress on the place that her teachers and former pupils have held, and continue to hold, in the life of Egypt and the Islamic countries. She has asked for recognition of the fact that she has deserved well of scholarship. This scholarship, in fact, presents many aspects. First of all stands that knowledge of the great Muslim values that her students absorb by the very atmosphere of their place of study as much as through the intellectual medium of the courses. Al-Azhar has in this way continued to maintain Islamic ideas in traditional circles, both rural and urban. She has upheld those virtues which make up her appeal: a religious and serious attitude to life, hospitality, respect of parents and teachers, and the duty of almsgiving. She recalls the finest aspects of the Ḳurʾān and of the *ḥadīt̲h̲*s that are traditionally stressed. Some of her teachers, specialists in the Arabic language and in law, have again taken up the traditional subject-matter and restated it in simpler forms, without, however, modifying the basic assumptions and principles, except on a few points (polygamy, etc.). In history, certain modern monographs (for example, on al-Azhar itself) fulfil the same function as the mediaeval works, and use the same methods (compilation of documents, biographies, etc.). Other teachers, who are conversant with an impressive number of ancient linguistic or religious treatises, have been able to produce editions of texts invaluable to scholars. Such scholarship as a whole is adapted to the needs of millions of Muslims whose peaceful and untroubled faith has not been touched by foreign ideas, or even to those people 'nearer to nature', as the present rector calls them, among whom, as in Africa, Islam does not cease to make progress. Azharīs agree, however, that there is a decline in the Muslim faith in many universities, and that the West is impervious to the message of Islam. As a counter-measure, they teach their pupils to answer this by short compositions, rather stereotyped, educational or apologetic, which are taught in the *ins̲h̲āʾ* or essay classes of the primary and secondary courses (*e.g.*, personal hygiene, the use of the ritual alms or *zakāt*, the evils of wine, the wisdom of polygamy, etc.). Reviews and sermons continually give examples of these apologetics. But more vital problems are not considered in them. Some of the Muslim brotherhood in their exhortatory efforts, while developing this sort of stereotyped apologetics, have seemed more aware of modern difficulties. In 1951 one of them urged al-Azhar to speak of such topics as the dignity of labour, of social questions, of Capitalism, of Marxism, etc. (Sayyid Ḳuṭb, in the review *al-Risāla*, 18 June 1951). The *Mad̲j̲allat al-Azhar* followed this with

several replies (among others, xxiii (1371), 89-95). But the substance of these replies is very brief, and it does not appear that the defenders would have recognised themselves in the picture that has been drawn of them, elementary as it is.—Such a conception of scholarship has given and still gives service, but those Westerners who are in the best position to observe events are struck by its limitations, which Egyptians educated by modern methods also perceive. There is as yet no question at al-Azhar of studies profiting by modern historical methods or broadening themselves under the influence of modern trends of thought. Learning by heart, and storing up pages of texts in the memory, seems to be the essential requirement of students. Some would wish to attribute the cause of this limitation to a withering casuistry in which vital subjects, *e.g.*, divorce, are taken as subjects for abstract logical exercises, wholly oblivious of their human repercussions (see the daily *al-Djumhūriyya* from 9 to 17 January 1954). Others reproach al-Azhar with having always put a brake on any reforms, and of posing as the only defender of Islam, although Islam is a religion based on equality, refusing clericalism, and one in which every intelligent believer has a voice in affairs. Some bodies, such as the State Universities, which have their own courses of Ḳur'ānic exegesis, of Islamic law, of Arabic, etc., would wish to be their own masters and the only judges of such culpable deviation among their students or their teachers as is a matter for internal discipline (case of Muḥ. Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh, 1947-51, see *MIDEO*, i, 39-72). Recently two censures made by al-Azhar have been quashed by the civil tribunals (judgment of 27 May 1950 permitting the reprinting of the proscribed book *Min hunā nabda'* of Muḥ. Khālid Muḥ.; the case of Shaykh Bakhīt in 1955 (*MIDEO*, iii, 46, 8). The Grand National Assembly at Ankara has likewise discussed the question of al-Azhar with regard to according or refusing student status to Turkish subjects who are students there: the final vote was negative (13-16 February 1954).

But, in their turn, Azharīs reproach their adversaries with forgetting the needs of the Muslim community. Few Azharīs would willingly consent to a reduction of their establishment to the status of a Faculty of Higher Religious Studies as was the case with the Zaytūna at Tunis a short while ago. On the contrary, although the prestige associated with the name of al-Azhar has been much diminished in Egypt, it is still as strong as ever abroad. For many Muslims throughout the world, al-Azhar is Egypt. Perhaps the exigences of foreign policy will help to moderate the current of opposition to al-Azhar which exists at the present time in Egypt.

Bibliography: See particularly Ibrāhīm Salāma, *Bibliographie analytique et critique touchant la question de l'enseignement en Égypte depuis la période des Mamelūks jusqu'à nos jours*, Cairo 1938. Besides the references given above, see: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1326, iv, 49-56; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, 1299, ii, 183-4; the chronicle of Djabartī and *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, iv, 19-44, of ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak. For the third quarter of the 19th century, see: Sulaymān Raṣad al-Ḥanafī al-Zayyātī, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Ta'rīkh al-Azhar* (Cairo, c. 1322), and Muṣṭafa Bayram, *Risāla fī Ta'rīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo 1321. For the modern period: Maḥmūd Abu 'l-ʿUyūn, *al-Djāmiʿ al-Azhar, Nubdha fī Ta'rīkhihi*, Cairo 1368/1949, and especially the indispensable Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādjī, *al-Azhar fī Alf ʿĀm*, Cairo 1374 (1955), 3 vols., which likewise deals with the ancient documents, and ʿAbd al-Mutʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Iṣlāḥ fī 'l-Azhar*, Cairo, n.d., which ends with the end of 1950. This last historical work is one of the most interesting among the abundant literature occasioned by the reforms at al-Azhar; it contains the titles of works studied at al-Azhar since the end of the 19th century. For the organisation of studies, see Vollers, *EI*[1], s.v., E. Dor, *L'instruction publique en Égypte*, 1889, 34 ff., 205ff.; P. Arminjon, *L'enseignement, la doctrine et la vie dans les universités musulmanes*, Paris 1907; also Johs. Pedersen, *Al-Azhar, et Muhammedansk Universitet*, Copenhagen 1922; A S. Tritton, *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages*, London 1957; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, London 1939; Ibrāhīm Salāma, *L'enseignement islamique en Égypte*, Cairo 1939; ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, *Min Āthār Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ*, Cairo 1957. The French translation of official texts, laws, etc., concerning al-Azhar since 1911, is to be found in *REI*, 1927, 95-118; 465-529; 1928, 47-165, 255-337, 401-472; 1931, 241-276; 1936, 1-43; all preceded by a study by A. Sekaly. The official syllabuses of the different degrees, in conformity with the law of 1936, are printed in separate brochures by the press at al-Azhar (a first series in 1938-45; a reissue with slight modifications in 1953-6). The annual budget is likewise printed; I have consulted *Mīzāniyyat al-Djāmiʿ al-Azhar wa 'l-Maʿāhid al-Dīniyya li-Sanat* 1953-4 *al-Māliyya*, giving the number of teachers distributed according to establishments, standard of courses, etc. (J. JOMIER)

AL-**AZHARĪ**, an ethnic appellation which, in general denotes a person who has studied at the al-Azhar [*q.v.*] University at Cairo.

AL-AZHARĪ, AḤMAD B. ʿAṬĀ' ALLĀH B. AḤMAD, author of a work on rhetoric, written in 1161/1748 and entitled *Nihāyat al-Iʿdjāz fī 'l-Ḥaḳīḳa wa 'l-Madjāz*. This work, with a commentary by the author's son, is known through the medium of a manuscript which has been described by Ahlwardt; see Brockelmann, II, 287. (C. BROCKELMANN *)

AL-AZHARĪ, IBRAHĪM B. SULAYMĀN AL-ḤANAFĪ, wrote about the year 1100/1688 *al-Risāla al-Mukhtāra fī Manāhi 'l-Ziyāra*, in which he shows that it is contrary to the law, when visiting graves, to touch or kiss them, or lie on them (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arab Hss. der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, no. 2694). He is also the author of a monograph on the ordinances of *fiḳh* concerning expectoration, and kissing and embracing, entitled *Raḥīḳ al-Firdaws fī Ḥukm al-Riḳ wa 'l-Baws* (*ibid.*, 5596).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 410.

(C. BROCKELMANN *)

AL-AZHARĪ, KHĀLID B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ BAKR, Egyptian grammarian, born at Djardjā in Upper Egypt (whence is derived the ethnic appellation al-Djardjāwī which is sometimes applied to him), died at Cairo in 905/1499. He is the author of a grammatical treatise known by the title of *al-Muḳaddima al-Azhariyya fī ʿIlm al-ʿArabiyya* (ed. Būlāḳ 1252, with a commentary by the author; new eds. Būlāḳ 1287 and Cairo 1307, with glosses by various schoolmen). Al-Azharī is also the author of a certain number of manuals of grammar, of a commentary on the commentary of Ibn Hishām on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*], and of commentaries on the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*] and the Djarrūmiyya. Al-

Azharī enjoyed great renown in his time. Al-Suyūṭī is reckoned as one of his pupils.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 27; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt al-ʿArabiyya* 811.

(C. Brockelmann *)

AL-AZHARĪ, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Azhar, Arab lexicographer born in 282/895 at Harāt, died in the same town in 370/980.

Al-Azharī was a pupil of his compatriot, the lexicographer Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Mundhirī (329/940), who was himself a disciple of Thaʿlab [*q.v.*] and al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*] (see Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 464 = Cairo ed., xviii, 99 ff.), and seems to have come to ʿIrāḳ whilst still fairly young. At Baghdād he received instruction in grammar from Nifṭawayh, according to Yāḳūt, but came only slightly under the influence of al-Zadjdjādj and Ibn Durayd. If one relies on the lists of Shāfiʿī jurists, given by Yāḳūt, who are supposed to have been al-Azharī's masters, he must have had a thorough knowledge of Shāfiʿī law. In 312/924, he was returning from Mecca to Kūfa with the pilgrim caravan, when they were attacked by the Ḳarāmiṭa [*q.v.*] at al-Habīr and partly massacred or taken prisoner. Al-Azharī spent two years as a prisoner of the Bedouins of Baḥrayn who were converted to Carmathianism. In a passage cited by Yāḳūt and Ibn Khallikān, he describes how he took advantage of his sojourn among these nomads to study their language, which according to him, was very pure. The rest of his life remains a mystery for us and seems to have been spent in his birthplace in study and retirement.

Al-Azharī's work is known to us by a list containing fourteen titles provided by Yāḳūt and Ibn Khallikān (reproduced in part by al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, 8); with the exception of his commentaries on the *Muʿallaḳāt* and the *Dīwān* of Abū Tammām, these are lexicographical studies. Among these works, a dictionary has come down to us (ten volumes in Ibn Khallikān's time) entitled *Tahdhīb al-Lugha*. The work has still not been edited; there are MSS. of it in London, Istanbul and in India; see list in Brockelmann. This is a compilation made by means of the materials, which al-Azharī received from his master al-Mundhirī; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, *loc. cit.*, even speaks of a *riwāya* of a dictionary of al-Mundhirī. The essential feature of the work is that it continues the tradition initiated by Khalīl in his *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*; the roots are not arranged in the usual alphabetical order, but in accordance with a phonetic classification, commencing with the "gutturals" and ending with the labials. The *Tahdhīb* was copiously used by Ibn Manẓūr in his *Lisān al-ʿArab*.

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(R. Blachère)

ʿAẒĪM ALLĀH KHĀN, said to have been the brain of the political upheaval (known as the Mutiny) of 1857 in India, came of a poor Pathān family which had settled in Cawnpore long before the famine of 1837-8 (George Dunbar, *A History of India from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, London 1943³, ii, 483). An orphan, saved from starvation by a Christian missionary, he began life as a *khidmatgār* in an Anglo-Indian family of Cawnpore (Mowbray Thompson, *The Story of Cawnpore*, London 1859, 54; G. O. Trevelyan, *Cawnpore*, London 1907, 58), who sent him to school, where he learnt English and French, and acquired high proficiency in both. Soon after completing his education he joined the same school as a teacher. On the request of Nānā Ṣāḥib, adopted son of Bādjī Rāo II, the last of the Pēshwās, he entered his service as a private tutor and English secretary. He soon found favour with Nānā who appointed him as his political adviser. Following the death of Bādjī Rāō II in 1851, Nānā Ṣāḥib succeeded to his title, pension and estate but the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, discontinued his pension and refused to recognise him. Thereupon ʿAẓīm Allāh Khān prepared a memorial for his master which was submitted to the British authorities in 1852. It was, however, rejected by the Court of Directors of the East India Company. In 1853 ʿAẓīm Allāh Khān left for England to plead Nānā's case personally. Here he failed in his mission, but through the charm of his personality he won the heart of many ladies who continued to write him scores of letters even after his return to India in 1855. These letters were later published in two vols., *The Indian Prince and the English Press* and *Love Letters*, which were soon proscribed (Trevelyan, 59). On his way back from England, ʿAẓīm Allāh Khān visited Paris, Constantinople, Sebastopol and the theatre of war in the Crimea (Russell, *My Diary in India*, London 1860, 165-7).

A frustrated and disillusioned man, having spent £50,000 on his fruitless mission to England and anxious to continue in the favour of his master, ʿAẓīm Allāh Khān suggested to Nānā the overthrow of the British power in India through a military *coup d'état*. With this aim in view he visited, early in 1857, along with Nānā, military stations in northern India but met with little success. Some Indian princes falsely promised help to Nānā's emissaries sent out at the instance of ʿAẓīm Allāh Khān, who himself took part in many of the lost actions which his master subsequently fought against the British. On the fall of Bithūr, Nānā's stronghold near Cawnpore in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1273/July 1857, he disappeared from the scene, never to be heard of again. He is said to have died in Rabīʿ I-II 1276/October, 1859 at Bhuṭwāl (Nēpāl) where he had fled along with the other leaders of the Revolt. His end, however, like his origin, still remains shrouded in mystery.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ʿAZĪMA (a.), literally: "determination, resolution, fixed purpose"; thence:

1. In religious law, an ordinance as interpreted strictly, the opposite of *rukhṣa*, an exemption or dispensation (e.g. the dispensation from observing the dietary laws, if there is danger to health or life). ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, in his *Kitāb al-Mīzān al-Kubrā*, consistently explains the divergent opinions of the several schools of religious law as expressing these two complementary tendencies. Cf. Goldziher, in ZDMG, 1884, 676 f.; idem, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, Leipzig 1884, 68 f.

2. In magic, an adjuration, or the application of a formula of which magical effects are expected. Cf. Goldziher, in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 307.

(I. GOLDZIHER*)

AZIMECH [see NUDJŪM].

AL-ʿ**AẒĪMĪ** (Muḥ. b. ʿAlī b. Muḥ., Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Tanūkhī, called ~) (483/1090-post 556/1161), chronicler of Aleppo. A full but dry universal history—mainly Syrian—by him, which extends to the year 538/1143-44 (published by me—from the year 455/1063—in *JA*, 1938, 353-448), has come down to us, but in addition, he composed above all a great *History of Aleppo* which was used copiously especially by Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm and Ibn Abī Ṭayyī (the latter up to 556/1161). The interest of the portions of al-ʿAẓimi's work which have been preserved does not reside in their intrinsic value, but rather in the fact that they are the only texts which escaped the destruction of North Syrian historiography between the middle of the 5th/9th century and that of the 6th/12th century; they thus enable us, to a certain extent, to complete or criticise the great works of the following century, on which we are dependent for the history of this period, by bringing us closer to their sources: a necessary test in view of the changes which had taken place in the meantime in the Syrian moral and social climate.

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(CL. CAHEN)

AZIMUT [see AL-SAMT].

AL-ʿ**AZĪZ** [see AYYŪBIDS].

AL-ʿ**AZĪZ BIʾLLĀH** NIZĀR ABŪ MANṢŪR, fifth Fāṭimid Caliph and the first whose reign began in Egypt. He was born on 14 Muḥarram 344/10 May 955 and had been designated as his successor by his father al-Muʿizz after the death of his brother ʿAbd Allāh in 364/974. He succeeded his father on 11 Rabīʿ II 365/18 December 975 (or 14 Rabīʿ II/21 December) after the latter had had him recognised as his successor by his family and dignitaries on the preceding day. The official proclamation, however, only took place on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 365/9 August 976.

The sources describe him as tall, with red hair and blue eyes, generous, brave, fond of horses and hunting and very humane and tolerant in disposition. He was an excellent administrator, subjected the State finances to a rigorous supervision, introduced the system of fixed salaries for officials, whom he forbade to accept bribes and presents, and issued an order that no payments should be made except on the production of written documents. He was the first to assign fixed rates of pay to his troops and palace personnel. He was, moreover, the first of the Fāṭimid Caliphs to employ Turks in the army, a practice which was later to be fraught with serious consequences.

He was well supported by his minister Yaʿḳūb b. Killis, the director of taxation, to whom in 368/979 he gave the title of *wazīr*, previously unknown to the Fāṭimids, and who remained *wazīr* until his death in 380/991, with two short periods in disgrace, one because he was accused of having had the Turk Alptakīn (Alptegin; see below) poisoned in 368/979, and the other in 373/984 when he was imprisoned and had his possessions confiscated, perhaps because of the famine which broke out in that year, but two months later he recovered his liberty, possessions and offices. It was to Ibn Killis that al-ʿAzīz's finances owed their prosperity. He also played an important literary rôle, according pensions to the men of letters, lawyers and poets whom he gathered round himself, and composed a book of Ismaʿīlī Law based on pronouncements by al-Muʿizz and al-ʿAzīz.

The *wazīrs* who succeeded him did not remain as long in office. These were ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-ʿAddās, Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. al-Furāt in 381/992, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Bāziyār, Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ, who had been a collaborator of Ibn Killis, and lastly in 385-386/995-996, the Christian ʿĪsā b. Nesṭūrus, formerly Secretary for Finance. Another important officer of al-ʿAzīz was the Jew Manashshā (Manasseh), Secretary for Syria.

The employment of a Christian and a Jew in high offices was in keeping with the spirit of toleration of the Fāṭimids in matters of religion and race. Al-ʿAzīz was still further inclined to toleration, being influenced by his Christian wife, the mother of his son and successor al-Ḥākim. This Princess's two brothers were indebted to his influence and to the Caliph's recommendation for being appointed, the one, Orestes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the other, Arsenius, Metropolitan of Miṣr and Cairo in 375/986. The Christians, throughout his reign, enjoyed great freedom. The Coptic Patriarch Ephraim, in spite of strong Muslim opposition, obtained permission to rebuild the Church of Abu 'l-Sayfayn (St. Mercurius) near al-Fusṭāṭ. The Caliph looked favourably on the controversies between the Bishop of Ashmunayn, Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ and the ḳāḍī Ibn al-Nuʿmān, president of the Court of *Maẓālim*. He refused to take action against a Muslim who had become a Christian convert. This policy was bound to cause considerable discontent among the Muslims, and tracts were circulated against Manasseh and Ibn Nesṭūrus. To appease the Muslims, the Caliph had the Jew and the Christian imprisoned, but as it was difficult to do without their services, they soon re-established their position. In 386/996, this discontent provoked a popular movement against the Christians, following the burning of the fleet, of which some merchants from Amalfi were accused; the latter were massacred and several churches were looted.

Though al-ʿAzīz was tolerant towards Christians and Jews, he was less so towards the Sunnī Muslims. He followed a strict Ismaʿīlī policy (defamatory inscriptions for the companions of the Prophet; suppression of the *ṣalāt al tarāwīḥ* of Ramaḍān in 372/982; the punishment in 381/991 of a man who had in his possession the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik). In 366/976, he inaugurated in Cairo the mourning ceremonies on the feast of the ʿĀshūrāʾ. On the other hand, however, the holding of solemn processions on the Fridays in Ramaḍān and the distributions of sweetmeats at the feast ending the fast (*fiṭra*) are due merely to his love of display.

The reign of al-ʿAzīz was in fact a period of luxury. His fondness for precious stones, cut glass

ware, rich materials of *dabīḳī* and of *siḳlaṭūn*, rare animals, truffles and sea fish etc. (once cherries from Baʿalbakk were brought to him by carrier pigeons), involved great expenditure which made necessary the rigorous handling of the finances referred to above, but at the same time it contributed to the economic resurgence of Egypt. Ibn Killis his *wazīr*, who received a salary of 100,000 dinars, also lived in great style. Al-ʿAzīz also spent a great deal on buildings like the Ḳaṣr al-Dhahab, the Ḳaṣr al-Baḥr, parts of the group of buildings known under the name of Great Palace, the Mosque of al-Ḳarāfa and that called the Mosque of al-Ḥakīm, which however was started by al-ʿAzīz.

The foreign policy of al-ʿAzīz was really only active in Syria. In North Africa, he confirmed Yūsuf Bulukkīn in his office. The latter's son, al-Manṣūr (373-386/984-996), however, likewise confirmed by the Caliph, was by no means docile; he did not hesitate to go to war against the Kutāma, in spite of the Caliph's disapproval, and progressively detached himself from Egypt. Similarly in Sicily, the Caliph confined himself to bestowing the investiture, after the event, on amīrs of the Kalbite family. He entertained diplomatic relations with the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla who, according to Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (in Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī) is said to have taken the initiative in the matter. The letter of ʿAḍud which has been preserved, seems to indicate that he recognised the Fāṭimid's sovereignty, but this seems doubtful, for, according to Ibn Ẓāfir, ʿAḍud al-Dawla disputed the official Fāṭimid genealogy.

Al-ʿAzīz's principal aim was to ensure his possession of Southern and Central Syria, and latterly that of the Amīrate of Aleppo, so as to realise his dreams of expansion at the cost of Byzantium and the ʿAbbāsids. In Southern Palestine, the Bedouin chief Mufarridj b. Daghfal al-Ṭā'ī, master of Ramla, was not readily submissive to the Caliph's orders. In Damascus, the Turk Alptakīn, who came from Baghdād, had installed himself in 364/975 and had proclaimed the sovereignty of the ʿAbbāsids, whilst al-Muʿizz had been unable to expel him from the city. Al-ʿAzīz determined to retake Damascus from Alptakīn, who had allied himself with the Ḳarāmiṭa, the enemies of the Fāṭimids. In 365/976, he sent an army against him under the command of Djawhar. After two months of fighting before Damascus, however, Djawhar, faced by the arrival of the Ḳarāmiṭa, had to withdraw towards Tiberias and then to Ramla and ʿAsḳalān. Here he was besieged, had to negotiate, cede the territory from Damascus to ʿAsḳalān to Alptakīn, and suffer the humiliation of making his exit from the place passing beneath a sword and a lance hung over the gate (367/978). The Caliph reacted and marched in person against Alptakīn, whom he defeated and captured (Muḥarram 368/August 978). But he was obliged to pay an annual tribute to the Ḳarāmiṭa to secure their withdrawal. Against all expectations, he showed Alptakīn every consideration, took him into his service with his Turks and covered him with honours. However, Alptakīn died shortly after from the effects of poison, a victim of Ibn Killis's hate.

In spite of this, Damascus did not remain in the possession of the Caliph, for shortly after it fell into the hands of one of Alptakīn's former auxiliaries, Ḳassām, a navvy by origin. An army, commanded by one of Ibn Killis's favourites, Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ, was sent against him, but proved useless and Faḍl had to return to Palestine. At that time, the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib, who had been evicted from Mawṣil, and had got into communication with the Caliph, was in Palestine after having tried unsuccessfully to take Damascus, and was regarded with hostility by Mufarridj b. Daghfal. The latter, fearing lest al-ʿAzīz might give his favour to Abū Taghlib at his expense, launched an attack against him, and the Ḥamdānid fell into his hands and was put to death in 369/979. The Fāṭimid general played an equivocal rôle in the affair. Ḳassām and Mufarridj successfully resisted further Fāṭimid expeditions, notably that led by Salmān b. Djaʿfar b. Falāḥ, and it was only in 372/982 that the Turkish general Yaltakīn mastered the two of them. Mufarridj, defeated, fled to Ḥimṣ, and from there he made for Antioch, where he placed himself under the protection of the Byzantines. Ḳassām surrendered and was sent to Cairo at the beginning of 373/983.

Al-ʿAzīz, however, was still attracted by the idea of taking Aleppo, although Ibn Killis, considering a nominal recognition of Fāṭimid sovereignty by the Ḥamdānid as sufficient, persuaded him against it, and thought he could make the Ḥamdānid governor of Ḥimṣ, Bakdjūr, the instrument of his ambitious designs. He offered him the government of Damascus and the support of his troops in his rebellion against the amīr of Aleppo, Saʿd al-Dawla. Bakdjūr proceeded to invest Aleppo in 373/983. However, the Byzantine general Bardas Phocas came to the assistance of Aleppo. Mufarridj, who was in the Byzantine army and in correspondance with Bakdjūr, gave him warning. The latter fled, not stopping at Ḥims, which was entered by Bardas Phocas and halted at the frontiers of the Fāṭimid territory. The Caliph, faithful to his promise, gave him the government of Damascus. He was joined by Mufarridj. The intrigues of Ibn Killis, who distrusted Bakdjūr and Mufarridj, and who made several attempts to rid himself of Bakdjūr, led finally to his being expelled from Damascus by a Fāṭimid army in 378/988. He took refuge at Raḳḳa. After the death of Ibn Killis in 380, Mufarridj obtained the Caliph's pardon and Bakdjūr once again won al-ʿAzīz over to the idea of a conquest of Aleppo. The Caliph promised him the support of the garrison of Tripoli. However, at the instigation of the secretary Ibn Nesṭūrus, whom Bakdjūr had made ill-disposed toward himself, the Fāṭimid general abandoned Bakdjūr at the decisive moment in the fighting against Saʿd al-Dawla, so that he was defeated and handed over to the Ḥamdānid in 381/991, being then put to death. After his victory, Saʿd al-Dawla threatened to invade al-ʿAzīz's realm. Death prevented him from putting his plan into execution.

The Caliph was once again urged to undertake the conquest of Aleppo by the former secretary of Bakdjūr, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maghribī, who had taken refuge in Egypt, as well as several amīrs who had left the Ḥamdānid Abu 'l-Faḍā'il. From 382/992 until his death, al-ʿAzīz methodically pursued his attempts to take Aleppo, but without any success, owing to the support given by the Byzantines to their dependant, the amīr of Aleppo. The first attempt, led by the Turkish general Mangūtakīn, supported by Ibn al-Maghribī, was marked by an unsuccessful siege of Aleppo, though there were successful engagements fought to the north of Aleppo against the Byzantine governor of Antioch, Burtzes (al-Burdjī), whom the Emperor Basil II, informed by Ḥamdānid messengers when in Bulgaria, had instructed to intervene. At the end of 382 (end of 992 or beginning of 993), Mangūtakīn, without

authorisation from the Caliph and at the instigation of al-Maghribī, who was dismissed for that reason, raised the siege and returned to Damascus. After the consolidation of Fāṭimid territorial gains south of the amīrate of Aleppo, a second attempt took place in 384/994. There was a first period of siege lasting two months, then Mangūtakīn was obliged to march against Burtzes, and routed him at the ford of the Orontes in September 994, after which he resumed the siege, which lasted until May 995 and was only lifted on the arrival after forced marches of the Emperor Basil II in person, whom the Ḥamdānid messengers had again gone to summon from the Bulgarian front. The Emperor saved Aleppo, but did not succeed in adequately ensuring the defence of the advance positions of the amīrate of Aleppo against the Fāṭimids, for though he placed a garrison at Shayzar, he was unable to take Tripoli. Al-'Azīz resolved to intensify the struggle and the close of the year 385/995 and the beginning of 386/996 were marked by great military and naval preparations in Egypt.

The navy built by Ibn Nesṭūrus having been accidentally set on fire (see above), a new navy was immediately called into existence and sent against Anṭarṭūs, a Byzantine stronghold, to which Mangūtakīn, after having executed in the spring of the year 996 several incursions in the direction of Antioch and Aleppo, was laying siege. The intervention of the Byzantine troops from Antioch caused the operation to fail, but the southern region of the amīrate of Aleppo remained under Fāṭimid influence. The Caliph decided to take the field in person, and set out to place himself at the head of his armies, accompanied by the coffins of his ancestors, like al-Mu'izz on his departure from Africa. However, he fell ill and died at Bilbays on 28 Ramaḍān 386/ 14 October 996.

Al-'Azīz was certainly the wisest and the best of all the Fāṭimid Caliphs of Egypt. Though he did not realise all his aims, it was, nevertheless, during his reign that the domination of the Fāṭimids reached, at least nominally, its greatest extent, for the *khuṭba* was read in his name from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea, in the Yemen, in Mecca and, on one occasion, even at Mawṣil under the 'Uḳaylid ruler.

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'AZĪZ EFENDĪ [see 'ALĪ 'AZĪZ GIRIDLĪ].

'AZĪZ MIṢR, the mighty one of Egypt. In the Kur'ān (xii, 30, 51) the title al-'Azīz is given to the unnamed Egyptian who buys Yūsuf. In later legend and commentary he is called Kiṭfīr [*q.v.*], from the Biblical Potiphar. The title al-'Azīz seems to connote the office of chief minister under Pharoah, as the same title is applied to Yūsuf himself when he reaches that position (Kur'ān, xii, 78, 88). In some of the Arabic dictionaries the term is defined as meaning the ruler of Egypt (Miṣr) and Alexandria (Lane, *s.v.*). In Ottoman texts the epithet 'Azīz Miṣr is sometimes applied to the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt (*e.g.*, in the headings of the *Munsha'āt-i Salāṭīn* of Ferīdūn), but does not appear to have formed part of their official titles. An attempt was made to bring the title into official use during the negotiations between Ismā'īl Pasha, the viceroy of Egypt, and Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz, which culminated in 1867 with the granting by the Sultan to the pasha of the title of Khedive. Ismā'īl, who already enjoyed hereditary status by virtue of the ferman of 1841, was anxious to obtain a special title which would indicate his superiority to the other pashas of the Ottoman Empire, and proposed the title 'Azīz Miṣr. According to the Ottoman Minister of Internal Affairs of that time, Memdūḥ Pasha, this proposal was not acceptable, in part because the suggested title coincided with the Sultan's own name.

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'AZĪZĪ, Ottoman poet, died in 993/1585. His name, according to some, was Muṣṭafā, according to others, Meḥemmed. He lived in Istanbul, near the Castle of the Seven Towers (Yedi Ḳule), as a bookbinder and, presumably later, as the warden of the guards of the castle. He died there and was buried in the large cemetery outside the city walls, near Yedi Ḳule. His portrait in 'Āshiḳ Čelebi's *tedhkire* ('Alī Emīrī

no. 772) shows him with a white beard. Among the poets his contemporaries who used the *nom de plume* ʿAzīzī he was the most famous.

All his biographers found it noteworthy that, in contrast to the works of most of the other poets of his time, his poetry was inspired not by boys, but by women. This reputation seems to have derived from his most famous poem, a *shehrengiz* on the courtesans of Istanbul, entitled *Rengīn-nāme*, which is remarkable for its lively style and bold use of idiomatic expressions and proverbs; each of the 49 beauties is described, in a set of three couplets, with images befitting her name or nickname. Other poems by him are found scattered in *tedhkires* and anthologies.

Bibliography: Gibb, *Ottoman poetry*, iii, 179-86 (1904), with English translation of 12 stanzas of the *shehrengiz*; Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, ii, 632-37 (about 1938), containing passages on ʿAzīzī from various *tedhkires*, and several of his scattered poems; İstanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi, Turkish MSS. no. 9492, is a complete copy (dated 1304/1886-87) of the *Rengīn-nāme*; article in *IA*. (A. Tietze)

ʿAZĪZĪ [see karačeledi-zāde].

ʿAZL, *coitus interruptus*. According to the *ḥadīth* this practice was not unknown to the ancient Arabs, and the Messenger of God did not declare it to be *ḥarām*. The doctors of the Law agree that the master can practise it with his slave concubine unconditionally, and the husband with his wife; in the latter case, however, there is controversy on the question whether the wife's permission is necessary. According to al-Ghazālī, although *ʿazl* is not in conformity with the general spirit of marriage, it is not forbidden, and is at the most only mildly reprehensible: it may also be practised with a view to ensuring, for example, that the consequences of a confinement do not imperil the husband's "continued enjoyment of marital rights"; with greater justification, and although it is preferable to leave the matter trustingly in God's hands, "the fear of incurring great financial hardship on account of the size of one's family" renders this contraceptive practice admissible.

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ʿAZL, dismissal [see supplement].

ʿAZMĪ-ZĀDE Muṣṭafā, Ottoman poet and stylist, as a poet known under the name of Ḥāletī. Born in the so-called *laylat al-berāt* in Istanbul on 15 Shaʿbān 977/23 Jan. 1570. He was the son of ʿAzmī-Efendi, who was the well-known and well-respected tutor of Murād IV as well as a poet, writer, and translator (died 990/1582). As a pupil of Saʿd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] who became famous as a historian, he studied law, and to him he owed his special love for historical investigation. He became *müderris* at the *madrasa* of Ḥādjdjī-Khātūn in Istanbul, but in 1011/1602-3 he was transferred to Damascus as a judge. Two years later he went to Cairo in the same capacity. When Dāmād Ibrāhīm-Pasha (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 136 ff.) the governor of Egypt, was killed in a military rising in Cairo, ʿAzmī-zāde (who had occasionally represented him) was dismissed because of his lack of prudence, and soon afterwards (1015/1606-7) he was moved as Mulla to Brusa. As a reward for his good services in the fight against the ʿAlīd rebel Ḳalender-oghlu, he became Mullah of Adrianople in 1020/1611-2. His behaviour when a judge was punished for wrong-doing led to his transfer to Damascus where, however, he remained only until 1023/1614, to go from there to Istanbul as a judge. This important office he held for four years. Subsequently he was sent to the provinces once again, this time to Cairo. In Rabīʿ II 1030/Feb.-March 1621, he next became a military judge in Anatolia and in Rabīʿ I 1037/Nov. 1627, in Rumelia, after he had again been without office (*maʿzūl*) since Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1032/Sept. 1623. This last post, too, he held only for a short time. He was dismissed in Ramaḍān 1038/April-May 1629, and moved to the school attached to the Sulaymāniyya mosque (*dār al-ḥadīth*) in Istanbul. He died soon afterwards (26 Shaʿbān 1040/30 March 1631), and is buried in the courtyard of his school, not far from his house in Sofular Čarshusu.

As the poet Ḥāletī, ʿAzmī-zāde achieved fame because of his *dīwān*, his *Sāḳī-nāme*, and his quatrains (*rubāʿī*), and he was known as the Turkish ʿUmar Khayyām by his successors. He was very widely read and left a library of manuscripts of some 4000 volumes, all of which are annotated in his own hand. The library was dispersed. None of his works has yet been printed, and his poetry deserves a fuller critical appreciation. ʿAzmī-zāde's *Sulaymān-nāme* would appear to have nothing to do with the sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent; the contents stands in need of an examination (there is a manuscript in the Esʿad-Efendi library in Istanbul (No. 2284, cf. *GOW*, 76)). The best example of his skill in prose is his *Munshaʾāt*, of which there is a manuscript in the Ḥamīdiyya library in Istanbul (No. 599). There is another one in London, in the British Museum (Or. 1169, cf. Rieu, 96b.) with a reference to a further manuscript in Vienna (National-bibliothek) containing only 13 letters (cf. G. Flügel, catalogue I, 265), Cf. also Hammer Purgstall, iv (1828), viii.

Bibliography: Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1268, 739ff.; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 103 f.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, ii, Istanbul 1267, 135; J. v. Hammer, *GOD*, iii (1837), 214 ff.; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 221 ff.; Brūsalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmanlī Müellifleri*, ii (1333), 311 f. Brief notices in Hammer-Purgstall, iv (1829), 629, based on ʿAṭāʾī. (F. Babinger)

al-**AZRAĶĪ** Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad, historian of Mecca and of its sanctuary. The ancestor of the family was a Byzantine (*Rūmī*) slave of Kalada or al-Ḥārith b. Kalada in al-Ṭāʾif, called al-Azraḳ on account of his blue eyes. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (*Istīʿāb*, *s.v.* Sumayya), he married Sumayya, the mother of Ziyād b. Abīhi. During the siege of al-Ṭāʾif in 8/630 al-Azraḳ went over to Muḥammad, was freed, and settled at Mecca. His descendents rose to power and influence and married into the Umayyad aristocracy. In order to obliterate their humble origin they pretended to belong to the clan of ʿIkabb of the Banū Taghlib (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 176) but later, when the antagonisms between Ḳays and Yaman

became prominent, they were persuaded by the Khuzāʿa to join the Yamanite camp by maintaining that al-Azraḳ was the son of ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shamir and hence a member of the royal family of the Ghassānids (Ibn Saʿd, l.c.; see also al-Azraḳī 458, and 460).

A great-great-grandson of al-Azraḳ was Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba, d. 222/837 (Ibn Saʿd v, 367; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, i, 222; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, i, 79). He was interested in the history of Mecca and its sanctuary and gathered from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, the *muftī* Saʿīd b. Sālim, the *faḳīh* al-Zandjī, Dāwūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār and other Meccans a huge mass of relevant information. His materials were utilised and considerably enlarged by his grandson Abu 'l-Walīd, the author of *Akhbār Makka*. The traditions collected in this book go back in the main to the so-called school of Ibn ʿAbbās and represent its doctrines and Ḳurʾānic exegesis. With regard to the legendary history of Mecca in pre-Islamic times Ibn Isḥāḳ, al-Kalbī and Wahb b. Munabbih are also quoted. The topographical description is in the main the work of Abu 'l-Walīd. Abu 'l-Walīd transmitted the book to the "reader" Abū Muḥammad Isḥāḳ b. Aḥmad al-Khuzāʿī (a descendent of ʿUmar's governor of Mecca Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārith) d. 308/921, who made many additions, especially about the renovations of the Kaʿba in 281-4/894-7, and transmitted the book to his grand-nephew Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Nāfiʿ al-Khuzāʿī, d. after 350/961 (who made only three additions). This is the text that was printed by Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, Leipzig 1858.

Azraḳī's book was plagiarised c. 272/885-6 by Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Fākihī (see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, i, xxiv-xxix and ii, i). It was also utilised by Saʿd al-Dīn Saʿd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Isfarāʾinī c. 762/1361 in his *Zubdat al-Aʿmāl* (see Rieu, *Supplement*, nr. 575). Al-Kirmānī wrote in 821/1418 a *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Makka* (autograph in Berlin, Ahlwardt no. 9752).

Bibliography: For Azraḳ see also Ibn Ḳutayba, *Handbuch*, 131; Ṭabarī, iii, 2315, 2 and *Iṣāba s.vv.* al-Azraḳ and Sumayya Umm ʿAmmār. For Abu 'l-Walīd al-Azraḳī see *Fihrist*, 112; Samʿānī 28a; Brockelmann, S I, 209. J. W. Fück, *Der Ahn des Azraqi* (*Studi Orientalistici in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, i, 336-40). (J. W. Fück)

AZRAḲĪ, Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl al-Warrāḳ, Persian poet who, according to Ethé, died in 527/1132-33 or in 524/1130; but Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī has shown (*Čahār Maḳāla*, 175 ff.) that he died certainly before 465/1072-3. He wrote a *Dīwān* which, among other poems, contains panegyrics on Ṭughānshāh b. Alp Arslan, the governor of Harāt (not, as is often stated, of Nīshāpūr), and on Amīrānshāh, the son of Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*], the first Saldjūḳid sultan of Kirmān. His verses comprise outstanding *ḳaṣīdas* and *ḳiṭʿas*; he excels in descriptive poetry but is sometimes exaggerated in his praise, and he is not free from far-fetched and affected comparisons. It seems improbable that he is also, as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and others assert, the author of the *Sindbād-nāma* and of an obscene book entitled *Alfiyya wa-Shalfiyya*.

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AZRAḲITES [see azāriḳa].

AZULEJO [see Khazaf].

ĀZURDA, Ṣadr al-Dīn Khān b. Luṭf Allāh, Indian writer of Kashmīrī extraction, was born in Delhi in 1204/1789. He learnt the traditional sciences from Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*qq.v.*] and the rational sciences from Faḍl-i Imām of Khayrābād, whom he succeeded in 1243/1827 as the last grand *muftī* and *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* of Imperial Delhi. In addition to his proficiency in various branches of knowledge he was a great authority on the Urdū language, and celebrated poets like Ghālib and Muʾmin often invited his opinion on their compositions. Before the Mutiny his house in Matyā Maḥall, Delhi, was the favourite meeting-place of scholars and poets. (He was the first to prescribe the *dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī as one of the courses of study in India.) Suspected of complicity in the Mutiny of 1857, he was gaoled. His property, including his large private library, was confiscated and auctioned. After his release his property, but not his library, was restored to him. He had many pupils. Before his appointment as *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* he served as a tutor to Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān, ruler of Rāmpūr (1855-65). His other pupils included: Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān [*q.v.*]; Faḳīr Muḥammad Lāhōrī, author of *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafiyya*, and Abu 'l-Khayr, father of Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād. He was struck with paralysis in 1862 and died six years later on 24th Rabīʿ I 1285/15th July, 1868 and was buried in Delhi.

Among his works, some of which perished during the Mutiny, are two tracts in Arabic: *Muntaha 'l-Maḳāl fī Sharḥ Ḥadīth lā Tashudd al-Riḥāl*, in refutation of the arguments of Ibn Taymiyya and others to prove that visits to the shrines of saints and divines are unlawful; *al-Durr al-Manḍūd fī Ḥukm Imraʾt al-Mafḳūd*. He is also the author of a short biographical work on Urdū poets entitled *Tadhkira-i Mukhtaṣar dar Ḥāl-i Rekhtagūyān-i Hind* (Browne, *Suppt.*, 304). Some of his poems were reproduced by (Sir) Sayyid Aḥmad Khān in the *Āthār al-Ṣanādīd*[1], Delhi 1846, 72-114.

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Maʿārif (Urdū monthly), Aʿẓamgarh, vii/5-6 (1921); Garcin de Tassy, ***Histoire de la litteratnre*², *Hindouie et Hindoustanie***, Paris 1870, i, 272; K. Aḥmad Fārūḳī, ***Kalāsikī Adab*** (in Urdū), Delhi 1956, s.v. *Āzurda*. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ʿAZZA [see kuthayyir].

ʿAZZA AL-MAYLĀʾ, "ʿAzza with the graceful walk", celebrated singer and lute player of Medina, *mawlāt* of the Anṣār, died probably before the end of the 1st/7th century, after a long career. A pupil of Sāʾib Khātir and Nashīṭ, singers of Persian origin, then of Rāʾiḳa and Djamīla [*q.v.*], she in her turn numbered among her pupils such famous singers as Ibn Muḥriz and Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*], but, unlike Djamīla, she did not form an actual school. She differed from the latter, too as regards her practice of giving recitals in aristocratic households, but she also used to receive in her own home poets (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, Ḥassān b. Thābit whom she used to move to tears) and important personalities (Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, and others). Greatly beloved for her art and, it is said, for her excellent morals, ʿAzza was a popular figure in 1st/7th century Medina.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, index (particularly xvi, 133 ff.); Ibn Khallikān, no. 557; Caussin de Perceval, *Notices anecdotiques* ...., Paris 1874 (= *JA*, 1873), 55; ʿAmrūsī, *al-Djawārī al-Mughanniyāt*, Cairo n.d., 74-85. (Ch. Pellat)

B

BĀ (cf. Bū), genealogical term used in S. Arabia, especially among the *sayyids* and *mashāʾikh* of Ḥaḍramawt, to form individual and (secondarily) collective proper names, *e.g.*, Bā ʿAbbād, Bā ʿAlawī, Bā Faḍl, Bā Faḳīh, Bā Ḥasan, Bā Ḥassān, Bā Hurmuz, Bā Wazīr (see special articles and the lists of Nallino (in Gabrieli, *Nome proprio*, 88) and van den Berg (*Ḥadhramout*, 51-61)). Ibn al-Mudjāwir (my ed., 254) gives details on this Ḥaḍramī nomenclature, which seemed so strange to the custom-house officers at Aden that they refused to register these names. While he and al-Shardjī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Khawāṣṣ*, *passim*) use the archaising form *ʾabā*, other authors have Abū/ī/ā, or simply omit Bā. Hence the same person is cited as Bā Ḥassān, Abā Ḥassān, Abū Ḥassān and Ḥassān (for Ibn Ḥassān, see below).

The genuine Bā thus would be identical with indeclinable Abā "father" forming individual (pseudo) *kunyas*, with the actual function of a *nisba* in -ī, or of *dhū* in western Yamanite tradition. This is the view of Ibn al-Mudjāwir, al-Shillī (*Mashraʿ*, i, 28), al-Ṣaḳḳāf (*Taʾrīkh al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn*, i, 53 n.) and Flügel (*ZDMG*, ix, 227). In order to denote the tribe or family *ʾāl* or *ʾawlād* is prefixed to Bā, *e.g.*, Āl Bā ʿAlawī, Awlād Bā Kushayr; this may have caused the equation Bā = Banū found in al-Muḥibbī (*Khulāṣa*, i, 74) and approved of by Wüstenfeld (*Geschichtsschreiber*, 256; *Çufiten*, 4 n. 1).

From this primary Bā-formation must be distinguished another with Bal- (sometimes Bil-) < *bin al-*, *e.g.*, Bal-Faḳīh (not identical with the Bā Faḳīh cited above) = Ibn al-Faḳīh (al-Saḳḳāf, *op. cit.* ii, 54 n. 2), Bal-Ḥādjdj (surname of members of the Bā Faḍl) = Ibn al-Ḥādjdj. The use of Bin, along with the *nisba* in -ī, as a *nomen unitatis* of Bā-names, attested by van den Berg (*loc. cit.*), as also that of Ibn Ḥassān for Bā/Abū Ḥassān (cf. *MO*, xxv, 131 and *BSOAS*, xiii, 291/299), may reflect different local habits or even some uncertainty on the part of native authorities.

Bibliography: van den Berg, *Le Ḥadhramout et ses colonies Arabes*, Batavia 1886; G. Gabrieli, *Il nome proprio arabo-musulmano*, Rome 1915; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, 1-4; al-Shillī, *al-Mashraʿ al-Rawī*, 1-2; R. B. Serjeant, *The Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt*, London 1957. (O. Löfgren)

BĀ ʿABBĀD, a family of Ḥaḍramī *mashāʾikh* and scholars, associated with the shrine of the prophet Hūd. Among its members were (1) ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bā ʿAbbād al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 687/1288) and (2) Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 721/1321) both of them buried in Shibām (al-Shardjī, *Ṭabaḳāt* 70, 139). For two *manāḳib*-works on this family, see Serjeant, *The Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt*, 6, 11 f. (O. Löfgren)

BĀ ʿALAWĪ (more precisely : Āl Bā ʿAlawī, cf. art. Bā; according to al-Shillī [*Mashraʿ*, i, 31] *ʿalawī* is "a well-known bird"; *nisba*: al-ʿAlawī [also al-Bāʿalawī], not to be confounded with the usual *nisba* belonging to ʿAlī), a large and influential clan of S. Arabian sayyids and Ṣūfīs, for the most part living in Ḥaḍramawt, in or near the town of Tarīm [*q.v.*], and buried in the Zanbal cemetery there. The noble descent of the Bā ʿAlawī sayyids is said to have been checked in the sixth century by the traditionist ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Djadīd (d. 620/1223; *Taʾrīkh thaghr ʿAdan*, ii, 157; *Mashraʿ*, ii, 233) by means of trustworthy witnesses. Special works on S. Arabian *sāda* are: *al-Djawhar al-Shaffāf* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb (d. 855/1451); *al-Barḳa al-mushīḳa* by ʿAlī b. Abū Bakr al-Saḳḳāf [*q.v.*]; *Ghurar al-Bahāʾ al-ḍawʾī* by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Kharid (below no. 10); *al-Tiryāḳ al-wāf* by ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bā Shaybān (below no. 9); *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī* by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bā Hārūn. From these sources and general biographical works Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Shillī (d. 1093/1682) brought together more than 280 biographies in his *al-Mashraʿ al-Rawī fī Manāḳib al-Sāda Āl Abī ʿAlawī* (Maṣr 1319); see art. *al-Shillī*. The valuable study of Wüstenfeld, *Die Çufiten in Süd-Arabien* (1883), being based on al-Muḥibbī's *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, only covers the 11th/17th century, but gives useful genealogical tables of different branches of the Bā ʿAlawī sayyids (to be used with caution as to details). Much material is to be found in the *Taʾrīkh al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Saḳḳāf (1353/55). Here only the most prominent members of the main line can be listed; for the branches ʿAydarūs, Bā Faḳīh, Bal-Faḳīh, al-Djufrī, al-Ḥabshī, al-Ḥaddād, al-Saḳḳāf, al-Shillī, see separate articles.

1. Eponymous ancestor: ʿAlawi b. ʿAbd/ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Muhādjir b. ʿAlī al-ʿUrayḍī b. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ b. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir b. ʿA Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. On this senior ʿAlawī and his brothers Baṣrī and Djadīd (Djudayd) see art. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Muhādjir. Biogr.: *Mashraʿ*, i, 30.

2. ʿAlī b. ʿAlawī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlawī (no. 1), known as Khāliʿ Ḳasam (village east of Tarīm), was the first one of this house who settled in Tarīm, in 521/1127; he died there in 527/1133. *Mashraʿ*, ii, 230, cf. Wüstenf., *Çufiten*, 4.

3. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (no. 2), called Ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ, settled in this famous seaport (= Ẓafār al-ḳadīma) and died there after 550/1155. *Mashraʿ*, i, 198. From his great grandson Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlawī al-Faḳīh (*Mashraʿ*, ii, 62) come the families Bā Faḳīh and al-Ḥaddād.

4. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (no. 3), called al-Ustādh al-aʿẓam, "the great Master", and al-Faḳīh al-muḳaddam (574-653/1178-1255), was a central figure in S. Arabian mysticism and the founder of the special ʿAlawī *ṭariḳa*. He became familiar with Sufyān al-Yamanī of Laḥdj (*Taʾrīkh thaghr ʿAdan*, ii, 93), when this Ṣūfī visited Ḥaḍramawt and brought about rainfall after a long drought. Apart from *risālas* sent to Sufyān and to Saʿd al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-Ẓafārī (d. 607/1210) no writings are ascribed to him. By the medium of ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī al-Maghribī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muḳʿad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī he was impressed with the doctrines of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tilimsānī, and was the first one to introduce special Ṣūfistic discipline (*taḥkīm*) into Ḥaḍramawt (cf. Wüst., *Çufiten*, 5). al-Shillī (*Mashraʿ*, ii, 260) traces the spiritual *ṭariḳa* of the Bā ʿAlawī, alongside with the genealogy (*ṭarīḳat al-ābāʾ*) mentioned above. Five sons: ʿAlawī (junior), ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAlī and Aḥmad (ancestor of the Bal-Faḳīh branch [*q.v.*]). Biogr.: *Mashraʿ*, ii, 2-11.

5. ʿAlawī b. Muḥammad (no. 4), d. 669/1270, and his son ʿAbd Allāh Bā ʿAlawī (638/1240-731/1330), both of them renowned Ṣūfīs, introduce the line Bā ʿAlawī, strictly speaking. For details on their life see the full biographies in *Mashraʿ*, ii, 211, esp. 184 ff.

6. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlawī (no. 5), b. 705/1305 in Tarīm, d. there 765/1364. Having performed the pilgrimage he settled in a place near the tomb of Hūd called Yabḥar, hence his surname Mawlā l-Dawīla "patron of the old town (sc. Yabḥar)". His son is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saḳḳāf (739-819), ancestor of the important branches Saḳḳāf and ʿAydarūs (see these arts.). *Mashraʿ*, i, 199 ff.; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 71.

7. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (no. 4), called Ṣāḥib al-Ḥamrāʾ, b. 823/1420 in Tarīm, d. 889/1484 in Taʿizz. After visiting Mecca, Aden, Laḥdj he settled down in the village al-Ḥamrāʾ. Beside poetry and minor *risālas* he wrote *Fatḥ Allāh al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān fī manāḳib ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān* (*i.e.*, al-ʿAydarūs, *q.v.*). *Mashraʿ*, ii, 240; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 86.

8. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlawī b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (no. 4), called Shanbal, d. 920/1514. He compiled an historical work, *Taʾrīkh Shanbal*, on which see Serjeant, *Materials*, 291 f; *Mashraʿ*, ii, 67.

9. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr Bā Shaybān b. Muḥammad Asad Allāh b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (no. 4), 881-944/1476-1537. He wrote *Tiryāḳ al-Ḳulūb al-Wāf bi-Dhikr Ḥikāyāt al-Sāda al-Ashrāf* (cf. supra and Brockelmann II, 401; Serjeant, *Materials*, 583), with biographies of 355 Bā ʿAlawī sayyids. *Mashraʿ*, ii, 248 (cf. i, 3); Wüstenfeld, *Çufiten*, 48.

10. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlawī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlawī (no. 5), called Kharid, b. 890/1485, d. 960/1553. He wrote *al-Wasāʾil* (on tradition), *al-Nafaḥāt* (on Ṣūfism), and *Ghurar al-Bahāʾ al-Ḍawʾī fī Manāḳib al-Sāda Banī ʿAlawī* (var. *Banī Baṣrī wa-Djadīd wa-ʿAlawī*), cf. supra and *Mashraʿ*, i, 196; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 142; Serjeant, *Mat.*, 582.

11. Sālim b. Aḥmad b. Shaykhān b. ʿAlī b. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbbūd b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (no. 6), b. 995/1587, d. 1046/1636 in Mecca. He was introduced into Ṣūfism by Aḥmad al-Shanāwī (d. 1028/1619) and wrote numerous works, listed by his son Abū Bakr in a *risāla* inserted by al-Shillī into his biography (*Mashraʿ*, ii, 104-110), among which are: *Bulghat al-murīd wa-Bughyat al-mustafīd*; a commentary on parts 4-5 of *al-Djawāhir al-khams* by Muḥammad Ghawth Allāh b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn (Brockelmann, II, 418); *al-Sifr al-masṭūr li 'l-dirāya fi 'l-Durr al-manthūr li 'l-wilāya*; *Miṣbāḥ al-sirr al-lāmiʿ bi-Miftāḥ al-djafr al-djāmiʿ*; *Ghurar al-bayān ʿan ʿumr al-zamān*; *al-Burhān al-maʿrūf fi mawāzīn al-ḥurūf* etc. Cf. Brockelmann, II, 407, S II, 565; Wüstenfeld, *Çufiten*, 77. On his son Abū Bakr (d. 1085/1674) see *Mashraʿ*, ii, 26; Brockelmann, S II, 566.

12. ʿAḳīl b. ʿUmar ʿImrān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Sālim b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (no. 4), Abu'l-Mawāhib, b. 1001/1593 in al-Ribāṭ (near Ẓafār al-Ḥabūḍī), d. 1062/1652 in Ẓafār and buried in his birth-place. Among his writings are: *al-ʿAḳīda* (comm. by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳashshāshī and ʿAlī b. ʿUmar Bā ʿUmar); *Fatḥ al-Karīm al-Ghāfir fī Sharḥ Ḥilyat al-Musāfir* (comm. on a *ḳaṣīda* by Saʿīd b. ʿUmar Bal-Ḥāf). Biogr.: *Mashraʿ*, ii, 203; Wüst., *Çufiten*, 51; cf. Brockelmann, S II, 533 (with two more titles).

13. Muḥammad b. Zayn b. Sumayṭ ʿAlawī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Sumayṭ, b. in Tarīm 1100/1689, moved to Shibām in 1135/1723, d. there 1172/1758. He wrote *manāḳib*-works on his teachers ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlawī al-Ḥaddād (d. 1132/1720) and Aḥmad b. Zayn al-Ḥabshī (d. 1145/1732), entitled *Ghāyat al-Ḳaṣd wa 'l-Murād* (Bombay 1885) and *Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn* resp.; *Bahdjat al-Fuʾād* (an abridgement of the first-named); *Lubb al-Lubāb* (an abridgement of *Madjmaʿ al-Aḥbāb*); a *dīwān* of poetry. See al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʿrīkh*, ii, 127-135; Serjeant, *Mat.* 582; Brockelmann, S II, 566.

14. Among recent members of the clan are:

a) ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Djāwī (d. 1272/1855). He wrote *Sullam al-tawfīḳ ilā maḥabbat Allāh ʿalā l-taḥḳīḳ* (comm. *Mirḳāt Ṣuʿūd al-Taṣdīḳ* by Muḥammad Nawawī al-Djāwī) and other works, see Sarkis, 518, Brockelmann, S II, 820 (814).

b) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar (ca. 1250/1835), *muftī* of Ḥaḍramawt, wrote *Bughyat al-Mustarshidīn fī Talkhīṣ Fatāwī baʿḍ al-Aʾimma al-Mutaʾakhkhirīn* and *Ghāyat Talkhīṣ al-Murād min Fatāwī Ibn Ziyād* (Miṣr 1303). Sarkis, 517; Brockelmann, S II, 817.

c) Faḍl b. ʿAlawī b. Muḥammad b. Sahl Mawlā 'l-Dawīla (d. 1283/1866) wrote *Sabīl al-Adhkār wa 'l-Iʿtibār* etc. (in marg. of al-Ḥaddād: *al-Naṣāʾiḥ al-Dīniyya*); *ʿIḳd al-Farāʾid min Nuṣūṣ al-ʿUlamāʾ al-Amādjid*; see Sarkis, 517, Brockelmann, S II, 566.

d) Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad,

called Ibn Shihāb (1262-1341/1846-1923), see Sarkis 140 f. (with titles of nine works, printed in India 1305-1331).

e) Muḥammad b. ʿAḳīl b. ʿAlī b. Yaʿḳūb (1279/1862-1350/1931) wrote *al-ʿAṭab al-djamīl* (pr. 1342); Brock., S II, 822.

Bibliography: R. B. Serjeant, *The Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt*, London 1957; idem, *Materials for South Arabian history*, in *BSOAS*, xiii, 1950, 281-307, 581-601, and the works cited above. (O. Löfgren)

BĀ FAḌL [see faḍl, bā].

BĀ FAḲĪH [see faḳīh, bā].

BAL-FAḲĪH [see faḳīh, bal-].

BĀ ḤASSĀN [see ḥassān, bā].

BĀ HURMUZ [see hurmuz, bā].

BĀ KATHĪR [see kathīrī].

BĀ MADḤIDJ [see al-suwaynī, saʿd b. ʿalī].

BĀ MAKHRAMA [see makhrama, bā].

BĀʾ [see hidjāʾ].

BĀʾ [see mawāzīn].

BAALBEK [see baʿlabakk].

BĀB = Gate. This question is best treated under two headings, (i) in mosques, (ii) in fortifications.

(i) In mosques, mausoleums, etc.

Down to the end of the 3rd/9th century, no mosque had a monumental entrance. All mosques, large or small, were entered by simple rectangular doorways in the enclosure wall, e.g. the Mosque at Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī, 110/729; the Great Mosque at Ḥarrān, entrance, *c.* A.D. 744-50; the Mosque of Cordova, 170/787; the Mosque of ʿAmr of 212/729; the two entrances which date from 221/836 in the Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān; the Mosque of Bū Fatātā at Sūsa, 223-6/838-41; The Great Mosque at Sūsa, 236/850-1; the Great Mosques of Sāmarrā 234-7/848-52, and Abū Dulaf, 247/860-61; and the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, 263-5/876-9. The first mosque to have a monumental entrance was the mosque built by the Fāṭimids at the foundation of Mahdiyya on the Gulf of Gabes in 308/920-21. It has obviously been inspired by one of the Roman triumphal archways, which must have been more numerous in North Africa in 920 than they are to-day (Plate XXV*a*).

This type was brought to Egypt by the Fāṭimids, where it appears in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim in 393/1003, but on a more imposing scale (6.16 m. projection and 15.50 in width, against 3 m. × 8 for Mahdiyya. It also appears in the Mosque of al-Aḳmar, 519/1125 on a much reduced scale, and in the Mosque of Baybars, 665-7/1266-9 on a very large scale (8.86 × 18.83 m.) with its flanks decorated by three arched panels, against two in al-Ḥākim and one at Mahdiyya (Plate XXV*b*).

But a new type, the so-called stalactite doorway, had just appeared in Syria. The earliest example is the entrance of the Madrasa of Shādbakht at Aleppo (Plate XXVI*a*), 589/1193. This was followed by other fine examples, e.g. the Ribāṭ Nāṣiri (Plate XXVI*b*) at Aleppo, 635 H. = 1237/8); the Djāmiʿ al-Tawba at Damascus, 632/1234; etc.

It was first employed in Egypt in the Madrasa of Baybars, 662/1264, and then in the Madrasa-Mausoleum of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf (Plate XXVII *a*) 698/1299, but it did not become general until the second half of the 8th/14th century, for several early 14th century monuments exist in which it is not employed.

The origin of this beautiful form of monumental entrance cannot be demonstrated, for the embryonic stages in its evolution appear to have perished, but it seems probable that it was derived from portals such as the lateral ones of the Bayt al-Khalīfa at Sāmarrā, where a deep entrance bay is covered by a semi-dome on a pair of squinches. Given this scheme it is obvious that, on its importation at a later date into Syria, the squinches would be replaced by the device there in use for supporting domes. That this has actually happened may be realised on comparing our earliest example, the entrance bay of the Madrasa of Shādbakht (Plate XXVI *a*) with the pendentives of the dome in front of the *miḥrāb* of the nearly contemporary Mashhad of Ḥusayn at Aleppo, 608/1211-12. In both cases we have the typically Syrian treatment, a series of horizontal courses, decorated with niches, set straight across the corner and advancing one over the other.

In Persia the earliest portals such as that of the Mausoleum of Čihil Dukhtarān at Dāmghān (Sarre, *Denkmäler*, Abb. 156), 446/1054, the Gunbad-i Surkh at Marāgha (Pope, *Survey*, Plate 341 A, and Godard in *Athār-é Īrān*, I, fig., 89), 542/1 148, and the Mausoleum of Muʾmina Khātūn (*ibid*, Plate 345 and Sarre, *op. cit.* Taf. 3, reproduced here, Plate XXVII*b*) at Nakhčivān, 582/1186, consist of a rectangular doorway with an arched tympanum above, set in a shallow rectangular recess. The next step, apparently, was to replace the arched tympanum by a shallow recess filled with stalactites, e.g. a tower-tomb at Khiov (Pope, *op. cit.*, Plate 343) and another at Salmās (*ibid.*, Plate 344, reproduced here, Plate XXVIII*a*). During the XIVth century, portals usually take the form of a high arched bay, like a small *līwān*, covered by a semi-dome on stalactite pendentives (quite different, however, from the Egyptian variety), e.g. the Khānḳāh at Naṭanz (*ibid.*, Plate 367), 704/1304-5, the Shrine of Shaykh Bāyazīd at Bisṭām (*ibid.*, Plate 416, reproduced here, Plate XXVIII*b*), 713/1313, the Great Mosque at Varāmīn (*ibid.*, Plate 406), 723-6/1323-5, the Mausoleum of Bābā Ḳāsim at Iṣfahān (*ibid.*, Plate 417), 741/1340, the Great Mosque at Kirmān (*ibid.*, Plate 541 A), 750/1349, and the Masdjid-i Pā-Manār, 794/1391, also at Kirmān (*ibid.*, Plate 451 B). At the end of the 15th century we have the remarkable portal at Balkh belonging to the Shrine of Abū Naṣr Pārsā (*ibid.*, Plates 422 and 424), which projects boldly from the façade. In the central part is a high arched bay, with the entrance at the back as usual, but the flanks are bevelled off at 45°, and are in two storeys, each with a pointed arched recess.

This portal may well be the prototype of some of the monumental Indian examples such as the famous Buland Darwāza at Fatḥpūr Sikrī, 1010/1602, and the main entrance of the Great Mosque at Delhi, A.D. 1644-58.

At Constantinople mosque entrances are usually in the form of a slight salient, in which is set the entrance bay, covered by a very high stalactite hood composed of very small niches, e.g. the Mosque of Sulṭān Bāyazīd, 906-11/1500-1505, the Mosque of Sulṭān Selīm (Plate XXIX*a*), 929/1522, the Mosque of Shāhzāde, 955/1548, etc.

In North Africa the entrances of mosques are usually emphasised, not by a vaulted salient (as at Mahdiyya), but by an elaborat eawning resting on brackets and covered by a sloping roof of tiles, e.g. at Fez (see H. Terrasse, *La Mosquée des Andalous*, pl. XV-XVII.

(ii) In fortifications

The earliest gateways of Muslim fortified enclosures were simple "straight-through" entrances defended by a mâchicoulis and a pair of half-round flanking towers, e.g. the single gateway of the

Lesser (Plate XXIX*b*) and the four gateways of the Greater Enclosure of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī, built by the Caliph Hishām in 110/729.

But as early as the building of Baghdād by al-Manṣūr in 145-7/762-5 a new type appears—the bent entrance—which was employed for the four gateways of the outer wall. This is clear from the description of al-Khaṭīb, who says: "When one entered by the Khurāsān Gate one first turned to the left in an oblong passage (*dihlīz āzādj*) with a vault of brick, 20 cubits wide and 30 cubits long, ***the entrance of which was in the width and the exit in the length***, and passed out into a *raḥaba* . . . at the far end of which was the second gateway which was that of the city". Only one turn is mentioned, and as one then passed into a courtyard at the far end of which was the main gateway, it follows that the first direction must have been at right angles to the direction of exit, so it is obvious that the entrance must have been in the flank of the gateway tower.

It is frequently stated that bent entrances occur in Byzantine fortifications in N. Africa. It is not going too far to say that ***not a single example*** of such an entrance is to be found in any work of Justinian's reign, or before it, either in North Africa, Rome, Constantinople itself, or anywhere else in the Byzantine Empire (see my art. in the *Proc. Brit. Academy*, xxxviii, 101-5). The first bent entrance in Byzantine architecture is the south gate of the inner Citadel at Ancyra built, according to an inscription, by Michael III in A.D. 859.

It is probable that the device was brought by the ʿAbbāsids (who came from the north-east) from the Oxus region, where pre-Muslim fortified enclosures have recently been discovered by the expedition led by Tolstov. The oldest of them, Djanbās Ḳalʿa, is about 50 km. from the river, in a region no longer irrigated. It consists of a fortified enclosure of mud brick, measuring 200 × 170 m. with walls still standing 10 m. high, provided with a bent entrance (see Field and Tolstov, in *Ars Islamica*, vi, 150).

The Arabic term for a bent entrance is *bāshūra*, as is perfectly clear from the passage in which Maḳrīzī describes the Bāb Zuwayla of Cairo: ". . . he (Badr al-Djamālī did not make a *bāshūra*, as is the custom for the gates of fortresses. This disposition consists in arranging a bend (*ʿaṭf*) in the passageway to prevent troops taking it by assault during a siege, and to render impossible the entry *en masse* of cavalry" (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 380, l. 35, 381, l. 5).

Normally, therefore, the *bāshūra* was an integral part of the gateway (as in all the examples of a bent entrance cited below), but it could happen that alterations were made subsequently to an old "straight through" gateway to convert it into a bent entrance, e.g. the Bāb al-Sharḳī at Damascus. This was a triple gateway of the usual Roman type, but von Kremer (*c.* 1850) found that the central and southern openings had been walled up and an addition (long since removed) built in front of the northern one, so as to force people to make a right-angled turn to pass through (*Topographie von Damascus*, I, fig. on p. 10). This helps us to understand what Maḳrīzī means when he speaks of a *bāshūra* at the entrance of the Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Futūḥ, although they disappeared in the xvth century. They must have been additions built in ***front of them*** subsequently, as at Damascus, to remedy the weakness of these "straight through" gateways. I say "subsequently" because there is no trace on the well preserved masonry of these two gates of anything having been torn away.

On the other hand it follows than when a *bāshūra* is mentioned anywhere (e.g. at Subayba near Baniyās) and the gateway itself has a right-angled turn (*ʿaṭf*), there is no need to assume that there was ever any structure in front of it.

But in spite of its obvious advantages the bent entrance did not become the general rule henceforth; it was not even employed by al-Manṣūr himself when he built Raḳḳa a few years later. The architect merely adopted the "oblique approach" system (see my *E.M.A.*, ii, 38-45).

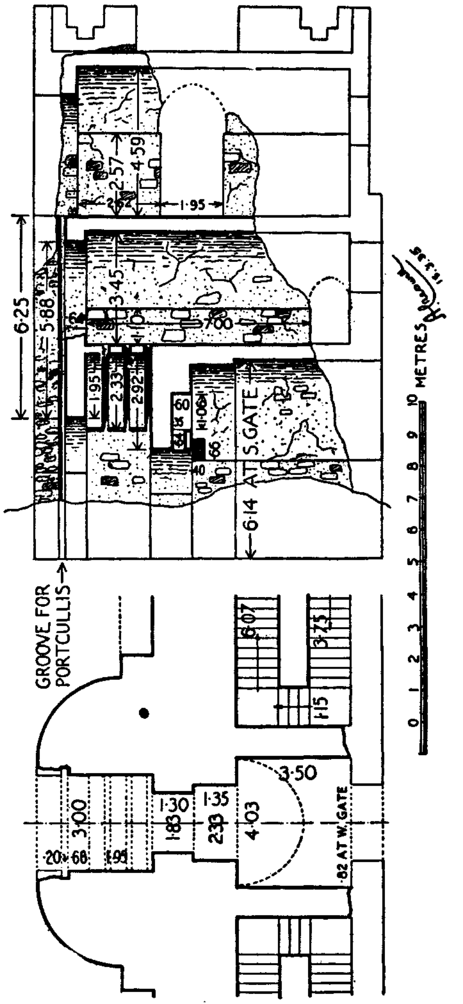

Fig. 1. Ukhayḍir: plan and section of west entrance.

Nevertheless a very formidable type of gateway is employed in the famous Ukhayḍir (Plate XXIX*a*) towards the end of the 2nd/8th century. The entrance arch, which is 3 m. wide, is set back 91 cm. between two quarter-round towers. On both sides, close up to their inner corners, a deep groove 20 cm. wide runs right up, showing that there must have been a portcullis here. Behind this entrance arch, at a distance of 1.95 m. is another archway, and between the two is a vestibule, 3 m. wide and 1.95 deep, covered by a tunnel-vault in which there are three slits 17 cm. wide running from wall to wall (Fig. 1). Now supposing Ukhayḍir were about to be attacked, the portcullis would be kept in a hauled-up position

until a party of men entered the outer archway to try to break down the door behind the inner archway. At a signal, given by men looking through the slits in the vault, the portcullis would be released and missiles, molten lead, or boiling oil dropped on the storming party trapped below. It was impossible for a storming party to approach the door without exposing themselves to be fatally trapped in this fashion.

The finest gateways of the 5th/11th century are the three Fāṭimid gates of Cairo, the Bāb al-Naṣr, Bāb al-Futūḥ (Plate XXX) and Bāb Zuwayla, built by

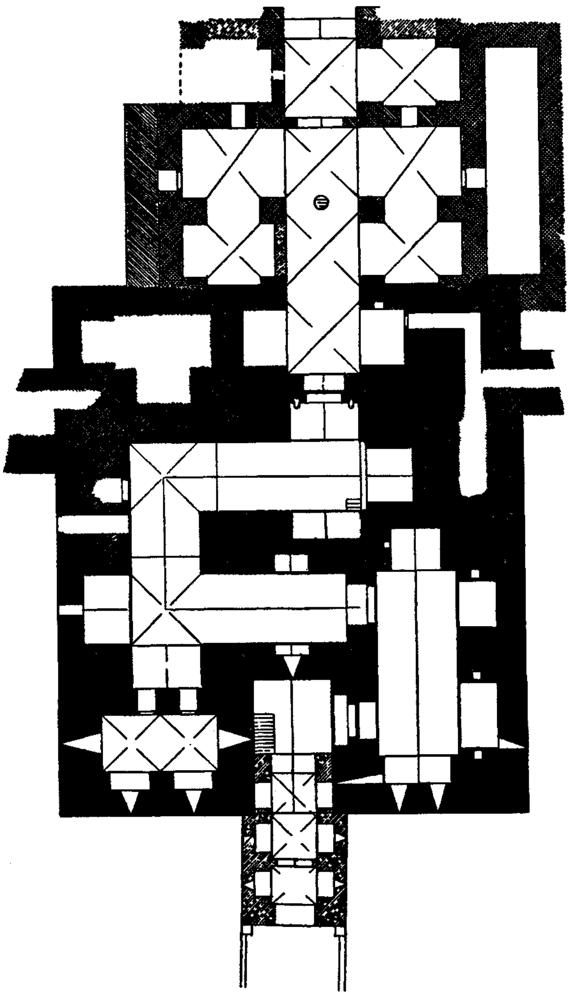

Fig. 2. Aleppo: Entrance of the Citadel. (From Herzfeld).

Badr al-Djamālī in 480-85/1087-92, but they are "straight through" and not bent entrances. In each case the gateway proper is set back in an arched recess between two round-fronted towers, and at the back of the arch is a slit whereby missiles could be dropped from the platform above on a storming party attacking the door with a battering ram.

But the wars of the Crusades in the two following centuries and the great military experience gained by both sides soon resulted in the bent entrance coming into general use. It was invariably employed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, e.g. at Ḳalʿat Djindī in Sinai, about 578/1182, in the three gateways of the Northern Enclosure of the Citadel of Cairo, 572-9/1176-84, and likewise the gateways in that part of the Wall of Cairo due to him (Plate XXXI *b*). So thoroughly were the advantages of the bent entrance appreciated that it had even reached the Far West of Islam before the end of the 6th/12th century, e.g. the gateway of the Ḳaṣba of the Oudāya at Rabāṭ in Morocco.

For the 7th/13th century three typical examples of it may be cited: Ḳalʿat al-Nadjm on the Euphrates, 605-12/1208-15; and two at Baghdād, the Talisman Gate (blown up by the retreating Turks in 1918) and the Bāb al-Wusṭānī.

The supreme example of a bent entrance is al-Malik al-Ẓāhir's gateway in the Citadel of Aleppo finished according to Ibn Shaddād in 611/1214. Here there are no less than five right-angled turns in the passage-way (Plate XXXII and Fig. 2).

(K. A. C. Creswell)

BĀB, a term applied in early Shīʿism to the senior authorised disciple of the Imām. The hagiographical literature of the Twelver Shīʿa usually names the *bābs* of the Imāms. Among the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] *bāb* was a rank in the hierarchy. The term was already in use in pre-Fāṭimid times, though its significance is uncertain (cf. W. Ivanow, ***The Alleged Founder of Ismailism***, Bombay 1946, 125 n. 2, citing al-Kashshī, ***Ridjāl***, 322; idem, ***Notes sur l'Ummu 'l-Kitab***, in ***REI***, 1932, 455; idem, ***Studies in early Persian Ismailism***[2], Bombay 1955, 19 ff.). Under the Fāṭimids in Egypt the *bāb* comes immediately after the *Imām*, from whom he receives instruction directly. He in turn instructs the *ḥudjdjas*, who conduct the *daʿwa*. The term thus appears to denote the head of the hierarchy of the *daʿwa*, and to be the equivalent in Ismāʿīlī terminology of the expression *dāʿī al-duʿāt*, which is used in the general historical literature but rarely appears in Ismāʿīlī texts. Thus, for example, al-Muʾayyid fi 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, who is described in Ismāʿīlī writings as the *bāb* of al-Mustanṣir, is called his *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* by the historians (e.g. Ibn Muyassar, 10) and is actually named as such by al-Mustanṣir in a *sidjill* of Ramaḍān 461/ July 1069 addressed to the Ṣulayḥid ruler of the Yaman (*Al-Sidjillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mādjid, Cairo 1954, 200). Some indications of the status and functions of the *bāb* in Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism will be found in Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *Rāḥat al-ʿAḳl*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, Cairo 1953, index; cf. R. Strothmann, ***Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten***, Göttingen 1943, index, espec. 82, 102, 175; W. Ivanow, ***Studies***, 20-23). In the post-Fāṭimid *daʿwa* the office dwindled in importance and seems eventually to have disappeared. In the description of the *daʿwa* organisation at Alamūt given by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, (*Taṣawwurāt*, ed. W. Ivanow, 97, introduction xliii), there is only a *bāb-i bāṭin*, who ranks with the *dāʿī*, and in later Ismāʿīlī writings the term seems to drop out altogether.

In the system of the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*] the *bāb* comes after the *ism* and is identified with Salmān [*q.v.*]. The *bāb* is personified in each cycle. (Lists of Nuṣayrī *bābs* are given in R. Strothmann, ***Morgenländische Geheimsekten in Abendländischer Forschung***, Berlin 1953 (Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952 Nr. 5) 34-5; L. Massignon, ***Nuṣairiya***, in *EI*[1]; for a similar Ismāʿīlī list see Djaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, ***Kitāb al-Kashf***, ed. R. Strothmann, 1952, 14).

Bibliography: in the text. (B. Lewis)

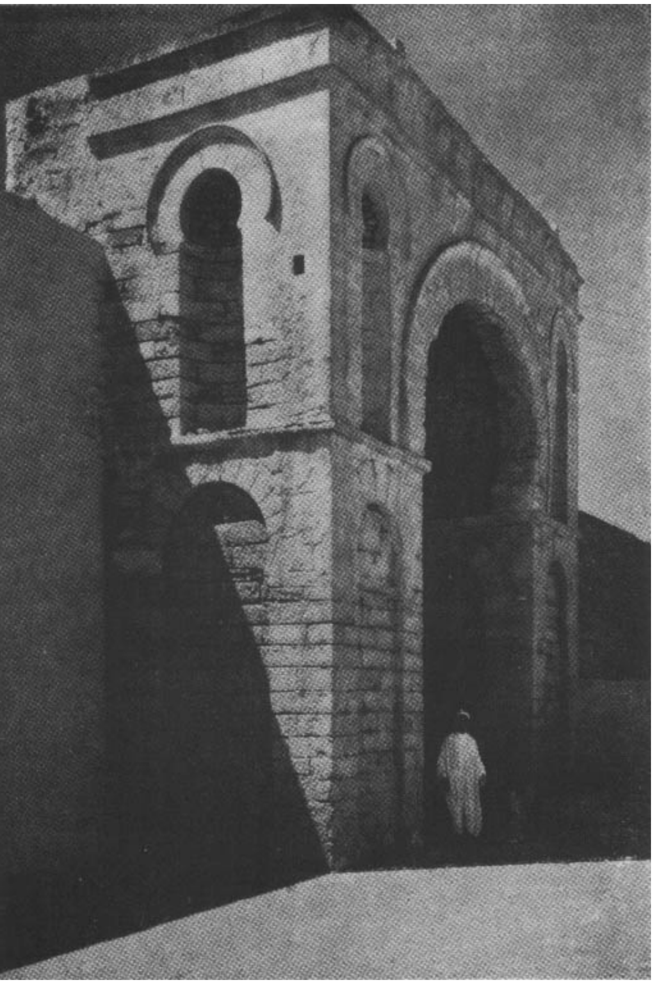

a. MAHDIYYA: Great Mosque, main entrance. 308/920-21.

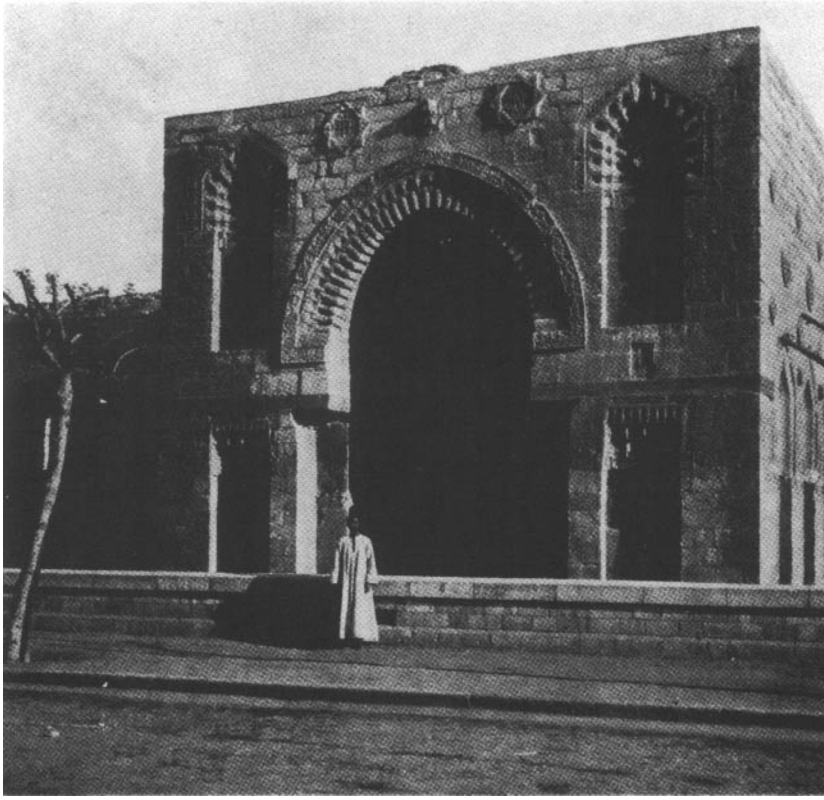

b. CAIRO: Mosque of Baybars, north-western entrance. 665/1267.

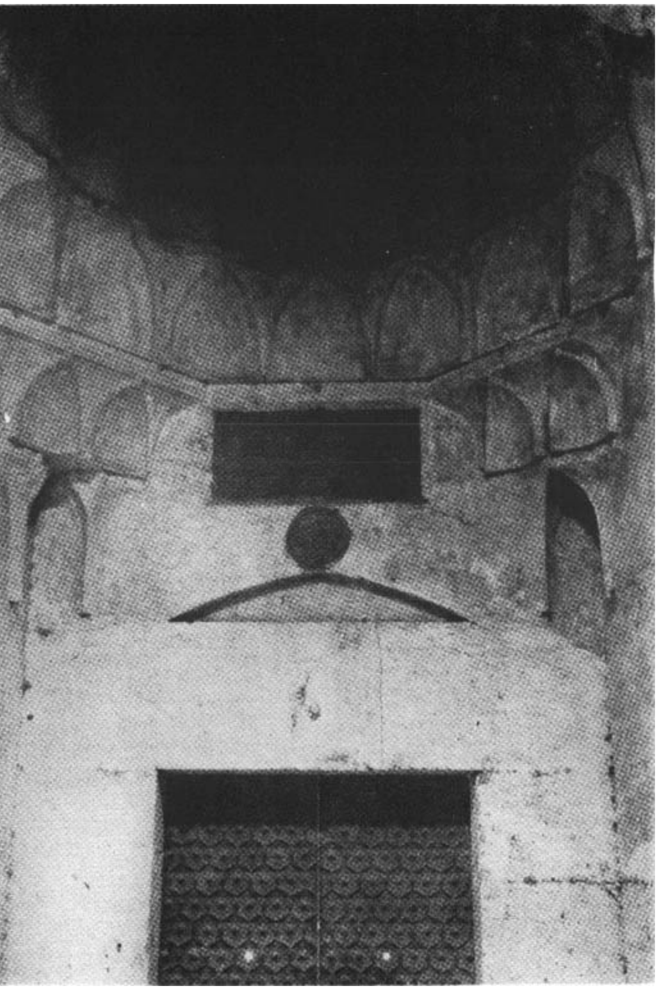

a. ALEPPO: Madrasa of Sẖādbakẖt, entrance. 589/1193.

b. ALEPPO: Ribāt Nāṣirī, entrance. 635/1237-8.

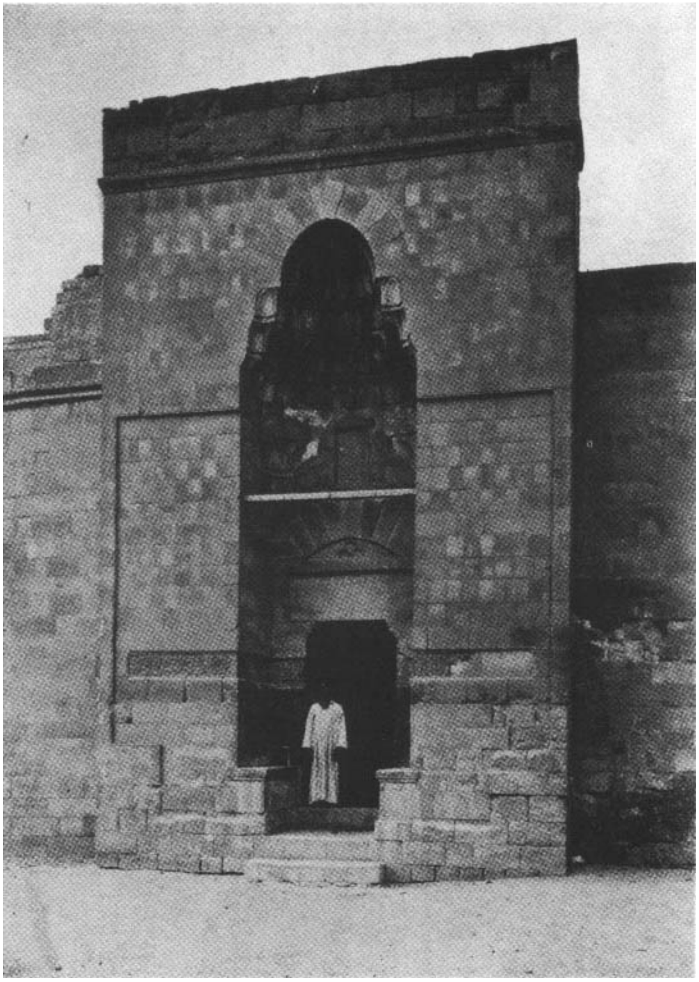

a. CAIRO: Madrasa-Mausoleum of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf. 698/1299.

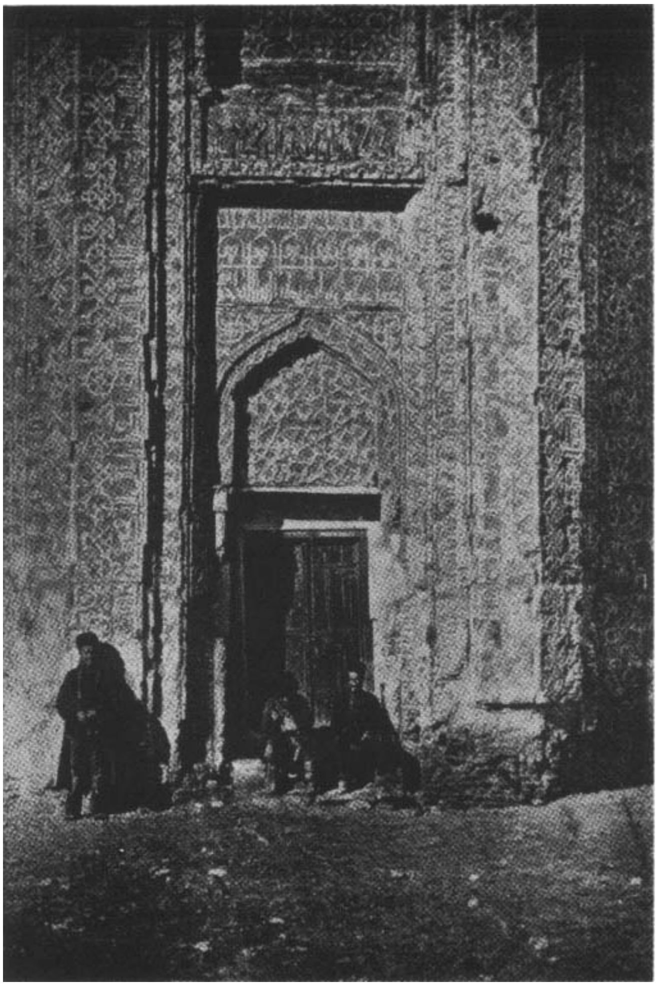

b. NAKHČIVĀN: Mausoleum of Mu'mina Khātūn. 582/1186. (Photo: Sarre)

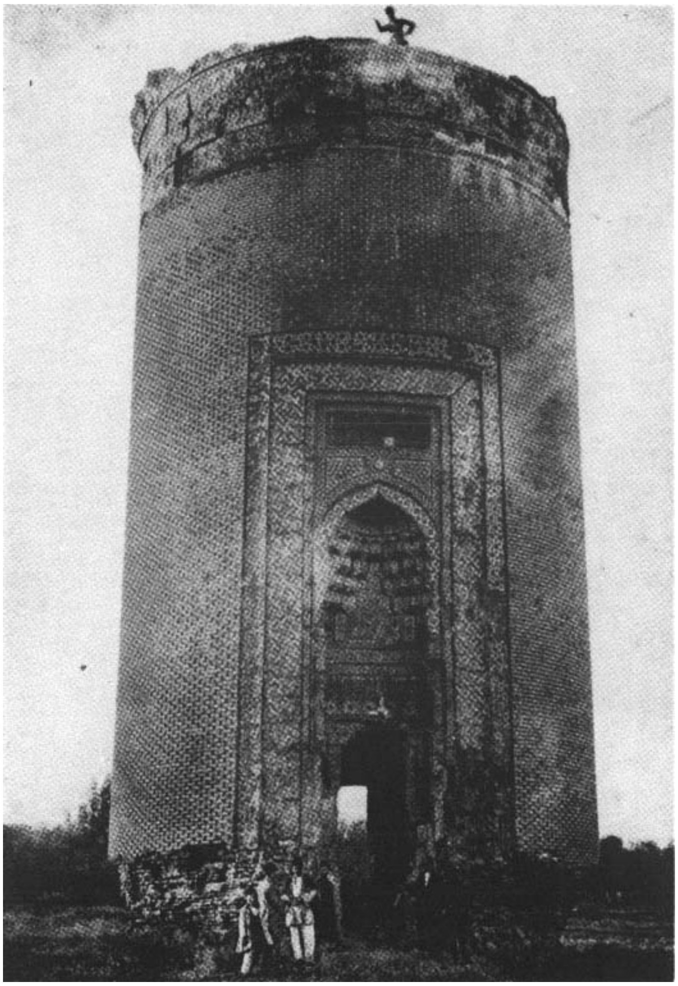

a. SALMĀS: Tower-tomb of the daughter of Arghūn Āghā. VIth/XIIth century (?). (Photo: Pope)

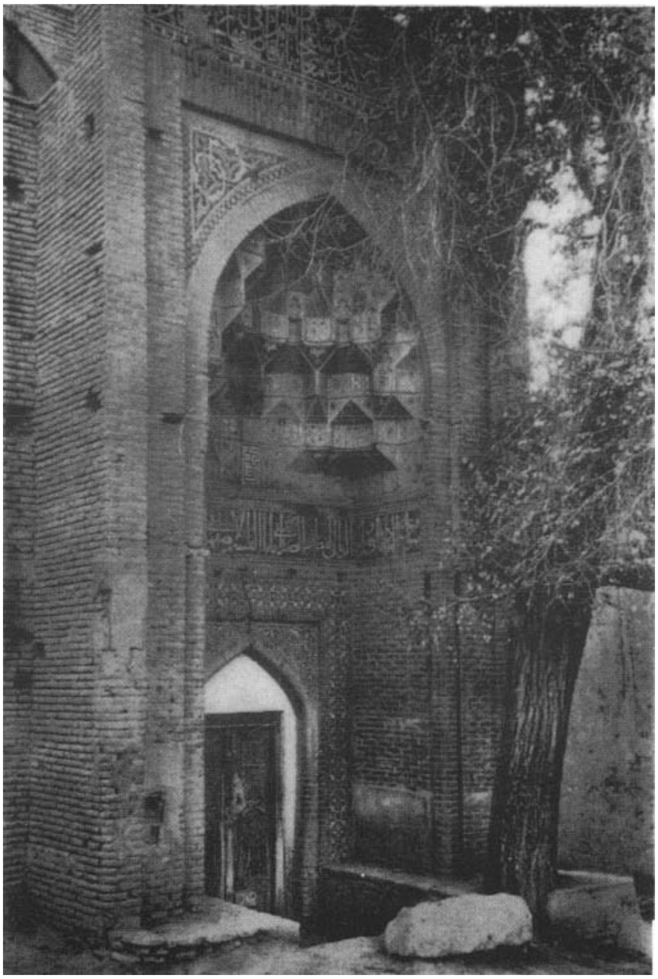

b. BISTĀM: Shrine of Shaykh Bāyazīd. 713/1313. (Photo: Pope)

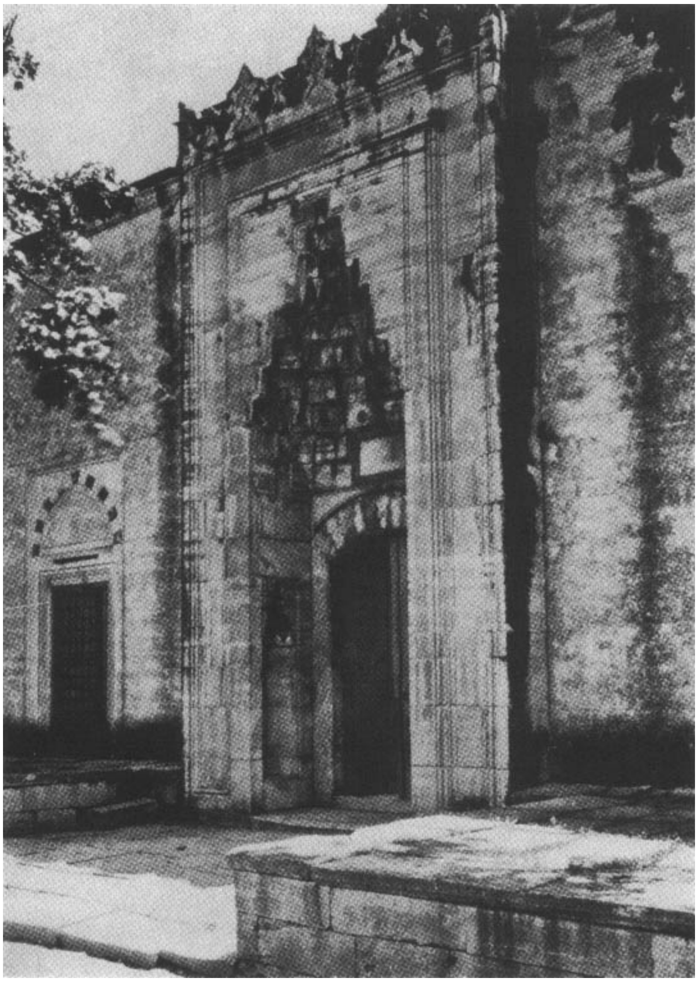

a. ISTANBUL: Mosque of Sultan Selīm, entrance. 929/1522.

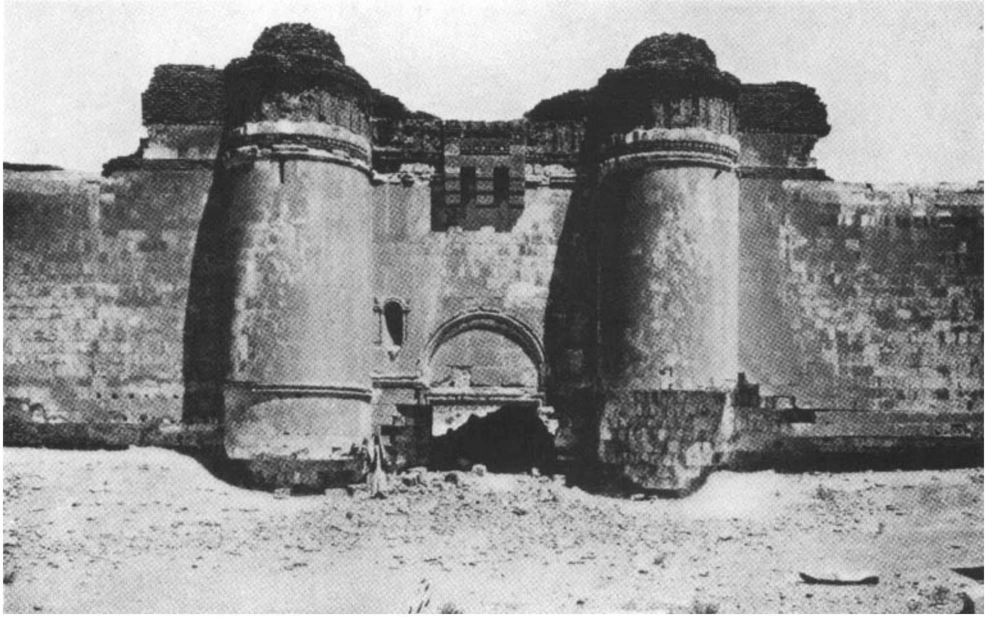

b. ḲAṢR AL-ḤAYR AL-SHARḲĪ: entre of Lesser Enclosure. 110/729.

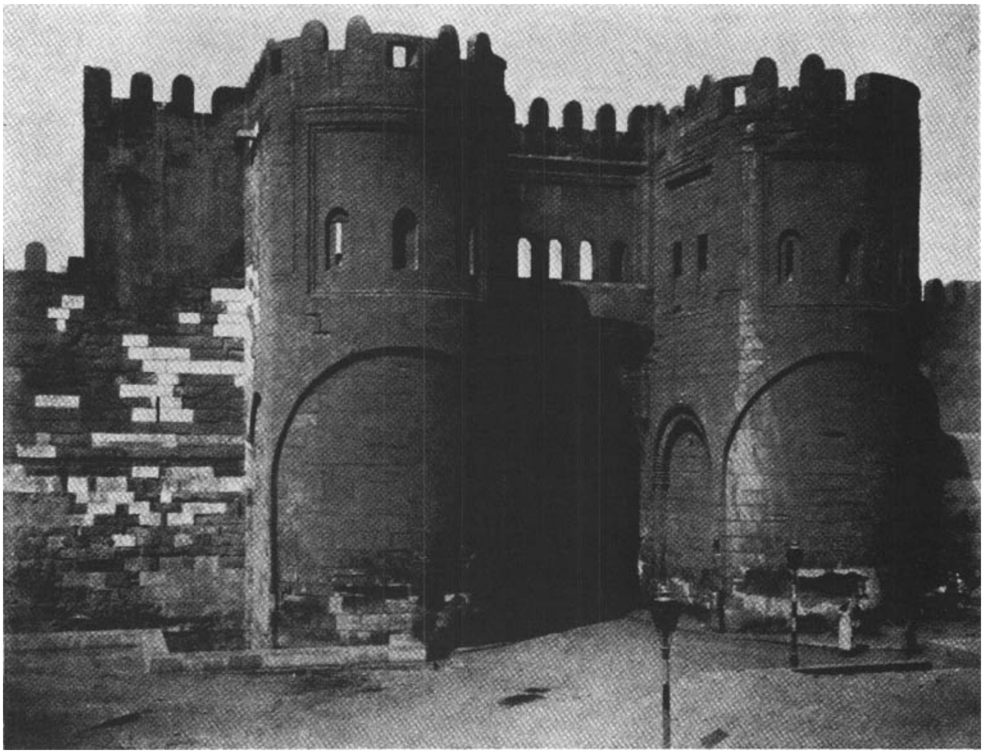

a. Cairo: Bāb al-Futūḥ. 480/1087.

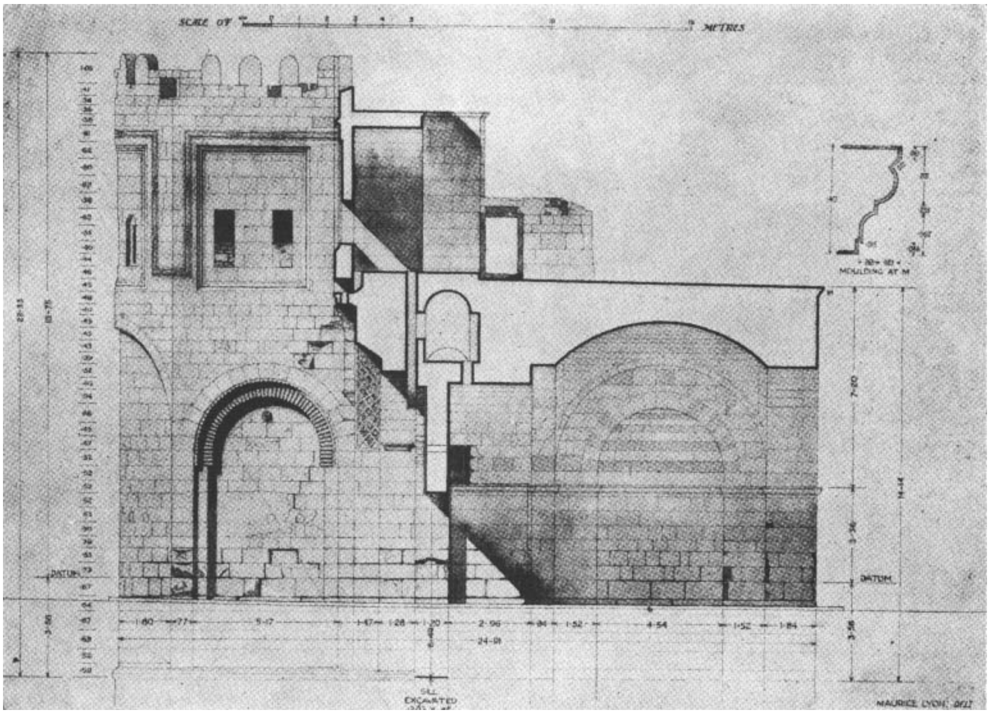

b. Section of the same. (Drawn by Maurice Lyon, M.C.).

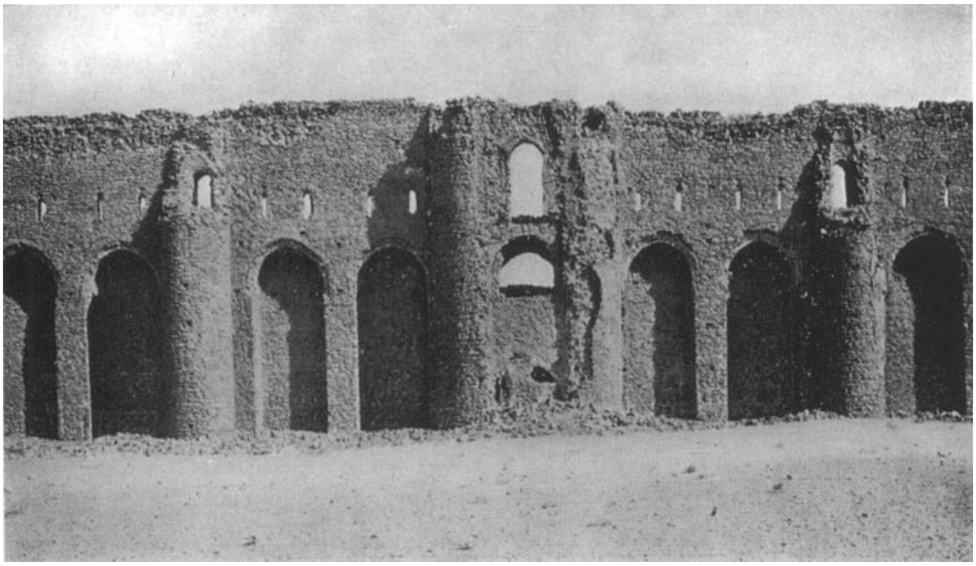

a. UKHAYḌIR: eastern gateway. About A.D. 776.

b. CAIRO: The Bāb al-Djadīd at the Burdj al-Ẓafar. After 572/1176.

a. ALEPPO: The Citadel. 606-8, etc./1209-11, etc.

b. ALEPPO: The Citadel: bridge across dry moat.

BĀB, an appellation [see the preceding art.] made specially famous by Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad of Shīrāz, the founder of the new religion of the Bābīs [*q.v.*] and, according to the Bahāʾīs [*q.v.*] the precursor of the new prophet Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*]. He is also called by his disciples *Nuḳṭa-i ūlā* ('the first point') or *Ḥaḍrat-i aʿlā* ('the supreme presence').

Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad was born at Shīrāz, of a merchant family, on 1 Muḥarram 1235/20 October 1819 (but according to other sources, exactly a year later, 9 October 1820); becoming an orphan at an early age, he was placed under the tutelage of his maternal uncle Āghā Sayyid ʿAlī. At the age of about 19 or 20 he was sent to Būshahr, on the Persian Gulf, to trade there; here, at the same time, he gave himself up to earnest religious meditations, as he had done before since his childhood. When on a pilgrimage to Karbalāʾ, he made the acquaintance of Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī [*q.v.*], the head of the religious movement of the Shaykhīs, who showed a high and unusual regard for him. Sayyid Kāẓim died at the end of 1259/December 1843; before his death he had sent disciples into all parts of Persia in search of the awaited *Mahdī*, the *Ṣāḥib al-zamān*, who, according to his prophecies, would not be long before manifesting himself. One of the disciples of the *sayyid*, Mullā Ḥusayn of Bushrūya, who had arrived at Shīrāz and had been strongly affected by the fascination of the young ʿAlī Muḥammad, was the first to recognise him as the 'gateway' to Truth, the initiator of a new prophetic cycle, since, during the night of 5 Djumādā I 1260/23 May 1844, he had replied in a satisfactory way to all his questions, and had written in his presence, with extreme rapidity and all the time intoning what he was writing in a very melodious voice, a long commentary on the *sūra* of Yūsuf; this commentary is known to the Bābīs by the name of *Ḳayyūm al-Asmāʾ*, and considered as the first 'revealed' work of the Bāb. The rapidity with which he wrote and the indescribable charm of his voice seem to have been the characteristics which have most impressed Muslim as well as Bābī writers. In the summer of 1844, the Bāb, who had been making drastic attacks on corrupt Shīʿī *mullās* and *mudjtahids* with their own weapons, quickly collected a number of disciples, among whom were 18 called by him the *Ḥurūfāt al-Ḥayy* ('The Letters of the Living'). Mullā Ḥusayn is also known among the Bābīs by the title of *awwal man āmana* ('the first believer'), and by that of *Bāb al-Bāb*, which the Bāb himself later gave him. In the autumn, after the 'Letters of the Living' had been despatched to proclaim his mission in the various provinces of Persia, the Bāb set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The journey left a bad impression on him. This is reflected in several passages in the *Bayān*, where he speaks of the dirt and promiscuity of the boats and of the low moral character of the quarrelsome and violent pilgrims. Either during a stay in the port of Muscat, or in the heart of the holy city of Mecca, the Bāb, according to the sources, must have declared more openly his mission as *mahdī*, but to no purpose. In the spring of 1261/1845 the Bāb returned to Shīrāz, where his preachings and public declarations (for during the journey he had written another book, *Ṣaḥīfa-i bayn al-Ḥaramayn* ('book [written] between the two Holy Places') in which he lays down the purport of his mission) caused some trouble; the Bāb's missionaries who, on his order, had dared to add to the *adhān* [*q.v.*] the phrase 'and I confess that ʿAlī before Nabīl (the Bāb) is the mirror of the breath of God', were arrested, brought before the Governor of Shīrāz, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Ādjūdān-bāshī, severely punished, and expelled from the city. A representative of the reigning sovereign (Muḥammad Shāh), Sayyid Yaḥyā-i Dārābī, sent to conduct an enquiry, was won over by the charm of the Bāb, and became converted to the new doctrine. Whilst all this was going on, Mīrzā Nūrī (the future Bahāʾ Allāh) and his brother Mīrzā Yaḥyā Nūrī (the future *Ṣubḥ-i Azal*) at Tehran persisted in the new faith, after a meeting with Mullā Ḥusayn. At Shīrāz an epidemic of cholera broke out, and everyone from the Governor down prayed for deliverance. The Bāb remained at Iṣfahān, where he was protected by the governor, the Georgian Manūčihr Khān Muʿtamad al-Dawla. On the death of the latter the Bāb was called to Tehran by order of the minister Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āghāsī, but shortly before arriving in the city he was arrested and sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Māhkū in the trackless mountains of Ādharbāydjān (summer of 1263/1847). In 1264/April 1848, following more serious disorders which had broken out in different parts of Iran on account of Bābī propaganda [see BĀBĪS], the Bāb, whose powerful religious influence had converted the governor of the fortress of Māhkū, ʿAlī Khān, was transferred to a more rigorous prison, the remote castle of Čihrīḳ. Shortly afterwards, in July, he was removed to Tabrīz to be questioned by a committee of *mudjtahids*; it was decided to condemn him forthwith. The powerful minister Mīrzā Taḳī Khān, who had succeeded Ḥadjdjī Mīrzā Āghāsī after the latter's dismissal by the new sovereign Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1848), considered that the death of its founder would break up this dangerous movement which was continuing to attract new adherents. In the spring of 1266/1850 the news of the execution of the seven martyrs of Tehran [see BĀBĪS], among whom was his uncle and well-beloved tutor, reached the Bāb in the fortress of Čihrīḳ where he had been re-imprisoned, and greatly distressed him. He prophesied that his end was near. He was taken at the end of the month of Shaʿbān 1266/July 1850 to Tabrīz, and was condemned to be shot at the same time as two of his disciples, Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī of Yazd and Āghā Sayyid Ḥusayn. The second, during the doleful procession of the three condemned men through the streets of Tabrīz, under insults and blows, made pretence of abjuring the Bābī faith, and was released; he had previously been charged by the Bāb to carry out his last wishes and to deposit some of his personal belongings and writings in a safe place. (He was, however, killed at Tehran shortly after having carried out this mission). The Bāb was secured with the same ropes as his disciples to a pillar in the courtyard of the barracks at Tabrīz, and the Christian regiment of the Bahādurān, commanded by Sām Khān, fired. The first shot, according to the descriptions even in Muslim sources and others hostile to the reformer, merely severed the ropes, leaving the Bāb completely free. Sām Khān, terrified, refused to re-open fire, and consequently another firing-squad was detailed. On 9 July 1850, about midday, the Bāb paid for preaching his doctrine with his life. The mangled body was thrown into a ditch in the town and after many vicissitudes (disinterred by the Bābīs, hidden for several years at Tehran), it was removed on the order of Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] to ʿAkkā, where it now rests in a large mausoleum on the slopes of mount Carmel.

Works.—The works of the Bāb, all manuscript—some lost, others of doubtful authenticity (partially due to unexpected feuds after his death between Bahāʾīs and Azalīs, see BĀBĪS)—are very numerous. In more or less chronological order, and mentioning only the best known, they are: 1. The *Ḳayyūm al-Asmāʾ* or commentary on the *sūra* of Yūsuf, referred to above, of more than 9,300 verses divided into 111 chapters (one per verse of the famous *sūra*), which opens with the well-known apostrophe to the kings of the earth: 'O kings! O sons of kings! do not take unto yourselves that which belongs to God!'; this work is in Arabic, but has been translated into Persian in full by the famous Bābī heroine Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn Ṭāhira; 2. Epistles (*alwāḥ*) to various persons, such as Muḥammad Shāh, Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Nadjīb Pasha, *wālī* of Baghdād. 3. the *Ṣaḥīfa-i bayn al-Ḥaramayn*, written on his pilgrimage between Mecca and Medina (1844-5). 4. The Epistle to the Sharīf of Mecca. 5. The *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* (Book of the Spirit) of 700 *sūras*. 6. The *Khaṣāʾil-i Sabʿa* (the seven Virtues), wherein the modification of the *adhān* is set forth. 7. *Risāla-i Furūʿ-i ʿAdliyya* (treatise on the divisions of justice). 8. Commentaries on the *sūras al-Kawthar* (cviii) and *Wa 'l-ʿaṣr* (ciii), and other small treatises and epistles all of which date from the beginning of his imprisonment at Māhkū. 9. Nine commentaries (*tafsīr*) on the entire Ḳurʾān, now lost, written, according to the testimony of his copyist Shaykh Ḥasan-i Zunūzī, in the castle of Māhkū. 10. Various epistles to leading Shīʿī theologians and to Muḥammad Shāh, written in the same fortress. 11. The Arabic (shorter) *Bayān* and the Persian *Bayān*, the sacred books *par excellence* of the new relevation; the former divided into 11 *wāḥids* (units) of 17 chapters (*bābs*) each, the latter into 9 *wāḥids* of 19 *bābs* each except the last *wāḥid*, which has only 10 *bābs*. 12. The *Dalāʾil-i Sabʿa* (the seven Proofs), the most important of the polemical works of the Bāb. 13. The *Lawḥ-i Hurūfāt* (Table of the Letters), a semi-cabalistic writing addressed to the Believer (*dayyān*) from the castle of Čihrīḳ, etc. Although the Bābīs are also called *ahl-i Bayān* (the people of the *Bayān*), one must understand by *Bayān* in this sense, according to the explicit declaration of the Bāb himself (Persian *Bayān*, 3rd *wāḥid*, chapter 17), everything which issued from his pen.

The Doctrine of the Bāb. The contents of the *Bayān* can perhaps be reduced to four fundamental points: (a) the abrogation of sundry laws and pronouncements of the Ḳurʾānic *sharīʿa* regarding prayer, fasting, marriage, divorce, and inheritance, but nevertheless upholding the truth of the prophetic mission of Muḥammad, whose prophetic cycle ends with the year 1260/1844; (b) the spiritualistic interpretation of the eschatological terms which appear in the Ḳurʾān and other sacred works, such as 'Paradise', 'Hell', 'Death', 'Resurrection', 'Return', 'Judgment', 'Bridge' (*Ṣirāṭ*), 'Hour', etc., all of which allude not only to the end of the physical world but also to that of the prophetic cycle. From certain passages it seems that it must be understood that the true world being that of the spirit, of which the material world is nothing but an exteriorisation, God effectively destroys the world at the end of each prophetic cycle in order to re-create it by the Word of the subsequent prophet; the creative worth of the Word is given great importance in the *Bayān*; (c) the establishment of new institutions: a new *ḳibla* (towards the abode of the Bāb), a new, and rather complicated, devolution of inheritance, etc.; (d) a continuous and powerful eschatological tension towards *man yuẓhiruhu allāh* ('the One whom God will manifest'), the future prophet. It could thus be upheld that the expectation of the 'Promised One' is the essence of the *Bayān*; indeed, the most banal precepts are set forth in an eschatological light. For example, having stated that the Bābī should possess no more than 19 books, and all these on the *Bayān* and the knowledge of the *Bayān*, it adds: 'All these commands are for this reason, that nothing be put in the presence of Him Whom God Shall Manifest, unless it be the *Bayān* itself' (Arabic *Bayān*, trans. Nicolas, 223).

With regard to the precepts concerning travelling, it is laid down that journeys shall not take place at the time when the 'Promised One' towards whom alone all must travel, will be made manifest (*ibid.*, 166). The care for property, particularly recommended by the Bāb, is justified eschatologically, in order that the eyes of 'Promised One' shall not look upon anything unclean (159). As well as the familiar passage (166) 'All of you get up from your seats when you hear the mention of the name of Him W .om God Shall Manifest .... And in the ninth year you shall attain to perfect Good', which the Bahāʾīs interpret as predicting the prophetic vision of Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] in the Tehran prison in the year 9, *i.e.*, 1269/1852-3, various other passages of the *Bayān* effectively suggest that the Bāb believed the Future Manifestation possible at a nearer date. Particularly interesting is the fine chapter XI of the IVth *wāḥid* of the Arabic *Bayān* (138-9): 'Be not the instruments of your misfortunes, for not to be grieved is one of the greatest commands of the *Bayān*. The fruit of this command shall be that you shall not grieve Him Whom God Shall Manifest'.

The metaphysics of the Bāb is similar in certain ways to that of the Ismāʿīlīs. It sets out, in essence, as opposed to the unitary conception of existence as in Pantheism and to the dual conception (divine/human) of orthodox Islām, a division of Being into three parts: the World of the Essence of God, absolutely unattainable and transcendent, the World of Nature and of Man, and the World of the Manifestation, that very pure mirror in which alone God can see himself. The Bāb's doctrine seems to attach very great importance to this invisible world which is concealed behind and between visible things: thus, all the eschatological terms, such as beatific vision, death, eternity, paradise, etc., being solely in accordance with the vision of the prophet, there remains only very little room in which to interest oneself in the life of the other world, which has led certain authors, perhaps wrongly (see E. G. Browne in the Preface to M. H. Phelps, *Abbas Effendi*, London 1912), to believe that the Bāb denies the immortality of the individual soul, at least in the traditional sense of the word. In the same way, his conception of the return of Muḥammad, of the *imāms*, etc., in its actual presentation has led some writers wrongly to believe that he subscribes to the doctiine of reincarnation. On the contrary, the Bāb in his original conception of the novelty of the different 'worlds' of the successive prophetic cycles, besides denying the Islamic and Christian dogmas of the resurrection of the body, denies as well the reincarnation of the soul in another body; when he writes (Arabic *Bayān*, *wāḥid* I, chapter 2 ff.) 'Those (our lieutenants) are, firstly Muḥammad, the prophet of God, then those who are the witnesses (the *imāms*) of God for his creatures ...', he means to say that they 'have been created in another

world', *i.e.*, that God has re-created them *ex novo* in the world of the *Bayān after* having created them in the world of the Ḳur'ān. It is easy to deduce from such a 'bookish' conception of the worlds of nature and of the spirit that letters, the written word, and the corresponding numerical values have enormous significance for the Bāb. The love of calligraphy (according to tradition, his own writing was superb) is for him a feature of religion, and more than once, in the *Bayān*, he commands that copies of the Holy Book should be conserved in the most elegant writing possible. The number 19, for instance, has great importance in Bābī numerology; having abolished the 'natural' calendar, the Bāb substitutes for it a purely spiritual and mental calendar of 19 months each of 19 days, each one bearing the name of an an attribute of God. The last month (that of *ʿAlā'*) is that of fasting, effective from dawn to sunset. This calendar, with some minor modifications, has been adopted by the Bahā'īs also. The Bāb took pleasure also in writing the most complicated *hayākil* (pl. of *haykal*, 'temple' or 'shape'), a kind of talisman in an obscure *shikasta* script, which he considered to be the most acceptable to God.

It would be difficult to put into order the very varied moral and juridical precepts contained in the *Bayān*. Beside such excellent verses as 'Each day recalls my Name. And if each day my thought penetrates into your heart, then are you among those who are always in God's thoughts' (Arabic *Bayān*, *wāḥid* V, chapter 9), one finds prescriptions which seem not a little strange, such as the injunction, already quoted, not to possess more than 19 books, or discursions on the correct way to eat eggs. The extreme leniency of the penalties, which are reduced to fines and to the prohibition of sexual relations with one's own wife, is characteristic. The greatest penalty is incurred by the homicide: the culprit is condemned to pay 11,000 *mithḳāls* of gold to the heirs of the victim, and to abstain from all sexual activity for 19 years. Some penalties are likewise inflicted not only on those who strike their fellow-creatures, but also on those who lift their voices against them. Certain passages seem, however, to deal with relations between believers and unbelievers (it is only in the Bahā'ī doctrine that Holy War and the confiscation of the goods of unbelievers have been definitely abrogated). There exist, moreover, regulations concerning taxes on benefits, on capital, etc. Divorce is allowed, but discouraged. Widowers and widows are obliged to remarry, the first after 90 days, the latter after 95. Ritual purity and seclusion of women are abolished. Public worship is abolished, except for the rites of the dead. The Bāb's birthplace, the places of his imprisonment, etc., are recommended as places of pilgrimage. Every 19th day one should invite 19 persons, giving them 'if only a glass of water'. All alcoholic drinks are forbidden, and it is as strictly forbidden to beg as it is to give individual alms to beggars.

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(A. Bausani)

BĀB AL-ABWĀB, 'Gate of the Gates', in the older texts al-Bāb wa'l-Abwāb, 'the Gate and the Gates', and often simply al-Bāb, the Arabic designation of a pass and fortress at the E. end of the Caucasus, in Persian Darband, later under Turkish influence 'Iron Gate', mod. Derbent. The 'Gates' are the mouths of the E. Caucasus valleys (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 123-4; cf. Yāḳūt, i, 439), al-Bāb itself ('the Gate') in the main pass being the most important. It was originally fortified against invaders from the N. at some date not determined, traditionally by Anūshirwān (6th century A.D.), who is said to have built a wall seven *farsakhs* in length from the mountains to the sea (Ḳazwīnī, *Cosmography*, 341). The present remains of fortification extend from Derbent to the Ḳara Syrt.

When the first Muslims reached Darband in 22/643, a Persian garrison was in possession, but we have no description of what the place looked like. During the fighting of the next decade between the Arabs and the Khazars, at this time the principal power N. of the Caucasus, Bāb al-Abwāb is frequently mentioned, and so also in the following century. Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik in a spectacular retreat from Khazaria in 113/731 reached the neighbourhood of al-Bāb with his troops at their last gasp. In 119/737 Marwān b. Muḥammad (later Caliph as Marwān II) assaulted the Khazars simultaneously from Bāb al-Abwāb and Darial (Bāb al-Lān, [*q.v.*]), and for a short time was master of the country to the Volga. The Khazars gradually ceased to be dangerous. Their last great invasion of the lands of Islam via Bāb al-Abwāb took place in 183/799.

According to the description of Bāb al-Abwāb given by al-Iṣṭakhrī (circa 340/951) there was a harbour for ships from the Caspian inside the town. The oblique harbour-entrance between the two sea-walls was narrow and further defended by a chain or boom. These arrangements, like the wall mentioned above, and the city-wall, no doubt mostly went back to Sāsānid times, but owed improvements to the Arabs, *e.g.*, under the celebrated vizier ʿAlī b. al-Furāt (after 296/908) (Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz, 217-218). Al-Iṣṭakhrī adds that Bāb al-Abwāb was a principal port of the Caspian in his time, and larger than Ardabīl, the capital of Ādharbāydjān. It exported linen garments, of which it had practically a monopoly in these parts, also saffron, and slaves from the infidel lands lying to the N. Writing about the same time, al-Masʿūdī mentions as imported to Bāb al-Abwāb the black fox-skins of Burṭās (on the Volga) which were the best in the world (*Tanbīh*, 63). For al-Masʿūdī Bāb al-Abwāb, in spite of earlier attempts to plant Arab colonies there (cf. Balʿamī, ed. Dorn, 538) and in spite of its name, was evidently no Arab town.

Recent investigations have brought to light the existence of a dynasty in Bāb al-Abwāb, the Hāshimids, having connexions with the neighbouring Shirwān Shāhs, as early as the 4th/10th

century (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 411). The principal source of information about them is an anonymous 11th century *Taʾrīkh al-Bāb*, which is quoted by Aḥmad b. Luṭf Allāh Munadjdjim (Müneccim) Bāshī (17th century) in his *Djāmiʿ al-Duwal*. This source also adds considerably to our knowledge of the movements of the Rūs, *e.g.*, it mentions that in 423/1032 the *ghāzīs* of al-Bāb caught and destroyed a party of Russian raiders in a defile of the Caucasus (Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 77).

The period of Turkish predominance at al-Bāb, in common with the neighbouring provinces, begins in the time of the Saldjūḳs (cf. A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Umumî Türk tarihine giriş*, i, 190, 411). Under the Mongols al-Bāb figured in the march of Subutāi northwards through the Caucasus (1222). Tīmūr and Djaba (Jebe) campaigned more than once in the neighbourhood. The general effect of the Mongol period was to confirm the Turkification of the N.-W. provinces of what had formerly been the Caliphate.

The most detailed account of Bāb al-Abwāb comes from al-Ḳazwīnī (674/1275), who describes the place as a thriving Muslim town, built of stone, its wall washed by the waters of the Caspian. In length it was about 2/3 of a *farsakh* and in breadth a bow-shot. There were towers on the city-wall, at each of which was a mosque, to serve the neighbourhood and those occupied with the religious sciences. Guards were constantly maintained upon the wall, and a beacon-fire on an adjoining peak was kept in readiness against the danger of invasion from the N. Al-Ḳazwīnī mentions what he calls talismans set up to keep back the Turks, probably remains of sculpture from the pre-Muslim period. He speaks of a cistern outside the city with steps descending to the water. Outside the city also was a mosque, said to contain the sword of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Already when al-Ḳazwīnī wrote al-Bāb had ceased to be the frontier of an empire. Its history henceforward resembles that of other semi-independent Caucasian principalities, sometimes enjoying independence, at other times annexed to a more powerful neighbour. Having previously belonged to Persia, it became Russian in 1806. Since last century its population has shown a slight increase, but evidently it is of much less relative importance than formerly.

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(D. M. Dunlop)

BĀB-I ʿĀLĪ (modern orthography *Babı âli*), less frequently *Bāb-i āṣafī*, the (Ottoman) Sublime Porte, former ministerial department of the Grand Vizier, originally called *Pasha* (or *Vezīr*) *Ḳapusu*.

The custom of calling the palace, court or government of a ruler "porte" or "doorstep" was very prevalent in ancient times (Iran of the Sāsānids, Egypt of the Pharaohs, Israel, Arabs, Japan). The term returned to Iṣfahān in the more Turkish form of *ʿĀlī Ḳapu* (Chardin).

The "Porte", which at the same time was the personal dwelling of the Grand Vizier and at the outset tended to be rather mobile, gradually lost the character of a semi-private residence and became finally established, under what was henceforth to be its official name, from 1718, when the Grand Vizier Newshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha returned with his father-in law, Sulṭān Aḥmad III, from Adrianople to Istanbul, after the peace of Passarovitz (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 755). Prior to this date the term *Bāb-i ʿālī* denoted rather the palace of the Sultan or the Imperial *dīwān*. The same confusion arises in Byzantine and European usage with the terms Porta, Porte, Pforte, πύλη, θύραι, which moreover corresponded to the Turkish Kapu (Löwenklau alias Leunclavius and Dukas, in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, etc.).

Up till the end of the Empire, the Sublime Porte also housed the Ministry of the Interior (*Dākhiliyye Neẓāreti*), the former offices of the *Ketkhüdā* (*Kahya, Kehaya, Kihaya*) Bey, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Khāridjiyye Neẓāreti*), the former department of the *Reis ül-küttāb* (*Reis-kitap*), literally "Chief of the Secretaries", the Council of State (*Shūrāyi Devlet*), without counting two more modern commissions which were suppressed by the Young Turks.

Five days after the abolition of the Sultanate (1 November 1922), the premises, prior to becoming the seat of the *wilāyet* of Istanbul, served as the offices of the Delegation of the Government of Ankara (Refet Pasha, soon replaced by Rauf Bey and Adnan Bey Adivar, all three of whom later belonged to the opposition).

The road formerly called *Bāb-i ʿālī djāddesi*, which climbs northwards from the station of Sirkedji and circles round the enclosure (which also contains a mosque), has been renamed *Ankara djāddesi* (*caddesi*). It is lined with bookshops and runs into the Souk Česhme road, passing between this enclosure and that of the Top Kapî Saray. It is in this latter road that the main entrance is to be found, opposite the gate of the Saray, which is called the Souk Česhme gate; at a short distance from this is to be found a huge belvedere, called *Alay kōshkü*, incorporated in the same wall, which was built by Maḥmūd II in 1235/1819-20, so that he could be present at official "processions".

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(J. Deny)

BĀB-I HUMĀYŪN, the "Imperial Gate", the principal entrance in the outer wall of the Sultan's New Serail or *Top-ḳapu Sarāyî* [*q.v.*] at Istanbul. Situated behind the Aya Sofya mosque, the massive rectangular building gives access to the first court of the Serail through a high, double-arched portal. On either side of the passage between the outer and the inner door are the rooms of the *Ḳapudjîs* who guarded the gate. In or near the deep niches in the façade the heads of political delinquents used to be exposed. Over the doorway is a beautiful Ḳurʾān inscription and, below it, an Arabic inscription referring to the erection of the Serail wall by Sulṭān Meḥemmed II in Ramaḍān 883/Nov.-Dec. 1478. The *tughras* of Maḥmūd II and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz on the gate commemorate some of its later restorations. Originally the gateway was surmounted by an upper storey (destroyed in the last century). At one time

the effects of those who died without known heirs were deposited here; at others it served as archives of the Treasury or for other purposes.

Many European writers, especially in the 19th century, ignoring Hammer (*Staatsverfassung*, ii, 95) and D'Ohsson (*Tableau*, vii, 158), asserted that *Bāb-i Humāyūn* meant "Sublime Porte" (the Western name for the Ottoman Government), while in fact the latter denoted the Grand Vizier's residence [see BĀB-I ʿĀLĪ]. There is even no reason to assume that the term "Porte", which until the 18th century signified the Sultan's Court, originated from this gate, as some travellers (*e.g.*, Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717, i, 496) believed (cf. DERGĀH, ḲAPU).

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BĀB AL-LĀN (BĀB ALLĀN), 'Gate of the Alans', Persian Dar-i Alān, mod. Darial (Dariel), a pass in the middle Caucasus, E. of Mt. Kazbek and S. of Vladikavkas. It is described as a magnificent gorge through which the Terek rushes between granite cliffs rising to heights of from 4,000 to 5,000 ft., and was apparently known to the ancients as the Caucasian Gates (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, XXXII, i, col. 325). It lay in the territory of the Alans, in the early days of Islam and later a national group of hardy mountainers, distinct from and usually independent of their neighbours N. and S. of the Caucasus. Their present-day representatives, the Ossetes, live athwart the pass.

Bāb al-Lān was scarcely reached by the first wave of Muslim conquest. It is mentioned in 105/724, when al-Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī invaded Khazaria by this route. Next year al-Djarrāḥ is said to have received the *djizya* and *kharādj* from the Alans (Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ed. Cairo, iv, 88), but Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik in 109/727 had to occupy Darial (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 395). It was perhaps at this time that Maslama placed an Arab garrison, mentioned by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 44), in the fortress which defended the pass. This fortress was built on a massive rock overlooking a bridge across the ravine and was, says al-Masʿūdī, one of the most famous in the world. Yet in 112/730 the Khazars marched through the pass, defeated al-Djarrāḥ in a pitched battle and captured Ardabīl, before retiring with their booty (Ṭabarī, ii, 1530-1531). In the operation of Marwān b. Muḥammad against Khazaria in 119/737, he himself advanced through the Darial pass to a rendez-vous with Abū Yazīd al-Sulamī advancing from Bāb al-Abwāb. This was the beginning of a highly successful campaign north of the Caucasus, but Marwān did not attempt any permanent occupation. The Arabs made sporadic attempts to hold Darial, *e.g.*, again under Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī circa 141/758 (Balādhurī, 209-210). But no great fortress-city developed here as at Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*]. Al-Masʿūdī states that in his time (4th/10th century) there was still in the pass an Arab garrison, provisioned from Tiflīs, at five days' distance through infidel country (*ibid.*). The Darial pass is mentioned repeatedly in the Mongol period, and later retained its importance.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 43-45; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 446; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, index. (D. M. DUNLOP)

BĀB AL-MANDAB, the straits between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. They are divided by the volcanic island of Mayyūn [*q.v.*], called Perim by Westerners, into Large Strait, c. 14 km. wide, and Small Strait, c. 2.5 km. wide, the former being generally used by large vessels. Water runs out of the Red Sea during the south-west monsoon from June to September and into it during the north-east monsoon from November to April, causing currents which make the passage dangerous for sailing craft. The hill of al-Manhalī (270 m.) on the Arabian shore rises east of Small Strait, and just north of this strait is the site of al-Shaykh Saʿīd [*q.v.*], from which, as from Mayyūn, entrance into the Red Sea can be controlled.

Arab tradition holds that Asia and Africa were joined together until Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn split them asunder here and created the Red Sea. Yāḳūt associates the origin of the name al-Mandab ("place of lamentation for the dead") with a crossing of the Abyssinians over the sea to the Yaman, and al-Hamdānī applies it to a not clearly identified portion of the southern Yaman coast, which lay within the territory of Banū Madjīd and Farasān. Amber (called *ḥashīsh al-baḥr*) used to be collected in al-Mandab.

Two Sabaean inscriptions of the early 6th Christian century (Ry 507 and 508) mention *sslt* (or *sslt*) *mdbn* (= *silsilat al-Mandab*) in connexion with the conflict between Yūsuf Asʾar Dhū Nuwās and the Abyssinians; this may have been a chain stretched across the very narrow and shallow mouth of the inlet at al-Shaykh Saʿīd, if al-Mandab lay as far south as that, as its appearance in the name of the straits would suggest. Such a barrier may well have been the source of the implausible tradition of a chain across the straits themselves.

The variant Bāb al-Mandam, probably to be explained by no more than the not unusual substitution of *m* for *b*, is especially current among seafaring Arabs, who often refer to the straits simply as al-Bāb.

Bibliography: In addition to al-Hamdānī and Yāḳūt, G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, Paris 1921-5; ʿĪsā al-Ḳuṭāmī, *Dalīl al-Muḥtār fī ʿIlm al-Biḥār*², Cairo 1950; Ibn al-Mudjāwir in O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte*, Uppsala 1936; *idem*, ed. Löfgren, Leiden 1951; al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*², ed. M. de Goeje, Leiden 1906, 12, 91. W. Caskel, *Entdeckungen in Arabien*, Cologne 1954; G. Ryckmans in *Le Muséon*, LXVI (1953); J. Ryckmans in *Le Muséon*, LXVI (1953); *idem, La persécution des chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle*, Istanbul 1956; U.S. Hydrographic Office, *Sailing Directions for the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden*⁸, Washington 1943. (G. RENTZ)

BĀB-I MASHĪKHAT, (also SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM KAPISI, BĀB-I FETWĀ and FETWĀKHĀNE), a name which became common in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century for the office or department of the Shaykh al-Islām [*q.v.*], the Chief Muftī of Istanbul. Until 1241/1826 the Chief Muftīs had functioned and issued their rulings from their own residences or, if these were too distant, from rented quarters. In that year, after the destruction of the Janissaries, Sulṭān Maḥmūd II gave the former

residence of the Agha of the Janissaries, near the Süleymāniyye Mosque, to the Chief Muftī, who thus acquired a permanent establishment. This step, taken simultaneously with the creation of an Inspectorate of *waḳf* to centralise the supervision and control of *waḳf* revenues, prepared the way for the bureaucratisation of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Deprived of both their financial and their administrative autonomy, the *ʿulamāʾ* were gravely weakened as against the sovereign power, and were unable to resist effectively successive diminutions of their competence, authority, and status. In the course of the 19th century, they lost control of education and justice to the new Councils and Ministries created for these matters, and even the drafting of *fetwās* was entrusted to a committee of legal specialists in the Chief Muftī's office. The Chief Muftī himself became a government office-holder, a minister or head of department and a member of the cabinet. Eventually a point was reached when his term of office ended automatically with the fall of the cabinet. Unlike the other ministers, he was appointed by the Sultan and not by the Grand Vizier, with whom he was theoretically equal (cf. Art. 27 of the 1876 constitution). The office however declined steadily in influence and importance, especially after the Revolution of 1908. Finally, on 3rd March 1924, the day the Caliphate was ended, the office of Shaykh al-Islām, which had lapsed with the Sultanate in 1922, was replaced by a department of religious affairs attached to the office of the Prime Minister in Ankara. The head of this department (*Diyanet Işleri Reʾisi*) is the chief religious functionary of the Turkish Republic, with responsibility for mosques and mosque personnel, but not for *waḳf*, law, or education.

Bibliography: *ʿIlmiyye Sālnāmesi*, Istanbul 1334; Meḥmed Esʿad, *Uss-i Ẓafer*, Istanbul 1243, 190-2 (cf. Caussin de Perceval, *Précis historique de la Destruction du Corps des Janissaires*, Paris 1833, 293); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh Muṣāḥabalarī*, Istanbul 1339, 299-313; G. Jäschke, *Der Islam in der neuen Türkei*, in *WI*, n.s. i, 1951, 88 ff. (B. LEWIS)

BĀB-I SERʿASKERI or SERʿASKER KAPÌSÌ, the name of the War Department in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. After the destruction of the Janissaries in 1241/1826, the Agha of the Janissaries was replaced by a new commanding officer, the Serʿasker [*q.v.*]. The title was an old one, given to army commanders in former times. As applied by Maḥmūd II, it came to connote an officer who combined the functions of commander-in-chief and minister of war, with special responsibility for the new style army. In addition, he inherited from the Agha of the Janissaries the responsibility for public security, police, fire-fighting, etc. in the capital. In a period of growing centralisation and enforced change, the police function came to be of increasing importance and the maintenance and extension of the police system one of the chief duties of the Serʿasker. In 1262/1845 the police were taken from the jurisdiction of the Serʿasker and placed under a separate department called Zabṭiyye (see ḌABTIYYA) Mushīriyyeti.

Maḥmūd II at first lodged the Serʿaskerate in the old Saray, from which a few remaining parts of the Imperial Household were transferred to the new Saray. Later, in 1282/1865, new buildings were provided for the Serʿasker and his staff. For a short time in 1297/1879-90, and then permanently in 1324/1908, the old name of Serʿaskerate was replaced by Ministry of War (*Ḥarbiyye*). These buildings remained the seat of the Ministry until the time of the transfer of the capital to Ankara, when they were handed over to the University of Istanbul.

Bibliography: Meḥmed Esʿad, *Uss-i Ẓafer*, Istanbul 1243, 192 ff. (cf. Caussin de Perceval *Précis historique de la Destruction du Corps des Janissaires*, Paris 1833, 294-5); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh-i Dewlet-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1309, ii, 475 ff.; Mehmet Zeki Pakalîn, *Osmanlî Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946 ff., s.v. Serasker. (B. LEWIS)

BABA, (Turkish and also Persian) "father"; in East Turkish it also denotes "grandfather" (Vambéry, *Čagat. Sprachstudien*, 240; Süleymān Efendi, *Lughāt-i djaghatay*, 66). Baba, put after the name, is used in various ways as an honorific for older men, and in Turkey it is used as a form of address even today. As part of a name, it is best known from the story of "Ali Baba and the 40 thieves" in *The Thousand and One Nights*. As a cognomen, it was used particularly in Dervish circles (e.g. Geyikli Baba, who is said to have accompanied Orkhān Beg in the siege of Brusa), and there particularly with the Bektashī. Akhī Bābā [*q.v.*], in corrupt form also Ahû Baba and similar forms) was the title of Akhī Ewrān's [*q.v.*] successor in his Tekke in Kîrşehir (Anatolia) and master of the leather guilds (tanners, saddlers, and shoemakers), in which he held the privilege of inducting apprentices into the guild. There was a movement of dervishes who called themselves Bābāʾīs [*q.v.*] under the Rūm Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Kaykhusraw II. The epithet Baba also occurs with non-religious civil servants in the ancient Ottoman Empire, e.g. Agha Babasî (Barbier de Meynard, *Supplément*, i, 257), the leader of the 40 guardians (*kapîdjî*) of the imperial harem, who were white eunuchs. In Iran the epithet Baba precedes the name, again frequently in the case of dervishes (e.g. the dialect poet Bābā Ṭāhir ʿUryān [see BĀBĀ-ṬĀHIR]). Occasionally, Bābā appears in its own right, e.g. a member of the Khān family Girāy on the Crimea, Bābā Girāy, son of Muḥammad Girāy, who, after the death of his father, succeeded him as Kalgha, but was murdered six months later (929/1522); as also the Özbek prince Bābā Beg [*q.v.*].

As part of a place name, Bābā indicates that the place had dervish associations. Thus, for example, Bābā Daghî [see BABADAGHÎ], in the Dobrudja, where the tomb of the famous saint Ṣarî Ṣaltîk Baba is; there is another Bābā Daghî near Denizli in Anatolia, and foothills called Bābā Burnu (formerly Assos) in western Anatolia, a part of mount Ida in Troas, at the foot of which lies the harbour Baba Limanî. In eastern Thrace there is a small town called Babaeski [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Barbier de Maynard, *Supplément aux dictionnaires turcs*, s.v.; ʿAli Djewād, *Djoghrāfiyā lughatî*, 143; *Sālnāme* of Edirne (1325), 906, 980; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 20; *IA*, ii, 165 f. (by M. Fuad Köprülü). (F. TAESCHNER)

BĀBĀ AFḌAL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ḤUSAYN KĀSHĀNĪ (or KĀSHĪ), generally called Bābā Afḍal, a Persian thinker and the author of poems in quatrains, born in Maraḳ near Kāshān, where he is also buried. His dates are still rather uncertain. According to Saʿīd Nafīsī he was born around 582/1186-7, or 592/1195-6, and died after 654/1256 or 664/1265-6; the date given as the date of his death by Brockelmann, II, 280, *viz.* Radjab 666/March-April 1268, is near to this. According to M. Mīnovī, Bābā Afḍal died considerably earlier, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century; the date of death given by

E. G. Browne and others, 707/1307-8, is certainly incorrect. There is scant information on his life, and that of little importance. Thus, for example, the relationship between Bābā Afḍal and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], which has been accepted by some, proves on closer examination to have been impossible. Admittedly Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī had a teacher named Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāsib, who had been a pupil of Bābā Afḍal. Of the two quatrains in praise of "Afḍal" ascribed to Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, one is not definitely his whilst the other is in self-praise. The assertion that Naṣīr al-Dīn had protected Kās͟hān from Hūlāgū to please Bābā Afḍal is a fiction. It is hardly possible that there was ever a meeting between Bābā Afḍal and Saʿdī. Bābā Afḍal's thought was influenced by the Bāṭiniyya and Avicenna, whom he resembles also in his attempts to substitute Persian technical terms for Arabic ones. His writings comprise 16 treatises, a posthumous book of questions and answers, some 40 short essays, 6 letters, a collection of quatrains, some *g͟hazal*s and *ḳiṭʿa*s. These figures, especially where the short essays and letters are concerned, must not be regarded as final, because—though most of his treatises had already been printed individually before—scientific and systematic research into his works has only recently commenced. He wrote chiefly in Persian, though occasionally also in Arabic (cf. primarily the *Madārid̲j̲ al-Kamāl*, which he later translated into Persian by request). His prose works are concerned with philosophy, theosophy, ethics, and logic; they are partly original, partly editions or translations, and are distinguished by their simple, clear and readily intelligible style, which follows that of the ancients closely. M. Bahār regards his translation of the *Kitāb al-Nafs* of Aristotle as exemplary. Bābā Afḍal's logic *al-Minhād̲j̲ al-Mubīn* is based on *al-ʿIlm wa 'l-Nuṭḳ* of Aristotle though it is not identical with its model, but has independent developments of its own. Bābā Afḍal's *Čahār ʿUnwān* gives a selection from G͟hazzālī's *Kīmiyā-i Saʿādat*, which consists partly of selected pieces from the Persian text of G͟hazzālī, partly of translations of the Arabic parts of the book, which G͟hazzālī had not included in the Persian version. Bābā Afḍal's quatrains are extremely attractive, and their occasionally shrill note has already been remarked on by E. H. Whinfield. It is no wonder that several of them have achieved currency as works attributed to ʿUmar K͟hayyām.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Taḳī Dānis͟h-puz͟hūh lists all of Bābā Afḍal's prose works so far identified, their manuscripts, all printed and lithographed editions, translations, etc. in his essay *Niwis͟htahā-i Bābā Afḍal*, in *Mihr* 1331 AH solar, viii, 433-6, 499-502. For special mention here: *Muṣannafāt* I: *Madārid̲j̲ al-Kamāl* (see above), *Rāh-and̲j̲ām-nāma*, *Sāz u Pīrāya-i S͟hāhān-i Pur-māya*, *Risāla-i Tuffāḥa*, *ʿArḍ-nāma*, *D̲j̲āwidān-nāma*, *Yanbūʿ al-Ḥayāt* (translated by Bābā Afḍal), ed. Mud̲j̲tabā Mīnovī and Yaḥyā Mahdawī, Tehran 1331 AH solar (Publications of the University, no. 138, vol. II, including a biography and assessment, indices and vocabulary in preparation). *The Book of the Apple* [*Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa, Sīb-nāma*], ascribed to Aristotle, edited in Persian and English by D. S. Margoliouth, in *JRAS* 1892, 187-252 (no attempt being made to identify the Persian translator of this dialogue); *Tard̲j̲ama-i Rawān-s͟hināsī yā Risāla-i Nafs-i Ārisṭū*, ed. M. Bahār *Malik al-S͟huʿarā*, Tehran 1316 AH solar (Bābā Afḍal's Persian translation is based on the Arabic rescension by either Abū Zayd Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ ʿIbādī [who died in 264/877-8] or by his son Isḥāḳ [who died in 298/910-1]); *Rubāʿiyyāt-i Bābā Afḍal-i Kās͟hānī* (483 items); Tehran 1311 AH solar, with critical biography and survey of the whole work by Saʿīd Nafīsī (also with a French title on the cover). There is a selection of quatrains with a sensitive prose translation in *Hoséyne-Āzad, La Roseraie du Savoir, Choix de Quatrains mystiques*, Leiden 1906. Concerning Bābā Afḍal: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur*, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 277; Browne, ii, 110; Brockelmann, S II, 280; J. E. Bertel's, *Avicenna i persidskaya literatura*, in *Izvestija AN SSSR. Otdel. obs͟hestv. nauk.* 1938, numbers 1-2, 84-6; *Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury*, edited by J. Rypka, Prague 1956, 178, 150, 179; Muḥ. Taḳī Bahār *Malik al S͟huʿarā*, *Sabk-s͟hināsī*, iii (1319 AH solar), 163-6; *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*, i, 98 etc.

(J. Rypka)

BĀBĀ BEG, an Özbek chief of the family of the Keneges, who was till 1870 prince of S͟hahrisabz. This town having been conquered by the Russians, he fled with a small body of those faithful to him. Finally he was seized in Ferg͟hānā and obliged to reside at Tas͟hkent. In 1875 he entered Russian military service and took part in the campaign against K͟hoḳand. He died about 1898 at Tas͟hkent.

(W. Barthold-[B. Spuler])

BĀBĀ DAG͟HĪ [see Babadag͟hī].

BĀBĀ ESKISI [see Babaeski].

BĀBĀ FIG͟HĀNĪ [see fig͟hānī].

BĀBĀ ISḤĀḲ [see bābāʾī].

BĀBĀ-ṬĀHIR, a mystic and poet who wrote in a Persian dialect. According to Riḍā Ḳulī K͟hān (19th century), who does not give his source, Bābā-Ṭāhir lived in the period of Daylamī rule and died in 401/1010. Among his quatrains there is an enigmatical one: "I am that sea (*baḥr*) which entered into a vase; that point which entered into the letter. In each *alf* ("thousand", *i.e*, of years?) arises an *alif-ḳadd* (a man upright in stature like the letter *alif*). I am the *alif-ḳadd* who has come in this *alf*". Mahdī K͟hān in the *JASB* has given an extremely curious interpretation of this quatrain: the letters *alf-ḳd* have the value 215, the same as the letters of the word *daryā* (Persian equivalent of the Arabic *baḥr* "sea") and those of the name of the poet *Ṭāhir*. If we add *alf-ḳd* (215) to *alf* (111) we get 326 (the same value by the way as the Persian word *hazār*, "thousand", if we spell it *hā, zā, alif, rā*). In this way the phrase "an *alif-ḳadd* came into the *alif*" would give the date (326) of the birth of Bābā-Ṭāhir who may well have lived till 401.

In spite of the ingenuity of this explanation, it is nevertheless true that the only historical evidence that we possess about Bābā-Ṭāhir is that of the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr* (c. 601/1204, *GMS*, 98-99), the author of which "had heard" that when the Sald̲j̲ūḳ Sulṭān Tug͟hril entered Hamadān (in 447/1055), Bābā-Ṭāhir addressed an admonition to him ("O Turk, how are you going to act towards the Muslims?") which much impressed the conqueror. The anecdote suggests for the death of Bābā-Ṭāhir a date later than 447/1055 but is in no way contradictory to the statement that Bābā-Ṭāhir flourished under the Daylamīs, *i.e.* under the Būyids and their relatives, the Kākoyids, whose rule in Hamadān lasted till the expedition of Ibrāhīm Yināl in 435/1043-4. Bābā-Ṭāhir may well have been the contemporary of Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) who died at Hamadān in 428/1037, but the legends which make him a witness of

the execution of the mystic ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt of Hamadān in 533 and the contemporary of Nasīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672) are pure inventions.

The sources sometimes call Bābā-Ṭāhir Hamadānī (cf. the Arabic MS. 1903 of the Bibl. Nat. Paris, the *Sarandjām*, etc.), sometimes Lurī (Lūrī). This latter form—in place of Lur [*q.v.*]—is somewhat puzzling: does it mean some other connexion than that of origin between Bābā-Ṭāhir and Luristān? It is certainly well to remember that in the 5th/11th century there were very close links between Hamadān and Luristān and the poet may have spent his life between the two places. In Khurramābād there is a quarter bearing the name of Bābā-Ṭāhir (cf. Edmonds, *Geogr. Journ.*, June 1922, 443). The association of Bābā-Ṭāhir with Luristān in the beliefs of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [see below] is also significant. In the quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir (cf. nos. 102, 200, 274 of the *Dīwān*), Mount Alwand [*q.v.*] overshadowing Hamadān is frequently mentioned. The tomb of Bābā-Ṭāhir lies on a little hill to the north-west of the town in the Bun-i bāzār quarter; beside the tomb of Bābā-Ṭāhir are those of his faithful Fāṭima [see below] and Mīrzā ʿAlī Naḳī Kawtharī (19th century); the building is a humble one and of no interest. The tomb is mentioned in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha* (740/1340), 75; cf. the photograph in Minorsky, *Matériaux*, Moscow 1911, xi, and Williams Jackson, *A visit to the Tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir at Hamadān*, in *A Volume presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 257-260.

The stories one hears in Māzandarān about Bābā-Ṭāhir's connexion with that province have no foundation and may have been brought by immigrants from Luristān (the Läk). Besides, all the nomads of Persia like to claim Bābā-Ṭāhir as a compatriot.

The language of Bābā-Ṭāhir. Since all the facts and traditions connect the poet with Hamadān and Luristān, it is reasonable to expect to find in his dialect traces of a dialect of this region of Persia. But as this dialect was very close to Persian and as so many different mouths have been trying to render more comprehensible the verses transmitted orally, there is little hope of re-establishing the text in its dialectic purity. It is not an improbable suggestion that Bābā-Ṭāhir simply wanted to imitate the dialects of his adepts. In our own day a Kurd Christian claims to have made verses in the Gūrānī dialect, quite distinct from his own, in order to "transmit the message" to the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (Dr. Saʿīd Khān, in *MW*, Jan. 1927, 40).

The country between Hamadān and Khurramābād still has many dialects, but that of Bābā-Ṭāhir is not connected with any definite one and seems to borrow from all. The closeness of the present text of Bābā-Ṭāhir to literary Persian is undeniable; on the other hand changes like *nām* > *nūm* "name", *dastam* > *dastum* ("my hand"), *raftam* > *raftum* ("I have gone"), *dūr* > *dīr* (cf. Huart, xiv = *Dīwān*, no. 82) are typical of the Lur dialects; the stems *vādj* "to speak", *kar* "to do" are common to the Kurdish and central dialects; the forms *mī-kar-ū* "he does" and *āy-ū* "he comes" recall particularly the Gūrānī spoken much farther to the west. For certain peculiarities (*dāram* > **dērom*) we only find analogies at Kāzrūn (near Shīrāz).

Hadank's detailed analysis has plainly proved this mixture of dialects (*Dialektgemisch*) in the quatrains, at least as we know them now. The term "Muḥammadan Pahlavi" proposed by Huart (1885) for the language of Bābā-Ṭāhir has not been accepted by scholars.

The metre of the quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir and of his *ghazals* is almost exclusively *hazadj musaddas maḥdhūf* ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – – which has made the new editor call the quatrains *du-baytī* (distichs) instead of *rubāʿī*, the last term being too closely associated with the metre *hazadj makfūf maḳṣūr* – – ⏑ ⏑ | – – ⏑ ⏑ | – – ⏑ ⏑ | – . The authenticity of some regular *rubāʿī* attributed to Bābā-Ṭāhir seems doubtful. The metre of Bābā-Ṭāhir is also found in popular songs (Mīrzā Djaʿfar [Korsch], *Gramm. Pers. Yazïka*, Moscow 1901, 308).

Bābā-Ṭāhir—poet. Down to 1927, all that was known of his poems was a rather small number found for the most part in anthologies of the 18th and 19th centuries. Huart's researches produced in 1885, 59 quatrains, and in 1908, found 3 new quatrains (they are moreover very doubtful). Leszczynski (who used the Berlin manuscripts) has translated 80 quatrains and one *ghazal* (a different one from Huart's). Finally Ḥusayn Waḥīd Dastgirdī Iṣfahānī, editor of the Persian review *Armaghān*, published in 1306/1927 at Tiḥrān a *Dīwān* of Bābā-Ṭāhir containing 296 *du-baytī* and 4 *ghazals* of this poet; as an appendix the editor gives 62 *du-baytī* found in the "different collections" and the 3 *rubāʿī* added by Heron Allen. The quatrains of the *Dīwān* are arranged in the alphabetical order of the rhymes. The editor unfortunately gives no details of the manuscript of the *Dīwān* reproduced in his edition. The new quatrains several of which mention Ṭāhir's name, the mountains of Alwand and Maymand (?) etc., confirm the characteristics already known of Bābā-Ṭāhir, while making them a little more banal by the inevitable repetitions. The dialectical flavour of most of the quatrains is in favour of their authenticity, although an imitation of the peculiarities of the language of Bābā-Ṭāhir would really not be a very difficult matter. The question of the authenticity of the quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir certainly arises, as it did in the case of those of ʿUmar Khayyām. Žukowski says that quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir are found in the *Dīwān* of Mullā Muḥammad Ṣūfī Māzandarānī (5th/11th cent.). A certain Shāṭir Beg Muḥammad, a modern poet of Hamadān, claimed to be the author of several "Kurdī (Pahlawī)" quatrains attributed to Bābā-Ṭāhir (cf. *Dīwān*, 21).

The choice of subjects in Bābā-Ṭāhir is very restricted, but the poet's work bears the stamp of a distinct personality. We give an analysis of the 59 quatrains published by Huart to enable the reader to judge. As usual it is difficult to draw a rigid distinction between the expression of mystical and that of profane love; 34 quatrains are almost equally divided between two categories of lyric poetry. Two quatrains are simple hymns to God. The rest is more individual and characteristic. Bābā-Ṭāhir often refers to his life as a wandering *darwish-ḳalandar*, without a roof above his head, sleeping with a stone for a pillow, continually harassed by spiritual anxieties (nos. 6, 7, 14, 28). Cares and melancholy torment him; the "flower of grief" alone flourishes in his heart; even the charms of spring leave him still unhappy (34, 35, 47, 54). Bābā-Ṭāhir professes the philosophy of the true Ṣūfī, confesses his sins, implores pardon for them, preaches humility, invokes nirvana (*fanāʾ*) as the only remedy for his misfortunes (1, 13, 45, 50, 58). One human failing is especially

characteristic of Bābā-Ṭāhir: his eyes and his heart do not readily detach themselves from the things of this world; his rebellious heart burns within him, leaves him no rest for a moment and the poet cries in anguish: "Art thou a lion, a panther, O my Heart, thou who art continually struggling with me. If thou fallest into my hands, I shall spill thy blood to see what colour thou art, O my heart" (3, 8, 9, 26, 36, 42).

Bābā-Ṭāhir's psychology shows striking contrast to that of ʿUmar Khayyām. Bābā-Ṭāhir shows no trace of the hedonism of the latter (d. 517/1123?) nor of his serenity in face of the changes brought by death, while ʿUmar Khayyām lacks the mystic fire of Bābā-Ṭāhir (cf. Christensen, *Critical Studies in the Rubāʿiyāt of ʿUmar-i Khayyām*, Copenhagen 1917, 44).

What pleases in Bābā-Ṭāhir is the freshness of his sentiments which Ṣūfī routine had not yet stereotyped, the spontaneity of his images, the naiveté of his language, with the local tang.

Bābā-Ṭāhir—mystic. The Persian dervishes with whom Žukowski talked about Bābā-Ṭāhir knew that he was the author of 22 metaphysical treatises (cf. also Riḍā Ḳulī Khān) but it is only from Ethé and Blochet that we have learned in Europe of the existence in Oxford and Paris of commentaries on the maxims of Bābā-Ṭāhir. The complete treatise [*al-*]*Kalimāt* [*al*]*-ḳiṣār* ("The brief sayings") has now been published in the edition of the *Armaghān*. This treatise consists of 368 Arabic maxims divided into 23 *bāb* dealing with the following subjects: knowledge (*ʿilm*); gnosis (*maʿrifa*); inspiration and penetration (*ilhām, firāsa*); reason and the soul (*ʿaḳl, nafs*); this world and the beyond (*dunyā, ʿuḳbā*); the musical performance (*samāʿ*) and the *dhikr*; sincerity and spiritual retreat (*ikhlāṣ, iʿtikāf*), etc.

Here are a few specimens of these maxims: no. 86: "Real knowledge is the intuition after the knowledge of certainty has been acquired" (*al-ḥaḳīḳatu 'l-mushāhadatu baʿda ʿilmi 'l-yaḳīni*); no. 96: "Ecstasy (*wadjd*) is the loss (of the knowledge) of existing things and is the existence of lost things"; no. 368: "he who has been the witness of predestination (coming) from God remains without movement and without volition"; no. 300: "he whom ignorance has slain has never lived, he whom the *dhikr* has killed will never die".

The "Brief Sayings" seem to have enjoyed considerable popularity among the Ṣūfīs. The Persian editor mentions the following commentaries on this treatise: the Arabic commentary attributed to ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadānī (d. in 533/1138-9 but often associated in legends with Bābā-Ṭāhir); another Arabic commentary by an unknown author; the Arabic and Persian commentaries by Mullā Sulṭān ʿAlī Gunābādī: the Persian commentary was printed in 1326/1906 but is very rare. The editor of the *Armaghān* expresses the hope of being one day able to publish the "Brief Sayings" accompanied by one of the commentaries.

The Arabic manuscript 1903 of the Bibl. Nat. contains the first 8 chapters of the maxims of Bābā-Ṭāhir in an abridged form (fol. 100b-105b), as well as a commentary on them (fol. 74a-100a) entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya fī Ishārāt al-Hamadāniyya*.

The manuscript seems to be in the hand of the author of the commentary, Djānī Beg al-ʿAzīzī, who began his work in Shawwāl 889 and ended it on 20th Shaʿbān 890/1 September 1485. The commentary was written at the request of a certain Shaykh Abu 'l-Baḳā who had possessed the *Ishārāt* of Bābā-Ṭāhir since 853/1449-50. He had let them fall into the well of Zamzam at Mecca but the manuscript was miraculously recovered. The *ʿulamāʾ* had dissuaded Abu 'l-Baḳā from writing a commentary on the text on account of its profundity and obscurity. Finally Abu 'l-Baḳā engaged Djānī Beg to accomplish this task. The commentary deals with the text of the maxims of Bābā-Ṭāhir word by word.

Bābā-Ṭāhir—saint. As is the case with the majority of the mystical poets (ʿAṭṭār, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Ḥāfiẓ), there are numerous legends of the life and miracles of Bābā-Ṭāhir. It is related that when Bābā-Ṭāhir had asked the students of the *madrasa* of Hamadān to show him the way to acquire knowledge, the students as a joke told him to spend a winter night in the icy water of a tank. Bābā-Ṭāhir carried out the advice and next morning found himself enlightened and exclaimed: *Amsaytu Kurdiyyan wa-aṣbaḥtu ʿArabiyyan* ("last night I was a Kurd and this morning I have become an Arab"). This story was heard by Žukowski in Tehran and by Heron Allen's informant at Būshīr; it is widely current in Hamadān (cf. the preface to the *Dīwān*, 17 and the manuscripts from Hamadān). This Arabic utterance is found in the preface to the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, where however it is referred to an unknown (mystic?) ancestor of Ibn Akhī, a Turk of Urmiya. In the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* of Djāmī, ed. Nassau Lees, 362-363, the phrase is attributed to Abū ʿAbd Allāh Bābūnī (a Gūrānī tribe, see Ibn Athīr, ix, 247).

Other pious legends represent Bābā-Ṭāhir as making the snow on Mount Alwand melt by the ardour of his spiritual fire, tracing with the point of his great toe the solution of an astronomical problem which had been put him, etc. (Žukowski, Heron Allen, Leszczynski, preface to the *Dīwān*, manuscripts from Hamadān).

Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, 344, already knew that the adepts of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ sect were in the habit of "praising exceedingly and giving pride of place to the names of famous Ṣūfīs, notably of Bābā-Ṭāhir whose poems in the Lur dialect are highly esteemed, and of his sister Bibi Fatima" etc. The discovery of the religious work *Sarandjām* has enabled us to locate Bābā-Ṭāhir in the theogony of the sect. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] believed in 7 manifestations of the divinity, each of which was accompanied by a retinue of 4 angels, each of whom had special duties. Bābā-Ṭāhir is regarded as one of the angels of the third period and the incarnation of Azrāʾīl and Nuṣayr. The mystic stage to which the period of Bābā Khoshīn generally corresponds is the *maʿrifa*. The events of this cycle take place in Luristān and Hamadān. The manuscript of the *Sarandjām* recounts the visit of the "King of the World" to Bābā-Ṭāhir in Hamadān. Bābā Khoshīn is meant by the "King of the World" but the legend seems to be inspired by memories of the episode of Tughril (see above). Bābā-Ṭāhir and Fāṭima Lärä ("the thin") of the tribe of Bärä Shāhī (of the Gūrān country?), who was in his service, fed the whole army of the King with a *čār-yak* of rice. The latter tempts Bābā-Ṭāhir with all the treasures of the world but he only desires the "beauty of the King". Fāṭima wants to follow the King of the World; she lays her head on his knees and gives up the ghost. The King consoles Bābā-Ṭāhir for his loss

and promises that on the day of the Last Judgement he will reunite him to Fāṭima so that they shall be like Laylā and Madjnūn. 13 poetical fragments (mutilated but in the style of Bābā-Ṭāhir) are scattered through the text (cf. *Minorsky*, 29-33, 99-103; these facts have been utilised by Leszczynski, *op. cit.*, 18-25). Fāṭima Lārā, who is mentioned in the text is buried beside Bābā-Ṭāhir. According to the custodians of the tomb of Bābā-Ṭāhir, she is not to be confused with another Fāṭima also buried in the same *buḳʿa* (?). Gobineau and A. V. W. Jackson mention the sister of Bābā-Ṭāhir, Bībī Fāṭima or Fāṭima Laylā. Āzād-i Hamadānī (*Diwān*, 16-21) speaks of the tomb of the *dāya* "nurse" of Bābā-Ṭāhir: everyone seems to endeavour to translate into the language of everyday life the mystic relations of Bābā-Ṭāhir to Fāṭima.

The quatrain already quoted at the beginning of this article (*alf, alif-ḳadd*) may reflect some high aspiration of Bābā-Ṭāhir.

Bibliography: The MSS. containing the quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir are as follows: Ḳonya Museum no. 2547 (848/1444): 2 *Ḳiṭʿas*, 8 *du-baytī*, see M. Mīnuwī, *Madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt*, Tehrān, iv/2, 1325, 54-9; Asiat. Soc. Bengal, Pers. no. 923, Catal. Ivanow, 424 (a *madjmūʿa* of 1000 [1592]); Preuss. Staatsbibl., Catal. Pertsch, 727, no. 697 (written in 1820 and used by Leszczynski): 56 quatrains; Bibl. Nat. de Paris, pers. 174, Cat. Blochet, ii, 290-292 (collection made by Bakhsh ʿAlī Ḳarabāghī, dated 1260 [1844]): 174 quatrains and a *ghazal*. In the library of the mosque of Sipāhsālār in Tehrān, Žukowski found a manuscript, *Ḥālāt-i Bābā-Ṭāhir bā-indimām-i ashʿārash*, but the title does not correspond to the contents of the MS. The MSS. of the mystical treatises of Bābā-Ṭāhir are as follows: Bibl. Nat. de Paris, Arab 1903 (Blochet, *o.l.*, ii, 291) and the Oxford MS. Ethé, *Cat. Pers. Mss. Bodleian Lib.*, no. 1298, fol. 302b-343. The anthologies which mention the poet are: ʿAlī Ḳuli Khān Wālih, *Riyāḍ al-Shuʿarāʾ*, 1161/1748, cf. Leszczynski, 10; Luṭf ʿAlī beg, *Ātashkada*, 1193/1779, Bombay 1277, 247 (25 quatrains); ʿAlī Ibrāhīm Shāh, *Ṣuḥuf-i Ibrāhīm*, 1205/1791, unique MS. in the Preuss. Staatsbibl., Pertsch, 627, no. 663 (utilised by Žukowski and Leszczynski); Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*, Tehrān 1295, i, 326 (10 quatrains); idem, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, Tehrān 1303, 102 (24 quatrains); 57 quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir were published at Bombay in 1297 and 1308 (with those of ʿUmar Khayyām); 32 quatrains (with the *Munādjāt* of Anṣārī) at Bombay 1301; 27 quatrains (with those of Khayyām) at Tehrān 1274; the *ghazal* of Bābā-Ṭāhir is given in the appendix to the *Diwān* of Shams-i Maghribī, Tehrān 1298, 158, in the appendix to the *Munādjāt* of Anṣārī etc.. The *Diwān* of Bābā-Ṭāhir (cf. text) with the *Kalimāt-i ḳiṣār*, a preface by the editor, a biography by Maḥmūd ʿIrfān, a description of the tomb of Bābā-Ṭāhir by Āzād-i Hamadānī, etc. were published as a supplement to the 8th year of the magazine *Armaghān*, Tehrān 1306/1927, 1-124.— Huart, *Les quatrains de Bābā-Ṭāhir ʿUryān en pehlévi musulman*, in *JA*, series viii, vol. vi, Nov.-Dec. 1885, 502-545; Žukowski, *Koye čto o B. Ṭāhirě Golšhě*, *Zap.*, 1900, xiii, 104-108 (bibliography, 3 anecdotes, 2 new quatrains one of which = no. 146 of the *Diwān*), cf. also *Zap.*, ii, 12; E. Heron Allen, *The Lament of Bābā-Ṭāhir*, London 1902 (text of 62 quatrains, transl. by the editor and verse by Elisabeth Curtis Brenton); Browne, i, 83-87, ii, 259-261; Mīrzā Mahdī Khān (Kawkab), *The quatrains of Bābā-Tahir*, in *JASB*, 1904, no. 1, 1-29 (new edition of the quatrains of Heron Allen [+ 1 quatrain] with important corrections and a very interesting commentary); Huart, *Nouveaux quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir*, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, ed. J. J. Modi, Bombay 1908, 290-302 (28 quatrains and 1 *ghazal*) completing the collection of 1885 recently discovered: in an extract from the *Kashkūl al-Fuḳarāʾ* of which the original is in the Muḥammadiyya mosque (Fātiḥ) of Constantinople, in the *Diwān* of Maghribī and in an album (*djung*). This second collection of quatrains published by Huart contains sundry pieces, the translation of which is not certain; Minorsky, *Materiali* ("Matériaux pour servir à l'étude des croyances de la secte persane dite les Ahl-i Ḥaqq ou ʿAlī-Ilāhī"), vol. xxxiii, of the *Trudi Lazarew. Instituta*, Moscow 1911, 29-33 (transl. of the passages from the *Sarandjām*), 99-103 (Persian text of the intercalated poems and notes); G. L. Leszczynski, *Die Rubāʿiyāt des Bābā-Ṭāhir ʿUryān oder Die Gottestränen des Herzens, aus d. west-medischen* [*sic!*] *Originale*, Munich 1920 (biographical and bibliographical, verse transl.); K. Hadank, *Die Mundarten v. Khunsār*, etc., in *Kurd.-pers. Forsch. v. O. Mann*, series iii, vol. i, Leipzig 1926, introduction, xxxvii-lv (complete study of the question of the language of Bābā-Tāhir, bibliography); A. J. Arberry, *Poems of a Persian Ṣūfī, being the quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir*, Cambridge 1937, (60 *dubayti* translated into excellent five-lined stanzas in the style of A. E. Housman). (V. Minorsky)

BABADAGHI, a town in the Dobrudja, now part of Rumania. Its Turkish name refers to the semi-legendary dervish (Baba) Sarl Saltlḳ, who is said to have led a number of Anatolian Turcomans to the Dobrudja in the mid-thirteenth century, and to have settled with them in the neighbourhood of Babadaghl. (On this settlement see Paul Wittek, *Yazijioghlu ʿAli on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, 1952 xvi, 639 ff.). There are several tombs of Sarl Saltlḳ in various towns; the most generally accepted is that of Babadaghl. What appears to be the first reference to it occurs in a passage in the travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who mentions 'Bābā Salṭūḳ' as the furthermost outpost of the Turks, and briefly describes the saint that is buried there. Though Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's 'Bābā Salṭūḳ' cannot be located with certainty, it seems likely that it is the place later known as Babadaghl. He passed that way in about 1332-3.

According to Ewliyā Čelebi, the town was first conquered for the Ottomans by Bayezīd I, and was consecrated by Bayezīd II as a *waḳf* for Sarl Saltlḳ and his followers. Two documents relating to the *waḳf* of Bayazīd, of 1078/1667 and 1111/1699, are listed in the catalogue of the Topkapl Sarayl (*Arşiv Kilavuzu*, Istanbul 1938, i, 52). The area was no doubt occupied by Bayezīd I in the course of his Danubian campaigns, but its final annexation by the Ottomans would seem to date from the year 819/1416-7, (ʿĀshiḳpāshāzāde, chapter 75; Neshrī, ed. Unat Köymen, Ankara 1957, ii, 534 ff.; Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 284; cf. Osman Turan, *Tarihi Takvimler*, Ankara 1954, 21, 57). The region was settled by Bayezīd with Tatar colonists (Ḥādjdji Khalīfa; cf. Hammer-Purgstall*, i, 629).

In 945/1538 Sultan Suleymān stayed there for four days, during his Rumanian campaign, and visited

the tomb of Sarî Saltîḳ (*Mohačnāme*; Hammer-Purgstall*, ii, 152). At this time it seems to have been included in the *sandjaḳ* of Silistre, though it was not large enough to be listed as a town (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, ***Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları, Belleten***, xx, 1956, 254-5, 266-7). In the late 16th and early 17th centuries the town and district suffered greatly from the depredations of the Cossacks and even, on occasions, of the Crimean Tatars. As a result many of the Turkish population left and migrated southwards. During the reign of Murād IV the construction of a fortress was begun, under direction of Kodja Kenʿān Pasha, but by the time that Ewliyā Čelebi wrote (ca. 1652) the fortress was not manned and only the foundation walls and towers were standing. During the 17th century Babadaghî became the concentration point for Ottoman armies marching north, and in war-time served as winter quarters for the Grand Vizier. The town, which from 1001/1593 constituted a *voyvodalîḳ* in the *eyalet* of Özü, was described by Ewliyā as a flourishing commercial centre, with 3000 houses, 380 shops, and many gardens (but no closed market—*bezzāzistān*). Its status was that of a pasha's appanage (*pasha khāṣṣî*). Ewliyā names three large mosques (*djāmiʿ*)—Ulu Djāmiʿ, built by Bayezīd II, near the convent of Sarî Saltîḳ; ʿAlī Pasha Djāmiʿi, in the market place; Defterdār Derwīsh Pasha Djāmiʿi; and three *ḥammāms* including those of Bayezīd II and ʿAlī Pasha. (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa reports 5 mosques and only 2 baths). There were also several *masdjids*, three *madrasas*, 20 boys' schools (*mekteb ṣibyānî*) 8 Khāns and 11 dervish convents (*tekke*) of which the largest and most prosperous was that of Sarî Saltîk. His *türbe* was a place of pilgrimage. It was built by Bayezīd II (or, according to another version, by the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray). The chief industries, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, were cloth, bows, and arrows; its specialities were grapes, white bread, yoghurt, and grape-juice.

In 1809, during the Russo Turkish war, the town was occupied by the Russian general Pozorovsky. It was returned to Turkey in 1812 but was ceded to Rumania in 1878. At the time of its transfer Babadaghî was a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sandjaḳ* of Tulča in the *wilāyet* of Tuna.

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(B. LEWIS)

BABAESKI (Bābā-yi ʿatîḳ) or Babaeskisi, a small town in eastern Thrace, situated 50 km. S.E. of Edirne, on the railway line which links Kîrklareli to the Edirne, Istanbul main line. At the time of the Byzantine empire it was called Bulgarophygon; its present name is derived from the Turkish dervishes (*baba*) who settled there, as at other places, during the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans.

Babaeski was a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjaḳ* of Viza in the 17th century, and was later attached to the *sandjaḳ* of Kîrkkilise (Kîrklareli). Taday it is one of the *ḳaḍās* of the *wilāyet* of Kîrklareli; its population in 1945 was 5,936. The population of the whole region, numbering 37,607 (1945), is mainly occupied in agriculture.

The town has two mosques, one dating from the time of Meḥemmed II, and the other built by the architect Sinān in the name of the Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pasha Semiz [*q.v.*]. A stone bridge, built during the reign of Murād IV on the river Ergene, to the west of the town, also deserves mention as a historic monument.

Bibliography: Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs ül-Aʿlam*, ii, 1178; article *Baba* in *IA* (by M. Fuad Köprülü); *Türk (Inönü) Ansiklopedisi*, s.v.; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 480 ff.; T. Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. asîrlarda Edirne ve Paşa livasî*, Istanbul 1952, 207 ff., 502 f. (E. KURAN)

BĀBĀʾÎ, the name of a religio-social movement which disturbed the Turkomān centres of Asia Minor a few years before the Mongol invasion, and which seems to have been of great importance in the general history of the social and cultural development of the Turkish people. It can only be understood by reference to certain general features of the development of the Saldjūḳid state of Rūm. By the 7th/13th century, the latter had become a state with a strong administrative and cultural framework, the product of Iranian influence, based on the Muslim and mainly Sunnī population of the towns; the Turkomān element of the rural areas and the frontiers, which had remained far more faithful to the old Turkish traditions and had been penetrated to a much greater extent by heterodox doctrines, was thus becoming more and more isolated. At the very moment when the rift between the State and the Turkomān element was widening in this way, the Turkomāns, as the result of the influx of their Turkomān cousins who had been pushed back first by the Khwārizmians, then by the Mongols, received simultaneously reinforcement in numbers and the seeds of future troubles, in the form of doctrines stemming from Central Asia. This was the environment in which shortly before 638/1240 a *baba* (popular preacher), Isḥāḳ, better known under his self-assumed title of «rasūl (Allāh)», who came from the Kafarsūd region on the Syrian border, began preaching to the Turkomāns both of the region south of the eastern Taurus, and of the region of Amasya, and then of all the intervening and surrounding districts. In 638, taking advantage of the fact that the breach between Kay-Khusraw and the Khwārizimians, the remnants of whom, after finding a temporary home in Asia Minor, had taken refuge in Djazīra, had weakened the régime, Bābā Isḥāḳ raised the standard of revolt. He successively defied several large Saldjūḳid armies, and was only finally defeated and captured by the employment of «Frankish» mercenaries; even then the movement was not completely suppressed.

Little is known of the distinctive features of the movement. The adepts wore a red cap (as did, later, the *kizil-bash*), black robes, and sandals. Isḥāḳ called himself a prophet, and allied himself to the extremist forms of Shīʿism which were prevalent in Irano-Turkish popular circles; his precise relations with another Bābā, of Khurāsānī origin, Ilyās, and with the *ḳalandars* (Djawāliḳī) of Asia Minor, are yet to be established. At all events, the movement was fundamentally opposed to the aristocratic movement of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and the Mawlawīs.

Although so little is known about it, the Bābāʾî movement must have been of great importance, since it is mentioned, apart from the Saldjūḳid chronicler Ibn Bībī (phot. MS. ed. 498-502, Houtsma's summarised ed. 227-231), by the contemporary Arab from Damascus Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (éd. Jewett 845),

the Franciscan missionary Simon of St. Quentin (in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum*, xxxi, 139-40), and, a little later, by the Syriac historian Bar Hebraeus (ed. trans. Budge, 405-6). The basic problem is to establish the connexion between this movement and, on the one hand, the creation of the Ḳaramānid principality of Taurus, and, on the other hand, in the second half of the century, the religious group of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh; Eflaki (amend Huart's trans., i, 296, following Köprülü, *Orig.* (see bibl. below), 407) explicitly connects the latter, which was destined to have such important developments, with the Bābāʾī movement. There are doubtless other popular creeds of the period of the Mongol Protectorate which are worthy of consideration. Although the texts are so vague, there is little doubt that the Bābāʾī movement was at the head of currents which the dislocation of the Saldjūḳid state later rendered irresistible, and it is this which gives it its importance.

Bibliography: The sources are quoted in the article. The principal modern works are those of M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatînda Ilk Mutaṣawwiflar*, *Anadoluda Islamiyet* (*Edebiyat Fak. Mecm.* ii, 1922), *Les Origines du Bektachisme* (Internat. Congress on the Hist. of Religions, 1923), *Anadolu Beylikleri Tarihine Âid Notlar* (*Türkiyat Mecm.* ii), and *Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 935. For more recent works, see A. Gölpinarlî, *Mevlana Celaleddin*², 1952, and O. Turan, *Selçuk Türkiyesi Din Tarihine Dair Bir Kaynak*, in *Fuad Köprülü Armağani*, 1953.

(Cl. Cahen)

BĀBAK, head of the Khurramī sect [see khurramīs]; his name is an arabicised form of the Iranian Pāpak. The son of an oil-merchant from al-Madāʾin (or, according to some, the descendant of Abū Muslim), he was following an obscure calling in Ādharbaydjān when he was noticed by Djāwīdhān b. Sahl, head of the Khurramīs, who died shortly afterwards. Bābak claimed that the spirit of Djāwīdhān had entered into him, and began to stir up the people living in the region of al-Badhdh, a place, not extant to-day, situated in the mountainous region of Arrān, not far from the Araxes [see ādharbaydjān, map]. He imparted new vigour to this religious and social movement, derived in part from Mazdakism, and employed particularly violent methods. It appears that his operations date from 201/816-7, and that they were assisted by the rebellious schemes of the governor of Armenia, Hātim b. Ḥartama, and facilitated by the various difficulties in the eastern province which followed al-Maʾmūn's return to Baghdād.

In 204/819-20, al-Maʾmūn sent against Bābak Yaḥya b. Muʿādh, who attacked him without success on several occasions, as did other commanders whose efforts were attended by no better fortune. By the end of al-Maʾmūn's caliphate the revolt had spread as far as the Djibāl, and first concern of al-Muʿtaṣim was to exterminate the insurgents in this region. In 220/835, he placed al-Afshīn [*q.v.*] in charge of operations against Bābak. This commander rebuilt the fortresses on the al-Badhdh road which Bābak had destroyed, and, despite the defeat suffered by Bughā the Elder at Hashtād-Sar, succeeded in surprising one of the rebel leaders, Tarkhān. Then, reinforced by troops under Djaʿfar al-Khayyāṭ and by Abū Dulaf's volunteers, he established in 222/837 a camp, protected by mountain scouts, from which he harassed the fortress of al-Badhdh. After an unsuccessful attack by the volunteers, al-Badhdh was taken and sacked on 9 Ramaḍān 222/15 August 837 as the result of an assault by the troops from Farghāna. Bābak fled, and after being handed over to al-Afshīn by the Armenian elder Sahl b. Sunbāt, with whom he had taken refuge, was sent to Samarrā where he arrived on 3 Ṣafar 223/4 January 838. Al-Muʿtaṣim had him paraded on an elephant and executed with extreme cruelty; his body remained hanging on the gallows, which gave its name to a quarter of the town.

The capture and execution of Bābak did not put an end to the Khurramī movement, which continued to give evidence of its existence during the 3rd/9th century; the devotees of the former rebel, calling themselves Bābakiyya, continued in the 5th/11th century, at al-Badhdh, to wait for the Mahdī and to practise certain special rites.

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(D. Sourdel)

BĀBALYŪN (Babylon), a town in Egypt. The name Babylon, denoting the mediaeval Egyptian town in the neighbourhood of the modern Cairo, is, according to Casanova, the Graecised form of an ancient Egyptian Pi-Hapi-n-On through assimilation to the Asiatic βαβυλών which was familiar to the Greeks. This etymology is not quite free from objections but there is no doubt that some ancient Egyptian place-name underlies it. By the name is meant the ancient town and fortification of the Greeks which — situated on the borders of Upper and Lower Egypt — commanded the interior. Even to the present day portions of the ancient fortification have survived in the Ḳaṣr al-Shamʿa. Babylon's position was much more favourable, and its importance greater, in ancient times, as the Nile then flowed further to the East. At the time of the conquest of Egypt by ʿAmr, the decisive battles were fought here. With the fall of Babylon (21 Rabīʿ II 20/9 April 641) the fate of Egypt was settled. The Arab military camp which later developed into the city of Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr was then pitched near this place, important from the military point of view, and the remains of the old fortress were used in its construction. As far as we know from papyri, a distinction was still made between Babylon and Fusṭāṭ at the end of the 1st/7th century. In Fusṭāṭ lived the Muhādjirūn where their *khiṭaṭ* were marked out. In Babylon were the great corn-merchants and the seat of the administration. The arsenal on the island of Rōḍa which is also mentioned in papyri, was closely connected with the fortress. The original distinction between Fusṭāṭ and Babylon was naturally soon lost. The name Babylon fell out of use among the Arabs and only survived among the Copts, its application by them being being extended, for the Copts occasionally used Babylon to describe the whole of the great series of towns from Ḳaṣr al-Shamʿa through Fusṭāṭ and Cairo to Maṭariyye-Heliopolis. This usage then spread to western writers. This is why Babylonia, with varying orthography, appears as a name for Cairo in the numerous commercial treaties between

Egypt and Western States, written in Latin and published by Amari. The name may also be found in the contemporary literature of Europe as well as in charters; for example in the works of the traveller Mandeville and of Boccaccio who calls Saladin "Soldano di Babilonia".

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 450; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, *IFAO* ed., v., 6-13; Abū Ṣāliḥ (ed. Evetts and Butler), fol. 23[b]; Casanova, *Les Noms Coptes du Caire et des Localités voisines*, in *BIFAO*, i, 26; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Egypte à l'époque copte*, 75 and *passim*; Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, ii, 45; *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, 98; *Zeitschr. für Assyr.*, xx, 84, 91; Caetani, *Annali*, iv, A.H. 21 § 143; A. R. Guest, *The Foundation of Fustat*, in *JRAS* 1907, 49 ff.; Michele Amari, *I Diplomi Arabi del R. Archivio Fiorentino*, Florence 1863; U. Monneret de Villard, *Recherche sulla Topografia di Qaṣr eš-Šamᶜ*, *Bull. Soc. Royale de Géog. d'Egypte*, xii-xiii.

(C. H. Becker)

BĀBĀN, the name of an important family and dynasty of ᶜIrāḳī Kurdistān. It rose early in the 11th/17th century from an obscure origin in the Pīshdār country in the person of one Aḥmad al-Faḳīh, whose son became a power, and his grandson Sulaymān Beg a major power, in the Shahrizūr area. They made their home at Ḳara Čolān, which remained the Bābān head-quarters until the foundation of Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.*] in 1198/1783; and in spite of an unsuccessful invasion of Persia, and chequered fortunes in his own newly-created principality, Sulaymān Beg gained a measure of recognition from the sultan and transmitted a princely position (or at least princely pretensions) to his sons. Under his grandson Bakr Beg, early in the 12th/18th century, Bābān rule, always insecure and unaccompanied by any regular administration, stretched from the Lesser Zāb to the Sirwān (Diyālā).

In spite of the violent fall of Bakr Beg and the re-assertion of Turkish authority, the Bābān prince of the time (Khāna Pasha) gave important military help to the *wālī* of Baghdād in the struggle against the Persians (1136-1160/1723-1747). Under his nephew Sulaymān Pāshā (1167/1754) Bābān rule covered the *sandjaḳ* of Koy, Khāniḳīn and wide areas of Western Persia; but it remained precarious, resented by the Turkish authorities in the ᶜIrāḳī *wilāyets*, threatened by rivals in the same family, and weakened by ceaseless intrigues with (and by) Persian supporters of this or that candidate. In these conditions, even valuable services rendered from time to time to the pashas of Baghdād could not secure consistency in Turkish policy towards the Kurdish principality, nor a respectful attitude by the latter; even the greatest of the Bābāns—notably ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha, in power (with interruptions) from 1204/1789 to 1227/1812—fell victims every few years, or months, to the constant vicissitudes of frontier warfare and intrigue, and the rivalries among their brothers and cousins. Their territory was more than once occupied by Persian or Turkish forces.

The final eviction of the Bābān rulers, which was anyhow inevitable under the modernising policy of the Turkish Government after 1246/1830, was the easier since the appearance of signs of Turko-Persian accord—frontier agreements were reached between the two powers in 1239/1823 and 1264/1847—and the destructive rivalries of the sons of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha. In spite of a brief "Indian summer" when new weapons and modern military methods were introduced in the Bābān armed forces, the centralising efforts of the mid-century *wālīs* of ᶜIrāḳ prevailed finally in 1267/1850, when the last of the Bābān princes left Sulaymāniyya. Numerous descendants of the family survive.

Bibliography: S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ᶜIraq*, (Oxford, 1925). ᶜAbbās al-ᶜAzzāwī, *ᶜAshā'ir al-ᶜIrāḳ*, vol. II, (Baghdād, 1366/1947). Muḥ. Amīn Zakī, *Ta'rīkh al-Sulaymāniyya wa-anḥā'ihā* (Baghdād 1951).

(S. H. Longrigg)

BĀBAR [see Bābur]

BABBAGHĀ' (and also *babghā'*) «parakeet(s)» «parrot(s)». The form is the same for both the male and the female, and represents the singular or the collective. Etymologically, according to Djāḥiẓ, the name is derived from the bird's cry. It occurs in languages of Romance origin, for example the Provençal *papagai*, Spanish *papagayo* and Old French *papegai* (and the *papagan* of the *Roman de la Rose*). In the 3rd/9th century, ᶜIrāḳ only knew those varieties of psittacids which were native to the Indian Archipelago; al-Danūrī mentions in addition to green and red parrots, a white crested species. Poets, in the Orient, sometimes describe this gorgeous bird; the silence of their rivals in Spain is noticeable at least until the 5th/11th century.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], iii, 516, vii, 170; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo n.d., i, 166; H. Pérès, *La Poésie andalouse, en arabe classique*, 2nd ed., Paris 1953, 242-6.

(R. Blachère)

AL-BABBAGHĀ' "the Parrot", the soubriquet under which is celebrated the Arab poet and letter-writer Abu 'l-Faradj ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid b. Naṣr, born 313/925, died 397/1007. The ethnic appellation al-Makhzūmī which was given to him implies fictitious Arabian descent. A native of Naṣībīn, al-Babbaghā' seems to have attached himself to the entourage of the Ḥamdānid amīr Sayf al-Dawla, when the latter was established at Aleppo, and therefore after 333/944. He sang the praises of this amīr, and achieved prominence in the literary milieu which existed in this town. A fervent admirer of al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], he met the latter again at Baghdād; after residing for a short time at Mosul, he himself settled at Baghdād, where he eventually died.

At the end of the 4th/10th century, the poetical works of al-Babbaghā', according to Ibn al-Nādim, comprised a collection of three hundred pages; of these poems, only the extracts selected by al-Thaᶜālibī are known to us. The same anthologist also quotes long and significant passages from his letters. As a panegyrist, al-Babbaghā' belongs to the neo-classical school, such as is represented by al-Buḥturī or al-Mutanabbī. In his elegaic or bacchic pieces, on the other hand, al-Babbaghā' is not without a certain distinctive charm. He is however, chiefly remarkable for the virtuosity and richness of his letters in rhymed and cadenced prose. In this genre, and in his own period, he stands out as a master.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 169; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xi, 11; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 298; Samᶜānī, *Ansāb*, 64[b]; Badīᶜī, *al-Ṣubḥ al-Munabbī ᶜan Ḥaythiyyat al-Mutanabbī*, Cairo 1308, in the margin of ᶜUkbarī's comm. on the *Dīwān* of Mutanabbī), 73 ff.; Thaᶜālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, Damascus 1903, i, 11 ff., 173-204, 220, ii, 158, 291; R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IV[e]/X[e] s.: al-Motanabbî*, Paris 1935, 134, 141, 155; Z. Mubarak, *La Prose arabe au IVe s.H.*, Paris 1931, 129 ff.; idem, *al-Nathr al-Fannī*, Cairo 1934, i, 286-96, ii, 226-42; for the rest of the bibliography,

see Brockelmann, I, 90, S I, 145; M. Canard, *Receuil de textes relatifs à l'émir Sayf al-Daula*, Algiers-Paris 1934, 300-1 and n. 1.

(R. Blachère)

BĀBIL. Ancient Arab writers used to give the name "Bābil" to the city of Babylon as well as to the country of Babylonia. The city's ruins lie some 54 miles due south of Baghdād on the Baghdād-Ḥilla road. Those writers differed, however, in determining the boundaries of the country. Some of them extended its limits over a vast area, whereas others restricted it to a lesser area. According to Muslim historians and geographers, the original city of Bābil had been devastated long before the Islamic conquest, and there was then in its place a small village which had the name of Bābil. This village is reported to have existed down to the ʿAbbāsid epoch in the 4th/10th century. For instance, Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions that, in his time, Bābil was a small village. He also remarks that "Its buildings are considered the most ancient ones in ʿIrāḳ and the city itself was founded by the Canaanite kings who adopted it as their state seat, and it was settled by their successors as well. The remains of its imposing buildings speak of its past grandeur".

Abu 'l-Fidā', who cites the above-mentioned account of Bābil by Ibn Ḥawḳal, adds: "It was in it that Ibrāhīm was thrown into the fire. And in these days it is no more than desolate ruins on which stands a small village".

In the 7th/13th century, Al-Ḳazwīnī described the ruins of Bābil and mentioned the quarrying of its bricks by people for building their houses—a practice which has continued until recent years—. In this connexion, he states: "Bābil: the name of a village which formerly stood on one of the branches of the Euphrates in ʿIrāḳ. Currently, people carry off the bricks of its ruins, and there exists a well known as 'the Dungeon of Dānyāl' which is visited by Jews and Christians on certain yearly occasions and on holidays. Most of the population hold the opinion that this dungeon was the well of Hārūt and Mārūt".

Al-Bakrī refers to the Tower of Bābil, which he designates as *Al-Madjal*. He says, following earlier writers, that this tower (identified by modern archaeologists as a *ziggurat*) was built by Namrūd in Bābil and that it rose some 5000 cubits aloft in the sky, and that this building is the authentic tower referred to in the Ḳurʾān, xvi, 26, the relevant text of which appears hereunder:

"Those before them did indeed devise plans, but Allāh demolished their building from the foundations, so the roof fell down on them from above them, and the chastisement came to them from whence they did not perceive".

There has been much controversy among Muslim writers about the history and authenticity of Babylon. Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī, however, summarises the various notions and legends prevailing among them on this city. For instance, it is said that Noah was the first to build and settle in this city after the Deluge. The Persians say, as related by Yazdidjird b. Mihmāndār, that it was the king al-Ḍaḥḥāk who has built this city. Ibn al-Kalbī says that the city's area was 12 × 12 *farsakhs*, that the Euphrates flowed beneath its walls until Bakhtanaṣṣar (Nebuchadnessar) diverted its waters to their present course, as a precaution against the possible collapse of the city walls, and that Bābil continued to prosper until it was destroyed by Alexander the Great.

The information previously possessed on Babylon's history and culture, following its downfall, was in a state of confusion and contrasts, as set forth above. Actually, they had no other established reference on this subject but the relevant accounts mentioned in the Old Testament, statements related by some of the ancient Greek historians of the classical period and sagas transmitted by uninformed people.

The real facts about this city were not discovered until the arrival of archaeologists at its ruins early in the 19th century A.D.; they brought to light innumerable relics and artifacts, among which were tablets with cuneiform inscriptions. Upon deciphering these writings, practically all of the facts about this city were set in the right order, thus putting an end to the numerous previous legendary and unfounded accounts; these are now replaced by established facts, which are found in the many works on this city in various European languages.

Bibliography: al-Ṭabarī, i, 229, ii, 277, 1056; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 307, 395, 397, 398, 400, 401; iv, 351, 372; v, 438, 439; al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 235, 321; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 186; *al-Tanbīh*, 35; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 10; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 244; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 303; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār*, 202; al-Bakrī (ed. al-Saḳḳā), i, 218; Yāḳūt, s.v. Bābil; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Marāṣid*, Cairo 1954, i, 145; al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣifat al-Maʿmūra* (ed. Togan), 23; G. Awad, *Āthār al-ʿIrāḳ*, in *Sumer* v, 1949; 72-3; R. Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon* (trans. by A. S. Johns, London 1914); A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853; S. Lloyd, *Ruined Cities of Iraq*, Oxford 1942, 11-20: A. Parrot, *The Tower of Babil* (trans. by E. Hudson, London 1955); C. J. Rich, *Memoirs on the Ruins of Ancient Babylon*, London 1818; E. Unger, *Babylon* (*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, i, 330-69).

(G. Awad)

BĀBĪS, followers of the religion founded by the Bāb [*q.v.*]. The history of the Bābīs has been and still is, at least in the East, one of persecution. It can be divided into two phases: the first, from the foundation of the new faith (1260/1844) up to the persecutions following the attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1268-9/1852-3), which seemed as though they would crush the new movement for ever, a period characterised by a frequently violent attitude on the part of the Bābīs themselves; the second, which might be called 'pacifist', from that date to the present day, a period which has seen the schism of the Bābīs into two factions of unequal numbers and importance. After the first dissemination of the faith following the declaration of the founder's mission (see Bāb) and the first persecutions, which the Bābīs in various localities resisted with force, the most important event in the history of the community is the convention of Badasht (1264/1848), at which the Bābīs, abandoning their initial precautions, openly declared their total secession from Islam and the *sharīʿa*; in this a major rôle was played by the famous Bābī heroine, the beautiful and cultured poetess Zarrīn-Tādj, better known by the names of Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn and Djanāb-i Ṭāhira ('H. H. The Pure'), born at Ḳazwīn, the daughter of the erudite theologian Mullā Ṣāliḥ. There, first among Persian women, she dared to show herself unveiled to her brothers of the Faith, a living example of the abrogation of the Islamic *sharīʿa*. After the convention, in which many of the principal Bābīs, among them the future Bahā' Allāh [*q.v.*], took part, Mullā Ḥusayn of Bushrūya (see Bāb) ensconced himself with a small troop of Bābīs in the

sanctuary of Shaykh Tabarsī near Bārfurūsh, where with another 'Letter of the Living', Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī Bārfurūshī called Ḳuddūs, he resisted heroically the troops of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (shortly afterwards succeeded by Muḥammad Shāh), even making succesful sorties; but eventually Mullā Ḥusayn was killed, and Ḳuddūs and the other survivors surrendered when it was promised that their lives would be spared, though they were in fact vilely and cruelly massacred (Ramaḍān 1265/July-August 1849). Shortly afterwards, at Nayrīz in Fārs, another heroic Bābī insurrection took place, led by one Sayyid Yaḥyā-i Dārābī, who had been converted by the Bāb at Shīrāz (see BĀB) and who had assumed the name of Waḥīd; the Bābīs, barricaded within the old citadel of the town, defended themselves bravely, with the sympathy of the population, for several days until they were all massacred (January 1850). Almost at the same time there occurred an insurrection of even greater magnitude at Zandjān. The Bābīs, under the leadership of Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī-i Zandjānī surnamed Ḥudjdjat ('the Proof'), barricaded themselves in the citadel called Ḳilʿa-i ʿAlī Mardān Khān. After various turns of fortune the Bābīs, who numbered more than 3,000, were cruelly massacred (February 1850). Four months prior to the execution of the Bāb, Tehran also had her heroes, the so-called 'seven martyrs of Tehran', one of whom was the tutor and uncle of the Bāb; their heroic conduct in the face of most horrific punishment is a glorious chapter in the history of the Bābī faith. The unsuccessful attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (28 Shawwāl 1268/16 August 1852) by two Bābīs maddened by the persecutions led to a new reign of terror, to which numerous personalities of the Bābī faith fell victims. Among these was the poetess Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn, strangled after long imprisonment. The principal Bābīs, among whom were Bahāʾ Allāh (Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī) and his half-brother Ṣubḥ-i Azal (Mīrzā Yaḥyā Nūrī) were banished to ʿIrāḳ. The persecutions continued, however, sporadically throughout Persia. The Bahāʾī tradition speaks of about 20,000 martyrs, including those killed in battle. After the declaration of the Garden of Riḍwān and, later, that of Adrianople (see BAHĀʾ ALLĀH), dissensions arose between those who were henceforth called Bahāʾī [*q.v.*] and the followers of Ṣubḥ-i Azal, who adhered to the letter of the *Bayān* and maintained that the Bāb had nominated Mīrzā Yaḥyā as his successor. The Bahāʾīs, on the other hand, maintained, and still maintain, that it was a question of only a temporary nomination and *pro forma*, and that, in any case, Ṣubḥ-i Azal never had the right to oppose 'Him Whom God Shall Manifest, who is', according to them, Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī, Bahāʾ Allāh. The Azalīs remained always in the minority, however, and even the number of 50,000 which some authorities have ascribed to them seems in fact to be somewhat exaggerated.

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BĀBUR, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad, soldier of fortune, first of the Mughal rulers in India, diarist and poet, was descended on his father's side in the fifth generation from Tīmūr and through his mother Ḳutlūk Nigār Khānum in the fifteenth degree from Čingiz Khān. He was born on 6 Muḥarram 888/14 February 1483 and succeeded his father ʿUmar Shaykh as *Mīrzā* of Farghānā in Ramaḍān 899/June 1494.

Bābur inherited his father's struggle with his kinsmen for the towns and fertile areas of Central Asia. By Rabīʿ I 903/November 1497 he had fended off the attempts by his elder paternal uncle Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā of Samarḳand and by his elder maternal uncle Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Tashkent to deprive him of his father's position in Farghānā, and using quarrels among his cousins had occupied Samarḳand. Four months later lack of booty and conspiracy at Andīdjān, his headquarters, forced him to let Samarḳand go. Andīdjān he soon recovered and then as soon lost to the Mughals under Tanbal who nominally were supporters of his brother Djahāngīr. In 905/1498-99 Bābur divided Farghānā with his brother, married and was forestalled in a race for Samarḳand by Shaybānī Khān Uzbak (Özbeg). Next year he took the city by surprise, only to be starved out by Shaybānī Khān after losing the battle of Sar-i Pul in Ramaḍān 906/April-May 1501. Bābur, having relinquished Andīdjān to his brother when he took Samarḳand, now became a fugitive nomad, dependent for his personal safety on ties of kinship.

His uncles, grudging hosts, the Khāns of Tashkent and northern Mughalistān, furnished him with troops against Tanbal and finally marched to his support. Tanbal however appealed to Shaybānī Khān who routed and executed the Khāns at Arčiyān in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 908/June 1503.

For nearly a year Bābur wandered with a small following among the nomads of remote Sukh and Hushyār, safe in their hospitality. But Shaybānī Khān's continuing success decided Bābur to seek a headquarters outside the main area of Uzbak interest. In Muḥarram 910/June 1504 he turned for Kābul, an uncle's possession until 907/1501, but then in Arghūn hands. Joined by other refugees from the Uzbaks, Bābur, with his brother, secured Kābul and successfully asserted his claims to tribute from the surrounding Afghān tribes. By 911/1506 Bābur could leave Kābul for Herāt, in response to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyḳarā's appeal for aid against the Uzbaks.

The death of Sulṭān Bāyḳarā and the ineffectiveness of his sons allowed Shaybānī Khān to conquer most of Khurāsān, so that Bābur recrossed the Hindū Kush empty-handed. In 913/1507 he took Ḳandahār from the Arghūns, but withdrew towards India rather than defend it personally when Shaybānī Khān besieged the new acquisition. But Shaybānī Khān came into conflict with Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī,

who defeated and slew him at Marw on 1 Ramaḍān 916/2 December 1510.

Bābur thereupon occupied Samarḳand for the third time, in Radjab 917/October 1511, but as a client of Shāh Ismāʿīl, making an outward profession of Shīʿism and probably striking coins in the name of his Ṣafawid overlord. (The numismatic evidence on this is equivocal. See bibliography). His acceptance of Shīʿism cost him popular support, and when defeated by the Uzbaks at Kul-i Malik in Ṣafar 918/May 1512, he could not hold the city. On the defeat at Ghudjuwān on 3rd Ramaḍān 918/12th November 1512 of the brutally intolerant Ṣafawid general Nadjm-i Thānī, whom Bābur hastily abandoned, Bābur's last attempt to win the city nearest his heart ended.

After two years adventuring in the Ḳunduz area Bābur returned to Kābul, his centre thenceforth for enterprises to the more promising east and south. Several attempts to retake Ḳandahar from the Arghūns ended in its occupation by negotiation in Djumādā II 928/May 1522. This secured, Bābur turned more vigorously towards Hindūstān, probed by minor expeditions since 922/1516.

The victor at Ḳandahar was invited into Hindūstān by Dawlat Khān Lodī of Lahore and ʿĀlam Khān, uncle of Ibrāhīm Lodī, sultan of Delhī, to help them against Ibrahīm. On his second advance, having dispossessed Dawlat Khān and utilised ʿĀlam Khān to attract Afghān support, Bābur destroyed the forces of Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānīpat in Radjab 932/April 1526. He occupied Delhī and Āgra and his forces pressed as far eastwards down the Ganges as Djawnpūr and Ghāzīpūr. Bābur's victory at Khānuā over Rānā Sangā of Čitor in Djumādā I 933/March 1527 secured the Rādjasthānī flank, while victory over the eastern Afghāns in Shaʿbān 935/May 1529 at the junction of the Gogra and Ganges extended his paramountcy in Hindūstān up to Bengal. He died on 6 Djumādā I 937/26 December 1530, at Āgra. Several years later his body was moved to its present grave in one of the gardens of Kābul.

Bābur had been born a member of a class of political entrepreneurs, some still semi-nomad, who competed within Central Asia for the power to draw revenue from herdsmen and agriculturalists and from the craftsmen and traders of an area enriched by the caravan traffic between China, India and ʿIrāḳ. His career, like that of his rivals and enemies, was based upon the loyalties and antagonisms of family and clan rather than those of linguistic or national states. His birth gave him entry to the ruling élite; his tournament successes depended upon his attractive personal qualities—resilience and resource, courage, a cheerful and cultivated humanity—and the qualities of his partners. He was a cautious general who learnt much from the great Uzbak commanders, and applied the lessons of organised discipline and the techniques of field defences and entrenchment, musketry and artillery, and of the encircling movement with telling effect in his Indian career. His experience enabled him to hold together small collections of defeated but still personally ambitious Tīmūrids, and the even less reliable Mughals, who had gathered around him in Kābul, until success gave him the undisputed power to command.

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(J. B. Harrison and P. Hardy)

Literary Works. 1. *Bābur-nāme*. In this famous autobiography, written in Čaghatāy Turkish, Bābur tells his story from childhood to the last years of his life, with no attempt to conceal his weaknesses, his mistakes, or his defeats. It is in no sense an *apologia pro vita sua*; indeed, so matter-

of-fact and unemotional is the tone of the work that the casual reader might not recognise it as the memoirs of a skilful and valiant soldier and the founder of a dynasty, which closer study reveals it to be. It cannot be said that Bābur is impartial in his picture of himself, his friends, or his enemies. For example, we can see that his feelings got the better of him in his evident desire to belittle the important and worthy Shaybānī Khān. But despite occasional injustices of this nature, the *Bābur-nāme* is far more reliable than the general run of such works. The author's keen powers of observation and his analytical mind are apparent in his descriptions and explanations of works of art, of flora and fauna, of the group-psychology of peoples, and the characters of individuals. As a literary work, the simple and chaste language of the *Bābur-nāme*, its natural style, its colourful and lively descriptive passages, are some of the reasons which justify our regarding it as one of the finest examples not only of Čaghatāy but of Turkish prose generally.

2. *ʿArūḍ risālesi*. It was known that Bābur had written a Čaghatāy treatise on prosody, from the *Bābur-nāme*, certain copies of his *Dīwān*, and the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* of Badāʾūnī (Calcutta 1868, i, 343), but the work did not come to light till 1923, when it was discovered by M. Fuad Köprülü in a Paris manuscript (E. Blochet, *Cat. des MSS turcs*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. *Supp*. no. 1308). It does not differ greatly from similar works in Persian; its chief importance is that on certain *ʿarūḍ* verse-forms used by the Turkish poets its information is fuller than that given by Nawāʾī in his *Mīzān al-Awzān*. Bābur gives both Persian and Turkish examples of metres in general use, including some from his own poems, but only Turkish examples of metres of his own invention. At the end of his *Dīwān* he states that the *ʿArūḍ risālesi* was finished 2 or 3 years before the completion of the conquest of India; *i.e.*, between 932 and 934/1525-8.

3. *Mubayyan*. A *mathnawī* in *khafīf* trimeter catalectic (*faʿilātun mafāʿilun faʿilun*), completed, according to a reference in the *ʿArūḍ risālesi*, in 928/1521-2. It deals with some problems in Ḥanafī law, together with some matters relating to campaigning. This simple didactic work is of no artistic importance, but it does show that Bābur was interested in *fiḳh* and was a sincere Ḥanafī. Till recently it was known to Orientalists as *Mubīn*; A. S. Beveridge so refers to it, even though she mentions that the Indian historians Abu 'l-Faḍl and Badāʾūnī read the title as *Mubayyan* (and that Sprenger called it *Fiḳh-i Bāburī*). *Mubīn* is in fact the name of a commentary on this work, written by Bābur's secretary, Shaykh Zayn.

4. Translation of *Risāle-i Wālidiyya*. The author of this work on Ṣūfī ethics was Khʷāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrārī, the great Central Asian Ṣūfī and spiritual aide of the Tīmūrids. As the title implies, he wrote it at his father's insistence. Bābur's Čaghatāy translation was made in 935/1528-9, and forms part of his *Dīwān*. It is a *mathnawī* of 243 lines in *Ramal* trimeter catalectic (*faʿilātun faʿilātun faʿilun*). Though pleasantly and simply written, it has no aesthetic merit, but is of interest as showing Bābur's Ṣūfī leanings.

5. The *Dīwān*. The bulk of this is in Turkish, but some of the poems are in Persian. The verse-forms represented include the *ghazal*, *mathnawī*, *rubāʿī*, *ḳiṭʿa*, *tuyugh*, *muʿammā*, and *mufrad*. We find in it the various verses whose composition he mentions in the *Bābur-nāme*. The existing copies are not arranged in the classical *Dīwān* manner; the poems are set down in no apparent order. In the technique of versification Bābur was not inferior to any of the 15th-century Čaghatāy poets, not even Nawāʾī, and he expresses his thoughts and feelings in an unaffected language and style. Side by side with Ṣūfī songs of love and wine there are poems on everyday themes. Signs of the influence of earlier poets, especially Nawāʾī are not wanting, but there are no slavish imitations. Though Bābur had a taste for literary artifices and poetic *tours de force* (there are 29 of the latter in the *Dīwān*), and though, in obedience to the fashion prevailing at the time in both Persian and Turkish literature, he wrote numerous *muʿammā*s (the *Dīwān* includes 52), the greater part of his work is simple, sincere, and natural. He wrote a number of *tuyugh*s, a verse-form peculiarly Turkish, as well as some *rubāʿī*s of great beauty. Among his *türkü*s, which belong to popular poetry, we find one poem in syllabic metre (cf. *MTM*, i, 27). He was capable of writing Persian poems—there are over 20 in the *Dīwān*—but his affection for his mother-tongue is evident in the preponderance of Čaghatāy. Further, in his poems he often refers to the valour of the Turks, and the fact that he is one of them. In this respect he was following the intellectual and literary trend which had begun with Nawāʾī in the previous century and which prevailed not only in Khurāsān but at all the Tīmūrid courts. The literary influence of Bābur was responsible for the subsequent rise of poets writing in Čaghatāy both among his descendants and among their courtiers. Certainly the literary historian must assign Bābur a leading position among the Čaghatāy poets after Nawāʾī.

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(2) *ʿArūḍ risālesi*. Text not yet published. For the information it affords on Turkish verse-forms, see M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk dili ve edebiyatî hakkinda araştîrmalar*, Istanbul 1934, 40-44.

(3) *Mubayyan*. A long extract based on a defective MS is contained in I. N. Berezin *Turetskaya chrestomatia*, Kazan 1867. See Köprülü, *op. cit.*, 244-6, for details of a full and accurate MS. of 937/1530-1, in his private collection.

(4) Translation of the *Risāla-i Wālidiyya*. Text, extracted from the Istanbul copy of the *Dīwān*, published by Köprülü in *MTM*, i, 113-24.

(5) E. Denison Ross, *Dīvān-i Bābur Pādishāh*, in *JASB* 1910, contains a facsimile of a meagre Rampur MS, at that time the only one known. A fuller copy discovered some years later (Paris,

Bibl. Nat. Supp. turc. 1230) formed the basis for A. Samoylovich, *Madjmūʿa-i Ashʿār-i Bāber Pādishāh*, Petrograd 1917. A number of additional poems were published by Köprülü in *MTM* for 1331/1913 (nos. 2, 3, 4) from a MS. now in Istanbul University Library (no. 3743). Although the end is missing, this MS. has almost twice the content of Samoylovich's edition, including, *inter alia*, 118 *ghazals* and 104 *rubāʿīs* in Turkish, and 3 *ghazals* and 18 *rubāʿīs* in Persian.

(M. Fuad Köprülü)

BABYLON, Egypt [see BĀBALYŪN].

BABYLON, Mesopotamia [see BĀBIL].

BĀD-I HAWĀ, literally 'wind of the air'; in Ottoman fiscal usage a general term for irregular and occasional revenues from fines, fees, registration charges, and other casual sources of income. The term does not a appear in the *Ḳānūns* of the 9th/15th century, but is found in a *Ḳānūnnāme* of Gelibolu of 925/1519, where mention is made of penalties and fines, bride-tax, fees for the recapture of runaway slaves, 'and other *bād-i hawā*' (Barkan 236). It also appears, in similar terms, in *Ḳānūnnāmes* of Ankara (929/1522-Barkan 34), Ḥamīd (935/1528-Barkan 33), Aydîn (935/1528-Barkan 14), Malatya (937/1530-Barkan 110), and of the Gypsies of Rumeli (937/1530-Barkan 248). In the two last-named it is included among the *Rusūm-i ʿurfiyye*. During the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries it is found in *Ḳānūns* and registers from all over the Empire. In free tīmārs (*Serbest tīmār*) the *bād-i hawā* belonged to the tīmār-holder. In other tīmārs it was either shared by the tīmār-holder with the *Khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] or, more frequently, reserved entirely to the *Khāṣṣ*, in which case it might be either retained as Imperial *Khāṣṣ* or granted as *Khāṣṣ* to the governor (see BAYT AL-MĀL). The name, which seems to convey the same meaning as the English word windfall, may be connected, as Inalcîk suggests, with the much disputed Byzantine *aerikon*.

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(B. Lewis)

BADĀʾ (Ar.), appearance, emergence; in theology: the emergence of new circumstances which cause a change in an earlier divine ruling. (Dozy, *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme*, 223, gives the term too wide a meaning, as "*mutabilité de Dieu*"). There are three sorts of *badāʾ* as it refers to the knowledge, the will or the command of God (Shahrastānī, 110). The possibility of *badāʾ* is, in opposition to the divergent Sunnī doctrine, always treated in the chapter on the divine knowledge in the textbooks of Shīʿite theology, but without reaching a definitive formula. In its extreme form which assumes the mutability of God's will it is taught in the ultra-Shīʿite sects (Badāʾiyya); the moderate Imāmiyya school is careful to use words which exclude or at least minimise the possibility of change in God's knowledge (see below). The former could employ the doctrine of the Shīʿite theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] that God's knowledge does not exist till the object of it exists; what does not yet exist (*maʿdūm*) cannot be known and therefore His knowing follows His not-knowing as soon as things exist (ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 49), subtleties which appear in modern times in the Shīʿite Shaykhī sect (*RMM*, xi, 435 ff.). This idea allows for a knowledge in God corresponding to fresh phenomena and a change of mind determined by them. Muslim historians of the sects agree that the idea of *badāʾ* was first suggested by Mukhtār [*q.v.*] and then became part of the creed of the Shīʿite Kaysāniyya (*al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, 36; cf. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā in M. Horten, *Die philos. Probleme der spek. Philosophie in Islam*, Bonn 1910, 124). The origin of this idea is also ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Nawf (Ṭabarī, ii, 732). When Mukhtār had to fight the decisive battle of his career against the superior force of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, he (or ʿAbd Allāh b. Nawf) announced that God had revealed to him that victory was certain. When the alleged oracle was proved false by his defeat, one of the two said, referring to *Sūra* xiii, 39, that something had intervened (*badā lahu*) which had made God change His mind.

During the calamities which befell the Shīʿite community this idea was accepted as a convenient explanation of the failure of the hopes and prophecies of the defeated imāms. It had been God's purpose that the deliverance (*faradj*) and victory of the lawful imāmate should take place at a certain moment; He had however changed His plan on grounds of expediency. His promises were an encouragement; had the Shīʿa known that victory would come only after one or two thousand years, they would have lost heart. This principle also serves to explain the change in the legitimate succession of the imāms when, in place of the predestined Ismāʿīl, his brother Mūsā al-Kāẓim succeeded Djaʿfar as the seventh imām. They ascribe to Djaʿfar the words, "God has never been led by a new consideration (to change His mind) as in the case of my son Ismāʿīl" (*mā badā li'llāhi kamā badā fī Ismāʿīl ibnī*). To many Shīʿite theologians this crass application of *badāʾ* might have seemed discreditable; so the speech of Djaʿfar has been made more tolerable by changing *ibnī* to *abī*; God's change of mind is hereby transferred from the son to the ancestor of the imām, to Ismāʿīl the son of Abraham, the expected *dhabīḥ*; God released Abraham from offering the sacrifice which He had originally ordered.

The most important arguments adduced by the Shīʿa in support of *badāʾ* are: A) passages in the Ḳurʾān: xiii, 39; xiv, 11/10b (these are the strongest proofs); lv, 29b; the frequent assertion that God will change His resolve to punish sinners when they repent vii, 152/153; stories like the sparing of the people of Yūnus x, 98; the sacrifice of Ismāʿīl xxxvii, 101/102-107; Moses' talk with God prolonged from 30 to 40 nights, vii, 138/142; B) traditions telling that by the practice of certain virtues (*e.g.*, honouring one's parents) the allotted span of life might be lengthened and the appointed destiny (*al-ḳaḍāʾ al-mubram*) might be changed; the prayer of ʿUmar that "God might strike his name out of the book of the damned and write it in that of the blessed" Ibn Ḳutayba, *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, Cairo 1326, 7); C) pious legends from which it is plain that misfortunes threatening individuals may be averted by acts pleasing to God; D) the doctrine of the abrogation of divine laws (*naskh*) which is a tenet of Sunnī doctrine; *badāʾ* is creative cancellation and cancellation is legislative *badāʾ*.

As Shīʿite theology in general is influenced by Muʿtazilite speculation, so the Muʿtazilite argument

based on *al-aṣlaḥ* (the most expedient) is connected with *badāʾ*, that God in His dealings with men is guided by expediency and the common good. Accordingly it considers *badāʾ* from the point of view that divine decrees may change with changes in the demands of the general good (*taḳdīrāt al-umūr tatabaddal bi-tabaddul al-maṣāliḥ*). Moderate Shīʿites had to exercise much ingenuity in evading the theological antinomies which this conception implies in order to reconcile the assumption of the appearance of new determining moments in God's knowledge, as expressed by *badāʾ*, with a belief in His absolute omniscience, in the eternity of His knowledge which is identical with His being, as most Muʿtazilites believed; and to meet the objection of the orthodox to the assumption that God might be ignorant of the end of things (*ʿawāḳib al-umūr*) which the admission of *badāʾ* implies (cf. Djurdjānī on Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*, Leipzig 1848, 346). The effort to meet the objections raised from this angle led them, in spite of their protests against the Jews and Sunnites who denied *badāʾ*, to devise formulae which would meet these objections and to accuse their Sunnite opponents of crediting them with a false idea of *badāʾ* which was invented by the Sunnites. Their contention is that the term *badāʾ* is not be understood in its literal meaning but metaphorically (*madjāzan*); they reject the view that *badāʾ* implies a change in the divine knowledge or regret for what has happened. God does not will absolutely what He has announced but only so far as it is determined by the common good. In fact, the difference between the Shīʿite and Sunnite theologians is only an idle war of words for the former explain that a future *badāʾ* is decreed in the eternal foreknowledge of God which includes all particulars (*ʿalā wadjh al tafṣīl*). A remarkable way of reconciling *badāʾ* with the doctrine of the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*, *Sūra* lxxxv, 22) is the assumption of two tables of fate, one on which the unalterable decrees of fate are set out and a *lawḥ al-maḥw wa 'l-ithbāt* (cf. *Sūra* xiii, 39) which contains those decrees which may be altered by the emergence of new causes (Dildār ʿAlī, i, 114 foot), a view which has also penetrated into Sunnī circles and given rise to esoteric mystic subtleties (*kalimāt ʿadjība wa asrār ghāmida*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, 5, 310). Therefore two kinds of divine knowledge must be distinguished; *ʿilm maḥtūm*, the unalterable knowledge the details of which God makes known to prophets and angels, and *ʿilm makhzūn*, the knowledge entrusted by God to no one, which concerns matters in suspense (*umūr mawḳūfa ʿind allāh*) (Kulīnī 85). Thus God knew that He would not punish the people of Yūnus but did not tell him so that he might worship God wholeheartedly while in the fish. A contrary view is that "angels write on *lawḥ al-maḥw wa 'l-ithbāt*".

The Shīʿa lays great stress on the concept of *badāʾ*; ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the first to teach it; an imām is made to say, "none can serve God better than by acknowledging *badāʾ*" for repentance, prayer and humbling oneself before God to get forgiveness of sins or change of destiny have no meaning if *badāʾ* it not real. Yet this doctrine is always the object of attack by opponents. Even Sulaymān b. Djarīr, one of the Shīʿite Zaydī sect, reproached the Imāmites with embracing two errors, *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*] and *badāʾ* (Shahrastānī, 119 foot). The bitterest opponents of *badāʾ* were the Jews who based their rejection of the abrogation of divine law (*naskh al sharīʿa*) on the fact that this proposition implies the recognition of *badāʾ* as was shown by the Jewish theologian Yaḥyā b. Zakariyya al-Kātib al-Ṭabarānī in his controversy with al-Masʿūdī (*al-Tanbīh*, 113, l. 15; for عبدا read البداء). In the 3rd/9th century *badāʾ* seems to have been one of the problems for testing sagacity and shrewdness because of the difficulties it raised which could only be resolved by hair-splitting. This can be inferred from Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ* (ed. Pellat, §§ 74, 189; however see *ibid.*, index, s.v. RFḌ).

Bibliography: Al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, Istanbul 1929, 39; Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad al-Kulīnī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Djāmiʿ al-Kāfī*, Bombay 1302 A.H., 84-6; Dildār ʿAlī, *Mirʾāt al-ʿUḳūl fī ʿIlm al-Uṣūl*, Lucknow 1318-19 A.H., i, 110-121 (the utterances and definitions of the most moderate Shīʿite authorities on *badāʾ* are quoted in full; I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, Newhaven 1909 = JAOS xxix, 2, 72.

(I. Goldziher-[A. S. Tritton])

BADAJOZ [see Baṭalyaws].

BADAKHSHĀN, also frequently written Badhakhshān and sometimes in the literary language (with the Arabic plural inflection) Badakhshānāt, a mountainous region situated on the left bank of the upper reaches of the Āmū-Daryā or more accurately of the Pandj, the source of this great river; the adjective derived from this noun is *Badakhshānī* or *Badakhshī*. J. Marquart (*Ērānshahr*, 279) gives this name the meaning of "region of Badhakhsh or Balakhsh, a type of ruby, which, it is said, is only found in Badhakhshān, on the Kokča". It is more probable, however, that the word Balakhsh (whence the French Balais, the English Balas) is a dialectal form which originally denoted the region and which only later came to be used to denote the type of ruby in question. Yāḳūt (i, 528) gives the form Badakhshān as the one most popularly used for the name of the region. Marco Polo also gives the same form. The mines from which the rubies were extracted were situated, as is already asserted by Marco Polo, outside Badakhshān proper—in Shughnān on the right bank of the Āmū-Daryā; during the historical period, however, the country was usually subject to the same power as Badakhshān. The rubies (Ar. *laʿl*, Pers. *lāl*) of Badakhshān were famous in the Middle Ages throughout the Muslim world. In Persian poetry, the expression "*lāl-i badakhshī*" or "*lāl-i badakhshānī*" often denotes in a figurative sense wine or the lips of the Beloved. In Central Asia, this expression is today in universal popular use. The region which contains the mines in question is at present a dependency of the territory of Bukhārā, which is subject to Soviet rule. Nevertheless the mines are worked with the same primitive methods as before, and still have not acquired any importance for the European precious-stone market.

The Kokča or Kökče, called Khirnāb in the *Ḥudūd al ʿĀlam* (written in 372/982-3), a tributary of the Āmū-Daryā, waters Badakhshān. From the economic point of view, the valley of the Kokča and its tributaries alone have always played an important part for the region. In this area were situated the towns of Badakhshān—doubtless near the present capital of Fayḍābād—Djirm and Kishm. The last two, which are mentioned in the earliest Arab documents, have preserved their names to this day. The lapis lazuli of Badakhshān, equally famous in the Middle Ages, came from mines situated on the upper reaches of the Kokča. The trade in these gems is at present a monopoly of the Afghān government,

and they are only exported to India. In addition, Badakhshān possesses iron and copper mines.

The first mention of the name of Badakhshān occurs in the Chinese documents of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., in Hüan čuang in the form Po-tʿot-čoangna, the ancient pronunciation of which, according to Schlegel, was Pat tok-tsʿong-na, in Tʿang-shu in the form Paàtʿo-shān, in the Encyclopaedia *Če-fu-yeun-koci* in the form Pu-tʿo-shan. The Chinese described the country as forming part of Tuho-lo (Tukhāristān). The Arabs also gave two meanings to the word Tukhāristān; in the strict sense, Tukhāristān was only the region situated between Balkh and Badakhshān, in the wide sense, it comprised all the regions east of Balkh and on both banks of the Āmū-Daryā. The name clearly derives from the Tokharians who made their appearance in the 2nd century A.D. and conquered the Graeco-Bactrian empire. In the 5th century A.D., these same territories were occupied by the Hayṭal (the Hephthalites of the Byzantines); in ʿAwfī's Anthology, compiled in the 7th/13th century, we find a story which describes how a king of the Hayṭal conferred on his son the domain "of Djirm and Badakhshān" (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 91). In the 6th century A.D., the Turks put an end to the empire of the Hayṭal; at the time of the first Arab incursions the ruler of Tukhāristān (in the wide sense) bore, according to Arabic and Chinese documents, the Turkish title of Yabghu [*q.v.*] (in Arabic Djabghūya); the princes of every country, including also the prince of Badakhshān, were his vassals. We have no precise information on the date of the conquest of Badakhshān by the Arabs and the manner in which Islam was introduced there. Al-Ṭabarī only mentions the name of the country once. Among the events of the year 118/736, he describes a campaign against "Kishm in the country of Djabghūya" and against more distant places. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 288), Djirm in Badakhshān was the city which marked the frontier of Islam on the trade route to Tibet via Wakhān. In the same passage, a Turkish prince, otherwise unknown, called Khumār Beg (this is the correct form of the name), is described as "king of Shiḳinān and Badakhshān". Al-Iṣṭakhrī (278) describes Badakhshān as the "territory of Abu 'l-Fatḥ"; this is doubtless a reference to the prince Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Yaftalī, whose son Abū Naṣr, according to Samʿānī (W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 69) and Yāḳūt (iv, 1023), fought against Ḳara-Tegīn, the lieutenant of the Sāmānids (d. 340/951-2, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 157, 370). Apart from these facts, we know nothing of the political situation of Badakhshān during this period. In the 5th/11th century, the poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw brought Ismāʿīlī doctrine to Badakhshān and preached it there with success. His tomb on the upper reaches of the Kokča is still shown today. His teachings have been preserved to this day in Badakhshān and the frontier regions. In the second half of the 6th/12th century, Tukhāristān in the wide sense (with Badakhshān) came under the rule of a side branch of the house of Ghūr, which resided at Bāmiyān and which, like the other branches of this dynasty, was dispossessed at the beginning of the 7th/13th century by the Khwārizm-shāh Muḥammad.

Badakhshān escaped the fury of the Mongol invasion and remained up to the 9th/15th century in the hands of its national dynasty. The legend which traces the descent of this royal family from Alexander the Great was first quoted by Marco Polo, and is subsequently frequently mentioned by the Muslim historians. Muḥammad Ḥaydar (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, trans. E.D. Ross, 203) attributes to the daughter of the last ruler the statement that her ancestors had been kings of Badakhshān for 3,000 years. Tīmūr himself and his successors only succeeded after hard battles in obtaining recognition of their suzerainty, and the country was only annexed to the Tīmūrid empire by Tīmūr's great-grandson, Abū Saʿīd. The last prince, Shāh Sulṭān Muḥammad Badakhshī, had previously renounced obedience to the ordinances (*Dastūr al-ʿAmal*) left by Alexander the Great, in order to compose, under the pseudonym of Lālī, a Persian *dīwān* (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, 147). He submitted without resistance to the army sent by Abū Saʿīd, and went to Harāt; his son fled to Kāshghar; Mīrzā Abū Bakr, son of Abū Saʿīd, was named prince of Badakhshān. Shortly afterwards, the prince returned from Kāshghar; Abū Bakr was driven out, and Badakhshān had to be conquered afresh. With this object, Abū Saʿīd had Shāh Sulṭān Muḥammad executed in 871/1466-7 (Dawlatshāh, 453). It follows that, on the inscription discovered in 1885 by the British, according to which this Muḥammad constructed a stone bridge in 884/1479-80 (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, 221), the date has doubtless been misread. Abū Bakr was later driven out of Badakhshān by his brother Sulṭān Maḥmūd, prince of Ḥiṣār. Up to the conquest of Ḥiṣār by the Özbegs (beginning of the 16th century), Badakhshān continued to form part of its territory. A national movement arose in Badakhshān against the Özbeg conquerors. At the head of this movement were Mubārak Shāh and Zubayr Rāghī. It is said that they took as their base a fortress situated on the left bank of the Kokča, which still today bears the name of Ḳalʿa-i Ẓafar ("Victory Fort") given to it by Mubārak Shāh. The Özbegs were driven back; the Tīmūrid Nāṣir Mīrzā (brother of Bābur), whose aid had been invoked by the insurgents, was proclaimed ruler of Badakhshān (end 910/February 1505), but, unable to come to terms with the leaders of the rebellion, was driven out two years later. In 913/1507-8, Sulṭān Ways Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā, went to Badakhshān with the consent of Bābur and was received at Ḳalʿa-i Ẓafar. Shortly before, Mubārak Shāh had been killed by his comrade Zubayr. The latter, who tried to keep power in his own hands even after the arrival of the new sovereign, was removed by assassination. Shortly afterwards, Shāh Raḍī al-Dīn, leader of the Ismāʿīlīs of Kuhistān, made his appearance in Badakhshān, gathered round him the followers of this sect, and subjugated part of the country. However, he was put to death in the spring of 1509, and his head taken to Ḳalʿa-i Ẓafar and presented to Mīrzā-Khān. The latter died in 926/1520 on the throne of Badakhshān. Bābur summoned Sulaymān the son of Mīrzā-Khān, who was still a minor, and replaced him in Badakhshān by his own son Humāyūn. In 935/1528-9, Humāyūn was recalled by his father and sent to India. After an unsuccessful attempt by Saʿīd Khān, ruler of Kāshghār, to seize possession of the country, Sulaymān was recognised as prince of Badakhshān both by Bābur and by Saʿīd Khān (1530). Sulaymān reigned until 983/1575; driven out in the first half of that year by his grandson Shāhrukh, he retired to India and thence to Mecca, but later returned to his own country. In 1584, Badakhshān was conquered by the Özbegs under ʿAbd Allāh Khān. Sulaymān and Shāhrukh were forced to flee to India, but

returned later and made several attempts to repel the conquerors. At the beginning of the 17th century there occurred another insurrection, provoked by Badīʿ al-Zamān, son of Shahrukh. In 1665, the Tīmūrids occupied both Balkh and Badakhshān, but in the autumn of 1669 the two countries were finally ceded to the Özbegs.

The Özbeg empire in the 17th century was still divided into several independent states. In Badakhshān, a dynasty was set up founded by Yār Beg, who built the town of Faydhābād. The representatives of this dynasty also, claimed descent from Alexander the Great, a claim which they still maintained in the 19th century. Like the other Özbeg princes in present-day Afghānistān, these princes bore the title of Mīr, an abbreviation of Amīr. In 1822, Mīr Muḥammad Shāh was dethroned by Murād Beg, ruler of Ḳunduz. Mīrzā Kalān, a dependant of Murād Beg, was despatched as prince of Badakhshān. After the death of his sovereign, he declared himself independent and even became for a time master of Ḳunduz. His son and successor, Mīr Shāh Nizām al-Dīn, died in 1862. The latter's son Djahāndār Shāh, from 1867 onwards had to contend for his throne with another prince of the same dynasty, Maḥmūd Shāh. In 1869, Djahāndār was decisively repulsed and, after one last effort, he withdrew in 1872 to Russian territory, and Učkurgan in Farghāna was allotted to him as his place of residence. An annual pension of 1500 roubles was assigned to him. In 1878, however, he was assassinated at Učkurgan by unknown assailants. In 1873, the Afghān government deposed Maḥmūd Shāh; he was sent to Kābul, where he remained until his death. His territory was annexed to Afghānistān, and formed part of the province of Turkistān.

From 1725 onwards, there are reports in Russia of the rubies and lapis lazuli of Badakhshān and also of its alleged gold and silver mines. In 1735, "the conquest of the rich country of Badakhshān" is mentioned as one of the aims of Russian policy in Central Asia, but Russian penetration only really began after 1876. In 1885, Post Pāmīrskii was founded on the Murghāb, and in 1891-2, after an armed encounter at Yeshil-Kul, the Russians occupied the whole of eastern Pāmīr, which became the "district of Pamir" of the region (*oblast'*) of Farghāna, administered by the leader of the Russian military detachment in Pāmīr.

On 11 March 1895, an exchange of notes between the British and the Russians in London delimited the frontiers of Pāmīr between Afghānistān and the principality of Bukhārā under Russian protectorate; Badakhshān proper was left in the hands of the rulers of Afghānistān, while the territories of western Pāmīr lying north and est of the Pandj returned to Bukhārā.

The revolution of 1918 abolished the principality of Bukhārā, but Soviet power did not become firmly established in Pāmīr until 1925, after four years of fighting between the "White" elements and the *basmačis* [*q.v.*].

Autonomous region of Soviet Gorno-Badakhshān.

On 2 January 1925, the two parts of Pāmīr (east and west) were reunited in a "Special Region of Pāmīr", attached administratively to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Turkistān (founded on 14 October 1924), in December of the same year its name was changed to the Autonomous Region of Gorno-Badakhshān, forming part of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Tādjikistān (which on 5/12/1929 became the Soviet Socialist Republic of Tādjikistān). Its capital is Khārogh (Khorog).

Gorno-Badakhshān comprises all the territory of Soviet Pāmīr; it is bounded in the north by the Trans-Alaï chain, in the east by Chinese Sinkiang, in the south by the Afghān possessions and in the west by the Pandj and by the Darwāz and Academy chains. Its area is 61,800 sq. km.—In 1951, the Autonomous Region was divided into 7 districts (*tuman* = "zone"):

1. Shughnān (administrative centre Khārogh), comprising the Ghund valley.
2. Ishkāshim (administrative centre Ishkāshim), comprising the upper vallay of the Pandj and the former territories of Wakhān, Ishkāshim and Ghārān, up-stream from the confluence of the Pandj and the Shākh-dara.
3. Rosht-Ḳalʿa (administrative centre Rosht-Ḳalʿa) in the Shākh-dara basin.
4. Rōshān (administrative centre Rōshan) in the Pandj valley downstream from Khārogh.
5. Bartang, comprising the basin of the Bartang river and its tributary the Kudara, as far as Lake Sarez.
6. Murghāb (administrative centre Murghāb, the former Post Pamirskii) comprising the whole of eastern Pāmīr.
7. Wanč (administrative centre Wanč), comprising the Wanč and Yāghulām valleys.

In 1954, the Bartang district was abolished, and its territory incorporated in the Roshān and Wanč districts.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the total population of Pāmīr (Russian and Bukhāran) did not exceed 20,000: since 1925, as the result of improved communications and the introduction of new agricultural techniques, it has increased appreciably. At the 1926 census, there were 28,924 inhabitants, and at the 1939 census, 41,769. In 1956 the total population was in the region of 62,000.

Ethnically, Gorno-Badakhshān comprises two quite distinct regions: 1) the high plains of eastern Pāmīr are inhabited by a small number of Kirghiz nomads. In 1926, there were 2,660 belonging to the Ičkilik tribes, made up of the following clans: Kesek, 1,400: Teit, 800: Ḳipčaḳ, 300: Naiman, 100. In 1939, their number did not exceed 5,000, or about 11% of the total population of the region. These Kirghiz are nominally Sunnīs of the Ḥanafī rite. 2) In the valleys of western Pāmīr live Iranian peoples whom their Tadjīk neighbours call "Ghalča", and the Russians "Gornyje tādjiki" (an inaccurate term, which causes confusion with the Tādjīk of the mountainous regions of Darwāz, Ḳarategin and Zarafshān), or "Pāmīrsku Narody" ("Peoples of the Pāmīr"). The inhabitants themselves call themselves "tādjīk", a term which also leads to confusion, and call their neighbours in Darwāz who speak Tādjīk, people who speak Persian" (*pārsī-gūy*). Their total number is estimated at more than 50,000 or 85% of the total population of the Autonomous Region. They are for the most part Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs [*q.v.*], apart from a small number of the Bartang, the majority of the Yāzghulāmī, and all the Wančī, who are Ḥanafī Sunnīs.

The people of the Pāmīr constitute several groups:

1. *The Shughnāno-Rōshān group*, numerically the most important (35-40,000 people), comprising: a) the Shughnī (Hugnī), numbering 20-30,000, in the districts of Shughnān [*q.v.*] and Rosht Ḳalʿa (valleys

of the Ghunid, Pandj and Shākh-dara); b) the Rōshānī: about 8,000 in the Rōshān district north of the Shughnī (Pandj valley); c) the Bartang: about 2,000 in the Bartang district (valley of the river Bartang), and d) the Oroshor (300 in 1925). These four peoples speak closely-related dialects.

2. *The Wakhī* (Wukh, Wakhagd) [*q.v.*], numbering 6-7,000, living in the district of Ishkāshim situated in the southern part of Soviet Pāmīr, the high valleys of the Pandj and the Wakhān-Daryā (a similar number of Wakhī live in Afghānistān).

3. *The Yāzghulāmī* (Yuzdom, Zgamik), whose number does not exceed 2,000, distributed among 13 villages situated in the valley of the river Yāzghulām (Wanč district).

4. The Ishkāshimī (Ishkāshumī), numbering 400 in Soviet Badakhshān (1,500-2,000 of their brothers, who speak the Zēbākī and Sangličī dialects, live in Afghānistān), living in one village only, Rym, on the upper Pandj (Ishkāshim district).

Finally, in the extreme north of the Autonomous Region, in the valley of the river Wanč, live the *Wanči*, who are completely tādjīkised and whose language has not been in use for more than a century.

The peoples of the Pāmīr belong to the eastern Iranian linguistic group; none of the languages is fixed by writing, despite an abortive attempt by the Soviet authorities in 1931 to give the Shughnī a Latin alphabet and make it a literary language (in 1931 a Shughnī primer for children was published in Stalinabad (A. Djakov: *Xugnoni alifba Kudaken čat*, and in 1936 Tādjīkistān State Publications published the first works in Shughnī: cf. *Revolutsia i Natsional'nosti*, No. 4/1936, 92).

Tādjīkī is the language of civilisation (administration, courts, schools, the Press), and bilingualism (local dialect + Tādjīkī) is general. Some languages, such as Ishkāshimī, are fast disappearing and only survive as "domestic languages", others (Bartangī, Rōshānī ....) are strongly tādjīkised; on the other hand Yāzghulāmī, which is extremely isolated, and Wakhī are putting up a more effective resistance.

In 1954, Gorno-Badakhshān possessed seven newspapers; two of these were regional organs appearing at Khārōgh: *Krasnyj Badakhshān* (in Russian) and *Badakhshān-i Surkh* (in Tādjīkī); four were local papers in Tādjīkī, namely the *Rōshān-i Surkh* (at Rōshān); *Ḥaķīķat-i Wanč* (at Wanč) and the *Bayraķ-i Surkh* and a Kirghiz paper at Murghāb.

Tādjīk influence was also exerted through teaching. In 1954, there were in the region some 200 schools, of which 11 were secondary (decennial schools, and a teaching institute at Khārogh with a total of 12,000 pupils.

Formerly extremely isolated, Gorno-Badakhshān has since 1934 been connected with the Farghāna valley by a motor road (the Osh-Murghāb-Khārōgh road, 740 km. in length), completed in 1940 by the Khārōgh-Stalinabad road which follows the Pandj valley. The economy of the region nevertheless is still of a traditional type: nomadic stock-breeding (ovines, caprines), terrace horticulture, and silk production in the western part of the region. The country is rich in deposits, some of which have been exploited for a very long time: lapis lazuli and malachite in the Shākhdara valley, precious stones, gold and copper (near Porshniv).

The capital of the region, Khārōgh (927 inhabitants in 1926, 2-3,000 in 1954) has a few small industrial undertakings.

Bibliography: Cf. especially *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, trans. E. D. Ross, ed. N. Elias, London 1895, and *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, in *Gibb Memorial Series* I, London and Leiden 1905; the passages dealing with Badakhshān are indicated in the index. Of the MS. works, the *Maṭla' al-Sa'dayn* of 'Abd al-Razzāķ al-Samarķandī [*q.v.*], is especially useful. On the Ghūrid empire, cf. *The Tabaķāti Nāṣiri of Aboo-Omar ... al-Jawzjāni*, Calcutta 1864; Raverty, *The Tabaķāt-i Nāṣiri*, London 1881. Information concerning the regions situated on the upper reaches of the Oxus in the 19th century has been collected with the greatest care, based on the accounts of English travellers, by J. Minajew, *Swjedjenija o stranach po verchovjam Amu Darji*, St. Petersburg 1879. Barthold was in addition able to consult the narratives of two Russian travellers of the year 1878, which are not generally available. On the state of these regions, on the eve of the Revolution, cf. especially Count A. Bobrinskoj, *Gortzy verchovjev Pjandza*, Moscow 1908, partly based on R. Leitner, *Dardistan in 1866, (1889 and 1893)*, and idem, *Dardistan in 1895*. In 1957 the Academy of the sciences of the Tadjik SSR published an excellent work by A. M. Mandel'štam; *Materyalī k Istoriko-geografičeskomi obzaru Pamira i pripamirskich oblastec*, Stalinabad 1957 (vol. liii of the proceedings of the Inst. of hist., arch. and ethnology of the Acad. Sci. Tadjik SSR), containing the descriptions of the Pamir by Greek, Chinese and Arab historians and geographers to the 10th century.

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(W. Barthold-[A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère-d'Encausse])

BADAL (Turk. Bedel: plural *bedelāt*), a term used under the Ottoman régime to denote a contribution made by a tax-payer *in lieu* of his performing some service for the government or furnishing it with some commodity. Certain categories of the sultans' subjects were excused payment of dues and taxes on condition of their discharging such duties. If they failed to fulfil their obligations, however, or if the government forwent its rights in this regard, instead of again becoming liable to ordinary taxation, they were required to make special "substitute" contributions; and it may have been in description of these that the term *bedel* first came into use.

From the end of the 16th century, when the Ottoman central treasury was frequently short of funds and generally pursued short-sighted policies, harassed *Defterdārs* were often tempted to forgo services or supplies from those bound to render or furnish them—even though these might later have to be bought at equal cost—in order to exact such cash contributions *in lieu*. By the middle of the 17th century quite half the cash revenues accruing to the *Mīrī* were obtained from *bedelāt* of many different kinds (see the "budget" of Ṭarkhundju Aḥmed Pasha in the *Tekālīf Ḳawāʿidi* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, i, 327 ff., and the *ʿOsmanlī Taʾrīkhi* of Aḥmed Rāsim, ii, 214 ff., notes). Of these one of the best known, from its being of wide-spread application, was the *bedel-i nüzūl*, apparently exacted *in lieu* of the supplies and accommodation with which, according to an original arrangement, inhabitants of places through which travelling officers and officials passed were obliged to furnish them free. This became so general a contribution that it is linked in some accounts with the *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*].

Two or three other "old-régime" *bedels* may be mentioned as of particular interest. One is the *bedel-i djizye* paid by the Hospodars of the Danubian principalities and the republic of Ragusa. This was a contribution received *in lieu*, not of any service, but of the payment of *djizya* [*q.v.*] by the individual Dhimmīs [*q.v.*] of those territories. A second was called *bedel-i timar*. It was first exacted in 1069/1659 —apparently from *timar*-holders who were no longer performing the military duties in return for which they held their fiefs, to the extent of as much as half their revenues, and even if it did not become a permanent impost was still in force five years later. Another levy on fief-holders was first imposed somewhat later and long continued, viz. the *bedel-i djebeli*, which, as its name indicates, was paid by those of them whose revenues exceeded a certain sum, originally 40,000 *aḳčes* a year, in lieu of their maintaining and appearing in the field accompanied by one or more armed and mounted retainers.

Although many ancient usages were abandoned under the new régime of Maḥmūd II and his successors, recourse was still had to *bedels* in several connexions during the second half of the 19th century. Thus in 1272/1856 what was later usually referred to as the *bedel-i ʿaskerī* was instituted under the name of *iʿāne-i ʿaskeriyye*. By the famous *Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn* of that year [see art. ʿAbd al-Madjīd] the Ottoman reformers sought to abolish all legal distinctions between the sultan's Muslim and his Dhimmī subjects, and to this end both abrogated the collection of *djizya* from the Dhimmīs and declared them now for the first time liable for military service. In practice, however, the Porte did not wish to employ Dhimmīs as soldiers, any more than the Dhimmīs wished so to be employed themselves; and it was decided that the Dhimmīs should instead pay this *bedel*, which thus became to all intents a substitute for the *djizya*. At first collected by government agents from individuals, its collection was later delegated, until its abolition in 1907, to the leaders of each religious community concerned.

Two other late contributions of this kind were alike called *bedel-i naḳdī*, "cash payment *in lieu*". The first was instituted by a decree of 1302/1886, from which date it might be paid by men conscribed by lot for military service by way of exemption either from serving altogether or else from serving more than a shortened term. The sum payable for total exemption was then fixed at 50 Ottoman gold pieces. By another decree of 1332/1914 those paying this *bedel* (still of the same amount) were obliged to perform six months' service and were then relegated to the reserve. The practice of selling exemption was even continued under the republican regime, a decree of 1346/1927 fixing the payment for a shortened term of service at 600 *liras*.

The second *bedel-i naḳdī* was a payment accepted from persons in the provinces who were obliged by law to maintain roads in their area in lieu of this service.

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(H. Bowen)

BADAL [see abdāl and naḥw].

BADAN [see djism].

BĀDARĀYA [see badrā].

BADĀ'ŪN (Budā'ūn or Badāyūn), an ancient town, about a mile east of the river Sot and headquarters of the district of the same name in India, situated in 28° 2′ N. and 79° 7′ E.; it is variously spelt by native historians as Bēdāma'ūn, Bhadā'ūn and Badāwan. Population (1951) was 53,521.

Little authentic is known about the town before the advent of the Muslims towards the end of the 6th/12th century when Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], the *walī ʿahd* of Muʿizz al-Dīn b. Sām in India, invaded and captured it in 594/1197-8 (Fakhr-i Mudabbir, ed. Ross, 24). Tradition, however, ascribes its fall in 421/1030 to the pseudo-historical figure, Ghāzī Masʿūd Sālār [*q.v.*], said to be a nephew of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Tādj al-Dīn Yildüz, after his defeat by Iltutmish near Lahore in 612/1215, was sent to Badā'ūn as a captive where he died in 628/1230. It served as a military station during the Khaldjī period. In 690/1291 Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī came to Badā'ūn with a large army in order to quell the revolt of Malik Čadjdjū. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, however, did not favour the idea of retaining it as an army base. Consequently the refractory tribes all round rose in revolt. Fīrūz Tughluḳ marched down to Badā'ūn in 787/1385, crushed the revolt, appointed Ḳabūl Khān Shirwānī as the military governor and retired. ʿAlā' al-Dīn, the

last king of the Sayyid dynasty, abdicated from the throne of Delhi in 855/1451 (Aḥmad Yādgār, *Ta'rīkh-i Shāhī*, Bibl. I nd. 257, 10) and passed the rest of his life in Badā'ūn where he died in 883/1478.

Under Akbar the town was formed into a *sarkār* of the *sūba* of Delhi in 964/1556; and a mint was established where only copper-coins were struck. In 979/1571 a great fire broke out, consuming the entire town, in which a large number of the residents perished.

The town lost its importance during the reign of Shāhdjahān when the *sarkārs* of Badā'ūn and Sambhal were amalgamated under the new name of Katehr with head-quarters at Bareilly. With the decline of the Mughal power the town lapsed to the Rohillas. After the rout of the Rohillas under ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, it was possessed by the Nawābs of Awadh in 1192/1778 from whom it was wrested by the British in 1216/1801. During the Mutiny of 1857 the town was seriously disturbed; the central prison was raided and the European quarter burnt.

Badā'ūn is the birth-place of the historian ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badā'ūnī [*q.v.*] and the famous Indian divine Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' [*q.v.*]. Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī [*q.v.*] is also said to have been born here but this statement is debatable. The old town contains several buildings of archaeological interest: the old fort, now in ruins, Masdjid Ḳuṭbī, the Djāmiʿ Masdjid Shamsī, built by Iltutmish in 620/1223 and, numerous other mosques and tombs, including the mausoleum of ʿAlā' al-Dīn, the runaway Sayyid king of Delhi.

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BADĀ'ŪNĪ, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, scholar and historian at the court of Akbar the Mughal. Born at Tōda (in the old princely state of Djaypūr) in 947/1540, Badā'ūnī spent his early life at Basāwar about 18 miles to the north east of Tōda, being taken to Sambhal in 960/1553 to pursue his studies under Shaykh Ḥātim Sanbhalī and Shaykh Abu 'l-Fatḥ. In 966/1558-9, Badā'ūnī went with his father Mulūk Shāh to Āgra and continued his education there under Shaykh Mubārak Nāgawrī, father of Abu 'l-Faḍl and Fayḍī. He also read Ḥanafī jurisprudence under Ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Maʿālī. After the death of his father in 969/1562, Badā'ūnī moved to Badā'ūn and thence, in 973/1565-6 to Patiyāla where he entered the service of Ḥusayn Khān as the latter's *ṣadr*. He remained with Ḥusayn Khān for 9 years, moving with him to Lucknow and Gānt u Gōla. In 981/1574 they quarrelled and parted. During the intervening years Badā'ūnī continued his religious education by visiting such saints as Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn of Ambethī, Shaykh Aban of Amroha, Shaykh Allah Bakhsh of Garmaktesar and Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Sikandra.

In 981/1574 Badā'ūnī was presented to Akbar through the good offices of Djalāl al-Dīn Ḳūrchī a *manṣabdār* of 500 and Ḥakīm ʿAyn al-Mulk a court physician. Impressed by Badā'ūnī's ability as a controversialist, in 982/1574-5 Akbar appointed him an imām and ordered him to bring horses to the brand as a *manṣabdār* of 20. Badā'ūnī's failure to match Abu 'l-Faḍl's efforts in this sphere (the latter had come to court about the same time as Badā'ūnī) embittered him and led him to accept a *madad-i maʿāsh* of 1,000 *bīghās* (originally at Basāwar but transferred in 997/1588-9 to Badā'ūn). Badā'ūnī's failure after this error of judgment to gain the preferment he considered he deserved, undoubtedly influenced his view of events at Akbar's court and of the religious activities in which Abu 'l-Faḍl was prominent. For absenting himself from attendance on Akbar, Badā'ūnī nearly forfeited his grant, being saved largely by the good offices of Khwādja Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, whom he had met at Āgra in 967/1559. Akbar continued however to employ Badā'ūnī on literary work from 982/1574 onwards. His date of death is variously given, (see Storey, i/1 437) but as Storey points out (i/2, 1309)"1024/1615 must be nearest to the truth, if the reference to the death of "Ẓuhūrī" and "Malik" Ḳummī is not a later insertion in the notice of "Ẓuhūrī" in the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, iii, 269".

Badā'ūnī's literary work comprised: (1) *Kitāb al-Ḥadīth*, now lost, a collection of 40 traditions on the merit of waging holy war, presented to Akbar in 986/1574; (2) *Nāma-yi Khirad-afzā*, a translation of the *Sing' hāsan battīsī*, a collection of 32 tales about Rādja Bikramādjīt of Mālwa, ordered by Akbar in 982/1574; (3) *Razm-nāma*, a translation of the *Mahābhārata*, undertaken at Akbar's request in 990/1582; (4) A translation of the *Rāmāyana* begun at Akbar's command in 992/1584 and submitted to him in 997/1589; (5) Part of *Ta'rīkh-i Alfī*, a general history of Islam down to the thousandth year, commissioned by Akbar in 993/1585 the first two volumes of which were revised by Badā'ūnī in 1000/1591-2; (6) *Nadjāt al-Rashīd*, a work on Ṣūfism, ethics and the Mahdawī movement of Badā'ūnī's day; (7) A rewriting and abridgement of a translation by Mullā Shāh Muḥammad Shāhābādī of a history of Kashmīr (probably the *Rādja-tarangiṇī*); (8) A part of a translation into Persian of Yāḳūt's *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*; (9) A translation in epitome of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, requested by Akbar in 1000/1591-2; (10) The completion of *Baḥr al-Asmār*, a translation into Persian of a Sanskrit tale, apparently the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, made earlier for Sulṭān Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn of Kashmīr. Akbar ordered this task in 1003/1595; (11) *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, a general history of the Muslims in Hindūstān from

Subuktigīn to 1004/1595-6, commenced in 999/1590, followed by biographies of shaykhs, scholars, physicians and poets. Until 1002/1593, the *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh* is based largely on Khwādja Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, with characteristic asides by Badāʾūnī. The work is noted for its hostile comments on Akbar's religious activities. Its existence was apparently kept secret until at least the tenth year of Djahāngīr's reign, (Mullā ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Nahāwandī, author of *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī*, did not know of it when he completed his work in 1025-1616). According to the *Mirʾāt al-ʿĀlam*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Baḳā Sahāranpūrī, composed in 1087/1667, Badāʾūnī's children asserted to Djahangīr that they did not know of the existence of the work (*British Museum Add. MS.* 7657, folio 452 a-b). Badāʾūnī himself hints at an intention to conceal the work (*M. al-T.*, iii, 398).

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BADAWĪ [see Aḥmād al-badawī and badw]

al-**BADAWIYYA** [see aḥmad al-badawī[

BADAWLAT, a title of the chief Yaʿḳūb-Beg of Kāshghar [*q.v.*].

BĀDGHĪS or **BĀDHGHĪS,** a district in the north-western part of modern Afghānistan, in the province of Harāt; the name is explained as being derived from the Persian *bādkhīz* ("a place where the wind rises") on account of the strong winds prevailing there. By the geographers of the 4th/10th century only the district to the north-west of Harāt, between this town and Sarakhs, is called Bādghīs. The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, probably writing from personal knowledge, describes it as a prosperous and pleasant place of three hundred villages. Later the name was extended to the whole country between the Harīrūd and the Murghāb; at any rate it is used in this sense as early as the 4th/13th century by Yāḳūt. There have never been any cities in Bādghīs and its small towns and fortresses have never been of great importance. At the time of the Arab conquests Bādghīs became known as a Hephthalite stronghold and it is said that Nīzak Tarkhān the Hayṭal [*q.v.*] retreated there after the loss of Harāt. Yāḳūt writes of it as *dār mamlakat al-Hayāṭila*, but this can only refer to the very end of the period of Hephthalite power. Even under the Ṭāhirids and the Sāmānids Bādghīs remained a hotbed of sedition.

At the present day Ḳalʿa-i Naw is regarded as the chief town. The rivers, including the tributaries of the Murghāb, still contain, as a thousand years ago, only small streams of brackish water; for the irrigation of the cultivated fields the people are dependent on wells and rainfall. The soil is noted for its fertility and the pistachio woods mentioned by the Arabs have survived to a certain extent to the present day. Besides these the excellent pastures of the country are famous; Ferrier (1845-6) describes the pastures of Ḳalʿa-i Naw as the best in all Asia. The wars between the Persians and the Mongols of Central Asia in 678/1270 arose out of a dispute for the possession of the pasture grounds of Bādghīs. The modern population consists mainly of Tādjīks, Djamshīds and Hazāras, and of nomadic tribes from the surrounding country who bring their flocks for seasonal grazing.

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(W. Barthold-[F. R. Allchin])

BADĪʿ is an Arabic adjectival noun which denotes the idea of originality. In the active sense it means Creator or Originator, hence its use as an Attribute of God. In the passive sense it means 'discovered' or 'invented', and from this, it became a name for the innovations of the ʿAbbāsid poets in literary figures, and later for trope in general; *ʿilm al-badīʿ* was that branch of rhetorical science which dealt with the beautification of literary style. Some ʿAbbāsid poets of the 2nd/8th century, like Bashshār, Muslim b. al-Walīd, and al-ʿAttābī, tended to depart in certain respects from the established ways of the classics and especially in the use of poetical artifices, such as metaphors and similes, on a scale unprecedented in pre-Islamic poetry. Hence, there arose among some ʿAbbāsid circles of critics, the idea that this art was a *badīʿ*, an innovation or a new creation. The word began to be used in that wide undefined sense in the critical writings of the 3rd/9th century. It occurs in more than one place in the writings of al-Djāḥiẓ; in one of them the author quotes a line of poetry containing a figurative expression and says: "and this is what *rāwīs* call *badīʿ*" (*Al-Bayān waʾl-Tabyīn*, Cairo 1948, i, 51, iv, 55). The first author to attempt a treatment of *badīʿ* as a literary art and to define what he took to be its principal categories, was the caliph-poet Ibn al-Muʿtazz (247-296 : 861-908). In a book entitled *Kitāb-al-Badīʿ*, Ibn al-Muʿtazz tried to show—by quoting copious examples from the Ḳurʾān, the Traditions, speeches of Bedouins, and early classical poetry, that what the moderns called *badīʿ* was not a creation of Bashshār and his contemporaries. These merely extended the already known art of literary figures in their poetry until it became widely used, and was given the name *badīʿ*. Then came the poet Abī Tammām (d. 231/850) who was very fond of this art and used it extravagantly with varying results. The author treats of *badīʿ* in five principal categories: metaphor, alliteration, antithesis, conformity of ends with beginnings, and order of discourse. Having explained them and quoted illustrative examples of good and bad in each, Ibn al-Muʿtazz points out that *badīʿ* as a term for poetical artifices, is known to poets and critics, but that philologists and scholars of ancient poetry do not use the term. He then asserts that nobody before him had treated the art of *badīʿ*, nor anticipated him in his work, which he completed in the year 247/861. He was, however, aware that the artifices of *badīʿ* could be reduced to less, or extended to more than the above five categories. For this reason, and to increase the instructive value of his book, he went on to add twelve more artifices of the embellishment of speech. Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (275-337/888-968, a contemporary of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and the author of probably the first Arabic book bearing the title of *Naḳd al-Shiʿr*, i.e. "The Criticism of Poetry", dealt with twenty qualities of poetical art, including some of Ibn al-Muʿtazz's categories, without mentioning the technical term *badīʿ*. But a century later another critical writer, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1004) carried the development of *badīʿ* a step further by augmenting the number of its categories to thirty-six, making use of the seventeen of Ibn al-Muʿtazz. In his book *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, i.e. "The Two Arts (of Prose and Poetry)", perhaps the first systematic

book on the whole field of Arabic rhetoric, al-ʿAskarī devoted a long section to the explanation of *badīʿ* and the enumeration of its kinds and categories. Al-Rummānī (296-386/908-996), a Muʿtazilī rhetorician, considers *balāgha* [*q.v.*] or eloquence as one of seven directions in which ḳurʾānic *iʿdjāz* can be seen, and without mentioning *badīʿ*, he includes some of the figures of speech as categorie· of *balāgha*. But the Sunnite al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013) in his *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, devotes a long chapter to the *badīʿ* of speech, maintaining that *badīʿ* could help to appreciate, but could not sufficiently explain *iʿdjāz*. Ibn Rashīḳ, the author of *al-ʿUmda*, "On the Excellencies and Requirements of Poetry", illustrates in his book more than sixty categories under the heading 'The Invented and the *badīʿ*'. Ibn Khaldūn points out that Ibn Rashīḳ's *ʿUmda* had a great influence in the Muslim West, in North Africa and Spain, where the use of *badīʿ* was highly appreciated and practised. The turning point however in the history of Arabic rhetoric in general, and of *badīʿ* in particular, as a separate science of stylistics came at the hands of al-Sakkākī (555-626/1160-1228), who in his book *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm* built a logical system for the classification of the instrumental sciences of literature, making use in the section on rhetoric of the solid philosophical foundations laid down earlier by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078). From al-Sakkākī's time down to the present, books on Arabic rhetoric have revolved round the compact text of his book, its abbreviations and the long and detailed commentaries on those texts. Notable among the epitomisers and the commentators of the *Miftāḥ* were al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (666-739/1267-1338) and al-Taftāzānī (722-793/1322-1390). This period was characterised in literature by ingenuity in using ornaments of style and by love for the art of *badīʿ*. Some poets of the period delighted in using all kinds of figures of speech in one and the same poem. Such poems, called *badīʿiyya*, were composed by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī and others. In that period, the sciences of rhetoric were clearly and rigidly delineated. Thus, aspects of literary structure became the domain of the science of *maʿānī* or "Concepts", while figures such as metaphor and simile, having to do with ways of literary expression, were relegated to the science of *bayān* or "Exposition". The artifices of the ornamentation and embellishment of speech remained the instruments and categories of *badīʿ*.

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al-BADĪʿ al-ASṬURLĀBĪ, Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (also Yūsuf), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, illustrious Arab scholar, physician, philosopher, astronomer and poet, who distinguished himself particularly for his knowledge and construction of the astrolabe and other astronomical instruments. The date of his birth is not known. In 510/1116-17, we find him at Iṣfahān in intimate contact with the Christian physician Amīn al-Dawla Ibn al-Tilmīdh. Later he lived in Baghdād, where the exercise of his art, so it is said, brought him a considerable fortune under the Caliph al-Mustarshid. According to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, astronomical observations were made under his direction in 524/1130 in the palace of the Saldjūḳid sultans at Baghdād. It is probable that the tables of Maḥmūd composed by him and dedicated to the Sulṭān Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (1118-31) are the result of these observations. He died at Baghdād in 534/1139-40 and it is said (Abu 'l-Faradj is the sole source of this tradition) that he was buried in a state of coma. As regards his poetical works, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī maintains that they were "beautiful and excellent", Ibn Khallikān that they reached the limits of lechery and obscenity. Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa give examples of his best pieces. In addition to a *Dīwān* of his own poems, al-Badīʿ al-Asṭurlābī published a selection of the poems of Ibn Ḥadjdjādj in one volume, divided into 141 chapters and entitled *Durrat al-Tādj min shiʿr Ibn Ḥadjdjādj* (Brockelmann, S I, 130). The praise which the Arab biographers liberally bestow on al-Badīʿ al Asṭurlābī, should not lead us to place his merits too high. The historians and biographers of the 7th/13th century possessed too little mathematical and astronomical knowledge to enable them properly to appreciate the really eminent services which the scholars of the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries rendered these sciences. They thus frequently fell into the error of extolling to excess the work of scholars closer to them in time, to the detriment of the works which mark the zenith of Arab science. Nowhere are the praises of al-Battānī, Abu 'l-Wafāʾ and al-Bīrūnī sung so eloquently as those of al-Badīʿ al-Asṭurlābī, though the former are scholars of much greater distinction than the latter.

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BADĪʿ al-DĪN, surnamed Ḳuṭb al-Madār (axis of the Universe) and popularly known as Shāh Madār, is the Methuselah of Indian hagiological literature and one of the most celebrated saints of India. He is said to have been born at Aleppo in 250/864, and to have been descended from Abū Hurayra [*q.v.*], one of the companions of the Prophet. The statement in the *Mirʾāt-i Madārī* that he was a Jew and embraced Islam at al-Madīna is not supported by other authorities. Like his descent, his date of birth is also controversial, the *Tadhkirat al-Muttaḳīn* gives it as 1 Shawwāl 442/16 Feb. 1051; the *Mirʾāt-i Madārī* has 715/1315, which is most probable. According to the *Kitāb-i Aʿrās* and *Mihr-i*

Djahāntāb his father Sayyid ʿAlī was a descendant of Muḥammad al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*].

Among his numerous spiritual mentors was Ṭayfūr al-Dīn, a Syrian mystic. He received a good education but was specially well-versed in various occult sciences such as alchemy and natural magic.

A widely-travelled person, Shāh Madār performed the pilgrimage to Mecca several times, once in the company of Ashraf Djahāngīr al-Simnānī [*q.v.*]. During his travels he visited al-Madīna, Baghdād, Nadjaf and Kāẓimayn before sailing for India when he met with a shipwreck. In India he travelled from place to place and ultimately settled at Makanpūr, a village 40 miles from Cawnpore, where he died on 10 Djumādā I, 844/7 October, 1440.

In spite of the bitter controversy that *ḳāḍī* Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī [*q.v.*] carried on with him, Shāh Madār was held in great esteem by Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharḳī (804/1401-848/1444), the sultan of Djawnpūr, patron of the *ḳāḍī*.

He was a person of great beauty and kept his face veiled for fear that people, dazzled by his appearance, would prostrate themselves before him. To this day his imposing mausoleum built by Ibrāhīm Sharḳī, attracts a very large number of people who, from all parts of India, march to Makanpūr, on the occasion of his *ʿurs*, carrying tall bamboos draped with colourful bunting and rags called "*Shāh Madār kī čariyān*".

Strange and supernatural feats, are ascribed both to the saint and his followers, known as Madārīs, who are generally seen performing in the streets and lanes of every city and village in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. A Madārī now, in common parlance, has come to mean a street-performer.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BADĪʿ AL ZAMĀN [see AL-HAMADHĀNĪ].

BADĪHA [see IRTIDJĀL].

BADĪL [see ABDĀL].

BĀDĪNĀN [see BAHDĪNĀN].

BĀDIS, a town (now in ruins) and anchorage on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco. It is 68¹/₄ m. (110 km.) south-east of Tetuan, between the territory of the Ghumāra [*q.v.*] and the Rīf [*q.v.*] properly so-called. It is situated on the territory of the Banū Yaṭṭūfat (*vulgo*: Bni Yiṭṭōft) near the mouth of a torrent named Tālā-n-Bādis (*vulgo*: Tālembādes). An attempt has been made to identify it with the *Parietina* of the Itinerary of Antoninus; but this ancient place-name could equally well refer to the more sheltered cove of Yallīsh (= Iris on our maps) which is only 7 km. to the south-west.

The town of Bādis and its port formed part of the kingdom of Nukūr, and later of the Idrīsid principality of the Banū ʿUmar. The Almoravids, the Almohads and the Marīnids used it as a naval base and devoted their energies to fortifying it.

The author of the *Maḳṣad* (end of the 7th/13th century) and especially Leo Africanus (beginning of the 10th/16th century), describe Bādis as a township of 600 households. Under the Marīnid Abū Saʿīd (709-31/1310-31), it paid 1000 *dīnārs* in taxes, as did Melilla and Larache. The port possessed an arsenal where foists and other kinds of galleys were built of cedar-wood from the neighbouring mountains; it was frequented by Venetian merchantmen, and was the terminus of the shortest route from Fez to the Mediterranean, via the mountain of the Banū Khālid. The population devoted themselves to trade, fishing (sardines) and also to piracy on the coasts of Spain. The governor of the Rīf had his residence there; his authority extended over the coastal towns from Yallīsh to Wādī Nukūr, and also over certain tribes of the interior: Buḳḳūya, Banū Manṣūr, Banū Khālid, Banū Yadīr.

Less than 100 metres out to sea there were two small rocky islands, the larger of which was called Ḥadjar Bādis, the Peñon de Velez of the Spanish. In 1508 the latter, in order to put an end to the activities of the pirates, occupied it and fortified it. In 1520, however, they lost it as the result of treachery. In 1526, the Waṭṭāsid sultan Abū Ḥassūn, deposed by his brother, received as an appanage the Rīf, with his seat at Bādis, whence he acquired his surname of al-Bādisī [*q.v.*, No. 3]. In 1554, he ceded the town and the Peñon to his Turkish allies from Algiers: the latter made it a lair for corsairs operating in the region of the Straits of Gibraltar. The Saʿdid sultan ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib bi'llāh was alarmed by this activity, and feared that the Turks might use Bādis as a base from which to undertake the conquest of Morocco. In 1564, he forced the Moroccans to evacuate the town and the Peñon, which he handed over to the Spanish. The Moroccan population retired into the interior, to the *ḳaṣba* of Snāda.

The old town of Bādis is now in ruins. After the Rīf war (1927), the Spanish attempted, without much success, to establish nearby a small settlement called Villa Jordana. The Peñon still belongs to Spain and constitutes a sovereign territory: Peñon de Velez de la Gomera. The Spanish corruption of the name of the town, Velez, perhaps has its origin in the existence, opposite, on the European coast, of a town called Vélez (de) Malaga (Ar. Bālish).

Bādis in Morocco must not be confused with Bādis in Algeria, no longer extant, which lay to the south of Awrās [*q.v.*].

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turistica de Marruecos, Madrid 1947, 506; for the detailed history of the town and the Peñon in the 16th century, consult the *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1st series, (Saʿdid dynasty) archives of Spain, France and Portugal.

(G. S. Colin)

BĀDĪS b. **ḤABŪS** [see zīrids of spain].

BĀDĪS b. al-Manṣūr b. Bulukkīn b. Zīrī, alias Abū Manād Bādīs Naṣīr al-Dawla, third Zīrid of Ifrīḳiya, enthroned on 16 Rabīʿ I 386/8 April 996. Entrusting eastern Ifrīḳiya to a devoted Arab vice-amīr, he set about containing a powerful Zanātan offensive which, from 386/996 onwards, pushed forward from Tiaret to Tripoli. In 389/999, he faced the amīr of the Maghrāwa, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, who had as allies Fulful b. Saʿīd, chief of the Zanāta, and his own great-uncles. He finally defeated them (391/1001), his triumph being mainly due to his great-uncle Ḥammād b. Bulukkīn. From 395/1004-5 onwards, the latter repelled a new Zanātan offensive. From 390 to 406/999-1016, the Zīrid also fought in Tripolitania against Fāṭimid intervention and against Yānis, Fulful b. Saʿīd and Warrū b. Saʿīd. While the Zanātan menace gradually abated in the south-east, in the west he had to suppress the revolt of Ḥammād, founder of Ḳalʿa in 398/1007-8. In the course of this campaign, which commenced at the end of 405/May 1015, after having won a decisive victory at Chélif (1 Djumādā 406/17 October 1015), but failed to take Ḳalʿa which had been beseiged for six months, Bādīs died on 30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 406/10 May 1016. The creation of the Ḥammādid state had begun, and the anti-Shīʿite disturbances at Tunis (406/1015-6) portended the break with the Fāṭimids which occurred under his son and successor al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs.

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(H. R. Idris)

al-**BĀDISĪ**, ethnic adjective referring to the town of Bādis [*q.v.*], and borne by three notable Moroccan personalities:

1. Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf al-Zuhaylī al-Bādisī, saint and savant of the 8th/14th century, who is buried outside the town. The author of the *Maḳṣad* (cf. *infra*, 2) devoted a notice to him (cf. trans,, 146 and 218). Ibn Khaldūn regarded him as the last of the great Moroccan saints (cf. *Prolegomena*, trans., ii, 199; *Histoire des Berbères*, i, 230). Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, ii, 273; ed. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 274) speaks of his shrine which is still venerated: Sīdi Bū Yaʿḳūb.

2. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Bādisī, still living in 722/1322. He is the author of a collection of the lives of the saints of the Rīf entitled *Al-Maḳṣad al-Sharīf fi Dhikr Ṣulaḥāʾ al-Rīf*, which has come down to us in two editions which differ appreciably from the point of view of vocabulary; annotated trans. by G. S. Colin in *Archives marocaines*, vol. 26 (1926).

3. ʿAli, son of Muḥammad al-Shaykh al-Waṭṭāsī. His normal *kunya* was Abu 'l-Ḥasan, but he is known by the hypocoristic name of Abū Ḥassūn. His father, while still young, was entrusted with the government of the Rīf, with his residence at Bādis, and, when he was deposed, he received the same province as an appanage. He lived there from 1526 to 1549; hence his surname al-Bādisī, and title "king of Velez" given to him by European chroniclers.

Bibliography: See the article Waṭṭāsids.

(G. S. Colin)

BĀDIYA [see Supplement].

BĀDJ, the Arabicised form given to the Persian *bāzh* in the Islamic period (al-Sayyid Addī Shīr, *Kitāb al-Alfāẓ al-Fārisiyya al-Muʿarraba*, Beirut 1908). From the 10th to the 14th century *bāzh* is more common; thus it is the usual form in the *Shāh-nāma* (though *badj* occurs too), and the phrase *bazh u sāw* is not infrequent, while the expression *bāzh-i rūm* is used there with reference to the tribute and indemnity paid to the victorious Persians by the rulers of the Eastern Roman empire (Fritz Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935). The Ghaznawid poet Bahrāmī uses *bazh*, whereas the 15th-century poet Bābā Fighānī uses *bādj* (see Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft Iḳlīm*, *Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta 1939, i, 267), and it was in the latter form that the word entered Turkish. After the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans the word was borrowed by the Bulgars and Serbs (Karl Lokotsch, *Etymolog. Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1927), and it is used in Armenian with the same form and meaning (Horn, *Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, 34).

Asadī, in his dictionary (*Lughat-i Furs*, ed. P. Horn, Berlin 1894), defines the word simply as *kharādj*. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Baghdādī (*Abdulqādiri Bagdādensis lexicon Šahnāmianum*, ed. Salemann, St. Petersburg 1895) explains it as meaning 'customs-dues, tithe, and tax': the words *bāzhbān*, *bāzhkhʷāh* and *bāzhdār* he explains as 'desiring toll, customs-officer', and *bāzhgāh* as 'place where customs-dues are levied' (all four words occur in the *Shāh-nāma*). In the Turkish translation of the *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ*, in addition to the meanings 'tithe, tax, customs-dues', it is stated that the word was also applied to money and gifts received by suzerains from vassal rulers. In Turkish texts generally, as in Persian, the meaning is 'tax'. The word became current as a fiscal technical term among the Turks, because a number of Turkish states were founded in the Persian area, beginning with the Ghaznawids and Saldjūḳs, and because the Saldjūḳ administration preserved Sāmānid and Ghaznawid traditions. It will also be recalled that Persian was the official language of Asia Minor under both Saldjūḳs and Ilkhānids. A study of the available documents shows that as well as being used for 'tax' in general, the word was applied to various forms of tax. The poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw, describing Aleppo in his *Safar-nāma* (ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, 10), says that it was a *bādjgāh* (*i.e.*, customs-post) between the cities of Syria, Rūm, Diyārbakr, Egypt, and ʿIrāḳ. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, in a *risāla* containing his views on politics and finance, presented to the Ilkhānid Abāḳā (Şerefeddin Yaltkaya, *Ilhanîler devri idârî teşkilâtına dâir Nasîreddin Tûsî'nin bir eseri*, in *Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecm.*, ii, 13; M. Mīnovī and V. Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, in *BSOS* x, 3, 1941, 763), uses it in the general sense; Yaltkaya translates it as 'customs-dues' in this somewhat ambiguous passage, but as customs-dues had been levied from ancient times it is certain that there would be nothing shameful in a ruler's

exacting them. As the context indicates, and as Minorsky rightly shows, the *bādj* here referred to must be the *rāhdārī* ('traveller's protection tax') levied in the Ilkhānid dominions in return for maintaining peace and security on caravan-routes and lakes. The historian of the Ilkhānid period, Rashīd al-Dīn (*Ta'rīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. Karl Jahn, *GMS*, London 1940, 280 ff.), when describing measures taken to safeguard the great caravan-routes in Ghāzān's time, speaks of *bādj* taken from travellers at certain specified places, according to a fixed scale. He also uses the word of a tax of one-third, when discussing Ghāzān's agricultural reforms. A century later, the historian Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī uses *bādj* together with *sāw*, *kharādj*, and *djizya*, *i.e.*, loosely in the sense of 'tax, impost' (*Ẓafar-nāma*, *Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta 1888, ii, 378). At the end of that century the historian Khʷāndamīr (*Dastūr al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran 1317/1938-9, 463) mentions *bādj* along with the *tamgha* taken from merchants, *zakāt*, and *kharādj*, but apparently as a general term only, for he gives no information about its nature. The early Ṣafawid historian Ḥasan Rūmlū states that some neighbouring tribes had long paid *bādj* to the rulers of Harāt (*Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, i, 337.

To establish the sense of such a word, legislative texts are clearly of more use than historical texts, but the oldest relevant ones, those of the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū, have not come down to us in their original forms. Thanks however to the tenacity of tradition, common in medieval Turkish and Muslim bureaucracies, we find Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū laws surviving, at most slightly altered, in Ottoman *ḳānūns* (as is expressly stated in the Ottoman fiscal *ḳānūns* for the eastern Anatolian *wilāyets*, formerly subject to the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū), and in them the word *bādj* occurs frequently (cf. W. Hinz, *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens* im 15. *und* 16. *Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, 1950, 177-201). These laws were first discussed by I. H. Uzunçarşılı (*Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtina medhâl*, Istanbul 1941, 213, 276, 302),) who sets out to explain such expressions as *bādj-i tamgha* and *bādj-i buzurg*. He states, on the basis of the *Farhang-i Shuʿūrī* and the *Sharaf-nāma*, that the *tamgha* was branded on animals and that *bādj* was a tax peculiar to land customs, and he notes that *bādj-i buzurg* was the name of two taxes, one levied on subject rulers and princes, the other on commercial goods in transit and articles brought from village to city. He explains *bādjdār* as 'a guardian of roads, taking money from caravans in return for maintaining the security of the roads, in the Ilkhānid period'. But in this he is incorrect: the *bādjdār* was a tax collector, in the Ilkhānid and Djalā'irid periods, who collected tolls at certain places, according to a tariff fixed by the central government (this tariff is mentioned in Italian sources for oriental trade in the Ilkhānid period: see G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIIIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1929, 184, 189). The 'guardian of roads' was quite distinct; he was the *tutḳavul* (Persian *rāhdār*), paid by the central government and under the orders of a senior military commander. At times when the central government was weak, however, lawless men assumed this title and took protection-money arbitrarily from caravans, thus combining the functions of *rāhdār* and *bādjdār*. The vagueness of I. H. Uzunçarsılı's explanation of the terms *bādj-i tamgha* and *bādj-i buzurg* is due to his reliance on dictionaries rather than on *ḳānūnnāmes*. It is possible to get a clearer and more accurate picture from a set of *ḳānūns* of the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū period, published by Ömer Lûtfi Barkan (*Osmanlı devrinde Akkoyunlu hükümdari Uzun Hasan Beye ait kanunlar*, in *Tarih vesikaları* i, no. 2, 91-106; no. 3, 184-97). These *ḳānūns*, termed *yasa* under the influence of the Ilkhānid administrative tradition, relate to the regions of Diyārbakr, Mārdīn, Erghanī, al-Ruhā' (Urfa), Erzindjān, Kharpurt (Harput), Čermīk, and ʿArabkīr, and are mainly of the time of Uzun Ḥasan. From a study of them the following facts emerge: *bādj* is generally used for 'tax', as in the expression *bādj-i tamgha*. The meaning of *tamgha* is quite plain; it is the tax levied on all kinds of goods bought and sold in cities, on woven stuffs and slaughtered animals, and is normally referred to as 'black tamgha' (*tamgha-i siyāh*). *Bādj-i buzurg* was the customs-duty levied on goods in transit through or imported into the country; such goods, when sold in the market, were also liable to 'stamp duty' (*bādj-i tamgha*). It is expressly stated in the *ḳānūn* of Erghanī that *tamgha* was levied on the buying and selling of immovable property; *i.e.*, the word is here used in the general sense of 'tax'. It is apparent that *bādj* in these *ḳānūnnāmes* is not a technical term.

This observation is confirmed by the use of the word in Ottoman literary texts. Saʿd al-Dīn uses it in the general sense when he says that the *bādj* and *kharādj* in 14th-century Rūm were not onerous as they were in Persia (*Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i, 214). So too a number of Ottoman poets use it as synonymous with *kharādj* in the phrase *bādj u kharādj*. On the other hand, the word is used as a technical term in some historical texts and above all in the early *ḳānūn-nāmes*. ʿĀshiḳpashazāde (*Ta'rīkh* 19; ed. F. Giese, 21), remarking that in the time of ʿOthmān Ghāzī *bādj* to the amount of 2 *aḳčas* was levied on every load of goods sold in the market of Ḳaradja-ḥiṣār, explains that this was in the nature of a municipal tax peculiar to large towns; it was in fact identical with the *tamgha* which, as we have seen, was levied under the Ilkhānids and in the various states which carried on their fiscal tradition. In the *ḳānūnnāme* of the Conqueror, apart from the non-technical use, we find *bādj* applied to a sales-tax confined to large towns. This *ḳānūnnāme* lays down that *bādj* is not levied on immovable property such as land, houses, shops, and mills, but on goods sold in markets; not however on anything sold in villages. It specifies the amount of *bādj* to be levied on the sale of all sorts of goods, including slaves (who in the eyes of Islamic law are movable property), and makes it clear that sometimes only one party is liable to pay, sometimes both. It also prescribes the amount of *bādj*—generally 20%—to be levied on goods from abroad (*e.g.*, from 'Frenk' and 'Dobrovenedik' = Dubrovnik = Ragusa), but there is a clause which states that this will depend on the terms of contracts made with these countries. The text however is a little doubtful and corrupt, so no positive conclusions can be drawn (F. Kraelitz, *Kanunname Sultan Mehmeds des Eroberers*, in *MOG*, Vienna 1921, i, 26, 30 ff.). But it is safe to say that the reference here is not to customs-duty levied on goods coming across the frontier, for the term *gümrük* occurs in numerous official documents of the period, and customs-duties seem not to be described as *bādj* (idem, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1922, no. 2, 4). It may therefore be conjectured that when goods entered the Ottoman dominions they paid customs-duty (*gümrük*), and when they were brought to a city and sold, they paid a separate *bādj*.

The word is used in the *ḳānūnnāme* of Suleymān just as it was during the 15th century; indeed, some paragraphs concerning *bād̲j̲* are taken unaltered from the *ḳānūnnāme* of the Conqueror (cf. *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān*, Supplement to TOEM, Istanbul 1329, 21 ff., with the *ḳānūnnāme* of the Conqueror, 30 ff.), though there are some additional ordinances too. It is clear from these two *ḳānūnnāmes* that *bād̲j̲* meant both a specific municipal tax (*iḥtisāb resmi*) and 'tax' in general: the latter meaning being seen in such expressions as *bād̲j̲-i bāzār, bād̲j̲-i ag̲h̲nām, bād̲j̲ i tamg̲h̲a.*

It is still in use among the Turkish people of eastern Turkistān in the general sense (cf. F. Grenard, *Le Turkestan et le Tibet*, Paris 1898, 263, 265. In the dialects of Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar and Yarḳand the meaning is 'customs-duty' (G. Raquette, *English-Turki Dictionary*, Lund-Leipzig 1927, 24, 119).

Bibliography: Sources have been shown in the text, in default of a full study of the word. Osman Nuri, when dealing with the *iḥtisāb* taxes (*Med̲j̲elle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, Istanbul 1922, i, 364-70) confines himself to quoting relevant passages from ʿĀs̲h̲iḳpas̲h̲azāde, Nes̲h̲rī, the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Suleymān, and another *ḳānūn-nāme* of unspecified date. (M. Fuad Köprülü)

BĀD̲J̲, the birthplace of Firdawsī, a small village in the vicinity of Ṭūs. The name is not found in any of the Arab geographers, and is mentioned only by ʿArūḍī-i Samarḳandī (*Čahār Maḳāla*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *GMS* i, 47, 190).

(M. Fuad Köprülü)

BĀD̲J̲A, a town and district of Muslim Spain, modern Beja in S. Portugal, the classical Pax Julia. The Roman origin of Bād̲j̲a is referred to by the geographer al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], who speaks of its fine wide streets. Abundant honey was obtained there, and its water was specially suitable for tanning (E. Lévi-Provençal, 'La „Description de l'Espagne" d'Aḥmad al-Rāzī", in *Al-Andalus*, XVIII, 1953, 87). Bād̲j̲a is frequently mentioned from the time of the Arab conquest. When Seville fell, its defenders withdrew to Bād̲j̲a, whence they later returned and gained a temporary advantage (*Ak̲h̲bār Mad̲j̲mūʿa*, 16, 18). Bād̲j̲a became one of the militarised zones (*kuwar mud̲j̲annada*) of Muslim Spain. In 146/763 at Bād̲j̲a the commander of the Egyptian *d̲j̲und*, al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Mug̲h̲īt̲h̲ revolted, donning the black dress of the ʿAbbāsids and displaying a black banner sent from the East by al-Manṣūr (*Ak̲h̲bār Mad̲j̲mūʿa*, 101-102; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, 32-33). In 230/844 Bād̲j̲a is said to have been attacked by Norse Vikings (Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 223). At Bād̲j̲a later, local chiefs disputed the authority of the central government (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, ed. Cairo 1944, I, 271, 298), and eventually the Ṭayfūrids, a local family of notables, enjoyed independence for a time (Ibn Saʿīd, *Mug̲h̲rib*, ed. Cairo 1953, I, 403). At another time Bād̲j̲a was ruled from Silves, till about 432/1040, when it passed to the ʿAbbādids of Seville (Ibn Id̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, iii, 192-193). The town was probably more important in early times than afterwards. It is not described by al-Idrīsī (548/1154). Its most famous son was the theologian Abu 'l-Walīd al-Bād̲j̲ī [*q.v.*]. Bād̲j̲a in Spain is sometimes called Bād̲j̲at al-Zayt (see below).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *La péninsule ibérique au Moyen-Age d'après le Kitāb ar-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, Leiden 1938, 45-46; Arabic text, 36-37. (D. M. Dunlop)

BĀD̲J̲A (ancient Vaga; modern orthography: Béja), important town in Ifrīḳiya, situated about 100 km. west of Tunis. Its population at the present time is nearly 23,000. Resting against the fertile slopes of the valley of the Médjerda, it constitutes "the most considerable town of the region, which existed in ancient times and has continued to exist down to our time ..... its strategic position, of supreme importance, on the road from Tunis to Algeria, was constantly emphasised throughout the Muslim period" (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, i, 300).

Capital of the province richest in cereal crops, it was for this reason called the "granary (*hūrī*) of Ifrīḳiya", just as it was called, throughout the Middle Ages, Bād̲j̲at al-Ḳamḥ ("Bād̲j̲a of the corn") to distinguish it from the other towns, in Africa and Spain, which bore the same name (see below).

The celebrated geographer al-Bakrī gives an exact and detailed description of the town which is still valid today, apart from certain changes in place names which took place at a later date. "Bād̲j̲a", he says, "is three days" journey from al-Ḳayrawān. A large town, encircled by several streams, and built on a high cowl-shaped hill named ʿAyn S̲h̲ams ("the spring of the sun")". This spring still feeds the town and bears the same name. The other important monuments which he mentions are: the ramparts, which were later augmented by a second, exterior wall enclosing new quarters of the town; the citadel (still to-day *al-Ḳaṣaba*) "an ancient building, solidly built of great blocks of stone" (a Byzantine fortress, built by Count Paulus at the time of Justinian, as is indicated by a Latin inscription of that period. It was frequently repaired during the Ḥafṣid, Turkish and Ḥusaynid periods); and the Great Mosque which, "solidly built, has the city walls for the *ḳibla*". The town also possessed "five baths (*ḥammām*), a large number of caravanserais (*funduḳ*), and three open spaces (*riḥāb*) where food markets were held". The environs of the city were, he says, "full of magnificent gardens watered by streams".

At the time of the siege of Carthage by Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān, about 76/695 part of the Byzantine garrison took refuge at Bād̲j̲a and entrenched itself there. After its capture by the above-mentioned Umayyad general, Bād̲j̲a subsequently became an important strategic centre for the Arab *d̲j̲und*. Al-Harawī states that Maʿbad b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the cousin of the Prophet, died there, and that his tomb is to be found in the meadow (*mard̲j̲*) of the town.

Al-Yaʿḳūbī, who visited Ifrīḳiya in the 3rd/9th century, tells us that "the population of Bād̲j̲a is descended from the soldiers of the old ʿAbbāsid army and from non-Arab autochthonous elements".

Al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, quoting an ancient source, notes that the tribe of the Banū Saʿd, among whom the Prophet was brought up, had been scattered across many lands, and that in his own time there only remained a small group of them, who lived at Bād̲j̲a in Ifrīḳiya alongside the ʿAbbāsid troops.

Under Ag̲h̲labid dominion, the city became the important capital of the whole North-Western district of Tunisia. Powerful officials, belonging to the family of the *wazīrs*, the Banū Ḥumayd, relations and allies of the amīrs, succeeded one another as heads of its government, and strove to preserve it as a rich and lucrative fief; ḳāḍīs, chosen from among the most famous jurists of the capital, were nominated to this high office; experienced generals assumed command of the militia and the Ag̲h̲labid allies. And there is reason to think that the veterans of this

militia, who continued to dwell in this region, gave the name of their tribe, Ḳudāʿa, to an important commune (*shaykha*) of Bādja, which retains this name to the present day.

During the Fāṭimid period, the town was sacked, pillaged and partly burnt by the Berber troops of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], "the man with the ass", in 335/946. But it quickly recovered its prosperity, by virtue of its agricultural products. At the time of the Hilālī invasion (5th/11th century), it received groups of the Riyāḥī tribe, which settled in the surrounding countryside, and the town passed successively from the hands of nomad chiefs to the Zīrid princes of Bougie (al-Bidjāya). With the advent of the Ḥafṣids, the town recovered a measure of its former prosperity and frequently served as a refuge for rebels against government.

During the Turkish period (10th-11th/16th-17th centuries), Bādja had a garrison of janissaries who left their posterity there. A Ḥanafī mosque was built inside the town. From the time of the Ḥusaynids, Bādja became once more a large semi-Bedouin agricultural market town, where a governor (*ʿāmil*) represented the authority of the Beys. Certain monuments were built, notably a citadel 1 km. west of the town, called "*Bārdo*" after the name of the famous palace of the Beys on the outskirts of Tunis.

Bādja was the birthplace of a number of scholars, jurisconsults, poets, and local historians. Reference will only be made here to the al-Ḳalshānī family, which supplied 9th/15th century Tunisia with seven or eight eminent ḳāḍīs and jurists, and to Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, who wrote an eye-witness account of the history of the first four Ḥusaynid Beys (from 1705 to 1768 A.D.).

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, ed. Nadjaf 1918, 107 (French trans. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 211); Bakrī, Ar. text 59, French trans. 119; Yāḳūt, Cairo ed, ii, 25; Idrīsī, Ar. text 115, French trans. 134; Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 53; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, i, 340; Leo Africanus, iii, 119; Muḥammad Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, *Akhbār Awlād ʿAlī Turki* (ms. coll. Abdul-Wahab), French trans. V. Serres and Lasram, Tunis 1897.

Two other Tunisian centres were also named Bādja: BĀDJAT AL-ZAYT ("Bādja of the oil"), so called in order to distinguish it from its homonym in the north. It a was town in the district of Ruṣfa (the ancient Ruspae of the Romans and Byzantines), situated, in the heart of the olive-tree forests of the Tunisian Sahel, on the road from Mahdiyya to al-Djān, 13 km. east of the latter centre. The commune (*shaykha*) in which it was located still bears the name of Wādī Bādja (governorate of Mahdiyya) It seems that it prospered up to the time of the Hilālī invasion, and then declined and completely disappeared during the Ḥafṣid period. Its site, however, with its numerous ruins, notably of a vast hydraulic installation (*fasḳiyya*), still exists. It is mentioned several times by al-Mālikī and Yāḳūt, who quote passages from Ibn Rashīḳ in his anthology of the poets of al-Ḳayrawān.

Bibliography: Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-Nufūs*, ii, 79-81 (MS. coll. Abdul-Wahab); Yāḳūt, Cairo 1323/1906, ii, 25; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt*, iii, (Zaytūna MS.).

BĀDJA AL-ḲADĪMA ("the ancient"), a hamlet no longer in existence today, but whose ruins are still visible. It was situated near the present-day town of Mannūba north-west of Tunis. It possessed a mosque, a school (*kuttāb*), a market and a certain number of dwellings. Its chief claim to fame was that it was the birth-place of a great Tunisian mystic (*walī*), Abū Saʿīd Khalafa b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī al-Badjī, born in 551/1156, died 6 Shaʿbān 629/8 June 1231, the pupil of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb of Tlemcen; he was buried in the village of Djabal al-Manār, and has since become known from Marsa to Carthage as Sayyidī Abū Saʿīd (Sidi Bou Said).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥawwārī, *Manāḳib Abī Saʿīd al-Bādjī* (MS. coll. Abdul-Wahab). (H. H. ABDUL-WAHAB)

BĀDJADDĀ, in the Arab middle ages, a small strongly fortified town in Mesopotamia, south of Ḥarrān, a short distance east of Balīkh, situated on the road to Raʾs al-ʿAyn, with famous gardens. It is no longer mentioned by the geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th 10th centuries. The Aramaic name (בֵּי גַדָּא) denotes "house of fortune"; cf. perhaps, an ʿAyn-gaddā = "source of fortune" in the Damascene and the Gadda of the Tabula Peutingeriana in Syria. See thereon Nöldeke in the *ZDMG*, xxix, 441.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 453; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 174, 72, where Bādjaddā, not Bādjuddā is to be read; Le Strange, 105. (M. STRECK)

BĀDJALĀN. Both surviving branches of this formerly larger tribe are now settled in ʿIrāḳ. The main branch occupies the area of Bin Ḳudra and Ḳuratū, north of Khānaḳīn. An offshoot, known variously as Badjlān, Bādjwān or Bēdjwān, is to be found in the Shabak [*q.v.*] area on the left bank of the river Tigris opposite Mawṣil. Although the tribe has always been known as a Kurdish one this is only so in the wide sense that all nomads of the Zagros area, including the Gūrān [*q.v.*] and the Lurs, are considered by their neighbours to be Kurds. In fact, all Bādjalānīs appear to speak a dialect of the (Iranian, but not Kurdish) Gūrānī language—a pointer, failing evidence to the contrary, to their Gūrānī origins.

A great number of Bādjalān nomads paid homage to the Ottoman Grand Vizier at Mawṣil in 1039/1630 (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrikh*, s.a.). For a time the tribe gave its name to a *sandjāḳ*, Bādjwānlī, between the two rivers Zāb (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 435). The present Bēdjwān community may stem from this section. According to their own traditions (Rawlinson, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1839, ix, 107; Minorsky, in *EI*¹, s.v. *Lak*) part of the tribe retired from the Mawṣil area in the 12th/18th century to Luristān (Pīsh-i Kūh), where it became assimilated to the Lakkī Kurds. Another group had settled in the plain between Gīlān and Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, the chieftains residing first in Zuhāb and, after its decline, in Khānaḳīn. Early in this 14th/20th century the two main sections of the Bādjalān were astride the Turco-Persian frontier, the Djumūr in the Zuhāb area and the Ḳāzānlū near Bin Ḳudra. The Persian sections seem since to have concentrated on the Ḳuratū area.

Bibliography: K. Hadank, *Mundarten der Gûrân, besonders das ... Bâdschâlânî*, bearbeitet von ..., Berlin, 1930; D. N. MacKenzie, *Bājalānī*, in *BSOAS*, 1956, xviii, 418.

(D. N. MACKENZIE)

AL-**BADJALĪ**, AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. WARSAND, founder of a sect among the Berbers of Morocco, whose adherents are called Badjaliyya. Al-Bakrī states that he appeared there before Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] came to Ifrīḳiya (before 280/893). Al-Badjalī came from Nafṭa (Nefta) and found many adherents among the Banū La-

mās. His teaching agreed with that of the Rawāfiḍ, but he asserted that the Imāmate belonged only to the descendants of al-Ḥasan. So al-Bakrī and Ibn Ḥazm state, in opposition to Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. de Goeje, 65), who says that he was a Mūsawī i.e. he recognised the Imāmate of Mūsā b. Dja'far, a descendant of Ḥusayn. The Badjaliyya were afterwards conquered and exterminated by 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal wa Niḥal*, iv, 183; Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale* (ed. de Slane), 161; Friedländer, in *JAOS*, xxix, 75. (Ed.)

BĀDJARMĀ, or Bādjarmaḳ, under the 'Abbāsid Caliphate was the name of a district east of the Tigris between the Lesser Zāb in the North and the Djabal Ḥamrīn in the South. The chief town in the middle ages was Kirkūk (Syr. Karkhā de Bēth Slōkh). It formed a district of the province of Mosul (cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 97, 7). Bādjarmā is an Arabic rendering of the Aramaic Bēth (Be) Garma while Bādjarmaḳ goes back to some Middle Persian form of the name of the district, like Garmakan. The latter word comes from the Gurumu, a nomadic people mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions, the Γαραμαῖοι of Ptolemy.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Faḳīh, 35, 21;179, 5; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 94; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 265, 333; Yāḳūt, i, 454; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 44, 45, 253; M. Streck, Art. *Garamaioi* in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* (where further references are given). (M. Streck*)

BĀDJARWĀN, (1) A town and fortress in Mūḳān (Ādharbāydjān) lying S. of the river Aras (Araxes), between Ardabīl and Bardha'a in Arrān. Bādjarwān is mentioned several times in the accounts of the Muslim conquest. Its capture by al-Ash'ath b. Ḳays al-Kindī seems to have been the signal for the final collapse of resistance throughout the province (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 326). It was occupied by Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī during his campaign against the Khazars in 112/730 (D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 72-74). After the Umayyad period Bādjarwān is seldom mentioned. It is still named by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī in the 8th/14th century as a stage in the road to the N.W. frontier, though it was then in ruins. (2) A town of Diyār Muḍar in al-Djazīra, near the R. Balīkh, between Ḥiṣn Maslama and al-Raḳḳa.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 105, 175-176, 230-231. (D. M. Dunlop)

BĀDJAWR, tract of mountainous country in the Dīr, Swāt, and Čitrāl agency of the Peshāwar division, West Pākistān. It is bounded on the north by Dīr; on the east by Dīr and Swāt; on the south-east and south by the Utmān Khēl and Mamund territories; and on the west by Afghānistān. It has an area of about 5,000 square miles and is intersected by five valleys—the Čahārmung, Bābūkara, Watalai, Rūd, and Sūr Kamar. In the absence of any census the population has been estimated at 100,000. Bādjawr is the home of the Tarkanrī Pathāns who claim to be akin to the Yūsufzais. They are divided into four sections: the Ismā'īlzai, 'Īsāzai, Salarzai, and Mamunds. The Salarzai and Mamunds are also found across the Durand boundary in Afghānistān. Like the tribes of Dīr, they are Sunnī Muslims but are unusually susceptible to the influence of their mullahs. The Khān of Nawagai claims to be the hereditary chief of all the Bādjawri tribes. The history of this area is almost inextricably interwowen with that of Dīr and Swāt. The fort of Bādjawr was taken by Bābur in 1519 (*vide* A. S. Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma*, 367-73). Akbar's forces were cut to pieces by the Yūsufzais in 1585. In the reign of Awrangzīb they constantly attacked the Mughal frontier outposts. They fought against the British in the Ambeyla campaign of 1280/1863 and during the frontier conflagration of 1314-15/1897. (C. Collin-Davies)

BADJDJĀNA, (Sp. Pechina), ancient Spanish town which is to-day no more than a small country town. The Rio Andara (Wādī Badjdjāna), which descends from the southern watershed of the Sierra Nevada, flows through Badjdjāna and discharges itself into the sea 6$^1/_4$ m. (10 km.) lower down, near the watch-tower (*Māriyyat Badjdjāna*), the site of the town which, under the sole name of al-Māriyya (Sp. Almería), became the most active and flourishing Mediterranean port in al-Andalus. The groups of sailors settled between Alicante and Aguilas were in the habit of proceeding in the autumn towards the African coast, where they passed the winter, and of returning in the spring to the Peninsula, with huge cargoes; a number of them settled in the North African ports and founded, *inter alia*, the new Ténès, in 262/875. The canton of Pechina was then occupied by the Arabs of the Yemen, who had been charged by 'Abd al-Raḥmān II with the task of maintaining a *ribāṭ* to protect the coast against possible attack by the Madjūs [*q.v.*]; in return, he had granted them possession of the fertile valley of the Andarax. Andalusian sailors returning from Ténès came to terms with these Arabs in order to found a sort of maritime republic, and made Badjdjāna the capital of a small state. A large mosque built by the Arabs, and the ramparts erected by the sailors, made it a town which, as a result of the trade of its fleet, which anchored at Almería, rapidly increased in size and prosperity. But after thirty-seven years of semi-independent existence, during which it was threatened by the Arab league at Elvira, it was incorporated in 310/922 in the Umayyad community; it maintained its prosperity during the first half of the 4th/10th century, until 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, in 344/955, made Almería the capital of the region and put in hand important town-planning schemes there. During the reign of al-Ḥakam II, the importance of Badjdjāna declined still further, and in the 5th/11th century it was no more than a humble village, while Almería became the capital of one of the kingdoms of the *taifas*.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afr. sept.*, text 81, French trans. 163; Idrīsī, text 200, French trans. 245; Yāḳūt, i, 494-5; Simonet, *Descripción del reino de Granada*, 136-7; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Péninsule ibérique*, 45-8; idem, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 348 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, *Una Crónica anónima de 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir*, Madrid-Granada 1950, § 44. (A. Huici Miranda)

al-**BĀDJĪ**, Abu 'l-Walīd Sulaymān b. Khalaf, a distinguished theologian and literary figure in 11th-century Spain. Born in 403/1012 of a family from Baṭalyaws (Badajoz) which had emigrated to Bādja, modern Beja in S. Portugal (Ibn Bassām, cited Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 511), he frequented the schools at Cordova, gained some success as a poet and in 426/1035 travelled to the East. He was absent from Spain for 13 years, three of which he spent at Mecca, in the service of the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Dharr al-Harawī, who had been educated at Harāt, Balkh and other places in Khurāsān, and with whom al-Bādjī now studied

Mālikī *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, accompanying him regularly to his home in al-Sarawāt, *i.e.*, the mountainous country between al-Tihāma, Nadjd and al-Yaman. Later al-Bādjī passed to Baghdād, where for another three years he continued his studies, though so poor that he is said to have been obliged to earn his living as a night-watchman. We hear of him also at Mawṣil, where according to one account (Maḳḳarī, i, 507, cf. Ibn Bashkuwāl, i, 200, no. 449) for a year he applied himself to the recently-invented *kalām* (scholastic theology), at Aleppo and Damascus, and in Egypt. He returned to Spain in or about 439/1047 as poor as when he left it, but with greatly extended views. About this time, at the instance of the Spanish *faḳīhs*, he disputed in the island of Majorca with the celebrated Ibn Ḥazm, who in the sequel withdrew into private life and according to Ibn Saʿīd (*Mughrib*, ed. Cairo 1953, i, 405) had to suffer the burning of his books. Even after his return al-Bādjī worked at a trade (gold-beating). At other times he acted as notary, or as *ḳāḍī* in provincial towns. But gradually his reputation established itself, and he died a rich man. His relations with the then holders of power, i.e., since the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* ('Party Kings'), attracted comment at the time and appear to have been principally due to al-Bādjī's desire to induce them to unite and live at peace among themselves (Maḳḳarī, i, 511). His proposals to this end, made in person, were on the whole badly received, except at Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa) on the N.E. frontier, where the strength of the Christian kingdoms was fully appreciated. Al-Muḳtadir b. Hūd of Saragossa (reigned 1046-1081) sent for al Bādjī, and evidently he remained with al-Muḳtadir for a considerable time, since it was at Saragossa that his works appeared (Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, ed. S. al-Ḥarāʾirī, 215). Al-Bādjī died at Almería in 474/1081, *i.e.*, in the same year as his patron.

If the main political purpose of his life remained unrealised, al-Bādjī was a prolific author of books, including a Commentary (*sharḥ*) on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, which especially in its short form, entitled *al-Muntaḳā*, enjoyed high estimation. Of his other works there have been printed (1) a *Reply* (*Djawāb*) to the so-called *Letter of the Monk of France* (*Risālat al-Rāhib min Ifransa*), for which see D. M. Dunlop, *A Christian Mission to Muslim Spain in the 11th Century*, in *Al-Andalus*, xvii, 1952, 259-310. The *Reply* shows much dialectical ability, and repeatedly refers to *kalām*. (2) *The Epistle on Definitions* (*Risāla fi 'l-Ḥudūd*), principally in *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, edited by Djawda Hilāl in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islamicos en Madrid*, (*Ṣaḥīfat al-Maʿhad al-Miṣrī*), Vol. ii, Madrid 1954, Arabic section, 1-37.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 419, and S I, 743-744; M. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, i, Madrid 1927, 200-208. (D. M. DUNLOP)

BADJĪLA, an Arab tribe, reckoned along with Khathʿam as a subdivision of Anmār; the *nisba* is Badjalī. Badjīla is sometimes said to be a woman, but her place in the genealogy is vague (cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*, 101-3; also *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1858, ii, 134). Some genealogists held that Badjīla was a Yemenite tribe; others made Anmār the son of Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 279, art. 'Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh'; Ibn Durayd, ed. Wüstenfeld, 101 f.). The tribe was sometimes taunted with this uncertainty about their ancestry (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 143). Along with Khathʿam, Tamīm, Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays they raided ʿIrāḳ under Shāhpūr II (c. 310-379), but suffered severely when he counter-attacked. In Muḥammad's time they were found in a part of the mountain chain of the Sarāt some distance south of Mecca. As a result of feuds with neighbouring tribes and between the clans of Badjīla (such as Aḥmas, Ḳasr, Zayd b. al-Ghawth, ʿUrayna), the tribe became scattered, and many parts of it had to seek protection (*djiwār*) from stronger tribes (cf. *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. C. J. Lyall, i, 115 f.). Towards the end of Muḥammad's life Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī came to him with 150 men professing Islam, and was sent to destroy the idol Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa at Tabāla, which was worshipped by Badjīla and Khathʿam. Djarīr performed various other commissions efficiently, and under Abū Bakr and ʿUmar was an important military leader. He and the men of Badjīla who followed him seem to have been independent allies of the caliph for a time, and by treaty with ʿUmar were to receive a quarter of what was captured, that is, presumably of the lands in the Sawād (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 253, 267), but three years later they were persuaded to give up their lands and to receive instead a stipend. ʿUmar ordered sections of Badjīla which were under the protection (*djiwār*) of other tribes to attach themselves to Djarīr (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, l.c.; also *Usd al-Ghāba*, l.c.). It is stated that at this time ʿArfadja b. Harthama of Bāriḳ, a part of the Azd, though only a *ḥalīf* of Badjīla, was its *sayyid*. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, who was prominent in the later Umayyad period, belonged to Badjīla, though his adversaries questioned this (cf. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 205).

Bibliography: in addition to the sources mentioned in the article, A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847; *Aghānī*[1], xiii 4 f.; *ZDMG* xxii, 667; Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān* (ed. Boucher and Hell), nos. 82, 256, 279, 644.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

BADJIMZĀ or Bagimzā, in the time of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, was a village north-east of Baghdād, some 8 miles from Baʿḳūbā, where the caliph al-Muḳtafī bi-Amr Allāh put to flight the troops of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Muḥammad II under Alp Ḳush Kūn-i Khar in 549/1154.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 497, 706; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 129; Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 237 ff.

(ED.)

BĀDJISRĀ. This was a small town in ʿIrāḳ, situated some 10 *farsakhs* to the north-east of Baghdād and a short distance due south of Bāʿḳūbā on the left bank of the Nahrawān river, which attained the name of Tāmarrā on its arrival at Bādjisrā. The town is described by the Arab geographers as being a prosperous and pleasant recreational centre with many date groves and a considerable population, but it was laid waste in the time of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, author of the *Marāṣid*, who died in 739/1338. The name Bādjisrā, which is derived from Syriac, means "house of the bridge" i.e. the location of the bridge.

The modern village named "Abū Djisrā", however, is not the same town. Apparently, the name of this village is inferred from the ancient nomenclature of Bādjisrā. Modern Abū-Djisrā is one of the larger villages in the Miḳdādiyya (Shahrābān) *ḳaḍāʾ* in the Diyālā *liwāʾ* of ʿIrāḳ. According to the 1947 census, its inhabitants totalled 768 in number.

There are various references to Bādjisrā in the histories. It is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr in the

annals of the years 68/688, 334/945-6, 439/1047, 488/1095 and 496/1102-3. During the last three of these, the town was subjected to plundering. In the annals of the year 597/1201, Ibn al-Sāʿī mentions the death of Mit͟hḳāl, an attendant of the daughter of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Al-Mustand͟jid, al-Fīrūzād͟jiyya, who was the administrator of the prefecture of Bād͟jisrā. Bād͟jisrā is the birth place of a number of poets and men of letters, and some of them are mentioned by Yāḳūt.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 454; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Marāṣid*, Cairo 1954, i 147; Ibn Serapion (ed. Le Strange), in *JRAS*, 1895, 19; Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 175; Ibn Rusta, 90; al-Muḳaddasī, 115; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 53; Miskawayh, *Tad͟jārub* (Amedroz), ii, 84; Ibn al-At͟hīr, iv, 242, viii, 337, ix, 367, x, 166, 244; idem, *al-Lubāb fī Tahd͟hīb al-Ansāb*, i, 82; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 43; Le Strange, 59; *Sumer*, viii, 1952, 249; A. Sousa, *Rayy Sāmarrā*, Bag͟hdād 1948, 363.

(G. Awad)

BAD͟JKAM (Abu 'l-Ḥusayn), properly Bačkäm (an Iranian word which passed into Turkish, meaning the tail of a horse or yak, see Benveniste in *JA*, 1948, 183), name of a Turkish amīr who was initially a *g͟hulām* in the service of Mākān and subsequently in that of another Daylamite, Mardāwīd͟j, master of Gīlān, Ṭabaristān and the D͟jibāl. When Mardāwīd͟j's Turkish *g͟hulāms*, provoked by his bullying, killed their master in 323/935, Bad͟jkam placed himself at their head and fled with them. After offering his services to Ḥasan b. Hārūn, the ephemeral governor of the D͟jibāl appointed by the *wazīr* Ibn Muḳla, he directed his steps towards Bag͟hdād, in the expectation of being taken into the Caliph's army. He was rejected, however, owing to the jealousy of the Ḥud͟jarī guards. Ibn Rāʾiḳ, who was then governor of Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, took him into his service with his Turks, and he was henceforth called Bad͟jkam Rāʾiḳī. He became the leader of a large band consisting of his *g͟hulāms* and other Turks and Daylamīs who came from the D͟jibāl at his summons.

When, at the end of 324/beginning of November 936, Ibn Rāʾiḳ was appointed by the Caliph al-Rāḍī to the office of *amīr al-umarāʾ*, Bad͟jkam became his chief lieutenant both in his struggle against the undisciplined guards of the Caliph, Sād͟jīs and Ḥud͟jarīs, and against the ambitious governor of al-Ahwāz (K͟hūzistān), Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Barīdī. Upon his arrival in Bag͟hdād, Ibn Rāʾiḳ at once proceeded to take rigorous measures against the Sād͟jīs; then at the beginning of 325/end of November 936, having gone down to Wāsiṭ with the Caliph, with the effective help of Bad͟jkam he rid himself of the Ḥud͟jarīs who had accompanied the Caliph. Bad͟jkam and Ibn Rāʾiḳ then returned to Bag͟hdād where Bad͟jkam was appointed Prefect of Police and governor of the Eastern provinces (February 937). Ibn Rāʾiḳ had been unable to come to terms with al-Barīdī, whose aim was to seize Lower ʿIrāḳ and then to take the place of the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, and it was therefore decided to institute military operations against him. Though Ibn Rāʾiḳ suffered defeat and was unable to prevent al-Barīdī's entering Baṣra, Bad͟jkam enjoyed greater success; after two brillant victories over al-Barīdī's troops, who considerably outnumbered his own, he took the whole of K͟hūzistān and al-Barīdī was obliged to flee to Baṣra. Then, recalled by Ibn Rāʾiḳ, he rejoined the latter on the Baṣran front where they were both nearly taken prisoner. Al-Barīdī, however, had gone to Fārs to ask the help of the Būyid ʿAlī (ʿImād al-Dawla), who sent his brother Aḥmad (Muʿizz al-Dawla) to recover K͟hūzistān. At the request of Ibn Rāʾiḳ, Bad͟jkam agreed to return thither, provided he might enjoy full sovereignty there. However fortune changed and he had to retreat before the Būyid and return to Wāsiṭ, whilst Ibn Rāʾiḳ left for Bag͟hdād to find the money requested by Bad͟jkam to pay his troops (326/ beginning 938). Bad͟jkam remained at Wāsiṭ, without attempting to recover K͟hūzistān from the Būyid, as was Ibn Rāʾiḳ's wish.

Henceforth it was Bad͟jkam's idea to revolt against Ibn Rāʾiḳ and take his place. Perturbed by developments, Ibn Rāʾiḳ had just become reconciled with al-Barīdī. So as to detach the latter from Ibn Rāʾiḳ and make sure of his support, Bad͟jkam now promised that once he became master of the capital, he would give him the governorship of Wāsiṭ which, shortly before, al-Barīdī had unsuccessfully attempted to take from Bad͟jkam by force. An agreement to this effect was concluded. Moreover the former *wazīr* Ibn Muḳla, wishing to revenge himself on Ibn Rāʾiḳ, who had confiscated his property, started to correspond with Bad͟jkam, encouraging him in his resolve, and recommended him to the Caliph al-Rāḍī as a successor to Ibn Rāʾiḳ. Al-Rāḍī adopted Ibn Muḳla's views and secretly encouraged Bad͟jkam, as can be seen from an account given by the historian al-Ṣūlī, a confidant of the Caliph and of Bad͟jkam (42-44, trans. i, 89-90), though he nevertheless handed Ibn Muḳla over to Ibn Rāʾiḳ. In D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 326/September 938, Bad͟jkam, who had marched on the capital on the pretext of coming to ask for the pay for his troops, entered Bag͟hdād, in spite of the efforts of Ibn Rāʾiḳ, who had tried to stop him on the Nahr Diyāla by flooding it with the waters of the Nahrawān canal and destroying a bridge. At Bag͟hdād, whilst Ibn Rāʾiḳ sought refuge in flight, the Caliph at once appointed Bad͟jkam *amīr al-umarāʾ*.

Bad͟jkam, the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, had to contend with the Ḥamdānid of Mawṣil, Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, who was not fulfilling his financial obligations. At the beginning of the year 327/October-November 938, Bad͟jkam marched against him with the Caliph, and entered Mawṣil after having crushed Ḥamdānid resistance below the town, but was unable to take Ḥasan, who fled into the D͟jazīra, where Bad͟jkam pursued him to no avail. Bad͟jkam's troops were unremittingly harrassed at Mawṣil. Thereupon, as Ibn Rāʾiḳ had taken advantage of these circumstances to make a sudden irruption into Bag͟hdād, Bad͟jkam negotiated with the Ḥamdānid and likewise with Ibn Rāʾiḳ. A treaty was concluded at the end of 938 with the Ḥamdānid who offered to pay over an initial sum as part of the tribute. Ibn Rāʾiḳ agreed to leave Bag͟hdād and to accept as compensation the governorship of the Ṭarīḳ al-Furāt, the Diyār Muḍar, the *d͟jund* of Ḳinnasrīn and the *ʿawāṣim* [*q.v.*]. He left Bag͟hdād on the 28th of January 939 and the Caliph and Bad͟jkam returned to the capital at the beginning of February 939.

Bad͟jkam then had to parry the menace from the Būyids which overshadowed Lower ʿIrāḳ, and this led to a closer though ephemeral understanding between Bad͟jkam and al-Barīdī. The latter received the governorship of Wāsiṭ and carried out a successful operation against the Būyid in Susiana. He then obtained the office of *wazīr*, but remained at Wāsiṭ, his functions at Bag͟hdād being performed only by a delegate. In 328/939-940, Bad͟jkam married one

of his daughters. The Būyid had not relinquished his ambitions and had obtained the support of another of his brothers, Ḥasan (Rukn al-Dawla), master of the Djibāl. The latter marched on Wāsiṭ and set up his camp on the left bank of the Tigris opposite the town, though he was obliged to withdraw, when the arrival of Badjkam and the Caliph was announced. On the other hand, the army sent against the same Ḥasan in the Djibāl by Badjkam was defeated.

It was not long, however, before dissension arose between Badjkam and al-Barīdī, who did not conceal his intention of becoming *amīr al-umarā'* and who was very careful not to support the expedition sent by Badjkam into the Djibāl. At the end of 328/August 940, Badjkam removed him from the office of *wazīr* and decided to carry out an expedition against Wāsiṭ. For some time he had been worried by the behaviour of al-Barīdī and, in July, he abandoned the plan he had formed of going to fight the Būyid in the Djibāl and returned hastily to Baghdād. Then he marched against Wāsiṭ and entered the town abandoned by al-Barīdī. Badjkam remained there until his death. He was there when the Caliph al-Rāḍī died in Rabīʿ I 329/December 940. The Caliph al-Muttaḳī confirmed him in the office of *amīr al-umarā'*. In April 941, Badjkam left Wāsiṭ at the request of his lieutenants, who were operating against the forces of al-Barīdī in the region of Madhār to the south-east of Wāsiṭ, and who had suffered a reverse. It was his intention to join them, but upon arriving at Bādhbīn, he received the news that al-Barīdī had been defeated. He decided to go back. On the way, whilst hunting, he met a party of Kurdish brigands, whom he engaged in combat. He received a blow from the lance of a Kurd who struck him from behind, and died on the 21 Radjab 329/21 April 941.

Badjkam, the Turkish slave, had received his training at the hands of Mākān, to whom he was always very grateful. He understood Arabic, though he hesitated to speak it for fear of making mistakes, and employed an interpreter. He was, however, respected by men of letters, and enjoyed the company of men like al-Ṣūlī and the physician Sinān b. Thābit, who have left us invaluable recollections of him and to whom he granted generous pensions. Covetous of power and money, he did not hesitate to resort to dissimulation and ruse, corruption and torture to attain his ends; he was at times cruel, though his bravery was legendary, and was more upright in character than Ibn Rā'iḳ: so it was that the Caliph al-Rāḍī preferred him to Ibn Rā'iḳ. He was attentive to the well-being of his subjects and had gained the affection of the people of Wāsiṭ, though those of Baghdād held him of less account. He founded a guest-house (*dār ḍiyāfa*) at Wāsiṭ at a time of famine and a hospital at Baghdād. He offered the Ḳarāmiṭa large sums of money to restore the Black Stone to Mecca, but without success. At the request of the Shīʿis he had the mosque of Barātha, which had been destroyed on al-Muḳtadir's order, rebuilt. From the time he spent in Iranian lands, he retained the custom of celebrating the Iranian feasts such as the Sadhak and the Nawrūz. On the coins struck in his effigy, see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 341.

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BĀDJŪRĪ (or Baydjūrī), Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, a Shāfiʿī scholar and author. Born in 1198/1783 in Bādjūr, a village in the Manūfiyya province of Egypt (ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1306, ix, 2), he studied at al-Azhar, became a very successful teacher there, Rector (*shaykh al-Azhar*) in 1263/1846, and died in 1276/1860. The most popular items in his very extensive but wholly derivative literary production are: (1) a *Risāla fī ʿIlm al-Tawḥīd*; (2) *al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya*, a commentary on the *K. al-Shamā'il* of al-Tirmidhī; (3) a gloss on the commentary of Muṣannifek on the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī; (4) a gloss on the *Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al Ghazzī, a commentary on the *Taḳrīb* or *Mukhtaṣar* of Abū Shudjāʿ (transl. by E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1897; cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, 367 ff.); (5) a commentary on the *ʿAḳīda al-Ṣughrā* or *Umm al-Barāhīn* of al-Sanūsī; (6) a gloss on a commentary on the *Djawharat al-Tawḥīd* of Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Lāḳānī; (7) a gloss on the commentary of al-Shinshawrī on the *Urdjūza* of al-Raḥbī, known as Ibn al-Mutaḳḳina (transl. by J. D. Luciani, *Traité des successions musulmanes*, Paris 1890); (8) a gloss on al-Akhḍarī's commentary on his own *al-Sullam al-Murawnaḳ*; (9) a commentary on the *Kifāyat al-ʿAwāmm* of his teacher al-Faḍālī; (10) a commentary on the *Mawlid* of al-Dardīr; (11) a commentary on *al-Tarṣīf fī ʿIlm al-Taṣrīf* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĪsā al-Murshidī; (12) a gloss on a commentary on the *Farā'id al-Fawā'id fī 'l-Istiʿāra* of al-Laythī al-Samarḳandī; (13) a commentary on a versification of the *Ādjurrūmiyya* of Ibn Ādjurrūm.

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BADR, or Badr Ḥunayn, a small town south-west of Medina, a night's journey from the coast, and at the junction of a road from Medina with the caravan route from Mecca to Syria. It lies in a plain, 5 m. (8 km.) long and 2½ m. (4 km.) broad, surrounded by steep hills and sand-dunes, and was a market centre.

Here occurred on 17 (or 19 or 21) Ramaḍān, 2 A.H. (= 13 or 15 or 17 March, 624) the first great battle of Muḥammad's career. Though there is a wealth of detail in the early sources, it is difficult to give a clear account of the battle and the events which led up to it. It is generally held that the earliest and most reliable version is that contained in a letter from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (preserved in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1284 ff.), though even this

has some material which seems to be legendary. Muḥammad received information that a rich caravan was returning from Syria to Mecca, led by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, chief of the clan of Umayya. He collected a force of slightly over 300 men (about 80 Emigrants, the rest Anṣār), and marched to the neighbourhood of Badr in hopes of intercepting the caravan. Abū Sufyān on his side had sent a request to Mecca for a force to protect the caravan while it traversed the region easily accessible from Medina. Since the Meccans are said to have spent over a week on the way from Mecca to Badr, Abū Sufyān must have sent his request some time beforehand, though the sources assert that he only did so after hearing of Muḥammad's preparations.

The Meccan force, commanded by Abū Djahl of the clan of Makhzūm, consisted of about 950 men from all the clans of Ḳuraysh. Before they reached Badr they received a message from Abū Sufyān to say that, by forced marches along a route closer to the coast than the usual one, he had eluded the Muslims. Abū Djahl, however, despite the disapproval of some senior men and the withdrawal of the contingents from the clans of Zuhra and ʿAdī decided to go forward to Badr and make a display of strength. He and his supporters doubtless considered that they were so strong that Muḥammad would not venture to attack (cf. Ḳurʾān viii, 47/49).

Muḥammad does not appear to have known of the expedition under Abū Djahl until the evening before the battle when some of his men captured a Meccan water-carrier at the wells of Badr. The camp of the Meccans was still out of sight behind a hill. This fortuitous encounter may have made it easier for Muḥammad to persuade all his followers to fight, since in the circumstances it would have been dishonourable to withdraw. On the following morning Muḥammad moved quickly and seized the wells, filling all with sand except that nearest the enemy, where he stationed his men. The enemy was thus forced to fight for his water supply willy-nilly. All that can be said of the course of the battle is that there appear to have been some single combats followed by a general melée. What is certain is that the Meccans suffered a catastrophic defeat. Nearly seventy of them were killed (including Abū Djahl and a dozen of their leaders) and nearly seventy taken prisoner and later ransomed for considerable sums; only about fifteen Muslims were killed.

This was a disaster for Mecca, but not a crippling one. The loss of many leading men was grave, but perhaps the most serious aspect was the loss of prestige. To recover prestige it was essential that they should punish Muḥammad. For the Muslims it seemed a vindication of their faith, brought about for them by God (cf. Ḳurʾān viii, 17, 42/43); they believed that He had sent his angels to their assistance viii 9,12).

Muḥammad spent much time in prayer and received assurances that he would be victorious (viii, 7, 9). The Muslims looked on this as the punishment long foretold for the unbelievers. According to a probable suggestion (R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London 1926, 118 ff.; *Introduction to the Qurʾān*, Edinburgh 1953, 136-8), the word *furḳān* applied to Badr means 'deliverance from judgement' (cf. Ḳurʾān, viii, 29, 41/42). The Muslims were thus confirmed in their faith and led to exaggerate their own importance—an exaggeration which resulted in a spiritual crisis after the reverse at Uḥud (Ḳurʾān, viii, 65/66; contrast 66/67). Muḥammad himself from this time onward was in a much stronger position in Medina. The self-confidence induced in the Muslims by their victory, and the prestige they thus acquired, were factors without which Islam could hardly have developed as it did. Those who had fought at Badr as Muslims—the Badriyyūn—came to be regarded as an aristocracy of merit, and in most versions of the *dīwān* of ʿUmar are said to have constituted the highest class of Muslims.

Muḥammad undertook a second expedition to Badr in Shaʿbān or Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 4 A.H. (= Jan. or April 626) in accordance with a promise given to Abū Sufyān as he retired from Uḥud. Both Muḥammad and the Meccans had much larger forces, but there was no fighting, though the Muslims did good trade.

Badr is mentioned by the geographers of Arabia; e.g., Yāḳūt, i. 524 f.; al-Bakrī, 141f.; al-Muḳaddasī, 82 f.; al-Masʿūdī, 237. The traveller J. L. Burckhardt examined the site with the battle in mind (*Reisen in Arabien*, 1830, 614-19).

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BADR (Pīr), Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Badr-i ʿĀlam, a saint of the Djunaydiyya order, venerated by the people of Bihar and Bengal. In Bengal he enjoys the reputation of sharing with Pānč Pīr of Sonargaon the dominion of the waters. While putting to sea the sailors of Bengal utter the invocation: "*Allāh, Nabī, Pānč Pīr, Badr, Badr.*" Pīr Badr originally belonged to Meerut (in Uttar Pradesh) where his great grandfather, Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Zāhid (d. 704/1304) had established a great mystic centre. His grandfather, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaḳḳ-gū was killed by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725-752/1325-1351) for criticising his religious views. Pīr Badr received his spiritual training at the feet of his father, Fakhr al-Dīn II, and the Suhrawardī saint, Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī. Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā invited him to Bihar but he reached there after the former's death in 782/1380. He first married into a Hindu family of Bihār and later entered into matrimonial relationship with the ruling house of Djaunpur. During his travels in East Bengal he converted a large number of Hindu sailors to Islam. He also helped in the establishment of Muslim power at Sonargaon. He sojourned for sometime in Čittagong where his *čilla*, in the western quarter of Bakhshī Bazar, is regarded as the palladium of the city and is visited by Hindu and Muslim sailors alike. Authority over the seas and rivers is considered a special spiritual attribute of his family. Fakhr al-Dīn Zāhid is reported to have rescued a party from sinking into the river Yamunā. It is said that Pīr Badr reached Čittagong 'floating on a rock'. He died on 27 Radjab 844/22 December 1440 in Bihār where his mausoleum is known as Čhotī Dargāh (the mausoleum of Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā Manerī being known as Bari Dargāh).

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BADR b. **ḤASANWAYH** [see ḤASANWAYH, BANŪ].

BADR al-**DAWLA** [see ARTUḲIDS].

BADR al-**DĪN** [see LUʾLUʾ].

BADR al-**DĪN** b. **ḲĀḌĪ SAMĀWNĀ**, eminent Ottoman jurist, Ṣūfī and rebel. Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Ḳāḍī Samāwnā was born in 760 AH/3 Dec. 1358 in Samāwnā (which corresponds to the former Greek εἰς Ἀμμόβουνον near Adrianople). He was the eldest son of the judge Ghāzī Isrāʾīl, who was one of the oldest fighters for the faith of his time, and traced his ancestry back to the Saldjūḳs. His mother was Greek, and took the name Melek after her conversion to Islam. Badr al-Dīn spent his youth in Adrianople (which had been conquered in spring 1361). He was taught the basis of Islamic religion and law by his father and, later on, by the jurists Yūsuf and Shāhidī. His subsequent studies took him to Brusa, in the company of his friend Mūsā Čelebi, better known as Ḳāḍīzāde-i Rūmī, a brilliant mathematician and astronomer. Up to 1381, he studied logic and astronomy in Konya under a certain Fayḍ Allāh. After that, Badr al-Dīn went to Jerusalem, where he worked under the otherwise not particularly well known Ibn al-ʿAṣkalānī (not the famous Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī), then he went to Cairo, attracted by the teaching of such famous scholars as Mubārakshāh al-Manṭiḳī, the physician Ḥādjdjī Pasha, the philosopher and lawyer ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī, and a certain ʿAbd al-Laṭīf. In about 1383, Badr al-Dīn went on the pilgrimage to Mecca. After his return to Cairo, the Mamlūk sultan Barḳūḳ appointed him as tutor to his son Faradj, who was to succeed him. By some fateful chance, Badr al-Dīn met the Ṣūfī Shaykh Ḥusayn Akhlāṭī at the Mamlūk court, and under his overpowering influence he (a former opponent of the Ṣūfīs) himself accepted Ṣūfism. After some years of monastic life in Cairo, Badr al-Dīn travelled to Tabrīz in 1402-3—possibly attracted by the fame of the Ṣafawiyya in Ardabīl—and there he came to the notice of Tīmūr Lang, who had just returned from Anatolia and attempted to take Badr al-Dīn with him to Central Asia. This he avoided by fleeing. He became Shaykh of his monastery and successor to Ḥusayn Akhlāṭī (who had died in the meantime), but as a result of differences with his brethren he decided to leave Cairo and undertake a missionary journey to Asia Minor and Rumelia. He succeeded in gaining the sympathy of the princes of Konya and Germiyān, and also in attracting Ḥāmid b. Mūsā al-Ḳayṣarī, a member of the Ṣafawid order and later teacher of Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Walī [*q.v.*]. Following the success of his Ṣūfī convictions, Badr al-Dīn gradually developed into an open heretic: he propagated the idea of common ownership, and developed in a consistent and daring way the ideas of the heretic Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. The crowds of impoverished people whom he attracted in Asia Minor must have been considerable. Christians, too, came over to him, and it is said that he was in touch with the Genoese ruler of Chios. Finally, Badr al-Dīn landed again in Adrianople, where he retired for seven years to lead a life of solitude and study. Around 1410, and against his will, he was made military judge by the claimant to the Sultanate, Mūsā, but after the victory of Sultan Meḥemmed I near Čamurlu (1413), he was dismissed from his post and banished to Izniḳ under rather humiliating circumstances. There he wrote and taught, and Aḳ Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.*]—who later became famous as Shaykh of the Bayrāmiyya—is said to have been one of his pupils for a short time. It was probably there, too, that he became connected (in ways which are not yet clear) with the communist underground movement of a certain Bürklüdje Muṣṭafā, and a certain Torlaḳ Hū Kemāl, which led to the extensive rebellion in 1416, as whose ideological head Badr al-Dīn appears. Whilst on the one hand the biography of Badr al-Dīn (which was written by his grandson Khalīl) asserts his complete innocence in all these events, the official Ottoman historians, on the other hand, accuse him of active participation—even of leadership in the rebellion. At the time when Bürklüdje Muṣṭafā and Torlaḳ Hū Kemāl started their attack in western Asia Minor (where, to begin with, they had considerable success), Badr al-Dīn left Izniḳ and reached Rumelia with the secret help of the discontented prince of Sinope. After the rebellion of Bürklüdje Muṣṭafā and Torlaḳ Hū Kemāl had been most cruelly suppressed, the revolt in Rumelia also collapsed and Badr al-Dīn was caught by troops of the Sultan and dragged to Serres in Macedonia, where Sultan Meḥemmed I was fighting the "false Muṣṭafā" (Düzme Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*]). After a somewhat questionable trial, Badr al-Dīn was publicly hanged as a traitor in Serres on 18 Dec. 1416. The rôle played by Badr al-Dīn in this rising is still by no means clear. It is certain, however, that his ideology was in sympathy with it, and that his ideas did have an enduring influence. There is documentary evidence that there were followers of the Badr al-Dīn movement in Rumelia even under Süleymān the Magnificent. After the death of their hero, many of them turned to the now politically active Ṣafawiyya, whilst others merged into sundry sects, especially the Bektāshiyya. The most famous of Badr al-Dīn's descendants—beside his three sons Aḥmad, Ismāʿīl and Muṣṭafā—was his grandson Khalīl (the son of Ismāʿīl) who was Badr al-Dīn's biographer.

As a writer, Badr al-Dīn was extremely prolific. He wrote close on 50 extensive works, most of them on matters of law. His most important Ṣūfī works are the *Wāridāt* and the *Nūr al-Ḳulūb*.

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(H. J. Kissling)

BADR al-**DJAMĀLĪ**, a Fāṭimid commander-in-chief and vizier. The formerly brilliant Fāṭimid empire was on the verge of downfall under the incapable Caliph Mustanṣir (427-487/1036-1094). The Saldjūḳs were pressing forward into Syria, in Egypt

the Turkish slave-guards were fighting with the negro-corps, a seven years' famine was exhausting the resources of the country; all state authority had disappeared in the general struggle; hunger and disease were carrying off the people, licence and violence were destroying all prosperity and it appeared as if the Fāṭimid kingdom must disappear in a chaos of anarchism. Then, on the call of the Caliph, the Syrian general Badr al-Djamālī took command of the government as well as of the army and with great though brutal vigour brought order into affairs again and indeed a second period of splendour to the Fāṭimid empire.

Badr was an Armenian slave of the Syrian *amīr* Djamāl al-Dawla Ibn ʿAmmār, whence his name al-Djamālī. He must have been born about the beginning of the 5th/11th century, for at his death in 487/1094 he was over 80 years old. Even before he became vizier he had made a great name for himself in Syria. He was twice appointed Governor of Damascus, but fell into difficulties each time on account of his stringent measures with the pampered troops. He then became commander-in-chief of ʿAkkā and in this capacity had to fight against the troops of Malik-shāh. He had an Armenian bodyguard for himself and the soldiers he commanded were also to be relied on. He took them with him on being summoned by the Caliph in 466/1073 to deliver him out of the hands of the despotic Turkish officials. The latter never suspected the reason of Badr's coming to Egypt, fell into the trap prepared for them and were all murdered in one night. Badr thereby became master of the situation. Now followed his appointment as commander-in-chief or *Amīr al-Djuyūsh* (in the popular language *Mirgūsh*), as chief justice, chief preacher and vizier. The most popular of these titles was the first; the Djabal al-Djuyūshī is still a common appellation of the Muḳaṭṭam commanding Cairo on the spur of which Badr built a mosque, a *mashhad* in which according to popular belief at the present day the Sīdī Djuyūshī lies buried. After quieting the capital he re-established order to the east then to the west of the Delta. Alexandria had to be taken by storm. The task of conquering Upper Egypt was also difficult as the Arab tribes had set themselves up as independent there. In Syria he was not so fortunate. Affairs were mismanaged here, and Damascus fell into the hands of the Saldjūḳs about the end of the year 468/1076. The Fāṭimids were never to regain it. In the following year the victorious Saldjūḳ general Atsız appeared before Cairo itself, but Badr had time to collect his troops and drive back the Saldjūḳs. In spite of repeated attempts in the years 471/1078-9, 478/1085-6, and 482/1098-90, he was not successful in regaining Damascus and Syria, and at his death only a few towns in the South of Syria were still in the possession of the Fāṭimids. His strength in Syria was weakened by unrest constantly breaking out in Egypt, inspired by one of his sons.

Of his activity as a governor we know little, but it is praised on all sides. Under his rule the annual revenue of Egypt from taxation was increased from about 2 to about 3 million dīnārs. These large receipts enabled him to put into practice the lessons learned from the Saldjūḳ invasion. Cairo was invested by him with its second wall, and the three strong city gates which are admired to this day, the Bāb Zawīla (Zuwayla), the Bāb al-Naṣr and the Bāb al-Futūḥ, were built. In Rabīʿ I 487/March-April 1094 Badr's active and successful career came to its close, after he had arranged that his son al-Afḍal Shāhānshāh [*q.v.*] should succeed him in all his offices. The Caliph Mustanṣir, who had then been reigning for 60 years, died a few months later.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; Ibn Muyassar; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm* (Cairo) v, index; Ibn al-Sayrafī, *Al-Ishāra ilā man nāla 'l-Wizāra*, Cairo 1924; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 380 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iv, 64; Ibn al-Athīr, 19, 40, 60, 68 ff.; 151 ff.; 160 ff.; M. van Berchem, *Corpus Inscript. Arab., l'Égypte*, No. 11, 32, 33, 36-39; 516, 518 and the bibliography cited there; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Madjmūʿat al-Wathāʾiḳ al-Fāṭimiyya*, i, Cairo 1958, index; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, 264 ff.; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, 150 ff.; Marcel, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, period of Mustanṣir; Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, ii, index; K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Pennsylvania 1955, i, index; G. Wiet, *L'Egypte arabe* (vol. iv of G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*), Paris n.d., 245-54; idem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Egypte, MIFAO*, lii, 132-158; idem, *Précis d'Histoire d'Égypte*, ii, 186-188.

(C. H. BECKER)

BADR AL-KHARSHANĪ, amīr, probably a native of Kharshana in Cappadocia, sometimes designated (through a factitious genealogy?) by the name of Badr b. ʿAmmār al-Asadī. Chamberlain to the caliph al Ḳāhir and in high favour under al-Rāḍī, he followed the *amīr al-umarā* Ibn Rāʾiḳ ([*q.v.*]; Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdânides*, Algiers 1951, 411-24), when the latter was charged with the government of Djazīra and Syria-Palestine. Badr became lieutenant of Ibn Rāʾiḳ, received the government of the *djund* of Jordan, and resided at Tiberias (beginning of 328/end of 939); about this time he was extolled by the panegyrist al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*]. During the conflict between Ibn Rāʾiḳ and the Ḥamdānid amīr of Mawṣil Nāṣir al-Dawla, Badr too returned to ʿIrāḳ, won short-lived favour under the caliph al-Muttaḳī, but had to flee as the result of intrigues and take refuge at al-Fusṭāṭ, in Egypt, with Muḥammad the Ikhshīdid [*q.v.*]. He died there at the end of 330/942.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1301, viii, 119, 139; Mishkawayh, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, in *GMS*, v, 84, 405, 509; R. Blachère, *Un Poète arabe du IVe/Xe siècle, Abou t-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbi*, Paris 1935, 95-105. (R. BLACHÈRE)

BADRA, a small town of east-central ʿIrāḳ (43° 53′ E, 33° 7′ N), near the Persian frontier, with a population of 6000, practically all Shīʿī Muslims of mixed Arab and Lurish blood. It is the headquarters of a *ḳaḍāʾ* (with dependent *nāḥiya* of Zarbāṭiyya) in the *liwāʾ* of Kūt al-Amāra. Apart from one new official quarter, Badra shows little modern development, with narrow streets, poor houses, and salty water. Grain cultivation and fruit and date gardens are extensive, and the "Baydrāyā" date famous; irrigation is from the Gallāl stream, rising in Persia.

The town has continuity with medieval Bādarāyā (that is, Bayt Darāyā, a tribe-name), which is frequently mentioned in Syriac literature and by the Arab geographers; with Bākusāyā it fell in the district of Bandanīdjīn, east of the Nahrawān [*q.v.*] canal-system and on the borders of Djibāl province. It had greater medieval than modern development, was considered a seat of learning, and was the

scene of a settlement by Khusraw I Anūsharwān of captives from northern Syria. Mounds near and in modern Badra represent the older city, which was ruined by floods, pestilence or war.

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(S. H. Longrigg)

BADRKHĀNĪ, Thurayyā (1883-1938) and Djalādat (1893-1951), sons of Amīr Amīn ʿAlī, eldest son of Badr-khān (died 1868), Prince of Bohtān (Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar) of the ʿAzīzān family, who fought against the Turks for the independence of Kurdistān (1836-1845). The two brothers, born at Maḳtala (Syria) died, the first in Paris and the second, as the result of an accident, in Damascus. Both devoted their lives to the Kurdish national cause, Thurayyā in the sphere of organisation and political propaganda and Djalādat mainly in the cultural field.

Thurayyā, after having obtained the Diploma in Agronomical Engineering at the University of Constantinople, began to lead a turbulent life, in which is mirrored the history of the national struggle of his people. In 1904 he was found guilty of plotting against the security of Turkey and sent to prison. He spent two and a half years in prison and in exile. After the Young Turks' *coup d'état*, he returned to Constantinople and started his newspaper "*Kurdistān*" in Kurdish and Turkish. In 1919, the newspaper was suspended and he was again thrown into prison, and condemned to death for having taken part in the preparation of a military revolt. He was pardoned and in 1910 banished. In 1912, however, he returned to the capital, where he organised a secret Kurdish revolutionary committee. He was condemned to death, and for the third time saw the inside of a prison. He made his escape and finally left Turkey in 1913. During the 1914 war, Thurayyā recommenced the publication of his newspaper in Cairo, where he also organised a Committee for Kurdish independence, which played a rôle in the drawing up of the Treaty of Sèvres (1919-20). As this diplomatic instrument, which envisaged an international Kurdish statute, remained a dead letter, Thurayyā resumed his revolutionary activities after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), and in 1927, together with his supporters, he joined the National Kurdish League *Khoybūn*, which had just come into being. He returned to Syria in 1929, but in 1930 (the year of the great Kurdish revolt in Turkey) he was prohibited from living in the territories under French mandate and was obliged to expatriate himself to Paris, where he represented the *Khoybūn*. Among other things, the Kurdo-Armenian reconciliation dates from this period, and found in him a convinced and clever architect. In general terms, Amīr Thurayyā was the first Kurdish patriot to conduct a campaign in accordance with a programme and with modern political arguments, both by word of mouth and in print. Several pamphlets by him in various foreign languages are known.

Djalādat's career was less eventful than that of Thurayyā. He held a master's degree in Law of the University of Constantinople and completed his studies in Munich. In 1927, he was elected the first president of the Khoybūn. In 1930, he took part in an attempted Kurdish rising in Turkey, which he entered with Hādjō Aghā. After the failure of this undertaking he settled in Damascus. There he devoted himself to literary work and from 15 May 1932 to 1935, and again in 1941-43, published the review *Hawār* (Summons), in French and Kurdish. (Djalādat produced a Kurdish alphabet in Latin characters, which began the work of unification of *Kurmāndjī* Kurdish). Furthermore, the review contributed to the rebirth of the popular literature, sought to reconcile the tribal chieftains and the men of letters, whom the former held in suspicion, and prepared educational material, publishing "booklets" (spelling-books, readers and books on religion; in all 12 appeared). During the last war, Djalādat also published the review *Runāhī* (Light).

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(B. Nikitine)

BĀDŪRAYĀ, under the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate a district south-west of Baghdād, the land south of the Nahī Ṣarāt, a branch of the Euphrates canal Nahr ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]. The Ṣarāt separates it from the Ḳaṭrabbul district; the southern part of the western half of Baghdād (the so-called town of al-Manṣūr) as well as the suburb of Karkh were situated within the bounds of the district of Bādūrayā; the latter formed, like the district of Ḳaṭrabbul, a subdivision of the circle of Astān al-ʿĀlī.

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī, iii, 119, 120; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7, 9, 235, 237; Balādhurī, *Futuḥ*, 250, 254, 265; Yāḳūt, i, 460; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geogt.* (1900), i, 16, 10, 25; G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (1900), 50-1, 315; Le Strange, 31, 66, 67, 80, 82.

(M. Streck *)

BĀDŪSBĀNIDS (Pādusbānids), minor Caspian dynasty, noteworthy for its longevity (45-1006/665-1599) as well as for that of its princes, some of whom reigned for 50 years. Its power in Ṭabaristān (Māzandarān) extended to Rustamdār, Rūyān, Nūr and Kudjūr. Its origins are traced to Gāwbāra who came from Armenia in the time of Yazdigird III, who appointed him governor. He had two sons, Dābūya and Bādūsbān, established respectively in Gīlān and Ṭabaristān, the former being the eponymous ancestor of the Dābūwand dynasty (40-144/660-701), and the latter that of the Bādūsbānids. The history of this latter dynasty is given in an excellent résumé by Rabino [see afrāsiyābids], including a genealogical table with some forty names with numbers indicating their order. There exists, furthermore, a *Tarīkh-i Rūyān* (*T.R.*) by Mawlānā Awliyā Allāh of Āmul, written for Fakhr al-Dawla Shāh Ghāzī b. Ziyār (died 786/1384) which does not cover the whole of the period of the dynasty as described in Rabino. On the other hand, it contains abundant details on the internal life of the dynasty, so that these two sources, therefore, admirably complement each other. We learn, for example, that two major revolts took place in Ṭabaristān against the Arab occupation; one in the time of ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlā, was the joint work of the *iṣfahbad* Shahrwīn Bāwand and Shahriyār Bādūsbān

with Wandād Hormizd of the Sūkhrā clan (*T.R.*, 46); the other broke out at Djālūs (Čālūs) and was savagely repressed (*T.R.* 52). These risings appear to have been provoked by the burden of excessive taxation.

In some cases, for example the revolt of Māzyār [*q.v.*], religious movements have served as a pretext. Shīʿism was only imposed as late as the middle of the 9th/15th century by Kayūmarth (no. 36 in Rabino). The resistance opposed by Iranian national feeling to all foreign usurpation is less evident in respect of the Īlkhāns. Their reign is portrayed as a period of well-being (*T.R.*, 122). Nevertheless, the destruction caused by the Mongols (*T.R.*, 130) and by Tīmūr (Rabino) is not passed over in silence.

The protection of the Saldjūḳids was sought from time to time: Hazārasp sought that of Toghrul, for example (*T.R.*, 103). Khwārizm (*T.R.*, 106, 107), the Ṣaffārids (*T.R.*, 70) and the Sāmānids (*T.R.*, 74, 76) are mentioned in various episodes, the latter for the most part in connexion with the ʿAlid Sayyids. As for the internal struggles, which are purely of local interest, the Bādūsbānids were sometimes in alliance with their neighbours and sovereigns, the Bāwand, and at other times were against them. After a number of conflicts with the Buwayhids, a *modus vivendi* was found which maintained the peace (nos. 13, 14 in Rabino).

The Ismāʿīlīs, heretics (*malāḥida*), are the object of violent diatribes (*T.R.*, 90), but when needed, their help was sought (*T.R.*, 100, 10). Both the Bāwand (Shams al-Mulūk) and the Bādūsbānids (Shahrākīm b. Nāmāwar) contributed to their final defeat by the Mongols at the siege of Gird-i Kūh (*T.R.*, 110). Other characteristic features are the Iranian custom of wearing the hair long (curled or plaited) and special head-dresses (*T.R.*, 135) as well as non-Muslim personal names: Shīrzād, Bahman, Rūzāfzūn, Farīdūn, Gudarz, Pashang, Iridj, etc. The name Bādūsbān should be connected with Bāwand and Bāḥarb. Note *awlād-i dūsbān* (*T.R.*, 35). There are verses cited in the Ṭabarī dialect (*T.R.*, 111, 114), Arabic (*T.R.*, 121, 129) and Persian (*T.R.*, 74, 75, 77, 108). The Muslim aspect appears in the names of pious men (*T.R.*, 7, 54, 93, 112, 116) and of religious foundations. As regards geography, there is ample toponymic data. Attention must be drawn to the old name of Māzandarān, *farshwād-djard* (*T.R.*, 27, 28) (V. Minorsky disputes this).

Bibliography: Cf. the art. AFRĀSIYĀB, BĀNŪ, and: Awliyā-Allāh Āmulī, *Taʾrīkh-i Rūyān*, ed. ʿAbbās Khalīlī, Tehran 1313/1934 (cf. pages given in parentheses); B. Dorn, *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der Südlichen Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*, 4 parts, St. Petersburg 1850-58; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, Paris 1932; idem, *The Guran* in *BSOS*, 1943 (on the Guran *gā* (*v*) *bāra* (*k*)); Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad, *Awrāzān*, Tehran 1333/1954 (for the Ṭāliḳān dialect); Mahdī Muḥaḳḳaḳ, *Ismāʿīliyya*, in *Yaghmā*, 1337, no. 2.

(B. NIKITINE)

BADW. I. Pastoral nomads of Arabian blood, speech, and culture are found in the Arabian Peninsula proper and in parts of Iran, Soviet Turkestan, North Africa, and the Sudan. This article is limited to their way of life in their home territory. Unlike primitive hunting and gathering, pastoral nomadism is a sophisticated system of exploiting land incapable of cultivation. Later to arise than agriculture, pastoralism utilises seven species of domestic animals: the sheep, goat, and ox, domesticated in Neolithic times as part of the herding and sowing complex of Western Asia; the ass, domesticated by early Bronze Age times for transport; and the camel, horse, and water buffalo, introduced during historic times.

Hunting peoples living off gazelle, oryx, ibex, ostrich, bustard, and quail were probably the desert's sole occupants until about 5,000 B.C. As Neolithic cultivators began to settle the edges of the waste, its seasonal wealth of herbage enticed shepherds and goatherds to lead their flocks out a certain distance during the winter and spring. After the camel had been introduced around 1100 B.C. full-time nomads found it possible to live out on the desert throughout most of the year, summering at wells or on the edges of oases and perennial streams. With the riding horse, introduced after 500 B.C., and perhaps as late as the time of Christ, Arabian camel nomads acquired an animal from whose back they could fight each other efficiently, and the golden age of Arabian life on the desert could begin.

The enormous number of unexplored archaeological sites in the Arabian desert, the advance of dessication since the introduction of the camel, and historical references in pre-Islamic literary sources indicate that the Arabian nomads for the most part are descended from farmers, traders, and caravan men who took to pastoralism during the early centuries of this era, as both business and the landscape deteriorated, just as cowboys and pastoralists in the United States, Canada, and Australia are descended from agricultural and urban peoples who took advantage of newly opened territories. The period during which Arabian nomadic life developed and crystallised lay between the time of Jesus and that of Muḥammad.

Four kinds of nomadism are practised in Arabia. In the Djibāl al-Ḳarā, in Ẓufār, on the Indian Ocean, peoples who speak Semitic languages of the Mahri-Socotran group graze hump-backed cattle on grass provided by the abundant rainfall of the summer monsoon. In cultivated regions of southern ʿIraḳ special families of herdsmen raise water-buffaloes, pasturing them in reaped and fallow fields. These people live in semi-cylindrical houses of poles and matting, which they move about seasonally over short distances. On the desert fringes, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Kuwayt, whole clans and tribes of shepherds mounted on donkeys drive their sheep and goats from pasture to pasture. Out in the middle of the desert the Bedouin proper herd their camels, migrating to the areas of recent rainfall in winter and spring and remaining near sources of permanent water in summer.

These four kinds of nomadism are dependent on the different physiological needs and capacities of the animals herded. Humped cattle need green grass and daily water, water-buffalo streams or irrigation ditches to wallow in. While sheep and goats can graze on died vegetation part of the year, they move slowly and cannot be kept more than a day or two from water. Camels can go as long as seventeen days without water in 100° F. heat, and can drink 30 gallons at a time. Their ability to withstand the rigours of the desert are due not only to their capacity for holding water but also to their ability to preserve it: a camel can tolerate an increase of up to eleven degrees F. over normal body temperature without much water loss through sweating. They also store energy in the form of fat in their humps. The Arabian horse, when it is kept

on the desert, is watered on transported water, and fed grain, being treated with the same solicitude as human beings. Sheep, goats, cattle, water-buffaloes, and camels all produce milk. Goat hair is used for tents, sheep and camel wool for clothing. All these animals are eaten, except horses. The horse provides nothing but the kinds of transport directly concerned with warfare and prestige. As social status combined with independence is the most important of all considerations to a desert Arab, the horse is honoured accordingly.

The most ancient dwellers on the desert are the Ṣulaba [*q.v.*], probably descended from early hunters, and representing a phenotypically homogeneous desertadapted Mediterranean racial strain. In northern Arabia they dwell among the noble Bedouin, whom they serve as guides, tinkers, and workers in wood. At times they also hunt. Their women provide entertainment. Second in probable antiquity are the shepherd tribes, as for example the Sharārāt and the Muntafiḳ confederations. These are in the most part dependent on the camel nomads because of their relative immobility and hence defencelessness. Individuals of these tribes serve the camel nomads as hired herdsmen. Members of the noble tribes own camels, drive and ride them on migrations, and guard and defend them while grazing. In the heat of summer they sometimes pick dates in oases, or even go pearl-fishing.

These tribesmen are also served by blacksmiths, mostly negroid, who come out from the settled places, and by Negro slaves. Shopkeepers from the towns sometimes set up special tents in the Bedouin camps to vend their wares, while travelling agents of large camel-purchasing companies buy up young camels which will be collected upon reaching the desired state of maturity. Much of this business takes place at camel markets like that of Burayda in Nadjd. Members of the noble tribes often visit the cities of Saʿudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, ʿIraḳ and Kuwayt where some of them maintain town houses. Many have taken to settled life, and some have risen to high offices in the various Arab countries.

The material culture of the Bedouin is designed around mobility. The black tent of goat-hair is loosely woven, to permit circulation of air, yet its fibres swell when wet to keep out the rain; in summer it provides an area of much-needed shade, open on the sides to the breeze; in winter, with sides and rear closed it is warm. Except for special tents used only as *dīwān*s, or reception halls, it is divided by a curtain into a family section, occupied by women and children, and the guest section in which the head of the household receives his male friends. Kitchen utensils are of metal and wood, but each family usually owns a set of small porcelain coffee cups carefully packed in a compartmented wooden box. Arab clothing, loose and flowing, is warm in winter and cool in summer, as it protects the skin both from the cold and from the hot, dry wind; the man's headcloth, and the woman's headdress and veil, also help to keep dust and sand out of the eyes, nose, and ears. Most of the Bedouin's outfit is purchased, including the cotton cloth for his underclothing, his tools, and his containers. So is much of his food, including wheat, rice, dates and coffee. Only milk and meat are produced locally.

Like other Semites, the Bedouins lay great stock in genealogies, and consider kinship of paramount importance in human relations. The preferred mating being with the father's brother's daughter, descent is patrilineal. Divorce is easy, polygyny both serial and contemporary. Bedouin women, often unveiled, in many cases married more than once, have more freedom than their sisters of the towns and oases. Beyond the immediate family is a group of kin which usually goes out to pasture together; several such groups will spend the hot season together; this is usually the limit of the kin responsible for mutual vengeance. Beyond this is the tribe, finally the confederation. Among the Bedouin proper, also called Aʿrāb, two main lineages are recognised, those descended from Ḳaḥṭān, who lived before Abraham, and the ʿArab al-Mustaʿriba, descended from Ishmael, son of Abraham and Hagar, who was daughter of a king of Ḥidjāz. The Bedouin proper include the ʿAnaza confederation, of which the Ruwalā is the best known tribe, the Shammar, the Āl Murra in and on the borders of the Empty Quarter, the ʿUdjmān, and the Banū Khālid. All of these tribes follow a strict code of chivalry when fighting one another.

Being mobile camel-owners, these aristocrats are concerned chiefly with the use of winter and spring grazing lands, the locations of which vary from year to year with the whim of the rains. In each camp the work is done mostly by dependents — slaves, Ṣulaba, hired herdsmen, and blacksmiths, all of whom are considered non-combatants. A Bedouin shaykh entertains lavishly in a large tent where food is always available to his followers and guests. The ritual of coffee drinking is highly formalised and nearly always in progress. Members of other tribes fleeing vengeance seek the protection of his "face". Travellers cross his territory under the protection of his guards. In inter-tribal warfare, which most frequently arises over pasture rights, he will often lead his men into battle in person. Bravery, generosity, and good judgment are the qualities traditional in such a leader, who does not inherit his office directly, but is chosen, often after a sharp contest, from the paramount family. Before trucks, buses, railroads and airplanes took over the desert carrying trade, the Bedouins guided, protected, and raided caravans, including the huge pilgrim processions.

The Bedouins are Muslims, characteristically Sunnite. Many (especially in Eastern Arabia) follow the Mālikī code, but the Wahhābīs universally follow the Ḥanbalī. The Bedouins generally are said to spend less time and effort in religious devotions than townsmen but the conditions are sometimes reversed. In some of their rituals can be seen a survival of veneration for ancestors.

The political situation of the Bedouins varies from period to period. When the central governments to which the tribal territories are officially assigned are weak, the paramount Shaykhs rule virtually as kings, and even cities have paid them tribute. At times when the central governments are strong, their authority becomes purely local. At the present time Bedouins are found within the political boundaries of Saʿudi Arabia, Yaman, Aden Protectorate, Masḳaṭ, Trucial Oman, Kuwayt, ʿIraḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Egypt and the North African states. For the most part these governments endeavour to keep their nomads at home. In some countries this effort has been implemented by programmes to settle some of them on newly irrigated land, and new water-tanks along the Tapline are used by a number of tribes, including the Ruwalā.

Part of one tribe, the Dawāsir, whose home in southern Nadjd, moved to the Persian Gulf and onto the island of Baḥrayn. In 1923 they crossed

back to the mainland, and settled in al-Khubar and Ḍammām. During the last three decades some of the Dawāsir, having worked for the Arabian American Oil Company, have set up in businesses of their own, including construction and transportation.

Today the Bedouins are in a state of transition. Some still concern themselves with camel breeding for the meat, skin, and wool markets; others are truckers, machinists, and skilled operators of oil producing machinery, and are sending their children to school and college. They are showing themselves just as adaptable to the machine age as they were to life on the desert when an earlier opportunity called them.

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(CARLETON S. COON)

II. THE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF NOMADISM IN ITS GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT

(a) Goat and Sheep Nomadism.
(b) The Nomad on Horseback.
(c) Bedouin Nomadism in Arabia.
(d) The Appearance of Camel Nomadism in North Africa.

(a) *Goat and Sheep Nomadism.*

The expressions "nomad" and "nomadism" lose their scientific practicability, if they are not used in their restricted meaning: "roaming from place to place for pasture" (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*). Nomadism is unsettled roaming, pasturing herd animals. Roaming gatherers and hunters as well as a population with a shifting agriculture (*ladang, milpa*, see Gourou) should not be called nomadic. If we follow the succession of "agricultural origins" of the Old World in C. O. Sauer's conception (1952) taken over and elaborated by the authors in two papers (1956, 1957), nomadism in this restricted sense began much later than planting and breeding "household animals", *i.e.* dog, pig, and fowl. (Sauer distinguishes between household animals and herd animals).

The still hypothetical sequence of creative centres of domestication and cultivation, according to Sauer's interpretation, began along the river banks and coasts of moist tropical forest round the Bay of Bengal, where a rather sedentary fishing folk, which in addition hunted and collected plants and mussels, began to breed these "household animals" (dog, pig, fowl) and to plant tubers and fruit shrubs and trees (cf. also E. Hahn, Hettner, Menghin, Werth 1950, 1954, Dittmer, Smolla).

Cultivation of seed plants ("millets"—this is a term including the diverse species of small seed cereals—as well as pulse and oil plants) was then added in the winter-dry forest, which is easily burnt down, and in the wooded steppe, at first in India. These plants supply proteins and oil, making man more independent of animal food, especially of fish.

In this progressive succession of cultures, in which man became "the lord of creation", the next step seems to have been the breeding of goats and (then) sheep in the mountain areas north-west of India, round the Hindukush. This was probably incited by a near contact between seed-planters and mountain hunters, among whom the wild goat or sheep was a holy animal. A culture thus resulted in which herding was added to seed-planting and hunting. It may be regarded as a primary stage of

farming, as a goat and sheep farming culture ("*Kleinvieh-Bauerntum*"), if we understand the meaning of farming to be a combination of tilling and herding.

Results of the ethnological expedition of A. Friedrich (Jettmar 1957b) strongly support this hypothesis, especially for the goat. In the remote valleys of the Shin of Gilgit, the *markhor*, the wild goat with screw-shaped horns, and the ibex are holy animals, "herded by goddesses". The domestic goat, an offspring of the wild goat of the same region, partakes in this holiness. The economy of the Shin consisted in a scanty growing of millet, but an intensive breeding of goats and an important hunting of the *markhor* and ibex. Jettmar brings several indications for the thesis that the domestication of the goat took place in these regions. The experience of domestication—of this tremendous intervention in the balance of nature—must have always implied a profound religious emotion. Jettmar calls this a religious shock of domestication (cf. E. Hahn).

The growing of the two-rowed barley (*Hordeum spontaneum*) as the first large seed grain ("*Halmgetreide*") may have already been developed in that region. Probably in this stage, if not earlier, small-scale irrigation was started.

But only the thesis of the following great step, which largely diversified social and economic modes of living, is more or less archaeologically proved up to now: in the highlands and the mountains of Western Asia, somewhere between Western Iran and Syria, cattle were bred and primitive wheat (emmer, *Triticum dicoccum*; einkorn, *T. monococcum*; and possibly spelt, *T. spelta*) was grown as an addition to the basic goat and sheep farming. It was the foundation of a complete farming culture ("*Vollbauerntum*"), which later became the basis of early civilisation in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

These four main nuclei of creative cultures which reared animals and plants were based on one another. They may be looked at as only one moving centre, appearing near the Bay of Bengal and progressing finally to the highlands and mountains round Mesopotamia. Each of these four stages sent out waves of dispersion over large parts of the world. In comparison with these creative centres, all other regions seem to have been more or less stagnant areas, where elements of these waves were taken up or transformed or rejected, according to cultural or climatic circumstances.

The first data we can use for inserting this succession into a frame of absolute time are the radiocarbon data for the pre-pottery settlements with complete farming near Ḳalʿat D̲jarmo in the hills east of Kirkūk, c. 4750 B.C., a settlement without irrigation (Braidwood), and those of the fortified irrigating settlement of Jericho, in the 7th millennium. W. F. Albright doubts the latter date (oral communication). The emmer grown at Ḳalʿat D̲jarmo was still nearer to the wild form than to the later cultivated form (Helbaek, Schiemann by letter). This might show that no very long time had passed since the beginning of emmer cultivation. The oldest strata of oasis settlement known in Jericho are said to go back into the early 7th millennium B.C., but we are not yet informed by Kenyon and Zeuner about the domesticated animals (except the goat) and cultivated seed plants there. The Natufian culture of Palestine (Garrod, Bate) is probably older than the oldest strata of Jericho. Like Sauer and Albright (1949, 129), we suppose that seed agriculture, probably growing some species of millet, was already carried out during the Natufian stage (cf. Clark, Narr 1956).

On the other hand we now know with considerable certainty that the 9th millennium B.C. was a very cold period globally (glacial advance of "Salpausselkae" in North rn Europe, of "Schlern" in the Alps, of "Mankato" in North America as far as the Great Lakes, of the moraines round the piedmont lakes of East Patagonia), in which the snow line was about 800 metres and more lower than at present (Caldenius, Firbas, Deevey, Gross, Kathjens, Butzer). But from about 5500 to 2500 B.C. temperatures were higher all over the globe than they are now, so that the snow line, timber line and potential cereal line were situated about 400 metres above the present ones (Thermal Maximum, *Mittlere Wärmezeit*). It seems improbable to me that a herding culture took its origin in the mountains north-west of India in a time of glacial advance or of very heavy glaciation. I suppose that this happened in the period of glacial retreat, perhaps in its first half. This glacial retreat took place throughout the whole period from 8100 to 5500 B.C. Temperatures rose rather quickly, and the timber line and cereal line climbed up to those high elevations mentioned above. But natural oases in the deserts round the mountain chains of Central Asia always became smaller and scarcer, as they were fed by rivers derived from retreating glaciers continually diminishing in size. Towards and during the Thermal Maximum, a sheep breeding culture was able to spread over Tibet, where the climate was much more favourable then. This culture was not purely nomadic (cf. Hermanns, Kussmaul). It probably began to grow the sixrowed barley (*Hordeum vulgare, i.e., hexastichum*), the wild form of which probably is *Hordeum agriocrithon*, which has been found round Lhasa and in Eastern Tibet, (Freisleben, Schiemann 1948, 1951). It seems that the cultivated varieties of six-rowed barley all derive from this form. They spread over China and India; and from India they seem to have taken their way to South Arabia and Abyssinia (which became a secondary centre of variation) and thence to Upper Egypt, where cultivated emmer had entered from Syria and was grown in Upper Egypt beside six-rowed barley in the late 5th millennium B.C. (Caton Thompson and Gardner, Brunton, Libby, Arnold, Kees).

It seems that the route from the Hindukush and Eastern Iran by South Arabia to Africa has been of great importance for the spreading of cultures—and also of tribes (Poech)—during long periods, and especially during the periods of the spreading of early seed planting as well as of goat and sheep farming. There are no wild goats in Arabia and Abyssinia. But the veneration and ritual hunt of of the ibex was also spread in these countries. The idolisation of the ibex was common in South Arabia in the last millennium B.C. The ibex god Taʾlab was protector of goats and sheep (Beeston, Höfner). Up to date, ibex hunting has been a ritual act in Ḥaḍramawt (van der Meulen - von Wissmann 177 f.). The ibex seems to have had a similar position in the Badarian and early Naḳāda cultures of Upper Egypt after 4000 B.C. (Brunton, tables), in the latter beside the bull. We must also mention that Agatharchides (about 130 B.C.; C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Min.*, i, 153) describing the nomadic Troglodytes near the western coast of the Red Sea (known as Blemmyes and Bed̲jā), writes that they call bulls and rams their father, cows and sheep their mother.

The early cultures of goat and sheep farming with millets and of a complete cattle farming with large-seed cereals were more or less restricted to the climates and vegetations from light forest and wooded steppe to semi-desert as well as to the natural and artificial oases. All of these mostly have a light and rich soil, which is easily cultivated (map 1). The wooded steppe is good for both agriculture and pasture. The dry steppe is a rather good pasture. It is arable, but agriculture depending on rainfall is endangered in dry years. The desert steppe or semi desert is too dry for this kind of agriculture. It can be used, however, as a meagre pasture for goats and sheep, but not for cattle. Good pasture is also found in highlands above the cereal line.

In areas of desert steppe where oases do not exist or are scarce, pastoral folk herding sheep and goats, but not cattle, could branch off from the steppe-farming tribes and become independent nomads. However, such nomadic people breeding had either to depend on oases or other settled areas or to herd in tillable regions of the Fertile Crescent. On the attitude of the Egyptians towards this roaming population and on their frontier control in the East cf. Kees, 64 ff., 106 f., esp. papyrus Petersburg 1116 A, l. 51 f. "He (the Asiatic) never lives in the same place and his feet are wandering since the time of Horus, he fights and is neither victor, nor is he defeated". The difference between nomads, semi-nomads, partial nomads, steppe farmers and farmers of small oases was much smaller and occupational overlapping was more common than in later periods (see W. F. Albright, 1946, 181 ff., esp. 1949, 239 ff. on the Israelites in the desert, the patriarchs and the ʿApiru or Khabiru). In many of these cases, it is better to speak of pastoralism than of nomadism.

In no part of Asia does there ever seem to have spread any complete cattle nomadism, such as exists in parts of Africa south of the Saḥārā, except yak nomadism in the highlands above the timber line

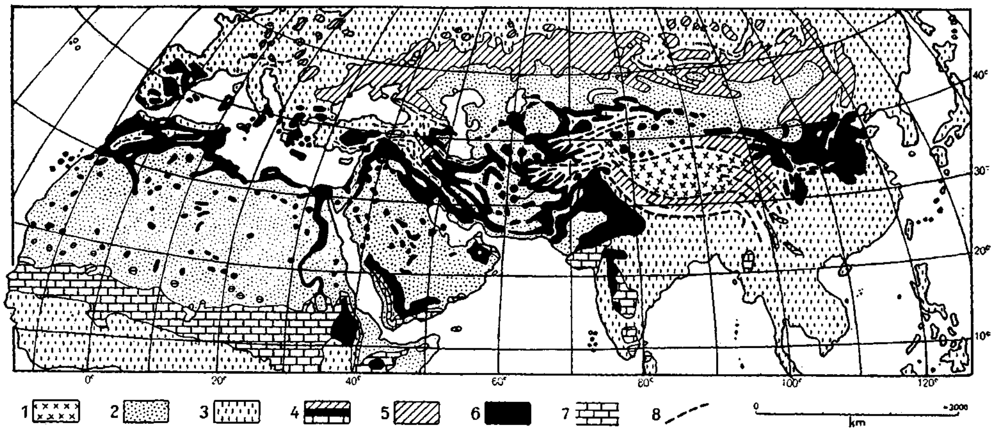

Map 1. Oasis and steppe regions of the Dry Belt of the Old World, classified according to their thermal conditions.

1-highland desert; 2-desert, semi-desert; 3-forest; 4-oasis, steppe and wooded steppe; 5-steppe with cool summer and cold winter; 6-oasis and steppe with long, hot summer; 7-steppe, tropical, no frost; 8-mountain chain.

ghanam in the semi-desert must always have lived an impoverished life compared with tribes of moister zones or of regions interspersed with oases. In these latter regions, parts of a tribe may have been agricultural, other parts pastoral ("partial nomadism"). Thus a pure nomadism was carried out by a branch of a steppe-farming or even oasis-farming clan or social unit. (This way of living somewhat resembles South-European transhumance.) W. F. Albright (1946 a, b, 1949, 147, 154, 162 f., 257) supposes that the Semitic neighbours of the Sumerians were such pastoral tribes, partly nomadic, when the Sumerians, at the outset of civilisation, began to irrigate Lower Mesopotamia. The western Semites (Amorites) pressed on the Babylonians mainly from 2100 to 1900 B.C. These ancient nomads differed from any modern form of society in Arabia, Bedouin, semi-nomad or Ṣlaib (Ṣulaba). They possessed goats, sheep and donkeys. Hunting and robbing the harvest were important for them. They travelled and attacked on foot. This made a complete crossing of the desert impossible for them, except in spring. They did not dare to move more than a day's journey (30 km.) from a watering place. In summer they in Tien-shan and Tibet. Cattle are not fitted for semi-desert grazing. They also find difficulty in grazing in winter in a steppe with a frozen snow cover, as in West Siberia (cf. Potapov, and Hančar, 390).

We have recognised that pastoral life has been an essential part of the farming cultures since their origin. We saw that the earliest domestication of herd animals and pasturing was probably developed in the Hindukush area by seed planters surrounded by mountain hunters of ibex and wild goat (and perhaps sheep), and that this was an invention correlated with deep religious emotion, an invention by which these seed planters became steppe farmers. Because of the pastoral branches of their clans, these steppe farmers must have been of greater mobility and more migratory than the seed planters had been. But only in places, where herdsmen of sheep and goats entirely split off from their kinship or group and gave up agriculture, may we speak of complete nomadism.

When an oasis became more extensive and its settlement larger, its population became increasingly sedentary. The new excavations of pre-pottery Jericho show that such irrigating villages were fortified like towns very early, in Jericho perhaps

in the 7th millennium (Kenyon, Zeuner). This may have been the first germ of what became early civilisation in the 4th millenium B.C. in the delta oases of Mesopotamia, where large irrigation schemes needed collaboration, centralisation and the formation of states, where mass labour was required as well as division, specialisation and intensification of labour, and where technical inventions sprang up (wheel, cart, plough). As a result of this development, the intensity of contrast between steppe farming and oasis civilisation was continually growing, while the common offspring is displayed by the Magna Mater and bull idols worshipped in both of them.

Meanwhile steppe farming with all its pastoral traits had spread via Asia Minor to south-eastern Europe and to the light oak forests of Central Europe (Danubian culture, since c. 4000 B.C., according to radiocarbon data). And since the 3rd millennium it began to infiltrate from the Tripolye culture (west of the Dnieper river) into the wooded steppes of Russia and Siberia, which then were occupied by an advanced hunting population (Hančar). All these regions were unfit for oasis economy because of their cool or short summers (map 2).

I think it is a quality of the largely hypothetical sequence of creative centres, which step by step gain and enlarge the domination by man of other organisms, that it corresponds excellently with the succession of cultures presented by several ethnologists, *e.g.*, by Dittmer. It also has the advantage of making parallel inventions largely unnecessary (Sauer).

We cannot treat here the hypothesis of Flor, W. Schmidt, Pohlhausen and others, in which the reindeer represents the earliest domesticated herd animal, so that nomadism begins among hunters breeding the dog, in the boreal conifer forest (taiga, muskeg) of Eurasia and spreads to the south. Since lately Jettmar (1952/3) and others have shown that impulses for reindeer domestication came from horse breeding, which itself was a rather late acquirement (compare below), the number of adherents of this hypothesis became small. The foundation of Hančar's suggestion that the reindeer was employed as a trailing and riding animal about 5,000 B.C. (547 and table 63) has broken down too. Jettmar (1957a) and Okladnikov show that the finds in the Lena region manifesting the riding of the reindeer are not from the 2nd millennium B.C., as Hančar supposed, but from 700-500 B.C. (cf. below).

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(b) *The Nomad on Horseback.*

Among the Equines, the African donkey (*Equus* subgen. *Asinus*) and the South-West and Central Asiatic onager (*Equus* subgen. *Hemionus*) were early in use as transport animals. Hančar's opinion is that the find of bones of one onager in Ḳalʿat Djarmo (about 4750 B.C.) is important in this connexion. According to Hančar, a subordinate breeding of the horse (*Equus* subgen. *Caballus*), which was wild in the steppes and light forests of the North, can be recognised in the early 3rd millennium B.C. in the Tripolye farming culture in the wooded steppe between the Carpathians and the Dnieper river.

A decrease of temperature and probably an increase of precipitation (cf. Tolstow, and Butzer's different view) since about 2400 B.C. depressed the snow line in Central Asia and thus considerably enlarged the oasis areas of Tūrān, so that farming and herding as well as oasis civilisation could expand in that region (which before had been a desert of greater aridity). At least for some centuries, this desert seems to have lost its function as a strong barrier (Wissmann 1957). The advanced hunters of the North and the farmers and the oasis civilisation of the South came into contact along an extensive border. It seems that by this meeting an amalgamation took place, and a new vital and vigorous culture was growing, in which, since the early 2nd millennium, the horse, the war-chariot (with its origin probably some re in the South-West Asiatic highlands round Armenia), and Indo-European peoples played an important rôle. During this process, the veneration of the deer, which had had a central position in the religious perceptions and the myths of the northern hunters, was replaced by that of the horse, which was also brought into contact with the old South-west Asiatic chthonic fertility and bull (*bucranion*) worship (Kussmaul 1953b).

If we take this broad cultural process as a whole, we may say that by it civilisation was often relieved from oasis seclusion, where it had been in danger of stagnating and of becoming barren. Here also, we can distinguish steppe-farming and oasis-farming branches. When the Shang, who belonged to this cultural complex (Kussmaul 1953a), occupied China from Central Asia about 1500 B.C. and became its ruling class, they had been mainly oasis farmers (Eberhard, Franke, Bishop, Wissmann and Kussmaul 1956, 1957). The Aryans however, when destroying the Indus civilisation in about the same period, must have been steppe farmers, but cannot be called nomads.

According to excavations, the breeding of the Bactrian camel as a transport animal seems to have been started in Tūrān in the second half or the last quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C. (Walz, and especially Hančar). This is a few centuries earlier than the time in which we know of horse breeding in this region. Even in Mesopotamia, reliable proofs of horse domestication only begin about 2000 B.C. or shortly before (Boessnek, Hančar).

In the northern wooded steppe and marginal light forest with its rich black soil (*chernosem*) from Russia to Siberia, agriculture gradually became important beside hunting and herding. In the middle of the 2nd millennium, even Western Siberia was inhabited by a comparatively dense farming population (*Andronovo culture*). In such a region without oases, pure steppe farming with large herds offers good conditions for a social gradation as well as the formation of clans, of a warlike nobility and of dynastic leadership (Kussmaul). This farming in the black soil belt was then penetrating more and more into the open steppe, where inevitably its pastoral and migratory branch was increased and strengthened (Hančar).

However, the first people to find out that fighting on horseback was of great advantage were probably that kind of farming tribes with a strong pastoral branch, which lived in highlands and mountain basins, where the war chariot must have been of comparatively little use. This perhaps took place in Transcaucasia or even in the Carpathians (Kussmaul, Jettmar). Probably, these tribes still remained what we have called steppe-farmers. Hančar considers the northern border of the Tien-shan Mountains and the Altai Mountains as the regions of origin of horse riding (397). But Jettmar 1957 shows clearly that Hančar's main argument in this question broke down (cf. above). Reindeer riding was begun later than horse riding. In most other questions, Hančar's important basic work remains untouched.

Only when horse-riding spread into the open steppe of the North, that incisive revolution sprang up which we may call equestrian nomadisation. Once aware of the great superiority of fighting on horseback over the older ways of fighting, especially in war chariots, "North Iranian" tribes, probably between the rivers Volga and Irtysh, the Scythians and their neighbours, the Sakians, gave up steppe-farming life entirely and specialised in the breeding of herd animals, especially horses. Perhaps about 900 or 800 B.C. they became the first horse-riding

nomads, the first archers on horseback (Hančar, 390 f.). They were the first to break into the neighbouring countries, disseminating panic among sedentary populations. When we use the word nomad, we usually think of this equestrian type. This disastrous transformation overwhelmed not only the open steppe but also the wooded steppe with its dense farming population. It even attracted hunting tribes of the taiga forest to join the new way of life. The distinct social gradation of the steppe farmers now became the base for the appearance of leaders of high political and military ability in assembling hordes of growing size. The poorer farmers and hunters were probably forced to join the "aristocracy" of horse-breeders, so that a horde organisation, unknown before, was brought about which grew by raiding, sacking, killing and enslaving other populations, and by winning over vassals, especially other hordes of horsemen, owing to admiration or fear. The warm climate and the refined oasis civilisation of the South, known to some returned men through their service as mercenaries, as well as the mild climate and open plains of the West, ending in Roumania and Hungary, attracted invasions.

It is improbable that the predecessors of the Scythians in Southern Russia, the Cimmerians, were completely nomadic already. They seem to have been steppe farmers with a strong pastoral branch and with dangerous mounted warrior bands (Kussmaul 1953a, ii 302, Hančar 101). Perhaps the early Medes can be mentioned in this connexion, at the time when they superseded the highland farmers of Īrān (cf. von der Osten). Even the Achaemenids did not abandon knightly ideals, "horse-riding, archery, and love of truth".

Eastward, through the gap of Dzungaria along the foot of the Altai Mountains, nomadisation worked like a chain-reaction of explosions. The "North Iranians", especially the Scythians, were followed by the Wu-sun, who probably lived in Central and Eastern Tien-shan. We may suppose that in this period herdsmen, hunters and farmers of the open and wooded steppes surrounding Mongolia were forced to take up nomadic life. It is possible that the pressure of the Wu-sun against the population of the oasis chain of Kan-su caused the last invasion of a farming people into China, the Zhung, which led to the breakdown of the dynasty of the Western Chou (770 B.C.). The first nomadism to be traced in Chinese reports is that of the Hsiung-nu from about the 5th century B.C. These were neither Iranians nor "Proto-Turks". According to Ligeti, their language seems to have been isolated. The Yenissei-Ostyaks may have taken over features of the Hsiung-nu language, when both were neighbours. In their habitat between ancient China and the Gobi Desert, the Hsiung-nu had taken over en bloc a considerable group of elements of the culture of the North Iranian nomads. Some of the traits of the life of the Hsiung-nu prove their former dependence on China. Others show their old cultural relations to the non-nomadic primitive tribes of Manchuria (Kussmaul). During centuries of fierce wars, in which the Chinese defended themselves against the Hsiung-nu and built the Great Wall, again the Chinese took over a part of the cultural elements derived from the North Iranians, *e.g.*, iron, cavalry, trousers, the concept of heaven as a tent. There is an old Chinese proverb: Horseback forms state.

Map 3 shows how the spark of nomadisation caught one tribal organisation after the other along the borderland between forest and desert north-east of China during and after the time of the Hsiung-nu empire. Agrarian and urban China, itself in a country of loess and steppe, counterbalanced or endured the pressure or became vassal or partly subdued or even marginally transformed into pasture, all this during long periods of alternate defence and retreat and of regaining ground for agriculture. As the object of this article is a synopsis of the history of the origin of nomadism, we cannot deal with the growth of more or less short lived nomadic realms and empires, which in their tendencies saw a model in the universalistic and cosmological state doctrine of the Chinese Empire. Nor can we deal with those tremendous migrations and invasions into the West, during which the Dry Belt served as a corridor, through which the invaders broke into the countries of old oasis civilisation in South-west Asia or into the beginnings of forest civilisation in mediaeval Central and Western Europe, where they were one cause of the Migration of Nations (Grousset, Spuler).

All these movements destroyed what had been left of steppe farming in the plains of the open and wooded steppe. The hilly and mountainous regions surrounding Mongolia in the north, however, with a pattern of steppe, meadow and forest, became areas of retreat and regeneration of a population which made its living by hunting, by cattle-breeding, and also by farming (cf. Lattimore). The ruins of a defence wall cutting off the north-eastern corner of the steppes of Mongolia near the Gan and Argun rivers (Plaetschke) show that such a farming population must have been quite numerous sometimes. We may trace on map 3 how again and again in such hilly border regions of the forest new nuclei of horde formation sprang up among hunting, herding and farming groups, who led a simple life under hard conditions. In these we find some able man, endowed with the gifts of leadership, organising a heterogeneous horde by raiding, robbing and winning vassals. Sometimes the name of a clan, little known before, became the name of a growing power or even of a vast empire. By some lucky chance, a *Secret History of the Mongols* has been preserved (Haenisch), which is the story of the life of Čingiz K͟hān and his clan, and of how he founded the Mongol Empire. It was written by a Mongol in A.D. 1240 as a plain first hand report. In the time of his forefathers, the semi-sedentary clan living in the Kentei Mountains owned but a few horses, cattle and sheep. There was some scanty agriculture. Wild vegetables were collected. Hunting on horseback was important. However, the neighbours in the open steppes outside the mountains were true horse-riding nomads with large flocks and herds. Some had become sated with raiding and addicted to the luxuries of civilisation with which they had become familiar during their raids. From hiding places in the valleys and forests of the Kentei hills, the incipient clan of Čingiz K͟hān robbed among the rich nomads of the plains. The booty consisted of horses, cattle and sheep, women, children and servants. Thus the clan turned entirely nomadic, growing by the acquisition of new vassals, an association taking its name from the leader's clan, growing in strength according to the looting ability of the leader. Finally, well-known tribes and peoples lost their independence as well as their name and merged with the great "Mongol" unit.

Virtually no region on the margin of the dry belt

of Mongolia, which once had been the cradle of such a fast growth of nomadism and then had been thoroughly nomadised, ever repeated the formation of a new nomadic aggregation.

The empty spaces of the Dry Belt were terribly enlarged by the destructive incursions and migrations of the mounted nomads. Steppe farming was annihilated in Eurasia except in mountainous regions, if we do not include in this term the agriculture of North China and parts of India. Oasis civilisation was disastrously weakened and reduced. It is true that the larger nomadic states contributed to the interchange of materials and ideas across the continent. But this interchange would certainly have been stronger in a peaceful development. Yet we do not know to what extent suffering may be necessary to save from degeneration and decay that which is sound and good in man's mind.

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(H. von Wissmann and F. Kussmaul)

(c) *Bedouin Nomadism in Arabia.*

There are indications that the wild one-humped camel (the wild dromedary) lived in North Africa and the Near East until the 3rd millennium B.C., and that it became extinct later on except in Arabia. We do not know when this process of extermination ended in North Africa.

A cord made of camel hair has been found from the 3rd dynasty in Egypt. An Egyptian relief published by James (1955) shows the dromedary among wild animals. Judging from its style, it belongs to the New Kingdom. The camel was domesticated neither in the valley of the Nile, where the local climate is detrimental for its health, nor in any desert region of North Africa. This question is treated thoroughly by Walz (1951).

Agatharchides (in two versions, cf. C. Müller, *Georgr. Graec. Minor.* i, 179) and Artemidorus (Strabo xvi, 4, 18) give reports of the Red Sea coast of Arabia which inspire confidence. In these reports they also write that, in the hinterland of the coast of present Northern Ḥidjāz, there are herds of wild animals, of "cattle", onagers (ἄλλων ἡμιόνων; ἀμύθητος ἀριθμὸς ἡμιόνων καὶ βοῶν), wild camels (καμήλων ἀγρίων), deer and gazelles, and also numerous lions, "panthers" and wolves. All three descriptions were probably taken over from one original perhaps of Ariston, c. 280 B.C. (cf. Tarn, *op. cit.* report, later, 14). Musil (1926, 302 ff.) believes that these camels probably were not really wild ones. (He mistakes onagers, "half-asses", for mules, and is right in saying that mules cannot be wild.) Littmann

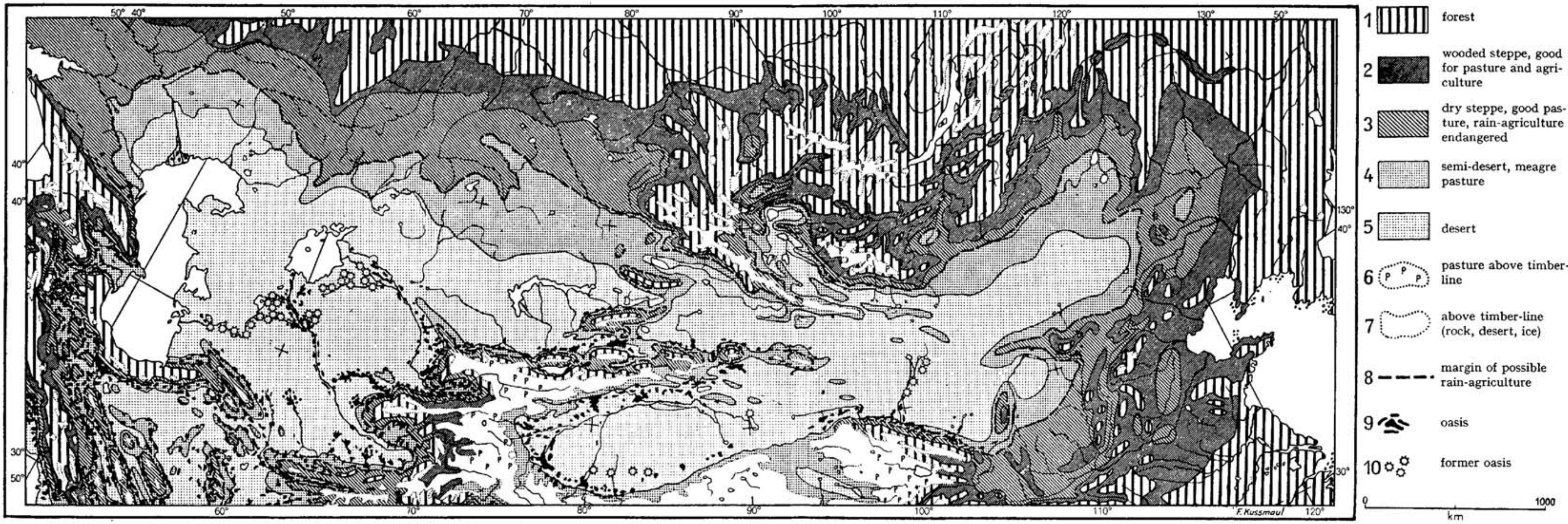

Map 2. The zones of vegetation and the oases of the Dry Belt of Inner Asia.

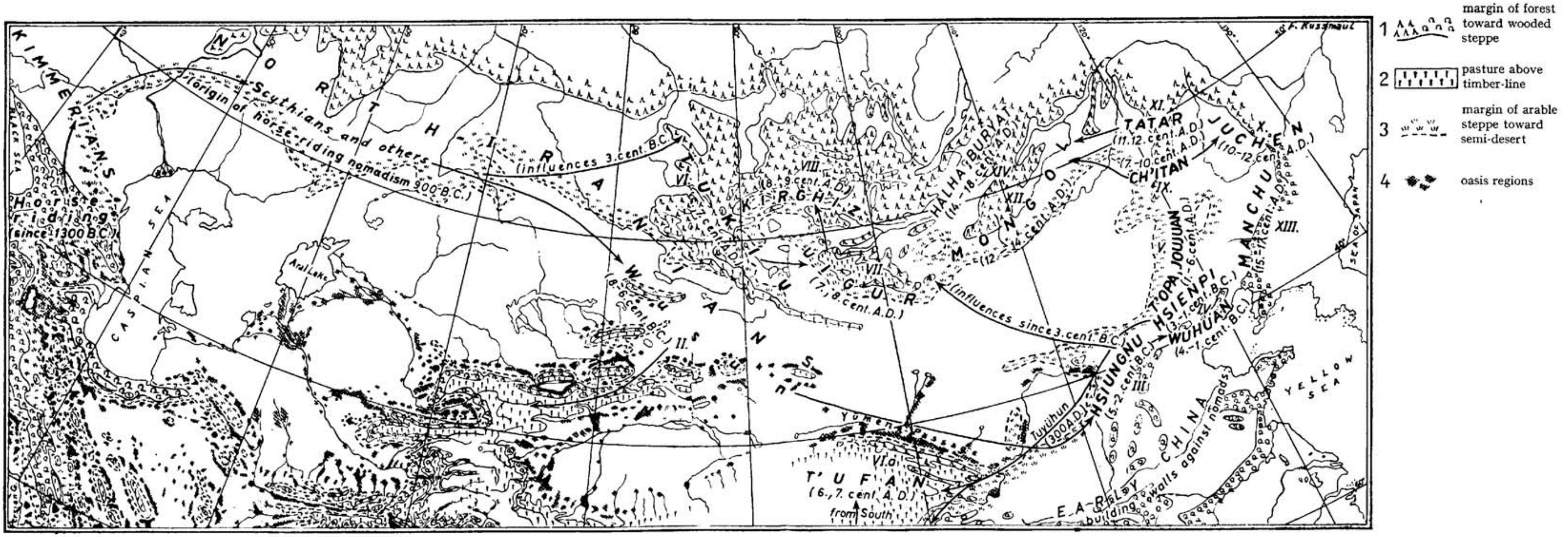

Map 3. The spreading of explosive outbursts of horse-riding nomadism with feudal state-building. The previous population had an economy of agriculture, herding and hunting, concentrated in the wooded steppes (cf. map. 2). The Roman numerals show the succession of the outbursts. The dates are approximate.

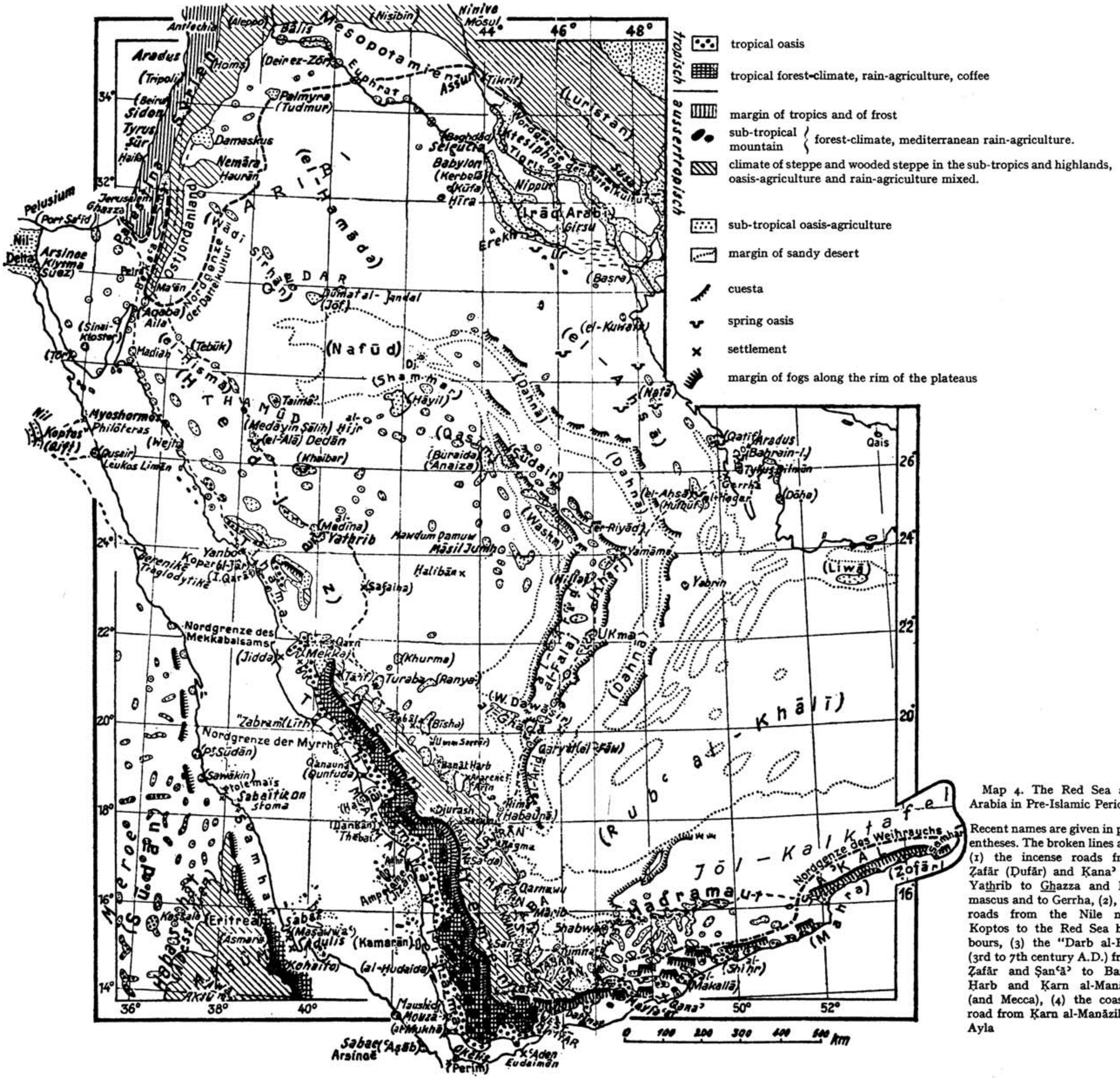

Map 4. The Red Sea and Arabia in Pre-Islamic Periods.

Recent names are given in parentheses. The broken lines are: (1) the incense roads from Ẓafār (Ḍufār) and Ḳanaʾ via Yathrib to Ghazza and Damascus and to Gerrha, (2), the roads from the Nile near Koptos to the Red Sea harbours, (3) the "Darb al-Fīl" (3rd to 7th century A.D.) from Ẓafār and Ṣanʿāʾ to Banāt Ḥarb and Ḳarn al-Manāzil (and Mecca), (4) the coastal road from Ḳarn al-Manāzil to Ayla

(1940, 3) has demonstrated that the rock-drawings which are found in connexion with Thamūdean (cf. below) graffiti show—besides domesticated animals: *camels*, horses and dogs—hunted animals in great quantities: gazelles, "wild cattle" (oryx), ibexes, wild boars, hares, ostriches, lions, wolves, hyenas. Only once is a goat shown. No sheep and no domesticated cattle are drawn. The nomads between Midian and the Ḥawrān must have been fervent hunters, but not much interested in sketching their *ghanam* (goats and sheep). Also Xenophon (*Anabasis*, i, 5, 1 ff.) speaks of onagers, wild cattle (oryx), ostriches and bustards, and he describes the hunting of onagers on horseback. So perhaps there still were also wild dromedaries in desert Arabia in the 3rd century B.C.

We cannot tell where in Arabia the one-humped camel was first domesticated. Albright supposes that this was done in South Arabia, somewhere round the great southern desert (1958, note 5). Nothing is known about the dromedary as a domesticated herd animal before the 11th century B.C. (Albright, Walz 1951, 1956, against Dussaud 207): Judges, 6-8 says that Midianites, Amalekites, and the sons of the east made ingressions on camel's back into Palestine across the Jordan river. This was about in the first half of the 11th century B.C., and, according to Albright and Walz, is the earliest date for a mention of the domesticated dromedary. It is the time when iron was introduced into Palestine. Albright (Arch. 1953, 227, note 31) is of the opinion that the dromedary was effectively domesticated in Arabia between the 16th/15th and the 13th/12th centuries B.C. The spreading of Semites to South Arabia goes probably back to a still earlier time: the reliefs of the Punt expedition of Hatshepsut (about 1495 B.C.) show that the Orientalid sub-race of the Mediterranean races (Mediterranean *sensu stricto*—Orientalid—Iranian—Indid—Gondid; cf. von Eickstedt, Biasutti, Coon, Field 1956, Pöch), which must have been a very old race among the North Arabian Semites (Moscati), was already represented then in South Arabia, at least among the reigning class (Dr. Hella Poech, oral comm.). This agrees with the supposition of Conti Rossini (101, cf. 47) that the names of the chiefs of Punt mentioned by Hatshepsut and by Ramses II were Semitic (Parihu—*fariḥ*; Nahas—*nahhās*; cf. Brunner-Traut, 307; Wissmann 1957). That Punt was located at least partly on the Arabian side of the sea also becomes probable, I think, when we draw conclusions from the somatical features of people of Punt in Egyptian reliefs as early as the 5th dynasty (Sahurē, cf. Kees, 59). These features are similar to those of the Egyptians (cf. Pöch 1957).

W. F. Albright estimates that, in the desert climate along the interior foot of the highlands of Yaman, civilisation was beginning about the 15th century B.C. He assumes that this was due to an immigration from the north. His dating is partly based on the fact that the excavation in Hadjar b. Ḥumayd (cf. below) has shown that 4-5 metres of probably agricultural (irrigational) silt had been deposited before the foundation of that settlement. This foundation took place c. 1000 B.C. While 8 metres of silt were deposited during the existence of the settlement from c. 1000 B.C. to c. 200 A.D., the lower 4-5 metres may represent about half a millennium (R. Le Baron Bowen, 67, 117; Albright 1958).

It is peculiar that camel-riding and horse-riding both seem to have begun to spread in the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C., camel-riding from Arabia, horse-riding probably from the mountains of Transcaucasia. Hančar suggests that an increasing demand for sumpter animals for the transport of metals may have been a stimules to the intensification of horse breeding in mountain regions (397). Also the breeding of the one-humped camel in Arabia must have been accelerated in connexion with a growing demand for transport between South Arabia on one side, the Mediterranean lands and Mesopotamia on the other, a transport of frankincense, myrrh, precious stones and gold from South Arabia, of Indian and East African goods from the South and of cloth, products of civilisation and *objets d'art* (Segall 1957) and perhaps iron wares from the north. The introduction of waterproof plaster for irrigation works and cisterns in South Arabia, which had spread before in Syria since about 1200 B.C., must have impelled agricultural development "probably not before the 10th century B.C." (Albright 1958).

While the excavations of N. Glueck in Ezion-Geber (Smithson. Inst., Ann. Rep. 1941. Publ. 3651, 1942) prove that the reports of the navigation of Solomon and Ḥīrām to the gold land of Ōfīr refer to historical facts, the story of the queen of Saba' (Shebā), which is told in relation with the Ōfīr expeditions in 1 Kings 9-10, must also have some historical background (cf. Albright 1958, 3). At least it shows that camel caravans were travelling between South Arabia and Palestine in the 10th century B.C. Saba', Ofīr and Ḥawīlā are named one after the other as brothers in Genesis 10 (9th or 8th century, cf. Albright, *Arch.* 1953, 327), beside Ḥaṣarmāweth, among the sons of Yoḳṭān, son of 'Ēber. I can support the hypothesis that the gold-land of Ōfīr (1 Kings 9-10, 22^{49}; 1 Chron. 29^{4}; 2 Chron. 8^{18}, 9^{10}; Job 22^{24}, 28^{16}; Psalms 45^{10}; Isaiah 13^{12}) was in south-west Arabia on the Red Sea coast: in 'Asīr round Dhahabān (Sprenger, Moritz, Delbrueck 12, Wissmann 1957, 1959; cf. Glaser 357-384, Albright Arch. 1953, 212, note 14). In Somaliland, where some authors put Ōfīr, the outcrop of crystalline rock and of its dikes, the matrix of gold, is much smaller than in 'Asīr (cf. *Carte Géol. Afr.* 1952). On Saba' sending gold cf. 1 Kings 10, Isaiah 60^{6}, Ezech. 27^{22}, Psalm 72^{15} (but cf. J. Ryckmans 1958).

The most plausible identification of the gold-land of Ḥawīlā of Gen. 2^{11}, 10^{7}, 10^{29}, 25^{18}, 1. Sam. 15^{7} in my opinion as well as that of Niebuhr, C. Ritter, Sprenger, Moritz and others, is that with Khawlān. This name is known from inscriptions, from al-Hamdānī, and is still used today. North Khawlān bordered on Ōfīr. South Khawlān adjoined Saba'. That North Khawlān was highly renowned in Greece for its rich gold mines, probably at about 400 B.C., is explicitly stated by Agatharchides (C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minor.*, 184 f; Wissmann 1957, esp. 1959).

In the genealogy of Genesis 10, the South Arabians are considered as being descendants of both Kūsh and 'Ēber. The descendants of 'Ēber and his son Yoḳṭān were settled as far as "Sefār, the mountain towards the East". Commonly, this Sefār is thought to be Ẓafār, the capital of the Ḥimyar in Yaman. But this town was probably founded about 109 B.C. (cf. below), when the Ḥimyar had occupied this region. It lay on a hill in the highlands of south-west Yaman and is not "a mountain towards the east". Fresnel, C. Ritter, Rödiger, Tkač and others suppose —and I believe they are right—that Sefār was Ẓafār (or Ḍufār), a town and region east of Ḥaḍramawt and Mahra-Land, which, however, is not known by this name in pre-Islamic inscriptions or literature, but only since the early Arab geographers. It is the best frankincense region of South Arabia. The eastern

mountain promontory and cape of this region is really the last region from which in antiquity ships left the coast to use the monsoon in the direction of India (Schoff, Frisk, *l.c.* later). It is also the last area of South Arabia towards the East with a settled, non-nomadic population. East of it, the great desert touches the sea as far as ʿUmān (cf. Lagarde 61, note; Vollers, *Ztschr. f. Assyr.* 22, 223 f. is of the opinion that Sefār of Gen. 10 is to be identified with Safārī in Baḥrayn. But this "*balad*" [Yāḳūt 3, 96, citing Ibn al-Faḳīh] was neither frontier place nor mountain.)

I think one may conclude that the "Table of Peoples" (Yahwist[3]) means by the "sons of Yoḳṭān" the agricultural peoples of South Arabia (map 4); and I suppose that in Gen. 25^{18}, the camel nomads of central and north-west Arabia were comprehended as the sons of Yis̲h̲māʿēl, and in Gen. $37^{25, 28}$ and Judges 8^{24} as Yis̲h̲māʿēlites. Gen. 25^{18}: "And they (the sons of Yis̲h̲māʿēl) lived from Ḥawīlā as far as S̲h̲ūr, which is east of Egypt, on the way to As̲h̲ūr". They lived, it seems, in the triangle of desert-steppe between the agricultural countries of South Arabia (K̲h̲awlān), Egypt and Assyria (cf. Skinner, *Internat. Crit. Comment.*, and Kautzsch-Bertholet).

Certainly, troops mounted on an animal so well adapted to the desert, capable of enduring thirst so well and of travelling long distances so quickly, as is the camel, must have enjoyed great superiority when fighting against war-chariots drawn by horses. Albright says (*Stone Age* 1946, 120; *Arch.* 1953, 97): "Arab nomadism is conditioned by the domestication of the camel, which makes it possible for Bedu to live entirely on their herds of camels, drinking their milk, eating camel curds and camel flesh, wandering through regions, where only the camel can subsist, and making rapid journeys of several days, if need be, through waterless desert. The camel eats desert shrubs and bushes, which even sheep and goats will not touch".—Over long distances a riding camel is three times as quick as a horse. It can cover 300 km. in one day. The load of a caravan camel may weigh as much as 200 kg., that of a horse up to 150 kg. Arabia has not only bred races of transport camels and of riding camels of the lowlands but also stocks of mountain camels capable of going on fairly steep paths, as in ʿAsīr (Tamisier ii, 31, 47, 197) or in ʿAwāliḳ country and Ḥaḍramawt (own experience). When coming from the plains to an *ʿaḳaba* (pass) of the mountains, the camels of a caravan must be changed near the foot of the *ʿaḳaba* from one breed to an other. In Arabia, only the western slope of the Yaman highlands seems to be too moist for camel breeding. We must consider that, before the time of camel domestication, the donkey (and perhaps the onager) was the only transport animal in Arabia (cf. above). It is peculiar that the Bactrian camel, which had been domesticated in Tūrān about a millennium earlier than the time when the domestication of the calmer dromedary must have taken place in Arabia, never became important for riding but only for transport.

It looks as if the domestication of the dromedary went hand in hand with its employment for riding. This cannot be said of any other animal. Since excavations in Arabia did not go down to strata of early periods, our knowledge is based only on historical data. We are not yet able to see the source of an impulse for this domestication. Walz (1956) opposing Wiesner (1955) insists on the statement that the domestication of the one-humped camel was totally independent of the breeding of the Bactrian camel and the horse. It seems, however, that parallel inventions are rare in prehistory and history (Sauer *l.c.*, 2). The horse was in use in Mesopotamia since at least about 2000 B.C.; but troops riding on horseback are not mentioned there before 1130 (Nebuchadnezar I of Babylonia; Thomson in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 109 ff.). As the Bactrian camel was bred in southern Tūrān since at least about 2100 B.C., it is improbable that it was not brought to Mesopotamia and farther south now and then in those turbulent periods of the early and middle 2nd millennium B.C. This may have given an impulse for the domestication of the one-humped camel.

A camel's head, part of a pottery jar found in the excavation of Had̲j̲ar b. Ḥumayd in Bayḥān (ancient Ḳatabān) in South Arabia by W. F. Albright, was approximately dated by him to belong to the 8th (or 9th) century B.C. (van Beek 1952, 17, Walz 1956, footnote 54, Albright, letter 1957). The publication of a radiocarbon date for a low stratum of Had̲j̲ar b. Ḥumayd (van Beek 1956) shows that Albright's preliminary palaeographical dating of a monogram found during this excavation is not too early but may be perhaps even a century late.

A relief of a dromedary rider from Tell Ḥalāf is from the 9th century (Walz). The first cuneiform records of camel-riding nomads seem to be the "Aramaean Bedouins" fighting against a vassal of Assur Naṣirpal in 880 B.C. A little later, 854 B.C., "Gindibu the Arab", from an Aribi district, fought against Salmanassar III, leading a troop of thousand camels. The article AL-ʿARAB (1) by A. Grohmann contains a summary on the Aribi country and the Arabs in the 9th to 7th centuries B.C. from cuneiform data. In this period, Aribi is the northernmost part of Arabia between Syria and Mesopotamia, including the Palmyrene and Wādī Sirḥān. The Arabs are its nomadic and oasis inhabitants. The central oasis Adummatu is, according to Grohmann and Musil (1927 531 f.), Dūmat al-D̲j̲andal in the D̲j̲awf. The "kings" are chiefs partly of oasis settlements, partly of nomadic tribes. This state of affairs is also meant in Jeremiah 25^{24}: "The kings of Arabia and all the kings of the Arabs who live in the desert". (The first mention of ʿArāb in the Bible is in Isaiah in the late 8th cent. B.C.). Bāzu, against which Assarhaddon undertook a long expedition in 676 B.C., is, according to Weidner's latest discoveries, in Eastern Arabia, in the hinterland of Dilmūn (Baḥrayn), not as Musil (1927, 482 f.) thought, in Wādī Sirḥān (Albright, letter).

It is evident that the caravan roads, especially the "incense road" from G̲h̲azzat on the Mediterranean and from Damascus by Maʿān (Musil 1926, 243), Daydān (al-ʿUlāʾ) and Yat̲h̲rib (al-Madīna) to Ragmat (Nad̲j̲rān), Maʿīn and Sabaʾ (cf. Albright 1953, Wissmann 1957, Segall 1957) played an important political rôle, *e.g.*, when in 732 B.C. queen Samsī of Aribi joined a great coalition including the state of Sabaʾ, the king of Damascus, the important oasis of Taymāʾ and tribes near Taymāʾ and Daydān against Tiglath-Pilesar III. The first sovereign of Sabaʾ named in cuneiform inscriptions, probably a *mukarrib* (priest-king), brings tribute to Sargon II in 715 B.C. (cf. Albright, in *BASOR* 143, 1956, 10; idem, 1958; Wissmann 1957). The tributes received by Assyrian kings in this period from different queens and kings of the northern half of Arabia show that long-distance caravan traffic must have been considerable. Cattle, gold, silver, lead, iron, elephant skins, ivory and cloth were transported (Caskel 1954).

It must be emphasised that South Arabia, which was represented by Saba' since at least the 10th century (cf. Albright, in *BASOR*, 1952, note 26, 1958), was a country with a numerous and farming population and with but little and unimportant nomadism, a country producing aromatic goods, especially frankincense (Exodus 30[34], 1 Kings 10, Isaiah 60[6], Jer. 6[20], cf. J. Ryckmans 1958). South Arabia certainly introduced Indian and East African wares to its ports, and it must have already monopolised the traffic on the "incense roads" to the north-west and by central Arabia to the north-east (map 1) in this period to some degree. (On the strength of Saba' in the 8th to 6th centuries, cf. von Wissmann 1957). Perhaps the Chaldaeans lived in ʿUmān in those periods and mediated between Saba' and Mesopotamia (and India?), before they occupied Mesopotamia, where Chaldaean kings begin in 625 B.C. (cf. Albright, in *BASOR*, 1952).

Albright suggests (cf. van Beek 1952) that no time was more opportune for the commercial expansion of Saba' westwards into Ethiopia than about the 10th century B.C. "Egypt, which previously enjoyed exclusive trading rights in Ethiopia and Punt by land and by sea, was unable to maintain its commercial relations with the south after the fall of the New Empire." According to Albright, *boustrophedon* Sabaean inscriptions in the temple 'Awa[m] or modern Yeḥā on the plateau of northern Ethiopia east of Aksūm (Littmann 1913, Nos. 27-32 and D. H. Müller, *Epigraph. Denkmäler*, Yeha 5) palaeographically belong to the 5th century (letter from W. F. Albright, March 1957, cf. Conti Rossini 102). An inscription on the base of a rather archaic statue recently found in Maḳallē (Caquot and Drewes) seems to be somewhat earlier. So, even in the new chronologies of A. F. L. Beeston (in *BSOAS* 1954) and Pirenne (1956 b), who emphasise a "rejuvenation" of the early South Arabian chronology, the 5th century B.C. would not be too early. Sabaean colonisation was already firmly established in this region at that time. The probable name of the temple of modern Yeḥā, 'Awa[m], was also the name of the great oval temple of the state god of Saba' near Mārib. In a remarkable *boustrophedon* inscription on an incense altar of Maḳallē in Abyssinia (Caquot and Drewes, 30-32), a "mukarrib of Daʿmat (place near later Aksūm) and Saba'" dedicates (the altar?) to Almaḳah, which was the main state god of South Arabian Saba'. J. Ryckmans suggests that, in a period before the first known Sabaean inscriptions of Mārib and Ṣirwaḥ (which probably date, from the 8th century B.C.; Wissmann 1957), the centre of Saba' was in the mountains and highlands of present southern Yaman, round D̲j̲abal Baʿdān and D̲j̲abal Ḥumaym (—D̲h̲āt Baʿdān and D̲h̲āt Ḥumaym were the most important sun goddesses of Saba'—), and that the region of Mārib in the north-east as well as North Abyssinia in the West were both colonised from this area (J. Ryckmans 1958; cf. Albright 1958).

Glaser (387 ff.) and von Wissmann-Höfner suppose that Ḳana' and ʿAdan, the best natural ports of South Arabia on the Indian Ocean, are named as Kannē and ʿĒden in Ezekiel 27[23] (early 6th cent. B.C.). Ezekiel says: "Ḥārān and Kannē and ʿĒden" (M:) "merchants of S̲h̲ebā" or (S:) "they were thy merchants". Mostly all three places are identified in Northern Mesopotamia, where an ancient Ḥārān is well known (cf. Cooke, *Int. Crit. Comment.*). Isaiah 37[12] and 2 Kings 19[12] mention this northern Ḥārān along with the Bĕnē ʿĒden: "Gozan, Ḥārān, Reṣef (in Palmyrene) and Bĕnē ʿĒden in Tel'assar". But al-Idrīsī mentions Ḥārān al-Ḳarīn in South Arabia between North K̲h̲awlān and "Bīs̲h̲at Buʿtān", (which name is a mistake for Bays̲h̲; Grohmann ii, 1933, 131). The location is in the Tihāma lowlands north of the present northern frontier of Yaman, somewhere near present Abū ʿArīsh. Ritter (*Arabien* i, 189, 193) and Büsching supposed that this is the Ḥārān mentioned in Ezekiel. The difficulty is that Ḳudāma and Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih do not mention a place of this name on that route, but al-ʿUrs̲h̲s̲h̲ (Abū ʿArīs̲h̲s̲h̲) instead. I suspect that there is some mistake in al-Idrīsī's text. But there are different places named ḤRN in Ancient South Arabian inscriptions: Ḥirrān near Ḳaʿṭaba north of ʿAden, Ḥirran south-west of Maʿīn and Ḥirrān north of D̲h̲amār (on the last cf. W. B. Harris, 272 ff.). Perhaps the Septuagint (S) translators changed the text from "merchants of S̲h̲ebā" into "they were thy merchants", because they knew the northern, but not the southern Ḥārān and ʿĒden and therefore could not understand the meaning. In connexion with "merchants of Shebā", one should consider that Saba' (S̲h̲ebā) was a state, not a town, and that the three places mentioned may have belonged to this state.

Ezekiel 38[13]: "S̲h̲ebā, Ded̲h̲ān, merchants of Tars̲h̲īs̲h̲" (Tartessos or Sardinia) shows opposite outposts of Ezekiel's *terra cognita*. (Ded̲h̲ān is the Daydān of South Arabian inscriptions.)

Considering this important position of South Arabia in this period and its central place in the oldest seafaring area, that of the Indian Ocean, we must keep in view that the North and Central Arabian home of camel nomadism was surrounded by civilised agrarian countries, on all sides where it was not touched by the sea.

The difficulties of crossing the desert with long distances between watering-places could only be mastered after the domestication of the camel. The desert routes of greatest importance for traffic were those between Mesopotamia and Syria. But also the difficulties in crossing Arabia from Mesopotamia and from the Mediterranean coasts to the fertile highlands of South Arabia could more easily be overcome by camel caravans. The springs and wells of the northern part of Arabia became important as resting places of caravans and as commercial and political centres. As the nomads were breeding the camels needed for the caravans, their tribes were interested in a peaceful traffic and it was expedient for them to join coalitions among each other and with the oasis town kingdoms on the main routes.

Since Tiglath-Pilesar III (748-725), north-western Arabia, including the northern part of the incense road from Daydān to G̲h̲azzat may have become more tightly bound to Assyria, and later to Neo-Babylonia, after each conquest. It seems to be of great importance for the cultural and religious development of the "Arabs", that Nabūna'id (Nabonidus) of Babylonia conquered Taymā' in 550 B.C. and that he reigned there for eight years and made an expedition as far as Yat̲h̲rib. He built a palace and temple in Taymā' and made this place the centre of an archaistic religion and cult round the Aramaean moon god Sīn, perhaps with the sun disc resting in the crescent as the main symbol of this religion (Musil, 1928, 224 ff., Moortgat, Segall). There should be investigations on the close resemblances between this cult and that of South Arabia and Ethiopia. SYN was the state god of Ḥaḍramawt since the earliest inscriptions of this state. (Albright

1952, note 8, brings reasons for an early introduction of this god into Ḥaḍramawt). ʿĒzānā of Abyssinia changed the crescent and disc for the cross on his coins when he turned to Christianity (4th cent. A.D.) (Littmann 1913, i, 60).

The exceptional temporary position of Taymāʾ may have stimulated the other town states of the oases of Arabia Deserta to partake to some degree in the civilisations of the surrounding countries in the north-east, the north-west and the south, while trying to preserve or to re-establish always again a certain amount of independance. Different scripts were used and developed. Even the clansmen of the nomadic tribes knew how to write. Nevertheless, pure camel nomadism was common. Agatharchides and Artemidorus (Diod. in C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minor.* 184, Strabo xvi, 4, 18) in their accounts on the tribe of the Debai in the lowlands (Tihāma) of ʿAsīr write: "They live merely from their camels. From these they fight, on these they travel. Their food is camel milk and camel meat".

The scripts of the rock graffiti of the nomads of Arabia Deserta, which are spread from near the Ṣafāitic area south of Damascus and from the Sinai peninsula to the borders of Nad̲j̲rān in South Arabia, form a unit though with strong regional (and probably temporal) variations. They have been classified as T̲h̲amūdean scripts, although but a part of these graffiti have been written by the tribe of T̲h̲amūd in its area round Daydān (Littmann 1940, van den Branden, J. Ryckmans 1956). In many respects these scripts are (and remained?) more archaic than the scripts of the settled populations, which were altered by their adaptation for monumental inscriptions (cf. J. Pirenne 1955, 44 ff.). Related graffiti are even found in South Arabia especially along the desert margins (cf. Höfner, and Jamme 1955). That all "Thamūdean" inscriptions seem to have been written by nomads shows that the nomadic tribes must have had some awareness of interdependence and a certain spirit of solidarity and that their life was separated and rather independent from the oasis town states.

It is evident that this situation of camel nomadism in Arabia was very different from what we know of horse-riding nomadism in the northern steppes of Eurasia. One main reason for the strong difference certainly is that the long and hard winters of the north do not permit more than one extensive crop and hinder the development of oases, although humidity is greater. Where the sub-tropical desert is dotted with oases of restricted size as in many parts of Arabia north of the line from Wādī Bays̲h̲ to Nad̲j̲rān and to the Rubʿ al-K̲h̲ālī, it seems that a balance of power could result there to some degree between the nomadic tribes on the one hand and the merchant town states on the other, while probably the farmers of the oases had often to live in bondage to townsmen or to nomads.

The history of nomadism in Arabia is closely connected with the word Aʿrāb. In Semitic languages and pre-Islamic times, this word was only used for inhabitants of the Bedouin and oasis regions north of the Rubʿ al K̲h̲ālī. It especially meant the camel nomads but also included the oasis dwellers. Even Muḥammad used the word *aʿrāb* only for Bedouin. Only the Greeks have transmitted this name to the whole peninsula, probably already after the expeditions of Darius (Scylax). Theophrastus (372-287) calls Arabia τῶν Ἀράβων χερρόνησος (*Hist. Plant.* ix, ch. 2, § 2). Eratosthenes (late 3rd century B.C., Strabo XV, 4, 2) gives its division into Arabia Eudaimōn and Arabia Erēmos (Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta of the Roman period). But already Euripides mentions "Arabia eudaimōn" in his Bacchae (16-18), and Aristophanes (Aves 144 f.) a "polis eudaimōn on the Erythraean Sea", both in the late 5th century B.C. The South Arabians never called themselves ʾAʿrāb.

We have no knowledge about the pre-Islamic history of the nomadic tribes south of the Rubʿ al-K̲h̲ālī, north and east of Ḥaḍramawt and west of ʿUmān. To day, they are genuine camel nomads possessing some *g̲h̲anam*, just as those of the North. They still have holy rocks and holy places near wells, where they bury their dead (van der Meulen, own experience, Thesiger). But they do not live in tents. They have tropical clothing and south-semitic dialects. In mountain regions they use caves for shelter. They do not possess horses. Unlike the northern *badw* they have stayed outside of known coalitions.

The fate of camel nomadism in Arabia was closely connected with that of caravan trade. So the decline of this trade must have been of great importance for the nomad. This decline slowly set in in the 4th or 3rd century B.C., when the tolls, which had to be paid on the road were constantly increased because of the political division of South Arabia into different states (Pliny xii, 14, 65). It became stronger when, from round 115 B.C., the straits of Bāb al-Mandab were opened for direct traffic from Egypt to India. The overland incense traffic almost vanished, when this oversea traffic from the Roman Empire to India became important from about 48 B.C. (Strabo, ii, 5, 12, *ibid.*, xvii, 1, 13, Pliny, vi, 23, 104). This must have been a hard blow for the kingdoms of South Arabia and even more for the Bedouins who took part in the overland traffic and sold camels for this.

The name Arrhabitai (Aʿrāb) was used by the great Abyssinian (Aksūm) king who erected the Monumentum Adulitanum (cf. below, section d), of which we know the Greek version, probably before the middle 2nd century A.D. This is in his account of the submission of the Ḥid̲j̲āz and ʿAsīr north of the Sabaean and south of the Roman frontiers. Here "Arrhabitai" seems to signify the population of the hinterland of the Kinaidokolpitai who, according to Cl. Ptolemy, lived on the coast of Ḥid̲j̲āz and of ʿAsīr.

Aʿrāb Bedouins had begun to interfere in the conflicts in South Arabia towards the 2nd cent. A.D. (J. Ryckmans 1951, 215 f., 1956). In the inscription Nāmī 71 to 73, ʾAʿrāb and Kh-m-y-s are mentioned together several times. Perhaps Kh-m-y-s (K̲h̲umays ?, probably derived from k̲h̲ums) means the regular army (M. Höfner, letter), while Aʿrāb means contingents of northern Bedouins on camels and on horseback. The inscription Nāmī 71 to 73 belongs to the third century A.D. (king Alhān Nahfān; cf. Mordtmann-Mittwoch 218-220). The inscription "Ryckmans 535", belonging to the same period, shows that camels and horses were used in the South Arabian armies (G. Ryckmans, in *Muséon*, 1936, 154 f.; on the chronology of this period, cf. v. Wissmann 1957). It should be investigated if there are earlier convincing indications of camel troops in South Arabia (cf. v. Wissmann-Höfner, 10, 46). (The inscription "Ingrams 1" does not point to such conditions. The preliminary translation we used in v. Wissmann-Höfner, 333, was wrong; cf. Drewes).

In 328 A.D., the inscription of al-Namāra, east of

Djabal Ḥawrān, in the Syrian desert (*RES* 483), tells us: "This is the grave of Imraʾ al-Ḳays (mrʾ/Ḳys) b. ʿAmr, the king of al the Aʿrāb, who ..... and advanced successfully (?) to the siege of Nadjrān, the capital of Shammar" (Lidzbarski). We see that Imraʾ al-Ḳays calls himself king of all Aʿrābs, although he is not in possession of Nadjrān on the north-eastern margin of agricultural South Arabia, but perhaps king of most of those Bedouin tribes who live in tents, i.e. Aʿrāb. Nadjrān is at that time a town of "Shammar", probably Shammar Yuharʿish (cf. Pirenne 1956, Jamme 1957, J. Ryckmans 1957, 22, note, Pirenne 1957, 59, note 4), who assumed the title of "King of Sabaʾ and Dhū Raydān and of Ḥaḍramawt and of Yamnat" (Dhū Raydān stands for the Ḥimyar. Yamnat probably is a name of the coastal region south of Ḥaḍramawt; Wissmann 1959). This title means that Shammar was or claimed to be king of the entire agricultural country of South Arabia.

In the early 5th century, when great parts of Northern Arabia belonged to the domain of the South Arabian king Abikarib Asʿad, who according to tradition undertook a campaign into Persian territory, the title was enlarged and now was worded as follows: "King of Sabaʾ and Dhū Raydān and Ḥaḍramawt and Yammat and of their (*pluralis majestatis*) ʾAʿrāb in the highlands (Central Arabia) and the Tihāma (lowlands of Ḥidjāz and ʿAsīr)". Again only inhabitants of Desert Arabia are meant by *aʿrāb* (cf. map 4).

The constant wars between Rome and Persia and between Ethiopia and Sabaʾ and the economic decline of the Mediterranean regions, the rising competition of sea traffic—from which South Arabia had become eliminated—against overland traffic and trade, the decay of feudalised South Arabia and its internecine feudal and religious wars in the 3rd to 6th centuries A.D. gave rise to great insecurity in Arabia (cf. Beeston 1954, Sidney Smith, J. Ryckmans 1956 b). In the regions of steppe climate in the fertile cresent, nomadic tribes intruded into country of rain agriculture. Even oasis areas decayed or were given up entirely, especially in South Arabia along the borders of the desert, and in Ḥaḍramawt (cf. v. Wissmann-Höfner, 121 f, Le Baron Bowen), where camel nomadism penetrated from the north by invasions as well as by gradual infiltration. A renowned example is the neglect, bursting and dilapidation of the dam of Mārib, the old capital of Sabaʾ, and the total breakdown of this town and its oasis. In Yaman and ʿUmān, the strong feudalisation of the highland farmers, the *ḳabāʾil*, in their fortified castle-like dwellings, led to an extreme dissipation of power and even to anarchy, as well as to tribal organisation and to feuds similar to those of the barbarised camel nomads. Gradually the nomadic population became more and more migratory over long distances in Arabia. Such migrations of entire tribes were mainly directed from South to North. In the South a part of the farming population became nomadic, while in the north the wars between Rome and Persia probably attracted such nomads, as could not sell their camels for the declining caravan trade, to serve in camel troops on the side of one of the two opponents. The Arab proverb: "Al-Yaman is the womb (the cradle) of the Arabs, and al-ʿIrāḳ is their grave", already suits this period. Nevertheless there have also been migrations in the opposite direction, like that of the Kindites into Ḥadramawt in the 6th century A.D. which according to al-Hamdānī amounted to more than 30,000 men (Forrer, 134 ff.). With the decline of power of the surrounding states, which were based on agriculture and had a much higher population density, Bedouin influence was rising. Caskel (1953) demonstrates that, before this period of barbarisation, the social and economic way of living, which we call Bedouin, did not fully obtain the character familiar to us by the descriptions of Doughty, v. Oppenheim and Lawrence. Writing now disappeared among the nomads, but oral tradition flourished.

It would be interesting to know when the combined use, during a *ghazw*, of the camel for the riding over long distances and of the horse for final attack, was employed for the first time, a skilful practice which was still carried out by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suʿūd. King Malchus (Malik) II of the Nabataeans (al-Anbāṭ) sent 1000 horses and 5000 foot for the assistance of Titus in his attack on Jerusalem about 67 A.D. (Hitti, 68). The rock-drawings accompanying the Ṣafāitic inscriptions in the Ḥarra south-east of Damascus (2nd to 4th centuries or longer; cf. Littmann 1940) show that these true Bedouins made their razzias combining horse and camel. We also hear from Ammianus Marcellinus (4th cent. A.D.) that the Blemmyes made their raids in that way (xiv, 4, 3).

In South Arabia, the horse seems to have been always of smaller importance than in the north. Nevertheless we hear that among the presents sent by Yithʿaʾamar of Sabaʾ to Sargon in 715 B.C. there were horses. The Periplus Maris Erythraei (until 80 A.D.) tells that horses were shipped from Egypt to Mouza (Maushidj; cf. Wissmann 1959) by the Greek merchants. Strabo (XVI, 4, 2 and 26), when giving a short but good report on the agriculture of South Arabia, says that horses were lacking, and that their functions were carried out by camels. We have but few presentations of horses from South Arabia, which seem to be importations or copies from the north or to belong to late periods. Probably the horse only became of greater importance in South Arabia since Bedouin troops were used, *i.e.*, since at least the 3rd century A.D. The inscription G. Ryckmans 535 (in *Muséon*, 1956, 140 ff.) from the late 3rd century A.D. tells us that horses and camels were used in South Arabian armies, and that there were horsemen beside the regular troops.

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d) *The Appearance of Camel Nomadism in North Africa.*

It is surprising that the state and civilisation of the great river oasis of Égypt blocked for so long a period the spread of camel breeding and camel nomadism. It exercised a strong frontier control and showed an aversion against the Asiatic nomad. There is no specifically Egyptian word for "camel" (Albright 1950; cf. Préaux).

It has been supposed that the Sabaeans introduced the camel into the lowlands of North Ethiopia, when they colonised this country, perhaps some time in the beginning of the last millennium B.C., bringing with them the plough, terracing, and artificial irrigation. We have mentioned above that the colony was firmly established and probably old in the 5th century B.C. Even Conti Rossini supposed such an early introduction of the camel (103, 106). Yet he did not find any proof. There is no mention of the camel in the "Sabaean" inscriptions of Ethiopia (cf. above); but this again does not mean much, as the number of these inscriptions is still small. However, we may not forget that even today the camel has not been introduced into the highlands of Ethiopia, but has only spread in the lowlands and on the lower slopes. Near the harbours of northern Ethiopia, this area is a narrow strip of land, just as in Western Yaman.

There is one piece of information and one linguistic fact from which we may probably conclude that the Sabaeans did not introduce the camel to the African side of the Red Sea: Agatharchides (perhaps about 130 B.C.) gives a good and detailed description of the nomadic Troglodytes behind the African coast of the Red Sea north of Ethiopia (the later Blemmyes or Bed̲j̲ā). He does not mention any breeding of camels but only of cattle and goats (Diodor., cf. C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minor.* i, 153). Probably Agatharchides has taken over his story from a much earlier description (cf. von Wissmann 1957).

The linguistic fact is that the name of the camel in the Geʿez language as well as in all the Semitic languages of Ethiopia is *gamal* as in the North Semitic languages and in Egypt, while ancient South Arabia merely used the word "*ʾibil*" for it (Höfner by letter). It is only in one single inscription of the 3rd century A.D. (G. Ryckmans, Nr. 535) and then in the 6th century A.D. (Yūsuf D̲h̲ū Nuwās, G. Ryckmans, Nr. 507) that the word "*gamal*" turns up in South Arabian inscriptions. The first known mention of the camel in the Ethiopic language is in the 4th century A.D. in Littmann, *Aksum* 9 (1913).

We do not hear anything of the presence of the camel from hieroglyphs or from Greek or Roman authors or any sculpture or rock drawing either in Egypt or in any part of North Africa in the Hellenistic period. There is one exception, however: When Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246) repaired the old roads from Koptos on the Nile to the Red Sea (173 km.) and opened a longer road from the same place to his new harbour town Berenikē Troglodytikē (380 km.) by founding eleven stations, he did this not only for foot passengers but also for merchants travelling on camels (Strabo XVI, 4, 24, XVII, 1, 45, 65. Pliny, h.n. VI, 102, 168; Berenikē Troglodytikē in 23° 51 in the Bay of Sik̲h̲at Bandar al-Kabīr). Strabo says that Koptos became a town belonging to Arabs as well as Egyptians, and that Arabs worked in the mines between Koptos and Myos Hormos. Pliny also mentions Arab tribes in the region of Berenikē. Philadelphus had reopened the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea. He founded naval bases along the western coast of the Red Sea (cf. below). It is probable that the caravan camels and their Arab owners were introduced by Philadelphus and were transported by him to Philotera, to Myos Hormos and to Berenikē Troglodytikē over sea from the coast of Northern Ḥid̲j̲āz (Ritter II, 703). Ptolemy II seems to have put this coast of Northern Ḥid̲j̲āz under his influence by establishing friendly relations with Daydān on the incense road, thus being able to divert the incense traffic which until that time had followed the road from Sabaʾ and Maʿīn to G̲h̲azzat on the Mediterranean, from Daydān to a new harbour on the Red Sea (T-s̲h̲-y-t ?) and then by boat to Egypt (cf. Tarn, appendix by Sidney Smith; Delbrueck). As Daydān was a colony of the kingdom of Maʿīn, which had developed north of Sabaʾ, the sarcophagus inscription of an incense trader of Maʿīn, living in Memphis, probably of 264 B.C. (Albright 1953, note 12), confirms this connection. This trader brought myrrh and other wares to Egypt on his own ships, and he brought byssos clothes to Arabia (Rhodokanakis, Kortenbeutel). As Ptolemy II and his successors were able to transport elephants on large boats on the Red Sea, they were easily able to transport camels. The Arabs who were brought to Egypt with their camels probably knew how to write the so-called T̲h̲amūdean script of northern Ḥid̲j̲āz. Numerous T̲h̲amūdean inscriptions have been found in the eastern desert of Egypt, especially along the roads (Littmann 1940, 3, Green, J. Pirenne by letter).

We now may ask again, how the camel was brought to Ethiopia. There are two possibilities, I think. It was introduced either by Ptolemy II or his successors, or by the kings of the Ḥabashāt, of Aksūm, in about the 2nd century A.D.

Ptolemy II founded the fortified town of Ptolemaïs Thērōn on the northernmost part of the Ethiopian coast (cf. the stele of Pit̲h̲om in Egypt). One of the stelae found in Adulis south of modern Maṣawwaʿ by Cosmas Indicopleustes (Winstedt) reported that Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221) and his father hunted elephants in that region. We do not know when *Berenikē hē kata Sabas* (Strabo xvi, 4, 10, Berenikē Epidirēs of Pliny VI, 29, 170; Conti Rossini against Kortenbeutel) was founded near modern ʿAssab, and when this southern Berenikē was replaced by a colony called Arsinoē (Conti Rossini 60 ff., map, Strabo xvi, 4, 14, Pitschmann, Arsinoē, Pauly-Wissowa). We only recognise that the Ptolemies put the whole African coast of the Red Sea more and more under their naval influence and power. Ptolemaic shipping and trade were under strict state control. Before this time, Sabaʾ may have had still influence in its old Ethiopian colony, especially on the coast, in spite of its difficult position in South Arabia between the new strong states of Maʿīn in the North and Ḳatabān in the South, Ḳatabān reaching as far as Aden and the Bāb al-Mandab straits. There was a Sabaltikon Stōma south of Ptolemaïs Thērōn (Artemidorus according to Strabo), there was a place called Sabat (S̲h̲abat ?) opposite the island of Maṣawwaʿ (Strabo, Pliny, Cl. Ptolemy), and there was "the wealthy town of Sabai", probably in the bay of modern ʿAssab (Strabo xvi, 4, 8-10, cf. Conti Rossini, Map pl. 16). On account of the internecine wars in South Arabia, the Ptolemies must have found it rather easy to interfere on the Ethiopian coast. As they

transported elephants in large boats from this coast to Egypt; they may have brought camels to the inhabitants of this coast from Northern Ḥidjāz. Before about 115 B.C., the Ḳatabānian harbour of ʿAden was an important place of trans-shipment, where freights came from Egypt and India (cf. von Wissmann 1957). When at that time the new state of Ḥimyar replaced Ḳatabān in ʿAden and ʿAden was destroyed, Ptolemaic ships were more and more successful in sailing directly to India.

It seems that the kingdom of Aksūm (Ethiopia), which is for the first time mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (about 82-96 A.D.), was a powerful state already at that time and learned much from Graeco-Roman navigation in the Red Sea. Then a king of Aksūm, who probably lived in the mid 2nd century A.D. (Winstedt; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte* V, 599; Mordtmann-Mittwoch 6) according to the Monumentum Adulitanum, which he erected, built a great empire from the frontiers of Egypt to Somaliland (cf. Dittenberger, 287-296; Littmann 1913, i, 42 ff.). He conquered the coast of Arabia and its hinterland from Leukē Kōmē in Northern Ḥidjāz as far south as the frontier of the Sabaean kingdom (Wādī Bays̲h̲ in southern ʿAsīr; Wissmann *l.c.*, 1959). He mentions that he used a navy for this conquest. His name is not known. The Monumentum shows that Aksūm had become a sea power at that time, perhaps supported by Rome. The Monumentum was written in the Greek language and script. Already in the first century A.D. (Periplus) Aksūm had cultivated the Greek language. So it may also have been the king of the Monumentum Adulitanum, who introduced the camel to Ethiopia from his colony in Northern Ḥidjāz. That period must have been a time of quickly rising national consciousness in Ethiopia, in which an official Ethiopian script was probably developed, based on the monumental and cursive Sabaean scripts and influenced by the Greek (left to right, numerals) and the "Thamūdean" script (cf. J. Ryckmans 1955, Ullendorff, Drewes). In the third century, the South of the Red Sea seems to have been under Ethiopian supremacy, while direct trade between the Roman Empire and India had become reduced (Sir M. Wheeler, Wissmann 1957).

The first African people who became camel breeders after those Arab tribes, which had been probably introduced to Berenikē Troglodytikē and Myos Hormos by Ptolemy II, seem to have been the Blemmyes or Bedjā (Pauly-Wissowa, "Blemmyes", by Sethe). According to Strabo xvii, 786, 819, and Ethiopian inscriptions, they lived south-east of Syene between the Nile and the Red Sea. In Strabo's time they were "not very numerous or warlike" (xvii, 1, 53), breeding sheep, goats and cattle. They were no danger for the Empire then. In the following centuries, however, they must have learned camel breeding from their Arab neighbours to such a degree that they became real, and "excellent", raiding camel nomads. Under Decius (249-251 A.D.), their camel razzias became difficult for the Roman Empire. Twenty years later, they were already completely masters of the roads between the Nile and the Red Sea. The trade from Egypt to India on that route had become totally dependent on the good will of the Blemmyes (cf. Bensch, 264 f.). Under Probus (276-284) the Blemmyes temporarily occupied Koptos and Ptolemaïs. Diocletian had to pay tributes to them in 296 on the frontier near Syene. This emperor had called the "Nobatae" (Nobades, i.e. Nubians ?) for help against the Blemmyes and had given them the Dodekaschoinos as a base of settlement (Procopius, Persian War XIX. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Nubai").

In the fourth century A.D., the Blemmyes and the Arab tribes of Egypt with their camels and now also horses became always more dangerous to the Empire by their raids (Ammian. Marcellin. xiv, 4, 3). The Empire had to draw up troops of camel riders against them. At the time of emperor Valens (rd. 370), new Arab tribes migrated across the Isthmus of Suez and occupied the northern part of the "Arabian" Desert east of the Nile, probably as far as the latitude of Thebes. They must have reinforced camel nomadism and fighting on camel's back in the regions round Egypt.

On the rock drawings he discovered in the "Arabian" Desert east of the Nile, H. A. Winkler recognised a "Blemmyan" group, in age between that of cattle breeders and that of the Islamic era. That this group must be dated in this period seems to be certain (Greek and Coptic letters, Hellenistic influence, typical brands). It mostly shows armed people (with bow, spear, sword and rectangular shield) riding on camels or also on horseback. Here, the camel is the main livestock, shown beside horse, donkey and cattle. Winkler says (1938, 41): "In all the former rock drawings peace prevails. In the pictures of the camel-owners all is war. And war they brought, wherever they went".

The author of this article is not qualified to describe the development of nomadism in the dry belts of Africa. When taking the rock drawings as a basis, it looks as if there has been an early period of cattle-breeders, not only in the steppes of the Sūdān and East Africa, but also in the regions of the Ṣaḥārā. Even if we admit that the climate may have periodically been a little moister than at present, it may be doubted whether horned cattle were the main livestock in those desert regions, for which they are not well fitted, although it may be that cattle were introduced earlier than sheep and goats. It seems probable to me that, when nomadic life was completely installed, cattle as holy animals were represented on the rocks although they were of secondary importance in the nomadic economy compared with the goats and the sheep. We may remember that the "Thamūdean" rock drawings in Western Arabia show the hunted animals and the camel, but very little of goats and sheep, although we can be sure that the nomads of those regions then possessed flocks of these animals.

According to Lhote 1953, rock drawings show that in the area of G̲h̲adamēs, Fezzān, Tasīlī and Ahaggar, the horse and a war chariot were introduced in an early period, according to Lhote's hypothesis about 1200 B.C. by "Sea Peoples" from the Aegaean region. Among those war chariot people riding was developed at some time later on without rein and snaffle, just in the way ancient authors describe horse riding of the North African nomads of their own time (Strabo, Polybius, Silius Italicus). In the middle of the 3rd century B.C. riding had fully replaced the use of the war chariot in North African wars. Nomadic razzias were carried out on horseback.

It is curious that we know nothing about the ways the camel was introduced into North-West Africa and the Ṣaḥārā. In literature the camel appears for the first time there in Caesar's *De bello Africano* (c. lxxiii, 4) for the year 46 B.C., when 22 camels were among the booty taken from king Juba. But Juba was a man with wide and varied scientific, especially geographical, interests, and a collector in

the Hellenistic style. It seems probable that he had imported these animals to try out their usefulness in North Africa. Only in Cyrenaica the camel may have been bred in greater numbers in that period: It is shown on coins of the mint of L. Lollius, a commander in Cyrenaica under Pompey. Then there is a hiatus. From the 2nd or perhaps 3rd century, a statuette of a camel rider and a relief showing a hippodrome with a race of chariots drawn by camels were found in the necropolis of Hadrumetum (Sousse, Tunisia). The next indication in literature, however, is for the year 363 A.D. The Roman *comes* of the province of Africa demands 4000 transport camels from the inhabitants of Leptis Magna on the Syrte (Ammian. Marcellin. xxviii, c. 6, 5, xxix, 5, 55). About 400 A.D. there is the report of Synesius that herds of camels and horses then formed the wealth of the inhabitants of Cyrenaica. In the 5th century reports on camel breeding become always more abundant in North Africa, mainly in the regions round the Syrtes.

Most authors, especially Gautier (190 ff.), Gsell and others have concluded from these rather meagre sources that the camel was eventually introduced to North Africa across the Mediterranean Sea. When, however, we consider the position of the Blemmyes in Upper Egypt in the 3rd century A.D. (cf. above), the chain of oases west of Egypt also seems to be a probable route. Besides, we must not forget that any way south of the Libyan Desert remained outside the area of which we have historical reports.

Perhaps future linguistic research as well as excavations may give us help in solving these questions. In the language of the Beḏjā (Blemmyes) the main name of the camel is *ḳām* (*kắm*), in northern Nubia it is *kam* (*kamti*) (Professor Dr. O. Rössler by letter). The Tibbu call the camel *góni*, and this name seems to have been spread by them far over the eastern part of the Sūdān, where Tibbu are told to have introduced the camel (Bensch 171 according to Barth). So in the Mandāra Mountains (northern Cameroons) the camel is called *gōme*, the male camel *elde gōme* (Barth, ii, 534, footnote). Even the Masai call the camel *en-tomes* (Nandi, *tombes*). In the Berber languages including that of the Tawāriḳ, a main designation of the camel is *alghəm* or *alem*. From *alghəm* the Haussa name *raḳumi* and the Nupe name *ṛakum* are certainly derived (O. Rössler). All these names do not seem to be derived from Arab names, but there are other names showing such an etymology.

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(H. von Wissmann)

III. Pre-Islamic Arabia

(a) Sources.
(b) History.
(c) Political Relationships.
(d) Moral Outlook.
(e) Religion.

(a) *Sources*. Our knowledge of the Bedouin in pre-Islamic Arabia is derived mainly from two sources. Firstly, there has been preserved a certain amount of pre-Islamic poetry. Secondly, there are commentaries on this poetry and on old Arab proverbs, composed by Muslim scholars of the second Islamic century and later, and containing much traditional material about events in pré-Islamic times; this

material was also collected by other scholars in special works. The authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry has been denied by modern scholars, notably by D. S. Margoliouth and Ṭaha Ḥusayn, but their theories have not been accepted by the majority of scholars who, while admitting some falsifications, consider that on the whole pre-Islamic poetry has been faithfully transmitted (cf. A. J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, London 1957, 228-45). Similarly, the historical traditions, though once regarded by Western scholars as worthless, are now mostly held to have some factual basis and to reflect the conditions of life in the Dj̲āhiliyya, even though they are insufficient for a proper history. In certain points this traditional material is confirmed by statements of the Ḳur'ān or inferences from these, and is both confirmed and supplemented by the numerous inscriptions found in Arabia by modern archaeologists.

(b) *History*. From the dawn of history nomads from the Arabian steppe have been pressing on the surrounding lands of settled civilisation. At some periods the pressure has been greater and the penetration of the settled lands deeper, and the nomads have been said to come in "waves". In pre-Christian times Hebrews, Aramaeans, Arabs and Nabataeans entered Syria and ʿIrāḳ, while in the six centuries before the Hid̲j̲ra there was further pressure from Arabs and Palmyrenes. The nomads would come first of all to raid, but frequently they would themselves settle (*e.g.*, the Tanūk̲h̲ in ʿIrāḳ about 225 A.D.). Close relations between settled nomads and those still in the desert facilitated trade. Only nomads could conduct caravans of merchandise across deserts, and only strong bodies of nomads could guarantee the safe transit of such caravans. Thus in the history of the Byzantine and Sāsānian empires the nomads appear in the two rôles of raider and trader.

The two empires tried in various ways to defend themselves from the hostile and predatory incursions of nomads. The most effective way was found to be the employment of semi-nomadic rulers on the imperial frontiers to ward off from the settled lands raiding parties from the heart of the steppes. In ʿIrāḳ this rôle was played by the Lak̲h̲mid kings of al-Ḥīra from about 300 A.D. to the end of the dynasty in 602. On the Byzantine frontier the corresponding rôle was played by the G̲h̲assānids, but they were later in attaining importance (it was in 529 that Justinian granted certain titles to the G̲h̲assānid king), and apparently had only a camp for capital, not possessing any city comparable to al-Ḥīra. This system of defence was altered shortly before the Muslim invasions. In al-Ḥīra a Persian resident controlled the Arab chief who succeeded the Lak̲h̲mids, while the Byzantine subsidies to the G̲h̲assānids seem to have ceased with the Persian invasion (613-629) and not to have been restored afterwards.

While it is clear that the nomads of Arabia were extensively involved in commerce, the details have not yet been closely studied. The nomads were in contact not only with the Byzantine and Persian empires, but also with the Ḥimyarite kingdom in South Arabia (until it was overthrown by the Abyssinians about 525). The prosperity of South Arabian civilisation was dependent on trade, and with a decline in its trade (perhaps through the loss of control of the Red Sea) the civilisation declined. Arab tradition speaks of the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib as marking the break up of South Arabian culture, but archaeological discoveries point to a series of breakdowns of the irrigation system, and the presumption is that these are symptoms of the decline of South Arabia and not its cause. Arab tradition further connects with the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib the northward movement of many nomadic tribes (together with their abandonment of a settled life, it would seem). At the same time overland trade by camel caravan between the Yemen, Syria and ʿIrāḳ began to flourish, and by 600 A.D. this was largely under the control of the Ḳurays̲h̲ of Mecca. The Ḳurays̲h̲ themselves had the city of Mecca as headquarters and to this extent were no longer nomads, but their commerce required alliances and other relationships with many nomadic tribes. The convoying and guaranteeing of caravans thus made important contributions to the livelihood of the nomads, and the fairs at which the merchandise brought by the caravans changed hands enabled the nomads to obtain many goods not produced in the steppe. Altogether the nomadic economy of pre-Islamic Arabia was far from being insulated and autarkic.

(c) *Political Relationships*. The social and political units among the Arabian nomads were groups of varying sizes. Western writers usually refer to these as 'tribes' or, in the case of the smaller groups and subdivisions, 'sub-tribes' and 'clans', but those terms do not correspond exactly to Arabic terms. There are a number of words in Arabic for such social and political units, but the commonest usage is to refer to a tribe or clan simply as Banū Fulān ('the sons of so-and-so').

The structure of these pre-Islamic tribes has not yet been adequately studied in the light of recent advances in social anthropology. They are presented in Arab tradition as being primarily constituted by kinship in the male line, though there are certain exceptions to this. A person not related to a group by blood (not a *ṣaḥīḥ* or *ṣamīm*) could enjoy some of the privileges of membership, above all protection. He might do so as an 'ally' (*ḥalīf*), a 'protected neighbour' (*d̲j̲ār*), or a 'client' (*mawlā*). The parties to an 'alliance' (*ḥilf*) were formally equal, but when a single individual lived as an ally among a tribe or clan, he tended to fall into a subordinate or dependent position. 'Neighbourly protection' (*d̲j̲iwār*), on the other hand, implied some superiority, at least of a temporary kind, in the person granting it; it could be either temporary or permanent. The status of 'client' was acquired by a slave on his emancipation. Attached to the tribe were slaves; male Arabs could become slaves through being captured in raids when children; and there were also Abyssinian slaves. A man could be expelled from his tribe for killing a kinsman or for conduct harmful to the tribe, and might wander alone (as a *ṣuʿlūk*) or else attach himself to another tribe as *d̲j̲ār*, etc.

There are strong reasons, however, for thinking that the traditional view that the members of the tribe or clan in the strict sense were patrilineally related is not a complete account of the matter, even though some tribes were so constituted. Firstly, there are numerous traces of matriliny among certain Arab tribes in Muḥammad's time, and also some facts which suggest that it was being superseded by patriliny. Though it is uncertain how extensive matriliny was and what it involved in practice, there is sufficient evidence to cast doubts on the value of the purely patrilineal genealogies found in the works of the later Muslim scholars. It seems possible that, in some cases where matriliny prevailed, the later

scholars, finding no patrilineal genealogy for a member of the group, argued that he must have been a *ḥalīf*; perhaps this is how to explain the fact that the head of the clan of Zuhra et Mecca was a *ḥalīf* (al-Akhnas b. Sharīḳ).

Secondly, it has been argued that some of the tribal names were originally the names of groups with a local or political basis, and did not indicate common descent (cf. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, iii, 72-79). This has probably happened in some cases, and it is then the later genealogists who have transformed group names into eponymous ancestors; but Some of the weaker tribes near Mecca had thus become largely dependent on Ḳuraysh. Some still weaker ones had banded themselves together and were known as the Aḥābīsh, probably meaning "mixed multitudes" (the view of Lammens that the Aḥābīsh were Abyssinian slaves contradicts statements in Ibn Hishām, 245, and Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 81 and has little to recommend it; cf. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 81 and M. Hamidullah in *Studi Orientalistici in Onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, i, 434-47).

The affairs of a tribe were usually settled in an

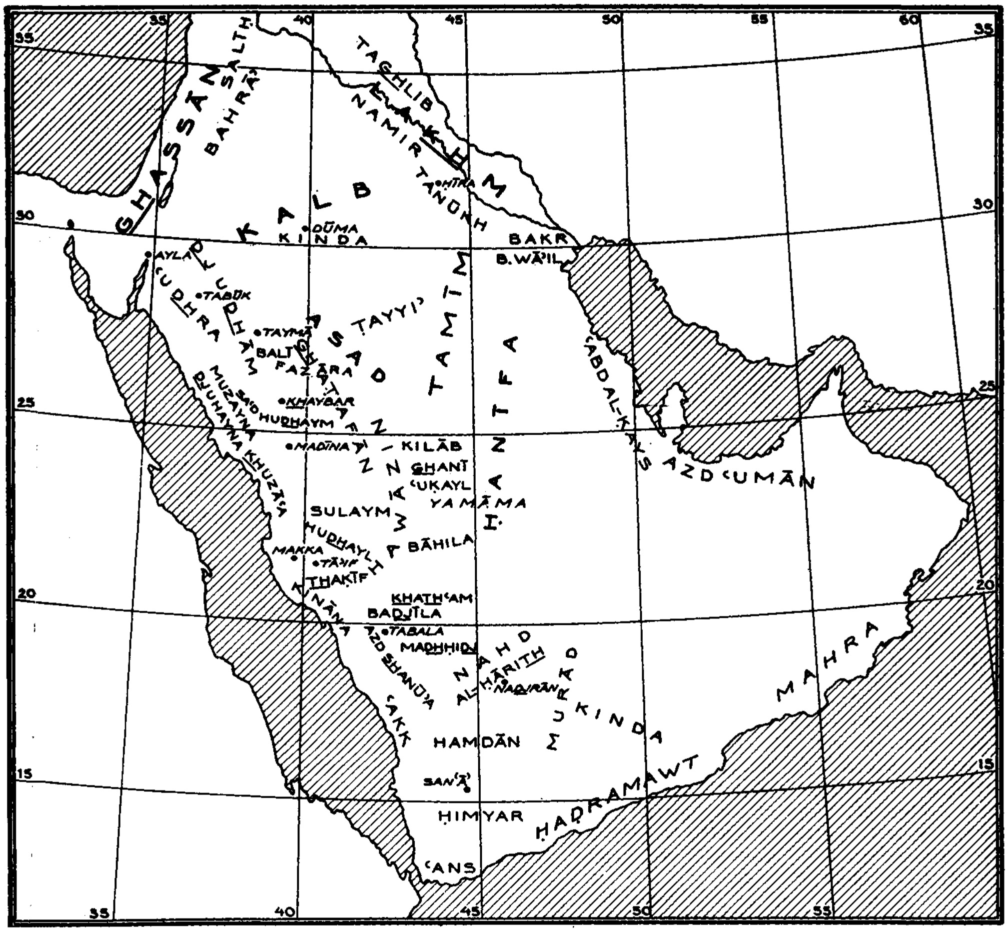

TRIBAL ARABIA

Prepared by P. Cachia

it would be hazardous to explain all genealogies in this way. What may be taken as certain is that the structure of desert tribes was constantly changing. Some tribes would prosper, would become too numerous to function effectively as a unit, and would split up into two or more sub-tribes. This is probably the explanation of the fact that the Arabs of Muḥammad's time had names for certain groups consisting of several tribes (cf. Nallino, *op. cit.*, 76). On the other hand, where a tribe did not prosper, it dwindled in number, and then had a choice between becoming dependent on some stronger tribe, allying itself with other weak tribes or simply disappearing.

assembly or meeting (*madjlis*) of all the members. All might speak, but most weight attached to the words of men of recognised authority. The leader or chief of the tribe, the *sayyid*, was appointed by acclamation in the assembly. He usually came from the family considered most honourable, but there was no law of primogeniture. In the harsh conditions of the desert it was essential that the chief should himself be able to lead effectively and a minor could not have done this. The *sayyid* had certain duties, especially in respect of the relations of the tribe (or clan) to other tribes (or clans). He could make treaties which bound the tribe, and was responsible

for ransoming prisoners and for seeing that blood-wit was paid. He usually also claimed the right of entertaining strangers, and he was expected to help the poor of his tribe. In return for these duties he had the privilege of receiving a fourth part of any spoils taken in raids. Disputes between members of a group would normally be referred to their *sayyid*. Disputes between members of groups which had no common *sayyid* often led to fighting, but sometimes were referred to an arbiter (*ḥakam*); there were one or two men in different parts of Arabia who were outstanding for their wisdom and impartiality, and these were frequently asked to arbitrate. Apart from such voluntary submission to the decision of an arbiter and from membership of an alliance of tribes, each main tribe was an independent political unit. Occasionally the *sayyid* of a strong tribe through the force of his personality and through military prowess, established his ascendancy over a number of other tribes, so that they entered into alliance with him and carried out his orders; but this was resented, and the alliance broke up on the removal of the forceful personality.

(d) *Moral Outlook*. The life of the Badw was set in natural conditions of great harshness. At most times the means of sustenance were less than sufficient for the population. There was therefore a constant tendency for the strong to seize the means of sustenance, especially the camels, of the weak. This led to the organisation of the nomads into tribes and clans with a high degree of group solidarity. The larger groups were stronger, but the need to scatter at certain times to find pasturage for the camels made it difficult for groups beyond a certain size to act effectively as units. Hence, as noted above, the tendency of large and prosperous tribes to split up.

The razzia (*g̲h̲azw*, *g̲h̲azwa*) or raid to capture camels was almost a sport with the Badw, and bloodshed was avoided. When hostility deepened, however, raiding changed its character; adult males were killed, and women and children captured and then held to ransom or sold as slaves. The *lex talionis* was universally recognised, and served to check wanton and irresponsible killing, since it was a matter of honour for a tribe to protect or avenge its members and those attached to it. In the older days a life had to be avenged by a life, but in Muḥammad's time there was a tendency, which he tried to develop, of substituting for the life the payment of a blood-wit (*diya*), normally a hundred camels for an adult male. It was sometimes felt, however, to be unmanly thus 'to substitute milk for blood'.

The qualities admired by the Badw were those required for success in the hard life of the steppe. Loyalty to the kinship-group had a high place, and involved readiness to help one's kinsman against a stranger on any occasion. With this was coupled fortitude or manliness (*ḥamāsa*), which denoted 'bravery in battle, patience in misfortune, persistence in revenge, protection of the weak and defiance of the strong' (R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge 1930, 79).

The poets played an important rôle in the life of the pre-Islamic Arabs. The ode (*ḳasida*) usually contained either *mafāk̲h̲ir*, boastings, that is, praise of one's own tribe for its fortitude and other virtues, or *mat̲h̲ālib*, revilings (also *hid̲j̲ā'*, satire), that is, dispraise of one's enemies. It was held that human excellence or the lack of it was to a large extent inherited. A hero's deeds showed the heroic qualities of his family, clan and tribe. Great store was thus set on the reputation of the group. The power of the poet to convince his tribe of its own worth and to lower the morale of the enemy was very great. Poets had probably more power in pre-Islamic Arabia than the press in modern times. The Arabs felt there was something supernatural or magical about them.

Although descent counted for so much, it is not clear (as noted above) to what extent this was reckoned patrilineally and to what extent matrilineally. Four types of pre-Islamic marriage are described by al-Buk̲h̲ārī (67, 37, 1; translated in Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 378); two of these, though provision for determining paternity is described by al-Buk̲h̲ārī, seem to belong to a primarily matrilineal system. The sources, moreover, suggest that al-Buk̲h̲ārī's account is not exhaustive. Certainly it was common for the woman to live with her kinsmen, and for her husband merely to 'visit' her for short periods—for example, when their tribes happened to be camped close to one another.

(e) *Religion*. Pre-Islamic poetry suggests that for the nomadic tribes a quasi-religious dynamic was produced by a belief in the human excellence of the tribal stock. Regard for honour or reputation (*ḥasab*) was the driving force in much of their activity. In this sense it may be said that the real religion of the Badw was a tribal humanism. The widespread belief in fate among the Arabs was not so much a religious belief as a factual belief, *viz.* a belief that the world was so constituted that, as often as not, human efforts to avert disaster would be thwarted by circumstances. Fate was not worshipped as a deity.

Apart from this there were a number of cults observed by the Arabs, each centred at a particular shrine (see arts. AL-LĀT, MANĀT, etc.). Some of these were of social importance, since round the shrines was a sacred area (*ḥaram*), while the institution of the sacred month was administered from the Kaʿba at Mecca. Such sacred times and places, in which blood feuds temporarily ceased, made it possible for many Badw to come together for trade and other purposes. On the whole, however, these cults seem to have little religious importance, properly speaking, in the life of the Badw.

Christianity had spread widely in Arabia when Muḥammad began to preach, and some nomadic groups were at least nominally Christian. Judaism was also found, and some of those called 'Jews' in the records were probably Arabs who had adopted Judaism; but, though they had close relations with Badw, none of them appears to have been nomadic.

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BAENA [see BAYYĀNA].

BAEZA [see BAYYĀSA].

BAGGĀRA [see BAḲḲĀRA].

BĀGH [see BUSTĀN].

AL-**BAGHAWĪ**, ABŪ MUHAMMAD AL-ḤUSAYN B. MAS'ŪD B. MUḤ. AL-FARRĀ' (or IBN AL-FARRĀ'), a doctor of the Shāfi'ī school, traditionist, and commentator on the Ḳur'ān. His *laḳabs* were Rukn al-Dīn and Muḥyi 'l-Sunna. He came from the village of Bagh or Baghshūr near Harāt (cf. al-Sam'ānī, f. 86a). Al-Farrā' (furrier) comes from his father's occupation. He studied *fiḳh* under the *ḳāḍī* al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Marw al-Rūdhī, becoming his favourite pupil; and heard traditions from a number of traditionists. He was noted for piety and asceticism, and observed ceremonial purity while teaching. Although he wrote on various subjects, the work for which he is most famous is his *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna* (or *al-Dudjā*), which consists of a collection of traditions arranged according to their subject-matter. In each chapter he first gives traditions which are sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) meaning by these traditions from the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim; then traditions which are good (*ḥasan*), meaning traditions which he has taken from the books of Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, and other *imāms*. In many chapters he also includes traditions which have only one authority at some stage of the *isnād* (*gharīb*), and even traditions which are weak (*ḍa'īf*). But he claims that he includes none which are rejected (*munkar*), or spurious (*mawḍū'*). The *isnāds* are dispensed with, but the arrangement according to the degree of authority is a sufficient guide to what is accepted. Al-Baghawī declares that his purpose was to provide material for religious people which would help them to live a life pleasing to God. Editions have been published in Būlāḳ, 1294, and Cairo, 1318. This work has been very popular, especially in the edition arranged by Walī al-Dīn (d. 743/1342) with the title *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*. It has frequently been printed; an English translation was published by A. N. Matthews (Calcutta 1809-10), and another, with some arrangement of the text, by Maulana Fazlul Karim with the Arabic and English in parallel columns (Calcutta 1938-9). Al-Baghawī's other extant works are listed in Brockelmann. He died in Marw al-Rūdh in 516/1122, but Ibn Khallikān mentions also 510/1117. Al-Dhahabī says he may have been eighty years of age, but al-Subkī suggests that he may have been nearly ninety.

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BAGHBŪR [see FAGHFŪR].

BĀGHČE SARĀY (Turkish: «Garden Palace»), in Russian orthography: BAKHČI-SARAY, the capital of the Krim Tatar state throughout the entire (including the dependent) rule of the Girāy dynasty [*q.v.*] from about 1423 to 1783, lies in lat. 44° 45′ N. and long. 33° 55′ E., 32 km. south-west of Simferópol′, in a narrow, 7 km. long, gorge of the Čürük Ṣu ("Foul Water"). Bāghče Sarāy arose between the old administrative centre of the Crimea, Eski Yurt, in the west, where the Krim Khāns were buried until the 10th/16th century and the ancient Karaite settlement, Čufut Ḳal'e ("fort of the Jews") in the east (in Karaite: Ḳırḳ Yer, "40 Places"); it developed from an extensive burial ground that the most important of the Krim Khāns, Menglī Girāy [*q.v.*] began in 1503-1504 (909 A.H., according to an inscription) with the building of a "Garden Palace", completed in 1519. Around this palace there developed gradually a new settlement which was named after it Bāghče Sarāy and was constructed in a loose and haphazard fashion, a characteristic that has remained true of the site even down to the present time. The remnants of older Christian buildings are said to have been used for the construction of a stone mosque and a dervish cloister. The Zindjirli ("Chains") *madrasa*, established at that time, has survived even until today (*Ḳrym Medjmū'asi*, Istanbul 1918, no. i, 16-19 and no. x, 188 ff.; Bodaninskij, 19 ff.; Seydamet, 36-40). Thereafter the two neighbouring settlements fell gradually into decay. Yet the name Ḳırḳ Yer was still retained on the coinage; only from 1644 does the name Bāghče Sarāy appear on coins, that town continuing to be thereafter the sole mint in the land. A peace was concluded at Bāghče Sarāy in 1092/1681 between the Krim Tatars, the Turks and the Russians, the Dnieper being recognised as the frontier between their respective dominions. By this peace the Krim Tatars and the Turks at last agreed to the incorporation of the Ukraine territories on the left bank of the river and the Cossack lands into the Muscovite state.

When Bāghče Sarāy was devastated in the course of a Russian incursion (1736), a quarter of the town, including the palace, the chief mosque and the precious library that Selīm Girāy I (four times Khān between 1671 and 1704) had founded, suffered destruction. Only 124 bound volumes of documents survived; they were later deposited at St. Petersburg by V. D. Smirnov (cf. K. Inostrancev, in *Zapiski Vost. otd. Arkh. ob-va*, vol. xviii, p. XVIII). The town was rebuilt, however, in the following years, during a period of renewed cultural efflorescence in the Crimea. The palace arose once more and was extended (1737-1743); it is now surrounded on three sides by a wall surmounted with various buildings. A new Council Hall (*Dīwān*) was erected in 1743, adorned with rich decoration, sculptures, arcades and paintings. The library was revived with the aid of bequests from Istanbul.

As a consequence of the peace of Küčük Ḳaynardja [*q.v.*] in 1774 the numerous Greek-Orthodox and Armenian elements in the population of the town (about one third of the inhabitants) were resettled in 1779, against the wish of the Tatars, on territories already at that time under Russian rule, i.e., northward on the Sea of Azov and in the region of Rostov on the Don (New Nakhdjovān: Nakhičeván, in Russian). The result was that Bāghče Sarāy became an almost exclusively Tatar town and this distinctive character was expressly confirmed after the incorporation of the Crimea into Russia by Catherine II in 1783. Bāghče Sarāy, in 1787, numbered 5,776 inhabitants (3,166 of them, men; the women, as it would seem, being in part passed over in silence in the census) living in 1561 dwelling-houses; there were also 31 stone mosques, one Orthodox and one Armenian-Gregorian church, two synagogues, two baths and 16 caravanserais. 110 wells were fed, through underground canals, from 32 springs in the mountains. In 1794 Čufut Ḳal'e still had 1162 Karaites, with two synagogues and a school; only in the 19th cent. did this town become almost wholly deserted. Bāghče Sarāy, in 1881, numbered 13,377 inhabitants, amongst whom were 697 Karaites and 210 Rabbanite Jews, together with a very small number of Greeks, Armenians and Gipsies; the population had fallen by 1897 to 12,955.

The town retained its importance even in the

19th century. It developed a great craft activity (famed morocco leather in red and yellow, candles, soap, agricultural implements, shoes, treatment of sheepskins, and, in the 20th cent., essential oils). Bāg͟hče Sarāy was, moreover, the centre of national and cultural aspirations in the Crimea. Here, from 1883, the notable Russo-Turkish pioneer Ismāʿīl Bey Gaspīralī (Russian: Gasprinsky, 1851-1914) published the important paper *Terd͟jümān* ("Interpreter"), the language of which was intended to form a compromise between the various Turkish dialects and thus to further co-operation between those who spoke them; in actual fact the language of the paper was very largely Ottoman (cf. G. Burbiel, *Die Sprache Ismāʿīl Bey Gaspyralys*, Thesis, Hamburg 1950 (typescript); G. von Mende, *Der nationale Kampf der Russlandtürken*, Berlin 1936 (Index); Cafer Seydamet, *Gaspīralī Ismail Bey*, Istanbul 1934). In the following year Gaspīralī founded at Bāg͟hče Sarāy a model school which became, until 1905, the pattern for some 5000 Muslim primary schools in Russia. The palace of the K͟hāns, on the occasion of a visit of Catherine II, had already been restored by G. Ye. Potyomkin and was thereafter maintained, on archaeological grounds, as the "sole great example of Tatar building within the Russian state".

Bāg͟hče Sarāy became once more an administrative centre in the time of Crimean independence (1918-1920). During the German occupation of 1941-1944 it attained, however, no political importance. None the less, Bāg͟hče Sarāy suffered heavily, when Soviet troops retook the town in April 1944; the palace of the K͟hāns was damaged, but is now restored (in part?) and serves both as an Oriental Museum and (since 1950) as a monument in honour of the Russian general Suvorov, who had his headquarters here. As a result of the forcible "re-settlement" of the Krim Tatars (1944-1945) Bāg͟hče Sarāy has wholly lost its former character. The present number and composition of the inhabitants are no longer given in the *Bolʼs͟haya Sovyetskaya Enciklopediya*, iv (1950), 333; nor are details to be found there on the other conditions now prevailing in the town.

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BAG͟HDĀD. Bag͟hdād is situated on both banks of the Tigris, at 33° 26 18″ Lat. N. and 44° 23 9″ Long. E. respectively. Founded in the 8th century A.D. it continued to be the centre of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate till its fall, and the cultural metropolis of the Muslim world for centuries. After 1258 it became a provincial centre and remained under the Ottomans the centre of the Bag͟hdād *wilāyet*. In 1921 it became the capital of modern ʿIrāḳ.

History.

The name Bag͟hdād is pre-Islamic, related to previous settlements on the site. Arab authors realise this and as usual look for Persian origins (cf. Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ*, iv, 101; Ibn Rusta, 108). They give different hypothetical explanations, the most common of which is "given by God" or "Gift of God" (or the Idol). (see K͟haṭīb, i, 58-9 (Cairo); Yāḳūt, i, 678-9; Abu 'l-Fidā', i, 292; Ibn al-D͟jawzī, *Manāḳib*, 6; Bakrī, i, 169; Ibn al-Faḳīh, Mas͟hhad MS. f. 29 *b*). Modern writers generally tend to favour this Persian derivation (cf. Salmon, *Introduction*, 23-4; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 10-11; Streck, *Landschaft*, i, 49-50; Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 153; W. Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*, i, 178; *JRIA.*, i, 46-94). Others tend to give the name an Aramaic origin meaning, "the home or enclosure of sheep" (Y. Ghanīma and A. Karmalī in *Lug͟hat al-ʿArab*, iv, 27; vi, 748. Note Ṭabarī's reference to Sūḳ al-Baḳar, "the cow market", on the site of Bag͟hdād (iii, 277). Delitzsch favours an Aramaic origin without explaining the meaning (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 206, 238).

A legal document of the time of Hammurabi (1800 B.C.) mentions the city of Bagdadu (Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden* No. 197 l. 17.) This indicates that the name was in use before Hammurabi and definitely before any possible Persian influence. Bag and Ḫu are rendered by the same sign. However a boundary stone from the time of the Kassite King Nazimaruttaš (1341-1316 B.C.) mentions the city Pilari on the bank of "Nah. Sharri" in the district of Bagdadi (De Morgan, *Délégation en perse*, i, 86-92). This with the mention of Bagdatha several times in the Talmud makes Bag the more acceptable reading (Obermeyer, *Landschaft Babylonien*, 1929, 147 ff.; Jewish Encyc., *Baghdad*). Another boundary stone of the reign of the Babylonian king Marduk-apaliddin (1208-1195 B.C.) mentions the city Bag͟hdād (*Délégation en Perse*, iii, 32-39).

Adad-nirari II (911-891 B.C.) plundered places amongst which was Bagda(du) (*Synchronistic History*, iii L. 12 = K BI, 200). In the 8th century B.C. Bag͟hdād became an Aramaean settlement. Tiglatpilasser III (745-727 B.C.) mentions Bagdadu in connexion with an Aramaean tribe (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 238).

From this it is only fair to admit that the origins of the name are not clear. The fact that Bag was adopted by the Iranians about the 8th century B.C. to denote "God", and that it figured in personal names does not change the situation (*Reallexikón*, i, 341).

Al-Manṣūr called his city Madīnat al-Salām (city of peace), in reference to paradise (Ḳurʾān, vi, 127; x, 26). This was the official name on documents,

coins, weights etc. Variations of the name, esp. Bughdān and appelations such as Madīnat Abī Dja'far, Madīnaṭ al-Manṣūr, Madīnat al-Khulafā' and Al-Zawrā' were used (Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 29*b*; Yāḳūt, i, 678; Ibn Rusta, 108). Zawrā' seems to be an old name as the *Fakhrī* states (*al-Fakhrī*, 145; cf. Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 41). For later explanations see Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh* (Cairo), 312; Yāḳūt, ii, 954). Arab authors state that al-Manṣūr built his city where many pre-Islamic settlements existed, the most important of which was the village of Baghdād, (see Ṭabarī, ii, 277; and i, 2067; Ibn Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 7; Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldan*, 237), on the west bank of the Tigris north of Ṣarāt (Ṭabarī, iii, 277). Some consider it of Badūryā and refer to its annual fair (Khaṭīb, i, 25-7; Ibn Djawzī, *Manaḳib*, 6; Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, 275) and this would help to explain why Karkh was later the quarter for merchants. A number of old settlements, chiefly Aramaean, were on the western side in the vicinity of Karkh. Among these is Khaṭṭābiyya (by Bāb al-Shām), Sharafāniyya, and north of it Wardāniyya which became within al-Ḥarbiyya quarter, Sūnāya near the junction of Ṣarāt with the Tigris (later al-'Atīḳa) Ḳaṭuftā at the corner where the Rufayl canal flows into the Tigris, and Barātha where the Karkhāya canal branches from the 'Īsā canal. Three small settlements were between the Karkhāya canal and Ṣarāt, *i.e.*, Sāl, Warthālā (later Ḳallā'īn quarter) and Banāwrā. Karkh itself (Aramaic *karkha* meaning a fortified town) takes its name from an earlier village, which Persian traditions attribute to Shāpūr II (309-379 A.D.) (Mustawfī, 40; see Ṭabarī, iii, 278 9; Khaṭīb, 27, 33, Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 342-3, Yāḳūt, iii, 613 and Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 7).

According to Xenophon the Achaemenids possessed vast parks in the district of Baghdād (at Sittake). Arab authors refer to two such gardens (cf. Khaṭīb, 28; Mustawfī, 40). Near the mouth of the 'Īsā canal, there was a Sasanian Palace (*ḳaṣr Sābūr*) where al-Manṣūr later built a bridge. The old Ḳanṭara (*al-ḳanṭara al-'atīḳa*) across the Ṣarāt canal, south-west of the Kūfā gate, was Sasanian. On the eastern side, Sūḳ al-Thalāthā' and Khayzurān cemetery were pre-Islamic. There were some monasteries in the area which are pre-Islamic like Dayr Mārfathion (al-Dayr al-'Atīḳ) where al-Khuld palace was built, Dayr Bustān al-Ḳuss, and Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ near which Shaykh Ma'rūf was buried. (Ṭabarī, iii, 274, 277; Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 36-37a; Khaṭīb, 46, 28; Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 312; Dhahabī, *Duwal*, i, 76; Mustawfī, 40).

None of these ancient settlements attained any political or commercial importance, so that the city of al-Manṣūr may be regarded as a new foundation. Baghdād is very often confused with Babylon by European travellers in the middle ages and sometimes with Seleucia, and appears in their accounts as Babel, Babellonia, etc. The erroneous application of the later name to Baghdād is likewise common in the Talmudic exegetic literature of the Babylonian Geonim (in the 'Abbāsid period) as well as in later Jewish authors. Pietro della Valle who was in Baghdād (1616-7) was the first to refute this error, widely spread in his time. Down to the 17th century the name Baghdād was generally known in the West in the corrupted form Baldach (Baldacco) which might be derived from the Chinese form of the name (cf. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, i, 138; ii, 124; Travels of Marco Polo, ed. Frampton, 29, 126).

The 'Abbāsids turned to the east and looked for a new capital to symbolise their *dawla*. The first caliph, al-Saffāḥ, moved from Kūfa to Anbār. Al-Manṣūr moved to Hāshimiyya near Kūfa, but he soon realised that the turbulent pro-'Alid Kūfa was a bad influence on his army, while Hāshimiyya was vulnerable as was proved by the Rāwandiyya rising (cf. Yāḳut, i, 680-1; Ṭabarī, iii, 271-2; Fakhrī (Cairo), 143). He looked, therefore, for a strategic site.

After careful exploration, he chose the site of Baghdād for military, economic and climatic considerations. It stood on a fertile plain where cultivation was good on both sides of the river. It was on the Khurāsān road and was a meeting place of caravan routes, and monthly fairs were held there, and thus provisions could be plentiful for army and people. There was a net of canals which served cultivation and could be ramparts for the city. It was in the middle of Mesopotamia, and enjoyed a temperate and healthy climate and was fairly safe from mosquitoes (Ya'ḳūbī, 235-8; Ṭabarī, iii, 271-5; Yāḳūt, i, 679-80; *Manāḳib*, 7-8; Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*, 119-120; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 426-7; Ibn al-Djawzī, 7; Ya'ḳūbī, ii, 449; *Fakhrī*, 143-5). Apocryphal stories about its merits and al-Manṣūr's destiny to build it found circulation later (cf. Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, 237; *Fakhrī*, 144; Ṭabarī (Cairo), vi, 234-5; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 7-8).

Baghdād was to succeed Babylon, Seleucia and Ctesiphon and to outshine them all.

Ya'ḳūbī (278-891), and Ibn al-Faḳīh (290/903), give early detailed descriptions of Baghdād by quarters, while Suhrāb (c. 900 A.D.) describes the net of canals in the area. The city with its fortifications and its inner plan looks like a big fortress. There was first a deep ditch, 40 *dhirā'* (= 20.27 m.) ~~wide, surrounding~~ the city, then a quay of bricks, then the first wall 18 *dhirā'* (= 9 m.), at the base, followed by a space 56.9 metres in width (= 100 *dhirā'*, see for measures Rayyis, *Kharādj*) left empty for defensive purposes. Then came the main wall of sun-burnt bricks—34.14 metres high, 50.2 metres wide at the bottom and 14.22 metres at the top—with great towers numbering 28 between each two gates except those between the Kūfa and Baṣra gates which numbered 29. On each of the gates a dome was built to overlook the city, with quarters below for the guards. Then came a space 170.70 metres wide where houses were built. Only officers and loyal followers (*mawālī*) were allowed to build here, and yet each road had two strong gates which could be locked. Then came a simple third wall enclosing the large inner space where only the caliph's palace (Bāb al-Dhahab), the great mosque, the *dīwāns*, houses of the sons of the caliph, and two *saḳīfas*, one for the chief of the guard and the other for the chief of police, were built. To ensure control of the city and to facilitate communications internally and with caravan routes externally, the city was divided into four equal parts divided by two roads running from its equidistant gates. The Khurāsān gate (also called Bāb al-Dawla) was to the N.E., the Baṣra gate to the S.W., the Syria gate to the N.W. and the Kūfa gate to the S.E. To get to the inner circle, one had to cross the ditch and to pass five doors, two at the outer wall, two huge doors at the great wall and one door at the inner wall (see Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, i, 238-242; Ṭabarī, iii, 322-3, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 9-10; Khaṭīb, 9-12; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 427-8, 439; Ya'ḳūbī, ii, 449; Ibn al-Faḳīh, MS, f. 33a).

Ancient imperial traditions are also noticeable in the plan. The seclusion of the caliph from his people, the grandiose plan of the palace and the mosque to show the greatness of the new *dawla*, the division of the people in separate quarters which could be

locked and guarded at night—all testify to that.

Al-Manṣūr granted some devoted followers and captains tracts of land by the gates outside the city, and gave his soldiers the outskirts (*arbāḍ*) to build and granted some of his kinsfolk outlying places (*aṭrāf*) (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 449-50; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 240).

The glory of the Round City was the Green Dome, 48.36 metres high, towering over the palace with a mounted horseman on top. It fell in 329/941 on a stormy night, probably struck by a thunderbolt (Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 229, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 317-18; *Manāḳib*, 11; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, iii, 270; Khaṭīb, 11). However its walls lasted much longer, and they finally crumbled in 653/1255 A.D. (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 303, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, viii, 67). Marble and stone were used in the building of the Bāb al-Dhahab, and gold decorated its gate. It continued to be the official residence for about half a century, and though Rashīd neglected it, Amīn added a new wing to it and built a "*maydān*" around it. During the siege of Baghdād in 198/814 it suffered much damage. Then it ceased to be the official residence and was neglected (cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 303).

The mosque (Djāmiʿ al-Manṣūr) was built after the palace and thus was slightly divergent from the Ḳibla (cf. Ṭabarī (Cairo), vi, 265, Ibn al-Athīr, v, 439). In 191/807 Rashīd demolished it, and rebuilt it with bricks. It was enlarged in 260-1/875 and finally in 280/893. Muʿtaḍid added another court to it and renewed parts of it (*Muntaẓam*, v, 21, 143). The mosque had a minaret (Khaṭīb, v, 125) which was burnt in 303/915 (*Muntaẓam*, vi, 130), but was rebuilt again (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 284). It continued to be the great mosque of Baghdād during the period of the caliphate. It was flooded in 653/1255 and survived this and the Mongol invasion.

The plan of Baghdād reflects social ideas. Each quarter had a responsible personage, and generally had a homogeneous group, ethnically (Persian, Arabs, Khwārizmians), or by vocation. Soldiers had their homes outside the walls, generally north and west of the city, while merchants and craftsman had their centres south of the Ṣarat in Karkh (see Ibn al-Faḳīh, MS. f. 37b; 33b, 29b).

Markets play a prominent part in the plan of Baghdād. Initially, along each of the four ways from the great wall to the inner wall were high arched rooms (*ṭāḳāt*) where shops were put, thus constituting four markets (cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 322). Besides, the Caliph ordered that each of the four sections outside the wall should have ample space for markets, so that each section should have a great market (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 242). Safety considerations prompted al-Manṣūr in 157/773 to order the removal of markets from the Round City to Karkh. He wanted to keep the turbulent populace away from the city and to ensure that gates of quarters are not left open at night for the markets, and to guard against possible spies infiltrating into the city. He drew a plan for the markets to be built between the Ṣarāt and ʿĪsā canals (Ṭabarī, iii, 324-5; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 13-4; Yāḳūt, iv, 254).

Each craft or trade had its separate market or road (*darb*). Among the markets of Karkh, were the fruit market, the cloth market, the food market, the money—changers' market, the market of book-shops, the sheep market (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 241, 245, 246, 253; Iṣṭakhrī, 84, Ibn Ḥawḳal, 242; Khaṭīb, 22, 31, 67, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 26-28). With the growth of the city we hear of merchants from Khurāsān and Transoxania, Marw, Balkh, Bukhārā, Khwārizm, and they had their markets at Ḥarbiyya quarter, and each group of these merchants had a leader and a chief (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 246-248). It seems that each craft had its chief chosen by the government (see Dūrī, *Ta'rīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-Iḳtiṣādī*, 81).

There is a tradition that al-Manṣūr wanted to pull down a part of the white Palace in Ctesiphon to use the bricks in his buildings, but that he stopped because expenditure did not justify the operation. Another report attributes to al-Manṣūr the idea of repairing that palace, but says that he did not have the time to carry it through. Both traditions are reminiscent of the Shuʿūbiyya controversy. The city was built mainly of sun-burnt bricks.

Yaʿḳūbī reports that the plan was drawn in 141/755 (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 238) but work started on 1 Djumādā 145/2 Aug. 762 (Khwārizmī's report in Khaṭīb 2; cf. Wiet, Yaʿḳūbī, 11, n. 4). Four architects worked on the plan of the city. Ḥadjdjādj b. Arṭāt was the architect of the mosque (Ṭabarī (Cairo), vi, 265, 237; Yaʿḳūbī, 241). Al-Manṣūr assembled 100,000 workers and craftsmen to work in the construction (Yaḳubī, 238, Ṭabarī, iii, 277). A canal was drawn from Karkhāya canal to the site to provide water for drinking and for building operations (Yaʿḳūbī, 238). It seems that in 146/763 the palace, mosque and dīwāns at least were completed and al-Manṣūr moved to Baghdād (Ṭabarī, iii, 313, Khaṭīb, 2). By 149/766 the Round City was completed (Ṭabarī, iii, 353; Khaṭīb, 2-3).

The 'Round City' of al-Manṣūr is a remarkable example of town planning. It was circular so that the centre was equidistant from the different parts and could be easily controlled or defended. Arab traditions consider this design unique (Yaʿḳūbī, 238; Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 33b; Khaṭīb, 67; Dhahabī, *Duwal*, i, 76). However, the circular plan is not unfamiliar in the Near East. The plan of Uruk is almost circular (V. Christian, *Altertumskunde*, ii, table 13). Assyrian military camps are circular enclosures. Creswell enumerates eleven cities that were oval or circular, amongst which are Ḥarrān, Agbatana, Hatra and Dārābdjird. Dārābdjird bears a remarkable resemblance to the city of Manṣūr in its plan (Creswell, *Early Muslim Arch.* (short), 171-3; Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i, table 161).

It is likely that the architects of the Round city knew of such plans. Ibn al-Faḳīh indicates that the choice of the plan was between the square and the circle and that the latter is more perfect (*Buldān*, MS, f. 33b). It is however more probable that the idea of the circular fort was responsible for the plan. Ṭabarī states "al-Manṣūr made four gates (for the city) on the line of military camps" (Ṭabarī (Cairo), vi, 265).

There are different reports on the dimensions of the city of al-Manṣūr. A report makes the distance from the Khurāsān gate to the Kūfa gate 800 *dhirāʿ* (= 405.12 metres) and from the Syrian gate to the Baṣra gate 600 *dhirāʿ*, (= 303.12 metres), (Khaṭīb, 9-11; Ibn al-Faḳīh, MS, f. 33b). Another report from Wakīʿ makes the distance between each two gates 1200 *dhirāʿ* (= 608.28 m.) (Khaṭīb, 11). Both reports underestimate the size of the city. A third report given by Rabāḥ, one of the builders of the city, gives the measurement as one mile between each two gates (or 4000 *dhiraʿ mursala* or 1848 metres: D. Rayyis, 278; Khaṭīb, 8. This estimate is given in Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 9; Yāḳūt, i, 235; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, i, 341; Irbilī, *Tibr*, 54). This is confirmed by the measurement carried by the orders of Muʿtaḍid and reported

by Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī (Khaṭīb, 5; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, i, 341). This makes the diameter of the city 2352 metres. Yaʿḳūbī's estimate of the distance between each pair of gates outside the *khandaḳ* as 5000 black *dhirāʿ* (or 2534.5 metres) becomes probable in this light (*Buldān*, 238-9).

Various reports are given of al-Manṣūr's expenditure on the city. One report makes the cost 18 million, understood to mean dīnārs (Khaṭīb, 5; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib* 34; Yāḳūt, i, 683; Irbillī, *Tibr*, 543). A second puts it at a hundred million dirhams (Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, i, 341). However the official report based on caliphal archives states that al-Manṣūr spent on the Round City four million, eight hundred and eighty three dirhams (Ṭabarī, iii, 326; Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*, 121; Khaṭīb, 5-6; see also Ibn al-Athīr, v, 419; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 34). This is understandable if we take into account the low cost of labour and provisions and the strictness of al-Manṣūr in supervising his accounts.

In 157/773 al-Manṣūr built a palace on the Tigris below the Khurāsān gate, with spacious gardens, and called it al-Khuld. The place was free of mosquitoes and noted for the freshness of its air. The name was reminiscent of paradise (Ṭabarī, iii, 379; Khaṭīb, 14; Yāḳūt, ii, 783; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 12; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 71; Ibn al-Faḳīh f. 37b).

Strategic considerations, al-Manṣūr's policy of dividing the army, and lack of space soon led the caliph to build a camp for his heir al-Mahdī on the East side of the Tigris. The central part was the camp of al-Mahdī (later called Ruṣāfa after a palace built by al-Rashīd), where his palace and the mosque were built, surrounded by the houses of officers and followers. The commercial side was soon expressed in the famous *sūḳs* of Bāb al-Ṭāḳ. The military side is shown by a wall and a ditch surrounding the camp of al-Mahdī. Work started in 151/768 and ended in 157/773. Ruṣāfa was almost opposite the city of al-Manṣūr (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 251-3; Iṣṭakhrī, 83-4; Khaṭīb, 23-5; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 12-13; Muḳaddasī, 121; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, ii, 16; Yāḳūt, ii, 78).

Baghdād expanded rapidly in buildings, commercial activities, wealth and population. People crowded into east Baghdād, attracted by al-Mahdī's gifts, and later by the Barmakids who had a special quarter at the Shammāsiyya gate (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 251; *Aghānī* (Būlāḳ), vi, 78, v, 8; Ibn Khallikān (Būlāḳ), ii, 311). Yaḥyā the Barmakid built a magnificent palace and gave it the modest name Ḳaṣr al-Ṭīn (*Aghānī*, v, 8). Djaʿfar built a great luxurious palace below eastern Baghdād, which was given later to al-Maʾmūn. At the time of al-Rashīd, the eastern side extended from the Shammāsiyya gate (opposite the Ḳaṭrabbul gate) to Mukharrim (its southern limit is the modern Maʾmūn bridge) (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 253-4). On the other side al-Amīn returned from the Khuld palace, where al-Rashīd resided, to Bāb al-Dhahab, renewed it and added a wing to it and surrounded it by a square (cf. Djahshiyārī, Cairo 1938, 193, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 152). Queen Zubayda built a mosque on the Tigris (called after her) near the Royal palaces and another splendid mosque at her Ḳaṭīʿa north of the city (Yāḳūt, iv, 211; Ibn Khallikān, 188; *Mustaṭraf* (Būlāḳ ed.), i, 289). She also built a palace called al-Ḳarār near al-Khuld (cf. Khaṭīb, i, 87).

The western side expanded between the Ḳaṭrabbul gate in the north and the Karkh quarter, which in turn extended as far as great ʿĪsā canal (this flowed into the Tigris at the present Tulūl Khashm al-Dawra); to the west it almost reached Muḥawwal (*Mashriḳ*, 1934, 89; cf. poem in Yāḳūt, i, 686; Masʿūdī, vi, 454, Ṭabarī, iii, 874, 876). Poets extol the beauty of Baghdād and call it "paradise on earth". Its wonderful gardens, green countryside, its splendid high palaces with sumptuous decorations on the gates and in the halls, and their exquisite rich furniture were famous (cf. Ṭabari, iii, 873, 874; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii, 237; Yāḳūt, i, 686).

Baghdād suffered a severe blow during the conflict between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. War was brought to the city when it was besieged for fourteen months (Masʿūdī, vi, 456). Exasperated by the stubbornness of the defence, Ṭāhir ordered the destruction of the houses of the defenders, and many quarters "between the Tigris, Dār al-Raḳīḳ, (north of the Khurāsān gate), the Syrian gate, the Kūfa gate up to Ṣarāt, the Karkhāya canal and Kunāsa" were devastated (Ṭabarī, iii, 887). The work of destruction was completed by the rabble and the lawless volunteers and the *ʿayyārūn*. The Khuld palace, other palaces, Karkh, and some quarters on the east side suffered heavily. "Destruction and ruin raged until the splendour of Baghdād was gone", as Ṭabarī and Masʿūdī put it (see Ṭabarī, iii, 870-879, 925-6; Masʿūdī, vi, 454-459; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 188 ff.). Chaos and trouble continued in Baghdād until the return of al-Maʾmūn from Marw in 204/819. Al-Maʾmūn stayed at his palace, enlarged it considerably to add a race-course, a zoo, and quarters for his devoted followers (Yāḳūt, i, 807). Then he gave this palace to Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl —to become al-Ḥasanī palace—who bequeathed it to his daughter Būrān. Baghdād revived again under al-Maʾmūn. Al-Muʿtaṣim built a palace on the eastern side (Yaʿḳūbī, 225; cf. Khaṭīb 47). Then he decided to look for a new capital for his new Turkish army. Baghdād was too crowded for his troops and both the people and the old divisions of the army were antagonistic to his Turks and he feared trouble. During the period of Sāmarrā (836-892) Baghdād missed the immediate attention of the caliphs (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 208; Irbillī, 161) but it remained the great centre of commerce and of cultural activities.

Baghdād also suffered from Turkish disorders, when al-Mustaʿīn moved there from Sāmarrā and was besieged by the forces of al-Muʿtazz, throughout the year 251/865-6. At this period, Ruṣāfa extended to Sūḳ al-Thalāthāʾ (up to modern Samawʾal St.). Al-Mustaʿīn ordered the fortification of Baghdād; the wall on the eastern side was extended from the Shammāsiyya gate to Sūḳ al-Thalāthāʾ, and on the western side from Ḳaṭīʿāt Umm Djaʿfar around the quarters up to Ṣarāt, and the famous Ṭāhir Trench was dug around it (Ṭabarī, iii, 1851). During the siege, houses, shops and gardens outside the eastern wall were devastated as a defensive measure (Ṭabarī, iii, 1571) and the eastern quarters of Shammāsiyya, Ruṣāfa and Mukharrim suffered heavily.

In 278/892 al-Muʿtamid finally returned to Baghdād. He had asked Būrān for the Ḥasanī palace, but she renewed it, furnished it to suit a caliph and handed it to him (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, v, 144). Then in 280/893, al-Muʿtaḍid rebuilt the palace, enlarged its grounds and added new buildings to it, and built prisons on its grounds (*maṭāmīr*). He added a race-course and then surrounded the area with a special wall. It was to be Dār al-Khilāfa and remained, with additions, the official residence (Khaṭīb, 52; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 53; *Manāḳib*, 15; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, viii, 15; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, iii, 85; Irbillī, 173).

Then he laid the foundations of the Tādj palace on the Tigris nearby, but later saw much smoke from the city. He decided to build another palace, two miles to the north-east. He built the magnificent and

lofty al-Thurayyā, linked it with an underground passage to the Ḳaṣr (al-Ḥasanī), surrounded it with gardens, and brought water to it from the Mūsā canal (see the description of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Dīwān* (Beirut ed. 1913), 138-9). He also ordered, in order to keep the air pure, that no rice and palm trees be cultivated around Baghdād (see Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, v, 142). The Thurayyā lasted in good condition till 469/1073-4 when it was swept by the flood and ruined (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 15; Yāḳūt, i, 808). The ruin of the Round City started now. Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered the demolition of the City wall; but when a small section was pulled down, the Hāshimites complained, as it showed ʿAbbāsid glory, so al-Muʿtaḍid stopped. People however gradually extended their houses at the expense of the wall and this led ultimately to the demolition of the wall and the ruin of the City (Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 74-5).

Al-Muktafī (289-295/901-907) built the Tādj with halls and domes, and a quay on the Tigris. He built a high semi-circular dome on its grounds, so that he could reach its top mounted on a donkey. (Khaṭīb, 48; Irbillī, 175, Yāḳūt, i, 80; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, v, 144). In 289/901 al-Muktafī pulled down the palace prisons and built a Friday mosque (Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr) which became the third Friday mosque, until the time of al-Muḳtadir (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 3, Khaṭīb, 62).

Al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-932) added new buildings to the Royal palaces and beautified them fabulously; he paid special attention to the zoo (*ḥayr al-wuḥūsh*) (cf. Khaṭīb, 48, 53). Khaṭīb's detailed description for the year 305/917-18 is striking. The strong wall surrounding the palaces and the secret passage from the audience hall of al-Muḳtadir to one of the gates were necessary defensive measures (see Khaṭīb, 51) Among the wonders was *dār al-shadjara*, a tree of silver, in a large pond with 18 branches and multiple twigs, with silver or gilt birds and sparrows which whistled at times. On both sides of the pond were 15 statues of mounted horsemen which moved in one direction as if chasing each other (54). There was a mercury pond 30 × 20 *dhirāʿ* with four gilt boats and around it was a fabulous garden. The zoo had all sorts of animals. There was a lion-house with a hundred lions. There was the Firdaws palace with its remarkable arms. Twenty three palaces were counted within the Royal precincts (cf. Khaṭīb, 53-55; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 144).

Baghdād reached its height during this period. The eastern side extended five miles (1 mile = 1848 m.) from Shammāsiyya to Dār al-Khilāfa in the 4th/10th century (Iṣṭakhrī, 83). Ṭayfūr (d. 893) reports that al-Muwaffaḳ ordered the measurement of Baghdād before 279/892; its area was found to be 43,750 *djarīb* of which 26,250 *djarīb* were in east Baghdād and 17,500 *djarīb* in west Baghdād (Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 44b; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 243). Another version of Ṭayfūr makes eastern Baghdād at the time of al-Muwaffaḳ 16,750 *djarīb* (1 *djarīb* = 1366 sq.m.) and western Baghdād 27,000 *djarīb*; this is more probable, as west Baghdād was still more important then. Another version puts the area at 53,750 *djarīb*, of which 26,750 *djarīb* were east and 27,000 *djarīb* west (Khaṭīb, 74). It is more likely that the last figure represents the period of al-Muḳtadir when much expansion took place in east Baghdād. In all these reports the length of Baghdād on both sides was almost the same. For the first figure, considering the length of Baghdād as stated by Iṣṭakhrī and by Ṭayfūr, Baghdād was, in 279/892, about 7¹/₄ km. in length and 6¹/₂ km. in width, while under al-Muḳtadir (320/932) it was about 8¹/₂ km. in length and 7¹/₄ km. in width.

Baghdād's geographical position, its active people (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, 39, Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, ii, 11), the encouragement of the state to trade (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, 590) and the prestige of the caliphate, soon made Baghdād the great centre of commerce (see Dūrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-Iḳtiṣādī*, 143-157). Markets became an essential feature of its life, in Ruṣāfa and esp. in Karkh. Each trade had its market, and among those were the fruit market, the cloth market, the cotton market, the market of booksellers which had more than a hundred shops, the money-changers' market and the *ʿaṭṭārīn* market in Karkh. Markets for foreign merchants were at Sūḳ Bāb al-Shām. On the eastern side, there was a variety of markets including Sūḳ al-Ṭīb for flowers, a food market, the goldsmiths' market, the sheep market, a booksellers' market, and a market for Chinese merchandise (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 241, 246, 248, 254; Iṣṭakhrī, 48, Khaṭīb, 22, 65 ff., 36, 69; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 26, 27-8; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 242). Since the time of al-Manṣūr a *muḥtasib* was appointed to watch over markets, to prevent cheating and to check on measures and weights (cf. Khaṭīb, 20; Ṣābī, *Rasāʾil*, 114, 141-2; Māwardī, 141-2). The *muḥtasib* also supervised baths and possibly watched over mosques (Khaṭīb, 78). He also prevented subversive activities.

Each market or craft had a chief appointed by the government. In a craft there were the *Ṣāniʿ* and the *Ustādh* (cf. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, i, 255; cf. Essays of Djāḥiẓ (ed. Sandūbī), 126). Baghdād exported cotton stuffs and silk textiles esp. kerchiefs, aprons, turbans, crystals turned on lathes, glazed-ware, and various oils, potions and electuaries (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 11a; Muḳaddasī, 128). Baghdād manufactured shirts of different colours, turbans of thin texture and celebrated towels (Dimashḳī, *Tidjāra*, 26). Its thin white cotton shirts were peerless (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 254). The *saḳlaṭūn* (silk stuff), the *mulḥam* and *ʿattābī* stuffs (of silk and cotton) of Baghdād were famous (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 38; Nuwayrī, i, 369; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, 35; Muḳaddasī, 323; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 261). Excellent swords were made at Bāb al-Ṭāḳ (ʿArīb, 50). It was famous for its leather manufacture and for the manufacture of paper (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 251).

A great incentive to commerce and industry was the development of the banking system in Baghdād as shown in the activities of the *ṣarrāf*s and *djahbadh*s. The *ṣarrāf*s had their own markets esp. in Karkh (cf. Djahshiyārī, 228) and primarily served the people, while *djahbadh*s served mainly the government and its officials.

Baghdād grew international in population. Its inhabitants were a mixture of different nations, colours and creeds, who came for work, trade, as recruits for the army, slaves, and for other careers. It is noticeable that the populace began to play an important part in its life (see Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 85-6; Miskawayh, i, 74-5; Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh* (Berlin), 130). On their revolt against the rise in prices in 307/919, and their efforts to keep order in 201/816 during the confusion which followed the murder of al-Amīn (see Ṭabarī, iii, 1009-1010; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 228-9 and vii, 13-14). The activities of the *ʿayyārīn* and *shuṭṭār* began at this period (see Ṭabarī, iii, 1008, 1586; Masʿūdi, vi, 457; 461 ff.).

It is difficult to give an estimate of the population of Baghdād. Estimates of mosques and baths are obviously exaggerated (300,000 mosques and 60,000 baths under al-Muwaffaḳ, 27,000 baths under al-Muḳtadir, 17,000 baths under Muʿizz al-Dawla,

5,000 under Aḍud al-Dawla, 3,000 baths under Bahā' al-Dawla; Khaṭīb, 74-6; Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 59b; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfa*, MS. 27-30). Baths were counted in 383/993 and found to number 1500. Traditions stress that each bath serves about 200 houses (Ibn al-Faḳīh f. 59b, 60a; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, MS. 29). If the average number in a house was five, then the population of Baghdād was about one million and a half. Al-Muḳtadir ordered Sinān b. Thābit to examine doctors and to give licences only to those qualified, and the result was that 860 doctors were given licences (Ibn al-Athīr viii, 85; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa i, 221 f., 224, 310; al-Ḳifṭī, 194 f.). If we add doctors serving in government hospitals and those who did not have licences, the number would probably reach a thousand. The number of people who prayed on the last Friday of the month at the mosque of Manṣūr and that of Ruṣāfa were judged by measuring the area for prayer to be 64,000 (Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 62a; see also Ṭabarī, iii, 1730). The number of boats about the end of the 3rd/9th century was calculated to be 30,000 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 24). From those figures and the area of Baghdād we can estimate the population of Baghdād in the 4th/10th century at a million and a half. Itlīdī, a contemporary, gives this estimate too.

There were aristocratic quarters such as Ẓāhir, Shammāsiyya, al-Ma'mūniyya and Darb ʿAwn. There were poor quarters like Ḳaṭīʿat al-Kilāb, and Nahr al-Dadjādj (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī, 23, 106). Houses were of two stories, and those of the common people were of one storey. Those of the rich had baths and were usually divided into three quarters surrounded by a wall—the ladies' quarters, the reception rooms, and the servants' quarters. Special attention was paid to gardens (*Aghānī*, ii, 73, iii, 31, ix, 144, v, 38, xvii, 129; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 32). Carpets, divans, curtains and pillows were noted items of furniture (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, 36). Fans and specially cooled houses and *sardābs* were used in summer (see Dj. Mudawwar, *Haḍārat al-Islām*, 117, 30). Inscriptions and drawings of animals and plants or human faces decorated entrances (*ibid.*, 29; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, 7, 36).

A special feature of the life of Baghdād is the vast number of mosques and baths as indicated.

Baghdād was the great centre of culture. It was the home of Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools of law. It was the centre of translations, in Bayt al-Ḥikma and outside, and of some scientific experimentation. Its mosques, especially Djāmiʿ al-Manṣūr, were great centres of learning. The large number of bookshops which were sometimes literary salons, indicates the extent of cultural activities. Its poets, historians, and scholars are too numerous to mention. One can refer to the History of Baghdād by Khaṭīb to see the vast number of scholars, in one field, connected with Baghdād. Not only caliphs, but ministers and dignitaries gave every encouragement to learning. The creative period of Islamic culture is associated with Baghdād. Later in this period, public libraries as centres of study and learning were founded, the most famous being the Dār al-ʿIlm of Abū Naṣr Sābūr b. Ardashīr. When the *madrasa* appeared, Baghdād took the lead with its Niẓāmiyya and Mustanṣiriyya and influenced the *madrasa* system both in programme and architecture.

Much attention was paid to hospitals, especially in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Of these, the Bīmāristān al-Sayyida (306/918), al-Bīmāristān al-Muḳtadirī (306/918) and al-Bīmāristān al-ʿAḍudī (372/982) were famous. Ministers and others also founded hospitals. Doctors were at times subject to supervision (see above).

Under al-Rashīd there were three bridges in Baghdād (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 510). The two famous ones were by Bāb Khurāsān, and at Kārkh (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 542, Djahshiyārī, 254; Ṭabarī, iii, 1232). Al-Rashīd built two bridges at Shammāsiyya, but they were destroyed during the first siege (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 20; Ibn al-Faḳīh f. 42a). The three bridges continued to the end of 3rd/9th century (Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 42a). It seems that the northern bridge was destroyed and Iṣṭakhrī talks of two bridges only (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib* 20, Iṣṭakhrī, 84). In 387/997 Bahā' al-Dawla built a bridge at Sūḳ al-Thalāthā' (Mishraʿat al-Ḳattānīn) to become the third bridge. This indicates a shift of emphasis from N. Baghdad to Sūḳ al-Thalāthā' (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 171; cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 20; Khaṭīb, 71-2).

Life in Baghdād was stable until al-Amīn. The first siege brought out turbulent elements in the *ʿāmma*. Flood and fire also began to play their rôle from the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century. Flood in 270/883 ruined 7,000 houses in Karkh. In 292/904 and 328/929 Baghdād suffered considerably from flood (Ṭabarī, iii, 2105; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 371, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, iii, 157 and 266). In 373/983 flood swept beyond the Kūfa gate and entered the city (Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 278; Khaṭīb, 16). The neglect of canals, especially during the '*Amīr al-Umarā*' period (324 334/935-945), was responsible for floods and for the ruin of the Bādūrayā district (Miskawayh, ii, 1.9; Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 106, 225, 137-8). Consequently, whereas scarcities and plague were rare before 320/932 they were recurrent after that (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 177, 187, 338). The scarcity of 307/919 was a result of monopoly and was quickly overcome. Scarcities occurred in 323/934, 326/937, 329/940 (with plague), 330/941, 331/942 (with plague), 332/943, 337/948 and life became unbearable (Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 61, 104, 236, 251; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 282, 311; Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 125; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, iii, 270, 274).

In 308/920 and 309/921 Karkh suffered considerably from fire (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 89, 95). In 323/934 the fire of Karkh swept over the quarters of the *ʿaṭṭārīn* (the drug sellers), the ointment sellers, jewellers and others and its traces could be seen years after (Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 68).

The Buwayhid period was rather hard for Baghdād. Muʿizz al-Dawla (in 335/946) first repaired some canals at Bādūrayā and this improved living conditions (Miskawayh, ii, 165). A period of neglect followed and many canals which irrigated west Baghdād were in ruins. ʿAḍud al-Dawla (367-372/977-982) had them cleared up, and rebuilt bridges and locks (Miskawayh, ii, 406; iii, 69; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 518). Then we hear no more of such activities.

Building activities were limited. In 350/961 Muʿizz al-Dawla built a great palace at the Shammāsiyya gate with a large Maydān, a quay, and beautiful gardens. For this palace he took the seven iron doors of the Round City and spent about a million dīnārs (11 million dirhams). However, it was pulled down in 418/1027 (Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 70-1; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 397-8; ix, 256). ʿAḍud al-Dawla rebuilt the house of Sabuktakīn, chamberlain of Muʿizz al-Dawla, at upper Mukharrim, added spacious gardens to it, and brought water to it by canals from Nahr al-Khāliṣ at great expense. It became the Dār al-Imāra or official residence of the Buwayhids (Khaṭīb, 58-9; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 77-8; cf. Miskawayh, iii, 124).

ʿAḍud al-Dawla found Bag̲h̲dād in bad shape. He ordered that its houses and markets be renewed and spent much money in rebuilding its Friday mosques; he repaired quays by the Tigris, and ordered the wealthy to repair their houses on the Tigris and to cultivate gardens in ruined places which had no owners. He found the central bridge narrow and decayed and had it renewed and broadened (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, viii, 558; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 114; Miskawayh, ii, 404-406). In 372/982 he built the ʿAḍudī Hospital, appointed doctors, supervisors, storekeepers to it, and provided it with plenty of medicines, potions, instruments and furniture. *Waḳf*s were allotted to it for its upkeep (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 112-114).

However, Bag̲h̲dād declined under the Buwayhids (Tanūk̲h̲ī, *Nis̲h̲wār*, i, 66 makes it in 345/956 one tenth of its size under al-Muḳtadir). The city of al-Manṣūr, was neglected and had no life then (Muḳaddasī, 120). Most of the quarters of W. Bag̲h̲dād were in bad shape and had shrunk. The most flourishing section of W. Bag̲h̲dād was Kark̲h̲, where the merchants had their places of business. Thus the western side is now called Kark̲h̲ (Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 241-2; Muḳaddasī, 120).

The eastern side of the city was more flourishing, and dignitaries generally resided there (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 240). Here, the bright spots were the Bāb al-Ṭāḳ where the great market was, the Dār al-Imāra at Muk̲h̲arrim and the caliph's palaces at the southern end (cf. Muḳaddasī, 120; Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 240-1; Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 84). Odd houses reached Kalwād̲h̲ā. Ibn Ḥawḳal saw four Friday mosques: the mosque of al-Manṣūr, the Ruṣāfa mosque, the Barāt̲h̲ā mosque, and the mosque of Dār al-Ṣulṭān (241). Then in 379/989 and 383/993, the Ḳatīʿa mosque and the Ḥarbiyya mosque became Friday mosques (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 671, K̲h̲aṭīb, 53-4, Ibn al D̲j̲awzī, *Manāḳib*, 21-2, Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 48).

Ibn Ḥawḳal saw two bridges, one out of order (i, 241). It seems there were three bridges at the time of Muʿizz al-Dawla (one at the S̲h̲ammāsiyya gate (near his palace), the other at Bāb al-Ṭāḳ and the third at Sūḳ al-T̲h̲alāt̲h̲āʾ. The first was transferred to Bāb al-Ṭāḳ, making two there, then one went out of order (cf. Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Manāḳib*, 20).

Bag̲h̲dād suffered much from the turbulence of the *ʿāmma*, from sectarian differences encouraged by the Buwayhids, and from the *ʿayyārūn*. Our sources talk much of the ignorance of the *ʿāmma*, their readiness to follow any call, their good nature and their lawlessness (cf. Masʿūdī, v, 81, 82-3, 85-7; G̲h̲azālī, *Faḍāʾiḥ*, 53, Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Manāḳib*, 31-2; Bag̲h̲dādī, *Firaḳ*, 141). In 279/892 al-Muʿtaḍid forbade *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and fortune-tellers to sit in the streets or mosques, and forbade people to congregate around them or to indulge in controversies (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, v, 122, 171). Before the Buwayhids, the Ḥanbalīs were the source of trouble. They tried at times to improve morals by force (cf. Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, viii, 229-30, 84-5, 157-8; Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 198). At this period, sectarian troubles multiplied and caused much loss in property and people. The Buwayhids made the 10th of Muḥarram a day of public mourning, ordered the closing of markets, and encouraged the populace to make processions with women beating their faces (cf. Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, vii, 15). On the other hand, the G̲h̲adīr on 18 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a was made a day of celebrations. This led the Sunnīs to choose two different days, each eight days after the ones mentioned (cf. Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 110). Conflicts between the S̲h̲īʿīs and the Sunnīs became usual occurences at this period, starting from 338/949 when Kark̲h̲ was pillaged (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 363). In 348/959, fights between the two groups led to destruction and fire at Bāb al-Ṭāḳ (*ibid*, 390). In 361/971 troubles in Kark̲h̲ led to its burning and 17,000 people perished, 300 shops, many houses and 33 mosques were burnt down (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, viii, 207; cf. Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 60). In 363/973 fire burnt much of Kark̲h̲ (Miskawayh, ii, 327). In 381/991 troubles broke out and fire recurred in many quarters (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 31). In 1016 the Nahr Ṭābiḳ, Bāb al-Ḳuṭn and much of the Bāb al-Baṣra quarters were burnt (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 102; see also viii, 184, ix, 25-6, 32, 58). In 422/1030 many markets were ruined during the troubles (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 55). More damage and confusion was caused by the *ʿayyārūn* who were especially active throughout the last quarter of the 4th/10th cent. to the end of this period (on their activities during the two sieges of Bag̲h̲dād see Ṭabarī, iii, 877, 1008-1010, 1552, 1556-7; Masʿūdī, vi, 450 ff.). Historians misunderstand their activities and show them as robbers and thieves. But their movement is a product of their hard living conditions and of political chaos. Their rise was against the wealthy and the rulers, and this explains why their activities were directed primarily against the rich, the markets, the police and the dignitaries (cf. Tanūk̲h̲ī, *Farad̲j̲*, ii, 106, 107-8; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 174, 220; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 115). They had moral principals such as honour, and help to the poor and to women, co-operation, patience and endurance. The *Futuwwa* later was somewhat related to their movement (cf. Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 392; Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, *Risāla*, 113-4; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 77; Tanūk̲h̲ī, *Farad̲j̲*, ii, 180). In the 4th/10th century they were organised, and among the titles of their chiefs were al-Mutaḳaddim, al-Ḳāʾid, and al-Amīr, and they had special ceremonies for initiation (see *Muntaẓam*, viii, 49, 151, 78, Miskawayh, ii, 306, Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, *op. cit.*, 113; Tanūk̲h̲ī, *Farad̲j̲*, ii, 109). However they were divided into S̲h̲īʿīs and Sunnīs (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 78-9).

The *ʿayyārūn* kept people in constant terror for life and property. They levied tolls on markets and roads or robbed wayfarers and constantly broke into houses at night. They spread havoc by sword and fire and burnt many quarters and markets esp. Bāb al-Ṭāḳ and Sūḳ Yaḥyā (in east Bag̲h̲dād) and Kark̲h̲, as those were the quarters of the wealthy. People had to lock the gates of their streets, and merchants kept vigil at night. Disorder and pillage made prices high (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 151, 220, viii, 21-2, 44, 47-50, 54-5, 60, 72-5, 79, 87, 142, 161). A preacher prayed in 421/1030 "O God! Save the state from the populace and the rabble" (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 44). Burd̲j̲umī, a notorious *ʿayyār* leader, practically ruled Bag̲h̲dād for four years 422-425/1030-1033, and spread havoc (*ibid*, 75-6). The government was powerless (cf. 49) and they were left to levy taxes and tolls to avoid their terror (*ibid.*, 78). Many people left their quarters and departed for safety (*ibid.*, 142). Their terror continued till the advent of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs (*ibid.*, 161).

In 447/1055 Tug̲h̲ril Bey entered Bag̲h̲dād, and the Sald̲j̲ūḳs reversed Buwayhid policy and encouraged the Sunnīs (cf. Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, v, 59). In 450/1058 Basāsīrī, a rebel, seized Bag̲h̲dād in the name of the Fāṭimids (cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ii, 186; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 87). He was defeated and killed by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ forces in 451/1059 (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ii, 187-8). During this period Bag̲h̲dād assumed a shape which thereafter changed but little.

In 448/1056 Tug̲h̲ril Bey enlarged the area of Dār

al-Imāra, pulled down many houses and shops, rebuilt it and surrounded it with a wall (Ibn al-Djawzī, viii, 169). In 450/1058 it was burnt down and rebuilt again (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 778). It became known as Dār al-Mamlaka. It was rebuilt in 509/1115, but was accidentally burnt in 515/1121 and a new palace was built (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 16; *Muntaẓam*, ix, 223). Malikshāh enlarged and rebuilt the mosque of Mukharrim, which was near the palace, in 484/1091 and was hence called Djāmiʿ al-Sulṭān. It was repaired in 502/1108 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 159), and was finally completed in 524/1129 (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ii, 211; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*; 23; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, v, 135).

Life centered in E. Baghdād around the caliphal palaces. Al-Muḳtadī (467-487/1074-1094) encouraged building; and the quarters around the palaces—such as Baṣaliyya, Ḳaṭīʿa, Ḥalaba, Adjama, etc. flourished. He also built the Riverain-palace (Dār Shāṭiʾiyya) by the old Tādj palace (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 293; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 156; cf. Le Strange, 253; cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 21). In 524/1129 the Tādj palace was pulled down and rebuilt (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, 14). These quarters were not walled and they suffered much from the flood in 1070. In 488/1095 al-Mustaẓhir built a wall around the so called Ḥarīm quarters. Then in 517/1123 al-Mustarshid rebuilt it with four gates and made it 22 *dhirāʿ* in width. The flood of 554/1159 surrounded the wall, made a breach in it, and ruined many quarters. The breach in it was repaired and a dyke was begun, and completed later around the wall (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 34; idem, *Muntaẓam*, x, 189-190). Other attempts to rebuild the wall or repair it took place under al-Nāṣir and al-Mustanṣir (Ibn Fuwaṭī, 16, 111). This wall set the limits of East Baghdād till the end of Ottoman period.

Baghdād was in decline during this period and lived on its past glory. From the 2nd half of the 5th/11th century, there were many changes in its topography. Many quarters in western Baghdād were ruined, and waste land replaced previous gardens or houses (cf. Khaṭīb, 67 and Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 74-5). This probably explains the increase in the number of Friday mosques. The old quarters of Shammāsiyya, Ruṣāfa and Mukharrim were neglected (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 241).

Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdād around 567/1171, talks of the greatness of the caliphal palace, with its wall, gardens, a zoo and a lake. He speaks highly of the ʿAḍudī Hospital with its sixty doctors, and a sanatorium for the mad. He found 40,000 Jews in Baghdād with 10 schools for them (*Itinerary*, ed. and tr. A. Asher, New York, 1840-2, i, text 54-64, tr. 93-105; Arabic tr. by E. H. Haddad, Baghdād 1945, 131-8). Ibn Djubayr described Baghdād in 581/1185. He noticed the general decline, and criticised the arrogance of its people (218). Much of the eastern side was ruined, yet it had seventeen separate quarters, all with two, three or eight baths (225). The caliphal quarters, with magnificent palaces and gardens, occupied about a quarter or more of the area (226-7). This side was well populated and had excellent markets (228). Ḳurayya was the largest quarter, (very likely between the modern al-Aḥrās bridge and Raʾs al-Ḳarya) and near it the suburb (*rabḍ*) of Murabbaʿa (probably by Sayyid Sulṭān ʿAlī now). It had three Friday mosques, Djāmiʿ al-Sulṭān, north of the wall, and the Ruṣāfa mosque about a mile north of the latter (228-9) and Djāmiʿ al-Khalīfa. There were about thirty *madrasas* (colleges), all housed in excellent buildings with plenty of *waḳf* and endowments for their upkeep and for the students' expenses. The most famous *madrasa* was the Niẓāmiyya which was rebuilt in 1110 (229).

He describes the wall, built by al-Mustarshid, surrounding Sharḳiyya as having four gates—1. Bāb al-Sulṭān to the north (later called Bāb al-Muʿaẓẓam). 2. Bāb al-Ẓafariyya (N.E.), later, Bāb al-Wasṭānī. 3. Bāb al-Ḥalaba (E.), later Bāb al-Ṭillisim. 4. Bāb al-Baṣaliyya (S.), later al-Bāb al-Sharḳī. The wall surrounded Sharḳiyya in a semi-circle reaching the Tigris at both ends (229). He talks of the populous quarter of Abū Ḥanīfa, while the old quarters of Ruṣāfa, Shammāsiyya, and most of Mukharrim were ruined (cf. 226; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 241). In western Baghdād ruin spread everywhere. Of quarters here, he mentions Karkh as a walled city, and the Bāb al-Baṣra quarter which contained the great mosque of al-Manṣūr and what remained of the old city (225). By the Tigris was the Shāriʿ quarter which constituted with Karkh, Bāb al-Baṣra and Ḳurayya the largest quarters of Baghdād (225). Between al-Shāriʿ and the Bāb al-Baṣra was the quarter of Sūḳ al-Māristān, like a small city, with the famous ʿAḍudī hospital which was well staffed and provisioned (225-6). Of other quarters he noticed the Ḥarbiyya quarter as the northernmost, and the ʿAttābiyya, famous for its silk-cotton *ʿattābī* cloth (226). Ibn Djubayr (229) talks of 2000 baths and eleven Friday mosques in Baghdād.

At the time of al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-1134) there was one bridge near the ʿĪsā canal, later moved to Bāb al-Ḳurayya. During the period of al-Mustaḍī (566-575/1170-1179) a new bridge was made at Bāb al-Ḳurayya, and the old one was returned to its place by the ʿĪsā canal. Ibn Djubayr saw the first bridge only, but confirms that there were usually two bridges and Ibn al-Djawzī, who wrote just before the fall of Baghdād, confirms this (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manaḳib*, 20; Ibn Djubayr, 225).

Half a century later, Yāḳūt (623/1226) gave some useful data. He shows western Baghdād as a series of isolated quarters each with a wall and separated by waste land of ruins. Ḥarbiyya, al-Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī in the north, Čahār Sūdj with Naṣīriyya, ʿAttābiyyīn and Dār al-Ḳazz south-west, Muhawwal to the west, Ḳaṣr ʿĪsā to the east, and Ḳurayya and Karkh in the south are the noted quarters.

In East Baghdād, life centered in the quarters around Ḥarīm Dār al-Khilāfa which occupy about a third of the area enclosed in the walls. Of the large flourishing quarters were Bāb al-ʿAzadj with its markets, al-Maʾmūniyya next to it, Sūḳ al-Thalāthāʾ, Nahr al-Muʿallā and Ḳurayya (Yāḳūt, i, 232, 441, 444, 534, 655, ii, 88, 167, 234, 459, 512, 783, 917, iii, 193-4, 197, 231, 279, 291, 489, iv, 117, 252, 255, 385, 432, 457, 713-4, 786, 841, 845).

Friday mosques increased in Gharbiyya (W. Baghdād) at this period, indicating the semi-independent status of quarters. Ibn al-Djawzī mentions six between 530/1135 and 572/1176 in addition to Djāmiʿ al-Manṣūr (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 23, see also Ibn al-Fuwaṭī). The mosques of Karkh were repaired by Mustanṣir (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 15), and Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr was renewed in 475/1082, and again by al-Mustanṣir in 673/1235 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 3; Le Strange, 269). The Ḳamariyya mosque (still present) was built in 626/1228 (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 4).

The strength of Ṣūfism is shown by the large number of *Ribāṭ*s [*q.v.*] built during the last century of the caliphate. They were built by the caliphs or their relatives (cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 2, 74, 75, 79, 80, 87, 117, 261, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 11, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 77, 33, xii, 27, 67-8).

Much attention was given to the founding of *madrasas* (colleges). This movement could be explained initially by the religious revival among S̲h̲āfiʿīs, and by political and administrative needs; but it was continued as a cultural movement. Ibn D̲j̲ubayr saw thirty *madrasas* in east Bag̲h̲dād (Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, 229; see also M. D̲j̲awad, in *Review of the Higher Teachers' College*, Bag̲h̲dād, vol. v, 110 ff., vol. vi, 86 ff.). Other *madrasas* were founded after Ibn D̲j̲ubayr's visit (cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 24-5, 53, 128, 308, Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, xi, 211). The most famous were the Niẓāmiyya founded in 459/1066, the *madrasa* of Abū Ḥanīfa founded in the same year (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 245-6, still existing as Kulliyat al-S̲h̲arīʿa) and al-Mustanṣiriyya, founded by al-Mustanṣir in 631/1233 and continued till the 17th century. All those *madrasas* specialised in one of the four schools of law, except the Mustanṣiriyya and the Bas̲h̲īriyya (founded in 653/1255) which taught the *fiḳh* of the four schools (see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 308; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 245-6, 246-7; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 38; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī 53-4, 58-9; cf. ʿAwwād in *Sumer*, i, 1945). There was a *maktab* (school) for orphans established by S̲h̲ams al-Mulk (son of Niẓām al-Mulk) (Iṣfahānī, *Seljuks*, 124-5). In 606/1209 guest-houses (*dār ḍiyāfa*) were built in all quarters of Bag̲h̲dād to serve the poor in Ramaḍān (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, xii, 286; other references, *ibid.* 184; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 94).

Bag̲h̲dād suffered at this period from fire, flood and dissension. In 449/1057 Kark̲h̲ and Bāb Muḥawwal quarters and most of the markets of Kark̲h̲ were burnt down. In 451/1059 much of Kark̲h̲ and old Bag̲h̲dād was burnt (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 81; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 5). The quarters and markets near the Muʿallā canal and Dār al-K̲h̲alāfa were burnt more than once (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 35, 67, 318; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 241, ix, 61, 148, 184, x, 35). In 551/1156 fire spread from neighbouring quarters to Dār al-K̲h̲ilāfa and neighbouring *sūḳs* (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, xi, 143; there were other fires in those quarters in 560/1164, 569/1173, 583/1187 Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, xi, 270, 372; *Muntaẓam*, x, 212).

The *ʿayyārūn* were fairly active in Sald̲j̲ūḳ days. They pillaged shops and houses and caused insecurity (see between 449/1057 and 537/1142 Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 139, 234; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 204, 383, xi, 29, 26, 59, 63).

The troubles of the *ʿāmma* and their sectarian fights (Ḥanbalīs against S̲h̲āfiʿīs and Sunnīs against S̲h̲īʿīs) continued to give rise to much bloodshed and destruction. Ibn al-At̲h̲īr reports a temporary conciliation in 502/1108 and adds "Evil always came from them (*i.e.*, the *ʿāmma*)" (x, 329; see also x, 80, 259, 104, 108-109, 112, 117-8). This was short-lived, and quarrels and fights continued and became terrible under al-Mustaʿṣim (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 360, xi, 271, 344, xii, 133, 216). In 640/1242 fights took place between the Maʾmūniyya and Bāb al-Azad̲j̲ quarters which involved the Niẓāmiyya market, and between Muk̲h̲tāra and Sūḳ al-Sulṭān quarters, and between Ḳaṭuftā and Ḳurayya (in W. Bag̲h̲dād) quarters; many were killed and shops pillaged (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 175-7; cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, ii, 554). By 653/1255 things had deteriorated considerably. Fights took place between Ruṣāfa (Sunnī) and K̲h̲uḍayriyyin (S̲h̲īʿī), and soon people of Bāb al-Baṣra supported Ruṣāfa while Kark̲h̲ supported the others (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 298-9). These quarrels also indicate the spirit of competition between quarters which increased by the lack of government control. When fights renewed between Kark̲h̲ and Bāb al-Baṣra, the soldiers sent to stop it, pillaged Kark̲h̲ and that made the situation worse (*ibid.*, 267-277). The climax came in 654/1256, when someone was killed by the people of Kark̲h̲, and the soldiers, sent to keep order, were joined by crowds of the *ʿāmma* and pillaged Kark̲h̲, burnt several places in it, killed many and took away women. Reprisal followed, but the tragedy was not forgotten (*ibid.*, 314-315). The *ʿayyārūn* were very active at this time. They pillaged shops, robbed houses at night and even the Mustanṣiriyya was twice robbed (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 378, 254, 260, 262).

The government was too weak to keep order. Floods recurred, indicating the weakness of government and the neglect of irrigation. In 641/1243 floods reached the Niẓāmiyya and its neighbourhood and ruined some quarters. In 646/1248 floods surrounded east Bag̲h̲dād, destroyed a part of the wall, and reached the quarters of Ḥarīm. It also flooded Ruṣāfa and many of its houses fell. West Bag̲h̲dād was submerged, and most houses fell except part of Bāb al-Baṣra and Kark̲h̲. Houses on the river collapsed. Floods entered Bag̲h̲dād in 651/1253, and again in 653/1255 when a great number of houses collapsed and cultivation was damaged. The worst flood was in 654/1256 when both sides were surrounded by water and the flood even entered the markets of east Bag̲h̲dād, Dār al-K̲h̲ilāfa and the Niẓāmiyya (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 186-7, 267, 229-233, 277, 304, 317-19). Thus nature and man joined hands to eclipse Bag̲h̲dād.

Two years later, Bag̲h̲dād was invaded by the Mongols. On 4 Ṣafar 656/10 Feb. 1258 the Caliph al-Mustaʿṣim made an unconditional surrender. Its people were put indiscriminately to the sword, for over a week. Large numbers of the country people who flocked to Bag̲h̲dād before the siege shared its tragic fate. Estimates of the number killed vary between 800,000 and two million, the estimate mounting with the lapse of time (*Fak̲h̲rī*, 130; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 281; D̲h̲ahabī, *Duwal*, ii, 121; Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 202). The Chinese traveller Ch'ang Te states (1259) that several tens of thousands were killed; his information is obviously from Mongol sources (Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, i, 138-9). It is thus difficult to give any figure, but it probably exceeded a hundred thousand. Many quarters were ruined by siege, looting or fire, and the mosque of the caliphs, and the shrine of Kāẓimayn were burnt down (Ibn al-Fuwaṭi, 327-330; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, 27). Bag̲h̲dād was however spared from complete devastation, and the *fatwā* exacted from the *ʿulamāʾ* that a just *kāfir* is better than an unjust *imām* probably helped. Before leaving, Hülegü ordered the restoration of some public buildings. The supervisor of *waḳf* rebuilt the D̲j̲āmiʿ al-K̲h̲ulafāʾ and saw to it that schools and the *ribāṭs* were reopened (Ibn al-ʿIbrī, 475; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 337). Culture suffered much, but it was not uprooted. Bag̲h̲dād became a provincial centre in all respects.

Until 740/1339-40 Bag̲h̲dād remained under the Īlk̲h̲ānids and was administered by a governor with a *S̲h̲iḥna* and a military garrison (cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 331).

The Mongols registered the population of Bag̲h̲dād in tens, hundreds, and thousands for the sake of taxation. A poll-tax was imposed on all except the aged and children; it continued to be levied for about two years (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 339; cf. D̲j̲uwaynī, (trans. Boyle), i, 34). Bag̲h̲dād began to revive gradually, as its administration was chiefly entrusted to Persians; much of this is due to the policy of ʿAṭāʾ Malik al-D̲j̲uwaynī, governor for about 23 years (657/1258-681/1282). Under him, the minaret of D̲j̲āmiʿ al-K̲h̲ulafāʾ and the Niẓāmiyya market

were rebuilt, and the Mustanṣiriyya was repaired and a new water system added (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 371). The mosques of Shaykh Maʿrūf and Ḳamariyya were repaired (*ibid.*, 408; ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ*, i, 267, 296).

Some of the old schools resumed work, especially the Niẓāmiyya and Mustanṣiriyya, the Bashīriyya, the Tatashiyya and Madrasat al-Aṣḥāb (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Cairo 1918, i, 140-1; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 182, 385, 396; ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 318). Djuwaynī's wife founded the ʿIṣmatiyya school for the four schools of law, and a *ribāṭ* near it (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 377). The Īlkhān Takūdar (881/1281) sent a message to Baghdād asking for the return of endowments to schools, and mosques, as under the ʿAbbāsids, probably a pious wish (Karmalī, *al-Fawz*, 12). The Īlkhāns' policy led to outbreaks against non-Muslims. They patronised Christians, and exempted them from the *djizya*. They rebuilt churches and opened schools. This led to an outbreak against them in 665/1263. The Jews rose to prominence under Arghūn (683-690/1284-1291) through Saʿd al-Dawla the Jewish finance minister, who appointed his brother governor of Baghdād. In 690/1291 Saʿd al-Dawla was killed and the populace in Baghdād fell on the Jews. Under Ghāzān, non-Muslims suffered through dress distinctions, the reimposition of the poll-tax and the attitude of the mob, and many adopted Islam (cf. ʿAmr Ibn Mattī, *Kitāb al-Madjdal*, 120-122, 125; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 354; 465-6; 483; Waṣṣāf, ii, 238; Karmalī, *op. cit.*, 14-15, 21; ʿAzzāwī, i, 349, 513). Uldjaytū stirred up trouble when he vascillated between Shīʿism and Sunnism. The Īlkhāns tried to impose the *čao* (paper money) [*q.v.*], but it was very unpopular in Baghdād and was finally abolished by Ghāzān in 697/1297 (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 477, 492).

During this period we have the accounts of three geographers: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (c. 700/1300), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (727/1327 and Mustawfī (740/1339).

The author of the *Marāṣid* states that nothing remained of western Baghdād except isolated quarters, the most populated of which was Karkh (201). He mentions the Ḳurayya quarter, the populous Ramliyya quarter, the Dar al-Raḳīḳ market, Dār al-Ḳazz standing alone where paper was manufactured, and the Bāb Muḥawwal quarter which stood as an isolated village (*Marāṣid* (Cairo ed.), 146, 201, 507, 773, 1088). He refers to the ʿAḍudī hospital, and indicates that nothing remained of al-Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī, Nahr Tābiḳ and Ḳaṭīʿa quarters, while Tūthā quarter looked like an isolated village (*Marāṣid*, 280, 837, 397, 1403). Of East Baghdād, the *Marāṣid* states "when the Tartars came, most of it was ruined. They killed its people and few were left. Then people from outside came" (201). He states that the Ḥalaba, Ḳurayya and Ḳaṭīʿat al-ʿAdjam were populous quarters (*Marāṣid*, 417, 1088, 1110).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa follows very closely after Ibn Djubayr. However he mentions two bridges in Baghdād and gives new details about the excellent baths in the city (Cairo ed. 1908, i, 140-1). He states that mosques and schools were very numerous, but they were in ruins (*ibid.* i, 140).

Mustawfī's data is significant. His description of the wall of East Baghdād agrees with that of Ibn Djubayr. It had four gates, and encloses the city in a semi-circle with a circuit of 18,000 paces. Western Baghdād, he calls Karkh; it was surrounded by a wall with a circuit of 12,000 paces. He found life easy in Baghdād and people pleasant, but their Arabic was corrupt. He found Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs dominant in Baghdād, though adherents of other sects were numerous. *Madrasas* and *ribāṭs* were numerous, but he noted that Niẓāmiyya was "the greatest of them all" while Mustanṣiriyya was the most beautiful building, (*Nuzha*, 40-42). It is possible that the Sitt Zubayda tomb belongs to this period, and the lady concerned could be Zubayda, the grand-daughter of the eldest son of Mustaʿṣim (ʿAzzāwī, i, 406).

In 740/1339 Ḥasan Buzurg established himself in Baghdād and founded the Djalāyirid dynasty which lasted till 813/1410. The Mardjān mosque dates from this period. From its inscriptions, we know that Mardjan, a captain of Uways, started building the *madrasa* with its mosque under Ḥasan Buzurg and finished the building under Uways in 758/1357. This *madrasa* was for the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs (text of inscriptions in Ālūsī, *Masādjid*, 45 ff.; Massignon, *Mission*, ii, 1 ff.). Only the gate of the *madrasa*—or mosque later—remains now.

Beyond this we hear of flood, siege or troubles which caused much damage and loss.

Baghdād was twice taken by Tīmūr, first in 795/1392-1393 when the town escaped with little damage, and second in 803/1401 when its population was indiscriminately put to the sword, and many of its public (ʿAbbāsid) buildings and quarters were ruined. This was the devastating blow to culture in Baghdād. In 807/1405 Aḥmad the Djalāyir returned to Baghdād, restored the walls destroyed by Tīmūr, and tried to repair some of the buildings and markets, but his time was short.

In 813/1410 Baghdād passed to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Turkomāns who held it till 872/1467-8, to be followed by Āḳ Ḳoyunlu Turkomāns. Baghdād sank still deeper under the Turkomāns and suffered considerably from misrule. Many of its inhabitants left the city, and the ruin of the irrigation system accounts for the recurrence of flood with consequent devastation. Under the year 841/1437 Maḳrīzī says "Baghdād is ruined, there is no mosque or congregation, and no market. Its canals are mostly dry and it could hardly be called a city" (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, iii, 100. see ʿAzzāwī, iii, 79 ff.; Karmalī, 61 ff.). In addition, tribalism spread and tribal confederations begin to play their turbulent rôle in the life of the country.

In 914/1507-8 Baghdād came under Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī, and a period of Perso-Ottoman conflict for the possession of Baghdād opened, typified in the Baghdādī song "between the Persians and the Rūm, what woe befell us". On Shāh Ismāʿīl's orders, many Sunnī shrines, esp. those of Abū Ḥanīfa and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Gīlānī, were ruined, and many of the leading Sunnīs were killed. However, he started building a shrine for Mūsā al-Kāẓim. He appointed a governor with the title *Khalīfat al-Khulafāʾ* (ʿAzzāwī, iii, 336-343). Many Persian merchants came to Baghdād and increased commercial activity. After a brief space in which the Kurdish chief Dhu ʾl-Faḳār seized Baghdād and announced his allegiance to Sulṭān Sulaymān Ḳānūnī, Shāh Ṭahmāsp seized the town again in 936/1530. In 941/1534 Sulṭān Sulaymān entered Baghdād. He built a dome on the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa, with the mosque and *madrasa*, rebuilt the mosque, *tekke* and tomb of Gīlānī and had guest-houses for the poor at both mosques. He also had the shrine and mosque of Kāẓimayn, started by Shāh Ismāʿīl, completed (*Sulaymān-nāma*, 119, Ewliya Čelebi, iv, 426; Ālūsī, *Masādjid*, 117; ʿAzzāwī, iv, 28 ff.). He ordered landed property to be surveyed and registered, and organised the administration of the province (Ewliya Čelebi, iv, 41). The administration was entrusted to a governor (pasha), *defterdār* (for

finances), and a Ḳāḍī. A garrison was stationed in Baghdād with the janissaries as its backbone.

Few buildings were erected during the following period. In 978/1570 Murād Pasha built the Murādiyya mosque in the Maydān quarter. The Gīlānī mosque was rebuilt. Čigalazāde built a famous inn, a coffee house and a market. He also built Djāmiʿ al-Ṣaghā or Djāmiʿ al-Khaffāfīn, and rebuilt the Mawlawī *tekke*, known now as the Āṣafiyya mosque (ʿAzzāwī, iv, 116, 128-132; cf. Ālūsī, *Masādjid*, 30-1, 62-4). Ḥasan Pasha built the mosque known after him, also called Djāmiʿ al-Wazīr (*Gulshan-i Khulafā* 66; Ewliya Čelebi, iv, 419). He also made a rampart and a ditch around Karkh to protect it from Bedouins.

Europeans travellers begin to visit Baghdād at this period. They speak of it as a meeting place of caravans, and a great centre of commerce for Arabia, Persia and Turkey. Caesar Frederigo (1563) saw many foreign merchants in the city. Sir Anthony Sherley (1590) saw "excellent goods of all sorts and very cheap" (Purchas, viii, 384). It had a bridge of boats tied by a great chain of iron and when boats passed up or down the river, some of the boats of the bridge were removed until the traffic had passed (Ralph Fitch in 1583, Hakluyt, iii, 282-3). Rauwolf (1574) saw streets narrow and houses miserably built. Many buildings were in ruins. Some public buildings like the Pasha's residence and the great bazaar or exchange were good. Its baths were of low quality. The eastern side was well fortified with a wall, and a ditch, while the western side was open and looks like a great village (Rauwolf, *Travels*, in Ray's collection, London 1605, i, 179 ff.). The city walls were built of bricks and had subsidiary works including four bastions on which heavy bronze guns in good conditions were mounted (Texeira, *Travels*, Hakluyt ed., 31). The circuit of the walls is given as two to three miles. John Eldred (1583) noticed that three languages were spoken in Baghdād, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian (Hakluyt, iii, 325). Ralph Fitch (1583) found Baghdād not very great but very populous. The Portuguese traveller Pedro Texeira (1604) estimated houses in east Baghdād at twenty to thirty thousand. There was a mint in Baghdād in which gold, silver and copper coins were struck. There was a school of archery and another of musketry maintained by the government (*Travels*, Hakluyt ed., 31).

Following the insurrection of Bakr the Subashī, Shāh ʿAbbās I conquered Baghdād in 1032/1623. School buildings and Sunnī shrines, including the mosques of Gīlānī and Abū Ḥanīfa, suffered destruction. Thousands were killed or sold as slaves and others were tortured (Kātib Čelebi, *Fadhlaka*, ii, 50; *Khulāṣat al-Āthār*, i, 383; ʿAzzāwī, iv, 178-182). In this period the Sarāy (government house) was built by Ṣafī Ḳulī Khān, the Persian governor. Baghdād was regained by the Ottomans in 1048/1638 under the personal command of Sulṭān Murād IV. He had the shrines, especially the tombs of Abū Ḥanīfa and Gīlānī, rebuilt. On his departure, the Bāb al-Tillisim was walled up and continued thus until it was blown up by the retreating Turks in 1917. His Grand Vizier put the Ḳalʿa (castle) in good repair.

Further information comes from travellers of this period, like Tavernier (1652), Ewliya Čelebi (1655) and Thevenot (1663). The wall around east Baghdād was almost circular in shape. It was 60 *dhirāʿ* high and 10-15 *dhirāʿ* broad, with holes for guns. It had large towers at the principal angles, of which four were famous at this period—and smaller towers at short distances from each other. On the large towers brass cannons were planted. The wall was completed on the river side for proper defence (the map of Naṣūḥ al-Ṣilāḥī drawn for Sulṭān Sulaymān in 1537 already shows this wall. A. Sousa, *Atlas of Baghdād*, 12). There were 118 towers in the wall on the land side and 45 on the river side (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (1657), *Djihān-nümā*, 457 ff.; Ker Porter (1819) reports 117 towers of which 17 were large (*Travels*, 265); cf. Buckingham, *Travels*, 372). The wall had three gates on the land side, (as the Tillisim gate was walled up): Bāb al-Imām al-Aʿẓam in the north at 700 *dhirāʿ* from the Tigris, Ḳaranlïk Ḳapu (Bāb Kalwādhā) or the dark gate in the south at 50 *dhirāʾ* from the Tigris, and Aḳ Ḳapu (al-Bāb al-Wasṭānī) or the white gate in the east. The fourth gate was at the bridge. Ewliya Čelebi measured the length of the wall and found it 28,800 paces in slow walking or seven miles (1 mile = 4,000 paces), while Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa makes its length 12,200 *dhirāʿ* or two miles (Niebuhr and Olivier consider the length of East Baghdād two miles). Wellsted thought the circuit of the walls 7 miles. Felix Jones, who surveyed Baghdād in 1853, gives the circuit of the walls of East Baghdād including the river face as 10,600 yards or about 6 miles (Olivier, *Voyage*, ii, 379-80; Wellsted, *Travels*, i, 255; Felix Jones, 318; cf. Rousseau, 5 and Tavernier, 84).

The wall was surrounded by a ditch, sixty *dhirāʿ* in width, with water drawn from the Tigris. At the north-western corner of the wall stood the Ḳalʿa (inner castle), from the Bāb al-Muʿaẓẓam to the Tigris; it was encompassed by a single wall with little towers upon which cannon were planted. Barracks, stores of ammunition and provisions as well as the treasury and the mint were there. The Sarāy, where the Pasha resided, stood below the castle; it had spacious gardens and fair kiosks. On the other end of the bridge at Karkh stood a castle called Ḳushlar Ḳalʿasī or Birds' castle, with a gate on the bridge (Ewliya Čelebi, iv, 416; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-Nümā*, 457-50; Tavernier, 64; Thevenot, *Voyage*, ii, 211). Ewliya Čelebi refers to the numerous mosques of Baghdād and mentions nine important mosques. Of the schools, two were the largest, the Mardjāniyya and Madrasat al-Khulafāʾ (Mustanṣiriyya). Of the many inns two were good. He mentions eight churches and three synagogues, and gives exaggerated figures for *tekkes* (700) and *ḥammāms* (500). The bridge of boats had 37-40 boats according to the height of the river, and some boats in the middle could be removed either for safety at night, or for river traffic, or as a military precaution. The main languages of the city were Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Baghdād had the best carrier-pigeons.

However Baghdād was still in decline; its population was at the low figure of 15,000 (Tavernier, *Travels*, London 1678, 85-6; Ewliya Čelebi, *Siyāḥat*, iv, 420 ff.; Thevenot, *Voyage*, ii, 211).

Baghdād was governed by 24 pashas between 1048/1638-1116/1704 and there was no room for real improvement. The pashas were semi-autonomous, and the power of the janissaries was great. The power of the tribes rose and gradually became a threat to the life of the city.

Little was done beyond repairs to the city walls or mosques. Küčük Ḥasan Pasha (1642) built three towers near Burdj al-ʿAdjam. Khāṣṣakī Muḥammad Pasha rebuilt Ṭabiyat al-Fātiḥ and repaired the walls after the flood of 1657. Aḥmad Bushnāḳ repaired the towers especially Burdj al-Djāwīsh (Čaʾush) and built Burdj al-Ṣābūnī (1687). Mosques received some attention. Deli Ḥusayn Pasha (1644) rebuilt the

Ḳamariyya mosque. Khāṣṣakī Muḥammad (1657) built the Khāṣṣakī mosque at Raʾs al-Ḳarya. Ṣiliḥdār Ḥusayn Pasha (1671) rebuilt al-Faḍl mosque which became known as Djāmiʿ Ḥusayn Pasha and surrounded the shrine of ʿUmar Suhrawardī by a wall and brought water to it by a canal. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha (1674) repaired the Djāmiʿ Shaykh Maʿrūf and completed the dam started by his predecessor to protect Aʿẓamiyya from flood. Kaplan Muṣṭafā (1676) rebuilt Djāmiʿ al-Shaykh al-Ḳudūrī which became known as Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaplāniyya. ʿUmar Pasha (1678) repaired the mosque of Abū Ḥanīfa and allotted new *waḳfs* to it. Ibrāhīm Pasha (1681) renewed Djāmiʿ Sayyid Sulṭān ʿAlī, and Djāmiʿ al-Sarāy. Ismāʿīl Pasha (1698) rebuilt Djāmiʿ al-Khaffāfīn (ʿAzzāwī, iv, 27, 64, 109, 116, 143, *Gulshan-i Khulafā*, 102, 103, 105, 106, Ālūsī, *Masādjid*, 37, 57-8). Aḥmad Bushnāḳ (1678) built the famous Khān Banī Saʿd, while Ṣiliḥdār Ḥusayn Pasha built a new bazaar near the Mustanṣiriyya.

The beginning of the 18th century saw the *eyalet* of Baghdād terribly disorganised, the janissaries masters of the city, the Arab tribes holding the surrounding country, and peace or security for trade non-existent. The appointment of Ḥasan Pasha in 1704, followed by his son Aḥmad, inaugurated a new period for Baghdād. They introduced the Mamlūks (*Kölemen*) to check the janissaries and laid the foundation for Mamlūk supremacy which lasted till 1831. The janissaries and Arab tribes were controlled, order was restored and the Persian threat averted. Ḥasan Pasha rebuilt the Sarāy Mosque (Djadīd Ḥasan Pasha). He abolished taxes on firewood and on foodstuffs, and relieved quarters from exactions following murders (*Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, vol. i, pt. I, 1193-4; Sulaymān Fāʾiḳ, *Ḥurūb al-Irāniyyin*, MS. f. 18-19; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālik*, MS. f. 4; *Ḥadīḳat al-Zawrāʾ* (abridged), MS. 9; *Gulshan-i Khulafā*, 225). Aḥmad Pasha continued on the lines of his father and enhanced greatly the prestige of Baghdād. Nādir Shāh besieged Baghdād twice, in 1737 and 1743, and though the city suffered much in the first siege, Aḥmad Pasha held out and saved the city. When Aḥmad Pasha died in 1747, Constantinople tried to reimpose its authority on Baghdād but failed, because of Mamlūk opposition. In 1749 Sulaymān Pasha was the first Mamlūk to be made governor of Baghdād. He was the real founder of Mamlūk rule in ʿIrāḳ. Henceforth the sultan had to recognise their position and generally to confirm their nominee to the governorship. Ḥasan Pasha, who was brought up at the Ottoman court (slave household), wanted to follow its example; he established houses and initiated the training of Circassian and Georgian Mamlūks and sons of local magnates in them. Sulaymān now expanded this and there were always about 200 receiving training in the school to prepare officers and officials. They are given a literary education and training in the use of arms, the art of chivalry and sports, and finally some palace education, to create an élite for government (Sulayman Fāʾiḳ, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālik*; *Dawḥat al-Wuzarāʾ*, 8). A governing class was formed, trained, energetic, and compact. But their weakness came from jealousies and intrigues. Sulaymān Pasha subdued the tribes and assured order and security, and encouraged trade. ʿAlī Pasha followed in 1175/1762 and ʿUmar Pasha in 1177/1764 (*Taʾrīkh-i Djewdet*, i, 339-40). In 1766 the establishment of a British residency in Baghdād was sanctioned by Bombay (*Gazetteer*, i, 1225). In 1186/1772 a terrible plague befell Baghdād and lasted six months; thousands perished, others migrated, and commercial activities came to a standstill (*Gazetteer*, i, 324).

Security made Baghdād a great commercial centre. An eye-witness wrote in 1774, "this is the grand mart for the produce of India and Persia, Constantinople, Aleppo and Damascus; in short it is the grand oriental depository" (*Gazetteer*, i, 1243).

Dissension and weak leadership among the Mamlūks led to a period of troubles, of tribal chaos, and the Persian conquest of Baṣra. It ended when Sulaymān Pasha the Great became governor (1193/1779) and combined Baghdād, Shāhrizūr and Baṣra. The tribes were checked, peace was restored and Mamlūk power revived (*Taʾrīkh-i Djewdet*, ii, 146, 157, 158; Ṣūfī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālīk*, 19 ff., 54 ff., S. Fāʾiḳ, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālīk*, f. 16-7).

Sulaymān Pasha repaired the walls of east Baghdād, and built a wall around Karkh and surrounded it with a ditch. He rebuilt the Sarāy. He also built the Sulaymāniyya school and renewed the Ḳaplaniyya, Faḍl and Khulafāʾ mosques. In addition, he built the Sūḳ al-Sarrādjīn. His *kahya* started building the Aḥmadiyya mosque (Djāmiʿ al-Maydān) to be completed by the *kahya's* brother (ʿUthmān b. Sanad, (abridg. ed.), 70-73, 76-7). His last year (1802) saw a plague in Baghdād (*Gazetteer*, i, 1285; Yāsīn Efendi al-ʿUmarī, *Gharāʾib al-Athar*, 64). Ḳüčük Sulaymān (1808) abolished execution except when religious courts decided it, and forbade confiscations and cancelled dues to courts, and allotted salaries to judges (S. Fāʾiḳ, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālīk*, f. 16; *Dawḥat al-Wuzarāʾ*, 250).

Dāwūd Pasha came (1816) after a troubled period. He controlled the tribes and restored order and security. He cleared up some irrigation canals, established cloth and arms factories, and encouraged local industry. He built three large mosques, the most important being the Ḥaydar-Khāna mosque. He founded three *madrasas*. He also built a *sūḳ* by the bridge. He organised an army of about 20,000 and had a French officer to train it. His energetic and intelligent administration brought prosperity to the city. However, he had to impose heavy taxes in Baghdād. Dāwūd's fall and the end of the Mamlūks came about as a result of Maḥmūd II's centralising and reforming policy, aided by a terrible plague, scarcity, and flood, which affected most of the city population (1247/1831) (*Ḥadīḳat al-Zawrāʾ* (abridg. ed.), MS. f. 43-44, 53, 55-56; A. R. Suwaydī, *Nuzhat al-Udabāʾ*, MS. f. 41-42; *Mirʾāt al Zawrāʾ*, 59; S. Fāʾiḳ, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālik*, MS. f. 39-52; *Gazetteer*, i, 1316; Frazer, *Travels*, i, 224-5; *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, i, 80-1).

The administrative system of Baghdād was copied on a small scale from that of Constantinople. The Pasha held supreme military and administrative power. As the head of the administration was the *katkhudā* (or *kahya*) who was like a minister. He was assisted by the *defterdār*, who was director of finances, and by the *dīwān efendisi* or chief of the chancellery. There was the commander of the palace guards and the aghā of the janissaries. There was the ḳāḍī as the head of the judiciary. The Pasha called the *dīwān* which included the *kahya*, the *defterdār*, the *ḳāḍi*, the commander and other important personages, to discuss important issues. In the palace there were houses, with teachers and instructors (*lālāt*) to educate the Mamlūks (Djewdet, ii, 287, iii, 204, ʿUthmān b. Sanad, 31-2, 56, 39; Rousseau, 25 ff.). The Mamlūk army was of 12,500 and in case of need it could be raised to

30,000 by local levies and contingents from other parts of the *wilāyat* (S. Fā'iḳ, *Mamālik*, f. 51-2).

European travellers of this period give some data on Baghdād. Some notice that the walls were constructed and repaired at many different times, the old portions being the best (Buckingham, *Travels* (1827), 332; see Felix Jones, *Memoir*, 309). The enclosed area within the walls (east) according to Felix Jones' measurement was 591 acres (cf. Dr. Ives, *Journey*, London 1778, 20; Rousseau, *Description*, 5). The wall on the river seems to have been neglected and houses were built on the bank (Olivier, *Voyage* (1804), ii, 379). A large part of the city within the walls, particularly in the eastern side, was not occupied. The section near the river was well populated but even there gardens abounded so that it appeared like a city arising from amid a grove of palms (Niebuhr, ii, 239; Buckingham, 373, Wellsted, *Travels* (1840), i, 255). The Sarāy was spacious, enclosing beautiful gardens, and was richly furnished (Rousseau, 6; Ker Porter, 263).

The western side Karkh, was like a suburb with numerous gardens. It was defenceless at first, (Rousseau, 5; Ives, 28), until Sulaymān Pasha the Great built its wall. It had four gates—Bāb al-Kāẓim (N.), Bāb al-Shaykh Ma'rūf (W.), Bāb al-Ḥilla (S.W.), and Bab al-Kraimāt (S.). The walls were 5,800 yards long, enclosing an area of 246 acres (F. Jones, 309). (Ker Porter (1818) found it well furnished with shops along numerous and extensive streets (Ker Porter, ii, 255; al-Munshī' al-Baghdādī, *Riḥla*, 31). Moreover it was not so populated as the eastern side, and generally inhabited by the common people (Niebuhr, ii, 244; Rousseau, 4). The bridge of boats was 6 ft. wide and people use it or use "guffas" to cross the river (Ker Porter, ii, 255; Niebuhr, ii, 243; al-Munshī' al-Baghdādī, 243).

The population gradually increased in this period. Rousseau (c. 1800) estimates it at 45,000, Olivier at 80,000, while the inhabitants put the figure at 100,000 (Rousseau, 8; Olivier, ii, 385); Buckingham (1816) made the estimate 80,000 (*Travels*, ii, 380)). Ker Porter (1818) puts the figure at 100,000 (*Travels*, 265). Al-Munshī' al-Baghdādī echoes local views in saying that there were 100,000 houses in Baghdād of which 1,500 were Jewish and 800 were Christian (*Riḥla*, 24). By 1830 the estimate is brought to 120,000-150,000 (Frazer, i, 224-5 and Wellsted). There was a mixture of races and creeds. The official class was Turkish (or Mamlūk), the merchants primarily Arab, and there were Persians, Kurds and some Indians (Buckingham, 387; Niebuhr, ii, 250; Ker Porter, ii, 265; Wellsted, i, 251). There were numerous bazaars in Baghdād especially near the bridge, and the grand ones were vaulted with bricks, while the others were covered with palm trees. There were many *khāns*, 24 *ḥammāms*, five great *madrasas*, and twenty large mosques and many small ones (Buckingham, 378-9; Ives, 273; al-Munshī' al-Baghdādī, 31; Niebuhr, ii, 230; Wellsted, i, 257; Olivier, ii, 382).

The streets were narrow, and some had gates closed at night for protection. Houses were high, with few windows on the streets. The interior consists of ranges of rooms opening into a square interior court usually with a garden. *Sardābs* were used to avoid heat in summer, while open terraces were convenient for the late afternoon. In summer people slept on the roof (cf. Buckingham, 380). Baghdād had some industries especially tannery and the fabrication of cotton, silk and woolen textiles (Rousseau, 9-10).

From 1831 to the end of the Ottoman period, Baghdād was directly under Constantinople. Some governors tried to introduce reforms. Meḥmed Rashīd Pasha (1847) was the first to try to improve economic conditions. He formed a company to buy two ships for transport between Baghdād and Baṣra, the success of which led to the corresponding British project. Nāmiḳ Pasha (1853) founded the *damir-khāna* which could repair ships (Chiha, 54, 58-9; *Gazetteer*, i, 1360, 1365-6, 1372). Midḥat Pasha (1869-1872) introduced the modern *wilāyet* system. The *wālī* had a *mu'āwin*, or assistant, a *mudir* for foreign affairs, and a *ma'mūn* or secretary. The *wilāyet* was divided into seven *sandjaḳ*s headed by *mutaṣarrifs*, Baghdād being one of them (*Gazetteer*, i, 1442, 1447-8). He abolished some obnoxious taxes—the *iḥtisāb* (octroi duty) on all produce brought to the city walls for sale, the *ṭālibiyya*, a tax on river crafts, *khums ḥaṭab*, or 20% on fuel, and *rūs 'bkār*, a tax on irrigation wheels for cultivation, and replaced it by a *'ushr* on agricultural produce (*Gazetteer*, i, 1442). In 1870 Midḥat founded a tramway linking Baghdād with Kāẓimayn, and it continued for 70 years ('Alī Ḥaydar Midḥat, *Life*, 51). He established (1869) the first publishing house, the *wilāyet* printing press in Baghdād, and founded *al-Zawrā'*, the first newspaper to appear in 'Irāḳ as the official organ of the provincial government; it continued until March 1917 as a weekly paper ('Azzāwī, vii, 241; Ali Haydar Midhat, *The Life of Midḥat Pasha*, London 1903, 47 ff.; Ṭarrāzī, *Arabic Press*, i, 78; *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, i, 81). With the exception of a few French Missionary schools, there were no modern schools in Baghdād. Between 1869-1871, Midḥat established modern schools, a technical school, a junior (*Rushdi*) and a secondary (*I'dādi*) military schools, and a junior and secondary civil (*Mulkī*) schools (*Zawrā'* No. 182; 'Azzāwī, viii, 21; *Sālnāme-i Baghdād* (1900), 454; Chiha, 100-102). Midḥat pulled down the city walls as a step towards its modernisation. He completed the Saray building started by Nāmiḳ Pasha (Chiha, 66).

The education movement started by Midḥat continued after him. The first junior girls' school was opened in 1899 (*Sālnāme*, 1318). Four primary schools were opened in 1890, and a primary teachers' school in 1900 (*Sālnāme-i Ma'ārif*, Istanbul 1900; S. Fayḍī, *Niḍāl*, 58-9). By 1913 there were 103 schools in 'Irāḳ, 67 primary, 29 junior (*Rüshdī*), 5 secondary and one college, the law college (*Lughat al-'Arab*, 1913, 335). Five printing presses were founded between 1884-1907. Newspapers appeared in Baghdād after 1908 and by 1915, 45 papers were issued by different people.

Wālīs followed Midḥat in quick succession and little was achieved. In 1886 conscription was established (for Muslims only). In 1879 the hospital built by Midḥat was finally opened (*Zawrā'*, No. 810). In 1902, a new bridge of boats, wide enough for vehicles to pass, and with a cafe on the south side, was constructed (Ālūsī, 25; *Handbook*, ii, 374). In 1908 Baghdād sent three representatives to the Ottoman Parliament ('Azzāwī, viii, 165). In 1910 Nāẓim Pasha constructed a bund surrounding east Baghdād to protect it from floods ('Azzāwī, viii, 200-1). He was the last energetic *wālī*.

Administration was headed by the *wālī* assisted by a council, about half of which consisted of elected members, and the rest were appointed (*ex-officio*). About two of the elected members were non-Muslims. The *wālī* was assisted by a *ḳā'im maḳām* (*Zawrā'*, No. 1369; *Sālnāme* 1292 A.H.). Among important offices were the *Ma'ārif* directorate, the *Tapu* directorate, the registration office, and the civil

courts (*Sālnāme* (1300), 82-96). Until 1868, Baghdād was the centre of the three *eyālet*s of Mawṣil, Baṣra and Baghdād. In 1861, Mawṣil became separate and in 1884 Baṣra was separated and Baghdād became the centre of three *Mutaṣarrifliks* (Chiha, *Province*, 85).

The plague and flood of 1831 left terrible marks on Baghdād. Most of the houses of East Baghdād were ruined and two thirds of the space within the walls was vacant, while most Karkh was ruined. The walls on both sides had great gaps opened by the flood. The city was in a miserable state compared to the days of Dāwūd Pasha (Frazer, *Travels*, i, 269, 233-4, 252).

Southgate (1837) noticed that the city was slowly recovering from the calamity, and put the population at 40,000. But he saw the *madrasa*s neglected and their allowances not properly used (Southgate, *Narrative*, 2 vols. 1851, II, 180, 165-6; *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, i, 80-1).

When Felix Jones surveyed Baghdād (1853-4) things had improved. He mentions 63 quarters in East Baghdād, 25 quarters in Karkh, most of which still retain their names (*Memoir*, 339; cf. Frazer, 233-4).

The population of the city increased steadily after the middle of the 19th century. In 1853 they were about 60,000 (Felix Jones, 315, 329). In 1867, the male population of Baghdād is given as 67,273 (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, 1913). In 1877 they were all estimated at 70 to 80 thousand (*Persian Gulf Gazetteer*, 8; Geary, *Through Asiatic Turkey*, 1878, i, 126). In the 1890s the estimate was 80 to a 100 thousand (Harris, *From Batum to Baghdad*, 299; Cowper, *Through Asiatic Turkey*, 270). In 1900 they were put at 100,000 (Chiha, *Province*, 165; see *Sālnāme* (1320 A.H.), 136-7, 181).

Another estimate for 1904 is given at 140,000 (*Handbook of Mesopotamia*, i, 89). By 1918, the population is given as 200,000 (*Handbook*, ii, 334; Alūsī, *Akhbār Baghdād*, 280-1; cf. R. Coke for the figure 185,000 in 1918, *Baghdād*, 298). Travellers were impressed with the great admixture of races, the diversity of speech and the rare freedom enjoyed by non-Muslims and the great toleration among the masses (Jones, 339; Olivier, ii, 388-9). This mixture left its imprint on the dialect of Baghdād (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Ḳāmūs Lahdjat Baghdād* MSS.).

However, Arabic was the common language. The Arab population was increased by the advent of tribal elements (Geary, *op. cit.* i, 136, 214). Usually people of one creed or race congregated in a particular quarter (cf. F. Jones, *Memoir*, 339). The Turks generally occupied the northern quarters of the city, while Jews and Christians lived in their ancient quarters north and west of Sūḳ al-Ghazl respectively. Most of the Persians lived on the west side but Karkh was mainly Arab (F. Jones, 339; *Persian Gulf*, 9, 79-80; *Handbook*, ii, 381; Southgate, ii, 182). Though people of the three religions spoke Arabic their dialects differed (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, 1911, 69-71).

At the turn of the century there were still some industries. Among the textiles of Baghdād were silk stuffs, cotton fabrics, stuffs of wool-silk mixture, striped cotton pieces, and coarse cotton cloth for head-scarves and cloaks, sheets and women outer garments. The silk fabrics of Baghdād were famous for their colour and workmanship. An excellent dyeing industry existed. Tanning was one of the principal industries, and there were about 40 tanneries at Muʿaẓẓam. Carpentry and the manufacture of swords were advanced. There was a military factory for textiles (*Handbook*, i, 231; *Sālnāme* (1300), 79, 136).

The Baghdād bazaars were covered, or uncovered like Sūḳ al Ghazl. At the eastern bridgehead was the chief place for trade in the bazaars of the Sarāy, Maydān, Shordja and the cloth bazaar rebuilt by Dāwūd Pasha. Some bazaars had crafts with their own guilds and usually the bazaar was named after it, such as Sūḳ al-Ṣafāfīr (coppersmiths) Sūḳ al-Sarrādjīn (saddlery), Sūḳ al-Ṣāghā, (silversmiths), Sūḳ al-Khaffāfīn (shoemakers) etc. (Ewliya Čelebi, iv, 22; *M.G.T.B.*, i, 22-3).

There were two important streets, one from the North Gate to near the bridge, and the other from the South Gate to the end of the main bazaar. In 1915 the North Gate was connected with the South Gate by a road, now known as Rashīd street (*Handbook*, i, 377; *Sālnāme* (1318 A.H.), 599-600).

In 1922 Nāmiḳ Pasha tried to repair some of the streets (*Sālnāme* (1318 A.H.), 60). In 1307/1889 Sirrī Pasha transfered the Maydān to an open square with a garden (see *Sālnāme* (1321), 76).

In 1285/1869 Midḥat formed a municipal council by election and orders were issued to clear the streets. In 1879 municipalities were formed and orders were issued for achieving cleanliness and drainage (*Zawrāʾ*, No. 231, No. 878, No. 817, No. 1774, *Lughat al-ʿArab*, i, 17; *Sālnāme* (1300), 136). Lighting with kerosene lamps was adopted and given to a contractor, but in fact only streets with notable residents were lit (*Zawrāʾ*, No. 490, no. 837) (see further BALADIYYA.)

At the beginning of the 20th century the city of Baghdād covered an area of about four sq. m. The remains of the city wall on the East side demolished by Midḥat formed with the river a rough parallelogram about 2 miles long with an average width of over a mile. About a third of this area was empty or occupied by graveyards or ruins, and towards the south much space was covered by date groves. Karkh began further upstream than East Baghdād but it was much smaller in length and depth (*Handbook*, ii, 276). In 1882 there were 16,303 houses, 600 inns, 21 baths, 46 large mosques (*djāmiʿ*) and 36 small mosques (*masdjid*), 34 children's *maktab* and 21 religious schools, 184 coffee-shops and 3,244 shops (*Sālnāme* (1300), 136). In 1884 the figures were: 16,426 houses, 205 inns, 39 baths, 93 *djāmiʿ* and 42 *masdjid*s and 36 children's *maktab*s (*Sālnāme* (1302), 335).

In 1903 Baghdād had 4,000 shops, 285 coffee-shops, 135 orchards, 145 *djāmiʿ*, 6 primary schools, 8 schools for non-Muslims and 20 convents (*tekke*), 12 bookshops, one public library, 20 *maktab*s for boys, 8 churches, 9 tanneries, one soap factory, 129 workshops for weaving, 22 textile factories (*Sālnāme* (1321), 179). By 1909 houses reached 90,000 in number. There were 3 private printing presses, 6 churches and 6 synagogues (*Sālnāme* (1324), 223).

Shukrī al-Alūsī described 44 mosques in East Baghdād and 18 in Karkh (Alūsī, *Masādjid*; Massignon, *Mission*, ii, 63-5).

The temperature in Baghdād ranged from 114° to 121° F. in summer, and from about 26° to 31° F. in winter, but it sometimes rose to 123° F. in summer and fell to 20° F. in winter.

Baghdād produced some distinguished poets during the Ottoman period, like Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*], Dhihnī [*q.v.*], Akhras and ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-ʿUmarī; historians like Murtaḍā, Ghurābī and M. Shukrī Ālūsī; jurists like ʿAbd Allāh Suwaydī and Abu 'l-Thanā al-Alūsī (see Alūsī, *al-Misk al-Adhfar*, Baghdād 1930).

Modern Baghdād has changed considerably, especially since the thirties. It has expanded to link

up with Aʿẓamiyya and Kāẓimayn to the north, with the eastern bund to the east, with the great bend of the Tigris to the south, and with the al-Maṭār al-Madanī and with nearby suburbs like Manṣūr and Maʾmūn cities. There are 76 quarters in Karkh and Rusāfa, 8 in Aʿẓamiyya, 4 in Karradh Sharḳiyya and 6 in Kāẓimayn (Sousa, *Atlas Baghdād*, 21-5). The population of the Baghdād municipality in 1947 was 466,733; it had mounted to 735,000 by 1957.

Traditional styles of building gave way to houses, built on western lines, in areas beyond the old city, while the old sections are being gradually transformed. The bridge of boats is gone, and four permanent bridges have been constructed.

The process of modernisation, both material and social, is too rapid to be recorded here.

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BAGHDĀD KHĀTŪN, daughter of the *amīr al-umarā* Amīr Čūbān, niece of the Īlkhānid ruler of Persia Abū Saʿīd (*regn.* 717-736/1317-1335) (her mother was Abū Saʿīd's sister), and wife of Amīr Ḥasan the Djalāʾirid, commonly known as Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg, whom she married in 723/1323. In 1325 A.D. Abū Saʿīd, quoting as precedent the *yāsā* of Čingiz Khān, attempted to force Shaykh Ḥasan to divorce Baghdād Khātūn in order that he might marry her himself, but was frustrated by Amīr Čūbān. In October or November 1327 A.D. Amīr Čūbān was treacherously put to death at Harāt by Ghiyāth al-Dīn the Kurt at the instigation of Abū Saʿīd, who was then able to carry out his design and marry Baghdād Khātūn. Baghdād Khātūn attained a position of great influence, and was given the *laḳab* of Khudāwandigār ("sovereign"). In 732/1331-2 Shaykh Ḥasan was accused of conspiring with his former wife Baghdād Khātūn to murder Abū Saʿīd. This caused an estrangement between Abū Saʿīd and Baghdād Khātūn, but the following year, when the accusation was proved to have been false, he restored her to favour. In 734/1333-4 Abū Saʿīd married Baghdād Khātūn's niece Dilshād Khātūn, and promoted her above his other wives. This aroused the jealousy of Baghdād Khātūn, and, when Abū Saʿīd died suddenly on 13 Rabīʿ II 736/30 November 1335, Baghdād Khātūn was suspected of having poisoned him, and was put to death by the amīrs. Another version is that she was put to death because she had corresponded with Özbek, khān of the Golden Horde, and had incited him to invade Persia.

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The site of the Round city was determined by old canals, especially the ʿĪsā canal and the Ṣarāt canal. The bed of the ʿĪsā canal is still known as ʿĪsāwī or Dāwūdī, and the canal which flows into the city could be seen until the present Khirr canal, but the lower part is obliterated. But we know that the main bridge in the 5th/11th century was at Mashraʿat al-Rawāya by the ʿĪsā canal, and this *mashraʿa* was opposite Sūḳ al-Thalāthāʾ below the modern Maʾmūn bridge (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 169; idem, *Manāḳib Baghdād*, 20; cf. Massignon, *Mission*, ii, 104-5). However, I have resorted to the application of the spectrograph on the Area survey of Baghdad and found the course of the ʿĪsā canal to the Tigris as indicated on the map (at modern Shawwāka), which agrees with the above remarks.

The Ṣarāt canal flowed into the Tigris near the Bāb al-Shaʿīr. According to Ibn al-Faḳīh (Mashhad MS.), the Bāb al-Shāʿīr was near the Sharīʿa where boats coming from Mosul stopped. Sharīʿas did not change and the Sharīʿa referred to could only be at present day Ḳamariyya.

The Round City had its southern limit near tne Ṣarāt canal and it was at the junction of this canal with the Tigris. The village of Sunāya was outside its wall, near the northern section (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 24), and this village was very probably where present day Minṭaḳa is. Therefore Minṭaḳa is the eastern limit of the Round City, which was not directly on the Tigris. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal put Baghdād between the Ṣarāt canal and the Bāb al-Tibn, thus considering the Trench of Ṭāhir as the northern boundary. This Trench included al-Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī and left only Ḳaṭīʿat Umm Djaʿfar beyond (Khaṭīb, 79; *Manāḳib*, 28). As the al-Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī Quarter was mostly swept by the Tigris through its change of course (as the author of the *Marāṣid* states) its limit could not be higher than 33° 22′ N. Lat. and thus the Round City must have its northern limit at about 33° 21′.

Mahdī Camp (Ruṣāfa) was almost opposite the Round City. The Shammāsiyya quarter was opposite the Ḥarbiyya quarter, while the Shammāsiyya Gate was almost opposite the Ḳaṭrabbul Gate (Iṣṭakhrī, 83; Ṭabarī, iii, 1576). Shammāsiyya was north and east of the quarter of Abū Ḥanīfa. Below Abū Ḥanīfa's quarter was the Caliphal Cemetery and next came the Ruṣāfa mosque. Digging and soil analysis indicate that this Cemetery was slightly above the former Royal Sporting Club. The Ruṣāfa mosque was about a mile north of Djāmiʿ al-Sulṭān at Upper Mukharrim which could not be above modern ʿAywāḍiyya and so the Mosque would be at the northern limit of Sāḥat ʿAntara.

Mustanṣiriyya was the southern limit of Mukharrim and the beginning of the Sūḳ al-Thalathāʾ, which terminated at the Djāmiʿ al-Khulafā (traceable by the Sūḳ al-Ghazl minaret). Thus the Royal palaces (Ḥarīm Dār al-Khilāfa) start and extend over Ḳurayya — which still keeps its name — and end at the suburb (*rabḍ*) at Murabbaʿa — which also still keeps its name, (cf. Ibn Djubayr). This puts Harīm Dār al-Khilāfa between about Samawʾal street and Djāmiʿ Sayyid Sulṭān ʿAlī. In digging the foundations of the new building of the Rāfiḍayn Bank, about fifty yards from Samawʾal St., a kitchen was struck, very likely that of Dār al-Khilāfa (Djahshiyārī, Cairo 1938, 189, 195; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 73; Yāḳūt, i, 587; iii, 195; cf. Massignon, *Mission*, 89; *Sūmer*, ii, 197). The limit of the Mustaʿīn wall eastwards corresponds approximately to the Nāẓim Pasha Band as is shown from digging foundations of new houses.

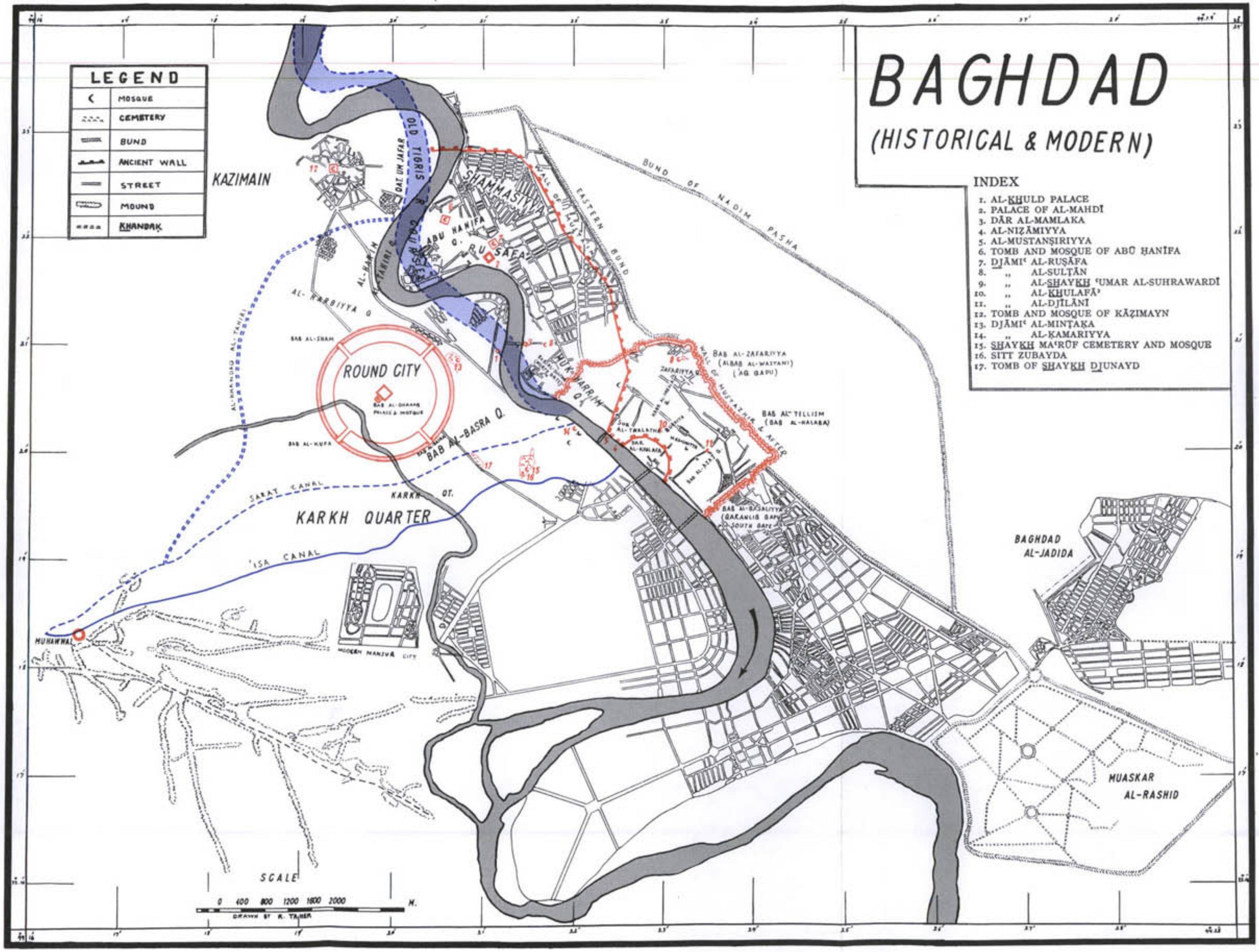

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AL-**BAGHDĀDĪ**, ʿABD AL-ḲĀHIR B. ṬĀHIR, ABŪ MANṢŪR AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, d. 429/1037. His father took him to Nīshāpūr for his education and there he made his home. Most of the scholars of Khurāsān were his pupils and he could teach 17 subjects, especially law, principles, arithmetic, law of inheritance and theology. He left Nīshāpūr because of rioting by Turkmens and went to Isfarā'in where he soon after died. He was learned in literature as well as in law, was rich, helped other scholars and his books on law, arithmetic (one survives) and the law of inheritance were highly praised. He wrote several books on theology; *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal* is lost; *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, a systematic treatise, beginning with the nature of knowledge, creation, how the Creator is known, His attributes, etc. is rather like *al-muḥaṣṣal* of Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rāzī, but gives the views of the sects on each subject. It cannot be identified with any of the books named by al-Subkī. The tone throughout is objective, unlike that of his other book *al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*. This takes each sect separately, judges all from the standpoint of orthodoxy and condemns all which deviate from the strait path. It is not a plain tale of facts, like Shahrastānī's *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, but a polemic. In spite of a chapter heading "Socrates and Plato" it deals only with Islam though it brands some aberrations as unworthy of the name. It ends with an exposition of orthodox belief. Two books, which presumably went into greater detail, The *Errors of Abu 'l-Hudhayl* and the *Errors of Ibn Karrām*, are lost. It is fair to say that he draws from doctrines, which he condemns, conclusions never envisaged by their authors.

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AL-**BAGHDĀDĪ**, AL-KHAṬĪB [see AL-KHAṬĪB, AL-BAGHDĀDĪ].

BAGHL, mule (pl. *bighāl*, fem. *baghla*; but some think that *baghl* denotes the hybrid without distinction of sex, and that *baghla* is a singulative form which applies both to the male and female); the same word denotes both the hinny, the offspring of a stallion and a she-ass (cf. however *kawdar* in al-Masʿūdī, ii, 408; *contra*: al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bighāl* 120; al-Damīrī, s.v.; cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, index, s.v.), and the mule, the offspring of a he-ass and a mare, the morphological characteristics of the two varieties being midway between those of the he-ass and those of the stallion, with however a tendency to be influenced by the mother's side. Ḳārūn (Korah; see al-Damīrī) or Ṭahmūrath (see al-Ṭabarī/Balʿamī, trans. Zotenberg, i, 101) was the first to bring about this cross-breeding, but the Ḳur'ān (xvi, 8) naturally attributed the creation of the mule to God. Muḥammad himself possessed mules (notably Duldul, which lived up to the time of Muʿāwiya), so that although the *ḥadīths* forbidding the consumption of the flesh of the mule (like that of the ass) may be authentic, those concerning the interdict on the mating of asses and mares have less chance of being so; at all events, it was not observed, and the mule industry did not suffer by reason of it. The postal service used these animals, and eminent men and women of noble birth did not disdain to ride on them, in spite of their stubbornness and obstinacy, because their even gait and surefootedness made them valued mounts.

Men of an inquiring mind have been especially interested in this hybrid and its sterility; the Arab zoologists, however, thought that the she-mule was by nature fertile, but that it could not retain the male (*lā taʿlaḳ*), or that it was too small-boned to give birth without losing its life; in order to prevent accidents of this sort it was sometimes "sewn up" (*maktūba*). But al-Damīrī relates that in 444/1052 a she-mule gave birth to a black filly and a white mule.

The size of its head and penis, its longevity (due to continence), its sterility, its obstinacy and other characteristic traits of the mule are proverbial, and the words *baghl* and *baghla* enter into a large number of everyday expressions (for an account of the she-mule of Abū Dulāma, which became proverbial by reason of its defects, see M. Ben Cheneb, *Abū Dolāma*, Algiers 1922; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bighāl*, 100 ff.). Certain parts of the body of the mule, notably its teeth, hair, hooves, and blood, were used in the preparation both of drugs, and of charms and amulets. To see a mule in a dream was interpreted as a sign of a voyage, or of longevity, degeneracy, sterility, etc.

In addition to the other meanings collected by the Arabic dictionaries and Dozy, it is worth noting that the word *baghla* (pl. *baghalāt*) denoted in Egypt female slaves born of unions between Ṣaḳāliba and another race (see al-Djāhiz, *Bighal*, 66).

Bibliography: In addition to the usual works on zoology (in this category the dictionary of Damīrī is a fundamental work), pharmocopoeia, oneiromancy, etc. (see for example the bibliography of the article AFʿĀ), which give a certain amount of information, particular attention is drawn to the fact that mules, doubtless because of their curious origin, prompted Djāḥiz to write a special study, *al-Ḳawl fi 'l-Bighāl* (ed. Ch. Pellat, Cairo 1375/1955), which is a sort of supplement to the *K. al-Ḥayawān*, and in which the author quotes chiefly anecdotes and verses illustrating the character and usefulness of these animals. (CH. PELLAT)

BAGHLĪ [see DIRHAM].

BAGHRĀS, the ancient Pagrae, guarded the Syrian end of the Baylān pass on the road from Antioch to Alexandretta across the Amanus, and was thus a place of transit and a strategic position of importance. This region, which had been laid waste at the time of the first wars between the Arabs and the Byzantines, was furnished with colonists by Maslama; this initiated a recovery, and Hishām built a small fort there; it was naturally included in the region of the *ʿawāṣim* [*q.v.*] organised by Hārūn al-Rashīd behind the Syro-Cilician *thughūr*, and there existed there at the time of al-Balkhī a hospice for travellers, which is said to have been founded by Zubayda. The actual fortification of Baghrās was the work of Nicephorus Phocas who had reconquered Cilicia and was planning the reconquest of Antioch (357-8/968), and Michael Bourtzes set out from Baghrās when the following year he in fact occupied Antioch. Baghrās was occupied, without striking a blow, by Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumish and then by the

Crusaders. About the middle of the 6th/12th century it was captured by the Templars, but in 1188 was seized for a short time by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, in 1191 was taken by the Armeno-Cilician Leo, and was only surrendered by the latter to the Templars in 1216. The Templars evacuated the town in 1268 following the capture of Antioch by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars. From then onwards Bag͟hrās protected the frontier of the Mamlūk state against the Armeno-Cilician kingdom, as long as the latter continued to exist, and formed a special military command depending on the province of Aleppo. Bag͟hrās is still mentioned incidentally in the operations conducted by the Mamlūk sultans for the protection of their northern frontier up to the time of the Ottoman conquest, after which it fell into ruins. Only a small village exists there to-day. The fortress, which has never been the object of a proper archaeological investigation, was of average importance, and seems to have been the work of the Byzantines and Mamlūks rather than of the Templars or Armenians.

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BAGIRMI, name in the 19th century of a negro Muslim State, situated on the right bank of the Shari, S.E. of lake Chad. In Barth's time (1852) the capital was Massenya. There were a certain number of tributary regions within its orbit, lying between 10° and 12° N. and 15° and 18° E. This historical name is no longer in official use to-day; only a district of Massenya exists, the other tributary regions having been either attached to the district of Bousso or to that of Melfi.

The regions which once bore the name Bagirmi form a vast plain at an elevation of 1000 ft., sloping gently away towards Lake Chad. The level expanse of alluvial soil is only broken by barren dunes and in the East, in the canton of Bekakire, by isolated rocks. These regions are situated at the extreme limits of the Sahel and Sudan savannah zones. The year is divided into two seasons, a dry season, cold in winter, very hot in the spring and autumn, and the other, the summer, hot and damp. Rainfall fluctuates around 700 mm. (28 ins.), but there is excessive evaporation. The Shari is the only permanent river; the others (Baḥr Errguig, Baḥr Nara) only flow from August to December.

The region's economy is based on cultivation and stock breeding. The main crop is millet (bulrush millet and guineacorn), which forms the basic food; maize, cultivated around the oases, provides a complementary crop in the intervening periods. In addition, peas, manioc, gombo, sesame and peanuts are also grown. Cotton growing has been introduced in the S.E. part of the region, along the river Shari. Pasturage, though of mediocre quality, makes possible the breeding of cattle, sheep and goats.

The population is made up of very diverse elements: negroes (Bagirmese, Bornuese, Sara, Massa), Arabs (Yessié, Dekakiré, Ouled Moussa), Fulani and Bororo Fulani; in 1956, the total number of the inhabitants of the region amounted to 70,500 with a population density of 6.4 per sq. m.

The sedentary negroes (with the exception of the Massa, cattle herdsmen) live by crop raising, food gathering and fishing. The nomadic Fulani migrate as far as the Logone and Lake Chad, the Bororo Fulani as far as the Ati and Musoro districts. The semi-nomadic Arabs move between their villages, where in the rainy season they cultivate the ground, and the banks of the Shari, to which they resort at the end of the dry season.

With the exception of the Massa and the Sara, who have remained animists, these peoples were converted to Islam three hundred and fifty years ago under the influence of Fulani missionaries and Hausa merchants. Islam, however, has only made a somewhat superficial impression.

The state of Bagirmi, founded in the 16th century, at the outset enjoyed considerable prosperity; then, at the beginning of the 19th century, as the result of wars with the Wadai, it began to decline. In 1870 the Sulṭān of the Wadai took Massenya and expelled the Sulṭān Abū Sekkine. The latter's successor, Gaourang, threatened by Rabah (see *Bornu*), placed himself under the protection of France (1897), which resulted firstly for the Bagirmi in the terrible reprisals of Rabah, then, when the latter had been defeated and killed at Kousseri (22 April 1900), in the final pacification under French administration. The Sulṭān was retained for outward appearances, but his authority limited to the Massenya canton. Massenya, the capital, was an important town in Barth's time, enclosed by walls 7 miles in circumference. It was partly destroyed in 1870 and then abandoned at the time of Rabah's invasion. It was rebuilt once more 20 km. (12½ m.) to the S.E. It is, however, no more than a large village with a population of 1,700 inhabitants. Indeed the whole district lies remote from the main currents of trade. Only a small proportion of the local produce—ground-nuts, butter, skins—, is taken to the markets at Bongor, Bokoro and Fort Lamy.

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BĀH, one of a number of terms in the Arabic language denoting coitus. *Fiḳh*, in the main, uses the term *waṭʾ*. In principle, *bāh* is *ḥarām* (as well as sexual indulgences of a minor character) if the partners are not married to each other, or united by the bond of ownership (master and slave-concubine); if this is not the case, the penal law intervenes to punish *zinā*ʾ—most commonly by death (see ḤADD, ZINĀʾ, MUḤṢAN), at least in theory. On the other hand, according to a celebrated *ḥadīth*, *waṭʾ* performed in a legal manner is an "alms" in the eyes of God. *Fiḳh* considers most practices permissible for the married couple, with perhaps a restriction regarding *waṭʾ fī duburihā*. *Bāh* is, in principle, permitted at all times, except in certain circumstances of a ritual character (by day

during the month of Ramaḍān, or when one is in *iḥrām* during the *ḥadjdj* [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, a well-known text of the Ḳurʾān says: "Your wives are a tilth for you, so go to your tilth as you will" (ii, 231), and the Ḳurʾānic prohibition (ii, 230) of intimate relations during the menstrual period is not enforced by penalties, at least not in this world. *Fiḳh* does not forbid the sight of the partner's nakedness, but on the other hand, according to tradition, the Prophet in the matter of *waṭʾ* behaved with the greatest modesty, both in this respect and in others. As regards the legality of contraceptive practices, see the article ʿAzl. *Fiḳh* does not place any interdict on relations with a partner who has not reached the age of puberty provided that the act is physically possible. The schools are not in agreement on the question whether the wife can demand the performance of the conjugal duty: in the Mālikī school, the forsaken wife has the right to claim a divorce. On the other hand, the husband can always require his wife to be at his service, because *waṭʾ* constitutes the very essence of *nikāḥ* [*q.v.*]; *fiḳh* is here in agreement with etymology (*nikāḥ*—marriage, and coitus).

Bibliography: See bibliography to the article ʿAzl; add: O. Pesle, *La femme musulmane.*

(G. H. Bousquet)

BAHĀʾ ALLĀH. — Founder of the new religion which took the name of Bahāʾī from his own name (literally, 'Glory, Splendour, of God'). In Persian it is known commonly as *Amr-i Bahāʾī*, 'Bahāʾī Cause', or *Amr Allāh*, 'Cause of God'; the adjective *amrī* is used of publications, matters and facts pertaining to the Cause, *e.g.*, *nashriyyāt-i amrī* 'religious publications', etc. Bahāʾ Allāh is generally called by his disciples *Djamāl-i Mubārak*, 'The Blessed Beauty' and *Djamāl-i Ḳidam*, 'The Ancient Beauty'. His name was originally Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī (from Nūr, in Māzandarān, the place of origin of his family). He was born at Tehran on 2 Muḥarram 1233/12 November 1817 of a noble family which had given several ministers to the Persian court. According to the Bahāʾī tradition, and to what he himself declares in his writings, he never attended any school. His was a profoundly religious personality, and he relates in one of his works (*Lawḥ-i Raʾīs*) how, right from his infancy, he was moved to religious thinking after a performance of puppets which, after the show with all its ostentation was over and they had been redisposed in their box, suggested to him the thought of the fallibility and the vanity of human power. After the declaration of the Mission of the Bāb [*q.v.*] in 1260/1844, he was one of his first disciples, and shared the fate of the Bābīs. Bahāʾ Allāh never knew the Bāb personally and, to judge by a phrase in the *Kitāb al-Shaykh*, 122, he had never even read the *Bayān*, which he knew by heart. In 1852, after the attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, he was arrested and thrown into the prison at Tehran known as *Siyāh Čāl* ('the black hole'), where he stayed from August of that year until 12 January 1853. In his work *Kitāb al-Shaykh* ('book of the Shaykh', known also as *Lawḥ-i Ibn-i Dhiʾb*, 'Epistle of the Son of the Wolf') he narrates the story of his journey, fettered, from Niyāwarān to Tehran, and his interesting mystical experience in the prison in the long nights he passed without sleep on account of the heavy chains which fastened his neck, hands and feet. It seemed to him, he tells us, that he heard a voice which cried to him, 'Truly, We shall succour Thee, by the means of Thee Thyself and Thy pen. Be not afraid ... Thou art in security. Soon God will raise up the treasures of the earth, namely those men who shall succour Thee for love of Thee and Thy name, by which God shall bring to life the hearts of the Sages'. At other times it seemed to him that a great torrent of water was running from the top of his head to his chest 'like a powerful river pouring itself out on the earth from the summit of a lofty mountain'. The Bahāʾīs consider this experience as the first beginnings of the prophetic mission of their founder. Banished with all his family to ʿIrāḳ after all his possessions had been confiscated, he dwelt at Baghdād, where his spiritual influence over the Bābī exiles continued to increase, whereas that of his half-brother Mīrzā Yaḥyā—known by the name of Ṣubḥ-i Azal, which the Bāb had given him [v.s.v. bāb]—was on the decline. From 1854 to 1856 Bahāʾ Allāh took himself to Kurdistān, where he lived as a nomadic dervish on the outskirts of Sulaymāniyya. When he returned to Baghdād, his growing influence, and the numerous visitors he received even from Persia, caused the Persian consul to request his immediate exile to Constantinople. A short while before his departure on 21 April 1863, in the garden of Nadjīb Pāshā near Baghdād—called by the Bahāʾīs *bāgh-i riḍwān*—Bahāʾ Allāh declared himself, to a select number of his followers, to be He Whom God Shall Manifest (*man yuẓhiruhu ʾllāh*) as predicted by the Bāb. The exiles arrived at Constantinople in August, and after some months were sent to Edirne where they arrived in December. At Edirne Bahāʾ Allāh openly declared his prophetic mission, sending letters (known, like all Bahāʾ Allāh's letters, by the name of *lawḥ*, pl. *alwāḥ*, 'tablets') to various sovereigns, inviting them to support his Cause. At this time the great majority of Bābīs came out in his favour. The dissensions with the minority, who followed Ṣubḥ-i Azal, gave rise to some incidents, which impelled the Ottoman government to banish those who henceforth called themselves Bahāʾīs to Acre (ʿAkkā), and the others to Cyprus. In August 1868 Bahāʾ Allāh and his family arrived at ʿAkkā. A stricter imprisonment in the fortress lasted until 1877, after which Bahāʾ Allāh was authorised to transfer himself to a country house which he had rented at Mazraʿa. From 1288/1871 to 1290/1874 Bahāʾ Allāh was engaged on writing the fundamental book of his religion, *Kitāb-i Aḳdas*, the "Most Holy Book". About 1880 he was allowed to transfer to the neighbourhood of Bahdjī, not far from ʿAkkā, where he died, after an illness lasting some days, on 29 May 1892. In 1890 he had received at Bahdjī Professor E. G. Browne, the only European who met him personally and on whom Bahāʾ Allāh made a deep impression. For the doctrine of Bahāʾ Allāh see bahāʾī.

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(A. Bausani)

BAHĀ' AL-DAWLA [see BUWAYHIDS].

BAHĀ' AL-DĪN AL-ʿĀMILĪ [see AL-ʿĀMILĪ].

BAHĀ' AL-DĪN ZAKARIYYĀ, commonly known as Bahā' al-Ḥaḳḳ, a saint of the Suhrawardī order, was born at Kot Karor (near Multān) in 578/1182-83 according to Firishta. He was one of the most distinguished *khalīfas* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] and is the founder of the Suhrawardī order in India. After completing his study of the Ḳur'ān according to its seven methods of recitation at Kot Karor, he visited the great centres of Muslim learning in Khurāsān, at Bukhārā and Medina, and in Palestine—in order to complete his study of the traditional sciences. While in Medina he learnt *ḥadīth* with an eminent traditionist, Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn Yamanī, and spent several years in religious devotions at the mausoleum of the Prophet. After visiting the graves of the Israelite prophets in Palestine, he reached Baghdād and became a disciple of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. At this time he was, as his master said, 'dry wood ready to catch fire', and so after seventeen days' instruction, the latter appointed him his successor and ordered him to set up a Suhrawardī *khānaḳāh* in Multān. He lived and worked in Multān for more than half a century and his *khānaḳāh*—a magnificent building where separate accomodation was provided for all inmates and visitors—developed into a great centre of mystic discipline in medieval India. He died in Multān on 7 Ṣafar 661/21 December 1262.

Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn's order flourished most vigoriously in Sind and the Pandjāb, though he had attracted some disciples from Harāt, Hamadān and Bukhārā. As a mystic teacher he was known for his *nafs-i gīrā* (intuitive intelligence) which helped him in apprehending and controlling the minds of his disciples. He differed from contemporary Čishtī mystics in several matters: (i) He did not allow all sorts of people to throng round him. The *Djawāliḳs* and *Ḳalandars* seldom obtained access to him. "I have nothing to do with the generality of the public", he is reported to have remarked. (ii) He lived in an aristocratic way and had granaries and treasuries in his *khānaḳāh*. (iii) He did not observe continuous fasts but ate and drank in the normal manner. (iv) While among the Čishtīs the custom of *zamīn-būs* prevailed, he never permitted anybody to bow before him. (v) He believed in keeping close contact with the rulers and the bureaucracy. (vi) He did not believe in mystic songs (*samāʿ*).

Bahā' al-Dīn exercised great influence on mediaeval politics. He helped Iltutmish (607-633/1210-1235) in establishing his hold over Multān and accepted from him the honorific title of *Shaykh al-Islām*. In 644/1246 when the Mongols besieged Multān and the ruler of Harāt joined them, the Shaykh offered 100,000 *dīnārs* to the invaders and persuaded them to raise the siege.

The Shaykh lies buried in Multān in an imposing tomb, surmounted by a hemispherical dome and decorated with fine enamelled tiles.

Bibliography: No Suhrawardī accounts of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā were available even in the early 16th century when Shaykh Djamālī brought into his *Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn*, Delhi 1311 A.H. all he could get from the Čishtī sources. For originals see, Ḥasan Sidjzī, *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, Newal Kishore 1302 A.H., 5, 6, 10, 29 ff.; Ḥamīd Ḳalandar, *Khayr al-Madjālis* (ed. K. A. Niẓāmī), Aligarh 1956, 131, 137, 283; Mīr Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, Delhi 1302 A.H., 77, 91, 158; Sayf b. Muḥammad, *Ta'rīkh-nāma-i Harāt*, Calcutta 1943, 159-58; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, Newal Kishore 1915, 452. See also, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, Delhi 1309, 26-7; M. Ghawthī, *Gulzār-i Abrār* (As. Soc. Bengal, Ivanow 98 f 18); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Čishtī, *Mir'āt al-Asrār* (MS. personal collection 494-97); Ghulām Muʿīn al-Dīn, *Maʿāridj al-Wilāyat* (Personal collection) Vol. i, 389-98; E. D. Maclagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan District*, Lahore 1902, 339 f. (K. A. Nizami)

BAHĀ' AL-DĪN ZUHAYR, ABU 'L-FAḌL B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-MUHALLABĪ AL-AZDĪ (generally known by the name of AL-BAHĀ' ZUHAYR), celebrated Arab poet of the Ayyūbid period, born 5 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 581/27 February 1186 in Mecca. Whilst still very young, he went to Egypt, where at Ḳūṣ (Upper Egypt) he studied the Ḳur'ān and letters, finally settling at Cairo towards 625/1227. Al-Bahā' Zuhayr was in the service of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, son of the sultan al-Kāmil, and in 629/1232 accompanied him on an expedition to Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. In 637/1239, whilst returning to Egypt after his father's death, al-Ṣāliḥ was betrayed by his troops at Nābulus and handed over to his cousin al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, who imprisoned him. The poet remained faithful to his master in adversity and spent sometime at Nābulus. When al-Ṣāliḥ ascended the throne of Egypt, he appointed him *wazīr* and showered honours upon him. In 646/1248, he is to be found at al-Manṣūra at the side of his sovereign, who was fighting against the seventh Crusade (St. Louis). As the result of a misunderstanding, the poet fell into disgrace, and, in the death of his master, went to Syria, where he addressed his best panegyrics to the sovereign of Damascus, al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, but without success. He returned to Cairo a disappointed man; there he experienced solitude and poverty, and died in 656/1258.

His *Dīwān*, preserved in Paris (MS 3173 of the B.N.) and elsewhere, and edited in Cairo (1314), is known. Palmer produced a fine edition with an English translation. In this *Dīwān* he is shown as being a poet very often sincere and a true musician in verse. His choice of words, of form, manner and metre, the effects of rhythm and harmony,

everything shows a very mature taste. Without rejecting the poetics of his time or his rhetoric with its numerous figures, the poet in him scarcely allows a glimpse of the rhetorician.

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BAHĀʾ AL-ḤAḲḲ [see BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN ZAKARIYYĀʾ].

BAHĀDUR. A word common to the Altaic languages, equally well represented in Turkish, Mongol and Tunguz dialects. Its adjectival meaning is "courageous, brave", but it is universally used as a substantive with the meaning "hero". It also frequently occurs as a surname and an honorific title.

The earliest occurrence is in the Chinese history of the Sui Dynasty, written in the early 7th century. The Chinese transcription 莫賀咄 *mo-ho-to* suggests a trisyllabic **baγatur* which, transcribed βαγατούρ, was in use also among the Proto-Bulghars in the 9th century. An Uyghur runic ms. which could originate in the 8th-10th centuries has *bātur* and it is this bisyllabic form which is general in Turkish dialects. *e.g.* Osmanli *batur*, Kazakh, Bashkir *batir*, Özbek *botir*, Tuvin *mädïr*, Chuvash *pattăr*, etc. Some Turkish dialects have the trisyllabic form, e.g., Coman *baγatur*, but it is possible to see in them borrowings from Mongol. Beside the form already mentioned, Özbek has also *baqodir*.

The word is attested in the earliest Mongol documents (13th century), always in the trisyllabic form, though the Chinese sources of the Mongol epoch usually transcribe 拔都 *pa-tu* for *bādu*[*r*]. Classical Mongol has *baγatur*, and variants exist probably in all the dialects. *e.g.* Kalmuck *bātr*, modern literary Khalkha *bataar*, Monguor *Bātʾuṛ*. Among Tunguz forms one could mention Manchu *baturu*, Evenki *bahatir*, Even *bāgtïr* and *bukatïṛ*.

It is impossible to state the directions in which borrowings were made, but it seems probable that either the Turkish or the Mongol trisyllabic forms were original, and that the Tunguz forms are, originally, Mongol loan-words. Inter-borrowings within the same group must have been frequent.

Bahādur is, clearly, a word of civilisation. It travelled far into the north and can be met in various Samoyede and Finno-Ugrian languages, in Siberia as well as in Europe, *e.g.* Ostiak *matur*, Hungarian *bátor* (11th century). These, and some of the Slavonic forms, *e.g.* Russian *bogatïr* are borrowings from Turkish or Mongol. Persian *bahādur*, borrowed from Mongol, had a wide-spread use as a title or a surname among Muslim dynasties. As it was also used by the Great Mughals, it penetrated into Anglo-Indian, in the sense of a "haughty or pompous personage, exercising his brief authority with a strong sense of his own importance" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*).

The word found its way into Western European sources. Roger, Canon of Várad, writing in 1244, gives *Bochetor* as the name of one of the Mongol generals taking part in the campaign against Hungary. The Portuguese ambasador to Tīmūr, Clavijo (1404), has *Bahadur*. (D. SINOR)

BAHĀDUR KHĀN [see FĀRŪḲĪ].

BAHĀDUR SHĀH [see NIẒĀM SHĀH].

BAHĀDUR SHĀH I. Muḥammad Muʿaẓẓam was the second son of the Emperor Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr by his second wife Raḥmat al-Nisāʾ, Nawāb Bāʾī, daughter of Rādjā Rādjū of Radjawri in Kashmir. She was also the mother of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, who died in prison, 1087/1676, and Badr al-Nisāʾ Begum (1647-1670), who was a *Ḥāfiẓ*. She died in 1691. Muʿaẓẓam was born at Burhānpur in the Deccan on 30 Radjab 1053/14 October 1643. His full titles were: Abū Naṣr Sayyid Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur Shāh Bādshāh. From the time of his elder brother's defection to Shāh Shudjāʿ in 1068/1658 he was the prospective heir apparent, and was regarded as such on Muḥammad Sultān's death in 1087/1676 In Shaʿbān 1086/October 1675 he received the title of Shāh ʿĀlam.

From 1663 he was actively employed by his father in the Deccan and against the Kingdom of Bidjāpūr. In 1093/1683-4 he led an army through the Konkan to Goa, then being besieged by the Maratha rādjā Shambādjī. But having fallen out with the Portuguese, he found his supplies cut off and made a disastrous retreat. He was then employed against Bidjāpūr and the Ḳuṭb Shāhī dynasty of Golkonda. Awrangzīb, already suspicious of Prince Muʿaẓẓam's lack of rancour against his rebel son Akbar, interpreted an attempted mediation between his father and Abu 'l-Ḥasan of Golkonda as a plot against himself. Muʿaẓẓam, now known as Shāh ʿĀlam, was arrested with his sons on 4 March 1687. At first treated with great rigour, the Prince found the severity of his treatment gradually relaxed, until in April 1695 he was released and appointed *Ṣubadār* of Agra. In 1699 he became governor of Kābul province which he held at the time of his father's death, his eldest sons holding Taṭṭha and Multān.

On receiving the news of his father's death on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1118, 22 March 1707, Prince Muʿaẓẓam moved with great speed. He proclaimed himself by the title of Bahādur Shāh when near Lahore, offered to honour his father's will by leaving his brother Aʿẓam Shāh the Deccan provinces, and arrived near Agra on June 12. On 18 Rabīʿ I 1119/18 June 1707, Aʿẓam Shāh and his son Bīdār Bakht were killed in a great battle near Jajau and Bahādur Shāh was master of the empire. Kām Bakhsh, the youngest son of Awrangzīb, was defeated and killed near Ḥaydarābād, Deccan, on 3 Dhu 'l-ḳaʿda 1120/13 January 1709.

The short reign of Bahādur Shāh was occupied by three problems, the Marathas, the Radjputs and the Sikhs. On the advice of Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Khān, Shāhū, the grandson of Shīwadjī, was released and sent back to Māhārashtrā with a Mughal *manṣab* of 7000. His arrival there provoked a civil war between his supporters and those of Tāra Bāī, the regent widow of his uncle Rādjā Rām.

In the cold weather of 1707-8 Bahādur Shāh regulated the succession of Amber and reduced the Rādjpūt Rādjā of Jodhpūr to submission. But while campaigning against Kām Bakhsh the revolt flared up again. On his return in 1710 the emperor found himself confronted with a Sikh rebellion and had to make a compromise settlement with the Rādjpūts. The last Sikh *gūrū*, Govind Singh, was a supporter of Bahādur Shāh, but was murdered in the Deccan in 1708. The Sikh revolt in the north was then

revived by a man known as Banda who killed Wazīr Khān, seized Sirhind and terrorised the east Pandjāb. Bahādur Shāh stormed Lohgarh and defeated but did not capture Banda in 1710-11. The last few months of his life were spent in Lahore where he died on 20 Muḥarram 1124/27 February 1712. The throne was immediately disputed between his four sons, Muʿizz al-Dīn Djahāndār Shāh, ʿAẓīm al-Shān, Rafīʿ al-Shān and Djahān Shāh, the first of whom was successful.

Irvine describes Bahādur Shāh as "although not a great sovereign .... a fairly successful one". He was courteous, learned, pious, brave, capable and equable in temper. He was generous and found it difficult to refuse a request, a trait which earned him the nickname of *bī-khabar* or heedless one. Not much is known of Bahādur Shāh's family life, but the names of three wives have survived: Mihr al-Nisā Begum, who accompanied her husband's body to Delhi, ʿAzīz al-Nisā Khānum and Nūr al-Nisā Begum.

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(T. G. P. SPEAR)

BAHĀDUR SHĀH II, the last Mughal Emperor of India. He reigned as titular sovereign from 1253/1837 to 1274/1857 He was in fact, a pensionary of the East India Company, his actual authority being restricted to the limits of the Red Fort or *Ḳalʿa-i muʿallā* of Delhi. Mughal authority, by virtue of which the British held Bengal from 1765, was never formally disowned by them, but the Charter Act of 1833 asserted British sovereignty over British held territories in India. On May 11, 1857, Delhi was seized by mutinous troops from Meerut who compelled the unwilling Bahādur Shāh, then nearly 82, to accept nominal leadership of the revolt. After four months of unenthusiastic headship he retired to Humāyūn's Tomb on the assault of Delhi by the British in September. With his favourite wife Zīnat Maḥāl and their son Mīrzā Djewān Bakht he surrendered to Lieut. Hodson on a promise of his life. After much indignity and a trial of doubtful legality he was exiled by the British Government to Rangoon in Burma, where he died on 13 Djumādā I 1279/7 November 1862. Descendants of his are still to be found there.

Bahādur Shāh was born on 27 Shaʿbān 1189/24 October 1775. He was the second son of Akbar Shāh II (1221-1253/1806-1837) and Lāl Bāī. He was eleventh in direct succession from the emperor Bābur. In 1827 he was described as "the most respectable, the most accomplished of the Princes" by Charles Metcalfe, then Resident of Delhi. He had a tall spare figure, a dark complexion with strongly marked aquiline features. Like his grandfather Shāh ʿĀlam, he was a poet of some note, using the pen-name of Ẓafar. The poet Dhawḳ was his literary preceptor and Ghālib attended his Court. His plaintive *ghazals* were long current in Delhi. He was also a calligrapher and musician of merit, and showed taste in repairing buildings and laying out gardens. His full title was Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Sirādj al-Dīn Muḥammad Bahādur Shāh.

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(T. G. P. SPEAR)

BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ, sulṭān of Gudjarāt 932/1526-943/1537. Second son of Muẓaffar Shāh II (917/1511-932/1526), Bahādur Shāh, on bad terms with his elder brother Sikandar, left Gudjarāt in 931/1525 and, travelling via Čitor and Mewāt to the court of Ibrahīm Lodī was present, as an onlooker, at the battle of Panipāt between the sultān of Dihlī and the Mughal Bābur.

Hearing of the death of his father and the accession of Sikandar, Bahādur Shāh hastened towards Gudjarāt to be greeted at Čitor with the news of the assassination of Sikandar by Khwūsh Ḳadam, ʿImād al-Mulk. Rapidly gaining support from the Gudjarātī Muslim nobles, Bahādur Shāh assumed the insignia of the sultanate at Anhalwāra-Patan on 26th Ramaḍān, 932/6th July 1526.

Bahādur Shāh was the last vigorous sultan of independent Gudjarāt. In 935/1528 he attacked Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar in alliance with Muḥammad II of Khāndēsh and ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿImād al-Mulk of Berār occupying Aḥmadnagar in 936/1529. The Niẓām Shāh appears to have accepted the overlordship of Gudjarāt until 938-9/1532 at least, but statements in the Arabic and Persian histories that he read the *khuṭba* and struck coins in the name of the Gudjarāt sultan have not found corroboration in the discovery of such coins.

In 937/1531 Bahādur Shāh attacked Maḥmūd II of Mālwa, occupying Mandū. In 938/1532-3 he captured the Rādjpūt strongholds of Ujjain, Bhīlsā and Rāisīn together with their chief Silhādī. In Ramaḍān 941/March 1535 Gudjarāt forces, at the second attempt, captured Čitor.

Meanwhile however, in the autumn of 941/1534 war had broken out between Bahādur Shāh and the Mughal Humāyūn; Bahādur Shāh had given refuge to the Lodī Afghāns and to Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā son-in-law to Bābur, who had escaped from confinement by Humāyūn in the fort of Bayāna.

Defeated by the Mughals at Mandasōr and Mandū, and with much of his treasure captured by Humāyūn at the fall of Čāmpānīr in Ṣafar 942/August 1535, Bahādur Shāh turned to the Portuguese for help.

In 937/1531, the Portuguese, under Nuno da Cunha, governor of Goa, had been defeated in their attempt to capture Dīw. In Djumādā II 941/

December 1534, however, in return for a promise to aid Bahādur Shāh against the Mughals, the Portuguese obtained Bassein and in Rabīʿ II/October 1535 the right to build a fort at Dīw where Bahādur Shāh himself had taken refuge. The nominal Portuguese assistance to the Gudjarāt sultan did not prevent Humāyūn from capturing Bahādur Shāh's capital of Aḥmadābād.

Humāyūn's withdrawal from Gudjarāt in 942/1536 to face the threat from Sher Khān enabled Bahādur Shāh to recover most of his dominions from the now disunited, dispersed and disaffected Mughal forces.

Bahādur Shāh then turned to recover the rights surrendered to the Portuguese at Dīw. In an atmosphere fraught with mutual suspicion of bad faith, Bahādur Shāh rashly visited Nuno da Cunha on his flagship at Dīw and, hurriedly returning to the shore after sensing treachery, was slain by the following Portuguese forces. His death occurred on 3 Ramaḍān 943/13 February 1537.

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(P. Hardy)

BAHĀ'Ī MEḤMED EFENDI, Ottoman jurist and theologian. Born in Istanbul in 1004/1595-6, he was the son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi, a Ḳāḍī-ʿasker of Rumelia, and the grandson of the historian Saʿd al-Dīn. Entering upon the *cursus honorum* of the religious institution, he became *mudarris* and molla and was appointed ḳāḍī first in Salonica and then, in 1043/1633-4, in Aleppo. A heavy smoker, he was reported by the Beylerbey Aḥmed Pasha, with whom he was on bad terms, and in 1044/1634-5 was dismissed and exiled to Cyprus as a punishment for what was then regarded as a serious offence. Towards the end of 1045 (early 1636) he was pardoned and in Muḥ. 1048/May-June 1638 appointed Molla of Syria; in Ṣafar 1054/April 1644 he was transferred to Edirne, and in Rab. I 1055/May 1645 became Ḳāḍī of Istanbul. After brief terms as Ḳāḍī-ʿasker of Anatolia and of Rumelia, he was appointed Shaykh al-Islām for the first time in Radjab 1059/July-Aug. 1649. According to the prejudiced evidence of his rival Karačelebizāde, he was chosen because he was so enfeebled by excessive indulgence in narcotics that the Grand Vezir and the Sulṭān Wālide thought they would be able to do as they pleased with him. His subsequent vigour, and his firmness in resisting certain of their demands, give the lie to this accusation. The favour which he showed to the Mewlewī and Khalwatī orders soon brought him into conflict with the orthodox religious party, which also objected to his approval of tobacco and coffee and his toleration of the dervish use of music and dancing. His fall, however, was due not to their efforts but to other causes. In Djum. I 1061/April-May 1651, in the course of a dispute which arose out of a question of jurisdiction involving the British Consul and the Ḳāḍī of Izmir, Bahāʾī Efendi placed the British ambassador in Istanbul under house arrest. For this breach of diplomatic usage he was dismissed and exiled to Midilli. He remained, however, at Gelibolu and Lampsaca, and was reinstated in Ram. 1062/Aug. 1653; he continued in office until his death, of a quinsy, on 13 Ṣafar 1064/3 Jan. 1654. He was buried in Fātiḥ.

Bahāʾī was known both as a poet and as a scholar, and left a number of poems and fetwās. His best-known ruling was that in which he pronounced smoking lawful, thus ending the prohibitions and repressions of the early 17th century. He was himself a heavy smoker, and his contemporary Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa remarks of him that had it not been for this self-indulgence he might have become one of the most eminent scholars of the country. Bahāʾī's authorisation of smoking, however, was due, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, not to his own addiction but to a concern for what was best suited to the condition of the people, and to a belief in the legal principle that the basic rule of law is licitness (*Ibāḥa aṣliyya*).

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(B. Lewis)

al-**BAHĀ'Ī** [see al-ʿĀmilī].

BAHĀ'ĪS, adherents of the new religion which was founded by Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*], and of which the forerunner, according to Bahāʾī doctrine, was the Bāb [*q.v.*]. The foremost authority on the Bahāʾī religion, and its disseminator in Europe and America, was ʿAbbās Efendī, the eldest son of the founder, better known among the Bahāʾīs as ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ (Servant of Bahāʾ). Born on 23 May 1844 at Tehran, he accompanied his father on his journeys and in his exile, and at his death was recognised by the great majority of the Bahāʾīs as the authorised exponent and interpreter of his father's writings Centre of the Covenaut and "Model of Bahāʾī Life", in accordance with Bahāʾ Allāh's will (*Kitāb ʿAhdī*); this will, however, was contested by ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ's brother Muḥammad ʿAlī, who set up a rival group within the Bahāʾī organisation and contrived to compromise his brother with the Ottoman authorities, who were hostile to the Bahāʾīs. He was released from prison in 1908 under the amnesty granted by

the new Ottoman Government of the Young Turks, and in 1910 began his three great missionary journeys. The first was to Egypt (1910), the second to Europe (Paris and London, 1911), and the third to America and Europe (1912-13). From New York he made his way across the entire United States in eight months to Los Angeles and San Francisco, stopping in the main towns and preaching in evangelical churches, synagogues, masonic halls, etc. In September 1912 he returned to Europe, and from England went again to Paris, then to Germany, Austria and Hungary. Finally at the end of 1913 he returned from Paris to Palestine. The first Bahā'ī group in America had formed as early as 1894, and on 10 December 1898 the first American Bahā'ī pilgrims arrived at Acre. ʿAbd al-Bahā''s journey, one of the objects of which had been to counter the propaganda of his brother's supporters, also notably strengthened the community of American adherents. In addition to this he formed Bahā'ī groups in the European countries he passed through. In 1920 the British Government appointed him Knight of the Order of the British Empire. He died on 28 November at Ḥayfā and was buried beside the Bāb, in the great mausoleum which was completed in 1957. In his will he had appointed Shoghi Efendi (Shawḳī Efendī) Rabbānī, the oldest of his grandsons (the eldest son of his eldest daughter) as "Guardian of the Cause of God" (*Walī-yi Amr Allāh*). Shoghi Efendi, who died on 3 Nov., was born at Ḥayfā in the last years of the last century. He studied at Oxford and in 1936 married the American Mary Maxwell, who took the name Rūhiyyè Khānum. From 1923 onwards he lived in Ḥayfā in Israel, the world administrative centre of the faith.

The Bahā'ī religion, while it claims to be "scientific" and opposed to dogma, has more clearly defined theological, philosophical, and social doctrines and forms of worship than some Orientalists have thought. I give them briefly below on the basis of the sources cited in the bibliography.

Religious doctrines. 1. God. A completely transcendent and unknowable entity. "Every road to Him is barred". The Bahā'īs are opposed to mystic pantheism. Mystics have only given form to their own imaginings. "Even the loftiest souls and the purest hearts, however high they may fly in the realms of science and mysticism, can never pass beyond that which has been created inside themselves" (*mā khuliḳa fī anfusihim bi-anfusihim*) (*Lawḥ-i Salmān*).

2. Creation. The unknowable essence of God makes itself manifest and creates that which is not God. The Bahā'ī idea of the beginning of things falls between that of creation and that of emanation. We could speak of *eternal creation*, seeing that the Bahā'ī texts tend to keep the term *khalḳ* (creation), but at the same time maintain that since the attribute of *khāliḳ* (creator) is co-eternal with God, there has never been a time when the world did not exist. Thus the world is eternal (*Lawḥ-i Ḥikmat*).

3. A special form of the manifestation of God is that which features in the Prophets (The Bahā'ī technical term is *maẓāhir-i ilāhiyya*, divine manifestations, rather than *rusul* or *anbiyā*). Thus the concept of *ḥulūl* (incarnation in the full sense of the word) is not accepted. In this connexion the letter of Bahā' Allāh to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (*Lawḥ-i Sulṭān*) is particularly interesting, as is the *Kitāb al-Shaykh*, in which he describes his own mystic experience in the prison of Siyāh Čāl at Tehran. The Prophet has two differing conditions: he is a man, but also a very clear mirror in which God is reflected. Thus in a certain sense it is not wrong to call him God, by way of abbreviation. The status of such a being as could be called "prophetic" is radically different from that of man; it falls between man's status and that of God. According to Bahā'ī doctrine no man, however perfect he may become, will be able to attain prophetic status (or better, that of "manifestation"), just as no animal, perfect as it may be of its kind, can aspire to human status. The manifestation of God through the Prophets never ceases. The manifestations of the Divine are successive. The first prophet is Adam, then come the traditional prophets of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Zoroaster also is considered a true prophet, though the Buddha and Confucius are seen rather as great masters of the spiritual life. After Muḥammad come the Bāb (considered by the Bahā'īs as a true independent manifestation of God whose specific mission lasted only nine years), and Bahā' Allāh. The Bahā'īs allow that other prophets better adapted to advanced stages of human progress may come after him, but "not before a thousand years" (*Aḳdas*). The prophetic periods are grouped together in larger cycles; with the Bāb the cycle begun by Adam ends and the Bahā'ī cycle begins. The latter is destined, according to doctrine, to last at least 500,000 years. It is thus inexact to consider the Bahā'ī religion as syncretistic. Although it accepts all the prophetic religions as essentially true, it claims that it is the one best adapted to the present time, and that it includes in itself all its predecessors.

4. Man. Bahā'ī psychology is somewhat complex. ʿAbd al-Bahā' (*Mufāwiḍat*) distinguishes five types of "spirit": animal spirit, vegetable spirit, human spirit, the spirit of faith, and the Holy Spirit. The spirit of faith is given by God, and alone confers true "eternal life" on the human spirit (we are thus a long way from a purely philosophical conception of the immortality of the soul). "Faith" is essential to Bahā'ī spiritual life. The text of the first verse of the *Aḳdas* runs as follows: "The first commandment of God to his servants is knowledge of the Dawn of His revelation, and the Dayspring of His Decree (*i.e.*, of the Prophet), who is his appointed Representative in the created world (*fī ʿālam al-amr wa'l-khalḳ*). He who has attained this knowlege has attained all good. He who knows it not is of the world of error, even though he performs all (good) works". Faith in God (which, God being by definition unknowable, can only be faith in His manifestation, the Prophet) confers immortality on the believer, who continues in the worlds beyond his eternal journey towards the unknowable Essence of God (excessive interest in these worlds on the part of Bahā'īs is discouraged; they are explicitly forbidden to take part in spiritualist meetings). Paradise and Hell are symbols, the first of which stands for the true believer's journey towards God, and the second the fruitless path towards annihilation of him who knowingly rejects the Faith and performs evil works. In the context of this progressive view of the world beyond Bahā'īs are allowed, and advised, to pray for the dead. Equally, the idea of reincarnation in this world is firmly rejected.

On the phenomenon of man Bahā'ī doctrine accepts the theory of evolution, not, however, as propounded by Darwin, but rather in the traditional mystic sense already present in the *mathnawī* of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]. "Man was always man throughout his evolution", even though

he may have passed through a series of stages of development.

Moral and social principles. The Bahā'īs accept the ancient formula attributed to ʿAlī: "All private matters belong to the human sphere, all concerns of society to the divine". Hence the great emphasis in Bahā'ī doctrine on the improvement of society, a task which is the charge of the Bahā'ī world administration (see below).

The moral and social tenets of the Bahā'īs are classified by ʿAbd al-Bahā' under the following twelve headings: 1. Unity of the human race. 2. Need for an independent search for Truth. 3. Essential unity of all religions. 4. Need for religion to promote unity. 5. Need for science and religion to be in harmony. 6. Equal rights and duties for the two sexes. 7. Opposition to all kinds of prejudice: national, religious, political, economic, etc. 8. Attainment of world peace. 9. Obligation to provide universal education, accessible to all. 10. Solution on a religious basis of the social problem, with the abolition of the extremes of excessive wealth and degrading poverty. 11. Use of an auxiliary international language. 12. Constitution of an International Tribunal.

The forms of administration and organisation which we now describe in brief conduce according to the Bahā'īs to the realisation of these aims:

The Bahā'ī religion has no public ritual, nor any sacraments or private rites of a sacred character. The only religious duties of the Bahā'īs are: 1. To assemble every 19 days on the first day of each Bābī month (the Bāb's calendar was adhered to by Bahā' Allāh) for a communal celebration, called by the Western Bahā'īs the "19th day's Feast", and by the Persians *ḍiyāfat-i rūz-i nūzdahum*. It consists of readings of prayers and sacred texts (and even of passages from the Bible, the Ḳur'ān, and other sacred texts if desired), followed by deliberations more properly administrative in character, when the community's financial affairs are reviewed, important announcements are made, etc. A small meal is then taken together, "even if nothing more than a glass of water", in accordance with the Bāb's decree. 2. To fast 19 days, *i.e.*, the entire Bābī month of ʿAlā', from 2 to 21 March, the Bahā'ī New Year's Day. The fast is of Islamic type, requiring abstention from all food and drink, etc., from dawn till sunset. 3. To practise complete abstention from all alcoholic drink. 4. To pray three times a day, morning noon, and evening, according to short, set formulae. The obligatory prayers (written in Arabic by Bahā' Allāh) may be recited in any language. Some are preceded by ablutions, which are much simpler than Islamic ablutions, consisting only of washing the face and hands and reciting two very short prayers.

Apart from this the *Aḳdas* lays down precise rules for the division of inheritances (a portion of which falls to the teachers), levies a tax of 19 per cent on revenues, and prescribes numerous other rules and penal, civil and religious laws, which are followed in part only by the eastern Bahā'īs. Marriage is monogamous: although the *Aḳdas* allows bigamy, the provision was cancelled by ʿAbd al-Bahā' ("Model of Bahā'ī Life", on the basis of an explicit declaration by Bahā' Allāh). For a marriage to be valid the onsent of the couple's parents is required. Divorce is allowed, but discouraged.

The controlling bodies of the Bahā'ī community are of two kinds, administrative and instructional, the first being made up of elected councils and the second of persons and associations appointed from above. The two types come together at the summit of organisation in the person of the Guardian (*Walī-yi Amr Allāh*). The administrative bodies are as follows: 1. The local spiritual assembly (*Bayt al-ʿAdl-i Maḥallī*). These are formed wherever there are at least nine Bahā'īs. They are of nine members elected by universal suffrage. Election is considered as an act of worship, and the Bahā'ī concept, unlike that underlying the electoral system of the parliamentary democracies, does not imply responsibility of the elected towards their electors, since the latter are merely instruments of the will of God. Elections are held each year during the period from 21 April to 2 May (Riḍwān festival). At the present time there are local assemblies in more than 200 countries throughout the world. 2. Where there is a sufficient number of local assemblies a "Convention" of 19 members elected by universal suffrage elects a national spiritual assembly (*Bayt al-ʿAdl-i Millī* or *Markazī*) also of nine members, not necessarily from among its own members but from all adherents of the faith. There are at the present time more than twenty of these. 3. When sufficient national assemblies have been formed their members will elect a universal spiritual assembly (not necessarily from among themselves but from all adherents).

This assembly will be called *Bayt al-ʿAdl-i ʿUmūmī*, Universal House of Justice. Its president will be the Guardian, by virtue of his office, and for the term of his life. The task of the Universal House of Justice will be to function as supreme administrative body and court, and in addition to frame in accordance with the needs of the time laws not laid down by the *Aḳdas* or the other writings of the Founder; these laws it will have the power to abrogate should need arise.

The jurisdiction of the different Assemblies is absolute within their sphere of competence and fully binding on all believing Bahā'īs, who should in theory bring before their Assembly even their private affairs and differences (in the first instance the local Assembly would be concerned, subsequently the national if the question proved insoluble).

Alongside these elected administrative systems, which are graded from the bottom up, is the instructional system, graded from the top down and made up of appointed members. At its head is the Guardian, whose powers, however, are interpretative only and not legislative. He has legislative powers only as a lawful member of the Universal House of Justice, on the same basis as the other members. The Guardian's position is hereditary, but his eldest son is not necessarily appointed his successor. He names his successor in his life-time from among the members of his family. Immediately below the Guardian in the instructional order come the "Hands of the Cause of God" (*Ayādī-yi Amr Allāh*), of whom he appoints a varying number. The "Hands of the Cause" elect among themselves a Council of nine members whose duty is to assist the Guardian and confirm his choice of successor. The Hands of the Cause appoint their own subsidiaries in their turn, who assist them in their work of instruction and dissemination of the doctrine and spirit of the Faith ("Auxiliary Boards").

The Bahā'īs consider such a complex administrative system as of divine origin. This system is in fact outlined in the *Aḳdas*, with additions and improvements by ʿAbd al-Bahā', and by the present Guardian, Shoghi Efendi, in the matter of appointing assistants for the Hands of the Cause. For the Bahā'īs such a system is not merely a means of internal administration of the Community's affairs, but the

prototype of the ideal world government of the future, which will eventually arise after a long process of peaceful evolution. The Bahā'īs do not accept the separation of Church and State, but maintain that in the absence of priests and sacraments the Bahā'ī fusion of religion and administration will take on a different character from that of the traditional theocracies. Every Bahā'ī is thus formally forbidden to belong to a political party or to secret societies and obedience to due authority is obligatory. The Bahā'ī religion having a strong pacifist trend, members of the Bahā'ī community are advised to avoid military service, at least in lands where conscientious objection is recognised by law. We could also speak of a strong trend towards vegetarianism, based on a short speech made by ʿAbd al-Bahā', during his stay in America, in which he states that he favours the creation of a way of life in which it would no longer be necessary to kill other living beings for food; but he would not force others to accept his view. Likewise he speaks critically of hunting. He advises strongly against smoking, without formally forbidding it.

Although the Bahā'īs have no public form of worship the *Aḳdas* recommends the erection of *Mas͟hriḳ al-Ad͟hkār* (literally "place where the uttering of the name of God arises at dawn"), a kind of temple of circular plan surmounted by a dome of nine sections, and open to the faithful of every creed, all being free to pray there as and when they wish. ʿAbd al-Bahā' emphasises that to every temple there should be attached a high school for giving instruction in the different sciences, a hospital, an orphanage, a dispensary, and other institutions useful to society. On 10 May 1912 he himself laid the first stone of the *Mas͟hriḳ al-Ad͟hkār* at Wilmette (Illinois), on the shore of Lake Michigan near Chicago. This impressive structure cost more than two million dollars and was officially consecrated in the presence of the Guardian's wife in June 1953. Long previously, in 1902, another *Mas͟hriḳ al-Ad͟hkār* had been erected at ʿIs͟hḳābād in what is now Soviet Türkmenistan but we have no exact information on the present state of this building. Other Bahā'ī buildings are the *Ḥaẓīrat al-Ḳuds* (literally Enclosures of Holiness), which are administrative centres of no sacred character, and finally the tombs of the Founders, all grouped together at the world centre of the Faith near Mount Carmel in Israel. The tomb of Bahā' Allāh is at Bahd͟ji and the bodies of the Bāb and ʿAbd al-Bahā' rest in the great mausoleum called *Maḳām-i Aʿlā*, on the slopes of Mount Carmel. The Bahā'īs also consider as sacred localities the *Riḍwān* garden near Bag͟hdād (see *Bahā' Allāh*), and the house of the Bāb at S͟hīrāz, etc. The mausoleum of the Bāb (*Maḳām-i Aʿlā*), surrounded by splendid gardens, is the goal of frequent pilgrimages by European and Eastern Bahā'īs.

It is very difficult to give figures for the numbers of professing Bahā'īs in their communities in the different countries of the world. The central core is in Persia, where different estimates of their number vary from more than a million down to about five hundred thousand. In the city of Tehran there are about thirty thousand. The United States of America come next (about ten thousand), and in Europe, Germany (one thousand); Bahā'īs in other countries can be counted in hundreds. In Iran even now (1958 they are not a recognised religious minority and often suffer persecutions of varying severity. Among other things they are forbidden to print books and newspapers. All official Bahā'ī publications in Persia are cyclostyled. Recently (1955-58) great progress has been made in Africa (especially Uganda) where the number of Bahā'īs exceeds three thousand.

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Of the works of Shoghi Effendi, who writes in English as well as in Arabic or Persian, the most important in English is *God passes by*, Wilmette 1945. Noteworthy for its rich and elegant Perso-Arabic style is the *Lawḥ-i Ḳarn*, Bombay n.d., a letter sent to the eastern Bahā'īs on the occasion of the first centenary of the foundation of the Faith (1944).

On Bahā'ī doctrine: J. E. Esselmont, *Bahā'-ullāh and the New Era*, London 1923 (with several other enlarged editions, the last printed at Wilmette in 1946); R. Jockel, *Die Glaubenslehren der Bahā'i-Religion*, Darmstadt 1951 (cyclostyled), containing a very large bibliography of eastern and occidental works; Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Gulpāyagānī (or Abu 'l-Faḍl D͟jarfād͟hḳānī) has produced interesting and stimulating controversial work in Arabic and Persian. We may cite from his writings: *al-Ḥud͟jad͟j al-Bahiyya*, Cairo 1343/1925 (English trans. by ʿAlī Ḳulī K͟hān, *The Bahā'ī proofs*); *Mad͟jmūʿa-yi Rasā'il*, Cairo 1339/1920.

The *Mā'ida-yi Āsmānī*, Tehran 104 (Bahā'ī era/1947, (6 vols.), is a vast anthology of the Founders' doctrinal writings.

Miscellaneous statistics and information on the life of Bahā'ī communities throughout the world are given in the biennial publications sumptuously edited in America, *The Bahā'ī World* (12 volumes published up to the present time, from 1925 to 1957).

(A. Bausani)

BAHĀR [see kayl].

BAHĀR, Muḥ. Taḳī (1885-22 April 1951), Persian poet and politician, born at Mas͟hhad of a family originating from Kās͟hān. In 1904, on the

death of his father, the poet Ṣabūrī, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh conferred upon him the *laḳab* borne by his father, *Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ-i Āstāna-i Raḍawī-i Mashhad*. From 1906 Bahār joined the camp of the Liberals (*aḥrār*) and his first works appeared in *al-Ḥabl al-Matīn*, published in India; moreover he very soon started his own review *Naw Bahār* (1909), which quickly became famous, firstly at Mashhad and then in Tehran, where he established himself permanently after a short exile in Constantinople (1915-6). Upon his return, he founded a club (*andjuman*) bearing the name *Dānishkada*, with the review of the same name. He was several times a deputy in the Madjlis, but retired from political life after the *coup d'état* of 25 February 1921 and devoted himself to the study of the old poets. After teaching the science of style at the Teachers' Training College and then at the University, he returned to political life and was Minister for National Education in an ephemeral cabinet (1946); he was also elected President of the national section of the Stockholm Peace Movement.

He is considered in Persia to be the greatest poet of his time. He is extolled for the charm of his intellect, his brilliant qualities as a conversationalist and for his gift of impassioned oratory. He succeeded in reviving Persian poetry, dormant since the Mongols, and in discovering the masters of the Ṣaffārid and Sāmānid periods. He knew only his mother-tongue, but that he knew to perfection.

The work left by Bahār is rich and varied (his last works were published in the review *Yaghmā* between 1946 and 1951). It is greatly to be regretted, however, that his work on prosody, *Taṭawwur-i Naẓm*, was not completed and that his *dīwān*, written in his own fine calligraphy, has only been printed in part. His main work deals with style and was published in 3 volumes from 1942 to 1948. He also composed *risālas* on Firdawsī, Mānī and al-Ṭabarī; *manẓūmas* (*čahār khiṭāba, kārnāma-i zandān*); translations from Pahlawī and a novel. In addition, he wrote a brief history of the political parties, of which the first volume alone has been published. Finally he collaborated in publishing linguistic works and manuals (*dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, 2 vols.) as well as in the edition of certain books, (*Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān, Mudjmal al-Tawārīkh wa 'l-Ḳiṣaṣ*, etc.).

Bibliography: Notice by M. ʿAlī Maẓāhirī giving a résumé of his lecture on Bahār; Īradj-i Afshār, *Nathr-i fārsī-i muʿāṣir*, 1330; Sir E. Denison Ross, *La Prose persane, la poésie persane*, 1933, Soc. des Ét. Iran.; T. Rypka, *Dějiny Perské ..... literatury*, Prague 1956, index. (B. Nikitine)

BAHĀR-I DĀNESH [see ʿinĀyat allĀh ḳanbŪ].

BAHĀRISTĀN [see djĀmī].

BAHĀRLŪ, name of a Turkish tribe in Persia. In particular, the name refers to the ruling family of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyūnlū federation of Türkmen tribes (also called Bārānī). It is most probable that the name ("those of Bahār") is connected with the village of Bahār (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 290: *W. kān*, read *Vahār*) situated at 13 kms. north of Hamadān. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 107 (Eng. transl. 106) the castle of Bahār served as residence to Sulaymān-shāh b. Parčam Īwāʾī, who later became one of the three chief ministers of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim and was executed by the Mongols of Hülegü khān (2 Ṣafar 656/Feb. 8 1258), cf. Djuwaynī, (Annex), iii, 290. See especially the excursus on the family of Sulaymānshāh by M. Ḳazwīnī, *ibid.*, iii, 453-64. The *nisba* Īwāʾī clearly points to Sulaymānshāh's connexion with one of the basic Oghuz tribes: *Ivā* (or *Īvā*), see Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Dīwān Lughat al-Turk*, i, 56. The reasons of Sulaymānshāh's expatriation from his principality of Bahār to Baghdād are unknown, but there are definite indications that even before the arrival of the Mongols the Īvā had spread northwards towards Erbil and Marāgha. The Khwārazm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn had to repress their depredations on the roads leading to Tabrīz (winter 623/1226), see Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 302; Nasawī, 126. The presence of an Īvāʾī is mentioned even in Khilāṭ (627/1230). These stages lead us to the region where the Ḳarā-Ḳoyūnlū federation of tribes was formed. Even the emblem on some Ḳarā-Ḳoyūnlū coins reminds one of the tribal *tamghā* of the Iva. On the other hand the connexion of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyūnlū rulers with Hamadān is confirmed by the survival of their epigons in those parts. For a long time the region of Hamadān was called *Ḳalam-raw-i ʿAlī Shakar*, after the name of the important Ḳarā-Ḳoyūnlū amīr.

At present splinters of the Bahārlū tribe are scattered throughout southern Persia, see Sykes, *Ten thousand miles*, 81, 302.

Bibliography: See V. Minorsky, *The clan of the Qara-qoyunlu rulers* in *Mélanges F. Köprülü*, 1953, 391-5, and *BSOAS*, 1955, xvii/1, 69-71. (V. Minorsky)

BAHĀWALPŪR, a town in West Pakistan with a population of 60,000, situated near the left bank of the river Sutledj, at a distance of about 500 miles north of Karachi, with which it is connected by means of a railway. It has a museum, a library and several educational institutions, and is the administrative, commercial and educational centre of the region in which it lies.

Formerly, it was the capital of the Bahāwalpūr state, which was founded by the Dāʾūdpota family of Sind. The town itself was founded by the second ruler of the dynasty, Muḥammad Bahāwal Khān, in 1748. The ruling dynasty has sometimes been called ʿAbbāsiyya after a certain local ancestor ʿAbbās; the name has nothing to do with the ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād or Egypt. The ruling family became independent of the Afghān kings towards the end of the 18th century, and made a treaty with the British in 1838. The state had an area of 15,918 square miles, and stretched for about 300 miles along the left bank of the Sutledj, the Pandjnad and the Indus, extending into the desert for a mean distance of 40 miles. The chief crops were then, as now, wheat, rice, cotton and millet, which were entirely dependent on irrigation from the boundary rivers. According to the census report of 1941, the total population of the state was 1,341,209, and the majority of the people were Muslims — Djāts, Radjpūts and Balučīs. The state of Bahāwalpūr ceased to exist as a separate political entity in 1955, when it was incorporated in West Pakistan.

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BAḤDAL b. Unayf b. Waldja b. Ḳunāfa belonged to the clan of the Banū Ḥāritha b. Djanāb, which was also called *al-Bayt* or the aristocracy of Kalb. A Christian like the great majority of his tribe, his chief claim to fame is that he was the father of

Maysūn, mother of Yazīd I. His nomad clan lived to the south of the ancient Palmyra, whither Maysūn afterwards brought the young Yazīd, and where the Umayyads reunited after the congress of Djābiya and the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ. Baḥdal was thus the founder of the great prosperity of the Kalbites while the Umayyad dynasty lasted, though he did not himself take an active part in politics. As one of his sons was accused of being a Christian under the caliphate of Yazīd I, Baḥdal must have died a a Christian, probably before the battle of Ṣiffīn, in which one of his sons commanded the Ḳuḍāʿa of Damascus, and at an advanced age. His sons succeeded him and became the first persons in the state; in consequence the partisans of the Umayyads were called Baḥdaliyya. His grandson Ḥassān, guardian of the sons of Yazīd I, after the death of Muʿāwiya II even dared to cherish the project of succeeding him. The undue preponderance of the Baḥdalites and the Kalbites contributed largely to the division of the Arabs into two parties, that of Ḳays and that of Yemen, after the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 204, 468, 471, 577; Ibn Durayd (ed. Wüstenfeld), 316; *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Freytag), 261, 318-319, 659; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ii, 305; Dīnawarī (ed. Guirgass), 184, 275; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 305; A. Musil, *Ḳuṣair ʿAmrā*, 151. (H. LAMMENS)

BAHDĪNĀN, BĀDĪNĀN, the Kurdish territory to the north and north-east of the Mawṣil plain. From the latter years of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, circa 600/1200, until the middle of the 13th/19th century the area was a principality ruled from ʿAmādiya ([*q.v.*], Kurdish *Āmēdī*). It included ʿAḳra (Kurd. *Ākrē*), Shūsh, and the Zēbārī lands on the Great Zāb river to the east and Dahūk, and occasionally Zākhū, to the west. The principalities of Bōhtān and Ḥakārī bounded it in the north, and that of Sōrān in the south.

The eponymous Bahāʾ al-Dīn family came originally from Shams al-Dīnān (Kurd. *Shamdīnān*, [*q.v.*]). Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 106 ff., relates the history of the principality for two centuries from the time of the Tīmūrid Shāhrukh to 1005/1596. The Amīr Ḥasan, under the aegis of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī, extended his rule to Dahūk and the Sindī area north of Zākhū. His son Sulṭān Ḥusayn was confirmed in authority by Sulṭān Sulaymān the Magnificent. Ḥusayn's son Ḳubād was deposed and killed by a Mizūrī tribal force, but his son Saydī Khān regained power with Turkish help. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century the ruler of Ardalān, under Shāh ʿAbbās, placed a governor in ʿAmādiya for a short time. There is then little record of the state for another century. Under Ottoman suzerainty the family appears to have reached its zenith with the reign of Bahrām Pasha the Great, 1138-81/1726-67. Bahrām's son Ismāʿīl Pasha, 1181-1213/1767-97, had to cope with his rebellious brothers, who established themselves at various times in Zākhū and ʿAḳra. Murād Khān, son of Ismāʿīl, was driven from ʿAmādiya by his cousin Ḳubād, with the help of the Bābān pasha of Sulaymāniya. Once again the Mizūrī tribe rose to bring about the downfall of a Ḳubād in 1219/1804 and ʿĀdil Pasha, son of Ismāʿīl, was confirmed in power by the Djalālī pasha of Mawṣil. He was succeeded in 1223/1808 by his brother Zubayr. In 1249/1833 Muḥammad Pasha Kōra, the "Blind Pasha" of Rawāndiz, captured ʿAḳra and ʿAmādiya, deposing the ruler Saʿīd Pasha, and proceeded to take Zākhū. Although his sway only lasted a few years the Bahdīnān family never fully recovered its power and in 1254/1838 the area was finally incorporated in the *sandjāḳ* of Mawṣil.

The name Bahdīnān is still applied to the area occupied by the following great Kurdish tribes: Barwārī, Dōskī, Gullī, Mizūrī, Raykānī, Silayvānī, Sindī, and Zēbārī.

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(D. N. MACKENZIE)

BĀHILA. A settled and semi-settled tribe in ancient Arabia. The centre of their territory, Sūd Bāhila (Saud? — "corrected" in Hamdānī by an uninformed copyist into Sawād), extended on both sides of the direct route (described by Philby in *The Heart of Arabia*, vol. ii) from Riyad to Mecca. It is sufficiently well defined by the localities al-Ḳuwayʿ, Djazālā = Juzaila, al-Ḥufayr = Hufaira and the mountains al-Ḳatid = al-Djidd and (Ibnā) Shamāmi = Idhnain Shamal. The clan Djiʾāwa (Djāwa) lived further westward at the western foot of the Thahlān = Dhalan and in the south-east corner of the later Ḥimā Ḍarīya near the Ghanī, another group further to the south in the oasis of Bīsha. To this group may have belonged the Banū Umāma, guardians of the sanctuary of Dhu ʾl-Khalaṣa near the neighbouring Tabāla. An old verse (ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, Suppl. 16.2) runs: ".... I will .... not visit the fair, even though Jasr and Bāhilah journey thereto to sell their wares" (Jasr also in the oasis of Bīsha). What kind of wares? Pottery? — clay was rare in Arabia.

The genealogy of the tribe is somewhat complicated: Bāhila is the mother of one son of Mālik b. Aʿṣur and, through *nikāḥ al-maḳt* with the other son, Maʿn by name, the mother of two of the latter's sons and foster-mother of ten other sons. These other sons stem from two different mothers. Such artifices are familiar to the genealogists. Here only their accumulation is remarkable. This accumulation points indeed to the local separation of the groups of the Bāhila and also to a political opposition between the two greatest of their clans, the Ḳutayba and the Wāʾil. The connexion with Aʿṣur makes of the Bāhila, who are also called, moreover, Bāhila b. Aʿṣur, brothers of the Ghanī. As we have seen above, they were in fact neighbours, of the Ghanī. Unfortunately, the period when the sobriquet Ibnā Dukhān for both these tribes originated is not certain. The Bāhila stood partly under the protection of the Kilāb and partly under that of the Kaʿb branch of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Only one warrior from amongst them is known, al-Muntashir, and this one because Aʿshā Bāhila (no. 4) made an elegy over him. We know of another episode from al-*Nābigha al-Djaʿdī*, no. ix. Both instances lie shortly before the rise of Islam. Two documents of the Prophet have been handed down in Ibn Saʿd, i. 11, 33, the first for the Bāhilites in Bīsha, the second for a chieftain of the Wāʾil.

The history of the tribe becomes clear for the first time under Islam. Their exodus from Arabia was directed predominantly towards Syria (even the Bāhila in Khurāsān came there mainly with troops from Syria) and, for the rest, towards Baṣra. Bāhila (and Ghanī) tribesmen had a substantial share in the war of revenge fought by the Ḳays against the Kalb after the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ (cf. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 126). The Bāhila also developed an abundance of talents of

all kinds. The most important are the philologist al-Aṣmaʿī and the general Ḳutayba b. Muslim. A second exodus of the Bāhila from Arabia is to be distinguished from that of the *muhādjirūn* — an exodus which brought a part of those who had remained behind in Arabia to the lower Euphrates, firstly towards al-Ḥufayr a short distance before Baṣra; from there they penetrated into the sandy tract of al-Ṭaff, which was situated over against the Baṭāʾiḥ, and after the Zoṭṭ had settled [in the Baṭāʾiḥ] in 837, they began to infiltrate into the Baṭāʾiḥ. In 871 the Bāhila there suffered punishment from troops which were on the march to meet the Zandj. The result was that the Bāhila took the side of the Zandj. Nothing more is known about them. Hamdānī (p. 164) is the last who mentions the Bāhila in their native territory; yet this passage is hardly earlier than the parallel passage about Sūd (Saud) Bāhila (*ibid.*, 147 ff.), the original source of which is set by de Goeje in about the year 250/864. Before that time there occurred the over-running of central Arabia by the Numayr. Only vague traces of a change of dwellings the Bāhila in central Arabia are found in the literature.

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BAHDJAT MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI, Ottoman scholar and physician, grandson of the Grand Vezir Khayrullah Efendi and son of Khʷādja Meḥmed Emīn Shukūhī. Born in 1188/1774, he entered upon the ladder of the religious institution, becoming a *mudarris* in 1206/1791-2. Specialising in medicine, he rose rapidly, and in 1218/1803 became chief physician to the Sultan (Ḥekīmbashī or, more formally, *Reʾīs-i Eṭibbā-i Sulṭānī*). In 1222/1807 he was dismissed from this office, but was reappointed in 1232/1817. In 1237/1821 he was disgraced and banished, but was reinstated in the same year. In 1241/1826, after the destruction of the janissaries, he served as a member of the palace council presided over by Maḥmūd II. Besides these he also held a series of important religious and legal appointments, including those of Molla of Izmir (1221/1806) and of Egypt (1236/1820-1), Ḳāḍī-ʿasker of Anatolia (1237/1821-2) and of Rumelia (1247/1831-2). He died in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1249/March-April 1834 and was buried at Üsküdar.

Bahdjat Efendi was one of the last physicians of the old school, who combined the study of medicine with those of theology and law, and its practice with an *ʿilmiyye* career. At the same time he was one of the pioneers of the new medicine, of European type, in Turkey. It was under his supervision, and that of his brother the Ḥekīmbashī ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Molla, that a new hospital and also a new medical school were opened, with imported European teachers. He is said to have studied European languages under the chief dragoman Yaḥyā Efendi, and although his own medical work, as exemplified in his *Hazār Asrār*, remained largely traditional, he was responsible for a number of important translations of Western medical and scientific books, including Jenner's booklet on vaccination, Buffon's Natural History, and other works on cholera, syphilis, and milk-scab. His interest in the West was also shown by his Turkish translation of the history of the French occupation of Egypt by Al-Djabartī.

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 31; *ʿOthmānlī Müʾellifleri*, iii, 209 f; Fatīn, *Tedhkire* 29 f; A. Süheyl Ünver, *Osmanlī Tababeti ve Tanzimat hakkīnda yeni Notlar*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 936-9; A. Adnan-Adīvar, *Osmanlī Türklerinde Ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 194 5; Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, ii, Istanbul 1940, 280 ff. For a contemporary impression see Adolphus Slade, *Record of Travels in Turkey* etc., i, London 1832, 332-3. (B. LEWIS)

AL-**BĀHILĪ**, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. RABĪʿA, i.e. of the Bāhila tribe, Arab general, called Dhū ʾl-Nūr (Ṭabarī, i, 2663) or, according to Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1303, iii, 50), Dhu ʾl-Nūn, from the name of his sword. He commanded the van of Surāḳa b. ʿAmr, who was directed to Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb) by ʿUmar in 22/642 (Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*). The main incident reported in the proceedings of the Muslims, now in force at the Caucasus for the first time, was an interview between ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī and the Persian commandant at Darband, who made his submission (Ṭabarī, i, 2663-2664; cf. 2667, 2669-2671). A treaty granted to him, together with 'the inhabitants of Armenia and the Armans', witnessed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī, his younger brother (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 400), is cited by Ṭabarī (i, 2665-2666). On the death of Surāḳa in the same year ʿAbd al-Raḥmān succeeded to the chief command and received instructions from ʿUmar to proceed northward against the Khazars. He advanced through the passes at the east end of the Caucasus as far as Balandjar, which seems to have been raided repeatedly within the next few years (Ṭabarī, i, 2667-2668; 2890). In 32/652 he was again in Khazaria, besieging Balandjar (Ṭabarī, i, 2889 ff.; also 2668 ff.). After sharp engagements round the city, the Khazars made a sortie and were joined by their other forces. The ensuing battle was a total Muslim defeat. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was struck down as he tried to rally his men. His brother Salmān b. Rabīʿa took up the standard and managed to lead off some of the survivors to Bāb al-Abwāb. The Khazars are said to have preserved the body of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and made use of it in prayers for rain (Ṭabarī, i, 2669, 2890). His defeat and death mark the end of the first Arab-Khazar war. According to some (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 204; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 221) Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī was the Arab general killed at Balandjar.

Bibliography: D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 47-57. (D. M. DUNLOP)

AL-**BĀHILĪ**, ABŪ NAṢR AḤMAD B. ḤĀTIM AL-BĀHILĪ, Arab philogist and author, a pupil of al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda and Abū Zayd, belonging to the school of Baṣra, lived first in Baghdād, then in Iṣfahān and finally settled in Baghdād again where he died in 231/855. As a rule he followed in his works the footsteps of his predecessors and like them wrote a book on trees and plants, camels, cereals and palm-trees, horses, birds and locusts, of which latter he was the first to treat. His works on proverbs, on proper names, and on the errors in the language of the common people, must also have contained many notes of great value to us, but unfortunately like all his other writings they have perished.

Bibliography: G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 81; *Fihrist*, i, 56; *ZDMG*, xii, 595. (J. HELL)

AL-BĀHILĪ, AL-ḤUSAYN [see AL-ḤUSAYN AL-KHALĪʿ].

BAḤĪRA [see BUḤAYRA].

BAḤĪRA, a she-camel or a ewe with slit ears. The Ḳurʾān and ancient poetry (cf. Ibn Hishām, 58) show that the ancient Arabs used to carry out certain religious ceremonies with respect to their cattle, which consisted firstly in letting the animal go about loose without making any use of it whatever, and secondly in limiting to males permission to eat its flesh (after it had died). In the various cases the animals bore special names (*Baḥīra, Sāʾiba, Waṣīla, Ḥāmī*; on these names cf. Wellhausen as cited below). The lexicographers are not quite agreed on the point in which cases a camel or sheep had its ear slit. According to some, it was after it had borne ten young ones, according to others when its fifth young one was female etc.—The Ḳurʾān abolished these customs and stigmatised them as arbitrary inventions, Sūra v, 102: "God has made neither *baḥīra* nor *sāʾiba*, nor *waṣīla*, nor *ḥāmī*; but the unbelievers have invented lies against God, and the greater part of them do not understand"; Sūra vi, 139: "and they say: these cattle and fruits of the earth are sacred; none shall eat thereof but whom we wish (so they say); and [there are] cattle on whose backs it is forbidden [to ride] etc."; verse 140: "and they say: that which is in the bellies of these animals, is only for our men and forbidden to our wives; but if it be born dead then both partake of it. He will reward them for their attributing [these things to him] for He is wise and knowing".

Bibliography: The commentaries on the Ḳurʾānic passages quoted above; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, v. 105 ff.; Freitag, *Einleitung i. d. Studium d arab. Sprache*, 238 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², 112 ff.; Rasmussen, *Additamenta*, 66 of the Arab. text, 60 trans. (A. J. WENSINCK)

BAḤĪRĀ, the name of a Christian Monk. Ibn Saʿd and Ibn Hishām offer two parallel traditions, confirmed by al-Ṭabarī (i, 1123 ff.), according to which Muḥammad, when either nine or twelve years old, whilst accompanying the Meccans' caravan to Syria, in the company of Abū Bakr or Abū Ṭālib, found himself in the presence of a Christian monk or hermit, who is said to have revealed the young man's prophetic destiny, either by finding on him the stigmata of prophecy, or by noting the miraculous movement of a cloud, or the behaviour of a branch, which persisted in affording him shade, irrespective of the course of the sun. The recluse acquainted Abū Bakr (or Abū Ṭālib) with these marvels, admonishing him to preserve the child from the malice of the Jews (Ibn Saʿd) or from the violence of the Rūm (al-Ṭabarī, third tradition, 1123). The monk, says Ibn Saʿd, was called Baḥīrā (Aram. *Bakhīra*, the elect). Though Ibn Saʿd, coinciding with al-Ṭabarī, declares that the monk knew Muḥammad because he had found the announcement of his coming in the unadulterated (*tabdīl*) Christian books, which he possessed, (this myth in another later form in the Pseudo-Wāḳidī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Shām*, Cairo 1954, 16, 1. 9-12), the *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* of al-Rāzī (iv, 436, i 30 ff.) says, commenting on the word *Ḳassīsīn*, (Ḳurʾān v, 82), that it meant the "Chiefs of the Christians" and that according to ʿUrwa b. Zubayr, it was one of these who remained in the authentic tradition of the Gospels, inspite of the corruption introduced into them by the other Christians, by effacing the announcement of Muḥammad's mission (cf. the long polemic on the word *faraklīṭ*). In 851, in his *Risālat fiʾl-Radd ʿala ʾl-Naṣārā*, Djāḥiẓ (cf. Pellat, in *RSO*, 1952, 57-8) stresses (Finkel, *Three Essays*, Cairo 1924, 14, 1. 17) that the Christians, of whom the passage of the Ḳurʾān (v, 82) speaks with benevolence, are not members of the Byzantine Church, either Jacobite or Melkite, but merely those of the type of Baḥīrā or of "the monks who served Salmān al-Fārisī". The outcome of all this was that, both at the end of the 2nd/8th century and in the first part of the 3rd/9th century, the tradition, as it then stood, concurred in recognising in the monk Baḥīrā, the witness, chosen at the heart of the most important scriptural religion, of the authenticity of the Prophet's mission. Thus Islam provided a remedy for the absence of a textual promise concerning its founder, and this point, as is known, formed one of the essential arguments of the Christian polemic.

The tradition assumed a material form to the extent that the town of Boṣrā, where the meeting is said to have taken place, at a very early date showed the "monastery of Baḥīrā", and still continues to do so (al-Harāwī, *Guide des lieux de Pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 17; (transl. 43) H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria, Bosra*, 265-270).

Djāḥiẓ's attitude shows that, for a Muslim of the 3rd/9th century, Baḥīrā was a historical personage, in spite of all the objections raised (Sprenger, ZDMG, xii, 238-249). The age at which Muḥammad met this witness, 12 years of age, is the same as that of Jesus at the time of his first supernatural undertaking, the discussion with the doctors (Luke ii, 42-49), and here can be seen an attempt at polemical influence.

Whilst Baḥīrā is a witness and a guarantor in the Muslim tradition, for the Christian polemic against Islam, both in Arabic and in Greek, he is the heretical monk, whom Muḥammad met at the beginning of his career, and who became his inspirer and involuntary accomplice (*Anon. contre Mahomet*, in *Patr. Graeca*, civ, 1449b) in the composition of the Ḳurʾān, this "false Scripture". The name given him varies according to the authors' sources of information and according to their allegiance. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī calls him Sergius and says that he subsequently had himself called Nestorius (ed. Anton Tien, 76-77). Further on, in what appears to be an interpolation of the primitive "apologia", this personage is duplicated: "Sergius surnamed Nestorius and John surnamed Baḥīrā". It must be noted that al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 146) on the other hand, makes a synthesis of the two names Sergius and Bahira. The Byzantine polemists after the 3rd/9th century knew the name Baḥīrā, which they wrote Baeira or Pakhyras (Bart. d'Edesse, in *P.G.*, civ, 1429 ff.). Whilst for ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī he is a Nestorian, he is an iconoclast (*Ann. de l'Inst. de Philologie et Hist. Or.*, Brussels, iii, 1935, 9) in the famous "Apocalypse of Baḥīrā" (R. Gottheil, *A Christian Baḥira Legend*, in *ZA*, 1898-1903). As a heretic, he is referred to both as a Jacobite (Anonymus, in *P.G.*, civ, 1446) and as an Arian (Const. Porphyr. *De Adm. Imp.*, in *P.G.*, cviii, 192 = Euth. Zigab., *P.G.*, cxxx, 1333 c. Sometimes his allegiance is not specified (Theophanes, in *P.G.*, cviii, 685, b-c = Cedrenus, *P.G.* cxxi, 809 a-b). For all the Christian authors, his work coincides with what is veracious in the Ḳurʾān, whilst all the erroneous statements derive from subsequent compilers, such as ʿUthmān (Barth. of Edessa, in *P.G.* cvi, 1428-32) or even

contemporaries, perverse Jews (ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, ed A. Tien, 77-8, cf. *ZDMG*, xii, 699-708).

The Apocalypse of Baḥīrā, which exists in Syriac and Arabic, the textual history of which still remains to be established, and the chronology of which is disputed (cf. G. Levi della Vida and J. Bignami-Odier, (see bibl.), 132, no. 3 and 133 no. 1, with A. Abel, *Ann. Inst. Phil. et Hist. Or.* Brussels 1935, iii, 7-9 and *Studia Islamica*, ii, 1954, 29 and n.), places the monk in the centre of a pamphlet, which assembles the indications of the ancient Danielesque apocalypse of the Pseudo-Methodius (Kmosko, in *Byzantion*, 1931, 273-296), and cleverly combines them with the Christian arguments on the apocryphal origin of the Ḳurʾān and with the various aspects of the doctrine of the Mahdī (Graf, *Gesch. der Arab. Christ. Lit.*, *Studi e Testi*, Roma, 133, 147-9). This work met with success in the Christian circles of the Orient, and up till the period of the Crusades, which even resulted in its being translated into Latin (Levi della Vida and Bignami-Odier, *op. cit.* 132-3 and 139-48, M.-T. d'Alverny and G. Vajda, in *al-Andalūs*, xvi, 1951, i, 118, 130 ff.). But even before the Crusades, the main theme of the false prophet inspired by a "wise man" was known in the West, as is attested by the work in verse, directed against Islam, under the name of *Historia Machumeti*, attributed to Hildebert (Guy Cambier, *Embricon de Mayence* (1010-1077) *est-il l'auteur de la Vita Machumeti?*, *Patr. Lat.*, cxxii, 1343-1366, Latomus, 3, Brussels 1957 and U. Monneret de Villard, *Lo Studio dell' Islam in Europa nel xii e xiii secolo*, *Studi e Testi*, 110, 34-5).

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(A. Abel)

BAHISHT [see Djanna].

BANĪẒAT al-BĀDIYA [see Malik Ḥifnī Nāṣif].

BAHLŪL (Amīr), the name of three notable Kurdish figures, according to M. E. Zakī (*Mashāhīr*, 144): 1. A member of the Sulaymāniyya family, amīr of the Mayyāfariḳīn branch, son of Alwand Bey b. Shaykh Aḥmad. He was for a long period in the service of Iskandar Pasha, the *wālī* of Diyārbakr. Subsequently, he was for a time in command of the fortress al-Iskandariyya (between al-Ḥilla and Baghdād), and after that the sultan Yawuz Selīm entrusted to him the stronghold of Mayyāfāriḳīn. A man of great personal bravery, he perished in a fight with Shāhsuwār Bey. 2. Son of Amīr Djamshīd, chief of the Dunbulī, tribe and resident at Tauris. Died in 760/1359. 3. Son of Amīr Farīdūn, also a chief of the Dunbulī, governor of Ṭabaristān and Dāghistān. A contemporary of Shaykh Ḥaydar Ṣafawī, and one of his most loyal supporters, he fell in the battle between Ḥaydar and Shāh Khalīl Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in 880/1475-6.—There is also a Bahlūl Pasha who was the Turkish governor at Bāyazīd up to 1236/1821. He was dismissed in that year, and died four years later. Wagner (ii, 297 ff.) devotes several pages to him in a commendatory vein.

Bibliography: M. E. Zakī, *Mashāhīr al-Kurd wa Kurdistān*, Baghdād 1945; M. Wagner, *Reise nach Persien und dem Lande der Kurden*, Leipzig 1852. (B. Nikitine)

BAHLŪL LŌDĪ [see Delhi Sultanate].

BAHMAN [see Taʾrīkh].

BAHMANĪS. A line of eighteen Muslim sultans who ruled, or claimed to rule, in the Deccan from 748-933/1347-1527, after a group of Muslim nobles led by Ismāʿīl Mukh had successfully rebelled against the sultan of Dihlī, Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. The more vigorous Ḥasan Gangu supplanted Ismāʿīl and was proclaimed Sulṭān ʿAlā al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh. (On the latter's origin see Major W. Haig, *Some Notes on the Bahmanī Dynasty*, *ASB* LXXIII Pt. 1 (Extra No.) 1904, 463; *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1938, 304-8; H. K. Sherwani, *Gangu Bahmani*, in *Journal of Indian History*, xx, Pt. 1, April 1941, 95 ff.).

Table of the Bahmanī sultans.

(a) Sulṭāns with their capital at Aḥsanābād-Gulbarga:

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh	748/1347
Muḥammad I	759/1358
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mudjāhid	776/1375
Dāwūd I	779/1378
Muḥammad II	780/1378
Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tahamtan	799/1397
Shams al-Dīn Dāwūd II	799/1397
Tādj al-Dīn Fīrūz	800/1397

(b) Sultans with their capital at Muḥammadābād-Bīdār:

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad I	825/1422
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II	839/1436
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥumāyūn	862/1458
Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad III	865/1461
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad III	867/1463
Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd	887/1482
Aḥmad IV	924/1518
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn	927-1521
Walī Allāh	929/1523
Kalīm Allāh	932/1526

(Coins and inscriptions suggest the last named *roi fainéant* may have lingered in exile claiming the throne until 943/1536-7. See E. E. Speight, *Coins of the Bahmani Kings of the Deccan*, in *IC*, ix, 1935, 168 ff.; and *Inscriptions of Bīdjāpūr*, *Mem. Arch. Sur. of India*, No. 49).

During most of its history the Bahmanī Kingdom was limited to the table-land of the Deccan. Geographically, the Vindhya range may be said to be the northern edge of Southern India with the Narbada river flowing almost parallel to it. But the country south of this quasi-barrier may be divided into three distinctive parts: (i) Malwā, with its general slope towards the West; (ii) the Deccan table-land proper which, along with Berār, forms the pivot of the lavaic crescent where the ancient undisturbed rock begins to extend over the centre of the peninsula; and (iii) what is called "South India" which extends from the northern edge of the Mysore plateau and the line of the Tungabhadra southwards. The lavaic uplands end abruptly in the Western Ghāts which

have always tended to form a natural limit to the ambitions of the rulers of the Deccan table-land. Although the Bahmanīs early managed to reach the sea at Dābul and Čowl they could never rule the coastal plain beyond the Ghāts effectively, and the south-western extremity of this lavaic country, Goa, had to be conquered and reconquered a number of times. While the table-land has a sheer fall of nearly 4,000 feet in the West, it has a very gentle slope eastward, and it takes more than 300 miles to reach the same level as the eastern coast line. It may be mentioned here that the importance of Golconda, which played such an important part during the later medieval period of Deccan history, and with it, of Ḥaydarābād, lies in the fact that Golconda and a part of Greater Ḥaydarābād stand on the last prominent spurs of the table-land before the undulating plain begins. The effective southern limit of the Bahmanī kingdom was the river Tungabhadra, the natural geographical limit of the Deccan, but it should be remembered that the Krishna—Tungabhadra Doāb was always a bone of contention between the Bahmanīs and their southern neighbours, the Rāyas of Vid̲j̲ayanagar in much the same way as it had been a bone of contention between the Western Čalukyas and Rashtrakutas, and between the Yādavas and Hoysalas in ancient times.

The Bahmanī sultans continually struggled to extend the area of their military and revenue paramountcy and this involved them in war against the sultanates of Malwā and Gud̲j̲arāt in the north and Vid̲j̲ayanagar in the south and in efforts, complicated by the intervention of Vid̲j̲ayanagar and the Hindu chiefs of Orissa, to assert their suzerainty in Telangāna, south and east of the Godavarī.

In the north, a successful war between S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad I and Hus̲h̲ang S̲h̲āh of Malwā over Kherla in 832/1428 followed in 834/1430-31 by an unsuccessful war against Gud̲j̲arāt in alliance with the Rad̲j̲a of Jhalawār ended in stalemate. In 866/1461-2, Maḥmūd K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī of Malwā, in alliance with the Gad̲j̲apati Rad̲j̲a of Orissa, Kapilendra, succeeded in occupying Bīdar itself; the Bahmanīs were saved by the intervention of Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh Bēgada of Gud̲j̲arāt. War again occurred in 872/1468 over Mahūr and Ellichpūr, but although Khērla was temporarily occupied by the Bahmanī forces, a peace, which proved to be lasting, restored the *status quo ante*, between Malwā and the Bahmanīs.

In the south, confict over the fertile Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab with Vijayanagar was endemic. War occurred in 750/1349, 755/1354, 767/1365, 800/1398, 808/1406, 823/1420, 825/1422, 847/1443 and 886/1481 with varying fortunes, and the Doab region remaining a no-man's-land between the two powers, until after the accession of the Vidjayanagar ruler, Krishna Deva Rāya in 915/1509, when the region was virtually incorporated into the Vid̲j̲ayanagar dominions.

In the west, despite Bahmanī claims to Dābul and Čowl, the Bahmanīs were unable to control the coastal region west of the Ghāts and were impotent to prevent continuing depradations by the Rad̲j̲as of Khelna and Sangameshwar, until the *wazīr*, Maḥmūd Gawān, succeeded in occupying Sangameshwar and Goa in 876/1471 and 876/1472.

In the east, the Bahmanīs raided Telangāna successfully in the reign of Muḥammad I and again in 820/1417 and 827/1424 when Warangal was captured, and a Bahmanī governor established, but the local Hindu chiefs could usually rely upon help from Orissa. The Orissan general Hamvīra captured Warangal in 864/1460, but succession troubles in Orissa enabled the Bahmanis in campaigns between 882/1477-8 and in 885/1480, to extend their hegemony, though briefly, to the Bay of Bengal. Telangāna was then divided into two provinces centring on Warangal and Rajahmundry.

While ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman S̲h̲āh was the founder of the dynasty it was Muḥammad I who organised it. The central Government was divided into three main departments dealing with civil, military and judicial matters respectively. The civil department was centered in the *wakīl-i salṭanat* or Prime minister who was assisted by *wazīrs* or ministers and *dabīrs* or secretaries. In the same way the judiciary consisted of the *ḳāḍīs* or judges and the *muftīs* or interpreters of law, while peace and security of the cities was kept by the *kōtwāl* or Commissioner of Police and *muḥtasib* or the censor of public morals. On the military side the Commander-in-Chief had a number of subordinate officers at headquarters such as the officer at the head of *bārbardārān* who mobilised irregular forces in times of emergency, the *bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī* or the paymaster, the officer in charge of the *k̲h̲āṣṣa k̲h̲ēl* or the body-guard of the sulṭan, a well-equipped and well-drilled force of 4,000 soldiers, and the officer in charge of 200 *yakka-d̲j̲awānān* or *silāḥdārān* who handled the sultan's personal arms.

The whole kingdom was divided into four *aṭrāf* or provinces and each *ṭaraf* or province was placed under a *ṭarafdār* or governor. The *ṭarafdār* was originally responsible both for the civil and the military administration of the province and the *ḳilʿadārs* or commanders of the forts were placed under him. The four provinces of the Kingdom were centered round Dawlatābād, Berār, Aḥsanābād—Gulbarga and Muḥammadābād—Bīdār (which included the small part of Telangāna which was under the Bahmanīs in the beginning). Out of these the province of Gulbarga, which was centered round the capital of the state, was naturally regarded as the most important and its *ṭarafdār* was generally one who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the ruler.

The century which followed the establishment of the dynasty saw a great expansion of the kingdom which finally extended from sea to sea, and Maḥmūd Gāwān, who was now *wazir*, set to work not only on the redivision of the kingdom but also on the reform of the whole provincial administration. Firstly he redivided the kingdom into eight in place of four *aṭrāf*. Berar was divided into two charges, namely Gāwil and Mahūr, part of the area surrounding Junnar was removed from Dawlatābād province and formed into a separate *ṭaraf*, Rad̲j̲āmandrī was created a province distinct from the rest of Telangāna and Bid̲j̲āpūr was carved out of the old province of Gulbarga. The power of the *ṭarafdār* was also greatly curtailed. A *ṭarafdār* was previously supreme in both civil and military affairs of his province and could not only appoint *ḳilʿadārs* but also increase or decrease the number of soldiers on permanent duty according to his will and thus spend or save as much money as he liked out of the *d̲j̲āgīr* set aside for military expenses. Maḥmūd Gāwān curtailed the power of the *ṭarafdārs* considerably. It was decreed that in future *ḳilʿadārs* would be appointed by the central government and a *ṭarafdār* was entitled to have only one fort under his direct command. Moreover every person who was responsible for the payment of salaries of soldiers was made accountable for the money he drew

from the *djāgīr* or *manṣab* as the case may be.

Another method by which the sulṭān was brought in direct relationship with the work of the provinces was that under which a large tract of land was set aside in every province as the royal demesne. Orders were also issued for a systematic measurement of land, fixation of boundaries all over the state and a general enquiry about the record of rights and assessment of revenue.

All these schemes however, proved to be still-born when Maḥmūd Gāwān was murdered. Another attempt in the same direction was made twenty years later in 901/1495-96 by the minister Ḳāsim Barīd, the progenitor of the Barīd-shāhis of Bīdār [*q.v.*]. Under these reforms the smaller *manṣabdārs* were ordered to enrol themselves in the royal bodyguard and were henceforth called *sarkārdārs* or *ḥawāladārs*. This was only a half-hearted measure and affected only the small *djāgīrdārs* and *manṣabdārs* while the great nobles were left untouched. The great power and authority which the *ṭarafdārs* were left to enjoy after the nullification of earlier reforms was one of the causes of the disintegration of the Kingdom and its resolution into five succession states, namely Bidjāpūr, Aḥmadnagar, Golconda, Berār and Bīdar [*q.v.*].

The large influx of Persians and others from overseas created a peculiar political problem in the Deccan, for it divided the Muslim population of the State into two contending groups, viz. the *dakhnīs* or the older colonists and the *āfāḳīs* (sometimes called the *gharīb al-diyār*) or the new settlers. Their struggles were largely responsible for the downfall of the Bahmanī Kingdom.

Bibliography: Storey I, 1, 739; J. S. King, *History of the Bahmanī dynasty*, founded mainly on *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, III; T. W. Haig, *Some Notes on the Bahmanī Dynasty* (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, lxxiii, Extra No. 1904, I); E. E. Speight, *Coins of the Bahmanī Kings of the Deccan*, in *IC*, Ḥaydarābād Deccan, IX, 1935, 168 ff.); Maḥmūd Gāwān, *Riyāḍ al-Inshā*, Ḥaydarābād Deccan, 1948; H. K. Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the great Bahmanī Wazīr*; idem, *The Bahmanīs of the Deccan: An Objective Study*.

(H. K. SHERWANI)

MONUMENTS. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh's new kingdom at Gulbarga was open to attack from all sides, by the Rādjās of Vidjayanagara, Telangāna and Orissa, by the Gōndhs, and by the rival sultans of Khāndesh, Mālwā and Gudjarāt; the first buildings of the new régime are consequently entirely military, surrounding the kingdom: to the north, Eličpur, Gāwilgaṛh, Narnālā (Bahmanī inscriptions, T. W. Haig, *EIM* 1907-8, 11) in Berār, also Māhūr; on the west, Parenda, Naldrug, Panhālā and Gulbarga itself; in the centre, Bīdar, Golkondā and Warangal; on the south-west, Mudgal and Rāyčūr. Many of these were existing Hindū, often Gōndh, fortifications hastily occupied and modified; some were rebuilt later by Aḥmad Shāh Wālī al-Bahmanī after his transformation of Bīdar [*q.v.*] fort, and during the reign of Muḥammad III in consequence of Maḥmūd Gāwān's policies. (References in Ferishta, *passim*).

Gulbarga. The fortifications are well preserved, with double walls 16 m. thick, surrounded by moat often 30 m. wide, well provided with bastions -many with barbettes added later for the use of artillery—and hornworks, large and compound crenellations, machicolations and barbizans. The one major structure standing intact within the walls is the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, built 769/1367 by a hereditary Persian architect, Rafīʿ b. Shams b. Manṣūr al-Ḳazwīnī (inscr., Haig, *EIM* 1907-8, 2), of a type unknown elsewhere in India, without open *ṣaḥn* but completely roofed over forming a pillared hall whose only illumination comes from the open side aisles and the clerestory of the central dome. The side aisles are characterised by their very wide span with unusually low imposts, an arch pattern used elsewhere in Gulbarga. Two mosques of nearly the same period at Delhi [*q.v.*] are partially covered; but this type was not imitated, presumably since the *liwān* and *minbar* were obstructed from the view of most of the congregation. The other Bahmanī monuments at Gulbarga are the two groups of tombs. The first, near the south gate of the fort, includes those of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (759/1358), Muḥammad I, to whom the Shāh Bāzār Masdjid, an unpretentious building in the contemporary Tughluḳian style of Delhi, is attributed (776/1375), and Muḥammad II (799/1397); the first two of these show the battering walls and weak semicircular dome of the Delhi Tughlaḳian style; that of Muḥammad II shows a similar dome, stilted below the haunch, to that of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid. To the east of the city is the *Haft Gunbad*, including the tombs of Mudjāhid and Dāʾūd c. 781/1380, Ghiyāth al-Dīn (c. 799/1397) and Fīrōz (c. 823/1420); some of these are two adjacent domed chambers on a single plinth. That of Ghiyāth al-Dīn shows some Hindū influence in the *miḥrāb*, and that of Fīrūz in the carved polished black stone exterior pilasters, the dripstones and brackets; the interior of the latter is quasi-Persian in its paint and plaster decoration similar to the contemporary Sayyid and Lōdī tombs at Delhi. Of other buildings, the *dargāh* of Banda Nawāz (*Rawḍa-i Buzurg*), c. 816/1413, shows the characteristic wide arch with low imposts.

Bīdar. The Bahmanī tombs at Āshtūr, 1½ miles east of the town, are on a larger scale, with loftier and sometimes more bulbous domes, than those at Gulbarga. None of these has battered walls, and none is double. The finest, that of Aḥmad Shāh Walī (d. 839/1436), shows the characteristic later Bahmanī arch, stilted above the haunch, and is of great importance on account of its superb calligraphic decoration which includes two *shadjrās* of the saint Niʿmat Allāh al-Kirmānī [*q.v.*]. That of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn II (862/1458) has striking encaustic tile-work and, unusually, some arches struck from four centres. That of Maḥmūd, 924/1518, has its walls decorated with arched niches one above the other, more characteristic of post-Bahmanī architecture. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid, called also Solah Khamba (= 'sixteen pillar') *masdjid* and Zanānī *masdjid* (827/1423-4), of the reign of Aḥmad I but erected during Prince Muḥammad's viceregency before the transfer of the capital — the earliest Muslim building at Bīdar — and the royal palaces (Takht Maḥal, etc.; cf. Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i Maʾāthir*, Persian MSS. Soc. ed., 70-1), and the *madrasa* of Maḥmūd Gāwān, all works executed under the Bahmanīs, are, in view of their subsequent redecoration and rebuilding by the Barīdīs [*q.v.*], described under Bīdar [*q.v.*]. The *Čānd minār* at Dawlatābād [*q.v.*] dates from the time of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, and it may be observed that the earliest ʿĀdil Shāhī building at Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*], Āsen Beg's *masdjid* (918/1512-3) bears an inscription indicating Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī as ruler — presumably still acknowledged as paramount in spite of Yūsuf's recent independence.

The walls of Bīdar fort are Bahmanī; those of the town date from the Bārīd Shāhīs.

Bibliography: For the Deccan plateau forts, see G. Yazdani in *Hyderabad Archaeological Department Annual Report*, 1331-3F./1921-4 A.D., 2; *ibid.*, Appx. A, 17-27, "Parenda: an historical fort"; Māhūr fort, *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report*, 1327F./1917-8, 8; Yazdani, Note on the antiquities of Kalyānī, *Hyd. Arch. Dept.* Report, 1334F./1934-5 A.D., Appx. A, 19-23, also *EIM* 1935-6; Warangal fort, *ibid.*, 6.; Yazdani, Note on the survey o. Mudgal fort, *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report*, 1345Fl/1935-6 A.D., 25-7. See also Sir John Marshall, *The monuments of Muslim India*, Chap. xxiii in *Cambridge History of India*, 1928, 630 ff. For Gulbarga see J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised edition; E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, 1913, 60-3; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic Feriod*), Chap. xiii; Hyd. Arch. Dept., *Report* for 1915-6; for inscriptions, T. W. Haig, Inscriptions at Gulbarga, *EIM* 1907-8. For Bīdar see bibliography under that head, specially G. Yazdani, *Bidar: its history and monuments*, OUP 1947 (full references and extensive plates, plans, inscriptions, etc.). For Bīdar as a fortified city, see S. Toy, *The strongholds of India*, London 1957.

(J. Burton-Page)

BAHMANYĀR, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Bahmanyār b. al-Marzubān, a famous pupil of Avicenna, died in 458/1067. Avicenna's *K. al-Mubāḥathāt* mainly consists of philosophical questions raised by Bahmanyār and answered by the master. Since he was a Zoroastrian, Bahmanyār's acquaintance with Arabic was imperfect. His *Mā baʿd al-Ṭabīʿa* and *K. fi-Marātib al-Wudjūd* were published in Leipzig in 1851 (and in Cairo in 1329 A.H.). His comprehensive interpretation of Avicenna's philosophy called *K. al-Taḥṣīl* (or *al-Taḥṣīlāt*) and consisting of logic, metaphysics and physics plus cosmology, was also published in Cairo in 1329 A.H. An extract (*faṣl*) also exists (see Brockelmann, SI, 828) from his work on the existence of souls and active intelligences. Bayhaḳī (*Tatimma*, 91) also mentions a *K. al-Zīna* on logic by him, a work on ultimate happiness, and one on music, and adds that he wrote many other treatises.

Bibliography: Besides references given in this article, see also Niẓāmī Samarḳandī, *Čahār Maḳāla* (ed. Ḳazwīnī), 252, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al- Anbā'*.

(F. Rahman)

al-**BAHNASĀ**, a famous town in mediaeval times, in Middle Egypt, situated between the Baḥr Yūsuf and the foothills of the Libyan range, 15 km. west of Banī Mazār, a railway station 198 km. south of Cairo. It is the ancient Oxyrhynchus, in Coptic Pemdje.

During the Byzantine period it was a flourishing city, renowned for its churches and numerous monasteries. According to a Coptic legend, the Virgin and the Child Jesus are supposed to have stayed there during the Flight from Egypt. Certain Muslim exegetes have found a verse of the Ḳur'ān (xxiii, 52), to corroborate this tradition, which is of Christian origin.

At the time of the Arab invasion, it was a fortified place with thick walls; the Greek garrison seem to have exhibited dauntless courage in its defence, which was long remembered, since their resistance inspired a popular romance, the *Conquest of Bahnasā*.

At first the capital of a pagarchy (*kūra*), the place enjoyed an astonishing prosperity in the Middle Ages. Bahnasā gave its name to a province at the time of the administrative reorganisation carried out at the behest of the Fāṭimid *wazir* Badr al-Djamālī at the end of the 5th/11th century. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes it as a great city surrounded by numerous gardens. Khalīl Ẓāhirī still speaks of it as a large town, but it is already suggestive to note that Ibn al-Djīʿān, who knew the province, passes the town over in silence. Henceforth it was never anything more than an insignificant township, which, in the 19th century was included in the province of Banī Suēf (Suwayf), before belonging to that of Minya. The sands had covered it: about the year 1890, debris of all kinds, granite columns, fragments of capitals, of sculpture, pottery and bricks could be seen lying on the ground there; it is now no more than a confused heap of ruins, according to a recently published guide-book.

This lamentable situation may well be the result of the progressive deforestation of the region. Under the Fāṭimids and the Ayyūbids, the forests, classed as domain, were exploited by a State administration to furnish wood for naval construction: Maḳrīzī is here relying on an account by Ibn Mammātī, but adds: "This has all completely disappeared and one no longer hears anyone speak of this organisation, as private persons have had the trees cut down."

The town's prosperity was above all assured by its woven products. All kinds of cloths were manufactured there, from the most precious fabrics, such as silks figured with gold, down to the most ordinary wares: curtains, tent coverings, ships' sails. Fabrics of great size were woven there in wool, linen and cotton, with pictures in fast colours, portraying all kinds of beasts, "from the insect to the elephant". According to Idrīsī, fabrics originating from Bahnasā bore the name of the town and it is a fact that in the Museum of Muslim Art in Cairo there is preserved a piece of multi-coloured wool, with pictures of small hares framing a human head on which the name of Bahnasā can be read. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa still praises its excellent woollen cloth in the middle of the 8th/14th century.

Bibliography: In addition to the authors cited in J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 51, 173-191, see Ibn Ḥawḳal², 159; Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib*, 50-51; Ibn Mammātī, 81, 344-345; Yaʿḳūbī, trans. Wiet, 186; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i, 92-93, 307, 310, 312; ii, 103, 108-109; iv, 126; Jean Maspero, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie*, 55; idem; *Organisation militaire de l'Egypte byzantine*, 40, 140; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, ii, 43; trans. Sourdel-Thomine, 26, 101; Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 381, 397; Ẓāhirī, 32; trans. 50; Isambert, *Itinéraire de l'Orient, Egypte*, 467; Baedeker Guidebook, Fr. ed., 1908, 199-200; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, x, 2-5; *EI*¹, Fr. ed., supplement, 267; *RCEA*, iii, no. 939.

(G. Wiet)

BAḤR [see ʿArūḍ].

BAḤR (Ar.), sea and also large perennial river.— The articles which follow treat of the principal seas known to the Arabs, but it is convenient to note here that in Islamic cosmology, on the basis of a conception generally related on the authority of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*], the mountain Ḳāf [*q.v.*], which encircles the terrestial sphere, is itself surrounded by seven concentric intercommunicating seas; these seas bear respectively the following names: Nīṭas (or Bayṭash), Ḳaynas (or Ḳubays), al-Aṣamm, al-Sākin, al-Mughallib (or al-Muẓlim), al-Mu'annis (or Marmās) and finally al-Bāḳī. But it is probable that these names correspond to geographical realities;

in fact Nīṭas (and its variant form) is an orthographic corruption of Bunṭus (= πόντος = the Black Sea); and Ḳaynas (and its variant) derives from Uḳiyānūs (= ὠκεανός = the [Atlantic] Ocean); for the other names, a tentative identification will be found in P. Anastase-Marie de St. Elie, *Nus͟hū' al-Lug͟ha al-ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1938, 83-4, and al D̲j̲āḥiẓ. *Tarbiʿ* (ed. Pellat), s.v. *Buntus*.

Bibliography: Ḳazwīnī, *Cosmog.*, 104; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyʾā*, Leiden 1922-3, 9; see also the bibliography to the article ḲĀF. (ED.)

AL-**BAḤR** AL-**ABYAḌ** [see BAḤR AL-RŪM].

BAḤR ADRIYĀS, name of the Adriatic in Arabic geographical works. (ED.)

AL-**BAḤR** AL-**ASWAD** [see BAḤR BUNṬUS, ḲARA DENIZ].

BAḤR AL-**BANĀT** i.e, "the Maidens' Sea", a name given by the Arabs to the Archipelago off the west coast of the Persian Gulf. Idrīsī calls it Baḥr al-Kit͟hr.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 390, 589ff.

BAḤR BUNṬUS, the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea, for which BAḤR NĪṬAS (NĪṬAS͟H) is a stereotyped error (same ductus of letters with different pointing and vocalisation). From the names of adjacent peoples or cities it was also called Baḥr al-K͟hazar or Sea of the K͟hazars (Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 105, perhaps by confusion with the Caspian, Baḥr al-K͟hazar, [*q.v.*]), Baḥr al-Rūs (Sea of the Russians), Baḥr al-Burg͟har or Baḥr al-Burg͟haz (Sea of the Bulgars), Baḥr Ṭarābazunda (Sea of Trebizond), Baḥr Nīṭas͟h al-Armanī (the Armenian Pontus), Baḥr al-Ḳusṭantīniyya (Sea of Constantinople) and Daryā-yi Gurziyān or Sea of the Georgians (only in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*). The name al-Baḥr al-Aswad (Black Sea) appears only in later times.

According to Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 66-67), writing in 345/956, it extends from Lāziḳa (Greek Lazikē) in the E. to Constantinople, a distance of 1300 miles, with a breadth of 300 miles. It is connected with the lake or sea of Māyuṭis (Sea of Azov, [see BAḤR MĀYUṬIS]). Among the rivers which flow into it are the Ṭanāis (Don) and the Danube. From Baḥr Bunṭus issues K͟halīd̲j̲ al-Ḳusṭantīniyya (Strait of Constantinople), *i.e.*, Bosporus, Sea of Marmora and Dardanelles, which issues in Baḥr al-Rūm or Sea of the Greeks (Mediterranean). The length of the strait is 350 miles. In a parallel account written earlier (*Murūd̲j̲*, i, 260-262) Masʿūdī gives the length of Baḥr Bunṭus as 1100 miles and the course of the Don as about 300 *farsak͟hs*. The same general account is found in Ibn Rusta, 85-86 (about 290/903). It was thought by some, *e.g.*, Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih (103) that Baḥr Bunṭus issued from Baḥr al-K͟hazar (Caspian). Masʿūdī denies this (*Murūd̲j̲*, i, 273), saying simply that the two seas are connected (*Tanbīh*, 67). According to *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 18 ff., the route from Baḥr Bunṭus to Baḥr al-K͟hazar was via K͟halīd̲j̲ Nīṭas (Strait of Kertch), the Don and the Volga, using the Don-Volga portage, *i.e.*, the route called elsewhere the 'K͟hazarian Way'. Masʿūdī himself, who shows much greater interest in Baḥr Bunṭus than geographers of the Balk͟hī-Iṣṭak͟hrī school, speculated on a direct connexion between the Black Sea and the Atlantic. This view was later held by al-Bīrūnī (Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, 104).

apAs time passed new place-names on Baḥr Bunṭus Mipear, *e.g.*, after the Sald̲j̲ūḳ conquest of Asia Sânor the cities, formerly Greek, Sinūb (Sinope) and msûn (Amisus) mentioned by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. Similarly Nuwayrī can mention the Ḳipchāḳ cities, Sūdāḳ and Ḳrim, the first of which, built in the 7th/13th century, for a time gave its name to the sea (Baḥr Sūdāḳ). For Ottoman times, see ḲARA DENIZ.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, Yāḳūt, i, 306-307, 401, 499, 746: Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 13, 392-393; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, i, 246-247; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 32, 181-183. (D. M. DUNLOP)

BAḤR FĀRIS, the Persian Gulf, in which Masʿūdī includes the Gulf of ʿUmān; Iṣṭak͟hrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal apply the name to the whole Indian Ocean (Baḥr al-Hind). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* distinguishes the K͟halīd̲j̲-i ʿIrāḳ, the Persian Gulf, from the K͟halīd̲j̲-i Pārs, the Gulf of ʿUmān and the Arabian Sea. Masʿūdī gives its width at the narrowest place as 150 *mīl*; the Strait of Hormuz is actually some 29 miles across. In the Muslim geographers the modern al-Aḥsāʾ was called Baḥrayn, the name Uwāl being given to one of the islands now called Baḥrayn, Hindarābī was Abrūn, Kis͟hm was Lāft, D̲j̲azīra Banī Kāwān, or Barkawān, and S͟hayk͟h S͟huʿayb was Lāwān, Lān or Lār.

Masʿūdī relates that one ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, aged 350, told K͟hālid b. al-Walīd that he had seen al-Nad̲j̲af covered by the sea, and ships sailing to the mouth of the Euphrates below al-Ḥīra. Masʿūdī evidently believed the geographical fact if not the story. Most scholars have assumed that silt brought down by the rivers has been gradually filling up the Baḥr Fāris. The history of ʿAbbādān seems to support this. Muḳaddasī and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* speak of it as on the coast, Nāṣir-i K͟husraw as 2 leagues from the sea at low tide, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as 3 miles from the sea; it is now over 30. It has, however, been claimed (G. M. Lees and N. Falcon, *The Geological History of the Mesopotamian Plains*, *GJ*, 1952) that, though the level of the land has risen locally and though rivers have changed their courses, (see DID̲J̲LA, FURĀT, KĀRŪN), the area between the Arabian massif and the Persian mountains is one of tectonic subsidence, mitigated but not counteracted by the deposit of silt. The Tigris and Euphrates leave most of their silt in the marshes above al-Ḳurna and the Baḥr Fāris. is materially affected only by the silt carried by the Kārūn. There is no geological evidence that the head of the Baḥr Fāris has been N.W. of its present position since the Pliocene Age; it is even possible that it has been further to the S.E. in historical times. (See also correspondence in *GJ*, 1954).

The position of the Baḥr Fāris. has given it great but varying importance. Its history is very imperfectly known. A number of local chronicles are still in MS. and the story of the competition of the alternative trade routes through the Red Sea and across Central Asia has yet to be studied. Only the salient facts are given here; for further details see the articles on individual ports. Commerce was flourishing before the Arab conquest and Persians were already engaged in trade with China. The identification of the "Po ssu" of Chinese records with Persians has been questioned, as the name can also refer to a Malayan people. It is, however, established by a reference (*Chou T'ang Shu*, viii, 19) to a Po ssu embassy of 103-4/722, which brought lions as a gift; the lion is not found in Malaya. The revolt of Huang Ch'ao and his sack of Canton (264-5/878) dislocated the trade. Voyages from Persia to China appear to have ceased in the 4th/10th century. There is no indisputable evidence that Chinese ships came to the Baḥr Fāris. before the Ming voyages of the early 9th/15th century. In early Muslim times the chief port was Sīrāf, near Ṭāhirī. It declined under the

later Būyids and hegemony passed to the Arab Banū Ḳayṣar of Ḳays (originally Kīsh, Kīs), afterwards subject to the Salghurid Atabegs of Fārs. In 626/1229 the ruler of Hormuz, a vassal of Kirmān, captured Ḳays. The Banū Ḳayṣar then came to an end and in the next century the primacy of Hormuz was unchallenged. Following an attack by Čagatay bands in 699/1300, the capital was moved from the mainland to the island of Djirūn. Thus, as the commercial importance of ʿIrāḳ declined, the trading contre of the Baḥr Fāris was displaced to the south.

The importance of Hormuz, which was visited by Odoric of Pordenone and Marco Polo, among many others, was well known in mediaeval Europe. About 893-4/1488-9 it was visited by Covilhã, the agent of the King of Portugal, who was collecting information about the trade routes of Asia. It is not known whether his report reached Lisbon (see Baḥr al-Ḳulzum). The Portuguese were more successful in the Bar Fāhris than in the Red Sea, partly because it was nearer to their base in India, and partly because neither Persia nor the Ottoman empire controlled its coasts effectively. Even Baṣra was often semi-independent under Muntafiḳ shaykhs. Albuquerque received the submission of Hormuz in 913/1507, but the disaffection of his captains forced him to withdraw. He established effective control in 921/1515 when he murdered the powerful *wazir*, Raʾīs Ḥāmid, and built a strong fort. The Portuguese intermittently held Baḥrayn and intervened in the affairs of Baṣra. After the Ottoman capture of Baghdād (941/1534) Turkish influence began to be felt in al-Aḥsāʾ, especially at al-Ḳaṭīf. ʿAbbās I encouraged potential rivals to the Portuguese, and English and Dutch factories were founded during his reign. In 1031/1622 he constrained an East India Company fleet to assist him in taking Hormuz. The Shāh then founded Bandar ʿAbbās, known to Europeans as Gombroon, and Hormuz decayed rapidly. The Portuguese still visited Baṣra and for a time held a fort at Djulfa (Raʾs al-Khayma), but they practically disappeared from the Baḥr Fāris when they lost their foothold in ʿUmān in the middle of the century. At this time the Dutch enjoyed commercial supremacy which they began to lose to the English under the last Ṣafawids. In the anarchy of Ḥusayn's reign the ʿUmānīs captured Baḥrayn and Kishm, from which Nādir Shāh expelled them; his own intervention in ʿUmān ended in disaster (1157/1744). In 1179/1766 the pirate chief of Bandar Rīg captured the last Dutch stronghold in the Baḥr Fāris, Khārak. Towards the end of the century Arab dynasties, the Āl Khalīfa and Āl Ṣabbāḥ respectively, established themselves in Baḥrayn and Kuwayt; the latter profited commercially from the Persian occupation of Baṣra (1190/1776-1193/1779). The influence of the French, now the only rivals of the British, was eliminated when they lost Mauritius (1225/1810).

British intervention in the politics of the Baḥr Fāris aimed at suppressing the slave trade and the piracy which became better organised with the extension of Wahhābī influence. The principal pirates were Raḥma b. Djābir of Kuwayt, and Sulṭān b. Ṣaḳr of the Ḳawāsim (Djawāsim); this tribe held what came to be called the Pirate Coast. The pirate fleet came to include 63 large ships and was able to threaten Būshīr, which had now displaced Bandar ʿAbbās as the chief port of the Baḥr Fāris. In 1224/1809 the Indian Government sent a force which bombarded Raʾs al-Khayma and drove the Ḳawāsim inland. They returned about a year later and resumed their depredations. In 1235/1819 a strong force from Bombay, joined by an ʿUmānī contingent, again captured Raʾs al-Khayma, and destroyed the forts and shipping along the coast. The chiefs and the Shaykh of Baḥrayn then (1235/1820) signed a treaty renouncing piracy and slave-raiding. This was followed by supplementary treaties and in 1269/1853 they accepted maritime peace in perpetuity under British protection. At first the most important state was the Ḳawasim principality of Raʾs al-Khayma with which al-Shāriḳa (Shardja) was closely connected and at times united. In the half century after the permanent treaty the dominant personality on the coast was Zayd b. Khalīfa, the Banū Yās Shaykh of Abū Ẓabī; commercially the most prosperous port became Dubayy, belonging to the cognate Āl Bū Falasa. The other states were ʿAdjmān, Umm al-Kuwayn, and after 1285/1868 Ḳaṭar. Kalbā and Fudjayra on the coast of the Gulf of ʿUmān were for a short time recognised as having separate status; the former was incorporated in al-Shāriḳa in 1951. In recent years the presence, or suspected presence of oil on land or under the sea bed has given significance to frontiers which have rarely been defined with precision.

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ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT. (Cf. RAʾS AL-KHAYMA, AL-SHARIḲA; DUBAYY, ABŪ ẒABĪ) (C. F. BECKINGHAM)

BAḤR AL-GHAZĀL: (1) A tributary of the Baḥr al-Djabal (upper White Nile) forming an outlet-channel for an extensive swampy area. The swamps are fed by numerous rivers (e.g. Tondj, Djūr) originating in the Nile-Congo divide, and by the Baḥr al-ʿArab which forms the southern limit of Baḳḳāra [*q.v.*] nomadism. The Baḥr al-Ghazāl channel extends 144 miles from Mashraʿ al-Rīk (the name is variously spelt and derived) to its confluence with the Baḥr al-Djabal at Lake No, which it enters from the west at lat. 9° 29′ N.

(2) The region formed by the basin of the streams which ultimately supply the Baḥr al-Ghazāl channel. This is a rough triangle bounded on the north by the Baḥr al-ʿArab, on the south-west by the Nile-Congo divide and on the south-east by the river Rohl or Naʿām. The permanent swamp (Ar. *sadd*) in the lower courses of these streams (as in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl channel and the Baḥr al-Djabal) forms a barrier, as the Arabic implies, which long sealed the region from access by the Nile. The western part of the region consists of ironstone plateau, between which and the *sadd* lies an area of flood-plain. The indigenous pagan negroids are, in the north and east, mainly semi-nomadic, cattle-herding Dinka. Tribes of the plateau include, in its northern portion (Dār Farīt), the Farūḳī and the Kreish; further south and now divided by the frontier of the Belgian Congo are the Azande (Niam-Niam; Ar. *Namānim*).

(3) A province of the Republic of the Sudan, approximating to the above region, with an area of 82,530 sq. miles and a population of 991, 022. It is divided into four districts and has its capital at Wau. *History of the region*: Burckhardt (1814) mentions Dār Fartīt as an area supplying the Dār Fūr slave-trade. Penetration of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl from the Nile began after the expeditions of Salīm Ḳabūdān to the Baḥr al-Djabal (1839-42). Traders, including Europeans, entered the Baḥr al-Ghazāl from the Nile in the 1850s seeking ivory, but as this became difficult to obtain, slave-raiding proved a profitable alternative. The penetration of ivory-traders into Dār Fartīt helped the slave-traders (*djallāba*) from Kordofān and Dār Fūr. The slave-trade grew after 1860, when the Europeans sold their stations to their "Arab" assistants. These men, Ṣaʿīdīs, Copts, and others, who came by the Nile (*al-Baḥr*) were known as *Baḥḥāra*. They had armed retainers, usually Danāḳla recruited in the north or slave-troops (*bāzinḳir*), and fortified stations (*zarības*). They were virtually sovereign in the areas where they held a monopoly of trade.

The leading figure in the western Baḥr al-Ghazāl was the Sudanese, al-Zubayr Raḥma Manṣūr. Setting up as an independent trader in 1858, he moved westwards into unexploited country, ultimately reaching the Niam-Niam, where he formed a private army. Expelled from their territory, he established his rule over Dār Fartīt (1865). In 1866 he made an agreement with the Rizayḳāt Baḳḳāra in the north which opened the trade-route to Dār Fūr via Shakkā. Khedive Ismāʿīl was now seeking to suppress the slave trade and to bring both the Baḥr al-Djabal and the Baḥr al-Ghazāl under Egyptian control. In 1869 the administration at Khartoum authorised an expedition under an adventurer from Dār Fūr named Muḥammad al-Bulālī (or al-Hilālī), which was defeated by al-Zubayr. His prestige grew and the importance of the north-western outlet which he controlled increased as a result of Sir Samuel Baker's expedition to the Baḥr al-Djabal (1869-73). However, while al-Zubayr was fighting the Niam-Niam (1872), the Rizayḳāt attacked traders on the Shakkā route, Al-Zubayr's consequent hostilities against the Rizayḳāt led to an embroilment with their suzerain. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Dār Fūr. Al-Zubayr thereupon concerted plans with the Egyptian authorities to attack Dār Fūr. He was appointed governor of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and Shakkā. In 1874 Dār Fūr was conquered.

The next year al-Zubayr went to Cairo, where he was detained by the Khedive. His son, Sulaymān, remained in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl, where Egyptian authority was ineffective. In 1877 C. G. Gordon, the governor-general, appointed Sulaymān governor of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl. A quarrel with a rival resulted in Sulaymān's revolt. He was defeated and killed in 1879 by Gordon's Italian assistant, R. Gessi, who succeeded him as governor and strove to pacify the province until his recall in 1880. Gessi's successor, the Englishman, F. M. Lupton, was confronted with the repercussions of the Mahdist revolt. After the Mahdī's capture of al-Ubayyiḍ and victory at Shaykān (1883), he was cut off from assistance. Many of his officers were northern Sudanese who sympathised with the Mahdī. In April 1884 Lupton surrendered the provincial headquarters, Daym al-Zubayr, to a Mahdist force under Karam Allāh Kurḳusāwī. No effective Mahdist administration was established and Karam Allāh withdrew his army to Dār Fūr in 1886.

The Baḥr al-Ghazāl then became an object of European imperial expansion. Two expeditions from the Congo Free State entered Dār Fartīt in 1894 and the chief of the Farūḳī tribe accepted Congolese protection. Thereupon the Mahdist governor of Dār Fūr, Maḥmūd Aḥmad, sent al-Khatīm Mūsā to expel the Europeans, who had however already withdrawn since the Franco-Congolese agreement of August 1894 brought the Baḥr al-Ghazāl within the French sphere of expansion. A French expedition under J.-B. Marchand crossed the region and reached the White Nile at Fashoda in July 1898, whence they withdrew in December in consequence of the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest of the Sudan. An Anglo-French agreement (21 March 1899) marked the relinquishment of French claims to the Baḥr al-Ghazāl, the Congo-Nile watershed being the dividing-line between the two spheres of influence. The frontier was defined finally in 1924.

The re-establishment of administration began with the arrival of an expedition under W. S. Sparkes at Mashraʿ al-Rīk in December 1900. The following years saw the opening of communications as the *sadd* was cleared and roads made. Patrols for exploration and pacification were sent out and government posts established. Roman Catholic missionary activity began in the western Baḥr al-Ghazāl in 1903; the Anglicans started work in the eastern areas in 1905. The missions laid the foundations of an educational system, which has been increasingly subject to governmental control since 1925. Sporadic tribal troubles occurred for many years, otherwise the recent history of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl has been uneventful.

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BAḤR AL-HIND is the usual name amongst the Arabs for the Indian Ocean, which is also called Baḥr al-Zandj from its W. shores or—the part for the whole—al-Baḥr al-Ḥabashī. The expression Baḥr Fāris also sometimes includes the whole ocean.

According to Ibn Rusta, 87, its E. shores begin at Tīz Mukrān, its W. at ᶜAdan. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, transl. ii, 27 = text, 22, gives Baḥr al-Ṣīn as its E boundary, al-Hind as the N. and al-Yaman as the W., while the S. is unknown.

The various parts of the ocean bear special names derived from various lands and islands. If we neglect the N. arms, Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and Baḥr Fāris in the narrower sense, which are dealt with in separate articles, we have first Baḥr al-Yaman stretching along the S. coast of Arabia with the Khuryān Muryān (Kuria Muria) islands and Suḳuṭrā. On the African coast we have, beginning at the strait of Bāb al-Mandab, first the land of Barbarā, i.e. Somaliland to the harbour of Marka, then the land of the Zandj [see BAḤR AL-ZANDJ] with the towns of Barawa, Malinda, Munbasa and the island of Zanzibar, i.e. roughly Kenya and Tanganyika Territory as far as the island of Ḳanbalū. Sufāla is joined tc Ḳanbalū, and finally at an uncertain distance is al-Wāḳwāḳ (Madagascar).

If one sets out from Baḥr Fāris at Tīz Mukrān, one comes to the coast of al-Sind with the delta of the Indus (Mihrān) and the commercial town of al-Daybul. On the shores of Baḥr Lārawī (*i.e.* the sea of Lār or Gudjarāt on the W. coast of India) lie the towns of Kanbāya (Cambay), Sūbāra, Ṣaymūr and Sindābūra (Goa). The archipelago of al-Dībadjāt (the Laccadives and Maldives) separates Baḥr Lārawī from Baḥr Harkand (Bay of Bengal with the waters to the S.). 'Harkand' has been explained as a miswriting in Arabic for Tamralipti (Reinaud) or Harikel (Marquart, cf. *Ḥudūd al-ᶜĀlam*, 241). Idrīsī simply notes that the name is Indian (Jaubert, i, 63).

The last port on the Malabar coast is Kūlam Malī (Quilon), the outermost of its islands is Sarandīb (Ceylon). The route to the E. Indies appears to have lain straight across Baḥr Harkand to the island of al-Rāmnī which is washed by the waters of Baḥr Harkand and the Baḥr Shalāhiṭ. Al-Rāmnī (al-Rāmī, al-Rāmīn = al-Lāmarī, whence the sea there is called Baḥr Lāmarī) is Sumatra, to be more accurate N. W. Sumatra (Cf. J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, 34), while Shalāhiṭ is S. Malacca. Voyagers sailing to China must have kept somewhat further N., for they touched at the islands of Lanḳabālūs or Landjabālūs (the Nicobars) to the N. of which are placed the Andamān islands, and from there reached Kalāh Bār (Kedah) on the Malay peninsula. The strait of Malacca is therefore called Baḥr Kalah (Kalāh Bār), while Baḥr Shalāhiṭ, when it is distinguished from it, appears to be the sea adjoining it on the S. We have now reached the land of the Maharādj, the centre of which is the land of al-Zābadj. This name originally denoted Central and S. Sumatra, where Sribuza (Ferrand's reading) = Palembang is to be sought for, then its use was extended to include Java (Djāba) and in its political application it includes a series of smaller islands and the coast of Malacca. Beyond these islands is Baḥr Kardāndj or Kadrandj, the Gulf of Siam, which is continued on the coast of Ḳimār (Khmer = Cambodia) in Baḥr Ṣanf (Champa), the sea of Annam and the waters adjoining it on the S. Passing the island of Ṣundurfūlāt (?Hai-nan), we reach the Baḥr Ṣankhay (China Sea), where Khānfū (Hang-Chu, Canton) is the great emporium for the trade with the West. The knowledge of the Arabs concerning al-Shīlā, al-Sīlā (Korea) and the Wāḳwāḳ islands (?Japan) was vague and limited.

The notions of the Arabs of the 10th century concerning Baḥr al-Hind become more and more vague as one goes to the E. and S. and the interpretation of their statements more uncertain. In many cases they have merely followed their Greek predecessors. They have in addition utilised the accounts of their own voyages. Details from different sources were never properly assimilated to form a uniform picture. Sometimes Baḥr al-Hind appears to pass into the 'Sea of Darkness', in which mariners driven out of their course are said to be tossed about for ever. Sometimes it is believed that it joins the 'Black Sea' or 'Sea of Pitch' (al-Baḥr al-Ziftī) on the N. of Asia. Sometimes again E. Asia and S. Africa appear to be connected, as the use of the name al-Wāḳwāḳ [*q.v.*] for Japan (or Sumatra, cf. *Ḥudūd al-ᶜĀlam*, 228) as well as for Madagascar shows. This idea is supported by Idrīsī, according to whom the Zābadj islands are opposite to the land of the Zandj.

The voyages of the Persians and Arabs, who availed themselves of the monsoons, had as their starting-place the Persian Gulf. Sīrāf and Ṣuḥār are important harbours there. The most important commercial centres appear to have been the land of the Zandj, to which merchants sailed even from al-Zābadj—Madagascar was ultimately colonised from the Malay islands—and al-Zābādj itself, which had relations with China. The commerce of the Muslims with China came to a standstill in 264/878 after the sack of Canton in the course of a rebellion (Abū Zayd al-Ḥasan al-Sīrāfī in G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân*, 75 ff.; cf. Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 302-308). But trade relations seem to have recovered to some extent, and became active again under the Mongols, as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of his voyage shows.

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(R. Hartmann-[D. M. Dunlop])

BAḤR KHWĀRIZM [see ARAL SEA].

BAḤR AL-KHAZAR, 'the Sea of the Khazars', the common Arabic designation for the Caspian, which was also called AL-BAḤR AL-KHAZARĪ, 'the Khazar Sea', and has had a number of other names, al-Baḥr al-Khurāsānī, 'the Khurāsānian Sea'; Baḥr Djurdjān, 'Sea of Djurdjān'; Baḥr Ṭabaristān, 'Sea of Tabaristān', etc., local names often being applied to the whole (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 263). Al-Dimashḳī mentions that in his time (circa 723/1320) the Turks called it Baḥr Ḳurzum, 'Beaver Sea' (ed. Mehren, 147), hence as we learn from Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzha*, 239, transl. 231) some people misnamed the Caspian Baḥr al-Ḳulzum, which properly signifies the Red Sea (Sea of Clysma). Al-Muḳaddasī refers to the Caspian simply as al-Buḥayra, 'the Lake' (*BGA*, iii, 353, 361), perhaps identifying it with the Aral Sea (Buḥayra Khwārizm). The prevailing designation, Baḥr al-Khazar, refers to the kingdom of the Khazars, who in the early Middle Ages occupied the shores of the sea N. of the Caucasus to the mouth of the Atil (Volga) and yet further N. and E. Geographers of the school of al-Balkhī devote the greater part of their account of Baḥr al-Khazar to a description of the Khazar kingdom.

Under the Caliphate the Muslim possessions on Baḥr al-Khazar never extended beyond the Caucasus in the W. and Djurdjān in the E. and included, as one travelled S. then E. from Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*], Shirwān, Adharbāydjān with Muḳān, Djīlān (Djīl), Ṭabaristān (later called Māzandarān) and Djurdjān. N. of the Atrak which marked the boundary of the last-named province lay the desert of the Ghuzz Turks, and beyond that again, perhaps on the other side of the Ust Urst plateau, were the lands of the Khazars.

The principal rivers entering Baḥr al-Khazar were the Djām (Djim, Emba) and Djaykh (Ural) in the N., the Atil (Volga) in the N.-W., and the combined stream of the Kur (Cyrus) and Aras (Araxes) in the W., with the Djurdjān and Atrak in the S.-E. corner. It is a remarkable fact, apparently well established (cf. Le Strange, 455-8), that from the time of the Mongol invasion of Khwārizm in 617/1220 for several centuries the main stream of the Djayḥūn (Oxus, Amu Darya), which till then had flowed into the Aral Sea, passed to the Caspian. The river thus resumed its ancient course, known from accounts of the campaigns of Alexander the Great. Since some time in the 16th century it has changed course once again, and now flows into the Aral Sea as formerly.

The principal islands of the sea, as given by Ibn Ḥawḳal and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, were Siyāhkūh or Siyāhkūya, usually taken as present-day Mangishlak, and the 'Island of Bāb al-Abwāb', which cannot now be identified with certainty (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 193). With the exception of its S. and part of its W. shores the coast-line of Baḥr al-Khazar is generally low. The ranges of the Great Balkhān and Little Balkhān E. of Krasnovodsk, though not very high, are a conspicuous feature on the landward side. A modern estimate of the length of the Caspian is 760 miles. Al-Masʿūdī gives 800 miles in length, in breadth 600 miles or more (*al-Tanbīh*, 60), but the latter figure is greatly exaggerated. Al-Masʿūdī is well aware of the fact that Baḥr al-Khazar is unconnected with Baḥr Māyuṭis (Sea of Azov) and Baḥr Nīṭas (Black Sea) (*Murūdj*, i, 273-4).

For a long time the Khazars served as middlemen between the peoples of the North and the inhabitants of the lands of Islam. There is plenty of evidence of mercantile activity in both directions, for which the water-way was the Atil (Volga) and Baḥr al-Khazar itself. Eventually Russian warships began to make the descent of the Atil through Khazar territory to the Caspian, and the presence of these marauders is a feature of the history of this part of the world for a considerable period from before A.D. 900. The Mongol invasions brought about the rise of new Muslim dynasties N. as well as S. of the Caspian. It is long since the Russian advance put an end to the power of the Khānates of the steppes, and at present Russia controls more of the coastline of the sea than did the Khazars at the zenith of their power.

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(D. M. Dunlop)

BAḤR AL-ḲULZUM, formerly much the commonest Arabic name for the Red Sea, from Ḳulzum [*q.v.*], the ancient Clysma, near Suez; the article is usually omitted when the name of the town is written alone, but retained when the sea is mentioned. It was also called Baḥr al-Ḥidjāz, a common name which survived to modern times, al-Khalīdj al-ʿArabī, and, in Turkish, Shāb deñizi (Şap denizi), "the Coral Sea". The names Khalīdj Ayla, strictly the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, and Baḥr al-Yaman, properly applicable to the southern part of the Red Sea only, were at times used for the whole sea. It was sometimes considered to end at the strait of Bāb al-Mandab, and sometimes, as by Yāḳūt, to include the Gulf of Aden, known as Khalīdj Barbarā or al-Khalīdj al-Barbarī. Owing to European influence it is now almost always called al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar or an equivalent (Kizil Deniz, etc.).

The Baḥr al-Ḳulzum presents great difficulties to the navigator because of contrary winds, currents and submerged reefs. The northern part was considered more dangerous than the southern, the neighbourhood of Raʾs Muḥammad, the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula, being especially feared because of the meeting of winds from the Gulfs of Suez and ʿAḳaba. It has always been customary for local shipping to sail close to the shore and anchor at night. Because of these difficulties and the consequent risk of missing the monsoon that would take them home, ships from India rarely ventured as far

north as Suez, but generally unloaded their goods at Aden, D̲j̲idda or, in the 11th/17th century, at Muk̲h̲ā. It was the caravan trade with D̲j̲idda that gave Mecca its commercial importance in the 9th/15th century. Much merchandise, however, was merely transshipped to smaller vessels; according to Abū Zayd the local craft used for this at D̲j̲idda were known as Ḳulzum ships. Arab navigators thus had wide experience of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and their nautical treatises show sound practical knowledge; Ferrand considered the relevant sailing directions in Ibn Mād̲j̲id's *Kitāb al-fawāʾid* to be unsurpassed, except for their errors of latitude, by any European directions for sailing ships for the area. The Muslim geographers give the length of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum as 30 days' sail, or as from 1400 to 1500 *mīl*; this figure is fairly accurate, but their estimate of the maximum breadth, 700 *mīl*, is more than three times too great.

The whole area within the strait of Bāb al-Mandab was thought to have once been a fertile country, until a certain king cut a channel through which the ocean could flow and destroy his enemy's territory. Another legend connected with the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum is that there is a magnetic mountain south of Ḳulzum, because of which local ships had to be constructed without any iron parts. This is perhaps a fanciful explanation of the fact that the local craft of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and the western part of the Indian Ocean used to be made of planks, sewn, not nailed, together; this practice is now confined to small craft in the more remote places. The Baḥr al-Ḳulzum was also believed to contain an island inhabited by al-D̲j̲assāsa, "the spy", a creature which collected information for al-D̲j̲ad̲j̲d̲j̲āl. The sea in which Pharaoh and his army were drowned was assumed to have been some part of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum. According to Yāḳūt the incident took place at Ḳulzum, according to others, including Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, at Birkat al-G̲h̲arandal, on the coast between Ḳulzum and al-Ṭūr, known as Surandala or Arandara to mediaeval Christian pilgrims.

In spite of difficulties to navigation, the lack of good harbours and the aridity of the littoral, the position of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum ensured its commercial importance. It must have been crossed in the south by the Semitic invaders of northern Abyssinia and again, some centuries later and in the reverse direction, by the Abyssinian invaders of S.-W. Arabia. In early Muslim times piracy was rife in this region. Under the Banū Ziyād of Zabīd, according to Masʿūdī, there was constant trade between the Arabian and African shores and there were Muslim settlements in Africa paying tribute to native rulers. Communication between the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and the Nile valley and the Mediterranean was at one time facilitated by a canal, sometimes called the Pharaonic, or Trajan's canal, known to the Arabs as K̲h̲alīd̲j̲ Amīr al-Muʾminīn, which entered the sea at Ḳulzum. Part of this canal, the Wādī Ṭūmīlāt, had once been a natural branch of the Nile extending to Lake Timsāḥ; as the level of the land rose it became useless for navigation. It was cleared several times in antiquity and again by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who used it to send corn ships to al-D̲j̲ār, then the port of al-Madīna, in the time of ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb. The K̲h̲alīfa is said to have refused to let ʿAmr dig a canal from Lake Timsāḥ to the Mediterranean lest it should enable Byzantine ships to enter the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum ʿAmr's canal was navigable only when the Nile was high; it was again cleared in the time of al-Mahdī, but fell into disuse soon after, though water sometimes flowed along it when there was an exceptional flood.

The trade of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum benefited from the increased power of Egypt under the Fāṭimids and the corresponding decline of ʿIrāḳ. The Crusades, stimulated the demand for oriental products in Europe, and this transit trade became a factor of great importance to Egyptian prosperity. In 578-9/1182-3 Renaud de Châtillon conveyed prefabricated ships from the Mediterranean coast to Ayla where they were assembled and launched to harry this commerce. The Franks attacked ʿAyd̲h̲āb [*q.v.*] but were defeated at sea by Ḥusām al-Dīn Luʾluʾ and those who contrived to land in the Ḥid̲j̲āz were annihilated. According to Abū S̲h̲āma, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered that no prisoner should be allowed to survive, so that there should be no one who could give information about the passage of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum. Later, attempts were made in Europe to ruin this trade by an embargo, but in spite of Papal injunctions, it was never applied effectively. In the early 8th/14th century Guillaume Adam advocated that a Christian naval force should occupy Suḳuṭrā [*q.v.*] and blockade the entrance to the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum. About 893/1488 Pero da Covilhã, who sailed from al-Ṭūr to Aden and later visited Mecca and al-Madīna, collected information about the trade route for the King of Portugal; he was himself detained in Abyssinia and it is not known whether his report ever reached Lisbon. Having reached India by sea in 903/1498, the Portuguese attempted forcibly to divert the entire transit trade of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and the Persian Gulf to the Cape route for their own profit. In the ensuing war against first the Egyptians and then the Ottoman Turks they secured naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean. In 919/1513 Albuquerque, who hoped to join the Abyssinians in an attack on Mecca, unsuccessfully besieged Aden and then entered the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum. His fleet was becalmed at Kamarān and suffered very heavy casualties. His successor had the same experience and, although in 947-8/1541 D. Estevão da Gama sailed within sight of Suez and landed a small force at Maṣawwaʿ (Massawa) to assist the Abyssinians against the Somali Muslim invader, Aḥmad Grañ, the Portuguese never seriously challenged Turkish domination within the strait of Bāb al-Mandab. After the middle of the 10th/16th century Portuguese ships did not often visit the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and Portuguese travellers, mostly missionaries going to Abyssinia, usually sailed in disguise on native ships. Early in the 11th/17th century English (1018/1609) and Dutch (1025/1616) ships began to trade at Muk̲h̲ā; they did not often sail further north. Though Muk̲h̲ā [*q.v.*] attained temporary importance as an outlet for the coffee of al-Yaman (see ḲAHWA) the Indian and Far Eastern trade now mostly followed the Cape route. In the next century the need for rapid communication between London and Paris and the growing European possessions in India resulted in renewed interest in the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum route, of which a very early example is the journey of Daniel. A general realisation of its strategic and commercial significance may be said to date from Napoleon's Egyptian campaign and to have culminated in the opening of the Suez Canal (1286/1869).

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ʿAdjāʾib, Cairo 1316, 96 ff.; Abū Zayd, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn waʾl-Hind*, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948; G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, passim; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*; A. Kammerer, *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'antiquité*, Cairo 1929, etc.; G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*; O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, has material on the history of the Sudanese coast. On the policy of the Fāṭimids regarding the eastern trade, B. Lewis, *The Fāṭimids and the Route to India*, in *Istanbul Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuasi*, 1950. On Renaud de Châtillon, Sir D. Newbold, *The Crusaders in the Red Sea and the Sudan*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1945, reprinted in *Antiquity*, 1946; E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, i, 20-26; G. Adam, *De modo Sarracenos extirpandi* is printed in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens*, ii, 1906. Portuguese accounts are too numerous to be listed in detail. There are important references in the works of Barros, Couto, Castanheda, Correa, Góis, Osorio, the letters of Albuquerque, the *Comentarios* by Albuquerque the younger, the works of F. Alvares and Castanhoso on Abyssinia, the *Roteiro* of D. João de Castro and in Beccari's collection, *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti*, Rome, 1905-17; annotated English translations of Albuquerque's *Comentarios*, and of Alvares and Castanhoso have been published by the Hakluyt Society. For the first half of the 10th/16th century, R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, is a convenient guide to the material. On the Dutch, P. van den Broecke, *Korte Historiael ende Journaelsche Aenteyckeninghe* etc., Haarlem, 1634 (translation and further references in *JRAS*, 1951, 64-81, 170-181); H. Terpstra, *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*. For early English contacts see Sir W. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, giving many further references. On Daniel's journey, *A Journal or Account of William Daniel*, London 1702, reprinted and annotated in Sir W. Foster, *The Red Sea and adjacent countries at the close of the seventeenth century*, Hakluyt Soc., 1949. (C. H. Becker-[C. F. Beckingham])

BAḤR LŪṬ, "Lot's Sea", is the modern Arab name for the Dead Sea which is usually called by the Arab Geographers *al-buḥayra al-mayyita* "the Dead Sea", *al-buḥayra al-muntina* "the stinking Sea", *al-buḥayra al-maḳlūba* "the overturned Sea" (because it is situated in *al-arḍ al-maḳlūba*, "the land that has been overturned", the *arḍ ḳawm Lūṭ*), *buḥayrat Ṣoghar* (*Zoghar*) "the Sea of Zoghar", also "the Sea of Sodom and Gomorra". The Persian Nāṣir-i Khusraw (5th/11th century) appears to be the first geographer to know the name *buḥayrat Lūṭ*.

The name Baḥr Lūṭ refers to the story in Genesis xix which is often referred to in the Ḳurʾān though the sea itself is not named.

To the present day, names in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea—e.g. Djebel Sudum (Usdum)—and legends current locally, recall the catastrophe related in Genesis xix. These are certainly founded less on popular than on learned tradition.

Geography. Between the steep and barren slopes of the "desert of Judah" and the mountainous land of Moab lies the Dead Sea, like a blue mirror 1150 feet below sea-level from north to south. Its length is about 50 miles, its mid-breadth 8 miles and it has no exit.

The deepest part of its bottom is 2600 feet below sea level. An isthmus (*lisān* "tongue") running out from its east shore separates the southern, quite shallow part from the northern basin. While on the East and West shores the mountains rise up from the shore to a height of over 3000 feet, in the north, at the mouth of the Jordan the land is low-lying, and in the south, where on the east shore of the *sabkha* Pentapolis (Genesis xiv and xix) is to be sought for, it only rises slowly into *al-Ghawr* and *al-ʿAraba*. The composition of its water, so extraordinarily rich in salt, is unsuited to organic life and is even an impediment to navigation. On only a few places on the shore, inhabited oases of almost tropical character have survived.

Geology. The Dead Sea fills the deepest part of the Great Syrian system of depressions which was formed at the close of the Tertiary period. In the periods of alternate drought and rain of the diluvial epoch, the great floods filled the greater part of the Jordan valley and a part of the ʿAraba with an inland sea; this was never connected with the Red Sea. There being no exit to this basin the water, which, to begin with, flowed partly from springs rich in minerals, came in course of time, by evaporation to contain a high percentage of salt of peculiar composition. In the dry period of historic times the sea has dwindled into the area it at present occupies. In the last century a gradual ri ing of the level of the sea has been definitely ascertained. Tectonic disturbances have affected the surrounding district down to the present day. It is to one of the most recent of these that the origin of the southern basin is due.

The procuring of asphalt from the Dead Sea, as in antiquity (cf. the name *lacus Asphaltitis*) seems to have been an important business in the middle ages, also. The asphalt was used as a protection against insects in vineyards. It was also used for many medicinal purposes. To the waters of the sea itself, healing powers were also ascribed.

The rich products of the oasis of Zoghār (near the modern *ghawr al-Ṣāfiya*) were borne across the Dead Sea. The Frankish Crusaders also sailed on it.

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BAḤR AL-MAGHRIB [see baḥr al-rūm].

BAḤR MĀYUṬIS or Buḥayra Māyuṭis, the Classical Lake Maeotis, modern Sea of Azov. Other forms of the name are Māwṭīs (Māwṭīsh). Baḥr Māyuṭis is constantly mentioned with Baḥr Nīṭas, *i.e.*, Baḥr Buntus, [*q.v.*], to which it is joined by Khalīdj Nīṭas (Strait of Kertch).

According to Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 66), Buḥayra

Māyuṭis is 300 miles long and 100 miles broad. These dimensions, which are considerably exaggerated, were earlier given by Ibn Rusta (86). Masʿūdī also states that it lies at the extremity of the inhabited world towards the N. in the vicinity of Tūliya (Thule). The opinion which places Thule N. of the Sea of Azov is shared by Ibn al-Faḳīh (8), according to whom one of the four principal seas (cf. article BAḤR AL-RŪM, 4th paragraph) is that which lies 'between Rome and Khwārizm (as far as) the island of Tūliya. No ship was ever placed upon it'. (Ibn al-Faḳīh reckons al-Baḥr al-Khazarī or Caspian separately). Elsewhere Masʿūdī says that the river Ṭanāis (Tanais, Don), which takes it rise in a great lake (unnamed) situated in the N., flows into Baḥr Māyuṭis after a course of about 300 *farsakhs* through cultivated countries (*Murūdj*, i, 261). The great lake in the N., with which Baḥr Māyuṭis is evidently confused, had already been mentioned by al-Kindī, his pupil al-Sarakhsī and others (*Murūdj*, i, 275). It came to be identified with Baḥr al-Warank, properly the Baltic. Hence in a Syriac map of about 1150 A.D. the Sea of Azov is called 'Warang Sea' (A. Mingana, cited *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 182; cf. ʿAlī *Kunh al-Akhbār*, i, 100).

Masʿūdī, who shows more interest in Baḥr Māyuṭis and Baḥr Nīṭas than geographers of the school of al-Balkhī, [*q.v.*], maintains that properly they form a single sea. He is concerned also to refute on the testimony of travelling merchants those who say that Baḥr al-Khazar, *i.e.*, the Caspian, communicates directly with Baḥr Māyuṭis (*Murūdj*, i, 273). There is only the river route, via the Strait of Kertch, the Don and the Atil (Volga), using the Don-Volga portage, *i.e.*, the so-called 'Khazarian Way' (cf. *Murūdj*, ii, 18 ff.). His own account of Baḥr Māyuṭis is by no means free from error, cf. above. He also appears to think that its waters are of greater extent and depth than those of Baḥr Nīṭas or Black Sea (*Murūdj*, i, 273), which is the reverse of the case. Confusion is also introduced by the fact that Masʿūdī occasionally speaks of Baḥr Māyuṭis as Baḥr al-Khazar (*e.g.*, *Tanbīh*, 138), following popular usage.

In later times Baḥr Māyuṭis was called Baḥr Āzāḳ, in Ottoman Turkish Azak Denizi.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 180-183, and index.

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AL-BAḤR AL-MUḤĪṬ, i.e. 'the Encircling Sea', also called Baḥr Uḳiyānūs al-Muḥīṭ, or simply Uḳiyānūs, the circumambient Ocean of the Greeks (Ὠκεανός). By some it was named al-Baḥr al-Akhḍar, 'the Green Sea'. It was regarded as enclosing the habitable world on all sides, or at least on three sides, W., N. and E. (Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 26), since the S. boundary of the inhabited world was the equator. According to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] reported by Ḳazwīnī (*Cosmography*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 104), seven seas encircled the earth, of which the last enclosed all the others.

There was general agreement that the principal seas were directly connected with al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, with few exceptions, notably the Caspian (Baḥr al-Khazar), but not the Black Sea (Baḥr Bunṭus or more usually Nīṭas, [*q.v.*]), which was supposed to be an arm or 'gulf' of al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, like Baḥr al-Maghrib, Baḥr al-Rūm, Baḥr Warank (Baltic), Baḥr al-Zandj, Baḥr Fāris, Baḥr al-Hind and Baḥr al-Ṣīn (the last four corresponding to the Indian Ocean and part of the Pacific). In general, these arms or 'gulfs' were thought of as forming an Eastern and Western system (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 504), meeting or at least approaching each other at the isthmus of Suez. There was some doubt as to whether the 'gulfs' were supplied from al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ (the prevailing opinion), or *vice versa*, given that nearly all the rivers of the world flowed into it.

But while in theory al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ was the circumambient Ocean, it frequently signifies simply the Atlantic. From another point of view, the Atlantic adjacent to Spain and N. Africa formed part of Baḥr al-Maghrib (Ḳazwīnī, *Cosmography*, i, 123). In the sense of the Atlantic al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ is synonymous with al-Baḥr al-Muẓlim or Baḥr al-Ẓulma or al-Ẓulumāt (Sea of Darkness), applied to the N. Atlantic as descriptive of its bad weather and dangerous character (Jaubert, *Géog. d'Edrisi*, ii, 355-356, cf. Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 124). Conspicuous among the islands of al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, apart from Thule (usually taken to be the Shetlands), which the Arabs knew from translations of Ptolemy, were the Fortunate Islands (Canaries) and Britain (Barṭāniyya, with variants). A persistent tradition, which seems to go back to a Classical source, gives the British Isles as 12 in number (Nallino, *Al-Battani*, text, 26; cf. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 68).

The Arabic authors agree that al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ is impassable for ships (*e.g.* al-Kindī, cited Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 500, speaking apparently of the Arctic Ocean, cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 275; Battānī, *loc. cit.*; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 504; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, T.I. Paris 1925, 187-8). Perhaps this assertion is to be taken as applying in principle to the mythical circumambient Ocean. It is in any case certain that Muslim ships sailed in Atlantic waters. After a descent of the Norsemen on Spain in 229/844 the Atlantic coast was patrolled by Umayyad squadrons, perhaps as far as the Bay of Biscay. In 355/966 the coast of Spain, at Lisbon and Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis (Alcacer do Sal), was attacked by Danish Vikings, who were met and defeated at Silves by the Umayyad fleet. In 387/997 the fleet brought the infantry of al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] from the Atlantic port of Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis already mentioned to Burtuḳāl (Oporto) by sea. (For these events, see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, Cairo 1944, 157, 218, 224, 393, 441).

In these instances coastal operations are presumably intended. Therea re also some indications of ocean voyages in the Atlantic. Apart from the reported journey of Yaḥyā al-Ghazāl to the court of the 'king of the Norsemen' after A.D. 844—variously localised in Jutland or Ireland—(refs. in Brockelmann, *GAL.*, Sup. I 148; also H. Munis, *Contribution à l'étude des invasions des Normands en Espagne*, in *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Etudes Historiques, Egypte*, Vol. ii, fasc. 1, 1950), we read also of Khashkhāsh of Cordova, who embarked in ships upon al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ and returned with rich booty (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 258, cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.* iii, 342, n.), and of the Adventurers (*al-mugharrirūn* —so read) of Lisbon, who sailed for many days W. and S. into the Atlantic and after whom a street was named in their native town (Jaubert, Géog. d'Edrisi, ii, 26-7, cf. i, 200). An account of whaling in the neighbourhood of Ireland (Ḳazwīnī, *Cosmography*, ii, 388, quoting the 11th century Spanish geographer al-ʿUdhrī) may also be mentioned here.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

BAḤR AL-RŪM, 'the Sea of the Greeks', or AL-BAḤR AL-RŪMĪ, 'the Greek Sea', i.e. the Mediterranean, both names being in use from an early date to denote especially the E. Mediterranean, where Byzantine fleets were liable to be encountered. As

the Muslim conquests extended, these names were applied to the whole Mediterranean, for which Baḥr al-Rūm is still in use. The Mediterranean was also called al-Baḥr al-Shāmī, or Baḥr al-Shām, 'the Sea of Syria', and Baḥr al-Maghrib, 'the Sea of the West'.

The sea thus variously named began, according to Arabic geographers, considerably to the W. of the Strait of Gibraltar (al-Zuḳāḳ) and was a gulf of the Western Ocean (al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ al-Maghribī). Legend had it that Baḥr al-Rūm was originally formed in what had hitherto been dry land, after the Strait had been cut, by the Banū Dalūka, descendants of a Queen Dalūka who was supposed to have ruled Egypt after the Pharaoh of the Exodus (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 398), in order to interpose a barrier between themselves and the king of the Greeks (al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib*, 123), or the Strait was cut and al-Baḥr al-Rūmī was joined to al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ by Alexander the Great at the request of the original Spaniards (Ishbān), who wished to be separated from the Berbers (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, i, 231-232). A detailed account of the fabulous bridge which Alexander built on this occasion, with diagrams, is actually given by al-Dimashḳī (*Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 137).

Descriptions of Baḥr al-Rūm regularly begin in the W. and proceed E.-wards, usually along the S. shore from Salā or even al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā, past Ṭandja (Tangier) and Sabta (Ceuta) to Ṭarābulus (Tripoli) and Alexandria, then past the mouths of the Nile, N. along the Syrian coast to Antākiya (Antioch) and its harbour al-Suwaydiyya, on to al-Thughūr (the Frontiers), then continuing W.-wards along the coast of Bilād al-Rūm (Asia Minor) to Constantinople, al-Arḍ al-Ṣaghīra ('the Little Land', *i.e.*, mainland Greece), Balbūnus (the Peloponnese), Ḳallauriya (Calabria), al-Ankuwarda (Lombardy), Ifrandja (France), and S. again towards al-Andalus (Spain) (*e.g.*, Ibn Ḥawḳal ed. Kramers, 190-1). It is understood that a man could in theory at least make the circuit of Baḥr al-Rūm till he reached a point in Spain opposite to where he started from, and that the countries lying to the S. of the sea are Muslim, while those to the N. are Christian. The dimensions of Baḥr al-Rūm are variously given. Al-Mas'ūdī offers one estimate: length, 5,000 miles, more or less; breadth, from 600 to 800 miles, but knows of another, said to be that of the celebrated al-Kindī and his pupil al-Sarakhsī: length, 6,000 miles; breadth, 400 miles (*al-Tanbīh*, 56, cf. *Murūdj*, i, 259). Ibn al-Faḳīh, 7, estimated the length of al-Baḥr al-Rūmī as 2,500 *farsakhs* from Anṭākiya (Antioch) to Djazā'ir al-Sa'āda (the Fortunate Isles, Canaries), breadth 500 *farsakhs*, and was quoted to that effect by al-Muḳaddasī, 14. Al-Mas'ūdī in one place mentions that practical sailors disagreed with the philosophers and increased the dimensions of al-Baḥr al-Rūmī (*Murūdj*, i, 282). (The actual length is about 2,400 miles; greatest breadth, about 1000 miles.) A nearly exact estimate of the length of the Mediterranean was made by the astronomer al-Marrākushī in the 7th/13th century (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, Introd., CCLXXVII).

Baḥr al-Rūm is always regarded as one of the earth's principal seas. Al-Muḳaddasī says that he knows only two, a Western, *i.e.*, the Mediterranean, and an Eastern, *i.e.*, the Indian Ocean, called by him al-Baḥr al-Ṣīnī, 'the Chinese Sea'. He mentions that to these al-Balkhī added al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, 'the Circumambient Ocean', and al-Djayhānī a fourth and fifth, *viz.*, Baḥr al-Khazar, 'the Sea of the Khazars' (Caspian) and Khalīdj al-Ḳusṭanṭiniyya, 'Gulf of Constantinople', *i.e.*, the approaches to the Black Sea. Al-Muḳaddasī points out that his own view corresponds with the Ḳur'ān (Sūra lv, 19 ff.): 'He has left unconnected the two seas which meet. Between them is a barrier which they do not transgress etc.' As al-Muḳaddasī, 16, puts it, the 'barrier' is the isthmus between al-Faramā' (Pelusium) and al-Ḳulzum (Clysma, mod. Suez), and it divides Baḥr al-Rūm from al-Baḥr al-Ṣīnī. He mentions that some interpreted another Ḳur'ānic text (Sūra xxxi, 26): 'If the trees in the world were pens, and the sea were filled thereafter by seven seas etc.' with reference to the five already mentioned *plus* al-Maḳlūba, 'the Inverted (Lake)' (Dead Sea) and al-Khwārizmiyya, 'the Khwārizmian (Lake)'. (Aral Sea). Another more reasonable list of the 'Seven Seas' is: Green Sea or Eastern Ocean, Western Ocean, Great Sea or Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, Caspian, Black Sea and Aral Sea (*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 51-3). Al-Mas'ūdī in one place follows al-Djayhānī in giving five: Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, Caspian, Black Sea and Circumambient Ocean (*al-Tanbīh*, 50-241) and elsewhere says that most people reckon four (*Murūdj*, i, 271), Black Sea and Caspian presumably counting as one, but cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 4-8. However many the seas were taken to be, the general view was that the Ḳur'ānic "meeting of the two seas' (*madjma' al-baḥrayn*, Sūra xviii, 59/60) was at the isthmus of Suez, though some thought in this connexion of al-Zuḳāḳ (Strait of Gibraltar).

The different parts of Baḥr al-Rūm had special names, *e.g.*, Baḥr Tīrān, 'the Tyrrhenian Sea' (al-Rāzī); Djūn al-Banādiḳiyyīn, 'the Gulf of the Venetians' (Ibn Ḥawḳal) or al-Khalīdj al-Banādiḳī, 'the Venetian Gulf' (al-Idrīsī), in effect the whole of the Adriatic; Khalīdj al-Ḳusṭanṭiniyya, 'Gulf of Constantinople', the approaches to the Black Sea. The Black Sea itself was Nīṭas, a stereotyped mistake for Bunṭus (Pontus), which perhaps survived in some MSS. The Sea of Azov was Māyuṭis (Maeotis). It was correctly realised that the two last-named seas were connected with each other and Baḥr al-Rūm, but uncertainty and error attended the attempts made to explain the relative positions of the Black Sea and the Caspian (Baḥr al-Khazar, [*q.v.*]) and *a fortiori* the Black Sea and the Baltic (Baḥr al-Warank, 'Sea of the Warangians') or the Arctic Ocean, of which the Arabs can scarcely have had direct information. The tendency to regard the seas last mentioned as connected with Baḥr al-Rūm is illustrated in the maps of Ibn Ḥawḳal.

Various islands of Baḥr al-Rūm came to be known at an early date. Ḳubrus (Cyprus) and Arwād (Aradus), the little island off the Syrian coast, were the first to be occupied, under Mu'āwiya, and before his death (60/680) Rhodes, Crete and even Sicily had been attacked. Several other Mediterranean islands are mentioned by Ibn Khurradādhbih, 112. The geographers of the tradition of al-Balkhī give few islands in Baḥr al-Rūm. Al-Muḳaddasī, 15, in 375/985 speaks only of the three large islands Sicily, Crete and Cyprus. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 70, earlier had mentioned the same three, with the addition of a fourth, Djabal al-Ḳilāl (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 392), identified by Reinaud (*Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, v, 27) with Fraxinetum, now Garde-Freinet on the French mainland E. of Marseilles, from which between circa 894 and 972 the Arabs raided as far as Switzerland (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, chapter 5). This identification is confirmed by Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 304, who mentions the place as being 'in the territories of France, in the hands of fighters for

the faith' (*bi-nawāḥī Ifrandja bi-aydī al-mudjāhidīn*). It appears on Ibn Ḥawḳal's map as an island (always in ed. 2 Djabal al-Fulāl, cf. also *Marāṣid*, i, 99) opposite a large river, evidently the Rhône. (On the same map Genoa also is shown as an island.) Other islands in the sea are mentioned by al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib*, 124-125). The best description which we have of them is in the text and maps of al-Idrīsī (see Bibliography).

Features of Baḥr al-Rūm which attracted attention were the comparative absence of tides and the recession of the coast, both noted by al-Masʿūdī (*al-Tanbīh*, 70, 132), the latter phenomenon at Ephesus (unconfirmed). Al-Masʿūdī notices the volcanic activity of Mt. Etna (Djabal al-Burkān, Aṭma Siḳilliyya, *Murūdj*, ii, 26; *al-Tanbīh*, 59). He also tells us that Hārūn al-Rashīd wished to join Baḥr al-Rūm to Bahr Ḳulzum (Red Sea), but was dissuaded from the attempt by Yaḥyā b. Khālid the Barmecide, who represented that if he did so, the the Greeks would pass through and interfere with the pilgrimage to Mecca (*Murūdj*, iv, 98-99).

Though at first the Greeks retained command of the sea even after their defeats on land, this was soon lost to them by a series of Muslim naval successes of which the Battle of the Masts (Dhāt al-Ṣawārī) is the most famous (fought off the Lycian coast in 34/655). It appears that former Byzantine naval installations in Syria and Egypt, and trained personnel, were now employed against them, to secure the command of the E. Mediterranean foı the Arabs. This they for the most part retained throughout the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid period, during which Constantinople was attacked repeatedly. There appears to have been some resurgence of Greek naval power in Hārūn's Caliphate (cf. *supra*), when the Byzantine warships which brought Muslim prisoners for ransom to al-Lāmis, Lamus (Cilicia) in 189/805 made a considerable impression (al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 189). In 311 or 312/923 or 924 a Muslim fleet with units from al-Baṣra and Syria sailed from Ṭarsūs under an admiral (*mutawallī al-ghazw fiʾl-baḥr*) and operated successfully in the N. waters of al-Baḥr al-Rūmī, reaching Venetian territory and making contact with a detachment of Bulgars, some of whom returned with them to Ṭarsūs (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 16-17; Ibn al-Athīr, s. anno 311). Yet later under al-Muḳtadir (Caliph 295/908-320/932) Greek ships regularly made extensive raids on the coast of Syria, and it was in his Caliphate that the command of the E. Mediterranean was lost (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. De Goeje, 131-2; ed. Kramers, 197). By 345/956 apparently (al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 141) the Muslims had no fleet in these parts.

In the W. of Baḥr al-Rūm, after the invasion of Spain in 92/711, some of the most spectacular Muslim exploits took place comparatively late. Mention has been made of the long occupation of Fraxinetum. Bari in S. Italy was captured in 226/840-841 by a freedman of the Aghlabids of N. Africa, who at this time were very active, and was practically an independent state for many years (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 234-5, followed by Ibn al-Athīr, s. anno). In 228/842 during the siege of Massīnī (Messina) by an Aghlabid general the people of Nābal, or Nābul (Naples) requested protection, and joined forces with the Muslims (Ibn al-Athīr, s. anno). Shortly afterwards Rome and Venice were threatened, the former on more than one occasion. Malta fell in 255/869 (Ibn Khaldūn, iv, 201). As late as 323/934 Genoa was attacked and taken by an armament from Sicily, where the Fāṭimids were now in possession (al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, s. anno). Thereafter the Muslim threat to Italy subsided.

Baḥr al-Rūm was never a Muslim lake, since even at the heyday of their power the Arabs never controlled its northern shores. From the time of Charlemagne onwards there is evidence of Christian maritime enterprise. This gradually increased in importance as the centuries passed, in spite of the decline of Byzantium and the renewed Muslim advance, when the Ottoman Turks in the 10th/16th century came to control the coast of Baḥr al-Rūm, by them usually called the White Sea (Ak Deniz), from the Peloponnese to Algeria.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī 68-71; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. De Goeje, 128-37, ed. Kramers, 190-205 with the maps facing pp. 8 and 66, as well as that on p. 193; Muḳaddasī 14-19; Yāḳūt, i, 504-5; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, 123-7; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, i, 231-236; Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, i, 5-6, ii, 1-13, 16-19, 35-48, 68-135, 226-304, etc. (by far the fullest account, but less useful for the early period); for Idrīsī's maps, K. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, Stuttgart 1926 and later; Anonymous Chronicle of Sicily in Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, text 165-176; transl. 70-74; P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, ed. 6, Princeton 1956, index.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

In the Ottoman Empire the Mediterranean was known as Ak-deniz, the White Sea, whence the Persian Baḥr-i Safīd and Daryā-i Safīd and, probably the colloquial Greek ἡ ἄσπρη θάλασσα. Iu Ottoman usage it included—and seems at times to have been restricted to—the Aegean sea, the islands of which were called Djezāʾir-i Baḥr-i Safīd. The name, which appears to have no Greek, Byzantine, or Islamic precedents, is of uncertain origin. It may have arisen in contrast to Kara-deniz, the Black Sea, on the other side of Istanbul. A full cartographic treatment of the Mediterranean Sea will be found in the famous Atlas presented in 930/1523 to Sulṭān Sulaymān by Pīrī Reʾis [*q.v.*]. There are also descriptions in the travels of Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme*, i, 40 ff. and viii, *passim*), in the maritime history of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Tuḥfat al-Kibār*, 3 ff., English trans. by J. Mitchell, 3 ff.), and in his *Djihānnumā* 76.

[ED.]

BAḤR AL-ʿULŪM ("Ocean of the Sciences"), honorific title of ABU 'L-ʿAYYĀSH ʿABD AL-ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. NIẒĀM AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-LAKNAWĪ, a highly distinguished Indian savant of the 19th century. He claimed descent from the famous Khwādja ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī Harawī, whose descendant Shaykh ʿAlaʾ al-Dīn (ʿAbd al-ʿAlī's tenth ancestor) came from Harāt to India, and now lies buried at Barnāwa (between Muthrā and Delhī). The next generation settled in Sihālī, a town near Lucknow. Under Awrangzīb the family shifted to "Farangī Maḥall", Lucknow, (for which see Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira*[1] 168; cf. *al-Nadwa*). ʿAbd al-ʿAlī's grandfather Mullā Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (d. 1103/1691) and his father Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn (d. 1161/1748; Āzād, who met him in Lucknow in 1148/1736 praises him highly, see *Subḥat al-Mardjān*, Bombay 1303, 94) were noted men of learning, and were the real founders of the fame of the family in India—a family in which learning had flourished for centuries, from generation to generation. Born in Farangī Maḥall in 1144/1731-32, ʿAbd al-ʿAlī studied with his father, and completed the usual course of Islamic studies with him at the age of seventeen. After the death of

his father he continued his studies with Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Sihālawī al-Fatḥpūrī (d. 1175/1761), a pupil of his father (see Brockelmann S II, 624). He started his career as teacher and author in Lucknow, but because of a Sunnī-Shīʿī dispute, had to quit Lucknow, and moved first to Shāh-djahānpūr, where he stayed for twenty years, then to Rāmpūr (cf. Nadjm al-Ghanī, *Akhbār al-Ṣanādīd*, Lucknow 1918, i, 600, 596), where he stayed for four years, later to Buhār (in Bardwān, Bengal), and finally to Madrās, at the invitation of the Nawwāb of Karnātak (Nawwāb Wālādjāh Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān (d. 1210/1795), originally of Gopamaū, near Lucknow). He went to Madrās accompanied by six hundred scholars (*ridjāl al-ʿilm*). The Wālādjāh showed him high regard, and showered favours on him and his companions, built a large *madrasa* for him, and gave stipends to his companions and pupils who collected there from far and near. The Nawwāb's successors continued to show him the same favour till the end of the rule of Wālādjāhīs and the establishment of British rule in Madrās, and even then the monthly provisions and gifts continued to be offered him, as also to the other teachers and students of his *madrasa*. He never returned to Lucknow, and died in Madrās on 12 Radjab 1225/13 August 1810, and was buried close to the Mosque of the Wālādjāhs in that city. (For his children see Alṭāf al-Raḥmān, *Aḥwāl* 64 f. and for his distinguished pupils, *Ḥadāʾiḳ*, *loc. cit.*). It was the Wālādjāh who gave him the title of *Baḥr al-ʿUlūm* (as usually stated, but cf. Alṭāf al-Raḥmān, *Aḥwāl*, 65, where it is stated that Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī [*q.v.*] gave him this title), also the title of *Malik al-ʿUlamāʾ*. The former is better known in North India, the latter in South India.

Apart from teaching him the religious sciences, his father had initiated him into esoteric sciences also (Alṭāf al-Raḥmān). He belonged to the mystic school of Ibn al-ʿArabī and had complete faith in the truth of the Shaykh's expositions as given in the *Fuṣūṣ* and the *Futūḥāt*. In fact his *Sharḥ Mathnawī-i Mawlawī-i Rūm* (Lucknow 1873, 3 vols.) only aims at explaining the "secrets" contained in the *Mathnawī* in the light of the Shaykh's above two works (see the Mullā's Arabic introduction to the *Sharḥ*). He also wrote a Commentary on a section of the *Fuṣūṣ* (viz. *al-Faṣṣ al-Nūḥī*, Brockelmann S I 793). Even on his death-bed he stated he was realising the truth of the Shaykh's doctrines (*Aghṣān*).

He is praised for his courage, generosity, self-denial and ascetic character. He spent most of his long life in teaching and writing, and wielded a profound influence on his contemporaries in India, whom he excelled in versatility of erudition and critical acumen. "The like of him was not to be seen in India of the later times" (*Nuzha*). His fields of specialised study were *fiḳh* and *uṣūl* on the one hand, and the philosophical sciences on the other. He wrote many works in Arabic—unusually good classical Arabic, and in Persian. As a rule they are, according to the fashion of his time, commentaries, glosses and super-glosses on most of the usual text books.

Some of his other more important works are given below:

a) *Philosophy*: *Sharḥ Sullam al-ʿUlūm* (the *Sullam* is a work on logic by Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī, (d. 1110/1707), Delhī 1891; *al-Taʿlīḳāt* (or *Minhiyya*) *ʿalā Sharḥ Sullam al-ʿUlūm* (Zubayd Aḥmad, 365); *al-Ḥāshiya ʿala 'l-Ḥāshiya al-Zāhidiyya al-Djalāliyya*, Lucknow 1872, (*JASB* vii, 695); *al-Ḥāshiya ʿalā al-Ḥāshiya al-Zāhidiyya al-Ḳuṭbiyya*, Delhi 1292/1875, Brockelmann S II 293; *al-Ḥāshiya ʿala 'l-Ṣadrā* (a super-gloss on Ṣadrā al-Shīrāzī's Commentary on Abharī's *Hidāyat al-Ḥikma*), Lucknow 1846 (Brockelmann S I 840, *JASB loc. cit.*); *Taʿlīḳāt ʿala al-Ufuḳ al-Mubīn* (Brockelmann S II 580); *al-ʿUdjāla al-Nāfiʿa* (Brockelmann S II 625 l. 4 where read 399 instead of 499).

b) *Dogma and Scholastic Theology* (*Kalām*). *al-Ḥāshiya ʿala 'l-Ḥāshiya al-Zāhidiyya ʿala al-Umūr al-ʿĀmma* (Zubayd Aḥmad, 338); *al-Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ al-ʿAḳāʾid al-Dawwānī* (*ibid.*); *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt al-Mabādī* (*ibid.*); *al-Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* (*ibid.*; Brockelmann S II 290) Lucknow 1876.

c) *Principles of Jurisprudence* (*Uṣūl al-Fiḳh*). *Fawātiḥ al-Raḥamūt* (*Sharḥ* of the *Musallam al-Thubūt* of Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī (d. 1119/1707 (Brockelmann S II 624); *Risāla al-Arkān al-Arbaʿa* (*fiḳh*) (Brockelmann S II 625); *Tanwīr al-Manār Sharḥ al-Manār* (in Persian) (Brockelmann SII 264); *Takmila Sharḥ-i Taḥrīr* (a Supplement to his father's Commentary on Ibn Humām's *Taḥrīr fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Zubayd Aḥmad 283, *JASB* vii, 695); *Sharḥ Fiḳh Akbar* (Rahmān ʿAlī[2], 123).

d) *Ḥadīth*. *Risāla fi Taḳsīm al-Ḥadīth* (Zubayd Aḥmad, 262).

e) *Mathematics*. *Sharḥ al-Midjiṣṭī* (Zubayd Aḥmad, 382).

f) *Ethics*: *Risāla al-Tawḥīd al-Kāfiya li 'l-Ṣūfī al-Muttaḳī* (in Persian) (Raḥmān ʿAlī 123, *Ḳāmūs al-Mashāhīr* s.v. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī).

g) *Arabic Grammar*: *Hidāya al-Ṣarf*.

Bibliography: Walī Allāh Farangī Maḥallī, *al-Aghṣān al-Arbaʿa li 'l-Shadjarat al-Ṭayyiba dar Aḥwāl-i ʿUlamāʾ-i Farangī Maḥall Kamālan wa Nasaban wa ʿIlman*, Nadwa MS. (in Lucknow, ff. 50-53) (the Lucknow edition of 1298/1881 is not available to me); Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Abdjad al-ʿUlūm*, Bhopāl 1295/1878, 927; Faḳīr Muḥammad Jhelumī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafiyya*, Lucknow 1891, 467; Alṭāf al-Raḥmān, *Aḥwal-i ʿUlamāʾ-i Farangī Maḥall*, 1907, 64 f.; ʿAbd al-Bārī, *Āthār al-Uwal*, 24 (not available to me); ʿAbd al-Awwal Djawnpurī, *Mufīd al-Muftī*, Lucknow 1326/1908, 135 f; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-i ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*[2], Lucknow 1332/1932, 122; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lucknawī (Ḥakīm), *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir* (notice in the unpublished part of the work in the author's family library); *al-Nadwa* (*Journal of the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ*, Lucknow, April-June 1907); M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, *The Life and Works of Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*, in *JASB*, New Series vii/1911, 693-5; Brockelmann, S II 624 (and index); Zubayd Aḥmad, *The contribution of India to Arabic literature*, Allāhābād 1946, index.

(MOḤAMMAD SHAFĪʿ)

BAḤR AL-ZANDJ. By the Baḥr al-Zandj the Arabs mean the W. part of the Indian Ocean, Baḥr al-Hind [*q.v.*] which washes the E. coast of Africa from the Gulf of Aden *i.e.*, the Khalīdj al-Barbarī to Sufāla and Madagascar, which was as far as the scanty knowledge of the Arabs extended. The name is derived from the adjoining coast, which is called the Bilād al-Zandj or Zanguebar, 'land of the Zandj'. The name Zandj is applied by the Arabs to the black Bantu negroes, who are sharply distinguished from the Berbers and Abyssinians. The name Zandj is very old, even Ptolemy knows of Ζίγγις (or Ζήγγισα) ἄκρα and Cosmas Indicopleustes of τὸ καλούμενον ἐκεῖ Ζίγγιον, but Herzfeld's reading in an inscription of the Sāsānid Narsī *Zhandafrīk shāh* (*Paikuli*, I, Berlin, 1924, 119) is not now accepted (cf. W. B. Henning in *Studies presented to Vladimir*

Minorsky = *BSOAS.*, Vol. XIV, 1952, Part 3, 515). The name itself has been explained as from Persian *Zang, Zangi* (Zoroastrian Pahlawī *zangīk* 'negro'), but perhaps it is of local origin. Nowadays it is applied to the island of Zanzibar and to a tributary of the Zambesi which bears the name of Zangue. The Arab notices of the coast and sea of the Zandj are more than scanty and partly contradictory. The sea was feared and avoided. Only the Arab travellers Masʿūdī and Ibn Baṭūṭa sailed across it, but they tell us more about the land and its people than about the sea itself. Whales and whaling are sometimes mentioned, and it is remarkable that the word used for whale (*wāl, uwāl*) resembles the form of the name in the languages of N. Europe (Sulaymān the Merchant, Arabic text edited by Langlès, 4, 138-141, in Reinaud, *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans etc.*, Paris 1845, transl. G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân*, Paris 1922, 30, 132-133; cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 234, 334). It is clear that the Arabs imagined the coast to run in quite a different direction from what it actually does. W. Tomaschek gave reconstructions of their cartographical notions in his *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels Moḥīṭ* (Vienna 1899). Notices by the Arab geographers of the sea and land of the Zandj were collected by L. Marcel Devic (*Le Pays des Zendjs*, Paris 1883). See also *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 471 ff., and T. A. Shumovsky, *Tri neizvestnie Lotsii Akhmada ibn Mâdzhida, arabskogo Lotsmana Vasko da Gamii*, Moscow 1957. Navigation on this part of the Indian Ocean is regulated by the periodic monsoons, whence the ancient relations between S. Arabia and N.-W. India and the E. African coast. For further information see the articles BAḤR AL-HIND and ZANDJ.

(C. H. BECKER-[D. M. DUNLOP])

BAḤR AL-ẒULUMĀT [see AL-BAḤR AL-MUḤĪṬ].

BAHRĀʾ (*nisba* Bahrānī), a tribe of the Ḳuḍāʿa group, sometimes reckoned a part of Djudhām, which emigrated northwards to the Euphrates and then to the plain of Ḥimṣ. Like their Euphrates neighbours Taghlib and Tanūkh, they became Christian, but were converted after Taghlib, probably about 580. A deputation came to Muḥammad at Medina in 9/630 and became Muslims; but the tribe as a whole remained hostile and attached to Byzantium. In 8/629 Bahrāʾ had been among Heraclius' Arab allies who confronted Muḥammad's Muʾta expedition; in 12/633 they were summoned to help the people of Dūmat al-Djandal when Khālid b. al-Walīd approached; and they were in the Byzantine military coalition of 13/634, along with Kalb, Salīḥ, Tanūkh, Lakhm, Djudhām and Ghassān. However, they became Muslims when Syria was conquered.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, 132; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 417, 427; Ṭabarī, i, 1611, 2060, 2081, 2114, 2122; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv, treaty no. 115; Wāḳidī (Wellhausen), 235, 311; Ibn Khallikān, no. 46; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 146. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

BAḤRAIN [see AL-BAḤRAYN].

BAḤRAḲ, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR B. MUBĀRAK B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿALĪ AL-ḤIMYARĪ AL-ḤADRAMĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, S. Arabian scholar and Ṣūfī. b. 869/1465 in Saywūn, d. 930/1524 in India. After studies in ʿAden and Zabīd he was ḳāḍī of Shiḥr for some time, then settled in ʿAden and found favour with its governor, the Amīr Mardjān. After the death of his patron in 927/1521 he went to India and obtained the patronage of the sultan of Gudjarāt Muẓaffar Shāh, but he soon had to leave the court and died in Aḥmadābād, perhaps poisoned.

In his great literary production he treats of theological as well as profane themes. Apparently original works are: *Mawāhib al-Ḳuddūs fī Manāḳib Ibn al-ʿAydarūs* (cf. Serjeant, *Materials*, 586; on this teacher of his see art. ʿAYDARŪS, No. 2); *Ḥilyat al-Banāt wa ʾl-Banīn fīmā yuḥtādju ilayhi min Amr al-Dīn*; *ʿIḳd al-Durar fī ʾl-Īmān bi ʾl- Ḳaḍā wa ʾl Ḳadar*; *al-ʿIḳd al-Thamīn fī Ibṭāl al-Ḳawl bi ʾl-Taḳbīḥ wa ʾl-Taḥsīn*; *al-Tabṣira al-Aḥmadiyya fī ʾl-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*; *Tartīb al-Sulūk ilā Malik al-Mulūk* (cf. Brockelmann, I, 444); *al-ʿUrwa al-Wathīḳa ḳaṣīda* (*Wuthḳā*), with comm. *al-Ḥadīḳa al-Anīḳa* (Brockelmann, II, 555). Abridgements: *al-Asrār al-Nabawiyya* < *al-Adhkār al-Nawawiyya, i.e., Ḥilyat al-Abrār* (Brockelmann, I, 397); *Dhakhīrat al-Ikhwān* < *K. al-Istighnāʾ bi ʾl-Ḳurʾān*(?); *Mutʿat al Asmāʿ* < *al-Imtāʿ fī Aḥkām al-Samāʿ* of al-Adfuwī (Brockelmann, S. II, 27); he also abridged al-ʿAskarī's *K. al-Awāʾil* (Brockelmann, S. I, 194), al-Sakhāwī's *al-Maḳāṣid al-Ḥasana* (Brockelmann II, 32) and al-Mundhirī's *al-Targhīb wa ʾl-Tarhīb* (Brockelmann, I, 627). Commentaries: *al-ʿAḳīda al-Shāfiʿiyya* on al-Yāfiʿī's famous *ḳaṣīda* (Brockelmann, II, 228); *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb wa-Ṭurfat al-Aṣḥāb* on al-Ḥarīrī's *Mulḥat al-Iʿrāb* (Brockelmann, I, 489); *Nashr al-ʿAlam fī Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿAdjam* (Sarkis, 533; in reality an abridgement of al-Ṣafadī's comm.); on Ibn Mālik's *Lāmiyyat al-Afʿāl* (*ibid.*, cf. Brockelmann, I, 300; S. I, 526). In minor *risāla*s he treated of arithmetic, astronomy and medicine. Specimens of his poetry are given by al-ʿAydarūs and al-Saḳḳāf (v. infra).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S. II, 554 f.; al-ʿAydarūs, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, 143-151; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn*, i, 121 ff.; Sarkis, col. 532 f. (O. LÖFGREN)

BAHRĀM (derived, *via* the Pahlawī *varahrʾn*, from the Avestan *verethragna*), the name of the Zoroastrian god of victory (cf. Benveniste and Renou, *Vṛtra et Vṛθragna*, chap. 1, particularly 6 and 22); from his name is derived that of one of the principal sacred fires of Iran, Varhrān, or (more recently) Vahrām (*ibid.*, 72); he presides over the 20th day of the solar month which bears his name and which has kept it in the Persian calendar recorded by al-Bīrūnī (*ibid.*, 83; al-Bīrūnī, *Cronol.* 53).

This name Bahrām or Vahrām) was that of five rulers of the Sāsānid dynasty (the 4th, 5th, 6th, 12th, 14th). Very little is known about the reign of Vahrām I (273-276 A.D.); he gave the Zoroastrian clergy full powers against Mānī, who was executed, and died in 276 A.D. A bas-relief of Shāpūr depicts the investitute of Vahrām (A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², 226-7). Under his son and successor, Vahrām II (276-93 A.D.), war again broke out between Rome and Iran; the sudden death of the emperor Carus, who had reached Ctesiphon, compelled the Romans to retreat; nevertheless Vahrām ceded to them Armenia and Mesopotamia in order to obtain peace (283 A.D.) and free his hands to suppress the revolt of his brother who, as governor (*kushānshāh*) of Khurāsān, had ambitions of carving out a great kingdom for himself; Vahrām II appears on several bas-reliefs (Christensen, *op. cit.*, 228 f.). His son and successor, Vahrām III, was defeated by his great-uncle, during the four months of his reign (293 A.D.). Vahrām IV (388-99 A.D.), son of the great Shāpūr II, was a feeble prince, like his uncle and elder brother who had preceded him on the

throne; the feudal lords regained the initiative of which they had been deprived by Shāpūr II; under Vahrām IV, Armenia was partitioned between Rome and Iran which kept the larger portion. Vahrām V (420-38 A.D.), surnamed Gūr ("the onager") on account of his vigour, after spending his youth in the care of al-Mundhir I, the Lakhmid king of the Arabs of Ḥīra, had to regain the throne, with the aid of this king, from the nobles who had put his elder brother to death and proclaimed ruler a prince from a side branch of the family; he made himself popular by his benevolence to all, his tax remissions his bravery, his love-affairs and his hunting exploits (commemorated by poets and illuminators of manuscripts); he left the great dignitaries a large measure of initiative in the direction of affairs (notably to Mihr-Narsa); he himself led an expedition against the barbarians of the Marw district; because of persecution, many Christans took refuge on Byzantine soil; this caused a short war, unfavourable to Iran, as the result of which freedom of worship was granted to Christians in Iran, by treaty (422 A.D.); it is not known whether Vahrām V died a natural death, or as a result of a hunting accident.

In addition to these five kings, a usurper named Vahrām Čūbīn, who claimed to be descended from the Arsacid kings, became in 589 A.D. the leader of a formidable insurrection, during the reign of Hormizd IV, who was a distinguished prince, tolerant in matters of religion, but had set the feudal lords against him self because he firmly maintained his rights against them; Čūbīn, who had gained military successes against the peoples north and east of Iran, but had been dismissed after his defeat by the Byzantines, rebelled, and seized power after the assassination of the king; the latter's son, supported by the Byzantines, the Armenians and a section of the Persians, broke the long resistance of Vahrām, who took refuge among the Turks and was killed soon afterwards; his powerful personality ensured the perpetuation of his name: a popular romance, in the Pahlawī language, related his exploits, before the historians and poets of the Islamic period (see A. Christensen, *Romanen om Bahrâm Tschôbîn, Et Rekonstruktionsforsøg*, Copenhagen 1907). Several other personalities have borne this name (Christensen, *Sassanides*, index, s.v. *Vahrām*).

Bibliography: Christensen's book supersedes earlier works, which he uses and quotes in the notes. For a history of Bahrām Gūr in verse, see Firdawsī, *Le Livre des Rois*, trans. J. Mohl, 1878, v, 442-558, vi, 1-64; Niẓāmī, *The Haft Paikar*, trans. C. E. Wilson, London 1924; on Bahrām Čūbīn, see Firdawsī, *op. cit.*, vi, 460-568, vi, 1190. Photographs of bas reliefs in Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, Paris 1884, v; *Survey of Persian Art*, iv, pl. 156, 157, 159, 162.

(Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

BAHRĀM, Christian Armenian general who served the Fāṭimids in Egypt and was *wazīr* of the sword from 529-31/1135-7 to the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ (525-44/1130-49).

The circumstances and date of his entry into Fāṭimid service are unknown. Many Armenians, in the 5th/11th century, went to Egypt, taking advantage of the fact that the wazīrate was on several occasions held by men of Armenian origin such as Badr al-Djamālī (466-87/1074-94), his son al-Afḍal (487-515/1094-1121), the latter's son (525-6/1130-1) and Yānis (526/1131-2). Perhaps these circumstances brought Bahrām to Egypt. According to tradition, he came from a region where an important Armenian colony had been established, Tell Bāshir north-east of Aleppo. A nobleman of Tell Bāshir, he was driven from there by a revolution and had to leave the country. It seems that he came from a noble Armenian family which claimed to trace its descent to the Pahlavuni, and was the brother of the Armenian catholicos of Egypt, Gregory, who arrived in Egypt and was consecrated there in 1077 or 1078. At all events, Bahrām followed a military career, and became commander of an Armenian corps, and then governor of the western province of the Delta (al-Gharbiyya).

As a result of the rivalry between the Caliph's two sons Ḥaydara and Ḥasan, and the seizure of power by the latter in the capacity of *wazīr*, a military revolt broke out, and Ḥasan, unable to deal with it, summoned Bahrām to his aid. When Bahrām arrived with his Armenian troops, Ḥasan had already been assassinated. The Caliph entrusted the wazīrate to Bahrām, although he was a Christian (Djumādā II 529/March 1135), and the curious situation then obtained of a Christian, who was *wazīr* of the sword and absolute master in Egypt, bearing the titles of Sayf al-Islām and Tādj al-Dawla. The pro-Armenian policy of Bahrām, who encouraged the immigration of his compatriots and secured their installation in important posts, provoked a popular reaction and a military revolt led by the governor of al-Gharbiyya, Riḍwān. Bahrām, abandoned by the Muslim troops in his army, had to leave Cairo (Djumādā I 531/February 1137), and marched towards Ḳūṣ where his brother Vasak was governor. Vasak, however, had been assassinated by the populace, and Bahrām, after exacting a bloody revenge for murder of his brother, left Ḳūṣ. Riḍwān, who had been appointed *wazīr*, sent an army against him, but, by an arrangement to which the Caliph was doubtless not a stranger, Bahrām was allowed to retire to a monastery near Ikhmīm where he remained until 533/1139. As the Caliph was displeased with Riḍwān, he recalled Bahrām, who was by then a sick man, to Cairo, and installed him in his palace; he consulted him frequently, but did not give him the title of *wazīr*. Riḍwān was forced to flee.

Bahrām died in the palace on 24 Rabīʿ II 535/7 December 1140, mourned by the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ, who followed his funeral cortège as far as the Monastery of the Ditch, outside Cairo, where he was buried.

Bibliography: Ibn Muyassar, *Ann. d'Égypte*, 78-80, 82-4; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 262; Ibn al-Athīr, x s.a. 531; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Churches and Monasteries*, ed. and transl. Evetts, 6a, 84a; Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, iv, 72-3; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, v, 239-40, 241-2; Maḳrīzī, i, 205, 357, ii, 502; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, vi, 457-63, viii, 260-2, xiii, 325-6; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, ed. 1321., ii, 131; Michael the Syrian, French transl. Chabot, iii 240; Renaudot, *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, 505-7, 509; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, 307; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 168-9; G. Wiet, *Précis de l'Hist. d'Egypte*, 192-3, 327; idem, *L'Egypte arabe* (*Hist. de la nation égyptienne*, iv), 273-5; De Lacy O'Leary, *A Short history of the Fatimid Khalifate*, 224; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭimiyyūn fī Miṣr*, 214-17, 293; M. Canard, *Un vizir chrétien à l'époque fatimite, l'Arménien Bahrām*, in *AIEO* Algiers xii (1954), 84-113; idem, *Une lettre du calife fâtimite al-Ḥāfiẓ .... à Roger II, Atti del Convegno Inter-*

nazionale di Studi Ruggeriani, Palermo 1955, 136 f.; idem, *Notes sur les Arméniens en Egypte à l'époque fāṭimite*, in *AIEO Algiers* xiii (1955), 143-57. (M. CANARD)

BAHRĀM SH̲ĀH, sultan of G̲h̲azna, c. 510-552/1117-1157, son of Masʿūd and great-great-grandson of Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azna, was born not earlier than 477/1084. On the death of his father in 508/1115, Bahrām's elder brother Malik Arslān disposed of other claimants to the throne and obliged Bahrām to flee first to Tikīnābād, then to Kirmān and eventually to the court of the Saldjūḳ Sandjar where he found a welcome. Sandjar led an army against Malik Arslān, defeating him near G̲h̲azna in S̲h̲awwāl 510/February 1117 and forcing him to withdraw to the G̲h̲aznawid possessions in Hindūstān. Installed at G̲h̲azna as a tributary by Sandjar, Bahrām defeated Malik Arslān, who had gathered forces from the Pandjāb, imprisoned him and in 512/1118, slew him. In 512/1119, Bahrām S̲h̲āh twice marched into the Pandjāb to subdue Muḥammad Abū Ḥatīm, governor of Lahore.

As a protégé of the Saldjūḳs and unable to draw upon the resources of a Maḥmūd to enable him to mount major expeditions in Hindūstān, Bahrām's rule appears to have been uneventful until 529/1135 when he attempted to throw off Sandjar's overlordship only to be compelled to acknow.edge it again within the year.

About 543/1148, a violent quarrel broke out between Bahrām and the chiefs of G̲h̲ūr and Fīrūzkūh. Bahrām poisoned the G̲h̲ūrid Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, whereupon the latter's brother Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī occupied G̲h̲azna. Bahrām recaptured it and slew Sūrī with ignominy. In 546/1151 the latter's younger brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn ('Djahān-Sūz') defeated Bahrām S̲h̲āh and burnt G̲h̲azna. Bahrām took refuge in Hindūstān and although he was able to take advantage of an *imbroglio* between 'Djahān-Sūz' and Sandjar to reoccupy the remains of G̲h̲azna before his death, the descendants of Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azna were never again able to regain and keep their authority in the area around their old capital. (For a discussion of the chronological problems surrounding the last years of Bahrām S̲h̲āh's reign see G̲h̲ulām Muṣṭafa K̲h̲ān's article, named in the bibliography).

Bahrām S̲h̲āh enjoyed a great reputation as a patron of the arts and figures in later *adab* literature. Among the *literati* who adorned his court were the poets Sayyid Ḥasan G̲h̲aznawī, Sanāʾī, Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān and the translator into Persian of *Kalila wa Dimna*, Abuʾ l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh.

Bibliography: Ibn Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x, 353-6, xi, 17-18, 89-90, 108; Minhādj b. Sirādj Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 23-24, 112-114; Mīr K̲h̲wānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ*, Lucknow 1874, iv, 748, 797; Firis̲h̲ta, i, 85-89; Fak̲h̲r-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-Ḥarb waʾl-S̲h̲udjāʿa*, British Museum MS. Add. 16, 853, fols. 19b-21b, 23a-23b, 107b-109a, 170a-172b; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, index, 382, ii, index, 435; Muḥammad Niẓām al-Dīn, *Introduction to the Djawāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt wa Lawāmiʿ al-Riwāyāt of Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿAwfī*, Gibb Mem. Ser., London 1929, index, 312; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, ii, London 1869, 199; G̲h̲ulām Muṣṭafā K̲h̲ān, *A History of Bahram Shah of Ghaznin*, in *IC*, xxiii, 1 & 2, Jan. & April, 1949, 3, July, 1949, Mehmed Altay Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu Imparatorluğu Tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1954, 306-10, 361-75. (P. HARDY)

BAHRĀM SH̲ĀH B. TUG̲H̲RUL S̲H̲ĀH, the Saldjūḳid, was raised to the throne of Kirmān by the Atabeg Muʾayyad al-Dīn Rayḥān in succession to his father on the latter's death in 565/1170 but soon afterwards had to make way for his elder brother Arslan S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*]. The two brothers thereupon fought with one another with varying success till the death of Bahrām S̲h̲āh in 570/1174-5.

Bibliography: Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-Azmān fī waḳāʾiʿ Kirmān*, ed. Muḥammad Mahdī Balzānī, Tehran 1947, 50 ff.; Houtsma, *Receuil*, i, 35 ff.; *ZDMG*, xxxix, 378 ff. (ED.)

BAHRĀM SH̲ĀH, AL-MALIK AL-AMDJAD, b. Farruk̲h̲ S̲h̲āh b. S̲h̲āhāns̲h̲āh b. Ayyūb, grand nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, was appointed by the latter to succeed his father at Baʿlbak when the latter died in 578/1182 (ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Barḳ al-S̲h̲āmī*, Bodl. MS. Marsh 425, 36r°, followed by Abū S̲h̲āma, *Rawḍatayn*[1], Cairo, 33-4), and kept Baʿlbak when the Ayyūbid territories were divided up after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. From then on he seems always to have been a faithful vassal of the Ayyūbid ruling at Damascus (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, years 599, 603, 606, 618, 623). At the end of his life, however, he was faced with rivals who found support in the ambitions of al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ʿUt̲h̲mān of Bānyās, son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil; al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd of Damascus defended him against them, but, when al-Malik al-Kāmil and al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf settled their differences in order to seize Damascus from Dāʾūd, Bahrāms̲h̲āh was sacrificed; after ten months of blockade, al-As̲h̲raf annexed Baʿlbak, and Bahrāms̲h̲āh went to Damascus (626/1228); the following year he was assassinated by a slave who bore a grudge against him (Ibn Wāṣil,years 625-627; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, ed. Jewett, 441).

Among his contemporaries, Bahrāms̲h̲āh was famous less as a prince than as the most eminent man of letters among the Ayyūbids; he had a small court of scholars, and himself composed a *dīwān* of poetry, which has been preserved but not published (J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyubides*, 221 and n. 3).

Bibliography: For the secondary sources, cf. the article AYYŪBIDS. Modern work: H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, 111 and 129-30, with the notes. (CL. CAHEN)

AL-**BAḤRAYN,** "the Two Seas", a cosmographical and cosmological concept appearing five times in the Ḳurʾān (once in the nominative, xxxv, 12). The two seas are described as being one fresh and sweet, and one salt and bitter (xxxv, 12; xxv, 53). Fresh meat and ornaments are taken from the two seas, and on them boats are seen (xxxv, 12). Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, xxv, 55) says the fresh and sweet denote the waters of rivers and of rain, the salt and bitter the waters of the sea.

The two seas are divided by a barrier, called a *barzak̲h̲* (xxv, 53; lv, 20) and a *ḥādjiz* (xxvii, 61). Muslim scholars provide several explanations for this concept, among which is the view that there is a sea in heaven and a sea on earth separated by a barrier (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxvii, 61). Most views are more geographical, with the preponderant number assuming the two seas to be the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea. The Ḳurʾān, however, mentions seven seas in xxxi, 27.

The junction of the two seas, *madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn*, is mentioned only once in the Ḳurʾān (xviii, 60). Some commentators regard the location as the meeting place of the Persian Sea and the Roman Sea (*v.* Bayḍāwī, Ṭabarī, Nasafī, Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, etc.).Others

have the two seas meeting at Bāb al-Mandab [*q.v.*], at the connexion between the Sea of Jordan and the Red Sea, or at the Straits of Gibraltar (*e.g.*, Ḳurṭubī). As Wensinck points out in "al-Khaḍir" in *EI*[1], "A far fetched explanation is that the union of the two seas means the meeting of Mūsā and al-Khaḍir, the two seas of wisdom".

After the capture of Constantinople, Meḥemmed II assumed the title *Sulṭān al-barrayn wa 'l-baḥrayn*, "Sulṭān of the two lands and the two seas", and this was among the titles used by succeeding Ottoman rulers.

Bibliography: In addition to the commentators, J. H. Kramers, *Djughrāfiyā* in *EI*[1], Suppl.; *idem*, *Geography and Commerce*, in *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1947; *idem*, *L'influence de la tradition iranienne dans la géographie arabe* and *La littérature géographique classique des Musulmans*, in *Analecta Orientalia*, Leiden 1954; A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites*, Amsterdam 1918. (W. E. MULLIGAN)

AL-**BAḤRAYN** (officially written Bahrain) is a British protected state in the Persian Gulf consisting of an archipelago of the same name lying between the peninsula of Ḳaṭar and the mainland of Saudi Arabia, as well as another group of islands, of which Ḥuwār is the largest, just off the west coast of Ḳaṭar. The Ruler of al-Baḥrayn and the Ruler of Ḳaṭar disagree regarding the status of a small area surrounding al-Zubāra in north-western Ḳaṭar.

The variety of explanations, none of them convincing, of the name al-Baḥrayn in the Arabic sources indicates that its origin remains unknown. In pre-Islamic and early Islamic times the name applied to the mainland of Eastern Arabia, embracing the oases of al-Ḳaṭīf and Hadjar (now al-Ḥasā) [*qq.v.*]; later it was restricted to the archipelago offshore [*cf. History* below].

The largest island (Uwāl or Awāl in the older Arabic sources; now called al-Baḥrayn) is about 30 miles long and 12 miles at its greatest breadth. The capital, al-Manāma, on the northeastern coast, is connected by a causeway 1½ miles long with the town and island of al-Muḥarraḳ to the northeast. Other islands are Sitra, from which an oil loading wharf extends to deep water; al-Nabīh Ṣāliḥ; Umm al-Ṣubbān; Djidā, once a quarry and now a penitentiary; and Umm Naʿsān (also called al-Naʿsān).

The climate is hot and humid, though rainfall averages only about 7 cm. a year. A number of flowing springs (*ʿuyūn*) support an arc of relatively extensive cultivation along the coast of the northern half of the main island from al-Zallāḳ to Djaww, as well as on several of the other islands. Sweet water also bubbles up through the salt water of the Gulf from springs (*kawākib*) not far offshore. Dates, alfalfa, and vegetables are the principal crops, and some cows are kept for milking.

Geologically the island of al-Baḥrayn is an elongated anticlinal dome of sedimentary rocks. The centre of the island has a basin, 12 miles by 4, out of which the hill of al-Dukhkhān rises to a height of about 450 feet. Oil is produced here by the Bahrain Petroleum Co. (Bapco), owned by American interests. Production since 1367/1948 has averaged approximately 30,000 barrels a day, but the Bapco refinery processes over 200,000 barrels a day, most of which is crude oil shipped by submarine pipeline from Saudi Arabia. Bapco's offices and residences for foreign staff are at al-ʿAwālī.

Oil has replaced pearling as the principal industry of al-Baḥrayn. About 500 pearling boats worked out of al-Baḥrayn annually before the slump in pearl prices in 1348/1929 caused by the world-wide economic depression and the increasing use of Japanese cultured pearls. Now only a handful of boats are engaged in pearling, though fishing still affords a livelihood to many people, with most fish caught in tidal weirs. Boat building and repair and sail and net making remain minor industries, along with the manufacture of pottery, whitewash, and plaster.

A free port was opened in 1377/1958 to increase the entrepôt trade fostered by a 5% ad valorem customs rate for all but luxury items. An excellent natural harbour was created in 1375/1955 when a channel was dredged from the deep water of Khawr al-Ḳulayʿa to the open sea. The airport on al-Muḥarraḳ is served by scheduled international flights and is the headquarters of Gulf Aviation Co., in which the Government has an interest, and which flies to many points in the Persian Gulf.

The population of al-Baḥrayn in 1369/1950 was 109,650, with 61% in the towns of al-Manāma (39,648), al-Muḥarraḳ, and al-Ḥidd. There are Persian, Indian, and Pakistani communities, as well as over 2,000 Europeans and Americans. Muslims comprise 98% of the population, about half being Shīʿīs (mostly Djaʿfarī Twelvers, with some Shaykhīs) and the remainder, including the ruling family, Sunnīs (mainly Mālikīs, with some Ḥanbalīs). The Sunnīs are concentrated in the largest towns, and the Shīʿīs in the agricultural villages. The Shīʿīs here, as in al-Ḳaṭīf and al-Ḥasā in Saudi Arabia, are called *Baḥārina* (sing. *Baḥrānī*). To avoid confusion, Sunnī residents of al-Baḥrayn ordinarily now use the *nisba* *Baḥraynī* for themselves. The Shīʿīs appear to be descendants of early inhabitants of the area, and there seems to be no justification for the hypothesis that they are of Persian origin. A good number of the Sunnīs of al-Baḥrayn are Arabs or the descendants of Arabs once resident on the Persian coast; such are known as Huwala.

History

For nearly a century investigators have sought the secrets of the early history of al-Baḥrayn in the burial mounds scattered to the number of perhaps 100,000 over the northern half of the main island. In 1296/1879 Capt. E. Durand opened one of the largest tumuli and several smaller ones; others were later probed into by Mr. and Mrs. T. Bent, F. Prideaux, and P. Cornwall. E. Mackay excavated and reported on a series of different types of tumuli. Several mounds, one of which was probably a temple complex, have been studied by members of a Danish archaeological expedition which began work in 1373/1953 under P. Glob and T. Bibby. The early excavators supposed that the tombs were of Phoenician origin, but this theory is no longer generally accepted. Materials found in the mounds, as well as those found by the Danish party in other sites such as near the ruined Portuguese fort of Ḳalʿat ʿAdjādj and at Bārbār, include bronze and iron objects, seal stones, alabaster vessels, ivory fragments, and bitumen-lined clay coffins. Similar tumuli occur in central Nadjd and along the Arabian coast, where a large one at Djāwān, north of al-Ḳaṭīf, excavated in 1371/1952 by F. Vidal, has been dated *c.* A.D. 100. The multitude of mounds spread over such an area indicates the persistence of mound building over a long period of time. Many of the mounds are certainly much older than Djāwān.

Various scholars follow H. Rawlinson (*JRAS* 1880) in identifying al-Baḥrayn with Dilmun of

the Mesopotamian cuneiform records, but this identification has not been established with certainty; *e.g.*, S. Kramer (*BASOR* 1944) considers southwestern Iran the most probable location of Dilmun.

Greek and Latin sources give meagre information on the ancient mainland coast of al-Baḥrayn, where the port of Gerrha lay, the exact site of which remains undetermined. The few South Arabian inscriptions discovered so far contribute little to the history of the region before Islam.

Arab tradition speaks of some of the Lost Arabs in al-Baḥrayn. Among the early historical tribes was al-Azd of Ḳaḥṭān, many of whose members moved on to Oman; other members joined the confederation of Tanūkh, said to have been formed in al-Baḥrayn. Among later emigrants were adherents of ʿAdnānite tribes such as Tamīm, Bakr, and Taghlib, the last two of which were receptive to Christianity. At the time of the Prophet, ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] of ʿAdnān had become the dominant element in the population.

The Sāsānids, beginning with Ardashīr I, intervened in al-Baḥrayn, which was subject to a Persian *marzbān* when the Prophet sent al-ʿAlāʾ b. al Ḥaḍramī eastwards to secure the land. When the *ridda* broke out and a descendant of the Lakhmids in al-Baḥrayn rejected the Caliphate, many of ʿAbd al-Ḳays under al-Djārūd, a converted Christian, did not desert Islam, and al-ʿAlāʾ defeated the rebels at Djuwāthā in al-Ḥasā. Muslim forces crossed over to the island of Dārīn opposite al-Ḳaṭīf and possibly to Uwāl as well.

In the 1st/7th century the Khawāridj under Nadjda b. ʿĀmir and Abū Fudayk [*qq.v.*] maintained a bastion of their power in al-Baḥrayn. Christianity and Judaism had not yet died out completely; the Nestorians were still active enough to hold a synod at Dārīn in A.D. 676. ʿAbbāsid rule was introduced during the next century, but the Arabic sources fail to tell much about its extent or effectiveness.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, the inaugurator of the revolt of the Zandj [*q.v.*], a man who may have stemmed from ʿAbd al-Ḳays, embarked on his career of turbulence in al-Baḥrayn before moving on to ʿIrāḳ. In 281/894-5 Muḥammad b. Nūr, the ʿAbbāsid Governor of al-Baḥrayn, led an expedition against the Ibāḍite Imamate of Oman.

The Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*] found devoted followers among both townspeople and Bedouins in al-Baḥrayn. In 317/930 the Black Stone was brought from Mecca to al-Baḥrayn, where it was kept for two decades. A victory by al-Muntafiḳ in 378/987-8 revealed the weakness of the Ḳarmaṭians, but they were still in control when Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited al-Baḥrayn 65 years later. In 450/1057-8 Abu ʾl-Bahlūl al-ʿAwwām Ibn al-Zadjdjādj of ʿAbd al-Ḳays defied them by reestablishing orthodox Islam on Uwāl in the name of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph. The tribe of ʿĀmir Rabīʿa of ʿUḳayl [*q.v.*], guardians of the island for the Ḳarmaṭians, suffered defeat in a naval battle at Kaskūs, an island off al-Ḳaṭīf. Within the next few years the final downfall of the Ḳarmaṭians came at the hands of a new dynasty indigenous to al-Ḥasā, the ʿUyūnids [*q.v.*] of ʿAbd al-Ḳays, aided by the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ.

Although no definite date can be set for the transfer of the name al-Baḥrayn from the mainland to the nearby archipelago, from this point on it may be convenient to restrict the history of al-Baḥrayn to the islands bearing this name today.

In the early period of the ʿUyūnids, who at times kept their capital at al-Ḳaṭīf, the islands of al-Baḥrayn came under their authority. When the unruliness of ʿĀmir Rabīʿa undermined the ʿUyūnid power, al-Baḥrayn became tributary to the Ḳayṣarids of Djazīrat Ḳays [*q.v.*] in the eastern Persian Gulf. In 633/1235 al-Baḥrayn and al-Ḳaṭīf were occupied by the forces of Abū Bakr b. Saʿd, the Salghūrid Atābeg of Fārs, but in 651/1253 al-Baḥrayn regained independence under the ʿUṣfūrids [*q.v.*], a clan of ʿĀmir Rabīʿa.

The Ṭībīs, merchant princes of Djazīrat Ḳays, brought al-Baḥrayn back within the orbit of their island, but their supremacy soon faded with the rise of New Hormuz farther east. About 730/1330 Tahamtam II of Hormuz annexed both Djazīrat Ḳays and al-Baḥrayn, and some 15 years later Tūrānshāh of Hormuz came to al-Baḥrayn in person. The first mention of al-Manāma, the present capital, occurs at this time.

In the mid-9th/15th century ʿĀmir Rabīʿa produced a new dynasty, the Djabrids [*q.v.*], the foremost of whom, Adjwad b. Zāmil, incorporated al-Baḥrayn in his domains and promoted the ascendancy of the Mālikī element over the Shīʿī. The splendid reign of this Bedouin prince carried the fame of al-Baḥrayn as far afield as Egypt and Portugal.

The Portuguese reached al-Baḥrayn from the Indian Ocean as early as 920/1514, but did not seize it until a few years later, when in alliance with Hormuz they overthrew Adjwad's uncle Muḳrim. Their fitful rule of about 80 years placed much reliance on Persian Sunnīs as local governors. In the mid-10th/16th century the Ottomans challenged Portuguese hegemony in the Persian Gulf, but their admirals, better corsairs than administrators, won no permanent foothold in al-Baḥrayn.

In 1011/1602 the Persians under Shāh ʿAbbās I took al-Baḥrayn, which they retained, with certain interruptions, for over 150 years. Persian sovereignty was not always accompanied by strong Persian influence, as the instruments of policy were often chiefs of the Huwala or other Arabs settled on the Persian coast, such as Djabbāra of Ṭāhirī and Nāṣir and Naṣr Āl Madhkūr of Būshahr in the 12th/18th century.

In 1197/1783 Aḥmad b. Khalīfa of Banū ʿUtba (al-ʿUtūb), Arabs who had migrated from Nadjd to Kuwayt and thence to al-Zubāra in Ḳaṭar, drove Naṣr Āl Madhkūr from al-Baḥrayn and inaugurated the rule of the House of Khalīfa, which has endured to the present. The energetic merchants of al-Baḥrayn with their valuable pearl resources contested the primacy recently won by Muscat in the transit trade of the Persian Gulf, thus provoking attacks by the Ibāḍite rulers of Muscat during the next 45 years. The first attack, in 1216/1801, brought Āl Saʿūd of Nadjd to the defence of Āl Khalīfa, but political domination by Āl Saʿūd was not prolonged and the Mālikī proclivities of the Sunnīs of al-Baḥrayn yielded little to the Ḥanbalism of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

Āl Khalīfa in 1235/1820 concluded with the British Government the first of a series of treaties which by 1332/1914 placed al-Baḥrayn fully under British protection, giving the British control of foreign affairs and exclusive rights in the development of natural resources. The growth of British influence has been the subject of repeated Persian protests for more than a century, and the Iranian Government still presses a vigorous claim to sovereignty over al-Baḥrayn. Although the Ottomans occupied the Arab-

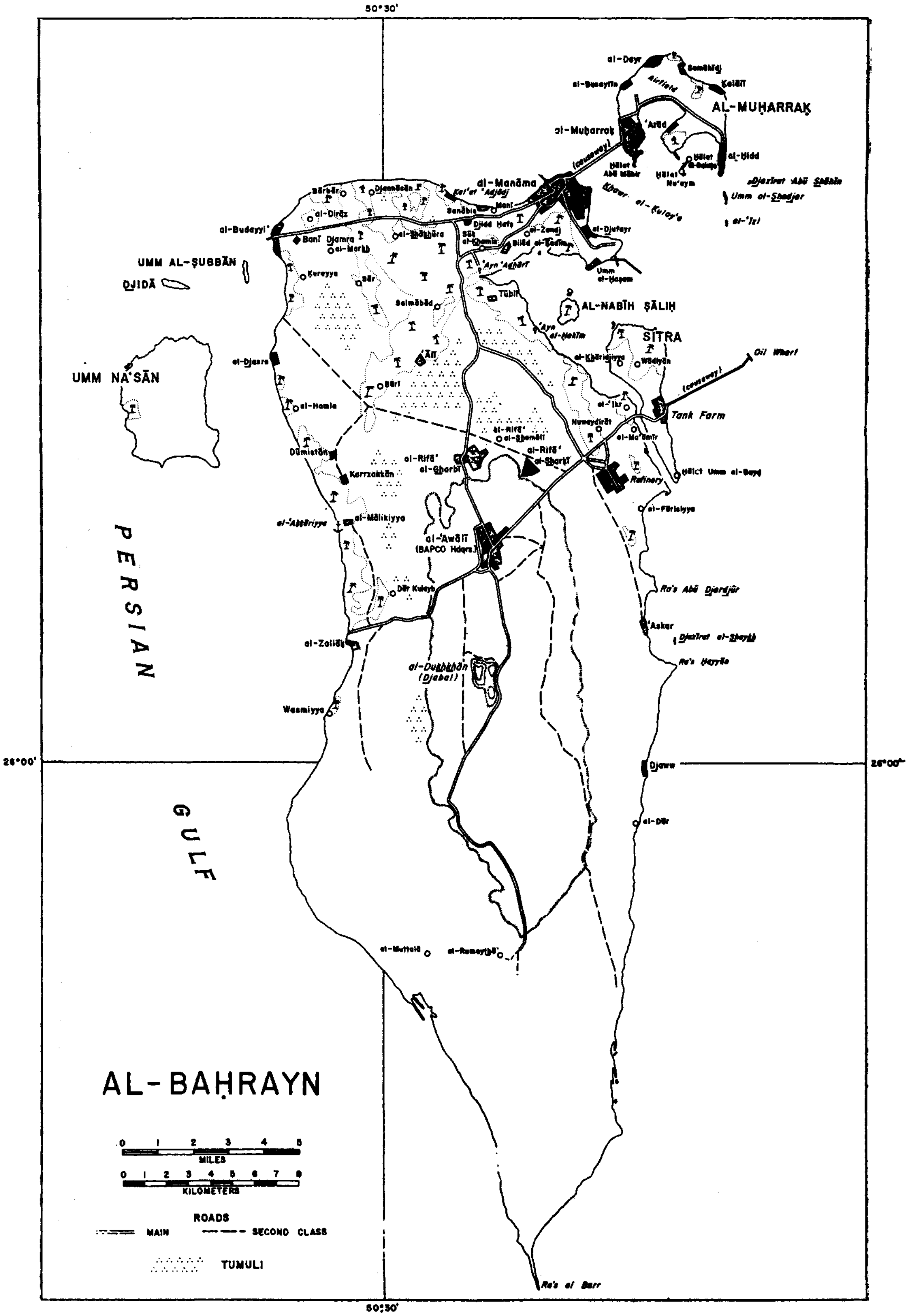
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AL-MUḤARRAḲ
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UMM AL-ṢUBBĀN
DJIDĀ
UMM NA'SĀN
al-Budayyi'
Banī Djamra
al-Dirāz
AL-NABĪH ṢĀLIḤ
SITRA
Oil Wharf
Tank Farm
Refinery
al-Rifā' al-Ṣharḳī
al-Rifā' al-Gharbī
al-'Awālī
(BAPCO Hdqrs.)
al-Dukhkhān
(Djebel)
al-Zallāḳ
Wasmiyya
Ra's Abū Djardjūr
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Djaww
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PERSIAN
GULF
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Ra's al Barr
AL-BAḤRAYN
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES
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MAIN
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ian coast and Ḳaṭar in the second half of the 13th/19th century and thus encircled al-Baḥrayn until the First World War, the presence of the British prevented them from absorbing the islands.

After an absence of over a millennium, formal Christianity returned to al-Baḥrayn in 1310/1893 when missionaries of the American Dutch Reformed Church founded a station. In 1351/1932 oil was discovered on the main island in the first of the prolific fields on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf.

From 1354/1935 to 1378/1958 al-Baḥrayn was the principal British naval base in the Gulf, and in 1365/1946 the seat of the British Political Residency in the Persian Gulf was moved from Būs̲h̲ahr to al-Baḥrayn. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Salmān b. Ḥamad, who acceded to the rule in 1361/1942, concluded an amicable agreement with King Saʿūd of Saudi Arabia in 1377/1958 fixing a marine boundary between the two countries, the first precisely defined boundary in any of the waters lapping the Arabian Peninsula.

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(G. RENTZ and W. E. MULLIGAN)

AL-BAḤRIYYA, a Mamluk regiment in Egypt. Most of the Ayyūbid sultans had mamlūks in their service, but it was only Sulṭān al-Ṣāliḥ Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Ayyūb (637-47/1240-9) who recruited them in very great numbers. He seized the opportunity of the influx in the Muslim markets of Turkish slaves from the Ḳipčāḳ steppe and neighbouring areas who were uprooted from their homelands by the Mongol advance and created from amongst them a regiment of picked bodyguards numbering between 800 and 1000 horsemen. He called this regiment al-Baḥriyya because he stationed its members on the island of al-Rawḍa on the Nile river (Baḥr al-Nīl).

The Baḥriyya displayed at a very early date all the positive and negative characteristics of a mamlūk military society, viz. exceptional military ability and valour and unity against outsiders on the one hand, and internal dissension on the other. It was they who won the battles of al-Manṣūra (647/1249) and ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt (658/1260), but six years before the last-named battle a split tore their ranks which threatened their very existence. A short time after Aybak, one of their number, became sultan they tried to dethrone him, but failed. As a result their leader, Aḳṭāy, was killed and some 700 of them had to escape from Egypt and entered the service of various Ayyūbid rulers in Syria and of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ ruler of Asia Minor.

After the death of Aybak group after group of the exiled Baḥriyya returned to Egypt, but they never regained their early position because of the ageing of their members and the thinning of their ranks. The last one of them died in 707/1307. The name Baḥriyya, however, persisted up to the 9th/15th century, for it was applied to various garrisons of the Syrian fortresses, the reason being that the original Baḥriyya performed garrison duties, especially in the reign of the Sulṭān Ḳalāʾūn.

The importance of the Baḥriyya regiment lies in the fact that its formation had ultimately led to the creation of the Mamlūk sultanate. It is wrong, however, to call the early part of Mamlūk rule (648/1250-784/1382), in which the Ḳipčāḳī element was predominant, by the name of "the Baḥrī period". The common name in Mamlūk sources for that period

is Dawlat al-Turk, to distinguish it from the Circassian period (784-922/1382-1517) which they call Dawlat al-Djarkas (see D. Ayalon, *Le régiment Bahriya dans l'Armée Mamelouke*, in RÉI 1952, 133-41).

(D. AYALON)

BAḤRIYYA, a group of oases in the Lybian desert. The Baḥriyya is the most northerly of the Lybian desert. The Wāḥāt Baḥriyya (also singular), *i.e.*, the northern oases, are distinguished from the Wāḥāt Ḳibliyya, the southern oases, *i.e.*, the Dākhla [*q.v.*] and Khārga [*q.v.*]. Between these two groups lie the little oases of Farafra (included in the Dākhla by some), or al-Farāfira, called al-Farfarūn by al-Bakrī and al-Yaʿḳūbī. The three large oases are also distinguished as inner, middle and outer; the inner is the Baḥrīyya which is also called the small. It is sometimes also called the Bahnasiyya as it used to be visited by the people of Bahnasā. Bahnasā al-Ṣaʿīd and Bahnasā al-Wāḥāt are distinguished as early as al-Bakrī (*Mughrib*, 14). According to Boinet Bey's *Dictionnaire Géographique*, the Baḥriyya is a district of the province of Minia. It contains about 6000 inhabitants, and consists of four townships: al-Bāwiṭ (ī), al-Ḳaṣr, Mandīsha, and al-Zabū.

The Baḥriyya, like the other oases, has the reputation of being exceedingly fertile and in the middle ages its dates and raisins were famous. Cereals, rice, sugar-cane and especially indigo were also cultivated there, and alum and green vitriol found, though the latter is not specially mentioned as being found in the Baḥriyya, since all the notices of this sort refer to all the oases together. The fertility of the oasis is due to hot springs containing various chemicals.

Only scanty information is available for the history of the Baḥriyya. In the year 332/943-4 the oases are said to have been under the rule of a Berber prince ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and to have been independent. Under the Fāṭimids we hear of an Egyptian governor Abū Ṣāliḥ. In the time of al-Maḳrīzī and al-Ḳalḳashandī, that is, under the Mamlūks, they were not governed directly by the state but by feudal tenants. At all periods the oases have suffered from the predatory raids of Arab and Berber nomads while the more southern ones (perhaps also the Baḥriyya?) were sometimes the object of forays by the Kings of Nubia. It is only in modern times that they have been placed in closer relationship to the Egyptian government. In the seventies they were visited by Schweinfurth and since then European travellers have often gone there.

In earlier times the oases must have been very much more important than they are now, as witness the remains of several ancient temples, built by the Romans, and of a church of the 6th century A.D. The Coptic Church appears to have been in a flourishing condition till a late period. We hear of solemn processions with the body of one of the disciples which was carried through the streets in a shrine (*tābūt*) by a team of oxen. No doubt St. Bartholomew is meant (al-Bakrī, 14 should no doubt thus be emended,) or perhaps also St. George or both.

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(C. H. BECKER)

BAḤRIYYA, I. The navy of the Arabs until the time of the Fāṭimids [see Supplement].

II. The navy of the Mamlūks. The Mamlūk sultanate came into being a long time after Christian Europe had established its uncontested naval supremacy in the Mediterranean. Throughout that sultanate's existence this supremacy had been much strengthened. Under such circumstances there was little chance for Mamlūk sea power to demonstrate its existence. Mamlūk naval activities occupy a prominent place in the sources, mainly in connexion with Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Baybars' ill-fated expedition to Cyprus in 669/1270, with Sulṭān Barsbāy's expeditions to the same island and to Rhodes in the years 827-829/1424-6, 847/1443, and with the expeditions against the Portuguese in 913/1507 and 921/1515. Otherwise such activities are mentioned only on very rare occasions. Thus it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to write the history and describe the structure and functioning of whatever navies the Mamlūks possessed. Source references to some technical aspects of Mamlūk naval power will be given in the bibliography.

The deficiency of Mamlūk sources in technical information on the navy is, however, largely compensated for by the insight they give us into the socio-psychological factors which dictated the Mamlūks' attitude towards the navy. As these factors have by no means been limited to Mamlūk society alone, their examination might be of benefit to the general history of Islam in the Middle Ages.

The two following and closely connected subjects will be briefly discussed here: (a) the attitude of the Mamlūks towards the navy and its consequences; (b) their policy towards their ports and coastal fortifications.

(a) As might be expected from a military society of horsemen the attitude of the Mamlūks towards the sea was extremely negative. Even Baybars I was no exception to this rule, in spite of his unusual grasp of wide strategical problems and in spite of the fact that he cared for the navy more than any other Mamlūk sultan and that in his days Mamlūk sea power had reached its peak. After the disaster which his flotilla suffered in 1270 off the coast of Limasol, he wrote a letter to the king of Cyprus in which he stressed the superiority of a victory on land won by horsemen over a victory on the sea won by oarsmen, and then he succinctly defined the essential difference between the might of Islam and the might of the maritime powers of Christian Europe as follows: "Your horses are ships, while our ships are horses" (*antum khuyūlukum al-marākib wa naḥnu marākibunā al-khuyūl*) (*Sulūk*, i, 594, note 3). Not less illuminating was his reaction immediately on receiving the tidings about that disaster. He thanked God for the light punishment He allowed the evil eye to inflict upon him after having won so many victories. For all he had to sacrifice in order to save his land army from the evil eye was a certain number of ships and their crews, which were composed of fellahin and of common people (*al-fallāḥīn wa 'l-ʿawāmm*) (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 194, 11. 24-29; *Sulūk*, i, 594, 11. 2-3; *al-Nahdj al-Sadīd*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xii, 542, 11. 2-5). There can hardly be any doubt that elements of higher social status than the two above-mentioned ones served in the navy as well,

but in all probability they did not include the Mamlūks, who occupied the highest rung in the social ladder. When Baybars' flotilla was wrecked off Limasol, the Franks succeeded in capturing the whole naval command of the Mamlūk sultanate, including the captains (*rayyis*) of all the three Egyptian ports: Alexandria, Damietta and Rosetta. A very long list of the prisoners' names had been preserved in Ibn S̲h̲addād al-Ḥalabī's famous biography of Baybars (Edirne, Selimiye, 1557, chronicle of the year 673 A.H. cf. the Turkish translation by Şerefüddin Yaltkaya, Istanbul 1941, 46, where however the list of names is omitted). This list does not contain a single name of a Mamlūk. Of all the prisoners not even one was considered important enough to be honoured with a biography. Nor is that all: Mamlūk historical literature contains many thousands of biographies, none of which is dedicated to a naval commander. Al-Maḳrīzī's statement that the designation *usṭūlī* ("man of the navy") was considered an insult in the Ayyūbid period after Saladin's reign (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 197, 11. 2-2) is true for the Mamlūk period as well.

The scarcity of wood and metals also greatly contributed to the weakness of Mamlūk sea power. The "forests" of Egypt, always covering only a small area, practically disappeared under Mamlūk rule as a result of neglect. In north-western Syria and in the vicinity of Beirut there were small forests which supplied wood for shipbuilding. From about the middle of the 9th/15th century the Mamlūks imported great quantities of timber from Ild̲j̲ūn in south-eastern Anatolia, which they carried in their own ships under the protection of heavy escorts of Mamlūk soldiers. The contemporary sources hardly mention imports of timber from Europe, which must however, have been considerable.

The only source of iron-ore in the whole Mamlūk sultanate was a small mine located near Beirut, the output of which was mainly absorbed by the local shipyard. Other metals were not to be found at all within the sultanate's boundaries.

Yet in spite of the great handicap caused to shipbuilding by the scarcity or absence of raw materials, this factor was only of secondary importance compared with the Mamlūks' aversion to the sea.

As a matter of fact a permanent Mamlūk navy did not exist at all. Whenever a flotilla was constructed, it was only to exact reprisals for a very damaging and humiliating act of aggression by the Frankish corsairs. When a new flotilla was built, the older one had already ceased to exist for a very long time. Under such circumstances it was impossible to maintain a naval personnel worthy of its name. No wonder, therefore, that the Franks attacked the coasts of Islam at will and got away unscathed. The attacks usually caught the Muslims unawares, and when they did sound the alarm it was, in most cases, a false one.

With the advance of the years Mamlūk sea power became even more insignificant, not only because of the general decline of the realm, but also—and mainly—because of the increasing employment of firearms in sea warfare. In the Mediterranean, the pressure of the Franks on the Muslim shores was greatly intensified. In the Indian Ocean small squadrons of a new type of ocean-going Portuguese ships armed with superior artillery easily annihilated the Mamlūk warships sent against them, and thus paved the way for European domination of the sea routes to India and the Far East for many centuries.

(b) The steadily deteriorating naval power of Islam drove the Muslims after many hesitations to the destruction of the Syro-Palestinian ports and coastal fortifications. As a result of the Crusades, the Muslims came slowly to realise that this was their only alternative. The destruction was started by the Ayyūbids, but was mainly accomplished by the Mamlūks. The turning-point was the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (583/1187) and the events which followed it in the next few years. These proved to the Muslims that however decisive their victory over the Franks might be on land, the Franks could always easily turn the tables upon them by means of their naval supremacy. ʿAsḳalān, destroyed by the personal order of Saladin in 587/1191, was the first victim of that policy, which was followed up after that with unswerving determination.

When the Mamlūks rose to power, they wiped out one after the other the fortifications of the Syro-Palestininian coast, and destroyed many of its ports from about the middle of the 13th century and up to the year 722/1322, in which Ayās near Alexandretta had been conquered. Of the numerous coastal fortresses (*ḳilāʿ*, sing. *ḳalʿa*) none was left. A few towers (*burūd̲j̲*, sing. *burd̲j̲*) were constructed on the ruins of some of them, mainly in order to keep watch on the sea and resist the first onslaught of a possible Frankish attack.

In addition, the Mamlūks tried to strengthen their coastal defences by settling near the coast Kurds, K̲h̲wārizmians, Turcomans, Oirats, etc., who sought refuge in the sultanate and were called *Wāfidiyya*. This attempt, however, failed, generally speaking, for the *Wāfidiyya* soon assimilated with the local population and disappeared as a separate entity. Only the Turcomans are mentioned for quite a long period as guardians of the coast.

The port-towns of the Syro-Palestinian coast declined very greatly. Some of them entirely disappeared, others became small fishing ports and only very few recovered fairly quickly.

The most thoroughly destroyed and the most desolate part of the coast was the section stretching from the south of Sidon and up to al-ʿArīs̲h̲, *i.e.*, roughly speaking the shores of Palestine. ʿAsḳalān, Arsūf, Caesarea and ʿAt̲h̲līt̲h̲, remained in ruins up to recent times. The revival of Haifa started many years after Mamlūk reign, whereas Jaffa and Acre were only insignificant hamlets under Mamlūk and early Ottoman rule. The nearness of that part of the coast to Jerusalem and the flatness and comparative wideness of the plain adjoining it—which make it an ideal area for landing troops from the sea—were undoubtedly the main reasons for its thorough destruction.

The only towns which recovered from the blow fairly quickly were Beirut and Tripoli, but their defences were far weaker than those which they had had in the past. Thanks to the historian Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, we know much more about Beirut's system of defence than about that of any other Syro-Palestinian port. The picture revealed of the weakness of that system is very depressing indeed (*Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bayrūt*, 28-42, 45, 67-9, 90-4, 100-112, 134, 168, etc.).

The Egyptian coast, on the other hand, was left almost intact. In the first half of the 13th century Tinnīs was permanently destroyed, but Damietta was very soon rebuilt after having been destroyed. The reason for the preservation of the Egyptian ports and coastal fortifications were: first, that Egypt was invaded by the Crusaders only for very short periods; second, that trade with the outside world was vital

for the country's existence (economic considerations undoubtedly played a decisive rôle in the revival of Beirut and Tripoli as well); third, all the picked units of the Mamlūk army were concentrated in Egypt (or more precisely in Cairo). They could easily be rushed from the capital to any point on the Egyptian coast.

From the above it should not be concluded that the Mamlūks devoted much of their attention to the Egyptian coast. Alexandria and the other Egyptian ports were garrisoned by third-rate troops, including members of the declining non-Mamlūk regiment of the *ḥalḳa* and Bedouins of the neighbourhood, equipped with most primitive weapons. When the Royal Mamlūks were forced to garrison these ports in times of great danger, they stayed there only for very short periods. Even the most severe blow which the Franks inflicted on Alexandria in 1365 did not bring about any substantial change in its system of defence.

In the inner parts of their realm, and I mean mainly the mountain region of Syria and Palestine, the Mamlūks pursued a totally different policy. There they rebuilt systematically the fortresses which were damaged or destroyed either by the Mongols or as a result of the fighting with the Crusaders. The term *ḳalʿa*, which has entirely disappeared from the coast, is encountered very frequently in the interior even in remote and little known places.

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iii. The Ottoman navy. From the foundation of the Ottoman state to the time of Bāyazīd I (1389-1402), the sea of Marmara and part of the Aegean seaboard lay within its boundaries. For the crossing into Rumelia, use had been made of transports belonging to the principality of Ḳarasi, stationed on the coast of the Ḳapıdaghı peninsula. The need for a fleet was felt in the first years of Bāyazīd's reign, when by occupying the principalities of Ṣārūkhān, Aydin, and Menteshe, which held the coast-lands of western Asia Minor, he reached the Mediterranean. The fleets of the occupied principalities were utilised, and at the same time an arsenal was established at Gallipoli, and naval activity began in the Aegean. Gallipoli was ranked as a *sandjaḳ* and became the centre of the Ottoman admiralty. Subsequently a number of other *sandjaḳs* were added to it, to form the *eyālet* of the Ḳaptan (Kapudan) Pasha. Ships were built not only at Gallipoli but also on the shores of the sea of Marmara, the Aegean and at some points on the Black Sea coast, and naval activity increased.

The first Ottoman sea-battle occurred in 819/1416, against the Venetians, the Ottoman Ḳaptan Pasha being Čalı Bey, *sandjaḳ beyi* of Gallipoli. In this battle, which took place between the island of Marmara and Gallipoli, the Ottoman navy was defeated and Čalı Bey was killed, while the Venetian admiral Pietro Loredano was wounded in the eye. The following year peace was made, through the mediation of the Byzantine emperor.

After this the Ottoman navy steadily progressed. First it brought under its influence some off-shore islands in the Aegean that had been colonised by the Genoese, and later, in 860/1456, it took the harbour of Enez and the islands of Imbros, Thasos, Samothrace, and Lemnos, and in 866/1462 Lesbos. Shortly after this date there began the series of hard-fought battles with Venice. The island of Euboea, an important Venetian base, was taken in 815/1470, and the Ionian islands in the last years of the reign of Meḥemmed II.

The Ottoman empire was already making its naval strength felt when Khayr al-Dīn ('Barbarossa'), the Bey of Algiers, entered its service. His skill brought it to the highest degree of maritime power, and with the battle of Preveza (4 Djum. I, 2 September 1538) it won the mastery of the Mediterranean. Defeat at Lepanto (979/1571) cost the Ottoman empire its fleet, but thanks to the *odjaḳlıḳ* system (whereby a given region was responsible for supplying an arsenal with

one particular ship-building commodity; *e.g.*, the island of Thasos had to provide pine-wood for the ship-yards of Lemnos: see I. H. Uzunçarşili, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı* Ankara 1948, especially footnote to p. 449), a new fleet was created in so short a time as five months, and with the help of this the Venetians were compelled to make peace and sign a — for them — inglorious treaty.

Towards the end of the 16th century, the Ottoman fleet was weakened by the haphazard appointment of men with no naval experience to the *ḳaptan-pas̲h̲alik*, the command of the naval forces. From the beginning of the 17th century the Venetian fleet replaced its oar-driven galleys by sailing galleons, while the Ottoman navy persisted in the use of oars. Partly for this reason and partly because the ships' crews were pressed men with no interest in seafaring, it had so little success that the islands of Tenedos and Lemnos fell into enemy hands.

Eventually, in 1682, during the grand vizierate of Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a of Merzifon (1676-83), the principle was accepted that sailing galleons should form the basis of the fleet (a principle that had long been applied by the navy of Algiers, an Ottoman dependency). Thus a balance was achieved with the Venetians in the Mediterranean, and in 1106/1695 the island of Chios was recovered from them. A *ḳānūn* relating to galleons, their commanders and crews, was promulgated in 1701.

During the 2nd half of the 18th century no battle was fought against the Venetians, whose power had weakened, but the main naval activity in the western Mediterranean passed to the French and English fleets. In the course of the Russo-Turkish war which began in 1182/1768, the Russian fleet, which the English had developed in the Baltic, entered the Mediterranean and in 1184/1770 succeeded in virtually annihilating the Ottoman fleet in the harbour of Čes̲h̲me. After the treaty of Küčük Ḳaynard̲j̲a in 1188/1774, prominence was given to naval matters, and a school of engineering was opened in the Arsenal, staffed by experts brought from Europe. In the reign of Selīm III (1789-1807) great importance was attached to equipping the fleet by up-to-date methods, as a result of the zeal of Küčük Ḥusayn Pas̲h̲a. The school of naval engineering was enlarged, and a school of military engineering founded. In the reign of Maḥmūd II (1808-39) the navy was not neglected, but a variety of causes, internal and external, impeded its development. Nevertheless training was given at the school of naval engineering to commanders and naval architects. As a result of the revolt of the Peloponnese, and the help afforded to the rebels by Britain, France, and Russia, the Ottoman fleet was destroyed in Navarino Bay in 1243/1827. Despite this disaster naval activity did not cease, and in 1244/1828 a naval academy was opened on Heybeliada. The Ottoman navy attained a position of strength during the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-76), in consequence of the importance attached to it, as also to the army, by this sultan. In the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909) however, the fleet, that had been built up with great enthusiasm, fell into neglect, as part of the prevailing remissness; in the result, the Ottoman empire, which had long coastlines on three continents, suffered severe territorial losses.

In the period of oared vessels, the principal types of Ottoman ships were the *ḳādirg̲h̲a* (galley), *ḳālite* (galliot), and *firḳate* (frigate). The individual commanders were known as *reʾis*, squadron-commanders as *ḳaptan*, and the commander-in-chief of the fleet as *Ḳapudān-i deryā*. The great galley of the *Ḳapudān-i deryā* or Ḳaptan Pas̲h̲a was called *bas̲h̲tarda*. The *ḳādirg̲h̲as* were of two classes: *k̲h̲āṣṣa ḳadirg̲h̲alari* and *bey ḳādirg̲h̲alari*. The former were constructed by the government, the latter by the *sand̲j̲aḳ beyis* of the *eyālet* of the Ḳaptan Pas̲h̲a.

After the introduction of sailing vessels as the basis of the fleet, it was entrusted to three admirals under the *Ḳapudān-i deryā*. They were, in order of seniority, the *ḳapudāna* (Admiral), the *patrona* (Vice-Admiral), and the *riyāle* (Rear Admiral). The principal sailing vessels, in descending order of size, were the *ḳurvet*, the *firḳateyn*, and two kinds of galleon known as the *iki ambarli ḳapaḳ* and the *üč ambarli*. The crews of galleons were called *ḳalyond̲j̲u*, and included *aylaḳd̲j̲is* (temporary sailors), *marinars* (who were prisoners of war), *g̲h̲abyars* (who attended to the sails), *ṣanʿatkārs* (craftsmen: painters, carpenters, blacksmiths, caulkers), and *sudag̲h̲abos* (gunners).

Next in rank to the Kaptan Pas̲h̲a in the Istanbul arsenal came the *tersāne ketk̲h̲udāsi* and the *tersāne emini*, and after them officers of the second and third rank. The accountant of the arsenal had the title of *D̲j̲ānib efendi*. Till the introduction of sail, the *tersāne ketk̲h̲udāsi* ranked as Vice Admiral and occupied himself with the discipline of the arsenal. The *tersāne emini* was trained at the Bāb-i ʿĀlī and had control of supplies, income, and expenditure for the fleet and arsenal. This office was abolished in 1830 and its duties were entrusted to the Kaptan Pas̲h̲a.

In 1841 new ranks were instituted for both army and navy. In 1851 the Navy Ministry (*baḥriyye neẓāreti*) was created, with charge of the financial and administrative functions formerly exercised by the *tersāne emini*. The title of *Ḳapudān-i deryā* was abolished and a fleet command council was set up. In June 1876 the title of *Ḳapudān-i deryā* was restored. Finally, in 1881, the offices of minister and commander-in-chief of the navy were combined in one man, of the rank of *müs̲h̲īr*. This arrangement continued till the end of the Ottoman empire.

In 1922, after the establishment of the government of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara, the Navy Ministry (*baḥriyye vekāleti*) was formed. In 1927, when this ministry was abolished, naval affairs were made the responsibility of the Ministry of National Defence, and have since been administered by a department headed by a permanent undersecretary (*müstes̲h̲ar*).

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1928; P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*, Istanbul 1934, index (s v. korsaren); J. Deny, *Riyāla*, in *EI*[1]; Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, letter 20. (I. H. Uzunçarşılı)

BAḤSHAL, Aslam b. Sahl al-Wāsiṭī al-Razzāz, author of a History of Wāsiṭ. Nothing is known of his life except the names of some of his authorities, among them Wahb b. Baḳiyya (155-239/772-853), supposedly his maternal grandfather (but cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 488₁₋₄), and the approximate date of his death, between 288/901 and 292/904-05.

The History of Wāsiṭ has come down to us in an incomplete manuscript in Cairo (Taymūr, *ta'rīkh* no. 1483) which had an interesting history and possesses considerable association value. It is the oldest preserved history intended to serve as an aid for *ḥadīth* scholars in evaluating the reliability of transmitters. Starting with a rather brief discussion of the early history of Wāsiṭ and its environs, it deals with the religious scholars who had some connexion with Wāsiṭ and were also linked to the author by an uninterrupted chain of transmitters. The biographies are arranged chronologically according to generations of scholars (here *ḳarn*, for the more common *ṭabaḳa* "class"). They contain little personal information but restrict themselves as a rule to the name of the scholar, his authorities and students, and one (and, occasionally, more than one) of the traditions he transmitted. The work represents, if not the beginnings, at least an early simple stage of what was soon to become one of the most elaborate types of historico-biographical literature in Islam.

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BAḤTH, infinitive of the Arabic root *b.ḥ.th*; from its original meaning, "to rake, to dig, to turn over soil (in order to search for something)", there later developed its meaning of "to look for, examine, consider", in the intellectual and speculative sense. *Baḥatha* became in this respect almost a synonym of *naẓara*, and, in fact, the two terms *baḥth* and *naẓar* are often found in association (*e.g.*, Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 368; *ahl al-baḥth wa'l-naẓar*, "specialists in philosophic inquiry and controversy"). A *Kitāb al-Baḥth* formed part of the corpus of writings attributed to Djābir b. Ḥayyān, who dates from the 3rd/9th century (cf. Brockelmann SI, 429). Since that time, *baḥth*, with its plural *abḥāth*, appears in the titles of numerous works precisely in the sense of "study, examination, inquiry" (also in the form *mabḥath*, pl. *mabāḥith*, which denotes not only the object of the inquiry but the inquiry itself) and in this strengthened form it is often used in modern Arabic, in the technical and scientific sense of "study": *e.g.*, *Mabāḥith 'arabiyya* of Bishr Fāris, Cairo 1939. (F. Gabrieli)

BAHURASĪR [see al-madā'in].

al-**BAHŪTĪ**. Shaykh Manṣūr b. Yūnus al-Bahūtī, frequently referred to by the name of al-Bahūtī al-Miṣrī, is usually considered as one of the most eminent doctors of Ḥanbalism in the first half of the 11th/17th century, and also as the last major representative of this school in Egypt. A native of the village of Bahūt in the Mudīriyya Gharbiyya, al-Bahūtī belonged to a family which gave several other *'ulamā'*, who enjoyed a certain notoriety, to Ḥanbalism. The following are cited among the best known of his teachers: Muḥammad al-Mardāwī (died 1026/1617) *Mukhtaṣar*, 96), also an Egyptian Ḥanbalī, and the traditionist and lawyer 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bahūtī (*Mukhtaṣar*, 104), who was reputed to be well versed in the four major schools of *fiḳh*. Manṣūr al-Bahūtī also counted a Shāfi'ī among his teachers, 'Abd Allāh al-Danawsharī. Little is known of his life, except that he devoted himself in Cairo to teaching *fiḳh* and that he gave numerous legal opinions (*fatāwā*). His biographers praise his devotion and his charitable disposition. His teaching appears to have enjoyed great success; numerous students came to him for their training, in fact not only from Egypt, but from Syria and Palestine as well. Among his chief disciples two members of his own family are cited, Muḥammad al-Bahūtī and Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Surūr al-Bahūtī, and the Syrian Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣāliḥī. He died in Cairo in Rabī' II/105/July 1641, apparently at a very advanced age, and was buried in the *turba* of the *Mudjāwirūn*.

Manṣūr al-Bahūtī's work, which is still used today in Egypt for teaching Ḥanbalism, is devoid of any great originality on the part of the author. It stands, in the history of Ḥanbalism, as a prolongation of the work of Mūsā al-Ḥudjāwī (died 968/1560) (cf. Brockelmann, II, 325 and *S* II, 447) and that of Shaykh Taḳī al-Dīn al-Futūḥī, better known under the name of Ibn al-Nadjdjār (died about 980/1572) (cf. Brockelmann, *S* ii, 447). The Palestinian al-Ḥudjāwī, who was *muftī* in Damascus where he taught at the 'Umariyya and at the Mosque of the Umayyads, had composed a resumé of the *Muḳni'* of Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (died 620/1222), under the title of *Zād al-Mustanḳi'*, and a manual of Law, the *Iḳnā'*, which has become a classic in Ḥanbalism of the late period. Muḥammad al-Bahūtī wrote a commentary on the first of these works with the title *al-Rawḍ al-Murbi' bi-Sharḥ Zād al-Mustanḳi'* (Cairo 1352, 2 vols.). He also left a commentary on the *Iḳnā'* (published at Cairo in three volumes). Shaykh Tādj al-Dīn al-Futūḥī, who received his training in Cairo, combined the *Muḳni'* of Muwaffaḳ b. Ḳudāma and the *Tanḳīḥ* of Ḥasan al-Mardāwī (died 910/1504-5; *Mukhtaṣar*, 77-78), in a single manual entitled *al-Muntahā*, which speedily achieved considerable success. We are also indebted to Manṣūr al-Bahūtī for a *sharḥ* on the *Muntahā* (Cairo, 3 vol.) and for a *ḥāshiya*, gloss on the same text.

He also wrote a commentary on the *Mufradāt* of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Maḳdisī (died 820/1417; *Mukhtaṣar*, 65), a long poem in which the points of doctrine peculiar to Ḥanbalism are expounded. This commentary was published at Cairo, by the Salafiyya press, in 1343/1924 (and the actual text was again reprinted by the same publishers the following year, with brief notes taken from al-Bahūtī's commentary). Lastly, a commentary on the *Muḳni'* is attributed to him (cf. *RAAD*, xii, 631).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the body of the article: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar fī A'yān al-Ḳarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar*, Būlāḳ n.d., iv, 426; Djamīl al-Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus 1339, 104-106; Brockelmann, II, 447; H. Laoust, *Le Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, liii. (H. Laoust)

BAHW, an Arabic word primarily designating an empty and spacious place extending between two objects which confine it, has acquired, in the architecture of the Western Muslim World,

somewhat varied meanings, which are, however, related to the intial meaning of the word.

To this primary sense of the term, the *Lisān al-ʿArab* adds the following apparently derivative meaning: *bahw* is a tent or pavilion chamber situated beyond the rest, which suggests the idea of a pavilion differing from that which it preceeds both in situation and by its spaciousness and height.

One of the first examples of the use of the word which enables us to determine its meaning, is to be found in the description of the great mosque of al-Ḳayrawān by al-Bakrī. He speaks of the *Ḳubbat bāb al-bahw*, which de Slane translates: "Cupola of the door of the pavilion". We have no difficulty in identifying this cupola as the one which rises before the hypostyle chamber, in the middle of the narthex gallery opening on to the courtyard; it would, however, seem more appropriate to translate: "Cupola of the door of the central nave" and to recognise in *bahw* the term designating the axial nave leading to the *miḥrāb*, which differs clearly from the others by its spaciousness, its being closed by the largest door and preceded by the cupola.

The arrangement of the naves at right angles to the wall of the *ḳibla* and the adoption of a main nave occupying the centre, an arrangement which we are amply justified in considering as being inspired by pagan and Christian basilicas, is mainly encountered in the West, which explains why *bahw* almost exclusively belongs to the vocabulary of Western Muslim Architecture. Attested in al-Ḳayrawān in the 5th/11th century, the term is still used at Tunis to designate the central nave of the great mosque. The name *Bāb al-buhūr* given to the door preceding this nave is a most likely corruption of the original term.

In Spain, the term *bahw* seems to be less strictly used. It is to be found in the description given by al-Maḳḳarī of the Umayyad palace built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. The main building of the palace comprised 5 naves extending lengthways. The central nave, larger than the other four, was closed by a door called *bāb al-bahw*. The throne of the sovereign was situated at the end of this nave and there he gave audience. There it was that al-Ḥakam II received King Ordono IV and caused him to be seated before him. However, the adjoining naves, also comprised in the ceremonial chamber, seem to have been to some extent confused with the central nave and are also at times referred to by the term *bahw*.

This confusion is emphasised by Ibn Bas̲h̲kuwāl, quoted by al-Maḳḳarī in relation to the great mosque of Cordova. Ibn Bas̲h̲kuwāl applies the word *bahw* to the 19 naves of the great mosque as an exception, being careful to add that they are normally called *balāṭ*, which is in fact the term most usually applied to the naves of a mosque. Al-Maḳḳarī, describing the mosque of Ucles, refers to the central nave by the expression *al-balāṭ al-awsaṭ*.

The sense of a nave extending lengthways and playing the role of a ceremonial chamber, as suggested by the description of the Umayyad palace, explains the use of *bahw* to indicate an audience chamber. There were two such chambers in the palace of Cordova to which Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb applies this term. According to al-Tid̲j̲ānī, at Gabès, in the castle built by Ibn Makkī, an audience chamber was provided with a *bahw* where the master of the palace was seated. We naturally identify this place of honour with the *iwān*, the central alcove, of Mesopotamian origin, which is to be encountered in the houses of Fusṭāṭ of the Ṭūlūnid period and which was likewise known to Eastern Barbary from the 4th/10th century. This deep recess, the place of honour, set into the back wall of a large chamber, still exists in Tunisian and Algerian houses: in Tunisia it bears the name *ḳbū*, in Algeria, however, the name *bahw* seems to be not unknown.

Bibliography: See especially the very complete work by A. Dessus Lamare, *Étude sur le bahwu, organe d'architecture musulmane*, in *JA* 1936, ii, 529-547. Main sources: Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. and trans. de Slane, 1912-191; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ed. Dozy, Dugat, Krehl and Wright, i, 1251 ff.; Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1319/1901-2. (G. Marçais)

BAIKAL, in eastern Turkish (by folk-etymology) *Bai kül*, 'the rich lake'; in Mongolian *Dalai nor*, 'the ocean lake'; the deepest lake (1741 m.), and the largest mountain lake in the world, between 51° 29′ and 55° 46′ north, and 103° 44′ and 110° 40′ east, surrounded by high mountain ranges, 635 km. long, and varying from 15 to 79 km wide, with an area of 31,500 sq. km. Flowing into it are the Selenga, the Barguzin and the upper Angara, and flowing out is the Angara at Yenisey. The Lake Baikal railway (307 km. long, with 40 tunnels) — a branch of the Trans-Siberian railway — was completed round the southern part of it (between the Angara exit and the Selenga delta) in autumn 1904.

It appears that Lake Baikal was not known to Muslim geographers in Mongol times. It is mentioned only by Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Tawārīk̲h̲* (ed. Berezin iii 180) (Trudl Vost. otd. Imp. Ark̲h̲eol. Ob-va XIII). Here, the people living on its shores are called Barḳūt (-*t* is the Mongol plural ending), and the region around it Barḳūd̲j̲īn (Tūkūm), which is recalled by the river Barguzin. The lake became known in Russia in the first half of the 17th century, and in western Europe shortly afterwards.

Bibliography: Brockhaus-Efron, *Enciklop. Slovarʾ* II A (= 4) 715 17; *Bolʾs̲h̲aya Sovetskaya Enciklopediya* [2], IV (1950) 49-52 (both geographical, with further geographical bibliography); H. Johansen: *Der Baikal-See* in *Mitt. Geogr. Ges. München* xviii/I, 1925, 1-202; W. Leimbach: *Die Sowjetunion* (1950), 116-18; Th. Shabad: *Geography of the USSR* (1951), Reg. *Map*: *Bolʾs̲h̲aya Sov. Encikl.* and Leimbach. (B. Spuler)

BAILO [see bālyōs].

al-**BAʿĪT̲H̲**, nickname of a satirical poet of Baṣra named K̲h̲idās̲h̲ b. Bis̲h̲r al-Mud̲j̲ās̲h̲iʿī. Though held to be the greatest orator of the Tamīm, Ibn Sallām places him in the second class of the great Islamic poets. The critics, however, consider that his relative obscurity was only due to the renown of D̲j̲arīr; al-Baʿīt̲h̲'s activity is in fact associated with that of the two rivals D̲j̲arīr and al-Farazdaḳ: for many years he exchanged invectives with the former, but was obliged to call the latter to his assistance, who, moreover, does not always treat him gently (he also refers to him by the nickname *Ibn ḥamrāʾ al-ʿid̲j̲ān* "son of the woman with the red perineum", an allusion to his mother's humble origin; she was a slave from Sid̲j̲istān). Yāḳūt places his death in 134/752, but as he adds: "during the Caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik" (who reigned from 88 to 98/705-15), this date cannot be given credence.

Bibliography: D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, ed. S̲h̲ākir, 472-3; *Naḳāʾiḍ D̲j̲arīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, passim; *Dīwāns* of D̲j̲arīr and Farazdaḳ, passim; Ibn Sallām,

Ṭabaḳāt, index; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 147; Ibn ʿAsākir, v, 122-4; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 56, 108; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 52-5; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

BAḲĀʾ WA-FANĀʾ. The Ṣūfic terms *fanāʾ* (passing-away, effacement) and *baḳāʾ* (subsistence, survival), refer to the stages of the development of the mystic in the path of gnosis. These categories, partly antithetical and partly complementary, are more or less equivalents of such other pairs as *sukr* (intoxication) and *ṣaḥw* (sobriety), *djamʿ* or *waḥda* (unity) and *tafriḳa* or *kathra* (separation, plurality), and *nafy* (negation) and *ithbāt* (affirmation).

The doctrine has been developed especially since the execution, in Baghdād in A.D. 922, of al-Ḥallādj who declared "I am God", when the Ṣūfīs turned to the task of a more sober description of the mystic experience in an effort to exonerate al-Ḥallādj from the un-Islamic idea of identifying the human ego with God and to demonstrate that Ṣūfism was not only truly Islamic but is the true Islam. Even though some Ṣūfīs, in their moment of ecstasy, have not been able to guard against utterances similar to that of al-Ḥallādj, especially in their poetry, they have usually categorically denied both the incarnation of God in man and the total mergence of the individual and finite human ego in God. Two allied definitions have been offered of *fanāʾ*: (1) the passing-away from the consciousness of the mystic of all things, including himself, and even the absence of the consciousness of this passing-away and its replacement by a pure consciousness of God, and (2) the annihilation of the imperfect attributes (as distinguished from the substance) of the creature and their replacement by the perfect attributes bestowed by God. It is quite obvious that *fanāʾ*, unlike the Indian Nirvana, is not a mere cessation of individual life, but the development of a more ample and perfect selfhood, thanks to the utter change of attributes wrought by the influence of God, and is more like the Greek ἐκστᾶσις, provided one guards against the total fusion of man and God.

Accordingly, *baḳāʾ*, keeping the two definitions of *fanāʾ* in view, means (1) persistence in the new divinely bestowed attributes (*baḳāʾ biʾllāh*), and (2) a return to the mystic's consciousness of the plurality of the creaturaly world. The second follows from the first, since being with God means also being with the world which has been created by God and in which He is manifested, however imperfectly. The Ṣūfīs generally regard this state of *baḳāʾ* as being more perfect than that of mere *fanāʾ* and this is the meaning of their dictum that sobriety supervenes on intoxication. This "return" to the world—which is, they emphatically state, not a simple return to the pre-*fanāʾ* state of the mystic, since his experience has given him an altogether new insight—means to perceive its inadequacies and to endeavour to make it more perfect.

The doctrine of *baḳāʾ* throws into bold relief the distinction between the mystic and the prophetic consciousness. Whereas the ordinary mystic stops at *fanāʾ* and does not even wish to return to the world, it is the function of the prophet—the mystic par excellence,—to be constantly both with God and with the world, to transmute the course of history through the implementation of the religio-moral divine Truth.

Bibliography: Besides the works of the Ṣūfīs—of which the *K. al-Lumaʿ* of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj and the *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb* of al-Hudjwīrī, are the most important on the subject, the most helpful account in any Western language is in R. A. Nicholson's *The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914, especially the last chapter. According to al-Hudjwīrī, the author of the doctrine was Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz, but it was further developed by Djunayd and others no doubt under the criticism of the orthodoxy. A radical, forceful and lucid statement was developed, as a criticism of Ibn al-ʿArabī, by the 17th century Indian Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī whose Persian *Maktūbāt* have not been studied at all in the West.

(F. RAHMAN)

AL-BAḲʿA [see AL-BIḲĀʿ].

BĀḲALAMŪN [see ABŪ ḲALAMŪN].

BAḲAR. In medieval Arabic literature, the term is not confined to the prevalent meaning of *cattle* (*bos*), in contrast to more recent usage and to the application of corresponding forms in other Semitic languages. Arab authors distinguish between the domestic kind, *baḳar ahlī* (= cattle), and the wild kind, *baḳar waḥshī*, the latter being variously identified, either with the *mahā* (*Oryx beatrix*; Nuwayrī, ix, 322) or the *ayyil* ([*q.v.*]; so according to the description in Ḳazwīnī) or with a group of animals (referred to by Lane, 234, as *bovine antelopes*) which comprises, according to Damīrī, in addition to these two species, also the *yaḥmūr* (roedeer) and the *thaytal* (bubale antelope). The distinctive epithet, however, is not always added, so that *baḳar* alone (or its nom. unit. *baḳara*) may also stand for several wild animals. This applies, for instance, to ancient Arabic poetry (see, e.g., Djāḥiẓ, v, 218[2]) and its commentaries, to the respective data in the dictionaries (Ibn Sīda treats *baḳar* in the *Kitāb al-Wuḥūsh*!) and even to zoological writings (*e.g.*, Djāḥiẓ, ii, 199[9]; iv, 399[3]). In works on the solution of dreams, where *baḳar* holds an important place, it is difficult to determine the exact meaning in every case. Different traditions seem to have been intermingled also in pharmacological works. Here, the horns of *baḳar* are frequently mentioned, while some Arab authors describe the *baḳar ahlī* as a hornless animal. In the Ḳurʾān, where the term mainly occurs in biblical tales, the meaning is always cattle or cow. In addition, the term is found in ancient proverbs and in the *ḥadīth*.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Taʿṭīr al-Anām*, s.v.; Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 160, 164-66, 169-70, ii, 30 (transl. L. Kopf, *Osiris* xii [1956], 463 [index]); ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-Ḥikma* (Siddiqi), 421 ff.; Damīrī, s.v. (transl. Jayakar i, 315 ff, 327 ff); Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], index; Hommel, *Säugethiere*, index s.v. *Rindvieh*; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Filāḥa* (transl. Clément-Mullet), ii/b, 1 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 70, 75, 81, 94 (transl. Kopf, 43, 50, 57, 70); Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, 105 ff.; Dāʾūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1324, i, 74 f.; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 32 ff.; Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab al-Kalām*, bāb 33; Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, bāb 62, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 380 ff.; Malouf, *Arabic Zool. Dict.*, Cairo 1932, index; Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Stephenson), 4 f.; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ix, 322, x, 120 ff., A. D. Carruthers, *Arabian Adventure to the Great Nafud in Quest of the Oryx*, London 1935.

(L. KOPF)

BAḲAR, ʿĪD [see BAYRAM and ʿĪD].

BĀḲARGANDJ (Backergunge), formerly a district in East Pakistan with headquarters at Bārīsāl, (now itself a district comprising Bāḳargandj), lying between 21° 54′ N and 91° 2′ E; Area: 4,091 sq. m., of which 51 sq. m. are covered with water. The

population in 1951 was 3,642,185, of whom 2,897,769 were Muslims. The area was known as Bākla (Ismāʿīlpūr) and constituted a *sarkār* in Mug͟hal times prior to its occupation by Āg͟hā Bāḳar, a prominent person at the Mug͟hal Court at Dacca, owing allegiance to the Nawāb of Murs͟hidābād, and a land-owner of Buzurgummīdpūr, in 1154/1741 when he successfully suppressed a revolt of the local Hindu landlords. He took as his headquarters a flourishing market-town which he named Bāḳargandj (mart of Bāḳar) 13 miles to the south-east of Bārīsāl. On his death in 1167/1753 the entire estate passed on to Rāja Ballabh Rāyʾ of Bikrampūr, a *diwan* [*q.v.*] of the Nāib Nāẓim of Dacca. The area was several times raided by the Maghs, a predatory Burmese tribe, during the 12th/18th century. The Marātʾhās penetrated into Bāḳargandj in 1162/1747-9 but were repulsed with the aid of Portuguese settlers. An agriculturally rich area, it supplied Murs͟hidābād with rice during the terrible famine of 1184/1770. It is also famous for its fruit orchards. In 1238/1828-9 the district was visited by Karāmat ʿAlī Djawnpūrī, a follower of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*], who along with Ḥādjdjī S͟harīʿat Allāh and his son Dūdū Miā preached *djihād* against the Feringhees (Europeans). The movement collapsed with the death of Dūdū Miā in 1279/1862. The bulk of the population speaks a form of Bengālī, known as Musalmānī, with a preponderance of Arabic and Persian words.

The district, in addition to being subject to heavy floods and cyclones, is noted for a strange atmospheric phenomenon, the "Barisal Gunds", sounds resembling the discharge of cannon and occuring at regular intervals. The occurrence still remains unexplained.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BĀK͟HAMRĀ, a place in medieval ʿIrāḳ, the exact situation of which cannot now be fixed. According to al-Masʿūdī it belonged to the Ṭaff [*q.v.*], the frontier district between Babylonia and Arabia, and was 16 parasangs (about 60 miles) from Kūfa. Yāḳūt says it was nearer to Kūfa than to Wāsiṭ. Bāk͟hamrā is famous in the history of the ʿAbbāsids for the decisive battle which took place there in 145/762 (while the Caliph was designing the new city of Bag͟hdād) between the army of al-Manṣūr, commanded by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, and the troops of the ʿAlid Ibrahīm b. ʿAbd Allāh in which the latter, after initial success, fell by an arrow-wound. The campaign thus terminated had represented a severe danger to al-Manṣūr's position. The Aramaic place-name means "wine-vaults", and recalls the analogous name of Ḳaryat al-ʿInab (grape-town) of a place in Palestine, North West of Jerusalem. Bāk͟hamrā has no other claim to interest.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 458; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 194; Weil, *Chalifen*, ii, 55 (wrongly vocalised Bachimra); Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate* (ed. T. H. Weir 1915), 456.

(M. Streck-[S. H. Longrigg])

BĀK͟HARZ (also known as Guwāk͟harz), a region in K͟hurāsān between Harāt and Nīs͟hāpūr (south of Djām on the river Harāt), regarded as being particularly fertile-; famous in the 10th century for its export of grain and grapes (and in the 14th century for its particularly good water melons as well). Mālīn (variants: Mālin and Mālān) was the capital of the region, and in the 10th century it had a population of considerable size. According to descriptions of that time, it was situated on the site of the S͟hahr-i Naw of today. The region included 128 villages, Djawdhaḳān among them. Yāḳūt explains the name (probably on the basis of folk-etymology) as Bād-har-rah ('wind in all places'). al-

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī 319; al-Faḳīh 278 Hamadhānī 318; Ibn Rusta 171; al-Yaʿḳūbī airo (= *BGA* III, V, VII twice); Yāḳūt, i, 458 (= Cbier edition 1906: ii, 28), ii, 145, iv, 398 (= Bar de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse* 74 f.); Muḥammad Ḥasan K͟hān, *Mirʾāt al-Buldān* i, 150; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, 68, ii, 156; Le Strange, 357.

(B. Spuler)

al-**BĀK͟HARZĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan (or Abu'l-Ḳāsim) ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ṭayyib, Arab poet and anthologist, a native of Bāk͟harz. After receiving a good education in his father's house, he studied in particular S͟hāfiʿī *fiḳh* and, at Nīsābūr, attended the lectures of al-Djuwaynī (ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], where he made the acquaintance of al-Kundurī [*q.v.*]; the latter, when he became *wazīr*, took him to Bag͟hdād as a secretary; previously, he had for some time been an official at Baṣra. Subsequently, he was admitted to the chancellery, and later returned to his native place, where he was killed by a sabre stroke in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 467/June-July 1075.

The most famous work of al-Bāk͟harzī is a letter of solace addressed to his benefactor al-Kundurī, on the subject of his castration. His *dīwān* is lost, and only a few *muḳaṭṭaʿāt* have been published as an appendix to his *Dumyat al-Ḳaṣr wa ʿUṣrat Ahl al-ʿAṣr* (Aleppo 1349/1930); the latter work is an anthology which is a continuation of the *Yatīma* f al-T͟haʿālibī [*q.v.*] and comprises seven sections: Bedouin poets and poets of the Ḥidjāz; Syria, Diyārbakr, Ād͟harbaydjān, Djazīra and Mag͟hrib; ʿIrāḳ; Rayy and Djibāl; Djurdjān, Astarābād͟h, Dihistān, Ḳūmis, K͟hʷārizm, Transoxania; K͟hurāsān, Ḳuhistān, Sidjistān, G͟hazna; *adab* authors. Another selection of his poems, entitled *al-Aḥsan*, is preserved in MS. in London. His poetry, which was but little appreciated at Bag͟hdād despite the flattering opinions of the critics, is on the whole mediocre and artificial.

Bibliography: Introd. of the *Dumya*; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 57b; Yāḳūt, s.v. *Bāk͟harz*; idem, *Irs͟hād*, v, 121-28 = *Muʿdjam*, xiii, 33-48; Ibn K͟hallikān, Cairo 1899, ii, 58-9; Browne, ii, 355 ff.; Brockelmann, S I, 466; ʿAlī Āl Ṭāhir, *La Poésie arabe en Irak et en Perse sous les Seldjoukides*, Sorbonne thesis 1954 (unpublished,) index.

(D. S. Margoliouth*)

al-**BAK͟HRĀʾ**, ancient site of Palmyrena, well known in the Umayyad period. Al-Walīd II is known to have stayed there on several occasions and died there in 126/744. The Arab sources describe the military camp (*fusṭāṭ*) which the Persians are said to have erected there in former times and the inner castle (*ḳaṣr*) where the Companion al-Nuʿmān b. Bas͟hīr lived and in which the Caliph, besieged by the rebels, took refuge. The site has been identified with the ruins of al-Bk͟hara, standing 25 km. to the south of Palmyra, visited and described by A. Musil in 1908, and, although the name is frequently deformed in the Arabic texts (especially into al-

Baḥrāʾ or al-Nad̲j̲rāʾ), the reading al-Bak̲h̲rāʾ is not open to doubt since it is "guaranteed by the etymological speculations of the chroniclers, who derive it from the root *bak̲h̲ara*" (H. Lammens). The traces of a vast walled enclosure, furnished with towers 159 m. by 105 m., are accompanied to the north and the south by remains of dwellings around numerous wells, bearing testimony to the fact that from Roman times here was to be found, if not an "ancient castle of the *limes*" as H. Lammens maintained, at least a "fortified watering place" (A. Poidebard) on the Bosra-Palmyra desert road, which subsequently became an Umayyad palace. It was not long before the site was abandoned and those mediaeval authors who still indicate the existence of a fortress (*ḥiṣn*) of al-Bak̲h̲rāʾ, are no longer able to place it exactly.

Bibliography: A. Musil, *Palmyrena*, New York 1928, 88, 141-43, 234, 286-87, 290-96, fig. 38 (plan); A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, Paris 1934, 52, 59, 66-67; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 1595; Ṭabarī, index; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, Tables; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 324; idem, *Murūd̲j̲*, vi, 2; Yāḳūt, i, 523; Bakrī, *Das geographische Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 141.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BAK̲H̲S̲H̲Ī, a word figuring from Mongol times (13th century) in Iranian and Turkish literature, particularly in historical literature. Like the Uighuric original, it begins by denoting the Buddhist priest or monk (= Thibetan: Lama). During the time when the Īlk̲h̲āns (*q.v.*) were favourably disposed to, or gallawers of, Buddhism, the number and influence of the *bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī* in Iran was considerable. In Iran, central Asia, India and the Crimea — after the suppression of Buddhism in Iran (in 1295) — *bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī* denotes only a scribe who wrote Turkish and Mongol records (which were kept to begin with in Uighur script = generally *bitikči*). In the 16th century doctors (surgeons) were called by that name. Where lamas exist, *i.e.*, among the Kalmucks, Mongols, and Mandjurs, the name *bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī* retained its original meaning of 'Buddhist priest' up to the 20th century. Amongst the Turkomāns — and in the 15th and 16th centuries also amongst the Anatolian Turks — the name *bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī* came to mean a wandering minstrel; in Kirg̲h̲iz it came to mean conjurer (Shaman), as also in the dialect forms *baḳsi* and *baḳsa*.

The etymology of the word *bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī* is disputed: it used to be almost generally accepted (*e.g.*, by W. Barthold and E. Blochet) as deriving from the Sanskrit word *bhiks̲h̲u*, but this view has been opposed by P. Pelliot and others, who would derive it "almost certainly" from the Chinese *po-che* (*po-s̲h̲ī* 'wise', 'well read').

Bibliography: Cf. excursus in Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, edited by M. É. Quatremère, i (1836), 184-99; M. F. Köprülü in *IA* II (1944-49), 233-38 (with bibliography); B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*², Berlin 1955, 184, 547 (with a bibliography concerning the etymology); W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Südsibiriens*, vol. iii/text, 46 ff.; R. Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, Berlin, no date (1928?).

(B. Spuler)

BAK̲H̲S̲H̲ĪS̲H̲, or *bak̲h̲s̲h̲is̲h̲*, verbal noun from the Persian *bak̲h̲s̲h̲īdan*, 'to bestow', and used not only in Persian but also in Turkish and post-classical Arabic to denote a gratuity bestowed by a superior on an inferior, a 'tip', or a 'consideration' thrown into a bargain, and also, though improperly, of bribes, particularly those offered to judges or officials. A notable application of the term under the Ottoman régime was to the gratuity bestowed by a sultan at his accession on the chief personages of state and the Janissaries and other troops of the standing army—the *d̲j̲ulūs bak̲h̲s̲h̲īs̲h̲i*. This involved the Ottoman central treasury in vast expenditure, which in the period of Ottoman decline it could ill afford.

Bibliography: Seyyid Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾid̲j̲ al-Wuḳūʿāt*, ii, 98; Aḥmed Rāsim, *ʿOt̲h̲mānlî Taʾrīk̲h̲ī*, i, 359-361, notes.

(H. Bowen)

BAK̲H̲T K̲H̲ĀN, Commander-in-Chief of the 'rebel' native forces, with the unusual and pompous title of 'Lord-Governor Bahādur General Bak̲h̲t K̲h̲ān', during the military uprising (also known as the Mutiny) of 1857 in India, was born at Sulṭānpūr (Awadh) C. 1212/1797, where his father ʿAbd Allāh K̲h̲ān, a lineal descendant of G̲h̲ulām Ḳādir Rohilla, had settled after the dispersal of the Rohillas following the death of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd Allāh K̲h̲ān had married a princess of the deposed Awadh ruling family and thus claimed close relationship with Royalty (C. T. Metcalfe, *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*, London 1898, 146). At the age of 20 (c. 1233/1817) he joined the 8th Foot Artillery, better known as the Bareilly Brigade, as a *Ṣūbādār*, in which capacity he served continuously for forty years until the outbreak of the Mutiny. He has been described as "a most intelligent character" always very "fond of English society". The field-battery, of which he was the Commander, had served at D̲j̲alālābād during the First Afg̲h̲ān War, winning many distinctions and decorations for outstanding service.

He leapt into prominence after the sudden and carefully planned sepoy-rising at Bareilly on 31 May 1857, when all British resistance collapsed and K̲h̲ān Bahādur K̲h̲ān, a grandson of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat K̲h̲ān, was proclaimed the ruler of Rohilkhand as a viceroy of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor. Bak̲h̲t K̲h̲ān then marched to Delhi at the head of his artillery brigade and practically assumed all power. It was at his instance that a *fatwā* declaring a *d̲j̲ihād* against the British was signed by the leading *ʿulamāʾ* of the capital including Ṣadr al-Dīn Āzurda [see ĀZURDA, ṢADR AL-DĪN] and Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ of K̲h̲ayrābād [*q.v.*]. During the siege of Delhi he had some sharp and bitter encounters with the British and loyal forces, which ultimately succeeded in driving the rebels out of the city. With the fall of Delhi in September 1857, Bak̲h̲t K̲h̲ān left the town in disgust, failing to persuade the effete emperor Bahādur S̲h̲āh II [*q.v.*] to accompany him and his battered battalion to Awadh. His movements thereafter have not been precisely recorded. He is reported to have camped first at D̲j̲alālābād (Distt. Hardōī), then at Bilgrām [*q.v.*] and Mīrzā G̲h̲āt. He is finally reported to have joined the forces of Bēgam Ḥaḍrat Maḥall at Lucknow, and was killed in action on 10 Ramaḍān 1275/13 May 1859. According to another version he fled to Nepal, disguised as a religious mendicant, and perished with other leaders of the revolt, now described by patriotic authors as the First War of Independence.

Bibliography: Charles Ball, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, London n.d., 508; T. Rice Holmes, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, London 1898, 352-3; J. W Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War in India*, London 1870, iii, 643; *Punjab Government Record Office Publications*: *Monograph no. 15*; *Parliamentary Papers*, London 1859, xviii, 22; *Insurrection in the East Indies presented to both Houses*

of Parliament, London 1858, 104; Nadjm al-Ghanī Rāmpūrī, *Akhbār al-Ṣanādīd*, Lucknow 1904, vol. ii; Sayyida Anīs Fāṭima Barēlwī, *1857 kē hīrō*, Aligarh 1949, 65 ff.; V. D. Savarkar, *The War of Independence 1857*, Bombay 1947, 295 and index; Surendra Nath Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-seven*, Delhi 1957, 83-4, 101-2, 371 and index; Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, *1857 kē Mudjāhid*, Lahore 1957, 104-120; Intiẓām Allāh Shihābī, *Mashāhīr-i Djang-i Āzādī*, Karachi 1957, 242-45; Ẓahīr Dihlawī, *Dāstān-i Ghadr*², Lahore 1955, 135, 140-3; Shams al-ʿUlāmāʾ Munshī Dhakāʾ Allāh, *ʿUrūdj-i ʿAhd-i Salṭanat-i Inglishiya*, Dihli 1904, 676, 686, 696; Ḥasan Niẓāmī, *Dihlī kī djānkani*, Dihli 1925; F. Cooper, *The Crisis in the Punjab*, London 1858, 201; G. Bourchier, *Eight months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoy Army* ...., London 1858, 44; Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar, *Ḳayṣar al-Tawārīkh*, Lucknow 1896, ii, 312; Raʾīs Aḥmad Djaʿfarī, *Bahādur Shāh Ẓafar awr unkā ʿahad*, Lahore n.d., 835-53; Sir William Muir, *Intelligence Records of the Indian Mutiny of 1857*, (ed. Coldstream), Edinburgh 1902, ii, 311.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BAKHTĀWAR KHĀN, a favourite eunuch, confidant and personal attendant of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] who entered his service in 1065/1654 while the latter was still a prince. In 1080/1669 he was appointed *Dārōghā-i Khawāṣṣān*. He died after a short illness at Aḥmadnagar on 15 Rabīʿ I, 1096/1685 after faithfully serving Awrangzīb for 30 years. His death was personally mourned by the Emperor who led the funeral prayers and carried the bier for some paces. His dead body wa brought to Delhi where he was buried in a tomb that he had built for himself in a township, named after him Bakhtāwarpūra, now called Bastī Nabī Karīm.

Bakhtāwar Khān was a great patron of art and learning. It was through his good offices that, among others, Shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn of Bhāgalpūr, one of the compilers of the *Fatāwā ʿĀlamgīriyya* [*q.v.*], gained access to the Court.

From his early youth he was an ardent student of history and had cultivated an elegant style of writing. The author of the *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, Muḥammad Sāḳī Mustaʿid Khān, was in the service of Bakhtāwar Khān as his private secretary and accountant.

It was Bakhtāwar Khān who was entrusted in the year 1085/1674 with the task of ensuring, through legal rules, that the royal astrologers would not prepare horoscopes and almanacs any more.

Towards the end of the *Mirʾāt al-ʿĀlam* (1078/1667), a general history rich in biographical material, the writer, who is none other than Bakhtāwar Khān, gives a detailed account of his achievements. He claims the authorship of the following: (i) *Čār Āʾina* or *Āʾina-i Bakht* (1068/1657), containing an account of the four battles fought by Awrangzīb which won him the throne (Browne, *Suppt.* 145); (ii) *Riyāḍ al-Awliyāʾ* (1090/1679), lives of Muslim saints and notables in four *čamans* (*Rieu* iii, 985a; *Āṣāfiyya* 1:320 No. 115; Browne *Suppt.* 728 (Corpus 126); (iii) Selections from: *Ḥadīḳa* of Sanāʾī, *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr* of ʿAṭṭār, *Mathnawī* of Rūmī and *Tāʾrīkh-i Alfī*. His *bayāḍ*, which contains select verses of eminent poets with their biographies and extracts from the writings and compilations of celebrated divines and mystics, is preserved in the Archaeological Museum of the Delhi Fort. He is also the author of *Taʾrīkh- Hindī*, a history of India from Bābur to Awrangzīb (Princeton 468, Storey 517). A book of Fatāwā, a compendium of Ḥanafī law and a literary *pot-pourri*, called *Hamdam-i Bakht*, were compiled for him by different authors.

Among the works of public utility founded and erected by him, he mentions the township of Bakhtāwarpūra, a number of mosques, caravanserais, including that of Bakhtāwarnagar, on the way to Farīdābād), some bridges and cubicles for students. He also laid out gardens, one in Lahore near the Shalīmār and the other in Agharābād, three miles from Shāhdjahānābād (Dehli).

Bibliography: *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (Bib. Ind.) 253 and index; *Mirʿāt al-ʿĀlam*, last *afzāyish*, *namūd* iii (as reproduced in OCM(*S*) Feb.-May, 1954); *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir* v, 89; Storey 132-33; Bindrāban Dās: *Tadhkirat al-Umarāʾ* (*s.v.*); *Rieu*, i 125-6; Bānkīpūr Cat. vi 477; Elliot and Dowson, vii 150-3; *OCM*, Nov. 1928.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BAKHTĪ, Pen-name of Sulṭān Aḥmad I; cf. Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 208.

BAKHTIGĀN, the largest salt lake in the province of Fārs, Iran. It is located *ca.* 50 km. east of Shīrāz at an altitude of *ca.* 1550 m. The size of the lake varies with the seasons, but at the greatest it is *ca.* 100 km. N-S, and 30 km. E-W. The water is very salty and the lake is exceedingly shallow. The lake is the basin of the Kurr or Band-i Amīr River.

In mediaeval Arabic geographical literature we find scant mention of Lake Bakhtigān. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 53, refers to it as Lake Djūbānān, Iṣṭakhrī, 122, gives a variant Badjakān, and an alternate name Badjfūz, while Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. Kramers), 277, has al-Bakhtikān. The five lakes (*buḥayrāt*) of Fārs province are listed by Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasī, 446, as follows: 1. Bakhtigān, belonging to the district (*kūra*) of Iṣṭakhr; 2. Dasht Arzan in the district of Sābūr; 3. Tawwaz in the Sābūr district at Kāzarūn; 4. Djankān near Shīrāz, Lake Mūr in Ibn Ḥawḳal; 5. Bāsfahūya (Muḳ.- Bāshfūya, Ibn Ḥawḳal has al-Basfariyya) in the Iṣṭakhr district.

At the present Lake Bakhtigān is called Nīrīz. The other lakes have been identified by Herzfeld as: 2. Lake of Dasht-i Ardjān; 3. the Lake of Famūr or Shīrīn or Kāzarūn; 4. the Lake of Shīrāz or Mahārlū. The name Bāsfūya is probably the name of part of Lake Bakhtigān and perhaps identical with Badjfūz. This lake has always had several sections connected by narrow arms of water, and the northern part was called Bāsfūya or Djubānān, while the south was properly Bakhtigān or Nīrīz. The lake has been surveyed by Capt. H. L. Wells.

Bibliography: In addition to the geographers above, cf. Yāḳūt (ed. Wüstenfeld), 3, 838; H. L. Wells, *Surveying Tours in Southern Persia*, *Proceedings RGS*, 5 (1883), 138; Le Strange, 277-9; Masʿūd Kayhān, *Djughrāfyā-yi mufaṣṣal-i Īrān*, i, Tehran 1932, 89-92. (R. N. Frye)

BAKHTĪSHŪʿ [see bukhtīshūʿ].

BAKHTIYĀR, prince, son, heir apparent (344/955) and successor (356/967) of Muʾizz al-Dawla in ʿIrāḳ, with the *laḳab* of ʿIzz al-Dawla. He appears to have had little talent for government, which, unlike his father, he entrusted to *wazīrs* (chosen without any great discernment) so as to be free to amuse himself, though he still impeded the conduct of affairs by his impetuous verbal or active intervention. At the beginning of his reign he continued his father's policy of hostility to the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib of Mawṣil and to the autonomous chieftain

of the Baṭīḥa, ʿImrān b. Shāhīn. Furthermore, confronted with the new problem of Fāṭimid expansion in Syria, he drew close to the Ḳarāmiṭa, who now sought to counter it. Bakhtiyār, however, was incapable of maintaining discipline among his troops, a prerequisite for the stability of the regime. Quarrels between the Daylamites and Turks became embittered and ended in an open breach between Bakhtiyār and the latter, which was further complicated by popular struggles in Baghdad between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, in which the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*] intervened. He was then obliged to appeal to his cousin in Fars, ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who noting the incapacity of the prince whom he had saved, conceived the idea of taking his place and was only temporarily prevented from doing so by the opposition of his father, Rukn al-Dawla, head of the Būyid family; upon the latter's death, he was able to revive his plan and Bakhtiyār, who had ranged himself with Abū Taghlib and ʿImrān b. Shāhīn against him, was defeated and slain (366-7/967-8); the account of their struggles has been given in the article ʿAḍud al-Dawla. During the course of the struggle, the Caliph al-Muṭīʿ had been replaced by al-Ṭāʾiʿ, a protegé of the Turks, for which reason he did not support Bakhtiyār in earnest.

Bibliography: cf. the articles Buwayhids and ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The chief source is naturally Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, which is based on the lost History of Hilāl al-Ṣābī; among the secondary chronicles, special mention must be made of Yaḥyā of Antioch, *Patrol. Or. XXIII*, especially 354 f. An exceptional place, furthermore, is also occupied in our documentation by what has been preserved of the letters of al-Ṣābī (Abū Isḥāḳ), partial ed. Shakīb Arslān, Caliphal point of view) and of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf, analysed by Cl. Cahen in *Studi Orientalistici ... Levi della Vida*, i, 83-98 (point of view of ʿAḍud al-Dawla); cf. also that of Ibn ʿAbbād, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām and Shawḳī Ḍayf, 1947, i, no. 7. (Cl. Cahen)

BAKHTIYĀR KHALDJĪ [see muḥammad bakhtiyār khaldjī].

BAKHTIYĀR-NĀMA, also known as the History of the ten Viziers, Muslim imitation of the Indian history of Sindbād or of the seven viziers [see *Sindibād*]. Like its prototype, the book consists of a story in the framework of which other tales are inserted, which are here closely connected with the basic story. The subject is brief; the son of King Āzādbakht is abandoned on the road, shortly after his birth, by his parents, who are fleeing; found and brought up by brigands, in the end he is taken prisoner by the king's soldiers. The King, who likes him, takes him into his service under the name of Bakhtiyār. When finally he has raised him to a high position, the King's viziers who are jealous, take advantage of an accident to slander him before the King; whereupon Bakhtiyār and the queen are thrown into prison. To save herself, the queen explains that Bakhtiyār wanted to seduce her. For ten days each of the ten viziers in turn tries to persuade the King to have Bakhtiyār executed; the latter, however, is constantly able to gain respite from execution by means of a story appropriate to his situation. As finally it is to take place on the eleventh day, the leader of the brigands who had reared Bakhtiyār, appears and informs the King that Bakhtiyār is his son. Thereupon the viziers are executed and Bakhtiyār becomes king in his father's place, who abdicates in his favour.

Originally the work was composed in Persian. Nöldeke (see *Bibliography*), in the course of examining the various versions and their chronology, which had already been established by R. Basset, published and translated extracts from the oldest known Persian version (MS. dated 695/1296)—composed in a masterly and resounding style, the author of which asserts that he composed the work for a prince of Samarḳand, not so far identified, but who lived, according to Nöldeke, during the second half of the 6th/12th century. The later versions, Arabic (one of which is inserted in the *One Thousand and One Nights*) and Persian, more simplified in style, differ in the order of the stories and the narrative details. With these can be placed the Uygur version (ms. of 838/1435) and the Persian version in verse by Panāhī (9th/15th century; see *Bibliography*: Bertels). The Malay version and the Persian version in verse by Katkhudā Marzubān (1210/1795; Éthé, *Cat. Persian MSS. India Office*, no. 1726) are more recent. The purpose of the stories, taken as a whole, is to demonstrate the disadvantages and dangers of hasty decisions. Magical factors and the supernatural make virtually no appearance. The prose is generally free from excesses and prolixity.

Bibliography: Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, viii, 13-17 (editions and translations) viii, 78-89 résumés of the stories); A. Jaubert, *Notice et extrait de la version turque du Bakhtyar Nâme, d'après le ms. en caractères ouïgours* (*JA* 1872); Éthé, *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, ii, 323-325; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xlv, 97-143; G. Knoes, *Historia decem Vezirorum et filii regis Azad Bacht* (Arab text, 1807); R. Basset, *Histoire des dix vizirs*; *Bakhtiâr-Nâmeh*, 1883 French trans. with important introduction: "... this recension agrees absolutely with the addition given by Habicht in the 1000 and 1 Nights" vi, 191-343); Ouseley, *The Bakhtiyar nâmeh* ....; Persian text with English translation, 1801 (trans. re-edited with introduction and notes by Clouston, 1883); Lescallier, *Bakhtyar Nameh ou le favori de la fortune*, trans. from Persian, 1805 (more extensive text and of greater literary merit; a pleasing trans.); J. E. Bertels, *Bakhtiâr-Nâme, persidskij teksti Slovar*, Leningrad 1926 (ed. of a popular version with vocabulary); idem, *Novaja versija Bachtiâr Nâme*, in *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR* 1929, 249-276; M. Fuad Köprülü, in *IA* (s.v.). (J. Horovitz-[H. Massé])

BAKHTIYĀRĪ. The Bakhtiyārīs are a conglomeration of mixed races who migrated in the 10th century A.D. from Syria to Īrān, where up to the 15th century they were known as the "Great Lurs"; they assert that they are not Iranian by origin. Although it is presumed that their ancestors migrated from Bactria, whence the word Bakhtiyārī, there is no confirmation of this hypothesis. They are probably of Kurdish descent.

By persuasion they are Shīʿī Muslims and their language is of Iranian origin, yet they speak a patois of their own. Their population has almost reached the 400,000 mark.

Their land is called the Bakhtiyārī country, and extends from Iṣfahān to Maydān-i Naftūn in Khūzistān, a mountainous region, where rich oil fields are situated.

The Bakhtiyārīs are divided into two major groups, the Haft-Lang and the Čahār-Lang. The most important, the Haft-Lang, consists of 55 subtribes, while the Čahār-Lang group has 24 subtribes. There is a sprinkling of Lurs and Arabs among them, for example: Mowri, Talikī, Bawadī,

Gandalī, Čarburī, Mīrzāwand, Livissī, Kutekī, etc. Being a gregarious people, they live "on the country," trekking long distances twice a year in search of grass, and hence they are called also the grass-folk.

The wealthy khāns or chieftains have their own residences in town. They possess also summer resorts where they live during the hot season. Although destitute of any bookish education, they maintain their *mīrzās* or clerks. Nevertheless, they have recently awakened to the great importance of education, and are now sending their sons to Europe for an academic education; this tendency seems to be growing.

The Bakhtiyārī woman is unveiled and goes about freely within the tribal area. As a khān's wife, she will attend to certain tribal cases during the khān's absence, and her findings and decisions are lawful and binding.

The tribeswomen weave their tents and also *kilīms*, while their characteristic foot-gear, called *giwa*, is made by the tribesmen. Each tribal subdivision has its own so-called "healing man", who administers some herbs and in certain cases has recourse to incantations.

The Bakhtiyārīs have their own customs relating to birth, marriage, and death; divorce is practically unknown to them. They have their own particular poems, love songs and dirges, and also interesting games and a great variety of delightful folk-stories.

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(V. Melkonian)

BĀḲĪ, Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-, Turkish poet. Born in Istanbul of modest family (933/1526). His father Meḥmed was a *müʾadhdhin* at the Fātiḥ mosque. After working as an apprentice to a saddler, Bāḳī began his regular studies in a *madrasa* where he had the good fortune to have as teachers some of the leading scholars of the time and many brilliant fellow students, including the historian Saʿd al-Dīn. He greatly profited from these invigorating surroundings, and the appreciation and encouragement of the old poet Dhātī whose shop was a sort of literary club for men of letters. In 962/1555 the sultan Suleymān returned from his Persian campaign and the young poet submitted a *ḳaṣīda* to him. This gave him an entrée into the court and upper-class circles of the capital. His rapid and brilliant academic career and the favour of the Sultan who sent his own poems to Bāḳī to be corrected and asked him to write *naẓīras* to them aroused the jealousy of even his best friends and soon he found himself involved in the intrigues of the court. The death of Suleymān to whom he was deeply attached moved him profoundly and he wrote the famous elegy which is his masterpiece. After a temporary eclipse, Bāḳī continued his rise in the *ʿulamāʾ* career, thanks partly to Soḳullu's protection, and won the favour of Selīm II and his successor Murād III. On his return to Istanbul after a period of office as *ḳāḍī* of Mecca then of Medina, he was made, with intervals of disgrace, successively *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Anadolu and later of Rumeli, and then was retired without becoming *Shaykh al-Islām*, a hope which he had long cherished. The new sultan Meḥemmed III appointed him again *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rumeli, recognising thus his long services and his great reputation as the most distinguished poet, the *Sulṭān al-Shuʿarāʾ*, of his time. The aging poet, whose ambition grew at the chance of reaching his goal, the highest office of his profession, took part in embittered court intrigues. The Grand Vezir Khādim Ḥasan Pasha strongly recommended Bāḳī for the office of *Shaykh al-Islām*, but the Sultan preferred his own tutor Khodja Saʿd al-Dīn. Bāḳī's death in 1008/1600 was widely mourned and he was given a State funeral, the *Shaykh al-Islām* leading the funeral prayer.

Serious, dignified and with a keen sense of justice in his professional career, Bāḳī was, in his private life, a man of the world, gay, a bon vivant, sociable, extremely witty, fond of jokes, repartee and the exchange of satire, even with friends. These characteristics made him many enemies and rivals, but also secured many powerful friends and protectors, thus smoothing the way to rapid progress in his career.

Apart from a few treatises, mostly on religious matters, Bāḳī's main work consists of his *dīwān*. Unlike most poets of the classical period he wrote no *mathnawīs*. The easy and happy life of the upper classes of the 16th century Istanbul, the colourful landscape, the gay and picturesque scenes of the pleasure resorts in and around the Capital are vividly reflected in Bāḳī's poems. in his *ghazals*, minutely tooled with the care of a jeweller, he turns constantly to a favourite theme of *dīwān* poets: In this dream-like and swiftly changing world all is ephemeral: The beauties of nature, youth, happiness, high estate are all doomed to perish. So, love, drink, and be merry while you can. "Forgo not this opportunity, for the pleasures of this world are as fleeting as the season of roses". Unlike Fuḍūlī, Bāḳī's temperament was not inclined towards religious enthusiasm and his lyrics do not lend themselves to mystical interpretation, although he often makes use of Ṣūfī terminology. Bāḳī is the unequalled master of form. His perfect versification, meticulous choice of words, skilful use of onomatopoeic effect achieve a fascinating musicality which caused him to be recognised, by both his contemporaries and successors as the greatest *ghazal* writer of Turkish literature. In his hand the Turkish of Istanbul found its best expression in classical poetry. His great popularity and influence never diminished, and his pure and fluent style paved the way for Yaḥyā and Nedīm. In his prose works Bāḳī avoided fashionable precious and ornate language, producing some of the best specimens of natural, unadorned, well-balanced style.

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(Fahir İz)

BAḲĪ b. MAKHLAD, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, celebrated traditionist and exegete of Cordova, probably of Christian origin, born in 201/817, died in 276/889. Like many Spanish Muslims, he visited the principal cities of the Orient, where he frequented the society of representatives of various *madhāhib*, in particular Ibn Ḥanbal; on his return to Cordova, he displayed such independence in doctrinal matters

(some count him however as a Shāfiʿī and he is regarded as having introduced the Ẓāhirī doctrines into Spain) and opposition to *taḳlīd*, that he soon found himself regarded with hostility by the Mālikī *fuḳahā*ʾ; he was even nearly condemned to death on a charge of heresy, and owed his escape solely to the intervention of the *amīr* Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86), who allowed him freely to dispense his eclectic teaching. His chief works, all of which are lost, are a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, which Ibn Ḥazm considdered superior to that of al-Ṭabarī, and a *musnad* in which the traditions were classified according to their subject under the names, themselves arranged in alphabetical order, of the Companions who had handed them down. Baḳī, whose biography was written by the prince ʿAbd Allāh al-Zāhid, enjoyed at the end of his life a reputation for piety bordering on holiness, nd Ibn Ḥazm considered him, in the sphere of the Traditions, the equal of al-Bukhārī and other illustrious traditionists.

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(Ch. Pellat)

Khʷādja BĀḲĪ BIʾLLĀH, Abu 'l-Muʾayyid Raḍī al-Dīn, also called ʿAbd al-Bāḳī or Muḥamma Bāḳī b. ʿAbd al-Salām Uwaysī Naḳshbandī, was born at Kābul on 5 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 971/16 Dec. 1563 and died at Delhi on Saturday, 25 Djumādā II 1012/2 July, 1603. He received his early education from Ṣādiḳ Ḥalwāʾī, in whose company he went to Samarḳand to pursue his studies further. It was during his stay there that he cultivated a taste for *taṣawwuf*. On the invitation of some of his friends, who held high posts in India, he left for that country, but instead of entering the Imperial army, as intended, he began to search for mystics and *ṣūfīs*. After a short sojourn in India he returned to Mā Warāʾ al-Nahr to receive formal initiation into the Naḳshbandī order from Khʷādja Muḥammad Amkangī, a great *ṣūfī* of his times. Back in India again in 1008/1599 he decided to settle down at Delhi. His influence soon spread and Aḥmad Sarhindī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī [*q.v.*] accepted him as their teacher.

He is the author of: (i) *Silsilat al-Aḥrār*, a collection of his *rubāʿiyyāt*, which have been commented upon by Aḥmad Sarhindī (*Oriental College Magazine*, viii/4, 41); (ii) *Kulliyāt*, a collection of his poems, including a *mathnawī*, which has been partially reproduced in the *Zubdat al-Maḳāmāt* (p. 66), (MS. in the I.O., D.P. 1095). A collection of his letters (I.O. D.P. 1058*h*) has been published: (*Maktūbāt-i Sharīf-i Ḥaḍrat-i Khʷādja Bāḳī biʾllāh Dihlawī*, Lahore 1923). A commentary on the Ḳurʾān is also attributed to him, but no MS. seems to exist.

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BAḲĪʿ al-GHARḲAD (also called Djannat al-Baḳīʿ or simply al-Baḳīʿ), is the oldest and the first Islamic cemetery of al-Madīna. The name denotes a field which was originally covered with a kind of bramble called *al-gharḳad*; there were several such Baḳīʿs in al-Madīna. The place is situated at the south-east end of the town, at a short distance from the Prophet's tomb, outside the town-wall, now demolished, through which a gateway, Bāb al-Baḳīʿ gave admittance to the cemetery (see the map of Madīna in Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 173). The first to be buried in al-Baḳīʿ, from among the *muhādjirūn*, was ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn (a Companion of the Prophet) who died in 5/626-7. The bramble-growth was cleared and the place consecrated to be the future graveyard of the Muslims who died at al-Madīna. The Prophet's daughters, his infant son Ibrāhīm, his wives (*ummahāt al-muʾminīn*) and his descendants, with the exception of al-Ḥusayn are also buried here. The burial-place of Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ [*q.v.*] is, however, disputed. Among the other notables buried here are ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, Mālik b. Anas [*qq.v.*], his teacher Nāfiʿ, Ḥalīma al-Saʿdiyya (the Prophet's wet-nurse) and al-ʿAbbas, an uncle of the Prophet. It gradually became an honour to be granted a last resting-place here among the *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*] the Imāms and Saints. The graves of the famous dead had grand cupolas and domes built over them; the domes of Ḥasan b. ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās for example, rose to a considerable height, as Ibn Djubayr tells us. When Burckhardt visited the place after the invasion of the Wahhābīs, he found it one of the most wretched cemeteries of the East. Like the grave of Ḥamza at Uḥud and the first mosque in Islam at Ḳubāʾ, a Medinese suburb, al-Baḳīʿ is one of the sacred places which the pilgrims to al-Madīna consider it an act of piety to visit.

During the life-time of the Prophet al-Baḳīʿ was a very small place; the graves of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and Ḥalīma al-Saʿdiyya not being within its precincts. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān was buried originally in Ḥashsh Kawkab, which was included in al-Baḳīʿ by the Umayyads much later. Even the enclosure where some of those killed during the Umayyad occupation of al-Madīna were buried fell outside its present

boundaries. The domes and mausolea destroyed by the early Wahhābīs in 1221/1806 were restored by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*], sulṭān of Turkey, to be destroyed again in 1926 by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd. This action of the Saʿūdī monarch gave rise to a serious agitation in India, and a deputation was sent to Mecca to lodge a strong protest. The king, however, did not yield and the graves are still without any tombs; they have insignificant head-stones without any inscriptions or epitaphs. Rutter, who saw it in 1926, shortly after the second Wahhābī occupation, compares it with the ruins of a town affected by an earthquake. In 1954 cemented paths were laid, by the orders of King Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, all over the cemetery for the use and convenience of visitors.

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(A. J. Wensinck-[A. S. Bazmee Ansari])

BĀḲĪKHĀNLĪ, ʿAbbās-Ḳulī Aghā, better known under the Russian form of the name, Bāḳīkhānov, and his literary pseudonym Ḳudsī, Ādharbāydjānī historian, poet and philosopher, son of Mīrzā Mamed Khān, ruler of Bākū, driven from his throne by his brother Muḥammad Ḳulī Khān. He was born on 10 June 1794 in the village of Emir-Hadjian in the Khānate of Bākū, and died in 1847 at Ḳuba. After a thorough education in Persian and Arabic, in 1820 Bāḳīkhānlī was appointed officer interpreter at Tiflis in the headquarters of General Ermolov, Commander in Chief of the Russian armies in the Caucasus. There he learned Russian, through which language he became well acquainted with western literature. Shortly afterwards, he undertook a long journey which led him to Shīrwān, Armenia, Dāghistān, Georgia, Turkey and Persia. During the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Persian wars, Bāḳīkhānlī, who was a convinced advocate of rapprochement with Russia, was a staff officer at General Paskievič's headquarters. In 1833 he made a second journey, visiting the Northern Caucasus, Russia, the Baltic States and Poland. From 1834 onwards, he devoted himself to literature and published a large number of works in Ādharī, Persian and Arabic. His most important work is : *Gülistān-i Irem* (1841) which traces the history of Dāghīstān and Shīrwān from ancient times down to the treaty of Gulistān. A Russian translation of this valuable work was published in 1926 by the Association for the Study of Ādharbaydjān in Bākū, with a preface by S. Sīsoev and a biography of the author by M. G. Bakharnī; the Ādharī text appeared in 1951 at Bākū (Edition of the Academy of Sciences of the Ādharbaydjān *SSR*).

His other works are: *Riyāḍ al-Ḳuds* (in Ādharī), abridged biography of the principal Saints of Islam; *Ḳānūn-i-Ḳudsī*, Persian grammar; *Kashf al-Gharāʾib* (in Persian), containing a description of the discovery of America; *Tahdhīb-i Akhlāḳ* (in Persian), treatise on Ethics and Moral Philosophy according to Arab, Greek and European authors; *ʿAyn al-Mīzān* (in Arabic), treatise on scholasticism and logic; *Āsrār al-Malakūt* (in Persian and Arabic), treatise on astronomy, published at Tiflis; *Naṣīḥat-nāma* (in Persian), collection of moral precepts.

Finally several poems in Arabic, Ādharī and Persian, some of which have been published in the newspaper *Feyūzat* of Bākū (no. 28 of 1907), as well as a translation of Krïlov's fables into Ādharī.

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(A. Bennigsen)

AL-**BĀḲILLĀNĪ** (i.e. the greengrocer), the ḳāḍī Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib b. Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar b. al-Ḳāsim, in most of the sources Ibn al-Bāḳillānī, but in popular usage (and Ibn Khallikān) simply al-Bāḳillānī, Ashʿarī theologian and Mālikī jurisprudent, said to have been a major factor in the systematising and popularising of Ashʿarism.

The date of his birth is unknown. He died on 23 Dhuʾl-Ḳaʿda 403/5 June 1013. Born in Baṣra, he seems to have spent most of his adult life in Baghdād. Visits to Shīrāz and the Byzantine court are mentioned, and for a time he exercised the office of ḳāḍī outside the capital. He studied *uṣūl al-dīn* under disciples of al-Ashʿarī and is said to have attracted many to his own lectures. Various anecdotes are related to illustrate his skill in disputation. Ḳāḍī, writer, disputant, lecturer—these headings sum up his life as we know it from our rather inadequate sources.

A list of his works (to which the editors add three titles) is given by the ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ. Six of these fifty-two works are known to be extant. The *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, printed several times, is regarded as a classic work on the subject. The *Tamhīd* is the earliest example we have of a complete manual of theological polemic. The *Inṣāf* contains two parts: a version of the Sunnī creed with brief explanations, and a detailed discussion of the increation of the Ḳurʾān, the *ḳadar*, the vision of God, and intercession (*shafāʿa*). The *Manāḳib* (incomplete) is a defence of the Sunnī position regarding the Imamate (Caliphate). The *Intiṣār* (incomplete) is chiefly concerned with textual integrity of the Ḳurʾān. The theme of the *Bayān* (incomplete) is the apologetic miracle which vindicates the claim to prophethood.

Study of these works does not enable us to define precisely the author's contribution to the development of Ashʿarī *kalām*. For we do not know enough about the work of his contemporaries and predecessors, e.g. Ibn Fūrak, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāʾīnī, and al-Ashʿarī himself. Thus it is now clear that much of what once might have been attributed to al-Bāḳillānī already existed in al-Ashʿarī's *Kitāb al-*

lumaʿ. Ibn Taymiyya called al-Bāḳillānī "the best of the As͟hʿarī *mutakallimūn*, unrivalled by any predecessor or successor" (*S͟had͟harāt*, iii, 169), but this praise is not disinterested. Ibn K͟haldūn's assertions (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 40), and the affirmations of Macdonald (*Development of Muslim Theology etc.*, 200-201), seem to be unwarranted, since al-Bāḳillānī certainly did not introduce the doctrines of atomism and accidents. There is evidence of some originality in his discussion of the apologetic miracle. But the main virtues of his works appear to be those proper to careful and industrious compilation. His metaphysic is not profound, but he was clearly aware of the cardinal apologetic importance of such questions as the validity of tradition and the possibility of the apologetic miracle. Undoubtedly he did much to propagate As͟hʿarism, and he is mentioned fairly frequently by later writers.

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(R. J. McCarthy)

AL-**BĀḲIR** (A.) the Splitter, i.e. the Investigator, a name of the Imām Muḥammad b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*].

BAKKĀʾ, pl. *bakkāʾūn*, *bukkāʾ*, "weepers", ascetics who during their devotional exercises shed many tears. Older Islamic asceticism and mysticism are characterised by a strong consciousness of sin, by austere penance, humility, contrition and mourning. Laughter was denounced. An outward sign of this attitude is the act of weeping. The Ḳurʾān (Sūra xvii, 109: "and they fall down on their chins, weeping", and Sūra xix, 58: "when the signs of the Merciful were recited before them, they fell down, prostrating themselves, weeping"), and then, above all, the *ḥadīt͟h* acknowledge and commend the shedding of tears during devotional exercises. The Prophet Muḥammad is said to have wept audibly at times in the course of the ritual prayers. A similar behaviour is reported of the first Caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Of weeping ascetics or those who at least commended the practice of weeping, a long list might be compiled from the *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ* of Abū Nuʿaym. To this class belonged such well-known names as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn Sīrīn, Mālik b. Dīnār, Abu 'l-Dardāʾ (who even wrote a special work called *Kitāb al-Riḳḳa wa 'l-Bukāʾ*), Ibrāhīm al-Nak͟haʿī, Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, Ḥabīb al-ʿAd͟jamī, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd, Sufyān al-T͟hawrī, D͟hu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Yaḥyā b. Muʿād͟h al-Rāzī, etc. Yet there were but few who in fact bore the by-name of *al-bakkāʾ* or were at least designated as weepers, amongst them being Yaḥyā al-Bakkāʾ (in Baṣra; *Ḥilya* 2,347), Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bakkāʾ (*Ḥilya* 7,385), Muṭarrif b. Ṭarīf, Muḥammad b. Sūḳa, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abd͟jar, Abū Sinān Ḍirār b. Murra (these four in Kūfa: *Ḥilya* 5, 4 and 5, 91), Sayyār al-Nabād͟jī (designated as *bākī*; *Ḥilya* 10, 166), Hayt͟ham al-Bakkāʾ, Ṣafwān b. Muḥriz (D͟jāḥiẓ, *Buk͟halāʾ*, 5), His͟hām b. Ḥassān (Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning*, 85 f.), Ibrāhīm al-Bakkāʾ (Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 87). Famous for their weeping are also Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī, G͟hālib al-D͟jahḍamī, Kahmas, Muḥammad b. Wāsiʿ. These *bakkāʾūn* did not, however, represent a special "class", as R. A. Nicholson (*E.R.E.* 2, 100), A. J. Wensinck (*Some Semitic Rites*, 86), L. Massignon (*Essai*, 167), H. Lammens (*L'Islam*, 152), Ch. Pellat (*Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, 94) and R. Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v. *bakkāʾ*) seem to suppose. *Bakkāʾ* continued rather to be an appellative term applicable to all those who wept copiously, and given to an individual only occasionally as a by-name; it is comparable to some degree with the term *ḥammād* found in *Ḥilya* 5, 69 as a designation for one who in joy and sorrow sings the praise of God. Therefore mention is also made of *bakkāʾūn* amongst the ancient Israelites (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Ak͟hbār*, 2, 284; *Ḥilya*, 5, 164). Muḥammad b. Wāsiʿ, himself a great weeper, deemed it absurd to call himself *bakkāʾ* (*Ḥilya*, 2,347).

Abu 'l-Dardāʾ gives three reasons for his weeping: fear of the fate that awaits us directly after death, the impossibility of striving further towards one's own salvation, and the uncertainty as to the verdict that will be made on the Day of Judgement (D͟jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3, 151; var. Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, 2, 359). Yazīd b. Maysara enumerates in general seven reasons for weeping: joy, sorrow, anguish, pain, hypocrisy, gratitude to and fear of God (*Ḥilya*, 5, 235). Abū Saʿīd al-K͟harrāz even names eighteen reasons, all of them subordinate, however, to three kinds of weeping: away from God, towards God, and with God (Sarrād͟j, *al-Lumaʿ fi 'l-Taṣawwuf*, ed. Nicholson, 229).

In the centre of the weeping of the *bakkāʾūn* are the fear of God (*k͟has͟hyat Allāh*), the Day of Judgement, doubt as to the verdict of God, the tortures of Hell. Often there is weeping over one's own sins, over specific personal weaknesses, over the wasted bygone years or the irrevocable past during the period of probation on earth; it can also arise from compassion for others, for those who err in their religion and for the dead who are no longer able to better their fate, or it arises from yearning for one's abode in Heaven, for God, and so on. They often wept in the expectation — and here too the *ḥadīt͟h*, in a certain measure, could be adduced as an authority — of God's indulgence and kindness, of His protection on the Day of Judgement, of safeguard from Hell, of remission of one's own or even of other people's sins, of the attainment of Paradise, and of reward. Just as the beggar who can weep has a greater chance of success (Karl Hadank, *Die Mundarten von Khunsār*, etc., cix), so too the spiritual beggar, through weeping, hopes to arouse the compassion of God and thus, perhaps, to undergo

here and now some part of his future punishment. "Between Hell and Paradise", one text has it (*Ḥilya*, 7, 149), "there lies a vast desert that only the *bakkāʾ* traverses".

Prayer (including ritual prayer), thinking of God, reciting Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, sermons, edifying stories, pious discourses, meditative contemplation — these constitute the occasions for weeping. We learn that the pious Muslim would pass the night and weep until morning in solitary meditation over one or the other of those passages of the Ḳurʾān that deal mainly with the punishment of the sinner. At times there is weeping in prayers of supplication, often at the Kaʿba, clinging to the *kiswa* or before the Black Stone, frequently too in burial grounds at the sight of the tombs. Ḳurʾān-readers (*ḳurrāʾ*), reciters of the *ḥadīth* preachers and narrators of edifying stories (*ḳuṣṣāṣ*, sing. *ḳāṣṣ*) during their performance give free course to their tears, and often incite their audience to weep, or they just make them shed tears. One *ḳāṣṣ* is said to have asked his audience, before each discourse: "Lend me your tears!" (*Ḥilya*, 5, 112). Special gatherings (*maḥāḍir*, sing. *maḥḍar*) were held, in which there was much weeping, followed by a meal (*Ḥilya*, 2, 347). Two pious Muslims, encountering each other, might enter into a discourse about religion and shed tears over it. Muḥammad b. Sūḳa and Ḍirār b. Murra are said to have met regularly each Friday for this purpose (*Ḥilya*, 5, 4 and 5, 91). Badīl, Shumayt and Kahmas came together on one occasion in the house belonging to one of them and said: "Let us weep today over the cool water (that we shall be lacking on the Day of Judgement)!" (*Ḥilya*, 6, 213). The long lament of a weeper (with the characteristic *wayḥī*) can be found in *Ḥilya*, 4,255-260, the much shorter lament of a supposed Israelite in *ʿUyūn*, 2, 284, and a religious discussion between three weepers in *Ḥilya*, 10,163.

The most incredible stories are reported concerning the amount of tears that a weeper was able to shed: one of them wept at times for three days and nights on end, others cried until their beards or their cushions were soaked, others again drenched entire sacks of sand with their tears. The tears of one weeper were heard splashing on his feet; another, after weeping, sat in such a puddle that he was thought to have carried out his ablutions there. One of them, pouring out tears on the ground, caused grass to sprout; another wept on purpose into a drain (*sarāb*). In some weepers the flow of tears furrowed deep lines in their cheeks, others had their eyelashes and eyelids fall off, others again had their ribs deformed, and their eyes became weak-sighted or blind. Cases of fainting and even of death are mentioned.

The ability to weep was held to be a special privilege (*faḍīla*) and a sign of true religious fervour and divine grace. "Not every seeker can weep" (ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī Harawī, *Rasāʾil*, Tehrān 1319, 51). Abū Bakr, at the sight of some Yemenites who were weeping at a recital of the Ḳurʾān, called out: "Thus were we too, until our hearts were hardened" (Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3, 151). ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Ḳays once struck himself in despair on the eyes and exclaimed: "Dry, paralysed, never to be wet again!" (*Bukhalāʾ*, 5). For Dārānī, the inability to weep is a sign of abandonment by God (Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1953, 81). Yūsuf b. Ḥusayn al-Rāzī saw in the fact that he no longer wept during the reading of the Ḳurʾān a sign that his countrymen might perhaps be right to call him a *zindīḳ* (*Ḥilya*, 10, 240). On the other hand, Thābit al-Bunānī regards the gift of weeping as a sign that God grants his prayers (*Ḥilya*, 2, 323). Muḥammad is said to have entreated God to grant him "two raining eyes that weep a flood of tears" (*Ḥilya*, 2, 296 f. and 2, 280; Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites*, 89). In this connexion, the *ḥadīth al-tabākī*: "Weep or at least attempt to weep (or: at least pretend to do so)!" enjoys general acceptance.

Among the ascetics four objections or, at least reservations have been raised against the practice of weeping. First of all, weeping was not an action. Secondly, it could be considered as relieving the load of grief and an unburdening of the heart and as such was rejected. In this connexion Sufyān b. ʿUyayna is said to have developed the technique of holding back the tears in his eyes by raising his head and thus, he said, retaining his sorrow longer within him (*Ḥilya*, 9,327). Thirdly, weeping was something outward and could therefore be simulated. The false tears of Joseph's brothers (Sūra 12,16) are mentioned as an example of this danger. Reference was also made to the supposed *ḥadīth*: "The believer weeps in his heart, the hypocrite in his skull". Since weeping is an outward manifestation, it never receives in the Ṣūfī manuals a chapter to itself, but is treated only in passing in the chapters on sadness (*ḥuzn*), contrition (*khushūʿ*) and the like. The 27th chapter of ʿAṭṭār's *Mukhtārnāma* (*dar ṣifat-i giristan*) is a special case, which does not necessarily belong here. Fourthly, many later Ṣūfīs have held it to be a sign of weakness to let themselves be overpowered by their feelings to the point of weeping.

This is not the place for a full account of the weeping of the Ṣūfīs in the *samāʿ* and at the tombs of saints, the shedding of tears amongst pilgrims at the sight of Mecca, in ʿArafa and at the tomb of the Prophet in Medina, the weeping of the Shīʿites over their Imāms or at their tombs, the weeping of the *tawwābūn* (those addicted to repentance) or of the Khawāridj, etc. But it may be indicated here that the weeping of the *bakkāʾūn* is one of the most evident links that bind together the pious asceticism of the Muslims with that of the Christians. From the early-Christian *gratia lacrimarum*, through the Coptic and Syrian monks (Shenute, Ephraem, John of Ephesus, Isaac of Nineveh, etc.), a direct line runs to the Islamic *bakkāʾūn* — an instance of the well-known bifurcate development: a common root in early Christianity, with, thereafter, one branch in Western Christendom (Augustine, Cassian, etc.), and the other in the East. The eastern current divides thereafter into three branches: one represents the Eastern Christian con- tinuation through Thomas of Margā down to Barhe- braeus, etc., the other is the Jewish offshoot (Wensinck) and the third constitutes the weeping in Islamic asceticism. Islam has, it is true, overlaid and indeed absorbed within itself other oriental forms of weeping (cf. the "weeping of the Magians" over Siyāwush, in Narshakhī's *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Schefer, 21; the weeping over Tammuz ?). Nonetheless, the Muslims themselves were well aware that their pious weeping had its origin in the Jewish-Christian sphere and illustrated it with such examples as the tears of Adam, Noah (Nūḥ: etymology *nāḥa*), Jacob, David, Solomon, John the Baptist, Jesus and numerous monks. The *ḥadīth al-tabākī* might even go back to an utterance of Isaac of Nineveh (translated by Wensinck, 235): "If thou art no mourner in thy heart, let at least thy face be clad with mourning".

The *bakkāʾūn* mentioned by Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed.

Wüstenfeld, 2,895 f., do not fall into the category of the weepers discussed in this article.

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BAḲḲĀL, etymologically "retailer of vegetables", this word has become the equivalent of the present English "grocer" taken in its widest sense. With the latter significance it has passed into Persian and Turkish, and, from Turkish, into the Balkan languages.

In its etymological meaning, the word was known in the Spanish Arabic of Valencia in the 7th/13th century, glossed by *olerum venditor*. But in the dialect of Granada (end of the 9th/15th century), it corresponded to the Castilan *regaton* (= *regrattier*) "retailer of foodstuffs in general", which was also rendered by *khaḍḍār*.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the *baḳḳāl* of the Moroccan towns was essentially a retailer of fats: oil, preserved butter, meat preserved in fat; he sold, in addition, honey, soft soap, olives in lemon juice, tea sugar and candles.

It is doubtful whether this extension of the word *baḳḳāl* is of long standing. Nearly everywhere, before the 20th century, the grocer (*sensu lato*) was named either after the basic foodstuff which he sold (with or without vegetables), or after certain methods of his trade.

Algiers had its *sakākiri* "sugar-seller"; Tunis its *ʿaṭṭār* [*q.v.*], literally "perfume-seller". As regards the Cairo of the first half of the 19th century, E. W. Lane only knew the *zayyāt* "seller of oil, butter, cheese, honey, etc.". In Syria, the usual term was *sammān* "seller of preserved butter".

Elsewhere, the grocer of the towns (*sensu lato*) was often considered as being the "shopkeeper", the fundamental "seller". At Granada, *baḳḳāl* and *khaḍḍār* were equivalent to *sūḳī* "market seller"; and the feminine *sūḳiyya* had as its Arabic synonym *khaḍḍāra* and as its Castilian equivalent: *havacera* "seller of beans". In earlier days, in Constantine and Tunis, the *sūḳī* used to sell oil, preserved butter, honey, dates, pickled olives, etc.

Considered as being the "shopkeeper" *par excellence*, the grocer also received the name of *ḥawānītī* (with variants) among the rural populations of Algeria and Constantine. The East, sporadically, used the terms *dakākīnī* and *dukkāndjī*.

Arabic-speaking Spain had *muʿālidj*, lit. "treating, developing", with the sense of "retailer of fruit and vegetables". Dozy's translation, in his *Supplément*, should be corrected on this point.

The retailer of vegetables is called, according to the country, *khaḍḍār*, *khuḍrī* or *khuḍārī*. Spices are, in general, sold by the *ʿaṭṭār*, in addition to perfumes (*ʿiṭr*) and drugs; his trade comprises also small items of stationery, haberdashery and hardware.

For various reasons, the calling of grocer is often followed by people having the same ethnic origin.

In the towns of Morocco (except at Tetuan, until recently), the *baḳḳāl* is almost exclusively a Berber (pl. *shulūḥ*) of Sūs, of the Ammeln tribe. In Algeria, the people of the Mzāb enjoy the same *de facto* monopoly. In the East, the modern *baḳḳāl* is often a Greek.

Bibliography: W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 233; Dozy, *Suppl.*, under words mentioned in the article. (G. S. Colin)

BAḲḲAM (A.) Sappan wood, an Indian dye-wood obtained from the *Caesalpinia Sappan L.* Al-Dīnawarī remarks that the word frequently occurs in ancient Arabic poetry, although the tree concerned (in Lewin's ed. read *khashab shadjar* instead of *shadjar* according to later quotations) is not found in Arabia. It is a native of India and the country of the Zandj. Its stem and branches are red being used, in decoction, as a dye.

The word is said to derive from Sanskrit *pattanga* and probably entered Arabic through the Persian. Its foreign origin was recognised by the Arab philologists who based their view on the assertion that the paradigm concerned was not otherwise attested in the language. As an Arabic equivalent they generally indicate *ʿandam* which, however, rather denotes the dragon's-blood, a red gum exuding from certain trees. The wrong identification can be attributed to the fact that both *baḳḳam* and *ʿandam* were used as a red dye.

Muslim pharmacologists indicate several medicinal applications of the sappan wood. It brings about the cicatrisation of wounds, desiccates ulcers and stops bleeding. Its juice makes the skin tender and embellishes its colour. The root yields a poison which works quickly.

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(L. Kopf)

BAKKĀR, a fortified island in the river Indus lying between the towns of Sukkur and Rohri. Its importance was noted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭā who visited it during the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. In 1522, Shāh Beg, the founder of the Arghūn dynasty, made

it his capital. When, in 1540, his son, Shāh Ḥusayn, refused to grant an asylum to the fugitive emperor Humāyūn the latter unsuccessfully attempted to capture this island fortress In 1574, in the time of Akbar, it was annexed to the Mughal empire. The best and fullest account of the Mughal conquest of Sind is to be found in the *Taʾrīkh-i Maʿṣūmī* of Mīr Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, an inhabitant of Bakkār. In 1736 Bakkār was captured by the Kalhora rulers of Sind. It later fell into the hands first of the Afghāns and then of the ruler of Khayrpur. It was occupied by the British in 1839 and became their chief arsenal in Sind during the First Afghān War (1839-42). From 1865 to 1876 it was used as a jail.

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BAḲḲĀRA. Arabic-speaking nomads of the Sūdān, occupying territories from Lake Chad to the White Nile between 9° and 13° N. Their livelihood is the herding of cattle (*baḳar*), whence their name. The dry season is spent in the southern river-lands. With the rains, they move northwards to the seasonal grasslands. Grain sown on this journey is harvested on the return. Baḳḳāra origins are obscure; the genealogies reflect existing groupings rather than give evidence of descent. They are probably connected with the Djuhayna, who irrupted into Nubia from Egypt in the 14th century. From the Nile, nomadic groups apparently made their way by the 17th century to the lands between Waddāī and Lake Chad. Fusion with other elements from North Africa may account for the tradition of a Hilālī origin among some Baḳḳāra. Penetrating southwards into regions unsuitable for camel-breeding, they turned to cattle. Groups pushing eastwards, to the south of the cultivated areas of Waddāī, Dār Fūr and Kordofān, (which were under Islamised dynasties) formed an Arab wedge between these sultanates and the pagan tribes who retreated southwards. The Baḳḳāra were uneasy vassals of these sultanates to which they paid tribute, migrating on occasion beyond the power of their overlords. Slave-raids on the southern pagans and consequent intermarriage have affected the physical type of the Baḳḳara. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the powerful Rizayḳāt Baḳḳāra were under the suzerainty of Dār Fūr. Their quarrel with the Sudanese slave-trader, al-Zubayr Raḥma Manṣūr, led to the Egyptian conquest of Dār Fūr in 1874. The Baḳḳāra assisted Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] to overthrow Egyptian rule but proved refractory to the Mahdist administration. The Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], himself a Baḳḳārī of the Taʿāʾisha tribe, used the Baḳḳāra as troops and selected from them his chief assistants. In 1888-9 he compelled the Baḳḳāra of Dār Fūr to migrate to Omdurman and its vicinity, both to support his power against the *awlād al-balad* [*q.v.*] and to bring them under closer supervision. This migration and their losses in fighting and epidemics weakened the Baḳḳāra. During the Reconquest (1896-8) many regained their old homelands as broken tribes. They gave little trouble to the Condominium government (1899-1955) and this régime saw the gradual resettlement of the Baḳḳāra and their integration into the administrative system.

Bibliography: G. Nachtigal, *Sahārā und Sūdān*, Leipzig 1889, iii, 206 ff., 453 ff.; R. C. Slatin, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, London 1896, 45 ff.; H. A. MacMichael, *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*, Cambridge 1912, 140-55, and *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge, 1922, i, 271-306, (see also Index.) Articles in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Khartoum, 1918-, include K. D. D. Henderson, "A Note on the Migration of the Messiria Tribe into South West Kordofan", *SNR*, 1939, xxii/1, 49-77, and I. Cunnison, "The Humr and their Land", *SNR*, 1954, xxxv/2, 50-68. (P. M. Holt)

BAḲLIYYA, name given to a group of Muslim dissenters in the Sawād of lower ʿIrāḳ, associated with the Ḳarmaṭians. A certain Abū Ḥātim, about 295/907-8, is said to have forbidden them garlic, leeks, and turnips, as well as the slaughtering of animals, and to have abolished religious observances. They rose in the area of Kūfa and Wāsiṭ under several leaders, notably Masʿūd b. Ḥurayth and ʿĪsā b. Mūsā nephew of ʿAbdān, at the time of Abū Ṭāhir's Euphrates expedition in 316/928-9. Their white banners bore Ḳurʾānic inscriptions recalling the liberation of the Israelites from Pharaoh's oppression. After initial successes they were put down by Muḳtadir's general Hārūn b. Gharīb. They were evidently also called Būrāniyya.

Bibliography: al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 391; ʿArīb al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tabari continuatus*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1897, 137; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 136; Nuwayrī, in Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, Vol. i, Introduction, ccx; I. Friedländer, *Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *JAOS*, xxix, 110-11 (referring to Ibn Ḥazm on a certain Bawārī); M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes de Bahraïn et les Fatimides*, Leiden 1886, 99-100. (M. G. S. Hodgson)

BAKR, the Ṣū Bāshī. A military commander and district-governor in central ʿIrāḳ, Bakr achieved by 1029/1620, by unscrupulous brutality, an outstanding personal military and civil position under a weak Pasha of Baghdād. Successful in the field, he replied to a conspiracy of his enemies in the capital by strong counter-action, established effective control of the province, and petitioned the Sultan for official investiture as Beylerbeyi, which title he now assumed. It was refused, and an army from the nearest loyal province, Diyārbakr, marched on Baghdād to restore legitimacy and order. Fierce exchanges took place for some weeks between the loyalist and the usurping forces, after which Bakr decided, with cynical treachery, to invite Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia to re-occupy ʿIrāḳ, thus compelling Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad, of Diyārbakr, with great reluctance, to confirm him as Pasha of the province, since he alone could now prevent a shameful cession of Ottoman territory. The loyalist forces withdrew, those of Persia approached the city. Bakr refused to open the gates, and after negotiations full of callous duplicity the Shah reduced it by siege. This was ended by the treacherous surrender of the city by the Ṣū Bāshī's own son. Baghdād was sacked, hundreds massacred and Bakr put to a terrible death; ʿIrāḳ remained under Persian rule until its reconquest by Sulṭān Murād in 1048/1638.

Bibliography: S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq* (1925), 51-7, and authorities quoted by him (p. 51 footnote): especially Murtaḍā Naẓmizāda, *Gulshan-i Khulafā* (Longrigg, 327). (S. H. Longrigg)

BAKR B. WĀʾIL, ancient Arabic group of tribes in Central, East, and (later) Northern Arabia. The Bakr belonged to the same people—later known as Rabīʿa—as the ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*]. Their place in the tribal genealogy is three grades lower than that of these. The Thaʿlaba (b. ʿUkāba) are to be re-

garded as the core of the Bakr. Joshua Stylites (§ 57) mentions them under the year 503 as being the leading tribe of the northern Arabian Kinda Empire, and shortly afterwards they appear in a South Arabian inscription (Ryckmans 510, *Le Muséon* 1953). In the genealogy of Bakr, the Thaʿlaba are on a level with the tribes of ʿIdjl and Ḥanīfa b. Ludjaym, with the Yashkur b. Bakr three grades above them. The Thaʿlaba were themselves subdivided into the Banū Shaybān, Dhuhl, Taymallāt (Taymallāh), and Ḳays. The Bakr tribes lived in the area of al-Yamāma. At that time, this embraced al-ʿIrḍ = Wādī Ḥanīfa, and its tributaries Luḥā (Shaib Ha on the maps), Nisāḥ, and al-Sulayy, the district of al-Khardj to the south, and the district of al-Witr with its tributaries north of the watershed. Al-Ḥadjr, the capital of al-Yamāma (near al-Riyāḍ of today) was originally in the hands of the Ḥanīfa. Later on, members of other Bakr tribes settled there too. The second largest town, Djaww (Djaww al-Yamāma, later al-Khiḍrima), south-east of al-Ḥadjr, was also largely inhabited by the Ḥanīfa, who likewise owned the oases Ḳurrān and Malham on the far side of the watershed. Colonies of the Ḥanīfa could be found further to the north-west in the regions of al-Washm and al-Sudayr. The Dhuhl b. Thaʿlaba lived, in (Ḳaryat Banī) Sadūs, named after one of their sub-tribes, on a *wādī* which runs into the Witr, the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba among other places, in Manfūḥa, to the south of Riyāḍ. There is also evidence of villages of the Yashkur, ʿIdjl and Shaybān. Djaww and al-Ḥadjr were sites of an ancient culture, which is linked with the vanished tribes of Ṭasm and Djadīs in later legends. epics. Baityles (obelisks) could still be seen in Ḥadjr in early Islamic times, but in Djaww these had been destroyed during the raid by a member of the southern Arabian dynasty of Ḥassān (al-Aʿshā, no. 13, 16-21).

Date palms were cultivated in all oases, but in the ʿIrḍ valley and in al-Khardj grain was grown. In good years corn was sent to Mecca, but in bad years it was not even sufficient for local consumption (Mutalammis, ed. Vollers, no. 5, 8; al-Aʿshā, no. 19, 24; 23, 22-23; Ibn Hishām, 997 f.). As the Bakr villages were rather close together, there were sometimes feuds between them during which the palm groves were burned down (al-Aʿshā, no. 15, 56-57; 38, 9-11; Yāḳūt, *s.v.* al-Muḥarraḳa, (below Sadūs). Some Bakr escaped these conditions by leaving and becoming mercenaries (Aws b. Ḥadjar, ed. Geyer, no. 14; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, no. 119), many took up the nomadic life—which was later on embraced by considerable parts of their tribes.

It is possible that this movement was started by the appearance of the Kinda in the second half of the 5th century (amend art. ʿABD AL-ḲAYS, line 13: from 6th to 5th century). We have no definite information about the routes which the nomadic Bakr followed at that time, although later sources (Ryckmans 510; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 430, 13) indicate that they went to the west (and east?) of al-Yamāma. During this period there was a long feud between the Bakr and their brother tribe, the Taghlib, which only came to an end in the middle of the 6th century, in a peace concluded under the patronage of Mecca, in Dhu ʾl-Madjāz, outside the Ḥaram (al-Ḥārith b. Hilliza, *Muʿallaḳa*, ed. Arnold, 66). The Yawm Kulāb I (a battle between two heirs of the Kinda empire, in about 530, at Thahlān, S.-W. of Duwādamī) is rightly regarded as an episode in that feud. Shortly afterwards, the Taghlib—whose zone of migration was then from Sādjir in the upper Sirr, to Naṭāʿi near the Persian Gulf (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, 430, 13; Ḥārith, *Muʿ*., 79)—left central Arabia, and settled in the steppes on the near side of the lower Euphrates, where, possibly, some of them had already settled earlier on. The Bakr followed them, but they stopped before Baṭn Faldj. Place names mentioned then and afterwards by the poets seem to show that the routes taken by the nomadic Bakr in the following decades ran from north to south. The area which was later vacated by the Taghlib and Bakr on the near side of the Ṭuwayḳ bend was probably before 530 interspersed with Tamīm, whose home was along both sides of the Tasrīr. After 530, they spread over the Ṭuwayḳ to eastern Arabia. Since the nomadic routes of both groups crossed, peace had somehow to be maintained, and there is in the next decades in fact little mention of fights between the Bakr and the Tamīm.

A number of outstanding Shaykh families emerged in the period in which the changing relationships between the Bakr and the Taghlib, the Tamīm, and the kings of the Kinda and of al-Ḥīra, demanded leaders of political experience. The hero of E. Bräunlich's *Bisṭām ibn Qais* (Leipzig 1923) is a member of one of these families, the Dhu ʾl-Djaddayn. Connexions with al-Ḥīra were responsible for an early development of poetry, especially amongst the Kays b. Thaʿlaba, as witness the works of al-Muraḳḳish (the legend concerning him appears for the first time in Ṭarafa, *Six Poets*, no. 13, 14-19, an imitation by a later poet of al-Ḥīra; *N.B.* the 'younger Muraḳḳish' never existed, as is evident from al-Farazdaḳ, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, 200, 15, to mention only one witness), those of ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa [*q.v.*], who never journeyed to Byzantium with Imraʾ al-Ḳays, those of Ṭarafa, and those of al-Aʿshā, who lived on into the 7th century. Poetry also flourished among the Yashkur, to whom al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza belonged.

The nomadic Bakr entered a new period when the Taghlib vacated the steppes on the lower Euphrates, migrating up the river, after their chief, ʿAmr b. Kulthūm had killed the king of al-Ḥīra, ʿAmr b. Hind in 569-70. About 580, a poet says (*Muf*., no. 41, 11): "And Bakr—all ʿIrāḳ's broad plain is theirs: but if so they will, a shield comes to guard their homes from lofty Yamāma's dales". Some ten years later, the Tamīm, and especially the Yarbūʿ, began to press forward, in order to pitch their tents in al-Ḥazn during the spring. This gave rise to mutual raids, some of which, taking place between 605 and 615) have been described by Bräunlich (in the above mentioned book). A great deal is known concerning the tribes of the nomadic Bakr at this period, and also something about the area they covered. The tribes concerned were the Shaybān, ʿIdjl, Ḳays, and Taymallāt b. Thaʿlaba. The ʿIdjl went as far as what later became the Kufan pilgrim route in the west, and as far as Tuḳayyid in the east; the Shaybān pitched their tents to the north and south of the line al-Kāẓima (near the Bay of Kuwayt)—Raʾs al-ʿAyn = al-Busayya (?)—Salmān, and the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba south-east of these, between al-Musannāh (Yāḳūt, erroneously al-Muthannāh) and Raʾs al-ʿAyn (al-Aʿshā, no. 14, 20; 29, 24). The Taymallāt, Ḳays and ʿIdjl formed the confederation of Lahāzim, in order not to be overwhelmed by the Shaybān. It is not exactly known where the northern Bakr wintered, but the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba appear

to have alternated—at least in the eighties—between al-Yamāma and the north (al-Aʿshā, no. 32, an early poem, especially v. 48). The Shaybān occasionally went as far as the oases of Baḥrayn in eastern Arabia, whilst the ʿIdjl appear to have remained in the north. During the summer, the tribes congregated where water could be found on this side of the Ṭaff between ʿAyn Ṣayd and Abū Ghar. It is in this area that the famous battle of Dhū Ḳār, in which the Dhuhl b. Shaybān repelled the advance guard of the Persian knights of Hāmarz [*q.v.*] was fought around the year 605 (al-Aʿshā, no. 40). In spite of this, the Bakr soon came under Persian influence again. At the same time, the hostility between Bakr and Tamīm in the north spread to Central Arabia, where the prince of Djaww, Hawdha b. ʿAlī, of the Banū Ḥanīfa, a vassal of the Persians, was hard pressed by the Tamīm, until the Persian governor of Baḥrayn drastically broke their valour (see al-Aʿshā, no. 13, 62-69). This brings us up to Islamic times.

Christianity was accepted by some of the Bakr in the north as well as in the south, particularly among the ʿIdjl, and (within the Shaybān) among the Dhu 'l-Djaddayn. Al-Aʿsha and Hawdha b. ʿAlī were also Christians. The adherence of Yamāma to Musaylima [*q.v.*] shows that Christianity had not taken root there, but the position in the north was quite different: the case of the former Ghazu leader, Abdjar b. Djābir, who died a Christian in Kūfa in 641, can hardly have been exceptional among the ʿIdjli. The Dhu 'l-Djaddayn also retained their Christian faith. The paganism, about which there is an interesting passage in ʿAmr b. Ḳamī'a, no. 2, 9-15, is hardly mentioned by the later poets, unless one counts al-Aʿsha, no. 39, 47, whilst the idol Muḥarriḳ in Salmān (Yāḳūt iv, *s.v.* Muḥarriḳ) is not mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī's *K. al-Aṣnām*.

Muḥammad had tried to get in touch with Hawdha b. ʿAlī even before the conquest of Mecca, but his message met with a cool and haughty reception. His successor in al-Ḥadjr was Musaylima. Thumāma b. Uthāl of the *sīra* and the *ridda* is, strangely enough, missing in the genealogy of Ibn al-Kalbī, which is based, in this respect, on a Bakrite authority. Information on the *ridda* in eastern Arabia, which spread from the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, can provisionally be found in Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 20 ff. Meanwhile the Bakr in the north had taken advantage of the disputed succession in Ctesiphon (628-632) in order to raid the cultivated land (as they had done before Dhū Ḳār). A leader of the Dhuhl b. Shaybān, al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, distinguished himself on this occasion, and when he heard of the defeat of the *ridda*, he joined Islam, thereby consolidating his leadership. Together with Khālid b. al-Walīd he brought about conditions which later led to the capitulation of al-Ḥīra. When the Muslims were placed on the defensive, after Khālid's departure to Syria early in 634, he covered the retreat in the Battle of the Bridge, in the autumn of 634. His last great deed took place a year later at Buwayb, after which he succumbed to his wounds. Bakr (and Tamīm ?) also prepared the ground for the conquest of what later became the province of Baṣra. ʿIdjl and Ḥanīfa took part in the battle of Nihāwand in 642. The Bakr reached Khurāsān with troops from Baṣra, and in 715 there were 7000 of them there (Ṭabarī, ii, 1291). In both places they were partly responsible for the extension of the ancient tribal feuds, which continued there on a larger scale. Together with the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, they formed the Rabīʿa group in Baṣra, and later they joined the Azd ʿUmān who immigrated around 680. As the Tamīm in Baṣra were associated with the Ḳays group (ahl al-ʿĀliya), a rift again occurred. Hostility subsided, however, after some fighting between the two parties on the occasion of the death of Yazīd I in 684; and after Mālik b. Misma' (a member of the leading family of the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba) had declared himself in favour of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, in 690, the Bakr kept the peace. The position was rather different in Khurāsān, where a bloody feud broke out in 684 between Bakr and Tamīm, followed by permanent friction between the Rabīʿa-Azd and the Ḳays-Tamīm, which continued until here, too, the Bakr produced a sensible leader (Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn). Their last remarkable personality was the general and statesman Maʿn b. Zā'ida [*q.v.*], of the Dhuhl b. Shaybān.

Whilst the Bakr disappeared early from the steppes of Baṣra, they remained for a longer time near Kūfa. The ʿIdjl retained their nomadic area, and later extended it towards the north-east; the Shaybān, however, migrated towards the north-west, as far as the waters of al-Laṣaf, not far from Kūfa, and later moved largely to the area of Mosul, in the north, where they settled along both banks of the Tigris. Three verses that have strayed into the *dīwān* of ʿAmr b. Ḳamī'a (no. 16) describe the homesickness of a girl on this trek into foreign lands, to the Sātīdamā (possibly the Djabal Maḳlūb, opposite the town); and reports of Abū Mikhnaf (Ṭabarī, ii) concerning the noble leader of the Khāridjites, Shabīb b. Yazīd (of the Dhuhl b. Shaybān; killed in 697) describe the curious vacillation between Bedouin life and urban civilisation at that time. The Bakr spread thence to the north as far as Diyār Bakr (a late name) and Ādharbaydjān.

The Shaybān developed once again into a large nomad tribe. In spring and summer, they pitched their tents between the Upper and the Lower Zāb, in winter they moved as far as the area below Kūfa. During the 9th century, they carried out frequent raids into the plain of Mosul, which resulted in a campaign against them in 893, led by the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid. In the 11th century, they advanced into the cultivated land of ʿIrāḳ, but disappeared at the beginning of the next century. The name Rabīʿa began to supplant the tribal names Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays in Baṣra and in Khurāsān, and the names Bakr and Taghlib in the eastern Djazīra = Diyār Rabīʿa. This also happened in Arabia. The royal family of Āl Suʿūd traces its family tree back to the Rabīʿa.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, MS. London, 193a-226b; MS. Escorial, 1-49; Ṭabarī, see indices; *Naḳā'iḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, see indices; the Arabic geographers; M. Frh. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1952, 211 f., 351 f.; Ulrich Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie*, Wiesbaden 1958 (= *Schriften der Frh. von Oppenheim-Stiftung*, no. 3). (W. Caskel)

AL-BAKRĪ [see BAḲRIYYA and ṢIDDĪḲĪ].

AL-BAKRĪ, ʿABD ALLĀH [see ABŪ ʿUBAYD].

AL-BAKRĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, appears to be the most acceptable form of the name of the alleged author, or final *rāwī*, of historical novels dealing with the early years of Islam, who also is credited with a *mawlid* and a fictional life of Muḥammad. The

earliest biography devoted to him is to be found in al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, Cairo 1325, i, 53. Al-Dhahabī indignantly describes al-Bakrī as a liar and inventor of untrue stories, whose books were available at the booksellers (and, presumably, enjoyed good sales). Considering the additional facts that a MS. of one of his works (Vatican Borg. no. 125) is dated in 694/1295 and that authors who lived as late as the end of the thirteenth century are quoted in the biography of the Prophet (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arab. Hss. ... zu Berlin*, no. 9624), al-Bakrī would seem to have lived in the latter half of the thirteenth century. While this conclusion must remain highly speculative for the time being, there exist no cogent reasons for doubting the historicity of al-Bakrī's elusive personality. If the occasional epithet of "Baṣran Preacher" can be relied upon, he was active in ʿIrāḳ.

It is by no means certain that all the works attributed to al-Bakrī go back to one and the same author. For instance, the biography of Muḥammad quotes actual books and authors, while the other works are vague and confused in their references to sources and prefer fictitious names in the rare cases where transmitters are mentioned. Furthermore, it apparently was not yet known to al-Dhahabī, and a reference to it was added by Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, i, 202, in the biography he copied from al-Dhahabī. The relationship of the various works or recensions to each other has not yet been investigated, and in order to reach safe conclusions, it will be necessary to study all the numerous MSS. preserved in widely dispersed libraries.

Bibliography: Knowledge of al-Bakrī in the West begins with L. Marracci, cf. C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti*, ii, 115. Cf., further, R. Paret, *Die legendäre Maghāzī-Literatur*, Tübingen 1930, 155-58; Brockelmann, I, 445; S I, 616 (basic but disfigured by many mistakes). A *fatwā* forbidding the reading of his biography of Muḥammad, by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haythamī, *al-Fatāwī al-Ḥadīthiyya*, Cairo 1353/1934, 116. See further MAGHĀZĪ and TAʾRĪKH. (F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-BAKRĪ, B. ABI 'L-SURŪR, name of two Arab historians of the notable family of Egyptian shaykhs of the Bakriyya *ṭariḳa* (of the Shādhilī order).

1. MUḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-SURŪR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-ṢIDDĪḲĪ AL-MIṢRĪ, d. 1028/1619. His works include, in addition to a universal history in two parts (*ʿUyūn al-Akhbār, Nuzhat al-Abṣār*, also abridged under the title of *Tuḥfat* (or *Tadhkirat*) *al-Ẓurafāʾ*), several histories of the Ottoman Turks (*Fayḍ al-Mannān, al-Durar al-Athmān fī Aṣl Manbaʿ Āl ʿUthmān*, and *al-Minaḥ al-Raḥmāniyya* with an appendix on Egypt entitled *al-Laṭāʾif al-Rabbāniyya*), one on the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (*al-Futūḥāt al-ʿUthmāniyya*), and a work on the attempt of Muḥammad Pasha, *wālī* of Egypt, in 1017/1608-9 to suppress the tax called *ḥakk al-ṭarīḳ* (*al-Tafrīdj al-Kubrā fī Dafʿ* (or *Rafʿ*) *al-Ṭalba*).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 388; S II, 412; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, no. 552; Babinger, 147; Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, nos. 2619, 4981, 8458, 9325, 13152; Ismāʿīl Pasha Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, Istanbul 1955, ii, 216. For his father Abu 'l-Surūr (d. 1007/1598-9), see Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣa*, i, 117.

2. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABIʾL-SURŪR, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, son of the above, b. ca. 1005/1596, d. ca. 1060/1650. In addition to a universal history (*Samīr al-Aṣḥāb*) and two general histories of Egypt (*al-Rawḍa al-Maʾnūsa*, and *al-Rawḍa* (or *al-Nuzha*) *al-Zahiyya fī Wulāt Miṣr al-Ḳāhira al-Muʿizziyya*), a third history of Egypt entitled *al-Kawākib al-Sāʾira* covers in fuller detail the Ottoman period down to 1045/1634. This work, unpublished as yet, was translated by S. de Sacy (*Le Livre des Étoiles errantes*) in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, i, 1788, 165-280 (a German translation from the French was published by G. Hanisch, Hildburgshausen 1791), and was used extensively by J. J. Marcel for his *Histoire d'Égypte* (Paris 1848), together with a continuation of the work to 1168/1754 by Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm (cf. Marcel, *op. cit.*, XXV). His other works include a history of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (*al-Tuḥfa al-Bahiyya*), an abridgement of al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* entitled *Ḳaṭf al-Azhār* (this work is sometimes attributed to his uncle Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan, d. 1087/1676: cf. Muiḥbbī, *Khulāṣa*, iii, 465), a biography of the Ṣūfī shaykh al-ʿAdjamī al-Kurānī (*al-Durr al-Djumānī*) and a Ṣūfī treatise (*Durar al-Aʿālī*).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 383; S II, 409; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, no. 565; Babinger, 188; works mentioned in the article. (STANFORD J. SHAW)

AL-BAKRĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ṢIDDĪḲĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ AL-ASHʿARĪ ABU 'L-MAKĀRIM SHAMS AL-DĪN, Arab poet and mystic, born 898/1492, lived a year alternately in Cairo and a year in Mecca, and died in 952/1545. Besides his *Dīwān* (Bibl. Nat, Paris, *Catalogue des mss. ar.* by de Slane, no. 3229-3233; *Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Pers. and Turk. Mss. in the Library of Trinity College*, Cambridge, 1870, no. 55-7), a collection of mystical poems entitled *Tardjumān al-Asrār* (Vollers, *Katalog der islam. usw. Hass. der Universitätsbiblioth. zu Leipzig*, no. 573; Derenbourg, *Les mss. ar. de l'Escurial*, no. 439), and several small Ṣūfī treatises (of which the MS. Gotha no. 865 contains a collection) he composed a romantic history of the conquest of Mecca in verse, called *al-Durra al-Mukallala fī Fatḥ Makka al-Mubadjdjala*, (Cairo 1278/1861, 1282/1865, 1293/1876, 1297/1879, 1300/1882, 1301, 1303, 1304); as well as a work of sukstantially historical content entitled *Dhakhīrat al-ʿUlūm wa Natīdjat al-Fuhūm* (Pertsch, *Die ar. Hdss. zu Gotha*, no. 1578).

Bibliography: ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya al-Djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1306, iii, 127; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, no. 520; Brockelmann, II, 334, 382, S II, 481-2. (C. BROCKELMANN)

AL-BAKRĪ, MUṢṬAFĀ B. KAMĀL AL-DĪN B. ʿALĪ AL-ṢIDDĪḲĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-KHALWATĪ MUḤYI 'L-DĪN, Arab author and mystic, born in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1099/Sept. 1688 at Damascus, being left an orphan at an early age, was brought up by his uncle and entered the Dervish order of the Khalwatiyya. In the year 1122/1710 he made his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem; there he wrote his prayer-book *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳudsī* and procured a certificate from ʿAlī Ḳarabāsh of Adrianople, that it was not a *bidʿa*, as one of his opponents had said, to read this book aloud at the end of the night. He returned in Shaʿbān of the same year (October 1710) to Damascus, but repeated this pilgrimage more frequently in succeeding years and made the acquaintance in Jerusalem of the vizier Rāghib Pasha, whom he accompanied on a journey to Cairo. Under the protection of this patron he set out from Jerusalem early in 1135

(Oct. 1722) to Istanbul and reached it on 17 Sha'bān/24 May 1723. Four years later he returned to Jerusalem. After making the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1148/1735 which he had planned as early as 1129/1717 but had given up on account of a quarrel with his uncle, he went to Istanbul for the second time in 1148/1735. From there he returned by ship, via Alexandria and Cairo. In the following year, in connexion with a second pilgrimage, he went to Diyār Bakr where he stayed eight months. After spending other eleven months in Nābulus, he again returned to Jerusalem in Shawwāl 1152/Jan. 1740. He died on 18 Rabī' II 1162/8 April 1749 in Cairo when on his third pilgrimage. His numerous mystic treatises, prayers and poems which are given by Brockelmann (see *infra*, cf. also *al-Ḥikam al-Ilāhiyya wa'l-Mawārid al-Bahiyya*, see Vollers, *Katalog der islam. usw. Hdds. der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig* no. 850 ii, and *al-Waṣiyya al-Djalīla lil'-Sālikīn Ṭarīḳat al-Khalwatiyya*, ibid. iv; E. Littmann, *A List of Arabic Mss. in Princeton University Library*, no. 351 b.) are all still unprinted except a *Madjmū' Ṣalawāt wa' Awrād* (Cairo 1308). He also wrote an account of his first journey from Damascus to Jerusalem in 1122/1710 entitled *al-Khumra al-Ḥasiyya fi 'l-Riḥla al-Ḳudsiyya* (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der Hdss. zu Berlin*, no. 6149). A journey to Damascus and his stay there were described in his *al-Mudāma al-Sha'miyya fi 'l-Maḳāma al-Sha'miyya* (ibid. 6148).

Bibliography: al-Murādī, *Silk al-Durar fi A'yān al-Ḳarn al-Thānī 'Ashar*, Cairo 1291-1301, iv, 190-200; al-Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib al-Athār fi 'l-Tarādjim wa'l-Akhbār*, Būlāḳ 1297, i, 125-126; 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya al-Djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1306, iii, 129; Brockelmann, II 348, s II, 477.

(C. Brockelmann)

BAKRIYYA, a Dervish order which, according to d'Ohsson, took its name from Pīr Abū Bakr Wafā'ī, who died in Aleppo in 902/1496 or 909/1503-4. According to Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, 271, they are a branch of the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*].

BAKRIYYA, a collective noun denoting all those who claim descent from Abū Bakr. In Egypt, the head of this family, the Shaykh al-Bakrī, has, since 1811, been the *naḳīb* of the descendants of the Prophet (*ashrāf*), and, since 1906, the *shaykh al-mashāyikh*, that is to say, the *shaykh* of all the religious orders. See *RMM*, iv, 241 ff.; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde musulman*[4], 1954, 274.

BAḲṬ, lat. *pactum*, hell. πάκτον. In the Hellenistic world used both for a compact of mutual obligations and its connected payments. The Arabs designated with this expression what they regarded a tribute yielded by Christian Nubia. This country, because of its geographical situation and the bellicosity of its inhabitants, withstood the first impetus of the Muslim conquest, and after hard fighting under 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (20 or 21/642-3), who ultimately had to recall his troops, his successor, 'Abd Allah b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ, 'Uthmān's governor over Egypt, made a treaty with Nubia (31/652) on a bilateral basis, falling outside the normal *ṣulḥ* treaties known by the jurists. The two contracting parties agreed on bestowing free passage through the respective countries, while the right to take up fixed abode was to be prohibited. The Nubians bound themselves to repatriate fugitive *coloni*, slaves, and poll-tax paying *dhimmis*. Besides they agreed to defray the costs of the maintenance of a mosque to be built in Dunḳula (Dongola). Moreover they were to deliver annually 360 slaves, originally at least their own prisoners of war, and the custom developed that they paid a further 40 head for the Arab officials taking care of the transaction. The Muslims, on the other hand, were obliged to yield a corresponding amount of wheat and other cereals, and textiles. The Muslim jurists of a later time could not fit this into the frame of the system, and a tradition—or at least an interpretation of an existing one—sprang up that the Muslim quota originated from the restitution of the 40 slaves, after having been exchanged for wine and other supplies, as appears from the exposition of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. C. Torrey, 189). The political state is otherwise called a *hudna*, truce. Mālik b. Anas thought it a juridical *ṣulḥ*, but a majority of his colleagues knew that it was only a treaty of non-aggression, and that the Muslims were not bound to defend Nubia against any third party. The treaty was confirmed by subsequent rulers; al-Ṭabarī makes special mention of 'Umar II (*Annales*, Ser. 1, v, 2593). Later the Nubians seem not to have paid their part very punctually, probably because of lack of prisoners of war, with the consequence that they had to replace the wanting number with their own countrymen. The animals for zoological gardens and for medical experiments which are included in the quota in later times may have made up for such deficiencies. Under al-Mahdī and al-Mu'taṣim we hear of readjustments; under the latter, when Nubia was on the verge of breaking the contract, it was found out that the tribute of the Nubians fell below what was paid by the Arabs. That the latter could not muster the force for altering this radically is seen from the fact that a lenient course was followed, allowing the Nubians to pay the stipulated quota every third year only. On the other hand, the request to have the garrison in al-Ḳaṣr on Nubian territory withdrawn was not granted. That was the place where the quotas were handed over. It was only under Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī (674/1276) that Nubia was subjugated for good, and part of it came fully under Muslim rule, while native petty princes maintained a more or less free position. After that time Islamisation went on rapidly, and no doubt the term *baḳṭ* fell into desuetude, having lost its meaning under the altered circumstances.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270 i, 199 f., Cairo 1324, i, 322 ff.; Balādhurī, *Futuḥ*, 236 ff.; E. M. Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, ii, 42 ff.; C. H. Becker, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xxii, 141 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, new ed., 1942 s.v. *pactum*.

(F. Løkkegaard)

BĀKŪ, a town and district on the W. shore of the Caspian Sea, on the peninsula of Apsheron (Ābshārān). The name is currently said to be from Persian *bādkūba*, 'wind-beaten', which is appropriate to the local conditions, but this derivation is not certain. The form Bākū appears already in the 4th/10th century (*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*). Another early, authentic pronunciation is Bākūyah (Abū Dulaf, al-Bākuwī). Other forms (Bākūh, Bākuh) are found in the Arabic geographers.

The early history of Bākū is obscure, though the locality seems to be mentioned in antiquity (cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 97). It is perhaps to be identified with the Gangara or Gaetara of Ptolemy (*Geographia*, ed. C. Müller, I, ii, 929). Bākū is not apparently mentioned in accounts of the early Muslim conquests, nor by Ibn Khurradādhbih (3rd/9th century), but thereafter it comes fairly into view

and is known by name to the 10th century Muslim geographers, being mentioned by Abū Dulaf in his *Risāla al-Thāniyya* (cf. V. Minorsky in *Oriens*, v, 1952, 25). Abū Dulaf claims to have reached Bākūyah, as he calls it, from the S. and found there a spring of petroleum, the lease (*ḳabāla*) of which was 1000 *dirhams* a day, with another well adjacent producing white petroleum, which flowed unceasingly day and night and whose lease (*ḍamān*) was also 1000 *dirhams*. These details are repeated in several much later accounts, notably those of Yāḳūt, i, 477, and al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, 389. About the same time as Abū Dulaf, al-Masʿūdī several times mentions Bākū. He gives an account of a Russian raid on the Caspian littoral *circa* 301/913-914, in the course of which the invaders reached 'the naphtha (or petroleum) coast in the country of Shirwān, which is known as Bākuh' (*Murūdj*, ii, 21). Al-Masʿūdī also speaks of Bākū as a place to which ships went back and forward from Djīl (Djīlān), Daylam, etc. on the Caspian, if not also from Atil [*q.v.*], the Khazar capital on the Volga (*ibid.*, 25). In the *Tanbīh*, a later work (written in 345/956) he again speaks of Bākū, its 'white naphtha' and its volcanoes (*āṭām*) (*BGA.*, viii, 60).

The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (written in 372/982 but making use of earlier sources) knows of Bākū as a borough or small town, lying on the sea-coast near the mountains. All the petroleum in the Daylamān country came from there (*Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, 145, cf. 411: the Daylamites used it for a kind of flame-thrower). In another passage (*ibid.*, 77) the waters of the Kur and Aras rivers are said to 'flow between Mūḳān and Bākū to join the Khazar sea (Caspian)', where regions rather than cities are perhaps intended. Since it lay N. of the Aras, Bākū was usually reckoned as in Shirwān, but according to al-Muḳaddasī, 376, in 375/989, who appears to be the first to mention its excellent harbour, Bākū was distinct from Shirwān and both were included in Arrān, to which al-Muḳaddasī gives a much greater extension than most Muslim writers (*ibid.*, 51, 374). Al-Iṣṭakhrī (*circa* 340/951) mentions Bākū and already knows of its troleum (190).

The best description of mediaeval Bākū is by a native of the place, ʿAbd al-Rashīd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Bākuwī, who wrote in 806/1402, shortly after the campaigns of Tīmūr in this quarter. The town was built of stone, actually on rocks, close to the sea, which at the time of writing had carried away part of the walls and reached the vicinity of the principal mosque. The air was good, but there was shortage of water. Since in consequence the district was infertile, provisions had to be brought from Shirwān and Mūḳān, though there were gardens situated at a distance from the town, producing figs, grapes and pomegranates, to which the inhabitants went in summer. There were two well-built fortresses in the town, of which the larger, on the seaward side, had resisted the attacks of the Tatars, although the other, which was very high, had been partially destroyed during the sieges. Day and night, in winter, high winds blew, sometimes so strongly as to sweep men and animals into the sea. At Bākū there were petroleum wells from which daily more than 200 mule-loads were drawn. A by-product in the form of a hard yellow substance was used as fuel in private houses and baths. At a *farsakh* from the town was a perennial source of fire, said to be a sulphur-mine, near which was a village inhabited by Christians, who made and sold lime. There were also salt-mines, the produce of which was exported to other countries. Nearby was an island to which people went to hunt sharks. The skins when suitably prepared were filled with petroleum, after which they were loaded on ships to be taken to the different countries. There was also a considerable trade in silk. In some years a great fire was seen emerging from the sea, visible for a day's journey. The inhabitants were Sunnī Muslims.

Politically, Bākū at most times appears to have been subject to the Shirwān Shāhs. The last dynasty of Shirwān Shāhs came to an end only in 957/1550, when the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp occupied Shirwān. After vicissitudes in the course of which it belonged for a short time (1583-1606) to the Ottoman Turks, Bākū finally became a Russian possession in 1806.

Bibliography: V. Minorsky, *Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. al-Muhalhil's Travels in Iran* (containing the Arabic text and translation of his *Second Risāla*), Cairo 1955, 35, cf. 72; al-Bākuwī, *Talkhīṣ al-Āthār wa-ʿAdjāʾib al-Malik al-Ḳahhār*, transl. De Guignes, *Notices et extraits*, ii, 509-510; Le Strange, 180-1.

(D. M. Dunlop)

Bākū under Russian domination, was at first very slow to develop. In 1807 the town had only 5,000 inhabitants, grouped in the old citadel.

The naphtha deposits, the exploitation of which was a monopoly of the former masters of Bākū, became Crown property and the first drilling took place in 1842 on the Apsheron peninsula. In 1872 exploitation became free and the deposits were sold by auction.

This periods marks the beginning of the town's rapid growth. This development was favoured by the building in 1877-78 of the pipe-line connecting Bākū with the oil fields of the Apsheron peninsula. In 1883 the town was connected by railway with Transcaucasia and the interior of Russia. Finally in 1907 the pipe-line was completed linking Bākū with Batum on the Black Sea. In 1859 Bākū had still only 13.000 inhabitants, but in 1879 the "oil rush" brought the number up to 112.000. On the eve of the Revolution, Bākū, which provided 95% of all Russia's oil, had already a population of 300,000.

During the Revolution, Bākū achieved the status of capital of independent Ādharbaydjān (31 July 1918 to 28 April 1920). Taken by the Red Army on 28 April 1920, it was henceforth the capital of the Ādharbaydjān Soviet Socialist Republic. Under the Soviet régime, the town continued to grow. In 1939 it was the fifth town of the Soviet Union with 809,300 inhabitants (about a third of whom were Russian and a third Armenians). It is now a great modern industrial city, centre of the oil industry. Bākū is also an important University centre, the seat of the State University and of the Ādharbaydjān Academy of Sciences. (A. Bennigsen)

BAʿḲŪBA, more correctly (but not now currently) Baʿḳūbā, from the Aramaic Bāyaʿḳūbā, or Jacob's House, a town situated 40 miles N.E. of Baghdād (40° 37′ E, 33° 45′ N), on the site of a very ancient pre-Islamic settlement, was in Caliphate times described as on the west bank of the Nahrawān-Diyālā (*q.v.*) main canal. It formed an important station on the Baghdād-Khurāsān trunk road, and served as chief town of the Upper Nahrawān district. Under ʿAbbāsid rule the place was highly prosperous, its date and fruit gardens famous, and the surrounding country fertile and populous, with scores of villages.

Modern Baʿḳūba is an ʿIrāḳī provincial town with an Arab mixed Sunnī and Shīʿī population of some

8,000. It is the headquarters of the *liwā* of Diyālā with dependent *ḳaḍās* of Mandali, Khāliṣ, Khāniḳīn, and Baʿḳūba itself; the last-named *ḳaḍā* contains the important *nāḥiyas* of Kinʿān and Maḳdādiyya (formerly Shahrubān). The town is prosperous, partly transformed by modern buildings, streets and services, and good communications; the Baghdād-Irbīl line of ʿIrāḳ Railways here crosses the Diyālā by a high-level bridge.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 472, 672; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 294; the same, *Annal. moslem.*, ed. Reiske, iv, 690; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Hist. des Mongols*, ed. Quatremère, 278 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 119; (Rousseau), *Descr. du Pachalik de Bagdad*, 80; Binder, *Au Kurdistan, en Mésopotamie et en Perse*, Paris 1887, 319 ff.; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, 1908, 357 ff.; S. H. Longrigg, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953. (S. H. Longrigg)

BĀKUSĀYĀ, a town and lesser administrative district under the ʿAbbāsids. With four others it formed part of the rich and populous circle (*astān*) east of Tigris, that of Bāzīyān Khusraw, in which the town of Bandanīdjīn (now vanished without trace) was a principal headquarters. Bākusāyā is usually grouped with the adjacent district of Bādarāyā [*q.v.*] (the modern Badra) by the Arab geographers, and like it enjoyed good water from the hills which mark the present Persian frontier. A modern village, within Persia, known as Baksaiyyeh, a few miles S.E. of Badra, almost certainly marks the site of Bākusāyā. The latter name strongly suggests the Syriac Bā-Kussāyē, and would indicate the home or district of the Kussāyē, the Greek κοσσαῖοι and the Kaššu (modernised into Cassites) of the Babylonian inscriptions. The domicile of these people was entirely in the Zagros range, and this identification is tempting. Nothing remarkable is recorded regarding the town or its inhabitants, in which (as in modern Badra) Lurish or other Iranian strains doubtless prevailed. The district is malarial, but in modern times produces a race of famous weight-lifting porters.

Bibliography: *BGA*, passim; Yāḳūt, i, 477; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach d. Arab. Geog.*, i, 15; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880), 61, 91; Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, xxviii, 101; idem, *Geschichte der Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden* (1879), 239; G. Westphal, *Untersuch. über die Quellen u. die Glaubwürdigkeit der Patriarchenchroniken Mari ibn Sulaiman etc.*, Strassburg 1901, 121; Le Strange, 63, 80.

(M. Streck-[S. H. Longrigg])

BAʿL is an old Semitic or even Proto-Semitic word with the central meaning of "master, owner" and has been widely used in the sense of "local god" (fertiliser of the soil) and "husband" (in a society predominantly masculine). In the last century attention was vigorously drawn to the importance of this last meaning by W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885 (2nd. ed. London 1903); but his thesis that the term itself had been borrowed by the Arabs from the Northern Semites could not be substantiated. The various meanings of the word have continued to exist in Classical Arabic with, however, a very variable vitality according to sense, period and area.

1.—In the sense of "master (of)", *baʿl* was ousted in Arabic by various synonyms, so that, unlike the Hebrew *baʿal*, it does not make an appearance in numerous compounds. It has survived better in the sense of "husband, spouse (of)", thanks most probably to the use made of it in three Ḳurʾānic passages (ii, 228; xi, 72; xxiv, 31 twice) in the singular and in the plural (*buʿūla*; subsequently Classical Arabic usually uses *buʿūl* or *biʿāl*). The meaning "master" was still strongly felt: *baʿlī* "my spouse", in xi, 72, renders the Biblical *adōnī* (in the mouth of Sarah, Genesis, xvii, 12; Targum Onkelos: *ribbōnī*). For the feminine, Classical Arabic has the forms *baʿl* or *baʿlat*. Several verbal forms developed from this connubial meaning.

2.—The Ḳurʾān, xxxvii, 125 (story of Elijah; cf. I Kings xviii, and the art. *Ilyās*) has contributed still more definitely to perpetuating the memory in Islam of *Baʿl* as a pagan deity, in spite of all the confusion and reticence of the commentators. This meaning of the word, it is true, could not hope to enjoy much success in Muslim thought as such; it is to be encountered incidentally in the medieval authors in connexion with the etymology of Baʿal-bakk [*q.v.*] with fictitious details concerning an ancient idol at this place. What is more remarkable is the unconscious survival of the idea of the god *Baal* in the two following cases:

a) The verb *baʿila* and the adjective *baʿil*, "(to be) lost in astonishment", that is to say originally, as Nöldeke has shown (*ZDMG*, 1886, xl, 174), "(to be) possessed by Baal".

b) The terms *baʿl* and *baʿlī* to convey the idea of unwatered tillage: in a verse attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, a Companion of the Prophet, (*LA*, xiii, 60), we read: *hunālika lā ubālī nakhla baʿlin, wa lā saḳyin* ..... In an expression of this kind, *baʿl* may retain something of the original meaning, not understood by the author of the *Lisān*: that of the god (male) fertilising the land (female) by rain or sub-soil water. The contrast between watered land (with terms from the same root as *sḳy*) and "dwelling or field of Baal" is well attested in the Targum and the Talmud (Jastrow, *Dict. of the Talmud*, *b ʿl* and *sh ḳ y*; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3], London 1927, see *Index*; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Gütersloh 1932, ii, 32-33).

In Classical Arabic of the early centuries of the Hidjra, however, the term *baʿl* is to be encountered on several occasions meaning on its own —and not in a compound expression open to several interpretations—"unwatered cultivated land". In the works on jurisprudence, it is to be found with this meaning, mainly in relation to the prescribed tithe (*zakāt*, *ṣadaḳa*) on agricultural produce. Muslim Law, both Shīʿī and Sunnī, does in fact reduce this impost to a half tithe or a twentieth where the crop is dependent on artificial irrigation requiring some exertion; in contrast, the *zakāt* is actually a tenth when the produce of a *baʿl* is involved. In this connexion, the term appears in various recorded *ḥadīths* from the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik (2nd/8th century) onwards (see Bādjī, *Muntaḳā*, ii, 157-158), repeated in the 3rd/9th century in works on *fiḳh*, such as the Shāfiʿī *K. al-Umm* (ii, 32) and the Mālikī *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn (ii, 99, 108). In an almost identical form, these *ḥadīths* are to be found in Abū Dāwūd (*Sunan*, no. 1596-1598) and in the early specialists on fiscal and land law (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries): Yaḥyā b. Ādam (*K. al-Kharādj*, Cairo ed. 1347 AH., no. 364-395, where an illuminating variant, no. 381, has "that which Baʿl has watered", thus reproduced in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 70), Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām (*K. al-Amwāl*, Cairo ed. 1353 AH., no. 1410-1421),

Ḳudāma b. Dja'far (*K. al-Kharādj*, part 7, ch. VII, *apud* De Goeje, *Glossaire* to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 14; the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* of al-Khwārizmī on that point is merely a résumé of this work). Likewise in the Fāṭimid *fiḳh* already established in Ifrīḳiya (4th/10th century): ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, Cairo ed. 1951, i, 316; and naturally also in many later books.

These texts evoke, as regards the use of *baʿl*, the two ensuing comments: a) the word seems to be linked with Madinese and perhaps also Yemenite traditions, but appears to be unknown to the oldest ʿIrāḳī traditions (probably because ʿIrāḳ is primarily a land of irrigation); Ḥanafism, of ʿIrāḳī origin, does not normally employ the word, though on this point it states the same rule as the other *madhāhib*.

b) The *ḥadīth*s containing this term insert it in an enumeration in which the *baʿl* appears to be distinct from lands watered by spring water, rain or surface drainage. Among the commentators and lexicographers, some nevertheless maintain that *baʿl* applies to all unwatered cultivated lands; others, influenced by the letter of the *ḥadīth*s and perhaps by dialectal usages, offer a series of rather more restrictive interpretations revolving round the idea of unwatered land under dry cultivation: for some, it only applies to cases where plants obtain water through their roots beneath the surface alone (detailed argument in *LA*, *loc. cit.*; see also W. R. Smith, *Lectures*..., 98-99 and Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, Copenhagen 1950, 121).

Among words possessing the same or an adjacent meaning which frequently replace or accompany *baʿl* in the enumeration mentioned above, particular attention should be paid to the term *ʿaththarī* (for example in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Zakāt*, chap. 55), which it would be difficult to refrain from explaining by the name of the deity ʿAthtar (= Astarte, Ishtar): a male stellar god in the Arabian and South Arabian pantheon, ʿAthtar exercised an influence on the fertility of the land and was at times qualified by the name *baʿal* (Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, Paris 1903, 133-136; Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarab. Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen 1927, i, index; Jamme, in *Le Muséon* 1947, 85-100; G. Ryckmans, in *Atti Accad. Lincei* 1948, 367; idem, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, 2nd. ed. Louvain 1951, 41 and passim; Jamme, in Brillant and Aigrain, *Hist. des Religions* [1956], iv, 264-5). The assimilation th̲t > th̲th̲ is attested in Classical Arabic and the semantic parallelism with *baʿl* here is striking.

The occurrence of *baʿl*, still with the same meaning, must also be noted in some versions of the stipulations which the Prophet is stated to have imposed as a land code in the year 9 AH., either on the oasis of Dūmat al-Djandal (through its leader Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik), or on the neighbouring Kalbite tribes (through their leader Ḥāritha b. Ḳaṭan); see Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 1, 259-269 (event discussed by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1927, appendix VII, and by W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 362-5).

It is again to be met with, in connexion with the land tax (*kharādj*), in the great treatises on public law of the 5th/11th century: *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* by the Ḥanbalī Abū Yaʿlā (Cairo ed. 1938, 151) and by the Shāfiʿī Māwardī (trans. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, 314). In calculating this tax, they recommend that account be taken of the source of the water: this envisages four categories of cultivated land, among which the *baʿl* is very closely defined, approximately as above, in contrast to land irrigated or adequately watered by rainfall.

The geographer al-Muḳaddasī, in the 4th/10th century, uses the term on three occasions (*BGA*, iii, 197, 474), dealing with agricultural production near Ramla, Alexandria and in Sind, always in the phrase (*ʿalaʾl-baʿl*; this, however, does not suffice as a proof of the use of the term outside Syria-Palestine, the author's country of birth. In this geographical area where, "in spite of the the illusion of an abundance of water, dry cultivation constitutes the basis of traditional agricultural exploitation" (J. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie*, Paris 1946, 144), at the present day we find: *arḍ baʿl* contrasted as in former times with *arḍ saḳy* (G. Dalman, *op. cit.*, 30; already mentioned by E. Meier in *ZDMG*, 1863, xvii, 607).

Here is a special case of the use of this term in medieval Egypt: in Cairo under the Mamlūks, perhaps already under the Fāṭimids, a park near the Khalīdj, which subsequently became a public promenade, was called *bustān al-baʿl*, then *arḍ al-baʿl*; see Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ ed. 1270 AH., ii, 129, who takes *baʿl* here expressly in the geographical sense.

The Muslims of Spain, "exactly like the Spanish peasants of today ... made a distinction between *secano* (Ar. *baʿl*) land and *regadio* (Ar. *saḳy*) land, the former being especially reserved for cereal cultivation" (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, Paris 1953, iii, 270). The famous agronomist of Seville Ibn al-ʿAwwām (6th/12th) confirms this distinction (*K. al-Filāḥa*, ed. Banqueri, Madrid 1802, i, 5). It appeared in contracts, especially those of plantation leases or *mughārasa*: the notarial formula of Ibn Salmūn for example, *K. al-ʿIḳd al-Munaẓẓam*, Cairo ed. 1302 AH., ii, 21-22, in the 8th/14th century, has the two adjectival forms *baʿlī* and *saḳ(a)wī*.

These two forms do in fact appear to have had a tendency in modern times to become nouns, perhaps in certain regions because of the model provided by *ʿaththarī*. *Baʿlī* has been noted alongside *ʿaththarī* in the dialects spoken in Southern Arabia: Landberg, *Glossaire Datînois*, Leiden 1920, i, 186, where *ʾatharī* must almost certainly be emended to *ʿath(th)arī*. At a first glance it is not always easy to determine whether *baʿlī* is at present used as an adjective or a noun in the East and in North Africa. It is frequently attached—more so than its opposite *saḳwī*—to the name of a vegetable or a fruit: in such a case it stresses the good quality. At Fez, the feminine *baʿliyya* is applied to a succulent fig, whereas *baʿlī* describes a man, avaricious, dry and hard as the land bearing the same name (information by L. Brunot).

As in the case of so many other elements of the vocabulary of spoken Arabic, it is to be regretted that we are far from knowing with sufficient exactitude the areas in which the words *baʿl* and *baʿlī*, unknown to extensive Arabic speaking districts, are in fact used. The precise distribution of these words would be informative from various points of view. (R. Brunschvig)

BĀLĀ (Persian "height, high") I. — Since 1262/1846 the term for a grade in the former Ottoman Civil Service, to which the Secretary of State (*mustashār*) and other senior officials belonged; he was addressed in correspondence as *ʿuṭūfetlü efendim ḥaḍretleri* (Further details in the article by M. Cavid Baysun in *IA*, ii, 262 ff.).

Bibliography: in M. C. Baysun (see above).

(Fr. Taeschner)

II. — Originally the name of a *ḳaḍā* in the *wilāyet* and *sandjaḳ* of Ankara (Central Anatolia) with the village of Karalī (Ḳara ʿAlī, now written Karaali) as its centre. It is now the name of the new chief town of the *ḳaḍā*, 39° 35′ N. Latitude, 33° 4′ E. Longitude and is situated 48 kms. south east of Ankara on a ridge of hills called Kartal Dağī, between two valleys, through which flow tributaries of the Kīzīl Irmak (Halys), at the point where the road from Ankara branches off in one direction to Kirşehir and Kayseri, and in the other to Aksaray and Konya. Population 1142 (1945); that of the *ḳaḍā*, 27,096. The inhabitants of the *ḳaḍā* are principally Yürüks and refugees (*muhādjir*) from the Caucasus and the Balkans.

Bibliography: Ali Cevad, *Coğrafya Lûğati*, 149; *Ḳamūs ül-aʿlām* II. 1206; *Sālnāme* of the Vil. Ankara 1325/1907; *IA*. ii. 263 (by Besim Darkot).

(FR. TAESCHNER)

BĀLĀ-GHĀT ("above the *ghāts* or passes"), a name given to several elevated tracts in central and southern India. It was usually applied to the highlands above the passes through the Western Ghāts. On the east side of the Indian peninsula it was the term used to distinguish the Carnatic plateau from the Carnatic Pāʾīnghāt or lowlands. In Berār it was the name of the upland country above the Adjanta pass, the most northerly part of the table-land of the Deccan. It was also applied to the hilly country of western Ḥaydarābād. In 1867, the name was given to a newly formed district of the Central Provinces. To-day it forms a district of Madhya-Pradesh (area: 3,614 square miles; population (1951) 693,379).

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*; C. E. Low, *Balaghat District* (1907).

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

BĀLĀ ḤIṢĀR ("High Castle"), in the popular tongue Ballī Ḥiṣār ("Honey Castle"), village in Central Anatolia, in the Sivriḥiṣār *ḳaḍā*, *wilāyet* of Eskişehir, 14 kms. south of Sivriḥiṣār, having only 363 inhabitants in 1935. Ruins of Perssinūs in the neighbourhood with a Roman temple to Cybele.

Bibliography: Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 473-479; G. Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, 198 ff.; *I.A*, ii, 268 f. (by Besim Darkot).

(FR. TAESCHNER)

BĀLĀ ḤIṢĀR, a general term applied, in Pākistān and Afghānistān, to citadels built on archaeological mounds and often commanding a panoramic view of the settlement, whether town, city or village, around. Among the most famous are the fort at Pēshāwar (Pākistān) and that in Kābul, the capital of Afghānistān.

The fort at Pēshāwar, lying on the northern outskirts of the present city and covering an area of 44,000 sq. yds., with double thick walls and strong bastions, is of considerable antiquity. It was first built on the present site in 925/1519 by Bābur during his incursions into India through the Khyber Pass. It served as a halting-place for the Mughal Emperors on their way to and from Kābul, where another fort of the same name already existed. Soon after its construction by Bābur the fort was destroyed by the neighbouring wild Afghan tribes, who considered it a threat to their age-long freedom. It was, however, rebuilt by Humāyūn in 960/1553 under the supervision of Pahlawān Dōst, the Superintendent of Lands, and Sikandar Khān Uzbeg was appointed as its commander. It was, the same year, attacked by the Dalazak Afghāns but they were repulsed by Sikandar Khān. In 994/1586, during the reign of Akbar, it was the scene of a great fire which consumed a huge quantity of merchandise. It remained in the possession of the Mughals till 1079/1668 when it was captured by the Afghāns under Aymal Khān, but they were soon expelled by the Imperial forces and the fort was regarrisoned.

It was captured by Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*] in 1151/1738 but on his death in 1160/1747 the Sadōzaīs, under Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], became its master. His son Tīmūr Shāh made the fort his place of residence. When the Sikhs captured Pēshāwar in 1240/1824 the fort was dismantled and the rubble was sold. Harī Singh Nalwa, the Sikh general, realising its strategic importance rebuilt, it in 1834 with cob and mud and named it Sumērgarh. In 1848 the British occupied Pēshāwar and constructed a stronghold in its place. It is now garrisoned by Pākistān troops.

Bibliography: *Memoirs of Babur*, Eng. trans. Leyden and Erskine, London 1831, i, 254, ii, 111, 158-60; W. Erskine, *History of India under Babur and Humayun*, London 1854, ii 420-1; *Akbar-nāma*, Eng. trans. Blochmann, i 608, iii 528; 725-33, 750, 800, 802, 812, 850, 867, 956-57, 984; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Eng. trans. B. De, Calcutta 1936, ii 130, 602; al-Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, Eng. trans., Calcutta 1924, ii 366; Gōpāl Dās, *Tāʾrīkh-i Pēshāwar* (in Urdu), Lahore c. 1870, 53, 153; *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, Lahore, 1897-8, 56-7, 364-65; S. M. Jafar, *Peshawar: Past and Present*, Peshawar 1946, 95-102.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

BAʿLABAKK, a small town in inland Lebanon, situated at about 3,700 ft. on the edge of the high plain of the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*], surrounded by an oasis of gardens watered by the large spring of Raʾs al-ʿAyn, which emerges at the foot of the Anti-Lebanon range. The freshness of its climate and the beauty of its vegetation have won the admiration of Arab authors, who have always extolled its *ghūṭa* as reminiscent of that at Damascus. Various hypotheses have been made as to the etymology of its name, in which the Semitic *Baal* [see BAʿL] can be seen, but none seems entirely satisfactory.

Baʿlabakk is chiefly famous for the ancient ruins still visible on its site, which was doubtless occupied from a very early date. It was particularly flourishing at the time the locality was given the Greek name of Heliopolis, when the vogue of the cult there celebrated of the Heliopolitan trinity (Zeus, Aphrodit and Hermes, avatars of Syrian gods) led to the construction of imposing sanctuaries, to be attributed in the Middle Ages to the strength of Solomon. Even today the main group of monuments impresses us with its two temples of colossal dimensions, its two courtyards preceded by large gateways and its perimeter with its massive foundations. During the Arab period these buildings were made into a strong fortress, the lay-out of which was established by the German archeological expedition of 1900-1904, but certain parts of this have since been sacrificed in restoring the earlier condition of the site or in carrying out new excavations.

Commanding both the surrounding districts and the main road from Damascus to Ḥimṣ, the town of Baʿlabakk had an eventful history. Its importance was chiefly military from the time when Christianity dealt the prosperity of its sanctuaries a mortal blow, and the Arabs, after their conquest, began to use its "acropolis" as a citadel or seat of the master of the region. In 16/637 the Muslims commanded by Abū ʿUbayda annexed it after the conquest of Damascus and just before conquering Ḥimṣ, under the terms of

a treaty we know of from al-Balā<u>dh</u>urī, and it later became part of the Umayyad *<u>dj</u>und* of Damascus, then passed into ʿAbbāsid control until the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz installed a governor in 361/972. Temporarily occupied by the Byzantine emperor John Tzimiskès in 363/974, and by the prince of Aleppo, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, in 416/1025, it fell into the hands of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳid Tutu<u>sh</u> and his sons in 468/1075, and during the domestic struggles of the Būrid period belonged in turn to the governor Gumu<u>sh</u>takīn, Būrī and his son Muḥammad, then finally to the celebrated Onor, from whom Zenkī seized it for a time and entrusted it to Ayyūb, the future father of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Nūr al-Dīn succeeded in reconquering it in 549/1154, and had to rebuild its walls after the devastation caused by the terrible earthquake of 565/1170. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in his turn seized the fortress from his old master's successors, in 570/1174, and gave it in fee successively to various members of his court or family, notably to his grand-nephew al-Malik al-Am<u>dj</u>ad Bahrām-<u>sh</u>āh, who held it from 578/1182 until 627/1230, in which year it was seized from him by al-Malik al-A<u>sh</u>raf Mūsā, the master of Damascus. After various Ayyūbids had again contended for its possession, it was conquered by the Mongols before passing into Egyptian control in 658/1260. Then, under the Mamlūks, it became the chief town of an area in the third northern border district of the province of Damascus, and its governor, whose authority did not extend over the entire Biḳāʿ, was in a position of direct dependance on the *naʾib* of Syria, who himself confirmed his appointment. The town seems to have become less important from that time onward, and the main Mamlūk mail routes, Damascus-Ḥimṣ and Damascus-Tripoli, thenceforward passed it by in favour of the Ḳalamūn route, as the commercial roads of the modern era were also later to do. In 922/1516 it passed under Ottoman control, together with the whole of Syria, and remained in the hands of petty rulers, notably of the Harfu<u>sh</u> family, until the Porte set up a regular administration in 1850.

The struggles for its possession in the Būrid, Zengid and Ayyūbid periods, when to hold the town seems to have been the pre-requisite for control of southern Syria, explain why Arab building there consisted chiefly in continually improving a system of defences set up mainly to fill the original gap at the south-west corner, between the *podia* of the two ancient temples. Of the four periods of work which have been distinguished, the second is characterised by a shifting of the fortified entrance from the west side to the south, and can be dated either in the reign of Muḥammad b. Būrī, who effectively defended Baʿlabakk, or in that of Zenkī, who according to inscriptions and written documents took measures to improve the state of the citadel. In the reign of Bahrām-<u>sh</u>āh new towers reinforced the new facade. Lastly the time of Ḳalāʾūn was marked by work in a more advanced style, in particular the massive tower at the south-east corner of the small temple and the barbican round the old south gate.

Inscriptions, studied in conjunction with the archeological remains, allow us to date with certainty various features of an ensemble which must be considered among the most interesting relics of Arab military architecture of mediaeval Syria. From the same period date also the small mosque at Raʾs al-ʿAyn and notably the large mosque in the town, built not far from the citadel with materials from an older building, and characterised by its prayer hall with its four naves and its imposing minaret. Both mosques are inscribed with texts from Mamlūk decrees. Other monuments which have now disappeared, *madrasas*, *ribāṭs*, hospices, convents and ḥadī<u>th</u> schools, are mentioned in earlier descriptions of the town.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

AL-BALĀ<u>DH</u>URĪ, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. <u>Dj</u>ābir b. Dāwūd, one of the greatest Arabic historians of the 3rd/9th century. Little is known of his life. Neither the year of his birth nor that of his death is directly attested. From the dates of his teachers, it is evident that he cannot have been born later than the beginning of the second decade of the 9th century A.D.; for the date of his death, Muslim authors suggest, as the latest and most likely date, ca. 892 A.D. As he is said to have been a translator from the Persian, Persian origin has been arbitrarily assumed for him, but already his grandfather was a secretary in the service of al-<u>Kh</u>aṣīb in Egypt <u>Dj</u>ah<u>sh</u>iyārī, fol. 162 a). He probably was born, and certainly spent most of his life, in Ba<u>gh</u>dād and its environs. His studies led him to Damascus, Emesa, and Antioch, and in ʿIrāḳ he studied, among others, with such famous historians as al-Madāʾinī, Ibn Saʿd, and Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī. He was a boon companion of al-Mutawakkil; his influence at the court appears to have continued under al-Mustaʿīn, but his fortunes declined sharply under al-Muʿtamid. The statement that he was a tutor of the poet, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, appears to be the result of a confusion of our historian with the grammarian, <u>Th</u>aʿlab, and the story that he died mentally deranged through inadvertent use of *balā<u>dh</u>ur* (*Semecarpus Anacardium L.*, marking-nut), a drug believed beneficial for one's mind and memory, is meant to refer not to him but to his grandfather, but even so, it constitutes a puzzle for which no satisfactory explanation is offered by the sources.

The two great historical works that have survived have won general acclaim for al-Balā<u>dh</u>urī's reliability and critical spirit.

1. His *History of the Muslim Conquests* (*Futūḥ al-Buldān*) is the short version of a more comprehensive work on the same subject. The work begins with the wars of Muḥammad, followed by accounts of the *ridda*, the conquests of Syria, the <u>Dj</u>azīra, Armenia,

Egypt, and the Maghrib, and lastly, the occupation of ʿIrāḳ and Persia. Remarks of importance for the history of culture and social conditions are interwoven with the historical narrative; for instance, al-Balādhurī discusses the change from Greek and Persian to Arabic as the official language in government offices, the quarrel with Byzantium concerning the use of Muslim religious formulas at the head of letters originating in Egypt, questions of taxation, the use of signet-rings, coinage and currency, and the history of the Arabic script. The work, one of the most valuable sources for the history of the Arab conquests, was edited by M. J. de Goeje, *Liber expugnationis regionum*, Leiden 1863-66, and reprinted repeatedly later on. English translation by P. K. Hitti and F. C. Murgotten, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, New York 1916 and 1924; German translation (continued to p. 239 of de Goeje's edition) by O. Rescher, Leipzig 1917-23.

2. His *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, a very large work which was never completed, is genealogically arranged and begins with the life of the Prophet and the biographies of his kinsmen. The ʿAbbāsids follow the ʿAlids. The ʿAbd Shams, among whom the Umayyads claim a disproportionate amount of space, follow the Banū Hāshim. Next, the rest of the Ḳuraysh and other divisions of the Muḍar are dealt with. The Ḳays, in particular the Thaḳīf, occupy the closing portion of the work; the last biography of any size is that devoted to al-Ḥadjdjādj. Though a genealogical work in outward form, the *Ansāb* are really *ṭabaḳāt* in the style of Ibn Saʿd, arranged genealogically. This method of arrangement is not rigidly adhered to; for the most important events of the reigns of individual rulers are always added to the corresponding chapters. The *Ansāb* thus are one of the most valuable sources for the history of the Khawāridj, A portion of the work was discovered in an anonymous MS. and identified and edited by W. Ahlwardt. *Anonyme arabische Chronik, Bd. XI*, Leipzig 1883. A complete MS. of the work was discovered by C. H. Becker in Istanbul, MS. ʿAshir Efendi 597-98 (table of contents by M. Hamidullah, in *Bull. d'Ét. Or.* xiv, Damascus 1954, 197-211). Of the edition of the work sponsored by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Vol. ivB (ed. M. Schlössinger, 1938-40) and Vol. v (ed. S.D. Goitein, 1936, with an important introduction) have been published. O. Pinto and G. Levi Della Vida have translated *Il Califfo Muʿâwiya I secondo il "Kitâb Ansâb al-Ašrâf"*, Rome 1938. Cf. also F. Gabrieli, *La Rivolta dei Muhallabiti nel ʿIrâq e il nuovo Balâdurî*, in *Rendiconti, R. Accad. dei Lincei, Cl. sc. mor., stor. e ilol.*, vi, 14, 1938, 199-236.

In spite of all al-Balādhurī's merits, his value as a historical source has been occasionally overestimated in certain respects. It is not correct to say that he always gives the original texts, which later writers embellished and expanded; it may be with much more truth presumed, from the agreement of essential portions of his works with later more detailed works, that al-Balādhurī abridged the material at his disposal in a number of cases, though he often remained faithful to his sources. Al-Balādhurī's style aims at conciseness at the expense, at times, of the artistic effect. We seldom meet with fairly long stories, though they do occur. In the *Futūḥ*, al-Balādhurī continued the old method of dividing up the historical narrative and presenting it in separate articles, and in the *Ansāb*, he attempted to combine the material of the books of classes (Ibn Saʿd) and of the older chronicles (Ibn Isḥāḳ, Abū Mikhnaf, al-Madāʾinī), with a third sort of style, namely, the genealogical literature (Ibn al-Kalbī).

Bibliography: The oldest biographical source is the historian of Baghdād, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (not preserved). ʿUbayd Allāh and all the other old Arabic sources were utilised by Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 127-32; some additional references can be found in the late compilation published in the introduction of de Goeje's edition of the *Futūḥ*. Cf. Brockelmann, I, 147 f.; S I, 216.

(C. H. Becker-[F. Rosenthal])

BALADIYYA, municipality, the term used in Turkish (*belediye*), Arabic, and other Islamic languages, to denote modern municipal institutions of European type, as against earlier Islamic forms of urban organisation [see MADĪNA]. The term, like so many modern Islamic neologisms and the innovations they express, first appeared in Turkey, where Western-style municipal institutions and services were introduced as part of the general reform programme of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*].

(1) Turkey.

The first approaches towards modern municipal administration seems to have been made by Sultan Maḥmūd II, among the reforms following the destruction of the Janissaries. In 1242/1827 an inspectorate of *iḥtisāb* (*Iḥtisāb Neẓāreti*) was set up, which centralised certain duties, connected with the inspection of markets, weights and measures, etc., hitherto performed by members of the ʿUlamāʾ class (see MUḤTASIB); in 1245/1829, with the same general aims of centralising control and ending the laxness of the Imāms (in Luṭfī's words: "*we-imāmlarıñ musāmaḥa edememesi ičün*"), the system of headmen (*Mukhtār* [*q.v.*]) was introduced in the town districts of Istanbul. Until then, there had been headmen in villages (*Köy Ketkhudāsı* in Muslim villages, *Kodja bashı* among the Christians), but not in towns, where the duties of keeping the registers of the male population and recording movements, transfers and the like were the responsibility of the ḳāḍīs and their deputies, or the Imāms. Under the edict of 1245/1829, these duties were transferred to the *mukhtārs*, of whom two, first and second, were to be appointed to every town quarter (*maḥalle*). Luṭfī tells us that this innovation aroused some comment among the populace of Istanbul, who said: "Village headmen have been set up in the quarters of the town. Next thing we shall have *sālyāne* registers!" (Luṭfī, ii, 173). A little later, the mukhtār was reinforced by committee of elders (*Ikhtiyār Heyʾeti*) of 3-5 persons; in time, this system was extended to other cities of the Empire.

In 1247/1831 the office of Commissioner of the City (*Shehremīni* [*q.v.*]) which had existed since the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, was abolished; some of its functions, relating to the care of public buildings, were transferred to the newly established Directorate of Buildings of the Domain (*Ebniye-i Khāṣṣa*), (Luṭfī, iii, 165; *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye* i, 980 and 1365, quoting the decree in the official gazette, *Taḳwīm-i Waḳāʾiʿ* vii, 1247, no. 2).

The next phase began in the year 1271/1854, when two changes were initiated. The first of these was the creation of a new *Shehremānet* for Istanbul. Despite the name, this bore little resemblance to the earlier institution; it was rather an adaptation of the French *préfecture de la ville* and was chiefly concerned with the supervision of the markets, the control of prices, etc. The prefect was to be assisted by a City

Council (*Shehir Medjlisi*) drawn from the guilds and merchants. The *Iḥtisāb Neẓāreti* was abolished and its duties handed over to the prefecture. This change in nomenclature seems to have had little immediate effect, and complaints were made about official neglect of municipal problems. A few months later, therefore, another decision was taken by the High Council of Reform (*Medjlis-i ʿĀlī-i-Tanẓīmāt*), to establish a municipal commission (*Intiẓām-i Shehir Komisyonu*). A leading spirit in the commission was Antoine Allion, a member of a rich French banking family that had settled in Turkey at the time of the French Revolution. The other members were drawn chiefly from the local Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities, together with some Muslim Turks, including the *Ḥekimbashī* Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ Efendi, one of the first graduates of Sultan Maḥmūd's medical school. The Commission was instructed to report on European municipal organisation, rules and procedures, and to make recommendations to the Sublime Porte.

A number of factors had combined to induce the Ottoman government to take these steps. European financial and commercial interests in Istanbul had been growing steadily, and a new quarter was developing in Galata and Beyoghlu (Pera), with buildings, apartment houses, shops, and hotels, in European style, and with increasing numbers of horse-drawn carriages of various kinds (see ARABA). All this created a demand, which was put forward by the European residents, with the support of the Europeanised elements among the local population, for proper roads and pavements, street-cleaning and street-lighting, sewers and water-pipes. The presence in Istanbul of large allied contingents from the West during the Crimean War gave a new impetus and a new urgency to these demands, and in the new phase of reform that began in 1854 some attention was given to the problems of municipal organisation and services in the capital. A good example of the attitude of the Turkish reformers to these questions will be found in an article, published in the newspaper *Taṣwīr-i Efkār*, by the poet and publicist Ibrāhīm Shināsī [*q.v.*] on the lighting and cleaning of the streets of Istanbul (reprinted in Abū 'l-ḍiyā [Ebuzziya] Tewfīḳ, *Numūne-i Edebiyyāt-i ʿOthmāniyye*, [1st ed. Istanbul 1296/1878], 3rd ed. Istanbul 1306, 227-235.

The record of the proceedings of the High Council of Reform on these matters reflect clearly the various preoccupations of the Ottoman government. The creation of a city prefecture, under the recently created Ministry of Commerce, was in part an attempt to meet a real need by installing the relevant European apparatus. There was also the usual desire to impress Western obsevers.

The Commission sat for four years, and reported to the High Council of Reform. Its chief recommendations were for the construction of pavements, sewers, and water-pipes, regular street-cleaning, street-lighting, the widening of the streets where possible, the organisation of separate municipal finances, the imposition of a tax for municipal purposes, and the appointment of the commission to apply municipal laws and regulations (*maḍbaṭa* of 27 Safar 1274/17 Oct. 1857, in *Medj. Um. Bel.* i, 1402-3).

In 1274/1857 the High Council decided to accept these recommendations, but to limit their application for the time being to an experimental municipality, to be established in Beyoghlu and Galata. This district, though the first to be organised, was officially named the sixth district (*altindji dāʾire*), possibly, as ʿOthmān Nūrī suggests (*Medj. Um. Bel.* i, 1415, n. 93), because the sixth *arrondissement* of Paris was believed to be the most advanced of that city. The reasons for this step are set forth in a *maḍbaṭa* of 21 Rabīʿ I 1274/9 Oct. 1857 (*Medj. Um. Bel.* i, 1416-8). Municipal services and improvements were badly needed, and should be provided; the cost should not fall upon the state treasury, but should be met by a special levy from the townspeople who would benefit. It would be excessive and impracticable to apply the new system to the whole of Istanbul at once, and it was therefore decided to make a start with the sixth district, consisting of Beyoghlu and Galata, where there were numerous properties and fine buildings, and where the inhabitants were acquainted with the practice of other countries and were willing to accept the expense of municipal institutions. When the merits of these institutions had been demonstrated by this example and had been generally understood and recognised, a suitable occasion would be found to apply them generally. The *maḍbaṭa* refers explicitly to the large number of foreign establishments and the preponderance of foreign residents in the district.

The constitution and functions of the municipality of the sixth distict, also known as the model district (*numūne dāʾiresi*) were laid down in an *irāde* of 24 Shawwāl 1274/7 July 1858. The Municipal Council was to consist of a Chairman and twelve members, all appointed by Imperial *irāde*, the Chairman indefinitely, the others for three years. The Council would elect two of its members as vice-Chairmen and one as treasurer. All were to be unpaid. The permanent officials were to be an assistant to the Chairman, a Secretary-General, two interpreter-secretaries, a civil engineer, and an architect. All these were to be appointed by the Council and receive salaries. The terms of reference of the Council were defined generally as "all that concerns cleanliness and public amenities (*neḍāfet we nüzhet-i ʿumūmiyye*)", and more specifically as roads and streets, sewers, pavements, street-lamps, sweeping and watering the streets, widening and straightening the streets, water-supply, gas, inspection and condemnation of ruinous and dangerous buildings, inspection and control of food supplies, control of prices, inspection of weights and measures, supervision of public places such as theatres, markets, hotels and restaurants, schools, dance-halls, coffee houses, taverns, etc. The Commission was further given the right to assess, impose, and collect rates and taxes, and raise loans, within limits laid down, and also to expropriate property in certain circumstances. The Chairman was to submit his budget to the Commission for discussion and inspection, and then to the Sublime Porte for ratification, without which it would not be valid.

From this it will be seen that the measures of 1271-4/1854-8, while accepting and providing for the discharge of certain new responsibilities in relation to the town, hardly represent an approach to the European conception of municipal institutions. There is still no recognition of the city as a corporate person. for such an idea remained alien to Islamic conceptions of law and government; nor was there any suggestion of election or representation. What was created was a new kind of administrative agency, appointed by and responsible to the sovereign power, but with specified and limited tasks and with a measure of budgetary autonomy. Such special commissions were by no means new in Ottoman administration (see EMIN). The novelty lay in the kind of function entrusted to it.

The municipal commission of the model sixth district seems to have done good work. Among other achievements, it made a land survey of the district, laid out two municipal parks, opened two hospitals, and introduced many improvements for the health, security and convenience of the residents. All of which did not prevent the official historiographer Luṭfī Efendi from condemning it in the most scathing terms (cited by ʿOthmān Nūrī in *Şehircilik*, 127). The movement towards the introduction and extension of Western-style municipal services continued, however. In 1285/1868 a municipal code of regulations (*belediyye niẓāmnāmesi*) was issued, the intention of which was to extend the commission system to the rest of the 14 districts of Istanbul. Each was to have a municipal committee of 8-12 members, who would choose one of themselves as Chairman. A general assembly for all Istanbul (*Djemʿiyyet-i ʿUmūmiyye*) of 56 members was to be formed, consisting of 3 delegates from each district, as well as a Council of the Prefecture (*Medjlis-i Emānet*) of six persons, appointed and paid by the Imperial government. These two bodies were to function under the Prefect (*Shehremīni*), who was to remain a government official. The elaborate provisions of this code seem to have remained a dead letter until 1293-4/1876-7 when, under the impetus of the constitutional movement, new codes were issued for the capital and for provincial towns. The Istanbul code of 1293/1876 was in effect a rearrangement of the earlier one, with a few changes, the most important of which were the increase in the number of districts from 14 to 20, and the change in the property qualification of members from an annual income of 5,000 piastres to an annual tax payment of 250 piastres. Perhaps the most significant innovation in the new code was less in its provisions than in the fact that it was promulgated, not by the Sublime Porte, but by the short-lived Ottoman parliament. However, the wars and crises that followed caused it to be as ineffectual as its predecessors. (An exception was the Princes Islands, where a seventh district was constituted: Saʿīd Pasha, *Khāṭirāt*, Istanbul 1328, i, 5; *Medj. Um. Bel.* i, 1457). Finally, in 1296/1878, a new and more realistic version was published, which in time was put into operation. This divided the city into ten municipal districts. The elaborate apparatus of councils and committees provided by the earlier codes was abolished. What was left was an appointed Council of Prefecture to assist the Prefect, and a government-appointed director (*müdür*) for each of the 10 districts. This system remained in force until the revolution of 1324/1908.

In the provinces the policies of the reformers were much the same. The earlier authority of the *aʿyān* and the *Shehir ketkhudasi* [*qq.v.*] had been abolished. The *mukhtār* system, inaugurated by Maḥmūd II, was introduced into the urban districts of most of the larger towns, and the *wilāyet* law of 1281/1864 laid down regulations for their election (chapters iv and v). In the *wilāyet* law of 1287/1870, provision was made for the establishment of municipal councils in provincial cities, along the same general lines as in the code for Istanbul. There is no evidence that anything much was done about this. Some attempt, however, seems to have been made to implement parts of the provincial municipal code (*wilāyāt belediyye ḳānūnu*) of 1294/1877. According to the law, every town was to have a municipal council, consisting of 6 to 12 members, according to the population. They were to sit for four years, with elections every two years to choose half the members. The doctor, engineer, and veterinary surgeon of the region were *ex officio* advisory members. Membership was restricted to those paying 100 piastres a year in tax. One of the members of the Council became mayor (*belediyye reisi*), not by election but by government appointment. The budget and estimates were to be approved by a municipal assembly (*Djemʿiyyet-i Belediyye*) meeting twice yearly for this purpose. This assembly was responsible to the General Council of the province (*Medjlis-i ʿUmūmī-i Wilāyet*) (*Medj. Um. Bel.* i, 1664 ff.).

After the Young Turk Revolution a new attempt was made to introduce democratic municipal institutions. The law of 1293/1876, with some amendments, was restored, and a serious attempt made to put it into effect. The experiment was not very successful. The personnel of the district committees, though enthusiastic, were inexperienced, and there was little co-operation between districts for common purposes. In 1328/1912 a new law finally abolished this system. In its place a single Istanbul municipality, called *Shehremānet*, was established, with nine district branch offices (*Shuʿbe*), each directed by a government official. The Prefect was assisted by a 54 man general assembly, to which 6 delegates were elected from each of the nine districts. In this as in so many other respects, the new régime was returning to a more centralised system of government. Despite many difficulties, some important progress was made by the Young Turks in improving the amenities of Istanbul. A new drainage system was planned and constructed, improvements were in policing and fire-prevention, and the famous packs of dogs that had for long infested the Turkish capital were finally removed.

The first municipal measure of the republican government was a law of 16 Febr. 1924, setting up a prefecture (*Shehremānet*) in Ankara (*Ḳawānīn Medjmūʿasī* ii, 218). The first prefect was Ali Haydar, and he was assisted by a general assembly of 24 members. The constitution followed broadly that of Istanbul, but with some changes, the general purport of which was to restrict the autonomy of the municipality in financial and security matters and place it more strictly under the control of the Ministry of the Interior.

On 3 April 1930, a new law of municipalities was passed (*Resmi Gazete* 1471, 1580; *OM*, 1930, 551). The old names of *Shehremānet* and *Shehremīni* were abolished, and replaced by *Belediye* and *Belediye reisi*, usually translated mayor. Under Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, the offices of Prefect and Governor of Istanbul had in fact been exercised by the same person. The Young Turks, by a law of 1325/1909, had formally separated the prefecture from the governorship. The new law laid down that in Istanbul, though not elsewhere, the office of mayor should be combined with that of Vali, the *vilayet* and *belediye* administrations, however, remaining separate. Under the law, municipalities, like villages, have corporate legal identity and legally defined boundaries. The 165 articles of the law provided a systematic code of rules for the election and functioning of municipal bodies, and with some modifications remained in force to the present day. Under these rules, municipalities are administered by a Mayor, a Permanent Commission, and a Municipal Council. The Mayor is elected by the Council, which itself is elected directly by universal suffrage for a term of four years. Towns with from 2,000 to 20,000 inhabitants are called *kasaba*, those with more than 20,000 are called *şehir*. The size of the

Council depends on the number of inhabitants, the minimum being 12 members, for fewer than 3,000 inhabitants. The Council meets three times a year, at the beginning of February, April and November. At other times it is replaced by a permanent commission (*daimi encümen*) consisting of three of its own members reinforced by the permanent officials of the municipality. The functions of the municipality include public health (hospitals, dispensaries, preventive medecine, sanitary and food inspections, etc.), public services (trams, buses, gas, electricity), town planning and engineering (roads and bridges within the town, public parks and gardens, street-lighting and cleaning, sewage, water-supply, etc.); in times of shortage, it is also entrusted with the distribution of commodities in short supply. It has its own enforcement agency (*zabita*). The municipality imposes taxes and has its own budget; its permanent staff, however, are civil servants.

Bibliography: the richest collection of material for the history of municipal institutions in Turkey will be found in ʿOthmān Nūrī (= Osman Ergin), *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, 5 vols., Istanbul 1330-1338; the first volume contains an elaborately documented history of municipal institutions in Islam and in Turkey, the second reproduces the texts of Ottoman laws and edicts on municipal matters, the remaining three deal with specific topics such as municipal contracts and privileges, health, public works, etc. For a brief general introduction to the subject by the same author, see Osman Ergin, *Türkiyede Şehirciliğin Tarihî Inkişafı*, Istanbul 1936. The texts of laws relating to municipal matters will be found in the *Destūr*, Istanbul 1872-1928, in the *Ḳawānīn Medjmūʿasi* and *Kanunlar Dergisi* (1920 ff.), and in the *Resmi Gazete*. (French translations in G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford 1905-6; Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane*, Constantinople 1874-8; *La Législation turque*, Istanbul 1923 ff.). Descriptions of the organisation of the *Shehremānet* and the provincial municipalities will be found in the general and provincial yearbooks (*sālnāme*) of the Ottoman Empire, the last of which appeared in 1328/1912. On the municipal laws of the republic see *La Vie Juridique des Peuples*, vii, *Turquie*, Paris 1939, 57 ff; Albert Gorvine, *An Outline of Turkish Provincial and local Government*, Ankara 1956. (B. Lewis)

(2) Arab East.

Town councils of the earlier period of reform, such as the *madjlis Dimashḳ* which Ibrāhīm Pasha established during the Egyptian occupation of Syria, 1832-40 (A. J. Rustum, *al-Maḥfūẓāt al-Malakiyya al-Miṣriyya: Bayān bi-Wathāʾiḳ al-Shām* Beirut 1940-43), and a council appointed by Nūr al-Dīn Pasha, a reforming *muḥāfiẓ*, at Sawākin in 1854 (J. Hamilton, *Sinai*, 1857), were unrelated to any legislative policy and were short-lived.

The Ottoman municipal legislation of 1281-94/1864-77 was applied throughout the Arabic-speaking provinces of the Empire except in certain frontier regions and in Egypt where municipal development was following a different course. The new municipalities flourished where the *wālī* of the province was sympathetic to the *tanẓīmāt*, and languished where he was not. Thus, under the guidance of Aḥmad Midḥat Pasha, Baghdād in 1869-72 and Damascus in 1878-80 experienced an intensive if brief period of urban development involving the demolition of city walls, re-alignment of streets and construction of covered markets and other public buildings. Participation of public-spirited local notables furthered urban reform. Mosul under its seigniorial families has had a continuous municipal history since 1869. Sectarianism hindered the smooth working of several municipalities in the communes (*nāḥiya*) of the autonomous *sandjaḳ* of Mt. Lebanon, and in Jerusalem where the complicated religious situation demanded that the chairman of the municipal council should be a Muslim. A weakness in all Ottoman provincial municipalities was the ineffectiveness of the municipal police (*belediyye čaʾushlari*, Ar. *shurṭat al-baladiyya*).

In spite of its shortcomings, which the consuls of the Powers were quick to report in their despatches, the Ottoman municipal organisation showed a remarkable ability to survive the disintegration of the Empire after the world war of 1914-18 when the withdrawal of Ottoman rule left a vacuum in local government in the Arab lands. To preserve continuity during the transitional period, the British in ʿIrāḳ, Palestine and Transjordan, and the French in Syria and Lebanon, continued to administer the Ottoman municipal code for several years until they introduced changes which reflected the influence of the Mandatory Powers. In 1922 a *muḥāfiẓ* was appointed for Baghdad who was at once executive head of the *liwāʾ* of Baghdad and chairman of the city municipal council; the two offices were separated in 1923. The Ottoman Law (*wilāyāt Belediyye Ḳānūnu*) of 27 Ramaḍān 1294/1877 was not however repealed until the promulgation of Law no. 84 of 1931 (*Idārat al-baladiyyāt*). The Palestine Government did not finally break with the Ottoman system until the issue of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934. Conditions in Transjordan limited the councils to consultative functions, and the Municipalities Law of 1925 permitted the head of the municipality of the capital to be appointed from outside the municipal council, a situation existing also, and more recently, at Damascus.

In Lebanon the Ottoman Law of 1877 was replaced by a Municipal Decree of 1922 under which the minister of the interior took over the supervisory duties of the former Ottoman *wālī*. In 1924 Beirut was given special status as a capital city and an organisation based on that of Paris though, from that year until the end of the French mandate, chairman and council continued to be appointed by the minister. By Legislative Decree no. 5 of 1954 the special status of Beirut was abolished and a municipal council of twelve members, of whom half were elected, was set up. The chairman, appointed from its members, is head of the municipal legislature. the *muḥāfiẓ*, representing the state, is head of the city executive. The Syrian municipalities, including that of Damascus, are governed by a *Ḳānūn al-baladiyyāt* promulgated by Decree no. 172 of 1956.

The chairmen of the municipalities of Damascus, Beirut, Baghdād and Ammān are styled *amīn al-ʿāṣima* to emphasise their particular importance in relation to the seat of the government; elsewhere the original designation, *raʾīs al-baladiyya*, is retained. In the capitals the chairman is appointed by the council of ministers. In other municipalities he is chosen either by the municipal council or by the minister of the interior who usually has a department (*maṣlaḥa*, *mudīriyya*) in his ministry which supervises municipal affairs. In Egypt and the Sudan special ministries of town and rural affairs have been created.

Egypt developed its own local government tradition. Owing to the presence of the European consuls and a European merchant community, Alexandria possessed the beginnings of municipal government as early as about 1835 when a consultative *madjlis al-tanẓīm* (*conseil de l'ornato* in Levantine parlance) was formed. This was followed in 1869 by a municipality having an appointed president and a partly elected council. The Khedive Ismāʿīl and his successors witheld municipal privileges from Cairo until 1949, though municipal commissions with restricted powers had long existed in the Egyptian provinces.

An ordinance of 1901 empowered the governor-general of the Sudan to establish municipal councils, but this measure was not implemented. In 1921 a consultative council was founded in the neighbouring towns of Khartoum, Omdurman and Khartoum North, with regional committees in each town. The formation in 1942 of the first municipal council at Port Sudan was followed in other towns. In 1945 the three regional committees at the capital were replaced by municipal councils, and a bill containing provision for further decentralisation became law in 1951.

In Arabia municipalities were established by the Ottoman Government in Madīna, Jedda, Ṭāʾif and Yanbūʿ about 1870. In Mecca the maintenance of the simple public services was divided between the ʿAyn al-Zubayda water board (*taʿmīrāt ḳomisyonu*) and a general-purposes council. These institutions had no roots in the Ḥidjāz and disappeared in the war of 1915-19. In 1926 the Saudi Goverment issued an administrative instruction providing for elected municipal councils of notables and merchants in Mecca, Madīna and Jedda, with technical management boards in each of these towns composed of the director of the municipality and his heads of department.

A municipal authority was in existence in Aden by 1855, and an Aden local authority was established in 1900, though the elective element was not admitted to the Fortress until 1947. In 1953 the Fortress township authority was reconstituted as the Aden municipality with an appointed president and an official majority on the council, but with a broadened electoral basis and control over its own budget. Baḥrayn municipalities have each a *rāʾīs madjlis al-baladiyya* appointed by the Ruler, a partly-elected council, and a permanent director (*muʿāwin, sikritayr*). Kuwayt municipality is managed by a *mūdīr* responsible to the *raʾīs al-baladiyya*, a member of the ruling family. The Arabic-speaking communities of Muṣawwaʿ and Ḥarar have taken only a small part in town management. By decree of 1893, rescinded in 1901, the Italian Government instituted a municipal board at Muṣawwaʿ with an insignificant representation of appointed natives and a narrowly limited competence. Two measures passed by the Ethiopian Government: Administrative Decree no. 1 of 1942, extended by Municipalities Proclamation no. 74 of 1945, provided for elected town councils.

Municipalities in the Arab East do not usually exercise direct control over electricity and water supply, and rarely over urban transport, undertakings which are operated either by concessionary companies, now mostly in process of nationalisation, or by boards under the authority of the central government, with or without municipal representation. Municipal councillors are chosen by direct suffrage of the electors, not by inferior councils in town wards as in two-tier systems of municipal representation. Municipalities vary in the degree of publicity in which they pursue their activities. Those in the more politically advanced centres, such as Damascus, Beirut, Baghdād, Cairo and Alexandria, disclose their budgets and explain their policies; others are less communicative. The press is excluded from council meetings, and the somewhat negative attitude of the citizens to local, in comparison with national, affairs results in relatively small polls at council elections, though the inhabitants of Palestine under British mandate, denied an active part in national affairs, frequently vented their feelings in municipal politics. Municipalities also differ in the strictness with which they enforce building restrictions and traffic control, and in the importance which they attach to welfare and public amenities. Only in Egypt have women the right to be municipal electors and to be elected on municipal councils; women municipal employees are everywhere few.

In no state is there a nation-wide local government service with its own traditions existing parallel with the national civil service. Local government is considered as a regional branch of the central government, having no juridical or real financial independence. Yet the growing wealth and technical complexity of the larger municipalities, as well as their record of administrative maturity and good government, have in practice increased their civic autonomy.

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(R. L. Hill)

(3) North Africa — (i) Tunisia

In Tunisia the first *baladiyya* appeared in the reign of Muḥammed Bey, who set up by a decree of 30 August 1858 a municipal Council to administer the affairs of the town of Tunis, composed of a president, a secretary and twelve members chosen from among the foremost people in the land, a third of whom gave up their seats each year. The chief responsibilities of this council were to do with public moneys, roads, the acquisition for the public benefit of land needed for widening roads, and the issuing of building permits. The council received its administrative authority, which was only vaguely defined, from the sovereign. The constitution of the Tunis municipal council was altered after the setting up of the French protectorate, by a decree of the bey dated 31 October 1883. Two years later a decree of 1 April 1885 promulgated a municipal charter for the whole of Tunisia, and was soon followed by another decree (10 June 1885) which determined that all municipal councillors in Tunis were to be appointed by the government, listed the matters the municipal councils were competent to deal with, and organised the administration of the country through these bodies. Two subsequent reforms have been made, one by a decree of 10 August 1938 which relaxed the rule whereby consent had to be granted for all deliberations by the municipal councils, and the other by a decree of 15 September 1945, which provided for an elected municipal council in Tunis, composed of an equal number of Tunisians and Frenchmen.

But the institution as a whole was profoundly modified by the bey's decree of 20 December 1952, which defined the commune: a collective body under public law, with civil status and financially autonomous, responsible for the conduct of municipal affairs. The deliberating body of the commune is the municipal council, elected for six years by direct suffrage by two electoral bodies, who appoint the Tunisian and the French councillors respectively. Half the members vacate their seats every three years. Of 64 communes in all, 39 appoint an equal number of Frenchmen and Tunisians to their municipal councils, the others appointing a majority of Tunisians, or Tunisians alone. The elections are held on a general basis of universal suffrage, with the proviso that Tunisian women, unlike Frenchwomen, do not have the right to vote. The municipal council holds four ordinary sessions annually. Its competence is restricted and does not extend to all the business of the commune. There is still administrative supervision centrally by the Minister of State and locally by the *Ḳāʾid*, who has now taken the place of the French civil inspector. The executive body of the commune is made up of a president appointed by decree from among the *Ḳāʾid*s other than the *Ḳāʾid* responsible for the commune concerned, and a vice-president and deputies elected by the municipal council from among its members. This arrangement preserves the earlier relationship vis-a-vis the Tunis municipal council, elected for six years. The executive body of the commune is the *Shaykh al-Madīna*, president appointed by the municipal council of the town of Tunis, and assisted by two vice-presidents, one French and one Tunisian.

Tunisia's communal organisation was changed after it became independent, under the municipal law of 14 March 1957. This new statute raised the number of communes to 94. The municipal councils are now elected directly in one ballot from a list of candidates, for three years, the electors being Tunisians of both sexes aged twenty and over. The minimum age for candidates is 25. Frenchmen can no longer be members of the municipal councils, but the law provides that Frenchmen and foreigners who have the right to vote may be appointed by the Tunisian government, which will fix the number of such persons for each commune.

Administrative supervision is exercised by the Minister of the Interior, and by the governors centrally and locally.

Two other important innovations must be mentioned: the president and deputies are now elected by the council. But the president of the commune of Tunis is still appointed by decree of the Prime Minister, the president of the council, on the nomination of the Minister of the Interior. On the other hand the municipal councils now deal with all the business of the commune. (Ch. Samaran)

(3) North Africa — (ii) Morocco

Before 1912 there were no municipalities nor municipal life in Morocco in the sense these words have had in some European countries since the Middle Ages, a sense inherited from Roman tradition. The towns had no finances of their own; the expense of public services was met in large measure by the revenue of religious foundations or *ḥubūs*, and building or improvements were dependent on the good will of the prince, who would levy the required sums on the public treasury. Nor were there any representative assemblies of citizens; the governor or *ʿāmil* held his power directly from the sultan, and the *muḥtasib* was not "the merchants' provost", as is often stated, as they did not elect him. A wise governor would take the advice of prominent people in his area, but was not bound to do so.

The first modern municipal body set up by the French Protectorate was that of Fez (*al-madjlis al-baladī*), instituted by the *dahir* of 2 September 1912. It comprised a council of fifteen members with right of vote, seven officials appointed on special grounds and eight other prominent men elected for two years. This organisation survived until the municipal charter of 1917.

A *dahir* of 1 April 1913 set up "municipal commissions in the ports of the Sharīfian empire". It was recapitulated and clarified by the *dahir* of 8 April 1917. Nineteen towns were given the status of municipalities (1,822,746 inhabitants according to the census of 1951-52). The *dahir* determines the municipal authorities: the pasha or governor, still appointed by the central authority, and under the direction of a senior municipal services official, then from 1947 of an urban affairs delegate; and a municipal commission with right of discussion only, appointed and not elected, and made up of one French and two Moroccan sections (one Muslim, one Jewish). The municipalities provide services under the direction of the Head of municipal services: administrative, public works, sanitary and fiscal. They have budgets drawn from their own resources (direct and indirect taxes, revenues from land and excise, a share in the profits from services given).

Casablanca, like Fez, was given a special organisation, but only in 1922. The municipal commission, though still appointed, now had power to vote, and the French section now elected a French vice-president with special powers.

The system of municipalities was reformed in 1953 by the *dahir* of 18 September, which abolished the special organisations at Fez and Casablanca. The

main change it introduces is to set up elected, not appointed, municipal commissions, still of Moroccans and Frenchmen equally. The commission manages the affairs of the city, though approval of its decisions by the central supervising authority is required.

The administrative provisions of this statute have been given effect, but not those relating to elections. This was prevented by the political crisis of 1953. The old appointed commissions remained, and were dissolved when Morocco became independent.

The government of independent Morocco has made no change in the legislation on municipalities. Only French control and the commissions have gone, naturally enough. A new representative system is being prepared. It will relate not only to the towns, but envisages the setting up throughout the country of rural communes which would replace the old tribes or divisions of tribes, and would be run by elected councils. At the time of writing this law has not yet been promulgated. It seems to be inspired in large measure by the *dahir* of 6 July 1951, which set up elected "*dj̲amāʿas*" with power of vote, usually within the framework of the tribe or tribal division.

In Algeria, the municipal organisation reproduces, in the towns and villages, the system in force in France. The old "mixed communes" administered by officials appointed by the government and subordinate to the sub-prefects have everywhere been replaced by "communes with full powers".

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(4) Persia

In the 19th and early 20th century the chief city official after the governor was the *beglerbegī*; under him were the *dārūg̲h̲a* and *kalāntar*; and over each of the quarters in the larger cities was a *kadk̲h̲udā*. In the bazaar the craft guilds enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy in internal affairs. The streets of the city were narrow, mostly unpaved, muddy in winter, dusty in summer, and unlit at night. There was, however, little demand for municipal reform and even after the grant of the constitution in 1906 scant attention was paid to the establishment of municipalities on modern lines. A Municipal Law was passed on 20 Rabīʿ II 1325/2 June 1907 but remained largely in abeyance owing to the fact that inadequate financial provisions had been made for municipal development. In 1919 during the premiership of Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabāʾī a commission was set up to evolve a scheme for a municipality for Tehran on modern lines but proved abortive (J. M. Balfour, *Recent Happenings in Persia*, London 1922, 240). In 1922 Dr. Ryan, an American, was engaged as municipal adviser to Tehran; he died in 1923 and was not replaced (A. C. Millspaugh, *The American Task in Persia*, New York and London 1925, 21, 212). During the reign of Riḍā S̲h̲āh (1925-41) considerable development took place in municipal affairs, and by 1927-8 there were some 134 municipalities in existence. By the Municipal Law of 1309 P./1930 the head of the municipality (*raʾīs-i idāra-i baladiyya*) was designated by the Ministry of the Interior. He was responsible for the execution of projects for municipal development and municipal administration; his duties included the supervision of weights and measures, control of the guilds, and the regulation of food supplies, prices and rents. The law also provided for an elected municipal council of 6-12 members. Its term of office was two years; its duties were to supervise the activities of the municipality, approve the municipal budget, and propose through the head of the municipality to the Ministry of the Interior the levy of municipal dues. Much progress was made in the field of town planning under Riḍā S̲h̲āh but the high degree of centralisation and the close control of the Ministry of the Interior over municipal affairs meant that the local communities had little real responsibility for or control over municipal affairs. In 1328 P./1949 new legislation increased the size of the municipal council so that it was composed of 6-30 members and extended its term of office to four years. Its main functions were unchanged but its powers were somewhat increased. The head of the municipality was appointed by the Ministry of the Interior from among three candidates submitted by the council; he was dismissed in the event of the municipal council passing a vote of no confidence in him. The increase in the power of the municipal council was, however, offset by the fact that in the event of a disagreement between the governor-general and the municipal council the former could have recourse to the Ministry of the Interior whose decision in such a case was final. Subsequently modifications were made in the position of the municipality and the municipal council by Administrative Orders (*lāyiḥa-i ḳānūnī*) dated 11 Ābān 1331 P./1952 and 25 K̲h̲urdād 1332 P./1953 issued during the premiership of Dr. Muṣaddiḳ, and the Law of 11 Tīr 1334 P./1955. In some respects the position of the municipal council was strengthened, but its freedom of action was limited by the fact that its dissolution could in certain circumstances be demanded by the Ministry of the Interior; in the event of there being no municipal council the Ministry of the Interior was deemed the council's successor. Under the Second Seven-Year Plan Law, approved in March 1956, Persia was divided into three areas for municipal development, for each of which a firm of consultants was allotted responsibility (F. C. Mason, *Iran, Economic and Commercial Conditions in Iran, August* 1957, HMSO 1957, 74-5). The *baladiyya* became known during the reign of Riḍā S̲h̲āh as the *s̲h̲ahrdārī* and the *raʾīs-i baladiyya* as the *s̲h̲ahrdār*.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

(5) India

The indigenous village communities of India controlled by village councils or *pančāyat*s represented a form of local self-government but they had practically ceased to function during the anarchy accompanying the decline of the Mughal empire. Albuquerque, the Governor of the Portuguese possessions in India between 1509 and 1515, had retained the existing village communities in his administration of Goa. In 1674 Gerald Aungier had also made use of the ancient *pančāyat*s in Bombay. To a certain extent the *pančāyat* system had survived in the territories of the Maratha Peshwa and traces were discernible elsewhere. This led Mountstuart Elphinstone in Bombay and Thomas Munro in Madras to advocate the preservation of these village councils where possible. Their representations however were little attended to and the institutions of local self-government introduced by the British in the middle of the nineteenth century were of a foreign type. Until the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in 1919 they resembled the French rather than the British system, for the district officer of British India like, the French prefect of a department, rigorously controlled the provincial authorities.

There was far too much official interference and British administrators aimed more at efficient local government under official control than any genuine system of local self-government under popular control.

The development of municipal institutions under British rule began in the three Presidency towns of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. As early as 1687, by order of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, a municipal corporation and mayor's court were established in Madras. Similar bodies were set up in Calcutta and Bombay in 1726. These courts however were intended to exercise judicial rather than administrative functions. By the Charter Act of 1793 the governor-general was authorised to appoint justices of the peace for the municipal administration of the Presidency towns. In addition to their judicial duties they were to appoint watchmen and scavengers and levy a sanitary rate for this purpose. This worked with a certain amount of success in Bombay but not in Calcutta or Madras. The justices of the peace were government nominees and it was not until 1872 that the ratepayers of the Presidency towns were allowed to elect their own representatives.

Between 1842 and 1863 a series of regulations extended municipal institutions to other towns. After the 1861 Councils' Act municipal government was remodelled by the local legislatures. The need for associating Indians in local self-government was laid down by a resolution of Lord Mayo's government. The governor-generalship of Lord Ripon (1880-84) witnessed a great extension of local self-government which it was hoped would be a means of political education for Indians. At the same time rural boards, similar to the municipal boards, extended the system to the rural areas. It was not until the introduction of dyarchy under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms that local bodies were handed over to popular control and elected ministers became responsible for the administration of local self-government.

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(C. Collin Davies)

(6) Malaya and Singapore

The municipalities in Malaya, as in other parts of the British Commonwealth, are adapted from the local government system of England. The first appearance of such institutions in the area took place in the Straits Settlements of Malacca, Penang and Singapore. In 1827 the genesis of municipal institutions in the Straits Settlements was introduced in the form of a Local Committee concerned with the management of roads and drainage in Penang. This was soon followed by similar Committees in Singapore and Malacca. In 1856 the Government of India (East India Co.) enacted a law for the establishment of Municipal Commissions of the three 'stations' of Singapore, Malacca and the Prince of Wales Island (Penang). In 1858 the meetings were held twice monthly and were open to the public. The Municipal Commissions of the station of the Prince of Wales Island (Penang) became the Municipal Commission of George Town in 1888. By the turn of the century there were three Municipal Commissions for the town of Singapore, George Town in Penang and the town and fort of Malacca. Each Commission had a full time president appointed by the governor and a number of official members and non-official members who were chosen in the early stages by electoral procedure. This procedure was later restricted to only half the commissioners leaving the other half to be nominated by the governor. By 1913 when the Municipal Ordinance of the Straits Settlements was enacted electoral procedure was completely abandoned and all the commissioners were nominated to represent local opinion, business associations and religious or racial groups. The system of nomination continued until after the Second World War when the electoral procedure was re-introduced first in Singapore (1949) and later in Penang and Malacca. At this stage only two thirds of the commissioners were elected by general adult suffrage. By 1957 the Municipal Commissions became City Councils (*Madjlis Bandar Ra'aya*) in Singapore and George Town which had become cities with fully elected councillors who in their turn elected their president who is styled 'mayor' (*dato' bandar*).

The Municipal Ordinance of the Straits Settlements stipulated that a member of a Municipal Commission must be able to speak and read English since it was the language officially recognised. This stipulation together with the system of nominating commissioners tended to reduce public interest in the affairs of the Council. After 1957 the Chinese, Tamil and Malay languages were recognised as official languages together with English for the purposes of the Sintapore Council meetings. In Malacca and Penang Malay, the national language of the Federation of Malaya, was also recognised with English. This helped to break the barriers between the public and the Council and it opened the door to the non-English educated members of the community to stand for election with accompanying tendencies towards radicalism.

The Municipalities of Singapore, George Town and the town and fort of Malacca have always exercised all functions expected of a local authority. In addition to this they were allowed to own undertakings for the supply of water, gas and electricity.

With the spread of British administration into the Malay States and the peninsula another type of local government emerged. This was called the Town Board. It was first established in the Federated Malay States of Perak, Negri Sembilan and Pahang. The non-federated Malay States adopted similar institutions with local modifications in nomenclature and powers. It must be noted that the Town Boards were less of a local government and more of a central government functioning locally. They were totally dependent upon the authority of the State and all their employees were officers of the State. Unlike the Municipal Commission they were not legally independent of the central government but agents of it. The president and the members were appointed by the central authority for an indefinite period and not for four years as was the case with the Municipal Commission. Again at variance with the Municipal Commissions Town Boards extended their authorities beyond the boundaries of the towns to the neighbouring villages.

The first attempt at the creation of municipalities

in the true sense within the Malay States came after the establishment of the Federation of Malaya in 1948. The Municipal Ordinance of the Straits Settlements was enacted for the whole Federation which by now comprised the nine Malay States together with the Settlements of Penang and Malacca. Singapore was left out of the Federation. In the same year the Town Board of Kuala Lumpur, the Federal capital, was transformed into a municipality. It retained its former responsibilities including those of the administration of the outlying villages around it. A distinction however was made between an inner municipal area and an outer municipal area. The former referring to the town proper and the latter to the villages around it. From then onwards changes began to take place. Town Boards became Town Councils (*Madjlis Bandaran*). Electoral Procedure was introduced. Greater authority was vested in these Councils and great interest in local affairs became apparent. In fact local elections in Malaya have become equal in importance to their counterparts in other highly developed countries in the sense that they have become a testing ground for the opposing national political parties.

At present Municipalities (Berbandaran) in the Federation of Malaya are still in a state of transition. The Municipal Ordinance is not fully implemented all over the Federation. (Apart from George Town City Council and the Municipalities of Kuala Lumpur and Malacca 27 of the larger towns in the Federation have elected Town Councils, 12 of which are financially autonomous and the others are moving in the same direction.) It is expected that the Ordinance will be emended to give greater scope for local variations retaining however the basic essentials of a modern municipality.

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(M. A. Zaki Badawi)

(7) Indonesia

We do not know much about political life or the kind of government in the ancient pre-Islamic cities and towns of Indonesia, either in such royal centres as the capitals of *old* Mataram or *later* Modjopahit, or in commercial urban centres like Tuban, Gresik or Palembang.

There is no evidence, up to now, that there ever was any form of really local government or autonomy vested in locally-rooted public institutions. When, from the 7th/13th century onwards, Islam gradually penetrated almost the whole of Sumatra and Java and in many other regions of the archipelago, this lack of local public institutions in the towns and cities (neither big nor numerous) continued. Both European and non-European sources of the 16th and 17th centuries tell us that the inhabitants of cities or urban emporia were ruled by servants of the sultans or princes and that their towns never were considered to be a juridical entity. Neither in remote past nor in more recent times did the indigenous towns of Indonesia have any creative influence on the development of law as did the towns and cities of Western Europe, through *their* law-giving authorities or special *municipal* courts.

In towns that came to be ruled by the Dutch East Indian Company or were founded by this chartered body (as Batavia) some urban institutions of 17th century Western type were created, of which the *weeskamer* (council for the affairs of orphans) perhaps may be mentioned because it has survived the Company itself. It reappears in the general legislation of the 19th and 20th century on the civil law of Europeans and non-Indonesian inhabitants of the archipelago.

When after the downfall of the Company and after the end of the British interregnum these islands became a part of the new kingdom of the Netherlands (1816) a highly centralised and exclusively official system of government was introduced. This system remained unaltered until the end of the 19th century, when under the influence of prominent colonial specialists some ideas of "decentralisation" began to carry the day. Though in 1894 and in following years several bills were conceived—which did not pass the parliament—it was not before 1903 that the so-called *Indische decentralisatiewet* (Act for decentralisation) was promulgated.

This act had a double aim: first, to pave the way for the creation of local and regional public councils; secondly to procure the financial means to be used by these councils. (The regional councils will not be dealt with here). So this act did not aim at reforms in the great diversity of Indonesian rural and truly indigenous institutions: in that field everything continued to be founded on customary law (*ʿādat*) and special legal regulations made for it. This new chapter of the legislation prescribed (*inter alia*) how to set up *urban* municipalities.

Large cities, like Batavia (now Jakarta, Djakarta), Surabaya, Semarang, Bandung and many other places of urban character as well, were westernised in many respects. The great majority of Europeans and Chinese, and several other non-Indonesian groups lived there; even the Indonesian inhabitants often were of different origin, *ʿādat* and language. Western business and industrial activity had its headquarters there. In these great half-western, half-eastern agglomerations the usual problems that are to be found in big cities everywhere were encountered. They

could be better served and solved by municipal authorities and services than by the general civil service officials of the central government. Further legislative measures, issued by the governor-general in 1905, carried out what the fundamental act aimed at, and Batavia became a municipality. In its initial phase the members of its municipal council were appointed by the governor-general and not elected.

The resident of Batavia was officially the council's chairman. Meester-Cornelis and Buitenzorg (now Djatinegara and Bogor) also obtained municipal councils in 1905. This new system gradually developed so that all the cities and big towns in Java as well as many towns elsewhere (Medan, Pamatangsiantar, Padang, Makassar, Menado, etc.) became municipalities, while since 1918 the members of these councils could be elected by qualified inhabitants.

Since 1925 every *male* citizen of an urban municipality in Java who had attained his majority, had a yearly income of at least 300 guilders, and could read and write in Dutch, Malay or any vernacular, was given the vote. In the outer provinces other rules might be in force. These new urban municipalities were made corporate bodies. The rather limited activities of urban municipalities comprised such items as roads, streets, parks, sewage-systems, fire-service, public utility works, public health service and so on. Municipal regulations could be made. In 1916 a new ordinance enabled the government to appoint burgomasters (*burgemeesters*) for those cities or towns that were deemed to need such an official (as in the Netherlands, the burgomaster was to be appointed by the central government). Their salaries were paid by the central government; a percentage of it was to be reimburred by the municipal treasury. As these urban municipalities were considered western-type enclaves in the territory of *ʿādat* law it seemed convenient, at least during the first two decades of their existence, to appoint only European burgomasters. The *wethouders* (aldermen) were chosen by the council from among its own members. They formed under the chairmanship of the burgomaster the executive committee of the council. Only in the last decade before the second world war did the government start appointing Indonesians as burgomaster.

In the present Republic of Indonesia the principle of decentralisation as well as that of autonomy and local government is maintained in article 131 of its provisional constitution. New legislative measures however to give practical effect to this principle are not yet in force. For Java at least, an act of 1948 (nr. 22) promulgated by the *former* republic of Indonesia (*vulgo*: the Jogja-republic) has systematised the autonomous parts of the territory in three ranks: 1) provinces, 2) *kabupatèn* or regencies and big cities 3) small urban municipalities and rural unities. As a consequence of article 142 of the abovementioned provisional constitution (*undang-undang dasar Republik Indonesia*, promulgated 17 August 1950) all earlier regulations not explicitly abolished or altered are to be considered as decrees or regulations of the republic. So the essentials of the prewar legislation as to urban municipalities are still in force, although the burgomasters are now officially called *walikota*, and the municipal council has influence on the appointment of these magistrates while the members of the councils are to be elected by all inhabitants of both sexes who have passed their 18th birthday or married at an earlier date. (The special and temporary situation in Jakarta where the 24 members of the council are appointed by the government, need not be discussed here).

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BALĀGHA (A.), Abstract noun, from *balīgh* effective, eloquent (from *balagha* "to attain something"), meaning therefore eloquence. It presupposes *faṣāḥa*, purity and euphony of language, but goes beyond it in requiring, according to some of the early definitions, the knowledge of the proper connexion and separation of the phrase, clarity, and appropriateness to the occasion. Even though those definitions are not infrequently attributed to foreign nations such as the Persians, Greeks or Indians, the demand for skill in improvisation and the recurring references to the *khaṭīb* (or orator) in connexion with the discussion of the concept make it abundantly clear that it originated in the Arabian milieu. The transfer of the concept to the written word and hence to literary criticism and, beyond this, its widening to denote a three-pronged science are the essential facts in the rather complicated history of the term.

Grammar and lexicology, the primary concerns of the early critic, became in the course of the ninth century, when stylistic perfection had been accepted as a desideratum in official pronouncements, integral parts of the education of the *kātib*. The period appreciated systemisation not excluding the analysis of aesthetic experience. Acquaintance with the conceptual apparatus of Greek thought assisted in the articulation of critical insights even though the impulse toward a theory of *balāgha*, or aesthetic effectiveness on the verbal level, seems to have been germane to the Arab tradition which was then stimulated by an increased interest in structure and development of poetry and by the need to rationalise the aesthetic implications of the theological postulate of the uniqueness (*iʿdjāz*) of the Ḳurʾān. The motivation for the first work exclusively devoted to certain formal characteristics of artistic expression, the *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz (written in 887/88; ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1935), was the justification of the 'new' or 'modern' style, *al-badīʿ* [*q.v.*], of which the second half of the ninth century had witnessed the victorious surge. This justification Ibn al-Muʿtazz sought to accomplish by means of the proof that the figures of speech whose generous employment appears to have been the most prominent (and hence the most frequently criticised) feature of the modernistic style in the eyes of the public, were without exception traceable in the Holy Book as well as in classical literature. The reason why Ibn al-Muʿtazz divided the eighteen figures of which he furnishes examples into the two categories of *badīʿ* (five kinds) and *maḥāsin* (thirteen) still eludes us. We know, however, that the second part of his work (which deals with the *maḥāsin*) was added by the author after the first had encountered a certain amount of criticism. (W. Caskel, in *OLZ*, 1938, 146-47, sees the rationale for the distinction in the fact that it was only in the employment of the *badīʿ* figures that 'modern' poetry differed from the classical tradition.)

The use of the notion of the 'rhetorical figure' in the interpretation of the Ḳurʾān antedates the work

of Ibn al-Muʿtazz; the method is fully developed in Ibn Ḳutayba's (d. 889) *Taʾwīl mus̲h̲kil al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. A. Ṣaqr, Cairo 1373); this fact may help us to understand why the doctrine of tropes and figures was the earliest aspect of *balāg̲h̲a* to attract systematic investigation.

Ḳudāma b. Dj̲aʿfar's (d. 922?) *Naḳd al-S̲h̲iʿr* is inspired by another tendency; Ḳudāma searches for an objective standard in the evaluation of poetry. Rhetorical figures are only one of the elements with which the poet and his critic have to deal. Like many of his Arab and Greek predecessors Ḳudāma was led, especially in his discussion of the defects of poetry, into problems that to our mind come within the purview of grammar and logic. The orderly fashion in which he coordinates the several viewpoints may have contributed to the three-fold structuring of the *ʿilm al-balāg̲h̲a* at which the scholastic age of Muslim critical thought was to arrive. Not much later than Ḳudāma one Ishāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahb, a *kātib*, wrote (in or after 335/946-7) the *Kitāb al-Burhān fi wudj̲ūh al-bayān* (identical with the *Kitāb Naḳd al-nat̲h̲r* that had been attributed variously to Ḳudāma and to Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-G̲h̲āfiḳī, d. 1262; it awaits publication; it is known only through an article of ʿAlī Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *RAAD*, 1949, 73-81; cf. the discussion of the problem by S. A. Bonebakker in the introduction to his edition of *Naḳd al-S̲h̲iʿr*, Leiden 1956, 15-20). Ishāḳ continues the discussion of 'the various ways of expressing things which Dj̲āḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, had initiated; he criticises the limitations of his predecessors and, from our point of view, indicates one of the directions in which the final systemisation of *balāg̲h̲a* was to occur. This system slowly takes shape in works like the *Kitāb al-ṣināʿatayn* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 1005).

The struggle between the Ancients and the Moderns which dominates literary life from the middle of the ninth to the close of the eleventh century kept the interest in stylistic analysis alive. Toward the end of this period, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Dj̲urdj̲ānī (d. 1078) refined to a degree never reached by any Arab (or Persian) critic before or after him the comprehension of the psychological roots of the aesthetic effect. In his *Asrār al-Balāg̲h̲a* (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954) his principal concern is with simile, metaphor and analogy—later to become the domain of the *ʿilm al-bayān*. Dj̲urdj̲ānī succeeded in explaining the (logical and) psychological foundations of the aesthetics implicit in the aspirations especially of the later phases of Arabic (and Persian and Turkish) poetry. His is the merit of having been the first to investigate the 'fantastic aetiology', the very life of Persian poetry in particular (although its technical designation, *ḥusn al-taʿlīl*, is found only more than a century later in Sakkākī). Dj̲urdj̲ānī's other important work, *Dalāʾil al-iʿdj̲āz*, unquestionably spurred the rise of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* as an integral part of rhetoric.

After Dj̲urdj̲ānī the scholastics hold the field. In the third part of his encyclopaedia of the sciences, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, Sakkākī (d. 1226 or 1229), gives the *ʿilm al-balāg̲h̲a* the organisation which it was to retain to the present. In his treatment it comprises three branches: the *ʿilm al-maʿānī*, 'notions', dealing with the different kinds of sentence and their use; the *ʿilm al-bayān*, 'modes of presentation', with the art of expressing oneself eloquently and without ambiguity—both are concerned with the relation of thought to expression and with the different ways to express the 'same' idea which the poet or writer has at his disposal; one must never forget that the *ʿilm al-balāg̲h̲a* as all Arab literary theory is primarily a *Kunstlehre*, an *ars dicendi*, and not an aesthetics in Plato's or our own sense, i.e., a *Schönheitslehre*. (At this point a distinct analogy may be drawn to Muslim treatment of political theory which, conspicuous exceptions such as Māwardī's (d. 1058) *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* notwithstanding, is concerned with the conduct of the ruler and his administrators rather than with the nature of kingship and administration). The third branch is the *ʿilm al-badīʿ* which deals with the embellishment of speech and defines a large number of tropes classifying them in general on the ancient model in σχήματα διανοίας, *maʿnawī*, and λέξεως, *lafẓī*.

A tendency to proliferation of the figures identified is unmistakable. Where Sakkākī (and his commentators al-Ḳazwīnī, better known as *k̲h̲aṭīb Dimas̲h̲ḳ* (d. 1338), and al-Taftazānī (d. 1389), whose, works *Talk̲h̲īṣ al-Miftāḥ*, and *Muk̲h̲taṣar al-Talk̲h̲īṣ*, have come to supersede Sakkākī's as the standard textbooks of rhetoric) list thirty *maʿnawī* figures (some subdivided further) and seven *lafẓī*, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Dj̲awziyya (d. 1350), *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid* has eighty-four *maʿnawī* alone.

The *Muʿdj̲am fi maʿāyir as̲h̲ʿār al-ʿAdj̲am* of the Persian S̲h̲ams-i Ḳays (*fl.* 1204-30) is the first and a fairly successful attempt to apply Sakkākī's system to a literature other than Arabic.

A contemporary of Sakkākī's commentators, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 1349), inaugurated the fashion of the so-called *badīʿiyya*, a poem composed to illustrate the various figures of speech. The genre whose most celebrated representative is perhaps the *Badīʿiyya* of Ibn Ḥidj̲dj̲a al-Ḥamawī (d. 1434) has been cultivated down to quite modern times.

It is difficult to find the Hellenising strain in the theory of *balāg̲h̲a* its proper place in this presentation; for with the significant exception of Ḳudāma (cf. Bonebakker, *op. cit.*, 36-44) it has always remained on the edge of the developmental sequence. Both the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle found translators; the translation of the *Poetics* by the Nestorian, Abū Bis̲h̲r Mattà b. Yūnus (d. 940), has found three editors (Margoliouth, Oxford 1887; Tkatsch, Vienna 1928-32; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1953), that of the *Rhetoric* has remained unpublished. Concern for these works has been confined to the *falāsifa*. Avicenna included an abridgement of the *Rhetoric* in the section on logic of his *S̲h̲ifāʾ* (ed. S. Sālim, Cairo 1954) and Averroes summarised the *Poetics* (edd. F. Lasinio, Pisa 1872; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1953). But the literary background that served as the vantage-point for Aristotle's ideas remained alien to the mediaeval Muslim. Respect for the protophilosopher rather than a desire to influence Arab literature or the reduction to theory of its techniques and aspirations motivated such occasional studies as were accorded those much-misunderstood works. What Averroes observed with regard to Greek epic narrative in metrical form (in connexion with *Poetics* xxiii), that "all this is peculiar to them (i.e., the Greeks) and nothing like it is to be found among ourselves", could fairly be extended to the tradition of Greek literature and its theory as a whole—even though a good many motifs, conventions and definitions of tropes did find their way (in contrast to other Greek bequests apparently *not* through the mediation of the Syriac tradition) into Arabic literature and theory.

Bibliography: A. F. von Mehren, *Die Rhetorik*

der Araber, Copenhagen and Vienna 1853, with extracts from al-Suyūṭīs (d. 1505) versified presentation *ʿUḳūd al-Djumān*; Bonebakker's introduction to his ed. of *Naḳd al-Shiʿr*; Ritter's introduction to his ed. of *Asrār al-Balāgha*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (Flügel), ii, 32-39; G. E. von Grunebaum, *A Tenth-Century Document of Arabic Literary Theory and Criticism*, Chicago 1950; *JNES* 1944, 235-53; *Journal of Comparative Literature* 1952, 323-40 (German tr. *Kritik und Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1955, 101-29. 130-50); *Indiana University Conference on Oriental-Western Literary Relations*, Chapel Hill., N.C., 1955, 27-46; J. Kraemer, *ZDMG* 1956, 259-316 (where most of the older literature on the 'Hellenisers' is referred to; additions, *ZDMG* 1957, 511-518. (A. SCHAADE-[G. E. VON GRUNEBAUM])

BALAK, NŪR AL-DAWLA BALAK B. BAHRĀM B. ARTUḲ, one of the first Artuḳids, known chiefly as a tough warrior. He appears in history in 489/1096 as commander of Sarudj on the Middle Euphrates. This locality being taken from him by the Crusaders in the following year, and his uncle Ilghāzī having been appointed governor of ʿIrāḳ by Sulṭān Muḥammad, he accompanied him, and is found in the following years struggling vainly for the little towns of ʿĀna and Ḥadītha, against Arabs, or protecting the Baghdād-Iran road from the attacks of Kurds and Turkomāns. After Ilghāzī's disgrace in 498/1105 he returned to Diyār Bakr, the headquarters of the family, as did his uncle, and in 1110 accompanied him on an expedition in Syria in which Sukmān al-Ḳuṭbī of Akhlāṭ also took part. On Ilghāzī and Sukmān's quarrelling he was carried off a prisoner by the latter. He was soon set free on the death of Sukmān, and in 1113 took advantage of the death of the Turkomān chief Djabuk to occupy Pālū on the eastern Euphrates (Murād Ṣū). The princess mother of Tughril-Arslan, the young Saldjūḳid of Malaṭya, who had need of a protector against the Saldjūḳid of Ḳonya Masʿūd, married Balak, making him the young prince's *atabeg*. Strengthened by this alliance, Balak was now able to take the Khanzit with its chief settlement the stronghold of Khartpert, which remained his chief residence (about 1115). The encroachments which he made on the territory of Mengüdjek in the north led him into a war against the latter and his ally Gavras, the Byzantine duke of Trebizond; with the help of the Dānishmandid Gümüshtakin he crushed them (1118), and incorporated in his principality the little tributary valleys on the right of the Murād Ṣū as far as Tshimishkezek and Mizgard, while in the meantime his protegé Tughril-Arslan had taken the province of Djahān, towards Marʿash, from the Armenian vassals of the Franks of Edessa. In 516/1122 he attacked Gerger on the Euphrates, and won military glory by capturing in quick succession Count Joscelin of Edessa and King Baldwin II of Jerusalem who had hastened to its relief. After the death of Ilghāzī, who had become master of Aleppo, one faction in this town considered Balak a better man to oppose the Franks than the sluggish Badr al-Dawla Sulaymān, the dead man's son; Balak laid claim to the succession, by a combination of plunder and cunning occupied the town, and at once attacked the Frankish territories east of the Orontes. He then learnt that with the help of local Armenians his Frankish prisoners at Khartpert had risen and seized the fortress; hastening back he recaptured it and executed them without mercy, with the exception of Joscelin, who escaped, and Baldwin, whom he held for ransom. It seems that the Shīʿīs of Aleppo then tried to shake off his overlordship in his absence; he took measures against them, and exiled their chief Ibn al-Khashshāb. To strengthen his hold on the district of Aleppo he attacked the too independent Turkish governor of Manbidj, who called on Joscelin for assistance. He defeated Joscelin, but was killed by an arrow during the siege (518/1124). After his death Khartpert soon passed into the control of his cousin Dāʾūd of Ḥisn-Kayfā, whose son married Balak's daughter and only heiress.

Balak is hardly known except for his martial exploits. The most one can add is that he lessened the effect of his depredations on enemy lands by making forced transplantations of peasants, who brought the conquered lands back to productivity again. He was still basically a Turkomān chief, but endowed with a striking personality which made him in his last days one of the first champions of the Muslim revival against the Crusaders.

Bibliography: The sources are the same as those for the general history of Syria and Mesopotamia in the period in question, and more particularly for Irāḳ Ibn al-Athīr, for Upper Mesopotamia the same writer and Ibn al-Azraḳ (unpublished), for Syria Ibn al-Ḳalānisī and Ibn Abī Ṭayyī (in Ibn al-Furāt, unpublished); apart from these, the Frankish historians of the Crusade, Orderic Vitalis (ed. le Prévost), the Armenian Matthew of Edessa and the Michael the Syrian (ed. trans. Chabot). Among modern works see the histories of the Crusades, esp. Grousset, i; C. Cahen, *Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 1940 (with study of sources), and by the same scholar, *Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtuḳides*, in *JA*, 1935. See also J. Sauvaget, *La tombe de l'Artuḳide Balak* in *Ars Islamica* v-2, 1938, and the article ARTUḲIDS. (CL. CAHEN)

BĀLAḲ B. **ṢĀFŪN**. [see ʿŪDJ B. ʿANĀḲ].

BALAKLAVA, in the Tatar language BALĪKLAVA (with the folk-etymological meaning of "fishery", "fishing-place"), a small port in the Crimea, on a deep inlet of the Black Sea. Balaklava, which is not visible from the open sea, lies 16 km. south of Sevastópol'.

The town was known to the Greek geographers (Strabo, etc.) under the name of *Palakion* on the sea-inlet Συμβόλων λιμήν and was inhabited by Taurians, who used it also as a place of refuge. It came later under Roman and Byzantine rule and during the 9th-13th centuries acted as the centre of a modest exchange-trade with the Russians. The Genoese settled here in about 1360 and founded a Roman Catholic bishopric; the entire southern shore of the Crimea as far as Kaffa (Feodosiya) was made over to them by Byzantium in 1380. The town, at that time, bore the name of *Cembalo* (probably from Symbolon) and was strongly fortified; remnants of the walls were still to be seen in the 19th century. An attempt of the Greek inhabitants, in 1433-1434, to rid themselves of Genoese rule miscarried. Balaklava fell in 1475 under the control of the Crimean Tatars and remained so until 1783, forming the southern limit of their lands over against the territories under direct Ottoman rule (cf. Muḥammad Riḍā, ed. Kazem-Beg, 92: with reference to a date c. 1540). The town, during this period, was only of commercial importance. The Tatars, who had gradually settled in the town, left it after its subjection to Russia (1783) and were replaced by Greeks from the Aegean Islands who, in the war of 1768-1774, had joined the Russians. These people

formed a battalion of their own from 1795 to 1859. An engagement was fought near Balaklava on 25 October 1854, during the Crimean War. Today Balaklava is a small market-town occupied with fishing and vine-growing.

Bibliography: P. Köppen, *Krîmskiy Sbornik*, St. Petersburg 1837, 210-227 (with a plan); V. Smirnov, *Krîmskoye Khanstvo* ...., St. Petersburg 1887, index; E. S. Zevakin and N. A. Penčko, *Iz istorii social'nîkh otnosheniy v genuezskikh koloniyakh Sev. Pričernomor'ya v XV veke*, in *Istoričeskiye Zapiski*, 1940, no. 7; Brockhaus-Yefron, *Enciklopedičeskiy Slovar'*, vol. 4 (II A), St. Petersburg 1891, 783 ff.; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Enciklopediya*², iv (1950), 102 ff. Cf. on Balaklava in ancient times Pauly-Wissowa, XVIII/2 (1942), col. 2498 (Ernst Diehl) and 2nd Ser., vol. iv A I (= 7), (1931), col. 1097 (E. Oberhummer—with a full discussion about the site). Cf. on Balaklava under Genoese rule B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1943, 240 ff., 267, and 395 ff. (with further bibliographical references). (B. Spuler)

BAL'AM b. Ba'ūr(ā), Bil'am b. Be'or of the Hebrew Bible. The Ḳur'ān does not mention him, unless perhaps in an allusion in vii, 175 [174], 176 [175]. The commentators and historians keep the main elements of the Biblical story in their accounts of him (Numbers xxii-xxiv, xxxi, 8) and following the Jewish Aggada which likewise has given other features of his portrait, make him responsible for the fornication of the Israelites with the daughters of Moab and Midian (Numbers xxv); note that he tends to absorb the figure of Balaḳ, who appears rarely in the Muslim sources. Some traditions deviate from the Hebrew sources in making Bal'am an Israelite or in dating him in the time of Joshua, an anachronism which despite Sidersky does not go back to a Samaritan tradition. — The statements of the *tafsīr* on Kur'ān vii, 175 [174] are used by the mystics, at least since Muḥāsibī, to make of Bal'am the prototype of the spiritual man led astray by lust and pride.—The Ps.-Balkhī attributes to Bal'am somewhat confused philosophical views on the eternity of the world.— On the identification of Bal'am with Luḳmān (a tradition taken up by Petrus Alphonsi) see *EI*¹, s.v. *Luḳmān*.

Bibliography: R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, 649-650; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 21; Muḥāsibī, *Ri'āya*, 256 ff., 282; Ṭabarī, i, 508-510; idem, *Tafsīr*, ix, 76 ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 99-100; Ps.-Balkhī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-Ta'rīkh*, i, 51/53, 75/77, 91/90, 141/130, 145/134; Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-Madjālis*, 133, 196; Kisā'ī, *Vita Prophetarum*, 227; Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, iv, 293; Petrus Alphonsi, *PL*, clviii, 673; Sidersky 104-108 (on the Samaritan connexion, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, ed. Th. W. J. Juynboll, Leiden 1848, 3/133-8/138). (G. Vajda)

BAL'AMĪ, the *nisba*, *i.e.*, generic name, of two Sāmānid *wazīrs*, father and son, of whom the latter, as translator of the famous History of Ṭabarī, is at present better known. The reference of the name is uncertain. Sam'ānī (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*, fol. 90 r.) mentions the explanation of Ibn Mākūlā (Brockelmann, I, 354) that it is from Bal'am, 'a town in the land of the Greeks' (*balad min diyār al-Rūm*), not otherwise known, but which is perhaps the same as 'Balaam', mentioned by Priscus (*Excerpta de Legationibus*, ed. Bonn, 165) in A.D. 472, or that it is from Bal'amān, a locality at Balāshgird near Marw, the opinion of al-Ma'dānī (cf. Sam'ānī, fol. 536 r.). Both authorities indicate that the ancestor of the Bal'amīs was an Arab tribesman of Tamīm in the early days of Islam, but by the former he is said to have accompanied Maslama b. 'Abd. al-Malik and by the latter, Ḳutayba b. Muslim.

(1) The father, Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh (sometimes 'Abd Allāh al-Bal'amī al-Tamīmī, is said by Sam'ānī more than once (fols. 90 r. and 262 v.) to have been *wazīr* to the Sāmānid Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad (279-295/892-907), but there appear to be no notices of his activity until the reign of Naṣr II b. Aḥmad (301-331/913-942). He became *wazīr* to Naṣr probably about 310/922 (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 241), his immediate predecessor having been, according to Muḳaddasī (337), Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Ya'ḳūb al-Naysābūrī. In this year he was at Astarābād (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 96), and is thereafter mentioned repeatedly (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 196, 207, cf. Muḳaddasī, 317), till he was replaced by the younger Djayhānī in 326/937-938 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 283, but cf. Muḳaddasī, 337). Iṣṭakhrī (260) mentions his houses at Marw, and a gate in Bukhārā was named after him, Bāb al-Shaykh al-Djalīl (*ibid.*, 307), the same apparently as that which in later times was called 'Shaykh Djalāl'. The sources agree as to his capacity, and he was a patron of men of learning. He is said by Sam'ānī (fol. 262 verso) to have considered the poet Rūdagī without a peer among the Arabs and Persians. He died, according to Sam'ānī (fol. 90 r.), in the night of 10 Ṣafar 329/14 November 940.

(2) Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bal'amī, son of the foregoing, was appointed *wazīr* to 'Abd al-Malik I b. Nūḥ (343-350/954-961) towards the end of his reign through the influence of the *ḥādjib* Alptagīn (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, ed. M. Nāẓim, E. G. Browne Memorial Series, 1928, 42). He did not inherit his father's practical ability. Muḳaddasī (338) calls him Amīrak Bal'amī, with the diminutive, and mentions that he was twice *wazīr* to 'Abd al-Malik's successor al-Manṣūr I b. Nūḥ (350-366/961-976), from whom he received instructions in 352/963 (cf. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, i, 69) to compose the translation of Ṭabarī which has made him famous. This is one of the earliest prose works in modern Persian and inaugurates the long and brilliant series of Persian historical writings.

Bal'amī did not attempt to bring the history down to his own time. He omits the *isnād*s (chains of authorities) and alternative versions of the same event characteristic of Ṭabarī, presenting a continuous account derived from these. The same method was followed by later Arabic historians such as Ibn al-Athīr (cf. G. Weil, *Geschichte der Caliphen*, iii, X ff.). The result is a work substantially shorter than the original (4 volumes in Zotenberg's French translation and one volume in the Lucknow edition, as against the 15 volumes of the Leiden Ṭabarī). Yet Bal'amī's History is not simply an abbreviation of Ṭabarī. Occasionally he gives substantial additional information, as in the case of a series of episodes in the fighting between the Arabs and Khazars from 104/722 onwards (text in B. Dorn, *Nachrichten über die Chasaren*, see *Bibliography*), the source of which appears to be the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* of Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (cf. Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad bin A'ṯam al-Kūfī'nin kitab al-futūḥu*, *Ankara Üniv. Dil ve Tarih-cog. Fak. Dergisi*, 1949, 255-282; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, 58). Most surviving MSS. of Bal'amī represent a later redaction, the approximate date of which is indicated by a short appendix, giving a cursory account of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs down to the death of al-Mustaẓhir and accession of al-

Mustarshid (512/1118). According to B. Spuler (*The Evolution of Persian Historiography*), the translation of Ṭabarī into Persian under the Sāmānids served no mere cultural purpose, but was intended to show the Persians that the destiny of their nation was linked with orthodox Islam.

Balʿamī died, according to Gardīzī (ed. M. Nāẓim, 46), in Djumādā II, 363 (February 27th-March 27th, 974). The much later date for his death indicated by ʿUtbī (*Taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī*, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1286, i, 170), who says that he was appointed *wazīr* by Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr for a short time after the fall of Bukhārā in Rabīʿ I/382 May 992, seems less likely.

Bibliography: Storey, 61-65, 1229; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabarī*, lithographed Lucknow, 1291/1874 (other Indian editions in Storey); B. Dorn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kaukasischen Länder und Völker*, iv: *Tabary's Nachrichten über die Chasaren* (text of Balʿamī with German translation and notes), *Mem. Russ. Acad.*, 6th Series, *Political Science etc.*, St. Petersburg, 1844, vi, 445-601; H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de ... Tabari traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-ʿAli Moʿhammed Belʿami*, 4 vols., Paris, 1867-1874 (reprinted Paris, 1958).

(D. M. Dunlop)

BĀL-ʿANBAR. [see TAMĪM].

BALANDJAR, an important Khazar town, lying on a river of the same name, N. of the pass of Darband, *i.e.*, Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*], at the E. extremity of the Caucasus. Its site is probably to be identified with the ruins of Endere near Andreyeva. Balandjar appears to have been originally the group-name of its inhabitants (cf. Ṭabarī, i, 894-896, and 'Barandjār' below). According to Masʿūdī (*al-Tanbīh*, 62), Balandjar was the Khazar capital before Atil [*q.v.*] on the Volga, but in the accounts which we have there is no evidence that this was so. Balandjar was the subject of repeated attacks by the Arabs in the first Arab-Khazar war, and in 32/652 underwent a full-scale siege, which ended disastrously for the assailants. It was again besieged by the Arabs under Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī in 104/722-723, and this time was captured. Most of the inhabitants are said to have emigrated. It is readily understandable that many of them moved N. Two hundred years after this the traveller Ibn Faḍlān (310/922) came across thousands of 'Barandjār' among the Volga Bulgars. According to the figures given by Ibn al-Athīr (*sub anno* 104) for the amount of the booty distributed after the siege—300 *dīnārs* per horseman in an army of 30,000—Balandjar at the time of its fall must have been a place of great wealth. From this point its importance appears to have declined, and after the close of the second Arab-Khazar war in 119/737 it is scarcely mentioned.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 452-454; A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, AKM, XXIV, Leipzig 1939, 191-193, 298-299 nn.; D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, index, s.v. *Balanjar*; M. Artamonov, *Ocherki drevneishei istorii Khazar*, 93.

(D. M. Dunlop)

BALANSIYA (Valencia), a town in Spain, the third in size as regards population, which exceeds 500,000, lying on the east of the Peninsula, 3 miles from the Mediterranean and from its port, el Grao. It is connected with Madrid by two railway lines, one via Albaceta, 306 m. (490 km.) in length, the other via Cuenca, 251 m. (402 km.) in length, and by road (218 m. = 350 km.); the distance as the crow flies is however only 188 miles. Valencia is the capital of the province of the same name and the diocese of an archbishop. Its situation is a striking one, in the centre of the fertile Huerta de Valencia, which is watered by the Turia or Guadalaviar (Ar. *Wādī 'l-abyaḍ*, the "White River") and is the site of part of the lake of Albufera [see BUḤAYRA]. Unlike Cordova or Toledo, the old capital of Valencia has seen its importance grow with the years and it remains the capital of the Spanish Levante, the *Sharḳ al-Andalus* of the Muslim period. It is still known officially as Valencia del Cid in memory of the part played in its history by the celebrated Castilian hero.

Valencia was founded by the Romans in 138 B.C. After the death of the rebel Viriathus, the consul D. Junius Brutus established a colony there of veterans who had remained faithful to Rome. The inhabitants later took the side of Sertorius and in 75 B.C. Pompey partially destroyed the town which began to return to prosperity under Augustus. It was taken by the Visigoths in 413 and became Muslim in 714, when Ṭāriḳ [*q.v.*] established himself there and at Saguntum, Jativa and Denia.

In the political history of Umayyad Spain, Valencia seems only to have been a place of minor importance. The country of which it was the capital soon became arabicised by the settlement of Ḳaysī colonies: the capital of Spanish Levante thus was one of the most active centres of Arab culture throughout the whole period of the Muslim occupation; on the other hand in the mountains along the Valencian littoral there were little islands of people of Berber origin. Valencia at this time was the capital of a province or *kūra*, as we know from the eastern writer al-Muḳaddasī and the Spaniard al-Rāzī (see Yāḳūt, s.v.) and the residence of a governor (*wālī*) appointed by the caliph of Cordova. It is only from the 5th/11th century, with the break up of the caliphate, that, becoming the capital of an independent Muslim state and very soon one of the principal objectives of the Christian *reconquista*, Valencia began to occupy a more and more important place in the Spanish and Arabic chronicles of the mediaeval history of Spain that have come down to us.

The Muslim kingdom of Valencia was founded in 401/1010-11 by two enfranchised ʿĀmirids, Mubārak and Muẓaffar, previously in charge of the irrigation system of the district who declared themselves independent and shared the power. After a very short reign Mubārak died and Muẓaffar was driven from Valencia; the inhabitants of this town then chose another "Slav" [cf. ṢAḲĀLIBA] to rule them, called Labīb, who placed himself under the suzerainty of the Christian count of Barcelona. The principality of Valencia soon passed into the hands of a grandson of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who, like his grandfather, assumed the *laḳab* of al-Manṣūr; he had previously been a refugee at the court of the Tudjībid Mundhir b. Yaḥyā at Saragossa. The reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which lasted till his death in 452/1061 brought an era of peace and prosperity to Valencia. He recognised the authority of the caliph of Cordova, al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd, who gave him the right to bear the titles al-Muʾtamin and Dhu 'l-Sābiḳatayn, and kept on good terms with the Christian kingdoms of Spain. His son ʿAbd al-Malik succeeded him and took the title al-Muẓaffar. He was still a youth at his accession and the vizier Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz acted as regent. Very soon afterwards, Ferdinand I of Castile and Leon attacked Valencia and almost captured the town, after

inflicting a severe defeat on the Valencians who made a sortie to attempt to drive off the besiegers. ʿAbd al-Malik sought the assistance of the king of Toledo al-Maʾmūn b. Dhu ʾl-Nūn [*q.v.*] but the latter came to Valencia and soon dethroned the young king (457/1065). The principality of Valencia was then incorporated in the kingdom of Toledo and al-Maʾmūn left the vizier Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz there to govern it. When al-Maʾmūn died in 467/1075 he was succeeded by his son Yaḥyā al-Ḳādir, whose great incapacity soon became apparent. Valencia then gradually recovered its independence; al-Ḳādir sought the help of Alfonso VI, king of Castile, to bring the town under his authority again but he ended by having to surrender his own capital to him in 478/1085. For the course of events and part played in them by the great Castilian hero Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, the Cid of history and legend, cf. the article AL-SĪD.

On their arrival in Spain, the Almoravids tried to regain the kingdom of Valencia for Islām but their efforts against the Cid were fruitless. When he died in 492/1099 his widow Ximena was still able to offer some resistance to the attacks of the Almoravids, led by Mazdalī. But in the end she abandoned Valencia after first of all setting it on fire and the Muslims entered it on 15 Radjab 495/5 May 1102.

Governors appointed by the Almoravids succeeded one another at Valencia until the middle of the 6th/12th century when the town gradually began to resume its independence in the troubled period which preceded the coming of the Almohads into Spain, and it linked its fortunes with those of Murcia whose series of ephemeral rulers it recognised. In 542/1147, Ibn Mardanish was proclaimed king of Valencia but four years later his subjects rebelled against him. Under the nominal suzerainty of the Almohads, Valencia continued in the hands of local princes until it finally fell into Christian hands, two years after Cordova, when James I of Aragon took it on 28 Sept. 1238.

Bibliography: All the Arab geographers who have dealt with Muslim Spain devote more or less attention to Valencia: cf. al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dozy and De Goeje, text 191, transl. 132; Yāḳūt, i, 730-732; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, text 178, transl. 258; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, s.v.—On the Muslim history of Valencia, cf. Ibn ʿIdhārī, ii, 111; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères* and *ʿIbar*, iv; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*; the biographers of the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*. Cf. also F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en España*, Saragossa 1899; González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris 1931, idem, *L'Espagne Musulmane du Xème siècle*, Paris 1932; idem, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, index; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929 (very important); A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926; E. Tormo, *Levante* (Guias Calpe), Madrid 1923.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

BALARM, Palermo, surrendered to the Arabs after a short siege in Radjab 216/August-Sept. 831, four years after their arrival in Sicily, and straightaway it appears as the strong point of Muslim domination in the island. It was there that the governors made their seat in the name first of the Aghlabids, and then of the Fāṭimids of Africa, who, however, had to send expeditions more than once to re-establish their authority over the rebel colony; such were the expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab in 287/900, sent by his father, and that of Abu Saʿīd in 304/916-17, which was sent by the Fāṭimid Mahdī, who built the citadel of Khāliṣa (Calsa) opposite the old town. In 336/948 the Fāṭimid governor al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Kalbī seized power at Palermo, and established a genuine local dynasty under Fāṭimid suzerainty, which lasted till about 442/1050. The period of Kalbite supremacy is for Palermo as for the whole of Sicily the most brilliant of the Arab era. In 445/1053 the last Kalbite, Ṣamṣām, who had climbed to power after a period of turbulence and unrest and a direct intervention by the African Zīrids, was driven from the town, which thenceforward managed its affairs through its *djamāʿa* or municipal council. During this time the ties between the capital and the rest of the country loosened, and finally disappeared. It was thus that Palermo played no special part in the defence of Muslim Sicily against the Normans, and awaited more or less in apathy the arrival of her conquerors beneath her walls, where, however, she defended herself vigorously. She surrendered at last to Robert and Roger d'Hauteville after a five months' siege, at the beginning of Rabīʿ II 464/January 1072, thus becoming Christian again after one hundred and forty years of Muslim domination. But the Arab character of Palermo was only very gradually obscured; although the great mosque was straightway given over to Christian worship and the Muslims lived from then on as subjects of the Normans, it was more than a century before every trace of an Arab population and Arab monuments and customs disappeared. As late as 580/1184 the traveller Ibn Djubayr saw at Palermo districts reserved for Muslims, and mosques, schools and markets frequented by them, and heard much Arabic spoken. The condition of these Muslims in the capital of the Norman kingdom, which had been reasonable enough under the tolerant rule of the two Rogers, grew worse under their successors (there was an anti-Muslim riot or pogrom in 556/1161) and became intolerable in the disturbances which followed the death of William II (1190). By the end of the 6th/12th century the Arab colony in Palermo had almost ceased to exist, although some Muslims of rank managed to remain there in the court of Frederick II.

For the description of Arab Palermo we have the precious account of Ibn Ḥawḳal, who visited the town in 361/972, and those of Ibn Djubayr and al-Idrīsī, two centuries later during the period of Norman supremacy. The Kalbid capital as Ibn Ḥawḳal knew it was divided into five parts: the Ḳaṣr (Cassaro), that is the old town surrounded by walls, the Khāliṣa (Calsa), founded by the Fāṭimids and also walled, and the open districts of the Ḥārat al-Masdjid and the Ḥārat al-Djadīda in the south, and the Ḥārat al-Ṣaḳāliba in the north. The population of Palermo in the days of the Kalbites is estimated by Amari at three hundred or three hundred and fifty thousand. The remains that we have from the period of Arab domination (not counting the famous monuments of Norman-Saracenic art) are very scanty: the site of a mosque beside the church of S. Giovanni degli Eremiti, and some old work inside the royal palace (Torre pisana) which has recently been brought to light.

Bibliography: M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Catania 1933-38, *passim*; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. De Goeje, BGA, I, 82-87; Ibn Djubayr

ed. Wright-De Goeje, GMS, v, 331-333; Idrīsī, ed. Amari and Schiaparelli, *L'Italia nel libro del Re Ruggero*, Rome 1883, 22-23 (text), 25-27 (trans.); G. M. Columba, *Per la topografia antica di Palermo*, in *Centenario Amari*, Palermo 1910, ii, 395-426; U. Rizzitano, *L'Italia nel Kitāb ar-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* (Arabic text), Cairo 1958, 146-8.

(F. Gabrieli)

BALĀSĀGHŪN or Balāsaḳūn, a town in the valley of the Ču, in what is now Kirghizia. The medieval geographers give only vague indications as to its position. Barthold, *Otčet o poyezdke v Sredniya Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, 39, suggests its identity with Aḳ-Peshin in the region of Frunze. A. N. Bernshtam, *Čuyskaya dolina* in *Materiali i issledowaniya arkheologii S.S.S.R.*, No 14 (1950), 47-55, agrees with Barthold and gives a description of the site. The town was a Soghdian foundation and in Kāshgharī's time, *i.e.*, in the second half of the 11th century, the Soghdian language still survived alongside Turkish. According to Kāshgharī Balāsāghūn was also known as Ḳuz-Ordu or Ḳuz-Ulush. The former name is also found in the Chinese account of the Ḳara-Khitay, and a variant of Ḳuz-Ulush — Ḳuz-Balïgh or Ghuz-Balïgh, *balïgh* like *ulush* meaning "town" — was according to Djuwaynī still current in the 7th/13th century.

According to a story in the *Siyāsat-nāma* (ed. Schefer, 189) a religious war was planned about 330-1/942-3 against the "infidel Turks" who had conquered Balāsāghūn. These must have been the Ḳara-Khānids immediately prior to their conversion to Islam. Balāsāghūn afterwards became the headquarters of the first Ḳara-Khānid invasion of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr under Bughra Khān b. Mūsā (d. 382/992-3). Shortly after 416/1025-6 the ruler of Balāsāghūn, Ṭoghan Khān, brother of the Ḳara-Khānid ruler of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, ʿAlī Tegin, was driven out of his territory by other members of the dynasty ruling in Kāshghar (Bayhaḳī, ed. Morley, 98 and 655, ed. Ghanī and Fayyaḍ, 91 and 526). Balāsāghūn seems afterwards to have belonged to the same ruler as Kāshghar. The poet Yūsuf Khāṣṣ-Ḥādjib, author of the *Ḳutadghu Bilig*, the oldest poem in the Turkī language, was born in Balāsāghūn (462/1069-70); the Bughra Khān to whom it is dedicated must be Bughra Khān Hārūn, who ruled over Kāshghar, Khotan and Balāsāghūn, first with his brother Toghrïl Khān and then, for 29 years till 496/1102-3, alone.

About 1130 Balāsāghūn was conquered by the Ḳara-Khitay [*q.v.*] and the ruler of the town, who had appealed to their leader (the Gür-Khān) for help against the Ḳanghlï and Ḳarlïgh nomads, was deposed. The real seat of the Ḳarā-Khitay still remained the territory on the Ču while native princes ruled as vassals of the Gür-Khān in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr and Kāshghar as well as in the districts of Semirechye north of the Ili.

When the army of the Gür-Khān was defeated by Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh in Rabīʿ I 607/August-September 1210, on the Talas, the inhabitants of Balāsāghūn, expecting the speedy arrival of the victor, refused the defeated army admittance to the town. After a 16 days' siege it was taken by the Ḳara-Khitay and plundered for three days, during which time, according to Djuwaynī, "47,000 of the chief notables were counted among the slain."

Balāsāghūn is seldom mentioned during the Mongol period. Barthold's assumption that it was taken without resistance by Čingiz-Khan's general Djebe in 1218, in the course of his operations against Küčlüg, the Nayman ruler of Ḳara-Khitay, is based on a misreading of the name Ghuz-Balïgh as *gho balïgh* "good town". In the account of Timur's campaigns Balāsāghūn is never mentioned; like all the towns on the Ču, Ili and Talas it must have been destroyed during the endless wars and struggles for the throne in the 8th/14th century. Muḥammad Ḥaydar, writing about the middle of the 10th/16th century, knew about Balāsāghūn only from books; of the town itself no trace was then to be found.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted above: W. Barthold, *Turkestan*; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945; Kāshgharī, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi*, transl. B. Atalay, 3 vols., Ankara 1939-41; Djuwaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, transl. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols., Manchester 1958; Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *The Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. N. Elias, transl. E. Denison Ross, London 1895.

(W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

BALĀṬ (Ar.), a word with a number of varied meanings due to its dual etymology, Latin or Greek as the case may be. Deriving from *palatium* it means "palace" (Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 167; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahan, i, 142 and 145; Muḳaddasī, 147, and Ibn Ḥawḳal², 195, mentioning the *Dār al-Balāṭ* at Constantinople; cf. M. Canard, *Extraits des sources arabes*, ap. A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii/2, Brussels 1950, 412, 423 and n. 2). Deriving from πλατεῖα (through the intermediary of Aramaic), it has two principal meanings corresponding to those of the Greek term, denoting "a paved way", an old Roman road for example (see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, i, 164), "flagging" or, in the form of the noun of unity *balāṭa*, a "flag-stone" of any kind of material serving to pave the ground or to bear a monumental or memorial inscription (see for example, Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Ins al-Djalīl*, Cairo ed. 1253 AH., 372), whence the meaning of "stele", or "portico" or "colonnaded gallery", more especially the "nave" of a mosque (see for example Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. de Goeje, 190).

The word *balāṭ* occurs in various rural and urban toponyms, both in the Muslim West (see infra) and East, where it is especially frequent in Syria-Palestine. The following are the main occurrences: the town of al-Balāṭ in Northern Syria, which was adjacent to a Roman highway (M. Canard, *Histoire des Hamdanides*, i, Algiers 1951, 218),—the al-Balāṭ quarter of Aleppo, the name of which recalled the old monumental thoroughfare (J. Sauvaget),—the former village of Bayt al-Balāṭ in the *ghūṭa* of Damascus,—the village of Balāṭa or Bulāṭa in Palestine (the name of which could also derive from the Latin *platanus*),—the Bāb al-Balāṭ in Jerusalem (cf. J. Sauvaget, *Les perles choisies*, Beirut 1933, 99 n. 1),—the paved square of al-Balāṭ in Medina,—the quarter of Balat in Istanbul [*q.v.*],—the village of Balat, adjacent to the ruins of ancient Milet in Asia Minor and corresponding to the Saldjūḳid town of Palatia (see Pauly-Wissowa, under *Miletos*).

Bibliography: E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks*, ii/1, Paris 1845, 277 n. 3, to be supplemented by J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, Paris 1941, n. 112 and *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, Paris 1947, 69, n. 2. For the toponyms, see Yāḳūt, i, 709.

(D. Sourdel)

BALĀṬ, now a small village on the site of the ancient Miletos in Caria. The word Balāṭ derives from "Παλάτια", the name used for this locality at least from the first years of the 13th century. Balāṭ

came under the control of the Begs of Mente<u>sh</u>e [*q.v.*] towards the close of this century and, because of its favourable situation near the mouth of the river Maiandros (Büyük Menderes), served them as a point of departure for their raids into the Aegean Sea and, later, as a commercial centre of some importance. The Venetians had a church and a consulate there by 1355. Balāṭ flourished at this time on the traffic in such commodities as saffron, sesame, wax, alum from Kutahya, slaves from the islands of the Archipelago, etc. The Ottoman sulṭan Bāyazīd I confirmed to the Venetians their privileges at Balāṭ, when, in the winter of 791-2/1389-90, he took over the coast-lands of Mente<u>sh</u>e. Tīmūr Beg, after his defeat of the Ottomans at Ankara in 804/1402, set on the throne Ilyās, a member of the local dynasty. This prince was forced, however, to become a vassal of Sulṭān Meḥemmed I in 818/1415 and by 829/1425-6 Mente<u>sh</u>e had been absorbed once more, and this time definitively, into the Ottoman state. Balāṭ, during the course of the 15th century, began to sink into a long and slow decline, due in no small measure to its fever-ridden climate and to the gradual silting of the river estuary. None the less, an active, although no doubt diminishing commerce was still associated with Balāt, when Ewliyā Čelebi passed through this region in 1671-1672. Balāṭ, now assigned to the *kaza* of Söke in the province of Aydìn, lies today approximately 9 km. from the sea and had in 1945 a population of about 700 people.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, xv, Stuttgart 1932, cols. 1619-1621, s.v. Miletos; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1923, i, 544 ff. and ii, 353 ff.; P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* (*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Heft 2), Istanbul 1934, 185 (index); K. Wulzinger, P. Wittek, F. Sarre, *Das Islamische Milet* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), Berlin and Leipzig 1935 (cf. also F. Taeschner, in *OLZ*, vol. 39, Berlin 1936, no. 10, cols. 621-623); ʿAlī <u>D</u>jawād, <u>*D*</u>*jog*<u>*h*</u>*rāfiyā Lug*<u>*h*</u>*ātī*, Pt. i, Istanbul 1313 A. H., 191; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, Istanbul 1935, 146 ff.; *IA*, s.v. *Balat* (Besim Darkot). (V. J. Parry)

BALĀṬ. In Spain, of the various meanings of the word *balāṭ*, the most general seems to be "pavement"; it was thus used to denote the Roman roads of the Peninsula, as witness the vocabulary attributed to Raimundo Martín. The now ruined town of Albalat, on the border of Romangordo, adjoining a ford across the Tagus, near the Almaraz bridge, must take its name from one of these roads. The battlefield of Tours and Poitiers, called Balāṭ al-<u>Sh</u>uhadāʾ [*q.v.*] after the Roman road, would seem to confirm this meaning. But it is extremely doubtful whether such a concrete meaning applied to the whole *iḳlīm* which, according to al-Idrīsī, comprised a large part of present-day Spanish Estramadura, with Alange, Medellín, Trujillo and Cáceres, in addition to the Albalat already mentioned. On the other hand, the numerous Spanish place-names, Albalat, Albalate and their derivatives and diminutives, Albadalejo, Albalatillo, could better be explained by *al-balad*, or *al-balād* "place, terrain or locality"; thus, Albalat de la Ribera, near the river Júcar, Albalat dels Sorells, near Valencia, and Albalat dels Tarongers, in the Sagunto region, do not seem to have any connexion with Roman roads, and seem only to be names of hamlets or villages; the numerous Albalates which exist in the provinces of Teruel, Huesca, Guadalajara, Ciudad-Real, Toledo and the Ajarafe of Seville, must be interpreted in the same way. The derivation from *platea* or *palatium*, applicable to place-names in Jerusalem, Syria and Medina, is not found in al-Andalus.

In addition to the *iḳlīm* of al-Balāṭ in Muslim Spain, there was another *iḳlīm* in the Portuguese zone, al-Balāṭa, situated in the Faḥṣ Balāṭa, a huge plain between Lisbon and Santarem; this *iḳlīm* contained, apart from these two towns, the town of Cintra, and its territory corresponded to present-day Ribatejo. The name given to it by al-Idrīsī coincides with that of Vallada, a small town in the commune of Azambuja; el-Campo de Vallada, a translation of Faḥṣ Balāṭa, is also quoted, although its extent is less than that attributed to it by al-Idrīsī; its etymological derivation from *plata* or *vallata* appears to be neither well-founded nor acceptable.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, text: 175-8, translation: 211, 225-6; Yāḳūt, i, 709; E. Saavedra, *La Geografia de España del Edrisi*, 51-2; David Lopes, *Estudo dos nomes geographicos do territorio muçulmano, que depois foi português*, 47.

(A. Huici Miranda)

BALĀṬ AL-<u>SH</u>UHADĀʾ: an expression used by the Arab historians for the Battle of Poitiers, which was fought between Charles Martel, at the head of the Christian Frankish armies, and the governor of Muslim Spain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-<u>Gh</u>āfiḳī in Ramaḍān 114/October 732.

Neither the name of Poitiers nor that of Tours are mentioned by the Arab authors of the Middle Ages. As for the expression *Balāṭ al-*<u>*sh*</u>*uhudāʾ*, its occurrence is only recorded from the 5th/11th century onwards and only in Andalusian historians: Ibn Ḥayyān (died 469/1075), quoted by al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, Leiden, ii, 9, l. 15-16; Cairo 1949, iv, 15, 1.4 (the same author also called it *Waḳʿat al-Balāṭ*: Leiden, ii, 9, 1.4; Cairo 1949, iv, 14, 1.9); the Anonymous Chronicle entitled *A*<u>*kh*</u>*bār Ma*<u>*dj*</u>*mūʿa*, which dates from the 5th/11th century (ed. Lafuente y Alcantara, Madrid, 1868, text, 25; Spanish trans. 36 and no. 2); and subsequently in Ibn Ba<u>sh</u>kuwāl (died 578/1183), quoted by al-Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, Leiden, ii, 9, l. 16-17; Cairo, iv, 15, l. 5, but with the variant: <u>*Gh*</u>*azwat al-Balāṭ*; Ibn ʿIdhārī (died end of the VI/XII century), *al-Bayān al-Mu*<u>*gh*</u>*rib*, ed. Dozy, i, 37; ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, i, 51; trans. Fagnan, i, 49, but the historian dates the event from 115, instead of from 114; Ibn <u>Kh</u>aldūn (died 808/1406), *al-ʿIbar*, Būlāk, iv, 119, l. 6, with lacunae which can be supplemented from the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris and from the integral quotation by al-Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, Leiden, i, 146, l. 3; Cairo, 1949, i, 220, l. 15; al-Maḳḳarī (died 1041/1632, supra under Ibn Ba<u>sh</u>kuwāl and Ibn <u>Kh</u>aldūn: the first passage has been translated by Lafuente y Alcantara, *Apendices* to *Ajbar Machmûa*, 198, and the second by Pascual de Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. ii (London 1843), 37 and note 27.

In the other Arab historians of the Middle Ages, a simple allusion is made to the effect that the Muslims and their leader ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "died a martyr's death there [for Islām]" (*yusta*<u>*sh*</u>*hadu* or *ustu*<u>*sh*</u>*hida*): Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (died 257/871), *Futūḥ Ifriḳiya waʾ l-Andalus*, ed. A. Gateau[2], Algiers 1948, text 120, l. 11; French trans. 121, l. 22; al-Ḍabbī (died 599/1202), *Bu*<u>*gh*</u>*yat al-Multamis*, ed. Codera and Ribera, Madrid 1885, no. 1021, 353, l. 2 (with 115 as the date); Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr (died 630/1233), v, 130 and 374; transl. Fagnan, *Annales*, Algiers 1901, 60, l. 6 and 94, l. 1-2.

The task confronting the modern historians, both

Arab and especially European, has mainly been to explain the term *Balāṭ* [*al-Shuhadā'*] and to determine the exact site of the battle. *Balāṭ* [*q.v.*] is borrowed from the Graeco-Latin and appears to render both *platea*: "wide paved road, paved public square", and *palatium*: "palace". It has been rendered, as regards the Battle of Poitiers, by "pavement" and by "highway". *Pavé* [of the martyrs]: Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France, et de France, en Savoie, en Piémont et dans la Suisse, pendant les 8e, 9e et 10e siècles de notre ère.*, Paris 1836, 49; Pascal de Gayangos, *op. cit.*, ii, 33 and 37: "pavement of the martyrs"; Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, 1913, ii, 138; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers . . .*, i (1875), 280, n. 3; M. Mercier and A. Seguin, *Charles Martel et la Bataille de Poitiers*, 1944, 17, 19, 26, 27, 39; C. F. Seybold, in *EI*, i, 55 (S.V. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān . . . al-Ghāfiḳī*). Chaussée [of the martyrs]: Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 1861, i, 252; 2nd. ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, 1932, i, 158 and n. 1; Lafuente y Alcantara, *op. cit.*, 36: *Calzada*; Fr. Codera, *Narbona, Gerona y Barcelona . . .*, 1909-1920, 191: *Calzada*; Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España. .*, ii (1920), 9-10: *Calzada*; G. Marçais (and Ch. Diehl), *Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081*, 1936, 340 and n. 1; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, 1950, 62: "Highway" (or Roman road) of the Martyrs for the Faith".

Study of the texts and examination of the terrain in the region lying between Poitiers and Tours have led the investigators to the largely concurrent conclusions, admirably summed up by Professor Lévi-Provençal in the following words: [the battle took place] "near to a Roman road which linked Chatellerault with Poitiers, about twenty km. north-east of the latter town, probably at a place which is today still called Moussais-la-Bataille . . . in October 732 or Ramaḍān 114 . . . more exactly . . . between the 25th and the 31st of October 732" (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 61-62).

Bibliography: In addition to the works and studies mentioned in the body of the article, the references should be consulted which are given by E. Lévi-Provençal in the 2nd. ed. of the *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* by Dozy, Leiden, 1932, i, 158, note 1, and in his own *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, Paris-Leiden 1950, i, 59-62. To this may be added: H. Zotenberg, *Note sur les invasions arabes dans le Languedoc d'après les sources chrétiennes et les historiens musulmans*, in Dom Cl. Devic and Dom J. Vaissette, *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, Toulouse 1875, ii, 549-558 (Christian sources: 549-554; Arabic sources: 555-558). The bibliography given by M. Mercier and A. Seguin, at the end of *Charles Martel et la Bataille de Poitiers*, Paris 1944, 93-99, containing 135 references, should also be consulted. See also the following modern Arab authors who base their studies almost exclusively on Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins . . .* (Paris, 1836; English tr. by H. K. Sherwani in *IC* iv/1930 and v/1931), which is well over a century old: Shakīb Arslān, *Ta'rīkh Ghazawāt al-ʿArab fī Faransā wa Suwisarā wa Iṭāliyā wa Djazā'ir al-Baḥr al-Mutawassiṭ*, Cairo 1352/1933, 48, 56, 57, 84, 85, 92-103: *Wāḳiʿat Balāṭ al-Shuhadā'*; M. ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, *Ta'rīkh al-ʿArab fī Isbāniyā . . .*, Cairo 1924, 55-59; idem, *Mawāḳif ḥāsima fī ta'rīkh al-Islām*, Cairo 1347/1929, 16 and 114; idem, *al-ʿArab fī Ghālis wa Suwisarā*, in the Cairo review *al-Risāla*, no. 72 (19 November 1934), no. 73 (26 November 1934), and no. 74 (3 December 1934); Ḥasan Murād, *Ta'rīkh al-ʿArab fi'l-Andalus*, Cairo 1348/1930, 27 (does not use the Arabic term); Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Maʿāriḳ al-ʿArab fi'l-Sharḳ wa'l-Gharb*, Beirut 1944, 55-56; Ḥusayn Mu'nis, *Āthār Zuhūr al-Islām fi'l-Awḍāʿ al-Siyāsiyya wa'l-Iḳtiṣādiyya wa'l-Idjtimāʿiyya fi'l-Baḥr al-Abyaḍ al-Mutawassiṭ*, in *al-Madjalla al-Ta'rīkhiyya al-Miṣriyya*, published by the Société Egyptienne d'Études Historiques, Cairo, lv, fasc. I (May 1951), 67-68, with Bibliography, 68, n.l.

Lastly, the following two works should be noted: the Arabic translation by ʿAlī al-Djārim, under the title of: *al-ʿArab fī Isbāniyā*, Cairo 1366/1947, 27-28, of S. Lane-Poole's *The Moors in Spain*, London 1887, 2nd. ed. 1920; and the historical romance of Djurdjī Zaydān (d. 1332/1914), *Sharl wa ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: Riwāya Ta'rīkhiyya Gharāmiyya*, Cairo 1904, 4th. ed. 1926, 181, 185, 218, 218, 223, 230.

In conclusion, it is perhaps of interest to note that al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), is absolutely silent on the Battle of Poitiers (there is nothing in his *Ta'rīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* (*Annales*), *sub anno* 114, or in the two or three preceeding or following years); likewise Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (died 367/977), in his *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*. (H. PÉRÈS)

BALĀṬUNUS, mediaeval name of a Syrian fortress now in ruins and called Ḳalʿat al-Muhaylba, which was built on one of the first spurs of the Djabal Anṣāriya, and, with the castle of Ṣahyūn, commanded the plain of al-Lādhiḳiya and guarded the road from the Orontes to Djabala, "its port" according to al-Dimashḳī.

According to the Arabic sources, it is supposed to have been begun by the clan of the Banu 'l-Aḥmar, then continued by the Byzantines who obtained possession of it and, in the time of Basil II, based the protection of the coastal region, in which they had taken up their quarters, partly upon it. It again passed under Arab control, but after the First Crusade, was to fall into the hands of Roger of Antioch, who bestowed it on the lord of Saône as a fief, and it remained in the hands of the Franks from 512/1118 to 584/1188. At this latter date, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn made himself master of it and in the ayyūbid period it became temporarily part of the Kingdom of Aleppo of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir. After the Mongol invasion which had encouraged the efforts of a local family to establish their independence, it was obliged to surrender to Baybars in 667/1269 and became in the Mamlūk period the centre of one of the six districts of the *niyāba* of Tripoli.

It is not known when it fell into ruins and relinquished its ancient name (derived from the Latin *Platanus*) for the present term, which for a long time prevented its identification.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 710; M. Hartmann, *Das Liwa el-Ladkije*, in *ZDPV*, xiv, 180; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1914-15, 283-88; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 150; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 416; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 113 and 226; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index; J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Alaouites*, Tours 1940, index.
(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

BALĀWĀT. This is a small village lying some 16 miles south-east of Mawṣil on the Dayr Mār Bihnām-Kara Kosh road. It is mentioned by Yāḳūt under "Balābādh", which he describes as follows: "It is a village situated east of Mawṣil in the province of Nineveh and can be reached by a short journey

from Mawṣil. It is frequented by caravans and there exists in it a *Khan* for travellers. It lies between Tigris and the Zāb rivers". Balāwāt is one of the villages in the Ḥamdāniyya *nāḥiya* in the Mawṣil *Liwā'* of ʿIrāḳ. The majority of its inhabitants are of the Shabak faith (cf. Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Ṣarrāf, *al-Shabak*, 10). Balāwāt's only claim to fame is the existence of a historical mound some few steps from it. This mound is known as "Tell Balāwāt", and is one of the Assyrian historical sites excavated in the 19th century; Hormuzd Rassām, of Mawṣil, discovered there in 1878 the bronze gates of the palace of the Assyrian king Shalmanessar III (859-824 B.C.). These gates were taken to the British Museum, London. The inscriptions and scenery contained thereon illustrate the first third of the reign of this king, and also clarify some of the conditions prevailing in the 9th century B.C. From some of the Assyrian texts, it appears that the ancient name of Tell Balāwāt was Imgur-Enlil.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 707; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Marāṣid*, Cairo 1954, i 214; E. Abdāl, *al-Lu'lu' al-Naḍīd*, Mosul 1951, 213; Pinches, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vii 1882, 83-118; Birch & Pinches, *The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat* (1880-1902); H. Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, New York 1897, 200 ff.); Billerbeck & Delitzsch, *Die Palasttore Salmanassars II*, Leipzig 1908; King (L.W.), *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmanesar King of Assyria*, London 1914. (G. AWAD)

BALAWHAR [see BILAWHAR WA YŪDĀSAF].

AL-**BALAWĪ**, ABŪ MUḤ. ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤ. AL-MADĪNĪ, Egyptian historian; the dates of his birth and death are not known, but we can reasonably assume that he lived in the 4th/10th century. He belonged to the Arab tribe Baliyy, a branch of the Ḳuḍāʿa, who were scattered in different parts of the Ḥidjāz, Syria and Egypt.

The earliest biographical notice is that given in the *Fihrist*, which names several books. All of them are lost, but Al-Balawī's *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn* was discovered in about 1935 by the late Muḥ. Kurd ʿAlī. He edited it with a long introduction and useful commentary (Damascus 1939). Kurd-ʿAlī took al-Balawī for an Ismaʿīlī writer, a point of view which has been proved wrong by Ivanow, by Abū ʿAbd-Allāh al-Zindjānī, and by the late ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAbbadī.

There are other short biographies of al-Balawī in the later books of biography such as al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist*, al-Nadjāshī's *Kitāb al-Ridjāl*, al-Dhahabī's *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl* and Ibn Ḥadjar's *Lisān al-Mīzān*. These all agree in saying that he was a 'liar' (in relating *ḥadīth*) and that he cannot be relied upon because he forges *ḥadīth*. Ibn Ḥadjar adds that he is "the author of al-Shāfiʿī's journey which was elaborated and beautified by him, but most of its contents were invented".

His book *Sīrat Ibn Ṭūlūn* is now considered the most important source for the study not only of the history of this great ruler but also of the history of Egypt, the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate and the Near East in general in the second half of the 3rd/9th century. It is more detailed than other sources on the same subject, such as *Sīrat Ibn Ṭūlūn* by Ibn al-Dāya (abridged by Ibn Saʿīd in *al-Mughrib*), *Kitāb al-Mukāfa'a* by the same author, *Akhbār Sībawayh al-Miṣrī* by Ibn Zūlāḳ and *Kitāb al-Wulāt wa 'l-Ḳuḍāt* by al-Kindī.

Al-Balawī says in the introduction that he was asked to write a history of the Ṭūlūnids in greater detail than the earlier work by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Dāya, but he does not name the person who asked him to write this book. There are indications, however, that he was a statesman or a man of letters of the Ikhshīdid period. For instance, al-Balawī mentions in his book the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Muḳtadir, who was killed in the year 320/932, and this means that the book must have been written after this year (al-Ikhshīd began his rule in Egypt in in the year 323/934-5). It is obvious too that al-Balawī wrote his book after the death of Ibn al-Dāya, and we know that the latter died after the year 330/941-2. The manuscript which was discovered by Kurd ʿAlī bears the title *Kitāb Sīrat Āl Ṭulun*, but only contains the biography of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.

There is great resemblance between al-Balawī's work and that written by Ibn al-Dāya, although the former is more detailed. Kurd ʿAlī says that al-Balawī copied from his predecessor but it seems more likely that both of them depended mostly upon the same main source, which was the official documents preserved in the first chancery office (*Dīwān al-Inshā'*) founded in Egypt by Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn (see the *Sīrat* of al-Balawī, 100-1, 111, 122, 224, 228-9).

The *Sīrat* ot al-Balawī is an invaluable source for many reasons. One of the oldest Muslim historical works written in Egypt, it sheds new light on the history of institutions, such as the *kharādj*, the police, justice, espionage, the post, etc. It also contains a number of official documents relating to that period.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *al-Mughrib fī Ḥula al-Maghrib*, vol. i of the part concerning Egypt, ed. Zakī Muḥ. Ḥasan, Shawḳī Ḍayf and Sayyida Ismāʿīl Kāshif, Cairo 1935; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo (no date); al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist Kutub al-Shīʿa*, Calcutta 1853; al-Nādjāshī, *Kitāb al-Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317/1899-1900; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl fī Naḳd al-Ridjāl*, Lucknow 1884; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1329-31 A.H.; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAbbādī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn li-Abī Muḥ. ʿAbd Allāh . . . . al-Balawī* (review in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, Alexandria University, vol. i, 1943, 1-9). (G. E. SHAYYAL)

BALBAN [see DELHI SULTANATE].

BALDJ B. **BISHR** B. ʿIYĀḌ AL-ḲUSHAYRĪ, an Arab military leader, of a brave but haughty disposition, commanded the Syrian cavalry in the army sent against the Berbers in 123/741 by the Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, under the leadership of Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ, Baldj's uncle. After their arrival in Ifrīḳiya (in Ramaḍān 123/20 July-18 August 741), the violence and arrogance Baldj and his Syrians earned them the bitter hostility of the African Arabs, especially the Anṣār, who had fled westwards in a body after the battle fought in the Ḥarra in 63/683. So it was that when near Tilimsān the Syrian army was united with the African army (together amounting to some 60,000 men), they all but came to blows through the arrogance of the Syrians and a quarrel which arose between Baldj and the commander of the African troops Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda. The Berbers, however, so as to exhaust the enemy, withdrew right up to the river Sebū, at the extreme limit of the Maghrib. Just before the encounter with the Berber army, Kulthūm withdrew the command of the African contingent from Ḥabīb, who was well-versed in Berber fighting methods, but whose counsel was arrogantly rejected

by Baldj, and entrusted it to two Syrian officers, a measure which still further increased the resentment of the Africans. As a result, the Arabs suffered a complete defeat at Baḳdūra (or Nabdūra on the Sebū to the North of Fās, comp. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i, 294, rem. 1). Baldj himself, by his over-confidence and the impetuosity of his attack, which resulted in his becoming separated in the action from his foot-soldiers, was the real cause of the disaster (in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 123/17 October-14 November 741). At the head of some 7,000 horsemen, he fought his way through to Ceuta, where he withstood a protracted siege by the Berbers, until the day when the governor of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan [*q.v.*], an Anṣārī, brought him over to Spain with his Syrians to use him against the Berbers who were in revolt there. Precautions, moreover, were taken on both sides: Baldj undertook to leave Spain as soon as the Berber revolt had been repressed; he was to give hostages as a guarantee. On his part, the governor ʿAbd al-Malik promised the Syrians that when the time came for them to depart, they would be taken back to North Africa all together and not in separate groups, which would make them extremely vulnerable; and that, furthermore, they would be landed at a point on the coast of the Maghrib, where the hinterland was effectively under Arab control. The intervention of Baldj and his horsemen was decisive; the Berber rebels had formed themselves into three columns. Baldj countered swiftly and scattered the first group in the direction of Medina-Sidonia. The second band was dispersed in the Cordova region. The third and most numerous column, engaged in laying siege to Toledo, was severely defeated at the battle of Wādī Salīṭ, (the *arroyo* of Guazalete, a small tributary of the left bank of the Tagus). Thenceforth, the governor ʿAbd al-Malik's only desire was to send his too burdensome auxiliaries back to Africa. But he did not adhere to his word, and tried to interpret the stipulations of the agreement contracted with him in the manner least favourable to the Syrians. When he sought to re-embark them for Ceuta the enraged *djundīs* swiftly surprised the weak garrison of Cordova, expelled the governor ʿAbd al-Malik from his palace and installed Baldj in his place. In spite of his predecessor's advanced age, he made the mistake of having him put to torture. An encounter between the two parties took place a little later, in Shawwāl 124/August 742, at Aqua Portora, a few leagues to the north of Cordova, where the Syrians were the victors, in spite of the bravery of the governor of Narbonne, who mortally wounded Baldj with his own hand.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, i, 137 ff., 151 French trans., i, 217, 238 ff.); Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 41-43, ii, 30-32; Maḳḳarī, ii, 11-13; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, i, 244-265; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i, 291-297, 302-306; Müller, *Der Islām*, i, 449-450; Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique septentr.*, i, (1888), 231-232, 234-235; F. Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hisham*, 114-117; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 44-47. (M. Schmitz-[A. Huici-Miranda])

BALEARIC ISLANDS [see mayurḳa].

BĀLFURŪSH [see bārfurūsh].

BALHARĀ (al-Balharay or Ballaharā < Ballaharāya, Prakrit form of 'Vallabha-rāja', meaning 'the beloved king') represents the title of the kings belonging to the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan (c. A.D. 753-975), whose capital was at Mānyakheṭa, now Malkhed (Ar. *Mānkir*), south of Gulbarga (Mysore). Ibn Khurradādhbih and Ibn Rusta's information that Balharā meant 'the king of kings' or 'the king of the kings of India' is incorrect. Ibn Khurradādhbih's Balharā almost certainly pertains to Govinda III (A.D. 793-814); Sulaymān's to the same prince or to his son Śarva or Amoghavarsha (A.D. 814-878); al-Masʿūdī's to Indra III (A.D. 914-922); and that of Ibn Ḥawḳal also to Amoghavarsha. The later references are mostly repetitions of the information supplied by the earlier authorities. Arab writers generally acclaim these rulers as 'the greatest king of India' or 'the most illustrious', and epithets like 'the king of kings' or 'the supreme king of India' seem to reflect the glory and political supremacy of princes like Govinda III or Indra III. However, some authors present an exaggerated account of the extent of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom (*e.g.*, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn* 'beginning from the sea-coast called *Kumkam* (Konkan) and continuing overland up to China'; some authors 'have somewhat misunderstood Sulaymān [i.e. the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*] in saying that *Kumkam* was the name of Ballah-rā's country', see *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 238 n. 2). But generally the descriptions of the kingdom are confined to the coastal towns of Bombay, with which Muslim merchants and travellers were familiar, and in which large numbers of Muslims had settled. Arab writers are unanimous in stating that the Balharās loved the Arabs more than any other prince of India did, and that Islam was protected and openly practised in their kingdom. They even appointed Muslims as governors or heads of Muslim communities living in their kingdom. From their accounts it appears that the Arabs were aware, though not fully, of the sanguinary wars that took place between these princes, the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras (*al-Djurz*) of the North and the Pālas (*D.hmy*) of Bengal. The love of the Rāshṭrakūṭas for the Arabs and their liberal attitude towards Islam, as well as the immense praise and glorification of the Rāshṭrakūṭas by the Arabs, must have arisen from the Rāshṭrakūṭas' considering the Muslims as allies against the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras, who were inimical to the Arabs of Sind, and from the presence of large numbers of Muslims living in their kingdom.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 16, 67; Sulaymān the Merchant, *Akbār aṣ-ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, ed. Jean Sauvaget, Paris 1948, 12, 23; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 177-8, 382-3, 253-4; ii, 85-6; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 320; Ibn Rusta, 134-5; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 238; *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, R. C. Majumdar (General Editor), BVB, Bombay 1955, 16-17; *Collected Works* of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, iii, ed. N. B. Utgikar, Poona 1927, 106-7.

(S. Maqbul Ahmad)

BAL-ḤĀRITH [see ḥārith b. kaʿab].

BĀLI, one of the Muslim trading states in southern Ethiopia. It lay to the east of Lake Awasa and the Ganale Doria, and extended to the Webi Shabelle near longitude 40 E., with a narrow piece stretching north of the Webi Shabelle to the edge of the Danākil lowlands, the railway marking approximately the northern boundary. The first mention of Bāli seems to be in the epinikia in honour of ʿĀmda Ṣyon king of Ethiopia, 1312-42 (I. Guidi, *Rend Lin*, 1889, nos. viii and ix) where Bāli is described as part of the king's dominions. In the middle of the 14th century al-ʿUmarī described Bāli as being 20 days' journey in length and six days in breadth, under a king who was tributary to the king of Ethiopia and possessed an army of 40,000 horsemen. A century later al-Maḳrīzī repeats al-

ʿUmarī's account, including the statement that the people of Bāli were Ḥanafīs. Till about 1542 the state remained tributary to Ethiopia, when ʿAbbās the ruler made himself independent of Gālāwdēwos king of Ethiopia.

Bibliography: ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1927, 2, 18; Maḳrīzī, ed. Rinck, Leyden 1790, p. 15; Perruchon, *Les Chroniques de Zarʾa Yaʿeqôb et de Baʾeda Mâryâm*, Paris 1893; Conzelman, *Le Chronique de Galāwdēwos*, Paris 1895. (G. W. B. Huntingford)

BALI [see ḎJĀWA].

BALIABADRA, Turkish name for Pátrai, Patras (fourth largest town on the Greek mainland and the largest on the Morean peninsula), situated on the gulf of the same west of the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth (Turkish *Kordos*, [*q.v.*]), capital of the Nomos Achaia, seat of a bishop. It had about 85,000 inhabitants in 1951. The name Baliabadra comes from Παλαιαὶ Πάτραι, or rather Παλαιά Πάτρα (*Pâtra* is even today the colloquial name for the town), *i.e.*, Old Pátra(i), apparently because from the 14th century onwards New Pátra(i) denoted the fortress under whose protection the old settlement was. Nikiphoros Gregorás (IV.9.4) describes it explicitly as φρούριον τὸ τῶν Νέων Πατρῶν ἐπικεκλημένον. The adjective would not, therefore seem to have been added to distinguish Old Patra(i) from Νέαι Πάτραι, a place near Lamía (Turkish Zitun , conquered by the Ottomans in 1393, which was itself more usually known as Patratzik (Πατρατζίκ, from the Turkish Badradjik) although today, as in antiquity, it is once again known as Hypati. In the west, Old Pátra(i) is known as Patras (from 'ς τάς Πάτρας, compare the Italian Patrasso).

Additional data concerning its pre-Ottoman history can be found in the works of A. Bon, E. Gerland, Wm. Miller, D. A. Zakythinos, cf. bibliography at the end of the article. Only the following facts need be mentioned here: at the division of the Byzantine Empire in 1204, the town became the seat of the Latin duchy of Achaia, and also the seat of an archbishop. In 1408, it became Venetian. On 1 July 1428, the town was threatened—but not captured—by Palaeologue princes who were quarrelling amongst themselves. On 20 March 1429, the despot Constantine repeated the attack on the town. During the course of this attack, the population turned away from the Latin archbishop Pandolfo Malatesta, and their notables swore an oath of allegiance to the Greek despot on June 5th in the Church of St. Andrew. The fortress continued to hold out, and did not surrender to the Greeks until May 1430 (Zakythinos, i, 206 ff.). At the time, Sulṭān Murād II objected to the taking of Pátrai, asking the Greeks to refrain from occupying it, as the inhabitants desired to pay their tribute to him. Sphrantzis, the first governor of Pátrai (later a historian), negotiated with the Porte, and eventually succeeded in obtaining the Sultan's consent (Sphrantzis, 152-3). It was, apparently, not until 17 years later that Murād II made an attempt to gain Pátrai for himself. According to Dukas (ed. Vas. Grecu [Bucharest 1958], 278,[19]), he advanced in the winter of 1446/7 "as far as Pátrai and Klarentza" (the Kyllíni of today), on which occasion he may have succeeded in taking the open town by a surprise attack, but it is hardly likely that he also overcame the almost impregnable fortress above. Cf., however, Hammer-Purgstall, i, 473. The country all around was laid waste at the time, and some 60,000 people were led off into slavery. When the despot Constantine became Emperor of Byzantium in 1448, his brother Thomas took possession of north-western Morea, that is to say, of the whole of Achaia, including Pátrai and Klarentza, where he may well have held court (cf. Zakythinos, i, 242). Meḥemmed II, the Conqueror, went in person to Pátrai, in summer 1458, arriving from Mouchli (cf. E. Darkó in the Πρακτικά of the Academy of Athens, vi, Athens 1931, 22-29). He found it deserted and derelict. The inhabitants had fled to Venetian possessions on the Morean peninsula. This time, the fortress surrendered after a short resistance (cf. Kritoboulos, in the edition of C. Müller, FHGraec, V, Paris 1870, 123, also F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1953, 176 ff. (French edition 1954, Italian edition 1957). The sultan considered Pátrai a suitable place for his commerce with the West, and he therefore invited the population to return, granting special privileges and tax reductions (cf. Kritoboulos, in the above mentioned book, 123; and Zakythinos (see above), i, 258). Later, early in 1459, there were Greek attempts to regain the town, but these failed (cf. Chalkokondyles, ed. I. Bekker, 457 f.). Pátrai remained, now as Baliabadra, an Ottoman possession for more than 350 years, without, however, regaining the great position it had once held in the times of the Roman Emperors, when there was a flourishing trade with Italy. Baliabadra became a Turkish provincial town and administrative centre, but was without any commercial significance. Attempts made by Venice to regain the town repeatedly failed. In summer 1464, Iacopo Barbarigo, Provveditore of Morea, made an ill-fated attempt on the town, which was successfully repulsed by Turakhan-oghlu ʿUmar-Beg (cf. s.v. and also Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 84 f.). In September 1532, however, the imperial admiral Andrea Doria captured the practically unprotected Pátrai without fighting, but the re-occupation was only temporary (cf. J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, ii, 734 f.). In 1685, the Venetian general landed in Pátrai (with an army which largely consisted of German mercenaries) in order to drive the Turks from Morea. On 24 July 1687, Baliabadra (abandoned by the Ottomans and partly blown up by them) fell into the hands of F. Morosini's troops, after a heated battle (cf. Zinkeisen, v, 132); but this reoccupation, again, did not lead to any permanent re-establishment of Venetian rule in Morea. In the middle of April 1770, the town was taken by surprise by a horde of Greeks, who were shortly afterwards either killed or taken as slaves by the Albanians and Turks. At that time, Baliabadra once again went up in flames, and only a few families saved themselves and their possessions, fleeing to the Ionian islands (cf. Zinkeisen, v, 931). The first big Greek rebellion against Turkish rule in Pátrai started on 6 April 1821. On this occasion, the archbishop of Pátrai (since 1806) Germanós (1771-1826) led the battle for liberation. On 15 April 1822, the Ottomans stormed the town for the last time under the leadership of Yusuf Mukhliṣ Pasha (from Serres), who razed the town to the ground. French troops came to the assistance of the Greeks and took possession of Pátrai in 1828, being relieved by the Bavarians in 1833. Since then, the town has been rebuilt in a regular checkerboard plan and has once again developed into a flourishing port, linked more recently with Athens (cf. ATINA) overland by the Peloponnesian Railway (230 km.).

Until the middle of the 18th century, whilst Baliabadra was under Ottoman rule, it had only once been described by a western traveller, viz.

Master Thomas Dallam (1599-1600), see *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. by I. Theod. Bent (London 1893; Hakluyt Society, vol. LXXXVII), 86. The first such description dates from 1740, when Richard Pococke (*A Description of the East*, ii/2, London 1745, 176 f.) mentions it as an unhealthy town in a swampy plain, seat of a Greek archbishop, with 12 parish churches, each with 80 Christian families, some 10 Jewish families and roughly 250 Turkish ones "who are not the best sort of people". At that time there were an English Consul General, a French Vice-Consul (the Consulate was in Modon), and a Venetian and a Dutch Consul in Pátrai. The description of the town by Dr. Richard Chandler (*Travels in Greece*, Oxford 1776) in 1764, is much the same. The description by the Ottoman globe-trotter Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥetnāme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 288-292), who was there in 1080/1669, is much more extensive. He noted a mosque near the market (*čarshu*), donated by Meḥemmed II, and one of Bāyazīd II in the citadel (*ič ḳalʿa*), also the mosque of the Kyaya (Ketkhudā Dj.), and not far from this, the mosque of Sheykh-Efendi, that of Ibrāhīm Čavuš, and finally the mosque at the Dabbāgh-khāne (*i.e.*, tannery). Furthermore there were at that time three smaller houses of prayer (*masdjid*), four Dervish monasteries (that of Sheykh-Efendi amongst them), and three baths (*ḥammām*). Ewliyā Čelebi mentions places of pilgrimage near Baliabadra, amongst these the one of Ṣarî Ṣaltîḳ Baba [*q.v.*], *i.e.*, 'Sveti Nikola', and the one of 'Jovani-Baba'—doubtless old Christian places of pilgrimage. In his description, Ewliyā Čelebi calls Baliabadra "ballu (ballî) Baliabadra", *i.e.*, "Baliabadra rich in honey"; compare "ballu Badra" ('*Anonymus Giese*', 141_{18}). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, translated by J. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812, 124 f.) gives only a few details concerning the port and administration in Baliabadra.

The fever-ridden, swampy plains to the north, east and south-east of the town (cf. R. Pococke, in the above mentioned book, ii/2, 176), have long since been dried up. Commerce is largely concerned with currants, oil, and wine, as well as silk (which was already cultivated in Ottoman times, as is also described by Pococke), and this has made Pátrai into a flourishing trading centre. According to Ludwig Steub, *Bilder aus Griechenland*, Leipzig 1885, 230, in 1822, Pátrai consisted solely of the ruins of five mosques, fallen down churches, derelict houses, and only a few repaired and inhabited dwellings.

Bibliography: E. Thomopoulos, Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Πατρῶν, Athens 1888; E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras*, Leipzig 1903; Emile de Borchgrave, *Croquis d'Oriens: Patras et l'Achaïe*, Brussels 1908; Wm. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, *passim*, especially 289 f., 363 ff., 388 ff.; 434 ff.; Wm. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge 1921, passim, especially 40 ff., 53 f., 100 ff., 418 ff.; D. A. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat Grec de Morée*, I/II, Paris 1932/1953; Ant. Bon, *Le Peloponnèse Byzantin jusqu'en* 1204, Paris 1953; concerning frequent descriptions of the town in the 19th century, cf. S. H. Weber, *Voyages and Travels in the Near East made during the XIX century*, Princeton 1952, 245, Patras. L. Steub, see above, gives a vivid picture of Pátrai and its inhabitants in the year 1846 on 209-249.

(FR. BABINGER)

BĀLIGH (A), major, of full age; *bulūgh*, puberty, majority; opp. *ṣaghīr*, minor, *ṣabī*, boy, *ṣughr*, minority. Majority in Islamic law is, generally speaking, determined by physical maturity in either sex (the Shāfiʿīs explicitly lay down a minimum limit of nine years); should physical maturity not manifest itself, majority is presumed at a certain age: fifteen years according to the Ḥanafīs, Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, eighteen years according to the Mālikīs (various other opinions are ascribed to the old authorities). Within these limits, the declaration of the person concerned that he or she has reached puberty, is accepted. Majority is one of the conditions of full legal capacity; the minor is subject to a legal disability (*ḥadjr*) and to the guardianship of his father or other legal guardian [cf. WILĀYA]. The major who is of sound mind (*ʿāḳil*), is *mukallaf*, i.e. obliged to fulfil the religious duties, and therefore also responsible in criminal law. But majority (together with soundness of mind) does not by itself produce contractual capacity, the capacity to dispose of one's own property; in order to have this effect, it must be accompanied by *rushd*, discretion or responsibility in acting. The father or other legal guardian must not only encourage the minor to fulfil his religious duties regularly, but test his *rushd* when he approaches puberty, and hand over his property to him only when he shows that he possesses it (cf. Ḳurʾān iv, 6). The other schools of religious law do not lay down a time limit for this, but the Ḥanafīs fix the age at which his property must be handed over to him in any case, at 25 years, an obvious adoption of the *legitima aetas* of Roman law. The Mālikīs, in the case of a woman, make this kind of capacity dependent, in addition to majority and *rushd*, either on the consummation of marriage, or on a formal act of emancipation by the father or other legal guardian, or on becoming an "old spinster" (*ʿānis*); a somewhat similar opinion is also held by some Ḥanbalīs. Islamic law envisages a gradual transition from the status of minor to that of major, as exemplified by the *mumayyiz*, the "discerning minor", and the *murāhiḳ*, the "minor on the point of reaching puberty".

Bibliography: Santillana, *Istituzioni* I², 126ff.; *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge*, ed. J. Schacht, 35 f.; L. Milliot, *Introduction*, 415 ff.; the works on *fiḳh* and *ikhtilāf*, in the section on *ḥadjr*; A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, I, 517 f., 532 f.; O. Pesle, in *Revue Algerienne*, 1934/7, 94 f. R. Brunschvig, in *Revue Internat. des Droits de l'Antiquité*, II, 157 ff.; the same, in *Studia Islamica*, III, 64.

(ED.)

BĀLIK, Turko-Mongol word for "town" = or "castle" (also written BĀLIḲ and BĀLIGH); appears frequently in compound names of towns, such as Bīshbāliḳ ("Five Towns", at the present day in ruins at Gučen in Chinese Turkestan), Khānbāliḳ (the "Khān's Town"), Turko-Mongol name for Pekin (also frequently used by European travellers in the middle ages in forms like (Cambalu), Ilibāliḳ (on the River Ili, the modern Iliysk) etc. As the town of Bāshbāliḳ is mentioned as early as the Orkhon inscriptions (2nd/8th century), Bāliḳ, in the meaning of town, is one of the oldest of Turkī words, as is the word Bāliḳ "fish", which is similarly pronounced and is common to all Turkī dialects.

Bibliography: R. Rahmeti Arat, *IA* (s.v.).

(W. BARTHOLD.)

BĀLIKESRĪ, Balîkesir, a town of north-western Asia Minor, in the region known in ancient times as Mysia. The name Bālikesrī derives from the Greek "Παλαιοκάστρον". Al-ʿUmarī, in his *Masālik al-*

Abṣār, refers to this locality as "Akīrā" (= "Ὀχυρά", a name current in the period of the Comneni). The Roman Hadrianuthera is believed to have been situated in this same district. Bālikesrī was one of the chief towns in the emirate of Ḳarasī [*q.v.*], which came into being when the Turks wrested this area from the Byzantines in the years around 699-700/1300. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled through Asia Minor c. 730-1/1330, judged Bālikesrī to be a beautiful and well-populated place. The amīrate of Ḳarasī was soon absorbed into the Ottoman state, a process which began in about 735-6/1335 and appears to have been gradually completed during the reign of Orkhān Ghāzī. Ḳarasī, under Ottoman rule, long remained a *sandjaḳ* in the *eyālet* of Anadolu, until in the reign of Maḥmūd II it was attached to the *wilāyet* of Khudāvendigār. It is now a separate province with Bālikesrī as its administrative centre. Bālikesrī, situated at the foot of the Yīlan-dagh ("mount of the serpent"), confronts a fertile plain noted for its production of cereals, vegetables and fruit. Its population was estimated in 1945 to be a little less than 34,000.

Bibliography: W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, in *SB. Ak. d. W. Wien*, Ph.-Hist. Classe, cxxiv, 1891, 95-96; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, i, Leipzig 1926, 175; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, Paris 1894, 262-267; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, Paris 1914, 316-317; F. Taeschner, *Al-ʿUmarī's Bericht über Anatolien*, Leipzig 1929, 43; ʿAlī Djawād, *Djoghrāfiyā Lughātī*, Pt. i, Istanbul 1313 A.H., 151; *K. Su, XVII ve XVIII inci Yüzyīllarda Balīkesir Şehir Hayatī* (*Balīkesir Halkevi Yayīnlarīndan*, no. 14), Istanbul 1937; J. Mordtmann, *Über das türkische Fürstengeschlecht der Karasi*, in *SB. Ak. d. W. Berlin*, Ph.-Hist. Classe, Erster Halfband, Berlin 1911, 2-7; Aḥmad Tawḥīd, *Bālikesrīde Ḳarasī Oghullarī*, in *TOEM*, part ix, 1327, 564 ff.; *Arşiv Kīlavuzu*, i, Istanbul 1938, 58; *IA*, s.v. *Balīkesir* (Besim Darkot).

(V. J. Parry)

BALĪNŪS. Silvestre de Sacy was the first to state that this name means Apollonius. The above form and Balīnās are the most frequently used ones. Other forms are Abullūniyūs (*Fihrist*, 266, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 61), Abūlūniyūs (Cheikho's personal MS. of Ibn Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, 1912, 28, 16), Afullūniyūs (*ibid.*, 29,1), Afūlūniyūs (Barhebraeus, ed. Salhani, 118), Ablīnas (*Fihrist*, *l.c.*), ʿlūsūs (*ibid.*, 263, 21, cf. Plessner, *Der* οἰκονομικός *des Neupythagoreers 'Bryson'*, 1928, 4 f.; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, Contribution*, ii, 273 n. 3), Abūlūs (Yaʿḳūbī, i, 165) Ablūs (Ps. Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*, ed. H. Ritter, 1933, 107 ff.; the meaning Apollonius is proved by the fragment of a Hebrew translation in Cod. Adler 1920). For other forms see Kraus, *op. cit.*, 270, n. 6.

In Islam, two persons named Apollonius are known, the famous mathematician Apollonius of Perge in Pamphylia (ca. 200 B.C.) and a sage whose personality is based on the Greek tradition about Apollonius of Tyana in Cappadocia (1st cent. A.D.).

Apollonius of Perge appears in the biographical sources (not in the MSS. of his works) almost invariably with the epithet al-Nadjdjār (the carpenter), the origin of which has not yet been explained satisfactorily. Since G. Flügel, *al-Kindi*, 1857, 53 it has been customary to render this by "the geometer", and as a matter of fact, Apollonius was already in antiquity called "the great geometer". Also Euclid was called the geometer, and Ibn al Ḳifṭī, 62 (E. Kapp's quotation *al-muhandis*, in *Isis*, xxii, 1934, 161 n. 20 is wrong) calls him al-Nadjdjār in the heading of his article, but states afterwards that Euclid was a carpenter by vocation. However, no other place is known where *al-nadjdjār* appears as the translation of geometer, and no dictionary gives this translation.

A detailed discussion of the Arabic translations of, and commentaries on, Apollonius' famous *Conica* and his other works has been given by M. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, l, 1896, 180-187; cf. also G. Sarton, in *IHS*, i, 173-175 and indexes of all three volumes; Brockelmann, S, index s.v. *Apollonios v. Perga* (instead of 852 read 856); M. Krause, *Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker*, 1936.

With regard to Apollonius of Tyana, there are considerable contradictions in the various sources, and the tradition about the *ṣāḥib al-ṭilasmāt*, as he is usually called (beside *al-ḥakīm*) has even, to a certain degree, influenced the reports concerning Apollonius of Perge. Our oldest source, Yaʿḳūbī, i, 165 rightly relates that Apollonius lived under the reign of Domitian (81-96), and the same is related by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 73, and Barhebraeus, *l.c.* But the same Yaʿḳūbī speaks on p. 134 of "Balīnūs al-nadjdjār who is called the orphan, and he is the *ṣāḥib al-ṭilasmāt*, etc.". The confusion lies not only in the use of the epithets of both Apollonius for one and the same person, but also in the addition "the orphan": in the preface of the *Sirr al-Khalīḳa* (see below) Balīnūs calls himself "an orphan inhabitating Tyana" (cf. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 273 n. 3). In the *Dhakhīrat al-Iskandar* (see below) Aristotle tells Alexander that he had received the book from Apollonius (the text in J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, 1926, 72). Here Apollonius appears as a contemporary of Philip and his son Alexander, and so he does in al-Balʿamī's Persian version of Ṭabarī (cf. Zotenberg's French translation, i, 510 f.; the whole passage is missing in the Arabic Ṭabarī) and in Niẓāmī's *Iskandar-nāma* (cf. W. Bacher, *Nizâmî's Leben und Werke*, 1871, 67 ff. and Persian text, 28; W. Hertz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1905, 45). This anachronism with regard to Apollonius the talisman-maker has, in its turn, influenced Ibn al-Ḳifṭī's dating of Apollonius of Perge; his article about the latter begins (p. 61): "Apollonius the carpenter, mathematician of ancient time, much earlier than Euclid; he wrote the book *Conica*". And in his article on Euclid, 63, Euclid, a carpenter of Tyre, explains and accomplishes for an unnamed Greek king two books of Apollonius on irregular polyeders (this is in fact the subject of Euclid's *Elementa*). On 65 he speaks, on the contrary, of a commentary on Euclid's 10th book by an ancient (*ḳadīm*) Greek man named Balīs (the variant readings show with almost absolute certainty that he speaks of Apollonius). Now, Apollonius of Perge lived about 80-100 years after Euclides. (Kapp, *op. cit.*, 163-168 does not even point out this confusion!).

In Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's *Ādāb al-Falāsifa*, an Apollonius appears in two places: in part i ch. 5 the saying engraved on his seal is reported, and of part ii the whole ch. 17 is dedicated to his apophthegms. None of these dicta is characteristic of either of the two Apollonius; but Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī points to Apollonius of Tyana, when he, in the first paragraph of ii, 17 ("The pen is the most powerful sorcerer") substitutes "talisman" for "sorcerer".

Also the six *sermones* in the *Turba Philosophorum*

attributed by Steinschneider (*Europ. Uebers. aus dem Arab.*, II, SBAk. Wien, 1905, 67 ff.) and Ruska (*T. Ph.*, 1931, 23 ff.) to Apollonius of Tyana are no more characteristic of him than do the other alchemistic *sermones* of their respective orators.

Of the Arabic books connected with the name of Apollonius of Tyana the following are preserved in this language either in full or partly or in quotations of some length:

1. *K. al-ʿIlal* or *Sirr al-Khalīḳa*, parts of which were edited and translated by Sivestre de Sacy (*Notices et Extraits*, iv, *an.* 7/1798-99, 108 ff.) and J. Ruska (*Tab. Sm.*, 124-163). The latter also proved that the famous alchemist text known as *Tabula Smaragdina* has its original place at the end of this book; and P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 303 has shown that the whole book is to be a commentary of that text. About the Latin translation by Hugo Sanctalliensis, cf. Ruska, 177 ff. The analysis of the book by Kraus, 270-303 led to its dating in the time of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn and shew its close relation to the Syriac *Book of Treasures* by Job of Edessa (ca. 817 A.D.), ed. Mingana, 1935, as well as to the Greek περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου by Nemesius of Emesa (5th cent. A.D.). Cf. now also L. Massignon, in A.-J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, i, 1944, 395 f., and the additions in the 2nd ed., 1950: A. E. Affifi, in *BSOAS*, xiii, 1949-51, 847 ff. Kraus also showed the great influence of this book on Djābir Ibn Ḥayyān; the latter wrote a considerable number of books on different subjects *ʿalā raʾy Balīnās*, cf. Kraus, i, index, s.v. *Balīnās*; J. W. Fück, *Ambix*, iv, 1951, § 12 and Commentary), parts of them were edited by Kraus, *Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān, Textes choisis*, 1935.

2. *Risāla fī Taʾthīr al-Rūḥāniyāt fi 'l-Murakkabāt*, MS. Istanbul, Asʿad 1987 (Plessner, in *Islamica*, iv, 1931, 551 f.), Wehbi 892 (courtesy of H. Ritter), Chester Beatty (cf. J. Bowman, *Glasgow Univ. Or. Soc., Transactions*, xiv, 1950-52); for other MSS., see Kraus, ii, 293 n. 5.

3. *al-Mudkhal al-Kabīr ilā ʿIlm Afʿāl al-Rūḥāniyāt*, in all MSS. following no. 2, Hebrew translation in Paris, MS. Hebr. 1016 and Steinschneider MS. 29 (cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, 846 f. and Plessner, *l.c.*).

4. *K. Ṭalāsim Balīnās al-Akbar li-Waladih ʿAbd al-Raḥmān* (!), Paris MS. 2250, fol. 84-134, identical with *K. Balīnās li-Ibnih fi 'l-Ṭilasmāt*, Berol. Pet. I 66, fol. 41v-72v (Ahlwardt 5908).

5. A *Kitāb Ablūs* (vocalisation uncertain) *al-Ḥakīm* is one of the sources of the lists of images to be engraved on the stones of the planets, *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*, 107-124. Whether this book is the *Liber de imaginibus* quoted by Albertus Magnus, *De libris licitis* (cf. F. J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation*, 1956, 58 ff.), is still an open question.

6. The Hermetic book *Dhakhīrat al-Iskandar* given to Alexander by Aristotle who received it from Apollonius has been elaborately discussed and partly edited and translated by Ruska, *Tab. Sm.*, 68-107; it contains also some of the talismans located by Apollonius in several towns. The connexion between the prologue and the Babylonian report on the Flood has been stated by Plessner, in *Studia Islamica*, ii, 1954, 52 ff.

(For the Arabic texts belonging to the above nos. 1 and 6 as published by Ruska, cf. Plessner, in *Islamica*, xvi, 1927, 83 ff.).

7. In no. 3, the author alludes several times to his *Risālat Sal-siḥr*, which is as yet unknown in Arabic; but perhaps the Hebrew *Mlekhet muškelet* (Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.*, 848, cf. also *ZDMG*, xlv, 1891, 444) has something to do with it.

8. Al-Ḳazwīnī quotes in many places of his *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt* (see the list in Bacher, *op. cit.*, 70 n. 26) a *Kitāb al-Khawāṣṣ* by Balīnās, which has not yet been traced, Steinschneider judges the title to be a fiction (*Hebr. Übers.*, 845 n. 7).

The vast number of medieval Latin and vernacular texts ascribed to Balīnūs (Belenus and the like) cannot be dealt with here, cf. Steinschneider, *Europ. Übers.*, Index, and Carmody, *op. cit.*, index. But there is no doubt that some of the authors whose books are published or analysed in the *Lapidario del rey D. Alfonso X*, reproduced and partly edited by J. F. Montaña, 1881, are translations of Arabic books attributed to Apollonius; cf. the full list in Sarton, ii, 837. Here belong: 1. Abolais (never deciphered, cf. G. O. S. Darby, in *Osiris*, i, 1936, 251 ff.), 4. Yluz, 5. Belyenus and Ylus, 6. Plinius and Hermuz (Hermes). A comparison of these names with the forms of the name of Apollonius in Arabic at the beginning of this article will furnish sufficient evidence.

The Greek *Apotelesmata Apollonii Tyanensis*, simultaneously edited by F. Nau, *Patrologia, Syriaca*, I 2, 1907, 1363 ff., and F. Boll, *Cat. Codicum astrologorum Graecorum*, vii, 1908, 175 ff. contains passages of which the Latin translation from the Arabic can be traced in Brit. Mus. MS. Royal 12 C XVIII (Carmody, 73), and even an English translation in Sloane 3826. For another Latin (Vatican) MS. cf. Carmody, *l.c.* Similar texts, also translated from Arabic, in Sloane 3848. The name of the disciple of Apollonius to whom the Greek text is dedicated has been identified with that of the author of a text edited in Syriac and Arabic by G. Levi Della Vida, *La Dottrina e i Dodici Legati di Stomathalassa, Atti Acc. Naz. Lin., Cl. Sci. mor. stor. fil.*, viii/iii, fasc. 8, Rome 1951.

Another pupil of Apollonius is the famous Artefius (not Arletius, as in Brockelmann, S I, 429, nor Atrefius, as in the additions in vol. iii, 1208), the author of *Clavis sapientiae*, the Arabic original of which, *Miftāḥ al-Ḥikma*, has been discovered by Levi Della Vida, and described in *Speculum*, xiii, 1938, 80-85; cf. Kraus, 298 f.

Bibliography: On Apollonius of Perge, see also H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*; M. Krause, *Stambnler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker*; M. Steinschneider, *Euklid bei den Arabern* (*Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik, Historisch-Literarische Abteilung*, vol. xxxi, 1886). (M. PLESSNER)

BĀLIS, former town in northern Syria, which was both a port on the Western bank of the Euphrates and an important stage, 100 km. from Aleppo and at the entrance to the Djazīra, of the road from Antioch and the Mediterranean leading, via al-Raḳḳa, to Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ. The commercial and agricultural prosperity of the town was doubtless due to its situation at a point of intersection of river and land highways, and in a warm valley where the irrigation possibilities favoured the development of husbandry.

Known in antiquity under the Aramaic and Greek names of BYT BLS and Barbalissos, indicated both in the *Table de Peutinger* and the *Notitia Dignitatum* and, after the administrative division of the province of Syria which took place towards the middle of the 11th century A.D., belonging to the *Augusta Euphratensis*, it played the rôle of a

frontier town which was to continue in the Byzantine period, when it was several times pillaged by the Persians. It suffered particular damage during the campaign of Khusraw II Anushirwān and was rebuilt by the efforts of Justinian. Previously, the hagiographers had made it the site of the martyrdom of Bacchus, a famous saint of the area, whose relics are said to be preserved there.

Occupied by the Arabs as the result of a treaty concluded with Abū ʿUbayda after the capture of Aleppo and abandoned at that time by certain elements of the population, in the Umayyad period Bālis formed part of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and was subsequently, under al-Rashīd, attached to the territory of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*]. It continued to retain its strategical importance for a long time in the vicinity of the Byzantine territories. The famous general Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik took an interest in it to the extent of having a canal excavated and improving the production of the land. He established himself there and it was to remain the property of his descendants. In 245/859 the town suffered from an earthquake which affected the whole of Northern Syria; subsequently it shared the fate of the cities of the area, escaping from Caliphal control and entering the orbit of the Ṭūlūnids, then that of the Ḥamdānids, until the Saldjūḳids, in their turn, extended their authority to the region. Its economic decline, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, who, however, still mentions rich grain harvests, dates apparently from the end of the reign of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla; but the brief information given by the geographers should not make us forget the signs of prosperity, borne out by archaeological remains, right into the Ayyūbid period. At the time of the Crusades, it was subject especially to indecisive incursions by the Franks, after which it continued to pass from hand to hand of various Muslim masters, among whom can be cited at the end the Ayyūbids al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr (who seems to have held it at least from 607/1210-11, the date inscribed on the minaret which he had erected). At this time various indications seem to show that the population of Bālis, where several *mashhads* were venerated in connexion with the memory of ʿAlī and al-Ḥusayn, was mainly Shīʿite. Subsequently the destruction wrought by the Mongol invasion destroyed the locality, which did not even appear in the administrative organisation of Mamlūk Syria.

At the present day the ruins of Bālis lie five km. from the small modern village of Meskéné on a plateau overlooking the valley of the Euphrates which flows at quite a distance from the site. The fortified enclosure can still be identified, with its monumental doors, the remains of a brick praetorium doubtless dating back to the times of Justinian and the site of the great mosque, indicated by the beautiful octogonal brick minaret, erected on a rectangular base and bearing four series of ornamental inscriptions. The numerous mounds where abundant potsherds are to be found, have never been systematically excavated, but trial soundings carried out about 1925 revealed interesting sculptured plaster decorations with inscriptions dated 464/1072 and 469/1076-77.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, see Barbalissos; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, part. 452-53; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, part. 314-20; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord*, Paris 1940, index; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, i. Algiers 1951, 88 and 226; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1910-11 (with an epigraphical contribution from M. van Berchem), i, 2-3, 114 and 123-29; G. Salles, in *Mémoires du IIIe Congrès int. d'art et d'arch. iraniens*, Leningrad 1935, 221-26; *Répertoire chr. d'épigraphie arabe*, no. 2678, 2712 and 3828; J. and D. Sourdel, in *Annales arch. de Syrie*, iii, 1953, 103-105; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 417; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 150-51; *BGA*, *indices*; Ṭabarī, iii, 52, 1440, 2028, 2200; Yāḳūt, i, 477 ff.; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahan, i and ii, index; Ibn Shaddād, *Description d'Alep* (ed. Sourdel), index; al-Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 61. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BĀLISH (Persian: "cushion"), Turkish: *yastuḳ*, a 13th century Mongolian monetary unit, which was in use particularly in the eastern part of the Empire. It is, however, also mentioned frequently by the Īlkhāns [*q.v.*] in Īrān. In China it appears as late as the 14th century. The *bālish* was coined in gold and in silver, and (according to Djuwaynī, *GMS* i, 16, and Waṣṣāf, lith. Bombay, 22), corresponded to 500 *mithḳāl* (according to W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden 1955, 1-8, on the basis of numismatic observations: 4. 3 g. each; Djuwaynī, trans. J. A. Boyle, i, 22, writes *loc. cit.* of 50, instead of 500 *mithḳāl*). According to this assessment, a *bālish* would weigh 2.15 kg., and this would agree with a Western report by William of Rubruquis, ed. Rockhill, 156, which states that one silver *bālish* corresponds to 10 (Cologne) marks, *i.e.*, 2.338 kg.

W. Hinz assesses the gold value (taking 1 g. of gold at a price of 2.88 gold marks) at 6,192 gold marks. If we assume the relative value of gold to silver (according to Ahmet-Zeki Validi (now Togan), *Moğollar devrinde Anadolun'un iktisadî vaziyeti*, in *Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecmuası*, i, 1931, 1-42), to be 12 : 1 (cf. also B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[2], 1955, 556 corresponding to 303[7]), then one silver *bālish* corresponds to 516 gold marks.

According to Djuwaynī (*loc. cit.*) a silver *bālish* has the value of 75 Ruknī dīnārs of 2/3 standard (so-called after the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, 934-976); thus the value of such a dīnār would be 6.88 DM.).

Other statements of the same period do not indeed agree with Djuwaynī, but this may be due partly to fluctuations in value. According to Djūzdjānī (Djawzadjānī), *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, trans. Raverty, 1110, the *bālish* corresponded to 60 1/3 dirhams; Waṣṣāf, lith. Bombay, 22, quotes the gold *bālish* at 2,000, the silver *bālish* at 200 dīnārs (which corresponds to a proportion of 10 : 1 for gold : silver at that time). One *bālish* in paper money (*čao*) was worth 10, or (according to Waṣṣāf, 506) only 6 dīnārs (this is an indication of the rapid fall in value of the *čao*). W. Barthold assumed that here the silver dīnār worth 3 *mithḳāl* is meant (cf. also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv, 464).

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn ed. Quatremère, i, 320 f., note 120 (compilation of relevant parts of sources, although seen from the erroneous point of view that the *bālish* does not denote a definite sum of money but a "great quantity" of money); B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[2], Berlin 1955, 304 f. with notes; W. Barthold/W. Hinz, *Die pers. Inschrift .... zu Ani*, in *ZDMG*, 101 (1951), 241-269; W. Hinz, in *Islam*, xxxii (1959) (note on Boyle's translation of Djuwaynī); concerning *yastuḳ*, cf. P. Pelliot in Tʿoung-Pao, no. 27 (1930), 190-2, *ibid*, 32 (1936), 80; idem, *Notes sur ... la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1950, 8. (B. Spuler)

BĀLISH, Belesh, Span. Vélez, a toponymic of Berber origin encountered on the coast of the Rif and at various places in the Iberian peninsula with the spellings بألْش، بالش and بلش. Al-Bakrī mentions the port of Bālish after those of Bādis and Būḳuya, opposite Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera, on the Rif coast. Another Bālish, unidentified, is to be found beside the Guadalquivir after leaving Cordova in the direction of Tudmīr and Murcia. Al-Idrīsī gives the name Bālish to the Mar Menor of Murcia, a large lake formed by the waters brought down by various swift streams, situated 57 miles from Alicante and which is navigable by shipping. The Vélez, which the same author includes in the *iḳlīm* of Badjdjāna (Pechina), with Almería, Berja and Purchena, is Velez-Rubio, 105 km. from Almería and 42 from Lorca, in the valley of the Guadalentín, a tributary of the Sangronera. A prehistoric cemetery, rock paintings and numerous coins, art objects and Roman inscriptions have been found amongst the ruins of its fortifications. It formed part of the *ḳūra* of Tudmīr and revolted with Ibn Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*] against the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh, being subsequently subdued by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 313/925. When the Infante, the future Alfonso X the Wise, took Lorca, it marked the frontier of the Kingdom of Granada. It was taken by Alonso Yáñez Fajardo in 1437, but again passed into the hands of the rulers of Granada in 851/1447, and the Naṣrid ruler al-Zaghall Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad XII resided there; it was finally taken by Ferdinand III in 893/1488, who, at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, ceded his overlordship to Pedro Fajardo, the first Marquis of both the towns of Vélez, el-Rubio and el-Blanco. Situated 5½ km. from Vélez-Rubio is Vélez-Blanco, a town of some 10,000 inhabitants, belonging to the same marquisate of the Vélez; on the ruins of the Roman citadel and the Moorish alcazaba rising on the hill above the two towns of Vélez, Pedro Fajardo erected a magnificent castle of imposing proportions and elaborateness, the shell of which is still preserved.

Another Vélez is that of Benaudalla (Ibn ʿAbd Allāh), in the province of Granada (ward of Motril), on the left bank of the Guadalfeo river, on the side of a small hill called el-Castillo, and possessing some 5,000 inhabitants.

Finally in the province of Málaga, 34 km. from the capital and three km. from the sea, on the left bank of the river Vélez or Benamargosa, is the town of Vélez-Málaga, with some 30,000 inhabitants. Very little is known to us, however, of its history in the Muslim period. Alfonso el Batallador, in his expedition through Andalusia in 519/1126, after reaching Granada and crossing the Sierra Nevada, advanced up to Vélez-Málaga, without being able to take it.

When in 283/896, the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh was besieging one of these Vélez—it is not known which one—a number of infantrymen and cavalrymen of the regular Umayyad army, attracted by the inducement of better pay held out to them by Ibn Ḥafṣūn, went over to the rebel's service. Dozy, who refers to this event without citing his source, confuses Bildj (now Vilches) with Belesh (Vélez), and situates it at Vélez-Rubio. The toponymic has passed to Latin America and is to be found at various places in Colombia, Uruguay and the Argentine; it is also a fairly common surname in Spain.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, 175, 194 of the text, 209, 235 of the trans.; Bakrī², 90; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 103, 843; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*², ii, 185; *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya*, 78 of the text, 114 of the trans. Huici; F. Palanques, *Hist. de Velez-Rubio*.

(A. Huici Miranda)

BALIYYA (Ar. pl. *balāyā*), a name given, in the pre-Islamic era, to the camel (more rarely the mare) which it was the custom to tether at the grave of its master, its head turned to the rear and covered with a saddle-cloth (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, index), and to allow to die of starvation; in some cases, the victim was burnt and, in other cases, stuffed with *thumām* (Ibn Abiʾ l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, iv, 436). Muslim tradition sees in this practice proof that the Arabs of the *djāhiliyya* believed in the resurrection, because the animal thus sacrificed was thought to serve as a mount for its master at the resurrection, while those who rose from the dead without a *baliyya*, and were therefore of inferior status, went on foot. According to another tradition, however, the same term also denoted a cow, a camel or a ewe which was hamstrung at the grave of the deceased and allowed to die of hunger; in this way, it appears, the primitive symbol of belief in the resurrection seems to have become a funeral sacrifice, which paved the way for the funeral feast (*waḍīma*).

Bibliography: *L.A.*, s.v.; Shahrastānī, ii, 439 f.; Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-ʿArab*, ii, 307 ff.; G. W. Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arab. Sprach*, 368; Wellhausen, *Reste*², 180 f.; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, 141; H. Lammens, *L'arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut 1928, 176; idem, *Moawia*, 341; J. Chelhod, *Le Sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, 117.

(J. Hell-[Ch. Pellat])

AL-**BALḲĀʾ**, name given by the Arab authors either to the whole of the Transjordanian territory corresponding approximately to the ancient countries of Ammon, Moab and even Gilead, or to the middle part of it, having, depending on the period, ʿAmmān, [*q.v.*], Ḥusbān or al-Ṣalt as its chief town. Although a certain lack of precision still persists to-day in the use of the term, its geographical meaning is usually restricted to the limestone plateau (average altitude from 700 to 800 m.), comprised between the Wādī 'l-Zarḳāʾ (or Jabbok) in the North and the Wādi 'l-Mūdjib (or Arnon) in the South. This is a region of tabular relief on the desert side, but the ground is considerably broken along the subsidence zone of the Dead Sea and the Jordan (peak of Nabī Ushaʿ (1,096 m.) near al-Ṣalt in the North, Mount Nebo (835 m.) in the vicinity of Mādabā), where the erosive action of rain has promoted the escarping of especially deep ravines; as a whole it is an arid land, but at the bottom of depressions and on the plains it affords possibilities of cultivation, which explain the praise bestowed on its fertility and the abundance of its villages in bygone times.

In the Hellenistic period the principal divisions were Peraea, on the Western fringe, with Gadara (near al-Ṣalt) as its metropolis, the territory of Philadelphia (ʿAmmān), a town attached to the Decapolis, and the northern end of the Nabatean kingdom. Under Trajan, in 106 AD., the new province of Arabia extended over it, taking in Nabataea, which had also extended northwards to Bostra. On the other hand in the Byzantine period, the Arnon acted as the boundary between the province of Arabia, which then included the bishoprics of Philadelphia, Esbus (Ḥusbān) and Mādabā, and the new Palestina Tertia, created in the Southern part of the country.

This region, conquered by Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān

shortly after the fall of Damascus and the peaceful surrender of ʿAmmān, retained its former prosperity under the Umayyads, and numerous caliphal and princely residences were situated there (al-Mshattā, al-Zīza, al-Ḳasṭal, Umm al-Walīd, for example, without counting the castles scattered further towards the East such as Ḳusayr ʿAmrā, al-Kharāne, Ḳaṣr al-Ḥallabāt or Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūba). At this period the term al-Balḳāʾ had a wide connotation, still attested later by Yāḳūt, and the reports of the chroniclers also included in it towns of the ʿAdjlūn like Arbad (Irbid), where Yazīd II died (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1464), or of the Maʾāb like al-Muʾta [*q.v.*]; the corresponding administrative district was provided with its own *ʿāmil* and was in direct dependence on the *djund* of Damascus before experiencing a variety of fortunes throughout the Middle Ages. The testimony of al-Yaʿḳūbī, who distinguishes two sections, the Ghawr (main town: Jericho) and the Zāhir (main town: ʿAmmān), in this "canton of the colony of Damascus", may in fact be contrasted with that of al-Muḳaddasī, a century later, for whom al-Balḳāʾ is dependent on the territory of Filasṭīn; likewise, in the Ayyūbid period, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ connects it with the Sharāt, whilst al-Harawī deals separately with this country and the Balad Maʾāb. Finally, during the period of Mamlūk domination, the district of al-Balḳāʾ (main town: Ḥusbān) belonged in principle to the southern march of the province of Damascus, though sometimes it was recognised as possessing a second *wilāya*, that of al-Ṣalt, and it appears to have depended temporarily, in entirety or in part, on the *niyāba* of al-Karak.

The favourite etymology of the Arab geographers, who link the name of al-Balḳāʾ, in which, however, the feminine of the adjective *ablaḳ* "variegated" can be perceived, with that of an eponymous hero, a descendant of the Banī ʿAmmān b. Lūṭ, evokes the Ammonites of Biblical tradition and the memories of Lot, localised in a region where the "town of the Giants" of the Ḳurʾān, v, 25/22, (identified with ʿAmmān) and the Cave of the *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* [*q.v.*], were also placed.

Bibliography: F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1933-38, i, 68, 90, 277-281, 379-84, ii, passim; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 35; A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques* ..., Paris 1951, 22; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, part. 67-68 and 180; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 113 and 126; Ṭabarī, index; Yaʿḳūbī, i, 47; *BGA*, indices; Yāḳūt, i, 728; Bakrī, *Das geographische Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, Göttingen 1876, 160; Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 18; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 227. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BALKAN, the Balkan peninsula. The word *Balkan* means mountain or mountain range and, in the form of *Balkanlık*, rugged zone in Turkish. The etymology of the word is now linked with *balk*, mud, and the diminutive suffix, *-an* in Turkish (according to H. Eren). There is a mountain called *Balkhan* in Türkmenistan. The word *Balkan* was used first by the Ottomans in Rumeli in its general meaning of mountain, as in Kodja-Balkan, Čatal-Balkan, and Ungurus-Balkanï (the Carpathians). But specifically it was applied to the Haemus range of the ancient and mediaeval geographers, who thought that it separated the barbaric north from the civilised south. When considered as a historical and cultural entity the Balkans can be given different boundaries in the north. The Romans built their main defence line on the Danube with the extension of Trajan's walls between Černa-Voda and Constanza in the Dobruja. The boundary of the Byzantine empire in the north reached as far as the Danube and the Drava rivers (under Justinian I and Basil II). Finally by the treaty of 848/1444 the Ottomans and the Hungarians agreed reciprocally not to cross over the Danube, and up to the 17th century this river remained as the northern boundary of the Ottoman province of Rumeli, which included the whole peninsula south to this river. Both the Roman and Ottoman empires tried also to establish their control over the flat country on both sides of the Danube. Its lower part always became a passage for the Turco-Mongol peoples who invaded the Balkans one after another from the 5th up to the 13th century A.D., namely the Huns., Avars, Bulgars, Pečeneks, Kumans and Tatar-Kïpčaks. The Avar invasions are thought responsible for the penetration and settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans in the 6th century. Then the native Vlachs and Albanians had to retire to the mountains and lived there a pastoral life for many centuries to follow. Toward 680 A. D. the Bulgars, a Turkish people from north of the Black Sea, settled on the lower Danube and, as a military aristocracy ruling over the Slavs, they created the first powerful state to rival the Byzantine empire in the Balkans. Their conversion to Christianity (864) had far-reaching consequences for the history of the peninsula because the Byzantine church and the Byzantine concept of the state gave definitive shape not only to Bulgarian Czardom but also through it to the states that emerged subsequently in the Balkans (see F. Dölger, *Byzanz und europäische Staatenwelt*, 261-282).

The first Muslim geographers who spoke of the Balkans are contemporary with these important developments. Ibn Khurradādhbih, whose information, like that of others, was derived from the reports of the three observers of the the end of the 3rd/9th and the middle of the 4th/10th centuries (see Z. V. Togan, *Balkan*, in *IA*) said that the country west of the Byzantine themes of *Tafla*, *Trākiyya* and *Maḳadoniyya* was the *bilād al-Saḳāliba* and that in the north the *arḍ Burdjan* (Bulgars). In the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* the Danube is called *Rūd-i Bulghari* and the Balkan range *Kūh-i Bulghari*).

It seems that Islam first appeared in the Balkans with the Anatolian saint Sarï-Saltuḳ [*q.v.*], in 662/1264. After the incursions of the Anatolian Turks of the Ghāzī principalities in Western Anatolia in the first half of the 8th/14th century, the Ottomans finally settled firmly on the European shores of the Dardanelles in 755/1354. Even in the first period of the Ottoman expansion distinction must be made between the activities of the Ghāzī leaders who made continuous warfare in the *Udj*, the frontiers, and the Ottoman central government which was also concerned with the welfare of its subjects.

Perhaps the most important factor of the Ottoman conquest was the strong immigration movement into the Balkans from Anatolia in the 14th century which turkicised Thrace and Eastern Bulgaria (see *Studia Islamica*, ii, 103-129). At that time the small Ottoman state was regarded rather as a useful adjunct in the complicated struggle among the small Balkan states, but, growing in power, the Ottoman sultan soon became the suzerain of his former allies. When later these attempted to form a common front or called on Western Christendom for help, they were disappointed (Čermanon 773/1371,

Kossova 791/1389). Bayezīd I inaugurated a new policy by establishing direct control over the vassal countries. He had the ambition of establishing a unified empire in the Balkans. He conquered the whole of Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thessaly between 1393 and 1396, and attempted to seize Constantinople, the traditional capital. The victory of Tīmūr over Bayezīd (804/1402) had important consequences for the Balkans. Abandoning most of their Anatolian possessions, the Ottomans then considered the Balkans as their real home, and, Adrianople (Edirne) became the real capital city of the sultans from then on. A fresh exodus of the Anatolian Turks into the Balkans followed Tīmūr's invasion. The successors of Bayezīd I abandoned his imperial policy and Serbia and Byzantium enjoyed some freedom of action until Sulṭān Meḥemmed II conquered Constantinople (857/1453), and resumed the policy of unification with energy and success. In 864/1459 Serbia, in 864/1460 Morea and in 867/1463 Bosnia came under direct Ottoman rule. But these Ottoman successes were due to more important factors than the military ones.

In the struggle against the Ottoman conquest and centralisation policy, the feudalised princes and local lords in the Balkans had turned their eyes to the West, with a readiness to make concessions not only from their territories but also on religious matters. Thus in the first half of the 15th century, while Hungary was establishing its suzerainty over Bosnia, Serbia and Wallachia, Venice had seized the most important points on the Albanian coasts, in the Aegean Sea and the Morea, and, after taking Salonica, she coveted Constantinople. Representing Catholicism and seeking political and economic domination, the Western powers and their feudal sympathisers in Byzantium and the Balkans were regarded with hostility by the masses at large and by the Orthodox clergy. The Ottomans profited from the alienation of the common people from their Western or native lords. They assumed the role of protector of the Orthodox church and tried to drive Catholicism out of the Balkans. Even before the installation of Gennadius as oecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople in 1454, the Orthodox priests were recognised and granted pensions and even *tīmārs* by the Ottoman state everywhere. On the other hand when the Latins were driven out of the Balkans in the second half of the 9th/15th century the native merchants, Muslims, Greeks and Ragusans, as well as Jews, replaced them in trade and finance. Ragusa under Ottoman protection surpassed its mediaeval importance in the Balkan trade. Perhaps most important of all was the fact that the Ottoman land and tax system (see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ) brought about a real change in the life of the Balkan peasantry. The Byzantine emperors in the 10th century had made great efforts to uphold the central power by protecting the peasantry against the magnates in the provinces who were constantly trying to enlarge their lands and power. With the Comneni, this struggle had ended in favour of the landed aristocracy, and under the Palaeologi, the central government had lost all its authority. But with the Ottoman state a strong centralised government was established again in the Balkans and this government tried to abolish feudal practices and to prevent any local control over the peasantry. For example the old feudal services such as three days of forced labour, and the obligation to provide wood, hay and straw for the seigneur, were all converted by the Ottomans to one simple tax called *čift-resmi* [*q.v.*]. As the direct agents of the sultan, the *ḳāḍīs* [*q.v.*] and the *ḳapi-ḳulus* [*q.v.*] in the provinces secured the strict application of the laws. Thus it was no wonder that the Christian peasantry remained indifferent to the fate of their lords in their struggle against the Ottomans and until the 11th/17th century no serious rebellion is recorded among the Balkan peasants. It must also be noted that the Ottomans followed a conservative policy towards the previous social classes in the Balkans by adapting their status to the Ottoman system. The pre-Ottoman upper aristocracy, who mostly possessed *pronoia*, were included by the Ottomans in the *tīmār* system or, later, taken into the sultan's court to become high officials. The members of the lower aristocracy, especially *voiniks* (in Turkish *voynuḳ*), who previously were the backbone of the empire of Stephan Dushan, were reorganised in *bölüks* [*q.v.*] in the greater part of the Balkans by the Ottomans and formed a section of the Ottoman army up to the 16th century, when they lost their usefulness and were made simple *reʿāyā*. Other military groups, nomad *Eflaḳs*, and *Martolos* were incorporated into the Ottoman forces in the provinces (see my *Fatih Devri*, i, Ankara 1954, 145-184). Even the *reʿāyā* had access to the ruling class through the *Devshirme* institution. In the classification of the *reʿāyā* [*q.v.*]—that is, the peasants, Muslim or Christian, a system similar to the pre-Ottoman system seems to have been followed and the Byzantine *paroikoi*, who were divided into *zeugarate* and *boïdion* as well as the *eleutheroi*, appear to have survived under the Ottomans with different names, and several Byzantine taxes actually continued in the Ottoman taxation system as *rusūm-i ʿurfiyya* or *ʿādet-i ḳadīma*. These taxes were assigned to the *tīmār*-holders, and the Ottoman *tīmār* system which was the foundation-stone of the empire in the first period acquired its final form in the Balkans. In conclusion we can speak of a continuity of Balkan history in its basic forms under the Ottomans. It was true that national cultures lost their former centres of development, but the peasantry and the church remained in existence and became the foundations of the national states in the 19th century.

During the 10th/16th century the Balkan peninsula enjoyed one of the rare periods of peace and prosperity in its history; everywhere new lands were brought under cultivation, the population increased (5 million about 1535), cities developed, as we can observe in the regular Ottoman land and population surveys, *defters*, preserved in the Turkish archives (see *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, Istanbul, no. 4, 11, 15). After Greek, Turkish became a common language of civilisation in the Balkans.

As Sir T. W. Arnold has already emphasised (*The Preaching of Islam*, London [1st ed. 1896] 3rd ed. 1935, 145 ff.) conversions to Islam in the Balkans were not in general the result of a state policy or the use of force. However, three periods in this respect should be distinguished. Up to Bayezīd II's time the Ottoman state followed a very liberal policy in the matter of religion. In this period voluntary conversions took place among the nobility incorporated in the Ottoman *ʿaskari* [*q.v.*] class especially among the Bogomils in Bosnia. After Bayezīd II, the Ottoman state became more conscious of being a Muslim state and more careful in the application of the *sharīʿa*. From the 11th/17th century onwards, to begin with as a result of the activities of the Franciscan missions in the Balkans, which were supported by the Hapsburgs and the Venetians

for political purposes, the Ottomans had recourse to certain coercive measures against the Christians in Serbia, Albania and Danubian Bulgaria. This brought about some mass conversions in these countries. In 1690 the Patriarch of Peč took refuge in southern Hungary with 37,000 Serbian families. Large-scale conversions took place among the Albanians during the subsequent centuries [see ARNAWUTLUḲ]. The third important islamised area is found on the Rhodope region where Bulgarian-speaking Muslims are called *Pomaḳs* [*q.v.*].

For further developments in the Balkans under the Ottomans in the subsequent periods see RUMELİ.

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BALKAR, a Muslim people of the Central Caucasus, whose origins are the subject of contradictory hypotheses. For some the Balkar are descendants of Bulghar driven back towards the mountains in the 12th-13th century; according to others, their ancestors were the Khazar pushed back towards the upper Terek in the 11th century; finally, others see in the Balkar Ibero-Caucasians or indeed Turkicised Finns. The Balkar traditions say that their ancestors, once living on the steppes of the Kuban, were driven back towards the mountains by the Čerkes tribes (Adïghes), whence in turn they drove away and partially absorbed the Ossets.

Prior to 1946, the habitat of the Balkar, on the northern slopes of the main range of the Caucasus, included the high valleys of the tributaries of the Terek lying between the Elbruz to the West and the Ossete country to the East. The Balkar people (numbering 33,307 in 1926, of whom only 2% were urban dwellers, 42,666 in 1939), are divided into 5 tribes.

In the 16th century the Balkar were subdued by the Kabard and thenceforth adopted the forms of material civilisation of their sovereigns, copying their feudal structure, which persisted practically intact until the Russian conquest. It had five classes: 1. the princes, *tawbii* (analogous to the *pshə* of the Adïghes); 2. the nobles, *uzden* (*uorkh* among the Adïghes); 3. the free peasants, *karakash* (*tl'fakashaw* among the Abaza); 4. the serfs liable to corvée duties, *čagar* (*og* among the Kabard); and 5. the slaves, *kazakh* (*unawt* among the Kabard).

Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī rite was introduced among the Balkar at the end of the 18th century by the Crimean Tatars and the Nogai of the Kuban, but pre-Islamic survivals (Christian and animist) still persisted at the beginning of the 20th century.

Russian penetration of the high valleys of the tributaries of the Terek, begun at the end of the 18th century, was completed in 1827 by the conquest of the Balkar country, but was not followed, as in the case of the Adïghes, by rural colonisation; the Russian authorities preferred to favour the setting up of villages of Kumïk, Ossets and mountain Jews in the midst of the Balkar country.

Soviet Balkaria. — The Soviet régime, temporarily proclaimed in December 1918, was finally established in March 1920. By a decree of the All-Union Central Executive Committee dated 21 January 1921, the Balkar *okrug* was attached to the Soviet Socialist Republic of Mountain-dwellers (Gorskaya ASSR). On 1 September 1921, the Balkar country, joined to the Kabarda, became the Autonomous Kabardino-Balkar Region of the RSFSR, and on 5 December 1936 became the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR. Balkaria was briefly occupied by the German armies during the second world war, was suppressed as an administrative formation by decree of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 25 June 1946, and the Balkar people was deported to Central Asia. A part of it (the valley of the Baksan) was attached to the Georgian SSR and the remainder to the Kabardinian Autonomous SSR. A new decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 9 January 1957 re-established the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR and authorized the deported Balkars to return to their country.

The Balkar language, which is simply a dialect of Ḳaračay [*q.v.*], belongs to the Ḳipčaḳ group of Turkish languages. It has been strongly influenced by Ossetic and the neighbouring Ibero-Caucasian languages: Kabard, Čečen and Abaza.

Balkar-Ḳaračai, previously not a written language, was endowed in 1920 with a slightly modified Arabic alphabet (ی = ı, ۆ = ö), replaced in 1925 by the Latin alphabet; the first works were published in Balkar-Ḳaračay in the following year: a collection of poetry by ʿUmar ʿAliev and a Chrestomathy (*Bilim*) by Askhat Bidjiev. Also in 1926 the first newspaper, *Karakhalḳ*, of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Region made its appearence at Nalčik, with alternate pages in Adïghe and Balkar-Karačay. In 1931 the first daily, *Tawlu-Djashaw*, in Balkar-Karačay was published at Mikoyan-Shakhar, the administrative centre of the Karačay Autonomous Region (now Klukhori). Finally in 1938 the Latin alphabet was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet.

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(A. BENNIGSEN)

BALḲAYN [see ḲAYN].

BALKH, an important city in ancient and mediaeval times, now a village, located in what is today northern Afghānistān, ca. 67° E. Long. (Greenw.) and 36° 45′ N. lat. It was located on the Balkh river, now dry.

Ancient Bactria was the name of a province of the Achaemenid Empire as well as its chief city. In the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius we find the form Bāxtriš, in the Avesta Bāχδī, and in Greek Βάκτρα. Perhaps the original form was *Bāχdrī, from the name of the river (cf. Markwart, *Catalogue*, 34). Balkh after the conquests of Alexander the Great was a centre of the Greco-Bactrians, then of the Kushans and Hephthalites. In pre-Islamic times the city was a Buddhist centre with a famous cloister, the Nawbahār, the head of which, Barmak [*q.v.*], seems to have exercised political control over the city. Balkh was also famous in Zoroastrian tradition and there must have been five temples there before Islam. The city, at least from the time of Alexander the Great, was protected by great walls. The various traditions on the founding of Balkh, as found in Arabic and Persian sources, are discussed by Schefer and Schwarz (refs. below), where it is apparent that the Arabs knew of the antiquity of the city.

In 32/653 the Arab commander al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] raided Balkh and obtained tribute (Balādhurī, 408). The area was not conquered until the war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya was decided in favour of the latter. In 43/663-4 Balkh was reconquered by Ḳays b. al-Haytham or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura (cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, 69). On this expedition, or the first one of al-Aḥnaf, the Nawbahār shrine is said to have been destroyed by the Arabs (Le Strange, 422). During part of this period a local prince, called Nēzak Ṭarkhān, occupied Balkh and caused much trouble to the Arabs (cf. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 41-2). Unfortunately, the events and chronology of this area under the early Umayyads are confused in the Arabic sources. There were frequent revolts against Arab rule and it is not until the time of Ḳutayba b. Muslim (d. 96/715) that Balkh could be considered subdued. The city seems to have suffered considerably from warfare, and there are indications in Ṭabarī that the city was in ruins about 705 A.D. (Schwarz, 436). The Arabs did not reside in Balkh but maintained a garrison at Barūḳān, two farsakhs from Balkh until the governor of Khurāsān Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī moved the garrison to Balkh rebuilding the city in 107/725. In 118/736 Asad transferred the capital of Khurāsān from Marw to Balkh with the result that Balkh prospered. Abū Muslim had to capture and recapture Balkh from the Syrian troops of the garrison loyal to the Umayyads who were helped by local troops, but his lieutenant Abū Dāʾūd al-Bakrī finally secured Balkh and Ṭukhāristān for the ʿAbbāsids.

Under the ʿAbbāsids the governors of Khurāsān became practically independent, and in Balkh the descendants of the princes of Khuttal held sway (cf. *Ērānšahr*, 301). One of them, Dāʾūd b. ʿAbbās al-Bānīdjūrī, succeeded his father as governor of Balkh, and was driven from his capital by Yaʿḳūb b. Layth in 256/870. In 287/900 ʿAmr b. Layth was defeated and captured near Balkh by Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, and Balkh passed under Sāmānid rule. It is Balkh in the 4th/10th century which is described by the geographers in Arabic as *umm al-bilād* "the mother of cities". The later Sāmānid governors of Balkh such as Fāʾiḳ, Alptakīn and Subuktakīn were virtually independent. During the rule of Maḥmūd of Ghazna 387-421/997-1030, Balkh was captured once by Īlak Khan in 397/1006, but Maḥmūd shortly recaptured it. Although Balkh was in the centre of the arena of warfare between the Saldjūḳs and the Ghaznawids, and was threatened with capture by the former after their victory at Dandānḳān in 431/1040, it was not until 451/1059 that they definitely occupied the city. The city changed rulers several times during Saldjūḳ rule and at the end of Sandjar's reign it fell into the hands of the Ghuzz Turks, and was destroyed by them in 550/1155. The Ḳarā Khiṭāy rulers then included Balkh in their domains from about 560-1/1165 A.D. In 594/1198 Bahāʾ al-Dīn Sām of Bāmiyān occupied Balkh for the Ghūrids and in 603/1206 Muḥammad Khʷārazmshāh captured it. Shortly thereafter, in 617/1220, although Balkh surrendered to Čingiz Khān, the city was destroyed and its inhabitants massacred. It took long to recover from this blow, for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the early 8th/14th century describes the ruins of the city.

Balkh regained some of its past splendour under the Tīmūrids, and some of the masterpieces of Tīmūrid architecture were erected in Balkh. The citadel of Balkh which had been razed by Tīmūr was rebuilt by this son Shāh Rukh in 810/1407. The end of Balkh as a great centre, however, was forecast by the discovery (ca. 1480 A.D.) of the "so-called" grave of ʿAlī in the vicinity of Balkh. In 886/1481 a shrine was erected at the site ca. 20 km. to the east. By the 19th century around this shrine had developed the present city of Mazār-i Sharīf at the expense of Balkh. In 912/1506 Shībānī Khān of the Özbeks conquered Balkh. Bābūr held the city for a short time as did the Ṣafawids under Shāh Ismaʿīl, but most of the time Balkh remained in Özbek hands. The Özbeks controlled the area until the rise of Nādir Shāh, except for a short period when Shāh ʿAbbās and the Ṣafawids obtained the allegiance of the local khān, and from about 1641 to 1647 when the Mughals occupied it. In 1737 Nādir Shāh suppressed a revolt against his rule by the Özbeks of Balkh, but after Nādir's death the district passed again under local Özbek rule. This was soon followed by submission to Aḥmad Shāh Durranī and the Afghāns about 1752. In the early 19th century the area of Balkh was raided several times by the Özbek Khān of Bukhārā, but from 1841 it remained in Afghān hands.

The importance of Balkh came in great measure from its geographical position on a fertile plain, the meeting place of trade routes from India, China, Turkistān, and Iran. It was natural that a great centre should exist between the Oxus River and the Hindu Kush Mountains. At the present time the ruins of Balkh occupy a large area, and the site of so much promise actually has been very disappointing to archeologists. At the present day the village of Balkh has only a few thousand inhabitants. The visible monuments of Balkh include the ruins of extensive walls (ca. 10 km. perimeter) enclosing the modern village, and two shrines on the square of the present village. One is the Green Mosque in Tīmūrid style but probably built at the end of the 16th century A.D. by an Özbek Khan, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. Facing it is the tomb-shrine of Khʷāja Abū Naṣr Parsā, a Ṣūfī of the 16th century. A nearby *madrasa*, erected by Saʿīd Subḥān Ḳulī Khān (d. 1702), has only one arch left. In the northeast section inside the walls, are the ruins of the shrine of Khʷāja ʿAkkashāh Walī from the late Tīmūrid period. In summer the area of Balkh is very hot and dusty, in the winter the area is almost a swamp.

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(R. N. FRYE)

BALKHĀN, two mountain ranges east of the Caspian Sea, which enclose the dried-out river-bed of the Özboi (cf. Āmū Daryā). To the north of this river lies the Great Balkhān, a high plateau of limestone, difficult of access, with steep slopes; the highest elevation is at the Düinesh Ḳalʿe, about 1880 metres. The Little Balkhān, south of the Özboi and cut with numerous ravines, attains (in the west) a height of no more than 800 metres. These mountains, where according to Muḳaddasī, 285, l. 14 ff., wild horses and cattle lived, were searched for iron by the surrounding peoples. The area became, in about 420-2/1029-31, a place of retreat for Türkmen tribes coming from Khurāsān (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix, 267). During the following centuries the region was thickly settled with Türkmens and lost more and more its economic importance. The establishment of Russian harbours on the Balkhān inlet of the Caspian Sea (after 1869) and the construction of the Trans-Caspian railway (after 1881) restored to this area a certain importance, which declined, however, after the building of the Orenburg-Tashkent line (1905).

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BALKHASH, after the Aral [*q.v.*], the largest inland lake of Central Asia (18,432 sq. km.), into which the Ili and several other less important rivers flow. The lake's existence was unknown to the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (372/982-983; comp. J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, xxx, makes the Ili (Īlā) flow into the Issīḳ-Ḳul. Of all the Muslim authors, Muḥammad Ḥaydar is the only one, to our knowledge, who, towards the middle of the 10th/16th century (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, trans. by E. D. Ross, 366) describes lake Balkhash. The author gives the lake, which then marked the boundary between the country of the Özbegs (Özbegistān) and that of the Mongols (Mughalistān), the name of Kökčä-Teñiz or blue lake, and describes it as a body of fresh water. But he greatly exaggerates its length and breadth and considers the Volga (Itil) as a derivative of Balkhash. Nevertheless, Muḥammad Ḥaydar's statement on the taste of the waters of the lake is important. In point of fact, all the modern geographers have looked upon Balkhash as a salt lake. It was only in 1903 that the investigations undertaken by the Turkistan section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, completed in 1931 by the works of the State Institute of Hydrology and in 1941 by those of the Institute of geological Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, established that a part of the waters of the lake is fresh water.

The Kalmuks were the first to give the lake its Mongol name of Balkhash. They did in fact dominate in these regions in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. The name "Balchas" occurs with a reproduction of the lake, very exact for the period, on a map by the Swedish non-commissioned officer J. G. Renat, who spent seventeen years in the country of the Kalmuks, from 1716 to 1733. Comp. *Carte de la Dzoungarie dressée par le suédois Renat pendant sa captivité chez les Kalmüks de 1717 à 1733*, ed. Russ. Imp. Geog. Society, St. Petersburg 1881.

The appearance of the neighbourhood of Balkhash is extremely desolate and arid and until the October Revolution the lake had never played a rôle of any economic importance. Its development began in 1936 with the building of a large industrial city, Balkhash, on the bay of Bertis on the Northern shore of the lake. (W. BARTHOLD-[A. BENNIGSEN])

AL-BALKHĪ, ABUʾL-ḲĀSIM (ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. MAḤMŪD), also known as Abu'l-Ḳāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī, the Muʿtazilite. Born at Balkh, he lived for a long time at Baghdād, where he was the disciple of the Muʿtazilite Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāṭ. He founded a school at Nasaf, converted to Islām a number of the inhabitants of Khurāsān, and died at Balkh at the beginning of Shaʿbān 319/August 931. Among his disciples were Ibn Shihāb (Abu'l-Ṭayyib Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad), who died after 350/962, and al-Aḥdab (Abu'l-Ḥasan). Among his works are mentioned the *Kitāb al-Maḳālāt* and the *K. Maḥāsin Khurāsān*, in which he speaks of Ibn al-Rawandī.

He defended the optimistic Muʿtazilite thesis which states that God cannot abandon the better for that which is less good. Man, he says, can and must do that which is better, whereas God cannot, because there is nothing superior to Him to oblige Him to do better than that which He has done. In agreement with the Muʿtazila, he did not recognise in God attributes distinct from His essence. He held that non-existence capable of existing is a well-determined thing outside existence, namely a simple essence. He considered the atom as inextensive and devoid of qualities of its own; the qualities of the body derive from the aggregate of the atoms, which are therefore not essential but accidental. He distinguished between sensation and impression: man, he says, perceives by his reason the sensible objects which affect his different senses; but the senses by themselves can perceive nothing; they are the routes by which organic impressions reach the reason. The voluntary act, he says, presupposes hesitation and decision, which are characteristic of Man, an imperfect being, whereas in God such an act is totally absent. —The imāmate, he says, must return to the Ḳuraysh, but if a conspiracy is suspected, a non-Ḳurayshite can be elected imām.

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238, 240, 343; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Munya wa'l Amal*, Ḥaydarābād 1316/1902, 45-51; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo 1929, 4, 247; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, Cairo 1347/1928, vol. iv, 154; Djalabī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, Istanbul 1286/1867, 312; Aḥmad Amīn, *Duḥa al Islām*, Cairo 1360/1941, vol. iii, 141; Brockelmann, I, 343; A. N. Nader, *Le Système philosophique des mu'tazila*, Beirut 1956, Djār' Allāh Zuhdī, *al-Mu'tazila*, Cairo 1366/1947, 153. (ALBERT N. NADER)

AL-**BALKHĪ**, ABŪ ZAYD AḤMAD B. SAHL, a famous scholar known today principally for his geographical work, was born at Shāmistiyān, a village near Balkh in Khurāsān, about 236/850. He died upwards of 80 yeards old in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 322/October 934. His father was a schoolmaster from Sidjistān. As a young man, wishing to study the doctrine of the Imāmiyya sect to which he belonged, al-Balkhī travelled on foot to 'Irāḳ with the pilgrim caravan. He remained there for eight years, becoming a pupil of the celebrated al-Kindī and visiting the neighbouring lands. In later life he refused to cross the Djayḥūn (Oxus) to go from Balkh to Bukhārā, when invited by the *amir* of the latter place.

During the years which al-Balkhī spent in 'Irāḳ his studies included philosophy, astrology and astronomy, medicine and natural science (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 145-6). For a time he was torn between his earlier sectarian religious allegiance and the tenets of judicial astrology, then much in vogue, but he finally became strictly orthodox in his opinions, and pursued the study of the religious sciences side by side with 'philosophy'. He is cited as an almost unique example of one who was equally expert in both, and he is named by Shahrastānī (*Milal*, ed. Cureton, 348) among the philosophers of Islam. He himself relates that he lost his patron, the general Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Marw-al-Rūdī, through the publication of one of his books and Abū 'Alī al-Djayhānī, also his patron, the *wazir* of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad, through the publication of another, though the general was a Ḳarmaṭian and the *wazir* a Dualist. (This Abū 'Alī was the son of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Djayhānī, [*q.v.*], the geographer, who is perhaps here meant, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 12). Yet the works of al-Balkhī on religious subjects were much praised by competent judges, especially his *Naẓm al-Ḳur'ān*, evidently a work of *tafsir* (*Irshād*, i, 148). Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, i, 142-3, cf. 150) gives the titles of 56 out of 'about 60' works of al-Balkhī, *i.e.*, he adds 13 titles to the 43 listed in the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 138). Of these Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa mentions less than half-a-dozen, and in our own time, apart from a *Kitāb Maṣāliḥ al-Abdān wa 'l-Anfus* (for which see Brockelmann, S I, 408), al-Balkhī is known by a single work, apparently no longer extant as such.

This is the so-called *Ṣuwar al-Aḳālīm*, otherwise *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (neither title in the list of his works in Yāḳūt), which is generally admitted, since De Goeje's monograph appeared (see *Bibliography*), to be the basis of the geographical works of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, and thus to mark the beginning of what has been called the classical school of Arabic geography. It seems to have been a world-map divided into 20 parts, with short explanatory texts (Muḳaddasī, 4). It has been suggested by Barthold (*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, preface, 18, n. 5, cf. V. Minorsky, *ibid.*, xv) that al-Balkhī in his book may simply have added an explanation to maps by Abū Dja'far al-Khāzin (Brockelmann, SI, 387). Al-Balkhī's fame as a geographer depends solely on this work, which in any case can scarcely be said to have been completely original, in view of the *ṣūra Ma'mūniyya*, also apparently a series of maps, mentioned by Mas'ūdī *tempore* al-Ma'mūn (Caliph 198-218/813-833) (*Tanbīh*, 33). Al-Balkhī's interest in geography may have been due to his teacher al-Kindī, for whom a translation of Ptolemy's treatise on the subject was specially made (*Fihrist*, 268), and another of whose pupils, Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī, wrote a *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik* (*Tanbīh*, 67), apparently the first of several geographical works in Islam with that title. Though Muḳaddasī (68, 260) observes that al-Balkhī did not travel widely, he admits that he was an expert, especially for his own province, mentioning in particular his familiarity with the *dīwāns* (*i.e.*, registers of taxes) of Khurāsān (*ibid.*, 307). This is consistent with what we read elsewhere of al-Balkhī having acted as a secretary (*kātib*) to one of the Sāmānids (*Irshād*, i, 147). His work is cited also by Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 115).

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BALKUWĀRĀ [see SĀMARRĀ].

BĀLṬA LĪMĀNĪ, situated on the European shore of the Bosphorus between Boyacî-Köyü and Rumeli Hisarî, takes its name from Bālṭa-oghlū Sulaymān Beg, the commander of the Ottoman fleet at the time of the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. It is in fact the ancient Phaidalia and was also known as Gynaikōn Limēn (Portus Mulierum). Gyllius (mid-16th cent.) refers to it as the ".... sinum Phidaliae, et portum mulierum ....", which the Greeks called Sarantacopa from the wooden bridge there across the marshlands (".... quem Graeci nostrae aetatis appellant Sarantacopam .... ita nuncupatus a ponte ligneo .... quo paludes transeuntur cannis plenae ...."). Bālṭa Līmānī, in the 18th and 19th centuries, was a resort popular with the wealthier classes of Istanbul. Several international treaties were signed at Bālṭa Līmānī in the first half of the 19th century: the Anglo-Turkish agreement of 16 August 1838, which accorded to England large commercial privileges with a most-favoured nation clause and also decreed the abolition of trade monopolies in all the territories under Ottoman suzerainty, the pact of friendship, commerce and navigation (3 August 1839) between Belgium and the Porte, and the Russo-Turkish convention of 1 May 1849, which modified the organic regulations of 1831 relating to the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia.

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BALṬADJĪ: a name given to men composing various companies of palace guards under the Otto-

man régime down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The term was used alternatively with the equivalent Persian *tabardār*, both words meaning, literally 'axe-man', and hence 'woodcutter', 'pioneer', 'halberdier'.

It would appear that originally the *balṭadjīs*, whose corps was recruited from the *ʿAdjemī Oghlans* [*q.v.*], were employed in connexion with the army in the felling of trees, the levelling of roads, and the filling of swamps, but that even before the conquest of Constantinople some of them were posted as guards to the imperial palace at Adrianople. Thereafter, with the foundation at Istanbul in turn of the 'Old' and 'New' *Sarays*, Galaṭa Sarayī, and the *saray* of Ibrāhīm Pasha, other companies of *balṭadjīs* were formed for each. The men of all these companies except that of the New, later called the Ṭopḳapī, Saray, were admitted, after a certain length of service, to the *odjaḳ* of the Janissaries, whereas those of the Ṭopḳapī Sarayī enjoyed the privilege of entry into the *Sipāh* and *Silāḥdār bölüks* [*q.v.*] of the standing cavalry. The men of this privileged company were known as *zülüflü baltadjīlar*—that is to say "blinkered" *balṭadjīs*—for the curious reason that, since one of their duties was to carry the wood required for heating the imperial *ḥarem* into that forbidden precinct, on the occasions of their performing this duty, in order to prevent their inadvertently catching sight of the ladies of the establishment, they wore "blinkers" made of cloth or gold lace hanging down on either side of their faces from their tall pointed caps (the Persian *zulf* signifying 'a lock of hair'), as well as special jackets furnished with exceptionally wide upright collars.

Upon the closure in 1675 of the sarays of Galaṭa and Ibrāhīm Pasha, their *balṭadjī* companies were abolished. By this time also recruitment by *dewshirme* had all but ceased. The remaining companies were mostly recruited therefore from free-born Anatolian Muslims, though the relatives of palace servants were also sometimes admitted into them. The *Zülüflü Balṭadjīs* were suppressed by Muṣṭafa III but revived by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, and remained in being until the palace service as a whole was reorganised by Maḥmūd II. They were commanded by a *kāhya* (*kedkhüdā*) responsible to the sultan's principal page, the *Silāḥdār Agha*.

Twelve *ḳalfas* of the *Zülüflü Balṭadjīs*, distinguished by their literacy, had various special duties. Thus they would bring out, and stand behind, the sultan's throne at his accession and upon *bayrams* [*q.v.*]; guard the Prophet's Standard (*sandjagh-ī sherīf*) and read the Ḳurʾān beneath it on campaign; take charge of the belongings of the *ḥarem* ladies every year when they and the sultan removed to one of the summer *köshks*; and—from the seventeenth century—present officiants of the Sulṭān Aḥmed mosque with sherbet, rose-water and incense at the yearly celebration of the Prophet's Birthday (*Mewlūd*).

Each of the chief officers of the palace, moreover, had one or more *Zülüflü Balṭadjīs* in attendance on him; and two important offices in the palace service were filled by *ḳalfas* of the corps: that of the head cook of the *Ḳush-khāne* (the imperial kitchen) and his second in command.

The *Balṭadjīs* of the Old Saray, which from the late fifteenth century was the residence of the sultans' mothers, were responsible down to the seventeenth century to the *Ḳapī Aghasī* [*q.v.*] and thereafter to the *Ḳīzlar Aghasī* [*q.v.*], to whom those who could acquire enough learning in the Bayāzīd *medreses* might act as confidential secretaries or as clerks for the *awḳāf* of the Holy Cities, whereas other senior members of this corps might serve the Wālide Sulṭān and other princesses as chief coffee-makers (*ḳahwedji-bashī*).

A number of Grand Viziers were former *balṭadjīs*, of whom perhaps the best known are Balṭadjī Meḥmed Pasha, who defeated Peter the Great on the Pruth in 1711, and Newshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha, the last minister of Aḥmed III.

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BALTISTĀN, known to Muslim writers as Tihbat-i khurd or Little Tibet, lying between 34° and 36° N and 75° and 77° E between Gilgit and Ladākh, extends some 150 miles on either bank of the Indus, covering an area of 8,522 sq. miles. A mountainous country, it has some of the highest peaks in the world: Godwin Austen (K 2), 28,250 ft., conquered in 1953; Gasherbrum, 26,470 ft., conquered in 1958, and Haramosh, 24,000 ft. Skārdū the chief town, was electrified in 1951. It has an airstrip, a modern hospital and a number of schools. A new *bāzār* has been recently built.

The Baltīs were converted to Islam in the 8th/14th century partly by Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī of Srinagar (Kashmīr) and partly by his *khalīfa*, Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh. They are polygamous and of the Shīʿite persuasion. Their neighbours, the Hunzas, are followers of the Āghā Khān. The language used by the Baltīs is a mixture of Ladākhī and Tibetan but has a sprinkling of Arabic and Persian words, indicative of the influence of Islam.

The old rulers of Baltistān are known as Rādjās or Giālpōs, the most famous being ʿAlī Shīr Khān who flourished in the 10th/16th century and also built a fort at Skārdū. His expeditions to neighbouring regions still form the theme of many a native folk-song. In the early 11th/17th century another Giālpō, ʿAlī Mīr, chief of Skārdū, invaded and conquered the home-land of the Baltīs. The last of the Giālpōs, Aḥmad Shāh, lost his independence to the Dogra general, Zōrāwar Singh in 1840, when Baltistān was annexed to the Kashmīr State, then ruled by Gulāb Singh. It came under the British sway in 1846 by the Treaty of Amritsar when it was placed under the Wazīr Wizārat of Ladākh.

In February 1948, the people of Baltistān rejected the suzerainty of the Mahārādja of Kashmīr and requested the Pākistān Government to take over control of the area. Since then it is being administered by the Chief Adviser, Kashmīr and Baltistān. It has made general progress; almost the entire area now has a net of pony tracks. Skārdū is linked with Rawalpindi by air. An airmail service has also been introduced between Baltistān and Pākistān. Improved educational, medical and other facilities have been provided raising the standard of living of the people. Large amounts have also been sanctioned for the economic development (specially the construction of roads) of the area.

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183-8 and *passim*; *Bulletin No.* 9 of the Pākistān Society, London, July 1957, 21-23; G. T. Vigne, *Travel in Kashmir, Ladab, Iskardu*, London 1892. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BALŪČ (Balōč) of the USSR, elements who emigrated from Khurāsān at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, whose emigration in fact continued after 1918. They are sometimes erroneously confused with the Gipsies of Central Asia (see Lūlī]. At the 1926 census, 936 Balūč were counted; this figure underestimates their true number, as some of them were reckoned with the Turkmen and others with the Čingānes; on the other hand, the estimate made by Grandé (*Spisok narodnostey SSSR*, in *Revolyutsiya i Natsional'nosti*, no. 4 of 1936, 74-85), who assessed them at 10,000 in 1933, is excessive. The Balūč inhabit the SSR of Türkmenistān, in the region of Marī. They are Sunnī Muslims of the Ḥanafī rite and speak the Makrānī dialect of Balūčī; this, however, is disappearing, gradually ceding ground to Türkmen, which is used as the literary language, and to Tādjīk. Until 1928, the Balūč were nomads, but between 1928 and 1935 they were settled and grouped in stock-rearing Kolkhozes. Their carpets, the manufacture of which is a craft, are justly famous. (A. Bennigsen)

BALŪČISTĀN (Balōčistān), land of the Balōč.

A. Geography and History. The exact boundaries of Balōčistān are undetermined. In general it occupies the S.E. part of the Iranian plateau from the Kirmān desert east of Bam and the Bashagird Mts. to the western borders of Sind and the Pandjāb. This arid and mountainous country with a predominantly nomadic population is divided between Iran and Pakistān. At present Balōč are also found in Sind and the Pandjāb, in Sīstān and a few nomads in the USSR near Marw, [see above].

The rivers of Balōčistān are small and unimportant. One may consider the country a plateau with the rugged Sulaymān range in the East and several mountain ranges in the West, the most spectacular peak of which is the volcano Kūh-i Tāftān (13,500 ft.). The town of Īrānshahr (formerly Fahradj) is the capital of Persian Balōčistān with Kalāt the most important centre in the East. The seaports, such as Tīz, Pāsnī and Gwādar, formerly active, now have lost their importance.

The population of the area, including Brahōīs, is uncertain, hardly more than two million today. Although the Balōč are the majority of the population, with the Brahōīs the largest minority, there are also Djaṭs and other Indian elements on the eastern coast, and negroid people in the port towns especially in Persian Balōčistān. The Balōč are divided into two groups separated from each other by the Brahōīs in the Kalāt area which accounts for the two major dialects.

The earliest mention of the area, called Maka, is in the Old Persian cuneiform inscription of Darius at Behistun and Persepolis. Other names occur in classical sources, but very little is known of the country in pre-Islamic times. It is probable that Iranian speakers were late in coming to Balōčistān and the southern and eastern parts of Balōčistān were predominantly non-Iranian until well after the Islamic conquests. The Balōč probably entered Makrān (*i.e.*, western Balōčistān) from Kirmān about the time of the Saldjūḳ invasion of Kirmān.

Kirmān was conquered by the Muslims in 23/644 in the caliphate of ʿUmar. In the mountains of Kirmān they met Ḳufṣ or Kōč and Balūṣ or Balōč who were marauding nomads. At this time the Zuṭṭ or Djaṭs were in Makrān, which was not conquered by the Arabs. In the time of Muʿāwiya, ca. 44/664, the towns of Makrān were occupied and war was waged with the Mēds of the coast, while raids extended as far as Sind.

In the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf (86/705) in the inter-Arab struggles the ʿAlāfī Arab faction was driven into Sind to be followed in 89/707 by Muḥ. b. Ḳāsim with an Arab army. It is difficult to identify the places he captured but Muslim rule was extended by him through Balōčistān to Sind. It is probable that the Arabs maintained their influence only on the coast, but we have very little information about the entire area throughout the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Maḥmūd of Ghaznī maintained authority over Ḳusdār (the Kalāt plateau) acc. to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*.

The Balōč and the Koč tribes during the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphates raided from Kirmān, spreading into Sīstān and Khurāsān. According to Yāḳūt the Balōč were decimated by ʿAḍud al-Dawla the Būyid (338-372/949-982). They continued their depredations until Maḥmūd of Ghaznī sent his son Masʿūd against them, who defeated them near Khabīs. Shortly after this time the eastward movement of the Balōč began, for they left Kirmān and went into Makrān. It is possible that the strong centralised government of the Saldjūḳs made raiding unprofitable for the Balōč who consequently moved eastward. Two centuries later the Balōč are found in Sind. In the Kalāt highlands the Brahōī confederacy, including some Balōč and Afghān tribes, kept the main body of Balōč from inundating the area, and the Balōč then moved into Sind and the Pandjāb. No permanent kingdom was established but each tribe was under its own chief and inter-tribal fighting was common.

The first tribes of which any records have survived are the Rinds under Mīr Čākur and the Dōdāīs under Mīr Sohrāb who appeared at the court of Shāh Ḥusayn Langāh at Multān, who ruled from 874-908/1467-1502. The tradition is that Mīr Čākur and his Rinds came from Sibī and took service with Shāh Ḥusayn. Other Balōč followed and, according to ballads, there was war between the Rinds and Dōdāīs. In these legends the memory of the migration of the Balōč to India is preserved.

The Dōdāīs and Hōts, another Balōč tribe, spread up the Indus valley and Bābar met them as far north as Bhērā and Khushāb in 1519. The towns of Dēra Ismaʿīl Khān and Dēra Ghāzī Khān were founded by the sons of Sohrāb Dōdāī in the time of Shēr Shāh, who confirmed their possession of the lands of the lower Indus valley. According to tradition these Balōč aided Humāyūn in his reconquest of Dihlī and were in the good graces of the Mughal rulers.

The only history we have of Balōčistān in the later period concerns the Brahōī confederation. The Brahōī confederation began to expand in the 17th century under the Kambarānī chiefs. At the end of the century one of these rulers, Mīr ʿAbd Allāh extended his power west throughout Makrān and south to the sea. Nādir Shāh of Persia regarded the Brahōī Khāns with favour, for after his Indian conquests he awarded them lands in Sind taken from the Indian Kalhōras.

Aḥmad Shāh Durranī established his authority over Makrān, and the Brahōī Khān recognised him as his suzerain. This Brahōī, Naṣīr Khān, extended his rule over Las-Bēla including Karāčī. He organised

the Brahōīs into the two main groups of Sarāwān and Djahlāwān. Each tribe had to supply the Khān with troops at the Khān's request but were otherwise free from taxes.

Naṣīr Khān became so powerful that he defied his suzerain Aḥmad Shāh who defeated him in 1172/1758 and besieged him in Kalāt. Peace was made on condition that Naṣīr Khān retain his independence but agree to render military service to Aḥmad Shāh, which he did. Naṣīr died in 1210/1795 and was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd Khān who was unable to retain the extensive dominions of his father. Western Makrān was lost and some Balōč tribesmen took Karāčī. Maḥmūd died in 1821 and was succeeded by his son Miḥrāb Khān. The latter mixed in Afghan affairs which brought him in conflict with the British. In 1838 a force under Gen. Wiltshire was sent against Kalāt which was stormed and Miḥrāb Khān was killed. After much confusion and a second occupation of Kalāt by the British, the son of Miḥrāb was recognised as Khān at the end of 1841 with the name Naṣīr Khān II. In 1854 the Khān signed a treaty, accepting a position of subordination to the British Government, but his authority over the tribes declined. He died in 1857, and the disorders and revolts which followed his death filled the years until 1876 when Capt. Sandeman brought about a treaty which recognised Kalāt as a protected state in the India Empire. The establishment of Quetta as a military centre and the building of a railroad in Balōčistān in the 1880's kept the country pacified.

The boundary between Kalāt and Persia was laid down in 1872 and revised in 1895-6, but for the most part the Balōč tribes disregarded the frontier.

Much less is known of Persian Balōčistān. Although the Balōč tribes owed allegiance to the Ṣafāwids and Ḳādjārs in fact they were independent. Raiding parties of Balōč terrorised the settlements of Kirmān and Khurāsān until the 1930's. The Nahrōī tribe today is perhaps the most important in Persian Balōčistān and Sīstān, but it is difficult to obtain information about the various tribes, who perhaps know very little themselves about their history and present status.

There are many ballads and stories on Balōč history, many apocryphal, though some, telling of eponymous ancestors, may contain actual history.

Bibliography: For travellers' accounts, see the literature in A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 137-140, 175, and *passim*. On ethnography, cf. M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race*, London 1904, and Mockler, *The Origin of the Baloch*, in *JRASB*, 1895. History is poor; for the early periods the sources are only scattered notices in the standard Arabic histories and geographies; for later history see Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, London, 1867-77, esp. vols. 1, 2 and 5; H. Raverty, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, transl. and notes, London 1881; Thornton, *Life of Sir R. Sandeman*, London 1895. (R. N. Frye)

B. Language. — § 1. *Linguistic history*.

Within the main division of Iranian languages, based on the treatment of the simple I(ndo)-E(uropean) palatals **k̑* and **g̑* into a Western, Persic, and an Eastern group, Bal(ūčī) belongs to the latter, cf. *āsk* 'gazelle': N(ew) P(ersian) *āhū*; *zān-* 'to know': NP *dān-*; *burz* 'high': NP *buland*. The Balūčīs are thought to have migrated to their present habitat from the shores of the Caspian Sea. One therefore looks for orientation on the ancestor of Bal. to the two of the known Middle Iranian languages which are nearest to that area, *viz.* M(iddle) P(ersian) (belonging to the Western group) and P(arthian) (belonging to the Eastern group), whose meeting point lay to the South of the Central Caspian region.

Bal. ranges with P not only in the treatment of the simple IE palatals (cf. also the special development of IE **k̑u̯* in *āsin* 'iron': P *ʾʾswn*: MP *ʾʾhwn*), but also, *e.g.*, of O(ld) Ir(anian) *ǰ* (*ǰan-* 'to strike': P *jn-*: MP *zn-*), *-d-* (*pād* 'foot', *gidān* 'tent': P *pʾd*, *wdʾn*: MP *pʾy*, *wyʾn*), *-rd-* (*zirdē* 'heart': P *zyrd*: MP *dyl*), *-sč-* (*paš-tara* 'later': P *pš*: MP *ps*), *du̯-* (*iptī* 'other': P *bdyg*: MP *dwdyg*), and *xwā̆-* (*w(h)aš* 'sweet, happy': P *wxš*: MP *xwš*); ¶ it agrees with MP *e.g.*, in the development of OIr. *y-* (*ǰitā* 'separate': MP *jwd*: P *ywd*; *ǰuz-* 'to move': P *ywz-*), *-zg-* (*maǰg* 'brain': MP *mgj*, cf. NP *maγz*), and *θr* (*sai* 'three', *pusaγ* 'son': MP *sh̬*, *pws*: P *hry*, *pwhr*); ¶ and differs from both MP and P, *e.g.*, in the treatment of OIr. *x-* (*kand-* 'to laugh': MP *xn-*: P *xnd-*; *sōtka* 'burnt': MP, P *swxt*; *bakš-* 'to give': MP, P *bxš-*), *f* (*hapt* 'seven': MP, P *haft*; *kōpag* 'shoulder', cf. MP, P *kōf* 'mountain'), *-θ-* (*mētag* 'house', cf. P *myh*: 'vacillating'), *-k-* (*gōkurt* 'sulphur': MP *gwgyrd*; *makask* 'fly': P *mgs*), *-č-* (*ač* 'from': MP *ʾz*: P *ʾž*), *-p-* (*āp* 'water': MP, P *ʾb*), *-t-* (*gwāt*, v. below), *wā̆-* (*gwāt* 'wind', *gwarak* 'lamb': MP, P *wʾd*, *wrg*), *wī̆-* (*gīst* 'twenty': MP, P *wyst*; *gidān*, v. above), *xwai-* (*hēd* 'sweat', cf. MP *xwybš*, P *wxybyh̬* 'own'), *-šm-* (*čamm* 'eye': MP, P *cšm*), *-šn-* (*tunnag* 'thirsty': MP *tyšng*, cf. P *tšynd* 'thirst'), and the preverb *fra-* (*ša-*: MP, P *fra-*).

Apart from phonological matters, Bal. agrees with P against MP in avoiding the Iḍāfat construction, and using, *e.g.*, *kap-* for 'to fall' (P *kf-*: MP *ʾwptʾd-*), *gwaš-* for 'to say' (P *wʾc-*: MP *gw-*), *ātka* for 'gone' (P *ʾgd*: MP *ʾmd*), and *girōk* for 'lightning' (cf. P *wrwc*: Pahlavī *rwcʾk*); however, the Bal. present of 'to do' is *kan-* (MP *kwn-*, against P *kr-*), and while MP has *rw-/rp(t)-*, P *šw-* for 'to go', Bal. uses the former stem in the present, the latter in the past; for the present of 'to sit' (MP *nšyy-*, P *nšyd-*) and 'to see' (MP, P *wyn-*) Bal. goes its own way with *nind-* and *gind-*; on the other hand the passive construction of transitive verbs in the past tensesis characteristic of all three languages.

The ancestor of Bal. was thus neither P nor MP, but a lost language which, while sharing a number of characteristic features with either, and some with both, had a pronounced individuality of its own. This language may have been a variety of Median speech since the Kurdish dialects, which have a noteworthy affinity with Bal. (v. P. Tedesco, in *Monde Oriental*, xv, 252), are to be traced, in V. Minorsky's opinion (*Travaux du XXe Congrès des Orientalistes*, 143 ff.) to ancient Median. However, such distinctive straits of Bal. as are also met with in Ormurī (*e.g.* *ša-* < *fra-*, and *gwa-* < *u̯a-*, the latter development to be found also in Khūrī, see V. Minorsky in *BSOAS* xix, 61, n.1. and, according to I. Gershevitch, in the dialects of Rūdbār, Rūdān, and parts of Baškard), may have been borrowed from an Iranian substratum in territories to which the Balūčīs had moved, see G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, i, 316 f. Moreover, since Middle Iranian times Bal. has borrowed on a considerable scale from Persian. At a more recent stage loanwords from Sindhī, Brahūī, and Pašto have penetrated into Bal.

For a different classification of Iranian dialects, using different criteria, see now W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranisch* (*Handbuch des Orientalistik*), 89 ff.; note Khwārizmian *ša-* < *fra-*, *ibid.*, 114.

§ 2. *Dialects.*

Bal. dialects are divisible geographically and linguistically into two great groups: Western and Eastern, separated from each other by a strip of territory inhabited by Brahūī-speakers, extending from Quetta in the North to Las Bela in the South.

A) Western. The Western dialects (also called 'Southern' or 'Makrānī') are spoken principally in the Makrān, their territory extending from Biyābān north of Cape Jāsk in Persian Balūčistān (abt. long. 57°) eastwards to Ras Malan in the Sind (abt. long. 66°), thence northwards to the Afghan frontier, and thence along this frontier westwards into Kirmān. The map in the *LSI*, x, 327 (v. bibl.) shows a territory where there live mixed Balūčīs and other language speakers, extending from the north-west corner of the Makrān along the Persian-Afghan frontier northwards into Russian Turkestan, in the province of Marw. Details of these Marw Balūčīs remained obscure until 1927-28, when I.I. Zarubin first investigated their language. They number about 10,000 (mainly in the *rayons* of Yolotan, Bāiram ʿAlī, and Kuibyshev.)

B) Eastern. The Eastern dialects (also called 'Northern') are spoken by tribes in an area extending from Karāčī northwards through the Sulaymān mountains approx. to Dera Ismāʿīl Khān.

C) The principal dialect differences are given by Geiger, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, I², 232. It may be noted further that:

1. The W(estern) stops *k p t g b d* and the affricates *č, ǰ* are changed in the E to the corresponding spirants *x f* θ γ β δ and *š, ž* when following a vowel, except in pre-consonantel position (for examples, v. *LSI*, x, 338).

2. W *ū* (*būta* 'was', *nūn* 'now', *mālūm* 'known') becomes E *ī* (*bīθa, nīn, mālīm*).

3. The W pronouns *hamā* 'same', *šumā* 'ye', are in E *hawā, šawā*. Further dialect subdivision:

A) Western. Information regarding the distribution and character of these dialects is too scanty to permit of more than broad outlines.

I. Kēčī dialects, spoken in the district of Kēč, in South-Central Makrān and west of a line from Kēč to Gwādar on the coast. A variety of this dialect is also spoken by about 10,000 Balūčīs in Karāčī, who are probably recent emigrants.

II. Panǰgūrī dialects, spoken in the district of Panǰgūr in NE Makrān, and east of a line from Kēč to Gwādar.

III. The dialect of the Marw province.

There are many similarities, both lexical and grammatical, between the Panǰgūrī and Marw dialects. Comparison of P(anǰgūrī), M(arw) and K(ēčī) shows:

1. P, M *ū* (P *hūk*, M *ūk* 'swine') becomes K *ī* (*hīk*);
2. OIr *-xt-* becomes K *-tk-* (< *-*kt-*) but P *-xt-*, *-ht-*, and M *-t-* (< **-ht-*: M drops *h* in all positions);
3. Gen. sing. of nouns: in K *-a*, *-ēg*, *-īg* or no ending: P, M *-ē*, *-ai*;
4. Voc. sing.: in K *-a* or no ending; P, M *-ē*, *-i*.
5. 1st sing. pres-fut. in K *-ān*: P, M *-in*;
6. K *pit*, *māt*, *brāt* ('father, mother, brother') correspond to P, M *pis*, *mās*, *brās*;
7. The 1st sing. of the suffixed verb 'to be' is K *-ān*, but P, M *-un*.

Lexically, we have K *lōg* 'house', but P, M *gis*; K *ās* 'fire', P *āč*, M *ātiš*; K *haik* 'egg', but M *ā(murg)*; especially characteristic of M and P are the verb *di-* 'to strike' and the adverbs in *-ingō*, *-angō*. K and P have many more Sindhī loanwords, but rather less Persian than has M.

B) Eastern.

I. The purest E. dialects are spoken in an area stretching from Quetta through Loralai to include Dera Ghāzī Khān and south to include Marrī and Bugtī territory, into the Upper Sind Frontier.

II. The Kasrānī dialect, north of Dera Ghāzī Khān up to Dera Ismāʿīl Khān. This dialect has been strongly influenced by neighbouring Indian languages: cerebralisation is common, normal E θ becomes δ, *-ptʿ-* becomes *-tt-* (*kʿatta* 'fallen'), *gw-* becomes *gu-*; and it has a large number of Indian loanwords (principally Sindhī and Lahndā).

III. The dialects of Sind, south of Jacobābād. These are much more mixed with and influenced by Sindhī than the others; typical of them is the Kāččʿēǰī-Bōlī, spoken by about 100,000 in a district north of Karāčī. In it all E θ, δ become *s, z*; cerebralisation is a general rule, voiced stops are usually aspirated, and final vowels are affixed to words ending in a consonant.

The E dialects have been much better studied than the W, and reference to the bibliography must suffice here for them.

Bibliography: G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol x, 327 ff. The bibl. given on p. 335 is complete up to 1921. See, on E dialects, especially Gladstone, Dames, and Mayer.

Add to the *LSI* list:

G. Morgenstierne, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, v (1932), 36-53; idem, in *Acta Orientalia*, xx (1948), 253-292; idem, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, (1932), 9-10; G. W. Gilbertson, *The Balochi Language*, Hertford 1923; idem, *English-Balochi Colloquial Dictionary*, Hertford 1925; I. I. Zarubin, *K Izučeniyu Baludžskogo Yazyka i Folʾklora*, in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, v (1930), 653 ff.; idem, *Baludžskiye Skazki*, part i (1932) and part ii (1949) (Akademiya Nauk, SSSR); V. S. Sokolova, *Beludžskii Yazyk*, in *Očerki po Fonetike Iranskikh Yazykov*, i, 1953, 7-77 (Akademiya Nauk, SSSR); S. N. Sokolov, *Grammatičeskii Očerk Yazyka Beludžei Sovetskogo Soyuza*, in *Trudy Instituta Yazykoznaniya*, vi (1956), 57-91 (Akademiya Nauk, SSSR).

(J. Elfenbein)

BALYEMEZ, the name given to a large calibre gun. The term is encountered in Ottoman chronicles and other works and is still to be found occasionally in relatively late sources (down to the 19th century). Balyemez cannon were first introduced into the Ottoman army in the time of Sulṭān Murād II. Meḥemmed II the Conqueror, who undertook regular large-scale military operations, made great use of such guns. He caused the Transylvanian Urban, a noted cannon-founder, to construct a special siege gun of the Balyemez type, for the purpose of breaching the walls of Constantinople. The technique of gun-casting became available to the Ottomans through Western and, above all, German specialists. The production of a Balyemez gun was described in some detail by Kritobulos, the Greek panegyrist of Meḥemmed II. Since guns were at that time employed only in siege warfare, the Turks, as a rule, used to cast them on the spot; there is but seldom any reference to the transport of guns already cast. The name Balyemez ("that eats no honey") is in all probability a jesting and popular transformation of the German "Faule Metze" (the famous cannon of the year 1411 which, together with the "Faule Grete", altered the entire conduct of war, as it stood at that time). The word came to the Ottomans, as a technical term, through the numerous German gun-

founders in the Turkish service. It passed also, from the Turkish, into various languages of south-east Europe. The nickname Balyemez, occasionally given to Ottoman army commanders, is a secondary derivation from the name of the gun.

Bibliography: H. J. Kissling, *Baljemez*, in *ZDMG*, 101 (1951), 333-340, where further bibliographical references will be found [see also MĀRŪD and TOP]. (H. J. KISSLING)

BĀLYŌS, Bālyoz (originally Baylōs), the Turkish name for the Venetian ambassador to the Sublime Porte—in Italian, *bailo* (Venetian ambassadors at Byzantium had borne this title since 1082; other *baili* were at Tyre and Lajazzo/Payas near Alexandretta). The Venetians, immediately after the conquest of Constantinople, sent off as *bailo* Bartolommeo Marcello, who on 18 April 1454 made with the Porte a commercial treaty which renewed the agreement already existing with the Ottomans since 1408. Under this new treaty Venice had the right to maintain at the Sublime Porte a bailo with his seat in Pera and with the power to issue passes for Venetian merchants and to exercise in relation to those merchants certain legal functions. The representatives of Venice sat in Constantinople, except in time of war, until the fall of the Republic in 1797; their tenure of office lasted, during the 17th and 18th centuries, in principle for three years. There were moreover special ambassadors to the Porte who also bore the name of *bailo*. The *baili* played, in the 16th and 17th centuries, an important rôle politically; several amongst them, in times of tension or of war, were thrown into prison (as a rule in Yedikule). The reports (*relazioni*) which they submitted to the *Signoria* bear witness to their perspicacity. These reports have been published in two series: (i) E. Albèri, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ser. iii: Turchia, 3 vols., Florence 1840-1855; and (ii) N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Le Relazioni degli Stati Europei lette al Senato dagli Ambasciatori Veneti ne' secolo decimosettimo*, ser. V: Turchia, Venice 1866, 1872.

List of the Baili: Cf. (i) Barozzi and Berchet, *op. cit.*, i, 9 ff.; and (ii) B. Spuler, *Die europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel*, Pt. iv, in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, i, (1936), 229-247 (with additional references).

With the generalised meaning of European diplomatic or consular agent, the word is also encountered in some Arabic dialects and in Swahili.

Bibliography: W. Andreas, *Staatskunst und Diplomatie der Venezianer im Spiegel ihrer Gesandtenberichte*, Leipzig 1943; H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, 3 vols., Vienna 1905-1934; M. L. Shay, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734 as revealed in despatches of the Venetian Baili* (*Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. xxvii, no. 3), Urbana, Illinois 1944. Cf. also the standard works on Ottoman history and, in addition, M. Cavid Baysun, article in *IA*, ii, 291-295. (B. SPULER)

BAM (Arab. Bamm). District and town in the VIIIth *ustān* of Persia. In the middle ages the district was one of the five into which the province of Fārs was divided. The town is situated in an oasis on the south-western fringe of the great desert of the Dasht-i Lūṭ. Bam is 1257 km. from Tehran and 193 from Kirmān; Zāhidān, on the further side of the Dasht-i Lūṭ, is 324 km. distant. Standing at an altitude of 1,100 metres, Bam is hot in summer, but the winter climate is temperate. Situated as it is on the most practicable of the routes linking south-west Persia with Sīstān, Afghānistān and Balōčistān, the town has, ever since its foundation in Sāsānid times, been a place of some strategic and commercial importance. Since the 4th/10th century Bam has been noted for its citadel, which was for long regarded as impregnable; this citadel has often served as a bastion against invaders and marauders from the east. During the war between the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. Layth [*q.v.*] and the Ṭāhirids in 260/873, the fortress was used as a prison. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 125, describes Bam as it was in the latter part of the 4th/10th century: "Bam, a town with a healthy climate . . . in its *shahristān* stands a strong fortress. It is larger than Jiruft and possesses three cathedral mosques . . . . one belongs to the Khāridjites, another to the Muslims, and the third is in the fortress. From it come cotton stuffs (*karbās*), turbans (*ʿamāma*), Bam-turbans (or kerchiefs, *dastār-i bamī*) and dates". Similar details are given by Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī. In those days the citadel, which was in the centre of the town, contained part of the bazaars. The houses were of sun-dried brick. There were a number of baths, the best known being in the street or lane of the willows (*zuḳāḳ al-bidh*).

In 1131/1719 Maḥmūd, the Ghalzay leader, captured Bam, but abandoned it some months later owing to a revolt in Ḳandahār. In 1134/1721 he captured the town again and it remained in Afghān hands until their power was shattered by Nādir [*q.v.*] in 1142-3/1729-30. It was doubtless in order to guard against possible future attack from the east that Nādir greatly strengthened the defences of the town.

It was at Bam that Āghā Muḥammad Khān captured the gallant Luṭf ʿAlī Khān, the last of the short-lived Zand dynasty, in 1210/1795: in order to celebrate his success the Ḳādjār erected a pyramid there consisting of the skulls of 600 of his adversary's followers (R. G. Watson, *A History of Persia from the beginning of the XIXth Century to the Year* 1858, 75). In 1256-7/1840-1 Bam came into prominence again, when Āghā Khān Maḥallatī occupied it during his revolt. In the old town, which is now almost entirely in ruins, the only building of interest, apart from the striking citadel, is the shrine of the Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. The modern town, which is some 500 metres to the south-west of the old one, has a population of 13,500; it is divided into four quarters by two broad avenues (*khiyābān*) which intersect in the centre. As in former times, the principal products of Bam and the surrounding district are dates and cotton-stuffs.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article: Iṣṭakhrī, 166; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 223; Muḳaddasī, 465; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 206 and 208; Ibn Khurradādhih, 49, 54, 196, 242; Ibn Rustā, 106, 286, 308; al-Bakrī, 162 ff.; Yāḳūt, *sub verbo*; Abu'l-Fidā, 336; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 76; E. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*, London 1816, 192-204; K. E. Abbott, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxv, 42-3; Sir F. J. Goldsmid, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxvii, 284-5; O. B. St. John, in *Eastern Persia*, London 1876, I, 85-86; E. Smith, in *Eastern Persia*, I, 241-244; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, ii, 252-4; Le Strange, 312; Razmārā and Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, viii, 51-2; A. Costa and L. Lockhart, *Persia*, London 1957, 38-9 and plates 75-78. (L. LOCKHART)

BAMAKO, chief town of the territory of the Sudan (French West Africa), on the Niger, at the

junction of the two navigable stretches of the river, at the end of the Dakar-Niger railway, served by an important aerodrome. Formerly a trading post on the routes between the Sahel and the Southern region, and between the Sudan and Senegal, Bamako occupies a central position in French West Africa which is the reason for its flourishing state: the population of the town, numbering 800 in 1883, had risen to 37,000 in 1945, and today (1958) has reached 100,000 (of whom 4,000 are Europeans). It owes its importance to its administrative and political rôle.

Bamako was founded by a Bama hunter and named by his Niaré successor, who came from Kaarta, Bama-ko = "after Bama" (the etymology "river of the crocodiles" is incorrect). The size of the original village increased as there came to it first fishermen, and then men from Draa (the Dravé) and Touat (the Touré) who brought with them Islam; the town thus comprised four quarters: Niaréla, Touréla, Bozola, and Dravéla, the basis of the present city.

In a short time Bamako, a bridgehead on the Niger, became a French political objective; after the war of 1870, a move was made in its direction, and it was occupied in 1883 by Col. Borgnis-Desbordes. From then on, as a base for French operations in the Sudan, its population was constantly swelled by groups of Senegalese and Sudanese. In 1904, the railway reached the town, which became in 1907 the chief-town of Upper Senegal and Niger: a large administrative, military and medical (Institutes of Leprosy and Tropical Ophthalmology) centre grew up, and the town also tended to become a university (Federal School of Public Works) and cultural (French Institute of Black Africa) centre.

Bamako is an Islamic city, but its Islam is africanised, lax, and often tainted with animist survivals. Far from being a centre of religious expansion, the city has always been under the influence of the ancient Muslim towns in the region and of families of Moorish marabouts. The Ḳādiriyya and the Tīdjāniyya have long been established there; at first in the majority, the Ḳādiriyya were supplanted by the ʿUmariyya; between the two wars, Hamallism, in a more sober form, developed there; at the present time there has come into being a reformist group which proposes to purify the local form of Islam. It is possible to foresee Bamako, following its present bent, seeking to assume a leading rôle in an Islamic revival. In conclusion, it should be noted that Bamako has a small Christian community and is the seat of an archbishop.

The town, originally built of mud, does not possess any ancient historical monuments.

Bibliography: Scanty. Information should be sought in official publications and in historical works on the Sudan. (M. CHAILLEY)

BAMBĀRA [see MANDE and SŪDĀN].

BĀMIYĀN, in the Arabic sources frequently AL-BĀMIYĀN, a town in the Hindu-Kus͟h north of the main range in a mountain valley lying 8,480 feet above sea level, through which one of the most important roads between the lands of the Oxus watershed and the Indus leads; the town is therefore naturally important as a commercial centre and was important in the middle ages as a fortress also. Although the valley, that of the Kunduz river, really belongs to the Oxus watershed and is separated from Kābul by high mountain passes, *e.g.*, the Shibar and Unnai, its political association has often shifted from north to south. In recent centuries Bāmiyān has tended to belong to Kābul and G͟hazna rather than to the Oxus territories, and the pass of Aḳribāṭ to the north-west of Bāmiyān has marked the boundary between Kābulistān and Afg͟hān Turkistān.

The early history of Bāmiyān is obscure. Rare coins of the Kus͟hāns have been reported there but no monuments or other remains of that period have been discovered (J. Hackin, in *JA* 1935, 287 ff.). The Chinese sources, of which the earliest are scarcely earlier than the 6th century A.D., century, usually transcribe the name Fan-yen-na or Far-yanh (see J. Marquart, *Ērāns͟hahr*, 215 ff.; and P. Pelliot's note in J. Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, Paris 1928, 75). According to Marquart the "Older Middle Iranian" form was Bāmīkān. The valley and town at this date are described by the Chinese pilgrim Hüan-Čuang who found there a great centre of Buddhism with more than ten monasteries and over a thousand monks. He noticed that the language, coinage, script and religious beliefs current differed but little from those of Turkistān. The royal town was on the cliff above the valley, south-west of the great Buddha figures. These two colossal figures, which have for centuries excited the wonder of travellers, both Arab (cf. especially Yāḳūt, i, 481) and European, have recently been described in detail, together with many of the associated caves and fresco paintings. Their age is still uncertain but the weight of evidence indicates that the early work, including the two great figures, dates from the latter half of the 6th or early 7th century A.D., and that the excavation and painting of caves continued well into the 8th. During this period Bāmiyān appears to have been ruled by a dynasty, perhaps of Hepthalite origin, but certainly subject to the prince (Yabg͟hu) of the Western Turks. This dynasty was still ruling in the first quarter of the 2nd/8th century and still professed Buddhism (cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg, 1903, 291-2, and Hackin, *loc. cit.* 1928, 83).

The prince of Bāmiyān bore the title *S͟hēr* (written *S͟hīr* or *S͟hār*) which Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān* 289) erroneously translates "lion"; the word means "king" and is to be derived from the old Persian *k͟hs͟hat͟hriya* (Marquart, *loc.cit.*,). Islam was first adopted by these princes in the time of the ʿAbbāsids, according to Yaʿḳūbī's geography (*loc.cit.*) in the reign of al-Manṣūr, according to the same author's history (ed. Houtsma, ii. 479) in that of al-Mahdī. The relations of this dynasty to the lands south and north of the Hindū-Kus͟h are not quite clear. According to Yaʿḳūbī Bāmiyān belonged to Ṭuk͟hāristān, *i.e.*, the lands of the Oxus territory, which is probably confirmed by Ṭabarī's statement (ii. 1630.1) that about 119/737 a foreigner from Bāmiyān ruled in K͟huttal (north of the Oxus); on the other hand Iṣṭak͟hrī (277) says that the district (*ʿamal*) of Bāmiyān only included the lands south of the Hindū-Kus͟h with the towns of Parwān, Kābul, and G͟hazna. Under the later ʿAbbāsids the members of the dynasty of Bāmiyān, like many Central Asian princes, held influential positions at the court of Bag͟hdād; Ṭabarī (iii, 1335) tells us that a S͟hēr of Bāmiyān was appointed governor of Yaman in 229/844. There was still a large Buddha temple in Bāmiyān in which there were also idols in the 3rd/9th century. This temple was destroyed by the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb and the idols brought to Bag͟hdād in 257/871 (cf. the comparison of Ṭabarī, iii, 1851 and *Fihrist*, 346, by Barthold in *Oriental. Stud.* (*Nöldeke-Festschrift*), i, 187).

The native dynasties seem to have been finally

overcome by the Ghaznawids. A branch of the house of the Ghūrids ruled in Bāmiyān for half a century (550-609/1144-1212). Bāmiyān was then the capital of a kingdom which comprised all Ṭukhāristān and some districts north of the Oxus, and stretched to the north-east as far as the borders of Kāshghar. Like the other lands of the Ghūrids, this kingdom also was incorporated in the kingdom of Muḥammad Shāh of Khwārizm in the beginning of the 7th/13th century; Bāmiyān was granted with Ghazna and other lands to Djalāl al-Dīn the eldest son of the Khwārizmshāh (Nasawī, ed. Houdas, text 25, transl. 44). Soon afterwards followed the destruction of the town by the Mongols (618/1221). Mütügen, a grandson of Čingiz Khān, fell at the siege of the town; in revenge for his death the conqueror razed the town to the ground and exterminated its inhabitants; the place received the name of Mo-baliḳ (evil town) or, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, Mo-ḳurghān (evil fortress) and was still uninhabited 40 years later in the time of the historian Djuwaynī. For the past few centuries Bāmiyān has always been combined with Ghazna and Kābul; like these towns it belonged, down to the 12th/18th century, to the empire of the Mughals, and afterwards to the newly formed Afghān kingdom of which it is still a part.

At present Bāmiyān is a district town connected by motorable roads with both Kābul and Kunduz. The population of the valley belongs mainly to the Hazāra stock, but there are also villages of Tādjīks. The inhabitants speak two languages, Persian and Pashtu (Afghān), but the former is the more widely spoken. The modern settlement lies immediately beneath the cliff with the great images. About two miles south-east lies the ruined fortress of Gulgula, situated on a prominence on the south of the valley. This has been generally recognised as the town built on a hill which Čingiz Khān destroyed, and is probably also the strong fortress referred to by Yāḳūt and Ya'ḳūbī. Whether it is also the site of Hüan-Čuang's royal town is not clear, as the pilgrim states that it lay on the cliffs south-west of the images. No remains have been reported in this direction.

Bibliography: The geographical position is discussed by A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde*, Paris 1942. The Buddhist monuments are described by J. Hackin and A. & Y. Godard in *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, Paris 1928; and J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Nouvelles Recherches à Bāmiyān*, Paris 1933. Hackin's views on the dating should be compared with those of B. Rowland, *Wall Paintings in India, Central Asia and Ceylon*, Boston, 1938, particularly when corrected by Bachhofer, *Art Bulletin*, 1938, 230 ff. Hackin (*loc.cit.* 1928) includes most of the Chinese and European travellers' reports, but Marquart (*loc. cit.*) and Chavannes (*loc.cit.*) are still indispensable. The Hepthalite connections are discussed by R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hepthalites*, Paris 1948. For the later history see Barthold, *Turkestān*, 2nd ed., London, 1928. On the Ghūrids of Bāmiyān see *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* (ed. Nassau Lees), 101 ff.; *ibid.* transl. Raverty, 142 ff. On the Mongol conquest, see the text of Djuwaynī (*Ta'rikh-i Djahān-Kushāy*) in Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, ii. 142 ff.; and d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, i, 294 ff. (W. Barthold-[F. R. Allchin])

BAMPŪR, a district and small town in the VIIIth *ustān* of Persia (corresponding approximately to the province of Kirmān and Persian Balōčistān). For administrative purposes, Bampūr and its district come under Īrānshāhr (formerly Fahradj), situated 23 kilometres to the east. Bampūr, which has a population of 5,000, is chiefly remarkable for its citadel which crowns an eminence 100 feet in height. The inhabitants, who are Sunnīs and are Balōčī-speaking, are mostly engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits. The surrounding district, which is well supplied with water, is very fertile and produces corn and dates.

After the assassination of Nādir Shāh in 1160/1747, Naṣīr Khān, the Governor of Balōčistān, transferred his allegiance to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], of Afghānistān, but later became independent. Persian authority over Bampūr was not restored until 1849.

Bibliography: H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*, London 1816, 330; *Eastern Persia*, by O. St. John, B. Lovett, E. Smith and Sir F. Goldsmid, i, 76, 206-7; Le Strange, 330; Sartīp H. A. Razmārā and Sartīp Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Vol. viii, 47. (L. Lockhart)

BĀN (A. and P.), the ben-nut tree (*Moringa aptera Gaertn.*). Dioscorides knew of its existence in Arabia and other neighbouring countries. Galen, speaking of a remedy obtained from the tree, says that it was imported from the Arabs. Abū Ḥanīfa reports that the fruit, called *shū'*, was a commodity greatly in demand which was bought and paid for in advance even before being ripe. The wood, because of its lightness, was used for tent-poles. On account of the high and slender growth of the *bān* and the softness of its wood, Arab poets used the word as a simile for a tender woman of tall stature.

The fruit, known to the Greeks as βάλανος μυρεψική and to the Romans as *glans unguentaria*, was put to various medicinal uses. Especially the fine oil, extracted from the seeds, was applied against several skin diseases. The juice of the fruit, mixed with vinegar and water, was given to horses as a remedy for cardialgia. In addition to its application in medicine, the oil of the *bān* was much used in the manufacture of perfumes.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *The Book of Plants* (Lewin), no. 75; Achundow in *Hist. Stud. aus d. pharmakol. Inst. zu Dorpat*, iii, 165, 349; Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1324, i, 61 f.; Ghāfiḳī (Meyerhof-Sobhy), no. 118; Ibn al-'Awwām, *Filāḥa* (transl. Clément-Mullet), ii/b, 145 f.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmi'*, Būlāḳ 1291, 79 f.; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 249; Kindī, *Kīmiyā' al-'Iṭr* (transl. Garbers), 59 ff., 181 ff.; Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 124, 525, iv, 525; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, xi, 215 f., xii, 78 ff. (cf. Wiedemann in *Arch. f. d. Gesch. d. Naturw. u. d. Techn.*, iv, 419 ff.); *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb* (Renaud-Collin), no. 382. (L. Kopf)

BANĀKAT, more correctly B/Pinākath (thus in Muḳaddasī, 277, l. 1; in Sogdian: Bi/unēkath, "chief town", "capital"), but in Djuwaynī, i, 47 Fanāka(n)t—a small town at the confluence of the Ilak (today the Āhangarān/Angren), flowing from the right, with the Jaxartes (Iranian: Khashant— cf. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 118, 210 ff., and also *ibid.*, 72, where it is named Ūzgand). It lies almost south-east of Tashkent (Čāč/Shāsh) and was once a flourishing place (*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 118), possessed however no walls and had its mosque in the bazaar (Muḳaddasī, 277; cf. also al-Khwārizmī, in C. A. Nallino, *al-Ḫuwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della geografia di Tolomeo*, Rome 1895, 36, and Yāḳūt, i, 740). The town was conquered in 616/1219 by a Mongol force, 5000 strong according to the sources, under the command of Ulagh Noyon and Süktür, its inhabitants

being either slain or else carried off to serve as assault troops in further sieges; there is no mention that its buildings were destroyed (Djuwaynī, i, 70-74; Mīrkhwānd, ed. Jaubert, 140).

It is clear that, during the following centuries, Banākat fell into decline, for in 794/1392 it was "rebuilt" by Tīmūr and named, after his own son, "Shāhrukhiyya" (Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Ilāhdād, Calcutta 1885-1888, ii, 636). The place is mentioned in the period from the 15th to the 17th century as a strong fortress, but later it sank once more into decay. Ruins (now bearing the name "Sharḳiyya") are still to be seen and were examined for the first time in 1876 by a Russian expedition.

Bibliography: Barthold, *Turkestan*, 169; Le Strange, 482 (with a wrong date for the rebuilding of the town); B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*², Berlin 1955, 28, 417 ff. On the name itself, cf. J. Markwart, *Wehrōt und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 162-163, note; and V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, xvii/2 (1955), 262. (B. Spuler)

BANĀKITĪ, (for the vocalisation, see the preceding article), Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd b. Abi'l-Faḍl Muḥammad, Persian poet and historian (d. 730/1329-30). According to his own account, he was made *malik al-shuʿarāʾ*, or "king of poets", in 701/1301-2 by the Mongol ruler of Persia, Ghāzān Khān. Dawlatshāh (*Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, 227) records one of his poems. His historical work, entitled *Rawḍat ūli 'l-Albāb fī Tawārīkh al-Akābir wa 'l-Ansāb*, was written in 717/1317-8, under the Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd; the preface is dated 25 Shawwāl 717/31 Dec. 1317. Apart from a few very brief remarks on the events of recent years, it is a résumé of the *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn, the arrangement of the subject matter being different. According to E. G. Browne (iii, 101), the range of the second half of the work affords evidence not only of a wider conception of history (probably under the influence of Rashīd al-Dīn), but also of a spirit of real tolerance towards non-Muslim peoples and of a real knowledge of these peoples, doubtless promoted by the position which the author held at the court of the Īlkhān. Blochet (*Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols* ..., Gibb. Mem. Series, xii, 98) seems to assert that the Chinese sources of the *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* are indicated only by Banākitī and not by Rashīd al-Dīn; Rashīd's text which contains these indications was, however, published as early as 1886 by V. Rosen (*Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orient. du Ministère des Aff. Étrang.*, iii, *MSS. persans*, St. Petersbourg 1886, 106-107). The *Rawḍat* is divided into nine parts: prophets and patriarchs; ancient kings of Persia; Muḥammad and the Caliphs; Persian dynasties contemporary with the ʿAbbāsid caliphs; the Jews; the Christians and the Franks; the Indians; the Chinese; the Mongols. The eighth part (China) was published in 1677 (Berlin; then, in 1679, at Jena) by A. Muller, in Persian and Latin, under the erroneous title of *Abdallae Beidawaei Historia Sinensis* (later translated into English by S. Weston: *A Chinese Chronicle, by Abdallah of Beyza* ..., London 1820); Quatremère, however, proved that it belonged to the *Rawḍat* of Banākitī.

Bibliography: Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse ... par Rashīd al-Dīn*, Paris 1836, lxxxv, lxxxvi and 425; H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, iii, 55 ff.; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS.*, i, 79 ff. Other references in Storey, section ii, fasc. 1, 80-81.

(W. Barthold-[H. Massé])

BANAT [see temesvar].

BANĀT NAʿSH [see nudjūm].

BĀNAT SUʿĀD (Suʿād has departed) are the opening words of a *ḳaṣīda* or ode, composed by Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad. The events which led to its composition may be briefly stated as follows. After the fall of Mecca in 8 A.H., Kaʿb's brother Budjayr, who had embraced Islam, warned him of the fate which had overtaken some of the poets there, and urged him to come in to Medina or seek asylum elsewhere. Kaʿb replied in verses disapproving of his brother's conversion. Threatened by the Prophet, Kaʿb in despair came to Medina at last and presented himself before the Prophet, who was then seated in the mosque after the morning prayers surrounded by his companions. Kaʿb succeeded in obtaining the Prophet's pardon; and in token of his gratitude recited in public his famous poem, in which he lauded the generosity of his benefactor. The Prophet was so pleased with it that he bestowed his own mantle (*burda*) on the poet. The poem is, therefore, often called *ḳaṣīdat al-burda*.

The poem consists of 58 verses, and in its general features conforms to the usual pattern of the pre-Islamic Arabian ode. Numerous commentaries have been written on it. It was first published by Lette at Leiden in 1740, and subsequently by Freytag with a Latin translation (Halle 1823) and also by Th. Nöldeke in his *Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum*, Berlin 1890, 110 ff. R. Basset edited it with a French translation and two commentaries, Algiers 1910. An English translation will be found in R. A. Nicholson's *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*, Cambridge 1922. There is also an Italian translation by G. Gabrieli (Florence 1901) and a German translation by O. Rescher (Istanbul 1950).

The poem of Kaʿb inspired another famous hymn in praise of the Prophet, *viz.*, the *ḳaṣīdat al-burda* ("Mantle Ode") of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 67 ff., 887-93 (= A. Guillaume, *The Life of Mohammad*, Oxford 1955, 597 ff., and Weil's translation ii, 255 ff); Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, ed. De Goeje; ed. A. M. Shākir, Cairo 1364 A. H., 104-107; *Aghānī*, xv, 147-51; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, s.v.; W. Muir, *Life of Moḥammad*³ 436-7; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 223-4; G. Gabrieli, *al-Burdatān*, Florence 1901; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire de Bibliographie Arabe*, col. 1562; Brockelmann, I, 32-33; S I, 68-70, where other editions, translations, and commentaries are listed. (Sh. Inayatullah)

BANBALŪNA, Pampeluna, Span. Pamplona, a town in the north of Spain, chief-town of the province of Navarre, with a present population of about 80,000. No Arab geographer has left us an accurate description of Pampeluna in the late Middle Ages. The *Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, which devotes most space to it, depicts the town as the capital of the land of the Basques (*Vascones*, Ar. *Bashkunish* [*q.v.*]), a group of mountain tribes established on the southern slopes and at the western end of the Pyrenees, not far from the Atlantic Ocean. Their territory bounded, in the West, the land called *al-Alaba wa 'l-Ḳilāʿ* [*q.v.*], *i.e.*, of Alava and the Castles (the original Castille); in the East, it reached the mountainous regions inhabited by the Gascons (Ar. *Glashkiyūn*) and the people of Cerretania or Cerdagne. Pampeluna was taken by the governor ʿUḳba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj in 121/739; it rebelled against Cordova and, in 161/778, was taken by the Franks in the course of Charlemagne's expedition. It passed under the sway of the Franco-Gascons for a number of

years and, from about 825 A.D. onwards, became the capital of an independent principality with Iñigo II in close connexion with the powerful Mūsā b. Mūsā, who was his maternal uncle and at the same time his brother-in-law and father-in-law. In 227/842, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II led the Umayyad forces as far as Pampeluna, which was sacked. In 245/859, bands of Scandinavian pirates, the Norsemen, penetrated as far as Pampeluna and took prisoner the king García Iñiguez. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III succeeded in taking possession of the town for a time in 312/924, in the course of his campaign against Navarre, and demolished it. Other attempts by Muslim armies against Pampeluna were made in 322/934 and during the dictatorship of the two ʿĀmirid *ḥādjibs* al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] and al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Idrīsī, ed. and Span. trans. by Saavedra (*La España de Edrisi*), 59-73; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, ii, 180/259-60; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, Spain, no. 51; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ii, index; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leiden 1932, index; Lévi-Provençal, *Du nouveau sur le royaume de Pampalune au LXe siècle*, in *Bulletin hispanique*, lv, no. 1, 1953.

(E. Lévi-Provençal-[A. Huici Miranda])

BAND ("bond"), a Persian word denoting anything which is used to bind, attach, close or limit, both literally and figuratively (*e.g.* sadness, preoccupation),; it has also passed into Arabic and Turkish. In Persian, it has various meanings when used in compounds (*e.g.*, *band-i angusht*, the phalanx; *band-i pā*, ankle-bone; *dar-band*, defile, inlet; *dast-band*, bracelet; *rū-band*, head-veil; *band-i shahryār*, the name of a musical air). It denotes in particular dams (*band-i āb*) built for irrigation purposes: for instance, the Band-i Ḳayṣar, built across the river Kārūn at Shustar by order of the Sāsānid king Shāpūr I (3rd century A.D.), several arches of which were carried away by floods about 1880; on the other side of Shustar, on the way from Ahwāz, the Band-i Gargar (the Mashruḳān of the Arab geographers), on a lateral drain of the Kārūn, which was excavated during the Sāsānid period; the Band-i Miyān ("middle dam"), constructed during the same period and several times restored, notably at the beginning of the 19th century by a son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (hence its other name: Band-i Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā); some 40 kms. downstream from Shustar, near Band-i Ḳīr ("bitumen dam"), are the ruins of a great dam of the same period (on these dams, see *EI*[1], s.v. *Kārūn*, 825[2]-826, and *Guide Bleu*, *Moyen-Orient*, 1956, 718-721). In addition to these, the Band-i Amīr (or Band-i ʿAḍudī) on the Kurr (formerly the Cyrus; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 477, n. 2), about 80 km. north of Shīrāz, was constructed in the 4th/10th century at the order of the amīr ʿAḍud al-Dawla of the Būyid dynasty; on the same river were built the Band-i Rāmdjird and the Band-i Ḳaṣṣār ("the fuller's dam"), which were restored by Fakhr al-Dawla Čawlī, atābak of Fārs under the Saldjūḳs (on these three dams, cf. the interesting passage in Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, Gibb. Mem. Series, 151-152). Near Kāshān, in a mountain gorge, is situated the Band-i Ḳuhrūd, built under the Ṣafawids (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 72; de Sercey, *La Perse en 1839*, 230). In Turkey, nine dams contribute to Istanbul's water supply: on the heights overlooking Büyükdere (on the European side of the Bosphorus), north of Bahçeköy, the *bend* of Maḥmūd I (Mahmut bendi), built in 1732, and the *bend* of the mother of Selim III (Valide bendi), 1796; some five km. further away, in the neighbourhood of the forest of Belgrat, four other *bend*s from which water flows, as required, into the Bash Ḥawz (Baş Havuz) or cistern of Pyrgos, and thence towards the city via two aqueducts—the most notable being the Büyük bend ("great dam") built in the 6th/12th century by Andronicus I and restored by several sultans, and the Paşaderesi bendi, the work of the same Byzantine Emperor (details of these dams: *Guide bleu*: *Turquie*, 1958, 171-2).

Bibliography: Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, 105-112, fig. 97 and 98 (Shustar, Dizfūl); *Survey of Persian Art*, i, 570 (bridges), and ii, 1226 (*id.*); Polak, *Persien*, i, 161; E. G. Browne, *A year among the Persians*, 186; Binning, *A Journal of . . . Travel in Persia*, ii, 365-6; R. Walsh, *Voyage en Turquie*, 16 (map of the reservoirs); Andréossy, *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace*, 416; P. de Tchihatchef, *Le Bosphore et Constantinople*, 49.

(Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

BĀNDĀ, town in Uttar Pradesh (India), situated in Lat. 25° 28′ N and Long. 80° 20′ E; headquarters of the district of the same name. Pop. (1951) 30,327. The town, otherwise unimportant, attracted notice during the Sepoy Revolt of 1857 when its last ruler, Nawāb ʿAlī Bahādur II, put up a hard fight against the British. The town, however, finally surrendered in April 1858. A mere village till the end of the 12th/18th century, it began rapidly to expand when Shamshīr Bahādur, said to be a natural son of the Pēshwā Bādjī Rāo I (1139-53/1726 40), by one of his concubines who had adopted Islam, made it the chief town of his estate conferred on him by the Pēshwā. Shamshīr Bahādur, who fought on the side of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat (1175/1761), was seriously wounded and subsequently died at Bharatpūr. His son, ʿAlī Bahādur I, subjugated many places in Bundhelkhand, with the help of the Sindhia of Gwalior. He was succeeded by his son, Dhu 'l-Faḳār Bahādur, who entered into an agreement with the British in 1227/1812 and was awarded the title of Nawāb and confirmed into his *djāgīr* of Bāndā. An ill-built town, it has a very large number of places of worship, both Muslim and Hindu. The congregational mosque, the largest in the town, was built by the last Nawāb, ʿAlī Bahādur II. A patron of learning, he has been praised by the Indian poet in Urdū and Persian, Mīrzā Ghālib.

Bibliography: *Imp. Gaz. of Ind.*, s.v. Banda; Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, *1857 Kē Mudjāhid*, Lahore 1957, 168-171; *District Gaz. of the United Provinces*, Banda, Vol. XXI, Allāhābād 1909.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BANDA ISLANDS, a group of small islands in Indonesia, Long. 130° E., Lat. 4° 32′ S., inhabited by less than 10,000 people of mixed origin who are partly Muslims. From the view point of institutions these Muslims are not different from those in other parts of Indonesia [*q.v.*]. The islands, however, played an important part in the history of the struggle between Islam and Christendom, as the nutmeg trees which are grown there attracted the Portuguese. They arrived in 1511 in Malacca whence they sailed to the Banda Islands a year later, thus transplanting the Iberian war, which had ended a few years earlier, to South and South-East Asia. The Dutch appeared on the scene in 1599. From 1619 to 1942 the islands were under Dutch control, from 1942 to 1945 occupied by the Japanese. (C. C. Berg)

BANDA NAWĀZ, SAYYID MUḤAMMAD [see sayyid muḥammad].

BANDAR (Bender), a Persian word which has passed into Turkish, denoting a seaport or port on a large river; it has passed into the Arabic of Syria (Barthélemy) and Egypt in the sense of market-place, place of commerce, banking exchange (Bocthor, Vollers) and even workshop (Cuche). *Shāh-bandar*, in Persian, means customs officer, collector of taxes; in Turkish, it means consul and, formerly, a merchants' syndic. In compounds, it occurs in Persian geographical nomenclature: on the Caspian Sea (southern shore), Bandar-Pahlawī (formerly Enzeli); Bandar-Gaz, the safest harbour in the region; some 50 kms. to the north, Bandar-Shāh, the terminus of the Trans-Iranian railway—the other terminus being Bandar-Shāhpūr, on the Persian Gulf; other ports on the shores of the Gulf are: Bandar-Daylam, Bandar-Rīg, Bandar-Būshīr [see BŪSHAHR], Bandar-Maķām, Bandar-Linga, Bandar-ʿAbbās (see following article).

Bibliography: P. Schwarz, *Iran in Mittelalter* (index: *bandar*). On the places mentioned: *Guide bleu: Moyen-Orient* (index: Bandar); R. Vadala, *Le golfe Persique*, Paris 1920, *passim*.

(Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

BANDAR ʿABBĀS, a Persian port situated in the VIIIth. *ustān* (which comprises part of Fārs and Kirmān). The town, which is on the coast of the mainland 16 km. north-west of the island of Hormuz [*q.v.*], stands on bare, sandy ground rising gradually to the north; it has a frontage of 2 km. along the shore. The position of Bandar ʿAbbās at the entrance to the Persian Gulf and the fact that it is the terminal point of trade-routes from Yazd and Kirmān to the north and Lār, Shīrāz and Iṣfahān to the north west have made it a place of some strategic and commercial importance. Owing to the shallowness of the sea, large vessels cannot berth alongside the quay or jetty and have to anchor some distance offshore and load or discharge their cargo by means of lighters.

There are grounds for believing that the town is situated on or near the site of the small fishing village of Shahrū (see Iṣṭakhrī, 67) or Shahruvā (see the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 124 and 375). When the neighbouring island of Djarūn (or Djarrūn) ceased to be so called and was given instead the name of Hormuz at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the former name was transferred to Shahrū. When Hormuz developed into a great commercial centre, the importance of Djarūn as the point of transhipment for goods in transit between the island and the mainland gradually increased. Early in the 10th/16th century the Portuguese established themselves on Hormuz and subsequently also on the adjacent stretch of mainland, and Djarūn, or Gamru, as it then came to be called, thus passed into Portuguese hands. In 1615 the Persians recovered Gamru from the Portuguese and seven years later, with the naval aid of the English East India Company, they also drove the Portuguese out of Hormuz. In gratitude for its services, Shāh ʿAbbās I allowed the Company to set up a factory in Gamru (or Gombroon, as the English usually called it) and not only exempted it from customs dues there, but also gave it the right to receive half the customs dues. An additional reason for the granting of these privileges was the Shāh's desire that the town should become the chief port in his realm: it was in token of this desire that he named the port Bandar ʿAbbās after himself. The Shāh's hopes were soon realised; with the advent not only of the English East India Company, but also of the Dutch East India Company and the French, the port became the most important in Persia. When Chardin was there in 1674, he stated that the town contained between 1,400 and 1,500 houses; he also remarked upon the bad climate and its deadly effect upon the European residents (*Voyages*, Paris 1811, viii, 508, 511-512).

The overthrow of the Ṣafawīd monarchy by the Ghalzay Afghāns in 1722, followed by the Russian and Turkish invasions and numerous internal revolts, paralysed the trade of the country and brought stagnation to Bandar ʿAbbās. The expulsion of the Afghāns led to a temporary revival of prosperity, but this was soon nullified by Nādir's exorbitant tax-collectors. Furthermore, his creation of a naval base at Būshahr [*q.v.*] dealt another blow at the supremacy of Bandar ʿAbbās, and it was not long before the former port became the leading one of the country. When Plaisted was at Bandar ʿAbbās in 1750, he found that nine out of every ten houses were deserted (*Journal from Calcutta .... to Aleppo in the Year MDCCL*, London 1758, 11). A few years later the Dutch and English East India Companies abandoned Bandar ʿAbbās, thus causing it to decline still further.

In 1793 the town, together with a coastal strip 150 km. in length, was leased to the Sulṭān of ʿUmān, in whose hands and those of his descendants it remained until its reversion to Persian control in 1868.

In recent times Bandar ʿAbbās has recovered something of its former prosperity, thanks to the construction of motor roads from Kirmān and Yazd and also from Shīrāz. The modern town has a population of some 11,500 (this total undergoes quite considerable seasonal fluctuations). Living conditions have improved with the provision of a piped water supply from ʿIsīn, 16 km. to the north-west. The main thoroughfare, the Khiyābān Riḍā Shāh-i Kabīr, runs through the town approximately parallel with the shore, at a distance of some 200 m.; the governmental and most of the municipal buildings are in the central part of this avenue. The chief mosques are the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ (for the Shīʿa) and the Masdjid-i Galla-Dārī (for the Sunnīs). Modern industry is represented by a fish-canning plant.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, Amsterdam 1725, v, 202; C. de Bruyn, *Travels into Muscovy, Persia and Parts of the East-Indies*, London 1737, ii, 73-75, 132-133; English East India Company, the *Gombroon Diary* (*Persia and the Persian Gulf Records*, India Office Library, I-VI); F. Savary des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire Universelle de Commerce*, Paris 1741, i, 405; E. Ives, *A Voyage from England to India .... also a Journey from Persia to England*, London 1773, 197-202; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, iii, 739-49; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, Paris 1884, ix, 276-7, 286; W. Tomaschek, in the *SBAK Wien*, cxxi, part viii (1890): Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii, 418-26; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientif. en Perse*, Paris 1895, ii, 290-1, 295; Le Strange, 292, 295, 319; Sir A. T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, Oxford 1928, 11, 140, 146, 151-2, 160-7, 173-9, 188-9, 232, 259, 283: Razmārā and Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, viii, 56-7: L. Lockhart, *The Fall of the Safavi Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 372-9, 403-6. (L. Lockhart)

BANDAR PAHLAWĪ, principal port (*bandar*) of Iran on the Caspian Sea, situated at 37° 28′ N and 49° 27′ E. Formerly called Enzeli, the town was

renamed in honour of the Pahlawī dynasty by its founder Riḍā Shāh who came to the throne in 1926. Bandar Pahlawī itself lies on a tongue of land to the west of an inlet between the Caspian Sea and a freshwater lake called Murdāb. To the east of the inlet is the older settlement of Ghāziyān. From Bandar Pahlawī a bridge carries the motor road across the inlet and into Ghāziyān, from there the road proceeds to Rasht, the principal commercial town of the Caspian littoral region, and then on to Tehran, a total distance of 364 km.

In the early 19th century there were only a few hundred houses at the site, in the first decade of this century about 9,000 people, and the present population is given at 48,500. Persian, Gīlakī (a local dialect) and some Turkish are spoken. The inhabitants are Shīʿīs. There are no monuments of any interest or real antiquity in either Bandar Pahlawī or neighbouring Ghāziyān.

During the second quarter of this century the inlet mentioned above has been developed into a shallow, but sheltered, harbour. In the period March 1951-March 1952 some 298 ships entered or left the port. Between 1930 and 1940 there was considerable transit traffic of goods and passengers from Bandar Pahlawī through the USSR and to Europe, but in recent years nearly all the trade has been directly with Russia.

Owing to its proximity to Russia the port town has been the scene of international incidents. In 1722 Russian troops landed on the south side of the Murdāb and again in 1804 another force landed at Enzeli. In March 1920 Soviet troops, following a British force retreating from Baku, landed at Enzeli and later gave support to the establishment of a short lived Soviet Republic of Gīlān. During the Anglo-Soviet occupation of Iran Bandar Pahlawī sheltered a Soviet garrison from 1941 until May 1946.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 652 ff.; Masʿūd Kayhān, *Djughrāfyā'-i Mufaṣṣal-i Īrān*, Tehran 1932, ii, 276-7; *Rāhnamā-i Īrān, Dā'ira-i Djughrāfyā-i Sitād-i Artash*, Tehrān 1951, part 3, 50; *Annual Account of Trade between Iran and Foreign Countries. Year 1330/1951* (in Persian), Tehran 1952. (D. N. Wilber)

BANDIRMA, a port on the Sea of Marmara, near the site of the ancient Cyzicus. The mediaeval Greek name for the town was Panormos. Villehardouin mentions a castle called "Palorme", which the Latin Crusaders fortified in 1204. It was used thereafter as a base for their operations against the Greeks in north-west Asia Minor. Under Ottoman rule Bandirma was included in the *sandjak* of Ḳarasī [*q.v.*]. According to the evidence of travellers who visited the town in the 16th-17th centuries, most of its inhabitants seem to have been not of Turkish, but of Greek or Armenian descent. Much of Bandirma was burnt down in 1874. It now forms part of the province of Balīkesir and is an active commercial centre, exporting the varied products of the hinterland—cereals, sheep and cattle, boracite, sesame, etc. The population of Bandirma in 1950 stood at a little less than 19,000.

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BANDJ, an arabicised Persian word, originally from the Sanskrit, denoting a narcotic drug, more exactly the henbane (*hyoscyamus*). The meaning of the Sanskrit *bhangā* is really "hemp" (*cannabis sativa L.*), *i.e.*, the variety which grows in southern climes which contains in the tip of its leaves an intoxicating resinous substance (Arabic *ḥashīsh*), whence the Zend *banha* "drunkenness". In Persian the loanword *bang* was applied to the henbane and for this reason Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, in his Arabic translation of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides, (c. 235/850) equated it with the Greek ὑοσκύαμος. With this meaning, the word *bandj* is found in the early Persian medical writers who, as a rule, write in Arabic (al-Rāzī, Ibn Sīnā) and in more modern Persian medicine in Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAlī (4th/10th century), while it appears to be unknown in the old Arabic poetry, as al-Bīrūnī in the chapter on *bandj* in his pharmacology (MS. in the Bursa library) gives no quotations from the poets, which he would not otherwise have omitted to do. The early physicians of western Islām (Isḥāḳ b. ʿImrān, Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān, Ibn al-Djazzār and others) also identified *bandj* with henbane and called it in Arabic *saykarān*, which however Aḥmad al-Ghāfiḳī (an Arab physician of Spain of the 6th/12th century) in his pharmacology considers wrong. *Shakhrōnā* is however the Syriac term for henbane and the Arabic *saykarān, sikrān, shūkrān* etc. is derived from it; but the later Arab botanists used the name for another henbane (*hyoscyamus muticus*) which drives the taker mad, and also for the hemlock (*cicuta*). In modern times the word *bandj* (in the popular dialect of Egypt *bing*) is used for every kind of narcotic and the verb *bannadja*, "to narcotise" and also to "send to sleep, to anaesthetise", infinitive *tabnīdj*, "narcosis" etc. is derived from it.

Bibliography: Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xi, 162; *TA*, ii, 10; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Būlāḳ, i, 273; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya*, Būlāḳ, i, 117; L. Leclerc, *Traité des simples par Ibn el-Beithar*, Paris 1877, i, 271; Lane, *Lexicon*, i, 258; Löw, *Flora der Juden*, iii, 359; Meyerhof and Sobhy, *The Abridged Version of "the Book of Simple Drugs" by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī*, fasc. ii, Cairo 1933, 324 *ff*; Renaud and Colin, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*, Paris 1934, 35; Dymock, Warden and Hooper, *Pharmacographia Indica*, London-Bombay-Calcutta 1890-1893, ii, 626 and ii, 318 *ff*; E. G. Browne, *A chapter from the History of Cannabis Indica*, in *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Journal*, March 1897.

(M. Meyerhof)

BANDJARMASIN, town on the southern coast of Kalimantan (Borneo, Indonesia), at Lat. 3° 18′ S. and Long. 114° 35′ E. It has been known from the 14th century onwards as a centre of inter-island trade and capital of a small principality. It was the capital of a residency in the Dutch period (1859-1942) and during the Japanese occupation. The population of approximately 300,000 is Muslim, though the influence of the Javanese civilisation is considerable, especially among the members of the nobility.

(C. C. Berg)

BANGĀLA, a geographical term, derived from the word Bang, originally denoting a non-Aryan people of this name and later applied to their homeland in the southern and eastern parts of Bengal, now in East Pakistan. Abu 'l-Faḍl, in his *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, remarks "The original name of Bengal was *Bang*. Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province called *Āl* (Sanskṛit—*Āli*). From this suffix the name Bengal took its rise and currency". But both the words, Bang and Bangāla (or sometimes Bhangālah) were used in Sanskṛit records. It is generally supposed that Bangāla was a smaller division, limited to the southern districts of East Bengal, while Bang was a wider unit. This distinction is purely hypothetical. Among the early Muslim historians, Minhādj al-Sirādj, in his *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, uses Bang, and Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī, in his *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, employs *Diyār-i Bangāla*, or *ʿArṣa-i Bangāla*, for the same region of East Bengal—a geographical division which maintained its integrity till about the middle of 14th century A.D.

Shamsī Sirādj ʿAfīf, in his *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, gives to Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh the titles of Shāh-i *Bangāla* (the king of Bangāla), and *Shāh-i Bangāliyān* (plural of Bangālī) meaning the king over the people of Bengal. As Ilyās Shāh united for the first time both the kingdoms of eastern and western Bengal under him, he well deserved the titles, given by ʿAfīf, and it is after him that Bangāla came to denote a wider geographical region, comprising the whole Gangetic Delta; and this is the sense in all subsequent writings, Persian chronicles, Chinese travel accounts, and European works. But the Hindus began to use the older term Gawḍa for this whole region.

From the middle of 16th century A.D., the city of Bangāla is mentioned in some of the European accounts, and also marked in their maps. But no local tradition or record speaks of such a city. Its position in the old maps is never identical, nor do the descriptions of different authorities tally with one another. Probably the important ports, or the capitals, visited by the Europeans, were variously called the city of Bangāla by different authorities. The mint "*Gawr-Bangāla*", occurring in the coins of the Mughal emperor Akbar, may refer to the city, or the country, of Gawḍa in Bangāla (or *ʿurf* Bangāla), more probably the latter.

The kingdom of Bangāla grew out of the original Muslim conquest of Lakhnawtī (north-west Bengal) to which were added Satgāon (part of south-west Bengal) and Sonārgāon (east Bengal). Ilyās Shāh integrated these three regions into an independant Muslim Sultanate in A.D. 1352. His descendents ruled, with occasional revolutions, till A.D. 1484, when they were supplanted by their Abyssinian guards and officers. Within about ten years the oppressive Abyssinian rulers were overthrown by their own popular minister ʿAlā al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh, an Arab of noble lineage, who ushered in an age of peace and prosperity for the kingdom. The independence of Bangāla was finally crushed in 1538 when Shīr Shāh annexed it into his Indian Empire, but its unity continued as a *ṣūba* (province) even under the Mughals, from 1576 onward.

The political unity of Bangāla led to the cultural cohesion of the people who were called Bangālī, a term also applied to the local language which developed its literature in this period.

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(A. H. Dani)

BANGANAPALLE, a small state in south India prior to its merger in the Madras State in 1948. It had the distinction of being the solitary State south of the Tungabhadra ruled by a Muslim chief, in this case belonging to the Shīʿī persuasion. In 1948 it had an area of 275 sq. m. and a population of 44,631. The State lay between latitudes 15° 3′ and 15° 29′ N. and longitudes 77° 59′ E. and 78° 22′ E.

Banganapalle has had a chequered history. The ruling family claims descent from a minister of Shāh ʿAbbās II of Persia on the paternal, and from a minister of the Emperor ʿĀlamgīr on the maternal, side. The ancestor of the family, Mīr Ṭāhir ʿAlī, migrated from Persia to Bīdjāpūr. A number of family quarrels arose there resulting in his murder. His widow and four sons sought refuge with the Mughal *fawdjdār* of Arcot. One of these sons married the grand-daughter of the *djāgīrdār* of Banganapalle, and thus came in contact with what was to be the home of the family.

Banganapalle itself changed hands a number of times. In 1643 it became subject to Bīdjāpūr along with a large part of the Vijayanagar territory; but soon the Bīdjāpūr hegemony gave place to Mughal rule and the rule of the Āṣaf Djāhs. The *djāgīrdār*, Ḥusayn ʿAlī, paid allegiance to Ḥaydar ʿAlī of Mysore and fought many a battle under his banner. But when Tīpū Sulṭān succeeded his father he resumed the *djāgīr* on a mere pretext. On Ḥusayn's death his widow took refuge with the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, and one of the representatives of the family is said to have defeated Tīpū's *fawdjdār* in 1790 and taken possession of the town. The *djāgīr* came under British supremacy by the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1800. It remained under the Madras Presidency till 1839 when it was taken over directly by the Government of India.

By the *sanad* of 1862 the British Government guaranteed succession according to Muslim Law in case a ruler died childless. In 1867 the hereditary title of *Nawāb* was conferred on the *djāgīrdār*. In 1897, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign, the Nawāb was addressed as 'Your Highness'. The last ruling Nawāb, Mīr Faḍl-i ʿAlī Khān, died soon after the merger, and the title now devolves on his eldest son Mīr Ghulām ʿAlī Khān.

Bibliography: A. Vadivelu, *The Aristocracy of Southern India*, Madras 1903; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*; *The Indian Year Book and Who is Who*, 1948; *Banganapalle State, its Ruler and Method of Administration.* (H. K. Sherwani)

BANGKA, island in Indonesia near the East coast of southern Sumatra, between Lat. 1° and 4° S. and at Long. 106° E. It owes its fame to its tin mines and tin trade which attracted foreign merchants from early times. The economically weaker part of the population is Indonesian and Muslim of the normal Indonesian type. The most important part of the population consists of Chinese immigrants.

(C. C. Berg)

BANHĀ, a town in the Nile Delta, situated on the Damietta branch, one of the main stations on the railway between Cairo and Alexandria and

45 kilometres north of Cairo. In mediaeval times, it formed part of al-Sharkiyya province and is today the chief town of al-Kalyūbiyya province, with some thirty thousand inhabitants. The Arabic name is a transcription of Coptic *Panaho*.

The locality occupies a place in the traditional history of the diplomatic relations between the Prophet and the enigmatic Mukawkis, the so-called sovereign of Egypt. Among the presents which the latter sent to Muḥammad, honey from Banhā is mentioned, and it is the recollection of just this detail which its nickname *Banhā al-ʿasal*, "Banhā of the honey", is supposed to evoke. The story may also well be an embellished explanation of an actual fact, for one of the earliest geographers, al-Yaʿkūbī, states plainly that the village of Banhā produces famous honey. Yākūt, in turn, extols the quality of this honey, which was one of the glories of Egypt.

The description given by al-Idrīsī seems to allow of the following translation: "Banhā al-ʿasal forms an extensive domain, its lands planted with trees and producing much fruit; the cultivated fields succeed one another without a break; opposite, on the Western bank of the Nile, stands the main centre, which has given it its name".

Banhā does not appear to have played a rôle in history. At the end of the last century, "it was exporting considerable quantities of the commodity to which it owed its name, as well as oranges and mandarins, which were highly esteemed".

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BANĪ SUWAYF (Beni Suef, Beni Souef) a town in Egypt, on the west bank of the Nile, 75 m. (120 km.) south of Cairo. According to al-Sakhāwī (902/1497) the old name of the town was Binumsuwayh, from which popular etymology derived the form Banī Suwayf (the منفسويه of Ibn Djīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa al-Saniyya*, 172, and the منقوسنه of Ibn Dukmāk, *Intiṣār*, v, 10, ought probably to be read بنمسويه). In still more ancient times the capital of this district was Heracleopolis Magna, 10 m. (16 km.) west of Banī Suēf, which only attained importance under Muḥammad ʿAlī.

From the time of the division of Egypt into provinces (*mudīriyya*), Benī Suēf became the chief-town of the second province of Upper Egypt, comprising three districts (*markaz*), and gave its name to this province. The town, numbering to-day 70,000 inhabitants, is an agricultural centre of considerable importance, with a certain amount of commercial and industrial activity. Situated on the railway and the main road which follow the Nile, it is linked by a track to the Coptic monasteries on the Red Sea. The *makām* of the Shaykha Ḥūriyya, situated in the oldest mosque, Djāmiʿ al-Baḥr, is venerated locally.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, ix, 92 ff.; A. Boinet Bey, *Dict. géog. de l'Egypte*, Cairo 1899, 120; *Guides Bleus, Egypte*, 1956, 251. (C. H. Becker*)

BANĪKA, (plur. *banāʾiḳ*), an Arabic word which has been subject to considerable semantic evolution.

In early Arabic, its meaning is disputed by the lexicographers (cf. Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, iv, 84-85; *TA*, s.v.). The primitive meaning seems to have been "any piece inserted (*rukʿa*) to widen a tunic (*ḳamīṣ*) or a leather bucket (*dalw*)". In the case of the *ḳamīṣ*, according to some authorities, *banāʾiḳ* were "snippets" of material, in the form of very elongated triangles, inserted vertically below the armholes, along the lateral seams of the garment, to give greater fullness. According to others, they were pieces inserted on both sides of the fore-part of the collar (*ṭawḳ*) to take the buttons and button-holes. As equivalents, the dictionaries give *libna*, *dikhrīṣ* and *dj.r.bān*; *banīḳa* (and its variant *binaḳa*), like the two latter words, may be of Persian origin.

In the Arab West, *banīḳa* is at times employed for a kind of man's tunic, though more frequently it is applied to an element of women's hair-covering. Spanish has retained *albanega* "a hair-net for gathering and covering the hair" and the Arabic of Tetuan still uses the word with a very similar meaning. At Algiers, it is a kind of square head-dress, provided with a back flap, which women use to cover their heads to protect themselves against the cold when leaving the *ḥammām* (= *bnīḳa*).

In its final development, the word, in the towns of Morocco, has come to mean "a small cell, a closet serving as an office for a "minister", in the old *makhzen* [*q.v.*]; a dark padded cell (in a prison for the insane); a small room or lumber-room (in a flat)". According to oral tradition, the *banīḳa* was originally a silk scarf in which all ministers coming to the Council carried their documents.

For the semantic evolution, compare with that of the French "*pointe*" and also (ministerial) portfolio and cabinet.

Bibliography: For the Moroccan ministerial *bnīḳas*, cf. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui* (= 1903), chap. XI. (G. S. Colin)

BĀNIYĀS (or *Buluniyās*), the ancient Balanea, which also bore the name of Leucas; attempts have several times been made to identify it with an "Apollonia which never existed on this site" (R. Dussaud). It is today a small township on the Syrian coast situated some fifty kms. to the south of Latakiya. This ancient Phoenician settlement, which became a Greek city minting its own coinage and, later, the seat of a bishopric, was incorporated in the *djund* of Ḥims at the time of the Arab conquest. It was, however, especially at the time of the Crusades, that its small harbour, protected by a fortress and dominated by the mighty castle of Markab [*q.v.*] on its rocky spur, was for a long period a scene of activity. Occupied by the Franks in 503/1109, Valenia, the position of which was strengthened by the taking of Markab in 512/1118, was one of the important fiefs of the principality of Antioch, at the extremity of the county of Tripoli and, after it was entrusted together with Markab to the Hospitallers in 572/1186, remained one of the last centres of resistance to the Muslim conquest. The attacks to which it was subjected, especially by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, until its conquest by Ḳalāʾūn in 684/1285, so completely ruined it that during the Mamlūk period it entirely lost its administrative role to the advantage of Markab, and its site and gardens alone retained the attention of the Arab geographers. The present town does not even possess archaeological remains evocative of its ancient prosperity.

Bibliography: R. Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, especially 127-29; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Balanaia*; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index (see under Boulouniâs); J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Alaouites*, Tours 1940,

index (see under Banyas); G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, especially 424 and 504; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 133; *BGA*, indices; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 334 (which already has Bāniyās); Yāḳūt, i, 729, iv, 500; Abu'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 255; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 209.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BĀNIYĀS, the ancient Paneas, owed its name to the presence in the vicinity of a sanctuary of Pan, established in a grotto and sanctifying one of the main sources of the Jordan. The present place, situated 24 km. north-west of al-Ḳunayṭra, on the road running along the southern frontier of the Syrian Republic, occupies a pleasant site, with plentiful water and rich vegetation, in a smiling valley of Mt. Hermon. Its neighbourhood, moreover, has always been praised by Arab writers for its fertility, and especially for its lemons, cotton and rice cultivation.

The town, though doubtless possessing an older history, is only mentioned since the Hellenistic period. It was embellished by Herod the Great and especially by his son Philip, who bestowed on it the name of Caesarea in honour of Augustus. It was then called Caesarea Philippi (to distinguish it from Caesarea in Palestine), then Caesarea Paneas. Later on the second part of the name survived alone. In the 4th century A.D. it became the seat of a bishopric, dependent on the province of Phoenicia, and the Arab conquest, when it is known to have served the army of Heraclius as a base before the battle of the Yarmūk, made it the chief town of the district of al-Djawlān. Somewhat later al-Muḳaddasī emphasises the prosperity of the township and the surrounding villages, into which inhabitants of the *thughūr* had emigrated. At the time of the Crusades, however, when the position of Bāniyās, lying at no great distance from Tyre, between Damascus and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, acquired strategic importance, its history became more eventful and its successive masters applied themselves to fortifying the castle of al-Ṣubayba, whose ruins still dominate the town today.

Ceded in 520/1126 by Tughtakīn, Atabek of Damascus, to Bahrām, leader of the Ismāʿīlīs, who were then active in Syria, it was handed over to the Franks in 524/1130, following the death of Bahrām and the violent action undertaken at Damascus against the followers of the sect. Recovered by force of arms by Būrī in 527/1132 and delivered up to Zankī, it was then besieged by the Franks who, with the help of the Damascenes, reincorporated it in their possessions in 534/1140. Nūr al-Dīn, after being repulsed twice in succession, Baldwin III and his army coming to the assistance of the threatened garrison on each occasion, finally made himself master of Bāniyās and its citadel in 559/1164 and his adversaries, in spite of their efforts, never succeeded in setting foot there again.

Bāniyās then played the role of a frontier stronghold between the countries of Islam and the territory of the Franks who, in Ibn Djubayr's time (580/1184), peacefully shared the exploitation of the surrounding plain with the Muslims. It was presented by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to his son al-Afḍal and then passed into the hands of various Ayyūbid princes, who improved its defences, as is still born out by several extant inscriptions. Baybars, in his turn, was to carry out the restoration of a fortress, the continued importance of which is emphasised by the Mamlūk authors, who even make it the residence of an amīr, independent of the governor of the place. At this period, Bāniyās was the chief town of a *wilāya* forming part of the *niyāba* of ʿAdjlūn, in the south of the province of Damascus. It was, however, soon to decline to its present state of a small township.

Bibliography: R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, especially 390 f.; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Paneas*; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1933-38, i, 161-62, 476-78, ii, 297-98; M. van Berchem, *Le château de Bâniyâs et ses inscriptions*, in *JA*, 1888, 440 f.; M. G. Hodgson, *The Order of the Assassins*, The Hague 1955, 104-07; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, especially 418-19; A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques*, Paris 1951, 13-14; K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, i, Pennsylvania 1955, index; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 179; *BGA*, *indices*; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. De Goeje, 300; Abu'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 249; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 200; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, especially 65 and 179; Ibn al-Athīr, x, xi and xii, index; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, index; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahan, index.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BANJALUKA (alternative spelling Banja Luka), a town in Yugoslavia, in the north-western part of Bosnia, situated on both sides of the river Vrbas. It is a centre of culture and commerce of considerable importance in the district, has been on a railway line since 1873, and had 42,233 inhabitants in 1956, of whom about one third were Muslims (in 1948 the number of inhabitants was 31,223, of whom 9,951 were of "unspecified nationality" (*i.e.*, Serbo-Croat speaking Muslims who did not declare themselves as either Serbs or Croats). Apart from the quarter called "Novoselija" which developed in the 12th/18th century, and more modern parts ("Varoš" and "Predgradje"), the town consist of two other parts —an upper city, ("Gornji Šeher")—where a fortress, or settlement, existed before the Turkish conquest (1527 or 1528)—and a Lower City ("Donji Šeher") which was built in the second half of the 10th/16th century. Both these parts contain survivals of the Ottoman rule. Of the 27 mosques of the town, two should be especially mentioned: the oldest of them, built immediately after the Turkish Conquest, stands in the Upper City and is called the Emperor's Mosque ("Hunkarija" or "Careva džamija"), which was subsequently repaired and rebuilt three times (the building to be seen at the present day is said to date from the year 1824/25). The most beautiful one in the Lower City is the Mosque "Ferhadija džamija" built in 1579 by Ferhād Sokolović, governor of Bosnia at the time. The *maḥallas* (*i.e.*, quarters) of "Gornji Tabaci" and "Donji Tabaci", in the Upper City, recall the tanner's trade—the principal trade in nearly all Balkan towns in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. In the Lower City, on the banks of the Vrbas, there is a citadel ("Kaštel") which was built during the reign of Murād III (1595-1603) as the town's second fortress.

The statement which is found first in Ewliya Čelebi, that the first part of the name "Banjaluka" is the Serbo-Croat word "Banja" (bath), is merely an example of folk-etymology, based on the fact that there are hot sulphur springs in the town. The name is actually formed from the archaic possessive adjective of the noun "Ban" (a governor, in this case of the Hungarian King), and the word "Luka" (meadow by the river). It thus means the meadow of the Ban.

After the fall of the kingdom of Bosnia (in 1463) the Hungarians acquired the area of Jajce. It is probable that Banjaluka was built at that time (it is mentioned for the first time in 1494) to serve as a fortress for the newly built Jajce-Banates. Immediately after the fall of Jajce, Banjaluka was conquered by the Turks (in 1527 or 1528). Under Turkish rule Banjaluka gained in importance, especially after the residence of the governor of the *sandjak* of Bosnia was moved from Sarajevo to Banjaluka in the middle of the 10th/16th century. The quick rise of the town was largely due to the merits of the first governors who resided in Banjaluka, in particular Ferhād Sokolović, a cousin of the Grand Vizier Meḥmed Pasha Sokolović (Sokolli). Ferhād Sokolović was governor of Bosnia from 1574, and became Beglerbeg of the newly formed Pashalik of Bosnia in 1580. Banjaluka remained the seat of the Beglerbeg of Bosnia until it was moved to Sarajevo in 1638.

In 1661, when Ewliya Čelebi visited Banjaluka, it was a flourishing town with two fortresses, 45 *maḥallas*, 45 mosques, and several *madrasas* and baths, with 300 shops and a Bezistān. The town itself (which numbered 3,700 houses) was then the seat of the representative (*Ḳāʾim-maḳām*) of the Vizier of Bosnia.

Banjaluka was conquered for a short time in 1688 by the Austrians under the Margrave of Baden, and they burnt down some parts of the town in their retreat. During the 1737 war, Banjaluka was besieged by the Prince of Hildburghausen, but was relieved by the Bosnian Vizier ʿAlī Pasha Ḥekīmoghlu as the result of the victory of August 4th. This war was described by ʿOmar Efendi of Novi (Babinger, 276-277). Since then, Banjaluka has developed more or less unhindered, although it could not regain its former greatness until the end of Turkish rule. There were 37 *maḥallas* and 1,126 houses liable to taxes in Banjaluka in 1851. From then on it was the capital of one of the six Bosnian *sandjaks* (districts).

At the time of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia (1878), Banjaluka capitulated (without offering resistance) as early as 31st July. Nevertheless, there was a battle with the Bosnian Muslims on 14th August. The town remained under Austrian rule until 1918, when it became part of Yugoslavia.

Bibliography: H. Kreševljaković, ***Stari bosanski gradovi*** (Old Bosnian castles), ***Naše Starine*** I, Sarajevo 1953, 26-27; A. Bejtić, ***Banja Luka pod turskom vlašću*** (Banja Luka under Turkish rule), ***Naše Starine*** I, Sarajevo 1953, 91-116; Article ***Banjaluka*** in ***Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*** I, Zagreb 1956 (the geographical part by S. Šiniković, the historical part by H. Kreševljaković).

(B. Djurdjev)

BANKING [see DJAHBADH and ṢAYRAFĪ].

BĀNKĪPŪR, the Western suburb of the city of Patna, the ʿAẓīmābād of the Muslim historians, situated in 25° 37′ N. and 85° 8′ E. on the right bank of the Ganges. The great landmark of Bānkīpūr is the brick-built beehive-shaped silo or grain storehouse constructed by Warren Hastings after the terrible famine of 1769-70. In Oriental circles the town is famous for its fine collection of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, some of which are extremely rare. The Bānkīpūr library, called in the Trust Deeds "The Patna Oriental Public Library", and also known as the "Khudā Bakhsh Library", contains many valuable books on Islamic literature. The founder, Mawlawī Khudā Bakhsh, (d. 1908) an advocate by profession, was a native of Čhaprā (Bihar) who dedicated his entire life to the collection of rare manuscripts from such ancient centres of culture as Cairo, Damascus, Beirut and places in Arabia, Egypt and Persia. It was Lord Curzon, Governor-General of India (1899-1905) who commissioned Sir Edward Denison Ross to reorganise the Library and to prepare a systematic catalogue. So far 31 volumes, describing some 4,000 MSS. outof a total number of over 6,000, have been published, as a result of sustained and patient collaboration between Sir Edward Denison Ross, ʿAbd al-Muḳtadir, ʿAẓīm al-Dīn Aḥmad, ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid and Masʿūd ʿĀlam Nadwī.

Bibliography: V. C. Scott O'Connor, ***An Eastern Library***, Glasgow 1920; ***Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur, Calcutta*** 1908-1939; ***Imperial Gazetteer of India***, Oxford 1908, vi, 382-3.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BANNĀʾ [see BINĀʾ].

AL-BANNĀʾ, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD [see AL-DIMYĀṬĪ].

AL-BANNĀʾ, ḤASAN, founder and Director-General of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, was born in the year 1906, the son of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Bannāʾ al-Sāʿātī. In addition to carrying on his trade of watch-maker, his father was a keen student of the traditional Islamic sciences and the editor of the ***Musnad*** of Ibn Ḥanbal.

Paternal influence was of the greatest significance in shaping the formative years of Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ and his early education followed the ancient pattern of that of the sons of the *ʿulamāʾ*—the memorising of the Ḳurʾān and the study of *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* and *lugha*. In addition to his conservative religious upbringing he appears to have possessed an innate spiritual bent, for at an early age he became drawn towards Ṣūfism and was initiated into the Ḥaṣāfiyya order when he was fourteen years of age.

After a period at the Junior Teachers' School at Damanhūr he entered the Dār al-ʿUlūm in Cairo, at that time an independent teachers' training College. Even at Damanhūr his precocious capacity for organisation and impulse towards active proselytising had shown themselves in his founding of al-Djamʿiyya al-Ḥaṣāfiyya al-Khayriyya. At the Dār al-ʿUlūm he developed further his thesis that the sicknesses of Islamic society could only be cured by a return to the regenerative springs of the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* and *sīra*. Together with a group of fellow-students he began to spread the Islamic mission by preaching in the mosques and meeting-places of Cairo.

On completing his course of training in 1927 he was posted to Ismāʿīliyya as a government schoolteacher and in the following year founded the Muslim Brotherhood. He remained at Ismāʿīliyya until 1933, preaching, lecturing, pamphleteering and perfecting the organisational structure of his movement on the cell principle. During this period he travelled indefatigably up and down the Canal Zone and offshoots of the Ismāʿīliyya headquarters sprang up between Port Saʿīd and Suez.

Following upon his transfer to a teaching post in Cairo, Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ entered upon a period of intense activity and the movement rapidly gained ground throughout Egypt. Subsequent to 1936, when he espoused the cause of the Palestine Arabs, he became increasingly involved in the political arena, lobbying successive prime ministers with pleas for action and reform. The years of the Second World War saw a hardening of the attitude of the government towards Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ. Under both Sirrī Pasha and al-Nuḳrāshī he was arrested for

brief periods and the activities of the Brotherhood severely curtailed. In the immediately post-war period tension between them and the government increased, culminating in their suppression following the murder of al-Nuḳrāshī in December 1948. A few months later, in February 1949, Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ was himself assassinated.

Bibliography: Isḥāḳ Mūsā Ḥusaynī, *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, Beirut 1952, (English translation with additional material, Beirut 1956); J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Religious and political trends in modern Egypt*, Washington 1950; Jean and Simonne Lacouture, *Egypt in transition*, London 1958; Tom Little, *Egypt*, London 1958. For a further bibliography see article AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN. (J. M. B. JONES)

BANNĀʾĪ, KAMĀL AL-DĪN SHĪR ʿALĪ BANNĀʾĪ HARAWĪ, Persian poet, the son of a mason (*bannā*ʾ) of Harāt, hence his choice of the pseudonym "Bannāʾī". He spent his youth in the entourage of the famous poet and Maecenas of the period ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], but fell into disgrace on account of his bitter jests, and had to take refuge at the court of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] prince Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb (884-896/1429-1491), at Tabrīz. After a reconciliation with ʿAlī-Shīr, he returned to Harāt, but he had to leave his company once more in order to go to Samarḳand, to the court of the Tīmūrid prince Sulṭān ʿAlī (902-953/1497-1546), son of Sulṭān Aḥmad (823-899/1468-1494), son of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd (855-873/1451-1468), who ruled over Transoxania. He composed in his favour a *ḳaṣīda* in the dialect of Marw, with the title of *Madjmaʿ al-Karāyib*. He was also the court poet of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who ruled over this region between 899 and 900 (1494-5). In 906/1500-1, when Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān [*q.v.*] (Shaybak Khān: Shāhī Beg Özbek) occupied Samarḳand, he remained for a time in prison and later became the official poet of his court and chief military judge (*ḳāḍī ʿaskar*), and at the same time one of the favourites of his son Muḥammad Tīmūr. After the death of Shaybānī Khān on 30 Shaʿbān 916/2 December 1510, he returned to Harāt, his native town, but he was slain during the massacre at Ḳarshī, perpetrated in 918/1513 by Nadjm al-Dīn Yār Aḥmad Iṣfahānī, known as Nadjm-i Thānī, on the orders of Shāh Ismaʿīl the Ṣafawid. Bannāʾī tried his hand at all types of poetry. He wrote at first under the pseudonym Ḥālī, and in addition to his *dīwān*, still unpublished (in which he constantly tried to imitate Ḥāfiẓ), he has left two epics: 1) *Shaybānī-nāma*, on his patron's campaigns; 2) *Bāgh-i Iram* or *Bahrām-u-Bihrūz*, a poem several times incorrectly attributed to the great Ṣūfī poet Sanāʾī (as a result of the word Bannāʾī being corrupted to Sanāʾī) and published in a collection with the works *Afḍal al-Tidhkār Dhikr al-Shuʿarā wa 'l-Ashʿār* and the *Tadhkira* of Nawāʾī, at Tashkent in 1336/1918. He was also a musician, a composer, the author of two small works on music and a fine calligraphist.

Bibliography: Mīr ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī, *Madjālis al-Nafāʾis*, two 16th century. Persian translations, edited with an introduction and annotations etc. by ʿAlī Asghar Ḥikmat, Tehran 1945, 60, 232-3; Sām Mīrzā Ṣafawī, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī* (section v), ed. in the original Persian, with index, Persian and English prefaces, variants and notes by Mawlawī Iḳbāl Ḥusayn, Patna 1934, 27-30; *ibid.*, complete Tehran edition 1314/1936, 98-100; Said Naficy, *Taʾrīkhča-yi Mukhtaṣar-i Adabiyyāt-i Īrān*, in *Sāl-nāma-yi Pārs*, 1326, 12-13. (SAID NAFICY)

BANNĀNĪ (also AL-BANNĀNĪ), name of a family of Jewish converts to Islam of Fès (Fās), which from the 12th/18th century has produced a number of eminent religious scholars and still belongs, together with a few other families of Jewish extraction, to the aristocracy of Islamic learning in Fès. Its most important members are:

(1) ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. ḤAMDŪN (d. 1163/1750). He is considered the last great representative of the older school of Fès in which he occupies a key position, uniting in his person the main traditions of Māliki scholarship in the Maghrib (cf. J. Berque, in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1949, 88), combining with them the Māliki traditions of the East where he also studied, and forming a great number of disciples. His *Fahrasa* [*q.v.*] is an important source on the legal studies in Fès in his time. His commentary on the *al-ḥizb al-kabīr* of al-Shādhilī [*q.v.*] testifies to the lasting connection of his family with the Shādhilī *ṭariḳa*. His main work is a commentary on the *K. al-Iktifāʾ* of al-Kalāʿī, on the military expeditions of the Prophet and of the first three Caliphs. His son ʿAbd al-Karīm composed a biography of him.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, ii, 257; Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, i, 146-148; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, i, 160-162; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-Nūr al-Zakiyya*, i, 353; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 312 f.; Brockelmann, S II, 686.

(2) ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ḤASAN B. MASʿŪD (d. 1194/1780). He wrote a gloss (completed in 1173/1759-60) on al-Zurḳānī's [*q.v.*] commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of *Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ*, a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar al-Manṭiḳ* of al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*], a commentary on the *Sullam* of al-Akhḍarī [*q.v.*], often printed, and a reputed *Fahrasa*.

Bibliography: al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, ii, 257; Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, i, 161-163; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, i, 162 f.; al-Naṣirī al-Salāwī, *al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, iv, 129; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-Nūr*, i, 357; Sarkīs, i, 590; Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens*, 146, n. 7; Brockelmann, II, 325, 615, S II, 98, 355, 706.

(3) MUSTAFĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-KHĀLIḲ, wrote in 1211/1796 a gloss on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Taftāzānī [*q.v.*] on rhetoric, printed several times, also with notes of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Anbābī (d. 1313/1895).

Bibliography: Sarkīs, i, 590; *Catalogue Cairo*², ii, 181; Brockelmann, i, 355, S i, 518.

(4) MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ʿARABĪ B. ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. ḤAMDŪN (d. 1245/1829-30), a grand-nephew of no. 1, became Mālikī muftī of Mecca.

Bibliography: Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, i, 163 f.

(5) MUḤAMMAD, called FIRʿAWN (d. 1281-82/1865), author of a *K. al-Wathāʾiḳ* which was printed several times, also with the commentary of ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad al-Hawārī (d. 1328/1910).

Bibliography: Berque, in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1949, 102; Sarkīs, i, 590.

(6) For other members of the family Bannānī, see Ben Cheneb and Lévi-Provençal, *Essai de répertoire chronologique des éditions de Fès*, in *R. Afr.*, 1921 and 1922 (index by H. Pérès and A Sempéré, in *Bull. Études Arabes*, no. 32, 1947, *s.v.* Bannānī); Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt*, i, 589-591; Muḥammad b.

Muḥammad Makhlūb, *Shadjarat al-Nūr*, i, 431; ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ al-Fāsī, *Riyāḍ al-Djanna*, ii, 20 ff., 100 f.

(7) Not to the family Bannānī belong ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Djād Allāh al-Bannānī (d. 1198/1784), who derives his *nisba* from a village in the neighbourhood of Monastir (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-Nūr*, i, 342; Sarkīs, i, 591; Brockelmann, II, 109, S II, 105), and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibrāhīm al-Warrāḳ (earlier than 900/1495), whose *nisba* is uncertain (Brockelmann, S I, 585).

(J. Schacht)

BANNŪ, town and headquarters of the district of the same name in West Pakistan, situated in 33° 0′ N. and 70° 36′ E. Population in 1951 was 27,516 for the town and 307,393 (district).

The present town was founded by Lt. Edwardes Herberts in 1848 on a strategic site and named Edwardesābād. The name, however, did not become popular and soon fell into disuse, giving place to Bannū, the old name of the valley derived from the Bannʿučīs, an Afghān tribe of mixed descent. The valley, strewn with ruins of great antiquity, was, according to local tradition, overrun by the armies of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who razed all Hindu strongholds to the ground. A century later the valley was peopled by the surrounding hill-tribes, the Bannūčīs, the Marwats and the Niāzāīs. For two centuries thereafter it remained under the loose sway of the Mughals. It was conquered in 1738 by Nādir Shāh Afshār and subsequently over-run by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. In 1823, the Sikh ruler of Lahore, Randjīt Singh, occupied the valley to be constantly harried by the Afghāns. It was, however, formally ceded to the Sikhs in 1838. After the first Sikh War (1845-46), the valley came under the British influence. In 1847/48, Lieut. Edwardes, as a representative of the Sikh Durbar of Lahore, marched on the valley along with a large army under Gen. van Cortlandt. In 1849 with the annexation of the Pandjāb, Bannū passed on to the British. Contrary to expectations, it remained absolutely peaceful during the military uprising of 1857.

The valley has yielded finds of great archaeological value, among them being coins with Greek or pseudo-Greek legends. The Akra mound near the town is reputed to be of great antiquity.

After its construction in 1848 the Bannū fort was named Dalīpgarh, after Mahārādjā Dalīpsingh, a grandson of Randjīt Singh. As usual a town soon grew up around the fort. It is now the centre of considerable trade. The town is expanding fast and large sums have been recently sanctioned by the Government for the economic development of the area.

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BANTAM or **BANTEN** [see djāwa].

BANŪ, followed by the name of the eponymous ancestor of a tribe, see under the name of that ancestor.

BANŪ ISRĀʾĪL, "the Children of Israel".

1. This designation of the Jewish people occurs in the Ḳurʾān about forty times. The terms *Yahūd*, Jews, and its derivatives as well as *Naṣāra*, Christians, appear only in the Medinese period, although they had been widely used in pre-Islamic poetry and certainly were familiar to every Arab townsman (Joseph Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 144 ff. and 153 ff.). On the other hand, *Banū Isrāʾīl* never occurs in authentic pre-Islamic poetry (*ibid.*, 91). It would therefore seem to follow that the exclusive use of this term during the Meccan period has something to do with the Prophet's original knowledge of, and attitude towards, the monotheistic religions preceding him.

In most of the Meccan verses, the *Banū Isrāʾīl*. appear in connexion with Moses and the stories which are paralleled in the Biblical book of Exodus or its aggadic amplifications; they are, in chronological order according to Noeldeke-Schwally: xx, 47, 80, 94 (dissensions among the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, see below); xliv, 30; xxvi, 17, 22, 59; xvii, 2, 103; xl, 53; xxxii, 23-24; x, 90; vii, 105, 134, 137, 183. This explains also the form of the name: "the *Children of Israel*", as in the book of Exodus, and not "Israel", as was common usage in Jewish literature in the period preceding Muḥammad (with few exceptions; see *Tarbiz* 3(1932), 413, n. 15a.)

However the *Banū Isrāʾīl* were more than the "people of Moses" (vii, 147, 158.; xxviii, 76). In Sura xvii, which bears the name of *Banū Isrāʾīl* (but also *al-Isrāʾ*), 4-8, the destruction of the First and the Second Temple is described as the fulfilment of a heavenly decree included in the "Book" (perhaps an allusion to Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28), while liii, 59 makes Jesus appear among the *Banū Isrāʾīl*.

Finally, there are a number of Meccan passages which clearly indicate that the *Banū Isrāʾīl* were also understood to denote persons living in Muḥammad's own time. Doubtful is xlvi, 10: "If a witness from the *Banū Isrāʾīl* testified about (a message) similar to this [Revelation (Muḥammad's or another part of the Ḳurʾān?)] and believed"—a verse generally regarded by Muslim tradition as alluding to the Jewish convert ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām (see the sources collected in Ṭabarī's commentary, vol. 26, 6-9). For as the word "(a message) similar" shows, the reference is probably to "the book of Moses" (xlvi, 12), as indeed Ṭabarī himself thought possible, although he rejected that interpretation.

However xxvi, 197 "Is it not a proof for them (the Meccans) that the scholars (or: knowledgeable men) of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* know it (the content of Muḥammad's message)?" hardly makes sense without the assumption that the persons referred to were known to his hearers; the more so as the following verses, xxvi, 198-9, allude to missionary activities of non-Arabs. Likewise xvii, 101 "Ask the *Banū Isrāʾīl*" is to be compared with such passages as x, 94 "If you (M.) are in doubt concerning what We sent down to you, ask those who read the Book before you," cf. xxi, 7; xvi, 43; xxv, 59; ii, 211 (xliii, 45 is no proof to the contrary, as in xxi, 7 and xvi, 34 the Meccans are addressed).

In any case, the *Banū Isrāʾīl* must be regarded as contemporary with Muḥammad in those Meccan verses in which reference is made to their dissensions, which will be settled either by the Ḳurʾān xxvii, 76, or on the day of resurrection, xxxii, 23-5; xlv, 16-17; x, 93. This use of the term is even more evident in al-Madīna, where the *Banū Isrāʾīl* are admonished to believe in Muḥammad's message and warned of the consequences of their disbelief (ii. 40 f.), or where they are censured for their behaviour, obviously actually observed (ii, 83-85: they fight one another, but ransom those that were taken captives).

In order to establish which group of contemporary monotheists were meant by *Banū Isrāʾīl*, one has to bear in mind that already in the Meccan Sura xliii, 59 (see above) Jesus appears among the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, and does so rather frequently in Medinese passages iii, 49; v, 72-74, 78; lxi, 6. In lxi, 14 it is said explicitly that one group of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* believed in him and another did not. Cf. also v, 110, where God protects him against the *Banū Isrāʾīl*.

However, when in v, 12-13 the *Banū Isrāʾīl* are opposed to "those that say we are Christians", v, 14; or are censured in v, 70 together with "Those that say the Messiah, son of Maryam, is God", v, 72, it seems indeed that the Ḳurʾān, where addressing Muḥammad's contemporaries as *Banū Isrāʾīl*, meant Jews. To this interpretation point also the references to the dietary laws in iii, 93 and the quotation from the *Mishna* (*Sanhedrin* 4, 5), which is introduced as an injunction imposed by God on the *Banū Isrāʾīl*. The Muslim commentators indeed explained the Ḳurʾānic diatribes against the *Banū Isrāʾīl* as directed against the Jews of al-Madīna, with whom Muḥammad had so many dealings.

From this use of the name *Banū Isrāʾīl* it does not follow that the word or the ideas connected with it had come to Muḥammad from Jews. On the other hand, the form of the word (*Isrāʾīl*, not *Yisrāʾīl*) does not prove that it is derived from Syriac, for the Hebrew spelling with *Y* and *Śin* was merely traditional, while the pronunciation of initial *yi* as *i* was as common among Jews as among some other Aramaic-speaking peoples.

In any case, it is most likely that the term *Banū Isrāʾīl* became known to Muḥammad together with the general ideas on revelation and prophecy centering around it: there was only one true religion laid down in a heavenly book; that book had been "sent down" through Moses "before Muḥammad" xlvi, 12, 29; xi, 17. However, instead of uniting the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, its very revelation caused dissension among them xxxii, 23-25; xlv, 16-17; x, 93. The same happened to the followers of Christ xlii, 13-14. Finally, Muḥammad's own mission, which was destined to settle "most" of the dissensions of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* xxvii, 76, was not recognised by Jews and Christians ii, 120 (see *ib.* 111, 113), so that it, too, had the effect of dividing humanity xcviii, 3. This tragic discord was explained as brought about by God's own inscrutable decree xli, 45; xi, 110 (Moses' book); x, 19 (humanity originally was one *umma* or religious community); xvi, 93 (God could unite humanity in one *umma*, but He "chooses" whom He likes xlii, 13). This conception was in a way reminiscent of the *Midrash* applied to the history of the ancient *Banū Isrāʾīl*. Aaron, when rebuked by Moses for making the Golden Calf, excuses himself by explaining that he did so in order to avoid the *Banū Isrāʾīl* becoming divided xx, 94.

Muḥammad, as the son of a caravan city, knew of course about Jews and Christians. However, the idea that these two had their common origin in the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, the numerous stories about them and the belief that the various religions should rightly be one, are too specific to have come from this source. As only the term *Banū Isrāʾīl* or other general designations for the earlier book religions occur during the whole of his Meccan period, it seems most probable that this use of the term is to be traced to a monotheistic tradition which emphasised the common rather than the dividing aspects of the monotheistic religions.

2. In the *ḥadīth*, *Banū Isrāʾīl* denotes both the old Israelites, *e.g.*, when ʿUmar is compared to a king of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* (Hezekiah), Ibn Saʿd iii, I, 257, l. 2 ff., or when David's Araonah (Samuel II 24, 21) is referred to, Ibn Sa'd iv, I, 13, l. 23, and also the Jews and Christians in general, *e.g.*, in the chapter "What was said about the *Banū Isrāʾīl*" in Buk͟hārī (60) *Anbiyāʾ*, 50. Although, by chance, only Jews are mentioned there separately, Christians are referred to by implication in a story about a *rāhib*, which normally denotes a monk. A story about D̲j̲urayd̲j̲, "who was a monk among the *Banū Isrāʾīl*" is reported by Abu'l-Layt̲h̲ al-Samarḳandī in his *Tanbīh al-G̲h̲āfilīn* 260.

The question why the ancient *Banū Isrāʾīl*, the chosen people, Sūra ii, 2, 47, 122; xliv, 32; xlv, 16, should have disappeared, considerably occupied the mind of the Muslims. Their answers to this question echoed of course their own tribulations, such as deviations in the fields of theology and religious law ("the *Banū Isrāʾīl*" perished, because they practised *Raʾy* [see AṢḤĀB-AL-RAʾY]), or public morals "because their women indulged in wigs" (Buk͟hārī (60) *Anbiyāʾ* 54) or "in high heels" (Fāʾiḳ, ii, 366, quoted by Dozy, *Suppl.* ii, 391 a).

For the Muslims regarded those *Banū Isrāʾīl* as their brothers, as in the famous *ḥadīt̲h̲* Farḳad-Hud̲h̲ayfa: "What excellent brothers are the *Banū* to you: They (experienced) the bitterness and you the sweetness," quoted *e.g.*, by Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ iii*, 50, l. 5. The saying obviously refers to "the burden and the chains", *i.e.*, the many religious obligations which were incumbent on the *Banū Isrāʾīl* (both Jews and Christians according to Sūra vii, 157), cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Muk͟h͟talaf al-Ḥadīt̲h̲* 142, ult.

In a *ḥadīt̲h̲* quoted by Sahl al-Tustarī in his *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, 57, the Muslims even identify themselves with the *Banū Isrāʾīl*: "We are the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, we, the sons of Naḍr b. Kināna. We do not follow our mother (who was the wife of both Kināna and his father K͟h͟uzayma, see Ibn His͟h͟ām 1-2) nor our fathers (*i.e.*, Naḍr, Kināna, K͟h͟uzayma); with "we" the Arabs are meant."

However, as in the Ḳurʾān, *Banū Isrāʾīl* denotes in the *ḥadīt̲h̲* also contemporary Jews and Christians and is thus synonymous with *Ahl al-Kitāb* and similar expressions. Cf. the very often quoted saying of Muḥammad: "*ḥaddit̲h̲ū ʿan Banī Isrāʾīl walā ḥarad̲j̲*" "Relate traditions which come from the *Banū Isrāʾīl* without scruples", cf. *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane*, i, 445 b, s.v. *ḥrd̲j̲*, and Wensinck, *Handbook*, 231a; al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1310, 101 (1312, 105).

Again, as in the Ḳurʾān, when used of contemporaries, *Banū Isrāʾīl* mostly means Jews. Cf. the characteristic story about the wigs of the women of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* which is given in Buk͟hārī (60) *Anbiyāʾ* 54, the first time (ed. Krehl ii 376) with a general reference to the *Banū Isrāʾīl* but a second time (Krehl ii 380, l. 10) in a detailed story about the Caliph Muʿāwiya, who, while visiting al-Madīna, was disgusted to find the women there wearing wigs (a habit which they might have adopted from their Jewish neighbours). "I have nobody seen doing this", the old Caliph said, "except the Jews". Thus the familiar picture of the *Ḥabr min aḥbār Banī Isrāʾīl* (*e.g.*, Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya* ii, 372, l. 22 = Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Ak͟h͟bār* ii, 359, l. 13) is to be understood as describing a rabbi; and when Mad̲j̲d al-Dīn Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Nihāya*, s.v. *t̲h̲ny* I 136 refers to "the rabbis, *aḥbār*, of the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, after Moses "who compiled the *Mis̲h̲na* (*al-mat̲h̲nāt*)" he means of course Jews.

It is from this usage of *Banū Isrāʾīl* that the word *Isrāʾīlī*, Israelite, was derived as a more polite designation for a Jew than Yahūdī. We find this term already in full use in the third/ninth century, *e.g.* Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* 79, 7 (the Israelites in ʿIrāḳ); 113, 3 (Israelite translators of the Bible); 219, 9 (Israelites divided into three sects), cf. also *ibid.*, 105, 7; 112, 18; alongside with Yahūd 113, 9; 184, 14. Similarly, Muslim scholars and men of letters refer in this way to their Jewish colleagues, *e.g.*, Isḥāḳ al-Israʾīlī, the famous doctor and author (M. Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. d. Juden*, Frankfurt 1902, 38-45); Jewish converts to Islām also, such as the poet Ibn Sahl al-Israʾīlī of Seville (Brockelmann S. I, 483) were styled thus.

A later, scientifically minded, age tried to distinguish with more precision between *Banū Isrāʾīl* and *Yahūd*. Al-Ḳalḳashandī xviii, 253, quoting ʿImād al-Dīn (*i.e.* Abuʾl-Fidā), states that *Banū Isrāʾīl* are the ancient Jews by race, while the term *Yahūd* includes also the many converts to Judaism from Arab, Rūm and other stocks. This statement is not without foundation in the usage of ancient sources. Thus Ibn Saʿd, viii, 85, l. 27 says with regard to Ṣafiyya, the Jewish wife of Muḥammad, that she was from the *Banū Isrāʾīl i.e.*, from pure Jewish stock, a descendant of the high priest Aaron.

As is natural, to an ancient people such as the *Banū Isrāʾīl* things were ascribed which originally had nothing to do with them. Thus a Maghribī handbook on agriculture advises against doing farmwork on certain days, because they were the days of punishment (*ridjz*, cf. Sūra 7, 162) inflicted on the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, see J. M. Millás-Vallicrosa, in *Andalus* 19 (1954), 132.

The most important aspect of the image of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* in Muslim literature is the piety attributed to them. "The pietists (*ʿibād, mutaʿabbidūn*) of the *Banū Isrāʾīl*" is a common expression, cf. *e.g.*, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Djīlānī, *Ghunya* ii 62, Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ* ii 373, l. 4 ff. Of a man who devoted himself to worship and ascetism it was said that he was like the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ* vi, 146, 20-22. Many of the stories about the pious men of the *Banū Isrāʾīl*— quite a number of which have found their way into *Alf Layla wa-Layla*— can be traced in the Talmud and the Midrashim, such as the beautiful parable about the pious Ḥayy of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, v, 23, which is an almost literal rendering of Babylonian. Talmud, Taʿanīth 23. Cf. ISRĀʾĪLIYYĀT, where also an attempt is made to explain, why pietism was connected with *Banū Isrāʾīl*.

Bibliography:—in the article. See also S. D. Goitein, *The Banū Isrāʾīl and their Controversies, a study on the Qoran* (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* iii, (1932), 410-422; J. Horovitz, *Enc. Jud.* 8, 569 ff. and the literature noted there. (S. D. GOITEIN)

BANŪR, an ancient town (East Pandjāb, India) situated in 30° 34′ N. and 76° 47′ E., 9 miles from Ambālā and 20 miles from Sirhind. The old Sanskrit name was Vahnīyūr which became, during the course of centuries, Banīyūr and finally Banūr. The ruins extend right up to Čhat [*q.v.*] (another ancient town, now in ruins) 4 miles away. It was first mentioned by Bābur when it was, and still continues to be, famous for its white jasmine flowers and the otto distilled from them.

Another ancient name of Banūr, according to tradition, was Pushpā Nagarī or Pushpāwatī (lit. city of flowers) but it bears no resemblance to its present name. During the rule of the Sayyid dynasty (817-55/1414-51) the town seems to have gained in importance and even just before the establishment of Pākistān (1947) was peopled mainly by *sayyids* who, like the *sayyids* of Bilgrām, trace their descent to Abū ʾl-Faraḥ of Wāsiṭ, said to have migrated to India after Hūlāgū's sack of Baghdād (656/1258). The tomb of Malik Sulaymān Khān, father of the Sayyid ruler Khaḍir Khān (817-24/1414-21) existed till 1947 when the local Muslims migrated *en masse* to Pākistān. Sayyid Ādam al-Banūrī, [*q.v.*] (d. Madina, 1053/1643) one of the leading *khulafāʾ* of Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] was a native of this town. It was overrun early in the 12th/18th century by the Sikh adventurer Banda Bayrāgī, and passed into the possession of the Singhpūriyā Sikhs. It was occupied in 1177/1763 by Ālā Singh, the chief of Patiala and remained in the possession of his descendants till 1956 when the State was eventually merged into the new province of East Pandjāb. It was defended by two forts, Mughal and Sikh, which are still extant as ruins.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

AL-**BANŪRĪ**, MUʿIZZ AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH ĀDAM B. S. ISMĀʿĪL, one of the premier *khulafāʾ* of Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*], was a native of Banūr [*q.v.*]. He claimed descent from Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*], but it was disputed on the ground that his grandmother belonged to the Mashwānī tribe of the Afghāns and he too lived and dressed after the fashion of the Afghāns. His *nasab* was again questioned when in 1052/1642 he was in Lahore accompanied by 10,000 of his disciples, mostly Afghāns, by ʿAllāmī Saʿd Allāh Khān Chinyōtī, the chief Minister of Shāhdjahān, and by ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkōtī [*q.v.*], who had been deputed by the Emperor to ascertain from the saint the reason of his visit to Lahore in the company of such a large force. Not satisfied with the explanation of the *Shaykh*, the emperor ordered him to quit Lahore, go back to Banūr and proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca and al-Madīna.

During the early years of his life he served in the Intelligence branch of the Imperial army but gave up service after some years having felt a strong urge to take up a life of piety and spirituality. He first became a disciple of Ḥādjdjī Khiḍr Rūghānī Buhlūlpūrī and on his advice later contracted his *bayʿa* with Aḥmad Sirhindī. During the transition period he visited a number of places including Multān, Ambāla, Pānīpat, Shahābād, Sirhind, Lahore and Sāmāna in search of derwishes and mystics.

There are conflicting statements in the *Nikāt al-Asrār*, a collection of his *malfūẓāt*, and the *Manāḳib al-Ḥaḍarāt*, his authentic biography, regarding his educational attainments. While the *Nikāt* describes him as an "*ummī ʿāmmī*" the *Manāḳib* records that he read primary books like the *Mīzān al-Ṣarf* and *Munshaʿib* with Mullā Ṭāhir Lāhawrī, a well-known scholar of his days. His military assignment, however, suggests that he was fairly well educated.

He died at al-Madīna on Friday, Shawwal 13, 1053/December 25, 1643 and was buried in al-Baḳīʿ near the tomb of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. During his life-time he wielded great influence and at the time of his death more than 400,000 persons owed spiritual

allegiance to him. His meagre religious education, rigid attitude and contempt for State dignitaries was constantly criticised, but he remained steadfast in his mission and won over to his side both scholars and laymen like Muḥammad Amīn Badak͟hs͟hī, ʿAbd K͟hālik̤ Ḳaṣūrī, S͟hayk͟h Abū Naṣr Ambālawī, his brother Masʿūd and S͟hayk͟h Muḥammad also of Ambāla. Among his *khulafāʾ* are counted more than a hundred persons, including Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd Allāh of Akbarābād, spiritual guide of S͟hah ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, father of Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*[and Sayyid ʿAlam Allāh, one of the ancestors of Aḥmad Barēlwī [*q.v.*].

An incidental reference in the *Nikāt al-Asrār* reveals that he was 46 when the book, as internal evidence shows, was compiled during his sojourn in the Ḥid͟jāz in 1052-3/1642-3. This means that he was born c. 1005-6/1506-7. His youngest son, Muḥammad Muḥsin, was born at Gwalior in 1052/1642, while he was on his way to Mecca, a fact which further supports the view that he died at no very advanced age.

He is the author of: i) *Nikāt al-Asrār*, dealing with abstruse mystical problems and their *Ṣūfic* exposition, interspersed with personal experiences of the author in the spiritual field and casual biographical references; ii) *K͟hulāṣat al-Maʿārif* (in 2 vols.) is more or less a continuation of the former. The entire work is in Persian and is still in MS. He is also the author of a commentary on *al-Fātiḥa* which forms the first part of the *Natāʾid͟j al-Ḥaramayn*, compiled by Muḥammad Amīn Badak͟hs͟hī, who claims to have lived for fifty years in the Hed͟jaz and also accompanied Ādam al-Banūrī on his pilgrimage to the holy cities.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BANYAR, a confederation of South Arabian tribes, mainly Banū ʿĀmir, Banū Yūb (Ayyūb), Āl ʿAzzān and Āl ʿUmar, living north of Kawr ʿAwd͟hilla (cf. art. ʿAwd͟halī) in al-Ḍāhir, Mark͟ha and Wādī Maʿfarī (also called W. Banyar). The Banyar once belonged to the Sultanate of al-Raṣṣāṣ in Miswara; their chief town is al-Bayḍāʾ [cf. art. BAYḤĀN]. Here is the residence of the common head (*ʿāḳil*) of all Banyar, while the Banū Yūb in the north are said to have an *ʿāḳil* of their own in al-Fars͟ha. The Banyar territory corresponds, roughly speaking, to that of the MḌḤY in inscriptions (cf. art. Maḏḥḥid͟j).

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(O. Löfgren)

BANZART, (Bizerta), a town on the Northern coast of Tunisia. It stands on the site of the ancient town of Hippo Diarrytus, the memory of which is perpetuated in the modern name. Phoenician, Carthaginian, Roman and Byzantine in succession, it was taken by Muʿāwiya b. Hudayd͟j in 41/661 and again occupied, simultaneously with Carthage, by Ḥasan b. Nuʿmān. In the 4th/10th century, it is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawḳal as the capital of the province of Saṭfūra (north of Tunis), although at the time it was practically deserted and in ruins. It recovered from this decline. In the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī speaks of the stone wall surrounding the town, as well as of its great mosque, bazaars, baths and gardens. Fish is cheaper there than elsewhere. The lake (*buḥayra*) offers wonderful fishing, different kinds of fish stocking it in turn. Not far from the roadstead, called the *Marsā al-kubba*, and from the town, there are some forts (*Ḳilāʿ Banzart*), which served as a *ribāṭ*, a place of retirement for men of piety and a refuge for the local people, when they feared a Christian landing.

Following the invasion of the nomadic Hilāl and the abandonment of al-Ḳayrawān by the Zīrid sultan al-Muʿizz, Banzart became virtually independent; soon, however, it was forced to pay tribute exacted by the Arabs holding the countryside, as a guarantee against being pillaged by them. Taking advantage of the rivalries which reft the population, the Arab chieftain al-Ward al-Lak͟hmī entered Banzart and there set himself up as the ruler. He endowed his capital with the requisite institutions and made the town relatively prosperous. His son succeeded him and the Banu ʾl-Ward dynasty continued in Banzart until the Almohad invasion (554/1159). The seventh of this line, the amīr ʿĪsā, made his submission to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin.

At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, Banzart was occupied by the Banū G͟hāniya Almoravids and from that time entered on a decline, confirmed at the beginning of the 16th century by Leo Africanus. However, it received some Muslim emigrants from Spain, who founded the "suburb of the Andalusians" and, like all ports of the Barbary coast, it turned its attention to privateering. Having repudiated the authority of the Hafṣids of Tunis, in 240/1534 it submitted to K͟hayr al-Dīn, the master of Algiers. Charles V took it in the following year and it remained in the hands of the Spaniards until 280/1572. Banzart having once again become a Turkish town, its corsairs became an ever increasing danger. Their depredations provoked reprisals on the part of the Christian powers, namely naval expeditions by the Knights of Malta and bombardments, that of 1122/1785 by the Venetians almost completely destroying the town. The suppression of privateering and the

silting up of the harbour brought about Banzart's ruin. Bizerta, now no more than a wretched village, was taken by the French in 1881. Considerable works were undertaken, which made it a great port, accessible to the largest ships, equipped with a military arsenal and defended by modern forts.

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(G. Marçais)

BĀʾOLĪ, Urdū and Hindī word for step-well, of which there are two main types in India, the northern and the western. The northern variety is the simpler, consisting essentially of one broad flight of stone steps running from ground level to below the waterline, the whole width of the site; subsidiary flights may run opposite and at right angles to these below water-level, thus constricting the cistern itself into successively smaller squares, and these may be supplemented by cross-flights reducing the final cross-sectional area of the cistern to an octagon. The sides other than that composed of the main flight are vertical, of stone or, less commonly, of brick. The whole site is usually rectangular—the *bāʾolī* outside the Buland darwāzā at Fatehpur [*sic*] Sīkrī, associated with Shaykh Salim Čishtī is a notable exception, the nature of the terrain having made an irregular polygon the only shape possible—with apparently no consistency in orientation: *e.g.*, the *bāʾolī* at the *dargāh* of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyya, near Humāyūn's tomb, Delhi, runs north and south in alignment with the shrine, while that at the *dargāh* of Khwādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Mahrawlī, near Lālkot, Old Delhi, runs east-west and is not aligned with any major structure. Such *bāʾolīs* are functional structures, from which water may be drawn and in which ablutions may be carried out, and into which men dive, often from a height of 20 metres, to recover alms cast in by pilgrims. They are usually unadorned, but often of a monumental beauty on account of their size: *e.g.*, that of Niẓām al-Dīn is 37.4 m. long by 16.2 m. broad, and some 20 m. deep from ground level to average water-level.

Bāʾolīs are found at the principal shrines associated with Čishtī *pīrs*; besides the examples already noted, a fine rock-cut *baʾolī* is at the *dargāh* of Shaykh Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī at Ajmer. The reason for this particular association is not clear. Other *bāʾolīs*, smaller but of similar type, are not uncommon at other Islamic sites in N. India, concerning which there is no reason to suppose any Čishtī connexion. Pre-Islamic examples are not recorded.

The western variety, generally known by the Gudjarātī word *vāv*, is of high artistic and architectural merit as well as functional; it is more elaborate than its northern counterpart, consisting of two parts: a vertical circular or octagonal shaft, from which water may be drawn up as from an ordinary well, and a series of galleries connected by flights of steps, with pillared landings on the lower galleries supporting the galleries above; passages from each landing run to the shaft, where there are frequently chambers which form a cool retreat in the hot season. Such structures are known in Gudjarāt from pre-Muslim times: Mātā Bhavānī's *vāv* near Aḥmadābād, the best preserved Hindū prototype, is probably 11th century A.D. (Burgess, *ASWI*, viii, 1-3); Bāī Ḥarīr's *vāv* in Aḥmadābād, which bears a Sanskṛit inscription of A.D. 1499 and an Arabic one of 8 Djumādā I 906/30 Nov. 1500, has ornament very similar to that of the tracery in the niches of the minarets of local mosques. The *vāv* at Adāladj (*ibid.*, 10-13) is cruciform, with three main flights down to the first landing. Other *vāvs* occur scattered throughout Gudjarāt from Barawdā (Baroda) northwards; one of these, at Māndvā on the left bank of the Vātruk, is of peculiar construction, having a brick circular shaft with chambers in three storeys on one side reached by spiral stairs within the wall of the shaft itself.

The northern *bāʾolīs* are not dated; that at the *dargāh* of Niẓām al-Dīn is said (Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Athār al-Ṣanādīd*, Lucknow edition 1900, 42) to have been built by the Shaykh (636-725/1238-1325) himself, and it is probable that other examples date from the same approximate period.

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(J. Burton-Page)

BĀONĪ, formerly a petty Muslim state in the Bundelkhand Agency of Central India, is now administered as part of Madhya Pradesh (area: 122 square miles; population: 25, 256, of which only 12% are Muslims). Its rulers were descended from ʿImād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-Dīn, the grandson of Āṣaf Djāh, the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād. About 1784 Ghāzī al-Dīn came to terms with the Marāthās who granted him a *djāgīr* of 52 villages, the name Bāonī being derived from *bāwan* (fifty-two). This grant was later recognised by the British. Because of his loyalty during the 1857 revolt, the nawāb was granted a *sanad* 1862 guaranteeing the succession. In 1884 the nawāb ceded lands for the Betwā canal and received the usual compensation. There is little else of historical importance to record.

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(C. Collin Davies)

AL-BĀRA, place in northern Syria, belonging to what is called the region of the "dead towns", in the centre of the limestone plateau, some fifteen kms. west of the important township of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. In the Middle Ages, as attested by the Arabic and Western texts, it served as a fortified cathedral town and its site is still marked today by extensive ruins, among which the modern villages of al-Kafr and al-Bāra (names corresponding to the ancient Greek and Syriac terms, *Kapropēra* and KPR'D BRT') rise on both sides of a *wādī*. In bygone days, local trade as well as the olive oil and wine industries ensured the growth of this "town of Apamea, situated between the two dominant massifs of the Djabal Zāwiya, at a point which had to be passed through" (G. Tchalenko) and, in the Byzantine period, contained a complex assembly of churches, monasteries and living quarters. It continued to flourish

after the Arab conquest. But at the time of the Crusades, it was coveted from many sides, being taken in succession by Tancred and Raymond of Saint-Gilles in 492/1098, reconquered by Riḍwān in 496/1102, then left to the Franks by the treaty of 514/1120, to be reoccupied in 516/1123 by Balak and again by Nūr al-Dīn in 543/1148. Sorely tried by these struggles and by the ravages of the Turkomāns, it declined in the 6th/12th century, and thenceforth no longer appeared in the lists given by the Arab geographers. The importance of its medieval fortress, known under the name of Ḳalʿat Abī Safyān (see ABŪ SAFYĀN), has already been noted but other remains, inscriptions and small mosques likewise bear witness to its persistent vitality at the beginning of the 5th/11th century when, from various indications, it has been concluded that its Muslim population were for the most part S͟hīʿīs.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

AL-**BARĀʾ** B. ʿĀZIB B. AL-ḤĀRIT͟H AL-AWSĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ, a Companion of the Prophet. He was too young to take part in the Battle of Badr, but he accompanied Muḥammad on numerous other expeditions and later took part in the wars of conquest; he brought Rayy and Ḳazwīn under Muslim dominion. He later espoused the cause of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and fought under his banner at the Battle of the Camel [see AL-D͟JAMAL], at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], and at al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*]; the famous *ḥadīt͟h* of G͟hadīr K͟humm [*q.v.*] was related on his authority. After his retirement to Kūfa, he lost his sight towards the end of his life, and died about 72/691-2.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-**BARĀʾ** B. MAʿRŪR, a Companion of the Prophet. Among the seventy-five proselytes who appeared at the ʿAḳaba in the summer of 622 at the pilgrims' festival to enter into alliance with the Prophet, the aged S͟hayk͟h al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr of K͟hazrad͟j was one of the most important, and when Muḥammad declared he wished to make a compact with them that they should protect him as they would their wives and children, al-Barāʾ seized his hand, promised him protection in the name of all present, and sealed the compact. In the same assembly, the so-called second ʿAḳaba, twelve men were chosen as preliminary representatives (*naḳīb*) of the new community in Yat͟hrib, and on this occasion al-Barāʾ was appointed chief of the Banū Salima. He is also famous in the history of Islām, for having changed the direction of praying, even before Muḥammad, by turning towards the sanctuary of Mecca. When Muḥammad reproved him, saying that Jerusalem was the true *ḳibla*, he obeyed him, but on his deathbed ordained that his corpse should be turned towards Mecca. He died in Medīna in Ṣafar, a month before Muḥammad's arrival there, after bequeathing to the Prophet one third of his estate.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii, Part 2, 146 ff.; Ibn His͟hām, i, 294 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 1217 ff.; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ii, 76-78; idem, *Usd al-G͟hāba*, i, 173 ff.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 89; Caetani, *Annali*, index. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

BĀRA SAYYIDS, the descendants of Sayyid Abu 'l-Faraḥ of Wāsiṭ near Bag͟hdād, who with his twelve sons emigrated to India in the 7th/13th century and settled in four villages near Patiāla in the *sarkār* of Sirhand in the *ṣūba* of Dihlī. The four main branches of the family were named after these four villages. Sayyid Dāʾūd settled in Tihanpūr; Sayyid Abu 'l-Faḍl in Čhatbanūr or Čhatrauri; Sayyid Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil in Kūndlī; and Sayyid Naẓm al-Dīn Ḥusayn in Jagner or Jhajari. From this area they later migrated into the Muẓaffarnagar district of the Ganges-Jumna *doāb*. The Kundlīwāl branch settled in Majhera; the Čhatbanūrī branch near Sambalhera; the Jagnerī branch in Bidaulī and Patri; and the Tihanpūrī branch in Dhāsrī and Kumhera.

The derivation of the term *bārha* is uncertain. Some derive it from *bāhir* (outside), because the Sayyids, disgusted with the debaucheries of the Mīna *bāzār* at Dihlī, preferred to live outside the city. Others derive it from the fact that the Sayyids, being S͟hīʿīs, were followers of the twelve (*bāra*) Imāms. The authors of the *Tabaḳāt-i Akbarī* and the *Tuzūk-i D͟jahāngīrī* derive the name from the twelve villages in which they settled in the district of Muẓaffarnagar. This is the most probable explanation. The contention of H. M. Elliott and M. Elphinstone that one of the Sayyid settlements was named Bāra has been shown to be incorrect (see W. Irvine, in *JASB* 1896, 175).

Sayyid settlements in the district of Muẓaffarnagar can be traced back to the middle of the 8th/14th century. From the reign of Akbar onwards the Bāra Sayyids took part in every important campaign and became renowned for their courage. The Tihanpūrī branch was the most important. To this branch belong the famous Sayyid brothers, Ḥasan ʿAlī and Ḥusayn ʿAlī, the king-makers of the first two decades of the 18th century. They rose to prominence in the service of ʿAẓīm al-S͟hān, the son of Muʿaẓẓam al-Dīn who became the emperor Bahādur S͟hāh. For their gallantry at the battle of Jājau (1707), which gave the throne to the father of their patron, the elder brother, Ḥasan ʿAlī, afterwards known as ʿAbd Allāh K͟hān, was entrusted with the government of Allāhābād and the younger brother with that of Patna. On the death of Bahādur S͟hāh in 1712, distrustful of the power of their enemies at Dihlī, they overthrew D͟jahāndār S͟hāh and replaced him by Farruk͟h-siyar. As his ministers they enjoyed the highest dignities that the emperor could confer. ʿAbd Allāh K͟hān was appointed *wazīr* of the empire with the title of Ḳuṭb al-Mulk. Ḥusayn ʿAlī became first *bak͟hs͟hī* with the title of *amīr al-umarā*. They are generally given the credit for being the first to abolish the *d͟jizya* after the death of Awrangzīb, but the latest researches disclose that they were merely continuing the policy already introduced by the *wazīr* D͟hu 'l-Fiḳār K͟hān (see *Jizyah in the Post-Aurangzeb Period* by S. Chandra, in *Proceedings of*

the Indian History Congress, Ninth Session, 320-326). Farru**kh**-siyar was an ingrate who plotted against his benefactors. His efforts came to naught and eventually, in the seventh year of his reign, he was deposed, blinded, and finally executed by the infuriated Sayyids. The Sayyids next raised two miserable puppets to the throne, Rafīʿ al-Daradjāt and Rafīʿ al-Dawla, both of whom were consumptive youths who died in the year 1719. In the same year the Sayyids crowned Muḥammad Shāh as Emperor. The administration of the six Deccan provinces was entrusted to Ḥusayn ʿAlī, the younger Sayyid brother, but he was soon recalled to Dihlī by ʿAbd Allāh, whose position was being undermined by court conspiracies in which the Emperor was involved. It was at this juncture that Niẓām al-Mulk, leader of the Turānī nobles and for that reason opposed to Sayyid predominance at Dihlī, deemed it advisable to abandon Mālwā, of which he was governor, and establish himself in the Deccan. This naturally alarmed the Sayyids who took immediate steps to coerce him, but before their forces had marched many miles beyond Āgra, Ḥusayn ʿAlī was assassinated and in a very short time ʿAbd Allāh was overthrown by a powerful combination of Turānī and Īrānī nobles at Dihlī. This took place in 1720. In 1737 the descendants of the two brothers were slaughtered or dispersed when the Rohillas sacked Jansath. From this date their power rapidly declined. After the establishment of British paramountcy many Sayyids returned to their former villages only to fall victims to the wily money-lenders.

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BĀRĀ WAFĀT is a term used in India and Pakistan for the 12th day of Rabīʿ I, observed as a holy day in commemoration of the death of the prophet Muḥammad. It is compounded of *bārā* (in Urdū = twelve) and *wafāt*, death. On this day, portions of the Ḳur'ān (*Sūra Fātiḥa*) and other works in praise of the Prophet's excellences are read in private houses and mosques, and sweet dishes are prepared, partaken of and also given away along with fruit as alms. Most of the ceremonies described in Herklots' *Islam in India* in connexion with Bārā Wafāt are now things of the past. It is now a day of rejoicing rather than mourning for the Muslims, who consider 12th Rabīʿ I at the same time as the birthday of the Prophet. As such it is known as ʿĪd Milād al-Nabī and is observed as a public holiday in Pakistan.

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(Sh. Inayatullah)

BARĀ'A. I. — This substantive is derived from the Arabic root *b r '*, which is frequently used to denote the general idea of "release, exemption" (from a duty, from an accusation—therefore "innocence"—, from risk, from responsibility), a meaning to be found repeatedly in the Ḳur'ān. With this is connected the notion of "freedom from disease, cure", which is equally expressed by this root in classical Arabic. There is undoubtedly good reason to distinguish, as a borrowing from North-Semitic, the meaning, also Ḳur'ānic, of "create", when speaking of God (Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 76).

The word *barā'a* itself occurs twice in the sacred book. In Sūra liv, 43, it means without doubt "immunity, absolution". On the other hand its interpretation, when it occurs as the first word of Sūra ix (and one of the titles given to this Sūra) is a matter of some difficulty: "*Barā'at*un of Allāh and his prophet towards those polytheists with whom you have concluded a treaty". The following verse, which accepts a sacred truce of four months, might give rise to the supposition that the reference here is to an immunity. But the traditional interpretation explains this *barā'a* on the basis of verses 3-5, according to which Allah and his prophet will be "unbound" (*barī'*) in regard to the unbelievers, whom the Muslims will then be able to kill with impunity (see the translation and notes of Blachère). The *barā'a*, refers then to the "breaking of the ties"—the religious and social ties—, a kind of dissociation or excommunication, the dire consequences of which are exactly the opposite of an immunity. *Barī'*, indeed, is the term used for a person or persons who have broken off all relations with an individual or a group, mainly with fellow-tribesmen; the term *barā'a* enters into those phrases which mean "to exile or to remove from the protection of the law" (for the *tabri'a*, an Ibāḍī penal sanction, see below), and the *yamīn al-barā'a* is the oath, condemned by the *ḥadīth* (notably Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, no. 3258), but still in evidence today, by which a person renounces on his own behalf, if he should swear falsely, adherence to Islam or the protection of God. The Shīʿīs advocate the "repudiation" (*barā'a*) of the enemies of ʿAlī and his descendants. as opposed to the "attachment" due to this line; *contra* the whole practice of *barā'a-walāya*, see the condemnation of the Ḥanbalī school *apud* H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 162. The evil implications of the *barā'a*, thus understood, justify, in the view of certain Muslim scholars, the exceptional absence of *basmala* at the begining of Sūra ix.

In legal terminology, *barā'at al-dhimma*, or simply *barā'at* is the "absence of obligation". *Bayʿ al-barā'a*, for example, is the sale without guarantee wherein the seller is freed from any obligation in the event of the existence, in the sale-object, of such a defect as would normally allow the sale to be rescinded (see Santillana, *Instituzioni*, ii, 149, for a striking resemblance of formulae in this regard between Muslim Egypt and Christian Tuscany). Hence the term *tabri'a* is variously used for all sorts of declaratory or constitutive acts which absolve from responsibility. One may cite the *tebriya* of the present-day Moroccan Bedouin. This is an "indemnity paid by the parents of the murderer to those of the victim for continuing to live within the tribe" (Loubignac, *Textes arabes des Zaër*, Paris 1952, 359); see the similar use of *barā'a* < *barāh* noted in the Bethlehem region (Haddād, in *ZDPV*, 1917, 233).

The following derived technical terms may be noted here.

1. *Mubāra'a*: a form of divorce by mutual agreement where husband and wife free themselves by a reciprocal renunciation of all rights (Bergsträsser-Schacht, *Grundzüge*, 85; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 272; cf. Averroes, *Bidāya*, ed. Cairo 1935, ii, 66, who gives an accurate definition by way of comparison with some similar forms of *ṭalāḳ*).

2. *Istibrā'* or "confirmation of emptiness", with two quite distinct connotations: a) temporary abstention from sex-relations with a slave-girl, in order to verify that she is not pregnant, on the occasion of her transfer to a new master or a change in her circumstances [see ʿABD], and b) an action of the left hand designed to empty completely the urethra, before the cleaning of the orifices or *istind̲j̲ā'* which must follow satisfaction of the natural needs (*LA*, i, 25; Abu 'l-Ḥasan on the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd, ed. Cairo 1930, i, 144).

Proceeding now to the general theory of law as found in the classical works, the notion of *barā'a* is there to be found in the maxim, generally accepted by orthodoxy and vindicated by As̲h̲ʿarī doctrine: *al-aṣl barā'at al-d̲h̲imma*, "the basic principle is freedom from obligation". This means, according to the standpoint one adopts: "The only obligations to which man is subject are those defined by God", or: "In the absence of proof to the contrary the natural presumption is freedom from obligation or liability".

In its first sense this *barā'a aṣliyya* embodies a theological notion: it contradicts the Muʿtazilite thesis which is founded upon the rationality of the legal values (*aḥkām*) of a certain number of human acts, and which holds that, before the promulgation of the revealed law, all those other acts which do not admit of a rationalist assessment are all illicit (according to some) or all permissible (according to others) or unqualified (according to a third group). See G̲h̲azālī, *Mustaṣfā*, ed. Cairo 1937, i, 40-42, 127-132; or better: Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, ed. Cairo 1914, i, 130-135. Both these works refute the Muʿtazilite thesis. But for almost the totality of the orthodox scholars (two exceptions are indicated, for the Mālikīs, by Bād̲j̲ī, *Is̲h̲ārāt*, ed. Tunis 1351 A.H., 123, 130-131;—the work of Lapanne-Joinville in *Travaux Semaine Intern. Droit musulman*, Paris 1952, 85, calls for certain corrections), the legal values are based, absolutely and exclusively, upon tne revealed law; before this law and outside it, human acts have no *ḥukm*; and this kind of fundamental indifference, which must not be confused with permissibility, denies the notion of any obligation.

In its second sense, which, however, the authors do not attempt to distinguish from the first (the confusion is obvious in the S̲h̲āfiʿī and Ḥanafī works entitled *al-As̲h̲bāh wa 'l-Naẓā'ir*: Suyūṭī, ed. Cairo 1936, 39, Ibn Nud̲j̲aym, ed. Cairo 1298 A.H., 29), the *barā'a aṣliyya*, whether combined or not with the principle of the "continuance of facts" (*istiṣḥāb ḥāl*), comes to support in theory innumerable solutions—whether strict legal rules or legal presumptions—throughout the whole field of *fiḳh* (Lapanne-Joinville, *op. cit.*, 82-88; Brunschvig, in *Studi ... Levi Della Vida*, i, 75).

However, the word *barā'a* has been increasingly employed in a concrete sense to denote written documents of various kinds (pl. *barā'āt* or *barawāt*) by virtue of a semantic development which starts from the idea of "discharge", or doubtless, to be more precise, "financial, administrative discharge" (K̲h̲wārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, ed. Cairo 1930, 37; Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, Copenhagen 1950, 159; Spuler, *Iran in frühislam. Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 338, -458). This first sense is to be found, in the context of transactions concerning customs duties, in the treaties concluded with the Christian powers since the Middle Ages, notably by the Ḥafṣids (14th-15th centuries); the Latin or Roman versions have: *albara*, or *arbara* (Mas-Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce*, Paris 1866-72: refer to the glossary). Equally, one can see there the sense of "official licence" which the word had come to acquire. It was by now quite readily applied to what we would term a "licence, certificate, diploma", to various written documents originating from administrative bodies or addressed to them: for example "a demand for payment or a billeting order", "a passport" (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 63), "a label to be attached by the *amīn*" to a piece of merchandise (Saḳaṭī, *Manuel de Ḥisba*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931, 61), "a request or petition to the sovereign" (Brunschvig, *Berbérie Orientale*, ii, 144, n. 3). The languages of the Iberian peninsula have collected and preserved meanings of the same kind: the Catalian *albará*, the Castillian *albalá*, the Portuguese *alvará*.

Neo-classical Arabic knows the term *barā'at al-tanfīd̲h̲* for the consular *exequatur*, and *barā'at al-t̲h̲iḳa* for the diplomatic "credentials" (the dictionaries of Bercher and Wehr).

In the colloquial Arabic of N. Africa, *barā'a* > *brâ* is widely used, often in the diminutive form *bréyya*, with the meaning of a simple "letter, missive, note", (whence the Berber *brât*, with the same meaning). At Fez, semantic development has led to the name of *bréyya* being given, in Arabic, to a pastry consisting of a pâté enclosed in a pastry-case which is folded in the same way as a letter (Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, *Glossary*, Paris 1952, 40).

Finally we must note the expression, very common in the East, "night of the *barā'a*" (Arabic: *laylat al-barā'a*, Turkish: *berat gecesi*, Persian: *s̲h̲ab-i barāt*) to describe the night of mid-S̲h̲aʿbān, a religious festival (see the paper by H. H. Erdem, *Berat Gecesi hakkında bir tedkik*, Ankara 1953). Here the precise meaning of *barā'a* escapes the author, since none of the explanations offered by traditional interpretation or by Western scholarship are convincing: "immunity" (for those beings whose lot is favourably cast on that night), "revelation" (to Muḥammad of his prophetic mission by the archangel Gabriel), "creation" (of the world: referring to the Hebrew *berī'a*, Plessner, art. RAMAḌĀN in *EI*[1]). It would first be expedient, in order to orientate etymological research, to determine, with such precision as is possible, the antiquity of the expression and the circumstances of its origin, for it is not commonly encountered in the mediaeval texts which deal with the mid-S̲h̲aʿbān celebration.

Under the Ottoman Turks the administrative use of the term was particularly developed in the form *berat* [*q.v.*] (*berāt*), which they distinguished from *berāet*, (*berā'et*).

Bibliography: in the text of the article.

(R. BRUNSCHVIG)

II. — The theme of the *barā'a* was particularly developed by the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ites with their religious zeal and their emphasis on separatism. In opposition to the *wilāya*, which is the dogmatic duty of solidarity and assistance to the Muslim, the *barā'a* was for them the duty to repudiate all those who did not deserve this title. Throughout the heresiologists can be found the particular applications given by

the numerous sects to the principle of *barāʾa*. It is only by means of the Ibāḍī catechists that we can arrive at a direct and full exposition. The oldest text which has come down to us, that of Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Djannāwunī (6th/12th century), imposes on a man who has reached puberty, and is in his right mind, repudiation of a) all the *kāfirūn* of both worlds, living and dead, known or unknown; b) the unjust *imām*; c) those who are censured (*madhmūmūn*) in the Ḳurʾān and acknowledged rebels (*mawṣūfūn bi 'l-maʿṣiya*); d) the man who, personally known, has committed a grave sin.

A decision concerning the children of persons subject to the *barāʾa* was postponed until they attained their majority. The *barāʾa* was cancelled in respect of the sinner who had carried out the *tawba*.

Bibliography: Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Djannāwunī, *Kitāb al-Waḍʿ fi 'l-Furūʿ*, Cairo 1303, 110 ff.; E. Sachau, *Über die religiösen Anschauungen der Ibaditischen Muhammedaner in Oman und Ost-Afrika*, in *MSOS As.* 1899, 67 ff.; A. de Motylinski, *L'Aqida des Abadhites*, in *Rec. XIVᵉ Congr. des Or.*, 409 ff.

(R. Rubinacci)

BARABA, steppe of Western Siberia, situated in the *oblast'* of Novosibirsk of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic, between lat. 54° and 57° North, and bounded on the East and West by the ranges of hills which skirt the banks of the Irtîsh and the Ob'. This steppe, which extends for 117,000 sq. km., has numerous lakes, most of which are salt; the biggest is Lake Čanî. The ground, which is partly marshland, also has some fertile zones, but it is essentially a cattle-rearing region. It has a cold continental climate.

The population (over 500,000 inhabitants in 1949) is unequally distributed; its density, which reaches 6 to 9 inhabitants per sq. km. in the central and southern part, does not exceed 1 to 1.8 in the North. It is made up of a majority of Russian and Ukrainian colonists, with a Tatar minority, some of whom have emigrated from the Volga at a recent period, whilst others are autochthonous.

The latter, whom the Russians call "Baraba Tatars" or *Barabintsî*, form a small community near to the other Tatar groups of Western Siberia (Tobol Tatars, Tümen Tatars [*q.v.*]), which, however, shows signs of disappearing. Their very complex ethnogenesis gives rise to contradictory hypotheses. It appears that they issued from autochthonous Ugrian peoples who became partly turkicised when they made contact with the Turkish tribes who emigrated at the time of the foundation of the Siberian Empire. This turkicisation, which continued during the 16th/17th centuries, was completed in the 19th century with the large-scale influx of Tatar immigrants from the Middle Volga.

From the conquest of the Siberian Empire by the Russians under Ivan IV until the time of Peter the Great, the Baraba steppe separated Russia from the Empire of the Kalmuks. The frontier region contained between the towns of Tara (on the Irtîsh) and Tomsk (to the East of the Ob') was then called "Baraba district" (*Barabinskaya volost'*); the indigenous population, in addition to speaking their own language, spoke Ḳazan Tatar and Kalmuk, and initially paid tribute to the Russians and the Kalmuks, though later to the Russians only. In the 18th century a large number of exiles from European Russia were settled in the Baraba as colonists. At the end of the 19th century, when the Trans-Siberian railway had been built, the steppe was systematically developed with the help of a new wave of Russian and Ukrainian colonists.

The autochthonous Tatar population, which in the 17th century was established in villages, was pushed back at the end of the 18th century towards the sterile zones of the steppe. Since then, its numerical importance has steadily declined. According to the data collected by Radlov in 1865, there were then 4,635 "Baraba Tatars" in existence. At the census taken in 1897, 4,433 were counted and, in 1926, only 39, the remainder having had themselves re-classified as "Kazan Tatars".

The Baraba Tatars at present occupy a small number of villages (wholly Tatar or Tatar-Russian) near the lakes Sabrali, Yurtush and Mangîsh and in the basin of the river Om', especially in the Kuybishev district (formerly Kainsk), along the Trans-Siberian railway.

The islamisation of the Baraba, which commenced in the 10th/16th century with Central Asia (Khwārizm and Bukhārā) continued as the result of the activities of the Tatar merchants and missionaries of Ḳazan, who made their way up the Irtîsh. However, it seems most probable that it was only in the 19th century, after the Ḳazan Tatar colonists had established themselves in Western Siberia, that the majority of the autochthonous Tatars adopted Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī rite.

Radlov saw several old men who remembered their fathers making pagan sacrifices in the manner of the inhabitants of the Altai and being dressed differently from the Muslims.

The Baraba Tatar dialect, which has not been studied much as yet, possesses certain phonetic peculiarities: (*ts* in the place of *č* for example). It has almost entirely given way to Ḳazan Tatar and Russian.

Like the Russians, the Baraba Tatars live by agriculture, stock breeding and fishing; trapping animals for fur has greatly diminished.

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(W. Barthold-[A. Bennigsen])

BARĀBRA (for Barābira; sing. Barbarī): Nubian-speaking Muslims inhabiting the Nile Banks between the First and Third Cataracts. The term includes the Kunūz, Sukkūt and Maḥas. The name Barābra is not commonly used by these peoples of themselves, and is stated by Lane (i, 177, col. 3) to be a late and modern application of the term used by earlier writers for the Berbers of the Maghrib. The Danāḳla [*q.v.*], who live above the Third Cataract, are linguistically and physically allied to the Kunūz but do not regard themselves as Barābra. The territory now inhabited by the Barābra formed the northern part of

the Christian Nubian kingdom of Maḳurra, which entered into treaty-relations with ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd in 31/652. Arab settlement began with a migration of Rabīʿa into the Aswān region in 869. After the defeat of Abū Raḳwa (396/1006), the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim is said to have conferred the title of Kanz al-Dawla on the Shaykh of Rabīʿa at Aswān (al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān wa'l-Iʿrāb ʿammā bi-arḍ Miṣr min al-Aʿrāb*, ed. and tr. F. Wüstenfeld, "*El-Macrizi's Abhandlung über die in Aegypten eingewanderten arabischen Stämme*", *Göttinger Studien*, ii, vii, 434-5, 475, Göttingen 1847), whence the Barābra of the vicinity, resulting from Arab-Nubian intermarriage, are known as Banī Kanz or Kunūz. In the 8th/14th century the kingdom of Maḳurra disintegrated under Arab pressure; intermarriage took place and Islam superseded Christianity. After Selīm I's conquest of Egypt, garrisons of Bosniak troops (locally called Ghuzz) were established at Aswān, Ibrīm and Sāy, while the Barābra territory was placed under a *kāshif*. In spite of intermarriage and the adoption of Nubian speech, the Ghuzz remained a distinct group until the 19th century. In the 18th century the northern Barābra were under the suzerainty of Ḥumām Abū Yūsuf, the powerful *shaykh* of the Hawwāra. On the eve of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's invasion of the Sudan, the Barābra *Kāshiflik* was held jointly by three brothers whose headquarters were at Darr. The Ghuzz enclaves of Aswān, Ibrīm and Sāy were under their own *āghās*. Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī, the founder of the Khatmiyya order, travelled from Aswān to Dunḳulā a few years before Muḥammad ʿAlī's conquest and won many adherents. The poverty of the Barābra territory has been a stimulus to emigration. In the 16th century Maḥasī colonies were formed on the Blue Nile by immigrants who had a reputation as holy men and established Ḳur'ānic schools. From the 18th century travellers have noted the "Berberine" servants in Cairo.

Bibliography: H. A. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, i, 12-34, 155-190 and Index; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949. Both these works contain extensive bibliographical references. The condition of the Barābra in the early 19th century is fully described in J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819. (P. M. Holt)

BARADĀ, referred to by Naʿamān the leper (Kings, ii, 5, 12) by the name of Abana, and by Greek and Latin authors called Chrysorrhoas, is the most important perennial river of the eastern slopes of the Anti-Lebanon. It has determined the site of Damascus and permitted the development of the Ghūṭa.

It owes its existence to the high peaks which dominate the gap between Zabadānī and Sarghāya. At the foot of a limestone cliff over 1,000 m. high, a copious Vauclusian spring forms a vast lake on the Western side of the Zabadānī hollow at the foot of the Djabal Shaykh Manṣūr. It is the overflow from this lake which gives birth to the Baradā, which meanders over the gentle slope of the Zabadānī plain, receiving the waters from many springs in the area. After setting out peacefully on its course, the Baradā turns eastwards, following the axial change of direction of the eastern branch of the Anti-Lebanon. At Takiyya (hydro-electric station), it starts upon its fall. It then assumes the aspect of a racing torrent bounding through an enclosed gorge, the walls of which are formed of pliocene and eocene conglomerates. At Sūḳ Wādī Baradā (ancient Abila) the gorge widens a little and then, 30 km. from its source, ʿAyn Fīdja empties into it. This spring, situated only a few metres above the level of the Baradā, almost doubles the volume of the river. It is an overflow spring with a large and very regular flow of water, welling up in the cretaceous limestone; above the grotto is a Roman temple. At low-water, it brings down 5 cub. m. of water per second and without this influx the Baradā might well dry up during the summer. Part of this spring is harnessed and piped down to provide Damascus with drinking water. Though the Baradā races impetuously towards Damascus, man's intervention checks its impetus and brings it under control. Without the skill of man, the Baradā would have hollowed out a sluggish bed through the centre of the Damascus depression; its valley would have been no more than a narrow ribbon of greenery in the midst of parched steppes, finally loosing itself in swamps. Through the ages, man has diverted the river into successive channels, flowing at different levels parallel to the main bed of the river, before reaching the outskirts of Rabwa. There, at the foot of the Ḳāsyūn, the six main canals, called *nahr*, fan out. By means of manifold ramifications, their waters carry life-giving moisture to the arid land, transforming an area of over 25 km. in length by 15 km. in breadth in the basalt depression of Damascus, filled with marl brought down in the form of deposits by the river, into a fertile oasis. The Baradā, which irrigates nearly 10,000 hectares of orchards and gardens, has pushed back the desert to a distance of 20 km. from the mountains; beyond the Ghūṭa, the Mardj is covered by extensive cultivation and from December to June displays a carpet of green meadows.

Water not absorbed by irrigation passes on towards the steppe where, in a trough devoid of outlet, it becomes stagnant in the marshes of ʿUtayba.

Going downstream the following canals lead out of the Baradā: at Ḥamā, on the left bank, the Nahr Yazīd, of Nabatean origin, restored by the Caliph Yazīd I, goes to swell the Nahr Thawra. At Dummar, on the right bank, N. Mizzāwī carries water to the market-town of Mazza; then, still on the same bank, the Dāranī which supplies Kafar Sūs and Dārayā; after that, on the left bank, the N. Thawra, of Aramaean origin, which by itself irrigates nearly half the oasis. On the threshold of Rabwa, two canals, in the main urban, diverge: the Ḳanawāt, of Roman origin and restored by the Umayyads, swells the older watercourse: the N. Bānās (literary form) or Bāniyās, an Aramaean creation. About 670, Arnulf mentions *magna IV flumina*, which are those existing in 724 under Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik: Yazīd, Thawra, Bānās and Ḳanawāt, and in the 6th/12th century, in Ibn ʿAsākir's time. According to a plan of Damascus prepared by German travellers in 1572, the Baradā is shown as a navigable waterway.

In the town, the Ḳanawāt, the Bānās and the Baradā itself provide water for *ḥammāms*, mosques, fountains and houses (drinking water has only recently been piped from ʿAyn Fīdja) to pass on again into the countrydise. A most ingenious system of irrigation has made possible the creation of an artificial oasis of exceptional fertility. The manifold canals diverted from the Baradā weave a close network watering the villages and the vegetation of the Ghūṭa. The Baradā plays a major rôle, making up for the lack of adequate regular rainfall (Damascus receives only about 200 mm.). It imparts humidity

to the atmosphere, gives rise to the autumnal and and spring mists and renders plant and animal life possible and thus, the human habitat.

Yāḳūt (i, 389) indicates a village with the name of Baradā to the East of Ḥalab. Lammens recognised it as Barad in the Djabal Simʿān. He also indicates (iii, 69) a canal called Baradā, excavated at al-Ramla by the Umayyad Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Madīna Dimashḳ*, *PAAD*, 1951, 145-148; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 378-79; Kurd ʿAlī, *Ghūṭa Dimashḳ*, *PAAD*, 1952, 114-119; P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolumitana*, 276; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, 57-59, 265 f.; Wultzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, 1924, ii, 37; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 1927, 287 f.; R. Tresse, *Irrigation dans la Ghouta de Damas*, in *REI*, 1929, 459-533; L. Dubertret, *L'hydrologie .... de la Syrie et du Liban ...*, in *Rev. Géogr. Phys. et Géol. dyn.*, 1933, vi, 439; J. Sauvaget, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas*, in *REI*, 1934, 427; R. Thoumin, *Géographie humaine de la Syrie Centrale*, 1936, 52-90; M. Ecochard and and Cl. Le Cœur, *Les Bains de Damas*, in *PIFD*, 1942; L. Dubertret, *Aperçu de Géographie Physique sur le Liban, l'Anti-Liban et la Damascène*, *Notes et Mémoires* iv, 1948, 191. (N. Elisséeff)

BARADĀ or BARADĀN, the ancient Cydnus, now Djayhūn, a river rising in Cappadocia, which flows towards the West, irrigates the gardens near Marʿash and those of Ṭarsūs, brings down alluvial deposits to the low-lying plain of Cilicia and empties into the sea on the Western side of the Gulf of Alexandretta. In ancient times, small ships sailed up it as far as Ṭarsūs.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 264; Yāḳūt, i, 389, iii, 526; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 63, 378, 419; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 146-151. (N. Elisséeff)

BARADĀN, a town in ʿIrāḳ in ʿAbbāsid times. According to the Arab geographers it was situated some 15 miles north of Baghdād on the main road to Sāmarrā and at some distance from the east bank of the Tigris, a little above the confluence of the Nahr al-Khāliṣ and the latter. The Khāliṣ canal, a branch of the Nahrawān (or Diyāla) flowed immediately past Baradān. The caliph al-Manṣūr held his court here for a brief period, before he definitely resolved on building a new capital on the site of the modern Baghdād (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 256). There was a bridge in Baghdād, a street and a gate (after this a cemetery also) in the eastern half of the town called after Baradān which was two post stations distant; cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (1900), 360 (index). When the author of the *Marāṣid* made his extract from Yāḳūt (about 700/1300), Baradān was quite desolate and unknown. It is doubtless to be sought for in the present mound of ruins at Badrān, the position of which agrees admirably with the statement of Arab authors. Arab sources suggest that the name Baradān is arabicised from the Persian *barda-dān* ("the place of the prisoners"), which suggests the possibility of a Jewish colony settled here presumably by Nebuchadnezar.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim*; Yāḳūt, i, 551 ff.; *Marāṣid*, *Lex. geogr.* (ed. Juynboll), i, 168; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, ii, 230 ff.; Le Strange, 50; Weil, *Chalifen*, ii, 569; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient* (1861), ii, 311; Černik, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, Erg.-Heft 44, 34, 36*, 38. (M. Streck-[S. H. Longrigg])

BARĀDŪST (Brādust), name of two Kurdish districts. The first in the south, between Ushnū, Rāyat and Rawāndūz, with Kāni Resh as its chief town, perched on a crag, at an altitude of 4,372 feet. In the north it borders on Girdī (Shamdīnān), in the West on Shirwān and in the East on Bilbās. The massif of Ḳandīl (C. J. Edmonds, 244, n.) constitutes the framework of the district. The sources of the Little Zab (Lāven, then Kalu in the Persian section) are situated in this region. The famous Urartu stele of Kel-i Shīn is likewise situated there, on the pass of the same name. There is another Barādūst, called Ṣūmāy Barādūst, lying to the North, between Targavar and Ḳotūr, with Čehrīk Ḳalʿa as the principal residence (B. Nikitine, 79, 263). It was there that Bāb was held before his execution at Tabrīz. The early history of Barādūst is not well known to us. According to M. E. Zakī (*Taʾrīkh*, 388, 389), the founders of this principality were the Ḥasanwayhids (348-406/959-1015) in the person of Nāṣir al-Dawla Badr and his three sons. Ghāzī Ḳirān b. Sulṭān Aḥmad was the most famous *amīr* of this line. At the outset he opposed Shāh Ismāʿīl, but subsequently his relations with him improved. The Shāh bestowed the *laḳab* of Ghāzī Ḳirān on him and gave him the districts of Targavar, Ṣūmāy and Dūl as an *iḳṭāʿ*. Thus it was that this valiant *amīr* remained independent as regards internal affairs until the famous battle of Čāldirān (920/1514), after which, like others of the Kurdish *amīrs*, he rallied to the Ottoman sultan. The latter recognised his worth and gave him numerous districts, *nawāḥi*, in the *wilāyets* of Arbil, Baghdād and Diyārbakr. The amirate of Ṣūmāy was founded by Shāh Muḥammad Bek b. Ghāzī Ḳirān, whose descendants ruled it down to the extinction of this branch. In 395/1005, the *amīr* of Ṣūmāy was called Awliyā Bek. As for Targavar, the *amīrs* of this branch likewise derived from the Barādūst tribe. Sharaf Khān says that Nāṣir Bek b. Khārīn Bek b. Shaykh Ḥasan was *amīr* of this region in his time (10th/16th century). The *amīr* Khān Yakdas was the most famous representative of this branch. He had defended himself in the fortress of Dimdim, which became one of the main themes of Kurdish folklore. He was *amīr* at the beginning of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I, against whom he revolted, shutting himself up inside the fortress. These events took place in 1017. Among the other Kurdish chieftains of Barādūst, may be mentioned in the south Fayḍ Allāh Bey, referred to by Layard (373, 374), and Yūsif Bek, who made himself famous by his fight against Mīr Muḥammad of Shamdīnān. In spite of their being bound by an agreement, he killed him treacherously, whence is derived the saying "*Barādūst bir ay dūst*". (Barādūst friend of a month ...). In the north, there was Ṣādiḳ Khān, who played a rôle in the accession of the Ḳādjār dynasty. Later, he rose against Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1211/1796). Closer to us in time, Ismāʿīl Agha Ṣīmḳo ʿAbdoy must be mentioned, well known during and on the morrow of the first world war on the Russo-Turkish front and in ʿIrāḳ. In February 1918, Ṣīmḳo lured the Nestorian Patriarch Benyamīn Mār Shimʿūn into a trap and had him assassinated. For a while, Ṣīmḳo remained master of the whole region West of Lake Urmiya, but in 1922 a Persian punitive expedition expelled him from the region. He sought refuge near Rawāndūz and a few years later tried to return to Persia and re-establish his position, but was killed near Ushnū (C. J. Edmonds, 252, 305, 313, 315, 365). Among the main tribes of Barādūst, that which bore this

name has lost its importance. At present, the Bālakī tribe is the most powerful in the South, numbering some ten thousand families. Their territory in the massif of Ḳandīl is difficult of access. Its centre is the township of Rāyat. Formerly, the amīr Sohrān was dominant there; it was his custom to take a man from each family to incorporate in his army. When Sohrān's line died out, the tribe regained its independence, which it still retains down to the present time (1956). Its present chief is ʿAzīz Bek (M. E. Zakī, *Khulāṣa*, 392). In the north, the Shiḳāḳ constitute the main tribe, who number some 2,000 families (M. E. Zakī, *Khulāṣa*, 413). According to the *Taʾrīkh-i Djewdet*, quoted by M. E. Zakī (*ibid.*, 238), both they and the Ḥaydarānlū shared a common origin. Their original habitat was in the neighbourhood of Mayyāfāriḳīn.

Bibliography: H. C. Rawlinson, *Notes on a journey through Persian Kurdistan*, in *JRGS*, x, 20; Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon*, London 1853, 373-374; Binder, *Voyage au Kurdistan*, 1887, 103; F. Millingen, *Wild Life among the Kurds*, 1870, 345 ff.; O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri Kurden*, 1906, ii, 1-4, 19-48 (Dimdim), 24 n. 17 (Kani Resh); Westarp, *Unter Halbmond u. Sonne*, 1912, 211-225; M. E. Zakī, *Taʾrīkh al-Duwal ... al-Kurdiyya*, Cairo 1945; *Khulāṣat Taʾrīkh al-Kurd*, Baghdād 1936, 200-206 (Dimdim); C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks, Arabs*, OUP 1957; *Folklora Kyrmanca*, Erivan 1936, 567-578 (Dimdim); Erivan 1957, 106-125 (Dimdim); B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 1956, 79, 80, 263 (Čehrīḳ Ḳalʿa). (B. Nikitine)

BARĀHIMA (Brahmans). The Arabs' knowledge of the Brahmans and Brahmanism was, with the exception of al-Bīrūnī, very scanty (probably their acquaintance with Buddhists, called Sumaniyya —cf. the term *Ṣamanaioi* applied to them by later Greeks like Alexander Polyhistor—was more direct since these were spread in Persia and eastern ʿIrāḳ). In Muslim theological works, the doctrine most persistently attributed—from Ibn Ḥazm to Tahānawī (in his *Dictionary of Technical Terms*)—to the Brahmans is a denial of Prophecy. The accounts given in Ibn Ḥazm and al-Shahrastānī are probably versions of the same argument. According to the former, the Brahmans say that if God wanted to lead people aright through the prophets, why does He not compel the reason of each individual to the truth?. According to the latter, they base their denial of prophecy on the self-sufficiency of the human reason. Al-Bīrūnī (ed. Sachau, 51-2) says that the Hindus deny the need of prophets in connexion with the Law and Ritual which they regard as having been established once and for all by the Rishīs, their wise and holy men,—but affirm their need for the spiritual weal of mankind at special times when evil becomes rampant.

As for the derivation of the word Brahman, Ibn Ḥazm says that they claim descent from an ancient king called Barahmī (or Barhamī); al-Masʿūdī thinks they have descended from Brahman, a king who, with the help of sages, founded the Hindu religion, astronomy and other sciences. Al-Bīrūnī refers to the Hindu myth that the Brahmans have originated from the head of Brāham (or Brāhim) which signifies Nature and that they are thus regarded as the choicest part of mankind. Tahānawī, *op. cit.*, asserts that they claim descent from Ibrāhīm, the Prophet, a doctrine which possibly reflects a much later Hindu opinion which wanted to claim this Judaic-Christian-Islamic figure as its own.

The only authentic source is undoubtedly al-Bīrūnī, who, although he wrote his work in Ghazna (about 1030 A.D.), had stayed in the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent, learnt Sanskrit, translated many works from that language and had acquired an intimate knowledge of Hindu philosophy, religion, law, literature, society and sciences, such as astronomy. In the preface he complains that no reliable work on Hindu India existed, that even Abuʾ l-ʿAbbās al-Īrānshahrī who had written accurately about Judaism and Christianity had failed to do so with regard to Hinduism and that he himself undertook to write this work at the instigation of his master Abū Sahl ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿAlī b. Nūḥ. (Al-Masʿūdī mentions the works of Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī and al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī). Al-Bīrūnī first narrates the difficulties which beset a foreign student: the difficulty and artificiality of the written Sanskrit, the utter difference between Hinduism and Islam and the almost total social Hindu taboos against foreigners, etc. Then follow six sections on Hindu Religion and Metaphysics and so on. The author gives a detailed description of the manners of the Brahmans their way of life, etc.

In the works of Muslim travellers in India it is usually the *Yogis*, their practices and way of life that gains prominence; there is little about Hindu philosophy or the Brahmans. The practices of *Yoga*, as a way of attaining spiritual bliss or knowledge, have sometimes aroused curiosity, but have generally been regarded as suspect if not altogether damnable. (F. Rahman)

BARAHŪT [see barhūt].

BARAK [see Supplement].

BARAḲ BABA, a Turkish dervish who acquired some celebrity in the time of the Il-Khāns. He is said to have been a disciple of the famous Sarī Saltuk [*q.v.*], and is mentioned in connexion with the Bābāʾī, Bektāshī, and Mewlewī movements. His followers were called Baraḳīs; his *Khalīfa* was Ḥayrān Emirdji. A story preserved by Yazīdjīoghlu ʿAlī makes him a Saldjūḳ prince, converted to Christianity by the Greek patriarch and then reconverted to Islam by Sarī Saltuk, who transmitted his supernatural powers to him and gave him the name Baraḳ. The Arabic sources describe him as a native of Tokat (the *Būḳāt* in the printed text of Ibn Ḥadjar should be amended accordingly), and say that his father was a high officer and his uncle a well-known scribe. From Turkey he travelled to Iran, where he is said to have exercised some influence on Ghāzān and Öldjaytu. In Djum. I 706/Nov. 1306 he arrived with a party of disciples in Damascus, where his dress and behaviour were sufficiently remarkable to win him a place in the Arabic chronicles of the Mamlūk Empire. He visited Jerusalem, but was prevented from visiting Egypt, and then returned to Iran. In 707/1307-8 he prevailed on Öldjaytu to send him on a mission to Gaylān, where he was killed.

The Turkish name Baraḳ is sometimes, by confusion with the Arabic *Burāḳ* [*q.v.*], misspelt thus. The form *berrāḳ*, given by Huart, is also mistaken. The name is in fact a Turkish word for a special kind of dog, identified by Köprülü as a 'hairless dog' (*Chamanisme* 14-15, n. 26) and by Pelliot as a 'long-haired, more or less fabulous dog' (*Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'or*, Paris 1950, 57-8). The name is not infrequent among Mongols and Turks in the 13th-15th centuries (for some examples see G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, Budapest 1942-3, s.v.

βαράκος and παράκ; see also BURĀĶ ḤĀDJIB and BURĀĶ KHĀN).

Bibliography: Aflākī, *Manāķib al-ʿĀrifīn*, tr. Cl. Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918-22, ii, 324; Maķrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, 28-9 (Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, ii, 267-8); Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, i, 473-4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo, viii, 169-70; *Manhal Safi* (Wiet, n. 638); ʿAynī, *ʿIķd al-Djumān*, cited by Ḥusayn Ḥusām al-Dīn, *Amasya Taʾrīkhi*, 460-4. Baraķ Baba has been studied by M. F. Köprülü, who sees in his teachings and conduct an expression of the influence of Turco-Mongol Shamanism on Islam. See his *Türk Edebiyyatında ilk Mutaṣawwifler*, Istanbul 1918, 235 and n. 1; *Anadoluda Islāmiyyet, Dār al-Funūn Edebiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmūʿasī*, ii, 1922, 392-4; *Anadolu Selcuklulari tarihinin yerli Kaynakları, Belleten*, vii, 1943, 431 n. 1.; *Influence du Chamanisme turco-mongol* ...., Istanbul 1929, 14-17. See further P. Wittek, *Yazījioghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, *BSOAS*, xlv, 1952, 650, 658-9; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre hayatı*, Istanbul 1936, 38-49 (not seen).

(B. LEWIS)

BARAKA, blessing. In the Ķurʾān, the word is used only in the plural: *barakāt*, like *raḥma* and *salām*, are sent to man by God. It can be translated by "beneficent force, of divine origin, which causes superabundance in the physical sphere and prosperity and happiness in the psychic order". Naturally, the text of the Ķurʾān (*kalāmu-llāh*) is charged with *baraka*. God can implant an emanation of *baraka* in the person of his prophets and saints: Muḥammad and his descendants are especially endowed therewith. These sacred personages, in their turn, may communicate the effluvia of their supernatural potential to ordinary men, either during their lifetime or after their death, the manner of transmission being greatly varied, sometimes strange. God, however, can withhold his *baraka*.

Among agricultural peoples, a *baraka* is recognised in cereals, causing them to multiply miraculously. *Baraka* is to be met with, here and there, attributed to the most diverse objects. Already in the Ķurʾān, the olive tree and the 27th Ramaḍān are *mubārak*.

In practice, the word ended up by taking the secular meaning of "very adequate quantity": *mā fīhi baraka*. It is used in the vocabulary of the Almohads in the sense of "gratuity which is added to a soldier's pay". The Maghribī dialects have various uses of the word in the adverbial sense of "enough".

Derivatives of the word *BRK* occur in numerous formulas of politeness: expressions of thanks, compliments, euphemisms; they are often associated in the context with derivatives of the root *SʿD*. The rather obscure *tabārakallāh* (Ķurʾān, lxvii, 1) is commonly used as a prophylactic against the "evil eye".

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², 139; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 35-261; M. Cohen, *Genou, famille, force dans le domaine chamito-sémitique*, in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, Paris 1928, i, 203; J. Chelhod, *La Baraka chez les Arabes*, *RHR*, 1955; *IA* s.v. *Bereket* (by Kasīm Kufralī).

(G. S. COLIN)

BARAKA KHĀN [see BERKE KHAN].

BARAKĀT, the name of four Sharīfs of Mecca.

(1) Barakāt I b. Ḥasan b. ʿAdjlān belonged to the seventh generation after Ķatāda b. Idrīs [see AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT; MAKKA], the founder of the last line of Sharīfs. As a youth Barakāt was associated with his father in the rule (809-21/1407-18), which was challenged by several cousins. The father abdicated because of his age in 821/1418, though he lived on until 829/1426. After being confirmed in office by Barsbāy, the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, who had made himself the supreme authority over Mecca, Barakāt reigned until 845/1442 in the face of opposition by his brothers. Unseated then by other members of the line, he returned to power in the last years of his life (851-9/1447-55). During Barakāt's time the Mamlūk sultan Čaķmaķ appointed an Inspector (*nāẓir*) for the Holy Cities and established a garrison of 50 horse in Mecca. A noteworthy increase in Indian trade and the number of Indian pilgrims went hand in hand with greater Egyptian control in the Red Sea. Barakāt visited Cairo in 851/1447. He was succeeded by his son Muḥammad (regn. 859-903/1455-97).

(2) Barakāt II b. Muḥammad, a grandson of Barakāt I, shared the rule with his father from 878 to 903/1473-97. From 903 on he struggled against his brothers Hazzāʿ and Aḥmad Djāzān. In 908/1503 Barakāt was sent to Cairo in chains, leaving the way open for another brother, Ḥumayḍa, to become Sharīf. Restored in 910/1504, Barakāt remained the lord of Mecca until his death in 931/1525. From 910 to 918/1504-12 his brother Ķāytbāy was associated with him, and thereafter his young son Muḥammad Abū Numayy II. The new threat of the Portuguese prompted the Mamlūk sultan Ķānṣūh al-Ghūrī to delegate Ḥusayn al-Kurdī with a military force to protect Djidda, which he enclosed with a wall and towers. Upon the entry of Selīm Yavuz into Cairo, Barakāt sent Abū Numayy (*aet. c.* 12) in 923/1517 to wait upon him, and the Ottoman conqueror recognised the status quo in Mecca. For some reason Selīm did not take advantage of this opportunity to make the pilgrimage, though the first Ottoman *maḥmal* was sent out in 923 and the first shipment of wheat for the population of Mecca went by sea from Suez to Djidda. Barakāt was succeeded by Abū Numayy (regn. 931-74/1525-66), from whom all the subsequent Sharīfs of Mecca were descended.

From the first half of the 11th/17th century to the 14th/20th century, three clans among the progeny of Abū Numayy II contended with each other over the Sharīfate: Dhawū Zayd, Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh, and Dhawū Barakāt. The eponym of Dhawū Barakāt was Abū Numayy's son Barakāt, who never held the office of Sharīf himself.

(3) Barakāt III b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, a great-grandson of the eponym of Dhawū Barakāt, was the first of this clan to wear the dignity, acceding in 1082/1672. His installation was the work of a North African, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdānī, an enemy of Dhawū Zayd and an intimate of the Ottoman Grand Vizier, Aḥmad Köprülü. During the first part of Barakāt's tenure Muḥammad b. Sulaymān instituted a number of radical reforms designed to improve the lot of the foreign elements and the poorer classes in Mecca at the expense of the old aristocracy. With the death of Köprülü in 1087/1676 the reformer's star declined. Barakāt stayed on as Sharīf until his death in 1093/1682, being succeeded by his son Saʿīd (regn. 1093-5/1682-4).

(4) Barakāt IV b. Yaḥyā, a grandson of Barakāt III, ruled less than two months (1135-6/1723). After the abdication of his father, he was defeated by Dhawū Zayd, whereupon he and his father fled to Syria.

The last Sharīf of Dhawū Barakāt was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn, a nephew of Barakāt IV, whose

reign was almost as brief as his uncle's. Placed in power in 1184/1770 by Muḥammad Abū Dhahab, the general sent to the Ḥidjāz by ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*] of Egypt, he lacked the strength to maintain himself after Abū Dhahab's withdrawal. From then on the Sharīfate remained the exclusive property first of Dhawū Zayd and then of Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh.

Bibliography: F. Wüstenfeld, ed., *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Göttingen 1857-61; Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān, *Khulāṣat al-Kalām*, Cairo 1305; Aḥmad al-Sibāʿī, *Taʾrīkh Makka*, Cairo 1372; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, The Hague 1888-9. (G. Rentz)

BARAKZAY [see AFGHĀNISTĀN].

AL-**BARĀMIKA** or Āl Barmak (Barmakids), an Iranian family of secretaries and *wazīrs* of the early ʿAbbāsid Caliphs.

1. Origins. — The name *Barmak*, traditionally borne by the ancestor of the family, was not a propei name, according to certain Arab authors, but a word designating the office of hereditary high priest of the temple of Nawbahār, near Balkh. This interpretation is confirmed by the etymology which is now accepted, deriving the term from the Sanskrit word *parmak* — "superior, chief". The term Nawbahār, moreover, likewise derives from Sanskrit (*nōva vihāra*—"new monastery") and evokes the name of the famous Buddhist monastery, visited in the 1st/7th century by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan Ts'ang, at Po-Ho, another name for Balkh (Hiouen Thsang, *Mémoires*, trad. St. Julien, i, Paris 1857, 30-32). Furthermore, some of the Arab geographers likewise affirm that the Nawbahār was dedicated to the worship of idols (*ʿibādat al-awthān*); the description of it left by Ibn al-Faḳīh (322-25) also corresponds in the main with that of a *vihāra* and describes a monument, which can be recognised as the characteristic Buddhist *stupa*, in spite of the distortion of its name. The later authors (Yaḳūt, iv, 819; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, iii, 198), who make this sanctuary a Zoroastrian Fire-Temple, were doubtless influenced by the tradition which envisaged the Barmakids as the descendants of the ministers of the Sāsānid Empire (see especially Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, trans. Schefer, 224). It is difficult to ascertain when these imaginary interpretations, universally disseminated in subsequent literature (especially local literature, see *Faḍāʾil Balkh*, ap. Ch. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, i, Paris 1883, 71), which have been accepted for too long by modern scholarship, arose. The view has sometimes been held that they may have seen the light of day in al-Manṣūr's reign. It would, however, be more accurate to consider them as being much later than that period.

We possess little precise information on the Nawbahār and its high priests during the first century of Islām. The lands attached to the temple, amounting to some 1,500 sq. km., are known to have been the property of the family, who appears subsequently to have retained them, at least in part, whilst the rich village of Rawān, near Balkh, belonged to Yaḥyā b. Khālid personally (Yāḳūt, ii, 742).

According to al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 409), the Nawbahār, centre of national resistance, was attacked and damaged under Muʿāwiya, probably shortly after 42/663-64; al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1205) says the native prince Nīzak still prayed there in 90/708-09. In 107/725-26, under Hishām, according to al-Ṭabarī, Balkh was raised from its ruins by the efforts of Barmak on the order of the governor Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh; what had happened to the temple is not known, but there are no grounds for supposing that it was rebuilt as a Fire-Temple, as is sometimes assumed. As for the last Barmak, the father of Khālid, he is a figure known to us by information which is to a large extent legendary.

Thus it is that he is held to have possessed medical knowledge and to have treated, among other patients, the Umayyad prince Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (Ṭabarī, ii, 1181). One tradition, moreover, intended perhaps to benefit the sons of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim, makes the latter, who with his brother Ḳutayba had participated in the repression of the revolt of Balkh in 86/705, and not Barmak, the real father of Khālid (Ṭabarī, *lob. cit.*). Furthermore we do not know whether Barmak, who was again in Balkh in 107/725-26, had previously gone to the Court of the Caliphs, as has been maintained, and had there embraced Islam. However that may be, his sons left Khurāsān for ʿIrāḳ, where they settled at al-Baṣra and there became clients of the Azd tribe (L. Massignon, in *Westöstliche Abh. Tschudi*, Wiesbaden 1954, 159 and 168). There Khālid seems to have been the first to be converted, followed by his brothers Sulaymān and al-Ḥasan.

Bibliography: L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, Paris 1912, 25-36; S. Nadvi, in *Isl. Culture*, vi, 1932, 19-28; H. W. Bailey, in *BSOS*, xi, 1943, 3 (on the word *barmak*) and the references given above. (W. Barthold-[D. Sourdel])

2. Khālid b. Barmak.—Practically nothing is known of Khālid's activities until the moment he appeared, towards the end of the Umayyad period, in the ranks of the Hāshimite movement; he was then entrusted with the distribution of the plunder in Ḳaḥṭaba's army. Shortly after that, the new Caliph al-Saffāḥ entrusted the management of the *dīwāns* of the army and land-tax (*al-djund waʾl-kharādj*) to him, and then the control of all the bureaux, so that, as one chronicler says, he played the role of a *wazīr*; attached to the personal service of the Caliph, he had the honour of seeing his own daughter suckled by al-Saffāḥ's wife whilst his own wife acted as foster-mother to his sovereign's daughter. Under al-Manṣūr, Khālid continued to play an important role, without however being, as is too frequently averred, the right hand of the Caliph. He seems to have remained for at least a year director of the office of land taxation, though he was soon ousted from the central administration by the intriguer Abū Ayyūb. Appointed governor of Fārs, he appears to have stayed there for about two years. Later we see him at Baghdād persuading the Caliph, according to a well known tradition, to refrain from destroying the Īwān Kisrā, participating in 147/764-65 in the manœuvres which led to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā agieeing to renounce his rights to the succession, proffering advice to Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muʿāwiya, who was returning from al-Rayy. Subsequently appointed governor of Ṭabaristān, he remained there for about seven years (coins struck in his name between 150/767 and 154/771 are known), took possession of the fortress of Ustūnāwand near Damāwand and made himself popular with the inhabitants of these regions, where he founded the new town of al-Manṣūra. It was probably about this time that his grandson al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā became the "foster-brother" of Hārūn, the son of al-Mahdī. Finally in 158/775, shortly before al-Manṣūr's death, a heavy fine seems to have been imposed on Khālid, but he was pardoned and appointed governor of the province of al-Mawṣil, where a Kurdish revolt had broken out. At the beginning of the Caliphate of al-

Mahdī, we find him in Fārs and, in 163/779-80, he appears to have further distinguished himself, at the same time as his son Yaḥyā, during the siege of Samālū in Byzantine territory, though he died shortly afterwards in 165/781-82, approximately in his 75th. year.

Bibliography: L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, 37-43; Ṭabarī, index; Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarā'*, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 444; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 314; Yāḳūt, i, 224; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo ed. 1948, i, 295-96; J. Walker, *Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1946, lxxvi.

3. The *Wizāra* and the fall of the Barmakids.—When Yaḥyā b. Khālid was chosen as *wazīr* by Hārūn al-Rashīd, he already had a fairly long career behind him. After assisting his father in his various governorships, Yaḥyā had been appointed in 158/775 governor of Ādharbaydjān. He was still at Khālid's side in Fārs at the beginning of al-Mahdī's Caliphate, and in 161/778 he had became secretary tutor to Prince Hārūn, in the place of Abān b. Ṣadaḳa, and had accompanied the Prince on the Samālū expedition, on which he had been especially entrusted with the commissariat of the army. A little later, when his pupil had been acknowledged as the second heir and appointed governor of the western provinces as well as of Ādharbaydjān and Armenia, Yaḥyā had administered this part of the empire. After the death of al-Mahdī, though he was confirmed in his office, he found himself the object of the hostility of the new Caliph al-Hādī, who accused him of supporting Hārūn against him and of encouraging him to maintain his rights to the succession, which very nearly brought about his downfall. The very night, however, when Yaḥyā, who had been thrown into prison, was, we are told, to have been executed, al-Hādī was found dead and certain reports suggest that the Queen-mother al-Khayzurān, who supported Hārūn, was not unconnected with the occurrence.

In any case, as soon as Hārūn had been hailed as Caliph, he hastened to summon Yaḥyā and entrusted him with the direction of affairs, investing him, according to tradition, with a general delegation of authority. The able secretary received the title of *wazīr* and from the outset associated his two sons al-Faḍl and Dja'far with his administrative and governmental duties. They frequently presided with him and also appear to have been styled *wazīr*. Yaḥyā remained in office for seventeen years, from 170/786 to 187/803, this period being referred to by some authors as "the reign of the Barmakids" (*sulṭān Āl Barmak*). Engaged in "righting wrongs" in the name of the Caliph, he was likewise empowered to chose his own secretaries, who acted as his delegates, and was in practice head of the administration; even the office of the Seal, initially withheld from him, was soon placed under his control. Tradition likewise has it that al-Rashīd handed his personal seal over to him, a symbol of the new authority enjoyed by the *wazīr*. This seal, entrusted to Dja'far, subsequently returned to Yaḥyā, who relinquished it when he set out to stay in Mecca in 181/797; it was then entrusted to al-Faḍl and afterwards to Dja'far, being taken back by Yaḥyā after his return.

Yaḥyā's two sons, al-Faḍl and Dja'far, were not satisfied with merely seconding their father. They likewise enjoyed important responsibilities. Al-Faḍl who was the eldest and, moreover, Hārūn's "foster-brother", played a major rôle in the early years. In 176/792 or perhaps even earlier, he was placed at the head of the Western provinces of Iran and was sent by the Caliph against the 'Alid Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh, who had revolted. He obtained the latter's submission by negotiation. In the following year he was appointed governor of Khurāsān, where he played the role of a conciliator and a builder. He pacified the country of Kābul and recruited a local army, part of which, we are told, was sent to Baghdād. Upon his return to Court, he left a deputy in his province, which he retained until 180/796. In 181/797, he appears to have been in charge of the government during his father's absence. Nevertheless, he was the first to lose the Caliph's favour. He gravely displeased Hārūn and was deprived of all his offices, except his appointment as tutor to Prince Muḥammad al-Amīn, for whom he had obtained recognition as heir-apparent in 178/794.

As for Dja'far, whose eloquence and legal erudition the authors are fond of stressing, in 176/792 he received the governorship of the western provinces, though he remained at Court, which he only left in 180/796 in order to suppress the risings in Syria. He was next appointed temporarily governor of Khurāsān and was placed in charge of the caliphal bodygard as well as being entrusted with the direction of the Post Office and of the offices of the Mint and textile manufactures (in fact his name appears on the coins struck in the East from 176/792 and, subsequently, also on those of the West). He was likewise tutor to Prince 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn, who was proclaimed second heir in 182/798. But above all he was the Caliph's favourite, if not his Ganymede as has often been supposed, and willingly took part in his pleasure parties, of which his brother, on the other hand, disapproved.

Thus with Yaḥyā's two sons entrusted with the tutelage of the two princely heirs-apparent, between whom an actual division of the empire was contemplated, power might have remained in the hands of the Āl Barmak for a long time, had al-Rashīd so permitted. The Caliph, however, on returning from the Pilgrimage which he accomplished with his suite in 186/802, suddenly decided to put an end to their domination; during the night of Saturday the 1 Ṣafar 187/28-9 January 803, he had Dja'far executed, al-Faḍl and his brothers arrested, Yaḥyā placed under observation and the property of all the Barmakids (with the exception of Muḥammad b. Khālid) confiscated. Dja'far's remains were left exposed in Baghdād for a year. Al-Faḍl and Yaḥyā himself, whose wish had been to share his sons' fate, were conducted to al-Raḳḳa as prisoners; there Yaḥyā died in Muḥarram 190/November 805, 70 years of age, and al-Faḍl in Muḥarram 193/November 808, aged 45 years.

The brutal fall of the Barmakids came as a surprise to their contemporaries, who had no satisfactory explanation to account for it and therefore invented various fictitious reasons, such as the story of 'Abbāsa [*q.v.*], which have too long been given credence. The origin of their fall still remains partly a mystery for modern historians; but it can hardly be seen as the result of a sudden caprice on the part of the Caliph. Even if it was not "prepared well beforehand", as W. Barthold said, it was at least contemplated long in advance by a sovereign who had come to endure the tutelage of his ministers with increasing impatience and who at times accused them of pursuing a policy contrary to his own interests.

The vizierate of the Barmakids was not really the period of perfect harmony which came to be portrayed in later legend. In spite of what has been said on the matter, causes for disagreement did exist

between the Caliph and his former tutor, whose hands were never completely free to govern. Not only was he obliged in the early years, as W. Barthold has already pointed out, to render account to al-Khayzurān, who, nevertheless, constantly gave him her support as long as she lived, but later he was often forced to come to terms with al-Rashīd's wishes and to resort to that cleverness for which he was so highly reputed. In some cases he was not even successful in imposing his views, and the man appointed to replace al-Faḍl in Khurāsān in 180/796 was appointed against his advice. At other times he found himself having to plead highly compromised causes. Thus we see him hastening from Baghdād to al-Raḳḳa in 183/799 to divert the sovereign's ire from al-Faḍl and succeeding only at the cost of condemning his son's behaviour. Very early on also, intrigues had contributed to weaken his position and the Caliph, upon the death of his mother, had been eager to bestow honours on the accomplished courtier al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, in whom he had for long begun to take an interest and whom, furthermore, he appointed *ḥādjib* in 179/795 in the place of the Barmakid Muḥammad b. Khālid; the new dignitary exercised a growing influence at Court, where he stigmatised the shortcomings of his enemies and provoked the resentment of al-Rashīd against them.

The Caliph's relationships with Yaḥyā's sons were similarly not always harmonious. Al-Rashīd did not think well of the pro-ʿAlid policy of al-Faḍl, who does not seem to have been endowed with the same flexibility as his father. He was removed from power in 183/799, four years before the final disgrace of his family. Even Djaʿfar, who apparently enjoyed the Caliph's complete confidence, retaining his influence with him the longest, was not secure from the suspicions of a restive master and was reproached upon occasion for abusing his powers.

It was, of course, quite normal for the attitude of al-Rashīd towards the Barmakids to become modified during the seventeen years of their supremacy. The Caliph, at his accession, when he was 23 years old, was content to follow his mother's advice and to relieve himself of certain responsibilities, by entrusting them to Yaḥyā. Later, however, this humiliating situation began to weigh upon him, the more so since the desire to impose his own will increased with the years, whilst the Barmakids, filling the most important posts with their relatives and clients and preparing themselves to institute some kind of hereditary vizierate, constituted an actual State within the State. At the same time, they had amassed great wealth, which excited the cupidity of the sovereign and to which their proverbial generosity continually called attention. Yet if the different reasons are adequate to explain their fall, nevertheless the brutality of the treatment inflicted on Djaʿfar was doubtless the ransom for the affection which was bestowed on him by the Caliph and which may perhaps have postponed the inevitable outcome.

On the other hand, imputations of impiety, which are sometimes levelled at the Barmakids during the period of their ascendency, do not seem to have contributed to the disgrace which befell them. Such accusations do not even appear to have had any basis in fact. These secretaries of Iranian origin did, it is true, display a special interest in the literary masterpieces which came from Iran and India, as well as in the various philosophical and religious doctrines, which they liked to hear discussed; but these were tastes widely disseminated in Baghdād society of the period and were not necessarily accompanied by heterodox opinions. The Barmakids, moreover, had completely adapted themselves to the usages of the ʿAbbāsid Court at which they lived; they thought highly of Arabic poets and writers and, like so many other *mawālī*, displayed an ostentatious generosity, inspired by ancient Bedouin traditions. Though they frequently assumed a conciliatory attitude towards the inhabitants of the provinces or of certain tributary states, they appear to have made no attempt to favour al-Maʾmūn, the "son of the Persian woman", at the expense of his brother. They seem primarily to have served the Caliphate effectively and loyally, pacifying Eastern Iran, repressing the risings in Syria and even Ifrīḳiya, obtaining the submission of rebels, including ʿAlids, directing the administration in an orderly fashion, guaranteeing to the State important resources, undertaking works of public interest (canals of Ḳāṭūl and Sīḥān), setting wrongs aright with equity in accordance with the requirements of Islamic law and reinforcing the judicial administration by the institution of the office of the great ḳāḍī. Doubtless by their behaviour they accentuated the process of iranisation which became evident from the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid regime, imparting to the vizierate a style which did not fail to attract subsequent imitators; in spite of their new prerogatives and exceptional prestige, however, their influence was a highly personal thing, as was the tragedy which terminated it. It does not appear that they ever sought to transform the vizierate in accordance with a hypothetical Sāsānid model.

The activity of the Barmakids was not merely political and administrative. An important cultural and artistic achievement is also due to them. Indeed they acted as patrons of poets, distributing rewards for their panegyrics through the intermediary of a special office created specifically for the purpose, the *dīwān al-shiʿr*; they favoured scholars and gathered theologians and philosophers in their home, in assemblies (*madjālis*) which have remained famous. They encouraged the arts, and as great builders, left numerous palaces in Baghdād, the most famous of which, that of Djaʿfar, subsequently became the Caliphal residence.

Neither did the influence of the Barmakids disappear with their fall. It continued to be exerted during the ensuing years through the medium of the *wazīrs* and secretaries who came to power under al-Maʾmūn and who, for the most part, were their former clients and dependants, as in the case of the famous al-Faḍl b. Sahl. It is actually known that, at the time of their ascendency, the ministers of al-Rashīd had gathered around themselves a group of especially competent *kuttāb*, whom they had trained in their methods, and the following Caliphs were unable to dispense with them.

Finally *adab* literature laid hold of the Barmakids, stressing their edifying and remarkable traits of character, often with some exaggeration (Yaḥyā's "wisdom" and his gift for foretelling events, al-Faḍl's haughtiness and ostentatious generosity, the elegant language of Djaʿfar) whilst some stories, such as those later to be incorporated in the collection of the *Thousand and One Nights*, popularised the figure of Djaʿfar, the *wazīr* and intimate companion of al-Rashīd.

Bibliography: L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside* (appearing shortly); Djahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, index; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd*, Cairo ed. 1945-53, iii, 26-34; Ṭabarī, Yaʿḳūbī, Masʿūdī, index; Ibn Khallikān, *s.v.*

4. Other members of the Barmakid family. —Yaḥyā had a brother, Muḥammad b. Khālid, who was ḥādjib from 172/788 to 179/795 and was the only one spared by the Caliph when they fell.

In addition to al-Faḍl and Dja'far, he had two other sons, Muḥammad and Mūsā, who though less brillant, nevertheless played a role at Court. The latter, known for his military bravery, was governor of Syria in 176/792. They were thrown into prison in 187/803 with their father and brother, but were released by al-Amīn who showed himself generous towards them. Mūṣā remained in 'Irāḳ and fought in the Caliphal army, subsequently rallying to al-Ma'mūn, who later appointed him governor of Sind. He died in 221/835, leaving a son 'Imrān who succeeded him and distinguished himself in several expeditions. Muḥammad, on the other hand, had joined the Court of al-Ma'mūn at Marw, where he had been preceeded by his son Aḥmad and his nephew al-'Abbās, the son of al-Faḍl.

Of the numerous descendants of the Barmakids, one especially was famous as a musician and man of letters: Aḥmad b. Dja'far, surnamed Djaḥẓa [*q.v.*], grandson of Mūsā b. Yaḥyā and intimate companion of the Caliph al-Muḳtadir.

Bibliography: L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, 101 ff.; Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarā'*, Cairo ed., 297-98.

5. The nisba *al-Barmakī*.—This *nisba* was also born by persons not belonging to the Barmakid family. A first category comprises their clients and their manumitted slaves with their descendants. Others were natives of the quarter of Baghdād which had received the name of *al-Barāmika*. They included the singer Danānīr, the man of letters Muḥammad b. Djahm, an astrologer who was present at the siege of Samālū, a *wazīr* of the Sāmānids and an envoy of the Ghaznawids.

A number of dynasties, both in Iran and North Africa, were later to claim descent from the Barmakids (Sarbadārān in Khurāsān, Borāmik at Touat). Finally a tribe, from whom the dancing-girls called Ghawāzī were recently still being recruited in Egypt, claimed to be descended from them; doubtless the reputation of these dancing-girls has imparted to the word *barmakī* the pejorative sense which it sometimes assumes in modern Egyptian.

Bibliography: L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, 105 ff. (D. SOURDEL)

BARAN, an old name for BULAND-SHAHR [*q.v.*].

BARANĪ, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, historian and writer on government under the Delhī sultanate. Born not later than 684/1285, (and probably earlier as he was old enough to remember witnessing convivial parties and to have read the whole of the Ḳur'ān in the reign of Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī (689-95/1290-6), Baranī was well connected with Delhī ruling circles. His father, Mu'ayyid al-Mulk, was *nā'ib* to Arkalī Khān, second son of sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī, becoming *nā'ib* and *khwādja* of Baran in the first year of the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī. Baranī's paternal uncle, Malik 'Alā' al-Mulk was *kōtwāl* of Delhī under 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī and a prominent royal counsellor. His maternal grandfather, *sipah-sālār* Ḥusām al-Dīn, *wakīl-i dār* to Malik Barbak, was appointed to the *shahnagī* of Lak'hnawtī by Sulṭān Balban.

Baranī himself became, for seventeen years and three months, a *nadīm* of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725/1325-752/1351). The *Siyar al-Awliyā'* describes him as an entertaining conversationalist and as having been a friend of the poets Amīr Khusraw and Amīr Ḥasan.

At the beginning of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (752-90/1351-88) Baranī was banished from court and, according to his own statement in the *Na't-i Muḥammadī*, was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Pahtēz. It is a possible hypothesis that he was associated with the attempt of Khwādja-Djahān Aḥmad Ayāz to place a minor son of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ on the throne while Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ and the army were extricating themselves from Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's expedition against Thatta in Sind.

Baranī spent his remaining years in penurious exile, writing both in the hope of being restored to favour and of atoning for the sin to which he ascribed his misfortunes. He died not long after 758/1357 and was buried near the grave of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' at Ghiyāthpūr. Four of Baranī's works, the *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, the *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī*, the *Na't-i Muḥammadī* and his translation of anecdotes on the Barmakids, the *Akhbār-i Barmakiyyān*, are known at present to be extant.

Baranī is a significant (though in the total context of medieval Islam, not original) figure in Indo-Muslim thought on government. Holding the first four caliphs to have been the only truly godly rulers in the history of the community, Baranī aimed in the *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī*, a work of the *Fürstenspiegel* type, and in the *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, to educate the *de facto* rulers of the day, the sultans, in their duty towards Islam in a corrupt age. In the form of *dicta* by Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, the *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī* advises sultans to enforce the *sharī'a*, to curb unorthodoxy (*scil.* especially *falsafa*), to abase the infidel, to employ only pious servants and to remain inwardly humble towards God though governing with the pomp and circumstance of pre-Muslim Persian kings, that is, in opposition to the ascetic *sunna* of the Prophet and the orthodox caliphs, as Baranī, under Ṣūfī influence, conceived them.

The avowedly didactic *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, dedicated to Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, shows what happens in history when the precepts in the *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī* are disregarded. It covers the period from the beginning of the reign of Balban (664-86/1266-87) to the sixth year of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ. The account of each sultan of Delhī is treated as a parable in which success or failure is explicable in terms of the sultan's adherence to or deviation from Baranī's politico-religious theories. For example, Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī is depicted as a successful sultan in so far as he subjugated the Hindus, overcame sedition, forbade strong drink and reduced the cost of living, but as an impious one since, Baranī says, his motives were worldly, he neglected his own religious observances, wished to become a prophet, appointed low men to office and avoided the company of the religious —in particular of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' whose *mayāmin* and *barakāt* were the true cause of the glory of the reign. Thus 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī dies of suspected poisoning and within four years his family is exterminated. Baranī's *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* is not an annal or chronicle; it is an important example of didactic historiography in Islam. (See further TA'RĪKH).

Bibliography: Storey, I, 1, 505-9 and I, 2, 1311; *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī*, Éthé No. 2563; *Na't-i Muḥammadī*, Riḍā Library Rāmpūr, MS. No. Ta'rīkh 127; *Akhbār-i Barmakiyyān* or *Ta'rīkh-i Āl-i Barmak*, lith. Bombay 1889; S. H. Baranī, *Ziauddin Barani*, in *IC*, Jan. 1938, 76-97;

Shaykh ʿAbdur Rashīd, *Ẓiā ud-dīn Barni*, in *Muslim University Journal*, Aligarh 1942, 248-78; A. B. M. Habibullah, *Re-evaluation of the Literary Sources of Pre-Mughal History*, in *IC*, April 1941, 209-13; S. Nurul Hasan, *Saḥīfa-i Naʿt-i Muḥammadī of Ẓia al-dīn Barnī*, in *Medieval Indian Quarterly*, I, 3 & 4/1954, 100-05; S. Moin ul-Haq, *Some Aspects of Ḍiya al-dīn Barnī's Political Thought*, in *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, iv/1, Jan, 1956, 3-26; P. Hardy, *The Oratio Recta of Baranī's Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī — Fact or Fiction?*, in *BSOS*, xx/1957, 315-21. (P. Hardy)

al-**BARĀNIS**, name of one of the two groups of tribes which together constitute the Berber nation [*q.v.*], that of the other being the Butr. It represents the plural of the name of their common eponymous ancestor: Burnus; for a possible origin of this name see Butr.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Barānis comprised five great peoples: Awraba, ʿAdjīsa, Azdādja, Maṣmūda-Ghumāra, Kutāma-Zawāwa, Ṣanhādja, Hawwāra. Whether, however, the last three belong to this group is a matter of controversy; they are considered by some to be descendants of Ḥimyar and therefore non-Berbers. Neither they nor the Maṣmūda will be dealt with here.

The most ancient habitat of the Barānis in the true sense of the term is the massif of the Awrās, the northern province of Constantine and the two Kabylias where they used to live as sedentary mountain dwellers. At the time of the first Arab invasion, in the first quarter of the 1st/7th century, the Awraba of the famous Kusayla [*q.v.*] had to abandon the Awrās, after the defeat and death of their chief. They went to northern Morocco, where they established themselves from the massif of the Zarhūn to the river Wargha; the names of some of their old tribes are to be met with today along the banks of this river: Ludjāya, Mazyāt(a), Raghīwa. The rôle they played in connexion with Idrīs I [*q.v.*] is known.

We possess no information on the conditions in which some of the Barānis arrived and established themselves to the North of Taza. At all events, al-Bakrī indicates some of the Barānis and Awraba in contact with the kingdom of Nukūr [*q.v.*]. In the present tribe (in dialect ʾl-Brāneṣ, ethnic ʾl-Barnōṣi) which contains a sub-group called the Werba, the memory of the prince of the Awraba who received Idrīs I (at Walīla!) has been retained and even the remains of his palace are shown there?

The Barānis-Awraba participated in the expeditions launched from Morocco against the Iberian Peninsula; some of them settled there and bequeathed their name to the Djabal al-Barānis, now the Sierra de Almadén, to the North of Cordova.

Some of the Barānis (from the North of Taza) formed part of the "Rif" contingents who took Tangier (1684). A village of the *faḥṣ* of this latter town bears their name.

As for the Azdadja (and Misiṭṭāsa) Barānis, nothing is known of the reasons for their establishing themselves in the region of Oran; some of the Misiṭṭāsa still live in the region of Bādis [*q.v.*]. There is the same lack of information concerning the Kutāma of Morocco.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*,[2] i, 169-170 and 272-299; E. F. Gautier, *Les siècles obscurs du Maghreb*, 1927, 211-214; Anon., *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au Moyen-Age*, trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, 64, 80; Leo Africanus, trans. Épaulard, 305; Trenga, *Les Branès*, in *AM*, I, 3 and 4; G. S. Colin, *Le parler arabe du Nord de la région de Taza*, in *BIFAO*, xviii (1920), 33; idem, *Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq al-Burnūsī*, in *Rivista della Tripolitania*, 1925. (G. S. Colin)

BARANTA, a term used in the eastern portion of the Turkish world (Teleut, Kirgiz, Kazak etc.) though today regarded as old-fashioned (for the forms of the word cf. *baramta*, *barïmta*, *barumta*, *parïnti*; the forms *barumtav* and *barumtay*, encountered in some sources, are not yet fully understood, while Šeykh Suleymān's *barant* and H. K. Kadrī's *baratta* must be mistakes), generally with the meanings 'foray, robbery, plunder, pillage, looting'; 'for one who is owed money or has been wronged to get his own back by raiding his adversary's livestock'; hence 'cattle-lifting'. For related terms, cf. *barïmtačï* (*-šï*), 'cattle-lifter, marauder' (*parïntidji*, 'robber'); *barïmtala-*, 'to get one's own back by driving off other people's livestock, to capture on foray'; *barïmtalaš-*, 'to quarrel together about property' (*djardï menen djoldas bolgončo, bay menen barïmtalas*, 'rather than be friendly with a poor man, quarrel with a rich').

The term has passed into Russian with the same meaning: *baranta*, 'revenge, retaliation; taking reprisals for a robbery by driving off cattle; foray, incursion' etc., and the derivatives *barantar*ʸ, *barantovščik*, 'participant in a hostile incursion, robber'; *barantovïy*, 'pertaining to a foray'; *barantovat*ʸ, 'to raid' etc.

M. Vasmer (*Russ. etym. Wb.*, Heidelberg 1950), noting that the Russian *baranta* is used in eastern Russia and the Caucasus, indicates that it has been taken from Turkish, into which language it has passed from Mongol. See in the Mongol dictionaries *barïm*, *barïmda*, 'clutching with the hand', *barïmdalagu*, 'to be seized, held fast, to preserve, to keep'; *barïmdalal*, 'the act of holding fast, of tightening' etc. Cf. in particular G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.* (Helsinki 1935): *bärmtə* 'to seize, hold fast, assault, attack'; *b. keχə*, 'to go on a foray in order to take from one's adversary a surety for future engagements'; *bärmtlχ̥v*, 'to take, hold fast' (cf. *bärā*, *bärātə̄*, etc.).

It is clear that among the nomad Turkish peoples this term once represented a specific legal concept; in Turkish as in Mongol it involves the notion of 'pledge, surety', and our sources show that *baranta* was done only with a specific purpose and subject to certain rules. It is *baranta* when a man who has been wronged appropriates a quantity of his adversary's property in order to recover his due; the return of the property depends on the result of ensuing litigation between the parties. It is likely that reciprocal *barantas* sometimes covered a wider group. The rule demanded that the use of *baranta* to redress a wrong should be in daylight and with prior notice. *Baranta* at the same time afforded an opportunity for young men in the nomad society to display their bravery, skill and resourcefulness; to earn the appellation of 'hero', and to be held in honour. With the changing bases of social life, and changing economic conditions, *baranta*, like many another institution rooted in customary law, has lost its importance: the term has suffered a gradual diminution and has come to mean simply 'theft'.

In the limited areas where the old customs are still preserved, however, the *baranta* system survives, and the laws of the land feel the need to take cognisance of it. *E.g.*, on 16 October 1924 the Russian

central administrative organ (VTSIK) studied the system of *baranta* in connexion with offences against the customary law in the Republic of Kazakstan and the Oyrat Autonomous Region, under three heads: simple, armed, and tribal.

Bibliography: Apart from works mentioned in the text, see V. Barthold and A. Inan in *IA* (art. *Baranta*); Radloff, *Wb.* (1893-1911), Budagov, *Sravn. slov. tur.-tat. nar.*, Petersburg 1869; Bukin, *Rus.-Kirg. slov.*, Tashkent 1883; Ganizâde, *Rus.-tat. slov.*, Baku 1902; K. K. Yudaxin, *Kırgız sözlügü* (Turk. tr. by A. Taymas), Ankara 1945; A. N. Čudinov, *Sprav. slov.*, Petersburg 1901; N. V. Goryaev, *Sravn. etimol. slov. russ. yaz.*, Tiflis 1896; I. Y. Pavlovsk, *Russko-nemetsk. slov.*, Leipzig 1911; Kovalevskiy, *Mong.-russ.-frans. slov.*, Kazan 1846; I. J. Schmidt, *Mong.-Deutsch-Russ. Wb.*, Petersburg 1835; F. Boberg, *Mong.-Engl. Dict.*, Stockholm 1954; *Sibirsk. sovietsk. entsiklop.*, (1929); *Entsiklop. slov.*, Petersburg, 1801 and 1805; *Der Grosse Brockhaus*, Leipzig 1929. (R. RAHMETI ARAT)

BARĀTHĀ, the name of a residential quarter on the western side of ancient Baghdād to the south of the quarter of Bāb Muḥawwal, originally some 3 kms. from ancient Baghdād. There used to be in Barāthā a mosque, designed for the prayer of the Shīʿī sect, which Yāḳūt (d. 626/1228) mentions as being totally demolished. He also remarks that the quarter itself was destroyed without trace. This mosque was built in 329/941; later on it was pulled down by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph Al-Rāḍī Billāh; later still, it was reconstructed and maintained its normal function until after 450/1058, when it was finally abandoned.

Prior to the building of Baghdād, Barāthā was a village where, as the Shīʿīs claim, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib passed by and performed prayers on the site of the mosque. The name Barāthā, derived from the Syriac word Baraytha, has the meaning of "outer".

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 532-4; *Marāṣid*, Cairo 1954, i, 174; Al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaḳī* (ed. Dunne), Cairo 1935, 136, 192, 198, 285 (French transl. by M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index), Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (the topographical introduction) (ed. Salmon), Paris 1904, 116-7, 148-51, 168; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 241; Yaʿḳūbī, Buldān 244; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib Baghdād* (ed. al-Atharī), Baghdād 1342 A.H., 21, 22; Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Ṣarrāf, *Al-Shabak*, Baghdād 1954, 270-81; ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣbahānī, *Taʾrīkh Masdjid Barāthā*, Baghdād 1954, 21; G. Le Strange, *Baghdād during the Abbāsid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900, 153-6, 320; Streck, *Babylonien nach den Arab. Geographen*, i, 52, 71, 90, 94-5, 152-3; Fränkel, *Die Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, xx. (G. AWAD)

BARAWA (BRAVA), a coastal town of Italian Somaliland. The inhabitants, c. 9000, are mostly of the Tunni tribe of the Digil Somali, who displaced the Adjurān and are mingled with Boran Galla. The soil is comparatively fertile; skins, grain and butter are marketed and leather is worked. Barawa is perhaps Yāḳūt's Bāwarī, which exported amber, and Idrīsī's B·rwa (var. M·rwa) on the pagan frontier; other Islamic geographers do not mention it. Barros, following a Kilwa chronicle now lost, says Zaydīs from Al-Aḥsāʾ founded it soon after Maḳdishū; Stigand's informant attributed it to the Khalīfa ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān in 77/696-7. In the 8th/14th century it was subject to Pate. The Chinese visited "Pu la wa" about 821/1418. In 908-9/1503 12 shaykhs captured by Rui Lourenço Ravasco made Barawa tributary to Portugal. In 912/1507 Tristão da Cunha and Albuquerque stormed and burnt it; Barawa mustered 4-6000 defenders and afforded rich booty. It recovered temporarily but decayed after the rise of the Galla. Portuguese suzerainty was recognised intermittently. Portuguese writers describe it as a republic, governed by 12 shaykhs; Guillain mentions a council constituted by the heads of 5 Somali and 2 Arab tribes with a monarch elected for 7 years, whom, he was told, it had once been the custom to kill after that time. Barawa was nominally subject to the Āl Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] who asserted their authority against the Mazrui c. 1238/1822, but tribute was sometimes paid to Somali chiefs. For about 2 months in 1292/1875-6 it was occupied by the Egyptians. The Anglo-German declaration of 1303/1886 recognised Bū Saʿīdī rule. Three years later Italy announced a protectorate over the coast and Barawa was subsequently leased to her (see SOMALILAND). Harbour works were begun in the hope of making it the port of the Djub (Juba) region but were later abandoned.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 485; Idrīsī, 1st climate, pt 7; Storbeck in *MSOS* 1914; *J.Afr.S.* 1914-15, 158; *Ming Shih* ch. 326; *Tʿoung Pao* 1933, 297 and 1938-9, 354; J. Strandes, *Die Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch- und Englisch Ost-Afrika*, gives the important Portuguese references; Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores* vol. x, 382; C. Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale* tom. i, 572-3 tom. iii, 158 ff.; C. H. Stigand, *The Land of Zinj*; R. Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders* and *The Exploitation of East Africa*; G. Piazza, *La regione di Brava nel Benadir*; *Guida dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*. (C. F. BECKINGHAM)

BARBĀ, a name given by the Egyptians to all the temples and ancient monuments. This statement by Ibn Djubayr is corroborated by Yāḳūt, according to whom *barbā*, "which is a Coptic word", is applied to solidly constructed ancient buildings of pagan times, which served as laboratories for magic: they were wonderful buildings, full of paintings and sculptures. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, in turn, noted the excellence of the construction of these temples, the balanced proportions of their forms, the prodigious volume of the materials employed, end was astounded by the great multitude of inscriptions, figures, sunk carving and relief sculpture. In the eyes of some Arab writers, these various representations served a utilitarian purpose, namely to reproduce the techniques and tools of various crafts and to preserve a description of the sciences for future generations.

The Christian historian of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Severus of Ashmūnayn, employs the word *barbā* in the very precise sense of pagan temple, in contrast to the buildings of the Christian cult. The Arabic word *barbā* is, in fact, a transcription of the Coptic *p'erpé*—"temple", and usage has endowed it with a classical plural *barābī*. The expression *barbā* is also reported by Leo Africanus.

Many authors recount impossible stories concerning these temples, either that they tell of the means of defending the country against external enemies by means of talismans or that these talismans help in discovering treasures, which they take a greater delight in elaborating.

The only relatively serious description, from the pen of Ibn Djubayr, concerns the temple of Akhmīm, which no longer exists.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, i, 353; ii, 188; Ṣāʿid,

Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam, trans. Blachère, 85; Ibn Djubayr, 61, trans. Broadhurst, 53 ff.; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 182; Yāḳūt, i, 165, 531; Leo Africanus, ed. Épaulard, ii, 537; Maḳrīzī, ed. *IFAO*, i, 162; S. de Sacy, *Observations sur le nom des Pyramides*, in *Bib. des arabisants français*, i, 243-250; Quatremère, *Recherches dur la langue et la littérature de l'Egypte*, 278-280; *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, *Introduction* by G. Wiet, 98-114. (G. Wiet)

AL-BARBAHĀRĪ, AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. KHALAF ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-BARBAHĀRĪ, a famous Ḥanbalī theologian, who died at Baghdād at a great age. He was both a traditionist (*ʿālim*), and a jurist (*faḳīh*), being, above all, one of those popular preachers (*wāʿiẓ*), who, in the history of the Caliphate during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, played so important a rôle in the struggle of Sunnism against the Shīʿī missionaries (*duʿāt*) and who, without exhibiting the least spirit of compromise, successfully managed to oppose the progress of Muʿtazilite and semi-Muʿtazilite-inspired theology (*kalām*).

Al-Barbahārī was schooled in Ḥanbalī doctrine by Abū Bakr al-Marwazī (died 275/888) [*q.v.*] (cf. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 423-425; *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, i, 56-63; *Ikhtiṣār*, 32-34) who was supposed to have been one of Ibn Ḥanbal's favourite disciples and one of the most assiduous reporters of the great imām's *responsa*, both in the field of jurisprudence (*fiḳh*) and, more generally, in that of moral theology (*akhlāḳ*), the rules of civility (*ādāb*) and of religious beliefs (*ʿaḳāʾid*). The famous mystic Sahl al-Tustarī (died 283/896), who founded the Sālimiyya school (cf. *EI*[1], iv, 119) and who was to exert an influence on several other major representatives of Ḥanbalism, was likewise his teacher.

Al-Barbahārī is the author of a profession of faith, the *Kitāb al-Sunna*, the text of which has been transmitted to us in great measure by the ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn in his *Ṭabaḳāt* (ii, 18-43), and which recalls that composed by Aḥmad Ghulām Khalīl (died 275/888), an opponent of the extremist Ṣūfism of Abū Ḥamza and al-Nūrī (died 297/910) and himself an author with Ḥanbalī affinities (cf. L. Massignon, *Textes inédits*, 212-213). Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (died 329/941) is held to have composed his own *Ibāna* after a discussion with al-Barbahārī, an assertion which a comparative study of the two professions of faith does not show *a priori* to be inadmissible.

Al-Barbahārī's profession of faith is primarily a polemic work denouncing the multiplication of suspect innovations (*bidʿa*) and energetically enjoining a return to the precepts of the "old religion" (*dīn ʿatīḳ*), as it was understood at the time of the first three Caliphs, before the schism which followed the assassination of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and the succession of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The principle underlying this restoration resides in imitation (*taḳlīd*) of the Prophet, of his companions and their pious successors, among whom al-Barbahārī frequently cites, with Ibn Ḥanbal, Mālik b. Anas (died 179/795), ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (died 181/797), Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ (died 187/803) and Bishr b. al-Ḥārith (died 227/842). Al-Barbahārī does not condemn the use of reason (*ʿaḳl*); on the contrary he perceives therein a grace diversely distributed by God among his creatures and necessary to final salvation. Neither does he entirely reject what is *bāṭin* as opposed to what is *ẓāhir*, that is to say, what is inward and profound in contrast to what is outward and in conformity with the letter of the text, provided this *bāṭin* has its basis in the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. What he condemns above all else are the pernicious deviations, which result from the personal and arbitrary use of reasoning (*taʾwīl*; *raʾy*; *ḳiyās*) in the domain of religious beliefs. His theodicy, on the problem of the divine attributes (*ṣifāt*), is limited to an attempt to reproduce the data of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna.

Politically, he appears as an energetic defender of the rights of Ḳuraysh to the Caliphate, though he none the less reminds believers of the duty incumbent on them to obey all established authority, except where disobedience to God is involved. He is particularly severe in his condemnation of all attempts at armed revolt (*khurūdj bi 'l-sayf*), considering in fact that the re-establishment of the Law should be effected by appeal to public opinion, by the duty of missionary preaching (*daʿwa*), of enjoining the Good (*amr bi 'l-maʿrūf*) and of proffering good counsel (*naṣīḥa*). This re-establishment of the Law, in a world in which Islam had split up into numerous sects, was incumbent especially on the "people of the ḥadīth", on the *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa*, whose triumph God had definitely assured. True to his doctrine, al-Barbahārī conducted so vigorous a personal action against *bidʿa* and against the sects (*firḳa*), especially against Muʿtazilism and Shīʿism, that he was at times accused of entertaining political ambitions.

Indeed, al-Barbahārī's influence is to be discovered behind several popular demonstrations and insurrections which broke out in Baghdād between 309/921 and 329/941. He was not unconnected with the opposition encountered by al-Ṭabarī who, in 309, was invited by the *wazīr* ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā to come to discuss with his Ḥanbalī opponents points of doctrine which separated them and who, in 310, had to be buried at night in his own house because of the hostility of the mob (cf. on these incidents, especially *Bidāya*, xi, 132 and 145-146).

In 317/929 there was a brawl in Baghdād involving considerable bloodshed between al-Barbahārī's followers and their adversaries, arising from the interpretation given to verse xvii, 81/79: "Perchance thy Lord will send thee to a sojourn worthy of praise (*maḳām maḥmūd*)". Al-Barbahārī's disciples maintained that this was to be interpreted as meaning that on the Day of Resurrection, Gold would seat the Prophet on His throne, whilst, for their adversaries, who followed the doctrine of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Khuzayma, this was merely a question of the great intercession (*shafāʿa*) of the Prophet in favour of believers culpable of grave faults on the Day of Judgement (cf. *Bidāya*, xi, 162-163).

In 321/923, during the Caliphate of al-Ḳāhir, when the question arose of having Muʿāwiya cursed from the pulpit, a measure aimed directly at Ḥanbalī doctrine, the *ḥādjib* ʿAlī b. Yalbaḳ ordered a search to be made for al-Barbahārī, who managed to conceal himself, though a number of the Ḥanbalī theologian's disciples were exiled to Baṣra (*Kāmil*, viii, 204; *Bidāya*, xi, 172). The measures then taken by the Caliph al-Ḳāhir for the re-establishment of morality were designed in some degree to appease the Ḥanbalī critics.

Although the supporters of al-Barbahārī do not seem to have played a direct rôle in 322/934 at the time of the trials of al-Shalmaghānī and of Ibn Muḳsim, nevertheless the Ḳurʾān reader Ibn Shanabūdh, likewise accused of publicly teaching Ḳurʾānic readings divergent from those of the recension of ʿUthmān, was brought to trial by the

wazīr Ibn Muḳla and sentenced (cf. al-Ṣūlī, trans. M. Canard, i, 109 and 145), apparently as the result of a noisy demonstration by the Ḥanbalīs of Baghdād.

The agitation by al-Barbahārī's supporters reached its apogee in 323/935, at the beginning of al-Rāḍī's Caliphate, still under the vizierate of Ibn Muḳla, on the eve of Ibn Rāʾiḳ's appointment as *amīr al-umarāʾ*. Muslim historians (al-Ṣūlī, i, 114; *Kāmil*, viii, 229-231; *Bidāya*, xi, 181-182) depict the Ḥanbalīs looting shops, intervening in commercial transactions to impose the prescriptions of the Law, attacking the wine-sellers and singing-girls, smashing musical instruments, pushing their way into private dwellings and denouncing to the Prefect of Police any man found in the street with a woman, not being her *maḥram* (cf. K. V. Zettersteen, *EI*[1], iii, 1169, s.v. RĀḌĪ). The Caliphal authorities then prohibited al-Barbahārī's supporters from meeting and teaching and the Muslims from praying behind an imām following the Ḥanbalī doctrine. As the ardour of al-Barbahārī's supporters did not diminish, a decree by the Caliph al-Rāḍī (text in *Kāmil*, viii, 230) was issued in 323, condemning Ḥanbalism and excluding it from the Muslim community; it accused it of developing an anthropomorphist theodicy (*tashbīh*) and of forbidding the visiting of the tombs of the great imāms (*ziyārat al-ḳubūr*). This condemnation only prevented Ḥanbalī demonstrations for a while.

Al-Barbahārī's supporters resumed their agitation with violence in 327/939 under the amīrate of Badjkam; they molested people going to the *maḥyā* festival, that is to say the ceremonies organised in some mosques during the night of the 14th/15th Shaʿbān (cf. al-Ṣūlī, i, 204 and 205). The Prefect of Police issued orders for al-Barbahārī to be found, but once again he concealed himself, though one of his lieutenants, a certain Dallāʾ, was executed.

The likelihood of disarming the hostility of al-Barbahārī's supporters was further diminished by the fact in 328/940 the amīr Badjkam had the mosque of Barāthā rebuilt. This mosque had been demolished under the Caliphate of al-Muḳtadir and was considered by Sunnīs as the "nest of Shīʿism" (cf. al-Ṣūlī, i, 142 and 208). When in 329 the amīr Badjkam was assassinated by a band of Kurdish brigands, the Ḥanbalīs noisily gave vent to their satisfaction, attempted to demolish the mosque of Barāthā and also attacked the quarter of the money-changers and bankers, in the Ḍarb ʿAwn, which was at the heart of the financial and commercial life of the ʿAbbāsid metropolis (al-Ṣūlī, ii, 16 and 19). The Caliph al-Muttaḳī was obliged to have a number of Ḥanbalīs arrested and to place the Shīʿī mosque under a heavy guard.

At this juncture, in Radjab 329/April 941, al-Barbahārī died in the house of Tūzūn's sister, where he had hidden himself and where he was buried (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ii, 44-45; *Bidāya*, xi, 201).

Al-Barbahārī's influence also manifested itself in several contemporary Ḥanbalī doctors, especially Ibn Baṭṭa al-ʿUkbarī (died 387/997), who met him at Baghdād on a number of occasions and who drew inspiration in his *Ibāna* from his *ʿaḳīda*. His influence is likewise to be encountered, through the medium of Ibn Baṭṭa, on the ḳāḍī Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ (died 458/1066) and several of his disciples, especially the Sharīf Abū Djaʿfar al-Hāshimī (died 471/1078), who instigated several violent popular demonstrations against *bidʿa*.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Ḥusayn b. al-Farrāʾ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo 1371/1952, ii, 18-45; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 201-202; Nābulusī, *Ikhtiṣār Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus 1350, 299-309; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 319-323; H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, in *PIFD* 1958, xxviii-xli and index.

(H. LAOUST)

BARBAROSSA [see KHAYR AL-DĪN].

BARBASHTURU, an ancient city on the R. Vero, a tributary of the Cinca, N.E. of Saraḳusta (Saragossa), in the approaches to the Central Pyrenees (modern Barbastro). It lay 50 km. almost due E. of Washḳa (Huesca). Barbashturu is stated by Ibn Ḥayyān to have become Muslim at the time of the conquest of Spain, and to have remained in Muslim hands continuously thereafter for upwards of 360 years. It became a bastion of the defences of al-Thaghr al-Aʿlā (the 'Upper Frontier'), in which sytem it formed a link between Saraḳusta and Lārida (Lérida).

In an account of the expedition of ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar in 396/1006 against Pampeluna, Barbashturu is mentioned as the last place in the lands of Islam (Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 12). At the time of its capture in 456/1064 (see below) it belonged to the Banū Hūd of Saraḳusta, and evidently contained a large population and substantial wealth, though the figures given by the Arabic historians who, following Ibn Ḥayyān, describe this event, appear to be exaggerated. In the summer of 1064, a Christian force estimated at 40,000 men presented itself before Barbashturu. These included Normans under Robert Crespin — the name is given by a Latin chronicler—and others, who with Papal support were engaged in what has been described as *una cruzada antes de las cruzadas*, 'a crusade before the Crusades'. After a siege of more than a month they succeeded in taking the town. Though the part played by the Christians of Spain is obscure, and though Barbashturu was retaken after a year, its fall marked a stage in the reconquest of the country. It was spoken of by contemporaries as an event without parallel, the greatest disaster which had ever happened in Muslim Spain, and Ibn Ḥayyān's painful reflections on the state of al-Andalus were prompted by what had taken place there (cited in Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 254-255).

It was characteristic of the disunity among the Spanish Muslims that the ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtaḍid sent only 500 horsemen to al-Muḳtadir b. Hūd of Saraḳusta, his nominal ally, then assembling forces for a counter-stroke, though urged to march in person by al-Hawzanī, a noble of Seville (Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, ed. Sh. Ḍayf, I, 234). Thanks to a corps of crossbowmen, al-Muḳtadir b. Hūd succeeded in retaking the town. Yet Barbashturu was not destined to remain much longer in Muslim hands. It was finally taken for the Christians by Pedro of Aragon in 1101, an event which seems to have been known to Yāḳūt (cf. *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, s.v.).

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, iii, 225-228, 253-255; al-Maḳḳari, *Analectes*, ii, 749 ff.; R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*[3], ii, 335 ff.; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929, i, 163 ff.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

BARBAṬ [see ʿŪD].

BARCELONA [see BARSHALŪNA].

BARDASĪR [see KIRMĀN].

BARDESANES [see DAYSĀNIYYA].

BARDHAʿA, Armenian Partav, modern Barda, a town S. of the Caucasus, formerly capital of Arrān, the ancient Albania. It lies about 14 miles from the

R. Kūr (2 or 3 *farsakh*s according to the Arabic geographers; Masʿūdī says inaccurately 3 miles, *Murūdj*, ii, 75) on a river of its own (Muḳaddasī, 375), the modern Terter (Tharthūr, Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 560). It was built, according to Balādhurī (194), by the Sāsānid Ḳubād (ruled A.D. 488-531). This is varied by Dimishḳī (*Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 189), who mentions as founder a mythical Bardhaʿa b. Armīnī (?), earlier than Ḳubād. The Arabs attempted to explain the name as from Persian *barda-dār*, 'place of captives', from the original purpose to which it was put.

Bardhaʿa served the Sāsānids and the Arabs later as a frontier fortress against invasion from the N. and W. At the time of the Arab conquest it was taken after a short resistance by Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī (Balādhurī, 201), probably before 32/652, the date of the Arab debacle at Balandjar [*q.v.*]. Thereafter Arrān, the province of which Bardhaʿa and its territory formed part, was usually joined with Armenia, sometimes with Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, under a single governor. In the Caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik its fortifications were reorganised by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḥātim (Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, i, 40, *sub anno* 86/705) and perhaps further improved by Muḥammad b. Marwān a little later (cf. Balādhurī, 203). After this Bardhaʿa was well fitted to be 'the spearhead of Muslim domination and policy in those parts' (V. Minorsky) and is mentioned repeatedly during the second Arab-Khazar war and later under the ʿAbbāsids. As late as the 10th century the population retained their own Arrān dialect (Iṣṭakhrī, 192).

When Iṣṭakhrī wrote (circa 320/932), Bardhaʿa was at the height of its prosperity, though decline was soon to set in. It covered an area of several miles in length and breadth in a fertile and well-watered region, and in mere size challenged comparison with Rayy and Iṣbahān. In the district of Andarāb, beginning a mile or two from the town, gardens and orchards extended continuously in every direction for a day's journey or more. Hazel-nuts and chestnuts of the finest quality and a local fruit resembling that of the service-tree were to be found in abundance. Bardhaʿa also produced superior figs, and especially silk, the latter exported to Khūzistān and Fārs. The mulberry-trees on which the silkworms fed were public property and according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (see below) most of the population had a hand in silk-production. Of several kinds of fish caught in the R. Kūr was one called *sarmāhī* or *shūrmāhī* (Persian = 'salt-fish'), which when salted was also exported. The mules of Bardhaʿa mentioned by Muḳaddasī (380) were appreciated as far away as Central Asia (at Samarḳand in 416/1025, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 283). These and other commodities, such as the furs from the North mentioned by Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 63), madder and caraway-seeds (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 143), were no doubt mostly offered for sale at the Sunday market (*sūḳ al-kuraki*, from Κυριακή, the Lord's day, reflecting the Christian religion of the inhabitants earlier), situated in the suburbs outside the Gate of the Kurds (Bāb al-Akrād), to which visitors came even from ʿIrāḳ. The public treasury at Bardhaʿa dated from Umayyad times (Ibn Ḥawḳal), and according to the older fashion was in the Friday Mosque, beside which stood the palace of the governor.

This description serves also as the basis of Ibn Ḥawḳal's account nearly 50 years later (367/977), the chief difference being that Ibn Ḥawḳal knows of the capture and occupation of Bardhaʿa by the Russians in 332/943. A notice of this remarkable event is given by Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 308-10) and in greater detail, evidently from eye-witnesses, by Ibn Miskawayh (*The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, ii, 62-67; English translation, v, 67-74, reprinted in N. K. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History*, Cambridge 1946, 138-144). The Russians, whose number is not given but who must have numbered at least several thousand, appeared in the Caspian, undoubtedly from the Khazar country on the Volga, as on other occasions (cf. D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, 209 ff.; 238 ff.), and having sailed up the R. Kūr, defeated the forces of al-Marzubān b. Muḥammad, the Musāfirid ruler of Ādharbaydjān, and gained possession of Bardhaʿa. The Russian occupation continued for many months (a year according to Yāḳūt, ii, 834), and they were only dislodged with the greatest difficulty, after an epidemic had decimated their numbers.

Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions the ill effects of the Russian invasion but, as is now clear from the second edition of his work (see *Bibliography*), he does not ascribe the catastrophic decline of Bardhaʿa in his time, illustrated by a report that there are now only five bakers in the town where formerly there were 1200, mainly to devastation caused by the Russians. Rather this was due, he tells us, to 'the injustice of its rulers and the management of lunatics' (1st ed., 241), phrases which are amplified and explained in his second edition (336) as fiscal molestations which have 'eaten up it and its people', and to 'the neighbourhood of the Georgians (al-Kurdj)' (2nd ed. 337, 339). The latter appears to have reference to interference from the direction of Gandja (Djanza), later Elizavetpol, only 9 *farsakh*s distant from Bardhaʿa (Yāḳūt, i, 559), where the Shaddādids ruled in the 2nd half of the 4th/10th century. Otherwise the misgovernment and excessive taxation of which Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks must probably be ascribed to the Daylamite Musāfirids, unwilling to see Bardhaʿa recover its former position to the detriment of Ardabīl. Bardhaʿa may have revived somewhat, since an attack upon it by a king of the Abkhāz is said to have provoked reprisals by the Saldjūḳ Alp Arslān in 461/1067. But it is scarcely mentioned in the Mongol period, and in the long interval which has elapsed since then can hardly have been much more than it is today, a village in the midst of ruins.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 182-184; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 1st ed. (De Goeje) 240-1, 2nd ed. (Kramers), 336-339; Muḳaddasī, 375; Yāḳūt, i, 558-561; Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, 344; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, indices; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953, 16-17, 65, 104, 117; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, index.

(D. M. Dunlop)

BARDJAWĀN, Abu 'l-Futūḥ, a slave who was for a while ruler of Egypt during the reign of al-Ḥākim. He was brought up at the court of al-ʿAzīz, where he held the post of intendant (*Khiṭaṭ* ii, 3; Ibn Taghribirdī, Cairo, iv, 48; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 201). He was a eunuch, and was known by the title *Ustādh* [*q.v.*]. His ethnic origin is uncertain—Ibn Khallikān calls him a negro, Ibn al-Ḳalānisī simply a white (*abyaḍ al-lawn*), al-Maḳrīzī either a Slav or a Sicilian, the readings Saḳlabī and Siḳillī both occurring in the MSS. of the *Khiṭaṭ* (cf. S. de Sacy, *Chrestomothie*, i, 130).

Bardjawān was appointed guardian of the young heir to the Caliphate by al-ʿAzīz, and on the latter's death in Ramaḍān 386/October 996, he proclaimed

his ward as the Caliph al-Ḥākim. His rôle was at first limited to the guardianship of the young sovereign, the effective power in the state resting with the *Wāsiṭa* [*q.v.*] Ibn ʿAmmār al-Kutāmī, the leader of the Berber troops and faction. Ibn ʿAmmār's power was no doubt irksome to the young Caliph and his guardian; the supremacy of the Berbers undoubtedly angered the Turks and other Easterners in the army, and probably also the general Egyptian population. Bardjawān threw in his lot with the Easterners, and in 386/996 wrote to Mangutakin, the Turkish governor of Damascus, inviting him to come with his army and save Egypt and also the person of the Caliph from the tyranny of the Berbers. Mangutakin, with Turkish, Daylamite, Negro, and local Arab support, advanced against Egypt, but was defeated near ʿAskalān by a Berber force sent by Ibn ʿAmmār and commanded by Sulaymān b. Djaʿfar b. Fallāḥ. Bardjawān was compelled for the moment to submit to Ibn ʿAmmār, but a little later the support of Djaysh b. Ṣamṣāma, a disaffected Berber officer, enabled him to challenge Ibn ʿAmmār again, this time successfully. In an open clash Ibn ʿAmmār was defeated and driven into hiding, while Bardjawān took his place as *wāsiṭa* and effective master of the state (28 Ram. 387/4 Oct. 997). Bardjawān dealt leniently with the defeated Berbers in Egypt, but the breaking of their power proved to be permanent. In Damascus the Berber governor was dismissed and his Kutāmī troops massacred. A period of disorder followed in Syria, which was ended by vigorous action on the part of Bardjawān. Arab rebels were suppressed in Palestine and Tyre, and Byzantine attacks by land and sea repelled. Diplomatic negotiations ended with a ten-year truce between the Byzantine and Fāṭimid Empires. In the West, Bardjawān conquered Barka and Tripoli, both of which were placed under eunuch governors. The latter conquest was of brief duration.

Emboldened by these successes, Bardjawān adopted a high-handed attitude to the Caliph, even going so far, according to some sources, as to restrict his riding on horseback and his expenditure on gifts (Nuwayrī, Bar-Hebraeus). Nuwayrī tells a revealing story, according to which Bardjawān used to call al-Ḥākim 'the lizard' (*wazgha*); this nickname rankled, and when al-Ḥākim summoned Bardjawān to his death, the message ran: 'Tell Bardjawān that the little lizard has become a large dragon, and wants him now'. Al-Ḥākim's resentments were encouraged by another slave eunuch, Abu 'l-Faḍl Raydān al-Saklabī, who warned the Caliph that Bardjawān was trying to emulate the career of Kāfūr, and proposed to deal with him as Kāfūr had dealt with the Ikhshīdids. Bardjawān was stabbed to death by the hand of Raydān, and by order of the Caliph, in the night between 26th and 27th Rabīʿ II 390/5 April 1000 (Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, who does not, however, mention the exact day; Ibn Khallikān; al-Makrīzī; Ibn Muyassar—the reading *sabʿin*, instead of *tisʿin*, is an obvious error; Ibn al-Kalānisī, followed by Ibn al-Athīr, gives the year as 389).

The killing of Bardjawān aroused the anger of both the populace and the Turks, who no doubt feared a revival of Berber rule. The Caliph, however, appeared to the armed crowd above the door of his palace, and defended his action; accusing Bardjawān of plotting against him, he appealed for help in his youth and inexperience. Letters to the same effect were also sent out. In the Druze epistle *Al-Sīra al-Mustaḳīma*, by Ḥamza, there is an interesting passage in which the execution of Bardjawān by the youthful caliph, without fear of the anger of the troops, is presented as an act of unprecedented daring, presaging the miraculous quality of al-Ḥākim's rule (*al-Muktabas*, v. 306).

Bardjawān is said to have been a man of taste and a lover of the pleasures of this world. His house was a meeting place of poets and musicians. On his death, he astonished his contemporaries by the size and variety of the wardrobe, library, stables, and establishment which he left. A street in Cairo was named after him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Al-Ishāra ilā man nāl al-wizāra*, 27-8; Severus b. al-Mukaffaʿ, *Patriarchs*, ii, 121; Ibn al-Kalānisī, 44-56, 59; Ibn Muyassar, 51, 53, 54-5; Ibn Khallikān, i, 110 (Eng. tr. i, 253) and ii, 201; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 57; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronographia*, Eng. tr. 180, 182; Ibn Taghribirdī, Cairo, iv, index; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *Annales*, ed. Cheikho, 180, ed. Kratschkovski and Vassiliev, 453, 462. The fullest account is given by al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 3-4; cf. ibid. 285 (= Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe* i, Paris 1826, 52 ff. and 94 ff. of the translation). See also Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, i, Paris 1838, cclxxxiv-ccxcv; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 124-5; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, 197-9; M. A. ʿInān, *Al-Ḥākim bi'amri'llāh*, Cairo n.d., 44-9; I. Hrbek, *Die Slawen im Dienste der Fāṭimiden*, *Aro*, xxi, 1953, 575-6.

(B. Lewis)

BARDO [see Tunisia].

BAREILLY (Barēlī) a district town in the Uttar Pradesh, India, situated in 28° 22′ N. and 79° and 24′ E. stands on a plateau washed by the river Rāmgangā. Population (1951): 194,679. Founded in 944/1537, the town derives its name, according to tradition, from Bās Dēō, a Barhēlā Rādjpūt by caste. It is popularly known as Bāns Bareilly, partly to distinguish it from Rāē Barēlī, the birth-place of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*], and partly due to the proximity of a bamboo (*bāns*) jungle.

During the reign of Akbar, a fort was built here to check the depredations of the Rādjpūt tribes of Rohīlkhand. As usual a town gradually grew up round the citadel, and, by 1005/1596, it had developed into a *pargana* head-quarters. It remained of little importance till the reign of Shāh Djahān when it was made the capital of Kētehr (the old name of Rohīlkhand). In 1068/1657, a new city was founded by Makrand Rāy, who was appointed governor in place of ʿAlī Kulī Khān, who had held the office since 1038/1628. During the Mughal period the city was ruled by a governor. After the death of Awrangzīb in 1119/1707 the Hindus of Bareilly turned out the Mughal governor, refused to pay the tribute, and assumed power. They, however, soon fell out among themselves, and invited ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, the Rohilla chieftain, to assume the reins of power. He soon extended his sway right up to Almōrā in Kumāon but in 1158/1746 Muḥammad Shāh, King of Delhi, marched against him and took him a prisoner to Delhi. He, however, soon won back his freedom and returned to the governorship of Bareilly in 1160/1748. On his death in 1162/1749 he was succeeded by Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, who after some sharp encounters with Awadh forces, strengthened by Mahratta contingents, became the unquestioned ruler of Rohīlkhand. In 1184/1770 Nadjīb al-Dawla defeated Raḥmat Khān with the help of Mahratta troops under Sindhia and Holkar. Shudjāʿ al-Dawla,

however, came to the rescue of the Rohillas but soon afterwards fell upon them, killing their chief, Raḥmat Khān. In 1188/1774 Saʿādat Yār Khān was appointed governor of Bareilly under the Awadh *wazīr*. In 1216/1801 the town was ceded to the British, when entire Rohīlkhand fell into their hands. In 1220/1805 Amīr Khān Pindārī raided Bareilly but was driven off with heavy losses. In 1232/1816 the residents rose against the imposition of a local tax but were dealt with an iron hand. In 1253/1837 and 1257/1842 serious Hindu-Muslim riots took place. The town was badly disturbed during the "Mutiny" of 1273/1857 when Khān Bahādur Khān, grandson of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, was proclaimed governor. After the fall of Delhi in September 1857, Tafaḍḍul Ḥusayn Khān, Nawāb of Farrukhābād, Nānā Ṣāhib from Bitʾhūr and the Mughal prince, Fīrūz Shāh, the rebel leaders, made the city their stronghold. They were, however, defeated, and the city was re-occupied by the British on 5 May 1857. In 1287/1871 a Hindu-Muslim riot again took place and since then several religious riots have occurred. With the establishment of Pakistan in 1366/1947 the bulk of the Muslim population migrated from Bareilly.

'General' Bakht Khān [*q.v.*] of the Bareilly Brigade, who was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the rebel forces during the "Mutiny", was a native of this town. Aḥmad Riḍā Khān (d. 1340/1921), a theologian and scholar whose followers formed themselves into the *Ḥizb al-Aḥnāf*, popularly known as the *Barēlwīs*, also belonged to this town. The *Ḥizb al-Aḥnāf* is a sub-sect of the Ḥanafīs, who, contrary to other Sunnīs, believe that the Prophet possessed prescience or knowledge of the future. It is an article of faith with the *Barēlwīs* and has occasioned much strife among the *ʿulamaʾ* in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

The only building of note is the tomb of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, constructed by his son, Dhuʾl-Faḳār Khān, in 1189/1775. This tomb has been repaired several times, the last in 1891-2 by the British Government.

Bibliography: Gulzārī Lāl, *Tawārīkh-i Barēlī* (MS); *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vii 3-13; Alṭāf ʿAlī Barēlwī, *Ḥayāt Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān*, Badāyūn 1333/1913. *JRAS*, 1897, 303; also see the article *Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān*; *Al-ʿIlm* (quarterly), Karachi, iii/i 28-32; al-Badāʾūni (Bib. Ind.), index.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BĀRFURŪSH, formerly Bārfurūshdih ("the village where loads are sold") and renamed Bābul in 1927, is the chief commercial town in the second *Ustān* (Māzandarān). It is situated four miles to the east of the Bābul river, midway between the foot of the Elburz range and the coast; it is 12 miles from Bābul-i Sar (formerly Mashhad-i Sar), the port at the mouth of the Bābul river.

The town was founded at the beginning of the 16th century on the site of the ancient city of Māmṭīr or Māmaṭīr (see Melgunov, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, 177). Shāh ʿAbbās I used to visit the town and he laid out a garden to the south-east called Bāgh-i Shāh or Bāgh al-Iram. Bārfurūsh remained a place of little importance until the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*].

In recent years many new buildings, including administrative offices, a hospital and a number of schools, have been erected. The population in 1950 was 39,096.

Much silk, cotton and rice are produced in the neighbourhood.

Bibliography: B. Dorn, ***Muhammadanische** Quellen*, iv, 99; Le Strange, 375; Curzon, ***Persia** and the Persian Question*, i, 379, 380; H. L. Rabino, *Mazandaran and Astarabad*, 12, 21, 37, 45, 46; Sartīp H. A. Razmārā and Sartīp Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, ii, 36, 37.

(L. Lockhart)

BARGHASH b. Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, sultan of Zanzibar, succeeded his brother Madjīd, 7 Oct. 1870, and reigned till his death, 27 March 1888. He tried to seize power on his father's death in 1856, and again in 1859 when he was defeated by British intervention and sent to Bombay for two years. The British supported his accession but he at once resisted their efforts to suppress the Slave Trade, for he relied partly on the Ibāḍī Mlawa faction which was hostile to all European intervention in such affairs. In 1873 Barghash was obliged to suppress all slave markets and prohibit all export of slaves, even to other parts of his realm; he was then invited to London. In 1876 the movement of slave caravans on land was forbidden. To enforce this policy Lloyd Mathews began training African troops in 1877. The British agent Kirk won Barghash's confidence and became the dominant personality in Zanzibar till he left in 1886. In the African hinterland Barghash had inherited wide claims and some prestige but very little power. In 1877 the failure of negotiations with Sir Wm. Mackinnon for a concession for the development of the country between the coast and Victoria Nyanza ruined Barghash's best chance of enforcing his authority in the interior. In 1881 his proposal that Britain should guarantee the throne to his family and should exercise a regency if he died leaving a minor as heir was rejected. In 1884 the German agent Peters concluded twelve treaties with chiefs whose suzerain Barghash claimed to be; their territories lay along the trade route to Tabora and Ujiji. In 1885 Germany took them and the Sulṭān of Witu under her protection. Barghash's protest was met by the visit of five German warships and an ultimatum which lack of British support forced him to accept. A commission of British, German and French representatives then met to determine the extent of territory over which his authority would be recognised. Under British pressure Barghash accepted their decision (for details see bū saʿīd). His health was now broken and he died immediately on his return from a visit to ʿUmān. Barghash was an able and energetic ruler who did much for Zanzibar, supplied it with pure water, organised the import of cheap grain and worked hard to restore the clove industry after a cyclone in 1872. Contemporary Europeans often called him xenophobe but his position was extremely difficult. Britain, whom he was powerless to resist, especially after the collapse of France in 1870, forced him to adopt an anti-slavery policy highly unpopular with his subjects and at the same time gave him no support against the Germans.

Bibliography: R. N. Lyne, ***Zanzibar in Contemporary Times***, 1905; Emily Rüte (Barghash's sister who eloped with a German), ***Memoiren einer arabischen Prinzessin***, 1886; R. Coupland, ***The Exploitation of East Africa***, 1939, giving references to British official sources and the private papers of British officials.

(C. H. Becker-[C. F. Beckingham])

BARGHAWĀṬA, a Berber confederation belonging to the Maṣmūda group, established in the Tāmasnā [*q.v.*] province, extending along the Atlantic coast of Morocco, between Salé and Safi, from the 2nd/8th to the 6th/12th century.

They were an important confederation, able, according to the Andalusian geographer al-Bakrī, to put more than 12,000 cavalry into the field simultaneously. They appear to have played a certain political rôle up to the arrival of the Almoravids (second half of the 5th/11th century). Prior to this time, our information on the Barg͟hawāṭa is almost exclusively due to the Eastern traveller Ibn Ḥawḳal (second half of the 11th/10th century) and the geographer al-Bakrī (second half of the 5th/11th century); several subsequent chroniclers merely reproduce the latter's narrative with slight variations of detail (see Bibliography). Al-Bakrī says that he derived his information from statements, evidently preserved in Spain, made by a Barg͟hawāṭa emissary to the Umayyad Caliph al-Ḥakam II, who came to Cordova on a mission in S͟hawwāl 352/October-November 963. Indications of the rôle played by the Barg͟hawāṭa at the time of the conquest of Morocco by the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin are to be found in the memoirs of al-Bayd͟haḳ (*Doc. inéd. d'Hist. almohade*) and in the *History of the Berbers* of Ibn K͟haldūn (see bibliography). In addition to the political importance of the Barghawāṭa confederation, they practised a special religion, which was nevertheless clearly derived from Islam; al-Bakrī alone gives us some meagre information on this subject, and the other chroniclers confine themselves to reproducing this.

Undeniably the Barghawāṭa's appearance in history is connected with the K͟hārid͟jite revolt of Maysara; the populations known under the name Barg͟hawāṭa (several chroniclers affirm without adequate proof that this was not their contemporary name) embraced the K͟hārid͟jite cause and in 127/744-745, if we are to believe a number of them, grouped themselves round an individual called Ṭarīf, whose origin is much disputed: some introduce him as a chief of the Zanāta and Zuwāg͟ha Berbers, some as deriving from a Berber group in Southern Spain (Barbāṭ, the distorted pronounciation of which was supposed to give Barg͟hawāṭ), whilst others even accord him a Jewish origin. The Sunnī authors, it should be noted, sometimes display a tendency to attribute such an origin to the strongest personalities of the dissident sects: e.g. the S͟hīʿī Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 204). Nobody, however, says that Ṭarīf was descended from a family established in the Tāmasnā in early times. Whether or not he was the promoter of a doctrine derived from Sunnī or K͟hārid͟jite Islam, he certainly does not seem to have professed it. His son Ṣāliḥ may perhaps have been the progenitor of the new belief after living and studying in the East. If we accept the chronology of al-Bakrī, completed by Ibn K͟haldūn, Ṣāliḥ came to power about 131/748-749 and transmitted it to his son al-Yasaʿ about 178/794/795. It was only the latter's son Yūnus who, openly professed and spread the new doctrine during his 43 years reign, from 228/842-843 to 271/884-885. We possess no information on the relationships which must have existed at this period between the Idrīsids and the Barg͟hawāṭa; nobody mentions any conflict between them. Nevertheless, there is an indication of a bloody battle supposed to have been won near the Wādī Baht by Abū G͟hufayl, Yūnus's nephew and successor (271-300/912-913). The Barg͟hawāṭa would thus appear to have attempted to take advantage of the decline of the Idrīsids to extend their domination and propagate their doctrine.

In the middle of the 4th/10th century, they appeared to Ibn Hawḳal as infidels against whom the Sunnīs tended to conduct a holy war from the *ribāṭs* of the region of Salé. Their economy seems to have been prosperous, as they maintained commercial relations with Fās, Ag͟hmāt, Sūs, and Sid͟jilmāssa. They attempted to open diplomatic relations with the Caliphate of Cordova. Soon, however, they were subjected to a series of attacks by D͟jaʿfar al-Andalusī, a client of the Umayyads, in 367/977-978, by Buluggīn b. Zīrī, viceroy of the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya, from 368 to 372/982-983, and by Wāḍiḥ, the manumitted slave of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir, in 389/998-999. The decline of the Caliphate of Cordova enabled them to recover their breath, but about 420/1029, they were subjected to attacks by Abu 'l-Kamāl Tamīm, chief of the Banū Īfran, who conquered them. His death in 424, gave them a new respite until the arrival of the Almoravids in 451/1059. After putting up a fierce resistance, which cost ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, the spiritual leader of the new conquerors, his life, the Barg͟hawāṭa were completely defeated and destroyed. Some, however, still remained in the Tāmasnā when the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin undertook the subjugation of Morocco after the conquest of Marrakes͟h (541/1147). Since they had embraced the cause of rebels against the new authority, the Almohad chief sent several expeditions against them and finally got the better of them in 543/1148-1149. From that date their group ceased to exist and gradually their name disappeared: Leo Africanus (beginning of the 10th/16th century) no longer quotes their name, though he knows that the Tāmasnā was formerly inhabited by "heretics".

Their doctrine, according to the glimpse which al-Bakrī affords of it, appears as a Berber distortion of Sunnī Islam with a number of S͟hīʿī infiltrations and an entirely K͟hārid͟jite austerity as regards morals. Ibn Ḥawḳal stresses the ascetic life and good morality of the Barg͟hawāṭa. Moreover, the institution of numerous prayers (five during the day and the same number at night) frequent fasts, very complete ablutions, the harshness of punishments inflicted on thieves (death), fornicators (stoning) and liars (banishment) can be ascribed to K͟hārid͟jite strictness. On the other hand, the fact that Ṣāliḥ promised that he would return when the seventh chief of the Barg͟hawāṭa had assumed power and declared that he was the Mahdī who would fight against the Antichrist (*al-dad͟jd͟jāl*) at the coming of the end of the world with the help of Jesus, can be considered a sign of S͟hīʿī influence. The month's fast in Rad͟jab or S͟hawwāl, the communal prayer instituted in Thursday, the food taboos (no heads of animals, no fish, eggs or cocks), and the rules of marriage are merely distortions of Muslim Law, as was the existence of a Ḳurʾān in the Berber language of 80 sūras, bearing names of prophets, animals etc. The continual use of the Berber language, the frequent resort to astrology and magic (healing by means of applications of the saliva of members of the family of Ṣāliḥ) bear witness to the influence of the Berber milieu on the faith of the Barg͟hawāṭa. It is to be regretted that apart from a few ritual expressions and the beginnings of a sūra cited by al-Bakrī, we possess no original documents on this religion. In such circumstances it is impossible to arrive at an accurate idea of it.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 82-83 (tr. de Slane, *J.A.*, 1842, i, 209-212); Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afr. Sept.*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, 134-141 (tr. of idem, Algiers 1913, 259-271); *Fragments*

hist. sur les Berb. au Moyen Age, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 15, 18, 36, 47, 52, 58, 74, 77, 80; Ibn ʿIdhārī, (tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1901, i, 324-331); *Doc. inéd. d'Hist. almohade*, ed. and trans. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1928, 106-107, trans. 176-177; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. and trans. Tornberg, Uppsala 1843-1846, 82-84, trans., 112-114; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, trans. de Slane, Algiers 1852, ii, 124-133, iii, 222; Leo Africanus, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, trans. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i, 157-162; G. Marcy, *Le Dieu des Abāḍites et des Barġwāta*, in *Hesp.* 1936, 33-56; A. Bel, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, Paris 1938, i, 170-175; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, Paris 1946, 126-128.

(R. Le Tourneau)

BARHEBRAEUS [see Ibn al-ʿIbrī].

BARHŪT (also Barahūt or Balahūt), a *wādī* in Ḥaḍramawt, in one wall of which is the famous Biʾr Barhūt, now known to be a cave rather than a well. The *wādī*, which lies east of the town of Tarīm, empties into al-Masīla, the lower stretch of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, from the south. At the mouth of Barhūt is Ḳabr Hūd [see hūd], the most sacred shrine in southern Arabia, which is the object of a *ziyāra* every Shaʿbān.

Early Islamic traditions describe Biʾr Barhūt as the worst well on earth, haunted by the souls of infidels. Barhūt probably came to be known throughout Arabia because of its association with the tomb of Hūd, rather than vice versa (cf. Wensinck, citing von Kremer, in *EI*¹, ii, 328); it is unlikely that a mere cave would have acquired such notoriety. The true nature of Biʾr Barhūt was first revealed by D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, who explored it in 1931. About 300 feet above the floor of the valley they found "a typical limestone cave, with nothing whatever volcanic about it. The curious but innocuous smell inside does not come from sulphurous vapour; it is probably due to the dust from the weathering of the rock or, perhaps, to bats". An examination of the main corridor and various side corridors failed to disclose any noteworthy remains.

Bibliography: For the old erroneous beliefs regarding Biʾr Barhūt, see the references cited by J. Schleifer in *EI*¹, i, 654, to which should be added C. von Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, i, Leiden 1901, 432-47, 481-4. For the cave, see D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut*, Leiden 1932.

(G. Rentz)

BARĪD, word derived from the Latin *veredus*/ Greek *beredos* (of uncertain origin, perhaps Assyrian) "post horse", usually applied to the official service of the Post and Intelligence in the Islamic states, and likewise to the mount, courier and post "stage". The institution of the state postal service was known to the Byzantine and Sāsānid Empires, from which it would appear the first Caliphs only required to borrow it, its foreign origin being confirmed by a partly Persian terminology. The *barīd* operated from the Umayyad period and ʿAbd al-Malik is considered as having strengthened its organisation, once he had re-established internal order. From the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid regime, the Post was one of the most important governmental services and its direction was entrusted to intimates of the Caliph, such as Djaʿfar the Barmakid, or to Palace eunuchs. The various Caliphs developed the system of stages which, in the middle of the 3rd/9th century, covered the whole Empire.

The actual organisation of the post in the ʿAbbāsid period is sufficiently well known thanks to the works of Ibn Khurradādhbih and Ḳudāma, composed for the use of the secretaries of state in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, which provide lists of stages. The Empire contained no less than nine hundred and thirty stages (*sikka*, also called *ribāṭ* in Iran and *markaz al-barīd* in Egypt), theoretically, situated two *farsakhs* (12 km.) apart in Iran and four (24 km.) in the western provinces; officials (*murattabūn*) were responsible for ensuring the transport of the post (*al-kharāʾiṭ*) within the times allotted. The messengers (*fuyūdj*, *furānik*) used mainly mules in Iran and camels in the West, but sometimes horses as well. The organisation, however, remained flexible and several times a Caliph, a *wazīr* and even an ordinary governor were to be found temporarily strengthening the postal service on a particular route for political or military reasons. Pigeons were also employed for sending urgent news. The Post being an official service, it only transmitted private letters as an exception to the rule. The mounts also served to carry men, when these were agents of the State, and we even find the new Caliph al-Hādī availing himself of the services of the *barīd* to return to Baghdād from Djurdjān after the death of his father (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 547 and al-Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo ed., 167).

The Postmasters (*aṣḥāb al-barīd*), who came under the authority of the director of the department of the Post (*ṣāḥib dīwān al-barīd*) were not restricted in their duties to the transmission of official letters emanating either from local officials or from the central services. Thanks to a text of al-Ṭabarī relating to the Caliphate of al-Manṣūr and to a diploma of investiture preserved by Ḳudāma, we are acquainted with the duties of these officials. They had to provide the central government with all necessary information on the state of their province and agents' activities, on the attitude of the commissioners for land taxation and Crown lands and that of the ḳāḍīs, and on the monetary and economic situation. Their supervision extended also to the governor of the district, as is shown by the episode of Ṭāhir's [*q.v.*] autonomy in Khurasān and, in some cases, they were also entrusted with the duty of redressing grievances (Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, i, 25). In Baghdād the reports assembled by the director of the *dīwān* were communicated directly to the Caliph, at least in the early period. In addition, there was a director of intelligence (*khabar*), entrusted with the supervision of the officials and officers of the capital, including the *wazīr* himself when necessary (Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, i, 24); this office, which seems to have been independent of the Postal Service properly so-called, was entrusted to eunuchs or amirs enjoying the sovereign's confidence.

If we are to credit the account in the *Taʿrīf* of al-ʿUmarī, the Buwayhids "cut off" the *barīd* so as to deprive the Caliph of his means of gaining information, thus bringing him more surely under their tutelage. It was in fact in their time that "runners" (*suʿāt*) first appear in the East. Gradually the postal service seems to have become increasingly disorganised until its suppression by the Saldjūḳids (455/1063), after which extraordinary "emissaries" alone were used. At the time of the Crusades, the Zangids and Ayyūbids had no real postal service at their disposal, but made use of runners, swift cameleers and pigeons.

In the Mamlūk State, the postal service for a time recovered its former importance, and its workings are known to us through texts and archaeological remains. Its reorganisation was the work of Baybars, who not only drew upon the example of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, but also on that of the Mongol Empire, with which he had to contend. The Mamlūk *barīd*, an organ of the State closely linked with the Holy War, therefore, assumed primarily a political and military rôle, although later it was adjusted to favour commercial traffic. Directed initially by the sultan himself, it later passed into the hands of the secretaries of state, recruited from the famous family of the Banū Faḍl Allāh, who imparted to it a bureaucratic character, before passing back to the amīr *dawādār*. In addition to couriers (*barīdī*) commanded by a *muḳaddam al-barīdiyya* and recruited among the mamlūks of the sultan's household, the personnel included stage grooms (*sāʾis*) and "outriders" (*sawwāḳ*). The postal service first operated in Egypt and on the Cairo-Damascus route (a distance normally covered in a week) and was subsequently extended to the towns of the Syrian coast and the fortresses on the Taurus borders. The stages for changing horses, theoretically four *farsakhs* apart, were first established in public caravanserais. Then special buildings were erected for the purpose, of which the almost universal type, apart from architectural improvements, corresponded to the requirements of "stabling the sultan's horses and housing the small number of men in charge of them" (J. Sauvaget). The routes were then adjusted to ensure a quicker and more regular service. At the same period, the reception of the couriers by the sultan was surrounded by a special ceremonial and their badge of office, known from its employment in Mamlūk heraldry, was given a more sumptuous appearance. Pigeon post and a system of visual signalling were also developed. The invasion of Tīmūr (803/1400), however, destroyed ihts organisation and swift cameleers and runners were again used for carrying official mail.

The institution of the Post existed in the various Muslim states, where it met practical requirements and harmonised with the ethical principles of the Ḳurʾān, the inviolability of letters and state secrets; its form, however, was not always very developed. In Muslim Spain in the 4th/10th century, the State postal service had not the same importance as it possessed in the East; it employed messengers mounted on mules and Sudanese runners (*raḳḳāṣ*), which reveals the sketchy character of the organisation, and was directed by a *ṣāḥib al-burud*, a high official, who seems also to have had a network of agents at his disposal to provide intelligence. In the Ḥafṣid state in eastern Barbary, the Post assumed a more rudimentary aspect; the couriers had to provide their own mounts, and there were no fixed stages where they could change them. The Post also existed in Ṣafawid Iran as well as in the Ottoman Empire (see further POSTA, RAḲḲĀṢ, TATAR, ULAḲ).

Bibliography: In addition to the occasional references in the chronicles of the ʿAbbāsid period, see especially Ṭabarī, iii, 435; Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo ed., 42; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *passim*; Ḳudama b. Djaʿfar, *K. al-Kharādj*, ed. De Goeje, 184, and Köprülü MS, f. 15-16; N. Abbott, *The Ḳurrah Papyri*, Chicago 1938, 15-16; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 464-471; J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 28-29; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, Paris 1941, 65.

(D. SOURDEL)

AL-BARĪDĪ, *nisba* made especially famous by three brothers, sons of a postmaster of al-Baṣra, and called Banu 'l-Barīdī for that reason. They played an important rôle at Baghdād and in ʿIrāḳ during the Caliphate of al-Manṣūr and his successors. Shīʿī tax-farmers and military leaders, they distinguished themselves by their ambition and acts of prevarication and had eventful careers, very characteristic of the period preceding the advent of the Buwayhids.

The eldest of the three brothers, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad, appeared on the political scene during the second vizierate of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (315-316/927-928). Dissatisfied with the subordinate offices to which he and his brothers were then appointed, he obtained from the next vizier, Ibn Muḳla, against a gratuity of 20,000 dirhams, the tax-farm of the province of al-Ahwāz for himself and lucrative appointments for his brothers. When arrested two years later, upon the fall of Ibn Muḳla, these tax-farmers, who had rapidly grown rich, were capable of meeting a heavy fine as the price of their liberty. Somewhat later, under the following Caliph al-Ḳāhir, Abū ʿAbd Allāh again became influential. He financed the expedition against the former supporters of al-Muḳtadir and recovered the tax-farm of al-Ahwāz, still retaining it, in spite of numerous vicissitudes, at the beginning of the reign of al-Rāḍī (322/934), after having benefited from Ibn Muḳla's return to power. Appointed secretary to the chamberlain Yāḳūt, he succeeded in getting rid of him (324/936), and becoming the sole master of al-Ahwāz, where he unscrupulously amassed considerable wealth, constantly deferring payment of the moneys due to the central government, whilst at Baghdād he was represented by his brother Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb.

The *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ibn Rāʾiḳ soon undertook to subdue this undisciplined governor and occupy al-Ahwāz, but al-Barīdī was astute enough to take refuge with the governor of Fārs, the *amīr* ʿAlī b. Buwayh, whose support he obtained. In 325/937, he succeeded in becoming reconciled with Ibn Rāʾiḳ, who again granted him the tax-farm of al-Ahwāz and the governorship of the province. When, subsequently, Ibn Rāʾiḳ was faced with a rival in the person of the Turk Badjkam, al-Barīdī alternativly allied himself with them both and in 326/938, when Badjkam had prevailed, Abū ʿAbd Allāh obtained the vizierate, at the same time retaining his province and paying tribute to the Caliph. He was soon deposed, but after Badjkam's death, at the beginning of the reign of al-Muttaḳī (329/941), the Barīdīs entered Baghdād in force and Abū ʿAbd Allāh recovered the vizierate, which he retained until a military mutiny obliged him to return to Wāsiṭ. The following year (330/942), Abū ʿAbd Allāh entrusted his brother Abu 'l-Ḥusayn with the command of an army which succeeded in occupying Baghdād, forcing the Caliph and Ibn Rāʾiḳ to take refuge with the Ḥamdānids at al-Mawṣil. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, however, incurred such bitter hatred that he was soon hounded from Baghdād and Wāsiṭ by the Ḥamdānid troops. The three brothers held out at al-Baṣra in spite of the costly war which they had to conduct against the ruler of ʿUmān, who landed and occupied al-Ubulla. These adventures had exhausted Abū ʿAbd Allāh's

resources and he did not hesitate to have his brother Abū Yūsuf assassinated in Ṣafar 332/November 943 for the simple purpose of possessing himself of his wealth. However, he himself died shortly afterwards in Shawwāl 333/June 944 and was replaced by his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. The latter had to protect himself against the intrigues of his uncle Abu 'l-Ḥusayn who, seeking to obtain the governorship of al-Baṣra for himself, was in the end condemned to death and executed in Baghdād at the end of 333/944. He was then obliged to fight the Buwayhid Muʿizz al-Dawla who, in 336/947, expelled him from al-Baṣra. Forced to flee to the Carmathians of al-Baḥrayn, his political rôle came to an end. He died in 349/960. Abū ʿAbd Allāh had four other sons, to whom incidental references are made in the chronicles.

Bibliography: Buḥturī, *Diwān*, i, 217; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, trans. Canard, Algiers 1946-1950, i, 103 n. and ii, 40 n. 4; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 88, 104, 107, 147; idem, *Faradj*, 1938 ed., i ,165; ii, 119-120 and 164; ʿArīb, ed. De Goeje, 138; Miskawayh, ap. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1920-21, index; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, index; H. Derenbourg in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 193-196; Zambaur, 15; L. Massignon, in *ZDMG*, 1938, 380; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdânides*, i, Algiers 1951, 440-443 and 510-511.

(D. SOURDEL)

BARĪD SHĀHĪS. A dynasty founded by Ḳāsim Barīd, who was originally a Turkish slave sold to Muḥammad Shāh III, the 13th of the line of the Bahmanids [*q.v.*]. A man of outstanding personality, a good calligrapher and musician, he also proved his mettle on the battlefield and rose to be the *kotwal* in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh, and after the death of Malik Ḥasan Niẓām al-Mulk, arrogated to himself the office of chief Minister of the tottering Bahmanī State. He had often to contend with the more powerful fiefholders of the Kingdom who had become virtually independent at Bīdjāpūr, Aḥmadnagar and Golkonḍa, but his chief strength lay in his being always at the capital, Bīdar [*q.v.*]. Ḳāsim died in 910/1504 and was succeeded by his son Amīr Barīd. The authority of the Bahmanī Sulṭāns had been shattered by Ḳāsim, and what was left of it was now put an end to by his successor, till, after the flight of the last titular monarch, Kalīm Allāh he became supreme at Bīdar. But he had to cope with the power of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjāpūr who actually occupied Bīdar after routing the Barīdī ruler. The citadel was restored after a while, but only after the forts of Ḳandhār and Kalyānī had been annexed to Bīdjāpūr. Amīr Barīd tried to bring at least the small fiefholders under the direct control of the centre, much as Maḥmūd Gāwān had done [*q.v.*] but he was not successful. He died in 950/1543 and was succeeded by his son ʿAlī.

ʿAlī Barīd was a lover of literature, art and architecture and the Rangīn Maḥal within the fort at Bīdar and his own well-proportioned mausoleum are two outstanding monuments to his taste. He was blessed with a long reign. He was the first of the Barīdīs who adopted the royal title, although he was content with the epithet *al-Malik al-Mālik*, which appears in beautiful mother of pearl inlay in the Rangīn Maḥal. He was of the four allied monarchs who finally put an end to the power of Rāma Rāya, the regent of Vijayanagar, in 1565 and was put in command of the left wing of the allies along with Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb Shāh. He died in 987/1579.

The fortunes of the dynasty came quickly to a close after ʿAlī Barīd. He was followed by Ibrāhīm and then by Ḳāsim II who was succeeded by his infant son known as Mīrzā ʿAlī Barīd Shāh. A relative, known as Amīr Barīd Shāh II put him aside and occupied the throne. He was succeeded by a ruler who is called in a bilingual inscription Mīrzā Walī Amīr Barīd Shāh. It was in his reign that the Barīdī dynasty came to an end and Bīdar annexed Bīdjāpūr in 1028/1619.

Very few Barīdī coins have been found. Although Ferishta says that even Ḳāsim Barīd struck his own coins the only coins known so far are either the Bahmanī coppers with the punch-marked legend *Amīr Shāh*, which are attributed to Amīr Barīd II or else copper *fils* and half *fils* with "Amīr Barīd al-Sulṭān" but without any date. These are all in the Ḥaydarābād Museum.

Bibliography: Ferishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*; ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i Maʾāthir*; *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammad Ḳuṭb Shāh*; Zubayrī, *Basāṭīn al-Salāṭīn*; G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its History and Monuments*; Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*.

(H. K. SHERWANI)

II. — Monuments. All the monuments of this dynasty are in the town of Bīdar [*q.v.*]; as successors to the well established Bahmanī dynasty they inherited many fine structures, and their building activity was more a matter of adaptation and rebuilding than of the erection of any major structures. The progress of the Barīdī style is well illustrated in their tombs, which form a royal necropolis some 6 km. west of the city walls, and occupy a large area on account of the vast garden-enclosures of each tomb. Page references in the following account are to G. Yazdani, *Bīdar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947.

The tomb of Ḳāsim I, d. 910/1504, is a small insignificant building with a plain conical dome, p. 149. That of his successor, Amīr Barīd I, was left incomplete on his sudden death in 949/1542, without a dome; there are two storeys of arches on each façade, pierced by a central arch running through both storeys, all stilted at the apex as in the earlier Bahmanī buildings (pp. 150-1). The reign of ʿAlī Barīd (949-87/1542-79) saw much building activity: large scale improvements to fort and city fortifications, including the mounting of many more large guns; rebuilding of the Rangīn Maḥal, with fine mother-of-pearl inlay work and intricate wood-carving in which Hindū patterns are mixed with Muslim designs (44-9); much alteration of the Tarkash Maḥal, especially the upper storey, in which the chain-and-pendant motif, characteristic of Barīdī work from now on, is apparent (pp. 57-9); and ʿAlī's tomb, very well sited, with an imposing gateway having wide arches with low imposts and upper rooms decorated with a profusion of small cusped niches. Each wall of the tomb consists of one open arch, through which the fine sarcophagus of polished black basalt is visible; the interior is thus very bright and airy, and is embellished with good encaustic tile work (verses from ʿAṭṭār, Ḳurʾānic texts, in *Thulth*), though not over-elaborated. Since the tomb is open on all sides there is no *ḳibla* enclosure, and attached to the tomb there is a separate mosque with slender minarets a vaulted ceiling, and fine cut-plaster decoration on the façade. Tomb, gateway and mosque have the trefoil parapet which originates in the late Bahmanī period (pp. 151-60). The tomb of Ibrāhīm (d. 994/1586) imitates that of his father on a smaller scale

but is incomplete and presents surfaces of lime-laid masonry. Carved corner jambs show the Hindū *čakra* as part of their decoration (pp. 160-1). Both these tombs have a large dome, not stilted but recurved at the base to form a three-quarter orb, which appears somewhat top-heavy for the structure. This constriction of the dome is characteristic of the contemporary buildings of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī and ʿĀdil Shāhī [*qq.v.*] dynasties at Golcondā and Bīdjāpur also. The single opening is reverted to in the tomb of Ḳāsim II, which is better proportioned, but the open design is apparent in the dome over the *miḥrāb* of the Kālī ('black') *masdjid*, pp. 196-7. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid of the town (see Bīdar), a late Bahmanī building, was restored during the Barīdī period (chain-and-pendant motif in spandrels of the façade), pp. 103-4.

From the time of ʿAlī Barīd the buildings become more ornate in their minor detail, and the influence of the Hindū mason becomes more apparent; in some Barīdī buildings—*e.g.*, the Kālī *masdjid*—the forms used in stone often seem more appropriate to wood-work. Much of the later work shows that meretricious character often apparent in the buildings of a dynasty in decline.

Bibliography: Fuller details of many of the above buildings are given in the article on Bīdar, [*q.v.*]. See particularly Yazdani, *op. cit.*, for full references, extensive plates, drawings, plans, etc, and bibliography given in article Bīdar.

(J. Burton-Page)

BĀRIḤ (Ar.), a term applied to a wild animal or bird which passes from right to left before a traveller or hunter; although opinions differ on this point, this is generally interpreted as a bad omen, because, it is said, it presents its left side to the hunter who does not have time to take aim at it; an animal which passes from left to right (*sāniḥ*) is on the contrary of good omen. The *nāṭiḥ* approaches from the front, and the *ḳaʿīd* from the rear.

Bibliography: Freytag, *Einleitung*, 163; Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 202; Doutté, *Magic at religion*, 359; Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, index; *L.A.* s.v.; Maydānī, under *man lī bi-l-sāniḥ baʿd al-bāriḥ*.

(Ed.)

BĀRIMMĀ [see ḥamrīn, djabal].

BARĪRA, a slavewoman who had arranged to buy her freedom in nine (or five) annual instalments, appealed to ʿĀʾisha who agreed to pay the whole sum. The owners were willing to sell her, but insisted on retaining the right of inheritance from her. When the Prophet heard this he told her to buy her, for the right of inheritance belonged to the one who set a person free. ʿĀʾisha therefore paid the money and set Barīra free. She remained as ʿĀʾisha's servant and is said to have died during the Caliphate of Yazīd I (60-64/680-683). In the tradition of the lie she was consulted regarding ʿĀʾisha (cf. Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*, 15). Three *sunnas* are connected with her: (1) The Prophet said the right of inheritance belongs to the one who sets a person free. (2) She was given her choice about staying with her husband Mughīth who was a negro slave, and when she refused in spite of the Prophet's plea for Mughīth she was told to observe the *ʿidda* period appropriate for a divorced woman. Mughīth is said to have followed her in the streets of Medina weeping. (3) Once when the Prophet came in when meat was being cooked and was given something else to eat he asked the reason. On being told that the meat was *ṣadaḳa* given to Barīra, he said it was *ṣadaḳa* to Barīra but a gift to him, meaning that one who had received *ṣadaḳa* could give some of it as a present to another. Barīra is said to have warned ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān that if he became ruler he must avoid shedding innocent Muslim blood.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*, art. Barīra; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 708; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* (No. 177 in *Kitāb al-Nisāʾ*), *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xii, 403; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, Cairo 1280/1863-4, v, 409 f.

(J. Robson)

BARḲA, a word applied by the Arab writers both to a town—now al-Mardj—and to the region which belonged to it, that is to say Cyrenaïca, a broad African peninsula jutting out into the eastern Mediterranean between the gulf of Bomba and that of the Great Syrtis, situated, therefore, between long. 20° and 30° east of Greenwich and the parallels 30° and 33° of latitude. To the east begins the Marmarica, whilst the vast eastern Libyan Sahara stretches away to the south.

The relief is made up of plateaux, resulting from the folding, in the Miocene age, of thick layers of Cenomanian limestone and lower Tertiary; they slope gently towards the south, where the Saharan table has not been raised up, giving way to low alluvial plains and falling away to the sea in graded levels. The high plateau, the Djabal Akhḍar (Green Mountain) rises from 500 to over 600 metres, reaching its highest point at 868 to the south of the ruins of Cyrene. An intermediate plateau, from 250 to 400 metres, narrow in the north, then widens out to the west and south-west; it contains al-Mardj and dominates the coastal plain of Benghāzī, which is also of limestone. That Cyrenaïca is not a desert like its vast hinterland is due to the influence of sea and altitude: its temperatures are moderate in summer and it enjoys relatively high rainfall. January and July-August temperatures are 13.5° C. and 25.8° at Benghāzī, at sea-level, 10.4° and 23.9° at al-Mardj at an altitude of 285 metres, and 8.4° and 22.3° at Cyrene, situated at 621 metres, where snow is not unknown. Rainfall, slight on the western littoral (266 mm. at Benghāzī) and inadequate for almost all cultivation without irrigation as the local soils are often heavy, increases in the northern parts of the first plateau with 471 mm. at al-Mardj, and especially on the second, where more than 500 and even 600 mm. fall in the region of Cyrene. In contrast, rainfall declines towards the east (300 mm. at Derna) and, very rapidly, towards the south-east and the south. Likewise, the *wādīs* running down towards the Sahara only have water after the heaviest rains and end in vast enclosed depressions; of the very short and deeply embanked Mediterranean tributaries, only the *wādī* Derna has a perennial flow of water. The waters filter away into the limestone of the plateaux and only reappear in a few "Vauclusian" springs at the base of certain escarpments. The plateaux have a "carstic" relief, with swallow-holes, sink-holes, extensive areas without surface drainage and grottos. The high plateau, the Djabal Akhḍar, still supports, to the south of al-Mardj and Cyrene, several fine forests of horizontal cypress *Cupressus sempervivens*, var. *horizontalis*), green oaks, Aleppo pines and Phoenician junipers; in the main, however, it is covered by low forest and a scrub of mastics and wild olives. Cyrenaïca comprises 110,000 hectares of forest and scrub. The clearings, extended by man, afford good pasturage and fertile brown and grey land for cultivation. This very limited good region quickly passes on the coast and to the south into scanty heath dominated by a few junipers and broken

by increasingly extensive stretches of steppe. The large rocky outcrops enclose somewhat narrow areas of red clay soils, relatively fertile, but for the most part requiring too much water for so slight a rainfall. 55 kilometres to the south-east of Benghāzī and 60 to the south of Derna, begins the Sahara, with its very scanty pasturages and light soils.

"Serviceable" Cyrenaïca, a narrow fertile region and one favourable to sedentary life, isolated by the steppes of the Marmarica and Syrtica and by the vast Libyan desert, has always been a dependency of the East. A land of nomadic Libyans, it became the sole African dependency of the Greek world with the five colonies of the Pentapolis founded between the 7th and 5th centuries B.C.: Cyrene, the first to be created, and admirably situated in the heart of the Djabal Akhdar, its port Apollonia (Marsā Sūsa), Barkè (al-Mardj), Euhesperidis (Benghāzī) and Teuchira (Tocra). It was subsequently attached to Ptolemaïc Egypt, at which time Ptolemaïs (Tolmeta) and Darnis (Derna) originated. As a Roman province, it was beset by frequent disturbances and was far from prosperous. In the 4th century A.D., it was attached to the Eastern Empire and formed part of the Byzantine Empire down to the 7th century, without ever recovering its activity of the Greek period. On the eve of the Arab conquest, its agriculture was receding before the advance of pastoral life. Cyrenacïa was occupied by the Arabs after two campaigns conducted by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in 22/642 and 643. Subsequent expeditions crossed it, gradually reaching and conquering the Maghrib. Thus it became a major thoroughfare, both military and commercial, from Egypt westwards, either via the southern depression and oases such as Awdjīla or by the detour of the northern plateaux. The Berber tribes, the Lawāta, the Hawāra and the Awrigha, intermingled with Arab elements, took increasingly to stock-breeding, which spread at the expense of agriculture: exports to Egypt then consisted of live-stock, wool, honey and tar Bakrī, trans. de Slane, 15); Barka remained the only considerable centre. The region, linked to Egypt, was, like the latter, dependent in turn on Damascus, Baghdād and then the Fāṭimids. The Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaym invaders, who, in the 5th/11th century left Egypt and spread over the Maghrib, crossed the Barka region, which gradually became completely bedouinised. In Ibn Khaldūn's time, in the 8th/14th century (*Histoire*, trans. de Slane, i, 164-165), its towns and villages were ruined and the population, the ʿAzza, were shepherds leading a nomadic existence from the region of the oases in the south to the northern plateaux and cultivating barley; Barka and Bernīk (Benghāzī), however, still continue to be mentioned as well as the oases of Awdjīla and Adjdābiya. The region, in theory at least, continued to depend on Egypt and, like the latter, was occupied by the Turks in the 10th/16th century. It was, however, placed under the authority, more nominal than real, of the governors of Tripoli, whom the Karamanlī dynasty supplanted from 1711 to 1835. Barka disappeared and, at the beginning of the 19th century, Cyrenaïca, a European term, apart from the southern oases, only possessed two centres, which owed their existence to foreign immigration: Benghāzī, ancient Euhesperidis, originated at the end of the 15th century, from an immigration of Tripolitanians, and Derna, on the site of ancient Darnis, founded somewhat earlier by Andalusians, owed its modest rise to the Bey Muḥammad, who, in the 17th century, reorganised the irrigation: it has become a small palm oasis beside the sea with pretty gardens. In the interior, al-Mardj arose from the construction of a Turkish fort in 1840 on the site of Barka. In the second half of the 19th century, however, Cyrenaïca came under the *de facto* authority of the great Sanūsiyya confraternity, an effective politico-religious power based on a sound commercial organisation. Finally, in 1897, Muslims from Crete, fleeing before the Greek conquest, founded the modest Marsā Sūsa on the ruins of Apollonia.

When the Italians landed at Benghāzī and Tripoli in 1911, they found it, except for these modest urban centres, to be entirely a country of Bedouin, without a single village outside the oases. The population was made up entirely of semi-nomadic and nomadic herdsmen, living only in tents. The tribes formed two main groups, the Mrābṭīn (Murābiṭūn) and the Saʿādī. The Mrābṭīn are thought to have a Berber origin and comprise two groups: the Barāghīth to the west, whose main tribes are the Maghārba (Syrtic), the ʿUrfa and the ʿAbīd (al-Mardj), and, on the other hand, the Harābī, who include the Dorsa, on the littoral, the Hasa, the ʿAylet Fāʾiḍ and the Brāʿsa north and south of the central Djabal Akhdar and especially the ʿAbeidat on the plateaux south of Derna and the Gulf of Bomba. As regards the Saʿādī, they lay claim to purely Arab origins: they are the Fwāsher and the Awāghir on the steppes of the south-west, the minor tribes of the Marmarica and the nomads of the Awdjīla-Djalo region. Outside the urban centres, the entire population were Sunnī Muslims of the Mālikī rite; all spoke Maghribī type Arabic dialects, except the inhabitants of Awdjīla in the south, the first Berber-speaking locality to be encountered going westwards.

It was not until the end of 1931, after determined resistance by the Bedouin and Sanūsiyya, that the Italians became masters of the whole of Cyrenaïca with its hinterland. They did their utmost to colonise it. The first colonists settled, in rather hazardous conditions, on the unpropitious Benghāzī plain and in the vicinity of al-Mardj. Systematic effort, however, was directed towards the exploitation and settlement by Italians of the Djabal Akhdar, where, between 1934 and 1939, a dozen villages were founded. "Demographic" and then "mass" colonisation was extended over a total of 80,000 hectares, producing wine and olive oil. On the 9th January 1939, Cyrenaïca, like Tripolitania, was integrated with its hinterland in Italian territory. By this time, the Italians had begun to provide Cyrenaïca on a large scale with the equipment and services of a colonial country in the course of modernisation: a railway line from Benghāzī to al-Mardj and Solūk (164 km.), a network of roads in the west and the north, ports (especially at Benghāzī), aerodromes, educational establishments and hospitals, postal services, works to supply water, notably a pipe-line over 200 km. with pumping stations, reservoirs and branch conduits to serve the villages of the Djabal Akhdar, etc. Cyrenaïca entered the war period in full development. But all Italians left the country in the face of the final victorious offensive of the British Eighth Army in November-December 1942 and it then came under British Military Administration. The British then placed Idrīs, the leader of the Sanūsiyya, at the head of the amīrate of Cyrenaïca and, in 1951, assisted him to accede to the throne of the Libyan Federal Union, which, with Cyrenaïca, comprises Tripolitania and

Fazzān. Nothing remains of the agricultural work of the Italians; the country has reverted to pastoral life, with a little barley being grown, and the villages have fallen into ruin. Likewise nothing survives of the few industrial undertakings (fish canning-factories, breweries and distilleries, boot and shoe factories), which they had set up at Ben̲gh̲āzī. Exports now only include a few products derived from stock breeding, salt and sponges harvested by the Greeks in the Gulfs of Bomba and the Great Syrtis. Cyrenaïca, prolonged by its immense Saharan hinterland, stretching to lat. 20° and embracing the oases of Kufra, covers 855,400 km² (out of a total of 1,759,500 for the whole of the Federal Union of Libya), though it contains only 291,350 inhabitants, almost all in the North (out of a total of 1,091, 800). Its average yearly production is 360,000 quintals of cereals (barley and wheat), and it has a stock of between 450 and 500,000 sheep, 350 and 400,000 goats, 30 and 35,000 head of cattle and 20,000 camels. Sparsely populated, very poor in spite of the fertility of some of the regions in the north, deficient in financial resources and administrative personnel, Cyrenaïca is dependent on the financial and technical help provided by Great Britain, by the United Nations and the United States.

Bibliography: see LIBYA. Also F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades*, Paris 1952; P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica romana*, Rome 1943; E. de Agostini, *Le popolazioni della Cirenaica*, Tripoli 1925; G. Narducci, *Storia della colonizzazione della Cirenaica*, Milan 1942; W. B. Fisher and K. Walton, *The Aberdeen University expedition to Cyrenaica in* 1951, in *Scottish geogr. mag.*, 1952-1953; N. A. Ziadeh, *Barḳa*, Beirut 1950. (J. DESPOIS)

BARḲAʿĪD, in ʿAbbāsid times one of the sequence of small towns on the main route between Niṣībīn and Mawṣil, in the D̲j̲azīra province, the others being Ad̲h̲rama to the west, and Bāʾaynāthā and Balad (where the Mawṣil-Sind̲j̲ar road bifurcated south-westward) to the east. Barḳaʿīd, of which the modern Tall Rumaylān, north of the railway line (and near to Tall Kochek station thereon) may possibly mark the site, was probably just inside the Bec de Canard (eastward extremity of the modern Syrian province of D̲j̲azīra), and lay some 50-55 miles from Niṣībīn, and 80 from Mawṣil. It is described by a number of Arab geographers as a place of considerable scale, especially in the 3rd/9th century, with its walls and three gates, excellent springs, 200 shops (largely wine-shops) and busy traffic. It was, in its best days, the country-town of the district of Baḳāʿ, which covered most of the country between Mawṣil and Niṣībīn. It continued as a recognised staging-post until the 7th/13th century, but much diminished in scale by reason of the natural anxiety of travellers and caravans to avoid a place always notorious—indeed proverbial—for its population of thieves and robbers; Barḳaʿīd declined, therefore, to mere village status while its better reputed neighbours (notably, it is said, Bās̲h̲azzā, on an alternative route) increased.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim*, particularly Vol. vi, 214, Note f. (also 164); Yāḳūt, i, 571 ff., 701; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, ii, 294; Ḥarīrī's 7th. *Maḳāma*; Le Strange, 99; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 162-3; F. Tuch in *ZDMG*, i, 62-64; M. v. Oppen heim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persisch. Golf* (1900), ii, 143-144; 167-8 (de Goeje's Note).

(M. STRECK-[S. H. LONGRIGG])

BARḲŪḲ, AL-MALIK AL-ẒĀHIR SAYF AL-DĪN, Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt. He was the first of a new series of rulers, to whom history refers as Circassians in memory of the country where they were originally purchased as slaves, and as Burd̲j̲ī [see BURD̲J̲IYYA], because Barḳūḳ was the first to have belonged to a regiment with their barracks in the dungeons (*burd̲j̲*) of the Cairo Citadel.

Barḳūḳ provided the link between the two dynasties of Mamlūk sultans: before ascending the throne, he ruled Egypt as Marshal of the Armies, *atābak al-ʿasākir* [*q.v.*], during the turbulent reigns of two sultans, both minors, of the line of Ḳalāwūn.

Purchased in the Crimea, Barḳūḳ, unlike the rest of the Mamlūks, was no son of an unknown father but could state in his monumental inscriptions that he was the son of Anas; the latter was invited to come to Egypt, where he occupied a position of some standing.

Sold to the all-powerful Ylbug̲h̲ā ʿUmarī, the Marshal who had succeeded in breaking the ill-fated Malik Nāṣir Ḥasan, Barḳūḳ was for a short while imprisoned after the execution of his master. He passed into the service of the Court, but was soon involved in the conspiracy which ended in the assassination of Malik As̲h̲raf S̲h̲aʿbān in 778/1377.

He was then promoted to be Marshal of the Armies by Malik Manṣūr ʿAlī, a seven year old child. He had to contend with the ambitions of his fellows, and there was continual warfare, from which he finally emerged the victor. He was then able to gather a group of clients round himself and, when the Sultan died of plague in 784/1382, Barḳūḳ began by placing a brother of the late ruler on the throne, the eleven year old Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī. In the end he threw off the mask and, on the pretext that an energetic ruler was needed for the protection of the country, at the end of the same year had the crown offered to himself by a council of the magistrates presided over by the Caliph.

Barḳūḳ was soon up against serious difficulties, which were momentarily to make him lose power. They started with the revolt of the governor of the province of Aleppo, Ylbug̲h̲ā Nāṣirī, who was joined by a dismissed Mamlūk named Minṭās̲h̲. The rest of the Syrian governors joined the movement, including the governor of Sīs, on the remotest part of the frontier. When the Sultan, after causing his principal officers to renew their oath to him, made up his mind to take action, Ylbug̲h̲ā already held the whole of Syria and it was beneath the walls of Damascus that he defeated the legitimate army, which came to bring him to his senses, in Rabīʿ I 791/March 1389.

The sultan raised a second army corps, making his preparations in some haste, for Ylbug̲h̲ā's troops had penetrated into Egyptian territory at Ḳaṭyā and were encamped at Ṣāliḥiyya. The Sultan set out to take up his position at Maṭariyya, but returned to Cairo in despair, for the majority of his officers, guessing who would win, went over to the enemy camp. Nevertheless, he wished the matter to be decided by the arbitrament of war and the battle was fought to the north of Cairo and beneath the city's walls on the 9th D̲j̲umādā/1st May, without any decisive result. Day by day, Barḳūḳ saw the devotion of his men vanishing and, in the end, he left the Citadel in disguise and went into hiding.

He was discovered, and sent off to prison at Karak in the land of Moab, whilst Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī was replaced on the throne. As his masters, the latter had the factious generals, who proceeded to indulge themselves in the trivial occupation of street fighting. Barḳūḳ took advantage of this confused situation

and, escaping from imprisonment, gathered together an army composed in the main of Bedouin Arabs. After numerous vicissitudes, some of which read like an adventure story, he made his triumphal entry into Cairo in Ṣafar 792/February 1390.

Clearly Ḥādjdjī could do nothing but withdraw, but apart from this he was not troubled. Sulṭān Barḳūḳ, moreover, had not disposed of his old opponent Minṭāsh and a campaign of two years was needed to get rid of him.

As can be seen, these two reigns of the Sulṭān Barḳūḳ were eventful but contributed nothing to the glory of Egypt: the last fifty years of the 8th/14th century were indeed lamentable.

Other events must be noted, though at the time the seriousness of their implication was not evident. Already in 788/1386, during Barḳūḳ's first reign, rumours had been current in Cairo that a certain "Mongol rebel named Tīmūr" had marched on Tabrīz and this was soon confirmed officially by a dispatch from the Djalā'irid sultan of ʿIrāḳ, Aḥmad b. Uways, who urged Barḳūḳ to be on his guard. The Mamlūk government then sent one of their intelligence agents to conduct an inquiry on the spot: in Radjab 789/July 1387, the latter brought back somewhat alarming news. Detachments of the Mongol army had entered Upper Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, at Edessa and Malaṭya, after having scattered the troops of the Turcoman ruler Ḳarā Muḥammad.

In the middle of the year 795/1393, Tīmūr again made his presence felt; an embassy from the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd urged the Egyptian government to take military precautions, whilst the Sultan of Baghdād, Aḥmad b. Uways, expelled from his domains by the Mongol hordes, took refuge in the Mamlūk kingdom. Tīmūr had nevertheless approached Barḳūḳ amicably, though the latter, casting aside all prudence, had the Mongol ambassador put to death.

The Egyptian sultan had left for Syria at the head of an army; at that time only a few skirmishes occurred. Barḳūḳ made a certain number of appointments relating to the Syrian frontier, so that the fortresses of Malaṭya, Ṭarsūs, Edessa and Ḳalʿat al-Rūm received new commanders. Epigraphy, moreover, reveals that works were carried out at this time at the citadel of Baʿlbak, the command post at the entrance to Coele-Syria. Thus, thanks to these meagre indications, we may assume that in the course of his passage through Syria, Barḳūḳ saw to the defence of the territory; he was back in Cairo on the 13 Ṣafar 797/8 December 1394.

The end of the reign is devoid of historical significance; the sultan died on the 15th Shawwāl 801/20th June 1399, as the result of an attack of epilepsy.

Barḳūḳ was 63 years of age, and for over twenty years had governed Egypt firstly as Marshal of the Armies and then as sultan. The disturbances caused by the Syrian governors gave him much trouble. They can probably be explained by normal feelings of jealousy and instinct for intrigue, which at all times actuated the Mamluks. Certain synchronisms, however, are suggestive and one may well ask whether the great Syrian officers were not induced to rebel by skilful propaganda conducted by the emissaries of Tīmūr, who was to benefit from the disorders.

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BARKYĀRŪḲ (Berkyaruk), fourth Saldjūḳid Sulṭān, in whose time the visible decline of the regime began. Although the eldest of the sons of Malikshāh, he was only thirteen years old on the latter's death (Shawwāl 485/November 1092) and, unlike his father, who at a similar age had been guided by his vizier and *atabeg* Niẓām al-Mulk, he lacked a man of undisputed authority in his entourage. Moreover, Malikshāh's last wife, Turkān Khātūn, a woman also of the noblest birth, had dominated her husband in the latter years of his life and now, with the treasury at her disposal, she was able to have her four year old son Maḥmūd proclaimed Sulṭān at Baghdād. Already caliphal arbitration seems to have become a significant factor in the succession to the sultanate, which had previously been decided within the Saldjūḳid family. Furthermore, Tādj al-Mulk, the enemy and successor of Turkān Khātūn's counsellor, Niẓām al-Mulk, had been unable to destroy the considerable armed following surrounding the sons of the late vizier, and was seeking vengeance. The Niẓāmiyya abducted Barkyārūḳ from Iṣfahān and at Rayy, their centre, proclaimed him Sulṭān. Finally, in the absence of any law of succession, a vague tribal tradition favourable to family sharing and to the pre-eminence of the eldest member of the extended family encouraged the pretensions of Ismāʿīl b. Yāḳūtī, Barkyārūḳ's maternal uncle and Malikshāh's cousin, of Tutush, the latter's brother, who held Syria as his appanage, and of Arslan Arghūn, another brother, who was active in Khurāsān. There then began a complex civil war, which was to prove much more serious than the skirmishes engendered by the accession of Alp Arslan and Malikshāh. Ultimately Barkyārūḳ prevailed because, following the killing of Tādj al-Mulk by the Niẓāmiyya, death claimed Turkān Khātūn and Maḥmūd; Ismāʿīl, who alternatively sought to join with Turkān Khātūn and Barkyārūḳ, was likewise killed by the Niẓāmiyya; Tutush, the most dangerous of all of them, had succeeded in gaining recognition by the whole of Mesopotamia (including Baghdād) and had invaded the Iranian plateau, but first his great Syrian amīrs Aḳsunḳur of Aleppo and Būzān of Edessa deserted him and then the amīrs of Iran, fearing the advent of a new suzerainty, offered resistance and Tutush perished in the final battle; finally Arslan Arghūn, whose limited aim was to make Khurāsān an autonomous appanage, after overcoming Būrībars, the last of Malikshāh's brothers, despatched against him by Barkyārūḳ, likewise died in due course. Thus from 488/1095, Barkyārūḳ was acknowledge by the Caliph in the Arab provinces of the Empire and on the Iranian plateau and in the following year he was able to proceed to Khurāsān to receive the submission of the province and even to renew the claim to Saldjūḳid sovereignty over Samarḳand and Ghaznā. But the Empire over which he ruled was far from resembling that over which his predecessors had held sway.

Alp Arslan and, more clearly, Malikshāh had indeed already formed appanages and great commands for the benefit of princes of their family and in exceptional cases, for high amīrs; in the main, however, frontier or remote districts were affected and, in spite of ominous incidents, they had not seriously compromised the unity of the Empire.

Under Barkyārūḳ, things developed differently and the Empire assumed the guise of a federation of autonomous princes. In Syria, the sons of Tutush, Duḳāḳ of Damascus and Ruḍwān of Aleppo, acknowledged his sovereignty in principle, without, however, Barkyārūḳ ever being able to intervene in their affairs. In Khurāsān, in the inaccessible mountain regions of the East, rebels persisted—a cousin of Malikshāh, a descendant of Yabghu, Tughril Beg's brother, etc., so that Barkyārūḳ deemed it prudent to constitute the whole of Khurāsān an appanage for his brother Sandjar, assisted by a governor whom he appointed. He did the same thing for Ādharbaydjān (with its frontier districts), another of the frontier marches, dangerous —as recalled by Ismāʿīl b. Yāḳūtī's attempt—by reason of the numbers of Turkomāns always ready to support any enterprise showing a likely prospect of booty. Here Barkyārūḳ installed his youngest brother, Muḥammad, accompanied by an *atabeg*, whom he likewise appointed.

Barkyārūḳ's difficulties, however, did not end there. Muḥammad and Sandjar, co-uterine brothers (but by a different mother from Barkyārūḳ's) were incited, especially by Niẓām al-Mulk's son, Muʾayyad al-Mulk, (who had been dismissed from the vizierate by Barkyārūḳ, in favour of a brother with whom he had quarrelled) to throw off all control by their elder brother and revolt against him. Subsequent to operations which were complicated by several amīrs constantly changing sides, and in the course of which both protagonists were in turn forced to flee, an agreement was negotiated by the moderate elements of both sides. In accordance therewith, Muḥammad was given the title of *malik* and received Ādharbaydjān with Armenia, under the suzerainty of Barkyārūḳ, the sole sultan. Muḥammad, dissatisfied, reopened hostilities, but was forced to flee into Armenia. Finally, however, in 497/1104, Barkyārūḳ, ill and weary of the war, agreed to an actual division of the sultanate. Though in addition to the Djibāl with Rayy, he retained Ṭabaristān, Fārs and Khūzistān, Baghdād and the Holy cities, in other words the towns of greatest consequence and the core of the central territories, he was obliged to acknowledge his brother in Iṣfahān, half of ʿIrāḳ, and all the western frontier territories from Ādharbaydjān to Syria, and to accord him the direction of the Holy War. As for Sandjar, he was to pronounce the *khuṭba* for Muḥammad and himself simultaneously, disregarding Barkyārūḳ. It is difficult to say what the outcome of this agreement might have been, if Barkyārūḳ's death and the provisional reunification of the Empire which ensued under Muḥammad had allowed time for it to come to fruition. In any event, even within the territories as attributed to each brother, the reality of their authority was far from being everywhere assured.

It had been impossible to keep watch over the attempts at regional independence, and the support of the amīrs, vacillating between the pretenders, had had to be purchased. The result was that even in Upper Mesopotamia, Kerbughā and especially his successor Djekermish were to be found almost independent at Mawṣil, whilst the Artuḳids were taking the initial steps towards the unification of Diyār Bakr to their own advantage. In Armenia, to the Turkomān principalities established in former Byzantine territory and that of the Rawwādids of Ani, which continued to exist, there was added that of Sukmān al-Ḳuṭbī, one of Ismāʿīl's former officers, who made himself the Shāh-i Armīn at Akhlāṭ. On the borders of ʿIrāḳ, the masters of the Baṭīḥa and the Mazyadid Arabs became powers to be reckoned with. Leaving aside Khurāsān and the Caspian provinces, where autonomous principalities had always been accepted, and the old principalities, belonging to ancient Būyid and Kurdish families, had similarly been tolerated, the genesis can be observed in Iran and even Khūzistān of hereditary feudal families, issuing from great Saldjūḳid officers, the best known of them being that of the sons of Bursuḳ at Tustar. The successive viziers of Barkyārūḳ, the three sons of Niẓām al-Mulk, ʿIzz al-Mulk (died 487/1094), Muʾayyad al-Mulk, disgraced after a year, and Fakhr al-Mulk (493/1096), then ʿAbd al-Djalīl al-Dibistānī, who fell in battle, and al-Maybadhī (495-498), were doubtless primarily occupied in finding money by all possible means (confiscation, pressure exerted on the Caliph, harassing the Christians, etc.) and in countering the intrigues of hostile clans; the difficulty confronting them lay in making themselves accepted by the amīrs, as is illustrated by the assassination of the *mustawfī* (Director of Finances) Madjd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī, on the pretext of Shīʿism.

It is true that, in comparison with Muḥammad or the early Saldjūḳs, Barkyārūḳ did not enjoy the reputation of being a militant defender of orthodoxy. The dissensions of his reign benefited the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ, who acquired impregnable fortresses in the mountains of northern Iran and around Iṣfahān, not to mention the former Ismāʿīlī seigniory of Ṭabas in the desert, which went over to them. When the Niẓāmiyya took Muḥammad and Sandjar's side, Barkyārūḳ's lieutenant in Khurāsān was even to be found enlisting considerable contingents from Ṭabas. However at the end of the reign, the influence acquired by the Ismāʿīlīs and the disaffection of Barkyārūḳ's supporters, due to the toleration he had shown them, appeared dangerous to him and he encouraged massacres of Ismāʿīlīs at Baghdād and in Iran, without, however, anything being done to deal with the bases of their power.

Barkyārūḳ died in Rabīʿ II 498/beginning of 1105, when 25 years of age. He was certainly not a great man and the clumsiness with which he alienated the Niẓāmiyya, for example, was a grave error indeed. Yet it must be remembered that he was very young and it would be unjust not to recognise that the factors of disintegration which manifested themselves in his time were latent even in the regime of the Great Saldjūḳs.

Bibliography: The sources will be examined in the article SALDJŪḲ. The main ones are the History of the Saldjūḳids of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (ed. in the version of Bundarī by Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 1888), the relevant part of which is based on the Persian memoirs of the vizier Anushirwān; the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, x, which combines copious information from ʿIrāḳī and Khurāsānī sources etc., with that provided by the above work; and the *Saldjūḳ-nāma* of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nishāpūrī, ed. of an approximative text by Gelaleh Khāwar, Tehran 1953, with its derivative, the *Raḥāt al-Ṣudūr* of Rāwandī, ed. Muḥ. Iḳbāl, *GMS* 1921. To these may be added, for the revolt of Tutush, the Muslim and Christian sources of Syrian history, in particular Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz. See also the *Mudjmal al-Tawārīkh* in Persian, anonymous, ed. Bahar 1938, short but contemporary, and the Nestorian chronicle of Mari etc. ed. Gismondi. Modern works: Defrémery, *Recherches sur le règne du*

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(Cl. Cahen)

BARLAAM and **JOSAPHAT** [see Bilawhar wa Yūdāsaf].

BARMAKIDS [see Barāmika].

BARNIḲ [see Benghāzī].

BARŌDA, formerly capital of the Indian State of the same name, now merged with Madhya Bharat, situated in 22° 18′ N. and 73° 15′ E. on the Vishwāmitrī river. Population in 1951 was 211,407. It is known to the inhabitants as Wadōdara, said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *vatōdar* which means 'in the heart of the banyan-trees', and the vicinity of the town still abounds in these trees. The word *baṛ* in Urdu also means a banyan-tree. An old name of the town is Vīrakshetra or Vīrāwatī which means 'a land of warriors' and was used by the 11th/17th century Gudjarātī poet, Parmānand. Early English travellers call the town Barōdera. The city proper was enclosed by the walls of the old fort, which have now been demolished.

The history of Barōda is closely linked with the history of Gudjarāt. In 1140/1727 Pilādjī Gāēkwār, the founder of the dynasty which ruled over Barōda till 1949, when the State was merged with the Indian Union, wrested Barōda from Sarbuland Khān, the Mughal governor of Gudjarāt. In 1144/1731 Pēshwā Bādjī Rāō invested the town with the intention of turning out Pilādjī but had to lift the siege on hearing that he was about to be attacked by Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh. But the very next year (1145/1732) Pilādjī was murdered and Abhay Singh, the ruler of Djōdhpūr, taking advantage of the confusion, captured both the fort and the town. Dāmādjī, who had succeeded Pilādjī as the ruler of Barōda, recaptured the town in 1147/1734. Thereafter he entered into an alliance with Mu'min Khān, the Mughal governor of Gudjarāt. Dāmādjī was one of those Maharatta chiefs who fought against Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in 1175/1761 in the third battle of Pānīpat. On the death of Dāmādjī, the town was occupied by his youngest son Fatḥ Singh, on behalf of his insane eldest brother Sāyādjī Rāō. The House of Gāēkwār continued to rule the city independently till 1273/1856, when along with the State it was included in the dominions of the East India Company.

There are many beautiful buildings in Barōda including Lakshmī Vilās, the chief palace, built in the Indo-Saracenic style at a cost of £ 400,000. Among the State jewels is a finely embroidered cloth studded with precious stones and seed-pearls which was designed as a covering for the Prophet's tomb at al-Madīna. Barōda has a fine library and its Gāekwār Institute of Oriental Research has published a number of Persian works on Indo-Muslim history.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

al-**BARRĀDĪ**, Abu 'l-Faḍl Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Brāhīm, a North African Ibāḍī scholar, who lived in the second half of the 8th/14th century. He was a native of Dammar in Southern Tunisia, where he studied under Abu 'l-Baḳā' Ya'īsh al-Djarbī. Thence he moved on to Yefren, in the Djebel Nefūsa, to attend the classes given by Shaykh Abū Sākin 'Āmir al-Shammākhī (died in 792/1390). On completing his studies, he settled in Djerba, where for several years he devoted his energies to teaching, holding his classes in the Wādī al-Zabīb mosque. He died at Djerba, leaving several sons. According to al-Shammākhī, the most famous of them was 'Abd Allāh Abū Muḥammad, who made a reputation especially in the science of *uṣūl*.

His main work is the *Kitāb Djawāhir al-Muntaḳāt* (lithographed at Cairo in 1302/1885), which forms a complement to the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Mashā'ikh* by the 7th/13th century Maghribī author, Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Dardjīnī [*q.v.*]. The book is divided into two categories (*ṭabaḳa*), the first of which reviews from the Ibāḍī point of view the history of the early period of Islam, omitted by al-Dardjīnī, and contains the biographies of those famous men, whom the latter failed to mention; the second subjects al-Dardjīnī's work to a critical examination, adding a number of new facts and brief excursuses. It ends with a catalogue of the books of the sect, which has been published and translated by A. de Motylinski.

According to al-Shammākhī, al-Barrādī was also the author of a *Risāla*, addressed to Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣadghayānī, in which he explicitly states his theories on faith and the unity of God; likewise of a *Sharḥ* on the *Kitāb al-Da'ā'im* by Aḥmad b. al-Nazātī and of a *Sharḥ* on the *Kitāb al-'Adl fī Uṣūl al-Fiḳh* by Abū Ya'ḳūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī. There is no reference in al-Shammākhī to the *Siyar al-'Umāniyya*, quoted by Lewicki (*Handwörterbuch*, s.v. *Ibāḍiyya*), a MS. of which exists at Lwów.

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(R. Rubinacci)

BARSBĀY, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Naṣr, Mamlūk sultan of Egypt from 825/1422 to 841/1438. He joined the Mamlūks of Sulṭān Barḳūḳ, received his first promotion during the reign of Shaykh and then became governor of the province of Tripoli. Like many officers, he did not avoid imprisonment, spending some time in the jails of Marḳab and Damascus. Fortune favoured him at the accession of Tatar and, in spite of the brevity of the latter's reign, he was able to gain the ascendancy in Cairo.

From the moment Barsbāy acceeded to the sultanate, he displayed the salient features of his nature: greed, bad temper, and cruelty. One of his first acts was to renew the ban on Christians and Jews which prevented them from entering government service. This may have been a tax in disguise, since when non-Muslims were the object of such a decree, they usually circumvented it by payment of a sum of money. But it may also be interpreted as a measure of defiance, for European privateers were then very

active in the Mediterranean. Hence the Draconian decree: European property was impounded both in Egypt and Syria and no European was permitted to return to his own country. There then followed the temporary prohibition of the circulation of European currencies, a measure which had uncertain effects.

The government of Egypt also took serious military precautions, building a number of small forts on the coast and fitting out a flotilla of corvettes. The sultan, however, continued without respite, his preparations for the realisation of his great idea, an expedition against the island of Cyprus. After several preliminary reconnaissances, a large-scale attempt was launched; the only engagement, which was particularly bloody, ended unfavourably for the Cypriots, whose king, Janus, was taken prisoner and brought back to Cairo. He was led through the town in fetters; he only recovered his freedom and his kingdom on payment of a yearly tribute. A part of the booty was devoted to the restoration of various monuments in Mecca (830/1427).

Nevertheless, this relatively easy victory revealed a dangerous state of indiscipline among the troops and on the occasion of a frontier conflict with the army of the White Sheep Turkomān prince, Ḳarā-Yūluḳ, the Mamlūks, after taking the town of Edessa by storm, perpetrated the most revolting atrocities there. This disagreement between neighbours severely impaired the prosperity of Upper Mesopotamia, which was alternately devastated by one side or the other. After considerable hesitation, Barsbāy mobilised a large army, which finally proceeded to invest Āmid (Diyārbakr). They were, however, unable to take the Turkomān capital, to Barsbāy's great annoyance. Faced with the growing discontent of the army, the Sulṭān was obliged to resign himself to negotiate. Ḳarā-Yūluḳ accepted his proposals for peace and, in several vague formulas, recognised the sovereignty of the sultan of Egypt. The Mamlūk army made its way back to Cairo; their progress was the stampede of a discontented soldiery. The troops proceeded in the greatest disorder, giving the impression rather of the hasty retreat of a defeated army (837/1433). The Sulṭān had left half the total strength of his army behind in Mesopotamia.

There then ensued a strange diplomatic struggle with the Tīmūrid sultan Shāh-Rukh. The Mongol ruler claimed the right to cover the Kaʿba with a veil. This was, in fact, a privilege of the Egyptians consecrated by immemorial custom and Sulṭān Barsbāy, supported by his council of chief judges, was unwilling to relinquish it. The dispute, fanned by lawyers' quibbles and cruelly derisive treatment of the ambassadors, gave rise to the exchange of pithy diplomatic documents. However, it entailed no immediate consequences during the reign of Sulṭān Barsbāy.

No doubt the policy of the ruler of Egypt was based on considerations of prestige, but primarily he wished to prevent the Mongol sultan from gaining a foothold in Arabia through official agents, which might possibly endanger Egypt's commercial interests.

Indeed, Barsbāy had recently requested those merchants coming from India to land their wares at Djedda, instead of putting in at the port of Aden, as previously. It was a good beginning, but in his insatiable greed, Barsbāy determined to force the merchants to proceed obligatorily to Cairo for the purpose of paying taxes. This vexatious regulation was soon formally modified, but though the merchants were excused from proceeding to the Egyptian capital, they still had to pay exorbitant dues at Djedda. This port, however, henceforth became a commercial mart of the first importance. Half the dues collected there went to the Sharīf of Mecca and half to Egypt. The tax-collectors belonged to the Egyptian administration.

Barsbāy's end is a pitiful and tragic tale. An epidemic of plague broke out and, fearing lest he might catch the disease, he resolved to suppress the vexatious economic measures to which we have referred; he proceeded to distribute alms in plenty, though at the same time he also had his two physicians put to death. On the 13th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 841/7th June 1438, he fell a victim to the plague.

To summarise our impressions of Sulṭān Barsbāy, we must bear two aspects of his character in mind. He was constantly haunted by the morbid fear inspired in him by his rival, Djānībak Ṣūfī, whom he had imprisoned at his accession and who made good his escape. This in itself induced him to make haphazard gestures, which, however, were milder than those suggested to him by his need of money. There flourished a series of practices which led the Mamlūk regime to disaster: the sale of offices, confiscation of fortunes which were too noticeable, the unprecedented extension of state monopolies and the institution of the compulsory purchase of primary commodities, bought up in advance by the Government. The Arab historians aver that Barsbāy was an intelligent administrator, an able and poised politician, but the facts speak against this assessment. All his actions are dominated by the spectre of Djānībak and, precisely because of his erratic changes of mood, we can scarcely consider him as a wise and sagacious statesman. His preparations for the Cyprus and Diyārbakr campaigns appear to have swallowed up large sums of money and the latter was a resounding failure.

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(G. Wiet)

BARSHALŪNA, Spanish Barcelona, the old Iberian town of Barcino (compare Ruscino, from which Roussillon is derived), which incidentally has no connexion with Hamilcar Barca. Barcelona, once the home of the Laeetians, gradually supplanted Tarraco-Tarragona, situated to the south-west of it, as the capital of north-eastern Roman Spain (Hispania-Tarraconensis). From the fragments of the works of al-Idrīsī and al-Bakrī compiled by Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Himyarī, it is clear that Barcelona in their day was already a large town. It was encircled by a strong rampart and its port was rockbound, so that only captains familiar with the channels could steer their ships into it. It was in Barcelona, the capital of his country, that the 'King of Ifrandja' resided. This monarch owned armed ships for travel and corsair raids. The Ifrandj (Catalans) were of an aggressive temperament which spurred them on to great daring.

The territory of Barcelona produced a great deal of wheat and other cereals, as well as honey in large quantity. There were as many Jews living there as Christians. In 96-98/714-16 it fell to the Arabs under ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr after a single attack. In Arabic the town is called Barshinūna, a name derived from the low Latin Barcinona (Orosius already has Barcilona, the Geographer of Ravenna Barcelona, cf. Hübner in *Pauly-Wissowa*,

s.v.), but it is still more commonly called Bars͟halūna, from which the present Barcelona derives. The form Bard͟jalūna is rarer. This is in the origin of the name al-Bard͟jalūnī, the short title which later Arab writers often gave to the king of Aragon and Catalonia (cf. *JA*, 1907, ii, 279 ff.).

In 185/801 Louis, the son of Charlemagne, as king of Aquitaine, conquered Barcelona, which from that time became the capital of the Spanish borderlands of the Frankish Empire, and from 888, of the independent counts or marquesses of Barcelona or Catalonia. In 242/856, Barcelona was temporarily occupied by the Arabs (*Al-Bayān al-Mug͟hrib*[2], ii, 95-6). In 375/985, it was taken by assault in the last time by the great Almanzor (Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans*[2], ii, 238-9), but in 987, Count Borell I reconquered it. In the twelfth century (1137) it was reunited with the kingdom of Aragon. Worthy of note is the order given in 450/1058 by the Muslim king of Denia, ʿAlī b. Mud͟jāhid al-ʿĀmirī by virtue of which the Mozarabic bishoprics of Baleares [*q.v.*] like those of Denia and Orihuela were placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Barcelona (Simonet, *Historia de los Mozarabes de Espana—Memoria de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. xiii, Madrid 1905, 651-4; Campaner, *Bosquejo histórico de la dominacion islamita en las islas Baleares*, Palma 1888, 82-84).

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(C. F. Seybold-[A. Huici Miranda])

BARS͟HAWĪS͟H [see Nud͟jūm[.

BARṢĪṢĀ, the name of a pseudo-historical figure, a recluse, who is to be connected, according to a later interpretation, with the Antonian tradition. In its folk-lore aspect, the tradition concerning Barṣīṣā must have assumed several forms, because at a late period Ibn Baṭṭūṭa came across, between Tripoli and Alexandria, a *kaṣr Barṣīṣā al-ʿābid*, a name which recalls the career of St. Antony and his long period of seclusion in an old castle (*ṣīṣat*). The Aramaic etymology of the name Barṣīṣā calls to mind the highest sacerdotal office, whether one considers the *ṣīṣā* as denoting the pectoral of the high priest, or the topknots of the sacerdotal coiffure. In Muslim Tradition, Barṣīṣā is the hermit who, after a long career of asceticism, succumbs to the successive temptations of the Devil who finally induces him to deny God, and then abandons him to eternal despair.

These remarks refers to the commentary on Ḳurʾān lix, 16, which deals with hypocrites who tempt the faithful . . . "in the likeness of the Devil, when he says to Man, 'Disbelieve', but when he disbelieves, says, 'I am quit of thee; I fear Allāh, the Lord of the Worlds'". There are two rival interpretations of "Man", and al-Ṭabarī (xxviii, 31 f.) sets them before us: is it a question of a particular man, or of mankind as a whole?

The first four traditions which al-Ṭabarī produces in the case of "Man" denoting a particular person, relate to a recluse, either a monk (*rāhib*) (Ṭabarī, xxviii, 332), or an ascetic (*rad͟jul min Banī Isrāʾīl*, *ʿābid*), or a Christian priest (*ḳās*). The story about this pious man is relatively constant; three brothers entrust to him their sister, who is ill, while they are absent on a journey. The monk, yielding to the suggestions of Satan, seduces her, gets her with child, and then, in order to get rid of her and thus of the evidence of his fall, kills her and buries her in a secret place (under a tree, in his house). The brothers, on their return, believe at first that she died a natural death, but Satan reveals to them in a dream the ascetic's crime. The ascetic, panic-stricken at the realisation that his crime has been discovered, is approached in his turn by Satan, who offers to save him if he will prostrate himself before him and deny God. When the wretched man has stooped to this ultimate degree of sin, Satan mocks him, in the terms of the verse in the Ḳurʾān, lix, 16. After al-Ṭabarī, Tradition rediscovered the name of Barṣīṣā and applied it to the hero of this legend. In *EI*[1], Duncan B. Macdonald (s.v. *Barṣīṣā*) enumerated these sources. The first author who seems to have mentioned the name of Barṣīṣā is Abū Layt͟h al-Samarḳandī (d. 985 or 993), in his *Tanbīh al-G͟hāfilīn*, who was followed by al-Bag͟hāwī (d. 1122). Goldziher-Landberg, *Legende vom Mönch Barṣīṣā*, fills in the history of the later development of the legend, as narrated in al-Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 368), in the *Mustaṭraf* of Ibn Ibs͟hayhī, chap. 64, in al-Suyūṭī, and thence, in the *Forty Vezirs*, the Istanbul edition of which, 1303 A.H., 120-126, contains a long account, of greater length than the one translated by Pétis de la Croix and Gibb.

This account, either via Spain, or through the medium of a translation of the *Forty Vezirs*, must have become the source of the 'Gothic' romance of Monk Lewis, *Ambrosio or the Monk*, in which every detail was dealt with at length and adapted to the taste of the day.

Bibliography: Duncan B. Macdonald, in *EI*[1], and *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, s.v. *Barṣīṣā*, and addenda in *IA* s.v. *Bersîsâ*; Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages arabes*, viii, 128 ff.; A. Abel, *Barṣīṣā, le Moine qui défia le Diable*, Bruxelles 1959, in *Publications de l'Institut de Philologie et d'histoire orientales*.

(A. Abel)

BARTANG [see badak͟hs͟hān].

BĀRŪD.

i. — General

In Arabic, the word *naft* (Persian *naft*) is applied to the purest form (*ṣafwa*) of Mesopotamian bitumen (*ḳīr*—or *ḳār*—*bābilī*). Its natural colour is white. It occasionally occurs in a black form, but this can be rendered white by sublimation. *Naft* is efficacious against cataract and leucoma; it has the property of attracting fire from a distance, without direct contact.

Mixed with other products (fats, oil, sulphur etc.) which make it more combustible and more adhesive, it constituted the basic ingredient of "Greek fire", a liquid incendiary compound which was hurled at people, the various siege weapons which were made of wood, and ships. The Muslims of the East, as is well known, made spectacular use of it against the Crusaders and the Mongols. This new product retained the name of *naft*. A specialist, *naffāṭ* or *zarrāḳ*, discharged the "Greek fire" in the form of a jet, by means of a special copper tube: *naffāṭa, zarrāḳa, mukḥula*; this instrument, the prototype of our flame-throwers, seems to have been a sort of huge syringe, similar to the "pumps" of the earlier firemen of Constantinople. "Greek fire" could also be discharged in "pots" (*ḳārūra*) hurled by various types of ballistic apparatus, or in cartridges fixed to arrows, in the "Chinese" fashion (*sihām k͟hiṭāʾiyya*).

With the introduction of the use of salpetre, about 1230, the word *naft* assumed new meanings. Since a remote period, the Chinese had known of the

igniting properties of nitre, but they only used it to propel rockets used in firework displays or in war. Knowledge of the properties of saltpetre (and of the procedure for refining it by washing) probably passed from China to Persia; in Persian, in fact, in addition to the Iranian term shūra (archaic: shūrag) "nitrous earth, nitre", there existed the synonym *namak-i čīnī* "Chinese salt". In Arabic, in addition to *shawradj*, a loan-word from Iranian, and the vernacular forms *milḥ al-ḥā'iṭ* "sea salt" (cf. *infra*) and *milḥ al-dabbāghīn* "tanners' salt", one finds *thaldj ṣīnī* "Chinese snow", *thaldj al-Ṣīn* "snow of China". One also meets the terms *zahrat ḥadjar assiyūs*, lit. "flower of the stone of Assos" (an ancient town of Troas or Mysia), a sort of marine saltpetre, a powdery salty efflorescence deposited by sea spray on friable rock resembling pumice-stone, something like aphronitre. Ibn al-Bayṭār gives *bārūd*, the history of which will be traced below, as the Maghribī equivalent of the last three terms, which apply to pharmaceutical saltpetres.

Saltpetre was at first incorporated in the igniting powder of fireworks, which retained the name of *naft*. Shortly afterwards, the same name was used for gunpowder.

As far as our present knowledge goes, the first word used by the Arabic-speaking peoples to denote the new saltpetre-containing powder, a word of universal application, was *dawā'* "remedy, medicament, drug". It was in fact the term used by Ḥasan al-Rammāḥ (died 694/1294) to denote the mixture used to fill the *midfa'*: 10 parts of *bārūd*, 2 of charcoal and 1.5 of sulphur. This term is still used in Arabic (cf. Landberg, *Glossaire datinois*, i, 895). Semantically, it is parallel to the Persian *dārū* (see *infra*), although it is impossible to determine whether it is pure coincidence, or whether it is a case of a loan-word transmitted through translation, and in what sense the latter could have been effected.

Far more widespread, at least in the Mamlūk East, was the term *naft*, the name of the earlier "Greek fire" transferred to the new compound. In Muslim Spain, the earliest recorded name (from 724/1324) is *naft*. In the *Vocabulista* (a Latin-Spanish Arabic vocabulary compiled in the region of Valencia, in the 13th century), one finds opposite *Ignis* and *Ignem excutere*, the word *naft*, but its meaning is not given with any precision; at all events, this term recurs at Beirut in the sense of "matches". At Tunis, *neffāṭa* is a fire-cracker. In many Arabic dialects, words derived from the root *n-f-ṭ* (*neftā, neffāṭa*) have the meaning of "ampulla" (under the epidermis). This may perhaps be an echo of *ḳawārīr al-naft*.

The form of the word *bārūd*, with *ā*, is not classical. It seems to appear for the first time in the *Djāmi'* of Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248). It is stated there that it is the name given in the Maghrib by the common people and physicians to the "snow of China" or "saltpetre", a substance with medicinal properties (cf. trans. Leclerc, i, 71). Al-Rammāḥ uses the word in this sense in his formula for gunpowder. Again, for Ibn al-Kutubī (710/1310, cf. *infra*), *bārūd* only meant saltpetre.

In his *Ta'rīf* (1312 ed., 208), al-'Umarī (d. 748/1348) twice uses the word *bārūd*. In one instance, he is talking about a substance incorporated in the "naphtha pots" (*ḳawārīr al-naft*), projectiles used in naval warfare. In the other, he is talking about *makāḥil al-bārūd*, where the word could be taken to refer to a propulsive saltpetre compound (see *infra*: ii).

It is thus difficult to state with any accuracy at what date and in what country "gunpowder" assumed the name of its principal ingredient.

In Muslim Spain, the change in meaning took place in the course of the second half of the 15th century. "Gunpowder" then became *bārūd*, and "saltpetre" *malḥ al-bārūd*; *naft* (pl. *anfāṭ*) then denoted "cannon", and *naffāṭ* "gunner" (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.vv.).

In this new sense of "gunpowder", the word *bārūd* is widespread throughout the Arabic-speaking world; it is in general pronounced with an emphatic *r*. As subsidiary terms, Arabia recognises representatives of *dawā'* (cf. *supra*). Tunisia has *kusksi* "couscous", and Kabylia *kusksu āberkān* "black couscous", names (perhaps euphemistic) deriving from the resemblance of the two products, both rolled up (*maftūl*) and granulated. In Libya, in addition to *bārūd*, one finds *bārūg*, which can be connected either with the Arabic root *b.r.ḳ* "to flash (lightning)", or with *būrāḳ*, the Greek *nitron*.

The word is used in Turkish, mainly in the form *bārūt*, a pronunciation which recurs in various southern Arabian dialects: 'Umān, Ḥaḍramawt (and even *bārūṭ*, cf. Landberg, *Glossaire datinois*, i, 130). The Turkish term has been borrowed by Persian and by the Balkan languages: modern Greek, Albanian, Serbian, Bulgarian. From Persian, the word has passed into Kurdish and Hindūstānī; but in the latter, as in Afghānī, it has a rival in the Persian *dārū*, lit. "remedy" (= *dawā'*). Representatives of *bārūd* recur in several African languages in the sense of "gunpowder": Amharic, Swahili, Hausa, etc. In addition to the current and popular term μπαρούτι, borrowed from Turkish, modern Greek recognises, as a scholarly word, πυρῖτις, which has been seen as the origin of *bārūd*. But this etymology is not absolutely certain.

Al-Kafādjī [*q.v.*], an Egyptian author who died in 1069/1659 after a long residence in Turkey, devoted to the word *bārūd*, in his *Shifā' al-Ghalīl* (ed. Cairo, 1282, 55), a long notice in which he said: "this word is written with a *dāl* without a dot, and *bārūt* is an erroneous form. In the *Mā lā yasa' al-Ṭabīb Djahluh* (the work of Baghdād physician Ibn al-Kutubī, written about 1310), one reads as follows: "this is, in the Maghrib, the name of the "flower of Assiyūs" (cf. *supra*, the quotation from Ibn al-Bayṭār). In their vernacular dialect, the people of 'Irāḳ apply this term to saltpetre (*milḥ al-ḥā'iṭ*) which appears as an efflorescence on old walls, where it is collected. It is used in fireworks (*a'māl al-nār*) which rise into the air and move about; thanks to it, the fireworks rise more rapidly and ignite more quickly". The Egyptian author resumes: "this is a post-classical word (*muwallad*), derived from *burāda* "iron filings", because of the similarity of the two products. At the present time, *bārūd* is applied to a compound of this salt, charcoal and sulphur: it has assumed the name of one of its components". For the 'Irāḳīs of the beginning of the 8th/14th century, *bārūd* still denoted only saltpetre, but was already used in pyrotechnics.

Equally interesting is the notice devoted to this word by Ibn Khalaf al-Tibrīzī (in his Persian dictionary *Burhān-i Ḳāṭi'* (Tehran ed. 1330/1951)): "it is the *dārū-yi tufang* "remedy of collyrium for the musket". In the Syriac language (*suryānī*) it is the name given to *shūra* "nitre, saltpetre", which constitutes the principal element of *bārūd*". I do not know where the Persian lexicographer got his information from. But it is a fact that the *Lexikon Syriacum* of Brockelmann, (2nd. ed. 1928, 95),

records an instance of *bārūd* "nitrum", culled from an alchemical text.

From these two indications, the word *bārūd* could therefore have had an Aramaic origin, which would correlate well with its morphological pattern *faʿūl*.

In Armenian, the name of gunpowder is *varōd* (for *varawd*, with a dotted *r*) which, for phonetic reasons governing word-transference, could not be directly connected with *bārūd*. However, the Armenian word appears to have an etymology (popular?) founded in Armenian itself: *var* "to burn" and *awd* "air". Could the Aramaic word be of Armenian origin? (Information supplied by Professor Feydit, Paris).

De Goeje proposed for *bārūd* another etymology which seems to have been overlooked (cf. *Quelques observations sur le feu grégeois*, in *Homenaje a D. F. Codera*, 1904, 96): it could stem from *barūd*, in the first place "a soothing collyrium (*kuḥl*) used for inflammation of the eye", which in the end was applied to all powdery collyriums (cf. Ibn al-Ḥashshāʾ, *Glossaire sur le Manṣūrī de Razès*, ed. Colin and Renaud, 1941, 18). The Baghdādī physician Ibn Djazla (d. 493/1100) in his *Minhādj* heralded the use of "flower of the stone of Assiyūs, or marine saltpetre, in collyrium to strengthen the sight and make it clearer and also to get rid of leucoma. As regards the change of quantity in the first vowel, other examples of the change *a* > *ā* are known in Maghribī Arabic nouns belonging to the same morphological pattern and also denoting medicaments: *ghāsūl* (already in Ibn al-Bayṭār), *fāsūkh* "gum ammoniac", etc. One is encouraged not to pass over this hypothesis in silence by the fact that, in numerous Arabic-speaking countries, the term *mukḥula* "collyrium tube" has been used for "musket". Let us not forget that the first Arabic word for gunpowder was *dawāʾ* "medicament". In the field of Iranian linguistics, gunpowder is sometimes termed "medicament or collyrium of the musket". Finally, in an altogether different field, Malay too has *obat bedil* "medicament of the musket". In the case of "gunpowder", as in that of "fire-tube", it could have been a case, to begin with, of a euphemistic name. The Arabic *dawāʾ* has further other senses of the same origin: "poison", "depilatory compound" (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*). To sum up, the origin of *bārūd* is still obscure.

On feast days, the rural population of North Africa devotes itself to the *liʿb al-bārūd* "gunpowder game", with guns charged with blanks, either on horseback (*liʿb al-khayl*, the "tilting" of Europeans) in which the participants imitate the oldt actic of *al-farr wa 'l-karr*, or on foot ("the musket dance"). For an accurate picture (in dialectal Arabic), cf. G. Delphin, *Recueil de textes* . . ., 233, 255; V. Loubignac, *Textes arabes des Zaer*, 79; in French, L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, 234.

From *bārūd* has been formed the derivative *bārūda* "musket" (cf. *infra*); the Moroccan word *bārōdiyya* "ferrous sulphate", which is used as a black dye, is explained by the colour of the powder.

(G. S. Colin)

ii. — The Maghrib

The first firearms which appeared were siege engines. According to Ibn Khaldūn (8th/14th century), the Marīnid sultan Yaʿḳūb, when besieging the town of Sidjilmāsa in 672-3/1274, brought into action against this town mangonels (*madjānīḳ*) and ballistas (*ʿarrādāt*), as well as a naphtha engine (*hindām al-naft*) which discharged iron grape-shot (*ḥaṣā al-ḥadīd*) expelled from a "chamber" (*khazna*) by the fire kindled in the *bārūd* (cf. *ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, iv, 188, at the bottom). This precise information is unfortunately doubtful for such an early period. In fact, in his account of the same siege in his history of the kings of Tlemcen (*ibid.*, 85), Ibn Khaldūn speaks only of siege engines (*ālāt al-ḥiṣār*), without any reference to this marvellous invention. On the other hand, the source used by the author for his account of this siege appears to be the *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās* and its parallel history *al-Dhakhīra al-Saniyya*[a], Fās, 225; ed. Bencheneb, 158; and these two texts mention only mangonels and ballistas.

It is not until the year 724/1324 that one comes across an indication of something which appears to have been a true firearm. At the siege of Huescar (68 m. (110 km.) N-E of Granada), which was held by the Christians, the king of Granada Ismāʿīl used "the great engine which functions by means of *naft*" (*al-āla al-ʿuẓma al-muttakhadha bi 'l-naft*). The latter hurled a red-hot iron ball (*kurat ḥadīd muḥmāt*) against the keep of the fortress. The ball, when discharged, threw out showers of sparks, and landed in the midst of the besieged, causing damage as great as that caused by a thunderbolt. Several poets celebrated this event (cf. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1319, i, 231; idem, *al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya*, Cairo 1347, 72).

Nineteen years later, at the siege of Algeciras (743/1343), the Muslim defenders fired against the Christians, by means of *truenos* (lit. "thunderclaps") large thick arrows as well as heavy iron balls (cf. *Cronica del rey Don Alfonso el onceno*, ed. Ribadeneira, Ch. 270, 344, and Ch. 279, 352). But what exactly is meant by "thunderclaps"? Actual firearms, or machines analogous to the "thunderers" or *raʿʿādāt*? It is only during the last years of the Naṣrid period (1482-1492) that there begin to appear in the sources the terms *bārūd* "gunpowder" and *naft* (pl. *anfāṭ*) "cannon", siege cannon for the Castilians, fort artillery for the Granadans. At the siege of Moclin (1486), the Castilians employed cannon which hurled "rocks of fire" (*ṣukhūr min nār*); the latter soared into the sky and fell back as a mass of flame (*tashtaʿil nār*[an]) on the town, killing and burning all on whom they fell. It should be noted that, during this period, the plural *anfāṭ* is in general accompanied by the word *ʿudda*, which is properly applied to classical engines of the catapult type. In fact, at the famous siege of the suburb of al-Bayyāzīn, at Granada (1486), *anfāṭ* and *mandjānīḳ* were seen in action together (cf. Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*, especially 18 and 20).

In his *Vocabulista* of the Arabic spoken at Granada (compiled in 1501), P. de Alcala translated *artilleria* by *ʿudda*; but *artillero* is *naffāṭ*, derived from *naft* "lombarda"; and *trabuco* "trebuchet" has as its corresponding term *mandjanīḳ*. He knew in addition a sort of culverin: *ubruḳīn*, *ubriḳīn* "robadoquin, passabolante". But he only mentions the arbalest, and does not speak of portable firearms.

The latter appeared, in the Maghrib, at the beginning of the 16th century. It was a Maghribī who presented the first arquebus (*bunduḳiyya*) to the Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣūh al-Ghawrī (906-22/1500-16), saying that this weapon, which had appeared in the territory of the Ifrandj, was in use in all the lands of the Ottomans and of the Gharb (cf. Ibn Zunbul, *Fatḥ*, Paris MS. 1832, f. 2 ro.).

Leo Africanus, who left Morocco in 1516, gives us a picture of the army of the Banū Waṭṭās [*q.v.*] as furnished with cannon, and arquebuses carried

by horsemen. In regard to Tunis, at the same period, he mentions that the king had a band of footguards composed of Turks armed with blunderbusses (cf. *Description de l'Afrique*, trad. Épaulard, 239, 387). It was mainly under the Saʿdids [*q.v.*], however, that the use and manufacture of firearms was intensified. The sultans of this dynasty organised their army on the Turkish model; they formed corps of Turkish and Andalusian musketeers, and surrounded themselves with more or less renegade Europeans (*ʿulūdj*) who initiated them in new techniques, notably that of casting cannon.

In 1575, the army of the sultan Mawlāy Muḥammad possessed more than 150 cannon, among which was one with nine barrels (now in the Musée de l'Armée in Paris). In 1578, at the famous battle of Wādi 'l-Makhāzin, the Moroccan army had 34 cannon; it also had 3000 Andalusian arquebusiers on foot and a thousand arquebusiers on horseback.

In 1591, the expeditionary force sent against the Sūdān included 2,000 Andalusian arquebusiers and renegades on foot, and 500 renegade horsemen armed with blunderbusses; it carried off six mortars and numerous small cannon (cf. *Hespéris*, 1923, 467). These firearms facilitated the defeat of the Sudanese, who were armed only with assegais, bows and swords. At Timbuktu, the—extremely hybrid—descendants of the Moroccan musketeers still constitute a sort of class: the ***arma***, from the Arabic ***rumāt***.

In Morocco, during this period, "cannon" was ***nafḍ*** (sic), while "musket" was ***midfaʿ***. It is only later, in the 17th century, that this latter word took on the meaning of "cannon", while the new "flintlock" took the name ***mukḥula***, which came perhaps from the East. The following fact is characteristic of the date of this change of meaning: in the part of his *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* in which he reproduces a Granadan Arabic text of 1540, al-Makkarī from Tlemcen (d. 1041/1632), who wrote it is true in the East, on several occasions substitutes the word ***madāfiʿ*** for ***anfāṭ*** (cf. *Nafḥ*, Būlāḳ ed., 1279, ii, 1265; Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*).

In 1630, a Morisco who had fled to Tunisia wrote in Spanish an important manual of artillery, based on German techniques. It was translated into Arabic (in a popular form) in 1638 by another Morisco who had taken refuge at Tunis after having lived for a long time at Marrakesh, for the purpose of distribution to the Ottoman sultan Murād and other Muslim rulers (cf. Brockelmann, II, 465; S II, 714. A slightly abridged version exists in the Bibliothèque générale at Rabat: D. 1342). It is stated in this work that ***midfaʿ*** denoted "cannon" at Tunis, but "musket" in Morocco; and that conversely, ***anfāṭ*** "cannon" in Morocco, denoted "fireworks" at Tunis, which the Moroccans called *samāwiyyāt*.

The bronze cannon cast by the Saʿdids in Morocco, in their workshops at Fez, Marrakesh and Taroudant (or on their orders, in Holland), are particularly graceful. Many of them still exist in the ports of Morocco, usually decorated with the *ʿalāma* (or *ṭughra*) of the reigning sultan. Portable firearms were imported from Europe, usually as contraband.

The artillery of the ʿAlawid dynasty comprised mainly pieces seized from the enemy, on land or sea, and pieces brought as gifts by foreign ambassadors. Otherwise, cannon and mortars were bought abroad and then an engraved inscription in Arabic was superimposed. On the other hand, it was under this dynasty that the manufacture of muskets spread in Morocco, especially in the south, but also in the north, at Tetuan and Tārgīst.

However extraordinary it may appear, ***madjānīḳ*** (accompanied by cannon and mortars) were used in Morocco up to 1729, not only in siege warfare but also in expeditions in mountainous areas (cf. *Archives marocaines*, ix, 107, 162, 169, 180).

Throughout present-day North Africa, the general word for "cannon" is ***medfaʿ***; ***kūra*** (class. ***kura***), coll. ***kūr***, is "cannon-ball, shell"; everywhere the artilleryman is called *ṭobdjī*. The "mortar" is ***mèhrāz***; it throws a bomb, ***bunba***, a Latin word received through Turkish. In Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, the old locally made musket bears names derived from ***mukḥula***; the two principal types are called: ***bū-shfer*** "fired by a flint", and ***bū-ḥabba*** "fired by percussion-cap". Secondary appellations are derived from the name of the armourer or from the place of manufacture, or even from the length of the cannon measured in spans (*shibr*). The vocabulary of the Maghribī dialect preserves the memory of earlier portable weapons of European origin: ***kābūs*** "pistolet" (*arcabuz*), *meshket*, (*moschetto*), *shkubbiṭa* (*escopeta*), *ḳarrbīla* (*carabina*), etc. In Morocco, the European breach-loaded military musket is called *klāṭa* (Spanish *culata*); the different types are named after the number of cartridges held by the magazine. In eastern Tunisia, in Libya, the local musket is called ***bindga*** and the rifled carbine: ***sheshkhān*** (from Persian, "with a sexangular barrel", received through Turkish).

We have seen that, in the western Maghrib and up to the beginning of the 17th century, ***nafṭ*** denoted "cannon" and ***midfaʿ*** "portable firearm". This semantic pair has been preserved to the present day (with the variant ***nafḍ***) in the Berber dialects of the same region; it is also found in the Arabic dialect of Mauritania. However, among the Twāreg Berbers, a musket is ***l-būrūd***. In Amharic, the meanings are reversed: ***nafṭ*** "musket", ***madf*** "cannon".

For the nomenclature of the Moroccan musket, cf. Joly, *L'industrie à Tétouan*, in *Archives marocaines*, xi, 361; Delhomme, *Les armes dans le Sous occidental*, in *Archives Berbères*, ii, 123).

The introduction of portable firearms, their employment for the *djihād*, and the necessity for a period of training in the technique of shooting (*rimāya*), led to the creation of societies of marksmen (pl. ***rumāt***) of a religious character (cf. *Archives Marocaines*, iv, 97; xvii, 73; xx, 242; L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, 134).

On the other hand, the use of such weapons for hunting forced the jurists from the beginning to study the question whether prey killed by this method was licit (*ḥalāl*) or not (the ***aḥkām al-bunduḳ*** literature). (G. S. Colin)

iii. The Mamlūks

In the present state of our knowledge, the earliest reliable information on the employment of firearms in the Mamlūk sultanate is from the mid-sixties of the fourteenth century, *i.e.*, some forty years later than the corresponding information on the use of firearms in Europe. There exist in the sources earlier references to these weapons, but their authenticity needs further proof. If Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī speaks of firearms in his *al-Taʿrīf fi 'l-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf*, Cairo 1312 A.H., 208, ll. 17-22), which he compiled in the year 241/1341, this would mean that the Mamlūks started to use firearms several decades before the mid-sixties.

Some words may be said about the terms by which these weapons were designated. These were ***makāḥil*** (sing. ***mukḥula***) ***al-nafṭ*** and ***madāfiʿ***

(sing. *midfaʿ*) *al-naft*, or simply *naft* (pl. *nufūṭ*). Subsequently the first two terms were shortened into *madāfiʿ* and *makāḥil*. From the Mamlūk sources it cannot be learnt whether *mukḥula* and *midfaʿ* designate different types of firearms or not. During the first years following the introduction of the weapon one comes across the terms *ṣawāʿiḳ al-naft*, *ṣawārikh al-naft*, *ālāt al-naft*, *hindām al-naft*, which also mean firearms. But all these last-named terms soon died out. (For detailed proofs that the above mentioned terms mean firearms and not naphtha or "Greek Fire", which is also called in Arabic *naft*, see D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom*, 9-44).

In Mamlūk historical sources the term *bārūd* as designating the whole mixture of gunpowder is extremely rare during the major part of the Circassian period (784/1382-922/1517); only during the last decades of Mamlūk rule do references to it become quite frequent. The term *naft* remains, however, dominant until the very end of the Mamlūk sultanate. It would appear that the final victory of *bārūd* over *naft* took place after the Ottoman conquest.

Though the use of artillery in the Mamlūk sultanate increased steadily since the closing years of the 8th/14th century, a long time had to elapse before they could entirely supplant the veteran siege-engine, the mangonel (*mandjanīḳ*, pl. *madjānīḳ*). For many years the *midfaʿ* and the *mukḥula* served only as auxiliaries to the *mandjanīḳ*, fulfilling but minor tasks. The Mamlūk sources provide abundant information on the negligible damage they caused to targets against which they were aimed. At the end, however, artillery had the upper hand. The mention of *mandjanīḳs* in action becomes rarer and rarer during the second half of the fifteenth century, though they manage to survive up to the very end of Mamlūk rule.

The Mamlūks used their artillery in siege warfare only (both as a defensive and offensive weapon), consistently refusing until the very end of their rule to use it in the battlefield.

The ever increasing participation of artillery in sieges in the Mamlūk sultanate on the one hand, and its total absence on the battle-field on the other, can by no means be ascribed to accident. The reason for its easy adoption in siege warfare is to be found in the fact that it did not, especially during its early history, bring about any sweeping changes in the traditional methods of siege. Cannon was preceded by the *mandjanīḳ* which performed precisely the same function, and which for a long period was superior to firearms. In the open, however, conditions were entirely different. Here artillery constituted a complete innovation, no similar weapon having preceded it; here it was bound to effect changes in tactics and methods of warfare, thus causing the Mamlūk military hierarchy to adopt a course in sharp contrast to its very spirit.

Sulṭān al-Ghawrī did make some concessions to the use of firearms which, though on the face of it considerable, were in reality not very significant. For in all these concessions one condition was implied: the existing structure of Mamlūk military society should not be subjected to any important change. Such an attitude amounted, in fact, to a death sentence on the scheme of reorganising the Mamlūk army and on preparing it for the final test; for without transforming Mamlūk society, along with all the conceptions for which it stood, there was no hope of making effective use of firearms. Nor was this all: al-Ghawrī made up his mind, side by side with his decision to extend the employment of firearms, to revive traditional methods of warfare.

His plan had three main points: first, to increase considerably the number of cannon cast; second, to renew *furūsiyya* exercises and the traditional military training; and third, to raise a unit of arquebusiers. Of them, only the first and third concern us here.

The Casting of Cannon. A few years after his accession to the throne al-Ghawrī started casting cannon at a rate and on a scale never known before in the history of the sultanate. Near his newly built hippodrome (*maydān*) he established a foundry for cannon (*masbak*) which turned out great quantities of artillery at short intervals. Unfortunately our source (Ibn Iyās) does not as a rule indicate the number of guns involved on each occasion; in four cases, however, he does. In one there were 15 guns; in another 70; in a third 74; in a fourth 75.

This huge output of artillery was not intended at all to be used against the Ottomans in the open field. The bulk of it was directed to the ports of Egypt both in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea in order to strengthen the coastal fortifications or to be used on board warships.

From the dispatch of so much artillery to the coast and to coastal fortifications it should not be concluded that strategic centres inland were not supplied with considerable quantities of cannon. As to the interior of Egypt, there is no doubt that both in al-Ghawrī's time and in the preceding generations a very great portion of the total output of cannon was allotted to the capital, including the citadel. This is first of all borne out by the fact that most of our information about the weapon comes from Cairo; it is further confirmed by the concentration of great quantities of Mamlūk artillery in the battle of al-Raydāniyya (January, 1517). As for Syria, our knowledge of the fortunes of artillery in that part of the Mamlūk realm is scanty, both in regard to the coast and to the interior. From Ibn Ṭūlūn's chronicle we learn that there were great quantities of firearms in Damascus. This leads us to suppose that more detailed histories of Syria than those we possess might reveal that artillery played there a far bigger part than may be concluded from the available sources.

The Creation of a Unit of Arquebusiers. Arquebuses (or hand-guns or portable firearms) are referred to in the Mamlūk sources by the term *al-bunduḳ al-raṣāṣ* ("the pellets of lead"). The later designation for the hand-gun, *bunduḳiyya*, stems undoubtedly from *bunduḳ*, while *raṣāṣa*, the bullet or cartridge, is derived from *raṣāṣ*. The fact that a considerable traffic of arms was conducted in the period under review by Venice (in Arabic: al-Bunduḳiyya) might also have contributed to the choice of the term *bunduḳiyya*. It would appear that the process of transformation from *bunduḳ raṣāṣ* to *bunduḳiyya* did not take long. Ibn Iyās himself mentions *bunduḳiyya* three times, while in the works of his contemporaries Ibn Zunbul and Ibn Ṭūlūn, who died only a few decades after him, *bunduḳiyya*, *bunduḳiyyāt* and *banādiḳ* are already of most common occurrence. They also mention *bunduḳ*, but the combination *bunduḳ raṣāṣ* is already extinct in their works.

The aversion of the Mamlūks to the use of portable firearms was far more pronounced than their reluctance to employ of artillery in the open field. For artillery is the province of specialised

technicians, whose numbers form only a small part of the fighting force, requiring little change in the structure of the army. The arquebus, on the other hand, is a personal and mass weapon, and its introduction affects a large number of troops. Hence its large scale adoption was bound to involve far-reaching changes in the organisation and methods of warfare. To equip a soldier with an arquebus meant taking away his bow and, what was to the Mamlūk more distasteful, depriving him of his horse, thereby reducing him to the humiliating status of a foot soldier, compelled either to march or to allow himself to be carried in an ox-cart.

Any attempt, therefore, to extend the use of the arquebus had to be based on non-Mamlūk and thus socially inferior elements of the army. This is what the Mamlūk sultans were forced to do from the very outset. As a result, a clash between the interests of the sultanate and those of the military hierarchy ensued. The growing danger from without did, to be sure, enable the sultan to widen somewhat the very narrow limits imposed on the use of the arquebus by Mamlūk resistance to it and to incorporate into the arquebus regiment men from other units whose social position had been somewhat higher than that of the earlier arquebusiers. But his success did not go further than this, and hence the doom of the arquebus was inevitable.

The very date of the introduction of the arquebus by the Mamlūks is significant. It is mentioned for the first time in the sources as late as 895/1490 (the rule of Sulṭān Ḳāytbāy), *i.e.*, only twenty-seven years before the destruction of the Mamlūk sultanate and one hundred and twenty five years later than in Europe (the hand-gun began to be used in Europe in about 1365). Artillery, on the other hand, was introduced into the Mamlūk sultanate only about forty years later than in Europe. The much greater time-lag in the adoption of the hand-gun in comparison with the adoption of artillery is by no means accidental.

The units operating firearms were mainly composed of black slaves (*ʿabīd*) and sons of Mamlūks (*awlād nās*) [*q.v.*]. Members of these two categories seem never to have served in the same unit. Sometimes the black slaves constituted the predominant element in the firearms personnel and sometimes the *awlād nās*.

Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Abu 'l-Saʿādāt Muḥammad (901/1495-904/1498), Ḳāytbāy's son, who ascended the throne at the age of fourteen, made a very serious attempt to create a strong unit of arquebusiers composed of black slaves, on whom he wanted to bestow a higher social status. The Mamlūk *amīrs* intervened, however, forced him to disband the unit and made him promise never to raise it again.

About twelve years after the murder of al-Nāṣir Abu 'l-Saʿādāt, in 916/1510, Sulṭān Ḳānṣūh al-Ghawrī, who enjoyed an incomparably higher prestige than the above-mentioned boy-king, and in whose time the need for the arquebus was far more pressing, made, with much greater caution, a second attempt to create a unit of arquebusiers. Though it fared better than his predecessor's unit, its existence was very precarious, its status very low and its achievements quite insignificant.

It was called *al-ṭabaḳa al-khāmisa* because it did not receive its pay together with the rest of the army in one of the four official pay days round the middle of the month, but separately on a fifth pay-day at the end of the month. It was also called *al-ʿaskar al-mulaffaḳ*, *i.e.*, "the motley army" or "the patched up army", because it was composed of heterogenous elements which, according to Mamlūk criteria, were of low origin. It included in its ranks—besides *awlād nās*—Turkomans, Persians and various kinds of artisans, such as shoe-makers, tailors and meat vendors. Only when Sulṭān al-Ghawrī, in Djumādā I 921/June 1515, launched his big expedition against the Portuguese, were Royal Mamlūks joined to it. It is significant that in spite of its heterogenous character *al-ṭabaḳa al-khāmisa* is never said to have included black slaves.

Though the members of this unit occupied a very low rung in the socio-military ladder and received a much lower pay than the Royal Mamlūks, a very heavy pressure was brought to bear on the sultan to abolish it, on the ground that it was favoured over other units and that its creation was the main cause for the emptiness of the treasury. The sultan gave way, at last, and dissolved it on Muḥarram 920/March 1514. This dissolution was, however, on paper only. *Al-ṭabaḳa al-khāmisa* continued to exist because it was urgently needed on a very vital front.

The fact that the Ottomans adopted firearms in the proper way and on a gigantic scale, whereas the Mamlūks and all the other important rulers of Islam neglected them, had a decisive influence on the destiny of Western Asia and Egypt. Within a matter of two and a half years (August 1514-January 1517) the Ottomans routed the Ṣafawids, destroyed the Mamlūk sultanate and added to their realm territories of the old Muslim world which they kept up to the very dismemberment of their empire in the twentieth century and which were far bigger than their combined conquest in Europe throughout their history. Without their overwhelming superiority in firearms such a swift and extensive expansion could never have taken place.

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(D. Ayalon)

iv. THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

There is no evidence to show precisely when the Ottomans first began to use gunpowder and fire-arms. A passage in a Turkish register for Albania of the year 835/1431 permits, however, the inference that cannon had been introduced at least in the reign of Meḥemmed I (1413-1421) and perhaps even somewhat earlier (Inalcık, in *Belleten*, xxi (1957), 509). Other sources mention the Ottoman use of guns for siege warfare in 1422, 1424 and 1430, and again in 1440, 1446, 1448 and 1450 (cf. the references listed in Wittek, 142 and in Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 509). It is well known, moreover, that Meḥemmed II (1451-1481) had a large number of cannon, when he besieged Constantinople in 1453 (Ducas, 247-249, 258, 273; Sphrantzes, 236 ff., *passim*; Chalcocondylas, 385-386, 414-415; Critobulus, bk. I, chapts. 20 and 29 (with additional references given in the notes); Wille, 10 f.; Jähns, 791-792, 1141-1144). Field guns seem to have made their appearance amongst the Ottomans not long before the battle of Varna (1444), *i.e.*, during the course of the Hungarian wars waged in the reign of Murād II (1421-1451). The first clear indication that the Ottomans employed cannon of this type in a major field engagement relates to the second battle of Kossovo (1448) (Wittek, 142-143; Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 509-510), but it was not until considerably later that advances in technique rendered possible the emergence of an effective Ottoman field artillery. The arquebus, too, was taken over in about 1440-1443 during the Hungarian wars under Murād II and its use much extended in the reign of Meḥemmed II. None the less, the change to a more general adoption of the new weapon, *e.g.*, within the corps of Janissaries, was a slow and gradual one, destined to remain long incomplete (Wittek, 143; Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 506, 510-512; Ayalon, 38 (note 89); Jorga, ii, 228. Cf. also Promontorio, 36 (*zerbottaneri*), Chalcocondylas, 356 (*zarabotanas*), Dolfin, 13 (*zarabattane*), terms uncertain in meaning, but perhaps referring to the arquebus? See, in addition, Lokotsch, 172 (Ar. *zarbaṭāna*) and Ayalon, 61: *zabṭāna*). After the reverses which the Ottomans endured in the Cilician war of 1485-1491 against the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria, Bāyazīd II (1481-1512) increased the number of Janissaries and provided them, and other categories of his troops, with arms more efficient and of greater offensive power than the weapons previously available; the Sulṭān also spared no expense to create a more mobile and more competently manned artillery force (Alberi, ser. 3, iii, 21 (a report dated 1503); cf. also Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 506). The arquebus, slow to load and cumbersome to handle, was ill-suited to the needs and capacities of horsemen. It found little favour therefore, in the 15th and 16th centuries, with the Ottoman timariots and the Sipāhīs of the Porte, *i.e.*, the "feudal" and the "household" cavalry of the Sulṭān. The use of fire-arms in this field had, in general, to await the appearance of new and more manageable types of hand-gun, *i.e.*, the earlier forms of the musket and the pistol. A corps of mounted "arquebusiers" was, however, to be found in Egypt soon after the Ottoman conquest of 1517 (Ayalon, 96-97 and 129 (note 247a); Fevzi Kurtoğlu, in *Belleten*, iv (1940), 67 and 68: *atlu tüfekci zümresi*).

The troops concerned primarily with gunpowder and fire-arms, and with their practical application in time of war, can be listed thus: (a) the *Djebedjiler*, *i.e.*, the Armourers, who had charge of the weapons and munitions of the Janissaries—bows, arrows, swords, etc., but also hand-guns (*tufenk*), powder (*bārūt*), quick-matches (*fitīl*), lead for bullets (*ḳūrshūn*) and the like. Members of this corps served both at Istanbul and in the provincial fortresses of the empire (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 1-31). Venetian reports written between 1571 and 1590 state that almost all the Janissaries had adopted the arquebus, the Ottoman model of this gun being made with a longer barrel than was normal amongst the Christians and loaded with large bullets, "*come li (archibugi) barbareschi*" (Alberi, ser. 3, i, 421-422, ii, 99, iii, 220, 343; cf. also Bombaci, in *RSO*, xx (1941-1943), 296, 299 (hand-guns firing shot which weighed 40-50 dirhems) and Uzunçarşllî, *op. cit.*, i, 366 and ii, 8 (note 2: hand-guns that took shot 4 and 5 dirhems in weight), 13-14, 28-29). (b) the *Ṭopdjular*, *i.e.*, the Artillerists, who were responsible for the actual production of guns and for their maintenance and operation in war. These specialised troops had as their chief centre the arsenal (Ṭop-khāne) at Istanbul, but served also in the various fortresses of the empire and in provincial cannon foundries and munition depots (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 33-93). The Ottomans at first carried into the field supplies of metal, rather than complete, but ponderous guns, and cast their cannon as need arose during the course of a given campaign (Ibn Kemāl, *Tevārih-i Āl-i Osman*, 462-463; 462-463 (= 420-421, in the transcription); Dolfin, 10-11; Promontorio, 61, 85; Jorga, ii, 227; Wittek, 142; Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 509). This procedure, still current during the reign of Meḥemmed II, fell gradually into disuse as further advances in technique and in methods of transportation rendered it, in general, superfluous. Chemical analysis has shown an Ottoman gun cast in 868/1464 to be composed of excellent bronze, allowance being made for the imperfections of the smelting process in use at that time (Abel, in *The Chemical News*, 1868). A Spanish artillerist, Collado, in his treatise of 1592, describes Ottoman cannon as ill-proportioned, but of good metal (*Manual de Artilleria*, 8 v: "*la fundicion Turquesca por la mayor parte es fea, y deffectuosa, aunque es de buena liga*"). An account of the methods employed in the Ṭop-khāne at Istanbul for the casting of guns is given in the work of Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 436 ff. = Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 41 ff.). (c) the *Ṭop ʿArabadjîlari*, *i.e.*, the corps responsible for the transport of guns and munitions (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 95-113). Wagons (*ʿaraba*), drawn by horses, oxen or mules, carried the cannon, both large and

small, but much use was also made of camels to bear the lighter types of gun, especially in difficult terrain (Promontorio, 33; Menavino, bk. v, chapt. xxxi: 176; Ibn Ṭūlūn and Ibn Zunbul, cited in Ayalon, 125 (note 206) and 127 (note 220); Alberi, ser. 3, ii, 432, 438, 452, 456). There is mention, here and there in the sources, of guns on wheels, *i.e.*, passages which refer perhaps to the "ʿaraba" itself or possibly to some form of wheeled gun-carriage (Tauer, *Campagne ... contre Belgrade*, 48 (Persian text: 64); *Viaggio et Impresa ... di Diu*, 173 v; Giovio, ii, bk. XXX, 104 r). Moreover, the Ottomans maintained on the Danube a flotilla which had a major rôle in the transportation of the siege artillery, field guns and supplies needed for the great campaigns in Hungary (cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Baḥriye Teşkilâtı*, 403-404 (also *ibid.*, 404-405: the arsenal at Bīredjik on the Euphrates); and Alberi, ser. 3, iii, 153: mention of flat-bottomed boats (*palandarie*) which carried horses, cannon, stores, etc.). (d) the *Khumbaradjïlar*, *i.e.*, the bombardiers concerned with the production and use of grenades, bombs, portable mines, artificial fire, etc. (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 115-127). (e) the *Laghïmdjïlar*, *i.e.*, the sappers who, with the aid of the large labour forces set at their disposal, prepared the trenches, earthworks, gun-emplacements and subterranean mines indispensable in siege warfare (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 129-133).

The Ottomans, even before the death of Meḥemmed II in 1481, had acquired the main types of weapon and technique involving the use of gunpowder, *i.e.*, siege and field artillery, mortars, bombs, the arquebus, mines and artificial fire (Jorga, ii, 227-228). A large share in the transmission of these new arms fell to the peoples of Serbia and Bosnia. Artillerists and arquebusiers, recruited in these countries and still retaining their Christian faith, are known to have been in the service of Meḥemmed II (Inalcık, *Fatih Devri*, i, 152, 154-156 and also in *Belleten*, xxi (1957), 511). Masters came, too, from still farther afield, *e.g.*, Jörg of Nuremberg (Kissling, 336). Reliance on specialists of European origin—at first mainly German and Italian, but with French, English and Dutch elements becoming more numerous in later times—was to be henceforth a permanent and indeed essential characteristic of the various Ottoman corps concerned with gunpowder and fire-arms.

Information of a technical nature about the types of cannon in use amongst the Ottomans can be found here and there in the Western sources of the 15th and 16th centuries. The guns are of course described in accordance with the system of classification then current in Europe (and indeed in the Ottoman empire too), *i.e.*, in terms of the weight or size of the projectile thrown (Promontorio, 61 and 85; de Bourbon, 13r-v, with mention of iron and bronze cannon, *e.g.*, culverins, basilisks, sakers and also mortars firing marble shot and copper or bronze "boulletz" filled with artificial fire; Ufano, 40 and 41). An Italian account of the campaign against Diu in 1538 lists some of the guns which the Ottomans had with them on that occasion (*Viaggio et Impresa ... di Diu*, 169r, 172r; cf. also Sousa Coutinho, 58v, on the Ottoman basilisks used in the siege. The princes of India held the Ottoman artillerists in high esteem and welcomed them into their armies: *e.g.*, a Muṣṭafā Rūmī fought under Bābur, and a Rūmī Khān under the Sulṭān of Gudjarat)

The tactical use which the Ottomans made of their cannon in time of war has not been studied in detail. Their normal formation, however, was the *ṭābūr*, when a field battle had to be fought, *i.e.*, the *wagenburg* with the gun-carts chained together and the cannon set between them—a device which seems to have been taken over from the Hungarians (Inalcık, in *Belleten*, xxi (1957), 510; cf. also von Frauenholz, 234 and Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 255-264. A similar type of battle order ("in accordance with the custom of Rūm", *i.e.*, of the Ottoman empire: *Rūm destūri bile*) was known in Muslim India and in Persia: *Babur-Nāma*, ed. Ilminski, 341 and 458). The method used by the Ottomans to breach the walls of a fortress is described in the work of the Spaniard Collado: medium guns, *e.g.*, culverins, capable of deep penetration and firing along transverse and vertical lines, undermined and split the stonework, large basilisks which threw heavier and more destructive shot, violent in the force of their surface impact, being then discharged in salvo to bring down the enfeebled structure (*Manual de Artilleria*, 13r, 20r, 32r; cf. also Pečevī, ii, 193).

The Ottomans had of course their own nomenclature for guns and related instruments of war (cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 48-51). In addition to phrases of a mere poetical character (*e.g.*, *ezhder-dihan* and *mār-ten*: "dragon-mouthed" and "serpent-bodied"—cf. Naʿīmā, i, 148) and names given to individual cannon (*e.g.*, the "Kočyān", *i.e.*, the gun captured from Katzianer, the Imperialist general whom the Ottomans defeated in 1537 near Eszék on the Danube—cf. Selānīkī, 31), terms which have a precise technical sense can also be found here and there in the Turkish chronicles and documents. Among the types of cannon most often mentioned in these sources are (i) the *badjalushka* or *badālūshka*, a large siege gun (perhaps the basilisk?): cf. Selānīkī, 35, 37, 38, 41; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i, 29 (guns of this kind firing shot which weighed sixteen *okkas* each), 31, 33; Collado, 13r, 32r; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 49, 80, 81. (ii) the *balyemez* [*q.v.*], the name of which derives perhaps from the German "Faule Metze" (Kissling): cf. Pečevī, i, 202; Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 418, 491 (where it is described as a *menzil ṭopu*, *i.e.*, a long-range gun); Siliḥdār, ii, 46 and 47 (cannon using shot of 10-40 *okkas* in weight are here defined as *balyemez*). (iii) the *ḳolonborna* (cf. the Italian *colubrina*), *i.e.*, the culverin: cf. Selānīkī, 8; Pečevī, ii, 198; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i, 29 (culverins which fired shot weighing eleven *okkas* each) and i, 33 (*lombornu*); Siliḥdār, i, 300 and ii, 46 and 47 (cannon throwing shot of 3-9 *okkas* in weight are here classed as *ḳolonborna*); Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 49, 81; *Viaggio et Impresa ... di Diu*, 169r; Collado, 13r; Alberi, ser. 3, ii, 432. (iv) the *shaḳaloz* (cf. the Hungarian *szakállas*), apparently a kind of light cannon which threw small projectiles of stone or metal: cf. Selānīkī, 37, 41, 145; Pečevī, ii, 242; Süheyl Ünver, in *Belleten*, xvi (1952), 560; L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, I, 61 and 694, and also in *Magyar Nyelv*, xxvi (1930), 264; Redhouse, s.v. *čaḳaloz*. References to guns that fired small shot can be found in Ducas, 211 (cf. also Jähns, 811) and in Giovio, ii, bk. xxx, 104r. (v) the *shāyḳa* (cf. the Hungarian *sajka*), a name given to a certain type of boat, but also used for the guns mounted on such craft: cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, ii, 320; Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 378 (a mention of cannon (*shāyḳa ṭoplarï*) that fired stone shot weighing eighty *okkas* each), 382 (*shāyḳa nām prānḳa ṭoplarï*); Fevzi Kurtoğlu, in *Belleten*, iv (1940), 68; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 49, 50, 81 (large, medium and small *shayka* cannon); L. Fekete, in *Magyar*

Nyelv, xxvi (1930), 265. On the guns used in the boats which the Ottomans maintained on the Danube, see Giovio, ii, bk. xxxvi, 192r. (vi) the *ḍarbzan* or *ḍarbūzan*, a gun cast in various sizes (cf. L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, i, 694, 695: small (300 dirhem shot), medium (1 *okka* shot), large (2 *okka* shot) and also a *ẓarbuzan-i šaiḳa-i büzürg* firing shot 36 *okkas* in weight): cf. Ibn Kemāl, *Tevārīh-i Āl-i Osman*, 464, 509 (= 422, 458 in the transcription); Selānīkī, 8, 35 (*shāhī ḍarbzan ṭoplarī*), 37; Pečevī, i, 93 and ii, 140, 147, 196; Du Loir, *Voyages*, 226-227 (*chahi zerbuzanlar* = "fauconeaux royaux"); Silihdār, ii, 47 and 57; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 49, 50, 76, 79, 81; Ayalon, 89, 90, 119 (note 92), 127 (note 220).

The Ottomans, in their sea warfare, seem to have used in general the same types of gun as in their campaigns on land. Among the cannon employed in the Ottoman fleet can be numbered the *ḳolonborna*, the *ḍarbzan* and the *shāyḳa* (Barozzi and Berchet, i, 274, ii, 20; Uzunçarşılı, *Baḥriye Teşkilātı*, 460, 462, 463, 468, 469, 512-513. Further information about the naval armament of the Ottomans is available in Alberi, ser. 3, i, 68, 140, 292-293, ii, 100, 150, 342, iii, 223, 354-355; Barozzi and Berchet, ii, 165; Marsigli, Pt. I, chapt. lxxiv, 142 and Pt. II, chapt. xxvii, 171-172; de Warnery, 115) and also the *pranghī* or *pranḳī* (Tauer, in *ArO.*, vii (1935), 195; Kemālpāshāzāde, *Mohādjnāme*, 54 (Turkish text); Bombaci, in *RSO*, xx (1941-1943), 292 and xxi (1944-1946), 190; Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 49, 83 and also *Baḥriye Teşkilātı*, 462, 468, 469, 512-513).

The sources often mention instruments of war other than cannon, but based on the use of gunpowder, *e.g.*, (i) the *havāyī* (Selānīkī, 8 (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 426, note 1); Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 49) and the *ḥavān* (Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 407, 419, 471, 472; Yūsuf Nābī, 43; Silihdār, ii, 47), *i.e.*, mortars which fired bombs and also shot of stone or metal (Promontorio, 61; de Bourbon, 13v; *Viaggio et Impresa ... di Diu*, 169r; Maurand, 202; Scheither, 81; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. ix, 30-31); (ii) the *khumbara* or *ḳumbara*, *i.e.*, bombs (Tauer, *Campagne ... contre Belgrade*, 53, 58 (Persian text: 79, 89); Selānīkī, 40-41; British Museum MS. Or. 1137, 74v (bombs made of glass, and of bronze: *shīshe khumbara*, *tundj khumbara*); Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 401, 414, 432, 483 (*ḳazān* (*ḳazghān*) *ḳumbara*); Naʿīmā, i, 304; Silihdār, ii, 47 (*khumbara hāvānlarī*); Scheither, 75, Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. ix, 33; Bigge, 154); (iii) the *el khumbarasī*, *i.e.* hand-grenades (Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 414, 432 471 (grenades of glass, and of bronze: *sirça ve tudj el ḳumbaralarī*); Silihdār, i, 467, 484, 502; Scheither, 77; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. ix, 33); (iv) the *laghīm* *i.e.*, explosive mines of various types and sizes (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, ii, 255 and Naʿīmā, iv, 143 (a large mine containing 150 *ḳanṭārs* of gunpowder); Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 424 (a mine with three galleries and three powder-chambers), 425, 432, 495; Silihdār, ii, 55, 56 (a mine of the type known as *puskurma* and holding 30 *ḳanṭārs* of powder), 66; Scheither, 72-73; Montecuccoli, iii, chapt. lxvii; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. xi, 37 seq.). Numerous references to mines can be found in the Ottoman accounts of the Cretan War (1645-1669), *e.g.*, in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, ii, 239 ff., *passim*, in Silihdār, i, 409 ff., in Naʿīmā, iv, 116 ff., *passim*, and in Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 396 ff. (cf. also *ibid.*, viii, 468 ff., enumerating the guns, munitions, etc. found in the fortress of Candia after its conquest from the Christians in 1669—an account rich in the military terminology used by the Ottomans at that time).

The Ottomans drew from the territories under their control the indispensable raw materials of war—iron, lead, copper and the like. Moreover, the mines producing such metals often served as centres for the manufacture of munitions, *e.g.*, cannon-balls (Alberi, ser. 3, i, 66-67, 146-147, 422, ii, 145, 342, iii, 351; Barozzi and Berchet, ii, 165-166, 225, 337; Aḥmet Refik, *Türk Aşiretleri*, docs. 27, 33, 42, 48, 86, 106, 112 and *Türkiye Madenleri*, docs. 2, 6, 7, 14, 21, 25, 27, 35, 36, 54 and *ibid.*, *Perakende Vesikalar*, docs. 3, 4, 7 and 8; Anhegger, *Beiträge*, i, 138-140, 148-149, 205-206, 210-211 and ii, 299, 303-304, 306-308, also *Nachtrag*, 492-494; Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 72 ff., *passim*). There were, in addition, mines yielding the saltpetre and sulphur which was needed for the production of gunpowder (*bārūt-i tufenk* and *bārūt-i siyāh*: cf. L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, i, 696, note 8) at Istanbul and in the provinces of the empire (Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 483 and 564-565; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, i, 247 and 335-336; Aḥmet Refik, *Türk Aşiretleri*, doc. 53 and *Türkiye Madenleri*, docs. 11-13, 16-20, 22-24, 26, 28-30; Alberi, ser. 3, i, 146, 422, ii, 342, 349-350, iii, 398; Barozzi and Berchet, i, 177, 275, ii, 17, 165; Montecuccoli, iii, chapt. xxxii; Marsigli, Pt. I, chapt. lxxiv, 142). War material also came to the Ottomans from Europe. Indeed, supplies obtained from the Christians were at times of great importance to the armies of the Sulṭān, *e.g.*, during the long wars against Persia (1578-1590) and Austria (1593-1606), the one involving the establishment and maintenance of numerous fortresses and garrisons in the wide mountainous regions to the south of the Caucasus, the other developing into a bitter conflict of sieges, and both necessitating a vast expenditure of guns and munitions. The English, in these years, sold to the Ottomans cargoes of tin (essential for the making of bronze cannon), lead, broken bells and images (from the churches despoiled in England during the course of the Reformation), iron, steel, copper, arquebuses, muskets, sword-blades, brimstone, saltpetre, gunpowder (*Cal. State Papers, Spanish*: (1568-1579), no. 609 and (1580-1586), no. 265; *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*: (1603-1607), nos. 470, 494 and (1607-1610), no. 860; Braudel, 479 (tin, bell-metal, lead); Charrière, iv, 907, note I (broken images); Sir Thomas Sherley, *Discours*, 7 (the Janissaries have "not one corne of good powder but that whyche they gett from overthrone Christians, or els is broughte them out of Englande"), 9, 10 (the English "keepe 3 open shoppes of armes and munition in Constantinople ... Gunpowder is solde for 23 and 24 chikinoes the hundred ... Muskettes are solde for 5 or 6 chikinos the peyce"; (chikino = chequin, sequin, i. e., the "zecchine", a Venetian gold coin, of which the Ottoman equivalent was the gold sulṭānī: cf. *The Travels of John Sanderson*, Appendix A, 294-295); *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. XI, 111 and Pt. XIII, 606-607). It was not long before the Dutch entered into this traffic, and to the marked advantage of the Ottomans, *e.g.*, in the Cretan War of 1645-1669. The Western sources dating from the 17th and 18th centuries emphasise how much the Ottomans owed to this trade in munitions, how great was their reliance on European techniques in regard to the use of fire-arms and gunpowder, and how numerous were the experts of Christian origin enrolled in their service as engineers and artillerists—experts of Italian, French and German, of English and Dutch birth (Scheither, 75, 80; Montecuccoli, iii, chapts. xxviii and xxx (copper from the Dutch, English,

French and also the Swedes); Barozzi and Berchet, ii, 166, 173, 222, 231-232; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. ix, 23 (the Ottomans made cannon according to the designs of the Italian author Sardi, one of whose works had been translated into Turkish—probably *L'Artiglieria di Pietro Sardi Romano*, Venice 1621) and 33; de Warnery, 92-93).

The 16th and 17th centuries witnessed in Europe notable changes in the art of warfare (J. R. Hale, in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, ii, 481 ff.; O. Laskowski, in *Teki Historyczne*, iv (1950), 106 ff.; M. Roberts, *The Military Revolution* 1560-1660, also *Gustavus Adolphus and the Art of War*, in *Historical Studies*, i, 69 ff., and *Gustavus Adolphus*, ii, 169 ff.). These changes imposed on the Ottomans a constant need to adopt or otherwise to meet in an effective manner the innovations made in the European practice of war—a process of adjustment which was at times slow and difficult. A Muslim from Bosnia, writing not long after the battle of Keresztes (1596), lamented that the Christians, through their use of new types of hand-gun and cannon, as yet neglected by the Ottomans, had won a definite advantage over the armies of the Sulṭān (L. Thallóczy, *Staatschrift*, 153-154; Garcin de Tassy, in *JA*, iv (1824), 284; Safvetbeg Bašagić, *Nizam ul Alem*, 13; British Museum MS. Harleian 5490, 350r-v). None the less, as the appearance of new, or the more frequent use of hitherto unusual terms in the Turkish chronicles and documents will make clear, the Ottomans did in fact assimilate to a large degree the latest devices and techniques elaborated in Europe at this time (Bombaci, in *RSO*, xx (1941-1943), 303 (*ṣaçma ṭoplar, i.e.*, guns firing a form of grape-shot: cf. also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i, 34 and ii, 245, 317, 319, 321); Silihdār, i, 596, 598 (*misket*); Pečevī, ii, 199 (cf. Naʿīmā, i, 164: muskets which fired shot 15-20 dirhems in weight); Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 179 (*mushḳāt tufenkleri* with shot weighing 40-50 dirhems, and *ḳol tufenkleri*) and viii, 398, 410, 415, 416, 467 (*badāloçka nām mūshḳāt*); Inalcık, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, ii/II (1943), 377 (*çifte tabancalu tüfenk*); Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 8, note 2 (*atlu tüfenkleri*); Pečevī, ii, 212-213 (cf. Naʿīmā, i, 190): an account of how an *aghādj ṭop, i.e.*, a petard, was made). Further evidence can be found in the Western sources (cf. Alberi, ser, 3, ii, 452 (*archibugieri a cavallo*), iii, 391 (a report dated 1594, in which it is said that the Ottomans had not yet adopted the pistol) and 404 (the increasing use of the arquebus in the Ottoman fleet); Barozzi and Berchet, i, 265 (the *spahi di paga*, during the Hungarian war of 1593-1606, had begun to arm themselves with the arquebus and the *terzarollo, i.e.*, a short-barrelled arquebus) and ii, 16 and 158; Rycaut, 349 (the Sipāhīs of the Porte made use of pistols and carbines, but had no great esteem for fire-arms); Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. viii, 15 and 16: the Ottomans learned new methods from the Christians in the Cretan War (1645-1669); the Janissaries and most of the Ottoman horsemen carried pistols). It was in the time of the Köprülü viziers that this gradual transformation attained its full effect. Men well qualified to judge like Scheither, Montecuccoli and Marsigli, describe in much detail, and often with approval, the weapons employed by the Ottomans, noting the excellence, for example, of their mortars (Scheither, 75), their muskets (Montecuccoli, iii, chapt. xiv) and their mines, in the construction of which the Armenian *laghïmdjïlar* had a pre-eminent rôle (Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. xi, 37 ff.; cf. also Levinus Warnerus, 69, 101 and Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 515 ff.). Montecuccoli (iii, chapts. xxx and xxxi) observes, however, that the Ottoman artillery, although of notable effect when well served, consumed large quantities of munitions and was cumbersome to handle and transport, and that, in respect of the mobility and practical efficiency of their guns, the Christians had achieved an undoubted advantage over their Muslim foes.

The Ottomans failed in the end to keep pace with the developments which occurred in Europe. Their methods, with regard to fire-arms in general, seem to have been, during most of the 18th century, but little in advance of the techniques current in the time of the first Köprülü viziers (cf. de Warnery, 34-35, 40-41, 52, 70, 75, 91-94, 103. This author states (*op. cit.*, 94) that in 1739 the Ottomans, loath to accept good advice, persisted in conducting their siege of Belgrade "à leur ancienne mode"). There were indeed attempts at reform, *e.g.*, by Khumbaradjī Aḥmed Pasha (*i.e.*, the Comte de Bonneval: cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 118 ff., ahd 122 ff., also British Museum MS. Or. 1131 (*Taʾrīkh-i Ṣubḥī*), 68v-69v), by the Baron de Tott (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 40, 56, 67; de Tott, *Mémoires*, ii, Pt. III, *passim*) and by Khalīl Ḥamīd Pasha (cf. Aḥmed Djewdet, ii, 57 ff. (also *ibid.*, ii, 239-240); Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 67-68, 91-93, 120, 125-127 and also in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v (1935), 225 ff. and 233 ff.), but their efforts had only a limited success. The reign of Selīm III (1789-1807) witnessed, however, the introduction of radical measures designed to modernise on Western lines the armed forces of the Ottoman state (cf. Enver Ziya Karal, 43 ff., and especially 45-49, 59-63 and 63-71). Ottoman fire-arms, considered as a whole, now begin to lose those features which had given them hitherto a distinctive character, their subsequent evolution becoming more and more identified with the general course of technical advance and improvement made in Europe. It will suffice to note here that the reforms carried out in the first half of the 19th century led to the emergence, within the Ottoman army, of an efficient and well equipped corps of artillerists able to sustain a not unfavourable comparison with its European rivals (cf. *Unsere Tage*, Heft XXXVI (1862), 580 and 586 ff.).

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V. THE ṢAFAWIDS

A consideration of the use of firearms in Persia under the Ṣafawids falls under two heads: artillery (generic name, *tūp*), and hand-guns; the latter, used by both cavalry and infantry, comprised arquebuses, muskets and carbines, all of which were termed, without differentiation, *tufang*.

According to the traditional account of European writers, artillery was introduced into Persia during the reign of <u>Sh</u>āh ʿAbbās I by the English soldiers of fortune Sir Anthony Sherley and his brother Sir Robert Sherley, who arrived in Ḳazwīn in December 1598. Among Sir Anthony's party of 26 persons (Sir E. Denison Ross (ed.), *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, London 1933, 13 and n. 3) was "at least one cannon-founder" (Browne, iv, 105). Sir Anthony's steward, Abel Pinçon, states that the Persians at that time had no artillery at all (Denison Ross, 163), but his interpreter, Angelo, asserts that <u>Sh</u>āh ʿAbbās "has some cannon, having captured many pieces from the Tartars; moreover there is no lack of masters to manufacture new ones, these masters have turned against the Turk and have come to serve the King of Persia" (Denison Ross, 29). Purchas, writing in 1624, claims that such progress was made under the guidance of the Sherley brothers that "the prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war, and he which before knew not the use of ordnance, has now 500 pieces of brass" (Denison Ross, 21).

There is abundant evidence, however, in both the European and the Persian sources, that the Persians were familiar with the use of artillery long before the time of ʿAbbās I. The Venetian ambassador d'Alessandri, who arrived in Persia in 1571, states that the Ottoman prince Bāyazīd, who sought refuge with <u>Sh</u>āh Ṭahmāsp in 966/1559, brought with him thirty pieces of artillery (*A Narrative cf Italian Travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th centuries*, London 1873, 228). Herbert (*A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile* etc., London 1634, 298) states that the Persians "got the use of cannon from the van quised Portugal", and Figueroa states that the Persian artillery was manipulated by Europeans "and particularly by the Portuguese" (*Ta<u>dh</u>kirat al-Mulūk*, 33). We know that in 955/1548 the Portuguese furnished Ṭahmāsp with 10,000 men and 20 cannon at the time of the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān's second invasion of Persia (*A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, i, 29). Direct evidence that artillery was used by the Persian army even earlier than this is found in the contemporary Persian chronicle *Aḥsan al-Tawārī<u>kh</u>* (ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1931). In the Ṣafawid army which laid siege to Dām<u>gh</u>ān in 935/1528-9 there was a certain Ustād (*i.e.*, "master" [of his craft]) <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>ī the gunner (*tūpčī*) (*AT*, 212). In a pitched battle with the Özbegs near Ma<u>sh</u>had, later the same year, Ṭahmāsp stationed in front of his army the wagons containing the *ḍarbzan* (probably a type of light cannon, cf. the Mamlūk term *ḍarbzāna*; see D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamlūk Kingdom*, London 1956, 127, n. 220) and (*tūp-i*) *farangī* (*AT*, 214); the gunners and musketeers (*tūpčiyān wa tufangčiyān*) were, however, unable to use their guns because the Özbegs did not approach from the front (*AT*, 217). In 945/1538-9 the besieging Ṣafawid forces destroyed the towers (*bur<u>dj</u>*) of the fort of Bīḳrid in <u>Sh</u>īrwān by artillery fire (*AT*, 287). In 946/1539-40 we hear for the first time of a *tūpčī-bā<u>sh</u>ī* (commander-in-chief of artillery), in an action against Amīra Ḳubād, the rebel governor of Āstārā (*AT*, 293). From this time onwards artillery was frequently used by the Ṣafawids in siege warfare, for instance at Gulistān and Darband (954/1547-8) (*AT*, 321-2). At the siege of Kī<u>sh</u> near <u>Sh</u>akkī in 958/1551-2 the Ṣafawids used "Frankish cannon" (*tūp-i farangī*), and in addition a type of cannon called *bādli<u>dj</u>* (cf. P. Horn, *Das Heer- und Kriegswesen des Grossmoghuls*, Leiden 1894, 29), and mortars (*ḳazḳān*), which are mentioned for the first time; the towers of the fort were destroyed after twenty days' bombardment (*AT*, 350).

It is clear, therefore, that the claim that the Sherleys introduced artillery into Persia is entirely without foundation. In fact, artillery was in regular use at least as early as 935/1528-9, that is, within a few years of the accession of <u>Sh</u>āh Ṭahmāsp, and fifteen years after the Ṣafawid defeat at Čāldirān [*q.v.*], a defeat for which the Ottoman artillery was largely responsible. It must be emphasised, however, that even before Čāldirān, the Ṣafawids were familiar with the use of artillery, and that consequently the Ṣafawid lack of artillery at Čāldirān can only be attributed to a deliberate policy not to develop the use of firearms in the Persian army. The Persians had an innate dislike of firearms, the use of which they considered unmanly and cowardly (Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *<u>Dj</u>ang-i Čāldirān*, in *Ma<u>dj</u>alla-yi Dāni<u>sh</u>kada-yi Adabiyyāt-i Tihrān*, i/2, 1953-4, 93), and in particular they disliked artillery, because it hampered the swift manœuvres of their cavalry (*Ta<u>dh</u>kirat al-Mulūk*, 33). It is remarkable that, although we have frequent instances of the use of artillery in siege

warfare, little attempt seems to have been made to emulate the Ottomans in the use of artillery in the field. At the battle of Mas̲h̲had in 935/1528-9 (see above), the one occasion on which the sources specifically record the use of artillery in the field by Ṭahmāsp, its immobility rendered it ineffective, and we hear no more of field artillery until the time of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I. Even under the latter, however, the use of artillery was still mainly confined to siege warfare (Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Zindigānī-yi S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās-i Awwal*, ii, Tehran 1334 solar/1955, 403).

It seems that in the use of artillery, as in much else, the Ṣafawids were the heirs of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Long before the establishment of the Ṣafawid state, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu rulers of Diyār Bakr and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān had sought to equip their armies with artillery: the Venetians sent Uzun Ḥasan (d. 882/1478) "100 artillerymen of experience and capacity, who were immediately sent on to Persia, for in the matter of their artillery the Persian armies suffered greatly from a paucity of cannon, while on the other hand the Turkish armies in Asia were very well equipped in this arm, and they could effect much damage in their attack" (*Don Juan of Persia*, ed. trans. G. Le Strange, London 1926, 98). When a Ṣafawid force of 10,000 men under Muḥammad Beg Ustād̲j̲lū laid siege to Ḥiṣn Kayfā in Diyār Bakr about the year 913/1507-8, they made use of "a mortar of bronze, of four spans, which they brought from Mirdin (Mārdīn) .... This mortar was cast in that country at the time of Jacob Sultan (Yaʿḳūb Sulṭān Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, d. 896/1490), and by his orders .... and Custagialu (Muḥammad Beg Ustād̲j̲lū) also had another larger one cast by a young Armenian, who cast it in the Turkish manner —all in one piece. The breech was half the length of the whole piece, and the mortar was five spans in bore at the muzzle" (*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, 153). About the same time (probably in 912/1506-7) Ismaʿīl sent a force of 10,000 men under Bayrām Beg (Ḳaramānlū?) to lay siege to Wān. Bayrām Beg, "having two moderate-sized cannons in his camp, began to batter the castle; but they were able to do no harm, as the walls were too strong and the gunners too little skilled". After besieging the castle for three months, however, the artillerymen succeeded in destroying the source of the defenders' water supply, and the castle was thus at their mercy (*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, 161-3). In 916/1510 Ismaʿīl is said to have captured four cannon from the Özbegs after his great victory at Marw (D̲j̲amīl Ḳuzānlū, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Niẓāmī-yi Īrān*, vol. i, Tehran 1315 solar/1936, 372; no authority is quoted for this statement). It seems, therefore, from the evidence available, that although the Ṣafawids used cannon in siege warfare during the first decade of the reign of Ismaʿīl I, the number of guns available was small, and the gunners were as yet inexperienced.

Sir Anthony Sherley has also been given the credit for the formation of a corps of musketeers by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I. In a letter dated 22 April 1619, the traveller Pietro della Valle says that the corps was created by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās "a few years ago" on the advice of Sir Anthony Sherley (*Tad̲h̲kirat al-Mulūk*, 31). Sir Anthony's interpreter Angelo, however, stated in Rome on 28 November 1599 that S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās could provide horses for 100,000 men, who were armed with bows, arrows and scimitars, and that in addition he had 50,000 arquebusiers; "at one time the King did not use arquebusiers, but now he delights in them" (Denison Ross, 29). Sir Anthony's party left Iṣfahān about the beginning of May 1599 (see Denison Ross, 22), and it seems unlikely that a corps of 50,000 men could have been organised during the five months which Sir Anthony spent in the Persian capital. Of the various members of Sir Anthony's party who have left a record of their travels, not one claims that Sir Anthony was responsible for the formation of this corps, and Sir Anthony himself, in his own account of his journey to Persia, states (with reference to S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās's victory over the Özbegs in K̲h̲urāsān on 9 Muḥarram 1007/12 August 1598) that "thirty thousand men the King tooke with him for that warre, twelve thousand Harquebusiers which bare long pieces, halfe a foote longer than our muskets, sleightly made ..... which they use well and certainely" (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, viii, London 1905, 409-10).

Apart from Sir Anthony's own testimony to the existence of a large and efficient body of musketeers in the Persian army before his arrival in Persia, there is conclusive evidence, again in both the European and the Persian sources, that Persian troops were equipped with hand-guns and skilled in their use long before the time of ʿAbbās I. One of Sir Anthony's companions, Manwaring, explicitly states that the Persians were already "very expert in their pieces or muskets; for although there are some which have written now of late that they had not the use of pieces until our coming into the country, this much must I write to their praise, that I did never see better barrels of muskets than I did see there; and the King hath, hard by his court at Aspahane, above two hundred men at work, only making of pieces, bows and arrows, swords and targets" (Denison Ross, 222). Even earlier (c. 1571) is the valuable account of d'Alessandri: "they use for arms swords, lances, arquebuses, which all the soldiers can use; their arms also are superior and better tempered than those of any other nation. The barrels of the arquebuses are generally six spans long (*A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 53, gives "7 palms" = 1.75 m.; incidentally this version of the text contains an obvious mistranslation), and carry a ball a little less than three ounces in weight. They use them with such facility, that it does not hinder them drawing their bows nor handling their swords, keeping the latter hung at their saddle-bows till occasion requires them. The arquebus then is put away behind the back, so that one weapon does not impede the use of another" (*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, 227). Herbert (*op. cit.*, 298) states that the Persians had used muskets "since the Portugals assisted King Tahamas with some Christian auxiliaries against the Turk (probably in 955/1548) so as now (*i.e.*, in 1627) they are become very good shots". In the contemporary Persian chronicle *Aḥsan al-Tawārīk̲h̲*, however, there is direct evidence that hand-guns (*tufang*) were in use in the Persian army even before the death of Ismaʿīl I: in 927/1520-1 a detachment of the Ṣafawid garrison at Harāt drove off the troops of ʿUbayd K̲h̲ān Özbeg with arrows and hand-guns (*tīr u tufang*) (*AT*, 171). This is the first reference to hand-guns in this chronicle, and from then on they are mentioned frequently. In 930/1523-4, the year of S̲h̲āh Ismaʿīl's death and S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp's accession, infantry armed with hand-guns (*piyādagān-i tufang-andāz*) constituted part of the Ṣafawid garrison at Harāt, and reference is made to two successful actions against the Özbegs in which hand-guns were employed (*AT*, 186). In 934/1527-8, when Harāt was besieged for four months by the Özbegs, the Özbeg *amīr al-*

umarā Yārī Beg was killed by a shot fired from a hand-gun by one of the defenders (*AT*, 206). In 935/1528-9 Ṭahmāsp himself led an army to Khurāsān against the Özbegs, and laid siege to Dāmghān; his forces included a group of Rūmlū *tufangčīs* (*AT*, 212). A few months later, the Özbegs laid siege to Mashhad; musketeers (*tufangčiyān*) formed part of the Ṣafawid garrison (*AT*, 221). While the *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh* thus affords positive evidence of the use of muskets in the Persian army as early as 927/1520-1, there is a strong indication in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia* that they were in fact in use even before the battle of Čāldirān. In the description of the siege of Ḥiṣn Kayfā by Ṣafawid forces about the year 913/1507-8, there is a reference to "guns" which, in the context, can only mean "hand-guns", and we are also told that the defenders possessed three or four muskets of the shape of "Azemi", *i.e.*, of *ʿAdjamī* or Persian design; these muskets had a small barrel and, with the aid of "a contrivance locked on to the stock about the size of a good arquebuse", had a good range (*op. cit.*, 153).

It is clear, therefore, that the claim that the Sherleys initiated the formation of a corps of musketeers, if it has any historical foundation at all, can only be true in the sense that Shāh ʿAbbās was the first to create a *regular* corps of musketeers, which formed part of a standing army paid from the *khāṣṣa* revenue, as opposed to the units in existence under Ismaʿīl I and Ṭahmāsp, which, like the rest of the Persian army at that time, were probably raised on a tribal basis and paid from the revenue of the *dīwān-i mamālik*. There is no doubt, however, that the practical advice of the Sherleys was of great benefit to Shāh ʿAbbās, who held Sir Robert Sherley in such esteem that, after Sir Anthony's departure, he appointed him "Master General against the Turks" (G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, i, 574). In addition to the corps of musketeers (*tufangčiyān*), 12,000 strong (Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, v, 305), who were intended to be infantry but were gradually provided with horses, Shāh ʿAbbās created two other corps to form part of the new standing army, namely, the artillery (*tūpčiyān*), also 12,000 strong (Chardin, v, 312-3), and the "slaves" (*ḳullar*, *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*), a cavalry regiment recruited from Georgia and Circassia, armed *inter alia* with muskets, and numbering 10-15,000 (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 33). The Ṣafawid army was at its strongest under Shāh ʿAbbās I; its numbers declined under his successor Ṣafī (d. 1052/1642) and were reduced still further by ʿAbbās II (d. 1077/1666), who took the extraordinary step of abolishing the corps of artillery; when the *tūpčī-bāshī* Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān died in 1655, no successor was appointed (Chardin, v, 312-313), and artillery does not seem to have reappeared on the scene until the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-1135/1694-1722) (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 33). At the battle of Gulnābād against the Afghāns (8 March 1722), the Persians had 24 cannon, under the command of the *tūpčī-bāshī* Aḥmad Khān and under the supervision of a French master gunner named Philippe Colombe (L. Lockhart, *The Fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia*, London 1958, 135, who quotes Krusinski's scathing remarks on the incompetence of the *tūpčī-bāshī*); the artillery was overrun by the Afghān advance, and both the *tūpčī-bāshī* and Philippe Colombe lost their lives (*ibid.*, 142). It is not too much to say that the Ṣafawids never really made any effective use of artillery in the field.

Bibliography: in the text. (R. M. Savory)

vi. — India

Naphtha (*nafṭ*) was used by the Muslims in India by Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim in 93/711 against Rādja Dāhir. *Tīr-i ātishīn* (fiery-arrows) were the simplest fire missile used by the Muslim Indian rulers in the early part of the 7th/13th century. The department of *ātish-bāzī* (fireworks) was placed under the *Mīr Ātish*. Firishtā's statement that Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna employed *tūp* "cannon" and *tufang* "muskets" against Anand Pāl near Peshāwar in 399/1008 is an obvious anachronism. It may, however, refer to his use of a missile carrying naphtha (*ḳārūra-i nafṭ*)—a weapon mentioned by Firishta in another place regarding Sulṭān Maḥmūd's campaign in India. Saltpetre, an important ingredient of gunpowder, is commonly found in India. The word *kushk-andjīr* mentioned in the 13th century MSS., *Ādāb al-Mulūk* (f. 118 b) and *Tādj al-Maʾāthir* (f. 3a), needs a minute examination. The *Farhang-i Sharaf-nāma-i Aḥmad Munyārī* (compiled in 875/1470) gives its meaning as: "a perforator, or an instrument for throwing stones or a *gōla* (ball) projected by the expansive force of combustible substances". Steingass explains it as a cannon or cannon ball. According to the *Bāhār-i ʿAdjam*, it is an instrument of war worked with gunpowder. From this it would seem that a machine which discharged balls by some explosive force was used in India by 628/1230. *Sang-i Maghribī* "Western stone", mentioned by both Baranī and Amīr Khusraw as being used under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1316) can not be taken as denoting "gun". This new implement was borrowed from Spain and North Africa—countries which were called in Arabic "the West". Generally the besiegers employed this machine to bombard a fort. How the stones were thrown is not clearly stated, but this much is certain, that the stone balls were discharged by the force generated by gunpowder.

It is very difficult to discover the real nature of fire-arms used in the 7th/13th or the beginning of the 8th/14th century in India, as the term *ātish-bāzī* (fireworks) is applied to pyrotechnic displays as well to artillery, thus rendering the meaning of the passages ambiguous. However *tūp* and *tufang* are mentioned as being in frequent use from the middle of the 8th/14th century. When Sultān Maḥmūd fought against Tīmūr at Delhi in 800/1398, the former's elephants carried howdahs in which were *raʿd-andāz* "throwers of grenades" and *taḳhsh-andāz* "throwers of rockets". Artillery was improved under the Lodis (855-932/1451-1526). Ibrāhīm Lodī employed *tūp* and *ḍarbzan* "mortars" against Bābur at the battle of Pānīpat in 932/1526.

In the latter half of the 8th/14th and beginning of the 9th/15th century, the use of cannon became very common in the Deccan. The chief reason was that the Deccan States were in contact by sea with Arabia, Iran and Turkey, from which they received artillery and engineers. Firishta records that Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī installed a firearms factory in 767/1365; he was the first of the Muslim rulers of the Deccan to do so. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bāyḳarā with the help of his Turkish gunners sank with his guns a large Portuguese ship at Diu in 915/1509. Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt excelled his contemporaries in artillery; his master gunner, Rūmī Khān, cast many cannon. One of the reasons for Bahādur's success against the Portuguese was his superior

artillery. All these facts show that cannon were used in India long before Bābur employed them at Pānipat in 932/1526.

The Mughals paid much attention to the art of artillery. Bābur had a limited number of heavy guns at Pānipat. He uses the words *degh*, *firingī* and *ḍarbzan*, but does not mention their number. He used his artillery "chained together according to the custom of Rūm with twisted bull-hides". Bābur's gun could be discharged eight to sixteen times a day only and after improvement could cover a range of 1600 strikes. Rockets became common in India after 947/1540. The barrels of Akbar's (963-1014/1556-1605) matchlocks were of two lengths, 66 ins. and 41 ins. They were made of rolled strips of steel with the two edges welded together. The longer of the two weapons could only be used by a man on foot. The flintlock was little known to the Mughals. The artillery was much improved, and was more numerous, in Awrangzib's reign (1068-1118/1658-1707). Besides Indians, Turks, Arabs and Portuguese, the Dutch were also employed by Awrangzib. There was one Dutch artillery engineer who served Awrangzīb for sixteen years and went home in 1077/1667.

Heavy field guns were used both by the Mughals and the Deccanīs. The *haft gazī* in Bīdār was constructed in 977/1570. It measures 31 ft. in length. The *malik-i maydān* "king of the battlefield" was built in 957/1549 by Burhān Niẓām Shāh. The metal is an alloy of 80,427 parts of copper to 19,573 parts of tin. It weighs 400 maunds and the bore is so wide that a man can sit and move about in it easily. The weight of its iron shot is ten maunds (Akbar's scale). The *ḳalʿa-kushā*, used by Dārā in 1068/1658 at Sāmugarh, was made of 80% tin and measured 25 ft. in length. During the contest for the throne between the sons of Bahādur Shāh in 1123/1712, three large guns were removed from the fort of Lāhore, each being dragged by 250 oxen aided by five or six elephants, and it took ten days to reach the camp although it was not more than three or four miles distance.

Tūpkhāna-i Zerah or *tōpkhāna-i Djambishī* was light or mobile artillery. The *gadjnāl* or *hatknāl* was fired from the back of an elephant. *Shutarnāl* or *Shāhīn* denotes the same weapon, a swivel-gun. According to Baranī, the *zambūrak* was "a small field-gun of the size of a double musket". It threw a ball of two or three pounds. The *dhamākah* and *zahkāla* were light field-guns. The *arghūn* was composed of about thirty-six barrels so joined as to fire simultaneously. Revolvers with four chambers were only in the possession of the nobles.

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(Yar Muhammad Khan)

AL-BĀRŪDĪ, Maḥmūd Sāmī, Egyptian and statesman, born 27 Radjab 1255/6 October 1839, died in Cairo in 1332/1904; his genealogy went back to Nawrūz al-Atābakī al-Malakī al-Ashrafī, brother of Barsbay (d. 841-1438). "Al-Bārūdī" is the *nisba* of a small town in the province of Lower Egypt: al-Baḥīra, called Itāy al-Bārūd. He lost his father, then an official in the Dongola, at the age of seven. After completing his primary studies, he entered, in 1267/1851, the Cairo Military Training School, during the reign of the Viceroy ʿAbbās I (1848-1854), and left it in 1271/1855 with the rank of *bāshdjāwīsh* (quartermaster-sergeant), at the beginning of the reign of Saʿīd I (1854-1863).

His taste for poetry developed from this time onwards; his reading and personal researches, his contacts with the men of letters and poets of the period, made him, despite his military duties in his capacity as an officer which took up most of his time, one of the leaders of the literary renaissance in Egypt. A return to the true sources of poetry, that is to say to the great poets of the *djāhiliyya* and particularly of the ʿAbbāsid period, seemed to him essential; but he wished also to belong to his own epoch, and for this reason he took advantage of every opportunity to broaden his knowledge in all fields of literature, to begin with, Turkish and Persian, and later, French and English. He lived for some time in Constantinople, with the title of Secretary for Egyptian Foreign Affairs. At the time of the visit of the Viceroy Ismāʿīl to the Ottoman capital, he brought himself to the notice of the new viceroy who had just succeeded Saʿīd (1279/1863): al-Bārūdī thereupon joined the military establishment of the Egyptian sovereign. Promoted *biñbāshī* (battalion-commander) in Muḥarram 1280/July 1863, he assumed command of the Viceregal Guard. He was a member of the military mission sent by Egypt to Camp de Chalons, in France, and thence to London. On his return in 1281/1864, he was promoted *ḳāʾim-maḳām* (lieutenant-colonel) of the 3rd regiment of the Guard and, shortly afterwards, *amīr-ālāy* (colonel) of the 4th regiment of the same Guard.

He took part in the war in Crete in 1282/1865, and his services won him the Turkish decoration *Wisām ʿUthmānī*, 4th class. Ismāʿīl, who since 1283/1866 had been Khedive, kept al-Bārūdī at the head of his Guard, and later appointed him private secretary and sent him to Constantinople, during the Serbo-Bulgarian war, to perform various diplomatic missions. At the time of the Russian war in 1294/1877, al-Bārūdī proved himself a brilliant and courageous officer, and as a result was promoted *amīr al-liwāʾ* (brigadier-general). From 1296/1879 to 1882, al-Bārūdī busied himself with the reorganisation of the Egyptian General Staff, under the Khedive Tawfīḳ who had succeeded Ismāʿīl in 1296/1879. Meanwhile, appointed Minister of *Waḳfs*, he tried to clear up the position regarding property in mortmain, and used the sums thus recovered for the construction of public works: mosques and dwellings; he began the construction of the Khedivial Library, and proposed the creation of a Museum of the Fine Arts.

Promoted *fariḳ* (lieutenant-general), and decorated with the *Nishān Madjīdī*, he became, in 1298/1881, Minister of War as well as Minister of *Waḳfs*, and thus found himself constrained to participate in the nationalist movement then in its infancy, and to intervene in the serious conflict between the locally recruited Egyptian army and the Turko-Circassian officers. From then on, al-Bārūdī found

himself involved, either as a spectator or as an active participant, in what is known as *Thawrat ʿArābī Pasha* or *al-Thawra al-ʿArabiyya*, "the Revolt of ʿArābī Pasha" (the name is also pronounced ʿUrābī). Summary of events: fall of the minister Sharīf Pasha; formation of al-Bārūdī's Cabinet; proclamation of the Constitution of 1299/1882; bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet; landing of the British army; defeat of ʿArābī Pasha at Tell-al-Kebir (near Cairo); occupation of Egypt by Britain; exile of the leaders or promoters of the "Revolt", among whom were al-Bārūdī, ʿArābī Pasha and Shaykh ʿAbduh.

For seventeen years, from the end of 1882 until the beginning of 1900, al-Bārūdī was obliged to reside in the island of Ceylon. He profited by his enforced leisure to study English, to devote himself to teaching his compatriots and co-religionists, and above all to take up again his favourite studies in Arabic poetry and to give his inspiration free rein to compose the major poems of his *dīwān*.

When he returned to Egypt after having been pardoned by the Decree of 18 Muḥarram 1318/18 May 1900, he had amassed numerous poems selected with discrimination from the collections and *dīwān*s of the ʿAbbāsid period, and which, arranged in categories, constituted the most representative anthology of *muwallad* or *muḥdath* ("modern") poets. These categories are as follows: 1. *Adab* (moral or ethical); 2. *Madīḥ* (panegyric); 3. *Rithāʾ* (threnody); 4. *Ṣifāt* (descriptive); 5. *Nasīb* (erotic); 6. *Hidjāʾ* (satire); 7. *Zuhd* (renouncement of the world). The poets quoted, arranged in chronological order, are thirty in number, and the total verses quoted under each of the above headings are respectively: 1,697, 24,185, 3,400, 3,393, 4,616, 1,229 and 473, making a grand total of 39,593 verses. The number of verses of the *madīḥ* category is particularly remarkable. More important, it seems to me, is the importance attributed to certain poets. Ibn al-Rūmī and al-Buḥturī lead the field with 3,732 and 3,397 verses. Two poets have between 2,500 and 3,000 verses: Sibṭ Ibn al-Taʿāwīdī and al-Sharīf al-Raḍī; four between 2,000 and 2,500 verses: al-Arradjānī, Abū Tammām, al-Mutanabbī and al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ (al-Mutanabbī is therefore placed seventh); two between 1,500 and 2,000 verses: Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī and Mihyār al-Daylamī; five, between 1,000 and 1,500 verses: al-Abīwardī, al-Ghazzī, Ibn Ḥayyūs, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, Ṣurradurr; eight, between 500 and 1,000 verses: al-Ṭughrāʾī, Abū Nuwās, ʿUmara al-Yamanī, al-Tihāmī, Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī, Ibn Sinān al-Khafadjī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Ibn al-Khayyāṭ; and, finally, seven, between 90 and 500 verses: Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī, Muslim b. al-Walīd, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, Ibn ʿUnayn, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf, Bashshār b. Burd and Ibn al-Zayyāt.

The *Mukhtārāt* of al-Bārūdī did not appear in any bookseller's before the death of the author, but were published in Cairo in four volumes, two in 1327/1909 and two in 1329/1911, through the efforts of the scholar Yāḳūt al-Mursī.

Al-Bārūdī's *dīwān*, which similarly did not appear until after his death, was first published, thanks to the scholar and commentator Maḥmūd al-Imām al-Manṣūrī, in three volumes in two (poems with rhymes *hamza* to *lām*), n.d., 536 and 631 pages, and was published a second time in 1940 with a preface by M. Ḥ. Haykal and a commentary by ʿAlī al-Djārim and Muḥammad Shafīḳ Maʿrūf; it reveals the same eclecticism. Occasional pieces are numerous; accurate descriptions of places enable one to follow the poet-statesman through its various étages; some of the poems composed at Colombo (Ceylon) are particularly moving. It is not possible, within the limits of this article, to go into the detail which would be required by a more profound critical appreciation of the subject matter, not to mention the form, of his poems. Let it suffice to say that al-Bārūdī attained an undisputed mastery of poetic language in its purest classical form; vocabulary, figures of speech, stylistic devices, held no secrets for him. He did not seek to make innovations in the pattern of the *ḳaṣīda* or in the poetic metres (there is a rare exception in the *dīwān*, i, 63-4), and remained faithful to his models. His admiration for the passed led him to imitate several famous poems, with resounding success. For example, his imitation of the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī, using the same metre (*basīṭ*) and the same rhyme (*mī*), under the title of *Kashf al-Ghumma fī Madḥ Sayyid al-Umma* (Cairo 1327/1909, 8vo, 48 pages, 447 verses, whereas the *Burda* only contains 172). The themes used in his *dīwān*, however, are very modern and, in this respect, al-Bārūdī is justly considered to be one of the most effective pioneers of the renaissance of contemporary Arabic poetry.

Bibliography: The reader is referred to the very full references given by J. A. Dagher, in his *Maṣādir al-Dirāsa al-Adabiyya*, ii/1: *al-Rāḥilūn (1800-1955)*, Beirut 1956, 159-162. To these should be added, with regard to the *Thawra ʿArabiyya*, the following two works which give all necessary documentation: M. Sabry, *La genèse de l'esprit national égyptien (1863-1882)*, Paris 1924, and Osman Amin, *Muhammad ʿAbduh. Essai sur ses idées philosophiques et religieuses*, Cairo 1944.— Cf. also the notice in Brockelmann S III, 7-18.

(H. PÉRÈS)

BARŪDJIRD (or BURŪDJIRD), a town in the VIth *ustān* (Luristān) of Persia, situated on the road connecting Hamadān with Ahwāz *via* Khurramābād; it is the seat of a *farmāndār* (deputy governor). The population is 47,000.

The town stands on an extensive and well-cultivated plain that is bounded on the west by the Zagros mountains. The climate is temperate in summer, but cold in winter. There are some 900 shops most of which are in the two large bazaars. The Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ (cathedral mosque) dates from the Mongol period.

It was at Barūdjird that the Saldjūḳ prince Barkyārūḳ [*q.v.*] in 485/1093 defeated the forces of his mother Turkān Khātūn who, after her husband Malikshāh's death, had espoused the cause of her younger son Maḥmūd.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 288, 289; de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, ii, 302-7; A. H. Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1887, i, 288-91: Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, ii, 130-2; Sartīp Razmārā and Sartīp Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1330 solar 1951, vi, 47.

(L. LOCKHART)

AL-**BĀRŪNĪ**, SULAYMĀN, contemporary Tripolitanian Ibāḍī scholar and politician, who inspired the Arabs of his country in their struggle against Italy. He belonged to an old and influential Berber family of the Djabal Nafūsa (with branches at Djādo, Kābaō and Djerba, where there is a private *bārūniyya* library) and was the son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Bārūnī, the theologian, jurist and poet, who taught at the *zāwiya* of al-Bakhābkha, near Yefren. Sulaymān was suspected by the Ottoman govern-

ment of nurturing separatist ideas and plotting the founding of an Ibāḍite imāmate. Proceedings were instituted against him, but the sentences pronounced were not fully executed because of the disturbances which they provoked, especially in the Djabal. Finally he was granted an amnesty, but upon the Ottoman authorities requesting him to present himself in Constantinople, he fled to Cairo.

A man of unusual culture (having studied at Tunis, al-Azhar and in the Mzab), he founded a printing office, which had the outstanding merit of disseminating several old Ibāḍī works. He also founded a newspaper, which however only enjoyed an ephemeral life, its circulation in the Ottoman provinces, Tunisia, and Algeria, being prohibited.

After the promulgation in Turkey of the constitution following the Young Turks' revolution, Sulaymān al-Bārūnī was elected deputy in the *liwā'* of the Djabal and called to Constantinople; thereupon he learnt Turkish in two months of intense study.

When Italy's designs on Libya became evident, al-Bārūnī endevoured to obtain consignments of arms from his government. After the Italian landing at Tripoli (11th October 1911), he was one of the most active promoters of the Arab resistance, which made Turkey decide to stand firm, and which continued even after the signing of the Turco-Italian Peace Treaty at Ouchy (or Lausanne, 18th October 1912). In the western Djabal sector, where al-Bārūnī was conducting operations and was aiming at the formation of a Berber amīrate, the issue was decided at the battle of al-Aṣābiʿa (el-Aṣābʿa) on the 23rd March 1913. Upon his return to Constantinople, al-Bārūnī was appointed senator, receiving the title of pasha.

When Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers (1914), al-Bārūnī was sent to Sollum (October 1914) with the brother of Enver Pasha, Nūrī Bey, to induce the leader of the Sanūsīs, Aḥmad al-Sharīf, to attack the British from the West. His mission failed; the plot to force the Sanūsī's hand was discovered and al-Bārūnī arrested. Nevertheless he managed to escape (January 1915). He resumed his rôle as an opponent of Italy, when the latter entered the war. However it was not until the end of 1916, when Turkey had appointed him Governor-General and Commander of Tripoli and its dependencies, that he landed at Misurata from a submarine. The Italians were in a precarious situation, having entrenched themselves at Tripoli, Homs (al-Khums) and Zuara, but the Arabs also were in a state of complete confusion. Their leaders had divergent aims and the tribes were fighting amongst themselves; al-Bārūnī restored harmony. Nevertheless, he soon lost his pre-eminence; after proceeding to western Tripolitania, he was there defeated by the Italians (16th and 17th January 1917). At the end of the same month of January, the Turks replaced him by a military man, the Nūrī Pasha referred to above. In November 1918, that is to say after the signing of the Armistice between Turkey and the Allies, the nationalists, under the influence of the Wilsonian principles, established the Tripolitanian Republic (*al-Djumhūriyya al-Ṭarābulusiyya*) in Tripolitania, to which Italy later granted (1st June 1919) the Tripolitanian Statute. Two movements then manifested themselves, one aimed at an agreement with Italy which would have meant complete independence, and the other, represented especially by the Berbers, favourable to collaboration with Italy by the application of the Statute. Al-Bārūnī, who supported the latter course, gave his support to the Italian government, though his ultimate aim still remained the formation of a Berber amīrate in the Western Djabal with access to the sea. The first policy was adopted at a gathering at Garian (November 1920), where the formation of an amīrate, naturally Arab, was demanded in Tripolitania (the idea of uniting Tripolitania and Cyrenaica matured later—end of 1921—and was given substance by the offer of the office of *amīr* to Idrīs al-Sanūsī [spring of 1922]). The Berbers, seeking Italian support and accused by the Arabs of being heretics because of their position as Ibāḍī, were expelled from the Western Djabal by force and compelled to seek refuge on the coast (July 1921). Thus their dreams of independence or autonomy vanished.

Banished from Tripolitania (22nd December 1921) because of his equivocal attitude, al-Bārūnī, after spending some time in Europe and the Ḥidjāz, went to Masḳat as the guest of the sultan Saʿīd b. Taymūr. Thence he moved to the interior of ʿUmān to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khalīlī, *imām* of the little Ibāḍite state (capital Nazwā) which survived until recent times [see NAZWĀ] in the Djabal al-Akhḍar, and there received the title of minister and was entrusted with the task of reorganising the State. Subsequently he returned to Masḳat where, in 1938, he was appointed adviser to the Sulṭān with wide powers. He died in Bombay (not Masḳat: see *OM*, 1940, 326) in 1940.

Of his work entitled *Al-Azhār al-Riyāḍiyya fī A'imma wa Mulūk al-Ibāḍiyya*, only the second volume has been published (Cairo, n.d., [1906-7].)

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BARZAKH a Persian and Arabic word meaning "obstacle" "hindrance" "separation" (perhaps identical with Persian *farsakh* [*q.v.*], a measure of distance). It is found three times in the Ḳur'ān (xxiii, 102; xxv, 55 and lv, 20) and is interpreted sometimes in a moral and sometimes in a concrete sense. In verse 100 of Sūra xxiii the godless beg to be allowed to return to earth to accomplish the good they have left undone during their lives; but there is a *barzakh* in front of them barring the way. Zamakhsharī here explains the word by *ḥā'il*, an obstacle, and interprets it in a moral sense: a prohibition by God. Other commentators take the word more in a physical sence; the *barzakh* is a barrier between hell and paradise or else the grave which lies between this life and the next. In the other two passages of the Ḳur'ān, it is a question of two seas, or great stretches of water, one fresh, the other salt, between which there is a *barzakh* which prevents their being mixed. The same thing is mentioned in verse 61 of Sūra xxvii, and in this passage the word *ḥādjiz* or hindrance takes the place of *barzakh*. The commentators say that there is here an allusion to the fresh waters of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab which flow a great distance out into the salt sea without mixing with it; the impedi-

ment here is the effect of a law of nature established by God.

In eschatology, the word *barzakh* is used to describe the boundary of the world of human beings, which consists of the heavens, the earth and the nether regions, and its separation from the world of pure spirits and God. See the pictures representing this conception in the *Maʿrifat-nāma* of Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī (Būlāḳ 1251, 1255); cf. also Carra de Vaux, *Fragments d'eschatologie musulmane*; R. Eklund, *Life between Death and Resurrection recording to Islam*, Uppsala 1941.

The Ṣūfīs, too, use the town in the sense of space between the material world and that of the pure spirits; hence several shades of meaning; cf. C. E. Wilson, *The Masnavī*, book ii, vol. ii, note 20.

The same expression is also found in the philosophy known as "illuminating" (*al-ḥikma al-mashriḳiyya*). It there denotes the dark substances, i.e bodies: the *barzakh* or the body is dark by nature and only becomes light on receiving the light of the spirit. The celestial spheres are "animated" or "living" *barzakh*s, inanimate bodies on the other hand are "dead" *barzakh*s (cf. Carra de Vaux, *La Philosophie illuminative d'après Suhrawardi Meqtoul*, in *JA*, Jan.-Febr. 1902).

The term *barzakh* is sometimes rendered by Purgatory, on the analogy of the Christian idea of Purgatory, but this is inaccurate. It is used in the sense of "limbo". See further al-Tahānawī, *Dict. of Technical Terms*, s.v. (B. Carra de Vaux*)

BĀRZĀN, a Kurdish village on the left (eastern) bank of the Great Zāb river, approximately 80 km. due north of Arbīl, in what was formerly the territory of the Zēbārī tribe. Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 107, in 1005/1596, numbered it among the possessions of the Bahdīnān princes under the name of Bāzīrān. Since the middle of the 13th/19th century Bārzān has been the residence of a Naḳshbandī Shaykh. The Shaykhs and their followers, now known as the Bārzānī tribe, maintained a turbulent independence of Ottoman authority until, early in 1333/1915, the Mawṣil authorities captured and hanged Shaykh ʿAbd al-Salām II. His successor, Shaykh Aḥmad, temporarily declared himself a Christian in 1350/1931. This occasioned warfare with the neighbouring Brādōst tribe, necessitating the intervention of the government of ʿIrāḳ. The Shaykh fled to Turkey, where he was arrested.

In midsummer 1362/1943 Mullā Muṣṭafā, brother of Shaykh Aḥmad, escaped from seclusion at Sulaymāniyya to Bārzān, where he gathered support and rebelled against the government. He had some initial success against government forces, but was finally obliged to retire, early in 1364/1945, to Persia. He assisted at the inauguration of the Kurdish People's Republic at Mahābād on 10 Muḥarram 1365/15 December 1945 and was made a Field-Marshal. On the collapse of the Republic Mullā Muṣṭafā escaped to Soviet territory, while Shaykh Aḥmad surrendered to the ʿIrāḳ government.

Bibliography: W. A. & E. T. A. Wigram, *Cradle of Mankind*, 136 ff., London 1922; B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, Paris 1956; S. H. Longrigg, *ʿIraq, 1900 to 1950*, London 1953; Ṣiddīḳ al-Damlūdjī, *Imārat Bahdīnān al-Kurdiyya*, Mosul 1952. (D. N. Mackenzie)

BARZAND, a village and township (*dihistān*), in the district (*shahristān*) of Ardabīl, county (*bakhsh*) of Garmī, lying in the mountains overlooking the plain of Mughān to the north. The name may mean "high place". The village lies ca. 47° 40′ E. long. (Greenw.) and 39° 20′ N. lat.

A confusion between Barzand and Barzandj (near Tiflis) appears in several of the mediaeval geographers (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 562; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 403). This confusion, together with a remark of Muḳaddasī, 378, that Barzand was a market for Armenians, helps to explain why several geographers (*e.g.*, Yāḳūt) placed Barzand in Armenia.

We find no notice of the place before the time of Afshīn [*q.v.*], who in 220/835 made Barzand one of his headquarters in the campaign against Bābak [*q.v.*]. Several sources say that Afshīn rebuilt Barzand after he had found it in ruins (Schwarz, 1094). Bābak may have destroyed the town, since it was a strategic point on the main road from Ardabīl north to the Mughān steppe. After the time of Afshīn Barzand became a large town with a prosperous bazaar, noted for textiles. It may have suffered during the Mongol conquests, for Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, trans. G. Le Strange, 91, says the town was in ruins in his time (mid 8th/14th cent.). Later the area was included in the pasture land of the Shāh Sewan tribe [*q.v.*], and the people spoke Adharī Turkish as they do today.

At the present the township has a population (1950) of ca. 3820, and the central village is called Ḳalaʿ-yi Barzand.

Bibliography: P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 8 (1934), 1094-98, where references to Islamic sources are given. Add to these *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 142, 403; Le Strange, 175-6; Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, iv, Tehran 1952, 87. (R. N. Frye)

BARZŪ-NĀMA, Persian epic, attributed to Abu 'l-ʿAlā' ʿAṭā' b. Yaʿḳūb, known as Nakūk (called ʿAṭā'ī b. Yaʿḳūb, known as ʿAṭā'ī Rāzī in Blochet, *Catal. Mss. persans Biblio. Nat. Paris*, iii, 15, no. 1189). According to Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, "some people have wrongly considered these two names to represent two poets. This is not so; they are the same person" (*Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā'*, i, 342). ʿAṭā' was a poet in both Arabic and Persian (see his account in Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-Ḳaṣr*) and an official in the reign of the Ghaznawid sultan Ibrāhīm (1059-1099) who, dissatisfied with him, ruined him and held him prisoner for more than eight years at Lahore. ʿAṭā' died in 491/1098, according to Awfī (*Lubāb*, i, 72-75). At the end of a remarkable elegy (*marthiya*) his contemporary Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān gave his name clearly: "*az wafāt-i ʿAṭā' ibn-i Yaʿḳūb, tāza-tar shud waḳāḥat-i ʿālam*" (by the death of ʿAṭā' son of Yaʿḳūb the shamelessness of this nether world received a new stimulus"). His principal work was the *Lay of Barzū* (*Barzū-nāma*), the longest and one of the most important epic poems based on the ancient Persian traditions in imitation of the *Book of the Kings* (*Shāh-nāma*) of Firdawsī (from which the *Barzū-nāma* in several parts is directly derived). Barzū, son of Suhrāb and grandson of Rustam, was born among the Tūrānians to a woman called Shāhrū. Persuaded by Afrāsiyāb, leader of the Tūrānians, he went to fight the Persians; at the end of protracted hostilities, Rustam recognised him and reconciled him to the Persians. Finally he died, killed traitorously in the course of a war against the Slavs, represented as demons (*dīw*) ruled over by the *dīw* Ṣiḳlāb. Nöldeke, seeing in these adventures (as J. Mohl did before him) a variant of those of the heroes Suhrāb and Djahāngīr, assumed that the work was one of pure invention. The episode of the Tūrānian singing-girl Sūsan, who captured the chief

Persian heroes by a trick, and had decided to send them in chains to Afrāsiyāb, when the Persian hero Farāmurz came suddenly to rescue them, is one of the most brilliant parts of the poem; it may be considered as a work of art on its own merits. Fragments of the *Barzū-nāma* (two MSS. in the Bibl. Nat. Paris, Blochét, *Catal. mss. persans*, iii, 15 and 16) were published by Turner Macan (*Shāh-nāma*, iv, 2160-2296), Kosegarten (*Mines de l'Orient*, V, 309), Vullers (*Chrest. Schahnam.*, 87-99). Also it seems possible to attribute to ʿAṭāʾ the epic poem *Bidjan-nāma*, concerning the exploits of another Persian hero, the last line of which is : "*ču zīn dāstān dil bi-pardākhtam, sūy-i razm-i Barzū hamī tākhtam*", "when I had freed my heart of this poem, I quickly began the Lay of Barzū" (Rieu, *Catal. Persian Mss. British Mus.*, 132-133).

Bibliography: S. de Sacy, in *Journal de Savants*, 1836, 207 ff.; J. Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, introd. lxiv ff.; T. Nöldeke, in *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie*, ii, 209; Éthé, *ibid.*, 234; V. Rugarli, *Susen la cantatrice*, in *Giorn. Soc. Asiat. italiana*, xi, 1897-98; Zabihollah Safā, *Ḥamāsa-sarāʾī dar Īrān*, Tehran 1324/1946, 288-295; idem, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1336/1958, ii, 477 ff.

(CL. HUART-[H. MASSÉ])

BARZŪYA, Arabic name, attested by Yāḳūt, of a fortress to which modern writers, following a reference to it by Anna Comnena, prefer to apply the name Bourzey. The local people call it Ḳalʿat Marza. The ruins of this castle, standing on the eastern slope of the Alaouite massif, still dominate the marshy depression of the Ghāb. It had a troubled history from Hellenic times, when the impregnable position of Lysias was known. At the time of the Syrian expedition of the Emperor Tzimisces in 365/975, it passed from Ḥamdānid hands into those of the Byzantines. Subsequently it was occupied by the Crusaders and, forming one of the best defences of the principality of Antioch (at which time it appears to have born the name Rochefort) was retaken by force by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 584/1188. From the Mamlūk period it rapidly lost its importance and the chroniclers merely make passing reference to it.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 565; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 261; Dimashḳī, Mehren ed., 205; M. Hartmann, *Das Liwa el-Ladkijé*, in *ZDPV*, xiv, 174 and 212; M. van Berchem, *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie*, 82; idem, *Notes sur les croisades*, in *JA*, 1902, i, 434; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, especially 151-53; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 421; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, Algiers 1951, 215, 843; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index (under Borzeï); J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Alaouites*, Tours 1940, index (under Bourzey); G. Saadé, *Le château de Bourzey*, in *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, 1956, 139-62. (J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

AL-**BASĀSĪRĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤĀRITH ARSLĀN AL-MUẒAFFAR, originally a Turkish slave, who became one of the chief military leaders at the end of the Buwayhid dynasty. He owes his *nisba* al-Basāsīrī (al-Fasāsīrī) to his first master who was from Basā (Fasā) in Fars. A *mawlā* of Bahāʾ al-Dawla, he subsequently rose to the highest rank, though we only hear of him from the reign of Djalāl al-Dawla (416-435/1025-1044), in the struggles which the latter was obliged to maintain against his nephew Abū Kālīdjār and the ʿUḳaylids of al-Mawṣil. During the reign of al-Malik al-Raḥīm Khusraw Fīrūz (440-447/1048-1055), a period of continuous troubles due to the indiscipline of the Turkish troops at Baghdād, the struggle between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs in the capital, the ambitions of the ʿUḳaylids and Buwayhid pretenders, the depredations of the Arab and Kurdish tribes, and, finally, the intervention of the Saldjūḳid sultan Toghrul Beg in the affairs of Mesopotamia, al-Basāsīrī came to play a major rôle (Anbār taken from the ʿUḳaylid Karwāsh, 441/1050, Baṣra taken from the brother of Malik Raḥīm, 444/1052, operations against the Arab and Kurdish brigands at Bawāzīdj, 445/1054, assistance given to the Mazyadid Shīʿī Dubays, who had been attacked at al-Djāmiʿān, the future Ḥilla, by the Banū Khafādja, etc.). However in 446/1054, he was unable to stop the rebellion of the Turks in Baghdād, followed by scenes of pillage and famine and an incursion by the troops of the ʿUḳaylid of al-Mawṣil, Ḳuraysh, to Baradān, whence they carried off the camels and horses from his stables. In November of the same year, Ḳuraysh took Anbār, al-Basāsīrī's fief, and, breaking with the Buwayhid, pronounced the *khuṭba* in the name of Toghrul Beg.

At Baghdād al-Basāsīrī had a powerful adversary, the Caliph's vizier the *raʾīs al-ruʾasāʾ* Ibn al-Muslima, who, foreseeing the end of the Buwayhids, had already formed a connexion with Toghrul Beg, because in 446/1054-1055, in which year the Turkish leader's quarrel with the Caliph and his entourage became effective, al-Basāsīrī accused him of having summoned Toghrul's Ghuzz, who had been at Ḥulwān since 444/1052-3. The vizier prevented al-Basāsīrī from taking action against supporters of Ḳuraysh who had come to Baghdād, to which he reacted by impounding one of the vizier's boats, withdrawing the monthly pensions paid to the Caliph and the vizier, and, in March 1055, retaking Anbār by force. Upon his return to Baghdād, he refrained from calling to pay his respects to the Caliph.

Al-Basāsīrī probably already had Shīʿī leanings. In 447/1055, at the time of the Sunnī demonstrations in Baghdād, extremists, doubtless at the vizier's instigation, seized a ship carrying wine destined for al-Basāsīrī, who was then at Wāsiṭ with al-Malik al-Raḥīm, and broke the wine-jars. As the cargo belonged to a Christian, al-Basāsīrī thereupon obtained a *fatwā* declaring the smashing of the jars to be illegal. Thenceforth the vizier sedulously denigrated al-Basāsīrī in the eyes of the Turks of the army, and of the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim. He accused him of being in communication with the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir, caused his house in Baghdād to be pillaged and burnt by the Turks, and ordered the Buwayhid to send him away. Meanwhile the troops of Toghrul Beg, who had announced his intention of performing the pilgrimage and of proceeding to Syria and Egypt to dethrone the Fāṭimid, arrived before Baghdād. Al-Malik al-Raḥīm again set out towards Baghdād, whilst al-Basāsīrī went to his brother-in-law, the Mazyadid Dubays; the Turks of Baghdād, deceived by the vizier, regretted his departure. The Caliph, his vizier, and al-Malik al-Raḥīm accepted Toghrul's presence, and his name was pronounced in the *khuṭba* on Friday 15th December 1055; on the 18th, he made his solemn entry into the capital. Discord however was not slow to arise between the inhabitants and the Ghuzz of Toghrul. Toghrul held al-Malik al-Raḥīm responsible for the scenes of pillage which subsequently occurred, and had him arrested on 23rd December.

On Toghrul's orders, Dubays was obliged to break with al-Basāsīrī, who proceeded to Raḥba on the Euphrates. He wrote to the Fāṭimid Caliph Mustanṣir asking him to receive him in Cairo. The vizier al-Yāzūrī did not agree, but the Caliph responded to his request for Fāṭimid aid to conquer Baghdād in his name and prevent the Saldjūḳid from marching on Syria and Egypt; he gave him the governorship of Raḥba and sent him 500,000 dinars, clothes of a like value, 500 horses, 10,000 bows, 1,000 swords, and lances and arrows.

According to the autobiography of the Fāṭimid missionary al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, who was apparently the instigator of the revolt and a real Fāṭimid plenipotentiary in the affair, al-Basāsīrī was not the first to approach Mustanṣir; Mu'ayyad had written to him prior to Toghrul's arrival in Baghdād, though the letters did not reach him until after the Saldjūḳid had entered the city. It was Mu'ayyad who brought the money and supplies sent by Cairo to al-Basāsīrī at Raḥba as well as the Fāṭimid Caliph's patent of investiture.

The year 448/1056-7 was marked by intense Fāṭimid propaganda, attested by the numerous letters addressed by Mu'ayyad to the amīrs of ʿIrāḳ and the Djazīra to win them to the Fāṭimid cause. The excesses of the Ghuzz favoured his success. The *khuṭba* was pronounced in the name of Mustanṣir at Wāsiṭ and other places in ʿIrāḳ, and Dubays, who had been constrained to do likewise for Toghrul, returned to the alliance with al-Basāsīrī. The latter, reinforced by the Arab nomads and the Baghdād Turks who had been despoiled by Toghrul, marched in Dubays's company with a considerable body of troops on the region of Sindjār, where he inflicted a bloody defeat on the Saldjūḳid troops commanded by Toghrul's cousin Ḳutlumush and his ally Ḳuraysh of al-Mawṣil. Ḳutlumush fled to Ādharbaydjān; Ḳuraysh was wounded and captured (29 Shawwāl 448/9 January 1057) and thenceforth made common cause with al-Basāsīrī, who proceeded to al-Mawṣil where the Fāṭimid Caliph was acknowledged.

Toghrul's reaction was not long delayed. He left Baghdād on the 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 448/19 January 1057, and, after receiving reinforcements from Persia, marched on al-Mawṣil, took the city and then proceeded towards Nisibīn. Dubays and Ḳuraysh rallied to him, whilst al-Basāsīrī returned to Raḥba with the Baghdād Turks and a group of ʿUḳayl. However, after the arrival of the sultan's brother, Ibrāhīm Īnāl, who heartily disliked the Arabs, Ḳuraysh rejoined al-Basāsīrī, whilst Dubays regained Djāmiʿān via Raḥba. After wreaking his vengeance on Sindjār for the affair of 448 and leaving Īnāl at al-Mawṣil, the sultan returned to Baghdād, where he was solemnly received by the Caliph, who conferred on him the title of King of the West and the East (26 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 449/4 January 1058).

The sultan's brother, Ibrāhīm Īnāl, however, who coveted the sultanate, got into communication with al-Basāsīrī and sent a messenger to the missionary Mu'ayyad, who had come back to Aleppo, with a view to obtaining Fāṭimid support in wresting the sultanate from his brother, promising that the *khuṭba* should be pronounced in the name of the Fāṭimids. He abandoned al-Mawṣil, to which al-Basāsīrī and Ḳuraysh returned. After the taking of the citadel, which held out for four months, al-Basāsīrī returned to Raḥba. However, Toghrul reconquered al-Mawṣil and marched on Nisibīn, whilst, according to Mu'ayyad's autobiography, al-Basāsīrī, undoubtedly alarmed, directed his steps towards Damascus. Then it was that Īnāl rose in rebellion and set out for the Djibāl. Toghrul left Nisibīn on the 15 Ramaḍān 450/5 November 1058 and set off in his pursuit.

Now that ʿIrāḳ was free of the Saldjūḳid for a time, there was nothing to oppose al-Basāsīrī's return and counter-offensive. News was soon received of his arrival at Hīt and then at Anbār. The Caliph Ḳā'im hesitated as to the attitude to adopt and, in spite of the proposal of the Mazyadid Dubays, who offered him a refuge, stayed on in Baghdād, counting on being able to resist. On 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/27 December 1058, al-Basāsīrī entered western Baghdād with 400 poorly equipped cavalrymen accompanied by Ḳuraysh at the head of a further two hundred. The following Friday, 1 January 1059, the Shīʿī *adhān* was heard and the *khuṭba* was recited in the name of the Fāṭimids at the Mosque of Manṣūr. Then, re-establishing the bridge of boats, al-Basāsīrī crossed the river and, on the 8th of January, the name of the Caliph Mustanṣir was proclaimed at the Ruṣāfa Mosque. The Caliph had his palace fortified, but al-Basāsīrī not only had the Shīʿīs of the Karkh on his side, but also the large numbers of Sunnīs impelled by hatred of the Ghuzz and the lure of pillage. After defeating a group of Hāshimites and palace eunuchs urged on by the vizier, near the racecourse, al-Basāsīrī attacked the palace on the 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/19 January 1059, entering the *ḥarim* by the Bāb al-Nūbī. The Caliph, seeing that the game was lost, placed himself and the vizier under the protection of Ḳuraysh, who got them away, whilst the palace was sacked. Al-Basāsīrī appropriated the Caliphal insignia, *mindīl* (turban), *ridā'* (cloak) and *shubbāk* (lattice screen), which were sent to Cairo as trophies. He solemnly celebrated the Feast of the Victims on 29 January 1059 at the *muṣallā* with the Egyptian standards. He agreed to leave the Caliph with Ḳuraysh, who placed him in safe-keeping at al-Ḥaditha of ʿĀna with his cousin Muhārish, but insisted that his enemy, the vizier Ibn al-Muslima, should be handed over to him. After parading him with ignominy, he had him put to a terrible death on 16 February 1059. Al-Basāsīrī then took possession of Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, but was unable to gain Khūzistān to the Fāṭimid cause.

But already al-Basāsīrī was virtually abandoned by Cairo. Initially great hopes had been raised there by his action; Mustanṣir relied on his bringing him the Caliph al-Ḳā'im as a captive and had the Little Palace of the West at Cairo made ready for him, and the was greatly displeased when al-Ḳā'im was handed over to Ḳuraysh. In addition, the vizier Yāzūrī, blamed for ruining Egyptian finances to support al-Basāsīrī, had been deposed and then put to death. From June 1058, Ibn al-Maghribī, a former secretary who had fled from al-Basāsīrī at Baghdād, was vizier. When the latter wrote to him, he replied in such terms as to leave him no expectations of support. Toghrul, however, had triumphed over his brother in Djumāda II 451/July 1059 and was preparing to return to Baghdād. He offered to leave al-Basāsīrī in Baghdād, provided he would pronounce the *khuṭba* and coin money in his name and restore the Caliph al-Ḳā'im to the throne. In such an event, he himself would not return to ʿIrāḳ. He asked Ḳuraysh to leave al-Basāsīrī in the event of his refusing to agree to this proposal. For his part, al-Basāsīrī attempted to negotiate with the Caliph to persuade him to break away from the Saldjūḳid, but without success. Ḳuraysh drew his attention to

Fāṭimid ingratitude and let him hope for a pardon by Toghrul, but he would not accept the offer and Toghrul then started to march on Baghdād. At the Saldjūḳid's request, Muhārish freed the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim, who met the sultan at Nahrawān on 24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 451/3 January 1060, arriving with him at his palace on the following day. Ḳuraysh had already left al-Basāsīrī, who quitted Baghdād with his family on 6 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/14 December, proceeding in the direction of Kūfa and leaving the Shīʿīs of Karkh exposed to the reprisals of the Sunnīs.

Al-Basāsīrī was swiftly overtaken by Toghrul's cavalry and caught in the company of Dubays. Whilst the latter, whose Arabs refused to engage, took to flight, al-Basāsīrī accepted battle and fell, his horse pierced by an arrow. He was killed by the secretary of the Saldjūḳid vizier al-Kundurī on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/15 January 1060 at Saḳy al-Furāt, near Kūfa. His head was brought to the sultan.

Thus ended the adventure of al-Basāsīrī. For a year he had gained acknowledgement of Fāṭimid sovereignty at Baghdād. The *khuṭba* in the name of the Fāṭimids is said to have been pronounced there forty times. This episode of attempted expansion, Fāṭimid on the one hand and Saldjūḳid on the other, and more generally the struggle between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, definitely profited the cause of Sunnism and ʿAbbāsid legitimacy, of which Toghrul Beg showed himself the interested champion.

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(M. CANARD)

BĀSHĀ [see PASHA].

BASHDEFTERDĀR [see DAFTARDĀR].

BASHDJIRT (BASHKURT) is the name of a Turkish people living in Bashkurdistan in the S. Urals, which is now a Soviet republic. Their place of origin is doubtful; some evidence says that they came from S. W. Turkistan (see Togan, *Türk Tarihi Dersleri*, 1927, 125; Hamilton, *Les Uygures*, 1955, 3), whilst other sources indicate that their present habitat is their original home (the Παγυρῖται, Γηουΐνοι, Ταβῖνοι, Βορουσκοι and Σουβηνοι, Ptolemy, iii, 5, 22, 24 and iv, 14, 9, 11 may be identified with "Bashγirt" and the tribal names "Geyne", "Tabīn", "Buruč", and "Suvīn"; Ibn Faḍlan, ed. Togan, 187, 327; Rashīd al-Dīn, Paris, Bibl. nat. Suppl. Pers. 1364, fol. 134a). Iṣṭakhrī says that the Bashkurts lived in a mountainous and wooded country into which it was difficult to penetrate, and that the centre of this region was 25 days journey from the Bulgars; and al-Bīrūnī calls the Urals "the Bashkurt mountains". Ibn Faḍlan, who made a personal survey of the country, religion, and customs of the Bashkurts in 310/922 says that he came on their tents after crossing the rivers Kinal and Sokh, *i.e.*, on approaching the borders of the Bulgars. He also states that they were all pagans (*i.e.*, Shamanists). Idrīsī, by combining the stories of his contemporaries about this province with those found in the Arabic translation of Ptolemy, has given rather more complicated details about their cities, iron and copper manufactures, arms, exports of beaver and squirrel furs, etc., but much of this probably refers to the Magyars. Confusion arose because Muslim sources called the Bashkurts "the inner Bashkurts" and the Magyars "the outer Bashkurts", while the Bashkurts of the Urals divided themselves into "inner" and "outer" Bashkurts. To their neighbours the Ḳazaḳs and the Nogays they were after the 15th century known as "Istek", which gave rise to the Ottoman term "Heshdek". The Yurmatī and Yenei tribes of the Bashkurt were among the Turkish tribes that held sway over the Magyars in the 12th century; and theories that the Bashkurts were Magyars who did not become Turkicised till the time of the Mongols (cf. Nemeth, *Magna Hungaria*, 95; *KCA*, iii, 73) lose their force with the statement of Maḥmūd Kāshgharī that the Bashkurt and the Yemek, *i.e.*, N. Kipčak, dialects were closely connected. Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī (died 1327) and Abu 'l-Ghāzī Khān also connect the Bashkurt with the Kipčak. In fact the Bashkurts were Muslims long before the time of the Mongols. Yāḳūt, who met some Bashkurts from Hungary who came to study at Aleppo, relates traditions from them that their ancestors had learnt Islam from the Volga Bulgars and states that they were Ḥanafīs, that they had 30 villages, spoke the "Afrandj" language and served in the army of the "Hungar" monarchs, though not taking part in expeditions against Muslim countries. The 12th century writer Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, who lived for some time among the Bashkurts in Hungary, states that like the Bulgars they were Ḥanafīs and says that there were 78 Bashkurt towns in Hungary, extending the name Bashkurt to the non-Muslim Magyars.

The Bashkurt lands were close to the summer camping-grounds of the Mongol Khāns of the Golden Horde, and when they came under the Mongols they were forced to serve in the Mongol army. They were, however, allowed to have a separate Muslim judge. Prominent in the service of the Ilkhāns were the Amīr Bashkurt, who put down the rebellion of Sülamish in Asia Minor during the time of Ghāzān Khan, and Sarkan Bashkurt, a lieutenant of Öldjaytu. Bashkurts were also found in the service of the Egyptian Mamlūks, among them ʿAlam al-Dīn Sandjar al-Bashkurdī, who was Ḳalāwūn's deputy in Syria.

In the first half of the 16th century the Tura (Shībān] Khans held the northern and eastern parts of Bashkurdistan under their sway, while the Ḳazan Khan Ṣāḥib Gerey won influence over the "Ḳazan Yolī" and the Nogay Princes gained S. Bashkurdistan. Two of the Ulu Nogay princes, Ismāʿīloghlī Urus Mīrzā and his nephew Ishtirek Mīrzā, governed the "Nogay Yolu", *i.e.*, S. Uralian, Bashkurts on behalf of the Küčümids until 1608. At one time Urus Mīrzā made representations to Sulṭān Sulaymān I urging him to annex the Volga basin. He also sent am-

bassadors to Czar Ivan IV because the Russians occupying Ḳazan and Astrakhān had pressed on to the east of the Volga, had made Samara, Yayitika and Ufa into Russian fortresses, and had imposed taxes on the neighbouring Bashkurts, and protested that the "Bashkurt-Isteks" paid taxes only to him, and that by taxing them the Russians were interfering in the internal affairs of the Nogay province (Pekarsky, *Kogda osnovany goroda Ufa i Samara*, 1872, 8). However, despite certain conciliatory moves the Russians gradually extended their control. In 1629 800 Bashkurt families were under the Russians. By 1700 the number had risen to 7,000. Under the Russians the province was organised very much as it had been before. The community was divided into several classes: the *mīrzā*s (Russian *Kniaz*) who came from the Mongol and Tatar aristocracy; the *biy*s (Russ. *strashina*) and *tarkhan*s who were tribal leaders; the *asabe*s (Arabic *ʿaṣaba*; Russ. *votčinnik*) who held hereditary fiefs and served in the army; the *yasaḳlī*s who were peasants liable to military service, and the *tipter*s who were peasants registered in place of fiefholders; the *bobil*s (old Turkish and Mongol *bogul* = captive) who were landless peasants; and the *tasnaḳ*s who were nomads tied to a particular village. The *mīrzā*s, *biy*s, and *tarkhān*s used to meet to discuss general political questions at congresses (*yayīn*) held at Khan Töbesi in the neighbourbood of what is now the village of Ḥādjdjī Yurmatī. There were also departments called *duvan* (= *dīwān*) which dealt with the affairs of the province. The territory of the Yurmatī tribe was the military centre of the province, and the *asabe*s were stationed along four military roads leading from there: the Nogay road to the south, the Ḳazan road to the west, the Osa road to the north, and the Siberia road to the east.

There was fierce resistance to Russian annexation and risings were frequent. The Küčümids, the popularly chosen leaders of the Bashkurts, were generally at the head of these movements, which were sometimes combined with other movements in the Ukraine and N. Caucasus and with enterprises of the Crimeans, the Kalmuks and the Ottomans, with all of whom they had contacts. During the 17th and the first quarter of the 18th centuries the Bashkurts joined in movements in W. Siberia, the lower Jaxartes, Astrakhān, Don and Dāghistān regions and even in the Debreczen area of Hungary. It was in 1667, during the reign of Küčümid Küčük Sulṭān, that Ewliyā Čelebi visited the Bashkurt between the Terek and Astrakhān together with the Kalmuks, and was greatly impressed by their military ability and by their national and religious fervour (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vii, 761, 811-25, 835-6).

The Bashkurts made their risings at times when Russia had external difficulties. For example, the rising of 1678, during which several Russian towns in the Volga and Ḳama basins basins were burnt, was connected with the Turkish victory over the Russians at Čegerin and their occupation of the S. Ukraine. The Bashkurts were also skilful at making arms, and they were able to supply the Ḳaraḳalpaḳs and the Ḳazaḳs as well as themselves. The Russian government laid great importance on cutting off the Bashkurts' foreign contacts and on closing their iron and steel works. In 1675 they issued an edict forbidding them to manufacture iron, but this had no effect. However, by establishing works at Petro in the Urals and by deporting masses of Russians to them, they succeeded in increasing the Russian element, in spite of external difficulties.

In 1678 was the Kalmuk Khān Ayüke who was responsible for the death of Küčük Sulṭān, and the struggle against the Russians was carried on by two of his sons, Murād Sulṭān and Khuzey (Ibrāhīm) Sulṭān. During the Russo-Swedish wars in the reign of Peter the Great these roused the whole of Bashkurdistan to rebellion. They were in close contact with the Crimean Khāns, the Nogays and the Don Cossacks, and Murād Sulṭān went to the Crimea and to Istanbul in an unsuccessful attempt to seek help. In 1708 he took part in a joint attempt with the Kuban Nogays and the Circassians to occupy the Russian fortress of Terek, but he was wounded, captured by the Russians, tried and executed. According to a Bashkurt envoy who visited Sulṭān Aḥmed III in 1716 the Bashkurts together with their allies the Ḳaraḳalpaḳs and Kirgiz, had raised another rebellion in which they attacked Terek as a reprisal for the execution of Murād Sulṭān and killed up to 40,000 Russians (Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 327). They were supported by the Ḳazaḳs, for at the beginning of the 18th century they had come under the suzerainty of the Ḳazaḳ Khān Tobïrčïḳoghlï Ḳayib Khān, whose capital was at Tashkent. The correspondence of Ḳayib Khān with Sulṭān Aḥmed III in 1715-6 is preserved in the Ottoman archives (Istanbul, *Başvekalet Arşivi, Name-i Hümāyūn defterleri*, vol. vii, 351-2).

The rebellion lasted 17 years and exhausted the Bashkurts. At length in 1728 a delegation was sent off to St. Petersburg and a peace treaty was concluded. However in 1735 there was another rising led by Kilmek Abïz and Küsümoghlï Aḳay against Russian efforts to encircle Bashkurdistan and isolate it from the Ḳaraḳalpaḳs and the Ḳazaḳs. This was the bloodiest of all the Bashkurt risings. Kilmek Abïz and Aḳay were eventually captured, and taken to St. Petersburg and executed, but in 1737 the fighting flared up again under the leadership of two biys from the Ḳuvaḳan tribe, Pepene and Tüngevur Kösep, with the support of the Ḳazaḳ Khāns. Pepene proclaimed Hodja Aḥmed Sulṭān the son of the Ḳazaḳ Khān Abu 'l-Khayr as Khān of the Bashkurts. The movement was put down only with very heavy casualties.

The fighting was renewed in 1740 under a leader known as Ḳarasaḳal. This was, in fact, Baybulat, last of the Küčümids, who together with a nephew had been working with the support of the Crimean Khāns among the Bashkurts since 1738 (*Istor. Zapiski*. vol. xxiv, 102). After two years fighting Ḳarasaḳal was defeated by the Russians and fled to the Ortayüz Ḳazaḳ Khans and took refuge with Baraḳ Khān. After this nothing more is heard of the Küčümids, but further risings occurred in 1755 and in 1774.

In 1798, in accordance with her policy of conciliating the Bashkurts, Catherine the Great divided the province into a traditional tribal cantons. She also set up Bashkurt regiments, which were armed with bows and arrows and wore their national costume. These regiments were used in the Napoleonic wars, and actually advanced as far as Paris. However in 1861 the cantons were abolished, as were the regiments in 1862, though some small units were not disbanded until 1882. In 1872 the Bashkurts, who had previously been dealt with by the Foreign Ministry, were given the same status as other Russian subjects, though they had their own administrative and land laws.

The Bashkurts played no important part in the 1905 revolution. In 1917, in accordance with a resolution of "The General Assembly of the Muslims of Russia" held on May 1-10, which called for autonomy for Muslim Turkish regions, the Bashkurt

representatives set up a 3 man central committee (Zekī Welīdī, Saʿīd Miras, Allāh Berdi Djaʿfer) to deal with the administrative organisation of their provinces. They came to an agreement with the Ḳazaḳ-Kirgiz, and held the first Bashkurt Congress which urged that the Bashkurts should join with other peoples struggling for autonomy (the Ḳazaḳs and Uzbegs, etc.) (*Bashkurt Aymaği*, Ufa 1925, vol. i, 3). In the autumn they began to form an army, and an administrative centre was set up in the Caravanserai at Orenburg under Bikbavoğlu Yūnus. In 1918 this government was suppressed by the Russians and its members were imprisoned at Orenburg but later escaped. In June the Bashkurt rose again, formed 2 military divisions, and revived the government at Orenburg. In order to include Ḳazaḳ-Kirgiz detachments the divisions were turned into a separate army corps under the command of General Ishbulatov. But the Allies, alarmed at the German drive in the Ukraine and Caucasus, wanted no national Kirgiz and Bashkurt army in the Urals and in the steppes and sought its disbandment. In accordance with their wishes General Kolčak proclaimed that the army and government would not be recognised (21 Nov. 1918).

On 19 February 1919 the "Bashkurdistan" government concluded a peace treaty with the Soviets, which protected its army and its autonomy in internal affairs. Afterwards there were efforts to unite the Bashkurts with the Ḳazaḳs, but they were rejected by the Soviets, and İsterlitamaḳ was made the administrative centre for Bashkurdistan, and Aḳtübe for Ḳazaḳistān. This was "Little Bashkurdistan", with an area of 84,874 sq. km. and a population of 1,259,059, some 65-72% of whom were Turks. The premier was Yumugul-oghlu, afterwards Z. V. Togan (Validov). On 29 June 1920 the members of the government withdrew from office and went to Turkistan to take part in the movement of the Basmačīs [*q.v.*] against the Soviets. A completely Soviet government was formed and the army was disbanded. In June 1922 the Soviets united Bashkurdistan with the province of Ufa, which was predominantly Russian, as "Great Bashkurdistan". According to the 1935 census its area was 151,840 sq. km. and its population 2,975,400 only 51% of whom were Turks.

The Bashkurt dialect occupies an intermediate place between the Ḳazaḳ and Ḳazan dialects. Under the Soviets it has been reduced to writing and books have been printed in it.

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BASHĪ-BOZUḲ, a term, meaning 'leaderless', unattached', that was first applied late in the Ottoman period both to homeless vagabonds from the provinces seeking a livelihood in Istanbul and to such male Muslim subjects of the sultan as were not affiliated to any military corps. From this last usage it came to signify 'civilian' (cf. Redhouse, *Turkish-English Lexicon*, s.v.); and for this reason individual volunteers forming bodies attached to the Ottoman army at the time of the Crimean War were called *bashī-bozuḳ ʿaskeri* ('civilian' or 'irregular' troops). These irregulars, largely recruited among Albanians, Kurds, and Circassians, furnished their own arms and mounts (some being cavalry) and had their own commanders. In the course of the war an attempt was made to subject them to normal military discipline; but this was not successful; and during the next Russo-Ottoman war (of 1877) the *bashī-bozuḳ ʿaskeri* earned so much opprobrium for their savagery and love of loot that their employment was thereafter abandoned.

Bibliography: *IA*, art. by Uzunçarşılı.

(H. Bowen)

BASHĪR B. SAʿD, Medinese companion of the Khazradj tribe, and an early convert to Islam. He attended the second ʿAḳaba meeting with the Prophet, and, after the Prophet's emigration to Medīna, took part in all the ensuing battles and himself led two expeditions, one in Shaʿbān 7/December 629 against the Banī Murra at Fadak, and the other later in the same year against a force of Ghaṭafān which ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn was assembling between Wādī al-Ḳurā and Fadak in order to attack Medīna. The first expedition ended in complete disaster and Bashīr himself fought bravely but was wounded and left for dead. During the night, he managed to reach the house of a Jew in Fadak where he sheltered for a few days before returning to Medīna. The second expedition, carried out with 300 men, was successful, ʿUyayna's force was dispersed and much booty captured. In the same year, when the Prophet visited Mecca for *ʿUmrat al-Ḳaḍāʾ* in accordance with the agreement of the previous year at al-Ḥudaybiyya, Bashīr commanded an armed contingent which escorted him but did not enter Mecca.

On the death of the Prophet, Bashīr supported the claim of Ḳuraysh against the Medinese attempt, in the *Saḳīfa* meeting, to elect an Anṣārī successor, and was the first—or one of the first—to make the decisive move of paying homage to Abū Bakr. Later he joined the expedition to ʿIrāḳ and was present when al-Ḥīra was captured by Khālid b. al-Walīd. He died at ʿAyn al-Tamr in 12/633, though it is not certain whether he was killed in the fighting

or died from a wound he had received shortly before.

Bas̲h̲īr was one of the few who knew the art of writing. He was the father of al-Nuʿmān b. Bas̲h̲īr [*q.v.*].

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BAS̲H̲ĪR ČELEBI, a physician who flourished in the middle of the 9th/15th century. According to the little treatise *Ḥikāyet-i Bes̲h̲īr Čelebi* (of which one MS. has been published in facsimile by İ. H. Ertaylan as *Târih-i Edirne* : *Hikâyet-i Beşir Çelebi*, *Türk Edebiyatı Örnekleri* iii, Istanbul 1946), he was summoned from Konya to Edirne by Meḥemmed II very soon after his accession; he expounded to the Sultan the advantages of the climate of Edirne and recommended to him the site for the building of the New Palace (begun in 855/1451, cf. *IA*, article Edirne [M. Tayyib Gökbilgin], p. 117b).

The Ottoman history attributed to him (*Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, *Türk Edebiyatı Örnekleri* iv, Istanbul 1946) is nothing but another MS. of the Giese *Anonymous Chronicles* (as demonstrated by Adnan Erzi in *Bell.* XIII, 1949, 181-5 : the MS. is very close to Giese's W(ien)$_2$ = Flügel No. 983). Neither this History nor the *Târih-i Edirne* is the work of Bes̲h̲īr Čelebi.

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BAS̲H̲ĪR SHIHĀB II, Amīr of Lebanon, 1788-1840. Born in 1180/1767 in the village of G̲h̲azīr, Bas̲h̲īr lost his father Amīr Ḳāsim in his early years and was soon compelled to try his fortune in the field of politics in Dayr al-Ḳamar, the capital of Lebanon. Robust, intelligent, and circumspect, he soon attracted attention as a possible candidate for the governorship of Lebanon. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḳāsim Jumblat, a wealthy and powerful feudal lord, was the first to appreciate Bas̲h̲īr's gifts and possibilities. His first approaches were successful, and Ḳāsim and Bas̲h̲īr became friends and allies. Their chance for common action came in 1788. Wearied by the heavy exactions of the Turkish Pas̲h̲as of Sidon, Tripoli, and Damascus, Amīr Yūsuf S̲h̲ihāb, governor of Lebanon, called the Notables of the Land to a meeting in Dayr al-Ḳamar to discuss the general situation. To their surprise, Amīr Yūsuf confessed his inability to come to an understanding with D̲j̲azzār Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] of Sidon and called for advice regarding his successor. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḳāsim and his supporters suggested young Bas̲h̲īr, and Amīr Yūsuf agreed. Bas̲h̲īr made the usual journey to ʿAkkā, D̲j̲azzār's fortress, and came back Governor of Lebanon.

A rapacious intriguer, D̲j̲azzār Pas̲h̲a stimulated in 1209/1794 a number of Lebanese notables to revolt and induced one of the sons of Amīr Yūsuf to make a bid for the governorship of Lebanon. He then promised support to Bas̲h̲īr in return for a large sum of money. Having satisfied the greed of the Pas̲h̲a, Bas̲h̲īr immediately set himself to the task of internal consolidation. In 1794, he permitted the Jumblats and the Amads to murder several Nakad chiefs in his own reception hall. Then, with the help of the Jumblats, he forced the Amad chiefs to leave Lebanon and seek refuge elsewhere (1799, 1808, 1819). In 1822/1237, he burdened the Jumblats with very heavy contributions; and, in 1824, he defeated them in open battle and put them to flight. In the meantime, Bas̲h̲īr strengthened his local levies and made of them the strongest military contingent in all Syria-Palestine. His fifteen thousand men were more than equal to all the soldiers of all the Pas̲h̲as of Syria put together. In addition, Lebanese levies were daring and extremely skilful in the manipulation of arms.

In the meanwhile, Bas̲h̲īr's grants in aid to Christian Patriarchs and Archbishops and his acts of toleration were winning for him clerical support and French consular aid. In 1817, Pope Pius VII wrote in person to thank the Amīr for his policy of religious toleration; and in 1835, Pope Gregory XVI addressed the Amīr as a faithful son and praised his conversion. With his own co-religionists, the Druzes, Bas̲h̲īr behaved differently. Until his time the Druzes had had only one religious head, the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Aḳl. Bas̲h̲īr introduced a second head and set him up against his colleague.

Bas̲h̲īr's greatest ambition was to ward off local Turkish intrigue and protect the historic autonomy of Lebanon. Circumspect and foxy, he refused to commit himself either for or against Napoleon at the time of his advance into Palestine. And, as soon as the French forces withdrew into Egypt, Bas̲h̲īr went down in person to the Grand Vizier's camp in al-Arīs̲h̲, 1799, and procured an Imperial firman which tied the Lebanon directly with the Sublime Porte. When the Grand Vizier died, this firman became null and void, and Bas̲h̲īr had to use other means. D̲j̲azzār's successor, Sulaymān Pas̲h̲a (1804-1819), was more humane; and Bas̲h̲īr courted his favour to stem the cupidity and inordinate desires of Kand̲j̲ Pas̲h̲a of Damascus. In 1810, Yūsuf Kand̲j̲ Pas̲h̲a claimed direct control of the fertile valley of the Bekaa. When no amount of persuasion could change his desire, Bas̲h̲īr marched on Damascus at the head of a force, 15,000 strong, and Kand̲j̲ fled to Egypt. In 1820, Bas̲h̲īr had to march again on Damascus and for the same reason. A year later, Darwīs̲h̲ succeeded in gaining the good will of the Sublime Porte and marched against Bas̲h̲īr's ally, ʿAbd Allāh Pas̲h̲a, with substantial assistance from his colleague the Pas̲h̲a of Aleppo. ʿAbd Allāh then locked himself up in the fortress of ʿAkkā, and Bas̲h̲īr sought help in Egypt (1821-1822).

Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] of Egypt was then laying the foundation of independence. He had already sensed the hostile intentions of the Sublime Porte and was preparing himself for a war of liberation. He realised fully well the military importance of Amīr Bas̲h̲īr and the strategic significance of Mount Lebanon. The two conferred together and soon arrived at a complete understanding of the situation. Muḥammad ʿAlī intervened in favour of ʿAbd Allāh Pas̲h̲a at Constantinople and Bas̲h̲īr came back to Lebanon completely victorious.

In 1247/1831, Muḥammad ʿAlī decided to strike. The Sultan had lost heavily in both the Greek War of Independence and in the Russian War and had, in 1826, dissolved the Janissaries. Emissaries of the Porte promised full respect of the privileges of Mount Lebanon, but Bas̲h̲īr's answer was, "You should not expect help from those whom you have always neglected". Lebanese levies fought ʿUt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a in Tripoli, joined in the march on Damascus, protected the Egyptian commissariat and rear as far north as Aleppo. In return, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a

recognised the ancient privileges of Lebanon, and promised to eschew direct interference in its internal affairs, (1833-40). But as the Sultan could never consider the new situation consistent with his dignity and honour, Muḥammad ʿAlī had to remain prepared for another trial. This meant more men for his army and more money for his growing expenses, and actually led to disarmament, compulsory military service and increased taxation. Unable to understand the Lebanese mentality, he ordered application of his new regulations in Lebanon and in the Druze Mountain of the Ḥawran, and had to stand the consequences. Troubles flared up in the Ḥawrān in the autumn and winter of 1837-1838; and several thousand Egyptians perished. In the summer of 1253/1838, the Egyptians were routed again in the Anti-Lebanon.

The impending clash between the Egyptian forces and the Ottoman Army took place in the early summer of 1839 at Nezib on the Turkish border. As the Egyptians put the Turks to flight and threatened to march on Constantinople, and as Russia was bound to come to the help of Turkey by the terms of the Treaty of Hunkâr Iskelesi (1833), and as France had consistently favoured Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, the Eastern Question was open again for discussion. British and Turkish emissaries visited Lebanon in disguise trying to win over Amīr Bashīr to their side. Bashīr himself procrastinated, but the Lebanese rushed to arms in open revolt. By the summer of 1256/1840, France was isolated and the rest of the Big Powers, including Russia, signed the Treaty of London. Allied naval units arrived in Lebanese waters and a Turkish force was landed off the Bay of Junieh. Lebanese, Turks, and blue-jackets defeated Ibrāhīm Pasha at Bahrsaf, and Bashīr III was proclaimed Governor of Lebanon. Bashīr II surrendered to the British in Sidon and was carried to Malta in exile. Several months later, he was allowed to establish himself in Asia Minor. He passed away in 1851, and was buried in the Armenian Catholic Church in Galata, Constantinople. In 1946, when Lebanon achieved the sort of independence Bashīr had sought, the Government of the Republic brought his remains to Lebanon and deposited them in the family vault in Bayt al-Dīn.

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BASHKIR [see BASHDJIRT].

AL-**BASHKUNISH**, the Basques, a people of uncertain origin inhabiting the W. end of the Pyrenees and the adjacent part of the Cantabrian Mountains, with the Atlantic coast to the N. 'Bashkunish' is evidently from Latin 'Vascōnes', with the phonetic change v < b as elsewhere. The Basque language is called *al-bashkiyya* (*Al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 56).

The principal centre of the Bashkunish was Pampeluna (Arabic Banbalūna, from an original Pompeiopolis), which became eventually the capital of Navarre. Their territory was invaded by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr at the time of the conquest of Spain (*Kitāb al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, *Colección de Obras Arábigas*, ii, 132 ff.), and then or later but in any case before 100/718-719, as Codera showed, Pampeluna capitulated to the Muslims. ʿUḳba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (Umayyad governor of Spain for five years from 116/734) settled a Muslim garrison there (Ibn ʿIdhārī, ii, 28). A few years later (138/755-756) the Bashkunish were in revolt and destroyed a force sent to Pampeluna by the *amīr* Yūsuf al-Fihrī, *i.e.*, about the time of the arrival in Spain of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. At the time of the famous invasion of northern Spain by Charlemagne (161/778) Pampeluna submitted to him, but it was probably bands of Basques, joined by the Muslims, who cut his rear-guard to pieces at Roncesvalles (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 1944, 89). In 164/780-781, or in the following year, towards the close of his long reign, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I was obliged to move in person against the Bashkunish.

By 798/182 the Basques of Pampeluna had renounced their Muslim allegiance, permanently as it turned out, and declared themselves vassals of Alfonso II, king of the Asturias. We soon hear of an independent Basque chief at Pampeluna, Gharsiya b. Wanḳu (Garcia Iñiguez), who, as it appears, through his granddaughter Iñiga, married to the Umayyad ʿAbd Allāh, became the ancestor of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, al-Nāṣir. A fresh grouping of power among the Bashkunish took place in 905, when Sancho Garces I set aside the elder line, and effectively established the kingdom of Navarre. The western Basques continued to be subjects of the king of the Asturias. Henceforward what from the point of view of Muslim Spain has been called the 'Basque menace' (E. Lévi-Provençal) is represented by the history of Navarre especially.

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BASHMAḲ [see AL-NAʿL AL-SHARĪF].

BASHMAḲLĪḲ, a term applied under the Ottoman régime during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to fief revenues assigned to ladies of the sultan's *ḥarem* for the purchase of their personal requirements, particularly clothes and slippers (*bashmaḳ* or *pashmaḳ* meaning 'slipper' in Turkish). The word has not yet been found in any document earlier than the end of the sixteenth century, and ceased to be used from the beginning of the eighteenth. The ladies who qualified for the receipt of *bashmaḳlīḳs* were the sultan's mother (*wālide*), his sisters, his daughters, his *ḳadīns*, and his *khāṣṣekīs*; but information is lacking on the different values of those assigned to each of these ranks,—if indeed there was any fixed scale at all. We know, however, that they were assigned for life and that during the seventeenth century they were often improperly enlarged beyond the usual revenue limit of 20,000

aḳčes a year by the addition to them of military fiefs that had fallen vacant. Though from early in the eighteenth century the term *bashmaḳliḳ* fell out of use, fief revenues were still assigned to these members of the imperial *ḥarem,* being known thenceforward simply as *khāṣṣ* and consisting, since virtually all revenues were by that date collected by tax-farm (*muḳāṭaʿa*), of the advance payments made by contractors for certain such farms. Towards the end of that century the practice was adopted of granting *muḳāṭaʿas* to the ladies concerned on *mālikâne,* or life, tenures; but in the reform period such grants were finally abolished and annual cash allowances were paid to them in lieu.

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BASHMUḤĀSABA [see MĀLIYYA].

BASHSHĀR B. BURD, Abū Muʿādh, a famous ʿIrāḳī Arabic poet of the 2nd/8th century. His family was originally from Ṭukhāristān or eastern Iran. His grandfather had been captured and taken to ʿIrāḳ at the time of the expedition of al-Muhallab [*q.v.*]; his father, who was finally freed by an ʿUḳaylī Arab lady of Baṣra, was a bricklayer of that town. Bashshār was born in Baṣra, the date being uncertain but probably about 95 or 96/714-5. For a long time he attached himself to ʿUkayl as a dependent, without forgetting to glorify the memories of ancient Iran in accordance with his Shuʿūbī leanings; but this was equally, no doubt, a good means of turning his detractors, attention away from his humble origins, which the fiction of his royal ancestry ill concealed (v. the naive genealogy of Bashshār given in *Aghānī*³, iii, 135).

The gift of poetry is said to have been revealed in Bashshār when he was ten years old (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 143, 144: from a Baṣra source). His Baṣra environment was nothing if not favourable to the growth of such a talent; the caravan halt or *mirbad* which was of such importance up to the middle of the 3rd/9th century (cf. Pellat, *Milieu baṣrien,* 158 ff.) was for the young artist a kind of school in which he must have soaked himself in the poetic tradition then in full flower in central and eastern Arabia (see the anecdote in *Aghānī*³, iii, 143-5, which recounts the meeting of Bashshār with the Tamīmī Djarīr, then at the height of his fame; Brockelmann's suggestion, S I, 109, of confusion with a homonym of Djarīr cannot be accepted). Bashshār's career embraces the activities of a writer of panegyric, elegy and satire. It is remarkable that blindness from birth and exceptional ugliness did not cause him to be shunned by women or by the important figures of his day. But he knew how to impress and to make himself feared by the quality of his praises and his epigrams.

From the fragments or pieces which have come down to us Bashshār appears as the court poet of Umayyad governors such as Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 197, 236) or Salm b. Ḳutayba (at the latest in 132/750) (see *ibid.,* 190), or prince Sulaymān, the son of the caliph Hishām (see *Dīwān,* i, 291-303); we even have a panegric on the last Umayyad ruler, Marwān (see *Dīwān,* i, 306 ff.). The advent of the ʿAbbāsids does not seem to have checked the rising career of the poet, who was then thirty-seven years old. He was too clever a man not to adapt himself to the new state of affairs. It is difficult to follow the process in detail, but an ode originally in honour of the ʿAlid Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh is said to have been finally dedicated to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr (*Aghānī*³, iii, 213 bottom; cf. al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī,* i, 136); if this fact is correct it is characteristic. Bashshār lived in Baghdād from the time of its foundation in 145/762 (see al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ,* 247-8). His panegyrics were then dedicated either to prominent figures in Baṣra such as Sulaymān al-ʿAbsī (governor in 142/759-60) or his son (governor about 176/792) (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 165-7, 207; Pellat, 166, 280) or to such figures as ʿUḳba b. Salm (governor in 147/764) (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 174-5; cf. Pellat, index) or his son, Nāfiʿ (governor in 151/768) (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 230; cf. Pellat, 281); several anecdotes give the impression that Bashshār was much in favour under the caliph al-Manṣūr, whom he probably accompanied on pilgrimage to Mecca (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 153, 159, 188, 212, 239 especially *Dīwān,* i, 257, 275 (*ḳaṣīda* of 29 verses) and ii, 24); later relations between the monarch and the poet were to become strained (see *infra*). To these official connexions we owe much precious material on the poet's life. But doubtless they are not as important as Bashshār's connexions with the grammarians of Baṣra, such as Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ, Abū ʿUbayda or al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*] or with religious folk in that town such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*] (d. 110/228; *Aghānī*³, iii, 169 f.) or Malik b. Dīnār [*q.v.*] (d. 131/748; v. *ibid.,* 170). His sarcastic remarks on the subject of these last two persons are in line with, and confirm, his taste for consorting with people ostracised because of their manners or religious beliefs. A "literature" more anecdotal than valuable gives a picture of this aspect of Bashshār's life; his adventures and half-sacrilegious escapades (thus *Aghānī*³, iii, 185-6, on a pretended pilgrimage to Mecca; and 233, on his relationship with some Kūfa libertines. His diatribes against Ḥammād ʿAdjrad show how lively these relations sometimes were (see *ibid.*. iii, 137, 205, 223 bottom; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān,* i, 30). His caustic temperament, his character and above all his sensitivity on the subject of his infirmity and lack of inheritance explain in large measure the poet's pungent invective against his rivals or enemies, though other grounds should not be forgotten which explain the rancour of these quarrels on the ideological plane.

Shuʿūbism is one of these causes (thus *Aghānī*³, iii, 138, 139 and especially 174-5, against the Bedouin poet ʿUḳba b. Ruʾba; v. also *ibid.,* 166 the fragment against a Bedouin, and 203-4 in which a nobleman reproaches the poet with having stirred up the *mawālī* against their Arab patrons). Bashshār's position on the subject of Muʿtazilism reflects his fluctuating opinion of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭā [*q.v.*] (d. 131/748-9 in Baṣra), whom he satirises, having previously flattered him (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān,* i, 16 ff., and again in *Aghānī*³, iii, 145 f.; v. also the violent diatribes against each other of Bashshār and the Muʿtazilite poet Ṣafwān al-Anṣarī of Baṣra, on which see Pellat, *Milieu baṣrien,* 175-7 with a translation of Ṣafwān's verses).

Bashshār's religious views remain unclear; they seem to have fluctuated, and Bashshār, as an opportunist, to have concealed his true mind. The reservations he makes on the subject of poets he appreciates such as al-Kumayt or al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī who lived in Baṣra from 147/764 to 157/773-4 (cf. *Aghānī*³, iii, 225, VII, 237, but the facts are uncertain) would tend to indicate that he was not a Shīʿī (but see Pellat, 178, who thinks that Bashshār brought together the Shīʿī views of the Kāmiliyya, on which see *id.* 201). The accusation of *zandaḳa* made against Bashshār and the anecdotes

which illustrate it rather than give it substance point to his holding heterogeneous views; among these views there are in fact to be found Manichaean beliefs strongly tinged with Zoroastrianism (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 16: citation of the celebrated verse *the Earth is dark and the Fire is resplendent and the Fire has been worshipped from the time that it existed*; cf. the reference to this affirmation of Bashshār's in the refutation of the Muʿtazilite Ṣafwān, *ibid.*, i, 97, line 7; cf. also *Fihrist*, 338, line 10, which puts the poet among the *Zindīḳ*s-Manichaeans of the 2nd/8th cent.).

But along with these beliefs there would seem always to have been a profound scepticism (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 227, line 1 ff.-*Dīwān*, ii, 246) mingled with a fatalistic outlook leading Bashshār to to pessimism and hedonism (*ibid.*, 232, and the citation from Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 40 bottom). Like his fellows, Bashshār had to fall back on the *taḳiyya* and profess an orthodoxy and a pious zeal which was totally opposed to his real convictions (thus, his verses against the heretic Ibn al-ʿAwdjāʾ, who was executed at Kūfa, *Aghānī*³, iii, 147, and above all the verse of the *Dīwān*, ii, 36, line 3, showing a strict Islamic orthodoxy).

His prudence in this respect was not allowed to obscure the scandal of his manners, his epigrams and his heterodoxy. A plot engineered in Baṣra effected his ruin in the eyes of the caliph al-Mahdī (see the anecdotal accounts in *Aghānī*³, iii, 243 ff.), impinging as it did on matters of wider import, *viz.* the persecution under that ruler of all those covered by the name of *zindīḳ* [*q.v.*] (see *ibid.*, 246 bottom and ff.; especially, Gabrieli, *Appunti*, 158). Bashshār was seized, beaten, and thrown into a swamp in the Baṭīḥa (al-Ṭabarī, Cairo ed., vi, 401; *Aghānī*³, iii, 247-8). This occurred in 167 or 168/784-5 when the poet was over seventy years of age (not ninety, as has been said through an orthographic confusion; cf. *Aghānī*³, iii, 247, 249, giving the two figures, of which only the second features in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 118 and Ibn Khallikān, i, 88).

Bashshār was famous in his day as an orator and letter-writer or prose-writer (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 49), but he owes his renown above all to his poetic gifts. His work in verse was as abundant as it was varied, but unfortunately has not come down to us in its original form. Being blind Bashshār was dependent on *rāwīs*, of whom we know the names of four, notably the notorious Khalaf al-Aḥmar (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 137, 164 (and ix, 112), 170, 189); but none of them troubled to put together the *dīwān* of their master. Occasional pieces, impromptus and epigrams were very quickly lost, while at the same time poems of more or less doubtful authenticity were attributed to Bashshār (see gloss on *Dīwān*, i, 309). From the 3rd/9th century the poet's work was thus known only through the collections of the anthologists, such as Hārūn b. ʿAlī (d. 288/900-1; cf. *Fihrist*, 144) or Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893), who had compiled an *Ikhtiyār Shiʿr Bashshār* (see *Fihrist*, 147). It is known that in the last quarter of the 4th/10th century Ibn al-Nadīm consulted a collection of selected poems of about a thousand pages (v. *Fihrist*, 159 bottom). No account should however be taken of the *Ikhtiyār min Shiʿr Bashshār* of the two brothers al-Khālidī of Mosul, which is not mentioned among their works by Ibn al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, 169. This last work we know only through the extracts given by al-Tudjībī (5th/11th cent., ed. al-ʿAlawī, Aligarh 1935). A single manuscript of eastern origin (of the 6th/12th century?), containing poems on rhymes from *a* to *z*, has been the basis of the edition of Ibn ʿAshūr (3 vols., Cairo 1950-57), which is far from satisfactory. We see that the work of Bashshār can be studied only with caution.

Bashshār writes in formal, tripartite *ḳaṣīdas*, in a taut style, and though his poems may be conventional in form and theme they show a break with those of the preceding generation. The pithiness of his epigrams places him in the Umayyad satirist tradition (thus, *Dīwān*, ii, 66, against Ḥammād ʿAdjrad; also *Aghānī*³, iii, 188, 202); here also his taste for the baroque or for parody leads him to make innovations (thus, the prosopopeia on his ass, *Aghānī*³, iii, 231 bottom). But it is probably in elegy that he has made his name most remembered. Frequently, already, his bacchic themes tend towards the love-song, which might well be considered the abandonment of a tradition of which the pastiches attributed to al-Aʿshā Maymūn [*q.v.*] are questionable examples. The amorous elegies make up an important part of this work, and are addressed mainly to a Baṣran lady named ʿAbda, but also to other heroines whose names are probably fictitious. Now sensual and even realistic (thus *Aghānī*³, iii, 155, 165, 182, 200 etc.), now suffused with courtly ingenuity, these poems seem to give two different responses to the eternal conflict within the oriental soul. Poems of an intellectual cast are also common, and though Bashshār is not really profound he avoids triviality and can make acute observations.

Adaptability is the key-note of Bashshār's manner, which can be stylised and archaising in the *ḳaṣīda* (thus, *Dīwān*, i, 306 ff.), but loosens and becomes delightfully free in the amorous elegies, in which the poet allows himself daring licences of language (thus *Dīwān*, ii, 5, line 7; 10, lines 3; 15, line 2). The dominant influence on Bashshār was indeed always the tradition he inherited from the desert poets; in many respects he is close to the Ḥidjāz "school" as we see it in ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*]. But he contrived to enrich this tradition with the wealth of his own interior universe, the hard experience born of his physical disgrace and his contact with a confusing and turbulent world.

The importance of Bashshār's place in the transitional period of poetry in the middle of the 2nd/8th century cannot be overestimated. The influence of the man and the artist is attested by the enthusiasm or hatred he awoke in his contemporaries. All in all he was considered one of the glories of Baṣra. His poems, often set to music, delighted the young and the feminine public, while the connaisseurs' opinion emerges from the "value judgments" attributed to such scholars as Abū ʿUbayda, al-Aṣmaʿī, Khalaf al-Aḥmar and a host of others (see *Aghānī*³, iii, *passim*). We know on the other hand in what esteem al-Djāḥiẓ held him (see *Bayān*, index). Finally, Bashshār profoundly influenced the following generation of poets; statements to this effect in the biographies of Abu 'l-ʿAtahiya [*q.v.*], al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf [*q.v.*], Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], Salm al-Khāsir and many others are confirmed by the study of their works. At the present day eastern critics have readily been able to see in Bashshār one of the greatest names in Arab poetry.

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245, no. 110; for the other secondary biographical sources v. Brockelmann, S I, 40. On the background, v. A. Mez, *Renaissance*; G. Vadja, *Les Zindiq . . . au début de la période abbaside*, in *RSO*, xvii (1937), 173-229; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 176-8, 256-9 and index. Special studies on this poet by Di Matteo, *La Poesia arabe nel I secolo degli ʿAbbāsidi*, Palermo 1935, 9-124; F. Gabrieli, *Appunti su B.i.B.*, in *BSOS* ix (1937), 51-63.

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BASHSHĀR AL-SHAʿĪRĪ, Shīʿite heretic, flourished in the second century A.H. He lived in Kūfa and earned his living by selling barley (*shaʿīr*), whence his name. According to the *Minhādj* and the *Muntahā*, he was sometimes mistakenly referred to as al-Ashʿarī, instead of the correct al-Shaʿīrī. According to traditions related by al-Kashshī, he was repudiated and disowned by the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (*Ridjāl* 252-4; cf. 197, where ʿAbū Bashshār al-Ashʿarī' is denounced as a liar, together with such notorious heretics as al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd, Bazīgh, Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, Muʿammar, and Ḥamza al-Barbarī. The passage in the edition is very corrupt). The Nuṣayrī al-Khaṣībī describes Bashshār as a *rāwī* of Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Djuʿfī (Massignon, *Salmān* 44 n. 4); in a Nuṣayrī text published by Strothmann he is reported as quoting a conversation with Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, who gives the esoteric explanations of the *basmala*.

A disciple of the Khaṭṭābiyya [*q.v.*] group among the extreme Shīʿa, Bashshār is said to have preached the doctrine that ʿAlī was superior to Muḥammad, since ʿAlī was God and Muḥammad only a messenger. He accepted the teachings of the Khaṭṭābiyya on four of the five deified persons, namely ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn, but demoted Muḥammad, to whom he assigned the rôle which the Khaṭṭābiyya assign to Salmān al-Fārisī. He was also accused of preaching libertinism, the denial of divine attributes, and metempsychosis. His followers were known as ʿUlyā'iyya [*q.v.*], a name that is variously interpreted. One version is that they were so called when Bashshār, after teaching these doctrines, was changed into a sea-bird (*ʿulyā*).

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AL-**BAṢĪR**, ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-FADL B. DJAʿFAR B. AL-FAḌL B. YŪNUS AL-ANBĀRĪ AL-NAKHAʿĪ AL-KĀTIB, poet and letter-writer of the first half of the 3rd/9th century. He was born in Kūfa in a family of Persian origin which had been living in al-Anbār, but moved to Kūfa and settled in the quarter of the Yemenite tribe al-Nakhaʿ. On account of his blindness he was nicknamed *al-Baṣīr* and *al-Ḍarīr* (*per antiphrasin*, see A. Fischer, *ZDMG* 61, 430). When Sāmarrā was built in 221/836 he went to the new capital and in spite of his strong and even extreme Shīʿite leanings he eulogised al-Muʿtaṣim and his successors. He attached himself to al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [*q.v.*] and his nephew ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā (see Ibn Khāḳān) and praised them in his poems (see *e.g.* Ibn Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa* 117; Mubarrad, *Kāmil* 6; Yāḳūt *Irshād* vi, 122; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i 78). He was acquainted with Abu 'l-ʿAynā' [*q.v.*], Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir [*q.v.*], Abū Hiffān and other men of letters; they addressed to each other witty verses and satirical lampoons. He was a gifted writer; some of his admirers ranked him even higher than Djarīr. He had a poor opinion of the poetry of Abū Nuwās and Muslim b. al-Walīd (see Marzubānī, *Muwashshah* 282 f.). Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Munadjdjim in the appendix to his father's *Kitāb al-Bāhir* and Ibn Ḥādjib al-Nuʿmān in his *Ashʿār al-Kuttāb* devoted both a chapter to his poems (*Fihrist* 144, 1; 166, 23). His *Dīwān* and the collection of his letters are lost. Amongst his verses which have come down to us, are some, that can be dated: *e.g.* a poem, composed in 247/861, when al-Mutawakkil went from Sāmarrā to his new residence al-Djaʿfariyya (Yāḳūt, ii, 87; read *al-Baṣīr* instead of *al-Baṣrī*), a few lines of a long poem, urging al-Mustaʿīn in 249/863 to appoint his son al-ʿAbbās heir-apparent (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* vii, 346; read Abū [ʿAlī] al-Baṣīr) and congratulatory verses on the occasion of the accession of al-Muʿtazz to the throne 4 Muḥarram 252/25 January 866 (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* vii, 378). This shows incidentally that contrary to the statement of Marzubānī he did not die during the civil war 251/865. Ibn Ḥadjar places his death in the reign of al-Muʿtamid (256-79/870-92).

Bibliography: *Fihrist* 123; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-Shuʿarā'* 314 Krenkow; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān* iv, 438; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* vii, 328 ff., 346. See also Ḳālī, *Amālī*; Ibn Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa* (register *s.v.* a. ʿAlī al-Ḍarīr); Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* 44, 164, 268, 483, 496; *Aghānī*[1] x, 108; xx, 41. (J. W. FÜCK)

BAṢĪRĪ, (*c.*1465-1535) Turkish and Persian poet. Although Laṭīfī and ʿĀlī (*Kunh al-Akhbār*) record that he came to Rūm from the realm of Persia, it is clearly stated in the *tadhkira* of Riyāḍī and in the *Kashf al-Zunūn* that he was from Baghdād. Because of a diseased condition (*barash*) from which he suffered, he was called Aladja ('Blotchy') Baṣīrī. He grew up in the scholarly and literary milieu of Harāt, and frequented the circles of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā (1438-1507), Djāmī (1424-92), and Nawā'ī (1441-1501). As he is not mentioned in the last-named's *Madjālis al-Nafā'is*, he could not yet have won fame in that environment, but he is mentioned among the poets of Selīm I in the supplement written by Ḥakīm Muḥammad Shāh-i Ḳazwīnī to his Persian translation of the *Madjālis al-Nafā'is*. Baṣīrī left Harāt for Rūm some time before 1492, bringing the books and *ghazals* of Djāmī and Nawā'ī, and various commissions to execute for them. For a while he was in the service of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. When Aḥmad Göde, son of Ughurlu, came to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu throne (1496), Baṣīrī was sent as his ambassador to Sulṭān Bāyazīd II, reaching Istanbul in 1496 or 1497. On Aḥmad Göde's death in battle in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān in the latter year, Baṣīrī decided not to return to Persia but to settle in Istanbul. He later attached himself to Mu'ayyadzāde,

ḳāḍī ʿasker from 1503 to 1507, and became one of his intimates. The testimony of the *tadhkiras* is that it was Baṣīrī who brought the dīwān of Nawāʾī to Rūm.

While he wrote Persian poetry, Baṣīrī, being brought up in the circle of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā and Nawāʾī, had a detailed knowledge of Turkish language and literature. After his arrival in Rūm, he adapted himself to his new literary environment with such success, thanks to his powerful intellect, as to win the favourable mention of the authors of the *tadhkiras*. Being an elegant and witty versifier he was much in demand in the salons of the great. In the reign of Suleymān he was one of the associates of the *defterdār* Iskender Čelebi, and was given an income from the *awḳāf* of Aya Ṣofya and from the imperial treasury. His poems, both Persian and Turkish, show that he had a sound knowledge of the sciences which in that age were the necessary concomitants of poetry and on which poetry fed. The chief features of his poetry are wit, elegance, and particularly the devices of *djinās* and *īhām*. Although it influenced the local literature, his work does not display the characteristics of 16th-century Anatolian classical literature, but is closer to that of 15th-century Persia. His neat lampoons and witticisms offended no one. Some of these witticisms are quoted in the *tadhkiras* and he himself incorporated them into a *risāla*. Apart from his Turkish *dīwān*, he wrote a *Bengi-nāme*. He died in Istanbul, in his 70th year.

Bibliography: Ḥakīm Muḥammad Shāh-i Ḳazwīnī's translation of *Madjālis al-Nafāʾis*; the *tadhkiras* of Sehī Bey, Laṭīfī, Ḥasan Čelebi, ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, and Riyāḍī; *Kashf al-Zunūn*.

(ALI NIHAD TARLAN)

AL-**BASĪT**, Span. Albacete, Spanish town, chief town of the province of the same name which comprises the north-western portion of the old kingdom of Murcia, situated S.-W. of la Mancha and New Castile, on the S.E. slopes of the Meseta of Central Iberia at an altitude of 700 m. The modern name derives from the Arabic al-Basīṭ (*"lugar ancho y extendido y llano y raso"*) and not from al-Basīṭa ("the plain") as is still often stated. The place and the name are found for the first time in al-Dabbī of Cordova and Ibn al-Abbār of Valencia in the 7th/13th century, in connexion with the great battle of 20 Shaʿbān 540/5 February 1146, a date confirmed by a laconic passage in the *Annales Toledanos* (ed. Huici Miranda 347, in *Las Crónicas latinas de la Reconquista*, I): 'Ç'ahedola [Sayf al-Dawla al-Mustanṣir Aḥmad b. Hūd] did battle with the Christians, and they killed him in the month of February 1184" (Spanish era = 1146 Christian era). The battle, which was quite an ordinary engagement, was not between Alfonso VII of Castile and his tributary, the short-lived king of south-eastern Spain which was entirely subject to him, but between the latter and the Castilian Counts sent by Alfonso VII to subjugate the rebels of Baeza, Ubeda and Jaén, who withheld their tribute from Sayf al-Dawla. The rebels, seeing their lands pillaged by the Christians, again submitted to their *amīr* in order that he might save them from the Counts, who refused to suspend operations and, when Sayf al-Dawla took up arms against them, routed him and took him prisoner. While he was being led to their camp, certain soldiers, called Pardos, put him to death, much to the regret of the Counts and Alfonso VII himself". With him was killed his ally the governor of Valencia ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Saʿd; the latter is for this reason known by the Arabs as Ṣāḥib al-Basīṭ, "Master (martyr) of Albacete". The battle is also called the battle of al-Ludjdj (Ibn al-Abbār: *bi 'l-mawḍiʿ al-maʿrūf bi 'l-ludjdj wa bi 'l-basīṭ ʿala maḳraba min djindjālla*) in the vicinity of Chinchilla. Al-Ludjdj the place (and the river) may be identified either with Lezura to the west, or with Alatoz to the east of Albacete, on the northern slopes of the Sierra of Chinchilla (in the latter case it should read Latudjdj). It is not possible to settle the problem; Faḥṣ al-Ludjdj is found as early as Ibn al-Kardabūs (cf. Dozy, *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*, ii, 19),

Bibliography: Dabbī (ed. Codera and Ribera), 33; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-Siyarāʾ* (Dozy. *Notices*, 215, 219, 226); Codera, *Decadencia y desaparicion de los Almoravides en Espana*, Saragossa 1899, 86, 109; Gaspar Remiro, *Murcia Musulmana*, Saragossa 1905, 179 ff.; Seybold, in *ZDMG*, lxii.

(C. F. SEYBOLD-[A. HUICI MIRANDA])

BASĪṬ [see ʿARŪḌ].

BASĪṬ WA MURAKKAB. *Basīṭ* and *murakkab* (simple and composite) are translations of the Greek ἁπλοῦς and σύνθετος. In Arabic grammar (but also in philosophy and medicine), the term *mufrad* is used for *basīṭ*. In grammar, *mufrad* and *murakkab* correspond to simple nouns and their construct states, in medicine to constituents and their compounds. In logic, mathematics and music, again, the term *muʾallaf* is more commonly used for *murakkab*, while it is in physics and medicine alone that the term *mumtazidj* is used sometimes as an equivalent of and sometimes as distinguished from *murakkab*, *secundum prius et posterius*.

Something can be simple either absolutely or relatively: an absolutely simple thing is that which cannot be further sub-divided into simpler parts either physically or conceptually; an atom is an example of the first, a highest genus of the second type (for the definition of the simple as indivisible see, *e.g.*, Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 989b 17). A relatively simple thing is a constituent in a further complex while in itself it may be divisible. Again, from the point of view of the 'composition' of form and matter (and the whole of the material world is so composite), either purely immaterial entities are simple or the primitive matter which is devoid of any form, although Aristotle and the Muslim philosophers restrict the term metaphysically to the former category.

In the actual material world (for the primitive matter does not exist), the four elements, fire, air, water and earth are regarded as the basic simple bodies by the composition of which every other material object comes into existence. According to Aristotle (the chief treatment of the subject is *De Gen. et Corr*, I, ch. 10), a form of composition in which the constituents retain their identity is σύνθεσις, *e.g.*, when sugar is mixed with sand, while in a real composition, called μεῖξις, the parts lose their identity and share a common quality which, in many cases, may be different from that of the individual constituents. The former kind of 'composition' is not mentioned by the Muslim philosophers. They say that in certain combinations, *e.g.*, in the case of compound numbers, figures or tunes, a certain total quality emerges which does not belong to individual parts which also keep their identity, while in others the parts as such share the quality of the whole (*e.g.*, in flesh) which is called *mutashābih al-adjzāʾ* (ὁμοιομερές). Whereas in the animal organism, each part, *e.g.*, flesh, bones etc. is separately constituted in this way, but not the total organism, in the case

of the heavenly bodies, each body is *mutas͟hābih al-ad͟jzā'*. The final qualitative pattern resulting from definite proportions of the constituents of a given mixture (*i.e.*, hot, cold, moist and dry) is called *mizād͟j*, whereas the particular form which a compound takes on due to this *mizād͟j* is called *ṣūra* (or *hay'a*) *tarkībiyya*. Thus the *mizād͟j* (temperament) of a piece of living flesh is the final pattern of the mixture of the four primary qualities, while its *ṣūra tarkībiyya* is the form of "fleshiness" (cf. Aristotle, *De Part. An.* 642a 18 f.; *De. An*, 408a 5 f.).

We said above that pure forms unmixed with matter are simple in the real sense. This is patently the case with intellect which not only knows pure universals but in whose act of knowing the duality of subject and object is removed. This kind of simplicity again admits of various degrees and works upwards from the human mind, through the separate intelligences, to God, in whose mind there is no multiplicity of objects. According to philosophers like Avicenna, who believe everything other than God to be composed of essence and existence, God alone is absolutely simple, not only in the operations of His mind but also in the necessary fact of His existence (see MĀHIYYA WA WUD͟JŪD).

There is no special treatise on the subject and the various application of the term can be studied only within the contexts of the special doctrines of the philosophers, chiefly in their physical and metaphysical works. As a further Greek source of the Muslims' physical doctrine see Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Scripta Minora* II, περὶ κράσεως καὶ αὐξήσεως. (F. RAHMAN)

BASMAČIS (in Özbek "brigand"), the name given by the Russians to a revolutionary movement of the Muslim peoples of Turkestān against Soviet authority which broke out in 1918 and lasted until 1930 or even later. See TURKISTĀN, UZBEK, TĀD͟JĪK, K͟HOḲAND, K͟HIVA, TÜRKMEN, ENWER PAS͟HA.

(A. BENNIGSEN)

BASMALA is the formula *bi'smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīmi*, also called *tasmiya* (to pronounce the [divine] Name). Common translation: "In the name of God, the Clement, the Merciful"; R. Blachère's translation: "In the name of God, the Merciful Benefactor", etc. The formula occurs twice in the text of the Ḳur'ān: in its complete form in Sūra xxvii, 30, where it opens Solomon's letter to the queen of Sheba: "It is from Solomon and reads: In the name of God, the Merciful Benefactor"; on a second occasion, in its abridged form in Sūra xi, 43: "(Noah) said: Ascend into the ark! May its voyaging and its anchorage be in the name of God". Finally in its complete form, it begins each of the Ḳur'ānic Sūras, with the exception of Sūra ix.

The invocation of the *basmala*, at the beginning of every important act, calls down the divine blessing upon this act and consecrates it. It gives validity, from the Muslim point of view, to a very widespread custom, invalidating the Arab formulae of the *d͟jāhiliyya*: "in the name of *al-Lāt*" or: "in the name of *al-ʿUzzā*"; and even the formulae where the name of a deity did not appear, such as the invitation to a wedding feast *bi 'l-rifā wa 'l-banīn* or again *bi 'l-yumn*. The Meccans, when they were not yet converted to Islam, protested against the reference to *al-Raḥmān* (see below). At the treaty of Hudaybyya (6/628), they succeeded in having *bismika Allāhumma* ("in your name, O my God") adopted.

In writing it is customary to omit the initial *alif* of the word *ism* "name" (*bismi*). Tradition rests this orthography on the authority of ʿUmar, who is supposed to have said to his scribe: "Lengthen the *bā'*, make the teeth of the *sīn* prominent and round off the *mīm*." Tradition also indicates that the *lām* of *Allāh* should be inclined. The formula became a popular motif of decoration in manuscripts and architectural ornamentation.

The benedictory power of the *basmala* is widely put to work in the composition of the talismans admitted by the *siḥr* (lawful magic). It is said that the formula was inscribed upon Adam's thigh, upon the wing of the angel Gabriel, the seal of Solomon and the tongue of Jesus (see Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 211).

Problems.

1) In the Ḳur'ān. Zamak͟hs͟harī informs us that the readers of the Ḳur'ān and the jurists of Medina, Baṣra and Syria did not count the *basmala* at the beginning of the *Fātiḥa* and the other Sūras as a verse. In their view its presence in these places served simply to separate the Sūras and as a benediction. This is also the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa, and explains why those who follow his doctrine do not pronounce these words aloud during the ritual worship. On the other hand the readers and the jurists of Mecca and Kūfa did reckon the *basmala* as a verse and pronounced it aloud. This is the view of al-S͟hāfiʿī. It is founded upon the usage of the ancients, for they wrote the *basmala* on the leaves on which they recorded the Ḳur'ānic texts, whereas they omitted the word *amīn*. This opinion is followed in the current official edition of Cairo.

2) In the acts of daily life. Acts which are classified as obligatory or praiseworthy should always be preceded by the *basmala* unless "the Law-giver has decided otherwise", as, for example, in the *ṣalāt* which begins with *Allāhu akbar*; also, according to tradition, in the recitation of a *d͟hikr* (repeated mention of a divine Name). In all other cases the *basmala* must be written or pronounced. *Ḥadīt͟h*: "every important matter which is not begun with the *basmala* will be cut off (or mutilated or amputated, according to the different versions)", that is to say "will be defective and hardly blessed by God; apparently complete, it will be spiritually incomplete". Al-Bād͟jūrī (*Ḥās͟hiya*, 3) comments: "The adjective "important" signifies: a thing having a legal value (*ḥukm*), that is to say having a certain relationship with the law. It is not, then, a question of a thing which is bad, nor of one which is forbidden or blameworthy". Particular applications. Solemn writings or acts ought to begin with the full formula. It is required in its abbreviated form before the commencement of the approved acts of daily life, especially before eating (cf. the *Risāla* of al-Ḳayrawānī, 236). An act the quality of which may differ according to the circumstances will receive divine blessing if it is preceded by the *basmala*: marital sex-relations for example (al-Buk͟hārī, *wuḍūʾ*, 8). Finally the *basmala* is authorised where it is a question of an act which by accident becomes forbidden or blameworthy (al-Bād͟jūrī, *ibid.*).

3) The meaning of "Raḥman" [*q.v.*]. In general the Muslim commentators regard *raḥmān* and *raḥīm* as two epithets from the root *RḤM*, whence the translations: clement, or benefactor, or most merciful for *raḥmān*, and merciful for *raḥīm*. However, contrary to the opinion of B. Carra de Vaux (*EI*[1], s.v. *Basmala*), it seems certain that *Raḥmān* was in use prior to Islam in southern and central Arabia (Yaman and Yamāma) as a personal name of God, meaning the single and merciful God. On the day following

the death of the prophet Musaylima still appears in the Yamāma claiming to receive direct revelations from *al-Raḥmān*. In the Ḳur'ān: 1) *raḥīm* alone appears in the list of the most Beautiful Names (adjectives), and it is to be found, in the mass of the text, sometimes as *al-raḥīm* and sometimes as *raḥīm* without the article; *al-raḥmān* on the other hand is always preceded by the article; 2) the Meccans of the *d̲j̲āhiliyya* refused to recognise *al-Raḥmān* as a Name of God (cf. J. Jomier, *Le nom divin "al-Raḥmān" dans le Coran*, 366-367, with references to al-Ṭabarī). It seems that this divine Name appears in the Ḳur'ānic preaching in order to stress more force fully the absolute Mercy of the Single God; furthermore "whatever is said in the Ḳur'ān about *al-Raḥmān* is said elsewhere about Allāh" (Jomier, 370).

That *al-Raḥmān* should have been the name of the single God in central and southern Arabia is in no way incompatible with the fact that, when adopted by Islam, it assumes a grammatical form of a word derived from the root *RḤM*. The tripartite formula which "opens" each Ḳur'ānic sūra and each consecrated act of Muslim life evokes the mystery of the One God who is Lord of the Mercies. It is to this mystery that the *basmala* owes, in the eyes of the Muslim who pronounces it, its power of benediction.

Bibliography: The references in the text of the article may be supplemented and expanded by: Bād̲j̲ūrī, *Ḥāshiya* . . . *ʿalā D̲j̲awharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 2-4; Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed. Būlāḳ 1319, and the translation of Fagnan, Paris 1914, 236/251; R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, Paris 1947, i, Introduction, 142-144; J. Jomier, *Le nom divin "al-Raḥmān" dans le Coran*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, ii, Damascus 1957, 361-381 (containing numerous references to the text and the commentaries); Y. Moubarac, *Les études d'épigraphie sud-sémitique et la naissance de l'Islam*, second part, *REI* 1957, 58-61. For extremist S̲h̲īʿte interpretations of the *Basmala*, see Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*[2] Bombay 1955, 68: and R. Strothmann, *Morgenländische Geheimsekten*..., Berlin 1953, 41-2.

(B. Carra de Vaux [L. Gardet])

AL-BAṢRA (in mediaeval Europe: Balsora; in Tavernier: Balsara; orthodox modern European: Basra, Basrah, Bassora), a town of Lower-Mesopotamia, on the S̲h̲aṭṭ al-ʿArab, 279 m. (420 km.) to the south-east of Bag̲h̲dād. In the course of history the site of the town has changed somewhat, and we may distinguish between Old Baṣra, marked today by the village of Zubayr, and New Baṣra, which was founded in the 11th/18th century in the proximity of the ancient al-Ubulla [*q.v.*] and which is the starting point of the modern town of Baṣra, for the rapid growth of which the discovery of oil to the west of Zubayr is responsible.

I. Baṣra until the Mongol conquest (656/1258)

Although probably built on the site of ancient Diriditis (= Teredon) and more certainly on the site of the Persian settlement which bore the name of Vahis̲h̲tābād̲h̲ Ardas̲h̲ēr, the Muslim town can be considered as a new construction. After having camped, in 14/635, on the ruins of the old Persian post called by the Arabs al-K̲h̲urayba ("the little ruin"), the Companion of the Prophet ʿUtba b. G̲h̲azwān [*q.v.*] chose this location, in 17/638, to establish, on orders from ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb, the military camp which was the basis of the town of al-Baṣra (the name of which is probably derived from the nature of the soil). Situated at a distance of approximately fifteen km. from the S̲h̲aṭṭ al-ʿArab, this camp was destined to afford a control over the route from the Persian gulf, from ʿIrāḳ and from Persia, and to constitute a starting base for the subsequent expeditions to the east of the Euphrates and the Tigris, while at the same time it contributed to the settlement of the Bedouin. At the outset the dwelling places were simple huts made out of rushes which were easily gathered from the neighbouring Baṭā'iḥ [see AL-BAṬĪḤA]; they were subsequently strengthened with low walls, and then, after a conflagration, rebuilt with crude bricks. It was only under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān that the latter were replaced by baked bricks and that the town began to assume a truly town-like appearance, with a new Great Mosque and a residence for the governor; the rampart, bordered by a ditch, was not constructed until 155/771-2. At all times the supplying of al-Baṣra with drinking water posed a grave problem and, in spite of the digging of different canals and the utilisation of the bed of the ancient Pallacopas to provide the town with a river port, the inhabitants were forced to go as far as the Tigris to get their supplies.

This inconvenience, added to the rigours of the climate, would have been enough to prevent the military encampment becoming a great city, but political, economic and psychological factors were sufficiently strong to keep the Basrans in the town which owed its development to them, until the time when other factors intervened—in the first place the foundation of Bag̲h̲dād, and then the degeneration of the central power and political anarchy, which ushered in a decline as total as the growth had been rapid.

At the beginning of its existence, al-Baṣra provided contingents for the Arab armies of conquest, and the men of Baṣra took part in the battle of Nihāwand (21/642), and the conquests of Iṣṭak̲h̲r, Fārs, K̲h̲urāsān and Sid̲j̲istān (29/650). At this stage the military camp was playing its natural rôle, but then the booty began to flow in and the men of Baṣra began to be aware of their importance; then it was that the pace of events accelerated and the town became the stage for the first great armed conflict in which Muslims fought against their brother Muslims, the battle of the Camel (36/656 [see AL-D̲J̲AMAL]). Before the fight the inhabitants had been divided in their loyalties, and the victory of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib served only to increase their disorder, but, on the whole, the population remained, and was to remain, more Sunnī than S̲h̲īʿī, in contrast to ʿAlid Kūfa. In the following year (37/657) men from Baṣra took part in the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] in the ranks of ʿAlī, but it was, at the same time, also from Baṣra that a considerable number of the first K̲h̲arid̲j̲īs were recruited. In 41/662 Muʿāwiya re-asserted the authority of the Umayyads over the town, and then sent there, in 45/665, Ziyād, who may, to a certain degree, be considered as the artisan of the town's prosperity. Baṣra was divided into five tribal departments (*k̲h̲ums*, pl. *ak̲h̲mās*): Ahl al-ʿĀliya (the inhabitants of the high district of Ḥid̲j̲āz), Tamīm, Bakr b. Wā'il, ʿAbd al-Ḳays and Azd. These Arab elements constituted the military aristocracy of al-Baṣra and absorbed, in the rank of *mawālī* or slaves, the indigenous population (undoubtedly relatively few in number) and a host of immigrant peoples (Iranians, Indians, people from Sind, Malays, Zand̲j̲, etc.), who espoused

the quarrels of their masters, among whom the old tribal *ʿaṣabiyya* was slow to lose its force. The local situation was aggravated under the rule of the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, and on his death (64/683) serious disturbances broke out; after a period of anarchy the Zubayrids seized control of al-Baṣra which remained under their authority until 72/691. During the following years the primary concern of the Umayyads was to be the suppression of a number of uprisings, the most important of which was that of Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h [*q.v.*] in 81/701. The period of calm which then prevailed until the death of al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j (95/714) was only to be further disrupted by the revolt of the Muhallabids in 101-2/719-20 and certain seditions of a minor character. The town then passed, without too much difficulty, under the control of the ʿAbbāsids, but the proximity of the new capital was not slow in robbing al-Baṣra of its character of a semi-independent metropolis which it had possessed since its foundation; it became henceforth a simple provincial town, periodically threatened by revolts of a character more social than political; first the revolt of the Zoṭṭ [*q.v.*], who spread a reign of terror in the region from 205 to 220/820-35, then the Zand͟j [*q.v.*], who seized power in 257/871, and finally the Ḳarmaṭians who plundered it in 311/923; shortly after this it fell into the hands of the Barīdids [*q.v.*], from whom the Buwayhids [*q.v.*] recaptured it in 336/947; then it passed under the sway of the Mazyadids [*q.v.*] and experienced a resurgence of prosperity, although the new rampart constructed in 517/1123, at a distance of 2 km. within the old one, which had been destroyed towards the end of the 5th/11th century, is sufficient proof of the decline of the town. The neighbouring nomads (in particular the Muntafiḳ) took advantage of the political anarchy to subject the town to their depredations; from 537/1142/3, affirms a copyist of Ibn Ḥawḳal, a number of buildings were destroyed; and in our time there is nothing left of the ancient metropolis save a building known by the name of Masd͟jid ʿAlī and the tombs of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Ibn Sīrīn and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

The town reached its zenith in the 2nd/8th century and the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. At this period it was fully developed and its population had increased to considerable proportions. Although the figures given are wildly divergent (varying from 200,000 to 600,000), al-Baṣra was, for the Middle Ages, a very great city and, what is more, a "complete metropolis": it was at the same time a commercial centre, with its Mirbad which was halting place for caravans and its river port, al-Kallāʾ, which accomodated ships of fairly large tonnage; a financial centre, thanks to the Jewish and Christian elements and the bourgeois of non-Arab stock; an industrial centre with its arsenals; even an agricultural centre with its numerous varieties of dates; and finally the home of an intense religious and intellectual activity. "Baṣra, in fact, is the veritable crucible in which Islamic culture assumed its form, crystallised in the classical mould, between the first and 4th century of the *hid͟jra* (from 16/637 to 311/923)" (L. Massignon). It is, in fact, worth remembering that it was here that Arabic grammar was born and made illustrious by Sibawayh and al-K͟halīl b. Aḥmad in particular, and that Muʿtazilism was developed with Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl, al-Naẓẓām and so many others; here also it was that scholars such as Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā, Abū ʿUbayda, al-Aṣmāʿī and Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī collected verses and historical traditions which nurtured the works of later writers. In the religious sphere the sciences shone with an intense brilliance, while al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and his disciples founded mysticism. In the field of poetry al-Baṣra can claim the great Umayyad poets and the modernists Bas͟hs͟hār b. Burd and Abū Nuwās; finally it was in this town that Arabic prose was born, with Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, Sahl b. Hārūn and al-D͟jāḥiẓ. After the 3rd/9th century the intellectual degeneration is not so clearly marked as the political and economic decline, and, thanks to Ibn Sawwār, the town was endowed with a library whose fame was to endure; the Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafāʾ and al-Ḥarīrī made their contribution to the maintenance of the ancient city's prestige, but Arab culture in general was already decadent, and Bag͟hdād, as well as other provincial capitals, tended to supplant al-Baṣra completely.

Bibliography: The history of al-Baṣra was written by at least four authors—ʿUmar b. S͟habba, Madāʾinī, Sād͟jī and Ibn al-Aʿrābī—, but their works have not been discovered and it is necessary to refer to the great historical, biographical and geographical texts of Balād͟huri, Ṭabarī, Ibn Saʿd, Ibn al-At͟hīr, Ibn al-Faḳīh, al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, Muḳaddaṣī, Idrīsī, Yāḳūt etc. These works have, moreover, been used by L. Caetani, *Annali*, iii, 292-309, 769-84 (see also the same author's *Chronographia*, *passim*) and Le Strange, 44-6, as well as by Ch. Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, where there is to found a history of the town from its foundation up to the middle of the 3rd/9th century and a bibliography, to which might be added particularly J. Saint-Martin, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Mésène et de la Characène*, Paris 1838, 47 ff., Rawlinson, *The five Great Monarchies*, iii, 290 and Nāṣir-i K͟husraw, *Safar-nāma*. The ancient topography of the town is the subject of a detailed monograph by Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī, *K͟hiṭaṭ al-Baṣra*, in *Sumer*, 1952, 72-83, 281-303 (see also the subsequent numbers of *Sumer*), and of a stimulating paper by L. Massignon, *Explication du plan de Baṣra* in the *Westostliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi* . . ., Wiesbaden 1954, 154-74, with two sketch maps showing firstly the site of both Baṣras and secondly the location of the *ak͟hmās*. The social and economic institutions of the 1st/7th century have been studied in a most profound way by Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-id͟jtimāʿiyya wa-l-iḳtiṣādiyya fī l-Baṣra*, Bag͟hdād 1953 (with a full bibliography). (CH. PELLAT)

II. Modern Baṣra

Baṣra, already much reduced in size and vitality in the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries, was further and faster debilitated by the destruction, near-anarchy and neglect which followed Hülegü's visit to ʿIrāḳ in 656/1258, and the installation there of an Īl K͟hān government, for which Baṣra was the remotest of provinces, with periods of disturbance, insurgence or secession. In the mid-8th/14th century Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the city largely in ruins, and, while some principal buildings (including the great mosque) still stood, already tending towards transfer from its original site to another (its modern location), a dozen miles distant, on or near the site of Ubulla : a move dictated by reasons partly of security, partly by the deterioration of the canals. The great date-belt of the S͟haṭṭ al-ʿArab remained the wealth and pride of the Baṣrans;

but its cultural and economic life declined throughout the Djalā'ir and Turkomān periods of ʿIrāḳī history—740/1340 to 914/1508—and when at last at the latter date it fell with all ʿIrāḳ to the Persian power of Shāh Ismāʿīl for a brief generation—914/1508 to 941/1534—it was, in its now established new position two miles upstream a main canal (the modern ʿAshār Creek), a provincial town of little interest apart from its sea-port status, its gardens, and its predilection for local independence from distant suzerains.

The Ottoman conquest of ʿIrāḳ in 941/1534, which further strengthened the Sunnī elements in the population already prevalent, had little other effect on its status or fortunes; the Turkish pasha of Baghdād was satisfied with a minimum of respect and tribute from the marsh-surrounded and tribe-threatened city of the far south; and when in 953/1546 the independent airs of Baṣra became too offensive, two expeditions from central ʿIrāḳ succeeded in restoring some semblance of the Sultan's authority as against powerful local (tribal or urban) candidates for power. A longer and more successful attempt at quasi-independence, under merely nominal Imperial suzerainty, was made by a local notable of now unascertainable origins, Afrāsiyāb [*q.v.*], and his son and grandson ʿAlī Pasha (1034/1624) and Ḥusayn Pasha (c. 1060/1650). This interesting dynasty opened the gates of Baṣra and its waterways to the representatives and merchant-fleets of the Europeans —Portuguese, British, Dutch—then active in the commerce of the Persian Gulf; it survived, with vicissitudes and interruptions, for some 45 years against the armed and diplomatic efforts of the Pasha of Baghdād, the threats of the Ṣafawid Shāh, and the intrigues of local rivals and turncoat tribesmen. And its restoration to the Empire was still incomplete until after a further full generation of local uprising and Persian penetration, tribal dominance (of the Ḥuwayza tribes and the Muntafiḳ), and decimation by plague.

Throughout the two centuries (12th-13th/18th-19th) following these events, Baṣra remained the metropolis of southern ʿIrāḳ, the country's sole port —however primitive and ill-equipped—the base for a decayed and microscopic fleet, the centre of the date trade, and the gateway to the tribes and princes of Arabia, Khūzistān, and the Persian Gulf. The city, whose administration evolved only after 1247/1831 slowly towards modernity, was ever at the mercy of tribal marauders and even invaders, notably by the great Muntafiḳ tribe-group, and by plague and inundation.

During the campaigns of Nādir Shāh in ʿIrāḳ in the mid-century Baṣra was threatened and for a time besieged, and his withdrawal was followed by the usual attempts at secession. Sound and vigorous government was witnessed under rare Mutasallims of higher quality, including Sulaymān Abū Layla from 1266 (1749) and Sulaymān the Great from 1282/1765. The establishment of European (British, French, Italian) permament trading-posts, consulates and missions slowly gained ground, but disorder scarcely diminished and tribal threats increased with the rise, after 1256/1740, of the powerful Saʿdūn leadership in the Muntafiḳ. The siege and occupation of the city and district in 1189-1194/1775-79 by the Persian forces of Ṣadīq Khān, brother of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] was a curiously detached episode of Baṣra's history; it was succeeded by the return of all the familiar conditions. Threats to Baṣra by the fleet of the Imām of Masḳaṭ in 1213/1798 came to nothing, though rivals for tribal or governmental power in southern ʿIrāḳ sought him as an ally, for example in 1241/1825. The great plague of Baghdād in 1247/1831 did not fail to infect the Port also, and increased its weakness and disorders.

The period 1248-1332/1832-1914 was one of slow development, improving security and increasing commercial links with Europe and America. Baṣra became a *wilāyet* in 1267/1850 and, among its eminent families and personalities, a centre of nascent Arab nationalism.

During the British occupation of ʿIrāḳ (from 1333/1914) and subsequent Mandate (1339-1351/1920-32), the transformation of Baṣra into its most modern form was rapid. The port was constructed on spacious modern lines and fully equipped, a deep channel at the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab dredged, and the town itself and its suburbs improved by a variety of new roads, buildings and public services. It became the southern terminus of ʿIrāḳ Railways, and an air centre of increasing importance. Under the ʿIrāḳ Government it became the headquarters of a *liwā* which included the dependent *ḳaḍās* of Abu 'l-Khaṣīb and Ḳurna. The city, with its suburbs of Maʿḳil and ʿAshār, contained in 1955 some 200,000 souls. With improved security and communications Baṣra took its place as by far the leading port and entrepôt of the Persian Gulf, and ʿIrāḳ's indispensable outlet. During the three decades preceeding 1377/1957 further important improvements were carried out to its town-planning, streets (including an imposing Corniche road), public and commercial buildings, and public services and facilities. The vast date gardens (within which, however, life remained poor and primitive) and the magnificent waterway of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab offer a remarkable setting to the modernised city of Baṣra and its spreading suburbs with their characteristic mixture of the primitive, the medieval, and the fully modern. The date export trade has been further organised and centralised under a Board located at Baṣra. Exploration for petroleum by a Company of the ʿIraq Petroleum Co. group was rewarded by the discovery of an important oil-field near Zubayr in 1368/1948, followed by others (notably al-Rumayla) in the *liwā*. Export of oil, by pipelines to Fāō, began in 1371/1951. The industry developed rapidly and on a major scale, and became Baṣra's greatest source of employment, technical education and wealth. A small oil refinery was completed at Muftiyya in 1372/1952. Meanwhile the city and district continued to benefit greatly, as from 1353/1934 but increasingly after 1372/1952, from the enrichment of the central government of ʿIrāḳ through its exploited oil-resources. Important developments in flood-protection, land reclamation and perennial irrigation were planned in the vicinity of the city.

Bibliography: The manuscript and printed sources for modern Baṣra history to 1318/1900 are given in S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925, 327-40; for the period 1318/1900 to 1370/1950 see idem, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953, 401-12.

(S. H. LONGRIGG)

AL-**BAṢRA**, a town in Morocco, not extant to-day, which owed its name to Baṣra in ʿIrāḳ. Situated between two hills of reddish earth (whence its epithet al-Ḥamrā'), on a plateau commanding to the east the road to Wazzān, to the west the valley of the Wēd Mda, and to the north-east that of the Wēd Lekkus,

about 12½ m. (20 km.) south of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, it occupied, according to Tissot, the site of the Roman town of Tremulae. Founded about the same period as Arzila (Aṣila [*q.v.*]), and probably therefore by Idrīs II, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, it was doubtless intended to be the summer residence of the Idrīsids of Fās. When Muḥammad b. Idrīs II partitioned his kingdom, al-Baṣra fell to the share of his brother al-Ḳāsim together with Tangier and its dependencies. In the following century, it became the capital of a small state comprising the Rīf and Ghumāraland, the administration of which was entrusted to the Idrīsid prince Ḥasan b. Gennūn; it was soon afterwards captured (5 Muḥarram 363/6 October 973) by the army of the Umayyad caliph of Cordova, al-Ḥakam II; Yaḥyā b. Ḥamdūn set himself up there as an independent ruler before being driven out by Buluggīn b. Zīrī, who razed the fortifications of the town. These are almost the only definite statements we have on the history of al-Baṣra.

Despite the statement of al-Muḳaddasī (ed. trans. Pellat, 27) that it was in ruins, the town seems to have preserved a certain prosperity in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, as is asserted by Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Bakrī, who speak of its walls pierced by ten gateways, its baths, its mosque, and the gardens, pastures and fields of corn and cotton which surrounded it; nevertheless, it rapidly declined and eventually fell into complete ruin; at the time of Leo Africanus, it was inhabited by no more than 2,000 households, and its walls stood in the midst of deserted gardens; to-day, only the stone wall remains.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Desc. de l'Afr. et de l'Espagne*, trans. de Slane, in *JA*, 1842, 192; Bakrī, *Desc. de l'Afr. Sept.*, trans. de Slane, index; Idrīsī, trans. Dozy and De Goeje, 202; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ*, ed. Rabat 1936, 71 (French trans. Beaumier, 62); Leo Africanus, trans. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 259; Tissot, *Rech. sur la géog. comparée de la Mauritanie tingitane*, Paris 1877, 160 ff.; H. Terrasse, *Hist. du Maroc*, Casablanca 1949-50, index; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index; D. Eustache, *El-Baṣra, capitale idrissite, et son port*, in *Hespéris*, 1955, 217-38 (with a bibliography and a study on Mūlāy Bū Selhām which was probably the port of al-Baṣra). (G. Yver*)

BAST (Pers.), "sanctuary, asylum", a term applied to certain places which were regarded as affording an inviolable sanctuary to any malefactor, however grave his crime; once within the protection of the *bast*, the malefactor could negotiate with his pursuers, and settle the ransom which would purchase his immunity when he left the *bast*. In Persia the idea of *bast* was connected in particular with (1) mosques and other sacred buildings, especially the tombs of saints (for example, in 806/1404 Tīmūr is said to have recognised the tomb (*mazār*) at Ardabīl of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, the founder of the Ṣafawid order, as constituting a *bast*), (2) the royal stables and horses (the wrong-doer could claim sanctuary by standing either at the horse's head or at its tail), (3) the neighbourhood of artillery, especially in the Maydān-i Tūpkhāna in Tehran. According to Chardin, under the later Ṣafawids the royal kitchens, and the gateway of the ʿĀlī Ḳāpū palace at Iṣfahān, also constituted a *bast*. Malcolm states that the residences of the *mudjtahids* in general were considered as *bast*, and that in the case of one particularly celebrated *mudjtahid*, his residence continued to be regarded as *bast* even after his death. When telegraphic communications were introduced into Persia in the second half of the 19th century, the telegraph offices were at first invested with the status of *bast*. About 1889 Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh attempted without success to abolish the institution of *bast*. (For details of the violation of the *bast* of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1891, see the article DJAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFGHĀNĪ).

In the present century, the institution of *bast* (also termed *taḥaṣṣun*), assumed great importance during the events which led to the granting of the Persian Constitution by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh in 1906. In December 1905 a group of merchants, *mullā*s and students, in order to compel the Shāh to take note of their grievances, took refuge first in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ in Tehran, and then, after having been forcibly expelled from this sanctuary, in the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, 6 miles SSE of Tehran. A month later, on the receipt of certain promises and assurances from the Shāh, the *bastīs* left their sanctuary. The "Second *Bast*" occurred in July 1906, when some 12,000 people, led by the *ʿulamā*, merchants, and members of the trade guilds, took refuge in the garden of the British Legation in Tehran, and ultimately (August 1906) succeeded in obtaining from the Shāh the promise of the grant of a Constitution. During the disturbances which attended the election of the members of the National Consultative Assembly, which sat for the first time on 7 October 1906, the constitutionalists again took refuge in the British Legation in Tehran; in the provinces, British Consulates, notably those at Tabrīz and Kirmānshāh, and telegraph offices were used by the constitutionalists as places of refuge. In June 1907 a group of *mullā*s and others hostile to the Constitution took *bast* at Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm in an unsuccessful attempt to rally opposition to the constitutionalist movement.

Bibliography: Sir John Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient* (ed. Langlès), Paris 1811, vii, 369-70; Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, ii, 443-4; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, i, 154-5, 175, 347, 460; E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-9*, Cambridge 1910, 112 ff.; V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, London 1943, 189-80; Mahdī Malikzāda, *Tārīkh-i Inḳilāb-i Mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, vol. ii, Tehran 1329/1951, 41 ff., 140 ff., 190 ff., 259 ff., vol. iii, Tehran 1330/1952, 59 ff., 88 ff.

(R. M. Savory)

BASṬ (A.), a technical term of the Ṣūfīs, explained as applying to a spiritual state (*ḥāl*) corresponding with the station (*maḳām*) of hope (*radjāʾ*): it is contrasted with *ḳabḍ* [*q.v.*]. The Ḳurʾānic authority generally quoted for these terms is: "And God contracts (*yaḳbiḍ*) and expands (*yabsuṭ*)" (ii, 245). As *basṭ* is a *ḥāl*, it bears no relation to personal mental or spiritual processes, but is a sense of joy and exaltation vouchsafed to the mystic by God. For this reason many Ṣūfīs accounted it to be inferior to *ḳabḍ*, on the ground that, until God is finally attained and the human individuality is lost in Him, any feeling other than that of desolation is inappropriate. The following saying of al-Djunayd illustrates this point: "The fear of God contracts me, and the hope for Him expands me ... When He contracts me through fear, He causes me to pass away from self, but when He expands me through hope, He restores me to myself" (Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, 43). These lines of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (*al-Tāʾiyya al-kubrā*,

ii, 646-7) summarise the Ṣūfī theory excellently: "in the mercy of expansion the whole of me is a wish whereby the hopes of all the world are expanded, and in the terror of contraction the whole of me is an awe and over whatsoever I let mine eye range, it reveres me" (tr. Nicholson, in *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, 256). Hudjwīrī writes (tr. Nicholson, 374); "*Ḳabḍ* denotes the contraction of the heart in the state of being veiled, and *basṭ* denotes the expansion of the heart in the state of revelation". The mood of *basṭ* appears to be similar to that in which Pascal cries: "The world hath not known Thee, but I have known Thee. Joy! Joy! Joy! Tears of joy!"

(A. J. Arberry)

BASTA, Spanish Baza, Basti in ancient geography, now chief town of a *partido* of the province of Granada. It is situated to the north-east of Granada, 123 kilometres distant from it by road. Al-Idrīsī describes it as being of medium size, pleasantly situated, flourishing and well populated. It was a fortified town and had several bazaars. It was a commercial town where local artisans pursued a diversity of trades. Mulberry trees were prolific in the town and, in consequence, there was a large silk industry. Baza was also rich in olive groves and all kinds of fruit trees. It was here that the workshops (*ṭurūz*) for the weaving of prayer carpets (*muṣall*—called *basṭīs*) were located. These carpets were made from brocade which had no equal. The galena (*kuḥl* or sulphide of antimony) used in eye washes was taken from deposists in the mountain known as Djabal al-Kuḥl which was situated near the town. During the Umayyad Caliphate, Baza had an important Mozarab community with a bishopric subordinate to Toledo. The *Bayān* in its last section, at present in course of publication, gives the names of a number of the town's Almohad governors. In 635/1237, Baza came under the rule of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad, founder of the Naṣrid kingdom (see *Naṣrids*).

Bibliography: Idrīsī, text 202, translation, 247; Yāḳūt, i, 624; Ḳazwīnī, *Cosm.*, ii, 344, according to al-ʿUdhrī; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Peninsule iberique*, 56-7. (A. Huici Miranda)

al-**BASŪS** bint Munḳidh b. Salmān al-Tamīmiyya, a legendary figure of the pre-Islamic sagas (*ayyām al-ʿArab*), said to be responsible for the murder of Kulayb b. Rabīʿa al-Taghlibī and the ensuing war (*ḥarb al-Basūs*) between the tribes of Bakr b. Wāʾil and Taghlib b. Wāʾil. For the question of the historical background see art. Kulayb b. Rabīʿa. In the legend Kulayb is represented as a tyrant who disregarded the time-honoured customs of the Bedouins and usurped for himself the right of pasture and of hunting in his self-chosen preserves. Once al-Basūs, while staying with her nephew al-Djassās, Kulayb's brother-in-law, let her she-camel (*var.* the she-camel of Saʿd al-Djarmī, her husband, or according to others, her protégé) graze on Kulayb's pasture and he killed the camel (*var.* killed her foal and wounded her in the udder). Outraged by this violation of the host's rights al-Djassās (*var.* together with his cousin) killed Kulayb and this led to the war between the two tribes. Kulayb's killing the she-camel and his death are alluded to by al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī, d. *ca.* 65/684 but without mentioning al-Basūs (see *Aghānī*[1] iv, 127, 140 and M. Nallino, in *RSO* xiv, 405 f.). Her name is given for the first time in the proverbs *ashʾamu min nāḳat al-Basūs* (see, *e.g.*, al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *Fākhir*, 76). The full story is told on the authority of Abū ʿUbayda in the *Naḳāʾid Djarīr wa l-Farazdaḳ* 905-7 and with slight variations by other collectors of the *ayyām al-ʿArab*. In the *Fākhir*, 76, in Tibrīzī's Commentary on the *Ḥamāsa* 420 (on the authority of Abū Riyāsh 339/950) and elsewhere four verses are put in the mouth of al-Basūs, addressed to Saʿd and indirectly compelling al-Djassās to take revenge on Kulayb; they are a fine specimen of *taḥrīḍ* "incitement", and are cited in the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*, Cairo 1347, i, 133, as an example of the tremendous effect which poetry can have on man's actions.

The proverb *ashʾamu min al-Basūs* was by some scholars thought to refer not the pathetic figure of the heroic age, but to her namesake, a Jewess, who by her stupidity forfeited the three wishes which God had granted to her husband.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text: Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1316, iii, 66 f.; Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-Anthāl* (ed. Freytag) i, 683-7; Yāḳūt i, 150; Ibn al-Athīr i, 385 f.; *Khizānat al-Adab* i, 300 ff.; W. Caskel, *Aijām al-ʿArab* (= *Islamica* vol. iii suppl.) 76 and 97 (German translation of *Naḳ.* 905, 10-906, 3)—For al-Basūs the Jewess see *LA* and *TA* s.v. *b s s*; Freytag, *Proverbia Arabum I*, 687. Damīrī s.v. *Kalb* (translated by R. Basset, *1001 contes*, ii, 18) tells the story but omits the wife's name. For the motif of "the three wishes" see J. Bolte and G. Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* II (1915) 223.

(J. W. Fück)

BAŞVEKALET ARŞIVI, formerly also Başbakanlik Arşivi, the Archives of the Prime Minister's office, the name now given to the central state archives of Turkey and of the Ottoman Empire. The formation of the Ottoman archives begins with the rise of the Ottoman state, but the present collection, though containing a number of individual documents and registers from earlier times, dates substantially from after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The archives became really full from about the middle of the 16th century, and continue to the end of the Empire.

The organisation of the Ottoman records in the form of a modern archive collection dates from an initiative of the reforming Grand Vezir Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, who in 1262/1846 erected a new building for the archives in the grounds of the Grand Vezirate, and transferred to it a large number of record collections, previously kept in bales and boxes in various repositories and offices in different parts of the city. The building, designed by the famous architect Fossati, was provided with a staff and a director. This record office, in Ottoman times known as the *Khazīne-i Ewrāḳ*, originally consisted of two main groups of documents; the records of the Imperial Council (*Dīwān-i Humāyūn*) and of the Grand Vezir's office (*Bāb-i ʿĀlī* or *Pasha Kapîsî*). To this core other collections were from time to time added, notably the records of the finance departments and the registers of the cadastral survey office.

From the start, the *Khazīne-i Ewrāḳ* was attached to the establishment of the Grand Vezir. Under the Republic it was, after a brief period of uncertainty, attached to the office of the Prime Minister. The old name was replaced by the modern one by a law of 1937.

A new phase in the organisation and study of the archives had begun in 1911, after the formation of the Ottoman Historical Society (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni*). The opening article in the first issue of the society's journal, written by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, the last official historiographer and first

president of the society, contained a statement of the society's aims, the first of which was the classification, study, and publication of archive documents (*TOEM*, 1911, 9-19 and 65-9; cf. P. Wittek, *Les Archives de Turquie*, in *Byzantion*, xiii, 1938, 691-9). In the years that followed, Turkish scholars working in the archives began to sort and classify the records, and also published many individual documents. This work was interrupted by the Revolution and war of Independence, followed by the transfer of the capital and a general mood of revulsion from the Ottoman past. In 1932, however, a new start was made, and since then work has continued in housing, organising, and cataloguing the records. In 1936-7 Professor L. Fekete was invited to advise on the methods to be followed in these tasks (see L. Fekete, *Über Archivalien und Archivwesen in der Türkei*, *AO*, Budapest, iii, 1953, 179-206).

The contents of the *Başvekalet Arşivi* may be divided broadly, according to the form in which they are preserved, into two groups—*ewrāḳ*, papers, and *defters*, bound registers. The former, ranging from Imperial decrees drawn up in due form to odd notes and minutes by minor clerks, are estimated to number many millions, of which only a very small proportion has been catalogued. A first classification of papers was made in 1918-1921 by a committee under the direction of Ali Emiri, which sorted 180, 316 documents in simple chronological order, by reigns from ʿO̲th̲mān I to ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd. The great majority are of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. In 1921 a second committee, under Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal, sorted 46,467 documents, from the 15th to the 19th centuries, into 23 subject groups, the largest of which are those of financial (12,201) and military (8,227 documents) affairs. Within each group the documents are in rough chronological order. A third team, under Muʿallim Cevdet (D̲j̲ewdet), worked from 1932 to 1937 along much the same lines as Ibnülemīn, and sorted 184,256 documents into 16 subject categories. Here the largest groups are military (54,984), *waḳf* (33,351) and internal affairs (17,468 documents). These three classifications are normally cited as the *taṣnīfs* of the three persons who directed them.

Since 1937 this kind of pre-scientific classification has been abandoned, and a new start made on more modern lines. Papers are being completely separated from registers, and classified according to the offices and departments to which they belonged, as far as possible preserving the original order and sequence. In addition to the main classification, the archives staff has undertaken the preparation of a number of special series, such as 'imperial writings' (*K̲h̲aṭṭ-i Humāyūn*), decrees (*irāde*), treaties, *waḳf* documents, etc. A special catalogue is being prepared of the papers and records of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, which were transferred to the Başvekalet Arşivi from the Yıldız Palace.

The defters, bound registers, are estimated to number about 60,000 in all Turkish collections, the great majority being in the Başvekalet Arşivi. They are of two basic types: statistical, containing figures and other factual information required and collected for various administrative purposes; and diplomatic, containing register copies of the texts of outgoing orders, letters, and other communications.

The defters may be considered in three main groups: a) the Imperial Council and Grand Vezirate. The latter, which in the 17th century grew into a separate bureaucratic organisation, eventually took over most of the functions of the former, and the archives of the two together thus record the workings of the chief centre of Ottoman Imperial government. Of the many series of registers included in this section by far the most important is the *Mühimme Defteri* (register of important, *i.e.*, public affairs). This consists of 263 volumes, covering the years 961-1323/1553-1905. It is a day by day record of outgoing correspondence of all kinds, in simple chronological sequence. (On the *Mühimme* see G. Elezović, *Iz Carigradskih Turskih Arhiva Muhimme Defteri*, Belgrade 1951, and U. Heyd, *Documents on Ottoman Administration of Palestine* 1552-1615, A *Study in the Mühimme Defteri*, Oxford, in the press). In the course of time a number of separate series were started, dealing with matters formerly included in the *Mühimme*. From 1059 to 1155/1649-1742-3) complaints from the provinces and the decrees answering them are dealt with in separate 'Complaints Registers' (*s̲h̲ikāyet defterleri*). These are still in purely chronological order, but from 1155 to 1306/1742-3—1888-9 are replaced by the 'Decrees Registers' (*aḥkām defterleri*), geographically subdivided into 17 separate provincial series. The Complaints and Decrees registers together number 530 volumes. Other off-shoots of the *Mühimme* include a series on military affairs (68 volumes, 1196-1326/1781-1908); a series of specially secret *Mühimme* (10 volumes, 1203-1294/1788-1877), and a series on Egyptian affairs, the last volume of which is secret (15 volumes, 1119-1333/1707-1914). Among the numerous other series contained in this section, are the Royal Letters (*Nāme-i humāyūn*, 17 vols., 1111-1336/1699-1917), the *Tanẓīmāt* Council registers (30 vols., 1271-1333/1854-1914), as well as other series dealing with foreign consuls and merchants, privileges (*imtiyāz*), legal rulings (*muḳtaḍā*), treaties, sentences of confinement to fortresses (*ḳalʿebend*), *iḥtisāb*, appointments, churches, minority communities, etc. etc.

b) The Cadaster (*tapu*), comprising the great land and population survey of the Empire. It was formerly a separate department of the government [see DAFTAR-I K̲H̲ĀḲĀNĪ], and was housed in the Defterk̲h̲āne, near the Sulṭān Aḥmed mosque. The greater part of the registers was transferred to the *Başvekalet Arşivi*, which now reports the possession of 1155 volumes. The remainder, about 250, are in the General Survey Directorate (*Tapu ve kadastro umum Müdürlüğü*) in Ankara. The earliest, a register of *timars* in a *sand̲j̲aḳ* in Albania, dated 835/1431, was edited by Halil Inalcık (*Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954). These registers, which were renewed at frequent intervals, cover almost all the provinces of the Empire in Europe and Asia, including parts of Transcaucasia and Western Persia. Arabia, Egypt, and North Africa are excluded.

c) Finance (*Māliyye*). The surviving records of the Ottoman financial administration are now in the *Başvekalet Arşivi*, and comprise many series of registers, as well as vast quantities of papers. They include the accounts and records of the Chief Comptroller's Department (*bas̲h̲muḥāsebe*) from the 16th to the 19th centuries; of the various special commissioners' departments (*emānet*)—arsenals, cereals, meat, artillery depot, mints, kitchens, powder-magazines; of provinces, departments, paymasters, tax-farms, mines, customs, escheats, etc. A good example is the *d̲j̲izya* series (418 vols., 958-1255/1551-1840). Part of the series is sub-divided by provinces, and some registers contain copies of *d̲j̲izya* documents and receipts, with lists of *d̲j̲izya* payers, sent in from provincial capitals.

Apart from the main collection in the *Başvekalet Arşivi*, there are numerous other smaller collections in Turkey. The most important are the palace archives preserved in the Topkapï Sarayï [*q.v.*], the records of the General Directorate of *waḳf* in Ankara, and the collections of legal documents known as *sidjillāt-i sherʿiyye* [see SIDJILL].

Bibliography: For a general survey of the archives, with a description and classification of the papers and registers, see Midhat Sertoğlu, *Muhteva Bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi*, Ankara 1955. On the history of the collection this may be supplemented by Salahaddin Elker, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Türk Arşivciliği*, in *IV Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 1952, 182-9. See further B. Lewis, *The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands*, in *JRAS*, 1951, 139-155; idem, *The Ottoman Archives, a Source for European History, Report on Current Research, Spring 1956*, Washington 1956, 17-25 (reprinted with minor modifications in *Archives* 1959); idem, in *BSOAS* xvi, 1954, 469-501 and 599-600. A bibliography of Ottoman archive studies will be found in Ananiasz Zajączkowski and Jan Reychman, *Zarys Dyplomatyki Osmańsko-Tureckiej*, Warsaw 1955 (English translation to be published).

(B. LEWIS)

BAŞVEKIL (BASHWAKĪL), the Turkish for Prime Minister. The term was first introduced in 1254/1838, when, as part of a general adoption of European nomenclature, this title was assumed by the Chief Minister in place of Grand Vezir or *Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam* [*q.v.*]. The change of style was of short duration, lasting only for 14½ months, after which the old title was restored. A second attempt to introduce the European title was made during the first constitutional period. Introduced in Ṣafar 1295/Feb. 1878, it was dropped after 114 days, restored in Shaʿbān 1296/July 1879, and then dropped again, after about 3½ years, in Muḥarram 1300/Nov. 1882. Thereafter the title Grand Vezir remained in official use until the end of the Sultanate, when it was finally replaced by Başvekil (or, for a while, Başbakan), in the Republic.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrikh Muṣāḥabalari*, Istanbul 1340, 264 ff.

(B. LEWIS)

AL-**BAṬĀḤIRA** (Baṭḥarī), a small déclassé tribe (*ghayr aṣil, daʿif*) of (approx.) only a hundred males, on the south Arabian coast between Ra's Naws and Ra's Sawḳira facing the Kuria Muria Islands. They live mainly by fishing and goat herding but have also some camels, frankincense trees, and trading boats. Besides Arabic, they speak Baṭḥarī (*Baṭᵊḥariy-yét*), in which *ʿayn* is preserved more than in the related southern Semitic oral tongues: Mahrī of al-Mahra, Ḥarsūsī of al-Ḥarāsīs, Shaḥrī of al-Shaḥra and their overlords al-Ḳarāʾ, and Suḳuṭrī (basically Mahrī but greatly mixed) of the people of Suḳuṭrā. In religion al-Baṭāḥira are Shāfiʿī Muslims, and in political faction they are Ghāfirīs.

The main groups (names in Arabic) are: al-Maḥābisha (Maḥbashī), al-Mashārima (Mashramī), al-Mamāṭira (Mamṭirī), al-Madjāʿira (Madjʿarī), and al-Makādisha (Makdashī). The last named live in the mountains of Ẓufār among al-Ḳarāʾ and like them own cows. Of al-Madjāʿira only six males were left after ten died of "fever" c. 1376/1957. Al-Maḥābisha have two sections, Bayt Ḥubaysh (Ibn Ḥ.) and Bayt Maḥdīra (Ibn M.), to which latter belonged in 1378/1959 the tribal leader, Ḥuthayyith, who succeeded his father, Muḥammad Rāʿī Ḥamrāʾ, c. seven years earlier. (The title *muḳaddam*, pl. *mᵊḳaddamōten*, def. art. *a-*, is now frequently replaced by the Arabic term *shaykh*). Although not subservient to them, the leader may confer on important matters with the chief men of al-Djanaba and al-Mahra. With propinquity overweighing regard for purity of blood, the social status of al-Baṭāḥira does not preclude marriage with any of the neighboring tribes.

The neighbours nearest to them in their rough coastal district—small beside the area of the interior which they claim to have once owned—are al-Ḳarāʾ and al-Shaḥra to the southwest, al-Ḥarāsīs and eastern groups of al-Mahra in the interior, and al-Djanaba to the northeast. Hence, with regard to geographical names in their territory, great variety if not confusion exists between forms in non-Arabic languages and those in dialectical Arabic—especially that spoken by al-Djanaba. Because political and economic developments are accelerating the aggrandizement of Arabic, such toponyms may eventually be the principal if not the only surviving mementos of historic non-Arabic tongues, both here and elsewhere in southern Arabia.

Bibliography: Bertram Thomas, *Four Strange Tongues from Central South Arabia ...*, reprint from *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xxiii, London 1937, 231-331; *idem*, *Arabia Felix*, New York 1932, London 1932 and 1936, 47, 48, 84, 130; *idem*, *Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia*, in *JRAI*, 59, 1929, 97-111.

For general reference: Youakim Moubarac, *Éléments de Bibliographie Sud-Sémitique*, in *RÉI* 1955 (pub. 1957); *Index Islamicus* (1906-1955), Cambridge 1958. (Esp. important are newer studies by Dr. Wolf Leslau, University of California at Los Angeles, and Dr. Ewald Wagner, Mainz). (C. D. MATTHEWS)

AL-**BAṬĀʾIḤ** [see AL-BAṬĪḤA].

AL-**BAṬĀʾIḤĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. FĀTIK, called AL-MAʾMŪN, Fāṭimid *wazir*. Born of obscure parentage, his father having been an Egyptian agent (*djāsūs*) in ʿIrāḳ, al-Baṭāʾiḥī rose to power through the patronage of the celebrated Fāṭimid *wazir* al-Afḍal, in whose assassination he was implicated (515/1121), and whom he succeeded as first minister of al-Āmir (ruled 495/1101-524/1130).

The creation of an observatory at Cairo had been planned by al-Afḍal. Al-Baṭāʾiḥī took up the work, in which the Spaniard Abū Djaʿfar Yūsuf b. Ḥasdāy, a friend of the philosopher Ibn Bādjdja, played a prominent part, together with other scholars, native Egyptian and foreign, till 519/1125. In that year al-Baṭāʾiḥī incurred the suspicion of the Caliph, and fell from power. Among the crimes reckoned against him was the construction of the observatory, and it was alleged that his naming it after himself 'al-Maʾmūnī' was proof that he aspired to the Caliphate. When al-Baṭāʾiḥī had been arrested, the Caliph refused to go on with the work, and none dared mention it to him. He gave orders for its demolition, and the materials were removed to the government stores. The workmen and experts fled. The latter included, as well as Abū Djaʿfar Yūsuf b. Ḥasdāy, the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Abi 'l-ʿIsh of Ṭarābulus the geometer, Abu 'l-Nadjāʾ b. Sind of Alexandria the instrument-maker (*sāʿāti*), and the geometer Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm of Sicily. Al-Baṭāʾiḥī himself was crucified by the Caliph's orders. His large house in Cairo was still used as a residence more than thirty years later, but Ibn Khallikān, who gives this

information (tr. De Slane, ii, 426), adds that in his time it had become a Ḥanafī *madrasa*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, x, 417, 443-444; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 125-128; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 204, 209, 212. (D. M. DUNLOP)

BAṬALYAWS, Spanish Badajoz, today the fortified capital of the province of the same name, the largest in Spain, embracing the southern half of Spanish Estremadura. The town, situated on the left bank of the Guadiana, before it turns south near the Portuguese frontier, has 100,000 inhabitants. The identification of its name with that of Pax (Julia) Augusta or Colonia Pacensis is without foundation, based on a false local patriotism. In fact, it is not the name of Badajoz which derives from that of the Roman colony, but rather, that of the Portuguese town of Beja (Arab. Bādja = Bēdja, derived from Pacem). The identification of Badajoz with the doubtful Badia of Valerius Maximus and of Plutarch is equally uncertain. The first time that the name of Badajoz appears indisputably in history is in the Arabic form of Baṭalyaws (present in the root of the modern Spanish name of Badajoz). Baṭalyaws is of modern foundation, having been built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān, called al-Djilīḳī (the Galician), with the authorisation of the amīr ʿAbd Allāh who put at his disposition for this purpose a certain number of masons and some capital. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān began by constructing the mosque-cathedral; he also built a special mosque inside the citadel. It was also he who built the baths near the gate of the town which had already served him as a point of support and bulwark against the Caliph of Cordova Muḥammad I. It was not until 318/930 that this place could be retaken from the courageous son of Ibn Marwān, under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (*Bayan*, 105 ff., 140, 195, 213-14, 216). The new town of Arab construction (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ 173: *wahiya muḥdatha islāmiyya*), Baṭalyaws, gradually replaced in importance Colonia Augusta Emerita, Arab. Mārida = Mērida (37 m. = 60 km. east, upstream of Badajoz on the north bank of the Guadiana) which continued to decline. Indeed, at the time of the decadence of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova, Baṭalyaws became the brilliant residence of the Afṭasids [*q.v.*] who, from 1022 to 1094, reunited in a single important kingdom the largest part of the north of the former Lusitania. After the disastrous defeat of the Christians at al-Zallāḳā (Sacralias) in 1086, north-east of Badajoz, the principality of the north-west, namely Badajoz, as well as the other Reyes de Taifas, became gradually subject to the Berber Almoravids [*q.v.*], who had rushed out of Morocco to the aid of their co-religionists, these auxiliaries themselves becoming strong enough in 1094 to take all of the territory which formed a part of the Spanish province, or dependency, of the Almoravid Empire of North-West Africa, and, after its fall, of the Almohad Empire which succeeded it. In 1168 Alfonso I Henriques of Portugal took Badajoz by surprise, and was expelled at once by Ferdinand de Léon. Badajoz became once more Almohad. Only in 1230 did Alfonso IX of Castile and Léon conquer it finally. Badajoz is the birthplace of a number of Arab scholars, among whom the most eminent is ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī who died in 521/1127 (cf. Brockelmann, I, 427: where read 444/1052; Ibn Bashkuwāl, 639).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 664; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, i, 150, iv, 344; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii, 183 ff., 207, 238, 260; Madoz, *Diccionario*, iii, 256 ff., M. R. Martinez y Martinez, *Historia del reino de Badajoz*; Bakrī, Fez MS., 260; Idrīsi, text 180, trans. 260; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, 58; A. Huici, *Las Grandes batallas de la Reconquista durante las Invasiones africanas*, 19-82; (see also AFṬASIDS).

(C. F. SEYBOLD-[A. HUICI-MIRANDA])

AL-**BAṬALYAWSĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD IBN AL-SĪD, celebrated Andalusian grammarian and philosopher, born at Badajoz (Baṭalyaws [*q.v.*]) in 444/1052, died in the middle of Radjab 521/end of July 1127, at Valencia, where he had lived after having incurred the disgrace of Ibn Razīn [see RAZĪN, BANU] and after having taken refuge for a time at Saragossa. Ibn al-Sīd who, at Valencia, had had a notable disciple in Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*], is the author of some twenty works, including his commentary on the *Adab al-Kātib* of Ibn Ḳutayba (under the title of *al-Iḳtiḍāb fi Sharḥ Adab al-Kuttāb*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bustānī, Beirut 1901); *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiḳ* (ed. trans. Asin, 1940), which had some influence on the philosophy of religion among the Jews (see the Hebrew trans. published by D. Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Bataljusis in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie*, Budapest 1880); a *Fahrasa*; a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik; a commentary on the *Saḳṭ al-Zand* of al-Maʿarrī, which is lost, but the criticisms made by Ibn al-ʿArabī about this work provoked a counterblast by Ibn al-Sīd, entitled *al-Intiṣār mim-man ʿadala ʿan al-Istibṣār* (ed. Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Madjīd [Magued], Cairo 1955); *al-Inṣāf fi 'l-Tanbīh ʿala 'l-Asbāb allatī awdjabat al-Ikhtilāf*, Cairo 1319 (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*[2], 1925, 330, n. 116).

Bibliography: Ibn Bashkuwāl, no. 639; Ḍabbī, no. 892; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharat*; Ibn Khallikān, i, 332 (trans. de Slane, ii, 61); Shaḳundī, (trans. García Gómez, *Elogio del Islam español*, Madrid 1934, 54 and n. 50); Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 151; González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábigo-española*[2], 1945, 229; Sarkīs, 569-70; Brockelmann, I, 122, 427, S I, 185, 758. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

BATH [see ḤAMMĀM].

BAʿTH (Ar.), literally "to send, set in motion"; as a technical term in theology it means either the sending of prophets or the resurrection.

1. The Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] said that God could not have done otherwise than send prophets to teach men religion as He must do the best He can for men; orthodoxy denied this but held that the sending of prophets was dictated by divine wisdom. One of the reasons for condemning Brahmins and the Sumaniyya was that they denied the existence of prophets.

2. Philosophy taught that resurrection (*baʿth, nashr, nushūr*) was of the soul only so orthodoxy condemned it as a heresy, insisting on the resurrection of the body. From the first Muḥammad preached the reality of the after life though he assumed that the judgement came with the end of this world suddenly (vi, 31), heralded by the sound of a trumpet (lxix, 13; in xxxix, 68 are two blasts, each introducing a distinct stage in the action) the graves open and all hurry to appear before the judge (xxxix, 75. lxxxix 23/22) and the just will be given their records in their right-hands (xvii, 73/71). For the signs which precede the end of the world, see DĀBBA, DADJDJĀL, ʿĪSĀ.

The soul is not naturally immortal and its existence depends on God's will though some late passages (ii, 149/154, iii, 163/168) imply the continuous existence of the soul and that those who died for

God's sake are already in bliss. Later reports are little more than elaborations of these ideas, and do not form a consistent whole. The soul of a good man leaves the body easily but that of a bad man has to be dragged out painfully (see ʿADHĀB AL-ḲABR). The body decays in the grave except for the lowest bone of the spine to which the essential parts of the body will be restored. Most will remain in the grave till the judgement but a few are not so bound; some are in *barzakh* [*q.v.*]. When Isrāfīl [*q.v.*] blows his trump, the world will return to chaos, the sun will be darkened and men will rise from the grave as they were created, barefoot, naked, uncircumcised, and will gather at the place of judgement, a level plain with no place in which or behind which a man may hide, perhaps it is in this world, perhaps specially created. Another version makes the first blast kill everyone except Iblīs [*q.v.*] and the four archangels; a second blast brings all back to life. The heat of the sun is such that all sweat, a flood which with some will reach as high as the ears. They wait there 300 years or 50,000 without food or drink but worse than the physical pain will be the terror of the judge; each one will be so anxious for himself that he will pay no heed to others. They will turn to Adam to ask his intercession but all prophets in turn will refuse and refer them to Muḥammad who accepts the task and to him God listens. Other forms of judgement are the bridge, thinner than a hair and sharper than a sword, over the fire; believers pass over safely but unbelievers fall off; the scales in which man's life is weighed and the books in which his deeds, good and bad, are recorded. Sinners will be accompanied by the tools of their sin, a musician will have the instrument which distracted his mind from religion; a man's good deeds will become an animal on which he will ride to judgement. Some believed that all living creatures would rise at the last day. It is obvious that much of this is older than Muḥammad; the ancient Egyptians knew of the weighing of souls and the books of record and the Persians knew of the bridge. Later ideas are mixed. Some men turn to dust in the grave and their souls wander in the world of sovereignty (*malakūt*) under the sky of this world; some sleep and know nothing till the trump wakes them and they die the second death; some stay two or three months in the grave and then their souls fly on birds to paradise; some ascend to the trump and stay in it for there are as many hiding places in it as there are souls. Muḥammad stayed on earth for thirty years till the murder of Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] when he ascended to heaven in disgust.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Abī Sharīf, *Kitāb al-Musāmara*, 187 f.; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā al-ʿulūm*, vol. 4, ch. 8, part. 2; idem, *al-Durra al-Fākhira* (*La Perle Précieuse*, 1878); Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-Madjālis*; Wolff, *Muhammadanische Eschatologie*, 1872. (A. S. TRITTON)

BAʿTH [see NABĪʾ].

AL-**BATHANIYYA,** district in Syria with Adhriʿat [*q.v.*] as capital. It is bounded by the Djabal al-Drūz to the east, the Ladjāʾ plain and the Djaydūr to the north, the Djawlan to the west, and the hills of al-Djumal to the south, where the boundary is a little imprecise. Also called al-Nuḳra, "the hollow", it corresponds to the ancient Batanaea mentioned together with Trachonites, Auranites and Gaulanites as part of the old kingdom of Bashan and referred to in the Old Testament. The region is fertile, as its name derived from *bathna* (stoneless and even plain) indicates. It has from ancient times been densely populated; the texts and the numerous extant burial mounds are proof of this. Since then its reputation for being the "granary of Syria" has been maintained. According to the Arab geographers, the area was throughout the Middle Ages dotted with villages. It lay on the main route of communication connecting Damascus with al-Urdunn, a highway which owed as much to the Mamluk *barīd* as to the Syrian pilgrim caravans.

Conquered by the Arabs in 13/635, al-Bathaniyya, like Ḥawrān, became *kharādj* land, and was subsequently joined to the *djund* of Damascus although more usually connected with the Ḥawrān region. During the period of the Crusades it suffered from Frankish incursions. Later under Ottoman rule it was affected by two important factors: the invasion of the nomadic ʿAnāza, followed by the Rwāla, which introduced a reign of disorder and insecurity lasting until the end of the 19th century, and the settlement on its soil of the Ḥawranese hill folk expelled from their homes by the Druzes. These latter had from the 17th century begun to infiltrate into the Ḥawrān, where in 1861 they were joined by certain elements from the Lebanon.

Al-Bathaniyya should be distinguished from the small plain situated to the north-east of the Djabal al-Drūz, called in antiquity Saccea and in the Arab period *arḍ al-Bathaniyya*. This term has been translated to mean the "march of Bathaniyya" but one of the local names Butheyne, leads one to suppose that the area had been considered rather as a "small Bathaniyya".

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 326 (trans. 174); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 126; Ṭabarī, index, *BGA*, indices; Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārat*, ed. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 17 (trans. Damascus 1957, 44 & n. 4); Yāḳūt, i, 493; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 34; A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, esp. 15; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 66; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1933-38, esp. ii, 155; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 232-327; J. Cantineau, *Les parlers arabes du Hōrân*, Paris 1946, 5 ff.; D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque romaine*, Paris 1952, 2; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1934-36, index (*s.v.* Derʾât). (D. SOURDEL)

AL-**BAṬĪḤA,** ("the marshland"), the name applied to a meadowlike depression which is exposed to more or less regular inundation and is therefore swampy. It is particularly applied by the Arab authors of the ʿAbbāsid period to the very extensive swampy area on the lower course of the Euphrates and Tigris between Kūfa and Wāsiṭ in the north and Baṣra in the south, also frequently called al-Baṭāʾiḥ (plural of al-Baṭīḥa) and occasionally, after the adjoining towns, the *Baṭīḥat* (*Baṭāʾiḥ*) *al-Kūfa*, *al-Wāsiṭ* or *al-Baṣra*.

The existence of considerable swamps in southern Babylonia goes back to high antiquity. The alluvial plain is soft and almost flat, the river beds are shallow and exposed to rapid silting, the banks are soft and low, therefore the flood waters overflow the banks, causing extensive marches; these would normally disappear but for the annual floods, and the rivers change their courses which, in turn, leads to new marshes. Even in the cuneiform inscriptions the *agammê* (swamps) and *apparâtê* (reedlands) are often mentioned; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterb.*, 17, 115. In particular, the whole country between Muḥammara in the south, a point beyond Ḳurna

in the north, and beyond the river Kārūn to the east, must have been covered by an enormous swampy lake; cf. Delitzsch, 627; Dougherty, *The Sea land of Ancient Arabia*, 1933.

The Greek and Roman writers are likewise acquainted with it (as λίμνη or *chaldaicus lacus*). Nearchus's account is particularly instructive, for he crossed this area of water and gave its breadth as 600 *stadia* (80 miles). The *Tabula Peutingeriana* also defines the Babylonian swamps; on it, in addition to *Paludes*, is mentioned the name *Diotahi*, probably to be emended to *Biotahi* = *Baṭaʾiḥ*). On the notices in cuneiform inscriptions and classical authors, cf. Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, i, 736, 815, 1878 ff., 2812; Weissbach, *ibid*, iii, 2044 vi, 1201 ff.; Streck, v. 1147 (s.v. *Diotahi*); Ainsworth; *Researches* ii, 180 ff.

Since ancient times the great marshy lake has been gradually filled up by the deposits of sediment brought down by the rivers, and the modern delta has arisen. Some places, however, remain under water. These places extend around the present Hor (Khawr) al-Ḥuwayza, Hor al-Ḥammār, Hor al-Shāmiyya, and probably further north.

The origin of the swamp may be a synicline which occurred in geological times: parts of it were filled by the huge amount of silt, while others remained low and were filled by water; they formed what mediaeval Muslims called al-Baṭāʾiḥ. The synicline may have eroded in historic times (cf. G. M. Lees and N. L. Falcon, *in Bibliography History of the Mesopotamean plains* in *Geographical Journal*. On the retreat of the sea, cf. De Morgan, i, 4-48; Seton Lloyd, 19.

The Sāsānids as a rule devoted a great deal of attention to the irrigation system and drainage in Babylonia. This should have led to the decrease of swamps. Under later kings of this dynasty, however, large areas of flourishing country were swallowed up by floods, and the region of swamps grew to such an extent that the Arabs wrongly date the beginning of the Baṭīḥa from this period. They claim that during the reign of Ḳubādh Fīrūz (457-484 A.D.) a large breach occurred, near Kaskar, and inundated large areas of cultivated lands. It was not until the reign of Khusraw I Anūsharwān (531-578) that the dykes were partially repaired, and some of the lands brought under cultivation. But in the year 6 or 7/627, in the reign of Khusraw II Parwīz, the waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris rose again, in a flood such as had never been seen. Both rivers burst their dykes, causing huge breaches. The water reached the places of the swamps, inundating the farms of several *ṭussūdj* there. During the succeeding years of anarchy, and when the Muslim armies began to overrun ʿIrāḳ, breaches occurred in all embankments, and the *Dihḳāns* were powerless to repair the dykes so that the swamps increased in all directions (Balādhurī, 292-4; Ḳudāma, 240; Yāḳūt, 668-9; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 53 Ibn Rusta, 98). Under the Sāsānids, too, the first great shifting of the Tigris occurred from the eastern channel (the present course) to the western channel (the present Shaṭṭ al-Dudjayla). This change turned all the country bordering the older eastern course into thickets and desert.

The Umayyads took interest in the work of reclamation of the Baṭīḥa; Ibn Darrādj reclaimed for Muʿāwiya from the Baṭīḥa lands which yielded 5 millions dirhems annually. He did that by cutting the reeds and controlling water with dykes. These lands were called al-Djawāmid (Balādhurī, 294; *Murūdj*, i, 225-6). In the year 81/701, however, they were inundated again, owing to a new burst which al-Ḥadjdjādj deliberately neglected repairing.

Immediately afterwards al-Ḥadjdjādj built Wāsiṭ in the alluvial plain near the Baṭīḥa. This should have led to restoration of the neglected system of canals, the erection of dams and sluices, and to the reclamation of lands. He dug the two canals of Nīl and Zābī to lead away part of the superfluous water of these two large rivers before they flowed into the Baṭīḥa, and at the same time to water and fertilise the dry areas above Wāsiṭ (Balādhurī, 290-2; Ḳudāma, 240; Streck, i, 29-32, ii, 303-304; Le Strange, 27). Al-Ḥadjdjādj also settled in the marshes the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], an Indian people, with their buffalo herds numbering thousands. Maslama, the Caliph's brother, spent about 3 millions dirhems on repairing the dykes, and in turn obtained vast areas of reclaimed land (Balādhurī, 294; Ḳudāma, 240-1; Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich*, 1902, 156-8).

Reclamation of land continued, especially at the time of Hishām, and his governor of ʿIrāḳ Khālid al-Ḳasrī, who built a dam on the Tigris (Balādhurī, 293-4; Ḳudāma, 240; Ibn Rusta, 95), dug several canals, *e.g.*, the Nahr al-Rummān, and the Nahr al-Mubārak; he thus reclaimed large areas of lands, which yielded a large income, but resulted in the use of a great amount of water, and to a decrease in the volume of water available for irrigation.

When the ʿAbbāsids came to power (132/750), new bursts occured in the dykes which, in turn, increased the swamps. In the Euphrates region, similarly, thickets formed, parts of which were reclaimed. In the north-west, the Baṭīḥa extended nearly to Kūfa and Niffar, while farther to the east it began at a considerable distance from Wāsiṭ. This part is called by many mediaeval Muslim sources *Baṭāʾiḥ al-Kūfa*. Their crude maps (cf. Miller, *Mappae Arabica*) do not show them connected with the southern Baṭīḥa, not do they mention any dwelling-places or cultivation there. Nevertheless 4th/10th century sources assert that the Euphrates discharged into the Baṭīḥa between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 215; Suhrāb, 118). This suggests that the present lower Euphrates region was covered with Baṭāʾiḥ up to the 6th/12th century, when sources mention that the lower Euphrates joined the Tigris in Maṭṭāra (Yāḳūt, ii, 553). This must have been due to hydrographic changes, in the depression of Shināfiyya, which must have then been deeper, and the reduction of the amount of water and silt, owing to the numerous canals which took water from the Euphrates to irrigate north and central Babylonia (cf. Le Strange, 75 ff.).

The Tigris, from about the end of the Sāsānid period to the first half of the 10th/16th century, flowed in the western bed (the modern Shaṭṭ al-Dudjayla) past Wāsiṭ and several towns until, in the 4th/10th century, it joined the Baṭīḥa in Ḳaṭr (*Murūdj*, i, 288; Suhrāb, 118-9, 135; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 59; Ibn Rusta, 185). According to Mustawfī, Ḳaṭr is 30 parasangs (about 107 m. = 172 kms.) south of Wāsiṭ (*Nuzha*, 166), according to Ḳudāma (193), 22 parasangs.

The southern limits of the Baṭīḥa border on Baṣra (Balādhurī, 362; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, v. 257). Suhrāb (135) describes the Baṭīḥa as consisting of four Hors: Baḥaṣṣā, Bakamṣā, Baṣaryāthā and the Muḥammadiyya. Each Hor had plenty of water, with no reeds, but each one was linked with the other by a narrow passage of reeds. The Hor of

Muḥammadiyya was the largest, and the reed passage extended from it to the Nahr Abī Asad, which passes to Ḥāla, Kawānīn and then to the "one-eyed" Tigris (al-Di̲dj̲la al-ʿawrāʾ). Yāḳūt mentions the Hors of S̲h̲alām, (iii, 311), D̲j̲urd̲j̲īn, (ii 56), G̲h̲arrāf (iii, 581) and Rabbah, (ii, 134).

In the flat soft alluvial plain of south Babylonia hydrography could not be static, especially since the canal and irrigation system was subject to change according to the political and economic situation. Though these changes have not been yet studied in detail, nevertheless one may see an indication in the 6th/12th century, when Yāḳūt mentions that the Tigris was divided below Wāsiṭ into five arms which, together with the Euphrates, joined in Maṭṭāra which was a day's journey from Baṣra (ii, 553). The area of the lands covered by the Baṭīḥa undoubtedly changed according to the amount of control exercised over the flood water and the amount of water used for irrigation in the north.

Although water covered most of the lands of the Baṭīḥa, nevertheless there were areas of dry land, farms, cities and villages as well as rivers and canals (Muḳaddasī, 119; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, s.v. *Baṭāʾiḥī*; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Lubāb*, i, 129). Ibn Rusta (95) says that "the higher places became mounds which are known in Baṭāʾiḥ and are called Sarṭug̲h̲ān, Ṭustag̲h̲ān and Ukr al-Sayd, places where the Zuṭṭ live". Muḳaddasī, (134) calls the Baṭīḥa a district (*nāḥiya*) with Ṣulayḳ as its chief town, and the further towns of D̲j̲āmida, Harrār, Ḥaddādiyya and Zubaydiyya. Most of these towns were north-west of Wāṣiṭ. Yāḳūt mentions as towns of the Baṭīḥa Ḥilla (of Dubays) (i, 594, ii, 323) K̲h̲ayt̲h̲amiyya (iv, 884), Harrār (iv, 970), Manṣūra (iv, 664) and other places, and as its rivers the canals of Abbā, K̲h̲urz, al-Zuṭṭ (ii, 930, iv, 840) and Yammā (iv, 1026).

Of the western marshes of the Euphrates about the middle of the 19th century European travellers and archaeologists give fairly accurate descriptions. The main course of the Euphrates passed through Babylon, Ḥilla and Dīwāniyya. Several branches and cuts diverged from this branch, many of them re-uniting near Al-Kārayim, which was at the head of the delta. During the season of the floods, water spread for about 30 miles in length, 10-14 miles west of the main channel and to a much grater distance on the east side. This regress forms the Lamlūm marshes. Thirty years later, the bulk of the Euphrates' waters went through the western Hindiyya canal which was dug in the 17th century by the the Indian Āṣaf al-Dawla. This emerged into the plains further south and created the shallow Baḥr al-Nad̲j̲af and S̲h̲ināfiyya marshes, which remained even after the erection of the Hindiyya barrage in 1911 to increase the water of the Ḥilla branch. These swamps are situated in a large depression, wider in the mouth, about 40 m. (65 kms.) long and 15 m. (25 kms.) wide; the depth of the flood water varies from a few centimetres in the north to 2-3 metres in the middle. Several sub-Hors branch off from it; in the east are the Hors of al-ʿŪd̲j̲a, al-Wurīd̲j̲ī, Ibn Nad̲j̲im, al-K̲h̲abṣa, Abū G̲h̲īrbāl, al-Rammāḥ, al-Hawā and Abū Ḥid̲j̲ār; to the west of the S̲h̲āmiyya branch are G̲h̲ādudī, Rug̲h̲īla, Glībī, Abū Ḥillāna, Ziyāda and Ḥwīḥa; near the Kūfan branch are the Hors of Ṭubug, G̲h̲azālāt and Ṣlīb. The areas of these Hors shrink after flood, and the land becomes excellent for rice cultivation.

The Tigris below Bag̲h̲dād flows through a flat plain, and the banks are not high enough to retain the huge volume of flood water. This leads to a number of breaches and levees on both sides of the river which produce numerous marches. The largest of them between Bag̲h̲dād and Kut is Hor S̲h̲awīd̲j̲a, which is a natural depression of land extending some 31 m. (50 km.) along the Tigris and 15 m. (25 km.) in width. Into this Hor flows the water of a number of minor streams from the mountain regions of Pus̲h̲t-i Kūh. The rather narrow Hor Ḥuwīs̲h̲a extends from ʿAlī al-G̲h̲arbī to ʿImāra where it reaches Hor Snāfiyya. Near ʿImāra numerous branches diverge from the Tigris, *e.g.*, Mus̲h̲arraḥ, Čaḥla, Mus̲h̲ayrih. The waters are dispersed in the ʿAmāra rice area, where the flood waters are led out of the main channels, but these branches are well defined in spite of the Hors they form. They empty into the Hor of ʿAzem which is connected with Hor Ḥuwīza. They receive an inflow from the Dwīrīd̲j̲, and Ṭīb rivers as well as from al-Kark̲h̲a (the ancient Choaspes). The annual intake of water of these Hors is estimated at 7 million cubic inches. These waters flow back in the summer into the Tigris by several channels which begin a short distance beyond ʿUzayr.

On the right bank of the Tigris, the major breach below Kut is the Muṣandaḳ escape, 450 metres wide at its head, which expands rapidly to almost lake-like proportions and finally branches into a number of relatively small, shallow channels into the Hor al-Saniyya. This Hor is a large natural depression fed by the Muṣandaḳ escape and several smaller breaches and flood irrigation channels which divert water from the Tigris during the floods. Water passes successively through the Ṣik̲h̲ārī, al-Duwīma D̲j̲ifāfī S̲h̲āh ʿAlī, S̲h̲āttiriya Hors, and Hor Burhān, ʿŪda, Ṣirimah, Ṣigāl, Ruwīda and Ṣaffār, until it reaches the Ḥammār lake near Ḥammār village. During the peak of the Tigris floods, an area of over 424 sq. km. (1100 sq. km.) is inundated by the Hor al-Saniyya. After the flood recession no water except minor amounts of surface drainage from pump irrigated fields enter the depression of Hor al-Saniyya, which diminishes to an area of less than 77 sq. m. (200 sq. km.) through seepage and evaporation losses.

The Ḥammār lake is the largest Hor, covering about 2007 sq. m. 5200 sq. km.). It extends from the affluents of the Euphrates near Sūḳ al-S̲h̲uyūk̲h̲ down to Karma ʿAlī (about 80 m. = 130 km.). The southern part of it is called Hor Snāf, which receives water from the Euphrates and G̲h̲arrāf as well as the waters coming down from the Muṣandaḳ through the several above-mentioned Hors. The total flowing into the Ḥammār area is about 2540 *cumecs* (cubic metres per second) from all sources. The evaporation and transpiration losses are about 500 *cumecs*. The edge of the Ḥammār lake has a seasonal low water level of 0.6 to 0.8 metres in the late autumn and a high water level of from 2.0 to 2.8 metres near the end of the flood season in May or June. At low water the area is roughly two thirds lake and marsh with a few areas of open water connected by a maze of narrow channels running in all directions through the reeds. The deeper channels (1-2 metres) usually run in a north to south or north-west to south-east direction. There are also mazes of deep water passages (Gawāhīn) between the reeds which may be a few yards wide, but deep enough for boat navigation.

A few very deep channels (10-20 metres) are found around the islands in the vicinity of Salāyal island. Tide effect is felt in the southern parts. There are many shallow areas. The southern borders of the

Ḥammār are bare, uninhabited land, exposed to annual floods from the lake.

On account of its inaccessibility, the Baṭīḥa was a hiding place for all sorts of robbers and rebels, and an asylum for the discontented.

The Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], who were transplanted with their vast herds of buffaloes in the marshes by al-Ḥadjdjādj, made themselves, together with some other *mawālī*, in the early ʿAbbāsid period, a nuisance to ʿIrāḳ by robbing and plundering, and disturbing communications and trade with the the south. Their effect was felt to a greater extent at the time of Maʾmūn. It was only after strenuous efforts that the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim succeeded in subduing them, and in removing them to the northern Syrian borders (Balādhurī, 171-375; Ṭabarī, iii, 1044-5, 1167-70; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 355). They have given their name to the Nahr al-Zuṭṭ (Yāḳūt, iv, 840).

Far more dangerous, however, proved the great rising of the Zandj [*q.v.*] who, under the leadership of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], stirred up near Baṣra a formidable rebellion (255-270/869-883) and dominated the Baṭīḥa for several years (Ṭabarī, iii, 1742 ff.; Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, 146-175; F. al-Sāmir, *Thawrat al-Zandj*, Baghdād 1952).

In the following centuries the Banū Shāhīn (see ʿIMRĀN B. SHĀHĪN) and after them the family of al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*] founded a more or less independent kingdom in the swamp lands which they shared at a later period with the Mazyadids [*q.v.*] who ruled from 403 A.H. until 448 A.H. in Ḥilla. After the decline of the Mazyadids, the Banu ʾl-Muntafiḳ began to play their part, although the Caliph al-Nāṣir succeeded in destroying their leaders, the Banū Maʿrūf, in 617/1220.

When the Mongols conquered ʿIrāḳ (656/1253), the Baṭīḥa fell in their hands, but the Arab tribes remained a source of disturbance. From then on it was called al-Djazāʾir ("the islands") or al-Djawāzir. It was conquered by Tamerlane (795/1338), and then by Uways the Djalāʾirid (826/1423); in the year 844 A.H. it was conquered by the Mushaʿshaʿ [*q.v.*], who remained until the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān occupied it in 953 A.H. Ottoman rule of the region, however, was not firm, and they could not destroy the several tribal principalities, *e.g.*, the Āl ʿUlyān, who ruled over the Ḥammār until they were destroyed in 975 A.H.; the Banī Lām dominated the lower Tigris, until they were challenged by Albū Muḥammad and gave the Ottomans a chance to control them. The al-Muntafiḳ family ruled over the lower Euphrates up to the year 1861, when Midḥat Pasha was able to establish a *mutaṣarrifiyya* under the control of the governor of Baghdād (Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford; ʿA. ʿAzzāwī, *al-ʿIrāḳ bayn Iḥtilalayn*, 8 Vols, Baghdād 1937-57; Field, *The Anthropology of Iraq*, in *Field Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 30, part i, no. 2, 1949).

Large numbers of the originally Aramaic (and Christian) population of Babylonia (the Nabaṭs of Arab writers) remained in Baṭāʾiḥ for a long time, so that many sources call them the swamps of the Nabaṭ (L.A., iii, 237; cf. also Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 161; Miskawayh, ii, 409 Muḳaddasī, 128). Probably another ancient remnant is the Mandaeans or Ṣubba, the mediaeval Mughtasila, cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, 340; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 161); these Ṣubba still survive in a few places in the marshes such as Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh, Ḳalʿat Ṣāliḥ, and in Hor al-Ḥuwayza (Ḥawīza) where the town of Ḥawīza is their chief centre (cf. Drower, in *Bibliography*).

Nevertheless some Arabs settled there. Ibn Rusta says that Yashkur, Bāhila and Banu ʾl-Anbar lived near the Baṭīḥa before its formation. Balādhurī refers to the Bāhilī clients who joined the Zuṭṭ in their disturbances at the time of Maʾmūn. Ṭabarī, iii, 1858, 1898, 1903 refers to some of the Bāhilīs who joined the activities of the Zandj in the 3rd/9th century. He refers also to ʿIdjl in the Baṭīḥa (iii, 1759). The Mazyadid domination must have brought Banī Asad [*q.v.*] until they were destroyed by Al-Nāṣir. Ibn Khaldūn mentions Rabīʿa who dominate this area (vi, 12), by whom he probably means the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*]. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Khafādja and the Maʿādī (ii, 2, 4).

The greater part of the modern inhabitants is composed of semi-nomads and farmers of Arab stock, organised on tribal lines. They are Shīʿī Muslims except for a few Sunnīs, the most prominent of whom are the Saʿdūn family.

The most important of these Arab tribes, which are themselves divided into a large number of subdivisions, are:

(1) The Banū Lām who in the 16th century were able to establish their authority over the Tigris lands from Ḥawīza as far as the environs of Baghdād in the north, and to the outer spurs of the Pusht-i Kūh in the east. Kūt al-Amāra was the residence of their Shaykh in the early decades of the 19th century, but their lands and authority diminished in the 19th century and became confined to the lands east of Tigris and north of ʿImāra. They are a sheep owning tribe, and are still semi-nomadic.

(2) The Albū (= Abū) Muḥammad. They also live east of the Tigris, beside the banks of the Čaḥla and its main tributaries where they settled ten generations ago, and have since expanded over the canals and marshes on either side of the Tigris between ʿImāra and ʿUzayr. They are mainly cultivators but also marshmen, who are occupied in breeding buffaloes and making reed mats.

(3) Rabīʿa. To the west of the Tigris. Their sub-division al-Mayyāḥ extends along the Gharrāf up to Shaṭra, with Ḥayy as their chief centre.

(4) Ẓubayd, west of the Tigris. Their lands lie between Baghdād on the north and Kut al-Ḥayy in the south-east. In the south they adjoin the land of the Khazāʿil.

(5) The Khazāʿil, south-west of the Zubayd. They dwell from the district between Kefil and the ruins of Niffar, and along the Euphrates from Shāmiyya to the south of Dīwāniyya where they border on the country of the Muntafiḳ.

(6) The Muntafiḳ, a loose confederation of tribes presided over by the al-Saʿ dūn who came in the 15th century from the Ḥidjāz and were able to establish their authority over the tribes of the Lower Euphrates, and to expand at times even as far as Baṣra. They retained their semi-autonomous authority up to 1861, when Midḥat Pasha was able to abolish their rule and establish a *mutaṣarrifiya* in Nāṣiriyya.

The Muntafiḳ fall into three main divisions: 1) al-Adjwad, who dwelt from Darrādjī to the vicinity of Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh, and on the lower parts of the Gharrāf; 2) Banū Mālik, who live on the borders of Al-Ḥammār; 3) Banū Saʿīd, who live near Karma banī Saʿīd.

(7) Al-Djazāʾir. The Djazāʾir ("islands") also called Djawāzir are the swamp lands as opposed to *Shāmiyya*, the dry and desert land). The term has given its name to a confederation of tribes which are repeatedly mentioned in the Mongol and Ottoman

sources up to the 20th century. Their country was part of the Mus̲h̲aʿs̲h̲aʿ state (ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, iii, 112, 174, 272) then of Al-ʿUlyān (ʿAzzāwī, iv, 107); was conquered by the Ottomans (ʿAzzāwī, iv, 50 quoting *Mirʾāt-i Kāʾināt*, 127; Ewliyā Čelebi iv, 414), at times dominated by the Persians and by the Muntafiḳ, until it was finally brought under Ottoman control at the time of Midḥat Pas̲h̲a, who made attempts to reclaim some of its lands (*Al-Zawr*, 568). The tribes of Al-D̲j̲azāʾir formed a confederation composed of (1) Banū Asad [*q.v.*] who settled between Sūḳ al-S̲h̲uyūk̲h̲ and Ḳurna, with their centre in Čabāyis̲h̲; (2) Al-Ḥusaynī; (3) Banū Ḥuṭayṭ in Ḥammār; (4) ʿUbada between Suḳ al-S̲h̲uyūk̲h̲ and Čabāyis̲h̲ (cf. Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, ii, 310-12); 5) Banū Manṣūr, settled near Ḳurna.

(8) The Miʿdān. They are probably the Maʿādī who are mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as dwelling between Kūfa and Wāṣit (ii); Loftus (120-2) has described their primitive life and conditions. They dwell in the marshes, are organised tribally in a small way, and have no cohesion on a large scale. They are fishermen, reed-gatherers, and breeders of buffaloes. The other Arabs despise them for their profession and for their moral code, which differs slightly from that of the Bedouins.

The settlements of the inhabitants of the swamps are usually on terraces and islands, which are not entirely submerged by the annual inundation, and sometimes form villages. They consist of long huts built of reeds and reed matting (*ṣarīfa*) (Thesiger, *op. cit.*; *S̲h̲ākir Salīm al-Čibāyis̲h̲*, Vol. i, 23-4, Bag̲h̲dād 1957; cf. also Nöldeke in *WZKM*, xvi, 198, Note 1).

The most important product of the marshes is rice. Other products are barley, yellow maize, sorghum, millet, lentils, melons, watermelons, and to some degree lady's finger (*bāmya*, gumbo, okra) and onions.

One source of revenue is the reed, which is used for all household purposes and from ancient times has been much used for writing implements (see *OLZ*, ix, 190). The reed pens of mediaeval Wāṣiṭ and, in the 19th century, of Dizfūl were considered the best in the east (cf. Cl. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulm.* (1908), 13). Even at present 50-70 thousand tons of reeds are cut annually in the vicinity of Čabāyis̲h̲ (*Tams*, 60).

In addition there is great abundance of fishes, which afford a continual food supply to the natives or are exported to other districts. Ibn Rusta (94) refers to the importance of the Baṭīḥa products of reeds and fish in mediaeval times. At present it produces about 2000 tons of fish annually, employing about 500 fishermen.

Buffaloes are an important source of wealth to the marshmen south of ʿImāra and of the Ḥammār. The butter from their milk is exported to the surrounding cities and to Bag̲h̲dād. Sheep are also reared to a moderate extent, while cows are found in various places, especially in Ḳurna.

As to the remaining fauna of the Baṭīḥa, water fowl of all sorts are numerous, such as gulls, wild duck, geese, swans etc.; there are flocks of cranes, pelicans, flamingoes, storks, bustards and bitterns. There are also some carnivorous animals. The lion, which was known in this country in ancient and mediaeval times, was last mentioned in the 19th century (*Loftus, op. cit.*, 242 ff.). In addition, a number of leopards, jackals, wolves, lynxes and wild-cats have their lairs here. Wild-boar (*Sus scrofa*), wallow in large herds in the marshes.

The countless swarms of mosquitoes and midges form a terrible plague, and were a source of endemic diseases, *e.g.*, malaria, which must have been an important factor in the decline of the district (cf. *S̲h̲ākir Salīm al-Čibāyis̲h̲*, Vol. ii).

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(M. Streck-[Saleh El-Ali])

BĀṬIL wa **FĀSID** [see Fāsid].

BĀṬIN wa **ẒĀHIR** [see Ẓāhir].

al-**BĀṬIN**, a large *wādī* in north-eastern Arabia, formerly the lower course of Wādī al-Rumah [*q.v.*] but now cut off by the sands of al-Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*]. Al-Bāṭin runs north-easterly 385 km., from below K̲h̲us̲h̲ūm al-T̲h̲umāmī in al-Dahnāʾ to a plain 15 km. SW of al Zubayr. In width it is unusually regular, being 10-13 km. between banks and 2-3 km. on the floor. Its only surface water is lateral flow from local rains. Most of al-Bāṭin is a channel through former deposits of Wādī al-Rumah, as the plains of al-Dibdiba [*q.v.*] on both sides contain

gravels from the Arabian Shield [see art. DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB, (ii) & (iii)].

Al-Bāṭin, though a historic route from al-Baṣra to al-Ḥidjāz, contains few known archaeological remains; the most prominent are the 42 steyned wells, which may be Yāḳūt's Ḥafar Abī Mūsā, near the village of Ḥafar al-Bāṭin. The only settlement in al-Bāṭin, al-Ḥafar consists of 200 houses and the fort of the Amīrate which reports to the Governorate of the Eastern Province at al-Dammām.

At an undefined point at the junction of al-Bāṭin and its tributary, al-ʿAwdjāʾ, the boundaries of Saudi Arabia, Kuwayt, ʿIrāḳ, and the Saudi Arabia-ʿIrāḳ Neutral Zone converge, according to the al-ʿUḳayr agreements of 1922.

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AL-**BĀṬINA**, a lowland district in eastern Arabia lying between the sea coast of the Gulf of Oman and the mountains of al-Ḥadjar. It is bounded on the north by the headland of Khatmat Milāḥa, and on the south by the village of Ḥayl Āl ʿUmayr, south-east of the town of al-Sīb and west of the city of Muscat. The district varies in width from 10 to 20 miles. Near the coast the soil is sandy and dotted with many shallow wells. Farther inland the soil is clay, and then the ground becomes stony as the foothills of the mountains are approached. Numerous *wādīs* cut across the district and run down to the coast, where their beds broaden out. The name al-Bāṭina means the low-lying region, in contrast to al-Ẓāhira [*q.v.*], the higher region on the western side of al-Ḥadjar, which is reached from al-Bāṭina by two important passes, Wādī al-Djizy and Wādī al-Ḥawāsina.

Al-Bāṭina is primarily a region of fishing and date culture, though the interior supports a number of semi-nomadic folk with their herds. Along the sea coast stretches an almost continuous date-palm belt, which in places extends inland to a depth of about seven miles. Wheat, cotton, barley, sugar-cane, lucerne, mangoes, bananas, figs, limes, melons, and olives are also grown, being irrigated from the copious wells. Domestic animals are sheep, goats, donkeys, and especially the *Bāṭiniyya* riding camel, which among the three famous breeds of Oman is the one most noted for its comfortable gait. Fishing is often carried on in the *shāsha*, a non-sinkable craft of palm branches (*djarīd*) similar to the *waraḳiyya* of Kuwayt. Larger vessels sail to the Persian Gulf, southern Arabia, Zanzibār, and Pākistān for trade.

Al-Bāṭina was first proselytised for Islām in 8/629 by Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], who were welcomed in Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*] by the house of al-Djulanda. In the 7th/13th century the country was twice invaded by the Persians, who maintained a foothold until finally driven out by the Portuguese in 928/1522. Although the Portuguese took the tribute formerly sent to the ruler of Hormuz, they did not continually, occupy the al-Bāṭina coast until 1025/1616. Until the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1053/1643 by the dynasty of al-Yaʿāriba [see YAʿRUB], Ṣuḥār rivaled Muscat and Hormuz as a trading port. Persian attempts to regain permanent possession of al-Bāṭina during the reign of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] were beaten off largely by the efforts of Aḥmad b. Saʿīd of Āl Bū Saʿīd [see BŪ SAʿĪD]. His nine-month defence of Ṣuḥār in 1156/1743 brought him prestige which secured for himself the Imamate of Oman and for his descendants the Sultanate of Muscat.

The Sultan of Muscat has *wālīs* at al-Sīb, Barkā, al-Maṣnaʿa, Suwayḳ, al-Khābūra, and Ṣuḥār. The customs and *zakāt* revenue from these places seldom exceeds the administrative expenses. The settled population of al-Bāṭina was estimated by Lorimer in 1908 as about 105,000 persons, half of whom were living along the coast. The number of Bedouins roaming the interior is far less. Among the sedentary population, the chief tribes are Āl Saʿd and al-Ḥawāsina. Many of the Bedouins in the district come from the same two tribes and Banī Khārūṣ. Lesser tribes are al-Biduwāt, Āl Ḥamad, Āl Djarād, al-Mawālik, al-Nawāfil, Āl Bū Ḳurayn, Āl Bū Rushayd, and al-Shubūl. The great majority of the people of al-Bāṭina are Hināwī in politics and Ibāḍī in religion, although the Balūchīs and negroes tend to be Sunnī.

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BĀṬINIYYA, a name given (a) to the Ismāʿīlīs in medieval times, referring to their stress on the *bāṭin*, the "inward" meaning behind the literal wording of sacred texts; and (b), less specifically, to anyone accused of rejecting the literal meaning of such texts in favour of the *bāṭin*.

(a) Among the Ismāʿīlīs [*q.v.*] and some related Shīʿī groups there developed a distinctive type of *taʾwīl* [*q.v.*], scriptural interpretation, which may be called *bāṭinī*. It was symbolical or allegoristic in its method, sectarian in its aims, hierarchically imparted, and secret. All branches of the Ismāʿīliyya as well as its Druze offshoots have retained the *bāṭinī taʾwīl* in one form or another. The like system of the Nuṣayrīs seems to be a survival from *bāṭinī* circles associated with the later Twelver *imāms* [see GHULĀT].

Certain aspects of this type of *taʾwīl* can be matched in Jewish and Christian prototypes (for instance, in the symbolical exegesis of Origen) and other aspects can be matched among the Gnostics. Its immediate origins, however, are Muslim. Like the symbolical *taʾwīl* ascribed to the *imāms* among the later Twelver Shīʿa (with which it has in common its symbolical and sectarian character and something of its secrecy), its beginnings can be traced to the Shīʿī Ghulāt of the 2nd/8th century in ʿIrāḳ. Thus

al-Mug͟hīra b. Saʿīd (d. 119/737) is said to have interpreted the mountains' refusal to undertake the faith (Ḳurʾān xxxiii, 72) as symbolising ʿUmar's rejection of ʿAlī. Abū Manṣūr al-ʿId͟jlī is said to have held that the "heavens" symbolised the *imāms* and the "earth" their followers; and is credited with the key notion that while it was the Prophet who brought the text of the Ḳurʾān, it was the *imām* alone was charged with its interpretation, *taʾwīl*. Among the followers of Abu 'l-K͟haṭṭāb (d. 138/755-6) such allegoristic *taʾwīl* seems to have been especially popular; some of them supposed that in each generation there is a speaker, *nāṭiḳ*, to declare publicly religious truth, and a silent man, *ṣāmit*, to interpret it to the elect. Presumably it was from the K͟haṭṭābiyya that such elements of the *bāṭinī taʾwīl* entered the Ismāʿīlī movement, where the *taʾwīl* was elaborated till it became the hallmark of that movement.

The *bāṭinī* system can be described in terms of four essential notions: *bāṭin*, *taʾwīl*, *k͟hāṣṣ wa ʿāmm*, and *taḳiyya*, all which were presupposed whatever particular doctrine was taught.

It was held that every sacred text had its hidden inner meaning, the *bāṭin*, which was contrasted to the *ẓāhir*, "apparent" or literal meaning. Not only in passages which were in any case metaphorical, but in historical passages, moral exhortations, legal and ritual prescriptions, each person, act, or object mentioned was to be taken symbolically. The things symbolised often were explained one by one as objects of approval, obedience, hatred, and the like, according to the passage; but sometimes whole anecdotes were read as extended allegories. Number and letter symbolism was freely used. The same procedure applied to non-Muslim sacred books as well; and indeed to the whole of nature. For the *bāṭin* represented an esoteric world of hidden spiritual reality, parallel to the reality of the *ẓāhir*, the ordinary visible world, which cloaked and concealed it. The true function of scripture was to point to that hidden world even while keeping it disguised in symbols.

Taʾwīl, the educing of the *bāṭin* from the *ẓāhir* text, was therefore as fundamental as *tanzīl*, the revelation of the literal sacred text itself, and was equally dependent upon divine intervention. For every prophet who was given *tanzīl*, a revelation to be proclaimed publicly to mankind, there must be a *waṣī*, an executor (in the case of Muḥammad, this was ʿAlī) who was given the corresponding *taʾwīl*, which he propounded privately to the worthy few, that is, the members of the sect which accepted his authority.

Mankind, then, were divided into *k͟hāṣṣ*, the élite who know the *bāṭin*, and *ʿāmm*, the ignorant generality. The *k͟hāṣṣ* were those who had been ceremonially intitiated into the sect, that is, into knowledge of and obedience to the *imām*, representative of ʿAlī and sole authorised source of *taʾwīl* in any given generation. Among the Ismāʿīlīs, a series of hierarchical ranks (*ḥudūd*) of teachers mediated between the *imām* and the simple initiate. To the latter the *bāṭin* was imparted only in gradual stages (the number of which varied) and in purely authoritarian fashion.

The *bāṭin* was "inward" not only in being unevident but also in being secret. Knowledge of it must not be imparted to the *ʿāmm*, the ordinary followers of the *ẓāhir* revelation, lest it be misunderstood in an unauthorised way and abused. The S͟hīʿite principle of *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], precautionary dissimulation of one's faith, was accordingly reinterpreted to imply the obligation not to reveal the *bāṭin* to any unauthorised persons even apart from any danger of persecution. For some, therefore, the practice of the *ẓāhir* ritual of the *s͟harīʿa* even in its frankly S͟hīʿite form came to be regarded as *taḳiyya*, in that it kept the *bāṭin* concealed.

Despite an authoritarian hierarchism, the *taʾwīl* (as we know it in its Ismāʿīlī form) never achieved any strict uniformity. For any given ritual action different authors gave widely differing *bāṭin* interpretations; even the same author sometimes gave multiple explanations in the same book. Thus the inner meaning of the obligation of *zakāt* was held to be that the *k͟hums* or fifth of one's income must be given to the *imām*; or that one should give all one's surplus to the poor; or that the only true wealth is knowledge. What the *taʾwīl* did accomplish was to replace what seemed a "naïve" Ḳurʾānic world view with a more "sophisticated" intellectual system; one which seemed to go beneath the superficial differences among the quarrelling religious communities with their incompatible dogmatic claims, to reach a profounder common truth. A unity of spirit was given to the *taʾwīl* among the Ismāʿīlīs by its being used for three large and interrelated purposes. It presented a cosmology derived from neo-Platonist sources; it interpreted eschatology in terms of cyclicist religious history (and sometimes of reincarnationism); finally, it justified the religious hierarchy of the sect, whose grades corresponded more or less to the several dignities of the neo-Platonist cosmos.

The desire for sophisticated freedom from commonly accepted dogmas made for a persistent tendency toward radical exaltation of the *bāṭin*. In official Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism the *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* were both held to have their own spheres of relevance, at least in matters of ritual and law, in which they were binding on the initiate. But there was a frequent recurrence among the *bāṭiniyya* of a total rejection of the *ẓāhir* meaning even of the *s͟harīʿa*, or at least of its ritual prescriptions, as superfluous for whoever knows the *imām* and hence the *bāṭin*; this happened, for instance, among the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs after 559/1164. Those who rejected the *ẓāhir* altogether often tended also, consistently, to exalt the *waṣī* (ʿAlī) to a higher rank than that of the Prophet (Muḥammad), since the *taʾwīl* was worthier than the *tanzīl*; this was the attitude of the Nuṣayrīs.

The *bāṭiniyya* movement seems to have left traces among such later groups as the Ḥurūfīs, the Raws͟hanīs, and the Bābīs, who also used symbolical exegesis, though in somewhat different contexts. Its terminology and conceptions, freed of their sectarianism, have likewise influenced the symbolism of Ṣūfī thought. Perhaps above all, however, the radical positions it took had the effect of rendering Muslim Orthodoxy all the more suspicious of any kind of symbolical *taʾwīl*. Thus G͟hazzālī used the Ismāʿīlī *bāṭiniyya*, in his *al-Ḳusṭās al-Mustaḳīm*, as point of departure for his analysis of the legitimate limits of *taʾwīl* in general.

(b) Sunnī writers have subsequently used the term *bāṭiniyya* polemically to condemn any writers who, in their judgment, go beyond the recognition of a *bāṭin* meaning in scripture, to the rejection of the evident meaning of scripture in favour exclusively of such a *bāṭin*. Thus Ibn Taymiyya applies the term not only to the *bāṭinī* S͟hīʿa but to some Ṣūfīs and to such *falāsifa* as Ibn Rus͟hd. Ṣūfīs commonly hold that there are rich *bāṭin* meanings in the Ḳurʾān open to the properly contemplative spirit; but they

are generally careful to avoid a position which could be labelled *bāṭinī* in this sense. Ibn al-ʿArabī, for instance, whose interpretation of scripture often seems particularly free, defends himself against the charge of being a *bāṭinī* on the grounds that he accepts the *ẓāhir* alongside the *bāṭin*.

Bibliography: see the articles ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, NUṢAYRIYYA, GHULĀT. Also: I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, chapters 4 and 5; and H. Corbin, *Étude préliminaire*, in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Kitab-e Jamiʿ al-Hikmatain*, Tehran and Paris, 1953.

(M. G. S. HODGSON)

AL-**BĀTIYA** [see NUDJŪM].

BATJAN, a small island in Indonesia [*q.v.*], near the equator, at Long. 127° E., one of the earlier sultanates and centres of Muslim propaganda. It lost its importance as a spice-island about 1650 when the trees were destroyed as a result of a treaty between the sultan and the Dutch East India Company. (C. C. BERG)

BAṬLAMIYŪS, the almost exclusively used transliteration of the Greco-Latin Ptolemaeus; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, writes invariably *ʾbṭlmyws*, which may be read *Ibṭulamayūs*, the truest possible Arabic transliteration. In one place, 129, he gives the explanation "*Bṭlāmāws bi-lughatihim*". About his surname *al-Ḳalūd(h)ī* al-Masʿūdī remarks that some people believe him to be a son of Claudius, the "sixth" Roman emperor (*var. lect.* "second", *i.e.*, Tiberius), who was in fact the third. He himself puts him in his true time, and so does Ibn Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, 29 (Cheikho), and already the *Fihrist*, 267 (Flügel). Al-Masʿūdī, *loc. cit*,. and others also refute the false identification of the astronomer with one of the Hellenistic kings of Egypt.

Since no Greek scientist dominated medieval astronomy and geography, and even *Weltanschauung*, as much as Ptolemy, the Western no less than the Oriental, we have restricted ourselves to listing some books which show his influence on a large scale:

1. General: G. Sarton, *IHS*, i-iii, Indices; idem, *The Appreciation of ancient and medieval science during the Renaissance*, 1955, ch. iii, 5; idem, *Ancient science and modern civilization*, 1954, ch. ii; L. Thorndike, *History of Magic etc.*, i, 1923, 104 ff., other volumes see Indices.

2. Astronomy: C. A. Nallino, *ʿIlm al-Falak*, 1911, Italian in *Raccolta di Scritti*, v, 1944; O. Neugebauer, *The transmission of planetary theories in ancient and medieval astronomy*, Emanuel Stern Lecture, New York, 1956.

3. Astrology: F. Boll, *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums*, 1950.

4. Geography: E. Honigmann, *Die 7 Klimata*, 1929.

5. Harmonics: Ingemar Düring, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios*, 1930; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.*[6], ii, 2, 1924, 902.

6. Optics: Christ etc., *ibid.*

Here is a list of Ptolemy's writings in the order of the above paras 2-6, as far as they have left an impact on Islamic science. Under each item the Greek writings appear first, then come the titles known only in Arabic or translations thereof. The sources are: *F(ihrist)*, (Ibn) Ṣ(āʿid al-Andalusī), (Ibn al-)Ḳ(ifṭī) and (Ibn abī) U(ṣaibiʿa), besides Brockelmann and the catalogues of manuscripts. For the Western translations, we use, additional to M. Steinschneider, *Die europ. Übersetzungen a.d. Arab.*, and the works by Sarton and Thorndike quoted above, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*, 1942; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation*, 1956 (not throughout reliable); L. Thorndike, *Notes upon some medieval Latin astronomical, astrological and mathematical manuscripts at the Vatican*, Isis, 47, 1956, 391-404; the same, *Notes on some ... manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, xx, 1957, 112-172 (offprints on sale).

2. Astronomy.

a. The *Almagest*. Since Nallino has corroborated by new arguments Koppe's suggestion that the word is derived from μεγάλη σύνταξις by *naḥt* (*Raccolta*, v, 262), the former opinion deriving it from μεγίστη (Suter, *EI*[1], s.v. *Almagest*), has generally been abandoned. The Arabic form is *al-Midjisṭī* (so explicitly stated by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 385); Barhebraeus also gives the correct Greek title *Sūnṭāksīs* (ed. Salhani, 123). An elaborate survey of the contents of books i-iv in al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 151-154, cf. Klamroth, in *ZDMG*, 42, 17-18. *Tashīl al-Midjisṭī* by Thābit b. Ḳurra, cf. Brockelmann, I, 384, I, 7a. The first translator is not Sahl al-Ṭabarī (and this man is not identical with Sahl b. Bishr, as proposed by Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. der Juden*, 24), as stated by Sarton, *IHS*, i, 562. The whole problem has been discussed anew by Nallino, *l.c.*, who also gives a new interpretation of the account in *Fihrist* (*Raccolta*, v, 263), and arrives at the conclusion that the first translator is unknown. The MS. Esc. 915 has been used by O. J. Tallgren, *Un point d'astronomie gréco-arabe-romane, Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, xxix, 1928, 39-44; cf. also the same, *Survivance arabo-romane du Catalogue d'étoiles de Ptolemée, Stud. Or. Soc. Or. Fenn.*, ii, 1928, 202-283. A hitherto unknown commentary by Abu Djaʿfar al-Khāzin (Brockelmann, I, 387) has been discovered by G. Vajda (Paris, BN, ar. 4821, 9, cf. *RSO*, xxv, 8), another one by Djābir b. Ḥayyān is only known by name, cf. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, i, 1943, no. 2834. Ch. H. Haskins and D. P. Lockwood have stated that the first Latin translation has been made directly from the Greek, 12 years before Gerard of Cremona's version from the Arabic in 1175 (*The Sicilian Translators of the 12th Century and the first Latin version of Ptolemy's Almagest, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxi, 1910, 75-102; cf. also J. L. Heiberg, in *Hermes*, xlv, 1910, 57-66, xlvi, 207-216). See also Carmody, 15, and Millás, ch. xxxv.

b. The πρόχειροι κανόνες (*Tabulae manuales*), cf. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, l, 217 and 341. Al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 159 = Klamroth, 25 calls the work which he analysed, *Kitāb al-Ḳānūn fī ʿIlm al-Nudjūm wa-Ḥisābhā wa-Ḳismat Adjzāʾhā wa-Taʿdīlhā*, but, as Honigmann, 118 f. shows, this is not Ptolemy's book. This last has already in Greek times been confounded with the commentary written by Theo Alexandrinus. This was known to some Arabic scholars, as shown by Honigmann, 120. Theo's commentaries upon Ptolemy influenced al-Kindī, as proved by F. Rosenthal in his analysis of MS. Aya Sofya 4830 (*Studi ... G. Levi della Vida*, 1956, ii, 436 ff.).

Special attention must be paid to one of the Tables, the κανὼν βασιλειῶν, ed. by C. Wachsmuth in his *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, 1895, 304-306, reprinted with transliteration in Arabic numbers and Christian years for every king in F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen u. technischen Chronologie*, i, 1906, 139. The text is quoted by al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 161, for the Greek and Roman kings. In this table Alexander the Great comes after Darius

III, then Philippus (Arrhidaeus) "that one with Alexander the Builder", then "the other" Alexander (*i.e.*, the posthumous son of Al. the Gr.). During the reign of the latter (317-305 B.C.) falls the beginning of the Seleucid Aera, which was therefore also called *Aera Alexandri*. This canon has been taken over by al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 88 ff., as expressly stated l. 5. On 89 he calls rightly Alexander the Great *al-bannā'* (Greek κτίστης), and 92 he calls Alexander's son *al-thānī*. The Arabic tradition, however, calls this latter *Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn*, apparently because his predecessor was also called Philippus. Several authors point rightly to the difference of 12 years between the death of Alexander the Great and the beginning of the Aera allegedly called after him. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 430, no. 6471 says *Ta'rīkh* of Philippus the Rūmī, the Builder", but adds correctly: "the brother of Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn". Two of the Achaemenid kings are given by al-Bīrūnī 2 years more than by Ptolemy. Nevertheless, from Bukhtnaṣṣar until Alexander's death also the al-Bīrūnī MSS. have Ptolemy's total of 424 years, which number was replaced by Sachau, according to arithmetic, by 428 (89 ult.). Cf. also Ḳ., 96 (Lippert), al-Ṭabarī, 1357/1939, i, 412 f.; Ṣ., 30 (Cheikho).

c. Ὑποθέσεις τῶν πλανωμένων, perhaps the book named in F 268 *k. fi sayr* (not *siyar*!) *al-sab'a*, cf. Steinschneider, *Ar. Üb.*, 211, who rightly states, that the real Arabic title is *Iḳtiṣāṣ aḥwāl al-kawākib*, as quoted by Ḳ. 98, cf. Brockelmann, I, 384, 7b. The Arabic text (the number of MS. Leiden is 1045, not 1044, which contains the *Almagest*), an *Iṣlāḥ* by Thābit b. Ḳurra, is for book 2 the only one preserved. Both books have been translated into German by L. Nix and printed together with the Greek text of book 1 in Claudii Ptolemaei *Opera astronomica minora*, ed. J. L. Heiberg, 1907 (Bibl. Teubn.).

d. φάσεις ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων, Arabic *K. al-anwā'* (§ 29). As for the meaning of this title, cf. Nallino, *'Ilm al-falak*, 133 ff. (= *Raccolta*, v, 191 ff.), also I. Kratchkovsky, in Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *K. al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, Préface etc., 1912, 40 ff. Description of the book in al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 17. Boll, *Sphaera*, 1903, 413 f., does not believe that Abū Ma'shar used this book for his list of Paranatellonta, ed. and tr. by A. Dyroff, *ibid.*, 490 ff.; he rather supposes a falsified book attributed to Ptolemy.

e. Ἅπλωσις ἐπιφανείας σφαίρας (*Planisphaerium*). F 269 mentions under Pappus *Tafsīr k. Baṭlamiyūs fi tasṭīḥ al-kura*, transl. by Thābit. Al-Ya'ḳūbī, i, 154 analyzes the *K. fi Dhāt al-Ḥalḳ*, cf. Klamroth, 20 ff. The text of Maslama al-Madjrīṭī's Compendium, formerly known in Hebrew and Latin translations only, was recently discovered by G. Vajda, *RSO*, xxv, 8 (MS. Paris, Ar. 4821, 10). For the Latin translation see Carmody, 18.

f. Al-Ya'ḳūbī, i, 157 also mentions a book on the Astrolabe called *K. fi dhāt al-ṣafā'iḥ wa-hiya al-Asṭurlāb*, cf. Klamroth, 23 ff. and Steinschneider 215-216. For editions of the Latin translation see Carmody, 18, For Ptolemy's influence on Arabo-Spanish astrolabes see J. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'historia de les idees fisiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*, 1931, ch. vi-vii.

3. Astrology.

a. Ἀποτελεσματικὴ σύνταξις or τετράβιβλος ed. and transl. into English by F. E. Roberts, 1940 (Loeb Class. Libr., together with Manetho), new edition by F. Boll & Ae. Boer, ²1957, F 268: *K. al-Arba'a*, § 21: *K. al-Maḳālāt al-Arba'* (Barh. 123: *al-Arba' Maḳālāt*) *fi Aḥkām al-Nudjūm*, Latin translations Carmody, 18, Millás, ch. XXXVII, comm. by 'Alī b. Riḍwān, *ib.* ch. XXXIX. The quotations from it in Djābir's *k. al-baḥth* collected by Kraus, no. 2834 (168, n. 1). For Thābit's compendium cf. Honigmann, *Sieben Klimata*, 116.

b. Καρπός (*fructus* or *centiloquium*), not authentic. F 268: *k. al-Thamara*, the commentary by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Miṣrī al-muhandis (the biographer of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn) is also mentioned, cf. Brockelmann, I, 229. A new edition of the Greek text by Ae. Boer, 1952, Latin translations in Carmody, 16, Millás, ch. XXXVII-XXXVIII. For a and b see also Thorndike, *Journal of the Warb.* etc., and *Isis*, *loc. cit.* Ten aphorisms are quoted in Ps. Madjrīṭī's *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (*Picatrix*), ed. Ritter, 1933, 323-324, Aḥmad's commentary on aph. 9 *in extenso* quoted there, 55. A new fragment has been discovered by P. Kraus in MS. Taimur, *Akhlāḳ*, 290, 14, cf. his *Dirāsāt*, I, 1939, 6.

c. The book on Comets quoted by F 268 as *k. Dhawāt Dhal-awā'ib*, cf. Steinschneider, *Ar. Übs.*, 218, no. 22. Carmody, who discusses the Latin translations (16-17), calls the text "an amplification of (*Centiloquium*) prop. 99".

d. On nativities, F 268: *K. al-Mawālīd*, quoted by Djābir, *K. al-Mawālīd al-Ṣaghīr*, cf. Kraus, *Jābir*, ii, 258, n. 1, who does not believe the book to be genuine either.

e. Another pseudoepigraphic book, *K. al-Malḥama*, is known from numerous quotations in Yāḳūt's *Geographical Dictionary*, cf. the collection of place-names mentioned in it, and further literature in Honigmann, *Sieben Klimata*, 125-34. The meaning of *malḥama* is not quite clear, and the quotations do not furnish sufficient evidence as to the real character of the book.

f. Recently, a short text has been edited which refers to Ptolemy, namely, *Dhikr mā djā' fi 'l-nayrūz wa-aḥkāmhu mim-mā fasarahū Baṭlamiyūs al-ḥakīm wa-wadjadahū 'an 'ilm Dāniyāl* (!), ed. from Ist. Murad Molla 338 by 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, *Nawādir al-Makhṭūṭāt*, 5 (ii/1), 1373/1954, 45-48 (information from Mr. M. Schwarz of the Hebrew University Library). It discusses the significance of the week-day on which falls New Year.

g. A book on the images which rise in the 360 degrees of the celestial sphere named *Liber imaginum Ptolemaei* and the like, exists in Latin in many MSS. cf. Steinschneider, *Eur. Übs.*, no. 177c, Carmody, 20, Thorndike, *Journ. Warb. Court.*, 118. An Arabic text entitled *Risāla fi Ṣuwar al-Daradj* ascribed to Ptolemy is one of the sources of the *Safīnat al-Aḥkām* by a certain Ḥaḍrat al-Nuṣayrī, MSS Berlin Pet. I, 676 and Br. Mus. Add. 23,400 (the number in the Catalogue, 848, is distorted by Steinschneider, *Arab. Übs.*, Philos., 90 and General Index into 1348, Math., 217 into 843, and 353 into 874); but the identity of the Arabic and Latin texts has not yet been examined. For the meaning of the title cf. Boll, *Sphaera*, 426 ff.

h. The *Liber ad Heristhonem* or *Aristonem de iudiciis* (Steinschneider, *Ar. Übs.*, 218, no. 11) has been analysed by Millás, 175, cf. also for similar texts ascribed to Ptolemy, Carmody, 17 and 20.

i. Messealach (= Mā shā' Allāh) et Ptholomeus *de electionibus*, printed Venice, 1509, cf. Steinschneider, *Eur. Übs.*, no. 164d, and *Arab. Lit. d. Juden*, 22, no. 26, has been tentatively identified by Carmody, 41 with a *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārāt*, MS. Esc. 919. Another MS. with the same title is quoted in Brockelmann, iii, 1205 ad i, 392; it exists in Alexandria, *ḥurūf*, 12. According to Thorndike, *The Latin Translations of*

astrological works by Messahala, in *Osiris*, xii, 1956, 69, the work is erroneously attributed to Mā shā' Allāh, and its author is Sahl b. Bishr. The Venice print is not mentioned by him, and consequently he does not make clear whether Ptolemy's book is supposed to be a different work or whether the print points to common authorship. The matter is still open for investigation.

4. Geography.

J. H. Kramers' account on the Arabic translations of the Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις and its influence on the geographical views of the Muslims (*EI*[1], Supplement, s.v. *Djughrāfiyā*) is by no means out of date, cf. also his contribution *Geography and Commerce* in *The Legacy of Islam*, 1931, 79-107. We refer the reader to the works quoted in those articles and to Steinschneider, *Ar. Übs.*, para. 119, and Ruska's review of H. v. Mzik's publications, in *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 24, 77-81. For the translation made for Meḥmed Fātiḥ, the conqueror of Istanbul, preserved in MS. AS 2596, cf. Honigmann, 114; Plessner, in *Islamica*, iv, 1931, 547; Ritter, in *Isl.*, xix, 1931, 52 f., where another MS., AS 2610, is described too.

5. Harmonics.

For its influence on al-Fārābī's *K. al-Mūsīḳī al-Kabīr* cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir*, ii, 204, n. 2.

6. Optics.

The Arabic title given by Ṣ, 29 is *K. al-Manāẓir*, Latin translation listed by Carmody, 18. For its influence on Ibn al-Haytham see Steinschneider, *Ar. Übs.*, para 122.

7. Alia.

A book on the properties of stones, *K. Manāfiʿ al-Aḥdjār*, is contained in MS Paris 2772, cf. J. Ruska and W. Hartner, *Katalog der orientalischen und lateinischen Originalhandschriften, Abschriften und Photokopien des Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften in Berlin*, 1939, 78 (not in G. Vajda, *Index général*, 1953).

Bibliography: In the text, cf. also ʿAbdurraḥmān Badawi's introduction to his *Fontes Graecae (sic) doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum*, 1954: L. Thorndike, in *Isis*, 50, 1959, 33-50.

(M. Plessner)

BATMAN [see wazn].

BAṬN, probably the Semitic word for "stomach", with the additional sense in Hebrew of "uterus", implied in Aramaic by the verb of the same root which means "to conceive", and in Arabic by expressions such as *dhū baṭniha* "fruit of her bowels", as well as by the use of the word to designate "a fraction of a tribe", explained as analogous to *raḥim*, *fakhidh* and an entire series as designations of a uterine relationship. The distinction between *awlād al-baṭn* "cognates" and *awlād al-ẓahr* "agnates" is still used in modern Arabic, according to the notations of Wetzstein for Damascus (see also *Arabica*, v, 1, 80-81: M. Canard's review of an article by Vinnikov). The interpretation of Arab philologists who place *baṭn* between *fakhidh* and *ḳabīla* in accordance with the order in which the parts of the body are enumerated, is to be rejected according to W. Robertson Smith (*Journal of Philology*, ix, 86) who believes that he has found for Hebr. *beṭen* that meaning of the Arab. *baṭn*, by an ingenious exegesis of Job 19, 17, where *beney biṭnī* baffled the commentators; it would correspond to the Ar. *banī baṭnī* (*Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*[2], 28). For a discussion of his theory cf. the articles ʿĀʾila, ʿashīra, ḳabīla, etc.

Used figuratively, *baṭn* "depression, basin" appears in geographical names (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 665 ff.), while in the sense of "interior" there are the derivations *bāṭin* and *bāṭiniyya* [*q.v.*], important in Islamology.

(J. Lecerf)

BAṬRĪḲ [see biṭrīḳ].

BATRŪN (or Bathrūn), Graeco-Roman Bostrys and the Boutron of the Crusaders; a small town on the Lebanese coast, situated 56 kms. north of Bayrūt; it witnessed the passage of all the armies of conquest, covering as it does the Bayrūt-Ṭarābulus road to the south of the precipitous promontary of Rās Shaḳḳa (Theouprosôpon). According to a tradition cited by Josephus (*Antiq.* viii, 3, 52), it was apparently founded by Ithobaal, king of Tyre. In reality it is of much older origin and is mentioned in the Tell al-ʿAmarna letters (15th century B.C.) as a dependency of Byblos (Djubayl). At one time it was a nest of pirates, who were dealt with by Antiochus III Megas. To judge from the remains of a vast amphitheatre, the city, already famed for its vineyards, must have been of some consequence in Roman times. Like all the coastal towns, it was destroyed by the earthquake and tidal wave of 16 July 551.

In the period of the Crusades, Boutron was the seat of a bishopric depending on the county of Tripoli. It was a port where the Pisans enjoyed a number of privileges. For a long while the Provencal family of d'Agout were its lords. In 1271, following a quarrel among the Franks, the manor was razed by the Templars. Sulṭān Ḳalawūn took Batrūn in 1289 without difficulty. Under the Mamluks of Egypt, the town was attached to the *niyāba* of Ṭarābulus. In the 19th century the town enjoyed a certain prosperity due to sponge fishing which, however, today only occupies a few boats. The town now has a population of about 3,000, the majority of whom are Maronites.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 494 (Beirut ed. i, 338); Idrīsī, *Syrie* (Gildemeister) 17, (Jaubert) i, 356; Du Cagne, *Les Familles d'Outre-Mer*, 257-259; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 351-352; W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce au Levant*, i, 321; Lammens, *La Syrie*, ii, 38; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 71; Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, iii, 688, 745; ʿĀdil Ismāʿīl, *Histoire du Liban du XVIIe siècle à nos jours*, i, 33, 114

(N. Elisséeff)

al-**BAṬṬĀL**, ʿAbd Allāh, famous *ghāzī* of the Umayyad period who took part in several expeditions against the Byzantines. His surname means "brave", "hero", but has also a pejorative sense (cf. for example Ibn Ḥawḳal, 85; and the dictionaries). Concerning this person there is a comparatively meagre historical tradition, a pseudo-historical tradition and, moreover, an Arab romance *Sīrat Delhemma wa 'l-Baṭṭāl*, and related to it, a Turkish romance, *Sayyid Baṭṭāl*.

According to the early chroniclers (Al-Yaʿḳūbī, Al-Ṭabarī), al-Baṭṭāl does not appear before the year 109/727-28, during the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-125/724-43). Likewise the Byzantine historian Theophanes and the author of the Syriac chronicle, known as Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Mahré, only mention the year of his death, in 740. However a tradition already old, as it appears in the Persian recasting of al-Ṭabarī done by Balʿamī who wrote in 352/963, associates al-Baṭṭāl with Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik in his famous expedition against Constantinople in 98/717. We are dealing with a largely legendary account and we cannot know whether it contains reliable historical elements.

Historically, al-Baṭṭāl at the head of the vanguard

of Muʿāwiya b. Hishām conquered Gangra in Paphlagonia in 109/728. In 113/731-32 he took part in the expedition in which another celebrated Umayyad *ghāzī* perished, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht. In 114/732-33, or 115, in the course of an invasion by Muʿāwiya b. Hishām of Phrygia in the region of Akroinon, he routed and captured a Byzantine leader called Constantine. There is no further mention of him before his death in 122/740. During that year several parts of Anatolia were attacked by the troops of Sulaymān b. Hishām. Al-Baṭṭāl's detachment, commanded by the governor of Malatia, Malik b. Shabīb (or Shuʿayb), was surprised and routed by the Emperor Leo III and his son Constantine near Akroinon. The two leaders perished, their survivors fleeing south towards Synnada where they managed to rejoin Sulaymān. The date of al-Baṭṭāl's death is nevertheless placed in 121, 123 or even in 113.

If the early chroniclers do not appear to have attached much importance to his person, his military exploits were celebrated early by popular tradition in various accounts and anecdotes. In the period of al-Masʿūdī, the first half of the 4th-10th century, he was known as one of the illustrious Muslims whose portrait the Byzantines had hung in their churches (*Murūdj*, viii, 74), beside that of the famous *amīr* of Melitene, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Aḳṭaʿ, defeated and killed in 249/863. It is not impossible that the legend of both developed shortly after that date, as an after-effect of the first Byzantine success. In Balʿamī's account of Maslama's expedition, al-Baṭṭāl is appointed to hold one gate of Constantinople open while Maslama entered the city alone on horseback, and to enter in force should anything befall Maslama. Al-Baṭṭāl is even associated with Maslama in the account of the siege of the Byzantine capital in the *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* (5th/11th or 6th/12th centuries), where one finds as well under the year 115 the romantic account of a single-handed combat by al-Baṭṭāl. The popular account of Maslama's expedition by the great Andalusian mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), related to that of Balʿamī, attributes also an important rôle to al-Baṭṭāl, commander of the contingents of Djazīra and Syria, chief of Maslama's scouts, and charged with the same mission before Constantinople as in Balʿamī's version.

In a long biographical notice going back to Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), a Syrian tradition reproduced more or less completely by various historians including Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī and Ibn Kathīr, one finds after a brief allusion to the rôle of al-Baṭṭāl in Maslama's expedition, romantic anecdotes of which certain reappear in the romance of al-Baṭṭāl. These are 1) al-Baṭṭāl the bogey: he appears one night in a Greek village where he hears a mother threaten her crying child with giving him to al-Baṭṭāl if he does not stop crying; 2) His entrance into a Greek convent: al-Baṭṭāl, weakened by violent abdominal pains, is led by his horse to a convent where he is given asylum. He escapes the investigations of a Byzantine patrician thanks to the abbess, follows him when he leaves, kills him, and returns to the convent where he takes captive all of the nuns and marries the abbess; 3) His entrance into Amorium by a ruse: separated from his companions he arrives at Amorium where he gains access to the patrician by pretending to be a messenger from the Emperor, and forces him to indicate the whereabouts of the Muslim army, which he rejoins; 4) His death on the battlefield where the Emperor Leo attends his last moments, looks after him and permits his burial by the Muslim prisoners.

The authors who report these anecdotes distinguish them from the "lies" of the *Sīrat Delhemma wa 'l-Baṭṭāl* (see below) of whose existence we know already during his period from the Jewish convert Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī, who wrote in 565/1169-70.

The early authors say nothing of the origin of al-Baṭṭāl. According to later historians he came from Antioch (or from Damascus), lived in Antioch, and was a *mawlā* of the Umayyad house, as was his companion ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht, who also plays a major rôle in the *Sīrat Delhemma*. His *kunya* is sometimes Abu Muḥammad, sometimes Abu Yaḥyā, sometimes Abu 'l-Ḥuṣayn. His father's name is Ḥuṣayn or ʿAmr. On the origin of al-Baṭṭāl, such as it is given, whether in the *Sīrat Delhemma* or in the Turkish tradition of *Sayyid Baṭṭāl*, see the articles on these two romances.

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AL-**BAṬṬĀL** (SAYYID BAṬṬĀL GHĀZĪ), a champion of the Arabs in the wars against Byzantium in the Umayyad period, is transformed, in the Turkish romance devoted to his adventures, into a here of the ʿAbbāsid period. Al-Baṭṭāl thus became the contemporary of the *amīr* of Melitene, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Aḳṭaʿ (d. 249/863) and was incorporated into the epic cycle of Melitene. After the conquest of Melitene by the *amīr* Dānishmend in 495/1102, the Turks adopted the epic of Melitene, incorporating it in their own epic cycles and tracing their national heroes back to the legendary al-Baṭṭāl. It is a Turkicised Baṭṭāl ennobled by an ʿAlid connexion and answering to the name of Djaʿfar that we find in the Turkish version. The Turkish historians who used this epic romance as a historical source often took the legendary elements for historical facts and were even led to accept the chronology of the story. Thus Ewliyā Čelebī made

Baṭṭāl a contemporary of Hārūn al-Rashīd, whose reign he transferred to 248/859—the year in which he made him besiege Constantinople. The same anachronism exists in the Turkish version of al-Ṭabarī; it was made by an anonymous translator who introduced into his work accounts taken from the Turkish epic tradition.

Al-Baṭṭāl appears in two great epic romances: the Arabic romance of *Dhāt al-himma* (*Delhemma*) [see DHU 'L-HIMMA] and the Turkish romance of Sayyid Baṭṭāl. These two works, although related, were not subject to reciprocal influences; they probably both go back to an Arabic tradition concerning al-Baṭṭāl of which we possess no written trace, but whose existence is confirmed by two pieces of historical evidence of the 6th/12th century (cf. M. Canard, in *JA*, ccviii, 116; id., in *Byzantion*, xii, 186).

The Turkish romance. After their conquest of Anatolia, the Turks adopted as their own the local epic traditions celebrating the Arabo-Byzantine Wars. These accounts transformed by the addition of Turkish elements and Turkicised Persian elements", gave rise to a new Anatolian epic having as its subject the conquest of Asia Minor. The romance of Baṭṭāl is the prototype of this literature; however, from the first, elements of Turkish folklore crept in, containing events which took place in a fantastic world peopled with anthropophagous demons and supernatural beings, themes taken from Persian fairy stories or epic tales, popularisations of the *Shāh-nāma*", motifs from historical romances of heterodox ideology, such as the *Romance of Abū Muslim*, a work found all over the Turkish world. The Turkish romance of Baṭṭāl appears as a mosaic where the elements of different times and sources amalgamated. Among these elements, the book which recounts the insurrection and the capture of the heretic Bābak stands out from the rest of the work because of its historical basis, which is evident through the trappings of the legend. In this account, which takes place in the Caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim (833-842), Baṭṭāl has been substituted for the real hero of the campaign, Afshīn, whose name was proscribed after his disgrace and death in 225/840. This book is probably one of the *Bābak-nāma*s whose existence we know about from Ibn al-Nadīm, and which is incorporated in the romance of Baṭṭāl.

Similarly in the *Delhemma* the Turkish romance contains reminiscences of the time of the First Crusade. It was probably composed during the 6th/12th century, or right at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, because the *Romance of Malik Dānishmend*, which celebrates the exploits of the first Turkish conqueror of Melitene and which was first written down in 643/1245, was conceived as a continuation of the romance of Baṭṭāl; some narrators of the Saldjūḳ period added a chapter in which they told how the tomb of the hero was discovered by the Saldjūḳs of Anatolia. There exists a version of the romance of Baṭṭal in verse, attributed to Baḳāʾī, in the reign of Muṣṭafā III (1757-1774). Independently of the epic cycle, the name of Baṭṭāl still lives on in numerous Anatolian legends and in particular in the hagiographical stories of the *ʿalawī* and *bektashī* sects [see NUṢAYRĪS, BEKTASHIYYA] who have adopted him as one of their heroes.

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(I. MELIKOFF)

AL-**BATTĀNĪ** (his full name is ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. DJĀBIR B. SINĀN AL-BATTĀNĪ AL-ḤARRĀNĪ AL-ṢĀBIʾ), the Albategni or Albatenius of our mediaeval authors, one of the greatest of Arab astronomers, was born before 244 (858) very probably at Ḥarrān or in its neighbourhood; the origin of the *nisba* al-Battānī is quite uncertain. His family formerly professed the Sabian religion, whence the name al-Ṣābiʾ although our author was a Muslim. He spent almost his whole life at al-Raḳḳa on the left bank of the Euphrates, where several families from Ḥarrān had taken up their abode; from 264 (877) he devoted himself to astronomical observations which he regularly pursued for the rest of his life. Having had occasion to go on business to Baghdād he died on his return journey at Ḳaṣr al-Djiṣṣ, a little to the east of the Tigris and not for from Sāmarrā in 317 (929).

He wrote: 1. *Kitāb maʿrifat maṭāliʿ al-burūdj fī mā bayna arbāʿ al-falak*, "the book of the science of the ascensions of the signs of the zodiac in the spaces between the quadrants of the celestial sphere"; *i.e.*, of the ascensions of the points of the ecliptic which are not, at the given moment, one of the four "*awtād*" or pivots [see the article NUDJŪM]; it deals with the mathematical solution of the astrological problem of the "direction" of the significator. 2. *Risāla fī taḥḳīḳ aḳdār al-ittiṣālāt*, "a letter on the exact determination of the quantities of the astrological *applicationes*", *i.e.*, the rigorous trigonometrical solution of the astrological problem of the *proiectio radiorum* [see the article NUDJŪM] when the stars in question have latitude (*i.e.*, lie outside the ecliptic). 3. *Sharḥ al-maḳālāt al-arbaʿ li Baṭlamiyūs*, "commentary on Ptolemy's *Tetrabilon*". 4. *al-Zīdj*, "Astronomical treatise and tables", his principal work and the only one that has survived to us; it contains the results of his observations and had a considerable influence, not only on Arab astronomy but also on the development of astronomy and spherical trigonometry in Europe in the middle ages and beginning of the Renaissance. It was translated into Latin by Robertus Retinensis or Ketenensis (died at Pamplona in Spain after 1143 A. D.; the version is lost) and by Plato Tibastinus in the first half of the xiith century (an edition of the text without the mathematical tables was published at Nuremburg in 1537 and at Bologna in 1645). Alphonso X of Castile (1252-1282) had it translated directly from the Arabic into Spanish (incomplete MS. in Paris). Three insignificant astrological pamphlets, of which a Latin version exists in several manuscripts, which give their author's name as Bethem, Boetem, Bereni, Bareni, have been wrongly attributed to al-Battānī.

Al-Battānī determined with great accuracy the obliquity of the ecliptic, the length of the tropic year and of the seasons and the true and mean orbit of the sun, he definitely exploded the Ptolemaic dogma of the immobility of the solar apogee by demonstrating that it is subject to the precession of the equinoxes and that in consequence the equation of time is subject to a slow secular variation; he proved, contrary to Ptolemy, the

variation of the apparent angular diameter of the sun and the possibility of annular eclipses; he rectified several orbits of the moon and the planets; he propounded a new and very ingenious theory to determine the conditions of visibility of the new moon; he emended the Ptolemaic value of the precession of the equinoxes. His excellent observations of lunar and solar eclipses were used by Dunthorne in 1749 to determine the secular acceleration of motion of the moon. Finally he gave very neat solutions by means of orthographic projection for some problems of spherical trigonometry; solutions which were known to and in part imitated by the celebrated Regiomontanus (1436-1476).

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(C. A. Nallino)

BATU (in Arabic script Bātū), a Mongol prince, the conqueror of Russia and founder of the Golden Horde (1227-1255), born in the early years of the 13th century, the second son of Djoči [see djūčī]. During Čingiz-Khān's lifetime Djoči, as his eldest son, had received as his *yurt* or appanage the territory stretching from the regions of Ḳayalīḳ and Khwārazm to Saḳsīn and Bulghār on the Volga "and as far in that direction as the hoof of Tartar horse had penetrated". The eastern part of this vast area, *i.e.*, Western Siberia, the present-day Kazakhstān and the lower basin of the Sīr-Daryā, passed upon Djoči's death in 624/1227 to his eldest son Orda, whilst to Batu fell the western part, *i.e.*, Khwārazm and the Dasht-i Ḳipčāḳ or Ḳīpčaḳ Steppe to the north and north-east of the Black Sea.

Of the first ten years of Batu's reign we know only that he was present at the *ḳuriltay* or assembly of the Mongol princes held in 626/1229 in Mongolia, at which Ögedey was elected Great Khān, probably also at the *ḳuriltay* of 632/1235 at which it was decided to renew the war against the Russians and neighbouring peoples; he was never again in Eastern Asia. In the army which set out in the spring of 633/1236 there were also sons of Čaghatay, Ögedey and Toluy, but Batu was in supreme command. The Mongol forces are said to have reached the territory of the Volga Bulghārs by the autumn of the same year, but the destruction of the town of Bulghār does not seem to have taken place until the autumn of 635/1237, during which year the Mongols were engaged in operations against the Ḳīpčaḳ Turks in what is now Southern Russia. In Rabīʿ I-II 635/ November 1237 they crossed the frozen Volga and attacked the Russian principalities, capturing city after city, until by Radjab-Shaʿbān 635/March 1238 the road lay open to Novgorod. The Mongols had approached within 65 miles of the town when they suddenly withdrew to the south, evidently fearing that the spring thaw would render the roads impassable. After a long period of rest in the lower Don basin and minor campaigns in the Caucasus in 636-7/1239, the war against Russia was resumed in 637-1/1240 in a campaign which ended with the fall of Kiev on the 6th of December of the same year. From the Ukraine simultaneous attacks were launched upon Poland and Hungary. Through Poland the Mongols penetrated into Silesia defeating Duke Henry the Pious at Liegnitz on the 25 Ramaḍān 638/9 April 1241 and then passed through Moravia to join the main army, which, led by Batu in person, had crossed the Carpathians into Hungary and inflicted a decisive defeat on the Hungarians at Mohi (27 Ramaḍān 638/11 April 1241). The combined Mongol forces passed the summer and autumn on the Hungarian plain; and on Christmas Day Batu in person crossed the frozen Danube to take the town of Esztergom. The last major operation was an expedition through Croatia and Dalmatia to the shores of the Adriatic in pursuit of Béla IV of Hungary. The armies were apparently poised for a general assault on Western Europe when news arrived of the death of the Great Khān Ögedey (5 Djumādā II 639/11 December 1241), and Batu decided to withdraw his forces. Retiring by way of the Balkans he finally reached his encampments on the Lower Volga late in 1242.

It was now that Batu laid the foundations of the Golden Horde. Of the lands invaded in the years 635-9/1237-1241 only Russia had remained subject to the Mongols. As early as 639-40/1000-1242 Grand Duke Yaroslav I of Vladimir came to Batu's *ordu* to pledge his loyalty and was confirmed by the Khān in his rank as "senior of all the princes of the Russian people"; in 1000/1245 Prince Daniel of Galicia had to be confirmed in the same way and do homage to Batu.

During this period Batu's attention was largely diverted to events in the East. Ögedey's eldest son Güyük, a personal enemy of Batu, had been raised to the throne in succession to his father at the *ḳuriltay* of 644/1246. Batu had been represented at the ceremony by five of his brothers, excusing his own absence, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, on the ground of physical infirmities. Early in 1248 the new Khan left Ḳara-Ḳorum in a westerly direction. He gave it out, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, that he was proceeding, for reasons of health, to his *yurt* on the Emil in what is now eastern Kazakhstān, but Toluy's widow suspected that his real intention was to attack Batu, to whom she accordingly sent a warning. Güyük died suddenly *en route* in a place called Ḳum-Sengir on the Upper Urungu, according to the *Yüan shih* in the third month (27th March-24th April) of 1248. Djuwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn disagree as to Batu's whereabouts at the time of Güyük's death. According to Djuwaynī he was advancing eastwards to meet the Khān, at the latter's invitation, when he received the news of his death in a place called Ala-Ḳamaḳ, a week's journey from Ḳayalīk, probably in the Alatau mountains to the south of the Ili. On the pretext that his horses were lean Batu summoned the princes to meet him in this place. On the other hand, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, this meeting took place in Batu's own territory; and the sons of Ögedey, Čaghatay and Güyük are represented as refusing to make the long journey to the Ḳīpčaḳ Steppe.

The result of the meeting, wherever held, was that Möngke, the eldest son of Toluy, was, on Batu's

proposal, acclaimed as Great Khān in succession to Güyük; and it was decided that his enthronement should take place at a *ḳuriltay* in Mongolia in the following year. The ceremony did not in fact take place till the 9 Rabīʿ II 649/1 July 1251, Batu being represented by his brother Berke [*q.v.*]. A plot against the Great Khān was uncovered while the celebrations were still in progress; it was headed by certain princes of the Houses of Čaghatay and Ögedey, most of whom were punished by banishment to remote parts of the Empire. Yesü, the son and first successor of Čaghatay, and Büri, one of his grandsons, were handed over to Batu, by whose orders the latter, who appears to have been involved in Batu's quarrel with Güyük, was put to death.

The whole Empire was now in effect divided between Möngke and Batu. William of Rubruck quotes Möngke as saying in 651/1254: "As the sun sends its rays everywhere, likewise my sway and that of Baatu reach everywhere . . .". The boundary between their respective territories lay, according to Rubruck, in the steppes between the Talas and the Ču, and more respect was shown to Batu's people in Möngke's kingdom than *vice versa*. It is certain that Batu, both as the senior Čingizid and as the man to whom Möngke owed his throne, enjoyed very considerable prestige. Even in such lands as Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, which lay outside his ancestral territories, he exercised certain sovereign rights. Thus, according to Djuwaynī, he confirmed the son of Temür Malik, the defender of Khudjand, in the possession of his father's estate.

Rubruck tells us that Batu had twenty-six wives and Rashīd al-Dīn that he had four sons. In the latter years of his life he seems to have delegated some of his authority to his eldest son Sartaḳ, a Nestorian Christian: it was Sartaḳ who from 646-7/1249 onwards received the homage of the Russian princes. There is considerable divergence in the sources as to the date of Batu's death: it seems most likely that he died in 653/1255. From Rubruck's narrative it appears that towards the end of his reign he lived on the eastern bank of the Volga, ascending the river in the summer as far north as Lat. 52° and spending the winter near the mouth, where the town of Saray was founded by him at this period on the Akhtuba, a channel of the delta, 65 miles north of Astrakhān.

Batu, whom the Russians knew only as a cruel conqueror, was given by his Mongol contemporaries the epithet of *sain*, *i.e.*, "good" or perhaps "wise". He is praised as a just and sagacious ruler even by Djūzdjānī, a writer by no means prejudiced in the Mongols' favour. According to Djuwaynī, he "inclined towards no faith or religion" but recognised only "belief in God", *i.e.*, the worship of the Sky as practised by his ancestors.

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(W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

BATU'IDS, descendants of Batu [*q.v.*], a grandson of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*], the ruling house of the Golden Horde from 1236/40 until 1502.

After a short-lived advance by Mongol troops in 1223-24 into what is today the Ukraine (Russian defeat on the Kalka in that year), Batu, the second son of Čingiz Khān's eldest son Djoči (who died early in 1227), succeeded in subjugating large parts of Russia in the years 1236-1241. Only the north west (with Novgorod as its centre), was spared, and—apart from occasional payments of tribute—it remained independent. Similarly, the Caucasus (together with Georgia; see Gurdjistān) was under Batuʾid suzerainty until about 1260 and Danube-Bulgaria until about 1310. Advances into Galicia, Moravia, Silesia and Hungary in 1241 had no lasting result.

Batu gave the Western Mongolian Empire, thus created, a centre in the towns of Old, and later New, Saray [*q.v.*] on the lower Volga, which quickly developed into important centres of commerce and had a very mixed population (including a Russian diocese in Saray from 1261). The most extensive Mongol settlements were to be found in this area and in the Crimea, becoming absorbed into the indigenous Turks as well as into part of the Finnish and Eastern Slav peoples. In this way, the new tribe of (Volga-) Tatars [*q.v.*] arose, speaking Turkish —also spoken by the population further to the north on the Volga, and particularly by a section of the Volga Bulgars [*q.v.*]. The structure of the population remained nomadic until about the middle of the 8th/14th century. It has been described most vividly by John of Plano Carpini (1245-46) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ([*q.v.*], 1333). The new state was called the "Golden Horde" by the Russians, and thus also in Europe—the corresponding Turkish *Altïn Ordu* is a modern translation. (The name may possibly have been given because the ruler's tents were paved with golden tiles, or else because of a borrowing of ancient Central-Asian colour symbolism—compare *ḳara*). In eastern literature, the country is usually referred to as the Ḳipčaḳ Steppe. Orda, Batu's elder brother, founded a subordinate state in Western Siberia, which is sometimes referred to as the "Blue" or the "White Horde". It was under the sovereignty of the Golden Horde, but hardly anything is known of its history.

Batu was very much taken up with the affairs of the whole Mongol Empire, but refrained from accepting the title of Great Khān. He died in 1255-56. His brother and successor Berke (1257-67) was the first Mongol prince to become a Muslim (Sunnī), and thereby he began the incorporation of the Tatars into Islam. By this action he distinguished them particularly (in contrast to their tribal brothers in Iran, China and Central Asia) from their subjects, the Orthodox Russians. A complete amalgamation of these two peoples has in consequence (hitherto) proved impossible. Berke made a treaty with the Mamlūk rulers in Egypt, which was primarily directed against the Mongol Īlkhāns [*q.v.*] in Iran, who were Shamanists or Buddhists and who had already roused Berke's bitter hostility by their fight against the Caliphate in 1258. This treaty greatly influenced the politics of the Golden Horde for the following decades, and there were frequent struggles with the Īlkhāns—especially in the Caucasus and on Lake Aral. During this process, the Caucasus came under

the influence of the Īlkhāns. This political treaty was followed by a lively commerce with Egypt (many of the Mamlūk slaves came from the Golden Horde). This commerce depended on the continued good will of the East Roman Emperor (a Paleologus from 1261) and therefore required agreements with him. There were also connexions with the Saldjūks of Rūm [*q.v.*]. As a result of all this, it was possible for Islamic—especially Turkish (Saldjūk and Mamlūk)—cultural influences to reach the Golden Horde. As a result of excavations, we are fairly well informed about the art and implements of the Volga-region (see particularly F. A. Balodis: *Alt- und Neu-Sarai, die Hauptstädte der Goldenen Horde*, in *Latvijas Universitātes raksti*, xiii, Riga 1926, 3-82). In Russia the Tatars confined themselves largely to raising tribute through *Baskaks*, and to recognising certain lesser princes, whose mutual quarrels were their best into Sunnī-Islamic culture of a particular type found in Asia Minor, which was particularly active in the Crimea. The new tribe of Özbegs [*q.v.*] named after Özbeg, also came under its influence.

Western attempts at Christianisation at that time (in particular under Pope John XXII) proved to be of no avail, and religious wars (such as were fought in Persia) did not affect the Golden Horde. Certain centres resulting from these attempts, however, survived for some time; among these were the Genoese colonies (which began in 1265) (cf. KAFFA) in the Crimea [*q.v.*]. These were also commercially active, as middlemen in the supply of cloth from Flanders, ceramics, and jewellery to the Horde. Fur, fish and grain were the main articles exported in return.

The attempts made by both Djānībeg Khān (1341-57), Özbeg's son, and Berdibeg Khan (1357-59),

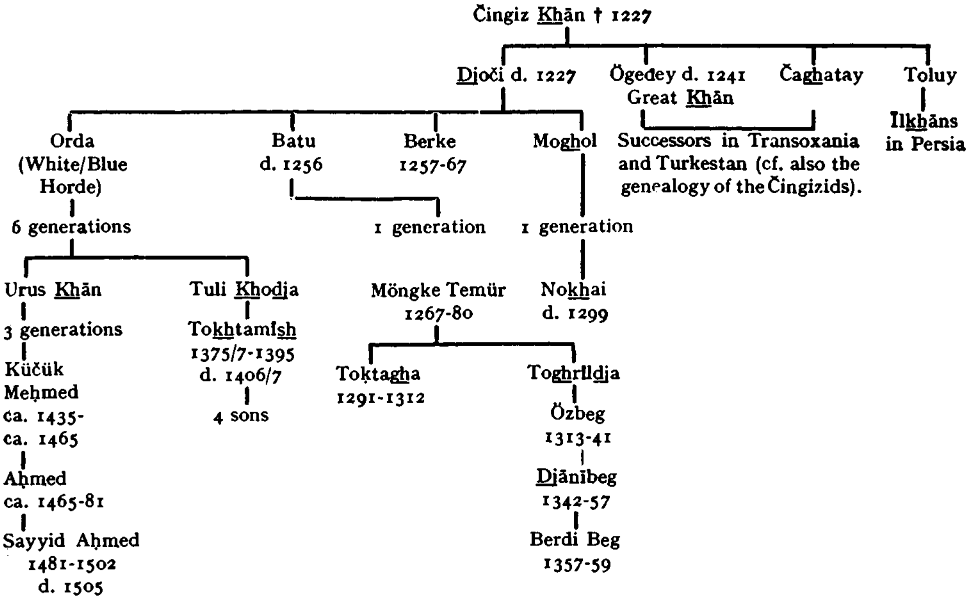

protection. The Russian Orthodox Church, to which the Tatars had granted certain privileges, was able to maintain its unity before these minor princes, and thus became the embodiment of Russian thought in general.

The death of Berke did not altogether put an end to Islamic influence, although to begin with all his successors were again Shamanists. The strength of the state was impaired through civil wars against the rising Prince Nokhai, a successful general in Poland (1259, 1286) and the Caucasus (1261, 1263), until Nokhai's death in battle in 1299 (cf. NOGAI). In the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the political position changed, as the dealings between the Īlkhāns (who were by then Muslims) and Egypt grew smoother. In the year 1323 a formal peace-treaty was signed. This reduced the commercial connexions between the Golden Horde and Egypt. The collapse of the Īlkhānid Empire in 1335 brought the Golden Horde, under Özbeg Khān (1313-1341), once more into a position of great importance. A Muslim himself, he definitively strengthened the position of Islam on the Volga, and thenceforth all the Khāns adhered to that religion. The greater part of the Volga-Tatars was now also more and more drawn his grandson, to conquer Ādharbaydjān in 1356-59 miscarried. It is possible that their aim was to bypass the Dardanelles, which had been in the hands of the Ottoman Turks since 1354, and to gain access to the Mediterranean through Syria. As this could not be achieved, the Golden Horde henceforth became an Eastern European continental power, thus more and more at the mercy of the rising Great Powers of Poland-Lithuania and Russia (Muscovy). This development was accelerated by the internal disintegration caused by the conflict between innumerable pretenders (from 1359), thanks to which a Russian army was able to gain a victory over the Tatar armies (under Mamay) for the first time, on the Field of Snipe (Kulikovo Pole) on the Don in 1380. Thus the Grand-Duchy of Muscovy—which the Golden Horde had finally charged with the collecting of tribute in 1328, and in which the title of Grand Duke had become hereditary—established itself as a new power and as a 'Collector of all Russian Lands'.

Towards the end of the 8th/14th century, Tokhtamīsh [*q.v.*] of the "White Horde" attempted to unite the whole empire once more, but he was opposed by Tīmūr, who defeated him in 1391, and in

1395 forced him to flee, and destroyed Saray. General Edigü (Russian: Yedigey) emerged as the true ruler of the Golden Horde. He had succeeded in holding his own and in checking the Lithuanian expansion through his victory on the Vorskla in 1399. He succeeded in guarding the independence of the state until his death in 1419. After this, the final disintegration started in earnest, and it was speeded by the formation of independent Khānates in Ḳazan [*q.v.*], Astrakhān [*q.v.*] and in the Crimea in 1438 (see GIRAY). The remainder, now generally referred to as the "Great Horde", could only hold its own in the region east of Kiev by treaties with Muscovy and (from 1466) with Poland-Lithuania, and in 1480 it was able once more to threaten Moscow. In 1502, the "Great Horde" was finally beaten; deserted by its allies, outlawed by the Ottoman sultan (who had been Protector of the Crimea—its main enemy—since 1475), it was vanquished by Crimea and Muscovy. The Khānates of Ḳazan, Astrakhān and Siberia also met their doom in the 16th century. The only remaining one was the Crimea, which survived until 1783.

The Golden Horde is the only state which has ever actually subjugated Russia (and from the east at that). The "Tatar yoke", which lasted for $2^1/_2$ centuries, forms an important period in the history of Russia as well as in that of Poland-Lithuania, and resulted in the settlement of Turkish tribes on the Volga and in western Siberia. Even today, scattered Tatar remnants can still be found there, and the decisive element in their survival was their Islamic faith.

The cultural influence of the Tatars on the Russians can be traced for centuries in certain aspects of the administration, the army, ceremonial, and in the relationship between ruler and subject as well as in vocabulary, and in certain respects it makes itself felt even today. Furthermore, the fight of the Czars against the "Infidel" decisively shaped the political and popular consciousness of the Russians and of the eastern Slavs in general (concerning this cf. also TATARS").

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BATUMI (BATUM), port in Soviet Transcaucasia on the Black Sea, capital of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Adjaristān, built on the site of an old Roman port, Bathys, constructed in the reign of Hadrian and later deserted for the Byzantine fortress of Petra, founded under Justinian on the site of the present Tzikhis-Tziri to the north of Batumi.

A former possession of the Laz kingdom, the region of Batumi (the Adjar district) was occupied briefly by the Arabs who did not hold it; in the 9th century it formed part of the principality of Taoklardjeti, and at the end of the 10th century of the United Kindgom of Georgia which succeeded it. From 1010 it was governed by the *eristav* of the king of Georgia. In the 8th/14th century, after the disintegration of the United Kingdom of Georgia, Batumi passed to the princes (*mtavar*) of Guria.

In the 9th/15th century, in the reign of the *mtavar* Kakhaber Gurieli, the Ottoman Turks occupied the town and district of Batumi, but did not hold them. They returned in force a century later after the decisive defeat which they inflicted on the Georgian and Immeretian armies at Sokhoista. Batumi was recaptured, first by the *mtavar* Rostima Gurieli in 1564, who lost it soon afterwards, and again in 1609 by Mamia Gurieli. From 1627 Batumi was part of the Ottoman Empire.

With the Turkish conquest the islamisation of the Adjar region, hitherto Christian, began. It was completed by the end of the 18th century.

Under the Turks, Batumi, a large fortified town (2,000 inhabitants in 1807 and more than 5,000 in 1877) was already an active port, the principle centre of the Transcaucasian slave-trade.

Ceded to Russia by the treaty of San Stefano and occupied by the Russians on 28 August 1878, the town was declared a free port until 1886. The Adjar region at first constituted a self-governing administrative unit; on 12 June 1883 it was annexed to the government of Kutais. Finally on 1 June 1903, with the *Okrug* of Artvin, it was established as the region (*oblast'*) of Batumi placed under the direct control of the General Government of Georgia.

The expansion of Batumi began in 1883 with the construction of the Batumi-Tiflis-Baku railway completed in 1900 by the finishing of the Baku-Batumi pipe-line. Henceforth Batumi became the chief Russian oil port in the Black Sea. The town expanded to an extraordinary extent and the population increased very rapidly: 8,671 inhabitants in 1882, 12,000 in 1889, 45,382 in 1926.

The population of the town is cosmopolitan; the Muslims (Adjars, Laz and Turks) are only a minority in comparison with the Russians, Greeks, Armenians and Georgians, but the region remains purely Muslim. In 1911 the *oblast'* totalled 170,377 people, of whom 70,918 were Adjars and 58,912 other Muslims (Laz, Turks, Kurds, etc).

In April 1918, Batumi was occupied by the Turks; they were succeeded in the following spring by the British, who evacuated it in June 1919. After the fall of the Georgian Republic, the treaty of 16th March 1921, between the R.S.F.S.R. and Turkey, gave the regions of Kars and Ardagan back to Turkey, but left Batumi to the Russians. The Soviet régime was proclaimed on 18 March 1921 and, on 16th June in the same year, the region was established as the Soviet Socialist Republic of Adjaristān, with its capital at Batumi, dependent on the RSS of Georgia.

The Adjars constitute the largest community, and in 1926 they were still considered as a separate nationality from the Georgians and were registered in a separate census. They numbered at that time 71,390 people, all Muslims (Ḥanafī Sunnīs), speaking the Gurian dialect, which has a vocabulary strongly influenced by Turkish and Arabic. Their material culture (the *čadra* worn by the women, for example) was close to that of the Turks and bilingualism (the Gurian dialect and Turkish) was still a wide-spread phenomenon.

At the time of the census of 1939, the Adjars, considered from then on as a simple, ethnical group of the Georgian nation, were registered as Georgians.

Batumi is at the present time a large oil port, the outlet for the Baku pipe-line (refineries) and quite an important industrial centre with factories producing preserved foods and machine tools. As the beginning of 1956 its population reached 77,000, of whom only a minority were Muslims.

The autonomous Adjar Republic (area 3,017 sq. km.) comprised 238,000 inhabitants in 1956, of whom the majority were Muslims; Adjars and Laz in the valley of Čorukh (about 2,000), Kurds (3,000 nomads in 1926 in the high valley of Adjaris-Tzkali) and a colony of Abkhaz (5,000 in 1926) near Batumi.

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AL-BĀʿŪNĪ. This *nisba* relates either to the village of Bāʿūn (or Bāʿūna) in Ḥawrān or to the village of the same name near Mosul. It is usually associated with a particular family descended from one Nāṣir b. Khalīfa b. Faradj al-Nāṣirī al-Bāʿūnī al-Shāfiʿī who started life as a weaver in the former village and left it about 750/1349 to settle in Nazareth (Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ* etc., Cairo 1353/1934, ii, 232). The following table represents Nāṣir's descendants.

Nāṣir
(1) Ismāʿīl — (2) Aḥmad
(2) Aḥmad: (3) Ibrāhīm — (4) Muḥammad — (5) Yūsuf
(5) Yūsuf: (6) Āʾisha — (7) Aḥmad — (8) Muḥammad

(1) Little is known about him except that he became a Ṣūfī, and deputy *ḳāḍī* at Nazareth, engaged in commerce and attained prominence (*loc. cit.* 308).

(2) Born in Nazareth *c.* 751/1350; he became *khaṭīb* of the Umayyad mosque and *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, *khaṭīb* of the Aḳṣā mosque in Jerusalem and (for two months) *ḳāḍī* of Egypt. He wrote on *tafsīr*, composed a poem on dogma called *al-ʿaḳīda*, and was an impressive preacher, though he had little *fiḳh*. For his *takhmīs* of a poem by Ibn Zurayḳ (c. 420/1029) cf. Brockelmann I 82, S I 133. As *ḳāḍī* he showed administrative competence and integrity, refusing sultan Barḳūḳ a loan out of *awḳāf* funds, an action which caused his momentary humiliation and imprisonment. He died in Damascus in 816/1413 (Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 118; *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 231; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 267, 306, 314, 439).

(3) Born in Safed in 777/1375, he studied in Damascus and Cairo. He deputised for his father as *ḳāḍī* of Damascus where he became *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad mosque. He also became *khaṭīb* at the Aḳṣā mosque and *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn* in Jerusalem at which atter post he showed considerable ability. His literary virtuosity is displayed in a treatise in which he employed only words without diacritical points and in a *taḍmīn* of Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*. His reputation was great, earning him the title of *shaykh al-adab fi 'l-diyār al-shāmiyya*, and one of his innumerable pupils was the biographer Sakhāwī. He died in Damascus in 870/1464-5 (*Shadharāt*, vii, 309; *Ḍawʾ*, i, 26; Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-ʿIḳyān fī Aʿyān al-Aʿyān*, ed. Hitti, New York 1927, 13; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vii, 808).

(4) Born in Damascus in 780/1378, he became *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad mosque and was appointed *nāẓir* [perhaps of the *awḳāf* of] *al-asrā wa 'l-aswār*. His works (for which cf. Brockelmann II 41, S II 38) include a verse summary of Islamic history down to the reign of Barsbāy (*Muḳtaraf*, 1908). His later years he spent in prayer and contemplation. He died in Damascus in 871/1466 (*Shadharāt*, vii, 310; *Ḍawʾ*, vii, 114; ʿUlaymī *al-Uns al-Djalīl*, etc., Cairo 1283/1866, ii, 482).

(5) Born in Jerusalem in 805/1402, he studied in Damascus, Hebron, Ramla and Cairo and became *ḳāḍī* in Safed, Tripoli, Aleppo and Damascus. In Damascus he reorganised the administration of the *māristān* of Nūr al-Dīn, expanded its *awḳāf* and added new sections to the building which were called after him (*Ḍawʾ*, x, 298). His literary output (which included the versification of Nawawī's *Minhādj*) was small although he had great facility in both verse and prose. He led a life of asceticism and piety and died in Damascus in 880/1475 (*Shadharāt*, vii, 330; *Naẓm al-ʿIḳyān*, 178; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vii, 223, 856, 808).

(6) Born in Damascus, she grew up as a precocious child, learning the Ḳurʾān by rote at the age of eight. In her the literary talents and Ṣūfī tendencies of her family reached full fruition. She likewise inherited an independence of mind and outlook which is seen in her companionship with her men contemporaries on equal terms. In Cairo she was granted certificates authorising her to lecture and give *fatwās*. A great friend of hers was Abu 'l-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd b. Ādjā, the last *ṣāḥib dawāwīn al-inshāʾ* under the Mamlūks (whom she praised in a *rāʾiyya* quoted by Ghazzī in *al-Kawākib al-Sāʾira* etc. ed. Djabbur, Beirut 1945, i, 304). She carried on a correspondence in verse with the Egyptian scholar ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿAbbāsī (For selections of which cf. *op. cit.*, i, 288) and met Sultan Ghūrī in Aleppo in 922/1516.

Perhaps her most famous work is her *badīʿiyya* in praise of the Prophet entitled *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Madḥ al-Amīn* (Brockelmann, II 349 no. 1), to which she wrote a commentary, thus following the practice first set by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*] though she was probably more immediately under Ibn Ḥidjdja's influence. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al Nābulusī [*q.v.*] read and admired (though not uncritically) an autograph copy of her *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn* and was no doubt inspired by it to write his own *badīʿiyya*, *Nasamāt al-Azhār* etc. in his commentary on which (*Nafaḥāt al-Asḥār* etc., Cairo 1299/1881) he makes a continuous comparison with the corresponding lines in *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn*. Both *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn* and ʿĀʾisha's commentary on it are published in the margin of Ibn Ḥidjdja's *Khizānat al-Adab*, Cairo 1304/1915, 310-467. Her original works also include *Kitāb al-Malāmiḥ al-Sharīfa wa 'l-Āthār al-Munīfa*, and *al-Fatḥ al-Ḥanafī*, both on Ṣūfī themes (*Kawākib*, i, 288). Her *Mawlid al-Nabī* (Brockelmann S II 381, no. 14) is partly prose and partly verse and was published in Cairo in 1301/1883

and 1310/1892 (Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam* 1928, 519). She also versified Suyūṭī's *al-Muʿdjizāt wa 'l-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Nabawiyya* (Brockelmann S II 181₁₀₀); and in an *urdjūza*, entitled *al-Ishārāt al-Khafiyya fi 'l-Manāzil al-ʿAliyya* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 96) abridged Harawī's Ṣūfī manual *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn*. In another *urdjūza* she abridged Sakhāwī's *al-Ḳawl al-Badīʿ fi 'l-Ṣalāt ʿalā al-Ḥabīb* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1362). She was married and had at least one son. She died in Damascus in 922/1516 (*Shadharāt* viii, 111; Ziriklī *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1927, ii, 458).

(7) and (8) were not particularly prominent though both produced some poetry, the latter mostly in the form of verse summaries of the reigns of Mamlūk sultans. The former died in 910/1505 the latter in 916/1510 (*Shadharāt*, viii, 48; *Kawākib*, i, 73, 147; and cf. Brockelmann II 66, S II 53 for Muḥammad's work).

After (8) Nāṣir's line seems to pass out of history for there is no reference to it in Muḥibbī's *Khulāṣa*.

(W. A. S. Khalidi)

BĀWAND, (Persian Bāwend), an Iranian dynasty which ruled in Ṭabaristān for over 700 years (45-750/665-1349). The centre of the dynasty was the mountainous area, although they frequently ruled the lowlands south of the Caspian Sea. The name is traced back to an ancestor Bāw who was either 1) named Ispahbad of Ṭabaristān by Khusraw Parwīz (Rabino, 411), or 2) a prominent Magian of Rayy (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 128, where an etymology of the name is also given). The several rulers of the Bāwand dynasty were called *ispahbad* or *malik al-djibāl*, and they were usually independent, though sometimes tributary to caliphs or sultans.

The dynasty can be divided into three branches: 1) the Kayūsiyya, which ruled 45-397/665-1006, when the *ispahbad* Shahriyār revolted against Ḳābūs b. Washmgīr, was captured and later put to death; 2) the Ispahbadiyya, who ruled 466-606/1073-1210, when Muḥammad Khʷārazmshāh invaded Ṭabaristān; 3) the Kīnakhʷāriyya (635-750/1237-1349), when the last ruler Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan was assassinated.

The first branch took its name from Kayūs b. Ḳubād the Sāsānid, possibly the grandfather of Bāw. The early history of the family is uncertain. The ninth ruler Ḳārin b. Shahriyār accepted Islam in 240/854 and was called Abu 'l-Mulūk. The family lost its power after 397/1006 but several princes continued to rule in localities in the mountains. One of them, Muḥammad b. Wandarīn, had a mausoleum erected in 1021, known as the Mīl-i Rādkān (cf. E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918).

The second branch had their capital in Sārī, ruling over Gīlān, Rayy and Ḳūmis as well as Ṭabaristān, and were vassals of the Saldjūḳs, then of the Khʷārazmshāhs. Towards the end of their rule the Ismāʿīlīs spread in Ṭabaristān and obtained power at the expense of the Bāwand dynasty. Finally the Khʷārazmshāh assumed the rule when Shams al-Mulūk Rustam Bāwand was assassinated.

After the Mongol invasion there was anarchy in Ṭabaristān, and finally a member of the Bāwand family, Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr b. Kīnakhʷār was chosen ruler by the people. He moved his capital from Sārī to Āmul for safety's sake. Under his rule (12 or 15 years) the Mongols invaded Ṭabaristān. His son, Shams al-Mulūk, was put to death in 663/1264 by Abaḳā Khān after ruling 18 years. This dynasty ruled as vassals of the Mongols but they suffered nonetheless from Mongol invasions and depredations.

In 750/1349 Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan, last of the Bāwand family, was assassinated by members of the prominent family of Kiyā.

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BĀWARD [see abīward].

BAWĀZĪDJ, of Bawāzīdj al-Malik, in ʿAbbāsid times a town in the province of Mosul on the right bank of the Lesser Zāb, not far from its mouth.

The name is the Syriac Bēth Wāzīḳ, "the house of the toll-collector". As the Sāsānid name, there appears occasionally Khunyā-Sābur "Shāpūr's song", after the usual style of the poetical names of towns common in the Sāsānid period. In the older geographers and historians the place is only briefly mentioned along with Takrīt, Ṭīrhān and Sinn. Some one with an accurate knowledge of the town has, however interpolated a detailed description in the text of Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. De Goeje, 169, note 9). The place was notorious in the middle ages as the abode of the Khāridjites—the inhabitants say they are descended from the troops of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—and as a nest of robbers. The town lived by receiving goods stolen by the Banū Shaybān Bedouins from caravans. Yāḳūt however also mentions some scholars who were born in Bawāzīdj. A portion of its inhabitants must have been Christian; the miracle-working bones of a Syrian martyr Bābōye were there. There was occasionally a Jacobite bishop of Bēth Remmān (*i.e.*, the village of Bārimmā) and Bēth Wāzīḳ, or a Nestorian of Shennā (*i.e.*, Sinn) and Bēth Wāzīḳ.

The ruins of the town have not yet been discovered.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 94; Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. de Goeje), 169, note g; Bakrī, 183; Yāḳūt, *s.v.*; G. Hoffmann, *Syrische Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, 189; cf. his note on De Goeje, Ibn Khurradādhbih, translation, 68; E. Herzfeld, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie* etc. in *Memmon*, i, 1907, 1 and 2; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet* (1910-11), chap. iii; Le Strange, 91 and 98. (E. Herzfeld)

BAY (Bey), name applied to the ruler of Tunisia until 26 July 1957, when the Bey Lamine (al-Amīn), 19th ruler of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, was deposed and a Republic proclaimed in Tunisia.

To discover the origin of this title, we must go back to the end of the 16th century. It was at that time that the Bey ʿUthmān created the Office of Bey (in Turkish: *beg*), without consulting the Porte, whose vassal he was. He entrusted the holder of the office with command of the tribes, the maintenance of public order and the collection of taxes. Equipped with these extensive powers, the Bey soon became the most important man in the country. This was the title which the Agha of the soldiery, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, subsequently assumed upon receiving the investiture at Tunis on 10 July 1705.

It was only later that the order of succession to the throne was regulated by a Charter included in the

Tunisian Constitution of 26 April 1861, article I of which decreed: "Succession to the throne is hereditary among the princes of the Ḥusaynid family, by order of age, according to the rules in use in the Kingdom". This was in fact the codification of a traditional rule which, with two exceptions, was adhered to in regard to accession to the throne of Tunisia from the founding of the dynasty.

The enthronement of the sovereign was accompanied by a dual ceremony, the first private, in which the great men of the Kingdom and intimates participated, the second public, open to the broad mass of subjects. This recalled the old dual ceremony of doing homage (*al-bayᶜa al-khāṣṣa* and *al-bayᶜa al-ᶜāmma*). As a result of the establishment of the Protectorate, the representative of France in Tunisia became associated with the ceremony of the enthronement of the Bey, bestowing on the new Bey the "solemn investiture" in the name of the protecting Power.

Articles 3 and 4 of the Decree of 26 April 1861 stated: "The Bey is the head of the State. At the same time, he is the head of the ruling family. He has full authority over the princes and princesses of his family, none of whom may dispose either of their persons or of their property without his prior consent. He exercises a paternal authority over them and is obliged to give them the benefits of such. Members of the family owe him filial obedience."

The titles borne by the Bey contained a number of expressions expressly designating his sovereign function. In official documents his appellation was: *Sayyidunā wa-mawlānā* ..., *Basha Bay, ṣāḥib al-mamlaka al-tūnusiyya* (= Our Lord and Master ..., Pasha Bey, possessor of the Kingdom of Tunis". This old style, in part dating back to the Ḥafṣids and partly to the middle of the 18th century, was augmented by a new element, namely *Mushīr* (Marshal), bestowed by the Porte about the year 1839, which however was only borne by three Beys. Unlike the Ḥafṣid styles, however, no titles (*alḳāb*) of a personal character occur.

Among the special insignia of sovereignty, mention must be made, in addition to the dynastic throne, of the ceremonial costume worn by the Bey on solemn occasions. These material attributes were enhanced by the kissing of hands encumbent on Tunisian subjects, and other marks of royalty. The Bey had a civil list, a guard of honour (the Bey's Guard), a standard, bestowed decorations (*Nishān al-dam, ᶜAhd al-amān, Nishān al-iftikhār*) and honorary military ranks. Finally, each Thursday there took place the Ceremony of the Seal, at which the Bey applied his seal to governmental decisions in the form of a decree, thus giving them executive force.

The heir apparent bore the title of Bey of the Camp (*bay al-amḥāl*). This title originated in the duty incumbent on the heir apparent to proceed twice a year at the head of a military expedition to the south and north of the country both to assert the authority of the central government and to overawe tribes who might refuse to pay their taxes. The Bey of the Camp was head of the army by virtue of this institution, but it disappeared with the advent of the Protectorate. (CH. SAMARAN)

BAYᶜ (A). Two roots are used in Arabic to designate the contract of sale: *b-y-ᶜ* and *sh-r-y*; in the first verbal form both usually mean "to sell", but also "to buy", in the eighth form exclusively "to buy"; the function of expressing both sides of a mutual relationship is shared by these two roots with a number of other old legal terms. *Bayᶜ* originally means the clasping of hands on concluding an agreement, *sh-r-y* perhaps the busy activity of the market. In the technical usage of Islamic law, the normal term for selling is *bāᶜa*, for the contract of sale, the infinitive *bayᶜ*, and for buying, *ibtāᶜa*, or *ishtarā*. The frequent use of *sharā* for a profitable and of *ishtarā* for an unprofitable transaction (in the metaphorical sense) in the Ḳurʾān is parallel to that of *kasaba* "to be credited" and *iktasaba* "to be debited" (cf. Schacht, in *Studia Islamica*, i, 30 f.).

Commercial law in pre-Islamic Mecca had undoubtedly reached a certain level of development; the trade on which alone the existence of the town depended, occupied such a predominant place there that the Ḳurʾān not only referred to it often but used a number of technical terms of commerce to express religious ideas. (On the other hand, the importance of the Meccan trade in absolute terms ought not to be overestimated; cf. G.-H. Bousquet, in *Hesp.*, 1954, 233 f., 238 ff.). To this body of ancient Arab commercial law can be traced the *ribā* contracts which the Ḳurʾān was to prohibit, certain dealings involving credit and speculation, and possibly the *khiyār al-madjlis*, a special right of option, which seems to go back to a local Meccan custom (cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 159 ff.); to all appearance the legal construction of the contract as being constituted by offer (*īdjāb*) and acceptance (*ḳabūl*), as well as part of the terminology of Islamic law and, perhaps, some of its legal maxims, belong to this pre-Islamic stratum; the term *īdjāb* itself seems to reflect another, unilateral, construction of the contract (cf. Schacht, in *OLZ*, 1927, 664 ff.). The Ḳurʾān directly envisages commercial law in the general exhortations to give full weight and measure and to carry out agreements, in the specific demand that forward deals should be put in writing (Sūra ii, 282 f.; in the system of Islamic law this injunction has been deprived of its binding character), and above all in the two prohibitions of interest (*ribā*) and of games of chance (*maysir*), which include aleatory transactions (Sūra ii, 219, 275 f.; v, 90 f.); in contrast with the attitude of the contemporaries, *bayᶜ*, i.e. legitimate trade, is sharply opposed to *ribā*. The implications of these prohibitions have been worked out to their last details in Islamic law. Tradition contains a certain number of teachings regarding commerce in general and the duties of the good and the punishment of the wicked merchant (see TIDJĀRA); it also elaborates the teachings of the Ḳurʾān. As legal principles which now appear for the first time may be mentioned: the recognition of the right of withdrawal (*khiyār*), unconditional during the negotiation, and under certain conditions either agreed or fixed by law after the agreement has been made; the legal maxim *al-kharādj bi 'l-ḍamān* ("profit goes where the responsibility lies"); the rule that the produce in existence at the moment of sale belongs to the vendor, unless the contrary is stipulated; the prohibition of a sale the object of which cannot be exactly defined (in the case of a sale of ripe fruits on a tree etc., the main group of traditions is satisfied with an estimate); the prohibition of a re-sale of foodstuffs or of marchandise in general before possession has been taken (a consequence of the prohibition of *ribā*), or in general of the sale of things which are not already the property of the vendor; the exclusion of certain things from commerce, ritually impure or forbidden as well as things which, like surplus water, are common property; finally,

the special treatment, diverging from the general rule, of the case in which the vendor of a milking animal, in order to suggest a greater yield, does not milk it before the sale. The question whether nascent Islamic commercial law was influenced by the law and economic life of the peoples incorporated in the Muslim empire, has been much discussed in the past but can now be definitely answered in the affirmative (cf. Schacht, in *XII Convegno "Volta"*, Rome 1957, 197 ff., and the literature mentioned there).

The contract of sale forms the core of the Islamic law of obligations. Its categories have been developed in most detail with regard to the contract of sale, and other commutative or synallagmatic contracts, such as *idjāra* and *kirā*ʾ (*locatio conductio operarum* and *l.c. rei*), and even marriage, although regarded as legal institutions in their own right and not reduced to contracts of sale, are construed on the model of *bay*ᶜ and sometimes even defined as kinds of *bay*ᶜ. In its narrower meaning, *bay*ᶜ is defined as an exchange of goods or properties and it therefore includes, beside sale proper, barter (*muḳāyaḍa*) and exchange (*ṣarf*). The following is a short account of the main provisions of Islamic law, according to Ḥanafī doctrine, concerning *bay*ᶜ.

The object of the sale must belong to the goods or properties (*māl*) which Islamic law recognizes as such; these include servitudes on real estate but exclude: 1. things which are completely excluded from legal traffic, e.g. animals not ritually slaughtered (*maita*), blood; 2. things in which there is no ownership, e.g. pious endowments (*waḳf*) [*q.v.*], or which are public property, or constituent parts etc., in which there is no separate private ownership; 3. those slaves in whom there is only a restricted ownership, particularly the *umm al-walad* [*q.v.*]; 4. things on the disposal of which there are restrictions, e.g. things which are ritually impure, such as wine and the pig, and other things without market value (*māl ghayr mutaḳawwim*) which are not rigorously defined; 5. things which are not in actual possession, such as things lost or usurped and runaway slaves: here the power to dispose of the property is refused, to exclude the risk. A sale concluded with regard to an object of this kind is not valid (*ghair ṣaḥīḥ* or *ghair djāʾiz*); such a sale, according to the Ḥanafīs, however, is not necessarily void (*bāṭil*, as it is in the cases 1, 2, 3), but in certain circumstances only voidable (*fāsid* [*q.v.*]; in the other schools this term is used as a synonym of *bāṭil*); even if the two parties have taken possession, a *fāsid* sale confers only a "bad ownership" (*milk khabīth*) and is liable to cancellation (*faskh*) until the object is re-sold. A stipulation in favour of or against one of the parties is invalid and makes the contract *fāsid*. Conditional or deferred agreements are not admitted in this contract. Legally qualified to conclude a sale is a free person who is of age (*bāligh*) and of sound mind (ᶜ*āḳil*), also the minor with the permission of his guardian and the slave with the permission of his master; the master can authorize his slave either to conclude an individual sale, or generally to engage in trade (this slave is called *maʾdhūn*). Representation (*wakāla*) is possible; in this case the agent is regarded as a main contracting party with corresponding rights and obligations, but the rights of ownership accrue to the principal directly. In common with the other contracts, the sale is concluded by offer (*īdjāb*) and acceptance (*ḳabūl*), which must correspond to each other exactly and must take place in the same meeting (*madjlis*); the term *ṣafḳa* ("clasping of hands") for the conclusion of the bargain dates from the pre-Islamic period, but Islamic law completely disregards the symbolic action which it expresses. Ownership (*milk*) is transferred through the conclusion of the sale, but completed only through the transfer of possession (*taslīm* "handing over", *ḳabḍ* "taking possession") which, however, is dispensed with in the case of real estate; on the other hand, the existence of an option or right of withdrawal (*khiyār*, [*q.v.*]) prevents the transfer of ownership even though possession has been taken. In the case of eviction (*istiḥḳāḳ*), the vendor is responsible for a defect in ownership with the amount of the price paid; this is the so-called responsibility for *darak* or *tabi*ᶜ*a*. On the prohibition of *ribā*, see the art. The prohibition of risk (*gharar*) implies that the obligations of the parties must be determined (*ma*ᶜ*lūm*), in particular the object of the sale, the price and the term or terms. The first requirement is particularly strict in the case of goods covered by the prohibition of *ribā*, so that here no indefinite quantity (*djuzāf*) is permitted even if a price per unit is mentioned. A third prohibition which has far-reaching consequences, too, is that of selling or exchanging a debt (*dayn*) for another debt. In the field of sale proper, one distinguishes the thing sold from the price (*thaman*) or the value (*ḳīma*). As the price consists of fungible things (normally gold or silver), whereas the thing sold is, generally, a non-fungible object, the rules applicable to both are not quite indentical; the vendor, for instance, is permitted to dispose of the (fungible) price even before he has taken possession. Actually a special kind of purchase, although in the opinion of the Muslim lawyers a contract in its own right, is the *salaf* [*q.v.*] or *salam*, the ordering of goods to be delivered later for a price paid immediately; the term *raʾs māl* ("capital") which is used for the price here, shows the economic meaning of the transaction: the financing of the business of a small trader or artisan by his clients. Because of its closeness to the subject of the prohibition of *ribā*, *salam* is carefully treated, and is subject to numerous special rules. Its counterpart, delayed payment for goods delivered immediately, is also possible, but this kind of sale plays a minor part in Islamic law. The name "sale on credit" (*bay*ᶜ *al-*ᶜ*īna*) is given *a potiori* to an evasion of the prohibition of *ribā* which is based on this transaction. Barter of merchandise (*muḳāyaḍa*) is hardly distinguished from sale in general; but money-changing and, in general, dealing in precious metals receive detailed treatment on account of the prohibition of *ribā*; these transactions are regarded as sales of "price" for "price" (cf. ṢARF).

The actual practice of commerce in the Muslim middle ages was controlled not by these theoretical rules of Islamic law but by a customary commercial law which had been called into being by the normal needs of commercial life in the great cities of Islam, and was then elaborated by the legal advisers of the merchants, who were competent specialists in Islamic law. This customary law did not put itself into direct opposition to the sacred law of Islam, on the contrary, it maintained its main features, such as the prohibition of *ribā*, which it never dared openly to challenge but only managed to evade, just as it evaded, too, most of its rigid, restrictive rules, and it is characterized by a greater flexibility, accompanied by effective safeguards of fair dealing, which were made necessary by the lack of any official sanction. A unique source for the knowledge of this customary commercial law in ᶜIrāḳ about

400/1000 is the younger edition of the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal wal-Makhāridj* spuriously attributed to al-Khaṣṣāf (ed. Schacht, Hanover 1923; cf. also the same, in *Isl.*, 1926, 218 f.; ibid., 1935, 218 ff.; *R.Afr.*, 1952, 322 ff.). Similar, independent developments have occurred later in the Maghrib (cf. O. Pesle, *Le contrat de safqa au Maroc*, Rabat 1932; J. Berque, *Essai sur la méthode juridique maghrébine*, Rabat 1944, and numerous papers). This customary commercial law of Islam has, in its turn, influenced the *law merchant* of Europe in the early middle ages (cf. *XII Convegno "Volta"*, 215).

Bibliography: al-Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, Calcutta 1854 ff., s.v. *bayʿ*; C. C. Torrey, *The Commercial-Theological Terms in the Koran*, Leiden 1892; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *barter*; F. Peltier (transl.), *Le livre des ventes du Mouwatta de Malek ben Anas*, Algiers 1911; I. Dimitroff, in *MSOS*/ii, 1908, 99 ff.; ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Djazīrī, *K. al-Fiḳh ʿala 'l-Madhāhib al-Arbaʿa*, ii[2], Cairo 1933, 192 ff.; Ömer Nasuhî Bilmen, *Hukukı Islâmiyye ve Istılahatı Fıkhiyye Kamusu*, v. Istanbul 1952, 5 ff.; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 3rd ed., 265 ff.; *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge*, ed. J. Schacht, 10, 47 ff., 60 ff., 69 ff.; Santillana, *Instituzioni*, ii, 112 ff.; O. Pesle, *La vente dans la doctrine malékite*, Rabat 1940; Ch. Cardahi, *Les conditions générales de la vente en droit comparé occidental et oriental*, in *Annales de l'École de Droit de Beyrouth*, 1945; L. Milliot, *Introduction*, 648 ff. See also art. ʿAḲD.

(J. Schacht)

BAYʿA, an Arabic term denoting, in a very broad sense, the act by which a certain number of persons, acting individually or collectively, recognise the authority of another person. Thus the *bayʿa* of a Caliph is the act by which one person is proclaimed and recognised as head of the Muslim State. A synonymous expression is that of *mubāyaʿa* (cf. the verb *bāyaʿa*: to make the *bayʿa*).

I. Etymology. According to a view which has become traditional the term *bayʿa* is derived from the verb *bāʿa* (to sell), the *bayʿa* embodying, like sale, an exchange of undertakings. This explanation seems most artificial. In the view of the author the *bayʿa* owes its name to the physical gesture itself which, in ancient Arab custom, symbolised the conclusion of an agreement between two persons and which consisted of a hand-clasp (cf. the *manumissio* of the ancient law of certain Western countries). Again, in a non-technical sense, "to make a *bayʿa* in regard to some matter" (*tabāyaʿa ʿala 'l-amr*) means "to reach agreement on this matter" (cf. *ṣafḳa*, lit.: *manumissio*, = agreement, contract). The physical gesture was termed *bayʿa* because, precisely, it consisted of a movement of the hand and arms (*bāʿ*). And since the election of a chief (and the undertaking to submit to his authority) was demonstrated by a hand-clasp, it was naturally described by the very term which denoted this gesture.

The *bayʿa* has two principal aims which differ both in their scope and nature. The first is essentially that of adherence to a doctrine and recognition of the pre-established authority of the person who teaches it. It is in this sense that the *bayʿa* was practised in the relations between Muḥammad and his newly acquired supporters (cf. Ḳurʾān, xlviii, 10, 18; lx, 13). In the same sense, but with a more restricted purpose, the *bayʿa* served simply to recognise the pre-established authority of a person and to promise him obedience. Such was the case with the *bayʿa* effected in favour of a new Caliph whose title to succeed had been established by the testamentary designation (*ʿahd*) of his predecessor.

In its second sense the principal aim of the *bayʿa* is the election of a person to a post of command and, in particular, the election of a Caliph, when a promise of obedience is implied. It was thus that the first Caliph, Abū Bakr, was designated by the *bayʿa* of the so-called assembly of the *Saḳīfa* (13 Rabīʿ I 11/8 June 632); and the same invariably applied on all subsequent occasions that the seat of the Caliphate fell vacant and no successor designated by other means existed. Sunnī doctrine, indeed, specifies the *bayʿa* as one of the two procedures for designating the Caliph. In Shīʿī doctrine the *bayʿa* has never been able to play this rôle, for the Shīʿa recognise only one method of designating the Imām—namely appointment by testament (*naṣṣ, waṣiyya*) of one in the legitimate line of descent. However the Zaydī branch of the Shīʿa hold that the Imāmate is acquired by election from within the ʿAlid family. Here, then, the *bayʿa* was practised in the sense of an act of election.

II. Legal nature. The legal doctrine analyses the *bayʿa* as a contractual agreement: on the one side there is the will of the electors, expressed in the designation of the candidate, which constitutes the offer, and on the other side the will of the elected person which constitutes the acceptance. This analysis may be admitted provided that it is not carried so far as to confuse the act of *bayʿa* with the legal category of ordinary contracts. For the *bayʿa* is a voluntary act *sui generis* which involves the general public. And again it must be stressed that the doctrinal analysis, even when so regarded, is only fully valid in regard to the *bayʿa* of election and not in regard to the *bayʿa* of simple homage. For in the latter case adherence becomes obligatory and no room is left for any freedom of decision.

What, particularly as regards the *bayʿa* election, is the number of electors (*ahl al-ikhtiyār*) required for the validity of the procedure? On this point opinions are numerous and widely varied and range from one extreme to the other—from a view which requires that the *bayʿa* should emanate from all "the upright men of the whole empire" to the opinion which is satisfied with the vote of a single individual. In fact, however, the body of electors was made up of the high dignitaries and notables of the State.

The *bayʿa* is an act perfected solely by agreement. Neither the physical gesture of *manumissio* nor the confirmation of the *bayʿa* by an oath is required as a condition of validity or even simple proof. No sacramental form is imposed for the manifestation of will; it suffices that this should be clearly and definitely expressed.

The form of the *bayʿa* remains the same in both its rôles—that of election and that of simple offer of homage.

The formalities of a single process of *bayʿa* may be split up into two or even several sessions. Thus, as far as the Caliphs are concerned, the first step is generally what is termed the *bayʿat al-khāṣṣa* (private *bayʿa*) in which a very limited number of persons, the chief dignitaries of State and Court, participate. This is then followed by the *bayʿat al-ʿāmma* (public *bayʿa*). Further, formal sessions for the offer of *bayʿa* are held in the centres of the different provinces.

An innovation, which was introduced into the procedure from the Umayyad period, is the renewal

of the *bayʿa* (*tadjdīd al-bayʿa*) whereby the Caliph or Sulṭān has recourse, during his reign, to a new *bayʿa* in favour of himself or his heir apparent; and this may be repeated twice or more. The ruler resorts to this to establish the loyalty of his subjects.

III. Effects of the *bayʿa*. A question peculiar to the *bayʿa*—election is that of knowing whether it has the effect of investing the ruler with authority or whether it is simply confirmatory. It is in favour of the latter notion that the doctrine has generally become established, the ruler being held to receive his investiture from God.

Those who perform the *bayʿa* and, along with them, the rest of the community become firmly and definitely bound. This binding effect is reinforced by the religious character which the *bayʿa* acquired from early ʿAbbāsid times. As a result of the development of the theocratic nature of power the obligations undertaken towards the ruler are considered as being, in reality, obligations undertaken towards Allāh. Furthermore the sole earthly sanction for the violation of the *bayʿa* is one of extreme severity; in principle, it is death. The binding effect of the *bayʿa* is personal and life-long; the idea of a *bayʿa* made for a limited period is, indeed, unknown.

This effect, however, is limited by the law. For the *bayʿa* is made on condition that its recipient remains faithful to the divine prescriptions, which means that if the ruler does not abide by these prescriptions those who have performed the *bayʿa* in his favour are thereby released from their obligations.

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(E. Tyan)

BAYĀN, an Arabic word meaning lucidity, distinctness; the means by which clearness is achieved, explanation; hence, clarity of speech or expression, and the faculty by which clarity is attained. In technical language *bayān* develops from a (near-) synonym of *balāgha*, eloquence, to the designation of a particular aspect of it which, within the *ʿilm al-balāgha* is dealt with by the *ʿilm al-bayān*. Common usage, however, continues to emply *bayān* in a wider variety of meanings (cf. also colourless phrases like *bāb bayān* or *dar bayān-i*, where nothing more than *fī* or *dar* is intended). Occasionally, *tibyān* takes the place of *bayān* without suggesting a different shade of meaning; *e.g.*, Khaṭṭābī (d. 996 or 998), *K. Bayān Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, MS. Leiden 1654 (Cod. Warner 655), 5^b-6^a: the rank of the various kinds of speech differs with regard to their *tibyān*; ibid., 8^b: people believe of certain near-synonyms that they are equal in conveying the *bayān* of what the presentation intends to convey.

What seem to be the earliest types of statements on the nature of *bayān* are descriptive aphorisms rather than definitions. "Reason is the guide of the soul, knowledge, the guide of reason, and *bayān*, the interpreter of knowledge". (Sahl b. Hārūn, the famous *Shuʿūbī* d. 215/830-31, *apud* Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1353/1935, i, 221; also Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, Cairo 1352, i, 141; similar al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḳayrawānī, *Zahr al-Ādāb* (on margin of *al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, Cairo 1321, i, 134). Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 908), *Ādāb*, ed. I. J. Kratchkovsky, *MO*, 1924, 111, begins a longish passage of hymnic praise of *bayān* by describing it as "the interpreter of the heart (quoted *Zahr al-ādāb*, i, 114), the polisher (*ṣayḳal*) of the mind, the dispeller of doubt". Another saying of this kind is preserved in *al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, i, 221: "The soul is the pillar (*ʿimād*) of the body, knowledge, the pillar of the soul, and *bayān*, the pillar of knowledge" (repeated, *e.g.*, by Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, Cairo 1353/1934, i, 213).

On occasion, *bayān* is primarily connected with *faṣāḥa*, purity and euphony of language; thus, *e.g.*, by al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 869), *K. al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, ed. Ḥ. al-Sandūbī, 2nd ed., Cairo 1366/1947, i, 32^s, where *ḥusn al-balāgha* means 'good enunciation, "ortholexy"'; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Constantinople 1320, 7^3, where *faṣāḥa* is referred to as the perfect instrument, *āla*, of *bayān*; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-Sāʾir*, Cairo 1312, 65: "*faṣāḥa* is making evident, expounding clearly, *bayān*, not obscurity and concealment". In general, however, the concept is linked with *balāgha*. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Cairo 1322 ff., vii, 10, quotes an expanded version of Sahl b. Hārūn's dictum: "*al-bayān* is the interpreter of the mind and the training of the heart; and *balāgha* is what the common people understand and what gives satisfaction to the élite . . ."; Ibn Rashīḳ, *op. cit.*, i, 215-16, reports two definitions of *balāgha*, one identifying it as "the power of *bayān*, clear exposition, together with good organisation"; and and the other as "the opposite of *ʿiyy*; and *ʿiyy* is the inability to achieve *bayān* (*i.e.*, to express oneself clearly)". Tawḥīdī's (d. 1023) warning against *takalluf*, constraint, *Risāla fi 'l-ʿulūm* in: *Risālatāni*, Constantinople 1301/1884, 206, uses *bayān* practically as a synonym of *balāgha*. Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, i, 95, puts together on the same level *bulaghāʾ*, *khuṭabāʾ* and *abyināʾ* (plur. mult. of *bayyin*): those elegant and clever in their speech. The judgment on the 3rd/9th century Mālikī jurist and poet Aḥmad b. al-Muʿadhdhal that he was equally outstanding in his command of the Arab vocabulary, *lugha*, *bayān*, literary education, *adab*, and wit, *ḥalāwa* (*Zahr*, ii, 276), shows how close *bayān* came to denoting *balāgha*. Cf. also the praise bestowed by al-Ḥasan b. Wahb (d. ca. 860) on Abū Tammām because of the *bayān* of his composition, *niẓām*, (*ibid.*, iii 154). As a specimen of later non-technical usage cf. Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 1350), *K. al-Fawāʾid*, Cairo 1327/1909, 5, where *faṣāḥa*, *balāgha*, *djazāla* (literary excellence), *bayān*, *ghawāmiḍ al-lisān* (subtleties of language) and beautiful composition are mentioned on the same place as distinctions which God has imparted to the Ḳurʾān.

A definition *sensu stricto* of *bayān* is recorded in *ʿIḳd*, i, 221, and with immaterial variants by Abū Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 1123), *Ḳānūn al-Balāgha* in: *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, ed. Muḥ. Kurd ʿAlī, 3rd ed., Cairo 1946, 432. "Whatever lifts the veil from a concealed idea, *maʿnā*, so it comes to be understood and accepted by the mind, *ʿaḳl*, is *bayān*". The same line of analysis is followed in the more elaborate definition ascribed to Djaʿfar al-Barmakī (d. 803), *Bayān*, i, 118 (also: Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1343-48/1925-30, ii, 173; *Zahr*, i, 126): *Bayān* means "that the word (*ism*; later one would have used *kalām*, discourse) covers your idea completely and renders your intention (fully), lifting it from ambiguity, *shirka*, so you do not need the assistance of reflection (to understand what is meant); it (*bayān*) must be free from constraint, *takalluf*, remote from artificiality, *ṣanʿa*, without obscurity,

taʿkīd, and comprehensible without interpretation, *taʾwīl*". (Translated from *ʿUyūn* and *Zahr*; *Bayān*'s text is somewhat longer; *ʿUmda*, i, 225, offers a definition of kindred intent but different phrasing).

What to my knowledge may be the first attempt to integrate *bayān* in a system of rhetorical analysis is preserved as the statement made by Ibn al-Ḳirriya (d. 84/703) on letter, word and discourse or speech, where speech is divided in ten *abwāb*, seven of them 'preliminaries', *fawātiḥ*, and three, 'comprehensive (qualities)', *djawāmiʿ*. In this listing *bayān al-kalām* figures as the fourth of the *fawātiḥ* among requirements such as "the courage to speak up", "refraining from clearing one's throat and hemming", being able to begin and end at will (quoted *Ḳānūn al-Balāgha*, 433).

Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1325/1907, i, 17, notes that both men and animals possess the faculty of *dalāla*, the indication of a meaning; but only man possesses that of *istidlāl*, the power of inferential thinking, along with it. The term *bayān*, however, in Djāḥiẓ' view, covers both kinds of *dalāla*. Human *dalāla* (or *bayān*) has five forms: word, writing, counting on fingers or knuckles, *ʿuḳad* (not *ʿaḳd* as Sandūbī vocalises in *Bayān*, i, 76[10]), indication, *ishāra*, and *niṣba*, posture or attitude (not *nuṣba* as *ibid.*, line 11); on *niṣba* cf. Nallino, in *RSO*, 1919-21, 637-46, who lists, 640-41, later grammarians using this term; Djāḥiẓ repeats this doctrine of the five forms of expression in *Ḥayawān*, i, 23, and *Bayān*, i, 76. Ibn al-Mudabbir (d. 892), *Risālat al-ʿAdhrāʾ*, ed. Z. Mubārak, Cairo 1350/1931, 40, restates Djāḥiẓ's fivehold division of *bayān* and adds the correct observation that the concept of *niṣba* goes back to Aristotle (whose seventh category is τὸ κεῖσθαι); Ḥuṣrī (d. 1061), *Zahr*, i, 123-25, discusses Djāḥiẓ's view without reference to a possible source; Abū Ṭāhir, *Ḳānūn*, 424, confines himself to repeating it concisely. Rummānī (d. 994), *K. an-Nukat fi lʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm, Delhi 1934, 26, with his division of *bayān* in *kalām*, *ḥāl*, the situation, *ishāra* and *ʿalāma*, sign, would seem to go back to Djāḥiẓ, too; the origin of the modifications is as yet unexplained. No later references to Djāḥiẓ's theory are known to me.

Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahb, who after 335/946-7 wrote the *K. al-Burhān fī Wudjūh al-Bayān* ("The Exposition of the various ways of explaining [things]")—until recently wrongly attributed to Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar and published under the title of *Naḳd an-Nathr* by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and ʿA. Ḥ. al-ʿAbbādī (Cairo 1933)—undertook his work to correct the insufficiencies of Djāḥiẓ's presentation of the subject. Ishāḳ b. Ibrāhīm distinguishes four ways of expression: a. "things may become intelligible by their essences, *dhawāt* [*i.e.*, by the very fact of their being as they are], even though the words which [commonly] express them are not used; b. they may become intelligible by coming into the heart when thought and intellect are applied [*i.e.*, presumably Djāḥiẓ's *istidlāl*]; c. they may become understandable through articulating sounds with the tongue; and, finally, d. by writing, which reaches those who are far away or do not (yet) exist." (Trans. S. A. Bonebakker, *The Kitāb Naqd al-Siʿr of Qudāma b. Ǧaʿfar al-Kātib al-Baġdādī*, Leiden 1956, 16; words between brackets are the writer's). It can easily be seen that Isḥāḳ's concept of *bayān* is very different, and both wider and narrower, than that which Djāḥiẓ endeavored to formulate. Regarding the manner in which Isḥāḳ applies his concept to his material it must suffice here to note that in his discussion of c. he lists, 44-64, sixteen *aḳsām al-ʿibāra*, categories of verbal expression, that include, without further classification, *figura etymologica*, comparison, suggestion (*ramz*), metaphor, parable, enigma and inversion.

A completely different strain of thought is represented in Rummānī's division of *balāgha* in ten parts, *aḳsām*: concision, *īdjāz*, comparison, metaphor, and so forth, of which *ḥusn al-bayān*, successful exposition, is the tenth. In line with this concept, Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 1064 or 1070), *ʿUmda*, i, 225-28, has a chapter on *bayān* (with two pertinent quotations from Rummānī) paralleling, as it were, on the same classificatory level his chapters on *balāgha*, *īdjāz*, *naẓm* (composition), *madjāz* (transferred meaning), *istiʿāra* (metaphor), *al-mukhtaraʿ wa 'l-badīʿ* (invention and the 'original'), etc. It deserves notice that nowhere in the tenth and eleventh centuries is there an anticipation of that treatment of the *bayān*, especially in its relation to the *badīʿ*, that was later to become the dominant doctrine. Neither Āmidī (d. 987), who in his *K. al-Muwāzana bayna Abī Tammām wa 'l-Buḥturī*, Constantinople 1287, 6, divides *badīʿ* in *istiʿāra*, *tadjnīs* (paronomasy) and *ṭibāḳ* (antithesis), nor Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 1005), who in *Ṣināʿatayn*, (*e.g.*) 205 and 290, treats *istiʿāra* and *kināya* (metonymy) on the same level as all other tropes, nor again Bāḳillānī (d. 1013), Khafādjī (d. 1073) and Abū Ṭāhir, who still subsumes *istiʿāra* and *kināya* under *badīʿ*, *Ḳānūn*, 435-459 (cf. in particular the list of forty-two rhetorical figures on 436), made any contribution to the development of the basic organisation of rhetoric, the *ʿilm al-balāgha*, or as ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 1078), *Dalāʾil al-Iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1331/1913, 4, still prefers to call it, the *ʿilm al-bayān*, to him the greatest of all sciences. Djurdjānī, to whom we owe *inter alia* the aesthetically most sensitive analysis of the metaphor, notes, *Dalāʾil*, 349-50, that the development of the *ʿilm al-faṣāḥa wa 'l-bayān* differs in two points from that of the other sciences: the early authorities of this *ʿilm* expressed themselves in hints and metaphors rather than plainly and directly; and besides, in no other area were the opinions of the ancients transmitted with as little criticism. But Djurdjānī's interest is not in the theory of *bayān* and his innovations are made on another plane of literary analysis. This fact is reflected in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 1209) *Nihāyat al-Īdjāz fī Dirāyat al-Iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1317, which according to the author's statement, 3-5, is an attempt to organize Djurdjānī's *Dalāʾil* and *Asrār al-Balāgha* (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954; German translation, Wiesbaden 1959), and which fails to offer any explicit discussion of *bayān*.

When Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1234) writes *al-Mathal al-Sāʾir fī Adab al-Kātib wa 'l-Shāʿir* thinking on *bayān* has taken a new turn. To what extent it was Ibn al-Athīr himself who was responsible for this change we have no means of deciding. Ibn al-Athīr places, p. 2, the *ʿilm al-bayān* in the same relation to the composition of both poetry and prose as the science of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* to the individual judicial statutes or decisions, *aḥkām*. (On p. 114, he refers to the representatives of this field of learning as *ʿulamāʾ al-bayān*). He divides his book in a preface, *muḳaddima*, dealing with the foundations, *uṣūl ʿilm al-bayān*, and two sections treating the handling of wording, *al-ṣināʿa 'l-lafẓīya*, and of content, *al-ṣināʿa 'l-maʿnawiyya*, respectively. The subject of the *ʿilm al-bayān* is *faṣāḥa* and *balāgha* whose constituent elements he investigates in regard to both wording and meaning. He shares with the grammarian,

naḥwī, his concern for the manner in which words indicate meanings; but he goes beyond the grammarian's interest by a concern for the aesthetic qualities of the various ways of verbal rendering of ideas (p. 3). In the terms of his critic, Ibn al-Ḥadīd (d. 1257), *al-Falak al-Dāʾir ʿalā ʾl-Mat͟hal al-Sāʾir*, Bombay 1308, 41-42 (*al-Mat͟hal*, 28[22]-29[8]), Ibn al-At͟hīr's *ʿilm al-bayān* is basically a "rational" science, *ʿilm ʿaḳlī*, that argues from general principles by means of *ʿaḳl* and *d͟hawḳ*, taste; it does not deduce its judgments empirically from Arabic literature, *bi ʾl-istiḳrāʾ min as͟hʿār al-ʿArab* (for *d͟hawḳ* cf. also Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1858, iii, 312-317; 349-50 trans. F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, iii, 358-62; 396-98). The heartpiece of the *ʿilm al-bayān* is to Ibn al-At͟hīr the doctrine of *ḥaḳīḳa* and *mad͟jāz*, the proper and the transferred use of words (p. 23). It is in the nature of his system that he does not differentiate between comparison, metaphor and metonymy on the one hand and the other tropes on the other—a differentiation which was to be one of the principal features of the system that was about to become dominant in Arabic rhetoric when Ibn al-At͟hīr wrote.

This doctrine originated with Ibn al-Athīr's contemporary, the Khorezmian al-Sakkākī (d. 1229) who, according to his own statement, *K. Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo n.d. (ca. 1898), 2-3, set out to treat the *anwāʿ al-adab*, the kinds or elements of literary education, with the exception of *lug͟ha*, lexicology. Those "kinds", *anwāʿ*, include a. accidence or morphology, *ʿilm al-ṣarf*, and b. grammar proper or syntax, *ʿilm al-naḥw*, which is defined to comprise (1) *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (the different kinds of sentence and their use) to which "definition" and "deduction" are attached; and (2) *ʿilm al-bayān*, the art of (eloquent) presentation, which requires "prosody" and "rhyming" as subsidiary branches of study. The *ʿilm al-bayān* deals fundamentally with three subjects, *uṣūl*: (1) comparison, *tas͟hbīh*; (2) *mad͟jāz* (and *ḥaḳīḳa*); (3) *kināya*, metonymy. The remaining tropes are relegated to the end of the book, 224-229, under the heading *al-badīʿ*.

It is presumably due to Sakkākī's commentator, al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 1338), and to the *mufassir* of the latter, al-Taftazānī (d. 1389), that Sakkākī's structuring of rhetoric received the more consistent form which has continued to make authority to this day. Ḳazwīnī no longer wishes to deal with *adab*. To him, *balāg͟ha* is the term for the science of rhetoric as a whole which he divides in the three branches of *ʿilm al-maʿānī*, *ʿilm al-bayān* and *ʿilm al-badīʿ* (as the doctrine of the embellishment of speech) [cf. BALĀGHA]. *ʿIlm al-bayān* is now no more and no less than the science that deals with the various possibilities of expressing the same idea in various degrees of directness or clarity. Since the word used may indicate either the concept in its totality or merely a part of it, or again point to it through evoking an element external to it in which the hearer perceives a necessary connection with the concept actually intended, a certain number of modes of expression are open to the speaker. In their descriptive function and power, comparison, metaphor and metonymy correspond to those three basic possibilities of word-concept relations. For this reason they are treated apart from the other tropes that are dealt with under the general category of *badīʿ*, embellishments. (This presentation of Ḳazwīnī's views is based in part on his *Talk͟hīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, Cairo 1342/1923, iii, 256-290; also in A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen and Vienna 1853, 6-7 of Arabic text, Trans. 53-54 of German text; and in part abstracted from the tenor of the *Talk͟hīṣ* as a whole; a rather full summary of Ḳazwīnī's doctrine of *bayān*, *ibid.*, 20-42).

While al-Nuwayrī (d. 1332), *Nihāya*, vii, 35, already follows the tripartite structure of *ʿulūm al-maʿānī*, *bayān* and *badīʿ* without, however, distributing the tropes accordingly, Ibn Ḳayyim al-D͟jawziyya, *Fawāʾid*, a work whose purpose is the analysis of the uniqueness and inimitability, *iʿd͟jāz*, of the Ḳurʾān, still uses *ʿilm al-bayān* for rhetoric as a whole and divides his presentation of it in sections (I) on *faṣāḥa*, *balāg͟ha*, *ḥaḳīḳa* and *madjāz*, metaphor, comparison, *tamt͟hīl* (expression by way of a simile, analogy), concision, and reversion of word order; and (II) on *ʿilm al-bayān* proper which he subdivides in (a) eighty-four *Sinnfiguren* (including metonymy as no. 17) and (b) twenty-four further tropes; he notes, 218, that this second *fann* of (II) is also called *al-badīʿ*. Like Ibn Ḳayyim, Ibn K͟haldūn (d. 1406) sees the value of the *ʿilm al-bayān* in its leading to the understanding of the *iʿd͟jāz*, and like him he uses *ʿilm al-bayān*, the name of the subsection first to be explored by Arab critics, as the designation of the "science of expression" as a whole. But the strictness of his systematisation sets him apart from Ibn Ḳayyim. *Bayān*, the manifestation of ideas, is achieved either by verbal expression, *ʿibāra*, or by writing, *kitāba* (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 242-43; trans. de Slane, Paris 1862-68, iii, 264-65; trans. Rosenthal, iii, 281-82). The *ʿilm al-bayān* consist of the three sciences of *balāg͟ha*, in Ibn K͟haldūn's description a combination of grammar and *ʿilm al-maʿānī*, *bayān* and *badīʿ*. Ibn K͟haldūn adds that it is the Easterners who give special attention to *bayān* whereas the Westerners show particular interest in the *badīʿ* (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 289-94; trans. Slane, iii, 324 ff.; Rosenthal, iii, 332-39). Ibn K͟haldūn recognises the importance of Sakkākī and Ḳazwīnī, with whose works he is clearly familiar and whose authority had already grown beyond challenge.

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(G. E. VON GRUNEBAUM)

BAYĀN B. SAMʿĀN AL-TAMĪMĪ, S͟hīʿī leader in Kūfa. (Often, improperly, *Banān*; in Nawbak͟htī, *al-Nahdī*). He was a dealer in straw. According to Nawbak͟htī, he was a disciple of Ḥamza b. ʿAmmāra, disciple of Ibn Karib, men known for *g͟huluww* speculation on the imāmate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. He accepted the imāmate of Muḥammad's son Abū Hās͟him (d. ca. 99/717) [*q.v.*] and was hostile to Muḥammad al-Bāḳir. Bayān taught a literalist anthropomorphic interpretation of the Ḳurʾān; *e.g.*, God is a man of light, all whose parts will finally perish except his face (Ḳurʾān xxviii, 88). When on al-Bāḳir's death al-Mug͟hīra b. Saʿīd [*q.v.*] left al-Bāḳir's circle, he and Bayān evidently joined forces. After what may have been a forced premature rising, they were seized with a handful of followers and burned by K͟hālid al-Ḳasrī, His͟hām's governor, in 119/737. (There are several circumstantial but contradictory accounts of their death.) Iṣfahānī in *al-Ag͟hānī*[1] very improbably has the rising be in the name of D͟jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (Vol. 15, 121; but cf. Vol. 19, 58). Wāḳidī has it be in the name of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, who rebelled against al-Manṣūr twenty-six years later; possibly (cf. Ṭabarī and Ibn Ḥazm) it was connected with the ʿAbbāsids, who inherited Abū Hās͟him's party in Kūfa in the name of all the family of the Prophet.

Bayān's followers apparently formed a party, the Bayāniyya (or Banāniyya, or the Samʿāniyya), said

to have ascribed to the imāms prophecy through an indwelling particle of divine light; to have expected the return of various religious figures after death; and to have discussed the "greatest name" of God, Some are said to have regarded Bayān as an imām. citing Ḳurʾān iii, 138. Like other Shīʿīs they supported Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh at least after the ʿAbbāsid triumph.

Bibliography: *al-Aghānī*, above; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1355/1936, 28, 34; Wāḳidī, in the anon. *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-Ḥadāʾiḳ*, ed. M. J. de Goeje and P. de Jong, *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, i, Leiden 1869, 230-31; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 148; Kashshī, *Maʿrifa Akhbār al-Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317/1899, s.v. Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb, especially 196; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1619 f.; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 66; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, Cairo 1367/1948, 27, 138, 145; al-Shahrastānī, 113; Ibn Ḥazm in I. Friedländer, *JAOS* Vol. 28 (1907), 60-61, Vol. 29 (1908), 88.

(M. G. S. HODGSON)

BAYĀS [see PAYAS].

BAYAT, an Oghuz (Türkmen) tribe. The Bayat are understood to have taken part in the conquests of the Saldjūḳs in Anatolia. The nickname al-Bayātī given to Sunḳur, representative in Baṣra in 512-3/1119 of the Saldjūḳid amīr Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bukhārī, is quite probably connected with this tribe. There were numerous places called Bayat or Bayad in central and western Turkey in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries of which few survive today. Most of these place-names, no doubt, belonged to the Bayat who participated in the conquest of Anatolia. There were Bayat among the Turkmens in northern Syria in the 8th/14th century. An important part of these, called Shām Bayadï, used to go in the summer like other Turkmen tribes to the Sivas and Bozok (Yozgat) regions. From the beginning of the 9th/15th century onwards the northern Syrian Bayat began to figure in the activities of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. In the 10th/16th century, there were, besides those around Aleppo and Yozgat (Shām Bayadï), small Bayat clans in the provinces of Diyārbakr, Kütahya and Tripoli. In the same century they are also seen in Iran, particulary around Kazzāz and Karahrūd, to the south of Hamadān. They numbered about 10,000 tents, and were perhaps more recently called Aḳ Bayat, probably to distinguish them from the rest of the Bayats in the country. The Aḳ Bayat reared some very fine horses known after them as *Bayatī Nizhād*. Shāh ʿAbbās used to send these horses as gifts to the ruler of India. The Bayātī mode (*maḳām*) found in classical Turkish and Persian music has its origin in the songs of this tribe. It seems likely that these Bayats went to Iran from Syria with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu conquest. Some of the Bayat clans in Iran live in Khurāsān and these are called, to distinguish them from the rest, Ḳara Bayats. One of the clans of the famous Ḳādjār tribe was of the Shām Bayat. In fact, as shown by names of its clans, the Ḳādjār tribe has its origin in Turkey. Some Bayat are also found in ʿIrāḳ, particularly around Kirkuk. The castle called Bayat south of Baghdād quite probably takes its name from them. This tribe produced a number of famous men; Ḳorḳut Ata (Dede Ḳorḳut), and Fuzūlī (Fuḍūlī) were of this tribe. Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd Bayātī, author of *Djām-i Djem Āyin*, a work dedicated to the Ottoman Prince Djem is, as indicated by his *nisba*, of the Bayat tribe.

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(FARUK SÜMER)

BĀYAZĪD (DOĞU-BAYAZIT), a small town belonging to the Turkish Republic and situated a little to the south of Mount Ararat (Aghrï-Dāgh), close to the frontier with Iran. It has been suggested that the town was named after the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd I (791-805/1389-1403), who, according to this view, fortified the site as a post of observation against Tīmūr Beg. A more recent interpretation is that the name derives in fact from a prince of the Djalāyirid dynasty, *i.e.*, from Bāyazīd, the brother of Sulṭān Aḥmed (784-813/1382-1410). The Ottomans captured the town in 920/1514, but did not obtain definitive control over the region until after the Persian campaigns of Sulṭān Sulaymān in 940-942/1533-1536, 955-956/1548-1549 and 960-962/1553-1555. Bāyazīd and its adjacent territories formed, under Ottoman rule, a *sandjaḳ* which was dependent at times on the *eyālet* of Van, but more often on the *eyālet* of Erzurum. The Russians, in the course of their wars with the Ottoman Turks, occupied the town in 1828, 1854, 1877 and again in 1914. Bāyazīd, now included in the Turkish province of Aghrï, (Ağrı) had in 1935 a population estimated at 1860 inhabitants, the comparable figure for the entire *ḳaḍāʾ* amounting to just over 20,000 people, most of whom are of Turkish or Kurdish descent. Sheep and cattle rearing, the production of wool, hides and leather and the weaving of carpets constitute the main economic activities of the area.

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(V. J. PARRY)

BĀYAZĪD, (BĀYEZĪD) **I**, called Yïldïrïm, "the Thunderbolt", Ottoman sultan (regn. 19 Djumādā II 791-13 Shaʿbān 805/15 June 1389-8 March 1403), born in 755/1354 of Murād I and Gül-čiček Khātūn. In about 783/1381 he was appointed governor of the province which was taken from the Germiyānids in guise of a dowry from his wife, Sulṭān Khātūn. Settled in Kütahya, he became responsible for the Ottoman interests in the East. He distinguished himself as an impetuous soldier (hence his surname) in the battle of Efrenk-yazïsï against the Ḳaramānids (Ḳaramān-oghlu) in 788/1386. The assumption that he also became the first governor of Amasya (Kemāl Pasha-zāde) stems from the fact that some territory to the west of it came under the Ottomans when they supported Süleymān of the Djāndār dynasty in Kastamonu (Ḳastamūnī) against his father 786/790-1384-1388) and Aḥmed, the Amīr of Amasya, who accepted Ottoman protection against Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn (*Bazm u Razm*, 302, 308).

When, in the battle of Kossovo plain (15 June 1389), Murād I was mortally wounded, he asked his pashas to recognise Bāyezīd, his eldest and distinguished son, as sultan (*Düstūrnāme*, 87; Anony-

mous *Tawārīkh*, 27) which they did, and his only surviving brother (the others, called Savdjī and Ibrāhīm, were already dead) was immediately put to death to prevent a civil war. Lazar, the Serbian prince, was also executed on the field.

The new sultan left hurriedly (Stanojević, 417) for Bursa, his capital, because the vassal princes in Anatolia had risen up in revolt. Ḳaramān-oghlu ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, their leader, taking Beyshehri, advanced as far as Eskishehir, Germiyān-oghlu Yaʿḳūb II recovered his patrimony and Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn captured Kīr-shehri (*Bazm u Razm*, 387). Bāyezīd reached an agreement with the Serbs who promised him Lazar's daughter Olivera (Despina) as his wife and an auxiliary force under Stefan Lazarević. Constantly under Hungarian pressure, Stefan remained faithful to Bāyezīd and accompanied him in his expeditions. But Vuk Branković in Upper Serbia (Prishtina, Skoplje etc.) resisted the Ottomans who tried to take possession of the mining towns in his territory. Pasha-yigit continued the operations against him and later took Skoplje (Üsküb, 793/1391) and settled it as a Turkish base for his raids into Bosnia and Albania.

Bāyezīd spent the winter of 792/1389-1390 in taking Philadelphia (Alashehir) and annexing the Turkish principalities in Western Anatolia, namely Aydīn, Sarukhān, Menteshe, Ḥamīd and Germiyān. Süleymān the Djāndārid and Manuel Palaeologus were with him during this expedition. In Djumādā II 792/May 1390 he was in Ḳarahisar (Afyon), preparing to march against Ḳaramān-oghlu. He recaptured Beyshehri and laid siege to Ḳonya. At this time Süleymān, back in Ḳastamonu, formed an alliance with Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn against Bāyezīd to help Ḳaramān-oghlu. Apparently this threat made Bāyezīd give up the siege of Ḳonya and sign a treaty with Ḳaramān-oghlu in which he abandoned the whole region west of the Čarshanba river. The following year (793/1391) Bāyezīd attacked Süleymān, but Burhān al-Dīn defied him in support of his ally. In the spring of 793/1392 Bāyezīd made great preparations against Süleymān. A Venetian report of 12 Djumādā I, 794/6 April 1392 stated that as a vassal of Bāyezīd, Manuel Palaeologus was about to take part in the naval expedition against Sinop (Silberschmidt, 77). This expedition ended with the annexation of Süleymān's territory (except Sinope) and his death. Then, in spite of Burhān al-Dīn's protests and threats, Bāyezīd occupied Osmandjīk. But Burhān al-Dīn finally attacked Bāyezīd near Čorumlu (Čorum) and forced him to retreat. Burhān al-Dīn's raiders reached as far as Ankara and Sivrihisar. Besieged by Burhān al-Dīn's forces the Amīr of Amasya handed over the castle to the Ottomans (794/1392). Next year Bāyezīd came and entered the city. Local dynasties such as Tadj al-Dīn-oghullarī (in Čarshanba valley), Tashan-oghullarī (Merzifon region) and the lord of Bafra recognised Bāyezīd as their suzerain. Burhān al-Dīn harassed the Ottoman army on his way back (*Bazm u Razm*, 418-20).

Bāyezīd then found things more pressing in the west. After the victory at Kossovo he had increased his control on Byzantium. His support first secured the throne to John VII (27 Rabīʿ II 792/14 April 1390) and then to John V and his son and co-emperor Manuel (16 Shawwāl 793/17 September 1391) who had showed his faithfulness to the sultan by accompanying him in his expeditions in Anatolia (Fr. Dölger, *Johannes VII*, 27-8). When Anatolian affairs kept Bāyezīd busy in the east, his *Udj-beyis* [*q.v.*] by their raids held enemies under restraint on the western borders: Pasha-yigit submitted Vuk; Evrenuz (Ewrenos) [*q.v.*] conquered Kitros (Čitroz) and Vodena and advanced into Thessaly; Fīrūz Beg raided in Wallachia, and Shāhīn was active in Albania. But Mircea cel Batran managed to take Silistre back and attacked with success, against the *akīndjīs* in Ḳarīn-ovasī (Karnobat) when Bāyezīd was in Anatolia. Venetian activities in Morea, Albania and in Byzantium on the one hand, and Hungarian attempts in extending influence in Wallachia and the Danubian Bulgaria on the other made Bāyezīd decide to concentrate his efforts in the Balkans. He first occupied Trnovo (7 Ramaḍān 795/17 July 1393) which had been under Ottoman control since 790/1388 and Czar Shishman had to move to Nicopolis as an Ottoman vassal. In the winter of 796/1393-94 Bāyezīd summoned all of the Balkan princes and the Palaeologi to Serres and there attempted to strengthen their ties of vassaldom. In particular he wanted Theodore Palaeologus to hand over his main cities in the Morea against Venice. In despair, the Palaeologi, Theodore and Manuel turned against Bāyezīd and sought help in the West, especially in Venice. It seems that Bāyezīd then reconquered Thessalonica (Neshri, 88, gives the date as 19 Djumādā II 796/21 April 1394; the city was taken once in 789/1387 and lost probably in 791/1389). Bāyezīd also conquered Thessaly, the county of Salone, Neopatrai; Evrenuz entered Morea, but Theodore had given Argos to the Venetians (27 May 1394) (J. Loenertz in *REB*, i, 171-85). Another Ottoman division put southern Albania under direct Ottoman rule and Shāhīn exerted pressure on the Venetian possessions on the Albanian coasts [see ARNAWUTLUḲ]. Bāyezīd also started the blockade of Constantinople (796/Spring 1394) which lasted for seven years. In 797/1395 he invaded Hungary, and on his way attacked the castles of Slankamen, Titel, Becskerek, Temeshvar, Carashova, Caransebesh, Mehedia (see *Actes du X. Congrès Int. d'Et. Byz.*, 220). Defeating Mircea on the Argesh river in Wallachia (26 Radjab 797/17 May 1395) he then put Vlad on the Wallachian throne. Bāyezīd then passed over the Danube to Nicopolis and seized and executed Shishman (13 Shaʿbān 797/3 June 1395).

These bold conquests caused Hungary and Venice to conclude at last an alliance (796/1394) and to form a crusade in Europe against the Ottomans. When in 799/1396 Bāyezīd was making a major effort to take Constantinople the Crusaders under Sigismund came to lay siege to Nicopolis. Hurrying there, Bāyezīd inflicted a crushing defeat upon them (21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 798/25 September 1396) and took Vidin from Stratsimir, the last independent Bulgarian prince. Now the fate of the Balkans and Constantinople were in Bāyezīd's hands. In the imperial capital Manuel had to agree to Bāyezīd's settling there a Turkish colony with a *ḳāḍī*. Evrenuz took Argos and Athens (799/1397). Then the sultan went back to Anatolia because of the hostile movements of Ḳaramān-oghlu during the crisis of Nicopolis. He defeated and executed Ḳaramān-oghlu at Aḳčay and incorporated his territory with Ḳonya (800/Autumn 1397). The following year he incorporated also the region of Djanik and the territory of Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and disregarding his alliance with Egypt against Tīmūr (Tamerlane) [*q.v.*] conquered Albistān, Malaṭya, Behisni, Kahta and Divrigi.

Marshal Boucicaut's attack on the Turkish coasts and the small force he brought to Constantinople were not enough to relieve the city (800/Summer 1399),

so Manuel II went to Europe to ask more help (10 Rabīʿ II 802/10 December 1399). In the Autumn of 1399 Tīmūr once more appeared in eastern Anatolia, and hopes were high in the West as they were during his first invasion of eastern Asia Minor in 796/1394. From 801/1399 on Tīmūr claimed suzerainty over all the rulers in Anatolia as the representative of the Djengizkhānids whereas Bāyezīd claimed to be the heir of the Saldjūks there. Tīmūr hesitated before attacking the sultan of the ghāzīs. Tīmūr gave refuge to the Anatolian rulers expelled by Bāyezīd who, in his turn, protected Ḳarā Yūsuf and Aḥmad Djalāʾir. This exasperated Tīmūr. He took and sacked Sivas (802/August 1400), to which Bāyezīd retaliated by capturing the Amīr of Erzindjān, a protegé of Tīmūr named Muṭahharten (803/1401). Finally Tīmūr and Bāyezīd came to grips at Čubuk-ovasī near Ankara (27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 804/28 July 1402). Defeated and taken prisoner by Tīmūr, Bāyezīd died in captivity at Akshehir (13 Shaʿbān 805/8 March 1403) Bāyezīd's hastily founded empire collapsed. The Anatolian princes, who all regained their respective territories (804/1402), as well as the Ottoman princes, who divided the rest of the country among themselves, recognised Tīmūr as their suzerain. It was not until Meḥemmed II that the Ottomans again assumed the offensive in East.

Bāyezīd was responsible for the foundation of the first centralised Ottoman empire based upon the *Ḳul* system and the traditional administrative methods perfected under Muslim-Turkish states in the Middle East. Popular tradition criticised him as an innovator in finances, administration and manners.

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(Halil Inalcik)

BĀYAZĪD II, Ottoman Sulṭān (886-918/1481-1512), was born most probably in Shawwāl or Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 851/December 1447 or January 1448 (some sources give the date of his birth, however, as 856 or 857/1452 or 1453). During the lifetime of his father, Meḥemmed II, he was governor of the province of Amāsya and served in the war against Uzun Ḥasan, the leader of the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlu Turcomans, being present at the battle of Otluḳ Belī in 878/1473. On the death of Meḥemmed II in 886/1481 a conflict for the throne broke out between Bāyazīd and his younger brother Djem, then governor of Ḳaramān, with his residence at Konya. The support of the Janissaries and of a powerful faction amongst the great officials at the Porte ensured the accession of Bāyazīd to the throne. Djem, defeated in battle near Yeni-Shehir in Rabīʿ II 886/June 1481, withdrew to Syria and thence to Egypt. He now gathered together new forces with the assent of the Mamlūk Sulṭān Ḳāʾit Bāy, but, after a fruitless campaign directed against Konya and Ankara, despaired of success and sought refuge at Rhodes (Djumādā II 887/July 1482) with the Knights of St. John, who removed him to France in September of the same year. Henceforward, until the death of the unfortunate prince in February 1495, the Ottomans had to face the constant threat that a coalition of Christian states, using Djem as their instrument, might invade the empire. As long as Djem was alive, Bāyazīd could not take the risk of committing his forces irretrievably to a major enterprise, either in the East or in the West.

Herzegovina was brought fully under Ottoman control in 888/1483. The fortresses of Kilia on the Danube estuary and of Aḳ-Kermān at the mouth of the Dniester fell to Bāyazīd in the course of his Moldavian campaign during the summer of 889/1484—a success of considerable importance in that it strengthened the Ottoman hold over the land route to the Crimea, where the Tatar Khān ruled as a vassal of the Sulṭān. A less fortunate issue of events awaited the Ottomans in their war of 890-896/1485-1491 against the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria, fought to determine which of the rival states should exert political dominance over Cilicia and the adjacent march-lands along the Taurus frontier. The Ottomans met with a number of reverses in the field, above all at the battle of Agha Çāyrī near Adana in Ramaḍān 893/August 1488. A peace was made in 896/1491 which marked in fact the failure of the Ottomans to win effective control in Cilicia. None the less, it should be noted that, with Djem still alive and a captive in Christian hands, Bāyazīd had not been free to use his full resources in this war and had chosen therefore to wage a conflict limited in its objectives. Moreover, the situation on the Taurus frontier in 896/1491 was in no wise more favourable to the Mamlūks, despite their victories, than it had been six years before.

The ceaseless warfare of Muslim *ghāzī* against Christian marcher lord along the Danube and the frontiers of Bosnia flared out with great violence in 897-900/1492-1495. The Ottoman warriors launched massive raids across the Danube and the Sava and into the Austrian duchies of Styria, Carniola and Carinthia, suffering defeat near Villach in 897/1492, but on the other hand almost annihilating the Croat forces at Adbina in 898/1493. A truce concluded for three years with the Hungarians brought these hostilities to an end in 900/1495. Conflict now arose between the Ottoman empire and Poland. The Ottomans and the Krim Tatars formed, as it were, a barrier which denied to the Poles access to the Black Sea. Poland began in 902/1497 a campaign designed to break down this barrier through the capture of Kilia and Aḳ-Kermān and through the reduction of Moldavia to a state of dependence on Poland. The Moldavian forces, however, with the aid of the Ottoman *begs* along the lower Danube, offered a successful resistance, the Poles being repulsed before the fortress of Suceava and, in the course of their subsequent retreat, beaten at Koźmin in the Bukovina (October 1497). Ottoman *ghāzīs* from the Danube lands, with reinforcements of Moldavian and Tātār horsemen, now laid waste much of Podolia and Galicia in the summer of 1498, but a second raid directed against Galicia in the late autumn of the same year ended in disaster amid bitter snowstorms on the Carpathian mountains.

Poland, however, made peace with Moldavia in April 1499, this agreement being soon followed by a renewal of the former truce between the Ottomans and the Poles.

After the reverses experienced in the war against the Mamlūks, Bāyazīd sought to provide his troops with arms more efficient and of greater offensive power than the weapons hitherto available, and also to create a more mobile and more competently manned artillery force. At the same time efforts were made to increase the size and strength of the Ottoman fleet, numerous vessels of war being built in the ports of the Aegean and the Adriatic. A new war was indeed imminent, which would test the worth of these armaments and of the much augmented naval forces of the Sulṭān. Friction along the borders of the Venetian enclaves on the coasts of the Morea, Albania and Dalmatia, where the Ottoman *g͟hāzīs* faced the Greek, Cretan and Albanian mercenaries in the service of the Signoria, and also the repeated occurrence of "incidents" at sea, induced Bāyazīd to make war on Venice in 904/1499, a decision influenced by the fact that, since the death of D̲j̲em in 1495, some of the high dignitaries at the Porte had been urging the Sulṭān to pursue a more aggressive policy towards the Christians. Lepanto, lacking all hope of relief from the sea, because the Venetian fleet had been driven to take refuge under the guns of Zante, fell to the Ottomans in Muḥarram 905/August 1499. Meanwhile, the frontier warriors of Bosnia carried out a great incursion into the Friuli and then, reinforced after the capture of Lepanto, ravaged the Venetian lands as far as Vicenza. Modon, Coron and Navarino in the Morea yielded to the Ottomans in 906/1500, and also Durazzo on the Adriatic coast in 907/1501. Venice, finding the conflict too expensive, sought peace in 908/1502 and in the final agreement concluded in 909/1503 renounced all claim to Lepanto, Modon, Coron, Navarino and Durazzo. Bāyazīd could feel well satisfied with the outcome of this war, which had brought solid territorial gains in the Morea and on the Adriatic shore and, more notable still, had underlined the fact that the Ottomans were becoming a formidable power at sea.

The years 909-918/1503-1512 witnessed the growth of a major crisis in the East. Ismāʿīl, the head of the religious order known as the Ṣafawiyya, had begun in 904-905/1499 a career of conquest which soon made him the master of Persia. The Ṣafawiyya had long conducted, on behalf of the S̲h̲īʿī faith, a vigorous propaganda amongst the Turcoman tribes of Asia Minor—a propaganda so successful that the armies of the new régime in Persia consisted to a large degree of warriors drawn from these tribes. As orthodox or Sunnī Muslims, the Ottomans had reason to view with alarm the progress of S̲h̲īʿī ideas in the territories under their control, but there was also a grave political danger that the Ṣafawiyya, if allowed to extend its influence still further, might bring about the transfer of large areas in Asia Minor from Ottoman to Persian allegiance. An additional threat arose from the fact that S̲h̲īʿī beliefs flourished in those regions along the Taurus frontier which were in dispute between the Ottomans and the Mamlūks. Ottoman intervention here against the adherents of the Ṣafawīyya might well drive the Mamlūks, despite their profession of the Sunnī faith, into an alliance with the new S̲h̲īʿī state in Persia.

Bāyazīd, aware of the danger, ordered in 907-908/1502 the deportation of numerous S̲h̲īʿī elements from Asia Minor to his recent conquests in the Morea. He also garrisoned his eastern frontier in force, when in 913/1507-1508 S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl, then at war with ʿAlā al-Dawla, the prince of Albistān, occupied Diyār-Bakr and large areas of Kurdistān. How critical the situation had become was made clear on the outbreak, in 917/1511, of a great S̲h̲īʿī revolt in Tekke, a region of Asia Minor long noted as a centre of heterodox religious ideas. The rebels, after plundering Kutāhya, advanced on Brusa, but then, retiring in the face of superior forces, suffered a total defeat between Kayseri and Sīvās in the summer of 917/1511—a conflict in which both the Ottoman Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pās̲h̲ā and the rebel chieftain, S̲h̲āh Ḳūlī, were slain.

Meanwhile, the Ottoman empire had come to the verge of civil war. The practice that a new Sulṭān, on his accession to the throne, should order the death of all his brothers and their male children imposed on the sons of an ageing Sulṭān a dire pressure to prepare for armed conflict on, or even before, the death of their father. There had been war between Bāyazīd and D̲j̲em in 886-887/1481-1482; now, the issue was to rest between Aḥmed, who was governor of Amāsya, and Selīm, who had charge of the remote province of Trebizond (Ḳorḳūd, the eldest of the three surviving sons of Bāyazīd, enjoyed little favour at the Porte and had but a minor rôle in the events which now occurred). Selīm, in 916/1511, sailed from Trebizond to Kaffa in the Crimea and, having won the support of the Tatar K̲h̲ān, moved with his forces across the Danube, demanding of his father the government of a province in the Balkans. Bāyazīd, reluctant to make war on his own son and worried about the revolt of S̲h̲āh Ḳūlī in Asia Minor, yielded to the wishes of Selīm and, in a formal agreement, conferred on him the great frontier province of Semendria. The news that the Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pās̲h̲ā, who favoured the cause of Aḥmed, had been sent with a strong contingent of Janissaries to crush the S̲h̲īʿī rebellion aroused in Selīm the fear that, if S̲h̲āh Ḳūlī should be defeated, ʿAlī Pās̲h̲ā might make a bold effort to raise Aḥmed to the throne. Selīm now marched on Adrianople, where his father was in residence. Bāyazīd withdrew in the direction of Istanbul, but then stood firm at Ug̲h̲ras̲h̲-deresi near Çorlū. The Janissaries, although well disposed towards Selīm, remained loyal to the old Sulṭān. Here, on 8 D̲j̲umādā I 917/3 August 1511, their skill and discipline routed the Tatar horsemen of Selīm, the prince himself fleeing from the battlefield to seek refuge in the Crimea.

Aḥmed, after the defeat of S̲h̲āh Ḳūlī, advanced towards Istanbul, hoping to cross the Straits and ensure his own accession to the throne. Disturbances amongst the Janissaries at the capital in D̲j̲umādā I 917/August 1511 overawed the adherents of Aḥmed at the Porte. Aḥmed, realising that the Janissaries had thus declared their support for Selīm and their intention not to accept himself as Sulṭān, now used armed force to bring much of western Asia Minor under his control—a course of action which amounted to open rebellion against his father. The result was that Bāyazīd consented to recall Selīm from Kaffa and to restore to him the province of Semendria. There was, however, a growing fear at the Porte that Aḥmed would make an alliance with the S̲h̲īʿī régime in Persia. This fear, together with the demand of the Janissaries that Selīm should lead them in the now inevitable campaign against Aḥmed, hastened the issue of events. Bāyazīd was compelled to abdicate in favour of Selīm in Ṣafer 918/April 1512. The old Sulṭān had chosen to retire to the town of

his birth, Demotika, but, while travelling to this destination, died on 10 Rabīʿ I 918/26 May 1512.

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BĀYAZĪD (or Bāzīd as engraved on his seal, *Tadhkirat al-Abrār* f. 88a) **ANṢĀRĪ** "Pīr-i Rawshān (or Rawshan)" b. ʿAbd Allāh Ḳāḍī b. Shaykh Muḥammad, the founder of a religious and national movement of the Afghāns (called Pīr-Tārīk by the Mughal historians etc., after Ḥādjdjī Mullā Muḥammad, commonly known as Mullā Zangī, a teacher of the Pīr's chief opponent Ākhund Darwīza, who was the first to dub him thus (*Tadhkira* f. 92). He claimed descent through Sh. Sirādj al-Dīn (his fifth ancestor) from (Abū) Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, the famous Companion of the Prophet, (his 21st ancestor). His mother Aymana (varr. Bih-bīn, Bībān, *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, ii, 243), the second cousin of his father, was a daughter of al-Ḥādjdjī Abā Bakr of Jallandhar, in which city Bāyazid was born c. 931/1525, *i.e.*, a year before Bābur had founded his Empire in India. His father left for Kānīgurām (Wazīristān), his home-town, before the child had completed his forty days. Alarmed by the establishment of the Mughal supremacy, the people of Bāyazīd fled (c. 936/1529) to Bihār and thence went with a caravan to Kānrīgurām. ʿAbd Allāh, who had another wife (and several children by her), now developed an aversion for Aymana and divorced her. Bāyazīd, then about seven, found his subsequent home life extremely unhappy and gradually he developed a life-long estrangement from his parents and step-brother. His early schooling was interrupted as he was called upon to attend to home affairs and trade, but he turned to his studies whenever possible, though always confining himself only to what related to the questions of divine worship. He applied himself diligently to acquiring a detailed knowledge of, and a punctilious performance of, devotional exercises and other religious duties. But he felt himself baulked in every direction, for his father would not let him perform the *ḥadjdj* or go elsewhere for further studies, or allow him to become a disciple of a Pīr. When he was nearing sixteen, his father took him along on one of his trade journeys. Later, Bāyazīd made several more. On these he must have met (as in *Tadhkira*, f. 82b) the *Mulḥid* (Ismāʿīlī) Sulaymān, whose influence can be seen, among other things, in the excessive emphasis on the doctrine of the *Pīr-i Kāmil* ("perfect spiritual director"), the frequent use of *taʾwīl*, for example in dealing with the "five pillars of the faith" (*arkān-i khamsa*), *ghusl* etc., in certain Ḥurūfī doctrines

(see *Ḥāl*, 216 ff., 91 ff., 257). The *Tadhkira* refers also to Bāyazīd's association with Yogīs, from whom he learnt the doctrines of transmigration of souls and of divine incarnation (*avatār*). This is not expressly mentioned in the *Ḥāl-nāma*, but if, as some Anṣārīs of Jalandhar believe, he is identical with 'Vadjīd' who compiled Shloks (see Onkār Nāth, *Vadjīd djī de shlōk*, Lāhore n.d.) he shows considerable knowledge of popular Hindū lore, and some verses of the editor of the *Ḥāl*, 502 f., may indeed have been inspired by the *shloks* directly or through the *Khayr al-Bayān*.

Side by side with the above activities he discovered that he himself was Pīr-i Kāmil, seeing dreams, in one of which he met Khiḍr and drank from him the water of life (*Ḥāl*, 54), the occasion being celebrated by his followers later by fasting on the day. He also heard voices from the unknown and received inspiration from God and passed, step by step, through the eight grades of spiritual elevation (see RAWSHANIYYA). He engaged himself in *dhikr-i khafī* (invoking the divine name mentally), and in due course, also "the Greatest name of God" (*ism-i aʿẓam*). When he entered upon his forty-first year he heard a voice saying that henceforth he should no more perform the legal ablutions, and instead of the prayers of the faithful, he should say those of the prophets (*Ḥāl*, 94). He now regarded all others as polytheists or hypocrites, and observed quadragesimal fasts (*čilla*).

The time had now come to preach to others. He was going with a caravan to India, but he returned home from Ḳandahār, had an underground cell constructed, in which he made his wife and a few others observe *čilla*s, to begin with. Later, he received orders to preach openly. On the basis of dreams of his own and others, people began to call him "Mian Roshān". He met a great deal of local opposition, in which his father and his pupils took a prominent part. They challenged his right to interpret the scriptures etc. in spite of his poor knowledge of them, though they admired his exceptional intelligence and his trenchant logic in debates. Similarly they challenged his claim to Mahdīhood and divine inspiration, and condemned his calling Muslims *kāfir*s or hypocrites. But he met their challenge squarely, though on occasions he became slightly conciliatory. His disciples began to increase greatly, and he appointed some as *khalīfa*s to work farther afield. They also clashed, wherever they went, with the local Pīrs, who aroused public opinion against the sect everywhere.

His teaching: The central doctrine of Bāyazīd could be briefly stated thus (see *Ṣirāṭ*, i): Gnosis of God ("the Truth") is an imperative duty (*farḍ-i ʿayn*). This gnosis without which obedience (*ṭāʿa*), divine worship (*ʿibāda*), charities and good works, are not acceptable to God, cannot be obtained except through a Perfect Spiritual Director (*pīr-i kāmil*). He is one who is a man of law (*sharīʿa*), of the Way (*ṭarīḳa*), of the Truth (*ḥaḳīḳa*), of the gnosis of God (*maʿrifa*), of Nearness (*ḳurba*), of Union (*waṣla*), of Oneness with God (*waḥda*), of Tranquillity (*sukūna* = *sakīna* of *Ṣirāṭ*, 110). He is a Revealer of the truths of divine secrets, an Embodiment of *takhallaḳū bi-akhlāḳ Allāh*, *i.e.*, his spirit acquires divine qualities (cf. *ibid.*, 25). Seeking and obeying him is incumbent on all. Obeying him is obeying the Apostle of God, and therefore obeying God. Such a Perfect Director is Bāyazīd himself, who was told this both in dreams and when awake, and those who sincerely obey him would be led by him through the above stages to *tawḥīd* (cf. *Ṣirāṭ*, 24 f.).

Special stress was laid on the neophytes' repentance (*tawba*), retiring to cells, observing *čilla*s once a year, invoking the divine name in silence, meditation, and similar ascetic practices. When they had reached the last stage in their "ascent", presumably they looked upon themselves as free from the obligations imposed by the *sharīʿa* (cf. *Tadhkira*, 88a).

What *Dabistān*, 251 (*Naẓar* 2), gives as his doctrines are probably his war regulations relating to the period in which he was at war with the Mughals and other Afghān tribes hostile to him.

His missionary work outside his home town. He began with a village a day's journey from Kānīgurām, met violent opposition and fled back to his home town, where too there were strong reactions against him, amounting almost to his ejection from the community. But he adopted a conciliatory attitude and that saved the situation for a time. A *dāʿī* of his having prepared the ground among the Dāwarīs (or Dāwrīs) of the Tochī Valley in northern Wazīristān, he went there, and even performed some miracles. A clever agent of his then prepared the ground for him farther afield and in due course he appeared among the Bangash, then worked his way up and won over the Orakzīs, Tīrāhīs and Āfrīdis. Passing on to the Saṛaban land of Peshāwar, he converted numerous tribesmen of the Khalīl, Mohmand, Daʾūdzīs, Gagyānīs, Yūsufzīs, Tuʾīs and Ṣāfīs. Complaints against him having reached Kābul he was hauled up by the young governor of the Province, Akbar's brother Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm (b. 961/1554 d. 990/1583) and Bāyazīd had to face an inquisition conducted by Ḳāḍīkhān, the Ḳāḍī of Kābul. Bāyazīd gave clever answers and was allowed to return to Peshāwar. He now resumed his work among the Mohmandzīs and was so impressed with their sincerity and devotion to his cause, that he and his sons and a daughter married among them. A *dāʿī* then converted the Kāsīs of the Ḳandahār region, especially the Shinwārīs and Mohmandzīs and some Baṛech and Ṣāfīs of Ḳandahār.

After some years' work among them, the *dāʿī* appeared among the Sindīs and Balōčīs and made Sayyidpur (near Ḥaydarābād-Sind) the centre of his activities. The Pīr and his agents (who were allowed to work only in his name and never in their own) had a remarkable initial success everywhere, in spite of the violent opposition aroused by the rival *pīrs*, *ʿulamāʾ*, etc., except in Tīrāh, where such rivals do not seem to have existed. At this stage, Bāyazīd sent his missionaries (from Kalla Dher in Hashtnagar, *Makhzan*, f. 154b) to the rulers, nobles and *ʿulamāʾ* of the neighbouring countries inviting them to the acceptance of his claims. One of them was sent to the Emperor Akbar, another to Mīrzā Sulaymān of Badakhshān. Some more were sent to India, Balkh and Bukhārā. Sayyid ʿAlī Tirmidhī, the *murshid* of the Ākhund also got one (*Tadhkira*, f. 91b).

His war with the Mughals: Some shrewd people of the time, seeing his growing power, foresaw that Bāyazīd was about to draw the sword and cause bloodshed (*Ḥāl*, 423, 426, 437). The immediate cause of his warlike exploits is thus narrated in *Ḥāl*, 471 ff.: a caravan returning from India, on its way to Kābul, halted near a village peopled by an ultra-fanatical group of his followers. Infuriated by the gross neglect, as they thought, by the caravan people of the affairs of the next world, the villagers looted and destroyed the property of the caravan,

which brought down upon their heads the wrath of the authorities in Kābul, and the villagers were slaughtered and their children carried into captivity. On a written protest from Bāyazīd, Maʿṣūm Khān, the Governor of Peshāwar, was ordered to arrest him, but he escaped to a hill in the Yūsufzī region and, being besieged there, successfully fought his way to Khaybar and Tīrāh. This first battle-ground was named by him Āghāzpūr. The war lasted during the remaining 2½ years of his life, till his death in 980/1572-73. The details of it are supplied not by the *Ḥāl-nāma*, but by Mullā Darwīza, according to to whom Bāyazid was finally defeated at Torragha by Muḥsin Khān Ghāzī, who had led an expedition against him from Djalālābād. The Pīr fled on foot to the hills, suffered pangs of exhaustion and thirst and ultimately died at Kālā Pānī but was buried in Hashtnager (*Tadhkira*, f. 93b). Some Gudjars were found desecrating the tomb at night, so Bāyazīd's son and successor Sh. ʿUmar removed the coffin in which he was buried and kept it in front of him when on the march, until in the confusion of a battle (989/1581), it fell into the Indus. It is said to have been recovered later and buried in Bhattapūr, (*Ḥāl*, 483 f., 493-525). This place appears to have been three days' journey from Kanīgurām (*Ḥāl*, 156).

His literary and other cultural activities. Bāyazīd wrote an autobiographical-cum-propaganda work, and many treatises, to explain the tenets of the sect he had founded. Out of these treatises only two are available. In these his method is to quote some Ḳurʾānic verse or verses, then add relevant materials from the *ḥadīth* (of the soundness or otherwise of which he shows himself to be no discriminating judge) and where possible, supplement them by the sayings of holy men. This material is often repeated from work to work. Among *aḥādīth* he includes what he calls *āḥādīth-i ḳudsī*, some of which had been addressed to himself (*e.g.*, see *Ḥāl*, 87, 160). He also gives what voices from heaven said to him in Arabic or Persian (see, *e.g.*, *Ḥāl*, 88, 113, 117, 125). His Arabic, from a literary point of view, is weak and ungrammatical, even allowing for the fact that the MSS. of his works which have reached us are late copies. His chief opponent and contemporary Mullā Darwīza (*Tadhkira*, f. 89b) found in the *Khayr al-Bayān* Arabic words strung together "without a sense of proper syntactical relationship" (*bilā idrāk-i tarkīb*). These works were read and explained by him to the members of his family (*Ḥāl*, 689) and his other disciples, and the *Khayr al-Bayān* and *Maḳṣūd al-Muʾminīn* especially, acquired a semi-sacred character for them. He claimed that the former work had been revealed to him. Hotly pursued, on one occasion, at night, by the Yūsufzīs, his son ʿUmar halted his troops and waited till the work, which had been forgotten at some place on the way, had been retrieved (*Ḥāl*, 498). The *Maḳṣūd al-Muʾminīn* is said to have saved the life of another son of Bāyazīd (Djalāl al-Dīn), for, when he was carrying it, it shielded him by receiving the sword-cuts and dagger-thrusts from his enemies. A *darwīsh* heard a voice from the unknown asking him to retire to his home and devote himself to the study of these two books (*Ḥāl*, 390), and so on. Judging from what remains of his Afghānī prose, it seems that he attempted to write in rhymed prose (*sadjʿ*) following Arabic and Persian models, even to the detriment of the idiom of Pushto. Because of the nature of the subjects dealt with (religion, mysticism, morality), he had to use freely the familiar Arabic and Persian terminology along with the words of the Yūsufzī and Ḳandaharī dialects of Pushto (see *Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islām*, art. Bāyazīd Anṣārī). The following of his works are traceable:

1) *Khayr al-Bayān*, in 40 chapters (*bayāns*) (*Ḥāl*, 431). Some passages of it, according to the *Tadhkira*, were in Arabic and Persian, some in Afghānī and Hindī (but cf. *Dabistān* 251[18]) though "all the sections were inharmonious and incongruous" (*nā mawzūn wa nā muwāfiḳ*). The Ākhund even asserts that part of the work was contributed by Mullā Arzānī Khweshgī of Kasūr, a *khalīfa* of the Pīr. On his death-bed, when asked by his disciples for his last injunctions, Bāyazīd directed their attention to the *Khayr al-Bayān*, in which, he said, he had recorded unstintingly whatever was revealed to him (*Ḥāl*, 483). The work is said to have attempted an affirmation of pantheistic belief (*waḥdat-i wudjūd*) (*Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, ii, 243). No copy of it is known to exist except the one (transcribed in 1061/1651, ff. 167) which was lent to Sir Denison Ross by someone and is now said to be intraceable. Prof. Morgenstierne (Oslo) published some extracts from it, with their English translation, in the *Indian Antiquary*.

2) *Maḳṣūd al Muʾminīn* (Arabic). Only two copies are known, one with me (with interlinear Persian translation), transcribed in 1224/1809, and the other in the Āṣafiyya transcribed 2 years later (see Cat. I 390/86, Brockelmann, S II, 991). This handbook of the Rawshaniyya doctrine was composed by Bāyazīd at the request of his eldest son ʿUmar (who is occasionally addressed in it as "O! my dear son!") for the benefit of the faithful who were to read, remember, and act according to it. It has 21 sections. The first thirteen forming more than half of the work, deal with such topics as Admonition, Reason, Faith, Fear, Hope, Spirit, Satan, Heart, Soul, This World and the Next, Trust in God, and Repentance; the last eight deal with the eight stages (see above) from *sharīʿa* to *sakūna*.

3) *Ṣirāṭ al-Tawḥīd* (Arabic-Persian). This partly autobiographical treatise begins with a description of the stages of his spiritual development up to the time when he discovered the *Pīr-i Kāmil* in himself, and ends in a *risāla* addressed specially to kings and amīrs. It contains an admonition to princes and describes the various disciplinary stages for the ascent of the soul of man, possible only under the guidance of the Perfect Pīr. He urges them to seek repentance at the hand of such a Pīr (*Ṣirāṭ*, 71 f., 184 ff.). Bāyazid tells those who had gone through spiritual exercises under his supervision or that of his disciples that they had won divine favour according to their capacity, for capacity and sincerity were indispensable for the 'ascent'.

It is stated in the colophon of the work that it was composed in 978/1570-1 and that "whoso studies it and acts according to it will learn *ʿilm al-tawḥīd*". A copy of the work was sent by the author through a special messenger to the Emperor Akbar, who was pleased to receive it (*Ḥāl*, 468), ed. M. A. Shakūr, Pashāwar 1952. The text is based on an original slightly defective at the beginning.

4) *Fakhr* (?, the MS. has تجر or لحر) *al-Ṭālibīn* (*Ḥāl*, 468 f.), a treatise sent by Bāyazīd to Mīrzā Sulaymān of Badakhshān at the time he sent his works to the various princes. No copy is known to exist.

5) *Ḥāl-nāma* (Persian), an autobiography of Bāyazīd re-edited and amplified by ʿAlī Muḥammad "Mukhliṣ" b. Abā Bakr Ḳandahārī, a "home-born"

(*khānazād*) of the sons of Bāyazīd and a *khalīfa* or the sect.

There is one undated copy (ff. 526) in Aligarh (Subḥān Allāh Oriental Library No. 920-37). From it the Pandjāb University copy was made recently (745, ll. 20), and the references given in this art. relate to this copy. No other copy of the work is known to exist, but Count Noer (A. S. Beveridge's tr., ii, 148) refers to some "existing fragments" of it.

Abā Bakr, father of ʿAlī Muḥammad, had served Djalāl al-Dīn as a boy, and later, commanded troops under Aḥad Dād, and still later came to India with the members of the family of Bāyazīd when they moved to India. ʿAlī Muḥammad served Bāyazīd's grandson Rashīd Khān in the Deccan, and settled down in Rashīdābād, a village in Shamsābād Maʾū (*Ḥāl*, 714, *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, ii, 250), near Āgrā (*Gazet. of Jullundur District*, 99).

The text of the *Ḥāl-nāma* of Bāyazīd, the editor tells us in his preface, had become corrupt in course of time and a continuation relating to the military exploits of his sons and grandsons had to be added. At the request of some friends he supplied this, drawing upon written and oral sources. The narrative, which is brought down to the accession of Awrangzīb (1069/1659, *Ḥāl*, 729) is of a considerable literary merit, though it has lengthy digressions in prose and verse (often of his own composition) dealing with the doctrines of the sect and minor incidents relating to the faithful. The earlier part, giving a full and detailed account of the life of Bāyazīd, has much fewer dates, and some of them, as compared with those in the latter part, are open to doubt, but the narrative of the life of Bāyazīd lacks details of his war with the Mughals (fought in the last 2½ years of his life) and ends abruptly. But he gives a very full and up-to-date account of the descendants of the Pīr, both male and female, and their genealogies.

The *Ḥāl-nāma* (453 f.) claims that Bāyazīd made definite contributions towards the cultural rise of the Afghān people. He was the first, according to this work, to compose *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *rubāʿiyyāt*, *ḳiṭʿas*, *mathnawīs* etc. in Pushto, though before him people wrote only a verse or two. This, however, is an exaggerated statement, as *ḳaṣīdas* etc., of a much earlier date are known to exist. But it may be true that following his example, Bāyazīd's sons and disciples composed several Pushto *dīwāns*, full of lofty truths and fine ideas. Other Afghāns, outside the sect, also followed these models, and an impetus was given to the more frequent use of Pushto as a literary medium.

The Pīr also made contributions towards the improvement of the music of the land. Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad, a *khalīfa* of Mīr Faḍl Allāh Walī (the Ḥurūfī ? : d. 796/1393), added some strings to the rebeck (*rabāb*) and as a result of his instructions the Afghān musicians produced new tunes, generally dance-tunes, but the players could not play them with proper rhythm, so Bāyazīd improved their rhythm and under his guidance the musicians were able to compose *surūd-i sulūk* ("the mystic's song", a sort of devotional music) and other pleasing tunes, and the following six modes :

n. ā. s. a. r. i. (*dhanāsarī* ?); *pandj parda*; *čahār parda*; *si parda* (five, four and three melodies); martial notes (for the battlefield); and *maḳām-i shahādat* ("the mode of bearing witness or martyrdom"). Even as a boy Bāyazīd had shown great sensitiveness to music and would dance in ecstatic delight when songs were sung (*Ḥāl*, 23 f.). Several of his sons and grandsons proved to be expert musicians and one of them, Aḥad Dād, employed musicians who took turns and played music day and night for his entertainment (*Ḥāl*, 581 f.; see also 672, 680 etc.).

The Pīr is also credited with the popularisation of the Āfghān script.

Decimated by internal and external wars, violently opposed by the ʿ*ulamāʾ*, and later mostly scattered in various parts of India, the followers of the sect almost disappeared. The tenets of the sect are said to be professed to-day only "by the immediate descendants of the founder in Tīrāh and Kohāt and some of the Bangash and Orakzai Pathāns" (*Gazetteer of the Peshawar District* 1897-98, 60; cf. J. Leyden, *Asiatic Researches*, xi, 363).

Bibliography: Apart from the standard Mughal historical works, particularly the *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, ii, 242 (Bibl. Ind.), the following are important:

ʿAlī Muḥamad b. Abā Bakr Ḳandahārī, *Ḥāl-nāma-i Pīr-i Dastgīr* (Pandjāb University Library MS.; Bāyazīd Anṣārī, *Maḳṣūd al-Muʾminīn*, my MS.; idem, *Ṣirāṭ al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Shakūr, Peshāwar 1952; Ākhund Darwīza, *Makhzan al-Islām*, my MS., f. 8b., 151b., also *the Cat. of Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, nos. 2632-8; idem, *Tadhkirat al-Abrār wa 'l-Ashrār* (Persian), Pandjāb University MS., f. 82 ff., *s.a.* A.H. 1021 (see also Rieu's Cat., i, 28. Or. 222); J. Leyden, *On the Roshenian Sect and its Founder, Bāyazīd Ansārī* (*Asiatic Researches*, xi, 363 ff.); Graf Noer, *Kaiser Akbar*, ii, 180 f. (English tr. by A. S. Beveridge, Calcutta 1890, ii, 138); G. Morgenstierne, *Notes on an old Pashto Manuscript containing the Khair-ul-Bayān of Bāyazīd Ansārī*, in *New Indian Antiquary*. (Bombay), Vol. ii, No. 8 (Nov. 1939), 566 ff.; *Maʿārif* (an Urdū Magazine publ. at Aʿẓamgarh), col. ix, no. 6 (1927), 430; Sayyid ʿAbd al-Djabbār Shāh Sithānawī, ʿ*Ibratan li Ūli 'l-Abṣār* (Urdū), 45 ff. (author's autograph). See also the art. RAWSHANIYYA.

(MUHAMMED SHAFI)

BĀYAZĪD AL-BISṬĀMĪ [see ABŪ YAZĪD AL-BISṬĀMĪ].

BAYBARS I, AL-MALIK AL-ẒĀHIR RUKN AL-DĪN AL-ṢĀLIḤĪ, fourth Mamlūk sultan of the Baḥrīd dynasty. He is said to have been born in 620/1233 and to have been one of a group of Ḳipčāḳ Turk slaves purchased by the Ayyūbid sultan Malik Ṣāliḥ. His first master had been Aydakin Bunduḳdār, whence his surname Bunduḳdārī, which also explains in Marco Polo's work (ed. Hambis, II), "Bondocdaire, sultan of Babylonia". He appears first in history in 636/1239, in prison with his master Malik Ṣāliḥ at Karak. Several months later he was fighting in Syria on behalf of the sultan of Egypt, serving there a rough apprenticeship in the military life, not to mention the intrigues of the last Ayyūbid princes which offered a gloomy example for his contemplation. His first military accomplishment consisted in taking command of the Egyptian army on the battlefield at Manṣūra, which ended in the decisive victory of Fāraskūr and the capture of Louis IX king of France. It was then that upon his instigation that Tūrān-Shāh was assassinated in 648/1250, the plot unfolding in the guise of resistance to the enemy.

This murder, whose odious character is scarcely disputable, settled nothing. Weakness was general. Baybars undoubtedly bore the responsibility for it, and in it the reign of the Mamlūk sultans had its beginning. The origins were bloody and when

Sultan Ḳuṭuz assumed power the Mongol hordes had begun their invasion of Syrian territory. A bloody encounter took place at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] in Palestine, Sulṭān Ḳuṭuz distinguishing himself there with enormous valour, as well as the Mongol general who was killed. The Egyptian success was decisive, owing to the tenacity of a sultan who against all odds had managed to field an army. Baybars had fought in the vanguard.

We know little of the sequence of events which led to yet another tragic end; Ḳuṭuz was assassinated in his tent, this deed being accomplished by a group of officers of which Baybars was one. Clashing ambitions have been mentioned; at any rate it was Baybars who gained the throne (658/1260).

There had already been two murders; but the glory of the sovereign will conceal from history the perfidy of the officer, We will examine his rule chronologically, for the evolution of events allows an evaluation of his activity, which can be confirmed by the written sources. His period cannot but recall that of Saladin: the achievement of a unity of command, and the victorious war against the Franks. These are two elements of the comparison which accure to the advantage of Baybars. He wiped out feudalism rather than created it: he had no family to provide for. Moreover, Saladin's offensive, of which the title to glory is the capture of Jerusalem, was a clap of thunder without consequence. In this respect too the advantage lies with Baybars, whose forced marches, rapid and unexpected, were not without method: every inch of conquered land was put immediately in a state of defence.

Internally the reorganisation of the state manifests an exceptional harmony and equilibrium. Beyond his actions, which one can establish by deeds and dates, Baybars gives the impression of a man who dominates events with an imperturbable optimism.

From the year 659/1261 the new sultan consolidated the key points of his future offensives. Every citadel which had been destroyed by the Mongols, from Ḥims to Ḥawrān, were put in order and provided with victuals and ammunition.

In his eyes these military precautions were insufficient. He insisted upon being informed rapidly and upon being able to despatch orders with the same speed. Baybars established a regular postal service: twice a week he received information from every part of the empire. Under normal circumstances a despatch took four days to go from Cairo to Damascus. More urgent news was sent by pigeons, and delivered without delay. It would even happen that the sultan received information in a state of almost complete nakedness. Such a setting tended to increase the zeal of his functionaries.

He reconstructed entirely the arsenals, and had warships and cargo vessels built.

The sultan began by nibbling at the domains of the Ayyūbid princes: he appointed an officer to take charge of the administration of the town of Shawbak, which was done without striking a blow. The sultan went to Aleppo, sounded the Franks in the region of Antioch, and finished the campaign at Damascus. In 661/1263, after a year spent in Cairo, the sultan threatened Saint Jean d'Acre, then turned against Karak, thus eliminating an Ayyūbid principality, returned to Damascus, finally re-entering Egypt and inspecting the city of Alexandria. In 662/1264 Baybars annexed the territory of Ḥims, whose Ayyūbid prince had just died without heir. He began intensive military preparations and soon fielded a formidable army.

On the first of Rabīʿ II 663/21 January 1265, this enormous army, commanded by the sultan, left Cairo, for the first stage of the great offensive against the Franks, which would not terminate until 670/1271. Their strongholds were taken one after another. In 663/1265 it was the capture of the port of Caesarea which split the Frankish possessions in the south and isolated Jaffa; further north ʿAthlīth and Ḥayfā were occupied. The towns were destroyed: in the event of a reverse they could not serve as supports for the enemy. Then the army turned south and took the port of Arsūf. In 664/1266 simultaneous attacks were made all along the front, but the principal effort was directed toward the town of Safad, to the northwest of Lake Tiberias: the place was taken after a heavy siege. In 666/1268 Baybars turned towards the enclave of Jaffa which did not hold out for a day. One may read the account of that exploit, still engraved on the gate of the great mosque at Ramla in Palestine: "He lay siege to Jaffa at dawn and took it, with God's permission, at the third hour of the same day". A few weeks later a new line of defense was forced: the river Litani and the castle of Beaufort, opposite Tyre, became Muslim, Suddenly the Egyptian troops appeared at the northern point of the Latin kingdom, and Antioch capitulated. This conquest had a considerable repercussion, perhaps greater than the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin. Since the beginning of the Crusades, Antioch had not once left the possession of the Franks. The neighbouring fortresses could resist no longer and Baybars took advantage in concluding peace with the king of Little Armenia, who was obliged to surrender a part of his domain to the sultan of Egypt. A final offensive, starting from Ḥims, cut the distant defences of Tripoli. The strongholds of Safīthā, the castle of Crac and of ʿAkkār were taken in two months, in the course of 669/1271.

Meanwhile the sultan, habitually dividing his time between Cairo and Damascus, had made the pilgrimage in 667/1269. Negotiations led in 668/1270 the lord of the Ismāʿīlī fortresses to pay tribute to the sultan, who, preoccupied with the expedition of Saint Louis to Tunis, thought for a moment of going to the aid of the Maghribīs. Reassured, the sultan set off again for the conquest of the Ismāʿīlī fortresses, then returned to Cairo. The year 670/1272 was dedicated to a general inspection of Syria. The historians agree in their accounts of how the sultan would arrive unexpectedly, changing direction en route to preclude any foreknowledge of his itinerary. In 671/1272-73, he left Damascus for Biredjik, overwhelming a Mongol detachment near there. Other divisions of the army were operating in Nubia, in the region of Barka and in Armenia. The Franks had at last got a respite. After a year of calm, Baybars was again in Armenia, during 674/1275, where he took Sīs and Ayās. The year 674 is marked by an expedition to Nubia, led by the sultan's lieutenants. In 675/1276 Baybars was in Asia Minor where he took Caesarea (Kayseri) in Cappadocia, after having defeated the Saldjūḳ troops and their Mongol allies. Then he returned to die at Damascus in the early part of 676/1277, at the end of a substantially full life.

The Crusaders never recovered. One can evaluate the territorial losses of the Frankish kingdom at the death of Baybars: the principality of Antioch virtually existed no longer; in the south the frontier had been pushed back from Jaffa to Acre. Everything considered, the Crusaders possessed

only a narrow strip of the coast, while the Mamlūks held all of the crests.

The seventeen years of Baybars' reign show a balance of thirty-eight campaigns in Syria. Of the nine battles with the Mongols, only the last was due to the initiative of the sultan, the others being considered counter-attacks. There were five significant engagements with Little Armenia. The Ismāʿīlī sectaries, the Assassins, suffered three attacks. On the Franks, the most abused, the Egyptian troops inflicted twenty-one defeats.

The military activity of the sultan was not the result only of the orders which he gave; he took personal command in fifteen battles, not fearing when it was necessary, to expose his own life. A few figures give an idea of Baybars' travels: he does not appear to have spent more than half the period of his reign in his capital at Cairo; he left it twenty-six times, and certainly covered more than forty thousand kilometres.

One sees in the rule of Baybars a splendid example of energy, bringing to light an unexpected political recovery. Under the impetus of this exceptional leader, Egypt, who had just undergone an internal revolution and had been the target of powerful enemies—Crusaders, Mongols, Ismāʿīlī—was suddenly to impose its rule upon the Orient. The confusion following the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdād, the hints of alliance between Crusaders and Mongols, the potential conspiracies of the dispossessed Ayyūbid princes, and the personal ambitions of the high ranking Mamlūk officers, are all elements of the tragic combination which makes Baybars' success so extraordinary.

It was a stroke of genius on his part to welcome a refugee of the ʿAbbāsid family, after the disastrous invasion of the Mongols in 656/1258, and to recognise him in Cairo as supreme pontiff. It was not merely a spiritual gesture, for the ruler had seen in it immediate and tangible consequences: suzerainty over the Holy Cities of the Ḥidjāz. Finally, the Egyptian state might from that time on style itself the "Islamic Kingdom".

The exploits of this extraordinary warrior made him a legend in his own lifetime; the epic of Baybars is well below his actual biography. His life is indeed a story of adventure: the death of the hero, drinking a cup of poison prepared by another, is but part of the perfect romance.

Bibliography: The two chief primary sources for the life of Baybars are the biographies of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir and of Ibn Shaddād, neither of which is fully extant. A British Museum manuscript of a version of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, covering the period up to the beginning of 663/1265, was published, with an English translation, by Mrs. S. F. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca 1956. A more complete ms. of the same version, preserved in the Fātiḥ library, is being edited by Mr. A. A. Khowaitir (see further B. Lewis, in *Speculum*, xxvii, 1952, 488; Cl. Cahen in *Arabica*, v, 1958, 211-2; P. M. Holt in *BSOAS*, xxii, 1959, 143-5). A unique and incomplete manuscript of Ibn Shaddād's biography of Baybars, covering the years 670-76/1272-78, was found in Edirne by Ş. Yaltkaya, who published an abridged Turkish translation of it (*Baypars Tarihi*, Istanbul 1941) without the Arabic original. Further information will be found in the general historical sources (Maḳrīzī, Dhahabī, Ibn Taghribirdī etc.). See also E. Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 1 ff.; M. F. Köprülü, *Baybars*, in *IA*; M. Dj. Surūr, *al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, Cairo 1938, and the general histories of medieval Egypt by G. Wiet (*Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, iv, Paris, n.d, 367-82, 403-38) and S. Lane-Poole (*A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*[2], London 1914, index). For inscriptions see *RCEA*, xi, nos. 4221, 4344; xii, nos. 4476 to 4478, 4485, 4501, 4528, 4552, 4553, 4556, 4557, 4562, 4565, 4586, 4588, 4589, 4593, 4600, 4608, 4611, 4612, 4623 to 4626, 4638, 4660, 4750, to 4662, 4673, 4686, 4690, 4692, 4714, 4723, 4724, 4726 to 4728, 4730, 4732 to 4735, 3737 to 4740, 4746, 4750 again, 4751, 4752. Further bibliography will be found in G. Wiet, *Les Biographies du Manhal Ṣāfī*, no. 708. (G. WIET)

BAYBARS II, AL-MALIK AL-MUẒAFFAR RUKN AL-DĪN MANṢŪRĪ DJĀSHNIKĪR, Mamlūk sultan of Egypt. Perhaps of Circassian origin, Baybars belonged to the Mamlūks of Sulṭān Ḳalāwūn. Appointed *major domo*, *ustādār*, during the first reign of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (693-94/1293-94), he was promoted to commander of a thousand by Sulṭān Katbughā, and his power increased, at the same time as that of his rival, Salār. Both were equally ready to assume power upon the assassination of Sulṭān Lādjīn in 698/1299.

They put on the throne for the second time the young Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn. The two men were not bound by any deep friendship but they were too afraid of one another to allow their differences to persist, and so resigned themselves to ruling jointly, at the expense of a monarch then aged fourteen. At every mention of an important measure taken during that period, the Arab historians do not neglect to attribute it to both *amirs*, for example, in the rigorous directives against the Christians and Jews in 700/1301. The *duumvirs* managed a vigorous resistance to the invasion of the Mongol Ghāzān. They put down, with unheard of cruelty, an insurrection of the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt, who had elected two chiefs with the surnames Baybars and Salār. Ten years later Muḥammad, weary of their tutelage, abdicated.

Baybars, possessing more Mamlūks than Salār, was able to succeed alone to the sultanate, in Shawwāl 708/April 1309, and it was then that his weakness became apparent. In fact, Muḥammad was able to form an army from the fortress of Karak, to which he had retired, and in Ramaḍān of the following year/February 1310, he began his third reign. Baybars had fled. Apprehended, he was brought to Cairo and strangled on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 709/16 April 1310.

Bibliography: Ibn Taghribirdī, Cairo, viii, 232-82; Manhal Ṣāfī, no. 709; Hautecœur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, 54-55; Wiet, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iv, 468-77. (G. WIET)

SĪRAT **BAYBARS**, an extensive Arabic folktale purporting to be the life-story of the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I (1260-77). Many of the people and the events in the *sīra* are historical, but its overall character, as well as most of the descriptive detail, is fictitious. Its only historical value lies in the fact that it represents the type of intellectual nourishment accepted by large parts of the Muslim population in Cairo in the late Middle Ages and in the following centuries. Its real interest lies rather in the fields of sociology, folklore, and history of literature.

The novel opens with a description of the end of Ayyūbid times and the beginning of Mamlūk rule, up to the accession of Baybars. Later sections treat the hero's warlike exploits, particularly those

against the Christians (Byzantines and Crusaders) and the Persians (= Mongols). Towards the end, the novel grows more and more into a fantastic tale of adventure, sorcery and roguery. Traditional tales and motifs, also to be found in other Arabian contexts such as the *Thousand and One Nights* (as well as some which are known in the Iranian tradition), have been used. Baybars's cunning but basically faithful servant ʿUthmān—half groom-cum-pickpocket, half saint—and (in the later parts of the novel) an Ismāʿīlī master of disguise by name of Shīḥa also play large parts. Shīḥa is constantly on the move, reconnoitring, freeing Muslim prisoners, and harming or at least scaring his enemies with his craftiness and pranks. His opponent on the Christian side is the dangerous Guwān (= Juan?; the original name given is Girgīs), a deadly enemy of Islam. Besides the Mamlūks, there are also Syrian Ismāʿīlīs (*i.e.*, Assassins, even though they are never called such) who take part in the battles. The printed editions give an outline, at the end, of the history of Egypt from Mamlūk times to the present day. This is a subsequent addition, which has nothing to do with the actual novel.

Historical events are presented as seen from a bourgeois point of view. The novel has a special predilection for impoverished merchants or craftsmen. Pictures of life in the streets of Cairo are particularly attractive. Amongst the degenerate Mamlūk soldiery, Baybars appears as the just ruler who protects his subjects and fights corruption. Crude jokes, puns, and situations of a certain primitively comic nature, appealed to the uncultured taste of the listeners (the *sīra* was probably always meant to be recited, not read). A definite Islamic conception of the world underlies the whole. Christian and other opponents of Islam are—unless they are later converted—painted in the blackest colours. There is an underlying offensive religious fanaticism. As all non-Muslims are necessarily villains, they have no claim to decent treatment, still less to pity, and none whatever to respect. Things are occasionally very harsh among Muslims, too, but, on the other hand, honourableness receives due praise. Great stress is laid on abstaining from wine; adultery is decried; saints are frequently mentioned. Aḥmad al-Badawī appears in the story of Baybars's youth. The most prominent saint in the later parts of the *sīra* is Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh al-Maghrāwī. He is the Muslims' helper in all plights, particularly in journeys across the sea (Wangelin, 360-2).

The literary form of the *sīra* corresponds to that of similar Arabic popular tales. The prose tale is interrupted and enlivened by sections of rhymed prose and interspersed with poems. These (in part quotations, in part verses made up for the *sīra*, in classical metres as well as strophic form), are not, however, evenly distributed. So far there has been no close study of these (cf. Wangelin, 307). The language is somewhat colloquial, particularly in the manuscript texts.

The first literary mention of *Sīrat Baybars*, though indirect, is a note by Ibn Iyās (Wangelin, 307) at the beginning of the 16th century. According to U. J. Seetzen, E. W. Lane, and J. G. Wetzstein, public recitals of the *Sīrat Baybars* were very popular in Cairo and Damascus in the 19th century. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn mentions such recitals and the sale of printed editions (or part-editions?) of the *sīra* amongst the Egyptian fellaheen in the story of his youth (*Al-Ayyām*, Cairo 1929, 21 and 83). Some parts of the novel have been given in translation by E. W. Lane in *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, and in G. Weil's first edition of his translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*. W. Ahlwardt has given a detailed description of some of the Berlin manuscripts of the *sīra*. Helmut Wangelin has produced the first monograph on the novel, giving an extensive table of contents based on the first printed edition of the year 1908-09.

The manuscripts of the *Sīrat Baybars* are comparatively recent. Levi Della Vida describes a version in the Biblioteca Vaticana which dates from the 10th/16th century, and which, unlike the other texts, has only some 500 pages. Possibly this represents an earlier stage in the development of the novel. The two texts quoted by Ahlwardt (vol. 8, 143 f.) under the numbers 9163 and 9164, on the other hand, appear to be subsequently shortened versions. This is also borne out by the absence of interpolated songs. The history of the development of the *sīra* would probably become clearer if the different manuscripts were to be classified and compared in detail. It is questionable, however, whether it would be worth the time involved.

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BAYBARS AL-MANṢŪRĪ. This Mamlūk general and historian began his career as a slave of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḳalāʾūn (thence his by-name "al-Manṣūrī"). In the retinue of Ḳalāʾūn Baybars participated in 663/1265 in the campaign of Sulṭān Baybars I against the Syrian Franks, in 664/1266 in campaigns in Syria and Cilicia, in 666/1268 in the siege of Antioch and in 673/1275 in another campaign in Cilicia. Kalāʾūn, who had become sultan of Egypt and Syria, appointed Baybars governor of the province of al-Karak in 685/1286. His son and heir al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl removed Baybars from this post in 690/1291, whereupon he returned to Egypt and took part in the siege of Acre, in the siege of Ḳalʿat al-Rūm in Asia Minor in the following year and in two expeditions against the Mongols. When in Muḥarram 693/December 1293 al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was elected sultan, he appointed Baybars general (*muḳaddam alf*) and gave him the high post of *dawādār* (chief of the chancery). From that time

Baybars' career was linked to the fate of this prince, who was twice deposed and reinstalled. Baybars lost his post after al-Malik al-Manṣūr Lādjīn had become sultan instead of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, but he was reinstated on al-Malik al-Nāṣir's return to the throne, in 698/1299. In the following years he fulfilled both military and administrative tasks, until he was deposed from his post of *dawādār* in 704/1304-05. Meanwhile al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had lost all influence on the government and had become a mere puppet in the hands of two powerful generals and at last he abdicated formally. Baybars al-Manṣūrī was an ardent partisan of this prince and made strenuous efforts to have him reinstalled. When this came about in 709/1310 Baybars was entrusted with various administrative tasks and on 17 Djumādā I 711/1 October 1311 he was appointed viceroy of Egypt (*nā'ib al-salṭana*), second to the sultan only. But he held the post less than a year. In Rabīʿ II 712/August 1312 he was deposed and sent to the state prison in Alexandria, where he remained for five years. He died on 25 Ramaḍān 725/4 September 1325, about eighty years old.

Baybars was a pious Muslim, fond of theological studies, and besides his military and political activities he found time to write historical works, which he did with the help of a Christian secretary. His chief work was a general history of the Islam until the year 724/1324 called *Zubdat al-Fikra fī Ta'rīkh al-Hidjra*. This voluminous work, which is divided into centuries, is based in its former parts on the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, whereas its last part is an important source for the history of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, since the author tells the story of campaigns and political events in which he participated himself. The strong personal note of the *Zubdat al-Fikra* is even more conspicuous in the account which Baybars al-Manṣūrī gives of the political history of Egypt at the end of the 13th and at the beginning of the 14th centuries, where he does not conceal his strong bias for al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. His work was much used by other historians, among whom al-ʿAynī should be mentioned especially. It was abridged and continued by a later author, whose work is preserved in MS. Bodleiana I, 704. Baybars al-Manṣūrī himself wrote a shorter history of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, which he called *al-Tuḥfa al-Mulūkiyya fi 'l-Dawla al-Turkiyya*. This work, partly written in rhymed prose, relates the history of the Mamlūks up to 711/1311-12. Al-Sakhāwī also mentions a History of the Caliphs as written by Baybars. It was called *al-Laṭā'if fī akhbār al-khalā'if*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann II, 44, S II, 43; Rosenthal, *History of Muslim historiography*, 75, 127, 335, 418. (E. ASHTOR)

BĀYBŪRD (BAYBURT), known to the Byzantines in the time of Justinian as βαιβερδών, is situated on the Çoruh river, about 100 km. to the north-west of Erzurum. The Saldjūķ Turks overran this region in the years 446-447/1054-1055. After the battle of Manzikert in 463/1071 Bāybūrd came under Turkish rule, now of the Saltukids at Erzurum and now of the Dānishmends at Sivas, although the Byzantines, who still held Trebizond, did in fact recapture the town for a time in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos. During the 13th and 14th centuries Bāybūrd, under the political domination of the Saldjūķ sultans of Rūm and later of the Mongol Il-Khāns of Persia, prospered from the active commerce which, in the hands of Christian (*i.e.*, Venetian and Genoese) as well as Muslim merchants, flowed along the route leading from Trebizond to Erzurum and thence eastward to Tabrīz. The Djalāyirids and, after them, the Aķ Ķoyunlu Turcomans had control of the town from about the mid-14th to the close of the 15th centuries. Bāybūrd fell to the Ottomans in 920/1514 during the course of their Čāldirān campaign against the new Ṣafawīd state in Persia. Ottoman rule over Bāybūrd and its adjacent territories was consolidated in 940-942/1533-1536, when Sulṭān Sulaymān organised on a firm basis the *eyālet* of Erzurum. The Russians occupied the town in 1829, much of the old fortress of Bāybūrd being ruined in the course of the fighting. Russian forces also defeated the Ottomans in the battle of Bāybūrd (July 1916) during an offensive directed against Erzindjān. Bāybūrd was in Ottoman times a *ķaḍā'* of the *sandjaķ* of Erzurum in the *eyālet* of that name, but is now included in the present Turkish province of Gümüşhāne. Its population was estimated in 1935 at 10,339 inhabitants, the figure for the entire *ķaḍā'* being given as 64,813 people. The region is noted for its production of cereals, wool, hides, etc.

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AL-**BAYḌĀ'** (EL-BEIZĀ'), "the white town (castle)", a common Arabic place-name, designing localities scattered all over the Islamic territory. Hamdānī (*Ṣifa*) quotes four places with this name; Yāķūt has sixteen different al-Bayḍā's. Most important of these is the Persian town al-Bayḍā', situated in the province Fārs, N. of Shīrāz and W. of Iṣṭakhr. Its original name was Nasā. Being the chief town of the Kāmfīrūz district, it was as large as Iṣṭakhr in the 4/10th century, surrounded by fertile pasture lands. Several scholars carry the name of this place (see AL-BAYḌĀWĪ). Also al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] was born here. For the S. Arabian town al-Bayḍā', the main place of Upper Bayḥān, see art. BAYḤĀN.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 126, 197; Ibn Ḥawķal, 197; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 46 f.; Muķaddasī, 24, 432; Yāķūt, i, 791 f. (*Mushtarik*, 77); Le Strange, 280; H. von Wissmann and Höfner, *Beiträge zur histor. Geogr. des vorislamischen Südarabien*, 14, 23, 58, 62, 66. (O. LÖFGREN)

BAYDAĶ [see SHAṬRANDJ].

AL-BAYḌĀWĪ, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Abu'l-Khayr Nāṣir al-Dīn. He belonged to the Shāfiʿī school, and attained the position of chief *ḳāḍī* in Shīrāz. He had a reputation for wide learning, and wrote on a number of subjects including Ḳur'ān exegesis, law, jurisprudence, scholastic theology, and grammar. His works are generally not original, but based on works by other authors. He is noted for the brevity of his treatment of his various subjects, but his work suffers on this account from a lack of completeness, and he has been blamed for inaccuracy. His most famous work is his commentary on the Ḳur'ān, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*, which is largely a condensed and amended edition of al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*. That work, which displays great learning, suffers from Muʿtazilite views which al-Bayḍāwī has tried to amend, sometimes by refuting them and sometimes by omitting them. But on occasion he has retained them, possibly without fully realising their significance. In his introduction he does not claim to be producing an original work. He says that he had long wished to produce a book which would include the best of what he had learned from leading Companions, learned Followers, and upright men of early days who were of lesser rank. He also purposed to include allusions which were the result of his own and his predecessors' researches. It would contain some readings of 'the eight famous *imāms*' (for al-Bayḍāwī adds Yaʿḳūb of al-Baṣra to the more normal number of seven readers of the Ḳur'ān), and would also include readings peculiar to one or other of the recognised readers. The result is a work which has been very popular, and has accordingly been published in many editions. Numerous commentaries have been written on the whole work, or on parts of it. Of these Brockelmann lists 83, after which he mentions two works which draw attention to places where al-Bayḍāwī has failed to remove al-Zamakhsharī's heresies. Of the many editions of the work mention may be made of that by H. O. Fleischer (Leipzig 1846-8), 2 vols., *Indices* by W. Fell (Leipzig 1878); and that of Cairo, 1330 A.H., 4 parts in 2 vols., with the commentary of al-Khaṭīb al-Kāzarūnī, prescribed for sixth year students in the Azhar. Other editions are mentioned in Brockelmann and Sarkis. Among al-Bayḍāwī's other works which are extant in print or in MS are *Minhādj al-wuṣūl ilā ʿilm al-uṣūl* (jurisprudence); *al-ghāya al-ḳuṣwā* (manual of law); *Lubb al-albāb fī ʿilm al-iʿrāb* (grammatical); *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* and *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār min maṭāliʿ al-anẓār* (scholastic theology). He also wrote a work in Persian, *Niẓām al-tawārīkh* (ed. with notes in Hindustani by Sayyid Mansur, Ḥaydarābād 1930), dealing with the history of the world up to 674/1275. Al-Suyūṭī says that al-Bayḍāwī died in 685/1286, quoting al-Ṣafadī as his authority. He says that al-Subkī mentioned 691/1292, but al-Subkī does not give a date in his *Ṭabaḳāt*. Yāfiʿī gives 692/1293. Rieu (*Suppl. to the Cat. of the Arab. MSS in the B.M.*, p. 68) quotes a statement that he died in 716/1316.

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AL-BAYDHAḲ, Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Ṣinhādjī, author of Memoirs on the beginnings of Almohad history. His name was known only through extracts quoted by Ibn Khaldūn in his *K. al-ʿIbar*, by the anonymous author of *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya*, and from various passages in which Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, author of the *Naẓm al-Djumān*, reproduces him. The discovery of the bundle of papers (no. 1919) in the library of the Escorial by E. Lévi-Provençal, and their publication in the *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, brought al-Baydhaḳ to light, as through a trap-door, from the obscurity in which he lay. We find in his work "the actual Memoirs of the experiences of one who frequently took an active part in the events he sets down and who immediately appears as one of the early Almohads. At the first glance it can be seen that this is no chronicle of the usual type or form. The new information provided on each page and its character of authenticity nearly always enables us, in a remarkable manner, to complete our knowledge of the Almohads in North Africa, which has hitherto been exiguous. The thirty six pages of the manuscript have no lacunae in the text. Unfortunately, however, the beginning is missing and also no title is given. The information we possess on al-Baydhaḳ is limited to what he himself tells us in his work, but this is too vague to serve as the basis for a biography. We find him in the following of the Mahdī, after the latter reached Tunis, and in that of ʿAbd al-Mu'min, close to their persons and acting as a servant. And it was as such that he recorded in his work merely what he actually saw and heard". An enthusiastic convert, he adds to the facts he relates all such incidents of a supernatural order as serve to confirm the divine mission of Ibn Tūmart and the predestined choice of ʿAbd al-Mu'min. We do not know whether he came with his master from the East. However, the appellation *baydhaḳ*, which passed from Persian into Arabic, is still in use among the Berbers of the South for the pawn in the game of chess. The one thing certain is that al-Baydhaḳ's mother tongue was Berber and that he did not know Arabic very well. This is born out by the colloquialisms abounding in his *Memoirs* and the Berber phrases appearing in his narrative. Remaining in the background as a faithful and devoted servant without political ambitions, and having served the Mahdī, ʿAbd al-Mu'min and even Yūsuf I, down to whose time the information he provides extends fragmentarily, he disappears from the Almohad scene as suddenly as he appeared, silently and without fame".

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, ix-xi; G. Marcy, in *Hespéris*, 1932, 61 ff. (A. Huici Miranda)

BAYDU, the fifth in succession of the Mongol Il-Khāns of Persia and a grandson of Hülegü, the founder of the dynasty. He reigned only for a few months since Gaykhatu, his predecessor, was strangled on Thursday 6 Djumādā II/21 April 1295 and he himself was put to death on Wednesday 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/5 October of the same year. Insulted by Gaykhatu, this young and apparently unimportant prince had become involved in a conspiracy of the Mongol amīrs against the Il-Khān which resulted in the latter's deposition and execution, and the conspirators had then invited Baydu to take possession of the throne. The new Il-Khān was at once opposed by his second cousin Ghazan [*q.v.*], the son of the Il-Khān Arghun and the nephew of Gaykhatu, who advanced from Khurāsān at the head of an army to demand

satisfaction for his uncle's death. An uneasy truce was concluded between the cousins; and when hostilities were later resumed the issue was decided without bloodshed in G͟hazan's favour thanks to the address and diplomacy of his general Nawrūz and in particular to G͟hazan's having, at Nawrūz's suggestion, adopted Islam and so won the support of the Muslims. Baydu was deserted by his adherents and met his end in Nak͟hčiwān (the present-day Nakhichevan in the Azerbaijan S.S.R.) whilst attempting to escape. During his brief reign he is said to have shown special favour to the Christians and so given offence to the Muslims, although according to Bar Hebraeus he was himself a convert to Islam.

Bibliography: C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan* (2nd. ed.), Vol. iv, The Hague and Amsterdam 1835; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*², Berlin 1955.

(W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

BAYHAḲ, formerly the name of a district to the west of Nīs͟hāpūr in K͟hurāsān. In Ṭāhirid times it contained 390 villages with a revenue assessment of some 236,000 *dirhams*. The chief towns were Sabzawār and K͟husrawd͟jird. It capitulated to a Muslim army under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir in 30/650-1. In 548-6/1153-4 it was devastated by Yanāltegīn. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī its people were It͟hnā ʿAs͟harī S͟hīʿīs. Among its famous men were Niẓām al-Mulk, the *wazīr* of Alp Arslān and Malik-s͟hāh, Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaḳī, the author of the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Bayhaḳī*, and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, the founder of the Sarbadār dynasty. Formerly marble quarries were worked there.

Bibliography: Ibn Funduḳ, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Bayhaḳ*; Muḳaddasī, 318, 326; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 149-50; Muḥammad Ḥasan K͟hān, *Mirʾāt al-Buldān*, i, 327; Dawlats͟hāh, 277; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 130.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

AL-BAYHAḲĪ, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-K͟husrawd͟jirdī, traditionist and S͟hāfiʿī *faḳīh*. He studied Tradition with Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿAlawī, al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and others. He travelled in many countries in pursuit of this subject and is credited with having had a hundred *s͟hayk͟hs*. In theology he was an As͟hʿarite. He was of a frugal, pious, and scholarly nature. Towards the end of his life he went to Nīs͟hābūr where he taught traditions and transmitted his books. Al-Bayhaḳī was a voluminous writer, his writing being said to have reached 1000 fascicules. Although he was a traditionist of some note, he is reputed to have been unacquainted with the works of al-Tirmid͟hī, al-Nasāʾī, and Ibn Mād͟ja; and it is suggested that he had not seen the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. He used al-Ḥākim's *Mustadrak* freely. Al-D͟hahabī said that his compass in Tradition was not great, but that he was an adept at dealing with it, being versed in the sub-divisions and the men who appear in *isnāds*. Among his writings his *K. al-sunan al-kubrā* (publ. Ḥaydarābād, 10 vols., 1344-55) is perhaps his most notable work. It has been held in high esteem; for example, al-Subkī declared that there was nothing like it in adjustment, arrangement and excellence. In this work notes are frequently added about the value or otherwise of traditions and traditionists, and attention is often drawn to the fact that particular traditions are included in one or other of the recognised collections. The Ḥaydarābād edn. has in each vol. a valuable index of men of the first three generations and traditions traced to them, with indication of the nature of the transmission. Another work which was valued is his *Nuṣūṣ al-S͟hāfiʿī*. He has been said to have been the first to collect al-S͟hāfiʿī's legal precepts, but al-Subkī denies this, saying he was the last, for this collection included more than earlier efforts, and therefore there was no need to repeat the work. Al-D͟juwaynī, Imām al-Ḥaramayn, highly praised his writings in support of S͟hāfiʿī doctrine. Al-Bayhaḳī was born in 384/994, died in 458/1066 in Nīs͟hābūr, and was buried in K͟husrawd͟jird.

Bibliography: D͟hahabī, *Tad͟h. al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 309 ff.; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-S͟hāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, iii, 3 ff.; Ibn K͟hallikān, No. 27; al-Samʿānī, f. 101a; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-d͟janān*, iii, 81; Ibn al-ʿImad, *S͟had͟harāt al-d͟hahab*, iii, 304; Brockelmann, I, 446 f.; S I, 618 f.; Sarkis, *Dict. encyc. de bibl. arabe*, 620 f.

(J. Robson)

BAYHAḲĪ, Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Kātib (in Persian: Dabīr), famous Persian historian of the 5th/11th century, born in 385/995 at the village of Ḥārit͟hābād in the district of Bayhaḳ (today the district of Sabzawār in K͟hurāsān). At an early age he went to study at Nīs͟hābūr, then an important centre of learning. He soon entered the chancellery of the G͟haznawid rulers at G͟haznīn, with the function of secretary, and in this city he spent most of his life. He was at first the assistant of the celebrated writer Abū Naṣr Mus͟hkān, the director of this chancellery, and was charged with drafting and making copies of the most important official documents dispatched by Maḥmūd the G͟haznawid (389-421/999-1030) and his son and successor Masʿūd (421-33/1030-41); during the latter's reign his first master died, in 431/1039, and was replaced by Abū Sahl Zūzānī, with whom he was not always on good terms. During the reign of ʿAbd al-Ras͟hīd (440-43/1049-51), he was appointed director of the chancellery, but was dismissed after a short time. At the king's order, a Turkish slave named Nūyān confiscated all his property, and he was imprisoned on the pretext that he had not settled his wife's dowry. He remained in judicial imprisonment until the usurper Ṭug͟hril Birār occupied the throne in 443/1051 and imprisoned him in a fortress with other courtiers held in custody. After his release, he did not seek employment at court after the year 451/1059, and he died in the month of Ṣafar 470/2 August-21 September 1077. Bayhaḳī is the author of a voluminous history of the G͟haznawid dynasty, written in an archaic and sometimes complicated style. He states that he commenced his history with the year 409/1018-19, but a large part of the work has long been lost, and the only traces of it are found in the borrowings of other Persian historians—the last of whom lived in the 9th/15th century. This work, which comprised 30 volumes, has been variously entitled by different authors *D͟jāmiʿ al-Tawārīk͟h*, *D͟jāmiʿ fī Taʾrīk͟h-i Sabuktagīn*, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Āl-i Maḥmūd*, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Nāṣirī*, and *Taʾrīk͟h-i Āl-i Sabuktagīn*. It is almost certain, however, that the different volumes referring to each ruler would have borne different titles. Thus the whole collection of 30 volumes would have had a general title of *D͟jāmiʿ al-Tawārīk͟h or Taʾrīk͟h-i Āl-i Sabuktagīn*; the first part, relating to Sabuktagīn, would have the title of *Taʾrīk͟h-i Nāṣirī*, the second part, relating to Maḥmūd, that of *Taʾrīk͟h-i Yamīnī* or *Maḳāmāt-i Maḥmūdī*, the third part, of which the most important portions have come down to us,

would have had the title of *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, while the title of the final part or parts must remain a subject for conjecture. The part which has come down to us comprises volumes 5 to 10; volumes 11 to 30, and the first four volumes, are lost. As regards the six volumes which we possess (5 to 10), which are usually known as *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķī*, and which ought rather to be called *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, the title which I have given them in my edition, there are certain noticeable lacunae in the sequence of events, which indicates that a portion of these volumes has also been lost. Volumes 11 to 30 must have covered the end of the reign of Mas'ūd and the reigns of his successors up to the beginning of the reign of Ibrāhīm in 451/1059, that is to say, the reigns of Mawdūd, Mas'ūd II, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, 'Abd al-Rashīd and Farrukhzād, which extend over 19 years in all from 432/1040 to 451/1059. The known MSS. of the part which has come down to us close with the events of the year 432/1040, and the last year of the reign of Mas'ūd is missing. It can easily be seen that this part was written later, doubtless from notes made at the time, because the author five times gives us the date 451/1059 for the composition of certain passages. On one of the occasions on which he mentions this date, he states that he has been in the service of the Ghaznawids for twenty years, which proves that he entered their service in 431/1040 at the age of 46. Consequently 451/1059 was the year in which he began to write up his notes, which covered a period of 42 years from 409/1018 to 451/1059. He states that events prior to 409/1018 had been related by his predecessor the historian Maḥmūd Warrāķ, whose work is lost. The end of chapter ten of the *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī* which has survived includes a portion of a chronicle on Khwārizm written in Persian by the great savant Abu 'l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] (362-440/973-1048) under the title of *al-Musāma'a fi Akhbār-i Khwārizm*, which is incomplete and of which no other version exists. Bayhaķī seems to have written other works, one of which bore the title of *Maķāmāt-i Abū Naṣr-i Mushkān* a collection of reminiscences which had been related to him by his first master in the Ghaznawid chancellery. Some fragments of this work have been quoted by more modern authors. Another work, quoted by the author of the History of Bayhaķ, bore a title which can be read either as *Rutbat al-Kuttāb* or *Zīnat al-Kuttāb* and seems to have been a manual of literary style as is indicated by its title. The fragments of the *Ta'rīkh-i Nāṣirī* which have come down to us were incorporated in the *Djawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt wa Lawāmi' al-Riwāyāt* of Muḥammad 'Awfī (two recent incomplete Tehran editions), the *Ṭabaķāt-i Nāṣirī* of Minhādj al-Dīn b. Sirādj al-Dīn al-Djuzdjānī (editions: Calcutta and Kabul-Lahore), and the *Madjma' al-Ansāb* of Muḥammad b. 'Alī Shabānkāribī (MSS.). The surviving portion of the *Ta'rīkh-i Yamīnī* is incorporated in this last-named work, and the surviving portion of the final parts of the *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, which we possess, is quoted by 'Awfī. The passages from the *Maķāmāt-i Abū Naṣr-i Mushkān* are quoted by 'Awfī and by Sayf al-Dīn 'Aķīlī in his work on the lives of the *wazīrs* entitled *Āthār al-Wuzarā'* (MSS.). The famous historian Ḥāfiẓ Abrū has also reproduced certain passages from the lost portions in his own monumental history. The author of the History of Bayhaķ states that the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* comprised more than 30 volumes; of these he had seen only a few in the library at Sarakhs, certain other volumes in "Mahd-i 'Irāķ" library and still others in the possession of various people. This proves that a large part of Bayhaķī's chronicle had disappeared within a short time after its composition, since already in the 6th/12th century this author did not have access to all the volumes. Only 'Awfī (6th/12th century) Minhādj al-Dīn (7th/13th century) Shabānkārikī (8th/14th century), and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (9th/15th century) had at their disposal certain—perhaps fragmentary—portions of the work. The *Maķāmāt-i Abū Naṣr-i Mushkān* was consulted by Aķīlī in the 9th/15th century, but no one has mentioned his work on the epistolary art except the author of the History of Bayhaķ. The MSS. of the *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī* so far known nearly all come from India and indicate a common source.

Bibliography: W. H. Morley (ed.), *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķī*, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 186?; *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķī* (lith. ed.), Tehran 1305-7 A.H.; Ghanī and Fayyāḍ (ed.), *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķī*, Tehran 1324 solar/1945; *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, with corrections, notes and commentary by Said Naficy, 3 vols., Tehran 1319 solar/1940, 1326/1947, and 1332/1953; Said Naficy, *Āthār-i Gumshuda-yi Abu 'l-Faḍl-i Bayhaķī*, Tehran 1315 solar/1936; Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zayd Bayhaķī, *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķ*, Tehran 1317 solar/1938; Riḍā-zāda Shafaķ, in *Armaghān*, 11th year, no. 12, and 12th year, nos. 1-2; 'Abbās Iķbāl, in *Armaghān*, 13th year, no. 1; W. Barthold, article *Baihaķī* in *EI*[1]; see also the works quoted in the body of this article. (SAID NAFICY)

AL-**BAYHAĶĪ**, ẒAHĪR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. ZAYD B. FUNDUĶ, Persian author, born at Sabzawār, the administrative centre (*ķaṣaba*) of the district of Bayhaķ (W. of Naysābūr in Khurāsān) in 493/1100. The date 499/1106 in Yāķūt (*Irshād*, v, 208), though cited from Bayhaķī's autobiography (see below), has been shown to be wrong by M. Ķazwīnī. Of his numerous works (more than 70 titles on an encyclopaedic range of subjects listed in Yāķūt) the best known are a history in Persian of his native district, *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķ* (to be distinguished from the *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaķī [see preceding article]), and an Arabic supplement (*tatimma*) to the biographical *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* of Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī. The *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* was translated into Persian probably about 730/1330. It has been edited together with the Persian version by M. Shafī' (Lahore 1935), and under the title *Ta'rīkh Ḥukamā' al-Islām* by M. Kurd 'Alī (Damascus 1946). The *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķ* though scarcely very original (it is based, the author tells us, on an earlier history of Bayhaķ, as well as on a 12-volume *History of Naysābūr* by al-Ḥākim Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh), is full of interest. The contents have been analysed by Rieu (*Supplement to the Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, 60 ff.), and there is an edition by A. Bahmanyār (Tehran 1317/1938), with an important introduction by M. Ķazwīnī.

The family of Bayhaķī, which had been distinguished for several generations previous to his time, called themselves Ḥākimīs from an ancestor, al-Ḥākim Funduķ (*Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķ*, 102), and traced their descent back to a Companion of Muḥammad, Dhu 'l-Shahādatayn Khuzayma b. Thābit. Bayhaķī also claimed relationship with Ṭabarī, the historian (*Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķ*, 19). It appears from his autobiography, given in his lost historical work *Mashārib al-Tadjārib wa-Ghawārib al-Gharā'ib* (or *Mashārib al-Tadjārib fi 'l-Tawārīkh*) and taken over by Yāķūt, that he had his higher education at Naysābūr and

Marw, and that his career was mostly in Khurāsān. For a short time (526/1132) he was *ḳāḍī* of Bayhaḳ, probably owing to the influence of his father-in-law, Muḥammad b. Masʿūd, a former governor of Rayy, then *mushrif al-mamlaka*, but he found his duties irksome and soon resigned. A short time later we find him studying algebra and astrology in Rayy (*Irshād*, v, 210). The autobiography comes down to 549/1154-55, when Bayhaḳī was in Naysābūr. Nothing is there said of a visit which he paid with his father to ʿUmar-i Khayyām in 507/1113-14 (*Tatimma Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, 116), nor of an incident which took place in 543/1148. This was the arrival in Khurāsān at the court of Sulṭān Sandjar of an envoy from the Christian King of Georgia, Demetrius, with certain questions, presumably on religious topics, written in Arabic and Syriac (*tāzī u-suryānī*). These questions were answered at the instance of Sandjar by Bayhaḳī, as he tells us (*Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, 163), in the same two languages. The *Mashārib al-Tadjārib* appears to have dealt with the history of Iran from about A.H. 410-560 (M. Ḳazwīnī), *i.e.*, approximately A.D. 1020-1165 or nearly 150 years, and was intended as a sequel to the *Taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī* of ʿUtbī (*Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, 20). Yāḳūt quotes the work elsewhere, *e.g.*, *Irshād*, v, 124. It is quoted also by Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 247-49, cf. 253) for the career of Sulṭān Shāh of Khwārizm, and by Djuwaynī (*Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushāy*, Vol. ii, 1 = J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, 277) explicitly for the origin of the Khwārizm Shāhs (where Djuwaynī says incorrectly that it was a sequel to the *Tadjārib al-Umam* of Miskawayh), but probably also elsewhere without specific acknowledgement (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushāy*, ii, 22 ff. = Boyle, 293 ff. with the passage in Ibn al-Athīr mentioned above). The *Mashārib al-Tadjārib* is referred to by Bayhaḳī himself (*Tatimma*, 168) for an account of the contemporary poet Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, and is also cited by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbāʾ*, i, 72) for the date of Djālīnūs (Galen), and by some other authors, the latest of whom appears to have been Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (8th/14th century). Bayhaḳī himself died in 565/1169-70 according to Yāḳūt.

Some portions of Bayhaḳī's poetical anthology *Wishāḥ al-Dumya*, a continuation of the *Dumyat al-Ḳaṣr* of Bākharzī and including specimens of his own poetry in Arabic, are known. See Brockelmann, and H. Ritter, 'Philologika XIII', no. 173 (*Oriens*, Vol. 3, 1950, 77). There was also a supplement entitled *Durrat al-Wishāḥ* (*Irshād*, v, 212).

A work on judicial astrology by Bayhaḳī in Persian, *Djawāmiʿ al-Aḥkām*, is preserved in Cambridge University Library (E. G. Browne, *Handlist of Muhammadan Manuscripts*, 255), and a compendium of this work at one time existed (*ibid.* 254).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 208-18; Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *Muḳaddama* to *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. A. Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317/1938; Storey, 353-54, 1105-06, 1295-96, 1350; Brockelmann, I, 324 and S I, 557-58; Muḥammad Shafīʿ, *The author of the oldest biographical notice of ʿUmar Khayyām & the notice in question*, in *Islamic Culture*, vol. vi (1932), 586-623.

(D. M. Dunlop)

AL-**BAYHAḲĪ**, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, Arab author, of whose life nothing is known beyond that he belonged to the circle of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and wrote the *adab* book *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-Masāwī* (ed. by F. Schwally, Giesen 1902, reprinted Cairo 1906) during the reign of the Caliph al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-932). (C. Brockelmann)

BAYḤĀN (Beḥān), wādī and territory in South Arabia, situated between Wādī Ḥarīb [*q.v.*] in the west, and Wādī Markha (with the high plateau of the Nisiyyīn) in the east (cf. art. ʿAwlaḳī). This long valley, stretching from the Kawr ʿAwdhilla (cf. art. ʿAwdhalī) ca. 100 km. (65 miles) northward, until its dry "delta" disappears in the desert Ramlat Sabatayn, was once the centre of the ancient state of Ḳatabān [*q.v.*]. Thanks to the American expedition in 1950 the main part of Bayḥān now is by far the best known of all South Arabian districts.

In Ḳatabānic inscriptions BYḤN only means a tribe (Dhū Bayḥān) or a temple. This fact does not seem to favour the etymology of Landberg (*Arabica*, v, 4) "common pasture land" (opp. *ḥimā*). From Sabaean texts we know of another Bayḥān, a place situated in the Djawf (Ryckmans, i, 324; Grohmann, i, 174; v. Wissmann a. Höfner 15, 77). According to the *Ṣifa* of Hamdānī, Bayḥān was irrigated from Radmān and Ḥaṣī, but got its drinking water from Wādī Ṣudāra. The inhabitants belonged for the most part to Banū Murād, whose leader of Āl Makramān enjoyed a high reputation in the tribe of Madhidj. Yāḳūt has Bayḥān in his list of South Arabian districts (*mikhlāf*).

There are three Bayḥānī districts to be distinguished:

(1) Bayḥān al-Dawla (Bayḥān al-Aʿlā) is the narrow, barren and sparely populated upper part of the valley, from its beginning unto Nāṭiʿ on the frontier of Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb. Like the territory of the Banyar [*q.v.*] it formerly formed part of the Raṣṣāṣ sultanate, but now belongs to the state of Yaman. The climate is unhealthy, owing to the stagnant waters of the Ghayl. The capital al-Bayḍāʾ [*q.v.*] is in the S.

(2) Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, the fertile central part of the valley. (See the following art.)

(3) Bayḥān al-Asfal, the remaining, northern part of the *wādī*, is a sparely populated plain, gradually turning into the wide sand desert. Its four districts (Ḥinw, al-Shaṭṭ, Ḥaḳba, ʿAsaylān) were dominated by descendants of the Prophet—the two first-mentioned by *sayyids*, the last two by *sharīfs*. Hence the denomination Bilād al-Sāda/al-Ashrāf for the whole country. The capital is Nuḳūb, with a landing-ground for aircraft. Numerous Bedouins also live here, mostly belonging to Bal Ḥārith; this tribe also controls the important salt-mines of Ayādīm far out in the desert.

In antiquity this whole area was more intensely cultivated, thanks to the aqueducts, and for centuries the kingdom of Ḳatabān had its centre here, along the incense road, between Shabwa [*q.v.*] and Mārib [*q.v.*]. Special interest is attached to the tell Hadjar Kuḥlān a little S-W of ʿAsaylān. As already Rhodokanakis had inferred from the inscriptions, this is the place of ancient Timnaʿ/Tumnaʿ [*q.v.*], the capital of Ḳatabān (Pliny: Thomna). Thanks to the finds made here in 1950, esp. of Roman Arretine ware, its final destruction by fire can be fixed to ca. 10 A.D. The excavation of two palaces (YFSH and ḤDTH) has yielded a lot of inscriptions, a bronze statue of princess BRʾT and two fine bronze lions of Hellenistic type, with infant riders. At Ḥayd bin ʿAḳīl the cemetery of Timnaʿ was found and partly investigated. Antique ruins also were found further to the south, at Ḥuṣn al-Hadjar and Hadjar bin Ḥumayd. Here, at the junction of *Wādī* Bayḥān and *Wādī* Mablaḳa, a huge cross-section of the stratified mound was made, which allowed to establish a pottery sequence back to ca. 1000 B.C., when

the first houses were built here. In the 1200 years down to the abandonment of the irrigation system the field level increased by about 8 m. (1 cm. every year and a half). A building of twelve courses marks the highest point in the excavations at Hadjar bin Ḥumayd; this house probably was constructed in the first century B.C.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, 98 *et passim*, transl. Forrer, 158; Yāḳūt, i, 782, iv, 434; ʿUmāra (Kay, *Yaman*) 5 f., 141, 173; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* (my edn.) 67 f., 199, 202, 249; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet, passim*; G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, i, 286, 324, ii, 37; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 188 f., 253; H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, 203, 306, 310 ff.; C. Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 1-78; H. v. Wissmann and M. Höfner, *Beiträge zur histor. Geographie des vorislam. Südarabien* (1952), 15, 42-50, 77; W. Phillips, *Qataban and Sheba* (1955), 31-130, 140-177, 209-218; D. Ingrams, *Survey of social and economic conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (1949), 34, 72, 126 f., 172, 178; R. LeBaron Bowen and F. P. Albright, *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia* (1958), Part I (1-212), with maps. General map: v. Wissmann, South Arabia, Sheet 1 (1957), scale 1 : 500,000.

(O. Löfgren)

BAYḤĀN al-ḲAṢĀB forms the central part of the Wādi Bayḥān (see the preceding art.), lying between Bayḥān al-Dawla (S) and Bayḥān al-Asfal (N). It includes also W. Khirr which starts in the south, to the west of W. Bayḥān, until it meets the latter near the town of al-Ḳaṣāb. Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, together with Bayḥān al-Asfal, now forms the Independent Territory of Bayḥan in the Western Aden Protectorate. The Territory's boundaries in the S-W and N-W are a part of the "status quo line" of 1934 between Yaman and the Protectorate. The other boundaries are, in the E the Upper ʿAwlaḳi mountains, in the N-E the Kurab tribes and the fringes of the Empty Quarter (al-Rubʿ al-Khālī).

Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb (6-8000 inhabitants) is rich in subterranean waters often found at the depth of a few yards; there are well over two hundred wells in operation and the irrigation system is adequate. Rainfall is not regular and sometimes there may be no rainfall for a number of years. The region is rich with palm and *ʿilb* tree groves and other kinds of vegetation. The main products and crops are dates, *nabḳ*, figs, grapes, wheat, barley, millet, *dukhn*, sesame, indigo and cotton. There is good pasture land for sheep and goats and the region is famous for a breed of camels. The inhabitants form the tribe of al-Musʿabayn, who have, as is evident from the dual form of the name, two main branches: Āl Aḥmad and Āl ʿArīf. They are settled in a great number of villages. The main town is al-Ḳaṣāb, also called Ḥiṣn ʿAbd Allāh, which is the main trading centre of the area and an important seat of administration. There is a landing ground and a wireless station at al-Ḳaṣāb.

The Ashrāf and Sayyids form no tribal group. They had always had the support of the Bal Ḥārith of Bayḥān al-Asfal and of one section of al-Musʿabayn, the Āl Aḥmad, when Sharīf Aḥmad b. Muḥsin signed a treaty with the British in 1903. The subsequent development in the internal situation of the area and the security requirements in face of the claims of Yaman to the territory and to the allegiance of the population led to the consolidation of the authority of the "Treaty Chief", with the help of the Protectorate British authorities, over the whole territory and the tribes of W. Bayḥān. In 1944 the Regent of the then minor Sharīf of Bayḥān entered into an agreement with the British by which he undertook to accept advice on the administration of his country and the expenditure of his revenues. The Sharīf's capital is al-Nuḳūb, where there is a landing ground. Recently the Muṣʿabayn have been treated as semi-independent and were given a minor agreement for the protection of a landing ground. There is one *sharīʿa* court and one Common Law (*ʿurf*) court, and two elementary schools for boys, in Bayḥān.

Bibliography: C. Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 1-63; A. Hamilton, *The Kingdom of Melchior, London* 1949, *passim*; D. Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate*, 1949, *passim* (with map); F. Balsan, *A Travers l'Arabie Inconnue*, 1954, *passim*; W. Phillips, *Qataban and Sheba*, 1955, *passim*. (M. A. Ghul)

al-**BAYHASIYYA** [see Abū Bayhas].

BAYİNDİR, one of the Oghuz (Türkmen) tribes. The Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, founders of the dynasty called by the same name, are a clan of this tribe, and some historians call the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu dynasty 'Bayîndîr Khān Oghlanlarî' or 'Āl-i Bayîndîriyye', and the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu state 'Dewlet-i Bayîndîriyye'. It is possible that the Bayîndîr took part in the Saldjūḳ conquest of Anatolia. There were many places in central and western Turkey called after them in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. No doubt most of these belonged to the Bayîndîr who took part in the conquest of Anatolia. We find Bayîndîr among the Turkmens in Syria in the 8th/14th century. The Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu clan of this tribe was engaged in political activity in the Diyarbakr region in the same century. The most important Bayîndîr clan in the 10th/16th century was in the Tarsus region, and was engaged in agriculture. There were other Bayîndîr clans in the Tripoli and Aleppo regions of Syria, and in the Yeni Il, south of Sivas. The Bayîndîr of Aleppo were called by the Ottoman government to take part in the expedition against Austria in 1690. A Bayîndîr clan lived in the Astarābād region among the Göklen Turkmens. Members of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu dynasty believed themselves to have descended from Bayîndîr, ancestor of the Bayîndîr tribe, and used its mark on their coins, monuments and edicts. Bayîndîr was also used in the past as a personal name in Turkey and Iran.

Bibliography: Faruk Sümer, *Bayîndîr, Peçenek ve Yüregirler*, in *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, xi/2-4, 317-22. (Faruk Sümer)

BĀYḲARĀ, a prince of the house of Tīmūr, grandson of its founder. He was 12 years old at the death of his grandfather (Shaʿbān 807/February 1405) so he must have been born about 795/1392-3. His father ʿUmar Shaykh had predeceased Tīmūr. Bāyḳarā is celebrated by Dawlat-Shāh (ed. Browne, 374) for his beauty as a second Joseph and for his courage as a second Rustam; he was prince of Balkh for a long period. In the year 817/1414 he was granted Luristān, Hamadān, Nihāwand and Burūdjird by Shāh Rukh; in the following year he rebelled against his brother Iskandar and seized Shīrāz but was afterwards overcome by Shāh Rukh. Pardoned and allowed to go to Prince Ḳaydū at Ḳandahār and Garmsīr, he stirred up a rebellion there too, and was seized by Ḳaydū in 819 (1416-7). Shāh Rukh pardoned him again and sent him to India; nothing further is known of him. This account, which is based on Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, does not agree with

what Dawlat-Shāh tells us; according to the latter (*loc. cit.*) he went of his own accord from Makrān to Shāh Rukh, was sent by him to Samarḳand and there put to death at the instigation of Ulugh-Beg; according to other accounts he was put to death at the court of Shāh Rukh himself (in Harat). The year 819 is given by other authorities also as the year of Bāyḳarā's death. According to Bābur (ed. Beveridge, f. 163 b.) the name Bāyḳarā was also borne by a grandson of this prince, the elder brother of Sulṭān Ḥusayn; this second Bāyḳarā was for many years Governor of Balkh.

Bibliography: The history of the events of the first decades of the 9th/15th century is well-known to us from the *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī [*q.v.*], following Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū; cf. the extracts (for the years 807-820) in Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, Vol. xiv, part. 1. On the original text of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū preserved in a MS. in the Bodleian Library (Elliot 422), cf. W. Barthold in *al-Muẓaffariya* (*Sbornik statei učenikov bar. Rozena*, St. Petersburg 1897), 25-26; L. Bouvat, *L'empire mongol* (2nd phase), Paris 1927 [*Histoire du Monde*, by Cavaignac], 162-180. (W. BARTHOLD)

BAYLAḲĀN, an ancient town in Arrān (Albania) S. of the Caucasus, said to have been founded by the Sāsānid Ḳubād. Baylaḳān was the scene of incidents in the second Arab-Khazar war, and in 112/730 the Muslim general Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī won an important victory there over the Khazars.

Bibliography: D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954. (D. M. DUNLOP)

AL-**BAYLAMĀN** [see MADJLIS].

BAYLĀN (BELEN), a village situated in the Amanus mountains (Elma-Dāgh) on the main line of communication from Iskenderun (Alexandretta) eastwards into northern Syria. The site seems to have had no great importance during the earlier centuries of Muslim rule, the chief town in this local area being then Baghrās (Πάγραι). The neighbouring pass of Baylān, *i.e.*, the ancient Σύριαι Πύλαι or 'Αμανίδες Πύλαι, was included in the *ʿawāṣim* of northern Syria. It has received various names during the long period of Muslim domination, *e.g.*, *ʿaḳabat al-nisāʾ* (Balādhurī), *maḍīḳ Baghrās*, *bāb-i Iskandarūn* (cf. *IA*, s.v. *Belen*), and *Baghrās beli* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa). According to a *sālnāme* for the *wilāyet* of Ḥaleb (Aleppo) dated 1320/1902-1903, the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī built a mosque, a *khān* and baths at Baylān in 960/1552-1553. The same source also notes that the population of Baylān was increased in 1183/1769-1770 through the efforts of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha, then in charge of the *sandjaḳ* of Adana. At the pass of Baylān in July 1832 the Ottomans suffered defeat in battle against the Egyptian forces under the command of Ibrāhīm Pasha—an event which has been given as an explanation of the fact that the pass is sometimes called locally Top-Yolu or Top-Boghāzī (cf. *EI*¹, s.v. *Beilān* and *IA*, s.v. *Belen*). A number of derivations have been advanced in order to elucidate the name Baylān-Belen, *e.g.*, that it comes from the Greek Πύλαι, from the Turkish *bel* or *beyl* (a depression in a mountain ridge), or from *bayl*, *bīl* (a road high between two hills) used in the Arabic dual form (cf. *EI*°, s.v. *Beilan* and *IA*, s.v. *Belen*). Ewliyā Čelebī notes that *belen* meant in the language of the Turcomans a steep ascent. Baylān, which was, under Ottoman rule, the centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *eyālet* of Ḥaleb, is now a *nahiye* dependent on the *ḳaza* of Iskenderun in the vilayet of Hatay. Its population amounted in 1940 to 1,153 inhabitants, the figure for the entire *nahiye* being 5,373 people. Cereals, fruit, silk and wine are among the more notable products of the region.

Bibliography: Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 164, 167; Yāḳūt, iii, 692; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *Al-Durr Al-Muntakhab*, ed. Yūsuf b. Ilyān Sarkīs, Beirut 1909, 221; Ch. Ledit, *Al-Aʿlāḳ al-Khaṭīra, un manuscrit d'Ibn Chaddâd*, in *Al-Mashriḳ*, xxxiii/2 (1935), 203-204; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, 597; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, Istanbul A.H. 1314, 48; R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other Countries*, ii, London 1745, Pt. 1, 173 ff.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 37; M. Hartmann, *Das Liwa Haleb*, in *ZGErdk. Berl.*, xxix (1894), 7, 10, 11, 26, 32-37, 87-88; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, 140 ff.; M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des Hamdanides de Jazîra et de Syrie*, i, Paris 1953, 229; Pauly-Wissowa, s.vv. Σύριαι Πύλαι and 'Αμανίδες Πύλαι; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1891, 221-223; E. Honigmann, *Historische Topographie von Nord-Syrien im Altertum*, in *ZDPV.*, vol. 47, Leipzig 1924, 59 (index); R. Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie Antique et Médiévale*, Paris 1927, 433-436, 441, 443-446; *I.A.*, s.v. *Belen* (Besim Darkot). See also *EI*², s.vv. BAGHRĀS and ELMA-DĀGH. On the battle of the Baylān Pass (1832), cf. the bibliographies given in the articles on Ibrāhīm Pasha in *EI*² and *IA*. (V. J. PARRY)

BAYNŪN, ancient South Arabian castle and town, one of the famous Yamanite strongholds (*maḥāfid*) enumerated by Hamdānī (*Ṣifa*, 203), who gives its description in the *Iklīl*, book VIII (ed. Müller, 41, 86 f.; Kirmilī, 66 f.; Faris, 54 f.). In legend Baynūn is said to have been built for Solomon by the *djinn*, just as Ghumdān (GHNDN) and Salḥīn (SLḤN), the castles of Ṣanʿāʾ and Mārib (see these articles). Baynūn is located by Hamdānī in the territory of ʿAns (b. Madhidj), facing the *ḥarra* of Kawmān (six hours' Journey NNW of mount Isbīl). Its ruins are at the modern Hayāwa, where Glaser found ten inscriptions. Baynūn was famous for its two tunnels, cut through the rock. The Ḥimyaritic king Asʿad Tubbaʿ (= Abīkarib Asʿad, ca. 385-420 A.D.) resided here and in Ẓafār [*q.v.*] alternatively. Baynūn was destroyed, along with Ghumdān and Salḥīn, by the Abyssinians under the command of Aryāṭ, ca. 525 A.D. Bainoyn on the map of Ptolemy (84° 30'/14° 15') must be sought in Ḥaḍramawt (Wādī Dawʿan) [*q.v.*], but this may be an error for Kaynun.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *v. supra*; Nashān, ed. ʿAẓīmuddīn, 10, 67; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, 102 f.; ed. ʿAẓīmuddīn, 10, 67; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, 102 f.; Yāḳūt, i, 801; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 163; H. von Wissmann and Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislam. Südarabien*, 40, 99; C. Conti Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia*, 178. (O. LÖFGREN)

BAYRAḲ [see ʿALAM].

BAYRAḲDĀR, a Turco-Persian term, meaning 'standard-bearer', applied under the Ottoman régime to various officers of both the 'feudal' and the 'standing' army and to certain hereditary chieftains of Albania. In the feudal army the *alay-beyi* of each province had a *bayraḳdār* as his subordinate, and in the standing army one of the officers of each *bölük* of the cavalry and each *orta* of the Janissaries

was its standard-bearer, called usually *bayraḳdār*, but also, synonymously, *ʿalemdār* (*ʿalam* being the Arabic equivalent of the Turkish *bayraḳ*, 'flag'). The sultan's own standard-bearer was a high official of the palace service, one of the "*Agh̲as* of the Stirrup", but he was usually called, not *bayraḳdār*, but *Mīr ʿAlem* (for *Amīr al-ʿalem*). Under most of the earlier Turkish Muslim régimes the ruler likewise confided the care of his personal standard to an officer of high rank, who was known either by this title, or by another of similar import such as *Sandjaḳdār*.

Bibliography: *IA*, art *Bayrak* (Köprülü); Gibb & Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i, part 1, index. (H. BOWEN)

BAYRAḲDĀR MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A [see MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A BAYRAḲDĀR].

BAYRAM [see ʿĪD].

BAYRAM ʿALĪ, place on the Trans-Caspian Railway, 46¹/₂ m. (57 km.) to the east of Marw, with a Persian population, now in the Marw (Mary) district of the Türkmen SSR, situated close by the oasis of Old Marv which was created by the Murg̲h̲āb [*q.v.*] and existed until the 18th century. Its ruins cover an area of some 50 sq. km. In the 19th century the region became part of the emperor's personal domain, which existed until 1917. Today there is an agricultural research station and an agricultural technical school in Bayram ʿAlī. There are vineyards and orchards, and both silk worms and *karakul* sheep are bred.

Bliography: Brockhaus-Yefron, *Ėnciklopedičeskiy Slovar'* 4 (II A) (1891), 722; *Bols̲h̲aya Sovetskaya Enciklopediya*² *IV* (1950), 54. (B. SPULER)

BAYRAM ʿALĪ K̲H̲ĀN, prince of Marw 1197-1200/1783-1786, a member of the ruling branch of the house of Ḳādjār which ruled there from the time of ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*]. In his own day, he was renowned as a valiant warrior. During a war against Murād-Bī (S̲h̲āh Maʿṣūm) of Buk̲h̲ārā, he was ambushed and killed. His second son, Muḥammad Karīm, succeeded him in Marw; his eldest son, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, dedicated his life to learning in Mas̲h̲had, and was regarded as the "Plato of his day" (*Aflāṭūn-i Waḳt*).

Bibliography: Mīr ʿAbd al-Karīm Buk̲h̲ārī, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. Schefer, i (text), Paris 1876, 70 = ii (trans.) 157 f.; V. Žukovskiy, *Razvalini Starago Merva* (The Ruins of Old Marw), St. Petersburg 1894, 83 f. (W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

MUḤAMMAD **BAYRAM K̲H̲ĀN**, K̲H̲ĀN-i K̲H̲ĀNĀN (*Amīr al-Umarā'*), affectionately and respectfully addressed by the emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] as K̲h̲ān Bābā or Bābā-am [(My) Good Old Man!] during the latter's minority, was a Turkoman of the Bahārlū tribe, a branch of the Ḳarā Ḳoyūnlū, who played a leading rôle in Diyār Bakr after the death of Malik S̲h̲āh Saldjūḳī [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī S̲h̲ukr Bēg, one of the ancestors of Bayram K̲h̲ān, whose sons served Abū Saʿīd Mirzā, and after his defeat by Uzun Ḥasan in 837/1433-4, Maḥmud Mīrzā, his son (*Babur-nama*, transl. A. S. Beveridge, i, 49), held large estates in Hamad̲h̲ān, Dīnawar and Kurdistān. The family to which Bayram K̲h̲ān belonged had always been in the service of kings and princes; his grand-father Yār ʿAlī Bēg Balāl, who had settled in Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān, was a servant of Bābur (*Bābur-nāma* transl. A. S. Beveridge, i, 91, 189). His father, Sayf ʿAlī Bēg, was, according to Firis̲h̲ta (Bombay ed. 250), governor of G̲h̲azna and on the death of Bābur had entered the service of Humāyūn.

Bayram K̲h̲ān was born in Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān (according to some at G̲h̲azna, which is most probable) but lost his father at a very early age. He then migrated to Balk̲h̲ where he received his education, which later events prove to have been sound and thorough. A widely-read man, well-groomed in Court manners, he joined, at the age of 16, the service of Humāyūn, who had been appointed governor of Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān by his father in 936/1529. At that time Humāyūn happened to be in Kābul. He accompanied him to India and participated in the disastrous battles of Čawsa (946/1539) and Ḳannawadj (947/1540) which resulted in the complete rout of Humāyūn's troops. Finding the enemy in hot pursuit he took refuge with the *zamīndār* of Sambhal which Humāyūn held as a fief. S̲h̲īr S̲h̲āh Sūr's men discovered his hiding-place and informed the Afg̲h̲ān chief who asked him either to join his ranks or leave Sambhal. Bayram K̲h̲ān refused to cross over and fled towards Gudjarāt. A clever ruse played by his companion, Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who at that time was the commandant of Gwalior, saved him from disgrace and sure capture. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, however, lost his life in the bargain. Bayram succeeded in reaching the Court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gudjarāt, who not only offered him protection but also took him into his service. He, however, bided his time and, on the pretext of going on a pilgrimage to Mecca, was allowed to proceed to Sūrat. Availing himself of this opportunity he turned towards Rādjpūtāna and crossing the desert of Sind, joined his master, Humāyūn, at the township of Djūn (950/1543), now in ruins, when the fugitive emperor was making desperate efforts to regain his lost throne. Bayram was with him when he went to Ḳandahār (950/1543) to seek help from his brother Mīrzā ʿAskarī, and witnessed the rude and churlish behaviour of Tardī Bēg when this nobleman was asked to lend his horse to the dethroned emperor for the use of his wife, Ḥamīda Bānū Bēgam, mother of the infant Akbar, at the time of their flight from the inhospitable city.

At the Court of S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp of Iran, whose help in men, money and material Humāyūn was forced to seek to regain his lost crown, Bayram demonstrated unflinching loyalty towards his ill-starred master by politely refusing to accept the service of the S̲h̲āh, who was impressed by his genealogy and family connexions. During his Indian campaigns Bayram won many battles for Humāyūn, as commander-in-chief of the Imperial army (961/1554), crowning his series of successes with the crushing defeat inflicted on Ṣikandar Sūr at Māčhīwāra, near Sirhind, in 963/1555. Contrary to what had been the practice so far, Bayram K̲h̲ān ordered that the women and children of the vanquished Afg̲h̲āns should neither be molested nor enslaved, as both the acts were un-Islamic. This victory decided the future of Humāyūn who was now reassured of the throne of Hindustān and owed his restoration, to a large extent to the loyalty and devotion of Bayram K̲h̲ān, who was appointed in 962/1555, apparently as a token of appreciation of his meritorious services, as the official guardian (*atālīḳ*) to young Akbar, then 13 years of age, and given the official title of K̲h̲ān Bābā. Thereafter Bayram accompanied his ward to the Pandjāb, of which K̲h̲ān Akbar had been appointed the governor. When the news of Humāyūn's accidental death (1556) reached Pandjāb, Bayram was at Kalānawr (Dist. Gurdāspūr, India) engaged in mopping-up operations against the remnants of Sikandar Sūr's defeated army. He again saved the situation, and without loss of time proclaimed Akbar as the emperor, arranging his coronation on

an improvised brick-throne, still extant at Kalānawr. Soon after wards Hīmū, originally a corn-chandler from Rēwārī, near Alwar, who commanded the Sūr troops, attacked Delhi, and Tardī Bēg, the Mug͟hal governor, fled from the city without offering even the feeblest resistance. Bayram, who was now all-powerful, ordered the execution of Tardī Bēg, apparently as a lesson to others but most probably to avenge the insult which that officer had had the audacity to offer to Humāyūn in the hour of his distress when he was fleeing from Ḳandahār. Firis͟hta justifies this murder, although on purely political grounds. In 964/1556, when Hīmū clashed with the Imperial forces at the battle-field of Pānīpat, Bayram scored a clear victory and, with the tacit approval of the monarch, killed the wounded general. Bayram has been adversely criticised for this callousness towards a fallen foe, but it should not be forgotten that in despotic monarchies, decapitation was the order of the day, especially in the case of rebels, rivals to the throne or State enemies; an example is the execution by Awrangzīb of Dārā S͟hukōh, whose head was publicly exhibited in Āgra. Further, it was idle to expect any mercy from Bayram towards a low-caste upstart who nurtured the ambition of wearing the crown, and who had had the audacity to oppose the Emperor in person. With the defeat of Hīmū and the break-up of the Afg͟hān army, the crown of Hindustān fell into the lap of Akbar like a ripe apple. Bayram was now at the height of his power and practically ruled the empire in the name of his ward. Akbar, however, had begun to show signs of resentment towards the Protector, who interfered in his boyish pleasures and desired him to maintain a princely demeanour. His marriage in 965/1557 to Salīma Sultān Bēgum, a cousin of Akbar and the daughter of Humāyūn's sister, Gulruk͟h formally introduced Bayram into the royal family, thus adding to his prestige and personal glory. This marriage was celebrated with great pomp and show at D̲j̲ullundur (D̲j̲ālandhar), on (*q.v.*), his way back from Mānkot (now Rāmkot, in D̲j̲ammū), where earlier in the same year Bayram, in a joint command with Akbar, had compelled Sikandar Sūr to surrender after a long siege. Prior to his marriage to Salīma, which was purely of a political character, he had been married to the daughter of D̲j̲amāl K͟hān, a Mēwāt chieftain, who gave birth to Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K͟hān, *K͟hān-i K͟hānān* [*q.v.*], only four years before his death. The Mēwāt territory, which was Tardī Bēg's assignment, had already been conferred by Bayram on one of his confidential servants, Mullā Pīr Muḥammad S͟hirwānī.

Bayram committed a tactical mistake in appointing S͟hayk͟h Gadāī Kambōh of Delhi, a bigoted S͟hīʿī, as *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* in 966/1558-9. This caused great resentment among the people and the Tūrānī nobles, who were almost all of them Sunnīs, and al-Badāʾūnī (Eng. trans. ii, 22-4) makes it the peg on which to hang his 'most bitter gibes and venomous puns'. This, coupled with his other indiscreet acts, such as the elevation to State offices of members of the S͟hīʿī sect, the execution of Tardī Bēg of the Sunnī persuasion, the non-allocation of the privy purse to the Emperor, whose needs were fast multiplying with his increasing years, the meagre allowances for the royal household, and his own arrogant behaviour and over-estimation of his services, brought about a change in Akbar's attitude towards the Protector and he began to look for an opportunity to throw off the trammels of tutelage. Māham Anaga, Akbar's wet-nurse, who, at the head of a small but powerful Palace clique, had been secretly striving to compass Bayram's ruin, played no mean a rôle in estranging the ward from the guardian. Bayram realising that the scales were weighted against him, decided to clinch the issue by force of arms, and, on the pretext of leaving for Mecca, came to D̲j̲ullundur with the intention of taking it, after lodging his family in the fort of Bhattinda. He was defeated in a pitched battle by the Emperor's forces and was made to return the insignia of office. Deprived both of his office and the title of *K͟hān-i K͟hānān*, now conferred on Munʿim K͟hān, Bayram saw no way out but humbly to submit, and was pardoned by Akbar. Dejected, disappointed, and fallen from grace, Bayram, in fulfilment of his earlier intention, set off for Mecca, but was treacherously murdered by a vengeful Afg͟hān enemy, Mubārak K͟hān Lūḥānī, whose father had been killed in the battle of Māčhīwāra (963/1555) Bayram was killed while encamped at Patan (Anhilwāra), on 14 D̲j̲umādā I 968/31 January 1561. His camp was plundered and his family, including the 4-year old Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K͟hān, reached Aḥmadābād almost penniless. The commandant of Patan, Mūsā K͟hān Pūlādī, who had hospitably received Bayram K͟hān, did not even give the dead hero, formerly so wealthy, a decent burial. Some poor and God-fearing people buried the former *K͟hān-i K͟hānān*, whose dead body, in accordance with his wishes, was transferred in 971/1563-4 to Mas͟hhad from Delhi, where it had been brought from Patan for a temporary and modest burial. Now he lies buried in a high-domed tomb in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Riḍā.

An accomplished scholar, a good poet in Turki and Persian, a connoisseur of art, a liberal but orthodox S͟hīʿī, Bayram K͟hān was a truly great man who patrionised the *ʿulamāʾ* and men of letters, no less than poets, artists, musicians, singers and craftsmen. He has received a generous tribute from even a carping critic like al-Badāʾūnī for his qualities of head and heart. His *dīwān* was published at Calcutta in 1910.

Akbar, who like his father owed his throne to Bayram K͟hān, tried to atone for his ingratitude by bringing up Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K͟hān, his orphaned son (who later on became *K͟hān-i K͟hānān* and is better known to history than his father) and by marrying Salīma Sulṭān Bēgum, his widow. If the execution of Tardī Bēg is a stain on the good name of Bayram K͟hān, his undignified dismissal by Akbar is no less a blot on the escutcheon of the 'Great Mogul'.

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(A.S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

BAYRĀMIYYA, a *ṭarīḳa* deriving from the Khalwatiyya and founded at Anḳara in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries by Ḥadjdjī Bayrām-i Walī (Veli). In Ṣūfī tradition, the Prophet enjoined on Abū Bakr the *dhikr-i khafī*, and on ʿAlī the *dhikr-i djalī*. The Bayrāmiyya's preference for the *dhikr-i dhafī* being shared by the Naḳshbandiyya, it has been regarded as a blend of the Khalwatiyya and Naḳshbandiyya, but in fact its relationship to the latter is slight, its practice of the *dhikr-i khafī* being a product of its Malāmī origins.

On the death of the founder, the Order split, one branch adopting the *dhikr-i djalī* and following Aḳ Shams al-Dīn; these became known as Bayrāmiyye-i Shamsiyya. The other branch, under ʿUmar Dede of Bursa, abandoning *dhikr*, *wird*, their individual costume, and *takyas* (*tekke*), called themselves Malāmiyye-i Bayrāmiyya. Later, a third branch, the Djalwatiyya, emerged under ʿAzīz Maḥmūd Hudāʾī (d. 1038/1628-9).

The chief doctrinal peculiarity of the Order, and another mark of its Malāmī origin, is that the devotee was introduced to the concept of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* at the beginning of his spiritual career, and not at the end of it as in other Orders. He must first grasp that all acts are from God (*tawḥīd-i afʿāl* or *fanāʾi afʿāl*); next, that the acts are a manifestation of the attributes, all of which are God's attributes (*tawḥīd-i* or *fanāʾi ṣifāt*); finally, that the attributes are are a manifestation of essence, that existence is one, and that all things are manifestations of the *aʿyān-i ʿilmiyya* which exist in God's knowledge (*tawḥīd-i* or *fanāʾi dhāt*).

The headdress of the Order was a six-panelled *tādj* of white felt, said to symbolise the six directions (up, down, right, left, front, rear) and so to indicate that the wearer comprehended all existing things.

From the first, the Order's connexions with its parent Malāmatiyya were strong; more than one Bayrāmī shaykh was recognised by the Malāmatiyya as the *ḳuṭb* of the time.

At the dissolution of the *ṭarīḳas* in Turkey in 1925, the centres of the Order were Istanbul, Anḳara, Izmīd, and Ḳasṭamonu.

Bibliography: See the long article *Bayramiye* in *IA*, by Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, of which this article is a condensation. (G. L. LEWIS)

BAYRŪT (currently written Beyrouth or Beirut), capital of the Lebanese Republic, situated 33° 54′ lat. N. and 35° 28′ Long. E., is spread at first on the north face of a promontory, of which it now occupies almost the entire surface. The etymology of the name, long disputed, is no doubt derived from the Hebrew *beʾerot*, plural of *beʾer*, (well), the only local means of water supply until the Roman period. As a human habitat the site is prehistoric, traces of the Acheulian and Levalloisian periods having been found there. It is as a port on the Phoenician coast that the agglomeration appears under the name Beruta in the tablets of Tell al-ʿAmarna (14th century B.C.), at that time a modest settlement long since eclipsed by Byblos (Djubayl). During an obscure period of twelve centuries Beruta underwent the passage of armies coming up from Egypt or descending from Mesopotamia, among whom was Ramses II in the 13th century and Asarhaddon, king of Assyria, in the 7th century.

Towards 200 A.D., Antiochus III the Great gained a victory over Ptolemy V and annexed Bayrūt to the Seleucid kingdom and Syria. The town, for a time called Laodicea of Canaan, was destroyed about 140 B.C. by the Syrian usurper Tryphon. Despite this disaster the port saw a great rise owing to the commercial relations with Delos, the Italians and the Romans; Bayrūt then found its vocation as a link between Orient and Occident.

Taken by Marcus Agrippa in the name of the Emperor Augustus, the town was rebuilt, embellished by remarkable edifices and peopled by veteran Roman legionaries. In 14 B.C. it was raised to the rank of a Roman colony (*Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus*). Very rapidly Berytus became a great administrative centre (Herod the Great and his successors were resident there), an important station of commerce and exchange, and a well attended university city. Its school of law, from the 3rd century A.D., enjoyed particular acclaim and by its brilliance rivalled Athens, Alexandria and Caesarea. The increase in population made it necessary to construct for its water supply an important aqueduct (*Ḳanātir Zubayda*) in the valley of the Magoras (*Nahr Bayrūt*).

By the end of the 4th century Berytus was one of the most important cities in Phoenicia and the seat of a bishopric. A violent earthquake, accompanied by a tidal wave, destroyed Bayrūt in July 551. Justinian had the ruins restored, but the city had lost its splendour, and it was a town without defences that the troops of Abū ʿUbayda took when they entered in 14/635 the most Roman of the cities of the Orient.

Under Muslim domination a new era began for Bayrūt. The Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya had colonists brought from Persia to repopulate the city and its surrounding area, sericulture prospered again, and commercial relations resumed at first with the interior (Damascus) and later with Egypt. In the first centuries of Islam Bayrūt was considered a *ribāṭ*, and the holy imām of Syria, Al-Awzāʿī, installed himself there in 157/774. In 364/975 John Tzimisces conquered the city, but shortly after the Fāṭimids retook it from the Byzantines. The Arab geographers of the 4th and 5th/10th and 11th centuries all mention that the city was fortified, and subject to the *djund* of Damascus.

The Crusades brought fresh troubles. In 492/1099 the Crusaders coming from the north along the coast did no more than provision themselves at Bayrūt; they returned there after the capture of Jerusalem. In 503/1110 Baldwin I and Bertrand of St. Gilles blockaded the city by land and sea. An Egyptian fleet managed to get supplies to the besieged, but a reinforcement of Pisan and Genoese ships enabled them to launch an assault and take the city on 21 Shawwāl 503/13 May 1110. In 1112 nomination of the first Latin bishop took place, Baldwin of Boulogne, who relieved the patriarch of Jerusalem, since in the Greek ecclesiastical organisation of the 11th century Bayrūt had been subject to Antioch. The Hospital-

lers built the church of St. John the Baptist, which became the mosque of Al-ʿUmarī. In Rabīʿ II 578/August 1182, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sought to separate the County of Tripoli from the Kingdom of Jerusalem by retaking Bayrūt, but it was not until the second attempt in Djumādā II 583/August 1187 that the city capitulated. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 593/September 1197, Amalric of Lusignan took the city, whose Ayyūbid garrison had fled. The Ibelins restored the defences of Bayrūt and renewed its brilliance throughout the Latin Orient. In 1231 Riccardo Filanghiari occupied the city, but not the castle, in behalf of the Emperor Frederick II.

Shortly after the accession of the Mamlūks at Cairo, the lords of Bayrūt were reduced to treat with them in order to preserve their independence with respect to the other Franks. In 667/1269 Baybars gave a guarantee of peace. In 684/1285 Sulṭān Ḳalāʾūn granted a truce which allowed a resumption of commercial activity, and finally, on 23 Radjab 690/23 July 1291, the Amīr Sandjar Abū Shudjāʿī, coming from Damascus, occupied Bayrūt in the name of Al-Malik Al-Ashraf Khalīl.

Under the Mamlūks Bayrūt was an important *wilāya* in the province (*djund*) of Damascus, and its governor an *amīr ṭabalkhāna*. During the entire Middle Ages, possession of Bayrūt was a powerful trump card, for one could procure there two rare "strategic materials", wood, from the pine forest south of the city, and iron, from the mines nearby.

In the 8th/14th century, commerce was troubled, the port having become the scene of rivalries between Genoese and Catalans, and the Mamlūk princes reinforced its defences, Tanghiz (744/1343) and Barḳūḳ (784-791/1382-1389) each having a tower constructed. In the 9th/15th century, Bayrūt continued to be the meeting-place of western merchants who came there seeking silks, while fruit and snow were exported to the court at Cairo.

At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the Frankish merchants were subjected to the extortions of the semi-autonomous governors nominated by the Porte. Under Fakhr al-Dīn (1595/1634) the city saw a brilliant period, and relations were renewed with Venice. In exports silk surpassed citrus fruits, while rice and linen cloth was imported from Egypt.

In the middle of the 18th century, Bayrūt was the most heavily populated coastal city after Ṭarābulus, the nucleus of the population being the Maronites protected by the Druze *amīrs*. Suffering the counter-attacks of the Russo-Turkish war, Bayrūt was bombarded several times and finally occupied by the Russians in October 1773, until February 1774. From 1831 on, despite the competant administration of Bashīr II the Great (1788-1850), the campaigns of Ibrāhīm Pasha, which terminated in the bombardment of Bayrūt by a combined Austrian, English and Turkish fleet in 1840, ruined commerce. A new era began in 1860. The massacre of the Christians in Syria led to a major exodus towards Bayrūt, and the tiny city of 20,000 acquired a deep Christian imprint.

Having begun about a century ago, the rise of Bayrūt continues. The city has developed very rapidly and for several decades has surpassed the brilliance of its Roman period. After having been, during the French Mandate (1920-43), the residence of the High Commissioner of France for the States of the Levant, Bayrūt became the capital of an independent state and the seat of Parliament and the Administration of the country. The extremely heterogeneous population, predominantly Arab, is more than 200,000 (1958), which is doubled during the week with the daily influx of villagers, workers and merchants from the surrounding areas.

Three universities (American, French and Lebanese), numerous academic establishments of every nationality, and a National Library make of Bayrūt one of the most important intellectual centres of the Arab Middle East. The city is also a centre of commerce and exchange. A port continually expanded since 1893 and linked by railway to Syria and Jordan permit important transactions (2,500,000 tons in 1950), despite the competition of Haifa and, more recently, Lattakia, the port of Syria. The volume of transactions has led to the creation of a Stock Exchange, and the foundation of branches by all the large international banks. An aerodrome of international class (Khaldé) permits contacts with the entire world. A centre of transit and distribution, Beirut is by vocation a link between Orient and Occident.

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(N. Elisséeff)

BAYSĀN, a little Palestinian township in the valley of the Jordan, situated 30 kms. (18 miles) south of Lake Tiberias and 98 ms. above sea-level on a terrace raised 170 ms. above the low-lying ground through which, some distance away, the Jordan winds its way. Avoiding thus the extreme tropical heat which reigns elsewhere in the Ghawr [*q.v.*], it has all the same a hot and humid climate which Arab geographers did not fail to criticise, at the same time deploring the poor quality of its water (they nevertheless point out the merits of ʿAyn al-Fulūs, a well which a wide-spread tradition regards as being among the four springs of Paradise). Irrigation formerly made possible the cultivation of rice which was the country's wealth at the time of al-Maḳdisī, whilst of the palm-groves, mentioned in traditions, the geographer Yāḳūt, in the 7th/13th century, observed only two single palm trees. But Baysān, thanks above all to its remarkable commercial and strategic position on the main stream of the traffic joining Damascus and the interior of Syria to Galilee and thence to Egypt and the Mediterranean coast, has succeeded in preserving its urban nucleus up to the present day, despite innumerable historical vicissitudes.

The settlement of this site, proved for the period before the 3rd millenium by the excavations of Tall al-Ḥuṣn which have succeeded in reaching the chalcolithic level, goes back indeed to very far-off times. We know of the Egyptians' interest in the ancient Bethšan or Bethšeʿan, whose name they transcribed as Btšʾir and which they annexed for three centuries after the victory of Thutmoses III in the plains of Megiddo, leaving numerous traces of their occupation. Then this important village, equally coveted by Philistines, Israelites and Madianites, which at one time formed part of the kingdom of

Solomon but remained always hostile to Judaism, became in the Hellenistic and Roman periods one of the most important cities of the Decapolis under the name of Scythopolis. Hellenism flourished there and the success which Christianity attained later was confirmed by the construction of various churches and monasteries. Its bishop was Metropolitan of Palestina Secunda and the celebrated hagiographer, Cyril of Scythopolis, was born there.

Exposed to the first Arab attacks, for as early as 13/634 the troops of Khālid b. al-Walīd attacked and annihilated a Byzantine army not far away, the town which now resumed its original native name softened into Baysān, was definitely occupied in 15/636 at the time of Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana's conquest of the Jordan region and was certainly visited by Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ whose tomb according to some authors is situated there. As administrative centre of one of the districts of the *djund* of al-Urdunn, it seems to have prospered peacefully among its gardens until it was attacked by the Franks of the First Crusade who annexed it to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem after it had been taken by Tancred in 492/1099. They created the barony of Bessan but transferred the episcopal see to Nazareth. Its history continued to be a troubled one. Muslim attacks ended in its reconquest by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 583/1187 and later there was a new raid by the Franks of the Fifth Crusade who plundered it in 614/1217. The invasion of the Mongols who were defeated not far away at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] in 658/1260 was a heavy blow to it but later on in the time of the Mamlūks it was to become the capital of a *wilāya* in the second southern frontier district of the province of Damascus. At this time the caravanserai of Salār was built in its immediate neighbourhood on the route of the present-day railway. This was used by the mounted mail couriers whose itinerary was modified in this way by the initiative of the chief of the chancellery, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, in 741/1340.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BĀYSONGHOR, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, son of Shāh Rukh and grandson of Tīmūr, was appointed by his father in 820/1417 to the office of chief judge at the court; in 823/1420 on the death of Ḳara-Yūsuf, he took possession of Tabrīz and was appointed governor of Astarābād in Ṣafar 835/October 1431, but he never ascended the throne; the astrologers having predicted to him that he would not live more than forty years, he gave himself up to dissipation and died at Harāt on Saturday, 7 Djumāda 1837/19 December 1433, at the age of thirty-six. He was buried in the Mausoleum of Princess Gawhar-Shād. An artist and patron of the arts, he was a designer and an illuminator; in the library which he had founded, forty copyists, pupils of Mīr-ʿAlī, inventor of the *nastaʿlīḳ* script, were occupied copying manuscripts. His example had a considerable influence on the development of the art of painting in Persia in the period of the Tīmūrids. In 829/1425-6 he caused a critical edition of the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī to be undertaken and a preface to be written to this work, the longer of the two which we possess.

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BĀYSONGHOR, second son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Samarḳand, grandson of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*], born in the year 882/1477-8, killed on 10 Muḥarram 905/17 Aug. 1493. In the lifetime of his father he was prince of Bukhārā; on the death of the latter in Rabīʿ II 900/30 Dec. 1494/27 Jan. 1495, he was summoned to Samarḳand. In 901/1495-6, he was deposed for a brief period by his brother Sulṭān ʿAlī and in 903, towards the end of Rabīʿ I November 1497, finally overthrown by his cousin Bābur. Bāysonghor then betook himself to Ḥiṣār where he was successful in defeating his brother Masʿūd and taking the country with the help of the Beg Khusraw Shāh, who came over to his side; he was soon afterwards betrayed by this same Beg and put to death. Bāysonghor is described by his rival Bābur as a brave and just prince. He was also famous as a Persian poet under the name ʿĀdilī; his *ghazals* were so popular in Samarḳand that they were to be found in almost every house (*Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, f. 68 b.).

(W. Barthold)

BĀYSONGHOR, the name of another prince, of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlū dynasty in Persia, son and successor of Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb; he only reigned for a short period from 896-7/1490-2 and was overthrown by his cousin Rustam. (W. Barthold)

BAYT, the common Semitic root of the word for "dwelling", whether the "tent" of the nomads, or the "house" (stone, wood or brick) of sedentary peoples. It may sometimes designate a "sanctuary": thus in Arabic with the article *al-Bayt* is applied *par excellence* to the holy place at Mecca, also called *al-Bayt al-ḥarām* (sacred dwelling) or *al-Bayt al-ʿatīḳ* (ancient). Geographical names composed with *Bayt* are equally frequent, and the first element is often found reduced in Syro-Palestinian toponomy to the prefix *B-*, derived from the Aramaic (Syriac) *Bē*, but also known from Canaanitic, to judge by several examples of it in Biblical Hebrew (*Bē-shān*, etc.).

In Arabic, the definitions, always detailed, of the lexicologists limit the term to a dwelling of medium dimension, perhaps suitable for one family. And the sense of "family" is found precisely in all of the Semitic languages. As, by contrast, *Bayt* does not figure among the technical designations of tribal subdivisions, one might see there an argument in favour of a classical distinction between the family, however large, and these other various groupings, if unfortunately the same metonymical association were not to some extent encountered in all languages, too generally to be probative. (J. Lecerf)

BAYT [see ʿARŪḌ].

BAYT DJIBRĪN, or sometimes DJIBRĪL: a large Palestinian village of the Shephela, situated at an altitude of 287 m. south-west of Jerusalem on the borders of the limestone mountains of Judaea and the coastal plain, in a region rich in quarries and ancient remains which attracted the interest of Arab authors. Called Begabri by Josephus who regarded it as a village of Idumaea, and Betogabri by Ptolemy and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, it was a successor to the town of Maresha/Marisa, often referred to in the Old Testament and destroyed by the Parthians in 40 B.C., whose nearby position has been ascertained by excavations. It owed its other name of 'town of the cavemen' to the original population of the Hurrites who had occupied this region before being driven back under the pressure of Edom, and who bore a name synonymous with 'troglodytes'. This name was translated into Greek through a play of words in Hebrew as 'town of the free men' or Eleutheropolis when Septimus Severus gave the *jus italicum* to this locality in 200 A.D. In the middle ages it resumed its original name which appears in the Talmudic writings under the form of Beth Gubrin, and was twisted by the Crusaders into Beth Gebrim, Bethgibelin or Gibelin; it seems that a play of words on the Arabic *djibrīn/djabbārīn* then allowed to identify the place with the legendary 'City of the Giants', according to a tradition which is referred to by al-Harawī and which describes the story of Mūṣā related in Kurʾān, v, 24/21-25/22 as having taken place there.

Minting its own money and commanding a vast region, the city of Eleutheropolis enjoyed great prosperity in ancient times as is proved by the Romano-Byzantine mosaics which have been discovered there. Its importance diminished in Arab times although after its conquest by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs during the Caliphate of Abū Bakr, it continued to be the capital of a district within the military *djund* of Palestine and a trading-post on the road between Jerusalem and Ghazza. However, bitter local fighting seems to have occurred in this region which was mainly populated, according to al-Yaʿkūbī, by the Djudhām [*q.v.*], and "according to the account of a monk, Stephen of Mār Sābā, Eleutheropolis was completely destroyed in 796 in the course of a war between Arab tribes" (Fr. Buhl), a statement which should certainly be accepted with some reservations. Indeed a little later al-Makdisī describes Bayt Djibrin as a commercial centre for the district of Dārūm [*q.v.*], and the military value of its situation caused the Crusaders, who had first destroyed it, to build a citadel there towards 1134 which was put into the charge of the Knights Hospitallers, to safeguard the frontier of the kingdom of Jerusalem on the Egyptian side and to stop Muslim raids which came principally from the direction of ʿAskalān [*q.v.*]. After having suffered some damage when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn retook it in 583/1187, it still remained a fortified town in the Mamlūk period, depending directly from the *nāʾib* of the Ghazza district in the coastal frontier area of the province of Damascus.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

BAYT AL-FAKĪH, (*i.e.*, "the Abode of the Jurist"), a town of c. 10,000 population located at 14° 30′ N., 43° 16′ E. in Tihāmat al-Yaman. The town is also called Bayt al-Faḳīh al-Ṣaghīr, to distinguish it from Zaydiyya or Bayt al-Faḳīh al-Kabīr to the north near Bādjil, and Bayt al-Faḳīh Ibn ʿUdjayl after the name of the jurist around whose tomb the town has grown. The town in 1944 was the capital of the *kaḍā* of Bayt al-Faḳīh, comprising four *nāḥiyas* ,in the *liwāʾ* of al-Ḥudayda. The four *nāḥiyas* are: Nāḥiyat Lidjān, Nāḥiyat al-Ḥusayniyya, Nāḥiyat Banī Saʿīd, and Nāḥiyat Bayt al-Faḳīh, each of which is governed by an *ʿāmil*, with the courtesy title of *ḳāḍī* if he is not a *sayyid*. The *liwāʾ* of al-Ḥudayda falls under a royal prince.

Bayt al-Faḳīh may be connected with pre-Islamic history through the migration of the tribe of al-Azd from Mārib after the breaking of the dam. Tradition alludes to the temporary settlement of the tribe near a wateringplace called Ghassān, perhaps between Wādī Rimaʿ and Wādī Zabīd. A portion of al-Azd later moved to the Syrian borders and established the state of Ghassān. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Baṭṭūta mentions the name of the village near the tomb of Ibn ʿUdjayl as Ghassāna, but this name is unknown there today. The classical Arab geographers mention neither Ghassāna nor Bayt al-Faḳīh.

It seems likely that the present village of Bayt al-Faḳīh arose shortly after the death of the *faḳīh*, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. ʿUdjayl, in 690/1291 due largely to pilgrimages made to his grave and the miraculous powers attributed to the invocation of his name. In the 11th/17th century the town increased its prosperity as a coffee-centre for the port of Mocha, and an East India Company factor, Revington, suggested the establishment of a factory there in 1659. During the 12th/18th century, the Yamanī Imāms took monthly revenues of £ 1500 from Mocha and Bayt al-Faḳīh combined, an amount which increased during the months of Indian shipping. Hamilton estimates annual coffee sales in Bayt al-Faḳīh at 22,000 tons. However, this same period saw the decline of the Yamanī trade as a result of expanding cultivation of coffee in Ceylon and the Western Hemisphere, and Bayt al-Faḳīh resumed its provincial, scholarly life, amid the anarchical political conditions in Southern Arabia.

The unsettled state of this area had been due largely to the fractious independence of the tribe of al-Zarānīḳ centered on Bayt al-Faḳīh. With a fighting strength estimated at 10,000 men, the tribe has steadfastly refused to accept governmental control for long and was strong enough in 1914 to levy road tolls on Ottoman infantry. As recently as 1947 the tribe cut down to the last man a punitive force sent by the Imām.

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(R. L. Headley)

BAYT AL-ḤIKMA, "House of Wisdom", a scientific institution founded in Baghdād by the caliph al-Maʾmūn, undoubtedly in imitation of the ancient academy of Djundaysābūr. Its principal activity was the translation of philosophical and scientific works from the Greek originals which, according to tradition, a delegation sent by the caliph had brought from the country of Rūm. Its directors were Sahl b. Hārūn [*q.v.*] and Salm, assisted by Saʿīd b. Hārūn. It included an important staff of translators, of whom the most famous were the Banu 'l-Munadjdjim, as well as copyists and binders. It appears in fact that the library so constituted, and often called *Khizānat al-ḥikma*, had already existed in the time of al-Rashīd and the Barmakids who had begun to have Greek works translated. Al-Maʾmūn may only have given a new impetus to this movement, which was to exert a considerable influence of the development of Islamic thought and culture (see ʿARABIYYA, B. III, 1).

To the same institution were attached astronomical observatories (*marṣad*), one installed at Baghdād, the other at Damascus, where Muslim scholars devised in particular new tables (*zīdj* [*q.v.*]), correcting the ancient ones furnished by Ptolemy.

The *Bayt al-ḥikma* properly so called, does not appear to have survived the orthodox reaction of al-Mutawakkil, although there is subsequent mention in ʿIrāḳ, during the 3rd/9th century, of several scientific libraries, owing their existence to private initiative and the fact that the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid had sought to favour the work of various scholars whom he had installed in his palace. Only the Fāṭimids were later to found similar official academies, of which the most important was the *dār al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] established by al-Ḥākim in 395/1005.

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(D. Sourdel)

BAYT LAḤM, large Palestinian village and celebrated centre of pilgrimage situated in the limestone mountains of Judaea 800 m. above sea-level and approximately 10 kms. south of Jerusalem, corresponds to the ancient Bethlehem of biblical fame. Honoured and visited by Christians from the 4th century on, it became equally venerated by Muslims as the birthplace of ʿĪsā b. Maryam [*q.v.*]. The Arab geographers who never failed to refer to this fact and who often expressed admiration for the Byzantine basilica which (founded by Constantine in 325 and restored under Justinian in 525) had been built there, commented equally on the miraculous palm of Ḳurʾān, xix, 25, the tomb of David and Solomon which Christian tradition had already located in the Grotto of the Nativity, and the *miḥrāb* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, traditionally the spot where the second Caliph had prayed at the time of his journey through Palestine after its conquest. This remarkable reputation from the religious point of view did not however help the village of Bayt Laḥm, too close as it was to Jerusalem, to develop in importance, and the attention paid to it by the Franks of the First Crusade, who built a fortress there after they had annexed it in 492/1099, and in 1110 got permission to set up a bishopric there, did no more than give it a brief spurt of life. Occupied by Salāḥ al-Dīn when he reconquered Palestine in 583/1187, then included in the temporary retrocession of the Treaty of Jaffa concluded between al-Malik al-Kāmil and Frederick II, the place continued then and later to vegetate. However the intensification of the relations between its Christian population and the West permitted it finally to achieve its present position, that of a small town with a feeble Muslim minority (the Muslims never recovered from the repression of which they were the victims in 1834 after they had revolted against Ibrāhīm Pasha), where religious institutions and modern houses predominate, ranged in a semicircle on the side of the hill round the platform surmounted by the famous basilica. This sanctuary of the Nativity whose archaeological interest has already been emphasised, has been the object of successive restorations which have left the primitive arrangement of its central part with its four-fold rows of columns untouched, but have transformed especially the decoration which gives valuable information about the evolution of the art of the mosaic in the high middle ages.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BAYT AL-MAḲDIS [see AL-ḲUDS].

BAYT AL-MĀL, in its concrete meaning "the House of wealth", but particularly, in an abstract sense, the "fiscus" or "treasury" of the Muslim State.

I. The Legal Doctrine. 'Bilāl and his companions asked ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to distribute the booty acquired in Iraq and Syria. "Divide the lands among those who conquered them", they said, "just as the spoils of the army are divided". But ʿUmar refused their request . . . saying: "Allāh has given a share in these lands to those who shall come after you".' (*Kitāb al-Kharādj*, 24. *Le Livre de l'Impot Foncier*, 37). In this alleged decision of ʿUmar lies the germ of the notion of public as distinct from private ownership and the idea of properties and monies designed to serve the interests of the community as a whole. Coupled with the institution of the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] in 20 A.H. it marks the starting point of the conception of the *bayt al-māl* as the State Treasury or fiscus. Previously the term had simply designated the depositary where money and goods were temporarily lodged pending distribution to their individual owners. (See Tyan, *Institutions du Droit Public Musulman*, i, 216).

Organisation. All the various officials derive their powers by delegation from the Imām who is the head of the *bayt al-māl*. In Sunnī law a firm distinction is drawn between the public authority with which the Imām is invested in this respect and the personal control of his privy purse. (See Tyan, *op. cit.*, i, 391 f. and ii, 195. Also Mez, *Renaissance*, 113-116 (Eng. tr., 120-122), for the position in practice.) This distinction does not apply to the same extent in the law of the Twelver Shīʿa, where the ownership of certain properties which in Sunnī law belong to the community as a whole is vested in the person of the divinely inspired Imām. (See Querry, *Droit Musulman*, i, 178, 337. Baillie, *Imameea Code*, 362).

The actual collection and distribution of State revenues is the responsibility of the *Ṣāḥib bayt al-māl* who controls the several officials in charge of the various categories of revenue listed below. Freedom, Islam, moral integrity (*ʿadāla*- [see ʿADL]) and competence are essential qualifications for such appointments, and in addition the quality of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] is required fo those offices which involve discretionary assessment or expenditure. Minor agents of collection or delivery may be slaves, or *dhimmīs* when dealing only with their co-religionists. The records and accounts of Treasury business are dealt with by a special administrative department under the control of the *Kātib al-dīwān*, for which office *ʿadāla* and professional competence are the only two essential qualifications.

Within this skeleton framework the nature and scope of individual offices is a matter for the discretion of the Imām. "Neither for general nor for particular appointments does the *Sharīʿa* define the terms" (Ibn Farḥūn, *Tabṣirat al-Ḥukkām*, ii, 141, 158).

Sources of Revenue. Not all State revenues are "assets of the Treasury" (*ḥuḳūḳ bayt al-māl*) as such. These latter may be defined as those monies or properties which belong to the Muslim community as a whole, the purpose to which they are devoted being dependent upon the discretion of the Imām or his delegate.

Thus the only portion of the *ghanīma* [*q.v.*] which qualifies as one of the assets of the Treasury is that fraction of the fifth (*al-khums*)—which term may here be taken to include the levy on mined products and treasure trove—which is the share of Allāh and the Prophet and which is to be spent in the interests of the community as a whole. The remainder of the fifth is earmarked for specified classes—the relatives of the Prophet, orphans, poor and travellers—and as such is removed from the discretion of the Imām. Similarly the proceeds of *ṣadaḳa* or *zakāt* [*q.v.*] are destined for particular classes of the community and though, like *ghanīma*, these monies may be controlled by Treasury officials or lodged in the vaults of the Treasury pending the determination of the entitled recipients, ownership, from the moment of payment, vests in the entitled recipients and not in the *bayt al-māl*. Even the Ḥanafī jurists, who allow the Imām to apportion out the *ṣadaḳa* at his discretion to one or more of the specified beneficiaries to the exclusion of the rest, draw a clear-cut distinction between *māl al-ṣadaḳa* and *māl al-Muslimīn*. (See *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, 80, 149, 187).

The primary source of the Treasury's income is, then, the revenues collectively termed *fayʾ*, *i.e.*, the taxes of *kharādj* and *djizya* [*qq.v.*]. The position of the tax *ʿushr* [*q.v.*] is somewhat confused. Some jurists appear to regard it as *fayʾ* and others as *ṣadaḳa*, while in one view it is treated as *ṣadaḳa* if paid by Muslims and as *fayʾ* if paid by non-Muslims. Among the subsidiary sources of income are:

(i) Property with no known owner—*e.g.*, runaway slaves when apprehended, or property found in the possession of arrested brigands. The proceeds from the sale of such property if movable, or its exploitation if immovable, belong to the *bayt al-māl*.

(ii) The property of apostates. While the great majority of jurists maintain that all the available property of apostates belongs to the *bayt al-māl*, the Ḥanafī jurists are divided between denying the claim of the Treasury altogether and restricting it to such property as was acquired after apostacy.

(iii) Estates of deceased persons. [See MĪRĀTH]. The Treasury is especially favoured in this respect in Mālikī law, where it will always succeed, as residuary heir, in the absence of any entitled *ʿaṣaba* and such Ḳurʾānic heirs as would exhaust the estate by the sum of their alloted shares. With no heir of either category the Treasury is assured of at least two thirds of the estate, since bequests may not exceed in value one third of the nett estate. In the law of the other schools, however, the presence of any Ḳurʾānic heir or blood-relative will exclude the Treasury, and in Ḥanafī law, failing such heirs, testamentary disposition may embrace the whole of the estate. Here then the Treasury only succeeds by a species of escheat.

Expenditure. Claims upon public monies fall, according to Māwardī (*al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, 367 f.), into two main categories.

(i) Claims in regard to which the liability of the Treasury is absolute. Such claims are either for services rendred to the State—*e.g.*, the stipends of the armed forces, the salaries of State officials, the price of equipment purchased—or for expenditure which is a specific obligation upon the State—*e.g.*, the duty to maintain its prisoners. The satisfaction of such claims is the first obligation upon the Treasury and payment may only be deferred when (as is the case with an ordinary debtor) the Treasury is insolvent. At the discretion of the *Ṣāḥib bayt al-māl* loans may be raised to satisfy these claims.

(ii) Claims in regard to which the Treasury's liability is dependent upon the existence of the necessary funds and the satisfaction of all claims in the previous category. Here the expenditure involved is for purposes of the public welfare and interest—*e.g.*, the construction of roads, water supplies, the repair of damage to *kharādj* lands.

When all outstanding obligations have been met the Ḥanafī jurists advise that any surplus should be preserved to insure against possible future need, while the Shāfiʿīs maintain that any surplus should be expended immediately in the public interest. Beyond these general principles the law does not go, content to leave the detailed determination of the public interest to the discretion of the Imām, with the one proviso that public funds are not to be devoted to purposes prohibited by the law—*e.g.*, gambling, music etc.

Procedure. The administrative work of the *dīwān* (analysed by Māwardī, *op. cit.*, 370-375) raises three main legal issues.

(i) *Legal proof*. While it is a fundamental principle of *Sharīʿa* law to deny any validity to written evidence, in Treasury practice official documents and records are *per se* a sufficient basis for action. Shāfiʿī law endorses this practice by drawing a distinction between "private rights" (*al-ḥuḳūḳ al-khāṣṣa*) and "public rights" (*al-ḥuḳūḳ al-ʿāmma*),

but the Ḥanafīs declare that Treasury documents can only serve as a basis for action when their authenticity is established by oral testimony. Semilarly proof of payment of taxes is established in Treasury practice by the written receipt of the collector. Legal doctrine, however, requires the oral acknowledgement of his signature by the collector; and further, in Ḥanafī law, such an acknowledged written receipt must be substantiated by oral acknowledgement of actual receipt. Finally written authorisation for payment from the Treasury is in practice accepted as a sufficient basis for Treasury accounts, while the jurists ideally require in addition oral acknowledgement of actual receipt by the designated receiver.

(ii) *Procedure in disputes*. The paramount question of the allotment to the contending parties of the respective rôles of plaintiff and defendant is governed by normal *Sharīʿa* principles. The plaintiff, upon whom falls the burden of legal proof (failing which effect is given to the defendant's oath of denial), is the party whose claim runs counter to the initial legal presumption attaching to the case. Thus in disputes arising from the inspection of officials' accounts by the *dīwān*'s officers (the presentation of accounts to the *dīwān* being obligatory upon officials concerned with the collection or distribution of *fayʾ* revenues) the accountant of the *dīwān* fills the rôle of plaintiff if the dispute concerns the income of the Treasury and that of defendant if the dispute concerns expenditure.

(iii) *Jurisdiction*. Disputes between private citizens and Treasury officials are justiciable by the *Ṣāḥib al-dīwān*, unless he is expressly denied this function in his terms of appointment. Such judicial competence belongs naturally to an office of which the principal duty is that of assuring the application of the rules and regulations of fiscal law. In the case of disputes between officials of the treasury and the officers of the *dīwān*, when the *Ṣāḥib al-dīwān* is, in effect, a party to the dispute, the principle that no one can be judge in his own case applies and jurisdiction belongs to the ordinary courts.

Fundamentally concerned with the strict regulation of man's relationship with his Creator, the *Sharīʿa* deals with the relationship between the individual and the State only in general terms, restricting itself to demanding the observance of a few relevant principles. This attitude is particularly evident in the field of criminal law, where, outside the *ḥadd* offences (in which the notion of man's obligations towards Allāh predominates) the determination of offence and punishment is left to the discretion of the sovereign. So it is with fiscal law. Only those limited aspects of public finance which are deemed to constitute man's obligation towards Allāh (*e.g.*, *zakāt* tax) are regulated in detail; and thus the law concerning the *bayt al-māl* is essentially within the province of the administrative regulations (*ḳānūn*) of the political authority and not of the *Sharīʿa*.

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(N. J. COULSON)

II. History. The institution can be traced back to Muḥammad in so far as there already existed in his time the embryonic notion of a Treasury of the Community, supplied by diverse forms of contributions; but its real origin is to be found in the contact between the new needs of the Community which had become the conqueror of an Empire and the pre-existing fiscal institutions of the conquered States. Tradition is certainly correct in attributing to the Caliph ʿUmar several essential preliminary steps, although the details are undoubtedly surrounded with much confusion. For ʿUmar the immediate problem was the organisation of the system of stipends (see ʿAṬĀʾ), the fiscal régime itself and the collection of taxes remaining almost exclusively in the hands of the native population. Afterwards the progressive development of a bureaucratic and centralised Muslim State had a particular effect on the elaboration of the scheme of taxation, the methods of financial administration and the organs of this administration. It is obviously impossible here to encompass the whole history of the institution, particularly after the time of the fragmentation of the Muslim world into individual States whose differences became more and more accentuated; moreover no history of this kind has as yet been written. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to making certain observations of general validity and indicating certain desirable lines of enquiry.

The simple taxes of the early Muslim community could, in their broad concrete lines if not in their theoretical basis, be assimilated to the more complicated taxes of the States to which Islam fell heir and whose fiscal structure the Arabs, like the majority of conquering nations, respected—to such a degree, indeed, that throughout the length of Islamic history the former Byzantine territories (differing among themselves) and the former Sāsānid territories (not to mention the West) remained quite distinct areas from the fiscal point of view. To this was added, at the outset, a further distinction, afterwards resolved, between the towns conquered by force of arms, which were directly subject to Muslim taxes and tax-collectors, the towns of *ʿahd*, which paid a fixed tribute and raised it independently in their own fashion, and, between these two extremes, the towns of *ṣulḥ*, where the taxes were Muslim taxes but were raised by the native administration. For two thirds of a century the fiscal records continued to be written in the native languages, until ʿAbd al-Malik, (685-705) ordered the translation of the fundamental documents into Arabic (the example of the Egyptian papyri proves that it was by a slower process that Arabic came to be exclusively used in the work of the subordinate administration).

Both practice and theory fairly soon distinguished the following taxes and sources of revenue:

The basic tax was the land tax, *kharādj*, originally levied upon all the lands of the non-Muslim natives. When a large part of the indigenous population became Muslims by conversion, it became necessary, in spite of certain misgivings, in order not to ruin the fiscus, to decide that the land was not affected by the change of faith on the part of its possessor and must always be subject to the *kharādj*. From the point of view of the Islamic theory, the *kha-*

rādj constituted a permanent rent from the land for the benefit of the Muslim community, the supreme owner. This is the doctrine of *fay'*, the immoveable properties acquired by conquest, a foundation in perpetuity for the benefit of successive generations of the community, in contrast to the moveable booty, *ghanima*, which was distributed immediately. From the point of view of the indigenous population, the *kharādj* merely continued the pre-Islamic land-tax. In addition to the *kharādj* non-Muslims are subject to a capitation tax, *djizya*, which does lapse upon conversion to Islam. The distinction between *kharādj* and *djizya*, though sharp in theory, is not always so in terminology and in practice, particularly because the Byzantine Empire, it seems, had practiced a combined land-capitation tax.

The tax, or rather voluntary alms, peculiar to the Muslim was the *zakāt* or *ṣadaḳa*, levied upon both landed and moveable property. As regards landed property it was applied on the one hand to Arab properties (especially in Arabia) and on the other hand to the *iḳṭāʿ* conceded from the State domains to Arab notables and, later, to the military leaders of every race. In its relation both to landed and moveable property the *zakāt* was closely allied to the tithe, *ʿushr*, which was known to the Near Eastern pre-Islamic societies, and often was so called.

To these taxes were added for the fiscus the right to one fifth of the booty, the produce of mines, treasure trove from the land or from the sea and the *mawārith ḥashriyya*, succession to the inheritance of persons dying without legal heirs.

In addition, the State lands, *ṣawāfi*, when they were not conceded as *iḳṭāʿ*, whatever the method of their exploitation, brought in revenues similar to those of private properties. Further the State appropriated the proceeds from judicial fines.

It was only the taxes listed above which were held to be legal by the theory. But in practice many others were discovered or invented. Some were supplementary increases upon the normal taxes for the defrayal of attendant expenses or any other reason (*furūʿ*, *tawābiʿ*, in contrast to the basic tax, *aṣl*), and others fell upon the most varied forms of economic activity (*ḍarā'ib*, *rusūm*). These last were generally condemned by the jurists, who were often connected with commercial circles, under the name of *mukūs*, and certain pious rulers attempted to abolish them, though naturally this was without any lasting effect. The police often demanded the payment of a particular *ḥimāya*. Finally the State was always punishing high officials who had enriched themselves by confiscations (*muṣādara*) etc.

The peculiarities of the assessment and the collection of each tax will be studied under their respective titles and so nothing more need be said on the subject here.

In general terms the recovery of taxes can be effected either by direct administration (through the agent or *ʿāmil*) or by farming out, *ḍamān*. The system of tax-farming, which was as well known to antiquity as the direct levy, gained ground with the growing decadence of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, but it was perhaps never practised to such an extent as has often been believed by those who have failed to distinguish properly the notions of *ḍamān*, *ḳabāla* and *djahbadha*, which, although there may be occasional confusions of terminology, are utterly different things. *Ḳabāla* can only come into operation where there exists a group of tax-payers collectively responsible for the tax. By agreement between the group and the agent of the fiscus it may be decided, as was the case in the later Roman Empire, that the tax will be paid by one or several individual persons of standing, and it will be left to them to reimburse themselves afterwards with some small additional sum by way of compensation. The *ḳabāla*, therefore, does not modify in any way either the amount of the tax owed to the State or its direct recovery by the agents of the State from the basic group. The tax-farmer, *ḍāmin*, on the other hand, is an individual who, often for one or more provinces and for a number of years, pays annually to the State a contracted sum, less than the calculated revenue from the tax, and afterwards undertakes its recovery on his own account, which will, of course, reimburse him with profit. If the State is reduced to this method it is assured of a precise and immediate return from the pockets of rich individuals, but it loses a portion of the money paid by the tax-payer and, for the duration of the contract, the control of operations. As for the *djahbadh*, he may well be a *ḍāmin*, but he has at the same time the unique position of a sort of official money-changer cum surety; for he verifies and standardises by exchange the different types of currency, good and bad, paid by the tax-payers in return for a small percentage collected as a supplementary tax from the latter.

Furthermore, outside the territories subject to the normal taxation, levied directly or by farming out, there were other areas in regard to which the State had renounced some part of its fundamental rights. In some areas—*ighār*—the State temporarily refrained from sending agents of collection, abandoning the revenue to an army commander so that he might cover therefrom the expenses of his army's maintenance. In other areas—*muḳāṭaʿa* (to be carefully distinguished from the *iḳṭāʿ*)—the State was content with a contracted tribute, without concerning itself with the theoretical scheme of taxation: equivalent to the primitive *ʿahd*, this was applied in particular to the vassal rulers of regions which were not completely subdued. The *iḳṭāʿ*, in its original form of a concession of land from the State domains which was subject to the payment of the tithe, had not any particular fiscal character; but later there were assigned under this name to army officers as the equivalent of their salary the fiscal rights of the State in *kharādj* districts, initially subject to the payment, by the beneficiaries, of the tithe for the area concerned, then later with no attached condition other than that of professional military service (see Cl. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iqtâʿ*, in *Annales ESC*, 1953). These different methods of alienation of the revenues of the fiscus naturally diminished the returns, but they equally alleviated the expenditures in a manner which often involved hardly any break with the previous position, since in any case the proceeds of the taxes from a province were never sent to the fiscus until the provincial expenditure had first been satisfied on the spot. The danger to the State was only serious in proportion to the extent, which varied in the different regions and at different periods, to which these alienations resulted in a relaxing of the fiscal control itself and consequently also of the appreciation of the resources of the territory concerned.

This appreciation was obtained with fairly reasonable accuracy not only through the lump evaluations of the budget but also from the daily sessions, following the ancient custom, devoted to the detailed assessment of lands and their fiscal value, as well as of persons subject to the *djizya*

and, in all probability, the *zakāt*, not to speak of the other taxes. The best example preserved concerns the Fayyūm in the 7th/13th century (*Arabica*, 1956), but what we know of the ʿIrāḳī Sawād, of the province of Ḳumm in Iran, etc., and in a general way of the methods of the administration, allows no one to doubt that there are almost everywhere parallels in ʿAbbāsid times. The value of each fiscal unity was the object of an assessment, *ʿibra*, which continued to serve as an authority so long as there had been no revision, although naturally, the administration itself had to admit annual variations. Diverse works, such as the *Mafātiḥ al-ʿulūm* and the Egyptian papyri, allow us to follow from another angle the precision of the daily accounts of the refunds of taxes and of the reliefs granted to tax-payers. Arrears (*baḳāyā*) were meticulously noted and claimed in following years, although it was in practice often necessary, when arrears had accumulated, to settle them by compromise. Recovery of taxes necessitated a distinction between the two calendar years, for only the personal taxes or the payments *ex contractu* could be based on the legal lunar year, while the taxes on land and its produce were of necessity based on the solar year, Persian or Egyptian.

These methods, which were the pride of the *kuttāb* and the *ḥussāb*, allowed the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, until the beginning of the 4th/10th century, and certain regional rulers after that date, to establish veritable budgets, at any rate of receipts (the arbitrary activity of the rulers in the matter of expenditure not allowing equally comprehensive appreciations in that sphere). In particular four ʿAbbāsid budgets have been preserved, undoubtedly based upon good archive sources, the relative agreement of which guarantees the accuracy, if not of all the details, at least of the main and broad essentials. They do not provide a complete statement of the total receipts of the Caliphate, for the *d̲j̲izya*, the *zakāt* on moveable property and, *a fortiori*, the *mukūs* only figure there exceptionally (their more variable character and the fact that they did not issue from the same services being obvious). Such as they are they show us a total of income exceeding 400 million dirhams for the second half of the 2nd/8th century, falling short of 300 million by the beginning of the following century, and at the beginning of the 4th/10th century down to 14½ million dinars, which is approximately equivalent to 210 million dirhams. This shrinking of the receipts was due to the territorial losses of the Caliphate and not, except at moments of crisis, to diminishing fiscal values within each province. The increasing financial difficulties of the Caliphate were, therefore, not occasioned by any economic catastrophe, for which supposition there is absolutely no foundation, but by the relatively increasing burden of necessary expenditure, particularly military, which it was impossible to reduce in proportion to the decline in the provincial tax returns. Without attempting here to cover all the details of the military organisation of the Caliphate, we may try to show something of the financial burden which it constituted: a foot-soldier's usual pay being of the order of 1000 dirhams per annum, and that of a horseman double this amount, it can be estimated that the cost of the stipends alone for an army fifty thousand strong would be in the region of seventy five million dirhams. To this, of course, it is necessary to add the exceptional salaries of the commanders, the gratuities and the cost of equiping and maintaining the armies and the fortifications etc., and one writer maintains that in the middle of the 3rd/9th century the army was costing at one time some 200 million dirhams, which means to say that at that moment there would be a surplus only of approximately one half of that sum (not counting the taxes which did not figure in the budget) for all "civilian" expenditure. This latter expenditure is more difficult to assess, although we know the salaries of the principal officers of Government and Court under the ʿAbbāsids and the Fāṭimids, not to speak of later periods (see especially Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, and al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 401).

It is difficult to give a precise description of the various organs of the central fiscal administration which often, and in a varying manner, overlap and are confused with each other under ill-defined titles. The fiscal administration was the primary duty of the *Dīwān* in particular and in general, consequently, of the vizirate when this latter developed. But it was impossible for a single organ to deal at the same time with both the operations and the fundamental rules (*aṣl*) of assessment and collection and the daily accounts of income and expenditure. In spite of the difficulty of the texts it is apparently to this division of duties that the institution of the *Dīwān al-zimām* corresponds, for this office, which was later known in the East as the *istīfāʾ* (the director being the *mustawfī*) appears to be the service of accountancy. From the time of al-Mahdī it controlled the accountancy services attached to each dīwān as well as those of the provincial administrations. Expenditure was the province of a special dīwān, the *dīwān al-nafaḳāt*, while expenditures relating to the army were the province of the *dīwān al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲*. With the inauguration of the system of the fiscal *iḳṭāʿ* this latter *dīwān* in fact came to possess duplicates of the survey registers for receipts. The *Bayt al-Māl* properly so called was the service to which the income was delivered and from which the expenditure was drawn, the Treasury. An army of scribes, *kuttāb*, and accountants, *ḥussāb*, worked in these offices, some under the control of others, applying the accountancy techniques which the didactic fiscal treatises of the Būyid period have revealed to us. For the representation of numbers they employed what is known as the *dīwānī* script, which consisted of letters and particular signs devised from abbreviations of the names of numbers, and which was to remain in use almost up to the present day in certain countries, to the exclusion of the "Arabic" numerals.

Still further subdivisions existed in the services, in particular, as regards the receipt of the land taxes, between the service for the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* and that for the *ḍiyāʿ*, that is to say landed properties subject solely to the tithe. On the other hand a regional division was gradually established, by virtue of which we can distinguish a *Dīwān* of *Sawād* (province of Bag̲h̲dād), one of the east and one of the west (Arab territories). Special services administered confiscated properties; these were sometimes returned, sometimes distributed. Again, dues paid in kind, presents and gifts received, the valuable products of the *ṭirāz* etc., were stored in the *k̲h̲azāʾin* or *mak̲h̲āzin*, and the general term of *mak̲h̲zan* appears to have almost replaced, in the administration of the later Caliphate, the term of *Bayt al-Māl*, the change reflecting, undoubtedly, the proportionate increase of presentations in kind and the diminution of fiscal receipts in hard cash.

The Muslim State, however, always recognised the distinction between the private Treasury of the

Caliph or the Prince, *Bayt māl al-khāṣṣa*, and the public Treasury, *Bayt māl al-muslimīn* or simply *Bayt al-māl*. But the distinction was by no means a rigid one, for the private Treasury was supplied not only with the revenues from the sovereign's personal estate but also with different public revenues such as fines, confiscations and even capitation fees and land taxes from certain provinces of Irāḳ and southern Iran, out of consideration for both the needs of the Court and also all the pious works which the Caliph and his successors had to undertake. In practice, whatever the personal position of the Caliphs, the privy purse had often to play the rôle of a simple reserve for the public Treasury, furnishing it with advances which might or might not be reimbursed (W. Fischel, *Le Bayt Māl al-Khāṣṣa*, in *Actes du 19e Congrès des Orientalistes*, 1938, 538-41).

Each of the provinces had, on a small scale, an organisation parallel to that of the central government. They did not despatch to the latter the sum total of their fiscal revenue but only the residue after local expenses had been satisfied. Furthermore the provinces did not send on this residue as and when it was received, but in bulk, and when the needs of the State were particularly pressing the *ʿāmil* would resort to sending promissory notes, guaranteeing the delivery of sums received, which the *Dīwān* could then use in negotiations with its creditors. The autonomy of the provincial fiscal administration is among the reasons which explain the ease with which independent régimes could establish themselves in the different areas without undue complication.

The interests of State, subordinate rulers and tax payers caused a variation, at different times and in different places, of the proportion of payments in cash and payments in kind which made up the tax returns. Moreover the East paid in silver and the Mediterranean countries in gold. The result was that the early accountancy of the fiscal services had to operate in different categories. At the end of the 3rd/9th century, however, an effort was made to establish a unified system of accountancy on the basis of the gold standard, with a legal tariff for the exchange of the dirham and a regulated price list for the different commodities; in this way the budget estimates could be more clearly established.

The theory, basing itself upon the early machinery of taxation in the Muslim community, never accepted the principle that all fiscal revenue ought to be devoted without distinction to each and every expenditure incurred. In particular the theory held that the *zakāt*, inasmuch as it was a Muslim tax, ought to be used for pious works, for alms, the holy war, the ransom of Muslim slaves and aids to travellers etc., and ought, in principle, to be expended in the locality of its collection and not delivered to the fiscus. It is impossible to appreciate the extent to which such distinctions could be respected in practice; there was evidently no question of their being observed in times of crisis. The only sources of revenue which were assured of an employment in conformity with the precepts of the law were the private foundations *waḳfs*, *ḥabūs*. These, naturally, did not form part of the fiscal revenues, but they were firmly under the control of the State, usually through the intermediary of the *ḳāḍī*, in order to prevent abuses.

It can scarcely be doubted that the fiscal régime was oppressive, even if no more so than that of the neighbouring non-Muslim States. Apart from the "neck-brand" of those subject to the *djizya*, brutal methods of collection, such as those described for the early ʿAbbāsid period by (the pseudo-?) Dionysius of Tell-Mahré (*Arabica*, 1954), were often employed despite the efforts of certain princes and *wazīrs*. Egypt, as it did in Roman and Byzantine times, continues to present us with a picture of taxpayers fleeing their homes to escape the fiscus, and the Coptic revolts of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries had in general no other than fiscal causes. The autonomy of the provinces, even if it did not alleviate the tax burden itself, did improve the situation in general, since the interest of the local rulers lay in being self-supporting and in at least expending on the spot revenues which had formerly gone to enrich the favourites of the Caliph. A few echoes of the conflicts between the democratic and aristocratic notions of taxation have come down to us (for example in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 343 and 352-3).

The growing, albeit variable, spread of the régime of the fiscal *iḳṭāʿ* from the beginning of the 4th/10th century considerably diminished the importance of the fiscal administrations, as it also did that of the direct resources of the State. It is out of the question here to trace the financial history of the different Muslim principalities which were the heirs of the Caliphate. It must suffice to say that until modern times the countries which have not been affected by the Mongol invasion have retained for the taxpayers almost the same régime of taxation, that the rights of the State have only ever been partially alienated and that in consequence certain methods of assessment and budgetary estimates have always there been possible. The countries incorporated, during the 7th/13th century, into the Mongol Empire, not to speak of the subsequent series of changes of rule, experimented with forms of fiscal administration which combined with the old Muslim traditions new elements taken from the conquerers. Such elements were also introduced into Asia minor, where, in addition, there still persisted Byzantine traditions which had become interwoven with the local Saldjūḳid Muslim institutions; and these three elements apparently influenced, though in a way which has not yet been discovered, the original formation of the future Ottoman institutions. The figures quoted in such and such a source have often been adduced to demonstrate the decadence of the fiscal revenues and consequently of the economy; but these figures can only be interpreted on the basis of a consideration, in the first place of the proportion of taxes accruing directly to the State and that alienated to individuals, and in the second place of the value of currency and market prices; and it would be wise for the moment to refrain from any positive assertion.

Bibliography: We can naturally do no more here than note certain sources of particular importance. For the origins references may be found in Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 368-417, to which may be added Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl* (see ʿAṬĀʾ); the majority are drawn from the works on *kharādj* composed in the first ʿAbbāsid century by Abū Yūsuf and Yaḥyā b. Adam (of which an annotated English translation by A. Ben Shemesh, Leiden 1958 has just appeared), and, later, from the *K. al-Futūḥ* of Balādhurī. The *K. al-Kharādj* (not wholly preserved) of Ḳudāma (ed. A. Makki, a typewritten thesis, Sorbonne, Paris) and the scattered information in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* of Khwārizmī date from the 4th/10th century, and the *Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* of Māwardī from the 5th/11th century. The

budgets studied by A. V. Kremer in his *Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, i, ch. VII and *Das Einnahmebudget ... vom Jahre 306* (*Denkschr. d. k. Akad. d. W. Wien, Ph.-Hist. Kl.* xxxvi, 1888 (the oldest one, now also accessible in Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarā*ʾ, ed. Mzik, 179-182, or Cairo 1938, 281-88)) are drawn from various chronicles. To the Būyid period belong the didactic treatises on fiscal mathematics of al-Būzadjānī (a study is being prepared by Saleh el-Ali, Baghdad) and of the anonymous author of the *K. al-Ḥāwī* (analysed and commented upon by myself in *AEIO*, x, 1952). Much information can naturally be obtained from the Egyptian papyri, edited by A. Grohmann, see his commentaries in the articles in the *Archiv Orientalny*, v-vi, 1933-1934, and by C. Leyerer in *ZDMG*, 1953. Among the historical chronicles and works the most valuable are evidently the *Tadjārib al-ʿUmam* of Ibn Miskawayh with their supplement by Rudhrawarī, the *K. al-Wuzarā*ʾ of Hilāl al-Ṣābī and the *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm* of Ḥasan b. M. Ḳummī, much used in A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, especially chap. II. Certain official correspondence, such as that of the Būyid vizir Ibn ʿAbbād, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām and Shukrī Ḍayf, 1947, may be consulted with advantage. For subsequent periods it will suffice to note certain recent publications: for the Ayyūbids, in addition to the classical *Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn* of Ibn Mammāṭī (ed. Atiya, 1943), the short works of ʿUthmān b. Ibr. al-Nābulūsī (*Description of Fayyum*, see my analysis in *Arabica* 1956, and *Lamʿ al-Ḳawānīn*, edition prepared by myself); for the Mongols, the *Resalāye falakiyyā* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Kiyā al-Māzandarānī ed. W. Hinz and studied by him in *Der Islam*, xxix, 1949; for the Yemen, R. B. Serjeant and myself will publish a valuable work of the 9th/15th century, the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-fitan* (cf. *Arabica*, iv/1957, 23 f.). For Egypt in general and the Mamlūks in particular the importance of Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, and of Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ* need not be emphasised.

There does not exist any financial history of the Muslim world; there are, however, certain useful partial studies. See particularly, for the period of the origins, D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll-Tax in early Islam*, 1951; for the whole of the "classical" period, Fr. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, 1951 (a great documentary and technical achievement, but not uniformly reliable) which refers to the works, important in their time but now superseded, of C. Becker, etc., and Chapter 8 (cf. 6) of Mez in *Renaissance*. Useful observations will be found in the Sorbonne thesis of D. Sourdel on *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, when this is published. Among other more specialised studies, apart from those which are cited in the text of the article, see W. Fischel, *Origin of Banking in Medieval Islam*, in *JRAS*, 1933, and H. Gottschalk, *Die Mādarāʾiyyūn*. An exposition of the classical doctrine may be found, for example, in S. A. Siddiqi, *Public Finance in Islam*, Karachi 1948. (Cl. Cahen)

In the Ottoman state the distinction was carefully maintained between the private treasury of the Sultan (*Khazīne-i Enderūn* or *Ič Khazīne*) and the public treasury or treasuries of the state (*Khazīne-i Emīriyye*, *Khazīne-i Dewlet*, *Khazīne-i ʿĀmire*, etc. On the Ottoman treasury and finances see further DAFTARDĀR, KHAZĪNE, MĀLIYYA). The term most commonly applied to the state treasury was *Mīrī* (from *emīrī*), which was also used in the more general sense of government property (cf. BEYLIK). In Ottoman administrative documents the treasury is not normally called *bayt al-māl*, though the expression does occur, usually in the forms *bayt al-māl-i Muslimīn* or *bayt al-māl-i ʿāmma* (as for example in some legal rulings of Abu ʾl-Suʿūd quoted by Ömer Lutfi Barkan in *Tanzimat*, Istanbul 1940, 333, 336, 343; and in a few *ḳānūnnāmes* published in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 297, 300, 326. In all these the context is the rights of the *bayt al-māl* over certain categories of land, called *arḍ-i mīrī* or *arḍ-i memleket*). In common Ottoman usage the term *bayt al-māl* was normally restricted to a certain group of revenues belonging by law to the public treasury. These consisted of various categories of forfeited, escheated, and unclaimed property, and are enumerated and discussed in a number of documents. The most important were property belonging to missing and absent persons (*māl-i ghāʾib* and *māl-i mafḳūd*); unclaimed or escheated inheritances (*mukhallafāt*, *matrūkāt*); runaway slaves and stray cattle (*ʿabd-i ābiḳ*, *kačkun*, *yava*). The collection and care of these properties was the function of an official called the *Emīn bayt al-māl* or *bayt al-māldji*. Most legal sources agree that unclaimed inheritances are to be held for a period of time, variously determined, as a trust, to give the heirs the opportunity to assert and establish their claim. Only after their failure to do so does the money or estate become the property of the treasury. There are frequent complaints that this rule was disregarded, and that property was seized too quickly and without proper verification (*e.g.*, Luṭfī Pasha, *Āṣāfnāme*, ed. and tr. R. Tschudi, Berlin 1910, text 11, tr. 12; cf. Sarī Meḥmed Pasha, *Naṣāʾiḥ al-Wuzarā*ʾ, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1935, 71).

The Ottoman *ḳānūnnāmes* contain elaborate instructions and safeguards concerning the claiming of these properties and the assigning of the proceeds. Properties claimed for the *bayt al-māl* could be and frequently were assigned to *ʿāmils*, to *sandjaḳ-beys*, and even to *sipāhis*. As early as 883/1479, a *ferman* of Meḥemmed II lays down a distinction between reversions worth less than 10,000 aspers, and those worth 10,000 and over. The former were to be paid to the *ʿāmil*, or tax-farmer of the area; the latter were reserved to the Imperial treasury (*beylik*) (Halil Inalcık, *Fatih Sultan Mehmedʾin Fermanları*, *Bell.* no. 44, 1947, 699-700). A similar distinction is made in a late 15th century *ḳānūnnāme* (Anhegger-Inalcık 70-1), and is common in *ḳānūnnāmes* and registers from the 16th century onwards. The normal rule was that these properties, or the fees payable if they were successfully reclaimed by their owners, belonged to the treasury. In fact the share of the treasury was limited to items worth 10,000 aspers or more, and to property left by the servants of the Sultan, a category including the *sipāhīs* and other persons in the Sultan's employ. In the earlier period it also included the Janissaries. The remainder was part of the *khāṣṣ* of the *sandjaḳ-beys*. There were some exceptions to this division. In the so-called 'free' *tīmārs* (*serbest tīmār*), the *bayt al-māl* revenues were assigned to the *tīmār*-holder, and not, as in ordinary *tīmārs*, reserved to the Sultan's or the governor's *khāṣṣ*; in some *waḳf* lands too, notably those in favour of the *ḥarameyn*, they were included in the *waḳf* revenues. From the 16th century the Janissaries had a special officer of their own, the *Odjaḳ bayt al-māldjisi*, a kind of regimental

treasurer one of whose duties was to collect and assess the *mukhallafāt* of heirless Janissaries, *ʿadjemī oghlans*, etc. These or their equivalent were placed in the regimental chest (Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları I*, Ankara 1943, 311-320). Another interesting example of corporate privilege occurs in Jerusalem, where the *Zāwiya* of Maghribī *mudjāwirs* were collectively given the right of retaining the *mukhallafāt* of any one of their number who died without heirs. This right was granted by Saladin, and confirmed by the Mamlūk and Ottoman Sultans (Başvekalet Arşivi, tapu register no. 427 of 932/1526; cf. A. S. Tritton, *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages*, London 1957, 123). A similar privilege appears to have been given to the monks on Mount Athos (P. Lemerle and P. Wittek, *Recherches sur l'histoire et le statut des monastères athonites sous la domination turque*, *Archives du droit oriental*, iii, 1948, 443, 542, 453, 465).

Bibliography: *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī ber Mūceb-i ʿÖrf-i ʿOsmānī*, ed. R. Anhegger and Halil Inalcık, Ankara 1956, 70-71; *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, *TOEM* supplement 1329, 21, 58, 70-1; *ʿOthmānlı Ḳānūnnāmeleri*, *MTM*, i, 75, 91, 321, 343; Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Onundju ʿAṣr-i hidjrīde Istanbul ḥayātı*, Istanbul 1333, 19, 210-1; Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *Kanunlar*, index; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālīf Ḳawāʾidi* i, Istanbul 1328, 66-8; D'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, 134, 240, 260, 318. Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna, 1815, 1, 289, and index; L. Fekete, *Die Siyaqat-Schrift*, i, Budapest 1955, index. (B. LEWIS)

The Muslim West. As long as the Maghrib and al-Andalus were under the direct administration of the Umayyad or the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate they posed no particular problems of financial organisation; the local *bayt al-māl* was only a branch of the *bayt al-māl* of Damascus or of Baghdād.

It was only when some part of the Muslim west slipped from the control of the eastern Caliphate that separate administrations were organised there.

Except for the chapters of Ibn Khaldūn devoted to administration (*Muḳaddima*, Cairo ed., 269), one cannot point to any theoretical treatise concerning the administration of the public finances or even any systematic treatment of the situation at any given period or place. There is no alternative but to try to give some idea of what happened from the slight and scattered indications in the chronicles and diverse documents available.

I. Al-Andalus. The work of E. Lévi-Provençal has shown that in Muslim Spain the term *bayt al-māl* was nearly always taken in a limited sense. In effect this expression, which is often found in the form *bayt māl al-muslimīn*, designates the treasure composed by the revenues of pious foundations (*awḳāf*) and clearly distinct from the public treasury properly speaking, which is commonly called *khizānat al-māl* and much more rarely *bayt al-māl*. This treasure from pious foundations was quite naturally placed under the authority of the *ḳāḍī* who looked after its administration, and was kept in a religious building, at Cordova in the *maḳṣūra* of the Great Mosque (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, 98). The sums which constituted it originated for the most part from the revenues of pious foundations often assigned to strictly determined expenditure, but also from irregular deposits that could not be touched, in particular the goods of 'absentees' (*ghāʾib*), that is Muslims who, for one reason or another, had abandoned their possessions without designating a legal mandate for their administration.

The *ḳāḍī* was assisted in the provinces by the inspectors of the pious foundations (*nāẓir al-awḳāf*) and was only qualified to authorise expenditure. These funds could only be employed for the ends indicated by the donors, or if the objects were only expressed in vague terms, for works of public utility and religion like help for paupers, the upkeep of mosques and the payment of their staff, the building of institutions of learning and the payment of teachers, etc. The *ḳāḍī* could authorise advances from the public Treasury for pious works like the organisation of a military campaign against the infidels or the restoration of a defence work on the frontier of the *dār al-islām*.

This system still functioned at the beginning of the 6th/12th century during the Almoravid occupation, as is shown in Ibn ʿAbdūn's discourse on the *ḥisba*, edited and translated by E. Lévi-Provençal (see bibliography).

II. Maghrib. Nothing leads us to believe that the term *bayt al-māl* was used in the Maghrib in such a restricted sense. It seems to have been used in its wider meaning of the public Treasury and it designates at the same time the administration of public finances.

So far the financial organisation of the different states of the Muslim West has not been the object of a systematic study. It must be added that the information supplied by the Arabic chronicles is slight and very scrappy. We must be content with very general observations on the matter.

The Aghlabids of al-Ḳayrawān do not appear to have been innovators in this respect and seem to have been content with the system they found when they came to power in 184/800.

If the Fāṭimids did not change much in the administration and nomenclature of the taxes, they obtained, according to the indications of Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. De Goeje, 69) a remarkable return from the taxes, the annual total of which reached 7 to 8 million dinars. The Zīrids could only maintain the system so well organised by their predecessors.

We know practically nothing about the financial organisation of the Almoravids, except that their first ruler, Yūsūf b. Tāshufīn felt obliged to content himself with "legal" taxes—an attitude which his successors did not keep up, and that they maintained in Spain the organisation that they found in force there.

The only precise indication that we have on the subject of the Almohads is the establishment by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in 555/1160 of a sort of cadaster intended to cover the whole Maghrib and to help in the assessment of a land tax (*kharādj*) (*Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. Tornberg, 126; 174).

R. Brunschvig's study on the Ḥafṣids contains all the details possible—and they are comparatively few—on the financial organisation of the eastern Maghrib from the 7th/13th to 9th/15th centuries. The official who directed it bore the name of *ṣāḥib al-ashghāl*, a term also used by Ibn Khaldūn (*loc cit.*), then of *munaffidh*. It was characterised by the fact that, in a number of instances, it renounced Ḳurʾānic "legality" but it was successful, for the Ḥafṣid treasury was nearly always well filled.

Nothing precise is known about the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. It is possible that the thesis being prepared by M. Mougin may clarify the subject.

The rare and scattered indications on the financial organisation of the Marīnids can be found in the

Masālik of Ibn Faḍl Allāh-al ʿUmarī (tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *BGA*, ii, Paris 1927) and in the *Musnad* of Ibn Marzūḳ (ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Hesp.*, 1925). They all concern the reign of Abu ʾl-Ḥasan (the middle of the 14th century).

A text of al-Ifranī (*Nuzhat al-Hādī*, ed., Houdas, 38-40; tr. 70-75) provides interesting information on fiscal matters at the beginning of the Saʿdid period and on the establishment of a new land tax called *nāʾiba*. Finally, the work of E. Michaux-Bellaire gives quite a clear picture of the financial system under the ʿAlawid dynasty at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

It may be hoped that the Turkish archives preserved in Tunis and Algiers contain the materials for a study of Turkish fiscal policy in the Maghrib, at least from the 18th century.

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

AL-**BAYT** AL-**MUḲADDAS** [see AL-ḲUDS]

BAYT RĀS, a village in Transjordania, known by the Arab geographers, and situated about 3 km. N. of Irbid in the district of ʿAdjlūn [*q.v.*], on an eminence (589 m.) surrounded by ruins which mark the deserted site of the ancient Capitolias. This town of the Decapolis, the name of which corresponds to the Arabic name which outlived it and doubtless relates to its dominant position in a less hilly region, was noted by the early itineraries along along with Adhriʿāt (Derʿa), Abila (Tall Abil) and Gadara (Umm Kaya), which were neigbouring places. Formerly a Nabatean possession, it had increased in importance during the Roman period, being declared autonomous in 97-8, the first year of Trajan's reign, and had maintained its importance as a Byzantine bishopric of Palestina Secunda. Occupied by Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana at the beginning of the period of Arab conquest and incorporated in the *djund* of Urdunn, it enjoyed during the Umayyad period a position which is attested by various notices in the poets and chroniclers. These sing the praises of its wine, "already praised by the pre-Islamic poets Nābigha Dhubyānī and Ḥassān b. Thābit" (H. Lammens) and still known by Yāḳūt in the 6th/13th century, and mention it as the seat of the caliph Yazīd II, who lived there with his favourite Ḥabāba (the tradition which makes it the birthplace of the caliph Yazīd I seems however more doubtful, and may be based on a confusion with the village of Bayt Rânis in the Ghūta of Damascus, as has already been pointed out by H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du caliphe omaiyade Moʿawiya Ier*, Beirut 1908, 379 and n.). The fame of Bayt Rās, at a period when the Marwānid rulers preferred to reside in the region of al-Balḳāʾ [*q.v.*], which is rich in archaeological remains that can be attributed to them, was followed by a rapid decline, and the site was almost completely abandoned. It is a cause for regret, however, that the ruins which still exist, and which have been briefly described by travellers, have never formed the subject of serious study which might enable one to distinguish the traces of an Umayyad establishment in the midst of the earlier buildings.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

BAYṬĀR is the most frequently used form of the word which denotes the veterinary surgeon. It is an arabicised form of ἱππιατρός, and, as a matter of fact, the more exact form *biyaṭr* is to be found in ancient poetry, as well as *bayṭar*. The preservation of the original Greek form in Oriental languages is also proved by the 12th century *Midrash Numeri rabbā*, 9, where אפייטרוס is expressly written. However, the Greek hippiatric writings do not seem to have been known in Islam, if the quotation of Heraclides in al-Bīrūnī, *al-Djamāhir fī Maʿrifat al-Djawāhir*, 101 does not mean Heraclides of Tarentum (ca. 75 B.C.), who wrote, amongst others, a hippiatric book, cf. M. J. Haschmi, *Die Quellen des Steinbuches des Bērūnī*, Thesis, Bonn 1935, 44. A pseudo-Hippocratic work on the subject bearing the title *De Curationibus infirmitatum aequorum*, was translated by a Jew named Moses of Palermo for Charles I of Anjou (1266-1285), and printed in Bologna 1865, in P. Delprato, *Trattati di mascalcia attribuiti ad Ippocrate tradotti dall'arabo in latino*.

The oldest Arabic work on *bayṭara* is ascribed to Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 200, 26; it is also the only work on the subject quoted by Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, i, 270, who calls it "sufficient" (*kāfī*). A writer contemporary with Ḥunayn is the first author on hippiatrics whose works are preserved, namely, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Akhī Ḥizām, stablemaster to al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Muʿtaḍid (second half of 3rd/9th century), cf. Brockelmann, S I, 432 f., where further bibliography is quoted. A great many manuscripts of books by several authors were listed by H. Ritter in an annex to his review on ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hudhayl al-Andalusī, *La parure des cavaliers*, ed. L. Mercier, 1922 (*Der Islam*, xviii, 1929, 119-126). The words *bayṭār* and *bayṭara* are still in use in modern Spanish (*albéitar* and *albeitaria*). A French article on the veterinary medicine of the Bedouins was translated into Arabic by Père Anastase, *al-Machriq*, i, 1898, 684, 942.

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(M. PLESSNER)

BAYYĀNA, Span. Baena, a small town in the province of Cordova, 59 kilometres from the capital. During the Muslim period it belonged to the district of Cabra; with al-Zahrā', Ecija, Lucena and Cordova, it formed the *iḳlīm* of al-Ḳambāniya (la Campiña). Situated on a hill in the Campiña of Cordova and watered by the Marbella, a tributary of the Guadajoz, it was surrounded by gardens, vineyards and olive groves, as at present, and enjoyed great prosperity during the Umayyad period. The town possessed a solid fortress, situated on the slope facing the river, a cathedral mosque built by the order of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, markets and baths. Ibn Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*] succeeded in conquering Bayyāna during the period of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh but, with the fall of the caliphate and the ensuing disorder of the *fitna*, it lost much of its rural tranquillity. Its present location dates back to the Muslim period, as no Roman traces have been found there nor in various parts of its environs, as far as the neighbouring ridge of Antigua. Alfonso the Warlike on his famous expedition into Andalusia, passed by Baena without taking it, shortly before the battle of Arnisol (Ṣafar 520/March 1126). When the town fell into the hands of Ferdinand III in 1240, it had a double enclosure, an internal wall which enclosed the *alcazaba* and the *medina*, and an external wall which encompassed the outskirts occupied by the civilian population. The *mudejares* who remained at Baena were transferred to Castile in 1571, but a royal decree authorised their establishment at Cordova until their final expulsion. The most important celebrity of the town was Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh b. Muḥammad. b. Yūsuf b. Nāṣiḥ b. ʿAṭā', a traditionist and philologist who was born at. Baena in 247/862 and died at Cordova in 340/951.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Desc.*, 174, 205, of the text, 209, 252 of the trans.; Yāḳūt, ii, 13; ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, 59 of the text, 64 of the trans.

(A. Huici Miranda)

BAYYĀSA, Span. Baeza, a town in the province of Jaen, 48 kilometres from the capital. Its present population is about 17,000 and it is situated on a hill whose slopes descend to the valleys of the Guadalquiver and the Guadajoz. Of Iberian foundation, it was called Biatra, according to Ptolemy. Pliny calls its inhabitants Vincienses, and the Goths made it the seat of the diocese *biatensis*. Upon its fall to the Muslims it took the name Bayyāsa. Its corn and barley were praised, according to al-Idrīsī, who did not however mention its olive groves which today cover half its area.

During the Umayyad caliphate Ibn Ḥafsūn [*q.v.*] conquered it, but it was retaken by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 217/910. In 412/1021 the town belonged, with Jaen and Calatrava, to the fief of Zuhayr *fatā* *ʿāmirī*. It was occupied by the Almoravids, whose last champion in al-Andalus, Ibn Ghāniya, surrendered it in 541/1146 to the emperor Alfonso VII; the latter kept it until he evacuated it in 552/1157 at the same time as Ubeda, shortly before his death and after the loss of Alméria. For nearly a century it belonged to the Almohads, and in 609/1212 al-Nāṣir on his way to Las Navas de Tolosa, moved his camp from Jaen to Baeza. After the rout, the inhabitants of Baeza fled to Ubeda, and on 18 Ṣafar 609/20 July 1212, the victors entered the deserted city and burned it. When the Christians had retired, it was rebuilt and repopulated. In the following year, Alfonso VIII besieged it with difficulty during the winter of 1213-14, and was forced to retire without success.

A nephew of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who held the governorships of Bougie, the Balearics and Valencia, must have lived a long time at Baeza, for his ten sons had the surname al-Bayyāsī, and the eldest, ʿAbd Allāh revolted at Baeza against the caliphs al-ʿĀdil and al-Maʾmūn. He allied himself with Ferdinand III and received a Castilian garrison in the alcazaba of Baeza. When he was killed by the Cordovans in 623/1226, the inhabitants of Baeza again abandoned their city, and it was finally occupied by Ferdinand III on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 624/30 November 1227. During the 14th and 15th centuries, Baeza, as a stronghold of great strategic importance, owing to its situation on the frontier between Castile and the kingdom of Granada, played a major rôle in the struggles of the Reconquest between the Naṣrids and the Marīnids.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Desc.*, 203 in text, 249 in trans.; ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, 57 in text, 72 in trans.; G. Çirot, *Chronique latine des rois de Castille*, 115; Fernando de Cózar, *Noticias y documentos para la historia de Baeza*, 1884; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia del imperio almohade*, ii, 432-6. (A. Huici Miranda)

BAYYINA (plural *bayyināt*), etymologically the feminine adjective "clear, evident", was already in use as a substantive with the meaning of "manifest proof" in numerous passages of the Ḳurʾān—in xcviii, 1 for example, whence it is that the Sūra itself is entitled *al-Bayyina*. In legal terminology the word denotes the proof *per excellentiam*—that established by oral testimony—, although from the classical era the term came to be applied not only to the fact of giving testimony at law but also to the witnesses themselves. There are other words to express other aspects or degrees of the notion of proof, notably *ḥudjdja* (plural *ḥudjadj*) "argument, proof (in general or at law)", "a document constituting proof", *dalīl* "conclusive indication" and *burhān* "demonstration".

In the legal field the Ḳurʾān is concerned with proof in diverse matters, both civil and penal. It is at once noteworthy that it is fundamentally to oral testimony (*shahāda* [*q.v.*]) that the Ḳurʾān prescribes recourse. It recommends that certain legal acts should be established by witnesses—divorce by repudiation (lxv, 2), testamentary dispositions (v, 106-108), accounts of guardianship (iv, 7) and the contracting of debts (ii, 282). And while, in this last case, the Ḳurʾān strongly supports written evidence, this is closely tied up with the eye-witnesses who ought to corroborate, as soon as it is completed, the recognition of the debt dictated to the scribe by the debtor. Such are the modes of proof which the Ḳurʾān, albeit in a summary fashion, regulates. It notes, in addition, the need for a double number of witnesses (four in place of the ordinary number of two) to establish legal proof of fornication (iv, 19, xxiv, 4, 13); and, to provide for the case where the husband cannot produce this difficult standard of proof of his wife's adultery, institutes the exceptional procedure of the mutual "oath of imprecation" (*liʿān*) between the spouses (xxiv, 6-9). This procedure, although it does not, properly speaking, establish proof, has, nevertheless, important legal effects. On the other hand the sacred book has nothing to say about the primitive institutions of physical ordeal and oaths of compurgation.

Classical Islamic law consecrated the superiority of proof by testimony, requiring, for its validity,

the fulfilment of some fairly stringent theoretical conditions (see ʿADL and SHAHĀDA). And it was only in so far as written evidence could be construed as a *Zeugenurkunde* (cf. the *testatio* of Roman law) that it became generally and more widely accepted, though not without keen discussion, reservations and precautions, even in the case of notarial acts (see E. Tyan, *Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman, Annales École française de droit de Beyrouth*, 1945, no. 2).

In the Ḳurʾānic verses relating to testamentary dispositions (v, 106-108) the witnesses, in case of suspicion, or new substitute witnesses, were invited to take an oath by Allāh; but traditional theory regards as abrogated the precept contained in this passage, which is the only one in the Ḳurʾān where third-party witnesses are required to support their own evidence by an oath. Occasional and exceptional instances can be adduced, under Islam, of ḳāḍis subjecting suspect witnesses to the oath. The doctrine, however, established a clear-cut distinction, as far as the "legal proofs" (*ḥudjadj sharʿiyya*) which it enumerates and regulates are concerned, between proof by testimony and the oath. The celebrated maxim declares : "The burden of proof (by testimony) lies upon the one who makes the allegation and the oath belongs to him who denies (*al-bayyina ʿalā l-muddaʿī wa-l-yamīn ʿalā man ankar*)" with the variant "to him against whom the allegation is made (*ʿalā l-muddaʿā ʿalayh*)". It ought to be noted that in the process of the action "the one who makes the allegation" is not necessarily the original plaintiff (and hence the burden of proof may fluctuate), and further that, in the view of the scholars, evidence can only normally be given to positive facts.

In principle the *bayyina* itself has a self-sufficient authority : where the legal conditions of validity are satisfied it is, as a general rule, binding upon the judge. Several early attempts to support testimony with an oath taken by the plaintiff wholly failed, apart from cases where the defendant defaults or suffers from some incapacity, to influence the classical law (Schacht, *Origins*, 187-188; see Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, ix, 277; for the contrary view of the Fāṭimids, ḳāḍī Nuʿmān, *Iḳtiṣār*, Damascus 1957, 163). The Ḥanafī school held strictly to the letter of the maxim mentioned above, and indeed certainly contributed to the spread of its influence, if not to its very formulation; for, contrary to the doctrine of the other *madhāhib*, Ḥanafī law does not allow the plaintiff to take the oath in order to complete an imperfect *bayyina* (a single witness) in disputes concerning property, nor does it allow the oath declined by the defendant to be returned to the plaintiff. In the mutual taking of the oath (*taḥāluf*) which the Ḥanafīs, along with the other schools, uphold in certain cases where *bayyina* is lacking, each of the two parties stands in relation to other in the position of defendant. For other developments of the judicial oath see the article *yamīn*. We will only observe here that the pre-Islamic oath of compurgation survives, in Islamic law, as a method of proof in a limited field of penal procedure (see *ḳasāma*).

It is possible, especially in regard to property claims, that contradictory *bayyināt* may confront each other. The *fiḳh* texts concern themselves with this *taʿāruḍ al-bayyināt* and endeavour to destroy the conflict by officially declaring one of the proofs superior on the basis of criteria which differ considerably among the different schools and may result in diametrically opposite solutions. Should the proofs concerned nevertheless still prove equal, the solutions, even within the schools themselves, vary between their reciprocal cancellation, resort to a supplementary and decisive form of evidence, and their being taken at face value—which then necessitates either division of the property or the drawing of lots.

Superior though the *bayyina* might be as a mode of proof, it is difficult to regard it in all circumstances as "stronger" (*aḳwā*) than an acknowledgement (*iḳrār* [*q.v.*] or, less technically, *iʿtirāf*). Indeed the contrary is expressly stated by the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, ix, 426. The doctrine requires less in the way of personal capacity for an acknowledgement than for testimony, by reason of the basic presumption of truthfulness on the part of the person making the acknowledgement. But the authors usually—and quite sensibly—distinguish in this regard between the acknowledgement whose only effect is to bind the one who makes it (*ʿalā nafsih*) and the acknowledgement which affects the rights of third parties (*fī ḥaḳḳ ghayrih*), and their decisive force and their legal consequences differ considerably.

In addition it would be relevant, on the subject of *bayyina*, to enquire into the position, in relation to it, of the expert evidence which may be required by the judge. Further, if one were to attempt a general theory of proof in Islamic law, it would be fitting to take account of the discussions relating to the judge's personal knowledge of the facts of a case, to underline the considerable importance and the abundance of legal presumptions, and to note the role and the importance of certain auxiliary indications or initial steps in proof recognised by the law. In this field of proof at law two Islamic tendencies may be observed : the desire to establish, in a humane fashion, what is most probable by regulated means rather than to pursue the strict truth, the certain knowledge of which belongs only to God, —and a tendency towards rationalisation, which, though it does not prevail always and everywhere, is nevertheless latent in, for example, the position alloted to the oath of compurgation and the complete absence of ordeal in the form of physical trial (despite tenacious survivals of this in the customary practice of tribal societies up to the present day).

Bibliography: The texts of *fiḳh*, the articles of the *EI* to which reference has been made above, and the modern studies to which reference will be made in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, vol. *La Preuve* (to be published in 1960) as well as in the article ḤUDJDJA [*q.v.*]. (R. BRUNSCHVIG)

BAYYŪMIYYA, an Egyptian *ṭariḳa* founded by ʿAlī b. Ḥidjāzī b. Muḥammad al-Bayyūmī al-Shāfiʿī, born c. 1108/1696 and died in Cairo in 1183/1769. After joining the Aḥmadiyya and Khalwatiyya (the latter through the Demirdashiyya) *ṭariḳas*, Bayyūmī, by developing a *dhikr* characterised by particularly loud and emphatic utterance, established a virtually independent *ṭariḳa* of his own. Another feature of his *ṭariḳa* was its appeal to the poorest classes and specifically to highwaymen, many of whom, after a period of chastisement at Bayyūmī's hands, swelled the ranks of the vast armed retinue that accompanied his rare appearances in the streets. But perhaps his influence was chiefly due to the extremes of excitement and passivity that he experienced during the *dhikr*. The *ʿulamāʾ*'s attempt to ban his *dhikr* sessions (held every Tuesday at the Ḥusaynī Mashhad) was thwarted by Shaykh

Shubrawī, Rector of the Azhar, whose determination on this occasion contrasts favourably with his behaviour on others (Djabartī, i, 195). Bayyūmī's works include handbooks on the Demirdashiyya and Bayyūmiyya and a commentary on Djīlī's *Insān al-Kāmil*. He seems to have been most at home in *ḥadīth*, on which he lectured when Shubrawī invited him to the Taybarsiyya College at the Azhar. The mosque in which he is buried was built by Muṣṭafā Pasha, a *wālī* of Egypt (probably between 1757-1760), when according to Djabartī he became grand vezir (probably sometime between 1763/1765). Bayyūmī did not leave any distinguished *khalīfa*-but his *dhikr* was still popular during the *mawlid* in Lane's days.

Bibliography: To Brockelmann, II 462, S I 784, S II 146, 478 add: *Risālat al-Tanzīh al-Muṭlaḳ li man lahu al-Wudjūd al-Kāmil* (MS in writer's possession); Sarkis 622; Djabartī, i, 339; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 249, 461.

(W. A. S. Khalidi)

BAYZARA, (Arabic), denotes "the art of the flying-hunt", and is not restricted to the designation of "falconry". (Its Persian origin (from *bāz*: goshawk; see below) is more closely related to the notion of "ostring art"). Derived from *bayzār*, "ostringer", an Arabicised form of the Persian *bāzyār/bāzdār*, it was preferred to its dual form *bāzdara*; the words *bāziyya* and *biyāza* were scarcely used in the Muslim Occident. The use of rapacious predatories (*kāsir*, pl. *kawāsir*) as "beasts of prey" (*djāriḥ*, pl. *djawāriḥ*) was undoubtedly known to the Arabs before Islam, and Imruʾ al-Ḳays sketches, in his *ayyam al-ṣayd*, some descriptions of flying-sport. However, hawking only assumed importance with them after the great Muslim conquests which brought them into contact with the Persians and the Byzantines. It quickly won the favour of the new leaders who discovered in it the possibility of diversion and of satisfying peacefully their passion for riding. Caliphs and high Muslim dignitaries were zealous in elevating it, with venery, to the rank of an institution under the direction of a "master of chases" (*amīr al-ṣayd*), and later (*amīr shikār*). The Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (680-83) was one of the first to show an unbridled enthusiasm for the flying-hunt. Historians, biographers and chroniclers in the Arabic language provide information, each according to his own period and country, on the current practice of hawking, and relate for the occasion lively anecdotes of the exploits of certain princes in this field. (see al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Suyūṭī, al-Maḳrīzī-Quatremère, in J. Sauvaget, *Introduct. à l'hist. de l'Orient Musulman*). Much more valuable is the information concerning *bayzara* found in certain encyclopedic works, edited for the purpose of *adab* or philological learning, such as the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of Al-Djāḥiẓ (Cairo 1947), the *Al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīda (Alexandria 1904, vol. viii, and indices by M. Ṭālbī, Tunis 1956), the *K. Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* of Al-Ḳalḳashandī (Cairo 1913, vol. ii), the *K. Murūdj al-Dhahab* of al-Masʿūdī.

The Maghrib and Muslim Spain, as well as the Orient, had their enthusiasts for the hawking-sport. In Aghlabid Ifrīḳiya, the governor Muḥammad II (864-75), called not without reason the "Cranesman" (Abu 'l-Gharānīḳ), exhausted the state exchequer with his wild expenses on the "flying-play" (*laʿb*) (see Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, trans. Fagnan, Algiers 1901, 147-48). Later the Ḥafṣids, too, were smitten by hawking. Like a Sāsānid prince, Al-Mustanṣir (1249-77) found his pleasure, with the hawk on his fist, in a vast "preserve" (*maṣyad*) near Bizerta (see Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, trans. De Slane et Casanova, ii, 338). In the 15th century his descendant ʿUthmān (1435-88) spent several days a week in this entertainment (see R. Brunschvig, *Deux récits de voyage inédits* . . ., Paris 1936, 212). At the Umayyad court in Cordova, the Grand Falconer (*Ṣāḥib al-bayāzira*) enjoyed a high office, close to the ruler (see Ibn ʿIdhārī, *op. cit.*, in E. Lévi-Provençal, Xe s., Paris 1932, 55). The fashion of hawking, widespread in the countries of Islam during the Middle Ages, was the livelihood of a great number of people, and its practice was not limited to the privileged classes, as it was in Christendom. The rural population and the nomads continued to devote themselves to it and preserved the tradition, down to the beginning of the 20th century. From this fact it is easy to evaluate the rôle played by the sporting-bird in Muslim economic life, especially during the medieval period, by the commerce it provoked and the people required for its maintenance. (see A. Ṭalas, *La vie économique aux IIème and IIIème siècles de l'Hégire*, in Arabic in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIrāḳī*, 1952, ii, 271-301; al-Djāḥiẓ(?), *K. al-tabaṣṣur, bi 'l-Tidjāra*, ed. H. H. Abdul-Wahab, Cairo 1935 34-35, trans. Ch. Pellat, in *Arabica*, i, 2, 1954, 160-61).

Most often, in fact, the master of the hawk-keepers train was not a falconer in the strict sense of the term, and he only put on the glove (*dastabān*; Maghrib: *ḳuffāz*) during the hunt. The care of the "hawk's room" (*bayt al-ṭuyūr*) was entrusted to hawkers' assistants (*ghulām*, pl. *ghilmān*) who had besides the task of keeping the aviary well provided with pigeons and other game-birds, for the nourishment and training of the hawks. The latter, a technical term of the *bayzara*, necessitated, according to the kind of sporting-bird, the competence of the ostringer (*bāzyār* pl. *bayāzira*. On the preference of *bāzyār* to *bayyāz* see Ibn Saʿīd al-ʿAkfānī, *Irshād al-Maḳāṣid*, 92; the terms *bayyāz*, *bayyāzī*, *biyāz*, *bāziyy*, *bayzārī* in the general sense of hawker, are Spanish-Maghribī, and frequently give way to *ṭayyār*), or of the falconer (*ṣaḳḳār*); both were often assisted by the *kallābazi*, the master of the hawking-pack who sets his greyhounds (*sulūḳī*, pl. *sulūḳiyya*) on the gazelle or the hare, and the Goshawk, occasionally the Saker Falcon or even the eagle, flying "waiting on" (*ḥāʾim*), distances the pack and binds to the quarry.

The traditional classification in the Orient of predatories worthy of training (*ḍarāwa* and *ḍarāʾa*), based on the black or yellow colour of the iris denoting remarkable visual powers, corresponds exactly to the modern ornithological system. In fact the "dark-eyed birds" are found only in the *genus Falco*, "*falconidae*", who alone have a black iris. These are "long-winged sweeping birds, "lured-birds, used to "highflying" (the flight of the heron: *balshūn*, of the crane: *kurkī* or *ghirnīḳ*, of crows: *ghirbān*, from time to time the eagle: *ʿuḳāb*, the kite: *ḥidāʾ*, and the wild water-fowl: *ṭayr al-māʾ*). The Arabist is often puzzled by the abundance of terms designating sporting-birds, a such abundance not being due to the multiplicity of types, but to the great variety of adjectives qualifying the innumerable shades of plumage worn by the bird according to its sex, its age and habitat. The Arabs saw several different types when it was only a question of individual birds of the same family, whether immature, young or adult, male or female. One can discover, however, among that accumulation of names

the generic term, with the aid on the one hand of scientific inventories of the avifauna of each country, and on the other, of the descriptions provided by the great Muslim naturalists, such as al-Ḳazwīnī (1203-1283) in his *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, al-Damīrī (1341-1405) in his *K. Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, and especially by the authors of cynegetic works (see below).

Thus the *ṣaḳḳār*, falconer, was occupied in training only: a) the Ger-Falcon, *Falco rusticolus*, (*sunḳūr, shunḳūr, shunḳār*) which, unknown in the Arab countries, had to be imported at great expense from Siberia, and which often figured among the ceremonial gifts upon an exchange of ambassadors; b) the Saker Falcon, *Falco cherrug*, (*ṣaḳr, ṣaḳr al-ghazāl, sharḳ*); c) the Peregrine Falcon, *Falco peregrinus*, under its three oriental sub-species: *perigrinator, babylonicus* and *calidus* (either *shāhīn* or *baḥrī* for the "Passage-Peregrine"); d) the Black-winged Kite, *Elanus caeruleus* (*zurraḳ, ṣaḳr abyaḍ*, and Pers. *kūhī*); e) the Merlin, *Falco columbarius aesalon* (*yuʾyuʾ, djalam*); f) the Hobby, *Falco subbuteo* (*kawindj*); g) the Kestrel, *Falco tinnunculus* (*ʿāsūḳ*); h) the Lesser Kestrel, *Falco Naumanni* (*ʿuwaysiḳ*); i) the Red-footed Falcon, *Falco vespertinus* (*luzayḳ*) (see A. Maʿlūf, *Muʿdjam al-hayawān*, Cairo 1932, to be consulted with great care in view of the numerous errors in a scientific apparatus so often outdated).

In the Muslim West highflight hawking knew only four *falconidae*: the Saker (*nublī* or *lublī*, derived from the name of the Andalusian town Niebla, which points to a loanword); the Barbary Lanner Falcon, or the "Alphanet" of the Christian falconers, *Falco biarmicus* (*burnī*); the Barbary Falcon, *Falco peregrinus pelegrinoides* (*turklī*); and Eleanora's Falcon, *Falco eleonorae* (*baḥrī*) (see Leo Africanus. *Il Viaggio*, Venice 1837, 166; L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, Paris 1927, ch. V, *La fauconnerie*, 81-106, and bibl.; E. Daumas, *Les chevaux du Sahara*, Paris 1853, with the *Réflexions de l'Emir Abdelkader*, 359-372). These four falcons are described in the Maghrib as "noble" (*ḥurr*). As for the "yellow-eyed birds", raised only by the *bāzyār*, ostringer, they are the class most used in the hawking-sport. They are all "short-winged soaring birds" or "fist-hawks" trained for "lowflying". This category is composed largely of the genus *Accipiter* or *accipitridae* and includes in some parts of Persia and Turkey the smaller *aquilidae*.

The bird which has enjoyed the greatest favour since remote antiquity and in every country of the Orient is undoubtedly the Goshawk, *Accipiter gentilis*, and its subspecies *Accip. albidus* (either *bāz*, or *shāhbāz*) which, because they do not belong to the avifauna of the Arabic countries, were imported by merchants from Greece, Turkestan, Persia and India; the Maghrib scarcely knew of them. It was believed that the Goshawk was born to the flying art. Its Persian name *bāz*, passed into Arabic before Islam, was applied apparently through ignorance to every sporting bird, and the term *bayzara*, ostring art for the experts, meant hawking in general. Conversely, it was "falcon" which prevailed over "goshawk" in Europe, and "falconry" covered the technique of the ostring art. In the arabisation of the name *bāz*, it was necessary to give it a triliteral root, of which the choice caused some trouble among philologists and lexicographers. Three alternatives were proposed: a) BZW-BZY, giving by derivation *bāzⁱⁿ, al-bāzī, bāziyy*; pl. *buzāt, bawāzⁱⁿ/al-bawāzī, buzʾān*; b) BWZ-BYZ giving *bāzᵘⁿ*, pl. *abwāz, bīzān*; c) BʾZ giving *baʾzᵘⁿ* pl. *baʾzāt, abʾuz, buʾūz, biʾzān, buʾuz, buʾz*. After the Goshawk, it was the Sparrow-Hawk, *Accipiter nisus* (*bāshaḳ, ʿulām, ṭūṭ*) and its short-footed subspecies called "Shikra", *Accip. badius brevipes* (*baydaḳ*), which was preferred owing to its docility and the vast area of its distribution; its hen (*ṣāf*) is still used at Cape Bon in Tunisia for flying at the passage-quail in spring (see D. M. Mathis, *La chasse au faucon en Tunisie*, in *Bull. Société Sc. Natur. de Tunisie*, ii, 3-4, Tunis 1949, 107-18 and illustrations; idem, in A. Boyer et M. Planiol, *Traité de Fauconnerie et Autourserie*, Paris 1948, 242-48; L. Lavauden, *La chasse et la faune cynégétique en Tunisie*, Tunis 1920, 20-21; *al-Laṭāʾif*, in Arabic, Tunis, May 1955, 24-27 and illustrations).

As for eagles, they never have had in fact the rank of sporting-birds (*ʿitāḳ al-ṭayr*); however, Persians and Turks trained with success the Crested Hawk Eagle, *Spizaetus cirrhatus* (*tughrūl*), Bonelli's Eagle, *Hieraetus fasciatus*, and the Booted Eagle, *Hieraetus pennatus* (both called *zummādj*). The Harriers (*murzāt*) and Buzzards (*saḳāwā*) were neglected owing to their untamable ferocity; the kite and the vulture (*nasr*) as well, because of their taste for carrion. The Persians carried the art of training as far as the Eagle Owl (*būha*) which served to attract the other predatories. All of the "yellow-eyed birds" were earmarked for the lowflying at the quail (*sumānā, salwā*), the partridge (*ḥadjal*), the Chukar partridge (*ḳabdj*) and the See-See (*ṭayhūdj*), the sandgrouse (*ḳaṭā*), the Bustard (*ḥubārā*), the Little Bustard (*raʿʿād*), the Francolin (*durrādj*), the Ruddy Shieldrake (*ʿanḳūd*) and other game-birds of the steppe and desert.

The techniques proper to *bayzara* were early in Islam the objects of numerous treatises which, for the most part, have not survived; Ibn al-Nadīm mentions ten of them in his *Fihrist*. On the other hand a large number of the manuscripts in the public and private libraries in Europe and the Orient have yet to be studied (cf. Brockelmann, chapters on "Naturwissenschaft" and "Jagd"). Nevertheless these techniques are comparatively well known to us thanks to several works already edited. The oldest of these texts, treating falconry, might be the basis of the Latin-Roman versions not yet identified but attributed to the two authors Moamin and Ghatrif (see the excellent critical edition of these texts by H. Tjerneld, Stockholm-Paris 1945). Recently, the Syrian Kurd ʿAlī had the happy idea of publishing (Damascus 1953) a treatise *Al-Bayzara* devoted to the falconry of the Fāṭimid caliph Al-ʿAzīz bi-llāh (975-96); the anonymous author offers us the profit of his own long experience and that of the specialists in hawking (*luʿʿāb*) in a style stripped of extraneous erudition: poetical citations are arranged in a special chapter. This work is by far the most valuable of those we possess in Arabic on the training methods. At almost the same time Asʿad Ṭalas edited (Baghdād 1954) the oldest known Arabic text, *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-Maṭārid*, the work of the famous poet Al-Kushādjim (d. 961 or 971) (cf. Brockelmann, I, 85, and S I, 137; Ṭalas, *Madjalla* ... *op. cit.*, with an analysis of the work). This complete treatise on venery and falconry was one of the sources most exploited by later authors of cynegetic works; there emanates from it unfortunately too great a preoccupation with *adab* which relieves it of any practical significance. Very different and far more lively and useful are the "hawking-sport memories" of Usāma Ibn Munḳidh (d. 1188) in his *K. al-Iʿtibār* (ed. P. Hitti, Princeton 1930, ch. iii,

192-229) composed during the period of the Crusades (see Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousâma . . .*, and texts, Paris 1885 and 1893). The work of the Mamlūk Muḥammad al-Manglī, *K. Uns al-Malā' bi-Waḥsh al-Falā'*, written in 1371 (cf. Brockelmann, II, 136 and S II, 167) and published (Paris 1880) with a mediocre French translation by Florian Pharaon, has lost much of its value since the treaty of Al-Kushādjim has been available. Further, *bayzara* is treated in didactic poems such as the *ḳaṣīda* in 213 lines of the Maghrībī al-Fadjīdjī (d. 1514; Brockelmann, II, 136), and the *Djamhara fi 'l-bayzara* (Ms. Escorial, n. 903) of a certain ʿIsā al-Azdī (10th century?) often cited by al-Manglī. These compositions deserve publication, though they have already been exploited by L. Mercier (*op. cit.*) who has in addition used the manuscripts of Al-Fākihī (d. 1541) and Al-Ashʿarī (1444) (MSS. Paris, B.N. nos. 2831 and 2834). Ṭalas (*Madjalla . . .*) has restored to its original version the beautiful *ardjūza* on the flying-sport by Ibn Nubāta (1287-1366) entitled *Farā'id al-Sulūk fī Maṣāyid al-Mulūk*.

From all these texts it results that snaring and training methods were nearly the same for all species of sporting-birds. The young hawk was caught "eyas" or "yellow beak" (*ghiṭrāf, ghiṭrīf*) or "branchiers"-"rockers", *i.e.*, the nest-forsakers (*nāhiḍ*) from her eyrie; when "redfalcon" (*farkh*) or "haggard" (*wahshī*) "native" (*baladī*) or "passage-hawk" (*ḳāṭiʿ* or *rādjiʿ*), she was limed or snared by means of nets, of nooses and chiefly of "flying-decoys" (*bārak*) (cf. the system of the hut in Ibn Munḳidh, *op. cit.*, 200-01; M. Planiol, *op. cit.* 154-56). When, captured, she was "reclaimed", *i.e.*, made tame (*taʿbīr, tahdī'*); her eyelids were "sealed" (*khayṭ*) and she was "abated" (*tadjwīʿ, tanḳīṣ*) by fasting and then, progressively unsealed, she was induced to step, of her own accord, on the fist by offering her some "beakfuls" (*talḳīm*) and tempting her with flesh of live preys (*talḳīf*). When become tame and stepping on to the fist at call, she was tied to the "creance" (*ṭiwāla*), and it was now the beginning of her training to stoop at such and such game. Her carnivorous instinct was awakened and her keenness (*farāha*) to bind to the quarry developed by releasing before her training-birds (*kasīra*) selected from the species for which she was being trained to hunt. These exercises were patiently repeated, each time at a greater distance. When estimated "essured" (*mustawīn li-l-irsāl*), the pupil was fitted with "jesses" (*al-sibāḳān*) and "bells" (*adjrās, khalkhāl*) and then she was accustomed to wear on her head the "hood" (*burḳaʿ, kumma*, Maghrib: *kanbīl*) and to be "mailed in the sock" (*ḳabā'*), gaining some "manning" (*uns*) by long hours spent among the crowds of the streets and markets. Once familiarised with people, horses, dogs and domestic animals, she was taken to the hunting places where she was flown "for good" (*ṣāda ṭalḳan*) at waterfowl and sparrows. She returned at the sound of a drum (*ṭanbal*) attached to the saddle of the falconer (see L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, 98), and she was allowed to "take her pleasure" (*ishbāʿ*) on one of her takes. In the Maghrib training was never carried to such a degree of refinement: always taken in adulthood, the bird was released in the autumn and underwent only a rudimentary training (cf. L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, 96-104). Being set down to rest, the hawk was placed on the "block" (*ḥamūla, ḳuffāz*) or on the "perch" (*ʿāriḍa, kandara*), and was "weathered" (*tashrīḳ*) in the sun, near her bathing-pool. During the period of moult (*ḳarnaṣa, takrīz*), she was kept apart, from any noise, and her "mutes" (*dharḳ, ramdj*) were carefully controlled. By this means her good health was assured. The treatises on *bayzara* devote long chapters to the diagnosis of diseases particular to sporting-birds and their cure, revealing most often a barbaric empiricism combined with hygienic superstitions.

From the time of the Prophet the question has been posed, with regard to Ḳur'ānic law, of the legality of eating a game-bird caught by means of a trained (hawk) predatory; it was a question of whether the bird ought to be slaughtered in accordance with the rites. Averroes, in his *Bidāyat al-Mudjtahid . . .*, (cf. Averroes, *Le livre de la chasse*, extr. of the *Bidāya*, text and trans; annotated by F. Viré, in *Revue Tunisienne de Droit*, nos 3-4, Tunis 1954, 228-59), gives a clear account of the different positions adopted by each of the four schools of law. This same question constitutes the introductory part of all of the works dealing with falconry and venery.

The *bayzara* on the other hand did not fail to inspire poets and, from the time of the Umayyad period, it became with the coursing hunt one of the principal themes of popular poetry in *radjaz*. In fact the *ardjūza*, more supple and lively than the rigid classical *ḳaṣīda*, soon became, with al-Shammākh (d. 22/643), al-ʿAdjdjādj (d. 89/708), his son Ru'ba (d. 145/762) and several others, the typical form of the cynegetic poem (*ṭaradiyya*). The latter, very much in fashion under the ʿAbbāsids, was adopted by the great masters of verse such as Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Kushādjim and Al-Nāshī, and afforded them, through research into rare terms (*gharīb*), "the occasion of displaying their learning" (Ch. Pellat, *Langue et Litterature Arabes*, Paris 1952, 108-09) (on the *ṭaradiyyāt*, see idem, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 160 ff. and notes. *Ṭaradiyyāt* are found in the *dīwāns* of the poets; those of Abū Nuwās are for the most part cited by Al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*). It is regrettable to note that this pedantic erudition led to the use, by those who took pleasure in it, of a language which has very little in common with that employed by the lovers of the flying sport. In Muslim Spain the poets, especially from the 11th century on, exploited principally the theme of the hawking-sport, which could not escape their pronounced taste for nature. They were able to inject into it that romantic note unknown to Oriental versifiers (cf. H. Pérès, *Poésie Andalouse*, Paris 1953, 346-9). Besides these creations in a learned language, there was a poetry of falconry prolonged and preserved, in their different dialects, by the great Arab nomads. It is interesting to note that the Touaregs have never known of the hawking art (cf. H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951). The disdain displayed by the Arab anthologists for the "vulgar" tongue has deprived us of these Bedouin "songs" which were still recently honoured in the confines of the Sahara, revealing in their descriptions of the hawk, her flight and her quarries, a realism difficult to find in classical poetry (cf. M. Sidoun, *Chants sur la chasse au faucon attribués à Si El-Hadj Aissa, Chérif de Laghouat*, in *R.Afr.*, nos. 270-71, 1908, 272-94, text, trans, notes).

The very large rôle played by the hawking-bird, as a theme of inspiration in Islamic works of art, is material for considerable study. In fact the artistic modes of expression: miniatures, decorative sculpture in stone, in stucco, wood and ivory, engraving on crystal, glass and copper, moulding in bronze, glass and precious metals, ceramics, tapestry

and embroidery, owe to the "hawk motif" a great deal of their inestimable accomplishments. Indeed, it is from this motif, in its innumerable interpretations, that Muslim art of East and West has drawn many of its characteristics (cf. A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian Art*, Oxford 1939; G. Migeon, *Art Musulman*, Paris 1956; G. Marçais, *L'Art de l'Islam*, Paris 1946). We add in conclusion that this same motif was vastly exploited by Mamlūk heraldry (cf. L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford 1932; Artin Pacha, *Cont. a l'étude du blason en Orient*, London 1902).

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(F. Viré)

BĀZ [see BAYZARA].

BĀZ BAHĀDUR, The last ruler of independent Mālwa before the Mughal conquest in the time of Akbar, Bāz Bahādur was the son of Shudjāʿ Khān, a relative of Shir Shāh Sūr, whom the latter appointed governor of Mālwa after its conquest by Shīr Shāh's forces in 949/1542. On the death of Shudjāʿ Khān in 962/1554, Bāz Bahādur murdered his brother Dawlat Khān, governor of Udjdjayn (Ujjain) and had himself proclaimed as sultan in 963/1555. He then brought most of Mālwa under his rule by forcing his youngest brother Muṣṭafā Khān to give up Rāisin and Bhīlsa. In 968/1560-1, a Mughal army under Adham Khān advanced to conquer Mālwa. Bāz Bahādur was forced to relinquish his capital Mandū. The next year he succeeded in defeating Pīr Muḥammad, Adham Khān's successor, but towards the end of 969/1562 was obliged by Mughal reinforcements to flee into the hills of Gondwāna. Though from his refuge there Bāz Bahādur made several guerilla attacks upon the Mughal forces, he grew tired of the struggle and in 978/1570 submitted to Akbar eventually to receive a *manṣab* of 2000. He died not long after and is probably buried at Āgra.

Bāz Bahādur is celebrated in popular legend for his love for his mistress Rūpmatī for whom he is said to have composed love-songs and verses. He is also an eponymous figure in the development of a new passionate style of central Indian painting, in which the twin cultures of Mālwa, Hindu and Muslim, were blended.

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(P. Hardy)

BAZA [see BASṬA].

BĀZAHR, Bezoar, a remedy against all kinds of poisons, highly esteemed and paid for throughout the Middle Ages up to the 18th century, and in the Orient even up to this very day. The genuine (Oriental) Bezoar-stone is obtained from the bezoar-goat (*Capra aegagrus Gm.*) and, according to the investigations of Friedrich Wöhler, the famous chemist (1800-1882), and others, it is a gall-stone. The stone seems to have been unknown to ancient Arabs, for neither in the lexica nor in A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, 1919, is the word mentioned. The generally accepted etymology is Persian (*pā*(*d*)-*zahr* "against poison" (P. Horn, in Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundr. d. ir. Phil.*, i/2, 159). The Arabic books of stones and drugs present various spellings and etymologies that do not always correspond with each other, nor are the etymologies themselves throughout correct (see later).

For the first time in Islamic literature the Bāzahr seems to appear in some of the Hermetic writings (none of them printed), and in the (partly edited) pseudo-Aristotelian writings inspired by the Oriental translations of the Alexander Romance. In the Lapidary ascribed to Aristotle (J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, 1912, 104 f.) Bāzahr is erroneously stated to be Greek, while the explanation is the usual *al-nāfi li 'l-samm*. The poisons coagulate the blood; this effect is prevented by the stone which frees the body of the poison by strongly sweating. Aristotle also registers the different colours of the Bāzahr and the places where it is found, namely, China, India, the "East" and Khurāsān. Also as amulet and sealing-stone the Bāzahr is useful, as well as against the sting of poisonous insects (see below).

Some MSS. of the pseudo-Aristotelic *Sirr al-Asrār* (*Secretum secretorum*) offer a chapter on precious stones, namely, Oxon. Laud 210 and Paris 2418. The text of the former was translated in *Opera hactenus inedita* Rogeri Baconi (!), V: *Secretum secretorum*, ed. R. Steele, 1920, 253; the latter has only been noted by ʿAbdurraḥmān Badawī, *Fontes Graecae* (*sic*) *doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum*, i, 1954, 167, n. 3. Steele also gives (174) the Latin text according to ed. Achillini, 1501, and

points to the Hebrew text (ed. and transl. by M. Gaster, *JRAS*, 1907-8, para 130). The name of the stone is rendered *al-nāfi al-ḍurr* or *mumsik al-rūḥ* (Hebrew *ʿōṣēr hā-rūaḥ*) (?). Its action is described similarly to that in the above-mentioned stone-book.

The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ii, 81 Bombay = 104 Cairo explain the action of the stone in an elaborate theoretical way. It is worth noting that they use the name also as an appellative in the plural, along with *sumūmāt* and *taryāḳāt*. In the *K. al-Sumūm wa-Dafʿ maḍārrhā* by Djābir b. Ḥayyān, Bādzahr is, according to A. Siggel, *Das Buch der Gifte etc.*, 1958, 213 mostly used in the sense of "antidote" in general; only on 186 Siggel translates "Bezoar". The stone is only called one of the major remedies. Djābir is one of the sources quotes by al-Bīrūnī in his elaborate article, *al-Djamāhir fī Maʿrifat al-Djawāhir*, 1355, 200-202; cf. M. J. Haschmi, *Die Quellen des Steinbuchs des Berūnī*, Thesis, Bonn 1935, 19, who does not realise that the numerous quotations from Djābir's *K. al-Nukhab* mean his *K. al-Baḥth*, extant in MS. Istanbul Djārullāh 1721. Al-Bīrūnī's account, deriving from various sources, although opening with the statement that the stone is a mineral, offers also descriptions which make its being an organic material possible. He also teaches methods of examining its genuineness, and concludes with anecdotes.

The next author according to chronology is al-Ghāfiḳī, for the time being accessible only in Barhebraeus' abridgment, ed. M. Meyerhof and G. P. Sobhy, 98, para 185 (English translation 356-58 with elaborate commentary, where later sources are quoted *in extenso*). Al-Ghāfiḳī's rendering of the name is *muḳāwim al-samm*. For al-Tīfāshī, see also the long chapter on Bāzahr in Clément-Mullet, *JA*, vi/11, 1868, 143-50. Later sources not quoted by Meyerhof-Sobhy: the Arabic text of Ibn al-Bayṭār, 1291, 1, 81 f.; the German version of al-Ḳazwīnī (J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des al-Ḳazwīnī*, Kirchhain, 1896). Al-Tīfāshī and also al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūli 'l-albāb*, i, 60 call the stone *pāk-zahr* "cleaning from poison", cf. P. Anastase-Marie de St.-Elie's commentary on Ibn al-Akfānī, *Nukhab al-Dhakhāʾir*, 1939, 75 ff., para 13.

A story of a lad stung by a scorpion who was cured by a drink of incense sealed with a seal of Bāzahr is preserved in Aḥmad b. Yūsuf ibn al-Dāya's commentary on Ps.-Ptolemy's *K. al-Thamara* (*Centiloquium*), aphorism 9, and was reproduced in *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* (*Picatrix*), ed. Ritter, 1933, 55 (in the forthcoming German translation 56).

On the later history of the Bāzahr, also in Europe, and its high esteem in contemporary Persia see C. Elgood, *Medical History of Persia*, 1951, 369-71 who also describes modern methods of examining its genuineness. (J. Ruska-[M. Plessner])

BĀZĀR [see sūḳ].

BĀZARGĀN [see tidjāra].

BAZĪGH b. **MŪSĀ**, called al-Ḥāʾik, Shīʿite heretic. A disciple of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], he was, like his master, denounced by the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ as a heretic and was even, according to Nawbakhtī, disowned by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb himself. Kashshī reports a tradition that when Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ was told that Bazīgh had been killed, he expressed satisfaction. This would place Bazīgh's death before that of Djaʿfar in 148/765. Like many of the early extremist Shīʿites, Bazīgh was an artisan—a weaver of Kūfa, and some amusement was expressed at the religious pretensions of one of such lowly status. His followers were known as Bazīghiyya.

Bibliography: Al-Kashshī, *Maʿrifat al-Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 196-7; al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, (ed. H. Ritter), Istanbul 1931, 38, 40; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, (ed. H. Ritter), Istanbul 1929, i, 12; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, (Eng. tr. by A. S. Halkin, Tel-Aviv 1935) 64-5; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii 352; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 137; al-Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*, 346; J. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shīʾites*, *JAOS* 1907 and 1908, index; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London 1947, 27-8; W. W. Rajkowski, *Early Shīʿism in Iraq*, unpublished London University Ph. D. thesis. (B. Lewis)

BĀZINḲIR (commonly *bazinger*, *bazingir*, *basinger*, *besinger*), slave-troops, equipped with fire-arms; a term current in the (Egyptian) Sudan during the late Khedivial and Mahdist periods.

Etymology: The derivation is obscure. Sir Reginald Wingate's assertion (*Mahdiism and the Egyptian Sudan*, London 1891; 28, n. 1) that it was the name of a tribe may be rejected: it does not appear to come from any southern Sudanese language. Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard's statement ("A history of the kingdom of Gbudwe", *Zaire*, Oct. 1956, no. 8; 488, n. 36) that it derives from a Nubian (?Dunḳulāwī) word, *bezingra*, lacks confirmation. Its origin should perhaps be sought in Turkish or Persian, possibly in connexion with *bāz* and/or *ṣunḳur*, "falcon", (cf. the use of *farkha*) or *bāzīgar*, "juggler" (cf. djānbāz).

Origin: The term first appears among the ivory and slavetraders of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl. Originally at least it was not current among those of the upper White Nile: it is not mentioned by Sir Samuel Baker, to whom C. G. Gordon explained its meaning in a letter dated 26 May 1878 (T. Douglas Murray and A. Silva White, *Sir Samuel Baker: A memoir*, London 1895, 242). G. Schweinfurth, apparently the first European to use the term, equates *bāzinḳir* with *furūkh* (Ar. = "chickens"; *farkha* = *khādim* is still a Sudanese colloquialism) and with "narakik" (? *al-raḳīḳ*). Other sources state that the *furūkh* were the gun-boys of the *bāzinḳir* (Wingate, *op. cit.*, 103, n. 1: G. Schweinfurth, F. Ratzel, R. W. Felkin and G. Hartlaub, *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, Eng. trans., London 1888; 409, footnote).

Historical rôle: Schweinfurth (*The heart of Africa*, London 1873; ii, 421) describes the *bāzinḳir* of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl (c. 1870) as private slaves of the traders. They constituted nearly half their fighting forces and accompanied the Nubian troops (*ʿasākir*) on expeditions. They were excellent soldiers but, because of their propensity to desert, less reliable than the Nubians. Many Niam-niam (Azande) voluntarily became slaves in order to serve as *bāzinḳir*. The greatest slave-army in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl was that of the merchant-prince, al-Zubayr Raḥma Manṣūr. When it was broken up, after 1875, the employment of his *bāzinḳir* was one of the problems confronting the governor-general, Gordon, who described them as "truly formidable" (G. Birkbeck Hill, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, London 1881; 336). Many of the Nubian commanders entered the khedivial service with their *bāzinḳir*, receiving the designation of *sandjaḳ beyi*, then usually bestowed upon commandants of irregulars (R. Gessi, *Seven years in the Soudan*, London 1892; 280). One such, al-Nūr Bey Muḥammad ʿAnḳara, was subsequently a Mahdist commander of some importance; (Richard Hill, *A biographical dictionary of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Oxford 1951; 297: P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist*

state in the Sudan, Oxford 1958; 52, 56, 94, 196). After the defeat of Sulaymān b. al-Zubayr Raḥma (1879), a group of his *bāzinkir*, commanded by Rābiḥ Faḍl Allāh (Rābiḥ al-Zubayr), escaped westwards, and Rābiḥ made himself ruler of a territory in the Chad region, where he was defeated by the French and killed in 1900 (Richard Hill, *op. cit.*, 312-13: Max v. Oppenheim, *Rabeh und das Tchadseegebiet*, Berlin 1902). Of the *bāzinkir* who remained in the Egyptian Sudan many were probably incorporated in the *djihādiyya*, the Mahdist professional soldiery, or in the Sudanese battalions of the new Egyptian army. ʿArabī Dafaʿ Allāh, the Mahdist governor of al-Radjdjāf (upper White Nile) raised new *bāzinkir*, sending 600 as tribute to the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh in Shawwāl 1312/March 1896 (Sudan Government Archives, Khartoum; *Mahdia* 1/32, 18/1, 75/1; 1/32, 18, 76; 1/34, 1, 10).

Bibliography: Principal references in text.

(P. M. Holt)

BAZIRGAN, Bezirgan, Turkish forms of the Persian *Bāzargān*, a merchant. In Ottoman Turkish usage the term *Bāzirgān* was applied to Christian and more especially Jewish merchants. Some of these held official appointments in the Ottoman palace or armed forces; such were the *Bazirgan-bashi*, the chief purveyor of textiles to the Imperial household (D'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, vii, Paris 1824, 22; Gibb-Bowen, 1/1, 359), and the *Odjak Bāzirgānī*, the stewards, usually Greek or Jewish, who handled the pay and supplies of the corps of Janissaries. This office tended to become hereditary in certain families (D'Ohsson, vii, 318; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, i, Ankara 1943, 407 ff.).

(B. Lewis)

BĀZŪKIYYŪN, (Pāzūkī), a tribe settled, according to M. A. Zakī (*Taʾrīkh*, 370-71) either in Persia or in Turkey (having relations with the tribe of Suwayd). The tribe was divided in two parts: Khālid Beklū and Shaker Beklū, of which the former was more important. Its places of habitation were Khnis, Malāzgird and to some extent Mūsh. The latter was subject to the *amīr* of Bidlīs. The founder of the Khālid Beklū was Ḥusayn ʿAlī Bek. His descendant, Khālid b. Shāhsuwār Bek b. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Bek, a fellow warrior of Shāh Ismāʿīl, took part in a number of battles in which he won fame but lost an arm, whence his sobriquet One-armed Khālid (like Aḥmad Khān of Barādust [*q.v.*]): Khālid Dhu'l-yad al-Wāḥida. As a reward for his valour, the Shāh gave him Khnis, Malāzgird and the *nāḥiya* of Ukhān (Udjkān) at Mūsh. Later he declared his independence of the Shāh and allied himself with Sulṭān Selīm Yāwūz. This submission was, on the other hand, of short duration; he was finally arrested and executed, though his family continued for a long time to exercise power. During the time of his son *amīr* Ḳilidj Bek, a part of the tribe emigrated to the Donbolī [*q.v.*], though remaining subject to the Ottoman sultan. The existence of a tribe of this name is, on the other hand, mentioned by M. A. Zakī (*Khulāṣa*) in the region of Tehran (15), in the south of Persia (465) and in the neighbourhood of Erivān (466). A *Pazegui* tribe is mentioned by Lerch (i, 96) at Tarow.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Amīn Zakī, *Taʾrīkh al-Duwal wa 'l-Imārāt al-Kurdiyya fi 'l-ʿAhd al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1945; M. A. Zakī, *Khulāṣat Taʾrīkh al-Kurd wa-Kurdistān*, Baghdād 1937.

(B. Nikitine)

BAZZĀZISTĀN [see ḲAYṢARIYYA].

BEČ (Bedj), the Ottoman name for the town of Vienna. The Turks (as also the Serbs and Croats) took this word from the Hungarian, where it has the meaning of "suburb, outer city" (Hungarian: *külváros*; hence it is explained as *külwar* by Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 251), where the word probably goes back to the Kuman-Pečenek (perhaps also Avar.) *beč* (Gombócz-Melich, *Magyar Etymologiai Szótár*, Budapest 1914 s.v.). There is only scanty and superficial information on the town in Ottoman geographical literature and diplomatic reports (cf. Hammer-Purgstall's translation from Ebū Bekir b. Behrām in the *Archiv f. Geographie, Historie, Staats und Kriegskunst*, 1822, 28 ff.; also Hammer-Purgstall, viii, 215; Fr. Kraelitz, *Bericht über den Zug des Grossbotschafters Ibrahim Pascha nach Wien im Jahre* 1719, in *SBA Wien*, 1907), although in the 16th and 17th centuries, Vienna was the immediate goal of two large campaigns under sultan Suleymān the Magnificent and under the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha (cf. Sturminger, *Bibliographie und Ikonographie der beiden Türkenbelagerungen Wiens 1529 und 1683*, Vienna 1955; comments on this in *WZKM* 52; and R. Kreutel, *Kara Mustafa vor Wien*, Graz 1955); Ewliyā Čelebi is an interesting exception. He claims to have visited Vienna (cf. *WZKM*, 51, 188 ff.) in 1665 in the entourage of the Ambassador Ḳara Meḥmed Pasha. His extensive description of the town (*Siyāḥat-nāme*, vii, 247-329; translation: R. Kreutel, *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels*, Graz 1957) contains numerous absurdities, as well as many correct observations. In the first half of the 19th century (*tanẓīmāt*), the name Beč was replaced by Viyana (from Vienna) in Ottoman writing, and today this is the usual form.

(R. F. Kreutel)

BEDEL-I ʿASKERĪ [see badal].

BEDEL-I NAḲDĪ [see badal].

BĒDEL [see bīdil].

BEDJA (usual Ar. form, Budja), nomadic tribes, living between the Nile and Red Sea, from the Ḳina-Ḳuṣayr route to the angle formed by the ʿAṭbarā and the hills of the Eritrean-Sudanese frontier. The principal modern tribes are the ʿAbābda [*q.v.*], Bishārīn *[*q.v.*], Ummarār, Hadanduwa and Banī ʿĀmir. The ʿAbābda now speak Arabic; the others (except the Tigre-speaking sections of B. ʿĀmir) speak tu-Beḍawiye, a Hamitic language. The Bedja subsist mainly on their herds of camels, cattle, sheep and goats. Since grazing is sparse, they move usually in very small groups. Bedja origins are obscure but Hamitic-speaking groups have inhabited the region from ancient times. The usual identification with the pre-Islamic Blemmyes was rejected by Becker (see bedja in *EI*[1]).

Relations with Muslim Egypt. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd encountered some Bedja on his return from Nubia (31/651-2) but regarded them as politically insignificant. The first Bedja-Arab treaty, made with ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb in the reign of Hishām, regulated Bedja trade with Egypt and safeguarded the Muslims from their depredations. The Arabs penetrated Bedja territory in search of emeralds (mined in the desert of Ḳifṭ) and gold, found in the Wādī al-ʿAllāḳī [*q.v.*]. The dominant northern Bedja tribe was the Ḥadārib, traditionally descended from pre-Islamic immigrants from Ḥaḍramawt. They were disunited but there are occasional indications of a supreme chief, living in a village named Hadjar. A more numerous servile class, the Zanāfidj, acted as herdsmen. Muslim immigration resulted in a superficial islamisation of the Ḥadārib and Arab-Bedja intermarriage. Bedja raids on

Upper Egypt led to a Muslim expedition, which defeated the chief, Kanūn, and imposed a treaty (216/831). The caliph was acknowledged as suzerain, mosques in Bedja territory were to be respected, Muslim merchants and pilgrims were to pass in safety, and collectors of *zakāt* from converts were to be allowed entry. Other provisions sought to prevent an alliance of the Bedja with Christian Nubia. Further raids and the withholding of tribute from the gold-mines ensued. A cavalry expedition, sent by sea, defeated the Bedja camel-men, whose chief went to Sāmarrā in 241/855-6 to make his personal submission to al-Mutawakkil. Soon however the Bedja began to raid al-Fusṭāṭ itself. After a particularly severe attack, a force mustered by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī intercepted a raiding-party and killed its chief. Supported by the Rabīʿa and Djuhayna, al-ʿUmarī established control over the mining districts (c. 255/868-9) and, after his death, Rabīʿa, who intermarried with the Ḥadārib, came to dominate the area. Al-Masʿūdī describes the chief of Rabīʿa in 332/943-4 as the owner of the mines; he commanded 3,000 Arabs and 30,000 Bedja camelmen. The ratio is probably more significant than the numbers. The rise of ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*] in the mid-5th./11th. century increased the importance of the Ḥadārib, whose territory was crossed by the route from the Nile valley to the port. A chief, called by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa al-Ḥadrabī, shared in the customs of ʿAydhāb. Information about the southern Bedja is sparse. Al-Yaʿḳūbī lists six Bedja "kingdoms". Al-Uswānī depicts the further Bedja as a fragmented, pagan society, in which each group had its own *kāhin* to give guidance on grazing and raids.

Decline of the Ḥadārib and formation of the tribes. By the 8th/14th century the gold-mines had been abandoned and ʿAydhāb was in decline. These economic factors may explain the disappearance of the Ḥadārib, who appear to have migrated southwards, perhaps becoming the Balaw ruling-caste which dominated the Bedja of the Suakin-Massawa hinterland. The spread of Arab tribes up the Nile and the establishment of the Muslim Fundj sultanate (c. 910/1504) resulted ultimately in the general, if superficial, islamisation of the Bedja. This is reflected in the adoption of Arab pedigrees. Some of these (*e.g.*, the derivation of the Bishārīn, Ummarār and ʿAbābda from Khālid b. al-Walīd or al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām) are obviously fictitious: others, such as the Hadanduwa claim to descent from an otherwise unknown Ḥijāzī refugee from the Ottomans, may be a genuine memory of the tribe's development. The Fundj period saw the appearance and expansion of the modern tribes. Fundj suzerainty was recognised by the southernmost group, the B. ʿĀmir, a congeries dominated by a caste of Sudanese-Arab descent, the Nabtāb, which had superseded the Balaw about the end of the 16th. century. The 18th. century witnessed the westward expansion of the Ummarār and the drive of the Hadanduwa to the Ḳāsh and ʿAṭbarā. [See also ʿABĀBDA and BISHĀRĪN]. Suakin had meanwhile become the principal port of the region and was connected with the Sudanese Nile by several routes across Bedja territory. From 1517 it was an Ottoman possession but by the early 19th. century the port was controlled by a Bedja group, the Ḥadārib, probably distinct from the medieval Ḥadārib but, like them, linked genealogically with Ḥaḍramawt. They were ruled by the five Artayḳa clans.

The Egyptian conquest to the present day. The Egyptian conquest of the Nilotic Sudan (1821-22) did not immediately affect the Bedja. Tribute-gathering raids into al-Tāka (the Ḳāsh region) failed permanently to subdue the Hadanduwa but an administrative post was founded at Kasala (1840), which became a trading centre and the headquarters of the important Khatmiyya *ṭarīḳa*. The Ummarār levied tolls on the Suakin-Berber trade-route and, like the Hadanduwa, were employed in transport. Although administrative control was imperfect, this was a time of pacification and economic progress. Artayḳa took the lead in developing the agriculture of the Baraka, previously slightly cultivated by the B. ʿĀmir. Attemts were made to grow cotton commercially in the Ḳāsh and Baraka deltas. The growing security and prosperity were shattered by the Mahdiyya. This aroused no response among the Bedja until the arrival of ʿUthmān b. Abī Bakr Diḳna in 1883. He owed his success less to his partly Bedja ancestry than to the support given him by the local head of an indigenous *ṭarīḳa* which had felt the rivalry of the government-backed Khatmiyya. ʿUthmān Diḳna cut the Suakin-Berber route, captured the government posts in Bedja territory and threatened Suakin itself. His followers, mainly Hadanduwa and Ummarār, fluctuated in their support, and the capture of his headquarters at Tūkar in 1891 by an Anglo-Egyptian force marked the beginning of the Mahdist decline among the Bedja. Pacification and development were resumed under the Condominium (1899-1956). The tribal organization was reconstructed. Security was effectively established. Schools and hospitals were set up in the towns. Contacts between the Bedja and the outside world were increased by economic developments—the creation of Port Sudan, the construction of railways linking the coast and Kasala with the Nile valley, the commercial production of cotton in the Ḳāsh and Baraka deltas. The old way of life is however slow to change, and the full integration of the Bedja into the Sudanese polity remains a problem for the new Republic.

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(P. M. Holt)

BĒDJWĀN [see BĀDJALĀN].

BEDOUINS [see BADW].

BEG or **BEY**, a Turkish title, "lord", used in a number of different ways. The various dialect forms (*bäg, bäk, bek, bey, biy, bi, pig*, etc.) all derive from the old Turkish *bäg* as seen from the Orkhon inscriptions (8th Century) and the Chinese transcriptions concerning the Turks of Mongolia of the same period. The word has no Altaic origin (Mongol *begi* being a later loanword from Turkish; the series Turkish *bärk, bäk*/Mongol *bärka, bäki* "strong, sound", etc., owes nothing to the old Turkish *bäg* and should be dissociated from it; the same is true of the series: Turkish *bögü, bög* "wise-man, sorcerer" Mongol *bōge, bö* "Shaman"). Like many other titles, *bäg* is a loan-word possibly deriving from the Iranian *bag, viz.* the title of the Sāsānid kings ("divine", from an older form *baga* "God", cf. *Bag-dād*).

In the Orkhon inscriptions the compound term *bäg-lär* refers to the "nobility", "the order of beys", as opposed to the *bodun* "people, masses". The word *bäg* also appears in these texts to denote the second rank in the hierchy of high dignitaries. Finally, there is the evidence of a *Bars Bäg* who becomes Khān and brother-in-law of the Turkish Grand Khan. These different usages show that the title *bäg* (as later with *beg* or *bey*) does not imply a specific position or duty but is essentially honorific. Hence among many Turkish peoples it is joined to the name of the "eldest brother", *agha* (*bäg agha*, or *agha bäg* = old Ottoman *aghabey* "lord elder brother"). Some Turkish societies have reserved the title for personages of high rank; others have given it an extended general meaning of "chief", "master", "husband" or "Mr.". It can only assume a precise connotation in a given social and administrative context, often as the second part of a compound (*on begi* "chief of ten", "corporal", Golden Horde; Ott. *sandjak bey(i)*; etc.); or as a title when used with a proper name which it usually follows: *Bars Bäg, Meḥmed Bey*. The feminine title of *Begum* [*q.v.*] is simply a possessive form of the 1st pers. sing. of *beg* (= *bäg-im* "my lord", thence "my lady"; cf. *khān-um*, a similar possessive formation which has assumed a feminine connotation).

(L. Bazin)

ii. In Islamic times we find the word applied under the Ḳarakhānids to at least one high official; and it was the title first borne by Ṭughrul and his brother Čaghrī, the founders of the Saldjūḳid empire. Under the Saldjūḳid and other subsequent Turkish régimes, as Turkish terms began to be used officially side by side with the traditional Arabic and Persian, *beg* came to be employed as the equivalent of the Arabic *amīr*, as in the titles *beglerbegi* or *beylerbeyi*, equivalent to *amīr al-umarā*, and *sandjak-beyi*, equivalent to (*a*)*mīr liwā*. Under these régimes, again, whereas the great monarch would be entitled *khāḳān, khān*, or *sulṭān*, lesser sovereigns, such as those of the Anatolian states successor to the Saldjūḳid, the Ḳaraḳoyunlu, and the Aḳḳoyunlu, were entitled *beg*, as indeed was the great Tīmūr himself.

Under the Īlkhāns *beg* was sometimes used for women, and under the Moguls of India the feminine form, *begam*, was common. Under the Ṣafawids, since the ruler went by the title *shāh*, *beg* lost ground for lesser personages to *khān* and even *sulṭān*. Under the Ottomans, on the other hand, it remained in wide use for tribal leaders, high civil and military functionaries, and the sons of the great, particularly *pashas*.

Bibliography: *EI*[1], art. Beg by Barthold; *IA*, art. Beg by Köprülü; Redhouse, *Turkish-English Lexicon*, s.v.

(H. Bowen)

BEGDILI, a tribe of the Boz-oḳ branch of the Oghuz (Türkmen) peoples. Anūshtagīn, ancestor of the Khwārizmshāh dynasty, is sometimes believed to be of this tribe, but this is probably not so. A large Begdili community was found among the Türkmens in Syria in the 8th/14th century. At that time they were led by Tashkhun (Tashkun) Oghullarī. They were regarded as one of the most important Türkmen tribes in Syria in the 9th/15th century. Another important branch of this tribe lived in the 14 villages of the Gülnar district of the Içel province in the same century; their leaders were in possession of fiefs (*dirlik*). The Begdili of Syria were the largest of the Türkmen tribes in the Aleppo region in the 10th/16th century; they had 40 clans during the first half of the same century. The Syrian Begdili also had important clans in the Yeni Il and among the Boz Ulus in the Diyārbakr region. Another branch of these Begdili went to Iran together with the *ḳizilbash* Shāmlū tribe. The finest grazing grounds between Diyārbakr and Aleppo were, in the 11th/17th century, in their possession. They were, however, punished by Khusraw Pasha during his Baghdād expedition (1039/1630), for refusing to pay taxes and for allowing their cattle to destroy the crops of the local people. They are estimated to have had 12,000 tents during the second half of the same century. Like many other tribes, the Begdili were called to take part in the Austrian campaign in 1101/1690.A few years later the government made an attempt to settle the Begdili and other Türkmen tribes living near them, in the Raḳḳa region. Consequently some Begdili settled in Raḳḳa and the rest in the Aleppo and ʿAynṭāb region. As already mentioned a branch of the Syrian Begdili went to Iran together with the Shāmlū. Many important Ṣafawī commanders and governors were of this tribe. A branch of Begdili is seen among the Göklen Ili in the Astarābād region.

Bibliography: Faruk Sümer, *Bozoklu Oğuz Boylarına Dair*, in *Dil ve Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, xi/1, Ankara 1953.

(Faruk Sümer)

BEGLERBEGI, *beylerbeyi*, Turkish title meaning '*beg* of the *begs*', 'commander of the commanders'. Like other titles it suffered progressive debasement: having originally designated 'commander-in-chief of the army' it came to mean 'provincial governor' and finally was no more than an honorary rank. In the first sense it was used by the Saldjūḳs of Rūm as an alternative title for the *malik al-umarāʾ* and by the Ilkhānids as the title of the chief of the four *umarāʾ al-ulus*. In the empire of the Golden Horde the title was used for all the *umarāʾ al-ulus*. In Mamlūk Egypt it was perhaps used for the *atābak al-ʿasākir*. (For references to the sources see M. F. Köprülüzade, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Te'siri*, Istanbul 1931, 190-5 [Italian translation, *Alcune osservazioni ...*, Pubblicazioni dell'Instituto per l'Oriente di Roma, 1944], and I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal*, Ist. 1941, index; cf. also D. Ayalon in *BSOAS* XVI [1954], 59).

Among the Ottomans too the title seems to have meant originally 'commander-in-chief' (in which sense it is used by Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 69). It is said to have been first bestowed on Lala Shahin by Murād I when, after the capture of Edirne, he himself returned to Brusa (Giese's *Anon.* 22_{19} = Urudj 22_9). Lala Shahin was succeeded by Timurtash, still apparently the sole *beglerbegi*, who was left to guard Anadolu

when Bāyezīd I marched against Mirče (Neshrī [Taeschner] i 86). When Mūsā, during the 'time of troubles', had seized the European territories he appointed a *wezīr*, a *ḳāḍīʿasker* and 'a *beglerbegi*' (Giese's *Anon.* 49_{24}, but '*beglerbegi* of Rumeli' in Urudj 39_{13} and ʿĀshıḳpashazāde [Giese] § 69). By the end of the reign of Meḥemmed I at the latest there existed two *beglerbegis*, with territorial designations, one 'of Rumeli' and one 'of Anadolu' (cf. ʿĀPz. § 81, '*beglerbegi* of Anadolu' and § 83, '*beglerbegi* of Rumeli'; such referencer for earlier periods in later historians may be anachronisms). This was clearly the case under Murād II, by which time the *beglerbegis* of Rumeli and Anadolu were the governors-general of the two provinces, their main responsibility being the supervision, through the *sandjaḳ-begis* [*q.v.*], of the feudal *sipāhīs*, whom in time of war they led into battle. As Ottoman territory expanded, new provinces were created, so that by the end of the 10th/16th century the *beglerbegis* numbered nearly forty. The *beglerbegi* of Rumeli (who from 942/1536 onwards was admitted to the *dīwān*, cf. Ferīdūn[2] i 595) always took precedence, the others, if of the same rank (see below), taking precedence according to the dates of the conquest of their provinces. It was not unknown for the Grand Vizier to hold also the office of *beglerbegi* of Rumeli.

It is clear from a Ḳānūn-nāme of Meḥemmed II that already in his reign *beglerbegi* had come to be also an honorary rank (as it had perhaps been under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, cf. Köprülüzade, *op. cit.*, 192), holders of which took precedence immediately after *wezīrs*. By the end of the 11th/17th century *Rumeli beglerbegisi* too had become an honorary rank, besides denoting the actual governor-general. Conversely, from the 10th/16th century onwards, the office of *beglerbegi* of important provinces was often bestowed on holders of the rank of *wezir*, who had authority over *beglerbegis* of neighbouring provinces. The *wezīr* was entitled to three ṭughs, the *beglerbegi* to two. Both *wezīrs* and *beglerbegis* bore the title *pasha*, whence the *sandjaḳ* in which the *beglerbegi* resided was known as *pasha sandjaghī*.

The *beglerbegi* was regarded as 'viceroy', *salṭanat wekīli*; he had a miniature court and presided at his own *dīwān*. At first he had full powers to grant *tīmārs* and *ziʿāmets*, his appointments being automatically ratified, but after 937/1530 he could grant with his own *berāt* only the smaller (*tedhkiresiz*) *tīmārs*.

In the 12th/18th century the terminology became further confused, for (1) the name *wālī* [*q.v.*] was increasingly given to the governor-general, and *beglerbegi* in this sense fell into desuetude (except for the *beglerbegis* of Rumeli and Anadolu, to judge from D'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, vii, 278); (2) the Persian *mīr-i mīrān*, *mīrmīrān* [*q.v.*], which had earlier been used indiscriminately (together with Ar. *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*]) as a synonym for *beglerbegi*, was increasingly used to denote the honorary rank of *beglerbegi*, and bestowed as such even on governors of *sandjaḳs*. With the thorough re-organisation of provincial administration by the law of 1281/1864 the term *wālī* became the official designation of the provincial governor (cf. A. Heidborn, *Droit public et administratif de l'Empire Ottoman*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1908, 157 ff.). Thenceforth only the terms *Rumeli beglerbegisi*, *mīrmīrān* and *mīr-i umerā* survived, and they only as honorary titles.

In the Ṣafawid state the *beglerbegis* formed the second of four classes of provincial governors (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, tr. and comm. V. Minorsky, GMS New Series xvi, London 1943, 25, 43, 163).

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, *Staats.*, passim; P. A. von Tischendorf, *Das Lehnswesen in den Moslemischen Staaten*, Leipzig 1872; J. Deny, *Sommaire des Archives Turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, 41-52, and articles *Pasha* and *Tīmār* in *EI*[1]; W. L. Wright, *Ottoman Statecraft*, Princeton 1935, index; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, index; idem, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, index; M. Z. Pakalin, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, s.v. *Beylerbeyi*; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, Oxford 1950, esp. 137 ff. and sources there referred to. For the syntactical use of the word see Deny, *Gr.* §§ 1115-7.

(V. L. Ménage)

BEGTEGINIDS, an important seigneurial family which, though it never completely freed itself from the overlordship of its powerful neighbours, possessed for a century extensive lands in Upper Mesopotamia, partly in the east around Irbil and partly in the west, for a shorter period, around Ḥarrān. The founder of the family, Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī Küčük b. Begtegin, was a Turcoman officer whose fortune was linked from the beginning with that of Zenki. Probably as a result of his participation in this prince's campaigns in Kurdish territory, we find him in possession of a number of districts stretching from the Great Zāb to the lands of the Humaydī and Hakkarī Kurds, Takrīt, and Shahrzūr, with Irbil at their centre. In 539/1145, after the revolt of the Saldjūḳid Alp-Arslan at Mosul, Zenki further gave him military control over this town. Despite this power he remained a faithful lieutenant of Zenki's two successors in Mosul, Sayf al-Dīn and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, as well as of their vizier Djamal al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, until the time of his disgrace; the last-named of these princes added to his territories Sindjār and Ḥarrān, the latter in compensation for Ḥimṣ in Syria which one of his brothers had to give up to Nūr al-Dīn, the uncle of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and prince of Aleppo. However, at the end of his life Zayn al-Dīn surrendered all his lands to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, securing in exchange his son's right of succession to Irbil alone. He died an old man in 563/1168, and left the reputation of being brave, upright, temperate, and a protector of the devout.

His fame, however, was surpassed by that of his son Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökburi. The latter, ejected first from Irbil by the governor of that town (and later of Mosul), Ḳāïmāz, to the advantage of his younger brother Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf. From Ḳuṭb al-Dīn he received in compensation Ḥarrān, which his father had held. At the opportune moment he aligned himself with Saladin, who added Edessa and Samosata and married him to one of his sisters. From that time on he played a glorious part in most of Saladin's campaigns, in particular the conquest of Palestine and Syria and the struggle against the Franks (third Crusade). Then in 586/1190, his brother Yūsuf having died after he also had had to surrender to the confederate armies in front of Acre, Gökburi surrendered his Ḍiyār Muḍar territories to Saladin on behalf of his brother Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar and obtained from him as *de facto* overlord of the Zenkids the succession to the entire province of Irbil. He held this for forty-four lunar years, until he was eighty-one years old, and judging from his revenues considered himself from the time of Saladin's death as the vassal of the Caliph alone. He played an astute part in the struggles which went on all this

time among the various rulers of Upper Mesopotamia, supporting first the Ayyūbids against the Zenkids, and later the weakened Zenkids, to whom he married two daughters, against the sons of al-ʿĀdil. Finally he set himself to opposing the ambitions of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, the lieutenant and successor of the Zenkids, who was an ally of the Ayyūbid al-Ashraf. At the end of his life, having no son and fearing the intervention of his different neighbours, Gökburi bequeathed his principality to the Caliph, who brought it under effective occupation (630/1233).

Apart from diplomatic and military matters Gökburi was concerned with various enterprises of social value, especially at Irbil, though their influence extended beyond the town itself. He instituted *madrasas*, *khanaḳāhs*, hospitals and alms-houses, and public services in aid of pilgrims, as well as contributing to the ransom of prisoners of the Franks, etc. He seems to have been the first prince to celebrate formally the *Mawlid* festival, perhaps as a reaction to the Shīʿī nativity festivals or Christmas as kept by the Irbil Christians. He was a devout and a well-read man, much visited by scholars and writers from foreign lands. In governing he was assisted, particularly on such occasions, by his vizier, who was known by reason of his former activities as Mustawfī of Irbil, and compiled the history of the town. Ibn Khallikān and his family were among their most famous protégés. Around the town of Irbil, which had always remained Christian and somewhat aside from the current of Muslim history, there grew up a new lower town, and the whole became transformed into a Muslim centre of some standing. This advance, which was attended by a rather severe fiscal policy, was set at naught by the Mongol sack of 634/1237.

Bibliography: Apart from the historians of Saladin, see especially Ibn al-Athīr, *Atabeks* and *Kāmil* (index); Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, 680-683; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, Bibl. Nat. Paris 1702, 288 v°-289 v°; Ibn al-ʿAmīd, ed. Cl. Cahen, in *BEO* 1958, year 630; Ibn Khallikān, ed. 638, trans. De Slane 535 ff. (cf. 552); Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, ed. Muṣṭ. Djawād, 44 ff.; Yāḳūt, i, 186-187; the coin catalogues of the British Museum (Lane-Poole, iii) and Istanbul (Ismāʿīl Ghālib); H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, 13-14; ʿAbbas al-ʿAzzāwī, *Āl Bektigin Kökburi aw imārat Irbil fī ʿahdihim*, dans *Madjalla ... Revue de l'Académie arabe du Caire*, XXI-XXII, 1956-195), see also the articles IRBIL and MAWLID. (CL. CAHEN)

BEGTIMUR [see SHĀH-I ARMAN].

BEGUM (Indo-Persian BEGAM, Turkish BIGIM), feminine of BEG [*q.v.*]. During the Mughal period of Indian history its use, as an honorific, was confined to the royal princesses only. Djahānārā Begam [*q.v.*] the unmarried daughter of Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*], bore the official title of Pādshāh Begam during the reign of her father. She retained it even after the dethronement and subsequent incarceration of Shāhdjahān. During Akbar's rule the Begams (queens and princesses) received from 1028 to 1610 rupees per annum as privy purse. After the death of Djahāngīr, his widow Nūr Djahān, received 200,000 rupees per annum allowed her by Shādjahān. Mumtāz Maḥall, the consort of Shāhdjahān, drew 1,000,000 rupees annually from the Imperial Exchequer while Pādshāh Begam enjoyed an allowance of 600,000 rupees per annum, half in cash and half in lands. Awrangzīb gave the latter 1,200,000 rupees per annum. Before the establishment of Pakistan (1947), Indian Muslim ladies of high and noble birth were designated as "begams". Now all married women in Pakistan, with the exception of those belonging to the poorer classes, are called "begams", the equivalent of *khānim* Mrs., or Madame. In this sense the word is practically unknown to the Arabic and Persian speaking countries. Husbands, in public and private, not infrequently, address their wives as begam, scrupulously avoiding pronouncing their given names. Domestics and menials, as a rule, address their mistresses, in India and Pakistan, as begams. Conventionally, every newly-born girl bears this word as a suffix to her name, but the practice is now fast disappearing.

Bibliography: Hobson-Jobson, *s.v.*; *Āṣaf al-Lughāt*, s.v.; Ṣayyid Aḥmad, *Farhang-i Āṣafiyya*, s.v.; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhōrī, *Bādshāh-nāma* (Bib. Ind.), i 96 and index; *Āʾin-i Akbarī* (Eng. transl.), i 615. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

BEHĀRISTĀN [see DJĀMĪ].

BEHESNĪ [see BESNI].

BEHISTŪN [see BĪSUTŪN].

BEHNESĀ [see BAHNASĀ].

BEHRĀM [see BAHRĀM].

BEIRUT [see BAYRŪT].

BEJA [see BĀDJA].

BEKRĪ MUṢṬAFĀ AGHA, the name of a drunkard, who lived in the reign of Sulṭān Murād IV (1623-1640), and is said to have led him into habits of drunkenness; the name *bekrī* therefore in Turkish still commonly means a drunkard. In the popular literature and in the Karagöz plays the drunkard Bekrī Muṣṭafā Agha is a well-known figure, characterised by his sharp and ready wit and his Bohemian way of life. Ewliya even gives the title of a *Taḳlīd*: *Bekrī Muṣṭafā and the Blind Arab Beggar* (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 654).

Bibliography: Jacob, *Traditionen über Bekri Mustafa Aga*, in *Keleti Szemle*, v (1904), 271; T. Menzel, *Bekri Mustafa bei Mehmed Tevfiḳ*, *ibid.*, vii (1906), 83; H. Ritter, *Karagös*, Wiesbaden 1953, index. (F. GIESE*)

BEKTĀSH [see BEKTASHIYYA].

BEKTĀSHIYYA, a Dervish order in Turkey. The patron of the order is Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh Walī, whose biography as given in the order's traditional writings, (the first version of which goes back to about the beginning of the 9th/15th century) is legendary, its purpose being manifestly to bring together the saint with famous religious personalities and to account for the later political importance of the Bektāshiyya by insisting on the activity of its alleged founder. It is quite out of the question that Bektāsh was ever in relation with ʿOthmān and Orkhān or that he consecrated the Janissary corps (established for the first time under Murād I), as is maintained by the Bektāshī tradition and by some historical sources written under its influence.

We can however consider as certain the appearance in the 7th/13th century, among the dervishes of Anatolia, of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh from Khurāsān. He was probably a disciple of Bābā Isḥāḳ [see BĀBĀʾĪ], whose revolt had taken place in 638/1240. The aristocratic entourage of the rival Mawlawiyya order later laid emphasis on this. According to the researches of M. Fuad Köprülü, the order originated from the circle of his disciples. However, in the *Maḳālāt* of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh, originally written in Arabic and translated into Turkish verse by Khaṭīb-oghlu and afterwards rendered also into Turkish prose, the secret rites and doctrines characteristic

of the Bektā͟shiyya are not particularly emphasised. At all events, the order, whose immediate predecessors appear to have been the Abdālān-i Rūm, already existed in the 8th/14th century; it was at the beginning of the 10th/16th century that the grand master Bālīm Sulṭān, the "second *Pīr*", gave it its definite form.

Turkish dervish institutions had received their characteristic features in western Turkestan from Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1166); they had acquired an ever increasing expansion in Anatolia, but at the same time they had adopted heretical tendencies. The Bektā͟shiyya was able to conserve a good deal of pre-Islamic and heretical elements. In those regions where the order absorbed Muslim as well as Christian sects it came to include a large part of the population, as for instance in southern Anatolia and particularly in Albania, where there arose a kind of mixed religion, composed of Islamic and Christian elements. Also other communities with closely related related dogmas and rites, and especially the groups comprised under the denomination of Ḳīzīlba͟sh, stood in certain relations to it.

The attitude of the Bektā͟shīs towards Islām is marked both by the general features of popular mysticism, and by their far-reaching disregard for Muslim ritual and worship, even including the *ṣalāt*. In their secret doctrines they are ͟Shīʿīs, acknowledging the twelve imāms and, in particular, holding D͟jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ in high esteem. The centre of their worship is ʿAlī; they unite ʿAlī with Allāh and Muḥammad into a trinity. From 1 till 10 Muḥarram they celebrate the nights of mourning (*mātem ged͟jeleri*); also the other ʿAlid martyrs and especially the ***maʿṣūm-i pāk*** (those who perished in infancy) are highly venerated by them. In the 9th/15th century the cabbalistic number speculations of the Ḥurūfīs spread among them, while the *D͟jāwīdān* of Faḍl Allāh Ḥurūfī in its Persian redaction, and the Turkish exposition of the doctrines of the sect written by Feri͟shte-og͟hlu under the title *ʿA͟shḳnāma*, have canonical authority with them. Furthermore they believe in the migration of souls.

The Christian elements may already partly have belonged to the Anatolian predecessors of the Bektā͟shīs; other parts were perhaps taken over from Christian groups who joined them later. On the occasion of the reception of new members there is a distribution of wine, bread and cheese, which is probably a survival of the Holy Communion as practised by the Artotyrites. Moreover the Bektā͟shīs make a confession of sins before their spiritual chiefs, who grant them absolution. Women take part in their rites without veiling their faces. A narrower group vow themselves to celibacy, the celibates wearing earrings as a distinctive mark. It is not yet made clear whether celibacy existed already in early times among the Bektā͟shīs; probably it was introduced for the first time by Bālīm Sulṭān.

The Bektā͟shīs not seldom settled in famous places of pilgrimage, explaining the sanctity of the latter in conformity with their own traditions, for instance in Seyyid G͟hāzī near Eski͟shehir and in several places in Albania. The miracles described in the legends of their saints have often conserved shamanistic features.

The entire order was governed by the Čelebi, who resided in the mother-monastery (*pīr-ewi*) at Ḥād͟jd͟jī Bektā͟sh, constructed over the saint's tomb (between Ḳīr͟shehir and Ḳayseri). This office used to pass in the 18th and 19th centuries from father to son; it was not, however, always hereditary. The celibates have their own grand master or ***dede***. The head of one single monastery (***tekke***) is called ***baba***; the fully initiated member ***derwī͟sh***, the member who has only taken the first vow ***muḥibb***, the not yet initiated adherent ***ʿā͟shiḳ***. The discipline is chiefly governed by the relation of the ***mur͟shid*** to his disciples and novices.

The Bektā͟shīs wear a white cap, consisting of four or twelve folds. The number four symbolises the "four gates": ***͟sharīʿa, ṭarīḳa, maʿrifa, ḥaḳīḳa***, and the four corresponding classes of people: ***ʿābid, zāhid, ʿārif, muḥibb***; the number twelve points to the number of the imāms. Particularly characteristic are also the twelve-fluted ***taslīm ta͟shi***, which is worn round the neck, and the ***teber*** (double-axe). Illustrations are to be found in the work of J. K. Birge (see bibliography).

The big ***tekke***s comprise the following parts ***maydān evi***, the monastery proper with the oratory ***ekmek evi***, the bakehouse and the women's quarters: ***a͟sh evi***, the kitchens; ***mihmān evi***; the guest quarters;

Among the many earlier settlements of the order; the following should be mentioned. In Rumelia: Dimetoka and Ḳalḳandelen; in Anatolia: ʿO͟thmānd͟jīḳ north-west of Amasya and Elmali in Lycia; near Cairo first at Ḳaṣr al-ʿAyn and soon afterwards also on the Muḳaṭṭam slope (already as early as the 9th/15th century); there are others in Bag͟hdād and at Karbalāʾ.

The Bektā͟shī form of the dervish religion deeply influenced the pious attitude of the Turkish people. Next to the mystical writings proper of the order there flourished also a rich and fervent lyric poetry of Bektā͟shī poets.

The order's political importance was due to its connexion with the Janissaries; the latter had been from the beginning, in the same way as all other early political institutions of the Ottomans, under the influence of religious corporations. In the second half of the 9th/15th century at the latest the Bektā͟shīs acquired exclusive authority amongst them. The receptivity of the Janissaries to Bektā͟shī beliefs may perhaps be explained by their Christian origin. Their connexion with this strictly organised order gave the Janissary corps the character of a closed corporation. The Bektā͟shīs also took part in several dervish rebellions against the Ottoman power, *e.g.*, the revolt of Ḳalender-og͟hlu (933/1526-1527). The destruction of the Janissaries in 1241/1826 by Maḥmūd II affected also the order to which they were linked; many monasteries were destroyed at the time. Towards the middle of the 19th century began the renewal of the order and the rebuilding of the monasteries; the Bektā͟shīs experienced a revival which found expression in its literary activity at the end of the 19th century and even after 1908.

In the autumn of 1925 the Bektā͟shīs, like all dervish orders in Turkey, were dissolved; it was, however, precisely the Bektā͟shīs who had opened the way for many measures inaugurated by the Turkish republic (relation to Islamic orthodoxy; position of women). To-day the Bektā͟shīs continue their existence in the Balkan peninsula, particularly in Albania where their chief monastery is in Tirana; according to certain documents, there were still 30,000 Bektā͟shīs in Turkey in 1952 (cf. *C.O.C.*, 1952, 206).

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BELEN [see BAYLĀN].

BELEYN. The name of a tribe-group of herdsmen and cultivators in the southern part of the Keren province of Eritrea. Known to themselves as Bogos, and numbering some 30,000 souls, they are organised in two main tribes, the Bayt Tarké and Bayt Tawké, strictly similar in culture and habit, though claiming distinct (mainly mythical) origins. A characteristic master-and-serf relationship has long been traditional among them, but tribal has now largely given place to direct govermental authority. The Beleyn generally followed Coptic Christianity until the Egyptian occupation of Keren area in 1277-1294/1860-1876), but have since adopted Islam.

The Beleyn language, unknown elsewhere, is an unsemitised dialect of the Agau group of Kushitic (Hamitic) languages. This, and their social structure and folk-lore, indicate that their presence in Eritrea is due to the immigration of little-diluted Agau elements from northern Ethiopia in the 10th and 11th (16th and 17th) centuries into territory previously occupied by folk of lower culture and energy.

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BELGRADE (in modern Serbian: *Beograd* = White City), capital of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and of the People's Republic of Serbia, at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube. It comprises Beograd, the old town on the right bank of the Sava and the Danube, Novi Beograd (= New Belgrade), a new settlement still under construction, on the left bank of the Sava, and Zemun, the old town on the Danube. A number of smaller places on both banks of the Sava and the Danube also belong to Belgrade. It has more than 500,000 inhabitants.

Since Belgrade became the capital of Yugoslavia in 1918, it has begun to spread to the far side of the Sava and the Danube. In former times it covered only the area along the right bank of the Sava and the right bank of the Danube below the confluence. It was here that the Celtic Scordici founded a settlement and named it *Singidun*, a name which the town retained in the days of Roman rule (Singidunum). During the Bulgar rule in the 9th century, the town received its Slavonic name, which it retained, despite frequent changes of rulers (including Byzantine and, later, Hungarian ones). It was, however, frequently translated (Alba Bulgarica, Nandeor Alba, Nándeor Fejérvár, Alba Graeca, Griechisch Weissenburg). In their day, the Turks referred to it as بلغراد (Belgrad). In order to distinguish it from other towns in Albania, Hungary, and Transylvania which also bore the name of Belgrade, the Turks occasionally called it *Belgrad Üngürüz* (in the 9th/15th century), *Ashaghî Belgrad*, *Tuna Belgradi*, *Belgrad-i Semendire*, or similar names. In some Turkish documents, and in contemporary geographical and historical works, Belgrade is sometimes designated by names applied in the Islamic world to border towns and strategically important fortresses. Thus the name *dār al-djihād* is found frequently, and this has led some of the earlier Serbian historians to state that this was the Turkish name for Belgrade. Prof. F. Bajraktarević has proved that such a statement is unfounded.

Up to the First World War, Belgrade was an important fortress on the road from Central Europe to the Near East. Thanks to its strategic importance, Belgrade has had a stormy past. After it had changed rulers frequently in the Middle Ages (Byzantines, Bulgars, Hungarians, and Serbs), Belgrade was ceded to the Hungarians after the death of the Serbian despot Stevan Lazarević (1427). For nearly a century, it was the most important base for the defence of the southern borders of Hungary against Turkish raids.

If we disregard some uncertain reports concerning a siege of Belgrade by Bāyezīd I, the Turks twice attacked Belgrade prior to 863/1459: in 843-44/1440, when the town resisted a six months' siege, and under Meḥemmed II the Conqueror, who in 860/1456, arrived with a great army, a fleet, and strong artillery. Encircled on the landward side, with the Turkish fleet blocking the Danube, and heavily bombarded, Belgrade none the less held out. Assistance reached the town, and under the leadership of János Hunyady, who took over the defence after the break-through, the garrison of Belgrade resisted successfully, despite the fact that the Turks had penetrated into the lower fortress. After a premature assault, the Turks gave up the siege on July 23rd. This was the second occasion on which Belgrade won fame as "The outer wall of Christendom". In 845/1441-2, the Turks built a fortress opposite Belgrade, on the mountain Avala (Havala). This fortress played an important part in the Turkish raids on Belgrade after Serbia finally fell under Turkish rule (863/1459). The defensive power of Belgrade decreased during the first decades of the 10th/16th century in the clashes with the Turks. Broken by financial and political crises, Hungary was not able to give regular pay to the garrison; still less could it improve its defences.

During Sulṭān Sulaymān's first campaign (927/1521), the Turkish army entered Belgrade on 29 August 1521, after a long siege. The Hungarian troops were sent home, the Serbian population was settled in Constantinople, and some of the Serbian crews of the warships in the Danube became sailors in Turkish service. At that time, the seat of the *sandjaḳ* of Smederevo (Semendire) was moved to Belgrade, and Bali-bey (died 933/1527) the son of Yaḥyā Pasha, was made governor. In order to make Belgrade secure, Bali Bey destroyed all settlements in the neighbouring areas of Syrmia, and he used the building materials of these destroyed Syrmian towns for Belgrade's new fortifications,

which now became the most important fortifications against Hungary. After the battle near Mohács (932/1526) the towns in eastern and central Syrmia came under the rule of the *sandjak-beg* in Belgrade. After Bali Bey's death, his brother Meḥmed-Bey (who died in 955/1548 as Pas͟ha of Buda) continued the policy of conquest. Until 944/1538, the conquered regions of Syrmia, Slavonia, and southern Hungary remained under the rule of the *sandjak-beg* in Belgrade. After that, the *sandjak* of Požega was founded in Slavonia. After the conquest of Buda (948/1541), and the foundation of the eyalet of Buda, the *sandjak* of Smederevo, with its seat in Belgrade, fell to this *eyālet*. The representative (*ḳāʾim-maḳām*) of the Pas͟ha of Buda resided in Belgrade, as this town had lost none of its great military importance as a marshalling-place for Turkish troops before their wars against the west, even after the conquest of Buda. Together with the Turkish armies, sultans and Grand Viziers passed through Belgrade and paused there for varying periods. There are many events in Turkish history connected with Belgrade. Diplomatic missions, too, which came down the Danube from the west on their way to the Turkish Sultan, stayed in Belgrade for a short time, for this is where the overland route began.

Immediately after the conquest of Belgrade, the Turks began to consider further fortifications there. As during the Hungarian rule, these consisted of the lower and the upper fortress, which were now, however, well equipped with artillery. Each of these two fortresses had its own commander (*dizdār*). The Turks equipped Belgrade with a garrison and a fleet. The fleet on the Danube was particularly necessary because of the wars with Hungary, and in the first half of the 10th/16th century, Serbian *Martolos* were stationed there (in 943/1536-7 there were 385 *Martolos* in 40 *oda* with 39 *odabas͟hi*, under the command of the *voyvoda* Vuk). In the second half of the 16th century, there was also a considerable garrison in Belgrade (in 1560 there were 223 *müstaḥfiẓ*, 9 *djebedji*, 41 *topdju* with 5 *bölükbas͟hi*, 4 *kumbaradji*, 101 *azab*, 96 *Martolos* with one Ag͟ha and 8 *odabas͟hi*; the *Martolos*, with the exceptior of the Ag͟ha and one *bölük* of the *topdju*, were Serbs).

Whilst Belgrade, one the one hand, developed quickly as a fortress after coming under Turkish rule, the same could not be said for its economic and commercial recovery. In 943/1536-7, there were in Belgrade 4 Muslim *maḥalles* with 79 households around four mosques. Nearly half of the non-military Muslim population was registered as craftsmen. There were 68 Christian households in the 12 *maḥalles* of the town. These inhabitants did not have to pay taxes, but their duty was to maintain the fortress. At that time there were 72 households of settled *eflak* (here used for semi-nomadic herdsmen, and not to be taken in the ethnical sense) in Belgrade, who guarded the imperial powder magazines, and there were 20 households of gypsies, whose duty it was to repair the ships in the harbour. In the thirties of the 16th century, a colony of Dubrovnik merchants from Smederevo settled in Belgrade.

After the middle of the 10th/16th century, Belgrade took on the character of an oriental town. The Muslim population was recruited in three ways; from the arrival of the whole administrative machinery and the military garrison, from the settling of merchants and craftsmen from other parts of Turkey, and from the islamisation of the local population. After Buda (948/1541) and Temesvar (959/1552) came under Turkish rule, Belgrade became very important as an entrepôt. By 967/1560, there were already 16 Muslim *maḥalles* with more than 360 households, and more than 60 Christian households in Belgrade. Craftmanship developed considerably, and new, more delicate crafts appeared. Details from the *Defter* of 980/1572-3 bear witness to the rapid rise of Belgrade. At that date, there were over 200 Christian households, and over 600 Muslim (in 21 *maḥalles*), 133 gypsy, and 20 Jewish.

The end of the 10th/16th century, and the first half of the 11th/17th century in particular, were times of great prosperity for Belgrade. According to a statement made by a Papal visitor to the archbishop of Bar, Peter Masarechi, Belgrade had 8,000 households with some 60,000 inhabitants (in 1632). According to Ewliyā Čelebi, there were 38 Muslim *maḥalles*, and 11 others (Serbs, Greeks, Gypsies, Armenians and Jews), and 98,000 permanent residents in the year 1070/1660. The town had a large garrison and was the seat of the commander (*ḳapudan*) of the Danube fleet. There were large storehouses for food for military purposes, workshops for the repair of cannons and nearby a powder factory. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Belgrade had 217 *miḥrābs* (Kātib Čelebi mentions only up to 100 mosques there). The mosques of Sulṭān Sulaymān in the fortress (according to Ewliyā Čelebi, its builder was Miʿmār Sinān), and the one in the lower town, which Meḥmed Pas͟ha, the son of Yaḥyā Pas͟ha, had built, are worthy of special mention. There were 160 palaces (*sarāy*) and 7 baths in Belgrade, and a great number of squares and market places with a beautiful *bezistān*, 6 *kārvān sarāys* and several *k͟hāns*. There was also a mint. During that time, the janissaries left their mark on the town and the guilds. Belgrade was the seat of a *mollā* who had three *nāʾibs*, and it was also the seat of a *muftī*. There were 17 *tekiyes*, 8 *medreses* and 9 institutes for the study of *ḥadīt͟h* (*dār al-ḥadīt͟h*), and there were also churches and cultural institutions of the Christian and Jewish minorities. The figures quoted by Ewliyā Čelebi are sometimes exaggerated, but the accounts of all travellers in the 11th/17th century describe Belgrade as a big town, particularly stressing its commercial importance. Foreign travellers noted especially the oriental character of the town.

After one month's siege, the imperial army under the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria took Belgrade in 1099/1688. Belgrade suffered greatly on that occasion. It remained under Austrian rule for two years; the Turks then recovered it, and it remained under Turkish rule even after the Peace of Karlovci (Karlowitz-1110/1699). Under the command of Eugene of Savoy, the imperial army beat the Turkish army near Belgrade 8 Ramaḍān 1129/16 August 1717. After the peace of Požarevac (Passarowitz-1130/1718), Belgrade became the capital of northern Serbia under Austrian occupation. Once again, destroyed Belgrade began to flourish. The fortifications were renewed, and the present-day walls date from that time.

The Sava and the Danube became boundary rivers by the Peace of Belgrade (1152/1739). Belgrade was neglected and sank to a mere border garrison for janissaries. It became the seat of a Pas͟ha with the title of Vezir. Northern Serbia began to be referred to as the Belgrade *pas͟halik*, although it was still called the Smederevo *sandjak* (*Semendire sandjag͟hi*) in official documents. From 1789 to 1791, Belgrade was once again under Austrian rule. By

the end of the 18th century, it had about 25,000 inhabitants.

After the Peace of Svishtov (1791), the janissaries were driven from Belgrade, though Sulṭān Selīm III had to agree to their return not long afterwards. The rule of terror which they introduced gave rise to the first Serbian revolt in 1804; the rebels surrounded Belgrade immediately, but only succeeded in taking it towards the end of 1806. Belgrade remained the capital until the collapse of the rebel Serbian state in 1813. After the outbreak of the second Serbian revolt (1815) and the Turkish compromise to which it led, which established dual rule in Serbia, Turkish authorities and garrison remained in Belgrade. As the vassal state of Serbia grew stronger, Belgrade, too, began to change more and more into a Serbian town. After a bloody clash there between Serbs and Turks, the Turkish garrison bombarded the town (1862). This was followed by lengthy diplomatic negotiations. In 1867, fortified towns were handed over to Serbia, and Belgrade then became the capital of Serbia.

Only a few buildings of the earlier periods were preserved in Belgrade, and similarly there are but few monuments of the Turkish rule left. A few of them are in the older fortress (now a park). In the town itself there are only two, a mosque and a *türbe*. More obvious traces of Turkish rule can be found in the names of parts of the town and of places in the neighbourhood, such as Kalemegdan (*ḳalʿe meydānî*), Karaburma, Tašmajdan (*tash maʿdeni*), Dorćol (*dört yol*), Rospićuprija(*rospi köprü/sü/*), Topčider (*topdju dere/si/*), Avala (*havale*) etc.

Muslims living in Belgrade at the present time are not the descendants of the earlier Muslim population of Turkish times. The last Muslim families of old Belgrade emigrated in 1867 (many of these settled in northern Bosnia) The Muslim population found in Belgrade to day came after 1918 from Bosnia, Hercegovina, Macedonia and other Yugoslav regions where there are Muslims.

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(B. Djurdjev)

BELĪGH, Ismāʿīl of Bursa, Turkish poet and biographer. Little is known of his life. Like his father and grandfather he was an *imām* in a small Bursa mosque. He also served as a minor government official in various departments in that town, except for a short appointment in a Toḳat court. He died in 1142/1729 in Bursa where he is buried. According to Ṣafāʾī's *Tedhkire*, Belīgh composed a *dīwān* which has so far not come down to us. His known poetical works consist of a number of poems quoted in various contemporary *medjmūʿa*s and *tedhkire*s and two *mathnawī*s, *i.e.*, *Serguzesht-nāme*, which relates his journey to Toḳat and his adventures there, with vivid descriptions of his colleagues in court and the provincial town, and a *Shehrengiz* which is a description of the beauties of Bursa. Belīgh's most important work is his well known book of biographies, *Güldeste-i riyāḍ-i ʿirfān we wefiyāt-i dānishwerān-i nādiredān*. The *Güldeste* consists of five parts and deals with the biographies of Ottoman sultans, princes, *wazīr*s and notables of Bursa such as poets, scholars, musicians, physicians, storytellers, etc. (printed in Bursa 1302/1885). Belīgh also wrote a supplement to Ḳāf-zāde Fāʾiḍī's *Tedhkire*, *Zübdet al-ashʿār*, and called it *Nukhbat al-Āthār li dheyl Zübdet al-Ashʿār*. It covers the period between 1620 to 1726 (autograph MS, Üniversite 1182). Two works, both in verse, have not come down to us: *Gül-i Ṣadberk*, a commentary of 100 *ḥadīth*s, and *Sebʿa-i Seyyāre*, a collection of seven *tawḥīd*s.

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(Fahir İz)

BELĪGH, Meḥmed Emīn of Yenishehir, Turkish poet. Little is known of his life. He belonged to the *ʿulamāʾ* and served as *ḳāḍī* in various Balkan towns. He does not seem to have been appreciated by his contemporaries as most biographers do not mention his name. He died in 1174/1760 in Eski Zaghra after a hard life, according to his writings. His small *dīwān* was printed in Istanbul in 1258/1842. His *ḳaṣīda*s are of mediocre quality. Some of his *ghazal*s show a certain power of description, but his most original work is his four poems in *tardjīʿband* form: *Kefshgernāme*, *Ḥammāmnāme*, *Berbernāme*, *Khayyāṭnāme*, written in a fluent and unadorned style, which contain vivid descriptions of craftsmen and their trades.

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(Fahir İz)

BENARES (or Banāras), also known as Kāshī, derives its name from two tiny monsoon streams, Varūna and Āssī, that flow through the northern and southern parts of the town. Situated on the left bank of the Ganges, this ancient city, said to have been founded by Kāshyā, son of Suhottrā, about 1200 B.C., is a centre of the Hindu faith and is also revered by the Buddhists. Pop. (1951) 341,811.

Benares was captured by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām in 590/1193, and many of the idols decorating its numerous temples were destroyed and the town reduced to ruins. In 757/1356 Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk, while on his return journey from Bengal, gave battle to the ruler of Benāres and formed him into submission. In 797/1394 the town and the *pargana* were bestowed by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ

on his minister Khwādja Djahān. It was captured by Bābur in 936/1529. During the reign of Akbar, Rādjā Djay Singh Sawā'ī built many a temple and an observatory here, the latter is now in ruins. Shāhdjahān appointed his eldest son, Dārā Shukoh, as the governor of the town when he came into close contact with Brahmans and imbibed Hindu learning. Awrangzīb, enraged at Muslim students also being taught by Brahmans, ordered the closure of its *madrasas*. He also built a mosque on the site of an ancient Hindu temple which he destroyed on the plea that it was being used as a seat of conspiracy. The name of the city was also changed to Muḥammadābād but it never gained popularity, although it appears on his coins struck here. Muḥammad Shāh "Rangīlā" (1132/1719-1162/1748) bestowed the *pargana* of Benares on Mansārām, a Rādjpūt *zamīndār*, whose son Balwant Singh sided with the British during the Battle of Buxar, (1764) when he became independent of the Nawāb of Awadh It was ceded to the British in 1189/1775. In 1950 the estate was merged into the Indian Union forming part of the Banāras Division (Uttar Pradēsh).

Kabīr, the Indian *ṣūfī*-poet, came of a weaver family of this place. ʿAlī Ḥazīn, the Persian poet, lies buried here. It is also the birth-place of Āghā Ḥashr, an Urdū dramatist. Benares is famous for its silks and brocade manufactured by Muslim weavers. The morning at Benares, like the evening at Lucknow, has become proverbial in Urdū literature.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BENAVENT, (in al-Idrīsī *b.n.b.n.t.*), Benevento, never captured by the Muslims, even for a short period as were Bari and Taranto. However, in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries the Muslims became involved in the history of the town and principality of Benevento, having frequently been both enemies and allies of its princes in their domestic struggles, as well as often plundering and threatening its territory. The period on which we are best informed, thanks to the Latin sources, is the middle portion of the 3rd/9th century (the Arab sources are silent in this regard or give only very vague information). We know that in 228/843 a Saracen *amīr* Apolaffar or Apoiaffar (Abū Djaʿfar), who had come from Taranto, became the ally of prince Siconulph against his rival Radelchis, but eventually quarreled with Siconulph and was killed defending Benevento. In 237/851 we find a certain Massar (Abū Maʿshar), with a troop of Saracens, allied to this same Radelchis. Massar was later treacherously seized by Radelchis and executed together with his family. Some years after this Benevento was again threatened by Sawdān, the emir of Bari. It was only during the 4th/10th century that the Muslim danger receded, to disappear in the 5th/11th century with the Norman conquest of Sicily. According to the testimony of al-Idrīsī the town of Benevento is very old (*azaliyya*), and its population large.

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(F. Gabrieli)

BENAVERT, a Muslim leader who inspired Arab resistance to the Normans in eastern Sicily from 464/1072 until 479/1086. His name figures as *Benavert* or *Benaveth* in the account of the historian of the Normans, Malaterra. This person, of whom the Muslim sources make no mention, defeated the son of Count Roger in 467/1075 near Catania, captured this town in 474/1081, and in 478/1085 led expeditions from it into Calabria. In the following year he was besieged by Roger in Syracuse, and made a supreme effort to free this stronghold, which seems to have been the centre of his power. He was killed in the ensuing naval battle in the port, on 8 Ṣafar 479/25 May 1086. The real Arab name of this champion of Islam in Sicily was Ibn ʿAbbād. His memory has been handed down only by his enemies, who admired his courage. Almost certainly he was a forbear of the Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād who a century and a half later led the last great revolt of the Sicilian Muslims against Frederick II, by whom he was put to death.

Bibliography: M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*[2], iii, 151-169. (F. Gabrieli)

BENDER, a town in Bessarabia; the name appears on a coin of Mengli Gerey dated 905/1499-1500. It is found in the Tatar documents as *Bender-Kerman* (V. Zernov, *Materiaux*, 16). Bender, from Persian *Bandar*, was called earlier *Tigina* or *Tighinea* which may have a Kuman origin. That the town was first established by the Genoese is a legend (*Chronique d'Ureche*, ed. Giurescu). Its rise as a trading town with important customs revenue was due to its being on the "Tatar-route" on which an active trade was carried on between Lvov and the Crimea and Aḳ Kirmān [*q.v.*] in the 14th century. The place seems to pass from under the rule of the Tatars to that of the Moldavian princes around 1400. The Tatars tried to reconquer it (Ulugh Muḥammad in 1428 and Iminek Mīrzā in 1476), and, finally Mengli Gerey in cooperation with the Ottomans took it with Kavshan and Tombasar in 1484. When in 945/1538 Süleyman II invaded Moldavia and formed the new *sandjaḳ* of Aḳ Kirmān with the incorporation of the south Bessarabia he ordered the erection of a strong castle on the new border at Bender. A good desription of the castle was given by Ewliyā Čelebī (v, 116-120) in 1067/1656-57. It became the seat of a *sandjaḳ-begi* toward 1570 and later it was attached to the newly formed *eyālet* of Özü. The ḳāḍī of Bender had 40 *nāḥiye* [*q.v.*] under his jurisdiction and the customs house, always active, was under an *emīn* [*q.v.*]. Ewliyā Čelebī reported that its "varosh" lying on the west and

the south of the castle consisted of 7 Muslim and 7 non-Muslim districts with 1700 houses and about 200 shops. Bender was, Ewliyā adds, "the key of the empire" in the north, a stronghold especially against the Cossacks of Dnieper.

Bender was also famous as the refuge of Charles XII of Sweden between 3 August 1709 and 17 February 1713 and of Potocki in 1768. The Russians captured it first on 27 September 1770, in 1789 and on 8 November 1806 keeping it only with the treaty of Bucharest, 28 May 1812.

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(Halil İnalcik)

BENDER [see bandar].

BENG [see bandj].

BENGAL [see bangala].

BENGALI.

(i) Muslim Bengali Language.

Bengali belongs to the Indo-European family of languages. It may have begun to evolve as a separate language with a distinct identity, out of Gauṛa Apabhramsa, about the 8th or 9th century A.D. The greater part of the vocabulary of Bengali was derived or borrowed from Sanskrit.

The Muslims conquered Bengal at the beginning on the 13th century, and ruled the country for nearly six hundred years. Under Muslim rule Persian was one of the languages of culture, provincial administration, and inter-state communication. Because of this, large numbers of Persian words and, through Persian, Arabic and Turkish words, became part of the Bengali language.

In 1836 English replaced Persian as the language of administration. From then onwards Persian no longer enjoyed the same status as before in the national life of Bengal and of northern India generally. Before the handing over of power in 1947, which resulted in the partition of Bengal, words of Perso-Arabic origin constituted nearly 8% of the total vocabulary of Bengali, and a little more than 15% of Muslim Bengali vocabulary. Hindustani began to be spoken in Calcutta from the latter half of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century, and a number of Hindustani words were received into Bengali vocabulary. At the beginning of the 19th century, there was in written Bengali something of a conflict between Sanskritised Bengali, that is, Bengali in which Sanskrit words preponderated, and Persian Bengali; examples of this can be found in the works of Mrityunjay Bidyālankār and Rām Rām Basu. During this period innumerable Muslim *punthis*, known as Musalmānī Bānglā, appeared. These were written in a mixture of Bangali, Hindustani and Awadhi.

Words of Persian, Turkish or Arabic origin which have become part of Bengali can be classified under seven broad heads, namely: (1) Administration and warfare, *e.g.*, *phouj* (soldiers) < *fawdj*, *takht* (throne) < *takht*, *laṛāi* (war) < *larā'ī*, *shahid* (martyr) < *shahid*, *djakham* (wound) < *zakhm*, etc.; (2) Revenue and law-courts, *e.g.*, *djami* (land) < *zamīn*, *khādjnā* (revenue) < *khazāna*, *Āin* (law) < *ā'īn*, *hakim* (judge) < *ḥākim*, *kazi* (judge) < *ḳāḍī*, *phaisala* (judgement) < *fayṣala*, etc.; (3) Religion and ritual, *e.g.*, *Āllah* (God) < *Allāh*, *khodā* (God) < *khudā*, *nāmāz* (prayer) < *namāz*, *rodjā* (fasting) < *rawḍa*, *hadj* (pilgrimage) < *ḥadjdj*, *korbāni* (sacrifice) < *ḳurbānī*, etc.; (4) Education, *e.g.*, *doāt* (inkpot) < *dawāt*, *kalam* (pen) < *ḳalam*, *kāgadj* (paper) < *kāghadh*, *tālbilim* (student) < *ṭālib-i ʿilm*, etc.; (5) Races, religions, and professions, *e.g.*, *Ihudi* (Jew) < *Yahūdī*, *Hidnu* (Hindu race) < *Hindū*, *Muslim* (Muslim), *Phiringi* (English) < *Farangī*, *dardji* (tailor) < *darzī*, etc.; (6) Culture and civilisation, *e.g.*, *rumāl* (handkerchief) < *rūmāl*, *golāb* (rose) < *gulāb*, *āṭar* (perfume) < *ʿiṭr*, *āynā* (mirror) < *ā'ina*, *korma* (preserved meat) < *ḳurma*, *koftā* (meat ball) < *kūfta*, *hālwā* (a type of sweetmeat) < *ḥalwā*, etc.; (7) Common things and notions in life, *e.g.*, *naram* (soft) < *narm*, *bāhbā* (Well done!) < *bah bah*, *shābāsh* (Bravo!) < *shād bāsh*, *khabar* (news) < *khabar*, etc.

Persian contributed as many as 2,500 words to Bengali vocabulary in general, and nearly another 2,000 words to the vocabulary of the Muslims inhabiting the south-eastern part of East Pakistan in particular. In addition, Persian suffixes like *ī*, *dān*, *dānī*, *dār*, *khwur*, *bādj*, *gīrī*, are used to form Bengali adjectives, abstract nouns etc., *e.g.*, *desh* + *ī* = *deshi* (country-made), *phul* + *dānī* = *phuldāni* (flower-vase), *dokān* + *dār* = *dokāndār* (shopkeeper), *guli* + *khwur* = *gulikhor* (drunkard) *mamlā* + *bādj* = *mamlābādj* (litigant), *bābu* + *gīrī* = *bābugiri* (interested in fashion), etc. Persian words like *nar* and *māda* denote gender in Bengali, *e.g.*, *pāirā* (pigeon), *narpāirā* (male pigeon), *mādi pāirā* (female pigeon). Similarly *mardā* and *mādi* before a Bengali word of common gender denote the male and the female of the species respectively, *e.g.*, *mardā kukur* (dog), *mādi kukur* (bitch).

Arab merchants developed commercial relations with the people of the south-eastern coastal regions of Bengal long before the political conquest of the country by the Muslims. The Muslim conquest in later times strengthened the religious and cultural ties of the people of this area with the Islamic way of life, and resulted in an increase in the numbers of the Muslim population. It left its mark on the pronunciation of words in this part of Bengal; for example, in the districts of Noakhali, Čittagong and Sylhet the use of the Arabic voiceless velar fricative *kh* (خ) in place of the Bengali plosive *k* and *kh* of the same category, *e.g.*, *khapoṛ* < *kāpoṛ* (cloth), *khāi* < *khāi* (I eat), etc., and the Arabic voiced alveolar fricative *z* (ز) in place of the Bengali voiced plosive-like affricate dj of the standard Bengali dialect, *e.g.*, *zāi* < *djāi* (I go), *zānā* < *djānā* (to know) etc.

Since the handing over of power in 1947 there has been in East Pakistan a growing tendency to absorb words of Perso-Arabic origin in large numbers through Urdu, as a result of cultural and political contact with West Pakistan.

Bibliography: Halhed, *Bengali Grammar* 1783, intro.

(M. Abdul Hai)

(ii) Muslim Bengali literature.

Formative Period (900-1200 *A.D.*). Bengali sprang up as a distinct branch of the Indo-Aryan language about three hundred years before Muslim rule in Bengal and flourished as a regional literature a century and a half after the Muslim conquest. But it did not exist either as a language or as a literature before Bengal came in contact with Islām and the

Muslims. Archaeological excavations at Pāhārpur (Rājshāhī) and at Maināmatī (Tripurā), which led to the discovery of a few ʿAbbāsid coins of the period from the 8th to the 13th centuries, and the history of Muslim saints like Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (d. 874) at Nāṣirābād, Čittagong, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Māhīsawār (1047) at Mahāsthān, Bogra, Muḥammad Sulṭān Rūmī (1053) at Madanpur Mymensingh, Bābā Ādam (1119) at Vikrampur, Dacca, prove that there was constant maritime and missionary communication between the Muslim world and Bengal while the Bengali language was being formed.

Turki Period (1201-1350 *A.D.*). The Turks conquered Bengal in 1202 and took 150 years to establish their administration all over the country. This was the period of creation of an Islāmic atmosphere through administrative, religious and social machinery. Sanskrit, the fountainhead of Hindu culture, fell into desuetude; Persian, the official and cultural language of the Muslims, came into prominence; and Bengali, the language of the masses, developed rapidly. *Shek Subhodayā*, a Sanskrit hagiology on Shaykh Djalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d. 1225), and *Niranjaner Rushmā*, a Bengali ballad by Rāmāi Pandit, contain sufficient materials indicative of the growing Islāmic atmosphere in Bengal.

Period of Independence (1351-1575 *A.D.*). Bengal became independent under Sulṭān Iliyās Shāh (1342-1357) and preserved her independence for 225 years. The Sultans of Pandua and Gauḍ identified themselves with the people and extended their patronage liberally to Bengali literature irrespective of caste and creed. The *Bhāgavata*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* were translated into Bengali under their direct patronage; the great poets Vidyāpati and Čandīdās flourished; and Muslims, participating with their Hindu neighbours, opened up new avenues of literary themes primarily derived from Perso-Arabic culture.

The first attempt at popularising Bengali among Muslim scholars was perhaps made by the saint-poet Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam (d. 1416) of Pandua, who introduced the '*Rikhta* Style' in Bengali, in which half the hemistich was composed in pure Persian and the other half in unmixed Bengali. The saint was a classmate of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Aʿẓam Shāh (1398-1410) and a life-long friend of the Sultan, under whose patronage Vidyāpati of Mithilā and Muḥammad Ṣaghīr of Bengal, the author of the first Bengali romance *Yūsuf-Zulaykhā*, flourished. Other writers of romances, like Bahrām Khān with his *Laylā-Madjnūn*, Sābirid Khān with his *Hānifā-Kayrāparī*, Donāghāzī with his *Sayf al-Mulk* and Muḥammad Kabīr with his *Madhumālatī* (1583-1588), followed Ṣaghīr in quick succession.

Muslim historical tales too were introduced in Bengali by a few poets. Zayn al-Dīn wrote *Rasūl Vijay* on the exploits of the Prophet, under the patronage of Yūsuf Shāh (1478-1481), who also helped Mālādhar Basu to compose *Shrīkrishṇa Vijay*. Sābirid Khān also wrote a *Rasūl Vijay*, while Shaykh Fayḍ Allāh (1545-1575) composed *Ghāzī Vijay* and *Goraksha Vijay*.

The earliest Muslim poet introducing Islāmic precepts in Bengali literature, was Afḍal ʿAlī. His book of admonition, *Naṣīḥat-nāma*, was written on the tenets of Islām. He was also a composer of songs, in one of which he mentions the name of Fīrūz Shāh (1532-1533).

Positive literary evidence on the fusion of Hindu and Muslim culture is found in Shaykh Fayḍ Allāh's *Satyapīr* (1575). He described in it the beliefs and practices of a new cult aiming at a common platform of worship for Hindus and Muslims alike. Čānd Ḳāḍī and Shaykh Kabīr, two composers of songs on the common ideals of Ṣūfīs and Vaishṇabs, flourished during the time of Ḥusayn Shāh (1493-1519) and his son Nuṣrat Shāh (1519-1531).

Mughal Period (1576-1757 *A.D.*). Bengal came under the Mughals in 1576, to whom the country was a 'hell full of the bounties of heaven'. They introduced their own culture with more stress on Persian and neglected the provincial literature. Notwithstanding this, Hindu literature developed on the themes of Čandī, Manasā, Dharma, Annadā and Gangā; Vaishṇab literature reached its climax and Muslim Bengali literature, deeply influenced by Indo-Persian literature, flourished as never before.

Among Muslim literary figures, two major poets deserve special mention, namely, Sayyid Sulṭān (1550-1648) and Ālāwal (1607-1680). The former was the saint-poet of Čittagong; *Nabī Vaṃsha*, his *magnum opus*, rivalled the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* in all respects; the latter, who was a scholar poet of the Arakanese Court, adopted the theme of *Padmāyatī* (1651), from Hindī. Both of them exerted a wide and abiding influence on successive generations of poets, who not only improved upon the old themes, but also discovered new ones.

In the field of religion, the *Naṣīḥat-nāma* of Shaykh Parān (1550-1615) and *Kifāyat al-Muṣallīn* of Muṭṭalib (1575-1660) are outstanding. Naṣr Allāh Khān (1560-1625), a prolific writer on religious subjects, wrote the *Sharīʿat-nāma*, *Mūsār Sawāl* and *Hidāyat al-Islām*. The *Bayānāt* of Nawāzish Khān (1638), *Hazār Masāʾil* of ʿAbd al-Karīm (1698), *Naṣīḥat-nāma* and *Shihāb al-Dīn-nāma* of ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm (1620-1690), *Sarsāler Nīti* of Ḳamar ʿAlī (1676) also deserve notice.

In the realm of Muslim tales, the *Nabī Vaṃsha*, *Rasūl Vijay* and *Shab-i Miʿrādj* of Sayyid Sulṭān; *Djang-nāma* of Naṣr Allāh Khān (1560-1625), *Amīr Ḥamza* (1684) of Ghulām Nabī and *Anbiyāʾ Vāṇī* (1758) of Ḥayāt Maḥmūd narrate many legends about the Prophet and his uncle Ḥamza. Sayyid Sulṭān's *Iblīs-nāma*, Muḥammad Khān's *Ḳiyāmat-nāma*, Shaykh Parān's *Nūr-nāma* and Muḥammad Shafīʿs *Nūr Kandīl* were built up with the Muslim concepts of Satan, Doomsday and Cosmogony respectively.

Romances introduced earlier were developed by ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm in his *Yūsuf Zulaykhā* and *Lālmatī Sayf al-Mulk*, Nawāzish Khān in his *Gul-i Bakāwalī* (1638), Gharīb Allāh in his *Yūsuf Zulaykhā* and Muḥammad Akbar in his *Zeb al-Mulk* (1673). When pure romances became monotonous, Sherbāz in his *Fikr-nāma* and Shaykh Sāʿdī in his *Gadā Mallikā* (1712) introduced moral instruction in romances.

A good elegiac literature developed centring round the tragedy of Karbalā. Muḥammad Khān in his *Maḳtūl Ḥusayn* (1645), ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm in his *Karbalā*, Ḥayāt Maḥmūd in his *Djang-nāma* (1723), and Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb in his *Maḳtūl Ḥusayn* (1694) contributed largely to the wide popularity of this theme.

British Period (1757-1947). The Hindus took advantage of Western education at least half a century before the Muslims, and revolutionised Bengali literature by the introduction of a new prose and a new poetry embodying Western ideas, thoughts and forms. Iswar Chandra Vidyāsāgar (1820-1891), Bankim Chandra Chatterjī (1835-1894) and Madhu-

sūdan Datta (1824-1873) played a great rôle in this literary regeneration.

The Muslims entered the field half a century later. Mīr Musharraf Ḥusayn (1848-1931), Pandit Riyāḍ al-Dīn Mashhadī (1850-1919) Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (1859-1931), Kayḳobād (1858-1951), Muzzammil Ḥaḳḳ (1860-1933) and Dr. Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn (1860-1916) took to this new Bengali to lay the foundation of modern Muslim Bengali literature and a host of others came in their wake. Among them Ismāʿīl Ḥusayn Shīrāzī (1870-1931) was the most illustrious.

Meanwhile, Rabindranāth Tagore (1860-1941), the Nobel prize-winner, appeared on the literary scene of Bengal and raised her literature to a world stature.

Nadhr al-Islām (b. 1899), the Rebel Poet of Muslim Bengal, ushered in a new school of realistic poetry full of life, light and vigour. He shared the sorrows and sufferings of his countrymen in particular and of oppressed humanity in general. He was the only singing bard to herald a new era of common men and awaken them to struggle for the independence of their motherland, a struggle which culminated later in the creation of Pākistān. In his wake, the poet Djasīm al-Dīn (b. 1902) came forward to sing the songs of rural Bengal, particularly of its east portion, now known as East Pākistān.

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(Md. Enamul Haq)

BENGHĀZĪ, the principal town of Cyrenaica, formerly the district of Barḳa [*q.v.*], situated on the western plain on a strip of shore partly cut off from dry land by lagoons. Its position is not advantageous, as its harbour is exposed to winds from the north and west, while the neighbouring regions are arid and the fertile districts on the al-Mardj and Djabal Akhḍar plateaux are some way off. The town is built on the site of the former Euhesperides, a colony founded by the Greeks in the fifth century B.C. During the reign of the Egyptian Ptolemy III Euergetes the settlement became known by the name of his wife Berenike, and retained this name, as Bernik, in the Middle Ages. It was always a town of secondary importance, and declined in the Middle Ages, possibly vanishing completely.

The modern town dates from the immigration at the end of the 15th century of Tripolitanians from Zliten and Mesrata who had commercial connexions with Derna, an Andalusian settlement established some time previously on the eastern seaboard of Cyrenaica. It takes its name from Sīdī Ghāzī, a saint buried locally, but about whom little is known. The Tripolitanians were gradually reinforced by immigrants from the other Ottoman countries, notably Cretans, who came in numbers before and after the Greek conquest of their island (1897); other immigrants were Jews from Tripolitania, tribesfolk and oasis-dwellers from various districts of Cyrenaica, and a few Europeans. The population of the town was 5,000 at the beginning of the 19th century, and 15,000 towards 1900, including about a thousand Italians, Maltese and Greeks and 2,500 Jews. It had risen to 19,000 when the Italians landed at Benghāzī in 1911. Formerly the centre of a Turkish *wilāyet*, Benghāzī then became the chief town of the eastern part of the colony of Libya, which was finally pacified only in 1931. It was connected by railway to Solūk in the south (35 miles) and al-Mardj in the east (68 miles), and became the terminus of the road skirting the Great Syrte, as well as of those which radiate out across the northern plateau, the heart of the country. A new harbour was built, protected by breakwater, and the town was provided with municipal services as in a European city. The old town had been built within a quadrilateral 700 metres long by 300 metres wide, to a fairly regular plan. The great mosque, dating from the 16th century, was restored. A new, generously planned suburb was built to the south of old Benghāzī, in the direction of the former suburb of El Berka which had sprung *up* around a Turkish barracks. In 1938 Benghāzī had 66,800 inhabitants, of whom 22,000 were Italians. Its harbour was the busiest in Cyrenaica, and several industries were based in the town: leather and footwear, furniture, building, and tunny-fish processing. Greeks and Italians fished in the Great Syrte, and this, together with the salt-pans on the coastline, increased opportunities for employment.

Benghāzī suffered much from the bombing of late 1942, and from the departure of the Italian population, who evacuated it and the whole of Cyrenaica on the arrival of the British 8th Army. It became the capital and seat of the sovereign of the Federal Union of Libya (1951), and the principal town of Cyrenaica, but lost its industries and much of its importance as a port. The value of its airfield is primarily strategic. Its population in 1954 was about 63,000, all Muslims except for a very small number of Jews and Europeans.

Bibliography: See barḳa and libya.

(J. Despois)

BENJAMIN [see binyāmīn].

BENNĀK, also called *benlāk* in the 9th/15th century, an Ottoman *ʿörfī* (*ʿurfī*) tax paid by married peasants (*muzawwadj reʿāyā*) possessing a piece of land less than half a *čift* [*q.v.*] or no land, the former being called *ekinlü bennāk* or simply *bennāk* and the latter *djabā bennāk* or *djabā*. The word *bennāk* might possibly be derived from the Arabic verb *banaka*.

Actually the *bennāk resmi* made part of the *čift resmi* [*q.v.*] system and can be considered originally as consisting of two or three of the seven services (*ḳulluḳ*, *khidmet*) included in the *čift resmi*. The rate of *bennāk* was 6 or 9 *akča* in Meḥemmed II's *ḳānūnnāme* [*q.v.*], but in some areas (Teke, 859/1455) it was only 5 *akča*. In later times it was usually 9 for *djabā bennāk* and 12 for *ekinlü bennāk* and when the *čift resmi* system was extended to eastern Anatolia in 1540 the rate there was 18 for *ekinlü* and 12 or 13 for *djabā bennāk*.

In principle *bennāk resmi* was paid by the Muslim peasants directly to the *tīmār*-holders for whom they were recorded as *raʿiyyet* in the *defter* [*q.v.*].

In the *defters* the term *bennāk* showed the peasants themselves paying *bennāk resmi*. If a bachelor was married he was immediately subject to this tax. If later divorced he paid only the bachelor tax (*müdjerred resmi*). If married, the nomad *reʿāyā* without stock animals paid also *bennāk*. Thus this tax was considered essentially as a poll-tax and called also *raʿiyyet resmi*.

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(Halil İnalcık)

BERĀR, formerly a province of British India consisting of the four districts of Amraotī, Akola, Buldāna, and Yeotmāl; area: 17,809 sq.m.; population: 3,604,866 of whom 335,169 were Muslims (1941 Census). Under British rule it was administered as part of the Central Provinces. It has recently been incorporated in the Bombay State.

The territories of the Vākātakas, comtemporaries of the Guptas, roughly corresponded to modern Berār. It was first invaded by Muslims in 1294 but was not permanently occupied until 1318. It formed the northernmost province (*taraf*) of the Bahmanī kingdom of the Dakhan but towards the end of the 9th/15th century became an independent sultanate under the ʿImād Shāhīs until annexed by the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar in 1574. It was conquered by Akbar towards the end of his reign and remained a *sūba* of the Mughal empire until 1724 when Āṣaf Djāh Niẓām al-Mulk became independent in Ḥaydarābād. Until the defeat of the Marāthās by Arthur Wellesley at Assaye in 1803 it was frequently overrun by Marāṭhā forces [see NAGPUR]. In 1804 the Berār territories ceded by the Bhonsla Raja of Nāgpur were handed over to the Niẓām. During the governor-generalship of Lord Hastings, Berār was for a time controlled by the banking firm of Palmer and Company (vide *Preliminary Report on the Russell Correspondence relating to Hyderabad*, C. Collin Davies, *The Indian Archives*, vol. viii, no. i, 1954 ff.). In 1853 Berār was assigned to the East India Company and its revenues were partly employed in the payment of the Niẓām's debts and partly in maintaining the Ḥaydarābād Contingent. By a fresh agreement in 1902 Lord Curzon reaffirmed the rights of the Niẓām over Berār but the province was leased in perpetuity to the Government of India at an annual rental of 25 lakhs of rupees. During the viceroyalty of Lord Reading a demand by the Niẓām for the restoration of Berār met with no success. Later under Lords Willingdon and Linlithgow a number of gestures were made to the Niẓām, but Berār continued to be administered as part of the Central Provinces until 1956.

Bibliography: *Pecuniary Transactions of Messrs. William Palmer and Co.* (Court of Proprietors E.I.C., London 1824); R. G. Burton, *History of the Hyderabad Contingent*, Calcutta 1905; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s.v. Berar, Oxford 1908; *Parliamentary Papers*, Berar: 1925, Cmd. 2439; 1926, Cmd. 2621.

(C. Collin Davies)

BERĀT, A word of Arabic origin (for the Arabic meaning see BARĀʾA) which in Ottoman Turkish denotes a type of order issued by the Sultan. Several words of Turkish or other origin were used with the same meaning: the Turkish *biti*, *yarligh*, *buyuruldu*, the Arabic *berāt*, *emr*, *ḥüküm*, *tewḳīʿ*, *menshūr*, *mithāl*, *irāde*, the Persian *fermān*, *nishān*. Some of these words were used during the entire Ottoman epoch, others were used only during certain periods; some of them had only a general meaning, others had also a more special, limited meaning. In the same document several words could be used to designate the "sultan's order"; they could denote an order in the wider sense and also in a narrower, more limited sense.

Biti meaning a sultan's order was not much used after 1500. *Emr* (*amr*), in use for 400 years, did not only mean a general order issued in the name of the sultan, but also a special order which decreed the issue of a *berāt*; hence the expression in the preambles of the *berāt*: *eli emirlü* "he who has the order concerning the issue of the *berāt* in hand". *Ḥüküm* (*Ḥukm*) always occurs in the sense of general order, but also meant a special type of order, the documents of which used to be separately dealt with by the administration and which, at present, are registered in the Turkish archives as a separate archival unity (*aḥkām defterleri*). The *nishān* meant all orders, without any restriction of subject, that were provided with the *tughra* (*nishān*), but (since the 10th/16th century) especially those which were drawn up by the highest financial department of the empire, the *defterkhāne*, and were concerned with financial matters. Synonymous with the term *nishān* was *tewḳīʿ* (*tawḳīʿ*) which could be used, without further limitation, to designate any document which was provided with the *tewḳīʿ*. (Their identical meaning is proved by the derivatives of both words, the *tewḳīʿī* and the *nishandji*, which are synonymous). An order of higher rank was meant by the more rarely used *menshūr*, the *mithāl* and the *irāde* (in use only since the 19th century). The *berāt* had a more limited meaning, that of a "deed of grant", "a writ for the appointment to hold an office"; the documents belonging to this group were also handled separately by the administration; the memory of this is preserved in the designation of some public records: *rumların berāt defteri* "the *defter* of the *berāts* issued in matters concerning the Orthodox Greek Church", *katolik berāt defteri* etc. (Midhat Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi*, 29, 32).

As all grants in the Ottoman empire derived from the sultan, the *berāt* was always issued in the sultan's name and its constant attribute was: *sherif* or *humāyūn* ("imperial *berāt*").

In the Ottoman empire all appointments were made by "grants", those which were paid by a temporary tenure of estates as well as those paid in ready money; thus all appointments to the civil service, whether that of a high-ranking pasha or that of a low-ranking employee of a mosque, were effected by a *berāt*. The bishops of Syria also received their licences from the sultan in the form of a *berāt*. *EI*[1], 678, s.v. *Barāʿa*). Even the vassals of the empire, *e.g.*, the princes of Transylvania, received their recognition in their principality in the form of a *berāt*, with the difference that in the diploma issued to them the expression in question was complemented the following way: *bu berāt-i humāyūnu we ʿahdnāme-i ṣidḳ-meshḥūnu verdim*" I have issued the imperial *berāt* and the treaty full of faith". Thus under the name of *berāt* an exceedingly great number of orders were issued and these could be grouped according to their contents: *wezirlik berātı*, *tīmār berātı*, *mālikāne berātı*, *iltizām berātı*, and, if issued for the benefit of a corporation, *odjaḳlıḳ berātı* etc.

The word *berāt* became especially part of the many expressions used in connexion with the administration of the *tīmār*-estates, *e.g.*, *berāt-i ʿālīshān ičün tedhkere verildi* "the instruction (or warrant) called *tedhkere* given for issuing a high *berāt*", *berāt-i sherīfim verilmek fermānım olmaghın* "since my imperial order has been given for issuing a high *berāt*", *tedhkereyi berāt ettirmek* "to exchange the writ called *tedhkere* for a *berāt*", *tedjdīd-i berāt olunmaḳ bābında khaṭṭ-i humāyūn ṣādir olmaghın* "as the sultan's order has been issued for the renewal of the *berāts*" (such procedure was usually ordered

after the sultan's accession to the throne), *eli berātlı* "having a *berat* in hand" (corresponding to this expression is the above quoted *eli emirlü*), *ehl-i berāt* "who has a *berāt*", and in official documents there is often reference to issued *berāts*. The word *berāt*, however, often does not occur in the deeds of grant and it has to be inferred from the contents of the document whether it is at the same time a *berāt* or not.

According to the dimension of the grant, the *berāt* has simpler or more elaborate variants, but the *berāt* is always written in *dīwān* style and the structural elements, as well as their order are usually the same. After the *daʿwet* and *tughra* standing outside the text, the text may begin with two formulas: one is more ceremonial: *nis̲h̲ān-i s̲h̲erif-i ʿālis̲h̲ān-i sulṭānī ..... ḥükmü oldur ki* "the high and noble sultan's emblem ... whose order reads as follows", the other is more simple: *sebeb-i taḥrīr-i ḥurūf oldur ki* "the cause of the writing of this document is as follows". In the ceremonial variant the sovereign expresses in a phraseology appropriate to Persian style that owing to his power received from God, he considers it his duty to reward his zealous subjects, and therefore, starting with an exactly fixed day, he charges a certain subject of his (mentioned by name) with a certain office or service or endows him with possessions herewith. If the office or service was connected with the enjoyment of certain estates (and most of the cases were such), then these were enumerated (*d̲h̲ikr u s̲h̲arḥ ve beyān olunur*). This enumeration is externally the most prominent part of the text, in *siyāḳat* script, but written with the ordinary Arabic numerals, forming a separate section in the document. This is followed by the proper admonition to the inhabitants concerned, to recognise the person in question as *ṣu-bas̲h̲ï*, *sand̲j̲aḳbeği*, etc. and as a conclusion the usual phrase of the sultan's orders: "let everybody acknowledge these and give credence to the imperial emblem, the *tug̲h̲ra*". In some cases the *berāt* has no date, in others it has, in a type of writing different from that of the document, written by another hand, by the so-called *taʾrikhd̲j̲i ḳalemi*, the recording office called "dating department". At the bottom of the document, in the lower left-hand corner of the paper can be read the place of issue (*bi-maḳām* or, when the Sultan was in the field, *bi-yurt*).

A certain fee had to be paid for drawing up a *berāt* (*resm-i berāt*). The official rate for this is, to the best of our knowledge, not known. According to numerous known instances, with grants of smaller value it varied between 1 and 3 per cent. (see Laszló Velics and Ernő Kammerer, *A magyarországi török kincstári defterek*, Vols. i-ii, Budapest 1886 and 1893).

It can be stated from Persian deeds of grant, of which fewer are known (Makar K̲h̲ubča, *Persidskoe firiaki i ukazi Muzeya Gruzii*, i, Tiflis 1949; B. S. Puturidze, *Gruzinopersidskie istoričeskie dokumenti*, Tiflis 1955; A. D. Papasiyak, *Persidskie dokumenti Matekadaraka*, i, Erivan 1956) that they consist of the same structural elements and for the most part of much the same phrases as the Turkish *berāt*, but the word *berāt* does not occur in them and, when used in Persian, has not the same meaning as in Turkish [see also BARĀʾA].

Bibliography: For information about the *berāt* see: L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest 1928, XLVI-XLVII, Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Tuğra ve pençeler*, *Belleten* no. 17/18, Ankara 1941; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin Saray teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, 284; *IA*, ii, 523-524; Midhat Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arsivi*, Ankara 1955. Texts of *berāts* were published (on the basis of texts of *ins̲h̲āʾ* books) by Aḥmed Ferīdūn in *Müns̲h̲eʾāt al-Salāṭīn*; Friedrich Kraelitz, *TOEM* vol. v, 246; with facsimile Franz Babinger: *Le Monde Oriental* XIV (1920), 115, L. Fekete, *op. cit.*; L. Kulisch, *Mitteilungen der Ausland-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin, Jg. xli, Abt. ii, Westasiatische Studien*, 125; Gibb and Bowen, vols. 1 and 2, 1950-7, index. (L. FEKETE)

BERĀTLİ, *i.e.*, holder of a *berāt*, a name given in the late 18th and early 19th centuries to certain non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, who held *berāts* conferring upon them important commercial and fiscal privileges. These *berāts* were distributed by the European diplomatic missions, in abusive extension of their rights under the capitulations. Originally intended for locally recruited consular officers and agents, they were sold or granted to growing numbers of local merchants, who were thus able to acquire a privileged and protected status. The Ottoman authorities attempted to curb this traffic, and at the end of the century Selim III sought to compete with the European consuls by himself issuing *berāts* to local Christian and Jewish merchants. In return for a fee of 1500 piastres, these *berāts* conferred the right to trade with Europe, together with important legal, fiscal, and commercial privileges and exemptions. These grants, enabling Ottoman *d̲h̲immīs* to compete on more or less equal terms with foreign (*mustaʾmin*) merchants, created a new privileged class, known as the *Awrupa tud̲j̲d̲j̲ārï*. In this class the Greeks, thanks to their maritime skills and opportunities, were able to win a position of preeminence, which was reinforced by the advantages of the neutral Ottoman flag during part of the Napoleonic wars. Early in the 19th century the system was extended to Muslim merchants, who for a fee of 1200 piastres could obtain a *berāt* of membership of the analogous guild of the *K̲h̲ayriyye Tud̲j̲d̲j̲ārï*. The number who availed themselves of this offer was, however, very limited. Both terms and guilds fell into desuetude after the *Tanẓīmāt*.

Bibliography: D̲j̲ewdet, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, vi, 129-30; ʿOt̲h̲mān Nūrī, *Med̲j̲elle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, i, Istanbul 1922, 675-689; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlügü*, Istanbul 1946 ff., i, 115-7 and 780-3; Gibb and Bowen I/i 310-1. (B. LEWIS)

BERBER (Barbar): (1) Tribal territory. The name originally signified the territory of the Mīrafāb (Mayrafāb), an Arabic-speaking tribe claiming kinship with the D̲j̲aʿliyīn. It extended on both banks of the Nile from the Fifth Cataract (lat. 18° 23′ N.) to the river ʿAṭbarā. The Mīrafāb included both riverain cultivators and semi-nomads. The ruler (*makk*) was a vassal of the Fund̲j̲ sultan of Sinnār. On the death of a *makk*, the sultan nominated his successor from the ruling family of Timsāḥ. He also levied, at intervals of four or five years, a tribute of gold, horses and camels. Burckhardt (1814) describes the southernmost portion of Mīrafābī territory as forming a small separate kingdom, known as Raʾs al-Wādī, under a member of the Timsāḥ family. Berber was an important trading-centre. A route from Upper Egypt across the Nubian Desert here reached the Nile, and caravans going to

Egypt from Sinnār and Shandī passed through Berber. The trade of Dongola found an outlet through Berber but by the early 19th century the Dongola-Berber route across the Bayūḍa Desert was dangerous and, little used. Trade with Suakin and al-Tāka (the region around modern Kasala) was slight owing to the predatory Bedja and Bishārīn tribes. The transit dues levied on Egyptian caravans provided most of the *makk*'s revenues; the Mīrafāb paid him no taxes on land or produce, although they provided the tribute levied by Sinnār. Caravans coming from the south (*i.e.*, Fundj territory) paid no dues, although they made presents to the *makk*. The trading-connections of Berber resulted in the settlement of Danāḳla, ʿAbābda and other strangers. The ʿAbābda served as guides and protectors of caravans crossing the Nubian Desert. The last *makk*, Naṣr al-Dīn, is reported to have sought the assistance of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha to regain his throne; certainly he welcomed the arrival of the Turco-Egyptian army on 5 March 1821.

(2) Province. During the Turco-Egyptian period the Mīrafābī territory formed part of the province of Berber, which extended from Ḥadjar al-ʿAsal (lat. 16° 24′ N.) nothwards to Abū Ḥamad on the right bank and Kurtī on the left bank, and included the adjacent deserts and their nomads. The extension of Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule over the Bedja, resulting in the opening of a permanent trade-route with Suakin, increased the prosperity of the provincial capital. The last khedivial governor was the ʿAbbādī notable, Ḥusayn Pasha Khalīfa, who was endeavouring to repress Mahdist activities when Gordon arrived as governor-general in February 1884. Gordon's attempts to establish friendly relations with the Mahdī and his indiscreet disclosure of the intended evacuation of the Sudan weakened resistance. In April 1884 the Mahdī commissioned Muḥammad al-Khayr ʿAbd Allāh Khūdjalī to lead the *djihād* in Berber, and in May the provincial capital was taken, leaving Gordon isolated in Khartoum.

Mahdist Berber was administered by a military governor and had a provincial garrison and treasury. The decline of commerce irritated the inhabitants but a precarious trade continued with Upper Egypt and Suakin, the customs dues from which formed a source of provincial revenue. The last Mahdist governor, Muḥammad al-Zākī ʿUthmān, after appealing in vain for help against the Anglo-Egyptian advance, evacuated the provincial capital which was occupied by Anglo-Egyptian forces in September 1897. After the reconquest, Berber was reconstituted within narrower boundaries than the pre-Mahdist province and was subsequently combined with Dongola and Ḥalfā to form the present Northern Province.

(3) Town. Berber as the name of a town was apparently unknown before the Turco-Egyptian period. Bruce (1772) speaks of "Gooz" (*i.e.*, Ḳūz al-Fundj) as the capital of Berber. This place was much decayed at the time of Burckhardt's visit (1814), when the capital was a more northerly village called by him "Ankheyre". This may be an error for al-Mikhayrif, ("El Mekheyr" in Cailliaud), a name used for the provincial capital under the Turco-Egyptians. Al-Mikhayrif was abandoned after the Mahdist conquest and the modern town of Berber lies further north, on the site of the Mahdist camp. Since the Reconquest Berber has declined in importance. The provincial head-quarters was transferred in 1905 to al-Dāmir, while the modern railway-town of ʿAṭbarā has superseded it as a centre of communications.

Bibliography: J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, 207-258; N. Shoucair (Shuḳayr), *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, Cairo 1903, i, 87-90; O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, 53-56, 267-270 (with source-references). A valuable unpublished report by Ḥusayn Pasha Khalīfa on the fall of Berber is in the Sudanese archives in Khartoum, Cairint 1/8, 36. (P. M. Holt)

BERBERĀ, the port and former capital of the British Somaliland Protectorate, lying in 10°26′ North lat. and 45°02′ long. The *Periplus*, Ptolemy, and Cosmas give the name βαρβαρική ἤπειρος or βαρβαρία to the coast of the Land of Frankincense. The town itself may be Μαλάω ἐρπόριον. The older Arab geographers write of the land of Berberā, the Gulf of ʿAden being *Baḥr Berberā* or *al-Khalīdj al-Berberī*. The inhabitants are known as βαρβαροι, Berbera, or Berābir. They are Somali [*q.v.*] and the people whom Yāḳūt (iv, 602) describes as barbarous negroes, amongst whom Islām had penetrated, living between the Zandj and the Ḥabash. Ibn Saʿīd (died 1286) who seems to be first to mention the town of Berberā, describes them as Muslims, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa records that they are Shāfiʿī which they are today. The name Sōmāli first occurs in an Ethiopic hymn in the reign of the Negus Yesḥāḳ (1414-29) and frequently in the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* (1540-50).

Berberā's original site is Bandar ʿAbbās now a burial ground to the East of the present town. Amongst its tombs are those of three *sayyids* said to have been concerned with the foundation of Bandar ʿAbbās as other Arabian proselytisers founded Zaylaʿ and Maḳdishū. Traditionally the town was contemporary with ʿAmūd and Aw Barre further to the West. It formed part of the Muslim state of Adal (sometimes based on Zaylaʿ, [*q.v.*]) which, founded in the 9/10th centuries, reached its zenith in the 14th century and rapidly declined after Imām Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī (1506-43)'s 16th century conquest of Abyssinia. While the Abyssinian armies were recovering their losses with Portugese aid, Berberā was sacked in 1518 by Saldanha. In the 17th century, with Zaylaʿ, it became a dependency of the *sharīf*s of Mukhā. The first British-Sōmāli treaty was signed in 1827, two years after the Mary Ann had been plundered off Berberā. With ʿAli Sharmarke (Sōmāli Habar Yūnis), governor of Zaylaʿ, Britain signed a treaty in 1840 to secure harbouring rights for vessels of the East India Company. He was British Agent at Berberā when Burton was attacked in 1855. Travellers in the 19th century describe Berberā as a poverty-stricken collection of huts with a population, in the hot months, of as little as 8,000. From October to March, however, during the north-east Monsoon, the port was open to vessels from Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and India, bringing imports of dates, cloth, rice, and metals etc., and exporting slaves, livestock, ghee and skins, and the town sometimes contained as many as 40,000 persons.

Berberā was occupied in 1875 by the Egyptians who withdrew nine years later during the Mahdist rebellion in the Sudan when Britain acquired Zaylaʿ and Berberā. Treaties were signed with the Gada-būrsi (1884) and the Habar Awal (1884 and 1886) clans. In 1901 Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbdīlle Ḥassān [*q.v.*] (the 'Mad Mullah') of the Ṣāliḥiyya *ṭarīḳa* began his *djihād* against the colonial powers. The administration of the interior was abandoned in 1908, and gradually resumed about 1912.

In Burton's time Berberā was dominated by the Habar Awal ʿAyyāl Aḥmad who were still in 1912 receiving a subsidy of 10,000 Rs. annually. With a population today rarely less than 30,000 most of whom are Habar Awal ʿIse Mūse, the town is the headquarters of Berberā District. It is the centre for the Protectorate of the Ḳādiriyya *ṭariḳa* with a *maḳām* for Sayyid ʿAbd Al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī, and of the Somali Youth League nationalist party. A local Government Council was started in 1953, and the harbour is being developed.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, (ed. Paris), i, 231-33; Yāḳūt, i, 100, ii, 966 ff., iv, 602; Al-Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren), 162; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (ed. Reinaud), 158 ff.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery), ii, 180; Shihāb al-Dīn, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* (ed. and trans. R. Basset, 1897); R. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, London 1856, 407-440; G. Ferrand, *Les Çomalis*, Paris 1903, 109-112; R. E. Drake-Brockman, *British Somaliland*, London 1912, 31-39; A. T. Curle, in *Antiquity* (Sept. 1937), 315-327; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, *passim*. (I. Lewis)

BERBERI, name given to the eastern Hazāra inhabiting the mountainous region of central Afghānistān between Kābul and Harāt; in Īrān, the region of Mashhad, Balūčistān (near Quetta), and in the S.S.R. of Turkmenistān, the oasis of Kushka (district of Maki) [see HAZĀRA]. (ED.)

BERBERS, the name by which are commonly designated the populations, who, from the Egyptian frontier (Sīwa [*q.v.*]) to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean and the great bend of the Niger, speak—or used to speak before their arabicisation—dialects (or rather local forms) of a single language, Berber. This term is probably an abusive or contemptuous epithet, used in Greek (*Barbaroi*) and in Latin (*Barbari*) as well as in Arabic (*Barbar*, singular *Barbarī*, pl. *Barābir*, *Barābira*), and does not constitute a national name, as some people (cf. P. H. Antichan, *La Tunisie*, 1884, 3) maintain (cf. the toponymics Berber in Nubia and Berberā in Somaliland; see G. S. Colin, *Appellations données par les Arabes aux peuples hétéroglosses*, in *GLECS*, vii, 93-6). The term *amazigh/amahagh* (and var.), pl. *imazighən/imuhagh* (and var.) may be considered as designating the Berbers in general, though they themselves, lacking as they do all sense of community, usually employ their tribal names when referring to themselves or have otherwise more or less willingly accepted foreign designations (Kabyles, Chaouia, etc.). The term *amazigh* has the meaning of "free man" (see however T. Sarnelli, *Sull'origine del nome Imâzîgen*, in *Mémorial André Basset*, Paris 1957, 131-138) and is still employed over a fairly extensive area. The feminine *tamazight* (*tamazikht*)/*tamahakk* (and var.) is used there to designate the Berber language.

The only general work on the Berbers is the small but excellent popular account by G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1957.

I. History.
  a) origins.
  b) before Islam.
  c) after Islam.
II. Distribution at present.
III. Religion.
IV. Customs; social and political organisation.
V. Language.
VI. Literature and Art.

I. — HISTORY

a) Origins

The language is at present the only criterion which will serve to distinguish the Berbers, who, from the anthropological point of view, reveal morphological characteristics which are too varied, indeed too irreconcilably opposed, to permit us to speak of a homogeneous Berber race, whilst, from the political point of view, they have always been too divided to constitute a truly distinct nation. In spite of the relative abundance of prehistoric remains discovered in the immense territory conveniently called "Barbary", in spite of the epigraphic documents and the works of Greek, Latin and Arab authors, a whole portion of the history of this obviously composite people is still unknown to us. It would be useless to deny that the origin of the Berber language—the unity of which, moreover, is a relative matter (see section V below)—remains a mystery for us and that to locate, therefore, the cradle of the men who speak it remains an impossible task. However, on this absorbing subject, bibliography is by no means lacking, and, many hypotheses, sometimes presented as certainties, have been put forward concerning the origins of the Berbers. Classical authors consider them abound variously as autochtonous, oriental or Aegean. The Arabs usually consider them as orientals, Canaanites or Ḥimyarites, and this latter hypothesis has recently been supported by cogent arguments (Helfritz). The Canaanite origin has been revived by some modern authors (Antichan, Daumas, Slouschz), whilst for others the Berbers are autochtonous (Carette), with an admixture of Asian blood, especially Phoenician (Fournel, Mercier); some people, usually amateurs, even go so far as to reconstruct the ancient population of Barbary in all its elements (Rinn, *Les origines berbères*, Algiers 1889; Col. de Lartigue, *Monographie de l'Aurès*, Constantine 1904) and to establish bold relationships with the Celts, Basques and Caucasian peoples (Comm. Cauvet, *Les Origines caucasiennes des Touareg*, in *Bull. Soc. Géog. Alger.* 1925; idem, *La Formation celtique de la nation targuie*, *ibid.*, 1926), or even with the indigenous populations on the other side of the Atlantic (idem, *Les Berbères en Amérique*, Algiers 1930). Anthropology is at a loss and the problem is not simplified by the existence of fair Berbers. The best qualified scholars are reserved in their opinion and generally consider that various elements coming from the south, the east and perhaps the north were added to a basic population rather similar to that which occupied the northern shores of the Mediterranean, but that this occurred at too remote a period for us to be able to date the various migrations. In any event, all these are no more than hypotheses; only linguistic data may perhaps enable us to solve the mystery of Berber origins, which, in the middle of the 20th century, remains complete.

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(Ch. Pellat)

b) Before Islam

All that can be said for certain is that the Berbers had been established in Northern Africa from a remote period. The classical historians and geographers refer to them under different names, which have not persisted as they were certainly not used by the peoples concerned: Nasamonians and Psylli occupying Cyrenaica and Tripolitania; Garamantians leading a nomadic existence in the Sahara; Machlyans, Maxyans populating the Tunisian Sahel; Numidians living in the eastern Maghrib; Getulians defending the desert borders and the high plateaux; and lastly Moors, spread over the central Maghrib and the furthest Maghrib. The establishment of foreign colonies, Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Greek, only had a limited influence on all these populations, except perhaps in the immediate vicinity of Carthage. They were divided into numerous rival tribes, which were, however, capable of uniting briefly against the foreigners, though never to the point of forming powerful and lasting states. At the time of the Punic wars, however, whilst anarchy persisted in the East, the beginnings of political organisation (creation of the kingdoms of the Massylae, the Masaesylae and of Mauritania) can be observed in the centre and the west. The genius of Masinissa, bolstered by the support of Rome, permitted this prince to unite the whole of Numidia under his rule and to create, in a few years, a kingdom comprising all the Berber populations from the Moulouya to the Syrtes. But this kingdom had but an ephemeral existence; it disappeared in 46 B.C. and Eastern Numidia became a Roman province. A few years later the kingdom of Numidia was reconstituted and became a simple Roman protectorate. Still shorter was the life of the kingdom of Mauritania, created by Augustus in 17 A.D. in favour of Juba II, and transformed into a Roman province as from the year 42.

Rome's dominion in Africa lasted until the 5th century of the Christian era. In this period of time, the Berbers, whilst assimilated in the Province of Africa and in Numidia, were hardly changed in the mountainous areas, on the high plateaux, on the confines of the Sahara and in Mauritania. For the most part the Romans were content to impose on them the obligation of paying tribute and providing auxiliary troops, leaving the administration of the tribes to the local chieftains (*principes, praefecti, reguli*). The Berber spirit of independence was by no means extinguished; it showed itself at times in risings, led by more or less romanised natives, such as Tacfarinas (17-29 A.D.), and at times in attacks by the desert peoples or by the barely civilised tribes of the interior. Such were the attacks led by the Nasamonians and the Garamantians during the reigns of Augustus and Domitian; the insurrections of the Moors during the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus and Commodus; of the Getulians during the period of military anarchy; the rising of the Quinquegentians (Kabyles of the D̲j̲urd̲j̲ura) at the end of the 3rd century. As Roman authority progressively declined, there was an increasingly energetic reaction on the part of the Berbers, who affirmed their particularism by the adoption of heterodox doctrines, as for example Donatism, so that the religious quarrels which desolated Africa in the 4th century are, from many points of view, racial wars. The rising of the "Circumcelliones" appears to have been a kind of Berber Jacquerie. Revolts, such as those of Firmus (372-75) and Gildon (398) provide further testimony of the effervescence of the native populations. But, as previously, the Berbers were unable to ally themselves against the common enemy and to take his place. Their hostility to the Romans merely made the Vandal conquest easier. Like the Romans, these Germanic invaders were obliged to take the Berbers into account. Though Gaiseric succeeded in restraining them by enrolling them in his armies, his successors had to maintain a constant struggle against them. Mauritania, Kabylia, the Aurès and Tripolitania retained their independence. The Byzantines who, after defeating the Vandals, remained the masters of North Africa for a century (531-642), were no more fortunate. Indigenous chieftains such as Antalas in Byzacene and Yabdas in the Aurès, offered such resistance to Solomon, the governor sent by Justinian, that he had great difficulty in surmounting it. After the death of this general, killed in an expedition organised against the Levatians (Luwāta [*q.v.*]) of Tripolitania, the situation in Byzantine Africa became very critical. John Troglita was only able to stop the invasion of the Luwāta with the assistance of the Berbers of the Aurès. But Byzantine authority was not recognised by all the indigenous populations. Outside Byzacene, the former Province of Africa (Tunisia) and the northern part of the province of Constantine, the coastal towns and some strongholds in the interior, the Berbers were everywhere independent. At that time they formed three groups: 1—in the East, the Luwāta (Hawwāra, Awrīg̲h̲a, Nafzāwa, Awraba) extending over Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, the D̲j̲arīd, the Aurès; 2—in the West, the Ṣanhād̲j̲a scattered throughout the central Mag̲h̲rib and the furthest Mag̲h̲rib (Kutāma in Little Kabylia, Zwāwa in Great Kabylia, Zanāta on the Algerian littoral between Kabylia and Chelif, Ifren from Chélif to Moulouya, G̲h̲umāra in the Rif, Maṣmūda on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, Gezūla (D̲j̲azūla [*b.v.*]) in the High Atlas, Lemṭa in Southern Morocco, Ṣanhād̲j̲a "with the *lit̲h̲ām*" leading a nomadic existence in the western Sahara); 3—the Zanāta spaced out along the borders of the plateaux, from Tripolitania to the D̲j̲abal ʿAmūr, and extending progressively towards the central Mag̲h̲rib and the furthest Mag̲h̲rib.

(G. Yver*)

Bibliography: The basic work is that of S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913-28; see also the historical works quoted in the *bibliography* of the articles *Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia*, as well as the *bibliography* of the preceding section, and Dureau de la Malle, *L'Algérie*, Paris 1852; Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, Paris 1896; S. Gsell, *Textes relatifs à l'Afrique du Nord: Hérodote*, Alger-Paris 1916; P. Monceaux, *Histoire*

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c) After Islam

The arrival of the Arabs scarcely changed the previous situation. Their first expeditions were, in reality, no more than raiding expeditions and left no traces other than the havoc wrought by the Muslim bands. It is true that the founding of al-Ḳayrawān (50/670) provided the Arabs with a permanent base of operations, but the expeditions of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*] across the Maghrib were more like raids than an actual conquest. The towns still occupied by the Byzantines remained inaccessible to the Muslim leader, as did the mountain *massifs*, where he would have been unable to overcome the inhabitants. In fact so little were they under control that one of their leaders, Kusayla [*q.v.*], having surprised and killed ʿUḳba at Tahūdha, expelled the Arabs from Ifrīḳiya and formed a Berber kingdom comprising the Aurès, the Southern part of the present-day Department of Constantine and most of Tunisia (68-71/687-90). However Kusayla was unable to hold his position for long and, in spite of the resistance of the Berbers of the Aurès, symbolised by the legendary personage of the "Kāhina" [*q.v.*], the Muslims finally emerged victorious at the end of the 1st/7th century. The conversion of the Berbers to Islam, initiated by ʿUḳba without great success, took place at the beginning of the following century. This was accomplished less by conviction than by interest, for the Arab generals had the idea that the natives would enrol in their armies in hopes of booty and thus be won over to their religion. The Berbers formed the nucleus of the armies which, under the command of Arab or even Berber leaders like Ṭāriḳ [*q.v.*], in a few years completed the subjugation of the Maghrib and, in less than half a century, brought about the conquest of Spain.

Harmonious relations, however, did not long prevail between Arabs and Berbers. The latter complained of having been poorly rewarded for their services and, in spite of the fact that they were Muslims, of being treated more like inferiors than equals. And so, having first broken away from orthodox Islam and embraced Khāridjī doctrines (see below, section III), they rose against the Arabs. The movement began in the West (122/740), at the instigation of a man of the Matghāra, Maysara [*q.v.*], and subsequently, in spite of his death at the hands of his own followers, prevailed throughout the whole Maghrib and even spread into Spain. The Arabs suffered disastrous defeats, like that of Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] in 123/741; they were expelled from al-Ḳayrawān, which was sacked by the Warfadjdjūma, followers of the Ṣufrite doctrines (139/756); then the Nawwāra (Ibāḍīs), led by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], defeated the Warfadjdjūma and formed an Ibāḍī state extending over Tripolitania, Tunisia and the eastern part of Algeria. For a while the authority of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph was abolished in Africa. But the Berbers, continuously divided amongst themselves, were incapable of profiting from their success. The destruction of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb's army by troops from Syria restored Ifrīḳiya to the Arabs (144/761). Forty years of sanguinary struggles and innumerable engagements (300 according to Ibn Khaldūn) enabled them to re-establish their control over the eastern Maghrib. The rest of the country eluded them. A number of states, governed by chieftains of Arab origin, but inhabited by Berbers, for the most part heretics, not recognising the authority of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, came into being in various places. Such were the kingdom of Ṭāhart (144-296/761-908) founded by the Imām Ibn Rustam with the survivors of the Ibāḍites from the East who had taken refuge in the central Maghrib [see RUSTAMIDS]; that of Sidjilmāssa [*q.v.*] where the Banū Midrār reigned (155-366/771-977); that of Tlemcen [*q.v.*] founded by Abū Ḳurra, chief of the Banū Ifren; that of Nakūr [*q.v.*] in the Rif; the state of the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] on the Atlantic coast; finally, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the kingdom of Fās, founded by Idrīs I, a descendant of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, with the help of Berber tribes (Miknāsa, Sadrāta, Zwāgha). Only the semi-independent dynasty of the Aghlabids (184-296/800-909) recognised the sovereignty of the ʿAbbāsids; they found among the Berbers soldiers for the conquest of Sicily, but had to suppress many revolts by the indigenous populations of Tripolitania, southern Tunisia, the Zāb and the Hodna.

Berber opposition to the Arabs remained, in fact, as inveterate as ever; it was even sufficiently strong to ensure the triumph of Shīʿī doctrines in the Maghrib, in spite of the fact that they were radically opposed to the Khāridjī doctrines embraced by the Berbers in the preceeding century. The Kutāma provided the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] with the soldiers who fought the Aghlabids and founded the Fāṭimid power for the benefit of the *mahdī* ʿUbayd Allāh (297/910). The Fāṭimids, it is true, did not succeed in imposing their rule on the whole of the Berbers. Though they succeeded in suppressing the Imāmate of Tāhart, they were unable to prevent the Idrīsids from maintaining themselves in the furthest Maghrib; they did not obtain the submission of the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta who, out of hatred for the Fāṭimids, had placed themselves under the patronage of the Umayyads of Spain; finally, they had to combat the revolt of the Khāridjīs led by Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] "the man with the donkey" (332-36/943-47), a revolt which endangered their power and which they only succeeded in suppressing with the help of the Ṣanhādja of the central Maghrib. In addition, at an early date, the Fāṭimids turned their attention towards the East and, once the Caliph al-Muʿizz had established himself in Egypt (362/973), they lost interest in the Maghrib. North Africa was once again disputed between the various Berber tribes, none of which was sufficiently strong to dominate the others. In the East, the Ṣanhādja, taking the place of the Kutāma, upheld the authority of the Zīrids [*q.v.*], governors of Ifrīḳiya and Tripolitania (362-563/973-1167); in the West, following the disappearance of the Idrīsids, power passed into the hands of the Zanāta, at first nothing more than local governors on behalf of the Umayyads of Spain, but later independent princes at Fās until the advent of the Almoravids (455/1063). At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the Zīrid state disintegrated; in the centre of the Maghrib there was founded the

Ḥammādid kingdom [*q.v.*], the rulers of which recognised the authority of the Caliph of Baghdād and took as their capital firstly the Ḳalʿa and then Bougie (Bidjāya; 405-547/1014-1152). The anarchy resulting from the internecine Berber struggles was further complicated, in the middle of the century, by the invasion of the Hilālī tribes, which had as an immediate result the devastation of Ifrīḳiya and part of the Maghrib, and which entailed, as a long-term consequence, a profound modification of the ethnography of North Africa.

However, just as the disorder seemed to reach its climax, two Berber dynasties, that of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] and that of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], both proclaiming reforming religious doctrines, succeeded in establishing their temporary supremacy in North Africa. The triumph of the Almoravids was that of the Lamtūna, who until then had led a nomadic existence between southern Morocco and the banks of the Senegal and the Niger. Converted to Islam in the 3rd/9th century, they had for a long time been only nominal Muslims. They had been instructed in orthodox doctrine and practices by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn (d. 451/1059) and resolved to carry the faith to the Blacks of the Sudān and to the ignorant populations of southern Morocco. Their conquests speedily passed beyond these limits. Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar founded Marrākush (462/1070) and Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn (Tāshufīn) within a few years subdued the whole of Morocco and the central Maghrib as far as the borders of the Ḥammādid kingdom, halted the progress of the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula by the victory of Zallāḳa [*q.v.*] (479/1086), dethroned the Andalusian amīrs, and became the sole master of the whole of Muslim Spain. The decline of the Almoravids was as rapid as their success. Exhausted by their own victories and by contact with a higher civilisation, the Berbers of the Sahara rapidly disappeared. To replace them, the Almoravid Caliphs were obliged to have recourse to the use of Christian mercenaries, whilst they themselves, unmindful of Islamic orthodoxy, scandalised strict Muslims by their conduct. Won over to the unitarian doctrine (*muwaḥḥid*) by the preaching of Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*], the Maṣmūda of the Atlas rose against them. Under the command of a man of genius, a Berber of the Kūmiyya, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*], they overcame the Almoravids without great difficulty (541/1147). The Empire founded by the Almohads was still more extensive than that of their predecessors. Though it is true that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin did not succeed in subduing the whole of Spain, on the other hand he destroyed the Ḥammādid kingdom of Bougie and the Zīrid kingdom of Ifrīḳiya, expelled the Christians from the ports which they had occupied, and made himself master of all the country between Syrte and the Atlantic. Thus a great Berber Empire extended over the whole of North Africa; however it was not long before it began to crumble. The Almohad Caliphs were not more successful than the Almoravids in remaining faithful to orthodoxy; one of them, al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], even went so far as publicly to curse the memory of Ibn Tūmart, and dealt rigorously with the faithful. The rivalries of the various Berber splinter groups was an additional factor which contributed to the disintegration of the empire created by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. The quarrels of the Maṣmūda and the Kūmiyya led to constant bloodshed at the Moroccan court; the tribes of the central Maghrib supported the enterprises of the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*], or attempted to make themselves independent. A century after the death of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the last of his line, Abū Dabbūs, reduced to the rôle of bandit-chief, met his end in obscurity (668/1269). The Maghrib was already divided among new powers, the Marīnids [*q.v.*] installed at Fās, the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*] at Tlemcen (Tilimsān), the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*] at Tunis. Not one of these new dynasties was capable of imposing its supremacy on the others, or even of making its own subjects respect it. In Morocco, the tribes of the mountain regions were in a state of constant revolt against the Marīnids; in the central Maghrib, the Banū Wamānnū of the Ouarsenis, the Zwāwa of the Djurdjura, the Kabyles of the province of Constantine, and the populations of the Zāb and Djarīd, remained outside the authority of the sovereigns of Constantine, Bougie and Tunis; the same was true of the oases of the Jebel Nafūsa and the Aurès. The inability of the Berbers to organise themselves in a large State is conclusively demonstrated. It therefore becomes impossible to follow their history except by making a historical assessment of the rôles of the various tribes. The task, moreover, would be immensely complicated by the changes brought about as the result of the Hilālī invasion. In the plains and on the plateaux, the Berber populations intermingled with the Arabs; gradually they abandoned their language and customs and even lost their ancient name, replacing it by that of some personage from whom they traced their origin: they became arabicised. Other groups escaped this transformation because of the inaccessibility of their habitat, as for example those of the Aurès, Kabylia, the Rif and the Atlas; their ranks were swollen by refugees from many sources who sought asylum among them; finally some were driven back into the Sahara, so that from the 8th/14th century "the Berbers form a cordon on the frontier of the country of the Blacks similar to that formed by the Arabs on the confines of the two Maghribs and of Ifrīḳīya" (Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, trans. de Slane, ii, 104). This disintegration was accompanied by a recession of Muslim civilisation. It would not be an exaggeration to say that a number of Berber groups reverted in a way to a state of semi-savagery, only retaining a few very rudimentary notions of Islam. In the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries, their re-islamisation was the work of marabouts, presenting themselves for the most part as natives of southern Morocco, of the legendary Sāḳiyat al-Ḥamrā, which popular imagination pictures as a nursery of missionaries and saints. Such was the influence of these pious men that whole tribes today consider themselves as their descendants. Only a few rare groups avoided their influence. (G. YVER*)

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II. — Distribution at present

At the present day, the Berbers, although without doubt constituting the basis of the population of North Africa, no longer form a homogeneous mass and one can at most take into account those of them who have retained the use of the Berber language; they would appear to amount to over 5,000,000 individuals. Many of them are in fact bilingual—even trilingual—but still more numerous are those who have lost—often deliberately—all memory of their origins as well as their customs and language, frequently providing themselves expressly with an Arab genealogy; in contrast, a few elements here and there lay claim to a Berber origin, though they have ceased to speak the language of their ancestors. Generally speaking, Berber has in fact always receded before the advance of Arabic, and recent events or those of the present day have tended to accentuate the narrowing of the area in which the old language is used; the disappearance of various Berber speaking pockets, especially in eastern Barbary, is a contemporary phenomenon, and it seems likely that the political situation in North Africa will continue in the immediate future to favour the extension of the domain of Arabic.

However, several considerable groups have persisted in the mountain *massifs* and in the desert, that is to say in those regions only superficially penetrated by the Arabs. They are linked together by pockets more or less close to one another, which remain as evidence of the older ethnic and linguistic pattern. In general terms, it may be said that the density of Berber groups increases from east to west. They are scattered over a vast area which extends from the Egyptian frontier (with Sīwa and D̲j̲arabub) to the Atlantic Ocean, from the cliff of Hombori, south of the Niger, to the Mediterranean.

Libya.—Various groups subsist in the mountains of the country of Barḳa, in the D̲j̲abal G̲h̲uryān, Ifren, Nafūsa; they are also to be found in the oases of Awd̲j̲ila, Soḳna, Timissā and, on the coast, at Zwara; some of the elements of the population of Awd̲j̲ila and of Urfella, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, say they are Berbers although they speak Arabic (about 23% of the population in all).

Tunisia.—Six villages in the island of D̲j̲erba: Ad̲j̲im, Guellala, Sedouikech, Elmai, Mahboubin and Sedg̲h̲iane, to which must be added seven on the mainland: Tmagourt, Sened, Zraoua, Taoud̲j̲out, Tamezret, Chnini and Douiret, which are still partly Berber-speaking; these Berbers, many of whom spend a long time in the towns of the North, especially in Tunis, where they occupy positions of trust, are much attached to their dialect, which moreover serves them as a secret language (1% Berber-speaking in all).

Algeria.—Kabylia in the north and the Aurès in the south-east have been the two poles of Berber resistance; these regions are now only separated by a fairly narrow Arabic-speaking zone, up to Sétif. In the Algerian and Oranian Tell country, the groups only reach some importance in the mountain region of Blida and the Chélif (Ouarsenis, D̲j̲endel, Benī Menacer, Chenoua); finally, several groups appear along the Algero-Moroccan frontier (Benī Snous, near Tlemcen) (about 30% Berber speaking in all).

Morocco.—The geographical configuration of Morocco has been especially favourable to the survival of the Berber populations; though a number of tribes have relinquished the use of Berber, it nevertheless remains the language of the great groups of the Zanāta, Maṣmūda and Ṣanhād̲j̲a in the Rif, the Middle, High and Anti-Atlas, as well as in the Sous. R. Montagne, *Vie Sociale*, 17, has estimated that the Arabs constitute from 10 to 15% of the population in Morocco, Arabicised Berbers from 40 to 45%, the remaining 40 to 45% being Berbers who cannot disclaim their origin.

Sahara.—In the Algerian and Moroccan Sahara, the oases of Oued Rig̲h̲, Ouargla, Ngousa, the seven towns of the Mzab, the "ksours" of the Gourara, the Touat, the Tidikelt, of Figuig, of the Tafilalt, of the Dades; then in a very extensive zone in the shape of a triangle, between G̲h̲adāmes in the North, Tombouctou in the south-west and Zinder in the south-east, including Ghat, Djanet and the Ahaggar, we have the various groups of Touareg [*q.v.*].

Berber is also spoken in Mauritania (Zenaga) by about 25,000 inhabitants (especially the Trārza); the Wada pocket uses Azer, a Soninké dialect mixed with Berber.

Diaspora.—Outside those zones roughly indicated above, attention must be drawn to the influx of the Berbers into the large towns of Morocco (Casablanca) and Algeria (Algiers), where, "detribalised" and lacking the control of their natural social group (see below section IV), they tend to form an impoverished proletariat, ready for anything. Outside Barbary, there are to be found in the Lebanon descendants of the Kutāma who arrived with the Fāṭimids and, in Damascus, Algerian Berbers who emigrated at the beginning of the conquest, or who rejoined the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] or his descendants. Some elements remained in various European countries after the second world war, and a few are even reported in America, but above all Metropolitan France has the largest number of Berbers; the majority of them are Kabyles, who have temporarily—or in some cases permanently—abandoned the barren soil of their homeland, seeking to find more fruitful means of livelihood abroad; these displaced persons also form a proletariat which finds it difficult to adapt itself to the conditions of life in the Metropolis.

Bibliography: E. Doutté and E. F. Gautier, *Enquête sur la dispersion de la langue berbère en Algérie*, Algiers 1910; A. Bernard and P. Moussard, *Arabophones et berbérophones au Maroc*, in *Ann. de Géog.* 1924; R. Montagne, *La vie sociale et la vie politique des Berbères*, Paris 1931, 9 ff.; A. Basset, *Les Ksours berbérophones du Gourara*, in *IIIᵉ Congrès Soc. sav. de l'Af. du N.*; idem, *Parlers touaregs du Soudan et du Niger*, in *Bull. Ét. hist. et éc. de l'AOF*, 1935; idem, *La langue berbère dans les Territoires du Sud*, in *RAfr.*, 1941, 62 ff.; idem, *La langue berbère au Sahara*, in *Cahiers Ch. de Foucauld*, 1948; idem, *Initiation à la Tunisie*, Paris 1950, 220-6; E. Laoust, in *Initiation au Maroc*, Paris 1945, 191-219; *Répertoire alphabétique des confédérations de tribus ... de la zone française de l'empire chérifien*,

Casablanca 1939; L. Justinard, *Les Chleuh de la banlieue de Paris*, in *REI*, 1928; L. Massignon, *Cartes de répartition des Kabyles dans la région parisienne*, ibid., 1930; idem, *Annuaire du Monde musulman*[4], Paris 1955, index; see also *bibliography* to section V below.

(G. Yver-[Ch. Pellat])

III. — Religion

In ancient times, the religion of the Berbers appears to have been divided into a multitude of local cults, corresponding to the tribal divisions. The objects of this cult, concerning which we only possess scanty and incomplete information, were doubtless natural objects: grottos, rocks, springs, rivers and mountains, to which must be added the celestial bodies, at least the sun, moon and some of the stars. The veneration accorded them still persists in some of the legends, beliefs, rites and religious ceremonies. In spite of their conversion to Islam and their deep feeling of belonging to the Islamic community, the Berbers have in fact retained a host of pagan practices, some of which have more or less been adapted to Islam, whilst others remain in direct opposition to Islamic precepts; these survivals are particularly apparent in agricultural rites and festivals (practices for obtaining rain, harvest rites, lighting bonfires, *ʿanṣra* [*q.v.*]), the concept of *baraka* [*q.v.*], the cult of saints etc.

It cannot be denied that from Punic times, various foreign divinities were not only borrowed, but were in fact assimilated to the national divinities (see H. Basset, *Influences puniques chez les Berbères*, in *RAfr.*, 1921). Judaism also obtained numerous proselytes, and even if it did not play the rôle which some claim for it, it was disseminated over the whole of North Africa; in fact, with the exception of the descendants of Jews expelled from Spain in the 9th/15th century, the majority of indigenous Jews are descended from proselytes pre-dating the appearance of Islam (see Slouschz, *Hebraeo-Phéniciens et Judéo-Berbères*, Paris 1909; M. A. Simon, *Le Judaïsme berbère dans l'Afrique ancienne*, in *Rev. Hist. et Philos. Fac. théol. protestante de Strasbourg*, 1946; L. Voinot, *Pèlerinages judéo-musulmans du Maroc*, Paris 1948; P. Flamand, *Population israélite du Sud marocain*, in *Hesp.*, 1950, 363 ff.; idem, *Un Mellah en pays berbère: Demnate*, Paris 1952; idem, *Les Communautés israélites du Sud marocain*, thesis, Sorbonne 1957).

Judaism paved the way for Christianity which prospered in spite of the bitter struggle which it had to conduct against paganism and the internal quarrels which soon beset it; it will be sufficient to note that it afforded the Berbers an opportunity of grouping together against Roman rule and that they enthusiastically embraced heresies (Arianism, Donatism, etc.) opposed to the doctrine of the Church of Rome (see P. S. Mesnage, *Étude sur l'influence du Christianisme sur les Berbères*, Paris 1902; idem, *Le Christianisme en Afrique*, Algiers 1915; E. Albertini, *L'Afrique romaine*, 55 ff.; Dom Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris 1904; Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris 1900-23).

The same thing happened at the time of the Muslim conquest: it was only the name of their adversaries which had changed. We do not know in detail the history of the conversion of the Berbers to Islam, but tradition has it that they seceded twelve times and Islam only finally triumphed in the 6th/12th century; it was at this date that the last indigenous Christians disappeared, whilst Jewish communities survived down to our own day. At the beginning of the conquest, the converted Berbers professed the orthodox doctrine, the only one known to them; but their spirit of independence soon showed itself by their adoption of K͟hāridjī doctrines which put forward the most equalitarian ideas (see Ibāḍiyya, K͟hawāridj and the works of T. Lewicki, especially *Etudes ibāḍites nord-africaines*, Warsaw 1955, and *La répartition géographique des groupements ibāḍites dans l'Afrique du Nord au moyen âge*, in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 1957; see also Chikh Békri, *Le Kharijisme berbère*, in *AIEO, Alger*, 1957, 55-108). The clearest indication that religious doctrine little concerned them fundamentally is given by the fact that one party espoused the cause of the S͟hīʿīs, not only that of the Idrīsids of Fās, but even of those who had come under the influence of the Persian outlook and saw in the *imām* an incarnation of the Divinity. Thus it came about that alongside the K͟hāridjīs (Ṣufrīs and Ibāḍīs) there were the Fāṭimids, and that the Kutāma provided the main support for *mahdī* ʿUbayd Allāh. This tendency to turn to extremes was again in evidence when a puritan reaction brought about the triumph of Sunnī doctrines with the Lamtūna (Almoravids) of the Sahara, recently converted in the 5th/11th century; it was further emphasised with the Maṣmūda of the Atlas who founded the Almohad Empire and destroyed the remaining dissidents, Christians or S͟hīʿīs, with the exception of a few K͟hāridjī communities who were protected by mountains, the desert or the sea; it again made its appearance with the formation of the small Marabout states which arose in Morocco from the 5th/11th century onwards (see R. Montagne, *Vie sociale*, 22 ff.).

Among reactions against official Islam, two further attempts must be cited which aimed at creating a new religion in Morocco: in the Rif, in the 4th/10th century, the attempt of Ḥā-Mīm al-Muftarī [*q.v.*] and, on the Atlantic coast, that of Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf [*q.v.*].

After having provided a Father of the Church, Saint Augustine, born at Thagaste (Souk-Ahras), the Berbers under Islam only produced theologians who were adept in disputation, but no great intellects. Wherever Sunnī Islam triumphed, it was Mālikism which was adopted, and it continues to prevail in Barbary, though some K͟hāridjī communities (Ibāḍī) survive in the Djabal Nafūsa, at Djerba, in southern Tunisia and in the Mzab.

Bibliography: On the old religion of the Berbers and its survivals, there is copious bibliography and only the main works can be indicated: R. Basset, *Recherches sur la religion des Berbères*, Paris 1910 (extract from the *RHR*); L. Brunot, *Cultes naturistes à Sefrou*, in *Arch. Berb.*, 1918/2; H. Basset, *Le culte des grottes au Maroc*, Algiers 1920; A. Bel, *Quelques rites pour la pluie*, in *XIV*[e] *Congrès Orient.*, Algiers 1905; idem, in *Mél. Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935; L. Joleaud, *Gravures rupestres et rites de l'eau*, in *J. Soc. Africanistes*, 1933-4; Probst-Biraben, *Les Rites d'obtention de la pluie*, *ibid.*, 1932-3; Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Paris 1895-9; F. Nicolas, *Les Industries de protection chez les Twareg de l'Azawagh* in *Hesp.*, 1938; Rahmani, *Le mois de mai chez les Kabyles*, Algiers 1935-9; idem, *Notes eth.*, Constantine 1933; Montet, Destaing, *Le Culte des saints en Af. du N.*, Paris; E. Destaing, *Fêtes et coutumes saisonnières chez les Benī-Snous*, in *RAfr.*, 1906; E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920; idem, *Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie*, in *Hesp.*,

1921; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afr. du N.*, Algiers 1909; idem, *En Tribu*, Paris 1914; Dr. Foley, *Mœurs et médecine des Touareg de l'Ahaggar*, Algiers 1930; G. Marcy, *Origine et signification des tatouages des tribus berbères*, in *RHR*, 1930; E. Westermarck, *Midsummer customs in Morocco*, in *Folk-lore*, 1905; idem, *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914 (French trans. F. Arin, Paris 1921); idem, *Ceremonies and beliefs connected with agriculture*, Helsingfors 1913; idem, *The Moorish conception of Holiness* (*Baraka*), *ibid.*, 1916; idem, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926 (partial trans. R. Godet, *Survivances païennes dans la civilisation mahométane*, Paris 1935); J. Servier, *Jeux rituels et rites agraires des Berbères d'Algérie*, Sorbonne thesis 1955 (unpublished).—On Islam in Barbary: H. Doutté, *L'Islam algérien*, Algiers 1900; A. Bel, *La Religion musulmane en Berbérie*, i (only published), Paris 1938; G. H. Bousquet, *L'Islam maghrébin*, Algiers 1942. See also J. D. Pearson, *Index Islamicus, 1906-1955*, Cambridge 1958, nos. 12517-840 and 12841-13568 *passim*.

(R. Basset-Ch. Pellat)

IV. — Customs, Social and Political Organisation

Observers have all been struck by the character and usages of the Berbers, which differ in many respects from those of the Arabs, particularly as regards women, who, in general, enjoy a greater degree of freedom (see for example the "courts of love" among the Touareg (*ahal*), H. Lhote, *Touaregs du Hoggar*, 288 ff.) and to a certain extent, greater respect (on women, see M. Gaudry, *La femme chaouia de l'Aurès*, Paris 1929; A. M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927-31; L. Bousquet-Lefèvre, *La femme kabyle*, Paris 1939; on matriarchy: G. Marcy, *Les vestiges de la parenté maternelle en droit coutumier berbère*, in *RAfr.*, 1941/3-4). As a rapid synthesis is made impossible by the great diversity which appears from one group to another, we shall limit ourselves to giving references to the large number of monographs and works of ethnography which have been devoted to North Africa.

The Berbers (except in the Mzab) are basically a rural population, leading a nomadic or sedentary existence. The nomads live in tents, of which the different types have been frequently described (see H. Lhote, *Touaregs du Hoggar*, 221 ff.; E. Laoust, *L'Habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc central*, in *Hesp.*, 1930 ff.); the sedentary population live in houses (see E. Laoust, *op. cit.*; A. Adam, *La Maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas*, in *Hesp.*, 1950, 289 ff.) or even in majestic kasbas (*ḳaṣaba*) which in some respects recall the style of South Arabia (see H. Terrasse, *Kasbas berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis. Les Grandes architectures du Sud marocain*, Paris 1938; A. Paris, *Documents d'architecture berbère*, Paris 1925; K.A.C. Creswell, *A Bibliog. of Muslim Arch. in North Africa*, Paris 1954, *passim*).

One of the peculiarities of Muslim Barbary is the retention of customary law, which continues to be applied, either officially or unofficially [see *ʿāda*], both in Algeria and Morocco (for Tunisia, see G. H. Bousquet, *Note sur la survivance du droit coutumier berbère en Tunisie*, in *Hesp.*, 1952/1-2, 248-9). This custom (*ʿāda, ʿurf, izref, ittifāḳāt*) is essentially oral, but of recent years some tribes have felt the need to record in writing in Arabic and even in French, though rarely in Berber (see below section VI) some *ḳānūn*s, simple lists of offences, with the scale of appropriate fines (imprisonment is unknown). Justice, based on custom, is dispensed, in civil and criminal matters, either by a kind of (individual) arbitrator, or by judicial *dj̲amāʿa*s which set themselves up as clandestine tribunals (for example in the Aurès subject to French law) or which in contrast have had a legal existence (as in Morocco since the famous dahir (*ẓahīr*) of May 16th 1930, called the "Berber dahir", which gave rise to numerous protests because it established customary tribunals). Needless to say, this law is not uniform and varies quite considerably from group to group; as a result of its lay origin and oral transmission it is subject to modification (see Hacoun-Campredon, *Etude sur l'évolution des coutumes kabyles*, Algiers 1921).

The social organisation of the Berbers also differs in many respects from that of the Arabs; it is based on the ties of blood, real or fictitious. The smallest social unit is the "hearth", a number of hearths among the sedentary people forming a village, and among the nomads a "douar" (*asun, tigəmmi*, etc.); several villages or "douars" form a division which is a state in miniature; the tribe groups several divisions together, but has less political personality; the tribal confederation only represents a temporary association required by especially grave circumstances, most frequently war.

The idea of relationship within the group has as its corollary the respect for a kind of collective morality, a constant solidarity between its members, who in particular perform a collective corvée, (*tiwizi*), ensure the safety of strangers to whom one of them has accorded his protection, own collective granaries (see agādir), etc.

The fact is, however, that their political organisation paradoxically reveals two diametrically opposed, but not incompatible, systems, which seems a further proof of the diversity of the ethnic elements combined under the name Berber: on the one hand, an aristocratic type, having a warrior nobility, a religious caste, a class of tributaries and finally the serfs; this is the régime prevailing among the Touareg, who are governed by an *aménokal* [*q.v.*], each tribe being placed under the authority of an *amg̲h̲ar* [*q.v.*]; on the other hand, in the rest of Barbary, we find a democratic type, with an elected assembly (*dj̲amāʿa, inflas, ayt arbʿin*) in which all power resides (legislative, judicial and executive); each assembly of a lower group delegates members to higher assemblies, but generally speaking, it is the *dj̲amāʿa* of the division which has most political weight. This democratic system usually results in a *de facto* oligarchy and does not impede the development of personal power, at least in those regions where the internal leagues (*leff* [*q.v.*]) group independent divisions together (and not just villages or parts of villages, as in Kabylia, the *ṣoffs* [*q.v.*]; R. Montagne (*Vie sociale*, 91 ff.) has pertinently analysed the stages in the development of this power of the temporal leaders, who have been called the "Lords of the Atlas".

Bibliography: For ethnography, in addition to the works already quoted in the preceeding section, see: Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, Paris 1864; Comm. Bissuel, *Les Touareg de l'Ouest*, Algiers 1888; Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, Algiers 1908; A. Richer, *Les Touareg du Niger*, Paris 1924; H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944 (with a very copious bibl.); C. Devaux, *Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera*, Marseilles-

Paris 1859; Masqueray, *De Aurasio monte*, Paris 1886; R. Basset, *Nedromah et les Traras*, Paris 1901; L. Voinot, *Le Tidikelt*, Oran 1909; Abès, *Les Izayan d'Oulmès*, in *Arch. Berb.*, i/4, 1916; idem, *Les Aït Ndhir*, ibid., ii/2, 1917; S. Biarnay, *Notes d'ethn. et de ling. nord-africaines*, Paris 1924; G. Marcy, *Les Aït Warain*, in *Hesp.*, 1929; R. Maunier, *Mélanges de sociol. nord-africaine*, Paris 1930; J. Bourrilly, *Eléments d'ethnographie marocaine*, Paris 1932.—On customary law· bibliography by H. Bruno, in *Rev. Algérienne*, 1920, i, 94 ff.; critical bibliography by G. H. Bousquet, in *Hesp.*, 1952, 508 ff.; to which should be added: G. H. Bousquet, *Le Droit coutumier des Aït Haddidou* . . ., in *AIEO Alger*, 1956, 113-230; the two fundamental studies are, for Kabylia, Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*[2], Paris 1893, 3 vols., and for Morocco, G. Marcy, *Le Droit coutumier Zemmoûr*, Algiers-Paris 1949 (see also ʿĀDA).—On social and political organisation, in addition to the monographs quoted in the preceding sections: Masqueray, *Formation des cités* . . ., Paris 1886; M. Mercier, *La Civilisation urbaine au Mzab*, Algiers 1923; R. Montagne, *Villages et kasbas berbères*, Paris 1930; idem, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930; idem, *La Vie sociale et la vie politique des Berbères*, Paris 1931; F. Nicolas, *Notes sur la société et l'état des Touareg du Dinnik*, in *Bull. IFAN*, 1939, 579 ff.; V. Monteil, *Note sur Ifni et les Aït Ba-ʿamrān*, Paris 1948; idem, *Note sur les Tekna*, Paris 1948; J. Berque, *Les Seksawa, Recherches sur les structures sociales du Haut Atlas occidental*, Paris 1954; Ph. Marçais, in *Mémorial A. Basset*, 69-82. (Ch. Pellat)

V. — Language

One cannot but envy the assurance with which René Basset, fifty years ago, painted a picture of the Berber language in this *Encyclopaedia*. By an inevitable process, research has produced questions in greater number than answers; some illusions have vanished. However, the balance-sheet of this half century is not negative: a mass of materials has been collected, their classification and analysis has been undertaken and sometimes fairly extensively developed; an attempt at a synthesis has even been made by André Basset, but he is cautious and is at pains to avoid taking hypothesis for established fact.

A. The historical problem

1. — History of the language: Berber is almost exclusively a spoken language, and its history, even in the recent period, is almost unknown owing to the lack of written documents. It is only in the 19th century that the texts collected orally from Berbers by Europeans start to become numerous. Indigenous documents are rare and of limited scope. Southern Morocco has produced manuscripts in Arabic script (cf. section VI) of which we only possess partial and out-of-date editions; moreover, the language of these works of religious edification, in spite of its undeniable interest, seems somewhat artificial. The Berber words and expressions cited by Arab authors have not received a systematic treatment. The best known and also the oldest are the phrases of the 12th century published by E. Lévi-Provençal in his *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928 (cf. G. Marcy, in *Hesp.*, 1932, 61-77) and which appear to confirm the relative stability of the language. The Arabic texts have also preserved a number of Berber ethnic names, anthroponymics and toponymics which still remain to be studied.

The remains of Guanche, which was spoken in the Canary Islands up to the 17th century, are generally considered a Berber language. However after a very detailed investigation, J.-D. Wölfel only relates a part of the Guanche forms to Berber.

Further back than the Almohad period, the linguist finds no Berber documents properly so-called. The early centuries after the Arab conquest are even more "obscure" for him than for the historian. Antiquity confronts us with a number of very difficult problems. It has bequeathed us a documentation as mysterious as it is abundant on African dialects:

a) Over a thousand Libyan inscriptions have been published (cf. section VI). The alphabet used is known with fair accuracy, at least for the bilinguals, but the proposed interpretations show serious divergencies and are not convincing: Libyan has not been deciphered.

b) In the east and particularly in Tripolitania, a series of inscriptions in Latin characters has been discovered, whose meaning is unknown. One or two words are Latin, others can be explained by Punic, but the remainder has not been identified.

c) A host of African words, mostly proper names, are to be found scattered throughout the Punic, Greek and especially Latin inscriptions, as well as in the classical authors. Some of these words have been identified as Punic; the majority have only given rise to nebulous explanations.

Thus, little has been made of these old materials. Why is this the case? Very few research workers venture into this field and if they do so, it is generally in the course of other investigations or in the service of a different discipline. Moreover, the unity of the documents, scattered both in space and time, is problematical. The inscriptions of Tripolitania are of an early period. The Libyan ones come from Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco and cover several centuries: the only one which is dated goes back to 139 B.C.; some appear to be contemporary with the Roman Empire; the majority cannot be dated at all. The onomastic material is even more dispersed: provided by texts ranging from Herodotus to the latest antiquity, it concerns the whole territory comprised between Egypt and the Atlantic. Such diverse evidence inevitably represents several stages of linguistic development, or even several languages. Its interpretation assumes that preliminary work has been done in listing and subjecting them to a critical examination; however, a general onomastic index is still awaited. In spite of the extraordinary diversity of this ancient material, the modern Berber dialects are frequently thought of as providing a miraculous key capable of unlocking all doors. Extensive use is made of the glossaries, but only in order to adduce isolated comparisons or erect a superstructure of conjectures, whereas a system of well established correspondences alone could afford proof. A direct connexion is postulated between Libyan and Berber, considered as two stages of the same language. This assumption is based on history, which discovers Berber populations in Africa from ancient times and concludes that the Berber language was already spoken there: but was it the only language? Is it really Berber that is concealed in the Libyan inscriptions? The parallels which are certain are rare; the similarity of the Libyan and Touareg scripts (cf. section VI) does not demonstrate that the languages are related; the difficulties encountered call for criticism. A. Basset has drawn

attention to the fact that the argument taken from history is negative. A. Picard is still more sceptical. This example of caution, little imitated as yet, is thus provided by Berber specialists. A comparative linguist and ethnologist like J. D. Wölfel, whilst grouping Libyan and Berber together, also hesitates to consider them as a single language. J. G. Février asks whether Libyan cannot be considered "as a kind of pre-Berber", but allows himself no reply. Such rational doubt is preferable to the illusion of knowledge; it neither entails relinquishing research nor the denial of any connexion between Libyan and Berber; it merely invites us not to forget that what constitutes a certainty for the historian only provides the linguist with a working hypothesis.

2. — Cognate or neighbouring languages: The comparison of Berber with other languages has still only produced rather slender results. Certain unduly fanciful attempts are no longer worth mentioning. The connexions proposed with Basque and Hausa have remained fragmentary. The opinion advanced by O. Rössler, according to which Berber is a Semitic language close to Akkadian, evokes an interest mixed with caution. The Hamito-Semitic theory, which places Berber in a group including Ancient Egyptian, the Cushitic languages of Abyssinia and the Semitic languages, appears to be the most fruitful. For Marcel Cohen, the name Hamito-Semitic by no means implies the existence of a "Hamitic" branch as opposed to the Semitic. The position occupied by each of the members within the family is still inadequately known. As early as 1844, Berber was considered by T. N. Newmann to be a "Hebreo-African" language. Certain similarities, both in the respective rôles played by consonants and vowels as well as in the nature and function of various morphological elements, justify the continued prosecution of research. Borrowings from other languages and reciprocal influences must be assessed, analogies specified and extended to vocabulary: *l'Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique* published in 1947 by Marcel Cohen gives the impression that the connecting links between Berber and the other languages under consideration are rather strained.

In addition to these attempts at defining relationships, we must refer to the whole field of studies which may be termed "Mediterranean", as they concern the civilisation which flourished on the shores of the Mediterranean prior to the arrival of the Indo-Europeans. Here vocabulary takes precedence over morphology: the aim is to determine a cultural community rather than to establish a linguistic affinity. The toponymics of ancient Africa and Berber, cited as a testimony of this remote period, are often invoked alongside Iberian, Basque etc. Thus it is that they are accorded a more or less important place in works devoted to the "Mediterranean substratum" (C. Battisti, V. Bertoldi etc.), to the non-Indo-European elements in Latin (G. Nencioni), to Sardinian (B. Terracini, M. L. Wagner), to the regions of the Alps and Pyrenees (J. Hubschmid) and more generally to the "Euro-African" civilisation (J. D. Wölfel).

In spite of the inevitable groping, the excesses and mistakes, research into these ticklish problems can no longer be ignored.

An even more urgent problem for North African dialectology is to determine precisely in what respects Berber amd Maghribī Arabic have affected one another. It is a question of substratum or adstratum as the case may be. There is no lack of documents, but we have scarcely passed the stage of noting the most obvious features. The Berber dictionaries summarily indicate certain borrowings from Arabic. Some works by Arabists (L. Brunot, G. S. Colin, Ch. Pellat, Ph. and W. Marçais) give a place to Berber matters.

We do not know what Berber owes to the languages of Tropical Africa: this may well be a great lacuna.

B) Dialects and Language

On the geographical distribution of dialects, cf. section II.

It is the study of present-day dialects which has produced the most positive results during recent decades, especially through the efforts of A. Basset. However, there still remain a few illusions to be shed. None of the classifications proposed for the dialects is really satisfying. Attempts have been made to discover in them the traditional division of the population into Maṣmūda, Ṣanhādja and Zanāta (cf. I): this is to appeal to a confused story. It would be preferable to start from the linguistic data: but what factors are relevant? A distinction is sometimes made between "occlusive" dialects and "spirant" dialects, yet the Chleuh dialects, which moreover form a distinct group (cf. below), are not in agreement on the production of certain sounds: are they therefore, to be split up into several groups? As A. Picard reminds us, phonetics is only one aspect of living language. A classification based on phonological systems would be more interesting, though equally arbitrary. Linguistic geography demonstrates that every phenomenon occupies an area of its own; A. Basset proved this so convincingly in respect of Berber, that he relinquished the idea of dialect in this field altogether: the language disintegrates directly into four to five thousand local idioms. Nevertheless it would be difficult to avoid taking into account a kind of linguistic harmony which, in such geographically close-knit regions as the Chleuh country, Kabylia, Aurès etc., superimposes itself on the division into local idioms, without effacing it; mutual comprehension is immediate within every such zone and Berber speakers have a feeling for these groupings (cf. A. Roux, in *Hesp.*, 1954, 269). Even in these privileged cases, no common language exists. It is true that the wandering poets of the Middle Atlas of Morocco, referred to by A. Roux (cf. section VI), use a kind of intermediate dialect for their compositions; furthermore, an investigation should be made of the Berber spoken in the large towns where the emigrants collect together. But up till now, political, economic and cultural conditions have militated against a unification which those concerned do not seem to need: when necessary, they use another language, frequently Arabic, to communicate with one another. Any comprehensive description of Berber dialects, therefore, comes up against local factors which persistently impose limits on its applicability. Nevertheless, it is justified by the unity of the language, which remains clear in spite of the diversity.

1. — Phonetics and Phonology. Though the sounds of the numerous dialects have already been ascertained and more or less adequately described in the monographs, we still possess no complete table of their correspondences. Moreover, as yet no dialect has been subjected to a phonological analysis. Comparison, however, enables us to establish the main features of a system of phonemes which appears to be the basis on which the various local

systems rest. Here, only slightly modified, is the table proposed by A. Basset:

Consonants	labials		*b*		*f*			*m*		
	dentals	*t*	*d*	*ḍ*				*n*	*l*	*r*
	sibilants				*s*	*z*	*ẓ*			
	palatal sibilants					*š*	*ẓ̌*			
	velars	*k*	*g*							
	uvular					*γ*				
Semi-vowels				*y*		*w*				
Vowels				*i*		*u*				
		[*ə*]								
		a								

The tendency for short occlusives to become spirant in numerous dialects (Rif, Middle Atlas of Morocco, Kabylia, etc.) has already been mentioned. This may lead locally to the introduction of new phonemes and to modification of the phonological system. Almost everywhere this system has been complicated and distorted by large-scale borrowing from Arabic, to which the presence particularly of the pharyngals *ḥ* and *ɛ* and the laryngal *h* in the majority of dialects appears to be due.

A remarkable fact is the presence in Berber of emphatic consonants. Apart from *ḍ* and *ẓ* there are attested: [ṣ], [ṛ], [ḷ] and even [ṣ̌], [ẓ̌], but they cannot be accorded phonological status *a priori*. Emphasis does not always belong exclusively to the phoneme concerned. On [ṭ], cf. below.

y and *w* are sometimes pronounced as consonants [y], [w], and sometimes as vowels [i], [u], according to their position; quality varies with syllable pattern, which is not everywhere the same. Furthermore, besides these occurrences of phonetic [i] and [u], morphology suggests the need to recognise separate vowels *i* and *u*: which is not devoid of difficulties.

Each of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u* comprises a range of gradations conditioned by the articulation of the neighbouring consonants and devoid of phonological value. As regards [ə], it is in principle a purely phonetic element, the occurrence of which is subject to the laws, as yet not very well known, which govern the syllabication and structure of words. Very unstable in central and southern Morocco, it perhaps presents a greater consistency in Kabylia; in spite of certain indications by Foucauld which must be verified and above all, interpreted, it is by no means certain that [ə] has phonemic status in Touareg.

An important rôle is played by the quantitative value of consonants. Every consonant or semi-vowel may be "short" or "long", thus creating a type of opposition widely exploited by the vocabulary and to a still greater extent by the morphology: Chleuh *ils* "tongue"; *ills* "he has soiled"; *ifka-t* "he has given it (masc.)": *ifka-tt* "he has given it (fem.)". The long consonant seems to be less characterised by its duration than by the tenseness of its articulation; lengthening sometimes results in transition from spirant to occlusive and from voiced to voiceless: thus it comes about that the most frequent realisation of *γγ* is [qq], and that of *ḍḍ* [ṭṭ]; *ww* may be represented by [ggʷ] (on one occasion even [kk]) or [bbʷ], and *yy* by [gg].

Not all vowels always have the same duration; their length, however, is not pertinent, except perhaps in Touareg.

Accentuation of a word, where the accent is one of intensity, is not recognised as fulfilling a distinctive function.

2. — Forms and their functions.

a. — The Berber word. Words are made up of a theme and inflexions. The theme is produced by the combination of a root with a schema. The root is bound to a minimum concept beyond any kind of grammatical categorisation. It is always consonantal, containing one or four, most frequently two or three consonants, being characterised by their number and order. The term schema, borrowed from the Arabists (J. Cantineau), indicates the structure of the theme; the schema gives the word part of its grammatical identity: thus, to a degree which varies with cases, it may indicate the nominal or verbal nature of the word, the number of the noun, the form of the verb, etc. The schema itself is defined by the presence or absence of formative consonants, by short or long quantity of formative consonants or radicals, by the presence or absence, the place and quality of the vowels. The inflexions complete the grammatical description of the word; as prefixes and/or suffixes, they appear fundamentally to be consonants; in certain cases, it is convenient to recognise a zero inflexion. Examples: Touareg *təkras* "she ties" = theme *-əkras-* (root *KRS*, schema 1 2 *a* 3) + inflexion *t-*; *takərrist* "knot" = theme *-akərris-* (root *K R S*, schema *a* 1 22 *i* 3) + inflexion *t--t*. The system on the whole closely resembles that of Arabic, though it is more difficult in Berber to isolate the roots and establish the precise value of the schemas.

Berber distinguishes two genders, masculine and feminine, and two numbers, singular and plural.

b. — The verb. The forms (simple and derived, Verbs appear either in a simple form or a derived form. The simple form is constructed in principle with or without an object and is at times translated by our active voice and at other times by our passive. Derivation is achieved mainly by means of prefixes. There are three primary derived forms, which sometimes combine among themselves. They have frequently been referred to as the causative, passive and reciprocal forms, according to their most apparent significance; these designations do not correspond closely enough to the facts and have nowadays been replaced by those of sibilant-form, dental-form and nasal-form according to the articulation of the prefix. Examples: Touareg *əγbər* "to strike with the foot"; *səybər* "to cause to strike"; *təybər* "to be struck"; *nəγbər* "to strike one another". In fact, not all verbs possess the complete series of simple and derived forms. A derivation by the suffix *-t* is well attested in Touareg and has left traces elsewhere.

The themes. For each of the forms, simple or derived, there are three themes or groups of themes: 1) an aorist theme: ex. Chleuh *-ls-* "to put on clothes", *-izwiγγ* "to become red"; 2) an intensive aorist theme: *-lssa-*, *-ttizwiy-*, which is sometimes accompanied by a negative intensive aorist theme; 3) a preterite theme: *-lsi/a-*, *-zəggʷay-*, to which is connected a negative preterite theme: *-lsi-*, *-zəggʷay-*. These themes may contrast with one another by alternation of vowels or of consonantal length, or by prefixing *-tt-* (in the intensive aorist only), or again by a combination of two or rarely three of these processes. In principle the two aorists form a group opposed to the preterite, as *-izwiy*/*-ttizwiy-* to *-zəggʷay-*. It frequently happens, however, that the themes of the aorist and the preterite coincide. When several verbs adopt precisely the same procedure to differentiate their themes, they are said to belong to the same type: this affords a means of formal classification which is justified by the existence of a relationship, often masked but

sure, between the verbal type thus defined and that of the derived forms, as well as between the verbal type and the schemas of the nouns of action and of the agent. The verbal type itself appears to be more or less bound to the structure of the root.

A careful examination of all the themes obliges us to distinguish a large number of types of verbs. In practice, account is taken above all of the antithesis of the aorist and preterite themes, which enables us to recognise the main groups, particularly the "zero vowel" type (A. Basset) in which the affirmative aorist and preterite are formally identical (Chleuh *-mgər-* : *-mgər-* "to harvest"), the type with a non-alternating "full vowel" (*-mun-* : *-mun-* "to accompany"), the pre-radical alternating vowel type (*-amẓ-* : *-umẓ-* "to take"), the intra-radical (*-rar-* : *-rur-* "to give back"), the post-radical (*-ls-* : *-lsi/a-* "put on clothes"), different types of complex alternations (*-izwiγ-* : *-zəggʷaγ-* "to become red").

The table of verbal themes lacks symmetry, as there is no intensive preterite given. The latter exists in Touareg, and A. Picard, basing himself on certain Kabyle and Moroccan data, has recently raised the important question of the Pan-Berber character of the intensive preterite (*Mémorial A. Basset*, 107-20).

The inflexions. — A first though incomplete series of suffixed personal inflexions is associated with the aorist and intensive aorist themes to produce the ordinary and intensive imperatives. The inflexion is zero in the 2nd person singular, which is the form of the non-intensive imperative used by grammarians to indicate a verb ("the verb *mgər*, the verb *mun*", etc.).

The impersonal inflexions *y--n* (on occasion zero--*nin* in the plural) are added in well defined syntactical conditions (cf. below) to any one of the themes to form what is called the "participle". Survivals of an older stage (in the negative preterite) or disturbances (in the aorist) are to be observed locally.

In addition to these preceding cases, a third series of inflexions, prefixed and/or suffixed, is found with all the themes, indicating person, number and, in the 3rd person sing. and the 2nd and 3rd persons pl., gender. However, a conjugation without prefixes is attested in Kabyle (with identical inflexion for all persons of the plural) and in Touareg for the so-called verbs "of quality", verbs of becoming rather than verbs of state. It is probably the vestige of an ancient opposition between the inflexions of the aorist and those of the preterite.

The working of the verbal system. — It is more difficult to determine the meaning of the forms and themes than to classify them formally. Brief indications have been given above for the simple and derived forms. It remains for us to describe briefly how the choice is made between the different themes of a given form. One fact is certain: the time concept is foreign to the verbal system, and Berber, like the Semitic languages, gives priority to aspect. But it has several mechanisms which are peculiar to it; we must not be deceived by terminology, borrowed from other linguistic fields. There is a fundamental antithesis, indicated already for the morphology, between the respective functions of the aorists and the preterite. Thus it is that certain particles (*a*(*d*), *i*(*d*), *ara*, etc.) may be followed by either of the two aorists but not by the preterite: Kabyle *ad̆-yaf* ("he will find" : *ad̆-yəttaf* "he will find [incessantly]" (but *ad̆* + preterite *yufa* is impossible). When these particles are not present, the elements of the system are grouped somewhat differently: most frequently the intensive aorist and the preterite alone remain in opposition: *zəddγən* "(these populations) dwell" (process envisaged as a series or sometimes as a development): *əzd̆γən* "(the members of such and such a family) dwell, have taken up their domicile" (process envisaged from beginning to end, as a whole). With the exception of certain optative formulas, the non-intensive aorist, therefore, only appears in certain syntactical conditions where it may assume the meaning of *any other verbal theme whatsoever*: in this sense one may, with A. Basset, consider it as the "unmarked" term of the aorist: preterite opposition; this use of the aorist is very frequent in the Moroccan dialects, but is less current elsewhere.

Whatever the theme, the verb assumes the form of the "participle" when it occurs in a relative clause in which the subject and the antecedent are identical: Kabyle *win yəzd̆γən* "he (who) dwells".

The satellites of the verb. — The particles of the aorist have been mentioned above. There are other particles (*ar*, *da*, *lla*, etc.) which may accompany the intensive aorist or the preterite; the list of them and the conditions in which they are used vary considerably according to the dialect, some dispensing with them altogether. The basic negative particle is *ur* (*ul*, *ud*, *u*); it always precedes the verbal form which, in different dialects (Kabylia, Aurès, etc.), may then be followed by a second element (*ara*, *š*(*a*), etc.); *ur* is encountered with all the verbal themes, but negative constructions are not everywhere identical.

The verb is frequently accompanied by a particle "of approach" *d* and sometimes by a particle "of withdrawal" *n*(*n*), which indicate the direction of the action. Finally the personal pronouns, direct or indirect objects of the verb (cf. below), are closely welded to it. In the case of simultaneous use, these pronouns and the particles of approach and withdrawal follow one another in a fixed order: indirect object (I), direct object (D), particle (L). After a number of words (particles of the aorist, the intensive aorist, negation, etc.) or in a relative clause, the elements IDL precede the verb; elsewhere they follow it; hence those chains which fluctuate on both sides of the verb: Chleuh *ad-as-tən-d-awiγ* "that I may bring them to him": *iwiγ-as-tən-d* "I have brought them to him".

c. — The noun. All nouns cannot be reduced to a single morphological type. Some have been borrowed from Arabic (or from other languages) and have not been berberised; they have retained the Arabic article and are characterised by the initial consonant group *lC-* or *CC* (< *lC-* by assimilation): *əlkas* "glass", *əssuq* "market"; this group is considerable in all dialects except Touareg.

The majority of Berber or berberised nouns in principle have an initial *a-*, *i-* or *u-* if they are masculine, *ta-*, *ti-* or *tu-* if they are feminine; this initial has been related to the demonstrative elements, which is not unlikely; locally in a number of schemas it loses its vowel. The prefixed *t-* characterises the feminine; many nouns also have a suffix *-t* in the feminine singular: Chleuh *aγyul* "ass": *taγyult* "she-ass"; *tigəmmi* "house". The vowel of the initial syllable participates in both oppositions of number and state (cf. below). The plural is indicated, furthermore, either by a vowel *a* preceding or following the last radical consonant, with or without further vowel alternances: *aγyul* : *iγyal*; *agadir* "fortified granary" *igudar*, or by a basic suffix *-n*: *argaz* "man": *irgazən*, or by a combination of both processes: *itri* "star": *itran*. The concept of state, in spite of the ambiguity of the terminology, is

characteristic of Berber: in certain syntactical conditions, when the noun is closely associated with the word preceding it, the initial vowel lapses, the noun passing from the "free" state to the state of "annexation": *taserdunt, tədda* "the mule, she has gone": *tədda tsərdunt* "the she-mule has gone". In numerous dialects (Morocco, Kabylia, Aures, etc.) the annexed state of the masculine noun also displays a prefixed *w-*, and hence the contrast : *argaz* : *wərgaz* > Chleuh *urgaz* "man". Finally, contrary to the description given, some nouns retain their initial vowel in the annexed state; this "constancy" of the initial vowel may be explained (diachronically) by the disappearance of an old radical or be related (synchronically) to the structure of the schema. The opposition of state appears to be unknown to the Eastern dialects.

A third somewhat heteroclite group is formed by nouns beginning with a short consonant other than the feminine prefix *t-* or the Arabic article; some of them are perhaps historically connected with the previous category or with other strata of vocabulary. The series of "nouns of relationship" must be mentioned, remarkable both for their form and construction.

Adjectives generally show the same morphological characteristics as nouns.

d. — The personal pronouns. — Several series of personal pronouns are distinguished according to form and use. The "isolated" pronouns enjoy more or less independent status in the text and may even constitute a complete utterance. The affixed pronouns of the verbs, of which they are the direct or indirect objects, have already been mentioned. Most prepositions take special personal pronouns, which also appear after the nouns of relationship: *yiwi-s* "the son of him, his son"; after a common noun, the pronoun is generally preceded by an element *n(n)-* which appears to be analogous to the preposition *n-* "of": Chleuh *tigəmmi nn-s* "his house" (but Kabyle *aḫḫam-is*, same meaning); Berber has no possessive adjectives or pronouns. For every person, certain appropriate morphological elements are common to several or all of these pronominal series.

e. — The demonstrative elements. — The demonstrative elements have a vowel base: *a/u* and *i*, which is found acting as a pronoun or acting as a determinative ("adjective"). As a pronoun, this base appears particularly as the second member of the construction called "emphatic anticipation": Kabyle *d-ḳəčč a-ĭ-yəyman* "it is thou who hast dyed it" (Basset-Picard), "it is thou the having dyed it". As a determinative, it follows a noun or a demonstrative pronoun: Chleuh *argaz-a* "this man", *ay-a* "this". This base frequently combines with other elements, especially with *w-* or *t-*, producing oppositions animate/inanimate and masculine/feminine: *wa/ta* : *a* "he/she : it", as well as with the particles of approach and withdrawal: Chleuh *argaz-ad* "this man here" / *argaz-ann* "that man there". The details of the system vary from dialect to dialect.

f. — The Berber sentence. — The Berber sentence in the highest degree reflects all the characteristics of a spoken language. It constantly resorts to expressive procedures and in particular to "anticipation" (A. Basset), which may detach and place any element of the sentence at the beginning, ready to be reiterated as required by a personal pronoun. Of very frequent occurrence is "emphatic anticipation", of which an example has been given above (e). Subordination is relatively little developed and parataxis dominates, though it is not always possible to determine exactly the limits between the two types of construction.

Relative clauses have no formal indication other than — on occasion — the inflexions of the participle or the place of the satellites of the verb (cf. b); there is no relative pronoun; however, a tendency can be observed in many dialects to determine the antecedent by means of a demonstrative element, the use of which in such cases becomes more or less a matter of grammatical usage.

Nominal and verbal clauses are known to Berber. The former are frequently hinged on a particle *d* which may perhaps have some connection with the particle of approach: Kabyle *nəkk ḏ-afəllaḥ* "I am a peasant" (Basset-Picard). In verbal clauses the verb is normally placed at the beginning and is followed by its subject, except in the case of anticipation.

3. — The vocabulary. Vocabulary is perhaps the aspect of Berber which has roused the most lively curiosity, but produced the least exact studies. We have no statistical evaluation of the vocabulary. The dictionary of Foucauld for Ahaggar Touareg and that of Father Dallet for Kabyle, which may be taken as being very nearly exhaustive, contain respectively 1,400 and 3,500 verbs in the simple form. The vocabulary possesses a stock common to all dialects but, as A. Basset has stressed, the living form of each word should be separately studied. Another striking point, moreover, is the numerical importance of loan words, except in Touareg. We have seen that words furnished by Arabic have opened a breach in phonology and even in morphology. Berber, however, has shown proof of extraordinary powers of assimilation.

Vocabulary is, above all, concrete. Its richness and precision are remarkable wherever a vital activity is concerned (camel breeding among the Touaregs, irrigation in the Great Atlas, etc.). The language of intellectual and religious life is less well equipped and borrows extensively from Arabic. Some examples, however, reveal literary resources which wait only to be exploited.

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(L. Galand)

VI. — Literature and Art.

As far back as one can go in the past, Barbary, "the land of conquest", has never possessed any other language of civilisation than that of its foreign conquerors; thus, Berber writers have successively utilised, perhaps not Punic but at least Latin (Apuleius, Saint Augustine), Greek (?), Arabic (Ibn Khaldūn and many Moroccan writers) and now, above all, French. Yet there nevertheless exists a "Berber literature", written and oral, which though not appearing in the inscriptions, does so in works of piety inspired by Arabic, in texts and stories set down at the request of European investigators, in the *ḳānūns* (all of which taken together do not amount to much), and finally in folklore and poetry.

The Libyan inscriptions [cf. section V], in spite of the ardour with which their study has been approached, have not as yet delivered up the secret of their decipherment and Berber, as known to us, does not afford a satisfactory means of reading them. However, the Libyan alphabet, which the bilingual inscriptions have enabled us to establish, is relatively close to the only ancient system still in current use among the Berbers, the *tifinagh* (sing. *tafineḳḳ* < *punica*?); this alphabet is used by the Touareg for engraving a few short inscriptions on rocks, bracelets or other objects, as well as for brief exchanges of love letters. This is an alphabetic script, writing only consonants in the body of words, but also vowels finally; no distinction is made between long and short sounds; individual words are not separated and one can write horizontally, vertically, from right to left or from left to right (or in *boustrophedon*), from top to bottom or from bottom to top. In practice, all texts are very short and the long ones appearing in A. Hanoteau, *Essai de grammaire de la langue tamachek'*, Paris 1860, were only written in *tifinagh* at the request of the investigator.

The following is a simplified table, according to Ch. de Foucauld, of the most usual forms of *tifinagh* (for further details and comparisons with the Libyan alphabet, see particularly A. Basset, *Écritures libyque et touarègue*, in *Notices sur les caractères étrangers*, by Ch. Fossey, Paris 1948).

Latin script — tifinagh direction of reading ⟵ — Corresponding Arabic script

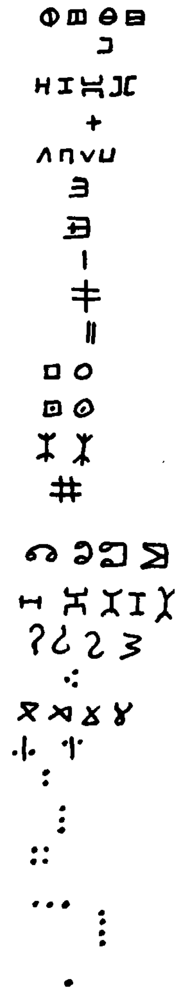

Latin script	Corresponding Arabic script
b	ب
m	م
f	ف
t	ت
d	د
ḍ	ض (ظ)
ṭ	ط
n	ن
ñ	—
l	ل
r	ر
s	س
z	ز
ẓ	ڞ
ṣ	ص
sh(š)	ش
ž	ج
y	ي
k	ك
g	ڮ
ğ	—
w	و
gh(γ)	غ
kh(ḫ)	خ
ḳ	ق
h	ه
a	ا

Religious literature inspired by Arabic may be said to be represented by a few dozen works, very few of which have been published. These texts, transcribed in Arabic script with additional diacritical points, are intended for teaching the precepts of Islam and for the edification of the faithful; thus we possess an adaptation of the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl, *al-Ḥawḍ*, edited and translated by Luciani (Algiers 1897), and

its complement, the *Baḥr al-Dumūʿ*, partially published by de Slane in his appendix to the *Histoire des Berbères*, iv, 552-62 (a complete ed.-trans. of this last text by B. H. Stricker is in the press). The "Ḳurʾāns" of Ḥā-Mīm and of Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf are, in a sense, related to these works, but they are, entirely lost, the same being true of the Berber text of three treatises composed in Tas̲h̲əlḥit by Ibn Tūmart. Of K̲h̲āridjī literature, which was probably abundant, there remains the treatise of Ibn G̲h̲ānim entitled *al-Mudawwana* (cf. Motylinski, *Le Manuscrit arabo-berbère de Zouagha*, in *Actes du XIVᵉ Congrès des Orient.*, Algiers 1909, ii, 64-78). A proportion of these religious works (particularly the *Ḥawḍ* and some others existing in manuscript form, cf. A. Roux, in *Actes du XXIᵉ Congrès des Orient.*, Paris 1949, 316-7) are in verse so as to be more easily memorised, but unfortunately they include a high proportion of Arabic words. To this type of literature belong religious poems, such as that of Ṣabī, which relates a young man's descent into Hell in search of his parents (R. Basset, *Le poème de Çabi*, Paris 1879, P. Galand-Pernet, in *Mémorial A. Basset*, Paris 1957, 39-49), those of Sīdī Ḥammū (H. Stumme, *Dichtkunst und Gedichte der Schlūḥ*, Leipzig 1895; Johnston, *Faḍma Tagurramt*, in *Actes du XIVᵉ Congrès des Orient.*, ii, 100-1; idem, *The Songs of Sidi Hammou*, London 1907; L. Justinard, *Poésies en dial. du Sous marocain d'après un ms. arabico-berbère*, in *JA*, 1928), the legend of Joseph in verse (Loubignac, *Dial. des Zaian*, Paris 1924-5, 359 sqq.), a story of the ascent of the Prophet and a version of the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*]. To these may be added the translations of the Old and New Testaments made by Catholic and Protestant missionaries.

Secular works are rare; apart from Arabo-Berber glossaries and books of popular medicine which have practical interest, such writings as we possess were composed under the guidance of European scholars, as for example the *The Narrative of Sidi Ibrahim* on West Africa in Tas̲h̲əlḥit (F. W. Newman, in *JRAS*, 1848, 215-60; trans. R. Basset, Paris 1882), or the description of the D̲jabal Nafūsa by al-S̲h̲ammākhī, in Nafūsī (ed. trans. Motylinski, Algiers 1885); to these may be added the collection of stories entitled *Kitāb al-S̲h̲ilḥa* (MS of the B.N. in Paris), which to a large extent appears to be borrowed from the *Bak̲h̲tiyār-nāma* [*q.v.*] and the *Hundred Nights* (R. Basset, in *Revue des traditions popul.*, 1891; extracts published by de Slane, de Rochemonteix, R. Basset); to this category belong the ethnographical narratives and texts composed at the request of investigators who subsequently included them in their dialect studies or made independent collections of them, such as the *Textes touareg en prose* by Ch. de Foucauld, Algiers 1922. In this connexion it will not be without interest to note that the *Fichier de documentation berbère*, directed at Fort-National (Kabylia) by the Rev. Father Dallet, has been publishing since 1947 texts and even small plays composed in Berber, in addition to linguistic and ethnological documents.

As for the customary *ḳānūns* in use among certain Berber populations, very few of them have been published in the original language (see above section iv); the following may be mentioned: Ben Sedira, *Cours de langue Kabyle*, 295-355; Boulifa, *Le Kanoun d'Ad'ni*, in *Recueil de mémoires ... XIVᵉ Congrès Orient.*, Algiers 1905, 152-78.

Folk-lore is abundant, not to say rich. Marvellous and humorous tales, fables, stories of animals, historical and religious legends are transmitted from generation to generation by the women, who are wont to tell them of an evening. It is this folk-lore that investigators have been able most easily to collect and few are their accounts which do not contain some stories or riddles, without counting collections of folk-lore texts presented also as linguistic documents.

Finally, secular poetry, in spite of its appearance of primitive simplicity, is probably the most original literary production. The songs improvised collectively during the ritual dances (*aḥidus*), lullabies, funeral laments, and ritual chants contain a large share of tradition, but real professional poets also exist among the Berbers, whose inspiration, generally speaking, is restricted to themes of love and war. In Morocco, the *imdyazən* (see A. Roux, *Un chant d'*amdyaz, *l'aède berbère du groupe linguistique beraber*, in *Mém. H. Basset*, Paris 1928, ii, 237-42) travel about the country and, like the troubadours, celebrate important events, sing the praises of likely patrons and discharge their arrows at those who disappoint them. Some poets, such as the Kabyle Moḥand u Moḥand and the Touareg poetess Dassin, have achieved a certain fame, local it is true and ephemeral, since their works, remaining oral, are soon forgotten in countries where the *ruwāt* do not exist.

Berber art also is of no great account; the rock engravings and paintings are indeed far from lacking in quality, but one may well ask whether the artists who executed them are really the ancestors of the present day Berbers. In spite of the great architectural achievements to which we have referred (above, section iv), there is no real Berber art comparable to Arab and Hispano-Moorish art. The fact is that the Berber is a countryman, indeed a nomad, only seeking to possess articles of current use, which are easily transportable; his art, therefore, is limited to ornamenting articles of everyday life and does not transcend a craftsmanship seeking to provide the comforts of life rather than to delight the eye. Its products, sought at times by a clientèle enamoured with exoticism and simplicity, and supported in North Africa by the efforts of the authorities to maintain and improve traditions and techniques, are restricted to carpets, hangings, mats, silks, embroideries, chinaware, earthenware, cabinet-work, work in gold, brass wares and damascene work; ornamentation is characterised by the almost exclusive use of the straight line (triangles, stripes, lozenges, checker-work). To this may be added very realistic statuettes in wood, which are at variance with the Islamic ban on the representation of the human form.

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1890; Mouliéras, *Légendes et contes merveilleux de la Grande Kabylie*, Paris 1893-98; idem, *Les Fourberies de Si Djeh'a*, Oran 1891; Leblanc de Prébois, *Essai de contes kabyles*, Batna 1897; H. Stumme, *Elf Stücke im Schilḥa-Dialekt von Tazerwalt*, in *ZDGM*, 1894; idem, *Märchen der Schluḥ von Tazerwalt*, Leipzig 1895; idem, *Märchen der Berbern von Tamazratt*, Leipzig 1900; E. Destaing, *Textes berbères en parler des Chleuḥs du Sous*, Paris 1940; E. Laoust, *Contes berbères du Maroc*, Paris 1949; J. M. Dallet, *Trois contes berbères*, in *IBLA*, 1944;—trans. only: Rivière, *Recueil de contes populaires de la Kabylie du Jurjura*, Paris 1882; R. Basset, *Contes populaires berbères*, Paris 1887; idem, *Nouveaux contes berbères*, Paris 1897; E. Dermenghem, *Contes kabyles*, Algiers 1945.—Songs and poetry: Motylinski, *Chanson berbère de Djerba*, in *Bull. Corr. Afr.*, 1885; A. Hanoteau, *Poésies populaires de la Kabylie du Jurjura*, Paris 1867; R. Basset, *L'Insurrection algérienne de 1871 dans les chansons kabyles*, Louvain 1892; Luciani, *Chansons kabyles de Smaïl Azikkiou*, Algiers 1899; Ch. de Foucauld, *Poésies touarègues*, Paris 1925-30; E. Laoust, *Chants berbères contre l'occupation française*, in *Mémorial R. Basset*, Paris 1928; F. Nicolas, *Poèmes touareg*, in *ETI*, 1941-2; J. Servier, *Chants des femmes de l'Aurès*, Sorbonne thesis, 1955 (unpublished); trans. only: L. Justinard, *Poèmes chleuhs*, in *RMM* 1925/2; L. Paul-Margueritte, *Chants berbères du Maroc*, 1935.—Art: in addition to the general works on Muslim art in North Africa, see: G. de Gironcourt, *L'Art chez les Touareg*, in *Rev. d'Eth. et de Sociol.*, Jan.-Feb. 1914; P. Ricard, *Tissages berbères des Ait Aissi*, in *Hesp.*, 1925; V. Piquet, *Le peuple marocain*, chap. xviii; G. Chantréaux, *Les Tissages sur métier de haute lisse à Ait-Hichem et dans le Haut Sebaou*, in *RAfr.*, 1941-2; eadem, *Les Tissages décorés chez les Beni-Mgild*, in *Hesp.*, 1945; H. Balfet, *La Poterie des Ait Smail du Djurdjura*, in *RAfr.*, 1955, 289-340; G. Marçais, *L'Art des Berbères*, Algiers 1956.

(R. BASSET-[CH. PELLAT])

BERGAMA, the ancient Pergamon in Mysia (on which cf. the data and references given in Pauly-Wissowa). Armenians who had fled before the Muslim raids into Asia Minor settled in Byzantine Pergamon during the course of the 7th century. The Byzantine emperor Philippikos (711-713) was of Armenian descent and came from Pergamon. Muslim forces under Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik sacked the town in 716, but it was rebuilt and refortified after the Arabs had abandoned their attempt to take Constantinople in 717-718. Pergamon was included, from the reign of Leo III (717-741), in the theme of Thrakesion and, from the reign of Leo VI (886-912), in the theme of Samos. The town suffered during the Turkish raids into western Asia Minor after the battle of Manzikert (1071). It continued, however, to be a prosperous and well fortified centre under the Byzantine emperors of the house of Komnenos and their immediate successors. Pergamon, having been hitherto a suffragan bishopric dependent on Ephesos, was raised to the status of a metropolitan see in the reign of Isaac Angelos (1185-1195). After the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the town was included in the Greek state of Nicaea. Later, when the Turks overran western Asia Minor in the years around 1300, Bergama came under the control of the Begs of Karasī. The Ottomans, during the reign of their Beg Orkhān, annexed the emirate of Karasī. Bergama became thereafter a *ḳaḍā'* of the *sandjaḳ* of Khudāwendigār in the *eyālet* of Anadolu and later a *ḳaḍā'* of the *sandjaḳ* of Izmir in the *wilāyet* of Aydīn. The region of Bergama is fertile and noted for its production of cereals, fruit, vegetables, tobacco and cotton. Greek forces occupied Bergama in the years 1919-1923. As a result of the subsequent exchange of population arranged between the governments at Athens and Ankara, Bergama lost its Greek inhabitants and received in their place Turkish elements brought over from Greece. The population of Bergama was estimated, in 1950, to be approximately 16,500 people.

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(V. J. PARRY)

BERKE, a Mongol prince and ruler of the Golden Horde, grandson of Čingiz-Khan and third son of Djoči. Little is known of his early career. He took no part in the wars in Russia and Eastern Europe in the years 634-639/1237-1242 but was more frequently in Mongolia than Batu, whom he represented at the enthronement of Güyük (644/1246) and that of Möngke (649/1251). His *yurt* of appanage was originally situated, according to Rubruck, in the direction of Darband but by 653/1255 had on Batu's orders been removed to the east of the Volga in order to cut off Berke from contact with his fellow Muslims. His conversion to Islām is mentioned by Rubruck, who says that he did not allow pork to be eaten in his *ordu*. The date of his conversion is unknown. Djūzdjānī's statement that he was brought up from infancy as a Muslim seems hardly credible. On the other hand he seems to have already become a Muslim at the time of Möngke's accession to the Khanate, when, as Djuwaynī tells us, the animals provided for the festivities were slaughtered, for his benefit, in accordance with the Muslim ritual.

Batu died according to Djuwaynī while his son Sartaḳ was on his way to the Court of the Great Khan. Sartaḳ continued his journey and was appointed his father's successor by Möngke but himself died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by the young prince Ulaghči, his son or brother, Boraḳčin, Batu's widow being appointed regent. According to the Russian annals the camp of "Ulavčii" was visited by Russian princes as late as 1257. It was not until the death of the young Khān, probably in the same year, that the succession passed to Berke.

Like Batu, Berke, during the early years of his reign, seems to have exercised certain sovereign

rights in Mā warā' al-Nahr. According to Djūzdjānī he visited Bukhārā and showed great honour to the learned men of the town; he is also said to have ordered the Christians of Samarkand to be punished and their churches destroyed because of their behaviour towards their Muslim fellow townsmen. When the news of Möngke's death arrived (1259), the *khuṭba* was read in Berke's name not only in Mā warā' al-Nahr but also in Khurāsān.

During the next four years (1260-1264) two brothers of the dead Great Khan, Ḳubilay and Arïgh Böke, were engaged in a struggle for the throne. As the coins struck in Bulghar show, the unsuccessful claimant Arïgh Böke was recognised by Berke as the rightful heir. Prince Alughu, a grandson of Čaghatay, appeared in Central Asia about the same time, first as a representative of Arïgh Böke and afterwards in open revolt against him; he succeeded in bringing under his sway not only the whole of his grandfather's appanage but also Khwārizm, which had always belonged to the kingdom of Djoči and his successors; the governors and officials appointed by Berke were driven out of the towns. The massacre mentioned by Waṣṣāf (Bombay ed., 51) of a division of Berke's army, 5,000 strong, in Bukhārā must have been carried out, not, as Waṣṣāf himself says, by Ḳubilay, nor, as d'Ohsson supposes, by Hülegü, but by Alughu. The war between Berke and Alughu was continued until the latter's death; in the last years of his life, after the final defeat of Arigh Böke, Alughu's troops occupied and destroyed the town of Otrar. Berke, whose forces were engaged in the South and West, could do nothing against his enemies in the East, but he did not abandon his claims; Prince Ḳaydu, a grandson of Ögedey, who had fought under Arïgh Böke, continued the war against Alughu after Arïgh Böke's defeat and was supported by Berke.

The campaigns in the West against the Lithuanians and King Daniel of Galicia were of no great importance and were conducted by the frontier commanders without the personal intervention of Berke. King Daniel fled to Poland and Hungary and his son and brother were forced to dismantle the fortifications of all their main cities.

The war between Berke and his cousin Hülegü, the conqueror of Persia, was more important and less successful. The causes of the war are variously given. Berke is pictured by some authorities as the defender of Islām and is said to have bitterly reproached Hülegü for his devastation of so many Muslim countries and particularly for the execution of the Caliph Mustaʿṣim. Hewever those authorities who say that Djoči's heirs felt their rights endangered by the foundation of a new Mongol kingdom in Persia are probably nearer the truth. Some of the territories incorporated in the new kingdom, such as Arrān and Ādharbāydjān, had already been trodden by "the hoof of Tartar horse" in the reign of Čingiz-Khan and were therefore, according to the Conqueror's directions, part of the appanage of Djoči. The evidence on the war itself is contradictory. Hülegü seems at first to have been victorious, advancing across the Terek (late in 1262), and then to have been defeated by Berke's forces (Berke not being present in person), losing a great part of his army in the retreat; many were drowned in the Terek when the ice gave way under their horses' hoofs.

Even before the outbreak of these hostilities the Egyptian Sulṭān Baybars [*q.v.*] had decided to enter into communication with Berke and form an alliance against their common enemy Hülegü. A message to this effect had been sent from Cairo to Berke as early as 1261; on the 16th November 1262 an embassy was dispatched for the same purpose, and in the following year Berke's ambassadors were received by Baybars. The detention of Mongol and Egyptian envoys in Constantinople led to hostilities between the Golden Horde and Byzantium. Berke dispatched an army under Prince Noḳay into Thrace, where they joined forces with the Bulgarians; and the Saldjūḳ Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs, who had been driven out of Asia Minor and placed in custody in the fortress of Ainos on the Aegean was set free and brought to the Crimea.

In 1265, the year of Hülegü's death, the Ḳïpčaḳ and Persian Mongols were again at war. The two armies, under Berke and Abaḳa, for a long time faced each other across the Kur; in search of a crossing Berke proceeded upstream to Tiflis, where he died (1266); and his forces then withdrew.

Berke left no family, so that the throne passed to Batu's grandson Möngke-Temür. During the last years of his reign he was no longer, as Batu had been, second to the Great Khān in the Mongol Empire, but the ruler of an independent state, although this evolution was not completed till the reign of his successor, who was the first of the Ḳïpčaḳ Khāns to strike coin in his own name. It is difficult to estimate how much Berke did as a Muslim to further the practice of Islam among his subjects. The Egyptian accounts speak of schools in which the youth was instructed in the Ḳur'ān; not only the Khān himself but each of his wives and Emirs also had an *imām* and a *mu'adhdhin* attached to their establishments; yet we learn from the same sources that all sorts of heathen customs were observed at the court of the Khān with the same strictness as in Mongolia. Not only Berke himself but several of his brothers are said to have adopted Islam; and yet half a century was to elapse after his death before Islam became definitely predominant in his kingdom.

Berke was the founder of New Saray (so called to distinguish it from the Saray founded by Batu), which was situated on the eastern bank of the Upper Akhtuba near the present-day Leninsk, about 30 miles east of Stalingrad.

Bibliography: As in the article on Batu.

(W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

BESERMYANS (or Glazov Tatars), a small ethnic unit akin to the Udmurts (Votyaks) living in North Russia. Differing views are held on the subject of their origin, some considering them as Finns who have come under Turkish influence, others as descendants of the old Kama Bulghars, profoundly influenced by the Udmurt language and culture.

The Soviet census of 1926 listed 10,035 Besermyans, 9,195 of whom were from the districts of Balezino and Yukamenskoe in the autonomous Udmurt SSR and 834 from the neighbourhood of the village of Slobodskoe at the confluence of the rivers Vyatka and Čeptza in the Kirov region. The Besermyans are bilingual, speaking Russian (in the Udmurt ASSR) and Ḳazan Tatar (in the Kirov region) as well as Udmurt much influenced by Tatar. The were converted officially to Christianity in the 17th century, and until the October revolution were considered fully Orthodox, but in fact they remained Muslims at heart, retaining many customs which are traditionally Islamic. Notably, they would call in the Tatar molla after the Orthodox priest when a death occurred.

After the proclamation of freedom of worship in 1905 the greater part of the Besermyans returned openly to Islam.

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(A. BENNIGSEN)

BESHIKE (BEŞIKE KÖRFEZI, BESIKA) is a bay on the western coast of Asia Minor opposite the island of Tenedos (Bozdja Ada). It lies about 23 kilometres to the south of Kum Kalʿe, between the two capes of Kum Burnu and Beshik Burnu and, although open to the sea, affords good protection to shipping. Inland from the coast is situated the classical Troas and evidence of ancient remains has been found in the immediate neighbourhood of Beshike itself. The British and French fleets sailed to Beshike in June 1853 during the course of the crisis which led to the outbreak of the Crimean War. Great Britain also sent her fleet to Beshike in 1876 and 1878.

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BESHIKṬĀSH [see ISTANBUL].

BESHLIK [see SIKKA].

BESHPARMAK ("five fingers"), a Turkish name given sometimes to mountain ranges in Asia Minor and elsewhere. The best known example is the Beshparmak-dagh in south-west Asia Minor, on the lower reaches of the Büyük-Menderes—a mountain chain rising at its loftiest elevation to a height of 1367 metres. This particular range was known in ancient times as ὁ Λάτμος. The region became, during the Middle Ages, an active centre of Christian religious life, which flourished until the Turks overran western Asia Minor in the 13th-14th centuries.

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(V. J. PARRY)

BESIKA BAY [see BESHIKE].

BESKESEK-ABAZA (or BESHKESEK ABAZA), the Russian name for a Muslim people belong to the Abasgo-Circassian (Adighe) section of the Ibero-Caucasian family. Ethnically they are close to the Kabardians. From the time of the High Middle Ages the Abaza people have been divided into two groups speaking different dialects: the northern or Tapanta group of six tribes, and the southern or Shkarawa group, also of six. In the 1926 census 13,825 Abaza were counted, but Lavrov thinks that the real figure must be considerably larger, perhaps about 20,000 at the present time. The majority of the Abaza (10,993 out of 13,825 in 1926) live in the Circassian Autonomous region, the high valleys of the Great and Little Zelenčuk, the Kuban and the Kama. Here there are thirteen villages, and there are two other Abaza villages near Kislovodsk in the Stavropolʾ *Krai*, as well as a few groups of Abaza in the Circassian and Nogai villages in the Adighe Autonomous Region.

The Abaza are descended from the multilingual tribes which at the beginning of our era dwelt on the shores of the Black Sea, north-west of present-day Abkhāzia, and which fused together in the course of the centuries to form the Abkhāz national unit.

In the 14th and 15th centuries most of the Abaza left their original home in the coastal region (between Tuapse and Bzib), crossed the Caucasus, and dislodging the Kabardians settled in the area they now inhabit. From that time onward they had to contend with the hostility of the Circassians, and their history is one of slow but continuous decline. At the end of the 16th century the Abaza tribes which had formerly dominated the region accepted perforce the rule of the Kabardian and Beslenei princes. At this time too (in the reign of Sulṭān Murād III) the Turks extended their protectorate over eastern Caucasia but by the treaty of Belgrade relinquished Kabardia, which was recognised as an independent territory. The Turkish frontier then ran along the Kuban, and the Tapanta who were leading a nomadic existence on both banks of this river became independent, no longer owing any clearly defined allegiance. After the treaty of Küčük-Kaynardja (1774) the Russians occupied Kabardia, and in 1802 the greater part of the territory of the Abaza was combined with that of the Nogai in a special *pristavstvo* administered directly by the Russian authorities. During the Caucasian wars the Abaza were divided in their allegiance, the Tapanta allying themselves with the Russians while the Shkarawa supported the Müridist cause. After the Russian conquest, which took place between 1858 and 1864, the majority of the Shkarawa (the Tam, Kizilbek, Bag, Čegrei and Misilbai tribes) emigrated to Turkey; 30,000 are officially stated to have left, but this estimate seems too low. After the Caucasian wars only 9,921 Abaza remained in the region (E. Felitsin, *Čislovie dannie o gorskom i pročem musulmanskom naselenii Kubanskoi oblasti*, in *Sbornik Svedenii o Kavkaze*, Tiflis 1885, ix, 87-94).

The conversion to Islam of the Abaza (who had formerly been animists or Christians) began after their migration towards the northern Caucasus, when they came into contact with the Crimean Tatars and the Nogai. They took over the *ʿādāt* and chronological system of these peoples (a twelve-year animal cycle), together with Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī school. This conversion was slow, almost all the tribes south of the Kubanʾ being still animist or Christian at the end of the 17th century (Ḥuseyn Hezārfenn, cited by V. D. Smirnov, *Krimskoie Khānstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoi Porti do načala XVIII veka*, St. Petersburg 1887, 347). Ewliyā Čelebi affirms that the Biberdraa, one of the most important Maza tribes, are not Muslims. Almost all the Tapanta had accepted Islam by the end of the 18th century, but the Shkawara were still Christians when they were visited by P. S. Pallas, Islam being restricted to the nobility (*Bemerkungen auf einer Reise an die Südlichen Statthalterschaften des Russischen Reichs in den Jahren* 1793 *und* 1794, Leipzig 1799, 365). At the

same period J. Reineggs (*Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, Gotha-St. Petersburg 1796, 273) states that the Tam, Čegrei, and Barakai tribes of the Shkawara group were "enemies of Islam". In 1807, J. Klaproth (*Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien*, i, Halle-Berlin 1812, 459) found that the Tam were islamised but "ate pork", and this is confirmed by the anonymous author of the article *Gorskie plemena živushčie za Kuban'yu* in *Kavkaz* no. 94, 1850, who describes the Tam as "very lukewarm Muslims", the Čegrei as "setting small store by Islamic ritual, apart from certain of the nobility", the Bag (a tribe of the same group) as "without precise beliefs" and the Barakai as partially converted to Islam. Thus it seems that the final conversion of the Shkawara dates only from the middle of the 19th century, effected by the missionary zeal of Muḥammad Amīn, the *Nā'ib* of Shāmil [*q.v.*] in Circassian territory.

Until the beginning of the 20th century Abaza society retained its very complex feudal structure, which was similar to that of the Circassians. At the bottom of the social scale were the slaves, *unavl* (*anawt* among the Circassians). Then came the serfs, *llg* (*grlg^cva* among the Shkarawa), and the freed serfs, *azat-llg*, who remained under the obligation to perform certain tasks but could none the less change their master and themselves own *unavl* and *llg*. Above these was the most numerous class, that of the free peasants, *akavl* (or *tl'fakashaw*). Next were the nobles, divided into "small nobles", *amlsta*, who made up the princes retinues, and the "great nobles", *amlstadl* (*tawad* among the Shkarawa) who could have retainers of their own. At the top of the scale were the "princes" who were heads of clans, *akha*, and vassals of the Beskenei and Kabardian princes. They took their place not among the Circassian princely class (*pshə*) but in the lower class of *tlekotesh*. The children of the *akha* and women of a lower class made up a special class, *tuma*.

Until the October revolution and even during the first years of the Soviet regime the Abaza still retained certain patriarchal and feudal customs (clan divisions, vendettas, *kalym*, *atalik*, etc.).

Language and literature

The Abaza language belongs to the Abkhāzo-Adlghe division of the Ibero-Caucasian languages. It is so close to Abkhāz that it is sometimes taken as simply a dialect of this tongue, but it shows numerous Kabardian features. There are two dialects: *Ashkara* in the south, with two sub-dialects, that of the Apsua Aul and that of Staro and Novo-Kuvinskoe, and in the north *Tapanta*, comprising likewise the two sub-dialects of Kubina-El'burgan and Psiž-Krasno-Vostočnoe. Abaza was an unwritten language until the October revolution. In 1932 a modified Roman alphabet was devised for it and a page in the language added to *Čerkes K'apshč*, the Čerkes Adlghe daily. In 1939 the Roman alphabet was replaced by Cyrillic, and in this new script the first works by Abaza writers have appeared, from 1940 onwards (collections of poems by Tsekov and Tkhaitsakhov, the short stories and novelettes of Žirov and Tabulov, etc.).

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On the Abaza language see K. Lomatidzél *Tapantskii Dialekt Abkhazskogo yazlka*, Tbiliss. 1944; and particularly G. P. Serdüčenko, "*Aba, zinskie dialektl*", Moscow 1939; *Abazinskaia Literatura* (vol. i of the Scientific Memoirs of the Pedagogical Institute of Rostov-on-Don 1939); and *Abazinskaia Fonetika* (vol. v of the same collection), Rostov-on-Don, 1949.

(A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse)

BESLENEY [see čerkes].

BESNI (Behesnī in the Middle Ages), from the Syriac Bet Hesnā, a crossroads settlement at a height of more than 2,900 feet on the important junction of the Malaṭya-Aleppo and (Cilicia)-Mar^cash-Diyār Bakr roads. Besni was the hinge between the series of strongholds north of the great bow of the Euphrates on the one hand, which protected the upper valleys of the right bank tributaries of this river from incursion from the plateaux and high ranges of the eastern Taurus, and on the other those towards the south, which dominated the small basins north of ^cAynṭāb. Further it was in the immediate vicinity of a pass which led down towards the north-west to the gorge of the Aḳ-Ṣu, the site of the old strong-hold of Ḥadath the Red. Despite these advantages and the ancient etymology of its name, Besni is not mentioned in texts until after the destruction of Ḥadath, whose place it then took (4th/10th century). Formerly it had been overshadowed by Ḳaysūn, its southern neighbour, which was then more important and was itself linked predominantly with Mar^cash. Besni probably owed its rise to an influx of Armenians after the Byzantine conquest. At the end of the 5th/11th century it was part of the principalities of Philaret and Kogh-Vasil, and during the period of the Crusades was one of the most frequently mentioned places in the Franco-Armenian province of Edessa. It was fought for by the Zengid or Ayyūbid princes of Aleppo and the Saldjūḳids of Rūm, who in the 7th/13th century incorporated it into their border province of Mar^cash. The Mongols ceded it to the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, but it was almost at once annexed by the Mamlūk state, with whose fortunes it was linked until the end of the 8th/14th century. It then came within the sphere of operations of the Dhu 'l-ghadīr Turcomans, was pillaged by Tīmūr, passed again at the end of the 15th century into Mamlūk control, and in 922/1516 was occupied by the Ottomans together with Syria. From that time on it has had no more than local importance. The town, in which a fortress largely rebuilt by Ḳā'itbāy is still standing, had a population of 10,500 in 1955.

Bibliography: Besni is mentioned by all the chroniclers of the period of the Crusades, in particular by Matthew of Edessa, Michael the Syrian, and Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-^cAdīm. The last-mentioned gives a note on it in the geographical section of his *Bughya* (Aya Sofya 3036, i, 333), and likewise ^cIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād in his *A^clāḳ* (= Ibn al-Shiḥna, ed. Cheiko, 171). Of the Mamlūk chroniclers see especially Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Ḥadjar, Maḳrīzī, al-^cAynī, Ibn Taghrībardī, Ibn Iyās. On the modern period, particularly Ainsworth, *Travels*,

i, 265 and Cuinet, ii, 376; Mukrimin Halil, *Maraş Emirleri* in *TTEM*, years xiv-xv; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 120-121; additional references in Besim Darkot, *Besni*, in *IA*, s.v. (Cl. Cahen)

BESSARABIA [see BUČAK].

BETELGEUZE [see NUDJŪM].

BETHLEHEM [see BAYT LAḤM].

BEY [see BEG].

BEYATLÎ, YAḤYĀ KEMĀL [see YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI].

BEYLIK, (Beglik), a term formed by joining the adjectival and relative suffix *lik* to *bey* (*beg*, *beg*) which was an old Turkish title [see BEG]. The word *bey* is said to correspond to the Arabic *amīr*, and *beylik* to *imāra*. The term *beylik* thus denotes both the title and post (or function) of a *Bey*, and the territory (domain) under the rule of a *Bey*. Later, by extension, it came to mean also "state, government", and, at the same time, a political and administrative entity sometimes possessing a certain autonomy. When the Ottoman Empire was established, ʿOthmān Bey, the founder of the dynasty, was referred to as *Bey* by the sovereign of the Saldjūḳid Empire; in the same way, the territories which he had taken from the Byzantine Empire were granted to him as a *beylik*, *imāra*. At the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the other Turkish principalities in Asia Minor (of the *Ṭawāʾif Mulūku*) were also generally referred to as *Beylik*. Later, as the Ottoman Empire increased in size, the country was divided into *Sandjaḳ-beyliks*—the most important and fundamental military and administrative unit, and these in turn were grouped, regionally, under the authority of the *beylerbeys*. From the 9th/15th century, those Balkan countries which acknowledged the political and military suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire but enjoyed complete internal autonomy, were referred to as *Beyliks*: *e.g.*, *Beylik* of the Danube, *Beylik* of Eflak, *Beylik* of Bogdan, *Beylik* of Erdel. Later still, countries which had obtained some privileges from the Ottoman Empire and had succeeded in achieving a measure of autonomy, were also considered as *Beyliks*: *e.g.*, *Beylik* of Sisam (Samos), *Beylik* of Bulghāristān (Bulgaria). This term in turn extended its meaning still further, and began to be used as an adjective to denote places and things belonging to the Government; *e.g.*, *Beylik arāḍī* (*mīrī arāḍī*), "the lands (domain) of the *Beylik*", *Beylik ḳishla*, "the winter quarters of the *Beylik*", *Beylik česhme* "the fountain of the *Beylik*" *Beylik ākhīr*, "the stable of the *Beylik*", *Beylik gemi* "the ship of the *Beylik*", etc. There are also some Turkish proverbs in which this word occurs, *e.g.*, "A *Beylik* of one day is a *Beylik*" (*Bir günün beylighi beylikdir*). The name of an official in the central organisation of the Empire was derived from this term: *Beylikdji* (*Beglikdji*), who was the president of one department of the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn* [*q.v.*].

(M. Tayyib Gökbilgin)

ii. — In North Africa, the term is used in the former Ottoman possessions in the Maghrib, but not in Morocco or in the Sahara, where Turkish administrative influence was never felt. Like the word *makhzen* in Morocco it refers to government and administrative authority at every stage. It may date from the beginning of the Ottoman occupation and the rule of the *beylerbeys*, or possibly from a later period. In this latter case it no doubt commemorates the influence of the local Algerian beys, of Constantine, the Titeri and the west, at least as much as that of the chief Bey in Algiers; he, moreover, was replaced by a Dey from 1671 onwards. Our information is too scanty for us to draw any conclusions.

In Tripolitania, Tunisia and Algeria the regime denoted by the word *beylik* is substantially the same, except that in Tunisia offices of government tended very soon to become hereditary. This was not the case elsewhere.

The forms of government were everywhere Ottoman, and remained unmodified or almost so, while in the majority of cases the words used to denote them were also part of the Ottoman vocabulary. But these institutions did not strike deep roots in the countries of North Africa, and had no acceptance below the provincial level. The central government was in effect entirely Turkish, and the same held for the provincial government in so far as each province was under the authority of a Turkish governor or integrated within the Turkish regime, and all important towns, *i.e.*, garrison towns, were administered by an official appointed by the central or provincial government. The authority of the *beylik* went no further; small ungarrisoned towns, villages and tribes were administered by their own officials, who were recognised by the central or provincial government and served as intermediary agents and points of contact between the *beylik* and the people.

The *beylik* as the central authority inspired a variety of feelings in the people: fear and suspicion, productive of a general ill-will, but also unbounded confidence in times of disaster and personal trouble. The *beylik* at such times, if it so desired, could deputise for Providence.

Bibliography: There is no work dealing specifically with this subject, but information on various aspects of the institutions of the *beylik* can be found in several works. The following are cited by way of example:

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(R. Le Tourneau)

BEYOGHLU [see ISTANBUL].

BEYSHEHIR (Beyshehri), now the centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the province of Konya, lies on the south-eastern shore of a lake (*göl*) bearing the same name. This lake was known to the Ancients as Karalis (a village called Kirili is still found close to the north-eastern shore). The town of Karalleia in Pamphylia was situated near the lake in ancient times. Beyshehir itself is believed to have been founded in the time of the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn I (616-634/1219-1237). When the Turks overran western Asia Minor in the years around 1300, Beyshehir came into the possession of the Begs of Ḥamīd, who had at various times to defend it against the neighbouring Begs of Ḳarāmān. The Ottoman sultan Murād I purchased Beyshehir and certain other towns from Kemāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, the Beg of Ḥamīd, in 783/1381. After the battle of Ankara (804/1402) Beyshehir fell under the control of Ḳarāmān. The Ottomans regained the town in the reign of Sulṭān Meḥemmed I (816-824/1413-1421), but their possession of Beyshehir did not become definitive until 847/1443. The present Beyshehir is a small town which had, in 1935, 2620 inhabitants.

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BEŽETA [see dido].

BEZISTĀN [see ḳaysariyya].

BEZOAR [see bāzahr].

BEZM-I ʿĀLEM [see wālide sulṭān].

BHAKKAR, a fortress situated on a limestone rock in the middle of the river Indus (27° 43′ N and 68° 56′ E), which is identified with the Sogdi of Alexander. The island is connected with Rōhrī and Sukkur by a cantilever bridge. With the decline of Arōr, the ancient Hindū capital of Sind, about the middle of 2nd/8th century, when the river Indus changed its course, Bhakkar soon attained the highest strategic importance. The island must have been fortified and garrisoned at a very early date as a certain Abū Turāb, an Arab, who died in 171/787 is reported to have reduced it. At the time of the conquest of Sind by Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim al-Thaḳafī in 92/710-711 the place was known as Bahrūr. (Abu 'l-Faḍl erroneously identifies it with the ancient Arab citadel of al-Manṣūra). The name Bhakkar appears for the first time when ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *wazīr* of Maḥmūd of Ghazna conquered it in 417/1026. Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳubādja the governor of Učh was besieged in this fort in 614/1227 by the armies of Shams al-Dīn Iletmish and while trying to escape in a boat was drowned in the Indus. In 697/1297 it was invaded by the Mongols who were repulsed by the troops of the governor, Nuṣrat Khān, appointed by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khaldjī [694/1294-716/1316]. The fort figures frequently during the Sind campaigns of Muḥ. b. Tughluḳ and his nephew Fīrūz Tughluḳ as well as in the later history of Sind. It changed hands several times, being considered the key to the conquest of lower Sind.

During his flight through the desert of Sind, Humāyūn [*q.v.*] encamped here. Shāh Bēg Arghūn, a ruler of Thatta, appointed Mīr Maḥmūd Kokaltāsh its governor; he held it for fifty years, having been confirmed in 982/1574 in his appointment by Akbar. The fort was strengthened by the local *sayyids*, against the impending attack of Dharīdja tribesmen in 975/1567. Soon afterwards it was visited by Shāh Bēg himself; he drove out the *sayyids* and parcelled out the ground into building-sites for his chiefs, who plundered bricks from the ruined town of Arōr and some Turkish and Samma buildings in the vicinity of Bhakkar, for constructing their own houses. The fort was the scene of a fierce battle in 962/1554 between Maḥmūd Kokaltāsh and Mīrzā ʿĪsā Khān Tarkhān, ruler of Thatta. It was captured by Nūr Muḥammad Kalhōrā in 1149/1736, from whose descendants it was seized by the Afghāns who were dispossessed in their turn by Mīr Rustam Khān of Khayrpūr. It came into British possession in 1839 with the conquest of Sind by Charles Napier.

Near the fort flourished the town of Bhakkar, now known as Purānā (old) Sukkur. In Akbar's time it had luxuriant orchards; in the 11th/17th century it was famous for its sword-blades. The town was peopled mainly by *sayyids* and was a great seat of learning, especially in the 10th/16th century. Amongst its prominent *ʿulamāʾ* and scholars were: Mīr Maʿṣūm Nāmī [*q.v.*] author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Maʿṣūmī*, a history of Sind (Poona 1938); Shaykh Farīd, who compiled the *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, an excellent biographical dictionary still in MS., and Ḳāḍī Ẓahīr al-Dīn, grammarian, legist and philologist.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BHARATPŪR, formerly a princely State in India, now forming a part of Rādjastʿhān, lying between 26° 43′ and 27° 50′ N. and 76° 53′ and 77° 46′ E. with an area of 1,982 sq. miles. The chief city is Bharatpūr, situated in 27° 13′ N. and 77° 30′ E., 34 miles from Agra, with a population of 37,321 in 1951. Paharsar, 14 miles from Bharatpūr, was first conquered in the 5th/11th century by the troops of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, under the Sayyid brothers, Djalāl al-Dīn and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who claimed descent from Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, in about 3 hours, as the local tradition goes, whence the place derives its name *pahar* (3 hrs.) *sar* (conquered). At the close of the 6th/12th century it passed into the hands of Muʿizz al-Dīn b. Sām also known as Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, and remained under the rule of different dynasties till it was conquered by Bābur, who had sent an ulti-

matum, in verse, to the Mīr of Bayānā, 34 miles from Bharatpūr, beginning *bā Turk satīzah makun ay Mīr-i Bayānā*. It remained thereafter under the Mug͟hals. An attempt by Brid̲j̲, the founder of the State of Bharatpūr, at independence towards the close of the reign of Awrangzīb was thwarted by the Imperial army killing Brid̲j̲ in action. During the reign of Farruk͟hsiyar (1125-31/1713-18) Čūrāman D̲j̲āt ravaged the area and closed the roads to Delhi and Agra. In 1132/1718 a strong expeditionary force under Sawā'i D̲j̲ay Singh, the chief of D̲j̲aypūr, was sent to punish him but the Sayyid king-makers who were opposed to Muḥammad S͟hāh, king of Delhi, made peace with the D̲j̲āts directly. In 1135/1722 Badan Singh, the successor of Čūrāman, was proclaimed full Rād̲j̲ā of Bharatpūr on the condition of paying tribute to the Emperor. In 1167/1753 his son, Sūrad̲j̲ Mal, gained so much strength as to attack the Imperial capital and indulge in pillage and plunder. S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*] has, in several of his letters, lamented the atrocities committed by the D̲j̲āts on the residents of Delhi.

The present city and the mud-fort of Bharatpūr are said to have been founded about 1146/1733. The British, under Lord Lake, made an unsuccessful attack on this fort in 1220/1805; it was, however, captured by Lord Combermere in 1242/1826.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BHAROČ. A district in Gud̲j̲arāt [*q.v.*] in the present Bombay State, India, of about 1450 sq.m. and with a population of some 300,000; the Islamic population was about 20% of the total prior to partition in 1947, but much of this has since moved to Sind in Pakistān. The principal class of Muslims was Bohrā [see Bohorās]. Baroč is also the name of the principal town of that district, Lat. 21° 42′ N., Long. 73° 2′ E. It is first known as a town within the Mawrya dominions, and later (c. 150 A.D.) to have been in the hands of Parthian Sāhas; from the Middle Indian form *bharugaccha-* of the Sanskrit *bhṛgukṣetra-* it was known to the Greeks as βαρυγαζα, a seaport from which the Red Sea commerce was carried on (Ptolemy, *Geog.* VII, i, 63; VIII, xxvi, 12), and as the head of an important trade-route into India (*Periplus*, §§ 47-8). Held by Rād̲j̲puts and Gurd̲j̲aras, probably as tributaries of the Čalukyas, it suffered Arab invasions in 15/636, 99/717, and 154/770. It was held by Rāśtrakutas in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries until reconquered by the Čalukyas; from them it was taken in 698/1298 by Ulug͟h K͟hān, brother of the Sulṭān ʿAlā' al-Dīn K͟hald̲j̲ī, by whom Hindu and D̲j̲ayn temples were destroyed (Briggs, *Ferishta*, i, 327). It was under a succession of Muslim governors representing the Delhi *sulṭāns* until 798/1396, when Muḥammad Ẓafar K͟hān (governor from 793/1391) assumed his independence. From then it continued subject to the Aḥmad S͟hāhī kings [*q.v.*] until annexed by Akbar in 980/1572. In 1149/1736 ʿAbd Allāh Beg received from Niẓām al-Mulk (independent in the Deccan from 1135/1722, who previously as governor of Gud̲j̲arāt had made Baroč part of his private estate) the title of Nīk ʿĀlam K͟hān, and was the founder of the line of Nawwābs of Bharoč. In 1186/1772 Bharoč was captured by the British—whence its Anglo-Indian name of Broach.

Buildings.—The old fortifications were rebuilt by Bahādur S͟hāh (932-43/1526-37). In 1071/1660 they were partially razed by Awrangzīb, but rebuilt on his orders in 1097/1685 as a protection against the Mahrattas. They are now in a very dilapidated condition. The D̲j̲āmiʿ Masd̲j̲id, c. 701/1302, is of great significance in the development of Islamic architecture in Gud̲j̲arāt: the earliest buildings at Patań were mere adaptations of existing Hindū and D̲j̲ayn structures, whereas here an original and conventionally planned mosque is composed of former temple materials, the enclosure walls, of temple stones specially recut, being thus the earliest examples of independent Islamic masonry in Gud̲j̲arāt. The *līwān* is an open colonnade, the three compartments of which are three temple *mańḍapas* re-erected intact, except for the removal of the Hindū animal figures, with 48 elaborately carved pillars; the three *miḥrāb*s are intact temple niches with pointed arches added under the lintels. The *līwān* roof, with three large and 10 small domes, houses elaborate coffered ceilings removed from temples; the designs of these, though Hindū, were conventional in character, and were perpetuated in later Gud̲j̲arāt Islamic buildings. It appears that the whole production was the work of local Hindū artisans working under the direction of Muslim overseers.

Bibliography: For the history see article Gud̲j̲arāt; *Bombay Gazetteer*, ii, 1877, 337-569. For a full description of the D̲j̲āmiʿ Masd̲j̲id, J. Burgess, *On the Muhammadan architecture of Bharoch ... in Gujarat*, *ASWI* VI (= *ASI, NIS* XXIII), London 1896. (J. Burton-Page)

BHAṬṬI, the Pand̲j̲āb form of the Rad̲j̲put word Bhāti, the name of a widely distributed Rad̲j̲pūt tribe associated with the area stretching from Jaisalmer to the western tract of the Pand̲j̲āb between Fatḥābād and Bhatnair. Large numbers of those settled in the Pand̲j̲āb accepted Islam. According to one of their traditions the Jādons of Jaisalmer were driven from Zābulistān to the Pand̲j̲āb and Rād̲j̲putāna, the branch settling in Rād̲j̲putāna being named Bhāti. The references in the *Čač-nama* to the Bhaṭṭi king of Ramal in the Thar desert confirm the legends preserved in Tod's *Annals and antiquities of Rajast'han ....*, ², Madras 1873. They are also mentioned in ʿAfīf's *Ta'rīk͟h-i Fīrūz S͟hāhī* (*Bib. Indica*, 36-39). The widespread nature of their settlements is recorded in the *Ā'īn* where Abu 'l-Faḍl reserves the form Bhaṭṭi for those settled in Sirhind, Multān and Pand̲j̲āb.

Bibliography: MS. Eur. D. 164, India Office Library, *History of the Rāthors and Bhattis of Rājputana*. (C. Collin Davies)

BHATTINDA, head-quarters of the Govindgarh *taḥṣīl* of the former Patiala State, now merged with the Pand̲j̲āb State of the Indian Union, situated in 30° 13′ N. and 75° E. Population (1951) was 34,991. An ancient town, seat of the Bhātiyā or Bhattī Rād̲j̲pūts, it commanded the strategic routes from Multān to Rād̲j̲asthān and the Gangetic valley, including such historic places as Pānīpat and farther on Indrāpat (Delhi), for invaders from the north-west of the Indian sub-continent. In ancient times it stood on an affluent of the Ghaggar rivulet which still flows past Ambālā [*q.v.*] and the surrounding

country was practically uninhabited. Known as Vikramgarh in the pre-Is'amic period, it figures in early Indo-Muslim chronicles like the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* and the *Tādj al-Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Niẓāmī (Pandjāb Univ. Lib. MS.) as Tabarhinda (تبرهنده), a corrupt form of the correct name B(h)attrinda (بترنده) due apparently to the transposition of the dots of the letters *bā* and *tā*. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī is nearer the truth when he says that (البِترنده) *al-Bitranda* (*Tādj al-ʿArūs*, ix, 212) is "a city in India". Bhattrinda is composed of the words *Bhattī* and *rinda* (a jungle, a haunt), meaning a place which "abounded" in Bhattīs, as Sihrind, is of *sih* (a porcupine) and *rind* (a jungle), again corrupted by Muslim historians of non-Indian origin into Sirhind. This place-name is generally found written as سهرند in all earlier Persian chronicles and hagiological works (*e.g.*, *Bābur-nāma*, Eng. translation by A. S. Beveridge, i, 383). In the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Quetta 1949, i, 537) Bhattinda is wrongly called Sirhind because no hills exist in the vicinity of this town. The existence of a dense jungle, thirty miles from Bhattinda, in the direction of Sirhind, is, however, proved by a statement in the *Malfūẓāt-i Timūrī* (Elliot and Dowson, iii, 427). This jungle served as the favourite leopard hunting-ground for Akbar (*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Eng. transl. Blochmann, i, 286). As to the predominance of Bhattīs in and around Bhattinda, there is more than ample evidence (*Imp. Gazetteer of India*, n. ed. viii, 91). Cunningham's etymology of the name Bhattinda (see *Bibl.*) based on mere conjecture is erroneous and wide of the mark.

It was conquered by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 395/1045 when the Rādjā of Bhattinda (Bahāṭiya), Bidjay Rāy, unable to resist the besiegers, fled from the fort, and committed suicide. There has been some controversy as to the identification of Bahāṭiya (Bhāṭiya) mentioned by al-ʿUtbī (*Tā'rīkh-i Yamīnī*, Lahore 1300/1882, 209 ff.). Muḥammad Nāẓim positively asserts (*The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 197-203) that it was Bhattinda and no other town. But a little-known place, called Hāṭiya, still exists in the neighbourhood of Rāwalpindī, which also answers the description, given by al-ʿUtbī, to some extent. Unless, however, more conclusive evidence is forthcoming Muḥammad Nāẓim's view must prevail. al-ʿUtbī (p. 209) gives vivid a description of the lofty city-wall and the fortifications of Bhattinda as they existed in the time of Maḥmūd. The victory of Sulṭān Maḥmūd also incidentally marks the introduction of Islam in Bhattīānā and the Sāmāna-Ambāla-Ḥiṣār region of India.

It was conquered by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muhammad b. Sām, also known as Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, in 587/1191. After the withdrawal of Muḥammad Ghūrī to Ghazna, his commandant at Bhattinda, Malik Ḍiyā al-Dīn Tūlakī, was attacked by Rāy Pithorā (Prithvīrādjā), who laid a siege to the fort and continued it for 13 months. Ultimately the Muslim commandant made peace with the enemy and surrendered the fort. It was captured by Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča after the death of Ḳutb al-Dīn Aybak in 607/1210. Thereafter, it remained in the possession of the Slave kings. In 637/1239 Malik Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Altūniya, the commandant of Bhattinda, rose in revolt, killed Yāḳūt the Abyssinian and took Raḍḍiya Sulṭāna [*q.v.*] a prisoner, who was lodged in the fort where he married her. They were, however, killed by the Hindus while on their way to Delhi from Bhattinda. The fort was captured by Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd in 651/1253 and Malik Shīr Khān was appointed its commandant.

Very little is heard of the town thereafter. It must have decayed and lost its importance, although its fort has, throughout, been famous both for strength and impregnability. Strangely enough it finds no mention in the Memoirs of Bābur. Akbar, as already stated, used to hunt leopards in the *pargana* of Bhattinda. His guardian Bayram Khān [*q.v.*], after his disgrace, lodged his family in this fort before proceeding to Djullundur [*q.v.*] where, in a decisive action with the Imperial troops, he suffered an ignominious defeat. It then completely fades out of history and only reappears in 1168/1754 when it was conquered by Āla Singh, the Patiālā chieftain, whose descendants held it till the merger of their territory with the Indian Union in 1956. The modern fort is 118 ft. high, with 36 bastions. It dominates the town, a thriving centre of trade and commerce, and is visible for several miles around. In the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, it had a deep and wide moat, which that great conqueror ordered to be filled up with stones and trees before storming the fort. The ditch still exists partly filled up with the refuse and debris of the town, which is dumped here. The fort is now mouldering rapidly and serious cracks have also appeared in the arches of the main gate. Its two massive minarets collapsed in 1958.

Bābā Ḥādjdjī Ratan [see RATAN], said to have been born in the pre-Islamic era and to have later visited the Prophet, was a native of this place.

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BHITĀ'Ī, SHĀH ʿABD AL-LAṬĪF (1689-1752), a Sindhi poet belonging to a priestly family of Matiari Sayyids. He lived for a large part of his life at Bhit ("sandhill"), a small hamlet near Hala in the district of Ḥaydarābād in Sind. He is the national poet of Sind. His poetry is Ṣūfī in nature, as the poet, though not a man of great learning or education, was deeply impressed by the mystical thought of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, whose influence is evident in many of his poems. These poems were gathered together after his death by his followers and made into a collection which is called the *Risalo*. They are

written in a pure form of eighteenth century Sindhi and are remarkable for the manner in which philosophic and religious use is made of the folk tales of the Sind countryside. The poems deal with the longings of unrequited love and the need for trust in the power, wisdom and compassion of Allah. Their deeply mystical character has endeared them to the simple rural folk of Sind. It is noteworthy that their appeal has been as much to the Hindus of Sind as to the Muslims. The reason is perhaps due to the fact that the bulk of the indigenous Sindhi population is Hindu in origin, as many of the personal names testify, and the poet himself was deeply interested in the mystical contemplation of faḳīrs, sanyasis and yogis, which in turn found an echo in the Sikh religion followed by most of the caste Hindus living in Sind till the partition of India in 1947 resulted in their precipitate flight therefrom. The poems of the *Risalo* which are lyrical in type are sung to well-known Indian music and many of them, such as the *Sur Asa* and the *Sur Bilawal*, proclaim a sublime form of devotion. The folk stories on the other hand make direct appeal to the childlike simplicity common to unsophisticated people. The love tales of Sasui and Punhun, of Suhini and Mehar, and of Lilan and Chanesar are sung at the cradles of Sindhi children today. A vast literature in Sindhi on the poet and his message has been evoked by the poet's achievement and the *rawḍa* of Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf is the scene of regular pilgrimages of devotees who listen today to the recitation and singing of his verses. There have been learned studies of Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's life and work by three Sindhi scholars of distinction, namely the late Shams al-ʿUlamāʾ Mīrzā Kalich Beg, the late Professor H. M. Gurbuxani and the late Shams al-ʿUlamāʾ U. M. Daudpota, whose works may be consulted by those interested. (H. T. Sorley)

BHŌPĀL, formerly a princely State in India, lying between 22° 29′ and 23° 54′ N. and 76° 28′ and 78° 51′ E. with an area of 6,878 sq. miles, with a population of 838,474 in 1951. It was the second most important Muslim State, next to Ḥaydarābād [*q.v*].

Bhōpāl was founded by a military adventurer, Dōst Muḥammad Khān, a native of Tīrāh (in the tribal area of present-day Pakistan) who belonged to the Mirzaʾī Khēl tribe of the Āfrīdī Pathans. In 1120/1708 he went to Delhi, at the age of 34, in search of employment, and succeeded in obtaining from Bahādur Shāh I [*q.v.*], emperor of Delhi, the lease of Bērāsia *pargana*, partly in recognition of his military services and partly through his own efforts. A man of exceptional courage and outstanding military skill, he soon extended his sway over a large area and founded the town of Bhōpāl with its citadel, which he named Fatḥgarh. Taking advantage of the enfeeblement of the central Mughal authority, he broke loose and assumed the title of Nawwāb. He died in 1153/1740 and was succeeded by his minor son Muḥammad Khān, who was soon afterwards ousted by Yār Muḥammad Khān, a natural son of Dōst Muḥammad Khān. The latter died in 1168/1754 without ever being formally installed Nawwāb and was succeeded by Fayḍ Muḥammad Khān, a pious man and almost a recluse, whose weakness as a ruler, combined with the political chicanery of his Hindū minister, resulted in half of the Bhopāl territory being lost to the Pēshwā, Bādjī Rāō I. On his death in 1192/1777 he was succeeded by his brother, Ḥayāt Muḥammad Khān who, strangely enough, adopted four Hindū boys as his *čēlās*, two of whom, Fūlād Khān and Čhōṭē Khān, later became ministers. Rivalry between Wazīr Muḥammad Khān, a cousin of the ruler and Murīd Muḥammad Khān, his minister, was respnsible for surrendering the fort of Fatḥgarh to Amīr Khān Pindārī (the founder of the former Tōnk [*q.v.*] State (who was then in the service of the Sindhīā of Gwāliōr. Wāzīr Muḥammad Khān had to leave Bhōpāl but on Sindhīā's repairing to Gwāliōr, where disturbances had broken out, he returned with a sizable force and expelled the Marathas, under Amīr Khān, from the fort and after sometime also drove out the Pindārīs. In 1223/1807 Ḥayāt Muḥammad died and Wazīr Muḥammad, who had proved his capability as a ruler, succeeded him to the principality, setting aside the claim of Ghawth Muḥammad Khān, son of the deceased ruler. In 1229/1813 the combined forces of Nāgpūr and Gwāliōr marched on Bhōpāl, which resisted the invaders heroically for eight long months and the unsuccessful siege had to be lifted.

On the death of Wazīr Muḥammad Khān in 1232/1816, his son and the son-in-law of Ghawth Muḥammad Khān, Nadhr Muḥammad, succeeded him. He entered into a treaty with the British, the obligations of which he faithfully observed. This treaty guaranteed to him and his descendants the territories of Bhōpāl, while the British were assured the services of native troops for exterminating the Pindārīs, who were then over-running Central India and were no more than organised bandits. Nadhr Muḥammad was married to Ḳudsiyya Bēgam, a daughter of Ghawth Muḥammad, who assumed the reins of power after the death of her husband in 1236/1820, as regent on behalf of her minor daughter, Sikandar Bēgam, whose formal accession took place 25 years later in 1261/1845. From this lady begins the long and illustrious chain of the Bēgams of Bhōpāl, which ended up with the voluntary abdication of Sulṭān Djahān Bēgam in 1345/1926, in favour of her son, Ḥamīd Allāh Khān (the last feudatory ruler of Bhōpāl) and her subsequent death in 1348/1930.

Sikandar Bēgam, owing to the delaying tactics of her mother, who wanted to retain power in her own hands, was married very late in 1251/1835 to Djahāngīr Muḥammad Khān, a nephew of Nadhr Muḥammad Khān. Ḳudsiyya Bēgam, still reluctant to part with power, instigated a civil war in which Nadhr Muḥammad was defeated by the combined troops of the Dowager-Bēgam and his own wife. In 1253/1837 the authorities of the East India Company interfered and restored the administration of the State to Djahāngīr Muḥammad Khān. Ḳudsiyya Bēgam, baulked of her wishes, had to retire on pension. She lived long thereafter but was scrupulously kept out of the picture by her successors, Sikandar Bēgam and her daughter Shāhdjahān Bēgam, whose husband Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, for personal and public reasons, did not allow the old Bēgam even to attend social functions held by the ruling family. She died in 1299/1881 and held a *djāgīr* of Rs. 498,682 since her retirement from political life until her death. The rule of Sikandar Bēgam is remarkable for a number of military reforms which forged the irregular Bhōpāl troops into a fine well-knit force. The State remained loyal to the suzerain British power during the upheaval of 1857 in spite of the refractory conduct of a few of the nobles. She also introduced agricultural, economic, administrative and legal reforms. Although the head of a Muslim State, she was bold enough to do away with the *pardah* and appear in public attired in military accoutrements. At the same time

she was of a religious bent of mind and performed the Ḥadjdj in 1280/1863-4. After a rule of 23 years, she died in 1285/1868 and was succeeded by her minor daughter Shāhdjahān Bēgam, under the regency of Fawdjdār Muḥammad Khān, an uncle of Sikandar Bēgam. In 1263/1847 he had to resign, chiefly because of the machinations of Ḳudsiyya Bēgam, and Sikandar Bēgam was appointed regent. In 1272/1855 Shāhdjahān Bēgam married Bakhshī Bāḳī Muḥammad Khān, who did not belong to the ruling house. He, therefore, as subsequently all the husbands of the Bēgams of Bhōpāl, enjoyed only the status of a Nawwāb-Consort and had nothing effective to do with the administration of the State, the entire power having been delegated to Sikandar Bēgam, a woman jealous of her status and dignity. She strongly objected to the recognition of her minor daughter as ruler and could only be appeased by Shāhdjahān Bēgam's voluntarily giving up all claim to rule during the life-time of her mother; an act of filial attachment rather than of expediency or political sagacity.

In 1285/1868, her husband having died a year earlier, Shāhdjahān Bēgam was formally installed as the ruler. Three years later she remarried, taking a *mawlawī* of Ḳannawdj, Sayyid Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan [*q.v.*], once a petty official of the State, as her husband. Through the efforts of the Bēgam the honorary title of Nawwāb and other insignia of office were conferred on Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān as the consort of the ruler. She had discarded the *pardah* after the death of her first husband but again retired on her marriage with the *mawlawī*, whose learning and ability always over-awed her. Her second marriage met with a mixed reception, the entire ruling family strongly disapproving it. The heir-apparent Sulṭān Djahān Bēgam, was full of bitterness and her memoirs depict Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān as an unscrupulous upstart, a tyrant who robbed her and her mother of all happiness, threatening the latter with divorce, a great stigma for a lady of high birth, if she went against his wishes. She also holds him responsible for the estrangement between her and her mother and the grand old lady Ḳudsiyya Bēgam. His disgrace in 1303/1885, due to his objectionable writings, came as a shock to the Bēgam but she had to bow before the decision of the British Government. Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān died in 1308/1890, to the great relief of Sulṭān Djahān Bēgam and others, but the relations between the ruler and the heir-apparent showed no improvement. The real cause, it appears, of the estrangement between mother and daughter was the latter's husband, Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Sulṭān Dulhā, with whom the ruler, for unknown reasons, was never entirely happy, although it was she who had selected him as her son-in-law out of some twelve suitors.

In 1319/1901 Shāhdjahān Bēgam died of cancer and, in accordance with the *sanad* issued in 1279/1862 by Lord Canning, Governor-General and Viceroy of India, was succeeded by Sulṭān Djahān Bēgam, her only child by her first husband. She had no issue from Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān. Sulṭān Djahān, during 25 years of rule, personally directed the administration of the State and carried out a number of reforms. She paid two visits to England, first in 1329/1911 to take part in the coronation ceremonies of King George V (1911-1936), and then in 1344/1925 to get the succession of her youngest and surviving son, al-Ḥādjdj Ḥamīd Allāh Khān, recognised by the British Government. Her two other sons, Muḥammad Naṣr Allāh Khān (b. 1293/1876) and Ḥāfiẓ ʿUbayd Allāh Khān (b. 1294/1877) both died, in quick succession, in 1343/1924. It was suspected that they had been poisoned, but the political sagacity of Sulṭān Djahān averted a crisis. The late Āghā Khān also played an important part in securing the rulership of Bhōpāl for Ḥamīd Allāh Khān, who thus superseded the sons of his two dead brothers. Born in 1312/1894 Ḥamīd Allāh Khān was educated at ʿAlīgarh and took an active part in politics insofar as the native princes were concerned. On two occasions (1931-2, 1944-7) he was elected Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and in that capacity rendered yeoman service to the cause of his brother-princes. In 1366/1946 he played a memorable rôle in Indian politics, acting as an intermediary between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, led by Muḥammad ʿAlī Djinnāḥ [*q.v.*], when he was able to secure a *carte blanche* from the Congress in favour of the Muslim League. This was, however, later repudiated by M. K. Gāndhī, the undisputed leader of the Congress.

On the lapse of British paramountcy in 1947, when India and Pakistan became two independent States, Bhōpāl was first treated as a centrally-administered area but in 1949 was merged with the Indian Union. It had an elected legislature and a ministry with a Chief Commissioner as the constitutional head of the administration. The ex-Nawwāb, now no more than an ordinary citizen, has since been pensioned off and is entitled to a privy purse of 1,100,000 rupees a year of which 100,000 rupees was allocated to the heir-apparent, Gawhar-i Tādj ʿĀbida Sulṭān who has since migrated to Pakistan and settled permanently there.

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BHŌPĀL (City), Capital of the Indian province of Madhya Pradesh, situated in 23° 16′ N. and 77° 25′ E. on a sandstone ridge and on the edge of two

beautiful lakes, the Pukhtah-Pul Talāō and the Baṛā Talāō, famed throughout India for natural charm and picturesque surroundings, was founded by Dōst Muḥammad Khān, an Orakzaʾī Āfrīdī in 1141/1728 when he built the Fatḥgaṛh fort, named after his Indian wife, Fatḥ Bīoī, and connected it by a wall to the old dilapidated fort, ascribed by tradition to the legendary Rādjā Bhōdj, after whom a quarter of the city is still called Bhōdjpūra. The population in 1951 was 120,333. The city is divided into two parts, the *Shahr-i Khāṣṣ*, enclosed by a wall built by Dōst Muḥammad, and the modern quarters and suburbs, Djahāngīrābād and Aḥmadābād, added by the succeeding rulers to perpetuate the memory of Djahāngīr Muḥammad Khān, husband of Sikandar Bēgam, and of Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān, husband of Sulṭān Djahān Bēgam, rulers of Bhopal. The city was made the capital of the State by Nawwāb Fayḍ Muḥammad Khān (1168/1754-1191/1777) whose predecessors' seat of Government was Islāmnagar (23° 22′ N. and 77° 25′ E.).

In 1227/1812-3 the town, outside the wall, was devastated by the combined forces of Nāgpūr and Gwāliōr, which had attacked Bhōpāl. Nadhr Muḥammad Khān (1233/1816—1234/1818), during his short rule began to restore the town, which process was continued for decades thereafter. Many civic amenities, like roads and street-lighting, were introduced by Sikandar Bēgam followed by Shāhdjahān and Sulṭān Djahān Bēgams; the former particularly added some grand buildings of which the Tādj Maḥall palace and the Tādj al-Masādjid deserve mention.

The two lakes, on whose banks a string of palaces has been raised by almost all the rulers, are connected by an aqueduct and provide drinking water to the citizens. Above them rises the city, tier on tier of irregular houses, with spacious gardens here and there, dominated by the congregational mosque of Ḳudsiyya Bēgam, built of purple-red sandstone, with high minarets, from which the *naḳḳāra* [*q.v.*] was beaten during Ramaḍān both at the *saḥr* and *ifṭār* times.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BIʿA [see Kanīsa].

BĪBĀN, the gates; passes across a chain of the Tellian Atlas Mountains—parallel to the Djurdjura, south of the depression of the Wādī Sahel. The French have retained the Turkish name for these passes, *Damir Ḳapu*, Iron Gates. The road and railway track from Algiers to Constantine both pass through the Great Gate, *al-Bāb al-Kabīr*, hollowed out by the Wādi Chebba. The Little Gate, *al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr*, 3.5 km. to the east, is crossed by the Wādī Būktūn. It is the narrower of the two. These "gates", which were not included in the network of Roman roads and the Arab routes, were used from the sixteenth century onwards by Turkish troops travelling between Algiers and Constantine; but these troops were forced to pay the rough local inhabitants to let them pass through the area unmolested. On October 28th, 1839, a French column of 8000 men, commanded by Marshal Valée, Governor-general of Algeria, and accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, crossed the Pass of the Little Gate without hindrance, for the mountain tribesmen of the locality had obtained the customary tribute through the good offices of Mokrānī, *bash-agha* of Medjdjāna, won over to the French cause.

This expedition, known as that of the Iron Gates, was acclaimed as a brilliant feat of arms, but it led to the final rupture between the French and ʿAbd al-Ḳadir who regarded it as a violation of the Treaty of Tafna.

Geographers have extended the name Bībān to the whole of the anticlinal chain of mountains which cuts across the Iron Gates and which stretches at a height of 1000 to over 1400 metres from Aumale to the Guergour (Lafayette), separating the depression of the Wādī Sahel and the tributary valleys of the lower Bou Sellam from the structurally complex mountains of the Ouennougha, the Mzita and the Metnen and of the basin of the Bordj bou Arreridj. These mountains with their limestone, marle and schistose clay soil are not very fertile. The Biban chain is partly wooded with Aleppo pines. Populated by Arab tribes in the west, Kabyle Berbers in the centre, it forms, in the east, the southern boundary of the Kabyle Berber dialect area (see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, Algeria, Atlas, Kabylia).

(G. Yver-[J. Despois])

BĪBĪ, a word of East Turkish origin, with the meaning of "little old mother", "grandmother", "woman of high rank", "lady". It is noted, with the sense of "woman of consequence", "lady", in the Ottoman-Turkish dictionary *Lughat-i Deshīshī*, composed in 988/1580-1581. Bībī also means, in Anatolian Turkish, "paternal aunt". Taken over into Persian at an early date, with the sense of "woman of the house", "lady", the word can be found in a verse of Anwarī (12th cent. A.D.) cited in the *Farhang-i Nāṣiri*. It was used in Khurāsān during the 13th century as a title for women of distinction, as in the case of the mother of the author who wrote the history of the Saldjūḳs in Asia Minor, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Djaʿfarī al-Rughadī, better known under the name Ibn Bībī [*q.v.*] al-Munadjdjima (son of the distinguished lady, the woman astrologer). One of the two wives of Shaykh Ṣafī (cf. Ṣafī al-Dīn) was called Bībī Fāṭima. The mausoleum, situated near Tehrān, of the daughter of the last Sāsānid, Yazdigird III, is known under the name Bībī Shahrbānū.

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(H. W. Duda)

BIBLE [see Tawrāt, Zabūr, Indjīl].

BIBLIOGRAPHY. In the present article the word is used in the sense of a systematically arranged list of books, compiled for the benefit of those who need to know what has been written on a particular subject.

The outstanding achievement in Islamic bibliography to appear before the adoption of printing in Islamic territories is the *Fihrist*. Its author, Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*], a bookseller (*warrāḳ*) in Baghdād, compiled the work in 377/987-8 in the form of a bibliographical history of literature, arranged in ten books, the first six being concerned with the "Islamic writings" (Ḳurʾān, grammar, history and belles-lettres, poetry, scholastic philosophy, and law), the remaining four with philosophy and science, legends and fables, sects and creeds, and alchemy. In each book there is to be found an account of the rise and development of the study of the subject dealt with, a list of all available writings on it and bibliographical details of their authors, from the earliest times.

The other great monument of Islamic bibliography is the *Kashf al-Ẓunūn ʿan Asāmī al-Kutub wa 'l-Funūn*, a work for which the Ottoman polyhistor, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, spent some twenty years collecting materials. The first volume was completed in 1064/1653-4, some 650 years after the *Fihrist*. After an introduction relating at great length the nature, value, divisions and history of the various sciences, the author lists in one alphabetical sequence the titles of all the works written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish which he had personally seen or of which he knew the title. For each work he gives details of author, date of compilation, particulars of its division into sections and chapters, and the various commentaries, glosses, refutations and criticisms that the work has attracted to itself; he gives *incipits* of all works seen by him in order to facilitate the identification of unknown works. Several supplements to the work were compiled by his successors, the latest by Bağdatlı Ismāʿīl Pasha (d. 1920) containing some 18,000 titles.

Little needs to be said about the remaining bibliographical works which have survived. Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (A.H. 502-572, [*q.v.*]), who spent the greater part of his life as a peripatetic student in Andalusia, compiled a *Fihrist* (ed. Codera and Ribera, *BAH* IX, X, Saragossa 1894) in which he enumerates the titles of some 1400 books in Arabic of both Spanish and Oriental origin which he had read or heard, with chains of transmission going back to their original authors. Lists of works of individual writers exist, such as those for Rāzī (compiled by al-Bīrūnī, ed. by P. Kraus, Paris 1936), Galen translations (by Ḥusayn b. Isḥāḳ, ed. Bergsträsser, Leipzig 1925, and 1932) and Suyūṭī's autobibliography (Brockelmann II 145; S II 179). The Shīʿīs have been assiduous in the compilation of bibliographies of writings of their own adherents; the earliest, by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. A.H. 460), has been edited by Sprenger, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, and Ghulām Ḳādir for the Bibliotheca Indica. In the preface to this edition three similar works on bibliography are described. More recently, Iʿdjāz Ḥusayn's (A.H. 1240-1286) *Kashf al-Ḥudjūb wa 'l-Astār ʿan Asmā' al-Kutub wa 'l-Asfār* contains notices of 3414 Shīʿī books arranged alphabetically, and the *al-Dharīʿa ilā Taṣānīf al-Shīʿa* of Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī (1936-, in progress) has already run to ten volumes.

The publications of Western scholars and students of Islam were recorded for the first time by Schnurrer, the second edition of whose *Bibliotheca Arabica* published in 1811 lists in an arrangement by subject the printed works on the subject from the earliest times until the year 1810 with a chronological index. Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leipzig 1840; 2nd ed., ib., 1846, 1861) which purported to give the titles of all Arabic, Persian and Turkish books from the invention of printing, is disappointing. Chauvin continued the work of Schnurrer in a much more expert fashion, providing incidentally an author index to the *Bibliotheca Arabica*. Of his *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes on relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de* 1810 *à* 1885 twelve volumes in all were published during the years 1892-1922; the materials for the remaining part of this work are still preserved in manuscript in the library of the University of Liège. It was his intention to bridge the gap between Schnurrer and the *Orientalische Bibliographie* which began publication in 1887 and provided a most adequate record of all publications in the Islamic field, as well as in all other branches of Oriental studies, until 1911.

Had Chauvin's work been published in its entirety there would now be in existence a substantially complete record of all Western publications on Islamic subjects from the beginnings down to 1911 readily to hand in the three bibliographies, Schnurrer, Chauvin, *Orientalische Bibliographie*. The ever-increasing volume of work done on Islamic studies and consequent publication since that date made it even more difficult to comprehend the total of publications over a period within the confines of a single work. For publications since 1911, therefore, the scholar must make recourse to a large number of bibliographies of all kinds which cannot here be listed in detail. (Pfannmüller in his *Handbuch der Islamliteratur* (Berlin and Leipzig 1923) provided a useful introduction and guide to the literature of the subject, but had no intention of compiling a complete Islam bibliography). The principal periodicals in the field have striven to cope with the problem: it is only necessary to mention the '*Kritische Bibliographie*' published in *Der Islam* at intervals from 1913 to 1933 and '*Abstracta Islamica*' which, since 1937, has been a regular feature of the *Revue des études islamiques*. In *Index Islamicus* (Cambridge 1958), Pearson has attempted to list the periodical and *Festschrift* articles of the fifty years from 1906 to 1955.

The Ibn al-Nadīm—Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa tradition of bibliographical literary histories has been carried on in our own times in the monumental works of Brockelmann and Storey on Arabic and Persian literature respectively. Each of these writers gives, in addition to biographical data, a list as complete as it is possible to make of surviving manuscripts, cumulating the printed catalogues of collections in all libraries, as well as notes on the principal editions, translations and works of history or criticism of the individual writers. Brockelmann handles his material on a chronological basis, Storey arranges his by subject; both are quite indispensable for all students of these literatures, as well as to all who have occasion to catalogue Arabic and Persian books and manuscripts. A similar work with more limited scope was compiled by Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen* (Leipzig 1927). Christian and Jewish literature in Arabic form the subject of separate treatments by G. Graf, *Gesch. d. christlichen arab. Lit.*, 5 vols., Vatican City 1944-53, and M. Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. der Juden*, Frankfurt 1902.

In recent years Islamic countries themselves have been making great contributions to their bibliography. In 1918 Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs published his *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt al-ʿArabiyya wa 'l-Muʿarraba* containing the titles of all Arabic printed books from the beginnings of printing to the year 1919 inclusive, arranged in alphabetical sequence according to the most commonly used form of the author's name, whether this be *ism*, *laḳab*, *kunya* or *nisba*. The work is provided with an index of the titles of works. Egypt has issued a number of volumes of what is to all intents and purposes a national bibliography in *Al-sidjill al-thaḳāfī*. A Persian national bibliography by Dr. Iradj Afshār has appeared in the *Farhang-i Irān-zamīn* since 1954 and the first volume of a catalogue of Persian printed books by Khānbābā Mushār was published in 1337 solar/1956. The *ʿOthmānlī mu'ellifleri* of Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir is a bio-bibliographical dictionary of Ottoman writers in the style of the *tedhkeres* and is of great value to all students of Turkish culture, even though it is

not marked by accuracy of bibliographical detail and, as Babinger puts it, finding a name in the index is often a matter of luck or demanding of great patience. *Türk bibliyografyası* has recorded all publications in Turkey since 1928 and the National Library has announced plans for the publication of a catalogue of Turkish printed books from the date of the adoption of printing in that country in the 18th century. *Türkiye makaleler bibliyografyası*, an index to articles in Turkish periodicals, has been issued regularly since 1952.

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G. Gabrieli, *Manuale di bibliografia musulmana* (Rome 1916) is the only work of its kind and is invaluable for its lists of general bibliographical works. (Regrettably only the first part was ever published). For the works of Schnurrer and Zenker see the preface to Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, esp. xx-xxx; for the unpublished portions of Chauvin's *Bibliographie* see J. Gobeaux-Thoret, *Notes from the Liège Library on Victor Chauvin and on Ibn Butlān* in *Unity and variety in Muslim civilisation* (ed. Grunebaum, 1955), 363-4; the index to Schnurrer occupies xli-cxvii; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* was originally published at Weimar and Berlin, 2 vols., 1898-1902; Supplementbände I-III, Leiden 1937-1942; 2.den Supplementbänden angepasste Aufl., 2 vols. Leiden 1943, 1949. Storey, *Persian literature*, London 1927-, in progress.

(J. D. Pearson)

BIDʿA, innovation, a belief or practice for which there is no precedent in the time of the Prophet. It is the opposite of *sunna* and is a synonym of *muḥdath* or *ḥadath*. While some Muslims felt that every innovation must necessarily be wrong, some allowance obviously had to be made for changing circumstances. Thus a distinction came to be made between a *bidʿa* which was 'good' (*ḥasana*) or praiseworthy (*maḥmūda*), and one which was 'bad' (*sayyiʾa*) or blameworthy (*madhmūma*). Al-Shāfiʿī laid down the principle that any innovation which runs contrary to the Ḳurʾān, the *sunna*, *idjmāʿ*, or *athar* (a tradition traced only to a Companion or a Follower) is an erring innovation, whereas any good thing introduced which does not run counter to any of these sources is praiseworthy. On this basis innovations have been classified according to the five categories (*aḥkām*) of Muslim law. Under duties incumbent on the community (*farḍ kifāya*) are included such *bidʿas* as the study of grammar, rhetoric, etc. on which an understanding of the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna* is based, investigation of the reliability of men whose authority is quoted for traditions (*al-djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl* [*q.v.*]), distinguishing sound and weak traditions, codifying law, and the refutation of heretical sects. Prohibited (*muḥarrama*) innovations include the doctrines of those who oppose the followers of the *sunna* and the accepted beliefs of the community. Among those which are recommended (*mandūba*) is the establishment of such institutions as hospices and schools. Innovations which are disapproved (*makrūha*) include the decoration of mosques and the ornamentation of copies of the Ḳurʾān. Among those which are permitted (*mubāḥa*), i.e. towards which the law is indifferent, is the free use of pleasant foods, drinks and clothing.

Bidʿa is to be distinguished from heresy. When it includes matters which have been introduced in disagreement with what has come down from the Prophet, it is said that this is not due to any purpose of rebelling against him, but has arisen through some kind of confusion. Innovators are called *Ahl al-bidaʿ* and *Ahl al-ahwāʾ*. The implication is that the innovator (*mubtadiʿ*) is one who introduces something on an arbitrary principle without having any basis in the recognised foundations of Islām. The objection to *bidʿa* has led some Muslims in more recent times to denounce the use of tobacco and coffee, and even of modern scientific inventions; but among the Wahhābīs, the strictest body within modern Islām, scientific inventions are freely used. Indeed, the economy of the present state of Saʿūdī Arabia is mainly dependent on oil whose production could not be accomplished without modern inventions.

Bidʿa may be treated on the level of *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]. Just as what is *ḳiyās* in one generation may be included in what a later generation considers *idjmāʿ*, so may it be with *bidʿa*. The distinction between 'good' and 'bad' innovations was therefore a necessary principle. Only people of an ultra-conservative nature who live in an unreal world of their own ideas could insist that the practice of the Prophet and his Companions in al-Madīna may alone be followed, and that no allowance may be made for the development of knowledge and differing circumstances. But a number of traditions condemning innovations are found in the collections of *Ḥadīth* as statements of the Prophet.

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(J. Robson)

BĪDAR, a district in south-central India (the 'Deccan', [*q.v.*]), and the headquarters town of that district, lat. 17° 55′ N., long. 77° 32′ E., population over 15,000, 82 miles north-west of Ḥaydarābād from which it is easily accessible by road and rail.

The identification of Bīdar with the ancient Vidarbha (Briggs's *Ferishta*, ii, 411) is now discounted, cf. G. Yazdani, *Bidar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947, 3. Bīdar was included in the Čālukya kingdom of Kalyāṅ, 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries, but was in the hands of the Kākatīyās of Warangal when conquered by Ulugh Khān (later Muḥammad b. Tughlaḳ, [*q.v.*]) in 722/1322 (details of siege and men-

tion of fortifications, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 449), from whose governor it was taken after a fierce battle in 748/1347 by a *Amīr-i Ṣadah* (Commander of a *Ṣadī* or subdivision of approximately 100 villages; Baranī, 495; *Riḥla*, Cairo ed., ii, 75), Ẓafar Khān. The latter, on his acceptance as first king of the Bahmanī dynasty [*q.v.*] as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, divided his dominion into four provinces, of which Bīdar was one. The town was important strategically (Bahmanī dynasty, monuments, [*q.v.*]), and as a fortress held the seventh Bahmanī king Shams al-Dīn (799/1397) in internment; Muḥammad II (780-99/1378-97) established orphanage schools in Bīdar and elsewhere, cf. Briggs's *Ferishta*, ii, 349-50. An assault by the eighth king, Fīrūz Shāh, against his brother Aḥmad in 825/1422 was repulsed at Bīdar, leading to Aḥmad's succession, shortly after which he transferred his capital to Bīdar from Gulbarga (Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabaṭabā, *Burhān-i Maʾāthir*, Ḥaydarābād edn., 49-50), rebuilt the fortifications and renamed it Muḥammadābād; the natural position of Bīdar on a healthy plateau with abundant water, and its central position in the kingdom, offered advantages not possessed by Aḥsanābād-Gulbarga. Bīdar was attacked in 866/1462 by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaldjī of Mālwā, who destroyed some of its buildings, but was repulsed with the aid of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh of Gudjarāt. Bīdar's heyday under the Bahmanīs was during the able ministry of Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*], c. 866-886/1462-81; but after his murder the Bahmanī power declined, to the advantage of the minister Ḳāsim Barīd (founder of the Barīdī dynasty, [*q.v.*]) and his family. The Bahmanīs remained as puppet kings under the Barīdī ministers until at least 952/1545; Amīr Barīd was *de facto* ruler until 949/1542, and his son ʿAlī Barīd adopted the royal title, presumably after the death of the last Bahmanī king, Kalīm Allāh (for coins in whose name, dated 952 [= 1545 A.D.], see *Proc. VII All-India Oriental Conf.*, 740). Bīdar fell to Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjāpur in 1028/1619, was annexed to the Mughal empire by Awrangzīb in 1066/1656, and passed to Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh in 1137/1724.

Monuments. Buildings particularly associated with the Bahmanī and Barīdī dynasties are described under those headings; those of the post-Barīdī period are unimportant and are not described. Page references in the following account are to Yazdani, *op. cit.*

The city and fort are both fully walled, and in their present area date from the time of Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī, who incorporated the old Hindū fort in the west of the present area into his buildings of 832-5/1429-32; Persian and Turkish engineers and architects are known to have been employed. The ground on the north and east of the perimeter falls sharply away; on the other sides the walls are within a triple moat hewn out of the laterite outcrop by local Hindū masons (p. 29). Much of the defences was destroyed in Maḥmūd Khaldjī's invasion (vide above) and restored by Niẓām Shāh; but their character was changed in the time of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī, c. 875/1470, after the introduction of gunpowder. Minor improvements were made by Maḥmūd Shāh (inscriptions, *EIM* 1925-6, 17-8), and more extensive ones, including the mounting of large guns, by ʿAlī Barīd Shāh, 949-87/1542-79. The description of the defences in the reign of Shāhdjahān by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambō (*ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, Bibl. Ind. iii, 249-50) indicates that little subsequent changes were made. In the perimeter of 4 km. there are 37 bastions, mostly massive, many with gun emplacements, and 7 gates as well as the three successive gates between town and fort. The first gateway serves as a barbican for the second, the Sharza Darwāza—so called from the figures of two tigers carved on the façade, a common feature of Dakhnī forts (32). The third gate, Gunbad Darwāza, is massive, with battered walls, hemispherical dome and corner *guldastas* recalling the contemporary Delhī architecture, but with an outer arch of wide span stilted above the haunch, the shape of much Persian-inspired architecture in the Deccan and characteristic of the Bahmanī buildings in particular (34). The town walls are said to be the work of ʿAlī Barīd (Muḥammad Sulṭān, *Āʾina-i Bīdar*, 17-18) in 962-5/1555-8, but doubtless superseded Bahmanī work. Again there are 37 bastions, adapted for long-range guns, and five gateways (83-90).

Within the fort are the Solah Khambā ('sixteen pillar', so called from a period of its decay when 16 pillars were screened off in the *līwān*) Masdjid, the earliest Muslim building at Bīdar and the original Djāmiʿ Masdjid, having been established before the transfer of the capital (inscription giving date 827 [= 1423-4 A.D.], *EIM* 1931-2, 26-7); the style is heavy and monotonous, particularly in the 91-metre façade, and the inner circular piers are over-massive; the central dome rests on a hexadecagonal collar pierced with traceried windows, to form a clerestory (54-6); the Takht Maḥall, the modern name for what was probably Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī's palace described in the *Burhān-i Maʾāthir*, 70-1, and referred to as *Dār al-Imāra* by Firishta, i, 627. The arches have the typical Bahmanī stilt at the apex, and the fine encaustic tile-work, probably imported from Kāshān, includes the emblem of the tiger and rising sun (66-77); the Bahmanī Dīwān-i ʿĀmm, with fine tile-work in floral, geometric and calligraphic (Kūfic) designs, generally Persian with some *chinoiserie* (62-6); the Gagan = [Skt. 'sky'], Tarkash and Rangīn Maḥalls, all begun in Bahmanī times and rebuilt by the Barīd Shāhīs: typical Barīdī chain-and-pendant motif in Tarkash Maḥall, ʿAlī Barīd's rebuilding of Rangīn Maḥall with inlay mother-of-pearl work and woodcarving in Hindū as well as Muslim patterns, with some cusping of wooden arches, the best of Barīdī work but on too small a scale to be fully effective (60-2, 57-9, 44-9 respectively); a group of underground rooms, Hazār Kotthṛī, with an emergency escape passage leading outside the walls (77-8); the Shāhī Ḥammām, late Bahmanī or early Barīdī, with a fine vaulted ceiling, 51-2; and minor buildings.

Within the town walls are the Čawbāra, a massive tower at a cross-roads probably built by Aḥmad Shāh as an observation post (90); the great Madrasa of Maḥmūd Gāwān, built 877/1472, whose Persian prototype was the *madrasa* of Khargird in Khurāsān (cf. E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i, 72-6); its remaining *minār* (the other, with the south-east corner, destroyed by a gunpowder explosion in 1107/1696), 40 m. high, in three stages. Much of the former tile-work has perished from the *minārs* and façades, but the proportions, the silhouette, and the interplay of light and shade due to the rows of deeply recessed arches on all faces are very pleasing to the eye. The most imposing monument of the Bahmanī period, it has no parallel elsewhere in India (91-100); the Takht-i Kirmānī, a gateway containing a room in which is a couch associated with the saint Khalīl Allāh, with fine cut-plaster medallions, etc., of

late Bahmanī design, and a trefoil parapet which, originating in the Bahmanī period, is found in Barīdī buildings also (100-2); the Djāmiʿ Masdjid of the town, plain but elegant, with a high lantern-vaulted *līwān* under its double dome, late Bahmanī work restored in the Barīdī period (chain-and-pendant motif in spandrels of façade), 103-4; the Baṛī Khānķāh of Maḥbūb Subḥānī, whose mosque parapet shows the overlapping arches of the Bahmanī period, 111. Outside the town walls are (besides the tomb buildings of the Bahmanīs and Barīd Shāhīs, [*q.v.*]) the fine Čawkhandī of Ḥaḍrat Khalīl Allāh, similar in style to the tomb of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahmanī and one of the best Bahmanī buildings (141-6); the tombs of the Abyssinian nobles in the Ḥabshī Kot, 180; the Kālī ('black') Masdjid, probably early Barīdī, whose *miḥrāb*, projecting out from the *līwān*, forms a high square chimney-like base for a dome supported on each side by an open arch, resembling an aerial Barīdī tomb (196-7); and numerous other buildings.

Mention must be made of the local Bīdrī ware, a class of damascened metalwork in which engraved and inlaid silver designs are made on an alloy (mainly zinc with some copper, lead and occasionally tin) base, which is afterwards blackened and highly polished; the blackening is carried out by rubbing a locally-obtained earth, containing alkali nitrates, mixed with ammonium chloride, on the fresh surface of the alloy.

Bibliography: Yazdani, *op. cit.*, supersedes all previous work on the monuments: full references, extensive plates, drawings, plans, inscriptions, etc. See also J. Burgess, *Antiquities in Bīdar and Aurangabad Districts*, *ASWI* iii (= *NIS* iii), 1878; *ASI Annual Report*, 1928-9, 5-11; *Hyderabad Arch. Dept. Reports*, passim; Sir J. Marshall, *The monuments of Muslim India*, Chap. xxiii in *Cambridge History of India*, 1928; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic period*), Chap. xiii. For Bīdar as a fortified city, full description with measured drawings of fortifications in S. Toy, *The strongholds of India*, London 1957. For the history of Bīdar see *Gazetteer of the Bīdar district*; Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, and *The Bahmanis of the Deccan, an Objective study*.

For Bīdrī ware, full references in T. R. Gairola, *Bīdrī Ware*, in *Ancient India*, XII, 1956, 116-8, which supersedes all previous technical work.

(H. K. Sherwani and J. Burton-Page)

BĪDIL, Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Ķādir b. ʿAbd al-Khālіķ Arlās (or Barlās), of Bukhāran origin, was born at ʿAẓīmābād (Patna) in 1054/1644, where his family had settled. He lost his father in 1059/1649 and was brought up by his uncle Mīrzā Ķalandar (d. 1076/1665) and maternal uncle Mīrzā Ẓarīf (d. 1075/1664), who was well-versed in *ḥadīth* literature and *fiķh*. In 1070/1659 he visited a number of places in Bengal along with Mīrzā Ķalandar. In 1071/1660 he went to Cuttack (Orissa) where he stayed for three years. It was here in Orissa that Mīrzā Ẓarīf, who also had strong mystic leanings introduced him to Shāh Ķāsim Huwaʾllāhī with whom he soon after contracted his *bayʿa*. In 1076/1665 he went to Delhi, where he met Shāh Kābulī, a *madjdhūb*, to whom he devotes a lengthy chapter in *Čahār ʿUnṣur*. For two years thereafter he wandered about the woods of Bindrāban and the streets of Muttra, Aʿẓamābād and Agra in search of Shāh Kābulī, who had disappeared suddenly. While at Agra, Bīdil experienced hardship and starvation. In 1079/1668 he married, and entered the service of Prince Muḥammad Aʿẓam b. Awrangzīb, whom he served for a number of years. The Prince once requested him to compose a *ķaṣīda* in his praise; Bīdil refused to do so, and resigned his position. Khʷushgō's statement (as reproduced in *Fayḍ-i Ķuds*, 80) that Bīdil remained in the service of the Prince for twenty years is not supported by other writers. Soon after his resignation he again took to wandering; this time visiting several places in the Pandjāb including Lahore and Ḥasan Abdāl. His wanderings, however, ended in 1096/1685 when he finally settled at Delhi. He was offered a high post by Āṣaf Djāh I, the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, who was one of his pupils in poetry; although grateful for the offer, Bīdil refused to accept it. He died in 1133/1721 and was buried in the courtyard of his house in Old Delhi. The exact location of his grave in the ruined city has been a matter of great controversy. The present grave, with an inscribed head-stone, is spurious.

Essentially a mystic poet, said to have composed over ninety thousand verses, Bīdil is very popular in Afghānistān and parts of Chinese Turkistān. In poetry he has been compared with Saʿdī and Rūmī, in prose with al-Anṣārī al-Harawī and al-Ghazālī (*qq.v.*).

He is the author of: (i) *Čahār ʿUnṣur*, written in 1116/1704, a mainly biographical work interspersed with supernatural anecdotes (Cawnpore 1292/1875); (ii) *Nikāt*, a philosophical treatise dealing with certain abstruse problems like *waḥy*, *ilhām*, *nubuwwa* etc., profusely interspersed with *ghazals*, *ķaṭaʿāt* and *rubāʿiyyāt*, (Cawnpore 1292/1875); (iii) *Muḥīṭ-i Aʿẓam*, a *mathnawī* on the lines of Ẓuhūrī's *Sāķīnāma*, published as a part of *Kulliyāt-i Bīdil* (Bombay 1299/1881); (iv) *ʿIrfān*, another *mathnawī*, written in 1124/1712 and comprising 11,000 verses, deals with metaphysical problems as the author understood them (Bombay 1299/1881); (v) *Ṭūr-i Maʿrifat*, another *mathnawī* comprising 6,000 verses, still unpublished (MS. Punjab Univ. Lib.), deals with natural phenomena; (vi) *Ṭilism-i Ḥayrat*, also a *mathnawī* of the same length as *Ṭūr-i Maʿrifat* (Bombay 1299/1881); (vii) *Dīwān*; no complete edition has been published so far; an incomplete edition, however, up to *radīfdāl* only was published at Kābul (1334/1915), and another edition at Cawnpore (Nawalkishore: 1292/1875); (viii) *Ruķaʿāt*, a fine specimen of Persian letter-writing, containing useful information about the numerous pupils of the poet and some of his benefactors (Cawnpore 1292/1875); select works of Bīdil have also been published at Tashkent, as he is very popular in the republics of Tādjīkistān and Uzbekistān in the U.S.S.R.

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ʿAlī Shēr Ḳāniʿ, *Maḳālāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, Karachi 1957, index; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khizāna-i ʿĀmira*², Cawnpare 1900, 152-66; Shēr Khān Lōdī, *Mirʾāt ol-Khayāl*, Bombay 1906, 459; Ḳudrat Allāh Gōpāmawī, *Natāʾidj al-Afkār*, Bombay, 1334 (Faṣlī) 112-18; Lačhmī Narāyan Shafīḳ, *Gul-i Raʿnaʾ* (Āsafiyya MS); Garcin de Tessy, *Histoire de la litterature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*², Paris 1870, 312; Bānkīpsre, iii, 194.203; Rosen, Persian MSS. (St. Petersburg) p. 167; *Oriental College Mag.*, Lahore (articles by Yāsīn Khān Niyāzī), Aug.-Nov. 1932, Feb. 1933; Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī, *Taʾrīkh-i Muḳīm Khānī* (Uzbek Academy of Sciences ed.), Tashkent 1956; Huṣayn Ḳulī Khān, *Nishtar-i ʿIshḳ* (Punjab Univ. Lib. MS); *The Turkistan Aboriginal Paper 1891*, No. 10 (Furḳat's autobiography); Asīrī Odamiyat, *Samples of Tādjik Literature*, Stalinabad, 1940; Gafur Gulyam, *I come from the East*, Tashkent 1943; I. E. Bertels, *Bēdil Hakida Mylohazalar*, *Almanac Zafar*, Tashkent 1945; H. S. Ayani, *Murza Abdulkodir Bēdil*, Stalinabad 1954; Ahmed Donish, *Bedil's Witticisms*; idem. *The Rarest Accident*; Rieu, ii, 706-7; Ethe¹, I. O. Cat. Nos. 1676-86; W. Pertsch, p. 80; *İA*, sv. *Bidil* (by Ahmed Ateş). (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BĪDJĀN, Aḥmed, son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 'al-Kātib' (and hence known as Yazīdjī-oghlu Aḥmed) and younger brother of the famous Yazīdjī-oghlu Meḥmed, Turkish mystic writer and 'popular educator' who flourished in the middle of the 9th/15th century. The brothers, after studying under Ḥādjdjī Bayram [*q.v.*] of Ankara, lived a retired life together at Gelibolu, Aḥmed practising such austerities and becoming so emaciated that he was called—and calls himself in his books—'Bī-djān', *i.e.*, 'The Lifeless'. To judge from the date of the *Muntahā* (see below), Aḥmed must have lived until after 870/1465-6. He was buried beside his brother at Gelibolu, where their *türbe* was a popular resort of pilgrims (cf. Ewliyā, v, 320 and iii, 401, where E. also records a tradition that Aḥmed lived for some time at Sofia).

His works are: (1) *Anwār al-ʿĀshiḳīn* (Ḥ. Kh. [Flügel] no. 1411), a Turkish prose translation of his brother's Arabic *Maghārib al-Zamān* (Ḥ. Kh. no. 12462), completed in Muḥ. 855/Feb. 1451: this book, a standard mystical work (contents described by Hammer in *S. B. Ak. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, iii, 129 ff.), has enjoyed great popularity, 12 printed editions being recorded in Fehmi Karatay's *Ist. Ün. Küt. Türkče Basmalar*, 1956; (2) *Durr-i Maknūn* (Ḥ. Kh. no. 4873), a cosmographical work written to display God's power and also based on the *Maghārib al-Zamān*; (3) *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt* (Ḥ. Kh. no. 8070), an abridgement of Ḳazwīnī's work (cf. Rieu, *CTM*, 106) made in 857/1453 (edition: Kazan, 1888). Numerous MSS of these three works exist. (4) *Muntahā*, a 'Summa' of faith and practice, with interpretations of Koranic texts, stories of the prophets, sayings of holy men, etc. (MS in Ist. Un. Lib. [Khāliṣ Ef.], TY 3324), composed at Gelibolu in 870/1465-6 (f. 2v). All his books are written in a simple didactic style and a tone of humble and sincere piety.

The still popular *Aḥmadiyya*, sometimes attributed to Aḥmed Bīdjān, is in fact the work of Aḥmed Mürshidī (for whom see *ʿOM*, I, 33).

Bibliography: Laṭīfī, 54; Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 460; ʿĀlī, *Künh*, v, 237; *Shaḳāʾiḳ* (Medjdī), 128; Hammer-Purgstall, i, 497, 601; idem, *GOD*, I, 127 ff.; Rieu, *CTM*, 17b, 105b, 106a and references there given; Gibb, Ottoman Poetry, i, 389 ff.; *ʿOM*, I, 16 and 194-6; *EI*¹, arts. Bīdjān (unsigned, = Ahmed Bican in *İA*) and Yazīdjī-Oghlu (Fr. Babinger); Fr. Taeschner, *Die geog. Lit. der Osmanen*, in *ZDMG* 73 (1923), 36 ff.; E. Rossi, *Elenco dei Manoscritti Turchi della Bibl. Vaticana*, 1953, and references to other catalogues there given. (V. L. Ménage)

BIDJANAGAR [see vidjayanagara].

BĪDJĀPŪR, town and head-quarters of the district of the same name in Bombay State (India), situated in 16° 49′ N. and 75° 43′ E., 350 miles south of Bombay. Population in 1951 was 65,734. It was the seat of the Yādavā kings for over a century from 586/1190 to 694/1294 when it was conquered by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī for his uncle Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī [*q.v.*], king of Delhi. In 890/1485-6 Yūsuf, an alleged son of the Ottoman Sulṭān, Murād II who, on the accession of his brother Meḥemmed II to the throne, was said to have escaped certain death through a stratagem of his mother, founded the Muslim kingdom of Bīdjāpūr and built the citadel. This story seems to be unknown to the Ottoman historians (cf. Khalīl Edhem, *Düwel-i Islâmiyye*, 495); the Ottoman historian Munadjdjim Bashī, who includes an account of the ʿĀdilshāhids in his *Djāmiʿ al-Duwal*, describes Yūsuf as of Turcoman origin. For a discussion of this question see further Ismail Hikmet Ertaylan, *Adilşâhîler*, Istanbul 1953, 3 ff). He also captured Goa and included it in his dominions. He assumed the title of ʿĀdil Shāh which became the royal surname and the dynasty came to be known as the ʿĀdil Shāhs of Bīdjāpūr. He was succeeded by three incapable or profligate rulers. In 965/1557 ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh came to the throne; he built the city wall of Bīdjāpūr, the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, aqueducts and other public utility works. In 973/1565 the combined troops of Bīdjāpūr, Aḥmadnagar and Golconda defeated the Vidjayānagar forces at the battle of Tālīkōta. ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh died in 987/1579 and was succeeded by his minor nephew Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, under the regency of the famous Čānd Bībī. He died in 1036/1626 after an independent rule of 47 years and was succeeded by Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh, during whose reign, Sīvādjī, the Mahratta leader rose to power. His father Shāhdjī Bhōnslē was a petty officer of the Bīdjāpūr Sulṭān. Having been bred and brought up on Bīdjāpūr 'salt', Sīvādjī repaid the debt of gratitude by attacking Bīdjāpūr territory and between 1056/1646-1058/1648 he seized many forts of importance. In 1067/1656-7 Awrangzīb, while still a prince, attacked and beseiged Bīdjāpūr but on hearing of the serious illness of Shāhdjahān had to lift the seige and leave for Āgrā. Thirty years later (1097/1686) Awrangzīb succeeded in subduing Bīdjāpūr during the reign of Sikandar ʿAdīl Shāh (1083/1672-1097/1686), the last of the ʿAdīl Shāhs. Sikandar ʿĀdil Shāh was imprisoned and allowed a pension by Awrangzīb. He died in 1111/1699-1700. In 1100/1688 Bīdjāpūr was visited by a virulent type of bubonic plague which claimed 150,000 persons, including Awrangābādī Maḥall, a queen of Awrangzīb while Ghāzī al-Dīn Fīrūz Djang, a high noble, lost an eye. Towards the close of his reign Awrangzīb appointed his youngest son, Kām Bakhsh, to the government of Bīdjāpūr. On Awrangzīb's death Kām Bakhsh proclaimed himself Emperor at Bīdjāpūr, assuming the title of *Dīn-Panāh*. In 1137/1724 Bīdjāpūr was included in the dominions of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād. It was, however, transferred to the Marātʿhās in 1174/1760 for a sum of 6,000,000 rupees. On the overthrow of the Pēshwā in 1234/1818

the British occupied Bīdjāpūr and assigned it to the Rādjā of Satārā in whose possession it remained till 1266/1848 when, on the lapse of the State, it formed part of British Indian territory. In 1281/1864 Bīdjāpūr was made a separate district and in many of the old palaces were housed Government offices which were, however, later shifted elsewhere.

The ʿĀdil Shāhs were great patrons of art and literature. Malik Ḳummī, the poet and Ẓuhūrī, the celebrated author of the two Persian classics, *Sih Nathr* and *Mīnā Bazār*, adorned for a considerable time the Court of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, himself a poet, who composed in Dakhanī Urdu.

Bīdjāpūr, apart from the plague epidemic of 1100/1688 also suffered from two terrible famines. The first occurred in 1130/1718 and continued for six long years decimating the population of the city. It is still remembered as the Skull Famine, the ground being covered with the skulls of the unburied dead. The second occurred in 1234/1818-19 reducing the once flourishing city to a mere township, of a few thousand souls, which has since then remained a city of desolate palaces and historical ruins. Other periods of severe drought were those of 1240/1824-5, 1248/1832-3, 1270/1853-4, 1280/1863-4 and 1283/1866-7.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

Monuments.—The ʿĀdil Shāhīs developed the building art above all others, and their architecture is the most satisfactory of all the Deccan styles, both structurally and aesthetically; hence their capital, Bīdjāpur shows a more profuse display of excellent and significant buildings than any other city in India except Delhī alone. The Bīdjāpur style is coherent within itself, and there is a gradual progression between its two main phases. Most worthy of note are the doming system with its striking treatment of pendentives; profuse employment of minarets and *guldastas* as ornamental features, especially in the earlier phase; elaborate cornices; reliance on mortar of great strength and durability. The materials employed are either rubble-and-plaster or masonry; the stone used in masonry work is local, a very brittle trap. There is evidence to show that architects were imported from North India, and that use was freely made of local Hindu craftsmanship.

Pre-ʿĀdil Shāhī works are few: the rough *minārs*, (Ar. *manār*) with wooden galleries, in the walling of the Makka Masdjid; Karīm al-Dīn's mosque, inscr. 720/1320, from pillars of old Hindū temples, trabeate, with elevated central portion as clerestory, recalling the mosques of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*]; the Bahmanī *wazīr* Khwādja Djahān's mosque, c. 890/1485, similar but without clerestory.

No ʿĀdil Shāhī building can be certainly assigned to the reign of Yūsuf. The earliest dated structure, referred to as Yūsuf's Djāmiʿ Masdjid, strikingly foreshadows the style to come with single hemispherical dome on tall circular drum with the base surrounded by a ring of vertical foliations so that the whole dome resembles a bud surrounded by petals, and façade arches struck from two centres, the curves stopping some way from the crown and continued to the apex by tangents to the curve; inscr. 918/1512-3 records erection by Khwādja Sanbal in the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī, indicating that Bahmanī suzerainty was still acknowledged some time after the ʿĀdil Shāhī defection. Of Ibrāhīm's reign are also the massive Dakhnī ʿĪdgāh (within the present city walls) and several small mosques, on one of which (Īkhlāṣ Khān's) the arch spandrels are filled with medallions supported by a bracket-shaped device, later a very common ornament. Only one mosque of this period (Ibrāhīmpur, 932/1526) is domed.

The long reign of ʿĀlī I saw much building activity: the city walls, uneven in quality since each noble was responsible for a section, completed 973/1565, with five main gates flanked by bastions and machicolated, approached by drawbridges across a moat, beyond which is a revetted counterscarp and covert way (many bastions modified to take heavy guns; inscriptions of Muḥammad and ʿĀlī II); the Gagan ("sky") Maḥall, an assembly hall with much work in carved wood; a mosque in memory of *sayyid* ʿĀlī Shahīd Pīr, small (10.8 m. square) but superbly decorated with cut-plaster, with a steep wagon-vaulted roof parallel to the façade, a tall narrow chimney-like vault over the *miḥrāb* which has a door leading outside; the Shāhpur suburbs; outside Bīdjāpur, the forts of Shāhdrug (966/1558), Dhārwār (975/1567), Shāhanur and Bankapur (981/1573); ʿĀlī's own severely plain tomb; and his Djāmiʿ Masdjid, generally ascribed to 985/1576, a fine large (137.2 by 82.3 m.) building, not fully completed (only buttresses where tall *minārs* were to be added, no *kanguras* over façade), sparingly ornamented (only the central arch of seven in the *līwān* facade is cusped and decorated with medallion-and-bracket spandrels), with the great hemispherical dome, standing on a square triforium, capped by the crescent, a symbol used by the ʿĀdil Shāhīs alone among the Dakhnī dynasties. The cornice is an improvement on earlier works by showing deeper brackets over each pier instead of a row of uniform size. The vaulting system of the dome depends on cross-arching: two intersecting squares of arches run across the hall between the piers under the dome, meeting to form an octagonal space over which the dome rests; the pendentives thus overhang the hall and counteract any side-thrust of the dome. The exterior walls are relieved by a ground-floor course of blind arches over which is a loggia of open arches.

In Ibrāhīm II's reign fine sculptured stonework replaces the earlier rubble-and-plaster. The palace complex dates from about 990/1582 (Sāt Manzil, 'Granary', Čīnī Maḥall); the first building in elaborate sculptured stone is Malika Djahān's mosque (994/1586-7), which introduces a new shape by the dome forming three quarters of a sphere above its band of foliation. The Bukhārī mosque and three others on the Shāhpur suburb are very similar, and fine

stonework occurs also in perhaps the greatest work of the ʿĀdil Shāhīs, the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm II and his family known as the Ibrāhīm Rawḍa: within a garden enclosure 137.2 m. square stand a tomb and mosque on a common plinth; the tomb (shown by inscriptions to have been intended for the queen Tādj Sulṭāna only) has uneven spacing of the columns and other features, and the cenotaph chamber is covered with geometric and calligraphic designs, reputedly the entire text of the Ḳurʾān. The mosque columns are regular. The whole composition is in perfect balance and was minutely planned before building. An inscription gives the date of completion, by *abdjad*, as 1036/1626. Palaces of this reign include the Ānand Maḥall, built for entertainments (*Basātīn al-Salāṭīn*), and the Āthār Maḥall (1000/1591) with fine painted wood decoration including some fresco figure-paintings thought to be the work of Italian artists. The Andā ("egg") Masdjid, 1017/1608, has the mosque (presumably for the use of women) on the upper storey, with a *sarāʾī* below; the masonry is polished and finely jointed, and above is a ribbed dome. In 1008/1599 Ibrāhīm proposed moving his seat of government some 5 km. west of Bīdjāpur where the water supply was better; but the new town, Nawraspur, was sacked in 1034/1624, before its completion, by Malik ʿAnbar, and little remains. Other work includes the mosque known as the Naw Gunbadh, the only Bīdjāpur building with multiple doming; the fine but incomplete mausoleum of the brother *pīrs* Ḥamīd and Laṭīf Allāh Ḳādirī (ob. 1011/1602, 1021/1612); and, the supreme example of the later work of this reign, the Mihtar-i Maḥall, really a gateway to the inner courtyard of a mosque in the city, with a narrow facade based on a vertical double square, richly covered with stone diaper patterns and with a balcony supported by long struts of carved stone, their decoration resembling, and really more appropriate to, woodwork patterns; fine panelled ceilings within; superb cornices and elaborate *mīnārs* outside, all richly carved.

Works of Muḥammad's reign are of uncertain chronology owing to lack of inscriptions and historical records. Muṣṭafā Khān's mosque is plain with a façade in which the central arch is much wider than the flanking ones, following the pattern of many of the older palaces; his Sarāʾī (insc. 1050/1640-1); a *Maḥall* at ʿAynāpur; tombs of the *wazīr* Nawāz Khān (ob. 1058/1647) and of several *pīrs* showing a decadence in style with a second storey and dome too attenuated for the size of the buildings; Afḍal Khān's mausoleum and mosque, where the second storey is of insufficient height—the mosque being the only two-storeyed one in Bīdjāpur, the upper *līwān* being the duplicate of the lower except for the absence of a *minbar*, hence presumably for Afḍal Khān's *zanāna*, 63 members of which have their reputed graves 1 km. to the south: insc. in mausoleum 1064/1653; and the major building work, one of the supreme structural triumphs of Muslim building anywhere, Muḥammad's own mausoleum, the Gol Gunbadh. The tomb building, standing within a mausoleum complex, is formally simple: a hemispherical dome, of 43.9 m. external diameter, is supported on an almost cubical mass 47.4 m. square (external), with a staged octagonal turret at each angle. The floor area covered, about 1693 sq. m., is the largest in the world covered by a single dome. External decoration is simple, confined to the great cornice 3.5 m. wide supported by four courses of brackets, the openings on the pagoda-like corner turrets, and the merlons and *mīnārs* of the skyline. The dome is supported internally by arches in intersecting squares as in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid; inscription over the S. door gives the date of Muḥammad's death by *abdjad* as 1067/1656 at which time work on the building presumably stopped, the plastering being incomplete. Unfinished also is the tomb of his queen Djahān Bēgam at ʿAynāpur: foundations, piers and octagon turrets to the identical scale of the Gol Gunbadh, but the dome was intended to be carried across a central chamber.

Of ʿAlī II's reign the pavilion called Pānī Maḥall on the citadel wall, and the Makka Masdjid, both with fine masonry and exquisite surface carving; the tomb-complex of Yāḳūt Dābulī, unusual by having the mosque larger than the tomb; and ʿAlī's own unfinished mausoleum, with arches struck from four centres instead of the usual Bīdjāpur arch. Later buildings are insignificant, except for Awrangzīb's eastern gate to the Djāmiʿ Masdjid; the tomb of the last monarch, the minor Sikandar, closes the ʿĀdil Shāhī effort with a simple grave in the open air.

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BIDJĀYA (Bougie), maritime Algerian town situated about 175 km. east of Algiers. Built on the lowest slopes of the Djabal Gurāya, the city overlooks a spacious and remarkably sheltered bay. Doubtless Roman and Carthaginian shipping anchored off Saldae, the old town. At the beginning of the Christian era, it formed part of the domain of Juba, king of Cherchel. The emperor Augustus founded a colony there and settled it with veterans. An inscription dating from the second century extols Saldae as "civitas splendidissima". Nevertheless, it played no significant part until the Muslim era. In the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī refers to it as a very ancient city, a pleasant winter resort, populated with Andalusians. From this period, the Spanish Muslims were strongly represented side by side with the Berber element, the Bidjāya tribe, to which the town owes its name.

The event which made Bougie historically famous took place in 460/1067. The facts are briefly as follows. The mid-5th/11th century witnessed the rupture between the Zīrids of al-Ḳayrawān and the Fāṭimid Caliph of Cairo, and the reprisals which followed: the Hilālian invasion, the arrival of nomad Arabs sent from Egypt to take possession of the rebel kingdom. These reprisals were terrible. The nomads pillaged the countryside of Ifrīḳiya. The sacked inland towns were partly evacuated. The kingdom of the Ḥammādids first took advantage of this free-for-all. The end of the eleventh century was the

golden era of their Ḳalʿa. At the same time the Arabs were not slow to spread westward and offered a serious menace to the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Hammād. These decided to look about for a less exposed capital. Just as the Zīrids had left al-Ḳayrawān and betaken themselves to the maritime town of Mahdiyya, the masters of the Ḳalʿa withdrew to the coast. In 1067, the Ḥammādid al-Nāṣir occupied the land of the Bidjaya and set up his capital at Bougie which he wished to call al-Nāṣiriyya. Though he continued to spend part of his time at the Ḳalʿa, he gave priority to the expansion of his new capital, put himself out to attract settlers and built there the splendid Castle of the Pearl (*Ḳaṣr al-Luʾluʾ*). The son of al-Nāṣir, al-Manṣūr (483-498/1090-1104) left the Ḳalʿa (which, however, he had embellished with new buildings) in his turn. He abandoned the Ḳalʿa permanently and installed himself in Bougie with his troops and his court. Here he built the great mosque, planted gardens and erected the palaces of Amimūn and the Sta (*Ḳaṣr-al-Kawkab*) and supplied the city with water, carried by aqueduct from the Djabal Tudja. The town is reputed to have been divided into twenty-one quarters and to have contained seventy-two mosques. Doubtless this is something of a exaggeration but it is certain that the first half of the 6th/12th century was the golden age of Bougie. The second capital of the Ḥammādids had inherited from the first. It had welcomed the intellectual *élite*, the wealthy bourgeoisie, the sages and artists of the fallen Ḳalʿa. Life in Bougie was easy and free from austerity. The luxurious costume worn by the citizens, from the studied elegance of their turbans to their shoes, tied on with gilded ribbons, shocked Ibn Tūmart, the future founder of the Almohad sect, who, about 1118, spent some time in Bougie and made an attempt to reform the manners and customs of the town. Like this visit of Ibn Tūmart, that of the great Andalusian mystic Sīdī Bū Madyan and his teaching during that stay is sufficient to indicate the importance of Bougie as a centre of religious studies.

Through the seaport of Bougie, commercial and cultural relations were established with countries overseas, so that it became the centre from which the civilisation and art of eastern Barbary radiated outwards to Christian Europe, especially Sicily and Italy.

For al-Idrīsī, geographer to King Roger II, Bougie was "the chief city, the eye of the Ḥammādid state". There is every reason to believe that the royal residences of Palermo were inspired by the Palaces of Bougie, which were so enthusiastically described by the Sicilian poet, Ibn Ḥamdīs. There is also the letter, most cordial in tone, written by Pope Gregory VII to al-Nāṣir, "King of Mauretania and the Province of Setif" (Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce*, 22-23).

Very little remains in Bougie of its past as a capital city. We can, however, identify with some certainty the sites of the palaces built by the Ḥammādids. The castle of Amimūn must have stood not far from the tomb of Sīdī Tuāti; Fort Barral has supplanted the Palace of the Star. The Castle of the Pearl stood on the site of the Bridja barracks. Some reservoirs, and part of the city walls (the eastern face, where the wall, four metres thick, is flanked by lopsided towers) can be attributed to the twelfth century rulers, as can the gate known as the Saracen Gate, that great arch through which ships could enter the inner harbour.

The city of the Ḥammādids must have been appreciably more spread out than the modern town, especially in the hilly section where the Plateau of the Ruins is situated. The names of seven or eight gates have come down to us. Some of these can be located: Bāb Amsīwan to the east, on the road leading to the Valley of Monkeys, Bāb al-Bunūd, on the site of the Fouka Gate, Bāb al-Lawz, in the same position, but lower down than the Bāb al-Bunūd. Outside the town, on both banks of the Soummam, stretched the famous gardens, planted in the twelfth century and restored in the thirteenth, the Badīʿ, on the west bank, the Rafīʿ on the east.

In 546/1152, Bougie was captured by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and the last of the Ḥammādids set sail for Sicily. The ancient royal city became the chief town of an Almohad province subordinate to Marrākesh. Its downfall must have been painfully felt by its citizens. It is believed that the Almohads failed to win their affection, and one is tempted to attribute to this unpopularity of the new masters the choice of Bougie by the Banū Ghāniya, who landed there in the middle of the twelfth century in an attempt to restore the empire of the Almoravids.

Bougie was for the Banū Ghāniya merely an operational base. The Almohads were not slow to reconquer it and it remained under their rule thereafter until the collapse of the Muʾminid dynasty. From that time, Bougie and the region surrounding it became part of the kingdom of the Ḥafṣids of Tunis. The remote position of this province seems to explain its rôle in Barbary from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. This governorship, far from the capital, would have been bestowed by tradition on the heir to the throne, and, in spite of the distance, the army of Bougie on more than one occasion marched to Tunis to press the claims of a Crown Prince anxious to succeed to the throne without further delay. By virtue of its position as a frontier province, Bougie was coveted by the ʿAbd al-Wādid sultans of Tlemcen, who attempted several times, though without success, to conquer it.

At the same time, Bougie remained an opulent mercantile town, into which Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, Marseillais and Catalans imported merchandise made in Europe and from which they exported local products, especially candied peel, wax, alum, lead and raisins. Meanwhile to the profits of trading were added the sometimes richer prizes of privateering. According to a famous work by Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, i, 619, trans., iii, 117), piracy from the year 761/1360 was carried out according to a well-tried method and with remarkable success.

The attack on the town and its capture by Pedro of Navarre in 916/1510 were entirely in the nature of reprisals. Bougie, now a Spanish town, remained so until 962/1555. During these forty-five years, its new masters went through hard times, encamped on the seaboard of the 'land of the infidels' without normal contact with the hinterland, threatened by the Berber mountain tribes and at the same time dreading the Barbary Corsairs who were blockading the coast. After a heroic stand, Don Luis de Peralta had to surrender the area, which had become terribly impoverished.

Bougie, subjected to the mistrustful authority of the Algerian Turks who kept in their own hands the practice and profits of privateering, was unable to recover from this decline. The region retained some little importance by virtue of the *karasta*, the exploitation of timber for ship-building, which the masters of the Regency had supervised by

a local religious chieftain of the Amokrān family. But the town profited little from this activity. "In Bougie", wrote the traveller Peysonnel, "everything is falling into ruins, for the Turks keep nothing in repair". In 1833, when the French troops, commanded by General Trezel, entered the town, it was nothing more than a rather sorry city of barely two thousand inhabitants guarded by a hundred and fifty janissaries.

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BIDJNAWR (Bijnor), a town and district in the Rohilkhand division of the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh. The district has an area of 1,867 square miles with a population of 984,196, of which 36% are Muslims. The town has a population of 30,646 (1951 Census). Little is known of the district's early history. In 1399 it was ravaged by Tīmūr. Under Akbar it formed part of the *sarkār* of Sambhal in the *ṣūba* of Dihlī. During the decline of Mughal power it was overrun by Rohillas under ʿAlī Muḥammad. It contains the town of Nadjībābād founded about 1750 by Nadjīb al-Dawla who became *wāzīr* of Dihlī and whose son was the Rohilla leader Zābita Khān. After the defeat of the Rohillas in 1774 Bidjnawr was incorporated in Awadh. It was ceded to the British in 1801. During the 1857 insurrections Mahmūd Khān, a grandson of Zābita Khān, was one of the most formidable opponents of the British.

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BIDLĪS (Bitlis), chief city of the *wilāyet* of the same name, in eastern Anatolia. It stands on the river Bitlis, 25 km. south-west of the westernmost point of lake Van (38° 20′ N., 42° 5′ E.), at a height above sea-level variously estimated between 1,400 and 1,585 metres. Known to the Armenians as Bagesh (Pagish) and to the Arabs as Badlīs, it is referred to as Bīdlīs in old Turkish works. The city is in a relatively wide part of the deep and narrow valley cut in the eastern Taurus by the river Bitlis before it descends to the upper Djazīra. The narrow and straggling streets, with their stone-built, earthen-roofed houses, are ranged one above the other from the valley floor, covered with poplars and fruit-trees, to the bare slopes of the hills. The quarters of the city are separated one from another by the main valley and its intersections, crossed by stone bridges. Although the picturesque aspect of the city has always been admired by travellers, its location gives it a harsh climate: summer days are excessively hot, winter is rigorous and long, with heavy snowfalls. Rainfall is also heavy (about 1 metre annually), particularly in spring, whereas drought is common in summer.

The valley in which Bitlis stands affords the only route across the Taurus from the Van basin to the plateau of Diyārbakr and the plains of the Djazīra. By this road, from time immemorial, caravans have made their way from the south to Erzurum and thence to the Black Sea; this was the route taken by Xenophon and his Ten Thousand. Throughout history the rulers of Bitlis levied toll on passing travellers and took care to maintain control of the plain of Mush, which supplied the food they could not find in their own barren mountains.

When and by whom the city was founded is not known. An ancient legend tells that it was Alexander the Great who entrusted to one of his commanders, a man called Līs, the task of building here an impregnable citadel. When the building was finished, Līs refused Alexander admission. Alexander besieged the citadel but failed to force an entrance. Līs then explained to him how he had carried out his orders to the letter. He was pardoned, and the city commemorates his name. The city played an important part in Armenian history, and is frequently mentioned in the old Armenian sources (Gelzer, *Geogr. Cypr.*, Leipzig 1890, 168), which are however silent about the date of its conquest by the Muslims, recording only that the region of Daron (Mush) was taken by them in 641. Streck (*EI*[1], *s.v.* Bidlīs) mentions Arabic inscriptions on the walls of the citadel, but according to Lynch these were destroyed without ever being copied. Muslim historians relate that ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm, ʿUmar's commander in the Djazīra, after securing the surrender of Arzan went on to Bitlis and thence to Akhlāṭ (Ahlat). The Patriarch of Ahlat accepted peace terms, and on ʿIyāḍ's return the Patriarch of Bitlis agreed to pay tribute on the same scale as Ahlat (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, Cairo 1901, 184; al-Wāḳidī, *K. al-futūḥ*, Cairo 1302, ii, 152-154). It was not long however before the region reverted to Byzantine rule. Muʿāwiya subjugated it again, but after his death it was once more lost to the Muslims till the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, whose brother Muḥammad attached it to the province of al-Djazīra. In the ʿAbbāsid period it fell under the successive Shaykhid, Ḥamdānid and Marwānid dynasties of Diyārbakr. In the time of the two last-named dynasties, when Byzantium recovered the Euphrates basin, the Armenian King of Vasporakan (Basfūrdjan, the Van basin) threw off Muslim sovereignty and gave his allegiance to Constantinople, whereupon Bitlis, like Ahlat, became a frontier-city. The Muslim onslaught brought some branches of the tribes of Bakr b. Wā'il and Taghlib to the region, and under Marwānid rule various Kurdish tribes spread over these parts, notably the Ḥumaydī, to which the Marwānids belonged. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited the region in 1046, the year before the great Turkish invasion, states (*Safar-nāma*, Berlin 1841, 8 foll.) that Arabic, Persian and Armenian were spoken at Ahlat, and we may suppose that the same situation obtained at Bitlis. Fakhr al-Dawla Muḥammad b. Djuhayr, whom the Saldjūḳs appointed to govern Diyarbakr in 1084, destroyed Marwānid rule and distributed their lands and fortresses to Turks. Bitlis was given to Muḥammad b. Dīlmač or Dīmlač, whose descendants continued to rule it until 588/1192, when it was seized by the amīr of Ahlat. In 1207 both cities fell to the Ayyūbids, who settled large numbers of Kurds in the region. Though Ahlat was devastated by Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh in 1229, the cities

of Van and Bitlis began a period of prosperity, Bitlis in particular becoming an important centre of learning until the Mongol invasion. After the fall of the Ilkhānids, the Ruzhekī tribe of Kurds established a dynasty at Bitlis, which managed to maintain itself, despite many vicissitudes, till the mid-19th century, having acknowledged in its time the suzerainty of Tīmūrids, Ḳara Ḳoyunlus, Aḳ Ḳoyunlus, Ṣafawids and Ottomans. Sharaf Khān, a 16th-century member of this house (whose *Sharaf-nāma*, completed in 1596, is a principal source for Kurdish history) claimed descent from the Ayyūbids, while his grandson ʿAbdāl (ʿAbd Allāh) Khan told Ewliyā Čelebi that he was descended from the ʿAbbāsids. Ewliyā's visit was in 1655. His observations include the following. The *bādj* exacted from caravans passing through the city went to the Khān. The *kharādj* of the plain of Mush had been bestowed by Murād IV on the Khān for life; out of it he paid the warden and garrison of the citadel. On the other hand, the *djizya* paid by the Jacobite and Arab *raʿāyā* of the city was reserved to the *ḳol* (administrative division) of Van, and was collected by an *agha* who came from Van at the beginning of every year. Some 70 tribes were subject to the Khān. Within the citadel there were 300 houses, but half the area was covered by the ruler's palace. In the 17 city-quarters were 5,000 houses. In the environs were thousands of orchards, all containing summer-houses. Of the mosques, with a total of 110 *miḥrābs*, the most important was the Sharafiyya, built by Sharaf Khān. Tavernier, whose visit was at the same period, writes that the Bey of Bitlis recognised neither Shāh nor Pādishāh, and could put into the field a force of 20-25,000 cavalry. At that time the population was largely Kurdish and Armenian. The *Djihānnumā* states that the latter were in the majority. According to the Jesuits who visited the city in 1683, the nominal vassalage of the Bey to the Ottomans was preserved only in that he sent them tribute on his accession (Fleurian, *Estat présent de l'Arménie*, Paris 1694). The power of the Kurdish princes was not broken by the Turks till 1847, though the city remained a Kurdish political and religious (Naḳshbandī) centre during the turbulences of the 19th century.

On the establishment of full Ottoman sovereignty, Bitlis formed a *ḳaḍāʾ* belonging to the *sandjaḳ* of Mush within the great *wilāyet* of Erzurum, but after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 it was made into a *wilāyet* to emphasise the dependence of the region on the central government. The area of the *wilāyet*, which was divided into 4 *sandjaḳs*—Bitlis, Siirt, Mush and Genč—was almost 30,000 square kms., with an estimated population of 400,000. According to Cuinet, the central *sandjaḳ*, with an area of 5,500 square kms., had a population of some 108,000: 70,000 Muslims, 33,000 Armenians, 4,000 Syrian Jacobites and 1,000 Yazīdīs. The *sālnāme* for the year 1310/1892-93 shows the population of this *sandjaḳ* as 77,000: 46,000 Muslims, the remainder Armenian. Lynch, who quotes this total, says it ought to be increased by 13 per cent to compensate for deficiencies in the registration. For the population of the city itself in the 19th century no reliable figures exist. Lynch estimated it at 30,000 at the time of his visit (1898): 10,000 Armenians, 200 Syrians, the rest Kurds. A Russian source of the beginning of the 20th century gives the number of houses in the city as 5,100: 550 belonging to Turks, 3,000 to Kurds, 1,500 to Armenians.

The staple industry of Bitlis in the 19th century was weaving, with its ancillary craft of dyeing. Other exports of the city and the surrounding country included gall-nuts, gum tragacanth, madder, tobacco, honey and livestock.

Till the troubles of the end of the 19th century, Turks, Kurds, Armenians and Jacobites had lived side by side in Bitlis. The Jesuits who founded a mission there in 1683 had been well received by the Bey. In the 18th century an Italian priest, Maurizio Garzoni, lived and worked among the Kurds for 18 years. An American Protestant mission was founded in 1858. The insurrection of the Armenians, the measures taken to suppress it, and the Russian occupation during the First World War all contributed to a grave reduction in the population and to the disappearance of industry. The population of the city in 1927 was 9,050, in 1950 11,152.

Early in the Republican period each of the 4 *sandjaḳs* comprising Bitlis *wilāyet* became a separate *wilāyet*. In 1929 Bitlis was attached as a *ḳaḍāʾ* to the *wilāyet* of Mush, nearly 70 per cent of the population of which were Kurds according to the 1935 census. Bitlis was restored to *wilāyet* status in 1936, and is now divided into 5 *ḳaḍā's*: Bitlis, Tatvan, Ahlat, Mutki and Hizan, with an area of 5,482 square kms, and a population (1950) of 88,422.

Bibliography: H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies* 1898, London 1901, ii, 145-59; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme* (ed. Aḥmed Djewdet), iv, 85 f.; Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1676, i, 3, 303; Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, (ed. Ibrāhīm Mutafarriḳa), 413; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, ii, 521 f.; *Sālnāme-i wilāyet-i Bitlis*, 1310 (first issue); *Genel nüfus sayımı*, 20. *X*. 1935, Vol. xliv, *Muş vilâyeti*. See also the two articles *s.v.* Bitlis in *İA*, by Besim Darkot and Mükrimin Halil Yınanç, of which the present article is a shortened conflation.

(G. L. Lewis)

BIDLĪSĪ, Idrīs, Mewlānā Ḥakīm al-Dīn Idrīs b. Mewlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Bidlīsī, historian of the Ottomans, was probably of Kurdish origin. He became *nishāndji* at the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu court, and in the name of Yaʿḳūb Beg wrote a letter of congratulation to Bāyezīd II in 890/1485 which was much admired (Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 290). In consequence of the growing power of Shāh Ismaʿīl he fled to Turkey in 907/1501-2, where he was welcomed by Bāyezīd and commissioned to write the history of the Ottoman House in Persian. His work was criticised as being over-lenient to the Persians, and he failed to receive the payments he had been promised. He asked for permission to go on the Pilgrimage, but this was granted only after the death of the Grand Vizier Khādim ʿAlī Pasha (who seems to have been his chief enemy) in Rabīʿ II 917/July 1511. From Mecca he wrote to the Ottoman court a letter in which he threatened that if his wrongs were not righted he would expose in the *dībādje* and *khātime* of his history (which were not yet written) the ingratitude shown to him. Selīm I invited him back to Istanbul shortly after his accession and the completed history was presented to him. Idrīs accompanied Selīm on the Čāldirān campaign of 920/1514, and afterwards rendered invaluable service to the Ottomans by winning over the Sunnī Kurdish princes to their side; the *fermān* quoted by Saʿd al-Dīn (ii, 322) shows that he was given a free hand in organising the Kurdish territories. He also accompanied Selīm to Egypt, where he is said to have protested against the misdeeds of the Ottoman officials (Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 518).

He died in Istanbul, soon after Selīm, in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 926/Nov.-Dec. 1520, and was buried at Eyyūb beside the mosque founded by his wife, Zeyneb Khatun.

His great history, the *Hasht Bihisht* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 2131, and cf. nos. 2152 and 14406), the 'Eight Paradises', *i.e.* the reigns of the eight sultans from ʿOthmān to Bāyezīd II, is written in the most elaborate style of Persian *inshā*ʾ, avowedly on the models of the histories of Djuwaynī, Waṣṣāf, Muʿīn al-Dīn Yazdī and Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī. Though it was highly esteemed both by Saʿd al-Dīn, who frequently refers to it (cf. especially i 159), and by Hammer-Purgstall (cf. i XXXIV), it is still unpublished. It was begun in 908/1502-3 and finished in thirty months; the last political event described in detail is the relief of Midilli in 907, but the latest date recorded is 912. The long *Khātime*, entirely in verse, which was written in Mecca (cf. Rieu, *CPM* 219a), describes the civil war at the end of Bāyezīd's reign; it concludes with a *Shikāyet-nāme*, in which Idrīs relates his misfortunes.

A continuation (*dhayl*) to Idrīs's history, covering the reign of Selīm I, was written by his son Abu 'l-Faḍl (on whom see Babinger, 95 ff.). A Turkish translation of the *Hasht Bihisht* was made by a certain ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Saʿdī in 1146/1733-4 at the command of Maḥmūd I; it is not altogether reliable (cf. M. Şükrü in *Isl.* XIX [1931] 138). The history of Kemāl Pashazāde [*q.v.*], sometimes referred to as a 'translation' of the *Hasht Bihisht*, was written as a *naẓire* to it, but is an entirely independant work.

Idrīs also wrote a *Selīm-nāme* in prose and verse, which was left unfinished at his death and edited later by Abu 'l-Faḍl (a quite distinct work from Abu 'l-Faḍl's *dhayl*, cf. F. Tauer in *ArO* IV [1932] 103). He was a poet and a calligrapher (cf. Mustaḳīm-zāde, *Tuḥfat-i Khaṭṭāṭīn*, Ist. 1928, 110), and wrote a number of treatises on various subjects including: (1) *al-Ibāʾ ʿan mawāḳiʿi 'l-wabāʾ* (Ḥ.Kh. no. 5930 [? and 6218], Brockelmann II 302 and cf. S II 325); (2) two Persian translations of the 'Forty Ḥadīths' (Ḥ.Kh. no. 7507, and cf. A. Karahan, *Islâm-Türk Edebiyatında Kırk Hadis*, Istanbul 1954, 111-3); (3) a *sharḥ* to the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (Ḥ.Kh. no. 9073); (4) a *sharḥ* to Shabistarī's *Gulshan-i Rāz* (Ḥ. Kh. no. 10839); (5) a *sharḥ*, entitled *Ḥaḳḳ al-Mubīn*, to Shabistarī's *Ḥaḳḳ al-Yaḳīn*; (6) a *sharḥ* to the *Khamriyye* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (Br. S I 464); (7) *Risāla fi 'l-Nafs* (Br. S II 325); (8) a *ḥāshiye* to Bayḍāwī's *Tafsīr* (cf. Rieu, *CPM* 216b); (9) a Persian translation of Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 518 and *ʿOthmanlī Müellifleri* iii 7, where an autograph MS is recorded). Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir also records five other works, which he had presumably seen.

Bibliography: Babinger, 45 ff. and the references there given, especially Rieu, *CPM*, 216-9; Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 432 ff., for Idrīs's activities in Kurdistān (mainly following Abu 'l-Faḍl's *dhayl*); *Sheref-nāme*, ed. Véliaminof-Zernof 342 ff. = Charmoy's translation ii/1 208 ff. (where however the *Hasht Bihisht*, perhaps through confusion with the *Selīm-nāme*, is described as a poem of 80,000 verses: this error was reproduced by C. Huart in the article *Bidlīsī* in EI[1] = *Idris Bitlisi* in *İA*); M. Şükrü, *Das Hešt Bihišt des Idris Bitlisi*, in *Isl.* XIX (1931) 131-157 (survey of the MSS in Istanbul, including autographs dated 919, and analysis of contents to the death of Orkhān); Storey, ii/2 412-6 (the latest and fullest survey of the MSS). A passage from ʿAbd al-Bāḳī's translation is quoted by F. Babinger in *Isl.* XI (1921) 42 ff., and several passages of the Persian text are quoted by F. Giese in *Die Verschiedenen Textrezensionen des ʿĀšiqpašāde*, Abh. Pr. Ak. W. 1936, Phil.-Hist. Kl. no. 4. Some passages from the *Selīm-nāme* are given in translation by H. Massé in *Sélim I*[er] *en Syrie, d'après le Sélim-namè*, in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, Paris 1939, ii, 779-782. In the archives of the Topkapı Sarayı are preserved Idrīs's letter asking for permission to go on the Pilgrimage (E 3156) and the letter he sent from Mecca (E 5675, reproduced, with Turkish synopsis, by F. R. Unat in *Bell.* VII [1943], 198). A letter sent by Idrīs to Suleymān I and Idrīs's seal are reproduced in I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* ii, Ankara 1949, Pl. xxi. (V. L. Ménage)

BIDLĪSĪ, Sharaf al-Dīn Khān, commonly known as Sharaf Khān, Persian historian of Kurdish extraction, the elder brother of the Amīr of Bidlīs, Shams al-Dīn Khān, born at Karah-rūd near Ḳumm on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 949/20 February 1543, during the exile of his father. His family was taken under the protection of Shāh Ṭahmāsp the Ṣafawid (930-984/1524-1576), and he was brought up at the court of that ruler with the latter's children, and received his education there. At the age of twelve, he was raised to the rank of *amīr* of the Kurds, and held this position for three years. In Djumādā II 975/January 1568 he took part in a campaign in Gīlān against the last prince of the Kīyāʾī dynasty, Khān Aḥmad Khān (943-1020/1536-1611), who on several occasions rebelled against the Ṣafawids. This campaign having ended with the capture of the prince, he returned to court, and Shāh Ismāʿīl II, on his accession to the throne in 984/1576, conferred upon him the governorship of the province of Nakhčiwān and Shīrwān, with the title of *amīr al-umarāʾ* of the Kurds. At the time of the invasions of these regions by the Turks under Murād III in 986/1578, he joined the army of the victorious Khusraw Pasha and in this way was placed on the throne of his ancestors at Bidlīs. In 1005/1596-7, he abdicated in favour of his son Shams al-Dīn Khān, and commenced the task of writing a history of the Kurds in Persian, under the title of *Sharaf-nāma*, a work in 15 chapters, the first of which are devoted to the Kurdish tribes and princes and the last (part 2) to the Persian and Turkish rulers of his time. This work was translated into Turkish first by Muḥammad Bey b. Aḥmad Bey Mīrzā in 1078/1667-8, and later by Shamʿī in 1095/1684 (autograph MS. in the Bodleian). The Persian text was published by Veliaminof-Zernof (*Scheref-Nameh*, or history of the Kurds, by Scheref, prince of Bidlīs, published, ... translated and annotated ..., 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1860-2), and a reprint of the first part appeared in Cairo in 1931. F. B. Charmoy has translated it into French (*Cheref-Nâmeh* or history of the Kurdish nation, by Cheref-ou'ddine ... translated with a commentary ..., 2 vols. (4 books), St. Petersburg 1868-75).

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fünf Kurden-Dynastien, SBak. Wien, vol. xxviii, Vienna 1858, 3-54; idem, *Geschichte von Weitern Kurden-Dynastien, SBAk. Wien*, vol. xxx/1, Vienna 1859; idem, *Geschichte der Kurdischen Fürstenherrschaft in Bidlis. Aus dem Scherefname*, 4 vols., *SBAk. Wien*, vol. xxxii, Vienna 1859, 145-250; Morley, *A descriptive catalogue of the historical manuscripts in the Asiatic and Persian languages preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society* ..., London 1854, 146-50; C. Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. 1, London 1879, 208-9; Storey, i, 366-9; Said Naficy, *Tārīkhca-yi Mukhtaṣar-i Adabiyyāt-i Irān*, in *Sāl-nāma-yi Pārs*, 1328 solar/1949, 36.
(Said Naficy)

BIDPAY [see kalīla wa-dimna].

BĪGHA (the Greek Πηγαί), a town in north-western Asia Minor and now the centre of a *ḳaḍā'* in the province of Çanāḳ-Ḳalʿe, is situated on the Ḳodja Çāy, *i.e.*, the ancient Granicus, about 15 miles from the Sea of Marmara. At the mouth of the Ḳodja Çāy stands Ḳara Bīgha (the Πρίαπος of classical times), which is the port ("iskele") of Bīgha. Bīgha, under Ottoman rule, was at different times a *sandjaḳ* of the *eyālet-i Baḥr-i Sefīd* (the province of the Ḳapudān Pāshā or High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet), a *sandjaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Khudāwendigār (Brusa), and still later a *ḳaḍā'* in the Muteṣarriflik of Bīgha (the administrative centre of which was, however, not Bīgha itself, but Ḳalʿe-i Sulṭāniyye, *i.e.*, Çanāḳ-Ḳalʿe). The town had in 1945 about 8150 inhabitants.

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(V. J. Parry)

BĪGHA [see misāḥa].

BIH'ĀFRĪD B. FARWARDĪN, an Iranian religious agitator who, in the later period of Umayyad rule—about 129/747—set himself up as a new prophet at Khawāf in the district of Nīshāpūr. He gathered about him a large following and was put to death with his disciples on the orders of Abū Muslim in 131/749. Before this he is believed to have lived in China for seven years and on his return, to have revealed himself to certain people as resurrected and descended from heaven. Legend also has it that he pretended to be dead and remained for a year in the tomb which he had had built for himself. Enunciating his doctrine in a Persian scripture and claiming that he was in essence a Zoroastrian, he nevertheless adopted certain practices and prohibitions which seem to be inspired by Islam. Among these were the prohibition of wine, animals not ritually bled, and consanguinary marriages, the abolition of the *zamzama* [*q.v.*], the prescription of seven daily prayers to be offered up facing the sun, and obligatory alms-giving.

Doubtless, he intended by this compromise to give a new lease of life to his old religion. But Abū Muslim, incited to turn against him by the Mōbadhs who did not approve of this reform and realising moreover the danger which this movement represented for the new converts, forced Bih'āfrīd to rally to Islam and to support the ʿAbbāsid cause. As, in spite of this, the reformer continued his preaching, he was later executed. Adherents of his doctrine, awaiting the return to earth of their master, were still to be found in the 4th/10th century.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 344; Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, ed. van Vloten, 38; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 347; Shahrastānī, 187; Bīrūnī, *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, 210; Thaʿālibī, *K. al-Ghurar*, ap. M. Th. Houtsma, *WZKM*, iii, 1889, 30-37; G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, Paris 1938, 111-131; S. Moscati, *Rend. Lin.* 1949, 474 ff.; B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 196.
(D. Sourdel)

BIHĀR, a province of India lying between 23° 48′ and 27° 31′ N. and 83° 20′ and 88° 32′ E., bounded by Uttar Pradesh on the west, Nepāl on the north, Bengal and East Pakistan on the east and Orissa on the south; area, with Čhotā Nāgpur, 67,164 sq.m., population 38,784,000. The dialects of the predominantly Hindū population, Bihjpurī, Maithilī and Māgahī, are referred to as Bihārī, and are more akin to Bengali than to Hindī; the latter is, however, the official language of administration and education. The region is now of major economic importance on account of its coalfields and heavy iron industries.

Bihār—which takes its name from the now unimportant town of Bihār, surrounded by Buddhist monasteries (Skt. *vihāra*)—was in the British period from 1765 within the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, later joined administratively with the now independent Orissa [*q.v.*]. This lack of independence reflects the position of the region—whose boundaries have only been formally defined in recent years—from the earliest days of Islamic supremacy in India, and its history is one of individual governors and towns rather than of dynasties and regions. Monghyr (Mungīr), for example, was taken during Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bakhtiyār Khaldjī's raids on Bihār in 589/1193 and held by him under the Delhi sultan Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak; it was annexed to Delhi by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ in 730/1330, belonged to Djawnpur (Jaunpur) from 799/1397, reverted to Delhi when overrun by Sikandar Lōdī in 893/1488, and was later held by the kings of Bengal before becoming subject to the Mughals. Parts of Bihār did form a separate administrative unit in the 7th/13th centuries (Shams al-Dīn Iletmish established a governor in Bihār in 622/1225); under Akbar in 990/1582 it formed a *sūba* of eight *sarkārs*, subordinate to the *sūba* of Bengal. The capital remained at the town of Bihār until transferred to Paṭnā by Shēr Shāh Sūrī in the 9th/15th century. The importance of the region was as a buffer between Awadh and Bengal until the Mughal period, when the emphasis was as a line of communication between them, as many fine bridges of the Mughal viceroys testify.

2. Monuments: There is no particular 'Bihārī' style of Indo-Islamic architecture. The finest group of buildings is at Sahsarām, including the justly famous mausoleum of Shēr Shāh (inscription of 952/1545) standing 50 m. high in a large artificial lake; its architect, Aliwāl Khān, had been a master-builder under the Delhi Lōdīs, but his treatment of

the octagonal mausoleum transcends any of the Lōdī conceptions. Shēr Shāh obtained the fort of Rohtāsgaṛh from its Hindū Rādjā in 946/1539, and to him is attributed the Djāmiʿ Masdjid; the reconstructed fortifications, the palaces, Habash Khān's tomb and mosque, etc., date from the viceregency (988-1008/1580-1600) of Rādjā Mān Singh under Akbar; to Mān Singh is attributed the mosque at Hadaf, near Rādjmaḥal; the long barrel-vault traversing the central bay of the *līwān* of this early Mughal structure recalls the style of Djwanpur [*q.v.*]. Monghyr has been mentioned above: the fort is reputed to have been built by early Bengal kings, but the style appears Mughal; Rādjā Todar Mall is known to have repaired the fortifications in 988/1580. The two forts of Palamaw, built by local Čero Rādjās in the 11th/17th century, were taken by the Mughal governor Dāʾūd Khān Ḳurayshī, who erected a mosque (1070/1660) and other structures; the Nayā Ḳilʿa boasts the splendid Nāgpurī Darwāzā in the Djahāngīrī style. The tomb of Makhdūm Shāh Dawlat (Čhoṭī Dargāh) at Maner erected by the governor Ibrāhīm Khān in 1017-26/1608-16 is of some merit. For other buildings see M. Ḥ. Ḳuraishī, cited below.

Bibliography: There are no primary sources specifically dealing with Bihār; for the various historical incidents involving Bihār see *Cambridge History of India*, Vols iii (1928) and iv (1937) (full bibliographies); also *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. viii, Oxford 1908, and, for local histories, relevant volumes of the *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers*, Patna *c.* 1930; some are revised versions of the former *Bengal District Gazetteer*.

For the monuments of Shēr Shāh Sūrī, see A. Cunningham, *ASI Report*, xi, 1880; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic Period*), Bombay n.d., Chap. xvi; H. Goetz, *The mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram*, in *Ars Islamica*, v, i, 97; for other monuments also, *ASI Annual Report* 1922-3, 34-41, and (most important, with full descriptions and histories of monuments) Maulvī Muḥammad Ḥamīd Ḳuraishī, *List of Ancient Monuments ... in Bihar and Orissa, ASI, NIS* Vol. li, Calcutta 1931, 54-66, 139-141, 146-191, 197-202, 207-219. (J. Burton-Page)

BIHĀR-I DĀNISH [see ʿināyat allāh kanbū].

al-**BIHĀRĪ**, Muḥibb Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Shakūr al-ʿUthmānī al-Ṣiddīḳī al-Ḥanafī was born at Karā, a village near Muḥibb ʿAlīpūr in the province of Bihār (India). He belonged to the Malik community, of exotic origin, still unidentified. He received his early education from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Anṣārī al-Sihālwī and read some books with Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shamsābādī. After completing his studies he went to the Deccan where Awrangzīb was at the time engaged in military operations against the local rulers. The emperor, impressed by his erudition, especially his high proficiency in jurisprudence, appointed him *ḳāḍī* of Lucknow. After some years he was posted to Ḥaydarābād on the defeat of Abū 'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh, the ruler of Golconda, in 1097/1686-7 at the hands of Awrangzīb. He was later appointed tutor to Prince Rafīʿ al-Ḳadr, a son of Shāh ʿĀlam b. Awrangzīb. He went to Kābul in 1109/1697 along with his ward when Shāh ʿĀlam was appointed governor of that province. On his accession to the throne in 1118/1706-7 Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur Shāh I appointed him the chief justice of the realm and conferred on him the title of "Fāḍil Khān". He died soon after in 1119/1707.

He is the author of: (i) *Sullam al-ʿUlūm*, a famous text on logic; (ii) *Musallam al-Thubūt*, a standard work on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*; (iii) *Djawhar al-Fard*, a dissertation on the indivisible atom. All these three books are prescribed as courses of study in Indo-Pakistan religious institutions and have been the subject of commentaries, glosses and super-glosses. (iv) *Risāla fī 'l-mughālaṭāt al-ʿāmmat al-wurūd*; and (v) *Risāla fī ithbāt anna madhhab al-Ḥanafiyya abʿad ʿan al-raʾy min madhhab al-Shāfiʿiyya.*

Bibliography: Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Maʾāthir al-Kirām*, Ḥaydarabād (Dn.) 1910, 211; idem. *Subḥat al-Mardjān fī āthār Hindustān*, Bombay 1303/1886, 76; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Ḳannawdjī, *Abdjad al-ʿUlūm*, Bhopal 1296/1878, 905; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-i ʿUlamāʾ-i Hind*[1], Lucknow 1312/1894, 175; Brockelmann, *GAL* II, 420, S II 622-4; *JASB* (1913), 195 ff.; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Tadhkira-i ʿUlamāʾ-i Hind*, Lahore 1914, 42; Zubaid Aḥmad, *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, Jullundur 1946, 56-9, 126-130; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Nadwī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād (Dn.) 1376/1957, vi, 250-2; Faḳīr Muḥammad Lāhorī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafiyya*[2], Lucknow, 1324/1906, 431; Faḍl-i Imām Khayrābādī, *Tarādjim al-Fuḍalāʾ* (Eng. trans. Bazmee Ansari), Karachi 1956, 48-53. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BIHĀRISTĀN [see djāmī].

BIHISHT [see djanna].

BIHISHTĪ, *takhalluṣ* of an Ottoman poet and historian, whose personal name was Aḥmed. He was born in about 871/1466-7, the son of a certain Suleymān Bey. At the age of 13 he entered the service of Bāyezīd as a page, but was banished from court for some offence and is reported to have fled to Harāt. He was pardoned but not received back into favour. He was writing his History in the last year of Bāyezīd's reign (917/1511-2) and probably died in that year.

Bihishtī is said to have written the first Khamsa [*q.v.*] in Ottoman Turkish; of his *methnewīs* survive: *Leylā we Medjnūn*, *Makhzen al-Esrār*, *Mihr ü Müshterī*, *İskender-nāme* and *Heft Peyker*. His History, written in a somewhat turgid style, probably consisted originally of eight 'books', one for each of the sultans from ʿOthmān to Bāyezīd II. Add. 7869 in the British Museum and Revan Köşkü 1270, two portions of the same MS, cover the years 791-908; Add. 24,995 in the British Museum, a later compilation mainly based on Bihishtī's history, probably contains material from the first three 'books', which are not known in the full version. The history, which follows closely the *Hasht Bihisht* of Idrīs Bidlīsī [*q.v.*], is neither so early nor so important as was once believed.

Bibliography: Babinger, 43, and sources noted there, especially Rieu, *CTM*, 44 and 47; S. Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Şairleri*, s.v.; R. İlter, *Bihişti ve Leylî vü Mecnun'u*, unpublished thesis, no. 386 in the Türkiyat Enstitüsü library (a study of Turkish MS 5591 in the library of Istanbul University); a MS. at Ushaw College, Durham, contains the five poems named above. (V. L. Ménage)

BIHḲUBĀDH, in ʿAbbāsid times the name (adopted, with the organisation, from the Sāsānid Persians) of three districts (*Astān*, Arabic *Kūra*) of the province of ʿIrāḳ, all situated on the eastern branch (modern Ḥilla branch) of the Euphrates. The name means "the Goodness (or good lands?) of

Kubādh", a Sāsānid king who reigned in the 5th century A.D. The districts bordered, to the south, on that of Kūfa, and on the Great Swamp of the Lower Euphrates. The three districts, sometimes referred to jointly as the Bihkubādhāt, were those of Upper, Middle, and Lower Bihkubādh. The Upper district contained six sub-districts (*tassūdj*), those of the village and ruins of Bābil (Babylon), Khuṭarniya, Upper and Lower al-Talludja, ʿAyn al-Tamr, and another. Middle Bihkubādh contained four subdivisions, those of the Badāt Canal, of Sūrā and Barbīsamā, of Bārūsamā, and of Nahr al-Malik. Lower Bihkubādh had five subdivisions, including those of Furāt Badaḥlā and Nistar.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim*, particularly iii, 133; vi. 7,236; Yāḳūt, i, 770; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, *Lexic. geogr.* (ed. Juynboll), i. 57, 183; iv. 98, 412 ff.; Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 271, 464; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, i. (1900), 16, 20; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr* = *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, New Series, Vol. iii, no. 2 (1901), 142, 163 ff.; Le Strange, 70, 81. (M. STRECK-[S. H. LONGRIGG])

BIHRŪZ (AMĪR), son of Amīr Rustam and, like him, chief of the Donbolī. A loyal ally of the Ṣafawids, he took part in the war between Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Sulṭān Sulaymān al-Ḳānūnī in 945/1538. He died in 985/1577, at the age of 90, after having been in power for 50 years. His *laḳab* was Sulaymān Khalīfa. (B. NIKITINE)

BIHRŪZ KHĀN, son of Shah Bandar Khān, *amīr* of the Donbolī. He was known under the name of Sulaymān Khān al-Thānī. At the time of Sulṭān Murād's attack on Ādharbāydjān, he distinguished himself in the army of Shāh Ṣafī. He died in 1041/1631-2.

Bibliography: M. E. Zaki, *Mashāhir al-Kurd wa-Kurdistān*, 144; *Taʾrikh al-Duwal wa 'l-Imārat al-Kurdiyya*, 386, 387. (B. NIKITINE)

BIHZĀD, KAMĀL AL-DĪN, USTĀD, the most famous Persian miniature-painter. The main sources for his life are: 1. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Bombay 1857, iii, 350 (T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928, 140) and two documents from his *Nāma-i Nāmī* (Bibl. Nat., MS. Suppl. Pers. 1842), a preface to an album of calligraphy and miniatures compiled by Bihzād and the document appointing him head of the royal Kitāb-Khāna (Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī-L. Bouvat, *Deux documents inédits relatifs à Behzad*, in *RMM*, xxvi, 1914, 146-161); 2. *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, London 1921, 272, 291, 329; 3. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Taʾrikh-i Rashīdī* (T. W. Arnold, in *BSOS*, v, 1930, 672-673); 4. Dūst Muḥammad b. Sulaymān of Harāt, *Account of past and present printers of the year 951 (1544)* in the Bahrām Mīrzā Album, Top-kapu Serai Libr., Istanbul (Binyon-Wilkinson-Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Oxford 1933, 186); 5. Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Menāḳib-i Hünerwerān* (995/1587), Istanbul 1926, 37, 63-65, 67; 6. Ḳāḍī Aḥmad b. Mīr-Munshī, *Gulistān-i Hunar* (1015/1606), (*Calligraphers and painters* . . . ., tr. by V. Minorsky, Washington, 1959, 159, 179-80, 183); 7. Iskandar Munshī, *Taʾrikh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, 141).

On the basis of the existing work of Bihzād, one can assume that he was born during the decade 1450-60. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, Dūst Muḥammad, and Ḳāḍī Aḥmad describe him as a pupil of Amīr Rūḥ Allāh, known as Mīrak Naḳḳāsh of Harāt, the librarian of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, who brought up the young orphan; the Turkish art historian ʿĀlī states, however, that his teacher was Pīr Sayyid Aḥmad of Tabrīz; lastly Djahāngīr mentions Khalīl Mīrzā as an artist whose style Bihzād continued (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, trs. Roger and Beveridge, ii, 116). He became recognised very quickly, and received great artistic opportunities through his first patron Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī and, from some time before 893/1488 on, through the Tīmūrid Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, at whose court in Harāt gathered the intellectual *élite* of the time with Nawāʾī, Djāmī and Khwāndamīr at their head. Bihzād remained in Harāt after the dynasty was overthrown by Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī (1507). Bābur says that this prince had the presumption to correct Bihzād's miniatures. He moved, however, to Tabrīz, the Ṣafawid capital, with the latter's conqueror, Shāh Ismāʿīl. The favour which he enjoyed with the latter is evident from the story told by ʿĀlī of Ismāʿīl's anxiety about Bihzād during the campaign against Sulṭān Selīm I, in 1514. The distinction in which he was held became even more evident from the fact that on 27th Djumādā I 928/1522 he was appointed head of the royal library and placed in charge of all the librarians, calligraphers, painters, gilders, marginal draughtsmen, gold mixers, gold beaters and lapis-lazuli washers. This document disproves the statement of Ḳāḍī Aḥmad that Bihzād remained in Harāt until the beginning of the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930/1524). Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Bihzād also received numerous marks of honour and was engaged along with Sulṭān Muḥammad and Aḳā Mīrak in the royal library. In the *Laṭāʾif-nāma* of Fakhrī Sulṭān Muḥammad (c. 927/1520; Brit. Mus. Add. 7,669, fol. 98) is a story which illustrates the aged Bihzād's manner of working: he took a Turkish assistant, Darwīsh Muḥammad Naḳḳāsh of Khurāsān, a colour-preparer, as his pupil and finally entrusted him with his own works. As other pupils are mentioned by Ḥaydar Mīrzā: the portrait painter Ḳāsim ʿAlī, Maḳṣūd and Mullā Yūsuf; by ʿĀlī: Shaykhzāda of Khurāsān and Āḳā Mīrak; by Ḳādī Aḥmad: Dūst-i Dīwāna and the father of the painter Muẓaffar ʿAlī; he also called Bihzād a contemporary of Yārī Mudhahhib of Harāt which is borne out by the fact that they jointly worked on the *Būstān* of 893 H. in Cairo (see below). Ḳāḍī Aḥmad places Darwīsh and Ḳāsim ʿAlī into a slightly earlier period than Bihzād, which would make the master-student relationship doubtful. Finally Iskandar Munshī states that Muẓaffar ʿAlī was one of his pupils. According to a chronogram given by Dūst Muḥammad, Bihzād died in 942/1536-1537 and was buried in Tabrīz beside the poet Shaykh Kamāl of Khudjand; according to another tradition, he died earlier, in 1533-1534. Still another tradition preserved by Ḳāḍī Aḥmad has it that he died in Harāt and that he was buried in the neighbourhood of Kūh-i Mukhtār within an enclosure full of paintings and ornaments. In the Yildiz Library in Istanbul is an alleged portrait miniature which shows the aged Bihzād as an unassuming, apparently shy man in Ṣafawid costume (A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, Paris-Brussels 1929, fig. 130).

The older sources yield little information for our knowledge of Bihzād as an artist, however much they praise him as the greatest of his age. Khwāndamīr's extravagant language seems to emphasise his great refinement, minute perfection and power of lifelike representation. Ḥaydar Mīrzā compares him with his teacher Mīrak, whose art is riper although not so finished; also with Shāh Muẓaffar who seems to have been held in almost equal esteem, whom

Bihzād surpassed, however, in control of the brush, in drawing and in figure composition, without attaining his delicacy. Ḳāḍī Aḥmad stresses his sense of proportion and he mentions the excellence of his bird images and that he was fluent in his charcoal drawings. Bābur praises his art as very delicate, especially emphasising the fact that he drew bearded figures admirably, while his beardless figures were not so good, and adds that he exaggerated the length of the double chin. Bābur's successors on the Mug̲h̲al throne were also among his admirers, eagerly endeavoured to get his works for their libraries and frequently mention the prices they paid (c. 3-5,000 rupees). His works had, however, already previously been collected, as some of his paintings formed part of an album of the Ṣafawid prince Sulṭan Ibrāhīm Mīrzā (d. 984/1517. D̲j̲ahāngīr is one of the first to mention the tradition, also recorded elsewhere, that Bihzād was specially distinguished for his drawing of battle-scenes. As a result of the general esteem in which he was held Bihzād's name finally became proverbial. According to K̲h̲ʷāndamīr he should be put alongside of Mānī, the other traditional creator of incomparable masterpieces, while in typically Persian hyperbole, Ḳāḍī Aḥmad exaggerates this further by stating that Mānī would have imitated him had he known of him. ʿĀlī, however, hints that Bihzād's success was to some extent due to the influence of his patrons. This presupposes intrigues and jealousies which may account for the fact that Bihzād is not properly listed in the account of Persian painters and calligraphers given by the Ṣafawid Prince Sām Mīrzā in his *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī* (M. Mahfuz-ul Haq, *Persian Painters, illuminators and calligraphers, etc. in the 16th century, A.D.*, in *Journal & Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*, vol. 38, 1932, 239-42).

Modern research has been mainly concerned with identifying Bihzād's original works. It has been to some extent successful, especially since the London Exhibition of Persian Art in 1931 at which a large number of pictures ascribed to Bihzād were brought together. It is, however, not yet possible to isolate him completely from others in his artistic development and characteristic qualities, as a sufficiently large number of works have not yet been definitely attributed to his predecessors and contemporaries. The problem is greatly complicated by the fact that as a result of Bihzād's fame his signature has been wrongly added to miniatures for centuries, be it for financial profit or to provide a collector with a page by the celebrated painter; or his works have been copied, including the signatures, either *in toto* or in parts, or they have been finished or restored after his death.

The basis for our actual knowledge of Bihzād's work is provided by the paintings in the *Būstān* MS. finished in Rad̲j̲ab 893/June 1488 in Harāt, in the Egyptian National Library, Cairo. It was written for Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā by Sulṭān ʿAlī al-Kātib, illuminated by Yārī, and it has one double frontispiece miniature (with a now defaced signature) and four single-page paintings, dated 893 and 894. Two of the latter have Bihzād's name in the architectural decoration, so that they could not possibly be a later addition, and 2 other signatures are so inconspicuously placed and modest in tone that they too seem to be genuine. As all paintings are in the same style and of the same quality, they have been accepted nearly universally as authentic works of the master. They prove to be the fulfilment of the Tīmūrid style which is shown to perfection. These paintings are most skilfully and harmoniously composed, also in relation to the inserted text units. Within the pictorial space which is treated according to the concepts of the period the none-too-large figures are well distributed in their proper numbers. The rich pigments are of a wide range and applied with a highly developed colour sense. They reveal that, on the whole, Bihzād seems to have preferred cool colours, such as blues and greens, particularly in interior scenes, but they are always balanced by complementary warm colours, especially a bright orange. All the units of the design fit into a decoratively conceived all-over picture which is perfectly executed. The branches of trees in bloom, the richly decorated tile patterns, and the designs on the carpets reveal in particular the artist's decorative sense and the delicacy of his work. Its realism distinguishes it, however, from the paintings of the previous period. This is apparent in the iconography which is no longer purely of courtly nature and primarily devoted to the manly deeds and loves of kings; it brings in addition and on the same level everyday events (*e.g.*, the odd behaviour of a drunken prince, the *wuḍūʾ* at a mosque, mares nursing foals in a stud farm, etc.) and shows also a concern for the activities of persons of lower social standing (a *bawwāb* chastising an intruder, servants bringing food, peasants at work, etc.). Furthermore the figures are no longer mere types, puppets with mask-like faces, but are individualised and often shown full of spontaneous movement or with a sense for the dramatic. Even when they are shown in repose, their attitude is natural.

Since none of the other works connected with Bihzād have a safe signature, though some of them carry attributions dating from the first half of the 16th century, only their stylistic aspect—the perfectly executed combination of the decorative and the realistic—can serve as guide to other true Bihzādian paintings. Some additional help is provided by the custom of the period to work with stencils, so that individual figures known from a well established Bihzād painting can be traced in other, more uncertain works, although such a procedure could also have been done by a student. Unfortunately, our present ignorance of Bihzād's paintings prior to 1485 and after 1500 leaves us in doubt about the master's activities in his youth and old age. In view of so many uncertainties, it is natural that scholars have disagreed about certain attributions, but even if not all of the following works are by the master himself, they are at least from his school.

1. Mīr ʿAlī S̲h̲īr Nawāʾī, *K̲h̲amsa*, dated 890/1485 and written for Badīʿ al-Zamān son of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā. 4 vols. in Bodleian Library (MSS. Elliot 287, 408, 317, 339) and 1 vol. in John Rylands Library, Manchester (Turk. MS. 3). At least 1 miniature (Elliot 287, fol. 71°: "Muḥammad and his Companions" very close to Bihzād while another, Elliot 339, 95v°: "Mystics in Landscape", shows strong influence of his style.

2. Amīr K̲h̲usraw Dihlawī, *K̲h̲amsa*, written in 890/1485 by Muḥammad b. Azhar. Four miniatures close to Bihzād (F. R. Martin, *Les miniatures de Behzad dans un manuscrit persan daté* 1485, Munich, 1912, pls. 9, 16, 18 and 21).

3. *Gulistān* written by Sulṭān ʿAlī Kātib, Muḥarram 891/Jan. 1486. M. de Rothschild Collection, Paris. One miniature ("Saʿdī and the youth of Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar") most likely by Bihzād. The paintings

of these 3 MSS. of 1485-86, if they are indeed by Bihzād, whould represent the work of his youth, which has not yet quite reached the quality of the Cairo *Būstān* MS.

4. Double miniature "Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā with his Ḥarīm and Retinue in a Garden", ca. 1490-1495. Tehran, Gulistān Palace Library. Very close to Bihzād's style, goes at least in part back to him.

5. Niẓāmī, *Khamsa*, text dated 846/1442, British Museum, Add. 25,900. 19 miniatures of later date, one dated 898/1493 which is the approximate date for 4 miniatures in Bihzādian style. Three paintings have small attributions probably genuine (fols. 121v°, 161r°, 231v°), a fourth, unsigned on fol. 114r°, ("Madjnūn before the Kaʿba") of such high quality that it could also be by Bihzād.

6. Niẓāmī, *Khamsa*, written for Amīr ʿAlī Fārsī Barlās, one painting dated 900/1494-95. British Museum Or. 6810. 16 miniatures attributed to Bihzād by Djahāngīr and most likely either by him (fols. 37v°, 135v°, 190r°, 214r°, 225v, 233v°) or by his students (fols. 27v°, 72v°, 93r°, 106v, 128v°, 137r°, 144v°, 154v°, 157r°, 175r°).

7. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Zafar-nama*, probably written for Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā; according to a later colophon finished in 872/1467 by Shīr ʿAlī, but six double-page paintings date from 1490s. Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore (R. Garrett Coll.). 8 (*sic*) miniatures attributed by Djahāngīr to the early period of Bihzād. All paintings most likely by Bihzād, though in parts, possibly in collaboration with students; several show later retouches, probably Mughal.

8. Circular miniature "Pīr and Youth in Landscape" in an Anthology dated 930/1524 written for Wazīr Khwādja Malik Aḥmad. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, no. 44, 48. The painting which may be earlier than the MS. closely paraphrases a miniature in no. 2. According to the introduction, the owner, a high official of the Ṣafawid court, regarded it as a genuine work at a time when Bihzād was alive and connected with the royal library. It seems therefore to be a work of the master's old age which would explain its weaker and repetitive character; alternatively, it may be a copy by a student, supervised by Bihzād and therefore regarded as his own work.

9. Single painting "Two Fighting Camels with Attendants", Tehran, Gulistān Palace Library. According to its inscription this is a work by Bihzād when he was 70 years old. In 1017/1608 Djahāngīr took it to be an authentic picture. A mid-15th century version of the same theme shows that this is much weaker than its prototype (R. Ettinghausen, *Some paintings in four Istanbul albums*, in *Ars Orientalis i*, 1954, 102, figs. 3 and 63). Nos. 8 and 9 would therefore have to be regarded as possible works of Bihzād's declining years.

Works mentioned in literature but not now known are: a *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī written by Mawlānā Maḥmūd Nīshāpūrī for Shāh Ṭahmāsp, a *Tīmūr-nāma* written by Sulṭān ʿAlī Mashhadī, and the paintings iu the album of miniatures for which Khwāndamīr wrote the preface and in the one owned by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā.

Bihzād's influence is first seen in his pupils, of whom some, like Ḳāsim ʿAlī and Āḳā Mīrak, almost attained their master's level. In spite of the fact that another change in style took place very soon under the Ṣafawids, there was in the first three decades of the 10th/16th century a transitional style which shows many features of Bihzād's work; a characteristic example is an ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī MS. of 1526 (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. turc, 316). Harāt painters carried Bihzād's style to Bukhārā where it became established at the Shaybānid court. A MS. of ʿAṣṣār's *Mihr-u Mushtarī*, copied in Bukhārā in 929/1523 is a good example of how much more faithful the Bihzādian style was preserved there than in Tabrīz (Freer Gallery of Art, nos. 32,5-32.8). Here the tradition of Bihzād and the Harāt school survived till beyond the middle of the 16th century. By the migration of artists from centres still under Bihzād's influence, the Harāt style and Bihzādian tradition were brought also to India.

Independently of the general development of style we find Bihzād's miniatures and motives more or less faithfully copied down to the 17th century. "Dārā's Meeting with the Horseherd" in the Cairo *Būstān* is found in *Būstān* MSS. of 1535 (Paris, Cartier collection) and 1556 (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. pers. 1187), and others. The "Fighting Camels" recur in many Indian and Persian miniatures, on a Persian carpet with animal designs of the 17th century (Berlin, formerly Schloss-Museum) and on a green glazed faience bottle of about 1600 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum), while as late as 1028/1619 and 1035/1626 Riḍā-i ʿAbbāsī reproduces designs thought to be by Bihzād (Paris, Vignier collection and Gulistān Palace Library).

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12, pl. 8; J. V. S. Wilkinson, *Fresh light on the Herat painters*, in *Burlington Magazine*, Feb. 1931, 62-67; V. Minorsky, *Two unknown Persian manuscripts*, in *Apollo*, Feb. 1931; I. Stchoukine, *Les miniatures persanes au Louvre*, 1932, 41 f. and pl. ix; idem, *Un Gulistān de Saʿdī illustré par les artistes tīmūrides*, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, x, 1936, 92-96, pl. xxxiv-xxxv; idem, *Les peintures de la Khamseh de Nizami du British Museum, Or. 6810*, in *Syria*, xxvii, 1950, 301-313; idem, *Les peintures des manuscrits tīmūrides*, Paris 1954, 21-25, 68-86, 95, 101-104, 110-111, 120-141; pl. lxxii-lxxxviii (the most exhaustive and best critical account, which also deals with the main earlier publications); L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 1933, chap. iv and v, pl. lxii-lxxiv, lxxviii-lxxxi, lxxxvi f, lxxxix; G. Wiet, *L'exposition persane de 1931*, 1933, 74-78, pl. E, 34-36; E. Kühnel and H. Gœtz, *Indische Buchmalerei, aus dem Jahāngīr Album der Staatsbibl. zu Berlin*, 1924, 44, pl. 3, 31, 33; E. de Lorey, *Behzād. Le Gulistān Rothschild*, in *Ars Islamica*, iv, 1937, 122-143; idem, *Behzad*, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xx, 1938, 25-44; E. Schroeder, *The Persian Exhibition and the Bihzad problem*, in *Bull. Fogg Museum of Art*, vii, 1937, 3-14; R. Ettinghausen, "*Six thousand years of Persian art*". *The exhibition of Iranian Art*, New York 1940, in *Ars Islamica*, vii, 1940, 111, fig. 6; B. W. Robinson, *A descriptive catalogue of the Persian paintings in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1958, 65-67; R. H. Pinder-Wilson, *Persian painting of the fifteenth century*, London 1958, 5, 24, pls. 7-9.

(R. Ettinghausen)

al-**BIḲĀʿ**, plural of al-Baḳʿa, the proper name of the elongated plain commonly called the Bekaa, which, at a mean altitude of 1,000 metres, lies between the mountains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The ancients had clearly defined it by the term Coele Syria (Hollow Syria) of which the application was subsequently extended. It is a depression of tectonic origin filled in by sediment, and is an extension of the Jordan rift along the north-south axis which forms one of the basic features of the structure of the Near East. Two rivers, the Līṭānī and the Orontes, which have their sources on either side of the Baʿlabakk watershed, drain it rather inadequately before cutting their way, the one through the rugged highlands of the south, the other through gorges opening on to the basalt plateau of Ḥimṣ. Its continental climate makes it a semi-arid steppe land, which nevertheless is studded with oases and depressions, for long marshy, which justify al-Ḳalḳas͟handī in mentioning the lake of al-Biḳāʿ in his day.

The complementary works of drainage and irrigation, among which those of Tankiz, viceroy of Syria at the beginning of the Mamlūk epoch, have remained famous, contributed to its development. But today it remains still scantily populated (38 inhabitants per sq. km.) and is traditionally devoted to the production of cereals, which is maintained by a system of communal ownership or of big estates. The majority of its population is Muslim, with S͟hīʿīs predominating in the north, and lives in large villages situated for preference on the foothills, where caves have long attracted those inclined to the monastic life. Among the localities in this high valley, in ancient times a region of sedentary population and a much-used trade route which then became from the time of the Arab conquest one of the richest districts in the province of Damascus, one may mention, besides many sites renowned for their ancient ruins and cave carvings, the Umayyad residence of ʿAyn al-D͟jarr [*q.v.*], the straggling village of Karak Nūḥ, which was the Mamlūk capital, and the little prosperous villages of today such as Zaḥla. The most important centre has always been Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*] although in Mamlūk times the authority of this citadel, which had for a long time commanded the whole of the country, had been considerably curtailed, and the neighbouring countryside, divided into two districts, had been entrusted to an independent governor. From that time, alongside the *niyāba* of Baʿlabakk there were two *wilāyas*, the Biḳāʿ al-Baʿlabakkī and the Biḳāʿ al-ʿAzīzī.

The last name is to be connected according to Arab historians with that of a son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], and according to certain modern scholars with that of the ancient local divinity *Azizos*. Perhaps one can also see traces of ancient cults in the numerous popular dedications to which toponymy and monuments bear witness, and which evoke above all either the story of Noah and the memories of the flood, or the figure of Ilyās, a hermit *par excellence* and despiser of the cult of Baʿal.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BIKBĀS͟HĪ [see biñbas͟hī].

BILĀD-I T͟HALĀT͟HA, the three towns, a term employed in Ottoman legal and administrative usage for Eyyūb, Galata, and Üsküdar, *i.e.*, the three separate urban areas attached to Istanbul. Each had its own ḳāḍī, independent of the ḳāḍī of Istanbul, though of lower rank. Every Wednesday the ḳāḍīs of the 'three towns' joined the ḳāḍī of Istanbul in attending the Grand Vezir. This judicial autonomy of the three towns goes back to early Ottoman times, probably even to the conquest. The three towns also enjoyed some autonomy in police matters, being subject not to the police jurisdiction of the Ag͟ha of the Janissaries, like Istanbul proper, but of other military officers.

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(B. Lewis)

BILĀL b. ABĪ BURDA [see abū burda].

BILĀL b. D͟JARĪR al-MUḤAMMADĪ, Abu 'l-Nadā, Zurayʿid [*q.v.*] vizier and governor of ʿAdan. He was appointed governor of the city by the Zurayʿid prince Sabāʾ b. Abī 'l-Suʿūd at the time of his war against his cousin and co-ruler of ʿAdan, the Masʿūdid ʿAlī b. Abī 'l-G͟harāt, 531-32/1136-38. With the death of Sabāʾ in 533/1138-39 his son and successor, al-Aʿazz, intensely jealous of Bilāl, intended to have him put to death, but died himself in 534/1139-40 before this could be achieved. At his sudden demise Bilāl had a younger son of Sabāʾ, Muḥammad, brought from Taʿizz, where he had gone into concealment from the hatred of his brother, placed him on the throne over the young

Figure A: "Entertainment at the Court of Ḥusayn Bayḳarā". Left part of double frontispiece by Bihzād in a manuscript of Saʿdī's *Būstān*, written in 893/1488. Cairo, Egyptian National Library.
(Courtesy, Egyptian National Library)

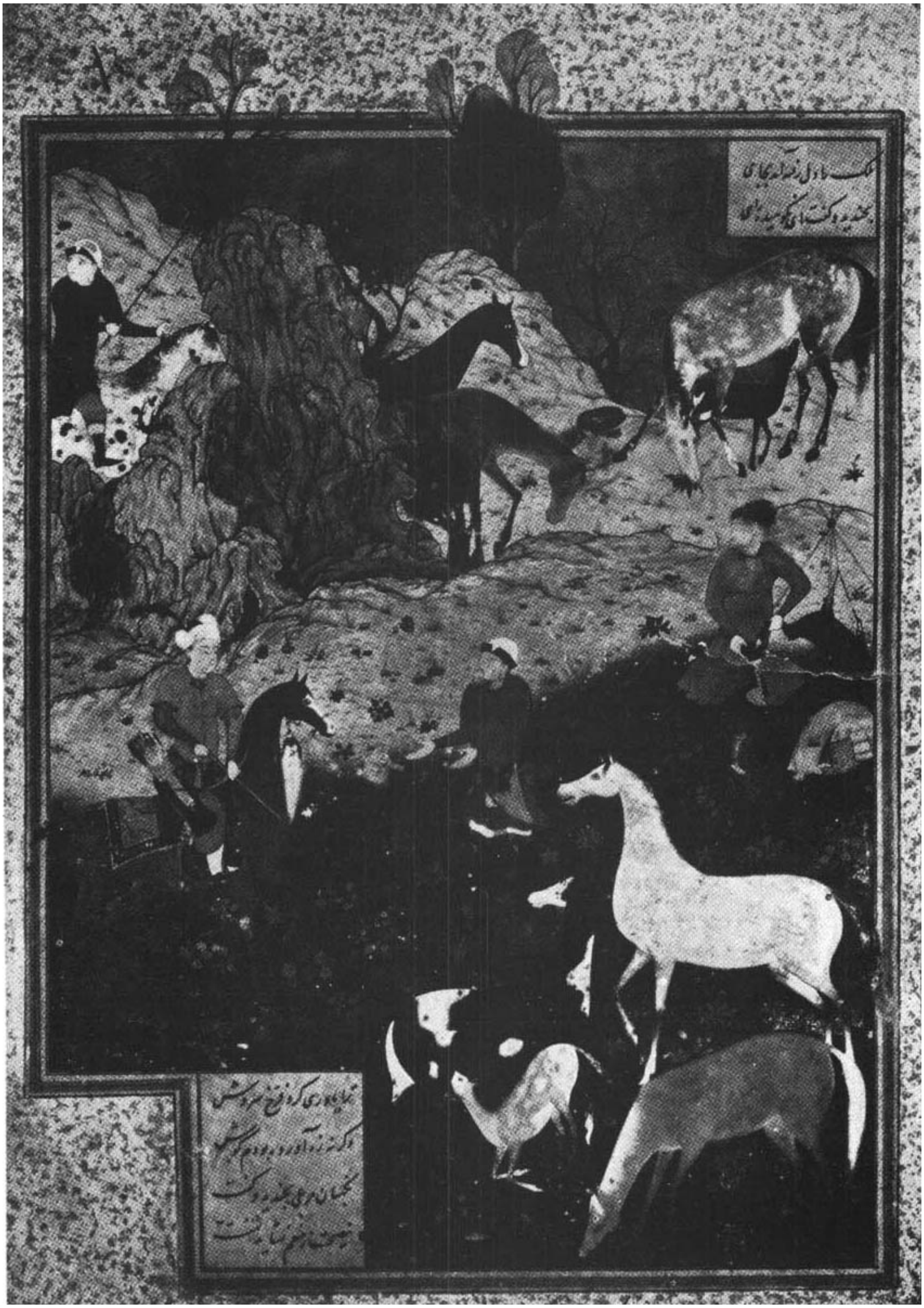

Figure B: "King Dārā and the Horseherd". Miniature by Bihzād in a manuscript of Saʿdī's *Būstān*, written in 893/1488.
Cairo, Egyptian National Library.
(Courtesy, Egyptian National Library)

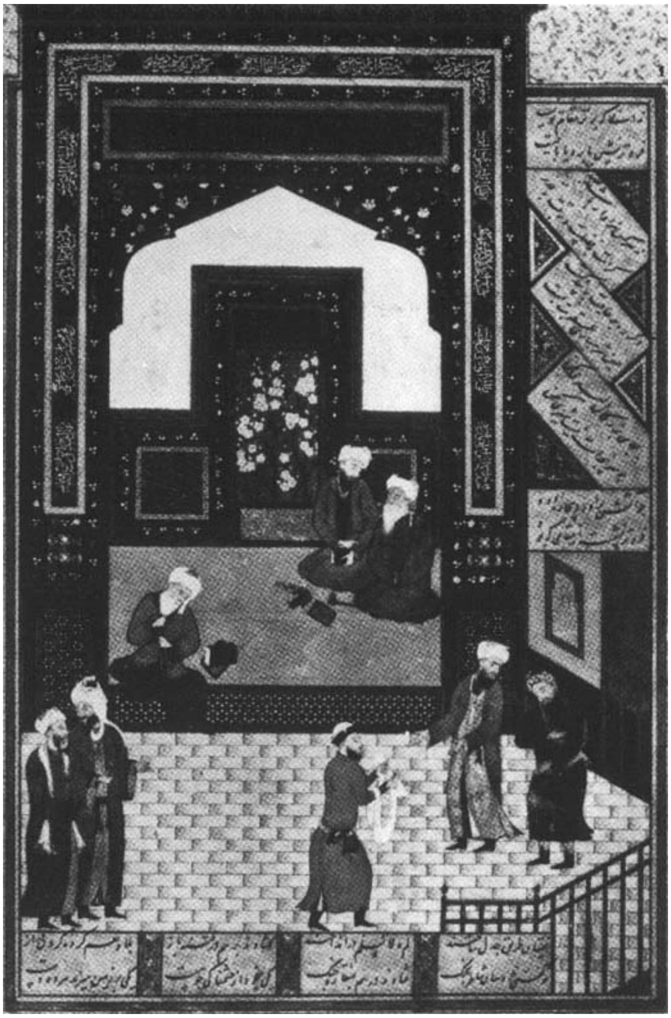

Figure C: "Mosque Scene". Miniature by Bihzād in a manuscript of Sa'dī's *Būstān*, written in 893/1488. Cairo, Egyptian National Library. (Courtesy, Egyptian National Library)

Figure D: "Battle Scene". Miniature by Bihzād in a manuscript of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa*, painted at the end of the XVth century. British Museum, Add. 25900, fol. 231v°. (Copyright British Museum)

Figure E: "Iskandar and the Seven Sages". Miniature probably by Bihzād in a manuscript of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa*, of 900/1494-95. British Museum, Or. 6810, fol. 214r°.

(Copyright British Museum)

sons of al-Aʿazz, and married him to his daughter. As a reward for his loyalty Bilāl was appointed vizier of the now unified city, a post which he retained until his death in 546-47/1151-53. Following the accession of Muḥammad b. Sabāʾ Bilāl was accorded the honorific titles of *al-Shaykh al-Saʿid al-Muwaffaḳ al-Sadīd* by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ. He is reported to have amassed a considerable fortune while in office, all of which reverted to the ruler upon his death. Two sons of Bilāl followed him in the office of vizier until the fall of the dynasty with the Ayyūbid conquest of South Arabia (569/1173).

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BILĀL b. RABĀḤ, sometimes described as Ibn Ḥamāma, after his mother, was a companion of the Prophet and is best known as his *Muʾadhdhin*. Of Ethiopian (African?) stock, he was born in slavery in Mecca among the clan of Jumaḥ, or in the Sarāt. His master is sometimes given as Umayya b. Khalaf [*q.v.*] but also as an unnamed man or woman of the same clan. He was an early convert—some sources credit him with having been the second adult after Abū Bakr to accept Islam. Owing to his status he suffered heavy punishment and torture, especially, it is stated, at the hands of Umayya b. Khalaf, but he bore it with fortitude and would not recant. Finally, he was rescued and manumitted by Abū Bakr who bought him, or exchanged for an able-bodied slave of his own who had not accepted Islam. Henceforth, although a freedman of Abū Bakr, Bilāl seems to have been in constant attendance on the Prophet.

He emigrated to Medīna, where at first he suffered from fever along with Abū Bakr and a number of Meccan Muslims. The Prophet established a tie of brotherhood between him and Abū Ruwayḥa of Khathʿam, whom Bilāl later named as his representative for receiving his pension when he himself decided to campaign in Syria. As a result of this tie of brotherhood, ʿUmar attached the list of African pensioners to that of the tribe of Khathʿam, and Ibn Isḥāḳ records that that was the case in Syria in his own days.

Bilāl became "official" *muʾadhdhin* when the call to prayer was first instituted in the first year of the *Hidjra*. He accompanied the Prophet on all military expeditions. At Badr he caused the deaths of Umayya b. Khalaf and his son, both of whom had already surrendered, but their captor was completely powerless to defend them against the determined attack led by Bilāl.

Although best known as his *muʾadhdhin*, Bilāl was also the Prophet's "mace-bearer" [see *ʿAnaza*], his steward (*Khāzin*), his personal servant, and on occasions, his "adjutant". The climax of his career as a *muʾadhdhin* came when Mecca fell to the Muslims and Bilāl called the faithful to prayer for the first time from the roof of the Kaʿba.

After the death of the Prophet, Bilāl agreed to act as *muʾadhdhin* to Abū Bakr but refused a similar request from ʿUmar, and joined the campaigns in Syria, where he spent the rest of his life. Some sources say that he refused to act in that capacity after the Prophet's death and called publicly to prayer on only two occasions afterwards—when ʿUmar visited al-Djābiya, and when Bilāl himself paid a return visit to Medina and was requested to call the *adhān* by al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. Both were moving occasions.

Bilāl seemed to have attained high prestige during his lifetime. An Arab tribe accepted his brother as a suitor in spite of his bad character, and (according to Ṭabarī, i, 2527) when ʿUmar sent a representative to Syria to investigate the source of certain donations made by Khālid b. al-Walīd, Bilāl lent support to both the diffident commander Abū ʿUbayda and the Caliph's representative, by himself removing Khālid's turban and demanding an answer. When a satisfactory explanation was given, Bilāl restored Khālid's turban with full respect and honour.

He is described as being tall and thin with a stoop, of dark complexion, with a thin face and thick hair strongly tinged with grey. The date of his death is given variously as 17, 18, 20, or 21 (638, 639, 641, or 642) and his place of burial is stated as Aleppo or, more probably, Damascus or Darayyā.

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BILAWHAR WA-YŪDĀSAF, heroes of the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* (*Būdhāsaf*), an Arabic work deriving ultimately from the traditional biography of Gautama Buddha, and subsequently providing the prototype for the Christian legend of Barlaam and Josaphat.

Contents of story. To the long childless king Janaysar, a pagan ruler of Sūlābaṭ (*i.e.*, Kapilavastu) in India, a son is born by miraculous means. The king names him Yūdāsaf (better: Būdhāsaf = Bodhisattva). An astrologer predicts that the prince's greatness will not be of this world; the king therefore confines the child in a city set apart, to keep him from knowledge of human misery. Growing up, Yūdāsaf frets at his confinement and insists on being allowed out. Riding forth, he sees two infirm men and later, a decrepit old man, and learns of human frailty and death. The holy hermit Bilawhar of Sarandīb (Ceylon) then appears in disguise and preaches to Yūdāsaf in parables, convincing him of the vanity of human existence and the superiority of the ascetic way. Bilawhar spurns renown and riches, indulgence in food and drink, sexual pleasure and all fleshly delights; a vague theism coupled with belief in immortality is preached, but no specifically Islamic dogma advanced.

King Janaysar is hostile to Bilawhar and opposes Yūdāsaf's conversion. In spite of the efforts of the astrologer Rākis and the pagan ascetic al-Bahwan, Janaysar is overcome in a mock debate on the faith and is himself won over. Yūdāsaf renounces his royal estate and embarks on missionary journeys: after various adventures, he reaches Kashmīr (*i.e.*, Kusinārā), where he entrusts the future of his religion to his disciple Abābid (*i.e.*, Ānanda) and dies.

The accompanying table shows the occurrence of the principal parables and fables in the three surviving Arabic versions and in the Georgian and Greek Christian recensions stemming therefrom.

TABLE I

Fable	*Greek*	*Georgian (Jerusalem)*	*Bombay Arabic*	*Ibn Bābūya*	*Halle abstract*
Drum of Death	2	1	1	1	1
Four Caskets	3	2	2	2	2
The Sower	1	3	3	3	3
Elephant and the Man in Chasm	5	4	5	4	4
Three Friends	6	5	6	5	5
King for One Year	7	6	7	6	6
Dogs and Carrion	—	7	8	7	7
Physician and Patient	—	8	4	8	8
The Sun of Wisdom	8	9	9	9	9
King, Wazīr and Happy Poor Couple	9	10	10	10	10
Rich Youth and Beggar's Daughter	10	11	11	11	—
Fowler and Nightingale	4	12	12	12	11
Tame Gazelle	12	13	13	—	—
Costume of Enemies	11	14	14	—	—
Amorous Wife	—	15	15	—	—
Demon Women	13	16	16	—	—

Sources. The *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* is not a direct translation from any Indian Buddhist work, but a syncretic compilation built round episodes in the legendary life of Buddha; it embodies parables of extraneous provenance, including the New Testament parable of the Sower. The narrative framework contains sections reminiscent of such works as the *Buddha-carita*, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalita-vistara* and the *Jātaka Tales*. Note that in the authentic tradition, the Buddha had no teacher, however, the ascetic preacher Bilawhar figures in embryo in the Fourth Omen, where the Buddha-elect encounters in Kapilavastu one who had become a wanderer "for the sake of winning self-control, calm, and utter release".

Early clues to the story's transmission to the West are provided by Central Asian Buddhist-Soghdian texts, where *Bodhisattva* is shortened into the form *Pwtysβ*, *i.e.*, *Bōdīsaf*, and by the Manichaean fragments recovered from Turfan in Chinese Turkestan. Le Coq published (*SBPr. Ak. W.*, 1909, 1202-18) a Manichaean Turkish fragment containing the encounter of the Bōdīsaf prince with the decrepit old man; the same scholar published (*Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, 5-7, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1911, Anhang) and Radlov and Oldenburg (*Izv. Imp. Akad. Nauk*, 6th ser., VI, 1912, 751-3, 779-82) elucidated another, containing the story of a drunken prince who mistakes a corpse for a maiden, later incorporated in the Ibn Bābūya version. Of particular importance is the discovery, communicated in 1957 by W. B. Henning to the 24th International Congress of Orientalists, Munich, of a fragment in the Berlin Turfan collection comprising portions of 27 couplets of an early Persian metrical rendering, in which the heroes' names occur in the forms *Bylwhr* and *Bwdysf*. This fragment, containing part of Bilawhar's exhortation to Bōdīsaf and of the dialogue concerning Bilawhar's age, is part of a manuscript written not later than the first half of the 10th century A.D. The occurrence of the Iranian name-form *Bwdysf*, as opposed to the Arabic *Būdhāsaf* with *-ā-* in the second syllable, shows that this version belongs to the earliest line of transmission; it has been tentatively attributed to Rūdakī [*q.v.*] or his school. These indications, pointing to a Central Asian environment and a Middle-Iranian language medium for the early development of the Bilawhar and Yūdāsaf romance, are supported by Yūdāsaf's inclusion, together with Mānī, Bardayṣān, Mazdak and others, in a list of false prophets condemned in ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī's treatise *Al-farḳ bayn al-firaḳ* (ed. Muḥammad Badr, Cairo 1328, 333; pt. II, trans. A. S. Halkin, Tel-Aviv, 1935, 200-1). Authorities such as al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, trans. Sachau, 186-9) connect Būdhāsaf with the Sabaeans, who were supposed to identify him with both Enoch and Hermes Trismegistus; Būdhāsaf was also represented as having invented the Iranian alphabet.

Versions of the work. Among the books translated in early ʿAbbāsid times from Pehlevi into Arabic by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] and his school, the *Fihrist* lists (305) the *Kitāb al-Budd*, the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* (*Būdhāsaf*) and the *Kitāb Būdhāsaf mufrad*. The last-named book survives as a chapter of the *Nihāyat al-Irab fī Akhbār al-Furs wa 'l-ʿArab* (Browne in *JRAS*, 1900, 216-7; Rosen in *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkh. Obshčestva*, 1901-2, 77-118). The first two are amalgamated in the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Būdhāsaf* published at Bombay in 1306/1888-9 (Russian trans. by Rosen, edit. by Kračkovskiy: *Povest' o Varlaame pustinnike i Iosafe tsareviče indiyskom*, Moscow, 1947). This Bombay edition is the fullest version extant: episodes introduced from the *Kitāb al-Budd* having been distinguished from the remainder, the original Bilawhar and Būdhāsaf (Yūdāsaf) story may be largely reconstituted, reference being made to the Halle abstract (edit. by Hommel in *Verh. des VII. Int. Orient.-Cong., Semit. Sect.*, Vienna 1888, 115-65; trans. Rehatsek, *JRAS*, 1890, 119-55), the adaptation incorporated in the Shīʿī *Kitāb ikmāl al-dīn wa'itmām al-niʿma* by Ibn Bābūya [*q.v.*], the longer Georgian Christianised version discovered in Jerusalem (Greek Patriarchal Library, Ms. Georgian 140: edit. Abuladze, *Balavarianis kʿartʿuli redakʿtsiebi*, Tiflis, 1957), as well as to the early 13th century Hebrew paraphrase by Abraham b. Ḥasday or Chisdai (see Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, 863-7). The longish fragment of the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* in the Taymūriyya collection, *Akhlāḳ* section (Brockelmann, I, 158) has been identified by Stern as belonging to the same redaction as the Halle abstract; it supplies some of the text missing in the defective unique Ms. of this recension (notes supplied by S. M. Stern). The metrical version stated in the *Fihrist* (119) to have been composed by Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*] has perished.

Note that in the Mss., the name of Yūdāsaf is written in many different ways; the original *Būdhāsaf* or *Būdāsaf* has been corrupted by addition of a diacritical point into *Yūdhāsaf* (whence *Yūzāsaf*) or *Yūdāsaf*, and thence Georgian *Iodasapʿ*, from which comes Greek *Ioasaph*, then Latin *Josaphat*.

Diffusion of the story. With its companion works, the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and the romance of Sindbād, the book of Bilawhar and Yūdāsaf was widely diffused in early Arabic literature. Note for instance the allusion in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (Cairo ed., iv, 120, 223) to Bilawhar's fable of the King, the just Wazīr and the Happy Poor Couple, in connexion with belief in immortality.

The Western Barlaam and Ioasaph (Josaphat) legend derives from the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* via the longer Georgian (Jerusalem) redaction, wherein the heroes' names appear as Balahvar and

TABLE 2

Transmission of the Book of Bilawhar and Yūdāsaf

- Buddhist Sanskrit original (related to *Buddha-carita, Lalita-vistara,* etc.)
  - Manichaean version (Middle Iranian)
    - Turfan fragments (Old Turkish)
    - Persian I: metrical rendering, school of Rūdakī (Berlin fragment)
    - Arabic I: *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Būdhāsaf* (lost)
      - Arabic II: metrical version by Abān al-Lāhiḳī (lost)
      - Arabic III: adaptation by Ibn Bābūya
        - Persian II: translation of Ibn Bābūya
      - Arabic IV: Halle abstract
      - Arabic V: Bombay edition, with interpolations from *Kitāb al-Budd*
      - Georgian I: Jerusalem version, *Life of the Blessed Iodasapʿ*
        - Georgian II: *The Wisdom of Balahvar* (abridgement)
        - Greek: *Barlaam and Ioasaph*
          - Latin, Christian Arabic, Armenian, Old Slavonic, and other Christian versions.
      - Hebrew: *Book of the king's son and the ascetic* by Ibn Ḥasdāy

Iodasapʿ; the Georgian was adapted and rendered into Greek by St. Euthymius the Athonite and his school about A.D. 1000. The mediaeval attribution of the Greek Barlaam to St. John Damascene, revived by F. Dölger (*Der griechische Barlaam-Roman, ein Werk des H. Johannes von Damaskos,* Ettal 1953), fails to take account of the textual evidence and is to be discounted.

Also to be rejected is the Aḥmadī doctrine which identifies with Jesus Christ the holy Yūz Āsaf whose shrine is venerated at Srīnagar in Kashmīr. Many of the legends concerning the Yūz Āsaf of the Aḥmadīs are simply extracts borrowed from the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf,* with "Kashmīr" substituted for "Kusinārā", the traditional place where the Buddha died.

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(D. M. Lang)

BILBĀS, a confederation consisting, according to C. J. Edmonds (220-222), of five tribes: Mangūr, Māmish (I have rather heard it pronounced Māmash), Pīrān, Sinn and Rāmk. The Mangūr of the mountains are an important tribe who live in Persia on both sides of the Lāwēn (the upper reaches of the Little Zāb in Persia). The Mangūr of the plain live in Irak where they consist of two branches: Māngur Zūdī and Māngur-a-Ruta (the naked Mangūr). The Mangūr of the plain recognise the authority of the chief family of the mountain Mangūr, whose head appoints each year one or two persons (not of his own family) to govern the sections in the plain. The Māmash are another important tribe who live in Persia east of the Lāwēn and to the north of the Mangūr. They have also a section in ʿIrāḳ, the Māmash-a-Reshka (the black Māmash). The Pīrān have also one mountain branch in Persia to the north of the Mangūr, west of the Lāwēn, and another in ʿIrāḳ. The Sinn and the Rāmk who had formerly distinguished themselves in the cavalry of Nādir Shāh (*ibid.,* 145), were afterwards expelled from Shahrizūr (*ibid.,* 142-143) by Salīm Bābān (1743-1757) and, fallen from their ancient glory, now occupy five poor villages in Bitwēn near the Zāb. The Rāmk are subdivided into Kečel-u-Klhaw Spiy (bald and white hats) and Faḳē Waysi. Sometimes classed among the Bilbās are the Udjāḳ who live in

Irak above the Mangūr Zūdī, in 8 villages on the frontier. Minorsky counts the Odjāḳ Kā Khiḍrī among the Bilbās but does not include the Sinn and the Rāmk. See M. A. Zakī (*Khulāṣa*, 391, 407, 447), on the subdivisions of the Bilbās tribes. In Wagner (ii, 116, 228) who had formerly (1852) visited the Bilbās, but who refers chiefly to Niebuhr (1766), Rich (1836-7) and Ker Porter (1822), some fuller information is to be found. He points out that when there is discussion on the affairs of the tribe, all its members enjoy equal rights of vote and veto. The blood-money if a man is killed, is 22 oxen. Adultery is punished by death. The girls are never allowed to marry men of another tribe, but the effects of inbreeding are diminished by the regular practice of abduction. C. J. Edmonds draws attention to the romantic character of the Bilbās girls but emphasises the real risk of abduction (225). The Bilbās chiefs bear the name of *mazin* (great), spelt *muzzin* by Wagner. The succession passes to the son or brother of the chief recognised as the bravest.

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BILBAYS, a town in Egypt which, because of its site, was of considerable importance in the middle ages. Its name comes from the Coptic Phelbès and Arab authors, doubtful of its pronunciation, called it Bulbays or Bilbīs as well.

Situated on the natural invasion route, it was always the town's fate to be besieged by the armies which came to conquer Egypt. First, in the year 19/640, it was by the Arabs who were halted here for a month; at the time of the Crusades it was by Amalric in the course of fights between the Ayyūbid princes. Its fortifications therefore used to be kept in good repair. In the same way Bilbays was the first stop on the route of troops leaving the capital for Palestine, and armies often camped there; al-Dimashḳī called it the 'gate of Syria'. It was, in fact, in the course of a formidable mobilisation against the Byzantines that the Fāṭimid Caliph, al-ʿAzīz, fell ill and died there, and his son, al-Ḥākim, was invested with the Caliphate in the same place.

Bilbays used to be on the route of the mail couriers and to have a centre for carrier pigeons. Up to modern times it was the capital of the Sharḳiyya province, but was supplanted in the 19th century by Zaḳāzīḳ.

In the year 109/727 the financial administrator of Egypt installed part of the tribe of Ḳays in the region of Bilbays. These, about 3,000 in number, helped commercial traffic as camel-drivers and formed a troop which could be mobilised. The choice had fallan on Bilbays because the town was sparsely populated; the existing inhabitants were not harmed, and the tax receipts were not likely to decrease.

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BILEDJIK (the Βηλόκωμα of Byzantine times) is a small town in north-western Asia Minor on the Ḳara Ṣū, an affluent of the Saḳāryā. It is thought that the site of the ancient Agrilion (Agrillum, in the Peutinger Tables) lies not far from Biledjik. The Ottomans seized Biledjik from the Byzantines in the reign of ʿOthmān Beg. Biledjik, under Ottoman rule, was included in the *eyālet* of Anadolu, but later became the administrative centre of the *sandjaḳ* of Erṭoghrul in the *wilāyet* of Khudāvendigār (Brusa). It is now the centre of the present province of Biledjik (Bilecik). The town, long noted for the weaving of silk, suffered much during the events which followed the Great War of 1914-1918. It was occupied by Greek forces in 1921 and was not recovered finally by the Turks until the autumn of the next year. The population of Biledjik amounted, in 1950, to a little less than 4900 inhabitants.

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BILGRĀM, a very ancient town in the district of Hardōī (India), situated in 27° 10′ N. and 80° 2′ E., with a population (1951) of 9,565. It has produced a remarkable number of great men. Abu 'l-Faḍl speaks of the inhabitants as being for the most part intelligent and connoisseurs of music.

In early times it was peopled by coppersmiths (as recent discoveries have established), who were turned out by invading Rādjpūts from nearby Ḳannawdj. During the Mughal rule also Bilgrām was a *pargana* in the *sarkār* of Ḳannawdj (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, i, 434).

The town was conquered by Ḳāḍī Muḥammad Yūsuf al-ʿUthmānī al-Madanī al-Kāzarūnī in 409/1018 for Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna during his Indian campaigns. During the anarchy that followed the enfeeblement of Ghaznawid rule in India, it appears that the local Hindus drove out the Muslim ruler of Bilgrām and reoccupied the town. However, during the reign of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iletmish [*q.v.*], Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣughrā, a lineal descendant of Sayyid Abu 'l-Faraḥ of Wāsiṭ, attacked Bilgrām in 614/1217 at the head of a strong contingent of Imperial troops, and defeated Rādjā Srī, after whom the town had come to be known as Srīnagar, and the Muslims reoccupied the town.

In 948/1541 a fierce engagement took place here between the forces of Humāyūn and Shīr Shāh Sūr, resulting in the complete rout of the former. In 1002/1593 Akbar issued a *farmān* prohibiting the public sale of wine and other intoxicants there.

The Sayyids of Bilgrām, who outpaced their

rivals, the ʿUthmānī and Farshawrī *shaykhs* in almost all walks of life, attained fame in history as writers, scholars, poets and administrators. Prominent among them were: ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Bilgrāmī, author of *Sab Sanābil*, ʿAbd al-Djalīl Bilgrāmī [see BILGRĀMĪ]; his son Muḥammad, whose *takhalluṣ* was "Shāʿir"; Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād [*q.v.*]; Amīr Ḥaydar, a grandson of Āzād Bilgrāmī and author of *Sawāniḥ-i Akbarī*; Sayyid ʿAlī Bilgrāmī and his elder brother ʿImād al-Mulk Sayyid Ḥusayn Bilgrāmī, who was the first Indian Muslim to be nominated (1907) a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, author of the *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, was also a native of Bilgrām. Awrangzīb is reported to have likened the Sayyids of Bilgrām to the wood used in the Masdjid al-Ḥarām, which could neither be sold nor used as fuel.

Although the *shaykhs* of Bilgrām did not produce many men of distinction (except Rūḥ al-Amīn Khān al-ʿUthmānī, governor of 22 *maḥālls* in the province of the Pandjāb and for some time deputy governor of Awadh under Burhān al-Mulk [*q.v.*], and Murtaḍā Ḥusayn *alias* Allāh Yār Thānī, author of *Ḥadīḳat al-Aḳālīm*), the office of *ḳāḍī* of Bilgrām invariably remained with them. It was mainly to vindicate this claim that Ghulām Ḥusayn Farshawrī and others of his tribe wrote their respective works (see Bibl.).

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

BILGRĀMĪ, (i) ʿABD AL-DJALĪL B. SAYYID AḤMAD AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-WĀSIṬĪ was born on 13 Shawwāl 1071/10 Nov. 1660 at Bilgrām. He received his education first at his home-town from Saʿd Allāh Bilgrāmī and later at Agra from Faḍāʾil Khān, one of the secretaries of Awrangzīb. When Shāh Ḥusayn Khān was appointed *dīwān* of the *sarkār* of Lucknow he accompanied him there and remained with him for 5 years. It was here that he attended the lectures of Ghulām Naḳshband Lakhnawī (d. 1126/1714). He attained a high degree of proficiency in various branches of learning especially Arabic philology and literature.

He visited Deccan twice, first in 1104/1692 and later in 1111/1699 when he was appointed *bakhshī* and *waḳāʾiʿ-nigār* of Gudjarāt (Shāh Dawla). He held this job till his removal in 1116/1704. The same year he was, however, reinstated but transferred to Bhakkar [*q.v.*] with headquarters at Sīwistān (modern Sēhwān). In 1126/1714 he was dismissed, having made a curious entry in the official journal. It related to the raining of sugar-globules in the *pargana* of Djatōī. He returned to Delhi where he attached himself to Sayyid Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān Bārha. He died at Delhi in 1138/1725 but his dead body was carried to Bilgrām for burial. He was the maternal grandfather of Āzād Bilgrāmī [*q.v.*] who devotes lengthy chapters to him in his various works. A poet, primarily in Arabic and Persian, he also composed verses in Turkish and Hindi.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

(ii) SAYYID ʿALĪ B. SAYYID ZAYN AL-DĪN ḤUSAYN was born in 1268/1851 at Patna. In 1291/1874 he graduated from Patna College with distinction in Sanskrit. In 1292/1875 he successfully competed for the Native (later Indian) Civil Service standing first in the whole of Bihār. Soon after he joined the London University for higher studies in geology, cartography, mineralogy and biology. On completion of his education he extensively toured the Continent. A polyglot, Sayyid ʿAlī was well-versed in Latin, German, French, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Bengālī, Marāthī, Telugū, Gudjarātī, English and his mother-tongue Urdū. For a number of years he was examiner in Sanskrit in the Madras University. In 1311/1893 he was awarded the title of *Shams al-ʿUlamāʾ* by the Government of India. In 1320/1902 he joined Cambridge University as Reader in Marāthī. The same year he was commissioned to prepare a hand-list of the Arabic and Persian MSS, known as the Delhi collection, in the India Office Library. For several years he held various high offices in the former Ḥaydarābād State. In 1909 Calcutta University conferred on him the degree of LL.D. *honoris causa*. His fame chiefly rests on his Urdū translations of French and English works, notably: (i) *Tamaddun-i ʿArab*, a translation of Gustave Le Bon's work *La civilisation des arabes* (Agra, 1316/1898); (ii) *Tamaddun-i Hind* (Agra 1913), a translation of another work of Le Bon: *La civilisation de l'Inde*. He is also the author of *Risāla dar taḥḳīḳ kitāb Kalīla wa-Dimna* in which he critically examines the sources, editions, characteristics etc. of the original Sanskrit work. It was through his efforts that the Ḥaydarābād codex of the *Bābur-nāma* was published. He died suddenly at Hardōī in 1329/May 2, 1911.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Čand ham-ʿaṣr* (in Urdū), Karachi 1953, 71-103; Ghulām Pandjtan Shamshād, *Ḥaydarābād kē barē lōg*, Ḥaydarābād (Dn.) 1957; *Adīb* (Allāhābād), June 1911, 271-77; Ḥāmid Ḥasan Ḳādirī, *Dāstān Tārīkh-i Urdū*², Agra 1957, 594-609.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

BILḲĪS is the name by which the Queen of Sheba is known in Arabic literature. The story of the Queen's visit to King Solomon (based on I Kings X, 1-10, 13) has undergone extensive Arabian, Ethiopian, and Jewish elaborations and has become the

subject of one of the most wide-spread and fertile cycles of legends in the Orient.

The name Bilḳīs does not appear in the Ḳur'ān but is current with Muslim commentators. Sūra XXVII, 15-45 reflects some of the principal elements of the Sheba legend and describes the sun-worship of the Queen, how a hoopoe (*hudhud*) carries a letter to her from Solomon, the Queen's consultation with her nobles, and the despatch of presents to Solomon. When these are not well received by the King, the Queen of Sheba comes herself and, by a ruse (mistaking the polished floor for a pool of water), is made to uncover her legs. Eventually, she surrenders (together with Solomon) to Allāh, *i.e.* she becomes a Muslim.

Muslim commentators (Ṭabarī, Zamakhsharī, Bayḍāwī) supplement the story at various points: the Queen's name is given as Bilḳīs; the demons at Solomon's Court, afraid that the King may marry Bilḳīs, spread the rumour that the Queen has hairy legs and the foot of an ass. Hence Solomon's ruse of constructing a glass floor which the Queen mistakes for water thus causing her to lift her skirts. Solomon then commands his demons to prepare a special depilatory to remove the disfiguring hair. According to some he then married the Queen, while other traditions assert that he gave her in marriage to one of the *Tubba*ʿs of the tribe of Hamdān.

In Jewish sources the combined narrative of Ḳur'ān and Muslim commentators can first be traced in the 8th (?) century *Targum Sheni* to Esther where we find a most elaborate version of this story. This is further embellished in the 11th (?) century *Alphabet of Ben Sira* which avers that Nebuchadnezzar was the fruit of the union between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. The fullest and most significant version of the legend appears in the *Kebra Nagast* ('Glory of the Kings'), the Ethiopian national saga. Here Menelik I is the child of Solomon and Makeda (the Ethiopic name of Bilḳīs) from whom the Ethiopian dynasty claims descent to the present day. While the Abyssinian story offers much greater detail, it omits any mention of the Queen's hairy legs or any other element that might reflect on her unfavourably.

Although the Ḳur'ān and its commentators have preserved the earliest literary reflection of the complete Bilḳīs legend, there is little doubt that the narrative is derived from a Jewish Midrash. This judgement is based not only on intrinsic probability and our knowledge of the general influence of the Midrashic genre on early Islam, but is also supported by: (a) the curiously abrupt version of the story in the Ḳur'ān which clearly presupposes prior development; (b) Talmudic insistence (*Baba Batra* 15b) that it was not a woman but a kingdom of Sheba (based on varying interpretations of Hebrew *mlkt*) that came to Jerusalem (obviously intended to discredit existing stories about the relations between Solomon and the Queen); (c) the Ethiopic loanword *ṣarḥ* in Sūra xxvii, 44 (cf. Nöldeke, *NB*, 51); (d) the probable derivation of Bilḳīs from παλλακίς or the Hebraised *pilegesh* 'concubine'.

In Persian art Bilḳīs may often be seen standing in water before Solomon. The same scene is depicted on a window in King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

Bibliography: G. Rösch, *Die Königin von Saba als Königin Bilqîs* (*Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, 1880, 524-72); M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sagenkunde* (1893, 211-21); E. Littmann, *The legend of the Queen of Sheba in the tradition of Axum* (1904); E. A. W. Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek* (1932); L. Ginzberg *Legends of the Jews* (vols. IV and VI); *The Queen of Sheba* (*The Times*, 28 June 1954); E. Ullendorff *Candace* (*Acts* VIII, 27) *and the Queen of Sheba* (*New Testament Studies*, 1955, 53-6); *idem Hebraic-Jewish elements in Abyssinian* (*monophysite*) *Christianity* (*JSS*, 1956, 216-56); D. A. Hubbard, *The literary sources of the Kebra Nagast*, 278-308 (St. Andrews University Ph. D. thesis, 1956).

(E. Ullendorff)

BILLAWR, Ballūr—whether from the Greek βήρυλλος is a disputed point, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 110—rock-crystal. According to the *Petrology* of Aristotle the stone is a kind of glass but harder and more compact. It is the finest, purest and most translucent of natural glasses, and also occurs among the colours of the *yāḳūt*; by the dust-coloured rock-crystal is meant the smoky topaz. It may also be artificially coloured; it concentrates the sun's rays so that a black rag or piece of cotton or wool may be set on fire by it; valuable vessels for kings are made of rock-crystal. A commoner kind which is harder and looks like salt—i.e. quartz—gives out sparks when struck by steel and is used for striking fire by kings' servants. No account of its crystalline formation, which Pliny gives, is given by the Arab writers, nor is the general distribution of quartz known. Al-Tīfāshī says that at 13 days' journey from Kāshghar are two mountains the interiors of which consist entirely of beautiful rock-crystal; it is worked at night, as the reflection of the sun's rays renders work by day impossible. Al-Akfānī (in *al-Machriq*, 1908) gives the fullest account of the places in which it is found; according to him it comes from East Africa (Zandj), Badakhshān, Armenia, Ceylon, the land of the Franks and Maghrib al-Aḳṣā.

According to al-Bīrūnī (d. 430/1038), rock crystal of very high quality from the Zandj Islands, near East Africa, and from the Dībadjāt Islands, west of India, was brought to al-Baṣra, where it was worked into vessels and other objects. The organisation of the manufacture is described in some detail. Such defects as might have been found even in this rock crystal, said to be superior to that mined in Kashmīr, were concealed by ornaments and inscriptions.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Egypt twice between the years 439/1047 and 441/1050, praises the objects of rock crystal that were sold in the bazaars of Old Cairo (Miṣr). The raw material had up to that time been brought from the Maghrib, but he was told that Red Sea rock crystal had recently been received which was even more beautiful and transparent than that brought from the Maghrib. Judging from al-Ghuzūlī and al-Maḳrīzī, who drew on earlier sources, the manufacture of rock crystal objects in Egypt must have reached its highest level during the earlier part of the Fāṭimid period. The dispersal of al-Mustanṣir's treasures in the years 453/1061-461/1069 must have been a severe blow to that industry as it brought innumerable objects on the market, some of which are described. These objects were either *madjrūd*, plain or faceted, or *manḳūsh*, ornamented, and it is obvious from what we have heard from al-Bīrūnī that the latter were then held in higher esteem than the former.

Apart from pieces of Ṣafawid, Mughal or other post-mediaeval origin, something like 165 objects of rock crystal are known to exist which are indisputably of Islamic origin. In the majority of cases they have been preserved in the treasures of European churches, where most of them have served as reliquaries. In such cases the mounting may offer a

terminus ante quem for the dating of the rock crystal object, the earliest of such *termini* falling within the years 973 and 982 A.D. Not a single one out of these 165 odd specimens—which include many chess pieces and other minor objects—bears a date, but two of them have inscriptions containing the name of a ruler, in both cases a Fāṭimid Caliph: a ewer in the Treasure of St. Mark's in Venice made for al-ʿAzīz (365/975-386/996), and a crescent-shaped object in Nuremburg, perhaps the head-gear of a harness, made for his grandson al-Ẓāhir (411/1021-427/1036). A ewer in Florence must have been made for al-Ḥusayn b. D̲j̲awhar between 390/1000 and 401/1011, during the reign of al-Ḥākim.

All these works in rock crystal are often spoken of as "Fāṭimid", but quite a number of them must be of pre-Fāṭimid origin, and some of them may have been made at al-Baṣra.

The entire number of specimens referred to belong to the category described as *manḳūs̲h̲*; on the other hand we hardly possess any example of *mad̲j̲rūd* work, unless we accept as such some of the faceted ewers that some scholars regard as Fāṭimid, while others think they were made in Europe (Burgundy, Bohemia, Sicily, or Spain).

Bibliography: Clément-Mullet, *Essai sur la min. arabe* in the *Journ. As*, Series 6, xi, 230; Tīfās̲h̲ī, *Azhār al-Afkār* (transl. by Raineri Bisçia), 2, ed., 118; Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld), i, 212; idem, (transl. by Ruska), 9; *al-Machriq*, xi, 762; K. A. C. Creswell, *A Bibliography of Glass and Rock Crystal in Islam*, in *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University*, 1952, 1 ff.; R. Schmidt, *Die Hedwigsgläser und die verwandten fatimidischen Glas- und Kristallarbeiten*, in *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, 1912, 53 ff.; C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, I-II, Berlin, 1929-30; P. Kahle, *Die Schätze der Fatimiden*, in *ZDMG*, 1935, 329 ff.; idem, *Bergkristall, Glas und Glasflüsse nach dem Steinbuch von el-Bērūnī*, *ibid.*, 1936, 322 ff.; K. Erdmann, *Islamische Bergkristallarbeiten*, in *Jahrb. der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1940, 127 ff.; idem, *"Fatimid" Rock Crystals*, in *Oriental Art* 1951, 3ff.; idem, *The 'Sacred Blood' of Weissenau* in *The Burlington Magazine*, 1953, 299 ff., idem, *Die fatimidischen Bergkristallkannen*, in *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, 1953, 189 ff; D. S. Rice, *A Datable Islamic Rock Crystal*, in *Oriental Art*, 1956, 3 ff.

(J. Ruska-[C. J. Lamm])

BILLITON, corrupted form of Belitung, island in Indonesia at about 108° eastern Long. and 3° southern Lat., a little larger than 1800 square miles. It owes its fame to its tin-mines, and it is probably for this reason that it is mentioned in Indonesian documents of about 900 A.D. A part of the indigenous population—less than 100,000 souls—was converted to Islam in the 19th century.

Bibliography: A. W. Nieuwenhuis, in *EI*[1], s.v.

(C. C. Berg)

BILLŪR KÖS̲H̲K, "The Crystal Palace"; this is the title of a Turkish folk tale which gave its name to the oldest Turkish collection of such tales. Variations of this one can be found in Naki Tezel, *Istanbul masalları* (publications of the Eminönü Halkevi, no. x), Istanbul 1938, 202 ff.; W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, St. Petersburg 1885 ff., viii (texts collected by I. Kúnos, 1899), part III, no. 19; Ignácz Kúnos, *Materialien zur Kenntnis des rumelischen Türkisch*, part I, *Volksmärchen aus Adakale*, Leipzig and New York 1907, 255-261, no. 50; 8 MSS of the tale of Billūr Kös̲h̲k, or, more specifically, of its variant *Incili Çadır*, can be found in the Folklore Archives of the Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi in Ankara.

This collection usually contains 13 tales, including the title story Billūr Kös̲h̲k (in the edition by I. Kúnos, cf. *Türkische Volksmärchen*, V, note 2, there is a further tale, *K̲h̲ırsız ile Yemenid̲j̲i*) and the farce *Hırsız ile Yankesici*, ("The thief and the pick-pocket"). All of these have an oral tradition, and have only recently been somewhat modernised and brought out in book form. They have, however, lost nothing of their popular flavour in spite of their literary style. Numerous editions of this collection of folk tales have circulated in Turkey during the past hundred years, and since the writing reform in 1928, there have also been some in Latin script.

Editions: *Billūr Kös̲h̲k Ḥikāyesi*, ed. Emniyet Kütübk̲h̲ānesi, Istanbul 1339; *Billūr Köşk Hikâyesi*, Istanbul 1928; Selâmi Münir Yurdatap, *Resimli Billûr Köşk Hikâyesi*, Istanbul 1940.

Translations: T. Menzel, *Türkische Märchen* I: *Billur Köschk*. 14 Turkish tales, translated into German for the first time, from the two Istanbul editions of the collection. (*Beiträge zur Märchenkunde des Morgenlandes*, edited by G. Jacob and T. Menzel, ii), Hannover 1923.

Bibliography: (apart from works already mentioned): I. Kúnos, *Oszman-Török Népköltési Gyüjtemény*, Budapest 1887/89; G. Jacob, *Die türkische Volkslitteratur*, Berlin 1901; I. Kûnos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, Leiden 1905; Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig 1913/32, ii, 229-273; P. N. Boratav, *Billûr Köşk*, in *IA*, ii (1944), 613; W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953.

(H. W. Duda)

BILMA, (Ar.) (in Tedaga: Togei or Tzigei), chief centre of the Kawar, a group of oases situated mid-way between Fezzan and Chad, on the main route from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The palm groves extend for 90 kilometres from north to south, from Anay to Bilma. At no point are they more than 2 kilometres wide. Bilma is situated at the foot of a cliff which faces west; its base is formed by the marine layers of Upper Cretaceous, and its summit by the sandstone of the Continental terminal.

Although conquered by the Arabs in the 1st/7th century (expedition of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ reported by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam), the Kawar was still partly pagan at the beginning of the 19th century. The population, numbering about 1500, consists of a settled negro race, the Kanuri, and the Guezebida, hybrids from Kanuri and Teda. These settlers have always been subject to the nomads who inhabit the neighbouring regions, first to the Touareg of the Aïr, then to the Teda. They cultivate palm-trees whose dates are sent to the Tibesti and to the Hausa countries; but their chief means of livelihood lies in the exploitation of the salt-works situated at 2 kilometres to the north-west of Bilma, at Kalala.

These salt works are made up of about a thousand pits spread over some 15 hectares. The salt is mainly extracted in the hot season, from April to November, because of evaporation.

The pits are dug down to the underground water level (2 m.), the water is left to evaporate, a crust is formed which is broken with palm sticks, and the salt is deposited at the bottom. There are two main types of salt: *beza*, in the form of crystals which is

not treated in any way and is used for human consumption, and the *kantu*, moulded into loaves in hollowed out palm-trunks and used chiefly for the feeding of animals. The salt-works belonged first to the Koyom, a Kanuri tribe, who were driven back to the south-east of Kawar, between Kouka and Gouré; then, from the sixteenth century, to a Touareg tribe, the Kel Gress. Since the arrival of the French, they have belonged to the people of Bilma. The apply for authority to dig to the village chief who is master of the land, and exploit the works themselves, without paying royalties to anyone. All commercial activity is carred on during the *azalay* [*q.v.*] in the autumn and spring, when the Touareg caravans bring in the millet, butter, dried meat, fabrics and kola nuts which are bartered for the salt. These great caravans comprising several thousand camels, with growing security have been replaced by smaller individual caravans, which are tending to get smaller still, following the infiltration into Nigeria of sea-water salt and European salt, but the family bartering system remains unchanged; only the rate of exchange varies from year to year.

Bibliography: Barth, *Reisen*, iv, ch. 6; Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i; Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i; Monteil, *De St Louis à Tripoli par le Tchad*, ch. xiii; Gabel, *Notes sur Bilma et les oasis environnantes*, in *Revue Colonial*, 1907, 361-386; Cne. Grandin, *Notes sur l'industrie et le commerce du sel au Kawar, et en Agram*, in *Bul. IFAN*, xiii/2, 1951, 488-533; J. Chapelle, *Nomades noirs du Sahara*. (R. Capot-Rey)

BILMEDJE, the name given as a rule to popular riddles among the Ottoman Turks. Northern and eastern Turks use instead various words from the root *tap-* ('to find'), such as *tabïshmak*, *tapmadja*, *tapkïsh*, *tabïshkak*, *tabushturmak*.

The true riddles of the people can generally be distinguished from artificial riddles such as the *lughaz* or *muʿammā* by their obviously simple form, their puns or double meanings, and their appearance of unreason or illogicality. This last characteristic of riddles, their irrationality, is manifested in this way: when speaking of various objects and happenings, certain traditional expressions are employed which have only a vague connexion with the ordinary natural way of looking at things, and which must be known before the meaning can be grasped. That is to say, it is not generally possible to find the solution to a riddle by using one's logical judgement. To solve a riddle, one must first comprehend the sense of the peculiar terminology, which has something of the quality of a hieroglyph. None of these features is peculiar to popular Turkish riddles. The riddles of any given people differ from those of any other only in details, usually of form. The specially Turkish character of the *bilmedje* is primarily bound up with geographical location and Turkish popular life. Broadly speaking, the Islamic stamp is secondary and unimportant.

At the present time, riddles chiefly constitute the branch of Turkish popular literature that is peculiar to children. Nevertheless, we have evidence suggesting that once upon a time they were regarded very seriously and formed a part of popular philosophy: we find stories in which riddling contests occur, with one man quoting a hemistich and his opponent capping it with another, sometimes with serious consequences for the defeated party. So too the existence of riddles relating to cosmology and sex shows clearly that these were not originally invented for children. With the change in their social rôle, riddles underwent considerable modification and took on new meanings. Indeed the solution of riddles is usually a shifting and fluid element in them.

Riddles are mostly in the form of a short proposition: consider for example this riddle, known to have existed as early as the 14th century and still widespread today: *yer altïnda yaghlï kayïsh* ('oily sliding underground') = 'snake'. Most of the popular riddles consist of two parts which are assonant or half-rhyming because of the syntactical balance between them: *Allah yapar yapïsïnï—bïčak ačar kapïsïnï* ('God builds its structure, the knife opens its door') = 'water-melon'. Riddles of this pattern are often extended into regular quatrains (*mānī*), a chacteristic form of Turkish popular verse. Paronomasia and onomatopoeia abound.

A comparative examination of material so far collected shows that the various groups into which riddles may be classified are all variants of certain primitive types. In fact, because of the alterations incidental to the process of being passed orally from one person to another, and because they are consciously adjusted to suit new solutions, riddles are subject to constant change. This entails a well-nigh infinite increase in the number of variants. Nevertheless there are some riddles which have changed neither their form nor their solution for centuries.

As early as Maḥmūd Kāshgharī's *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* (11th century) we find riddles, under the names *tabuzghu neng*, *tabuzghuḳ* and *tabzugh*. But the oldest known examples of Turkish popular riddles are found in the Codex Cumanicus and have formed the subject of numerous publications (G. Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus*, Budapest 1880, 143-157, 236 foll.; W. Radloff, *Das Türkische Sprachmaterial des C. C.* (*Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Petersburg*, 1887, xxxv, 2 foll., no. 6); W. Bang, *Über die Rätsel des C. C.* (*SBPr. Ak. W.*, 1912, xxi, 334-353); J. Németh, *Die Rätsel des C. C.* (*ZDMG*, 1913, lxvii, 577-608); S. E. Malov, *K istorii i kritike C. C.* (Izv. Akad. Nauk SSSR, literary section, 1930, 348-375); J. Németh, *Zu den Rätseln des C. C.* (*KCA*, ii, 366 foll.).

There are also a good many collections of riddles recorded by contemporary scholars, but these are far from having exhausted the rich store existing among the Turkish peoples.

Bibliography: A. N. Samoylovich, *Zagadki zakaspiyskikh Turkmenov* (Zivaya Starina, 1909), 28-32. He has published a bibliography of studies of riddles of the Turkish peoples till 1932. This (*RO*, iv, 4 f.; till 1926) has been completed by Malov. For bibliography of Ottoman riddles see Kowalski's article *Türkische Volksrätsel aus Nordbulgarien* (*Festschrift für G. Jacob*), 130 ff. (till 1932). Important collections of Turkish riddles: I. Kúnos, *Oszmanlörök népköltési gyujtemény*, Budapest 1889, ii, 141-177; T. Kowalski, *Zagadki ludowe tureckie*, Krakow 1919; Saʿd al-Dīn Nüzhet and Aḥmed Ferīd, *Ḳonya wilāyeti khalḳiyāt we harthiyatī*, Ḳonya 1926, 225-233; Hammamī-zāde Ihsan, *Bilmeceler* (articles on Turkish folklore), iii, Istanbul 1930; T. Kowalski, *Türkische Volksrätsel aus Kleinasien*, (*ArO* 1932, iv, 295-324). (T. Kowalski*)

BĪMĀRISTĀN, often contracted to *māristān*, from Persian *bīmār* 'sick' + the suffix *-istān* denoting place, a hospital. In modern usage *bīmāristān* is applied especially to a lunatic asylum.

i. *Early period and Muslim East.*

According to the Arabs themselves (cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 405), the first hospital was founded either by Manāḳyūs, a mythical king of Egypt, or by Hippocrates, the latter of whom is said to have made for the sick in a garden near his house a *xenodokeion*, literally 'lodging for strangers'. The authority for this statement is given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ʿUyūn*, ed. Müller, i, 26-27) as Book 3 of Galen's *Fī akhlāḳ al-nafs* (*Peri Ēthōn*), a work which has not survived in Greek. Since hospitals were not a feature of life in classical antiquity, the question of origin is not solved by these indications. Al-Walīd I (Caliph 86-96/705-715) is credited with having been the first to build a *māristān* in Islam, placing in it doctors and assigning them stipends (Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*), but although this is stated in similar terms ('hospitals for the sick') by so early a writer as Ibn al-Faḳīh *circa* 289/902 (106-107), the fact is open to doubt. According to al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1196), al-Walīd restrained the lepers from going out among the people and assigned them stipends, — a bare statement somewhat amplified in another passage (ii, 1271), where al-Ṭabarī mentions that al-Walīd 'gave donations to the lepers, telling them not to beg from the people and assigned to every cripple a servant and to every blind person a guide'. Ibn al-Athīr (*sub anno* 88/707) has a short notice to the same effect, and al-Dhahabī adds that the servants and guides were slaves (*Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, iv, 67). It would seem that we have to do here with measures of segregation, somewhat as in Muslim Spain later, where a whole quarter at Ḳurṭuba (Cordova) was known as Rabaḍ al-Marḍā, 'Suburb of the Sick' (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 381-382, 434).

The establishment of the first real hospital in Islam depended on the continuing influence of the medical school and hospital at Djundaysābūr (Djundīshāpūr) in Khūzistān. Founded under the Sāsānids, this institution maintained its Syro-Persian and Indian, ultimately Greek, traditions, into the Arab period and from the time of the transference of the capital to al-ʿIrāḳ exercised a profound effect on the development of Arabic medicine. As far as hospitals are concerned, contact with Djundaysābūr bore fruit in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170/786-193/809), who charged Djibrāʾīl b. Bakhtīshūʿ, a Christian doctor of that school, with the creation of a *bīmāristān* in Baghdād. At the same time a skilled dispenser in the *bīmāristān* at Djundaysābūr was sent to Baghdād. This man's son, Yūḥannā (Yaḥyā) b. Māsawayh, afterwards became head of the new *bīmāristān* (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 383-384; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 174-175). The original Baghdād hospital was situated in the S.W. suburb on the Karkhāyā Canal. It was here that, following the catholic traditions of Djundaysābūr, the Indian Manka at the request of Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī translated the Sanskrit medical work *Suśruta-saṃhitā* into Persian (*Fihrist*, 303) and al-Rāzī (Rhazes) lectured, according to some.

How long the *bīmāristān* of Hārūn continued to function alone is not clear. From the beginning of the 4th/10th century or somewhat earlier we hear of a spate of new foundations in Baghdād: the *bīmāristān* founded by Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī, the *ghulām*, 'page', of al-Muʿtaḍid (279/892-289/902) in the Mukharrim quarter on the E. bank of the Tigris (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 221, cf. 214); a *bīmāristān* in the Ḥarbiyya quarter, N. of the City of al-Manṣūr, endowed in 302/914 by the 'good *wazīr*' ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, who gave the direction of it together with 'the rest of the hospitals in Baghdād, Makka and al-Madīna' to the learned Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Yaʿḳūb al-Dimishḳī, otherwise known as a translator (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 234); the Bīmāristān al-Sayyida on the E. bank, opened in al-Muḥarram, 306/June, 918 by Sinān b. Thābit, who appears to have succeeded Abū ʿUthmān al-Dimishḳī as general intendant of hospitals in Baghdād and elsewhere (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 221-222); the Bīmāristān al-Muḳtadirī at the Bāb al-Shām, built about the same time (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 222); and the *bīmāristān* of Ibn al-Furāt in Darb al-Mufaḍḍal, over which Thābit b. Sinān is said to have been given the charge in 313/925 (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 224). These hospitals derived their revenues from endowments (*waḳf*) made by powerful and wealthy individuals. The funds were in the hands of trustees, who were not always very attentive to their responsibilities (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 221). An idea of the size of the hospitals may be gained from their monthly expenditure: at the Muḳtadirī 200 *dīnārs* a month; at the Bīmāristān al-Sayyida, 600 *dīnārs* a month (*ibid.*). Some comfort for the patients was secured by the provision of blankets and charcoal in cold weather (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 222). Efforts in this direction sometimes went much farther (see below).

We know less about hospitals in the provinces, but some certainly existed before the 4th/10th century. The *bīmāristān* of al-Rayy, over which al-Rāzī presided before coming to Baghdād, where he died as head of a hospital about 320/932 (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 272), was a large institution (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 273; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 310-311) and had probably been in existence for some time. A lunatic asylum at Dayr Hiẓḳil between Wāsiṭ and Baghdād was visited by al-Mubarrad in the Caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, *i.e.*, between 232/847 and 247/861 (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 197 ff.).

In the time of Sinān b. Thābit, who died in 331/942 (*Fihrist*, 302), on instructions from ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā already mentioned the prisons were daily visited by doctors, medicines and potions were provided for sick prisoners, and female visitors were also admitted, evidently in the capacity of nurses (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 221). At the same period medical practitioners and a travelling dispensary (*khizāna li 'l-adwiya wa 'l-ashriba*) were sent round the villages of the Sawād (*i.e.*, lower ʿIrāḳ). From correspondence between Sinān and the *wazīr* concerning this mobile medical unit it appears that at this time non-Muslims as well as Muslims were treated at the *bīmāristāns* (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ibid.*).

At least some of the Baghdād hospitals which have been listed were probably still in existence when the great ʿAḍudī *bīmāristān* was founded at the bend of the Tigris in W. Baghdād by the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla Al-Rāzī is repeatedly mentioned in connexion with this hospital, which from the time of its opening in 372/982, shortly before the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla (Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, i, 167), was the most celebrated of the hospitals of Baghdād. It is said that al-Rāzī chose the site by causing a piece of meat to be suspended in every part of the city, and discovering where there was least putrefaction, and also that ʿAḍud al-Dawla selected him from more than a hundred doctors as first chief (the word is *sāʿūr*, from Syriac) of the new foundation (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 309-310). But al-Rāzī had died 50 years earlier. The explanation of the anachronism,

already noted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ibid.*), may be the similarity in the script of the Bīmāristān al-ʿAḍudī and that founded in al-Rāzī's lifetime by al-Muʿtaḍidī (see above).

When first founded, the ʿAḍudī hospital had twenty-four doctors (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī 235-236). Several classes of specialists are mentioned: 'physiologists' (*ṭabāʾiʿiyyun*), oculists (*kaḥḥālūn*), surgeons (*djarāʾiḥiyyūn*) and bonesetters (*mudjabbirūn*) (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 310). The salary of Djibrāʾīl b. ʿUbayd Allāh, whose turn of duty at the *bīmāristān* was two days and two nights per week, is given as 300 *dirhams*, *i.e.*, monthly (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 148). Lectures were given at the ʿAḍudī hospital (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 239, 244), and we know some of the works which were read in this way, *e.g.*, the *Aḳrābādhīn* (Antidotarium) of Sābūr b. Sahl of Djundaysābūr (*Fihrist*, 297, cf. Brockelmann, I, 232), eventually superseded by another work of the same title by Ibn al-Tilmīdh, a later dean (*sāʿūr*, see above) of the ʿAḍudī hospital (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 161, 259). When Ibn Djubayr visited Baghdād in 580/1184 the place was like a great castle, with a water-supply from the Tigris, and all the appurtenances of royal palaces (*Riḥla*, ed. De Goeje, 225-226).

Another of the great hospitals of mediaeval Islam was founded in Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (541/1146-569/1175). The Nūrī hospital is said to have been built from the ransom of an unnamed king of the Franks (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 408). Ibn Djubayr (*Riḥla*, 283) describes how the staff kept lists of the patients' names and the amounts of medicines and food which each required. A typical day in the life of a leading doctor at the Nūrī hospital included going the rounds of the sick and writing down prescriptions of medicine and treatment, visiting private patients, then returning to the hospital in the evening to lecture for three hours on medical subjects (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 155). There was also a Nūrī hospital at Ḥalab (Aleppo) (Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ii, 77).

In Egypt no *bīmāristān* existed till Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn constructed one in 259/872-261/874 (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 405). Here the rule was that no soldier or slave should be admitted for treatment. The institution was richly endowed, with facilities for men and women. The Nāṣirī hospital was founded by Salāḥ al-Dīn, but the great creation of al-Manṣūr Ḳalāʾūn, completed in 11 months in 683/1284, was the most splendid of its kind in Egypt, and perhaps the most elaborate which had yet been seen in Islam. The endowment is said to have amounted to nearly one million *dirhams* in a year (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 406). Men and women were admitted. None was turned away, nor was the period of treatment limited. Formerly a Fāṭimid palace with accomodation for 8,000 persons, the Manṣūrī hospital possessed wards where fevers, ophthalmia, surgical cases, dysentery, etc., were separately treated, a pharmacy, a dispensary, store-rooms, attendants of both sexes, a large administrative staff, lecture arrangements, a chapel, a library, in fact all that the best experience of the time could suggest for the healing of the sick. The account of these matters given by al-Makrizi (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 406-408) is an impressive tribute to the hospital science of mediaeval Islam.

Books were written about hospitals, *e.g.*, the *Kitāb fī ṣifāt al-bīmāristān* of al-Rāzī (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 310), the *Bīmāristānī* par excellence (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 272 = Ibn Djuldjul, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, 77), which, like the *Kitāb al-bīmāristānāt* of Zāhid al-ʿUlamāʾ al-Fāriḳī, head of a flourishing hospital in Mesopotamia in the 5th/11th century (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 253), is now lost. Somewhat different are the *Maḳāla Aminiyya fi 'l-adwiya al-bīmāristāniyya* of Ibn al-Tilmīdh and the *Dastūr al-bīmāristānī* of Ibn Abi 'l-Bayyān, both works on pharmacopoeia mentioned by Paul Sbath (*Al-Fihrist*, Cairo 1938, i, 10, 75), who gave an edition of the latter (*Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, xv, 1932-1933, 13-78).

Bibliography: L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la Médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, 557-572; E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge 1921, 45-46, 56, 101-102; Amīn A. Khayr Allāh, *Outline of Arabic Contributions to Medicine and the Allied Sciences*, Beirut 1946, 59-73 (contains a few mistakes); C Elgood, *A Medical History of Persia and the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1951, index (gives also information on the W. of Islam); G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900; reimpression 1924, 62, 103-105; E. W. Lane, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, London 1896, 92-94 (reduced condition of the Manṣūrī hospital last century); M. W. Hilton-Simpson, *Arab Medicine and Surgery*, Oxford 1922, 13 (village hospital in modern Algeria); Aḥmad ʿĪsā Bey, *Histoire des bimaristans* (*hôpitaux*) à *l'époque islamique*, Cairo 1928; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Bīmāristānāt fi 'l-Islam*, Damascus 1939; J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, text, 126 n. 1, and album, pl. lxi.

(D. M. Dunlop)

ii. *Muslim West.*

The first large hospital in North Africa for which there is any evidence was founded at Marrākush by the Almohad sultan Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) about a hundred years before the establishment of the famous hospital at Cairo. The sultan was a great builder and, after attracting to his court the most celebrated Spanish doctors of his time: Ibn Ṭufayl, Ibn Rushd, Ibn Zuhr al-Ḥafīd and his son, he built in his capital, for sick foreigners both rich and poor, a magnificent hospital of which there is a description by ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (cf. *al-Muʿdjib*, ed. Mohammed El-Fassi, 1938, 176-177). The same sultan also founded, in various parts of the empire, hospitals for the insane, for lepers and for the blind (cf. *al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. Fās 1305, 154; trans. Beaumier, 306).

The great Marīnid Sultans [*q.v.*], Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, Abu 'l-Ḥasan and Abū ʿInān, kept up these establishments and added many others (cf. *al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. Fās, 1305, 214; *al-Dhakhīra al-Saniyya*, ed. Ben Cheneb, 100; Ibn Marzūḳ, *al-Musnad*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, in *Hesperis* v (1925), 36; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv, 347). At a later date, the ruling sultans appropriated the revenues intended for these hospitals, which consequently fell into decline or disappeared.

At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Leo Africanus described the hospital at Fez as being in total decline and used primarily as a prison for dangerous lunatics. This is still its function, and it is also used as a prison for women (cf. Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Schefer, ii, 78, trans. Épaulard i, 188; Le Tourneau, *Fes*, 255-257).

The famous Almohad hospital at Marrākush seems to have disappeared without leaving any traces, and the hospital founded there by the Saʿdid sultan ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib bi-llāh (965-81/1557-74) became a prison for women (cf. al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, trans. v, 63).

In 1247/1831-32, the ʿAlawid sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān built at Salé a hospital attached to the

sanctuary of Sayyidī Ibn ʿĀshir. This hospital, which is still in use, dispensed with doctors; instead, the sick relied for their cure upon the *baraka* of the saint. The memory of old hospitals which have disappeared or fallen into disuse is preserved in some towns of Morocco, for example in Rabat and El-Ḳṣar (cf. L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii: Glossary, 753), and also in Tangiers.

Lepers (plural *djadhmā*, or, euphemistically, *marḍā*) were usually placed in a special quarter, called *al-ḥāra*, outside the towns. At Fez, they were originally settled outside Bāb al-Khawkha, on the Tlemcen road. During the first half of the thirteenth century they were removed to caves outside Bāb al-Sharīʿa. Then, in 658/1260, they were installed in other caves outside Bāb al-Gīsa. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century they lived in a town near the Sūḳ al-Khamīs (cf. *al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. Rabat 1936, i, 53-54; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Épaulard, i, 229). At Marrākush, the *ḥāra* was originally outside Bāb Āghmāt, until, at the end of the 10th/16th century, the Saʿdid sultan al-Manṣūr removed it to outside Bāb Dukkāla.

At Tunis, the Ḥafṣid Sultan, Abū Fāris, founded the first hospital "for poor, foreign or infirm Muslims", completed in 823/1420 (cf. al-Zarkashī, *Taʾrīkh al-Dawlatayn*, ed. Tunis 1289, 102). At Granada, the Naṣrid sultan Muḥammad V, built a splendid hospital "for sick and poor Muslims", completed in 768/1367. The foundation inscription reads that "never, since the beginning of Islamic influence in these parts, has such an establishment been founded". Perhaps this is an exaggeration, for there were others, and in Granada itself. And, from the 7th/13th century onwards, the Valencia *Vocabulista* translates *hospitale* by dialectal and, therefore, living terms: *marastān* and *malastān* (cf. Ibn al-Khaṭib, *al-Iḥāṭa*, ed. Cairo 1319, ii, 29; Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, 164; L. Seco de Lucena, *Plano de Granada arabe*, 53).

A distinction must be made between "hospitals" intended for the sick and "hospices" or "night lodgings" (*manzil*) intended for travellers. In the Muslim West, such hospices were established outside the gates of the big towns by most of the sovereigns who founded hospitals. They received the name *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] (cf. G. S. Colin, *La zaouya mérinite d'Anemli, à Taza*, in *Hespéris*, 1953, ii, 1). Al-Khafādjī appears to have repeated an earlier error in stating that the first *bīmāristān* was set up by Hippocrates who gave it the name *ikhshinudūkiyun* (ξενοδοχεῖον), "hostelry for foreigners" (cf. *Shifāʾ al-Ghalīl*, ed. Cairo 1282, 56) [cf. above i].

The Moroccan author of the *Muʿdjib* (cf. supra), writing in Baghdād in 621/1224, is the only Western author to use the correct etymological form: *bīmāristān*. All the others use a form, *māristān*, which has lost the Persian preposition. Very soon, the word appears with the first *ā* shortened. In the Spanish dialects, the *r* was followed by the vowel *a* (*Vocabulista*: *marastān* and *malastan*; P. de Alcalá: *marastén*), and this vocalisation is attested for Egypt in the 11th/17th century by Al-Khafādjī (cf. *Shifāʾ* ed. Cairo 1282, 206). In present-day Cairo the word is pronounced *murustān*.

In the modern dialects of the Maghrib, some velarisation has taken place in the word: *morṣṭān*, the reason for the sound-change being perhaps affective. In Tetuan it is pronounced *merṣṭrān*, and everywhere the meaning of the word is "prison for dangerous lunatics" (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 465). (G. S. Colin)

iii. *Turkey.*

The first Saldjūḳid *Dār al-Shifāʾ* (Hospital) and *Madrasa* were established in Kayseri in 602/1206. This was followed by the building of other hospitals in Sivas, Divriɪi, Čankiri, Kastamonu, Konya, Tokat, Erzurum, Erzincan, Mardin and Amasya. The Anatolian hospitals were named then, as now, *Bīmāristān, Māristān, Tīmārhāne, Dār al-Shifāʾ or Dār al-ʿĀfiya*. They were general hospitals in that they accepted all kinds of patients, and their staffs included surgeons, physicians, pharmacists and oculists. They were supported by independent funds, and were organised according to the size, importance and specific needs of the locality.

The first Ottoman *Bīmāristān* in Anatolia was the *Dār al-Shifāʾ* of Yildirim in Bursa. When Bursa was conquered by the Ottomans in 726/1306, it had no hospital. The first Ottoman sultans (Sulṭān Orkhān, Murād I, Yildirim Bāyazīd) enlarged the city and built some institutions, among which was the *Dār al-Shifāʾ* of Yildirim, opened in 802/1399. This institution, which was a section of *Yildirim ʿImāreti* (a special centre including hospital, bath, rest house for travellers etc.) was repaired many times before it was abandoned in the middle of the 19th century in favour of the Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha hospital. It is in ruins now.

The leprosery which was built at Edirne in the time of Murād II (824-855/1421-51) operated for approximately two centuries. Before this leprosery, the Turks had built others in Sivas, Kastamonu and Kayseri in Anatolia.

The *Dār al-Shifāʾ* of Fātiḥ which was opened in 875/1470, was built by Mehemmed II, the Conqueror (855-886/1451-81), and was a part of his *Külliye*. Although it is now in ruins as a result of many large fires, the hospital buildings served until the last century. The *Waḳfiyye* shows that there was a large medical student body in addition to the medical staff. This was the traditional method of training medical students in Islamic hospitals.

In the same century Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512) established another *ʿimāret* at Edirne, on the banks of the Tundja river. A part of this institution was a hospital which was named after him. The buildings were begun in 891/1486 and completed in eight years, but the *Waḳfiyye* was not established until 898/1493. Although the institution is now in ruins, its large staff served the public well until the beginning of this century. According to Ewliya Čelebi, it had a staff of ten musicians who played for the patients from time to time. There are many mistakes in the plans of the institution, which were prepared very hurriedly by C. Gurlitt; cf. C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin 1872, 2 vols.

During the 16th century three great hospitals were established in Istanbul and one in Manisa. The *Bīmārkhāne* of Khasseki was built in 946/1539 in Istanbul for Khürrem Sulṭān, wife of Sulṭān Süleymān the Magnificent; and the *Dār al-Shifāʾ* of Süleymān and his *Madrasa* of Medicine were built in 963/1555 in Istanbul in the Sultan's name. The *Dār al-Shifāʾ* of Ḥāfiẓe Sultan was built in 946/1539 in Manisa in honour of the Sultan's mother. The *Bīmārkhāne* of Khasseki, though it was partially ruined by earthquakes and fires, is restored and is now used as a health centre. The *Bīmārhāne* of Manisa served until the end of the first world war and is now deserted.

The fourth hospital, the *Bīmārkhāne* of Toptaşı, was built in 991/1583 in Istanbul for Nūrbānū

Sulṭān, mother of Murād III (982 1003/1574-95). This institution served as a hospital until 1927 when it became a tobacco warehouse.

In the 17th century, Aḥmed I (1012-26/1603-17) had a large hospital erected behind the old Byzantine Hippodrome near his famous mosque. The hospital was opened in 1025/1616 and has only recently been demolished to make room for a new school.

There was a recession in the establishment of Ottoman health and social aid institutions during the 18th century; but in the 19th century military service, styles of clothing, education etc. were modernised in the Ottoman Empire. In 1253/1837 the Ghurabā hospital was established in Istanbul at Edirnekapi in the *Madrasa* of Mihrimāh Sulṭān. While this hospital was being modernised by Bezm-i ʿĀlem Wālide Sultan, mother of Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Madjīd, new modern military hospitals and a modern medical school were established. These institutions were to meet the medical needs of the new army. A new school of medicine and surgery established in Istanbul in 1243/1827, by Sulṭān Maḥmūd II (1223-1255/1808-39), began its teaching in Italian but switched to French with the coming of some good medical teachers from Austria in 1839. This medical school was enlarged by sultans ʿAbd al-Madjīd, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, and eventually included a rabies institute, a bacteriological institute and an inoculation centre. A number of physicians having knowledge of European languages and modern medical methods graduated from this school. They went to Anatolia and founded modern hospitals there. Immunisations against rabies and smallpox were started here nearly at the same time as they were begun in Europe. The Ottoman Government was one of those which helped to establish the Pasteur Institute.

Shishli children's hospital, which is one of the largest hospitals in Istanbul, was established by Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, in 1316/1898.

These hospitals were the most important of the Ottoman Empire and although there are many others to be found throughout Turkey, space does not permit their inclusion. In five centuries the Turks established nearly seventy hospitals in Istanbul alone. (BEDI N. ŞEHSUVAROĞLU)

BINĀ', building, the art of the builder or mason. Building techniques depend partly on the materials used. In the Islamic countries we find very widely differing materials employed, from rammed earth to ashlar, with unbaked and baked brick, rubble and rough-hewn stone as intermediary stages. The choice of one of these materials depends of course on the resources of a given country, or the lack of them, but as well as this on local traditions or traditions brought in by foreign builders, which may for a time supplant local ones. Thus Syria, where the art of stone-cutting had long been known, reproduces in stone the complicated forms of the *muḳarnas* (= stalactites) which were borrowed from Persia and probably derive from brick architecture. And on the other hand Egypt, whose quarries had yielded such fine free-stone, uses brick at the time of the Ṭūlūnids, they are taking their models and no doubt their chief architects from ʿIrāḳ, where brick was the normal material. Apart from such considerations Muslim builders seem comparatively indifferent as to choice of material, except in some countries such as Syria which cling to their preference for fine work. Of the three great Hispano-Moorish towers of the 6th/12th century, which—no doubt wrongly—are attributed to the same architect, the Giralda at Seville is built of brick, the Ḥassān tower at Rabat of ashlar and the minaret of the Kutubiyya at Marrakech of rubble. This indifference on the part of the builder as to material and the carelessness of craftsmen in its use are seen more clearly in palaces than in religious buildings, especially in the West from the 7th/13th century. There are several reasons for this: speed of construction, the need being to satisfy a master's whim the shortest delay; the use of unskilled slave labour capable of nothing more complicated than ramming concrete between two boards; and finally the general use of facings (coverings of plain or sculpted plaster, inlaid-work of enamelled clay or earthenware titles) which completely conceal the body of the walls.

It is remarkable that the technique of cobwork (*ṭābya*) should have been described in detail by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muḳaddima*, and leads us to assume that he thought it a characteristically Muslim practice. Earth with which chalk and crushed baked earth or broken stones are often mixed is rammed between two boards kept parallel by beams. The wall is plastered over, often in such a way as to simulate joints of heavy bond-work beneath. When this plaster falls, the regularly spaced holes left by the beams become visible. In the Muslim West cobwork became general in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, especially in military building. In the Maghrib it seems to have been an importation from Andalusia, where it had long been known.

Unbaked brick (*ṭawb*), which sometimes serves as a facing for cobwork, is made of earth and cut straw rammed together in a wooden former. It is still in common use in Sahara towns, and was employed very early in arid regions, especially in Mesopotamia and Arabia. The walls of the Prophet's dwelling in Medina were probably built of this material, as are those of the ʿAbbasid mosques of Sāmarrā. We find it employed at about the same time in Ifrīḳiya. The excavations at ʿAbbāsiyya, the seat of the Aghlabids of al-Ḳayrawān, have brought to light carefully moulded specimens of *ṭawb* 42 cm. long by half that measurement in width, and a quarter in thickness, which suggests that the cubit used by the builders was 42 cm.

Baked brick (*ādjurr*), used so commonly in the Iranian world and by the Romans also, notably in the public baths, is to be found in all the Islamic countries, but was always *par excellence* the building material of Persia. It is of varying dimensions, and is sometimes cut on an angle or partly rounded off. It is used alone or with rubble in parts of a building where accuracy of line is important (pillars, pedestals, stairways, arches, vaults, etc.). It functions as horizontal tying material alternating with courses of rubble, or vertical tying, to maintain regularity of construction, especially at corners (A). Brick is as a rule covered over with plaster, but it may remain visible and add an element of colour, either the pink of baked earth or that of some enamel applied to its edge.

Rubble or rough-hewn stone was used in Sāsānid building and is still used in Muslim Mesopotamia, as in the stronghold of Ukhaydir (mid 2nd/8th century). In the 5th/11th century it seems to have been the material most familiar to the Berber builders of North Africa. It is used above all for the ramparts of towns before the introduction of cobwork (cob walls will often have a foundation of rubble), and also in waterworks. The cementing mortar and protecting plaster are of chalk, sand, crushed fragments of tile, and wood charcoal. An analysis of their

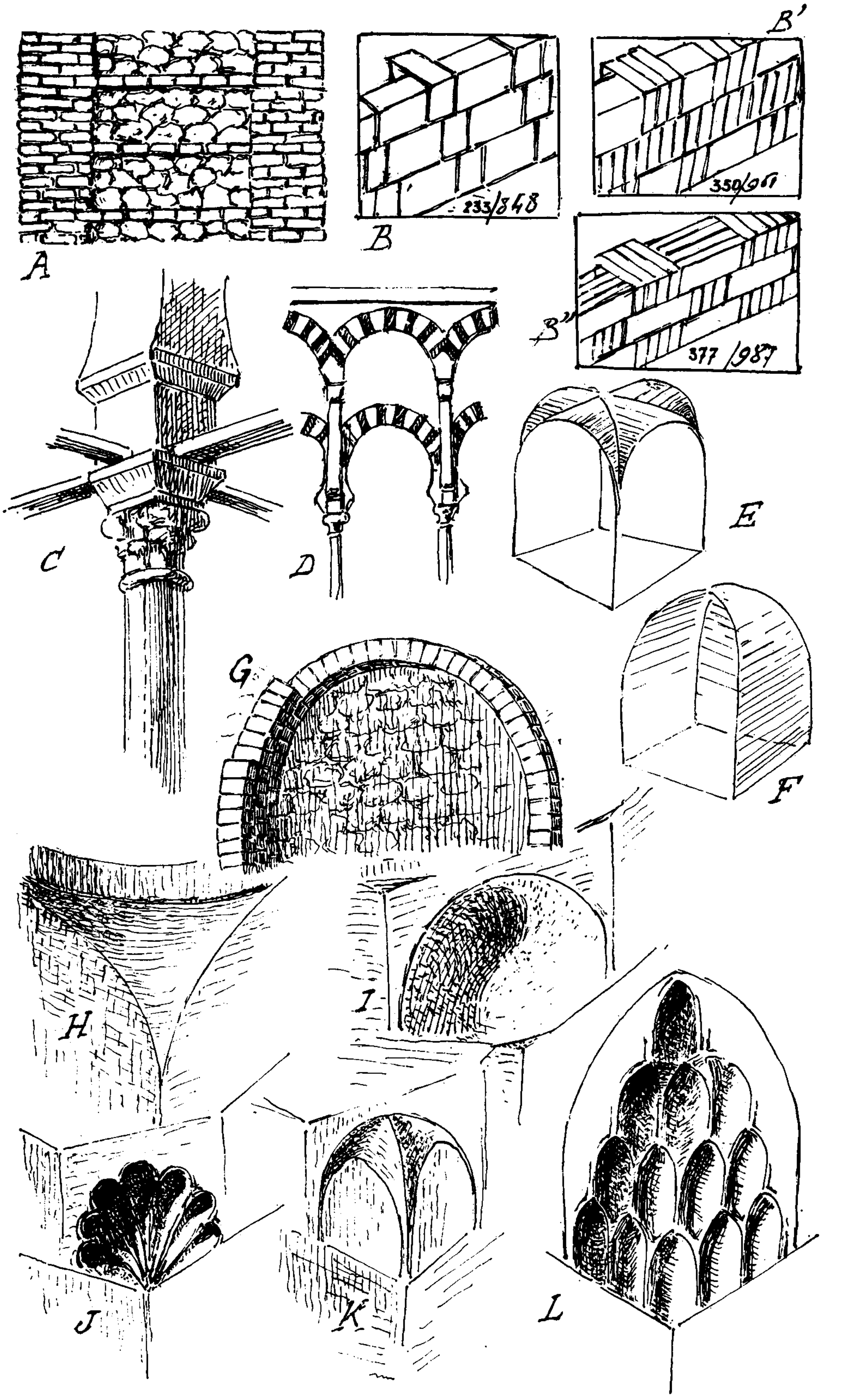
A
B
233/848
B'
350/961
B''
377/987
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L

composition reveals a pattern of evolution which has been studied by M. Solignac (*Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques de Kairouan* .... in *AIEO Algiers*, 1952-3), and allows us to date the works.

The use of ashlar continues a Roman and Byzantine tradition. Its homeland is in Syria, where ashlar has remained a common building material until our time. It was temporarily replaced by brick in Egypt, but came into use again in the Fāṭimid period (4th-6th/10th-12th century) especially in the fortifications of the Armenian Badr al-Djamālī. In Ifrīḳiya it is used for the religious and military buildings of the 3rd/9th century and from the 7th/13th century was popular again with the Tunisian architects. In Spain it is the regular material in the Umayyad foundations; local tradition was there reinforced by Syrian influence. The Maghrīb takes it over in the 6th/12th century in the Almohad buildings.

As in the Byzantine period, walls built of rubble-work are frequently faced with ashlar. The bond-work, not as massive as the Roman, shows combinations of tiles and headers, whose chronology Velazquez Bosco has contrived to establish, for Cordova (Velazquez Bosco, *Medina Azzahra y Alamiriya*, Madrid 1912) (B, B′, B″). Almohad bond-work is of alternate thick and thin courses, which from Morocco pass into Tunisia.

To these materials we should add wood: longitudinal beams are sometimes sunk in walls; at al-Ḳayrawān heavy planks form architraves above the capitals; small beams form ceilings and sometimes lintels, a practice not without risk to the solidity of the building concerned.

Walls, the composition of which we have just indicated, are often flanked by buttresses. Projecting semi-cylindrical abutments of the old Mesopotamian type were added to the stone outer walls of the Syrian Umayyad strongholds, and the brick ones of the mosques at Sāmarrā. The great mosque at Tunis (3rd/9th century) has at its four corners rounded buttresses of apparently the same origin, and they are found again in a building of the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād (5th-6th/11th-12th century). The great mosque at al-Ḳayrawān was given massive rectangular buttresses, partly later than the original construction. The mosque at Cordova has similar buttresses at regular intervals around its periphery.

Among the supporting members found principally in the halls of mosques, columns deserve first mention. In early centuries in such regions as Syria, Egypt, Ifrīḳiya and Spain they were taken from nearby pagan or Christian buildings. When these quarries of shafts and capitals were exhausted Muslim sculptors made their own. Columns are generally cylindrical and not entatic. In the 10th/16th century and after they were imported from Italy to North Africa.

The re-employment of columns of limited size in a hypostyle hall intended to produce an impressive effect led to these supporting members being prolonged upwards. It was doubtless from Egypt (ʿAmr mosque) that the builders of al-Ḳayrawān borrowed the technique of superimposing, as in the classical entablature, the support (= architrave), the impost (= frieze) and the cornice, with wooden ties bedded in the impost (C). The architects of the mosque of Cordova were perhaps inspired by the Roman aqueducts to superpose two rows of arches linking the masses of masonry raised above the columns (D).

The Almohad mosque of Ḥassān at Rabat (6th/12th century) shows a rare example of columns formed of superinposed tambours.

The pillar, a masonry support of square, rectangular, cruciform, or divided plan or flanked by false columns, is in general use in Persian architecture. From the 6th/12th century it replaces columns in prayer-halls in the Maghrib. Tunisian mosques retain columns. The situation is found in the inner courtyards of houses.

Apart from the straight lintel formed by a single stone or oblique arch-stones surmounted by a relieving arch (Egypt, Syria), arches assume very varied forms (semi-circular, horseshoe, Persian arch with rectilinear divisions, etc.). These forms are not dictated by constructional requirements, but serve as ornamentation according to the architect's caprice. The arch-stones they contain are often purely decorative in function.

To cover prayer-halls Syria, the Spain of the Umayyad period, and, no doubt in imitation of the latter, the Maghrib regions, had recourse to timber-work protected by tiled saddle-back roofs. Square buildings had pavilion-shaped roofs, *i.e.*, with four slopes. Egypt and Ifrīḳiya retained terraces, which were preferred also by the Turkish masters of Algiers in the towns along the Algerian coast. The scarcity of timbers of the necessary dimensions led architects to bring closer together the walls carrying them, and to give narrow, long proportions to enclosures with ceilings (naves, rooms, etc.). The use of waggon-vaults or small domes placed together answers the same need.

The problem of vault and dome was solved in different ways within the Sāsānid and Byzantine traditions, but Iranian genius was to add noteworthy variations.

The question alluded to above of suitable timbers or rather of their scarcity is the determining factor in building the vault, whether semi-cylindrical or elliptical. Setting up a stone arch or vault demands the use of a wooden former on which the arch-stones are successively placed. The use of bricks, their lightness and the fact that they can be mortared together, allows another method which dispenses with the former: the construction of the "edge vault". This is frequent in Sāsānid architecture and finds its most logical use in the specifically Iranian type, the *īwān* (the *īwān* so constantly used in Muslim Persia is a three-walled room open on the fourth side, like a large niche with a flat back surface). The builder cements a first row of bricks on the rear wall, tracing out the curve of the vault; a second row is then cemented to the first, a third to the second, so that row by row the vault advances across the space to be covered (G).

Apart from the waggon-vault Muslim architecture uses the groined vault so familiar to Roman and Byzantine builders (two semi-cylinders intersecting at right angles [E]), and more rarely the cloister-arch vault (in which the four walls curve in above the space to be covered) (F) which occasionally serves as the end and culmination of the waggon-vault.

As for the dome, the fine examples constructed in the Byzantine era were the prototypes of the Turkish domes, but this feature also was the subject of variations which Muslim art owes to Persia.

As is known, there are two main types of solution to the problem of how to place a semi-circular or eight-sided vault on a square base: the pendentive (H), the customary practice in the Byzantine world (cf. St. Sophia at Istanbul), and the more specifically Iranian squinch (I). This squinch, a quarter sphere the head-arc of which projects over the corner of the square cupporting it, sometimes assumes with its

radiating flutings and indented edge the grace of a marine shell (J). In the Grand Mosque at Damascus and that at Cordova it takes the form of a small niche. North-African and Sicilian architecture knew the squinch as a half groined vault (a groined vault cut diagonally) (K). Finally Persia contrived the super-position of several ranks of cell-like niches, the probable origin of the *mukarnas* (= stalactites) (L).

Above this zone where square and circle are brought into union there frequently rises a circular zone pierced with windows to allow the entry of light, and surmounted by the dome proper.

Persian architects, profiting from the advantages offered by brick, showed great ingenuity in erecting widely differing domes. Such is the ribbed dome, of light arches crossing above the space to be covered, and supporting counter-arches which fill the intermediary gaps. This type of dome, which was known from the time of the Sāsānids (A. Godard, *Voûtes iraniennes*, in *Āthār-e Īrān*, 1949), passed from Persia to Spain (3rd/9th century), then from Cordova and Toledo became known in the 6th/12th century in the Maghrib and about the same time throughout south-west France. (G. Marçais)

BIÑBASHĪ, 'head of a thousand', a Turkish military rank. The word appears at an early date among the Western Turks, and is already used in connexion with the military reorganisation said to have been made by Orkhān in 729/1328-9 (*e.g.*, Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i, 40—'*onbashīs*, *yüzbashīs*, and *biñbashīs* were appointed to them...'). In the form *miñbashī* the term also occurs among the Eastern Turks, and is used, for example, of a rank in the Ṣafawid forces in Persia (V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, London 1943, 36, 74, 155). The title *miñ-begi*, with a similar meaning, also appears in the memoirs of Bābur. The term *biñbashī* does not seem to have been much used in the regular Ottoman forces of the classical period. It reappears, however, in the 18th century, and is used to designate the officers of the newly raised *mīrī ʿaskerīs*, a treasury-paid force of infantry and cavalry. In the campaign of 1769 there were already ninety seven regiments of *mīrī ʿaskerīs*, each commanded by a *biñbashī*. The *biñbashī* received 2000 piastres of pay for the campaign, plus a tenth of the pay of his men. (D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, vii, Paris 1824, 381-2; cf. Resmī Efendi, *Khulāṣat al-Iʿtibār*, Istanbul 1286, 12 ff.). From the end of the 18th century, (Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, vi, 367), *biñbashī* became a regular rank in the new, European-style armies, given to battalion-commanders. After the accession of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the pay of a *biñbashī* was fixed at 1,500 piastres a month, or 4,140 francs a year (Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, no. 19). In Egypt the title *biñbashī*, along with other Turkish military terms and commands, was used in the army of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, and remained current under subsequent régimes. In the Arab countries it is sometimes pronounced bikbashī, presumably through a distortion of the Turkish *saghīr nūn* (ñ = ڭ). (B. Lewis)

BINGÖL, name of a town in ancient Turkish Armenia, previously called Čapakčur, capital of a *vilāyet* partly filled by the mountain range of Bingöl Dagh. It is situated on the Gönük Su, a tributary of the Aracani-Arsanas-Murād Su, and on the road joining Elazig with Mush via Palu. (M. Canard)

BINGÖL DAGH, name of a mountain massif, a raised but not volcanic plateau, which stretches south of Erzurum across the *vilāyets* of Erzurum, Mush and Bingöl (Čapakčur). Its highest peak in the east is Demir or Timur Kale or Kalʿa (Fortress of Iron), over whose height there is some disagreement among different writers: 3690 ms. according to H. and R. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui*, pl. V, 1910, Abos Mons, cf. above, 655; 3650 ms. according to the Erzurum sheet of the Harta Genel Direktörlüğü, 1936; 3250 ms. according to the road-map of the Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü, 1951; 3700 ms. according to Banse; 2977 ms. according to Blanchard. It dominates the high plain of Varto (formerly Gümgüm). The western peak, Bingöl or Toprak Kale (Fortress of Earth) is almost as high. The northern part of the mountain is cut of by two circular depressions separated by a sharp ridge.

Bingöl Dagh is a true water-shed. It contains numerous little lakes from which it gets its name of mountain (*dagh*) of a thousand (*bin*) lakes (*göl*). The Araxes (Aras, al-Rass) in the north, the Tuzla Su, a tributary of the northern Euphrates, and the Bingöl Su in the west, the Gönük Su in the south-west, the Čarbughar Ṣu in the south, and the Khinis Ṣu, the four last tributaries of the Murād Ṣu, in the east and north-east, all rise here. Armenian legend makes it the site of the earthly paradise. In classical geography it is called Abos Mons. The Armenian name is Srmancʿ (Greek Σερμάντου). Arab geographers and historians de not refer to it, although there is some mention in the wars between the Ḥamdānids and the Byzantines in the 4th/10th century of the place Hafdjīdj (Arm. Havčičʿ) situated to the south of Ḳālīḳalā-Erzurum and in the Bingöl Dagh at the source of the Araxes. Tavernier is the first among European travellers to give the name of Bingöl Dagh. The Ḳizil-Bāsh [*q.v.*] lived in this region.

Bibliography: K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, X, 79, 81, 385-6; M. Wagner, *Reise nach dem Ararat*, Stuttgart 1858, 272; Strecker, *Zur Geogr. von Hocharmenien*, in *Zeitschr. d. Ges. für Erdkunde*, Berlin 1869, iv; G. Radde, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteilungen*, 1877, 411-422; E. Naumann, *Vom goldenen Horn zu den Quellen des Euphrat*, Munich 1893, 321-332; *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1907, 145 f. (review of J. Oswald, *A Treatise on the Geology of Armenia*); H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels end Studies*, London 1901, ii, 363-377; Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xvi, 1904, 370, 427; Banse, *Die Türkei*, Berlin-Hamburg, 1919, 207, 212-215, 219; Vidal de la Blache and Gallois, *Géographie Universelle*, volume viii: *L'Asie Occidentale*, by R. Blanchard, 118; Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, 492-493; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byz. Reiches*, 1935, 79-80, 194-195, 197 and map iv; M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, i, 246, 745; *IA*, fasc. 18, 627-628. For the ancient period see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopedie*, i, 108, vi, 1197-8.

(M. Canard)

BINYĀMĪN, the Benjamin of the Bible. In its narration of the history of Joseph (Yūsuf, [*q.v.*]), the Ḳur'ān gives a place to the latter's uterine brother (xii, 8, 59-79), without ever mentioning him by name. Tradition embellishes without any great variation the biblical story concerning him (it is aware notably that his birth cost his mother her life) and receives also Aggadic additions (summarised notably in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, iv, 112-14), such as the etymological connexion of the names of his sons with the lost elder brother. In Muslim mysticism, the pair Yūsuf-Binyāmīn symbolises the primordial relationship between God and the sinner.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 360, 393, 397-404; idem, *Tafsīr*, xii, 87, xiii, 6 ff.; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-Madjālis*, 82, 85; R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, 473 ff.; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed...*, 148 f.; I. Schapiro, *Die haggadischen Elemente im erzählenden Teil des Korans*, 57-65, 80-81; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes ...*, 87; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, 255.

(A. J. Wensinck-[G. Vajda])

BIʾR (in modern, also some ancient, dialects pron. *bīr*; plur. *biʾār, abʾur, ābār*) is the most comprehensive Arabic word for the well; very often it appears as the *genus proximum* of its numerous synonyms (like *ḳalīb, rakiyya* etc.), and the number of its various epithets is considerable.

The word is of common Semitic origin (Accad. *bēru*, Hebr. *bᵉʾēr*, Aram. *bērā*) and, as in the other Semitic languages, of feminine gender (for exceptions in modern Ar. dialects see Fleischer, *Kl. Schriften*, i, 265; Bräunlich, *Well* 321[3]). In general, however, *biʾr* embraces a much wider conception than what is understood by our 'well'; it could mean also a cistern or water-reservoir (cf. Hebr. *bōr*), and even any hole or cavity dug in the ground, whether containing water or not. So, *e.g.*, Ibn Hishām 97,7 a cavity for collecting gifts for the Kaʿba in pre-islamic times is called *biʾr*; in *Aghānī*[1], iv, 94, 4 and ʿArīb, *Ṭabarī contin.* (ed. De Goeje) 5, 6 it designates a large pit for burying corpses; A. von Kremer, *Beitr. zur arab. Lexikogr.*, I (1883), 192 mentions it in the meaning of a hole in which meat is roasted. Here only the particular meaning of "well" is taken into consideration.

i. Ancient arabia.

Since Arabia is not blessed with large perennial rivers nor with large permanent lakes, its inhabitants, especially the Bedouins, are dependent on the subterranean water-stores of the Peninsula. These, according to the geological conditions, are to be found already a few feet below the upper sandy stratum or else in great depths up to 70 m. and more. To get access to them, the diggers have to hollow out the ground in the shape of a funnel or, mostly, of a cylindrical shaft (*ḳaṣaba, djirāb*) the sides of which usually are strengthened by a casing of loam or field-stones called *ṭayy* (cf. Bukhārī i 284, 17 = ii 442, 5, where Hell is described as *maṭwiyyatun ka-ṭayyi l-biʾri*). The water collects at the bottom of the cavity, and also trickles down from the walls of the shaft. To the top of the well (*fam* or *raʾs al-biʾr*) the water is lifted by means of rather voluminous leather buckets (*gharb, dalw*) which are said to be made mostly from two—apparently young—camels' hides (in this case the bucket may be called *ibn adīmayn*). The ropes used for drawing up the bucket (*arshiya*, sing. *rishāʾ*, or *ashṭān*, sing. *shaṭan*) originally consisted only of thin leather thongs twisted together which, however, easily decayed in the water (cf. Labīd (ed. Khālidī), 139 v. 4 Schol.). Therefore pieces of more durable stuff, mostly of palm fibre (*khulb*), were attached at least to the lower parts of the rope. To facilitate the tiring work of drawing up the mighty buckets, usually a more or less primitive draught apparatus (*ʿalaḳ*) is erected over the *fam al-biʾr*. This apparatus which, like buckets and ropes, has to be carried along with the caravans (otherwise it would be stolen), mainly consists of either a simple crossbeam (*naʿāma*) or, in a more developed form, of a wooden axis (*miḥwar*) inserted into a hollowed roller (*maḥāla, bakra*, also *ḳāma*) over which the rope glides in a groove (*maḥazz, ḳabb*). The whole rests on two supports of loam and stone or of wood (*ḳarnān, zurnūḳān*; *diʿāmatān, ʿamūdān*) or else on one single forked pole (*ḳāma*, plur. *ḳiyām*, cf. Akhṭal (ed. Ṣālḥānī), 17, 3; Yāḳūt iv 21, 12). Then the bucket is drawn up by hand; this hard work may be done also by animals, mostly camels (*sawānin*, sing. *sāniya*), accompanied by a driver (*sāʾiḳ*) and moving from and to the well in wearing course (cf. *Arabum Proverbia* ed. Freytag, I, 624, nr. 64: *sayru s-sawānī safarun lā yanḳaṭiʿ*). For the cattle the water is poured into drinking troughs or cisterns next to the well (*ḥiḍān* etc., sing. *ḥawḍ*) the fallen-in remains of which are often described in poetry (see Nöldeke on Zuhayr *Muʿall.* 5).—Water-wheels set in motion by means of a crank and more complicated hydraulic machines were not known in ancient times; the use of "double buckets" ascending and descending at the same time (to which in *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Freytag), 439 v. 5 the two stirrups of a rider seem to be compared) was not indigenous and must have been very rare.

Numerous quotations of the well and its several designations or epithets, of its appurtenances, the various sounds produced by the roller, the rope, the bucket etc. (see Bräunlich, *Well*, Index, 519-26) illustrate the vital importance of *biʾr* and its belongings for life throughout Arabia. Still more instructive are the frequent similes, proverbial and metaphorical sayings referring to the parts and functions of the well. So, for example, the lances are often compared with tightly stretched well-ropes (cf. Nöldeke to ʿAntara, *Muʿall.* 66 and *Delectus* 45, 6; 70, 2); a rider shooting forth is described as resembling labourers suddenly flying forward when the rope which they are drawing breaks (*Dīwān Hudhayl* (ed. Kosegarten), 93, 36); the dead body is let down to the grave like the bucket to the well (Abū Dhuʾayb, 24, 11 f.; *Ḥamāsa*, 439 v. 4; Ḥuṭayʾa, 35, 3); *ḳaliḳat maḥāwiruhū* "his well-axles wobble" means "his affair became unsettled" (Lane, 667a); finally, a man keeping his word and incessantly striving towards his goal is praised in a *marthiya* as "one who, whenever he spoke a word, (like a well-digger) caused water to gush forth from the earth" (*Ḥamāsa* 386 v. 2).

Bibliography: E. Bräunlich, *The Well in Ancient Arabia*, in *Islamica*, i, 1924-25, 41-76, 288-343, 454-528 (an exhaustive study, based on all the available lexicographical and literary references, to which the present article is greatly indebted); E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, x, Erlangen 1906, 315, 335-337 (details from medieval times); H. Guthe, *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, 1903, 286, s.v. Jakobsbrunnen and J. J. Hess, in *Der Islam* 4, 1913, 317 f. (informative figures; see also the books of European travellers like Doughty, Euting, Musil etc.).—A *Kitāb al-Biʾr*, composed by the famous philologist Ibn al-Aʿrābī (died 231/844), but apparently not mentioned by the Arab bibliographers, is reported to be preserved in Cairo (see Brockelmann, S. I, 180).

(J. Kraemer)

ii. Modern arabia

The eastern Arab lands, with few rivers or none at all, place great reliance on springs and wells. The location and nature of watering places (*mawrid* or simply *māʾ*, pl. *miyāh*; with various colloquial forms such as *mī* in southern Arabia) go far towards determining whether life is settled or nomadic. The flowing water of springs (*ʿayn*, pl. *ʿuyūn*) is usually

abundant enough to sustain communities in oases of groves and fields. Water from wells (*biʾr*, colloq. *bīr*, with the pl. *abyār* prevailing in Arabia; or *ḳalīb*, pl. *ḳulbān*), which must be lifted out, may supplement the supply from springs, while in other instances it suffices to support large towns (until recently al-Riyāḍ, the capital of Saudi Arabia, drew almost all its water from wells). In still other instances, water comes from wells scattered throughout desert tracts. Even when desert wells endure much longer than ephemeral sources such as moisture-laden sands or catchments for rain in the rocks, there is rarely enough water for irrigation, and the wells are frequented by nomads and other travellers rather than permanent settlers.

In the oases private ownership of wells tends to be the rule; a landowner or husbandman nurtures his crops with water belonging to the one or the other. Large wells, however, may be communally or jointly owned; Philby, for example, estimates the ownership of the remarkable well of al-Haddādj in Taymāʾ as divided into about thirty shares, with each share holding about three pulleys for drawiug by camels.

In the desert the nomad's first concern is the presence of water, next its accessibility, and then its potability. Doughty has described the skilled well-sinkers of the towns. The Bedouins are perforce both water-finders and well-sinkers, gifted with amazing shrewdness in ferreting out sources where the uninitiate would never suspect them. The site may be eutirely new (such a well is often called a *badʿ*, pl. *budūʿ*, or *badīʿ*, pl. *badāʾiʿ*), or it may be an old well buried (*mundafina*) or dead (*mayyita*). The water may be close to the surface or deep in the earth. The Bedouins occasionally dig to depths of a hundred metres or more, the depth being measured in terms of the Arabian fathom (*bāʿ*, the spread of a man's outstretched arms, or *ḳāma*, his height, *i.e.*, about five feet six inches; a well of many fathoms is called *ṭawīla*, pl. *ṭiwāl*, rather than *ʿamīḳa*). Mechanical drills now reach greater depths in even the most arid regions, such as al-Rubʿ al-Khālī (such wells are called *ḳalama*, coll. *ḳalam*). Much-used wells or those with sides likely to cave in are strengthened with casings of stone or other materials (a cased well is called a *maṭwiyya*, and one cased with stone a *marṣūṣa*). The proportion of minerals in the aquifer determines whether the water is sweet (*ḥalw*) or salty (*māliḥ*). Although the Bedouins tolerate a much higher mineral content than an outlander does, even they can not drink from certain desert wells (*khawr*, pl. *khīrān*). In such cases their constant companion the camel swallows the brine and produces milk with the salt filtered out.

Wholly private ownership of desert wells is uncommon. If a man's name is associated with a well, such as Biʾr Hādī in al-Rubʿ al-Khālī (named after the late Hādī b. Sulṭān of Āl Murra), the eponym is usually the digger or redigger, who may as a consequence hold a title of sorts to the well. Wells falling within the *dīra* of a tribe may be considered its property, but the water is still free to nomads from other tribes not at war with the possessors. Water in the wilderness is too precious to be made an article of commerce.

In summer, when the desert pastures offer no vegetation to slake the thirst of the herds, the nomads camp for weeks or months at their favourite wells, sometimes with hundreds of tents pitched together. As places of assembly in hot weather and to a less degree in winter, wells have often been the scene of surprise attacks and battles in tribal warfare.

Bibliography: C. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, New York n.d.; H. Philby, *The Land of Midian*, London 1957. Most travellers' accounts in Arabic and the Western languages contain material on wells. E. Bräunlich, *The Well in Ancient Arabia*, Leipzig 1925, gives references to modern as well as ancient data. (G. Rentz)

iii. The Maghrib.

Biʾr is the common name given to various types of well, usually but not invariably to lined wells (rarely faced with stoue but more often with dry stones or, in certain regions of the Sahara, with palm stems, for which reason they are sometimes cut on a square plan). It can designate also an unlined well, the type which is most common in the Sahara, where the earth is merely loosened and hollowed out into a basin at the bottom of which the water-level appears (Fezzān). But other terms besides *biʾr* are used. *Ḥāsī* (pl. *ḥasyān*) is often the only term used in this sense in the Sahara for wells which are mostly unlined and without lips, whilst elsewhere it means a simple hole dug in the bed of a *wādī* (*Tunisian* and Tripolitanian steppes). The word ʿogla (*ʿuḳla*) usually a temporary pool stretching along the bed of a *wādī* in the Sahara, and in this meaning synonymous with *ghadīr*, in the Tunisian steppes can also mean a well several metres deep without facing or lips, dug at the bottom of a hollow where the underground water-level is near the surface; the same are sometimes to be found in the Sahara (Tindouf) where *oglas* exist in the beds of the *wādīs*.

In fact the wells of the Maghrib and the Sahara at least west of Egypt, can be grouped into 3 principal types: (1) wells meant for the use of men and for watering animals. Lined or not, sometimes adjoined by a watering trough, they have no superstructure or at the most 3 branches meant to carry a pulley of wood or iron. The water is drawn by hand in a water-skin or a leather bucket hung on the end of a rope. (2) Wells which have some sort of elevating mechanism and are used for irrigating gardens and palm groves; these are varied enough. (3) Artesian wells, situated within very narrow geographical limits, especially in the past, and used essentially for irrigation; since they are gushing they need no superstructure.

Among the wells with an elevating mechanism, the most common are those which use animal traction and a puley; they are sometimes called *sānya*. The water is drawn in a *dalw* (bucket) holding 15 to 35 litres, made of ox or goat hide, which has a flexible pipe at the bottom; this, which is folded back during the drawing of the water, is straightened when it comes to emptying the *dalw* into the little basin which feeds the *sāgyas* (*sāḳiya* = runnel). The uprights which carry the axis of the pulley are sometimes made of stone or clay but more often of wood or palm stems. The pulling is done by an ox or a donkey and sometimes by a camel (Tunisia), but only very occasionally by a mule (Tunisian Sahel); the animal is guided and helped in its journeys up and down an inclined path by a man or child who at the same time works the string which folds back or straightens the pipe which empties the *dalw*. The wells and their superstructures may be held in common by several owners, but each one draws water with his own *dalw* (with its ropes and strings) and by means of his own animal. These wells worked by animal traction can be found anywhere from India to the

Atlantic and art encountered especially in eastern Tunisia from Bizerta to Djerba, on the coast of Tripoli, in the Hawz of Marrakesh, in the north-west Sahara (Tafilalet, mzāb), in the Touareg country, in the oases of southern Cyrenaïca, in part of the southern Sahara, especially Lower Mauretania, and on the borders of western Sudan.

Wells with a balancing-beam, like the Egyptian *shadūf*, have various names: *khoṭṭāra* (pl. *kheṭāṭīr*) in the Fezzān and the Souf, *gharghaz* in the regions of Zibān and Gourara. The balancing-beam, made of a thin pole pivoting on a little wall or on a wooden cross-bar resting on two uprights, has a counter-weight at its base, and at its other end some sort of receptacle for drawing the water (*hekma* in the Fezzan, *genino* at Gourara), which only holds between 5 and 10 litres of water. It works more quickly than a *dalw* but it is not usually capable of irrigating more than a few hundred square metres, for it is used where the underground water-level is not very deep (a few metres) and has a small yield. It is primarily the poor man's well; one man can dig it, set it up and work it, and it needs neither an aninal nor an expensive *dalw*. Well-known not only in Europe but as far afield as China, this type of well is very rare in the Maghrib and on the coast of Libya. It is found in the Sahara the Lower Dra (Morocco) and in the region of Saoura at Tindouf, and in southern Mauretania, in the regions of Touat and Gourara, at Ouargla El Goléa and at Ghadamès, both in the north and the south of the Fezzan, in the oases of Cyrenaïca at Koufra, in the regions of Aïr, Tibesti and Borku.

The noria or Persian well, chain-pump (*nāʿūra* and sometimes *sānya*) is an apparatus with buckets fixed onto a revolving chain, worked by an animal-driven wheel drawn by a horse, mule or camel. The traditional type is made of wood (most commonly olive-wood) with earthenware buckets fixed by means of ropes. It is being more and more replaced by a cast-iron apparatus with metal chain and buckets worked by an oil or electric motor, at least on the coastal plains of Morocco, Algeria and northern Tunisia, where it is sometimes used by European market-gardeners of Mediterranean origin who were accustomed to using it in their native country. It has to compete there with various types of pumps. In the Sahara it is only to be found in northern areas such as Tafilalet, Oued Righ and Tripolitania. In Morocco, large hoisting wheels with well-base rims, worked by river-power, are also called norias. They are only used in the neighbourhood of Fez.

As for artesian wells, they were only to be found at one time in the region of Oued Righ (282 of them were active in 1856), and in small numbers in the eastern parts of the Shāti (Fezzān) where they are called *ʿayūn* (sing. *ʿayn*); they were dug by specialists and were very fragile. They have increased in number, but are nowadays drilled and harnessed according to modern techniques, throughout the Lower Sahara from El Golea and Ouargla to Zibān, and from the Hodna to the Djerīd and Nefzāwa; some have been drilled in Tripolitania and in the Fezzān.

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(J. Despois)

BIʾR MAʿŪNA, a well on the Mecca-Medina road, between the territories of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and Sulaym, where a group of Muslims was killed in Ṣafar 4/625. The traditional account is that the chief of ʿĀmir, Abū Barāʾ (or Abū ʾl-Barāʾ), invited Muḥammad to send a missionary group to his tribe, promising his personal protection for them. So a group of "Ḳurʾān-readers" (*ḳurrāʾ*) was sent from Medina. When they reached Biʾr Maʿūna, they were massacred by clans of Sulaym, led by ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, who had failed to induce his own tribe of ʿĀmir to violate their protection for the Muslims. The Prophet grieved over the slain, and cursed the Sulamīs daily until Ḳurʾān, iii, 169/163 was revealed.

This account has been interpreted to give a military failure the aura of religious martyrdom. The sources number the *ḳurrāʾ* variously as 70, 40 and 29, but Wāḳidī names only 16. A large number cannot yet have existed, and was unnecessary for a religious mission. It was, indeed, an actual campaign, described as a raid (*sariyya*, *ghazwa*) in the sources; one specifically says its leader was sent "as a spy among the Nadjd folk". Muḥammad had apparently been invited to intervene in an internal dispute of Sulaym, but the incident is also mixed up with the quarrel within ʿĀmir between Abū Barā, and ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl. The latter cannot have led the attack, and may merely have encouraged the Sulamīs from the background, since Muḥammad did not curse him, unhesitatingly paid him the wergilds for two ʿĀmirites slain, on the way home, by the sole survivor of Biʾr Maʿūna, and did not seek wergilds from him for the slain Muslims.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

BIʾR MAYMŪN, a well in the environs of Mecca. Although the well was famous in early Islamic times, the name no longer occurs in the Meccan area. Available sources fail to show whether Biʾr Maymūn has been abandoned or is still in use under another name. The location of the ancient well is also uncertain. Much of the evidence places it between the Great Mosque and Minā, somewhat closer to the latter. The account given by al-Ṭabarī, iii, 456, of the death of the Caliph al-Manṣūr at Biʾr Maymūn in 158/775 indicates that the well lay inside the Sacred Zone (*al-Ḥaram*) and suggests that it was on the main road for pilgrims from Iraq (another version has the death of al-Manṣūr take place at the hill of al-Ḥadjūn, not at Biʾr Maymūn—see Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1861, 160). Other evidence situates Biʾr Maymūn farther north of Mecca near Marr al-Ẓahrān (now called Wādī Fāṭima). According to al-Hamdānī, i, 128, Biʾr Maymūn was one of the two oldest wells in the world; according to al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1945-51, iv, 1285, it was much older than Zamzam. If it was of any such antiquity, it must have been

dug originally by someone earlier than Maymūn the brother of al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Hadramī, one of several Maymūns named as the digger. The history of Mecca by al-Ḳuṭubī, *al-Iʿlām*, Mecca n.d., 282, states that Biʾr Maymūn was connected to the main water system for Mecca, first constructed by Queen Zubayda. Biʾr Maymūn has been identified by some commentators as the water mentioned in the final verse of Sūra lxvii of the Ḳurʾān.

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BĪR al-SABʿ, the Arabic name of Beersheba, in southern Palestine. At this place were the springs which Abraham is said to have dug with his own hands; many legends are current about them. The place was uninhabited from the 8th/14th century, but was rebuilt by the Turks in 1319/1901 as an administrative centre for the south. This step was no doubt influenced by the dispute with Britain over the Egyptian-Palestinian frontier and by the need for closer surveillance of the southern tribes. In October 1917 a decisive battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Beersheba between the British and Turkish armies. Under the British mandate the Beersheba sub-district contained about half the area of Palestine, with a nomadic population estimated at 75,000-100,000. The population of the town was put in 1940 at 3,000, many of them semi-nomads.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, v, 14, l. 5; ʿAlī al-Harawī, Oxford MS., f. 46; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 402 ff.; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, i, 240; Guérin, *Judée*, ii, 276-84; Th. Nöldeke, *Sieben Brennen*, in *ARW*, vii, 1904, 340-44; A. Legendre, art. *Bersabée*, in *Dict. de la Bible*, i/2, col. 1629-34, and suppl., i, 963-68; Aref el-Aref, *Bedouin Love Law and Legend*, Jerusalem 1944; idem, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bir al-Sabʿ wa ḳabāʾilihā*, Jerusalem 1934. (E. Honigmann*)

al-BĪRA, the name of several places, generally in districts where Aramaic was once spoken, for al-Bīra is a translation of the Aramaic *bīrt̲h̲ā* = "fortress", "citadel". The best known is al-Bīra on the east bank of the Euphrates in North-west Mesopotamia, the modern Bīred̲j̲ik [*q.v.*]: on other places, bearing the name Bīra, cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i, 787; Nöldeke in the *Nachr. der Götting. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1876, 11-12 and in De Goeje, *BGA*, iv, (gloss.), 441; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (1890), 423. (M. Streck)

BĪRD̲J̲AND. District and town in the IXth *ustān* of Persia. The town is situated at 59° 13′ E. (Greenwich) and 32° 52′ N. It is on the northern side of an arid valley and is built on two low hills between which is a torrent-bed. The altitude is 1490 metres.

The early Arab geographers made no reference to Bīrd̲j̲and, and Yāḳūt (i, 783) is apparently the first to mention it (ca. 623/1226). He described it as one of the finest towns of Kūhistān, which was then part of the great province of K̲h̲urāsān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, writing ca. 740-1/1340, stated (*Nuzha*, 143) that Bīrd̲j̲and was a provincial town, round which much saffron and some corn were grown; in the villages around grapes and other fruit were produced. Like the town of Ḳāʾin [*q.v.*], which lies 90 km. to the north, Bīrd̲j̲and was for some time under the control of the Assassins. It was the birthplace of the poet Nizārī, who, as his name indicates, was an Ismāʿīlī; he died about 719-20/1320.

Bīrd̲j̲and was for long eclipsed by Ḳāʾin, but in the 19th century it took the place of the latter as the chief town in Kūhistān. It is now administrative centre of the districts (*s̲h̲ahristānhā*) of Bīrd̲j̲and and Ḳāʾin, under a *farmāndār* or governor. In 1946 the population was 23,488, but is now lower, due to the migration of some of the inhabitants to Mas̲h̲had and elsewhere. The town has a piped water supply, the water being obtained partly from *ḳanāt*s from the Kūh-i Bakrān to the south, and partly from a deep well in the town itself.

As in former times, the country round produces much saffron, and nuts of all kinds are also grown. The district has long been famous for the quality of its carpets and rugs, most of which are made in the village of Darak̲h̲s̲h̲, 80 km. to the north-east: it is also renowned for its *barak*s (garments made of camel's hair). Bīrd̲j̲and enjoys some prosperity due to its being on the main road between Mas̲h̲had and Zāhidān; it is also connected by road with Kirmān.

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BĪRED̲J̲IK, a town in Mesopotamia, on the left bank of the Euphrates. The name Bīred̲j̲ik (amongst the local population, Beled̲j̲ik; also, according to Sachau, Bārād̲j̲īk in the Ḥalabī (Aleppo) dialect) means "little Bīra", *i.e.*, "small fortress" (Arabic *bīra*, with the Turkish diminutive suffix). The Arabic name "al-Bīra" ([*q.v.*]; Bīreh in the later Syriac writers) derives from the Aramaic "Bīrt̲h̲ā" = "fortress". Bīred̲j̲ik, known to the Romans as "Birtha", is to be identified (according to Cumont) with a certain Makedonopolis mentioned in some of the Byzantine sources. The town is called "Bile" in the Latin chronicles relating to the Crusades.

At Bīred̲j̲ik one of the main routes from northern Syria into Mesopotamia crosses the Euphrates. The river here flows out of the mountains into the Syrian-Mesopotamian plain. It is here, too, that the Euphrates first becomes navigable, after leaving behind the cataracts formed where it breaks through the Taurus range. An isolated cone of calcareous rock, which rises sheer out of the river at Bīred̲j̲ik, has been fortified from remote times as a protection for this important passage of the Euphrates. A bridge of boats existed here in Seleucid times, running from Zeugma on the right bank of the river to Apamea (= Bīrt̲h̲ā) on the left bank (the Seleucid name Apamea was perhaps never in current use and disappeared in favour of the Aramaic "Bīrt̲h̲ā". Apamea, at first a suburb of Zeugma, came in due course, owing to its possession of the fortress, to be far more important than Zeugma, which faded out of existence). There is evidence (cf. K̲h̲alīl al-Ẓahirī) that a bridge was still to be found at the river passage of Bīred̲j̲ik in the second half of the 15th century.

The older geographical works in Arabic make no mention of al-Bīra. This name first appears in such treatises about the middle of the 13th century, *e.g.*, in al-Dimis̲h̲ḳī and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. References to al-Bīra in historical literature make their appearance, it

would seem, at the time of the Crusades. The Latin Counts of Edessa held the town from 492/1098-99 until 545/1150, when the Christians, unable to maintain it after the loss of Edessa to the Muslims in 539/1144, surrendered it to the Byzantines, who soon lost it, however, to the Urtuḳid lord of Māridīn. During the Mongol invasions of the 13th century al-Bīra, with its almost impregnable fortress, was a notable stronghold in the Muslim defences. The Mamlūks of Syria and Egypt, in the reign of Sulṭān Ḳā'it Bāy, had to defend al-Bīra against the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Turcomans under Uzun Ḥasan. Ḳā'it Bāy inspected the fortresses along the Euphrates in 882/1477-78 and later strengthened and repaired the defences of al-Bīra in 887/1482. The fortifications of al-Bīra contain six Arabic inscriptions, the oldest dating from the time of the Mamlūk sultan Baraka Khān (676-678/1277-1279) and the most recent from the years 887-888/1482-1483 in the reign of Sulṭān Ḳā'it Bāy. As a result of the campaigns of Sulṭān Selīm I in 920-923/1514-1517, al-Bīra came under Ottoman rule and was included in the *sandjaḳ* of Urfa which formed part of the *eyālet* of Ḥaleb (Aleppo). The Ottomans maintained at Bīredjik a small naval arsenal to meet the needs of their river flotilla on the Euphrates. Not far from Bīredjik, the Egyptian forces under Ibrāhīm Pasha won a decisive battle against the Ottomans at Nisib on 11 Rabīʿ II 1255/24 June 1839. Bīredjik, where the ruins of the ancient fortress are still to be seen, lies now within the territories of the present Turkish Republic. The town had, in 1945, a population of approximately 10,800 inhabitants.

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BIRGE (Birgi, sometimes also Bergi or Birki), a small town in western Asia Minor situated in the valley of the Küçük Menderes, is the centre of a *nāḥiye* belonging to the *ḳaḍā'* of Ödemish in the province of İzmir (Smyrna). Here stood the ancient Διὸς Ἱερόν in Lydia. The town was known in Byzantine times as Χριστούπολις and also as Πυργίον. It was raised to the status of a metropolitan see between 1193 and 1199, being thus freed from the ecclesiastical control of Ephesos, but it became once more a suffragan bishopric of Ephesos in 1387. The Catalans under Roger de Flor drove the Turks from the town in 1304 and at the same time plundered it. Birge passed thereafter into the hands of the Turkish Begs of Aydīn. Monuments dating from the period of their rule—notably the Ulū Djāmīʿ—are still to be seen in the town. Birge came under the control of the Ottomans in 793/1391 and remained in their possession thereafter, save for a brief interval during which princes of the house of Aydīn, restored to power by Tīmūr Beg, held the land once more (1402-1425). The town suffered considerable damage in the years 1920-1922 during the course of the war which was then being waged between the Greeks and the Turks in western Asia Minor. Birge had, in 1945, about 2150 inhabitants.

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BIRGEWĪ (Birgiwī, Birgili), Meḥmed b. Pīr ʿAlī, a Turkish scholar whose fame still lives among the common people. Born at Balïkesir in 928/1522 (or 926/1520 if Kātib Čelebi is correct in saying that he died at the age of 55), he began his education at home, but soon distinguished himself among his coevals and went to Istanbul, where he attached himself first to Akhī-zāde Meḥmed Efendi and then to the *ḳāḍī-i ʿaskar* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi. Having completed his education he taught in the *medreses* of Istanbul, and during this time was initiated into the Bayramiyya by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḳaramānī. Through the influence of his master ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi he obtained the post of *ḳassām* to the army at Edirne, but soon afterwards desired to withdraw both from this office and from teaching. His shaykh however would not consent to his totally abandoning teaching and preaching, and when his fellow-townsman ʿAṭā' Allāh Efendi, the tutor of Selīm II, offered him the position of *muderris* in the *medrese* he had built at Birgi, he accepted. His career of teaching, writing and preaching at Birgi, (whence his appellation of Birgewī) came to an end in 981/1573, when he died of the plague.

Like Ibn Taymiyya, he set himself firmly against all innovation in order to protect the sacred law, and no considerations of rank would cause him to connive at any non-observance of the faith. Towards the end of his life he even made the journey from Birgi to Istanbul to advise the grand vizier Meḥmed Pasha about the rectification of some irregularities which he had observed. Birgewī, an utter fanatic in religious matters, would not abide the slightest deviation from the *sharīʿa*. The *risāla*s which he devoted to the theme that it was *ḥarām* to teach the Ḳur'ān for money, or to accept payment for any act of worship, brought him into a controversy with the scholars of the day which gave rise to much gossip. One of the most famous *ḳāḍīs* of the time, Bilāl-zāde, emerged as his chief opponent and wrote *risālas* in which he endeavoured to refute his opinions. The Shaykh al-Islām Abu 'l-Suʿūd Efendi also took a hand in the dispute and, seeing that the *awḳāf* would suffer loss if Birgewī's views prevailed (in particular, his view of the illegality of making a *waḳf* of coined money or other movable property), pronounced a *fatwā* against him. Thereupon Bilālzāde went to far as to claim that Birgewī had been acting hypocritically.

Of Birgewī's works, the one which keeps his fame alive to this day is his Turkish manual of the rudiments of theology, entitled *Waṣiyyet-nāme*, which still fills the needs of the common people in questions of religion. Commentaries on it were written by Ḳāḍīzāde Aḥmed Efendi and Shaykh ʿAlī Efendi of Ḳonya, the latter being in turn the subject of a commentary by the *muftī* of Osmanpazarï, Ismāʿīl Niyazī. Often printed, the *Waṣiyyet-nāme* was also translated into northern Turkish by Toktamïsh-oghlu (ed. Kazan 1802 and 1806: see Zenker, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, i, 1463 f., ii, 1192 f.; *JA*, 1843, ii, 32, 55, 1859, i, 524; Dieterici, *Chrestomathie Ottomane*, 38 f.; for translations see especially the French version by Garcin de Tassy, *L'Islamisme d'après le Coran* ... (1874)). Two grammatical works of his, the *Iẓhār* and the *ʿAwāmil* were used in *medreses* for many years and considerably facilitated the study of Arabic, by the period. His *al-Ṭarīḳa al-Muḥammadiyya*, containing his sermons and homilies, in Arabic, was highly esteemed by the learned. ʿAlī al-Ḳārī wrote a long *ḳaṣīda* in which he made clear Birgewī's position among the scholars of Islām. Commentaries were written on *al-Ṭarīḳa al-Muḥammadiyya* by Khādimli Meḥmed Efendi and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. Emīn Efendi adopted it as his guide to conduct, and was consequently dubbed 'Ṭarīḳatčï'; after him there even came into being a *ṭarīḳat* of the same name.

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BIRR (Ḳur'ānic term), "pious goodness" (R. Blachère's translation; see Ḳur'ān, ii, 189). In the analysis of the spiritual states (*aḥwāl*) and the attitude of the soul towards God, it must at the same time be compared with and distinguished from *taḳwā* [*q.v*]. (L. Gardet)

BIRS, also called Birs Nimrūd, in the older literature Burs, a ruined site 9 miles S.W. of the town of Ḥilla on the Euphrates, about 12 miles S.S.W. of Babylon on the eastern shore of the Lake of Hindiyya.

The place is the ancient Borsippa, the sister town of Babylon. Its immense ruins, the largest that have survived from the Babylonian period, were thought by the Arabs to be the palace of Nimrūd b. Kanʿān (*ṣarḥ Nimrūd*, Yāḳūt, i, 136) or of Bukhtnaṣṣar (Yāḳūt, i, 165). Even in modern times they were thought to be the ruins of the Tower of Babel and this erroneous view used to crop up even after H. Rawlinson had proved from inscriptions that they were the ruins of the tower of the Temple of Nebo of Borsippa. Whether there was still a town on the ancient site in the early Islāmic period is not quite clear. Balādhurī only speaks of the *ʿAdjamat Burs* (Assyr. *agammē*), the land around the marshy lakes of Burs which were taken possession of by ʿAlī. Upper and Lower Burs appear in Ḳudāma and are called al-Sibayn and al-Wuḳūf by Ibn Khurradādhbih in the lists of taxes, as districts (*ṭassūdj*) of the circle (*astān*) of central Bihḳubādh.

Even in ancient times the district of Babylonia and in particular Borsippa was famous for its textile industry (*e.g.*, Strabo, xvii, 1, 7). This in-

dustry survived into the Arab period. The garments made in the district of Burs were, according to Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 59) called Bursiyya or also Khutarniyya, after the district between Burs, Bābil and Ḥilla (following G. Hoffmann's emendation). In Yāḳūt, iv, 773, Narsiyya should therefore be emended to Bursiyya.

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(E. Herzfeld)

BĪRŪN, in Persian 'outside', the name given to the outer departments and services of the Ottoman Imperial Household, in contrast to the inner departments known as the *Enderūn* [*q.v.*]. The *Bīrūn* was thus the meeting-point of the court and the state, and besides palace functionaries included a number of high officers and dignitaries concerned with the administrative, military, and religious affairs of the Empire.

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(B. Lewis)

AL-**BĪRŪNĪ** (BĒRŪNĪ) ABU 'L-RAYḤĀN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD, also sometimes called by the *nisba* AL-KHWĀRIZMĪ by certain Arabic authors (*e.g.*, Yāḳūt) and also, at the risk of a confusion of names, by some modern Orientalists (see AL-KHWĀRIZMĪ), was one of the greatest scholars of mediaeval Islam, and certainly the most original and profound. He was equally well versed in the mathematical, astronomic, physical and natural sciences and also distinguished himself as a geographer and historian, chronologist and linguist and as an impartial observer of customs and creeds. He is known as *al-Ustādh*, "the Master". He was born of an Iranian family in 362/973 (according to al-Ghaḍanfar, on 3 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja/ 4 September — see E. Sachau, *Chronology*, xiv-xvi), in the suburb (*bīrūn*) of Kāth, capital of Khwārizm (the region of the Amū-Daryā delta, now the autonomous republic of Ḳaraḳalpaḳistan on the southern shores of the Aral Sea). He spent the first twenty-five years of his life in his homeland, where he received his scientific training from masters such as Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāḳ Djīlānī, the mathematician. Here he published a few early works and entered into correspondence with Ibn Sīnā, the young prodigy of Būkhārā, his junior by seven years. It would appear that he went in person to see the Sāmānid sultan Manṣūr II b. Nūḥ (387-389/997-999), whom he praised as his first benefactor. Next, he went for a long stay to Djurdjān, south-east of the Caspian Sea, apparently in 388/998 when the Ziyārid sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḳābūs b. Washmgīr Shams al-Maʿālī returned from exile; from there he was able to go as far as Rayy (near Tehran). It was at the Court of Djurdjān that he wrote his first great work, on the subject of calendars and eras, and important mathematical, astronomical, meteorological and other problems. This was dedicated to Ḳābūs, probably about 390/1000, without prejudice to much later emendations and alterations; the *K. al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya ʿan al-Ḳurūn al-Khāliya* (*Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, published by Edward Sachau, Leipzig 1878, reprinted by helioplan, Leipzig 1923; English translation entitled *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, London 1879). Brought up in the Iranian dialect of Khwārizm, al-Bīrūnī spoke Persian, but deliberately chose to use the Arabic language in his scientific writings, though some later works may have been written in Persian or in Arabic and Persian simultaneously. Having returned to his own country before 399/1008, and having been received by Prince Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn, he was able to give his services for seven years to the brother of this prince, the Khwarizmshāh Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn b. Maʾmūn, and was entrusted, because of his "golden and silver tongue", with delicate political missions.

After the assassination in 407/1016-17 of the Khwārizmshāh by his rebellious troops and the conquest of the country by the powerful Ghaznawid sultan Maḥmūd b. Subuktakīn, many prisoners were led away to Ghazna in Sidjistān (Afghānistān) in the spring of 408/1017, including learned and wise men among whom were al-Bīrūnī, Abū Naṣr already mentioned, and the physician Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ḥusayn b. Bābā al-Khammār al-Baghdādī. Ibn Sīnā must have left Djurdjāniyya for Djurdjān of his own free will in 398/1008 together with the Christian physician, Abū Sahl ʿĪsā b. Yaḥyā al-Masīḥī al-Djurdjānī. This physician had collaborated closely with al-Bīrūnī, even to the point of writing a series of works in his name, as did also Abū Naṣr (see below). Al-Bīrūnī, henceforth retained at the Court of Ghazna, possibly as official astrologer, accompanied Sultan Maḥmūd on seveal of his military expeditions to north-west India. Here he taught the Greek sciences and received in exchange, with his initiation into Sanskrit and various dialects, the incalculable sum of knowledge which he put into his *Description of India*, completed in 421/1030 short y after the death of Maḥmūd: the *K. Taʾrīkh al-Hind* (*Al-Beruni's India*, ed. E. Sachau, London 1887; English translation, 2 vols., London 1888, 2 1910). The previous year, al-Bīrūnī had written an abstract of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and astrology: the *K. al-Tafhīm li-Awāʾil Ṣināʿat al-Tandjīm*, English translation facing the text by R. Ramsay Wright, London 1934.

It was to Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (421-432/ 1030-41) that the Master dedicated this third principal work in 421/1030, reserving the right to add the finishing touches later: the *K. al-Ḳanūn al-Masʿūdī fi 'l-Hayʾa wa 'l-Nudjūm* (Canon Masudicus, Ḥaydarābād (Dn) 1954-56, 3 vols.). According to Yāḳūt, Maʿsūd offered the author an elephant-load of silver pieces for this work, but al-Bīrūnī refused the gift. In spite of this, he was provided with the means of carrying out his scientific and literary work to the end of his life. The treatise on mineralogy which he wrote during the reign of Sulṭān Mawdūd b. Masʿūd (432-441/1041-49) has come down to us; it is the *K. al-Djamāhir fī Maʿrifat al-Djawāhir*, ed. F. Krenkow, Ḥaydarābād, (Dn) 1936. In a last important work, still unpublished, the *K. al-Ṣaydala fi 'l-Ṭibb* on medicinal drugs, (see H. Beveridge, *An Unknown Work of Albiruni*, in *JRAS* 1902, 333-5; M. Meyerhof, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Bērūnī* (ed. and trans.), Berlin 1932) the Master declared himself to be over 80 (lunar) years old. The date of his death, usually fixed in 440/1048, according to al-Ghaḍanfar, must therefore be put back a little. Al-Bīrūnī must have died after 442/ 1050, probably at Ghazna.

The total number of his works is considerable. In his *Risāla fī Fihrist kutub Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1936) he includes (in 427) the *Fihrist* of his own writings, of which 103 are completed, 10 unfinished (among which are the *Chronology* and the *Canon Masʿūdicus*), 12 have been written in his name by Abū Naṣr, 12 by Abū Sahl and 1 by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Djīlī; making a total of 138.

Taking into account works written after the *Fihrist*, and also certain omissions in this list, the total number of works is 180, differing widely from one another in length, from brief treatises on specialised matters to major works embracing vast fields of knowledge. Apart from the edited texts referred to above, 4 mathematical and astronomical treatises have been published in Ḥaydarābād (1948) in a single volume entitled *Rasāʾil al-Bīrūnī*: 1. *K. fī Ifrād al-Maḳāl fī amr al-ẓlāl*; 2. *Fī Rāshīkāt al-Hind* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über die Lehre von den Proportionen nach al-Bīrūnī*, in *SBPMS Erlg., Beiträge*, 48, 1-6, 1916); 3. *Tamhīd al-Mustaḳarr li-Taḥḳīḳ maʿnā al-mamarr*; 4. *Maḳāla fī Istikhrādj al-awtār fī 'l-Dāʾira bi-Khawāṣṣ al-Khaṭṭ al-Munḥanī fī-hā* (translation and commentary by H. Suter in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, iii, folio XI, 11-78, Leipzig 1910-11). A volume entitled *Rasāʾil Abī Naṣr ilā 'l-Bīrūnī* was published separately in Ḥaydarābād in 1948. This includes 15 mathematical and astronomical treatises by Abū Naṣr among which are most of these written in the name of al-Bīrūnī. Manuscripts, some partially edited, others unedited, of about twenty other works of al-Bīrūnī have come down to us, among which are: the *K. Taḥdīd Nihāyāt al- Amākin li-Taṣḥīḥ Masāfāt al-Masākin* (geographical extracts in *Bīrūnī's Picture of the World* by A. Zaki Velidi Togan in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 53, New Delhi, 1941; the MS. Fātiḥ 3386 completed at Ghazna in 416 is possibly in his own hand); the *K. fī Istīʿāb al-Wudjūh al-Mumkina fī Ṣanʿat al-Aṣṭurlāb* (cf. E. Wiedemann and J. Franks, *Allgemeine Betrachtungen von al-Bīrūnī in seinem Werk über die Astrolaben*, in *SBPMS Erlg., Beiträge*, 52-3, 97-121, 1920-21); *the Maḳāla fī 'l-Nisab allatī bayna 'l-filizzāt wa 'l-djawāhir fī 'l-ḥadjm* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über Bestimmung der spezifischen Gewichte*, in *SBPMS Erl., Beiträge*, 38, 163-166, 1906); the *Tardjamat K. Bātandjalī fī 'l-Khalāṣ min al-Irtibāk* (cf. H. Ritter, *La traduction du Livre de Patanjali par Bērūnī*, communication in Persian in the *Livre du Millénaire d'Avicenne*, ii, 134-148, Tehran 1955).

Bibliography: Since lack of space makes it impracticable to provide an exhaustive list of the work done on al-Bīrūnī, of which there is a fair volume, though very inadequate for such an important figure, I refer the reader to my study: *L'Oeuvre d'al-Bērūnī: Essai Bibliographique*, in *MIDEO*, ii, 161-256 and iii, 391-396, 1956; taking up the work of H. Suter and E. Wiedemann, *Über al-Bīrūnī und seine Schriften*, in *SBPMS Erlangen, Beiträge*, 52-53, 55-96, 1920-21, we have listed 180 works of the Master, provided a bibliographical index as complete as possible for each one, with tabular summaries. The main studies of the life and works as a whole of al-Bīrūnī are listed below, as well as a few studies of special subjecs.

A. Bibliographies and Studies of the Works as a Whole: Bīrūnī, *Risāla fī Fihrist, op. cit.* ed. P. Kraus; the Arabic text and the autobiographical section are also to be found in E. Sachau's introduction to the *Chronology* (Arabic text); German trans. in H. Suter and E. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, 71-79; biographical development in the other sections of this work, and also in E. Sachau's introductions to the *Chronology* (Arabic text and English translation) and in *India* (Arabic text and English translation); Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*, ii, 20-21 (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Biographie von al-Bīrūnī*, in *SBPMS Erlg., Beiträge*, 44, 117-8, 1912); Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, vi, 308-14 (German trans. by E. Wiedemann and J. Hell, *Über al-Bīrūnī*, in *MGMN*, xi, 314-21, 1912); Ẓāhir al-Dīn al-Bayhaḳī in his *Taʾrīkh Ḥukamāʾ al-Islām*, MS. Berlin, 10052 (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Einige Biographien nach al-Baihaḳī*, in *SBPMS Erlg., Beiträge*, 42, 66, 1910); ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī, *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, ed. Muḥ. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1935, 62-4; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿā*, Cairo 1326, 20; Brockelmann, I, 475, S I, 870-1; Suter 98-100; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Baltimore 1927, I, 707-9; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i, 480-2, Paris 1876; Carra de Vaux, *Penseurs de l'Islam*, ii, 75-87, 215-7; Syed Hasan Barani, *Al-Biruni: His Life and Works* (in Urdu), ʿAligarh 1927; idem, *Ibn Sina and al-Beruni. A Study in Similarities and Contrasts*, in *Avicenna Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta 1956, 3-14; H. Ritter, *Werke al-Bīrūnī's*, in *Orientalia*, Istanbul 1933, i, 74-78; A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Neue geographische und ethnographische Nachrichten*, and in *Geographische Zeitschrift* 1934, 363 ff.; R. Ramsay Wright, Preface to the *Book of Instruction* (*K. al-Tafhīm*), *op. cit.*: Zia ud-Din and F. Krenkow, in *Islamic Culture*, vi, Jul.-Oct. 1932; M. Meyerhof, *Études de Pharmacologie arabe*, in *BIE* 1940, 22, 133-52; Wüstenfeld, in *Lüddes Zeitschr.*, i, 36, in *Die Arab. Ärzte* no. 129 and in *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber* no. 195; F. Taeschner, in *ZDMG*, 77, 31 ff.; M. Krause, *Albīrūnī ein iranischer Forscher*, in *Isl.*, 26, 1-15; M. Ya. al-Hāshimī, *Naẓariyyat al-iḳtiṣād ʿinda al-B.*, in *MMIA*, 15, 456-65; Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., history and philosophy section, *Bīrūnī,* Moscow-Leningrad, 1950; Iran Society, *Al-Biruni. Commemoration volume. A.H.* 362-*A.H.* 1362, Calcutta 1951.

B. Detailed Studies: E. Wiedemann (besides the works already quoted) *Astronomische Instrumente. Über trigonometrische Grössen. Geodätische Messungen*, in *SBPMS Erlg., Beiträge*, 41, 26-78, 1909; idem, *Ein Instrument, das die Bewegung von Sonne und Mond darstellt nach al-Bīrūnī*, in *Isl.* iv, 5-13, 1913; idem, *Über die verschiedenen, bei der Mondfinsternis auftretenden Farben nach al-Bīrūnī*, in *Eders Jahrbuch für Photographie*, 1914; idem, *Über Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und bei Sonnenfinsternissen nach arabischen Quellen*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, xv, 43-52, 1923; idem, *Meteorolog. Zeitschr.*, 199-203, 1922; idem, *Über Gesetzmässigkeiten bei Pflanzen nach al-Bīrūnī*, in *Biolog. Zentralblatt*, xl, 413-16, 1920; idem, *Geographisches von al-Bīrūnī*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, 44, 1-26, 1912; E. Wiedemann and J. Hell, *Geographisches aus dem Masʿūdischen Kanon von al-Bīrūnī, ibid.*, 119-25; E. Wiedemann, *Über den Wert von Edelsteinen bei den Muslimen*, in *Isl.*, ii, 345-58, 1911; idem, *Über die Verbreitung der Bestimmungen des spezifischen Gewichtes nach Bīrūnī* in *SBPMS Erlg., Beiträge*, 45, 31-4, 1913 (cf. *Mīzān*); H. Suter, *Über die Projektion der Sternbilder und der Länder von al-Bīrūnī Tasṭīḥ al-Ṣuwar wa-tabṭīḥ al-kuwār*, in *Abhandlungen zur*

Gesch. der Naturw. u. Medizin, iv, 79-93, 1922; idem, *Der Verfasser des Buches "Grunde der Tafeln" des Chuwārezmi (nämlich al-Bīrūnī)*, in *Bibl. Math.*, ser. 3, iv, 127-9, 1903; C. Schoy, *Aus der Mathematischen Geographie der Araber (nach dem Kānūn al-Mas ʿŪdī) etc.* in *Isis*, v, 1922, 51-7; idem, *Die Bestimmung der Geographischen Breite der Stadt Ghazna durch al-Bīrūnī*, in *Annalen der Hydrographie*, 1925, 41-8; idem, *Die trigonometrischen Lehren des persischen Astronomen Abu 'l-Raiḥān Muḥ. Ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī*, Hanover 1927; Reinaud, in *Geographie d'Aboulfeda* (trans.) i, 1948, xcv ff.; idem, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xviii, 2, 29; Mehren, in *Annaler for nordisk Oldkundigheid*, no. 15, 1857, 23; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, ii, 1; M. Schreiner, *Les Juifs chez Albīrūnī*, in *REJ*, xii, 258; M. Fiorini, *Le projezioni cartographiche di Albiruni*, in *Bolletino della società geographica italiana*, ser. III, vol. iv, 287-94; E. Sachau, *Indo-arabische Studien zur Aussprache und Geschichte des Indischen*, in *der I. Hälfte des XI. Jahrh.*, *Abh. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1888.

(D. J. Boilot)

BIRZĀL, Banū, a Berber tribe of the Zenata group mentioned as living in the Lower Zab (south of Msīla) at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. These Berbers, in conflict with the Fāṭimid Caliph, ʿUbayd Allāh, who built the fortress of Msīla as a look-out against them, supported the Khāridjite agitator, Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], and offered him refuge when he was pursued by the Fāṭimid Caliph, al-Manṣūr. Although the latter pardoned them, they nevertheless took part in the rebellion of the governor of the Zāb, Djaʿfar Ibn al-Andalusī [*q.v.*] in 360/971. Fāṭimid repression forced them to flee; they found refuge in Spain where they formed a corps of Berber troops at the service of the Umayyad monarchs. Their chiefs supported the party of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir at the death of the Caliph al-Hakam II; one of them was rewarded for this by being made governor of Carmona. During the period of anarchy in Andalusia at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the Birzāl formed a little independent state at Carmona which tried to resist the ambitions of the ʿAbbādids of Seville. They were finally obliged to submit to the king of Seville in 459/1067 and disappeared, at any rate as a group, just as they had formerly disappeared from the Maghrib.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 215; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 86, 106; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 463; Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afr. Sept.*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, 59; Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib*, 99; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. Kremer, Vienna 1852, 60; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1893, 63, 83; Ibn ʿIdhārī, I, 190, 191 (transl. Fagnan, 272, 273); Ibn al-Athīr, transl. Fagnan, 345; *Kitāb mafākhir al-Barbar*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 44; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, transl. de Slane, iii, 186, 203, 210, 291-293; Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. d'Esp.*[2], ii, 202, 206 207, iii, 231; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index.

(R. Le Tourneau)

AL-**BIRZĀLĪ**, ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, also called Ibn al-Birzālī, Syrian historian and *ḥadīth* scholar. He was born in Damascus in Djumada I or II, 665/February-April, 1267. A case could be made for the earlier date, sometimes mentioned, of 663/1265, but al-Birzālī himself evidently maintained that he was born in 665. His ancestors belonged to the Birzāl [*q.v.*] Berbers. His great-grandfather, Zakī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (b. ca. 577/1181-82, d. in Ḥamā in 636/1239), had settled in Syria at the beginning of the 7th/13th century. Zakī al-Dīn's additional *nisba*, al-Ishbīlī, shows that he himself, or one of his ancestors, had once lived in Seville. A work of his is preserved in Damascus (cf. G. Makdisi, in *BSOAS*, xviii/1956, 22); copies of two volumes of Ibn ʿAsākir's *History of Damascus* written by him are preserved in Bankipore (*Cat.*, xii, 144 ff., nos. 800-801; cf. also v, 2, 223, no. 481). Al-Birzālī's grandfather, who succeeded his father in the position of *imām* at the Fallūs Mosque (Flūs [?], according to the vocalisation indicated by J. Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut 1932, 60; cf. al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, i, 86, ii, 361), died a young man of twenty-three years in 643/1245-46, leaving al-Birzālī's father, Bahāʾ al-Dīn, to be brought up by his maternal grandfather. Bahāʾ al-Dīn, an official of the judiciary and accomplished scholar, died 699/1300 in his sixtieth year (cf. Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Iʿlām, anno* 699).

As a member of a family of scholars, al-Birzālī, together with his sister Zaynab, received his instruction from his father and other famous scholars. Ibn Taymiyya, for instance, lectured in his home (Bankipore, *Cat.*, v, 2, 180). He started out very young, but precocious as he was, he retained his love for scholarship all his life. He went through the full curriculum of religious studies, travelled in pursuit of his studies to other Syrian cities and to Egypt, served for a while as an official witness, but spent most of his life as professor of *ḥadīth* in Damascus colleges, his principal position being that at the Nūriyya (*idjāza*s from his courses there in Bankipore, *Cat.*, v, 2, 50 f., 198 f.). He undertook the pilgrimage several times and died at Khulayṣ in the holy territory on 4 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 739/13 June, 1339. His children, among them Muḥammad and Fāṭima, both gifted scholars, had died before him. Among his many students and colleagues were the most prominent scholars of the time, among them al-Dhahabī. There is unanimous agreement among his biographers that he was an unusually attractive person, good-looking, modest, generous with his books and his knowledge, blessed with a good handwriting, extremely industrious as a scholar, and enjoying the confidence of all scholarly factions, even those that were mutually hostile.

No list of his writings is available, and none of the preserved works has been published so far. His great *History*, ending with the year 736/1335-36, was often quoted. It was abridged and continued by later scholars. Its actual title appears to have been *al-Muḳtafā* (cf. al-Sakhāwī, in F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 414, but al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, i, 578, refers to a work entitled *al-Muntaḳā* [= *al-Muḳtafā*?] as if it were different from the *History* often quoted by him). The *Muḳtafā* is preserved in MS. Topkapısaray, Ahmet III, 2951 (cf. al-Munadjdjima, in *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits arabes*, 1956, 101 f.). His voluminous *Muʿdjam*, which was highly praised and often cited as a reference work for contemporary scholarly history, is not preserved. A small *Muʿdjam* of his early teachers is preserved in Damascus (cf. Y. al-ʿIshsh, *Fihrist makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya, al-Taʾrīkh*, Damascus 1366/1947, 228 f.). A *Muʿdjam al-Buldān wa 'l-Ḳurā* is cited by Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Lumaʿāt* (Damascus 1348), 35 and 43. A small historical work on those who participated in the battle of Badr is ascribed to al-Birzālī on the strength of the handwriting of a manuscript in Damascus, said to be similar to other autographs of al-Birzālī in the Ẓāhiriyya Library (cf. al-ʿIshsh,

op. cit., 46). Among his works on *ḥadīth* an *Arbaʿūn Buldāniyya* is mentioned. Two selections of *ʿawālī al-ḥadīth* collected from his teachers and a *Thulāthiyyāt min Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* are preserved in Bankipore (*Cat.*, V, 2, 194 ff., no. 462, 2, 3, and 6). A *fiḳh* work, on *al-Shurūṭ*, is extant in Cairo. Other works can be confidently expected to turn up in the future. However, al-Birzālī published less than he wrote, and the preservation of his works, therefore, remained a matter of chance. Al-Nuʿaymī (*Dāris*, i, 113) considered it worth mention that he came across the last volume of the *History* in 894/1489.

Bibliography: For the family history, cf., in particular, the biography of Zakī al-Dīn in Dhahabī, *Nubalāʾ*, Ms. ar. Yale University, L 571, vol. 2 (Cat. Nemoy, 1177), fols. 330b-331b. The following biographies deserve mention: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, Ms. ar. Yale University, L 341 (Nemoy, 1185), fols. 179b-182b; Ḥusaynī Dimashḳī, *Dhayl Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Damascus 1347, 18-21; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 262-64; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, vi, 246 f.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiv, 185 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iii, 237-39; Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, Damascus 1367-1370/1948-1951, Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Iʿlām*, MS. Oxford, Marsh 143, *anno* 739; i, 112 f. Some of the unpublished works of Dhahabī, who wrote a biography of al-Birzālī in monograph form (cf. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 523), and the *Wāfi* of Ṣafadi may also contain valuable information. Cf., further, Brockelmann, II, 45, S II, 34 f.; G. Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture*, Paris 1957, 35 and 56; *id.*, *JA* 1957, 143-46. (F. ROSENTHAL)

BISĀṬ [see ḲĀLĪ].

BISBARĀY B. HARIGARBHDĀS KĀYATH, also called KARKARNI, Indian author who wrote in Persian; the correct pronunciation of his name in Sanskrit is Vishwarai (Rajah of the world), son of Harigarhdas (slave of God), of the well known family of Kayastha, which was particularly noted for its Persian culture. His surname Karkarni signifies "he who has ears as big as hands". He translated into Persian, in 1061-2/1651-2, during the reign of Shāh-Djahān, the Sanskrit tale *Vikramačaritram*, making use of the work of his predecessors. (The Sanskrit original also bore the title *Vikrama-čaritram*, that is to say, the life of Vikram, the Radja Vikram Aditti in whose reign commenced the Bikrami era, which has now reached the year 2015). This translation is also known by the name *Singhāsan Battisi* (Sanskrit *Sing-hāsan-battisi*, 32 tales of the lion throne), and has been translated into French by Lescallier (*Le Trône enchanté*, New York 1817). For the various editions of this Sanskrit tale, and the Persian translations, see the works mentioned below.

Bibliography: Éthé, in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ii, 353; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Museum*, ii, 763 f.; Pertsch, *Cat. Berlin*, 1034 f. (SAID NAFICY)

BĪSHA, an oasis in western Arabia stretching about 25 miles along the banks of the *wādī* of the same name immediately north of 20° N. Lat. The headwaters of the *wādī* are east of Abhā in the highlands of ʿAsīr, and the channel extends c. 400 miles north to its junction with Wādī Ranya, whence the combined channels turn inland to Wādī Tathlīth and Wādī al-Dawāsir (see AL-DAWĀSIR]. The tributaries Hardjāb and Tardj, coming from the east and west respectively, empty into Wādī Bīsha south of the oasis of Bīsha, and Wādī Tabāla [see TABĀLA] joins Wādī Bīsha in the heart of the oasis. The early poets mention Bīsha frequently, but on occasion confuse it with the *wādī* and settlement of Baysh in Tihāmat ʿAsīr (see A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr. Arabiens*, Bern 1875).

The oasis of Bīsha is noted for its dates, which are transported as far as Djayzān, and the nearby Bedouins raise a famous breed of white camels known as *awārik* (*i.e.*, eaters of *arāk* leaves). Bīsha, at the junction of routes from al-Ṭāʾif and al-Riyāḍ to Abhā, Nadjrān, and all of south-western Arabia, has been an important stop on incense, pilgrimage, and invasion routes. Nimrān and al-Rawshan (Yāḳūt's Rūshān?) are the principal towns of the oasis, the former with the most important market of the region and the latter the site of Ḳalʿat Bīsha, where the Saudi Arabian Amīr of the district is established. Al-Rawshan is divided into Rawshan Āl Mahdī and Rawshan Banī Salūl. Among other towns and villages are al-Dahw, ʿAṭf al-Djabara, al-Ruḳayṭā, al-Naḳīʿ, al-Shaḳīḳa, and al-Djunayna.

Yāḳūt lists the tribes of Bīsha as Khathʿam, Hilāl, Suwāʾa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, Salūl, ʿUḳayl, al-Ḍibāb, and Banū Hāshim of Ḳuraysh. At present elements of Shahrān and Aklub (both of which stem from Khathʿam), Banī Salūl, and Ḳaḥṭān predominate.

Bibliography: In addition to Hamdānī and Yāḳūt, Fuʾād Ḥamza, *Fī Bilād ʿAsīr*, Cairo 1951; Muḥ. Ibn Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1370-3; ʿUmar Riḍa Kaḥḥāla, *Djughrāfiyyat Shibh Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, Damascus 1364; Admiralty, *A Handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-17; H. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, Ithaca, New York 1952; M. Tamisier, *Voyage en Arabie*, Paris 1840. (W. E. MULLIGAN)

BĪSHARʿ (Pers.), a term not often used, and then mainly in a pejorative sense; it is a compound of the Persian privative prefix *bī* ("without") and the Arabic *sharʿ*, the canon law of Islam. It denotes in particular those Ṣūfīs who declare that the law of Islam does not exist for persons illuminated by mysticism (antinomians). This somewhat colloquial term seems primarily to denote the adepts of the Ṣūfī sect of the Malāmatiyya, who were given to keeping secret their acts of worship, and hence to neglecting the official ritual. The term occurs very occasionally in the technical terminology of Ṣūfism. (SAID NAFICY)

BISHĀRĪN, A nomadic Bedja [*q.v.*] tribe, now occupying two areas: (a) the ʿAtbāy, or western slopes of the Red Sea Hills, between approximately 23° and 19° N; (b) the banks of the ʿAṭbarā and adjoining lands between about 17° and 16° N. The tribe is divided into two main clans: (a) Umm ʿAlī, in the north-eastern ʿAtbāy; (b) Umm Nādjī, in the south-western ʿAtbāy and on the ʿAṭbarā. Tribal genealogies indicate a connection with the Arab Awlād Kāhil (Kawāhla), who, in the 14th century, lived near ʿAydhāb. The original Bishārīn homeland was in this region, around Djabal Alba. In the 15th century they apparently expanded into the ʿAtbāy, displacing the Balaw, who may represent the Ḥadārib of medieval Arab writers. Their further expansion into the richer ʿAṭbarā lands was carried out by force of arms under Ḥamad ʿImrān, probably c. 1760-70. After Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's conquests in the Sudan, the ʿAṭbarā Bishārīn fell under Egyptian control, while those of the ʿAtbāy remained virtually independent. The expansion of the Ummarār into the Aryāb district, in the early 19th century contributed further to the separation of the two groups. Neither group played an important part in the Mahdiyya, although ʿUthmān Diḳna had some control over the ʿAṭbarā Bishārīn. The

separate treatment of the two groups continued under the Condominium until in 1928 a single chief (*nāẓir*) was appointed over the whole tribe. The recent history of the Bis̲h̲ārīn has been uneventful.

Bibliography: G. E. R. Sandars, *The Bisharin*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xvi/2, 1933, 119-149, Khartoum. See also under BED̲J̲A. (P. M. HOLT)

BIS̲H̲BALĪḲ, Bes̲h̲balïḳ, the Soghdian (?) Pand̲j̲ikat̲h̲ (both meaning 'Town of Five'), a town in eastern Turkestan frequently mentioned between the 2nd/8th and 7th/13th centuries (concerning the name cf. Minorsky in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 271 f. and 271[5]). It was rediscovered in 1908 by Russian explorers, with the aid of information found in Chinese sources. Its position is 47 km. to the west of Kūs̲h̲ang (Chinese Ku-čʿöng) which was founded in the 18th century, and 10 km. north of Tsi-mu-sa, near the village of Hu-pao-tse. Its ruins (known as Pʿo-čʿöng-tse) have a circumference of 10 km. (B. Dolbežev in the *Izv. Russk. Komiteta dlya izučeniya Sredney i Vostočnoy Azii IX*, April 1909, 65 f.; Ed. Chavannes, *Documents*, 11; *Zap. Ak. Nauk XXIII*, 1915, 77-121; Sir Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 1928, 554-59).

From the 2nd century A.D. onwards, Bis̲h̲balïḳ was mentioned in Chinese sources as the residence of local princes. From 658 onwards, it was the centre of a Chinese administrative area (with a Chinese or Turkish governor). This was due to its position as capital of a 'Five-Town-Area', and as one of the Chinese 'Four Garrisons'. The town is also mentioned in the Ork̲h̲on inscriptions (II, E 28; Küli-Čur-Inscription; cf. Wilhelm Thomson in the *ZDMG* 1924, 153; A. N. Bernstamm, *Social'no-ėkonomičeskiy stroy ork̲h̲ono-yeniseyskik̲h̲ Tyurok VI-VIII vekov* (The social and economic structure of the Ork̲h̲on and Yenisey Turks from the 6th to the 8th century), Moscow and Leningrad 1946, index. The Chinese names Kinman, and in particular, Pei-tʿing (northern court) for Bis̲h̲balïḳ, appear from this time onwards.

According to the Tʿang-schu (Chavannes, *Doc.*, 96-99) the Scha-tʿo ('people of the Sandy Desert'; cf. below) lived near Bis̲h̲balïḳ between 712 and 818. After long disputes (cf. Chavannes, Doc. 113 f.; Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī, *Dīwān*, i, 103, 317, (ed. Brockelmann 242); Marwazī, 73; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 227, 272) the town fell into the hands of the Tibetans in 791 (Chavannes, *Doc.*, 305), and later it became the residence of the Turkish Basmil princes, whose inheritance was taken over (with the title of Iduḳ Ḳut, 'Holy Majesty') by the Uigurs in 860. According to a report by a Chinese mission in the year 982 (for list of translations cf. Wittfogel, 104), the town possessed more than 50 Buddhist temples, a Buddhist monastery, Manichaean shrines and one (artificial ?) lake. Some inhabitants, making use of the artificial irrigation, made their living by growing vegetables, others bred horses and did metalwork. The only early Islamic mention of the town (in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 17 a, trans. 94) dates from the same year. It is mentioned as being the residence of the ruler of the Tog̲h̲uzg̲h̲uz [*q.v.*]. Concerning this, and a comparison between the Tog̲h̲uzg̲h̲uz and the Scha-tʿo, cf. V. Minorsky in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 266/72, 481. The mention of it made by Idrīsī, i, 491, 502, is presumably based on a different report, namely that of Tamīm b. Baḥr al-Muṭawwiʿī (cf. bibliography).

As the northern residence of the ruler (Iduḳ Ḳut, Idi Ḳut, or Iduʾut) of the western Uigur part of the state, Bis̲h̲balïḳ came under the Ḳara K̲h̲itay [*q.v.*] (there is mention of a Chinese work on this by Wang-Kuo-wei in Wittfogel 615, bottom left). In 1209, the Uignr ruler handed the town over to the Mongols of his own free will, and took part in their campaigns. Bis̲h̲balïḳ came in close contact with the Islamic world within the Mongol Empire, and Islam gradually penetrated into the town in the 7th/13th century, despite the resistance offered by the Uigurs, who realised that they would thereby lose their spiritual leadership of the Mongol Empire. After the Mongol governor of Central Asia, Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd Yalavač ('Ambassador'), had taken up his office in Bis̲h̲balïḳ in 1252/53, the Iduḳ Ḳut is said to have issued a secret order in September 1258, for the murder of all Muslims in the town. By order of the Grand K̲h̲ān Möngke, he was taken and executed, but his dynasty remained (D̲j̲uwaynī, ii, 34 f., 88; iii, 60 f.; Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn (ed. Blochet), ii, 304 f.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Guzīda*, 577; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[2], Berlin 1955, 239).

After 1260, the town appears to have enjoyed a period of independence between the empire of the Grand K̲h̲ān and the Čag̲h̲atay state. It repulsed an attack from the west in 1275. At that time, Bis̲h̲balïḳ was the starting point of the postal route from China to Central Asia (Bretschneider, Not. 208). The region of Bis̲h̲balïḳ then apparently belonged to the state of Čag̲h̲atay. Nothing is known about the subsequent fate of the town itself. It apparently vanished at the same time as the dynasty of the Iduḳ Ḳut, in the 14th century. Thereafter, the Chinese used the name Pei-tʿing only as a regional designation for an area which (according to Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūg̲h̲lāt, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Ras̲h̲īdī*, trans. E. Denison Ross, London 1895, 365) was known as Mog̲h̲ūlistān in the 16th century, and in which Islam was now firmly established. There is no further mention of Bis̲h̲balïḳ itself.

Bibliography: Chinese reports in K. A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng: *Hist. of the Chinese Society Liao*, Philadelphia 1949, 95, 104, 107, 636, 655; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches . . .*, 2 vols., London 1910, i, 65 f., ii, 27-33, and a map; idem, *Notices of the Mediaeval Geography*, in *JRAS*, North China Branch, N.R. X (1876) 75-307. Marwazī, *China, the Turks and India*, ed. V. Minorsky London 1942, Index; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, index *s.vv.* Panjīkat̲h̲ and Pei-tʿing. Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; idem, *Orta Asya Türk Taʾrīk̲h̲i hakkında dersler*, Istanbul 1927 (German version, *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935; French version, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, Paris 1945); V. Minorsky, *Tamīm ibn Baḥrs Journey*, in *BSOAS* xii/2, 1948 275-305; idem, in *BSOAS* xv/2, 1955, 263. maps: in O. Pritsak, *Karachanidische Studien*, Thesis Göttingen 1948 (typescript); A. Herrmann, Atlas of China, Cam- bridge Mass. 1935, 34-39. (B. SPULER)

AL-**BIS̲H̲R**, scene of a battle in eastern Syria in 73/692-3 between the Arab tribes of Sulaym and Tag̲h̲lib. K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd campaigned here in 12/633 (Ṭabarī, i, 2068, 2072-3). Yāḳūt describes it as a range of hills stretching from ʿUrḍ near Palmyra to the Euphrates, corresponding to the modern D̲j̲ebel el-Bis̲h̲rī. The battle is also sometimes called after al-Raḥūb, a local water-course.

The "Day of al-Bis̲h̲r" was the climax of several clashes between the two tribes. This strife lay to some extent outside the Ḳays-Kalb tribal feud of the period; both tribes were accounted North Arabian, and its immediate cause was Sulaym's encroachment on Tag̲h̲lib's pastures in al-D̲j̲azīra.

An uneasy peace was broken through the Christian Taghlibī poet al-Akhṭal's satires at the Damascus court, provoking the Sulamī chief al-Djaḥḥāf b. Ḥukaym. The latter secured a forged diploma authorising him to collect the *ṣadaḳāt* of Taghlib and Bakr, and on this pretext left with 1000 Sulamīs. Taghlib were surprised in their encampments at al-Bishr, and a savage slaughter followed. Because of his filthy cloak, al-Akhṭal was taken for a slave and released, but his son was killed. The ripping-open of women was a reprisal for similar behaviour previously by Taghlib.

Al-Djaḥḥāf was forced to flee to Byzantine territory to escape the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik's wrath, but returned and made his peace after arranging for a wergild of 100,000 dirhams to be paid to Taghlib in reparation.

Bibliography: al-Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, ed. Salhani, 1905, 10 ff., 286; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, i, 401-2, 507-9, 899-900; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 303; *Aghānī*[1], ix, 57-61; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 261-3; Yāḳūt, i, 631-2, ii, 768-9; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 252, 258, 314; Lammens, *Le chantre des Omiades*, Paris 1895, 140-3 (= *JA*, 1894); Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 129-30 (Eng. trans., 207-8); Caetani, *Chronografia Islamica*, iv, 861.

(C. E. Bosworth)

BISHR B. ABĪ KHĀZIM (not Ḥāzim, see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *Khizānat al-adab*[1], ii, 262) the most considerable pre-Islamic poet of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma in the second half of the sixth century. al-Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān* (ed. Ṣāwī) 721, mentions him amongst his predecessors. Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ counts him among the classics (*fuḥūl*). His poems were collected by al-Aṣmaʿī and Ibn al-Sikkīt (*Fihrist* 158, 6). Abū ʿUbayda wrote a commentary on his *Dīwān* which was utilised by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir l.c. ii, 262, 4. The *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, Nrs. 96-99 ed. Lyall, contain four poems of Bishr; the last of them (erroneously coupled with Nr. 100) is also found in the *Djamharat ashʿār al-ʿArab* 104, whilst Ibn Shadjarī in his *Ḥamāsa*, Cairo 1306, 65-83, gives a selection of six poems. The numerous verses, quoted in dictionaries, commentaries and books of *Adab* have not been collected so far.

Of Bishr's life little is known besides what we learn from his poems, whilst the reports about him are often inconsistent and unreliable. From his vivid description of the victory of his tribe at al-Nisār in *Muf.* Nr. 96, Vrs. 9-22 it seems certain that he took part in this battle, which is dated by Lyall about 575 A.D. References to other deeds of the Banū Asad do not yield any date. There looms large in his poems the figure of Aws b. Ḥāritha b. Laʾm, chief of the Ṭayyiʾ, the neighbours of the Banū Asad. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir *l.c.* iv, 317, 1 quoting the commentary (of Abū ʿUbayda) states that a raid of the Ṭayyiʾ on some confederates (*ḥulafāʾ*) of the Banū Asad caused Bishr to compose a poem against Aws b. Ḥāritha in which he threatened to satirise him if he did not come to terms (see also *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* i, 293, 10 and Lane 1126). Such satires are extant in *Mukhtārāt* 66 f. and 68 f. The origin of this feud is told quite differently by Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 132 f. (and further embellished by Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 169 f.); according to this report, which makes Bishr a contemporary of al-Ḥuṭayʾa (*d.c.* 30/650), the quarrel started at the court of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir (r. 580-602). Aws b. Ḥāritha raided the Banū Asad, got hold of Bishr but spared his life. Bishr then made amends for his five satires by composing five odes in praise of his benefactor. Whatever the truth may be there are indeed among Bishr's poems some eulogies on Aws b. Ḥāritha (*Mukhtārāt* 75; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa* 103) and fragments of a similar ode (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir *l.c.* i, 455; ii, 263; iv, 111 and Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 133) which however is also ascribed to Djundab b. Khāridja al-Ṭāʾī. If his apology is authentic (Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, ii, 114) then these eulogies are later than the satires. Another satire (Ḳālī, *Amālī*[1] ii, 233; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* i, 340, 584, 760; Freytag, *Prov. Arabum* i, 251) is directed against ʿUtba b. Mālik b. Djaʿfar b. Kilāb. The son of this ʿUtba was ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl who was slain by al-Barrāḍ about 590 A.D. Abū ʿAmr b. a-ʿAlāʾ (in *Aghānī*[1] xix, 75 f.) says that after this murder which led to the second war of the *Fidjār* al-Barrāḍ asked Bishr to warn Ḥarb b. Umayya and other leaders of the Ḳuraysh against the revenge of the Ḳays ʿAylān. The Banū Asad were in league with the Ḳuraysh (see Ibn Saʿd I/1, 81, 9). Finally there is an elegy on himself (*Mukhtārāt* 81-3) which he is said to have spoken when he was mortally wounded during a raid against the *Abnāʾ* of the Banū Ṣaʿṣaʿa (see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir *l.c.* ii, 262; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* i, 31, 6; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-Shuʿarāʾ* 222). Legendary is the account how Bishr, ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ (died c. 550-60) and al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī were regaled by Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* 124; *Aghānī*[1] xvi, 98). Untenable also is Abū ʿUbayda's assumption, that the "King" ʿAmr b. Umm Iyās, whom Bishr addressed in at least two poems, was a grandson of Ḥudjr Ākil al-Murār (*Aghānī*[1] xv, 87; see also ʿAbd al-Ḳādir *l.c.* ii, 182). Occasionally verses of a later poet of his tribe were attributed to him (*Naḳāʾiḍ* 241; 245 Bevan).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Thiʿr* 145-7; *Khizānat al-Adab*[1], ii, 262-4; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 59; Ch. Lyall, *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ii, 268 f.; A. Hartigan, in *MFOB*, i, 284-302.

(J. W. Fück)

BISHR B. AL-BARĀʾ, Medinese Companion, of the Khazradjite clan of Banī Salima. Both he and his father al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr [*q.v.*] accepted Islam early and were among the seventy odd Medinese who were present at the second ʿAḳaba meeting with the Prophet. Later, Bishr fought at Badr, Uḥud, the siege of Medīna, (Battle of the Ditch), and at Khaybar in 7/628. There he ate from a poisoned sheep which a Jewess offered to the Prophet in an attempt to venge her lost relatives. The Prophet tasted the poison and spat out the meat, but Bishr swallowed it and died, according to some sources immediately, according to others after suffering for a year.

Bishr was a famous bowman, and an enthusiastic Muslim who is quoted as arguing with the Jews of Medīna. The Prophet described him as the *sayyid* of his clan, the Banī Salima. al-Shīrāzī (*al-Muhadhdhab*, Cairo, ii, 176-7) quotes the case of Bishr as a precedent for making that method of poisoning a capital offence.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 309, 378, 499, 764-5; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 111-12; Ṭabarī, i, 1583-4, iii, 2538; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ii, 170; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 57; *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 183; Nawawī, 173-4; Caetani, *Annali*, index. (W. ʿArafat)

BISHR B. GHIYĀTH B. ABĪ KARĪMA ABŪ ʿABD AL-RAḤĀN **AL-MARĪSĪ**, a prominent theologian belonging to the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*]. His father, a fuller and dyer in Kūfa, is said to have been a Jew, and Bishr, on his conversion to Islām, to have become a *mawlā* of Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He lived

in the western quarter of Baghdād, in the *Darb al-Marīs* (or *al-Marīsī*), from which he took his *nisba*. He died in Baghdād in 218/833.

Bishr was an assiduous disciple of Abū Yūsuf in *fiḳh*, and although he held some opinions of his own, he is counted among the followers of the Ḥanafī school; he also heard traditions from Ḥammād b. Salama, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, and others. In theology he shared the general position of the Murdjiʾa, and the Muslim haeresiographers regard his followers, sometimes called al-Marīsiyya, as forming one of the branches of this movement. He defined faith (*īmān*) as the ratification (*taṣdīḳ*) of the Islamic creed with the heart and the tongue, and everything that is not *taṣdīḳ* is not *īmān*; conversely, it follows that prostrating oneself to the sun is not in itself unbelief but an indication of unbelief. On the other hand, he considered all acts of disobedience to Allāh as grave sins (*kabāʾir*), but his followers (and presumably he, too) regarded it as logically impossible, in the light of Ḳurʾān xcix, 7 f., that Muslim sinners should be kept in hell for all eternity.

Bishr held that the Ḳurʾān was created, a doctrine first explicitly propounded by Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], so that he was later vituperatively called a Djahmī. It is also one of the basic tenets of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*], so that the Muslim haeresiographers could, at the same time, include him among these last. A distinction which he made between two kinds of Allāh's "will", led him to adopt, on the question of predestination, a position intermediate between the two extremes of the Djabriyya and the Ḳadariyya (*qq.vv.*), similar to that which was to become orthodox doctrine, and opposed to that of the Muʿtazila. His main disciple, al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*], whose doctrine was said to approach closely to that of his master, was in fact attacked by his Muʿtazilī contemporaries.

Bishr is said to have been persecuted for his opinions; in particular it is said that he had to keep in hiding for 20 years during the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. This is probably a legend, because that pillar of orthodoxy, al-Shāfiʿī, is reported to have lived with Bishr and his mother, a pious Muslim woman, in her house during his stay in Baghdād, well in the middle of the alleged period of hiding. But it is true that the traditionists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*, [*q.v.*]), and in particular Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and his followers, opposed Bishr with implacable hatred, so that he later came to be regarded by the orthodox, notwithstanding his ascetic life, as one of the arch-heretics of Islam, and scurrilous features were added to his biography.

Bibliography: al-Nawbakhtī, *Firāḳ al-Shīʿa*, ed. Ritter, index (with bibliography); ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dārimī (d. 282), *Radd al-Imām al-Dārimī . . . ʿalā Bishr al-Marīsī*, Cairo 1358; al-Khayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, 1925 (French transl. Nader, 1957), index; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Ritter, index (with bibliography); al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, 192 f. (transl. A. S. Halkin, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, 1935, 5 f.); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 56 ff.; al-Isfarāʾīnī, *al-Tabṣīr fī 'l-Dīn*, 61; al-Shahrastānī, 107 (transl. Harbrücker, *Religionsspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, 162, 407); al-Samʿānī, 523 v° f.; Ibn Khallikān, *s.v.*; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *al-Djawāhir al-Muḍiʾa*, i, 164 ff.; Ibn Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ii, 29 ff.; ʿAbd Allāh Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Uṣūliyyīn*, i, 143 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 206, 1 ε; S I, 340; Ritter, in *Isl.*, 16, 1927, 252 f.; A. N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des muʿtazila*, 106; Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, 167, n. 3 (with bibliography).

(Carra de Vaux-[A. N. Nader and J. Schacht])

BISHR b. MARWĀN b. al-Ḥakam, Abū Marwān, an Umayyad prince, son of the Caliph, Marwān [*q.v.*] and of Ḳuṭayya bint Bishr (of the Banū Djaʿfar b. Kilāb, thus a Ḳaysite). He took part in the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ (65/684) and there killed a Kilāb chief. After his father's accession to the Caliphate he followed him at the time of his expedition to Egypt, for the sources tell us that when in 65/684 Marwān had regained this province for the Umayyads, taking it from Ibn al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] who had seized it in Shaʿbān 64/March-April 684, and had put his son, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] in charge of the Prayer and the collection of *kharādj*, he left Bishr there to keep him company and to help him to forget his separation from his family. Some time later the relation between the two brothers changed and Bishr returned, probably to Syria. The chroniclers bring up his name again in connexion with the events of 71/690-91 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 816), the year in which the Caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik appointed him governor of Kūfa. It was only in 72, probably after the end of the campaign against Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in which Bishr had taken part (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 335, 338), that he took up his residence there (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 822), and had as counsellor not only his uncle, Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ [*q.v.*], but also Mūsā b. Nuṣayr whom ʿAbd al-Malik had asked of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz with this in mind (according to the *Kitāb Aḥādīth al-Imāma wa 'l-Siyāsa*, in the appendix to P. De Gayangos, *The History of Moh. Dynasties in Spain*, London 1840-43, L-LII). In 73/692-3, the Caliph gave him in addition to the governorship of Kūfa, that of Baṣra, which he had taken away after only a few months from Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd because of his unsuccessful conduct of the war against the Khāridjites; at the end of the same year or in 74, Bishr transferred himself to this city, leaving ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī as his lieutenant at Kūfa. As governor of Kūfa, Bishr sent contingents to reinforce the troops in operation against the Khāridjites on ʿAbd al-Malik's behalf; but although he had been appointed commander-in-chief (*amīr*), he received an order directly from ʿAbd al-Malik to give the command of the army fighting this sect to al-Muhallab [*q.v.*]. This he did very much against his will when he reached Baṣra because he had intended to appoint ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar. Shocked by the Caliph's not having left the initiative to him in this matter (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 855 sq., etc.), he advised the commander of the Kūfa troops to oppose the military action of al-Muhallab, an action which provoked the indignation of the latter (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 856).

On his arrival at Baṣra, Bishr was suffering already from some hidden disease (al-Balādhurī, v, 171, 179, etc.) or from an infection (Ibn Kathīr, ix, 7) and he died very soon afterwards at a few years over forty, according to Ibn ʿAsākir, in 74/693-4 (according to al-Wāḳidī *apud* al-Ṭabarī, ii, 852, in 73; in 75 according to al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Bodl. ii, fol. 95r and Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-Djanān*, ms. Paris 1589, fol. 55r.) He was buried at Baṣra but a few days later it was already impossible to distinguish his grave from that of a negro who had died on the same day, which shows how little interest was taken in tombs at that time. On the news of his death, there were some defections in the army of al-Muhallab.

Bis͟hr was a very agreeable young man, a governor who could be approached without difficulty (see the verses of Aymam b. K͟hurayn in *Ag͟hānī*, xxi, 12), remarkably inclined to be merciful; nevertheless he executed the emissaries of Ibn al-Zubayr who, even after the death of Muṣʿab, continued his intrigues in the city of Baṣra. The only criticisms levelled against his government concerned some innovations in ritual (al-Balād͟hurī, v, 170, etc.), and his failure to distribute food among the people, his custom being to reserve this for his guard and the members of his court (al-Balād͟hurī, v, 180).

Like many other Umayyads, Bis͟hr used to drink wine, get drunk and lead a merry life with his companions (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, v, 254-58 tells us of the trick played by one of his friends to rid him of the somewhat too constraining presence of his uncle, Rawḥ; the latter's removal is nevertheless explained in a different way by Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ed. Brockelmann, 207 f.). He liked to listen to music and to write poetry, and poets enjoyed his sympathy and generosity (see a long panegyric and an elegy in the *Dīwān* of Farazdaḳ, ed. Boucher, Paris 1870, 173-75, 129, transl. 521-25, 361; ed. Hell, Munich 1900, index; poems in his honour in al-Ak͟htal, *Dīwān*, ed. Salḥānī, 38, 58, 68, 120). Other poets too lived in his entourage or addressed verses to him: D͟jarīr, Kut͟hayyir ʿAzza, Nuṣayb, Surāka b. Mirdās al-Bāriḳī, al-Aʿs͟hā of the Banū S͟haybān, Ayman b. K͟huraym al-Asadī, al-Mutawakkil al-Layt͟hī, Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, Ibn al-Zabīr, al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbdal, al-ʿUḳays͟hir al-Asadī, al-ʿAd͟jd͟jād͟j, Kaʿb al-As͟hḳarī, al-Rāʿī. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith, who supported Muṣʿab, on the other hand, wrote invectives against him.

Bibliography: the longest biographies are those of Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Goitein, v, 166-180 (see also v, 140, 164); Sibṭ Ibn al-D͟jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, ms. Bodl. Marsh 289, fol. 167v-168r, ms. Paris 6131, fol. 223v-224r; Ibn Kat͟hīr, *al-Bidāya wa-'l-Nihāya*, Cairo 1351/1932 . , ., ix, 7. Apart from the references quoted in the article, see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 24, 115; Ṭabarī, ii, 825 f., 828, 853 f., 855 f., 857, 873; Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, 47; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīk͟h Dimas͟hḳ*, in section 73; Ibn al-At͟hīr, iv, 270, 280, 283, 295, 297; Ibn Ḳutayba, *S͟hiʿr*, 345; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 662, 663, 664, 666 (= Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *S͟harḥ Nahd͟j al-Balāg͟ha*, i, 395); Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, v, 208; *Ag͟hānī*, index; Yāḳūt, ii, 647, 738 and index; Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alter arab. Dichter*, Berlin 1902-3, ii, XXV, no. XVII; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, Paris 1953, 156, 247, 270, 278; V. Rizzitano, *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, governatore umayyade d'Egitto*, in *Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della Classe di scienze morale, storiche e filologiche*, Ser. III, vol. III, vol. II, fasc. 5-6, 1947, 321-47.

(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

BIS͟HR B. AL-MUʿTAMIR (ABŪ SAHL AL-HILĀLĪ), born in Bag͟hdād, from where he went to Baṣra where he met Bis͟hr b. Saʿīd and Abū ʿUt͟hmān al-Zaʿfarānī, both companions of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (founder of the Muʿtazilite school) who initiated him in the principles of the school. Another of his masters was Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād al-Sulamī. After his return to Bag͟hdād, Bis͟hr was able to win a large number of converts to the *iʿtizāl*. Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd, who was hostile to the Muʿtazilite doctrine, threw him into prison. Bis͟hr thereupon composed some forty thousand lines of remarkably eloquent verse on "justice" (*al-ʿadl*), "monotheism" (*al-tawḥīd*) and "menace" (*al-waʿīd*), three fundamental principles of the Muʿtazilite school. These verses found their way outside the prison precincts; they were recited at meetings everywhere. Al-Ras͟hīd, realising that Bishr's verses had more power over the masses than his teaching before his imprisonment, freed him. Bis͟hr dedicated a veritable dithyramb to reason. He was at once a great poet and a great rhetorician. His advice to authors and especially to poets is quoted in a celebrated page of al-D͟jāḥiẓ (*al-Bayān*, i, 104): "The poet must feel that secret influence of the heavens and choose elegant and beautiful terms which are simple and clear of expression".

Only a few fragments of his writings on the Muʿtazilite principles have come down to us. He stressed especially the problem of "moral responsibility" and was the first to speak of "engendered acts" (*al-tawallud*) with a view to clarifying the nature of this responsibility and of explaining at the same time the problem of sensation. The "engendered act" (*tawallud*) is an act prompted by a cause which is itself the effect of another cause. Thus, in the act of opening a door with a key, there is first a voluntary act, then the movement of the hand which turns the key, and lastly that of the key which turns the tongue of the lock. This last movement is an engendered act for it does not emanate directly from a voluntary decision. Thus, he says, we are responsible for acts initiated by ourselves either directly or "engendered" by our direct (voluntary) acts in measure as we are aware of all their consequences. Bis͟hr also explains sensation as an "engendered act" through the impression which is first made on the senses; the sense then naturally translates this impression into sensation. Reason, he says, once it has reached maturity, can comprehend the great moral problems: distinguish good from evil, even before any revelation. And thus, merit or the lack of it depends upon ourselves alone, for we have freedom of choice and action. And he adds, "there is greater merit in the man who does good by his own means than in him who is helped by divine grace". He remarked also, that voluntary decision need not necessarily be followed by implementation, even in default of impediment. We are responsible in so far as we perceive the moral value of our actions; in the case of ignorance there is no responsibility. Repentance is valueless, he says, unless it goes with a decision not to repeat the forbidden act and not to persist in it.

As to our knowledge of the external world, it may be partial and relative, but this need not cast doubt on the value of reason. He allows that movement lies between the two moments of rest through which the mobile agent passes; and, he says, cause must always precede its effect. He defends the principle of universal determinism; the only exception he allows is that of man's freedom of motion. Finally, he considers the soul as ineluctably united to the body in man.

Disciples of Bishr were the Muʿtazilite masters: Abū Mūsa al-Murdār, T͟humāmā and Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād. He probably died between 210-226 H/825-840.

Bibliography: Al-As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, Istambul 1929, 328, 329, 354, 373, 389, 391, 401; al-Bag͟hdādī, *al-Farḳ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 93, 111, 115, 144, 151; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, Cairo 1347/1928, iv, 149; al-Id͟jī: *al-Mawāḳif*, 416; al-Isfaraʾīnī, *al-Tabṣir*, Cairo 1940, 40, 45; al-D͟jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, Cairo 1926, i, 104; al-K͟hayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, Cairo 1926, *passim* (and the same work translated into French by A. Nader, Beirut 1957); al-

Malaṭī, *K. al-Tanbīh*, 30; al-Ḳurṭubī (Abū ʿAmr), *K. Djāmiʿ Bayan al-ʿIlm wa Faḍlihi*, Cairo 1346/1928, 62; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal* (in the margin of Ibn Ḥazm), Cairo 1347/1910, i, 50, 61; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Munya wa 'l-Amal*, Ḥaydarābād 1316/1899): chapters on the Muʿtazila; Aḥmad Amīn: *Ḍuḥa al-Islām*, Cairo 1938, iii; A. Nader, *Le Système Philosophique des Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956), 38 *et passim*. (ALBERT N. NADER)

BISHR B. AL-WALĪD B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, Umayyad prince, one of the numerous sons of the Caliph al-Walīd and brother of the Caliphs Yazīd III and Ibrāhīm. His learning earned him the title of scholar (*ʿālim*) of the Banū Marwān. He led many military expeditions (certainly in 92/710-11: al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 350, and in 96/714-15 against the Byzantines: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1269 etc.). He was nominated *amīr* of the pilgrimage by his father in 95/714. His name does not appear in the sources until the conspiracy against his cousin al-Walīd II in 126/743-44. Despite the prohibition of his brother al-ʿAbbās, the famous general, he joined the opposition to the Caliph which supported Yazīd b. al-Walīd (the future Yazīd III). He was not, however, the only member of the family to do so, since Yazīd was supported by thirteen brothers.

He was governor of Ḳinnasrīn when Marwān b. Muḥammad, the governor of Armenia and Mesopotamia, took the field against Yazīd's successor Ibrāhīm in 127/744-45. Marwān, having succeeded in winning over the garrison of the town, largely composed of Ḳaysites, persuaded their leader to hand over to him Bishr and his brother Masrūr, and threw them both into prison. The date of Bishr's death is not known, but as Marwān in the course of his march after the battle of ʿAyn al-Djarr took over the caliphate, it is presumed that the two captives never recovered their liberty and died in prison.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1269³, ¹¹ᶠ, 1270, 1787, 1876 f.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, MS. Aya Sofia 3094, fº 146 vº, MS. Gotha 1553, fº 52 vº; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, in *djuzʾ* 73; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *K. Mirʾāt al-zamān*, MS. Paris 6131, fº 44 vº; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 214, 243; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-Tawārīkh*, MS. Paris 1587, fº 35 rº; *Fragmenta historicorum arab.*, ed. De Goeje, 13, 149; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 183 (ed. Cairo 1300 A.H., 123); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 361, ix, 60; Aghānī, vi, 137; F. Gabrieli, *al-Walīd ibn Yazīd, il Califfo e il poeta*, in *RSO*, xv, 1934. (L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

BISHR AL-ḤĀFĪ, full name: ABŪ NAṢR BISHR B. AL-ḤĀRITH B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿAṬĀʾ B. HILĀL B. MĀHĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH (originally Baʿbūr) AL-ḤĀFĪ. He was a Ṣūfī, born in Bakird or in Mābarsām, a village near Marw (al-Shāhidjān) in 150/767 (or 152/769), and died in Baghdād (some sources say that he died in Marw, but this seems unlikely) in 226/840 or 227/841-42. Little is known about his early age. He is said to have belonged to some young men's association, or a gang of robbers, whilst still in Marw. He has also been described as a great friend of wine. Another tradition has it that he earned his living by making spindles. We do not know how this fits in, or to which period of his life it belongs. It is a known fact, however, that like his maternal uncle ʿAlī b. Khashram (165/781-258/872) he was a traditionist. With the exception of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (who came from Marw but travelled a great deal), his teachers lived in the Arabic-speaking regions; so Bishr is certain to have continued his *ḥadīth* studies after he left his home, and it may be these very studies that induced him to go away. He had already made a name for himself when he reached Baghdād from ʿAbbādān for the first time, for a Baghdād traditionist was anxious to meet him. Bishr is also said to have studied under Mālik b. Anas (who died in 179/795) and to have gone with him on a pilgrimage to Mecca. For chronological reasons Abū Ḥanīfa cannot possibly have been one of his teachers, as Hudjwīrī and ʿAṭṭār assert.

It is also not clear how and when he became a Ṣūfī. There is no mention anywhere of a novitiate, and two completely different events are mentioned as the reasons for his conversion. According to one version a certain Isḥāḳ al-Maghāzilī (who is, unfortunately, otherwise unknown to us) wrote a letter to him in which he asked him how he meant to earn his living if he lost his sight and his hearing and was no longer able to make spindles. According to the other version he picked up a piece of paper in the street (one report of this even says that he was drunk at the time) with the name of God on it; he perfumed it and kept it reverently, with the result that either Bishr himself, or someone else, had a dream promising the exaltation of Bishr's name. In each case, the result mentioned is Bishr's conversion to a pious way of life. Quite apart from these contradictions, we do not know what form this piety took—*e.g.*, whether it included *ḥadīth*—and we have no proof that these events actually were the beginning of his life as a Ṣūfī. From Bishr's sayings which have survived we merely see that at some point, at the latest in Baghdād, he did turn away from traditionist studies, he buried his *ḥadīth* writings and concentrated on Ṣūfī devotions. Traditionist studies, he says, do not equip one for death, they are merely a means to gain wordly pleasure, and they impair piety. He asked his former colleagues to impose a "poor-rate" on the *ḥadīth*, that is to say, to follow truly 2¹/₂% of the pious verses which they had learnt and which they declaimed with such professorial self-complacency. He refrained from teaching *ḥadīth*s for the very reason that he so greatly wished to teach them, and promised to return to them as soon as he had overcome his longing to teach them: "Beware of the *ḥaddathanā*, for in the *ḥaddathanā* there is embedded a particular sweetness". He admitted the science of *ḥadīth* only in so far as it was pursued "for the sake of God", and quoted *ḥadīth*s only in conversation, where this would fit into the general framework of a training for a pious way of life. Still, as we do not know whether his earlier traditionism might not have been practised with this same idea in mind all along, we ought perhaps not to speak of an actual breach with his past.

Bishr's Ṣūfī piety is based upon the acceptance of the laws of Islam and the Sunnī Caliphs, but he is also said to have held the family of the Prophet in loving veneration. He was greatly respected not only by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, but also by Maʾmūn (Muʿtazila, Shīʿa). The statement that he took Faith to mean a positive confession, a belief in its truth and man's acting according to it, as Hudjwīrī puts it, is, when formulated in this way, hardly true, although it is justifiable with regard to his practice. The decisive factor for Bishr was the deed itself. As an absolute minimum in this respect, he demanded that man should at least not sin, and to accomplish this he advised contemplation of God's greatness—before which he himself trembled, despite his own ascetic life, up to the very point of death. Before

the choice between God or the world, he made his choice unreservedly in favour of God, and he despised all forms of worldly ambition and selfishness. He preached poverty, which was to be borne with patience and charity, and it is said of him that when one day he met a man suffering from cold, and could not help him in any other way, he unclothed himself to show his sympathy and to give an example; he died in a borrowed shirt because he had given his own away to a poor man. He spoke against the avaricious, the very sight of whom "hardens the heart"; and he advised a man about to start off on a pilgrimage to Mecca, to give his money instead to an orphan or to a poor man, for the joy caused thereby was worth a hundred times more than a pilgrimage. By saying this he hardly meant that the one pilgrimage to Mecca, which the law prescribes, could be replaced by some social act, as some other Ṣūfīs have taught, but must have referred to some additional pilgrimage. Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān already (who died in 105/724) is said to have refrained from going on a pilgrimage because he chose to stay with a sick friend instead (*Ḥilyat al-Awliyā᾽*, 4, 10; cf. Meier, *Zwei islamische Lehrerzählungen bei Tolstoj?* in *Asiatische Studien*, 1958). And Bis̲h̲r called pilgrimages the holy war of women, but, unlike for instance D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān: *Daʿā᾽im al-Islām*, i, 346-47), he put the giving of alms above both pilgrimage and the holy war—because alms could be given in secret, without other people getting to know of it. The very wish to have one's good deeds known by other people is, for Bis̲h̲r, an example of worldly mindedness, and in this he sees an element capable of destroying even the good deeds of man. He condemned the wish to be well thought of by one's fellow men to the extent of advising one against mixing with them at all—even if only to give testimony and lead the prayers. Here his teachings come close to the Malāmatiyya: "Do not give anything merely in order to avoid the censure of others!"; "Hide your good deeds as well as your evil ones". He confesses that he himself still attaches a certain importance to the effect he makes on others, and to his appearance as a pious man, but he wages an unrelenting war against all this "pretentiousness" (*taṣannuʿ*)—in himself as well as in others. He only recognises those who wear patched cloaks (*muraḳḳaʿāt*) as sharers of his views, when one of them has told him of his resolution to live up to this symbol of dedication to God's service by au active furtherance of religion. He himself refrained, on one occasion, from accepting dates in the dark at the back of a shop, in order not to be different in secret from what he was generally considered to be. His abstemiousness (*waraʿ*) went beyond mere abstention from dubious things by putting a limit to the unrestrained enjoyment of what was permitted: "what is permitted", he says, "does not tolerate immoderation (*isrāf*)". Of everything he ate a little less than his conscience would have permitted, thereby creating the 'Tabu-zone' which had already been recommended in the Jewish *Pirḳē Ābot̲h̲*, and which was also observed by numerous other Islamic ascetics. Destitute, he often lived on bread alone, and sometimes he was starving. Where the question of faith in God's providence (*tawakkul*) arose, he distinguished three types of the poor: (1) those who neither beg nor accept anything, yet receive everything they ask for of God; (2) those who do not beg but accept what they are given; (3) those who hold out for as long as they can, but do then beg (Sulamī: *Ṭabaḳāt*, 47; ʿAṭṭār: *Tad̲h̲kira*, i, 110), describing those who belong to the middle group as people trusting in the providence of God, however, another place (*Tad̲h̲kira*, i, 110, 24-25). In he characterises this confidence as being the resolution not to accept anything from any man; whilst in a third place *tawakkul* appears to be compatible with manual work provided the deed be done under the will of God (*Ḥilya*, 8, 351)—but the explanation of that oracular definition *iḍṭirāb bilā sukūn wa sukūn bilā iḍṭirāb* does not seem to me to be beyond all doubt. Admittedly, Bis̲h̲r is said to have begged only from Sarī al-Saḳaṭī, knowing that this man would rejoice in the loss of any worldly possessions; but some stories suggest that he lived largely on the earnings of his sister Muk̲h̲k̲h̲a, who looked after him and lived by spinning. (Bis̲h̲r had three sisters who are all said to have lived in Bag̲h̲dād). The question of begging links up with the one concerning "giving and taking', which played a great part in Ṣūfism, especially later on (cf. Meier, *Die Vita des Scheich Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī*, in *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 14, 1948, Introduction 57-61). In spite of taking a great interest in the lot of the poor, Bis̲h̲r did not—unlike Kāzarūnī for example—function as their spokesman and mediator, but rather withdrew into himself. He refrains from admonishing princes, he does not even drink of the water for which a prince has dug the channel. As a consolation when the cost of living is high he advises contemplating death. He knows that there is no way of satisfying mankind, and regards his own time (on a well-known pattern) as particularly far removed from the ideal of contentment: "Even though a cap should fall from heaven on to somebody's head, that man would not want it"; nor, like Muḥāsibī, does he have much to say in his days in favour of the readers of the Ḳur᾽ān: "Rather a noble robber than a base-minded reader of the Ḳur᾽ān". He finds true piety restricted to the very few: "In these days, there are more dead within than without the walls". A Ṣūfī is one who stands before his God with a pure (*ṣāfī*) heart, and perfect is only he whom even his enemies no longer fear; but in Bis̲h̲r's own days not even friends, he says, could trust each other. The opposition which a pious man has to overcome lies in his inclinations (*s̲h̲ahawāt*): only those who have erected an iron wall against these inclinations, says Bis̲h̲r, can feel the sweetness of the service of God. He advises silence to those who derive pleasure from speaking, speech to those who enjoy being silent. He declines teaching *ḥadīt̲h̲*s, because he does not wish to give in to a desire to do so; he eats no aubergines in order to fight his craving for them, and no fruit in order not to satisfy the fruit's own longing. He does not, however, advocate the repression of sexual desire, and does not even object to a harem of 4 women—though he himself remained unmarried.

In spite of the fact that Bis̲h̲r puts the deed before knowledge, he is considered both knowledgeable and intelligent. This does not refer to his theological knowledge, but also to his ability to experience and expound religious feelings and to his pious way of life: "A wise man is not one who merely knows good and evil, but he who both does the former and refrains from doing the latter"; "First to know, then to act, then really to know". Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is said to have claimed for himself greater theological knowledge, but to have referred to Bis̲h̲r for knowledge concerning the reality of things, the higher facts (*ḥaḳā᾽iḳ*). Without question, though only a few dicta and some verses in the style of the *zuhdiyyāt*

have survived, Bis̲h̲r played his part through his word in expanding the teaching of the mystical shaping of man in Islam. Some sayings of his, however, belong to an earlier tradition which he simply passes on—one of his frequently quoted Ṣūfī teachers is Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ. The men who learnt from him are recognisable from the *isnāds* of his dicta.

With regard to the origin of Bis̲h̲r's cognomen "the barefooted" (*ḥāfī*), Ibn K̲h̲allikān tells the following story: Bis̲h̲r once asked a cobbler for a new strap for one of his sandals, but the cobbler called this a nuisance, whereupon Bis̲h̲r threw down both his sandals and henceforth walked barefoot. Much speaks in favour of this report, even if the explanation is not clear in every detail. Did Bis̲h̲r fly into a rage at the cobbler's answer, and then, being a pious man, did he draw the consequences? Or did he, blaming only himself, soberly come to the decision never to inconvenience a cobbler again? Later referring to Sura LXXI, 19 "And God made the earth your carpet", he said that one did not step onto a king's carpet wearing shoes. As a further reminder he also says that at the "time when the pact was made" they too were barefoot. This probably refers to the pact of obedience which human beings are said to have made with God before their appearance on God's earth (Sura VII, 172: *a-lastu bi-rabbikum*). Such justifications belong to the symbolic associations which Ṣūfīs later attached to the various parts and colours of their clothes (cf. Meier, *Ein Knigge für Sufi's*, in *RSO* 32, 1957, 485-524). The statement made by Hud̲j̲wīrī and repeated by ʿAṭṭār that Bis̲h̲r went barefoot because he was so deeply moved in contemplation of God, is hard to understand—and, together with the explanations given by Hud̲j̲wīrī and ʿAṭṭār, mere theory. Bis̲h̲r is said to have called himself "the barefooted" and to have been called to account for this by a girl who said "All you have to do is to buy a pair of sandals for two *dāniḳ*, but then you would no longer have your beautiful name". Al-Hafi is also the name of the dervish in Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*. Although Reiske's *Abilfedae Annales Moslemici*, i, Leipzig 1754, where our Ṣūfī appears on page 193, *vulgo Beschr ol Hafi* [*seu nudipes*] *dictus*, had already appeared by the time Lessing's play was written, it can hardly be regarded as its source. Lessing is more likely to have sought Reiske's advice personally, or to have derived the name from d'Herbelot (cf. *Baschar al-Hafi* and *Hafi*).

Bibliography: *The Kitâb al-Lumaʿ fi 'l-Taṣawwuf, by Abû Naṣr ʿAbdallâh . . . al-Sarrâj* . . ., ed. R. A. Nicholson, *Gibb Mem. Ser*. 22, 1914; Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Kalābād̲h̲ī, *Al-Taʿarruf*, ed. A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1933; Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, ed. S̲h̲arība, Cairo 1953 (with further bibliography); Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, Cairo 1938, vol. 8, 336-360; *Risālat al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī*. *The Kas̲h̲f al-Maḥjúb . . . by ʿAlí . . . al-Hujwíri*, translated by R. A. Nicholson, in *Gibb Mem. Ser.* 17, New Edition 1936; Anṣārī Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, MS. Yusuf Kethuda 5886, Konya, 18a; al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, Cairo 1931, vol. 7, 67-80; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa*, Ḥaydarābād 1355, 2, 183-90; Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-Awliyā'*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1905, i, 106-114; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 112-113; Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āt al-D̲j̲inān*, Ḥaydarābād 1137, ii, 92-94; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān D̲j̲āmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, Calcutta 1858, 53-54; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-S̲h̲aʿrānī, *Al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1355, i, 62-63; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt al-D̲h̲ahab*, Cairo 1350, ii, 60-62. Also other collections of biographies and Ṣūfī texts. (F. Meier)

BISKRA, town and oasis of the Zībān in the south-east of Algeria and on the northern fringe of the Sahara. It is situated at an altitude of between 100-120 metres, on the alluvial cone and the west bank of the Oued Biskra, at the mouth of a wide depression which extends from the Awrās massif to the western Saharan peaks of the Atlas Mountains. This has always been a route much used by nomads and conquering shepherds. Its blue sky, seldom streaked with clouds, its mild winter climate (mean temperature for January 11.2° = 52° F.) make of it a winter resort (it has numerous hotels); but its summer climate is torrid (33.3° = 92° F. in July) and favourable to the ripening of dates. Rains are fairly rare (156 mm. = 6.14 ins. per year) and, above all, irregular. The palm grove which covers an area of 1300 hectares, numbers more than 150,000 palm trees and thousands of fruit trees; it is irrigated by the waters of canalised springs. In the cold season, the surplus water makes it possible to irrigate vast fields of wheat and barley at the southern end of the oasis, where the harvest begins in April. The European town, which has grown into the administrative, commercial and tourist centre, is laid out on a grid plan; it was built upstream from the palm-grove, near a fort. The Muslim cultivators are dispersed in villages, in houses of crude brick. These are mainly to the south, surrounding the ruins of an ancient Turkish fortress. These villages are: Msid, Bab al-Dorb, Ras al-Guerria, Sidi Barkat, Medjeniche, and Gueddacha; on the perimeter, a little apart, are Beni Mora, al Kora, Filiach and Aliya. Biskra, which is the chief centre of the Ziban group of oases, is a township of 52,500 inhabitants in all, among which are a few hundred Europeans. It is served by the railway which runs between Touggourt and Constantine, and by the pipeline, which, since 1958, has carried the petrol of Hassi-Messoud to the port of Philippeville, and will soon extend to Bougie.

Biskra is built on the site of the old city of Vescera, one of the Roman *limes* posts which doubtless was not occupied by the Byzantines. Its name dates back to the 3rd/11th century when it was conquered by the Ag̲h̲labids of al-Ḳayrawān with the whole of the province of Zāb (pl. Zībān) whose capital at that time was Ṭubna, in eastern Hodna. Under the Ḥammādids, Biskra was autonomous, with a council of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* on which two families fought for pre-eminence: the Banū Rumman and the Banū Sindī. Al-Bakrī (Slane's translation 2nd ed., 111-12) speaks of its beauty and prosperity at that time and also describes its ramparts, the richness of its oasis and the Berber shepherds, Mag̲h̲rāwa and Sadrāta, who led a nomadic existence round about. In the 6th/12th century Biskra succeeded Ṭubna, in the Almohad era, and finally supplanted Tahūda, known in antiquity as Tabudeos; according to al-Idrīsī, it was always well fortified. The Zāb had just been occupied by the Atbed̲j̲ (Hilalian) Arabs coming from the east. A settled family of the Latīf tribe (from the Atbed̲j̲ confederation), the Banū Muznī, sought to take over authority from the Banū Rummān who had old ties with the country. They succeeded in the 7th/13th century with the support of the Ḥafṣids of Tunis. Biskra became the principal town of the whole south-western region of the Ḥafṣid states but was, in effect, the capital of a prosperous and virtually independent principality, to which caravans came to barter the products of the Sahara for those of the Tell.

In the 8th/14th century, the Banū Muznī committed more than one act of disloyalty to the Ḥafṣids for the benefit of the rulers of Bougie, Tlemcen or Fez. Then, in 804/1402, the king Abū Fāris re-established the authority of Tunis over Biskra; he led away the last of the Banū Muznī as his captive and replaced him, as elsewhere, by a *Ḳā'id* of his own entourage.

With the decline of the Ḥafṣids at the end of the 9th/15th century, Biskra and the Zāb became the fief of the nomad Arabs, the Dawāwida. The town was still "decently populated" but the people were poor, wrote Leo Africanus in the middle of the 10th/16th century (trans. Épaulard, 440). This was the point at which the Turks, following the two expeditions of Ḥasan Aghā in 949/1542 and Salāḥ Ra'īs in 959/1552 took over to establish a garrison and construct a fort. In practice, power was in the hands of the chiefs of the Bu ʿUkkāz family, who were given the title of *Shaykh al-ʿArab*. In the eighteenth century, the Bey Salāḥ of Constantine, finding them too powerful, set up a rival family, that of Ben Ganah. Biskra suffered from this rivalry and from the abuses of the Turks: its inhabitants gradually abandoned the town to put a greater distance between themselves and the *ḳaṣba* and dispersed to small villages spanning the oasis.

After the French landing at Algiers (1830), the rivalry continued. Farḥat b. Saʿīd, representative of the Bū ʿUkkāz family, finally appealed to ʿAbd al Ḳādir, but the Ben Ganah family joined up with France in 1838, following the capture of Constantine. Biskra was occupied by the Duke of Aumale in 1844, in the following year a permanent garrison was established and a fort built on the site of the old *ḳaṣba*. The Ben Ganah retained their position as the most influential family and held most of the key appointments in the region. They have recently become reconciled with the Bū ʿUkkāz family (1938) whose allies they now are. Biskra has become a prosperous centre, chief town of a district, then of an annexe of the military territory of Touggart, centre of a mixed commune and of a commune with full powers. It has just become the chief town of the *sous-prefecture* in the new Department of Batna (1956). It is the economic capital of the Zībān.

(J. Despois)

BISMILLĀH [see basmala].

BISṬĀM (also Basṭām, rarer Bosṭām). A town of ca. 4,000 inhabitants (1950) in Khurāsān, in the district (*shahristān*) of Shāhrūd, and county (*bakhsh*) of Ḳalʿa-i naw. It is located 6 km. N. of Shāhrud at 55 E. Long. (Greenw.) and 36° 30′ N. Lat, on a spur of the Elburz mountains.

The pre-Islamic history of the town is unknown. According to one tradition the town was founded by Bisṭām, governor of Khurāsān during the rule of his nephew Khusraw II Parwīz, ca. 590 A.D. Yāḳūt attributes the town to Shāpūr II (cf. Schwarz, 821). During the Arab conquest Suwayd b. Muḳarrin occupied the town before his invasion of Djurdjān, but the date is uncertain (Ṭabarī, refs. in Schwarz).

During the ʿAbbāsid caliphate Bisṭām was the second town of Ḳūmis province after the capital Dāmghān. Little is known of the town except as the burial place of the Ṣūfī Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī [*q.v.*]. After the Mongol invasion the town declined and later it was replaced by Shāhrūd in importance. On the sanctuary of Bāyazīd see Houtum-Schindler in *JRAS*, 1909, 161.

At present in addition to the tomb and sanctuary of Bāyazīd, there are remains of a citadel from the 6/12th century, and of an Imāmzāda Muḥammad. The mosque probably dates from the 18th century but a minaret and adjacent tomb are much older. On these monuments see E. Herzfeld in *Der Islam* 11 (1921), 168-9.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 365; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, vi, Leipzig 1926, 820-2; *Farhang Djughrāfiyā-yi Irān*, ed. Razmārā, iii, Tehran 1951, 47. (R. N. Frye)

BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS b. Masʿūd b. Ḳays, Abu 'l-Ṣahbā' or Abū Zīḳ (according to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara* 203, nicknamed "al-Mutaḳammir")—pre-Islamic hero, poet and *sayyid* of the Banu Shaybān. His family was considered one of the three most noble and aristocratic Bedouin families (*al-Aghānī*, xvii, 105). His father is known (*al-Muḥabbar*, 253) as one of the "dhawū 'l-Ākāl" (enjoying grants of the foreign rulers) and was granted by the Sāsānid kings as a fee Ubulla and the adjacent border territories (Ṭaff Safawān) against the obligation to prevent marauding raids of his tribesmen. Failing to fulfil his obligation in face of the opposition in his own tribe, and being suspected of plotting with Arab chiefs against Persian rule, he was imprisoned and died in a Persian gaol (*al-Aghānī*, xx, 140).

It is a significant fact, that Bisṭām did not avenge the death of his father. On the contrary, Persian diplomacy succeeded, despite the Arab victory at Dhū Ḳār, in assuring the collaboration of Bisṭām, and a fairly trustworthy tradition (*al-Naḳā'id*, 580) shows that the Shaybānī troops were equipped by the Persian *ʿāmil* at ʿAyn Tamr. Born in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. (T. Nöldeke, in *Der Islam*, xiv, 125) Bisṭām became a leader of his tribe at the age of twenty (Ibn al-Kalbī, *op. cit.*) and succeeded in uniting his tribe: he is known as one of the "djarrārūn" (*al-Muḥabbar*, 250). Abandoning the idea of fighting the Persians he directed all his activities against his neighbours of the Banū Tamīm.

His first raid against the Banū Yarbūʿ, a branch of the Banū Tamīm, was—according to al-Balādhurī—at al-Aʿshāsh (*Ansāb*, x, 998 b). The Shaybānī troops were defeated, Bisṭām himself captured and released without ransom. His second raid was probably at Ḳushāwa (*Ansāb*, x, 1003b). Here it is clearly mentioned that Bisṭām commanded the attacking troops, but the raid itself was insignificant and ended with seizing of camels of a clan of the Banū Salīṭ. To the same early period belongs apparently the encounter with al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis at Salmān, in which al-Aḳraʿ [*q.v.*] was captured. A more serious enterprise was the raid of Ghabīṭ al-Madara (known as the Yawm Baṭn Faldj). A tribal federation of the Thaʿalib was attacked and overcome by the troops of Bisṭām, but when the attackers proceeded against the Banū Mālik b. Hanẓala they met resistance and were put to flight with the aid of warriors of Banū Yarbūʿ. Bisṭām, captured by ʿUtayba b. al-Ḥārith, had to pay a very high ransom and was compelled to promise not to attack the clan of ʿUtayba any more (*Ansāb*, 998a, 988a, 995b, 996a). Breaking his promise he attacked after a short time a the camp of ʿUtayba's son at Dhū Ḳār (Ansāb 995b, 998a) and succeeded in seizing the camels (the raid is also known as Yawm Fayḥān). Not content with this victory, he prepared an attack on the Banū Tamīm in order to capture ʿUtayba; but he was defeated in this battle at al-Ṣamd (or Dhū Ṭulūḥ) and barely escaped with his life (*Ansāb*, 998a). A further battle at al-Ufāḳa (known as the battle of al-Ghabīṭayn or al-ʿUẓāla), prepared and aided

by the Persian *ʿāmil* at ʿAyn Tamr, ended with the defeat of the attackers and with the escape of Bisṭām (*Ansāb*, 1004 b). Bisṭām fought his last battle at Naḳā al-Ḥasan. He was killed by a half-witted Ḍabbī, ʿĀṣim b. Khalīfa, who is said to have boasted of his deed at the court of ʿUthmān. The date of his death may be fixed at *circa* 615 A.D.

Very little is known about the posterity of Bisṭām. His grand-daughter Ḥadrāʾ, the daughter of his son Zīḳ was about to marry al-Farazdaḳ, but died before the appointed date.

Bisṭām is said to have been a Christian. He was the *sayyid* of his tribe; when the news of his death reached his tribe they pulled down their tents as an expression of their sorrow. Many elegies were composed on his death, and his person was glorified as the ideal of Bedouin courage and bravery. But in the times of al-Djāḥiẓ, in the urban mixed society of the towns of ʿIrāḳ, his glory faded away, and the common people preferred to listen to the story of ʿAntara (*al-Bayān*, i, 34) which came closer to their social equalitarian tendencies (cf. *EI*, s.v. *ʿAntara*, R. Blachère).

Bibliography: Sources quoted in E. Bräunlich, *Bisṭām b. Ḳays*, Leipzig 1923 and by Th. Nöldeke, in his review of Bräunlich's book in *Isl.* xiv, 123; Ibn al-Kalbī: *Djamharat al-Nasab*, MS Brit. Mus. No. Add. 23297 (reported by M. b. Ḥabīb), 203; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS., x, 988a, 995b, 998a, 1003b, 1004b; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān* (ed. Sandūbī) index; M. b. Rabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* (ed. Lichtenstadter) index; al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾiḳ*, Baghdād 1280, 103, 112, 113; al-Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif*, 64, 141; al-Marzubānī; *Muʿdjam al-Shuʿarāʾ* (ed. Krenkow) 300, 324, 405; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara* (ed. Lévi-Provençal), 306; Djawād ʿAlī *Taʾrīkh*, Baghdād 1955, 362-3, 370; R. Blachère, *A propos de trois poètes arabes d'époque archaïque* in *Arabica*, iv, 231-249; W. Caskel, *Aijām al-ʿArab*, in *Islamica*, iii, 1-000; Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Aʿrabī, *Asmāʾ al-Khayl* (ed. Levi della Vida), 60, 89; Abu'l-Baḳāʾ Hībat Allāh, *al-Manāḳib* (B.M. MS. 23296), 36a, 38b, 42a, 44a, 111b; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Hayawān* (ed. ʿA. S. Hārūn), i, 330, ii, 104. (M. J. Kister)

al-**BISṬĀMĪ, ʿABD** al-**RAḤMĀN** b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥurūfī was born in Antioch and appears to have witnessed the sack of Aleppo, by Tīmūr, in 803/1400. He studied in Cairo and went to Bursa, then the Ottoman capital and imperial residence. There he gained the favour of Sulṭān Murād II, a patron of learning, to whom several of his works are dedicated; there he died in 858/1454.

He was a mystic, belonging, as his name indicates, to the Ḥurūfī [*q.v.*] order of dervishes, who attributed a mystical signifcance to the letters of the alphabet and to combinations of these (cf. his *Kashf Asrār al-Ḥurūf* and his *Shams al-Āfāḳ fī ʿilm al-Ḥurūf*, written in 826/1423). Among works of this type is also his *Miftāḥ al-Djafr al-Djāmiʿ*. He wrote a number of Ṣūfī works, perhaps the best-known being *Manāhidj al-Tawassul fī Mabāhidj al-Tarassul*, and also wrote on history and geography, the most important work being the encyclopaedia entitled *al-Fawāʾiḥ al-Miskiyya fī 'l-Fawātiḥ al-Makkiyya*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 300; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel), iv, 468; *JRAS* 1899, 907. (M. Smith)

al-**BISṬĀMĪ, ABŪ YAZĪD** [see abū yazīd].

al-**BISṬĀMĪ, ʿALĀ** al-**DĪN** [see muṣannifak].

BĪSTĪ [see sikka].

BĪSUTŪN, (Bihistūn of the Arabic geographers, Bīstūn in present local parlance), a mountain ca. 30 km. E. of Kirmānshāh on the main road from Baghdād to Hamadān.

The name is found in Greek sources (Diodorus 2.13 and Isidore of Charax) τὸ βαγίστανον ὄρος, and in early Islamic authors (as al-Khwārizmī and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī) where we find the archaic form Baghistān, Old Persian* *bāgastāna* "place of the gods", (or one divinity in particular). Later Islamic authors have the form Bihistūn (Bahistūn) which in modern times became Bīsutūn (Bīstūn). The site is mentioned many times in Arabic literature since it lay on the main road from ʿIrāḳ to Khurāsān.

High above the road is the famous bas-relief of Darius the Great with cuneiform inscriptions in three languages, Old Persian, Accadian, and Elamite. Beside the road below was the relief of the Parthian king Gotarzes, unfortunately now almost obliterated by a modern New Persian inscription.

Bīsutūn was regarded as a world wonder by the Muslims. In the books of those authors who follow Abū Zayd al-Balkhī appears a short description of the sculptures which is fanciful since the Bīsutūn sculptures are confused with those of nearby Ṭāḳ-i Bustān (considered Khusraw II Parwīz with his horse, a work of Ḳaṭṭūs b. Sinimmar). Ibn Ḥawḳal gives the curious explanation of the Darius relief with his captives as a teacher and pupils. Most Islamic authors thought the sculptures depicted Shīrīn and Khusraw II.

The trilingual inscription of Darius provided the key to the decipherment of all cuneiform inscriptions.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 187; al-Khwārizmī (ed. Vloten), 111; the Arab geographers are summarised in Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iv, Leipzig 1921, 487 f. For the O.P. inscriptions, cf. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, New Haven, Conn. 1953, 108. For photographs see F. Sarre & E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 189-198, plates 33-5.

(E. Herzfeld-[R. N. Frye])

BITIK, BITIKČI, Turkish words derived from the verb *biti-* "to write". A deverbal-noun *bitig* "written document book" is found in the Orkhon inscriptions and in the Turkish texts of Turfan. *Bitikči*, is a *nomen agentis* in *-či* signifying "scribe, secretary". It is first found in *Qutadγu bilig* under the form *bitigči*. The forms with a final surd (*bitik*, *bitikči*) are well attested in middle Turkish notably in Čagatay and Coman. The verb *biti-* and its derivatives have almost disappeared from modern dialects. Khakas has preserved *pičik*, book, writing, document" as well as *pičikči* "cultured, literate" and in Tuvin we have for example *bižik* "official document".

The etymology of *biti* is unknown. The much quoted derivation from the Chinese 筆 *pi* (> **pi̯ĕt*) «writing brush» must be treated with caution. Comparison with Indo-European forms, such as Khotanese *piḍaka* "written, document", Sanskrit *piṭaka* "collection of canonical books", or Greek πιττάκιον "letter", is tempting but unsubstantiated by the phonetic history of these words.

In written Mongol the verb "to write" is *biči-*, a form which corresponds with the Turkish *biti-*. The deverbal noun *bičig* "written document, writing, letter, missive" occurs from the time of the Secret History of the Mongols and a *nomen agentis bičigeci* "scribe, secretary, copyist" is found in the Mongol administrative documents of the Īl-khāns. Mean-

while in Mongol-administered Persia the Turkish form *bitikči* seems to have been preferred to the Mongol form. One may see in this an indication of Uighur preponderance in the administration of the Mongol Empire. The two words of literary Mongol are clearly observable in modern dialects. For example: modern Khalkha *bičig* and *bičēči*, Buryat *bəsəg* and *bəšəše*, Kalmuk, *bičig* and *bičēči*, Ordos *bičik* and *bičēči*.

The most ancient Tunguz form is Ju-chen **bitge*(*i*) "book". Mandju *bithe* "written document, as the book, document, letter" must be a loan-word as the derivation cannot be explained by the facts of Mandju. On the other hand *bithesi* "scribe, secretary" is a regular Mandju *nomen agentis*. In Evenki *biči* "to write" and *bičiga* "written document" are borrowed from the Mongol, while the Oroch *bitihö*, Oltcha *bithö* "written document, letter", is directly connected with Mandju forms.

It is reasonable to conclude that the Turkish words implanted in Mongol by Uighur scribes, followed the Mongol conquests, which enabled them to become technical administrative terms. — These found ready use in the highly developed states of the Ju-chen and the Mandjus. See further BERAT.

(D. SINOR)

BITLĪS [see BIDLĪS].

BITOLJA [see MANASTIR].

BIṬRAWSH, in Spanish Pedroche, a little place in the administrative district of Pozoblanco, 60 kms. north of Cordoba, on the Cordoba-Toledo road, and the same distance from Dār al-Baḳar now El Vacar). According to Idrīsī, it was a heavily populated fortified town with high walls; situated in the region of Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ of which Ghāfiḳ (now Belalcázar) was the capital, it was the seat of a provincial judge. Its inhabitants like those of Ghāfiḳ had won renown for their bravery in repulsing the attacks of the Christians. Its mountains and plains were, and to a great extent still are, covered with a variety of oak trees distinguished by the quality of their acorns, which the inhabitants cultivated with great care, and which in years of famine served them as food, for as al-Rāzī affirms, they were the best in all Spain. Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Ballūṭī, who came originally from Pedroches, occupied Crete with the survivors of the ʿBattle of the Suburb' (*al-rabaḍ*) and there founded a dynasty which lasted until 350/961. The Berbers settled in the district of Los Pedroches took part, under an Andalusian mystic called Abū ʿAlī al-Sarrādj, in a rising against the *amir* ʿAbd Allāh which ended in the rout and death of their chief in front of the walls of Zamora (288/901). Of its history during the Almoravid and Almohad periods, we only know that at the beginning of the year 550/1155, the governor of Cordova, Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Igit, made a sortie with Almohad troops against the forth of Pedroche and those of the Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ region of which Alfonso VII had just taken possession in the course of a rapid invasion which had also anabled him to take Andujar. Ibn Igit routed the Count, the lord of Pedroche, whom Alfonso VII had left there as governor, and, in the course of his assault on the fort, took him prisonner and sent him to Marrakūsh.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, 175, 213 (text), 211, 263 (transl.); Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, 45 (text), 57 (transl.); Rāzī, 51; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 211; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, i, 385; *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 3rd. part, MS. Tamgrut; *Anales toledanos primeros*, A. Huici, 348.

(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

BIṬRĪḲ, Arabicised form of Latin *Patricius*. The *patriciatus dignitas* was instituted by the Emperor Constantine (A.D. 306-337), an honorary dignity, not connected with any office, and conferred for exceptional services to the State.

I.—It is certain that no Arabs in the service of Rome were endowed with the patriciate before the Ghassānids [*q.v.*] and no Ghassānid before al-Ḥārith b. Djabala, who was honoured with the dignity *ca.* 540 A.D., as was also his son and successor al-Mundhir *ca.* 570 A.D. The assumption of this high Roman honour by the two Ghassānid dynasts is the most telling indication of their place and importance in the Roman hierarchy. Al-Ḥārith and al-Mundhir are the only figures in the history of the Arabs before Islam whose patriciate can be established with certainty; there is no positive evidence in the sources that the Romans conferred it again on a Ghassānid after al-Mundhir.

II.—As the Muslim conquests in the seventh century changed the status and rôle of the Arabs in their relation to the Romans from subjects and "allies" to conquerors, the patriciate, which in the pre-Islamic period had been greatly coveted by Arab princes as a symbol of their Roman connexions, naturally ceased to be assumed by them. Instead, it survived as a term in their literature. Almost a *hapax legomenon* in pre-Islamic poetry, *biṭrīḳ* acquired three broken plurals and found its way into the literature of the Muslim period. It was woven into the texture of Arabic poetry by al-Mutanabbī and Abū Firās and was frequently mentioned by the historians and the geographers. Indeed, in the military annals of Arab-Byzantine relations it became the regular term for a Byzantine commander. Although other terms occur, like سرطغوس στρατηγός, دمستق *domesticus*, and دوقس *dux*, paradoxically enough it was *biṭrīḳ*, a non-military term, which received the widest vogue.

III.—The frequent occurence of *biṭrīḳ* in Arabic authors was, however, attended by confusions and inaccuracies. The patriciate was conceived as though it were (a) an office (b) hereditary (c) applicable to the Persians, and (d) interchangeable with *baṭrak* (patriarch). The truth, of course, is that the patriciate was a dignity, non-hereditary, peculiarly Byzantine, and non-ecclesiastical. But it is important to draw a distinction between the reckless use of the term in literary works of the type of al-Tanūkhī's *Faradj* and the careful use of it in the serious works of the historians and the geographers. These have preserved information of some interest and relevance to the Byzantinist for the history of this dignity with particular reference to the term πρωτοπατρίκιος.

IV.—*Biṭrīḳ* was recognised by the Arabic lexicographers as a foreign term and was considered by some as a homophone and homograph of a supposedly indigenous Arabic word, which, *inter alia*, means "a proud and self-conceited man".

Bibliography: B. Kübler, *Patres, patricii*, in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. 18, pt. 4, cols. 2231-32; Th. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassanischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's*, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, Berlin 1887, 13-14; note 3 on 13 is inaccurate. For the occurrence of *biṭrīḳ* in Arab authors, see A. A. Vasiliev,

Byzance et les Arabes, Brussels 1935, 1950), vols. i, ii, *passim*, and M. Canard, *Les aventures d'un prisonnier arabe et d'un patrice byzantin à l'époque des guerres bulgaro-byzantines, Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, (Harvard University Press, 1956) vols. ix-x, particularly, 62, n. 13; 66; 68, n. 28. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, New York 1955, I, i, 217-8. (IRFAN KAWAR)

AL-**BIṬRŪDJĪ**, NŪR AL-DĪN ABŪ ISḤĀḲ, called Alpetragius by mediaeval European authors, a Spanish-Arab astronomer, the disciple and friend of Ibn Ṭufayl (about 600/1200). His astronomical theory, the origins of which must be sought in the return to Aristotelianism initiated by Ibn Bādjdja and other Arab philosophers of Spain like Ibn Ṭufayl and the astronomer Djābir b. Aflaḥ, involved the reintroduction of the idea of impetus roughly formulated by Simplicius (6th century A.D.), the abandonment of epicycles and excentrics, and the view that the celestial spheres revolve around different axes, thus producing a spiral movement (*ḥaraka lawlabiyya*). The work in which he sets forth his principles, entitled *Kitāb fi 'l-Hay'a*, was translated by Michael Scot; Carmody published in 1952, at Berkeley, a critical edition of this translation compared with the Arabic text. In 657/1259, Moshe ibn Tibbon translated the work from Arabic into Hebrew, and in 934/1528, Ḳalonimos ben David made a Latin translation, based on the Hebrew version, which was printed at Venice in 1531, at the same time as the *Treatise on the sphere* of Sacrobosco.

Bibliography: see the works quoted by F. J. Carmody, *al-Bitruji, De Motibus Coelorum*, Berkeley 1952; Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, ii, 399 and index. (J. VERNET)

BIYĀBĀNAK, an area in the central desert of Iran (Dasht-i Kawīr), with some twelve oases. The area is included within E. Long. (Greenw.) 54° 15′ and 55° 15′ and N. Lat. 33° 5′ and 34° 10′, roughly 70 miles by 90 miles. The date palm and underground springs of water, some hot but all salty, have enabled the oases to flourish isolated from the rest of Iran. The word is probably a diminutive meaning "little desert", but the name does not appear before the 16th century (Tavernier).

We find no references to the area in pre-Islamic times, though local tradition claims that it was a place of banishment under the Sāsānids, and the existence of site names such as Atashkada (6 km. south of the oasis of Mihrdjān), attest pre-Islamic occupation.

A history of Yazd (see below) claims that the Arabs in pursuit of Yazdadjird passed through the central desert area and obtained the submission of the local inhabitants. This, however, may apply only to Ṭabbas since local tradition (oasis of Farrūkhī) claims that the Biyābānak was only converted to Islam in the 3/9th century in the time of the Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā, and conversion was accomplished only by warfare. Ibn Ḥawḳal says there are three villages at five stages from Nāʾīn on the desert road to Khurāsān, Biyādaḳ, Djarmaḳ, and Arābah, each within eyesight of the other. The palm trees are especially noteworthy here. Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions the village of Karmah, 43 farsakhs from Nāʾīn, and says that the area was infested formerly with Kūfidjān (Ḳufṣ), but in his time (5th/11th century). Amīr Gīlakī of Ṭabbas had rid the region of them. Later the area suffered from Balūčī raids until the 1920s. Apparently Arab tribesmen from Khūzistān raided this area as well, for European travellers in the last century report Arabs living here and local tradition tells of a tribe called the Īl-i Basīrī which terrorised the area under the Ḳādjārs.

At present there are perhaps 10,000 people living in the oases, the nine principal oases being Djandaḳ, Farrūkhī, Djarmaḳ, Urdīb, Īrādj, Mihrdjān, Bayāzah, Čūpānān, and the administrative centre Khūr. Dialects are spoken in all of the oases save Djandaḳ where Persian is spoken. The date palm provides the principal livelihood for the people of the oases.

Bibliography: J. B. Tavernier, *Voyages*, Paris 1724, ii, 449; C. M. MacGregor, *Narrative of a Journey through Khorassan*, London 1879, i, 91; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien II, SBAk. Wien*, 108 (1885), 616-622; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Āyatī, *Atashkada-i Yazd*, Yazd 1939, 67; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, s.v. *Bijabanak*; Ibn Ḥawḳal ii, 405; Frye, *Biyabanak, the Oases of Central Iran*, in *Central Asian Journal*, iv (1960); Ḥabīb Yaghmāʾī, *Sharḥ Ḥāl-i Yaghmā*, Tehran 1925, 8-12; Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1954, x, under the various oases. (R. N. FRYE)

BĪZABĀN [see DILSIZ].

BIZERTA [see BANZART].

BLIDA [see BULAYDA].

BOABDĪL [see NAṢRIDS].

BOBASTRO [see BARBASHTURU].

BODRUM, a small town situated on the west coast of Asia Minor, opposite the island of Istanköy (Kos). It stands near the site of the ancient Halicarnassus in Caria. When the Turks overran western Asia Minor in the years around 1300, this region came under the rule of the Begs of Menteshe [*q.v.*]. The Ottomans seized the emirate of Menteshe in 792/1390, lost it after their defeat in battle against Tīmūr Lang at Ankara in 804/1402 and did not recover full and direct possession of Menteshe until 829/1425-1426. This second and definitive annexation of the emirate was not, however, destined to include the old Halicarnassus, for the Knights of St John at Rhodes, under their Grand Master Philibert de Naillac (1396-1421), had meanwhile occupied the site of the ancient town, and had built close at hand a fortress which received the name of "Castellum Sancti Petri" (Gr. Πετρόνιον). It has been suggested that the name Bodrum derives either from the vault-like arcades amongst the ruins of Halicarnassus (cf. the Turkish *bodrum*: a subterranean vault, a cellar) or from the Latin name for the new fortress ("Sanctum Petrum").

The Venetian admiral Pietro Mocenigo, during the course of his sea campaigns in the eastern Mediterranean (1471-1474), ravaged the Ottoman-held hinterland of Bodrum. In 885/1480, the Ottomans, returning to Istanbul from their unsuccessful siege of Rhodes in that year, attempted, but without avail, to take the Castle of St Peter. Bodrum came under Ottoman rule only in 929/1522, when the Knights of St John, after a long and desperate resistance, surrendered Rhodes, together with its dependent possessions, to Sulṭān Sulaymān Ḳānūnī. Ewliyā Čelebī mentions that a naval engagement occurred in the harbour of Bodrum during the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1055-1080/1645-1669. Bodrum suffered bombardment from the Russian squadron operating in the eastern Mediterranean in the course of the Ottoman-Russian war of 1182-1188/1768-1774. It was again bombarded during the

Great War of 1914-1918, the fortress on this latter occasion receiving considerable damage, which was, however, repaired when Italian forces occupied the town in 1919-1920. Bodrum, under Ottoman rule, belonged to the *sandjaḳ* of Menteshe in the *eyālet* of Anadolu. It had later the status of a *ḳaḍā'*, when this *sandjaḳ* was subordinated, in 1864, to the newly formed *wilāyet* of Aydîn (Smyrna). The town is now included in the present Turkish province of Muğla and had in 1950 a population of about 4,800 inhabitants.

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(V. J. PARRY)

BOGHĀ AL-KABĪR [see BUGHĀ AL-KABĪR].

BOGHĀ AL-SHARĀBĪ [see BUGHĀ AL-SHARĀBĪ].

BOGHAZ [see BOGHAZ-IČI].

BOGHAZ-IČI (BOĞAZIÇI) ("interior of the strait") is the expression used in Turkish to denote the Bosphorus, and especially the shores, waters, bays and promontories which constitute its middle section. The name Bosphorus (Gr. Βόσπορος, Lat. Bosporus, Bosphorus) derives from a word of Thracian origin (cf. Pauly-Wissowa). This narrow channel, the Thracian Bosphorus (so-called in order to distinguish it from the Cimmerian Bosphorus, *i.e.*, the strait of Kertch between the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea) unites the Sea of Marmara (the ancient Propontis, Marmara Denizi in Turkish) and the Black Sea (the Pontus Euxinus of classical times, the Kara Deniz of the Turks). The Byzantines often referred to it simply as τὸ Στενὸν, "the strait", while, to the Latins at the time of the Crusades, it was known as the "brachium S. Georgii" (cf. Tomaschek). It is mentioned under a number of different names in the Turkish sources, *e.g.*, Khalīdj-i baḥr-i siyāh, Khalīdj-i Ḳusṭanṭīniyye, Ḳusṭanṭīniyye boghazî, Istanbul boghazî, etc. The word *boghaz* means "throat" or "gullet" in Turkish, but has in geographical names the sense of "defile", "strait" (cf., *e.g.*, Külek Boghazî, the Cilician Gates, or Čanāḳ-ḳal'e Boghazî, the Dardanelles).

The Bosphorus has a mean length of about 30 km. and a width which varies from approximately 700 to about 3550 metres. A strong current (3-5 km. per hour) flows down the centre of the channel from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara, but a counter-current runs in the opposite direction below the surface and along the shores. The more notable localities which border the strait can be enumerated as follows (the names are given in the modern Turkish form): on the European side, in order from south to north, are to be found Tophâne (the Byzantine Argyropolis), Beşiktaş (Byz. Diplokionion), Ortaköy (Byz. Hagios Phokas), Arnavut-Köyü (Byz. Anaplous), Bebek (Byz. Challai), Rumeli-Hisarı (Byz. Phoneus), Istinye (Byz. Sosthenion), Yeni-Köy (Byz. Neapolis), Tarabya (Byz. Therapeia), Büyük-Dere (Byz. Kalos Agros) and Rumeli-Kavağı; on the Asiatic shore, in sequence from north to south, are located Anadolu-Kavağı (Byz. Hieron), Beykoz, Paşa-Bahçesi, Çubuklu (Byz. Irenaeon), Kanlıca, Anadolu-Hisarı, Kandilli (Byz. Brochthoi), Çengel-Köyü, Beylerbeyi, Kuzguncuk (Byz. Chrysokeramos) and Usküdar (Scutari: Byz. Skoutarion, an imperial palace in Chrysopolis). The Bosphorus proper ended, according to the view held in ancient times, at the present Rumeli-Kavağı and Anadolu-Kavağı, the waters beyond this line, towards the north, being considered as a part of the Black Sea.

The Byzantines fortified the northern end of the Bosphorus in the region of Rumeli-Kavağı and Anadolu-Kavağı, where the strait narrows to a width of about 1000 metres. Traces of a Byzantine fortress can still be discerned to the north of Rumeli-Kavağı. There is in fact a tradition that the Ottoman Sulṭān Meḥemmed II demolished this ancient fort ("Eski Ḳal'e"), the material thus acquired being used in the construction of Rumeli-Hisarı in 856/1452 (cf. Gabriel, 77 and 81). A Byzantine fortress also existed at Anadolu-Kavağı. It was known to the Ottomans as Yoros (Yeros) Ḳal'esi (cf. Byz. Hieron) or Djenevīz Ḳal'esi. This latter name arose from the fact that the Genoese, in 1350, had taken over from the Byzantines control of the defences in the northern zone of the Bosphorus.

It was only with the rise and growth of the Ottoman empire in the 14th-15th centuries that the lands bordering on the Bosphorus came under Muslim rule. The Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd I (791-805/1389-1403) built on the Asiatic shore of the strait a strong fortress called Anadolu-Ḥiṣārî (also known as Güzeldje Ḥiṣār), to which Sulṭān Meḥemmed II made various additions and improvements in 856/1452. On the European shore, opposite Anadolu-Ḥiṣārî and at the site which the Byzantines called Phoneus (Φωνεύς, also Φονέας and Φωνέας), Meḥemmed II constructed, in this same year, the fortress of Rumeli-Ḥiṣārî (often called Boghaz-Kesen, *i.e.*, "which cuts the throat" or "which cuts the strait"). The Sulṭān furnished both these fortresses with artillery capable of firing across the Bosphorus, here compressed to its narrowest width (about 700 metres). After the fall of Constantinople in 857/1453

the Black Sea became in effect an Ottoman lake. Meḥemmed II brought to an end the former Genoese imperium over the Black Sea in 865/1461 and 880/1475. Moreover, in this latter year, the Khān of the Krim Tātārs was reduced to the status of an Ottoman vassal. Rumeli-Hisarı and Anadolu-Hisarı, together with what remained of the old Byzantine defences at the northern end of the Bosphorus, now lost their earlier importance.

After a long interval of calm, danger threatened from the north, when Cossack sea-raiders plundered Sinope on the south shore of the Black Sea in 1023/1614 and ten years later, in 1033/1624, carried fire and sword into the Bosphorus itself, ravaging Sarı-Yer, Büyük-Dere, Tarabya and Yeni-Köy on the European shore of the strait. To ward off this menace, the Ottomans, in the reign of Sulṭān Murād IV (1032-1049/1623-1640), built two new fortresses, one in the region of Rumeli-Kavağı, the other near Anadolu-Kavağı. These forts (not to be confused with the former Byzantine defences in this section of the Bosphorus) are described in Ewliyā Čelebī (i, 461) as the *ḳalʿe-i kilīd al-baḥr*, "the forts which are the lock of the sea" (baḥr-i siyāh, the Kara Deniz or Black Sea). No trace of them now remains, both having been demolished in the course of the 19th century (Gabriel, 82).

During their unsuccessful war against Russia in 1182-1188/1768-1774 the Ottomans began to reorganise the defences of the Bosphorus. New fortifications arose, in 1187/1773-1774, at Kilyos (Ḳalʿe-i Baghdāddjık) on the European, and at Irva (Ḳalʿe-i Revāndjık) on the Asiatic shore of the Black Sea, just outside the strait itself, and also at Fener-i Rumeli and Fener-i Anadolu on the northern exit from the strait. Additional forts soon made their appearance at Garipçe and Büyük-Liman on the European, and at Poyraz-Limanı on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus above Rumeli-Kavağı and Anadolu-Kavağı. This defence system received the name of "Ḳilāʿ-i Sebʿa" (the seven fortresses). A sustained effort was made during the reign of Sulṭān Selīm III (1203-1222/1789-1807) to extend and perfect the new defences of the Bosphorus. At the same time the older fortifications situated within the Bosphorus proper, southward from Rumeli-Kavağı and Anadolu-Kavağı in the direction of the Marmara Sea, underwent a process of repair and modernisation. These years witnessed, however, the emergence, in its modern form, of the Eastern Question. The control and defence of the Straits, *i.e.*, of the Dardanelles as well as of the Bosphorus, was now to become a matter of prime concern, not to the Ottomans alone, but also to the Great Powers of Europe, who, during the 19th-20th centuries, imposed on the Straits a much debated and often altered, system of international control.

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BOGHAZ KESEN [see RŪMELI ḤIṢĀR].

BOGHDĀN, originally Boghdān-ili or Boghdān-wilāyeti ('the land of Boghdān'), Turkish name of Moldavia, so called after Boghdān who in 760/1359 founded a principality between the Eastern flanks of the Carpathians and the Dniester (Turla). The name Boghdān-ili appears in the *ḥükm* of Meḥemmed II dated 859/1455 (Kraelitz, *Osm. Urk.* Table I). The name Ḳara-Boghdān is found in the letter of Iminek dated 881/1476 (Belleten, no. 3-4, 644) and in the Ottoman chroniclers generally.

The principality suffered its first raid (*aḳın*) by the Ottomans in 823/1420 (unsuccessful siege of Aḳ-Kirmān). In 831/1428 the Khān of the Golden Horde, Ulugh Muḥammad, proposed to Murād II that they should act in concert to destroy the Vlach infidels dwelling between them (cf. Kurat, *Yarlık ve Bitikler*, 8). Ḥādjdjī Gerey [*q.v.*] made an alliance against Boghdān-ili with Meḥemmed II, and an Ottoman fleet attacked Aḳ-Kirmān in 858/1454. As a result the *voyvode* Petru Aron accepted Ottoman suzerainty, agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 2000 ducats (autumn 859/1455) (Fr. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgesch. der Türk. in Rumelien*, 21), and the sultan granted the merchants of Boghdān freedom to trade in the Ottoman dominions (Kraelitz, *ibid.*).

Stephen the Great (1457-1504) renewed the vassalage to the king of Poland, repulsed an attack by the Crimeans in 873/1469, entered into diplomatic relations with Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*], and defeated the Ottoman *beylerbeyi* of Rūmeli on 2 Ramaḍān 879/

10 Jan. 1475. Finally Meḥemmed II invaded Boghdān and burned its capital Sučeava (Rabīʿ I, 881/July 1476). In 889/1484, as a result of the joint action of Bāyazid II and his vassal the Crimean Khān' Aḳ-Kirmān and Kili were occupied by the Ottomans, and Kawshān and Tombasār by the Khān. In 897/1492 Stephen, by sending tribute and his son to the Porte, acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty.

Under the Ottomans Aḳ-Kirmān and Kili became more actively engaged in the commerce of the Levant (this can now be seen from the records of the Ottoman customs houses of this period at the Başvekalet Arşivi Istanbul, Maliye no. 6). With its exports of cereals, meat, butter and wax the trade of Boghdan became, under a monopoly system, more and more dependent on the Istanbul market.

Ottoman-Boghdān relations rested on the Islamic principle of the *dār al-ʿahd* [*q.v.*], as expressed in the *ʿahd-nāmes* granted by the Ottoman sultans and the *berāts* issued to the voyvodes (cf. the *berāt* of Alexandru VI Iliash in Ferīdūn, *Münsheʾāt*, ii, 398). The bonds attaching the *voyvode* to the Porte were made still stronger when he received his appointment directly from the sultan, the first *voyvode* so appointed being Petru IV Raresh (933/1527). The *voyvode's* whole authority emanated from the sultan. The sultan, in his *berāt*, enjoined upon all the *boyars*, priests and people that they should recognise the *voyvode* as their ruler (*beg*); if they failed to do so their land would be regarded as *dār al-ḥarb*. The *voyvode's* symbols of authority were the standard, the robe of honour (*khilʿat*), and the red *börk* (felt cap). An *āghā* accompanied the *voyvode* to his capital, seated him on his throne, and had the proclamation read to the people. As late as the 10th/17th century it was felt to be important that the *voyvode* should be a descendant of a former voyvode (cf. Ferīdūn, ii, 398, 446). Nevertheless the wishes of the local *boyars* were taken into consideration. The Ottomans, assisted by the Crimean Tatars, had no great difficulty in removing pretenders supported by Poland or the Cossacks and *voyvodes* who refused to recognise the sultan's order of deposition. After the treachery of Dimitri Kantemir in 1123/1711 the *voyvodes* were selected exclusively from a few families of Phanariot Greeks (the Mavrokordati, Kallimachi, Hypsilanti). In this Phanariot period (1123-1236/1711-1821) the *voyvodes* were reduced to being merely Ottoman officials. They were frequently changed, but after 1217/1802, as a result of Russian pressure, they were appointed for periods of seven years.

The tribute which the Moldavians paid as *ahl al-ʿahd* was regarded as *kharādj maḳṭūʿ*, farmed by the *voyvode*, who, acting as *ʿāmil* (tax-farmer), was expected to raise the maximum amount of tribute that the country could support. In 859/1455 the tribute was fixed at 2000 ducats; it was increased under Stephen the Great to 4000, under Petru IV Raresh to 10,000, and in 1028/1619 under Gashpar to 40,000 ducats. In the 12/18th century it was 65,000 *ghurush* [*q.v.*]. Boghdan also paid tribute (7000 ducats annually)to the Crimean Khān. The gifts (*pīshkesh*) which the *voyvode* made to the Sultan, the *wazīrs* and other influential people became an established usage, and nearly equalled in amount the sum paid as *kharādj*.

The *ʿahd-nāme* granted to the *voyvode* also prescribed that he should be 'the friend of the sultan's friends and the enemy of his enemies', and should supply military aid when called upon, the *voyvode* serving in person when the sultan himself took the field (Naʿīmā, vi, 322). But the *berāts* emphasised that Ottoman officials were not to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of the principality. The *voyvode* had a representative (*ḳapu-ketkhudāsī* or *kahyā*) in Istanbul to attend to matters arising between the *voyvode* and the Porte.

The people of Boghdan were regarded as *kharādj-güzār raʿiyyet* of the Sultan, who was obliged to defend them against their enemies and to depose *voyvodes* who oppressed them. The *boyars* never formed a hereditary nobility. In the 9th/15th century they were no more than a class of wealthy peasants. The Porte was able to strengthen its control of the country by playing off the *boyars* against the *voyvode* and *vice versa*. In the 12/17th century the *boyars* became great landowners and the peasants were reduced to serfdom; but the Phanariot *voyvodes* tried to break the power of the *boyars*, and in 1153/1740 Constantine Mavrokordato abolished serfdom and freed the peasants from their control. From then on the *boyars* looked for support more and more to the Christian powers, especially Russia. By the *Regulamentul Organic* which was drawn up in 1247/1831 during the Russian occupation, the council of *boyars* was given the right to elect the *voyvode*.

In the course of time the Ottoman state had absorbed various parts of the principality into the *dār al-Islām*. Süleymān I's campaign of 945/1538 represents a turning point in many respects: the *voyvode* was brought into closer dependence on the Porte, and the district of Budjāḳ [*q.v.*] was annexed to ensure the security of the port of Aḳ-Kirmān. In 1030/1621 ʿOthmān II rescued Khotīn from the Poles to give to Boghdān, but annexed to the Ottoman dominions the area north of Ismail. In order to recover Budjāḳ, Dimitri Kantemir in 1123/1711 secretly recognised the protection of the Czar. After the treaty of the Pruth, the Porte placed Khotīn and the surrounding district as far as the Pruth under an Ottoman Pasha. In 1189/1775 Austria seized the north-western part of the country (Bukovina), and in 1227/1812 Russia annexed Bessarabia. After the Treaty of Küčük Kaynardja (1188/1774) Russia posed as the protectress of Moldavia, and eventually after the Treaty of Aḳ-Kirmān (5 Rabīʿ I 1242/7 Oct. 1826) Ottoman suzerainty over the principality became nominal and Russia was recognised as the Protecting Power. In 1276/1859 the twin principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (*Mamlakatayn*) were united, though the Sultan did not recognise the union until two years later (28 Djumāda I 1278/2 Dec. 1861).

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BŌGRĀ, town and head-quarters of the district of the same name in East Pakistan, situated in 24° 51′ N. and 89° 23′ E. on the west bank of the Karātōyā. Population, (1951) was 12,80,581 for the district and 25,303 for the town. The town is pre-

dominantly Muslim; even before the partition of the sub-continent in 1947 it had the largest number of Muslims in the whole of Bengal. They are mostly converts from the Kōč or Rādjbansīs of the northern areas although there are some Pathāns and Sayyids also. The district and the town are both liable to cyclones and floods, sometimes of a terrible nature. In 1281/1864 many houses and trees were levelled to the ground by the cyclone which swept over the district. In 1304/1886 the town was inundated when 18″ of rain fell within a short span of 1½ hours. Earthquakes of great intensity have also frequently occurred. The severe earthquakes of 1885, 1888 and 1897 did considerable damage to both life and property. Many of the brick buildings in the town were destroyed in the earthquake of 1897.

The district seems to have been converted *en masse* to Islam in the 7th/13th century as most of the villages still bear Hindu names but have no Hindu inhabitants. In 1005/1596 when the district was re-conquered by Rādjā Mān Singh, the Mughal viceroy, he built a mud fort at Shīrpūr and named it Salīmnagar after Djahāngīr. A fort was also built at Mahāst'hān, now desolate. Shīrpūr, to the south of Bōgrā, was founded by Shīr Khān, the Afghān ruler of Bengal (c. 666-70/1268-72). These two places abound in archaeological remains while in the town itself the "Bogra Palace", the seat of the Čawdharī family, is the only place of some antiquity and interest.

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BOHORĀS (Bohrās, Buhrah), a Muslim community in Western India (mainly of Hindu descent, with some admixture of Yemenite Arab blood), for the most part Shīʿīs of the Ismāʿīlī sect, and belonging to that branch of the Shīʿa which upholds the claims of al-Mustaʿlī (487-495/1094-1101) to succeed his father al-Mustanṣir in the Fāṭimid Caliphate of Egypt. (For the history of the Fāṭimids, see the articles Fāṭimids and Ismāʿīlīs). Mustaʿlī opposed his brother Nizār, whose adherents (the so-called Assassins) are represented in India by the Khōdjas [*q.v.*]. The name *bohorā* denotes a "trader, merchant" (from the Gudjarātī *vohōrvū*, "to trade") and records the occupation of the earliest converts to Islam. This is clearly mentioned in an Arabic work, *al-Tardjama al-Ẓāhira* ... (see below, and cf. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, *Ismaili Law of Wills*, Oxford 1953, 3, footnote 2). The appellation however is not confined to Muslims, and in the Census Report of 1901, 6,652 Hindus and 25 Djayns returned themselves as Bohorās. The exact figures are a matter of some doubt, as Hindu Bohorās, Sunnī Bohorās (of Gudjarāt and particularly, of Rāndēr) and Djayn Bohorās are occasionally confused with Ismāʿīlī Bohorās. The number of Muslim Bohorās was given in 1901 as 146,255, of whom 118,307 resided in the Bombay Presidency. Under the communities the following figures are given:

Bohorā (British Districts)	1911	1921	1931
	92,081	108,150	110,124

In the Census Reports of 1941 and 1951, the distribution of the communities is not given, with the result that it is now impossible to give accurately the figures for India. An approximate figure allowing for the natural increase in population would be 150,000 in India, and 200,000 for the world, including the trading communities of Ceylon and East Africa.

The Bohorās fall broadly in two main groups, the larger of which, belonging to the mercantile class, is Shīʿī; the other, composed mainly of peasants and cultivators, is Sunnī. Some of the Sunnī Bohorās of Rāndēr (Gudjarāt) traded in Burma and made large fortunes. Certain families of Ismāʿīlī Bohorās claim to be descended from refugees from Arabia and Egypt. It is difficult to substantiate this claim; but intermarriage, particularly with Yemenite Arabs of the Mustaʿlian branch, has taken place in a number of well-known cases. Recently among the Sulaymānīs, intermarriage has taken place with Sunnīs, Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿīs, Hindus and even with Europeans; but the large majority of the Bohorās do not marry outside their communities.

The majority of Bohorās are undoubtedly of Hindu origin, their ancestors having been converted by Ismāʿīlī missionaries. The first of these is commonly stated to have been sent from Yemen by the Imām of the Mustaʿlian sect and to have been called ʿAbd Allāh. It is related that he landed in Cambay (Western India) in 400/1067 and actively engaged in propaganda. This story is given in varying forms, one of which is preserved in an Arabic booklet entitled *al-Tardjama al-Ẓāhira li-Firḳat Borhat al-Bāhira*. A copy exists in the library of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It has been translated into English by K. M. Jhaveri, *A Legendary History of the Bohoras*. *Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, 1933, New Series, Vol. 9, 37-52. The text has been edited by H. M. Fakhr (Ṭālib), in the *Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, 1940, N.S., Vol. 16, 88. Other accounts give Muḥammad ʿAlī, whose tomb is still revered in Cambay, as the name of the first Mustaʿlian missionary in India (died, 532/1137). The Čālukya dynasty of Aṇahilāvāḍa was then ruling over Gudjarāt and the Ismāʿīlī missionaries seem to have been allowed by the Hindu government to carry on their propaganda without interruption and with considerable success. In 1297 the Hindu Kingdom came to an end and for a century Gudjarāt remained more or less in subjection to Dihlī. However, under the independent Kings of Gudjārat (1396-1572), who favoured the spread of the Sunnī doctrine, the Bohorās were on several occasions exposed to severe persecution.

Up to 946/1539, the head of the sect resided in the Yemen, and the Bohorās made pilgrimages to him, paid tithes and referred their disputes for decision and settlement. In 946, however, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān migrated from the Yemen to India and settled in Sidhpūr (Bombay State). About fifty years later, a schism occurred after the death of the *dāʿī* Dāʾūd b. ʿAdjab Shāh in 996/1588. The Bohorās of Gudjarāt, in fact the large majority of the community, chose one Dāʾūd b. Ḳuṭb Shāh as his successor, and sent the tidings of his appointment (Ar. *naṣṣ*) to their co-religionists in the Yemen; but the latter, including a small proportion of the community in India, supported the claims of a certain Sulaymān, who claimed to be the rightful successor in virtue of a

formal mandate from Dā'ūd b. ʿAdjab Shāh. This document is still in the possession of the Sulaymānī *daʿwat* (the communal administration is called *daʿwat*; the *t* is pronounced by the community), but its authenticity has never been subjected to a scientific, critical or legal examination. Sulaymān died in Aḥmadābād, where his tomb and that of his rival, Dā'ūd b. Ḳuṭb Shāh are still reverenced by their respective followers. Those who recognise the claims of Sulaymān are called Sulaymānīs and their *dāʿī* is in the Yemen. His chief agent in India is called the *manṣūb*, and the seat of the Sulaymānī *daʿwat* is in Baroda, where there is a good library of Ismāʿīlī MSS. Another difference is that the Dā'ūdīs use a form of Gudjarātī language which is full of Arabic words and phrases, write in the Arabic script for all official purposes and deliver their sermons in this language, whereas the Sulaymānīs use Urdu for the same purposes.

The head of the Dā'ūdī Bohorās resides generally in Bombay, but his headquarters are in Sūrat and are known as the *Ḍeoṛhī*. In both places there are good collections of Ismāʿīlī MSS. There is at Surat an Arabic *madrasa* known as the *dars-i sayfī*, named after the present *dāʿī*, Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn. The *dāʿī al-muṭlaḳ*, to give him his official designation, is commonly known as the *Mullādjī Ṣāḥib* or *Sayyidnā Ṣāḥib*, and is greatly revered by his followers. In his presence a large number of the sectarians perform a form of obeisance, the *taḳbīl al-arḍ*, which has apparently come down from Fāṭimid times and differs but little from the traditional *sadjda*.

As regards marriage and death ceremonies, and ritual prayers, the Bohorā community is in general well-served by local officiants, called *ʿāmils*, who are appointed by the Mullādjī Ṣāḥib and are the servants of the *daʿwat*. They perform duties similar to those of the *ḳāḍīs* of the Sunnīs, but in addition refer disputes to the Mullādjī Ṣāḥib and have a much greater hold over their "parishioners". A feature of the Bohorā community both in India and elsewhere is that they form themselves into guilds, have little to do with others, and do not intermarry even with other Muslims, much less with adherents of other religions, and take little part in public affairs. In general, they restrict themselves to trade; but in some parts of India, Ceylon and East Africa, and particularly amongst the Sulaymānīs, certain families have entered public life and taken to Government service.

Two insignificant secessions from the Dā'ūdīs may be mentioned: (i) The ʿAliyya Bohorās, who in 1624 supported the claims of ʿAlī, the grandson of Shaykh Ādam, the head Mullā, in opposition to Shaykh Ṭayyib, whom Shaykh Ādam had nominated as his successor, and (ii) the Nāgōshias, who broke away from the ʿAliyya sect about the year 1789; their name indicates that they consider the eating of flesh as sinful. The Djaʿfarī Bohorās are mainly descended from the Dā'ūdī Bohorās who became Sunnīs in the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh (810-813/1407-1411) and succeeding Kings of Gudjarāt, but they have received accession to their numbers from Hindu converts. They derive their name from a saint named Sayyid Aḥmad Djaʿfar Shīrāzī (15th Century), whose descendants they reverence as their spiritual guides.

The Bohorās keep their religious books secret, but recently some of their works on law (such as *Daʿā'im al-Islām*), history (such as *Sīrat Sayyidinā al-Mu'ayyad*) and philosophy (such as *Rāḥat al-ʿAḳl* and *al-Risāla al-Djāmiʿa*) have been printed. Further details will be found in the bibliography by W. Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London 1933, of which a second edition is contemplated. For their religion and doctrines see Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamārē Ismāʿīlī Madhhab awr uskī Ḥaḳīḳat* (Urdu), Ḥaydarābād, Deccan, 1954/1373. In this work a full exposition of the *ḥaḳā'iḳ* (the Ismāʿīlī term for their secret philosophical doctrines) has been given by a learned Bohorā. Recently A. A. A. Fyzee has given his collection of Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlī MSS. numbering 160 to the Library of Bombay University.

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History of the *daʿwat*: No exhaustive history of the Bohorās has been written so far on scientific lines. See however an Arabic work still unpublished, *Muntazaʿ al-Akhbār* (2 vols., see W. Ivanow, *Guide*, no. 335), on which is based the Gudjarātī work lithographed in the Arabic script, *Mawsim Bahār fī Akhbār al-Duʿāt al-Akhyār*, 3 vols., by (Miyān Ṣāḥib) Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Djīwābhā'ī, Bombay, n.d.

The literature of the *daʿwat* is still mostly unpublished, but has been described by W. Ivanow, *op. cit.* (with addenda by Paul Kraus in *RÉI*, 1932, 483-90). For further bibliographical material see A. A. A. Fyzee, *Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography*, 1920-1934, *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1935, 59-65, and *ibid.*, 1940, 99-101. Several important texts have recently been edited and published by Dr. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn (Cairo).

Law: al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿā'im al-Islām*, vol. i, ed. A. A. A. Fyzee, Cairo 1951. The second volume is in the press. (A. A. A. Fyzee)

BOHTĀN [see kurds]

BOLOR DAGH [see pamir]

BOLU (Boli, near anc. Bithynium, later Claudiopolis) 40° 15′ N 31° 30′ E. The capital of a forested NW Anatolian *wilāyet*, elevation 710 m., area 11,140 sq. km., lying between the Saḳārya river bend and the Black Sea. In 1955 the population was 11,884 (town) and 318,612 (province). Bolu lies in a plain on the Bolu Suyu and is subject to severe earthquakes, notably that of May 26, 1957. It is on the highway 263 km. from Istanbul and 208 from Ankara. It boasts 32 mosques, a bath dated 791/1388-9, a women's teachers college, forestry school, other fine primary and secondary schools, a hospital, and new "briquette" and lumber factories. Bolu is the home of Köroghlu, ʿĀshiḳ Derdli and good cooks. Lake Abant lies 37 km. SW. Atatürk visited Bolu from 17-19/vii/'34 and Inönü from 5-7/viii/'39. Its *ḳaḍā*'s are Aḳchaḳodja, Bolu, Düzdje, Gerede, Göynüḳ, Kıbrısdjıḳ, Mengen (where lignite has been exploited since 1956) Mudurnu, Seben and Yıghıldja. Bolu fell to the Ottomans circa 726/1325, to the

Isfendiyāroghulları from 805-27/1402-23, was retaken, governed by Prince Süleymān (914-15/1509) and served as base of the abortive *Khilāfet ordusu* in April 1920/1338 (*Tarih*, iv, 67, 304; *Nutuk*, 11). Bolu was a *sandjak* of the *eyālet* of Anadolu till 1103/1692, a *muḥaṣṣıllıḳ* till 1226/1811, an independent *sandjak* till 1231/1864, attached to Ḳasṭamōnū till 1327/1909, then a large, independant *liwā'* until it became a *wilāyet* in 1341/1923.

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(H. A. Reed)

BÖLÜK (from the verb *bölmek*), meaning a part, a section, or a category, was used in Eastern Turkish and in Persian to designate a province or a region. In Anatolian Turkish, from the time of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] onwards, it designated units of infantry or cavalry under the command of a *yüzbashı̊* (captain). In the old Ottoman military organisation, the term *bölük* was used in the *ḳapı̊-ḳulu* [*q.v.*] *odjaḳ*s [*q.v.*], as well as in provincial troops and the military retinues of senior officials. The size of the *bölük* varied. In Janissary *odjaḳ*s, for example, which numbered 1,000 men, there were 10 *bölük*s of 100 men each. The commander of the *bölük* was known as *yayabashı̊* (chief infantryman). The Gelibolu (Galipoli) *odjaḳ* of *ʿadjamī-oghlan*s [*q.v.*], which numbered at first 400 men, consisted of 8 *bölük*s of 50 men each. These *bölük*s were commanded by an officer known as *čorbadjı̊*. Janissary *odjaḳ*s were later enlarged to include 101 *bölük*s, known also as *djemāʿat* and *orta*. Each *bölük* had a different name and function. Thus *bölük*s 1-3 were known as *djemāʿat-i shuturbān* (*djemāʿat* of camel drivers), the 28th *bölük* was the *bölük* of *imām-i ḥaḍret āghā*, *bölük*s 60-63 were known as *solaḳ-ortası̊* (the *orta* of Solaḳ guards). The *Segbān*s (Keepers of the Sultan's Hounds), who constituted an independent *odjaḳ* until 1451, were assigned on that date by Sulṭān Meḥemmed II to the *odjaḳ* of Janissaries as the 65th *orta*. They retained, however, an autonomous organisation consisting of 34 *bölük*s. Each *bölük* had a different size, name and functions. As a result of the mutiny organised by the *agha* (commander) of the Janissaries under Bāyezīd II or Selīm I, an *agha* was appointed by the Palace and put in charge of a separate organisation consisting of 61 «*bölük*s of the *agha*», in the hope that he would maintain a balance of forces in the *odjaḳ*. It was these that were usually meant when the term *bölük* was used. Otherwise if a *bölük* in the *odjaḳ*s of armourers, artillerymen, artillery drivers etc. was meant, its name and the name of the *odjaḳ* were usually given. There were 6 *bölük*s in the mounted *odjaḳ* of *ḳapı̊-ḳulus*. Their members were known as "the people of the *bölük*» or «the people of the six *bölük*s". Excluding the *sipahī*s and *silāḥdār*s, they were known as *bölükāt-i erbaʿa* (four *bölük*s). The seven Ottoman *odjaḳ*s in Egypt were called *bölükāt-i sebʿa* (seven *bölük*s). The officers of these various *bölük*s enjoyed different rates of pay and were subject to different rules of promotion. As in the case of *odjaḳ*s, the importance of *bölük*s in the eyes of the Government varied from time to time. For detailed information on *odjaḳ*s and *bölük*s see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapı Kulu Ocakları*, i, 1943, and Gibb and Bowen, i, index. (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı)

BÖLÜK-BASHI̊, the title given to the headmen of various groups of functionaries in the administrative organisation of the Ottoman State. In the old Ottoman military organisation the commanders of the *bölük*s [*q.v.*] in the *odjaḳ* [*q.v.*] of the Janissaries were generally known as *yayabashı̊* or *ser-piyāde* (chief infantryman), while the commanders of the *bölük*s in the *odjaḳ* of the *ʿadjamī oghlan*s [*q.v.*] were called *čorbadjı̊*. It was only the commanders of the "*bölük*s of the *agha*" (see bölük) who were called *Bölük-bashı̊*, the most senior being known as *Bash-bölük-bashı̊*. The *Bölük-bashı̊*s were mounted and had an iron mace and a shield tied to their saddles. When the Sultan left the palace to go to a mosque, the *Bölük-bashı̊* was present wearing ornate clothes and holding in his hand a reed instead of a spear. Under Suleyman the Magnificent there were 58 *bölük-bashı̊*s of "*bölük*s of the *agha*"; their daily pay was 9 aspers. Their numbers and pay were later increased. The *Bash-bölük-bashı̊* was appointed on promotion junior *agha* of the *odjaḳ* known as that of *ḳatar-aghaları̊* (*āghā*s of trains or caravans). *Bölük-bashı̊*s of the *bölük*s of the *agha*, when invested with a *tīmār*, were numbered among the wardens of fortresses and received a life grant of 8,000 to 15,000 (aspers). Apart from the *odjaḳ* of the Janissaries, the mounted *ḳapı̊-ḳulus* [*q.v.*] had their *bölük-bashı̊*s commanding separate *bölük*s, as had the *segbān*s (keepers of the Sultan's hounds), *levend*s (irregulars) and *tüfengči*s (fusiliers). For more details see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapı Kulu Ocakları*, i, 1943, and Gibb and Bowen, i, index. (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı)

BOLWADIN (Bolvadin, sometimes Karamuk, anc. Polybotum) 38° 44′ N, 31° 03′ E. A municipality and *ḳaḍā'* in the *wilāyet* of Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*], with its own and Isḥāḳlı *nāḥiye* (its former *nāḥiye* of Çay, with 20 villages, became a *ḳaḍā'* on April 1, 1958/1377), consisting of 26 villages. The population in 1375/1955 was 12,604 (town), 61,280 (district); elevation 900 m., area 2,420 sq. km. Bolvadin lies 45 km. E of Afyūn, 8 N of Çay railway station, N of the Sazlı and Eber lakes and a fertile plain watered by the Aḳar Çay, on the old Baghdād road and the modern Eskishehir-Ḳonya highway. Bolvadin was under the Ashraf-oghulları [*q.v.*] circa 702-26/1302-25, taken by Murād I, regained by the Germiyān-oghulları after 805/1402, retaken by Murād II in 832/1428-9, rebuilt, partly by Sinān (mosque, bath and fountain of Rustem Pasha, cf. Uzunçarşili, ... *Kitabeler*, ii),

under Süleymān I, and fell briefly to the rebel Uzun Khalīl in 1014/1605. It was a key military HQ before the great nationalist counter-offensive against the Greeks in August 1922.

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(H. A. Reed)

BOMBAY CITY, capital of Bombay State, one of the chief sea ports of India and an emporium of trade and manufacturing industries. Its area is 111 sq. miles, and the population of the city in the census of 1951 was 2,839,270. Of these, 281,975 had Urdu as their mother tongue, 6,527 Persian, 6,376 Pashto, 2,536 Arabic, figures which indicate the number of Muslims in the city. The figures include representatives of different races that have embraced Islam: Arabs, Persians, Turks, Afghāns and others. Among the important classes of traders, Memons, Bohorās & Khōdjas [*qq.v.*] constitute an appreciable number. Their enterprise in trade & commerce is well-known and they are prominent in trade relations with East Africa, the Persian Gulf, Malaya, Singapore and other places.

The history of the city is interesting, the present emporia having grown out of seven detached islands with mud swamps in between. There were Muslim rulers before the advent of the Portuguese, and a prominent relic is the tomb of Shaykh ʿAlī Pārū, built about 835/1431-2 and repaired in 1674 A.D.. An annual fair is held here and it attracts a large number of visitors. There is a Djāmiʿ Masdjid also dating from 1902.

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(A. A. A. Fyzee)

BOMBAY STATE, one of the States of the Indian Union, covering the territories of Cutč, Saurāshtra, Gudjarāt, Mahārāshtra, Marāthwāḍā and Vidarbh. The present limits of the State territory were decided upon in consequence of the reorganisation of the States of the Indian Union that took place in 1956. The composition of the State differs from that of the other States of the Union inasmuch as it comprises areas having two different languages, namely Marāthi & Gudjarātī. The total area of the State is 190,872 sq. miles and the total population is 48,264,622. The figures of population are based on the census of 1951. The whole of this State was at one time under Muslim rule, and even now, in many of the important centres, population statistics reveal the existence of a substantial proportion of Muslims. The Muslims constitute the second most important religions group in the State, though their numbers have gone down in recent years due to the emigration of some Muslims from the State to Pakistan after partition. In 1951, at the last census, 5.33% of the population of the State had Urdu as their mother tongue. The major centres of Muslim population apart from the city of Bombay are the districts of Aḥmadābād, East Khandesh and Sorath. The majority of the Muslims are Sunnīs.

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(A. A. A. Fyzee)

BŌNE [see al-ʿannāba]

BONNEVAL [see aḥmed pasha bonneval]

BÖRK [see libās]

BÖRKLÜDJE, MUṢṬAFĀ [see badr al-dīn b. kāḍī samawnā],

BORKOU, the name by which the inhabitants designate the chain of palm groves along the southern edge of the lowland region between the massifs of Tibesti and Ennedi which extends via the Baḥr al-Ghazāl to Lake Chad. To this traditional Borkou the French have added on the one hand the pastoral areas of Bodélé-Djourab-Koro-Toro, and the north of Mortcha, whose economy is complementary to that of the oases and on the other hand the S.E. of Tibesti with the Emi Koussi (11,200 ft), considered to be the bastion of Borkou. The district forms a trapeze of which the great base in the south measures about 500 km. along the 16th parallel between the meridians of 15° and 21° E, and of which the summit coincides with the Libyan frontier between the meridians of 19° and 20° 20′. Its area is 230,000 sq.km.

Save for Tibesti the relief is gentle. From the foot of the Emi Koussi a sandstone plateau slopes down from 2,300 to 650 ft towards the S. and SW., where it merges into the vast sandy depression of the Djourab and Bodélé. At the 18th parallel a chain of basins strung along a line from the NW. to the SE., from N'Galakka to Largeau cuts the plateau into two. To the north of this depression the surface is intersected by the *wādīs* which, radiating from the summit of the Emi Koussi, branch out and carve the plateau onto strips of broken ground encroached on by 'barkhanes' or crescent-shaped dunes. In the south the plateau remains unbroken and slopes gently. Three series of basins, from the SW. to the NE., eat into or border this slope. Beginning with the south, these are the depression of Bodélé and that of Djourab where long ridges encroached on by the 'barkhanes' alternate with wide shallow basins; then the central depression, a chain of palm trees cut across by 'barkhanes' and 'nebkas' (little triangular dunes); and lastly the sunken zone of Ounianga and its lakes which lead up by Gouro towards the eastern flank of the Emi Koussi.

The climate is that of the desert with contrasts of temperature between the hottest months of April

to September and the coldest months whose coolness is increased by the NE. winds then blowing continually and frequently heavy with sand. The index of aridity compares with that of Tanezrouft, but the country differs from the central Sahara in that it does not have long series of dry years; the rains, even if the fall is slight, come each year at least from May to September. This regularity is not in itself enough to explain the existence of profuse vegetation which round the springs takes on an almost tropical aspect. Water in fact is abundant: salt lakes at the foot of the Emi Koussi, pure or natronated springs of the central depression, layers of water saturating the sands of the valleys or appearing on the surface on the southern basins, the lakes of Ounianga. These waters apparently have their origin in the spates of the *wādīs* of the Emi Koussi, which soak between the volcanic outcrops and percolate through the sandstone to reappear in the depressions.

The character of the steppe changes from north to south. The 'had' which preponderates in the north and which supports a few species of grassy plants gives way about the 17th parallel to the 'cram-cram' (*cenchrus biflorus*). Then Sahilian species appear, forerunners of the savannah; the domain of the ariels and ostriches begins. Islets of woodland in the northern valleys and especially in the central depression—doum palms and particularly handsome acacias—seem to bear witness to at one time more extensive and denser woodlands.

Oases and pasture have attracted the populations of the neighbouring mountains since the 10th century. The nomad tribes of eastern and central Tibesti (the two branches of the Tūbū people: Teda and Dazā) occupied the oases of Gouro then the central oases (Woun), pushing back the Donza who seem to have been the aboriginal inhabitants, towards the palm groves to the south of the Emi Koussi, their present habitat. The nomads belonging to the lowest caste clans have become sedentary, sometimes partially, being enabled by the 'had' and supplies of natronated water close by to keep their camels. The others have drifted to the southern steppes which are richer in pasture. Some tribes have reached as far as the Chad lowlands where they have changed from camel to cattle rearing.

Other populations, coming down from Ennedi and Wadai, have mixed with the Tūbū. The Anakkaza, who constitute the most important group in Borkou, were formed in this way, whereas the Gaeda seem to be descended from the Tundjur of Kanem. Borkou has thus been a melting-pot in which, however, Tūbū influence has predominated. The Dazā language is spoken by most of these populations, their customs are those of the Tūbū, and the Tūbū physical type—non-negroid black—is the commonest. One can understand that the Arabs should have lumped the whole of the Borkouans together under the single name of Ḳuraʿān. According to official statistics the Borkouans now number about 20,000.

The nomads live by stock rearing supplemented by the resources of the oases, whether they still enjoy over these suzerain rights acquired in the past, or whether the gardens are cultivated for them by the sedentary Kamadjas, whose origin, though certainly servile, is ill-known. The Kamadjas, who had become share-croppers of the nomads, have gradually freed themselves from their tribute-obligation with the support of the French administration. The palm groves contain at present about 1,000,000 productive trees of which 90 per cent are in the central depression. They produce 30,000 quintals of dates per annum. The irrigation channels in the gardens are fed by balance-arm wells and produce on the average 120 tons of wheat and 200 tons of millet per annum; vegetables (onions, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, and pimentos) are also grown. Salt-pans from which salt is obtained by evaporation are numerous in the northern valleys, and their product, joined with that of Ennedi, represented (in 1950) half the Saharan production. The nomads of the southern steppe bring meat, butter, and tanned skins to the oases to exchange for their products. Sedentary and nomadic populations alike obtain their tools and arms from the despised smith caste. These smiths, known in the the Tūbū domain as Azzas, deprived of local supplies of ore which are now exhausted, use as their raw material scrap iron or raw iron plates bought in Bornu.

These exchanges suffice for local needs. 1,200 miles from the Mediterranean coast by the economically unimportant Kufra track, detached from the trade routes joining the Sudan with the Mediterranean (which avoid Tibesti and its brigands), detached from the tracks leading to the Nile lands passing to the south of Wadai, Borkou has always lived turned in on it self. For this reason archaic modes of life have survived in these oases until the present day and paganism had not retreated before Islam, in the 19th century. This isolation has of late years been twice violently broken. For half a century after 1842 the country was ravaged by the waves of the Awlād Sulaymān who swept down from the Fezzan in flight from the Turks. Then, about 1900, the Sanūsiyya, falling back from Kanem and Manga, settled themselves firmly at the two ends of the central depression, at N'Galakka and at Woun (*alias* Faya, later Largeau). They made their *zāwiyas*, especially that at Gouro, agricultural centres as well as intellectual and religious centres from which Islam was propagated. But they indulged in raids which, by forcing the nomads to choose between the palm groves occupied by the Sanūsiyya and the pasture lands to the south controlled by France since her occupation of Wadai and Baḥr al-Ghazāl, disorganized and so ruined economic life. The Sanūsiyya had the backing of the Turks, who placed garrisons in the country in 1911, but the Italo-Turkish conflict brought about the withdrawal of these garrisons in 1912, and in 1913 France occupied the whole of Borkou.

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BORNEO, the corrupted form of Brunai (which is a town in British North Borneo at about Lat. 5° N. and Long. 115° E.) applied to the largest of the greater Sunda Islands in Indonesia, probably as early as the 14th century, and in any case by the Portuguese since the 16th century. The greater part of the island is now called Kalimantan and constitutes a province of the Indonesian Republic. From the view-point of Muslim studies the importance of the island is small, as practically the whole population of the interior of Borneo is pagan. Islam and Christi-

anity penetrated in the coast areas whence they have been slowly spreading into the interior; since 1942 political conditions favour the propaganda of Islam rather than the spreading of Christian denominations. The character of the local Islam is not different from what we find elsewhere in Indonesia [*q.v.*]. The only important centre of Muslim activity is Pontianak [*q.v.*] on the West Coast. (C. C. Berg)

BORNŪ, or Barnū, the name—of doubtful etymology the root of which reappears in Beriberi (= Baribari) as their neighbours call the Kanuri—given to a region in the hinterland of West Africa and used:

(a) loosely, of an area never precisely defined in geographical terms, were there was established one of the major states of that part of the Western Sudan,—see para. 6 below,—and

(b) of a province;—area, according to 1931 census, 45,900 square miles—lying between latitudes 10° and 13.5° N. and longitudes 10° and 14° E., in Northern Nigeria, containing that part of (a) west of the Anglo-German and south of the Anglo-French original international boundaries, plus an adjacent narrow strip on the eastern frontier of the former German Kameruns mandated to Great Britain after the war of 1914-18; including the Shaykhdoms of Bornu and Dikwa, together with some other administrative units.

2. Geography. Bornū consists in the main of a vast sandy plain, drained by two rivers,—the Yobe running from west to east in the north and the Yedseram from south to north in the south,—into the marshy shores of Lake Chad which lies in its north-eastern corner. The only mountainous features occur in the extreme south and south-east of the Province. In earlier times the Shari River which also flows from south to north into Lake Chad was regarded as the eastern border of Bornu, dividing it from Bagirmi [*q.v.*] country. The early medieval geographers and historians were cognisant of the region under this name, which appears on the Catalan atlas of Charles V (1375 A.D.), and is mentioned by al-ʿUmarī (d. 1348 A.D.), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406 A.D.), al-Maḳrīzī (d. 1442 A.D.) and others. It was visited and described (Book VII)by Leo Africanus (d. circa 1552).

3. Transport and Trade. The main modern motor road (Kano-Maidugari-Fort Lamy) runs from west to east across the region, with feeders from north and south, as did the former caravan route (Kano-Kukawa-Bilma). There is a permanent aerodrome at Maidugari and emergency landing grounds elsewhere. Of old slaves and ivory were the main exports, now groundnuts, hides, gum, cotton and numerous minor items have replaced these. Imports consist of manufactured articles, especially cotton goods. There is a considerable internal trade in dried fish from the Lake Chad area, salt and kola nuts.

4. Economy. The region is not industrialised and contains no cities. It is self contained so far as the necessities of life are concerned, and its population is mainly agricultural. In the 1952 census, of 790,361 males, 376,561 are shown as engaged in agriculture and fishing. Its capital wealth consists in numerous herds of cattle, sheep and goats, together with the fisheries of Lake Chad.

5. Ethnography. (a) The population of the region described in para. 1 (b) above comprises the Kanuri, Fulānī, Hausa [*qq.v.*], Shuwa Arabs and some other tribes. At the census of 1952, the salient figures for the Bornu Province of Nigeria were—Kanuri 752,683; Fulānī 168,944; Hausa 84,729; Shuwa Arab 98,909; Bura 89,826. Total—including other less numerous mostly pagan tribes situated mainly in the hilly south and south east of the Province,—1,595,708. The comparable total in the 1931 census was 1,118,360.

(b) Languages. Kanuri [*q.v.*] is the major language of the region, but of importance also are the colloquial Arabic spoken by the Shuwa Arabs, and Fuffulde spoken by the Fulānī [*q.v.*]. Hausa is little spoken except by the trading elements in the towns. The pagan tribes have their own tongues. English is also used by those who have been educated in the more advanced schools.

6. History. The early history of Bornū is linked with that of the Kanem Empire. In 666 A.D., ʿUḳba b. Nafiʿ penetrated the east central Saharan desert as far as Tibesti in the Tebu country to the north of Lake Chad, the inhabitants of which, according to legend, were the So, a giant race originating from the Fezzan. According to tradition the first king of Kanem in this area was one Sayf, claiming descent from Sayf b. Dhī Yazan of the Banī Ḥimyar. This tradition may be post-Islamic and fabricated. The ruling class of old in this area was called the Maghumi, a word the root of which appears in the Kanuri words Mai (ruler) and Maghira, the title of the Bornu Queen Mother, an office which carried and still carries considerable power. There is strong traditional and some written evidence that this ruling class was 'white-skinned', and a reasonable supposition is that it was originally matrilinear and probably of origins connected with the Tawāriḳ, (plur. from sing. Tarḳi, vulg. Tuareg). The Saifawa were a nomadic people who absorbed or conquered the Tebu peoples to their north, and founded the Empire of Kanem, with capital at Njimi. Their rulers are said to have given 'the Sultan of the Beriberi' permission to settle, and tradition speaks of an invasion by Muslim Beriberi from Yaman via Fezzan and Kuwar in 800 A.D. The Empire of Kanem had received Islam by the 11th century if not earlier, and by the 13th century was powerful enough for its influence to reach as far as Egypt in the north east and Dikwa in the south. Ibn Khaldūn speaks of the 'King of Kanem and the Master of Bornū', the last word apparently describing the southern part of the Kanem empire from Lake Chad to Dikwa. But, circa 1389 A.D., the Sayf dynasty was driven out of Kanem by a kindred tribe, and the consequent tribal movements resulted in the advance of the Kanuri nation to the west of Lake Chad, and finally to their founding, circa 1470 A.D., on the River Yo, of Birni N'gazargamu as the capital of Bornū and of the Kanuri nation. It remained their capital for three centuries, though, circa 1507 A.D., Njimi itself was recaptured by the Kanuri, and old Kanem became a province of the new Bornū Empire. In the 16th century and under a succession of able 'Mai's or rulers (Muḥammad 1526-45, Dunama 1546-63, ʿAbdallah—in whose reign Fulānī settlers in Bornū are first mentioned—1564-70) the Bornū Empire expanded greatly, and this process was no doubt helped by the conquest, in 1592 A.D., by Morocco of Bornū's rival in the western Sahara, the empire of Songhay. Of these rulers the greatest was probably Mai Idrīs Atuma, (ob. 1602), who successfully campaigned as far afield as Kano, and also subdued the tribes of Air [*q.v.*] and the Tebu. Mai Idris made the pilgrimage to Mecca and was buried in Alo Lake near Maidugari. This peak was followed by two centuries of quiescence (Mai Ali, 1645-84 A.D., made the pilgrimage thrice), during part of which

at least the Bornū Empire seems to have been on the defensive, for ʿAlī was beseiged unsuccessfully in his own capital by the Tawāriḳ and the Kwararafa. Contributing causes may have been a series of severe famines,—one is recorded of seven years' duration,—and the general dislocation which followed the Moorish conquest of Songhay. The Fulānī *d̲j̲ihād* further to the west at the beginning of the 19th century soon had repercussions affecting Bornū, the suzerainty of which over the Hausa states lying between Bornū and Sokoto was challenged. In 1808 the Fulānī in Bornū assembled at Gujba, defeated Mai Aḥmad b. ʿAlī and sacked his capital at N'gazargamu. (One of the successful Fulānī leaders in this campaign later founded the town and amirate of Katagum with the title of Sarkin Bornū). Mai Aḥmad fled to Kanem where he invoked the aid of a leading chief there, Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kanemi, a man who had travelled extensively in the Muslim world and had a wide reputation for learning and piety. He reinstated Mai Aḥmad and expelled the Fulānī, who, however, on Mai Aḥmad's death soon after, returned to defeat his successor, Dunama b. Aḥmad. The last named in turn sought the aid of al Kanemi, and at this point the modern history of Bornū may be said to begin. Al-Kanemi, victorious again over the Fulānī and Bag̲h̲irmi, restored the old Sayf ruling house as titular kings and established himself at Kukawa, where he was visited by Denham in 1822, as the power behind the throne. His further attempts, circa 1826, to re-establish the empire of Bornū over the Hausa states were less successful, and, after being defeated, he died in 1835, and was succeeded by his eldest son ʿUmar who made peace with the Fulānī. During the absence of ʿUmar on these negotiations, the Sayf royal house called in the ruler of Wadai to help them expel the house of al-Kanemi. This plot failed. The then Mai, Ibrāhīm, was executed in 1846, and the last of the Sayf dynasty, his son ʿAlī, was killed in battle. ʿUmar now became *de jure* as well as *de facto* ruler of Bornū, adopting the title Shehu (= S̲h̲ayk̲h̲) instead of Mai, thus inaugurating the Kanembu dynasty. He rebuilt Kukawa which had been destroyed by the men of Wadai, and was visited here by Dr. Barth in 1851 and 1855. War with Wadai was almost continuous, seriously weakening the strength of Bornū, and the outlying western territory of Zinder became virtually independent. In 1893, Rabeh [*q.v.*] entered Bornū from Wadai with a well armed and trained force of some two thousand men, which was altogether too strong for any forces with their antiquated weapons which could take the field against him. He defeated a general of the then Shehu, Hās̲h̲im, at Amja, next Hās̲h̲im himself near Ngala. He then took and plundered Kukawa, after which he returned to Dikwa where he made his headquarters, and built the fort which can still be seen. A cousin, Muḥammad al-Amīn nicknamed Kiari, of Shehu Hās̲h̲im caused the latter, now a fugitive, to be secretly murdered and himself advanced against Rabeh from Geidam. The two forces met at Gashegar and Kiari's troops had some initial success, even taking Rabeh's camp, but were finally put to flight by Rabeh's army. Kiari himself was taken and executed. This ended the resistance to Rabeh in Bornū. Rabeh established a military regime at Dikwa and sent out columns on predatory raids. His rule was entirely destructive and caused incalculable loss and dislocation over a wide area. In 1900, Rabeh was defeated and killed by French troops under Commandant Lamy. Rabeh's son, Faḍl Allāh, fled westwards before the French, was pursued and finally, on 3 Aug. 1901, killed by them under command of Captain Dangeville in an engagement at Gujba in Nigeria, (150 miles on the British side of the Anglo-French boundary which, though approved on paper, had not yet been delimited by boundary commissions on the ground, thus causing considerable confusion in the then so unsettled state of the country). The French authorities offered restoration to Sanda, a son of the late Shehu, but he was unable to meet their conditions, and finally the Kanemi dynasty was restored by the British authorities with Shehu Bukar Garbai, his brother. Shehu Bukar set up first at Mongonu, then moved to Kukawa and finally, in 1907, to Yerwa near Maidugari which has remained the capital of Bornū to the present time. Dikwa became part of the German Kameruns, which, after the German defeat in the 1914-18 war, were mandated to Great Britain and France by the League of Nations, Dikwa falling into the former's area. Details on the history of Bornu in the present century will be found in the reports of the Government of Nigeria.

The Shehu-s of Bornū and Dikwa

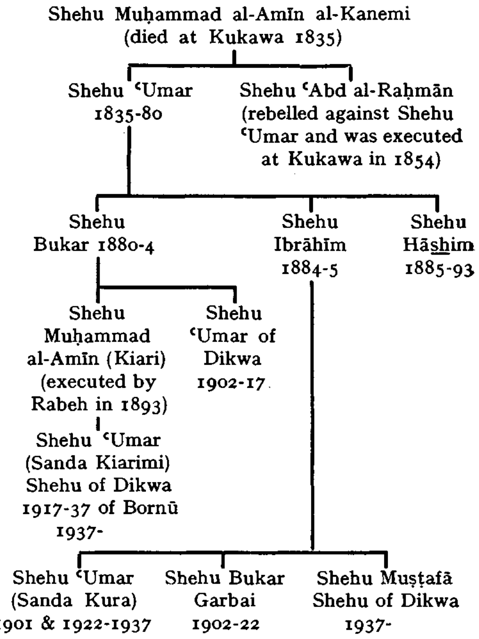

7. Religion. Islam is the religion of the Kanuri, Fulani, Shuwa Arabs and Hausa, and their *mad̲h̲hab* Mālikī. Of the Ṭarīḳas, the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] and the Tid̲j̲āniyya [*q.v.*] are the best supported, though representatives of others will also be found, including the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] and the S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya [*q.v.*]. The Church of the Brethren (American Protestant) Mission operates among the Bura tribe in the south of the Province. It seems certain that, in modern conditions, the animism of the pagan tribes will gradually disappear.

8. Miscellaneous. Notable European explorers who visited Bornū were Denham, Oudney and Clapperton (1823), Barth, who made long stays at Kukawa between 1851 and 1855 and collected much information about the history and circumstances of the region, Vogel (1854-6), Beurmann (1860), Rohlfs (1866), Nachtigal (1870-2), Matheucci and Massari (1880-1), Monteil (1892).

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BOSNA (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

1. General outline.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a total area of 51,129 km.², lies within the latitudes 42° 26′ and 45° 15′ North and longitudes 15° 44′ and 19° 41′ East; it thus occupies the western—largely mountainous—region of Yugoslavia, rich in mineral resources, water-power, and forests. It is divided into two geographical and historical entities—Bosnia and Herzegovina. The name of Bosnia refers to the larger northern part of the country, while Herzegovina comprises the southern districts with the basin of the river Neretva. The name "Bosnia" is derived from the river Bosna (of uncertain meaning but doubtless of Illyrian origin) which flows through the central part of the country. It was round the source and the upper basin of the river that traces have been found of a district called Bosna (first mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who thought it belonged to Serbia), inhabited by early settlers, members of Slav tribes. After many changes of fortune brought about by a succession of foreign and native rulers, the region became an integral part of a new State bearing its name, which—under the reign of King Tvrtko I (1353-1391)—comprised not only the present territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, except for a small district in the north-west, but also a large part of the Adriatic coast with the neighbouring districts in the south and south-east. Under Turkish rule, Bosnia was one of the *sandjaks* of the Ottoman Empire, and from 988/1580 an *eyālet* which comprised a larger area than that of the present Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only before but even after the loss of territory suffered in the second decade of the 12th/end of the 17th century. The name of Herzegovina dates from the middle of the 15th century when the magnate Stjepan Vukčić Kosača rebelled against the then king of Bosnia and had himself proclaimed "Herzeg (Duke) of St. Sava". The region later came to be called "Hercegovina" (the land of the Herzeg) and in Turkish: *Hersek ili* or *Hersek sandjaği*. The present territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina roughly corresponds to the area that constituted the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austrian rule (1878-1918) and which was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1918). The boundaries and the extent of the region remained unchanged during the later administration of the new Kingdom (under the so-called Vidovdan Constitution). After the suppression of parliamentary rule in Yugoslavia (1929), an authoritarian Kingdom of Yugoslavia emerged, made up of nine large administrative units called "banovinas". This division altered the boundaries of the country, for the two banovinas with their seats within Bosnia and Herzegovina (those of Sarajevo and Banjaluka) now comprised parts of the neighbouring area, with the result that part of Bosnia and Herzegovina territory came to belong to the banovina the seat of which was in Split, while part of Herzegovina was included into the banovina whose seat was in Montenegro. In present-day Yugoslavia a separate people's republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been formed within its traditional historic boundaries.

The social and political organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as one of the republics of Yugoslavia, is based on the written Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, passed 13th January 1946, the Constitution of the P.R. of Bosnia and Herzegovina dated 31st December 1946, the Constitutional Law of 13th January 1953 concerning the foundations of the social and political organisation of the F.P.R. of Yugoslavia and the federal organs of government, and the Constitutional Law of 29th January 1953 concerning the social and political organisation of the P.R. of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the republican organs of government.

The P.R. of Bosnia and Herzegovina has, as does each of the Yugoslav republics, its own People's Assembly with its Executive Council and Secretariats in Sarajevo, the capital city of the Republic. The country is divided into 12 districts and 134 communes (1958).

The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina shown by the census taken in 1953 was 2,847,790. Serbo-Croat is the language spoken by the people (except for small numbers of Slovenian and Macedonian settlers and national minorities) who are, however, divided—as regards nationality— into Serbs (largely of the Orthodox Church, the rest being Muslims), Croats (largely Roman-Catholics, the rest being Muslims) and those that abstained from declaring their nationality (very largely Muslims).

According to the preliminary results of the census of 1953 there were in Bosnia and Herzegovina: 10.3 per cent of no denomination, 35.1 per cent Orthodox, 21.4 per cent Roman-Catholics, 32.3 per cent Muslims, and 0.9 of other denominations.

The official and final results, now in print, of the census taken in 1953 are as follows:

Serbs	1,264,372—44.3%	(including 35,228 Muslims)
Croats	654,229—23.0%	(including 15,477 Muslims)
Undeclared Yugoslavs	891,800—31.4%	(of whom 860,486 were Muslims)
Others	37,389— 1.3%	

The common language and close ethnical affinity of the population notwithstanding, the people are split into three groups owing to historical influences but mainly to different religious beliefs which were responsible for the formation of national differences between Serbs and Croats. The islamisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina—the centuries-old borderland of the Ottoman Empire, situated at the very confines of East and West with their respective influences—came to introduce yet a third denominational element. Under Austro-Hungarian rule, the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was officially classified according to denominations—except for a small number of settlers whose nationality was duly recorded—although the greater part of the people was becoming nationally conscious, *i.e.*, the Orthodox population professed to be Serbs, and the Roman-Catholics Croats. Up to the World War II, Belgrade and Zagreb had each claimed national kinship with the Moslems of Bosnia, hence it came that a certain part of the Muslim population—mostly urban intelligentsia had declared themselves Serbs and Croats respectively.

However, the great majority of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina remained unimpressed and abstained from declaring themselves Serbs or Croats. Personal opinion and feelings on the question of nationality have been fully respected in modern Yugoslavia; consequently, the Serbo-Croat speaking Muslims are free to choose whether to declare themselves Serbs or Croats, or make no declaration of their nationality. Among other reasons, the fact that there are in Bosnia and Herzegovina large numbers of nationally undecided Serbo-Croat speaking Muslims was decisive for Bosnia and Herzegovina being made a separate people's republic of modern Yugoslavia.

The four centuries of Turkish rule (867/1463-1295/1878) have resulted not only in the islamisation of a large part of the population but have also left their mark on the whole country. In Bosnia and Herzegovina Serbo-Croat is the language alike of Muslims and of the rest of the population. Consequently, elements of oriental culture have taken firm root in the pattern and way of life not only of the Muslims but of the entire population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The centuries of Turkish rule delayed the growth of middle-class society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the economic policy pursued in Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian rule proved unable to develop and exploit all the productive possibilities of the country's resources, with the result that Bosnia and Herzegovina remained a backward country in many ways. In pre-war Yugoslavia, owing to various unfavourable circumstances and to the economic policy of the Government, the inherited backwardness did not show any great improvement. It was only after the World War II and the carrying out of revolutionary measures by the new regime of Yugoslavia that the natural resources of Bosnia and Herzegovina came to be exploited to the full due to the growing industrialisation of the country. Since 1945, a great number of industrial plants and establishments have been set up, small and large hydro-electric and thermo-electric power stations have been built and the mining industry modernised and extended. In the period from 1947 to 1954 the investments made in the industries and mining of Bosnia and Herzegovina totalled 236,494 million dinars or 61.3 per cent of all investments. The investment policy had to be adjusted and slightly changed after this period of most intensive industrialisation. The investments made in 1957 totalled 75,667 millions, of which 33,846 was spent on industry and mining. The consequences of rapid industrialisation are also reflected in the official returns concerning the ratio of agricultural population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was as follows:

	1895	1910	1931	1948	1953
Engaged in agriculture, forestry & fishing	88.4	86.6	83.4	76.7	63.5
Engaged otherwise	11.6	13.4	16.5	23.3	36.5

The rate of growth in the other branches of the national economy was less rapid, especially as regards the use of agricultural land and cattle and sheep raising, but recent trends in agricultural policy have resulted in greater emphasis being laid on tillage and other types of farming. In 1957 there were in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2,613,000 hectares of agricultural land, 64.7% of which were cultivable, the rest being pastures and hill grazings (35%) and marshland and reed-beds (0.1%).

Concerning communications, Bosnia and Herzegovina is still suffering from the consequences of adverse former conditions, especially as regards the railway network. In 1957 the country had 2,111 km. of railways, 1,339 km. of which were of standard gauge as against 772 km. of narrow gauge.

The total value of national production in Bosnia and Herzegovina during 1956 was 215,639 million dinars, the chief sources and amounts (in millions) contributed by each being as follows:

Industry & Mining	108,446
Agriculture	46,828
Building	11,154
Transport	19,877
Forestry	10,041
Handicrafts	5,653
Trade & Catering	13,640

Similar to the inherited underdeveloped state of the country's economy is the inherited cultural backwardness of the people, particularly in rural areas. The Austro-Hungarian government set up state-controlled primary schools without abolishing denominational schools. Compulsory primary education was introduced in 1911, yet in 1912/13 there were in Bosnia and Herzegovina only 374 state-controlled primary schools. The small number of schools, state-controlled and denominational together, could only cope with 18.55% of the children of school age. The Government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia would only recognise the State primary schools, yet hardly one third of the children of school age were able to attend. The number of primary schools in 1938-39 was only 1,092, hence the large-scale illiteracy at the time. After World War II, despite the great efforts made to increase the number of schools and reduce illiteracy of adults, the official returns of 1953 showed that there were 225,000 illiterate males and 615,000 illiterate females in Bosnia and Herzegovina out of a total of 2,116,000 persons over the age of 10.

In 1945 and over the following years special efforts were made to raise the standard of literacy and education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus in 1957 there were altogether 2,406 primary schools (including the continuation and eight-year schools), 37 "gymnasiums" (secondary classical or grammar schools), 159 professional training schools and 27 others. For adults there were 26 two-year elementary schools, 10 secondary schools, 12 technical schools for workers, 19 schools for skilled workmen and 11 others. Some time after the war a university with seven faculties was founded in Sarajevo, as well as an academy of music and a number of science institutes. In addition to these, there are now three Teachers Training Colleges in Bosnia and Herzegovina, several higher (professional) training colleges, six theatres, sixty science libraries, three hundred and twenty-five public libraries, eighteen museums and a radio broadcasting station.

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2. History of Bosnia and Herzegovina underd Turkish rule.

(a) *During the rise of Turkish power*

The establishment of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina is associated with the setting up and strengthening of Turkish rule. The first Turkish invasion occurred in the year 788/1386 during the reign of the first Bosnian king Tvrtko I (1353-91, king from 1377) when he was at the summit of his power. The next invasion took place in 790/1388 when the Turkish army was defeated by the Vojvoda Vlatko Vuković. In the following year, a Bosnian army led by Vlatko Vuković took part in the battle of Kossovo in support of the Serbian Duke Lazar. In the course of fighting Sultan Murād was mortally wounded and died when the battle had ended, yet Prince Bāyazīd succeeded in carrying the day and taking Duke Lazar prisoner. After the battle of Kossovo the Duke's successors had to acknowledge Turkish suzerainty. The vassal Serbs considerably weakened the position of Bosnia. King Tvrtko's successor was allowed to rule over the lands that actually belonged to him, while the greater part of Bosnia was in the power of independent magnates each exercising full control over their respective districts. The conquest of Skopje (in Turkish Üsküp) by the Turks in 794/1392 brought about the formation of a Turkish March bordering on Serbia and Bosnia. Skopje became the seat of the first *Sandjak-beyi* Pasha Yigit, who was succeeded by his son Isḥāḳ. From 818/1415 frequent Turkish incursions took place: as a result, Turkish influence made itself increasingly felt in the internal affairs of the country and in the ever growing dissensions among Bosnian barons and pretenders to the throne. Soon after the accession of Tvrtko II (1420-43), who had to acknowledge Turkish suzerainty, Bosnian kings were subjected to tribute by the Turks (from 832/1428-29) who had temporarily occupied and garrisoned a number of towns on several occasions. It was not until the middle of the 9th/15th century that the Turks became firmly established in the town of Hodidjed and the surrounding country—in the present district of Sarajevo—where a frontier March was formed and administered by the Governor ʿĪsā Bey of Skopje, the son of Isḥāḳ Bey, under the direct control of a Turkish dignitary with the title of *voyvoda*. The area was under dual control, for the Bosnian lords of the surrounding districts were vassals of the Turks. This administrative area is recorded in a Turkish cadastral register of the year 859/1455, but no mention is made there of a settlement called Saray Ovasī though a district of the same name is recorded. However, the origins of Sarajevo date back before the final downfall of the Kingdom of Bosnia, for the townlet of Saray Ovasī is recorded in 866/1362. At that time the Bosnian throne was occupied by Stjepan Tomaš (1443-1461), who relied on the support of the West but failed to obtain release from the obligation to pay tribute to the Turks. On that occasion, the Pope demanded not only the conversion of the king to catholicism but the suppression of "heresy" as well, a religion which, despite constant persecution, had taken firm root and become the established church. However reluctantly, the King finally ordered the persecution of the heretics who took refuge in the districts held by Turks and in the region of later Herzegovina. The Turks continued to exploit not only the religious antagonism in the kingdom but social differences as well. The attempt made to unite the Kingdom of Bosnia and the Despotate of Serbia by means of an arranged marriage between the King's son Stjepan Tomašević and a Serbian Princess, brought about the fall of the Despotate and its capital city of Smederevo (1459). Stjepan Tomašević (1461-1463), the last of Bosnian kings, came to depend upon the West for support to a much larger extent than his father ever did.

In 867/1463 when the King refused to pay tribute, the Turkish armies, led by the Sultan himself, invaded and rapidly conquered Bosnia. Soon after the withdrawal of Turkish troops, the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus marched into Bosnia and occupied the town of Jajce with adjacent districts. During the following year Hungarian forces conquered Srebrenik, when two "banats" were set up—the seat of one in Jajce and of the other in Srebrenik—which formed a Hungarian March reinforced by the belt to the South of the Sava. During the 9th/15th century several incursions were launched from here, culminating in a three-day occupation of Sarajevo. King Matthias made one of his barons titular King of Bosnia. The Turks had earlier given the conquered districts of the kingdom to a cousin of the former dynasty and had founded a titular kingdom which had lasted only up to 881/1476.

The first *Sandjak-beyi* of Bosnia was Meḥmed-bey Minnet-oghlu. The *sandjak* of Herzegovina was founded in 874/1470 (the rest of Herzegovina was conquered by the Turks at the end of 886/beginning of 1482); another *sandjak* was later set up, the seat of which was in Zvornik. The Banat of Srebrenik fell to the Turks in 918/1512, who also captured Jajce and Banjaluka after the battle of Mohács (in 1527 or 1528). From Bosnia the Turks penetrated into Lika and occupied the greater part of Dalmatia with the castle of Klis. The Bosnian *sandjak-beyi* took part in the conquest of Slavonia.

The seat of the *sandjak* of Bosna was in Sarajevo (until the middle of the 10th/16th century) where many imposing buildings were erected by the *sandjak-beyi* Ghāzī Khusrew-bey, who came there as *sandjak-beyi* in 926/1520 and died in 948/1541. By that time the town of Sarajevo had become a large and important place. However, the seat of the *sandjak* was moved to Banjaluka (towards the middle of the 10th/16th century), the lay-out and building of which as a Muslim city was completed by Ferhad Sokolović (Sokollu), a Governor of Bosnia who became the first Bosnian pasha (*beyler-beyi*). In the year 988/ 1580 the *eyālet* of Bosnia was formed, with Banjaluka as its seat, which comprised seven *sandjaks* (Bosnia, Herzegovina, Klis, Krka, Pakrac, Zvornik and Požega). In addition to the present area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the *eyālet* included parts of Slavonia, Lika and Dalmatia, as well as the frontier districts of Serbia. At the beginning of the 11th/ the end of the 16th century the *eyālet* was composed of eight *sandjaks*, and at the end of the first decade of the 11th/the beginning of the 17th century the *sandjak* of Požega was incorporated into the newly formed *eyālet* of Kanizsa.

The Turkish conquest brought about great changes in the social pattern of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the time when Bosnia came under Turkish control, the foundations of the structure and organisation of the Ottoman Empire had been completed.

Having conquered the country, the Turks proceeded to introduce their own social structure, a strictly centralised government, and their military

and feudal systems. This resulted in great changes in economic and social relations. Mining, next to agriculture the most important branch of former Bosnian economic activities, was taken over by the new rulers, and all the mines became the property of the sultan. The days of high and powerful feudal lords, masters in their own districts, were gone. In agrarian relations, the *tīmār* system was introduced controlled by a central authority. The *sandjaḳ*s were administered by governors directly controlled by the sultans, whose incomes were the largest next to those of emperors. Governors used to be replaced all too frequently. On the other hand, the pressure on the peasant eased and sheep-raising began to improve. In the countryside generally, patriarchal ways of life and a measure of autonomy became apparent.

At the same time, great religious and ethnical changes occurred involving the whole population. There was a large-scale islamisation. An improvement in animal husbandry in certain mountainous districts, particularly in those of Herzegovina, became evident, sheep-breeders were resettled in fertile agricultural districts which had been laid waste by wars and the like. Settling down on fertile lands, thousands of sheep-raisers turned to tillage, thus providing fresh manpower for the improvement of devastated areas. In view of the great importance attached to their work as colonisers, the settlers were allowed to retain their former privileges as sheep-raisers; however, with the growth of the feudal system and more settled conditions the settlers very largely became common *reʿāyā*. Because most of these settlers were Orthodox Serbs, many districts which had been devoid of Serbs now became peopled with them.

On the other hand, islamisation helped the reigning religion to win adherents and partisans among all classes: peasants, feudal lords and townspeople. The islamisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been the subject of comprehensive studies so far, so it still presents a problem awaiting solution. Before the World War I the generally accepted opinion was that the followers of the heretic Church, the so-called Bogumils had passed over to Islam in a body, allegedly because of a similarity of views on moral law, and owing to the earlier persecutions on the part of the Church of Rome. This opinion is still shared by many scholars today (A. Solovjev and others). By passing over to Islam *en masse*, Bosnian nobles had been allowed to retain their estates, and the traditional pattern of land-tenure in Bosnia and Herzegovina had thus remained unchanged until the 13th/19th century. The *tīmār* system was only introduced as a superstructure. One of the chief supporters of this theory, before the World War I, was Ć. Truhelka. According to Truhelka and others, Bosnia had from the very beginning enjoyed a separate status in the Ottoman Empire.

During the interval between the two world wars some Yugoslav historians (V. Čubrilović, V. Skarić) sought to prove the groundlessness of these views. They were of the opinion that (a) the islamisation had been carried out gradually, (b) the Bosnian nobles had not retained their estates after the conquest because of the setting-up of the *tīmār* system, and (c) the system of land-tenure, such as prevailed during the 18th century and was continued in the following century, had developed only gradually within the framework of the old agrarian system.

Attention has been drawn by modern Yugoslav historians to Turkish sources of the first order, particularly to cadastral registers, which are likely to throw light on the history of the Yugoslav peoples during the period in question; however, the results of the investigations have not all been made public as yet.

Before 867/1463, while the Turks held part of Bosnia under their control, there were no *sipāhī tīmār*s in the outlying districts of the borderland governed by ʿĪsā Bey, the only *tīmār*s being those owned by men of the garrison of the fort at Hodidjed. Moreover, in the interior of the borderland, within the estates of ʿĪsā Bey, there were a number of *sipāhī*s, mostly Muslims with a few Christians. After the conquest, it was mainly from here and Macedonia, then from Serbia and other regions that the bulk of *sipāhī*s were drawn. Among the *sipāhī*s that were sent to Bosnia there were many of Slav origin. After liquidating the leading representatives of the old Bosnian nobility during and after the conquest, the Turks at first left a few members of noble families and a good number of the old minor feudal landowners in possession of their estates. The conquerors also gave lands to headmen of sheep-raisers. This accounts for the presence at the time of many Christian *sipāhī*s, particularly in Herzegovina.

The coming over of Bosnian feudatories to the side of Turks began rather early, at a time when they had to rely on influential Turks in the settling of disputes. Thus the land of the ducal family of Pavlović was recorded in the cadastral register of 859/1455 as land paying tribute in a lump sum (*muḳāṭaʿa*) (see Başvekalet arşivi, Mâliye deft. 544). Herzeg Stjepan's line of policy was for long one of complete reliance on the Turks. His sons had some time to rely on the Turks as well. His youngest son went over to the Turks, embraced Islam and as Hersekzāde Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a held the office of Grand Vizier five times during the reigns of Bāyazīd II and Selīm I. A considerable number of natives of Bosnia and Herzegovina belonging to Muslim feudal families, as well as boys collected from the *reʿāyā* by *devs̲h̲irme* and educated at the Court, were to hold the offices of Viziers or Grand Viziers. Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Sokolović (Sokollu), one of the foremost Ottoman statesmen, Grand Vizier 972/1564-987/1579, was descended from a distinguished Serbian family in Bosnia, whose Christian relatives were Patriarchs of Serbia after the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć (1557). The bonds of blood and kinship between men of Bosnian descent who held high offices and their kinsmen helped greatly to raise the fortunes of certain Bosnian families.

Although the ranks of *sipāhī*s were partly filled with foreign newcomers, the majority were of native descent, raised from among the old Bosnian feudalists or the new *sipāhī*s created during Turkish rule. In the earliest cadastral registers of the *sandjaḳ* of Bosnia, the names of islamised *sipāhī*s and their Christian relatives are recorded. Likewise, the members of their whole families are found grouped around the names of outstanding dignitaries (see Başvekâlet arşivi, Tapu deft. 18 and 24). During the period there were in Bosnia, adjacent to Sultans' and *Sandjaḳ-beys*' estates, a number of *čiftlik*s held by feudal landlords and others; some of the *sipāhī*s likewise owned *čiftlik*s in addition to *tīmārs*, but most of the latter contained no *čiftlik*s as a rule. The *čiftlik*s were hereditary possessions and remained as such even should the *sipāhī* have lost possession of the tīmār. On the whole it would seem that a number of earlier feudatories, converted to Islam, had kept their inherited land in the form of *čiftlik*s. The latter, however, were few in number and consisted of

small estates, thus the theory can hardly be upheld, as Ć. Truhelka would have it, that the Bosnian nobles had remained in possession of their estates at the time of the conquest and had succeeded in holding them till the 13th/19th century. As a matter of fact, the number of *čiftlik*s continued to increase, however slightly, until the beginning of the 10th/ the end of the 15th century when, during the reign of Sulṭān Suleymān the Lawgiver, the *čiftlik*s of this kind were finally abolished. Such *čiftlik*s, however, were to serve as a basis and pattern for the future development of new agrarian relations out of the old.

Muslim descendants of Christian *sipāhī*s and members of islamised families who had mended their fortunes under Turkish rule were to be found later as *sipāhī*s and *zaʿīm*s, as *dizdār*s of fortresses and higher functionaries. The importance attached to Bosnia as a frontier land favoured the rise to influence and power of the native Muslims. True, after the break-through of the Turkish armies and the invasion of areas under Hungarian rule, a great many *sipāhī*s were ordered to settle in newly conquered regions, yet this was not followed by the same consequences as in Serbia where the process of islamisation virtually stopped with the Turkish invasion of Hungary. In Bosnia and Herzegovina islamisation had resulted in the creation of a broad basis of Muslims recruited not only from the townspeople but also from the peasantry.

The creation of conditions necessary for the development of town communities in Bosnia—particularly those of mining centres—had begun during the period preceding the Turkish conquest. After the establishment of Turkish rule, Bosnian towns began to develop and grow. Turkish craftsmanship, particularly the handicraft characteristic of the Near East, was far advanced as compared with the craftsmanship of the earlier Bosnian period. Consequently, handicrafts and trade guilds of an oriental type developed greatly over the first two centuries of Turkish reign in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Great progress was made in trades related to the manufacture of leather, in goldsmiths' work, and in crafts connected with the production of military equipment and of goods required by townspeople. On the other hand, the Ottoman mining industry was less developed than in Bosnia or Serbia where Saxon settlers had introduced their mining technique and rules. Owing to the introduction, by the Turkish authorities, of bureaucratic administrative measures in mining areas which became merged with the Imperial domains (*k͟hāṣṣ*), the mining industry suffered a setback in the first century of the Turkish rule, with a consequent falling off in production and, more particularly, in the output of precious metals; the production of iron, however, showed a slight increase. For these reasons, the growth of towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of Turkish rule was associated—apart from military considerations, which were the most important factor in the siting and building of towns—not with the development of the mining industry but rather with the advancement of crafts and the related trade. The towns built by the Turks were all situated on sites ensuring good communications. Over the second half of the 10/15th century, the islamisation of the old Bosnian mining market-towns proceeded but slowly and was less conducive to their future development than in the case of new towns built by the Turks on the sites of former market-towns. A good instance are the towns of Sarajevo and Banjaluka, among others, which, as the seats of Turkish authorities and military garrisons, expanded and developed into crafts centres and trading settlements. Besides the Muslims civil servants and soldiers, the populations of similar towns continued to grow because of the migration of Muslims from various places who brought in Oriental customs and ways of life. At the beginning however, it was the merchants of Dubrovnik who were the only traders on a large scale.

The building of the most important towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina was due to the initiative of individual governors. It was in and around these towns that governors had their estates, mills, houses, *ḥammām*s and shops, which they would bequeath and leave, during their lifetime, as religious and charitable endowments (*waḳf*). Thus a great number of mosques, *tekiye*s and religious schools were built, with libraries adjoining mosques or schools. Dervish orders introduced mystic rites and ceremonies likely to please the urban population. Briefly, the towns of Bosnia became the strongholds of Turkish power and the mainstays of Muslim culture. The towns also had an influence on the countryside and attracted great numbers of peasants and people from rural areas. Most of the migrants were peasants converted to Islam, and the non-Muslims soon became converts as well. Christians and Jews living in towns were few in number.

The earliest Turkish cadastral registers of the *sand̲j̲aḳ*s of Bosnia and Herzegovina provide documentary evidence bearing out the contention that the islamisation *en masse* had its origin in towns and the surrounding country districts. At the beginning of the period, as shown in the records, converted peasants in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Bosnia were to be found only around the town of Sarajevo. In 894/1489 there were in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* over 25,000 Christian houses, 1,300 odd Christian widows' houses, and over 4,000 unmarried Christian men, as compared with approximately 4,500 Muslim houses and over 2,300 single Muslims (cf. Başvekâlet arşivi, Tapu deft. no. 24). The earliest cadastral register of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Herzegovina for the year 882/1477 (Tapu deft. no. 5) clearly shows—and so do the other cadastral registers —that the islamisation was not instantaneous; nor is there any evidence to prove the assumption that the conquerors had been joined by masses of partisans that belonged to the heretic Church of Bosnia. Only in some mountain villages of Herzegovina, as shown by the registers, were to be found the "devoted believers of the Church of Bosnia" (*krstjani*); also, some believers of the Church of Bosnia were recorded to have lived in a deserted village in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Bosnia, this being the only instance. It would seem that twenty years' persecution of Bosnian heretics during the reigns of King Stjepan Tomaš and King Stjepan Tomašević had broken up the heretic Church of Bosnia; the change-over to Orthodoxy of Herzeg Stjepan Vukčić must also have had its share in weakening the position of the Bosnian Church in Herzegovina. The Turkish government recognised the Serbian Orthodox Church. Under the Sultan's *berāt* [*q.v.*], the Orthodox Church enjoyed considderable rights and privileges. The Catholic Church was also granted certain privileges by Meḥemmed II the Conqueror. It is evident from data in the cadastral registers that the "devoted believers of the Church of Bosnia" had retired into remote secluded districts of Herzegovina. There is no recorded evidence of any islamisation of those parts of the country or the people at the time. The inference

could therefore be drawn that the Bosnian heretics in most areas had already been brought into the fold (Orthodox or Catholic), which would exclude the possibility of a general conversion to Islam of the followers of the Church of Bosnia.

However, the probability is that the earlier persecutions on the part of the Catholic Church, combined with the pressure brought to bear by the Orthodox Church, which had the right to collect church-dues, had created conditions favouring the conversion to Islam of the former followers of the Bosnian Church. At all events, the development of towns as centres of Islam, and their influence on the surrounding countryside resulted in a steady spread of Islam among the peasantry of certain areas as early as the 9th/15th century. Thus a foundation was laid for a major islamisation of the peasantry. The islamised peasants were given the distinctive name of *potur*. Their religion was a mixture of Islamic and other elements, christianised pagan, Christian and heretical-Christian. It was on these grounds that the Muslim feudatories and religious intelligentsia were inclined not to regard the Muslim peasantry as their equals.

During the reign of Süleymān Ḳānūnī measures were taken to check the growing power of the feudal class, which had been completely islamised by then. Bosnian *sipāhī*s were made to move to newly conquered areas, the vacant *tīmār*s being made over to *sipāhī*s from other districts. *Čiftlik*s were transformed and made part of *re*ʿ*āyā* lands. It was at this time—and to a greater extent later on—that by graft and bribes a number of courtiers began to acquire estates in Bosnia. However, at the same time concessions had to be made in view of the needs of defence, particularly those of the borderland, and the existence of many devasted areas. Over the second half of the 10/16th century the number of *čiftlik*s in possession of feudal lords and army officers continued to grow, particularly in frontier districts. The post of *ḳapudan* (captain), formerly concerned with service on rivers in the borderland, came to be that of an officer in command of forts and defensive works of a district. The native feudal class could always rely on the *ḳapudan's* office for effectual support. The setting up of the *eyālet* of Bosnia added greatly to the ever increasing importance of the native nobility.

The second half of the 10th/16th century proved to be a period of rapid growth and development of certain Bosnian towns. There followed a steady rise in the volume of trade with Italian towns by enterprising home traders and Dubrovnik merchants. Being in the majority, the Muslim inhabitants of towns enjoyed certain privileges and lived in special quarters apart from the Christian population. Owing to the influx of newcomers certain guilds closed their doors, hence a migration of Muslim population to places and towns beyond the Sava.

In the second half of the 10th/16th century, the signs of a crisis in the Ottoman general administrative structure became increasingly apparent in the country's finances. One of its effects was a considerable weakening of Turkish military power. This crisis became evident in Bosnia as well. The last military ventures and offensive operations made under the leadership of Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a Predojević, the *beyler-beyi* of Bosnia, ended in the capture of Bihać. In the following year (1002/1593), a Bosnian army led by Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a suffered a heavy defeat at Sisak, which brought about the war between the Habsburgs and Turkey.

(*b*) *The period of crisis in the Turkish state and military defeats of the Ottomans*

The administrative structure and extent of the *eyālet* of Bosnia, which took definite shape at the beginning of the 11th/17th century, remained unchanged until about the end of the century. At this time, the governor of the *eyālet* bore the title of Vizier, and the seat of governement was transferred from Banjaluka to Sarajevo in 1049/1639.

The crisis in the economic and financial affairs of the Ottoman Empire and the cracks in the Osmanli structure were also reflected in the conditions that prevailed in Bosnia where disorders were frequent and corruption rife. Owing to financial difficulties and the rising costs of maintaining control over wide areas of the conquered territory, the central government had to extend the system of lease of all public and imperial revenue and to raise the taxes and introduce new ones. The system of lease was extended to include the renting of local rates, and even the incomes from *tīmār*s and *ze*ʿ*āmet*s acquired by courtiers, officials attached to central offices, and by many other prominent men living in the capital. The widespread centralised bureaucratic system, designed to control and check oppression, became a source of corruption, practised by local authorities as well. From the second half of the 10th/16th century on, the financial burdens and exploitation of the *re*ʿ*āyā* (peasantry) increased, the pressure being put on the sheep-raisers of the autonomous districts likewise. The long war (1593-1606) was a constant drain on Turkish resources and manpower, with Bosnia bearing the brunt in her exposed position. Owing to the war there was much unrest and many risings of the Serb people in Herzegovina both during and after the war. Over the first two decades of the 11th/17th century, former rebels from Anatolia were sent to Bosnia as governors and would turn rebels in Bosnia as well; they could always rely for support on a large number of malcontents among the native *sipāhī* class who were embittered because courtiers and those near to central authorities would be given *tīmār*s and *ze*ʿ*āmet*s as a present, thus enabling individuals and local bureaucrats to acquire estates as large as several *tīmār*s put together. Turkish governors, whose term of office was rather short, were anxious to amass riches and exploited the country for their own profit, as did the officials of the central government sent to investigate malpractices and causes of unrest.

Despite such conditions the native feudal class continued to prosper and grow in strength. The process of transformation of peasant lands into *čiftlik*s owned by military commanders, *sipāhī*s and wealthier citizens was gaining ground as was alienation of free *bas̲h̲tina*s (inherited possessions) of *knez*-es (village headmen) and other categories of land. Peasant tenants (*čiftči*, *kmet*) of such *čiftlik*s were required to deliver one third of a fourth (at a later period a fifth, or a ninth in some instances) of corps to their owners (*čiftlik ṣāḥibi*) besides being forced to work on *čiftlik*s belonging exclusively to the *čiftlik* owner. Such tenants were bound to pay ʿ*us̲h̲r*, *sālāriye* and other duties of the *tīmār* system to their *sipāhī*s (*ṣāḥib-i arḍ*) should the *čiftlik* happen to be part of a *tīmār* or a *ze*ʿ*āmet*, which was usually the case. The system of government by *ḳapudan*s was extended and came to be applied in the inland areas of the country, for the central government could not afford the means required for the upkeep of as large an army of mercenaries as was needed.

In the circumstances. *ḳapudans* tended to grow overbold and defy orders issued by Pas͟has.

Yielding to the demands of Bosnian *sipāhīs* supported by the Pas͟ha, Sulṭān Aḥmed (1603-1717) issued a firman establishing *tīmārs* with rights of family succession (*odjaḳlïḳ*), the successors being sons or brothers of the deceased, or else kinsmen living with the family (*odjaḳ*).

Changes in land tenure and economic policy mainly affected the Christian peasantry; the land of Muslim peasants was seldom interfered with. Increased taxation and growing exploitation deepened the existing divisions between the two classes of peasantry, hence the frequent flights of Christian peasants over the border and increasing numbers of outlaws (*haydut* in Turkish), who as highwaymen became a menace to safety on the roads.

The trends of development in agriculture and other branches of national economy, apparent in the earlier period, became more pronounced during the second half of the 10th/16th century and during the 11th/17th century. Mining industry continued to decline and was at its lowest at the end of the century. The towns grew and developed during the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries as a result of the expanding trade and commerce. The opening of the port at Split (1592), a rival to the port of Dubrovnik, proved an event of great importance to Bosnian trade. The town guilds came under the exclusive control of the janissaries, and this led to the further transformation of guilds into closed organisations. Town notables (*aʿyān, q.v.*) and powerful *ag͟has* made their appearance in growing numbers. However, part of the inhabitants of towns were Christians, some of whom were craftsmen and tradesmen. Following the increasing migration of country people into towns the tax on abandoned land was very increased. Over the second half of the 10th/16th and the first half of the 11th/17th centuries, some of the towns grew both in extent and importance, particularly the town of Sarajevo. The amassed money-capital, however, served to advance the practices of usury. Besides the prosperous Muslim class, there were in towns certain Christian families of rich traders and merchants—Christian usurers. The urban social pattern showed a marked tendency towards a sharper division between the wealthier, politically influential class and the lower class of the urban poor. In the 11th/17th century there occurred several serious outbreaks of disorder and rioting among the poor of Sarajevo, largely Muslim.

While in the first half of the 11th/17th century the Thirty Years War in Europe prevented any major military undertaking against the Turk, in the second half of the century two long wars caused much suffering and lowered the standard of living conditions and the economy of the *eyālet* of Bosnia. The war against Venice (1644-1669) and the shorter war against the Habsburgs (1663-1664) were waged in areas belonging to the *eyālet* of Bosnia, where frequent incursions took place. The consequent flights of Christian population across the frontier resulted in the enlistment of many of the fugitives, called *uskoci*, in the military service of Venice. In Herzegovina also there was unrest and rising of the people. After the wars there followed a 14-year period of welcome peace, which on the whole resulted in consolidation of Turkish power. The attack on Vienna started the new war with the Holy Alliance which was to last a long time (1683-1699). For once the Bosnian territory south of the Sava escaped being the main scene of the operations, but a Bosnian army had to take part in the war and defend the frontiers. Austrian troops temporarily occupied some districts south of the Sava (in 1688), and nine years later Prince Eugene, after the battle of Senta, advanced as far as Sarajevo, burning it down in 1109/1697. The Christian population, particularly the Roman Catholics, migrated and retreated with the invading armies. The long wars left an epidemic of plague in their trail.

Under the terms of the peace-treaty of Karlovci (1110/1699) the *eyālet* of Bosnia retained, with minor changes, the present frontiers of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the north and west. However, on these frontiers new fortifications began to be built and the old ones repaired; more "ḳapudanships" were established. The *eyālet* now consisted of five *sandjaḳs* (Bosnia, Herzegovina, Klis, Zvornik and Bihać), the last being abolished soon after. It was at this time that the residence of the Bosnian vizier was transferred from Sarajevo to Travnik.

Muslim refugees from the ceded areas of Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia came to settle in Bosnia on lands abandoned or sparsely populated, which they were allowed to hold as *čiftliks*. The new settlers were embittered against the Christian Powers and the insurgents, which added to the division and differences between Muslims and Christians. A number of settlers came to stay in towns, for the most part tradesmen, craftsmen and soldiers.

The exposed position of the *eyālet* of Bosnia called for great efforts on the part of the Muslim population. Under the peace-treaty of Požarevac (1130/1718) Austria was given a belt of territory south of the Sava, and some areas around the western frontier were also lost to Austria and Venice. Despite the ravages wrought by the plague coupled with a succession of bad harvests and heavy loss of life suffered by Bosnian *sipāhīs*, a Bosnian army led by Ḥekīm-og͟hlu ʿAlī Pas͟ha gained a decisive victory over the Austrians at Banjaluka in 1150/1737. The treaty of Belgrade (1152/1739) deprived Austria of all the territories held under the treaty of Požarevac, except for the castle of Furjan.

Bosnian feudal nobility and Muslims in general had by now lost confidence in the power of the Empire. The arrival of janissaries from the abandoned regions strengthened the privileged position of certain towns, particularly that of Sarajevo, which were now granted virtual autonomy, the greatest power being yielded by municipal *aʿyān* and military commanders ("*bas͟has*") with *ḳapudans*. These dignitaries came to be the main representatives of political power. In the time of ʿAlī Pas͟ha a Council of *aʿyān* was set up, composed of municipal *aʿyān*, *ḳapudans* and men of note from different parts of the *eyālet*. The Council was meant to exercise control over the vizier himself and was given powers to determine certain vizier's incomes.

Sprung from this privileged class, the new native Muslim nobility was founded on the subjection of peasantry and depended on further extension of villainage. *Beys* and *ag͟has* as land and *čiftlik* lords took over or seized new *čiftliks*, causing peasants from stock-rearing districts to settle on deserted land, and generally acting independently of the central authority. *ḳapudans* usurped the powers and functions of officers of state, renting the state's revenue, taking over *čiftliks*, and acquiring property by every means. Certain families of *ḳapudans* recorded in the first decades of the 12th/18th century

had reached a high position in society by the end of the century.

In order to acquire riches and indemnify themselves for taxes paid and bribes offered to obtain the appointment to the office, viziers of Bosnia would raise the rate of taxation and impose new rates, taxes and other dues. Indeed, immediate delivery of certain goods was often demanded as advance payment for taxes 6-9 months before they were to fall due. This provoked a series of revolts and risings of poor citizens and Muslim peasantry over a period of ten years about the middle of the 12th/18th century.

Such circumstances had an adverse effect on trade in town and country alike. The prevailing conditions acted as a serious set-back to economic growth of the country.

In the war between Austria and Turkey (1788-1791) the responsibility for the defence of the frontier districts rested with the Bosnian forces. Apart from capturing certain frontier castles (1788-1790) the Austrian armies had but few successes. Under the terms of the peace-treaty of Svishtov (1791) Turkey surrendered a little part of her territory, and Austria evacuated the captured frontier castles.

At the beginning of the 13th/end of 18th century Sulṭān Selīm III introduced a series of reforms and measures largely designed to curb the power of janissaries. The policy of the proposed reforms ran counter to the established foundations and prevailing influence of Muslim nobility and the privileged position of Muslim population of towns in the Bosnian *eyālet*.

(c) *The Period of Reforms in Turkey and Risings in Bosnia*

The new Turkish reforms could not but be met with indignation by Bosnian Muslims, interfering as they did with the established military structure and being directed against the janissaries and the *sipāhī* army. In several campaigns against the insurgents in Serbia, Bosnian *beys*, *aghas* and the urban population took part in large numbers; however, the Bosnian army suffered a heavy defeat at Mišar (1806). A short time after, several risings of Serb peasantry occurred in Bosnia but were soon put down. Far greater efforts were needed for the final suppression of the rebellion of the Drobnjaks in Herzegovina. Bosnian Muslims also took part in the suppression of the rising in Serbia in 1813.

The transit trade improved during the period of Napoleonic continental blockade. Bosnian roads were chiefly used at the time for the transport of cotton, undertaken by Serbian and Jewish traders, many of whom grew rich in consequence. Muslim tradesmen in towns were dependent for their prosperity on the preservation of privileges and special rights. Sarajevo, the most important town, had acquired a large measure of independence in regard to viziers; there were frequent cases of serious differences and quarrels between the citizens and the vizier, which at times led to armed resistance. With the appointment and arrival of Djalāl al-Dīn Pasha in 1820 law and order was restored at a great sacrifice of life. The abolition of the order of Janissaries was the cause of another rising of the people, particularly in Sarajevo, which was suppressed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha. The general dissatisfaction and resistance to the reforms continued none the less. In 1246/1831, when attempts were made to carry the reforms into effect and reorganise the army, a rebellion broke out headed by Bosnian Muslim nobles under the leadership of Ḥusayn-ḳapudan Gradaščević. The insurgents demanded complete autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the right to elect their own vizier; Bosnia had to pay a yearly tribute to the Sultan. The demands, if met, would have safeguarded the privileges of the nobility and the existing military structure. However, at the very start of the conflict the *ḳapudans* of Herzegovina, led by ʿAlī Agha Rizvanbegović, separated themselves from the movement. Despite the victory of Ḥusayn-ḳapudan over the imperial troops and of the understanding reached with the Grand Vizier, the initial great successes soon came to nothing because of personal ambitions of the leader (elected to the viziership in the early part of Djumādā I 1247/8-17 October 1831) and the rivalry between Bosnian leaders. The insurrection was put down (1832) and Herzegovina proclaimed a *pashalıḳ* to be governed by ʿAlī Pasha Rizvanbegović (1833).

After the suppression of the insurrection the hereditary *ḳapudanlıḳs* were abolished (1835) and replaced by *müsellimliks*. Many former *ḳapudans*, *aʿyān*, and *sipāhīs* as well (after the abolition of their order) were appointed *müsellims* and given posts of commanders. The iron hand in a velvet glove was the means used by the Ottoman Porte in dealing with Bosnian nobles and stubborn malcontents. Nevertheless, the conflicts still continued, particularly between the citizens of Sarajevo and the viziers. The resistance was finally broken by ʿUmar Pasha Latas, a former Austrian petty-officer, born in Lika (Croatia). Sent to Bosnia (1850-1852) with special powers at the head of considerable forces, ʿUmar Pasha succeeded in breaking the great political influence of Bosnian nobility and carrying the reforms into effect. He had ʿAlī Pasha put to death, and abolished the *pashalıḳ* of Herzegovina. Bosnia was divided into six *ḳāʾimaḳāmlıḳs* and Herzegovina into three *ḳāʾimaḳālıḳs*. The town of Sarajevo became the official residence of the vizier.

Further reforms were made in the administration of the *eyālet* of Bosnia during the tenure of office of the Vizier Topal ʿOthmān Pasha (1861-1869). The country was divided into seven *sandjaḳs*. The *wilāyet* Council was set up in 1866—an advisory body of representatives, on denominational basis. A start was made with modernisation of living conditions, health service and communications (the first railway—Banjaluka-Novi—was opened in 1872). In the sixties of the century the *wilāyet* printing-office was set up and a number of schools opened.

The reforms and measures taken favoured the development of certain branches of national economy. Commerce and trade improved, but the guilds were endangered owing to the development of the market. Many urban Serb families rose to prosperity and, as a result, the influence of Serbian citizens began to make itself felt in rural districts.

Yet the reforms were not far-reaching enough to deal with the essence of agrarian structure and its problems. With the abolition of the order of *sipāhīs* the *ʿushr* (tithe) was made a tax of the state, and to indemnify the *sipāhīs* for loss of income a pension scheme was introduced in lieu of the rents. However, to recoup themselves for their losses, the *sipāhīs* proceeded to convert into *čiftliks* the remaining peasant free-holdings. By the middle of the 13th/19th century the process had been completed; thus feudal land-tenure and tenantry came to be

associated with Christian peasants, for the Muslim peasantry had remained in possession of their *čiftlik*s. The burden of heavy taxation was meant to be borne largely by the peasant. Moreover, the amount of rates and other dues exacted from the *kmet*s (tenants) was not fixed but collected arbitrarily. Such conditions were a cause of general discontent among the peasantry, and provoked frequent rebellions.

Ṭāhir Pas͟ha, Vizier of Bosnia, undertook (in 1848) to settle the agrarian question. Under his new scheme *čiftlik* owners were to collect a third part of the annual crop, and forced labour was to be abolished except in Herzegovina, where the *kmet*s were allowed to hand over less than a third of the crop. Certain obligations of the *čiftlik* owner in the district of Sarajevo, *e.g.*, to provide his *kmet* with seeds, oxen and dwellings, were to apply to all Bosnian districts. However, *čiftlik* owners proceeded to collect the third of the crop everywhere, insisted on forced labour and failed to perform their own obligations. This caused much discontent among the peasants; nor were the *čiftlik* owners satisfied. Several unsuccessful attempts had to be made before the question was finally settled—after the passing of the Agrarian Act (during the Ramaḍān of 1274)—by decree proclaimed in the month of Ṣafar 1276/September 1859, enacting the customary practices in regard to *kmet*s. No provision was made, however, for a uniform system of taxation and other dues applicable to the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The regulations of the decree in regard to this system of land-tenure remained in force until 1918.

The unsatisfactory conditions gave rise to a series of peasant risings about the middle of the 19th century. The great rising of 1875 when masses of Christian peasants, *kmet*s of *ag͟ha*s and *bey*s, joined hands, was given a political colouring by the participation of the Serbian town population, particularly following the entry of Serbia and Montenegro into war against Turkey. True, the rising in Herzegovina was a mass movement, while in Bosnia it was only the frontier districts that were involved. The rising called forth the intervention of the Great Powers. The Treaty of San Stefano stipulated that Turkey should grant autonomy to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Under the terms of the Congress of Berlin, Bosnia and Herzegovina was mandated to Austria-Hungary. The Austro-Hungarian troops sent to occupy the country met with unexpected resistance from Bosnian Muslims. The rebels were led by men of the lower classes—since prominent Bosnians were unwilling to take sides after the withdrawal of Turkish authorities and the army—who incited the people to rise against the invader and set up a government of the people in Sarajevo. The occupation began on July 29th and was completed on October 20th, 1878. Drastic measures were taken to break down the strong resistance offered at some places, particularly around and in the town of Sarajevo.

Bibliography: Historical studies relating to the period of Turkish rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina are far from being complete though much progress has been made of late. Most of the relevant historical material dealing with the period has not yet been published. The collecting and editing of the material is in charge of the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo. For the early part of the period of particular importance are the Turkish cadastral registers (with *ḳānūn-nāmas*), kept in the Başvekâlet arşivi in Istanbul, *waḳf-nāmas* (reported on by F. Spaho, H. Kreševljaković, G. Elezović, H. Šabanović, and others), and documents stored in the archives of Dubrovnik (reported on by Ć. Truhelka, F. Kraelitz, V. Skarić, G. Elezović, H. Šabanović, J. Radonić, and others); also important are the *ḳāḍī sid͟jill*s of the 17th century with fragmentary records from the 16th century, and public records material (Oriental Institute, K͟husrew-bey Library, etc.). Some public records of the *wilāyet* of Bosnia (from the middle of the 19th century) are kept in the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo. Valuable information concerning the later part of the period is to be found in the unpublished chronicle entitled *Taʾrīk͟h-i Diyār-i Bosna*, written by Ṣāliḥ Ṣidḳī Ef. Hadžihusejnović, known by the name of Muweḳḳit, at the second half of the 19th century, the autograph of which is kept in the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo.

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3. Islamic culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The islamisation of part of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one outcome of the Turkish conquest, was to lay its impress on the country's pattern of life and culture. The style of living, both public and private, of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of Turkish rule was very much the same—particularly in towns—as in the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The mainstays of Islamic culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina were town settlements, for the manifest features of the culture were predominantly urban in scope and character. The way of living of Muslim peasantry had some definite particularities of its own. Owing to europeanisation however the elements of oriental culture—particularly in Christians—tended to disappear in the post-Turkish period, and did so to an ever-increasing extent after the country became a constituent part of Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the characteristic elements of oriental culture have not disappeared even to-day, and what is more, not even among Christian population, to say nothing of the Muslims. Many features of oriental ways of life are still very much in evidence, such as the style of living, furniture, cooking, drinking habits and certain old customs. Oriental practices are still in frequent use in the goldsmith's craft, carpet weaving and many other branches of applied arts.

The most lasting traces of the influence of Islamic culture are to be found in the field of architecture and town-planning. Some principles of oriental town-planning have found ready application because of prevalence of terraced sites. Many Bosnian towns still show the former typical lay-out with a division into two quarters, viz., the *Čarshu* (shopping or commercial centre) and the *Maḥallas* (the residential quarters).

In town-planning and building generally over the period of Turkish rule three stages can be distinguished: (a) the initial period until about the end of the 16th century, (b) the second until the end of the 17th century, and (c) the third until the end of the Turkish rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the initial period of development of Muslim town settlements it was the Governor-Generals and high Turkish dignitaries who erected places of worship and public buildings, the representative examples of monumental architecture. From this period date the finest monuments of the Islamic style of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *e.g.*, the Aladža mosque (1550) at Foča, the G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey mosque (1530) and the ʿAlī Pas͟ha mosque (1561) in Sarajevo, the Ferhād Pas͟ha mosque (1579) in Banjaluka, the G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey Medresa (1537) called "Seldžukija" and later "Kuršumlija" with G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey's *ḥammām* (before 1557) and the Brusa *bezistan* (1551) in Sarajevo, and many others. With the growth and rapid development of guilds in the second period, it was largely the traders and merchants who were responsible for the erection of public buildings. The examples dating from this period are less monumental in appearance except for a few edifices erected by Governor-Generals or some high Turkish dignitaries, as for example the Hadži-Sinan's Tekiye (1640) in Sarajevo. The architecture of the third period shows signs of decadence and, towards the latter part, of the penetration of European ideas as well as imitation of styles prevalent in the towns of Turkey. There are also signs of direct influences. The period nevertheless has produced many interesting examples of technical ingenuity. The development of the town of Travnik, as the official residence of the Vizier, is typical of the period. The Süleymaniyya mosque (the present building—dating from 1816) has been constructed over a *bezistan*. A number of ancient mosques were restored during this period. In the construction of monumental public buildings the Islamic architects displayed the fundamental features of the Ottoman artistry, though not all of the latter's forms and characteristics found expression in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Smaller mosques and public buildings, as well as dwelling-houses were built by native master builders, hence certain individual features of this style of architecture. In the post-Turkish period the examples of Islamic architecture show unmistakable signs of decadence. The Austro-Hungarian Governments attempted to develop the characteristics of Islamic architectural art by copying the Moorish style. The buildings in this style contrasted with both the earlier examples of Islamic architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina and those of the latter period of the Austrian rule, besides being in disharmony with Bosnian inland scenery and unsuited to climatic conditions. Buildings in this style proved a failure. The most representative example of this style is the Sarajevo Town Hall. The Bosnian and Herzegovian style of architecture, as applied to dwelling-houses, held its own a while longer before it finally disappeared.

A very large number of words and idioms of Turkish, Arabic and Persian origin are in everyday use in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to a greater extent than in other areas where Serbo-Croat is spoken. The early literary style also made full use of such borrowings. With the development and

under the influence of standard Serbo-Croat, since 1878, and more so since 1918, words and phrases of Turkish origin have been falling out of use in everyday speech. During the period of Turkish rule a cursive Cyrillic alphabet was in use in private correspondence among Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims, particularly among native Muslim nobles. Arabic characters were used in the writing of Serbo-Croat literary texts done by Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims. The same characters were used in certain Serbo-Croat religious texts written during the period of Austrian rule and that of pre-war Yugoslavia. Some religious books printed in these characters are still available. The orthography was rather arbitrary at first but gradually became standardised. Since 1930 however, the characters have hardly ever been used even in religious texts.

No comprehensive study has so far been made of the literary production, in Serbo-Croat or oriental languages, of Bosnian or Herzegovinian Muslims.

In their devotion to folk-songs and popular poetry the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina differed little from their Christian compatriots. The earlier epic compositions of Bosnian and Herzegovinian *guslars* have all the basic characteristics of traditional Serbo-Croat epic poems. The difference merely lies in a different religious and political attitude, a more frequent use of Turkish idioms, and a tendency away from heroic poems towards ballads. *Hasanaginica*, a popular Bosnian poem, is well known in the world of literature. Popular epic poems of the earlier type are preserved in the south of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A later type of popular Muslim epic poetry developed among the people of a western frontier district called Krajina. Such poems were recited with a *tamburica* (mandolin) accompaniment, and differed in several respects from the popular poems of the *guslars*. Popular lyrics of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims, when compared with those of their compatriots, likewise show—and to a higher degree—a number of characteristic features of their own. The most familiar and popular among these are the love poems called "*sevdalinkas*". Apart from oriental influences of language, motifs, and music apparent in their composition, the *sevdalinkas* are essentially typical poems of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims, liked and enjoyed throughout Yugoslavia.

Judging by the results of studies published so far, those Bosnian and Herzegovian Muslim poets who wrote in oriental languages did so mainly in Turkish, to a lesser extent in Persian, and in a few instances in Arabic. Among Turkish writers, there were several of Bosnian origin, some of whom were noted poets, as for example Derwīsh Pasha, son of Bāyazid Agha (killed in 1012/1603), born in Mostar (Herzegovina), and the well-known stylist Meḥmed Nergisi (died 1044/1634), born in Sarajevo. Not only were they born in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also held office for rather a long time, the former as Pasha of Bosnia and the latter as Müderris and Ḳāḍī. Likewise of Bosnian origin was Aḥmed Sūdī (died 1005/1596-7), the well-known commentator on the Persian classics. One of the most copious writers of poetry in the Persian language, who also wrote in Turkish, was the sheykh Fewzī of Mostar (died about 1160/1747). Aḥmed Waḥdetī (died 1007/1598-9) of Dobrun near Višegrad, as well as some other poets of Bosnian origin, deviated from Muslim orthodoxy. Ḥasan Ḳā'imī of Sarajevo (died 1103/1691-2) and Üsküfī Bosnevī, also called Havāyī (died about 1061/1650-1), born in Tuzla Donja, as well as a number of other Bosnian and Herzegovinian poets, wrote both in Turkish and Serbo-Croat. The latter compiled a Serbo-Croat dictionary written in Turkish verse. In the 13th and 14th/19th and 20th centuries up to the present time there were a number of poets who wrote religious poems in the spirit of old traditions. Of this poetry worthy of note are the poems in praise of the birth of Muḥammad (*mewlūd*), the compositions of the early period being mere versions imitative of the Turkish texts, latterly followed by some original writings.

The early prose of the Muslim writers of Bosnia and Herzegovinia mostly in Arabic, is largely concerned with Islamic theological subjects, *sharī'a* laws, State administration, and history. Many of the writers, natives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, lived and worked in Istanbul and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, as for example 'Abd Allāh Bosnevī—died in 1054/1644—a writer of mystic-philosophical tracts and commentator on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* by 'Ibn al-Arabī. Noted as a writer on law and politics was Ḥasan Kāfī, born in Prusac (Akhisar), whose literary merit gained him a life-long *ḳāḍīlik* in his native place, where he died in 1025/1616. In addition to his other writings, Kāfī was the author of the well-known work *Niẓām al-'Ālam*. As many as forty authors might be mentioned who were active in the field of religious and law studied during the Bosnia and Herzegovina literary period. A number of well-known Ottoman historians were descended from Bosnian Muslim families (*e.g.*, Ibrāhīm Pečewī); however, the historiography in the Turkish language in Bosnia and Herzegovina is of a later growth. A noted Bosnian historiographer of the 12th/18th century, who write in Turkish, was the ḳāḍī 'Umar of Novi, the author of *Ghazawāt-i Ḥekīm-oghlu 'Alī-pasha*, a work dealing with historical events in Bosnia from the beginning of Muḥarram 1149/1736 to the end of Djumādā I of 1152/1739. The first printing of the work was done by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa (1154/1741); it was later reprinted and translated into English and German. During the transitional period between the end of the 12th/18th and the beginning of the 13th/19th centuries, a few prominent chroniclers (Muṣṭafā Basheski, Ṣāliḥ Ṣidḳī) are on record, who wrote accounts of contemporary events. Among the historians dealing with the latter period of Turkish rule and the events following the Austrian occupation of the country are the following: Ṣāliḥ Ṣidḳī Ef. Hadžihusejnović (died 1305/1888), Muḥammad-Enweri Kadić (1271/1855-1349/1931), a collector of historical material which he transcribed himself (28 books—a copy of the manuscript is housed in the Ghāzī Khusrew-bey Library, Sarajevo). The transition from the old historiography to be noted in the work of the shaykh Sejf al-Dīn Ef. Kemura (died 1335/1917). Likewise, certain characteristics of the earlier islamic studies and some conceptions of the earlier historiography are also manifest in the works of Dr. Safvet-bey Bašagić (1870-1934), the first modern historian of the Turkish period and the first oriental scholar in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who was a poet as well.

However, since 1878, and particularly since 1918, the literary activities of Bosnian Muslims—apart from the romantic school of thought which still clings to earlier beliefs (with Dr. S. Bašagić as the outstanding representative)—have tended more and more to become merged into Serbian and Croat literatures. A. F. Džabić (died 1918), *muftī* of Mostar and fighter for religious autonomy, attained

prominence in Turkey as professor of Arabic language and literature. He also brought out a collection of choice poems of Muḥammad's contemporaries.

The nurseries of Islamic education and culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as in every Turkish provinces, were the *mekteb*s and *medrese*s and religious institutions (mosques, *tekiye*s, and the like). As a rule adjacent to mosques, the *mekteb*s provided primary education mainly consisting of instruction in the reading of the Ḳur'ān, writing and basic religious principles. *Medrese*s, the secondary and higher schools, were also set up on the Turkish model. The earliest *medrese* on record in Sarajevo dates from the first quarter of the 10th/beginning of the 16th century. By the *waḳfnāme* of 943/1537 the Ghāzī Khusrew-bey-Medrese with its own Library was founded by Ghāzī Khusrew-bey, the *sandjaḳ-beyi* of Bosnia. The building was completed in the following year and is still standing opposite the entrance gate to the harem of the Khusrew-bey Mosque. The Medresa Library has since been made into an independent public institution of Ghāzī Khusrew-bey's *waḳf*, which has helped to extend its scope. The present inventory comprises the original stock of volumes, in oriental languages as well as a large number of additional copies, manuscripts and Turkish documents acquired from *waḳfs*, *medreses* and private libraries. The number of *medrese*s went on increasing, yet the most famous among them was the Ghāzī Khusrew-bey Medrese, which is now used as a secondary school for the study of theological subjects. Various dervish orders were engaged in mystic teachings and studies of the Persian language. The first dervish *tekiye* appears to have been erected before the final downfall of Bosnia. Interesting structural details shows the *khānaḳāh* built by the Ghāzī Khusrew-bey. The expenses of unkeep, religious teaching and education were defrayed by the *waḳf*.

The main development of publicly provided education and educational building dates from the viziership of Topal ʿOthmān Pasha with the setting-up of the first *rüshdiyye* and the *mekteb-i ḥuḳūḳ* (administrative law-school), followed by the opening of the public reading-club and the Printing Office. Under the provisions of the Education Act (1286/1869) the responsibility for educational services and maintainance of schools lay with the government; private schools or those of denominational character were not interfered with but were subject to State control. The provisions of the Act were not wholly carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, though *ṣibyān mektebi* and *rushdiyye*s were established, as well as some technical and training schools. According to official returns there were towards the end of the Turkish rule 917 *mekteb*s, 43 *medrese*s and 28 *rushdiyye*s. In addition to the above there was in Sarajevo a military school of the lower grade, a training college for *mekteb* teachers, and a trade school.

Without interfering with denominational schools the Austro-Hungarian authorities began by introducing their own system of State education. Religious instruction in State schools was obligatory. *Mektebs* as well as *medrese*s continued as religious schools. Under the statutory regulations of 1909 attendance of Muslim children at *mekteb* schools was compulsory, and no Muslim child could enter a secondary school without previously attending a *mekteb*. Certain measures were taken to reform the *mekteb* schools but in the majority of cases were not implemented. In 1909 there were about 1,000 old *mekteb* (*ṣibyān mektebi*) as well as ninety-two schools of the reformed type (*mekteb-i ibtidā'ī*). The *rushdiyye*s were counted among the elementary schools for Muslim children and were retained as such—with their programmes reformed—only in county boroughs and the district townlet of Brčko. The *medrese*s served as training schools for humbler religious functionaries, and in 1887 a college was established for the students of the *sharīʿa* law and future *sharīʿa* court judges. The *waḳf* Board founded in 1892 a *mekteb*-teachers' training college. Muslim pupils of the State grammar school of Sarajevo had the choice of being taught Classical Greek or Arabic.

During the successive Yugoslav governments after the World War I only the State primary schools were given recognition, though the small number of such schools could not cope with all the children of school age. Religious instruction was provided for all children attending the primary schools. The *mektebs* became preparatory or non-educational institutions for the teaching of Ḳur'ān reading. Religious instruction was also given in all secondary schools. A State *sharīʿa* secondary school was opened at Sarajevo in 1918. The *sharīʿa* judges' training college continued in existence until 1937 when the High School of *sharīʿa* and Islamic theology—of faculty grade—was established. The *waḳf* Board bore the cost of running the *mekteb* teachers' training college and the *medreses*—now secondary schools for the study of, mainly, theological subjects. Preliminary reforms concerning the medresas were introduced in 1933, and a definite programme was adopted in 1939 whereby they were to be of the comprehensive type, similar in character to secondary schools of the lower grade. The Ghāzī Khusrew-bey Medrese was an exception in that it provided senior secondary courses. A number of Bosnian and Herzegovinan Muslims are known to have graduated from various eastern universities. The rôle of granting scholarships to Muslim pupils and students, as well as bearing the cost of upkeep and running of boarding schools and providing other educational facilities, which had been confined to the *waḳf*, was gradually taken over—in the field of secular education, at any rate—by various Muslim societies, such as "Gajret", "Uzdanica", and others.

In the new Yugoslavia religious bodies and societies are separated from the State, but the latter may render assistance to religious communities. Religious instruction may be given only in the immediate vicinity of places of worship (under the provisions of the Religious Communities Act of 1953); however, the religious communities are free to open schools for the training of religious functionaries and staff. The *mektebs*, attendance at which was considered compulsory for Muslims by the Islamic religious community, were in existence until 1952, when they were abolished in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the Austro-Hungarian administration and in pre-war Yugoslavia, the study of Islamic branches of knowledge concerned with religion and oriental languages was closely associated with the activities of the above mentioned schools and colleges. At the same time, the Zemaljski Muzej of Sarajevo was engaged in collecting oriental manuscripts and records from Turkish archives. Among the staff of the museum there were a number of workers who studied oriental literary and historical records. It was here that conditions were created for the development of modern scientific studies and work

in this field (Č. Truhelka, V. Skarić, F. Spaho, R. Muderizović, and others).

Over the past years after the World War II increasing attention has been devoted in Bosnia and Herzegovina to oriental studies concerned with Islamic peoples. Thus the grammar school of Sarajevo provides courses of oriental as well as western-classical type. In the University of Sarajevo (founded in 1949) there is a chair in oriental philology (Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages and literature), and the chair in history also offers Turkish courses, besides giving special attention to studies bearing on the history of Yugoslav peoples during the period of Turkish rule. The Sarajevo Oriental Institute, founded in 1950, has a valuable collection of oriental manuscripts and Turkish historical material taken over from the Zemaljski Muzej of Sarajevo. Besides publishing its year-book, the Oriental Institute has been engaged in editing a systematized collection of Turkish records and sources bearing on the history of Yugoslav peoples (*Monumenta turcica historiam Slavorum Meridionalium illustrantia*). Thus a wide field of studies—concerned with Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages, the history of Yugoslav peoples during the period Turkish rule, and many other Islamic branches of knowledge—once within the scope of religious institutions and bodies, is now under secular control.

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4. The Islamic religious community in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1878.

The Sultan's sovereign rights over Bosnia and Herzegovina were recognised until 1908, when the province was annexed by Austria-Hungary. Nevertheless, the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Dual Monarchy remained undefined, largely because of the dualist constitution of Austria-Hungary.

Bosnia and Herzegovina were under a dual control exercised by the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Finance, both before and after the annexation. Each of the two powers had definite rights regarding administrative policy, the building of railways and matters concerned with the country's trade and finances.

The Austro-Hungarian system of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina was bureaucratic and police-ridden throughout the period. A military commander was responsible for the government, the number of departments being four, and later six. A Governor's "civil adlatus", was appointed in 1882, who was in effective control of the Civil Service. For administrative purposes the country was divided into six *okrug*s (departments)—Banjaluka, Bihać, Mostar, Sarajevo, Travnik, and Tuzla—and these in turn into *srez-e*s (districts) and *ispostava*s (the smallest administrative units). Only in 1906—the administration of justice was separated from the government of the country. Following the annexation, a Constitution with a "*Sabor*" (Assembly) was granted in 1910. The *Sabor* consisted of seventy-two deputies and twenty appointed (*ex officio*) members, the latter being partly religious representatives (among Muslims: the *reʾis al-ʿulamāʾ*), the Director of *wakf* Administration, and three *muftīs*), and partly high officials. The deputies were elected to three "curiae" according to their ranks, the first of which was of two classes, the Muslim owners of large estates belonging to the first. The curiae were organised by electoral districts on a denominational basis. The constitution restricted within narrow limits the powers of the assembly in respect of the Government, at the same time imposing many restrictions on the authority of the latter in respect of the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Finance.

In 1912 the Governor was given additional powers concerning the Civil Service. The Assembly was adjourned and did not sit during the World War I.

Despite the fact that the Austro-Hungarian government introduced a modern system of administration, developed trade (and mining and timber industries in particular), built roads, railways, and established schools and a number of scientific institutions, the framework of society remained in many respects unchanged. True, the Austro-Hungarian authorities were by this means able to win over to their side the greater part of the Muslim nobility, yet the unsolved agrarian question led to the stagnation of agriculture and told heavily upon the peasantry and in particular upon the kmets (mostly Orthodox Christians). Nor was the solution of the agrarian problem brought any nearer by the passing of the Facultative Redemption of Land Act, 1911, whereby only minor changes were effected in the existing relations.

From 1882 to 1903 the leading rôle in the direction of Austro-Hungarian policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina was played by B. Kallay, the minister of finances of the Dual Monarchy, otherwise a well-

known historian. In order to keep Bosnia and Herzegovina as a *corpus separatum* within the Dual Monarchy and to check the spread of Serbian and Croatian nationalism, Kallay attempted to create a "Bosnian nation" and a "Bosnian language". This policy, however, failed to attract a sufficient number of partisans among the native population, for the Serbs and Croats had become nationally conscious, and the nationally "undeclared" majority of the Muslims looked on Turkey as their mother country. Moreover, many Muslim families had settled in Turkey and Muslim leaders had always stressed the sovereign rights of the Ottoman Sulṭān over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only a small part of the Muslim intellectuals and landowners adopted the cause of "Bosnian nationalism".

The Serbian political movement directed its main efforts towards achieving autonomy in Church matters and freedom to conduct Serbian community schools. The idea found supporters among the great mass of the Serbian population and the new-born intelligentsia, but it was the Serb *gazdas* (moneyed men) who thrust themselves forward as leaders. There was general discontent among the latter because their usurious trade practices were obstructed by the predominance of Austro-Hungarian moneyed interests and trade capital. The efforts of the movement proved successful, and autonomy was granted in matters of religion and denominational instruction in 1905.

Muslim opinion became increasingly suspicious of certain measures taken by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. In order to gain control over Muslim religious institutions, the Government, in 1882, created the office of *re'is al-ʿulemā'*, the supreme religious head of Bosno-Herzegovinian Muslims, as well as the highest religious authoritative body (*ulema medžlis*) presided over by the *re'is al-ʿulemā* with four members. This organisation went so far as to control the rights of the *Wakf* Board. Dissatisfied and alarmed, the Muslims presented a petition to the Emperor (in 1886) asking to be granted autonomy in matters concerning the administration of the *wakfs*. A resolute struggle for the achievement of autonomy, religious and educational, for all Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina began in 1899 under the leadership of A. F. Džabić, the *mufti* of Mostar. The struggle became linked with the Orthodox (Serb) movement. Džabić insisted on demanding maximum concessions but was outvoted. In 1900 a draft statute for the Islamic religious community was presented to the Minister Kallay, wherein a special emphasis was paid on the Sulṭān's sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina, a principle which the Austro-Hungarian authorities were unwilling to accept. When Džabić, the *mufti* of Mostar, left for Istanbul to consult the Sultan, he was forbidden to re-enter Bosnia and Herzegovina. From 1906 onward the movement took a more organised and definite shape. An Executive Committee of the Muslim people's organisation was elected, presided over by ʿAlī Bey Firdūs. While championing the interests of the propertied classes, the organisation at the same time entered into negotiations with the Government for the granting of religious autonomy. The negotiations hung fire, for the Austro-Hungarian authorities refused to lend an ear to the slightest hint about the Sultan's sovereign rights over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following the annexation, the negotiations were brought to a satisfactory conclusion with the Emperor's sanction of the Statute concerning Autonomous Government of Moslem Religious Affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina *Vakf-Mearif*. Under the statute the supreme administrative authority as regards *wakfs* and endowments of schools and colleges was vested in a *Vakf-Mearif* Assembly (*Sabor*) consisting of eight nominated (*ex officio*) members (the *re'is al-ʿulemā'*, six *muftis* and the Director of the Vakf Board) and twenty-four members elected by district board committees. The president of the *Sabor* was the *re'is al-ʿulemā' ex officio*. The *Vakf-Mearif* Committee was both the administrative and the executive organ of the *Sabor*. Other minor bodies of the *Vakf-Mearif* Board were the district committees, elected by district assemblies, and, among the latter, the *džemat* assemblies and *džemat medžlis*. The highest religious authority was exercised by the *Ulema Medžlis*, consisting of four members, with the *re'is al-ʿulemā'* at its head. The *Re'is* and members of the *Ulema Medžlis* were elected by a separate electoral body consisting of six *muftis* and 24 elected members. Three (elected) candidates for the post of *re'is* were submitted by electoral body to the Emperor, one of whom was appointed *re'is* by decree. The *re'is* entered upon his duties only after obtaining the authorisation (*menshūra*) for the performance of religious duties from the *sheykh al-Islām* of Istanbul. The relevant petition had to be conveyed to Istanbul through the Austro-Hungarian Embassy. A vacancy in the *Ulema Medžlis* was filled by appointment, on the part of the joint Ministry of Finance, of one of two elected candidates. Each *okrug* (department) had its *mufti*, who was selected by the Government from among candidates submitted by the *Ulema Medžlis*. The salaries of higher religious functionaries and civil servants came from the provincial budget. The statute also settled the question of Muslim denominational schools, as well as the rights of religious functionaries in respect of *sharīʿa* judges.

With the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into Yugoslavia the question of the Islamic religious community was in the forefront again. Moreover, there were Muslims in Yugoslavia outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the statute of 1909 remained in force in Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1930. There was a separate Muslim religious organisation covering Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro. The putting into effect of the agrarian reform hit some Muslim property owners much harder than it did the *wakfs* in Bosnia and Herzegovina, for most of the latters' property consisted rather of town sites than land in the countryside. Nevertheless, the decentralization of the *wakf* administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as disordered financial management and malpractices caused serious damage to *wakf* property.

Following the abolition of the parliamentary régime in Yugoslavia a law was passed in 1930 concerning the Islamic religious community and its Constitution in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Thus the former autonomous Muslim religious communities were united under one head—the *re'is al-ʿulemā'*—and one supreme authoritative body composed of the *re'is* and the two presidents of the *Ulema Medžlis*. The official residence of the *re'is al-ʿulemā'* and the seat of the Board of the Islamic religious community were transferred to Belgrade; however, there existed, in addition, two *Ulema-Medžlis* and two *Vakf-Mearif* Councils with their administrative committees, whose central offices were in Sarajevo and Skopje. Lower in authority were the *muftis*, the district *Vakf-Mearif* board with

a *s͟harīʿa* judge at its head, and the *džemat-medžlis* presided over by the *Džemat Imam*. The main features of the Act and Constitution are to be seen in the fact that the majority of posts were held by appointment, and also, that the office of *reʾīs al-ʿulemāʾ* took precedence of the *Ulema-Medžlis*. The *reʾīs* was, in fact, the head and symbol of a unified Islamic religious community in the State, while the administration was dual (Sarajevo and Skopje). Special enactments regulated the election of candidates for the post of *reʾīs*, of *Ulema-Medžlis* members and of *muftīs*. The electoral body was expected to choose three candidates for the office of *reʾīs*, one of whom was then appointed by royal decree on the recommendation of the minister of justice and that of the prime minister. Also nominated by royal decree were the members of the *Ulema-Medžlis* and the *muftīs*, on the recommendation of the minister of justice.

With the passing of a new law and Constitution in 1936 changes were brought about which, however, did not interfere with the unity expressed by the function of the *reʾīs* or with the dualism of the other governing bodies. The chief organs of the Islamic religious community were now the following: the *Džemat-Medžlis*, the District *Vakf* Commission, the *Ulema-Medžlis* in Sarajevo and Skopje, the *Vakf-Mearif* Assembly (Sabor) in Sarajevo and Skopje, with the assembly committees, *vaḳf* boards, and the *reʾīs al-ʿulemāʾ* with a select or full Council. The official residence of the *reʾīs* was in Sarajevo. The function of *muftī* was dispensed with. The main feature of the regulations was the selectivity of governing bodies and functionaries. For the election of members to the *Ulema-Medžlis* each Assembly selected an electoral body of ten members, who in turn formed one electoral body for the election of three *reʾīs* candidates. As before, one of the candidates (usually the one with the majority of votes) was appointed *reʾīs* by royal decree on the recommendation of the minister of justice. It was through this organization that the Yugoslav Muslim Organization, the party led by M. Spaho, secured its position in the religious community.

In the new Yugoslavia, the position and privileges of the Islamic religious community have been safeguarded by provisions made in the Constitution and regulated by the 1953 Law concerning the legal position of the different religious communities. Religious organisations are separated from the State, the holding of religious beliefs being regarded as a private matter. Religious communities may conduct schools for the training of religious functionaries and staff. The State may also lend its aid to religious communities.

The Islamic religious community in Yugoslavia is governed by the provisions of the Constitution of the Islamic religious community in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, made and passed by the Supreme *waḳf* Assembly in 1947. Some of the regulations have since been changed and others added. The Constitution has effected the unity of the religious organisation of Muslims in Yugoslavia not only through the function of the *reʾīs al-ʿulemāʾ*, but also through the establishment of the Supreme *waḳf* Assembly, allowing at the same time for the federal structure of the State in that separate *Ulema-Medžlis* and *waḳf* assemblies have been set up in the four republics where Muslims form a considerable part of the population. The supreme authority is vested in the *reʾīs* and four members from the four *waḳf* assemblies. The *reʾīs al-ʿulemāʾ* and the four members of the supreme authority are elected by the Supreme *Waḳf* Assembly (see YUGOSLAVIA.

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BOSNA-SARĀY [see SARAJEVO]

BOSPHORUS [see BOG͟HAZ-IČI]

BOṢRĀ (Bostra), a town of southern Syria in the fertile plain of the Nuḳra, in the province of Ḥawrān (Hauranitidis of the *Notitia dignitatum*), the Idumea of the Bible. Situated in 32° 30′ N., 36° 28′ E., and called today Boṣrā Eski S͟hām (to distinguish it from Boṣrā al-Ḥarīrī on the southern edge of the Lad͟jāʾ, 12½ miles from Ezra), Boṣrā is 19 miles north of the present frontier of Jordan on the road joining Darʿa on the west to Salk͟had on the east. It is close to two intermittent streams, the Wādī Zaydī and the Wādī Buṭm, tributaries of the Yarmūḳ. The name Boṣrā is attested in the sense of 'citadel' (De Vogüé, *Inscr. Palm.*, 25). The town, fortified since its foundation, seems to have been a strongpoint towards the north of the 'Arab', *i.e.* Nabataean, kings. Damascius (*Vita Isid.*, § 199), writing in the 6th century, describes it as an ancient fortified town provided with ramparts by the Arab kings. The book of Maccabees (I, v, 26) makes it dependent on the great fortified region of Perea and calls it Bossora. The extensive Nabataean cemeteries which surround it are evidence that it belonged to the kingdom of Nabatene. Two inscriptions from the neighbouring town of Salk͟had (Salcha of the Romans) bear, for the eighth decade of the first century, the name of king Malk͟hū (Malchus of Damascius) (Littmann, *Semitic Inscr.*, in *Syria*, iv, A, nos. 23 & 28). The use of Nabataean was kept after the Roman conquest (*ibid.*, 12, 102, 103, 106). Certain Nabataean inscriptions include a Greek text.

When Boṣrā had been introduced into the Roman empire, after the annexation of the old Nabataean kingdom, by Cornelius Palma in 105-6 A.D. (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Bostra*, ii, 359, 11 f.) it was reorganised on the initiative of Trajan. Writers on Roman history differ as to the date of its foundation. B. Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xv, 969) sees it as a town of Roman foundation. Damascius assigns to Alexander Severus the honour of incorporating it as a town. The latter did indeed confer on Bostra the title of Colonia Bostra concurrently with that of Nova

Trajana Alexandrina (222-35 A.D.). Malalas takes its foundation back to Augustus.

It is certain that the town of Bostra was enlarged at the time of its incorporation into the Roman Empire, as a study of its plan shows. Though it remained a stronghold in the 4th century—the most important in the province of Arabia, with Gerasa and Philadelphia '*murorum firmitate firmissimas*' (Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv, 8_{13})—the withdrawal towards the south of the true line of defence made of it no longer simply a garrison town, station of the Third Cyrenaican Legion (*Notitia Dignitatum*, Ptolemy, v, 17, 7), but an important centre, soon to become Christian, and seat of the government of the province of Arabia under the name of Néa Trajanè Bostra. The Era of Bostra (105 A.D.) testifies to its importance. Thanks to the trade routes which attached it to Philadelphia and the Persian Gulf and those which gave it access to the Mediterranean across Palestine, it was also an important centre of commerce dependent on Damascus, to the north, to which it was joined by two roads. It had extensive markets, of which the ruins subsist; it had its own coinage: that struck by the emperor Philip 'the Arab', who was a native of Bostra, gives to it the title of Metropolis as well as that of Colonia (Butler, *Syria*, A iv, Bosra, cap. II, xvi, nos. 42, 43). Philip the Arab stationed a squadron of cataphractaries there.

At the time of the first form of the Manichean controversy Titus, bishop of Bostra (about 360), took up (*Part. graeca* xviii, 1069-1264) a doctrinal position and engaged in activity which placed him in the front rank of the ecclesiastical writers of his time by his knowledge, his philosophical training, and his secular activity. Before him Beryllus (222-33), under the influence of Origen, had testified against the heresy by returning to orthodoxy. Byzantine Bostra played the part of a frontier market where Arab caravans and pastoralists alike came to buy provisions under the watch of the troops stationed there.

As an administrative centre Bostra included a large population of functionaries and civic officials. It was the centre of a bishopric subordinate to the patriarchate of Antioch. An edict of Anastasius (Butler, *op. cit.*, no. 561) secured the stability of offices there by ridding them of corruption and devoting to them revenues derived from the annona and the grain trade, as also from the 'twelfth'. Romano-Byzantine inscriptions are testimony of the administrative importance of the town. It was the residence of the governor of the Provincia Arabia, who besides the titles of *hégémôn* and *dux* (Gr. δοῦξ) bore the military title of *scholasticos* (488). As a municipium the town had its praeses (*prohédros*) and a college of four *synarchontes* to which was joined a council (*bouleutai*). For the time when Christianity had not yet triumphed dedicatory inscriptions are to be found to the official Gods of the Empire and to those of Ḥawrān with their original or Hellenised names (D. Sourdel, *Cultes du Hauran*, Paris 1952). Later, during the Christian epoch, numerous inscriptions mention the reconstruction or restoration of churches dedicated to the Virgin and Sergius or anonymous patron saints, and also of two monasteries of which at least one, dedicated to Saint Cyricus, was for girls. To judge by funeral inscriptions the population had kept its old Semitic basis, sometimes partially Romanised, with infusions of new blood from Italy, Asia Minor, Corinth, and even (thanks to the transfer of a garrison) from Pannonia. By virtue of its archbishopric Bostra for a long time kept a basilica, of which substantial remnants remain, and a bishop's palace of which nothing much is left. The convent possibly dedicated to Saint Sergius stood not far from there. It had a big church of which the walls and the apse are still standing. It is there that folklore places the sojourn of the monk Baḥīrā [*q.v.*], he who, as is well known, was one of the christian witnesses to the Prophet's mission. (His name, which is still unexplained, may conceal that of Pa<u>kh</u>ūrū attested by a Nabataean inscription from Sal<u>kh</u>ad [Littmann, *Nabat.* 24_6—and likewise, Bartholomew of Edessa, *P.G.*, 104, 1429].) The Muslim epic legend later made of the taking of this town, 'the first Byzantine centre conquered by the Arabs', a sign of the divine mission of Islam (Pseudo-Wāḳidī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-<u>Sh</u>ām*, Cairo 1954, 16-7).

The Arab conquest and then the establishment of the Umayyad power brought about its decline, in spite of the advantages accruing from its position on the pilgrim route, by depriving it of its status of provincial capital and permanent major frontier garrison. It preserved a certain prestige because of two legends, that of Baḥīrā and that of the 'kneeling' of the camel bearing the 'Syrian' copy of the Ḳur'ān (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qorans*, ii, 112 ff.). This seems to have made of it the site of a pious folklore which is attested by the accounts of pilgrimages (*e.g.*, al-Harawī, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 17) and the names of its mosques: al-ʿUmarī (Sauvaget, in *Syria*, xxii, 41), Fāṭima, <u>Kh</u>iḍr, al-Mabrak, and the popular tales attaching to them. Numerous inscriptions bear witness to their restoration from the time when the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ princes of Damascus exercised suzerainty over Boṣrā and devoted themselves to strengthening it against the Fāṭimids whose possession (in theory) it still was. The spoliation of the town by Abū <u>Gh</u>ānim's Carmathians had made this needful. The ʿUmarī mosque, anterior to 128/745 (date of a restoration by ʿU<u>th</u>mān b. al-Ḥakam, Ar. inscr. Littmann, no. 30), was renovated in 508/1114, then rebuilt in 618/1221 under the Ayyūbids with the supervision of an Egyptian architect. In 526/1132 the mosque of <u>Kh</u>iḍr was restored by the *amīr* Gümü<u>sh</u>tekin. The 'very old' Mabrak mosque had a Ḥanafī *madrasa* built beside it in 530/1136 (Sauvaget, in *Syria*, xxiv, 231).

The Ayyūbid governors made the town richer by another Ḥanafī *madrasa* in 630/1233 (Littmann, *op. cit.*, no. 38). The college mosque known as the 'Dabbā<u>gh</u>a' dates from 655/1257. The Mabrak mosque was—and still is—surrounded by a celebrated cemetery which formed a pair with the 'Martyr's cemetery' to the south of the town. Inscriptions attest the construction and restoration at this time of other monuments now lost.

The period of these constructions was that when the town regained under the Ayyūbids a major importance due to its military rôle, whether in face of the Crusaders or in the course of the conflicts between Saladin's successors. The great witness of this military function is the citadel of Boṣrā. Under the governors representing the Atabeks of Damascus, the old Roman theatre on an esplanade to the south of the town outside the ramparts had been adapted for defence by a wall and three flanking towers. Between 481/1089 and 649/1251 the princes who successively held Boṣrā under their sway enlarged this citadel which ended by becoming one of the chief military monuments of the Muslim world. In

1956 it still remained the most complete authentic document on the successive techniques of fortification from the Fāṭimid period to the Mamlūk. After the Mongol invasion of 659/1261, which left the fortress badly damaged, Baybars sent a mission from Egypt which restored, made even bigger, and strengthened this monument (A. Abel, *La citadelle eyyubite de Bosra Eski Cham*, in *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, vi (1956), 95-138, XI pl.). This restoration, by using up a huge quantity of material, no doubt completed the destruction of the old Roman hippodrome which once stood to the south of the theatre. The extensive ruination and depopulation consequent on the brief Mongol invasion seem to have plunged the town once more into obscurity. The restoration of the citadel 'outside the walls' only partially concerned it (al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamelukes*, tr. Quatremère, i, 141). However, the town enjoyed a certain importance in the 15th century, for it furnished the Mamlūk administration in Syria with several notable personages bearing the family name of al-Buṣrāwī. It remained the place through which pilgrims passed on the old Roman road from Damascus to Philadelphia-ʿAmmān. Its Birkat al-Ḥādjdj still bears their graffiti.

The development of Egyptian trade by the Red Sea and the fact that the Holy Cities, becoming more and more impoverished, lived principally on Egyptian aid, deprived it, however, of the character of trading centre which it had had originally. The Ottoman invasion and conquest turned it into a minor provincial centre, the exile of obscure functionaries who did not always possess the means to defend the town.

The administrative centre of Ḥawrān was transferred to Mzeyrib and Merkez in the 10th/16th century.

In the 11th/17th century the ʿAnazeh Bedouins, with their flocks, pushed to the edge of Ḥawrān. The threat of their pillaging expeditions hung over the whole region on dwellers and travellers alike. The pilgrims then adopted the western route by Ṣanamayn and Mzeyrib which has remained till today the '*darb al-ḥadjdj*' and alongside which the Hejaz Railway was built at the beginning of the present century.

Today the agricultural centre of Boṣrā earns its living by the cultivation of the fine wheat fields of the Nuḳra when the rain is sufficient. It enjoys also an excellent water supply which allows the maintenance, in confinement, of a fair number of livestock. It has kept its fine vines and still produces a small quantity of very good wine.

The town is of enormous archeological interest. Since the beginning of the 19th century travellers have been struck by the sight of its Roman ruins and have paused with interest before its gradually crumbling ramparts and its citadel. The Princeton Expedition (1904-5, 1909) published a great number of inscriptions in Greek and Latin (Littmann, David Magie Jr., and Duane Reed Stuart), Nabataean (Littmann), and Arabic (Littmann). The efforts of the members of the Institut Français de Damas and of the Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth have contributed in *Syria*, in the publications of the Institut de Damas, and more recently in the *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, to the increase in our knowledge of the town. Restorations, due principally to the work of J. Sauvaget, have been successfully carried out to the ʿUmarī mosque. The Syrian Service of Antiquities has made extensive excavations.

The exact study of ancient and medieval hydrological techniques, of the nature of the monuments and their chronological assignment, and, above all, of the successive levels of construction, still remains to be carried out within the framework of a master plan.

Bibliography: On the history of journeys to Boṣrā and of the ancient descriptions: Brunnow, *Provincia Arabia*, I, 481-507, iii, 367-368.—For archeological investigations in general: *Publications of the Princeton University Archeological Expeditions to Syria in* 1904-5 and 1909 (Div. II, Howard Crosby Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*; Div. III, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria*, Section A, *Southern Syria*, part 4, 'Boṣra'; Div. IV, Enno Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, Section A, *Nabataean Inscriptions*, Section D, *Arabic Inscriptions*); Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Bostra' (Benzinger); *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastique*, s.v. 'Bostra'; J. Sauvaget, *Les Inscriptions arabes de la Mosquée de Boṣra*, in *Syria*, xxii, 53-65 (from 102 to 618); F. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* (Publ. de l'Inst. Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth), Paris 1947; H. Seyrig, *Sur les ères de quelques villes de Syrie*, in *Syria*, xxvii, 42; *idem*, *Inscriptions de Bostra*, xxii, 44-8; *idem*, *Postes romains sur la route de Médine*, xxiv, 221-3; J. Sauvaget, *Quelques monuments musulmans de Syrie*, in *Syria*, xxiv, 231.—Bibliography by Buhl in *EI*[1], s.v. Boṣrā.—Besides the interesting descriptions (which should be compared) in the old Baedeker and the *Guide Bleu*, a convenient manual is provided by Sliman ʿAbd Allah al-Muqdad, *Boṣra*, published in Arabic and French, Damascus n.d. (A. Abel)

BOSTĀNDJĪ (Būstāndjī, from Persian *būstān* "garden"), the name applied in the old Ottoman State organisation to people employed in the flower and vegetable gardens, as well as in the boathouses and rowing-boats of the Sultans' palaces. As long as the law of *devshirme* (forcible recruiting, [*q.v.*]) remained in force, these were recruited in accordance with its provisions. The *bostāndjīs* formed two independent *odjaḳs* [*q.v.*], of which one was in Istanbul and the other in Edirne (Adrianople), commanded by the *bostāndjī-bashī*. Only the strongest and most vigorous of those forcibly recruited were accepted in the two *odjaḳs* of the *bostāndjīs*, either directly or from the *odjaḳ* of the *ʿadjamī-oghlāns* [*q.v.*]. There were nine grades in the *odjaḳ* of the *bostāndjīs*. New recruits wore round their waists a belt made of the fringe of State cloth (*beylik*), while *bostāndjīs* of the highest rank wore a green belt known as *muḳaddem*. After a specified length of service the *bostāndjīs* were promoted to the *odjaḳ* of the Janissaries. Each man received on promotion the sum of 1,000 *aḳčes* for his equipment. At the end of the 17th and in the 18th century there were cases of *bostāndjīs* assigned to the mounted *odjaḳ* of *ḳapī-ḳulus* [*q.v.*]. *Bostāndjīs* were employed both inside and outside the palace. Others worked directly in flower and vegetable gardens, in boathouses or in connexion with them. There were also *bostāndjīs* in Sultans' estates, as, for example, in Amasya, Manisa, Bursa and Izmit. Apart from the services mentioned above, the *bostāndjīs* of Istanbul, were entrusted with duties such as guarding the palace, transporting material for the construction of palaces and mosques for the Sultans, working in boats used for the transport of timber from the environs of Izmit (v. *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. ʿĀrif Bey, *TOEM*, appendix 2, 25).

Two different classes are shown in the paybooks of

the *bostāndjı̊*s, the *ghilmān-i bāghče-i khāssa* (boys of private gardens) and *ghilmān-i bostāniyān* (garden boys). In a paybook dated 984/1576 those employed in the Sultan's private gardens are shown as 20 *bölük*s [*q.v.*], and those working in the vegetable gardens as 25 *djemāʿat*s [*q.v.*]. At that time there were 645 working in the private gardens and 971 in the vegetable gardens. Paybooks for 1174/1760 and 1192/1778, show 20 *bölük*s in the private gardens and 64 *djemāʿat*s in the flower and vegetable gardens outside. *Bostāndjı̊*s were also concerned with keeping order in the places where the gardens in which they were employed were situated. There was a *djemāʿat* in each district, commanded by an officer known as *usta* (master). The *usta*s performed functions analogous to those of police commanders of the districts. These *usta*s were appointed from among the four *baltadjı̊*s [*q.v.*] of the *odjak* of the *bostāndjı̊*s. Terms such as "the *usta* of Kadi-Köyü or the *usta* of Bebek", seen in some documents refer to the *usta*s of the gardens in these districts. The retinue of each *usta* consisted of 20 to 30 *bostāndjı̊*s, in accordance with the importance of the district. The *bostāndjı̊*s of the boathouses and the rowing-boats were specially chosen for these jobs, and pulled the oars of the 24-oar private boat of the Sultan, under the command of the *ḳamladjı̊-bashı̊* (chief oarsman), when the Sultan wanted to travel by sea or to have a sea trip. Thévenot says that *ʿadjamī-oghlān*s sat by the right oars, and Turkish youths by the left oars, but this is not certain.

A record of the revenue of the flower and vegetable gardens run by the *bostāndjı̊*s was presented every year in November to the Sultan through the *bostāndjı̊-bashı̊*, and the money paid into the privy purse. Of this money, one purse (500 piastres) was bestowed on the *bostāndjı̊*s and one purse given to the *waḳf* of the Dāʾūd Pasha mosque. In this way, when the revenue was presented, property tenable on a life tenure was bestowed on the twelve most senior *bostāndjı̊*s who were then promoted to the mounted *odjek* of the *ḳapi-ḳulu*s or to the rank of *müteferriḳa* [*q.v.*].

When the occasion arose, *bostāndjı̊*s were sent on expeditions, *e.g.*, in 1152/1739, 3,000 of them were dispatched by ship to Bender to fight against the Russians (v. Ṣubḥī, *Taʾrīkh*, 127).

The numbers of the *bostāndjı̊*s varied from time to time. At the beginning of the 16th century these numbered 3,396, at the middle of the century 2,947 and at the end 1,998. At the beginning of the 18th century there were 2,400 *bostāndjı̊*s.

The independent *odjaḳ* of *bostāndjı̊*s at Edirne had its own organisation. It numbered considerably fewer people than the Istanbul *odjaḳ*: 445 at the beginning of the 17th century, 751 at the end of the century, 751 at the beginning of the 18th century. There were 10 *bölük*s of *bostāndjı̊*s working in the Sultan's private gardens at Edirne, apart from whom there were *bostāndjı̊*s employed in three other gardens. *Bostāndjı̊*s wore a hat known as *barata*. Those recruited originally among the *devshirme* conscripts were celibate. Later marriage was allowed. Apart from their commanders, the *bostāndjı̊-bashı̊*s, *bostāndjı̊*s had officers known as *kedkhudā* of *bostāndjı̊*s, *khāṣṣeki-agha*, *ḳamladjı̊*, *ḳara-ḳulaḳ*, *bash-tebdīl* and *oda-bashı̊*. Four senior members of the *odjaḳ* were known as *baltadjı̊*s. At times the *bostāndjı̊*s took part in mutinies and lost, in consequence, the confidence of the Sultans. For this reason, Aḥmed III was obliged to make changes among them. Among the murderers of Selīm III there was a *bostāndjı̊* known as Deli (mad) Muṣṭafā. *Bostāndjı̊*s were also opposed to the military reorganisation measures, known as the *niẓām-i djedīd* and *segbān-i djedīd*. When the *odjaḳ* of the Janissaries was abolished and the organisation of the new Ottoman army, *ʿasākir-i manṣūre* (victorious army), was extended, these took over the task of keeping order in the districts previously entrusted to the *bostāndjı̊s*; the latter officials' functions being now restricted to gardening and acting as night watchmen. As from Muḥarram 1242 (August 1826), *bostāndjı̊*s were incorporated in the new organisation. According to the new law, 1,500 persons chosen among the *bostāndjı̊*s, commanded by a major, *biñbashi*) were entrusted with the task of guarding the palace and its environs (Orta-Köy and Dolmabahçe). These formed the nucleus of the corps of guards, known in Ottoman times as *khāṣṣa ʿaskeri*. A ministry, known as the Ministry of *böstāniyān-i khāṣṣa* (*bostāndjı̊*s of the Sultan) was formed to look after them. The *odjaḳ* of *bostāndjı̊*s at Edirne was at the same time abolished.

Bibliography: Eyyūbī Efendī, *Ḳānūn-nāme* (in a private library); Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, iv, 386; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 85, 89; Ṣubḥī, *Taʾrīkh*, 127; Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 200; a document referring to the reign of Muṣṭafā II (Başvekalet Arsivi, Emīrī's classification, no. 14954); reports by Ḥāsib Efendī, Minister of the Sultan's *bostāndjı̊*s, and the *bostāndjı̊-bashı̊*, ʿOthmān Khayrī Agha, concerning the organisation of the *odjaḳ* of *bostāndjı̊*s (Başvekalet Arşivi); law concerning the *odjaḳ* of *bostāndjı̊*s (Başvekalet Arşivi, cupboard no. 3, case no. 92); Artisans' Register (*Ehl-i Ṣanʿat Deftexi*) (Başvekalet Arşivi, Kāmil's classification); Chalcondyle, *Hist. Générale des Turcs* (Paris 1662, section on organisation); Rycaut, *Hist. of the present state of the Ottoman Empire*; *Le voyage de M. d'Aramon* (ed. Schefer, Paris 1887) 39; A. Ollivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman* (1801, i, fasc. 4); Enderūnī ʿAtāʾ, *Taʾrīkh* I; *Ghilmān-i ʿadjemiyān maʿāsh idjmālleri* (summaries of paybooks of *ʿadjamī-oghlāns*) (Başvekalet Arşivi); M. Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (1663), 114, etc.; Gibb-Bowen, 1/i, index.

(I. H. Uzunçarşılı)

BOSTĀNDJI̊-BASHI̊, the senior officer of the *odjaḳ* [*q.v.*] of the *bostāndjı̊*s [*q.v.*]. His retinue consisted of *bostāndjı̊*s of several classes. His residence was at Yalī-Köşkü on Seraglio Point in Istanbul. As the person responsible for the maintenance of order on the shores of the Golden Horn, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus, he used to patrol the shores in a boat with a retinue of 30 men, as well as inspecting the countryside and forests round Istanbul. When the Sultan travelled by rowing-boat, the *Bostāndjı̊-bashı̊* was entitled to hold the rudder (*Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, *TOEM*, Appendix 2, 24). He had consequently the opportunity of speaking to the Sultan in private and of passing on to him such information, true or false, as he chose. Important State officials, including the Grand Vizier, had, therefore, an interest in conciliating the *Bostāndjı̊-bashı̊*. Whenever the Sultan went out of the Palace, the *Bostāndjı̊-bashı̊* was allowed to hold his arm or his stirrup.

The *Bostāndjı̊-bashı̊* was invariably promoted from the *odjaḳ* of *bostāndjı̊*s, which would not allow an outsider, not even a member of the *odjaḳ* in Edirne, to get the post. In 1072/1661, during the Vizierate of Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha, Meḥmed IV did not on one

occasion find enough animals to hunt during a journey from Edirne to Istanbul. Incensed, he dismissed the *Bostāndjī-bashī* Shaʿbān Āghā, replacing him by Bodur Sīnān Āghā, the *Bostāndjī-bashī* of Edirne. Veteran *bostāndjīs* objected, however, on the grounds that it was not customary to appoint a commander from another *odjaḳ* (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 223).

Bostāndjī-bashīs used to entertain the Sultan every spring at a banquet at Kāghıtkhane (the Sweet Waters of Europe) in Istanbul (Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 13). When *Bostāndjī-bashīs* were appointed to an outside post they were usually given the rank of *Ḳapīdjī-bashī* or *Sandjaḳ-beyi*. Those favoured by the Sultan were appointed to the rank of *Beyler-beyi*. Later, when the rules of organisation became more lax, there were cases of *Bostāndjī-bashīs* becoming Grand Viziers. Such were the Pashas Dervīsh, Ḥasan, Topal Redjeb, Khalīl, Moldovandjī ʿAlī, Ḥāfiẓ, Ismāʿīl and ʿAbd Allāh.

Bostāndjī-bashīs, apart from commanding *bostāndjīs* proper, were also in charge of the *odjaḳs* of Topkapı, Yalı-Köşkü, Sepetçiler, Soğuk-Çesme, Bagcılar, Islemeciler, Bamyacılar, Kuşhāne, Gülhāne, Incili, Dolap-Degirmen, Balıkhane, Mezbele-Keşan etc. According to Enderūnī ʿAṭā, this responsibility was passed on to the *Bostāndjī-bashī* by busy palace officials, such as the *silāḥdār* (Chief Armourer), the *Čukhadār* (Master of the Wardrobe), the *ḳapī-āghāsī* (Chief White Eunuch) or the *kedkhudā* (intendant) of the *ḳapīdjīs* (Imperial Warders). The *Bostāndjī-bashī* also commanded a group of *khāṣṣekīs* (members of the Sultan's bodyguard). Among the *odjaḳs* commanded by the *Bostāndjī-bashī*, that of *Balīkhane* (fish market) had an evil reputation. Ministers and Grand Viziers sentenced to be exiled or executed were taken there. The fate of the Grand Viziers detained in this *odjaḳ* was indicated by the colour of the sherbet offered to them by the *Bostāndjī-bashī*. A white sherbet meant exile, while a red sherbet meant death.

When the *Bostāndjī-bashī* was dismissed or transferred, he was usually replaced by the *kedkhudā* (intendant) of the *bostāndjīs* or the *agha* (commander) of the *khāṣṣekīs*. There were, however, exceptions to this rule. It was customary for newly appointed *Bostāndjī-bashīs* to be invested with their robe of honour (*khilʿat*) in the presence of the Grand Vizier (ʿIzzī, *Taʾrīkh*, 110). There is a register in existence of the coastal residences of the *Bostāndjī-bashī* in Istanbul.

The *Bostāndjī-bashī* of Edirne was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in Edirne and its environs. Edirne, as the second capital of the State, was not subject to the Wālī of Rūmelī, the government of the city being directly in the hands of the *Bostāndjī-bashī*. The *Bostāndjī-bashīs* enjoyed great revenues and were in a position to commit great abuses. New recruits were, for example, sometimes farmed out against payment.

Bibliography: Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 223 & ii, 347; Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 13; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 89, 144; v, 90; Rāshid and Čelebī-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 61, 371; ʿIzzī, *Taʾrīkh*, 246, 287; for other works see *bostāndjī*, bibliography.

(İ. H. Uzunçarşılı)

BOSTĀNZĀDE, the name of a family of Ottoman *ʿulemāʾ* who achieved some prominence in the 16th and early 17th centuries. The founder of the family was (1) Muṣṭafā Efendi, born in Tire, in the province of Aydīn,

(1) Muṣṭafā b. Meḥmed
(2) Meḥmed (3) Muṣṭafā
(4) Muṣṭafā (5) Yaḥyā

in 904/1498-9, and known as Bostān (or Būstān); his father was a merchant called Meḥmed (thus in the text of ʿAṭāʾī and on the tombstone preserved in the Türk-Islam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul; the heading Muṣṭafa b. ʿAlī in ʿAṭāʾī is no doubt an error due to confusion with his namesake Muṣṭafā, known as Küçük Bostān; ʿAṭāʾī 132. cf. Hüseyin Gazi Yurdaydin in *Bell.* xix, 1955, 189, n. 136). After studying under various teachers in his native town and in Istanbul, he held a succession of teaching and judicial appointments, and in 954/1547 became Ḳāḍīʿaskır of Anatolia and shortly after of Rumelia. His appointment was terminated in 958/1551, in connexion with an unfavourable ruling given by him in a case in which the Grand Vezir Rüstem Pasha was interested. Though exonerated by subsequent enquiries, he was not reinstated, and died on 25th Ramaḍān 977/3 March 1570 (thus the tombstone; ʿAṭāʾī says 27th Ramaḍān 977; *ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri* puts his death in 968). He was the author of several works of Ḳurʾān commentary and theology, some of which have survived in manuscript in Istanbul libraries. Recently it has been suggested that he was the author of the *Suleymānnāme* previously attributed to Ferdī (Yurdaydın, *Bell.* xix, 1955, 137 ff.).

Bibliography: ʿAṭāʾī, *Dhayl al-Shaḳāʾiḳ*, 129 ff.; Yurdaydın, loc cit. 189 ff.; *ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri*, i, 253; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 346.

(2) Bostānzāde Meḥmed Efendi, the son of the preceding, was born in 942/1535-6 and graduated, *i.e.*, obtained his *mulāzemet* [*q.v.*], at the early age of 21. After holding various teaching appointments, in 981/1573 he abandoned the teaching in favour of the judicial branch of the *ʿIlmiyye* profession, and became Ḳāḍī of Damascus. His subsequent promotions were rapid; after serving as Ḳāḍī in Bursa and Edirne, he became Ḳāḍī of Istanbul in 984/1576, Ḳāḍīʿasker of Anatolia in 985/1577, and of Rumelia in 988/1580. The following year he was retired and in 991/1583 sent as Ḳāḍī to Egypt, where he stayed for three years. In 995/1587 he was reappointed Ḳāḍīʿasker and in 997/1589 became Shaykh al-Islām. In 1000/1592 he was retired (on the circumstances see Naʿīmā *anno* 1000), but returned to active duties as Ḳāḍīʿasker of Rumelia and, in 1001-1593, for the second time became Shaykh al-Islām. He remained in office until his death in 1006/1598. In addition to poems in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, he prepared a translation of the *Iḥyā al-ʿUlūm* and a commentary on the *Multaḳā*. Ḥādjdji Khalīfa mentions a *fetwā* in verse declaring coffee licit (*Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ*, ch. VI; tr. G. L. Lewis, 60, 62).

Bibliography: ʿAṭāʾi, 410; Rifʿat, *Dawḥat al-Mashāʾikh* 33; *ʿIlmiyye Sālnāmesi* 410; *ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri*, i, 256; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānlī*, iv, 133; Hammer-Purgstall, index.

Other eminent members of the family of the Shaykh al-Islām Meḥmed Efendi were his younger brother (3) Muṣṭafā Efendi (946/1539-40—1014/1605-6), who rose to the posts of Ḳāḍīʿasker of Anatolia and Rumelia (ʿAṭāʾī, 506-7; *SʿO*, iv, 381); his sons (4) Muṣṭafā (980/1572-3—1010/1601), who taught at the Ṣaḥn-i Thamān [*q.v.*] and then became Ḳāḍī of Üsküdār (ʿAṭāʾī 449), and (5) Yaḥyā (d. 1049/1639) who became Ḳāḍī of Istanbul and then

Ḳāḍī'asker of Rumelia. Yaḥyā Efendi was the author of an ethical work called *Mir'āt al-Akhlāḳ*, dedicated to Sulṭān Aḥmed I, and a work on the miracles of the Prophet, called *Gül-i Ṣadberg* (*'Othmanlî Müellifleri*, i, 257; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv, 636; Hammer-Purgstall, index. (B. Lewis)

BOTANY [see nabāt]

BOTLIKH [see andī]

BOUGIE [see bidjāya]

BOZANTI (Pozantı) lies on the Çakıt Çay (called Pozantı Suyu in its higher reaches), about 13 km. to the N.N.E. of the celebrated pass through the Taurus mountains which is known as the Cilician Gates (Pylae Ciliciae: the Darb al-Salāma of Ibn Khurradādhbih, and now, in Turkish, Külek Boğazı). It is the Podandos (Ποδανδός, Ποδενδός, Ποδυανδός, Ποδανδέυς, Ῥεγεποδανδός) of the Romans and the Byzantines, the al-Badhandūn, (Badandūn, Budandūn) of the Arab geographers. The mediaeval Western sources present the name in a number of different forms, *e.g.*, Podando, Poduando, Opodanda, Botentron, Bothentrot, etc. After the rise of Islām, and with the repeated incursions of the Muslims through the Pylae Ciliciae into Asia Minor, Bozantı became, for the Byzantines, a military strong-point of great importance. It was included in the Κλεισοῦρα of Καππαδοκία ἡ μικρά, but seems to have been raised later to the rank of an autonomous Κλεισοῦρα. It was at Bozantı that the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Ma'mūn died in 218/833, while on campaign against the Byzantines. Bozantı, with the decline of the Byzantine empire and the advance of the Turks westwards into Asia Minor, began to lose some of its former importance. It came, in the course of time, under the rule of the Saldjūḳ sultans of Rūm and, still later, of the Ottomans. The Ottoman conquest of the Mamlūk sultanate in Syria and Egypt (922-923/1516-1517) meant that the Taurus mountains ceased to denote a frontier of major political significance. Bozantı now lost what remained to it of its earlier rôle as a border town guarding the northern exit of the Cilician Gates. Ewliyā Čelebī gives a brief description of a post-station (*menzil-gāh*) called "Sulṭān Khānī", which seems to be in fact Bozantı, but he makes no mention of this latter name. Bozantı, in the mid-19th century, possessed a *khān*, a post-station and a customs-house. It was then a small village of unimposing appearance, belonging to the *ḳaḍā'* of Ṭarsūs in the *sandjaḳ*, and *wilāyet*, of Adana. Bozantı, under the Turkish Republic, is included n the present province of Adana

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BOZDJA-ADA, the Turkish name for Tenedos, an island inhabited mainly by Greeks and commanding the approaches to the Straits. By the Treaty of Turin (1381) Venice and Genoa agreed to demilitarise Bozdja-Ada. The Venetians removed the population to Crete and it was still uninhabited in Clavijo's time. Meḥemmed II built a castle on Bozdja-Ada; Ewliyā calls it *metīn*. Ships sheltered at Bozdja-Ada while awaiting favourable weather for entering the Straits and it is often mentioned in accounts of naval campaigns. The Venetians captured it in Ramaḍān 1066/July 1656 and held it for just over a year. The Greeks seized it in 1912. The London settlement of 1913 provided, at Germany's insistence, that Bozdja-Ada should be returned to Turkey but owing to the outbreak of war Greece retained control. By the Treaty of Sèvres Bozdja-Ada and Imroz (Imbros) were ceded to Greece (art. 84) but demilitarised (art. 178). By the Treaty of Lausanne they were returned to Turkey but given "a special administrative organisation composed of local elements", the police were to be recruited locally and the islands were excluded from any Greco-Turkish arrangements for exchange of populations.

Bibliography: There are many incidental references to Bozdja-Ada in the chronicles and brief descriptions by Clavijo, Buondelmonti, Tafur, Evliyā Čelebī, Spon, Covel, Grelot and Tournefort. (C. F. Beckingham)

BOZOḲ [see yozgat]

BRAHŌY [see balūčistān]

BRAVA [see barawa]

BROACH [see bharūč]

BRUSA [see bursa]

BRYSON [see tadbīr al-manzil]

BSHARRĀ or Bécharré, one of the oldest villages in northern Lebanon, 1400 metres above sea-level. It is situated at the bottom of an amphitheatre at the entrance to the Ḳadīsha gorge, a hollow ravine of many caves and hermitages, where traces of very ancient monastic settlements are to be found. The Arab geographers refer to the district under the name of Djubbat Bsharrīyya or Bsharrā. At the time of the Crusades it was one of the fiefs of the County of Tripoli, under the name of Buissera. A stronghold of the Maronite mountain, it depended under the Mamlūk domination from the *niyāba* of Ṭarābulus; the *muḳaddam* appointed by the sultan of Cairo seems always to have been a Maronite Christian; the only exception was the *muḳaddam*, 'Abd al-Mun'im Ayyūb II, who at the end of the 15th century, at a time when very lively Monophysite propaganda was being carried on around Ṭarābulus, was converted to Monophysism, though not without this provoking a revolt among his subordinates. Bsharrā controls the road from Ba'labakk which crosses the Pass of 'Aynata and leads to Ṭarābulus.

This is the 'Road of the Cedars' which the Sultan Ḳāytbāy used at the time of his journey of inspection (9th/15th century), and by which during the 18th and early 19th centuries, armed bands from the Biḳʿa, supported and helped by the Ottoman authorities, were passing on their way to harry the Maronites. These last had also to defend themselves against the Turkish governors of Ṭarābulus.

The little town to-day has 4,000 Maronite inhabitants whose houses are scattered over a hillock where vines and mulberries are cultivated in terraces. A little above Bs͟harrā, there is a clump of trees, a remnant of the famous cedars of Lebanon, which since 1843 has been placed under the care of the Maronite Patriarch.

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(N. Elisséeff)

BTEDDĪN (a dialectal contraction of Bayt al-Dīn derived from the Syriac Bēth-Dīnā), a place with 800 inhabitants, situated 800 ms. above sea-level and 45 kms. from Bayrūt; the terraces surrounding it grow chiefly vines and olives. Bteddīn constitutes with Dayr al-Ḳamar, a Maronite administrative enclave in the Druze region of S͟hūf. It owes its fortune to the fact that the *amīr* Bas͟hir II S͟hihāb [*q.v.*] (1788-1840) chose it as his residence in 1807 and brought the water of the Safa there by means of a viaduct between 1812 and 1815. Hence a certain number of administrative buildings were constructed in the village as well as the palace, a remarkable oriental blend of styles, the work of an Italian architect and Syrian labourers. Built on a rocky escarpment dominating a deep ravine, this palace was from 1814 on a resort of poets (Nicholas the Turk), and Lamartine, who visited it in 1832, has left us a long description of it.

At the end of the Egyptian occupation in 1840, the palace fell into ruins and a serious fire damaged these in 1912; it was partly restored in 1940. In 1948 the ashes of the *amīr* Bas͟hīr the Great were transferred there from Istanbul. To-day Bteddīn is the summer residence of the President of the Republic of Lebanon.

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BŪ [see kunya]

BŪ ḤMĀRA, a Moroccan agitator who got himself recognised as sultan in north-east Morocco from 1902 to 1909. His real name was Dj̲ilālī b. Idrīs al-Zarhūnī al-Yūsufī, and he was born about 1865 in the mountains of Zarhūn. He had been a member of the corps of engineering students which Mawlāy al-Ḥasan had tried to establish, and then he became a minor civil servant. He was accused of dishonesty and imprisoned, and then became an exile in Algeria. He returned thence in the summer of 1902, and thanks to frauds and alleged miracles managed to pass himself off as a *s͟harīf* and even as Maḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the elder brother of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], who was then living in seclusion at Meknes. Many sections of the tribe of G͟hiyāṭa in the Taza region recognised him as sultan, and were soon followed by other tribes in the neighbourhood. He was installed at Taza, which he made the capital, in the autumn of 1902. He was generally known as Bū Ḥmāra (Abū Ḥimāra) because it was his custom to ride a she-ass, or as al-Rūgī, from the name of a pretender of the Ruwāga tribe who had been in revolt in 1862 and had been quickly captured. He incited a revolt against the sultan on account of his relations with Europeans.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz sent two expeditions against him which were beaten successively in the last weeks of 1902, when Fez was threatened. But the S͟harīfian troops ended by beating him near Fez on January 29th 1903, and reoccupied Taza for a time on 7 July. Bū Ḥmāra, wounded and humiliated, reorganised his forces and retook Taza in November. From there he made contact with two other agitators: Raysūlī, who was active in the Tangier area, and the Algerian Bū ʿAmāma, who was fighting against the French in the south of the department of Oran. With the latter he besieged Oudjda for many months from the end of 1904 to June 1905 without result. Beaten, he sought refuge near Melilla in the Ḳaṣbat Salwān and got into touch with the Spaniards, showing them the possibility of mining concessions in the region, which brought him discredit in the eyes of the neighbouring tribes. He however succeeded in reoccupying Taza in June 1908, and, taking advantage of the troubles at the time of the accession of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ to power, he threatened Fez yet again. The new sultan launched several expeditions against him, one of which succeeded in capturing him about 100 kms. north of Fez, on 22 August 1909. Shut in a cage prepared for this event, he was led into Fez and exposed to the scorn of the inhabitants, but after some days the sultan, weary of his bravado and fearing a European intervention in his favour, had him shot on 15 September 1909. His body was half burnt.

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(R. Le Tourneau)

BŪ SAʿĪD, the reigning dynasty of ʿUmān and Zanzibar, of Azdī origin. The founder, Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, became Wālī of Ṣuḥār under the Yaʿrubī Imām of ʿUmān, Sayf b. Sulṭān II. He defended Ṣuḥār successfully against Nādir S͟hāh's general, Muḥammad Taḳī K͟hān S͟hīrāzī, who came to terms. Within a few years, by force, diplomacy and treachery, Aḥmad made himself master of ʿUmān. The S͟hāh was preoccupied with a Turkish war and did nothing to retrieve his position. The date of Aḥmad's formal assumption of the title of Imām is uncertain; it cannot be 1154/1741 as usually stated, and there is some evidence for 1163/1749. He naturally favoured Turks against Persians and helped the former to defend Baṣra in 1189/1775. He fostered commerce and helped to suppress Indian pirates. His son Saʿīd succeeded him in 1198/1783 but was unpopular and withdrew to al-Rastāḳ, leaving power to his son Ḥāmid, but retaining the title of Imām. No subsequent member of the dynasty used this title; later rulers were called Sayyid, though

generally known as Sulṭān to foreigners. Saʿīd was still living in 1226/1811 but died during the next ten years. Ḥāmid (d. 1206/1792) was succeeded by his uncle, Sulṭān, who captured Čāhbār, Hormuz, Kis͟hm, Bandar ʿAbbās and Baḥrayn. Persia agreed to lease Čāhbār and Bandar ʿAbbās to the Bū Saʿīd, who already held Gwādar. In 1213/1798 he concluded a treaty permitting the British to build and fortify a factory at Bandar ʿAbbās and promising not to allow the French or Dutch to establish factories in his realm so long as they were at war with Britain. In his last years he was in constant danger from Wahhābī attacks. He was killed in a sea fight near Lingah (1219/1804). The ensuing struggle for power was won by Badr b. Sayf with Wahhābī support but he was murdered by Saʿīd b. Sulṭān who ruled jointly with his brother Sālim until the latter's death (1236/1821) and then alone.

Saʿīd was the greatest of his dynasty but in Arabia his position was often insecure, either because of family dissension or Wahhābī attacks. The former resulted in the temporary independence of Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*] under the family of Ḳays b. Aḥmad, while the Wahhābīs were sometimes bought off and sometimes restrained by the fear of British intervention. Saʿīd was a firm ally of the British and assisted their expeditions against the Ḳawāsim in the Persian Gulf. Under strong British pressure he restricted the slave trade (1238/1822) and the export of slaves from Africa was forbidden from 1263/1847. Saʿīd's greatest achievement was the extension of his African dominions into a commercial empire supported by sea power. The conquests of the Yaʿrubī Imāms in Africa had mostly been lost during the Persian invasion of ʿUmān. Saʿīd at his accession controlled only Zanzibar, part of Pemba, perhaps Mafia and Lamu, and Kilwa, which had been lost and regained. He gradually asserted his authority over the Arab and Swahili colonies from Maḳdis͟hū (Mogadishu) to Cape Delgado; the most serious opposition was at Mombasa [*q.v.*]. The Hamitic and Bantu tribus hardly recognised his authority on the mainland. Even on the principal islands Saʿīd merely received tribute from the chiefs of the Wahadimu (the Mwenyi Mkuu), the Wapemba (the Diwani) and the Watumbatu (the S͟heha). In the middle years of the century the coast from Vanga to Pangani was, except for Tanga, held jointly by Saʿīd and the King of Usambara, who sent representatives whom Saʿīd confirmed in office. Saʿīd's attempt to obtain Nossi Bé was foiled by the French. In 1270/1854 he ceded the Kuria Muria Islands to Britain.

On Saʿīd's death (1273/1856) his son T͟huwaynī remained in control at Masḳaṭ and his other son Mād͟jid at Zanzibar. By the decision of Lord Canning, to whom the dispute was referred, Mād͟jid kept Zanzibar and paid annual compensation, specifically stated not to be tribute, to T͟huwaynī. Mād͟jid's successor was Barg͟has͟h who had tried to seize power on Saʿīd's death and again a few years later. The influence of of the British representative, Sir John Kirk, became paramount and in 1290/1873 the slave trade was prohibited. German penetration in E. Africa resulted in the appointment of an Anglo-Franco-German Commission to delimit Bū Saʿīdī territory. By its decision Barg͟has͟h was recognised as ruler of Zanzibar, Pemba, islets within 12 miles of them, the Lamu archipelago, the coast from Tungi to Kipini to a depth of 10 miles, Kismayu, Barawa, Marka, Maḳdis͟hū and Wars͟hayk͟h. Lamu was later ceded to the British East Africa Co. and the Somali ports to Italy. In 1307/1890, in accordance with another Anglo-German agreement, Bū Saʿīdī possessions north of the Umba River were purchased by Germany, and almost all the rest became a British protectorate. The mainland territories were then leased. In 1309/1892 the administration was reorganised and a British First Minister (Gen. Lloyd Mathews) was appointed. K͟hālid b. Barg͟has͟h attempted to seize power in 1310/1893 and in 1313/1896; his second revolt led to the bombardment of the palace by a

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ĀL BŪ SAʿĪD DYNASTY

Arabic numerals indicate rulers of ʿUmān and Zanzibar, Roman numerals rulers of ʿUmān only, and letters rulers of Zanzibar only. The dates are those of the accession of each ruler.

- 1. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd, Imām, ? 1163/1749
  - 2. Saʿīd, Imām, 1198/1783
    - 3. Ḥāmid, ? 1200/1786
  - Ḳays
    - ʿAzzān
      - Ḳays
        - iii. ʿAzzān, 1285/1868
        - Ibrāhīm
  - Sayf
    - Badr
  - 4. Sulṭān, 1206/1792
    - 5. Sālim, 1220/1806 (d. 1236/1821)
    - 6. Saʿīd, 1220/1806
      - K͟hālid
      - i. T͟huwaynī, 1273/1856
        - ii. Sālim 1282/1866
        - K͟harūb
          - H. K͟halīfa 1329/1911 (regnant)
        - E. Ḥāmid 1310/1893
      - iv. Turkī, 1287/1870
        - v. Fayṣal 1305/1888
          - vi. Taymūr, 1331/1913
            - vii. Saʿīd, 1350/1932 (regnant)
      - A. Mād͟jid 1273/1856
      - D. ʿAlī 1307/1890
      - B. Barg͟has͟h 1287/1870
        - Muḥammad
          - F. Ḥamūd, 1314/1896
            - G. ʿAlī, 1320/1902 (abdicated 1329/1911, d. 1337/1918)
        - C. K͟halīfa, 1305/1888

British warship. In 1314/1897 the legal status of slavery was abolished. The British minister was Regent during the minority of ʿAlī b. Ḥamūd (1320/1902-1323/1905). In 1331/1913 responsibility for Zanzibar was transferred from the Foreign to the Colonial Office.

Thuwaynī, who had kept ʿUmān under the Canning award, was assassinated. His son Sālim was suspected of complicity and expelled after a short reign by ʿAzzān b. Ḳays, who was himself killed in a civil war. In 1288/1871 Turkī agreed to partition ʿUmān with ʿAzzān's brother Ibrāhīm. The latter retained Ṣuḥār, but lost it to Turkī two years later. During these disorders the Persians resumed the lease of Bandar ʿAbbās (1285/1868) and recaptured Čāhbār (1288/1872). In 1290/1873 the slave trade was prohibited under British pressure. About 1319/1901 a dissident movement began in the interior under ʿĪsā b. Ṣāliḥ. In 1331/1913 Sālim al-Kharūsī was elected Imām and in 1333/1915 Masḳaṭ was attacked by the rebels and saved only by an Indian detachment. Sālim was murdered in 1338-9/1920; his successor, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, made an agreement with Sayyid Taymūr by which the tribes of the interior enjoy autonomy. Modern ʿUmān includes Ẓufār and is bounded by the territories of the Sulṭān of Ḳishm, the Shaykh of Raʾs al-Khayma and the desert. An enclave on the coast around Fudjayra constitutes a separate Trucial state.

Bibliography: The chief Arabic authority for the period to the death of Sayyid Saʿīd is the chronicle of Ibn Razīḳ, translated by G. P. Badger as *History of the Imâms and Seyyids of ʾOmân*, Hakluyt Society, 1871. The Arabic text has not been published and is now Camb. Univ. Add. MS. 2892. Ibn Razīḳ is, however, careless about dates, some of which can be corrected from an anonymous MS, B.M.; Add. 23,393. On the dates of Imām Aḥmad, C. F. Beckingham in *JRAS*, 1941. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-Aʿyān bi sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, Cairo 1350; R. Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders*, and *The Exploitation of East Africa*; L. W. Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar under the Foreign Office*; W. H. Ingrams, *Chronology and Genealogies of Zanzibar Rulers*, Zanzibar, 1926; B. Thomas, *Arab Rule under the Al Bu Saʾid Dynasty of Oman*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xxiv; R. Said-Ruete, *Said bin Sultan (1791-1856), ruler of Oman and Zanzibar*, London 1929; idem, *Dates and references of the history of the Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty .....*, London (?) 1931; idem, in *Isl.* 20 (1932), 237-246; C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, vol. xii pt 3, vol. xiii pt 4. See also the bibliographies to the articles BAḤR FĀRIS and ZANZIBAR.

(C. F. BECKINGHAM)

BUʿĀTH, the site of a battle about 617 A.D. between most sections of the two Medinan tribes of Aws and Khazradj. It lay in the south-eastern quarter of the Medinan oasis in the territory of the Banū Ḳurayẓa. The battle was the climax of a series of internal conflicts. The Aws, whose position had deteriorated, were joined by the two chief Jewish tribes, Ḳurayẓa and al-Naḍīr, and by nomads of Muzayna; their leader was Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk. The opposing leader ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān of Bayāḍa was supported by most of the Khazradj, and by some nomadic Djuhayna and Ashdjaʿ, but ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*] and another Khazradj leader refused to join him. The Awsite clan of Ḥāritha also remained neutral. In the fighting, the Aws were at first forced back, but eventually routed their opponents. Although the leaders of both sides were killed, the war ended with an uneasy truce rather than a definite settlement.

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BUCHAREST [see BÜKRESH]

BUDAPEST [see BUDIN]

BUDAYL B. WARḲĀʾ, chief of the Banū Khuzāʿa, a tribe living near Mecca, who served Muḥammad as spies, kept him informed of the enterprises of the Ḳuraysh, and, after the agreement at Ḥudaybiya (6/628), were his allies. Budayl appears for the first time in the camp at Ḥudaybiya, to tell Muḥammad that the Meccans are armed to resist him. On his return he carried the Prophet's proposals to Mecca, where he had a *dār*. The Banū Khuzāʿa took refuge there during their war with the Banū Bakr, when the Ḳuraysh took the side of the latter, their clients, against the former. This was a breach of the treaty of Ḥudaybiya, by which the Banū Khuzāʿa had been recognised as allies of Muḥammad, and thus gave the latter an opportunity to attack Mecca. Budayl hurried to Medina to make an arrangement with Muḥammad and on the way met Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] who was on the way to Medina on a similar errand. Apparently they both came to an arrangement with Muḥammad in Medina regarding the terms of a peaceful surrender of Mecca, for which they offered their services. Muḥammad advanced against Mecca at the head of 10,000 men with the declared purpose of avenging the Banū Khuzāʿa. On the day before his arrival at Marr al-Ẓuhrān (middle of Ramaḍān 8/beginning of June 630) Budayl went out with Abū Sufyān to reconnoitre. If the two had not been secretly in agreement, the Umayyad would not have been able to persuade the chief of the Khuzāʿa, who was the cause of the campaign, to go with him at such a critical moment. After they entered the Prophet's tent, they are both said to have paid him homage and adopted Islām. The conversion of Budayl cannot have taken place earlier, because he is mentioned among the "Muslims of the conquest (*fatḥ*)" of Mecca. It was granted him that his house in Mecca should be recognised as a place of asylum for the belligerents. After the capitulation of Mecca, Budayl accompanied Muḥammad with his adherents to Ḥunayn. He was not present at the siege of Ṭāʾif because he had to guard the booty taken at Ḥunayn, in the camp of Djiʿrāna. He is not mentioned again and must have died before the Prophet, *i.e.*, between the years 9 and 11 (630 and 632).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 1335, 1621-1628, 1634; Ibn Saʿd, ii, Part 1, 70 ff., 98; Aghānī, vi, 97; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 35 ff.; Ibn Hishām, 807; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 614; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 170; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, Part 1, year 8, nos. 21, 39, 40, 43, 46, 61, 67. (H. LAMMENS)

BUDD (pl. *bidada*; Pers. *but*) is used in Arabic in three different senses; it denotes either a temple, a pagoda, or Buddha, or an idol (not necessarily the Buddha). The principal instance of the use of the word in the sense of pagoda occurs in a passage in the *Merveilles de l'Inde* (ed. trans. M. Devic, 5; *Mémorial J. Sauvaget*, i, 192); this sense appears

to be the rarest, although given as the primary sense in the *LA*.

Budd denotes the Buddha in authors such as al-Djāḥiẓ (*Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, 76), al-Masʿūdī, al-Bīrūnī, al-Shahrastānī; al-Masʿūdī, speaking of the temple called "the house of gold" at Mūltān (*Tanbīh*, 201; cf. al-Bīrūnī, *India*, trad. Sachau, i, 368, ii, 18; Reinaud, in *JA*, 1844-5), says that the appearance of the first Buddha among the Indians dates back 12,000 times 33,000 years. Al-Bīrūnī, though possessing such a good knowledge of Brahmanism, knew little about Buddhism; the reverse is true of al-Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton, 416; ed. in the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, iii, 240), who defines the Buddha: a person of this world, who is not born, does not marry, does not eat or drink, and does not grow old or die; the first Buddha, who appeared 5,000 years before the *hidjra*, was called Shākmīn (= Čakya Muni); al-Shahrastānī also knowns of, under the name of Būdīsʿiyya (?), the Bodhisattvas, who are inferior to the Buddhas; they are men who seek the path of truth and attain their elevated rank by the practice of ten virtues and the avoidance of ten sins. The heresiographer, who adds that Buddhists believe in the eternity of the world and in the retribution of one's acts in another life, states that Buddhas appear in various forms in the palaces of the kings of India, and compares them with al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] as envisaged by Muslims. Although Muslims possessed only rudimentary ideas about Buddhism, it is noteworthy that they adapted to their own religious history, by dint of making Adam come down in Ceylon, the Buddhist tradition which relates "Adam's peak" [see SARANDĪB] to the person of the Buddha (see *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, ed. trans. Sauvaget, 36).

Finally, the word *budd* is often used in the sense of idol. We should probably read *budd Kuwayr* "idol of Kuvera" in al-Djāḥiẓ (*Tarbīʿ*, 40), and Ibn Durayd (apud *LA*) renders *budd* by *ṣanam*. The author of the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, 24, calls *budd* an idol worshipped in India to which courtesans were sacrificed. The idol of Somnath was well known among the Muslims (see Saʿdī, *Būstān*, ed. Platts, 238 ff.; Eng. trans. R. Levy, London 1918, 67 ff.; Fr. trans. Barbier de Meynard, 334); al-Dimashḳī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 170-1, describes it accurately and gives the name of *budd* to the principal object of worship, which consisted of two stones representing the male and female organs of generation.—On the legendary founder of the religion of the Sabaeans, Būdhāsaf/Yūdāsaf = Bodhisattva, see BILAWHAR WA-YŪDĀSAF.

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(B. CARRA DE VAUX*)

BUDHAN, SHAYKH, of Djawnpūr, a holy man belonging to the order known as Shaṭṭāriyya [*q.v.*], (*Akhbār al-Akhyār* 193; *Adhkār-i Abrār* 284 ff.). He was descended from Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Shaṭṭārī (d. 890/1485, in Māndū), who himself was the seventh descendant of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī and came to India from Persia towards the end of the 9th/15th century (for him see *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, 171; *Adhkār-i Abrār*, 161, 286; *Maʿāridj al-Wilāya*, f. 538; Muftī Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*, Lāhore 1283, 947; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād-Deccan 1951, iii 95 f.). Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh was the first to introduce the Shaṭṭārī *mashrab* in India. Shaykh Budhan received his literary education from, and was initiated into the Shaṭṭārī order by, Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ Djawnpūrī, a vicegerent (*khalīfa*) of the above Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh and in his turn practised the teachings of the order, handed them down to others, and led seekers of Truth to the Shaṭṭārī path. Shaykh Rizḳ Allāh Mushtāḳī, the paternal uncle of the famous Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ of Delhi, was instructed in the method of 'the remembrance of God' (*dhikr*) by him. Shaykh Budhan, who flourished under Sulṭān Sikandar Lodhī (regn. 894-923/1489-1517) is described by Khweshgī as "a saintly and blessed person" (*mardī buzurg wa mutabarrak*). He died in Pānīpat and was buried there. His *khalīfa*, Shaykh Walī (d. 956/1549), carried on his work in the town of Badolī and left several *khalīfa*s.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, Delhī 1309/1891-2, 194 (= ʿAlī Akbar Ardistānī, *Madjmaʿ al-Awliyā'*, Pandjāb University MS. f. 400b); *Adhkār-i Abrār* (Urdū version of Māndawī, *Gulzār-i Abrār*), Agra 1326, 287, 208; ʿUbayd Allāh Khweshgī, *Maʿāridj al-Wilāyā*, Pandjāb University MS., fol. 548 f.; *Medieval India Quarterly*, ʿAlīgarh, October 1950 (Vol. I, no. 2), 58.

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

BŪDHĀSAF [see BILAWHAR WA YŪDĀSAF]

BUDĪN (Budūn, Bedīn, Bedūn, Budīm, from the Slav Budin), the Latin and Hungarian Buda, the kernel of that part of the present Budapest which is situated on the right bank of the Danube, was conquered three times by the Turks in the second quarter of the 16th century (1526, 1529 and 1541). It was declared an Ottoman possession on 29 August 1541, and made the centre of that part of Hungarian territory which was converted into an Ottoman province (*Budīn wilāyeti*).

The Hapsburgs, who were the Central European power most concerned with the expansion of the Turks, and who laid claim to the Hungarian throne, made in 1542 an unsuccessful attempt to recapture Budīn. No further attack was launched for the next fifty years. It was only at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, at the time when the Ottoman Empire was at war with the Hapsburg Empire (Nemče), that the coalition armies led by the House of Hapsburg again repeatedly laid siege to Budīn (1598, 1602, 1603). These attacks were, however, repelled by the defenders of the fortress (the most violent attack, that of 1602, was driven back under the leadership of Ḳāḍīzāde ʿAlī and Lāla Meḥmed). Following this, the Turks enjoyed undisturbed possession of Budīn for a fairly long period and the fortress had to face hostile armies only after Ḳara Muṣṭafā's defeat under the walls of Vienna in 1683. While the siege of 1684 failed against the resistance of the defenders (Siyāwush Pasha and Sheyṭān Ibrāhīm Pasha), the next siege brought victory to the attacking armies. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha, the defender of the castle, was killed in action, and Budīn, termed at the time the "place of the Ghāzīs" and the "strong wall of Islām", passed into the hands of the Holy Alliance on 2 September 1686.

The fortress of Budīn was built on the castle hill running along the Danube from north to south. The foundations of the fortress were laid in the 13th century by Béla IV; it was developed by subsequent Hungarian Kings, and converted, especially by Sigismund of Luxemburg and Mathias Corvinus, into a central royal residence in renaissance style, rich in artistic buildings.

The fortress was protected by high ramparts erected on the upper slopes of the steep castle-hill. During the Turkish occupation the southern part of the castle-hill, with the medieval royal palace and its

dependencies inside the walls, formed the closed inner fortress (*ič ḳalʿe*); it was here that the gun-foundries (*ṭopkhāne*) and magazines were placed. The rest of the castle-hill was called the middle fortress (*orta ḥiṣār*) and served to some extent as the residence of the civilian inhabitants as well. The town (*varoš*), situated at the foot of the castle-hill, next to the Danube, formed the outer fortress (*dīsh ḥiṣār*) which was surrounded by a simpler town wall and fortified with bastions at the gates. To protect Budīn from sudden attacks, guard-houses had been erected at some distance, around the northern thermal springs (Barutkhāne or Bunar Ḥiṣār, Weli Bey meterisi), further in the neighbourhood of the present Csatárka (Čardaḳ) and on the Gellért-Hill (Gürz Ilyās tepesi).

Although Budīn was always considered by the Ottomans an important fortress of the Empire, and a former royal city of great repute, they cared little for the development of the castle and the town. Some of the more active Turkish provincial governors, especially in the 17th century, fortified or reconstructed some points here or there on the castle-hill; a record of these activities was preserved for a considerable length of time in topographical denominations (Welī Bey ḳulesi, Murād Pasha ḳulesi, Siyāvush Pasha ḳulesi, Ḳaraḳash Pasha ḳulesi, Ḳāsim Pasha ḳulesi, Maḥmūd Pasha ḳulesi etc.). The governors, however, were able to do but little towards the fortification of Buda, because their building activities lacked co-ordination and guidance from a central authority and because they were not permitted by the Turkish Governments to remain long at the same place. Not less than 75 persons, several of them repeatedly, enjoyed the rank of Pasha of Budīn during the 145 years of occupation, so that the average length of their office was scarcely a year and a half. Thus there was never a general modernisation of the castle, and its system of fortification remained on the same basis at the termination of the Turkish rule as it had been centuries before under the Hungarian Kings. Both material supplies and general equipment were at all times antiquated and deficient. (Pieces of ordnance a hundred years old were found in the artillery stations at the recapture of the fortress).

The Turkish régime did not leave behind it any architectural works of artistic value, and this applies not only to structures of a military character but to other kinds of buildings as well. The medieval Royal Castle and the buildings of the town, taken by the Turks in 1541 intact, exceeded the modest needs of the conquerors and were thus easily able to meet the requirements of a provincial headquarters. Slight alterations were needed to make the churches suitable for Muslim religious services (the Church of Our Lady under the name of Sulṭān Süleymān Djāmiʿi or Büyük djāmiʿ, the Church of the Royal Castle under that of Saray djāmiʿi or Enderūn djāmiʿi, the Church of Saint George under that of Orta djāmiʿ, the Church of Mary Magdalen under that of Fetḥiyye djāmiʿi etc.); other public buildings could be used as barracks, while the empty office buildings and the derelict private houses provided homes for the officials.

Still, even the little building activity that was manifested in the transformation or refurnishing of various buildings (e.g., minarets added to the churches), the Muslim-style bathing establishments added to the thermal springs (erected, at the very beginning of the Turkish period by Weli Bey and Ṣoḳollu Muṣṭafā) as well as the new constructions necessitated by conflagrations, earthquakes, etc. succeeded in giving the town, in the course of one century and a half, a new exterior sufficient to make it appear a new-style Muslim city in the eyes of any visitor coming down the Danube from the west. As regards appearance and general atmosphere, Budīn was indeed a Turkish and Muslim city.

Being at a great distance from the Turkish capital, a centre in the borderlands, it was usual for the Governments to appoint persons of distinction to be the heads of the province of Budīn, persons "who were prominent among their contemporaries". Important special tasks were entrusted to the Pashas of Budīn, the guardians of that western borderland of the Empire, which was at the same time the most important frontier zone. At the beginning of the period of occupation, when the Ottoman dynasty enjoyed preponderance over the Hapsburg dynasty, their task was to maintain this preponderance, whereas after the Peace of Zsitvatorok (1606) by which the Hapsburg rulers—called up to then Kings of Vienna (Beč ḳīralī)—had become exempt from the obligation to pay a yearly tribute, and when Turkish preponderance disappeared, the Pashas of Budīn were given the task of concealing the weakening of the Empire. To this end the Pashas utilised and inspired controversies among local elements and supported the movements of the discontented Hungarians against the Hapsburgs. The dealings of the Turks with the Vienna Court of the Hapsburgs and the Court of the Princes of Transylvania resulted in a number of inter-state agreements, the ground for which had been prepared by the Pashas of Budīn (Peace of Zsitvatorok in 1606, the agreements of Vienna in 1616 and Komárom in 1618, the peace treaties of Gyarmat in 1625 and Szöny in 1627 and 1642).

The population of the town underwent a radical change under Turkish rule; it is to be noted that Budīn was not a populous city before the Turkish occupation, the number of inhabitants being probably below 5,000. A part of them had already left Budīn during the civil wars, while a still greater part, viz. the employees of the Royal Household, the soldiers and officials as well as the persons in the employment of the Church, emigrated after the Turks had taken Budīn. The oldest known list of Turkish tax-assessments enumerates among the inhabitants of Budīn 238 Christian (*gebr*), Hungarian, 75 Jewish and 60 gipsy (*ḳipṭī*) heads of families. As the military personnel of the Turkish garrison (about 2,000 men at the beginning), the employees of the Turkish offices, and the Muslim religious functionaries outnumbered the original or native population at the ratio of 5 to 1, the change in the population was far-reaching from the very first days of the occupation onwards. Budīn had thus become a Turkish military town, the population of which was nevertheless far from being Turkish in origin; most of the people in Budīn with Muslim names were but newly converted Slavs from the Balkans. (This is clearly evident in the case of the gipsies, the majority of whom bore the theophoric name N. b. ʿAbd Allāh). Turks of pure extraction formed a minority in the population of Budīn, as did the Hungarians, Jews, Albanians, Greeks etc. and they remained in the minority throughout the period of occupation.

The spiritual life of the town was not remarkable. The magistrates and public offices were occupied by the "men of the pen" (*ehl-i ḳalem*): viz. the officials of the administrative authorities, the

Pasha's divan, the local financial administration, the school-masters and the employees of the mosques. We know of religious works (mostly copies only) written in Budīn, and we are also aware of certain exponents of religious life at the very beginning of the epoch. Both the names and locations of several dervish establishments are known; the names and memory of a number of *bābās*, together with the mystery clinging to their persons, lived for a long time, the memory of one of them, that of *Gül-Baba* [*q.v.*], having survived the age of the Turkish occupation by many centuries. We even possess some sparse data concerning secular intellectual life. We know that folk-singers and minstrels recited epic poems to the frequenters of coffee-houses and of *londjaköshk*s, in which poems the history of past centuries and the daily fights of the neighbouring borderland were commemorated; it is further known that Budīn's beauty was glorified in meditative songs by local poets (Wüdjūdī and perhaps others as well). In the towns and the border provinces traditional Turkish folk songs were sung and new ones probably composed. Of works in prose we know the rather sketchy biography of Ṣoḳollu Muṣṭafā, the ablest Ottoman governor of Budīn (1566-1578): it was most probably compiled in Budīn in Ṣoḳollu Muṣṭafā's lifetime. There is only one among Budīn's literary figures who achieved universal repute: Ibrāhīm Pečewī [*q.v.*], the historian. He was employed by the local *defterkhāne* for some time, lived for many years in Budīn, and, after having left it, returned there on many occasions because of his family connexions.

The spiritual life of the Christians (oriental and western) and of the Jews was, as far as can be judged from the sporadic records, rather primitive.

The Turkish occupation meant a radical change in the town's economic life as well. The markets had to satisfy the new needs of the new inhabitants of the town, the soldiers of the army of occupation, who brought with them some tradesmen of their own. The craftsmen dealing in household articles and clothing imported not only patterns and fashions but also a quantity of various materials, such as cloth from Bosnia, Djanbolu, Salonica, frieze carpets, finished leather-goods, household articles, vessels, arms etc. These articles were certainly more numerous on the local market than the scarlets, velvets, muslins and fabrics imported from the West.

Industrial development adapted itself to the new requirements. While the artisans from the Balkans (tailors, shoemakers, barbers, tinsmiths, gunsmiths), manufactured clothes, boots, vessels and arms that suited Balkan and Turkish taste, the market of Budīn could offer similar articles (Hungarian apparel, Hungarian boots) manufactured in the Hungarian style for the Hungarian inhabitants of the countryside. However, only one or two of the new industries succeeded in taking root, e.g. the production of simple broadcloth (*shayaḳ*) as made by the Jewish women in Budīn, and further the dressing of skins. The Turks had methods of skin-dressing that were different from, and superior to, the methods employed by the tanners who worked in Hungary before their arrival; the new type of leather industry was then adopted not only in the towns inhabited by the Turks but also in the country, as is evidenced by the topographical term "tabán" (the Turkish *debbāghkhāne*) still preserved in many Hungarian townlets.

During the sieges of 1684 and 1686, Budīn fell completely into ruin, its medieval buildings, together with those built in the Turkish era, were destroyed, and its Turkish and Muslim inhabitants were either captured or emigrated at the termination of the hostilities. The Buda of later times and the Budapest of our time have hardly anything to show in the way of records and remnants from the Turkish era.

Bibliographical references

There are scattered data concerning the external history of the town in the writings of the Turkish and Hungarian authors of the epoch (Djelālzāde about the occupation in 1541, Pečewī and the Hungarian Miklós Istvánffy on the fights around 1600, Rāshid and, more extensively, Silāḥdār, especially as regards the siege in 1684). All this has been adequately summed up by M. Cavid Baysun (*IA*, ii, Istanbul 1942, 748-60). A great amount of topographical data will be found in the works of Ewliyā Čelebi and Silāḥdār, as well as in the military maps made during the years of the reconquest. The best Hungarian works are *A magyar nemzet napjai a mohácsi vész után* (The Days of the Hungarian Nation after the Catastrophe of Mohács), by Pál Jászay, Pest 1846; *Buda és Pest visszavivása* 1686-*ban* (The Retaking of Buda and Pest in 1686) by Árpád Károlyi, Budapest 1886, second edition in 1936; bibliographical material for the lives of the Pashas of Buda in Antal Gévay's *Versuch eines chronologischen Verzeichnisses der Türkischen Statthalter von Ofen* (in J. Chmel's *Der österreichische Geschichtsforscher*, Vienna 1841, ii, 56-90). All these contributions were summed up by Lajos Fekete who, in his work: *Budapest a törökkorban* (Budapest during the Period of the Turks) — published in Budapest in 1944 as the third volume of *Budapest története* (The History of Budapest)—also utilised Turkish archive material containing many additional data about the composition of the population and its material and spiritual life (G. Flügel, *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der kk. Bibl. in Wien*, vol. ii, 441 ff.: *Türkische Rechnungsbücher*). Áron Szilády and Sándor Szilágyi, *Okmánytár a hódoltság történetéhez Magyarországon*, Pest 1863, *Törökmagyarkori államokmánytár* i-vii, Pest 1872; Imre Karácson, *Törökmagyar oklevéltár*, Budapest 1914; Sándor Takáts *et al.*, *A budai basák magyar nyelvu levelezése*, Budapest 1915. See further Fr. Salamon, *Ungarn im Zeitalter der Türkenherrschaft*, Leipzig 1887; W. Björkman, *Ofen zur Türkenzeit*, Hamburg 1920; Fr. Babinger *et al.*, *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927; G. Jacob, *Aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Frankfurt 1917; A. Le Faivre, *Les Magyars pendant la domination ottomane en Hongrie*, Paris 1902; T. Gökbilgin, *Kara Üveys Paşa'nın Budin Beylerbeyliği* (1578-1580), in *Tarih Dergisi*, ii (1952), 17-34; 18, *Macaristan'daki Türk Hakimiyeti Devrine ait bazı Notlar*, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vii-viii (1940-42), 200-211; L. Fekete, *Osmanlı Türkleri ve Macarlar* 1366-1699, in *Belleten*, xiii (1949), 663-744. (L. Fekete)

BUDJĀḲ, southern Bessarabia (the name Bessarabia formerly denoting only Budjāḳ). In Turkish *budjāḳ* (*budjghaḳ* in the Turkish of the Kumans who had settled here earlier) means 'corner'.

This area, from 638/1241 on, had formed part of the empire of the Golden Horde [see BATU'IDS]. When it was in decline, the area was occupied temporarily by the *voyvode* of Wallachia (ca. 746/1345), and later by the *voyvode* of Boghdān [*q.v.*] around 802/1400. As a result of the joint action of the Ottoman and the Crimean Tatars

first Aķ-Kirmān and Kili in 889/1484, and then the whole of Budjāķ in 945/1538, came under direct Ottoman rule (see BOGHDĀN). Budjāķ formed the Ottoman *sandjaķ* of Aķ-Kirmān [*q.v.*], the boundary running from Solkuča on the Botna through Gradishte to Kili (Chilia); the Crimean Khān who had co-operated with Süleymān I during the 945/1538 campaign settled the Noghāy tribes in Budjāķ (the Manṣūrs, the Orāķs, the Ķasāys, the Mamāys, the Or-Meḥmeds, the Ṭatmūz, the Yedicek, the Djamboyluķ) (cf. *Al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, 106), thus reinforcing the earlier Tatar inhabitants. In 1067/1657 Ewliyā Čelebī reported (v, 106) that these Tatars formed 200 villages and were very wealthy; the villages towards Bender contained some Tatars or were composed entirely of Wallachs; the villages of Ismail were wholly Tatar. Toward 978/1570 Bender and Aķ-Kirmān were centres of *sandjaķs* under the *beglerbegi* of Özü [*q.v.*], whose seat was at Aķ-Kirmān or Silistre. The Tatars of Budjāķ were under the administration of a *Yalı-aghāsı* appointed by the Crimean Khān, and later under the second heir to the Khānate (the *Nūr al-Dīn*), who resided at Khān-ķıshlası, south of Bender.

In the struggles against the Ķazaķs (Cossacks) and Poland in 1620s, the *beg* of the Noghāys, Ķantimūr distinguished himself, and the Ottomans supported him against the Crimean Khān and made him *beglerbegi* of Özü, in an endeavour to wrest control of the Noghāy Tatars from the Khān. In 1111/1699-1113/1701 the Noghāys of Budjāķ (6000 families) threw off their obedience to the Khān and asked to be made Ottoman subjects; on this occasion the Porte did not encourage them, and Dewlet Gerey (Girāy) forcibly transferred 700 to 800 families to the Crimea (*Al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, 262-66).

In 1184/1770 Budjāķ was temporarily invaded by the Russians, and thereafter Orthodox Christian Gagauz Turks and Bulgars began to immigrate from Dobrudja [*q.v.*] into Budjāķ. By the Treaty of Bucharest (28 May 1812) the Porte ceded Budjāķ to Russia, and the majority of the Tatars emigrated to the Dobrudja, Bulgaria and Anatolia.

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BUDJNŪRD (BODJNŪRD). 1. Town in Khurāsān situated at the northern foot of Mt. Alādāgh, 57° 17′ E. Long. (Greenw.) 37° 29′ N. Lat., alt. 698 m.

We find no information about the town before the time of the Ṣafawids, when the Shadlū tribe of Kurds was settled in this area by Shāh ʿAbbās I. It is uncertain whether Budjnūrd was called Būzandjird before this time, but the ruins of an old citadel (*arg*) and other structures indicate that the town is old.

2. District of which Budjnūrd is the capital. The population of the *shahristān* has been estimated ca. 150,000 (1950), composed of Turkomāns, Kurds and Persians.

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BUDŪḤ [see SUPPLEMENT].

BUDUKH [see SHĀH DAGH].

BUGHĀ AL-KABĪR (the elder), a Turkish military leader who played a political rôle during a troubled period under the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Under al-Muʿtaṣim and his successors, he distinguished himself in several expeditions against rebellious tribes in the region of Medina in 230/844-45, in Armenia in 237/851-52, and against the Byzantines in 244/857. Absent at the time of the assassination of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, he returned subsequently to Sāmarrā and, making common cause with the other Turkish officers, compelled the succession of al-Mustaʿīn in 248/862. He died in the same year.

His son, Mūsā b. Bughā, came also to occupy an important place in the political scene at Sāmarrā, and to direct for a time the *barīd* service.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Yaʿķūbī, index; *Buldān*, 262; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 211; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, index; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, viii, 45-48; Ibn al-Athīr, index. (D. SOURDEL)

BUGHĀ AL-SHARĀBĪ (the cup-bearer), also called AL-ṢAGHĪR (the younger) a Turkish military leader who bore the title *mawlā amīr al-muʾminīn*, and who is not to be confused with his contemporary of the same name, Bughā al-Kabīr. After having fought, under al-Mutawakkil, against the rebels of Ādharbaydjān, he led the plot against this caliph, whom he suspected of wishing to reduce the influence of the Turkish officers, and had him assassinated. With his ally Waṣīf, he subsequently held power under al-Muntaṣir and al-Mustaʿīn. Al-Muʿtazz, however, ascending the throne in 252/866, sought to rid himself of this ancient enemy, the murderer of his father, and after relieving him of his functions and privileges, succeeded in 254/868 in having him imprisoned and put to death.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Yaʿķūbī, index; *Buldān*, 262; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 330; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; A. Amīn, *Ẓuhr al-islām*, i, 11, 20-22; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, i, Damascus 1959, index. (D. SOURDEL)

BUGHRĀ KHĀN [see KARAKHĀNIDS].

AL-**BUGHṬŪRĪ**, MAĶRĪN B. MUḤAMMAD, Ibāḍite historian and biographer born in the village of Bughṭūra (also: Buķṭūra) in the western region of the Djabal Nafūsa [*q.v.*]. According to the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī ʿUthmān al-Shammākhī [*q.v.*], an important historical and biographical Ibāḍite work of the 10th/16th century, al-Bughṭūrī was a pupil of two scholars of Ibāḍite history and biography, namely Abū Yaḥyā Tawfīķ b. Yaḥyā al-Djanāwunī and Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masķūd (also called al-Madjūlī). While studying with the first of these masters, in the village of Idjnāwun (also Djanāwun, today Djennāwen in the Djādū region), al-Bughṭūrī wrote during the month of Rabīʿ II 599/December 1202-January 1203 his principal work on the biographies of celebrated Ibāḍites born in the Djabal Nafūsa. This work, known by the names of *Kitāb siyar mashāyikh Nafūsa*, *Siyar Nafūsa*, or perhaps more often *al-Siyar*, is lost today; it constitutes one of the principal sources of the *Kitāb al-siyar* of al-Shammākhī, who has given us substantial extracts from it, especially in the middle part of his work (143-344). The copy of the work which al-Shammākhī had at his disposal, was probably made in the first years of the 8th/14th century by Yaḥyā b. Abi 'l-ʿIzz al-Shammākhī of Tighermīn, a famous Ibāḍite copyist and scholar of the Djabal Nafūsa.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301/1883,

passim (especially 212, 542-3, 548 and appendix, 578); T. Lewicki, *Une chronique ibāḍite*, in *REI*, 1934, cahier I, 74-5 and *passim*; idem, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, Part I: *Tasmiya šuyūḫ Ǧabal Nafūsa wa-qurāhum*, Warsaw 1955, 15, 28, 69, and *passim*. (T. Lewicki)

BUGI [see CELEBES].

BUḤAYRA (Ar.), lake, is probably the diminnunitive, not of *baḥr* "sea", as one would expect, but of *baḥra*, which is applied to a depression in which water can collect. Thus, in North Africa, *bḥēra*, pl. *bḥāyr* denotes a low-lying plain, in eastern Algeria, northern Tunisia and part of southern Morocco; its most common meaning, however, is that of "vegetable garden, field for market gardening" or "field for the cultivation of cucurbitaceous plants (melons in particular)" (see W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 227). (Ed.)

The word *buḥayra* (lake) underlies a toponym which is often encountered in Spain and Portugal in the forms Albufera (Valencia, Alicante, Majorca), Albuferas (Almería), Albuera (Cáceres and Badajoz), Albojaira (Almería), and Albufeira, a coastal town in Algarve, Portugal; a diminutive of the diminutive appears also in Albufereta (Alicante). The most important of these lakes is that at Valencia [see BALANSIYA], about 9 kms. from the town, the last remnant which is left (about 35 sq. kms.) of the inland sea which used to cover the deep valleys of the Turia and the Júcar in prehistoric times. It was one of the biggest lakes in Spain, but of late years its area has been diminished in order to provide more rice fields on the north-western and southern shores. Nowadays its diameter is only 6 kms.

Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] drowned his sister's two sons there when he saw himself abandoned by his people, just before the loss of his throne and his death. When Valencia was divided, James I (the Conqueror d. 1276) reserved the estate of Albufera for himself. At the beginning of the 19th century the crown relinquished this fine property to Godoy, and Napoleon offered it to Marshal Suchet before it became a national patrimony once more.

The word *buḥayra* meant an irrigated garden in Almohad times. The battle in which the Almohads were routed by the Almoravids in 524/1130 is known by the name of the Battle of the *buḥayra* of Marrākush; the *buḥayra* of Seville, subsequently called Huerto del Rey, was improved by Yūsuf I, son of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. (A. Huici Miranda)

BUḤAYRA (Beḥera), name of the western province of the Egyptian delta. This was first a pagarchy (*kūra*) of small extent, limited to the north-eastern portion of the outskirts of Alexandria; the name may be an allusion to the lake of Abūḳīr, called also *buḥayrat al-Iskandariyya*, and Yāḳūt was well aware that this last name applied to a series of neighbouring cantons of the town.

At the time of the division into provinces in Fāṭimid times, Buḥayra was an extensive region, situated west of the Rosetta branch, and reaching from the point of the delta right to Alexandria but excluding it. The great port was rarely associated administratively with this province, of which the capital was and remained Damanhūr.

The region of Ṭarrāna, and further north the wādī Naṭrūn, possessed natron deposits, which were worked in the Middle Ages.

ʿUmarī and Ḳalḳashandī give precise information on the Arab (in the strict sense) population of Buḥayra.

During Mamlūk times risings of Arab tribes and Bedouin of the Western Desert are frequently recorded. These rebellions began towards the end of the 9th/15th century; there were terrible punishments: summary executions, the enslavement of women and children, and confiscation of flocks. In the Ottoman period the troubles quite often provoked punitive expeditions, and the province was far from being quiet during the French occupation, as one sees from the massacre of the small French garrison of Damanhūr. After the departure of the French great importance was accorded to the Bedouin of the district, in whose favour an imperial firmān was promulgated, confirming their ownership of their territories. But their turbulence, of which the Mamlūk bey Muḥammad Alfī momentarily took advantage, could scarcely be overcome. Muḥammad Alfī made no attempt to conciliate the Arabs of the province in his struggle against Muḥammad ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 34-5, 175-7, 180, 183, 185, 187-91; ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf*, 76; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vii, 160-1; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, vi, 728-9, vii, 9, 570, 654, 708, 711, 715, 727, 734, 773; *Ḥawādith*, 57, 190, 209-11, 213, 500; Ẓāhirī, 35-6, 130; tr. Venture de Paradis, 55, 214; Ibn Iyās, Būlāḳ ed., i, 142, 249, 268, 308; Mustafa ed. 12, 13, 20, 28, 90, 117, 125, 139, 141, 153; Kahle-Mustafa ed., iii, 11, 21, 25, 48, 71, 227, 265, 268, 287, 388-9, 391, 405-6, 410; tr. Wiet, ii, 13, 25, 55, 83, 260, 305, 308, 330, 440-1, 443, 457, 459; Kahle-Mustafa ed., iv, 256-8; Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, 239-41; Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, ii, 191-3, 197-200, 211; Djabartī, i, 24, 95, 334, 349, ii, 93, 119, 159, 219, iii, 57-8, 111, 205-6, 229, 237, 321, iv, 8, 11, 18, 31, 33, 37, 81-2, 133, 242; French tr., i, 57, 221, iii, 52, 88, iv, 150, 218, v, 24, 143, vi, 116-7, vii, 78-80, 133, 154, 359-60, viii, 15, 19, 24, 38, 67-8, 71, 73, 79-80, 177, 179-80, 300, ix, 167; *Histoire de la nation française*, v, 436; Georges Douin, *Mohamed Aly, pacha du Caire*, 14; Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 317, no. 1013, iii, no. 228; Poliak, *Révoltes populaires*, in *REI*, 1934, 257, 259, 261-2; *History of the Patriarchs*, *Patrologia orientalis*, x, 524-5 [638-9]; Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 384; Combe, *Alexandrie musulmane*, extr. from *Bulletin de la Société royale de Géographie d'Égypte*, 43; Dopp, *Le Caire*, in the same *Bulletin*, xxiv, 144. (G. Wiet)

AL-**BUḤAYRA** AL-**MAYYITA** (or AL-MUNTINA) [see BAḤR LŪṬ].

BUHLŪL AL-MADJNŪN AL-KŪFĪ, the name of a lunatic of al-Kufā. We first meet him in the *Bayān* of al-Djāḥiẓ (ed. Hārūn, ii, 230-1), who depicts him as a simpleton exposed to the rough jokes of passers-by, and definitely as a Shīʿī (*yatashayyaʿ*). It is possible that he met Hārūn al-Rashīd at al-Kūfa in 188/804, as Ibn al-Djawzī reports (*al-Adhkiyāʾ*, ed. 1277, 180 ff.; see *JRAS*, 1907, 35), and perhaps he even addressed some remonstrances to him (al-Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 58); but it is certain that legend, as far back as the 4th/10th century and maybe even before, seized on his name to make of it a kind of prototype of the "wise fools" (*al-ʿuḳalāʾ al-madjānīn*) and to attribute to him a number of anecdotes, some pious and edifying stories, in addition to some didactic verse (see Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, vii, 126 ff.; MSS. Berlin, *passim*; Bibl. nat. de Paris, 623, n° 3653) It is likewise claimed that he produced some traditions (al-Dhahabī; Ibn Taghrībardī) but it is probable

that he has been confused with various characters similarly possessing the name of Buhlūl, and among whom are to be found genuine traditionists (see particularly Ibn Ḥadjar, ***Lisān al-Mīzān***, s.v.). One of them, who lived in Ifrīḳiya and who died in 183/799, was named Buhlūl b. Rāshid, which perhaps explains the persistent tradition (see Ibn Taghrībardī, i, 518; *ZDMG*, xliii, 115) which identifies Buhlūl with al-Sabtī, legendary son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (see Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, vi, 193, and bibl. quoted).

Buhlūl's tomb in Baghdād has been described by Niebuhr (*Reisebesch.*, ii, 301 ff.; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 350), and an inscription dating from 501/1100-8 designates him as the sultan of the ***madjdhūb***s and as an "obscure, dim soul" (***nafs muṭammasa***). People called him Buhlūldāna, "the wise fool", and they made of him the kinsman and the buffoon of al-Rashīd, and they told stories in the coffee houses about his wit and subtlety. The culmination of the development of the legend of Buhlūl was reached when he became the hero of erotic tales as in ***al-Rawḍ al-ʿĀṭir*** (ed. 1315, 9) of al-Nafzāwī (8th/14th century), who makes him a contemporary of al-Maʾmūn (see also Meissner, *Neurab. Geschichten*, v and 73-83).

The word ***buhlūl*** is given in Arabic dictionaries with the meaning of "merry, jolly" (***ḍaḥḥāḳ***), "a generous and distinguished man", and it is still this sense which Redhouse (***Turkish and English Lexicon***, 416a) and Dozy offer (following Bocthor), although the latter does not fail to call attention to the meanings of "booby", "idiot", etc. which are already encountered in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 89) and Ibn Khaldūn (***Muḳaddima***, ed. Quatremère, i, 201 ff.). Currently, and particularly in North Africa, it has the general meaning of "simpleton", "ninny", etc., and H. Wehr, ***Wörterbuch***, gives "wag, clown, buffoon". Owing to the fact that ***bahālīl/bahlūlāt*** still sometimes denotes an intense hilarity (see Doutté, ***Marabouts***), D. B. Macdonald (*EI*[1], s.v.) infers that the present use of the word rests also on its literal sense and not on the existence of an historical Buhlūl. It is of course possible that there may be some confusion with ***hubālī/buhālī***, which have the same meaning, but it is probable that the modern meaning proceeds from the proper name.

Bibliography: Add to the references given in the text, Brockelmann, *S I*, 350. (Ed.)

AL-**BUḤTURĪ**, Abū ʿUbāda al-Walīd b. ʿUbayd (Allāh), Arab poet and anthologist of 3rd/9th century (206-284/821-897), born at Manbidj (some state his birthplace to be the neighbouring village of Ḥurdufna), into a family belonging to the Buḥtur, a branch of the Ṭayyiʾ; not only did he never completely sever connexions with his native town, where the fortune amassed during his long career as court poet allowed him to acquire property, but he took advantage of his tribal origin to make useful connexions for himself.

After having dedicated his first poetic efforts (223-6/837-40) to the praise of his tribe, he sought a patron, and found him in the person of the Ṭāʾī general Abū Saʿīd Yūsuf b. Muḥammad, known as al-Thaghrī [*q.v.*], at whose house he met for the first time the poet Abū Tammām, who also claimed to be a Ṭāʾī. Abū Tammām, attracted by his youthful talent, apparently recommended him at first as a panegyrist to the notables of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, who made him an allowance of 4,000 dirhams, but nothing remains of his output during this period. In any case al-Buḥturī was not slow in joining Abū Tammām in the retinue of his patron Mālik b. Ṭawḳ, governor of Mesopotamia, and then in following him to Baghdād, where, by attending the courses of the most celebrated scholars (notably Ibn al-Aʿrābī) and by striving to acquire the manners of the capital, he prepared himself to extol important personages in the hope of getting close to the caliph.

However, he had scarcely any success with Ibn al-Zayyāt, and instead allied himself to a family of his own tribe, the Banū Ḥumayd, some members of which were established in Baghdād, and he dedicated several odes to their chief, Abū Nahshal; then he left ʿIrāḳ at the same time as Abū Tammām, in 230/844, to return to al-Thaghrī, then at Mosul.

Contrary to all expectation he does not seem to have grieved at the death of Abū Tammām (231/845), from whom nevertheless he had received his first encouragement, and part of his poetic training; this was the first instance of the ingratitude and opportunism of which he gave ample proof later.

No sooner had al-Mutawakkil succeeded than he returned to Baghdād, and thanks to the good offices of Ibn al-Munadjdjim won the favour of al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, who introduced him to al-Mutawakkil, probably in 234/848. Thus it was that a brilliant career as court poet began for al-Buḥturī.

In spite of a passing coldness in their relationship caused by inevitable jealousies, he enjoyed the constant patronage of al-Fatḥ, to whom he dedicated his *Ḥamāsa* and a number of panegyrics; he also praised numerous great figures of the empire, but it was for the caliph that he kept the greater part of his poetic ouput; he lived on familiar terms with him, enjoying his confidence, supporting government policy even when this clashed with his personal views which had a Shīʿī bias, and proclaiming the virtues and rights of the ʿAbbāsids. The verse of this period contains many allusions to political happenings—the rebellion at Damascus (236/850), the revolt in Armenia (237/851), the rising at Ḥimṣ (240/854), the caliph's visit to Damascus (244/858), the building of al-Mutawakkiliyya (245-6/859-60), etc.

Whereas heretofore the erotic prelude to his ***ḳaṣīdas*** had been dedicated to a conventional Hind, there now appeared in his verse a woman of flesh and blood, ʿAlwa bint Zurayḳa, who lived at Aleppo and had a country house in the district, at Biṭyās; without doubt he used to see her during his journeys in Syria, for his stay in ʿIrāḳ was never uninterrupted, and it is possible that he had a great passion for her, although he mocked her in a somewhat indecent poem.

After having been concerned, as al-Masʿūdī reports of him, in the assassination of al-Mutawakkil and al-Fatḥ (247/861), he thought it prudent to retire to Manbidj, but he reappeared soon afterwards with a panegyric of al-Muntaṣir, and afterwards addressed his praises to the ***wazīr*** Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, against whom, incidentally, he did not hesitate to incite al-Mustaʿīn some time later. He tasted fame once more under al-Muʿtazz, to whom he dedicated numerous poems, in which are echoes of the unrest which was watering the provinces of the empire with blood, but which by no means prevented him from welcoming al-Muhtadī as if nothing had happened, and from becoming temporarily a poet of piety to humour the new caliph. His fame declined under al-Muʿtamid, whose fiscal policy caused him some anxiety over his fortune, and his last poem dedicated to a caliph is in praise of al-Muʿtaḍid (279/892). He then left ʿIrāḳ and became court

poet once again with Khumārawayh b. Ṭūlūn, and finally then returned to his birthplace where he died, after a long illness, in 284/897.

At the beginning of his career, al-Buḥturī wrote, almost exclusively, vainglorious poetry or poems about his desert wanderings (a notable example is the famous poem of the jackal, ii, 110), but as soon as he became court poet the panegyric became the main form of his work. In this style he respected, except perhaps at the end of his life, the tripartite form of the *ḳaṣīda*, painting a conventional portrait of his various patrons; however, the panegyric is successfully heightened by splendid descriptions (in particular of the palace) where, thanks to a fine sense of poetic imagery and picturesque detail, al-Buḥturī stands unchallenged; it was only later that he devoted an entire poem to describing a palace, the Īwān of Chosroes (see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī, in *MMIA*, 1956, 77-88, 241-52, 427-36, 577-85). Though the ideas he expounded were generally without originality, his style, characterised by a simple vocabulary and musical and sonorous verse, is his great virtue, and puts him above the other court poets with whom at first he had to compete. He excelled equally in elegy but scarcely succeeded with invective, with him a mere corollary of panegyric, and most often addressed to a former prospective patron who had not fulfilled his hopes; and as a matter of fact, according to one story, on his deathbed he advised his son to destroy all his satires. Occasional poems are few in his *dīwān*; likewise, love themes are only found in the prologues to the *ḳaṣīdas*, and it was as a mere concession to fashion that he sang the praises of a few ephebes.

Western critics, who, after all, have taken little interest in al-Buḥturī, class him among the neo-classic poets, and this label suits him perfectly. For their part, Eastern critics consider him, with Abū Tammām and al-Mutanabbī, as one of the most important poets of the ʿAbbāsid era; the comparison between him and his master Abū Tammām is a favourite subject for discussion, after having been a point of controversy even while al-Buḥturī was alive; in his own opinion his best works were inferior to the best work of Abū Tammām, while he thought his own most mediocre poems to be better than the worst of Abū Tammām. This theme is treated in detail in two works which tend respectively to favour Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī: the *Akhbār Abī Tammām* of al-Ṣūlī, Cairo 1356/1937, and *al-Muwāzana bayna Abī Tammām wa 'l-Buḥturī* of al-Āmidī (Cairo 1363/1944).

Al-Buḥturī had this in common with most of his fellows, that he begged ceaselessly and rejected no means of getting money; this greed for gain destroyed his moral fibre and led him to dissimulate in order to follow slavishly the fluctuations of the religious policy of the caliph who was his patron.

His success as court poet earned him bitter enemies among his competitors (though he seems always to have been on good terms with the Shīʿī poet Diʿbil [*q.v.*]); naturally it also brought him into contact with all the eminent figures of the empire, *wazīrs*, generals, governors, courtiers, secretaries, and scholars. His contacts also allowed him to be conversant with many political facts, of which one hears echoes in the *dīwān*; this last, independently of its literary value, presents an undeniable documentary interest (cf. M. Canard, *Les allusions à la guerre byzantine ches les poètes Abū Tammām et Buḥturī*, in A. A. Vassiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i, Brussels 1935, 397-403). Indeed it forms a useful supplement to the chronicles of the time to which it often adds details, whether in giving the full names of personalities, or in describing monuments, or in mentioning occurrences which historians appear to have overlooked.

The *Dīwān* was published at Constantinople in 1882, then at Beirut and Cairo in 1911, but these editions are rather faulty and incomplete, so that a new publication taking into account the various MSS. (notably that in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris) would be most welcome. A commentary compiled by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *ʿAbath al-Walīd*, was published at Damascus in 1355/1936.—Of the *Ḥamāsa* only one MS. (University of Leiden) has been discovered, which is evidence of the lack of success of this anthology, in which the verses are grouped according to their themes and not according to their genres, as in that of Abū Tammām; there have been three editions: Leiden 1909, Beirut 1910, Cairo 1929.—A third work attributed to al-Buḥturī, *Maʿānī al-Shiʿr* (or *al-shuʿarāʾ*), is lost.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, xviii, 167-75; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, London 1939, 186-7; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iii, 657-66; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjām al-Udabāʾ*, xix, 248-58; Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, *passim*; Margoliouth, *The Letters of Abu 'l-ʿAlā*, Oxford 1898, *passim*; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb*, index; *Fihrist*, Cairo edn., 235; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, *passim*; *ZDMG*, 1893, 418-39, 715-17; G. Kanʿān, *al-Buḥturī*, Ḥamāt n.d.; Ṭahā Ḥusayn, *Min Ḥadīth al-Shiʿr wa 'l-Nathr*, Cairo n.d. (? 1932), 113-33; M. Ṣabrī, *Abū ʿUbāda al-Buḥturī*, Cairo 1946; ʿA. Rustum, *Ṭayf al-Walīd aw ḥayāt al-Buḥturī*, Cairo 1947; Sayyid al-ʿAḳl, *ʿAbḳariyyat al-Buḥturī*, Beirut 1953; Brockelmann, S I, 125; an excellent monograph, *Un poète arabe du IIIe siècle de l'hégire (IXe s. de J.-C), Buḥturī*, was presented as a doctorate thesis at the Sorbonne in 1953 by S. Achtar (unpublished). (CH. PELLAT)

BŪḲ, the generic name for any instrument of the horn or trumpet family. Wind instruments played by means of a cup-shaped mouthpiece may be divided into two classes, *viz.*: 1. the horn or conical tube type; and 2. the trumpet or cylindrical tube type.

1. The horn type. Whether the *ṣūr* and *nāḳūr* mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (vi, 73; lxxiv, 8; lxxviii, 18) were horns, as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) and al-Djawharī (d. ca. 396/1005) say respectively, the early Persians and Arabs certainly knew of a conical tube instrument of the animal horn type. An example may be found in Greek art of the 14th century B.C. in which an Asiatic warrior is displayed sounding such as instrument, whilst a Greek warrior is sounding a straight trumpet (Gerhard, *Apulische Vasen*, pl. ii). The Arabs appear to have known the crescent-shaped horn as the *ḳarn* (Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, 519), cognate words being found in the Akkadian *ḳarnu* and the Hebrew *ḳeren*. This instrument is still used by the perambulating darwīshes in Persia. According to Turkish tradition the *darwīsh borusu* (*būrīsī*) (dervish horn) was invented by Manūčihr the legendary Persian king (Ewliyā Čelebī, i/ii, 238). For a design of the instrument see Advielle, 9, and Lavignac, 3075, by whom it is wrongly called a *nafīr*. Actual specimens may be found in museums, *e.g.*, the Crosby Brown Collection, New York, no. 2454. There is a large Hispano-Moorish horn of ivory of the 4th-6th/10th-12th century in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (no. 2953/1862). Much larger instruments were also in use. Ibn

Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377) describes such an instrument of the Sūdān made from an elephant's tusk (*Voyages*, iv, 411), hence the term oliphant horn. An Andalusian Arab, Al-Shaḳundī (d. 629/1231), speaks of a monster horn (*ḳarn*) known as the *abū ḳurūn* ("father of horns") as related by Al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii, 144), which would be comparable to the monster horn (*būḳ al-kabīr*), the height of a man, referred to by Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr (*Tadhkirat al-Nisyān*, 45).

A horn made out of a shell was known to the Arabs of the Peninsula in the 2nd/8th century. Al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar says that it was used by millers, and that it was a spiral conch resembling the *minḳāf*, apparently something like the *shankh* of India (Day, *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, 151). It was probably the instrument which the Arabs called the *būḳ*. It was not a warlike instrument in the early days of Islām, as the Arabs did not use horns in battle at that time (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, xvii, 44). A poet quoted by Al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 828) says that the *būḳ* was used by the Christians for that purpose, and, according to Al-Djawharī, the Arabs borrowed that usage from them. In fact the word *būḳ* appears to have been derived from the Greek βωχάνη or the Latin *buccina* (Dozy, *Suppl.*), although in the *Tadj al-ʿArūs* the Persian word *būri* is considered to be the etymological original, an "obviously improbable" derivation (Lane, *Lexicon*). In the 4th/10th century the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ refer to the *būḳ* to illustrate their discussion on acoustics (Bombay ed., i, 89). From that time the *būḳ* began to play an important part in martial and processional music in all Islāmic lands (see Ṭabl-Khāna). In the *Alf Layla wa Layla* (ed. Macnaghten, i, 80, ii, 382, 403) it is in constant use for those purposes, whilst the *nafīr* or trumpet is only mentioned once (ii, 656). Yet it should be understood that the term *būḳ* was used for all instruments with a conical tube, whether crescent-shaped or straight, irrespective of the material of its facture,—shell, horn, or metal. Incidentally, the metal horn (Turkish *pirindj boru*) is claimed to have been introduced by the Saldjūḳs of the 5th/11th century (Ewliyā Čelebī, 1/ii, 238). In view of the use of metal instruments by both Persia and Byzantium much earlier, that statement cannot be accepted. The *būḳ* is mentioned in Persian as early as Firdawsī (d. 411/1020) and one supposes that the instrument was little different from the straight horns depicted on the Ṭāḳ-i Bustān sculptures (590-628 A.D.), and is still the type to be found there (Advielle, 9: Lavignac, 3075). In Moorish Spain the *būḳāt* of Al-Ḥakam II (d. 369/979) were mounted with gold. It was this monarch who, having devised the boring of the tube with finger holes and the insertion of a beating reed at the blowing end instead of a cup-shaped mouthpiece, introduced an instrument of the saxophone type (see Mizmār). The Spanish *albogue* is its lineal descendant.

The Turkish and Persian equivalent of the *būḳ* was the *borū* (*būri*) (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 400; Meninski, s.v. *būḳ*; Ewliyā Čelebī, 1/ii, 238; Toderini, i, 238). The word is to be found in modern Egyptian and Syrian Arabic (Amery, *English-Arabic Vocabulary*, s.v. *bugle*; Ronzevalle, *MFOB*, vi, 29). It has become the Balkan *bore* and *boriye* (cf. the Sanskrit *bhariyā* and the Ghanaian *buro*). The *burghū* or *būrghū*, a Čaghatay word, was a huge horn introduced into the Islamic armies during the Mughal and Tatar regime. Ibn Ghaybī (d. 1435) says that it was longer than the *nafīr*. The name survives in the *buruga* of India (Day, 153; Lavignac, 358) where it is another name for the *karnā*. Another instrument of the same group mentioned by Arabic authors is the *shabbūr*. Al-Djawharī says that it is a non-Arabic word, which Ibn al-Athīr Madjd al-Dīn (d. 1310) has rightly surmised was borrowed from the Hebrew *shōphar*. Firdawsī includes the *shaypūr* among the ancient martial instruments of the Persians. The existence of the Arabic word *shafur*, as mentioned by A. X. Idelsohn (*Jewish Music*, 495, and J. Reider (*JQR*, Jan. 1934), must be accepted with reserve. Fétis mentions a modern Arabian trumpet under the name *shabbūr* (*Hist. gén.*, ii, 157), but see Mahillon (i, 182; and the *Saturday Review*, June 1882, 696).

2. The trumpet type. The chief instrument of the cylindrical tube class was the *nafīr*, although the name is frequently given to the straight instrument of the horn type (see Host, *Nachrichten von Marokos og Fes*, pl. xxxi). The name *nafīr* in this connexion occurs first in the 5th/11th century under the Saldjūḳs, although the type may have been known earlier. Kurt Sachs (*Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, s.v.) erroneously derives the word from *nafakha* ('to blow'). Originally the term *nafīr* meant 'a call to war', and so a trumpet used by such was called a *būḳ al-nafīr*, *i.e.*, 'a military horn or trumpet'. Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳa, in *al-Fakhrī* (30) speaks of a large *būḳ* similar to the *būḳ al-nafīr*, from which we may reasonably deduce that the ordinary *būḳ* was smaller or shorter than the *nafīr*. The bright incisive tone of the *nafīr*, which was due to its cylindrical tube, was better for signalling purposes than the hoarse sound of the *būḳ* with its conical bore. The difference between them may well be illustrated by the verbs used to describe their sounding. We read for instance that the *būḳ* player 'blew' (*nafakha*) his horn, whilst the *nafīr* player 'cried out' (*ṣāḥa*) with his trumpet. For the respective numbers of the *nafīr* and *būḳ* used in the Islamic army bands, see Ṭabl-Khāna. In the time of Ibn Ghaybī the length of the *nafīr* was 168 cm. (= 2 *gaz*).

The *karnā*, according to Ibn Ghaybī, was a trumpet folded in the centre of its tube into a 'S' shaped figure. Some of them were of enormous length. The Persian dictionaries give the form as *karranāy*, and it is thus vocalised in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. It is generally acknowledged (Buhle, 28; Schlesinger, xxvii, 326, 353; Galpin, 200) that the cylindrical bore instruments were borrowed from the East. Perhaps those *buccins Turcs* and *cors sarrasinois* which the Crusading chroniclers record included the *nafīr* and *karnā*. Richard Cœur de Lion, in the Third Crusade (1189-92), was well equipped with *tubae*, *litui*, *corni* and *buccinae*, but at Messina in Sicily, we read of a *trumpa* which was different from the *tuba*. Could this have been the *nafīr* of the Hohenstaufen Saracen troops on the Island? Yet if the Occident was indebted to the Orient for the cylindrical *nafīr*, the compliment was returned, since we know that Morocco, under Sulṭān al-Manṣūr (1576-1602) had a *ṭrunbaṭa* (= Spanish *trompeta*) which was made of brass and was as long as the *nafīr* (*Tadhkirat al-Nisyān*, 117; the translator writes *negir*). Turkey also knew of the European trumpet (*tūrumpata borusu*) as well as the English trumpet (*ingiliz borusu*), the latter being the modern wreathed instrument (Ewliyā Čelebī, 1/ii, 238). Both Niebuhr and Villoteau give designs and descriptions of the 17th-19th century instruments.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Ghaybī, Bodleian MS. (Marsh, no. 282, fol. 80); Abu 'l-Faḍl,

Āʾīn-i Akbarī, ed. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873-4; Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans*, Paris 1885; *Alf layla wa layla*, ed. Macnaghten, Calcutta 1839-42; Amery, *English-Arabic Vocabulary*, Cairo 1905, s.v. 'Bugle'; Arnold, *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931; *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, Paris 1929, pl. i; Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico*, Rome 1722; P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Oxford 1924; Buhle, *Die musikalischen Instrumente in den Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1903; *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments*, New York 1904-5; Chardin, *Voyages ... en Perse*, Amsterdam 1735; Day, *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India ...*, London 1891; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Travels of Evelya Efendi*, London 1846; Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, 2nd Series, London 1939; *Minstrelsy of The Arabian Nights*, London 1945; Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique*, Paris 1869-76; Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, London 1910; Ḥad͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, *Kas͟hf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1835; Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos og Fes*, Copenhagen 1779; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages ... trad. par C. Defrémery*, Paris 1853-8; Ibn K͟haldūn, *Notices et extraits*, Paris 1858; *Rasāʾil Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1887-9; Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum ...*, Lemgo 1712; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v, Paris 1922; Mahillon, *Catalogue ... du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles*, i, Ghent 1893; idem, *La Trompette, son histoire ...*, Bruxelles 1907; Al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes ...*, Leiden 1855-61; Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, London 1912; Pedro de Alcala, *Arte ... la lengua araviga*, Granada 1505; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1776-80; *Survey of Persian Art*; Ribera, *La Música de las Càntigas*, Madrid 1922; Sachs, *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente*, Berlin 1913; Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in Arabico*, Firenze 1871; Schlesinger, article *Trumpet* in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, New York 1910-11; Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, Berlin 1900; Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Venice 1787; Villoteau, *La Description de l'Égypte, état moderne*, Paris 1809-26. (H. G. Farmer)

BUḲA, one of the leaders of the group of the G͟huzz of K͟hurāsān which, after the capture and death of its leader Arslan b. Sald͟jūḳ (427/1036?), was expelled from the province by G͟haznawid troops on account of its depredations, and continued its pillaging across central and western Iran as far as the borders of Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia, where it was annihilated by the Bedouin and Kurds in 435/1044. See *EI*¹, s.v., the article sald͟jūḳids, and Cl. Cahen, *Le Maliknameh et l'histoire des origines seldjukides*, in *Oriens*, 1949, 57.

(Cl. Cahen)

BŪḲA, a place, no longer extant, in northern Syria, whose name is very probably a word of Syriac origin meaning "mosquito", from which fact H. Lammens has inferred that the region was a marshy one. It figures in the Arabic texts of the first centuries of Islam. Nothing is known of its more ancient history, but it is mentioned in the narratives of the conquest by Abū ʿUbayda of the provinces of Antioch and Ḳinnasrīn, and appears to have had a certain importance in Umayyad times. Then it was near the territory of the D͟jarād͟jima, placed by al-Balād͟hurī in the D͟jabal al-Lukkām (Amanus) between Bayās and Būḳā. It was one of the places chosen for the establishment under Muʿāwiya or al-Walīd of the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] from Sind, who arrived there from ʿIrāḳ and installed themselves with their buffaloes. Later its defences were strengthened by the caliph His͟hām, who built a fortress there. The Byzantines besieged it in 338/949-50, during a raid on Syria by Leo Phocas, and it then belonged to the territory of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*], but the mentions made of it in the 6th/12th century by Ibn S͟haddād and Yāḳūt seem to reflect an earlier state of things. Although it is not known in what circumstances it fell into ruins or was abandoned, by the time of the Crusades it had lost its previous importance, and H. Lammens (*EI*¹) could establish only by conjecture, based on literary data, the site which it presumably occupied in the ʿAmk [*q.v.*] depression, not far from the lake of Antioch.

Bibliography: Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 149, 159, 162, 167, 168; *BGA*, indices; Ibn S͟haddād, *apud* Ch. Ledit, *Machriq*, xxxiii (1934), 179 ff.; Yāḳūt, i, 762; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 424; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, i, Algiers 1951, 227, 229, 762. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BUḲʿA or Baḳʿa, denotes according to lexicographers a region which is distinguishable from its surroundings, more particularly a depression between mountains, and *baḳʿa* was applied especially to a place where water remains stagnant. The word appears frequently as a toponym, as well as its diminutive *buḳayʿa*. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BŪḲALĀ, a term employed in Algerian Arabic (cf. βαύκαλις) to denote a two-handled pottery vase used by women in the course of the divinatory practices to which it gave its name. The operation consisted, basically, of the woman who officiated improvising, after an invocation, a short poem which was also called *būḳāla* and from which portents were drawn. These practices, which seem to have enjoyed a certain vogue during the period when piracy was at its height (women wanted to have news of their men who were at sea), developed into a parlour game. They were recently the subject of an excellent study by S. Bencheneb, in *AIEO*, Algiers 1956, 19-111 (with numerous texts in translation). (Ed.)

BŪḲALAMŪN [see abū ḳalamūn].

BUKAREST [see Bükres͟h].

al-**BUḲAYʿA** in particular denotes a little plain situated north of the Biḳāʿ [see Buḳʿa] and south-east of the D͟jebel Anṣariyé, at an average altitude of 250 m. It is characterised by an abundance of springs which there give birth to the Nahr al-Kabīr. It was known in the time of the Crusades by the name Boquée and was dominated by the Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [*q.v.*] whose ruins still overlook it today (see M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1914-5, 42; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1923, 92; J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Alaouites*, Tours 1940, index *s.v.* Bouqaïa).

The name Buḳayʿa is found likewise in Transjordania, where it denotes a small inland plain to the north of the plateau of al-Balḳāʾ in the neighbourhood of Ṣuwayliḥ (see F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, i, Paris 1933, 91).

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BUKAYR b. MĀHĀN, Abū Hās͟him, propagandist of the ʿAbbāsids at the end of the Umayyad caliphate, was a native of Sid͟jistān and had at first been secretary of the governor of Sind al-D͟junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. In 102/720-1 he was converted to the anti-Umayyad cause by Maysara

al-ʿAbdī and Muḥammad b. Khunays, and he put at the disposition of their party the fortune which he had amassed in business in Sind. After the death of Maysara he was entrusted with the direction of the movement in 105/723-4 and he was unusually active in gaining supporters among the population of Khurāsān. In 107/725-6 he also sent many emissaries to this region, who with one exception, ʿAmmār al-ʿAbādī, were at once taken and put to death by the governor Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh. Later, in 118/736, he appointed ʿAmmār b. Yazīd as chief over other agents who had been first imprisoned and then succeeded in freeing themselves. ʿAmmār established himself at Marw, took the name of Khidāsh, and met with some success, but having adopted the doctrines of the Khurramīs [*q.v.*] was in his turn imprisoned, tortured, and put to death by the governor Asad. This situation disturbed the *imām* Muḥammad, who was not content with the explanation offered in 120/738 by the delegate of the Khurāsānīs, Sulaymān b. Kathīr [*q.v.*], and despatched Bukayr himself to repudiate publicly the doctrines of Khidāsh. Bukayr was badly received the first time but the second time succeeded in convincing the ʿAbbāsid partisans. Afterwards, in 124/741-2, having returned to ʿIrāḳ and being held responsible for political meetings which took place in a house at Kūfa, he was imprisoned. There he won over to his cause ʿĪsā b. Maʿḳil, from whom, according to an unreliable tradition, he bought a slave, the future Abū Muslim [*q.v.*]. Set at liberty, he went to Khurāsān in 126/743-4 to announce the death of the *imām* Muḥammad to the partisans of the ʿAbbāsids, and to make them swear allegiance to his son Ibrāhīm. He returned to ʿIrāḳ with the money he had collected in Iran. He died soon afterwards, in 127/744-5, after nominating as his successor Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān [*q.v.*], a choice which Ibrāhīm later accepted.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, Yaʿḳūbī, Dīnawarī, index; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 1280, 1317, 1348, 1484, 1509, 1558, 1592, 1622; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Berlin 1902, 316-20; G. van Vloten, *De opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasan*, Leiden 1890, *passim*. (D. SOURDEL)

BUKAYR B. WISHĀḤ, Governor of Khurāsān at the beginning of the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. A former lieutenant of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim [*q.v.*], this Tamīmī of the tribe of the Banū Saʿd made himself noticed during the troubled time which was marked by the insurrections of the Tamīm, both when he commanded the troops of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim at Harāt and when he was the delegate of the governor in Marw after the recapture of the town from the rebels. In 72/691-2 the triumph of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, who had firmly established his power in ʿIrāḳ and Arabia, gave him the opportunity to be nominated in his turn titular governor at Marw, and to substitute by force his authority for that of Ibn Khāzim, who had refused to pass over to the Umayyads and was soon to be killed while fleeing towards Tirmidh. But as troubles continued in the region, where the Tamīm were engaged in a veritable civil war, Bukayr was deposed, and, nominated in compensation governor of Ṭukhāristān, was obliged to cede his place, without doubt in 74/693-4, to the Ḳurayshite Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid, sent by the caliph and perhaps, according to some sources, earmarked for this post since 72/691-2. In circumstances of which the details vary according to the accounts, the evicted *amīr* afterwards profited by the absence of the new governor, who was away in 77/696-7 fighting against Bukhārā, to arouse for his own ends the inhabitants of Marw, and to compel Umayya to return as quickly as possible to lay siege to the rebellious city. The capitulation which followed was made with honourable conditions for Bukayr, but he continued to intrigue and in the same year was treacherously assassinated by one of his enemies.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 415-7; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 324; *Buldān*, 299; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Berlin 1902, 260-3; Caetani, *Chronographia*, 849, 859, 877, 915, 921. (J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

BUKHĀRĀ, a city in a large oasis in present day Uzbekistān on the lower course of the Zarafshān River. The city is 722 ft. (222.4 m.) above sea level and is located at 64° 38′ E. long. (Greenw.) and 39° 43′ N. Lat.

We have few references to the city in pre-Islamic times. In the time of Alexander the Great there was another town in Sogdiana besides Marakanda (Samarḳand) on the lower course of the river but it probably did not correspond to the modern city of Bukhārā. The oasis was inhabited from early times and towns certainly existed there.

The earliest literary occurrence of the name is in Chinese sources of the 7th century A.D., but the native name of the city, *pwγʾr*, found on coins, indicates on palaeographic grounds that the name may have been used several centuries earlier. The derivation of this word from Sanskrit *vihāra* "monastery" is not improbable in spite of linguistic difficulties, since there was a *vihāra* near Numidjkath, a town apparently the predecessor of Bukhārā, and which merged into the latter (cf. Frye, *Notes* in *HJAS*, below).

The native dynasty was called Bukhār Khudāt (or Bukhārā Khudāh) by the Islamic sources; on the coins we have *pwγʾr γwβ*, Sogdian for "Bukhārā king", indicating that the local language was at least a dialect of Sogdian. Although the names of several of the pre-Islamic rulers occur on inscriptions and in later sources (cf. Frye, *ibid.*) it is only after the Arabic conquests that the history of the city can be reconstructed.

The accounts of the first Arab raids across the Oxus River are partly legendary and require critical examination. The first Arab army is said to have appeared before Bukhārā in 54/674 under ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. The ruler of Bukhārā at that time was the widow of the late ruler Bīdūn, or Bandūn. (In Ṭabarī, ii, 169, in place of her Ḳabadj Khātūn is mentioned as the wife of the reigning king of the Turks. Perhaps this name is to be read Ḳayikh or Ḳayigh, as the Turkish tribal name?). According to Narshakhī (ed. Schefer, 7, trans. Frye, 9) she ruled for 15 years as regent for her infant son Ṭughshāda (Ṭabarī, ii, 1693, has Ṭūḳ Siyāda; cf. discussion by O. I. Smirnova, *K imenii sogdiyskogo ikhshida Tukaspadaka*, in *Trudī Akad. Nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR*, Stalinabad 1953, 209). This same Bukhār Khudāt appears again in al-Ṭabarī as a youth in 91/710 when Ḳutayba b. Muslim, after overthrowing his enemies, installed him as prince of Bukhārā. The rule of Islam in Bukhārā was first placed on a firm footing by Ḳutayba. In Ramaḍān 121/Aug.-Sept. 739, Ṭughshāda was murdered in the camp of the governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār. During his long reign several rebellions against the Arab suzerainty took place and the Turks invaded the country several times. In 110/728-9 the town of Bukhārā itself was lost to the Arabs and they had

to besiege it but regained it the next year (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1514, 1529).

The son and successor of Ṭughshāda, called "Ḳutayba" in honour of the conqueror, behaved at first like a good Muslim. When in the year 133/750, the Arab Sharīk b. Shaykh raised a revolt in Bukhārā against the new dynasty of the ʿAbbāsids, the rebellion was put down by Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, lieutenant of Abū Muslim, with the help of the Bukhār Khudāt. Nevertheless the latter was a short time later accused of apostasy from Islam and put to death by order of Abū Muslim. His brother and successor Bunyāt (although another brother Skān, reading uncertain, may have ruled a few years between) met the same fate during the reign of the caliph al-Mahdī (probably in 166/782), for the Caliph had him put to death as a follower of the heretic al-Muḳannaʿ. After this period the Bukhār Khudāts appear to have been of little importance in the government of the country but they an influential position because of their great estates. In the early years of the reign of the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl, mention is made of the Bukhār Khudāt who was deprived of his lands but allowed the same income (20,000 *dirhams*) from the state treasury, as he had previously derived from his estates. It is not known how long the government fulfilled this obligation.

Besides the native prince there was of course in Bukhārā, at least from the time of Ḳutayba b. Muslim, an Arab *amīr* or *ʿāmil* who was subordinate to the *amīr* of Khurāsān whose headquarters were in Marw. On account of its geographical situation Bukhārā was much more closely connected with Marw than with Samarḳand. The Bukhār Khudāt had even a palace of his own in Marw (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1888, 14; 1987, 7; 1992, 16). In the 3rd/9th century, when the *amīrs* of Khurāsān transferred their seat to Nīshāpūr, the administration of Bukhārā remained separate from that of the other parts of Transoxania. Till 260/874 Bukhārā did not belong to Sāmānid territory but was under a separate governor immediately responsible to the Ṭāhirids. After the fall of the Ṭāhirids (259/873) Yaʿḳūb b. Layth was recognised only for a brief period in Bukhārā as *amīr* of Khurāsān. The clergy and populace applied to the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad who was ruling in Samarḳand and he appointed his younger brother Ismāʿīl governor of Bukhārā. Bukhārā was henceforth ruled by the Sāmānids until their fall. Ismāʿīl continued to live in Bukhārā after the death of his brother Naṣr in 279/892 when the whole of Mā warā ʾl-nahr (Transoxania) passed under his sway, and also after his victory over ʿAmr b. Layth in 287/900 when he was confirmed by the Caliph in the rank of *amīr* of Khurāsān. The city thus became the seat of a great kingdom although it never equalled Samarḳand in size or wealth during this period. It was in Bukhārā that the New Persian literary renaissance bloomed.

The Bukhārā of the Sāmānid period is described in detail by the Arab geographers and we also owe much to Narshakhī and later editors of his work. A comparison of these accounts with the descriptions of the modern town (particularly detailed is N. Khanikov, *Opisanie Bukharskago Khanstva*, St. Petersburg 1843, 79 ff.) shows clearly that in Bukhārā unlike Marw, Samarḳand, and other cities, only an expansion of the area of the town and not a shifting from one place to another, may be traced. Even after destruction Bukhārā has always been rebuilt on the same site and on the same plan as in the 3rd/9th century.

As in most Iranian towns, the Arab geographers distinguish three main divisions of Bukhārā, the citadel (NP *kuhandiz*, from the 7th/13th century known as the *arg*), the town proper (Arabic *madīna*, Pers. *shahristān*), and the suburbs (Arabic *rabaḍ*) lying between the original town and the wall built in Muslim times. The citadel from the earliest times has been on the same site as at the present day, east of the square still known as the "Rīgistān". The area of the citadel is about one mile in circumference with an area of ca. 23 acres. The palace of the Bukhār Khudāt was here, and, as Iṣṭakhrī shows (306), it was used by the early Sāmānids. According to Muḳaddasī (280), the later Sāmānids only had their treasuries and prisons there. Besides the palace there was in the citadel the oldest Friday mosque, erected by Ḳutayba, supposedly on the site of a pagan temple. Later this mosque was used as a revenue office (*dīwān al-kharādj*). The citadel was several times destroyed in the 6/12th and 7/13th centuries, but was always rebuilt.

Unlike most other towns, the citadel of Bukhārā was not within the *shahristān* but outside. Between them, to the east of the citadel, was an open space where the later Friday mosque stood till the 6th/12th century. One may determine what part of the modern town corresponds to the *shahristān* for, according to Iṣṭakhrī (307), there was no running water on the surface of either the citadel or the *shahristān* because of their height. According to the plan given by Khanikov, this high-lying portion of the town is about twice as large as the citadel. It had a wall around it with seven gates, the names of which are given by Narshakhī and the Arab geographers.

According to Narshakhī (text, 29, trans., 30) at the time of the Arab conquest the whole town consisted of the *shahristān* alone, although there were scattered settlements outside which were later incorporated into the city. Narshakhī gives us a fairly detailed account of the topographical details of the *shahristān*. A new Friday Mosque was built by Arslān Khān Muḥ. b. Sulaymān in 515/1121 in the *shahristān*, probably in the southern part of it where the Madrasa Mīr ʿArab, built in the 10th/16th century and the great minaret still stand.

It was not till 235/849-50, according to Narshakhī, that the *shahristān* was linked with the suburbs to form one town and surrounded by a wall. In the 4th/10th century another wall had been built enclosing a greater area; it had eleven gates, the names of which are given by Narshakhī and the Arab geographers.

Besides the palace in the citadel there was one in the Rīgistān from pre-Islamic times. The Sāmānid Naṣr II (301-331/914-943) built a palace there with accomodations for the ten state *dīwāns*, the names of which are given by Narshakhī (text, 24, trans., 26). During the reign of Manṣūr b. Nūḥ (350-365/961-76) this palace is said to have been destroyed by fire, but Muḳaddasī tells us that the Dār al-Mulk was still standing on the Rīgistān and he praises it highly. During the Sāmānid period there appears to have been another royal palace on the Djū-i Mūliyān Canal to the north of the citadel.

In the reign of Manṣūr b. Nūḥ a new *muṣallā* was built as the Rīgistān could not contain the multitude of believers. The new area of prayer was built in 360/971 at one-half *farsakh* (ca. 2 miles) from the citadel on the road to the village of Samatīn.

In the 4th/10th century the town was overcrowded and insanitary, with bad water and the like Muḳaddasī and some of the poets (al-Thaʿālibī,

Yatīma, iv, 8) describe the town in the most scathing fashion.

Narshakhī and the Arab geographers give information on the villages and country around the city. Iṣṭakhrī (30) gives the names of the canals which led from the Zarafshān to water the fields. According to Narshakhī some of these canals were built in pre-Islamic times and many of the names have survived to the present. Traces also survive of the long walls which were built to protest the city and surrounding villages from the incursions of the Turks. According to Narshakhī (text, 29, trans., 33) these walls were begun in 166/782 and completed in 215/830. The town itself was not in the centre but in the western half of the area enclosed within the walls. After the time of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad the walls were no longer kept in repair. At a later period the ruins of these walls were given the name Kanparak, and as Kampīr Duwāl ("wall of the old woman") traces survive to the present on the borders of the steppes between the cultivated areas of Bukhārā and Karmīna.

On the fall of the Sāmānids (389/999) the town lost much of its earlier political importance and was governed by governors of the Ilek Khāns or Ḳarakhānids. In the second half of the 5th/11th century Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm built a palace for himself to the south of the city and prepared a hunting ground; it was called Shamsābād, but fell into ruins after the death of his successor Khiḍr Khān. A *muṣallā* was made of the hunting ground in 513/1119.

Even during the period of decline Bukhārā retained its reputation as a centre of Islamic learning. In the 6th/12th century a prominent family of scholars known as the Āl-i Burhān [see BURHĀN] succeeded in founding a kind of hierarchy in Bukhārā and making the area independent for a time. After the battle of Ḳaṭwān (5 Ṣafar 536/9 Sept. 1141) the Ḳarā Khitāy ruled Bukhārā through the *ṣadr* (pl. *ṣudūr*) or head of this family. The *ṣadr*s maintained good relations with the pagan overlords and in 1207 took refuge with them when they were driven out of Bukhārā by a popular (Shīʿī ?) rising (ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 385). In the same year the city passed under the rule of Muḥ. b. Takash Khwārizm Shāh. He renovated the citadel and erected other buildings.

According to Ibn al-Athīr (xii, 239) Bukhārā submitted to the army of Čingīz Khān on 4 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 616/10 Feb. 1220. The citadel was not taken until 12 days later. The town was sacked and burned with the exception of the Friday Mosque and a few palaces. Bukhārā soon recovered and is mentioned as a populous town and a seat of learning under Čingīz Khān's successor.

In 636/1238 a peasant revolt occurred under the leadership of one Maḥmūd Ṭarābī who posed as a religious leader. After initial successes, mainly against the aristocracy, the revolt was suppressed by the Mongols (cf. Djuwaynī, i, 86, trans. J. A. Boyle, 109). Little is known of early Mongol rule in Bukhārā; *mulla*s and *sayyid*s, like the clergy of other religions, were exempted from all taxation. A Christian Mongol princess even built a *madrasa* called the Khāniyya in Bukhārā at her own expense (cf. Djuwaynī, iii, 9, trans. Boyle, ii, 552).

On 7 Radjab 671/28 Jan. 1273 Bukhārā was taken by the army of Abāḳā, Mongol Īl-Khān of Persia, and the city was destroyed and depopulated. It was rebuilt and again ravaged in Radjab 716/19 Sept.-18-Oct. 1316 by the Mongols of Persia and their ally the Čaghatāy prince Yasāwūr. Bukhārā seems otherwise to have been of no importance in the political life of Transoxania under the rule of the house of Čaghatāy or later under the Tīmūrids. The *Kitāb-i Mullāzāda* of Muʿīn al-Fuḳarāʾ, written in the 9th/15th century, gives information about the town in this period (cf. Frye in *Avicenna Commemoration Volume*, Iran Society, Calcutta 1955). Bahā al-Dīn Naḳshband (d. 791/1389) and his order of dervishes [see NAḲSHBANDIYYA] flourished in Bukhārā. Ulugh Bēg (d. 853/1449) built a *madrasa* in Bukhārā in the centre of town.

Towards the end of the year 905/summer 1500 Bukhārā was taken by the Uzbeks under Shībānī Khān and remained with them till the Russian Revolution except for two brief periods, after 916/1510 when Shībānī was killed, and in 1153/1740. The dominions of the Uzbeks were regarded as the property of the whole ruling family and divided into a number of small principalities. Samarḳand was usually the capital of the Khān (usually the oldest member of the ruling house), but the prince who was elected Khān retained his hereditary principality and frequently resided there. Two princes of the house of Shībān, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd (ruled 918-946/1512-1539), and ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar (ruled 964-1006/1557-1598) had their capital in Bukhārā. Through them Bukhārā became again a centre of political and intellectual life. The princes of the next dynasty, the Djānids or Ashtarkhānids, also ruled from Bukhārā while Samarḳand lost its importance.

The materials for the history of Bukhārā during the Uzbek period are mostly in manuscripts, such as the *Taʾrīkh-i Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Rāḳim* from 1113/1701, the *Badāʾiʿ al-Waḳāʾiʿ* of Wāṣifī, and the *Baḥr al-Asrār fī Manāḳib al-Akhyār* of Amīr Walī (on these works see Storey, 381 ff.). A. A. Semenov has translated into Russian two important works on Uzbek history of special value for Bukhārā, the *Ubaydalla-name* of Mīr Mukhammed Amīn Bukhārī, Tashkent 1957, and *Mukimkhanova istoriya* of Mukhammed Yūsuf Munshī, Taskent 1957.

From the 10th/16th century there was trade intercourse between Russia and the Uzbek principalities. In the 17th and 18th centuries all merchants and emigrants from Central Asia whose settlements were to be found as far as Tobolsk were known to the Russians as "Bukhartsi". The same name was also extended to the inhabitants of Chinese Turkistan which was called "Little Bukharia".

The reign of Khān ʿAbd al-Azīz (1055-91/1645-80) was regarded by native historians as the last great period of their history. After him various princes made themselves independent and the Khān in Bukhārā ruled only a small portion of his former kingdom, and even there the authority was rather in the hands of an Atālīḳ ruling in his name.

In 1153/1740 Nādir Shāh conquered Bukhārā but after his death it regained its independence but under a new dynasty, for the Atālīḳ Muḥ. Raḥīm of the tribe of Manḳīt had himself proclaimed Khān. His career has been recorded by Muḥ. Wafā Karmīnagī under the title *Tuḥfat al-Khānī*. His successor Dāniyār Bēg was content with the title of Atālīḳ and allowed a scion of the house of Čingīz Khān to bear the sovereign title. His son Murād or Mīr Maʿṣūm, however, claimed the royal title for himself in 1199/1785 and called himself *amīr*.

Under his successor Ḥaydar (1215-1242/1800-26) the observance of religious ordinances was much more harshly enforced than under his predecessors. He was the last ruler of Bukhārā to strike coins in his own name till the last *amīr*. His successor Naṣr

Allāh (1242-1277/1827 1860) succeeded in strengthening the power of the throne against the nobles and in extending his domains. The native chroniclers agree with European travellers in describing Naṣr Allāh as a bloodthirsty tyrant. Instead of tribal levies a standing army was created.

In 1258/1842 the capital of the rival Khānate of Khoḳand was taken but the conquest could not be held. When Naṣr Allāh's successor Muẓaffār al-Dīn (1860-1885) ascended the throne the Russians had already secured a firm footing in Transoxania. After being repeatedly defeated the Amīr had to submit to Russia and give up all claims to the valley of the Sīr Daryā which had been conquered by the Russians. He had to cede a part of his kingdom, with the towns of Djizaḳ, Ura-tübe, Samarḳand, and Katta Ḳurghān (1868) to the Russians. In 1873, however, Bukhārān territory was increased in the west at the expense of the Khānate of Khīwa. In the reign of ʿAbd al-Aḥad (1885-1910) the boundary between Bukhārā and Afghānistān was defined, England and Russia agreeing that the river Pandj should be the boundary.

The relationship between Bukhārā and Russia was also defined during the same reign. Beginning 1887 a railway was built through the *amīr*'s domains but the station for Bukhārā, ten miles away, is now a town called Kagan. In 1910 Mīr ʿĀlim succeeded his father after having been educated at St. Petersburg. He ruled until the Revolution drove him to Afghānistān where he lived in Kābul till the end of World War II. Since the Revolution Bukhārā has become part of the Uzbek SSR with its capital in Tashkent. It has become a large cotton producing area vying with Farghāna and other parts of Central Asia in cotton production.

The archeological and topographical investigation of Bukhārā has made great progress from the 1930s, and the work of Shishkin, Pugačenkova, Sukhareva, and others, has greatly added to our knowledge. The existing architectural monuments of Bukhārā which are of importance are: 1) the "so-called" mausoleum of Ismāʿīl Sāmānī from the 4th/10th century; 2) the *minaret-i kalān*, 148 ft. (45.3 m.) high (6th/12th century); 3) Mosque of Magaki Attar (the last construction of which dates from 1547); 4) Mosque of the Namāzgāh (*muṣallā*), dating from 1119 A.D.; 5) Mausoleum of Sayf al-Dīn Bukhārzī (d. 1261); 6) Mausoleum at the site of Čashma Ayyūb (end of 14th century); 7) Madrasa of Ulugh Bēg, restored in 1585; 8) Masdjid-i kalān, 16th century with the older minaret nearby; 9) Madrasa Mir ʿArab, (of 1535)?; 10) Masdjid Khwādja Zayn al-Dīn, many times restored. Other monuments exist in great numbers outside the town, mostly in ruins.

Bibliography: References to Bukhārā down to the Mongol Invasion, with extensive bibliography, can be found in R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954 (a translation of Narshakhī's work). A bibliography of Russian works on Bukhārā can be found in O. A. Sukhareva, *K istorii gorodov bukharskogo khanstva*, Tashkent 1958. On the early coinage see Frye, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana*, New York 1949, with additional notes in the *American Numismatic Soc. Notes* 4 and 7. On the name and pre-Islamic history see Frye, *Notes on the History of Transoxiana*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 19 (1956), 106 ff.

For Uzbek history see Storey, 371-82. For a guide to the architectural monuments see G. Pugačenkova and L. Rempel', *Bukhara*, Moscow 1949, 67 pp. & 39 plates. For a map of the present city and tourist guide see Yu. S. Ashurov, *Bukhara, kratkiy Spravochnik*, Tashkent 1956.

(W. Barthold-[R. N. Frye])

AL-BUKHĀRĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-BĀḲĪ Abu 'l-Maʿālī ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Makkī, Arabic writer who in 991/1583 composed a treatise on the eminence of the Abyssinians (after al-Suyūṭī and others), entitled *al-Ṭirāz al-Mankūsh fī Maḥāsin al-Ḥubūsh* and existing in numerous manuscripts. The work has been translated by M. Weisweiler, *Buntes Prachtgewand* ..., Hanover 1924; extracts from the text in *Bibliothecae Bodleianae cod. mss. or. cat.*, ii, 1363. An extract, by Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (d. 1044/1635; see al-ḤALABĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN) was printed in Cairo, 1307.

Bibliography: Flügel, in *ZDMG*, v, 81, xvi, 696-709; Brockelmann, ii, 504, S ii, 519.

(C. Brockelmann)

AL-BUKHĀRĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mughīra b. Bardizbah Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Djuʿfī, a famous traditionist, b. 194/810, d. 256/870. He has the *nisba* Djuʿfī because his great-grandfather al-Mughīra was a *mawlā* of Yamān al-Djuʿfī, governor of Bukhārā, at whose hands he accepted Islām. Al-Bukhārī began to learn traditions by heart at the age of ten, and seems to have been a very precocious boy, for he is credited with having been able at an early age to correct his teachers. He had a remarkable memory, and companions of his are said to have corrected traditions they had written down from what he recited by heart. At the age of sixteen he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca with his mother and his brother, and when they returned he remained for a time in the Ḥidjāz. He travelled widely in search of traditions, visiting the main centres from Khurāsān to Egypt, and claimed to have heard traditions from over 1000 *shaykhs*. In later life he suffered opposition in Naysābūr from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī who was jealous of the large numbers who went to hear him. Because al-Bukhārī held that although the Ḳurʾān is uncreated this does not apply to the recitation of it, he was accused of heterodoxy and had to leave Naysābūr for Bukhārā. There the governor, Khālid b. Aḥmad al-Dhuhlī, asked him to bring his books to him, but he refused, saying it was an indignity to convey learning to people's houses, so if the governor wished to learn he should come to his mosque or his house. The governor asked him to hold sessions specially for his children, but al-Bukhārī refused to give them preferential treatment. He was therefore expelled and went to Khartank, a village about two parasangs from Samarḳand, where he stayed with relatives. It is said that, being oppressed by the hostility he had experienced, he was heard one night praying that God might take him, and died within a month.

His most famous work is the *Ṣaḥīḥ* which took him sixteen years to compile. It is said that he selected his traditions from a mass of 600,000, and that he did not insert a tradition in the book without first washing and praying two *rakʿas*. This famous collection of traditions is arranged in 97 books with 3450 *bābs* (chapters). There are 7397 traditions with full *isnāds*, but if repetitions are omitted the total is 2762. This work, which claims to contain only traditions of the highest authority (*ṣaḥīḥ*), is of the *muṣannaf* (classified) type which arranges the material according to the subject-matter. As certain traditions contain material on more than one subject it is not surprising that they should appear in more than one *bāb*. The work in the main is arranged according to the various matters of *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], but it

also contains other material, such as on the beginning of Creation, on paradise and hell, on different prophets and, in greater detail, on Muḥammad, on Ḳurʾān commentary, etc. Although al-Subkī includes al-Bukhārī among the Shāfiʿī *faḳīh*s this is not accurate, for he did not hold consistently the doctrine of any particular school. The titles of the *bāb*s are meant to indicate the subject-matter and teaching of the traditions they contain, but al-Bukhārī has sometimes been criticised because the contents of the traditions do not always seem to be relevant to the title. Some *bāb*s have a title but no traditions, which may mean that al-Bukhārī drew up the scheme of his book and left blanks when he had no sound traditions to illustrate a particular subject, hoping that he might yet find some relevant material of sufficient authority. There have been many commentaries on the whole or part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, notable among which are those of al-ʿAynī, Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī and al-Ḳasṭallānī. While the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was considered in al-Bukhārī's time as just one among others, it was soon recognised as outstanding, and by the 4th century it came to be placed along with Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* at the head of collections of Sunnī tradition. In time, although criticisms have been made on matters of detail, it was accepted by most Sunnīs as the most important book after the Ḳurʾān; but in the West there was a tendency to prefer Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Bukhārī wrote his *Taʾrīkh*, which gives biographies of the men whose names appear in *isnād*s, when a young man, saying he wrote it on moonlight nights at the Prophet's tomb. Other smaller works are detailed by Brockelmann. In his lifetime al-Bukhārī was recognised as an outstanding traditionist, noted for his minute knowledge of detail and his perspicacity in detecting defects in traditions.

Bibliography: Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 4-34; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā*, ii, 2-19; Ibn Khallikān, 541; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 122-124; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ix, 47-55; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 134-136; Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* (Cairo, 1371/1952), ii, 110-119; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, No. 62; L. Krehl, *Über den Ṣaḥīḥ des Buchârî*, in ZDMG iv (1850), 1 ff.; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 234-245; J. Fück, *Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Buḫārī's Traditionssammlung*, in ZDMG, 92 (1938), 60-87; M. F. Sezgin, *Buhârî'nin kaynakları hakkında araştırmalar* (Recherches concernant les sources de Buḫārī), Ankara Üniversitesi Ilâhiyat Fakültesi Yayınlarından xiii, 1956; Brockelmann, I, 163-166, S I, 260-265. (J. ROBSON)

BUKHĀRLĪK (or Bukhāriots of Siberia). A small ethnic group, Muslim (Sunnī of the Ḥanafī school), made up of the descendants of merchants and caravaneers originating from Turkestan and established in western Siberia since the 16th century, when the commercial relations between the Emirate of Bukhārā and Siberia were flourishing.

The Bukhārlīk live in contact with the Tatars of Siberia [*q.v.*] to whose Islamisation they have contributed, and with whom they are gradually mingling. They live principally near Tobolʾsk, Tümen and Tara, and an isolated group of Bukhārlīk are found close to Tomsk.

In 1926, the Soviet census numbered 12,012 of them. The Bukhārlīk speak the local Tatar dialects, but with the difference that they preserve in their own speech a large number of Persian terms. They employ the Tatar of Ḳazan as their literary language. (A. BENNIGSEN)

BUKHL (Ar.; also vocalised *bakhl*, *bakhal*, *bukhul*) and *bakhīl* (pl. *bukhalāʾ*; less often *bākhil*, pl. *bukhkhāl*) mean respectively 'avarice' and 'avaricious, miserly'. Just as in the ancient poems the virtue of generosity is constantly sung, so avarice furnishes a theme for satire which is widely exploited by the poets, though it seems that this fault, at least in its most sordid forms, was scarcely widespread among the ancient Arabs. It is however a fact that it is castigated in a number of Ḳurʾānic verses aimed at combating avarice in the full sense (xvii, 102/100; lvii, 24) or simple hoarding (ix, 35, civ, 1 ff.), or at the encouragement of generosity in general (ix, 77/76; iix, 9) and almsgiving in particular (iii, 40/38, 175/180; iv, 127/128; lxiv, 16 f.); moreover, numerous *ḥadīth*s against avarice are attributed to the Prophet (especially *ayyᵘ dāʾⁱⁿ adwaʾᵘ min al-bukhl?*). These condemnations and exhortations, however, seem to result less from an absolute moral principle than from the necessity in which the newly-founded Islamic community found itself of receiving spontaneous gifts and then of collecting regularly the contributions of its members (see ṢADAḲA, ZAKĀT, and cf. *bāb al-zakāt* in the *ḥadīth*-collections).

After the conquests the Arabs were brought by the entry into Islam of new racial elements into contact with peoples of a somewhat different temperament, and when, brought before the bar, they had to put up a defence, shrewder minds did not fail to single out the generosity of the Arabs in order to contrast it with the avarice of the non-Arabs. It is doubtless not by mere chance that, under the ʿAbbāsids, it is the Khurāsānīs who supply the anthologies with anecdotes about misers. The relationship: generosity = Arabs/avarice = non-Arabs takes practical shape in the polemics of which al-Djāḥiẓ gives several specimens in his remarkable *Kitāb al-bukhalāʾ*, the first and probably the only attempt in Arabic literature to analyse a character and portray him through anecdotes, though with political undertones. This psychological analysis which had its origin in al-Djāḥiẓ, was ignored by later writers who, in their *adab*-books and then in the popular encyclopedias, confined themselves to reproducing the Ḳurʾānic verses, *ḥadīth*s, anecdotes, and poems about misers (see for example Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, *passim*; al-Abshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, i, 233), not omitting, however, to mention that history knows but four [*sic*] Arab misers: al-Ḥuṭayʾa, Ḥumayd al-Arḳaṭ, Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī, and Khālid b. Ṣafwān. (CH. PELLAT)

BUKHT-NAṢ(Ṣ)AR, the Nebuchadnezzar of the Bible. The Ḳurʾān does not mention him. He is a very complex figure in Muslim tradition and here we can record only the outstanding points. It retains in the first place the main Biblical features, using to an unusual degree the texts of the prophets Jeremiah and even Isaiah, and establishing a connexion between Bukht-Naṣar and Sennacherib, whom it makes the great-grandfather of the former. It also confuses him sometimes with later rulers such as Cyrus and Ahasuerus. To these Biblical extracts, often much corrupted and simplified, are added features borrowed from the Jewish Haggada (for example, Bukht-Naṣar was one of the universal monarchs, cf. Babylonian Talmud, *Megilla* 11a; he was tormented to death by a mosquito which got into his skull, this being a transfer of the rabbinical legend about Titus, the destroyer of the Second

Temple) and some elements of a folklore character (an obscure Babylonian man of the people, for a long time hopelessly ill, he believed that he heard his future glory proclaimed and achieved it by his intelligence and a remarkable concurrence of circumstances). In the second place he is found forming part of the epic cycle of the ancient kings of Persia (the deformation of the name of which Bukht-Naṣar is the result seems to indicate some imaginary Iranian etymology); he is then reduced to the rank of satrap (*marzbān*) of Bishtāsb or of his father (Luhrāsb), or even of Bahrām, the son of the first named. In the third place he is said to have led an expedition against the Arabs (to which Ḳur'ān xxxi, 11 ff. would refer). There is perhaps here a memory of Nabonidus's settlement at Taymā' (cf. above, art. AL-ʿARAB) combined with that of Arab infiltrations into the region of the Euphrates. Al-Masʿūdī and al-Bīrūnī know an era of Bukht-Naṣar (cf. the article of Carra de Vaux in *EI*[1]). Al-Bīrūnī sought also to disentangle the chronological difficulties raised by the confused traditions of which he had knowledge.

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BUKHTĪSHŪʿ, the name borne by several physicians of a celebrated Christian family originally established at Djundaysābūr. It was from there that Djurdjīs b. Djibrīl b. Bukhtīshūʿ, who was director of the hospital of this town and well known for his scientific writings, was called to Baghdād in 148/765 to attend the caliph al-Manṣūr, ill with a stomach complaint. By successful treatment he won the confidence of the sovereign, who asked him to remain in the capital, but he wished to revisit his native land in 152/769.

Bukhtīshūʿ b. Djurdjīs, to whom his father had left the direction of the hospital at Djundaysābūr at the time of his departure for Baghdād, was called in his turn to the capital when the future al-Hādī was gravely ill, but the hostility of al-Khayzurān, who favoured the physician Abū Ḳuraysh, prevented him from establishing himself there. Nevertheless, in 171/787, Hārūn al-Rashīd, suffering violent pain, had him brought back to Baghdād and appointed him physician-in-chief, a post which he held until his death in 185/801.

Afterwards Djibrīl b. Bukhtīshūʿ, whom his father had recommended to Djaʿfar the Barmakid in 175/791, succeeded in 190/805 in winning the confidence of the caliph, following a successful treatment of one of his slaves, but he fell into disgrace during the last illness of Hārūn at Ṭūs, because he did his duty as a doctor with too much frankness. He was condemned to death by the caliph because of the accusations of a bishop, but was saved by al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, who stayed the execution of the sentence, and he then became al-Amīn's physician. At the time of al-Ma'mūn's triumph he was imprisoned, not to be set at liberty until 202/817, when al-Ḥasan b. Sahl had need of his services. Three years later he was again in disgrace, and was replaced by his son-in-law Mīkhā'īl, but was recalled in 212/827 because Mīkhā'īl was unable to cure an illness of the caliph. He was reinstated, and his goods, confiscated after his fall, were restored, but he had not long to enjoy the prince's favour for he died the same year, and was buried at al-Madā'in in the monastery of Sergius.

His son Bukhtīshūʿ, who took his place, accompanied al-Ma'mūn on his expeditions into Asia Minor, then, under the caliphate of al-Wāthiḳ, was exiled to Djundaysābūr. Recalled during the caliph's last illness, he arrived in the capital too late, but remained there highly esteemed for twelve years, under al-Mutawakkil, until his exile to Baḥrayn. He died in 256/870.

Bukhtīshūʿ had a son, ʿUbayd Allāh, who was a finance official of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, and whose fortune was confiscated after his death. His widow married a physician, and his son Djibrīl followed in the footsteps of his fathers, but received his training only in Baghdād, where he had betaken himself penniless after his mother's death. Having treated an envoy from Kirmān successfully, he was called to Shīrāz by the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla, but returned to Baghdād, which thereafter he only left for short periods of consultation, declining even the offer of the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz who wished to establish him in Cairo. He was, however, retained at Mayyāfāriḳīn by the Marwānid Mumahhid al-Dawla Abū Manṣūr who had summoned him there, and he died on 8 Ramaḍān 396/8 June 1006.

Abū Saʿīd ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djibrīl, a friend of Ibn Buṭlān [*q.v.*], lived at Mayyāfāriḳīn and died in the second half of the 5th/11th century, leaving some known works, in particular a dictionary of medico-philosophical terms and a treatise on love.

Another member of the family, Bukhtīshūʿ b. Yaḥyā, was physician to the caliph al-Rāḍī and was held responsible for the death of prince Hārūn in 324/936.

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BÜḲĪR [see ABRĪḲĪR].

BUKOVINA [see KHOTIN].

BUḲRĀT [see SUPPLEMENT].

BÜKRESH (BUCHAREST) a town in Wallachia on the Dâmboviţa river about fifty km. north of the Danube. It is mentioned for the first time in 769/1368 by the name of Cetatea Dâmboviţei, a name used side by side with Bucharest until the 15th century, when it became the seat of the Wallachian princes. Vlad the Impaler issued documents from there in 863/1459 and 865/1461 and Radu the Handsome, the prince installed by Meḥemmed II in 866/1462, established himself in that town, protected by a Turkish garrison from Giurgiu. For more than two centuries the history of Bucharest was linked to the relations of the Roumanian princes with the Porte. Those princes who rebelled against Ottoman suzerainty preferred Târgovişte, less exposed to Turkish raids. At the end of the 16th century, Bucharest witnessed the massacre of Michael the Brave's creditors and Sinān Pasha's occupation. Sorely tried by the revolts against the Turks, as well as by epidemics and fires, the city had a turbulent history. With the Treaty of Berlin (1877) the last vestiges of Ottoman suzerainty disappeared. The peace conference convened at Bucharest in 1913 relieved Turkey of the greater part of her European possessions.

Information on the population during the earliest periods is lacking. The sources mention the presence of Greek, Armenian and native merchants. Towards 1050/1640 Bucharest had 12,000 houses; fifteen years later only 6,000 are mentioned, and Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of 12,000 houses and 1,000 shops. During the 17th century the population of Balkan origin increased, and became quite significant in the 18th. Popular revolts broke out, inspired by members of corporations discontented with the competition of foreign traders protected by the Phanariot princes. At the end of the 17th century the town had 50,000 inhabitants. The number varied between 20,000 and 60,000 for the end of the 18th and between 50,000 and 100,000 for the first half of the 19th.

Absorbed for three centuries in the Ottoman Empire, Bucharest acquired an oriental imprint which became stronger under the Phanariots during the 18th century, when the town became an important centre for the study of Greek. The princes initiated the publication of religious books for Christians in the Ottoman Empire, and monastic revenues provided for the monasteries of Athos, Constantinople, Trebizond and the Holy Land. The Austrian and Russian occupations introduced the first occidental influences and a knowledge of French, which, in the first half of the 19th century, supplanted Greek. Under the impact of ideas engendered by the French Revolution, the town became the centre of the struggle for the political unity of Roumania which led to the union of Moldavia and Wallachia (1859).

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(N. Beldiceanu)

BUḲŪM, al- (sing. Baḳmī), a tribe in Western Arabia, traditionally held to be descended from al-Azd. Although considered a Ḥidjāzī tribe, the Buḳūm range over the region east of al-Ṭā'if and in the vicinity of the lava fields of Ḥarrat Ḥaḍn and Ḥarrat al-Buḳūm, where the boundaries between the Ḥidjāz and Nadjd are not clearly defined. The tribe is estimated to have close to 10,000 people, of whom less than half are nomads. For at least several centuries a majority of the Buḳūm have been engaged in oasis cultivation in the district of Wādī Turaba (also Taraba), with the town of Turaba (N. 21° 14′, E. 41° 37′) being their main centre of population. The Buḳūm are subdivided into two sections: al-Maḥāmīd and Āl Wāzi'.

During the early period of Wahhābī expansion, the Buḳūm were partisans of the Sharīf Ghālib in his wars against Nadjd. From 1228/1813 the Buḳūm defended their territory against the troops of Muḥammad 'Alī, the Ottoman Viceroy of Egypt, during which campaign a woman named Ghāliya notably distinguished herself. The Buḳūm finally surrendered and Turaba was occupied in 1230/1815. In the early years of the present century the loyalty of the Buḳūm was divided between 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd and the Sharīf Ḥusayn, the Maḥāmīd having declared for the Sharīf, while Āl Wāzi' fought for Ibn Sa'ūd. The Maḥāmīd surrendered to Ibn Sa'ūd after his victory at Turaba in 1337/1919, and members of both sections of al-Buḳūm participated in the later Sa'ūdī campaigns in the West.

In 1959 the chief of the Maḥāmīd was Ḥusayn b. Muḥyī, while Muḥammad b. Ghannām was chief of Āl Wāzi'.

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(F. S. Vidal)

BŪLĀḲ, a small town quite close to the Cairo of Mamlūk and Ottoman times, and its port on the Nile for traffic with Lower Egypt. It was built on the sand which the Nile left when its bed shifted one to one-and-a-half kilometres westwards between the time of Saladin and the 8th/14th century [see AL-ḲĀHIRA]. It was separated from Cairo by the Nāṣirī canal, dug in 725/1325 by the sultan Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn, who encouraged people of affluence to build their villas (*manẓara*) at Būlāḳ, to which were added later mosques, *ḥammāms*, etc. The customs transferred there from Cairo. About 1800 Būlāḳ had some 24,000 inhabitants, 24 mosques (including that of Abu 'l-'Alā, a place of pilgrimage and *mawlid*), 'okelles', dépôts for agricultural products, shipyards, etc. Muḥammad 'Alī built workshops and foundries there, designed to modernise Egyptian life.

Būlāḳ is well known for its printing works, the first established in Egypt after the short-lived ones of Bonaparte's expedition. A small Egyptian team, trained at Milan, returned in 1821 with presses. In 1822 the Būlāḳ Printing Press was able to work at full capacity, under the direction of Nicolas al-Masābkī, of Lebanese origin (d. 1830). Owned by the state, modernised several times, it was transferred to private ownership in 1862 (to 'Abd al-Raḥmān Rushdī Pāshā, then in 1865 to a son of the Khedive Ismā'īl). The state took it over again in 1880, and it was further developed after 1894 under English directorship, then under Egyptian once more. It was founded for army needs (manuals, etc). and for the administration (official journal, *al-Waḳā'i' al-Miṣriyya*) and was an important factor in the modern Renaissance. It printed on its own account or on that of individuals translations and numerous classical works in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, and some books in European languages. The rapid growth of the private presses which made Cairo the centre of the Arabic book trade eventually deprived it of the virtual monopoly which it enjoyed.

At the present time Būlāḳ is no longer anything more than a quarter of modern Cairo.

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(J. Jomier)

BULANDSHAHR (Baran), an ancient town in India situated in 28° 15′ N. and 77° 52′ E. on the main road from Agra and 'Alīgarh to Meerut. Population (1951) was 34,496. Its old name was Baran (by which it is even now sometimes called but only in the *nisba* Baranī) given to it by its legendary founder, one Ahībaran. Its antiquity is

established by the discovery of inscribed copper-plates of the 5th century A.D. and coins of much older dates. It came to be called Bulandshahr ("hightown") from its elevated position near the bank of the Kālī Naddī, which flows past the town. This name is clearly Muslim and appears to have been given to the town sometime during the Mughal period, although Sudjān Rāy's *Khulāṣat al-Tawārikh* (compiled as late as 1107/1695-6) still mentions it as Baran. It was conquered by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 409/1018 when the Hindū Rādjā, Har Datt, offered submission and accepted Islam with 10,000 of his followers. The town was restored to Har Datt whose descendants forsook Islam and Čandrā Sēn, the last of the line, was killed while defending the town in 590/1193 against Ḳutb al-Dīn Aybak, a general of the Ghūrī Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sām, who bestowed it as an *iḳṭāʿ* on Iletmish [*q.v.*], his son-in-law and successor. Djaypāl, a kinsman of Čandrā Sēn, accepted Islam and was rewarded, for betraying the garrison to the invaders, with the headmanship of the town. His descendants still flourish in Bulandshahr. During the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] it was the centre of a peasants' rebellion; this was ruthlessly suppressed by the king who laid waste the country all around and perpetrated horrible atrocities on the residents of Baran. In 802/1399 the rebel *amīr* Iḳbāl Khān (Faḍl Allāh Balkhī) took refuge here when he rose against Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (644/1246-665/1266). In 810/1407 the town was occupied by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharḳī of Djawnpūr (805/1402-840/1436) but he had to vacate it hastily on learning that Muẓaffar Shāh I of Gudjarāt was about to attack Djawnpūr.

Thereafter nothing is heard of the town as it continued to enjoy a period of peace and tranquillity during Mughal rule. Awrangzīb's proselytising zeal won a large number of converts, mostly among the Rādjpūts, in and around Bulandshahr. During the 12th/18th century when the entire country was disturbed the Marāthās overran and captured Bulandshahr and administered it from Koil (ʿAlīgarh). With the fall of the fort of ʿAlīgarh, Bulandshahr came into the possession of the British in 1218/1803. During the upheaval (Mutiny) of 1857 the town was badly disturbed and Walīdād Khān of Mālāgarh drove out the British garrison and assumed the reins of government. He and his confederates, the Gudjdjars and Muslim Rādjpūts, proved irreconcilable enemies of the British and surrendered the town only after a five months' resistance.

This town is familiar to students of Indo-Pakistan history as the birth-place of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī [*q.v.*], the scholar-historian of the 9th/14th century. There are some very old mosques and tombs including a *dargāh* that of Khʷādja Lāl Baranī, which was built in 590/1193 to commemorate the Muslim victory. A small town at the commencement of the British rule, it is now a thriving centre of trade and commerce.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BULĀY, the Arabic transcription of Poley, the old name of a stronghold in the south of Spain the site of which (as has been shown by Dozy, *Rech.*[3], i, 307, on the strength of information supplied by a charter of 1258) is the modern Aguilar de la Frontera, a small town in the province of Cordova, 12 miles N. W. of Cabra and of Lucena. The town, which played a considerable part in the rising of the famous ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*] against the Umayyad amīrs of Cordova, is again mentioned in the 6th/12th century by the geographer al-Idrīsī. The ruins of a fortress which dates from the Muslim period can still be seen there.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

BULAYDA (Blida), a town in Algeria 51 kms. S.-W. of Algiers, at the southern end of the plain of the Mitīdja. There was no ancient settlement on the site. It has been identified with the town Mitīdja known in the Middle Ages, which was ruined at the time of the campaigns of the Banū Ghāniya (beginning in the 7th/13th century). According to tradition the place which in 942/1535 was called Bulayda (little town) was founded by a religious personage known as Sīdī Aḥmad al-Kabīr. He, after many wanderings, came to stay in the valley of the Wādī al-Rummān, nowadays the Oued el-Kebir. He was joined by his disciples, then by Andalusians coming from Tipasa fleeing from the attacks of the Kabyles of the Chenoua. Sīdī Aḥmad al-Kabīr obtained from the Ulād Sulṭān who occupied the region the land necessary to build homes for the new arrivals. The *beylerbey* of Algiers, Khayr al-Dīn, made of this settlement a veritable city, by providing it with a mosque, *ḥammām*, and public bakery. Bulayda prospered quickly thanks to the Andalusians, who planted orange orchards around it and applied there methods of irrigation of their own country.

Under Turkish domination Bulayda formed part of the *dār al-sulṭān*, that is to say the region administered directly by the *bey* of Algiers, who was represented there by a *ḥākim* of Turkish origin. A detachment of janissaries had a garrison there. The population, composed of the descendants of the Andalusians, Moors, Jews, and Mozabites, was renowned for its urbanity and love of pleasure. A saying attributed to Sīdī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf praises it and calls it Urīda (little rose). The town offered a pleasant sojourn to the élite of Algiers, who possessed country houses there. Officials of the Regency who were interned there found their exile easy to hear. It suffered many earthquakes, of which the most severe almost entirely destroyed it in 1827. It was shaken again by a tremor in 1865.

After the occupation of Algiers by the French, Blida remained for some time independent under the administration of its *ḥākims*. It was effectively occupied in 1839.

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(G. Yver-[G. Marçais])

BULBUL, the nightingale. To the nightingale belongs a large place in Oriental literature, particularly Persian and Turkish literature. The characteristics of the bird are its beautiful voice and its tuneful and harmonious song. In the season of roses it laments the whole night long; the hours before dawn are enlivened by its singing. It is in love with the rose. This love is its most outstanding characteristic. Its other characteristics are grouped around this.

In Persian literature the nightingale is treated according to the poets' inclination. In some it sings of figurative love which has no aim, in others of figurative love which is a stage on the path to real love. To understand its meaning in Ṣūfī writing, we must look at the *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr*, written in the year 583/1187-8 by one of the important Ṣūfī writers of Persian literature, Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (died 627/1230). In this work the nightingale's main characteristic is that it is drunk and ready to lose its material substance because of the perfection of its love for the rose (see Garcin de Tassy, *Le langage des oiseaux*).

The Persian poet Kh̲wadjū Kirmānī (679-752/1280-1351), in a work entitled *Rawḍat al-Anwār*, represents the bird of the meadow (*murgh̲-i čaman*) as a bird tried by passion and desire, that sings at night and drives away sleep; then he likens the nightingale and the rose to the fabulous lovers Wāmiḳ and ʿAdh̲rā. In a *ḳiṭʿa* of Saʿdī of Sh̲īrāz (died 690 or 691/1291-1292), who speaks of the nightingale fairly often especially in his *gh̲azal*s, the poet treats the moth as the real lover. Ḥazīn-i Lāhidjī (died 1180/1766) makes clear the contrast of the nightingale and the moth, saying, "The nightingale complains because it has only just learnt of love. We have never heard a sound from the moth". Mawlānā Rūmī-i Barizī has a work too (*tadh̲kira* of Sh̲āh Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī) which contains disputes between nightingale and rose, candle and moth. The Persian poet Zamān-i Yazdī also confronts the nightingale and the moth.

Ḥāfiẓ (died 791/1389) raises the nightingale somewhat towards real love in this verse: "Settling on the cypress branch last night the nightingale chanted the lesson of spiritual stations with the Pahlawī warcry". One of the poets of the circle of Maḥmūd of Gh̲azna, Farrukh̲ī-i Sīstānī (died 470/1077), also imagines the nightingale on a cypress branch: "Nightingales are *kh̲āṭib*s reciting *kh̲uṭba*s upon trees". "Now the nightingale recites the *Tawrāt* upon the cypress.

In one of his *ḳaṣīda*s Manūčihrī (died after 423/1041) gives its song a religious significance, saying "On the rose branch the nightingale performs the *ṣalāt*". In Anwarī (died after 580/1184) a characteristic of the nightingale is its eloquence; "The nightingale catching the scent of spring has grown eloquent, the rose entering the garden has grown fresh".

The Persian Ṣūfī poet Muḥammad Sh̲īrīn Magh̲ribī (died 809/1046) likens the soul to the nightingale, fallen into the cage of flesh. Here the cage of flesh is the spirit, that has fallen from the world of unity into the world of elements. Another Ṣūfī poet, Kamāl Kh̲udjandī (died 803/1400), brings out another characteristic of the nightingale in the verse: "Kamāl recites no *gh̲azal*s unless he has fallen in love with a face of roses. The nightingale does not sing when it is not drunk". Saʿdī too in one of his *gh̲azal*s puts spring and the nightingale side by side: "The trees are in bud, the nightingales are drunk, the world has grown young, the lovers are lost in joy and merrymaking". He views the nightingale essentially as the harbinger of spring. The giver of bad news is the owl. Hilālī-i Čagh̲atāy (died 939/1532) also makes this contrast in the verse: "The nightingale nests in the garden, the owl in the ruins, everyone makes his home according to his desires". It is appropriate in this connexion to mention the proverb: "Of the nightingale's seven chicks only one becomes a nightingale" (Dihkh̲udā, *Amth̲āl wa Ḥikam*).

The nightingale has provided an opportunity for more delicate and refined conceits among poets writing in the 'Indian style'. In this literature with its generally Ṣūfī colouring, the nightingale occupies a position between figurative and real love. The seventeenth century poet Sh̲awkat Bukh̲ārī sings thus of the nightingale in one of his *gh̲azal*s: "How long will the beloved fail to recognise the lovers that are its prisoners? As the nightingale sorrows and sheds its tears its nest comes to resemble a basket of roses. The rose branch is a seat that gives rest to the nightingale's aching head".

The idea that the nightingale is hunted and caged because of its beautiful voice has passed into literature; thus in a verse of Begdilī (1134-1195/1722-1781): "Because of its lament it is captured and deprived of its freedom".

The bird is encountered in the oldest Turkish literary texts. In various Turkish dialects the nightingale is called as follows: in the *Kutadgu Bilig*, *sanvač*, *sïnvač*, *sanduvač*. In other dialects *sadugač* (*gec*, Kaz.), *sandigač* (Tel.), *sandvač* (Rab.), *sandulač* (Ş.S.). In his Dictionary, Sh̲aykh̲ Sulaymān Bukh̲ārī Čagh̲atāy mentions this as a bird like the nightingale and explains that it is the canary. The verse in *Kutadgu Bilig* (1069/1070) "The nightingale sings in the flower garden in thousands of voices (*hazār destān*) as though reciting the Mazāmir night and day" (v. 78) recalls the Pahlawī warcry and the *Tawrāt* just as we found in Persian literature.

Entering the Islamic period, Turkish literature in time lost the *sanduvač* and used in its place the words *ʿandalīb*, *hazār* (only in classical literature), and *bülbül* (in both classical and folk literature). In folk literature the nightingale is the lover of the rose, it is a stranger, in spring time it sings at night and before the dawn (Ḳaradja Ogh̲lān). In both folk and classical literature the nightingale in the cage is like the soul in the body. The characteristics of the nightingale in Turkish *Dīwān* literature may be seen in the *math̲nawī* "The rose and the nightingale" composed by Faḍlī for Sulṭān Süleymān's son Muṣṭafā (960/1553). According to this work the nightingale "is a heart-sore and agitated dervish, love is its nature. Its voice is lovely, its ways are pure and charming. It is a witty fellow, a drinker. Love is the place of its frequenting. Love has set a polish on the mirror of its heart. Its dress is a dervish's cloak of felt (*namad*) so that the mirror inside the felt may not grow rusty". After numerous adventures the nightingale and the rose are united. In this work Faḍlī uses the nightingale to express a purely Ṣūfī idea. In this allegorical treatment the nightingale is the heart, the rose the spirit.

When we come to *Dīwān* literature of the seventeenth century, the nightingale is a lover consumed by the fire of love. This is embodied in the poetic concept that the rose resembles fire in its colour, and kindles the nightingale and burns it to ashes. The nightingale is the colour of ash. There is a pun

between *gül*, rose, and *kül*, ash. The elimination of the material existence of the lover (tossing up his ashes) is an idea that comes from Ṣūfism. Consequently the likening of the nightingale to ashes has become so firmly established that the word *khākistar*, ash, has come to mean nightingale.

The *ghazal*s with the *redif* "*bulbul*" by Nā'ilī (died 1634) and Neshātī (died 1674) are both major works of the literature of that period, tending towards the Indian style. The last verse of Nā'ilī's *ghazal* reveals to us the Ṣūfī connexion of the nightingale and the rose.

In the 12th/18th century Nedīm (died 1143/1730) mentions this bird in a number of his poems. In a *ghazal* with the same *redif* he writes: "Do not suppose that the nightingale's nest is filled with bloody tears. That nest is a pot of red ink made ready to write down the secrets of longing. Do not fancy that the cup-bearer of spring poured dew upon the rose; he filled the nightingales' cup with *rakī*".

After the *Tanẓīmāt*, in the poets of the *Andjuman-i Shu'arā'* who imitated older literature, the nightingale shows no new development. Like Maghribī among Persian poets, one of these, Hersekli 'Ārif Ḥikmat (1839-1903), in a poem entitled *Ḥasb-i Ḥāl*, treats the nightingale from an entirely Ṣūfī point of view. Redjā'īzāde's poem with the *redif* "*bülbül*" bears the somewhat shallow marks of his melancholy temperament and slender poetic gift. In these there is nothing new. But 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid [*q.v.*] in the *naẓīre* he wrote to Hersekli's *Ḥasb-i Ḥāl*, and in the poem *Walking through Hyde Park*, produces new ideas appropriate to his age with regard to the nightingale: "In the morning it recites the *adhān*. Its nest in the darkness is a sublime symbol for patriotism. Its songs have become the model for love-*ḳaṣīdas*. The form of its expression is as new as modern literature (*tedjeddud edebiyyāti*). It is God's poet. Its *ḳaṣīdas* are read from the page of nature" (*Naẓīre-i Ḥasb-i Ḥāl*).

(ALI NIHAT TARLAN)

BULDUR [see BURDUR].

BULGARIA, a country in the Balkans. It drew its name from the Bulgars, a people of Turkic origin, who first invaded the Dobrudja [*q.v.*] under Asparukh or Isperikh in 679 A.D. and founded an independent state in the Byzantine province of Moesia. Adopting Orthodox Christianity from Byzantium (865) and identifying themselves with the native Slavs who had previously settled Bulgaria, the Bulgars built up a strong empire in the Balkans which extended from the Danube to the Adriatic Sea under Czar Symeon (893-927).

The first Islamic accounts of Bulgaria belonged to this period through the reports of Muslim al-Djarmī (about 231/845), Hārūn b. Yaḥyā (349/960) and Ibrāhīm b. Ya'ḳūb (349/960). Hārūn reported (in Ibn Rusta, ed. De Goeje, 127) that the Christianised Slavs, *al-Ṣaḳāliba al-Mutanaṣṣira*, had adopted Christianity after Sūs, the ruler of the Bulgars. Incorporated into the Byzantine empire between 1018 and 1186 Bulgaria was organised in two themes, the theme of Bulgaria with its centre at Skoplje (Üsküb) and that of *Paristrion* or *Paradunavon* with its centre at Silistria.

The invasion and settlement of the Cumans in the lower Danube prepared the way for the creation of the so-called second Bulgarian empire under the Assenids (1185-1279).

In 1262 Michael VIII, the Byzantine emperor, took Anchialus and Mesembria from the Bulgarians and settled in the Dobrudja the Anatolian Turks who had taken refuge in Byzantium with 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II [*q.v.*]. Most of them returned to Anatolia in 707/1307 and those who remained were thought to be the ancestors of the Gagauzes [*q.v.*]. (P. Wittek, *Yazījioghlu 'Alī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv/3).

Terter I (1279-1300) recognised Noghay's [*q.v.*] overlordship (1285) and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Čaḳa, who later took refuge in Trnovo and seized his father-in-law's throne (1300), but soon was killed by Terter II (1300-1322).

In the contemporary Arabic sources (Baybars, *Zubdat al-Fikra*, in I. H. Izmirli, *Altınordu* ..., Ist. 1941, 221; Abu 'l-Fidā', 295) Bulgaria is shown as the land of the *Ūlaḳ*, and the Bulgarians are considered as the same people as the *Ūlaḳ*. We know that Kalojan had called himself *imperator totius Bulgarie et Vlachie* (G. Ostrogorsky, *Hist. of the Byzantine State*, 358). It appears that the Christianised Cumans in Bulgaria, must have been shown under the general term of Vlach.

The Shishmanids (1323-1395) came to the Bulgarian throne with Shishman, a Cuman magnate in Vidin.

The Anatolian *ghāzī* Turks came in contact with the Bulgarians when Aydīnoghlu Umūr [*q.v.*] allied himself with Cantacuzenus. First in 742/1341 Umūr aided him agaist Ivan Alexander, the Bulgarian Czar, and, then, on 5 Rabī' I 746/July 7, 1345 destroyed Momčilo, the Bulgarian adventurer who had been dominating the Rhodope region (P. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin*, Paris 1957). The Ottomans replacing Umūr in his alliance with Cantacuzenus appeared to come into contact with the Bulgarians first in 753/1352 when these came to support his rival John V. After the conquest of Edirne [*q.v.*] in 762/1361 Lālā Shāhīn seemed to be active in the direction of Zaghra (Berrhoea) and Filibe [*q.v.*] (different dates in the chronicles: 763/1362, 765/1364, 766/1365), but the Byzantine-Bulgarian clash in 765/1364 is thought to be connected with an Ottoman-Bulgarian agreement. In 766/1365 Czar Ivan Alexander divided his realm between his two sons: Stratsimir got the Vidin region and Shishman the Czardom of Trnovo. Dobrotič in the Dobrudja and Varna were actually independent [see DOBRUDJA]. The same year Hungary seized Vidin, threatened Trnovo, and Amadeo of Savoy not only occupied Ottoman Gallipoli but also Mesembria, Sozopolis and Anchialus for Byzantium in 767/1366. With Ottoman auxiliary forces Shishman tried to recover Vidin (769/1368), and gave his sister Thamar in marriage to Murād I. According to the Ottoman chronicles (see Sa'd al-Dīn, i, 84-87) the Ottomans reached the main Balkan passes by taking Ḳīzīlaghač-yenidjesi, Yānbolī (Iambol), Ḳarīn-ovāsī (Karnobat), Aydos (Aitos), Sözebolī (Sozopolis) under Tīmūrtāsh in about 770/1368, Ihtiman and Samakov under Lālā Shāhīn in 772/1370 and 773/1371. Filibe on the one side and the Yānbolī-Ḳarīn-ovāsī region on the other were then the main *ūdj*s [*q.v.*] where the *aḳīndjī*s, Yürüks [*q.v.*] and Tatars were settled in large numbers. Nish was taken by the Ottomans only in 787/1385 (Neshrī, Taeschner ed. i, 58). Sofia was still in Shishman's hands in 780/1378 (C. Jireček, *Gesch. der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876, 339). It seemed to surrender between this date and 787/1385. In 789/1387 when Murād I found that his vassals Shishman in Bulgaria and Ivanko in Dobrudja were not on his side against the Serbians he hastily sent an army under 'Alī Pasha to

secure his rear. Our information on this expedition comes from Neshrī and Rūḥī who both used here a detailed and well informed source, and there is no need to change its chronology (cf. F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgesch. der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien*, Munich 1944, 29-35). In the winter of 790-1/1388-9 ʿAlī Pasha took Provadia (Pravadi), Venčan, Madera and Shumnī (Shumen) and passed the winter in the latter. In the spring of 791/1389 he sent Yakhshī Beg against 'the son of Dobrudja' in Varna, then went to meet the Sultan in Yānbolī. Shishman came there, too, and made his submission to Murad I. But on his return he did not surrender Silistre (Silistria) to the Ottomans as he promised. Upon this ʿAlī appeared before Tīrnova (Trnovo), Shishman's capital; 'The infidels brought him the keys of the city' which meant submission. Accepting the submission of several other towns on his way ʿAlī came and laid siege to Nikebolī (Nikopol, Nicopolis) where Shishman had taken refuge. He asked pardon which was granted. ʿAlī was to join Murād's army.

After the battle of Kossovo Bāyazīd was detained in Anatolia while Mirčea, supported by Sigismond, took Silistria and the Dobrudja and made a succesful raid on the *aḳīndjī*s of Karīn-ovasī, in 793/1391. Only in 795/1393 was Bāyazīd able to come and take Trnovo by force (6 Ramaḍān/17 July) and he also subjugated the Dobrudja and Silistre. But still Shishman was left in his stronghold, Nikebolī, as a vassal. He then appealed to Sigismond; this caused Bāyazīd's [*q.v.*] invasion of Transylvania and the battle of Argesh against Mirčea (26 Radjab 797/17 May, 1395). We find in a newly discovered document (Topḳapı Sarayı Archives, Istanbul, no. 6374) the following 'Crossing Arkhish river Yīldīrīm Khān came before the fortress of Nikebolī the ruler of which was a lord named Shishman. He was paying tribute to the Sultan in the same way as the *Voyvode* of Wallachia. The Sultan asked him to send ships, which he furnished. As soon as the Sultan was on the other side he fetched Shishman, beheaded him, and seized Nikebolī and transformed it into an Ottoman *sandjaḳ*.' The Slavic sources (see J. Bogdan, *Archiv f. slav. Philo.*, xiii, 496) dated Shishman's death as 12 Shaʿbān 797/3 June 1395 which fits in with this Ottoman evidence.

The battle of Nikebolī (24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 798/28 September 1396) sealed the fate of Bulgaria. After his victory Bāyazīd invaded Stratsimir's Vidin too. He settled in Vidin, Silistre and Nikebolī the powerful *Üdj-begi*s against Hungary and Wallachia. In 847/1443, when a Hungarian army advanced into Bulgaria, the Bulgarian *reʿāyā* and *voynuḳ*s in the region of Sofia and Radomir joined the invaders, who appointed a 'Vladika' in Sofia for them. They were soon repressed by the Ottomans (see İnalcık, *Fatih Devri*, Ankara 1954, 20).

During this period, and especially after 805/1402, Bulgaria became strongly ottomanised. In Eastern Bulgaria the Muslim population was definitely in the majority as the surveys of 1520s show (see Ö. L. Barkan, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vol. xi, map). In 859/1455 in Filibe there were 600 Muslim households as against 50 non-Muslim. Bulgaria was divided into the *sandjaḳ*s of Čirmen, Sofya, Silistre, Nikebolī and Vidin in the *eyālet* of Rūmeli [*q.v.*]. In the 11/17th century the *sandjaḳ*s of Nikebolī and Silistre were included in the *eyālet* of Özü which was created against the Cossacks. Its capital was Özü and Silistre. The *sandjaḳ* of Silistre included Pravadi, Yānbolī, Harsova, Varna, Akhyolī (Anchialus), Aydos, Ḳarīn-ovasī and Rūsī-ḳasrī (Rhousokastron) in 924/1518. Bulgaria was put under typical Ottoman administration with the *timār* [*q.v.*] system (see the laws and regulations in Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 255-289). Most of the members of the pre-Ottoman military class were integrated in the Ottoman military organisation (see my *Fatih Devri*, 136-184), *pronijars* as *tīmār*-holders, *woiniks* as Ottoman *voynuḳs* [*q.v.*]. As to the bulk of the Bulgarian population, they were given the status of *dhimmī reʿāyā* [*q.v.*]. But among them many groups enjoyed financially a special status as *derbenddji* (guardians at the mountain passes) or suppliers of rice, meat etc. for the palace or the army [see *ʿawāriḍ*], and the *Dewshirme* [*q.v.*] was also extensively applied in Bulgaria.

As Istanbul and the army was dependent for a great proportion of their food supply on Bulgaria the government put restrictions on the export of the Bulgarian meat and rice. In 973/1565 the appointed sheep owners in western Bulgaria were ordered to provide 174,290 sheep for the army (A. Refik, *Türk İdaresinde Bulgaristan*, Istanbul 1933, document no. 3). The rice production in the upper Maritsa (Merič) valley brought to the state as *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] a yearly revenue of about one million *akča* (20 thousand gold ducats) in about 888/1483 (T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, Istanbul 1952, 131). Timber from Shumnī, Hezargrad, Tīrnova (Trnovo) and iron from Samakov were supplied for the construction of the warships at Akhyolī in 979/1571 (A. Refik, doc. 19, 22). An industry of cloth and felt developed in Filibe, Shumnī and Islimye (Sliven) in this period which was exported in other parts of the empire (A. Refik, doc. 18). Bulgaria experienced neither an enemy invasion nor an insurrection from 1450 to 1595. The Bulgarian towns, especially Filibe, Sofya and Silistre, developed as miltary and commercial centres on the main routes in Rūmeli [*q.v.*]. In these cities new Muslim districts sprang up around *Djāmiʿ*s, *ʿimārets*, *bedestān*s and bazaars with rich *waḳf*s (see Ewliyā Čelebī's detailed description in 1061/1651, vol. III, 301-421, and H. J. Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahr.*, Wiesbaden 1956). According to the Ottoman census in 1520 (see Ö. L. Barkan, *JESHO*, vol. I, Part 1, 1957, 32) the *sandjaḳ*s of Silistre. Čirmen, Nikebolī, Vidin and Sofya had about 125 thousand households altogether excluding the population in the places belonging to Pasha in Bulgaria.

From the end of the 16th century onwards the rate of several taxes was raised and the complaints of the Bulgarian *reʿāyā* from the exactions of the local officials and soldiers began (A. Refik, doc. 37, 38, 41, 42, 46, 47). In 1014/1605 the *reʿāyā* of the Sofya region complained that the agents of the Patriarch were trying to raise the rate of dues from 6 *aḳča* to 12 for the *reʿāyā* and from 60 to 400 for the local priests (A. Refik, doc. 38). The first important uprising in Bulgaria took place at Veliko-Trnovo in 1003/1595 when Michael, Wallachian Prince, made successful raids in Bulgaria. Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*] put down the insurrection and thousands of Bulgarians took refuge in Wallachia. Also from this time on the Bulgarian *haydūd*s or *eshḳiyā*ʾ begin to be mentioned more frequently in the Ottoman sources (A. Refik, doc. 52, 54, 75). Now almost with every enemy invasion the *reʿāyā* were joining them and when they withdrew large groups of *reʿāyā* followed them in spite of the assurances on the part of the Ottoman government (for example in 1100/1688 the *reʿāyā* of the region of

Vidin, Kutlofdja, Pirot and Berkofdja (A. Refik doc. 59) in 1150/1737 the *re*ʿ*āyā* of the region of Izinbol (Znepolje) (A. Refik, doc. 81, 82); in 1208/1793 those of the region of Ismail and Stanimaka). In 1245/1829, seventy or eighty thousand Bulgarians followed the Russian army to settle in Bessarabia; in 1861 ten thousand of them left their home for the Crimea.

In the second half of the 18th century the *a*ʿ*yān* were particularly powerful in Bulgaria. As *multazims* [*q.v.*] and hereditary possessors of the large state lands, *čiftliks* [*q.v.*], they became real masters of the country since the government had to rely on them to collect the taxes of the *re*ʿ*āyā* and most powerful of them such as Trestenik-oghlu Ismāʿīl, Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*] in Rusdjuḳ, Ḥadjdjī ʿUmar in Hezargrad even maintained private armies to which the Sultan had to have recourse at critical moments (A. Refik, doc. 90). The Rhodopes and the Balkan mountains sheltered an increasing number of bandits called *Kirdjali* in this period. Profiting from this anarchy a soldier of fortune, Pazwand-oghlu or Pāsbān-oghlu ʿOthmān [*q.v.*] rebelled, and then, as the Pasha of Vidin, ruled over Western Bulgaria between 1212/1797-1221/1807 (Djewdet, *Ta*ʾ*rīkh*, vii, 237, 240, 250, viii, 146-48). Under Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] the *a*ʿ*yāns* were eliminated and the central authority was established in Bulgaria. In the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* in 1263/1846 Bulgaria was reorganised as the *eyālets* of Silistre, Vidin, Nish with the provincial councils in which the Bulgarian representatives were admitted. But the administrative reforms did not prevent unrest among the Bulgarians. An insurrection in the Nish region in 1257/1841 and a more violent one in the Vidin region in 1266/1850 broke out partly because of the provocation of the revolutionists in Serbia and Wallachia, and partly because of the abuses of the *čiftlik* system maintained there by the Muslim *aghas* or *gospodars* (see my *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*, Ankara 1943).

Many observers in the middle of the 19th century (N. V. Michoff, *La population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie*, 3 vols. Sofia 1915-1929) came to the conclusion that one third of the population of Bulgaria was Muslim. Out of this about 400 or 500,000 were the *Pomak* (*Pomatzi*), the native Bulgarians who had adopted Islam in the 16th and 17th centuries in the central and western Rhodopes. Muslims were in the majority in the cities of Filibe Vidin, Shumnī, Rusdjuḳ, Razgrad, Varna, Plevne, Osman-bazar, Eski-djumʿa, Yeni-zaghra and in the minority in those of Gabrovo, Nish, Sofya, Tîrnova, Karnobat (Ḳarîn-ovasî) by 1293/1876. After the Crimean war the Ottoman government had settled in Bulgaria 70 or 90,000 Čerkes and about 100,000 Tatars (in A. H. Midḥat, *Midḥat Pasha*, Cairo 1322/1904, 35: 350,000 immigrants). Tension between these and the native Bulgarians was exploited by the Bulgarian revolutionists who had finally organised a Central Committee of Revolution in Bucharest in 1286/1869. In 1281/1864 the new administrative reform was for the first time applied in Bulgaria. The *sandjaḳs* of Rusdjuḳ, Varan, Vidin, Tulči (Tulča), Tîrnova (Trnovo) formed the *wilāyet* of Tuna and those of Sofya and Nish that of Sofya. Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], first governor of the *wilāyet* of Tuna, made it the most progressive province of the empire (A. H. Midḥat, 24-56). Although the tax revenue of the *wilāyet* increased fifty per cent under his administration, the peasantry had to pay more and do forced labour for the construction of the new routes. In 1287/1870 the struggle for an independent Bulgarian church resulted in the establishment of the Exarchate which was regarded as a national victory. In the same period the increased activities of the Bulgarian revolutionists, *ḳomitadjīs*, supported actively by the Russians, resulted in the great insurrection of 1293/1876 (April-May). Bulgaria became the main field of operations of the Ottoman-Russian war of 1293/1877. It caused an exodus of the Muslim population to the south. With the Treaty of San-Stefano Russia attempted to create under her protection a great Bulgaria from the Danube to the Aegean Sea. But the great powers replaced it by the Treaty of Berlin which created a principality of Bulgaria, *Bulghāristān Emāreti*, under the Sultan's suzerainty, and the autonomous Province of Eastern Rumelia (*Rūmeli-i Sharḳī Wilāyeti*). It united with the Principality as a result of a revolution in Filibe in 7 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1302/18 September 1885 (A. F. Türkgeldi, *Mesail-i Mühimme-i Siyasiyye*, Ankara 1957, 193-246). At the time of the revolution of 1326/1908 in Istanbul Prince Ferdinand declared the independence of Bulgaria and assumed the title of Czar (7 Ramaḍān 1326/3 October 1908).

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(H. İNALCIK)

BULGHĀR, in Islamic literature the name of a Turkic people by whom two states, one on the Volga, the other on the Danube, were founded in the early middle ages.

Early history: The original Bulghārs seem to have arrived in the south Russian steppes with one of the Hunnic waves. They are mentioned for the first time by Joannes Antioch. (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv, 619) in the year 481 A.D., when they helped the Emperor Zeno in his fight against the Goths. The centre of the Bulghār country was then the steppes in the vicinity of the Kuban river and the Maeotis (Azov Sea), but some of their hordes dwelled also in the region of lower Danube and in the Caucasus. In the Byzantine chronicles

their original country, Kuban, is known as Great Bulgaria (Theophanes, Nicephorus). After the death of Khān Kuvrat in 642 A.D. the unity of these Bulghārs was brought to an end, probably under the pressure of the growing power of the new Khazar kingdom. One section of the Bulghārs remained in their ancient settlements on the Kuban and in the Maeotis till the 10th century. At this time this country was called by Constantine Porphyr. (*De adm. imp.*, 12, 42) "Black Bulgaria" and the Russian chronicles give them also the name of "Black Bulgars". This section of the Bulghārs did not play any great part in history and was probably absorbed by the successive waves of Magyars, Pechenegs and Kumans. By far the greatest group of Bulghārs, under Khān Isperukh, left their home country in 678 for the Balkans and the Danube, where they founded a state among the South Slavonic tribes. In a comparatively short time the numerically weak group of Turkic Bulghārs was assimilated and absorbed by the more numerous Slavs. In Islamic sources this state and its inhabitants are known as Burdjān.

The third and smallest group had retreated along the Volga to the north (this fact is now confirmed by archaeological data) and settled down by the confluence of the rivers Kama and Volga. There they subjugated the Finnish aboriginal population and founded a new state. This group are the Bulghār of Arabic, Bulkār of Persian sources, and this name is applied also to the country and to the capital of their state.

Sources: Our outstanding authority on the Bulghār is Ibn Faḍlān, who in 309-10/921-922 took part in an embassy sent by the Caliph al-Muḳtadir billāh to the Bulghār king. A little earlier is the source preserved in Ibn Rusta, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, Gardīzī, al-Bakrī and Marwazī. Some decades younger than Ibn Faḍlan are the accounts of al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masʿūdī and al-Muḳaddasī, and from the second half of the 4th/10th century we have the report of Ibn Ḥawḳal. Beside these main sources we find some few remarks in other Arabic and/or Persian works, such as those of al-Bīrūnī, Bayhaḳī, Ibn al-Nadīm etc. In the 6th/12th century Bulghār was visited by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī and two centuries later by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; but the report of the latter is not free from the suspicion of invention. The historians of the Mongol epoch, such as Ibn al-Athīr, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, Rashīd al-Dīn, Djuwaynī and others, inform us about the end of Bulghār state. European sources are represented only by the Russian chronicles, which are valuable for the time before the Mongol invasion and after. As our sources come chiefly from the 4th/10th century, the following picture of the internal state of affairs in Bulghār is drawn from these and applies to later times only indirectly.

Territory and population: The centre of the Bulghār kingdom was formed by the triangle between the Volga and the Kama and the country south of the confluence of both these rivers. As to the frontiers of the Bulghār territory, our sources leave us entirely in the dark, and chapter 51 in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (erroneously captioned Burṭās) is totally useless in determining its neighbours. Nevertheles- we can gather some indications about these neighbours and their relation to the Bulghār kingdom. To the north lived various Finno-Ugrian tribes, as Wīsū (in Russian sources V'es, today Veps) and Yūra (Russ. Yugra); both of them at different times were under Bulghar domination, at least nominally. In the east, the Basdjirt (Bashkirs) were subject tot he Bulghārs, and to the south-east some Pecheneg and Ghuzz tribes led their nomadic life quite independently of the Bulghārs. Between the Bulghārs and the Khazars, in the forests, dwelled the more primitive Burṭās/Burdās, probably ancestors of the Mordva; they were subject to the Khazars and the object of frequent raids by the Bulghārs and in later times also incorporated in the state of the latter. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī it was 15 days' journey from the land of the Khazars to the land of the Burṭās and thence another 15 days' to the limits of this people, probably to the north-west. To the west lived various Slavonic (Russian) tribes, but the limits of their eastern colonisation are uncertain. That some of these were in the 10th century subject to the Bulghārs is evident from the fact that the Bulghār ruler is frequently called by Ibn Faḍlān *malik al-Ṣaḳāliba* (king of the Slavs).

The Bulghārs were divided into many hordes and groups, known under different names to Islamic authors. Barṣūla, Ishkil (or Askil) and Bulkār are the three main groups named in Ibn Rusta and his epigons and Ibn Faḍlān mentions, apart from Askil, the tribe of Suwār and a group or a large clan, called al-Barandjār, who were already Muslims and had a wooden mosque. In the forests dwelled the subjugated Finnish tribes and in the towns (at a later period) a mixed population formed by merchants and craftsmen from Russia, Khazaria, Central Asia and even from Baghdād.

Political institutions: The Bulghār ruler bore the title *yïltuwar* (in Ibn Faḍlān *b.ltwār*), a Turkic title known also in the form *älteber* from the Orkhon inscriptions. This title indicates the status of a lesser prince, vassal of a *khāḳān*, in this instance of the Khazar *khāḳān*, and shows also that the Bulghār country originally formed only part of a greater empire and that their ruler was not entirely independent. The Bulghārs paid to the Khazars a sable-fur from each house as a tax, and their dependent status was manifested also by the fact that a son of the Bulghār king lived at the court of the Khazar *khāḳān* as a hostage. These feudal relations were probably loosened by the Bulghār alliance with the caliph in Baghdād, but it seems that only the fall of the Khazar empire in 965 allowed them to become an absolutely independent state. The changed position of the Bulghār ruler after the alliance with the Caliphate is expressed also in the change of the old title *yïltuwar* to the new one *amīr* as a symbol of the cessation of the former allegiance to the Khazar *khāḳān*.

The state of Bulghār did not form a political unity, since the tribal leaders (Ibn Faḍlān calls them *mulūk*) did enjoy a large independence and freedom; this is apparent from Ibn Faḍlān's report of the refusal of the *malik* of the tribe Askil to obey an order of the king. Although the Russian chronicles mention continuously only one Bulghār state, we read *sub anno* 1183 of a war waged by one Bulghār prince, allied with the Komans, against the Great Town of Bolgary and in the Mongol epoch that another state, that of Zhukotin (Djuke-Tau), was founded.

In Ibn Faḍlān's time the relation of the ruler to his people was still quite patriarchal. He used to ride through the capital (a town of tents) alone, unaccompanied by a bodyguard or escort; at the sight of their ruler his subjects rose from their seats and bared their heads. The ruling class was formed, besides the family of king and the tribal leaders, of 500 important families.

Economy and trade: Until the first half of

the 10th century the Bulghārs led a nomadic life, like other Turkic peoples in the Russian steppe, and cattle-breeding was their chief occupation and the foundation of their economy. This is clearly shown in the earlier sources, for according to Ibn Rusta the taxes were paid in horses. Ibn Faḍlān already found the society in a state of change from nomadism to settled life. Many customs of the former way of life were then still surviving, *i.e.*, no permanent capital served as the seat of the ruler, who wandered from one place to another and lived in a large tent. Al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions that the inhabitants spent the winter in wooden houses and the summer in tents. In the latter part of this same century Bulghār was already a flourishing agricultural and trading centre.

The chief products were millet, wheat and barley (Ibn Rusta, Ibn Faḍlān) and these formed also the main food together with horse-meat. From the produce of their fields the people paid no sort of taxes to the king. According to archaeological finds agricultural technique was on a fairly high level of development, which permitted also the export of crops; in 1024 the Russians of Suzdal', where there was a famine, brought wheat from Bulghār and thus saved their lives.

Although agriculture predominated, cattle-breeding still played an important rôle in the economy. It formed the basis for various branches of manufacture, mainly tanning, and also for export. At a later period Bulghār leather (the modern Russian leather *yuft'*) and the Bulghār shoes (Pers. *mūza-i bulghārī*) were particularly well-known, especially in the East. Archaeology has brought to light many other industrial products such as copper-ware, ceramics, jewels and implements of a comparatively high degree.

The main source of the country's wealth was, however, international trade. The river Volga is one of the most ancient trade-routes in the world and the favourable site of the town of Bulghār at the cross-roads of east-west and north-south trade was fully exploited. The Bulghārs themselves traded mainly in the north and in a lesser degree also in Central Asia, but the importance of Bulghār was due in the first place to its function as a meeting-place of foreign merchants, Russians, Khazars, and Muslims. The king levied a duty of 10% on all waterborne merchandise: for instance the Russian merchants paid from every ten slaves one slave as tax. The chief caravan-route led to Central Asia (Khwārizm) and to Kiev. From northern countries the Bulghārs imported furs of martens, sables, beavers, foxes and squirrels, and exchange with these northern peoples, such as the Wīsū and Yūra, was made by dumb barter (see Ibn Faḍlān, Bīrūnī, Marwazī, Abū Ḥamid, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). The Russians, too, brought furs and as another chief item slaves, who were re-exported to Central Asia by the caravan-route or to the Caspian provinces by the Volga. Al-Muḳaddasī, 325, gives a long list of Bulghār exports: furs of many different kinds, horse and goat skins, shoes, *ḳalansuwas*, arrows, swords, armour, sheep, cattle, falcons, isinglass, fish-teeth, birch wood, walnuts, wax, honey and Slavonic slaves. Many of these items are mentioned also by other sources and as Ibn Rusta, al-Iṣṭakhrī, Abū Ḥāmid etc.

From Islamic countries the chief imports were textiles, arms, luxury goods and ceramics.

The unit of currency was, as in other parts of Eastern Europe till the 12th century, the fur (especially that of foxes, martens and squirrels). There was also silver money current which had been imported from Muslim countries, this money being used to buy the goods of the Russians and Slavs. From the beginning of the 4th/10th century there were struck in Bulghār imitations of Sāmānid dirhams with the name of the original mint and original date, but with the name of the Bulghār amīr Mīkāʾīl b. Djaʿfar (probably the son and successor of Djaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh, the ruler in Ibn Faḍlān's time). From 337/948-49 we have the first dirham from a Bulghār mint (Suwār), struck in the name of Ṭālib b. Aḥmad, and further coins till the year 357/968. Other coins bear the names of Muʾmin b. Aḥmad (366/976-77), struck in Suwār and Bulghār, and of Muʾmin b. al-Ḥasan (between 366/976-77 and 370/980), struck in the same mints (see Vasmer, *Wiener Num. Ztschr.* 57, 1924, 63 f.). Besides the names of the rulers there also appear on the coins the names of ʿAbbāsid caliphs.

At the time of his visit Ibn Faḍlān did not notice any towns or villages, as the Bulghārs led a nomadic life. It seems that the building of the fortress, which was one of the principal tasks of the Baghdādī embassy, laid the foundation of the future town of Bulghār. The non-existence of towns in Bulghār prior to the embassy is confirmed on the one hand by the silence of the Ibn Rusta group of sources about these, and on the other hand by the use of the name Bulghār: this name signifies to Ibn Rusta and Ibn Faḍlān always the country or the people, never the town. Al-Iṣṭakhrī is the first author who mentions the existence of the towns Bulghār and Suwār, with wooden buildings and mosques and 10,000 inhabitants. This account is then repeated by all subsequent authors with some small additions (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*: 20,000 inhabitants; Gardīzī: 500,000 families). The Russian chronicles know a number of Bulghār towns, but owing to their lack of details it is impossible to ascertain their locations. The most important of these towns was *Velikiy gorod Bolgary* (the Great town of Bolgary), which is mentioned many times in the chronicles.

During the past half-century the Russians have undertaken numerous archaeological excavations on the sites of the ancient towns in Bulghār territory. The ruins near the village of Bulgarskoie, a distance of 6 km. from the Volga, show a high culture in the 13th and 14th centuries. All the buildings such as palaces, mosques, baths as well as the walls were of stone; the town had a circumference of about 6 miles and was surrounded by suburbs to the north and west. It must have had a population of some 50,000 souls at this time. The more recent discoveries in Bilyar and Suwār are richer than those in Bulgarskoie and it seems that Bulghār (*i.e.*, the ruins at Bulgarskoie) was the capital only in the 10th and 11th centuries and then in later times its rôle was transferred to Bilyar in the central part of the country, on the river Cheremshan. Which of these two was the "Great town of Bolgary" of the Russian chronicles is difficult to tell.

Religion: According to our oldest sources (Ibn Rusta, ca. 300/912, but with an older account) Islām was well established amidst the Bulghārs and there were some wooden mosques on their territory. This is fully confirmed by Ibn Faḍlān, who during his visit found many Muslims, mosques, and a *khaṭīb* and *muʾadhdhin*. The early Arabic sources are silent about the beginning of islamisation in Bulghār and only the 12th century traveller Abū Ḥāmid relates a legendary account, connected with a popular etymology of the name Bulghār; this

legend, however, is not known to the later Tatar traditions. One of the purposes of the Baghdādī embassies and especially that of Ibn Faḍlān, was the strengthening of Islām, the introduction of Islamic law, the building of a mosque and a *minbar* and the islamisation of the whole country. It seems that this task was successfully accomplished. It was from Central Asia that Islām first reached Bulghār; the manner in which the *adhān* was performed clearly followed the *madhhab* of Abū Ḥanīfa, then ruling amongst the Central Asian Turks. Because Ibn Faḍlān followed the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, a disputation arose between him and the Bulghār *mu'adhdhin*, backed by the king. The Bulghārs remained true to their Ḥanafī *madhhab* throughout the whole of their history. In towns there were mosques and Friday mosques, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* confirms that the inhabitants of Bulghār and Suwār were zealous fighters for the faith. According to Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 16) a son of the Bulghār king had made the pilgrimage to Mecca during the reign of al-Muḳtadir; another proof of the religious zeal of their rulers was the presentation to the mosques of Sabzawār and Khusrawdjird, of a gift in 415/1024 by the Bulghār amīr Abū Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. B.l.t.wār (see *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Tehran, 63). It seems that the Bulghārs exercised a decisive influence on the conversion of nomadic Turkic tribes, such as Pechenegs and Kumans, to Islām, and they also nursed hopes of spreading the Muslim faith in Russia, in the 10th century still pagan. In the year 986 an embassy was sent to Kiev in order to convert prince Vladimir to Islām and some time later this same ruler, searching for a suitable religion for himself and his people, invited Bulghār Muslims to explain to him the principles of their faith and to take part in a religious disputation between the representatives of the chief religions.

This northernmost Islamic country posed some ritual problems, owing to the short days and long nights during the winter and *vice versa* during the summer. To perform the daily five prayers in a short day was not an easy task and it was impossible to hold to the prescribed times; similar problems arose in Ramaḍān. This peculiarity of high latitudes, unknown in other Islamic lands, soon attracted the attention of Muslim writers and led to lengthy discussions as to what should be the right solution of these problems. As late as 1860 the Ḳazan historian Mardjānī wrote a treatise concerning this problem (see Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān*, 170, where there are further references).

Language and literature: The language of the Bulghārs, like that of the Khazars, has left very few remnants, mainly in toponymy and onomastics, and, beginning with the 12th century, also a fair number of epitaphs. The linguistic affinity of their language remained a problem a long time. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 225, tells us that the language of the Bulghārs resembled the speech of the Khazars, but both are unlike the languages of Burṭās and Rūs. (An analysis of Kāshgharī's account of the Bulghār language together with a discussion of the whole problem is to be found in Pritsak, in *ZDMG* 109, 1959, 92-116). It is however, now established that the Bulghār language belongs to the so-called "Bolgarian" group of the Western (or West-Hunnic) branch of Turkic languages, the other groups being Ghuzz, Kipčāḳ and Ḳarluḳ. The "Bolgarian" group consists, apart from the Khazarian, of the following languages: 1) Proto-Bulgarian—the language of the Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions and of the so-called "List of Princes" of the Bulgars of the Danube, found in an ancient Russian chronicle (see O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste*, Wiesbaden 1955); 2) Kuban-Bulgarian; remnants of this language are found in loan-words in Hungarian, and 3) Volga-Bulgarian, the language of the epitaphs, written in Arabic script, found on the territory of Bulghār. The degree of affinity between this language and that of the modern Čuvash has not yet been satisfactorily investigated and explained. As the Čuvash have been very little affected by the highly developed Muslim culture of the Bulghārs, it is improbable that they are descendants from these; a greater right to claim such descent belongs to the modern Ḳazan Tatars.

With the sole exception of the above mentioned tomb-inscriptions, dating from the 12th until the 14th centuries, we do not possess any remnants of literary activity of the Bulghars. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions in his *Fihrist* that the Bulghārs, prior to their islamisation, used the script of the Chinese and of the Manichaeans, but no sample of this writing has come down to us. Abū Ḥāmid reports a *Ta'rīkh Bulghār*, a work of *Ḳāḍī* Yaʿḳūb b. Nu'mān al-Bulghārī from the beginning of 12th century; in the year 989/1581 Sharaf al-Dīn Husām al-Dīn al-Bulghārī composed in the Tatar language a *Risāla-i Tawārīkh-i Bulghāriyya*, which contains nothing but fabulous stories about the propagation of Islam and the lives of saints; it was printed in Ḳazan in the year 1902.

History: The scarcity of our sources does not permit us to follow the course of Bulghār history closely. The Bulghārs came into the light of written history only at the time of Ibn Faḍlān's visit; at this period their ruler was *yiltawar* Almush b. Shilkī, who subsequently changed his title and name into *amīr* Djaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh. The coins supply the name of his son and successor Mīkā'īl b. Djaʿfar and also the names of another three rulers: Ṭālib b. Aḥmad, Mu'min b. Aḥmad and Mu'min b. al-Ḥasan (for the dates see above, section on economy). The Bulghārs remained till the fall of the Khazar khāḳānate a vassal state of the latter. In the year 964 the country in the Volga basin was devastated by the Kievan prince Svyatoslav; an echo of this is found in Ibn Ḥawḳal's story of the conquest of Bulghār, Burṭās and Khazar in the year 358/968-69. This is, however, not the date of the Russian expedition but that of the year in which Ibn Ḥawḳal received the information of these events. This invasion had no lasting effects on the prosperity of Bulghār; similarly the second Russian campaign, led by Vladimir, the son of Svyatoslav, in the year 985 did little damage. On the contrary, the Bulghār gained by the downfall of Khazar *khāḳānate*; as the Russian armies after their victory retreated, the place of the mighty Khazars was occupied by the Pecheneg nomads, representing no real danger to the Bulghārs. For a short period the relations between the Russians and Bulghār improved, as is shown by the trade treaty concluded in the year 1006 on equal terms. Yet both these states were in the same way interested in the fur trade in the north and this led to continuous fighting since the second half of the 11th century; Bulghār history is from this time a history of their wars with the Russians.

In 1088 the Russian town of Murom was captured by the Bulghārs, but remained in their hands only for a short time. After this event they were on the defensive and on many occasions—in the years 1120, 1164, 1172, 1183, 1220—the town of Bulghār was

besieged by the Russians. Only two instances of a Bulghār offensive are mentioned: in 1107 they unsuccessfully attacked the town of Suzdal' and in 1218 they sacked the town of Ust'yug, situated far in the north. The further fighting with the Russians was interrupted for nearly two centuries by the Mongol invasion.

Abū Ḥāmid, who visited the town of Bulghār and the Volga basin in the first half of the 12th century, says nothing about political history except the statement, that in the town of Saḳsīn on the lower Volga there lived a Bulghār *amīr* and stood a Bulghār mosque.

When the Mongols were returning to the east after the victory over the Russians on the river Kalka (1224) they were ambushed by the Bulghārs and suffered heavy losses (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 254). This was avenged in a most sanguinary fashion; in 1229 the Bulghār vanguard on the river Yāyik (Ural) was put to flight, and, in 1236 according to Muslim sources, in 1237 according to Russian chronicles, the Mongols attacked the Bulghār state and destroyed the capital with all its inhabitants.

From then on the country of Bulghār formed part of the kingdom of the "Golden Horde", the Mongol empire in the Eastern Europe [see BATU'IDS]. The capital Bulghār appears to have risen to a flourishing condition in a relatively short time again; the archaeological finds show a high culture dating just from this period, and the majority of the epitaphs is dated in the Mongol epoch. The subsequent history of the country and the capital is very little known and we are not even told when and why the town was abandoned by its inhabitants. It was not affected by Tīmūr's campaign of the year 1395, but Bulghār was soon afterwards, in 1399, destroyed by the Russians. The town probably suffered more from the rise of Ḳazan (called also Noviy Bulgar, New Bulghār), which was founded just before this time by Batu-Khān, than from these wars. The selection of this town as capital of an independent Tatar state, founded by Ulugh Muḥammad (died 1446), sealed the fate of the town of Bulghār. Its importance as the greatest market on the central Volga passed first to Ḳazan and then to the Russian town of Nižniy-Novgorod (today Gorkiy).

The word Bulghār still remained in use in literature, though only as the name of a country, and as late as the 19th century the Tatars called themselves Bulghārs.

Bibliography: Muslim sources: Ibn Rusta; Ibn Faḍlān; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*; al-Iṣṭakhrī; Ibn Ḥawḳal; al-Muḳaddasī; *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*; al-Bīrūnī; Gardīzī; al-Bakrī; Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, *Tuḥfa* (ed. Ferrand); idem, *Mu'rib* (ed. Dubler); Yāḳūt; al-Ḳazwīnī; Abu 'l-Fidā'; al-Dimashḳī. For the Mongol period: Ibn al-Athīr; Abu 'l-Fidā'; Rashīd al-Dīn; Djuwaynī; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa etc. (see the bibliography in Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1943). Russian chronicles in *Polnoe sobraniye russkikh l'etopisey*, Moscow 1846-1925. Modern studies: Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939; Grekov, *Volzhskiye Bolgary*, *Istoričeskiye zapiski* 14, 1945, 1 ff.; A. P. Smirnov, *Volzhskiye Bolgary*, Moscow 1951; Yakubovskiy, *K istoricheskoy topografii Itila i Bulgara*, *Soviet. Arkheologiya* 10, 1948, 255; A. P. Smirnov, *Trudy Kuybishevskoy Arkheolog. Ekspediciyi*, Moscow 1954; *Istoriya Tatarskoy ASSR*, vol. 1, Ḳazan 1956; Kovalevskiy, *Kniga Achmeda ibn Fadlana* ..., Kharkov 1956; M. Canard, *Ibn Faḍlân chez les Bulgares de la Volga*, in *AIEO Alger* 1958, 41-146.

(I. HRBEK)

BULGHĀR-DAGH [see TOROS].

BULGHĀR-MA'DEN [see TOROS].

AL-**BULḲĪNĪ**, family of Egyptian scholars of Palestinian origin, whose ancestor Ṣāliḥ settled at Bulḳīna in al-Gharbiyya.

(1) 'UMAR B. RASLĀN B. NAṢĪR B. ṢĀLIḤ, SIRĀDJ AL-DĪN ABŪ ḤAFṢ AL-KINĀNĪ, born 12 Sha'bān 724/4 August 1324, died 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 805/1 June 1403. He studied at Cairo under the most famous scholars of the day, including Ibn 'Aḳīl [*q.v.*], whose daughter he married, and served as *nā'ib* during Ibn 'Aḳīl's brief tenure as Grand Ḳāḍī in 759/1358. Appointed Muftī in the Dar al-'Adl in 765/1363, he became the most celebrated jurist of his age (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ch. 6, § 7 [Quatremère iii, 8]), but except for a short term as Shāfi'ite Grand Ḳāḍī at Damascus in 769/1367-8 (made notable by rivalry with his teacher Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī) he was never promoted Grand Ḳāḍī, but only to the lesser (though lucrative) office of Ḳāḍi 'l-'Askar, in addition to a number of teaching posts. In later life, however, he was honoured with the title of Shaykh al-Islām, ranked along with or above the Grand Ḳāḍīs, and regarded by some as the "*Mudjaddid* of the eighth century". With his stupendous knowledge he was seldom able to finish any literary work, and besides a treatise on *Maḥāsin al-Iṣṭilāḥ* left only an uncompleted work, *al-Tadrīb*, on Shāfi'ite *fiḳh*. He was the founder of the family's *madrasa* in Ḥārat Bahā' al-Dīn Ḳarāḳūsh.

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw' Lāmi'*, v, 85-90, 182; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm* (Popper) v (= Cairo xii), index; vi, 156; *Manhal Ṣāfī*, index by Wiet, no. 1723 (with family table and additional bibliography); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar Kāmina*, ii, 267, 427; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i, 148 (135); Brockelmann II 93, S II 110; Ibn Hadjar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr* (BM. MS. Add. 7321), 143a, b.

(2) MUḤAMMAD B. 'UMAR, BADR AL-DĪN, 757/1356-791/1389, eldest son of (1), succeeded him as Ḳāḍi 'l-'Askar and Muftī Dār al-'Adl in 779/1377.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar Kāmina*, iv, 105; Wiet no. 2288. His son, Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad: *Ḍaw'*, x, 171; Wiet no. 2350; and grandson, Walī al-Dīn Aḥmad, ḳāḍī of Damascus: *Nudjūm*, vii, 545; *Ḍaw'*, ii, 188; Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-'Iḳyān* (Hitti), 90.

(3) 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B 'UMAR, DJALĀL AL-DĪN, 763/1362-824/1421, succeeded his brother Muḥammad as Ḳāḍī 'l-'Askar in 791/1389. He lived in luxurious style, had a retinue of 300 mamlūks, and in 804/1401 obtained the office of Shāfi'ite Grand Ḳāḍī, which he held with intervals until his death.

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, iv, 106-114; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm* vi, 548-9 and index; Wiet no. 1381; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ix, 180; for his extant works on Ḳur'ān and *fiḳh*, Brockelmann II, 112; S II, 139. His sons: Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad, Ḳāḍi 'l-'Askar, *Nudjūm*, vii, 361; *Ḍaw'*, vii, 294-5; Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-'Iḳyān*, 151; Wiet no. 2180; and Zayn al-Din Ḳāsim, *nāẓir al-djawālī*, *Ḍaw'*, v, 181-2; vii, 295; Wiet no. 1807; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, BM. Or. 5311, 105a, Add. 23,330, 106a, 6, Add. 7321, 258a, b.

(4) ṢĀLIḤ B. 'UMAR, 'ALAM AL-DĪN ABU'L-BAḲĀ', 791/1389-868/1464, youngest son of (1), eight times Shāfi'ite Grand Ḳāḍī of Cairo from 825/1422 until his death, professor in various *madrasas*, and *nāẓir*

of the Baybarsiyya *khānkāh*. He was the teacher of al-Sakhāwī and of al-Suyūṭī in *fiḳh*. In addition to editing his father's *fatwās* and *Muhimmāt*, completing his *Tadrīb*, and writing his biography, he composed a *tafsīr* and other works on tradition and law.

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, iii, 312-4; iv, 40 (biography of his brother Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ); Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, vii, 792-3 and index; Wiet no. 1197; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i, 205 (189); *Naẓm al-ʿIḳyān*, 119; Brockelmann, II 96; S II, 114-5.

(5) MUḤAMMAD B. (TĀDJ AL-DĪN) MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, BADR AL-DĪN ABU'L-SAʿADAT, 819/1417 or 821/1419-890/1485, grandson of (3), served as *nā'ib* for his uncle Ṣāliḥ, was appointed on his father's death in 855/1451 to succeed him as Ḳāḍi 'l-ʿAskar, obtained for 7000 dinārs the office of Shāfiʿite Grand Ḳāḍī in 871/1466, but held it for only four months, and greatly discredited the family by his extravagances.

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, ix, 95-100: Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, vii, 742; Ibn Iyās (Kahle), iii, 211. His brothers: ʿAlā' al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Ḍaw'*, v, 310 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ḍaw'*, ii, 119; their sons, *Ḍaw'*, iv, 28; vi, 102; vii, 70.

Collateral branches descended from Abū Bakr b. Raslān and Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar b. Naṣīr, cousins of (1), held office as ḳāḍīs of al-Maḥalla, Alexandria, etc.; see table in Wiet no. 1723 (to be supplemented as above), and Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, i, 253; iv, 228, 232; vi, 296; viii, 62.

(H. A. R GIBB)

BULUGGĪN B. **MUḤAMMAD** [see ḤAMMĀDIDS].

BULUGGĪN (in Arabic: Bulukkīn) B. **ZĪRĪ** B. MANĀD, first Zīrid of Ifrīḳiya (4th/10th century). As a reward for distinction in the service of the Fāṭimids as *amīr* of the Ṣanhādja against the Zanāta he was nominated governor of Ifrīḳiya by al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh. As he was almost always on campaigns in the central Maghrib, he entrusted the administration of al-Ḳayrawān and eastern Ifrīḳiya to a vice-*amīr* whose power continuously increased. The principal events of his life are as follows: Bulukkīn founded Algiers, Miliana, and Médéa (349/960), fought against Abū Khazar (358/968-9), and beat the Zanāta (360/971). His father Zīrī was killed by Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn al-Andalusī, the rebellious governor of Msila and the Zab (Ramaḍān 360/June-July 971). The new *amīr* of the Ṣanhādja ejected the Zanāta from the central Maghrib (end of 360/autumn 971) and obtained Msila and the Zab. On 20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 361/2 Oct. 972 he was invested, under the name of Abu 'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf, with the Fāṭimid west except for Sicily and Tripoli. He campaigned in the Maghrib (362-3/973-4), appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kātib governor of Ifrīḳiya, fought the Kutāma (364-5/974-5), and gained Tripoli, Surt, and Adjdābiya (367/977-8). During his last campaign (368-73/979-84) he took Fez, Sidjilmāssa, and Baṣra, beat the Barghawāṭa, and died on the return journey on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 373/25 May 984. He was succeeded by his son al-Manṣūr.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī (ed. Lévi-Provençal & Colin), i, 228-32, 239, 296, ii, 243, 293 (Dozy's ed. i, 237-40, 248, 305, ii, 259, 316), iii, 263; *idem*, tr. Fagnan, i & ii, index; Ibn al-Athīr, Cairo 1353, vii, 35, 45-8, 78, 120-1 (tr. Fagnan, index); Nuwayrī, ed. G. Remiro, ii, 101, 107-16; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 154-7 (*Hist. des Berbères*, iv, index); Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 93; *Mafākhir al-barbar*, 6, 8, 13, 16-8; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Mu'nis*, 62-4, 71-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, iv, 72; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 53-4, 80-1; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, Cairo 1948, 142-5, 180, 186, 196, 198, 294; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, in *Centenario M. Amari*, ii, 451-3; Fournel, *Berbères*, ii, 205-6, 349, 352, 355-63; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes* (in preparation). (H. R. IDRIS)

BULŪGH [see BĀLIGH].

BULUWĀDĪN [see BOLWADIN].

BŪNA [see AL-ʿANNĀBA].

AL-**BUNDĀRĪ**, AL-FATḤ B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, ḲIWĀM AL-DIN, a historian who wrote in Arabic and is primarily known for his revision of the History of the Saldjūḳids written by his compatriot ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī. Relieving it of certain stylistic embellishments, he dedicated it in 623/1226 to the Ayyūbid al-Muʿaẓẓam (ed. M. Th. Houtsma in *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii). He says that he had previously similarly treated the History of Saladin, *al-Barḳ al-Shāmī*, by the same author. He had also written a continuation to the (biographical) History of Baghdād by Khaṭīb Baghdādī (autograph MS. dated 639/1241-42, Paris Bibl. Nat. Arab. 6152). Finally he is the author of an Arabic translation of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* which he also dedicated to al-Muʿaẓẓam in 624/1227 (ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Aʿẓam, Cairo 1350). We know nothing more of his life, which he seems to have spent divided between Syria and ʿIrāḳ. The date of his death is unknown.

Bibliography: Houtsma, *op. cit.*, preface; Brockelmann, I, 321, and S I, 554 (where the author is incorrect in distinguishing a *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* from the *Dhayl* to that of Khaṭīb, cf. *ibid.* 563), (M. TH. HOUTSMA-[CL. CAHEN])

BUNDUḲ [see BĀRŪD].

BUNDUḲDĀR [see BAYBARS].

BUNDUḲĪ [see SIKKA].

BUNDUḲIYYA [see BĀRŪD].

AL-**BŪNĪ** [see SUPPLEMENT].

AL-**BUNT**, Spanish Alpuente, a small *municipio* in the north-west of the province of Valencia, on the eastern slopes of the mountains forming the valley of the Guadalaviar-Turia; it belongs to the *partido judicial* of Chelva, 87 kilometres from the chief town. Situated at the junction of two mountains, Monte del Castillo and loma de San Cristobal, its castle stands on a crag sheer on all sides, which could only be reached by the steep and narrow ascent of an artificial covered way defended by a tower of dressed stone. In the ruins one can see traces of Roman and Arab masonry. It was reached by a drawbridge, some 40 metres long, which has perhaps given its name to the place.

It has no history before the time when, at the beginning of the *fitna* which put an end to the Umayyad caliphate, the Banū Ḳāsim, Kutāma Berbers, bound by a long-standing alliance with the Arab tribe of Fihr, became independent in their small, steep territory, which formed part of the *kūra* of Santiberia.

Of the four petty kings who ruled it, the first was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳāsim al-Fihrī, an ʿĀmirid *mawlā*, who took the title of *ḥādjib* and ruled as an independent sovereign. After the caliph al-Murtaḍā was routed before Granada and killed at Cadiz, his brother Abū Bakr Hishām sought refuge in Alpuente and, having been proclaimed by the Cordovans as caliph at the end of Rabīʿ II 418/June 1027, lived peacefully in this obscure place for over two and a

half years, welcomed and well-treated by the ʿĀmirid *mawlā*, who was a supporter of the Marwānid dynasty notwithstanding the harm which the last caliphs had done to his predecessors. When he at last decided to make his official entry into Cordova it was with a retinue as small and countryfied as the place from which he came; he was quickly deposed and it was thus that the Umayyad caliphate came to an end.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳāsim, who ruled with the title of Niẓām al-Dawla and died in 421/1031, was succeeded by his son Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Yumn al-Dawla, who died suddenly in 440/1048, leaving a son six years old. The son was dethroned after a few months by his paternal uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, who married the queen mother and lived on good terms with the neighbouring *reyes de taifas* until his death in 485/1092.

Alpuente next passed into the hands of the Almoravids and then into those of the Almohads. When the Almohads were expelled from Andalusia, the *sayyid* who was governor of Valencia, Abū Saʿīd Zayd, grandson of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, allied himself with James I the Conqueror and offered Alpuente to him; afterwards, when he sought refuge at his court and turned Christian, he submitted Alpuente to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Segorbe, Don Guillén.

There is another Al-Bunt, a farm near Granada, where in 428/1037 Bādis, the successor of Ḥabbūs, and his brother Buluggīn treacherously killed the ʿĀmirid *fatā* Zuhayr, lord of Almería.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, iii, 127, 145-6, 215; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, 446; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, 239-40; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. de l'Espagne musulmane*, ii, 338; P. Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico*, ii, 197-8. (A. Huici Miranda)

BŪR [see BAʿL].

AL-**BURĀḲ**, the beast on which Muḥammad is said to have ridden, when he made his miraculous "night-journey". According to Sūra xxii, 1, the "night-journey" led the Prophet from the sacred place of worship, *i.e.*, Mecca, to the "remote place of worship". This latter place has been identified by B. Schrieke and J. Horovitz with a point in the heavens, and by A. Guillaume, recently, with a locality near Djiʿrāna on the border of the sacred precinct of Mecca. The addition of the phrase "the environs of which we have blessed" makes it probable, however, that the passage refers to a place in the Holy Land, namely Jerusalem (cf. Sūra xxi, 71, 81; Sūra vii, 137; Sūra xxxiv, 18: *allatī bāraknā fīhā*). Be this as it may, the "remote place of worship" has always been understood, in the indigenous tradition, as a reference to Jerusalem. It was accepted, moreover, that Muḥammad made the journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and back, not merely in a dream, but—accompanied by Gabriel—in the living flesh and within the space of a single night. The miraculous speed of such a feat was held to be explicable on the ground that Muḥammad rode a beast of exceptional fleetness. It was in this connexion that the legend of al-Burāḳ arose.

In one of the numerous *ḥadīths* that Ṭabarī, in his Ḳurʾān commentary, gives on the "night journey", Muḥammad's mount is described simply as a horse (xv, 6 f.). Most *ḥadīths* of the earlier times call it, however, al-Burāḳ and define it as "a beast (in size intermediate) between a mule and an ass", sometimes with the further detail that it is white. It is also declared to be long (Muslim, *Īmān*, 259), with a long back and long ears (Ibn Saʿd, i, I, 143), with shaking ears (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 10), saddled and bridled (*ibid.*, 12). The *radjaz*-poet ʿAdjdjādj (d. 97/715) speaks, in connexion with Abraham, of the "bridled Burāḳ" (ed. Ahlwardt, xxxv, 49-52: if genuine, the oldest datable evidence). The earlier Prophets have themselves made use of this beast (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 10; Ibn Hishām, 263). Its speed is said, as a rule, to be such that "with one stride it moved as far as its gaze reached". In Ibn Hishām, 264, in Ibn Saʿd, i, I, 143 and in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 3 it is also described as a beast having "wings on its shanks, with which it drives forward its legs". These words are intended to mean, of course, only that al-Burāḳ could move its legs extremely quickly, and not that it was capable of flying. Genuine wings are first ascribed to it only in later texts. It is generally depicted in miniatures as a winged creature (see below). Grammatically al-Burāḳ is construed both as masculine and as feminine.

It is reported in some *ḥadīths* that al-Burāḳ at first resisted the attempt of the Prophet to mount him and was therefore brought to obedience by Gabriel. Muḥammad, after the arrival in Jerusalem, is said to have dismounted and tied the beast to a rock (*ṣakhra* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 7), or "to the ring, to which the Prophets were wont to tie it" (Muslim, *Īmān*, 259; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 10; Ibn Saʿd, i, I, 143 f.). Al-Burāḳ, in certain *ḥadīths* transmitted by Bukhārī and Muslim, serves as the steed for Muḥammad's actual "journey to heaven". The legends of the "night-journey" (*isrāʾ*) and of the "journey to heaven" (*miʿrādj*) became combined at an early date. Al-Burāḳ was also included in this confusion of legends and thus developed gradually into a flying steed. The ascent into heaven (*miʿrādj*), in the original form of the legend, occurred however by means of a ladder.

The etymology of the name Burāḳ is not yet fully elucidated. E. Blochet believed it to come from the Middle Persian *bārag*, "steed". J. Horovitz has rightly questioned this interpretation and has declared himself in favour of a derivation from the Arabic root *baraḳa*, "to lighten, to flash". According to this view, Burāḳ could be explained as a (rare) diminutive form. "The miraculous beast would thus have received its name "the little lightning-flash" on account of its fleetness or of its brilliant colour". Yet even this explanation is not wholly convincing. The possibility must also be envisaged that the name Burāḳ goes back to a pre-Islamic tradition now unknown to us. In general, much that is reported about the steed of the miraculous "night-journey" will derive from pre-Islamic tradition. It is, however, difficult to uncover the various links in all their detail.

The later development in the conception of the Burāḳ is to be discerned rather in figurative representations than in literary documents. This statement is also valid in relation to the fact that eventually al-Burāḳ received a human face. Horovitz has pointed to a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās, transmitted by Thaʿlabī (d. 1035), as the earliest literary evidence declaring that al-Burāḳ had "a cheek like that of a man". Balkhī, in his description of the ruins of Persepolis (beginning of the 6th/12th century), designates the monster in the gateway of Xerxes, "whose face resembles a human face", as Burāḳ. The earliest picture yet known of al-Burāḳ dates from the year A.D. 1314 (in a MS. of the *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn). None the

less, it is clear that the real development occurred within the sphere of the visual arts. The decisive stimuli arose out of those forms of representation which—from the figures guarding the gates of Assyrian palaces onwards—remained alive in the shape of centaurs, griffins or sphinxes and have again and again reappeared as artistic forms. The winged creatures, which in the course of time became petrified into a formal element no longer understood, obtained at last a new meaning in connexion with the legend of the *miʿrādj* of the Prophet. In illustrations to Persian poetry, and especially to the works of Niẓāmī, al-Burāḳ with his rider and with Gabriel as guide came to be a much cherished subject. The splendidly composed picture of the "journey to heaven" in the Niẓāmī MS. Or. 2265 of the British Museum constitutes the highest point of artistic achievement in this evolution.

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(R. PARET)

BURĀḲ (or, more correctly, BARAḲ) **ḤĀDJIB**, the first of the Ḳutlugh Khāns of Kirmān. By origin a Ḳara-Khitayan he was, according to Djuwaynī, brought to Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh after the defeat of the Ḳara-Khitay on the Talas in 1210 and taken into his service, in which he rose to the rank of *ḥādjib* or chamberlain. According to Nasawī he had held this same office at the court of the Gür-Khan or ruler of the Ḳara-Khitay. Being sent on an embassy to Sulṭān Muḥammad he was forcibly detained by the latter until the final collapse of the Ḳara-Khitay and was only then admitted into his service. When the sultan had met his death in flight before the Mongol armies and his son Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh [*q.v.*] had taken refuge in India, another son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr-Shāh succeeded in establishing himself in Persian ʿIrāḳ (winter of 1221-2). Here he was joined by Burāḳ, whom he appointed governor of Iṣfahān. On account of a quarrel with Ghiyāth al-Dīn's vizier, Burāḳ obtained permission to leave for India in order to enter the service of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn. Attacked *en route* by the governor of Kirmān he not only defeated his assailant but made himself master of his territory, and he then renounced the idea of proceeding to India (1222-3). This is Djuwaynī's version; Nasawī represents Burāḳ as being appointed governor of Kirmān from the outset. When Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn appeared in Kirmān in 1224 he confirmed Burāḳ's appointment, though not without some misgivings. In 1226, whilst campaigning in the Caucasus, he received information that Burāḳ had risen in revolt. In his haste to deal with the rebel he travelled, according to Djuwaynī, from Tiflis to the borders of Kirmān in the space of 17 days. He then turned back, either because of Burāḳ's conciliatory attitude or because of the strong defensive measures he had adopted. In 1228 Ghiyāth al-Dīn, having quarrelled with his brother, came as a fugitive to Kirmān. His mother was forced to marry Burāḳ against her will and was then accused, together with her son, of complicity in a plot against his life. They were both put to death though Djuwaynī and Nasawī disagree as to the details. According to the former Ghiyāth al-Dīn was executed first; according to the latter he was kept a prisoner for a time after his mother's death and there was even a rumour that he had escaped to Iṣfahān. Djuwaynī relates that Burāḳ now approached the Caliph announcing his conversion to Islām and asking to be recognised as an independent sultan. The Caliph granted his request and gave him the title of *ḳutlugh sulṭān* ("Fortunate Sultan"). In 630/1232-3 the Mongol commanders operating in the Sīstān area called on Burāḳ to submit to the Great Khan. He excused himself from proceeding to Mongolia in person but sent his son Rukn al-Din instead. Rukn al-Dīn was still *en route* when he received the news of his father's death, which occurred in the late summer or early autumn of 1235.

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(W. BARTHOLD-[J. A. BOYLE])

BURĀḲ (or rather BARAḲ) **KHĀN**, a ruler of the Čaghatay Khānate. A grandson of Mö'etüken, who fell before Bāmiyān, his father, Yesün-To'a, had been banished to China for his part in the conspiracy against the Great Khan Möngke. Burāḳ himself began his career at the court of Möngke's successor, Ḳubilay Khan (1260-94). When in March 1266 Mubārak-Shāh, the son of Ḳara-Hülegü, was elected to the Čaghatay Khānate, Ḳubilay dispatched Burāḳ to Mā warāʾ al-Nahr with a *yarlīgh* or rescript appointing him co-regent with his cousin. Burāḳ at first concealed the *yarlīgh* and then, having gained the support of the military, attacked Mubārak-Shāh, whom he defeated and captured at Khudjand in September 1266.

Although he owed his throne to Ḳubilay, Burāḳ was soon involved in hostilities with the Great Khan. He expelled the latter's governor of Chinese Turkestan and defeated the army which Ḳubilay sent to restore him. In his war against Ḳubilay's great adversary, Ḳaydu, the head of the House of Ögedei, who had now possessed himself of Semirečye, Burāḳ was less successful. He gained an initial victory but Ḳaydu obtained help from the Golden Horde; Burāḳ was defeated on the Sīr-Daryā and withdrew into Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, where he prepared to offer desperate resistance. However a reconciliation was effected between the two princes and at a *ḳuriltay* held on the Talas in the spring of 1269 there

was organised, under the suzerainty of Ḳaydu, a kingdom completely independent of the Great Khan. Ḳaydu and Burāḳ hailed each other as *anda* ("blood brother") and an agreement was reached that the princes should live in the mountains and on the steppes, keep their herds of horses out of the cultivated areas and not exact from the population anything beyond their legal dues. Two thirds of Mā warā' al-Nahr were left to Burāḳ but the government of the cultivated areas was placed in the hands of Mas'ūd Beg, a governor appointed by Ḳaydu.

At the time of this *ḳuriltay* Burāḳ had expressed his intention of invading the territories of Abaḳa, the Il-Khān of Persia, and had been encouraged by Ḳaydu, who hoped to see the back of a dangerous rival. Mas'ūd Beg was sent to Persia, ostensibly to collect the revenues due to Burāḳ and Ḳaydu, but in reality to spy out the land. Soon after his return Burāḳ crossed the Oxus and occupied parts of Khurāsān and Afghānistān. However he received little support from the troops sent by Ḳaydu and was soon left in the lurch. On 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 668/22 July 1270 Abaḳa inflicted a crushing defeat on his opponent, who withdrew across the Oxus with only 5,000 men.

Accounts differ as to how Burāḳ passed the last year of his life. According to Waṣṣāf, he spent the winter in Bukhārā, where he adopted Islām and assumed the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn. In the following year he undertook a campaign in Sīstān, but his plans were frustrated by the defection of several princes and he was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of Ḳaydu, who caused him to be poisoned. According to Rashīd al-Dīn's more circumstantial account the defection of the princes took place immediately after Burāḳ's retreat across the Oxus. He appealed for help to Ḳaydu, who advanced very slowly at the head of a large army, his intention being not to assist Burāḳ, but to profit by the situation. Having in the meanwhile suppressed the revolt Burāḳ begged his *anda* to turn back, but Ḳaydu continued to advance. His troops finally encircled Burāḳ's camp and when they entered it the next morning they found that he had died during the night, of fright, as it was said. His death took place according to Djamāl Ḳarshī at the beginning of 670, *i.e.*, on or after the 9th August 1271. He was buried, by Ḳaydu's command, on a high mountain after the Mongol and not the Muslim fashion.

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BŪRĀN, wife of the caliph al-Ma'mūn and daughter of the Persian secretary al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*]. According to some her real name was Khadīdja and Būrān simply an appellation. Born in Ṣafar 192/December 807, she was married from the age of ten to the caliph whom her father had faithfully served during the first part of his reign. The wedding celebrations, the splendours of which are described with relish by many authors, did not take place until Ramaḍān 210/December 825-January 826, on al-Ḥasan's estate at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, near Wāsiṭ, at a time when the former secretary had retired from public life, but when the caliph was still desirous of showing his attachment to the family. It was on this occasion that Būrān, according to tradition, interceded for Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*]. Būrān died in Rabī' I 271/September 884, aged nearly eighty. She lived in the former palace of Dja'far the Barmakid, later known as the Ḳaṣr al-Ḥasanī, which her father had given to her and which after her death reverted to the caliphs.

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BURAYDA, the present capital of al-Ḳaṣīm district of Saudi Arabia, is located at 26° 20′ N, 43° 58′ E, on the left bank of Wādī al-Rumah just west of where it flows into the sand of Nafūd al-Sirr. The city lies on a ridge of Nafūd Burayda, 25 km. north of its traditional rival, the city of 'Unayza on the opposite bank of "the Wādī", as it is usually called in al-Ḳaṣīm. In the alluvial flats scattered among the dunes of Nāfud Burayda there are gardens and villages called collectively al-Khubūb (sing. *khabb*). These fertile plots were formed by the Wādī flood, from which they continue to derive their copious water supply.

The altitude of Burayda is 610 m. at the airstrip. North and west of the city there is excellent grazing and an ample supply of fine salt which once made the city a famous market for horses, camels, and even cattle. The livestock, the agricultural produce and water from al-Khubūb, and the central position of the city on the Baṣra—Medina route were all factors in developing Burayda into one of the great trading centres of Arabia. The mixed population, comprising settled elements of Ḥarb, 'Anaza, Muṭayr, 'Utayba, and Bani Tamīm, traded throughout the Arab world. Men from Burayda belonging to the corporation of 'Uḳayl became known from Cairo to Bombay as livestock dealers and caravan men.

The origin of the city is not clear. Yāḳūt mentions Burayda as a watering place of Banū Ḍabīna of the tribe of 'Abs, and the modern Arab geographers, al-Khāndjī and Ibn Bulayhid, accept this toponym as the source of the present city's name. Without further evidence, this identification appears still unestablished. The date of the city's founding is confirmed by no sound evidence, although local tradition and Western travellers agree roughly that the 10th/16th century is a reasonable possibility. Caskel places the founding of Burayda in 950/1543-4, without citing his source. In any event, the city is first mentioned as a political power by the chief historian of modern central Arabia, Ibn Bishr, who gives a brief note on a battle between Burayda and 'Unayza in 1107/1695-6.

The local history of Burayda is to a large extent the story of four families and their participation in the politics of central Arabia, either independently or as provincial governors. The first was Āl al-Duraybī (or perhaps al-Buraydī, v. Ibn La'būn, 22), from al-'Anāḳir of Bani Tamīm, whose ancestor, Rāshid al-Duraybī, Corancez credits with the founding of Burayda. Little is known of this family other than the fact it carried on an internecine struggle with its cousins, Āl 'Ulayyān of al-'Anāḳir. The perennial feud with 'Unayza caused Āl al-Duraybī to ask for military assistance from Āl Sa'ūd in 1182/1768-9. This step soon brought Burayda into the Sa'ūdī orbit, placed Āl 'Ulayyān in power, and made al-

Ḳaṣīm the cockpit of the long struggle between Āl Rashīd of Djabal Shammar and Āl Saʿūd.

Āl ʿUlayyān ruled Burayda from 1189/1775-6 to 1280/1863-4 as governors of Āl Saʿūd and, at times, under the Turko-Egyptian invaders from al-Ḥidjāz. Their unreliability brought about the appointment of Djalwī b. Turkī Āl Saʿūd as governor of al-Ḳaṣīm from 1265/1848-9 to 1270/1853-4 and the establishment of the family of Muhannā of Āl Abā al-Khayl of ʿAnaza as governors of Burayda from 1280/1863-4 to 1326/1908-9.

Neither Āl ʿUlayyān nor Āl Abā al-Khayl were able to place service to Āl Saʿūd above their ambitions for local supremacy. During the long war between Āl Saʿūd and Āl Rashīd they served both masters with equal duplicity.

When Āl Saʿūd finally regained al-Ḳaṣīm in 1326/1908-9, the redoubtable ʿAbd Allāh b. Djalwī Āl Saʿūd, son of the former governor, was installed in Burayda as governor of al-Ḳaṣīm in order to eliminate permanently the local intrigues in this strategic area. ʿAbd Allāh was succeeded by his cousin, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Musāʿad Āl Saʿūd, the present Governor of Ḥāʾil, and later by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Musāʿad, now Governor of the Northern Frontiers.

The anarchical years preceding the consolidation of the kingdom by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd discouraged the commerce of Burayda, and his subsequent conquests of al-Ḥasā and al-Ḥidjāz gave central Arabia unrestricted access to ports on both coasts, cutting into the entrepreneurial trade of al-Ḳaṣīm. Since 1374/1954-5 the destruction of the city's most famous landmarks, the great city walls and citadel of Āl Muhannā, and the construction of modern government buildings, schools, and hospitals have altered the formerly grim face of Burayda. Only the broad market square of al-Djarada and the winding, narrow streets of shops west of it recall the great trading centre of the past. The population remains fairly stable at an estimated 25-30,000, of whom perhaps half are residents of the hamlets of al-Khubūb.

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BURAYDA B. AL-ḤUṢAYB, a Companion of the Prophet, was chief of the tribe of Aslam b. Afṣā who, together with about eighty families who were with him, accepted Islam when the Prophet halted at their settlement of al-Ghamīm on his way from Mecca to Medina. (According to Ibn Ḥadjar, however, he accepted Islam after the battle of Badr). Burayda did not join the Prophet in Medina until after the battle of Uḥud, but then he resided there and took part in all the Prophet's campaigns. In the year 9/630 he was sent to collect taxes from Aslam and Ghifār, and then again to call on them to join the campaign to Tabūk. After the Prophet's death, Burayda continued to reside in Medina until the foundation of Baṣra, where he moved and built himself a house. Later he campaigned in Khurāsān and settled in Marw where he died in the reign of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, 60-63/680-3. Some sources (Balādhurī and Ibn al-Athīr) state that he moved to Khurāsān in the year 51/671, with al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād, as one of fifty thousand who moved from Baṣra and Kūfa together with their households on the orders of Ziyād b. Abīhi. According to Ibn Ḥadjar he died in 63/683.

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(K. V. Zettersteen-[W. ʿArafat])

AL-BURAYMĪ, an oasis in eastern Arabia, the principal town of which bears the same name and lies in Lat. 24° 14′ N, Long. 53° 46′ E. The town of Ḥamāsā lies west of al-Buraymī town and on the edge of the same grove of date palms. The only other centre in the oasis which might be considered a town, by virtue of its market, is al-ʿAyn, the south-easternmost of all the settlements. The oasis covers an area of roughly 6 km. by 9 km. and includes also the villages of Ṣaʿrā, Hilī, al-Ḳaṭṭāra, al-Ḳīmī (pronounced locally al-Dzīmī), and al-Muʿtaraḍ. Cultivation has been revived at al-Djāhilī (pronounced locally al-Yāhilī), and members of Āl Bū Falāḥ, the ruling family of Abū Ẓaby [see ABŪ ẒABĪ], have an estate at al-Muwayḳiʿi. The oasis depends on water brought by underground aqueducts (*faladj*, see AL-AFLĀDJ) from the mountains of al-Ḥadjar not far to the east and from the imposing rocky ridge of Djabal Ḥafīt, rising in isolation above the plain immediately to the south.

Al-Buraymī is near the western end of the pass of Wādī al-Djizy, which leads to Ṣuḥār on the coast of al-Bāṭina; it also lies on the principal route from Dubayy through al-Ẓāhira [*q.v.*] to Ḍank, ʿIbrī, and Nazwā, the capital of Inner Oman and long the seat of the Imām of the Ibāḍīs. The inhabitants of the oasis, numbering about 10,000, belong in the main to the tribe of Nuʿaym (the two major divisions of which are Āl Bū Khuraybān and Āl Bū Shāmis), some of whose members are nomadic or semi-nomadic, or to the tribe of al-Ẓawāhir, a settled folk not found in any number outside the oasis. Other elements in the oasis belong to Banī Ḳitab, Banī Kāʿb, Āl Bū Ḥamīr, Āl Bū Falāsā, and Āl Bū Falāḥ.

The network of aqueducts running under the settlements has resulted in an interdependence of the villages, some of which are in a position to control the vital water supplies of others. Dates, alfalfa, vegetables, and fruit—including mangoes and sweet and sour oranges—are exported from the oasis, the principal port of which is Dubayy [*q.v.*]. The town markets do a good business in livestock and are redistribution centres for the tribes and communities of the interior.

Al-Buraymī has been identified as the place early Arab geographers and lexicographers call Tuʾām (*LA* gives the variant Tuʿām, and other variants are listed in Lane), described as a centre for the purchase of pearls (whence *tuʾāmiyya* as a synonym for *luʾluʾa* and *durra*). The accuracy of this identification seems open to question, with the possibility existing of confusion with some place actually on the Persian Gulf. Authors from eastern Arabia also give al-Djaww and al-Djawf [*q.v.*] as old names for the oasis.

Very little is known of the history of the oasis before the nineteenth century. According to local historians it was occupied by the army which the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid sent overland from al-Baḥrayn in 280/893.

Between 1353/1934 and the outbreak of World War II, discussions took place between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom, acting on behalf of the Ruler of Abū Ẓaby, regarding the southern

and eastern bounderies of Saudi Arabia, but Buraymī was not then specifically at a point at issue. In 1371/1952, a Saudi Arabian official (*amīr*) arrived in the oasis and established himself in Ḥamāsa to assert Saudi sovereignty against that of Abū Ẓaby and Muscat. In 1373/1954 the United Kingdom and Saudi Arabia agreed to refer to arbitration the dispute arising out of this action and out of conflicting claims to over 70,000 sq. km. of territory to the south-west of al-Buraymī. Thanks to the arbitration, the geography, modern history, and demography of al-Buraymī have been recorded in great detail, both sides having submitted to the arbitral tribunal elaborate memorials in which these matters are treated. Saudi Arabia contended that the whole oasis is an integral part of its Kingdom. The British maintained that exclusive sovereignty in the oasis should be vested in the Ruler of Abū Ẓaby and the Sultan of Muscat. The British held that the traditional loyalty of Nuʿaym (predominant in al-Buraymī town, Ḥamāsā, and Ṣaʿrā) is to Muscat, and that of al-Ẓawāhir (predominant in most of the other settlements) is to Abū Ẓaby.

Following British charges of Saudi bribery and other misconduct, the British member of the tribunal resigned, whereby the arbitration lapsed in Muḥarram 1375/September 1955 without the tribunal having had an opportunity to pass an opinion on the charges or the merits of the case itself. In Rabīʿ I/October 1955 troops of the Trucial Oman Levies under the command of British officers occupied the oasis, which was partitioned between Abū Ẓaby and Muscat. The Sultan of Muscat appointed a *wālī* in al-Buraymī town, and the Ruler of Abū Ẓaby designated one of his brothers as his representative in the oasis. Saḳr b. Sulṭān, the paramount s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ of Nuʿaym, and other s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s with adherents went into exile in al-Dammām, the capital of the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia.

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(G. Rentz and W. E. Mulligan)

BURDA, 1. A piece of woollen cloth used since pre-Islamic times, which was worn as a cloak by day and used as a blanket by night. That of the Prophet has become famous. As a reward for Kaʿb b. Zuhayr's [*q.v.*] poem, he made him a present of the *burda* he was wearing. It was bought from the son of the poet by Muʿāwiya and was preserved in the treasury of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs until the occupation of Bag̲h̲dād by the Mongols. Hülegü caused it to be burned but it was afterwards claimed that the real *burda* of the Prophet was saved and is still preserved in Constantinople.

Bibliography: Dozy, *Dictionnaire des noms de vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam 1845, 59-64; R. Basset, *La Bânat Soʿâd*, Algiers 1910, 90-91 and the authors quoted. On the sacred relics in Istanbul, see Tahsin Öz, *Hirka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Emanet-i Mukaddese*, Istanbul 1953.

2. The name of a celebrated poem by al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*]. According to the legend he composed it when he was cured of a paralytic stroke which had seized him by the Prophet's throwing his mantle over his shoulders as he had done on a previous occasion for Kaʿb b. Zuhayr. The fame of this miraculous cure spread and the poem, which was entitled *al-kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ k̲h̲ayr al-barriyya*, came to bear the name *Burda*. Its verses are supposed to have supernatural powers. They are still employed at the present day as charms and recited at burials. No other Arabic poem has attained such renown. Over ninety commentaries have been written on it in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Berber; the *tak̲h̲mīs*, the *tat̲h̲līt̲h̲* and the *tas̲h̲ṭīr* that have been made from it are innumerable. The poem begins with the usual *nasīb*, in the style of ancient Arabic poetry; the author then proceeds to regret his youth and confess his faults. His career is contrasted with that of the Prophet, whose miracles, related according to tradition, fill the following verses. The poem concludes with a supplication to Muḥammad and several verses in his honour. There is no trace of Ṣūfism. in it Among the chief commentaries may be mentioned the first in point of date, that of Abū S̲h̲āma ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl al-Dimis̲h̲ḳī (596-665/1199-1266) copies of which are preserved in Paris (Bibl. Nat., no. 1620) and Munich (no. 547); that of Ibn Marzūḳ of Tlemcen (died 842/1499-1500) described by Dozy as "stupendus et horrendus"; that of K̲h̲ālid al-Azharī (died in 905/1499-1500) which has been several times printed, occasionally with that of Ibrāhīm al-Bād̲j̲ūrī (died 24 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1276/13 June 1860); that of Ibn As̲h̲ūr (Cairo 1296). The text was published for the first time at Leiden by Uri in 1761 under the title, *Carmen Mysticum Borda Dictum*, with a Latin translation. Since then it has often been reprinted, particularly in the East, and there is hardly a *Mad̲j̲mūʿ* of edifying texts which does not contain it. In the West, von Rosenzweig's edition may be mentioned: *Funkelnde Wandelsterne zum Lobe des Besten der Geschöpfe* (Vienna 1824), with a German translation and notes. The best edition is that of Rolfs, published after his death by Behrnauer, *Die Burda, ein Lobgedicht auf Muhammad* (Vienna 1860), with translations into Persian, Turkish and German; it does not however contain the series of apocryphal verses given by von Rosenzweig. The *Burda* has been translated into various languages; without enumerating all the translations, we may mention, in addition to those mentioned above, that of de Sacy (at the end of the *Exposition de la Foi musul-*

mane by Pīr Alī Birgevi, translated by Garcin de Tassy, Paris 1822) and that of R. Basset, with a commentary (Paris 1894); that of Redhouse, *The Burda* (in W. A. Clouston, *Arabian Poetry for English Readers*, 322-341, Glasgow 1881); G. Gabrieli's Italian translation, *al-Burdatayn* (Florence 1901), 30-85, with notes.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Les Manuscrits Arabes des Bibliothèques des Zaouias d'ʿAin Madhi et Temacin . . .*, Algiers 1886, 46-54; I. Goldziher, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Vol. xxxi, 304 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 264-266. (R. Basset)

BURDJ (pl. *burūdj*, *abrādj*, and *abridja*), square or round tower, whether adjacent to a rampart or isolated and serving as a bastion or dungeon.

Special meanings: each of the twelve signs of the zodiac, considered as solar 'mansions'; more or less fortified country house standing alone amidst gardens (Eastern Maghrib); tower used as a lighthouse (*burdj al-manār*); tower used as a dovecote, especially for carrier pigeons (*burdj al-ḥamām*; see J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamlouks*, Paris 1941, no. 157); masonry pier of a bridge; mode (in music); slice, quarter of certain fruits having natural divisions (melons, oranges); row of grains in a head of corn.

In the diminutive feminine al-Buraydja was the name given by the Moroccans to the fortress of Mazagan (see AL-DJADĪDA) during its occupation by the Portuguese.

The word certainly seems to be connected with the Greek πύργος and the Latin *burgus* (whence Germanic *burg*) and has also passed into Hebrew and Aramaic (see Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, 235). But the borrowing must be very old, for it is to be found already in Sabaean inscriptions (see De Landberg, *Glossaire Datînois*, i, 148).

(G. S. Colin)

BURDJ

I. Military architecture in the Islamic Middle East

The different forms of towers which the word *burdj* signifies in its usual sense (especially in inscriptions) have always formed the principal elements in the fortifications which were erected in Islamic territories from the years following the Conquest and which were to remain of real importance until changes gradually arose in military ideas as a result of the development of heavy and field artillery. The importance of the protective role played, in the middle ages proper, by these lofty and massive edifices in defending town and citadel ramparts, in serving as defensive strongholds (donjons), or on occasion standing as isolated defensive works (watch-towers, signal towers), should not distract attention from the fact that towers less strictly military in their functions had long existed in the same regions, the buttress-towers which have sometimes happened to be confused with simple architectural devices. To this category—disregarding the minarets of mosques, which have a separate evolution of their own—belong the first specimens of Muslim towers preserved in the Middle East in the ruins of the Umayyad residences, which have a rectangular plan and have their exterior walls appointed with semicircular salients [see ARCHITECTURE].

These castle-towers, and the towers of fortified enclosures (*ḥayr*), most frequently of modest dimensions, are disposed symmetrically so as to lend rhythm to the blind façades and to give height to the entrances, and are usually solid at the base, or else equipped at ground-floor level with strongholds to which access was not easy (entrances being blocked by partition walls or even opening into residential rooms), and are at times used as latrines; they differed greatly in effect from the defensive towers of the Roman and Byzantine camps, which were, on the other hand, conceived with chambers on all storeys and were easily accessible to the troops of the garrison who could, in the last resort, entrench themselves therein. They must rather be considered as the adaptation of those round buttress-towers which had been known in the Middle East for centuries, an adaptation that the fortress towers of Sāsānid Iran, less perfect in their arrangements than the *castra* of the *limes*, had always employed. Without being absolutely devoid of any military efficacy, since their upper platforms did allow of fire being brought on their assailants, or at least of a watch being kept on the approaches to a castle, and again without differing very much from the towers of the Umayyad forts erected at a similar period on the Byzantine frontier, they became indispensable accessories of princely buildings, secular as well as religious, whose appearance they enriched.

The essentials of this style, typical of the great Umayyad residences, were however soon to become more flexible. Indeed, the custom of strengthening walls in this way, of a particularly happy effect when it was a matter of avoiding the monotony of large surfaces in regular coursed brick, was not to disappear completely, for one finds it recurring in an ʿAbbāsid building of a function as unmartial as the great mosque of al-Mutawakkil at Sāmarrā, the perimeter wall of which is punctuated by forty-four semi-cylindrical brick towers; but especially it persists in the partially fortified residences, the tradition of which was to be continued later by *ribāṭs* and caravanserais, and of which an excellent example is provided, at the end of the 2nd/8th century, by the ʿIrāḳī palace of Ukhayḍir, with numerous half-round towers (angle towers 5.10 m., intermediate towers 3.15 m. in diameter) each with a small firing chamber on the top to which access is given by a covered gallery itself equipped with loopholes, and a device providing for downward fire throughout the length of the gallery which almost amounts to continuous machicolation, (see Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, in Bibliography).

We thus meet again classical flanking towers which in their turn had been retained in mediaeval Arab fortification, having played a part in the Byzantine defences, where their defensive equipment assured, whatever their size and shape (square, polygonal, circular), an increased protection of the sectors of the curtain walls included between their salients. Not only did the new conquerors retain this principle without improvements, most often they were content to keep up or to restore by makeshift means the remarkable circumvallation walls of the towns they had occupied, in the Syrian sites of Aleppo and Damascus as well as later in Asia Minor (Ḳayṣeri) or in Upper Mesopotamia (Āmid). There are, however, as many cases where it remains difficult, in spite of frequently copious epigraphical evidence, to establish a firm difference between previously existing work and later repairs of the Muslim era, which reflect the hazards of the much confused historical events. However, clear differences are evident between one region and another, and the provinces which had been longest under Byzantine occupation were to be also those where the tradition

of the older military architecture was to establish itself most distinctly, only rarely allowing the Saldjūḳ and Artuḳid créations to display originality in this field. Their towers, which are distinguishable only by a few details of structure and ornament, are similar to the preceding types with their superimposed vaulted casemates, with variations that are essentially related to the configuration of the terrain and to the particular problems to which the latter gives rise.

More interesting are the remains of the Fāṭimid era preserved in the Syro-Egyptian lands. Certainly there is often a straightforward accumulation of re-utilised materials, later integrated within more complex systems which render their study difficult.

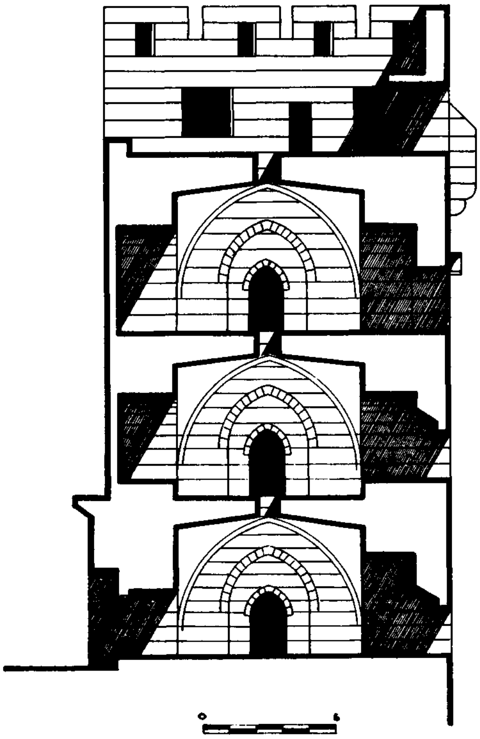

Fig. 1. Ayyūbid flanking tower at the citadel of Damascus (from J. Sauvaget)

One can, however, make out in the Roman theatre at Boṣrā, which has been transformed into a citadel, a primary phase of construction (inscriptions of 481/1089 and 542/1147-8) in which towers mounted on high terraces support a rampart with two ranks of loopholes and a *chemin de ronde*. Also entirely Muslim are the towers, in an excellent state of preservation, which are adjuncts to the gates of Cairo: Bāb al-Naṣr, Bāb al-Futūḥ, Bāb Zuwayla. These were erected by Badr al-Djamālī in 480-5/1087-92, and are connected with the new enceinte built at the same time. These works, of moderate dimensions (height 8 m. approx.), some rectangular, others round, but all solid up to two storeys of their height, combine defensive possibilities in their two upper stages (super-imposing a platform adapted for firing on a square chamber covered by a cupola and furnished with loopholes) and solidity of basements (stone evenly coursed, rows of columns laid across to guard against the collapse of the walls in case of sapping), all set off by a restrained use of ornament. Here we see a straightforward employment, without quest for the novel, of formulas which were to continue in vigorous use until the revolution introduced in the military architecture of the Middle East by the improvements of the Ayyūbid period.

At this time the experience acquired by the builders during a permanent state of war with the Frankish kingdoms of Palestine, where the Western master-engineers had introduced their own traditions, together with the sudden rise of the Ayyūbid principalities, led to the erection of imposing fortifications which reflected the recent advances in ballistic technique. In the considerable works undertaken at the beginning of the 7th/13th century by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (specially the citadels of Cairo, Boṣrā, Damascus and Mount Tabor) and al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (at the citadel of Aleppo and in the more important fortresses in north Syria) towers are seen to attain gigantic proportions; to strengthen their defensive sectors, but at the same time to make room for large airy quarters capable of housing permanently a large number of troops who would be assured of communication with the galleries of the enceinte, and with the magazines of the interior, by subterranean passages or covered stairs; and eventually to compensate, by the thickness of their walls and the quality of their construction (by then constructions in fine ashlar were normal), for the weakening which the multiplication of fortified chambers and gangways could have caused. This is shown for example by the two towers of the citadel of Damascus (dating from 606/1209-10) shown here in section. The first (Fig. 1), an asymmetrical salient of great size (rectangular plan of 27 m. by 13 m., walls 3.40 m. thick, projecting 8 m. from the curtain wall, attaining a height of about 25 m.), composed of three vaulted rooms, easily accessible and defended by five loopholes pierced in tunnel-vaulted recesses; its balcony, rising 18 m. above the level of the courtyard, is surrounded by a *chemin de ronde* equipped with loopholes (five in number, as in the lower rooms), leading to four machicolated brattices and bearing a crenellated parapet with 15 arrow-slits in the merlons, an arrangement completed by roughwallings in wood, thus showing the importance attached to the upper works in the general plan of the construction. The second tower (Fig. 2), which well deserves the name of donjon, is distinguished from the former only by its approximately square form (21 m. by 23 m.) and by the presence of a large central pillar, sufficiently massive for a small cell to have been contrived within it at its top storey. To these enormous rectangular bastions, where one occasionally notices, as in the donjon of Boṣrā (612/1215-6), the existence of reception chambers, must be added the less powerful salient towers, which could command the *chemin de ronde* without obstruction, and the isolated post-towers whose role is essentially one of surveillance.

After this the Mamlūk period, where no innovations in the means of attack and defence are at first apparent, was content to continue this splendid heyday of military architecture in Syria. The towers underwent the effects of a slow transformation which substituted small smooth blocks for the powerful courses and the rugged embossments of Ayyūbid masonry, and which delighted in showing off, by sheer virtuosity, a variety of constructional techniques, while enriching the whole with delicate relief

ornaments and equally extraneous polychromatic devices. Mention must, however, be made of a work so remarkable as the Tower of Lions (*burdj al-Sibāʿ*) at Tripoli, a coastal fortification of large dimensions (28.50 m. by 20.50 m.) and of an imposing appearance due to the equilibrium of its proportions and a sure feeling for ornament, agreeing perfectly with a complex interior composition which corresponds, in its two great upper rooms (Fig. 3), to variations imposed by the requirements of the defence (numerous firing ports, arrangements assuring the safety of the doors on the ground and other storeys) and the inclusion of living quarters (the cistern, mosque, and windows lighting the upper part). The style may be recognised as that of the end of the 9th/15th century, which saw also the erection by the sulṭān Ḳayt-bay of an impressive fortification over the entrance of the citadel of Aleppo in place of the towers of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir. About this time there appeared the embrasures for pieces of ordnance, and terrepleins to bear heavy cannon, which marked the vain attempt to adapt the tower to those very conditions of warfare which were to bring about its rapid disappearance.

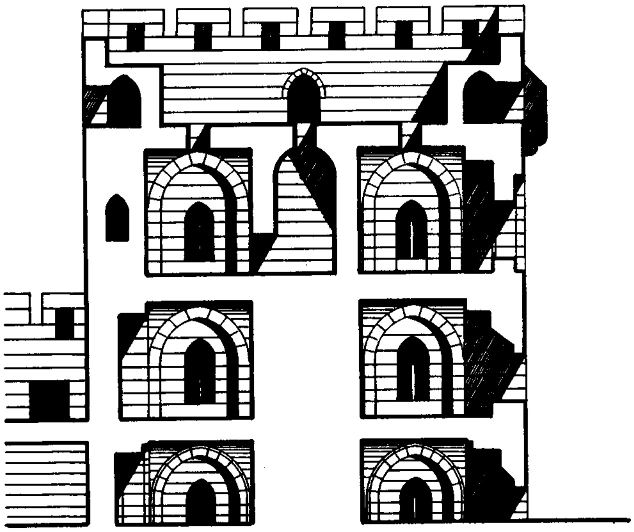

Fig. 2. Ayyūbid donjon at the citadel of Damascus (from J. Sauvaget)

Meanwhile, however, a somewhat weak synthesis, though more westernised in certain constructional details, had been conceived by Ottoman military architecture, which had been able to erect, in order to command the passage of the Bosphorus and maintain the investment of Con-

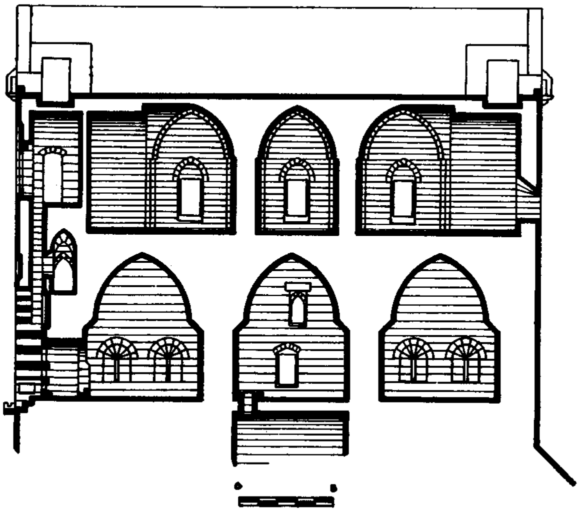

Fig. 3. Longitudinal section of a Mamlūk tower at Tripoli (from J. Sauvaget)

stantinople, the last specimens of fortresses where the utilisation of cannon was reconciled with adherence to the principles of mediaeval fortification. The towers of the two castles of Anadolu Ḥiṣārī (begun 793/1390-1) and Rumeli Ḥiṣārī (dated by its inscription of 856/1452), to which may be added those of the castle of Yedi Ḳule (erected shortly after this by Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ within the enceinte of his new capital of Istanbul), are characterised by the perfection of their system of defence (Fig. 4), realized at Rumeli Ḥiṣārī on a colossal scale (diameters

xxiii (1924), 89-167; H. Stern, *Notes sur l'architecture des châteaux omeyyades*, in *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii (194), 72-97; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, 2 vols, Cairo 1914-15, index s.v. tour; A. Abel, *La citadelle eyyubite de Bosra Eski Cham*, in *Ann. Arch. de Syrie*, vi (1956), 95-138; J. Sauvaget, *La citadelle de Damas* in *Syria* (1930), 59-90 and 216-41; idem, *Notes sur des défenses de la Marine de Tripoli*, in *Bull. du Musée de Beyrouth*, ii (1938), 1-25; A. Gabriel, *Châteaux turcs du Bosphore*, Paris 1943. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

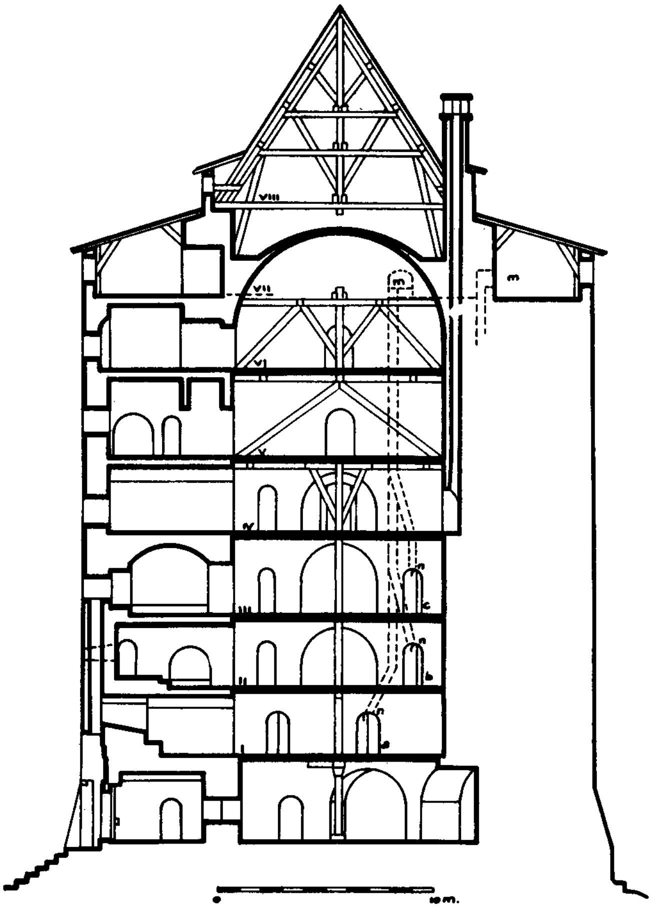

Fig. 4. Reconstructed section of an Ottoman tower of Rumeli Ḥiṣārī (from A. Gabriel)

of three donjons ranging from 23.80 m. to 26.70 m., thickness of walls varying from 5 m. to 7 m.), and by certain features (hollow cylindrical interiors divided into many storeys by joists, circular *chemin de ronde* surrounding, at the upper level, a covered drum with conical roof) which show the imitation of the flanking towers of the Genoan enceinte of Pera.

Bibliography: K. A. C. Cresswell, *Fortification in Islam before A.D. 1250*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1952, 89-125; idem, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols., Oxford 1932-40, condensed with revisions in *A short account of Early Muslim Architecture*, Penguin Books, 1958; idem, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, i, Oxford 1952, ii [1171-1326], Oxford 1959; idem, *Archaeological Researches at the citadel of Cairo*, in *BIFAO*,

II. Military architecture in the Muslim West

1. The background.—The Muslim West found, in Barbary and in Spain, a tradition of fortification going back to the Late Roman Empire, and in Tunisia to the Byzantine reoccupation by Justinian. Roman fortifications of the Late Empire were numerous. Though simple in their lines, they had no regular plan as had the Roman camps except for the rather small *castella* situated on the plains; more often than not they were adapted to the shape of the area to be protected and to the configuration of the terrain. The buildings, when not composed of re-utilised materials, were constructed of a solid core between two rubble facings, sometimes levelled to course by brick snecks. The curtain walls were

sometimes as much as ten metres high, with crenellated parapets; their thickness was considerable, averaging three metres. Towers, set at intervals a bowshot apart—say 20 m.—abut the curtain walls; generally they were semicircular, 5-6 m. in diameter, less usually square or oblong, and most usually built on the outer side of the ramparts. The angle towers were often large bastions, solid at the base, containing at least one defensive chamber, and higher by one storey than the curtain.

The gates gave access to the interior of the enceinte by a direct passage with an open section between two covered rooms, which made it possible to overwhelm any opponent who might have forced his way into the building; these were flanked by towers with several tiers of defence. The solid mass of the gateway itself gave on to the interior of the ramparts. Town gates sometimes returned to the monumental arrangements of those of the Roman empire, opening by a double or triple passage.

No fortifications are known which could have been erected in the mediterranean provinces of Spain after the reconquest by Justinian; but the Byzantine fortresses of Africa are well known to us. The plans of the plains fortresses or *castella* are very regular in form. Only the square tower is used, exterior to the curtain and projecting markedly; it is always solid at the base. The construction is of stone with no additional brickwork. When older materials are not re-utilised, coursed rubble preponderates, strengthened by freestone lacing-courses. The curtain, less thick than in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, bears a *chemin de ronde* with crenellated parapet which gives access to the towers' defensive chambers. The gate is no more than a simple passage, with straight corridor. In all this we see only the survival, and frequently the impoverishment, of the methods of the Late Empire.

2. Ifrīḳiyan fortification from the 3rd/9th to the 6th/12th century, and its continuations.—The Aghlabid fortresses.—Aghlabid fortification is known from vast complexes, the enceintes of Susa and Sfax, which go back to the 3rd/9th century in the main lines of their construction: *e.g.*, the ramparts of unprepared or roughly prepared rubble, with lacing-courses at the corners, and with freestone toothing. The curtain is flanked with oblong towers—canted with a batter in exceptional cases—one storey higher than itself. In Susa the *chemin de ronde* is in places carried on a deep arcading. Some small *ribāṭs* are very similar to Byzantine forts.

Mixed with these local traditions are some Western influences, especially in the Susa *ribāṭ* and the primitive *ribāṭ* at Monastir. Their rectangular enclosures are flanked, at the corners and at the middle of each side, by bastions which are nearly all semicircular. Within there are some buildings against the four walls, leaving the large courtyard free. The influence of the Umayyad castles of Syria, themselves derived from the Roman *castella*, is noticeable here. The pyramidal form of some towers, imitated from the lower stages of minarets of the same period, reveals Egyptian influence.

Rammed earth (*pisé*) would have been used in some rapidly erected fortifications. In the ramparts of al-Ḳayrawān and in the government towns of al-ʿAbbāsiyya and al-Raḳḳāda it is probable that bricks of mud or baked earth replaced stone. The old traditions of the desert countries paved the way for other eastern influences coming from Mesopotamia and Persia.

All this Aghlabid fortification is a happy and lively synthesis of a still dominant local tradition and of importations from the East.

Fortification under the Fāṭimid and the Ṣanhādja dynasties.—Various ramparts in Ashīr and the *Ḳalʿa* of the Banū Ḥammād, built of rubble, continue, care in with less construction, the fortification technique of the preceding age. In mountainous country flanking towers are rarer. The palace of Zīrī at Ashīr is contained within a rectangular enceinte flanked at regular intervals by oblong towers, with an interior courtyard. Some innovations, however, were brought in at the creations of the Fāṭimids themselves. The outer wall of al-Mahdiyya is built of rubble, flanked with powerful towers, at least one of which is decorated with high niches, which were later to decorate the walls of the *manār* at the *Ḳalʿa* of the Banū Ḥammād, for the new plastic art applied to walls with great success in civil architecture was often transferred to fortresses. The only town gate which has been preserved is surmounted by a powerful high structure; its exterior face is framed by two battered towers, and the archway of the gate gives on to a long vaulted corridor braced with tie-beams, formerly cut off by iron-barbed folding-doors. Gateways in the Roman and Byzantine tradition were never as powerful as this.

It seems that there was in Fāṭimid construction the germ of a new military architecture; but, except in their new towns situated at some distance from the old centres of civilization, the Ṣanhādja dynasties rarely built great fortified works, and the Hilālī invasion was to stop the architectural development of Ifrīḳiya for a long period.

Thus under the Fāṭimid and Ṣanhādja dynasties, the new eastern influences, which seem to have been more noticeable in the Caliphs' own regions, were not able to supplant. the local traditions and the formulas derived from the Aghlabids.

3. The fortification of Muslim Spain and its expansion in Africa.

i) *The 3rd/9th century.*—Muslim fortification in Spain is understood here as not beginning until the middle of the 3rd/9th century, with the Conventual of Merida, built by the *Amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. This castle, which guards the approach to the bridge over the Guadiana, forms an almost regular oblong. The curtain-walls are flanked with oblong towers which do not project far beyond them and are very closely spaced. Without doubt the architect was inspired by the counterfort towers which punctuate the walls of the great mosque of Cordova. At the entrance one finds the arch of horseshoe shape (the intradosial curve being greater than a semi-circle) which is as dear to Umayyad as to Visigothic art. Pilasters support the springing of the entrance arch and protect the hinges of the door-leaves. The construction is in freestone, which is employed by preference in Visigothic architecture and to which the initial phase of Umayyad art remains faithful. Here, however, it is a question of the reutilisation of stone from previous work, and the arrangement of it as headers and stretchers, dear to the Cordovan architects, is never regular.

ii) *The 4th/10th century.*—Under the Cordova caliphate, military architecture was rapidly developing, as indeed was all monumental art. There are many variations in the plans employed: in mountainous country the enceintes are adapted to the irregularities of the terrain, whereas in the plains they tend to a geometric regularity which is fully realised in works of the more modest dimensions.

The towers, oblong or very rarely polygonal, project more noticeably than those at Merida and are more widely spaced out. The enceinte is never doubled and has no keep, and no buildings are erected in the interior.

The gateway gives on to a straight passage of little depth. In the larger enceintes it opens between two towers, and in the smaller castles is protected by a bastion. The curtain is of varying height, from 7 to 10 metres, and bears a *chemin de ronde* with its exterior parapet capped, as on the towers themselves, with pyramidal merlons. This form of merlon, different from those which were employed in the Middle East and Ifrīḳiya, seems to be derived from the crenellated *chemin de ronde* of the Byzantine Empire, the capping of which was pyramidal in form.

The stone header and stretcher courses, regularly arranged, which are at their best in the great monuments of this dynasty, are employed in the finest fortresses. But usually a more economical material is preferred, a concrete of gravelly soil and lime, consolidated in formwork; this had very ancient Iberian origins and doubtless never ceased to be employed in the construction of provincial and popular buildings. In certain fortifications in mountainous sites rubble appears. Frequently also dressed stones, in varying proportions, are used together with the concrete cast in forms.

All the Umayyad fortresses succeed, in their simplicity, by the precision of their proportions—often very different from one fortress to another—and by the happy balance of their masses. The very spirit which is exhibited in military architecture is that which inspired the whole art of the caliphate, a twofold solicitude for originality without exclusiveness and for faultless harmony.

iii) *The 5th/11th to 7th/13th centuries in Spain.*—The 5th/11th century, under the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, sees the emergence of the palace-fortresses which, in a complex of moderate dimensions, array a whole range of rooms against the ramparts. This type of isolated palace perhaps existed also in the preceding period. When one sees a *Mudejar* castle, like that of Santa Maria del Puerto, following the lines of the Sūsa *ribāṭ* (itself inspired by the Syrian Umayyad forts), one is tempted to believe that the fortress in question has had a Muslim ancestry within Spain itself, doubtless deriving from the founder of the dynasty who had tried to re-create in Andalusia something of his lost motherland. The castle of al-Ruṣāfa, which preserves the name of a palace of his ancestors, did manage to recapture the plan of the great rural residences of the Caliphs of Damascus.

Outside the *Castillejo* of Murcia stands a fortress of regular oblong plan with towers closely spaced; but living quarters fill the entire space between the ramparts and the patio, the voids of the towers are used to break up the largest rooms medially, and the courtyard is replaced by a garden of sunken parterres with crossing paths.

On the other hand, the enclosures of towns or of large fortresses no longer tend to a geometrical regularity as in the days of the caliphate; the trace of the curtain walls is adapted to the lie of the land. Sometimes they are still flanked by narrow, closely-spaced towers, but more frequently the bastions are of greater size, and, while defending a more or less regular interval, they strengthen the irregularities in the trace or the weaker part of the ramparts. Occasionally there is a double enclosure with inner and outer wall, and the more vulnerable points may be strengthened by barbicans. The *ḳaṣaba*, forming an acropolis above the town and containing the royal residence, has always its own single or double enceinte.

The bastion with superposed vaulted rooms makes its appearance at this time. These powerful works are arranged round the enceinte itself, and not as donjons or keeps. Muslim Andalusia brings in a new form at the same period, the *albarrana* tower, which projects in front of the curtain to which it is connected by a wall, through which usually runs an arcade. The vaulted bastions and the *albarrana*, which give excellent flanking protection, may be combined.

The gate, which opens sometimes between two towers, sometimes under the wing of a sharply projecting bastion, has always an angled passage; at the entrance and exit are two arches with springing on pilasters, which enclose the housing of the door-leaves. The portcullis is not found.

Freestone becomes increasingly rare, except in the gateways, and is sometimes combined in lacing courses with ashlar or concrete. This latter material almost always preponderates.

Thus, perhaps as a matter of necessity—for Christian pressure had become more and more formidable and had extended its conquests—the fortification of Muslim Spain made great progress in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries.

iv) *The 5th/11th to 7th/13th centuries in Africa.*—The same type of Spanish fortification tended to spread, from the beginning of the 6th/12th century, in the African empire of the Almoravids and the Almohads, the rulers of Muslim Spain. The first Almoravid fortresses are of rubble, and still remain within the Maghribī traditions in their coursework and in other details; but in fortification, as in mosques and palaces, Andalusian influences quickly asserted their superior sway. This is the great period of concrete enceintes with strongly projecting oblong towers, arranged at more or less regular intervals. In Africa the lines of this fortification tended to be simplified, as large vaulted bastions and *albarrana* towers do not appear. However, some innovations occur in the fortified gateway, where the opening is always framed by two towers, usually strongly projecting, and the gate itself constitutes a massive bastion which extends to the rear of the curtain and contains a passage with two or three bends, with an undefended gallery. The arch of the gateway, its jambs, and their framing, show a rich decorative treatment of carved stone. The great Almohad gateways of Rabat and Marrakesh are among the finest—certainly the richest—of fortified gateways of Islam.

4. Fortification in the Muslim West from the 8th/14th to the end of the 9th/15th century.—In spite of the fundamental unity of the architectural styles then current in Muslim Spain and the Maghrib, the evolution of fortification was different in the Peninsula and in Africa. Spanish Islam was then confined to the small kingdom of Granada, a vassal of Castile but often in revolt against its suzerain, which depended on the shelter of a fortified frontier. A good number of the castles of this frontier imitated some of the Christian fortresses which confronted them. Built of stone, with a double enceinte and a donjon, they appeared as strangers, almost, in the Muslim fortification of the West. But soon Christian influences, far from revitalising the traditions of Muslim Andalusia, became degraded into bastard types. They are not found in the capital itself, nor in the works of rather later date.

We have here the forms created in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries reproduced without much modification. The gateways with their sinuous passages are powerful works. At the Alhambra in the 8th/14th century, and at the castle of Gibralfaro at Malaga, large bastions, widely spaced, replace the smaller and closer towers of the common enceintes. Where the introduction of cannon gave no time for modifying the fortification, rudimentary cannon platforms were installed at the feet of the earlier works.

In North Africa, in the kingdoms of Fez and Tlemcen, Almohad traditions were maintained almost unchanged. Curtains and towers were made of concrete. The gateways, always imposing and with sinuous passages, were rather more often constructed of brick than stone. Ifrīḳiya, while admitting some Almohad influence, remained faithful to stone and to her traditional forms of detail.

Thus, in this long period, fortresses, as well as palaces and sanctuaries, scarcely went beyond a mere repetition of the forms of the past.

5. Fortification in modern times in the Muslim West.—The development of artillery brought about a profound transformation of ideas of fortification in all European countries; but North Africa created no new forms, being content to imitate more or less faithfully the models which Europe provided. Again, she admitted these importations only when it was necessary to defend herself against a European nation, as in the coastal regions. Everywhere else, however, the older mediaeval fortification continued to prevoid; the governments which divided Barbary had only to keep order among, or to bring to subservience, tribes who were without cannon.

In Morocco, the fine fortifications which the Portuguese erected in the 10th/16th century at different parts of the coast were imitated only accidentally at the Saʿdid *ḳaṣaba* of Agadir. All other coastal forts were the work of Europeans, often renegades, in the service of the sultans. In the 18th century the fine complex at Mogador, planned by a Frenchman, was the work of an English renegade and Italian architects. These European-inspired types of fortification were imitated in the 19th century by local master-builders.

In Algeria and Tunisia the Ottomans introduced a modernised type of fortification more or less inspired by European models, and fairly close to the works which were being erected here and there on the Moroccan coast. The gun bastions and the enceintes, often defended by ditch and counterscarp, were still high; low-built fortifications in the Vauban style were unknown in North Africa.

Thus the Muslim West, in its fortresses as in all its military organisation, showed its archaism. The few borrowings it made from Europe were overlaid on mediaeval traditions, but did not modify them.

6. The fortified Berber works.—North Africa, Morocco in particular, had fortified buildings also in several mountainous regions and in the oases bordering the Sahara. Some stone villages and trading stations, of a plan almost always irregular, had no enceinte as such except the constructions whose joint exterior wall formed the rampart; but almost everywhere this old architecture made way for buildings in pisé and mud-brick brought from the oases. Some villages, especially in the hills, are irregular in form and are made of an assembly of houses presenting a continuous front. But the architecture of the oases has its own very characteristic design and decoration. On the plains the fortified villages (*ḳuṣūr*) are of very regular plan; they are surrounded by an enceinte pierced with gates which are often of great size and protected by the means of angle bastions. The influence of Hispano-Moorish fortification is here very apparent.

The isolated residential castle, the Moroccan *tighremt*, has a more distant origin. It has the form of a *castellum* with four angle-towers, less commonly with two. If the plans are in the Roman tradition, the plastic art is of a more ancient stock: the pyramidal towers, often with an entasis, derive without doubt from Pharaonic Egypt. The minarets of the early centuries of Islam in Barbary were also often truncated pyramidal towers. In the gates and on the wall cappings of some *ḳuṣūr* one finds in many cases in the Moroccan oases a rich ornament in mud-brick, derived from Hispano-Moorish geometrical elements. The older Berber buildings have taken in, at different times, forms of the Muslim middle ages which had been adopted by official works of fortification in the country.

Hence Barbary, Morocco in particular, is an astounding museum of fortifications inspired by very ancient traditions.

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III. The tower in Islamic architecture in India

1. General. — The word *burdj* in Urdū, whence it has spread into other languages of India, means always 'tower' or 'bastion', including those towers on the walls of fortified palaces whose function is decorative and residential rather than functional in any military sense, those bastions which, taking the form of a protuberance in the trace, may in fact include several tower-like buttresses, and also those massive bastions within the enceinte, built after the introduction of cannon, as mountings for heavy pieces of ordnance.

The following accounts relate to the use of towers only; the history of Islamic fortification in India is treated in a separate article (see ḤIṢĀR). Minarets (Urdū *mīnār*) have a different development and are not considered here.

2. The Dihlī Sultanate from the 6th/12th to the 10th/16th century. — The earliest Muslim invaders had found a land already well provided with fortified works, of which Hindū India had a long tradition which remained active later wherever Islam had not spread; their earliest static military enterprise was the occupation and modification of existing works. In Dihlī, for example, it was the old fort of Pṛthvīrādj Čawhān, Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā, which was garrisoned first by Muslim troops, and within the citadel of which (Lālkot) the earliest Indian mosque, named Ḳuwwat al-Islām, was erected in 587/1191 by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak. The curtain here is flanked by closely spaced towers, defended by a broad ditch, with gates set in the re-entrant angles of powerful bastions formed

by a bulge in the trace with several small counterfort towers. Most of the standing fortification is probably of the period of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, c. 704/1304 (Beglar, *ASI Report* IV, 1874), probably following the trace of the Hindū work; the towers are for the most part counterforts of shallow projection. The walls of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's newer capital Ṣīrī were built at about the same time to the north-east of the old capital (Campbell, *Notes on the history and topography of the ancient cities of Delhi*, in *JASB*, xxxv, I [1866] argues that Sīrī was the name given to the 'Kutb citadel', *i.e.*, Lālkoṭ, and that the site now generally accepted as Sīrī was built by Bahlōl Lōdī in the 10th/16th century; this is convincingly refuted by Cunningham, *ASI Report* I, 1871); some stretches of walling remain, with semicircular battered bastions spaced about a bow-shot apart, capped like the walls with merlons, and with a continuous

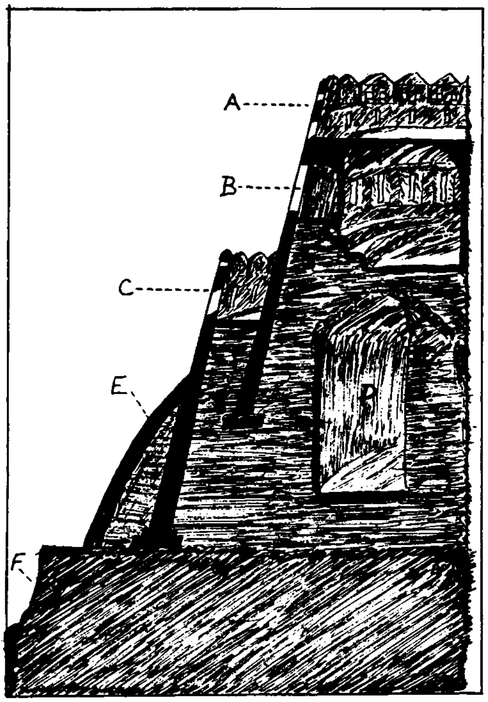

Fig. — Section of angle bastion at Tughluḳābād

A — Battlements; B — Mural gallery; C — Exterior gallery (access from mural gallery in curtain); D — Inner vaulted corridor; E — Bolster plinth; F — Rock scarp.

chemin de ronde supported on an arched gallery. The principles employed are similar in the new capital, Tughluḳābād, built in 720-3/1321-3 by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ, and its appendage ʿĀdilābād built by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ in c. 725/1325: the walls of both, of rubble core faced with rough quartzite ashlar, are punctuated with strongly projecting semicircular bastions, and these and the walls, both of which are strongly battered, have three tiers of defence consisting of external gallery, main mural gallery, and battlements, the latter with two ranks of loopholes. The rock outcrop below the wall trace is scarped, over which is a bolster plinth faced with masonry to the base of the wall proper, forming both a continuous buttress and a protection against sapping (see Fig.). The bastions are most closely spaced around the citadel. Gates open between two bastions, and are often defended by barbicans. ʿĀdilābād is defended further by a bailey and outer wall. Within many of the towers are the remains of grain silos. The tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn forms a strong fortified outwork to the south of Tughluḳābād, with similar bastions except for the absence of an outer gallery.

Besides ʿĀdilābād, Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ formed yet another 'city of Dihlī' with the building of Djahānpanāh (725/1325), the walls of which enclosed the ground between Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā and Sīrī; these have semicircular counterfort bastions similar to those of ʿĀdilābād, though without the external gallery, and are at one point interrupted by a dam and sluice, called Sāt Palāh, obviously to retain water within the walls for the use of the defenders.

This reign saw the Dihlī diaspora and the transfer of the capital to Devagiri, renamed Dawlatābād [*q.v.*]. The three lines of defences between the pass and the acropolis consist of walls with regularly spaced battering round bastions, projecting less than in the contemporary northern work, and without exterior galleries. Bastions round the gates are larger and of greater projection, some being of the form of a half ellipse; a succession of rounded bastions forms a hornwork with two courts where the city is entered over the lower moat. The many modifications made during the Bahmanī period are referred to below.

Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ was responsible for building yet another 'Dihlī', his new capital of Fīrūzābād (755-71/1354-70), which was later sacked by Tīmūr and of which no traces remain beyond his citadel or *koṭlā*, much ruined. Walls and towers here have a strong batter; the towers are semicircular, and it is probable that they were crowned with open kiosks (*čhatrīs*). Traces of low barbicans outside the gates have angle towers of smaller dimensions, presumably for the use of sentries. The contemporary complex housing the Ḳadam-i Sharīf, which, protected by its sanctity, escaped the Tīmūrid sack, is protected by a strong bastioned curtain which shows the principles of Fīrūz's fortification better than the ruined *koṭlā*: walls and towers have lost the bolster plinth, and defence against sapping is effected by small box-machicolations. Many buildings of this period, especially tombs and *dargāhs*, are contained within fortified enclosures. At this time the *burdj* is developed as an ornamental feature: mosque enclosures and *ʿidgāh* walls regularly show angle and end bastions, capped by circular or square *čhatrīs* or by low domes, always with the typical Fīrūzid batter, which is imitated in those purely decorative buttresses, where the slope is carried up into a *guldasta* finial, which flank the gates of Fīrūzid mosques in Dihlī (Begampurī, Khiṛkī, Sandjar, Kalān *masdjids*: see DIHLĪ, MONUMENTS), of which echoes occur in the Lōdī buildings at Dihlī, and in Djawnpur [*q.v.*] and elsewhere. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ is known to have restored many of the buildings of his predecessors, and, though he speaks of having restored the towers of the tomb built by Iletmish—*i.e.*, the tomb of Abu 'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd Nāṣir al-Dīn at Malikpur—it is probable, from the style, that the corner towers are, at least in their upper stages, Fīrūz's work.

It seems that the later Tug͟hluḳs and the 'Sayyids' created no new fortified works, except that it is recorded that Mubārak S͟hāh in 824/1421 replaced the walls of Lāhawr, destroyed by Tīmūr, by a mud fort. His own tomb (836/1433), however, lies in the fortified complex of the small town of Mubārakābād, yet another 'city of Dihlī', where the towers are small but otherwise differ little from preceding patterns. Sikandar Lōdī is said to have built a fort at Āgrā in 908/1502; but there had already been a fortress here, and the present fort is the work of Akbar, and it is thus difficult to assess how much of the trace is due to Sikandar.

3. The Deccan forts from the 8th/14th to the 11th/17th centuries. — Here again there were many fortified Hindū works which the Muslims found and later occupied, and to some extent modified even in their earlier years. Their first original production seems to have been at Gulbargā [*q.v.*], where the thick (16 m.) walls are doubled, with towers on the inner curtain. All towers are very solidly built, of semicircular form; many have barbettes added later for the use of artillery, and this modification is to be attributed to the ʿĀdil S͟hāhīs of Bīd͟jāpur, since an inscription on the Kālā pahāṙ Burd͟j claims that in 1066/1655 'Muḥammad ... rebuilt every *burd͟j*, wall and gate' (Haig, *EIM*, 1907-8). Within the enceinte, on high ground, stands a large isolated masonry bastion, the mounting for a large piece of ordnance. In Bīdar [*q.v.*], already a Bahmanī outpost, whither the capital was transferred by Aḥmad S͟hāh al-Walī, there had been a double line of Kākatīya fortifications in 722/1322 (Ḍiyā al-Dīn Barnī, *Ta'rīk͟h-i Fīrūz S͟hāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 449) when it first fell into Muslim hands; in the rebuilding of 832-5/1429-32 Persian and Turkish engineers are known to have been employed, as in a further rebuilding in the time of Muḥammad S͟hāh III (867-87/1463-82) by his *wazīr* Maḥmūd Gāwān, after the introduction of gunpowder in the Deccan. The older round bastion is largely superseded by the polygonal variety, although some round and square towers remain; large trapstone blocks with fine joints in the older work give way to smaller rubble set in deeper beds of mortar in the repairs and restorations. The towers are solid at the base, defended by chambers at the same level as the curtain battlements and by their own battlements one stage higher; like the curtain, they are further defended by heavy box machicolations. At the angles of the irregular trace, and also standing free within the enceinte, are large and massive bastions, some of imported trapstone and others of the local red laterite, built as mountings for heavy pieces of ordnance; these may be, as in the Kalyānī Burd͟j, defended by two or more successive machicolated curtains, and may provide room for the accommodation of a large number of troops. The walls of Bīdar town are of the Barīd S͟hāhī period (built 962-5/1555-8); the 37 bastions include the massive Muṅḍā Burd͟j of two defended stages, approached by steps built on the back wall of the bastion itself, which mounted a long-range gun. The disposition of the bastions is here, as in the case of the fort curtain, variable: they are closest at those points in the curtain most vulnerable to attack. The Čawbārā in Bīdar town, presumed to be part of Aḥmad S͟hāh's defences, is a tall conical watch-tower, 23 m. high, commanding a view of the entire plateau and lowlands, with a massive circular plinth with guard-rooms and an internal stairway. There was much activity in the construction of military works in the Deccan in the heyday of the Bahmanī dynasty [*q.v.*]: Dawlatābād, Bīd͟jāpur, Gāwilgaṙh, Eličpur, Narnālā, Parenda, Naldrug, Panhālā, Warangal, Golkoṅḍā, Mudgal, Rāyčur, etc. At Dawlatābād the old defences were strengthened and heightened, in smaller stone or brick, and one striking example of this is the building up of a bastion in the second court of the entrance hornwork by filling in the old embrasures, which were the same height as those of the curtain, adding a high upper storey while maintaining the batter of the walls, and building a projecting arcaded oriel supported on corbels of re-utilized Hindū work as a further watch chamber. There are thus two upper defensive chambers, pierced with embrasures for small cannon, over the solid base. At Parendā—like most Deccan forts, attributed by local tradition to Maḥmūd Gāwān but in fact probably earlier—the towers on the fausse-braye and curtain are defended by heavy bartizans. At Ḳandahār (Yazdani, *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report*, 1331-3 F./1921-4 A.D., 3) are circular bastions on the fausse-braye but rectangular bastions on the curtain, with inscriptions of 998/1588 giving Turkish names as the responsible engineers. At Kalyānī polygonal and round towers on the curtain have the merlons replaced by box machicolations on corbels, while a conspicuous bastion within the barbican has a mural chamber defended by bartizans, with a barbette on the battlements, which have two tiers of loopholes. The old Kākatīya fort of *Golkoṅḍā* [*q.v.*] ceded to the Bahmanīs in 766/1364, has three successive curtain walls which show a variety of towers: square, cylindrical, conical, polygonal—the mantlet before the citadel gate has a *burd͟j* in the form of a half-tetradecagon—and scalene, and, on a later enclosure, a 'ninelobed' bastion of strong projection, each of whose 'lobes' is a quarter-circle on the exterior face. This last feature is found also at Naldrug. At Bīd͟jāpur [*q.v.*] the city walls, of the time of ʿAlī ʿĀdil S͟hāh I (completed 973/1565), which are of uneven quality since each noble was responsible for one section, have some 96 bastions, mostly semicircular, with embrasures protected by stone hoods. Many are later modified to take heavy guns (inscriptions of Muḥammad and ʿAlī II), one, the Farangī or Tābūt Burd͟j built to accommodate several large *d͟jind͟jāls*. On high ground, well within the walls, is the Ūprī or Ḥaydar Burd͟j, a massive cavalier oval in plan and some 24 m. high, built (insc. 992/1583) to mount a large (over 9 m. long, 15 cm. bore) piece of ordnance. The S͟herza Burd͟j, one of the largest, is built out from the curtain, to which it is connected by a broad passage forming a 'head and neck'.

Later fortifications in the Deccan, constructed or rebuilt during the Marāthā supremacy, generally follow the patterns of the Muslim period.

4. North India from the 10th/16th to the 12th/18th century. — Bābur's conquest in 932/1526 brought no new style of building in its early days, although his interest in the Hindū fortress of Gwāliyar communicated itself to his successors who developed the palace-fort *par excellence*. His son Humāyūn began yet another city of Dihlī, called Dīnpanāh, but this was razed by the Afghan usurper S͟hēr S͟hāh, who commenced building his own capital of which now little but the citadel remains, constructed on a site identified with the ancient Indraprastha and known as the Old Fort (Purānā Ḳilʿa, Ḳilʿa-i kuhnā). The walls and widely spaced bastions of the trapezoidal trace are of roughly

coursed rubble, while the gates, each flanked by two strongly projecting bastions, are of fine polychrome ashlar. The towers are semicircular, solid to a height of 5 m., with several tiers of superposed rooms and galleries, with small box machicolations; one gate has an internal machicoulis, a rare feature in India. Humāyūn's re-occupation of the Purānā Ḳilʿa added nothing, and Mughal building of forts starts with Akbar. Sikandar Lodī's fort at Āgrā had fallen into ruin, and was razed and rebuilding started in 972/1564. There are semicircular bastions on the inner and outer curtains, the same height as the walls; the inner ring is much higher than the outer, reaching 30 m. Outer and inner bastions are concentric, and both have crenellated battlements defended by two or more ranks of loopholes, some protected by stone hoods for downward firing. The inner Dihlī gate on the west is defended by two magnificent half-octagonal bastions, with a blind arcade at ground-floor level finely decorated with marble and polychrome ashlar, a wide arch in each face on the first floor with an exterior balcony, and a defended chamber above with two ranks of loopholes. The battlements above have some merlons equipped with stone hoods, and others are pierced. Each of these towers is topped by a *čhatrī*. The work throughout the walling is in red sandstone ashlar over a rubble core. Akbar's new city (979-1571) of Fatehpur (Fatḥ-pur) Sikrī is undistinguished in its fortification: the outer single curtain is incomplete, and its half-round bastions are simply bulges in the trace. The citadel was enclosed rather than fortified, though boasts one large bastion, the Sangin Burdj, semi-octagonal with an internal hall, for a guard which was probably ceremonial rather than defensive. The new city was soon abandoned, and Akbar moved back to Āgrā, which was later occupied by his son Djahāngīr. From his time presumably dates the Muthamman Burdj (later called Saman ['jasmine'] Burdj), a half-octagon projecting on the river side of the fort surmounting a semicircular buttress; it is of two storeys with open arcades on each face, with fine *pietra dura* decoration. Some of this work is probably of the time of Shāhdjahān, whose principal buildings were, however, at Dihlī [*q.v.*] and Lāhawr (Lahore) [*q.v.*]. The New Fort at Dihlī (Lal Ḳilʿa) was commenced in 1048/1638 and completed within ten years. The nearly rectangular trace has semicircular bastions at regular intervals, defended by one tier of loopholes at about half their height and by two rows in the battlements; the merlons are decorated by cusping. Each tower is surmounted by a *čhatrī*. Similar towers on the barbicans are of the time of Awrangzīb. The north and south bastions on the river front are larger, two storeys in height above the level of the courtyard, crowned by *čhatrīs* Shāh Burdj, Asad Burdj); between them is a larger half-octagon, the Muthamman Burdj, originally known also as Burdj-i Ṭilā on account of a gilded copper dome; the five sides which overlook the river are filled with marble screens. Lāwhr fort, built by Akbar at about the same time as Āgrā fort (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Blochmann's trans., i, 538) has a similar Shāh Burdj, also called Muthamman Burdj insc. showing completion 1041/1631-2, of great size (45 m. diameter). Manucci in his *Storia do Mogor* says of these works: 'At each place [Dihlī, Āgrā, Lāhawr] there is a great bastion named the Xaaburg [Shāh Burdj] . . . they are domed and have architectural adornments of curious enamel work, with many precious stones. Here the King holds many audiences for selected persons, and from it [sic] he views the elephant fights. . . .' (Irvine's trans., ii, 463). Certainly also the Muthamman Burdj in Dihlī was used for the emperor's daily *darshan* (ceremonial showing himself to the people).

These Mughal *burdjs* had no pretence of being fortified works, and thus what started as a grim military work was transformed into a vehicle for Mughal art. The walls of Shāhdjahān's Dihlī were bastioned, certainly; but these were so rebuilt in the British period that it is not possible to recapture the Mughal arrangements.

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(J. BURTON-PAGE)

BURDJ [see NUDJŪM].

BURDJIYYA. The Burdjiyya regiment was second in importance only to the Baḥriyya [*q.v.*] regiment throughout the history of the Mamlūk sultanate. It was created by Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Ḳalāʾūn, who selected for this purpose 3,700 of his own Mamlūks and quartered them in towers (*abrādj*, sing. *burdj*) of the Cairo citadel. Hence its name. The sources mention the creation of this unit only when they sum up Ḳalāʾūn's career at the end of his rule, without specifying any date. It was composed of Mamlūks belonging to Caucasian peoples (*al-Djarkas wa 'l-Āṣ* = Circassians and Abkhāzīs). Al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 214, ll. 22-26) mentions Armenians (*Arman*) instead of the *Āṣ*. The Khiṭāʾiyya and Ḳipčāḳīs mentioned by him in the same passage as performing duties pertaining to the *Khāṣṣakiyya* [*q.v.*] do not seem to have belonged to the Burdjiyya.

During the reign of Sulṭān Ḳalāʾūn (678-89/1279-90) and that of his son al-Ashraf Khalīl (689-93/1290-93), the participation of the Burdjiyya in the affairs of the state was not very conspicuous. Immediately after Khalīl's murder, however, they are mentioned as the main body supporting *amīr* Sandjar al-Shudjāʿī, while the main supporters of his rival, *amīr* Kitbughā, were the Wāfidiyya [*q.v.*] Tatars and the Shahrazūrī Kurds. Kitbughā defeated Sandjar, ascended the throne after having deposed the boy-king al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn (694/1294) and retaliated against the Burdjiyya by expelling part of them from the citadel and quartering them in different parts of the

capital: Maydān al-Lūḳ, al-Kabsh and Dār al-Wizāra.

This was the first blow inflicted upon the regiment. Kitbughā, however, was soon deposed and replaced by Lādjīn (696/1296) and the Burdjiyya recovered their former position. They became extremely powerful after having murdered Sulṭān Lādjīn (698/1298) under the leadership of their commander Kurdjī Muḳaddam al-Burdjiyya. During the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn (698-708/1298-1308) the leaders of the regiment gradually became *de facto* rulers of the Mamlūk sultanate. In the struggle between the *amirs* Baybars al-Djashnakīr and Sallār over the Mamlūk throne, the Burdjiyya naturally were on the side of the first, who was one of their number, whereas the second was supported by the Ṣāliḥiyya (the remnants of the Baḥriyya regiment created by al-Ṣalih Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb) and by the Ẓāhiriyya (the Mamlūks of al-Ẓāhir Baybars). Baybars defeated Sallār without difficulty and succeeded al-Nāṣir Muḥammad as sultan (708/1308).

Under al-Muẓaffar Baybars, the Burdjiyya reached the peak of their power, but their success was short-lived, for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad soon ascended the throne for the third time (709-741/1309-1340) and dislodged the Burdjiyya from their powerful position. As al-Nāṣir subsequently ruled for more than thirty years without interruption, the Burdjiyya gradually degenerated, and after his reign they are hardly mentioned by the sources. Orientalists usually call the first and second periods of Mamlūk rule "the Baḥrī and Burdjī periods". This terminology is hardly ever used by the Mamlūk sources, which call the early part of that rule, as well as the whole Mamlūk rule, *Dawlat al-Turk*, and its latter part *Dawlat al-Djarkas*.

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BURDUR, a town in S.W. Asia Minor, distant about 4 km. from the south-eastern shore of the lake which bears the same name, *i.e.*, the Burdur Gölü. The view that the old Limobrama (interpreted as ? Limnobria: "the lake town") was situated at or near the modern Burdur is of doubtful value (cf. Ramsay; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Limobrama; and Honigmann). The present name of the town, Burdur ("Buldur" in the speech of the local Turkish inhabitants and in the accounts of various travellers who have visited this region; also "Purdur' (Πουρδούρ) amongst the Orthodox Christians who lived here formerly), points towards an identification with the Polydorion (Πολυδώριον) of mediaeval times. As to the lake of Burdur, it is the old 'Ασκανία λίμνη in Pisidia. Burdur, in the course of the long conflict between the Byzantines and the Turks in Asia Minor during the 11th-12th centuries, passed into the hands of the Saldjūḳ sultans of Rūm. The town came thereafter under the rule of the Begs of Ḥamīd early in the 14th century and, still later, of the Ottoman sultans in the 15th century. The population of Burdur included in former times a considerable number of Orthodox Christians, who spoke Turkish as their language (Cuinet noted that the town contained 4,000 Greeks and also approximately 1,000 Armenians). Burdur, under Ottoman rule, was at first a *ḳaḍā'* of the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥamīd in the *eyālet* of Anadolu and, subsequently, a *sandjaḳ* in the *wilāyet* of Ḳōnya. It is now the administrative centre of the present Turkish province of Burdur. The town had, in 1955, a population of almost 20,000 inhabitants.

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BURGAS (burgaz, near Zossopolis, ancient Appolonia) 42° 30′ N., 27° 28′ E., after Varna Bulgaria's major port and fifth largest town. Burgas is the centre of a district, a resort with a recently modernised harbour, textile, fishing and salt industrics situated on Burgas gulf with a population of 43,684 in 1376/1956 (district 72,795). The name derives from Greek *Pyrgos*. Murād I took Burgas district circa 778-9/1367-8 (B. de la Brocquière, 168-70 cited in Jorga, *GOR*, i, 207; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, i, 61, 69; I. H. Danişmend, ... *Kronoloji*, i, 47-8). Burgas played a minor role in Ottoman history, serving as a

naval base for Balkan campaigns and as a shipbuilding centre notably after the battle of Lepanto, 979/1571 (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 230, iii¹, 21). An Ottoman reform commission studying modern fortifications visited its castle in 1198/1784 (*ibid.*, iv¹, 483) and it was a Russian staging point in their advance on Edirne in 1245/1829. The exiled Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz resided there briefly in 1272/1855. Burgas played little part in the late 19th century Bulgarian independence movement culminating in 1326/1908 and 1332/1913.

Burgaz is also the name of one of the Prince's islands (ancient Antigone) off Istanbul (G. Schlumberger, trs. N. Yüngül, *Istanbul Adalari*, Istanbul 1937; Cuinet, iv, 684-7; E. Mamboury, *The Tourists' Istanbul*, Istanbul 1953) and of 10 villages in western Turkey (*Türkiye'de Meskun Yerleri Kılavuzu*, i-ii, Ankara 1946-7, ii, 181), and appears in Arababurgaz, Çatalburgaz and Lüleburgaz, none of which is described here.

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BURGHUSH, Sp. Burgos, capital of the province of the same name, in a valley on the banks of the Arlanzón. It has 80,000 inhabitants and is one of the most interesting towns of Spain because of the monuments there, which show the importance of the place in the Middle Ages, when it was known as *Caput Castellae*. It was repeopled in 268/882 by Count Diego Rodríguez and attacked in 308/920 by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who destroyed it once more in 322/934, after having besieged Ramiro II at Osma. As far back as 328/939-40 the famous Fernán González was already count of Burgos and declared himself independent of León. His borders stretched to Castile, the Asturias de Santillana, Cerezo, Lantarón, and Álava. At the close of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III Burgos, like León and Pamplona, paid him tribute. In the middle of the 6th/12th century Burgos was, according to Idrīsī, a large town with many markets and a lively trade, a flourishing city. The river divided it into two parts, each being bounded by ramparts; in one half the majority of the population was Jewish. Among its monuments is the celebrated Hospital del Rey, contemporary with that liberally endowed by the Almohad caliph Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr at Marrākesh.

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BURGHŪTHIYYA take their name from Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā the secretary, who was called Burghūth (Ar. = flea). They hived off from the Nadjdjāriyya [*q.v.*], holding with them that God has a nature (*māhiyya*), that His attributes only tell what He is not (generous says that He is not stingy) and He always knew what would happen. Peculiar to the Burghūthiyya is the doctrine that God always speaks from His self or essence, *i.e.*, that speech is an attribute of His essence, though a report says that according to them His speech is action (*lahu kalām faʿlī*) whence it was concluded that the Ḳurʾān was not the word of God. He must not be called "doer" or "creator" for both these words can be used of man in a bad sense; "you create a lie" (*Sūra* 29, 16/17). Secondary acts (*muwalladāt*) are the work of God through the nature of things. God is empty space and (at the same time) a body in which the (created) things occur (Ibn Abī Ḥadīd, i, 295). Man is a combination of accidents, capacity (*istiṭāʿa*) occurs together with part of the act and, if a limb moves, the limbs at rest have some share in causing the movement just as the moving one has some share in keeping the others at rest. He who "acquires" an act cannot be called the doer of it. If Burghūth is the Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā of *Maḳālāt* 552, he is important for the development of theology, for he taught that God cannot compel a man to any particular act, to become a believer or an unbeliever. This does not conflict with his being called a *djabrī* for al-Ashʿarī, too, was so called.

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BURGOS [see burghush].

AL-BURHĀN, "decisive proof", "clear demonstration". The term is Ḳurʾānic and signifies a "brilliant manifestation", a "shining light" come from God (iv, 174), a "manifest proof" (xii, 24), which may take the form of that supreme argument of authority which is the miracle (xxviii, 32). In correlation, *burhān* is also the decisive proof which the infidels are called upon—in vain—to furnish as justification of their false beliefs (ii, 111; xxi, 24; xxiii, 117; xxvii, 64; xxviii, 75).

The first connotation of *burhān* is not properly right discursive reasoning; it is rather the manifest evidence of an irrefutable proof. But consequently, it designates also the mode of argumentation, and the argument itself which leads to that certitude. Thus it can take on several meanings according to the rules admitted in apodeictic demonstration (*ḳaṭʿī*).

1. In the initial development of *fiḳh*, *burhān* refers to the quality of certitude which is proper, especially in al-Shāfiʿī, Ibn Ḥanbal and Dāwūd, to reasoning (*istidlāl*) "in two terms", from greater to lesser or from lesser to greater, in order to prove the radical distinction between or the identity of two comparable "things" and to conclude: "certainly", "it is so" (*inna*, rather than *anna*). That is the *burhān innī*. It is based upon an argument of authority, which can be either a scriptural text or the eye-witnessing of an obvious fact.

The form of argumentation (cf. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, 578): reducing to the absurd (*ibṭāl*), exposing a defective comparison (*muṭālaba*), indicating an internal contradiction (*muʿāraḍa*), establishing the obvious univocality of a term (*taḥḳīḳ*). The certitude thus obtained is considered

more reliable than that obtained by rational investigation of motive or cause (*ʿilla*).

2. The investigation of the *ʿilla* was, on the contrary, one of the characteristics of the Ḥanafī school, where the juridical argument took the form of a syllogism. In the logic of the *falāsifa*, use of the *ʿilla* became recourse to a universal mean term. *Ḳiyās* [*q.v.*], reasoning by analogy from the "sources of the law", was transformed into an Aristotelian syllogism, and *burhān* came to designate syllogistic demonstration. Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* were translated as *Kitāb al-Burhān*, in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, by al-Fārābī and by the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* etc. Ibn Sīnā concluded his treatise on logic (*Nadjāt*, 60 ff.) with a discussion of *burhān*. The adjective *burhānī* is applied frequently to apodeictic demonstration, to the syllogism "composed of propositions which are certain" (*yaḳīniyyāt*).

The typical form of *burhān* (*al-burhān al-muṭlaḳ*) is a syllogism in which the obviousness of the premisses is either immediate or mediate. This reasoning may be of two modes: 1) *burhān al-lima*, where an extra-mental causal nexus is grasped, by the mean term, between the premisses and the conclusion; b) *burhān al-inna*, where, starting from a fact, the obviousness of the conclusion arises, without causal reference, from the nexus between the premisses and the mean term. The latter mode, says Ibn Sīnā, "gives the reason for the judgement, not the reason for the being" (*Ishārāt*, 84). Mlle Goichon suggests another reading: *in* instead of *inna*; thus it would mean "a conditional argumentation". However it is indeed the *burhān innī* of the early jurists which is evoked here, and the "victorious presence of the fact" (Massignon). But transposed into a logic of Aristotelian terms, the "decisive proof" of the reasoning in two terms becomes an inductive syllogism which states, as opposed to a syllogism of causal inference which explains. One may compare this analysis (although there is no complete identity) with the Aristotelian distinction between the knowledge of the reason and the knowledge of the fact (*Posterior Analytics*, 78a, 22-27). Ibn Sīnā and after him al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*), emphasise that in every *burhān* the mean term of the syllogism is the *ʿilla* which connects the major to the minor premiss. If this mean term has an explanatory value and a causative scope *in the actual nature of things*, we have to do with the *burhān al-lima*; if on the other hand it is only an affirmation of the mind which states a fact, without making explicit the *raison d'être* of the major premiss nor the inclusion in it of the minor, we are then dealing with a *burhān innī*. If we keep the reading *in*, the passage could be interpreted: if such a fact exist, it follows that.

The later *ʿIlm al-kalām*, which undertook to refute the *falsafa* but which was thoroughly influenced by it, lost sight of the testimonial evidence which the fact, as an argument of irrefutable authority, brought to the *burhān innī* of the ancients. It took it to be the simple affirmation of existence of the *quia*, whilst the *burhān al-lima* alone remained explanatory of *propter quid*. In his commentary of al-Īdjī, al-Djurdjānī wrote: "The reasoning (*istidlāl*) which moves from effect to cause is called *burhān innī*; that which proceeds from cause to effect, is causal inference (*taʿlīl*) and *burhān limī*".

Whether it refers to the extra-mental cause or not, whether it proceeds by *lima* or by *inna*, *burhān* thus becomes a syllogistic demonstration: to the extent to which Aristotelian logic, adopted by the later *ʿilm al-kalām* as well as by the *falsafa*, circumscribes in this sense the rules of human reasoning. But going back beyond the *Kitāb al-Burhān* (*Posterior Analytics*), and primarily with reference to Ḳuʾrānic texts, it still retains its original sense of "overwhelming proof", whatever way leads to certitude, discursive reasoning by a universal mean term, or testimonial proof by the argument from authority.

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BURHĀN, *takhalluṣ* of Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Khalaf al-Tabrīzī, compiler of the Persian dictionary *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ*, completed in 1062/1651-2 at Ḥaydarābād and dedicated to Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh, ruler of Golconda. A new revised, annotated and illustrated edition of the *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ* was published in Tehran in 4 vols., 1330-5 s./1951-6 (ed. Muḥammad Muʿīn). A Turkish translation was presented to Sulṭan Selim III by the historian ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*]. (ED.)

BURHĀN. The ruling family in Bukhārā in the 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries, known by the title *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* [*q.v.*].

BURHĀN ʿIMĀD SHĀH [see ʿIMĀD SHĀH].

BURHĀN SHAH I [see NIẒĀMSHĀH].

BURHĀN SHĀH II [see NIẒĀMSHĀH].

BURHĀN AL-DĪN, ḲĀḌĪ AḤMAD, a poet from eastern Asia Minor (revealing in his work characteristics of the Ādharī dialect) and a man of learning, also a stormy petrel, who was, in succession, *ḳāḍī*, *wazīr*, *atabeg* and *sulṭān*. He was born on 3 Ramaḍān 745/8 January 1345 in Ḳayṣariya (now Kayseri), his father being Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, a *ḳāḍī* of the third generation, descended in the male line from the Oghūz tribe of Sālūr, which dwelt originally in Khwārazm. Burhān al-Dīn received a thorough education in the customary branches of learning, first from his father, and thereafter in Egypt, Damascus and Aleppo, and returned in 766/1364-1365 to the town of his birth, where the ruling prince Ghiyāth al-Dīn Eretna found such satisfaction in the young man of 21 years that he raised him to the office of *ḳāḍī* (in the place of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, who had died one year before) and even bestowed on him his daughter in marriage. Burhān al-Dīn, none the less, took part secretly in the revolt of the Begs during which his father-in-law was slain (767/1365-1366). He had, under the succeeding but incompetent princes of the House of Eretna an active rôle as *wazīr* and *atabeg*, until, in 783/1381-1382, he proclaimed himself Sultan of the lands subject to the House of Eretna (cf. *IA*, fasc. 32, 309), with his residence in Sīwās and with the usual prerogatives of sovereignty (the minting of coinage

and the mention of his name in the Friday Prayer or *khuṭba*).

The eighteen years of his rule as Sultan are filled with ceaseless conflict against rebellious Begs at home and with wars against such powerful neighbours as the Karamānids and the Ottomans. Always incredibly venturesome and courageous, he gave battle to a superior Egyptian force and was defeated (789/1387); he soon turned, however, to the same Mamlūks of Egypt for aid against the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, who were pressing forward from the East, and then fought in alliance with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu against the rebellious Begs of Amāsiya and Erzindjān. The decisive moment came after he had ordered the execution of Shaykh Muʾayyad, the rebellious governor of Ḳayṣariyya — an act which brought down on himself the anger of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Ḳara-Yülük ʿOthmān Beg. Burhān al-Dīn died in a hostile encounter with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu chieftain at Ḳara-Bel (according to Saʿd al-Dīn, however, it was in the mountains of Kharput, to which Burhān al-Dīn had fled before the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd I). Some accounts written with a different motivation (Ibn ʿArabshāh, Schildberger) state that Burhān al-Dīn fell into the hands of Ḳara-Yülük and was executed in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 800/July-August 1398. Other dates are also found in the sources. The inscription on the still extant tomb of Burhān al-Dīn at Sīwās bears no date. At Sīwās, too, lie buried both the son of Burhān al-Dīn, Muḥammad Čelebi (died 793/1391) and also his daughter Ḥabība Saldjūḳ-Khātūn (died 850/1446-1447), so-called because the grandmother of her father was, on the male side the granddaughter of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān of Rūm Kay-Kāʾūs II (van Berchem, *CIA*, iii, 50).

It is astonishing that Burhān al-Dīn, in the course of a life passed in the ceaseless unrest of politics and war, still found enough time and inner repose to be able to have an active rôle as a man of learning and a poet. His juridical works (written in Arabic) are the *Tardjīh al-tawḍīḥ* (composed in Shaʿbān 799/May 1397) and the *Iksīr al-saʿādāt fī asrār al-ʿibādāt*, a work that is held in esteem even now amongst the *ʿulamāʾ*. Of far greater importance is the *Dīwān* of Burhān al-Dīn, containing over 1500 *ghazal*s (without the normal arrangement in alphabetical sequence and without *makhlaṣ*), 20 *rubāʿīs*, 119 *tuyugh*s (these latter in East-Turkish dialect) and some isolated distichs. The prosody is quantitative and reveals in a number of places metrical deficiencies which would have been impossible in later times. Quantitative half-lines are to be found in the *tuyugh*s side by side with half-lines reckoned in syllables. Burhān al-Dīn is a poet of profane love; mystical notes are sounded more rarely in his work. He conforms in the *ghazal*s, both thematically and rhetorically, to the traditions of Persian lyrical poetry. Although he is a true poet, he remained, as such, unknown to the *Tadhkira*s (only in some of the historians are there brief references to him, in which it is said that he also wrote poetry in Arabic and Persian (cf. Gibb, i, 208)) and he had no influence on the poetical practice either of Ādharbāydjān or of the Ottomans.

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BURHĀN AL-DĪN GHARĪB, *i.e.*, SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD B. NĀSIR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD, sister's son of Shaykh Djamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Nuʿmānī Hānsawī (for him see *Akhyār* 67) and one of the earliest and most devoted disciples, and a *khalīfa* of the *shaykh al-Islām* Niẓām al-Dīn of Delhī (d. 725/1325). He was born in Hānsī (East Pandjāb) in 654/1256 and died in Deōgīr (Dawlatābād) on 11 Ṣafar 738/8 Sept. 1337 (*Nuzha* after *Rawḍat al-Awliyāʾ*), according to others (*e.g.*, *Khazīna*) in 741/1340-1, and was buried at Rawḍa (Khuldābād). After spending his early years in Hānsī, he went to Delhī and studied *fiḳh*, *uṣūl*, and *ʿarabiyya* [*qq.v.*], from the savants of his time. He then attached himself to the *Shaykh al-Islām*, and attended on him as long as the Shaykh was alive (cf. *Nuzha* 143, *Siyar* 279/15, Mīr Ḥasan, *Fawāʾid al-Fuwād*, Lucknow 1908, 15, 33 (708 A.H.)

44 (709 A.H.), 84 (712 A.H.); Ulughkhānī, *Ẓafar al-Wālih*, Leiden 1929, iii, 857 f.). He left Delhī for Deōgīr, in his old age, when Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725-52/1325-51) forced the higher society and Shaykhs etc. of Delhī, about 727/1327 (*Mubārak Shāhī*, 98) to more to his new capital Deōgīr (Badāʾūnī, i, 226; M. Sāḳī, *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, Bib. Ind., 237; for the opposite view, that the *Shaykh al-Islām* sent him and others to (Burhānpūr and) Deōgīr see Firishta, *Safīna*, Mānduwī, *Adhkār-i Abrār* (tr. of *Gulzār-i Abrār*), Agra 1326, 90, *Maʿāridj*, *Khazīna* 322; contemporary authorities are silent as to the reason why he went to Deōgīr). There he spent the rest of his life doing almost pioneer work in the dissemination of Islām and the spreading of the culture of Islām in the Deccan (*Safīna*), and trained a batch of distinguished adepts (*Khazīna* 333) to follow up his work. One of these (Rukn al-Dīn) collected his *obiter dicta* in the *Nafāʾis al-Anfās* (nine of these quoted in the *Maʿāridj l.c.*), while Rukn al-Dīn's two brothers and Ḥamīd Ḳalandar also collected them (*Nuzha*, *Akhyār* 86[6]).

He had a magnetic personality, and enjoyed great popularity in the circle of his Master—he was a dear friend of the poets Amīr Khusraw, Mīr Ḥasan, and Masʿūd Bak (who eulogises him in his works, especially in his *Yūsuf Zulaykhā*), also of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh-i Dihlī (d. 757/1357), Kirmānī etc. (*Siyar al-Awliyāʾ*), 278 f.). He is described as an embodiment of longing and love, a man of asceticism, piety and ecstasy who charmed people by his heart-alluring discourses, an extremist in the matter of *samāʿ*, who had a peculiar style of his own in the ecstatic derwish-dances, his fellow-dancers being called "Burhānīs" after him. Burhānpūr (on the Ṭapti, in Khāndes) commemorates his name, for he had given his blessings to an ancestor of its founder, Naṣīr Khān Fārūḳī (*regn.* 801-41/1399-1437), when he rested here on his way to Deōgīr and foretold the rise of the Fārūḳīs and their founding of the city (Mānduwī, *Khāfī*, 214). They endowed his Rawḍa with land-grants, still available when Mānduwī wrote (1020/1611-12). According to the same authority, who visited it in 1001/1592-3, a large fair was held at the place, which has graves of several important disciples of the *Shaykh al-Islām*, on the anniversary of Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn's death. Dārā Shukōh also visited it, and Awrangzīb and two Niẓām al-Mulks were buried near it (*Khāfī*, ii, 549 = 572; *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, ii, 834).

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(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

BURHĀN AL-DĪN ḲUṬB-I ʿĀLAM, i.e. ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. NĀṢIR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD (or Muḥammad) B. DJALĀL AL-DĪN MAKHDŪM-I DJAHĀNIYĀN, usually known as *Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam*, a famous Suhrawardī saint and the founder of the Bukhāriyya Sayyids of Gudjarāt (W. India). He was also known as *Thānī-i Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān* (*Maʿāridj*). Born at Uchcha (now in Bahāwalpur) on 14 Radjab 790/19 July 1388, he died at Batwa (Ardastānī, *Maḥfil al-Aṣfiyā*, f. 329b; cf. *Ulughkhānī*, i, 140[7]), or Bātwa (*Maʿāridj*) a village 6 miles south of Aḥmadābād, on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 857/10 December 1453 (*Maṭlaʿ yawm al-tarwiya* = 857 is the chronogram recorded in *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, but one later writer, Khweshgī, gives the date as 856), Conflicting accounts are given as to why and when he came to Gudjarāt, (cf. *e.g.*, *Āʾīn*, *Maʿāridj* and *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*). The following version occurs in the *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*: Being left an orphan at the age of ten, he was brought up by his father's uncle Shāh Rādjū *Ḳattāl* (d. 827/1424, *Khazīna* 733), who directed him to go to Gudjarāt for missionary work. He reached Patan in 802/1399-1400 and was well received by Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh I, a disciple of his grandfather. He studied the usual sciences with Mawlānā ʿAlīshīr Gudjarātī, and became eminent in learning. When Aḥmadābād was founded (813/1411) he settled first in the (Old) Asāual, and finally at Batwa, for the rest of his life. For the Shaykhs from whom he received *khirḳas*, see *Nuzha*, iii, 97. A notable one among these was Shaykh Aḥmad-i K'hattū (d. 849/1446). Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam, his successors and their disciples, particularly his son Shāh ʿĀlam did remarkable work for the spiritual uplift of the people of Gudjarāt, who had great faith in them and among whom they enjoyed high repute (cf. *Tuzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Alīgarh 1864, 208 f., English translation by Rogers-Beveridge, i, 421 f.). They exercised great influence over the Aḥmad Shāhiyya, Kings of Gudjarāt (cf. *Mirʾāt-i Sikandarī*, 185[18]), and later several Mughal Emperors, from Djahāngīr onwards, showered benefits on the Shaykhs, and some of the Emperors personally visited the shrines at Aḥmadābād. Shāhdjahān made one of the Shaykhs *manṣabdār* and *ṣadr-i kull*, and Awrangzīb made his son *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* (*Ḳāniʿ* ii. 31; M. Sāḳī, *Maʾāthir ʿĀlamgīrī*. B.I.S., 166, 347). When Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam died, the nobles of the Aḥmad Shāhī Court erected a magnificent mausoleum on his tomb, which is now in a ruined condition (see J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, London 1900, i, 60 f.; for that of Shāh ʿĀlam see *ibid.*, ii, 15 ff. Plates). ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān testifies to the tomb being frequently visited in his time (1176/1762). For a specimen of the language Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam spoke, see *Mirʾāt-i Sikandarī* 254 (cf. *Mir. Ahmadī*: *Khātima* 28, *Ulughkhānī* i, 236), where a detailed account of an oft-mentioned miracle of his is given.

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Khweshgī, *Maʿāridj al-Wilāya*, Ādhar MS. Pandjāb University Library, f. 508; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, i 548; Shāhnawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, iii, 447 f. (*read* Sulṭān Muḥammad *instead of* Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The Khān follows the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*. With the vague statement on 448/13, cf. Shūstarī, *Madjālis al-Muʾminīn*, Tehran 1299, 64); ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*: *Khātima*, Calcutta 1930, 26-34, 37-61 (life, descendants, successors, endowments, etc. = Engl. tr. *Supplement* 27-35, 39-60 = ʿAlī Shīr Ḳāniʿ, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, Delhi 1304, i, 16 ff, cf. 11, 30); Muftī Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyāʾ*, Lāhore 1284, 737; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lucknawī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād 1371, iii, 96; idem, *Yād-i Ayyām* (in Urdū), ʿAlīgarh 1337, 52.

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

BURHĀN AL-DIN AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ [see AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ].

BURHĀN AL-MULK, MĪR MUḤAMMAD AMĪN B. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD NAṢĪR AL-MŪSAWĪ, was a native of Nīshāpūr who founded the Awadh dynasty of Nawwāb-Wazīrs (1136/1724-1167/1754). The exact date of his arrival in India is not known, but this much is certain, that he was in the service of Sarbuland Khān, commandant of Karā-Mānikpūr, in 1123/1711. On the accession of Farrukh-siyar to the throne of Delhi (1124/1713-1131/1719), he managed to obtain the post of a *nāʾib-karōrī* (a revenue official), through the good offices of Muḥammad Djaʿfar, a *manṣabdār*. In 1132/1719 he was appointed commandant of Hindawn-Bayāna when he reduced to submission the turbulent Rādjpūt and Djāt *zamīndārs* of the area. For the rôle that he played in the conspiracy to murder the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān Bārha, one of the Sayyid king-makers, he was awarded in 1133/1720 the title of Saʿādat Khān Bahādur with the personal rank of 5,000 and the command of 3,000 horse. The same year he was appointed governor of Akbarābād (Āgra) with a rapid promotion in rank, and only after a month (Muḥarram 1133/November 1720) the title of Bahādur Djang and the insignia of *māhī marātib*, were conferred on him. In 1135/1722 he was appointed governor of Awadh when he ruthlessly suppressed the *shaykhzādas* of Lucknow. He also ordered a fresh revenue settlement of the province, thereby increasing the imperial income from land, and the emperor Muḥammad Shāh rewarded him for his services with the title of Burhān al-Mulk.

After bringing the whole of Awadh, then in a state of turmoil, under his control, he punished the refractory feudal lords of Banāras and Djawnpūr. In 1148/1735 he was given charge of the district of Kōrah-Djahānābād, whose landlord, Bhagwant Rāy, had been responsible for some trouble; he was ultimately killed in an encounter with the troops of the Nawwāb. The same year Burhān al-Mulk, flushed with repeated successes, waited on Muḥammad Shāh at Delhi in the hope of securing increased royal patronage. In 1149/1737 he attacked the Marāthās, who had seized a part of the Dōāb, defeated and expelled them with heavy losses. The Marāthās in order to avenge this defeat soon afterwards attacked Delhi.

In 1151/1739, when Nādir Shāh Afshār invaded India, Burhān al-Mulk marched out from Awadh with a strong contingent of 30,000 troops. Although his baggage was looted by the enemy before it reached the imperial camp at Karnāl, Burhān al-Mulk decided to lose no time and to give battle to the invaders. In the thick of the action he was, however, recognised by a fellow-townsman from Nīshāpūr and his elephant was, without any resistance, driven away into the enemy's camp. On Nādir Shāh's victory, Burhān al-Mulk, from ulterior motives, prompted the invader to increase the amount of indemnity (5 million rupees) which had been agreed upon between Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh, the emissary of Muḥammad Shāh, and the Persian invader, on the ground that the stipulated sum could be easily paid off by a single *amīr* of the Mughal court. Burhān al-Mulk himself had to pay 33 million rupees in hard cash as his own share to the invader. He, however, suddenly died on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, 1151/19 March, 1739, soon after his return to Delhi. His almost sudden death has given rise to many speculations. He is reported to have committed suicide, unable to bear the insults which Nādir Shāh heaped upon him for his failure to arrange the full amount of indemnity (200 million rupees) which he had foolishly promised the invader. Other authorities, including the *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ* (i, 466) maintain that he died of an old neglected wound which had erupted again. The latter statement, however, appears to be an attempt to mitigate his responsibility for actions which brought untold misery and grief to the citizens of Delhi.

Burhān al-Mulk, an otherwise good man, was ambitious to the extreme degree and his passion for self-aggrandisement did not spare even a person like Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān, whose favourite and client he had been both as a *Sayyid* and a Shīʿī. A disused canal in a part of the city of Delhi is still known after him as Nahr Saʿādat Khān. It appears to be an extension of the Fayḍ Nahr, the main source of the water-supply system of Delhi during the later Mughal period.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

BURHĀNPŪR, town in Madhyā Pradēsh (India) situated in 21° 18′ N. and 76° 14′ E., along the north bank of the Tāptī, with bathing-steps (*ghāts*) on the river-side and a solid masonry wall, pierced by a number of massive gates and wickets, on all the other sides. This wall was constructed by Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh I [*q.v.*] in 1141/1728, during his governorship of Burhānpūr. The population in 1951 was 70,066. While the walled town occupies an area of $2^1/_2$ sq. miles, numerous remains outside show that the suburbs, which now comprise ʿĀdilpūra, must have been very extensive.

This town, which was of great strategic importance

during the medieval period, was founded by Naṣīr Khān al-Fārūḳī, founder of the Fārūḳī dynasty of Khāndēsh (renamed Dāndēsh by Akbar after his son Mirzā Dāniyāl, but the name never caught the popular fancy) in or about 801/1398-9 and named after the Deccan saint Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb [*q.v.*]. Another town on the other side of the Tāptī was also founded at the same time and called Zaynābād, after Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Dā'ūd al-Shīrāzī, one of the *khulafā'* of Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb.

In 969/1561 Burhānpūr was sacked by Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī, a servant of Bayram Khān [*q.v.*], who massacred the inhabitants and carried off immense booty. It continued to be the capital of the Fārūḳī dynasty till its overthrow by Akbar in 1010/1601 when the kingdom was annexed to the Mughal empire, although the town itself had been occupied by the imperial forces under the command of Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*], in 1008/1599. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, *khān-i khānān* [*q.v.*] was appointed governor and stayed in Burhānpūr for a very long period. It was here in Burhānpūr that his eldest son, Mīrzā Īridj (entitled Shāhnawāz Khān), died; his father built a tomb over his grave. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, had waited on Parwīz, Djahāngīr's eldest son, in this very town in 1023/1614. In 1025/1616 Shahdjahān, then prince Khurram, made it his general headquarters during his Deccan campaigns. Prince Parwīz died here in 1036/1626 and Awrangzīb accused his father Shāhdjahān, after the latter's deposition, of having poisoned him. In 1040-2/1630-2 it again formed the base of Shāhdjahān's military operations against the Deccan states when a great famine, resulting in an extremely heavy death-roll, devastated the town. In 1041/1631 the empress Mumtāz Maḥall, consort of Shāhdjahān, died here and was temporarily interred in Zaynābād, before the removal of her dead body to Āgra for a permanent burial. In 1046/1636 Awrangzīb, then a youth of 18 years of age, was appointed governor of the Deccan, including Khāndēsh, and he made Burhānpūr his headquarters. It was during his viceroyalty of the Deccan that Awrangzīb came to know Shaykh Niẓām Burhānpūrī, who remained in his employment for nearly forty years and was subsequently appointed chairman of the board of *ʿulamā'* and jurists responsible for the compilation of *al-Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya* [*q.v.*]. It was again in 1092/1681 that Awrangzīb encamped at Burhānpūr before investing Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*]. Soon after the emperor left the town in 1096/1685, it was sacked by the Marāthās. There followed a series of battles in its neighbourhood, and peace could only be restored to the harried town in 1132/1719 when the demand of the Marāthās for levying the *čawth* (one fourth of the revenue) was formally conceded. In 1133/1720 when Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh I was appointed to the government of the Deccan, he also made it his headquarters. After his return from Delhi in 1137/1724 till his death in 1161/1748 Burhānpūr continued to remain an important outpost of the new principality which Āṣaf Djāh founded, and also served occasionally as his headquarters. After the death of Āṣaf Djāh I it was occupied by the Marāthās, who were only dispossessed by Lord Wellesley in 1218/1803. It then changed hands several times and became finally a British possession in 1277/1860. In 1266/1849 it was the scene of a terrible Hindu-Muslim riot which claimed many lives. In 1265/1849 a great fire completely gutted Sindhīpūra, a quarter of the town peopled mainly by the descendants of early migrants from various towns in Sind. Next year a large number of houses in Dāwūdpūra were gutted, while the third fire of 1314/1897 destroyed a part of Lohār Mandī, including the mosque in the Čawk. In 1321/1903 bubonic plague took a very heavy toll of life.

Burhānpūr contains a large number of tombs and shrines of saints and mystics, many of them, from Sind and Gudjarāt, find mention in the *Gulzār-i Abrār*, whose author, Muḥammad Ghawthī, visited Burhānpūr frequently. Among other buildings of note are the tombs of Mubārak Shāh al-Fārūḳī and Rādjē ʿAlī Khān entitled ʿĀdil Shāh al-Fārūḳī, the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, built by the latter in 997/1588, and the old fort, along the bank of the Tāptī, now in a state of utter disrepair. A caravanserai built by the *khān-i khānān* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm is still extant.

Djahāngīr's system of water-supply for the town, completed in the 11th/17th century by the *Khān-i Khānān*, compares favourably with any modern waterworks system. During the Mughal period Burhānpūr housed a number of Imperial factories which produced quality and expensive cloth for the royal household. The workers in these *kārkhānas* were mostly skilled weavers from Thatta (Sind), who had migrated to Burhānpūr during the governorship of the *khān-i khānān*.

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BŪRĪ b. **AYYŪB** [see ayyūbids].

BŪRĪ TĀDJ AL-MULŪK [see būrids].

BŪRĪ-BARS b. Alp Arslān, the Saldjūḳ, was sent by Barkiyārūk against Arslan Arghūn, another son of Alp Arslan, who was trying to make himself independent in Khurāsān. In the struggle between the two brothers, Būrī-Bars was at first successful, but in the second encounter, in 488/1095, his troops were scattered and he himself was taken prisoner and strangled by his brother's orders.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, x, 179; Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 257. (Ed.)

BŪRĪ TAKĪN [see KARAKHĀNIDS[.

BŪRIDS, a dynasty of Turkish origin which reigned in Damascus from 497/1104 to 549/1154. Its founder was the *atabeg* [*q.v.*] of Shams al-Mulūk Duķāķ, son of the Saldjūķid sultan Tutush (see SALDJŪĶIDS). This *atabeg*, named Tughtakīn and called Ẓahīr al-Dīn, was the confidant of sultan Tutush, and was entrusted with the direction of affairs in Damascus as early as 488/1095 by Duķāķ, whose mentor he had been. After the death of Duķāķ (12 Ramaḍān 497/18 June 1104), Tughtakīn continued to exercise power in the name of the deceased prince's young son, Tutush, who in turn died shortly after his father. From that moment, Tughtakīn became the master of Damascus. His dynasty was founded, and it endured until the capture of Damascus by Amīr Nūr al-Dīn Zankī on 10 Ṣafar 549/25 April 1154. Tughtakīn ruled until his death, 8 Ṣafar 522/11 February 1128. He was replaced by his son Tadj al-Mulūk Būrī, who died as a result of an attempt made against his life on 21 Radjab 526/6 june, 1132. Just before he expired he named as his successor his son Abu 'l-Faḍl Ismāʿīl, called Shams al-Mulūk, who was himself assassinated by his slaves on 14 Rabīʿ II 529/30 January 1135, by order of his own mother. His brother, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, followed him, and was murdered by three of his servants on 23 Shawwāl 533/23 June 1139. His brother Djamālal- Dīn Muḥammad, governor of Baʿlbak, was summoned to replace him, and died as the result of an illness 8 Shaʿbān 534/29 March 1140. The military chiefs then raised to power the son of Djamāl al-Dīn, ʿAbd al-Dawla Abū Saʿīd Abaķ, called Mudjīr al-Dīn, who left the responsibilities of administration to his *atabeg*, Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur, until the death of the latter on 23 Rabīʿ II 544/30 August 1149. He then took the direction of affairs into his own hands, but was very soon obliged to accept the domination of the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn, by whom he was driven from Damascus in 1154.

During the fifty years that the dynasty lasted, the Būrid rulers received their investiture from the caliph and from the sultan of Baghdād, who, in exchange for considerable gifts, did not interfere in the internal affairs of the principality.

Throughout this period, the Būrid princes were confronted by situations which often were very difficult. When Tughtakīn assumed authority, the territory of Damascus was in immediate proximity to the Frankish states of Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem. The Franks of Jerusalem menaced the regions from which Damascus clearly acquired its food provisions; that is, Ḥawrān and the plains of Upper Jordan and of Yarmūk. In order to avoid risking the entire loss of these indispensable territories, and to safeguard the communications of Damascus with Egypt and Arabia, the Būrid princes were induced to negotiate with the Franks on several occasions, and even to conclude with them genuine treaties of alliance. They made them all the more easily since the treaties were not always looked upon with very much apprehension by their Muslim neighbours. Tughtakīn did try to co-operate with the Egyptian garrisons, who still held some coastal positions, Tyre for example, but with little success or effect. On the other hand, the masters of Baghdād were prejudiced by the tortuous politics of the Damascus rulers, so much so that the latter were repeatedly obliged to appear before the sultan and the caliph to justify their actions. Finally, from 524/1130, when the Zangid amīrs, ʿImād al-Dīn and his son Nūr al-Dīn became masters of Aleppo, they grew progressively more threatening toward Damascus. With the exception of Shams al-Mulūk, who was preparing to deliver the city to ʿImād al-Dīn when he was assassinated, the Būrid princes were therefore not displeased to find support in the Franks against the covetousness of the princes of Aleppo. However, the unprofitable attack by the Franks on Damascus during the second Crusade (July 1148) ended this policy and hastened the taking of Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn.

The internal situation of the city was no less troubled during the Būrid epoch. The lower orders of the town, organised into a sometimes very turbulent militia (*aḥdāth*), frequently participated in the political life of the city under the direction of those enterprising persons known by the term *raʾīs*. Over against the militia and actively opposing it, at least on one occasion, was a rural class. Led into action by the Ismāʿīlīs [*q.v.*] or *Bāṭiniyya*, this group also played an important rôle, particularly in 522/1128, with the complicity of some highly placed persons. It was not the first time that the Ismāʿīlīs used Damascus as the arena of their activities; several political murders had been perpetrated there by them, notably that of Amīr Mawdūd the ruler of Mawṣil, on 18 Rabīʿ II 507/2 October, 1113. Amīr Tadj al-Mulūk Būrī was also their victim in 1132.

Until the end, or until just a little before the end, the Būrid princes could count on the support of their Turkish troops whose loyalty was unfailing, and on the neutrality, growing steadily less benevolent, of the bourgeoisie. The latter were not opposed to the dynasty so long as it maintained order and assured, as best it could, the security of commercial transactions. But as the situation deteriorated after the death of Tadj al-Mulūk Būrī, the middle classes of Damascus showed themselves to be increasingly impressed by the prestige of Nūr al-Dīn, and facilitated his entrance into Damascus.

Thus, as long as the Būrid dynasty was represented by men of ability such as Tughtakīn and his son, it had no difficulty in retaining its power in Damascus; but the last twenty years, apart from the administration of Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur, were characterised by sometimes bloody rivalries and by growing economic difficulties. Also the population of Damascus, principally the bourgeoisie, who had never whole-heartedly supported the Būrids, no longer saw any reason for linking its destiny with that of the dynasty. The last prince, Mudjīr al-Dīn, left the city amid indifference, if not hostility.

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

AL-BŪRĪNĪ, AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD AL-DIMASHḲĪ AL-ṢAFFŪRĪ BADR AL-DĪN, an Arab historian and poet, born in the middle of Ramaḍān 963/July 1556, at Ṣaffūriya in Galilea, came when 10 years old with his father to Damascus, where he received his education at the Madrasa al-Ṣāliḥiyya. After the completion of his studies, which he had to interrupt in 974/1567 by a four years' stay in Jerusalem on account of famine, he lectured in various *madrasas*. In the year 1020/1611 he acted as Ḳāḍī to the Syrian pilgrim caravan. He died on the 13th Djumādā I 1024/11th June 1615. His chief work is the collection of biographies entitled *Tarādjim al-Aʿyān min Abnā' al-Zamān*, containing accounts of 205 individuals which he had collected at long intervals and completed in 1023/1614; it was edited by Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh in 1078/1667 and published with a supplement (cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab. Hdss.... Berlin*, no. 9889; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hdss.... Wien*, no. 1190; *Fihrist al-Kutubkhāne al-Khidīwīye*, v. 33); his *Dīwān* is preserved in Istanbul (Köprülü, no. 1287). There are some of his poems in Berlin (*Marāthī* on the Ṣūfī Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Barakāt al-Ḳādirī, s. Ahlwardt, *op. cit.* no. 7858, 3), Gotha (poetic epistle to Asʿad b. Muʿīn al-Dīn al-Tibrīzī al-Dimashḳī, with the latter's reply, cf. Pertsch, *Die arab. Hdss. der herzogl. Bibl.*, no. 44, 23) and London (*Catalogus Codd. Or. Mus. Brit.*, ii, no. 630, 2). Lastly he also wrote a commentary on the *Dīwān* of ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ, lith. Cairo 1279; he completed the commentary on the *Tā'iyya al-Ṣughrā* in 1002/1593, cf. Derenbourg, *Les Mss. Or. de l'Escurial* no. 420, 4.

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BURMA. Islam made its first major inpact in the early 15th century through the King of Arakan, Narameihkla. This monarch returned from exile in Bengal in 1430, accompanied by Muslim followers. He set up his capital at Mrohaung, where the Sandikhan mosque was erected. Subsequent Arakanese kings, although Buddhists, used Muslim designations, and even issued medallions bearing the *kalima*. Muslim influence was intensified when Prince Shudjāʿ, brother of ʿĀlamgīr, fled to Arakan in 1660. Shudjāʿ was murdered by King Sandathudamma and his treasure sequestrated, but his followers were retained at court as Archers of the Guard, in which rôle they frequently intervened as kingmakers. Descendants of these Mughal courtiers remain distinctive to this day. Before the 19th century, Muslim presence in Burma proper was confined to small numbers of Gudjarātī traders and certain gunners and other foreign technicians conscripted into the service of the Kings of Ava. The British annexation of Arakan in 1826 led to an influx of Muslims from Čittagong into coastal towns, particularly Akyab. The annexation of Lower Burma (1852) was followed by large-scale Indian immigration from the 1880's onwards. The 1931 Census (the last to be completed in detail) gives a Muslim population of 584,839, out of a total of 14,667,146. Of the Muslims, 396,504 were of Indian origin; 1,474 were Chinese (Panthay); and 186,861 were indigenous, mainly Arakanese. Muslim Arakanese were among the early officials and police officers under the British; they took advantage of higher education and many were prominent in government service, banking, and business. Čittagonian Muslims supplied almost all the crews of the coastal and river-steamers. Ismāʿīlīs (Khodjas) and Gudjarātīs dominated the retail trade. The 1930's were a decade of depression and some resentment was vented upon Muslims, conspicuous in the economy. Violent riots occurred in 1930 and '38; the latter lasted from July to December, and were fiercest in Rangoon and Mandalay; some 200 Muslims were killed. Following the Japanese invasion (1942) many Indians fled; numbers returned after the war, but they are less than before. The total Muslim population in 1958 is probably slightly higher than in 1931, perhaps 600,000 (the Census of 1953-4 is quite incomplete). About half are from India and Pakistan. A political organisation, the Burma Muslim Congress, was formed in 1945 and is affiliated to the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, the government coalition party. Two Muslims have been Cabinet Ministers during the greater period since independence: M. A. Rashīd (b. 1912) a leading trade unionist and business man, and U Khin Maung Lat (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, b. 1913) a lawyer. The leaders of independent Burma, notably U Nu, lay great stress upon their Buddhist heritage; Muslims are accepted as equal citizens, but a number of irritants to good relations have existed. The Mudjāhid revolt in northern Arakan led by Ḳāsim, a fisherman, aimed at union of this area with Pakistan. The Mudjāhids terrorised the Buthidaung-Maungdaw area from 1948 to '54, but with the imprisonment of Ḳāsim in a Pakistan gaol their activities were greatly reduced. In September 1954, a national political crisis was created by widespread monastic protests against Islamic teaching in state schools, but in general relations are harmonious. In Arakan, where Buddhists and Muslims are intermingled, many Muslim customs are followed by the Buddhists, even beef-eating. But in Lower Burma beef-eating and animal sacrifice at the ʿĪd are actively discouraged. The Burma Muslim Dissolution of Marriages Act, passed in March 1953, gave Muslim women equal rights to those of Buddhists: equal opportunity to divorce their husbands, and the right to retain their marriage portion on dissolution of the union. The act evoked Muslim protests outside Burma, but was accepted by the Burma Muslim Congress. Married Burmese Muslim women do not take the veil or observe purdah. In 1955, U Nu as Prime Minister initiated a project to translate the Ḳur'ān into Burmese.

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BURSA, also called BURUSA by the Ottomans after the ancient city of Prusa (προῦσα) on the northern foothills of Mysian Olympus, became the main capital of the Ottoman state between 726-805/1326-1402.

It was mentioned by Pachymeres along with Nicaea and Philadelphia as one of the three principal cities still in the hands of the Byzantines when the Turkish borderers invaded the whole of western Anatolia about 699/1300.

According to ʿĀshiḳ Pashazāde (ed. Fr. Giese, 22-23) the Ottomans were able to lay siege to Bursa for the first time when they invaded the Bursa plain after their victory over the Byzantine Tekfur [*q.v.*] of Bursa who, in alliance with the other Tekfurs had

attempted to stop the Ottomans at the pass of Dinboz, about 717/1308. This first siege failed. After blockading it for many years (cf. ʿĀshiḳ Pashazāde, 28-29; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Paris 1877, ii, 317; Pachymeres quoted by A. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1903, 55), the starved city had to surrender to the Ottomans (2 Djumādā I 726/6 April 1326), and to pay a heavy tribute (Pachymeres, *loc. cit.*; in Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 39, 30,000 *flori*). The Byzantine commander was allowed to leave Bursa for Istanbul but his chief adviser, Ṣaroz (?) who was responsible for the surrender, remained with the Ottomans (ʿĀshiḳ Pashazāde, 29; Neshrī, i, 39). The Greek metropolitan of Bursa continued to excercise his duty there under the Ottomans but his revenues diminished considerably (A. Wächter, *loc. cit.*). The Greeks were apparently removed from the castle to a district below it where we still find them in the Ḳāḍī records of the 15th century. The castle itself was settled by the Ottomans and the court. In 836/1432 B. de La Broquière (136) reported that the castle contained 1000 houses. Another description of it, in 1050/1640, is found in Ewliyā' Čelebī (Vol. ii, 9). Orkhan [*q.v.*] had his palace (Beg-sarāyī) within its walls near the Byzantine church which had been converted into a mosque (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 322). This locality overlooking the plain is called today Tophane. An inscription of 738/1337-38 found near it shows that he had also a mosque built there (A. Tewḥīd, *Bursa'da en eski kitābe*, in *TOEM*, v, 318-320.) Orkhan made Bursa his capital and had his first silver coin, the *aḳča*, struck there in 727/1327 (*Belleten*, x, 207). In 740/1339-40 below the castle on the plain he built a mosque, an *ʿimāret*, a bath and a caravanserai (Beg-khānī). This group of public buildings became the centre of Ottoman Bursa and the place is still the most lively commercial centre in Bursa. New districts such as ʿAlā' al-Dīn-beg, Čoban-beg, Kodja Nā'ib, came into existence in this period, and towards 734/1333 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*ibid.*) described Bursa as 'a large and great city with attractive bazaars and large streets'. During the subsequent reigns new religious and commercial centres with generous endowments were established by the Sultans and high officials in other parts of the locality. These became nuclei of the new districts of Bursa such as Yïldïrïm, Emīr-sulṭān, Sulṭān-Meḥmed (today Yeshil) etc. A particularly great development of the city took place during the reign of Bāyazīd I [*q.v.*]. Ulu-Djāmiʿ, the Great Mosque, was erected in 802/1399. J. Schiltberger, a contemporary eye-witness, says: "The city contains two hundred thousand (?) houses and eight hospitals (*ʿimāret*) where poor people are received whether they be Christians, infidels or Jews" (ed. Telfer, 40). After Tīmūr's victory over Bāyazīd I in 804/1402 a contingent of his army plundered and burned down Bursa. From that time on Adrianople (see EDIRNE) replaced Bursa as the principal capital (*dār al-salṭana*) of the Ottoman state, though during the civil war (806-816/1403-1413), each party tried hard to gain control of Bursa as well as Adrianople. During the prosperous reign of Murād II [*q.v.*] who was enthroned in Bursa, the city made a quick recovery and greatly expanded. The new districts named after and endowed by Sulṭān Murād, Faḍl Allāh Pasha, Ḥādjdjī ʿIwaḍ Pasha, Ḥasan Pasha, Umūr Beg, Djebe-ʿAlī Beg, Shihāb al-Dīn Pasha and Reykhān were formed. In 836/1432 B. de La Broquière observed: "Ceste ville de Bourse est bien bonne ville et bien marchande, et est la meilleure ville que le Turc aye". Before Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] made Istanbul his capital, Bursa had risen as a rival of it, but then many of the citizens of Bursa were ordered to migrate to the new capital. Bursa, however, benefited economically from the great expansion of the empire under this Sultan. Moreover he continued to use it as headquarters of his campaigns in the east. During the civil war after his death (886/1481) the people of Bursa took sides with Djem [*q.v.*] who maintained himself there as sultan for 18 days. He had coins struck there in his name and planned to rule at least over Anatolia with Bursa as his capital. The town continued to be considered one of the three capitals of the empire and the palace of Bursa was maintained and occasionally used by the Sultans as late as in the 11th/17th century (Pečewī, ii, 313; Ewliyā' Čelebī, ii, 10).

An idea can be obtained about the population growth of the city from the figures included in the Ottoman registers of the *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] units of families. Thus for example there were 5000 *ʿawāriḍ* families under Meḥemmed II, 6456 in 892/1487, and, 6351 in 936/1530. In the middle of the 10th/16th century P. Belon (*Les observations*, 451) made the remark that "Encores de présent Bource est aussi riche et aussi peuplée que Constantinople et osons dire d'avantage qu'elle est plus riche que Constantinople. La richesse de Bource provient de la soye".

In 985/1577 for security reasons strong gates with guardians were erected between the districts by a special order of the Sultan. The Albanians immigrating from Rumeli to the city had by then become a real threat (documents in H. T. Dağfioğlu, *16. asırda Bursa*, Bursa 1943). Then from 1003/1595 on the Djalālī [*q.v.*] bands threatened the city and in 1017/1608 Kalenderoghlu [*q.v.*] came to plunder it (Naʿīmā, ii, Istanbul 1283, 27).

Bursa was the chief city of the *sandjaḳ* called *Khudāwendigār* or *Beg* in the *eyālet* of Anadolu [*q.v.*]. In 1248/1832 Bursa became the capital city of the newly formed *eyālet* of Khudāwendigār, which included the *mutaṣarrïflïḳ*s of Bursa, Ḳaraḥiṣār, Kütahya, Biledjik, Erdek, and Biga, and when in 1281/1864 a *wilāyet* of Khudāwendigār was formed with the *liwā*s of Ḳaresī, Ḳodja-elī, Ḳaraḥiṣār, Kütahya, Bursa became the seat of the *wālī*. It had in 1310/1892 a population of 76,000 of which 5,158 were Greeks, 7,541 Armenians, 2,548 Jews and the rest Muslims. There were 165 mosques, 57 schools, 27 *madrasas*, 7 *ʿimāret*s, 7 churches, 3 synagogues, 49 caravanserais, 36 factories (*Khudāwendigār Wilāyeti Sālnāmesi* for the year 1310/1892).

It can be said that Bursa had a greater economic than political significance in Ottoman history. It soon became an international market as it was, under the Ottomans, one of the closest of the Muslim centres to the Christian world. In fact Iranian silk caravans increasingly came to the Bursa market, partially abandoning earlier ones such as Trebizond and Aleppo. Already around 802/1400 it was, as can be understood from Schiltberger (34), one of the international centres of the silk trade and industry. The main silk route to Bursa passed through Tabrīz, Erzurum and Tokat. Other important trade routes also converged in this city then. The ancient diagonal route Aleppo-Konya-Kütahya seems to regain its importance during this period. In 836/1432 B. de La Broquière (55-59) joined a Mecca caravan in Damascus which followed this route, and the spices it brought were sold to the Genoese merchants of Pera in Bursa.

The Damascus-Aleppo-Bursa route on the one hand and the sea route of Antalya-Alexandria on the other grew in importance during the 9th/15th century because of the active trade in spices, sugar, dyes, soap and perfumes coming from Egypt and Syria to Bursa. Moreover, merchants from India used these routes to come to trade in Bursa. Thus for example about 885/1480 the agents of Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] were importing Indian goods to Bursa. This trade must have been important enough for the Florentines about 874/1470 to hope to obtain their spices in the Bursa market. But it must be added that because of higher prices in Bursa the spice trade there never developed to such a degree as to make it a competitor of the Egyptian markets. About 892/1487 the customs duties on dyes and pepper brought to Bursa amounted to 100 thousand *akčas* (about 2,500 Venetian ducats) yearly (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Istanbul, tapu def. no. 23, *muḳāṭaʿāt* of Bursa). But Bursa remained the most important emporium of Eastern goods for Istanbul, the Balkans and even for Eastern Europe until the 11th/17th century.

The silk trade and industry in Bursa was the basis of its prosperity. Caravans from Tabrīz brought to Bursa the precious silk of Gīlān, Astarābād and Sārī, and this was the subject of a very active trade there as the records of the *ḳāḍī*s of Bursa (preserved today in the Bursa Museum) and the Medici documents published by G. R. B. Richards (*Florentine Merchants in the Age of the Medici*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932) attest. The Genoese, Venetians and Florentines, who usually had their agents in Bursa, were in keen competition to buy as much silk as they could, and the usual practice in this trade was to exchange the silk for the woollen cloth which they imported. In 906/1501 Maringhi, an agent in Bursa for the Medici, estimated that one load (*fardello*) of silk made 70 to 80 ducats of profit. In the year of 884/1479 the total value of the silk imported there from Iran amounted to about 150 thousand Venetian ducats. Most of this silk was consumed by the local silk industry. In 907/1502 an official inspection showed that more than one thousand looms were active in this industry in Bursa (*Bursa Ihtisab Kanunu*, ed. Ö. L. Barkan, *Tarih Vesikalari Dergisi*, vii, 30). It was in private hands and had created there a prosperous Muslim bourgeoisie. The upper and middle class people constituted about 70 per cent of the population of Bursa in the second half of the 15th century (see *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, Istanbul, xv, no. 1-4, 55-57). Workers in the silk industry were mostly slaves and after a time many of them were freed and became in turn entrepreneurs themselves. The *iḥtisāb* [*q.v.*] regulations mentioned above describe in detail various groups engaged in this business and the processes by which different kinds of silks were manufactured. The precious brocades (*kemhā*) and gold velvets (*mudhahhab ḳadife*) of Bursa were exported and much sought after in Europe, Egypt and Iran, but the main consumer was the Ottoman court (see T. Öz, *Türk Kumaşları*, Istanbul 1946; R. Anhegger-H. Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, Ankara 1956, 36). Light silks called *vāle* and *tāfta* (taffeta) were produced in Bursa and exported in great quantities for wider use.

The considerable commercial activity of Bursa is further attested by many caravanserais (*khān*s) built in the 9th/15th century such as Ipek-khānī under Meḥemmed I, Maḥmūd Pasha-khānī under Meḥemmed II, and the larger *khān*s called Koza-khānī and Pirinč-khānī under Bāyezīd II. Bursa became also an entrepôt for the cotton textiles of western Anatolia, which were exported especially to Rumeli and to Eastern Europe. The yearly tax revenues on the imported goods in Bursa amounted to about 140 thousand ducats in 892/1487 (Başvekâlet Arşivi, tapu def. no. 23). The principal mint (see ḌARBKHĀNE) of copper and silver coins was located in Bursa, and this monopoly brought in a yearly revenue of 6,000 ducats at the same date.

Between 1007/1599 and 1037/1628 ʿAbbās the Great attempted to divert Persian silk from the Ottoman market (see *Belleten*, no. 60, 665), and this induced the Ottomans to encourage silk production in Bursa and its environs. In the 12th/18th century the production of good quality silk in Europe (Italy, France) and the competition of Izmir [*q.v.*] as a market of Eastern goods affected Bursa's former prosperity (P. Masson, *Hist. du commerce Français dans le Levant*, Paris 1911, ii, 492). It, however, continued to produce Bursa silk cloth for internal consumption. In the 13th/19th century this local market too was invaded by cheap cotton and silk products from Europe. In 1262/1846 D. Sandison, the British Consul in Bursa, wrote that "Bursa silk and cotton stuffs were always falling in disuse" (Public Record Office, F.O. 78,701). British, German and Swiss imitations of the Bursa silks and cottons were in great demand in Bursa itself. But, in 1253/1837, Bursa was saved from becoming a mere producer of raw silk for Western countries by the introduction of steam power in the local industry. Filatures were 35 in number twenty five years later and the production of raw silk reached one thousand tons by 1332-1914. This development was greatly affected at the time of war of independence (1337-1341/1919-1922). But under the protectionist policy of the Turkish Republic a partial recovery was achieved in silk production (140 tons of raw silk in 1958). On the other hand Bursa textile industry made tremendous progress because artificial silk now provided the raw material (6,000 power looms in 1958). Moreover the establishment of a large woollen factory in 1938 emphasised the industrial character of the city. Its population almost doubled from 77,000 in 1940 to 131,000 in 1955.

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(H. Inalcik)

BURSUĶ (Eastern Turkish = "badger"), one of the chief officers of the Great Saldjūķs, whose descendants also played a notable rôle at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. Bursuķ, although youthful, entered history as one of the principal *amīrs* in the service of Ṭughril-Beg, who after restoring control in Baghdād following the tragedies of the years 450-51/1058-59, made Bursuķ his first *shiḥna* (military commander) in Baghdād. However, under the pacified Saldjūķid organisation, the essential power belonged to the *ʿamīd*, the civil administrator, and it is not certain that there had been a *shiḥna* with any permanence in Baghdād for a dozen years. In any case, Bursuķ did not remain in the position since we find him in 455/1063 as *ḥādjib* of the sultan whom he accompanied (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, Bibl. Nat., Paris, Arab. 1506, 87v.); then, in 456/1064, he was charged by the new sultan, Alp Arslan, to go and extract from a vassal arrears of tribute (*ibid.*, 99v, 100v). Then, without our being able to explain the reason, silence enshrouds him for 15 years. We discover him again only around 471/1078, under Malikshāh, sent to Anatolia against the Saldjūķid rebel sons of Kutlumush, one of whom, Manṣūr, he killed but without being able to crush the other, Sulaymān (Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, trans. Budge, 227). In 479/1086, together with Būzān, he led the advanced guard of Malikshāh's army, which on the death of Sulaymān occupied Aleppo; and probably from there was dispatched to Asia Minor to combat the heir of Sulaymān at Nicaea who, despite the efforts of the sultan, was supported by Alexius Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, Bonn ed., 302-11). It was probably on this occasion that he obtained from Constantinople the tribute of 300,000 *dīnārs* about which Bundarī speaks (ed. Houtsma, 70). A little later Bursuķ organised the celebrations in Baghdād honouring the marriage of the caliph to a daughter of Malikshāh. Following the death of the sultan, in the quarrels among the latter's heirs he took the part of Barkyārūķ, particularly in the resistance to Tutush, and followed his prince to Iṣfahān, there falling victim to the Assassins. His sons avenged him by participating two years later (490/1091) in the execution of the Shīʿī *mustawfī* of Barkyārūķ, Madjd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī, whom they suspected of having been the instigator of the murder of Bursuķ and of others as well.

The sons of Bursuķ—Zenghī, Aķbūrī, Īlbeki, and Bursuķ—appear, generally speaking, as a close-knit family group, which remained attached to Barkyārūķ as long as he lived, but which was more normally established on their *iķṭāʿ* of the province of Ahwāz, which, with Tustar, foremost town of the province, ware acknowledged to be hereditary, either legally or by fact of possession. Bursuķ assisted Barkyārūķ in recapturing Rayy from his brother Muḥammad. Probably it was for this reason, when in 498/1105 Muḥammad succeeded Barkyārūķ who had died, that we find Zenghī incarcerated by the new sultan. But the family found a way to reconcile itself with Muḥammad by refusing to follow the rebel Mangubars and by betraying him to the sultan. Zenghī, who would have been put to death, was set free, and although the sultan demanded from the Banū Bursuķ the return of their *iķṭāʿ*, in exchange he conceded to them Dīnawar. Furthermore, even this exchange appears to have been provisional; for we find the Banū Bursuķ subsequently once more in possession of Tustar. Meanwhile, Bursuķ (the son of Bursuķ) was made by Muḥammad governor of the province of Hamadhān, one of the capitals of the Empire (Ibn al-Ķalānīsī, ed. Amedroz, 174).

Firmly installed in power, Sulṭān Muḥammad sought to organise war against the Franks in Syria. Bursuḳ b. Bursuḳ was one of the principal participants of the expedition of 505/1111, which miscarried because of quarrels among the chiefs and the jealousies of the Syrian princes toward the "Easterners"; moreover, he was ill almost the whole time. But he received command of the expedition of 509/1115. Again the circumstances were difficult, Ilg͟hāzī, the principal chief of the Diyār Bakr Turkomāns, Tug͟htakīn of Damascus, and Luʾluʾ, regent of Aleppo, having made an alliance with the Franks against him. With such bases as Ḥims, where the prince was his friend, and Ḥamā, which he conquered, Bursuḳ attempted to dislodge the coalition army. He succeeded only on making contact, withdrawing, returning, and finally being overrun at Dānīt͟h, to the east of the Orontes, by Roger, Prince of Antioch. He was preparing to take his revenge when he died, as did his brother Zenghī, in 510/1116. This death and that of Sulṭān Muḥammad two years later, meant the end of political intervention by the Sultanate against the Franks.

It is only on the occasion of the dissensions among the Saldjūḳids that the last heirs of Bursuḳ are heard of again, re-established in K͟hūzistān. Aḳbūrī and some of the sons of Zenghī and Īlbeki figured in the army employed by Sulṭān Maḥmūd against his uncle Sandjar, and Bursuḳ b. Bursuḳ participated in the complicated quarrels of Lower ʿIrāḳ. At the death of Maḥmūd, the brothers Tug͟hril and Bursuḳ were found in the party of Tug͟hril, who protected Sandjar; then, when he (Tug͟hril) died, they joined the party of Dāʾūd, who had the support of the Caliph. Nevertheless, they were able in time to reconcile themselves with the conqueror Masʿūd (529-31/1134-1136). We cannot say whether it was one of these two whose death, under the name of Ḥamza b. Bursuḳ, is mentioned by Ibn Abī Ṭayyī (cited by Ibn al-Furāt, NS. Vienna II, 115r°), as lord of Tustar in 533/1139. In any case, it appears this is the last mention of a member of the family whose heirs are no longer encountered among the vassals of the subsequent masters of K͟hūzistān.

It was as an officer of the first Bursuḳ that Aḳ-Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī [*q.v.*] began his career.

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al-**BURSUḲĪ** [see aḳ sunḳur].

al-**BURT**, pl. al-Burtāt, a Spanish-Arabism derived from the Latin *portus*, the meaning of which the Arab authors explain as the equivalent of Arabic *bāb*, pl. *abwāb*. The triangular shape which the Arabs gave to the Iberian peninsula is well known. Following Ptolemy, they fixed its points at Tarifa in the south, at Cape Finisterre in the west, and in the east in the Narbonne area according to some, or the valley of the Llobregat according to others, or at Port-Vendres (Portus Veneris/Haykal al-Zuhara) according to a third group. The disagreement over the fixing of the third point arises from two causes, to which nobody has given the attention they deserve. In the first place, the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages had no clear idea of the Pyrenees, nor did they give a definite name to them; in the second place, they show the north-east frontier in ways which differ markedly according to the ideas of the times in which they lived and the political situation of the region.

Some, the earliest, such as al-Rāzī and after him Ibn Ḥayyān and al-Yasaʿ, follow the Visigothic tradition and take the limits of the peninsula, as in Wamba's time, to the Narbonne area. Others, coming later, such as al-Bakrī, who knew of the Frankish conquest of the Spanish marches, and had travelled through the country several times by land and sea, on hearing the Catalans of Barcelona and of the Pyrenean countries called Franks and taken for such, place the north-east limit on the line of the Llobregat; on this frontier al-Bakrī mentions al-Burt (the Gate) in the Catalan coastal range; and in order to leave no room for doubt that the frontier between al-Andalus and the continent (*al-arḍ al-kabīra*) stands on that river whose Latin name (Rubricatus) he knew, he states that the gates (*abwāb*) of the Djabal al-Burt face the islands of Majorca and Minorca. This testimony is confirmed by Ibn Saʿīd, and al-Maḳḳarī accepts it as the most accurate since it is corroborated by many travellers. Ibn al-Abbār mentions more than once the famous battle during which the Almoravid *amīr* Ibn ʿĀʾis͟ha died and calls it *waḳīʿat al-Burt* (Christian sources refer to it as the battle of El Congost de Martorell) and Ibn K͟haldūn mentions the embassy which the Frankish count of Barcelona who was living on the other side of al-Burt sent to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Al-Idrīsī, on his part, who was writing in the second half of the 6th/12th century, and witnessed the independence of the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom, takes care not to call the Catalans Franks and puts the frontier of Spain at Port Vendres; in enumerating the 26 provinces or *iḳlīm*s of Andalusia he puts Tortosa, Tarragona, and Barcelona in the *iḳlīm* of al-Burtāt, further south than the Pyrenees, appearing to show that this Djabal al-Burt or al-Burtāt was the centre of the *iḳlīm*.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, text 176, tr. 211; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 252-3 (quotations from Rāzī, Bakrī, and Ibn Saʿīd, i, 82-3); Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, in *BAH* iv, 55, 309; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 142; Chronicle of Ripoll and Chronicle of Tortosa in Villanueva, *Viaje literario*, v, 247. (A. Huici Miranda)

BURṬĀS, or Burdas (in al-Bakrī Furdās), pagan tribe of the Volga basin. For an account of the Burṭās and their neighbours the K͟hazars and the Bulg͟hārs, to the north and south, see Bulg͟hār. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 14 & *Tanbīh*, 62) lists Burṭās also as a river flowing into the Itil (Volga); Marquart identifies this stream with Samara (*Streifzüge*, 336). The sources do not mention any adherents to Islam among the Burṭās, which contrasts with their accounts of the K͟hazars and Bulg͟hārs. Yāḳūt's report on the Burṭās (i, 567) is based on a misunderstanding, as he applied Iṣṭak͟hrī's remarks on the Bulg͟hārs (225) to the Burṭās. The sources in which they are mentioned, Ibn Rusta (140 ff.), al-Bakrī (Kunik & Rosen, *Izviestiya al-Bekri*, etc., i, 44) and Gardīzī, (Barthold, *Otčet o poyezdkie v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, 96 ff.) content themselves with saying on the subject of the Burṭās religion that they adhere to the same beliefs as the G͟huzz (Turks) and that some of them burn while others bury their dead. They allowed themselves to be outdistanced by their neighbours more in contact with civilisation. They lacked government authority, the direction of affairs

being entrusted to the elders of each tribe. The only commercial dealings of any importance between the Muslim World and the Burṭās was the traffic in furs—the *firā'* mentioned by Yāḳūt (*loc. cit.*).

The majority of authorities (V. V. Holmsted, A. P. Smirnov, P. D. Stepanov) identify the Burṭās with the Finnish Mordve-Mok<u>sh</u>a (the "Moksel" of Rubruquis), clans which at the beginning of the Middle Ages inhabited the area between the upper basins of the rivers Khoper and Medveditza and the right branch of the Volga, extending so far northwards until the Finns were the immediate neighbours of the Slavs. Others (A. I. Popov, A. E. Ali<u>kh</u>ova) locate their place of origin in the northern Caucasian steppes and argue that the Burṭās emigrated northwards only at the time of the Golden Horde; others again (Sboev, Rittich) place them among the ancestors of the Čuwa<u>sh</u>. Tokarev believes that the Burṭās were a Finnish tribe more or less Turkicised, and which finally was assimilated partly by the Mordve-Mok<u>sh</u>a and partly by the Čuwa<u>sh</u>.

Russian chronicles from the 13th century onwards mention the Burṭās as vassals of the Golden Horde. After the downfall of Ḳazān, their land was conquered and colonised by the Russians in the 16th century. At the beginning of the 18th one reads of insurrections among them but from that time the name Burṭās ceases to figure in Russian documents.

The present Mordve (Mordva in Russian) are divided into two distinct groups: the Mok<u>sh</u>a and the Erzia, numbering about 1,450,000 souls (Soviet census 1939), living in an autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Autonomous SSR of the Mordve, capital Saransk). A large number of the Mordve, however, live outside their republic, notably in Tataristān, Ba<u>sh</u>kiria and Siberia.

The Mordves were subject to strong Russian cultural influences, and from the 17th century adopted the Orthodox faith. One must, however, mention the existence of another Mordve-Mok<u>sh</u>a group living in the Tatar region (in the district of Kamsko-Ustinsk of the autonomous *SSR* of Tatarstān)—the Karataï. These from the 17th century have been subjected to Tatar influence and were completely 'Tatarised'. The Karataï have lost the use of their Finnish language and speak the Tatar of Ḳazān. Considered officially as Christian Orthodox, they are in fact crypto-Muslims.

Bibliography: D. A. Chwolson, *Izvestija o Khazara<u>kh</u>, Burtasa<u>kh</u>, Bolgara<u>kh</u> Madyara<u>kh</u>, Slavyana<u>kh</u> i Rusa<u>kh</u> Abu Ali Ahmed ben Omar Ibn Dasta*, St. Petersburg 1869; V. V. Barthold, *Arabskie Izvestiya o rusa<u>kh</u>*, in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, I.; A. Kunik and V. Rosen, *Izvestiya Al-Bekri i drugi<u>kh</u> avtorov o Rusi i slavana<u>kh</u>*, St. Petersburg 1878; A. Y. Garwaki, *Skazaniya musul'maski<u>kh</u> pisatelej o slavjano<u>kh</u> i russi<u>kh</u>*, St. Petersburg 1870; V. V. Holmsted, *Burtas*, in *Kratkie Soobshčeniya Instituta Izučeniya Material'noï Kul'turî*, 1946, fasc. 13, 17-25; I. N. Smirnov, *Morva*, in *Izvestiya Obshčestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii pri Kazanskom Un-te*, x, xi, xii, Kazan 1892-1894; A. I. Popov, *Burtasî i Mordva*, in *Učenîe Zapiski Leningradskogo Un-ta*, 1948, no. 105, Oriental series, fasc. 2, part. 1, 199-210; A. E. Ali<u>kh</u>ova, *K voprosu o burtasa<u>kh</u>*, in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1949, no. 1, 48-57; A. P. Smirnov, *K voprosu o burtasa<u>kh</u>* in *Kratkie Soobshčeniya Instituta Izučeniya Materyal'noï Kul'turî*, 1951, fasc. 40, 45-50; Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narsdov SSSR*, Moscow 1958, 150.

(W. Barthold-[Ch. Quelquejay])

BURTUḲĀL, the name given by the Arabs to an ancient town (Cale or Calem, Portus Cale, modern Oporto) at the mouth of the Douro, and later to the kingdom of Portugal. Before the establishment of an independent Portugal in the 12th century, the history of the region belongs to that of Spain (see AL-ANDALUS). At the Arab conquest the whole of the territory of modern Portugal must have passed rapidly into Muslim hands, though details are lacking. We hear only of resistance in the south (see BĀ<u>DJ</u>A) and of the occupation of Evora, Santarem and Coimbra by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (governor of al-Andalus, 95/714-97/716). According to a notice in a late author, but cited on the good authority of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī (3rd/9th century), Santarem and Coimbra had before this been exempted from a general division of the conquered land among the soldiers of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, apparently under a treaty (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 201-202, and see below).

Political confusion in al-Andalus and especially, from about 750 onwards, the withdrawal owing to famine of large numbers of the new inhabitants of the NW. (mostly Berbers) provided conditions for the beginning of the *Reconquista*. Alfonso I of Asturias (739-757) or, according to Ibn Ḥayyān (Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, I, 213), his son Fruela I (757-768) made himself master of the north of modern Portugal, including the towns of Oporto and Braga north of the Douro and Viseu south of the same river. Another son of Alfonso, Aurelio (reigned 768-774), is given by Ibn al-<u>Kh</u>aṭīb (*Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām*, 373) as conqueror of *'arḍ Burtuḳāl'*. Alfonso II (791-842) is said to have taken Lisbon in 182/798 and to have sent a message to Aix-la-Chapelle announcing the news to Charlemagne. But these successes, if authentic, were transitory. It was not till the time of Alfonso III that the line of the Douro was more or less effectively held by the Christians, after the definitive capture of Oporto in 868.

Ḳulumriyya (Coimbra) fell in 264/878 but was retaken in 375/985 by al-Manṣūr, whose extraordinary march from Cordova to <u>Sh</u>ant Yaʿḳūb (Santiago de Compostella) was directed via Coria and Viseu. Al-U<u>sh</u>būna (Lisbon), which still belonged to the expiring Caliphate in 400/1009 *tempore* al-Mahdī (Ḥumaydī, 18), was later, in the time of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*, a dependency of the Afṭasids of Badajoz, who disputed control of the W. of al-Andalus with the ʿAbbādids of Seville, and after the final loss of Coimbra in 456/1064 (Ibn ʿI<u>dh</u>ārī, iii, 239) remained with <u>Sh</u>antarīn (Santarem) as a Muslim enclave N. of the Tagus, till both were captured by Alfonso Henriques, the first king of Portugal, in 541/1147. Alfonso Henriques is usually said to have taken the royal title after a victory over the Muslims at Ourique near Beja (July, 1139). Before his death (1185) the Portuguese were in possession of most of the south. The fluctuating fortunes of war earlier are illustrated by the case of Lamego, S. of the Douro, which appears to have been captured by Alfonso III in 904. It was afterwards lost, but was retaken by Ferdinand I in 1038, when its king or governor was permitted to remain as vassal of the Christian. Some time before 1102 it passed again under Muslim control, being finally conceded to the Conde Don Henrique in that year (F. Fernandez y Gonzalez, *Mudejares de Castilla*, 29). For the deep-rooted Arabism of the region we may compare an account in the 12th century writer al-Mawāʿaynī (Pons Boigues, *Historiadores*, no. 189) of certain Arabic-

speaking Christians encountered by al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville on an expedition into Portugal *circa* 1020 at Ḥiṣnay al-Ikhwān, now represented by Alafoens or Alafões (< Alajoen), N. of Viseu, who claimed to hold their land by treaty from Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (cf. above) and, though doubtless Mozarabs, alleged their descent from Djabala b. al-Ayham, a Christian Arab of Syria contemporary with Muḥammad (Fernandez y Gonzalez, ibid., cf. Dozy, *Loci de Abbadidis*, ii, 7).

Under the Caliphate several *kūra*s (*i.e.*, provincial districts with chief town, governor and garrison, see art. AL-ANDALUS, 2, iii) belonged in whole or in part to the territory of modern Portugal. 1. In the extreme S, corresponding to the present-day province of Algarve, was the *kūra* of Ukshūnuba (Ocsonoba), so called from the ancient town of that name, inland from modern Faro. The town declined in importance after the Arab invasion and gave way to Shilb (Silves) as provincial capital, but was still in existence in the 5th/11th century (Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 215). Silves, situated more to the W. near the estuary of two small rivers, is first mentioned as a port at the time of the descent of the Norsemen in 229/844 (see AL-BAḤR AL-MUḤĪṬ), and grew to be a flourishing city, especially perhaps after the fall of the Caliphate under the ʿAbbādids of Seville. Other towns or large villages in the province were, according to Ibn Saʿīd (*al-Mughrib fī Ḥulā ʾl-Maghrib, Dhakhāʾir al-ʿArab*, x, Cairo 1953-1955, 1, 380 ff.), Shannabūs or Shannarūs (? = Shannabrūs for São Brás), Ramāda, Shantamariyya (Santa Maria de Algarve, now Faro), al-ʿUlyā (Loulé) and Ḳasṭalla (Cacela). Al-Idrīsī (*circa* 1154) in his description of Silves mentions that the inhabitants of its villages, as well as the townspeople, spoke pure Arabic. 2. Immediately N. of Ukshūnuba, *i.e.*, corresponding to modern Baixo Alentejo, was the *kūra* of Bādja (Beja), with principal town of the same name (see BĀDJA). This province, according to Ibn Saʿīd, included Mārtula (Mertola), which is placed by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Aʿmāl*, 287) in the *kūra* of Shadhūna (Sidonia). 3. Further N. lay the *kūra* of al-Ushbūna or Lisbon (Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, i, 96), which included Shantarīn (Santarem), Shantara (Cintra) and al-Ḳibdhāḳ or al-Ḳabdhāḳ (cf. al-Ḳabdhāḳ = Alcaudete between Cordova and Granada). Other *kūras* in Portugal are not named. Yābura (Evora) N. of Beja is included by Ibn Saʿīd in the kingdom of Badajoz, and perhaps in Caliphal times formed part of a *kūra* of Mārida or Merida (cf. Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, i, 103). While it still belonged to Islam before 264/878 Ḳulumriyya (Coimbra) may have been the centre of a *kūra* (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Esp. Mus.*, iii, 51).

Like other outlying parts of al-Andalus, Muslim Portugal affords plenty of examples of particularism throughout its history. Partially successful attempts to assert independence of Cordova were made in the 3rd/9th century by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān, often called Ibn al-Djillīḳī ('son of the Galician') and his descendants, operating widely from Badajoz, and by the Banū Bakr at Santa Maria de Algarve in the same century. Much later a militant religious movement in the W. headed by Ibn Ḳasī, who revolted at Mertola in 539/1144, contributed to the downfall of the Almoravids. Ibn Ḳasī became master of Silves, and he and his contemporary Ibn Wazīr were perhaps the only Muslims to coin money on Portuguese soil.

The last period of the struggle in Portugal between Christians and Muslims was marked by a great though unsuccessful effort of the Almohad Abū Yaʿḳub Yūsuf in 580/1184. The Almohad fleet, it seems, failed before Lisbon, and the main land assault on Santarem had to be abandoned. In a Portuguese attack on the *sāḳa* or rearguard of the Almohads Abū Yaʿḳūb received a wound from which he died near Evora on the march back to Seville.

The set-back in Portugal was contrary to general expectation, for at this time Almohad power and prestige stood high. In 1189, the year in which it first fell into Portuguese hands, Silves was described by an anonymous Crusader ('Anonymous of Turin') as much stronger than Christian Lisbon and ten times as rich. After the victory of the Christians at al-ʿIḳāb (Las Navas de Tolosa) in 609/1212, in which Portuguese forces took part, the issue of the prolonged struggle came within sight. Silves fell finally in 1249 and the Muslims lost Algarve, their last holding in the territory of modern Portugal. At a battle fought near Tarifa on the Rio Salado in 741/1340 the Portuguese under their king, Alfonso IV of Portugal, joined forces with the Castilians to oppose the African troops of the Marīnid ruler of Fās, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī and the contingents of Yūsuf I, Sultan of Granada. Ibn al-Khaṭīb describes how the Andalusians almost broke the ranks of the Portuguese at the first charge, but their valour was in vain and the day was lost (*Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām*, 389). Henceforward there was no hope of restoring Muslim rule in the West of al-Andalus.

The principal towns of Muslim Portugal produced a respectable number of literary men, whose names are given in the Arabic biographical works. Among the best known are the historian Ibn Bassām, Abu ʾl-Walīd al-Bādjī (see AL-BĀDJĪ), Ibn ʿAmmār, the poet and friend of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād, and Ibn Ḳasī, already mentioned, author of the *Khalʿ al-Naʿlayn fī ʾl-Taṣawwuf* and other works.

Some itineraries in 10th century Portugal are given by al-Iṣṭakhrī (*BGA*, I, 46) and Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. Kramers, i, 116-117).

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(D. M. DUNLOP)

AL-**BURŪDJ** [see NUDJŪM].

BURUDJIRD [see BARŪDJIRD].

BURUḲLUS, *i.e.*, Proclus (A.D. 410-485), head of the pagan philosophical school at Athens (the 'Platonic Academy'), outstanding scholastic

systematiser of Neoplatonic thought and one of the chief links between ancient and medieval philosophy. Although it would be premature to attempt a monograph about the influence he exercised upon medieval Arabic thought, the information at present at our diaposal is not so scanty that its complete neglect in R. Beutler's comprehensive article on Proclus (*Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll* 45, 1957, col. 186 ff.) appears justified. Better information is available in E. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen III* 2⁴, 839 n. 1 and E. R. Dodds, *Proclus the Elements of Theology*, Oxford 1933, xxviii f.

A list of those works by Buruklus which in some way became known to Arabic scholars is to be found in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 252 Flügel (= 333 Egypt, ed.); it was reproduced, with a few omissions, by Ibn al-Kifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-Ḥukamā'*, 89, (ed. Lippert).

1.

Some works by Buruklus appear in Arabic under very inappropriate false names.

a. The work referred to by the bibliographers as *Kitāb al-Thālūdjiyā* and ascribed by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 66 (Flügel) to Proclus and (!) Alexander appears to have been the systematic manual of Neoplatonic metaphysics known as *Elements of Theology* (Στοιχείωσις Θεολογική). The Arabic text of propositions 15-17 (16-20 Dodds) has been published by A. Badawi, *Arisṭū ʿinda l-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, 291 f. from a 11th century Damascus MS., where it is wrongly attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias. The truth was discovered independently by B. Lewin (*Orientalia Suecana* 1955, 101 ff.) and S. Pines (*Oriens* 8, 1955, 195 ff.). The translator was Abū Uthmān Saʿīd b. Yaʿkūb al-Dimashkī, a minor member of the school of Ḥunayn.

b. A work *K. al-Īḍāḥ fī 'l-Khayr al-Maḥḍ*, based on 31 propositions of the *Elements of Theology*, is known in the West since the days of Gerard of Cremona (second half of s. xii) as Aristotle's *Liber de causis*. A critical edition of the Arabic text (which ought to be based on the Latin and Hebrew versions as well and be minutely compared with the Greek) is being prepared by G. C. Anawati (cf. *Mélanges Massignon*, Damascus 1956, 73 ff.). For the time being we have to be content with O. Bardenhewer's edition (Freiburg-Breisgau 1882, reprinted recently) and A. Badawi's text (*Islamica* 19, 1955, i ff.). A resumé of the Arabic text (ascribed to Aristotle), composed about A.D. 1200, was discovered by P. Kraus (*Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 23, 1940/1, 277) and published by A. Badawi (*op. cit.*, 248 ff.). The question whether the work as we have it was originally translated from an older re-arrangement of extracts from Proclus or compiled by an early Arabic philosopher cannot be decided at present.

2.

a. Proclus himself is mainly familiar to Arabic thinkers as proclaiming the eternity of the world. His 18 propositions about this tenet (Ἐπιχειρήματα περὶ ἀϊδιότητος κόσμου), which are lost in the Greek original, were as well known to the Arabs as John Philoponus' reputation (*De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*)—of which the Greek MSS. lack the beginning. The first nine propositions are now published in Isḥāk b. Ḥunayn's Arabic version by A. Badawi (*op. cit.*, 35 ff.); eight of them were known from John Philoponus' quotations but the first is preserved in Arabic only (cf. C. G. Anawati, *Mélanges A. Diès*, Paris 1956, 21 f.). Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyā al-Rāzī in his book "On doubts which arise against Proclus" (*K. al-Shukūk allati ʿalā Buruklus*) referred to this work (cf. S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, 93, n. 1)—he may have made use of John Philoponus—and so does, for instance, Al-Shahrastānī (*K. al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, 338 ff. Cureton), who rightly points to Ibn Sīnā's use of Proclus' arguments; Al-Ghazzālī was familiar with them as well (cf. S. van den Bergh, *Averroes' Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, London 1954, i, xvii; ii, 1).

b. Additional proof for the popularity of Proclus among Arabic philosophers is provided by the chance discovery of fragments of some other writings. There are eight Προβλήματα φυσικά evidently part of a larger treatise which may well be genuine, published by A. Badawi (*op. cit.*, 43 ff., cf. B. Lewin, *Orientalia Suecana* 6, 1958) and a small fragment about the concept of ἀγαθόν from the *Lesser* Στοιχείωσις, mentioned by the Arabic bibliographers (Badawi, *op. cit.*, 257). F. Rosenthal made known, in English translation, a passage from his work *On the immortality of the Soul according to Plato*, and a small section of the lost part of his huge commentary on the *Timaeus* is available in German [see article Aflāṭūn]. The Arabs knew of his commentaries on the myth of the *Gorgias* and on Plato's *Phaedo* but neither Syriac nor Arabic remains of them have hitherto been traced. A commentary on the pseudo-pythagorean *Golden Verses* is a misattribution, due to the misreading of B. for the less known Neoplatonist Hierokles (which can be easily explained). (R. Walzer)

BURULLUS (Borollos), the name given to a district and to a lake to the north of the Delta of Egypt. The lake stretches between the mouths of the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile, and is separated from the Mediterranean only by a narrow band of dunes.

The Arabic name is the transcription of the Greek *Paralos*, transmitted through Coptic, and this word, which signifies "the maritime littoral", is applied quite naturally to this region. It may he noted that Yāḳūt and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa were acquainted with the vocalisation *Barallus*, which has not survived.

It was the administrative centre of a pagarchy (*kūra*) before the division of the country into larger districts. Burullus was then made part of *nastarāwiyya*, and in the 8th/14th century the province took the name of its chief town, Ashmūn Ṭannāḥ; now the region of Burullus belongs to the province of Gharbiyya.

In the Middle Ages the lake was called Buḥayrat Nastarāwa, after the name of a locality which no longer exists today. To Ibn Ḥawkal, it was the lake of Bushmūr, another designation for this swampy country.

Fishing in this lake was farmed out, a practice which represented an ancient fiscal organisation, predating the Muslim era. It can hardly be supposed that the various governments deprived themselves of such a productive source of revenue, and when the sources speak of the creation of this system, in the 3rd/9th century, they are probably referring to an aggravation of fiscal pressure. In the same way references to the suppression of the tax probably denote an alleviation.

The tombs of the Twelve Companions of the Prophet described by al-Harawī very likely recall some episodes of the Arab conquest, although according to the traditions, the chief of Burullus made terms with the conquerors. There may, how-

ever, have been battles following the landing of the Byzantines in 53/673.

The inhabitants of Burullus had the reputation of being expert trackers.

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al-**BURZULĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, of the tribe of the Banū Birzāla, a Mālikī author. Born in al-Ḳayrawān, he studied under Ibn ʿArafa for thirty or forty years and under other great masters, and became himself a teacher of Islamic law in Tunis and an *imām* at the Zaytūna mosque. In 806/1403, he passed on the pilgrimage through Cairo, where he issued several *idjāzas*. He died in Tunis in 841/1438 (according to others, in 842 or 843 or 843), at the age, it is said, of 103 years. He is famous on account of his collection of *fatwās* and *nawāzil* entitled *Djāmiʿ Masāʾil al-Aḥkām mimmā nazal min al-Ḳaḍāyā bil-Muftīn waʾl-Ḥukkām*, in two volumes, numerous manuscripts of which are known; it is one of the main sources of the *Miʿyār* of al-Wansharīshī (d. 914/1508); two extracts were made from it in the 9th and in the 12th century. The innumerable *responsa* which al-Burzulī mentions there together with the names of their authors, famous jurists who can easily be situated in space and in time, make his work the most important source for the history of society in Ifrīḳiya under the Zīrids of al-Ḳayrawān and al-Mahdiyya (10th-12th cent.) and the Ḥafṣids 13th-14th cent.).

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BŪSHAHR (Būshīr), district and town in the VIIth *Ustān* (Fārs) of Persia. The position of the town is Lat. 28° 59′ N, long. 50° 52′ E. (Greenwich). Būshahr stands on a low outcrop of sandstone at the northern end of a long and narrow peninsula. So low is the isthmus connecting this peninsula with the mainland that it is sometimes flooded at high tide, and a raised causeway had to be built across it in order to maintain communication between Būshahr and the hinterland at such times. At the southern end of the peninsula, $7^1/_2$ miles south of Būshahr, are the ruins of the ancient town of Rīshahr, where burial urns and cuneiform inscriptions dating back to the Babylonian era have been found. Rīshahr may perhaps be identified with the "Greek town" ('Ἰόνακα) of Isidore of Charax. It was founded anew by the Sāsānid king Ardashīr and was given the name of Rīv-Ardashīr, of which Rīshahr is a contraction. In the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries the Portuguese had a settlement and fort there.

The derivation of the name Būshahr is uncertain. As "Abū Shahr" ("Father of the Town") does not make good sense, the suggestion has been made, on the analogy of Rīshahr, that the original name was Bukht-Ardashīr ('Ardashīr has delivered'), but this etymology, though possible, is doubtful. British seamen in the 18th century corrupted the name to 'Bushire' and 'Busheer'.

The earliest reference to Būshahr is apparently in Yāḳūt (i, 503). The place remained no more than a village until 1734, when Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] made it the base of his navy in the Persian Gulf and gave it the name of Bandar Nādiriyya (see the *Gombroon Diary* of the English East India Company, 5th/16th July 1734, in vol. iv of the *Persia and the Persian Gulf Records*, India Office Library, and L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 92-3). Subsequently, an unsuccessful attempt was made to build a large warship at Būshahr, using timber that had been brought overland from the forests of Māzandarān at a vast expenditure of labour. Sir W. Ouseley saw the remains of this vessel when he landed at Būshahr in 1811 (see his *Travels in Various Countries of the East, more particularly Persia*, London 1819, Vol. i, 188). Although this shipbuilding experiment failed, Būshahr prospered in consequence of the attention that Nādir Shāh gave to it. Moreover, it subsequently benefited commercially when the English and Dutch East India Companies transferred their factories there from Bandar ʿAbbās [*q.v.*]. Another factor of great importance in the development of Būshahr in those times was the fact that Shīrāz, with which it was connected by a caravan route, became the capital of Persia in the reign of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*]. The consequence was that Būshahr took the place of Bandar ʿAbbās as the chief port of the country, a position which it was destined to hold for over a century and a half. Abraham Parsons, who visited Būshahr in 1775, stated that, when approached from the sea, the houses were sighted before the land itself came into view. So shallow was the sea there that large vessels had to anchor some 3 miles off shore. He estimated the population in normal times at nearly 20,000, but when he was there two-thirds of the inhabitants were absent at the siege of Baṣra [*q.v.*]. See his *Travels in Asia and Africa*, London 1808, 187-8.

In the 19th century Būshahr easily maintained its supreme position as a port. During the brief Anglo-Persian war, British forces occupied the town in December 1856, and held it until the conclusion of peace in the following March. The British connexion with Būshahr, at first only commercial, but later also political (for it became the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf), increased in importance as time went on. Other nations too participated in the trade of the town. Particulars of this trade and also of the movement of vessels in the latter part of the 19th century are to be found in the *Administration Reports* of the British Resident from 1876 onwards; these reports were published in Calcutta in *Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department* (the tables covering the years 1893 to 1897 in Freiherr M. von Oppenheim's *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii, 310-17, are based on these publications).

For the first quarter of the 20th century Būshahr continued to prosper, but, with the completion of the Trans-Iranian Railway in 1938 and the development of Bandar Shāpūr and Khurramshahr, it lost its position as the principal port of the country. Unlike Būshahr, both Bandar Shāpūr and Khurramshahr have wharves and jetties where large vessels can berth, and they are, moreover, connected with Tehran and other places in the interior by rail.

In 1946 the population of Būshahr was 15,000. It is understood that the Persian Plan Organisation intends to improve the port and other facilities of the town, but it seems unlikely that, even if this project is fully carried out, Būshahr will ever regain its former predominant position as a port.

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BUSHĀḲ, Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥallādj Abū Isḥāḳ (*kunya* contracted into the *takhalluṣ* Bushāḳ). Born in Shīrāz, he lived principally in Iṣfahān at the court of Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh, grandson of Tīmūr and governor of Fārs and Iṣfahān, where he died (827 or 830/1424 or 1427). That is almost all we know concerning him (apart from an anecdote reported by Dawlatshāh). According to Hidāyat (*Riyāḍ*), he maintained relations with the mystic poet Shāh Niʿmat Allāh [*q.v.*]. From the name Ḥallādj, a noun of occupation, it can be assumed that he was a cotton-carder. In dictionaries of the Persian language (*farhang*) he appears as an authority on culinary matters; hence the nickname *Bushāḳ-i aṭʿima* or simply *Aṭʿima* (prepared dishes) given him. A good edition of his works (*diwān*) was prepared and published at Istanbul in 1303/1885-86 by the learned Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī, who added a glossary of technical terms with Turkish and Arabic equivalents (H. Ferté has translated some fifty). This diwan contains *Kanz al-ishtihāʾ* ("Treasury of Appetite") with a preface (trans. by Ferté and by Browne) which shows that the various poetic genres had already been made famous by his precursors and that all he had to say had been said before; he merely transferred the inspirations of a number of great poets (for their names *vide* Browne) on to a culinary and gastronomical plane. He deals, therefore, in parodies. This applies not only to the "Treasure" but also to the second part of the work—the third being composed of two short works in prose mingled with verse, of the same inspiration, and having a conclusion followed by an amusing glossary of culinary terms (some of these have been trans. by Ferté). If one considers ʿUbayd-i Zākānī as the master of satire, one can, while admitting the existence of several earlier parodies, regard Bushāḳ as the creator of this genre to which he devoted all his literary activity. He may have lacked the distinction and "moderation" evinced in the French poet Berchoux's *Gastronomie* (Paris 1800), but he nevertheless excelled in the minor genre he had chosen, revealing humour and originality. A practised stylist, he handled with ease all poetic forms, both in the classical language and in the dialect of Fārs. Finally he rescued from oblivion a series of technical terms, as did his imitator Maḥmūd Ḳārī, who wrote his "*diwān* of Dress" (*diwān-i albisa*) on a plan analogous to that of Bushāḳ's *diwān*.

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BŪSHANDJ, also known as Fūshandj, in Middle Persian probably Pūshang, ancient Iranian town to the south of the river Harīrūd, and 10 parasangs (= one day's journey) W-S-W. of Harāt (Yāḳūt, i, 758) which lies north of the river. The town already existed in pre-Islamic times, and, according to legend, was founded either (considering its name) by the hero Pashang (the son, though in the epos the father, of Afrāsiyāb), or else by the Sāsānid ruler Shāpūr I (242-271) (J. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 49). In the year 588, the town is mentioned as the seat of a Nestorian bishop (*ibid.*, 64; it is, however, not referred to by Jean Dauvillier, *Les provinces Chaldéennes "de l'Extérieur"*, in "*Mélanges Cavallera*", Toulouse 1948, 279-282). Wilh. Tomaschek, (*Zur historischen Topographie von Persien*, i, Vienna 1883, 78), connects it with the Πισάγγαι of Theophrastus.

Round the year 650 AD, the town came into the hands of the Muslims, and it remained for 200 years on the frontier between the Arabs and the not fully conquered east-Iranian mountain regions. Here it found support, when in 41/661-2 and again in 160/776-7, it revolted against the Arabs. From 92/791 until 94/793, the place was in the hands of the Khāridjites, and it entered into a quieter period only when the islamisation of the area was largely completed under the rule of the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*], whose founder was a native of the place. Later, Būshandj was connected with Sīstān, and came under Ghaznawid rule in 392/1002 (cf. B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Leipzig 1952, 19, 25, 51, 53, 71 f., 111, 301, with reference to sources).

At that time, the size of Būshandj was roughly half that of Harāt, and throughout the Middle Ages it was known as a strong fortress with three gates. Economically, the town was important as the junction of the roads from Harāt to Nīshāpūr and Harāt to Kūhistān (Iṣṭakhrī, 267, last line, 268, line 8; Ibn Rusta, 172, line 17 f.; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 64, 104, 327; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 152 f., 177, 220 = trans., 151, 171, 212). In addition, Būshandj had timber and furniture industries, kept going by supplies from the nearby woods (Muḳad-

dasī, 307 f. (based on Iṣṭakhrī); Spuler, *op. cit.*, 408; Le Strange, 431)

After the Mongol conquest, under the vassal-dynasty of the Kurts (or Karts [*q.v.*], 1245-1389), Būshandj had a comparatively quiet period until it was conquered and ruthlessly destroyed by Tīmūr in the middle of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 782/March 1381. It was rebuilt soon afterwards. It is also repeatedly mentioned in the 15th century (by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, [*q.v.*]), and a *ribāṭ* supposedly founded by Abraham (Isfizārī, *Rawḍat . . . fī . . . Herāt*, printed in *JA*, v, 16 [July-Dec. 1860], 493 f.) was shown nearby in 897/1491-2. Later on, the place vanished from history; it was presumably destroyed during the Özbek and Türkmen raids. According to W. Tomaschek (*Topographie*, i, 78), the modern Ghūriyān is situated on its site. (W. Barthold-[B. Spuler])

al-**BUSHĀRRĀT**, "pastures" (*sierras de yerba y de pastos*), is the origin of the Spanish name Alpujarras; the Arabic toponym really applies to all the mountainous region which forms the extension of the Sierra Nevada southwards to the Mediterranean, from Motril to Adra and Almería; but more particularly designated by this name are the many fertile valleys which intersect this country (Padul - Béznar - Lanjarón - Orgiva - Cádiar and Ugíjar - Alcoléa - Laujar - Canjáyar - Rágol - Gádor). In the Middle Ages the Alpujarras were of greater extent because the capital was Jaén, and in addition to many fortresses it had more than 600 silk-producing villages. Ibn Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], who succeeded in seizing Jaén, must have mastered this region or at any rate found partisans and allies there, for in 300/913 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III captured his emissaries at Fiñana, crossed the Sierra Nevada, and besieged Juviles where, after a short siege, he captured and beheaded the Christian garrison which Ibn Ḥafṣūn had placed there. The belligerent inhabitants of the many villages in these valleys which intersect each other in all directions, the Alpujarreños, had in fact in Arab times rebellious tendencies, and after 1492 revolts continued to mark their history, in particular the great rebellion of 1568-70 which was directed by Ibn Umayya and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbō, and which was suppressed with the shedding of much Morisco blood by the Marquis of Mondéjar and Don John of Austria [see moriscos].

(C. F. Seybold-[A. Huici Miranda])

BŪSHĪR [see būshahr].

BŪṢĪR or **ABŪṢĪR**, the name of several places in Egypt, which is not unnatural since it refers to places in which the god Osiris was the object of special veneration.

The name Abūṣīr is found in the large suburban area west of Alexandria, a memory of the site of *Taposiris Magna*.

Būṣīr, on the west bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile, in the province of al-Gharbiyya. In the middle ages this small town was connected to a neighbouring settlement, Banā, so that one spoke of Būṣīr-Banā. Famous in antiquity, Būṣīr was an episcopal seat and the administrative centre of the pagarchy (*kūra*).

Būṣīr al-Sidr, in the province of al-Djīza where there are still pyramids. The description of it by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf is a document of the first order, as are also the discoveries which he mentions in the cemetery of the town.

Būṣīr, called Būṣīr-Ḳūrīdis in the Middle Ages, and, from the 11th/17th century at least, Būṣīr al-Malaḳ, is located at the entrance to the Fayyūm, within the western strip of Middle Egypt. Owing to the great number of places called Būṣīr, Arab authors have found it difficult to situate exactly where the Umayyad caliph Marwān died. It is more than likely—and is in addition supported by a local tradition—that Marwān spent his last days at Būṣīr al-Malaḳ. The information is already given by Ḳudāma. About this town developed a small, ephemeral province, Būṣīriyya, which lay between those of Aṭfīḥ and Bahnasā.

Opposed to this documentation, another school of writers places the final defeat of the Umayyad in a locality also called Būṣīr, opposite Ashmūnayn, on the other bank of the Nile, about 180 kilometres south of Būṣīr al-Malaḳ. The region claimed to be the place of origin of Pharaoh's "magicians" and, according to al-Idrīsī, the inhabitants of his time had a certain reputation as sorcerers. This particular Būṣīr has left no traces.

Finally, there is a Būṣīr-Dafadnū in the province of Fayyūm.

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al-**BŪṢĪRĪ** [see Supplement].

BUSR b. Abī Arṭāt or b. Arṭāt (there is less authority for the latter form), an Arab general of the Ḳuraysh clan of the Banū ʿĀmir, was born in Mecca in the last decade before the Hidjra. Only traditions which have been influenced by Shīʿī prejudices deny him the title of Ṣaḥābī. He went with the relief column into Syria under Khālid b. al-Walīd, distinguished himself there by his bravery and afterwards took part in the conquest of Africa. His bravery earned him a *duʿāʾ* and rewards from ʿUmar. During the civil war he vigorously declared himself on the side of Muʿāwiya for whom he won over the influential Kindī chief, Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ. At Ṣiffīn we find him in the Syrian camp. He afterwards helped ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to reconquer Egypt for Muʿāwiya. Busr is perhaps the most striking figure among the lieutenants of this Caliph. He was a typical Bedouin of the old school, utterly impervious to pity, if Shīʿī tradition has not exaggerated the details of the portrait of this fiery opponent of ʿAlī. Sent into Arabia against the the latter's partisans, Busr waged a war of extermination against them. He destroyed the dwellings of the enemies of ʿUthmān in the sacred towns of the Ḥidjāz and displayed a loyalty to the Umayyads which was only surpassed later by Muslim b. ʿUḳba and Ḥadjdjādj. In the Yemen he put to death the two young sons of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās. During the brief campaign, which was terminated by the abdication of Ḥasan, son of ʿAlī, he commanded the vanguard. As a reward, he received the governorship of Baṣra where he established a dictatorial regime. He spent little time in the ʿIrāḳ but returned thither to seize the children of Ziyād b. Abīhi and by this drastic

measure subdued the last armed partisan of ʿAlī. We later find him leading several naval expeditions against the Byzantine Empire.

After the year 50/670, this agent of Muʿāwiya's ambition, general and admiral by turns, disappears from the field of politics. He is said however to have lived at court till the death of the sovereign. According to the Shīʿīs, he went mad because he brought down ʿAlī's curse upon himself. He reappears in the reign of Walīd I, when he is said to have again taken part in an expedition to Africa. Other authorities make him die at Medina in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik. He seems to have lived to a great age and fallen into his dotage.

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(H. Lammens)

BUṢRĀ [see BOṢRĀ].

BUST, a ruined city in Sidjistān, among whose imposing remains are the two principal groups of Ḳalʿa-i Bist and Lashkar-i Bāzār. It lies in the south of Afghānistān on the now deserted banks of the Hilmand, near its confluence with the Arghandāb, on the stretch of the route through Girishk between Harāt and Ḳandahār. Its present isolation, to which recent American efforts to rehabilitate the region will no doubt put an end, stands in contrast to the ancient prosperity of the area, celebrated in the middle ages for its great fertility, well irrigated orchards between two water-courses, and for its rôle as stage on the principal route between Khurāsān or Fārs on one hand and Sind on the other, that is, between Baghdād and India, at the very place where a pontoon-bridge crossed the river just as it became navigable in the direction of Zarandj. The Arab geographers of the first centuries, criticising Bust because of the frequent epidemics there, pointed at the same time to the commercial and intellectual activity of the city, and to the produce of its surrounding area, planted in fruit trees, vineyards and palms.

Such prosperity dates very likely from an early period. Precise knowledge is lacking however for the first stages of the development of Bust, whose existence was attested in the time of the Parthians, though we are ignorant of its exact rôle in the province of Sīstān, quarrelled over by the Sāsānid sovereigns and the rulers of the Chionite-Hephtalite kingdom of Zābulistān.

Also rather confused is the history of Bust from the moment when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura [*q.v.*] annexed it to the territory of Islam, perhaps in 29/649-50 during the caliphate of ʿUthmān, but more likely in 42/661-62 at the beginning of the Umayyad period. The first Arab expeditions were doubtless no more than raids of little permanent consequence, resulting in the payment of a tribute by the region but not in its occupation. In the second half of the 1st/7th century, Bust "became it seems, the advanced post of Muslim domination against the indigenous and independent princes of the frontier countries of the east, who bore the name or title of *Zunbīl*". (R. Hartmann). And the early sources mention several armed encounters in the neighbourhood, the Umayyads and first ʿAbbāsids having sent Arab governors there to suppress local rebellions in Sidjistān, or troubles instigated by the Khāridjites (troubles emphasised in the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*), and to fight or to negotiate with the ruler of Kābulistān. In particular we know the events of the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] which took place at Bust and, somewhat later, its suppression by Maʿn b. Zaʾida al-Shaybānī before he was assassinated there in 156/773. Although Yaʿḳūbī speaks of the place then held by Bust, the principal city of a province which rivalled in wealth Khurāsān, and though one can imagine the strategic rôle then played by its fortress, we nevertheless lack detail of the administrative organisation of a city which, in especially troubled political circumstances, seems, like other localities in eastern Iran and central Asia, to have enjoyed relative autonomy.

Subsequently, the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth, after having taken Kābul in 257/871, extended his domination as far as Bust, cited several times in the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* in connexion with his campaigns against his eastern neighbours and visits he made to the region. In their turn the Sāmānids tried to establish a foothold in the area, and confused quarrels, accompanied by military expeditions, opposed the people of Bust to the envoys from the court in Khurāsān as well as those sent by the caliphs at Baghdād. But it was during the period of the Ghaznawids that Bust, taken by Subuktakīn in 366/976 and thus separated from the province of Zarandj, enjoyed for nearly a century its most brilliant development. It served as a subsidiary residence for the rulers of Ghazna, who had there a permanent camp (*al-ʿAskar*) mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī, and al-Bayhaḳī describes the brilliant life led there, between ambassadorial receptions, hunting, and pleasure parties on the Hilmand, by a ruler such as Masʿūd I during his visit in 428/1036. It was there too, that the troops of the Ghaznawid ʿAbd al-Rashīd successfully opposed in 441/1049-50 the advance of the Saldjūḳs, who had already been defeated several times trying to take the region. The sack of Ghazna, however, in 544/1149 by the Ghūrid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, followed shortly after by the conquest of Bust, its pillage and the burning of its royal castles, marked for the latter city the beginning of a decline, echoed in the text of the contemporary geographer Yāḳūt.

The destruction of Bust was at that time far from complete. The old palaces of the Ghaznawids were soon restored and inhabited by the governors of the region on behalf of the Ghūrids, later of the Khwārizm-Shāhs. Despite the various struggles in which the city was the stake, its continued existence is attested above all by funeral steles of beautiful execution, dating from the end of the 6th/12th century or the first half of the 7th/13th century and bearing the titles of important personages, undoubtedly the holders of a power at once religious and temporal established on a basis exclusively local. The destruction resulting from the Mongol invasion, however, about 618/1221, and from the passage of Tīmūr's hordes at the end of the 8th/14th century, brought about the final abandonment of the site, whose cultivated lands became steppe. Only the citadel, which played a rôle during the wars of the Great Mughals against Persia, and underwent at that time architectural modifications which are still visible, was maintained until Nādir Shāh had it dismantled in 1738.

The facts relative to the history of Bust have been illuminated especially since D. Schlumberger's discovery, and the careful study by the French

Archaeological Delegation in Afghānistān, of an architectural group until then unexplored and scarcely mentioned by earlier investigators. North of a field of ruins, about 7 kilometres long and in places 2 kilometres wide, whose southern end alone had previously attracted attention, with its remains of the city wall proper, its citadel and the high silhouette of the "Arch of Bust", the royal residence itself has been identified, the ancient *al-ʿAskar* of the Arab authors and the *lashkargāh* of the Persian writers. Its three monumental palaces, formerly surrounded by gardens still indicated by the high walls, —they constituted, together with a mild climate, the charm of this subsidiary capital of the Ghaznawids— rise from within the enclosure of the "royal city", and the southern castle in particular has been almost completely cleared in the course of several excavations. Fronted by a spacious esplanade, on to which opens a large mosque, and approached by an avenue a half-kilometre long bordered by shops behind a colonnade, it displays about a central court with four *iwāns*, rooms grouped in *bayts*, among which are several larger and luxuriously appointed chambers. Not only have the characteristic details of its plan been revealed. Beneath the heaps of earth caused by the fall of the higher parts—the construction is made largely of rough brick—and despite two successive fires the traces of which are still evident on the building, it was possible to discover important elements of its exterior and especially its interior ornamentation, based on bare brick, of facings sculptured in earth or plaster and of mural paintings of which one is a fresco of human beings. Such archaeological documentation evokes comparisons among which not the least interesting are those which place this unique specimen of civil architecture in mediaeval Iran in the line of the earlier constructions of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs at Baghdād and Samarra. Thus the irrefutable testimony borne by the ruins of Lashkar-i Bāzār concerning the grandeur of Bust and its royal suburb between the 5th/11th and the 7th/13th centuries, contains an eminently suggestive lesson for the historian of Muslim art in one of its remote provinces.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BŪSTĀN, also used in the contracted form Bustān, a Persian word formed from *bū* "smell, perfume", and the suffix of place *estān*, usually used in the sense of "kitchen-garden" and sometimes in the sense of "orchard"; it is used in Turkish in the sense of "kitchen-garden", and in Arabic in the sense of "garden" in general (pl. *basātīn*); in the Algerian dialect it denotes "cypress" (Beaussier), and at Beirut a "plantation of mulberry-trees" (Cuche); it forms part of several Middle Eastern geographical names.—It is the title of a didactic poem by the eminent Persian poet Saʿdī [*q.v.*], written at Shīrāz in 655/1257, in ten chapters. The work is a classic, and has been read in primary schools in every country where Persian has been cultivated, especially in Iran, India, Central Asia and Ottoman Turkey. Indian authors have written several commentaries on this work in Persian, and there exist further commentaries in Turkish, notably those of Shamʿī and Sūdī (both at the end of the 16th century). It was translated into Turkish by the scholar Taftāzānī [*q.v.*] in 755/1354 (Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 202), and into various other Oriental languages, such as Bengali, Sindi, and Pandjābī. The principal translations into European languages are those of Forbes Falconer into English (*Selections*, London 1838), of Graf into German verse (*Saʿdi's Lustgarten*, Jena 1856), of Baron Schlechta-Wssehrd into German (Vienna 1852), of Barbier de Meynard into French (Paris 1880), and of Constantin Čaikin into Russian verse (Moscow 1935). The oldest MSS. give this work the title of *Saʿdī-nāma*. (Said Naficy)

I. — Gardens in Islam

The part played by gardens in the past and present life of the Muslim peoples appears to stem from the conception of Paradise, the ideal garden, as portrayed in the Kurʾān, which paints so detailed a picture of the state (of blessedness) reserved exclusively for Believers that it might have served as a model for the creators of gardens in both East and West. There are to be found lawns interspersed with winding streams, trees bowed down with fruit, seats on which it is possible to recline in comfort, pavilions occupied by virgins waiting to welcome the elect. It will be noted that there are no flowers, but instead a wealth of fruit trees. Also worthy of note are the open summer-houses and in particular the streams of running water, cooling the air. The layout clearly has much in common with that of the oasis, a haven of freshness and fertility, the more delightful because it is found in the midst of those desert regions in which Islam principally spread.

It is to Iran, the home of most of our (European) fruits, the land *par excellence* of irrigated plantations and cultivated shrubberies, that the Muslim world would appear to owe its initiation into the art of landscape gardening. The fact that Arabic terms such as *bustān* or *firdaws* derive from the Persian gives substantial support to this conjecture.

Persian horticulture flourished long before the birth of Islam and was associated with princely life. Even as early as Xenophon, we find references to the beautiful layout of the park planned at Sardis by Cyrus the Younger (407 B.C.). The palaces of the Sāsānid kings, such as the Kaṣr-i Shīrīn of Chosroes II, looked out on extensive vistas of water and greenery. There are, moreover, bas-reliefs to remind us of the vast wooded enclosures stocked with game where the sovereign could give himself up to the pleasures of the chase. Gardens in an architectural

framework, such as esplanades and courtyards planted with trees, on the one hand, and on the other properties outside the towns, as spacious as parks, and embellished here and there by a solitary pavilion, — these two styles of garden were adopted by the Muslim world and spread, with more or less continuity, across the nations and the centuries.

The first style influenced the architects of the ʿAbbāsid era, who built Samarra. The Djawsaḳ al-Khāḳānī of the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (218-227/833-842), was made up of an edifice at the front comprising three *īwāns* and a suite of apartments, behind which was a vast esplanade walled with ramparts. "Parallel to these encircling walls were canals which were doubtless bordered by beds of flowers. Marble pools, fountains and other decorative features completed the scene". H. Viollet, who describes this layout, relates it to the "French style" garden with its ample spaces, straight lines and architectural aspect. These common features are perhaps not purely fortuitous, rather they may point to a distant common ancestry. These "French-style" gardens, of which Versailles is the most notable example, were inspired by the Italian garden which in turn derived from the Graeco-Roman garden, such as is found at Pompeii or Hadrian's villa. These last certainly seem to have been much influenced by the gardens of the East.

Nevertheless, it was in Persia, the country of its birth, that this style of garden was to be preserved. The Ṣafawid miniatures in particular bear witness to its permanence. The Prince sits enthroned in a summer-house looking out on to a paved walk broken up by canals and lakes and separated by wooden fences from stretches of ground planted with flowers and trees. No less evocative are the Persian carpets known as "*au jardin*". The area is divided into rectangles by intersecting canals. Fish swim in the canals and the rectangles are filled with flowers and shrubs (see, for instance, W. Bode, *Antique Rugs from the Near East*, New York, 1929, fig. 58). This same style of garden is also to be found at the opposite end of the Islamic world.

The private houses of the ʿAbbāsid era doubtless had their interior gardens. It is well-known that the art of the Ṭūlūnids which dominated Egypt in the 3th/9th century was closely linked to that of Sāmarrā. In the houses of Fusṭāṭ, which can be assigned to this period, the rooms opened on to a central court in which brick-lined hollows were dug. Some of these were filled with water, others with soil for growing plants. The townsman, moreover, showed a remarkable taste for gardens. The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw draws attention to those which adorned the terraces. An irrigating machine on the top of a seven-storey house and operated by oxen was used for watering orange, banana and other fruit trees as well as many kinds of flowers and fragrant plants.

At this time Ifrīḳiya was held in the name of the ʿAbbāsids by the Aghlabid *amīrs*, who disseminated the fashions of Baghdād throughout the lands of the Berbers. They had first one and then a second residence on the outskirts of al-Ḳayrawān. The second, Raḳḳāda, was seven kilometres distant from the town. The grounds, which according to al-Bakrī, were surrounded by a wall more than 10 kilometres long, must have been mainly laid out as gardens, irrigated by cisterns of which remnants are still in existence. The largest of these hydraulic works is a huge quadrangular reservoir with solid walls reinforced on both sides with buttresses, in whose waters a raised pavilion was reflected.

The tradition of these country seats must have persisted in Ifrīḳiya in spite of hardships which in the 5th/11th century ruined the country. We come upon gardens again in the 8th/14th century under the Ḥafṣids of Tūnis. The vast domain of Abū Fihr, created by al-Mustanṣir (647-75/1249-77) in the neighbourhood of his capital (near the present village of Ariana) included various features which foreshadowed the Maghribī taste for the *agdāl*. Ibn Khaldūn describes it with a wealth of detail which is unusual for him.

"One found there", he tells us, "a forest of trees, some of which were trained on to trellises, while the rest were left to grow in complete freedom. The branches of the lemon and orange trees mingled with those of the cyprus, while, below, the myrtle and jasmine smiled upon the water-lily. In the midst of these groves, a large garden encircled a lake so vast that it might be taken for an ocean. Water was brought there by the ancient aqueduct [which in former times supplied Carthage and which the Ḥafṣid al-Mustanṣir had had repaired]. Following this conduit, the waters gush through a huge outlet into a square reservoir [serving as a decantation basin] and, thence, through a fairly short canal, to the great pool which they fill in swirling torrents. At each end of the pool stands a pavilion, one large, one small, whose roofs rest on columns of white marble and whose walls are faced with marble inlay".

This same period witnessed in Morocco the creation by the Marīnid sultans of vast cultivated enclosures such as that attached to the Palace of Fez al-Djadīd, called Amīna al-Marīniyya, in which terraces and raised pavilions dominated the plantations and the surrounding countryside. Abandoned after the fall of the Marīnids, this park was restored between 1240 and 1250/1824-34 by the ʿAlawid sultan Mūlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. This same sultan created the *agdāl* of Marrākush, which the modern historian al-Nāṣirī describes for us. It was an immense park or rather a group of gardens planted with one or two species of fruit trees or perfumed flowers, either indigenous or imported, cultivated for sale. In the midst of the plantations there were lakes with pleasure boats. The streams which filled these lakes provided water for the gardens and even turned the wheels of water-mills. Pavilions stood in this central section.

We can still see enclosures of this kind in the *agdāls* of the imperial cities of Morocco such as Marrākush or Meknes. Away from the dense urban centres, the *agdāl* is adjacent to the official quarter, a rural annex to the urban palaces. It is profit-making land, enriching the coffers of the sovereign. It also provides a place of recreation and repose for his harem. This type of plantation may have some links with the oriental tradition of royal parks. Nevertheless, the name by which it is known and its general resemblance to the great domain of a Berber chieftain inclines one to look to the West for the models which inspired its creation.

This is not the case with the *riyāḍ*, the interior garden of the palaces and rich dwellings of the Muslim cities of the west. It is almost certainly to Iran that we should look to find the origins of this style of garden whose layout is preserved for us in the Persian carpet: straight pathways, intersecting at right angles and separating square patches of green on which fruit trees and decorative plants abound. Sometimes canals with flowing water cross the

pathways, sometimes their intersections are marked by ornamental fountains. A summer-house at one end of the garden dominates the vista, unless the garden is bordered on two or four sides by galleries, in which case the doors of the apartments give on to this open space. The *riyāḍ* seems, in fact, to be an extension and elaboration of the patio. It is designed in harmony with the architecture of the house and completes its lay out.

If the Maghribī house with its interior courtyard is inspired by the Graeco-Roman peristyle house, the *riyāḍ* which fills this courtyard seems to be a legacy from Persia, like so many other elements in the Muslim civilisations of both East and West. We do not know at what period the West first adopted this style, though we find traces of it as early as the first half of the 6th/12th century.

Excavations carried out at Marrākush beneath the ruins of the first mosque of the Kutubiyya have yielded the plan of a small *riyāḍ* which can be dated as belonging to the period of the Almoravid ʿAlī b. Yūsuf (500-537/1106-1142). Here a rectangular patio is divided by two intersecting paths. The remnants of Castillejo have been uncovered near Murcia. This appears to have been built by Ibn Mardanīsh (541-566/1147-1171). Its rooms enclose a *riyāḍ* intersected by pathways, with two pavilions at the narrower ends. This type of *riyāḍ* appears to be classical in Andalusia. In the 8th/14th century, the Granadan poet Ibn Lūyūn enumerates its features. He recommends the laying out of a garden which offers "in its centre trellises shading walks which should encompass the flower-beds like margins". A summer house, wide-open, surrounded by rambler roses and myrtles, affords a place of rest which commands the whole domain at a single glance. The Naṣrid sultans of Granada incorporated this domestic theme into the sumptuous architecture of their palaces. In the Alhambra of Muḥammad V (763-93/1562-91), the famous Patio of the Lions is nothing more than a *riyāḍ*. Pathways intersecting to form a cross separate four plots which must have been intended to be planted. Two pavilions raised on columns jut out at the two narrow ends of the rectangle. In addition to this interior garden, the guests at the Alhambra had the Generalife (*Djanān al-ʿarif*) at their disposal. Here again, we find shrubberies, canals fed by fountains and galleries enclosing the open space.

It is very probably via Andalusia that this style of town garden, originating in Persia, spread throughout the three countries of North Africa. In Morocco, the Alhambra inspired the Saʿdid Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, who adopted its design on a grandiose scale in the palace of the Badīʿ of Marrākush (986-1012/1578-1603). A court measuring 135 metres by 110 metres, surrounded by apartments and pavilions, looked out on shrubberies alternating with vast lakes. Up to our own day, Moroccan towns like Marrākush and Fez have seen the creation of enchanting *riyāḍs*. In Tunisia, the Andalusians, driven out of Spain, spread the fashion in the towns in which they had taken refuge. As for Algeria, the gardens of the beautiful country houses which are scattered about the outskirts of Algiers were among the luxuries enjoyed by the Corsairs and were tended by a vast number of their captives who laboured in them all the year round.

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(G. Marçais)

II. — Mughal Gardens

The Mughal emperors of India, Akbar [*q.v.*], Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] and Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*] were all great lovers of nature, a quality which they inherited from their progenitor, Bābur [*q.v.*] who after the conquest of Hindūstān, lamented the absence of well-planned gardens in his new dominions. Bāgh-i Wafā was the first garden which he laid out near Kābul in 914/1508, followed by larger and more magnificent ones in Āgra [*q.v.*], his Indian capital.

His grandson Akbar, after constructing the fort of Hari Parbat (Kashmir) in 1006/1597 laid out the Nasīm Bāgh flanking the Dal lake. This garden is now in ruins, with the exception of stately *čanār* trees planted by Shāhdjahān (1037/1627-1069/1658). But the most charming of the Kashmir gardens is the Nishāṭ Bāgh laid out by Āṣaf Khān (c. 1035/1625), a brother of Nūrdjahān [*q.v.*], the queen of Djahāngīr. In natural beauty and architectural skill this garden is considered matchless. It was built in 12 terraces, representing the 12 signs of the Zodiac. Its water-supply was temporarily stopped by Shāhdjahān, who considered it too splendid for a subject, but was soon restored. The most-famed Shālīmār was founded in 1029/1619 by Djahāngīr. The etymology of the word *Shālimār* or *Shālāmār* is dubious; it was in vogue even in pre-Mughal days, being the name of a Dal cascade in the times of Djahāngīr (*Tuzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, trans. Rogers, ii, 151). Nādir Shāh's historian, Mīrzā Mahdī, spells it *Shuʿla Māh*, while the Sikh chieftain, Randjīt Singh (1214/1799-1255/1839), changed it into *Shahlā*, declaring that the word *Shālīmār* had ominous implications (see S. M. Latif, *History of the Panjab*, Lahore 1892, 360).

Apart from the Srīnagar (Kashmir) Shālīmār, there is an equally famous one of the same name at Lahore; a third one, at Delhi, is no longer extant. The Kashmir Shālīmār is remarkable for a pavilion, built by Shāhdjahān, with exquisitely carved pillars of black marble. This pavilion, which is surrounded by a series of cascades, contained four large stone doors in the days of Bernier (1672-1826).

The Lahore Shālīmār was founded, in three terraces, by ʿAlī Mardān Khān, an Iranian nobleman who, after surrendering the town of Ḳandahār, of which he was the Governor, to the investing Mughal armies, had come down to Lahore in 1048/1638. He was warmly received by Shahdjahān, who appointed him Governor of Kashmir and, in 1049/1638, of the Pandjāb also. Being a celebrated canal engineer, he was, immediately on his arrival, entrusted by the Emperor with the digging of a canal from the Rāwī which would supply water

to the gardens. He was, however, transferred to Kābul before the canal reached Lahore. On completion, a year later, it cost the Imperial exchequer a sum of 100,000 rupees. The garden with all the buildings, walks etc. was completed in 1052/1642-3, when it was visited by the Emperor. The name of the first terrace was changed to Faraḥ Bakhsh by the emperor, Shāhdjahān; the second and the third terraces, added later, were named Fayḍ Bakhsh. The Faraḥ Bakhsh measures 330 yds. sq. and in the days of Bernier had 8 buildings, four in the middle of the side walls and four at the four corners. This garden suffered much damage during the Sikh rule, most of its marble having been looted and taken to Amritsar [*q.v.*]. The canal of ʿAlī Mardān Khān, which had silted up, was reopened by Randjīt Singh in 1806. The present entrance is a later construction built by W. L. McGregor, Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, in 1849.

The other Mughal gardens of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent include Pindjawr, near Ambāla [*q.v.*]; Gulābī, Sadā Harā and Dilkushā in Lahore; Rawshan Ārā', Tālkatōrā and Mahtāb in Delhi; Nagīn, Wērī Nāg, Aččhībal, Habbak, and Pari Maḥall, in Kashmir.

The Mughal gardens follow a definite plan, a salient feature being the construction of a central channel and shallow tanks in the centre surrounded by soft green turf, a lofty boundary-wall, *čanār* trees, artificial pools and numerous fountains. The Mughal garden is generally arranged in squares or geometric patterns, usually in the form of terraces placed in such a way as to make the distribution and flow of water easy. Each terrace has four divisions to conform to the traditional plan of the *Čahār bāgh* or four-fold garden. Taken as a whole, the garden looks like a combination of rectangles and straight lines; no curved paths or even circular parterres are allowed.

Great care was taken in the selection of the sites, and the foot of a wooded hill, or a charming cliff, served as the background. The Kashmir Shālīmār is the best specimen of Mughal horticulture.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

al-**BUSTĀNĪ**. [see Supplement].

al-**BUSTĪ**, Abuʾ l-Fatḥ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, Arabic poet of the 4th/10th century. He was of Persian origin and a native of Bust [*q.v.*] where he studied *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* and *adab*. He was a pupil of the traditionist Ibn Ḥibbān, who was living at Bust from 340/951 till his death 354/965. Another traditionist, al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388/1007), was Bustī's friend. In law he followed the Shāfiʿī school. As a young man he became secretary (*kātib*) to Bāytūz, the lord of Bust. When in 367/977 Bust was taken by Subuktigīn, al-Bustī went over to the victor. Owing to some intrigue he was compelled to retire to a village in the Rukhkhadj district, but after a few months was called back by Subuktigīn and remained in office together with al-ʿUtbī till the reign of Maḥmūd. In this capacity he composed his much admired state letters announcing the spectacular victories of Maḥmūd. Later on he fell again into disgrace and was banished to the "land of the Turks" *i.e.*, Transoxania. He died in 400/1010 or 401/1011 (or even as late as Shawwāl 403/Febr.-March 1016) in Bukhārā. According to al-Manīnī, *Sharḥ al-Yamīnī* (1286/1869-70) vol. i, 73, 2 he died in Uzgend where his tomb was shown.

His varied writings both as a poet and letter-writer show all the traits of rhetorical artificiality typical of the poetry and ornate prose of the 4th/10th century. He was much praised for his skill in applying the *tadjnīs* (paronomasia) and especially the *tadjnīs mutashābih* *i.e.* the use of homonyms for the sake of puns. This technique he developed gradually after having heard in his youth a quibble from the poet Shuʿba b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Bustī (*Yatīmat al-Dahr*, iv, 233 f.). He was on friendly terms with Thaʿālibī, who composed his *Aḥsan mā samiʿtu* on his instigation and gives of Bustī's art an appreciative selection in his *Yatīmat al-Dahr*. His *Dīwān* was published at Beirut in 1294/1877-8. Especially famous is his didactic poem *al-Nūniyya* or *ʿUnwān al-Ḥikam*.

Bustī wrote also some poems in his mother-tongue, Persian, but they were never collected (see H. Ethé, in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Festschrift H. L. Fleischer, 1875, 55-7). He is sometimes confounded with his namesake Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Bustī (*recte* al-Baynī) an Egyptian poet of the 5th/11th century (see Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda* i, 200, 18 and Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib* 103 Tallquist).

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(J. W. Fück).

BUT [see budd].

BUṬAYN [see nudjūm].

BUṬNĀN, the name of a *wādī* located thirty kilometres east of Aleppo. At this place springs feed a large stream, Nahr al-Dhahab, which flows south and empties into the salt lake of Djabbūl. These natural conditions have permitted the development

of essentially agricultural villages (fruit trees and cotton), of which the most important are the market-towns of Bāb and Buzāʿa. A convenient stage about a day's march from the valley of Ḳuwayḳ, it was always a halting-place on the routes from Edessa and Raḳḳa, and the revenues drawn from the saltbed of Djabbūl formed consistently an appreciable support for the finances of the governors or rulers of northern Syria.

Popular etymology relates Buṭnān to the root *bṭn* and gives it the meaning of "low-lying ground". In fact the name preserves the memory, beyond a Byzantine Batnai and a Roman Batnae, of the principality of Patin.

Conquered by Ḥabīb b. Maslama, Buṭnān fell very soon under the influence of the new centre, Aleppo, and henceforth played only an episodic rôle. In 70/689-90, the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik wintered in the valley, during a struggle against Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. The Carmathians made a disastrous appearance there in 901/289. Under Sayf al-Dawla's rule, it was devastated by Nicephoros Phocas in 966/365. In the time of the Mirdāsids the valley was the scene of confused struggles, and fell under the authority of Tutush in 1080/472. The Crusades and the Frankish occupation of Edessa and Antioch opened a period of insecurity which began in 1098/491-92 with an Armenian raid, doubtless in connexion with the siege of Antioch. A prompt response by the Saldjūḳs of Aleppo ended in the extermination of the large Ismāʿīlī community at Bāb. Burned by Joscelin of Tell Bāshir in 1125/518, Buzāʿa as well as Bāb was taken by the Emperor John II Comnenos in 1138/532. The arrival of Nūr al-Dīn in Aleppo brought back security. The Buṭnān of this period is known owing to the descriptions, as numerous as they are stereotyped, of the Arab geographers (cited by Le Strange and Dussaud).

With the Mamlūks, Buṭnān disappeared from the political scene. The region was administered by two Mamlūk *djundīs*, appointed by the *nāʾib* of Aleppo, one for the towns of Bāb and Buzāʿa, the other for the neighbourhood of Djabbūl. The Turks made it a *ḳaḍāʾ*, where a *ḳāʾimmaḳām* subordinate to the Pasha of Aleppo kept an eye on the salt-mines of Djabbūl (400-500,000 pounds annual revenue for the exchequer in the middle of the 19th century). He resided at Bāb, which had 6,000 inhabitants at this period.

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(F. Hours)

AL-**BUTR**, the name given to one of the two groups of tribes who constitute the Berbers [*q.v.*], the other being called al-Barānis [*q.v.*].

The chief groups of whom al-Butr was composed were the Lawāta, the Nafūsa, the Nafzāwa, the Banū Fātin and the Miknāsa. Their earliest habitat is the region of steppe and plateau which extends from the Nile to southern Tunisia; they were thus originally Libyan Berbers. But, very early, several of these peoples (Miknāsa, Banū Fātin, and a part of Lawāta) moved towards the west—to Algeria (the areas round Awrās, Tiaret and Tlemcen) and Morocco (the Moulouya basin, the Saharan country between Sidjilmāsa, Fīgīg and Twāt, and the Sebou basin), and from the western Maghrib many elements penetrated into Spain. An attempt has been made to present the Butr as the Berber nomads and camel-drivers par excellence. This was perhaps their primitive way of life, which is no doubt why Arab historians have attached to this group peoples of definitely nomad habits, such as the Hawwāra and the Zanāta. The Nafūsa, the Nafzāwa and a part of the Lawāta appear nevertheless to have become stabilised rather early in the mountains of Libya, perhaps at the time of the Arab conquest. As for those who moved into Algeria and Morocco, they were soon settled and even established a number of small towns.

The greater part of the tribal names of which this group is composed are still current, but the collective name itself has disappeared. It is the plural of the Arabic (!) adjective *al-abtar*, the alleged surname of Mādghīs, whom these peoples recognised as their common ancestor. The word means "he whose tail is docked, mutilated, he who has no descendants". The last sense is hardly suited to an eponymous ancestor; the first two are bizarre. However, the eponymous ancestor of the other group, Burnus, bears a name coincident with the Arabic word (an early borrowing from the Greek *birros*) designating the garment which we call burnous. Thus, the Barānis might be "the (wearers of) burnous, or long garments" and, in contrast, the Butr would be "those clad in short garments". In fact, in the Arabic dialect of north-west Morocco, there is an adjective *gerṭiṭ* (a quadriliteral expansion of the root *ḳrṭ*) meaning "he who has his tail cut short", and is applied in particular to the very short *jellābas* of the mountaineers (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes de Tanger*, 439).

For other ethnic appellations derived from

peculiarities of dress, note that of the Ṣanhādja Berbers [*q.v.*], who are called *mulaththimūn* "those who wear a veil over the mouth"; and that which has been suggested for the Maṣmūda [*q.v.*] Berbers, who are called Shulūḥ (cf. *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1939, 305).

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(G. S. COLIN)

BUWAYHIDS or **BŪYIDS**, the most important of the dynasties which, first in the Iranian plateau then in ʿIrāḳ, side by side with the Sāmānids of Khurāsān and of Māwarāʾ al-Nahr, marked the "Iranian intermezzo" (Minorsky) between the Arab domination of early Islam and the Turkish conquest of the 5th/11th century. Its name derives from Buwayh or Būyeh, the father of three brothers who founded it, ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, and the youngest, Aḥmad. *Condottieri* of humble birth, they belonged to the population of the Daylamites [*q.v.*] who, newly won over to (Shīʿī) Islam, were at that time enlisting in large numbers in all the armies of the Muslim East, including those of the Caliphate.

To some extent, it was the Daylamites who, with the advent of the Buwayhids, assumed power and imposed on the régime something of their own character. While the Daylamites remaining in Daylam formed small principalities, sometimes extending as far as Ādharbaydjān, the others, in Iran and ʿIrāḳ, developed in consequence into a political factor of growing importance. The Buwayhids, who, to begin with, had followed one of their compatriots, Mākān b. Kākī, who had entered the service of the Sāmānids, and then their Gīlānī ally Mardāwīdj [*q.v.*] in his struggle against their common enemy, the Zaydī state of Ṭabaristān (sometimes extending as far as Rayy), continued to follow the Gīlānī Mardāwīdj when he carved out for himself in central Iran a vast autonomous principality. Soon, however, they began to adopt a somewhat intractable attitude towards him. Having become for a time master of Iṣfahān, then, more permanently, of Fārs, ʿAlī, to protect himself against Mardāwīdj, and in spite of being a Shīʿī, got his authority in the government of the province recognised by the Caliph, as the ʿAbbāsid armies would have been incapable of reconquering it. He still had possession of it when in 332/943 Mardāwīdj was assassinated. After confused struggles (see the articles ʿIMĀD AL-DAWLA, MUʿIZZ AL-DAWLA and RUKN AL-DAWLA) against the lieutenants of allies of the Sāmānids or of the various clans who shared among themselves an influence with the Caliphate, ʿAlī, the eldest, kept the province of Fārs, while his brother al-Ḥasan occupied almost the whole of Djibāl and the youngest, Aḥmad, entrenched himself on the one hand in Kirmān and on the other in Khūzistān. These important strongholds, and more especially this last acquisition, drew the Buwayhids into the interplay of factions for power in ʿIrāḳ and the other territories of the Caliphate under the successive *amīr al-umarāʾ*. Only a very close study can determine whether, in the general post of intrigues and betrayals, the Buwayhids were allied to any one specific faction. However that may be, in 334/945, Aḥmad entered Baghdād. The régime which he set up there lasted until 447/1055. The new era was at once inaugurated by a change of name: Aḥmad, ʿAlī and al-Ḥasan respectively had bestowed on them simultaneously by the Caliph the honorific titles (*laḳabs*) of Muʿizz al-Dawla, ʿImād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla, by which they were henceforth known to history. Before long, ʿImād al-Dawla died without an heir, leaving Fārs to ʿAḍud al-Dawla, son of Rukn al-Dawla. When the latter died (366/977), after Muʿizz al-Dawla, ʿAḍud al-Dawla, finding himself head of the family, dispossessed his nephew, ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār, of ʿIrāḳ, and only allowed his brother, Muʾayyid al-Dawla, to remain master of the rest of Buwayhid Iran, by virtue of his incontrovertible loyalty. ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who was the most distinguished personality of the dynasty, achieved the fullest unity that the family was to enjoy.

Outside ʿIrāḳ, the new principalities merely joined the number of those which, for a century, had been carving up the ʿAbbāsid Empire. The Buwayhid principality of ʿIrāḳ in a sense did little more than implant in this last ʿAbbāsid redoubt the form of government which had triumphed elsewhere. But there was, in this instance, a factor of greater importance, in that Baghdād was the very centre of the Caliphate. It is true that its seizure by the Buwayhids did little more than set the seal on the developments which had, in effect, placed the Caliphate under the domination of the army chiefs, promoted *amīr al-umarāʾ*. But this time there was the added fact that the Buwayhids were professing Shīʿīs, so much so that it might have been asked whether they were not about to suppress a Caliphate whose legitimacy had no special meaning for them. Nothing of the sort happened. Doubtless Muʿizz al-Dawla was aware that the Shīʿīs were in the minority, and that, had he destroyed the Caliphate in Baghdād, the institution would have reappeared elsewhere. It was better therefore to keep it under his thumb, both to legalise his authority over the Sunnīs in his states and to strengthen his diplomatic relations with the world outside by the weight of the respected moral authority which the Sunnī princes still enjoyed by right. In fact, deriving their official authority from the Caliphate, the Buwayhids behaved as though they believed genuinely in the legitimacy of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate.

The question of the relations between Buwayhids and Caliphate is moreover bound up with that of their religious adherence. It has sometimes been said that the Buwayhids were Zaydīs because Daylam had been the scene of the activity of the emissaries of these same Zaydīs who had set up political hegemonies in Ṭabaristān and, on the very borders of Daylam itself, by those of their rival al-ʿUṭrūsh, around the year 900. All the same, there were also Ismāʿīlīs (Misk., ii, 32-35) in Daylam and, in the entourage of al-ʿUṭrūsh or his descendants, Twelvers (*EI*[1], s.v. al-ʿUṭrūsh), and Mardāwīdj, affected perhaps by Ismāʿīlī propaganda, had at any rate joined the Sunnī Sāmānids in fighting the Zaydīs of Ṭabaristān. At this time, Twelver theology proper was only just beginning to be elaborated, and there is consequently nothing remarkable in the persistence, in later Buwayhid society, of Zaydī doctrinal influences or, linked to these, Muʿtazilī influences. But, for the Buwayhid conquerors, politics took precedence over religion. The notion, for a time entertained, it is said, by Muʿizz al-Dawla, of conferring the Caliphate on a certain Zaydī ʿAlid in his entourage was set aside, never to be taken up again, precisely because it would have been necessary to obey such a Caliph. The distinction between the various branches of Shīʿism was probably not yet clearly defined outside the Zaydī states (leaving Ismāʿīlism aside), and the Twelver tendency, certainly in

BUWAYHIDS

Hidjri year	ʿIRĀḲ	FĀRS	KIRMĀN	DJIBĀL	
320				[ʿImād al-Dawla] [period of confusion]	
322		ʿImād al-Dawla			
324			[Muʿizz al-Dawla] [Confusion]	[Rukn al-Dawla] [period of confusion]	
334	[Muʿizz al-Dawla]				
335				Rukn al-Dawla	
338		ʿAḍud al-Dawla	[ʿAḍud al-Dawla]		
356	ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār		ʿAḍud al-Dawla		
363				IṢFAHĀN and HAMADHĀN	RAYY
366				Muʾayyad al-Dawla	Fakhr al-Dawla
367	ʿAḍud al-Dawla				
369					Muʾayyad al-Dawla
372	Ṣamṣām al-Dawla	Sharaf al-Dawla	Ṣamṣām al-Dawla		
373				Fakhr al-Dawla	Fakhr al-Dawla
376	Sharaf al-Dawla				
379	Bahāʾ al-Dawla				
380		Ṣamṣām al-Dawla			
387				Shams al-Dawla	Madjd al-Dawla
388		Bahāʾ al-Dawla	Bahāʾ al-Dawla		
403	Sulṭān al-Dawla	Sulṭān al-Dawla	Ḳawām al-Dawla		
412	Musharrif al-Dawla	Musharrif al-Dawla		Simāʾ al-Dawla [then KĀKWAYHIDS]	
415		Abū Kālīdjār			
416	Djalāl al-Dawla				
419			Abū Kālīdjār		
420					Ghaznawid conquest
435	Abū Kālīdjār				
440	al-Malik al-Raḥīm	al-Malik al-Raḥīm	Fūlād-Sutūn		
447	Capture of Baghdād by Toghrul-Beg and imprisonment of al-Malik al-Raḥīm.				
448			[Captured by Faḍlūyeh]		

←→ Simultaneous possession.
←····→ Non-simultaneous possession, but identity of person.
[ ] partial, disputed possession.

ʿIrāḳ and Fārs were united from 367 to 372, 376 to 379, 388 to 415, and 435 to 447.
ʿIrāḳ and Kirmān were united from 334 to 356, and 380 to 388. Kirmān was united with Fārs from 338 to 367 (to 372 with ʿIrāḳ), 380 to 403, 419 to 440; it stood alone from 403 to 446 and from 440 to 448.
ʿIrāḳ stood alone from 334-367, 379 to 380, 416 to 435. Fārs stood alone from 322 to 338 and from 372 to 380.
A union between ʿIrāḳ, Fārs and Kirmān was achieved from 367 to 372, 388 to 403, 435 to 440.
The Djibāl always stood alone, except during the early days of the dynasty.
ʿUmān, except for a short time under Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, when it was united with ʿIrāḳ, was united with Fārs.
Baṣra and Ahwāz, after ʿAḍud al-Dawla, were often separated from ʿIrāḳ or constituted an autonomous government at the heart of the ʿIrāḳī kingdom; they were often incorporated in the kingdom of Fārs.

Complete genealogical tables are to be found in Zambaur 212-16 and Q.

Mesopotamia and probably in central Iran, was the majority form of Shīʿism. In fact, about the time when the Buwayhids were seizing power (and was this purely fortuitous?) the doctrine was spreading among adherents of this movement that after the period in which the imāms were present in person, followed by that in which they were represented by a *wakīl*, the time of the "great occultation" was coming, when nothing more would be known of them. Thus, if the ʿAbbāsid Caliph was not, strictly speaking, legitimate, at least, if he tolerated Shīʿism, there was nothing discreditable in putting up with him. It is certain that the Buwayhids welcomed somewhat indiscriminately Shīʿīs or Muʿtazilīs of different shades of opinion, but politically they were Twelvers.

At no time did the Buwayhids plan the persecution of the Sunnīs by the Shiʿis — both sects were represented in their army; rather they intended to set up a sort of ʿAbbāsid-Shīʿī condominium, which freed the Shīʿīs from the obligation of a certain *taḳiyya* and provided them, as well as the Sunnīs, with an official organisation. Basically, they were reviving, from the Shīʿī angle, what had been the dream of many ʿAbbāsids from the time of al-Maʾmūn. Thus, they believed, they acquired a strong following, without at the same time alienating the rest of the population. Without the smallest doubt, Twelver Shīʿism owes to the Buwayhid régime not only this organisation, but even a part of its doctrinal structure. The importance of the rich Shīʿīs and the *Sharīfs* towards the end of the ʿAbbāsid era is well-known. It was upon them that —leaving aside the army—the Buwayhid régime depended in its social relations with the local population. The régime organised the ʿAlids—or as they are more usually called, the Ṭālibids—into an autonomous body to counterbalance the ʿAbbāsids, whereas formerly this family unit was merely integrated into, though, of course, dominated by, the ʿAbbāsids. On the doctrinal level, the presence of Imāms in the 3rd/9th century and the fact that the Twelvers had for a long time been, in a somewhat negative fashion, those among the Shīʿīs who had not joined in active rebellion, had obstructed the work of the traditionists and theoreticians. The Buwayhids now made up for lost time. While al-Kulīnī, the first of the great theologians whom the Twelvers recognised as specifically their own, died at the dawn of the Buwayhid régime in Iran, the second and more important, Ibn Bābawayh (Bābūya) was encouraged in his work by the Buwayhids in the third quarter of the century. He was followed by others among whom—also important in Iranian Shīʿism—were Arabs from the old ʿAlid citadel of Ḳumm. In Baghdād, the brother *sharīfs* al-Rāḍī and al-Murtaḍā were, throughout the whole of the first quarter of the 11th century, the real masters of the town, acting as intermediaries between the Buwayhids, the Caliphs and the population, at the same time as the Shīʿī scholars and traditionists. It is said that at this moment when the four schools remaining to the Sunnīs were beginning to be defined by them as exclusively orthodox, they would have wished that their form of Shīʿism might be recognised in the heart of the *umma* as a sort of fifth authorised school. More readily apparent from the outset of the régime is the organisation or recognition of forms which are still those of Shīʿism to this day. Influenced perhaps by Daylamite practices, Muʿizz al-Dawla openly created or consecrated the lamentations of the ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ. He also created the festival of Ghadīr Khumm. The ʿAlid *mashhads*, genuine or conjectural, were embellished, and ʿAḍud al-Dawla was the first to be buried there after ʿAlī. Shīʿī schools were created, such as the Dār al-ʿilm of the vizier Sābūr, endowed with *waḳfs*, a replica (393/993) of the Fāṭimid "University", and considerably earlier than the Sunnī Niẓāmiyya of the Saldjūḳids; and in the mosques, the Shīʿī cult, including the public call to prayer, was in dangerous competition with the Sunnī cult.

Naturally, it was out of the question that the recognised Caliph should govern effectively. In the same way as the *laḳab* of Nāṣir al-Dawla, the first of its kind conferred on the Ḥamdānid, the Buwayhid *laḳabs* show that, while it was the Caliph who legalised their power, they alone were its custodians. Al-Mustakfī, the Caliph who welcomed them, had joined forces with many others before them. He was replaced by his personal enemy al-Muṭīʿ, who nineteen years later himself had to yield the throne to al-Ṭāʾiʿ for having backed the wrong side in the struggle between the heirs of Muʿizz al-Dawla. Al-Ṭāʾiʿ in his turn abandoned the throne to al-Ḳādir. Nevertheless, the life-span of the Caliphs in the time of the Buwayhids—three and a half reigns in a century—was appreciably longer than that of their predecessors—precisely because they no longer ruled in anything but name. As to the *laḳabs*, they became more numerous as they declined in value. As each prince in the family, then little by little princes of other dynasties, claimed them too, it was necessary first to double and then treble those of the head of the Buwayhids. Thus ʿAḍud al-Dawla was also called Tādj al-Milla etc. The last Buwayhid went so far as to claim that he had conferred upon himself a title ending in *dīn*, faith,—a procedure and implication (a condemnation of Sunnism) which obviously the Caliph could not accept. In the same way, the supreme prince marked his superiority over his *umarāʾ* relatives by proclaiming himself from ʿAḍud al-Dawla onwards, *malik*, and even, in Iran though not in ʿIrāḳ, *shāhanshāh*, the old Sāsānid title. The last of the Buwayhids committed the sacrilege of styling himself al-Malik al-Raḥīm, a title properly reserved for Allāh alone. The exalted position of the Buwayhids was shown also in the mention of their name, after that of the Caliph, in the *khuṭba*, except in the Caliph's quarter, and on coins, as well as in the privilege of having the *ṭabls* beaten in front of the princely residences at the three principal, and later five, hours of prayer.

To turn to the exercise of power, the essential point is that there was no longer any instrument of government in Baghdād which depended even in law upon the Caliph—though for a time under Nāṣir al-Dawla this had been the case. Everything, especially the wazīrate, was now an institution directly attached to the amīrate, though this transfer did not in itself mark any change in the distribution of functions. Topographically, everything in Baghdād was now at the Dār al-Mamlaka [see below]. During the period in which the power of the régime conferred on the wazīrate, as on the principality, a certain stability, there were Buwayhid wazīrs who were by no way inferior to the greatest wazīrs of the Caliphate, and who stayed even longer in office. Such was al-Muhallabī under Muʿizz al-Dawla, Ibn al-ʿAmīd under Rukn al-Dawla, the Ṣāḥib Ibn al-ʿAbbād under Muʾayyid al-Dawla and Fakhr Dawla. All three of these were very cultured men and at the same time great administrators. Nevertheless, some

of the Buwayhids, principally ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the greatest of them all, preferred to keep the co-ordination of the instruments of government in their own hands and, in practice, divided the functions of the wazīrs, with or without the title, among two or three high dignitaries. Their inadequate knowledge of Arabic had made it impossible for the Buwayhids of the first generation to do more themselves than reap the benefits of the work done by their more effective wazīrs. Under the last of the Buwayhids, the wazīrate was more unstable although wazīrs were frequently drawn from a single family. Of course, the Caliphate still kept a secretariat and a Chancellery, but these were exclusively occupied with the administration of matters pertaining strictly to the Caliphate or with international correspondence on behalf of the *amīrs*.

The functions of the Caliphate comprised the administration of its goods and the organisation of the palace, the representative duties which devolved upon the Caliph, the control of the good works and religio-legal life of the Sunnīs and a certain moral share in the administration of Baghdīd. The income of the Caliph, apart from family and private means, was no longer what he set aside for him self out of State revenue, for it was no longer the Caliph who authorised wages and salaries. On the contrary, as was already the case in the time of Nāṣir al-Dawla, an allowance was granted to him by the *amīr* out of the public funds which, in former times, had been administered by himself. The total was smaller than before though still worthy of his station—two or three hundred thousand *dīnār*s under the early Buwayhids —to which must be added the numerous gifts made to him by the entire Muslim world and by the foreign ambassadors, as well as what he received from the Buwayhids themselves at festivals and investitures. Against these however, must be set the forced contributions extorted by the Buwayhids in times of crisis. As to his religio-legal powers, they consisted in the nomination and control of the personnel of the mosques and the holders of the office of ḳādī for the Sunnīs, in particular in Baghdād where the Caliph al-Ḳādir compensated for his powerlessness to oppose the Buwayhid government by a drive to enforce the letter of Sunnī orthodoxy, especially among the Muʿtazilīs and the Ismāʿīlīs.

The transfer of government from the Caliphate to the amīrate did not *ipso facto* alter the character of the government. In practice, the Buwayhid régime established the absolute supremacy of the army in the government. However, since the general functions of public administration still had to be carried out, this supremacy meant also that, in a sense, the military authority now extended its competence to fields which previously had been outside its province. The innovation which probably had the most serious consequences was the transformation of the *iḳṭāʿ* régime. For a long time, faithful supporters and, increasingly, the military chiefs, had been rewarded by the Caliphate with the grant in quasi-ownership of lands appropriated from the state domain. In fact, for the last hundred years or so, this source having been inadequate, high-ranking officers were sometimes granted the right to the taxes of a fiscal district, with no further obligation than to pay the standard Muslim tithe to the public Treasury. The Buwayhid régime, following in the footsteps of the Ḥamdānids, extended and ruthlessly intensified this practice. Many districts were systematically distributed as *iḳṭaʿ*s of this new type, now without even tithe obligations to the Treasury. Miskawayh, or, before him, Thābit b. Sinān, have described perfectly some of the consequences of this system. From the point of view of the central administration it meant the loss of control of fiscal transactions in part of the country and, in the long run, even of factual knowledge of the nature and extent of the tax levied. In so far as the fiscal value of each district remained roughly calculable, it tended no longer to be within the province of the *dīwān* of Taxes, but that of the Army. The *dīwān* of Taxes, deprived of part of its functions, correspondingly reduced its staff and the number of its departments. Nevertheless, the Buwayhid *iḳṭāʿ* was not a fief, but an assignment of salary; the beneficiary would exchange it, at his own or the government's wish, if the revenue of the district were no longer equal to the balance due to him, or for any other expedient cause. He had no permanent ties with the district and therefore no interest in its development. At best, the means thus placed at his disposal enabled him to build up more stable properties. Nevertheless, they were not yet either *iḳṭāʿ*-holders of the provincial governments—these functions, when they exercised them, were paid in the normal way—nor bound to maintain their troops out of their *iḳṭāʿ*. Each soldier received his pay direct from the Treasury in whatever form it might be given to him. One should not exaggerate: a variable proportion of the pay was still paid in kind, a part of the land was still administered in the traditional manner by the traditional authority, of which some fiscal handbooks for this period have been preserved for us.

With these reservations, socially and economically, a new and more powerful aristocracy, that of the military leaders, was gaining ascendancy over the middle-class and slowly declining aristocracy of the great merchants, civilian landlords and high-ranking officials who had been at the height of their power in the ʿAbbāsid era. But, under the great Buwayhids, the princes exercised a clean-cut authority over these leaders and made it their business to see that the new aristocracy respected their strict control in such matters as the police, public order (*ḥimāya*) and even taxation. There was, of course, no question of relaxing the tax on all subjects which was the basis of the upkeep of the army, whether this applied to pay or *iḳṭāʿ*; and, for the taxpayer, a change of tax-collector and beneficiary did not mean any corresponding change in the fiscal system. The great Buwayhid wazīrs, after the period of conquest during which their masters behaved as common thieves and looters, applied themselves to establishing a sound administration, which was made possible by the restoration of public order; side by side with new taxes, we hear of the remission of others, and the currency of the early Buwayhids was sound. Nevertheless, it may also be observed that the successors of ʿAḍud al-Dawla provoked riots in Baghdād by their attempts to tax the cloth manufacturers who were responsible for the livelihood of thousands of artisans in the capital. State revenue, under the great Buwayhids, slightly exceeded that of the Caliphate over an equivalent area. In agriculture, disturbances dating back to before the Buwayhid conquest had resulted in damage to the irrigation works. Repairing the damage and building new canals, etc., were among the burdens which fell upon the Buwayhid administration. The roads and bridges used for commercial traffic were also restored, and the capitals, Baghdād, Shīrāz and Iṣfahān benefited from the presence of the princes,

who built themselves sumptuous palaces. In east Baghdād the whole group of these buidings formed the Dār al-Mamlaka, as opposed to the Dār al Khilāfa, and the buildings erected at the gates of Shīrāz by ʿAḍud al-Dawla at Kard Fanākhusraw enchanted al-Muḳaddasī. The close union of ʿIrāḳ and Fārs resulted in some attempts to introduce ʿIrāḳī customs into Fārs, although no administrative unification was ever achieved. This union, from which local industries may have derived some profit, was in contrast with the periods which preceded and followed it, when the ties between ʿIrāḳ and Iran were directed, across the central plateau, towards Khurāsān.

Culturally, the early Buwayhids were rough fellows without education, but their successors were moulded by the cultured indigenous aristocracy of Iran. In contrast with the remote Iran of the Sāmānids, the Buwayhid sphere of influence in Iran—not to mention, a *fortiori*, in ʿIrāḳ—had the appearance of a strongly arabicised area. We have already observed that the early Buwayhids, with Ibn al-ʿAmīd and Ibn ʿAbbād as their wazīrs, thus commanded the services of two of the most illustrious Arabic scholars of their day. Furthermore, a galaxy of Arabic poets were present at their courts. It was under the Buwayhids that Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī's "Book of Songs" and al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, two treasuries of Arabic literature, were compiled. If Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī had grounds for complaint against ʿAḍud al-Dawla, his grandson, the historian Hilāl al-Ṣābī. lived comfortably in the Baghdād of the later Buwayhids, who also protected the philosopher-historian, Miskawayh. Generally speaking, sages were well-received by the Buwayhids, especially those whose special knowledge could be put to practical use. Such—leaving aside the religious sciences—were the geographer, Iṣṭakhrī, the mathematician, Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Buzdjānī, al-Nasawī, who disseminated the "Indian numerals", the astrologers, for whom Sharaf al-Dawla built an observatory in Baghdād, the physicians (such as al-Madjūsī), who had cause for self-congratulation especially on the foundation by ʿAḍud al-Dawla of a remarkable hospital in the ancient palace of Khuld at Baghdād, and another at Shīrāz [see BĪMĀRISTĀN]. The libraries of Shīrāz, Rayy, Iṣfahān, organised by successive Buwayhids, excited universal admiration. It is common knowledge that Avicenna found sanctuary and high preferment (as a wazīr?) under Shams al-Dawla. The great patron-wazīrs were scarcely less munificent as long as they did not see in their protégés possible rivals for glory (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī as against Ibn ʿAbbād). Ibn al-Bawwāb, a high Buwayhid dignitary, was one of the inventors of *naskhī* calligraphy.

But, while the Buwayhids and their ministers patronised literature and science of a traditionally Arabic character, they also showed a genuine interest in neo-Persian literature. If the first Daylamite generation were not sufficiently polished to have any such pretentions, those who followed were in the widest sense more fully Iranian than Daylamite. It was not for nothing that, as Mardāwīdj had dreamed, they revived the title of Shāhānshāh and caused to be drawn up for themselves a Sāsānid genealogy which, however, was universally recognised by their contemporaries as being historically unsound. Though their rôle in literature cannot be compared with that of the Sāmānids, they nevertheless had their Persian poets, and Firdawsī found a welcome at the court of Bahāʾ al-Dawla. The indubitable decline of Zoroastrianism, still flourishing in the Fārs province at the dawn of the Buwayhid régime, is probably in part linked with the fact that henceforth it was possible to form a separate block within Islam itself, under a "national" dynasty.

The place of the Buwayhid era in the history of Persian art would perhaps seem equally great if more thoroughly reliable testimony were available. Their buildings have already been mentioned in another connexion in which their places of worship perhaps count for less than their palaces, fortresses, hospitals, etc. Recent finds of textiles have now made it possible to study in actual examples this apparently traditional branch of Iranian craftsmanship. A good recent study on the art of the Buwayhid period is that of E. Kühnel [see *Bibliography*], to which the reader is referred.

More generally, it is certain that, among the Buwayhids as elsewhere, the establishment of regional principalities, by setting up many new courts and cultural centres outside what until then was the more or less unique cultural centre of Baghdād, enriched and disseminated the life of the spirit and, by bringing it into contact with the varying requirements of different peoples, conferred upon it a new vitality.

The foreign policy of the Buwayhids seemed scarcely to have been affected by doctrinal considerations. In Iran, their great opponents in the 4th/10th century, were the Sāmānids with their Ziyārid (descendants of Mardāwīdj) and Ṣaffārid (of Sīstān) vassals. Very naturally, they supported the Khurāsānī rebels, especially the Simdjūrids, against the Sāmānids, and took advantage of the ascendancy of the Ghaznawids at the beginning of the century and of the final ruin of the Sāmānids at the end. In the north-west, their policy was to establish or maintain a vague protectorate over the small Daylamite dynasties, so as to have them on their side in the fight against the Ziyārids on the one hand and the Kurds on the other. The struggle against the Kurds falls partly under the heading of "foreign policy", on the Ādharbāydjān side, and partly of internal security—in other words mere public order—on the Djibāl side (the Ḥasanwayhid Kurds). The same is true of the hostilities, carried out for the most part in the time of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, against the Ḳufṣ and the Balūč of Kirmān and Makrān. Finally, the occupation of the ʿUmān, or more precisely of the vital strategic coastal areas of the region, at times by the Buwayhids of Fārs, at others by those of ʿIrāḳ, was clearly related to considerations of economic security. In Mesopotamia, following the liquidation of the Barīdīs of Baṣra, the main efforts of the two first generations of Buwayhids consisted above all in the neutralisation and then the liquidation of the Ḥamdānids who, though Shīʿīs like themselves, were Arabs, and had been only recently their rivals in Baghdād. Naturally, a small semi-permanent war was essential for the maintenance of order on the borders of Arabia, and, in ʿIrāḳ itself, in the Baṭīḥa as also in the Persian Gulf against the Carmathians of Baḥrayn.

The appearance of the Fāṭimids in 968 in Egypt, then in Syria, confronted the Buwayhids of the second generation and their descendants with a problem unknown to the first. The claim of the new dynasty to be ʿAlid could not fail to excite interest among all Shīʿīs. Nor could this dynasty, with its "imperialist" ambitions, fail to try and further its own expansion by claims of this kind. It would, however, have been necessary for all Shīʿīs to accept

the heterodox doctrines of the Ismāʿīlīs which were the official doctrines of the Fāṭimid State, and, further, it was difficult to avoid clashes between two powers bent on dominating the territories between Egypt and ʿIrāḳ. The Buwayhids occasionally joined forces with the Carmathians, when they quarrelled with the Fāṭimids, and also, of course, with the Arab tribes fighting the Fāṭimids on one front and the Ḥamdānids or their heirs fighting them on another. It is difficult to assess just how far the anti-Fāṭimid manifesto of the Caliph al-Ḳādir (402/1011) was an exact reflection of Buwayhid policy or whether it was also instigated by the desire to counteract Ismāʿīlī infiltration. At any rate, there is nothing to support a view that it was done against the wishes of the Buwayhids, and it is remarkable that it was signed jointly by the Sunnī and Twelver sages. It was not until the end of the dynasty that a Buwayhid, Abū Kālīdjār, lent a complacent ear to the explanations of al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī, the Ismāʿīlī missionary, though, officially at least, nothing came of it (*Sira* of al-Shīrāzī; al-Balkhī, 118; Abū Shudjāʿ, 232). And the fact that after the fall of the dynasty in Baghdād their Turkish general, al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], thoroughly intransigent while they were in power, declared his allegiance, against the Saldjūḳid conqueror, to the Fāṭimid Caliphate, which alone was capable of coming to his aid, cannot be regarded as characteristic of Buwayhid policy in general.

However stable the Buwayhid dynasty may have appeared from the outset, however brilliant some of its achievements, it was not without its weaknesses. Some of these were common to other régimes, others were peculiar to itself, others again came not from within but from without. In this last category was the maritime trading crisis which had an appreciable effect upon the end of the Buwayhid era. It is certain that towards the year 1000 A.D. trade with the West from the Indian Ocean ceased to flow mainly through the Persian Gulf, being diverted to the Red Sea (see B. Lewis, *The Fatimids and the Route to India*, in *Revue de la Fac. de Sc. Econ. d'Istanbul*, 1953). The persistent troubles of Lower ʿIrāḳ and the presence in Baḥrayn of the Carmathians, whom the Buwayhids were never able to control, must certainly have had something to do with this, as had also the complete segregation of Syria from Mesopotamia brought about by the Fāṭimid and Byzantine conquests. Probably an even more significant influence, however, was the economic imperialism of the Fāṭimids and the favourable conditions which attracted the attention of the merchant ships of Italy. When a natural catastrophe (in about the year 1000) ruined Sīrāf, which up to that time had been the great Persian port of the Gulf, the town was not rebuilt, and the mastery of the Gulf belonged henceforth to the Lord of the Island of Kīsh, who seems to have been more or less a Corsair chieftain. Although we cannot accurately assess the consequences of these facts, it is scarcely likely that they were not serious both for the merchant classes of society, who were doubtless henceforth less well able to resist the growing power of the military aristocracy, and for the internal economics of the Buwayhid régime and consequently its general stability. Even before the year 1000, the Buwayhids were unable to avoid the devaluation of their silver coinage, and doubtless it was for this reason that in the 11th century, gold was used more and more, though one wonders how it came there. The Buwayhids were increasingly forced, in order to raise taxes, to have recourse to tax-farming, selling offices, etc.

A more domestic and congenital weakness in the Buwayhid, régime as in most of the near-eastern régimes of this period, lay in that very army which had brought about the ruin of the Caliphate. The Buwayhid army, in spite of the pay being supplemented by *iḳṭāʿ*, was no more easily satisfied than its forerunner, the army of the Caliph. Like its predecessor, it knew itself to be the cornerstone of the system, and took advantage of its position. It was not, however, united. The original Daylamite nucleus was not adequate for long and, even before the conquest of Baghdād, the Buwayhids, like Mardāwīdj, had added to it the corps of Turkish slaves indispensable to every Muslim army in the East. These, on the one hand, could be used against the Daylamites in the event of a breach of discipline (and vice versa), and on the other hand, and even more important, they were mainly horsemen, while the Daylamites, who came from the mountains and forests, were infantrymen. Occasionally, Kurds, Ḳufṣ, etc., were also recruited. To the rivalry between this diversity of ethnic groups, must be added the fact that, at the beginning at least, the Turks taken over by the Buwayhids from the Caliphate were Sunnīs. Finally, for reasons which are still unexplained, the recruitment of Daylamite troops dried up progressively. The last descendants of the princes who owed their power to them were surrounded almost entirely by Turkish soldiers.

The third cause of weakness, rather more peculiar to the Buwayhid dynasty, was the splitting-up of power. From the beginning, it has been noted, there was not one but three Buwayhid principalities. The circumstances of the conquest may have had something to do with this, but another factor must surely have been a patrimonial or familial conception of power. When strength and chance combined to permit ʿAḍud al-Dawla to establish an almost complete unity to his own advantage, he did no more than his predecessors to perpetuate this unity, which was disrupted at his death. This splitting-up of power, which distinguishes the Buwayhid dynasty from all the other Muslim dynasties before the Ḳarakhānid and Saldjūḳid Turkish dynasties, inevitably brought about internal strife, once the three founder-brothers were dead. It goes without saying that the army and all the trouble-makers benefited, so much so that this flaw in the dynastic organisation in its turn aggravated the vices born of the military régime and the other internal weaknesses of the system. The disturbances among the urban population, a harsh warning to the early Buwayhids, started up again; a revolt of Iṣṭakhr caused the destruction of the old metropolis, and Baghdād was at times in the power of the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*]. If the late *isnād*s of the *futuwwa* are to be believed, Abū Kālīdjār was one of them. The policy of religious equilibrium followed by the Buwayhids in practice did no more than foster in this same town and elsewhere the struggle between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs, and the Ḥanbalī extremists went so far as to burn the *mashhad* of Ḥusayn and the tombs of the Buwayhids. The later Buwayhids, especially in ʿIrāḳ, were virtually powerless to command obedience from anyone.

This powerlessness to some extent benefited the Caliphate. The Caliph, who sometimes arbitrated in dynastic disputes, regained some measure of influence, at least in the affairs of ʿIrāḳ. Finally the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim was able to have once more in his service after the lapse of a century a wazīr in the

person of the intransigent Sunnī Ibn al-Muslima. Hope of a partial recovery of the Caliphate as an institution now became something more than a utopian dream, witness the treatise *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* of the great ḳāḍī al-Māwardī, closely associated with the policies of the Caliph. It was even possible, in Sunnī circles, to look forward to the removal of the heretical protector. True, the weakness of the Buwayhids was not sufficient to restore to the Caliphate the material power needed for the reconstitution of an autonomous government; but it was possible to hope at least that an orthodox and more respectful guardian might be found.

There was no lack of candidates to succeed the Buwayhids, some having only local ambitions, others aspiring to the unification of the Muslim East to their own advantage. Barely twenty years after the fall of the Ḥamdānids, faced by the Marwānid Kurds of Diyār Bakr, it became necessary to recognise the power of the ʿUḳaylid Arabs in Djazīra. Twenty years after the fall of the Ḥasanwayhid Kurds of Djibāl, the ascendancy of the ʿAnnāzid Kurds had to be recognised in the same region; not to mention the various Bedouin tribes who held the ʿIrāḳ-Arab or ʿIrāḳ-Syrian borderlands, and the frontiers of the almost independent principality of the marshes of the Baṭīḥa at the gates of Baghdād.

In Iran, a family related to the Buwayhids and for this reason called Kākwayhids or Kākōyids (from Kākōyeh; in Daylamite: maternal uncle), had taken over first Iṣfahān and then Hamadhān. But the gravest danger came from the east. Here, the Ghaznawids had become a power to be reckoned with, and Maḥmūd of Ghazna now openly aspired to liberate the Caliphate. Meanwhile, he took advantage of the quarrels and imprudences of the Buwayhids to send his son Masʿūd to occupy Rayy. His forces massacred the Shīʿīs and burnt the treasures of their library as well as those of the Muʿtazilīs (420/1027). The death of Maḥmūd, followed by the defeat of Masʿūd by the Saldjūḳids, gave a brief respite to the rest of the Buwayhids. But the triumph of the Saldjūḳids enabled them to take up on their own account and with greater efficiency the plans for a Sunnī empire. They had supporters in the *entourage* of the Caliphate. Buwayhid acceptance of Saldjūḳid suzerainty was of no avail. In 1055, Tughril-Beg entered Baghdād without striking a blow, and imprisoned al-Malik al-Raḥīm. Fārs, in spite of fortifications set up at Shīrāz, also fell, being attacked from the north and from Kirmān. The Buwayhid dynasty was at an end.

Bibliography: Sources: We are fortunate in possessing three collections of correspondence and official documents: that of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī, secretary to the Caliphs al-Muṭīʿ and al-Ṭāʾiʿ, important for the study of diplomatic history (some extracts edited by Shakīb Arslān, 1898, the greater part unpublished); that of the wazīr Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād (the papers relating to the reign of Muʾayyid al-Dawla only have been preserved, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām and Shawkī Ḍayf, Cairo 1947), of considerable interest for the study of home administration; finally that of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf, a high official under ʿAḍud al-Dawla (summary by Cl. Cahen in *Studi Orientallistici in onore . . . G. Levi della Vida*): all three from the third quarter of the 4th/10th century. See also Kalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiii, 129 & 139.

Nevertheless, the principal sources are the chronicles. The fundamental chronicle is that of Thābit b. Sinān, continued by Hilāl al-Ṣābī until 447 A.H. All that has been preserved pertaining to the Buwayhid period is an extract relating to the period from the end of 389 to the beginning of 393, but whose general substance seems to have been carried over into the later chroniclers who made use of it, first the *Tadjārib al-Umam* of Miskawayh and his successor Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rudhrawarī, the single manuscript of which links up with the fragment of Hilāl al-Ṣābī (the whole ed. trans. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, 7 vols, 1920-21), but also, completing and often correcting the *Tadjārib*, the *Takmila* of Muh. b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī (preserved only up to 367) (ed. Kanʿān in *Machriq*, 1955-58), the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (unpublished for this period, more complete than the *Muntaẓam* of his ancestor Ibn al-Djawzī from which it also derives): these last three sources only cover the years after 393 A.H. An apologia for the early Buwayhids in the form of a chronicle was composed (in order to obtain his release from prison) by Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī, under the title of *al-Kitāb al-Tādjī* (for ʿAḍud al-Dawla Tādj al-Milla), the beginning of which, recently rediscovered in the Yemen, is in the possession of Dr. Minovi (it was not accessible to me); the work seems to have been known by later historiographers. Among the remaining mass of Arabic historiographical literature, the following deserve special mention: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 1-34 (origins); Yaḥyā of Antioch; Ibn Ẓāfir, *al-Duwal al-Munḳaṭiʿa* (relations with the Fāṭimids, unpublished but used by Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*); Ibn Khallikān (lives of Muʿizz, Rukn and ʿImād al-Dawla); Ibn Tiḳṭaḳāʾ (late, but Shīʿī traditions); al-ʿUtbī (relations with the Ghaznawids); and the unduly neglected *Nestorian History* of Mārī b. Sulaymān, ed. Gismondi, Rome 1903).

Persian historiography comes into the picture with the anonymous *Mudjmal al-Tawārīkh* (ed. Bahmanyār, 1940), linked as regards Buwayhid history to al-Hamadhānī, and with the chronicles of the border states, the Ghaznawids (Gardīzī, Bayhaḳī), Ziyārids and other southern Caspian dynasties (Ibn Isfandiyār). Moreover, several important local histories have come down to us in Persian. Examples of these are the *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm* of Ḥasan b. Muḥ. Ḳummī, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, 1934, and the anonymous *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Bahār, 1937.

In parahistoric literature, some information is to be found in al-Tanūkhī's *Nishwār* (41, 151, 157, 169 and also in the Damascus 1930 volume, 150), and in the autobiography, *Sīra*, by the Fāṭimid missionary al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī, ed. Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949 (relating to propaganda in the time of Abū Kālīdjār). The *dīwān*s and anthologies of such poets as al-Thaʿālibī (*Yatīma*), al-Bākharzī (*Dumya*), al-Tawḥīdī (especially *K. al-Imtāʿ*) are also useful; there is also some original information in the *Irshād* of Yāḳūt, ii, 273 f., iii, 180 f., v, 347 f., vi, 250 f., etc.

To the three great classics of geography, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī—all three contemporaries of the Buwayhids (the first-mentioned was their subject)—may be added Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Safar-nāma* and some information contained in Yāḳūt's *K. al-Buldān*. (especially iii, 149, art. Sāmīrān), and, in Ibn Balkhī's *Fārsnāma* (ed. Nicholson; historical passage, 117-119).

Among juridico-institutional works, al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, on which see *supra*, and, recently discovered at al-Azhar, the *Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfa* by Hilāl al-Ṣābī or his son Muḥ., on the etiquette of the Caliphate and the rules of the chancellery up to the Buwayhid period (which was made accessible to me by the courtesy of Prof. Duri, Baghdād). The financial history of the era can be studied through the treatises on fiscal mathematics by Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Buzdjānī (unpublished) and the anonymous *K. al-Hāwī* (analysed by Cl. Cahen in *AIEO*, Algiers 1952). See also Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma* (ed. Schefer), especially 183. For religious history, see the theological works cited above, especially those of Ibn Bābawayh.

Epigraphical material is to be found in *RCEA* (v, 1831-32, 1877, 1956; vi, 2079, 2177; vii, 2577), to be supplemented by G. Wiet, *Soieries Persanes* (cited below). For numismatic material, incompletely published, see, in addition to the *Catalogue of the British Museum* by Lane Poole, G. C. Miles, *A Numismatic History of Rayy*, 1938.

Modern Studies. No detailed comprehensive study of the Buwayhids exists and, apart from the suggestive sketch of V. Minorsky, *La domination des Daylamites*, Paris 1932, readers should consult those sections of B. Spuler's *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 1952, and of A. Mez's *Die Renaissance des Islams*, devoted to the Buwayhids. More specialised aspects are dealt with in Mohsen Azizi, *La domination arabe et l'épanouissement du sentiment national en Iran*, 1938; *Survey of Persian Art*, Vols. ii & iii, G. Wiet, *Soieries Persanes*, 1948, 99-178 (much more general than the title suggests); A. Duri, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāk al-Iḳtiṣādī fi 'l-Ḳarn al-Rābiʿ al-Hidjri*, Baghdad 1948; C. Elgood, *A Medical History of Persia*, 1951; Donaldson, *The Shiʾite Religion*, 1933; R. Strothmann, *Die Zwölfer-Schīʿa*, 1925 (summarised in *EI*[1], art. SHĪʿA); H. Laoust's introduction to *La Profession de Foi d'Ibn Batta*, 1958; Cl. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iḳṭāʿ*, in *Annales ESC*, 1953; and E. Tyan, *Institutions de droit public musulman*, ii, 1957, Chap. 1 (but cf. *Arabica*, 1958, 70 ff.).

From his unpublished London University thesis entitled *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad from the accession of ʿIzz al-dawla to the end*, Maf. Kabīr has abstracted several articles, in particular *Cultural Development under the Buwayhids of Baghdad*, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, i, 1956.

Special studies to be noted are H. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, in *JRAS*, 1929; N. Abbott, *Two Buyid coins* (with detailed historical commentary), in *AJSL*, lvi, 1939; Cl. Cahen, *Notes pour l'histoire de la himaya*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, i; Amedroz, *Three years of Buwayhid rule*, in *JRAS*, 1901; idem, *Der Vizier Ibn al-ʿAmid*, in *Der Islam*, iii; M. H. Al-Yāsīn, *al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād*, Baghdād 1376/1957 (solely from the cultural point of view); E. Kühnel, *Die Kunst Persiens unter den Buyiden*, in *ZDMG*, 1956; Kurkis ʿAwwād, *al-Dār al-Muʿizzī fī Baghdād*, in *Sumer*, x, 1950-2. On foreign relations, Muḥ. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 1931; M. Canard, *Les Hamdanides*, i, 1951; A. Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān-i gumnām*, Tehran 1335/1928 (on Ādharbāydjān in the 4th/10th-5th/11th centuries).

(CL. CAHEN)

BUXAR, a town on the south bank of the Ganges in the Shāhābād district of the Patna division of the Indian State of Bihār. Population: 18,087. (1951 Census). It seems to have been a place of great sanctity in ancient times and was originally called Vedagarbha 'the womb of the Vedas'. Local tradition derives the name of the town from a tank originally called *aghsar*, or effacer of sins, which was later changed to *baghsar*, the tiger tank. It was at Buxar, on 23 October 1764, that the forces of Mīr Ḳāsim, ex-nawāb of Bengal, and Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, nawāb-wazīr of Awadh, were defeated by Major Hector Munro. This victory completed the work of Plassey. Henceforward the English were the unchallenged rulers of Bengal. It also placed Awadh at the disposal of the English Company.

Bibliography: C. E. A. W. Oldham, *The Battle of Buxar*, in *JBORS*, Vol. xii, 1-38; A. L. Srivastava, *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, Calcutta 1939, Vol. i, Ch. viii. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

BŪYIDS [see BUWAYHIDS].

BUYURULDU (بيورلدى), also BUYRULTU, BUYURDU, etc., order of an Ottoman grand vizier, vizier, *beglerbegi*, *defterdār*, or other high official to a subordinate. The term is derived from the word *buyuruldı*, 'it has been ordered', in which the order usually ends and which gradually developed into a conventional sign. *Buyuruldus* are of two main types: a) decisions written in the margin (*der kenār*) of an incoming petition or report, often ordering that a *fermān* (or *berāt*, etc.) be issued to a certain effect (cf. *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿUthmān*, *TOEM*, Suppl., 1330, 16); b) orders issued independently (*reʾsen*, *beyāḍ üzerine*). The form of many of the latter was modelled on the Sultans' *fermān* [*q.v.*]. Many *Buyuruldus* had a seal and (or) a *tughra*-like substitute of a signature, the so-called *pençe* [*q.v.*], affixed. Sometimes the word *ṣaḥḥ*, 'it is correct', was added for authentication. *Buyuruldus* deal with various administrative matters, especially appointments, grants of fiefs, economic regulations, safe passage, etc. Originals are preserved in many archives in Turkey and elsewhere. The *Başvekâlet Arşivi* [*q.v.*] at Istanbul also possesses numerous volumes of *Buyuruldu* copies. Other texts are found in *inshā* works (*e.g.*, library of Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, MS no. 70; Bibl. Nat., Paris, suppl. turc, MS no. 90) and in the records (*sidjill*) of *Sharīʿa* courts.

Bibliography: I. H. Uzunçarşılı's articles in *Belleten*, iv (1940), 497 ff., v (1941), 101-57, 289-318 (with photos.) and his *O. D. Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, index; L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osman.-türk. Diplomatik*, Budapest 1926, liv-lv; J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, le Caire 1930, 147-8; U. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine* 1552-1615, Oxford 1959, index. See further DIPLOMATIC.

(U. HEYD)

BUZĀʿĀ (or BIZĀʿĀ), a locality in northern Syria about forty kilometres east of Aleppo in the rich valley of the Nahr al-Dhahab or Wādī Buṭnān [*q.v.*], which has lost its former prosperity in favour of its western suburb Bāb al-Buzāʿa, today the small town of al-Bāb. The freshness of its gardens and its commercial activity attracted the attention of Ibn Djubayr who stopped there in 580/1184, on the caravan route from Manbidj to Aleppo. Half town and half village according to that writer, and dominated by a citadel from which its strength was derived, it managed to withstand after the establish-

ment of the Crusaders in Syria numerous attacks resulting either in the plunder of its territory, or even, in 532/1138, its seizure by the Franks, followed in the same year by Zankī's reoccupation. An inscription there mentions in 567/1171 the name of Ismāʿīl, the son of Nūr al-Dīn, before the town fell in 571/1175 to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and passed after that into the hands of the Mongols in 657/1258. It is also known that in 570/1174-75 there was a massacre of the Ismāʿīlīs there who seem to have dominated the country formerly, and that in the vicinity the ***mas̲h̲had*** of ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib was venerated.

It was during the period of the Mamlūks that the village of al-Bāb, whose name was not separated from that of Buzāʿa in the medieval texts, appears to have clearly taken the lead. The importance of this place, which was the principal town of the 24th district of the province of Aleppo, and which Yāḳūt formerly described as an exportation point of cotton stuffs, is attested by the construction at that time of its great mosque (connected with the erection of the minarets of Buzāʿa and Tād̲h̲if, dated by inscriptions of 756/1355 and 755/1354), and by the number of administrative measures which were engraved on the gates of this building between 775/1374 and 858/1454.

Several epigraphical fragments are preserved as well in the neighbouring village of Tād̲h̲if.

Bibliography: R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, esp. 475; M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften*, in M. F. von Oppenheim, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vii, Leipzig 1909, 55-57 (nos. 63-72); J. and D. Sourdel, in *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, 1953, 96-102; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, i, Algiers 1951, 219, 223-24; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index (*s.v.* Bāb-Bouzāʿa); M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 92, 219; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 406, 426, 540; Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. De Goeje, 249-50; Yāḳūt, i, 437, 603, 811; Ibn S̲h̲addād, *Description d'Alep*, ed. Sourdel, 57; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 267; Dimas̲h̲ḳī, ed. Mehren, 114, 205.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BŪZ-ABEH, governor of Fārs under the Sald̲j̲ūḳs. Būz-Abeh was one of the ***amīrs*** of Mengubars, the governor of Fārs, for whom he administered the province of K̲h̲ūzistān. He was also in the army of his superior when the latter, accompanied by other ***amīrs***, moved against the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan Masʿūd and was made prisoner at the battle of Kurs̲h̲anba (other sources call the scene of the encounter Pand̲j̲ Angus̲h̲t), later being put to death, in 532/1137-38. Since, after their victory, the sultan's troops began to plunder the enemy camp, Būz-Abeh attacked and dispersed them. Several prominent ***amīrs*** of the sultan's retinue were captured, and the sultan himself escaped only with great difficulty, in the company of the ***atabeg*** Ḳara Sonḳor. Enraged at the death of his superior, Būz-Abeh had all of the prisoners executed, among whom was the son of Ḳara Sonḳor. In order to avenge his son, the ***atabeg*** undertook in the following year an expedition against Fārs, where he installed the Sald̲j̲ūḳ prince Sald̲j̲ūḳs̲h̲āh. But scarcely had Ḳara Sonḳor retired with his troops when Būz-Abeh, who had in the interim withdrawn to the fortress of Safīddiz (*Ḳalʿat al-bayḍā'*), reappeared and conquered the defenceless Sald̲j̲ūḳs̲h̲āh (534/1139-40). Sulṭān Masʿūd was forced then to abandon to him the province of Fārs. Būz-Abeh found an opportunity to confirm his situation by allying himself with two other ***amīrs***, ʿAbbās, ruler of Rayy, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ṭug̲h̲anyarak. The sultan tolerated for some time the tutelage of these men, but succeeded in freeing himself by having assassinated the two latter ***amīrs***. Būz-Abeh marched against the sultan, but was captured and killed at the battle of Mard̲j̲ Ḳaratakīn, a day's march from Hamad̲h̲ān, in 542/1147. Būz-Abeh appears to have left a good administrative record at S̲h̲īrāz. Conforming with the tendency of all of the generals educated in the Sald̲j̲ūḳ tradition, he had erected a ***madrasa***, richly endowed and at first Ḥanafī, though it became later S̲h̲āfiʿī.

Bibliography: Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Kāmil*, xi, index; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, in Bundarī, ed. Houtsma (*Recueil*, ii) index; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīs̲h̲āpūrī, *Sald̲j̲ūḳnāma*, éd. Gelaleh K̲h̲awār; Aḥmad Zarkūb, *S̲h̲īrāznāma*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, Tehran 1938, 45-46.

(Cl. Cahen)

al-**BŪZAD̲J̲ĀNĪ** [see abu' l-wafā'].

BUZĀK̲H̲A, a well in Nad̲j̲d in the territory of Asad or their neighbours Ṭayyi' (cf. *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, 361, n. 3). The forces of the Banū Asad, who, led by the false prophet Ṭulayḥa, had relapsed from Islam on Muḥammad's death, were defeated at Buzāk̲h̲a in 11/632 by Abū Bakr's general K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd. K̲h̲ālid's army was reinforced for the battle by 1000 men of Ṭayyi', detached from Ṭulayḥa's side; Ṭulayḥa had the help of ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn and 700 men from Fazāra of G̲h̲aṭafān, old allies of Asad's. After fierce fighting, ʿUyayna saw that Ṭulayḥa's alleged prophetic powers were in practice proving useless against the Muslims, and fled the field. Ṭulayḥa had to flee to Syria; Asad submitted to K̲h̲ālid; and neighbouring tribes like ʿĀmir, who had been awaiting the outcome, now rallied to Islam.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 601-2; Ibn Saʿd, III, ii, 36-7; Ṭabarī, i, 1879, 1886-91; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ii, 259-64; al-Balād̲h̲urī, 95-97; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi, 9-12; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 604 ff.; Muir, *Caliphate*[4], Edinburgh 1915, 19-23.

(C. E. Bosworth)

BUZURG b. **S̲H̲AHRIYĀR**, a Persian ships'-captain (*nāk̲h̲udā*) of Rām-Hurmuz of the first half of the 4th/10th century and author of the *Kitāb ʿAd̲j̲ā'ib al-Hind* (Marvels of India). This is a collection in Arabic of 134 stories and anecdotes gathered by the author from ships'-captains, pilots, traders and other seafaring men who used to sail the Indian Ocean and liked to spin a yarn about their adventures in East Africa, the Indian Archipelago and China. Incidentally they also give some information about these countries and the customs of their inhabitants. Sometimes the year of the event referred to is given, the latest being 342/953. The language of the book shows some Middle-Arabic traits (see ʿarabiyya, above, 570b).

Bibliography: The Arabic text, extant only in the Istanbul MS. Aya Sofya 3306, was edited by P. A. van der Lith together with a French translation by M. Devic, Leiden 1883-6. A new translation in French by J. Sauvaget is given in his *Mémorial*, i, Damascus 1954, 188-300; Russian translation by R. I. Ehrlich, Moscow 1959. See also Brockelmann S I, 409.

(J. W. Fück)

BUZURGMIHR, Iranian personal name (arabicised form Buzurd̲j̲mihr) which according to a tradition transmitted by Iranian and Arab writers, was given to a man endowed with every ability and virtue who was the minister of K̲h̲usraw I Anūs̲h̲a-

rawān (6th century A.D.). The earliest authorities who were acquainted with the Pahlawī *Khvadhāynāmāgh* ("Book of Sovereigns"), written towards the end of the Sāsānid period (7th century), the source of the oldest accounts of pre-Islamic Iranian history penned by Arab writers (al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Ḳutayba), have no reference to Buzurgmihr. It is only in later works that he becomes the hero of anecdotes deriving from popular tradition (in Thaʿālābī's "History of the Persian Kings", a section of the *Ghurar al-Siyar* — *vide EI*[1], iv, 770 col. a, and, more freely than one would expect, in Firdawsī's "Book of Kings", the *Shāh-nāma*), and sometimes the originator of numerous wise precepts, survivals from the collections (*andarz*) of the Sāsānid period, preserved in some minor post-Sāsānid Pahlawī works (notably the *Pandnāmāgh-e Vuzurghmihr-e Bokhtaghān*, "the Book of precepts of Buzurgmihr son of Bōkhtagh"). These precepts were translated into Arabic and Persian by several authors: al-Masʿūdī, Firdawsī (in whose poem Buzurgmihr presents the king with a book of wisdom, the fruit of their conversations, which in reality derived from the *Pandnāmāgh*), Niẓām al-Mulk, and others. There are three anecdotes concerning Buzurgmihr which are significant because of their elements of popular origin: I—the King of Persia dreams that, as he is drinking, a pig puts his snout in the cup. No one can interpret this until the young Buzurgmihr informs the king that one of his wives is bestowing her favours on another and that, in order to be certain, the women must be summoned to appear naked: among them is discovered a youth disguised as a woman (in addition to the popular theme of the oneiromancy practised by an adolescent, one recalls a similar review of women in a tale from ancient Egypt). II—Buzurgmihr discovers the secret of the game of chess, sent as a challenge by the King of India to the King of Persia; he then invents the game of tric-trac, the secret of which the latter and his counsellors do not succeed in discovering (the source of this is a small Pahlawī work of a popular type, the "Story of the Game of Chess", *Mādhighān-e čatrang*). III—Buzurghmihr, in disgrace and in prison, is recalled when the Byzantine Emperor refuses to pay tribute to the Persian sovereign unless he guesses the contents of a sealed coffer which he has sent him; the king summons Buzurgmihr, who resolves the enigma and is reinstated in royal favour (to the preceding theme is joined that of the sage liberated and recompensed for his wisdom: Nöldeke recognised the similarity of this episode with another in the history of the sage Aḥiḳar). These anecdotes put Buzurgmihr in direct contact with popular tradition, but is he a historical or a legendary figure? A. Christensen, in a noteworthy article, has rightly noted that, apart from the references to Buzurgmihr, there are others relating to the sentence of death passed by Hormizd, the son and successor of Anūsharawan, on three of the latter's counsellors, one of whom bore the name of Burzmihr (in Thaʿālibī), Burzmihr, then Simāh Burzēn—a hypocoristic of Burzmihr (in Firdawsī). In the name of Burzōē, the famous physician, the supposed author of the Pahlawī adaptation of *Kalīla wa Dimna* who was a contemporary of Anūsharawān, Justi (*Iran Namenbuch*, 74) and Christensen see the same root *burz* ("high") and a hypocoristic ending (as in Burzēn): as names with the root *burz-*, peculiar to the Sāsānid period, are very rare, Burzmihr ("[protected by] the *High* Mithra") is semantically related to Buzurgmihr ("[protected by] the *Great* Mithra"); further it is enough to write both words in the Arabic script in order to see how easily they can be confused. Finally, certain passages in the preface to the *Kalīla*, traditionally attributed to Burzōē and known through the Arabic translation of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, give biographical details which the authors also attribute to Buzurgmihr or divide them between both personalities. To sum up, Iran in the reign of Anūsharawān was influenced by Indian civilisation, thanks to certain intellectuals, of whom Burzōē was one, and who was made famous by his Pahlawī adaptation of the Pančatantra; the introduction of chess in Iran was attributed to him, a number of precepts and maxims, and later certain characteristics of sagacity and divination which already existed in popular tradition; then a false reading of his name as transcribed in Arabic led to the creation of a double personality.

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(H. Massé)

BUZURG-UMMĪD, Kiya, second *dāʿī* (1124-1138) at Alamūt [*q.v.*] of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. He was evidently related by marriage to the ruling families of Māzandarān. From 495-518/1102-1124 he was Ismāʿīlī governor of Lummasar, a stronghold in the Rūdbār of Alamūt. He with three other chiefs had captured it for Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ when its holders had broken their agreement with the Ismāʿīlīs and had planned to call in the Saldjūḳ *amīr*, Nūshtagīn Shīrgīr. Using local forced labour, he rebuilt it, equipping it with water and fine gardens. There he successfully resisted the last and gravest attack on the Ismāʿīlīs by Muḥammad Tapar's troops under Shīrgīr in 511/1117. In 518/1124 Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ on his deathbed appointed him his successor as head *dāʿī* of the sect, with three associates. Under his rule the Ismāʿīlī state retained its independence against renewed attacks [see alamūt (II) The Dynasty] several new strongholds were established, including Maymūndiz in 520/1126. In 526/1131 he defeated and killed a Zaydī *imām*, Abū Hāshim, who had arisen in Daylamān and had followers as far as Khurāsān. Buzurg-ummīd died in 532/1138, leaving the position of *dāʿī* to his son Muḥammad. He was buried next to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, where his tomb was piously visited. His descendants formed the leading family in Alamūt.

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, section on Nizārīs; Djuwaynī, iii, 208 ff.; and further in M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, index.

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

BYZANTINES [see rūm].

BŽEDUKH [see čerkes].

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G. E. SHAYYAL, University of Alexandria. i, 990.
H. K. SHERWANI, Hyderabad, India. i, 925, 1015, 1047, 1201; ii, 99, 180, 1119.
MUSTAFA AL-SHIHABI, Arab Academy, Damascus. ii, 901.
D. SINOR, University of Indiana. i, 913, 1249.
W. CANTWELL SMITH, Harvard University. i, 303, 443.
J. M. SMITH, Jr., University of California, Berkeley. ii, 402.
Miss MARGARET SMITH, London. i, 1248; ii, 242, 936.
[M. SOBERNHEIM, Berlin]. ii, 6.
J. DE SOMOGYI, Harvard University. ii, 216.
H. T. SORLEY, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia. i, 1195.
D. SOURDEL, University of Bordeaux. i, 208, 272, 279, 434, 447, 453, 844, 987, 1033, 1036, 1046, 1047 1093, 1141, 1209, 1287, 1293, 1298, 1312; ii, 72, 127, 195, 197, 198, 199, 354, 389, 458, 461, 462, 498, 568, 602, 624, 626, 730, 731, 732, 743, 913, 1025, 1057, 1081.
Mme J. SOURDEL-THOMINE, École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. i, 461, 787, 953, 971, 989, 996, 998, 1017, 1025, 1073, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1149, 1214, 1292, 1293, 1318, 1345, 1358; ii, 163, 340, 347, 360, 535, 555, 556, 778, 991, 1055.
T. G. P. SPEAR, University of Cambridge. i, 914.
O. SPIES, University of Bonn. ii, 486, 1020.
B. SPULER, University of Hamburg. i, 121, 313, 314, 320, 330, 419, 423, 457, 505, 530, 531, 608, 701, 722, 750, 767, 784, 839, 894, 950, 952, 953, 984, 996, 1002, 1008, 1011, 1108, 1135, 1240, 1343; ii, 2, 15, 19, 47, 61, 67, 75, 201, 253, 366, 446, 607, 622, 737, 778, 793, 916, 928, 943, 982, 1053, 1112, 1117, 1142, 1143.
S. M. STERN, University of Oxford. i, 2, 9, 48, 60, 74, 87, 96, 104, 125, 127, 130, 149, 152, 160, 164, 216, 236, 315, 345, 348, 392, 425, 426, 435, 440, 484.
[M. STRECK, Jena]. i, 3, 133, 184, 252, 426, 427, 459, 485, 517, 603, 608, 659, 685, 711, 863 864, 871, 952, 968, 1030, 1050, 1097, 1211, 1233, 1234; ii, 107, 357, 406, 574.
G. STRENZIOK, University of Cologne. i, 813.
FARUK SÜMER, University of Ankara. i, 1117, 1133, 1159; ii, 20, 614, 724.
[K. SÜSSHEIM, Munich]. i, 287, 309, 310, 381, 777.
[H. SUTER, Zurich]. i, 159, 380, 858; ii, 357, 378, 793.
FR. TAESCHNER, University of Münster. i, 184, 200, 244, 251, 252, 312, 313, 323, 324, 325, 330, 355, 424, 432, 462, 480, 481, 511, 518, 603, 626, 667, 698, 699, 777, 778, 779, 783, 792, 794, 838, 969, 970; ii, 14, 26, 57, 62, 200, 208, 446, 590, 692, 693, 694, 695, 697, 705, 710, 712, 715, 969, 983, 987, 1138.
the late A. H. TANPINAR, University of Istanbul. i, 62.
S. H. TAQIZADEH, Teheran. ii, 400.
A. N. TARLAN, University of Istanbul. i, 1083, 1302.
M. C. ŞIHABEDDÎN TEKİNDAĞ, University of Istanbul. ii, 636.
H. TERRASSE, Casa de Velázquez, Madrid. i, 358, 1321; ii, 823, 1020.
A. TIETZE, University of California, Los Angeles. i, 245, 293, 391, 826; ii, 443.
H. R. TINKER, University of London. i, 1333.
Z. V. TOGAN, University of Istanbul. i, 1077; ii, 981, 995.
the late L. TORRES BALBÁS, University of Madrid. i, 501.
J. S. TRIMINGHAM, American University, Beirut. i, 287, 297, 764; ii, 974.
A. S. TRITTON, University of London. i, 187, 196, 258, 264, 325, 403, 660, 851, 909, 1093, 1326; ii, 442, 518, 603, 626.
the late R. TSCHUDI, University of Basle. i, 1163.
T. TYAN, Université St Joseph, Beirut. i, 210, 1114; ii, 172, 343, 540, 866, 996.
A. L. UDOVITCH, Yale University. ii, 769.
E. ULLENDORFF, University of London. i, 1220; ii, 317, 355, 710.
the late FAİK REŞİT UNAT, Ankara. ii, 630.
İ. H. UZUNÇARŞILI, University of Istanbul. i, 704, 949, 1256, 1278, 1279; ii, 62, 202.
G. VAJDA, École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. i, 266, 404, 429, 481, 811, 984, 1230, 1298; ii, 113, 242, 293, 406, 918.
E. DE VAUMAS, Paris. ii, 948.
Mme L. VECCIA VAGLIERI, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples. i, 41, 54, 194, 337, 386, 696, 704, 1071, 1243, 1244; ii, 90, 162, 241, 366, 372, 416, 601, 626, 727, 745, 850, 870, 994.
J. VERNET, University of Barcelona. i, 516, 1250; ii, 378, 793, 1022.
F. S. VIDAL, Dhahran. i, 1299; ii, 868, 1001.
F. VIRÉ, Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, Paris. i, 1155; ii, 743, 775, 787, 1038.
[K. VOLLERS, Jena]. i, 281, 396.
P. VOORHOEVE, Leiden. i, 42, 88, 92, 743; ii, 183, 550.
E. WAGNER, Göttingen. i, 144.
the late J. WALKER, British Museum, London. i, 3.
J. WALSH, University of Edinburgh. i, 733; ii, 8, 20, 401, 630, 867, 879, 1141.
R. WALZER, University of Oxford. i, 236, 327, 329, 633, 1340; ii, 403, 781, 949.
J. WANSBROUGH, University of London. ii, 782.
W. MONTGOMERY WATT, University of Edinburgh. i, 5, 9, 42, 44, 53, 80, 84, 111, 115, 137, 151, 153, 169, 204, 267, 308, 314, 336, 438, 454, 515, 633, 695, 696, 713, 728, 772, 865, 868, 892; ii, 95, 365, 388, 604, 873, 1041.
H. WEHR, University of Münster. i, 573.
W. F. WEIKER, Rutgers University, N.J. ii, 597.
the late G. WEIL, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. i, 98, 186, 436, 677, 735.
[T. H. WEIR, Glasgow]. ii, 128.
[A. J. WENSINCK, Leiden]. i, 187, 445, 451, 452, 482, 604, 686, 690, 692, 693, 705, 710, 922, 958, 1230; ii, 918.
G. E. WHEELER, London. i, 418; ii, 1118.

C. E. J. WHITTING, London. i, 180, 1261.
[E. WIEDEMANN, Erlangen]. i, 486.
G. WIET, Collège de France, Paris. i, 14, 168, 186, 197, 198, 216, 330, 392, 418, 448, 532, 926, 1016, 1039, 1051, 1054, 1126, 1218, 1288, 1341, 1343; ii, 73, 97, 99, 106.
D. N. WILBER, Princeton, N.J. i, 426, 506, 659, 1014; ii, 107, 135.
I. WILKS, University of Ghana. ii, 1004.
H. VON WISSMANN, University of Tübingen. i, 880, 889.
M. E. YAPP, University of London. ii, 629, 638.
YAR MUHAMMAD KHAN, University of Sind, Hyderabad, Pakistan. i, 1069.
TAHSİN YAZICI, University of Istanbul. ii, 1137.
the late MÜKRİMİN H. YINANÇ, University of Istanbul. ii, 346.
HÜSEYİN G. YURDAYDIN, University of Ankara. ii, 880.
[G. YVER, Algiers]. i, 282, 307, 460, 605, 762, 771, 1088, 1174, 1176, 1178, 1197, 1300; ii, 538, 1096.
A. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, University of Warsaw. ii, 203, 316, 795.
W. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, University of Cracow. ii, 972.
M. A. ZAKI BADAWI, University of Malaya. i, 980.
the late ZAKY M. HASSAN, Cairo. i, 279.
A. H. ZARRINKUB, University of Teheran. ii, 883.
[K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN, Uppsala]. i, 3, 5, 12, 13, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50, 53, 57, 58, 78, 102, 108, 271, 381, 446, 454, 1025, 1313; ii, 391.
L. ZOLONDEK, University of Kentucky. ii, 249.
C. K. ZURAYK, American University, Beirut. ii, 427.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

P. 4a, **ĀBĀZA,** l. 26, *read* 1036/1627.
P. 7b, **ʿABBĀS I,** l. 2, *for* second son *read* third son.
P. 60b, **ʿABD AL-ḤAḲḲ B. SAYF AL-DĪN,** l. 13, *for* studying *read* staying.
P. 137a, **ABU ʾL-LAYTH AL-SAMARḲANDĪ,** *add to Bibliography*: A. Zajączkowski, *Le traité arabe* Muḳaddima *d'Abou-l-Laiṯ as-Samarḳandī en version mamelouk-kiptchak*, Warsaw 1962.
P. 173a, l. 30, *for* Memons *read* Moplahs.
P. 207b, **ADJDĀBIYA,** l. 22, *for* Zanāna *read* Zanāta.
P. 313a, **AḲ SHEHR** (i), last line, *read* 386/996.
P. 320b, **ĀKHĀL TEKKE,** l. 6, *after* Durūn *delete* [*q.v.*].
P. 392a, **ʿALĪ BEY,** l. 6, *read* Abu ʾl-Dhahab.
P. 430b, **AMĀN,** *add to Bibliography*: E. Nys, *Le droit des gens dans les rapports des Arabes et des Byzantins*, in *Revue de droit international et de législation comparée*, 1894, 461-87.
P. 444b, **AMĪR KHUSRAW,** l. 35, *for Ṣighār read ṣighar*; l. 40, *for Baḥiyya read Baḳiyya*; l. 70, *read* 718/1318.
P. 447a, **ʿAMMĀN,** l. 4, *insert comma after* Palestine.
P. 447b, l. 4 of *Bibliography*, *for Princetown read Princeton.*
P. 511b, *after* **ANḲARA** *add*: **ANMĀR** [see GHAṬAFĀN].
P. 607b, **ARAL,** l. 38, *read* 861/1456-7.
P. 608b, **ARBŪNA,** signature: *for* ED., *read* CH. PELLAT.
P. 630b, **ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS,** l. 7, *after* Nicolaus of Damascus (*saec.* I B.C. *add*: Nicolaus Damascenus, *On the philosophy of Aristotle*, ed. H. J. Drossaart Lulofs, 1965.
P. 631b, l. 25, *for* will be published by Muhsin Mahdi *read* has been published by Muhsin Mahdi (Beirut 1961). ll. 54 f., *for* Not one .... library. *read* Al-Fārābī's commentary on the *De Interpretatione* (to be compared with Ammonius and Boethius) has been edited by W. Kutsch and S. Marrow, Beirut 1960, from an Istanbul manuscript [see AL-FĀRĀBĪ, iii a].
P. 632a, l. 52 and l. 60, *for* 'Middle Commentary' *read* 'Short Commentary'.
l. 9 (*De Interpretatione*), *add*: and, together with the commentary of al-Fārābī, by W. Kutsch and S. Marrow (see above).
l. 36 (*Rhetoric*), *add*: Arabic text now edited from the Paris manuscript by A. Badawī, 1959.
l. 47 (*Poetics*), *add*: Good use of the Arabic version has been made in the new Oxford edition of the Greek text by R. Kassel, 1965.
l. 53 (*Physics*), *add*: Edition of the first book, with commentary by Abū ʿAlī b. al-Samḥ, by W. Kutsch and Kh. Georr, in *MFOB*, xxxix (1963), 268 ff.; edition of books i-iv by A. Badawī, 1964.
l. 55 (*De Caelo*), *after* al-Biṭrīq), *add* unreliable edition by A. Badawī, in *Islamica*, xxviii (1961), 123-387.
l. 65 (*Meteorology*), *add*: Unreliable edition by A. Badawī in *Islamica*, xxviii (1961), 1-121.
l. 71 (*De Naturis Animalium*), add: *De generatione animalium*, edition of the Arabic version by H. J. Drossaart Lulofs, to appear in 1965.
P. 632b, l. 16 (*De Anima*), *after* (Typescript), *add*: now published in the *Proceedings* of the Arab Academy of Damascus.
l. 27 (*De Sensu, etc.*), *add*: Critical edition by H. Gätje, *Die Epitome der* Parva Naturalia *des Averroes*, 1961.
l. 48 (*Nicomachean Ethics*), *add*: Books 1-4 have been discovered by D. M. Dunlop in the library of the Ḳarawiyyīn, Fez, see *Oriens*, xv (1962), 18-34.
l. 52 (*De Mundo*), *add*: S. M. Stern, *The Arabic translations of the Ps.-Aristotelian treatise* De mundo, in *Le Muséon*, lxxvii (1964), 187 ff.
l. 63 (*Protrepticus*), *add*: I. Düring, *Aristotle in the ancient biographical tradition*, 1957, 203.
P. 633a, l. 3 (*De Pomo*), *add*: Edition of the Latin translation by M. Plezia, 1960.
P. 657b, **ARNAWUTLUḲ,** l. 18, *read* 29 July 1913.
P. 662a, **ARSLAN B. SALDJŪḲ,** l. 34, *read* 427/1035-6.
P. 680b, **ĀRZŪ KHĀN,** ll. 12-15, *read*: He produced an enlarged and corrected edition of Hānsawī's *Gharāʾib al-lughāt* and called it *Nawādir al-alfāẓ* (ed. Saiyid Abdullah, Karachi 1951).
P. 686a, *for* **ĀṢĀF-DJĀH** *read* **ĀṢAF-DJĀH.**
P. 697a, *after* **AL-ASHDAḲ** *add*: **ASHDJAʿ** [see GHAṬAFĀN].
P. 822b, **ʿAẒĪM ALLĀH KHĀN,** *add to Bibliography*: Pratul Chandra Gupta, *Nana Sahib and the rising at Cawnpore*, Oxford 1963, 25-7, 63-4, 70-1, 75, 82, 84, 102-3, 115-7, 171, 177, 179, 190.
P. 825b, **ʿAZĪZ MIṢR,** ll. 25-6, *read* According to Memdūḥ Pasha, later Ottoman Minister of Internal Affairs, this ...
P. 856a, **BADĀʾŪN,** *add to Bibliography*: On the name Badāʾūn: A. S. Beveridge, in *JRAS*, 1925, 517; T. W. Haig, *ibid.*, 715-6; C. A. Storey, *ibid.*, 1926, 103-4; E. D. Ross, *ibid.*, 105.
P. 895b, **BAGHDĀD,** ll. 59-60, *for* S.W. *read* S.E. *and for* S.E. *read* S.W.
P. 973b, **BALADIYYA,** ll. 50 and 54, *for* Commission *read* Council.
P. 989b, **BALĀṬ AL-SHUHADĀʾ,** l. 22, *for Taʾrīkh al-Umam wa ʾl-Mulūk read Taʾrīkh al-Rusul wa ʾl-Mulūk.*
P. 1161b, *before* **BEIRUT** *insert* **BEING AND NON-BEING** [see WUDJŪD and ʿADAM respectively].

P. 1195a, **BHITĀʾĪ,** *add*: *Bibliography*: Annemarie Schimmel, in *Kairos* (Salzburg), iii-iv (1961), 207-16 (where additional references are given).
P. 1203a, **BĪDJĀPŪR,** *add to Bibliography*: A. Slater, *The ancient city of Bijapur*, in *Qly Journ. Mythic Soc.*, iii (1912), 45-52.
P. 1211a, **BIHZĀD,** l. 16, *for printers read painters.*
P. 1242a, **BISHR** B. **GHIYĀTH** AL-**MARĪSĪ,** last line of col., *for* S I, 340; Ritter, in *Isl.*, 16, 1927, 252 f.; *read* S I, 340 (on the spurious *K. al-Ḥayda*, allegedly the account of a disputation with Bishr by the Shāfiʿī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yaḥyā al-Kinānī, d. 235/849; also Cairo (Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿāda) n.d); Ritter, in *Isl.*, xvii (1928), 252 f.; Massignon, in *REI*, 1938, 410 (on Bishr's name in the *isnād*s of the *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, attributed to the Ibāḍī authority al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb);
P. 1255b, **BOHORĀS,** l. 13 of *Bibl.*, *read St. Isl.*, iii (1955).
P. 1259a, **BORNU,** l. 7, *for* were *read* where.
P. 1280b, *before* **BRUSA** *insert* **BROKER** [see DALLĀL, SIMSĀR].
P. 1348b, **BŪSTĀN** — ii, *add to Bibliography*: T. O. D. Dunn, *Kashmir and its Mughal gardens*, in *Calcutta Review*, cclxxx/8 (April 1917).

VOLUME II

P. 19a, **ČELEBI,** l. 26, *for* 'barbarian' *read* 'barber'.
P. 29a, *before* **CHINA** *insert* **CHILD** [see ṢAGHĪR and WALAD].
P. 60b, *before* **CONSUL** *insert* **CONSTITUTION** [see DUSTŪR].
P. 71b, **ḌABBA,** l. 1, *for* ṬĀBĪKHA *read* ṬĀBIKHA.
l. 14, *for* 7th/13th century *read* 7th century A.D.
l. 18, *for* 6th/12th century *read* 6th century A.D.
P. 72a, l. 41, *read* the last Amīr to lead in prayer.
P. 78a, **DAFTAR,** l. 10, *for* n. 1 *read* n. 3.
P. 79b, l. 27, *for Adab al-Kātib read Adab al-Kuttāb.*
P. 105b, **ḌAMĀN,** *add to Bibliography*: O. Spies, *Die Lehre von der Haftung für Gefahr im islamischen Recht*, in *Zeitschr. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, 1955, 79-95.
P. 107a, **DAMĀWAND,** *add to Bibliography*: M. B. Smith, *Material for a corpus of early Iranian Islamic architecture. I. Masdjid-i djumʿa, Demāwend*, in *Ars Islamica*, ii (1935), 153-73, and iv (1937), 7-41; W. Eilers, *Der Name Demawend*, in *ArO*, xxii (1954), 267-374.
P. 116b, **DĀR** AL-**ʿAHD,** *add to Bibliography*: Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Shaʿīra (Cheïra), *al-Mamālik al-ḥalīfa*, in *Bull. Fac. Arts, Farouk I Univ.*, iv (1948), Arabic section 39-81; idem, *Le statut des pays de "ʿAhd" au VIIe et VIIIe siècles*, in *Actes XXIe Congrès intern. Oriental.*, Paris 1949, 275-7.
P. 122a, **DĀR FŪR,** ll. 39-40, *for* [see DANḲALĪ] *read* [see DONGOLA].
P. 122b, l. 28, *for* 1894 *read* 1874.
P. 123a, l. 21, *for* Abu 'l-Kāsim *read* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim.
P. 137b, **DARD,** l. 36, *delete* Bahādur Shāh I.
P. 183b, **DĀWŪD PASHA,** l. 18, *for* 1021/1612 *read* 1025/1616.
Bibliography: s.v. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, *read*: i, 252, 256, 268-70, 374; ii, 19 ff., . . .; s.v. Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, *read*: i, 408, 412-3, 432, 434, 436; ii, 96, 141, 224 ff., . . .; s.v. E. de Hurmuzaki, *read*: 180-1, 183, 197 ff., 200 ff.; s.v. Hammer-Purgstall, iv, *read*: 331, 356, 381-2, 407, 453, 462, 476, 549, . . . *Add to Bibliography*: M. Sertoğlu, *Tuği tarihi*, in *Belleten*, xi (1947), 489-514, *passim.*
P. 209a, **DERWĪSH MEḤMED PASHA** (V. J. Parry), *add to Bibliography*: Cl. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad dans les temps modernes*, Paris 1901, 74-6.
Pp. 243-5 **DHŪ NUWĀS,** *passim*, *for* Yūsuf Ashʿar *read* Yūsuf Asʾar.
P. 280b, **DIMASHḲ,** l. 48, *after* Marwān, *add* and nephew of the famous Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf.
P. 288a, l. 27, *for* in 959/1552 *read* before 926/1520.
P. 288b, l. 21, *for* Bāb al-Ḥadīd *read* Bāb al-Naṣr.
P. 289a, l. 23, *for* Bāb al-Ḥadīd *read* Bāb al-Naṣr.
P. 290b, l. 27 *of Bibliography, to* Arabic texts *add*: Muḥammad Adīb Taḳī al-Dīn al-Ḥuṣnī, *Muntakhabāt al-tawārīkh li-Dimashk*, 3 vols., Damascus 1928-34.
P. 337b, **DĪWĀN-I HUMĀYŪN,** l. 13, *for* Bāyazīd II *read* Bāyazīd I.
P. 338a, l. 16, *for* every day *read* four days a week.
l. 25, *for* Four times a week a meeting was held *read* Meetings were held.
P. 339a, l. 23, *for* 1054/1654 *read* 1064/1654.
P. 362b, AL-**DJABR** WA 'L-**MUḲĀBALA,** signature: *for* W. HARTNER *read* W. HARTNER and M. SCHRAMM.
P. 372a, MĪR **DJAʿFAR,** *add to Bibliography*: M. Edwardes, *The battle of Plassey and the conquest of Bengal*, London 1963, index.
P. 392b, **DJALĀL** AL-**DĪN ḤUSAYN** AL-**BUKHĀRĪ,** *add at end of Bibliography*: A collection of 42 of his letters addressed to one Mawlānā ʿIzz al-Dīn and compiled by Tādj al-Ḥaḳḳ wa 'l-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muʿīn Siyāh-pūsh is preserved in the Subḥān Allāh collection of the Muslim University, Aligarh.
P. 404b, **DJĀLIYA,** l. 1, *for* (*al-Andalus*) *read* (*al-ʿUṣba*).
at end of article add: See further, for Muslim communities throughout the world, MUSLIM.
P. 410b, **DJAMʿ, DJAMĀʿA,** *add to first paragraph of Bibliography*: A. Murtonen, *Broken plurals. Origin and development of the system*, Leiden 1964.
P. 433b, **DJAMʿIYYA** (iii), l. 27, *for* Djīrāz *read* Shīrāz.
P. 434a, penultimate line, *for* the *read* they.
P. 435b, l. 28, *for op. cit.* (in Bibl.) *read Taʾrīkh-i mashrūṭa-i Īrān*[4].
P. 438a, **DJAMNĀ,** *at end of article add*: Djamnā is used as a name of other rivers in India, especially for part of the Brahmaputra in Bengal, called Djūn by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. See also GANGĀ.

P. 470^{a}, **DJARĪDA** (i) B, l. 33, *for* (1955) *read* (1956).

P. 470^{b}, *add to Bibliography*: A. Merad, *La formation de la presse musulmane en Algérie (1919-1939)*, in *IBLA*, 1964/1, 9-29.

P. 471^{b}, (i) C, ll. 29-30, *delete* magazine; *for* 1928 *read* 1933; *delete* organ of.

P. 472^{b}, (ii), ll. 10-12, *for* In 1875 .... Constantinople; *read* Newspapers in Persian appeared in India as early as 1822 and 1835 (see S. C. Sanial, *The first Persian newspapers of India: a peep into their contents*, in *IC*, vii (1934), 105-14), and in Constantinople in 1875;

P. 473^{a}, last line, *for* Iṣfahān 1327/1949, 2 vols. *read* Iṣfahān 1327-32/1949-54, 4 vols.

P. 479^{b}, **DJARĪMA**, l. 2, *after djereme*, *add* and currently in Īrān,

P. 501^{a}, AL-**DJAWNPŪRĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: A. S. Bazmee Ansari, *Sayyid Muḥammad Jawnpūrī and his movement*, in *Islamic Studies*, ii/2 (March 1963), 41-74.

P. 501^{b}, AL-**DJAWWĀNĪ**, l. 40, *for* Ahmet III, 2759, *read* Ahmet III, 2799 and 2800, neither of which, however, indicates al-Djawwānī as the author, *and add* Yale, L-672 [Nemoy 1245].
at end of paragraph add: There have now appeared his *Mukhtaṣar min al-kalām fi 'l-farḳ bayn man ism abīhi Sallām wa-Salām* (ed. al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1382/1962) and his manuscript of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Djamharat nasab Ḳuraysh* (Köprülü 1141, with notes dating from the year 558/1163, see the edition by M. M. Shākir, Cairo 1381/1962, intr. 32 ff.).

P. 504^{a}, **DJAYPUR**, l. 3, *for* craftsman *read* craftsmen.
l. 7, *for Yād-i Ayyān read Yād-i Ayyām.*

P. 518^{b}, **DJAZĀ'** (ii), l. 2, *for ḳānūn-i djazā'ī* (cezâi) *read ḳānūn-i djazā'* (cezâ).

P. 535^{b}, **DJIBŪTĪ**, *after the third paragraph, ending* of the majority., *insert the following paragraph, omitted in error in the English edition*:

Djibūtī is the administrative centre of a region misleadingly called "Côte Française des Somalis", "French Somaliland": in fact more than three-quarters of its area (*ca.* 23,000 sq. km.) and of its coast belong to the ʿAfar, while less than a quarter belongs to the Somalis. It is a desert region, with practically no agriculture. Outside the capital, the population is almost entirely nomadic; all the inhabitants are Muslim. Besides the ʿAfar (numbering some 25,000), it contains the subjects of four "sultanates": the whole of Tadjoura (Tadjurra, in ʿAfar Tagorri) and Gobaʿad, the majority of Raḥayto, and a small part of Awsa. The ʿAfar (called by the Arabs Danāḳil [*q.v.*]) form a relatively organized population, with a firmly hierarchical social structure, divided into regional 'commands' ruled by hereditary chiefs and based on a family and tribal organization. Among the Somalis, the only autochthonous tribe is that of the ʿĪse, nine-tenths of whom in any case belong to Somalia or to Ethiopia. This tribe is unusually anarchical, having no true chiefs: the *ugās*, who lives in Ethiopia, has no effective power; a minimum of authority is exercised by councils of elders, who dispense justice. The ʿĪse groups which normally wander throughout the country during part of the year total about 6000 individuals. They belong mainly to the sub-tribes Rēr Mūse, Ūrweyne, Fūrlabe, Horrōne and Mammāsan.

P. 576^{b}, **DJUGHRĀFIYĀ**, ll. 50, 57 and 71, *for* Āryabhaṫa *read* Āryabhaṭa.

P. 587^{a}, l. 24, *for* Siyāghī *read* Siyāḳī.

P. 587^{b}, l. 18, *after Journal insert of.*

P. 595^{a}, **DJUMHŪRIYYA**, l. 44, *for Siyasat read Siyasal.*

P. 597^{a}, **DJŪNĀGARH**, l. 15, *before* thriving *insert* a.
l. 19, *for* enshines *read* enshrines.

P. 597^{b}, l. 3, *for* Ridjā' *read* Radjā'.
l. 65, *for* Manāwādār *read* Manāwadār; *for taʿlukas read taʿluḳas.*
l. 67, *for zorṭalbī read zōrṭalbī.*

P. 598^{a}, l. 11, *read* college.
l. 25, *read taʿluḳas.*
ll. 41-5, *for* It has .... employ of the ruler. *read* It has two large-size cannon, originally from the armament brought by Khādim Süleymān Pasha, Ottoman governor of Cairo under Süleymān I and commander of the fleet sent from Suez against the Portuguese settlement of Diu in India; they were brought to Djūnāgarh by Mudjāhid Khān of Pālītāna (see *Cam. Hist. India*, iii, 334, 340).

P. 598^{b}, l. 15, *for Zarfīn read zarrīn.*

P. 600^{b}, AL-**DJUNAYD** B. **ʿABD ALLĀH**, l. 7, *for* Djūshaba b. Dhābir *read* Djaysiṅh b. Dāhir; l. 12, *for* Ibn Dhābir's *read* Ibn Dāhir's [These readings, kindly communicated by Mr. A. S. Bazmee Ansari, make it possible to correct the texts of Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 465, 466, v, 40, 101, and al-Balādhurī, 441-2, which have respectively جيشبه بن ذاهر and حشه (cf. *Čač-nāma*, ed. U. M. Daudpota, Delhi 1959, index; *Islamic Studies*, ii/2 (Karachi, March 1963), 139-40, n. 25).—Author's note].

P. 602^{a}, **DJUR'AT**, l. 11, *for* Muḥabbat *read* Maḥabbat.
l. 33, *for* Yakta *read* Yaktā.

P. 602^{b}, l. 1, *for* Mohāhī *read* Mohānī; *for* Kanpur *read* Kānpur.
add to Bibliography: Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature hindoue* ...^{2}, Paris 1870, ii, 112-8.

P. 605^{b}, AL-**DJUWAYNĪ**, ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ ʿABD AL-MALIK, l. 17, *after* century. *add* It was printed repeatedly, and was translated by L. Bercher in *Revue Tunisienne*, 1930.
ll. 33-4, *for* Unfortunately, ... published. *read* Only the first section of his great work, the *Shāmil*, has been published (ed. H. Klopfer, Cairo 1960).
l. 41, *read* 181-4.
l. 49, *after* edition. *add* There is, finally, his *ʿaḳīda*, which he dedicated to Niẓām al-Mulk (*al-ʿAḳīda al-Niẓāmiyya*); it was edited by Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī (Cairo 1367/1948) and translated by H. Klopfer (*Das Dogma des Imâm al-Ḥaramain*, Cairo and Wiesbaden 1958).

P. 606^{a}, l. 11, *for* Brockelmann, I, 388 *read* Brockelmann, I, 486, S I, 671 *and add to the Bibliography*: A. S.

Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 184-90; L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, index s.v. Juwaynī.

P. 609ª, AL-**DJUZDJĀNĪ**, ABŪ ʿAMR, l. 21, *read ḥarīm.*

P. 609ᵇ, l. 7, *for* the *read* his.
l. 10, *read* Rayhān.
l. 47, *read* Nāṣirī.
l. 59, *read* Zakariyyā.
l. 63, *read* Amīr Ḥasan.

P. 640ᵇ, **DUSTŪR** (ii), l. 4, *for* 1807 *read* 1808.
l. 7, *for* and of *read* and four of.

P. 694ᵇ, **ELČI,** *add to Bibliography*: Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III. ün hat-tı humayunları*, Ankara 1946, 163-86.

P. 694ᵇ, **ELIČPUR,** *for* [see GĀWILGAṘH] *read* [see ILIČPUR, also BERĀR, GĀWILGAṘH, ʿIMĀD SHĀHĪ].

P. 725ª, **FADAK,** l. 3, *after* from Medina. *add*: C. J. Gadd has shown that the name reflects the ancient Padakku, which was occupied in 550 B.C. by the Babylonian king Nabonidus (see *Anatolian Studies*, viii (1958), 81).

P. 729ᵇ, **FAḌĪLA,** *add to Bibliography*: E. Wagner, *Die arabische Rangstreitdichtung und ihre Einordnung in die allgemeine Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1963 (Abh. d. Ak. d. Wiss. u. Lit. in Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Kl., Jg. 1962, Nr. 8).

P. 735ᵇ, **FAḌL ALLĀH ḤURŪFĪ,** *Bibliography*: H. Ritter, *Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit, II. Die Anfänge der Ḥurūfīsekte*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 1-54; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Bektaşîlik-Hurûfîlik ve Fadl Allâh'ın öldürülmesine düşürülen üç tarih*, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, v (1964), 15-22.

P. 741ᵇ, **FAHD,** l. 51, *for* (*ḳasʿa*) *read* (*ḳaṣʿa*).

P. 751ª, **FAKHR** AL-**DĪN,** l. 13, *for* westwards *read* eastwards.

P. 852ᵇ, **FĀṬIMIDS,** l. 52, *after* bribery *add* (see also H. Monés, *Le malékisme et l'échec des Fatimides en Ifriqiya*, in *Ét. or.... Lévi-Provençal*, i, 197-220).

P. 853ª, l. 11, *after* in the Zāb *add* (on which see L. Massiéra, *M'sila du Xᵉ au XIᵉ s.*, in *Bull. Soc. hist. et géogr. de la région de Sétif*, ii (1941), 183 ff.; M. Canard, *Une famille de partisans puis adversaires des Fatimides en Af. du N.*, in *Mél. d'hist. et d'archéol. de l'Occ. mus.*, Algiers 1957, ii, 35 ff.).

P. 862ᵇ, *add to Bibliography*: A. R. Lewis, *Naval power and trade in the Mediterranean, A.D. 500-1100*, Princeton 1951, especially 259-62 (*The disruptive role of the Fatimids*); G. Wiet, *Grandeur de l'Islam*, Paris 1961, 152-71; S. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, New York 1955, 82-4; H. Monés, *Le malékisme et l'échec des Fatimides en Ifriqiya*, in *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, i, 197 ff.

P. 864ª, **FĀṬIMID ART,** l. 52, *after* traditions which they continued. *add*: On the representation of living creatures in Fāṭimid art, see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 416, 472, 477: figurines (*tamāthīl*) representing elephants, gazelles, lions, giraffes, or birds, peacocks, cocks, etc., elephants sometimes bearing warlike accoutrements. More particularly, the tents of the caliphs and the viziers were decorated with *ṣuwar adamiyya wa-waḥshiyya*: *op cit.*, i, 474; some tents bore a special name according to whether they were decorated with elephants, lions, horses, peacocks or birds: *op cit.*, i, 418. On the activity of Fāṭimid painters (*muzawwiḳūn*), see al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 318.

P. 880ª, **FENER,** *add to Bibliography*: J. Gottwald, *Phanariotische Studien*, in *Vierteljahrschrift für Südosteuropa*, v/1-2 (1941), 1-58.

P. 919ᵇ, **FIRDAWSĪ,** l. 63, *for* ii, 477 *read* i, 493.

P. 965ª, **FUTUWWA,** l. 36, *for Basṭ madad al-tawfīḳ read Kitāb al-Futuwwa* (*Basṭ madad al-tawfīḳ* being the title not of the *K. al-Futuwwa* but of a short treatise composed in Ottoman Egypt; see the preface of H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des isl. Vereinswesen*, 1913, 9 f.).

P. 967ª, l. 1, *after* documents, *add*: *e.g.* Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, selections tr. H. A. R. Gibb, London 1929, 123-41; tr. H. A. R. Gibb (Hakluyt ser.), ii, 1959, 413-68.
l. 13 *of Bibliography, add*: Irène Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim, le "Porte-hache" du Khorasan*, Paris 1962; *and at end of Bibliography, add*: M. Molé, *Kubrawiyāt II, Ali b. Şihābaddīn-i Hamadānī'nin Risāla-i futuwwatīya'sı*, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, iv (1961), 33-72.

P. 969ª, ll. 9-10 *of Bibliography, for* A complete copy .... Basle, *read* A complete copy, formerly in the possession of Prof. Tschudi, is now in the University Library of Basle (M. VI. 35);

P. 969ᵇ, l. 15, *after* (Rieu, 44) *add* see now the communication by R. M. Savory, in *Isl.*, xxxviii (1963), 161-5.

P. 970ᵇ, **GABAN,** *at end of article add*: In 1137 Gaban was taken by the Byzantines, but was occupied soon afterwards (1138-9) by Malik Aḥmad Dānishmand. In 613/1216 the district was attacked by Kay Kāʾūs I [*q.v.*]. In 666/1268 king Haytham was obliged to cede the fortress to Baybars. *and add to Bibl.*: Alishan, *Sissouan*, 48-9, 210; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie* . . ., 360, 623; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, ii, 87, 266; K. M. Setton (ed.), *History of the Crusades*, ii, 637, iii, 635; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/2, 528-9; Ibn Iyās, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 229-30; Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 382.

P. 996ᵇ, **GHALĀFIḲA,** l. 13, *for* L. O. Schuman *read* L. S. Schuman.

P. 1021ª, **GHASSĀN,** l. 6, *after* ʿAyn Ubāgh *delete* [*q.v.*].
[Shortly before this article by Dr Shahîd was published, the editors interpolated a note communicated to them by another scholar, which introduced a newly-discovered inscription from a Ghassānid building. Dr Shahîd has now pointed out to them that this note on buildings deals with an aspect of the subject which he had discussed in articles listed in his Bibliography and which he had therefore decided not to treat in detail in the body of the article; the insertion of the note might give the impression that the editors had thought that the part allotted to Ghassānid buildings was insufficient. The editors readily express their regret if any such misunderstanding has occurred and take this opportunity of mentioning that Dr Shahîd is at present engaged on a book on Arab-Byzantine relations before the rise of Islam which will include a comprehensive chapter on Ghassanid structures.]

P. 1074ª, **GHINĀʾ,** ll. 8-9, *for* Ibn Bāna [*q.v.*] or Bānata (d. 278/891) *read* ʿAmr b. Bāna or Bānata (d. 278/891) [see IBN BĀNA].

C

CABRA [see ḲABRA]

CADIZ [see ḲĀDIS]

CAESAREA [see ḲAYSARIYYA, KAYSERI, SHARSHAL]

ČAGHĀNIYĀN (Arabic rendering: Ṣaghāniyān). In the early Middle Ages this was the name given to the district of the Čaghān-Rūd [*q.v.*] valley. This river is the northernmost tributary of the river Āmū-Daryā [*q.v.*]. The district lies to the north of the town of Tirmidh [*q.v.*], the area of which, however, (including Čamangān) did not form part of Čaghāniyān either politically or administratively (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 39). Wē/aishagirt (= Fayḍābād) was regarded as the boundary with the district of Khuttalān ([*q.v.*]; between the rivers Pandj and Wakhsh). Incidentally, the area around Ḳabādiyān (Ḳuwādiyān; [*q.v.*]) to the south-east, has frequently been regarded as an independent district.

The region had a pleasant climate, good water supplies, good soil, and corresponding agriculture. Its peasants, however, were considered lazy, thus a considerable number of poor (*darwishān*) were to be found in Čaghāniyān, and the area was sparsely populated. The capital was also called Čaghāniyān (the derivation by Markwart, Wehrot 93, from the Mongol *čaghan* 'white' is surely wrong). It was situated on the side of a hill where there was running water. The population of the town was also regarded as poor and ill-educated, and despite its greater size, it was soon overshadowed by Tirmidh (Iṣṭakhrī, 298; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 114, no. 25 and no. 27, also *ibid.*, 63, 119, 198; Samʿānī 352 v). Round the year 985, the taxes were 48,529 dirhams (Muḳaddasī, 283, 290). Other known places in the district were Bārangī and Dārzangī. *Maps* of the area: *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 339, and Le Strange, map ix.

History: In the 5th and 6th centuries, Čaghāniyān was one of main Hephthalite (see HAYṬAL) areas and was under Buddhist influence. Even in the 4th/10th century it was considered a border region against the 'Kumēdjī', who are regarded as remnants of the Hephthalites (Bayhaḳī, ed. Morley, 499, 576, 611, 696; and also Markwart, *Wehrot* 93 f., with further data), though they may also have belonged to the Saks (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 363). In Sāsānid times, it was ruled by its own dynasty with the title Čaghān-Khudāt (Ṭabarī, ii, 1596). In 31/651, its troops took part in Yazdagird III's fight against the attacking Arabs. Some of them (prisoners ?) could be found in Baṣra around 59/678 (Balādhurī, ed. De Goeje, 419 f. = ed. Cairo 1901, 413; Spuler, *Iran*, 19). In 86/705 the Čaghān-Khudāt submitted to Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*], who had conquered Transoxania for the Muslims. Thus Čaghāniyān became part of an Islamic region, and accepted its culture from Balkh rather than from Bukhārā and Samarḳand (*Ṭabarī*, ii, 1180; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 330; Spuler, *Iran*, 29 and note 6; H. A. R. Gibb, *Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, 1923, 32 (Turkish ed., 28); Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements relig. iraniens*, 1938, 24 f.). In 119-121/737-9, the inhabitants fought on the side of the Arabs against the western Turks, their allies, and Sughd refugees (Ṭabarī, ii, 1596; Ind., p. 735; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 191; B. G. Gafurov, *Ist. Tadžikskogo Naroda*, i, 1949, 147). They took part in the civil war between the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids (Ṭabari. ii, 1423, 1767); in 191-195/806-10, in the rising of Rāfiʿ b. Layth against the ʿAbbāsids (Yaʿḳūbī, *Hist. Isl.*, 1883, ii, 528), and in 323/934, followed for a short time a certain 'False Prophet' Mahdī (name? title?) (Gardīzī, 37 f.). Abū ʿAlī (see ILYĀSIDS), who ruled over this district as well as over Tirmidh and Shūman and Kharūn further east, had come here for purposes of defence in 337/948, after he had been deposed as governor of Khurāsān. He is described as a member of the Muḥtādj dynasty. It is not evident whether there was a link between this house and the Čaghān-Khudāt. When he became governor of Khurāsān once more in 341/952, he passed the rule of Čaghāniyān on to his son. Deposed again in 343/954, he was buried in Čaghāniyān (Radab-Shaʿbān 344/Nov. 955) (Ibn Ḥawḳal 401; Muḳaddasī 337; Gardīzī 36 f.; Yāḳūt, *Learned Men* (Gibb Mem. Ser. VI), i, 143; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 233, 247/49; Spuler, *Iran*, 97).

Towards the end of the 4th/10th century, a lengthy war broke out between the *amīr* of Čaghāniyān (who ranked as one of the *Mulūk al-aṭrāf*), the rulers of Gōzgān (Djūzdjān; [*q.v.*]), and other candidates (Narshakhī, 157; further information in Barthold, *Turkestan*, 254; Minorsky in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 178, with further data). It ended in 390/999, when Čaghāniyān came under Karakhānid rule. In 416/1025, the district joined Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and in 426/1035, it repelled Ḳarakhānid attempts to recover it with the assistance of the Ghaznawids (Bayhaḳī, ed. Morley, 82, 98, 255, 575 f., 611, 616 [see ḲARĀKHĀNIDS]). Finally, Čaghāniyān came under Saldjūḳ rule in 451/1059. They suppressed a rising in 457/1064 (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x, 22). By *ca.* 561/1165, the Ḳarakhānids (who were subject to the Ḳara Khitāy) had once again achieved a position of great influence (al-Kātib al-Samarḳandī, in Barthold, *Turk. russ.*, i, 71 f.). Around the years 570-571/1174-75, the country came under the rule of the Ghūrids (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 423-6).

The district is not mentioned during the time of the Mongol conquests; and subsequently it is hardly found in Mongol sources. In the 7th/13th century, Čaghāniyān belonged to the Čaghatāy empire, and the Transoxanian Khān Baraḳ (generally called Burāḳ [*q.v.*] by the Muslims) had the centre of his empire here in 663-670/1264-71. In Tīmūr's time, the place-name *Dih-i naw* (now: *Dēnaw*) is mentioned (Sharaf

al-Dīn Yazdī, ed. Iláhdád, 1885, i, 124), and this appears to be on the site of the ancient town of Čaghāniyān (thus Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72; Markwart, *Wehrot*, 93). There is mention of Čaghāniyān on only one further occasion, in the *Bābur-nāma* (ed. Beveridge, 1905, index), where it is probably a historical reminiscence. Apparently no mediaeval ruins have survived in Čaghāniyān, and the old settlements have vanished. Today the district belongs to the Özbek SSR, and the Özbek language has supplanted the old Iranian. The regions to the east of the Kāfirnahān river, however, together with Ḳabādiyān, belong to the Tādjīk language area and to the Tādjīk SSR.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; Le Strange, 435-40; J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 1938, index; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, index; B. Spuler, *Iran*, index. (B. SPULER)

ČAGHĀN-RŪD (ČAGHĀN-RŌDH), the seventh and last tributary on the right of the river Āmū-Daryā [*q.v.*]. It comes from the Buttam mountains, to the north of Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*], flows past that town and several smaller places, and finally into the Āmū-Daryā above Tirmidh. The river is called by this name only in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, (71, no. 11, p. 363), and in Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma* (ed. Iláhdád), 1885, i, 196 (= translation by F. Pétis de la Croix, i, 183). Muḳaddasī, 22, calls it "river of Čaghāniyān", and distinguishes it from the Kāfirnihān, the 6th tributary (further to the east) of the Āmū-Daryā. Ibn Rusta, (*BGA* vii, 93), on the other hand, gets the two rivers, their sources, and their tributaries mixed up; he calls the Čaghān-Rūd: Zāmi/Zamul. Today, the upper part of the river is known as Ḳara Ṭagh Daryā, and from Dih-i naw (Dēnaw = Čaghāniyān) onwards: Surkhān.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 436, 440; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72; J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 1938, 89-94 (he attempts a classification of the pre-Islamic Iranian sources); B. Spuler, *Der Āmū-Darjā*, 234 (in *Jean Deny Armağanı*, Ankara 1958, 231-48); Brockhaus-Efron, *Enciklop. Slovaŕ* xxxii/1 (= 63), St. Petersburg 1901, 109; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Éntsiklop*². 41, (1956) 315. (B. SPULER)

ČAGHATAY KHĀN, founder of the Čaghatay Khanate [*q.v.*], the second son of Čingiz-Khān and his chief wife Börte Fudjin. Already in his father's lifetime he was regarded as the greatest authority on the *Yasa* (the tribal laws of the Mongols as codified by Čingiz-Khān). Like his brothers he took part in his father's campaigns against China (1211-1216) and against the kingdom of the Khwārizm-Shāh (1219-1224). Urgāndj, the latter's capital, was besieged by the three princes Djoči, Čaghatay and Ögedey and taken in Ṣafar 618/27th March-24th April 1221. In the same year Čaghatay's eldest son Mö'etüken was slain before Bāmiyān. After the battle on the Indus (according to Nasawī, transl. Houdas, 83, on Wednesday 7 Shawwāl 618, probably 24 November 1221) Čaghatay was entrusted with operations against Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizm-Shāh and spent the winter of 1221-1222 in India. During Čingiz-Khān's final campaign against the Tangut (1225-1227) he remained in Mongolia in command of the forces left behind there.

After his father's death Čaghatay no longer took an active part in any of the campaigns. As the eldest surviving son of Čingiz-Khān (his brother Djoči had predeceased his father) he enjoyed enormous prestige. In the year 1229 he presided with his uncle Otčigin over the *kuriltay* at which Ögedey was elected Great Khān: owing to his position as the recognized authority on the *yasa*, he exercised an influence to which even the Great Khān Ögedey had to bow. He seems to have spent this period partly in Mongolia at his brother's court, partly in the territory allotted to him by Čingiz-Khān, where he held his own court-camp. Like all the Mongol princes Čaghatay had separate camps (*ordu*) for winter and summer. His summer residence according to Djuwaynī was at some place on the Ili whilst his winter quarters were at Ḳuyas, probably to be identified with the Equius of William of Rubruck, near Almaligh, *i.e.*, in the region of the present-day Kulja. The residence of Čaghatay's successors is called Ulugh Ef (in Turkish „Great House") by Djuwaynī and others.

Čaghatay had received from his father all the lands from the Uyghur territory in the east to Bukhārā and Samarḳand in the west: we must not however regard these lands as a single kingdom governed from the Ili valley and only indirectly subject to the Great Khān. Everywhere, even in the Ili valley itself, the local dynasties who were there before the Mongols remained. On the relationship of these dynasties to the Mongol rulers we have no accurate information; we know equally little about what sovereign rights the court on the Ili could claim from the Great Khān and his deputies. The settled lands of Central Asia were certainly not governed in the name of Čaghatay but in that of the Great Khān. In the account of the suppression of the rebellion in Bukhārā in 636/1238-1239 Čaghatay is not mentioned; the governor of Mā warā' al-Nahr at this period was Maḥmūd Yalavač, a Khwārizmī by birth, who had been appointed by the Great Khān. Even the generals of the Mongol forces in Mā warā' al-Nahr were appointed by the Great Khān. When, soon afterwards, Maḥmūd Yalavač was arbitrarily dismissed from his office by Čaghatay the latter was called to account by his brother and had to admit the illegality of his action. Ögedey was satisfied with this apology and granted the land to his brother as a fief (*indjü*); but the legal position of this territory was not thereby altered. During the last years of Ögedey's reign, as well as under Möngke, all settled areas from the Chinese frontier to Bukhārā were governed by Masʿūd Beg, the son of Maḥmūd Yalavač, in the name of the Great Khān.

It cannot be ascertained how far Čaghatay's Muslim minister Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥabash ʿAmīd had a share in the administration of the country along with the representatives of the Great Khān. According to Rashīd al-Dīn this minister came from Otrar, according to Djamāl Ḳarshī from Karmīna, and like many other Muslim dignitaries at this time had made his fortune among the Mongols as a merchant. He was on terms of such intimacy with the Khān that each of Čaghatay's sons had one of Habash ʿAmīd's sons as a companion.

In general Čaghatay was not favourably inclined towards Islam. Among the infringements of Mongol law which he rigidly punished was the observance of certain prescriptions of Islam. Among the Mongols it was forbidden to slaughter an animal by cutting its throat, which is the method prescribed by the *sharīʿa*; another law frequently broken by the Muslims at their ablutions was that which prohibited washing in running water. The cruel punishment which Čaghatay visited upon any such transgressions made his name hated among the Muslims.

According to Djuwaynī, Čaghatay survived his brother Ögedey, who died on 5 Djumādā II 639/11th December 1241 though only for a short period. On the other hand Rashīd al-Dīn states that he died seven months before Ögedey, *i.e.*, apparently in the beginning of May, 1241.

Bibliography: Djuwaynī-Boyle; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ed. E. Blochet, Leiden 1911; V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, Vol. i, transl. V. and T. Minorsky, Leiden 1956. (W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

ČAGHATAY KHĀNATE. The Central Asian Khānate to which Čaghatay gave his name was really not founded till some decades after the Mongol prince's death. Čaghatay was succeeded by his grandson Ḳara-Hülegü, the son of Mö'etüken who fell at Bāmiyān. Ḳara-Hülegü had been designated as Čaghatay's heir both by Čingiz-Khān himself and by Ögedey; he was however deposed by the Great Khān Güyük (1241-1248) in favour of Yesü-Möngke, the fifth son of Čaghatay, with whom Güyük was on terms of personal friendship. In 1251 Yesü-Möngke was involved in the conspiracy against the Great Khān Möngke, who reinstated Kara-Hülegü and handed Yesü-Möngke over to him for execution. Ḳara-Hülegü however did not survive the homeward journey and the execution was carried out by his widow, Princess Orḳīna, who now ruled in her husband's stead, though her authority does not seem to have extended beyond the Ili valley. As appears from the narrative of William of Rubruck, the whole Empire was at this period divided between Möngke and Batu: Batu's portion was the whole area west of a line between the rivers Talas and Ču, east of which all territories were directly subject to the Great Khān. Masʿūd Beg [see the previous article], who enjoyed the confidence of both Khāns, was governor of all the settled areas between Besh-Balīgh and Khʷārizm.

With the death of the Great Khān Möngke in 1259 a different condition of things arose. During the struggle for supremacy between Ḳubilay and Arīgh Böke, the brothers of the late Khān, Alughu, a grandson of Čaghatay, agreed to take possession of Central Asia for Arīgh Böke and support him from that quarter against his enemies. He actually succeeded in bringing the whole of Central Asia under his sway, including areas such as Khʷārizm and the present-day Afghānistān which had never previously been numbered amongst the possessions of the House of Čaghatay. He had of course won these victories for himself and not for Arīgh Böke. He everywhere proclaimed himself as an independent ruler; and Arīgh Böke, who had tried to assert his rights, was finally forced to vacate this territory after some initial successes. Masʿūd Beg still remained the governor of the settled areas, now no longer in the name of the Great Khān but as the representative of Alughu.

Alughu may be regarded as the founder of an independent Mongol state in Central Asia: he enjoyed his success only for a brief period, as he died in 664/1265-1266. Mubārak-Shāh, the son of Kara-Hülegü and Orkīna, the first Čaghatay convert to Islam, was proclaimed Khān in March 1266. Already in the same year he was dethroned by his cousin Burāḳ (or rather Baraḳ) Khān [*q.v.*], the nominee of the Great Khān, who was soon however to become little more than a satellite of Ḳaydu [*q.v.*], now the real master of Central Asia. After Burāk's death in 1271 Ḳaydu appointed Nīkpāy, a grandson of Čaghatay, to succeed him; Nīkpāy was followed by Buḳa-Temür, another grandson of Čaghatay; and in 1282, Ḳaydu's choice fell upon Du'a, the son of Burāḳ. The faithful ally of Ḳaydu in all his wars against the Great Khān, Du'a defeated and deposed his son Čapar shortly before his own death in 1306 or 1307. The Čaghatay Khānate was from now on to remain in Du'a's family almost to the moment of its extinction, the throne being occupied, for longer or shorter periods, by six of his sons, of whom we need mention here only Esen-Buḳa (1309-1318), Kebek (1318-1326) and Tarmashirin (1326-1334).

It was some time before the Čaghatay Khanate received an independent organisation of its own. Djamāl Karshī's work, written in the reign of Čapar shows that affairs in Central Asia were in much the same condition even at this period, when there had long been a strong Mongol central government in China and Persia, as they had been in the early years of the Mongol conquest. The Mongols were apparently less under the influence of Islam and Muslim culture than in Persia and were able to preserve their own peculiar ways of life for a much longer period of time. Except in the Uyghur country Islam was everywhere the state religion by the time of the Mongol conquest, even in the Ili valley, although these areas had been little influenced by Arabo-Persian culture. The Mongol conquest, as Rubruck pointed out, was followed in these regions by an extension of the pasture lands at the expense of the towns and cultivated areas; at a later period urban life altogether disappeared under the influence of Mongol rule, except in Mā warā' al-Nahr and the present-day Sinkiang. The Muslim civilisation of Mā warā' al-Nahr naturally exercised some influence on the Mongols, particularly the rulers; but this influence was not strong enough to induce the mass of the people to change their mode of life. When the ruling family decided to settle in Mā warā' al-Nahr and break with the customs of the people, their action resulted in the complete separation of the eastern provinces.

Even the brief reign of Yesü-Möngke (1246-1251) appears to have been favourable to those who professed Islam. The chief minister then was a friend of the Khān's youth and a foster-son of Ḥabash ʿAmīd, Bahā' al-Dīn Marghīnānī, a descendant of the *Shuyūkh al-Islām* of Farghāna. As a patron of poets and scholars he is praised by his contemporary Djuwaynī, who was personally acquainted with him. Ḥabash ʿAmid, who was hated by the Khān as an adherent of Ḳara-Hülegü, owed his life to the intercession of Bahā' al-Dīn. Nevertheless, when Bahā' al-Dīn was involved in his master's downfall, he was handed over to his foster-father, who ordered his execution in the cruellest fashion.

Under Orḳīna, Ḥabash ʿAmīd again occupied the position he had held under Čaghatay; this princess however was favourably inclined to the Muslims; she is described by Waṣṣāf as a protectress of Islam and by Djamāl Karshī was even said to be a Muslim. Her son Mubārak-Shāh, raised to the throne in Mā warā' al-Nahr, certainly adopted Islam, as did his rival Burāḳ Khān some years later. The rule of Alughu seems to have been less favourable to the Muslims, and the events of the following years postponed for several decades the final victory of Muslim culture. Ḳaydu and Čapar, as well as Du'a and other princes, remained pagans and resided in the eastern provinces. In the reign of Esen-Buḳa the armies of the Great Khān penetrated deep into Central Asia and ravaged the winter and summer

residences of the Khān; the continuator of Rashīd al-Dīn in his account of these happenings says that the winter residence was in the region of the Issik-Kul, while the summer residence was on the Talas.

Esen-Buḳa's successor Kebek was the first to return to the settled lands of Mā warā' al-Nahr. Though he did not adopt Islam he is praised by Muslims as a just prince; he is said to have built or restored several towns; he also had built for himself a palace in the neighbourhood of Nakhshab, from which the town takes its modern name of Ḳarshī (from the Mongol word for "palace"). He introduced the silver coins afterwards called *Kebekī*, which may be considered the first independent coinage of the Čaghatay Khānate.

After two brief interregnums Kebek's brother Tarmashirin was raised to the throne. This Khān adopted Islam and took the name of ʿAlā' al-Dīn; the eastern provinces were entirely neglected by him and the nomads of those provinces rose against him as a violator of the *Yasa*. This rebellion appears to have taken place about 734/1333-1334; it was headed by Buzan, a nephew of the Khān, and resulted in Tarmashirin's flight and death. Buzan can have reigned only for a few months since he was succeeded in 1334 by Čangshi, another nephew of Tarmashirin. Statements of contemporary Christian missionaries show that the centre of the Khānate was now again transferred for a brief period to the Ili valley and Christians were allowed to propagate their religion unhindered and to build churches; it is even said that a 7-year old son of Čangshi was baptised with his father's consent and received the name of Johannes.

Some years later Nakhshab is mentioned again as the residence of the Čaghatay Khān. This was Ḳazan, who was descended, not like Du'a and his sons from Yesün-To'a, but from Büri, another son of Mö'etüken. Ḳazan fell in battle in 747/1346-1347 in the course of a struggle against the Turkish aristocracy, and with his death the rule of his house in Mā warā' al-Nahr came to an end. Till 1370, descendants of Čaghatay were placed on the throne by the Turkish amīrs as nominal rulers; in the time of Tīmūr these rulers were chosen from the family of Ögedey. Nevertheless under Tīmūr and his successors the nomad population of Mā warā' al-Nahr, who as a warrior caste enjoyed many privileges, were still as before called Čaghatay.

Bibliography: As in the article on Čaghatay. For genealogical tables of the House of Čaghatay, based on both the Chinese and the Persian sources, see Louis Hambis, *Le chapitre cvii du Yuan che*, Leiden 1945.

(W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

ČAGHATĀY LITERATURE [see turks]

ČAGHATĀY TURKISH [see turks]

ČAGHRĪ-BEG Dāwūd b. Mīkhā'īl b. Saldjūḳ was the brother of Ṭughrīl-Beg [*q.v.*], and the co-founder with him of the Saldjūḳid dynasty. The careers of both brothers were, for the most part, inextricably bound together. It is difficult to ascertain which was the elder brother. They seem to have been born about 380-385/990-995, and there is no evidence whether their family was already, or only later became, Muslim. Little is known about their life before the year 416/1025. They were orphaned at an early age, and must have been brought up, until they were about fifteen years old, by their grandfather Saldjūḳ, in the Djand region, during which time their uncle Arslan-Isrā'īl was fighting in the service of the last Sāmānids. After the death of the grandfather, ill-defined political reasons caused them to remove, with a section of their tribe, to the territory owned by a Ḳarakhānid who was, for a time, known under the title-name of Bughrā-Khān. Subsequently they quarrelled with him, and joined, without, however, combining their forces with his, their uncle, who was then in the service of a rival Ḳarakhānid, ʿAlī-Tegīn of Bukhārā. Tradition gives here an account of a highly improbable escapade of Čaghrī-Beg in Armenia. In 416/1025, the Saldjūḳids were involved in the defeat of ʿAlī-Tegīn by the combined forces of Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the supreme Ḳarakhānid, Ḳadir-Khān, whereupon Arslan-Isrā'īl, with his tribal group, had to settle in Ghazna territory. Ṭughrīl and Čaghrī, on the other hand, remained with ʿAlī-Tegīn, and then, after being involved in disagreements with him, possibly over the leadership of the tribe, transferred themselves to Khwārizm (between 421/1030 and 425/1034 ?). The threats of the Oghuz prince Shāh-Malik, the old enemy of their family, who had by then become master of Djand, forced upon them another displacement, and, as the Turcomans of the Ghazna territory had abandoned their Khurāsānian encampments as a result of disorders following the death of Mahmūd, Ṭughrīl and Čaghrī demanded, and then seized forcibly, from his successor, Masʿūd, the right to take their place. Although they had become the quasi-official concessionaries of the border plains to the north of western Khurāsān, they certainly did not show themselves to be well-behaved guests. Maʿsūd was at first unaware of the potential seriousness of what he believed to be mere local unrests, but even the town populations grew weary of paying taxes to the Ghaznawid without being safeguarded against the pillage of their countryside. The Saldjūḳids had, on the other hand, represented themselves to the Muslim aristocracy as faithful adherents of the orthodox religion, and a growing party, in Khurāsān, felt that it was advisable, by submitting to them, to divert elsewhere the depredations of their men. In 423/1036 Marw opened its gates to Čaghrī-Beg, who had the *Khuṭba* recited there in his name as autonomous prince. Soon Nīshāpūr did the same for Ṭughrīl, and then, later, Čaghrī penetrated into Harāt and sent his kinsmen towards the Sīstān region. Maʿsūd reacted too late. His heavy armies wore themselves out physically and morally chasing an elusive enemy across the desert, and, in 431/1040, at Dandānḳān the Saldjūḳids defeated him beyond all hope of recovery.

The conquerors divided up their conquered territories, and, while Ṭughrīl went off to try his luck at fresh conquests in Iran, Čaghrī kept, in Khurāsān, the base of the young Saldjūḳid power. His career there has nothing to compare with the remarkable developments that followed that of his brother. During the first four years, he made complete his possession of Khurāsān by annexing, on the one hand, Balkh and then Tirmidh, and, on the other, Khwārizm, whose prince had been driven out by Shāh-Malik. In addition, a son of Čaghrī, Kavurt, acting in a more or less autonomous capacity, occupied Kirmān. But from then onwards, the chief military activity of Čaghrī's forces consisted in a difficult struggle against the Ghaznawids, who, in their mountain stronghold, and fortified with the resources found in their Indus provinces, resumed the war, sometimes with success. The intrigues of the Ghaznawids compromised, but for a very short time only, the relations of the Saldjūḳids with

the neighbouring Karakhānids. On their side, the Saldjūķids interfered in the internal quarrels of Ghazna, where Masʿūd's successor, Mawdūd, had married a daughter of Čaghrî, but where, against a successor of Mawdūd, the Saldjūķids encouraged the usurper Farrukhzād, only to find themselves soon afterwards at war with him also. Hostilities went on intermittently in the Balkh and the Sīstān districts, and in Sīstān the danger was for a while so grave that it became necessary to recall the Turcomans temporarily from Kirmān. Čaghrî was, by that time, old, and the conduct of operations fell in fact upon his son Alp-Arslan [*q.v.*]. Saldjūķids and Ghaznawids were forced to recognize that their power was about equal, and in 451/1060, Čaghrî and Ibrāhīm of Ghazna concluded a peace that remained virtually undisturbed by their successors. Some months later, Čaghrî died (at the beginning of 452/ end of 1060).

Practically nothing is known of Čaghrî-Beg's government. The chief of the plundering nomads became prince of a territory in which the traditional administration was continued or resumed. He gave himself the title of *Malik al-Mulūk*. A brother of the famous Ismāʿīlī writer Nāṣir-i Khusraw for a long time held a prominent position in the service of his vizir, but it would be impossible to conclude from this a heterodox orientation on the part of the sovereign. Nevertheless, the fact that neither Niẓām al-Mulk nor the authors of moral tales, nor the *dīwān*s of the poets, have preserved any noteworthy information about Čaghrî from the time that he was separated from his brother, gives the impression of a weaker personality and a rather passive political attitude, from a religious and all other points of view.

It is difficult even to obtain a clear assessment of Čaghrî's relations with his kinsfolk. After Dandāķān, Sīstān appears to have been handed over to Mūsā Payghu (Yabghu ?), the uncle of Čaghrî and Ṭughrîl, but the power of the chiefs of this family seems to have been unstable, and in 446-448/1055-1057, hostilities arose between them and Yāķūtī, one of Čaghrî's sons, who came, it is true, from Kirmān. It appears that from then onwards Čaghrî was considered in Sīstān as the suzerain over his young cousins. A more important question is that of the relations between Čaghrî and Ṭughrîl, holding in mind the successes that made the latter the protector of the Caliphate and the legally recognized master of the entire Muslim East. The only certainty is that the good relations between them were never belied. It seems that in Sīstān Čaghrî accepted Ṭughrîl's decisions. In any case, when in 450/1058-9, the revolt of Ibrāhīm Inal constituted a grave threat to Ṭughrîl's sultanate, Tughrîl in part owed his preservation to the help brought to him by Alp-Arslan and Yāķūtī. Relations between Čaghrî and Ṭughrîl must have been made easier by the fact that the latter was childless. Therefore when the Caliph wanted to form a marriage alliance with him, it was a daughter of Čaghrî that became the wife of al-Ķāʾim. Čaghrî had married a Khwārizmian princess, who had already a son, Sulaymān. When his brother died, Ṭughrîl married her. It is not certain whether Alp-Arslan, who was to unite the two inheritances, had been selected for that fortune by the two ruling brothers, or whether, as Ṭughrîl's vizir declared, Sulaymān had been intended—at all events, the latter had played no role under either Čaghrî or Ṭughrîl.

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B. Modern Studies. Barthold, *Turkestan*; Muḥ. Nāẓim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, 1931; Cl. Cahen, *Malik-nameh et l'histoire des origines saldjukides*, in *Oriens*, 1949; art. *Çağrı-Beg*, in *IA*, by Mukr. Halil Yınanç. On the legendary escapade (?) of Čaghrî in Armenia, the article of Ibrahim Kafesoğlu, *Doğu Anadoluya ilk selcuklu akını*, in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, 1953, and my discussion with him in *JA* 1954, 275 ff. and 1956, 129 ff.

(Cl. Cahen)

ČAHĀR AYMAĶ, four semi-nomadic tribes in western Afghānistān [see AYMAĶ]. There is little information and much confusion about these tribes, consequently various sources have different names, locations and even languages ascribed to them. At the present they speak Persian and are Sunnīs, unlike the Shīʿī Hazāras with whom the Čahār Aymaķ are closely linked. Some sources erroneously identify the two. The origin of the name Čahār Aymaķ is unknown but is at least as early as the 18th century A.D. at the time of the early Durranī empire. It may have been originally a name of a tribal confederation formed between local Persian-speakers and Mongol Hazāras against the Turkomans. The admixture of Turkic elements is also probable. The Djamshīdīs live north of Harāt with their centre at Kushk. The Taymūrī or Sunnī Hazāras are scattered with one centre at Ķalʿa-i Naw; the Taymānī are located in Ghūr, and the Fīrūzkūhī on the upper reaches of the Murghāb River. The origins and history of the various tribes are unknown. Their number has been estimated from 400,000 to a million.

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ČAHĀR MAĶĀLA [see NIẒĀMĪ ʿARŪḌĪ SAMARĶANDĪ]

CAIN [see HĀBĪL WA ĶĀBĪL]

CAIRO [see AL-ĶĀHIRA].

ČAKÎRDJÎ-BASHÎ, chief falconer, a high official of the Ottoman court. In the *Ķānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II (*TOEM* Supp. 1330 A.H., 12) he is mentioned among the *aghas* of the stirrup, immediately before the *čashnagîr-bashî* [*q.v.*]. During the 16th century the numbers and sub-divisions of the *aghas* of the hunt (*shikār aghalarî*) increased greatly, and the *Čakîrdjî-bashî* is joined by separate officers in charge of the peregrines, lanners, and sparrow-hawks (*Shahindji-bashî*, *Doghandjî-bashî*, and *Atmadjadjî-bashî*). Until the time of Meḥemmed IV (1058/1648-1099/1687) the *Doghandjî-bashî* and his staff belonged to the Inner service (*Enderūn*); the others to the outer service (*Bîrūn*). During the 17th and 18th centuries the falconers dwindled in numbers and importance.

Bibliography: Gibb and Bowen 1/i, 347-8; Ismail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 420 ff.

(B. LEWIS)

ČAĶMAĶ, AL-MALIK AL-ẒĀHIR SAYF AL-DĪN, Sultan of Egypt, was in his youth enrolled among the Mamlūks of Sulṭān Barḳūḳ. He gradually rose, till under Sulṭān Barsbāy he became Chief *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*]. Chief Master of the Horse, and finally Atābeg (Commander-in-Chief). On his deathbed in 842/1438, Barsbāy appointed him regent to his infant son al-Malik al-ʿAzīz Yūsuf. The various divisions of the Mamlūks, originating in the body-guards of the Sulṭāns Barḳūḳ, Nāṣir Faradj, Mu-ʾayyad Shaykh and Barsbāy, were at enmity with one another and their sole aim was to obtain all the wealth and influence they could. In the confusion that arose the only course open to Čaḳmaḳ was to seize the reins of government for himself. Sulṭān Yūsuf was deposed, placed in confinement in the citadel, retaken after an attempt to escape and finally taken to Alexandria and kept under a mild form of custody. Soon afterwards the resistance of the governors of Damascus and Aleppo also collapsed; they had been defending Sulṭān Yūsuf's claims to further their own interests. The Syrian rebels were defeated, the leaders executed and Čaḳmaḳ's supremacy was assured in 843/1439. Like his predecessor Barsbāy [*q.v.*] Čaḳmaḳ wished to make war on the Christians under pretence of checking piracy on the north coast and therefore sent ships via Cyprus to Rhodes but the Egyptians had to return as the resistance offered by the Knights of St. John, who were well prepared, was too strong for them. In the years 846/1442 and 848/1444 the Egyptians again made unsuccessful attempts to conquer Rhodes, and had finally to make peace with the Knights. Čaḳmaḳ's foreign policy was a successful one; he was on good terms with all Muslim rulers and did not, like Barsbāy, fall into the error of causing irritation by petty trickeries. Against the advice of his *amīrs*, he allowed Tīmūr's son Shāh Rukh to send a covering for the sacred Kaʿba, although this was a privilege of the Sultans of Egypt (see the article BAIBARS in *EI*¹). The populace was still so strongly incensed against the Mongols that they actually attacked an embassy which included one of Tīmūr's widows. He was also on good terms with the Ottomān Sultan and the princes of Asia Minor. In his domestic policy, in Egypt itself, he was not quite able to put a stop to the mismanagement of the state monopolies [see BARSBĀY]. Jews and Christians were tormented with strictly enforced petty regulations. He could not restrain the arrogance and outrages of the Mamlūks so that the only way he could protect women from them on the occasion of festivals was to forbid them to go out. He himself was an exceedingly frugal and pious man, liberal only to the learned, and thought no price too high for a beautiful book; he left but little property behind him on his death. Through his example the morals of the court improved. When, in the year 854/1453, he felt the approach of death—he was now over 80 years old—he had homage paid to his son ʿUthmān whom the Caliph chose to be Sultan. The *amīrs* and officials of the court and a large multitude of the people attended his funeral, contrary to the usual custom sincerely grieving at his loss.

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ÇAKMAK, MUSTAFA FEVZI, also called Kavaklı, marshal in the Turkish army. Born in Istanbul in 1876, he was the son of an artillery colonel. He entered the war academy (Harbiye, [*q.v.*]) where he became a lieutenant in 1895, joined the staff course, and was gazetted as a staff captain in 1898. After spending some time on the general staff, he was posted to Rumelia where he became successively a Colonel, divisional commander, and Army Corps Chief of Staff. He served on the staff of the army of the Vardar during the Balkan War, and during the World War saw service at the Dardanelles, in the Caucasus, and in Syria. He became a general in 1914. In December 1918 he became, for a while, Chief of the General Staff in Istanbul, and in Feb. 1920 Minister of War. He used his position to send arms and give other help to the nationalists in Anatolia, and in April 1920 left with Ismet [Inönü] to join them. In May he became minister of defence and on 21 January 1921 was elected president of the council of ministers of the Ankara government, and was sentenced to death *in absentia* in Istanbul. On 2 April 1921, after the second battle of Inönü, he was promoted full general by the Grand National Assembly, and became acting Chief of the General Staff as well as premier and defence minister. He was formally elected as Chief of Staff by the Assembly on 12 July 1922, while Raʾuf Bey became premier. In October 1922, after the victory of the Turkish forces on the Sakarya, the Assembly passed a motion of thanks to him (together with Ismet and Kâzim Karabekir Pashas), and promoted him marshal (Mushīr). He remained chief of the General Staff until his retirement, ostensibly under the age limit, in January 1944. In 1946 he was elected as an independent candidate on the Democrat Party list, and in August was nominated as opposition candidate for the Presidency, receiving 59 votes in the Assembly, as against 388 for Ismet Inönü. In 1948 he appeared as honorary president of the newly formed Party of the Nation (*Millet Partisi*). He died on 10th April 1950.

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(ED.)

ČALA [see BUKHĀRĀ]

CALATAYUD [see ĶALʿAT AYYŪB]

CALATRAVA]see ĶALʿAT RABĀḤ]

CALCUTTA (Kalikātā), the capital of West Bengal and the largest city in India, situated about 80 miles from the sea on the left or east bank of the Huglī, a branch of the Gangā (Ganges), which is navigable for the largest ocean vessels. A centre of rail, river and ocean traffic, and lying midway between Europe and the Far East, it is one of the busiest ports of the world. About five-sevenths of India's overseas trade is shared by Calcutta and Bombay, with Calcutta having the major share; about one-third of the country's organized factory industry is in its vicinity. It has a large international airport. Area, 32.32 sq. m.; pop. (March 1, 1951) 2,548,677, a density of 139 persons per acre. Including Howrah (pop. 433, 630) which is really a part of Calcutta, and the suburbs which are within half an hour's bus journey to the city, Calcutta has three and a half million people.

The crowded metropolis of today grew out of a cluster of three mud villages at the end of the 17th century. Calcutta is first mentioned in a Bengali poem, *Manasā-vijaya* by Vipradāsa (ASB text, 144) written in 1495, but the portion in which Calcutta is referred to is possibly a later elaboration. The first definitive mention of Calcutta then occurs in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (Lucknow text, ii, 62), compiled about 1596, as a rent-paying village in the *sarkār* of Sātgāon under the Mug͟hal emperor Akbar. The foundation of the city occurred about a century later in 1690. The English merchants, who had been in Bengal for about fifty years, felt the necessity of a fortified place, and under the direction of Job Charnock and after two futile attempts after 1686 they finally settled at Sūtānuti, the northern portion of present Calcutta, on 24 August, 1690. In 1696 the English were allowed to build a fort and two years later they secured permission from Prince ʿAẓīm, grandson of the emperor Awrangzīb, to rent the three villages of Sūtānuti (north), Kalikātā (centre) and Govindapur (south), which formed the nucleus of modern Calcutta. In 1707 Calcutta was made the seat of a separate Presidency. In 1717 the English were permitted by the emperor Farruk͟hsiyar to purchase 38 villages in the vicinity of their settlement. The names of some of these 38 villages still survive in the street-names of the city today. In June, 1756 Sirād͟j al-Dawla, Nawwāb of Bengal, captured it and during his temporary occupation he named it ʿAlīnagar. Modern Calcutta dates from 1757 when, after the battle of Plassey (June), the English became virtual masters of Bengal; the old fort was abandoned and the present Fort William begun by Clive on the site of Govindapur. In 1772 the treasury of the province was transferred from Murs͟hidābād to Calcutta, which in 1773 became the official capital of British India. It remained India's capital until 1911 and that of Bengal as well until 1947.

Though Calcutta is a creation of English rule, it is an important centre of Muslim life. On 1 March 1951 Calcutta city had a Muslim population of 305,932 and including two of its immediate suburbs, Howrah and Garden Reach, Calcutta had a Muslim population almost equal to the entire population of Ḍhākā (Dacca), the capital of East Pākistān and the historic centre of Muslim activity. About 131,000 Muslims had left Calcutta on the eve of the census of 1951 in view of the unsettled conditions of the time, and the census of 1961 is likely to show a considerable increase of Muslim population. Calcutta is an important centre of Muslim culture. The Calcutta *Madrasa* was founded in 1781 by Warren Hastings for the encouragement of Islamic learning. It had among its Principals Islamic scholars of repute like H. Blochmann and Sir E. Denison Ross. The Asiatic Society, founded in 1784, possesses over 6,000 Arabic and Persian MSS. and has to its credit a large number of valued publications bearing on Muslim history and culture. The National Library has in its Būhār collection a good number of Arabic and Persian MSS. and has recently acquired the rich collection of the distinguished historian of Muslim India, Sir Jadunāth Sarkār. The Indian Museum and the Victoria Memorial exhibit some rare and beautiful examples of Indo-Islamic paintings. The University of Calcutta has two Post-Graduate Islamic departments: (i) Arabic & Persian and (ii) Islamic History & Culture. In Calcutta lived the sons of Tīpū Sulṭān, and the last king of Awadh (Oudh), Wād͟jid ʿAlī S͟hāh, who died in 1887. Of the Muslim monuments, the only one with any architectural pretensions is the mosque in Dharamtalā St., built in 1842 by Prince G͟hulām Muḥammad, son of Tīpū Sulṭān; the oldest are the Nimtalā mosque (built some time after 1784), the mosque and tomb of Bhonsri S͟hāh at Chitpur (1804) and D͟jumma S͟hāh's tomb in Netād͟jī Subhās (Clive) St. (1808).

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ČĀLDIRĀN, the plain in north-western Persian Ād͟harbayd͟jān, the western boundary forming part of the present-day frontier with Turkey (cf. *Farhang-i D͟jug͟hrāfiyāʾī-yi Īrān*, iv (Tehran, 1330 *s͟hamsī*), 154), which on the 2 Rad͟jab 920/23 August 1514 was the scene of a decisive Ottoman victory over the Ṣafawids.

The campaign was launched by Selīm I, despite the reluctance of his troops and military advisers, on the 23 Muḥarram 920/20 March 1514 as the first enterprise of his reign after he had secured his throne by the elimination of his brothers, and is properly to be regarded as the final response to those separatist tendencies which for over half a century had been manifesting themselves among the Turkish tribal elements of Anatolia in *darwīs͟h* revolts or in active support for pretenders of the Ottoman line, and which now threatened to draw the entire province into the Ṣafawid orbit. The profound disquiet of the region may be judged from the mass executions and arrests of suspected dissidents which preceded the actual military operations, and the gravity with which this situation was regarded is to be inferred from the risks which Selīm felt compelled to take in order to achieve a final settlement. Whether the Ṣafawids had inspired this dissatisfaction by their subversive missionary activities or merely benefited from the prevailing anti-Ottoman sentiments by appearing as an alternative hegemony is difficult to determine; but it is clear that the counterheretical allure which the Ottomans gave to their attack upon the S͟hīʿī Muslims of the east was but the façade to a starkly political purpose.

The campaign, which seems to have been modelled on that of Meḥmed II against Uzun Ḥasan in 1473, is described in detail in the journal preserved in Ferīdūn Beğ, although the fundamental logistical

problems of moving an army of the size attributed to the Ottomans across home territories where they could not live off the land are scarcely touched upon. But that these could be solved and that the fractious troops could be held under discipline throughout all the unfamiliar hardships of campaigning in these regions was certainly the most impressive display of Ottoman might that Anatolia had ever witnessed and far more overawing to Shāh Ismāʿīl and his supporters than the firearms and artillery which usually figure so prominently in the narratives as the reason for the Ottoman victory (cf. Luṭfī Pasha's highly romantic account of Ismāʿīl's astonishment as contingent after contingent of Ottoman troops took the field).

The campaign may be regarded as having succeeded in its primary object in that it neutralized for over a generation the attraction exerted on Anatolia from the east. The "scorched earth" tactics of the retreating Ṣafawids prevented any long occupation of their invaded territories, and although Tabrīz was entered by the Sulṭān on the 17th Radjab/7th Sept., within a week preparations were made for returning to winter quarters at Amasya. From here the following year operations were begun in south-eastern Anatolia which were to bring an end to the semi-independent principality of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr-oghlī around Elbistan and add definitively to Ottoman territory Diyārbekr and northern Kurdistan.

Bibliography: Among the general histories of the Ottoman Empire, Hammer-Purgstall's is still the most circumstantial account of this campaign (ii, 392 ff.), Zinkeisen (ii, 566 ff.) and Jorga (ii, 327 ff.) affording it but casual mention; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1949, 246 ff. adds a diagram of the battle. The Ottoman historians: Kamāl Pasha-zāde, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ix, Millet, Ali Emiri, no. 29, f. 35b, ff.; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, Süleymaniye, Esʿad Ef., no. 2162, f. 238a, ff.; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, ii, Istanbul 1279, 239 ff.; Luṭfī Pasha, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1341, 206 ff.; Ṣolaḳ-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1287, 359 ff., give very much the same picture as presented by Hammer-Purgstall (who, however, did not use Kamāl Pasha-zāde and Luṭfī Pasha) which can be usefully supplemented in certain aspects by the various *Selīm-nāmes* (a fairly complete repertoire of which is to be found in A. S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler*, etc., Ankara 1956, 22 ff.), the most important being those of Shukrī, British Museum, Or. 1039, f. 62b ff. (repeated in Djawrī, Millet, Ali Emiri, no. 1310, f. 54a ff., and Yūsuf Efendi, Süleymaniye, Esʿad Ef., no. 2146, f. 11a ff.,) Kashfī, Süleymaniye, Esʿad Ef., no. 2147, f. 31a ff.; Saʿdī b. ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl, Topkapı, Revan, no. 1277, f. 64a ff.; Abū 'l-Faḍl b. Idrīs Bitlīsī, British Museum, Add. 24,960, f. 63b ff.; Sudjūdī, Topkapı, Revan, no. 1284/1, f. 5b ff.; Djalāl-zāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi, British Museum, Add. 7848, f. 120b ff. The documents in Ferīdūn Beğ, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*, i, Istanbul 1274, 396 ff. (correspondence, journal of the campaign, *fatḥ-nāmes*) are of exceptional importance. The Persian sources (a full discussion of which is to be found in Ghulām Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī*, Aligarh 1939, 3-16) seek to palliate the magnitude of the defeat and their accounts are coloured by this purpose; the most important is that of Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iv, Tehran 1333, 543 ff., whose version underlies those of Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, 143 ff. (with various expansions) and Iskandar Beğ Munshī, *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1341, 31 ff. (who, in addition to the above two, uses also Ghaffārī's *Djahān-ārā*). The dominant early European account is that of Paolo Giovio, *Historiae Sui Temporis*, Paris 1558, i, 133-163 ff. (an Italian translation of this section is given in F. Sansovino, *Historia Universale dell' Origine, Guerre et Imperio de Turchi*, Venice 1654, ff. 323-360); also in Sansovino are the *Vita di Sach Ismael, etc.* by Teodoro Spandugino (ff. 132-140) and the *Vita et Legge Turchesca* by G. A. Menavino (ff. 17-75), who, although claiming to have accompanied the Turks on this campaign, gives a highly distorted account of its outcome (a Latin translation in P. Lonicerus, *Chronica Turcorum*, Frankfurt 1578, i, ff. 95-97). The narrative in R. Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turks*, London 1621, 505-515, while noticing Menavino, follows Jovius throughout, as does also that of T. Artus in his continuation of De Vigenere's translation of Chalcocondylas, *L'Histoire de la Decadence de l'Empire Grec*, Paris 1650, i, 358-374, though this does include, too, the accounts in J. Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, Frankfurt 1591, cols. 691-704, 742-745. P. Bizaro, *Rerum Persicarum Historia*, Frankfurt 1601, is important only in that it contains the letter of H. Penia from Constantinople, dated 6 Nov. 1514, 275-278. The article by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin in *IA*, fasc. 24, 329-331, presents the familiar Ottoman version.

(J. R. WALSH)

CALENDAR [see ANWĀʾ, TAʾRĪKH]

CALICUT [see KALIKAT]

CALIPH [see KHALĪFA]

CALLIGRAPHY [see KHAṬṬ]

ČAM (or CHAM), A people of Malayo-Polynesian origin which settled before the Christian era on the southern coasts of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The Cham appear in history at the end of the 2nd century A.D. with their foundation, in 192, of the kingdom of Champa [see ṢANF], which occupied the coastal provinces of present-day Viet-nam, from Quang-binh in the North to Binh-thuan in the South.

Up to the 10th century Champa experienced a period of magnificence during which the Cham dynasties were able to extend their territories slightly and to develop their civilization. But during the following centuries the country came into open conflict with its Vietnamese and Khmer neighbours, and then suffered the Mongol invasions. These struggles, aggravated by internal revolts, quickly led Champa towards disintegration. In spite of a short period of victorious fighting during the reign of the famous Chê Bong Nga (1360-1390), and Chinese intervention on his side, the kingdom was nearing its end. In 1471 the Vietnamese emperor Le Thanh Ton conclusively subjected Champa and it became a dependency of Viet-nam; a part of the inhabitants took refuge on Cambodian soil, and gradually it disappears from the history of the Far East.

The Cham people, deeply affected by the culture of India, adopted its religion and writing in the second century. They practised Hinduism and Brahmanism up to the 15th century.

Although the Muslims were already established in Champa from the middle of the 4th/10th century (there is proof of the existence, from the 5th/11th century onwards, of Arab trading communities living in contact with the Cham), Islam was not

seriously practised by the Cham until after the fall of their kingdom.

To-day two-thirds of the Cham living in Viet-nam still practise Brahmanism; the other third, together with the Cham who emigrated to Cambodia, are Muslims. In the absence of precise and up-to-date statistics, there are an estimated 15,000 Cham living in the south of central Viet-nam (the provinces of Phan-rang and Phan-thiet) and 20,000 living in Cambodia (on the banks of the Mekong).

Cham society, originally matriarchal and organised in clans, adopted, under influence from India, the caste system and Hindu customs. The Cham, skilful craftsmen and experienced farmers, with a reputation as courageous soldiers, lived as pirates, raiding the neigbouring provinces and trading in slaves. Nowadays they constitute racial minorities in process of assimilation. Apart from work on silk and metals and the cutting of precious stones, the Cham were outstanding builders. Cham architecture has left us numerous sites and monuments, of which most are unfortunately in extremely bad condition. Cham monuments are all identical in silhouette, a tower with diminishing stories, built in pink sandstone, terra cotta, and above all in brick. However their style is not uniform. Hindu motifs can be recognised in their decoration. These towers were religious buildings (the cult of Shiva) all of whose interior furnishings have disappeared. The scenes on the bas-reliefs again give concrete expression to the Cham's pronounced love of music, which has had a very deep influence on the music of Viet-nam.

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(G. Meillon)

ČAMALAL [see ANDI]

CAMBAY [see KANBĀYA]

CAMEL [see DJAMAL]

CAMEROONS, a former German colony on the west coast of Africa, now consisting of (a) an independent state, formerly under French trusteeship, and (b) a territory at present (1960) under British trusteeship. It lies at the eastern end of the Gulf of Guinea, between Nigeria, Spanish Guinea, and former French Equatorial Africa. Area 503,600 sq. km., 4,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 20,000 are non-African.

Created as a result of German penetration from the Bight of Biafra towards Chad (1884-1910) and conquered by the Allied Forces between 1914 and 1916, the Cameroons was divided in 1919 into a zone under British mandate (80,000 sq. km.) and a zone under French mandate (423,000 sq. km.). The first has in practice been integrated administratively with Nigeria, while the second has developed along distinctive autonomous lines.

(a) Thanks to its geographical situation the former French Cameroons presents a remarkable assortment of climates and peoples, which make it as it were an intermediary zone between West Africa, Central Africa and Equatorial Africa. The relief map shows a narrow coastal plain separated from the forest plateau of the south by a range of fairly high mountains. North of the valley of the Sanaga the uplands and savannah country of Adamawa fall in a rugged escarpment to the Chad plain and the valley of the Benue. Along the Nigerian frontier a series of mountain ranges, including the Manengumba, Bamileke, Bamun, Alantika and Mandara massifs, culminates on the seacoast in the volcanic Mount Cameroon (4,070 m.).

The population of the forest-covered south includes pygmy hunters, Bantu and Bantu-type farmers and fishermen; in the central savannah and the Bamileke mountains, semi-Bantu farming peoples; in the uplands and the northern plains, 'Sudanese' and 'Ubangians' of various origins; in the mountains, long-established palaeonigritic peoples; in all, 3,100,000 Africans and 15,000 immigrants.

After the 1914-18 war, Cameroons was placed under a B Mandate by the League of Nations. In 1940, under Col. Leclerc, it rallied to Free France. In 1946 the system of the mandate was replaced by that of the trusteeship of the United Nations, Cameroons becoming an Associated Territory of the French Union. In 1957 it was established as a State under trusteeship, possessing some degree of internal autonomy: the Prime Minister and his government were responsible to the Legislative Assembly sitting at Yaunde. A High Commissioner dealt with the spheres reserved to France—currency, defence, and public order. The administrative structure includes 21 departments and some 60 *arrondissements*. Municipal administration is inspired by that of metropolitan France. The French government announced at the end of 1958 its intention of renouncing trusteeship and of recognising the independence of the Cameroons on 1 Jan. 1960; this decision, after arousing lively opposition in the United Nations Assembly from the Soviet block and certain Afro-Asian states, was carried through and made effective on the appointed date.

The economy is predominantly agricultural (coffee, cocoa, vegetable oils, timber, cotton, bananas) with cattle husbandry important in the north. Current industrial development: electrometallurgy at Edea, gold and diamonds in the east, tin in the west, petroleum in the south. Chief towns: the port of Duala (100,000 inhabitants), Yaunde, the capital (30,000), Garua capital of the north (15,000), Marua, Ngaundere, Edea, Nkongsamba, Fumban, Tchang, Kribi, Mbalmayo, and Ebolowa.

The south is almost entirely Christianized: 600,000 Catholics and 300,000 Protestants, with animist survivals, and a tendency toward the formation of syncretistic sects.

Islam has some 600,000 followers in the northern plain, Adamawa and the Bamun massif. It seems to have penetrated the area about the 12th century, coming from the east (Wadai, Bagirmi) and the north-west (Kanem, Bornu), but experienced its period of great expansion only at the beginning of the 19th century, under the influence of the conquering Fulani, successors of Uthmān dan Fodio: his son Mohamman Bello and particularly his lieutenant Mōdibbo Ādama (died 1847) who conquered Fumbina and gave it its present name of Adamawa. Ādama took the title of Amīru (*Amīr*) and made his capital at Yola (Nigeria) where the *lāmībe* (Fulani chiefs) went to receive the investiture until the Franco-British conquest. His work was continued up to the beginning of the 20th century by the *Amīrs* Mohammed Lawal, Sanda and Zubeiru; they were however not able to subdue the Kirdi (heathens) who took refuge in the mountains of the north.

Since the European conquest, some groups of Muslim immigrants have arisen in the towns of the south, where they are butchers, peddlers, and shoe-

makers. They are thought to number some 25,000. They do a little proselytising by marriage.

Fulani influence prevails in the Islam of the Cameroons, with its tendency towards Mahdism. But, in addition to the 300,000 Fulani, there are in the north some Hausa, some Kotoko, and some Shua (or black Arab) Muslims of long standing, and Islam tends to spread among the pagan farmers of the plains and the Kirdi who have come down from the mountains. The Bamun of Fumban, long at war with the Fulani, saw their aristocracy converted by agreement or by force in 1917 by the *Fon* Njoya the Great who at this time took the title of Sultan and the name of Ibrahim.

Higher Muslim education is little developed, and the *modibbe* (or *mālams*) who wish to continue their studies have to go to Nigeria, Chad, or the Sudan. The Ḳādiriyya sect is the oldest, but not the most numerous; its principal centre is Garua. The Tidjāniyya sect has predominated since the conversion of Mohamman Bello, who received the *wird* of El Hadj Omar about 1840; its adherents probably amount to some 300,000. Mahdism comes next in importance. Local mahdīs appear every four or five years, but their influence is generally short-lived and localized. On the other hand, since the settlement of several thousand Fulani in the Sudan at the time of the British conquest of Nigeria, the Sudanese Mahdiyya has had numerous adherents in the Cameroons.

Wahhābi influence is slight, exercised chiefly through the medium of former soldiers of the negro guard of King Ibn Saʿūd, nearly all Hausas. The Muslims have long remained aloof from local political trends. Precolonial institutions and hierarchies are better preserved among them than among the peoples of the south. Nevertheless, in contrast to the confessional and political divisions of the South, the westernized *élite* of the north have been called on to play an increasingly important role as arbitrators, until, in 1958, a Fulani Muslim of modernist tendencies was appointed Premier of the newly formed State.

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(P. Alexandre)

British Cameroons. This territory on the West Coast of Africa, between the Cameroon Republic on the east and Nigeria on the west, is that part of the old German colony of Kamerun which passed in 1919 into British control, first under a League of Nations mandate and subsequently as a United Nations Trust territory. Following administrative practice, which is to some extent justified by real ethnic and cultural differences, it is convenient to consider it as two distinct units.

The Southern Cameroons [administrative capital Buea] has a total area of 16,581 square miles and a population of some 800,000. Until 1954 this territory was administered as an integral part of the Eastern region of Nigeria but a series of changes since that date have raised it to the status of a self-governing region within the Nigerian federation with its own regional government and a legislative assembly with a majority elected by universal adult suffrage. The political future of the region, which has not hitherto proved economically self-sufficient, is at present uncertain. The United Kingdom has undertaken to separate the administration of the region from that of the Federation of Nigeria by October 1960, the date when the Federation assumes complete independence. A plebiscite is to be held not later than March 1961 to decide between incorporation in Nigeria and reunion with the Cameroons Republic, the latter course being favoured by the present regional government.

The tribal pattern of the territory exhibits a marked degree of political fragmentation. The bulk of its population, speaking a large number of Bantu and semi-Bantu languages, have their nearest affinities with neighbouring peoples in the Cameroons republic. The Tikor and Bali peoples who are dominant in the central grasslands have migrated into this area from the north-east in the last few centuries and their traditional culture is of the pagan Sudanic type. The Christian missions have a continuous history in the area since the establishment of the Baptists at Victoria in 1858. The most reliable figures of missionary adherents show 58,000 Catholics and 65,000 Protestants but the number of those who have been strongly influenced by the missions is much greater. Islam is not numerically important.

There are no known mineral resources of commercial value within the territory and no industry beyond the processing of palm oil and rubber. The country is overwhelmingly rural in character and even the largest towns, Mamfe and Kumba, have fewer than 10,000 inhabitants. Most of the exported cash crops of bananas, palm-oil, palm kernels and rubber are produced from the plantations administered by a government subsidised agency, the Cameroons Development Corporation. The growth of cash crops, especially cocoa, by individual small farmers is increasing with official encouragement, but the mass of the people in the interior are still engaged in subsistence agriculture as are those of the Northern Cameroons.

The Northern Cameroons, an area of 17,000 square miles with a population probably slightly smaller than the Southern Cameroons, is a narrow strip of territory more than 500 miles long but nowhere more than 80 miles wide which is divided into two by a "corridor" of Nigerian territory, some 45 miles wide, on either bank of the Benue. Administratively the territory has been completely integrated with the Northern Region of Nigeria. The greater part falls within the Adamawa Province, but the Dikwa emirate in the north, formerly a part of the old "empire" of Bornu is appropriately incorporated, as a division, in Bornu province and three districts in the south belong to the Benue province. By a plebiscite held under United Nations auspices in November 1959 the people of the territory have postponed the final decision as to whether or not it is to remain with Nigeria after independence. The ruling tribes, Kanuri and Shoa Arabs in Dikwa and Fulani in Adamawa, are strongly Muslim but much of the hill country has never fallen effectively under their influence and remains entirely pagan. There are Catholic and Protestant missions in Adamawa and a few thousand converts to Christianity have been made. [For an account of the religious history see the preceding section on the French Cameroons]. (D. H. Jones)

CAMIENIEC [see KAMINČA]

ČAMPĀNĒR, a ruined city of Gudjarat in Western India, Lat. 22° 29′ N., long. 73° 32′ E., about 78 miles south-east of Aḥmadābād, taken by the Gūdjarāt sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh I 'Begaḍā' on his conquest (889/1484) of the adjoining stronghold

of Pāwāgaṙh, which had successfully resisted Aḥmad Shāh I in 821/1418. The Begadā occupied Čāmpānēr forthwith, building a city wall with bastions and gates (called Djahānpanāh; inscription *EIM* 1929-30, 4-5), and a citadel (*bhādar*). He renamed the city Maḥmūdābād, and it was his favourite residence until his death in 917/1511; it remained the political capital of Gudjarāt until the death of Bahādur Shāh in 942/1536. When Gudjarāt came under the Mughals after 980/1572 Čāmpānēr was the head of a *sarkār* of 9 *maḥals* (Jarrett, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, 256; of 13 divisions, according to the *Mirʾāt-i Sikandarī*); it fell to the Marāṭhās at the end of the 18th century, and came into British hands in 1853; almost deserted, it was not recolonized.

Monuments. Of Maḥmūd's seven-storeyed palace (Sāt manzil) built in steps on the cliff edge opposite Pāwāgaṙh only the lowest storey remains; the other monuments other than the walls (cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, iii, 307-8) are all mosques and tombs, which in their similarity exhibit a local style. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid, c. 929/1523, is inspired in plan by that of Aḥmadābād [*q.v.*], 100 years older; but here there is a double clerestory in the *līwān* in the space of one dome only; the arcuate *maḳṣūra* screen and the trabeate hypostyle *līwān* are well integrated; the side wings of the *līwān* are proportioned as a double square (8.5 by 17.0 metres); a *zanāna* enclosure is formed by screening off the northernmost *miḥrāb*; and the external surfaces, as in all the Čāmpānēr buildings, are the subject of rich plastic decoration—particularly the buttresses supporting each of the 7 sumptuous *miḥrābs*. The other buildings —10 mosques, many nameless tombs—are of similar style, characterized by refinement of decoration; the niches in the *minārs* of the Naginā *masdjid* are of an exquisite marble tracery excelled only by that of Sīdī Sayyid's mosque in Aḥmadābād [*q.v.*]. The tombs use the arch more freely than the mosques, and their carved decoration is of consummate delicacy, skill and craftsmanship.

Bibliography: J. Burgess, *On the Muhammadan architecture of Bharoch... Champanir ...*, *ASWI* vi (= *ASI, NIS* xxiii), 1896 (text, measured drawings, plates); *ASI Annual Reports*, specially 1925-6, 24-5, and 1929-30, 34-5; *Bombay Gazetteer*, iii; E. B. Eastwick, *Champanir and Pawagadh* in *Indian Antiquary*, ix (1880), 221-4; J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ii, 242; E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, 134-43; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, 58-9.

(J. Burton-Page)

CAMPIÑA [see KANBĀNIYA]

ČANAḲ-ḲALʿE BOGHAZÎ (Çanak-kale Boğazı) is the name now given in Turkish to the Dardanelles. This narrow channel, which unites the Marmara and the Aegean Seas, has a length of about 62 km. (Gelibolu-Çardak to Seddülbahir-Kumkale) and a width ranging from 8 km. down to 1250 m. (Çanak-kale to Kilitbahir). The strait was known to the ancient Greeks as the Hellespont (ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος, in Doric ὁ Ἑλλάσποντος), a name that remained in usage amongst the Byzantines. It is called in some of the mediaeval Western sources and sea-charts Bucca Romaniae, Brachium S. Georgii (a term which denoted the entire channel separating Asia and Europe, *i.e.*, embraced the Bosphorus as well as the Dardanelles), Bocca d'Aveo (Avido, Aveo, the ancient Abydos: Ἄβυδος) and also Dardanelo (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Hellespontos, and Tomaschek, 17). To the Ottomans it was the Aḳ Deniz Boghazî, Ḳalʿe-i Sulṭāniyye Boghazî and later Çanaḳ-ḳalʿe Boghazl.

The more notable localities on or near the European shore of the Dardanelles are Bolayır, Gelibolu (*i.e.*, Gallipoli, the ancient Kallipolis), Kilya (not far from the old Sestos), Eceabad (Edjeābād, formerly Maydos, *i.e.*, the ancient Madytos), Kilitbahir (Kilīd al-Baḥr) and Seddülbahir (Sedd al-Baḥr). Along the Asiatic shore are situated Çardak, Lapseki (the ancient Lampsakos-Lampsico, Lapsico, Lapsaco in the mediaeval Western sources), Çanak-kale (near the old Abydos), Erenköy and Kumkale (Ḳum Ḳalʿe).

Sulṭān Meḥemmed II (855-886/1451-1481), in order to establish a more effective control over the Dardanelles, built new defences on either shore of the strait, amongst them a fortress close to the ancient Abydos. This fortress received the name of Ḳalʿe-i Sulṭāniyye (according to Pīrī Reʾis (*Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, 86), because a son of Meḥemmed II, Sulṭān Muṣṭafā, was associated with its construction. Cf. also Ibn Kemāl, 100 = *Transkripsiyon*, 101, where it is called Sulṭāniyye). The town of Ḳalʿe-i Sulṭāniyye counted amongst its inhabitants, during the 17th and 18th centuries, a considerable number of Armenians, Jews and Greeks. As a result of the establishment there (perhaps ca. 1740) of potteries, and of its subsequent reputation as a noted centre for the manufacture of earthenware, the town came to be known as Çanaḳ Ḳalʿesi (*čanaḳ* = an earthen bowl), the older name falling out of current usage. Çanaḳ Ḳalʿesi belonged, in 1876, to the Ottoman *wilāyet* of Djezāʾir-i Baḥr-i Sefīd and thereafter to the *sandjaḳ* of Bīghā. It is now the centre of the present province of Çanak-kale. The town suffered much from fire in 1860 and 1865, from the earthquake of August 1912, and from naval bombardment in 1915 during the course of World War I. Çanak-kale, in recent years, has largely regained its former prosperity and was estimated, in 1940, to have 24,600 inhabitants.

The Ottoman Turks absorbed (c. 735-c. 745/c. 1335-c. 1345) into their own territories the emirate of Ḳarasī [*q.v.*] and then, after the town had been ruined in the earthquake of 755/1354, established themselves at Gallipoli [see GELIBOLU], which served them as a point of departure for their subsequent conquest of Thrace. It was now, for the first time, that a Muslim state held control over the lands on either side of the strait. The Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd I (791-805/1389-1403) strengthened the defences of Gallipoli (792/1390), further improvements being carried out there in the reigns of Meḥemmed I (816-824/1413-1421) and Murād II (824-855/1421-1451). Ottoman control of the Dardanelles was destined, however, to remain insecure, as long as the Sulṭān had no large and efficient fleet at his command: Christian naval forces sailed into the strait in 767/1366 (the "crusade" of Amedeo of Savoy, which brought about a brief restoration of Gallipoli to Byzantine rule), in 801/1399 (expedition of the Maréchal Boucicaut to Constantinople), in 819/1416 (the Venetian defeat of the Ottoman naval forces before Gallipoli) and again in 848/1444 (Papal and Venetian squadrons sent to the Dardanelles at the time of the Varna campaign). Sulṭān Meḥemmed II (855-886/1451-1481), anxious to secure a more effective control of the Dardanelles, caused new defences to be built where the waters of the strait are at their narrowest, *i.e.*, the fortresses of Ḳalʿe-i Sulṭāniyye on the Asiatic, and of Kilīd al-Baḥr on the European shore. The manufacture and use of

fire-arms had now advanced to such a degree that the Sulṭān was able to furnish these new defences with large guns capable of firing across the channel. A restoration of the two fortresses was carried out in 958/1551 during the reign of Sulṭān Sulaymān Ḳānūnī (926-974/1520-1566). At this time the region of the Dardanelles was included in the *eyālet* of Djezāʾir-i Baḥr-i Sefīd, *i.e.*, it formed, together with some of the islands and coastal areas of the Aegean Sea, the province of the Ḳapudan Pāshā or High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet.

The fortifications along the shores of the Dardanelles fell gradually into disrepair during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. It was not until the Cretan War (1055-1080/1645-1669) that the Porte, under the threat of a Venetian irruption into the strait, initiated new measures of defence. Ḳalʿe-i Sulṭāniyye and Kilīd al-Baḥr now underwent (1069-1070/1658-1660) a thorough restoration. Moreover, new forts were built at the Aegean mouth of the Dardanelles-Sedd al-Baḥr on the European, and Ḳum Ḳalʿe on the Asiatic side of the channel. The danger arising from the presence of a Russian fleet before the Dardanelles during the Ottoman-Russian war of 1182-1188/1768-1774 led to the creation of new forts along the shores of the strait, this task being carried out under the guidance of the Baron de Tott. A further effort was made to establish a more modern system of fortification in the Dardanelles towards the end of the reign of Selīm III (1203-1222/1789-1807). The fact that in 1221/1807 an English fleet under the command of Sir John Duckworth forced a passage into the strait underlined once more the urgent need for a complete modernization of the defences on the Dardanelles. Control of the strait was to become thereafter a matter of more than local concern, the status of the Dardanelles (and also of the Bosphorus) being regulated in a series of international agreements negotiated during the 19th and 20th centuries. Of more recent events associated with the Dardanelles it will be sufficient to mention here the Gallipoli campaign of 1915-1916 fought in the course of World War I.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 103 ff.; Yāḳūt, i, 374; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ*, trans. Jaubert: *Géographie d'Edrisi*, ii, 135, 301 ff.; *Düstürnāme-i Enveri*, ed. Mükrimin Halil, Istanbul 1928, 25 ff.; Ibn Kemāl (*i.e.*, Kemālpāshāzāde), *Tevārih-i Āl-i Osman*, VII Defter, ed. Şerafettin Turan (*Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından*, I. Seri, no. 5), Ankara 1954, 100 (= *Transkripsiyon*, ed. Şerafettin Turan, Ankara 1957, 101); Pīrī Reʾis, *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, Istanbul 1935, 86 ff.; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i, Istanbul A.H. 1279, 54 ff.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-Kibār*, Istanbul A.H. 1229, 130 ff.; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, v, Istanbul A.H. 1315, 301-322; Ducas, Bonn 1834, 19; Chalkokondyles, Bonn 1843, 529 ff.; Critobulus, ed. C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, v, Paris 1870, 146-147, 151; N. de Nicolay, *Navigations et Pérégrinations*, Lyon 1568, 52; M. de Thevenot, *Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1664, 32 ff. and 141 ff.; P. du Fresne-Canaye, *Voyage du Levant*, ed. H. Hauser, Paris 1897, 159 ff.; G. J. Grelot, *Relation Nouvelle d'un Voyage de Constantinople*, Paris 1681, 3 ff., *passim*; J. Spon and G. Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant*, Lyon 1678, i, 203 ff.; Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717, 453 ff.; R. Pococke, *A Description of the East*, ii/2, London 1745, 102 ff., 111, 143; Baron de Tott, *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, Amsterdam 1784, Pt. 3, 43 ff.; J. Dallaway, *Constantinople*, London 1797, 332 ff.; W. Eaton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*, London 1798, 88 ff.; A. Morellet, *Constantinople ancienne et moderne et Description des Côtes et Isles de l'Archipel et de la Troade*, Paris An VII, ii/8, 146 ff.; J. B. Lechevalier, *Voyage de la Troade*, i, Paris 1802, 267 ff.; A. de Juchereau de St. Denys, *Révolution de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808*, Paris 1819, ii, 53 ff.; F. de Beaujour, *Voyage militaire dans l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1829, ii, 483 ff.; M. Michaud and M. Poujoulat, *Correspondance d'Orient* (1830-1831), Paris 1833-1834, i, 449 ff., ii, 1 ff.; H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren* 1835 *bis* 1839, Berlin 1877, 51 ff., 68 ff.; W. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 152 ff.; Tomaschek, 3, 15 ff.; H. Högg, *Türkenburgen an Bosporus und Hellespont*, Dresden 1932; F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien* (14.-15. *Jahrhundert*), Munich 1944, 39 ff.; H. J. Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im* 17. *Jahrhundert* (*Abh. K. M.*, xxxii/3, Wiesbaden 1956, 47 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, Paris 1894, 743 ff., 758 ff., 765; Pauly-Wissowa, viii, Stuttgart 1912, cols. 182-193, s.v. Hellesspontos; *İA*, s.v. Çanakkale (Besim Darkot and M. C. Şihabeddin Tekindağ). Bibliographical indications will be found in *İA*, s.v. Çanakkale on (i) the geological, geographical and hydrographical characteristics of the Dardanelles and (ii) the campaign of Gallipoli in 1915-1916. Cf. also Boghaz-içi, and Pearson, 576-577 (nos. 18440-18474), *passim*, for references relating to the international Problem of the Straits during the 18th-20th centuries. (V. J. Parry)

CANARY ISLANDS [see al-djazāʾir al-khālidāt]

ČANDĒRĪ, town and old fort in north-central India, 24° 42′ N., 78° 9′ E., on a tableland overlooking the Betwā valley on the east. Early references by al-Bīrūnī (421/1030) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa do not mention the fort and probably relate to a site some 15 km. north-north-west known now as Būṛhī [Urdū, 'old'] Čandērī; here there are ruined Islamic fortifications among Hindū and Djayn remains, probably of the early 8th/14th century, for although the city fell in 649/1251 to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, then *nāʾib* of Nāṣir al-Dīn, whose aim was the seizure of booty and captives, it did not come into Muslim hands until ʿAyn al-Mulk's defeat of the Rādjā Harānand in 705/1305. Four years later it formed the rendezvous for Malik Kāfūr's force before his march on Warangal in Telingānā. The new Čandērī seems to have been built by the Ghūrī kings of Mālwā in the early 9th/15th century (inscriptions of Dilāwar Khān and Hūshang, in *AR*, *ASI*, 1928-9, 128, and *EIM* 1943, 47), from whom it was wrested in the Mālwā interramal struggles by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Shāh Khaldjī I in 842/1438 (Bayley's *History of Gujarāt* [*Taʾrīkh-i Alfī*], 123), and remained under the Khaldjī's governors until the vacillating governor Bahdjat Khān revolted, supporting against Maḥmūd II his brother Ṣāḥib Khān, the puppet Muḥammad II, and appealing to Sikandar Lōdī of Dihlī for support in 919/1513. Hereafter Čandērī's position on the borders of Bundelkhand and Mālwā led to its changing hands frequently: Sikandar's forces remained in occupation until 921/1515, but after their withdrawal it was seized by the Rānā of

Čitawr who set up Medinī Rāy, Maḥmūd II's dismissed minister who had escaped the massacre at Māndū [*q.v.*], as governor; from him it was taken by Bābur in 934/1528, who restored it to Aḥmad Khān, son of Ṣāḥib Khān. Later it fell to the Pūrbīya Rādjput Pūran Mal, who lost it to Shīr Shāh c. 947/1540 but later retook it and massacred and degraded the Čandērī Muslims, an act which brought retribution from Shīr Shāh in 950/1543 (Briggs's *Ferishta*, ii, 160). After Akbar had gained the *sūba* of Mālwā, Čandērī became the headquarters of a *sarkār* (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 122), when it was said to have been a large city with 14,000 stone houses and over 1200 mosques. Thereafter it passed frequently into Bundel hands, and after the early 12th/18th century remained in Hindū possession.

Monuments. The city is walled, with 5 gates, one of which is the Kātīghātī hewn through the rock outcrop; the fort, which stands some 70 metres higher, is dependent for its water supply on a large tank at the foot of the hill, access to which is by a covered way. (Map in Cunningham, *ASI*, ii, Plate XCIII). The Djāmiʿ Masdjid is similar to that of Māndū with its tall domes over the *līwān* stilted between springing and haunch, but with the cornice supported by a row of serpentine brackets, a contribution of Gudjarāt workmen; two tombs known as the madrasa and the Shāhzādī kā rawḍa are of excellent workmanship in a similar style; probably somewhat earlier is the Kūshk Maḥall, a large square building with intersecting passages on each of the remaining four storeys which divide the interior into four quadrants, in the suburb of Fateḥābād, 3 km. west, identified with the seven-storeyed palace (*Sāt manzil*) whose building was ordered by Maḥmūd Shāh I in 849/1445. At the western foot of the fort is an unattached gateway, the Bādal Maḥall darwāza, a triumphal arch between two tapering buttresses, somewhat over-ornamented.

Bibliography: Cunningham, *ASI*, ii, gives historical sketch with references to original sources in 404-12 (mainly Ferishta). Also C. E. Luard, *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, i, 1908, 209-12. Earliest inscr., 711/1312, in Ramsingh Saksena, *Persian Inscriptions in the Gwalior State* in *IHQ*, i, 1925, 653, there assumed to be from New Čandērī though this is not certain. On the monuments, Cunningham, *op. cit.*; M. B. Grade, *Guide to Chanderi*, Arch. Dept. Gwalior 1928; *ASI Annual Reports*, specially 1924-5, 163-4; Sir John Marshall, *The monuments of Muslim India*, in *Cambridge History of India III*, 1928, 622 ff.

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ČANKÎRÎ (earlier also known as *Kiangh̲rī*, *Kanḳrī*, and popularly as *Čangîrî* or *Čengiri*), the ancient Gangra (in Arabic sources *Khandjara* or *Djandjara*), a town in the north of Central Anatolia, 40° 35′ north, 33° 35′ east, at the confluence of the Tatlîčay and the Acîčay, a tributary of the Kîzîl Irmak, at an altitude of 2395 ft. (730 m.); since 1933, on the Ankara-Zonguldak railway (105 m. (174 km.) from Ankara). The town was once the capital of a *sandjaḳ* (*liwāʾ*) of the *eyālet* of Anadolu; after the *Tanẓīmāt*, it became the capital of a *sandjaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Kastamonu; under the Turkish Republic, it is the capital of a *wilāyet* (*il*) with 3 *kazas* (Çankırı, Çerkeš, and Ilgaz/Koçhısar).

It was known even in antiquity as a fortified place, and was occasionally used by the Byzantines as a place of exile. Later it again gained importance because of its impenetrable fortress in the battles with the Arabs and the Turks. The Umayyads repeatedly advanced as far as Khandjara in their raids against the Byzantines. They did this in 93/711-12 (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii, 1236; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, iii, 457; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 350 who calls the town *Ḥisn al-Ḥadīd*), in 109/727-28 (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 395), and in 114/731-32 (Bar Hebraeus, *Keṭābā de Maḳṭebānūṯ Zabnē*, ed. Bruns and Kirsch, ii, 125; compare also al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1561, and Theophanes under the year 6224). When the Byzantines sacrificed the eastern border provinces as a result of their defeat near Malāzgird (Manzikert) in 1071, the Saldjūḳs and the Dānishmendids divided the loot. The former settled after a short intermission in Nicea (Iznik) and Konya, the latter spread over the northern half of Asia Minor from Amasya to Kastamonu. Čankîrî is mentioned as being among the conquests of the first Dānishmendids in 468/1075-76 (Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Tokādī (?), *Taʾrīkh-i Āl-i Dānishmand*, in Ḥusayn Ḥusam al-Dīn, *Amasya tarīkhi*, Istanbul 1322, II, 286 ff.; Hezārfenn, *Tanḳīḥ al-tawārīkh*, in *ZDMG*, 30, 470). In 1101, an army of crusaders left Constantinople for the region of the Dānishmend-oghlu, in order to rescue Bohemund of Antioch whom these had captured at Malatya and imprisoned in Nīksār. The army conquered Ankara and advanced towards Čankîrî (praesidium Gangara), but the attack failed, and shortly afterwards the army was completely routed near Amasya by the united Saldjūḳs and Dānishmendids (Albert of Aix, 1. VIII, c. 8; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x, 203; cf. *ZDMG* 30, 476; Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, i, 224 ff.). The Comnene emperor John conquered Čankîrî in 1134, with the aid of heavy siege-weapons, after he had attacked it without success in the previous year (*Chronicle of Niketas*, i, c. 6, and particularly John Prodromos; see Chalandon, *op. cit.*, ii, 84 ff.); but shortly after the emperor's departure, the fortress was recaptured by the Dānishmendids, never to return to Byzantine rule.

Subsequently we find Čankîrî in the hands of the Saldjūḳs of Konya (cf. Chalandon, *passim*). After the collapse of the Rūm Saldjūḳ empire, (Anatolia), Čankîrî became part of the region of the Čandar-oghlu of Kastamonu. For a short time the town formed part of the empire of the Ottoman Murād I (this according to ʿAzīz Astarābādī, *Bezm u rezm*), later it was taken from the Čandar-oghlu by Bāyazīd I in 795/1392-93 (according to Neshrī) or in 797/1394-95 (according to ʿĀshiḳpashazāde, and the anonymous chronicles; Saʿd al-dīn, i, 150), together with the greater part of their possessions. In 1401, Tīmūr returned them and finally, in 822/1439, they were annexed by Meḥemmed I (ʿĀshîḳpashazāde, Istanbul edition, 88 f., ed. Giese, 79; Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, Frankfurt 1591, col. 475; von Hammer's statements, *GOR*, i, 70, are based on a misunderstanding). During the subsequent peaceful period under Ottoman rule, Čankîrî is very much in the background. Historians hardly mention it, though Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 250 f.) and Kātib Čelebi (*Djihān-nümā*, 645), have left detailed descriptions of the town. The first mention by an European visitor dates from the years 1553-55, and is by Dernschwam (in his *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, ed. Babinger, Munich 1923, 196). There is an eye-witness description by Ainsworth, almost 300 years later. The town has also been visited and occasionally described by Russian and German travellers in Asia Minor.

The fortress, which had been attacked by Arabs,

Dānishmendids, Byzantines and Crusaders, is now in ruins. The only surviving monument is the grave of Ḳaratekin, who conquered the town for the first Dānishmendid prince, and is now revered as a saint. The prehistoric cisterns on the castle hill, which are described in detail by both Ewliyā Čelebi and Kātib Čelebi, have not yet been closely investigated, nor has the "Medjīd Tash" (Tash Mesdjid), a monastery of the Mewlewī Dervishes. This has inscriptions, which, according to what Ainsworth was told, date from the time of the Arab Caliphs. Some of the mosques are said to date back to Byzantine times (cf. Cuinet). The main mosque was built by Suleymān I in 996/1558-59.

The extensive salt-mines near Maghāra, 2 hours south-east of Čankîrî (Cuinet, iv, 427, and Märcker), were already famous in Byzantine times. Their product was known as Γαγγρηνὸν ἅλας (Nikolaos Myrepsos, at the end of the 13th century, in Du Cange, *Glossar. ad scriptores med. et inf. Graec.*). Even today this salt is still being mined in the same way (at a rate of 3000 to 5000 tons a year.) The great earthquakes which have repeatedly shaken the town (the most recent in February 1944), were already mentioned in mediaeval times. Al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 368, mentions one such catastrophe which destroyed the town in August 1050.

According to Texier, the number of inhabitants in Čankîrî in the middle of the 19th century was 16,000, predominantly Muslim. Amongst the inhabitants there were not more than 40 Greek families. In 1839, Tshihatsheff estimates about 1800 houses, 40 of them Christian. For the end of the 19th century, Cuinet gives the following figures: 15,632 inhabitants, amongst these 780 Greek and 472 Armenian. The *Sālnāme* of Kastamonu gives the number of inhabitants as 11,200, Leonhard (1903) as 25,000 in 5000 houses, J. H. Mordtmann about 30,000 in 5000 houses, amongst these 150 Greek and 50 Armenian families, who probably left after the First World War. The 1950 census gave the following figures: the town of Čankîrî 14,161, the *kaza* 73,402, and the *vilayet* 218,289 inhabitants

Bibliography: (apart from that already mentioned in the article): Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xviii, 353 ff.; Le Strange, 158; W. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 258; Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 707 and 1258; W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor . . .*, London 1842, i, 109 ff.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 617; v. Flottwell, *Aus dem Stromgebiet des Qyzyl-Yrmaq (Halys)*, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Suppl. no. 114 (1895), 38 f. and 50 (with a plan of the ruins of the fortress); G. Märcker in *Zeitschrift der Ges. f. Erdkunde*, 34 (1899), 368 f. and 373; R. Leonhard, *Paphlagonia*, Berlin 1915, 66 and 120 (with illustrations); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv, 551 ff.; the yearbooks (*Sālnāmes*) of the *wilāyet* of Kastamonu since 1286/1869-70; *IA*, iii, 357-359 (Besim Darkot). (J. H. Mordtmann-[Fr. Taeschner])

CANNANORE [see kannanur]

ČAO (*čāw* Persian transcription of Chinese *ṭṣ'au*), name given to the paper currency that was in circulation in Iran for about two months in the autumn of the year 693/1294. The *Čao* was introduced at the instigation of the Chief and Finance Minister of the Ilkhān Gaykhātū (1291-95), Ṣadr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Khālidī or Zindjānī, following the example of China, and was issued for the first time, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, on the 19th Shawwāl 693/13th September 1294, according to Waṣṣāf and others somewhat later, namely in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/ 23rd September—22nd October, at Tabrīz and other provincial capitals where it was manufactured and distributed by the so-called *Čao-Khānas*, specially constructed for the purpose at considerable expense.

This new currency however met with very great opposition and the result was that trade and industry came to a standstill, the towns became depopulated and the country headed towards complete ruin, so that after two months the paper money had to be withdrawn from circulation in favour of the old coins.

The *Čao*, made of the bark of the mulberry-tree, was oblong in shape and, in addition to some Chinese signs, bore the *shahāda*. Underneath this was the name "Īrīndjīn tūrčī" (transcription of "Rin-čʿen rdorje" meaning "very costly pearl") which had been given to Gaykhātū by the Tibetan Bakhshīs, and, inside a circle, the designation of the value: one (or one half) up to ten *dīnārs*. Besides this, these "bank-notes"—according to the continuator of the work of Bar Hebraeus—bore the red impression of the state seal in jade (the Altamġa), granted by the Great Khān to the Ilkhāns. As regards the method of printing, it may be assumed that this was done by means of wooden blocks.

Bibliography: K. Jahn, *Das iranische Papiergeld*, *ArO*, x (1938), 308-340; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[2], 1955, 88-89, 301-302, and the sources and publications listed in these two works. (K. Jahn)

ČAPANOGHULLARÎ [see Supplement and derebey].

ČAPAR (Čāpār), the eldest son of Ḳaidū [*q.v.*] and great grandson of the Mongol Great Khan Ögedey (Uk/gatāy: *regn.* 1229-41), after his father's death in 700/1301 and his own succession to the throne on the Imil in the spring of 702/1303 (Djamāl Ḳarshī in W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russian ed. i, 1900, 138), he fought in the beginning continually against the claims of Ḳubilay's successors upon the Great Khanate, considering it his own prerogative as one of Ögedey's descendants, who were the central "protectors of the genuine Mongol tradition". In August 1303, together with Duwa, the Khan of Čaghatāy's Ulus, he submitted to the Great Khan (the emperor of China) by means of an embassy to Khānbalīgh (Peking). Thereby a plan for a Mongol federation with full freedom of movement for trade was to be realised. In September 1304 negotiations were made from China concerning it with the Īlkhān Öldjaytü [*q.v.*]. In fact, the federation did not last: with the aid of Chinese troops Duwa forced Čapar out of his Ulus in West and East Turkestan, and succeeded him there. After Duwa's death (1306-7) Čapar attempted to regain these provinces, but could not hold his own against Duwa's son Kebek (Turkish *Kepek* = "bran", cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 392) and was forced in 1309 to flee to China and the court of the Great Khān. Thereupon a Ḳuriltay in the summer of 1309 confirmed the almost complete disintegration of Ögedey's Ulus, whose inheritance was for the most part taken over by the Čaghatāy line (cf. the article činGizids, II, beginning, and III). According to Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Blochet, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ii, 9), Čapar looked "like a Russian or a Circassian", apparently no longer of pure Mongol stock.

Bibliography: Waṣṣāf, lith. Bombay 1269/ 1852-53, 449/56, 509/21; Ḳāshānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Sulṭān Uldjāytū*, (MS. Paris, Suppl. Persan 1419)

fo 21v-27v. — W. Barthold, 12 *Vorlesungen* ..., Berlin 1935, 186 ff., 199/202; Barthold, *Four Studies in Central Asian Hist.*, Leiden 1956, 128/32; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, Paris 1939, 362 ff.; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*², Berlin 1955, 107, 232, 451 (with further bibl.). — Concerning the Mongol Federation, cf. W. Kotwicz, *Les Mongols, promoteurs de l'idée de la paix universelle au début du XIIIe siècle*, in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, xvi (1950), 428/34. (B. Spuler)

ČAPAROGHULLARI [see čapanoghullari, Supplement]

CAPITULATIONS [see imtiyāz].

CARACUEL [see karakay]

CARAVAN [see azalay and ķāfila]

CARAVANSERAI [see funduķ]

ČĀRDJŪY [see āmul]

CARLOWICZ [see ķarlofča]

CARMONA [see karmūna]

CARNATIC [see karnatak[

CARPETS [see ķālī]

CARTHAGENA [see ķartadjanna]

CASABLANCA [see al-dār al-bayḍā']

ČĀSHNA-GĪR, in Persian, 'taster', title of an official, generally an *amīr*, at the court of the Muslim sovereigns (including the Mamlūks) from the time of the Saldjūkids. It is not always clear in what way he is connected with the overseer of the food, *khwānsalār*; perhaps the two are often confused. The title does not appear to be found, even in Iran, under previous dynasties, although caliphs and princes did undoubtedly have overseers for their food, and even had it tasted before they eat, as the dishes were always suspected of being poisoned. The term *čāshna-gīr* is also found as the name of a kind of crystal decanter (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, viii, ed. Margoliouth, Damascus 1930, 150).

Bibliography: I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *'Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal*, Istanbul 1941, index. (Cl. Cahen)

ČASHNAGĪR-BASHĪ. chief taster, a high official of the Ottoman court. Already under the Saldjūķids and other Anatolian dynasties the *čashnagīr*, *amīr čashnagīr* or *amīr-i dhawwāķ* appears among the most important officers of the Sultan. Ibn Bībī (*Al-Awāmir al-'Alā'iyya*, edd. Necati Lugal and Adnan Sadık Erzi, Ankara 1957, 164) mentions the *čashnagīr* together with the *mīr ākhūr* and the amīr *madjlis*. In the *Ķānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II (*TOEM* Supplement 1330 A.H. 11-12) the *čashnagīr-bashī* appears as one of the *aghas* of the stirrup, in the group headed by the *agha* of the janissaries. He follows after the *Mīr-i 'Alam*, *Kapīdjī-bashī*, *Mīr ākhūr* and *Čaķīrdjī-bashī*, and precedes the other *aghas* of *böluks* [*q.v.*]. A document of 883/1478-9 lists 12 *dhawwāķīn* (tasters) as subordinate to their chief Sinān Bey (Aḥmad Refiķ, *Fātiḥ dewrine 'a'id wethīķalar*, *TOEM*, no. 49/62, 1335-7, 15). Later the numbers of tasters employed rose considerably, reaching as high as 117 ('Ayn-i 'Alī, *Ķawānīn-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, 97). In the 18th century, D'Ohsson mentions only 50, and gives the *čashnagīr-bashī* a much lower rank, in the 5th class of the outside service (*bīrūn*), under the Commissioners of Kitchens. By this time he has clearly fallen in status, and has responsibilities more strictly related to the preparation of food.

Bibliography: Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal*, Instabul 1941, 88; idem, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 426-7; Gibb-Bowen 1/i, 348; D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, vii, 22-3. (B. Lewis)

CASTILLE [see ķashtāla]

CASTRO GIOVANNI [see ķaṣr yānī]

ČATĀLDJA (Çatalca, ancient Metra). 1. 41° 08′ N, 28° 25′ E. Thracian capital of the most rural of the 17 *ķaḍā*'s in the *wilāyet* of Istanbul, 56 km. by asphalt road and 71.41 km. by rail (the station lies 2.3 km. NE of town) WNW of Istanbul. Çatalca borders the Kara su (ancient Athyras) stream at an altitude of 255 feet near the centre of a range of hills forming the backbone of the fortified "Çatalca Lines" extending from the Black Sea at Karaburun to the Marmara at Büyükçekmece. Çatalca was taken from the Byzantines by Murād I in 775/1373. The fortifications were built during the Russo-Turkish war of 1294-5/1877-8, but were passed without fighting by the Russians in their advance to San Stefano. The Çatalca Lines were a rallying point for Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha's forces which put down the abortive counter-revolution at Istanbul in April 1909. In November 1912 retreating Turkish troops repulsed the Bulgarians at Çatalca. The fortifications were reconditioned but saw no action in the 1914-18 and 1939-45 World Wars. Since 1950, Turkish forces have been substantially withdrawn with adverse economic consequences for the district. Some promise of producing oil wells and a proposed atomic reactor may counteract this trend. In 1955 the population was growing fast with 5,534 in town and 58,988 in the *kazas* 3 other *nahiye*'s of Büyükçekmece, Hadımköy (Boyalık) and Karacaköy, and in its 67 villages. Population pressure on the land area of 1684 sq. km. is causing litigation. The district produces beets, sunflowers, grapes, vegetables and cattle. In 1953 there were only four small industries, some 30 shops, 2 elementary and 1 middle schools in Çatalca.

2. Çatalca is also the Ottoman name of Pharsala, a town and *ķaḍā'* in Thessaly 60 km. SE of Trikala, captured in 799/1397 by Bāyazīd I (Hammer-Purgstall, i, 250). According to Shams al-Dīn Sāmī (*Ķāmūs al-A'lām*, iii, 1867) it had a population of 5,000 under Ottoman administration and boasted 6 mosques, a *medrese*, many *tekke*'s, notably that of Dūrbālī Bābā, the Bektāshī and 91 villages in a fertile plain.

3. Çatalca is also the name of a village in the *ķaḍā'* of Nizip (Nisib) in the *wilāyet* of Gazi Antep (Ghāzī 'Ayntāb). The word *Çatal*, or fork (cf. *Tanıklariyye Tarama Sözlüğü*, i, Istanbul 1943, ii, 1945, 213) figures in 82 names of inhabited places in Turkey (*Türkiye'de Meskun Yerleri Kılavuzu*, i, Ankara 1946, 240-1).

Bibliography: Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, map between 594-5, coordinates inaccurate; I. H. Danişmend, ... *Kronoloji*, i, 54-5, ii, 343, iv, 302, *passim*; F. S. Duran, *Büyük Atlas*, Istanbul/Vienna, n.d. (1957 ed. ?), 28; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1956 ed., v, 314; Great Britain, Admiralty, I.D. 1129, *A Handbook of Turkey in Europe*, London, n.d. (1919 ?), Map 1 : 800,000, *passim*; idem, B.R. 507. *Turkey*, i, London 1942, *passim*; F. F. Greene, *Report on the Russian Army and its campaigns in Turkey* 1877-1878, New York 1908, 362-3; 427-8; *Iktisat ve Ticaret Ansiklopedisi*, v, 340; *Istanbul Şehri Istatistik Yıllığı* 1948, 6; de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman*, Paris 1914, ii, 79, 408; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi* vi, 127; Mehmet Ali, *Čatāldja Wilāyeti*, Istanbul 1341/1925; Muṣṭafa Reshīd Pasha, *Bir wethīķa-i ta'rīkhiyye Čatāldja mütāreke müdhākerātī*, Istanbul, 1335/1917; E. Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, New York 1916, 322,

328, 342; *Türkiye Yıllığı* 1948, 94; *Vatan Memleket Ilâveleri*, Istanbul 1953, sv., Istanbul I, 3, 9; T. C. Başvekâlet Istatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1955 *Genel Nüfus Sayımı, Telgrafla Alınan Neticeler*, Ankara 1955, 6. (H. A. Reed)

CATANIA [see ṢIḲILLIYA]

CATEGORIES [see MAḲŪLĀT]

ČATR [see MIẒALLA]

CAUCASUS [see ḲABḲ]

CAUSE [see ʿILLA]

ČĀʾŪSH (modern Turkish: *çavuş*). A term used by the Turks to indicate (a) officials staffing the various Palace departments, (b) low-ranking military personnel. The word is met in Uygur, where it refers to a Tou-kiu ambassador; Maḥmūd Kāshgharī defines it as 'a man who controls promotion in army ranks, and supervises the maintenance of discipline'. The word *čāʾūsh* passed from the Pečenegs and Saldjūḳids to the Turks (cf. the μέγας τζαούσιος, chief of the imperial messengers of the Lascari and Paleologi). The Persians used it as a synonym for *sarhang* and *dūrbāsh*, and under the Arabs it became variously *djāʾūsh*, *shāʾīsh*, *shāwīsh*, and *shāʾūsh*. It is still seen in the latter form in N. Africa, where it means a court usher or mace-bearer.

Under the ancient Turks, the Saldjūḳids, the Ayyūbids, and the Mamlūks, the *čāʾūsh* formed a privileged body under the direct command of the ruler, and often appointed to a special rôle. Under the Ottoman Turks, the *čāʾūsh*es of the Dīwān were part of the official ceremonial escort when the Sultan left the palace, or when he was receiving viziers, foreign ambassadors etc. The Sultan or Grand Vizier also used them as ambassadors and envoys to convey or carry out their orders. The *čāʾūsh bashī*, chief of the *čāʾūsh*es of the Dīwān, acted as deputy to the Grand Vizier, particularly in the administration of justice; being a court official, he was a member of the "āghās of the stirrup". The *čāʾūsh*es of the Dīwān were either paid out of treasury funds or allotted *zeʿāmet*s or *arpalıḳ*s. Furthermore, in the *odjaḳ* of the Janissaries, the 5th Orta consisted of 330 *čāʾūsh*es, men already of long service, under the command of a *bāsh-čāʾūsh*.

The ranks of *čāʾūsh* and *čāʾūsh wekīlī* were used in the cavalry and navy at the beginning of the 19th century. When the army was reorganized in 1241/1826, a *čāʾūsh* held the equivalent rank of a sergeant, and the system remains the same to this day.

In certain religious sects and orders (*e.g.*, Yazīdī and Rifāʿī), the title *čāʾūsh* corresponded to a grade in the hierarchy of the sect. There were also *čāʾūsh*es in the guilds, where they were responsible for seeing that the rulings of the Guild Council were enforced.

Bibliography: Important bibliography contained in the article '*çavuş*' by M. F. Köprülü, in *İA*, iii, fasc. 25, 362-369. Additional works: Gibb-Bowen, I/1, 1950, *index*; L. Bréhier, *Les Institutions de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 1949, 148. (R. Mantran)

ČĀWDORS (or DJĀVULDUR), a Turcoman tribe, the first settlers of which came to Khwārizm in the 16th and 17th centuries, the bulk following in the 18th century. After the wars against the Khānate of Khīwa, a proportion of them was driven off to the Mangīshlaḳ peninsula, whence some clans emigrated to the steppes of Stavropol'. Part of the tribe submitted to Khīwa and settled permanently in Khwārizm.

It is now a sedentary tribe with a population of some 25,000, in the Nukhus area (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Ḳara-Ḳalpaḳistān). [See: TÜRKMEN]. (Ed.)

ČAWGĀN (Pahlawī: *čūbikān*; other forms: *čūygān* (attested in Ibn Yamīn); *čūlgān* (cf. *čūl*, in Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinum*; compare Arabic *sawladjan*); Greek: τζυκάνιον, French: *chicane*), stick used in polo (*bolo*: Tibetan for '*ball*', introduced into England around 1871); used in a wider sense for the game itself, (*gūy-u*) *čawgān bāzī*, "game of (ball and) *čawgān*"; also used for any stick with the end bent back, particularly those for beating drums. The *čawgān* is not the same as the mall (*malleum*), which is a hardwood sledge-hammer. According to Quatremère (*Mamluks*, i, 123), the *sawladjān*, a bent stick, was used for mall (polo), and the *djūkān* (*čawgān*), with a hollow scooped out of the end, for rackets; but Van Berchem (*C.I.A. Jerusalem-ville*, publ. *IFAO*, 1923, 269, n. 1) raises the objection that al-Ḳalḳashandī does not make this distinction. The game originated in Persia, and was generally played on horseback, though sometimes on foot (*čawgān piyāda bāzī*, testified by the *Akbar-nāma*, quoted by Quatremère, 130). The earliest reference to it is in the short historical romance, *Kārnāmagh-ī Ardashēr-ī Pābhaghān* ("Deeds and exploits of Ardashīr") written in Pahlawī in the early 7th century: Ardashīr (Nöldeke, 39) and his grandson Ohrmizd (*id.*, 68) excelled at the game; the latter passage is reproduced almost word for word in al-Ṭabarī (quoted by Quatremère, 123), and put into the form of a poem by Firdawsī (*Shāhnāma*, tr. Mohl, v, 274), but in both texts Ohrmizd is replaced by his father Shāpūr. Quatremère's detailed and learned note provides many quotations: from Cinnamus, on the popularity of τζυκάνιον in Byzantium (122); from the *Aghānī* and al-Masʿūdī, on the *sawladjān* (124); from the *Ḳābūs-nāma*, on the dangers of the game (125) and the notable accidents it had caused (*ibid.*, and 127, 129); from Abū Shāma, on its suitability for keeping soldiers and horses in good physical condition; from various other writers (its popularity with the Mongols, Kurds, and rulers of Egypt) (126-28); on the metaphorical use of *gūy*, *čawgān* and *sawladjān* in prose and poetry (130-132). To these literary texts many more could be added, but it suffices to mention the references to Firdawsī (tr. Mohl, especially vii, 224; and F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, under *gōy* and *čōgān*), Niẓāmī (*Khusraw u Shīrīn*: description of a game between two teams of female players, led respectively by the king and his favourite), Saʿdī (cf. Massé, *Essai sur Saadi*, 228), a poem of Ḥāfiẓ (*Dīwān*, ed. Ḳazwīnī-Ghanī, no. 271, and ed. Khalkhalī, no. 268, v. 6), and above all the short mystical poem of ʿĀrifī (15th century), *Gūy u Čawgān* (see *Bibl.*). The game began by one of the players throwing the ball as high into the air as possible; another caught it and did the same thing, and thus the ball passed from team to team (there were originally four players in each team; see Firdawsī, *op. cit.*, ii, 250 ff. and 288). The *Ḳābūsnāma* (cf. R. Levy, *A Mirror for Princes*, London 1951, 86) kept the same number of players, "in order to avoid a dangerous scramble". Anthony Sherley gave a brief description of the game at the end of the 16th century, when he was at the court of the Shāh ʿAbbās (quoted by Sykes, 341); 12 players divided into two teams, and each carried a long-handled *čawgān* no thicker than the finger. Chardin (approx. 1675) described the game as follows: "the object is to get the ball through the opposing side's posts, which are at the end of the

pitch and through which one can pass (*Voyages*, iii, 181); . . . as the stick (*čawgān*) is short, the riders must bend below the level of the pommel . . . . and strike the ball on the gallop; the game is played between teams of 15 or 20 players" (440). A similar account is given in the early 19th century by Malcolm (*History of Persia*, i, 299 n.); both he and Chardin remark on the shortness of the *čawgān*, and here they are at variance with Sherley. But the information given by Sherley on the positioning of players and posts and the size and shape of the mallets agrees with the pictures on two 16th century miniatures, one in the British Museum (MS. Add. 27257, fol. 107), the other in the Imperial Persian Library (reproduced in "*Iran*", publ. by New York Soc. in conjunction with UNESCO). They illustrate the text from Niẓāmī's *Khusraw and Shīrīn* (mentioned above); one can clearly see the *čawgān*'s long thin handle and convex end (*čawgān*s of the same shape can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting Bequest miniature, no. 1228, 16th cent., and another miniature reproduced in René Grousset, *Civilisations de l'Orient*, i, 243, 16th century). In the British Museum miniature (Add. 27257) the mallets have circumflex-shaped heads; another 16th century miniature (H. d'Allemagne, *Du Kurdistan au pays des Bachktiaris*, i, 160) reveals both the above head and also the hammer type, with tapering handles. Others were shaped rather like a golf club; see A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, fig. 48 (dated 1410, Shīrāz school). An even earlier shape is mentioned by Cinnamus (quoted by Quatremère, 122: "stick with a large round end, inside which small cords are intertwined"—it was thus a sort of racket) and by the *Inshā'* (quoted by Quatremère, *ibid.*, "a stick with a bulging conical head made out of wood", *i.e.*, "convex"; *maḥdūdba* should be corrected to *maḥdūba*); this short spoon-shaped *čawgān* figures on a modern miniature of Indo-Persian style, signed and dated (Sykes, 336); another Indo-Persian miniature, more realistic, of the 18th cent., is contained Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei in Islam. Orient.* pl. 112. The text of the *Inshā'* (and of two others, Nuwayrī and Khalīl Dhahirī, quoted by Quatremère) concerns the *djūkāndār*, an official responsible for the care of the *čawgān*s and for the conduct of the game. The coat of arms (two curved *čawgān*s placed back to back) of this officer is known from the inscriptions and coats of arms, on the one hand, of a *madrasa* in Jerusalem (built by Il-malak, *djūkāndār* to the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, 1340), and of a lantern inscribed with the name of the same person, preserved in the Istanbul Museum (studied by M. van Berchem, *C.I.A. Jerusalem-ville*, 266-270, publ. *IFAO*, Cairo 1923), and on the other hand, of the tomb of a *djūkāndār* (d. at Marāgha, 1328) of the Egyptian sultan Ḳalā'ūn (A. Godard, *Āthār-è Īrān*, i, 1936, 144-149, fig. 101 & 103). According to Sykes, the political chaos following the fall of the Ṣafawids resulted in the disappearance of the game, and now it is played only in certain parts of India; Sykes claims to have reintroduced it into Tehran *ca.* 1897.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī; *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte*, trans. M. Quatremère, i, 121, n. 4; *Geschichte des Artachšīr i Pāpakān*, tr. from the Pahlawī by Nöldeke, (*Beiträge z. Kunde der Indogerman. Sprachen, Festschrift Benfey*, Göttingen 1879, iv, 22 ff.); A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 416, n. 4 (ref. to Inostrantzev); Pseudo-Djāḥiẓ, *Livre de la Couronne* (trans. by Ch. Pellat), 101-102; Ibn Ḳutayba, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo ed., i, 133-134; ed. Brockelmann, 166-167, unreliable and difficult text: advice to the players); J. J. Modi, *The Game of Ball-Bat-chowgangui—among the ancient Persians, as described in the Epic of Firdowsī*, in *J[R]ASB*, 1891, vol. xviii, 39 ff.; 'Ārifī, *The Ball and the Polo Stick* (*Gūy o tchūgān*) *or Book of Ecstasy* (*Hālnāme*), R. S. Greenshields ed., London 1931 (reviewed by H. Massé, with trans. of certain extracts, in *JA*, vol. ccxxiii (1933), 137-141; P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia or eight years in Iran*, London 1902, chap. xxix; *Syria*, vol. xiii, 208, n. 3. On the *djūkāndār* and his coat of arms: Yakoub Artin Pacha, *Contribution à l'étude du blason en Orient*, London 1902, 131 ff. and reproductions of 10 *čawgān*s; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford 1933, index (s.vv. *jūkāndār* and *polo-sticks* (*jūkān*). On the present rules of the game: *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (s.v. Polo). (H. Massé)

ČAY. Tea appears to be mentioned for the first time in an Arabic text by the author of the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind* (ed. and transl. by J. Sauvaget, 18), under the form *sākh*, whereas al-Bīrūnī, *Nubadh fī Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, ed. Krenkow, in *MMIA*, xiii (1955), 388, calls it more correctly *dja'*. It was introduced into Europe towards the middle of the 16th century by the Dutch East Indies company; but it is only in the middle of 17th century that its use spread, particularly in England.

In Morocco the first mention of tea dates back to 1700. It was a French merchant, with business contacts in the Far East, who introduced it to the sultan Mawlāy Ismā'īl. For a long time this commodity remained rare and expensive. At first the use of tea was known only to the bourgeoisie, but it afterwards spread to all classes of society. In Morocco mint tea has become the national drink. Its properties, and the ceremonies of its preparation and consumption have been the subject of several poems in Arabic and Berber; at the court of the sultans of Morocco a special corps of officials, called *mwālīn ātāy*, was formed to prepare it.

In Morocco, in Mauretania, and in the departments of Oran and Algers, the name of tea is *ātāy*. Tunisia and the department of Constantine use *tāy*. In Libya *shāhī* is found; this perhaps represents the Eastern Arabic *shāy*, contaminated, by popular etymology, with the root *sh-h-w*.

The radical *tāy* certainly seems to come from the English 'tea', but with the pronunciation (*tei*) which this word had until about 1720, when it rhymed in fact with 'obey' and 'pay' (cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1903, 905). It is known that it was English merchants who introduced the use of tea in Morocco, and that for a long time they kept a virtual monopoly on its importation.

As for the prefix *ā-*, which figures in western Maghribī names, it must represent the Berber definite article in the masculine singular. Indeed, in Morocco and Tlemcen, its presence dispenses with the use of the Arabic definite article. Therefore the word *ātāy* was probably borrowed through Berber; it is established that in the 17th century the principal centres for importation were Agadir and then Mogador, which are situated in Berber-speaking country. [For *Čay* and *Čaykhāna* in Persia and Central Asia, see SUPPLEMENT].

Bibliography: J. L. Miège, *Origine et développement de la consommation du thé au Maroc*, in *Bulletin économique et social du Maroc*, xx (1957),

377 (includes a bibliography on the subject); W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 215; L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, Glossary, i; P. Odinot, *Le Monde Marocain*, 158; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, 115, n° 339; Justinard, *Les Aït Ba ʿAmrān*, in *Villes et Tribus du Maroc*, viii (1936), 57).

(G. S. Colin)

ČEČENS, name given by the Russians to a Muslim people living in the valleys of the southern tributaries of the Sunja and Terek Rivers in the Central Caucasus (native name = Nak͟hčio or Veynak͟h).

The Čečens belong to the linguistic family of the Ibero-Caucasian peoples; their language forms with Ingus͟h, Batzbi and Kistin a special group rather close to that of the Dāg͟histānī languages.

The Čečens are the descendants of autochthonous Ibero-Caucasian tribes which were driven back and kept in the high mountains, between the pass of Daryal and the valley of S͟haro-Argun, by the Alains. Nearly all their history until the 18th century is unknown; we know only that it is in the 16th century that their tribes of shepherds began to emigrate into the piedmont which today forms the northern part of the Čečens country (in Russian "Cečnya"). At first subject to the Kabard princes [*q.v.*], they made themselves independent in the 18th century, a little before the arrival of the Russians.

Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī school penetrated into their country only from the 17th century, both through Dāg͟histān and Crimea, but until the middle of the 18th century it remained rather superficial; it was firmly implanted only at the end of the century thanks to the influence of the Naḳs͟hbandīs. Among their western neighbours, the Ingus͟h [*q.v.*], it was implanted still later, in the first half of the 19th century. At the beginning of the 20th century some traces of animism still persisted (cult of the patron spirit of the clan).

At the time when the first Russian detachments appeared, the Čečens were divided into clans, of which some were grouped together in tribes: Mičik, Ičkeri, Auk͟h, Kist, Nazran, Ḳarabulak͟h, G͟halg͟hay (this latter gave birth later to the Ingus͟h nation). The term "Čečen" was applied by the Russians to the whole of these tribes in the middle of the 18th century from the name of the "Čečen" *aul* on the river Argun where, in 1732, there occurred the first combat between a Russian detachment and the natives. The Russian advance toward the south began in the middle of the 18th century and was accelerated after the annexation of Eastern Georgia in 1801; it was slow and methodical, marked by the construction of fortresses, the establishment of Cossack colonies and the destruction of the villages of the natives, who were driven always back toward the high mountains. The Čečens offered fierce resistance to the Russian advance. A popular movement, directed by the S͟hayk͟h Manṣūr Us͟hurma, burst out in 1785 and was crushed only in 1791. In the first half of the 19th century the Čečen country became the principal bastion of the imāmate of S͟hamīl (cf. Dāg͟histān and S͟hamīl), and the Russian domination was imposed only in 1859; it was moreover marked by frequent revolts, of which the most important, that of ʿAlibek Aldamov of Simsiri in 1877, lasted a year and spread to all the Čečen country. In 1865, an important group of Čečens, nearly 40,000, emigrated to Turkey. On the eve of the revolution of 1917, the Čečen country was pacified and partially colonized by Russian colonists (especially Cossacks) in the plains of the north. Moreover, the discovery of the petroliferous strata at Groznîy attracted a growing number of Russian workers (10,000 in 1905, more than 20,000 in 1917).

Until the Revolution, Čečen society preserved a very archaic proto-feudal social structure, less developed than that of their Dāg͟histān and Kabard neighbours. The great patriarchal family of 40 to 50 people maintained its position almost everywhere as also the rigorously exogamous clans, *taîpa*, gathering together the descendants of a common ancestor. Finally, Čečen society did not recognize any division into social classes, all the Čečens considering themselves as *uzdens*, "nobles".

Soviet Čečnya. — After the October Revolution, the Čečen country was the last bastion of native resistance against the Soviet regime (Imāmate of Uzūn Ḥad͟jd͟jī, cf. Dāg͟histān); on 20 January 1921, it was included in the Mountain Republic (*Gorskaya Respublika*), and on 30 November 1922 upper Cečnya was set up as the Čečen Autonomous Region. On 7 July 1924 the Ingus͟h country situated to the west of Čečnya was, in its turn, transformed into the Ingus͟h Autonomous Region (cf. Ingus͟h). On 4 November 1929 the lower country with Groznîy was included in the Čečen Autonomous Region. In January 1934, the two autonomous regions were joined into one, the Čečen-Ingus͟h Autonomous Region, which was transformed on 5 December 1936 into the Čečen-Ingus͟h Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. On 25 June 1946 a decree of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. abolished the Republic, and Čečen and Ingus͟h people were deported to Central Asia (the same decree affected other Caucasian peoples: Balkars, Karačays [*qq.v.*]). On 9 January 1957 a new Supreme Soviet decree rehabilitated the deportees and re-established the Čečen-Ingus͟h Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, authorizing the survivors to return to their country between 1957 and 1960.

At present, the Čečen-Ingus͟h A.S.S.R. (area 19,300 sq. km.) has a total population of 700,000 inhabitants (1958), the Čečens representing as yet only a minority.

The census of 1939 counted 407,724 Čečens, of whom roughly 30,000 were in the A.S.S.R. of Dāg͟histān and the rest were in their own Republic; the Ingus͟h numbered 92,074 in the western part of the Republic (the high valleys of Asa, Sunja, and Kambileyka). The capital Groznîy, a big industrial centre (226,000 inhabitants in 1926), is an almost entirely Russian city.

The Čečen-Ingus͟h now form a "nation", divided into two "nationalities" very closely related to one another. In fact, nothing distinguishes these two peoples except the fact that the Ingus͟h have taken only a negligible part in the S͟hamīl movement. They speak very similar languages, Ingus͟h being simply a dialect of Čečen. The Čečen language properly speaking is divided into two dialects—Upper Čečen (or Čaberloy), spoken in the nountains, and the Lower Čečen of the plains; this latter, the basis of the written language, is endowed with a Latin alphabet (after a fruitless attempt to transcribe Čečen into Arabic characters). For its part, Ingus͟h was established as a written language in 1923 (based on the Lower Ingus͟h dialect of the plains) and also transcribed into Latin characters. In 1934, after the fusion of the two Autonomous Regions, Čečen and and Ingus͟h, the two written languages were unified into a single language—"Čečen-Ingus͟h", written

from 1938 in a Cyrillic alphabet. At present, they are once more officially separated. The new Čečen-Ingush literature has developed only during the Soviet period.

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(A. Bennigsen)

CELEBES, one of the four larger islands in Indonesia. With the exception of the north-eastern peninsula, which was one of the areas of early Christianization, and the south-western peninsula, where Islām also started its penetration in the 16th century, the island remained inaccessible to the influence of foreign religions until the second half of the 19th century. A new Christian community then came into existence in Central Celebes, inhabited by the Jo-Radja. It is said that this community suffered a great deal from the military activity of the Dār al-Islām movement after Indonesia became a republic in 1949; reliable information is lacking, however. The Muslim community of the south-western peninsula is not very different from those elsewhere in Indonesia; some details on its history are given under Makasar. For a general discussion of Indonesian Islām cf. djāwa. (C. C. Berg)

ČELEBĪ (Turkish), "writer, poet, reader, sage, of keen common sense" (thus Moḥammad Khōʾī in *Khulāṣa-i ʿAbbāsī*, in P. Melioranskiy, *Zapiski Vostočnago Otděleniya*, xv, 1904, 042; similarly Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha in *Lehdje-i ʿUthmānī*, i, 1876, 482). It is a term applied to men of the upper classes in Turkey between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 18th century, as a title primarily given to poets and men of letters, but also to princes (thus all the sons of Bāyazīd I (d. 805/1403) were given it). An Ādharbaydjānī poet of the 9th/15th century, Ḳāsim-i Anwār (died 835/1431-2) uses Čelebī also in the sense of the mystical term 'Beloved', *i.e.*, God (C. Salemann in *Zapiski Vost. Otd.* xvii, 1907, XXXIV). Heads of an order were also called Čelebī; it was applied to the head of the Mawlawī [*q.v.*] order from the time of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's successor, Čelebī Ḥusām al-Dīn (died 1284/683 [*q.v.*]) right into the 20th century. According to its usage, the word would thus correspond roughly to the Persian Mīrzā [*q.v.*] from *amīr-zāda*. In its secular meaning the word has been replaced by *Efendi* [*q.v.*] in the Ottoman empire since ca. 1700. Occasionally, Čelebī also appears as a proper name. In Syrian and Egyptian Arabic, *shalabī/djalabī* today has the meaning of 'barbarian'.

There has been no satisfactory explanation of the origin of the word. The following have been suggested: 1) as late as the 7th/13th (!) century, borrowed by the Nestorian Mission from the Syrian *ṣĕlībhā* 'cross', which was subsequently taken to mean a worshipper of the crucifix (Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha, *Lehdje, loc. cit.*); the same, though taken over considerably earlier: Viktor, Baron Rosen in *Zapiski Vost. Otd.* v, 305 ff.; xi, 310 ff.; with additional source references also found in P. Melioranskiy, *Zapiski Vost. Otd.* xv, 1904, 036 ff.; cf. also Menges, as in the bibliography; the same, but taken over in Anatolia, perhaps through Kurdish intermediation (cf. below, no. 4): Nikolay N. Martinovitch, JOAS 54 (1934), 194-9 (although the Nestorians never played a role in Anatolia); 2) from the Arabic *djalab*, pl. *djulbān*, "imported slave", a separate body in the Mamlūk period in Egypt, which was specially trained in administrative work, Woldemar, Frh. von Tiessenhausen in the *Zapiski*, xi, 1898, 307 ff.; 3) from the Greek καλλιεπής "beautifully speaking, singing, writing", hence, as early as Byzantine times, "of high rank": thus Čelebī would appear to have developed in Anatolia: V. Smirnov in *Zapiski* xviii, 1908, 1 ff. (according to a private communication from F. Dölger, 3/I/1959, the meaning "of distinguished rank" is, however, not verifiable in Greek): 4) taken from the Kurdish *theleb* "God", *thelebi* "noble lord, wandering minstrel" which, in turn, had come into that language "from a non-Indo-European language": this is the explanation given by Nik. Jak. Marr in *Zapiski* xx, 1910, 99/151, and it is based on his Japhetic theory; 5) from the Anatolian Turkish *čalab/čäläb* "God" (there are examples in the 13th-15th centuries in Mansuroğlu, and in later centuries current particularly among the Yürüks [*q.v.*], a word which, according to Muḥammad Khoʾī, *Khulāsa-i ʿAbbāsī* [excerpt from Mīrzā Mahdī Khān, *Senglākh*] comes from the Greek. K. Foy, in *MSOS*, *Westasiat. Studien*, ii, 124; P. Melioranskiy in the *Zapiski*, xv, 1904, 042; W. Barthold also favours this view (in which case the development would be opposite to that of the Iranian word khvadhāi "lord" > khudā "god"); 6) Mansuroğlu (see bibliography) is undecided, but he does not believe in the foreign origin of the word. — Several of these attempts at a derivation (1, 2, and 4 in particular), seem impossible and far fetched. Though the word is apparently of Anatolian origin, there is no evidence of its Greek descent [as—on the contrary—Efendi]. It seems doubtful whether Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, 270), means "Greek" in his mention of the meaning of the word Čelebī "in the language of Rūm" (thus W. Barthold), or whether this is merely a reference to its use in Anatolia. To the Greeks (such as G. Phrantzes, *Chron.* 70), the word Čelebi appears Turkish.

Bibliography: The most recent survey of the etymology is by M. Manṣūroğlu, in the *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, xxvii, 1955, 97/99; E. Rossi in *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı: Belleten* 1954, 11/14; K. H. Menges in *Supplement to Word VII*, Dec. 1951, 67/70. Concerning the Greek sources of the word, G. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-Turcica*², Berlin 1958, ii, 311.

(W. Barthold-[B. Spuler])

ČELEBI EFENDI [see djalāl al-dīn, mawlānā]

ČELEBI-ZĀDE (or Küčük čelebi-Zāde) Ismāʿīl ʿĀṣim Efendi, 18th century Ottoman historian, poet and *shaykh al-islām*. His familiar name (*laḳab*) derives from his father Küčük Čelebi Meḥmed Efendi (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 205) who was "foreign secretary" (*reʾīs ül-küttāb*) for about ten months in 1108-09/1699 (Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. 1282, ii, 387, 421). He was born in Istanbul, and, from the statement of Müstaḳīm-zāde Süleymān Efendi (*Tuḥfe-i Khaṭṭāṭīn*, Istanbul 1928, 650) that he was 77 years of age at the time of his death, his birth should be fixed about 1096/1685 about 1096/1685. His contemporary, Sālim Efendi (*Tedhkire-i Shuʿarā*, Istanbul, 1315, 452) says that he was given the grade of *mülāzim* by Fayḍullāh Efendi in 1108/1696-97, but, as M. C. Baysun suggests (*İA*, fasc. xxv, 371 b), this was

probably an honorary degree conferred on the boy of twelve out of respect for his father's position —an action quite in character for this notoriously simonistic *shaykh al-islām*. (cf. Na'īmā, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. 1280, vi, Supp., 6-7. It is probable that the *mustaḳillan* of Sēlim's text should be corrected to *mustaḳbilan*, "in anticipation"). His teaching career, all of which was passed in Istanbul, began in 1120/1708 at the *madrasa* of Ken'ān Pasha, from where he advanced to the Dizdāriyye (1125/1713), the Aḥmed Pasha in Demir Ḳapî (1130/1718), the 'Ārifiyye (1131/1719) and finally (1135/1723) the *madrasa* founded by his father-in-law, the *ḳāḍī 'asker* 'Ömer Efendi, in Mollā Gūrānī (Sālim, *op. cit.* and Ismā'īl 'Āṣîm, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. 1282, 110). On 28 Ramaḍān 1135/5 April 1723, he was appointed official historiographer (*waḳā'i'-nüwīs*) in succession to Rāshid Efendi, which post he filled until about 1143/1730 when his patron, the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, was sacrificed to the rebels and his favourites driven from office (cf. AḤMAD III). In 1145-46/1732-33, he was *ḳāḍī* of Yeñi Shehr (Larissa in Thessaly); in 1152-53/1738-39, of Bursa; in 1157-58/1744-45, of Medīne; and in 1161-62/1748-49, of Istanbul. His next appointment did not come until 1170/1757, when he was made *ḳāḍī 'asker* of Anatolia for one year; and on the 5 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1172/30 June 1759, he attained the ultimate dignity of *shaykh al-islām*, in which office he died after eight months (28 Djumādā II 1173/16 Feb. 1760). He was buried next to his father-in-law, 'Ömer Efendi, in the courtyard of Mollā Gūrānī (Ḥāfiẓ Ḥuseyn Efendi Ayvānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djewāmi'*, Istanbul 1291, i, 208).

His history (twice printed as a supplement to that of Rāshid: Istanbul 1153 and 1282) covers the period 1135-41/1722-29, and although, even by the standards of the official histories, notably superficial and frequently little more than a court chronicle, it has some of the virtue of its defects in being a wholly characteristic expression of the frivolity and complacency of the so-called Tulip Period of Ottoman history. In his verse he uses the poetic signature (*makhlaṣ*) 'Āṣim; and while his stature as a poet is overshadowed by such great contemporaries as Nedīm, Seyyid Wehbī and Neylī, nevertheless, his *dīwān* (lithographed, Istanbul 1268), with its graceful language and delicate sententiousness, has always been regarded as one of the masterpieces of this period in which Ottoman *dīwān* poetry finally develops its own recognizably authentic voice. His abilities and range as a prose writer can be better appreciated from his collected letters (*Münshe'āt*: Istanbul 1268) than from his history, where he deliberately models his style on that of Rāshid Efendi. His only other surviving work is a translation from the Persian commissioned by Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha of the *Sefāret-nāme-i Čīn* of Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Naḳḳāsh (Browne, iii, 397; M. F. Köprülü, *MTM*, ii (1331), 351-68) under the title *'Adjā'ib al-Laṭā'if* (ed. 'Alī Emīrī, Istanbul 1331). A *Mawlid risālesi* attributed to him by Müstaḳīm-zāde (*op. cit.* 651) is otherwise unknown.

Bibliography: The only reliable biographical information is in the notice by M. C. Baysun already referred to (but on 372a, l. 3, for *cemāziyel-evvel* read, after Sālim, Djumādā II). Babinger, 293, is a not entirely exact translation of the *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, i, 366, which itself contains errors. Both Djemāl al-Dīn, *Āyīne-i Ẓurafā'*, Istanbul 1314, 45 and Rif'at Efendi, *Dawḥat al-Meshā'ikh*, Istanbul n.d., 101 derive from Wāṣif, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1219, i, 179. In addition to Sālim, *op. cit.*, Ṣafā'ī (*Tedhkire*, Millet, 'Alī Emīrī, 771), 279 and Rāmiz (*Ādāb-ı Ẓurafā'*, Millet, 'Alī Emīrī, 762), 173 are contemporary opinions of his poetry. Apart from the short article of 'Alī Djānib, *Ḥayāt*, i, no. 20 (1927), 3-5, no study has been made of his *dīwān*, which, moreover, requires re-editing from the Bāyezīd MS., no. 5644, with marginal corrections in his own hand. Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Şairleri*, i, 108-111, contains extracts from some of the sources mentioned above; references to Faṭīn, von Hammer, Gibb, etc. may be found in Babinger.

(J. R. WALSH)

ČELEBI ZĀDE EFENDI [see SA'ĪD EFENDI]

ČENDERELI [see DJANDARLI]

ČEPNI, an Oghuz tribe, which holds an important place in the political and religious history of Turkey, and in the history of its occupation by the Turks. The most intimate *mürīd*s of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh belonged to this tribe, an important branch of which must therefore have been living in the Ḳîrshehir region in the 13th century. In the second half of this century there was another important group of the Čepni in the Samsun region, who in 676/1277 successfully defended Samsun against the forces of the Emperor of Trebizond, and in the 14th century played the chief part in the conquest of the Djānik (Ordu-Giresun) district; the Ḥādjdjī Emîrli principality which controlled the Ordu-Giresun region in the 14th century was probably founded by this tribe. At the beginning of the 16th century the region round Trabzon, especially to the west and south-west, was in their hands and was hence called *wilāyet-i Čepni* after them. From the 16th century onwards they began to penetrate the region east of Trabzon too, where even in the 18th century the Čepni were waging fierce struggles with the local people. Thus the Čepni played a very important rôle in the conquest and turcicization of the Samsun-Rize area.

Important groups connected with this tribe are found in other parts of Turkey too in the 15th and 16th centuries. The largest lived in the Sivas region and practised agriculture. There was another important group among the Türkmens of Aleppo, one branch of which began to settle in the 'Ayntāb area in the 16th century; another, generally called the Bashîm Ḳîzdîlu, migrated to western Anatolia and settled in the districts of Izmir, Aydîn, Manisa and Balikesir.

There was another important branch of the Čepni in the Aḳ-ḳoyunlu confederation; they were led, in the time of Uzun Ḥasan and his first successors, by Il-aldî Beg, and were later in the service of the Ṣafawids. In the 16th century there were Čepni also in the Erzurum district, and some clans around Konya and Adana too.

In the 15th and 16th centuries there were many villages named, after the tribe, Čepni; in some cases the name survives to the present day. Bektāshī and Ḳîzîlbash doctrines were from of old widespread among the Čepni.

Bibliography: Faruk Sümer, *Osmanlı devrinde Anadolu'da yaşayan bazı Üçoklu Oğuz boylarına mensup teşekküller*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, x, 441-453, Istanbul 1952.

(FARUK SÜMER)

CERAMICS [see FAKHKHĀR]

ČEREMISS (native name Mari), people of the eastern Finnish group, living principally in the basin of the Middle Volga to the north-east of Ḳazan in

the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of the Maris as well as in the neighbouring territories: A.S.S.R. of Tātārstān and of Bashkiria, regions (*oblast'*) of Gorki, of Kirov and of Sverdlovsk of the R.S.F.S.R. The total number of Čeremiss reached 481,300 in 1939; they are divided into three distinct groups by their dialects and their material culture. The Čeremiss of the plains (*lugovie*) live on the left bank of the Volga, those of the highlands (*gornie*) on the right bank, and the eastern Čeremiss emigrated in the 18th century into the valley of the river Belaya in Bashkir country.

The Čeremiss descend from the Finnish-Ugrian tribes of the Volga, subjugated in the 8th century by the Khazars, then, between the 9th and the 13th century, by the Bulghārs. It is through the medium of these latter that the Arabs became acquainted with the Čeremiss (under the name of Ṣarmis). After the destruction of the Kingdom of Greater Bulgaria, the Čeremiss fell under the domination of the Golden Horde, then of the Khānate of Ḳazan. The ancestors of the present Čeremiss were never converted to Islam, but they submitted, nevertheless, as early as the high Middle Ages, to the indirect influence which we recognise in our own day in certain ritual terms: *payrām* (the feast of spring), *ḥaram* (sacred grove), *keremet* designating the spirit of the forests (from *karāma* = miracle).

Conquered by Russia in the 16th century, the Čeremiss were from that period very strongly marked by Russian culture and, in the 19th century, the majority were officially converted to orthodox Christianity. At the end of the 19th century, only the Čeremiss of the eastern group remained Animists (the Či-maris).

From the outset of 1905 to the October Revolution and even beyond, one notes among the Čeremiss living in contact with the Tatars and the Muslim Bashkirs numerous conversions to Islam. It is unfortunately impossible to judge the new influence of Islam on the Čeremiss because the converts generally adopt the language and customs of the Tatars and "Tatarize" themselves.

Bibliography: I. N. Smirnov, *Čeremisi, Istoričeskiy-Étnografičeskiy očerk*, Ḳazan 1889; and *Očerki drevney istoriy narodov Srednego Povolz'ya i Prikam'ya*, in *Materialī i Issledovaniya po Arkheologiy SSSR*, no. 28, Moscow 1952; Ya. Yalkaev, *Materialī dlya bibliografičeskogo ukazatelya po marivedeniyu*, 1762-1931, Joshkar-Ola 1934.

(Ch. Quelquejay)

CERIGO [see čoka adasī]

ČERKES, The name of Čerkes (in Turkish *čerkas*, perhaps from the earlier "kerkète", indigenous name: Adīghe) is a general designation applied to a group of peoples who form, with the Abkhaz [*q.v.*], the Abaza (cf. Beskesek Abazā) and the Ubəkh, the north-west or Abasgo-Adīghe branch of the Ibero-Caucasian peoples.

The ancestors of the Čerkes peoples were known among the ancients under the names of Σινδοί, Κερχεταί, Ζιχγοί, Ζυγοί, etc., and lived on the shores of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea and in the plains of the Kuban to the south and the north of this river, extending perhaps to the Don.

In the 10th century, the Russians settled in the peninsula of Taman (the principality of Tmutarakan) and entered into contact with the Čerkes, whom their chronicles designate under the name of Kasog (Georgian name = Kashak, Kasagi in Ossète). From the 13th to the 15th century, the north-west Caucasus was subjected to the Golden Horde and it is after the collapse of the latter that the eastern Čerkes tribes (the present Kabard) began to play a rôle in the history of the Caucasus.

The Kabard princes maintained in the 16th century friendly relations with the rulers of Moscow (the second wife of Ivan IV was a Čerkes princess). In the 17th century the Kabard tribes led the coalition of Caucasian peoples which halted and repulsed the advance of the Kalmīks and from that era, the Čerkes held supremacy which they lost only after the Russian conquest.

Distribution of the Čerkes Tribes. — Before the Russian conquest in the middle of the 19th century, the Čerkes peoples, numbering more than a million, inhabited the north-west Caucasus (country of the Kuban) and a part of the eastern coast of the Black Sea and the peninsula of Taman up to the neighbourhood of the Abkhazi.

The principal tribes were:

— The Natukhay (Natkuadj) in the peninsula of Taman and near the estuary of the Kuban.

— The Shapsug, divided into the "Great Shapsug", on the left bank of the lower Kuban and along the river Afips, and the "Little Shapsug" on the shores of the Black Sea. These two tribes spoke the same dialect; more to the East, in the basins of the tributaries of the Kuban Belaya, Pshish and Psekups lived the largest of the Adīghe tribes: the Abadzekh. Before 1864, these three tribes formed 9/10 of the total of the entire population of Western Adīghe tribes. Among the other Western tribes, the most important were the Mokhosh on the river Farsu, the Temirgoy (Kemgui, Čengui) between the Laba and the Kuban; the Bjedukh at the confluence of the rivers Pshish and Psekush with the Kuban; the Khatükay between the lower Beləya and the Pshish, and finally the most eastern of the western tribes: the Besleney to the south-east of the Mokhosh.

The eastern tribes or Kabards (Kaberdey) [cf. Kabarda] lived from the 18th century in the basin of the upper Terek and some of its tributaries. They were divided into two groups: the tribes of the Great Kabarda, between the rivers Malka and Terek (to the west of the Terek) and those of the Little Kabarda (between the Sunja and the Terek, to the east of the latter river.

To these tribes must be added two others who were of non-Adīghe origin but who were in point of fact assimilated by the Čerkes and whose history is indissolubly bound to that of the latter: the Ubəkh [*q.v.*] and the Abaza (cf. Besekesek-Abaza).

After the conquest of the country by the Russians, the greater part of the western Čerkes emigrated in 1864-65 to Turkey and there remained in Russia only a small fraction of them. The last Soviet census (1939) counted only 164,000 Kabards and 88,000 western Adīghe thus distributed:

1. — Kabard: The 152,000 in the Kabard-Balkar A.S.S.R. and 7,000 to 8,000 in the two Autonomous Regions of Adīghe and Karačay-Čerkes (*auls* Katzkhabl', Blečeps and Khodz'). In addition, the census of 1939 counted as Kabards the 2000 Kabard-speaking Armenians of Armavir (territory of Krasnodar) of the Armenian-Gregorian religion, the 2100 "Čerkes of Mozdok" of the A.S.S.R. of North Ossetia who are Kabards converted to orthodox Christianity, and finally a little group (500 to 600) of Kabard-speaking Jews of the district of Mozdok.

2. — The Besleney: about 30,000, of whom 20,000 are in the Autonomous Region of Karačay-Čerkes (this group adopted the literary language of

the Kabards and is assimilated by the Kabard nation), and 10,000, in the Autonomous Region of Adîghe and near Armavir, who adopted the literary language of the Adîghe.

3. — The Lower Adlghe: in number about 55,000, principally in the Autonomous Region of Adîghe. After the migration of 1864-65, the tribal differences shaded off rapidly, and the scattered elements of the tribes remaining in Russia consolidated in an "Adlghe Nation" commune; only the following tribes still conserve some peculiarities of dialect and custom: the Abadzekh, about 5,000 around the *aul* Khakurinov (their dialect is on its way to disappearance); the Bjedukh, about 12,000 who populate 38 *auls* to the south of the Kuban and an *aul* near Armavir; finally, the Shapsug to the number of 10,000 on the shores of the Black Sea (14 *auls* to the north and south of Tuapse) with a little islet in the peninsula of Taman.

Language: With Abkhaz, Ubəkh and, according to some, Abaza (which others consider a simple Adîghe dialect), the Čerkes languages form the north-west branch of the Ibero-Caucasian languages. The Čerkes group is divided into several dialects of which two are now literary languages:

1. — Eastern Adîghe ("high Adîghe") or Kabard, including diverse speech characteristics a little different from one another. The speech of the Great Kabarda serves as the basis of the Kabard literary language used in the Kabardo-Balkar A.S.S.R. and in the Autonomous Republic of the Karačay-Čerkes, transcribed in the Latin alphabet since 1925 (after a trial of the Arabic alphabet in 1924). In 1938, the Latin alphabet was replaced by the Cyrillic.

2. — Lower Adlghe (or K'akh), including dialects closely related to one another: Bjedukh, Shapsug, K'emirgoy (or Temirgčy), as well as the rest of the Abadzekh and Khakuci dialects. The Bjedukh and K'emirgoy dialects serve as the basis of the Adîghe written language used in the Autonomous Republic of the Adîghe. The first attempts to give the Adlghe a written language trace back to 1855 (handbook of the Adlghe language of ʿUmar Besney). In 1865, Atakujin and in 1890 Loparinski aimed toward an Adîghe Cyrillic alphabet.

Between 1917 and 1920 there were again attempts to give Adîghe a script: Domatov worked out an Arabic alphabet and Saltokov modified Lopatinski's Cyrillic alphabet. Finally, in 1925, Adlghe received a Latin alphabet, replaced in 1935 by Cyrillic. From 1925, the linguistic unity of the Čerkes people was broken and the two written languages, Adîghe and Kabard, thereafter developed alone different lines, in spite of the vain attempt to reunite them in 1930, at the time of the conference of the Committee on the new Latin alphabet at Moscow.

Halfway between Kabard and Lower Adîghe is found the Besleney dialect, which belongs to Lower Adîghe but is full of Kabard elements.

The written Kabard and Adîghe literatures appeared after the establishment of the Soviet regime. The Čerkes had until then only an oral literature, principally of folk-lore, which included two types in particular: the legends of *Nartes* (mythological-heroic legends) which the Čerkes share in common with some other Caucasian people such as the Ossetes, and the heroic-historical songs which Shora-Bekmurzin Nogmov gathered and published (see bibliography).

Religion. — The Čerkes are Sunnī Muslims of the Ḥanafī school. Islam was brought in the 16th century by the Nogais [*q.v.*] and the Tatars of the Crimea, first to the Kabards, then, in the 17th century, to the western Adîghe. Penetration was slow and at first reached only the feudal nobility. It is only at the beginning of the 18th century, thanks to the zeal of the Khāns of the Crimea and the Turkish pashas of Anapa, that Islam was imposed on all of the people, replacing Christianity (introduced as early as the 6th century by Byzantium and, between the 10th and the 12th centuries, by Georgia) and the ancient pagan religion of which one still finds traces among the western Adîghes.

Before their conversion to Islam, the Čerkes worshipped agrarian divinities: Shible, god of storm and thunder, Sozeresh, protector of the sowings, Yemish, protector of the flocks, Khategnash, god of the gardens, etc. The cult of the god of thunder was linked to the worship of trees and sacred groves where, even recently, were offered sacrifices and prayers. A particular cult was dedicated to Tlepsh, god of the blacksmiths and doctors. The Čerkes had neither temples nor clergy; sacrifices were entrusted to the care of an old man elected for life.

Justice was rendered according to the Adîghe-Khabzə *ʿādat*, a veritable unwritten code of law which governed all Čerkes life and which was adopted by neighbouring peoples more or less subject to the influence of Kabard and Adîghe princes: Ossetes [*q.v.*], Karačays [*q.v.*], Balkars [*q.v.*] and Nogays [*q.v.*].

Social Structure and Customs. — Until the second half of the 19th century, the Čerkes people maintained a very archaic social structure different according to the tribes. The Kabards had a highly developed feudal system; their society, comprising up to thirteen classes, formed several groups clearly differentiated and not easily penetrated: 1. — at the summit of the social hierarchy, the princes (*pshə*) among whom the *wālī* was the chief of the Kabard people; 2. — under them, the nobles (*uork, uorkkh,* or *uzden*) subdivided into four classes according to the rights and obligations which bound them to the princes; 3. — the free peasants (*tfokhotl*) who, in certain circumstances, were kept to attend the *pshə* and the *uork*; 4. — the serfs (*og* or *pshətlə*) and finally, at the bottom of the ladder, the slaves (*unaut*).

The same feudal system, less rigorous however, existed also among the Adîghes and the lower eastern Čerkes tribes (Besleney, Bjedukh, Khatukay). On the other hand, the western Adlghe tribes (Natukhay, Shapsug, Abadzekh) did not have princes. Among them the *uork* class was weak, while that of the *tfokhotl* was the most numerous and the strongest. They are sometimes called the "democratic Adlghe tribes", as opposed to the Kabard "aristocratic tribes".

The reasons for this difference are not known. Some think that the western tribes passed the feudal stage in the 18th century after the long struggle which set the Abadzekh, Shapsug and Natukhay *tfokhotl* against the princes of Bjedukh (battle of Bziük in 1796), thanks also to the action of Ḥasan Pasha, *serʿasker* of Anapa, who abolished in 1826 the privileges which the nobles of these three tribes enjoyed.

For others, on the contrary, the social evolution toward feudalism had been retarded by several factors, notably the economic influence of the Greek colonies, then the Italian and Turkish. This last opinion seems nearer the truth, because at the beginning of the 20th century one finds among the western tribes strong survivals of the patriarchal clan system which had disappeared among the eastern Adlghe. The clan (*tleukh*) was divided into several groups of great patriarchal families (*ačikh*)

which formed in their turn rural communities (*psukho*), autonomously united and independently administered by the councils of the elders.

All the Čerkes tribes maintained some customs characteristic of the patriarchal and feudal stages: 1. — blood vengeance in cases of murder, which was a right and an absolute duty for the whole of the clan; 2. — *atalikat*, which consisted of having children raised from birth in the families of strangers, often vassals (boys till 17-18 years). *Atalikat* created a sort of foster brotherhood which served to tighten the feudal bonds and unite the Čerkes tribes; 3. — diverse traditions concerning hospitality, considered sacred. The guest became, by right of protection, a veritable member of the clan of his host, who put his life and his property at the service of his guest. Hospitality was extended even to the exile (*abrek* or *khadjret*). If this latter succeeded in touching with his lips the bosom of the mistress of a strange house, he became a member of the family, and the master of the house had to provide for his safety. Among other customs of the clan stage figured the swearing of brotherhood (*kunak*) by which a man became a member of another clan; 4. — customs concerning marriage. Exogamy inside the clan or the great patriarchal family was strictly observed especially by the Kabards. The *kalym* (purchase of the fiancée) was universally practised, and could only be avoided by resorting to abduction, a frequent occurrence, in case of refusal by the parents. The pretence of forcible abduction remains an essential rite in the marriage ceremony.

The Čerkes in the Soviet Union.—It was only at the end of the civil war that the Soviet regime was established in the regions inhabited by the Čerkes—in the spring of 1920, first in the country of the Adîghe, then in that of the Kabard. Administratively, the Čerkes were divided into three territorial unities:

— The Autonomous Region of the Adîghe in the basin of the Kuban and its tributaries belonging to the territory (*kray*) of Krasnodar, formed 27 July 1922 under the name of the Autonomous Region of Adîghe-Čerkes, then, on 13 August 1928, under that of the A.R. of Adîghe. This territory has an area of 4400 sq. km. and a population of 270,000 people (in 1956), of whom the Adîghe represent only a minority. The capital Maikop is a Russian city.

— The Autonomous Region of the Karačay-Čerkes in the high valleys of the Great and Little Zelenčuk belonging to the territory (*kray*) of Stavropol', which the Čerkes share with a Turkish people (the Karačay [*q.v.*]). This territory, formed 12 January 1922, was divided, 26 April 1926, into two administrative unities: the Autonomous Region of the Karačay and the national civil district of the Čerkes, elevaled 30 March 1928 to the status of Autonomous Region. In 1944 the Karačay were deported and their Autonomous Region abolished, but after their rehabilitation, the Autonomous Region of the Karačay-Čerkes was re-established 9 January 1957. Its area is 14,200 sq. km., and the population, in 1956, was 214,000 people, in majority Russian and Ukrainian.

— The Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in the mountainous part of the Central Caucasus. It was formed 1 September 1921 as the Autonomous Region of the Kabard to which was added 16 January 1922 the national civil district of the Balkar, thus constituting the Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Region, which became on 5 December 1936 an Autonomous Republic. In 1944, following the deportation of the Balkar, the Republic, with the loss of a part of Balkar territory, was renamed the Kabard A.S.S.R. Finally, on 9 February 1957, the Balkar having been rehabilitated and authorized to return to their territory, the Republic became once more the Kabard-Balkar A.S.S.R. Its territory comprises 12,400 sq. km., and its population, in 1956, was 359,000 inhabitants. In 1939, the Kabard, Balkar and other Muslims represented 60% of the population, living mainly in the mountainous areas; Russians and Ukrainians (40% of the population) constitute the majority of the population of the capital Nalʿčik (72,000 inhabitants in 1956) and predominate in the plain of Terek.

Bibliography: A very complete bibliography appears in the article by Ramazan Traho, *Literature on Circassia and the Circassians*, in *Caucasian Review*, no. 1, 1955, Munnich, 145-162. It included more than 250 titles of works and articles in Russian, in western languages (French, English, German, Turkish, Hungarian, and Polish) and in Čerkes languages dealing directly or indirectly with the Čerkes people. It is sufficient therefore to note here a few recent works:

In French: A. Namitok, *Origines des Circassiens*, Paris 1939; G. Dumezil, *Introduction à la grammaire comparée des langues caucasiennes du Nord*, Paris 1933; and *Etudes comparatives sur les langues caucasiennes du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1932.

In German: A. Dirr, *Einführung in das Stadium der Kaukasischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1928; F. Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, Vienna-Leipzig 1937.

In English: J. B. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus*, London 1908; W. S. Allen, *Structure and system in the Abaza Verbal complex* in *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1956, 127-76, with extensive linguistic bibliography.

In Russian: *Adîgeîskaya Avtonomnaya Oblast'*, Maikop 1947; *Kabardinskaya ASSR*, Nal'čik 1946 Sh. B. Nogmov, *Istoriya Adîgeyskogo Naroda sostaxlennaya po predaniyam Kabardintzev*, Nal'čik 1947; K. Stal, *Étnografičeskiy očerk Čerkesskogo naroda*, in *Kavkazskiy Sbornik*, xxi, Tiflis 1900; S. A. Toharev, *Étnografiya narodov SSSR*, Moscow 1958, 246-258; D. A. Ashkhamaf, *Grammatika Adîgeiskogo yazîka*, Krasnodar 1934; T. M. Borukaev, *Grammatika Kabardino-Čerkesskogo Yazîka*, Nal'čik 1932; idem, *Yazîki severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana*, i, Moscow-Leningrad 1935; N. F. Yakovlev and D. A Ashkhamaf, *Grammatika Adîgeyskogo literaturnogo yazîka*, Moscow-Leningrad 1941.

(Ch. Quelquejay)

ii. Mamlūk period. The Circassians are designated in Mamlūk sources as *Djarkas* or *Djarākisa* (sing. *Djarkasī*). There are also alternative spellings: *Čarkas* or *Čarākisa* (sing. *Čarkasī*); *Sharkas* or *Sharākisa* (sing. *Sharkasī*) and less frequently *Djihārakṣ*. Circassia is variously known as *bilād al-Djarkas*, or simply *Djarkas* and occasionally as *Djabal al-Djarkas*. According to al-Ḳalḳashandī the Circassians live in poverty and most of them are Christians (*Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, v, 462, l. 5).

The Circassians, who, since the closing decades of the 8th/14th century and up to the end of the Mamlūk sultanate (922/1517), constituted the predominant element of Mamlūk military society, were quite important in that sultanate from its very inception in the middle of the 7th/13th century. They occupied a most prominent place in the *Burdjiyya* [*q.v.*] regiment founded by Sulṭān Ḳalā'ūn (678-689/1279-1290). Whether the decline of that regiment weakened their power or not, is an open

question. The Ḳipčaḳ Turks, the ruling race during the first hundred and thirty years or so of the sultanate's existence, feared them very much because of their ambitious character, haughtiness and inclination to trouble and discord. As a matter of fact the Ḳipčaḳs succeeded in nipping in the bud a dangerous military coup of the Circassians during Ramaḍān-Shawwāl 748/December 1347-January 1348 (Sulṭān Ḥasan's reign). These Circassians were the favourites of Ḥasan's immediate predecessor, Sulṭān Ḥādjdjī (747-8/1346-7), who "brought them from all quarters and wanted to give them precedence over the *Atrāk*" (*Nudjūm*, v, 56, ll. 14-20). Sulṭān Ḥādjdjī's reign was apparently too short for his plan to be carried out, and thus the Circassians' rise to power had been postponed for another 35 to 45 years.

It was Sulṭān Barḳūḳ, himself a Circassian and a member of the Burdjiyya regiment, who brought about the final victory of his own race, by the systematic purchase of increasing numbers of Circassian Mamlūks and by drastically cutting at the same time the purchase of Mamlūks of other races. He is justly called "the founder of Circassian rule" (*al-Ḳā'im bi-dawlat al-Djarākisa*) (*Nudjūm* v, 362). Though he regretted his action towards the end of his life, as a result of a Circassian attempt to assassinate him (*Nudjūm*, v, 585, 598), it was too late for him to change the situation which he himself had created. His son and successor, Sulṭān Faradj (809-815/1406-1412), paid with his life for his attempt to break the Circassians' growing power by means of large-scale massacres. As early a writer as al-Ḳalkashandī, who completed his book in 815/1412, states: "In our time most of the *amīrs* and army have become Circassians ... The *Turk* Mamlūks of Egypt have become so few in number that all that is left of them are a few survivors and their children" *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, iv, 458, ll. 16-19). Sulṭān al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815-824/1412-1421), who is described by Ibn Taghrībirdī as resembling the former Mamlūk sultans (*mulūk al-salaf*) in that his criterion for the choice of soldiers was not race, but efficiency and courage (*al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, iii, fol. 168a, l. 21-168b, l. 4), had some success in curbing the power of the Circassians by strengthening the Ḳipčaḳ-Turk element in Mamlūk military society. But after his death the Circassians regained their supremacy, which they maintained without any serious challenge till the end of Mamlūk rule.

Mamlūk sources ascribe the rise of the Circassians at the expense of the Ḳipčaḳ-Turks mainly to factors existing within the Mamlūk sultanate. Equally important, however, were factors prevailing in the Mamlūks' countries of origin. The decline of the Golden Horde during the latter half of the 8th/14th century and the internal wars that broke out there must have greatly influenced the decision of Egypt's rulers to transfer the Mamluks' purchasing centre to the Caucasus.

The writers of the Circassian period held, generally speaking, a very high opinion of the Ḳipčaḳ-Turks and harshly criticized the Circassians, to whom they ascribed the sultanate's decline and misery. Typical in this respect are Ibn Taghrībirdī's following words: Referring to Ṭashtamur al-ʿAlā'ī, formerly *dawādār* and later *atābak al-ʿasākir* (commander-in-chief), who was removed by *amīrs* Berke and (later Sulṭān) Bar ḳūḳ, he says: "The time of Ṭashtamur was a flourishing and plentiful time for the Mamlūk sultanate under his wise direction, and that condition prevailed until he was removed from office and thrown into prison. In his place came Barḳūḳ and Berke, who did things in the sultanate from which the population suffers till this day. Then Barḳūḳ became sole ruler, and turned the affairs of the realm upside-down, and his successors have maintained his policy down to the present. For he gave precedence to the members of his own race over the others, and gave those of his own Mamlūks (*adjlāb*) who were related to him large fiefs and high offices while they were still in their minority. This is the main cause of the decline of the realm. Indeed, is there anything more grave than to set the minor over the senior? This is at variance with the practice of the former sultans; for they did not recognise the superiority of any one race. Whenever they found a man who displayed wisdom and courage, they showed him preference and favour. No-one was given office or rank who was not worthy of it" (*Manhal*, iii, f. 185b, ll. 14-23).

Though this and other statements of the same kind contain a very substantial element of truth, they certainly should not be taken at their face value. The Circassians might have accelerated the process of the realm's decline, but many of the factors that brought about that decline had already been quite visible in the closing decades of Ḳipčaḳ-Turk rule.

The predominance of the Circassian race in the later Mamlūk period was much stronger and much more comprehensive than that of the Ḳipčaḳ Turks in the early period. Unlike the Ḳipčaḳ Turks the Circassians were very hostile to the other Mamlūk races, whom they relegated to a state of political insignificance. No other Mamlūk race was so much imbued with the feeling of racial solidarity and of racial superiority as they were. Under their rule, *al-djins*, meaning the Race, denoted the Circassian race. Similarly *al-ḳawm*, the People, was applied only to the Circassians.

Of all Mamlūk races the Circassians were the only ones who claimed to trace their origin to an Arab tribe, namely, the Banū Ghassān, who entered Bilād al-Rūm with Djabala b. al-Ayham at the time of Heraclius' retreat from Syria (Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, v, 472, ll. 4-18. Ibn Iyāb, v, 193, l. 3). This legend was still alive in Egyptian Mamlūk society under the Ottomans (see bibliography).

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(D. AYALON)

iii. (Ottoman period) Replacing the Genoese on the Black-sea coasts the Ottomans took Anaba (Anapa) and Koba (Copa, cf. Heyd, ii, 190) in 884/1479 (cf. *Hasht Behisht*), but the Circassian tribes in the hinterland continued to be dependent on the Crimean Khāns (see KIRIM) who as under the Golden Horde sent their sons to be brought up among the Circassians (see ATALIḲ). Along with the marriages of the Crimean princes with the Circassian noblewomen this secured the attachment of the Čerkes; they gave the Khāns a yearly tribute consisting of slaves as well as auxiliary forces. The Crimean Khāns styled themselves rulers of *Tagh-ara Čerkes* or *Čergāč*. Circassia served also as a refuge for the Tatar-Noghay tribes from the *Dasht* who came often to mingle with them especially in the Kuban basin and the Taman peninsula. Later on the

Crimean Khāns built there fortresses such as Čoban-ḳalʿa, Nawrūz-Kirmān. Shād-Kirmān and settled in them Noghays to defend the country against the Cossacks (*Ḳazaḳ*) and the Ḳalmuḳs. Not infrequently the Čerkes co-operated with the Cossacks, too. In his major efforts to subdue the rebellious Čerkes tribes Ṣāḥib Girāy Khān made five expeditions in Circassia, the first against Ḳansāwuḳ, beg of Zhana in 946/1539, the second and the third against Ḳabartāy (Kaberda). He forcibly settled on the upper Urup the tribes who had taken refuge in the high Baksan valley. Later in 956/1549 he made his last expedition against the Khatuḳāy (*Ṣāḥib Girāy Taʾrīkhi*, Blochet, *Cat. Man. Turc. supp.*, 164). But after his death the Čerkes, especially those of Zhana and Psheduh (Pzhedukh) sacked the Taman peninsula, threatened Azaḳ [*q.v.*] and sought the protection of Ivan IV (see *Belleten*, no. 46, 1948, 364). At the same period the Cossacks, stationed on the Terek, also became a threat to Crimean-Ottoman influence in Ḳabartāy.

The strengthening of Tatar-Circassian relations resulted in the spread of Islam among the Čerkes. But in 1076/1664-65 Ewliyā Čelebī (vii, 708-758) found that many tribes were still pagans and those professing Islam preserved their old religious beliefs and practices. Meḥmed Girāy IV induced the islamized tribes of Ḳabartāy to give up pig-raising.

The Ottoman Sultans recognized Crimean sovereignty over the Čerkes, but this did not prevent their sending orders and granting titles to the Circassian chieftains as vassal *begs* (see *Belleten*, no. 46, 399). In 978/1570 Selim II wrote to the Czar not to interfere with the Čerkes, his subjects (*Belleten*, 400).

In 1076/1665, on his way from Taman to Albrus, Ewliyā Čelebī (vii, 698-768) found first the Noghays in Čoban-eli then Shḳāgeh tribe (cf. J. Klaproth, *Voyage*, i, 238) on the Black Sea coast, Great and Small Zhana tribes at the foot of the Hayḳo mountains, and further east Khatuḳay, Ademi, Taḳaḳu (?), Bolatḳay, Bozoduḳ (Pzhedukh), Mamshugh (?), Besney (Besleney), and Ḳabartāy tribes. He also reported that in this period the Ḳalmuḳ raids caused the Čerkes tribes in the Kuban and Ḳabartāy regions to retreat to the inaccessible parts of the mountains, while in the west the Cossacks were pressing hard the Čerkes in the lower Kuban and the Tamam peninsula.

When from the early 18th century onwards Circassia was seriously threatened by Russian expansion they became more and more co-operative with the Ottomans. In 1148/1735 they repulsed the Russian forces on the other side of the Kuban. But with the treaty of Küčük-Ḳaynardja in 1188/1774 the Ottomans recognized the independence of the Crimean Khānate with its dependencies north to the Kuban which in 1197-1783 were annexed by Russia. The Ḳabartāys were already in Russian control in 1188/1774.

In order to form a defence line against the Russians on the Kuban the Ottomans were now much interested in Circassia and built or rebuilt the fortresses of Soghudjuḳ (Sudjuḳ), Gelendjik, Noghay, and Anapa in 1196/1782 and tried to reorganize the Čerkes as well as the newly arrived Tatar immigrants from the Crimea and the Noghays from Dobrudja. Feraḥ ʿAlī Pasha (1196/1782-1199/1785), an administrator of unusual ability, encouraged his Ottoman soldiers to establish family ties with the Čerkes which strengthened Ottoman influence and furthered the spread of Islam among the Čerkes. Anapa rapidly developed as the chief commercial centre of the area. Meantime Shaykh Manṣūr, a forerunner of Shaykh Shāmīl [*q.v.*] in the Čečen area found a response among the Čerkes for his preaching of the Holy War against the Russians (for this period see the important account of Meḥmed Hāshim, the *Dīwān Kātib* of Feraḥ ʿAlī Pasha, MS. in Topkapi, Revān, no. 1564, cf. Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 168-272).

During the Ottoman-Russian war of 1201-1206/1787-1792 a Khānate of Kuban was created with the Tatars under Shahbāz Girāy while the Čerkes co-operated with the Ottoman army under Baṭṭāl Huseyin Pasha and won some successes. But in the end Anapa, the main Ottoman base, fell (1205/1791). With the peace treaty the Kuban river was fixed as the border line between the Russian and Ottoman empires. After the peace, while the Ottomans neglected the area, the Russians formed a line of fortresses along the border and settled large groups of Cossacks there. At the same time they annexed Georgia and, taking control of the Daryal Pass, encircled Circassia. By the treaty of Adrianople 1245/1829 the Ottomans had to give up their rights on Circassia in favour of Russia. The Circassians, however, sustained a long and fierce struggle against the invaders until 1281/1864 and, according to an Ottoman report, 595,000 Circassians left their country for Turkey between 1272/1856 and 1281/1864. These were settled in Anatolia as well as in Rūmeli (see BULGARIA). According to the census of 1945 there were in Turkey 66,691 Circassians still speaking their mother-tongue. Under the Ottomans, especially from the 17th century onwards, Circassian slaves occupied an important place in the Ottoman *ḳul* [*q.v.*] system and many of them reached high positions in the state (see *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAṭā*, 5 vols. Istanbul 1291-1293).

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(HALIL INALCIK)

ČERKES EDHEM, Čerkes Reshīd, and Čerkes Meḥmed Tewfīḳ, Turkish guerrilla leaders, sons of a Circassian farmer in Emre near Karacabey (*wilāyet* of Bursa). Reshīd, the oldest, was born in 1869 (or 1877 ?—see *T.B.M.M. 25ci yıldönümünü anıs* [1945], 63), Edhem, the youngest, in 1883-4. Reshīd fought with the Ottoman forces in Libya and the Balkans, where he was "Deputy Commander in Chief" for the provisional government of Western Thrace (September 1913), and sat for Saruhan in

the last Ottoman Chamber and the Ankara National Assembly. All three brothers took leading parts in the nationalist guerrilla movement, Edhem distinguishing himself against the Greeks at Salihli and Anzavur's *Ḳuwwa-yi Meḥmediyye* (summer 1919) and in suppressing the anti-Kemalist revolts at Düzce and Yozgad (spring 1920). As Commander of Mobile Forces (*Ḳuwwa-yi Seyyāre*, with his brother Tewfiḳ as deputy) he came into increasingly sharp conflict with the regular army command, especially after Edhem's defeat by the Greeks at Gediz (24 October 1920) and the appointment of İsmet [İnönü] as commander-in-chief of the Western front. An ad-hoc commission of the National Assembly failed to resolve the dispute. After a decisive clash with the Turkish regulars (Kütahya, 29 December), Edhem, his brothers, and several hundred Circassian guerrillas fled behind the Greek lines (5 January 1921). The Ankara Assembly denounced the brothers as traitors and expelled Reshīd; later the brothers were among the 150 persons (*yüzellilikler*) excepted from the amnesty provisions of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. Edhem and Reshīd went to Greece, Germany, various Arab countries, and eventually to ʿAmmān. In 1935 they were briefly detained there under suspicion of plotting against Atatürk, and in 1941 Edhem was again detained in ʿAmmān because of his support of the movement of Rashīd ʿĀli in ʿIrāq. He died of throat cancer in ʿAmmān on 7 October 1949. Reshīd returned to Turkey after the Democrat Party victory of 1950 and died in Ankara in 1951. Tewfiḳ spent his exile years in Haifa as an oil refinery watchman and died soon after his return to Turkey in 1938.

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(D. A. Rustow)

ČERKES [see MUḤAMMAD PASHA ČERKES]

ČESHME, a Persian word meaning "source, fountain" which has passed into Turkish with the same sense. It is the name of a market-town in Asia Minor with a wide and safe natural harbour on the Mediterranean coast, at the entrance to the Gulf of the same name, at the north-western extremity of the peninsula of Urla opposite the island of Chios, 26° 20′ W., 38° 23′ N. It is the chief town of a *kaza* in the *vilayet* of Izmir. The town has (1950) 3,706 inhabitants; the *kaza*, 12,337. Originally part of the principality (later *sandjak*) of Aydīn, it was Ottoman from the time of Bayazīd II. There is a citadel with a mosque of Bāyazīd II, of 914/1508. The present town, which is quite modern, occupies the site of the ancient harbour of Erythrae. There are hot springs at Ilidja.

A Russian fleet of nine ships of the line and a few frigates, divided into three squadrons commanded by Spiridov, Alexis Orlov and Elphinston, which sailed from Kronstad to aid the rebel Mainots, attacked the Turkish fleet at Česhme. The Turkish fleet consisted of sixteen ships of the line besides frigates and small craft and was commanded by the Ḳapūdān-Pasha Ḥusām al-Dīn with Djezā'irli Ḥasan Pasha and Djaʿfar Bey. The Russian and Turkish flagships both caught fire at the same moment and those of the crew who could saved themselves by swimming (11 Rabīʿ I 1183/5 July 1770). The remainder of the Turkish fleet was set on fire the following night. This defeat of the Turks at Česhme was the fore-runner of the Peace of Küčük Ḳaynardja.

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(Cl. Huart-[Fr. Taeschner])

ČESHMIZĀDE, Muṣṭafā Rashīd, Ottoman historian and poet, one of a family of *ʿulamā'* founded by the *Ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rumelia, Česhmī Meḥmed Efendi (d. 1044/1634) A grandson of the *Shaykh al-Islām* Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ Efendi, and the son of a *ḳāḍī* in the Ḥidjāz, he entered the *ʿIlmiyye* profession, and held various legal and teaching posts. After the resignation of the Imperial historiographer Meḥmed Ḥākim Efendi [*q.v.*], he was appointed to this office, which he held for a year and a half. He then returned to his teaching career, which culminated in his appointment as *müderris* at the Dār al-Ḥadith of the Sulaymāniyye. His history, which covers the period 1180-82/1766-68, was used by Wāṣif [*q.v.*]. The Turkish text was first published by Bekir Kütükoğlu in 1959; but a Swedish translation of his account of the war in Georgia in 1180-2/1766-8, with a brief account of some events in Cyprus, Egypt and Medina, was included by M. Norberg in his *Turkiska Rikets Annaler*, v, Hernösand 1822, 1416-1424. He died in Shaʿbān 1184/Nov. 1770, and was buried at Rumeli Ḥiṣārī.

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(B. Lewis)

CEUTA [see SABTA]

CEYLON. The Muslims constitute only 6.63% of Ceylon's population—roughly 550,000 out of a total of 8,000,000. Of this community, which is multi-racial in its composition, the Ceylon Moors form the most significant element and count 463,963. The Malays are the next in importance. They number 25,464. Nearly all of the remaining groups are of Indian origin; their ancestors first came to Ceylon after the British occupation of its Maritime Provinces during the 18th century.

As a result of the insufficiency of available evidence and the lack of sustained effort and encouragement in respect of the investigations involved, which require a good knowledge of several languages, each of them with a different background and most of them with distinctive characters, the ethnology of the Ceylon Moors has yet remained an inadequately explored field of research. A scientific and comprehensive treatment of the subject would indeed illumine some of the obscure aspects of Ceylon's history—*e.g.*, the nature and extent of the contacts the Muslims of Ceylon (Moors) had for several centuries with their brethren in faith in lands far and near; the political relations which Ceylon

through these Muslims maintained with the Muslim World particularly during its period of glory; and the volume of Ceylon's external and internal trade and its geographical distribution during the early centuries.

The Muslims of Ceylon were given the appellation of 'Moors' by the Portuguese who first came to Ceylon in 1505 and encountered these Muslims as their immediate rivals to trade and influence. This name, however, has persisted, having gained currency in Ceylon through its wide use by the Colonial Powers concerned, even though this term 'Moors' had been previously unknown among the Muslims themselves. 'Sonahar' was the name familiar to them, deriving its origin from 'Yavanar', an Indian word connoting foreigners especially Greeks or Arabs.

These Moors were the descendants of Arab settlers whose numbers were later augmented by local converts and immigrant Muslims from South India. With regard to the date of the arrival of the first Arab settlers, Sir Alexander Johnstone holds that it was during the early part of the 2nd/8th century. "The first Mohammedans who settled in Ceylon were, according to the tradition which prevails amongst their descendants, a portion of those Arabs of the house of Hās͟him who were driven from Arabia in the early part of the eighth century by the tyranny of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Melek b. Merwān, and who, preceeding from the Euphrates southward, made settlements in the Concan, in the southern parts of the peninsula of India, on the island of Ceylon and at Malacca. The division of them which came to Ceylon formed eight considerable settlements along the north-east, north, and western coasts of that island; *viz*: one at Trincomalee, one at Jaffna, one at Mantotte and Mannar, one at Coodramalle, one at Putlam, one at Colombo, one at Barbareen and one at Point-de-Galle."

The presence of these settlers is strikingly corroborated by the accounts found in Muslim sources with regard to the proximate cause of the Arab conquest of Sind, during the time of Caliph al-Walīd. His governor, al-Ḥadjdjādj of ʿIrāḳ, initiated this conquest, under the leadership of ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, as a punishment for the plunder of the ships that carried the families of the Arabs who had died in Ceylon, together with presents from the King of Ceylon to the Caliph.

It is reasonable to suppose that during the 2nd/8th century and subsequent centuries these Arabs came in increasing numbers and settled down in Ceylon without entirely losing touch with the areas of their origin. Ceylon exercized a special fascination on these seafaring Arabs as a commercial junction of importance which afforded possibilities of profitable trade in pearls, gems, spices and other valued articles. Settlement was encouraged by the tolerant and friendly attitude of the rulers and people of the island.

After the sack of Baghdad in 1258 A.D., Arab activities in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean diminished considerably. Muslim influence, however, did not thereby cease entirely. It began to emanate from India where by the 7th/13th century the Muslims had firmly established themselves along the western coast and possessed a virtual monopoly of external trade.

It may therefore be concluded that the Muslims of Ceylon began, as a result, to rely on India for their cultural leadership as well as for their commercial contacts. An Indian element was thus added into the composition of the local Muslim (Moor) community. Despite the racial admixture that took place in consequence and the new manners and customs that were acquired, the individuality of the community was preserved on account of the cherished memory of its Arab origin and the emphasis that was placed on Islam as the base of its communal structure.

These Muslims were not treated as aliens, but were favoured for the commercial and political contacts with other countries they gained for Ceylon, for the revenue they brought to the country and the foreign skills they secured, *e.g.*, medicine and weaving. Besides they encouraged local trade by the introduction of new crafts, *e.g.*, gem-cutting and of improved methods of transport, *e.g.*, *thavalam*-carriage-bullocks. They were therefore allowed to establish their local settlements, *e.g.*, Colombo, Barberyn, with a measure of autonomy and with special privileges. The important seaports of Ceylon were virtually controlled by these Muslims (Moors).

With the advent of the Portuguese in 1505 the Muslims (Moors) suffered a change in their status from which they never again recovered. The Portuguese regarded them as their rivals in trade and enemies in faith. The Dutch who superseded the former as rulers of the sea-board were not prepared to give the Muslims even a small share of their commercial gains and therefore promulgated harsh regulations to keep them down. Deprived of their traditional occupation, many of them were forced to take to agriculture. To this could be mainly attributed the concentrations of Muslim peasantry in areas like Batticaloa.

It was during the Dutch period the Malays—who form an important element of the Muslim community of Ceylon—came to Ceylon, many of them brought by the Dutch as soldiers to fight for them and some as exiles for political reasons. When the Dutch capitulated to the British, the Malay soldiers joined the British regiments specially formed. On their disbandment the Malays settled down in Ceylon. Their separate identity has been preserved by the Malay language which they still speak in their homes.

The British did not follow the undiluted policy of proselytization pursued by the Portuguese. Nor were the British so harsh as the Dutch in their economic exploitation of Ceylon. To that extent, under the new rulers, the Muslims fared better. Yet they could not gain any special favour, on account of their irreconcilable attitude towards the ways and culture of the West which they identified with Christianity. This, no doubt, handicapped the Muslims severely in the political, economic and educational spheres but ensured the preservation of their communal individuality despite the smallness of their numbers and the loss of cultural contacts with the Muslim World. As a result till about the beginning of the current century the Muslims of Ceylon remained culturally isolated, educationally backward and politically insignificant.

The Muslims, however, could not continue to ignore the trend of events taking place in Ceylon and India. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān, who founded in 1875 the Mohamedan Anglo-Oriental College, was the leader of the Aligarh Movement in India with its emphasis on educational reforms. Arumuga Navalar, who countered the efforts of the Christian Missionaries in North Ceylon, established in 1872 an English school under Hindu management. The Buddhist Theosophical Society established an English school in 1886 which finally developed into the present Ananda College, Colombo. In this

year the Anagarika Dharmapala who was actively associated with the inauguration of this Society resigned his Government post to devote his entire time to Buddhist activities. During this period the Muslims of Ceylon had in M. C. Siddi Lebbe a leader of vision who understood the significance of these changes. He had for several years canvassed the opinion of his co-religionists for a new educational approach but he had not been heeded. It was at this time, in 1883, that ʿUrābī Pasha [*q.v.*] came as an exile to Ceylon. He provided a powerful stimulus for a reappraisal on the part of the Muslims of Ceylon in regard to their attitude towards modern education and Western culture. All these together culminated in the establishment in 1892 of Al-Madrasa al-Zāhira under the patronage of ʿUrābī Pasha which has since blossomed into Zahira College, Colombo.

The Ceylon Muslims—apart from isolated instances—belong to the Shāfiʿī school of Sunnīs. In the realm of Law the following special enactments pertaining to them may be cited—the Mohammedan Code of 1806 relating to matters of succession, inheritance etc., Mohammedan Marriage Registration Ordinance no. 8 of 1886 repealed by Ordinance no. 27 of 1929 and now superseded by the Muslim Marriage and Divorce Act no. 13 of 1951 which confers upon the Ḳāḍīs appointed by the Government exclusive jurisdiction in respect of marriages and divorces, the status and mutual rights and obligations of the parties; the Muslim Intestate Succession Ordinance no. 10 of 1931 and the Muslim Mosques and Charitable Trusts or Waḳfs Act no. 51 of 1956 which provides a separate Government Department with a purely Muslim Executive Board. Of these the Mohammedan Code of 1806 is of special value to students of Islamic Civilization, for it contains many provisions which are in conflict with the principles of Muslim law stated in standard text books on that subject. Wherever such conflict occurs the view has been taken that it is the duty of the courts in Ceylon to give effect to the provisions of the Code, which formed the statute law of this country, although they may clash with well-established principles of Muslim law."

Tamil is the home-language of the great majority of the Muslims of Ceylon. In the Tamil language as spoken and written by the Muslims of Ceylon and of South India, a number of Arabic words are used, which in many cases have displaced their pure Tamil equivalents. The term Arabic-Tamil has therefore gained currency to indicate the Tamil of the Muslims. At one time Arabic-Tamil was written in the Arabic script, ب ڃ ڂ ڢ being improvised to denote four Tamil sounds unknown to Arabic, and *o* being represented by 6, ō by و6, e by 6̄ and ā by ي6. Today Arabic Tamil is being generally written in the Tamil alphabet with or without diacritical marks. The literature of the Muslims of Ceylon has to be treated as part of the Arabic-Tamil literature of South India. Although Ceylon has produced its quota of poets and writers in Arabic-Tamil none has reached the stature of their well-known South Indian counterparts.

The Muslims of Ceylon received their first political recognition when in 1889 a nominated seat was assigned to them in the Legislative Council. This representation was increased to 3 elected members in 1924. The Donoughmore Constitution of 1931 abolished communal representation but the Soulbury Constitution of 1947 envisaged a certain measure of communal representation through territorial electorates specially delimitated. In the present House of Representatives, elected in 1956, there are 7 Muslim M.P.s among 95 territorially elected members.

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(A. M. A. Azeez)

ČEYREK, a corruption of Persian *čahāryak* (1/4), has in Turkish the special meaning of a quarter of an hour, or a coin, also known as the *beshlik*, or five piastre piece, originally the quarter of a *medjīdiyye*, introduced in 1260/1844 during the reign of ʿAbd al-Madjīd and issued by the succeeding rulers until the end of the Ottoman Empire. The silver *čeyrek* had a fineness of 830, weighed 6.13 grams and measured 24 mm. in diameter.

(G. C. Miles)

CHAM [see Čam]

ČHAT, an ancient town, situated on the bank of the Ghaggar and 14 miles from Ambāla (India), is now practically desolate, with the exception of a few huts of Gudjdjars (milk-sellers) and other low-caste people atop a prehistoric mound, still unexcavated. It was a *maḥāll* in the *sarkār* of Sirhind, *ṣūba* of Dihlī, during the reign of Akbar, with a cultivable area of 158,749 *bīgha*s yielding a revenue of 750,994 *dāms* annually. Its name suggests that in pre-Muslim days it was a settlement of Čhattas, *i.e.*, *Čhattarī*s (more accurately Kshattriyas), a martial Hindū tribe. Apart from being a flourishing town peopled mainly by the Afghāns and the Rādjpūts it was, during the early Mughal period, a military station garrisoned by 650 cavalry and 1,100 infantry. Its history is closely connected with that of Banūr [*q.v.*] only 4 miles away. During the Sayyid and Lōdī periods, as the vast ruins, the dilapidated but very spacious Djāmiʿ Masdjid of the pre-Mughal period and the extensive grave-yard indicate, it was a town of considerable importance, and became the seat of one of the four branches of the Sayyids of Bārha, called the Čhat-Banūrī or Čhat-rāwdī Sayyids, of whom Sayyid Abu 'l-Faḍl Wāsiṭī was the first to settle in this town (see *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, vol. i, transl. Blochmann, 430-1). In 1121/1709 it was over-run and laid almost completely waste by the Sikhs under general Banda Bayrāgī. Shaykh Muḥammad Dāʾim, the commandant of Ambāla, who encountered the Sikh army was defeated and fled in dismay to Lahore. The most wanton cruelties were perpetrated on the inhabitants of Čhat and Banūr and very few escaped the sword or forced apostasy. Since then Čhat has remained a dependency of Patiāla and has never regained its lost prosperity. Al-Badāʾūnī (Eng. transl. iii 47)

mentions one Shaykh Dā'ūd of Čhatī, but apparently Čhatī has been misread for Djuhnī, more accurately Djuhnīwāl, once a small town in the *pargana* of Multān, and the translator has obviously confounded Čhat.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ČHATR, ČHATTAR [see MIẒALLA]

CHECHAOUEN [see SHAFSHAWAN]

CHERCHELL [see SHARSHAL]

CHESS [see SHAṬRANDJ]

CHINA [see AL-ṢĪN]

CHIOS [see SAḲIZ]

CHITRAL (Čitrāl), a princely state and a federated unit of the Republic of Pakistan, situated between 35° 15′ and 37° 8′ N. and 71° 22′ and 74° 6′ E. with an area of about 4,500 sq. miles, and a population of 105,000 in 1951, contiguous to Soviet Russia, Afghānistān and the Peoples' Republic of China. The state takes its name from the capital city, Čitrāl, also known as Ḳāshḳār or Čitrār, two ancient names still in favour with the people who call themselves Ḳāshḳārīs. The origin of Ḳāshḳār is not known; the theory that it is composed of *Kāsh*—a demon and *ghār*—a cave must be dismissed as absurd. The Chinese, after their conquest sometime in the first century B.C., called the area Čitar, said to mean a green garden. Bābur, in his memoirs, uses the same word for Čhat [*q.v.*], apparently struck by the large number of flower-gardens in and around the town (*Bābur-nāma*, transl. A. S. Beveridge, i, 383). The state, with an estimated annual income of 13,000,000 rupees, is now commonly known as Čitrāl; although the natives still prefer the older form Čitrār.

A mountainous country, its ice-caps and glaciers are a permanent source of water-supply for the lush green valleys of the Hindū-Kush whose off-shoots divide Čitrāl into several orographic regions. Bounded by the unnamed *kūhistāns* of Dīr and Swāt (*qq.v*), the Himalayas and the Karakoram Range there are many famous passes and peaks in Čitrāl. The Dūrāh Pass (14,500 ft.) leads to Badakhshān [*q.v.*] and is open for only three months in the year. From ancient times it has served as an important caravan route between Čitrāl and the Central Asia. The Bārōghil pass (12,500 ft.) across the Yārkhūn valley connects China and Soviet Russia with Čitrāl and caravans from Kāshghar and Khōtan [*qq.v.*] were a common sight till recently. The other important passes are Shandūr (12,500 ft.) and Lowarā'ī (10,230 ft.) which lead to Gilgit and Dīr respectively. The Lowarā'ī pass, the only link between Čitrāl and the rest of West Pakistan, remains snow-bound for at least seven months in the year, and when open it can only be negotiated by jeep traffic. During the snow-bound period travellers cross into Čitrāl on foot and merchandise is carried on mules.

The main occupation of the people is agriculture or cattle-grazing, though the state is rich in mineral and forest wealth, which awaits large-scale exploitation. There are believed to be considerable deposits of antimony, iron-ore, lead, sulphur, mica, crystal and orpiment. The *Ta'rikh-i Čitrāl* mentions gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, topaz and also turquoise among the rare minerals found.

Communications are a great problem; no roads worthy of the name exist. However, a good motor road, mainly for strategic purposes, is under construction across the Lowarā'ī Pass and is expected to be completed by the end of 1959. A proposal to construct an all-weather road, through a tunnel under the Lowarā'ī Pass, connecting Pēshāwar with Čitrāl, was also mooted but, in view of the huge cost involved, has been abandoned.

Since her accession to Pakistan in 1947, Čitrāl has made rapid progress in almost all spheres of life. There are now 85 regular schools including two high schools and two *dār al-ʿulūm*s for religious instruction, as compared to two middle schools and a few *maktab*s before accession. Education up to matriculation standard is free, and facilities are also provided for higher education outside the state. Two well-equipped hospitals and a number of dispensaries have been opened to provide free medical aid to the people. Small-scale and cottage industries have been set up and a fruit-crushing factory has been established at Dolomus, near Čitrāl. Other measures for raising the standard of living of the people have also been taken.

Very little is known about the early history of Čitrāl. The aborigines have been called Pishāčas and described as cannibals. They are said to have been subdued by the Chinese in the first century B. C. Nothing reliable is known thereafter till the 3rd/10th century when we have archaeological evidence to prove that Čitrāl was under the sway of king Djaypāl of Kabul in 287/900 and that the people were Buddhists. Čingīz Khān is also said to have made inroads into Čitrāl, but this lacks historical confirmation.

The founder of the present ruling dynasty was one Bābā Ayyūb, an alleged grandson of Bābur, who after the departure of his father, Mīrzā Kāmrān, to Mecca, wandered into Čitrāl and took up service with the ruling monarch, a prince of the Ra'īsīyya dynasty. His grandson Sangīn ʿAlī I is said to have found favour with the ruler, who appointed him his first subject. Gradually he assumed great power, and on his death in 978/1570 his two sons Muḥammad Riḍā' and Muḥammad Bēg succeeded to the offices he had held. On the death of the Ra'īsiyya prince, Muḥammad Riḍā' became the virtual ruler, but soon after he was murdered by his nephews for the excesses which he had perpetrated against them and their father, Muḥammad Bēg. In 993/1585 Muḥtaram Shāh I, one of the sons of Muḥammad Bēg, peacefully dethroned the last Ra'īsiyya ruler of Čitrāl, whose descendants he deported to Badakhshān, and himself assumed the reins of government. In 1024/1615 Maḥmūd b. Nāṣir Ra'īsiyya attacked Čitrāl with a large force of Badakhshānī troops, defeated Muḥtaram Shāh I, granted him pardon but expelled him from Čitrāl. In 1030/1620 Muḥtaram Shāh I returned to Čitrāl after murdering Mahmūd Ra'īsiyya, only to be attacked for the second time in 1044/1634. Subsequently Muḥtaram Shāh I had to leave the country because of the defection of his

troops. He was driven from pillar to post and was ultimately killed in an encounter with the people of Gilgit [*q.v.*], who were, however, very severely punished in 1124/1712 by his son and successor Sangīn ʿAlī II, for the murder of his father. Sangīn ʿAlī II, having despaired of regaining his lost principality went to Afghānistān, then a province of the Indian Mughal empire.

On the accession of Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur Shāh I [see BAHĀDUR SHĀH I] to the throne of Delhi, Sangīn ʿAlī II came down to India and entered in 1120/1708 the service of Shāh ʿĀlam, who appointed him custodian of the shrine of Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*]. With the monetary assistance rendered by the Mughal emperor Sangīn ʿAlī II was able to enrol Swāt levies who helped him reconquer the lost territory. Sangīn ʿAlī II was murdered in 1158/1745 by some members of the Raʾīsiyya dynasty and was followed by a number of weak and effete rulers. In 1189/1775 Frāmarz Shāh, a nephew of Muḥtaram Shāh I, came to the throne. He was a military adventurer and led a number of campaigns against the neighbouring territories of Gilgit, Nāgar and Kāfiristān. He also attacked Čaght Serai in Afghānistān and occupied it after a fierce battle. He was murdered in 1205/1790 by one of his uncles, Shāh Afḍal, who occupied the throne. On his death in 1210/1795 his brother Shāh Fāḍil succeeded him. Then follows a series of internecine battles, and the picture becomes so confused that it is difficult to follow the events with historical precision.

Shāh Fāḍil was succeeded in 1213/1798 by Shāh Nawāz Khān, his nephew, who repulsed with heavy losses an attack on Čitrāl in 1223/1808 by Khayr Allāh Khān b. ʿIṣmat Allāh Khān, one of his cousins. He was, however, forced to quit the throne but was proclaimed ruler for the third time in 1234/1818. In the meantime Muḥtaram Shāh II, one of the brothers of Shāh Nawāz, had become a prominent figure in state affairs. Čitrāl was then divided into small units each under a local chieftain, the most powerful of whom was Mulk Amān, the ruler of Čitrāl proper. On his death in 1249/1833 Muḥtaram Shah II, entitled Shāh Katōr, assumed power, brushing aside the minor sons of Mulk Amān. After a hectic and picturesque political career of 28 years Muḥtaram Shāh II, burdened with age, died in 1253/1837 and was succeeded by his son Shāh Afḍal II. In 1257/1841 Gawhar Amān, a son of Mulk Amān and ruler of Warshigūm (Yāsīn and Mastūdj) unsuccessfully invaded Gilgit whose ruler appealed for help to his over-lord, the Dōgrā Rādjā of Kashmīr. In 1265/1848 Gawhar Amān again attacked Gilgit but was forced to retire by the Kashmīr troops who occupied Gilgit. In 1269/1852 the inhabitants of Gilgit, sick of the Dōgrā excesses, secretly invited Gawhar Amān who, after a pitched battle, defeated the Sikhs and occupied Gilgit.

The Mahārādjā of Kashmīr, smarting under the blow, again invaded Gilgit in 1273/1856 but the very next year Gawhar Amān, taking advantage of the Kashmīr ruler's preoccupation with the tumult in India, drove out the Sikh garrison. A series of skirmishes then followed, neither side gaining the upper hand. Meanwhile Gawhar Amān died and the fort of Gilgit was recaptured by the Kashmīr troops in 1277/1860. Earlier in 1271/1854 Gulāb Singh, the ruler of Kashmīr was said to have entered into an alliance with Shāh Afḍal, the Mehtar of Čitrāl, against Gawhar Amān, but this statement is without foundation as Shāh Afḍal had already passed away in 1270/1853 and succeeded by his son Muḥtaram Shāh III, nick-named Ādam-Khʷur (man-eater). In spite of his valour, generosity and prowess he was disliked by the people who deposed him and placed Amān al-Mulk on the throne. In 1285/1868 Čitrāl was attacked by Maḥmūd Shāh, the ruler of Badakhshān, who suffered an ignominious defeat. In 1296/1878 the Mehtar of Čitrāl made an engagement with the Mahārādjā of Kashmīr by which the latter acknowledged the supremacy of the former, accepting in return a subsidy of 12,000 rupees (Śrīnagar coinage) annually.

In 1297/1880, after the defeat of Pahlwān Bahādur, ruler of Upper Čitrāl, the entire territory became united for the first time under one chief, Mehtar Amān al-Mulk, who also became the master of Mastūdj, Yāsīn and Ghizr. In 1303/1885-6 Čitrāl was visited by the Lockhart Mission followed in 1306/1888 by another under Captain Durand which was instrumental in getting the annual subsidy, paid by the Kashmīr Darbār, raised to 12,000 rupees in 1309/1891. In 1310/1892 Afḍal al-Mulk succeeded his father, Amān al-Mulk, who had died suddenly, but was soon afterwards murdered by his uncle, Shīr Afḍal, who was, in turn attacked and expelled by Niẓām al-Mulk, governor of Yāsīn and an elder brother of Afḍal al-Mulk, then a refugee in Gilgit. In 1312/1895 Niẓām al-Mulk was shot dead by his half-brother, Amīr al-Mulk, who seized the fort. Čitrāl was soon invaded by ʿUmrā Khān, the *wālī* of Djandōl and master at that time of Dīr [*q.v.*]. He was joined by Shīr Afḍal, an exile in Afghānistān. Both ʿUmrā Khān and Shīr Afḍal made common cause against the small British Indian force which, according to the treaty of 1307/1889, had been stationed at Čitrāl. When it was learnt that Amīr al-Mulk had made secret overtures to ʿUmrā Khān and his ally, the British Agent placed him under detention and provisionally recognized Shudjāʿ al-Mulk, a boy of 14 years, and a son of Amān al-Mulk as the Mehtar.

The British Political Agent, with a mixed force of 400 native and British troops, had occupied the fort before placing Shudjāʿ al-Mulk on the throne. The garrison attacked the forces of ʿUmrā Khān and Shīr Afḍal but met with little success. Then began the historic seige of Čitrāl by ʿUmrā Khān and his confederates which lasted from 3 March 1895 to 19 April 1895, and was finally raised by the entry into Čitrāl of the advanced guard of the main relief force on 26 April 1895 which had been despatched *via* Malākand and Dīr. Shīr Afḍal fell a prisoner into the hands of the British while ʿUmrā Khān escaped to Afghānistān. Amīr al-Mulk and his leading men were deported to India as a punishment for their complicity in the trouble which necessitated large-scale military operations. Shudjāʿ al-Mulk was confirmed as the Mehtar and since then Čitrāl has enjoyed an unbroken period of peace and progress. During the Afghān War of 1338/1919 the Čitrāl Scouts fully co-operated with the British. The Mehtar was allowed a sum of 100,000 rupees as his contribution to the expenses of the war, and the same year the title of His Highness, with a personal salute of 11 guns, was conferred on him. In 1345/1926 the Mehtar entered into an agreement with the Government of India for the prevention of smuggling of narcotics through Dīr and Swāt, into British India.

An enlightened ruler, Shudjāʿ al-Mulk introduced modern amenities like electricity, tele-communications and automobiles into the state and constructed roads, forts, grain godowns, irrigation channels and schools. He also built a Djāmiʿ Masdjid, said to be

the most beautiful and the largest building between Gilgit and Pē<u>sh</u>āwar. He is known as the 'Architect' of modern Čitrāl.

On his death in 1355/1936 he was succeeded by his son Nāṣir al-Mulk. A ruler endowed with literary taste, his Persian poetic work, the *Ṣaḥīfat al-Takwīn*, a study of the theory of evolution in the light of the Ḳur'ānic teachings, has won him praise and admiration from indigenous scholars. In 1362/1943 his younger brother Muẓaffar al-Mulk succeeded him. It was he who offered the accession of Čitrāl to Pakistan in 1367/1947. He was succeeded by Sayf al-Raḥmān in 1369/1949 who, on his death in an air-crash in 1374/1954, was succeeded by his infant son, Sayf al-Mulk Nāṣir, a boy of 3 years of age. The state is now ruled by a Council of Regency presided over by the Political Agent, Malākand Agency through the *Wazīr-i Aʿẓam*, an officer appointed by the Government of Pakistan.

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II. Name, languages and tribes.

Khowar Çhetrár, together with corresponding forms in neighbouring languages, goes back to *Kṣetrāt(ī ?). Sanglēčī Šām-Čatrād, etc. contains an ancient name of N. Chitral (cf. *BSOS*, vi, 441f.).

Of the 105,529 (1951) inhabitants of Chitral the great majority (90,000) speak Khowár, the language of the Kho tribe and of the state. It extends east of the <u>Sh</u>andur pass as far as <u>Gh</u>izr in Yasīn. Khowár is an Indo-Aryan language of archaic type, cf., *e.g.*, *šron* hip, *ašru* tear, *hardi* heart, *išpašur* father-in-law, etc. But it contains, apart from more recent borrowings from Pers., Ar. and Hind., also loan-words from the Pamir dialects, as well as a number of words of Middle Iranian origin. Some words are borrowed from, or shared with Buru<u>sh</u>aski and Ṣinā, and several of the most common words are of unknown origin.

Other Indo-Aryan languages are: Kalaṣa (3,000) spoken, mainly by pagans, in two dialects in the side-valleys of S. Chitral. Kalaṣa is closely related to Khowar. The Kalaṣ are said to have occupied Chitral right up to Reṣun, and to have been pushed back within the last few hundred years by the Khos, whose original home was in Torikho and Muḷikho in N. Chitral.—Phalūṛā (Ḍangarīk) (3,000) is spoken in some side valleys of S. E. Chitral by original immigrants from Cilās. It is an archaic form of Ṣinā. — Gawar-Bātī is spoken at Arandū, close to the Af<u>gh</u>ān border, and also across it. In the same neighbourhood we find Damēlī in one village.—Gu<u>dj</u>urī (2,000) is spoken by Gu<u>dj</u>ur herdsmen who have filtered through from Swāt and Dīr.

Katī, a Kāfir language, has been introduced into S. Chitral within the last few generations by settlers from Kāmdēsh and the upper Ba<u>sh</u>gal valley in Nūristān.

Iranian languages: Persian (Bada<u>kh</u><u>sh</u>ī) (1,000) at Madagla<u>sh</u>t in the <u>Sh</u>i<u>sh</u>i Kuh valley.—Pa<u>sh</u>to (at least 4,000) in the Arandū district.—Wa<u>kh</u>ī, spoken by a few settlers in upper Yār<u>kh</u>ūn. Yid<u>gh</u>ā, an offshoot of Mun<u>dj</u>ī in Mun<u>dj</u>ān, is spoken by the Yid<u>gh</u> (Idəg<u>h</u>, etc.) tribe, settled since long in the upper Loṭkuh valley, below the Dōrāh pass.

At a not too remote date we must suppose that Chitral was divided between Khos and Kalaṣes, and the ancestors of these languages must have been introduced from N.W. India at a very early stage of development. A couple of short Sanskrit inscriptions have been found. Khowar has no written literature, [except a translation of the Gan<u>dj</u>-i Pa<u>sh</u>tō (Calc., 1902, romanized), and a short prayer book in Urdū script (Nimež, 1958).] But the language is rich in songs and popular tales (šilo<u>gh</u> < šloka).

With the exception of most Kalaṣes the inhabitants are Muslim, mainly Maulaīs. The last pagan Katīs were converted in the 1930s. But many traces of pre-Islamic customs and festivals remain. Note also Khowar *daṣman* priest, probably < Skt. *dakṣamant.

The Khos are divided into three social classes: Ādamzādas, nobles, or at any rate free-holders; Arbābzādas, comparatively well off, being paid for their services to the Mehtar, and on that account with a higher status than the very poor Faḳīr Miskīn.

Each class contains a number of clans, some of which carry patronymical names, other such indicating foreign origin, while others are difficult to analyse. Also the Kalaṣ and Yid<u>gh</u> tribes are divided into clans.

The Khos are dolicho- to mesocephalic, of middle height, and often with eyes and hair of medium colour, a few are fair-haired and blue-eyed. Kalaṣes and Katis are more decidedly dolichocephalic, and the Katis also of greater height.

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(G. Morgenstierne)

CHITTAGONG, Tset-ta-gong, Čātigrāma, or Čātgām is the main sea-port in East Pakistan and the head-quarter of the district bordering on Arakan. The town, which has a population of 294,046 (1951 census) inhabitants, stands on the right bank of the Karnaphūli river, ten miles from the sea, and has a good natural harbour away from the flooded plains of Bengal and the silt-depositing

mouths of the Ganges. Its origin is obscure. The early Arab geographers speak of only Samandar on the bank of probably the Brahmaputra as a sea-port in this region. Chittagong comes in to prominence from the 8th/14th century onward, and is referred to as the *Porto Grando* by the Portuguese. It was first conquered by the Muslims in 738/1338 possibly from the Arakanese who often disturbed the peace of the city. In 918/1512 the Bengal Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh ousted the Arakanese and named it Fatḥābād. For about a hundred years when the Mughals were consolidating their position in Bengal, Chittagong again reverted to the Arakanese, and only in 1076/1666 it was finally conquered by the Mughal governor Shāyistā Khān, who renamed it Islāmābād and had a Djāmiʿ mosque built there.

The district of Chittagong has a large mixture of foreign populace, the men of Arab descent being in good proportion. The Arab influence is also observable in the Chittagonian dialect. Several stories about the *Māhī Sawār* (riding on fish, *i.e.*, coming by sea) saints are current here. About four miles from the town stands the locally famous *dargāh* dedicated to the memory of Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī. Within the city can be seen the tomb of Shaykh Badr al-ʿĀlam, a saint of the 14th century, and the *dargāh* of *Pāñč Pīr* [*q.v.*], a group of five saints not definitely specified but very popular in this region. Another object of great local reverence is the *Ḳadm-i Rasūl* [*q.v.*] (a stone replica of the foot-print of the Prophet), preserved in a 17th century mosque.

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CHIVALRY [see FURŪSIYYA]

CHOCIM [see KHOTIN]

CHRISTIANITY, CHRISTIANS [see NAṢĀRĀ]

CHRONOLOGY [see TAʾRĪKH]

CID [see AL-SĪD]

ČIFT-RESMİ also called *čift-ḥaḳḳi* or *ḳulluḳ-aḳčasi*, in the Ottoman empire the basic *raʿiyyet* (see REʿĀYĀ) tax paid in principle by every Muslim peasant, *raʿiyyet*, possessing one *čift*. The term *čift* (original meaning = "pair") was used to denote the amount of agricultural land which could be ploughed by two oxen. It was fixed as from 60 to 150 *dönüms* according to the fertility of the soil (one *dönüm* was about 1000 sq. m. = 1196 sq. yds.). We find a *čift-aḳčasi* in Anatolia under the Saldjūḳids at the rate of one dīnār [*q.v.*]. On the other hand the Ottoman *čift-resmi* had striking similarities with the Byzantine taxes paid by the *paroikoi* to the *pronoïa*-holders. It is to be noted that, as an *ʿurfī* tax, it appeared in its original form in the lands conquered from the Byzantines in Western Anatolia and Thrace, and was applied there both to the Muslim and Christian *reʿāyā* alike, whereas in other parts of the empire the Christians were subjected to a different *raʿiyyet* tax, namely the *ispendje* or *ispenče*.

In the *Ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II it is stated that *čift-resmi* was the money equivalent of seven services such as the provision of hay, straw, wood etc., for the *tīmār*-holder. For these services, *khidmets* or *ḳulluḳs*, twenty-two *akča* [*q.v.*] were to be paid as *čift-resmi*. Those possessing half a *čift*, *nīm-čift*, were to pay half. Regardless of his personal condition, every *raʿiyyet* possessing a *čift* or half a *čift* had to pay this tax, and this gave it the character of a land-tax. In the 10th/16th century Abu 'l-Suʿūd and others attempted to include it among the *sharʿī* taxes as *kharādj-i muwaẓẓaf*.

Married peasants with land amounting to less than half a *čift*, or possessing no land of their own, were called *bennāk* [*q.v.*], and were subject to lower rates, for example 6 or 9 *akčas*, which were later increased to 9, 12 and 18. In the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II the *bennāk* were supposed to be subject only to three services, the money equivalent of which was 6 or 9 *akčas*. Lastly the *reʿāyā* classified as *ḳara* or *müdjerred*, the very poor or bachelors, who possessed no land of their own, paid this tax at the lowest rate of 6 *akčas*.

Thus *čift-resmi* can be regarded as the basic unit of a graduated tax system, and even *tütün-resmi* and *dönüm-resmi* can be included in the same system.

Originally the rate of *čift-resmi* was 22 *akčas*, but in 862/1458 it was raised to 33 *akčas* in the *sandjaḳs* of the *eyālet* of Anadolu. It was further raised in some parts of Anatolia with additions made in favour of *subashïs* [*q.v.*] and *sandjaḳ-begs* [*q.v.*], but under Süleymān I this innovation was abolished as causing confusion. Applied to Syria after its conquest with a higher rate of 40, and in Eastern Anatolia of 50 *akčas* it remained however, 22 *akčas* in Rūmeli (see the list in my *Osmanlılarda Raiyyet Rüsûmu*, in *Belleten*, no. 92, 1959). Partial or total exemptions from *čift-resmi* were granted by imperial *berāts* in return for some public services required from the *reʿāyā*. But in the 10th/16th century many such exemptions were abolished.

As a rule *čift-resmi* was included in the *tīmār* [*q.v.*] revenue of the *sipāhī*. But it lost its importance when after 990/1582 the *akča* decreased in value and the *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] became a form of regular taxation imposed on the *reʿāyā*. (HALIL INALCIK)

ČİFTLİK is the ordinary word for farm in Turkish, but in the Ottoman times it designated, at first, a certain unit of agricultural land in the land-holding system, and then, later on, a large estate. It was formed from *čift* (pair, especially a pair of oxen) from the Persian *djuft* with the Turkish suffix, *lik*. Originally, a *čiftlik* was thought of as the amount of land that could be ploughed by two oxen. *Čift* and *čiftlik* were used synonymously. In the Slav areas of the Ottoman empire the term *bashtina* was often substituted for *čiftlik*. In the Ottoman land-holding system during the period in which the *tīmār* [*q.v.*] organization prevailed, *čiftlik* was a term applied to a holding of agricultural land comprising 60 or 80 to 150 *dönüms* (one *dönüm* equals approximately 1000 sq.m.), the size varying with the fertility of the soil. The *čiftlik* was the basic land unit used in all forms of land-holding, *mīrī*, *waḳf*, and *mülk* or *mālikāne*. From the legal point of view, however, the kind of *čiftlik* varied with the type of tenure.

The *raʿiyyet čiftliks* which the *reʿāyā*, Christian and Muslim peasants, possessed by *tapu* [*q.v.*] and for which they paid the *ʿushr* [*q.v.*] and *čift-resmi* [*q.v.*] taxes to the land-holder, made up by far the greater part of the agricultural lands. As a rule, *čiftliks* were not to be subdivided because such a situation would, in the judgement of Abu 'l-Suʿūd, make it impossible to collect the taxes imposed on a *čiftlik* as a whole. In reality, however, during the land surveys, *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*], it was found that many *čiftliks* had lost their original form as a result of sub-division, and the *čift-resmi* were no longer being collected. In order to preserve the *čiftlik*, which was essential to the land-holding system of

the time, and which had been the basis for land and hearth taxes in the area even before the Ottomans, it was decreed that if land recorded in the *defters* [see DAFTAR] as *čiftlik* was found divided among several persons it was to be restored to its original form, and if a *raʿiyyet* in possession of a *čiftlik* died leaving several sons, they were to possess it collectively, *meshāʿan*.

In addition to the *raʿiyyet čiftliks* we also find what we can call the military *čiftliks* which, unlike the former, were in the direct possession of the military. In this category we find the *khāṣṣa čiftliks* of the *tīmār*-holders and the *čiftliks* in the military organizations of the *yaya*, *müsellem* and *doghandjī* etc. Their common feature was that they were not subject to the *raʿiyyet* taxes. But, while the *khāṣṣa čiftliks*, also known as *kīlīč-yeri*, were exploited by the *tīmār*-holders under a sharecropping system, *ortakdjīlīk* or *muķātaʿa* [*q.v.*], the *yaya* and *müsellem čiftliks* were cultivated, as a rule, by the *yayas* and *müsellems* themselves. These *čiftliks* were never to change their original character and usually were named by their original possessors as Meḥmed-yeri, ʿAlī-yeri, etc. There were attempts by the military to add *raʿiyyet* lands illegally to their *khāṣṣa čiftliks*. But, in the 10th/16th century, most of the military *čiftliks* were transformed by the government into *raʿiyyet čiftliks* and assigned as *tīmārs*. In the case of the *khāṣṣa čiftliks* in Bosnia [see BOSNA], the reason given for their transformation in 936/1530 was that they lay uncultivated.

The *čiftliks* in the *waķf* and *mülk* or *mālikāne* lands were the same in size as other *čiftliks* and were usually cultivated by the *raʿiyyet*. During the reigns of Bāyazīd I, Meḥemmed II, and under the 10th/16th century Sultans, a great part of these *čiftliks* too was converted into *tīmārs*. For example, in Erzindjan in 947/1540, each *zāwiye* [*q.v.*] under a *shaykh* was assigned a *čiftlik* while the rest of the land was distributed among the *tīmārs*.

As early as the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries the Ottoman Sultans granted influential men whole villages or large *tīmārs* as *čiftliks*. In these instances we are no longer dealing with the *čiftlik* as a land measure, but as a personal estate, granted by the Sultan. For example, in the *defter* of Pasha-sandjaghī dated 859/1455 (Belediye Küt. Istanbul, Cevdet kit. no. 0.89) we find a number of people, among them the Court physician Meḥmed Shirwānī and the Sultan's tutor Seydī Ahmed, in possession of *tīmārs* as *čiftlik* (*ber wedjh-i čiftlik*). Such large lands were sometimes given as *mülk* (*ber wedjh-i mülkiyyet*). The revenues of these *čiftliks* were farmed out by their possessors, who usually lived in the towns, for a sum of money which was called *muķāṭaʿa*. The possessor of the *čiftlik* was usually required to equip one soldier (*eshkündji*) for the Sultan's army.

Even in this early period we find some newly opened lands or *mazraʿas* [*q.v.*] held directly as *čiftliks* by members of the military class who, as a rule, paid the government a sum of money which was also called *muķāṭaʿa*. Therefore, these *čiftliks* were also known as *muķāṭaʿalī čiftliks*. In central and northern Anatolia the *čiftliks* which were possessed by the pre-Ottoman aristocratic families under the names of *mālikāne* or *yurd* were given the same status with the obligation of supplying an *eshkündji*. The *čiftliks* which were opened in the uncultivated lands by the military were subject only to the *ʿushr* tax. By the end of the 10th/16th century the number of such *čiftliks* in the hands of the Janissaries increased rapidly. But, in general, the tendency in the 10th/16th century was to convert all types of military *čiftliks* into *raʿiyyet čiftliks* so that the *raʿiyyet* taxes might be included in the *tīmārs*.

With the disruption of the *tīmār* system, this course of development was reversed. During and after the period of confusion between 1003/1595-1018/1609, a great part of the *raʿiyyet čiftliks* found their way into the hands of the *ķapī-ķulu* and palace favourites, and the old practices such as possession of *tīmārs* as *čiftliks*, *mülk* or *muķāṭaʿalī čiftliks* were now widespread. In the same period, moreover, when the peasantry abandoned their lands *en masse* and scattered throughout Anatolia, which is known in Ottoman history as the Great Flight, the Janissaries and others took possession of the *reʿāyā čiftliks* by *tapu*. The accumulation of *čiftliks* in the hands of *aʿyān* [*q.v.*], rich and influential men in the provinces, however, was mainly due to the *muķāṭaʿa* system. This again was an old practice but now, with the disorganization of the *tīmār* system, the *tīmār* lands were increasingly rented as *muķāṭaʿa* to private persons bidding the highest price. In reality however, through administrative abuses, the influential men managed to obtain them. *Aghas* and *aʿyān* with large *muķāṭaʿa* holdings, *čiftliks*, emerged everywhere in the empire, especially during the 12/18 century. Nedjātī (Süleymaniye Küt. Esad ef. no. 2278, v. 43), writing in that century, complained that many *tīmārs* had been seized by the *aʿyān* and *ahl-i ʿurf*, officials, in the provinces. It was on the *muķāṭaʿa* lands that the power of the great *aʿyān* rested in that century, and from this period on the word *čiftlik* was used to designate large personal estates. The attempts to break up these *čiftliks* made by the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reformers did not meet with any great success and this became the underlying factor in the peasant uprisings in the Balkans in the 13th/19th century. Under the Turkish Republic a law passed in 1945 (modified in 1950) provided that the large estates were to be broken up and distributed to the peasants in need of land.

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ČIGHĀLA-ZĀDE (DJIGHĀLA-ZĀDE) YŪSUF **SINĀN PĀSHĀ** (c. 1545-1605), also known as Čaghal (Djaghāl)-oghlu, belonged to the Genoese house of Cicala. He was born at Messina in Sicily and received the Christian name Scipione Cicala. His father, the Visconte di Cicala, was, according to Gerlach, a "corsair" in the service of Spain, while his mother is said (cf. *L'Ottomanno*, of L. Soranzo) to have been "Turca da Castelnuovo". The Visconte and his son, captured at sea by Muslim corsairs in 968/1561 (some of the sources give the year as 967/1560), were taken first to Tripoli in North Africa and then to Istanbul. The father was in due course redeemed from captivity and, after living for some time at Beyoğlu, returned to Messina, where he died in 1564. His son, Scipione, became, however, a Muslim and was trained in the Imperial Palace, rising to the rank of *silaḥdār* and later of Ķapīdjī Bashī. Čighāla-zāde, through his marriage first to one (980-981/1573) and afterwards (983-984/1576) to another great-grand-daughter of Sulṭān Sulaymān

Ḳānūnī, found himself assured of wealth, high office and protection at the Porte.

He became Agha of the Janissaries in 982/1575 and retained this appointment until 986/1578. During the next phase of his career he saw much active service in the long Ottoman-Persian war of 986/1578-998/1590. He was *Beglerbeg* of Van in 991/1583, assumed command, in the same year, of the great fortress of Erivān—he was now raised to the rank of Vizier—and also had a prominent rôle. once more as *Beglerbeg* of Van, in the campaign of 993/1585 against Tabrīz. As *Beglerbeg* of Baghdād, an appointment which he received in 994/1586, Čighāla-zāde fought with success in western Persia during the last years of the war, reducing Nihāwand and Hamadān to Ottoman control.

After the peace of 998/1590 he was made *Beglerbeg* of Erzurum and in 999/1591 became Ḳapudān Pāshā, *i.e.*, High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet—an office that he held until 1003/1595. During the third Grand Vizierate (1001-1003/1593-1595) of Khodja Sinān Pāshā he was advanced to the rank of fourth Vizier. The Ottomans, since 1001/1593, had been at war with Austria. Čighāla-zāde, having been appointed third Vizier, accompanied Sulṭān Meḥemmed III on the Hungarian campaign of 1004-1005/1596. He tried, but in vain, to relieve the fortress of Khaṭwān (Hatvan), which fell to the Christians in Muḥarram 1005/September 1596, was present at the successful Ottoman siege of Eğri (Erlau) (Muḥarrem-Ṣafer 1005/September-October 1596) and, at the battle of Mezö-Keresztes (Ḥāç Ovasī) in Rabīʿ I 1005/ October 1596, shared in the final assault that turned an imminent defeat into a notable triumph for the Ottomans. Čighāla-zāde, in reward for his service at Mezö-Keresztes, was now made Grand Vizier, but the discontent arising from the measures which he used in a effort to restore discipline amongst the Ottoman forces, the troubles which followed his intervention in the affairs of the Crimean Tatars, and the existence at court of powerful influences eager to restore Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] to the Grand Vizierate, brought about his deposition from this office, after he had been in control of the government for little more than a month (Rabīʿ I-Rabīʿ II 1005/ October-December 1596).

Čighāla-zāde became *Beglerbeg* of Shām (Syria) in Djumādā I 1006/December 1597-January 1598 and then, in Shawwāl 1007/May 1599, was made Ḳapudān Pāshā for the second time. He assumed command, in 1013/1604, of the eastern front, where a new war between the Ottomans and the Persians had broken out in the preceding year. His campaign of 1014/ 1605 was unsuccessful, the forces that he led towards Tabrīz suffering defeat near the shore of Lake Urmiya. Čighāla-zāde now withdrew to the fortress of Van and thence in the direction of Diyārbekir. He died, in the course of this retreat, during the month of Radjab 1014/November-December 1605.

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CILICIA. The name. In Assyrian writings the name Khilakku refers primarily to the western part of the region, Cilicia Trachea, but also includes a part of Cappadocia, whilst the Cilician plain is called the Ḳué. In classical times the name Cilicia covered both western and eastern parts, Cilicia Trachea and the plain of Cilicia. The name does not occur among the Arab geographers, who call Cilicia simply the region of the *thughūr* [*q.v.*], or frontier towns. The form Ḳīlīḳiya (or Ḳilīḳiyā) is not met until modern times (see Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab*, 180), but it is a direct derivation of the ancient name if, as is thought, the Turkish name for Cilicia Trachea, Ič-Il or Ičel [*q.v.*] (lit. 'the interior region') in fact comes from Kilikia.

Geographical outline. Cilicia is wedged

between the Anatolian plateau to the north-west and the Syrian frontier to the south-east. Its southern edge is fringed by the Mediterranean, which here reaches its most easterly extremity, and it is guarded to the north by the Taurus range, over which the Cilician Gates assure communication with the plateau. To the east are the Amanian Gates (al-Lukām), and to the west, a short distance beyond Selindi (ancient Selinonte), begins the province of Pamphylia (region of Adalia). Cilicia has at all times possessed a great strategic importance on account of the Cilician and Amanian Gates. Although the mountains and sea which isolate Cilicia have given it a marked individuality, it has rarely been able to maintain its own independance for long, even when it was the kingdom of Lesser Armenia or the Turcoman principality of the Ramaḍān-oghlus. Most of the time, from the Hittites to the Ottomans, it has been incorporated by conquest into the great empires of the eastern Mediterranean.

Cilicia falls naturally into three geographical regions, Cilicia Trachea, the Cilician Taurus, and the Plain of Cilicia. Cilicia Trachea (lit.: 'rough, rugged') is a mountainous region to the west, its coast dotted with ports where pirates took refuge when chased by Pompey's ships. It is virtually without means of communication to the Turkish interior, and has patches of cultivable land only in a few valleys, such as Gök Su (ancient Calycadnus) whose waters flow into the sea near Silifke. It is consequently a very poor region, and contains only a few small towns (Silifke, ancient Seleucia, Mut, on the road from Silifke to Karaman and Konya, and in the west Anamur on the coast and Ermenek inland).

The frontier between Cilicia Trachea and the coastal plain on the one hand and the Taurus on the other is the small river Lamos which has its spring in the Taurus. The Cilician Taurus is a strip 300 km. long by only 50 km. wide stretching in a south-west-north-east direction, and including the massifs of Dumbelek, Bulghar Dagh (corruption of Bughā, the Turkish translation of Taurus) and the Ala Dagh, one peak of which rises to 3600 m. The Ala Dagh continues northwards to the Ḥadjīn Dagh. The Anti-Taurus begins to the east, on the left bank of the Zamanti Su, formerly Karmalas, a tributary of the Sayḥān (Saros). Its mountains can easily be crossed, however, as the high waters have cut many valleys through them in forcing their way from the Cappadocian plateau down to the Mediterranean. The Ṭarsūs Čay, ancient Cydnus, in Arabic Baradān, rises in the Bulghar Dagh massif and brings Tarsus its water. Between the Bulghar Dagh and the Ala Dagh are the valleys of the Čakît Su and Körkün Su, the Čakît being a tributary of the Körkün which in turn is a tributary of the Sayḥān. The road called the Cilician Gates climbs over passes and runs through these valleys. On the northern side it connects Tarsus with Ulukîshla via Bozantî (ancient Podandos-Budandūn) where the narrowest defile, the Cilician Gates properly so called, is at Gülek Boghaz, 1160 m. high on the upper reaches of the Ṭarsūs Čay.

The most important part of Cilicia is the plain (Greek Pedias, Turkish Čukurova), a product of the alluvial deposits of its two large rivers, the Sayḥān (ancient Saros) and the Djayḥān (ancient Pyramus). Along the left bank of the Djayḥān's lower reaches is a less elevated outcrop of the Taurus range, the Djabal al-Nūr or Djabal Miṣṣīṣ. Sheltered from the north by the great mountain barrier, the Cilician plain is open to the southern winds, enjoys the climate and flora of Mediterranean regions, and is extremely fertile. Crops peculiar to hot countries can be grown there, and apart from sugar-cane plantations there is also intensive cultivation of cotton. The main towns of Cilicia were always situated in this area. To the north, at the foot of the Taurus but still Mediterranean in climate, lie Sīs (at the present day Kozan) and ʿAyn Zarba (ancient Anazarba), to the south Miṣṣīṣa (Mopsuestia) on the Djayḥān, Adana on the Sayḥān, Tarsus, Ayās (ancient Aigai) on the western coast of the gulf of Alexandretta, and Alexandretta on its eastern side. Mersīn, to the west of Tarsus, is a relatively recent town, today named Ičel.

In the Islamic epoch Cilicia Trachea and Seleucia belonged to the Greeks, the frontier between the two empires being formed by the Lamos (in Arabic Lāmis).

Under the Ottomans Cilicia constituted the *wilāyet* of Adana, and was divided between the *sandjaks* of Ič-Il, Adana and Kozan in the north, and of Djebel Bereket around the gulf of Alexandretta.

The main towns of Cilicia are connected by the Aleppo-Fevzipasha-Adana-Ulukîshla railway, with a branch line running via Tarsus to Marsîna.

Cilicia has often been stricken by earthquakes; Michael the Syrian (iii, 17) and Ṭabarī (iii, 688) record the one which occurred on 23 June 803; it blocked the river Djayḥān and partly destroyed the walls of Miṣṣīṣa. Another one occurred in 1114 (see *EI*[1] s.v. MIṢṢĪṢ). The most recent occurred in 1952.

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Historical outline. When the Arabs had conquered Syria, Heraclius ordered the garrisons of towns between Alexandretta and Tarsus to evacuate their positions (see MIṢṢĪṢ). It is probable that part of the civilian population had to do likewise. The Arabs did not immediately take over these towns, but restricted themselves to raids into the region or across it into Anatolia, leaving small garrisons behind them as a security measure. On his return from an expedition in 31/651-652, Muʿāwiya is said to have destroyed all the fortresses as far as Antioch. However, records exist of the Arabs' capture of Tarsus in 53/672-673, which seems to indicate that it had been reoccupied by the Greeks or defended by its inhabitants. In 65/685, furthermore, the army of Constantine Pogonatus advanced as far as Mopsuestia (Miṣṣīṣa). From 84/703 onwards the Arabs began to settle in Miṣṣīṣa, stationing a garrison there during part of the year. They realized the advantage which would accrue in permanently

holding the Cilician positions, and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz abandoned his plan to destroy all the fortresses between Miṣṣīṣa and Antioch. Sīs, at the foot of the Taurus, was captured in 103/751-732. In the first decades of the second century of the *hidjra* it became apparent that the Arabs intended to settle in the area; Miṣṣīṣa was colonized by the Zoṭṭ [*q.v.*] with their buffaloes, and a bridge was built over the Sayḥān to the east of Adana, in order to secure communications across the country. Although the Arab armies had no difficulty in traversing the country by way of the Cilician Gates, its occupation was still precarious. There was as yet no systematic organization of the frontier strongpoints, or *thughūr*, still dependant on the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn, which Muʿāwiya or Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya had detached from Ḥimṣ (cf. Ibn al-Shiḥna, 9). But already the positions had been transformed into *ribāt*, that is to say posts manned by voluntary defenders of the faith, noted for both their religious and military zeal. Al-Dīnawarī, 345, points out that after his dismissal from office Khālid al-Ḳaṣrī [*q.v.*] obtained from the caliph Hishām permission to go to Tarsus, where he remained for some time *murābit*^{an}.

After the ʿAbbāsid revolution the Byzantines did not take advantage of the disturbed situation to reconquer Cilicia, but instead concentrated their attention on the regions of Malaṭya and Ḳālīḳalā. After the dynasty had become firmly established, and particularly in al-Mahdī's reign, the ʿAbbāsids undertook to fortify and populate the Cilician positions, above all at Miṣṣīṣa and Tarsus. Hārūn al-Rashīd was the most vigorous exponent of the frontier policy. In 170/786-787 he detached the frontier strongholds from the Djazira and djund of Ḳinnasrīn and put them under a separate government called al-ʿAwāsim [*q.v.*] (al-Tabarī, iii, 604; Ibn al-Shiḥna, 9); Cilicia now became part of the ʿAwāsim *djund*. Its reorganization served both defensive and offensive purposes; it helped protect Muslim territory against Byzantine incursions (cf. a poem of Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa in Ṭabarī, iii, 742), provided a secure operational base for the Muslim armies which, by tradition, carried out one or two raids each year into Greek territory, and served as a permanent base for volunteer troops and *murābiṭūn*. The fortification of the positions went in hand with the launching of expeditions across the Cilician Gates during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successors. A vital step in the successful execution of these operations was the Muslim capture of Lulon (al-Luʾluʾa) in 217-832. Its fortress guarded the northern side of a pass which led over the Cilician Gates from Podandos (Budandūn, present-day Bozantı) to Tyana.

A considerable Christian population lived in the strongholds or the countryside around them. The Muslims recruited some of them as guides for their expeditions (see *AIEO Alger*, xv, 48), but they also sometimes acted as informers for the Byzantines, and it was perhaps as an act of reprisal that al-Rashīd had all the *thughūr* churches destroyed in 191/807 (Ṭabarī, iii, 712-713; Michael the Syrian, iii, 19 ff.).

The small river Lamos, demarcation line between Cilicia Trachea and Arab Cilicia, was periodically the scene of the exchange of prisoners or their resale to the enemy; historians have left their records of these dealings, in particular al-Masʿūdī in *Tanbīh*, 189-196.

After Muʿtaṣim's famous campaign against Amorium in 223/838, which marks the end of the spectacular expeditions into Anatolia, it gradually became the custom to appoint special amīrs to Cilicia, mostly resident in Tarsus. Although nominally dependant on the ʿAwāsim governor or the ruler of Syria, they enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy and were responsible for the defence of the country and the organization of annual land and sea expeditions. Some of the amīrs of Tarsus became quite famous, *e.g.*, ʿAlī al-Armanī, the eunuch Yāzmān (Greek Esman), Ghulām Zurāfa (alias Leo of Tripoli and Rashīk al-Wardāmī) Damyāna, Thamal, Naṣr al-Thamalī. For some time Cilicia, with its *ʿAwāṣim* and *thughūr*, passed from the control of the central government and became a dependency of Ṭūlūnid Egypt (260/873-286/891). This was a troubled chapter of its history, due to the dispute between the Ṭūlūnids and the central power, the intractability of the amīrs, and the ravages incurred through Byzantine raids. The return of Luʾluʾa (Lulon) to Byzantium in 263/876-877 constituted a serious threat to Cilicia. Nevertheless the *ribāt* of Tarsus developed during that period, and assumed greater proportions, as is shown by the sources used by Kamāl al-Dīn in the geographical introduction to his *Bughyat al-Ṭalab* (see *AIEO Alger*, xv, 46 ff.) and the descriptions of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal (see ṬARSŪS). In particular, the caliph al-Muʿtazz and his mother spent great sums on maintaining special units of *murābiṭūn* under military and religious leaders. At a time when the spirit of holy war gave a particular character to Cilicia, there flocked to the country a great number of scholars, traditionists, ascetics and fervent religious men, intent on fulfilling the personal obligation of *djihād*, teaching the old traditions and spreading a spirit of purest orthodoxy among the soldiers and the civilian population. The more well-known of them were Ibrāhīm b. Adham b. Manṣūr [*q.v.*], who died some time between 160 and 166 (776-783), and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fazarī (d. 188/804) (Ibn ʿAsākir, ii, 254). Several of these persons are mentioned in the obituaries of al-Dhahabī and Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, often carrying the *nisba* of *Thagrī* or *Ṭarsūsī* (see under 181, 196, 273, 297 etc.). Yāḳūt (iii, 526) also noted their arrival in great numbers (cf. i, 529). It is known that Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn was educated at Tarsus. Muslim festivals were celebrated in great brilliance there. Abu 'l-Maḥāsin (iii, 60) considered the feast of breaking the fast in Tarsus to be one of the four wonders of Islam.

In the first part of the 4th/10th century Cilicia came under the rule of the Ikhshīd, the governor of Egypt, who received his investiture from the caliph. After the clash between the Ikhshīd and the Ḥāmdanīd amīr Sayf al-Dawla, who won control of northern Syria and Aleppo, the governor of the frontier province submitted to the amīr of Aleppo, and the amīrs of Tarsus henceforth participated in Sayf al-Dawla's expeditions. But the Tarsus fleet, weakened by the policy of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, who had had it destroyed, was only a minor factor in the struggles of the 4th/10th century. In the second half of the century the threat of Byzantium from the north caused constant disturbances and rebellions, and the operations of 352/963-354/965 resulted in the complete reconquest of Cilicia by the Greeks (or Byzantines). It remained Byzantine for more than a century, during which time the outflow of Muslims was accompanied by a considerable inflow of Armenians, stimulated by the Byzantine practice of using Armenian officers to administer the country. After the Saldjūḳid raids had driven back those Armenians

who had settled in Cappadocia after the Turkish conquest of Armenia, their number now increased once more, and, after the battle of Manzikert in 1071, a virtual Armenian principality was created, stretching from Melitene to Cilicia. Its head was the Armenian Philaretus, a former general of Romanus Diogenes, and he established his capital at Marʿash (see Chalandon, *Alexis Comnène*, 95 ff.; J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides*, 81 ff.; idem, *Byzance et Antioche sous le curopalate Philarète*, in *Rev. des Et. arm.*, ix (1929), 61 ff.; Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, I, xl, ff.). The Armenian chiefs Oshin of Lampron (present-day Namrūn Yayla, north-west of Tarsus) and Ruben of Partzepert (north of Sīs) were perhaps his vassals. They retained their fiefs when Philaretus departed from the scene, defeated by the Turks. The Turks had ravaged Cilicia even before Manzikert, and shortly before the arrival of the Crusaders (Michael the Syrian, iii, 179) they seized the main towns, though failing to subjugate the Armenian princes in the Taurus. The latter joined forces with the Crusaders in 1097 and helped Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred to reconquer the Cilician towns. There followed a period in which the towns continually changed hands in the struggle between Byzantium and the Frankish principality of Antioch. Alexis Comnenus recaptured them from Bohemond of Antioch, only to lose them once more to the latter's nephew Tancred, who in 1103 handed them over to his uncle upon his release from the imprisonment inposed by the Dānishmandid of Malaṭya. In 1104 they were retaken by the Byzantine general Monastras (Anna Comnena, XI, xi, 6; ed. Leib iii, 49). They remained the scene of dispute until 1108, when Bohemond was forced to sign a treaty acknowledging the authority of Alexius Comnenus over the whole of Cilicia (Anne Comnena, XIII, xii, 21; ed. Leib iii, 134-135). His nephew Tancred however did not abide by the treaty.

The descendants of Ruben continued to consolidate the development of an Armenian state, and sought to bring all of Cilicia under their control. Thoros I, who had driven off the Saldjūḳids in 1107-1108 (Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*, 171; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 253; Matthew of Edessa, in *Hist. arm. des Croisades*, i, 84-85), captured Sīs and Anazarba from the Greeks. During the reign of his successor Leo I (1129-1137), Bohemond of Antioch attempted to re-establish his authority in Cilicia, but this brought him unto a fatal conflict with another aspirant to Cilicia, the Dānishmendid of Cappadocia (Michael, iii, 227). Around 1132 Leo captured Tarsus, Adana and Miṣṣīṣa from the Greeks (Chalandon, i, 235, ii, 108-109) (or from the Franks, according to Cahen, 354). He followed this up with the seizure of Sarvantikar, on the western flank of the Amanus. This led to a rupture with Raymond of Poitiers, count of Antioch, but the quarrel was patched up shortly afterwards when Leo was faced with a new Byzantine threat from the north, and as a token of reconciliation he ceded the plain of Cilicia to Raymond. John Comnenus invaded Cilicia in 1137, and regained all the towns except Anazarba, and in the following year took Leo and his son prisoner. Leo was carried off to Constantinople, where he died in 1142. Once more Cilicia was Byzantina, and remained so until Leo's son, Thoros, who had escaped from Constantinople after accession of Manuel Comnenus in 1143, regained a foothold in upper Cilicia; Thoros II (1145-1169) retook ʿAyn Zarba and the other towns in Cilicia in 1151-52, and defended them successfully against Masʿūd, the Saldjūḳid of Konya, who fought at the instigation of Manuel Comnenus. Thoros also aided Reynald of Châtillon, count of Antioch, in his attack on Byzantine Cyprus. Manuel Comnenus, however, was not willing to allow the situation to deteriorate any further. In 1158 he invaded Cilicia, reoccupied all the towns, and reduced the country once more to a Byzantine province. The emperor's camp was established at Mardj al-Dībādj (Baltolibadi, north of Miṣṣīṣa; see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 121, and Cahen, 152), and Reynald of Châtillon went there to tender his submission. Thoros, who had taken refuge at Vahka, north of Sīs on the upper Sayhān, subsequently did likewise, and in return the emperor made him governor of Miṣṣīṣa, ʿAyn Zarba and Vahka, bestowing on him the title of Sebastos. But in 1162, when his brother Sdefanè perished in an ambush laid by the Byzantine governor Andronicus Comnenus, Thoros once more raised the standard of revolt, and seized ʿAyn Zarba together with other Cilician towns. Amalric, king of Jerusalem, intervened to re-establish peace. In 1164 Thoros sided with the Franks in their conflict with Nūr al-Dīn. He died in 1169. His brother Mleh, whom he (Thoros) had exiled, rallied to the side of Nūr al-Dīn, and with the aid of the latter's troops regained possession of Cilicia and obtained official recognition by Manuel Comnenus. He was assassinated in 1175, and his nephew Ruben III succeeded him. The latter was driven by betrayal into the hands of Bohemond III of Antioch, and the price of his release, negotiated by his brother Leo with Hethoum (Hetʾum, Haythūm) of Lampron, was the cession of Miṣṣīṣa, Adana and Tell Ḥamdūn to Antioch. However, he recaptured them later. In 1187 he abdicated in favour of his brother Leo (1187-1198), who in 1198 became the first king of Armenia-Cilicia when crowned in Tarsus by the Catholicos and the papal delegate. It was in Leo's reign that Frederick Barbarossa's Crusade arrived in Cilicia. Frederick was drowned in the Calycadnus (Gök Su), and part of his forces returned to Germany. The remainder were greeted by Leo upon their arrival in Tarsus. His reign was marked by a long conflict with the Saldjūḳid of Konya, Kaykāʾūs (1210-1219); the king's troops succeeded in taking the stronghold of Laranda (present-day Ḳaraman) in 1211, but as a consequence of their defeat in 1216 he had to cede Laranda, Luʾluʾa (in the Bozantı region, north of the Cilician Gates) and a part of Cilicia Trachea to the Saldjūḳid (Grousset, iii, 266; *Documents arméniens*, i, 644). Another feature of Leo's reign was his constant attempt, after Bohemond's death in 1201, to secure the succession to Antioch for Raymond Ruben. Although Raymond was Bohemond's grandson, he was also the son of Leo's niece Alice, and moreover had been brought up in Armenia. But Raymond had a strong competitor in Bohemond IV, count of Tripoli, who had the support of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir of Aleppo, and Bohemond IV in the end triumphed.

After Leo's death in 1219, Raymond Ruben tried in vain to win possession of Cilicia. He was taken prisoner at a battle near Tarsus by the bailiff of Constantine, of the Lampron family, and died in captivity (1222). Philip, son of Bohemond IV and his wife Isabelle (Leo's daughter), was crowned his successor. But as he was considered too 'Frankish' and not sufficiently Armenian, he was arrested by Constantine and put to death by poison. This act was one of the reasons which provoked an inter-

vention by ʿAlāʾ al-dīn Kayḳubād (1219-37). On the instigation of Bohemond IV, he laid waste the region of Upper Cilicia in 1225 and reduced Constantine to subjection. The latter persuaded the Hospitallers to give him their stronghold at Seleucia, which they had occupied ever since Leo had handed it over to them in 1210. In 1226 Constantine obtained the succession for his son Hethoum, who married Philip's widow Isabella.

Hethoum reigned until 1270, and from the bilingual coins minted under his and Kayḳubād's name we know that in the early years of his reign he acknowledged Saldjūḳid suzerainty (de Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 202-3). With other Muslim and Christian princes he took part in the struggle against Čingiz Khān, but when the Mongol general Bāydjū crushed the Saldjūḳid Kaykhusraw in 1243, he transferred his obedience to the Mongols and surrendered them Kaykhusraw's mother, wife, and daughter. In consequence the Saldjūḳids reacted sharply against Cilicia in 1245, and Hethoum was able to avert defeat only by summoning Mongol assistance. His position as a vassal of the Mongols was formalized on several occasions; in 1247 he dispatched the High Constable Sempad to Mongolia; in 1254 he paid a personal visit to the Mongolian court; he supplied Armenian contingents for the Mongolian expedition to Syria, and co-operated in the economic blockade of Egypt by withholding exports of Cilician timber (see Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre*, i, 412; Grousset, iii, 632). From that time onwards the Armeno-Cilician kingdom, or the land of Sīs as Arab historians call it, increasingly became the object of Mamlūk attacks, as the following examples bear witness: (i) 664/1266, a retaliatory expedition under Baybars captured, pillaged, and burnt down Sīs, Miṣṣīṣa, Adana, Ayās and Tarsus; (ii) 673/1275, another expedition by Baybars seized Miṣṣīṣa, Sīs, Tarsus and Ayās, and carried out raids into the Taurus; (iii) 682/1283, a campaign under Ḳalāʾūn against Alexandretta, Ayās and Tell Ḥamdūn; (iv) 697/1297, an expedition led by Ladjīn against Alexandretta, Tell Ḥamdūn, Sīs, Adana, Miṣṣīṣa, Nudjayma, etc., during which the strongholds were occupied and a tribute of 500,000 dirhams was imposed; (v) in 703/1303, as the payments had not been made regularly, and as the strongholds were firmly held, a new expedition forced the Armenians to pay the tribute in advance and conformed the surrender of the strongholds; (vi) 705/1305, as a result of further defaults in payment, a new expedition was launched, in which the Mongols rendered assistance to the Armenians and defeated the Mamlūks; but when Egyptian reinforcements arrived, the king had to pay; (vii) 715/1315, the tribute was raised to one million dirhams; (viii) 720/1320; (ix) 722/1322, Ayās was captured, and to the tribute were added 50% of the revenues from the Ayās customs authority and the sale of salt; (x) 735/1335, a further expedition following a reprisal raid by the populace of Ayās on the merchants of Baghdād; (xi) 737/1337, a new expedition launched by Malik Nāṣir Muḥammad because payments of the tribute had stopped. It captured Sīs (destroying its citadel in the process) and secured surrender of the forts under the name al-Futūḥāt al-Djahāniyya (from the Armenian corruption of Djayḥān). They included Miṣṣīṣa, Kawarrā, Hārūniyya, Sarvantikār, Bayās, Ayās, Nudjayma, and Ḥumaysa. Further raids were carried out in 756/1355 and 760/1359. The frequency of Mamlūk incursions indicates that they did not consolidate their occupation of the country after each expedition. Then, in 776/1375, a final expedition brought the end of Sīs as an independent kingdom. Sīs itself fell to the Mamlūks, and Leo V was captured and was not released until 1382. The Armeno-Cilician kingdom became incorporated into the Mamlūk empire (on the above events see the following under relevant dates: al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ziyāda, and Quatremère's translation, *Hist. des sult. maml.*; Mufaḍḍāl b. Abi 'l-Faḍāʾil, trans. and ed. Blochet, *Patr. Or.* xii & xiv; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ and his continuator Ibn al-Wardī, Ibn Iyās, Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin. See also note on the expeditions in *AIEO Alger*, 1939-41, 53-54, with other references, and G. Wiet, *L'Egypte arabe*, vol. iv of the *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, 417, 425, 449, 466, 475, 483-484. See also Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamluken Sultane*, index; the articles on MIṢṢĪṢ, ADANA, AYĀS, SĪS. For the relations between the Armenians and the Ḳaramān-oghlus, see the article ḲARAMĀN and F. Taeschner, *Al-Umarī's Bericht über Anatolien*, index).

A Mamlūk governor, the Turcoman Yüregiroghlu Ramaḍān, who established himself at Adana in 1378, inaugurated the small Ramaḍān-oghullarī [*q.v.*] dynasty, nominally vassals of the Mamlūks. In 1467 Cilicia was invaded by Shāhsuwār, of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr [*q.v.*] dynasty. Between 1485 and 1489 the Ottomans attempted to win control of Cilicia, but it was not until 1516 that they succeeded in doing so, Sulṭān Selim I capturing it during his expedition to Egypt. The Ramaḍān-oghullarī were not removed from power however, and they remained vassals of the Ottomans until the end of the 16th century. Cilicia was then fully integrated into the Ottoman Empire. In 1833 Ibrāhīm Pasha, the son of Meḥmet ʿAlī who had revolted against the Porte, carried out a victorious campaign in Cilicia, and the province was ceded to his father by the treaty of Kütahya. To this day traces of the campaign can be seen in the Cilician Gates. Cilicia was returned to Turkey in 1840 and became part of the vilayet of Aleppo. In 1866 a military force was sent from Istanbul to assert the authority of the central government over the local derebeys [*q.v.*] and tribal chiefs. This prepared the way for extensive agricultural settlement, which was accomplished in part with the help of Muslim migrants and repatriates from the Crimea and from the lost Ottoman territories in Europe and North Africa. (Djewdet Pasha, *Maʿrūḍāt*, *TTEM*, no. 14/91, (1926), 117 ff.; W. Eberhard, *Nomads and Farmers in south eastern Turkey; problems of settlement*, *Oriens*, vi (1953), 32-49). It was occupied by French troops from 1918 to 1922, and handed back to Turkey by the Franco-Turkish treaty of Ankara. The plain of Cukurova is now one of the most flourishing agricultural areas in Turkey.

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Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdānides, i, Algiers 1951. For the Crusades and the period immediately preceding them, see Grousset's *Histoire des Croisades*, 3 vols., 1934-36; Runciman's *History of the Crusades*, 3 vols., 1951-4; works mentioned in the text above, by Chalandon, N. Iorga. *Brève histoire de la Petite Arménie-d'Armenie Cilicienne*; L. Laurent, de Morgan, Cl. Cahen (index); Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, translated and edited by Chabot, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, translated and edited by W. Budge, and the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (western, Armenian and oriental historians). See the article ARMĪNIYA, with its map, which includes Cilicia (note that Cydnus and Tarsus have been wrongly located); and K. J. Barmadjian. map of Cilicia, 1 ; 800.000.; also see the articles ADANA, AYĀS, ʿAYN ZARBA, MIṢṢĪṢ, SĪS, ṬARSŪS, and their respective bibliographies. (M. CANARD)

ČILLA [see KHALWA]

ČIMKENT, chief town of the region of South Kazakhstān of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstān, situated on the river Badām, which flows into the river Arīs, tributary of the Sīr-Daryā.

The town is mentioned in the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī as a "village" near the city of Sayrām. After its capture by the Kalmüks in 1864, Sayrām declined to the advantage of Čimkent; but at the time of the Russian conquest (1281/1864) Čimkent was still only a fortified market-town, surrounded by a clay wall and dominated by a small citadel. According to the Russian census carried out a little after the conquest, the town comprised 756 houses.

On the eve of the October Revolution, Čimkent was mainly known as a summer resort frequented by the residents of Tāshkent on account of the mildness of its climate and the excellence of its water. It had in 1897 12,500 inhabitants, of whom 800 were Russians and 150 Jews. The environs of Čimkent included at the end of the 19th century numerous prosperous Russian villages and several native villages, of which the most important were Sayrām, and the Asbīdjāb or Asfīdjāb of the Arab geographers.

The very rapid development of the city dates from the Soviet period. In 1926 it comprised 21,000 inhabitants, in 1939 74,200 and in 1956 130,000. Čimkent is an important road centre at the junction of the roads which wend their way from Russia (by way of Aktübinsk and Ḳzyl-Orda) and from Siberia (by way of Alma-Ata) towards Tāshkent, and is an important railway junction where the Djambul-Arīs, Ḳzyl-Orda and Čimkent-Lenger railways intersect.

Before the Revolution Čimkent was an agricultural centre which subsisted principally from the plantations of cotton (introduced in 1897) and from the harvesting of the medicinal plant *artemisia cinae* from which santonin is prepared.

Since the discovery in 1932 of veins of lead at Ačisay and Karamazor, and of coal at Lenger, Čimkent has become an important industrial city (factories of chemical and pharmaceutical products, combined with non-ferrous metals). The city included in 1956 35 primary and secondary schools, 19 secondary technical schools and two colleges (the Teachers' Institute and the Technological Institute of Building Materials).

The population of the city is very mixed, the Russians now constituting the majority of the inhabitants; the Muslim community includes Kazakhs and some Özbeks. (CH. QUELQUEJAY)

ČĪN [see AL-ṢĪN]

CINEMA (*sīnimā*). History. Cinema is a newly imported art into the Muslim world; as such, it is a facet of the Western impact on the inhabitants and expresses their interest in Western technical achievements and forms of entertainment. Silent films were apparently first imported into Egypt by Italians (1897), attracting considerable interest. Film shows for Allied troops, during World War I, familiarized many Near Easterners with the cinema. The influx of foreign films, the construction of entertainment halls, and the intellectual curiosity of the local intelligentsia made Egypt the centre of film shows and afterwards of local production. Most films shown then in the Near East were comedies or Westerns; in Egypt, mainly the former were emulated. Local production by foreign technicians, with Egyptians starring, started on silent films (1917); despite their mediocrity, they were warmly received. Simultaneously, cinema clubs sprang up, which eagerly discussed film-techniques and published in Arabic short-lived cinematic periodicals. Full-length Egyptian silent films were first produced (1927) by, respectively, the directors Widād ʿUrfī and Lāma Brothers, at a minimum cost. All rather resembled photographed sequences of a play, but were nonetheless welcomed by the public. This success encouraged Yūsuf Wahbī to experiment with a sound film: he took to Paris, for synchronization, an Arab silent film, *Awlād al-dhawāt* (apparently patterned after Fr. Coppée's *Le coupable*), in which he himself had starred. Its enthusiastic reception in Egypt assured the future of the Arabic-speaking film. Arabic film production has been speeded up in the last generation. In 1934, the large *Studio Miṣr* was founded near Cairo; others followed. Halls were built, chiefly in the towns. Production was encouraged, during World War II, by the lack of Italian and German competition. Commercial success led to quantity predominating over quality; the resulting lower standards were due also to inexperience in direction and photography, and to shortage of technical equipment.

Acting and actors. Most Arab filmstars are in Egypt. Some former theatre actors or singers are idolized, *e.g.*, leadingmen: the late comedians ʿAlī al-Kassār and Nadjīb al-Rīḥānī, the living Yūsuf Wahbī, protagonist of the "social" film on local themes. Some leading ladies can act in character roles; most others sing well.

Characteristics and Themes. The Arabic-speaking film has been, until recently, rather imitative of its European or American counterpart, but artistic and technical standards are generally lower. While in recent years the overriding importance of music has somewhat declined, it is still customary to introduce a sub-plot that includes vocal and instrumental Arabic music and dancing. Another drawback to the plot is the somewhat faulty script-writing, due to the limited experience of local actors-authors. While scripts adapted from foreign films, plays or novels (*e.g.*, *al-Buʾasāʾ* = *Les misérables*, with ʿAbbās Fāris) were usually successful, those frequently composed at the bid of a producer-actor have often resulted in an unimaginative plot. The main types of films are: *a.* the historical (generally on themes chosen from Arab or Islamic history; in Egypt—also from Pharaonic times). *b.* the social drama or melodrama (once popular for its tear-jerking appeal, later for its social aims). *c.* the musical. *d.* the comedy or slapstick farce (usually on local background). *e.* adventure

and detective films. The first two are the best, artistically. Colloquial Arabic (Egyptian dialect) is employed in most.

Attitudes. While encouraging the cinema financially, to a degree, Arab governments have supervised and censored it. Censorship has been on socio-political lines, often also on moral and religious grounds. Pressure of Muslim religious circles prevented filming a script on Muḥammad and the Four Caliphs (Egypt); on other occasions, it has opposed love films (Egypt), attendance of adolescents (Jordan) and women (Syria, Jordan). Conservative circles still regard acting as lewd. Features, documentaries and educational films have been initiated by the United Arab Republic for propaganda amongst civilians and soldiers.

The Arab countries. Outside Egypt, there is little film production. Morocco and Tunisia produce short films and occasional newsreels. Similar experiments in Syria and, more recently, in ʿIrāḳ, were short-lived. With few exceptions, most rural and lower urban audiences, in Arabic-speaking communities, prefer Egyptian films. Yemen imports very few films, while Saudi Arabia has banned their public showing on ethical grounds.

Other countries. The above applies, in varying degrees, to other Muslim countries too. In most, a part of the film production and distribution is in governmental hands, particularly documentaries and educational films. Legislation in most provides for censorship on national and political grounds (internal tranquillity, avoiding offence to friendly States), as well as religious succeptibilities and public morals. Turkey appears to have the most active film industry, although most films shown are American. Educational films are provided gratis to cinema owners (who must exhibit them). Good feature-films on local themes have been produced, with marked American influence (*e.g.*, *Ebediyete kadar*). Belly-dancing (of the Arabic-film type) and music continue, however, as an integral part of many films. Iran has started its own film production in Tehran only since 1945, on a modest scale. Most feature-films are comedies or have simple plots, often describing the rich city heir who falls in love with the peasant girl; kissing on the screen is discouraged. Sub-titling of foreign films or post-synchronizing them in Persian (the latter very efficiently done) is compulsory. In addition to other cinema halls, in Teheran a cinema club holds regular showings of good foreign films for its members and friends. In Afghanistan, the Government has established, by decree, a State monopoly of the cinema. There is no film production. Cinema halls are in Ḳābul and Ḳandahār. Women hardly ever go to the cinema, unless it is for rare private showings, specially arranged for them. Pakistan. Before partition, Indians controlled production and exhibition, as well as all technical work; their departure left Pakistan with hardly any film industry. Eventually this rallied and Pakistani companies now produce full-length and short films; their main studios are in Lahore. Urdū films are also made in India. In Indonesia, a Government-controlled company produces a few feature-films annually, as well as a weekly newsreel and some documentaries and short educational films. Private companies produce only few feature-films. Indonesia-produced films are exported to Singapore, Malaya and North Borneo.

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ČINGĀNE, one of the names applied to the gipsies in the east, which has passed into various European languages (*e.g.*, Hungarian *Czigány*, French *Tsigane*, Italian *Zingari*, German *Zigeuner*) and appears in Turkish as *Čingene*. The origin of the name is still uncertain; one suggestion is that it comes from Čangar or Zingar, said to be the name of a people formerly dwelling on the banks of the Indus. It is supposed that the Sāsānid Bahrām V Gūr (420-438 A.D.) first brought the gipsies from India to Persia, and that they spread thence over the world. In the relevant passages in Firdawsī and Ḥamza Iṣpahānī these Indians are called Lūlī or Zoṭṭ [*qq.v.*]. Other names commonly used are Nawar in Syria, G͟hurbat or Ḳurbat in Syria, Persia, Egypt and elsewhere. In Egypt the name G͟had͟jar is also in use, while the gipsies of Egypt are fond of calling themselves Barāmika (descendants of the Barmakids).

Although the Indian origin of the gipsies is now generally accepted, various groups of them have long claimed Egypt as their earliest home; hence their English name, and hence too the Spanish *Gitano*, French *Gitane*, Turkish *Kipti* and Hungarian *Faraonépe*. The term *Bohémien*, by which they are also known in France, is due to their having first come to that country via Bohemia. Other names may be found in the works of Anastase, De Goeje and Gökbilgin cited below. Their name for themselves in their own language is Romany, the adjective of *rom*, 'man'.

As in other countries, the gipsies of the east are smiths, tinkers, pedlars, jugglers, musicians and bear-trainers; some are sedentary while others lead a wandering life. The sedentaries are generally despised by those who adhere to the old ways.

No reliable statistics about them exist, but they are certainly quite numerous in Persia and Turkey. It has been fairly conclusively shown (by G. L. Lewis; see *Bibliography*) that one tribe of 'Yürüks' in western Anatolia is in fact gipsy, and it seems likely that other Turkish gipsies are similarly hiding behind this blanket-term.

Some gipsies are nominally Christian, others nominally Muslim (thus the Geygellis are said to be ʿAlewī but not to intermarry with other ʿAlewīs); in reality they have their own religion and political organization, which need not be discussed here; a useful short account will be found in Funk and Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of Folklore*, s.v. Romany Folklore.

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In the Soviet Union Čingānes are found in the Crimea, in Ādharbaydjān and in Central Asia. The census of 1926 gave a number of 4,000 Muslims out of the 61,294 gipsies included in the census, but it is probable that the real figure is higher. S. A. Tokarev (*Étnografiya Narodov SSSR*, Moscow 1958) estimates the number of Muslim gipsies in Central Asia at 5,000, and that of Ādharbaydjān as "some thousands". According to the statistics of 1926, there were at that time 3,710 Muslim gipsies still in Özbekistān, 300 in Turkmenistān, and an indeterminate number, probably quite high, in the region of Kuliāb and in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Tādjīkistān.

The Čingānes of the Soviet Union comprise several groups, which are fairly distinct from each other by their language and customs. They are known either by local names: "Karačī", "Lülī", "Mazang", "Djugī", "Kavol", or by names of trades: Zargarān, Kāsagarān, Mardjān-furūsh. They call themselves "*lom*" or "*dom*". The Lülī and the Djugī live in Özbekistān and speak mainly Persian (Tādjīkī); a Turkish-speaking minority speak Özbek. The gipsies of Ādharbaydjān (Karačī) and Kuliāb (Kavol) speak only Persian. A group from the region of Kuliāb still uses a distinctive language of its own which has not yet been studied, and which I. M. *Oranskiy* (*Indoyazičnaya etnografičeskaya gruppa "AFGON" v Sredney Aziy*, in *Sov. Etn.*, no. 2, 1956, 117-124) considers to be an Indian dialect. Their Tādjīk neighbours call them 'Afghāns', and wrongly confuse them with the latter, who are quite numerous in the southern part of the Kuliāb region. According to Oranskiy and Tokarev the Djugī, the Lülī, and the Mazang still use a 'secret language'. The gipsies of Central Asia and of the Crimea are theoretically Sunnīs and those of Ādharbaydjān Shīʿīs.

(Ch. Quelquejay)

ČINGIZ-KHĀN, the founder of the Mongol world-empire, was born in 1167 A.D. on the right bank of the Onon in the district of Deli'ün-Boldoḳ in the present-day Chita Region in eastern Siberia. The ultimate sources for the details of his early life are two Mongolian works, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, composed in 1240 (or perhaps as late as 1252), and the *Altan Debter* or "Golden Book", the official history of the Imperial family. This latter work has not survived in the original, but the greater part of it is reproduced in the *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn and there is likewise an abridged Chinese translation, the *Shêng-wu chʿin-chêng lu* or "Account of the Campaigns of Čingiz-Khān", composed some time before 1285. There is naturally in both sources a great deal of purely legendary material. The *Secret History* begins with a long genealogy in which Čingiz-Khān's line of descent is traced back through many generations to the union of a grey wolf and a white doe; and in both authorities the new-born child is represented as clutching in his hand, in token as it were of his future career as a world-conqueror, a clot of blood of the size of a knuckle-bone.

Čingiz-Khān's father, Yesügei, was the nephew of Ḳutula, the last ḳhān or ruler of the Mongols proper, who were afterwards to give their name to all the Mongolian-speaking peoples. The Mongols had been the dominant tribe in Eastern Mongolia during the first half of the 12th century but had been forced to yield place to the Tatar, a tribe in the region of the Buir Nor, who in 1161, in alliance with the Chin rulers of Northern China, had inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. Though now leaderless and disorganized the Mongols still continued the struggle against the Tatar, for we find that at the time of Čingiz-Khān's birth his father had brought in two Tatar chieftains as prisoners of war. One of these was called Temüdjin-Üke and it was after him that Čingiz-Khān received his original name of Temüdjin. The word means "blacksmith" and this gave rise to the legend, already current at the time of William of Rubruck, that the world-conqueror had begun his career at the forge.

When Temüdjin was nine years old his father, following the exogamous practice of the Mongols, took the boy with him upon a journey into the extreme east of Mongolia to find him a bride amongst his mother's people, the Ḳonḳlrat. According to the custom Yesügei left his son to be brought up in the tent of his future father-in-law, whose daughter, the 10-year old Börte, was destined to be the mother and grandmother of Emperors. Upon the homeward journey Yesügei fell in with a party of carousing Tatar. Unable to refuse the invitation to share in their feast he was recognized by his former enemies, who poisoned his food; and he lived only long enough to reach his own encampment and dispatch a messenger to fetch back Temüdjin from the Ḳonḳlrat.

With Yesügei's death his family was deserted by his followers under the instigation of the Taičiʿut, a clan with aspirations to the leadership of the tribe. His widow, a woman of spirit, attempted, at first with some success, to rally the people to her; but in the end she and her young children were left to their own resources in the expectation that they would die of starvation. They survived however upon a diet of roots and berries eked out with such fish as Temüdjin and his brothers were able to catch in the Onon and such small prairie birds and animals as they were able to shoot with their bows and arrows. It was in a quarrel over game of this sort that Temüdjin is said to have been involved in the murder of one of his half-brothers.

He had grown almost into manhood when the Taiči'ut, learning of the family's survival, made a raid upon the little encampment with the object of seizing Temüdjin and preventing any possibility of his succeeding to his father's position. He escaped into the forests and for some days eluded his pursuers. When finally captured he was not put to death but was kept as a perpetual prisoner, the Taiči'ut taking him with them from encampment to encampment with a *cangue* or wooden collar about his neck. One evening, when they were feasting along the bank of the Onon, he made off in the dark and, to avoid detection, submerged himself in the river with only his face above water. When the pursuit started his hiding-place was discovered by a member of a kindred tribe, who however befriended the young

man and saved him from immediate danger by persuading the Taiči'ut to postpone their search till the morning. In the meanwhile Temüdjin found his way to the tent of his benefactor, who concealed him once again from his enemies and then provided him with the means of escape.

It was soon after this adventure that Temüdjin bethought himself of the bride awaiting him in Eastern Mongolia and he paid a visit to the Ḳonḳirat to lay claim to her. Börte brought him as her entire dowry a black sable skin, a circumstance worthy of mention, since with this sable skin Temüdjin was to lay the foundations of his future fortune. He offered it as a present to Toghrïl, the ruler of the Kereyt, a Nestorian Christian tribe, whose territory lay along the banks of the Tula in the region of the present-day Ulan Bator. Toghrïl, better known to history as Ong-Khān (he is the Prester John of Marco Polo), had been the *anda* or blood-brother of Temüdjin's father. He expressed his pleasure at the gift and took the young man under his protection. Not long passed before Temüdjin had need of his patron's assistance. The Merkit, a forest tribe on the southern shores of Lake Baikal in what is to-day the Buryat A.S.S.R., raided Temüdjin's encampment and carried off his newly married bride. With the aid of Toghrïl and Djamuḳa, a young Mongol chieftain, who was his own *anda*, Temüdjin was able to defeat the Merkit in battle and to recover his wife. For a time, after this campaign, Temüdjin and Djamuḳa remained firm friends, pitching their tents and herding their animals side by side; but then an estrangement arose between them and they parted company. The reason for this estrangement is not clear but Barthold's theory, according to which Temüdjin represented the Mongol aristocracy whilst Djamuḳa was the champion of the common people, no longer finds acceptance.

It was immediately following the break with Djamuḳa that the Mongol princes acclaimed Temüdjin as their *khān* and conferred upon him the title by which he is known to history: Čingiz-Khān or, in its Anglicized form, Genghis Khan. The meaning of this title is not clear. The most likely interpretation is that offered by Pelliot, who sees in Čingiz a palatalised form of the Turkish *tengiz* "sea" and translates the title accordingly as "Oceanic Khān", *i.e.*, "Universal Ruler". It is not without significance in this connexion that when shortly afterwards Djamuḳa set himself at the head of a rival confederation of tribes he received the title of Gür-Khān,. which also means something like "Universal Ruler".

With his elevation to the Khānate of his tribe Čingiz-Khān was now a power to be reckoned with in the domestic wars of the Mongol peoples. In 1196 his patron Toghrïl was expelled from his throne and was for a time an exile at the court of the Ḳara-Khitay. He owed his restoration, in 1198, to the intervention of Čingiz-Khān. In the same year both rulers were the allies of the Chin in an expedition against the Tatar. For their contribution to the Chinese victory Toghrïl received the title of *wang* or "prince", whence his name of Ong-Khan, and Čingiz-Khān a much lesser title. In 1199 Čingiz-Khān and Ong-Khān launched a joint attack on the Nayman, a largely Christian tribe, apparently of Turkish origin, in Western Mongolia. The success of this campaign was nullified by the pusillanimous conduct of Ong-Khān, who first of all deserted Čingiz-Khān on the eve of a battle and then had to appeal for aid from his protégé when himself attacked by the Nayman. Despite this experience the two princes remained allies and on several occasions in 1201 and 1202 defeated the confederation of tribes headed by Čingiz-Khān's former friend Djamuḳa. In 1202 Čingiz-Khān took his final revenge upon his old enemies the Tatar in a campaign which resulted in their total extermination as a people. Meanwhile his relations with Ong-Khān had been steadily worsening and it now came to open war. The first battle was indecisive and seems in effect to have been a defeat for Čingiz-Khān, who withdrew for a while into the extreme N.E. of Mongolia to a lake or river called Baldjuna, the identity of which has not been satisfactorily established. He soon rallied however and in a second battle (1203) gained an overwhelming victory over his opponent. Ong-Khān fled westwards to meet his death at the hands of a Nayman frontier guard, and the Kereyt ceased to exist as a people, being forcibly absorbed into the Mongols.

Čingiz-Khān was now in complete control of eastern and central Mongolia. Only in the west, where the Nayman had been joined by Djamuḳa and the Merkit chieftain Toḳto'a, was his supremacy still challenged. Forestalling an attack by his enemies Čingiz-Khān defeated them in a battle in which the Nayman ruler lost his life (1204). His son, Küčlüg, fled westwards, along with the Merkit Toḳto'a, to make a last desperate stand on the upper reaches of the Irtish: Toḳto'a was killed by a stray arrow and Küčlüg, continuing his flight westwards, was granted asylum in the territory of the Ḳara-Khitay. Djamuḳa, meanwhile, deserted by his followers, had been betrayed into the hands of Čingiz-Khān, who, with the execution of his one-time *anda*, at last found himself the absolute master of Mongolia. At a *ḳuriltay* or assembly of the Mongol princes held near the sources of the Onon in the spring of 1206 he caused himself to be proclaimed supreme ruler of all the Mongol peoples. Having also at this *ḳuriltay* reorganized his military forces he was now in a position to embark upon foreign conquests.

Already in 1205 he had attacked the kingdom of the Tangut or Hsi Hsia, a people of Tibetan origin who inhabited the region of the great bend in the Yellow River, *i.e.*, what is now the province of Kansu and the Ordos Region. Two further campaigns (in 1207 and 1209) reduced the Tangut to the status of tributaries and the way lay open for an assault upon North China proper. In 1211 the Mongols invaded and overran the whole area north of the Great Wall, but the Wall itself presented a barrier to further advance. In the following year their cause was promoted by the rising of a Khitan prince in southern Manchuria; and in the summer of 1213 they finally forced their way through the Wall and spread out over the North China plain. By the spring of 1215 they controlled the whole area north of the Yellow River and were converging from three directions upon Pekin. The Chin Emperor was now offered and accepted terms of peace and secured the withdrawal of the Mongol forces by the payment of tribute which consisted, in effect, in the immense dowry of a Chin princess bestowed in marriage upon Čingiz-Khān. Circumstances however led to the Mongols' almost immediate return. Pekin was captured and sacked (summer of 1215), and the Emperor fled to Kʿai-fêng on the southern banks of the Yellow River. Though the war still continued —and, in fact, the subjugation of North China was not finally completed until 1234, seven years after Čingiz-Khān's death—Čingiz-Khān now left the

command of operations in the hands of one of his generals, Muḳali of the Djalayir tribe, and, in the summer of 1216 returned to his headquarters in Mongolia, there to turn his attention to events in Central and Western Asia.

Küčlüg the Nayman, who had sought refuge with the Ḳara-Khitay, had dethroned the last of their rulers and made himself master of their territories. In 1218 a Mongol army under the famous general Djebe invaded Semirechye and Sinkiang and pursued Küčlüg from Kashghār over the Pamirs into Badakhshān, where with the co operation of the local population he was captured and put to death.

The accession of Semirechye and Sinkiang to his Empire gave Čingiz-Khan a common frontier with Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārizm-Shāh [*q.v.*]. Relations between the two rulers had been established already in 1215, when Čingiz-Khān had received an embassy from the Sultan before Pekin. In 1216, or more probably in 1219, a battle took place to the N.E. of the Aral Sea between a force commanded by Sulṭān Muḥammad and a Mongol army led by Čingiz-Khān's eldest son Djoči which was returning from a successful campaign against the remnants of the Merkit. The encounter was indecisive and does not in any case seem to have contributed to the ultimate outbreak of hostilities. This was the result of the execution, ordered by the governor of Otrar, of an ambassador of Čingiz-Khān and a caravan of Muslim merchants accompanying him, a massacre apparently sanctioned by the Sultan himself. A second ambassador sent by Čingiz-Khān to demand satisfaction was likewise executed; and war became inevitable. Massing his forces on the Irtish in the spring of 1219, Čingiz-Khān had by the autumn of that year arrived before the walls of Otrar. He left a detachment under the command of his sons Čaghatay and Ögedey to lay siege to the town, at the same time sending Djoči upon an expedition down the Sir-Daryā, whilst he himself with the main army advanced upon Bukhārā. Abandoned by its defenders, the town surrendered after a siege of only three days (first half of February, 1220). Samarḳand, the next objective, offered as little resistance: it fell on 10 Muḥarram/19 March. Otrar had already capitulated and the besiegers of that town took part in the capture of Samarḳand.

From Samarḳand Čingiz-Khān dispatched his two best generals, Djebe and Sübetey, in pursuit of Sulṭān Muḥammad, who upon receiving news of the Mongols' rapid advance had fled panic-stricken to the West. Doubling backwards and forwards across Persia the Sultan finally found refuge in an island off the eastern shores of the Caspian, where he died, it was said, of a broken heart. The generals continued their westward drive and passing through Ādharbaydjān and over the Caucasus descended into the steppes of what is now Southern Russia to defeat an army of Russians and Ḳipčaḳ on the River Kalka in the Crimea. They then returned along the northern shores of the Caspian to rejoin Čingiz-Khān in Central Asia.

Čingiz-Khān meanwhile had passed the summer of 1220 resting his men and animals in the pastures of the Nakhshab area. In the autumn he captured Tirmidh and then proceeded up the Oxus to spend the winter of 1220-1 in the conduct of operations in the region of the present-day Stalinabad, as also in Badakhshān. Early in 1221 he crossed the Oxus and captured Balkh. Already after the capture of Samarḳand he had dispatched Čaghatay and Ögedey northwards to lay siege to Sulṭān Muḥammad's capital at Gurgandj. He now sent Toluy, his youngest son, to complete the conquest of Khurāsān, a task he accomplished with a thoroughness from which that province has never recovered. At Marw there were massacred according to Ibn al-Athīr a total of 700,000 men, women and children, whilst Djuwaynī gives the incredible figure of 1,300,000. As for Nīshāpūr, "it was commanded", says Djuwaynī, "that the town should be laid waste in such a manner that the site could be ploughed upon; and that in the exaction of vengeance [for the death of a Mongol prince] not even cats and dogs should be left alive". After the capture of Harāt Toluy rejoined his father, who was laying siege to the town of Ṭālaḳān between Balkh and Marw ar-Rūdh (not to be confused with another town of similar name, the present-day Ṭālikhān in the Afghān province of Badakhshān).

The summer of 1221 Čingiz-Khān passed in the mountains to the south of Balkh. In the meantime Djalāl al-Dīn, the son of Sulṭān Muḥammad, had made his way to Ghazna and at Parwān to the N.E. of Čārīkār had inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Mongol force dispatched against him, the only reverse suffered by the Mongols during the whole campaign. Čingiz-Khān, upon receiving news of this battle, advanced southwards at great speed in pursuit of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn, whom he finally overtook on the banks of the Indus. Hemmed in on three sides by the Mongol armies and with the river behind him Djalāl al-Dīn, after offering desperate resistance, plunged into the water and swam to the farther side, surviving to conduct sporadic warfare against the Mongols for three years after Čingiz-Khān's death.

The Battle of the Indus, which took place according to Nasawī on the Shawwal 618/24th November 1221, marks the end of Čingiz-Khān's campaign in the West. He began to prepare for the homeward journey and having explored the possibility of returning though India via Assam and Tibet finally turned back along the route he had been following. He travelled by easy stages, spending the summer of 1222 in mountain pastures on the Hindū-Kush and the following winter in the neighbourhood of Samarḳand. The spring and summer of 1223 he passed in the region of the present-day Tashkent; in the summer of the following year he was on the upper reaches of the Irtish; and it was only in the spring of 1225 that he finally reached his headquarters in Mongolia.

In the autumn of the following year he was again at war with the Tangut, but did not live to see the victorious outcome of this final campaign. He died on 25 August 1227 whilst resting in his summer quarters in the district of Chʿing-shui on the Hsi River in Kansu. The authorities give no clear indication as to the cause of his death but a fall from his horse which he sustained whilst hunting during the previous winter may well have been a contributory factor.

Of his personal appearance there appears to have survived only one contemporary record, that of Djūzdjānī, who describes him as being at the time of his invasion of Khurāsān "a man of tall stature and vigorous build, robust in body, the hair on his face scanty and turned white, with cat's eyes".

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(Paris 1949), and an English translation by F. W. Cleaves (Cambridge, Mass. 1960). Of a French translation of the *Shêng-wu chʿin-chêng lu* by Paul Pelliot and Louis Hambis (*Histoire des Campagnes de Genghis Khan*) only the first volume has so far appeared (Leiden 1951). See also Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod nach der ostasiatischen Überlieferung*, in *Asia Major*, ix (1933). Djuwaynī's history is now available in the translation of J. A. Boyle (*The History of the World-Conqueror*, 2 vols., Manchester 1958) and the relevant portions of Rashīd al-Dīn in the translations of A. A. Khetagurov and O. I. Smirnova (*Sbornik letopisei*, i, 1, and i, 2, Moscow 1952). See also René Grousset, *Le Conquérant du Monde* (Paris 1944).

(J. A. Boyle)

ČINGIZIDS, the four sons of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] by his marriage with his favourite wife Börte, and their descendants. In contrast to them Čingiz Khān's brothers and their sons, as well as the descendents of Čingiz Khān by other marriages, were of importance only in the first decades of the Mongol Empire, after which they fell into the background.

In accordance with the will of Čingiz Khān, the empire conquered by him (including the parts whose acquisition had not yet been accomplished and which did not in fact take place until 1236/42 or 1255/59) was divided among his four sons: I) Djoči (Djöči), who may not have been a real descendent of Čingiz Khān (see further Čingiz Khān); II) Čaghatāy (Djaghatāy); III) Ögedey (Ögödäy, Ogotay, Pers. Ūk/gadāy); IV) Toluy (Tuluy, cf. these articles).

I) Djoči died before his father, in about February 1227. His legacy (Ulus), the Ķipčaķ Plain and West Siberia (including Khwārizm) passed to his descendants. These were in part as early as the 13th century (Berke [*q.v.*]), and certainly by the first half of the 14th century, Muslims (Sunnī), and played an extraordinary role in the spread of Islam.

A) His second son Batu (d. 1255) took over the Ķipčāķ Plain and founded the empire of the Golden Horde. His descendants ruled there until 1360 (for details cf. Bātū'ids, with a genealogical table).

B) After 16 years' confusion the rule of the Golden Horde 1376. passed to the descendants of Batu's older brother Orda, who had taken control of the so-called "White Horde" in Western Siberia. Little is known about him, his immediate descendants and the situation in that region. After the two year rule of his seventh generation descendants Urus Khan and two of his sons, Toķtamīsh [*q.v.*] finally appears in the full light of history. Expelled by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] in 798/1395, four of his sons were later (815-822/1412-1419) able to assert themselves as nominal rulers of the Golden Horde (apart from the *major domus* Edigü, Russ. Yedigey, d. 1419, who exercised actual power). Since that time (and already from 1395 of 1412) the progeny of Urus Khān ruled as Khāns.

After 842/1438 the territory of the Golden Horde dissolved into several separate states in which descendants of Čingiz Khān likewise ruled:

a) The "Great Horde" in which a great-great grandson of Urus Khān, Küčük Meḥmed (Muḥammad), assumed power about 1438, and whose descendents were able to retain it until 908/1502.

b) The Khānate of Astrakhān [*q.v.*] where successors of Küčük Meḥmed ruled until 965/1557.

C) Parallel to that the descendants of a hitherto insignificant third line, that of Bātū's and Orda's brother Togha Temür (Tūķā Tīmūr), managed to share in the dismemberment of the Ķipčaķ. Of these, the following succeeded:

c) Ulugh Meḥmed (murdered in 850/1446), after his expulsion from the "Great Horde", to the Khānate of Ķazan (Russ. Kazán [*q.v.*]) which his successors (among whom were the princes of Kasimov, see "e") lost in 960/1552 to the Russians.

d) Ulugh Meḥmed's nephew, Ḥādjdjī Girāy ([*q.v.*]; d. 870/1466), held fast (definitively in 1449) to the Crimea (see Ķīrīm) where his successors, under the dynastic name Girāy, ruled as the last descendants of Čingiz Khān in Europe, until the annexation of the Crimea by the Russians in 1783.

e) In the small Tatar principality of Kasimov ([*q.v.*], region of Ryazań), various princes (finally a princess) of the line of Ulugh Meḥmed (see „'c"), of Küčük Meḥmed (see "a"), of Girāy (see "d"), and of the Siberian Shaybānids (cf. "E d") ruled between 856-861/1452-56 and about 1092/1681. Some of them (including the last ruler) became converted to Orthodox Christianity and became the forefathers of Russian noble families.

f) Descendants of the branch ruling in Astrakhān (see 'b") had fled after the Russian conquest to the Shaybānids in Bukhārā (see "E a"). One of them, Prince Djān b. Yār Muḥammad, married the daughter of the Shaybānid Khān Iskandar (968-991/1560-83). After the extinction of the male line of the Bukhārā dynasty in 1006/1598, their son Bāķī Muḥammad assumed the rule of the land. The new dynasty was called "Astrakhānid", "Ashtarkhanid" or "Djānid" [*q.v.*], and ruled in Bukhārā [*q.v.*] until their displacement in 1200/1785 by the House of Mangit [*q.v.*].

D) Among the descendants of a further son of Djoči, Moghol (or Tewal?; P. Pelliot, Notes 52/54 considers "Boal" better), his grandson Noghay ([*q.v.*]; Mongol "Nokhay" 'dog') played a significant role as *major domus* for several rulers of the Golden Horde, until he was killed in a civil war in 699/1299. His descendants are known for a further two generations before they disappear. — Apparently the Nokhay people [*q.v.*] is called after him.

E) Finally, the descendants of Djoči's youngest son Shiban (Arabicized "Shaybān") lived originally in the region southeast of the Urals (somewhere between the source of the Tobol in the west and the Upper Irtīsh in the east, modern Ķazakhstān) where they preserved their nomadic life. When the inhabitants of Orda's "White Horde" under Toķtamish migrated far into the Ķipcaķ Plain, the Shaybānids [*q.v.*] occupied their territory, and the peoples under their rule came to be called Özbek (*q.v.*]; Russ. Uzbek). Of Shiban's descendents, the Shaybānids, Abu 'l-Khayr ([*q.v.*], i, 135) expelled in 851/1447 the Tīmūrids [*q.v.*] from Khwārizm [*q.v.*] and in the region north of the Sīr Dārya [*q.v.*]. He ruled the area from there to the neighbourhood of Tobol'sk, but was weakened by the devastating attacks of the Oirats ([*q.v.*]; Kalmuks) into his territory as well as by the struggles with the Ķazakhs [*q.v.*] and died in 873/1468. His grandson Muḥammad Shaybānī [*q.v.*] conquered Transoxania in 906/1500, where he broke the rule of the Tīmūrids, penetrating finally into modern Afghānistān [*q.v.*] as well as Khurāsān [*q.v.*]. The founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty [*q.v.*], Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*] managed to expel him from there and to defeat him near Marw in 916/1510, where Muḥammad Shaybānī was killed. With that move, the power of the Čingizids was restricted to the area north of the Amū Daryā, and of this to a frontier zone between Persian Shīʿī and Turkish Sunnī influence (not without isolated shifts in both directions in the course of time).

The reign of the Shaybānids endured in Transoxania, where they ruled:

a) until 1007/1598 in Bukhārā, where the ruling family died out with ʿAbd Allāh II ([q.v.], i, 46 ff.; 991-1007/1583-98). The Djānids succeeded (see "C f").

b) in Khwārizm [q.v.], later called for the most part Khīwa, which had fallen in 911-912/1505-6 to Muḥammed Shaybānī, the tributary line of the ʿArabshāhids succeeded in 911/1512 in the person of Ilbars I (1512-25). To this line belongs the famous historian Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān ([q.v.], i, 120 ff.; 1053-1076/1643-65), the author of the "Shadjarat al-Atrāk". The line ruled until 1106-7/1694-95, when the power passed to the erstwhile "Condottieri" (Inak) of the Kungrat family [q.v.] who after 1219/1804 called themselves "Khān".

c) A further branch of the Shaybānids under Shāh Rukh I, a descendent of Abu 'l-Khayr, established himself in Farghāna [q.v.] in 1122/1710. He founded the Khānate of Khoḳand [q.v.] which was annexed in 1876 by the Russians.

d) Finally in 886/1481 the Shaybānid prince Ibak (d. 899/1493) was able to wrest the neighbourhood of the town of Tümen (Russ. Tyumeń) from the hands of the Khān of Sibir (who was not a Čingizid). In 973/1565 his grandson Ḳučum expelled the last Khān of Sibir [q.v.] and put down his successors, though after 1579 found himself oppressed by Russian attacks and gradually pushed out of his territory, until he had to flee to the Noghays after a defeat on the Ob' in 1007/1598, dying there in 1009/1600. His son Ishim Khān managed to hold out on the Upper Tobol' until about 1035/1625.

e) Kasimov (cf. "C e").

II) The descendants of the second son Čaghatāy ([q.v.], d. 640/1242) persisted for almost as long, managing to hold their ground against the descendents of Ögedey (see III) in the 7th/13th century, and to win out against them in 700/1309 [See ČAPAR]. After that date inner Asia belonged to their area of rule (Ulus). From then on there were various struggles with the Īlkhāns ([q.v.]; see also under "IV B") in Persia, and invasions into India, particularly between 697/1297 and 706/1306.

Čaghatāy's great grandson Baraḳ ([q.v.]; usually called by Muslims "Burāḳ") and the latter's son Duwa (about 691/1291 to 706/1306) had with Chinese aid asserted themselves against Ḳaidū (see III). Duwa's son Kebek (Köpek) was able in 709/1309 to take possession of the latter's inheritance. (d. 726/1326) His brother Termashīrīn (727-735/1326-34) was converted to Islam, taking with him the dynasty and gradually (though not without setbacks) the territory it ruled into the sphere of Islam. His death was followed by a temporary cleavage in the Ulus of Čaghatāy:

a) The branch of the house ruling in Transoxania was converted to Islam.

b) In the eastern part of the Ulus, since called Mogholistān (the land of seven rivers/Djeti suw/Semirečye; the area round Issiḳ Kul as well as the western Tarim Basin with Kāshgar) ruled a line under whom Islam only spread slowly.

A renewed unity of the two parts by Tughluḳ Temür [q.v.] was finally broken by Tīmūr's victory in 765/1363 by which Transoxania came to develop a separate character, where Turkish now definitely attained to leadership. Beside Tīmūr Čaghatāyids continued to rule as nominal Khāns until 805/1402. The Khāns in Mogholistān could not be eliminated, despite Tīmūr's persistent efforts.

Rather after Tīmūr's death in 808/1405, they were able gradually to regain influence in Transoxania. In particular, Esen Bogha II (833-867/1429-62) proved himself a dangerous opponent of the Tīmūrids. Between him, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [q.v.], the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and finally, the rising Ṣafawids [q.v.], the Tīmūrids (with the exception of the Great Moghuls) were gradually worn down. Their territory fell finally to the Shaybānids ([q.v.]; see also above "I E") and to the (eastern) Čaghatāyids from Mogholistān, among whom Yūnus (874-891/1469-86), raised as a hostage in Shīrāz, took possession in 889/1484 of Tashkent [q.v.] and Sayrām [q.v.]. His successors maintained themselves there, reaching out at the same time—in opposition to China—towards Ha-mi and Turfān [q.v.], to whose islamization they decisively contributed. In Transoxania the Čaghatāyids were definitively eliminated in 914-15/1508-09 by the Shaybānids. Only Mogholistān east of Tʿien-shan remained in the hands of this dynasty, who were forced to share their power with the clan of Dughlat [q.v.], centred at Kāshghar. Living for the most part in harmony, both families took part in the struggle for Ha-mi and Turfān against China, a struggle which lasted still in the 16th century. Apparently at the end of that century a particular branch of the Čaghatāyids established itself in Turfān, and in 1057/1647 and 1068/1657 sent embassies to China. By the end of the 16th century Čaghatāyid power had split in several parts. It was fully ended in 1089/1678 when Khān Ismāʿīl of Kāshghar [q.v.] attempted to get rid of the control of the Khōdja [q.v.] which, divided in two parts, since the end of the 10th/16th century had been the real leaders in that region, which was organised in separate city states in the form of theocracies.

III) Čingiz Khān's third son Ögedey [q.v.], in accordance with his father's will and with the approval of his agnates, succeeded his father as the Great Khān from 627/1229 until 639/1241. His son Göyük (Pers. Gūyūk) too had his honour from 644/1246 to 646/1248. The widows of both, Töregene (Pers. Tūrākīnā) and Oghul Ḳaymish, conducted the regency in 639-644/1241-46 and 646-649/1248-51. Under Batu's influence however this line was unable to maintain itself in the Great Khānate, which passed to the line of Tolui (see IV). None the less, Ḳaydū, a nephew of Göyük, held his own in Ögedey's Ulus on the Imil, in the Tarbagatay Mountains and in modern Afghānistān. He conducted long wars with the princes of the House of Čaghatāy (II), especially Baraḳ, as well as with the Great Khān Ḳubilay, whose "nomadic" rival he was. He adhered to the old Mongolian religious traditions, and died in 1301 on the return march from an assault on Ḳaraḳorum [q.v.]. His son and successor Čäpär (Čapar; [q.v.]) resumed the struggle against the descendents of Čaghatāy and Ḳubilay, but had to flee from Kebek (see II) in 1309 to the court of the Mongol Emperor of China. Thereupon the Ulus of Čaghatāy ceased to exist.

IV) Čingiz Khān's youngest son Toluy had a such received as Ulus the territory of the actuals Mongolia. Since his sons Möngke (Pers. Mängū; [q.v.]) 1251-1259, and Ḳubilay [q.v.] 1259-94, were Great Khāns into whose hands until 1280 all of China had fallen, there was a dynastic connexion between Mongolia with its capital Ḳaraḳorum and the Middle Kingdom, where the Mongol dynasty was called Yüan. A third brother Ariḳ (Erik) Böge, who attempted to establish himself in Mongolia, was forced to surrender in 1264 and died in 1266 in Ḳubilay's custody. His great-grandson Arpa ruled

ČINGIZIDS

- Čingiz Khān † 1227
  - I. Djoči † 1227
    - B. Orda, White Horde ⋮ 6 generations ⋮
      - Urus Khān (Golden Horde) (1374-6) ⋮ 3 generations ⋮ Küčük Meḥmed (c. 1435-c. 1465)
        - a) Great Horde (until 1502)
        - b) Astrakhān (until 1557)
          - f) Djānids of Bukhārā (1598-1785)
      - Tūlī Khodja
        - Toḳtamïsh † 1406-7 Golden Horde (1377-1395)
          - 4 sons (Golden Horde) (1412-1419)
    - A. Batu † 1255 ⋮ Golden Horde (up to 1360) [see genealogical table to art. BATU'IDS]
    - Berke (Golden Horde 1256-67)
    - C. Togha Temūr ⋮ 7 generations ⋮
      - c) Ulugh Meḥmed † 1447
        - Ḳazan until 1552
      - Ghiyāth al-Dīn
        - d) Crimea (House of Girāy) until 1783
    - D. Moghol ⋮ 1 generation ⋮ Noghay † 1299 ⋮ 2 generations
    - E. Shïban (Shaybān) ⋮ Shaybānids in Ḳazakhstān from 1447
      - a) Bukhārā 1500-1598
      - b) Khwārizm 1512-1694-5
      - c) Khoḳand 1710-1876
      - d) Siberia 1565-c. 1625
      - e) Kasimov (also princes of other branches, until 1681)
  - II. Čaghatay † 1242 ⋮ 2 generations ⋮ Baraḳ (Burāḳ) † 1271-2
    - a) Khāns of Transoxania until 1402 [supremacy of Tīmūr 1363]
    - b) Khāns of Mogholistān
      - Khāns of Transoxania (junior branch) until 1509
      - Khāns of Mogholistān and Kāshghar until 1678
  - III. Ögedey Great Khān (1229-41)
    - Göyük Great Khān (1246-8)
    - Kashī
      - Ḳaidū † 1301
        - Čapar (fled 1309)
  - IV. Toluy † c. 1240
    - Möngke Great Khān (1251-9)
    - A. Ḳubilay Great Khān (1259-94)
      - Dyn. Yüan in China (up to 1368)
        - Khāns of Mongolia (Buddhists)
          - Several Tribes
    - B. Hülegü † 1265
      - Īlkhāns until 1353 [see genealogical table to ĪLKHĀNS]
    - Erik Böge † 1266 ⋮ 2 generations
      - Arpa Īlkhān 1335-6

The numbers and letters of this geneological table correspond with the numbers and letters of the article "ČINGIZIDS".

for a few months in 1335/36 as Īlkhān (see "IV B").

A) Kubilay inclined more and more towards Buddhism, and his successors as emperors of China were completely absorbed in the indigenous culture and in the Chinese religion. The essential cause of this was that after Kubilay's death in 1294 the entire Mongol network collapsed, as the other branches of the house had sooner or later converted to Islam, even the Īlkhāns of Iran in 695/1295, who had hitherto particularly cultivated their relations with Khānbaligh ("Khān-city"; Peking). The Yüan dynasty, driven out of China in 1368, maintained the rule in Mongolia, where the various branches of the house drifted apart, though having nothing to do with Islam. At the end of the 16th century among the Mongols (as a linguistic community) Buddhism was established in its Tibetan form of "Lamaism" of the "Yellow Church". The Kalmuks [*q.v.*] too brought this religion to the Volga where they preserved it. After 1649 the Mongols in the Ordos region were again subject to Chinese authority.

B) A fourth brother of Kubilay, Hülegü (Pers. Hūlāgū; [*q.v.*] d. 1265) conquered in 653-658/1255-59 Persia, ʿIrāk and Mesopotamia and, temporarily, Syria. He destroyed the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and founded the empire of the Īlkhāns [*q.v.*]. He and his successors were in the beginning more or less inclined to Buddhism, but with Ghāzān [*q.v.*] in 695/1295 were converted to Islam, in which they vacillated openly between Sunnī and Shīʿī (Öldjeytü, d. 716/1316). The Īlkhān empire collapsed after 736/1335 in civil wars, and the last offspring of this line, (A)Nūshirwān disappeared from history in 754-5/1353-4. The heritage of the Īlkhāns was finally taken over by Tīmūr.

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In addition, see the bibliography for the individual branches of the Čingizids, for the individual members of the family, and for the above-mentioned geographical and town names.

(B. SPULER)

ČINĪŌT (ČINYŌT), An ancient town in the district of Djhang (West Pakistan), situated in 31° 43′ N. and 73° 0′ E., on the left bank of the Čināb with a population of 39,042 in 1951. It was, in all probability, once a settlement of Chinese who not only gave their name to the town but also to the river that flows past at a distance of 2 miles only. Attempts have been made to identify it with Sākala, the capital of the White Huns, visited by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang. In 800/1398 it was captured by Tīmūr, during his Indian campaign, and remained thereafter in the possession of his dependents. In 876/1471 Sulṭān Ḥusayn b. Kuṭb al-Dīn Lingāh, the *wālī* of Multān, dispossessed Malik Māndjhī Khōkhar, agent of Sayyid ʿAlī Khān, the governor of Činīōt under Buhlūl Lōdī. In the meantime Buhlūl Lōdī appointed his son Bārbak Shāh as the governor of the Pandjāb. His appointment was, however, resented by Sulṭān Ḥusayn who met him in a fierce combat near Multān; defeated his troops and pursued them right upto Činīōt. The troops of Bārbak Shāh, however, succeeded in occupying the town and killed the local commandant. In 925/1519 Bābur occupied it in pursuance of a resolve to regain the territory which once was held by his ancester, Tīmūr. He ordered his troops not to indulge in plundering or over-running because he considered it to be a part of his patrimony. Prior to Bābur's occupation the town was in the possession of ʿAlī Khān b. Dawlat Khān Yūsuf-Khayl, governor of the Pandjāb.

Thereafter it remained under the Mughals and in the days of Akbar it had a brick-fort garrisoned by 5,000 infantry. During the second half of the 12th/18th century it suffered heavily from Durrānī inroads and Sikh depredations; the town was badly disturbed and the residents knew neither peace nor security. In 1264/1848 it again suffered under Narāyan Singh, the Sikh commandant. The very next year it became a British possession with the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1265/1849.

Činīōt now consists of the main town and two suburbs, one of which has grown up round the tomb of Shaykh Ismāʿīl. It is a well-built town and many of the houses, owned by the Khōdjās, are lofty and commodious. The Khōdjās are well-known for their great wealth and extensive business relations. They came to this town after its occupation by Randjīt Singh, the Sikh Mahārādjā.

Saʿd Allāh Khān ʿAllāmī al-Tamīmī the celebrated chief Minister of Shāhdjahān and the physician ʿIlm al-Dīn al-Anṣārī, better known to history as Wazīr Khān, the Mughal governor of Lahore during the reign of Shāhdjahān, were both natives of Činīōt. Saʿd Allāh Khān made a gift to his townsmen of the exceedingly handsome Djāmiʿ Masdjid built of stone obtained from the neighbouring hills; Wazīr Khān built the famous mosque of Lahore still known after him and founded the town of Wazīrābād. Some of the masons employed on the Tādj Maḥall (Agra) are said to have been drawn from Činīōt, most probably at the instance of Saʿd Allāh Khān, who knew all about their skill in masonry, and one of those who built the (Sikh) Golden Temple at Amritsar was also a resident of Činīōt. This town was also famous for wood-carving and some very fine specimens of wood-work can still be seen in the old town.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

CINTRA [see SHINTARA]

ČIRĀGH-I DIHLĪ ("Light of Dihlī"), the *laḳab* of SHAYKH NAṢĪR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD B. YAḤYĀ YAZDĪ, AWADHĪ, said to be based on a remark of his contemporary Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad al-Yāfiʿī (d. 768/1367) (*Firishta*, ii, 781⁷, 747³, Djamālī, 141b). He was one of the most eminent

disciples of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā'. His father Yaḥyā was born in Lāhore. Later the family settled at Awadh (Ayōdhyā), where his father traded in woollen cloth or cotton (*pashmina* in *Khayr al-Madjālis*, var. *panbe* in *Akhbār* 80). It was in Awadh that Maḥmūd was born, but he was not yet nine, when his father died. His widowed mother arranged for his education with a distinguished scholar of those days Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Karīm Sharwānī (*Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, ii, 70), with whom he studied up to al-Marghīnānī, *Hidāyat al-Fiḳh*, and Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, (Brockelmann, I 373, S I 637). When Sharwānī died the young Maḥmūd completed his education in the usual sciences with Mawlānā Iftikhār al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Gīlānī (*Nuzha*, ii, 15). When he was about twenty-five, he renounced the world and for seven years went through a rigorous course of self-discipline and self-mortification, and fought against the passions with prayer and fasting. At forty-three he moved to Dihlī and became a disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', *i.e.*, Muḥammad Badā'ūnī. After this he visited Awadh only occasionally and was mostly attending on his *murshid* at the *Djamāʿat Khāna* at Kīlokharī, on the bank of the Djamnā.

He resided in Dihlī in the house of his old friend and fellow-disciple Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb [*q.v.*]. Towards the end of 724/1324, or a few months later, his Shaykh, who was then about 94, appointed him his successor in Dihlī, to carry on his life-work and passed on to him the souvenirs (*khirḳa*, rosary etc.) of his own Shaykh (Farīd al-Dīn) (Māndwī, 115, cf. Kirmānī, 220-2). He followed his Shaykh punctiliously in the path of poverty and patience, resignation (in the will of God) and acceptance (*taslīm wa riḍā*) and remained celibate like him. After the death of his Shaykh he guided the people for thirty-two years. Kirmānī (242 ff.) gives several instances of his remarkable power of thought-reading.

He and most of his *khalīfa*s lived in strict obedience to the *sharīʿa*, and engaged themselves in teaching religious sciences and the spreading of knowledge (cf. Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād, *Subḥat al-Mardjān*, 30). A contemporary *faḳīh*, Kamāl al-Dīn, the author of *Ṭurfat al-Fuḳahā'* (in verse), who visited his *khānaḳāh*, confirms it thus:

> "On every side Jurisprudence and (its) Principles were being taught,
> On every side God, and the Apostle were being mentioned".
>
> *Har ṭaraf dars-hā zi fiḳh u uṣūl,*
> *Har ṭaraf dhikr az Khudāwa Rasūl.*
> (Panjab University MS. f. 12a)

When Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluḳ 725-52/1324-51) adopted a hostile policy against the *ʿulamā'* etc. (for reasons discussed by Mahdī Ḥusayn), he created difficulties for the Shaykh too in various ways. The sultan would take him along with him on his travels and on one occasion he put him in charge of his wardrobe. The Shaykh bore all these troubles and annoyances patiently, keeping in view the injunctions of his master (Kirmānī 245 f.; Djamālī 138b; Māndwī 115; *Akhbār* 81, 91; Firishta, ii, 747; Badā'ūnī, i, 242). However his relations with the sultan's successor, Fīrūz Shāh, were much better, and the Shaykh supported the sultan's ascent to the throne (Baranī (Bib. Ind.), 535; ʿAfīf (Bib. Ind.) 29; *Mubārak Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.) 121; Badā'ūnī, i, 241f.; *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, i, 225). True to the tradition of the great Čishtī Saints, he compiled no book (*Akhbār*, 81) but his *obiter dicta*, and anecdotes about him, were collected by Ḥamīd Ḳalandar (*Akhbār*, 109, 86). The work called *Khayr al-Madjālis*, begun in 755/1354 and completed in 756/1355, is divided into 100 *Madjālis* (Assemblies). The Shaykh himself revised this work. A *takmila* (supplement) was added to it by the author, after the death of the Shaykh. The narrative is given in simple Persian and the account is full and detailed. For quotations from it see *Akhbar*, 109-112, 82-5. An Urdū translation of it exists (*Ta'rīkh Mashayikh Čisht* 162n, 183n). A number of his sayings reveal a learned and illumined personality. For an Arabic verse of his see *Akhbār*, 97.

The enormous influence which he wielded in Dihlī and outside it (northern India and Deccan) in his own and the following generations, becomes clear from the lengthy list of his notable disciples and *khalīfa*s, who are noticed in detail in the *Akhbār*, 129-148, 141, 142-146, 147-149 and 85, (see also *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, ii, 159), including as it does, among others such names as those of Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Muḳtadir (d. 791/1389; see also *Subḥa*, 29, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, (ii, 70), Sayyid Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, usually known as Gēsūdarāz (died in Gulbarga in 825/1422, see Firishta, ii, 748, Rieu, 347), Sayyid Djalāl Bukhārī Makhdūm-i Djahāniyan (d. 785/1384 in Sindh), Aḥmad Thānesarī (died in Kālpī; who won consideration from Amīr Tīmūr (*Akhbār*, 142), Muṭahhar of Kaŕa (for whom see the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lāhore, May 1935, 107-160, Aug. 1935, 48-216, *Akhbār*, 85 f.), and Mawlānā Khwadjagī (*Akhbār* 141). To this list may be added the names of (Akhī Sirādj Parwāna, the Shaykh's *khalīfa* in Bengāl, Ḥusām al-Dīn of Nahrawālā (Gudjarāt) (Firishta, ii, 748, 747), and Muḥammad Mudjīr Wadjīh al-Dīn Adīb, author of the *Miftāḥ al-Djinān* (Rieu, 40 f.).

The Shaykh died after a short illness on the 18th Ramaḍān 757/15 September 1356, and was buried in his own house (Kirmānī, 247), appointing no successor, and the relics he had received from his Shaykh were buried with him. This symbolised the end of the first series of the great Čishtī Saints in India. A mausoleum was built on his tomb by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh. A tomb close to the Shaykh's is popularly supposed to be that of Sulṭān Bahlol Lodī. For a description of it see *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments, Delhi Province*, iii, *Mahrauli Zail*, Calcutta 1922,

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Niẓāmī, *Ta'rīkh-i Mashāyikh-i Čisht* (Urdū) Delhī n.d., 181-6. (MOḤAMMAD SHAFĪ)

ČIRĀGHĀN (plur. of *čirāgh*, means of illumination such as candle, torch or lamp), the name of a palace on the European side of the Bosphorus between Beshiktāsh and Ortaköy. First built by Sulṭān Murād IV for his daughter Kaya Sulṭān, it was rebuilt by Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha, the Grand Vizier of Sultān Aḥmad ,for his wife Faṭima Sultān. During the sultan's frequent visits, the famous *čirāghān* festivities (the illumination of tulip gardens with candles and lamps, tortoises with candles on them also wandered about in the gardens) were celebrated here. It was rebuilt of wood by Sulṭān Muṣṭafā III for this daughter Beyhan Sulṭān, with a magnificient hall 180 tr. in length, various ceremony halls, valuable floors and interior decorations. Demolished in 1859 by Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Medjīd, the reconstruction began in the time of Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 1863 and was completed in 1869. Made of stone, its architectural style was a mixture of classical styles to suit eastern taste. The building on the beach consisted of three parts, the façade with its mosaics, marble columns and stone work, the interior with its interior decorations, ceilings, wooden wall linings and doors inlaid with mother of pearl were separate works of art. After his deposition in 1876, Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz stayed there until his suicide. The deposed Sulṭān Murād V was forced to live there for 27 years. With small alterations, it was used as a Parliament house for the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies and was destroyed by fire three months later on 7 Muḥarram 1328/19 January 1910. The walls and the imperial doors are the only remnants.

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CIRCASSIANS [see ČERKES]

CIRCUMCISION [see KHITĀN]

ČIRMEN, located at the site of Burdipta, a fortress of the ancient Thracians (cf. Tomaschek, 325), is called Τζερνομιάνον in the chronicle of the Byzantine historian Kantakuzenos (cf. also Chalkokondyles, who mentions a Κερμιανόν χῶρον and Črŭnomêcĭ in the Serbian sources. It lies on the south side of the river Maritsa, not far above Adrianople (Edirne) and was, at the time of the earlier Ottoman conquests in the Balkans, a point of some strategic importance, since it commanded a ford across the river. At Čirmen, in September 1371/Rabīʿ I 773), the Ottomans inflicted a crushing defeat on the southern Serbs led by the princes Vukašin and Uglješa. As the tide of Ottoman conquest in the Balkans advanced further towards the north and west, so the significance of Čirmen as a fortress began to decline. Ewliyā Čelebī describes it as *ič il ḳalʿesi*, *i.e.*, a fortress of the interior, without garrison and equipment and with its walls in a state of disrepair. Čirmen was during the 14th-19th centuries the centre of a *sandjaḳ* in the *eyālet* of Rūmeli, but sank thereafter to the status of a *nāḥiye* in the *ḳaḍā'* of Muṣṭafā Pāshā Köprüsü belonging to the *wilāyet* and *sandjaḳ* of Edirne.

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ČISHTĪ, KHWĀDJA MUʿĪN AL-DĪN ḤASAN, one of the most outstanding figures in the annals of Islamic mysticism and founder of the Čishtiyya order [see the following article] in India, was born in or about 536/1141 in Sidjistān. He was in his teens when his father, Sayyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn, died leaving as legacy a grinding mill and an orchard. The sack of Sidjistān at the hands of the Ghuzz Turks turned his mind inwards and he developed strong mystic tendencies. He distributed all his assets and took to itineracy. He visited the seminaries of Samarḳand and Bukhārā and acquired religious learning at the feet of eminent scholars of his age. While on his way to ʿIrāḳ, he passed through Harvan, a *ḳaṣaba* in the district of Nīshāpūr. Here he met Khwādja ʿUthmān and joined the circle of his disciples. For twenty years he accompanied his mystic teacher on his *Wanderjahre*. Later on he undertook independent journeys and came into contact with eminent saints and scholars like Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Gīlānī, Shaykh Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā, Shaykh Nadjīb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir Suhrawardī, Shaykh Abū Saʿīd Tabrīzī, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Waḥid Ghaznawī—all of whom were destined to exercise great influence on contemporary religious thought. He visited nearly all the great centres of Muslim culture in those days—Samarḳand, Bukhārā, Baghdād, Nīshāpūr, Tabrīz, Awsh, Iṣfahān, Sabzawār, Mihna, Khirḳān, Astarābād, Balkh and Ghaznīn—and acquainted himself with almost every important trend in Muslim religious life in the middle ages. He then turned towards India and, after a brief stay at Lahore, where he spent some time in meditation at the tomb of Shaykh ʿAlī al-Hudjwīrī, reached Adjmēr before its conquest by the Ghūrids. It was here that he married at an advanced age. According to ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (d. 1642) he took two wives, one of them being the daughter of a Hindu rādjā. He had three sons—Shaykh Abū Saʿīd, Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn and Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn—and one daughter, Bībī Djamāl, from these wives. Bībī Djamāl had strong mystic leanings but his sons were not inclined towards mysticism. Nothing is known about Abū Saʿīd; Fakhr al-Dīn took to farming at Mandal, near Adjmēr; while Ḥusām al-Dīn disappeared mysteriously. Muʿīn al-Dīn died at Adjmēr in 633/1236. His tomb is venerated by Hindus and Muslims alike

and hundreds of thousands of people from all over the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent assemble there on the occasion of his *ʿurs* (death anniversary).

The *dargāh* area contains many buildings—gates, mosques, hospices, *langars* etc.—constructed by the rulers of Malwa, the Mug͟hal emperors, nobles, merchants and mystics during the past several centuries. Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ (626-752/1325-1351) was the first Sultan of Dihlī who visited his grave (*Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn*, Madras, 466). The K͟haldjī Sultans of Malwa constructed the tomb of the saint. It was during the reign of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) that Adjmēr became one of the most important centres of pilgrimage in the country. The Mug͟hal emperors displayed great reverence for the mausoleum of the saint. Akbar undertook a journey on foot to Adjmēr, and S͟hāh Djahān's daughter, Djahān-Ārā, cleansed and swept the tomb with her eyelids.

K͟hwādja Muʿīn al-Dīn laid the foundations of the Čis͟htī order in India and worked out its principles at Adjmēr, the seat of Čawhān power. No authentic details are available about the way he worked in the midst of a population which looked askance at every foreigner. It appears that his stay was disliked by Prithvī Rādj and the caste Hindūs but the common people flocked to him in large numbers. He visited Delhi twice during the reign of Iletmis͟h (1210-1235), but kept himself away from the centre of political power and quietly worked for a cultural revolution in the country. His firm faith in *waḥdat al-wudjūd* (Unity of Being) provided the necessary ideological support to his mystic mission to bring about emotional integration of the people amongst whom he lived. Some of his sayings, as preserved in *Siyar al-Awliyāʾ*, reveal him as a man of wide sympathies, catholic views and deep humanism. He interpreted religion in terms of human service and exhorted his disciples "to develop river-like generosity, sun-like affection and earth-like hospitality". The highest form of devotion (*ṭāʿat*), according to him, was "to redress the misery of those in distress; to fulfil the needs of the helpless and to feed the hungry". The Čis͟htī order owes to him the ideology which is expounded in the conversations of S͟hayk͟h Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (*Fawāʾid al-Fuʾād*) and other Čis͟htī mystic works of the 7th/13th and the 8th/14th centuries.

Bibliography: No contemporary record of the saint's life or teachings is available. The works attributed to him—*Gandj al-Asrār*, *Anīs al-Arwāḥ*, *Dalīl al-ʿĀrifīn* and *Dīwān-i Muʿīn*—are apocryphal. (See Prof. M. Ḥabīb, *Chishti Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period*, in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. i, no. 2, 15-22; K. A. Niẓāmī, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Aligarh 1956, 40-42). The earliest notices are found in *Surūr al-Ṣudūr* (conversations of S͟hayk͟h Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Ṣūfī, a disciple of the saint, compiled by his grandson—MSS Ḥabībgandj and personal collection) and *Siyar al-Awliyāʾ* (Delhi 1301, 45-48), but they contain very few details about his life. The first detailed account of his life is given by a sixteenth century mystic, S͟hayk͟h Djamālī (*Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn*, Delhi 1311, 4-17) who collected whatever material he could in foreign lands. All later hagiological works, with a few exceptions, have confused fact with fiction and incorporated all kinds of legends. This literature may be of value in tracing the growth of legends round the K͟hwādja's person; its historical value is, nevertheless, very meagre. For later authorities, Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Sir Sayyid ed., 207; G͟hawt͟hī, *Gulzār-i Abrār*, As. Soc. of Bengal Ms. D. 262, f. 8v-10; *Taʾrīk͟h-i Firis͟hta*, Nawal Kishore, 1281, ii, 375-378; ʿAlī Aṣg͟har Čis͟htī, *Djawāhir-i Farīdī*, Lahore 1301, 146-163; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Ak͟hbār al-Ak͟hyār*, Delhi 1309, 22-24; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Mirʾāt al-Asrār*, MS personal collection, 408-426; *Siyar al-Aḳṭāb*, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow 1331 100-141; G͟hulām Muʿīn al-Dīn, *Maʿāridj al-Walāyat*, MS personal collection, i, 3-27; Tādj al-Dīn Rūḥ Allāh, *Risāla Ḥāl K͟hānwāda-i Čis͟ht*, MS. personal collection, f. 2a-5b; Bahā *alias* Radja, *Risāla Aḥwāl Pīrān-i Čis͟ht*, MS personal collection, 77-80; Dārā S͟hukōh, *Safīnat al-Awliyāʾ*, Agra 1269, no. 110; Djahān-Ārā, *Munis al-Arwāḥ*, (MSS Storey, 1000); Ikrām Baraswī, *Iḳtibās al-Anwār*, Lahore 132-147; Raḥīm Bak͟hs͟h Fak͟hrī, *S͟hadjarat al-Anwār*, MS personal collection, 141b-162b; Nadjm al-Dīn, *Manāḳib al-Ḥabīb*, Delhi 1332; Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Taḥḳiḳāt-i Awlād-i K͟hwādja Ṣāḥib*, Delhi; Imām al-Dīn K͟hān, *Muʿīn al-Awliyāʾ*, Adjmēr 1213; Bābū Lāl, *Waḳāʾ-i S͟hāh Muʿīn al-Dīn*, Nawal Kishore; K. A. Niẓāmī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Mas͟hāʾik͟h-i Čis͟ht*, Nadwat K͟hādim Ḥasan, *Muʿīn al-Arwāḥ*, Agra 1953; al-Muṣannifīn, Delhi 1953, 142-147; Storey, 943.

(K. A. Nizami)

ČIS͟HTIYYA, one of the most popular and influential mystic orders of India. It derives its name from Čis͟ht, a village near Harat (marked as K͟hwādja Čis͟ht on some maps), where the real founder of the order, K͟hwādja Abū Isḥāḳ of Syria (Mīr K͟hurd, *Siyar al-Awliyāʾ*, Delhi 1302, 39-40; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, Nawal Kishore 1915, 296) settled at the instance of his spiritual mentor, K͟hwādja Mams͟hād ʿUlw of Dinawar (a place in Ḳuhistān, between Hamadān and Bag͟hdād). The *silsila* is traced back to the Prophet as follows: Abū Isḥāḳ, Mams͟hād ʿUlw Dinawarī, Amīn al-Dīn Abū Hubayrat al-Baṣrī, Sadīd al-Dīn Huzayfat al-Marʿas͟hī, Ibrāhīm Adham al-Balk͟hī, Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd, Ḥasan al-Basrī, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet Muḥammad. S͟hāh Walī Allah (d. 1763) has doubted the validity of the tradition which makes Ḥasan al-Baṣrī a spiritual successor of ʿAlī (*Al-Intibāh fī Salāsil-i Awliyāʾ Allāh*, Delhi 1311, 18), but his views have been criticised by S͟hāh Fak͟hr al-Dīn Dihlawī (d. 1784) in his *Fak͟hr al-Ḥasan* (commentary on this, by Mawlānā Aḥsan al-Zamān, *Al-Ḳawl al-Mustaḥsin fī Fak͟hr al-Ḥasan*, Ḥaydarābād 1312). The pre-Indian history of the Čis͟htī order cannot be reconstructed on the basis of any authentic historical data. K͟hwādja Muʿīn al-Dīn Sidjzī Čis͟htī [see preceding article] brought the *silsila* to India in the 12th century and established a Čis͟htī mystic centre at Adjmēr, whence the order spread far and wide in India and became a force in the spiritual life of the Indian Muslims. K͟hwādja Muʿīn al-Dīn was connected with the founder of the *silsila* by the following chain of spiritual ancestors: Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥasan, ʿUt͟hmān Harvanī, Ḥādjī S͟harīf Zindānī, Mawdūd Čis͟htī, Abī Yūsuf, Abī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Abī Aḥmad b. Farasnafa, Abū Isḥāḳ. (The earliest lists of the great Čis͟htī saints in the order of their spiritual succession are given in *Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn*, Madras, 7-8; *K͟hayr al-Madjālis*, Aligarh, 7-8; *Siyar al-Awliyāʾ*, Delhi, 32-45; *Aḥsan al-Aḳwāl*, MS personal collection).

A: History of the Order

The Čis͟htiyya order had four distinct phases of its activity in India: (i) Era of the Great

Shaykhs (circa 597/1200 to 757/1356), (ii) Era of the Provincial Khānaḳāhs (8th/14th & 9th/15th centuries), (iii) Rise of the Ṣābiriyya Branch (9th/15th century onwards), and (iv) Revival of the Niẓāmiyya Branch 12th/(18th century onwards).

The saints of the first cycle established their *khānaḳahs* mainly in Radjputāna, U.P. and the Pandjāb. Some of them, like Ḥamīd al-Dīn Ṣūfī, worked out the Čishtī mystic principles in the rural areas; others lived in *ḳaṣabas* and towns but scrupulously avoided identification with the centre of political power. They refused to accept *djāgīrs* and government services; did not perpetuate spiritual succession in their own families and looked upon 'learning' as an essential qualification for spiritual work. Under Shaykh Farīd Gandj-i Shakar and Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', the influence of the order was extended to the whole of India, and people flocked to their hospices from distant parts of the country. The *silsila* possessed during this period a highly integrated central structure which controlled and guided the activities of those associated with it. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's policy (1325-1351) of forcing the saints to settle in different parts of the country paralysed the central organization of the Čishtīs. Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh and a few other elder saints refused, at the risk of their lives, to co-operate with the Tughluḳ Sulṭān, but many of the younger mystics entered government service. Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn was also called upon to protect the mystic ideology and institutions against the attacks levelled by Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*]. After him the central organization of the Čishtī order broke down and provincial *khānaḳāhs*, which did not owe allegiance to any central authority, came into existence.

It was mainly through the disciples of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' that the Čishtī order spread in the various provinces of India. Some of them had taken up their residence in provincial towns at the instance of their master; others were forced by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ to settle there. It is significant that the arrival of these saints in provincial towns coincided with the rise of provincial kingdoms. In these circumstances many of these saints could not keep themselves away from the provincial courts. The traditions of the saints of the first cycle were consequently discarded and the comfortable theory was expounded that mystics should consort with kings and high officers in order to influence them for the good. State endowments were accepted and, in return, spiritual blessings and moral support was given to the founders of the new provincial dynasties. The principle of hereditary succession was also introduced in the *silsila*.

Shaykh Sirādj al-Dīn, popularly known as Akhī Sirādj, introduced the *silsila* in Bengal. His disciple Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn b. As'ad was fortunate in having two eminent disciples—Sayyid Nūr Ḳuṭb-i 'Alam and Sayyid Ashraf Djahāngīr Simnānī—who played a very important role in popularising the Čishtī *silsila* in Bengal, Bihar and eastern U.P. When Rādjā Kans established his power in Bengal, Sayyid Nūr Ḳuṭb-i 'Alam organized public opinion against him and persuaded Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharḳī of Djawnpūr (1402-1440) to invade Bengal. Nūr Ḳuṭb-i 'Alam and his descendants had a share in creating that religious stir which ultimately led to the rise of the Bhakti movement in Bengal and Bihār.

The Čishtiyya order was introduced in the Deccan by Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb who settled at Dawlatābād and propagated the Čishtī mystic principles. The city of Burhānpur was named after him. His disciple, Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn, was the spiritual master of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥasan Shāh (1347-1359), the founder of the Bahmanī kingdom. Later

(i) ERA OF THE GREAT SHAYKHS:

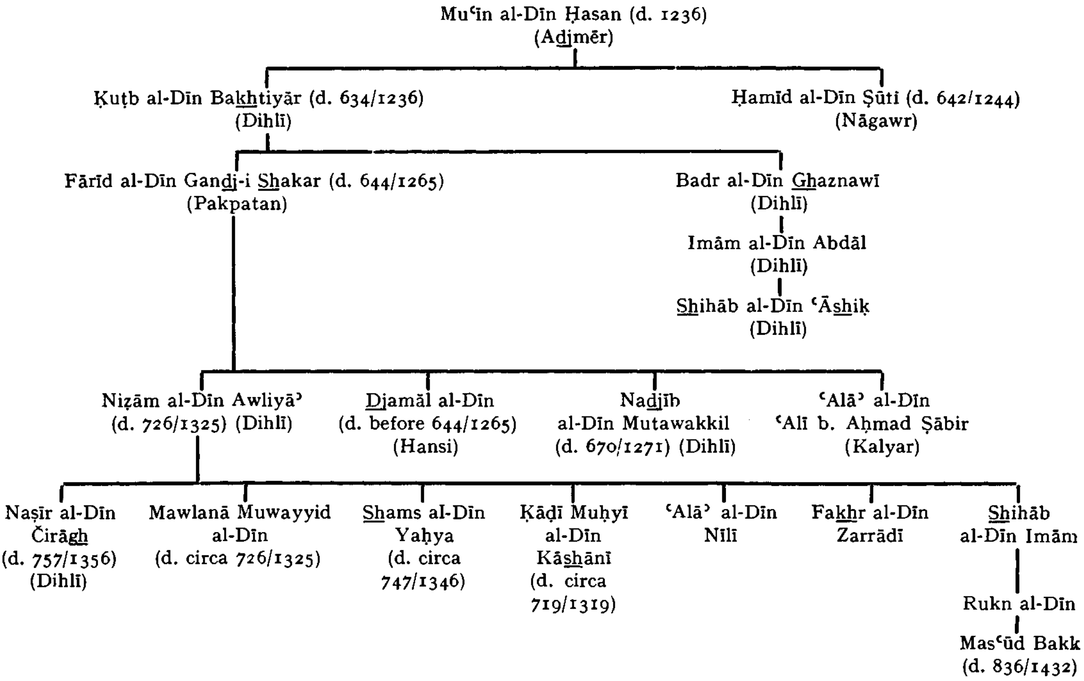

(ii) ERA OF THE PROVINCIAL KHĀNAKĀHS:

- Sirādj al-Dīn Akhī Sirādj (d. 759/1357) (Gawŕ, Bengal)
  - ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Asʿad Lāhurī Bengali (d. 801/1398) (Pandwa)
    - Nūr Kuṭb-i ʿAlam (d. 313/1410) (Pandwa)
      - Ḥusām al-Dīn (d.822/1477) (Mānikpur)
        - Rādjī Ḥāmid Shāh (d. 901/1495) (Mānikpur)
          - Ḥasan Ṭāhir of Djawnpur (d. 901/1503) (Dihlī)
      - Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Ṭāhir (Ranthambor)
    - Sayyid Ashraf Djāhangīr Simnānī (d. 808/1405) (Kačoča)
- Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Munawwar (d. circa 760/1358) (Hānsī)
  - Nūr al-Dīn
  - Tādj al-Dīn Shīr Suwār (d. circa 784/1382) (Narnawl)
- Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh (d. 757/1356) (Dihlī)
  - Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz (d. 826/1422) (Gulbarga)
    - Mīr Sayyid Yād Allāh (d. 849/1445)
      - Shaykh Piyāra (d. 865/1460)
        - Shāh Djalāl Gudjrātī (d. 881/1476)
          - Shaykh Muḥammad (d. 900/1494). (Malawa, near Kanawdj)
            - Shaykh Saʿd Allāh (grandfather of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith Dihlawi)
  - Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Muḳtadir (Dihlī)
    - Shaykh ʿAbd al-Fatḥ (Djawnpur)
  - Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAllama (Gudjarāt)
    - Sirādj al-Dīn (d. 814/1411) (Aḥmadābād)
      - ʿAlam al-Ḥaḳḳ
        - Maḥmūd known as Shaykh Rādjan
          - Ḥasan Muḥammad
            - Yaḥyā Madani
              - Shāh Kalīm Allāh Djahānābādī (Dihlī)
  - Mawlānā Khwādjgī (Nalpī)
- Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb (d. circa 741/1340) (Dawlatābād)
  - Zayn al-Dīn
- Sayyid Ḥusayn (Nahrwala)
- Ḥusām al-Dīn Multānī (d. circa 755/1354) (Nahrwala)
- Shāh Barak Allāh (Gudjarāt)
- Wadjīh al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. circa 729/1328) (Čanderī)
- Kamāl al-Dīn (Mālwa)
- Mughīth al-Dīn (Udjdjayn)

(iii) RISE OF THE ṢĀBIRIYYA BRANCH:

- Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Ṣābir (d. 691/1291) (Kalyar)
  - Shams al-Dīn Turk (Panīpat)
    - Djalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd (Panipat)
      - Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (d. 838/1434) (Radawlī)
        - Shaykh ʿArif (Radawli)
          - Shaykh Muḥammad
            - ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs (d. 944/1537) (Gangū)
              - ʿAbd al-Aḥad (father of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī)
              - Djalāl al-Dīn Fārūḳī (Thanesar) (d. 990/1582)
                - Niẓām al-Dīn Fārūḳī (Balkh) (d. circa 1036/1626)
                  - Abū Saʿīd (Gangū)
                    - Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ
                      - Muḥammad Dāʾūd
                        - Shāh Abu'l-Maʿālī (d. 1112/1700)
                          - Muḥammad Saʿīd
                            - Sayyid Muḥammad Sālim (d. 1175/1761)
                              - Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAẓam (d. 1227/1812)
                                - Ḥāfiẓ Mūsā Mānikpurī (d. 1280/1863)
                                  - Sayyid Amānat ʿAli (d. 1280/1863)
                                    - Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Ḥusayn (author of *Anwār al-ʿĀrifīn*)
                                      - Ḥādjī Imdād Allāh of Thānā Bhawan (d. 1317/1899) (Mecca)
                                        - Muḥammad Ḳāsim Nanawtawī (d. 1295/1878) (founder of the *madrasa* of Deoband)
                                        - Ashraf ʿAlī (Thāna Bhawan)
                                          - Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī (d. 1953) (Karachi)
                                        - Rashīd Aḥmad (d. 1905) (Gangū)
                                          - Maḥmūd Ḥasan, *Shaykh al-Hind* (d. 1920) (D‹ oband)
                                          - Ḥusayn Aḥmad Madanī (d. 1957) (Deoband)
                                          - Khalīl Aḥmad Anbethawi (d. 1927) (Medina)
                                            - Muḥammad Ilyās Kandhlawī (d 1944) (Dihlī)
                                          - ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥaddith (Amroha)
                                        - Aḥmad Ḥasan Muḥaddith (d. 1911) (Amroha)
                        - Shaykh Saundhā (d. 1119/1707)
                          - Muḥammad Ikram (author of *Iḳtibās al-Anwār*)
                    - Muḥibb Allāh Ṣadrpurī (d. 1058/1648) (Allāhābād)
                      - Shāh Muḥammadī Fayyāḍ (d. 1107/1695) (Agra)
                        - Shāh ʿAḍd al-Dīn (d. 1172/1758)
                          - Shāh ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 1190/1776) (Amroha)
                            - Shāh ʿAbd al-Bārī (d. 1226/1811)
                              - Sayyid ʿAbd al-Rahīm Fāṭimī (d. 1247/1831) (Balakot)
                                - Miyāndjī Nūr Muḥammad (d. 1259/1843) (Djhandjhāna)
                                  - Ḥādjī Imdād Allāh of Thānā Bhawan (see above)
            - Shaykh Budh
              - Shaykh Pīr
                - Ḳuṭb al-Dīn
                  - Shaykh Ḥāmid (d. 1033/1623)
                    - ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (author of *Mirʾāt al-Asrār*)
              - Shaykh Manṣūı Shaykh ʿAlam

on, a disciple of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh, Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz, set up a Čishtī centre at Gulbarga. He was a prolific writer and a scholar of several languages. Through him the *silsila* spread in the Deccan and Gudjarāt.

In Gudjarāt, the *silsila* was introduced by two less known disciples of Khwādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn—Shaykh Maḥmūd and Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn. Later on, three disciples of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā'—Sayyid Ḥasan, Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn Multānī and Shaykh Barak Allāh reached there. But the work of organizing it on effective lines was undertaken by ʿAllama Kamāl al-Dīn, a nephew of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh. His son, Sirādj al-Dīn, refused to accede to the request of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī (1397-1422), to settle in the Deccan and applied himself to the task of expanding the *silsila* in Gudjarāt. Besides, some other saints of the Čishtī *silsila* settled in Gudjarāt. Shaykh Yaʿḳūb, a *khalīfa* of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Dawlatābādī, set up a Čishtī *khanaḳāh* at Nahrwala; Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Ḳazwīnī, who belonged to the line of Gīsū Darāz, settled at Bharoč. Shaykh Rukn al-Din Mawdūd, another saint of the *silsila*, became a very popular figure in Gudjarāt. His disciple, Shaykh ʿAzīz Allāh al-Muta wakkil-ila'llāh, was the father of Shaykh Raḥmat Allāh, the spiritual mentor of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bēgaŕā (862-917/1458-1511).

The Čishtiyya order was organized in Mālwa by the following three disciples of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā': Shaykh Wadjīh al-Dīn Yūsuf, Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn and Mawlānā Mughīth al-Dīn. Wadjīh al-Dīn settled at Čanderī, Shaykh Kamāl-al-Dīn and Mawlānā Mughīth settled in Mandū.

Very little is known about the founder the Ṣābiriyya branch, which came into prominence in the 9th/15th century when Shaykh Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ set up a great mystic centre at Rudawli. The main centres of this branch of the Čishtī *silsila* were Kalyar (near Roorkee in the Saharanpur district of U.P.), Panīpat, Rudawli (38 miles from Bārā Bankī in Awadh), Gangu (23 miles u.c. of Saharanpur, in U.P.), Thanesar (near Panīpat), Djhandjhānā (in Muẓaffarnagar district, U.P.) Allāhābād, Amroha (in the Murādābād district of U.P.) Deoband (in Saharanpur district, U.P.); Thāna Bhawan (in Muẓaffarnagar district, U.P.) and Nānawta (in Saharanpur district). Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳuddus was the greatest figure of the Ṣābiriyya branch. He left Rudawli in 1491, at the suggestion of the famous Afghān noble, ʿUmar Khān, and settled at Shāhābād, near Dihlī. In 1526, when Bābur sacked Shāhābād, he went to Gangū and settled there. His epistolary collection, *Maktūbāt-i Ḳuddūsī*, contains letters addressed to Sikandar Lōdī (1488-1517), Bābur (1526-1530) Humāyūn (1530-1556) and a number of Afghān and Mughal nobles. The relations of the Ṣābiriyya saints with the Mughal emperors were not always very cordial. Akbar (1556-1605) no doubt paid a visit to Shaykh Djalāl al-Dīn Fārūḳī at Thanesar, but Djahāngīr (1605-1627) became hostile towards his disciple, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Fārūḳī, because he had met the rebel prince, Khusraw, when he was passing through Thanesar. Djahāngīr forced him to leave India. Darā Shukoh had great respect for and carried on correspondence with Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh, but Awrangzīb was very critical of his religious views. Shāh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm joined the movement of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd and died fighting at Balākot in 1830. Hādjī Imdād Allāh migrated from India in 1857 and settled at Mecca. He attracted a very large number of externalist scholars to his mystic fold. Many of the outstanding Indo-Muslim

(iv) REVIVAL OF THE NIẒĀMIYYA BRANCH:

- Shāh Kalīm Allāh Djahānābādī (d. 1142/1729) (Dihlī)
  - Shāh Niẓām al-Dīn (d.1142/1729) (Awrangābād)
    - Shāh Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 1199/1784) (Dihlī)
      - Nūr Muhammad (d. 1205/1790) (Mahārān, in Bahawalpur)
        - Muḥammad ʿĀḳil (d. 1229/1813) (Čačrān, Pandjāb)
          - Gul Muḥammad Aḥmadpuri (d. 1243/1827) (author of *Takmilah-i Siyar al-Awliyā'*)
        - Ḥāfiẓ Djamāl (d. 1226/1811) (Multān)
          - Khudā Bakhsh (Multān)
        - Shāh Muḥammad Sulaymān (d. 1267/1850) (Taunsa, near Dera Ghazī Khan)
          - Allāh Bakhsh (d. 1901) (Taunsa)
            - Ḥāfiẓ Mūsā (d. 1906) (Taunsa)
          - Shams al-Dīn (d. 1300/1882) (Siyāl, Pandjāb)
            - Mihr ʿAlī Shāh (Gulra, Pandjāb)
            - Ghulām Ḥaydar ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1908) (Djalālpur, Pandjāb)
          - Muḥammad ʿAlī (d. 1266/1849) (Khayrābād, U.P.)
          - Hādjī Nadjm al-Din (d. 1287/1870) (Fatḥpur, near Djhundjhunu, Rādjputāna)
            - Ḥakīm Muḥammad Ḥasan (d. 1904) (Amroha)
      - Shāh Niyāz Aḥmad (d. 1250/1834) (Bareilly)
        - Sayyid Niẓām al-Dīn (Bareilly)
          - Shāh Muḥyī al-Dīn (Bareilly)

ʿulamāʾ of the post-1857 period, like Mawlānā Rashīd Aḥmad Muḥaddith of Gangu, Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḳāsim Nanawtawī, Mawlānā Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī, Mawlānā Maḥmūd al-Ḥasan Deobandī, Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī, Mawlānā Ḥusayn Aḥmad Madanī, Mawlānā Khalīl Aḥmad, Mawlānā Muḥammad Ilyās Kandhlawī, Mawlānā Aḥmad Ḥasan Muḥaddith Amrohwī, may be counted amongst his spiritual descendants. Almost all the great *ʿulamāʾ* of Deoband [*q.v.*] are spiritually associated with the Čishtiyya *silsila* through him.

The Niẓāmiyya branch of the Čishtiyya *silsila* was revitalised by Shāh Kalīm Allāh Djahānābādī. He belonged to that famous family of architects which had built the Tādj Maḥall of Agra and the Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Dihlī, but he dedicated himself to spiritual work and infused new life into the almost defunct Čishtī organization. After Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh, he was the greatest Čishtī saint who revived the old traditions and strove to build up a central organization of the *silsila*. His disciples spread in the distant south also. His chief *khalīfa*, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, worked in Awrangābād. The latter's son, Shāh Fakhr al-Dīn, came to Dihlī and set up a mystic centre there. It was through his two *khalīfas*, Shāh Nūr Muḥammad of Mahārān and Shāh Niyāz Aḥmad of Bareilly, that the *silsila* spread in the Pandjāb, N.W. Frontier, and U.P. Shāh Nūr Muḥammad's disciples set up *khānaḳāh*s at the following places in the Pandjāb: Taunsa, Čačrān, Kōt Mithan, Aḥmadpur, Multān, Siyāl, Gulra, and Djalālpur. Shāh Niyāz Aḥmad worked mainly in Dihlī and U.P.

B: Ideology

The early Čishtī mystics of India had adopted the *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī as their chief guide book. On it was based the organisation of their *khānaḳāh*s, and the elder saints taught it to their disciples. The *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb* of Hudjwīrī was also a very popular work and Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ used to say: "For one who has no spiritual guide, the *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb* is enough". Apart from these two works, the *malfūẓāt* (conversations) of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh, Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb and Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū-Darāz give a fairly accurate idea of the Čishtī mystic ideology. (i) The cornerstone of Čishtī ideology was the concept of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* (Unity of Being). It supplied the motive force to their mystic mission and determined their social outlook. The early Čishtī saints, however, did not write anything about *waḥdat al-wudjūd*. Masʿūd Bakk's *Mirʾāt al-ʿĀrifīn* and his *dīwān*, *Nūr al-ʿAyn*, gave currency to these ideas and his works became a popular study in the Čishtī *khānaḳāh*s. Later on, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs wrote a commentary on Ibn al-ʿArabī's books and he was followed by Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Thānesarī, who wrote two commentaries on ʿIrāḳī's *Lamaʿāt*. One of his *khalīfas*, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Kārim Lāhurī, wrote a Persian commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*. Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh of Allāhābād was a very powerful exponent of the ideology of *waḥdāt al-wudjūd*. Awrangzīb, who was more influenced by the school of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, ordered his books to be burnt. (ii) The Čishtīs looked down upon possession of private property as a negation of faith in God. They rejected all worldly goods and material attractions (*tark-i dunyā*) and lived on *futūḥ*, which were not demanded as charity. (iii) They believed in pacifism and non-violence and considered retaliation and revenge as laws of the animal world. They lived and worked for a healthy social order—free from all dissensions and discriminations. (iv) In no form was contact with the state permitted. "There are two abuses among the mystics", says an early Čishtī mystic, "*djirrat* and *muḳallid*. *Muḳallid* is one who has no master; *djirrat* is one who visits kings and their courts and asks people for money". (v) The *summum bonum* of a mystic's life, according to Čishtīs, is to live for the Lord alone. He should neither hope for Heaven nor fear Hell. Man's Love towards God may be of three kinds: (a) *maḥabbat-i Islāmī*, *i.e.*, love which a new convert to Islam develops with God on account of his conversion to the new faith; (b) *maḥabbat-i muwahhibī*, *i.e.*, love which a man develops as a result of his 'effort' in the way of following the Prophet; and (c) *maḥabbat-i khāṣṣ*, *i.e.*, love which is the result of cosmic emotion. A mystic should develop the last one. (vi) The Čishtī mystics did not demand formal conversion to Islam as a pre-requisite to initiation in mystic discipline. Formal conversion, they said, should not precede but follow a change in emotional life. The Čishtī attitude contrasted sharply with the Suhrawardī principles in this respect.

C: Practices

The following practices were adopted by the Čishtīs in order to harness all feelings and emotions in establishing communion with Allāh: (i) *Dhikr-i Djahr*, reciting the names of Allāh loudly, sitting in the prescribed posture at prescribed times; (ii) *Dhikr-i Khafī*, reciting the names of Allāh silently; (iii) *Pās-i Anfās*, regulating the breath; (iv) *Murāḳāba*, absorption in mystic contemplation; (v) *Čilla*, forty days of spiritual confinement in a lonely corner or cell for prayer and contemplation. The efficacy of audition parties (*samāʿ*) in attuning a mystic's heart to the Infinite and the Eternal was also emphasised. Some Čishtī mystics believed in *Čilla-i maʿkūs* ("inverted *Čilla*") also. One who practised it tied a rope to his feet and had his body lowered into a well, and offered prayers in this posture for forty nights.

D. Literature

The literature of the *silsila* may be considered under five heads: (a) *malfūẓāt* (conversations) of the saints, (b) *maktūbāt* (letters) of the saints (c) works on mystic ideology and practices, (d) biographical accounts of saints and (e) poetical works. Only major and representative works have been indicated here.

(a) Malfūẓāt: The *malfūẓ* literature of the Čishtī saints throws valuable light on their thought and activities. The art of *malfūẓ*-writing was introduced in India by Amīr Ḥasan Sidjzī, who compiled the conversations of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ in his *Fawāʾid al-Fuʾād*, Nawal Kishore 1302. Other important collections of *malfūẓāt* are the following: *Khayr al-Madjālis*, conversations of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh, compiled by Ḥamīd Ḳalandar (ed. K. A. Niẓāmī, Aligarh); *Surūr al-Ṣudūr*, conversations of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Ṣūfī, compiled by his grandson (MSS Ḥabībgandj and personal collection; see *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Nagpur Session, 1950, 167-169); *Aḥsan al-Aḳwāl*, conversations of Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, compiled by Mawlānā Ḥammād Kāshānī (MS personal collection, see *J.Pak.H.S.*, vol. iii Part I, 40-41). *Djawāmiʿ al-Kalām*, con-

versations of Gīsū-Darāz, compiled by Sayyid Muḥammad Akbar Ḥusaynī (Uthmāngandj); *Anwār al-ʿUyun*, conversations of Shaykh Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (compiled by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs), Aligarh 1905. *Laṭāʾif-i Ḳuddūsī*, conversations of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs by Rukn al-Dīn, Delhi 1311; *Fakhr al-Ṭālibīn* (conversations of Shāh Fakhr al-Dīn, compiled by Rukn al-Dīn Fakhrī), Delhi 1315; *Nāfaʿ al-Sālikīn*, conversations of Shāh Sulaymān of Taunsa, by Imām al-Dīn, Lahore 1285. The following collections of the conversations of the Čishtī saints, *Anīs al-Arwāḥ*, *Dalīl al-ʿĀrifīn*, *Fawāʾid al-Salikīn*, *Asrār al-Awliyāʾ*, *Rāḥat al-Ḳulūb*, *Rāḥat al-Muḥibbīn*, *Miftāḥ al-ʿĀshiḳīn*, *Afḍal al-Fawāʾid*, are apocryphal, but are useful in so far as they represent the popular interpretation of Čishtī ideology.

(b) Maktūbāt: *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Sulūk*, letters of Aḥmad Faḳīr, Djhadjdjar; *Bahr al-Maʿānī*, letters of Sayyid Djaʿfar Makkī, Murādābād 1889; *Maktūbāt-i Ashrafī*, letters of Sayyid Ashraf Djahāngīr Simnānī (MS Aligarh); *Maktūbāt* of Sayyid Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam (MS Aligarh); *Maktūbāt-i Ḳuddūsī* of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs (Delhi); *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī* of Shāh Kalīm Allāh Djahānabādī, Delhi 1301. Copies of some letters said to have been addressed by Khwādja Muʿīn al-Dīn to Khwādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn are also available, but their authenticity has not been established.

(c) Works on mystic ideology and practices: The two earliest Čishtī works on mystic ideology are in the form of aphorisms—the *Mulhamāt* of Shaykh Djamāl al-Dīn Hānswī, Alwar 1306, and *Mukh al-Maʿanī* of Amīr Ḥasan Sidjzī (MS Muslim University Library, Aligarh). The *Uṣūl al-Samāʿ* of Fakhr al-Dīn Zarradī, Djhadjdjar 1311, contains an exposition of Čishtī attitude towards music parties. Amongst other Čishtī works, the following may be particularly noted: Rukn al-Dīn ʿImād, *Shamāʾil-i Anḳiyya* (MS As. Soc. of Bengal); ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs, *Gharāʾib al-Fuʾād* (Muslim Press, Djhadjdjar); Niẓām al-Dīn Balkhī, *Riyāḍ al-Ḳuds*, Bidjnor 1887; Shāh Kalīm Allāh, *Muraḳḳa-i Kalīmī*, Delhi 1308; *Siwa al-Sabīl* (MS Rampur); Niẓām al-Dīn Awrangābādī, *Niẓām al-Ḳulūb* (Delhi 1309); Fakhr al-Dīn Dihlawī, *Niẓām al-Aḳāʾid* (Urdu trans., Delhi 1312); *Risāla ʿAyn al-Yaḳīn*, Delhi.

(d) Biographical works: The earliest biographical account of the Čishtī saints of the first cycle is found in Mīr Khurd's *Siyar al-Awliyāʾ* compiled in the 8th/14th century. Late in the 19th century, Khwādja Gul Muḥammad Aḥmadpurī wrote a *Takmila* to the *Siyar al-Awliyāʾ*, Delhi 1312. Other important biographical works include, Djamālī, *Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn*, Delhi 1311; Niẓām al-Dīn Yamanī, *Laṭāʾif-i Ashrafī*, Delhi 1395; Tādj al-Dīn, *Risāla Ḥāl Khānawāda-i Čisht* (MS personal collection); Bahā *alias* Rādjā, *Risala Aḥwāl Pīrān-i Čisht* (MS personal collection); ʿAlī Asghar Čishtī, *Djawāhir-i Farīdī*, Lahore 1301; ʿAbd al-Rahmān, *Mirʾāt al-Asrār* (MSS, Storey 1005); Allāh Ḍiyāʾ, *Siyar al-Aḳṭāb*, Lucknow 1881; Muʿīn al-Dīn, *Maʿāridj al-Wilāyat* (MS personal collection); ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Barnawī, *Čishtiyya-i Bihishtiyya* (MSS., Storey 1008); Akram Baraswi, *Iḳtibās al-Anwār*, Lahore 1895; Muḥammad Bulāḳ, *Maṭlūb al-Ṭālibīn* (MSS, Storey 1014), *Rawḍa al-Aḳṭāb*, Delhi 1304; Mīr Shihāb al-Dīn Niẓām, *Manāḳib-i Fakhriyya*, Delhi 1315; Raḥīm Bakhsh, *Shadjarat al-Anwār* MS, personal collection); Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Anwār al-ʿĀrifīn*, Lucknow 1876; Nadjm al-Dīn, *Manāḳib al-Maḥbūbayn*, Lucknow 1876; Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, *Manāḳib-i Sulaymānī*, Delhi 1871; Aḥmad Akhtar Mīrzā, *Manāḳib-i Farīdī*, Delhi 1314; Hādī ʿAlī Khān, *Manāḳib-i Ḥāfiẓiyya*, Kanpur 1305; Nithār ʿAlī, *Khawāriḳ-i Hādwiyya*, Delhi 1927.

(e) Poetical works: The *dīwān*s attributed to Khwādja Muʿīn al-Dīn and Khwādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār are apocryphal. The *Surūr al-Ṣudūr* says that Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn had left poetic compositions in Arabic, Persian and Hindwī. Only a few couplets are now available. The earliest poetical work of an Indian Čishtī mystic is the *Dīwān-i Djamāl al-Dīn Hānswī*, Delhi 1889. Amīr Khusraw, though associated with the Čishtī order, did not produce any work exclusively on mysticism, but some of his poems contain verses which throw light on mystic tendencies of the period. Masʿūd Bakk's *Dīwān*, Yūsuf Gadā's *Tuḥfat al-Naṣāʾiḥ*, Lahore 1283, and Shāh Niyāz Aḥmad's *Dīwān-i Bāy Niyāz*, Agra 1348, are steeped in Čishtī ideology.

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ČITR [see GHĀSHIYA]

ČIWI-ZĀDE, Ottoman family of scholars, two of whom held the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* in the 10th/16th century; they take their name from the *mudarris* Čiwi Ilyās of Menteshe (d. 900/1494-5).

1. Muḥyi al-Dīn Shaykh Muḥammad ('Kodja Čiwizāde'), the son of Čiwi Ilyās, b. 896/1490-1, was appointed *Ḳāḍī* of Cairo in 934/1527-8, *Ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Anadolu in 944, and *Shaykh al-Islām* (on the death of Saʿdī Ef.) in Shawwāl 945/Feb. 1539. He was dismissed (the first *Shaykh al-Islām* not to hold office for life) in Radjab 948 (?or 949), on the pretext that he had given an unsound *fatwā* (Luṭfī Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, 390): the real reason was probably his hostility to *taṣawwuf* (*Shaḳāʾiḳ* [Medjdī], 446, and cf. Ḥ. Kh. [Flügel], iv, 429). In 952/1545 he replaced Abu ʾl-Suʿūd, now *Shaykh al-Islām*, as *Ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rumeli, in which office he died (Shaʿbān 954/Sept. 1547).

His brother ʿAbdī Čelebi, who trained the young Ferīdūn [*q.v.*], was *Bash-Defterdār* from 954/1547 (cf. L. Forrer, *Rustem Pascha*, 145) until his death in 960, and his son-in-law Ḥāmid Ef. was *Shaykh al-Islām* from 982/1574 to 985.

2. Muḥammad, son of the above, b. 937/1531, was successively *Ḳāḍī* of Damascus (977/1569), Cairo, Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul, then *Ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Anadolu (983/1575) and of Rumeli (985), in which posts he won a great reputation for uprightness. Having incurred the enmity of Sokollu Meḥemmed Pasha, he was dismissed, but in 989/1581 he was re-appointed to Rumeli; he became *Shaykh al-Islām* in the same year, and died in office (28 Djum. I 995/6 May 1587).

His son Muḥammad Ef. (d. 1061/1651) and his grandson ʿAṭāʾullāh Ef. (d. 1138/1725) both rose to be *Ḳāḍīʿasker*.

Works: Besides the recorded works of Muḥyi al-Dīn (Ḥ. Kh. [Flügel] nos. 5990, 8721 [*fetwās*, = *GAL* II², 569, to which add MS. Esad Ef. 958] and 11585; *GAL* S II 642, S III 1304) and Muḥammad (Ḥ. Kh. nos. 774 [MS. Nur-iʿ Osm. 2061, which is now lost] and 8805 [MSS. Nur-iʿ Osm. 1959, Ist. Un. Lib. AY 610/3]; *GAL* II² 573 [where the Nur-iʿ Osm. reference should read 2060]), there are in the various collections in the Süleymaniye Library of Istanbul several *risālas*, attributed simply to 'Çivizade'.

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CLAN [see ĀL]

COFFEE [see ḲAHWA]

COIMBRA [see ḲULUMRIYA]

ČOKA [see ḲUMĀSH]

ČOKA ADASI̊, the Turkish name for Kythera (Cerigo), one of the Ionian islands. In early Ottoman times possession was disputed or shared between the Venetian state and the Venieri. Čoka Adasî was an important post for watching shipping, especially after the loss of the Morea, and was often attacked. In 943-4/1537 the Turks carried off 7000 captives; many survivors fled to the Morea. Čoka Adasî was again raided in 1571 and 1572, when an indecisive naval battle took place there. It was taken by the Turks in 1127/1715 but restored at the Peace of Passarovitz. It now became the easternmost Venetian colony and lost all importance, though it was again raided in the war of 1787-92.

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ČÖLEMERIK (old form, Djūlāmerg or Djulamerik), a small town in eastern Anatolia, in the extreme south-east of the present-day region of Turkey,. 37° 45′ N, 43° 48′ E, altitude 5,413 ft. (1650 m.), surrounded by mountains of over 9,840 ft. (3000 m.), about 3 km. from the Great Zab, a tributary of the Tigris. It is the capital of the *wilāyet* of Hakkâri; in the 19th century it was the capital of a *sandjaḳ* of the same name, in the *wilāyet* of Van, formerly belonging to the *ḥukūmet* of Ḥakkārī (Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 419). The place was destroyed in the First World War, but rebuilt again in 1935. At the census of 1950 it numbered 2,664 inhabitants (the *ḳaḍā*ʾ had 14,473 inhabitants). There are hot sulphur springs nearby. Andreas assumes (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1699; see also M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 1896, 143) that Čölemerik is identical with the τὸ χλωμάρων of antiquity. This view is opposed by Marquart (*Ērānshahr*, 158 f.). The place Čölemerik has lent its name to a branch of the Kurds, the Djūlamerkiye; concerning these cf. Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī (*Notices et Extraits* xiii, 317 ff.).

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COLOMB-BÉCHAR, chief town of the department of the Saoura (Organisation Commune des Régions Sahariennes), created by a decree of 7 August 1957.

This town is quite recent; before the French occupation, which dates from 13 November 1903, a few villages, with no historical importance, had been built unevenly along the banks of the Oued Bechar (Wādī Bashshār), which sustained a scanty group of palms. From 1857 the region had been explored by Captain de Colomb, whose name has been used for the new town; to this has been joined the name Bechar which, according to local tradition, derives from the fact that a Muslim sent to explore the region by a Turkish sultan (?) of the 15th century, brought back a flask of clear water; hence the epithet, taken from the root *b . sh . r* (to bring good news), which would be given to him and to the region from which he came.

The French occupation, following on Franco-Moroccan talks, was designed to protect southern Oran against incursions of Berber tribes from Tafilalt and neighbouring regions. At first a military post, Colomb-Béchar became in 1905 the terminal of a railway line from Oran Tell, and an important caravan centre, then in 1919 the main town of a mixed commune and in 1930 the main town of the territory of Ain Sefra (ʿAyn Ṣafrāʾ) (territories of southern Algeria). At the time of the Second World War, the coal mines which had been discovered in 1917 in the neighbourhood of the town were fully exploited, from 1941; at the same time the decision was made to build the railway from the Mediterranean to the Niger, which gave a new stimulus to the town. Since the war the output from the surrounding coal basin has remained at roughly 300,000 tons a year; in 1956 plans were made to build a thermo-electric power station, and important mineral deposits were discovered in the region. Finally the French government has installed at Colomb-Béchar and in the surrounding district an important practice centre for guided missiles. The result of this is that the population has risen from 750 inhabitants in 1906, to more than 16,500 in 1954, 3,350 of whom are Europeans (according to the census of 1954).

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COLUMN [see ʿAMŪD]

COMMERCE [see TIDJĀRA]

COMMUNICATIONS [see BARĪD, ṬARĪḲ, ULAḲ, etc.]

COMORS [see ḲUMR]

COMPANIONS [see ṢAḤĀBA]

CONAKRY [see KONAKRY].

CONGO, River and Country in Africa. The river forms the sole outlet of the great Central African basin, which is limited on the east by the western flanks of the Great Rift, on the north by the Monga mountains, on the west by the Cristal range, and on the south by the Lunda plateau. Since its tributaries drain areas both to the north and to the south of the Equator, the Congo maintains a relatively constant flow. Its waterways are broken here and there by cataracts, especially between Stanley Pool and the sea, but they nevertheless provide long navigable stretches which have permitted a certain amount of movement, both of people and of trade, through an otherwise impenetrable forest region. In the recesses of the great forests Africa's most primitive people, the pygmies, have maintained to this day a distinctive way of life based mainly on hunting and gathering. Along or near the rivers, and nowadays increasingly along the roads which are beginning to traverse the forest region, live negroid tribes, most of whom speak languages of the Bantu family, and all of whom use iron tools and are to some degree cultivators as well as hunters and fishermen. Doubtless on account of their relative inaccessibility, the forest tribes have in general remained the most backward of the Bantu peoples.

It is only the central part of the Congo basin, however, which is densely forested. The higher country all round its periphery is mostly covered with the light forest known as "orchard bush", in which grain crops can be grown by the simple, "slash and burn" system of shifting cultivation. In the east and in the west there are even considerable stretches of open savannah grasslands suitable for cattle-raising. Above all, these peripheral regions have been relatively open to the influences of migration and conquest, and it is consequently in these regions that the indigenous peoples have achieved their most significant political groupings. To the north of the forest on the Nile-Congo watershed the multiple states of the Zande are the result of seventeenth and eighteenth century colonization and conquest from the southern fringes of the Sudan. To the east of the forest, in the highlands of the Western Rift, the Kingdoms of Ruanda and Urundi and their related states are the creation of conquering immigrants from the Nilotic Sudan or South-West Ethiopia, who appear to have been in the area since the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. To the west of the forest, in the highlands of light bush and open savannah separating the Congo basin from the Atlantic seaboard, the important kingdom of the Bakongo, with which the Portuguese entered into relations towards the end of the fifteenth century, and which then extended its influence in some sense from the Gaboon to Angola, had been built by another immigrant minority, stemming perhaps from the direction of Lake Chad. The Congo kingdom had many southward offshoots, among them certainly the kingdom of the Bakuba on the upper Kasai. The Luba-Lunda states of the Congo-Zambezi watershed, were equally founded by immigrants, but whether these came from the west or the east of the forest is not yet established.

The ideas diffused into western Bantu Africa by these movements were essentially remnants from the ancient world of the Nile Valley. They came from the still unislamized southern fringes of the Sudan. Meanwhile, for nearly four hundred years, from the late fifteenth century to the mid-nineteenth, European influences played remotely on a Congo basin whose inhabitants were still solidly pagan and animist. The dominant European interest in the region was the slave-trade, which soon undermined and killed off the early attempts at Christian evangelization. Portuguese mulatto traders, called *pombeiros*, operating from Loanda and other ports in Angola during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, penetrated deeply into the southern periphery of the Congo basin, and it is likely that in the copper-bearing region of the Katanga they occasionally encountered traders from the Swahili ports on the East African coast, who were probably no more seriously Muslims than the *pombeiros* were Christian. The indications are, indeed, that such early long-distance trade as there was in eastern Bantu Africa before the nineteenth century was conducted more by Africans from such interior tribes as the Nyamwezi and the Bisa than by coastmen whether Arab or Swahili.

It was not, therefore, until the nineteenth century, with the penetration of the southern Sudan by slave and ivory traders from Egypt, and still more with the penetration of East Africa by subjects of the Būsaʿīdī dynasty of Zanzibar, that Muslims began in any numbers to reach the borders of the Congo basin. The Arab settlement at Ujiji, from which dhows crossed to the Congolese shore of the Tanganyika Lake, was founded within a few years of 1840. It was from then until the partition and occupation of tropical Africa by the European powers in the late 'eighties and early' nineties of the century that the serious commercial exploitation of the eastern and central parts of the Congo Basin by Muslim Arabs and Swahili mainly took place. The foundation by King Leopold II of the Belgians of the Congo Independent State resulted in the suppression of the slave-trade and in the elimination of the Arab and Swahili war-lords whose activities had been so vividly described by Livingstone, Stanley and other explorers. But many of the Arabs and their East African followers settled permanently in the Congo under its new colonial administration, and, as in so many other parts of Africa, the transition from freebooting exploitation to a more settled form of petty commerce marked an intensification of religious proselytism.

The great majority of the Congo Muslims, who number to-day about 200,000, are S͟hāfiʿīs and belong to the Ḳādirī *ṭarīḳa*. There are a few hundred K͟hod͟jas [*q.v.*], mainly in Ruanda-Urundi and in the eastern part of the Kivu Province, also in Stanleyville and Kasongo; they are active in trade, and are well-organized and well instructed. The Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*] number only a few dozens, but are active in propaganda by distributing books and literature.

In the Eastern Province, the Kivu Province and Ruanda-Urundi there are at least 175 recognized mosques. There are Ḳurʾānic schools at Rumungwe, Lake Nyanza, Stanleyville, Ponthierville, Kirundu and Kindu. The great centre of attraction, however, is Ujiji, where there is an important *madrasa*, attended by young people who desire a little instruction in Arabic.

Islamized villages have a mosque, a brotherhood banner (drapeau de confrérie), a *muʿallimu* and an *imām*. Unlike the Zanzibaris, the Muslims of the eastern Congo are not well instructed. There are some who read al-Damīrī or al-Suyutī. But in general their reading matter is limited to popular devotional books of the Ḳādiriyya. The initiation to the *Ṭarīḳa*, in the form known as *murīdī*, which is widespread in Sénégal too, is also highly esteemed

by the negro, who finds membership both dignified and authoritative. The mosques which are specially designed are of the Zanzibar type, but the majority are nothing more than large huts. Only a few educated people know any Arabic. The *lingua franca* is Kiswahilī, the Bantu language showing some Arabic influence, which is spoken as a mother tongue by the people of the Zanzibar coast. The negro Muslims who have started to enter the western Congo from the North, from the Middle Congo Republic and Chad, sometimes have a much higher cultural standard. Many of them are merchants, who sell books of devotion and talismans inscribed in Arabic. The Muslim customary courts are becoming increasingly subject to a Shāfiʿī version of the *sharīʿa*.

The limited cultural level to which black Muslims attain, leaves them with too little Arabic and even with too little Swahili to understand the Islamic propaganda broadcast by radio. Among the books currently in favour one finds, besides the Ḳurʾān, the *Miʿrādj* of al-Dardīr, a work by a Zanzibar Shaykh called Ḥasan b. Amīr al-Shīrāzī; *al-ʿIḳd al-ikyān ʿalā Mawlid al-Djīlānī*; the *Kitāb Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, enriched with numerous accessory texts such as the *Ḥizb al-Barr*, the *Ḥizb al-Baḥr*, the *Ḥizb al-Naṣr* of al-Shādhilī, etc. To this should be added the full or partial Swahili translation of the Ḳurʾān, published by the Aḥmadiyya Society of Lahore, the sūrat Yāsīn in Swahili, a treatise on *Mirathi* (inheritance) by Shayikh al-Shīrāzī, and a very popular treatise on prayer called "Sula na Manrisho Yake".

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CONSTANTINE [see ḲUSṬANṬĪNA]

CONSTANTINOPLE [see ISTANBUL]

CONSTANTINUS AFRICANUS (Constantine the African), who first introduced Arab medicine into Europe, was born in Tunis in the early 5th/11th century (1010 or 1015 A.D.), and died at Monte Cassino in 1087.

His arrival in Salerno marked the beginning of what historians have labelled the 'golden age' of its famous medical school. But about the life of the man himself singularly little is known, and the details can only be sketched in conjecturally.

Various facts relating to him are to be found in the works of Petrus Diaconus who entered Monte Cassino in 509/1115, less than 30 years after Constantine's death. But they were adapted to suit the purposes of a story rather than set down objectively for their own sake. Like most other science historians, Petrus Diaconus traces Constantine's place of birth to Carthage (he probably means Tunis). By the age of 39 or 40, after many adventures, he had found his way to Italy. Petrus asserts that beforehand he had travelled to Egypt, Baghdād, India and Ethiopia, learning on the way Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldean, Greek, Ethiopian and even 'Indian'. His great talents roused such jealousy upon his return to Tunisia that, in order to avoid any harmful consequences, he left the country for Sicily. Karl Sudhoff is at variance with Petrus, and maintains that he journeyed to Italy as a merchant. It is there that he is said to have become acquainted with the reigning prince's brother, who was a doctor. His experiences made him realise the poverty of medical literature in Latin, and he returned to study medicine for three years in Tunisia; then, having collected together several treatises on Arab medicine, he departed, with his precious treasure, for southern Italy. The ship ran into a storm off the coast of Lucania, outside the gulf of Policastro, and the manuscripts were badly damaged. Constantine managed to salvage some of them, and when he arrived in Salerno he became a Christian convert.

It is not yet possible to establish the exact date of these events. But it is certain that he translated into Latin the best works on Arab medicine which had appeared up to the 5th/11th century, albeit omitting to acknowledge the names of their authors and thus earning the reputation of a plagiarist. He adapted the writings to the conditions of his new homeland, Italy. Many passages which he considered prolix were condensed, and other parts where the meaning remained obscure were simply translated literally. Nevertheless, Constantine's work infused new life into the medical school of Salerno, and indeed into the teaching of medicine in Europe for centuries to come. The most important translations are: (i) works of Greek origin which had been translated into Arabic, especially by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ and his followers: maxims, prognoses and diet in the severe illnesses of Hippocrates, together with

notes by Galen, the Great Therapeutics of Galen (*megatechne*) and the Small Therapeutics to Glaucon (*microtechne*), and pseudo-Galenian works; Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's edition of Galen's introduction to therapeutics, with notes by ʿAlī b. Riḍwān (an Egyptian doctor of the 5th/11th century) (ii) works by Arab authors: the Oculistics (*al-ʿas̲h̲r maḳālāt fi 'l-ʿayn* of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (*Constantini liber de oculis*); the works of Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī (about 286/900) on the elements, urine, fever and diet; the *Zād al-Musāfir* of Ibn al-D̲j̲azzār, translated under the title *Viaticum*; the medical encyclopaedia *Kāmil al-Ṣināʿa al-Ṭibbiyya* of ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Mad̲j̲ūsī (Persian, 4th/10th century) translated under the title *Pantechne*; Constantine's book *De Melancholia* was originally the *Kitāb al-Malīk̲h̲ūliyā* of Isḥāḳ b. ʿImrān (late 9th-early 10th century). Finally, Constantine translated and claimed the authorship of several less important works by al-Rāzī and others unknown by name.

The works were poorly translated into Latin and full of technical Arab expressions which had simply been transcribed. Constantine was nevertheless responsible for extending the knowledge of classical medicine as it existed in Europe at the beginning of the Middle Ages, and bringing into circulation many important Greek and Arab works.

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CONSTANZA [see köstend̲j̲e]

CONSUL (Arab. *Ḳunṣul*; Pers. *Ḳunṣūl*; Turk. *Konsolos*), consuls as representatives of the interests of foreign states in Islamic countries (and similarly in Byzantium). The institution of the consul was formed in the 12th and 13th centuries in the Italian merchant republics. The Genoese put their possessions in the Crimea (see Ḳirīm); since 1266), nominally subject to the K̲h̲ān of the Golden Horde, in the charge of a consul (B. Spuler: *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1943, 392-8, with further bibl.; E. S. Zevakin and N. A. Penčko: *Očerki po istorii genuèzskikh koloniy* . . ., (*'Sketches on the History of the Genoese Colonies'*) in *Istoričeskiye Zapiski* 3, 1938, 72-129). For the most part called Bailo [see balyos] until the 15th century, these representatives of foreign states in Islamic countries (for the first time in 1238, when Venice had a representative in Egypt) were occupied above all with the protection of the merchants of their nations, the adjustment of difficulties among them, and the regulation of all questions having to do with trade.

It was only when Ottoman hegemony extended over the entire east and south coasts of the Mediterranean as well as the Balkan peninsula, that it became necessary to grant to the ambassadors of the individual powers at Constantinople consuls in other places. For the first time in 1528, France obtained the right to provide its own consul in Alexandria, recently become Ottoman. He was able in all circumstances to negotiate directly on behalf of his countrymen with the local authorities, to adjust internal difficulties and to regulate financial conditions (including questions of inheritance). He might import his personal needs free of customs, and ships despatched by him were not subject to distraint or injury. The right to maintain a consul was extended to other cities in the treaty between the Porte and France in 1535, thus granting the latter a considerable extension of its influence, especially along the Syrian-Lebanese coast as well as in Asia Minor (a consulate in Aleppo since 1557; cf. the maps of the French Consulates in 1715 in P. Masson, *Histoire du Commerce Français* . . ., Paris 1896, p. xxxviii of the appendix). In 1580 England received corresponding rights. Between 1606-15 the German Emperor followed and later in the 17th century Venice, the Netherlands and Sweden. Only after the Peace of Küčük Ḳaynard̲j̲a [*q.v.*] in 1774, could Russia establish consulates (in particular in the Balkans and the Holy Land). Persia followed in 1839. All consuls, as well as ambassadors, were regarded as hostages to guarantee the behaviour of their home powers, and were repeatedly arrested and otherwise impeded.

Out of the consular rights the "Capitulations" developed, confirmed for the first time specifically in a treaty with France in 1740 (though in fact existing already in the 16th century). They conceded to the consuls extensive juridical and civil rights, and released foreign subjects more and more from local jurisdiction (for details cf. Türkiye, History). Beside these, local Honorary Consuls appeared in increasing number in the 19th century, who held certain diplomatic rights, so that this position was much sought after. From 1862 Turkey fought with growing intensity against the distortion of this

privilege, and a considerable limitation of the abuses was attained. After the gradual abrogation of the Capitulations combined with the renunciation of them by foreign states, the consuls in the Islamic world assumed the same position which they occupy internationally today.

In her own behalf Turkey first appointed consuls in foreign lands in 1802 (Turk. *Shehbender*; or, rarely at first, *Ḳonṣolos*), frequently from among Greeks and Levantines in the first decades.

Bibliography: General: A. M. Candioti, *Historia de la institución consular*, Buenos Aires 1925. Near East: F. Martens, *Das Konsularwesen und die Konsularjurisdiktion in Orient*, Berlin 1874; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin in *IA*, vi, 836-40 (with further bibl.); B. Spuler, *Die europ. Diplomatie in Konstantinopel* . . ., in *Jahrbücher für Kultur u. Geschichte der Slaven*, New Series, xi (1935), 208-10 (Consuls, with literature and catalogue of the Consulates); Frasherli Mehdī, *Imtiyāzāt-i edjnebiyyeniñ taṭbīḳāt-i Ḥāḍirasî*, Samsun 1325/1907; *Sālnāme-i Neẓāret-i khāridjiye*, Constantinople 1885 and often.

Individual States: E. Watbled in *RA*, xvi/1872, 20 ff.; F. Rey: *La protection diplomatique et consulaire dans les Échelles du Levant et de Barbarie*, Paris 1899; N. G. Svoronos: *Inventaire des correspondances des Consuls de France au Levant, i: Salonique et Cavalle* (1686-1792), Paris 1951; Ahmed Refik, *Türkler ve kraliçe Elizabeth*, Constantinople 1932; M. Epstein, *The early history of the Levant company* (*to* 1640), London 1908; A. N. Kurat, *Türk-ingiliz münasebetlerinin başlangıcı ve gelişmesi*, Ankara 1953.

Capitulations: F. A. Belin, *Des capitulations et des traités de la France en Orient*, Paris 1870; N. Sousa, *The capitulatory régime of Turkey. Its history, origin and nature*, Baltimore 1933; O. Nebioğlu, *Die Auswirkungen der Kapitulationen auf die türk. Wirtschaft*, Jena 1941; Habib Abi Chahla, *L'extinction des capitulations en Turquie et dans les régions arabes*, Paris 1924.

Juridical: G. Aristarchi Bey, *Législation Ottomane*, 7 vols, Constantinople 1873-88 (esp. ii, 403-9).

See further: Gibb and Bowen: *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1 and 2, London 1950-7; and the articles BALYOS, BERATLÎ, IMTIYĀZ, MUSTA'MIN, and WENEDIK (Venezia); TÜRKIYE, History; MIṢR, History (including the collections of documents mentioned there). (B. SPULER)

ČOPAN-ATA (Turkish "Father-Shepherd"), the name of a row of hills $^1/_2$ mile long on the southern bank of the Zarafshān [*q.v.*], close by the city walls of Samarḳand [*q.v.*]. There is no written evidence for this name before the 19th century; up to the 18th century, it was referred to in written sources (Persian) as Kūhak ('little mountain'), and the Zarafshān (only known as such in the written language since the 18th century) also sometimes carried this name. Under the name of Kūhak, the range is mentioned in Iṣṭakhri (*BGA* I, 318), and it contained quarries and clay pits for Samarkand.

There is an aetiological legend which gives the following explanation: "well over a thousand years before Muḥammad" there was an enemy besieging Samarḳand. The inhabitants of the town prayed fervently for deliverance, and in answer a mountain came and buried the attackers, having been transplanted from Syria, complete with a shepherd on it. Čopan-Ata is also regarded as a Muslim saint, and the shrine to him, which is on the summit of the hill, is attributed to Tīmūr (thus in al-Ḳandiyya, partly edited by W. Barthold, *Turkestan, MSS. I*, St. Petersburg 1900, 48/51).

Upon the Čopan-Ata the troops of the Khān of Bukhārā made a vain attempt to oppose the advancing Russians under general Konstatin Petrovič von Kauffmann on May 13th (new style) 1868. The latter succeeded in occupying Samarḳand the following day, and since then it has belonged to Russia.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 86; Le Strange, 464.—On individual aspects: V. Vyatkin, in the *Spravočnie knižki Samarkandskoy oblasti* vi-viii, Samarḳand 1893/1901; Abū Ṭāhir Khodja, *Samariyya*, Persian ed. by N. Veselovskiy, St. Petersburg 1904. —Illustrations: G. Pankrat'ye, *Āl'bbom istoričeskikh pamyatnikov goroda Samarkanda*, no. 31 and 38 (Shrine and remains of a mediaeval bridge). (W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

COPTS [see ḲIBṬ]

CORAN [see ḲUR'ĀN]

ČORBADJÎ (literally: soup-provider). (1) The title applied among the Janissaries to commanders of the *orta*s and the *agha bölükleri*, though in official Ottoman terminology the commanders of the *djemā'at ortalarî* were known as *Serpiyādegān* or (the Turkish equivalent of this Persian term) *Yayabashî*, while commanders of the *agha bölükleri* were called *Odabashî*.

As the 101 *djemā'at ortalarî* were prior in foundation to the 61 *agha bölükleri*, the *Čorbadjî*s of the former had certain privileges over those of the latter: on frontier duty they kept the keys of the fortresses; they could ride on horseback in the presence of their superiors; they wore yellow gaiters and shoes. In the *agha bölükleri*, on the other hand, yellow gaiters and shoes were the prerogative of the *Odjaḳ Ketkhudāsî* and the *Muḥdir Agha*, the other *Čorbadjî*s wearing red.

The crested headdress generally worn on ceremonial occasions by the *Čorbadjî*s was called *ḳalafat* or *čorbadjî kečesi*. The crest of the *Yayabashîs*' *ḳalafāt* was of cranes' feathers, whereas that of *Čorbadjî*s of the *agha bölükleri* was of herons' feathers. The ordinary headdress of all *Čorbadjî*s was a red *ḳalafāt* narrow at the bottom and broad at the top. The *Čorbadjî* applied the bastinado to minor offenders among his men. His aide was known as the *Čorbadjî Yamaghî*.

Sometimes the *Čorbadjî*s were entrusted with police duties, thus performing the function of the *Subashî*. At the Čardaḳ, the customs station by the Yemish quay in Istanbul, there was a *Čardaḳ Čorbadjîsî*, who commanded the 56th Janissary *orta*, assisted the *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul who supervised the city's food-supply, and was responsible for maintaining public order in this locality.

Yayabashîs were appointed to collect the *devshirme* boys who were recruited into the *'Adjemī Odjaghî* from the provinces. The *Čorbadjî*s of the *'Adjemī Odjaghî* were under the orders of its commander, the *Istanbul Aghasî*.

(2) The title of *Čorbadjî* was also given to the village notables called *Mukhtar* and *Aḳ-ṣaḳal*, who entertained travellers. Later, until a half-century ago, it became an appellation of merchants and rich Christians. In colloquial Turkish it is still used for 'boss', 'skipper'.

Bibliography: *Ḳawānīn-i Yeničeriyān*; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943; idem, *Tarihi Lugat*; Djewād Pasha, *Ta'rīkh-i*

ʿAskerī-i ʿOthmānī, Istanbul 1297; Maḥmud Shewket Pasha, *ʿOthmānlī teshkīlāt we ḳiyāfet-i ʿaskeriyyesi*, Istanbul 1325; Aḥmed Wefiḳ Pasha, *Lehdje-i ʿOthmānī*; Marsigli, *L'état militaire de l'empire Ottoman*, Paris 1732 = Nazmi Bey, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun zuhur ve terakkisinden inhitâti zamanına kadar askerî vaziyeti*, Ankara 1934; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général...*, Paris 1788-1824; *The Military Costume of Turkey*, London 1818; M. Z. Pakalın, *Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri*, Istanbul 1946-56.

(I. H. Uzunçarşılı)

CORDOVA [see ḲURṬUBA]

COREA [see AL-SĪLĀ]

CORINTH [see KORDOS]

ČORLU, town in E. Thrace, the Byzantine Τζουρουλός (for the various forms of the ancient name see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Tzurulon (E. Overhummer]); it lies on the main road and railway between Istanbul and Edirne, 155 kms. by rail from Istanbul, facing N. over the Čorlu Su, a tributary of the Ergene. The town was taken by the Ottomans early in the reign of Murās I. In Djum. I 917/Aug. 1511 Bāyezīd II defeated Prince Selīm near Čorlu, at a place called Ṣīrt-köyü by Luṭfī Pasha (*Taʾrīkh*, Ist. 1341, 202).

There were extensive *waḳf*s at Čorlu for Meḥemmed II's *külliyye* at Istanbul (cf. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livasî*, Ist. 1952, 300 ff.). When Ewliyā Čelebi visited it in 1061/1651 (*Seyaḥat-nāme*, III, 295 ff.) it had 3000 houses, in 15 Moslem and 15 Christian *maḥalles*, and was thriving centre of trade with 18 *khāns*. It was in a rich sheep-rearing region and was renowned for its cheese. At this time it was the centre of one of the five *ḳaḍāʾ*s of the *sandjaḳ* of Vize (Ḥādjdji Khalfa, *Djihān-numā* = Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 19). It was the third stage on the main road from Istanbul: in 1717 Lady Mary Wortley Montague visited a *ḳonaḳ* built here as a rest-house for the Sultan (Letter xxxv).

Čorlu is now the centre of a *kaza* of the *vilayet* of Tekirdağ, population of the town (1955) 17,025.

(V. L. Ménage)

ČORLULU [see ʿALĪ PASHA]

COROMANDEL [see MAʾBAR]

ČORUH (ČORUKH). I. River in the extreme north-east of Anatolia, flowing mainly through Turkey, but emptying into the Soviet Russian area of the Black Sea.

II. *Wilāyet* on the Black Sea, called after the river of the same name (cf. I) in the extreme north-east of Turkey. The modern *vilayet* of Čoruh covers roughly the same area as the former *sandjaḳ* of Lazistan which belonged to the *wilāyet* of Trabzon (Trebizond). Until the war between Russia and Turkey in 1878 (Treaty of San Stefano), Batum was the capital of the *sandjaḳ* of Lazistan. Subsequently, the capital of the *sandjaḳ*, or of the *wilāyet*, Lazistan became Rize. In 1935, Rize became a *vilayet* of its own, and Artvin became the capital of the remainder of the *vilayet* of Čoruh. According to the last census (1950) the *vilayet* of Čoruh had 174,511 inhabitants, and its capital Artvin had 4,547 inhabitants. Its *Ḳaḍā*'s are: Artvin, Ardanuč, Borčka, Fīndīklī, Hopa, Šavšat and Yusufeli.

Bibliography: G. Jäschke, *Die grösseren Verwaltungsbezirke der Türkei seit* 1918, in *MSOS*, 38th Annual number, (1935), ii, 81-104.

(Fr. Taeschner)

ČORUM, town in the north of Central Anatolia, 40° 34′ north, 34° 55′ east, some 7 km. east of the Čorum Čay, a tributary of the Mecitözü, which in turn flows into the Čekerek Irmak, a tributary of the Yešil Irmak. It lies in a large fertile valley and is the capital of the *wilāyet* of the same name. The *wilāyet* has the following *ḳaḍā*'s: Čorum, Alaca, Iskilip, Mecitözü, Osmancîk and Sungurlu. Before the Republic, the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Čorum formed part of the *sandjaḳ* of Yozgat belonging to the *wilāyet* of Ankara, formerly a *sandjaḳ* (*liwaʾ*) in the *Eyālet* of Sīwās (or Rūm). According to the last census (in 1950), the town had 22,835 inhabitants, the *ḳaḍāʾ* had 87,965, and the *wilāyet* 342,290.

Čorum has erroneously been taken to be the Tavium of antiquity. The latter has been proved to have been situated near Nefezköy, south of Sungurlu, in the *wilāyet* of Yozgat (concerning this, cf. the article on Tavium by W. Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, cols. 2524-26).

The modern Čorum shows few traces of historical interest. Its main Mosque, Ulu Djāmʿ, is a modern building (1909), but probably erected on the foundations of an older building of the 18th or 19th century. It contains a beautiful large Minbar of late Saldjūḳ times, which is said to have come from Karaḥiṣār.

The village of Elvančelebi, some 20 km. east of Čorum, belongs to the Kaza Mecitözü in the *wilāyet* of Čorum. There are the Tekye (mentioned by Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 625, l. 20, as Sheykh ʿUlwān Tekyesi, and also by Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 410, l. 8), *turbe* and mosque of Elvan Čelebi, the son of the famous poet ʿĀshīḳ Pasha (died in 733/1333, [*q.v.*]), and descendant of Baba Ilyās, the founder of the Dervish Order of the Bābāʾiyya [see BĀBĀʾĪ]. The shrine of Elvan Čelebi used to be a much frequented place of pilgrimage. Dernschwam visited it as a member of the retinue of the Imperial Envoy Busbecq in 1555 on his way to Amasya (cf. Hans Dernschwam's *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien* (1553/55), ed. Franz Babinger, Munich and Leipzig 1923, 201-203, with a not particularly clear plan in Dernschwam's hand); concerning Elvan Čelebi in general, cf. Neşet Köseoğlu, *Elvan Çelebi*, in the periodical *Çorumlu*, of 1944, no. 46, 1373-79; no. 47, 1405-08; no. 48, 1437-41; in no. 11 of 1939 there are pictures of the shrine of Elvan Čelebi).

In some *ḳaḍā*'s of the *wilāyet* of Čorum there are famous Hittite excavations, particularly Boğazköy (Hattušaš) in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Sungurlu, and also Alaca Hüyük in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Alaca.

Bibliography: S. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, iii, 1886 f.; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 625; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 407-410.

(Fr. Taeschner)

COS [see ISTANKÖY]

COSTUME [see LIBĀS]

CÔTE D'IVOIRE, the usual name of the Ivory Coast, a Republic, and member of the French Community. It is situated on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, adjoins Ghana to the east, Liberia and the Republic of Guinea to the west, and the French Sudan and the Upper Volta to the North. It extends over 519,000 square kilometres and has a population of 2,500,000, including 12,000 non-Africans.

Although the first French settlements on the coast were founded at the end of the seventeenth century, colonization dates only from the end of the nineteenth century. The Ivory Coast became a self-governing colony in 1893, then, in 1900, it became part of the Government-General of French

West Africa. In 1957 it enjoyed a semi-autonomous domestic régime within the group of territories, with its Territorial Assembly and Government Council at Abidjan. Its administrative organization is that of the rest of French West Africa: circles, subdivisions and communes. After the referendum of 1958 the Ivory Coast, with its new status of autonomous Republic, refused to federate with the new state of Mali (formed by the union of Senegal with the French Soudan), and formed with the former territories of Upper-Volta, Dahomey and Niger the Benin-Sahil Alliance.

From south to north, it covers a narrow belt of lagoons, a densely forested belt about 300 kilometres wide, and, finally, a belt of Sudan type savanna. In the south, the population belongs to the Guinean and Apollonian groups, and, in the North, to the Sudanese and Voltaic groups.

The economy is based on agriculture (coffee, timber, bananas, cocoa, oil, cotton) with a little livestock-rearing and fishing. Industrialization has hardly been tackled, although some prospecting has been undertaken with a view to mining. The chief towns are: Abidjan, the capital and port (130,000), Bouaké (25,000), Grand-Bassam, Bondoukou.

The influence of Christianity is widespread in the south, with 160,000 Catholics, 65,000 Protestants, and syncretistic sects.

The number of Muslims is about 450,000, found mainly in the north, especially among the Malinké or Mandé tribes. But at the same time Islam seems to be making rapid inroads among the animist tribes of the Savannas and among the town immigrants.

The first Islamic settlement on the Ivory Coast must go back to the thirteenth century, at the height of the Mâli ascendancy throughout the north of the country. The chief centres were Touba, Kong, Bondoukou, Odienné and Séguéla. Muslim influence seems to have receded after the collapse of the Malinké power (15th century). It had a reflux of strength during the first half of the nineteenth century, when the influence of El Hadj Omar Tall made itself felt throughout the whole of western Sudan. At the end of the century, Samory Touré lent his authority to proselytizing, and forcibly—albeit temporarily—converted a section of the Senoufo animists of the North. But, at the same time, he massacred the Malinké Muslims that resisted his conquest, and, above all, annihilated, in 1897, the kingdom of Kong which had remained the main seat of Islamic culture in the region. After the defeat of Samory, Islam fell into another temporary decline, from which it recovered fairly quickly, thanks to the sociological conjuncture that arose out of colonization.

It was spread by the influence of the *Dioula*, Malinké, or sometimes Hausa, traders, who had settled along the great trade routes and dealt chiefly in cola with the farmers from the forest region. Every year it made further progress towards the South, and eventually counted converts even among the coastal population. In addition to the traditional centres are found to-day important centres at Man, Bouaké, Gagnoa, Bouna, Daloa, Samatéguéla and Boundiala, as well as Abidjan.

The chief brotherhood is the Tidjāniyya, which forms the majority everywhere except at Man. Its adherents are divided more or less equally between the "twelve grains" who owe obedience to El Hadj Omar, and the "eleven grains" or Hamallists, followers of Shaykh Hama Allāh. Hamallism has, in addition, given rise to a new way, known as Yaʿkūbite after its founder, Yakouba Sylla, whose teaching is reminiscent of that of the Senegalese *Mourids* of Ahmadou Bamba (work of the *talibé* on behalf of the Shaykh, importance of economic activity).

The Ḳādiriyya brotherhood exists in all regions, but is as important as the Tidjāniyya only in the Man district. It is considered favourable to the interests of the Wahhābīs, whose importance has developed considerably since 1946 under the influence of rich Mecca pilgrims and of *Karomoko* (scholars) educated in Egypt or Arabia. The chief Wahhābite centre is Bouaké.

Occasional Mahdists are to be found—these seem to be under Wahhābite influence. And, on the coast, is a small Aḥmadiyya community, formed around natives of Ghana and Nigeria. Certain dissident sects of the coastal region show Christian, Muslim and animist influences.

The level of Islamic teaching has never recovered from the massacres of Samory Touré, in spite of the recent endeavours of the young Wahhābīs and of certain Hamallists.

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ČOWDORS [see ČAWDORS]

CRAC [see KERAK]

CRAC DES CHEVALIERS [see ḤIṢN AL-AKRĀD]

CREATION [see ḤUDŪTH, IBDĀʿ, KHALḲ]

CREED [see ʿAḲĪDA]

CRETE [see IḲRĪTISH]

CRIMEA [see ḲIRĪM]

CROJA [see KROYO]

CRUSADES. Originally applied to military and religious expeditions organized in Western Europe and intended to take back from and defend against Islam the Holy Places of Palestine and nearby Syria, the term was later extended to all wars waged against "infidels" and even to any undertaking carried out in the name of a worthy or supposedly worthy cause; naturally these extensions of meaning are not part of our present concern.

The first Crusade (1096-99), following on from expeditions against the Muslims in the West, led to the establishment around Jerusalem, Tripoli, Antioch and Edessa of four States constituting (and later including Cyprus, then the Latin Empire of Constantinople) the Latin East, which from then on until the recapture of its last citadel Acre by the Muslims in 1291 was an essential factor in the history of the Middle East. The second Crusade started by the fall of Edessa bore no concrete results; the third, started by the fall of Jerusalem, ensured the maintenance of "Frankish" possessions on the Syro-Palestinian coast; the fourth was only concerned with Constantinople, the fifth failed at Damietta in Egypt, the sixth was more of a diplomatic journey by Frederick II and brought about the temporary restitution of Jerusalem to the Franks, the seventh led by St. Louis after the loss once more of the Holy City ended in another disaster at Damietta and the eighth, which brought the same king to Tunis, ended with his death. One might add to this traditional number of Crusades other less important ones and later Crusades against the Ottomans (Nicopolis, Varna, etc.). The Crusades

in Syria-Palestine alone had a lasting effect on the history of Muslim countries, in view of the Frankish dominance in the East, uninterrupted for nearly two centuries, which was initiated by the first Crusade and maintained by those that followed.

In an encyclopaedia of Islam there can of course be no question of giving the history even of only these Crusades in its entirety; it would even be somewhat odd to speak of them at all, were it not that the Crusades when considered in terms of Islam give rise to certain problems which alone will be discussed here.

The specific character of the Crusades was not and could not be understood by Muslims. The very term, *ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya*, used to designate them in modern Arab literature, was unknown to ancient authors, who referred to Crusaders by the plain ethnical term "Franks", and seems to have made its appearance during the Ottoman period in Christian circles of the East influenced by French culture. The theory of the Crusade, a war for the defence or liberation of oppressed co-religionists, differs from the theory of the *dj̲ihād*, a war for the expansion of Islam; but in practice almost the very reverse appears to have obtained at the time of the first Crusade, *dj̲ihād* in the majority of Muslim countries being no more than a memory and Christendom from the time of Charlemagne onwards having elaborated campaigns for the expansion of Christianity by force of arms. No doubt, in one sense the Crusades appear as a reaction, which had gradually been desired and made possible, against the humiliation of four centuries caused by the Muslim conquest of half the Mediterranean basin; but the example of Spain and Sicily proves that the Christian West did not need any deterioration in the generally reasonable treatment of Christians in Muslim countries as a spur to move onto the offensive or counter-offensive. In the East it is true that the Turkoman invasion of Asia Minor revived amongst a particular social group the tradition of Muslim Holy War in the form of *g̲h̲azwa*, bringing disaster to Byzantine Christendom; but in the old Muslim countries and particularly in Palestine the forming of the Saldj̲ūḳid Empire brought no fundamental change to the lot of autochthonous Christians or to the treatment of foreign pilgrims; the precise motivation of crusading, however sincere it was, could not therefore occur to the Muslim mind. Muslims obviously saw that they were dealing with Christian warriors who as such were attacking Islam, but apart from the distance from which they came they saw in them roughly the equivalent of the Byzantines whose Christian-inspired attacks and counter-attacks they had been sustaining for two centuries.

The Crusaders' conquests only affected territory which was incompletely Islamized, relatively small and quickly reduced by gradual Muslim reconquest, and even in Syria-Palestine did not reach any of the large Muslim centres. Nevertheless, the constant menace to vital sea and land routes between Muslim countries in the Middle East, the knowledge of Muslim abasement under Frankish rule, above all the repetition of Crusades, the non-assimilation of Franks into the native *milieu* and the permanence of a state of at least "cold" war finally conferred indisputable importance on the Crusades and the existence of the so-called "Latin" East in the history of Middle Eastern Islam. It would be interesting to examine more thoroughly than has hitherto been the case how Muslims, according to time and place, reacted to this phenomenom.

The Crusades found the Muslim Middle East in a state of division and dissension which alone made their initial success possible. Preceding generations had seen many examples of Islamo-Christian co-operation in Syria even against other Christians or Muslims. Although the Frankish invasion brought death or exile to many Muslims in Syria-Palestine, minor chieftains and certain isolated populations apparently at first assumed that it would be possible to adapt themselves to a state of small-scale war alternating with periods of peace, such as the former lord of S̲h̲ayzar, Usāma b. Munḳid̲h̲, by drawing on his early memories, was able to depict for us in his Memoirs. Soon, however, more directly threatened or more intensely Muslim communities, angered by the disgraceful indifference to the Frankish danger of Muslims beyond Syria-Palestine, attempted to rouse them from it by for example demonstrating in Bag̲h̲dād. Although individual volunteers, subsidies (particularly for prisoners' ransoms) and exhortations were sometimes forthcoming from the rest of the Muslim world, the backbone of resistance came really from the immediate neighbours of the Franks. A necessary condition for that, and this was bound to be one consequence of the Crusades, was some degree of *rapprochement* between various Muslim elements which only recently had been suspicious of each other: Arabs from the plains and the towns, Turks from the official armies that had come into being under the Saldj̲ūḳid regime, Turkomans lacking discipline but ready for *g̲h̲azwa*, warlike Kurds joining up with the Turkish armies that shortly before they had been fighting and so on. Dj̲azīra constituted the hinterland, a source of manpower, such as Syria with its meagre resources could never be, and there followed a process of political unification between the two regions (remaining however somewhat incomplete in Dj̲azīra). From a religious point of view, the Frankish menace certainly contributed without being its sole cause to the progress of Sunnism, which was already developed in the Saldj̲ūḳid domains of Irano-Mesopotamia, but until then scarcely of any importance in Syria. For one thing, intransigent elements denounced the heterodox as accomplices of the Franks and responsible for the misfortunes of Islam; more important, however, moderate S̲h̲īʿīs and even sometimes the Fāṭimids, no longer sustained by unanimous Ismāʿīlism, in the face of common enemies rallied to the Sunnī Turkish princes; the only group to remain outside this alliance were the Assassins, violent and irreconcilable enemies of Sunnī orthodoxy, who were massacred by the Muslim majority and who sometimes collaborated with the Franks from their frontier strongholds. Naturally, the anti-Crusade movement never affected the whole of the Muslim population even amongst the neighbours of the Franks; devout Muslims lamented the fact that some of their brethren, who were subjects or neighbours of the Franks, found it less dangerous to come to terms with them than to fight them and minor princes were hesitant about involving themselves in coalitions which could only serve to increase the authority of the more important. The ability of Zengī, Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin lay in realizing, each in his own manner, that the struggle against the Franks, by necessitating and favouring the unification of Muslims, played into the hands of anyone able to lead such a movement, although it is not possible for us of course, any more no doubt than it was for them, to say how far they were prompted by ardent con-

viction and how far by self-interest. This policy appeared to reach its final objective when after Jerusalem Saladin conquered almost the whole of the Latin East.

It would be interesting to know whether in the Muslim States concerned the war against the Franks or their neighbours brought about any deeper or broader changes than this partial "moral rearmament". The period of the Crusades certainly coincides with a remarkable rise of inland Syria, starting with Damascus, then of Egypt which replaced Baghdād, linked too closely with the Iranian States, as the liveliest area of Arab Islam; but it is difficult to indicate the exact role of the various factors in this development, as it is to say whether the militarization of the politico-social order common to the whole of the Muslim world was more extensive here than elsewhere. In the art of warfare it is probable that some progress in siege armament and artillery is due to contact with the Franks; the mutual borrowings which appear to have taken place between the two sides in the technique of fortification have still never been properly studied. Peaceful trading relations between Frankish and Muslim territories co-existed with war; but Alexandria, not Acre, was the great international trading centre of the Mediterranean and the fall of the Latin East was to have little effect on commerce.

It would be normal to expect the anti-Frankish reaction to have brought about some original movement of ideas. But Islam was no longer in a progressive phase and the conflict was after all limited. Subject to future research, therefore, the impression is that there was not really any ideological fermentation. The ancient themes of *djihad* were rediscovered, the old accounts (pseudo-Wāķidī) of the Conquests and anti-Byzantine *ghazwa* were taken out and developed, emphasis was laid on devotion to the holy places of Jerusalem: but there was nothing really new and it must be admitted that the struggle against the Crusaders did not give rise to any doctrinal study of holy war or any popular works comparable with the epics about the Conquests or anti-Byzantine wars.

Furthermore, diplomatically, whereas Saladin in particular tried to play off Westerners and Byzantines against each other, no unity comparable with the unity, however slight, of Western Christendom against Islam was ever achieved between the East and West of the Muslim world, for each part was involved in its own struggles with neighbouring Christians. Even in the East, leaving aside the Iranians who were far away and shaken by successive crises, the Turks of Asia Minor, after involuntarily setting the Crusades in motion by their invasion, practically restricted their efforts to attacks against Byzantium and, showing little interest in Syria, only took some part in the struggle against the Crusaders in the first century of the Latin East, when the latter crossed their territory. The Caliphate itself does not appear to have taken a very deep interest in the anti-Frankish struggle.

Furthermore, at the end of Saladin's reign, the very seriousness of the Frankish defeat stirred the West, so that before his death in spite of all efforts he had to resign himself to certain losses and to the maintenance of a Frankish seaboard, emphasizing the extent of material sacrifices made practically in vain. Whence arose under the Ayyūbids the desire for a new policy which, recognizing both the presence of Franks in the trade ports of Syria-Palestine and the lessening of the Frankish menace, now that, left to their own devices, the Eastern Franks could hardly contemplate further aggrandisement, sought to set up a *modus vivendi* economically favourable to both sides. This policy, compromised by the Crusading activities of the West, nevertheless continued a fairly successful existence for half a century, finding its most spectacular and in the eyes of the devout its most scandalous expression when, with certain reservations, al-Kāmil restored Jerusalem to Frederick II. Could such a policy have been kept up for a long time? The unleashing of the Mongol conquest made it in any case impracticable. That invasion, much more dangerous for the time being than the Crusades could ever be, produced in the Mamlūk State, established in Egypt and Syria as the final redoubt of Muslim resistance, an uncompromising tension of all forces and the unquestionable predominance of an intransigent army. Some of the Franks had come to terms with the barbarians: their extermination or expulsion became a matter of supreme urgency and this time Europe did not prevent it.

With the exception of the Armenians in the North, native Christians had remained practically outside the Crusades; Muslims therefore did not at first change their attitude to local Christians and even occasionally supported members of the Greek Church who had serious grounds for complaint against Latin dominance, as well as the Jews. Tolerance of this kind contrasted with the treatment of Muslims under Frankish rule who, except in some special localities, had neither mosque nor *ķāḍī* and were frequently considered as virtual enemies or spies. The over-quoted passage of Ibn Djubayr, shaming his co-religionists for Muslim satisfaction with good Frankish administration in the rich district of Tyre, cannot outweigh many cases where the opposite applied nor can it the legal status of Muslims; because of its warlike spirit, the Latin East was backward compared with the understanding which the Norman sovereigns of Sicily and the Spaniards were showing at the same time. In the long run the presence of Franks eventually jeopardized the native Christians of Muslim countries as well. For the lack of any future possibility of triumphing by the force of arms prompted the Franks to try to establish relations with Christians of Muslim states. It was inevitable that such a move should give rise to at least some suspicion amongst the Muslims. The most unfortunate individual case was that of the Maronites. This purely Lebanese minority living entirely within Frankish territory had rallied to the discipline of the Church of Rome and to a certain extent, in the coastal towns at least, had become intermingled with the Franks. Muslim reconquest did not wipe out the danger of Frankish attacks on the Syrian coast and, to prevent any Maronite complicity, the Mamlūks had many of the Maronite districts along the coasts evacuated. The fortunes of the Armenians, who had been the Mongols' quartermasters and were linked politically with the Christian West, were even less happy; in the fourteenth century their Cilician kingdom was destroyed and its population decimated. Generally speaking, the hardening of the Muslim attitude was bound to undermine the position of Christians and it is necessary to realise that the Crusades alone must bear, if not the sole responsibility, at least the greater part of it, for a development completely opposite to their avowed object.

Did they at least help to increase the interpenetration of peoples, the knowledge of Islam in the

West, or of the West in Muslim countries? It would of course be paradoxical to contend that among the members of the two geographically close populations there was no exchange of knowledge. But examination of institutions in the Latin East shows fewer borrowings from the Muslim past and less social intermingling than in the Christian States of Sicily and Spain. Similarly, from a cultural point of view, objective comparison leads to the categorical conclusion that where the West has acquired knowledge of Muslim civilization, it has done so mainly through Spain or Sicily and not through Western settlements in the East or Crusaders from the West; moreover, Islam as such nearly always remained misunderstood and the few accurate ideas about it that the West finally acquired are due to the efforts of missionaries, in other words to work undertaken in an entirely different spirit from the spirit of the Crusades. As for the Muslims, although some showed a certain curiosity about the Franks in the East or about a Western leader as exceptional as Frederick II, it must be acknowledged that their historians, geographers and anti-Christian polemists still had after the Crusades the same few notions about the European West, gleaned from their co-religionists in the West, that they had had before. Therefore, and contrary I regret to current opinion, it seems to me an anachronism to repeat with those who have worked on the cultural or political influence, indeed a very real one, of modern France in the East, or written within that context, that the Crusades laid their foundations; if in their own way they bore witness to the beginning of a process of interpenetration, the atmosphere they created proved subsequently more of a hindrance than a help.

Bibliography: The Arabic sources of the history of the Crusades are catalogued in C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 1940, 33-94, without however certain elucidations which may be found particularly in (besides a forthcoming work by N. Elisséeff on Nūr al-Dīn) H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arabic sources for the life of Saladin*, in *Speculum*, xxv (1950); B. Lewis, *The sources for the history of the Syrian Assassins*, *ibid.*, xxvii (1952); H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, 1958, Introduction. The five volumes of *Historiens Arabes* in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* published by the Académie des Inscriptions suffer from lack of method in the choice of extracts and insufficient care in the establishment and translation of texts (not to mention their inconvenient format); they have still not yet however been replaced by editions or above all, for those who need them, by better translations. Since 1940 have appeared—and we quote only the essential—a French translation by R. Le Tourneau of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī's Damascus chronicle (*Damas de 1075 à 1154*, French Institute in Damascus, 1952), vol. i of a new and this time good edition of Abū S̲h̲āma's *K. al-Rawḍatayn* by M. A. Ḥilmī (Cairo 1957), as well as an edition of his *D̲h̲ayl* (Cairo 1947); the first two volumes, less important than those to follow, of a good edition of Ibn Wāṣil's *Mufarrid̲j̲ al-Kurūb* by al-S̲h̲ayyāl (Cairo 1953 and 1957); an edition of the Ayyūbid part of al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd's chronicle by C. Cahen (in *BEO*, Damascus, xv, 1955-57); the edition of part of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's life of Baybars, under the title *Baybars the First*, by S. F. Sadeque, Oxford and Dacca 1956; the first two volumes out of the three of the excellent edition of (Kamāl al-Dīn) Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Zubda* by Sāmī Dahān (Fr. Inst. Damascus, 1951 and 54) and, by the same editor, the part on Damascus of Ibn S̲h̲addād's *Aʿlāḳ* (Fr. Inst. Damascus, 1956), with the part on Aleppo edited by D. Sourdel (*ibid.*, 1958); of the extant half of the *Life of Baybars* by the same author (in the absence of any edition) there is a Turkish translation by Şerefuddin Yaltkaya, Istanbul 1941; an edition by C. Zurayk and S. Izzedin, 1939-42, of the two volumes by Ibn al-Furāt on the years 672-696; an edition at Ḥaydārābād, 2 vol. 1954-55, of the part of Yūnīnī covering the years 664-670; and finally for the years 689-698 an analysis of D̲j̲azarī by J. Sauvaget, 1949. None of these authors of course deals specifically with the Crusades. A good number of selected and translated texts, together with useful introductions, has been given by Fr. Gabrieli, *Storici Arabi delle Crociate*, 1957.

For the general history of the Crusades in their Eastern setting reference should be made to the general works of Grousset, Runciman, my *Syrie du Nord* and the collective *History of the Crusades* by the University of Philadelphia under the supervision of K. M. Setton, vol. i (twelfth century) 1955, vol. ii (thirteenth century) in the press, and three further volumes on the later Crusades, institutions and civilization. A broadly conceived general bibliography of the Crusades will be found in H. E. Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Hanover 1960. It seems useful here only to indicate the few studies devoted particularly to aspects of the problems treated above: C. Cahen has given the outlines of a forthcoming *Autour des Croisades, Points de vue d'Orient et d'Occident*, in *En quoi la Conquête turque appelait-elle la Croisade* (*Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres*, Strasbourg, Nov. 1950), *An Introduction to the First Crusade* (*Past and Present*, 1954) and *Les Institutions de l'Orient Latin*, in *Oriente e Occidente, XII Convegno Volta*, 1956. The only other studies which need be quoted here are: H. A. R. Gibb, *The achievement of Saladin* in *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, 1952; A. S. ʿAṭiya, *The Crusades, Old ideas and new conceptions*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale/Journal of World History*, ii/2, 1954; and, on a much broader theme, U. Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell' Islam nel XII e XIII secolo*, in *Studi e Testi*, cx (1948), and A. Malvezzi, *L'islamismo e la cultura europea*, n.d. [1957] (the history of the knowledge of Islam).

(C. CAHEN)

CRYSTAL [see BILLAWR]

ČU, a river in Central Asia, 1090 km. long, but not navigable because of its strong current. It is now known as *S̲h̲u* (Barthold, *Vorl.* 80) by the Kirgiz who live there (and it probably had this name when the Turks lived there in the Middle Ages); Chinese: *Su-yeh* or *Sui-s̲h̲e*. modern Chinese: Čʿuci (for the problem of the indication of Ču = Chinese 'pearl' with the 'Pearl River' [Yinčü Ögüz] in the Ork̲h̲on Inscriptions, cf. the article SIR DARYĀ). The river Ču has its source in Terskei Alaltau, and then flows to the north-east until 6 km. from the western end of the Issik Kul [*q.v.*], known as Ḳočḳar in its upper regions (for the first time in S̲h̲araf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, ed. Ilāhdād, i, Calcutta 1885, 274). It send a branch (called the Kutemaldi) to the lake, whose outlet it earlier was. Subsequently the Ču turns northwards through the Būg̲h̲ām (Russian: Buam) ravine (this is mentioned first in S̲h̲araf al-

Dīn, *loc. cit.*; in Gardīzī, 102: D̲j̲ūl, supposedly 'narrow'), which lies to the north-west of the western end of the Issik Kul, and then flows in a north-westerly direction. In this region it receives the waters of the Great and the Little Kebin from its right, and the Aḳsu and Kuragati from the left. The river then flows through dreary waste-land in its middle and lower course. 110 km. east of the Āmū Daryā [*q.v.*], it ends in the small desert lake Saumal-Kul.

The regions adjoining the upper Ču, which were good grazing land and could be easily irrigated, were already inhabited in the times of the Middle Siberian Andronovo culture (1700-1200 B.C.) (Bernstamm, 20). Later on, Sacae and Wusun (pseudo Tokharians?) lived on its banks. In the 6th and 7th centuries, these were joined by the Sog̲h̲dians (see SUG̲H̲D) (Altī Čub Sog̲h̲daḳ, in the Ork̲h̲on inscriptions: Bernstamm, 269). Archaeological traces of these peoples have been found and described by the Soviet expert Aleksandr Natanovič Bernstamm (1910-1956). From his research, it has become evident that Syrian and some Byzantine influences had reached as far as this, and that the traffic from Further Asia to the Land of the Seven Rivers (Yeti Suw; Russ. Semireč'e; cf. also Ili) passed through this region along two ancient trade-routes (through the Kastek pass to the Ili valley, and through the Būg̲h̲ām pass to the south side of the Issik Kul). Thus two cultures met on the banks of the Ču (down to the Land of the Seven Rivers and the Farg̲h̲āna Basin [Bernstamm, 147, 262]).

In 776, the Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] occupied the valley of the Ču and that of the Ṭarāz (Talas), and the area along both sides of the Alexander Mountains. The Tuk̲h̲s(ī) also settled there (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 300; Barthold, *Vorl.*, 75). Sūyāb [*q.v.*] was the *capital* of the Ču valley (Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī, iii, 305; Hsüan-Čuang, ed. St. Julien, Paris 1857-8); the residence of the ruler of this area was usually in Ḳuz Ordu (Balāsāg̲h̲ūn; [*q.v.*]). Judging from the traces of settlements found, the valley was well populated at that time. The inhabitants developed a particular multi-coloured style in ceramics, and later also a distinct special form of ornamental Kūfic writing. There was a marked distinction between them and the other Transoxanians (Bernstamm, 157, 161/66).

Islamic armies reached the western part of the Ču valley only once, in 195/810 (battle against Kūlān, cf. Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, vi, 164), and the name of the river is not mentioned in Muslim sources of pre-Mongol times, although there is mention of some of the places in the region (Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih (*BGA* VI, 29); Ḳudāma, *K. al-K̲h̲arād̲j̲* [*BGA*], 206). Islam reached the population only in the 4th/10th century, and even around the year 372/982, only a part of the inhabitants of Ṭarāz and Nawēkat̲h̲ had become Muslims (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 119, no. 93; 358, with mention of individual places); Nestorian Christianity was widespread for a considerably longer time. The rule of the Ḳara K̲h̲itāy [*q.v.*] followed that of the Ḳarluḳs in 535/1141. Thus there was a renewed influence of Chinese cultural elements (Nephrit, Sung porcelain) in the area, and these mixed again with those of Transoxania (Bernstamm, 168, 171 f.). Meanwhile, the numerous wars of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries resulted in a decrease of the population of the Ču valley. Where the Chinese traveller Čʿang Čʿun still met several towns and villages in 616/1219, and crossed the Ču by a wooden bridge (E. Bretschneider, *Med. Researches*, i, London 1888, 71 f., 129 f.; A. Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist*, London 1931), many ruins are reported already in 658/1259. At that time (651/1253), the region formed the border line between the areas of influence of the two Mongol K̲h̲āns Batu [*q.v.*] and Möngke (Mangū [*q.v.*]). S̲h̲iban (S̲h̲aybān), the founder of the "Blue" (White) Horde (see BĀTŪʾIDS) had his winter quarters here. But the main cause of virtual de-population of the area, was war amongst the Mongols in the 8th/14th century (see ČAG̲H̲ATĀY), plague (acccording to epitaphs of 739/1338), and the campaigns of Tīmūr [*q.v.*]. Our sources for these last already fail to mention any place-names in the Ču valley. The Nestorian settlements near Pis̲h̲pek and Toḳmaḳ [*q.v.*], of which we have epitaphs of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, also seem to have perished at this time. Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūg̲h̲lāt, *Taʾrik̲h̲-i Ras̲h̲īdī*, ed. N. Elias and E. D. Ross, London 1895-98, 364 f., *ca.* 1546, mentions only ruins with a minaret rising above them. The modern name Burana for a tower in the ancient Toḳmaḳ also derives from Manāra (according to Perovskiy in the *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, viii, 352).

Later the Ču valley occasionally came under the Kalmuks and the (Ḳara-) Kirg̲h̲iz. Then it came under the rule of the K̲h̲āns of K̲h̲oḳand, who founded the fortresses of Pis̲h̲pek (in the K̲h̲oḳand historians' writings: Pis̲h̲kek) and Toḳmaḳ on the Ču. These came into Russian hands in 1860. Since then the Ču valley has belonged to Russia, and has become a target of eastern Slav settlement (cf. Herrmann, *Atlas*, 66-67). The upper course is in the Kirgiz S.S.R., the middle and lower reaches in the Kazak S.S.R. Since 1932, a great agricultural combine (hemp and other fibre plants) has developed in the area of the middle Ču. Two arms of the "Great Ču Canal" have been under construction since 1941; these should irrigate a further area. The Turksib railway crosses the river near the station of Ču, thus opening it up to traffic.

Historical Maps of the region of the Ču: A. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, 1925, several maps, 37 and 60 in particular; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 279, 299; Bernstamm, maps ii and iii (at the end). Islamic Maps: C. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, iv 78/82, 86*-91*.

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ČŪBĀNIDS (ČOBANIDS), a family of Mongol *amīrs* claiming descent from a certain Sūrg̲h̲ān

Shīra of the Suldūz tribe who had once saved the life of Čingiz Khān. The most notable members of this family were:

(1) Amīr Čūbān. An able and experienced military commander, Amīr Čūbān, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, fought his first battle in Rabīʿ II 688/April-May 1289 (*Tāʾrīkh-i Guzīda* (GMS), 588); thereafter he served with distinction under the Ilkhāns Arghūn, Gaykhātū, Ghāzān and Uldjāytū [*qq.v.*]. He was appointed *amīr al-umarāʾ* by Abū Saʿīd in 717/1317, and married the latter's sister Dūlandī. During the reign of Abū Saʿīd, who succeeded Uldjāytū at the age of twelve, Amīr Čūbān acquired great power in the affairs of state; in addition, all the important provinces of the Ilkhānid empire were governed by his sons. In Radjab 719/Aug.-Sept. 1319 a group of *amīrs* plotted to assassinate Amīr Čūbān, but the latter, supported by Abū Saʿīd, crushed the revolt with great severity. After the death of Dūlandī, Amīr Čūbān married Abū Saʿīd's other sister, Sātī Beg (719/1319). In 725/1325 Amīr Čūbān prevented Abū Saʿīd from marrying his daughter Baghdād Khātūn [*q.v.*], who was at that time the wife of Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg the Djalāʾirid. Abū Saʿīd determined to break the power of the Čūbānids and, two years later, when Amīr Čūbān was absent in Khurāsān, he put to death Amīr Čūbān's son Dimashḳ Khwādja and issued orders for the execution of Amīr Čūbān at Harāt and of his family throughout the Ilkhānid dominions. Amīr Čūbān, forewarned, advanced as far as Rayy and attempted to negotiate with Abū Saʿīd, but without success. Deserted by most of his troops, he fled back to Harāt and took refuge with Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn the Kurt. A few months later (Oct.-Nov. 1327, or perhaps in Muḥarram 728, which began on 17 Nov. 1327), the rewards offered by Abū Saʿīd induced Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn to put to death Amīr Čūbān and his son Djilaw Khān. Their bodies were taken to Medina for burial.

(2) Dimashḳ Khwādja. The third son of Amīr Čūbān, Dimashḳ Khwādja remained at court in 726/1326 when his father left to defend Khurāsān against the Mongols of the house of Čaghatay, and became the virtual ruler of the Ilkhānid empire. His dissolute nature provided Abū Saʿīd with the excuse for destroying the Čūbānids which he had been seeking. Dimashḳ Khwādja was convicted of a liaison with a member of the royal harem, and was put to death on 5 Shawwāl 727/24 August 1327. One of his daughters, Dilshād Khātūn, was later married first to Abū Saʿīd (734/1333-4), and then to Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg the Djalāʾirid.

(3) Tīmūrtāsh, the second son of Amīr Čūbān. He had acted as *wazīr* to Uldjāytū. In 716/1316 he was appointed by Abū Saʿīd governor of Rūm, and for the first time carried Mongol arms to the shores of the Mediterranean. In 721/1321-2 he rebelled; he minted coinage in his own name, had his name included in the *khuṭba*, and styled himself the Mahdī. His father Amīr Čūbān took him a prisoner to Abū Saʿīd, but the latter pardoned him for the sake of Amīr Čūbān. After the execution of his brother Dimashḳ Khʷādja, he fled to Egypt. At first the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad treated him with great honour, but the intrigues of enemies of the Čūbānid family, and Abū Saʿīd's repeated demands for the extradition of Tīmūrtāsh, were a source of embarrassment to the Mamlūk sultan, who eventually decided to put him to death on 13 Shawwāl 728/21 August 1328.

(4) Ḥasan b. Tīmūrtāsh, known as Ḥasan Küčük to distinguish him from his rival Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg the Djalāʾirid. After the death of Abū Saʿīd in 736/1335, he gained the support of his father's followers in Rūm by a ruse, and in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 738/July 1338 he defeated Ḥasan Buzurg near Nakhčiwān. He then gave his allegiance to the princess Sātī Beg, the widow of Amīr Čūbān and Arpa Khān, at Tabrīz (739/1338-9), and came to terms with Ḥasan Buzurg. The following year he transferred his allegiance to a descendant of Hülegü, Sulaymān Khān, to whom he married Sātī Beg. For some years he continued to wage war on his rival Ḥasan Buzurg and the various puppet khāns nominated by the latter, but on 27 Radjab 744/15 December 1343, he was murdered at Tabrīz by his wife ʿIzzat Malik. See further the article ilkhānids.

Bibliography: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 116 ff.; H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, London 1888, index s.v. Choban; ʿAbbās ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayn Iḥtilālayn*, 3 vols., Baghdād 1353-7/1935-9, index; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl-i Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh-i Rashīdī* (ed. K. Bayānī), Tehran 1317 solar/1938, *passim*; *Taʾrīkh-i Shaykh Uways* (ed. J. B. Van Loon), The Hague 1954, *passim*; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*², Berlin 1955, *passim*; Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1336 S./1957, index; *EI*¹, s.v. suldūz.

(R. M. Savory)

CUENCA [see kūnka]

ČUKA [see ḳumāsh]

ČUKUROVA [see cilicia]

ČULİM. The term 'Tatars of Čulïm' (in Russian 'Čulïmtzï', a word invented by Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 211) includes several small Turkish-speaking groups of Central Siberia whose ancestors would have been Selkups of the Ob' and Ketes of the Yenisseï brought under Turkish influence by the Altaic tribes originating in the south and by the Tatars of Baraba [*q.v.*] and of Tobol' [*q.v.*] originating in the west.

The Tatars of Čulïm form three principal blocks: 1. On the river Kiya, tributary of the Čulïm, in the *oblast'* of Kemerovo who were formerly called "Ketzik" (to the south of the town of Mariinsk) and "Küerik" (to the north of that town). 2. On the central Čulïm, in the district of Ačinsk of the *Krraï* of Krasnoyarsk, whom ancient ethnographers called "Tatars of Meletzk". 3. On the lower Čulïm and the Ob', in the districts of Asino and Ziryansk of the *oblast'* of Tomsk, formerly known as "Tatars of Tomsk".

The present number of the Tatars of Čulïm is unknown. The Russian census of 1897 counted 11,123. The censuses of 1926 and 1939 included them with the "Tatars of the Volga". S. A. Tokarev, *Étnografiya narodov SSSR*, Moscow 1958, 428-429, estimates their number at 11,000. They speak a Turkish dialect akin to the Kïzïl speech of the Hakas, but strongly Russianized.

Previously Shamanists, the Tatars of Čulïm officially adopted orthodox Christianity in the 18th century. Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī school was brought to them in the second half of the 19th century by the Tatars of Ḳazan, but it has made no appreciable progress.

Nowadays the Tatars of Čulïm are dispersed among the Russian villages and are exposed to Russian cultural influence; they adopt Russian as their chief language, and merge fairly quickly into the Russian masses.

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A. M. Dul'zon, *Čulîmskie Tatarî i ikh yazîk*, in *Učenie Zapiski Tomskogo Gosud. Pedagogič. In-ta*, ix, Tomsk 1925. (CH. QUELQUEJAY)

ČŪPĀN, 'herdsman, shepherd'. This word of Iranian origin was adopted by Turkish peoples in close contact with the Iranian language-area, namely speakers of the dialects of the S.W. group of Turkish languages (Anatolia and neighbouring areas) and the S.E. group (Čaghatay etc.). This derivation is supported by the fact that the word is not found in Turkish languages outside these two groups.

Shubān or *shabān*, the form in general use in modern Persian (= herdsman, < Phl. *špāna* < Late Av. **fšupāna*; cf. *fšūmā* 'owner of herds'), must have passed into Turkish via the *č*- dialects (cf. *Shāh-nāma, čōbān, čōpān*; Kāš *čepūn, čūpūn, čapö*; Kurd. *čuvān*, 'herdsman'; *čipan* 'butcher' [*Grundr. d. iran. Philologie*, i, 13, 148 etc.; ii, 71, 79, 89, 188, 195]). In modern dictionaries of Persian there are attested besides *shubān* (popular pronunciation *shabān*) and *shūbān* (cf. also *shubāngāh* 'mansio pastoris' [Vullers]), the forms *čobān* 'a shepherd, a horsekeeper' (*čobānī* 'a pastoral office'), *čopān* (Steingass), *čūban*, vulg. *čoban* (Redhouse, '1. a shepherd, 2. a man who has charge of any kinds of beasts out at pasture, 3. a rustic, a boor'), *čūbān* (Zenker), *čūpān, čūbān* (Shaksp. *gawpān*).

The fact that there is no general word for 'shepherd' in Turkish can be explained in the light of the historical development of Turkish society: in the economic life of the nomadic Turks stock-raising was the main activity of the whole tribe, and thus the idea of the herding of beasts as a distinct occupation had not developed. When later, with the increasing complexity of society, the occupation came into existence this task must have been delegated by the Turks, who formed the governing class, to non-Turks, as the Iranian origin of the word indicates.

Though the verbs *kü-, küdez-, küzet-* etc. were in general use in Old Turkish with the meaning of 'protect' 'guard', it is clear that they had not yet acquired the meaning of 'tend animals'; cf., *e.g.*, *koyuġ ked küdezgil* 'guard the sheep well' (*Kutadgu Bilig*, 5164), *koyuġ ked küdezip yorı* (*KB* 1413); *küzet* 'guard' (Index), *küdezči* (*yorıġlı binigli küdezčisi ol, KB* 1741). For a use with a meaning approaching that of 'shepherd' cf. *KB* 1412 (*budun koy sanı ol begi koyčısı: bağırsak kerek koyka koy kütčisi* 'the people are like sheep and the *beg* is their shepherd: the shepherd must be kind to the sheep'), 5590 (*tarıġčı tarıġka irig bolsunı: yime yılkıčı igdiš öklitsüni* 'let the farmers work hard at their farming, and those that tend the animals see that they increase').

Among the Kazan Turks the word *kütüčī* (< *küt-*, Ott. *güt-*; *kütü* = Ott. *sürü*, but Ott. *sürücü* has developed with a different meaning) is used; from which no doubt comes the Čuvash *kĕtüčĕ* or *kĕtü păxaka*. Among the Kazak and the Kirghiz, for whom stock-raising still constitutes the main activity, the words *malšı* (< *mal-čı*) and *baktašı* are generally used instead of *čoban*, or, if greater precision is required, the expressions *koyšu, ġılkıšı, sıyıršı, tüyeši* etc. are employed. The examples given by W. Barthold in *EI*[1] for the use of the word *čoban* for the inferior classes and for the ruling members of society are not of general application: the first belongs to a very late period, while the name of the Amīr Čoban, who was viceroy in Iran in the reign of Abū Saʿīd (1316-1327), is more probably connected with the word *čupan*, defined by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī as 'village headman's assistant'.

In Turkish languages in which the word *čoban* is used, it is found not only in the derivatives *čobanğa, čobanlık*, but in a number of compounds, chiefly for plant-names (many of them no doubt calques from Persian), *e.g.*, *čoban değneği* (*tayağı, tarağı*) 'knot-grass', *č. püskülü* 'ilex aquiflium, holly', *č. düdüğü* 'hazel', *č. dağarğığı* 'a creeper', *č. kaldıran* 'lychnis calcedonia', *č. kalkıdan* 'caltrop', *č. iğnesi* 'cranes-bill'; *č. köpeği*, 'sheepdog', *č. kušu* 'a bird like a sparrow', and especially *čoban aldatan* (*č. aldatğučı, č. aldatkıčı*, cf. TTS IV).

The expression of particular interest for cultural history is *čoban yıldızı* 'the planet Venus', in which one sees the mutual influence of T. *čolpan* and P. *čuban*. *Čolpan* (Čagh. Ott. Tar. O.T.), *čolpon* (Kır.), *čulpan* (Kazan), *šolpan, šulpan* (Kaz.), *čolmon* (Tel.), *čulmon* (Alt.), *čolban* (Shor), *čölbön* (Tob. Leb.) and *tsolman* (*čolman, čolmun, čolbun*) (Mong.). *Čolpan* (*č. yulduz* [or *yulduzı*], *tañ čolmonu iñir čolmonu* ['morning- and evening-star']) has in this case presumably been identified with *čoban*.

With Čoban-Ata, the name of a line of hills on the S. bank of the Zarafshān near Samarkand (which derives, according to W. Barthold in *EI*[1], from a legend of a shepherd seen on the hills, or from the name of a Muslim saint) cf. Kirghiz *Čolpan-Ata* 'the guardian of the sheep' and hence 'sheep', *Kamber-Ata* 'guardian of the horses', *Čıčan-Ata* 'guardian of the goats', *Oysul-Ata* 'guardian of the camels' (and hence 'horses', 'goats', 'camels' respectively).

(R. RAHMETI ARAT)

ČŪPĀN-ATA [see ČOPAN-ATA]

ČUWASH (ČUVASH), (native name Čăvash), a Turkish-speaking people of the Middle Volga, numbering (in 1939), 1,369,000, who form the Soviet Socialist republic of the ČUVASH (18,300 square kilometres, 1,095,000 inhabitants in 1956), situated on the southern bank of the Volga, to the west of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of the Tatars. The Čuvash also inhabit the neighbouring regions: the Autonomous Republics of Tataristān and Bashkiria, the *oblast*'s of Ulianovsk, Kuybishev, Saratov, and in Western Siberia.

The name Čuvash only appears in its present form in Russian chronicles of later than the 15th century, and is not found in such Arabic writers as Ibn Faḍlān, al-Mukaddasī, Yākūt, etc., yet the Čuvash are according to general opinion, one of the oldest established peoples in the Volga region. Their origin is still the subject of controversy. According to a theory which has now been abandoned, the Čuvash were descendants of the Khazars (Hunfalvy, *Die Ungern Magyaren*, 1881; Fuks, *Zapiski o Čuvashakh i čeremisakh Kazanskoy Gubernii*, Kazan 1840). Other writers trace their descent to the Burtās [*q.v.*] or the Huns (for example W. Barthold, *Sovremennoe sostoyanie i bližayshie zadači izučeniya istorii turetskikh narodov*, Moscow 1926, 5). More popular and more likely is the theory that they are of Bulghār origin, which is based, among other things, on the analogy between the present-day Čuvash language and the funeral inscriptions found in the ruins of the town of Bulghār and on the Danube. Several historians and linguists have defended this theory and it still has many supporters: Husein Feizkhanov, Il'minskiy, *O fonetičeskikh otnosheniyakh meždu čuvashskim i türkskimi yazîkami*, in *Izv. Arkh. Obshč.* v, (1965) 80-84. N. I. Ashmarin, *Bolgarî i Čuvashî*, St. Petersburg 1902, Howorth, etc.; A. P. Kovalevskiy, *Čuvashî i Bulgarî po dannîm Akhmeda*

ibn Fadlana, Čeboksarî 1954, and P. N. Tretyakov, *Vopros o proizkhoždenii Čuvashskogo naroda v svete arkheologičeskikh dannîkh*, in *SE*, iii, 1950, 44-53, trace the descent of the Čuvash from the Bulghār tribe of the Savak (or Savaz) who, contrary to the Bulghārs properly so-called, refused to adopt Islam and remained animists.

Finally, according to a new theory, based on the existence of a pre-Turkish Finno-Ugrian substratum in the Čuvash language which has been recognized for some time by the majority of Soviet ethnologists, the ancestors of the Čuvash were Finno-Ugrian tribes who were influenced by Turkish culture through various Turkish tribes originating in the south or the south-east, before the arrival of the Bulghārs on the Middle Volga in the 7th century. The infiltration of Turkish culture among the Finno-Ugrians continued during the Bulghār era until the 13th century or even later, under the Golden Horde and the Khanate of Ķāzān. Whatever their racial origins may be, the Čuvash, a Turkish-speaking people, but animists (they were converted to Christianity in the 18th and 19th centuries) were exposed to the influence of Islam by contact with the Muslims, the Bulghārs, and then the Tatars; this influence is be found particularly in certain terms such as "*psemelle*", the word by which prayers begin, "*pikhampar*" (payghambar), 'wolf-god', "*kiremet*", 'spirit'. Other Čuvash, placed in immediate contact with the Tatars of Ķazan, were converted to Islam. This phenomenon, which began at the time of the Khānate of Ķazan, continued almost to the present day. It is impossible to appreciate its extent, for the Čuvash who were converted to Islam adopted the language of the Tatars, at the same time as their religion, and were "Tatarized". Tokarev, *Étnografiya narodov SSSR*, Moscow 1958, considers that at the beginning of the 19th century the Čuvash were three times as numerous as the Tatars in the "government" of Ķazan, while in the census of 1897, their number was twice as small as that of the Tatars. According to him this decrease is due to the fact of "Tatarization" alone. Finally among the Čuvash who are animists or Christians, and the Muslim Čuvash there were still to be found at the beginning of the 20th century several semi-Muslim groups, such as, for example, the *Nekreshčenîe Kryasheni* of the district of Kaybitzk of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Tataristān, who are semi-islamized animists, or again the Čuvash group of the region of Ulianovsk, who were considered before 1917 as Christians of the Orthodox church, while still observing the Muslim festivals and the fast of Ramaḍān.

Bibliography: V. G. Egorov, *Sovremmenîy Čuvashskiy Yazîk*, Čeboksarî 1954; P. N. Tret'yakov, *Vopros o proizkhoždenii čuvashkogo naroda v svete arkheologičeskikh dannîkh*, in *SE*, iii 1950; V. Sboev, *Čuvashi v bîtovom, istoričeskom i religioznom otnosheniyakh*, Moscow 1865; N. I. Ashmarin, *Bolgarî i Čuvashî*, in *Izv. Obshč. Arkh. Ist. i Étn. pri Imp. Kaz. Univ-te.*, xviii, Ķazan 1908; V. K. Magnitskiy, *Materialî k ob'yasneniyu staroy čuvashskoy verî*, Ķazan 1881; A. Ivanov, *Ukazatel' knig, broshyur, žurnal'nîkh i gazetnîkh statey na russkom yazîke o čuvashakh v svyazi s drugimi inorodtzami Srednego Povolž'ya*, 1756-1906, Ķazan 1907; idem, *Izvestiya Obsh. Arkh. Ist. i Étn.*, xxiii, fasc. 2, 4; Koblov, *O tatarizatzii inorodtzev privolžskogo kraya*, Ķazan 1910.

(Ch. Quelquejay)

CYPRUS [see ĶUBRUS]

CYRENAICA [see BARĶA]

D

AL-**DABARĀN** [see NUDJŪM].

ḌABB, the thorn-tail lizard (*Uromastix spinipes*). Cognate synonyms exist in other Semitic languages.

The animal, found in abundance in the homeland of the Arabs, is often mentioned and described in ancient poetry and proverbs. Much of the information on the animal derives from just these sources which are freely quoted in later zoological works. The *ḍabb* was eaten by the ancient Arabs who relished it as tasty food; still it is reported that the tribe of Tamîm, who were especially fond of eating it, were ridiculed on that account by other Arabs. In Islamic times, the lawfulness of its use as human food was expressly pointed out by some *ḥadîth*s. Bedouin eat it to the present day.

The *ḍabb* is described as clever but forgetful; it may even not find its way back to its hole, wherefore it chooses a conspicuous place for its habitation. It digs its hole in solid ground—whereby its claws become blunt—lest it collapse under the tread of hoofed animals. It does not brood over the eggs but lays them in a small cavity of the soil and then covers them with earth. The young hatch after forty days and are able to take care of themselves (autophagous). The *ḍabb* lays seventy eggs and more, which resemble the eggs of the pigeon. Its tail is jointed. It has such great strength in its tail that it can split a snake with it. If it is killed and left for one night and then is brought near a fire, it will move again. It devours its young when hungry and eats its vomit again; yet it is highly capable of enduring hunger, being second, in this respect, only to the snake. It likes eating dates. Its teeth are all of one piece. It is afraid of man but lives on friendly terms with the scorpion, which it takes into its hole as a protection from the human foe. It does not leave its hole in winter. When exposed to the sun, it assumes various colours like the chameleon. It lives seven hundred years and more. When old it foregoes food and is satisfied with air. The male has two penes and the female two vulvae. A certain kind has two tongues. The *ḍabb* drinks little or does not drink at all and voids one drop of urine in every forty days.

Some of the fabulous accounts have their origin in ancient popular tradition, mainly laid down in poetry and proverbs, as pointed out in the zoological works themselves.

Various medicinal properties were ascribed to the heart, spleen, skin, blood, fat and dung of the *ḍabb*. Its significance when seen in dreams has been

treated by Damīrī and in special works on that subject.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Taʿṭīr al-Anām*, Cairo 1354, ii, 58; Damīrī, s.v. (transl. Jayakar, ii, 195 ff.); Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1324, i, 207; Goldziher, *Ẓâhiriten*, 81; J. Euting, *Tagebuch*, i, 107; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 72, 73, 79, 96, 98 (transl. Kopf, 46, 47, 54, 72, 74); Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, bāb 62, s.v.; G. Jacob, *Beduinenleben*[2], 6, 24, 95; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 437 f. (transl. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Naturw.*, liii, 259 f.; I. Löw, *ZA* xxvi, 145 ff.; G. W. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*, 1935, 90 f.; al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī (Stephenson), 19; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, x, 155 ff. (L. Kopf)

DĀBBA, (plur. *dawābb*), any living creature which keeps its body horizontal as it moves, generally quadruped. In particular, beast of burden or pack-animal: horse, donkey, mule, camel (cf. Lane, s.v.). Burāḳ, the legendary steed ridden by the Prophet at his ascension (*miʿrādj*), is given the name *dābba* by al-Ghīṭī and in the commentaries. The word acquires a particular significance from its use in the Ḳurʾān, XXVII, 82 in the sense of the archetypal "Beast", equivalent to the term θήριον in the Apocalypse of St. John. The text is laconic and gives no explanation: "And when the final word has been spoken against them (cf. XXVII, 85), we shall call forth before them *the Beast sprung from the earth*, that shall tell them that mankind had no faith in our signs". The formula is no doubt based purely on recollections of the Apocalypse: καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον θήριον ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς γᾶς ... (Rev., xiii, 11).

Exegesis carried out in the course of time has derived from the text, which has been reconsidered in respect of certain images relating to the Day of Judgment. Commentaries by al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Rāzī, and al-Bayḍāwī repeat each other. The key point is, apparently, a *ḥadīth* which has been traced back to the Prophet (al-Ṭabarī): "I said: Oh Prophet of God, where will it (the Beast) appear? He answered: from the greatest of mosques, a thing sanctified by God. While Jesus shall perform the *Ṭawāf* in the House of God, and with him the Muslims, the Earth shall tremble beneath their feet at the movements of the vast Beast. And Ṣafā shall be torn apart at the place where it will appear". The Beast will emerge at Ṣafā. The forefront of its head will have a hairy mark, and its ears will be entirely covered with hair. Those who try to capture it will not succeed, nor will those who take to flight escape from it. It will speak Arabic. It will name people as either "believers" or "ungodly". The believers it will leave, their faces gleaming like stars, and between their eyes it will inscribe the word "believer"; as for the ungodly, it will set between their eyes the black mark of the ungodly.

Other traditions have extended this last part: it is with Moses' rod that the Beast will mark the believer with a white spot, which will expand until it makes the whole face gleam, whilst Solomon's seal, affixed to the nose of the ungodly man, will spread until all his features become black.

Around this nucleus later traditions have given rise to a mass of detail, some concerned with the Beast's essential actions: the Imām of the Mosque of Mecca, on its third appearance will recognize it as the sign of Universal Death (al-Ṭabarī). It will make men ashamed of their ungodliness or hypocrisy (*id.*). It will emphasize that it is now too late to begin to pray, and will castigate this belated way of returning to God. For al-Zamakhsharī, it is the "watchful" (*djassās*). The involuntary element of caricature in its appearance seems to derive from the desire to combine all the figurative features of the animal kingdom. One tradition insists upon its gigantic size: "only its head will appear, which will reach the clouds in the sky" (al-Zamakhsharī; Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī), a conception which seems to be influenced by the description of the appearance of Gehenna recorded in the Ps. Ghazzālī, *al-Durra al-fākhira* (Brockelmann, I, 538, no. 6; S I, 746, no. 6; cf. comm. on *Ḳurʾān*, XVIII, 100). Abū Hurayra [*apud* Rāzī] says that the horns on its bull-like head are a parasang apart. It will appear three times. Al-Zamakhsharī makes it travel in turn through the Maghrib, the East, Syria and the Yemen, proclaiming the vanity of all religions foreign to Islam. Al-Rāzī speaks of a long period of hiding in the mosque at Mecca between its second and third appearances.

All these descriptions which, one after another, betray the influence of vague notions deriving from the Scriptures, popular and apocalyptic accounts, are of late date. Al-Rāzī stresses that "out of all this there is nothing authentic in the Book, unless the words attributed to the Prophet are genuine".

In any case, it is not the Beast of the Apocalypse since it arrives *after* judgement has been pronounced (al-Rāzī states that the *warrāḳs* interpret the words "and when the final word has been spoken against them" in this sense). This is confirmed by traditions which depict it denouncing the futility of sinners seeking too late to be converted, after the time when, according to the Ḳurʾān, repentance will no longer avail. This explains the confusion with the idea of Gehenna in the Ps. Ghazzālī. (A. Abel)

ḌABBA b. Udd b. Ṭābīkha b. al-Yās (Khindif) b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Maʿadd was the eponymous hero of the well known Arab tribe of that name. With their "nephews" ʿUkl b. ʿAwf, Taym, ʿAdī, and Thawr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Udd, Ḍabba formed a confederacy called al-Ribāb. The Ribāb were in alliance with Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt, the greatest clan of Tamīm. This alliance has never been broken by the other confederates. These, indeed, were formations of rather moderate size, whereas the Ḍabba by means of their power sometimes were able to follow their own policy.

Of the three clans of Ḍabba, Ṣuraym had in the course of the 7th/13th century shrunk to a small number of families. But the second, Bakr, had vastly increased, thus leaving the once powerful Banū Thaʿlaba far behind.

From the second half of the 6th/12th century onwards, the domiciles of al-Ribāb were in the region al-Shurayf between the right bank of Wādī Tasrīr and the depression al-Sirr. In the spring they used to migrate to (Baṭn) Faldj and to the sands of the Dahnāʾ by way of Tiʿshār (= Ḳayʿiyya?) or Wādī al-ʿAtk farther south. But as their spring pastures lay as late as the eighties far in the N.W., in regions held in other seasons by Asad [*q.v.*] and Dhubyān, we may conclude that their domiciles before this time were farther in the west than they were later on.

We find al-Ribāb mentioned for the first time in the *Dīwān* of ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ (no. 17, 12) as fighting against Asad (not later than 540). In the eighties Ḍabba and Tamīm stood their ground in a long battle against the Kilāb (b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*]) and ʿAbs (yawm al-Ḳurnatayn = al-Suʾbān, Aws b. Ḥadjar, no. 1, 9; 16; 17, 3-15; Labīd, no. 16, 41-42; ʿAntara in *Six Poets*, ed. Ahlwardt, no. 7, 19). Some years later al-Aswad,

brother to al-Nuʿmān III of al-Ḥīra, began to restore by several campaigns in Arabia the lost prestige of the dynasty. The Ribāb hesitated to surrender until al-Aswad set on them Asad and Dhubyān. Next year al-Ribāb, together with mercenaries of al-Ḥīra, led by al-Aswad, defeated the Kilāb at Arīk. One year later Asad and Ḍabba again defeated the Kilāb and other ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (al-Aʿshā, ed. R. Geyer, no. 1, 62-74; The *Naḳāʾid* of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, ed. Bevan, 240, 18-19; Yāḳūt, 1, 229; The *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, no. 96, 8-19; 99, 9). Their last feat in the *Djāhiliyya* was the murder of Bisṭām b. Ḳays, the hero of the Shaybān (of Bakr b. Waʾil [*q.v.*]), who were driving away their herds (E. Bräunlich, *Bisṭâm Ibn Qais*, Leipzig 1923).

There is hardly any information on their conversion to Islam. In the first division of the population of al-Kūfa Ḍabba seem to be missing. Mentioned are only "the remaining Ribāb". That is to say, Ḍabba together with Bakr and Ṭayyiʾ formed the quarter missing in the enumeration Ṭabarī 1, 2495. The bulk of the tribe emigrated to Baṣra. In the Battle of the Camel they fought against ʿAlī. Later on they belonged to the quarter, *khums*, of Tamīm. The same applies to Khurāsān, where the Tamīm numbered (in 96/715) 10,000 warriors led by Ḍirār b. Ḥuṣayn, scion of the old leading family of Ḍabba.

The part of the tribe remaining in Arabia used to camp in the region S.W. of modern Kuwayt. In 287/900 308 Ḍabba joined the Basrian army against the East Arabian Carmathians, but suspecting coming defeat, deserted at a distance of a two days' march from Ḳaṭīf.

There is no outstanding poet amongst the Ḍabba, but a number of soldiers, judges and administrators in Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid times, *e.g.*, Abū Ḥātim ʿAnbasa b. Isḥāq, 238-242 AH governor of Egypt, a righteous man, the last Arabian ruling Egypt, and the last Amīr lead in prayer and hold Friday services.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, MS. London, 111a-115b; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Saʿd, index; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 394; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, 194; Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, 200-202; U. Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in der alt-arabischen Poesie, Schriften der M. Frh. v. Oppenheim-Stiftung*, 3, Wiesbaden 1958. (W. Caskel)

al-ḌABBĪ, ABŪ DJAʿFAR Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ʿAmīra, an Andalusian scholar of the 6th/12th century. According to the information that he gives us in his works concerning himself and his family, he was born at Vélez, to the west of Lorca, and he began his studies in Lorca. He travelled in North Africa (Ceuta, Marrākush, Bougie) and even reached Alexandria, but he appears to have spent the greater part of his life at Murcia. He died at the end of Rabīʿ II 599/beginning of 1203. Of his writings only a biographical dictionary of Andalusian scholars is preserved, preceded by a short survey of the history of Muslim Spain which continues and completes the introduction of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (*Histoire des Almohades*, ed. Dozy). In addition al-Ḍabbī was closely connected with the *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis* of al-Ḥumaydī, which goes as far as 450/1058, and which he completed with the help of later biographical works. His collection of biographies, entitled *Bughyat al-multamis fī Taʾrīkh Ridjāl Ahl al-Andalus*, was edited in 1885 by Codera and Ribera (vol. iii of the *Bibl. Arabico-Hispana*).

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 714; Amari, *Bibl. ar. sic.*, i, 437; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 282; Pons Boygues, *Ensayo*, no. 212; Brockelmann, S I, 580. (C. F. Seybold*)

al-ḌABBĪ, ABŪ ʿIKRIMA [see al-mufaḍḍal].

DĀBIḲ, a locality in the ʿAzāz region of northern Syria. It lies on the road from Manbidj to Anṭākiya (Ṭabarī, iii, 1103) upstream from Aleppo on the river Nahr Ḳuwayḳ. In Assyrian times its name was *Dabigu*, to become *Dabekôn* in Greek. It lies on the edge of the vast plain of Mardj Dābiḳ where, under the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids, troops were stationed prior to being sent on operations against Byzantine territory. The Umayyad caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik lived in Dābiḳ for some time, and after his death and burial there in Ṣafar 99/Sept. 717 his successor ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was appointed caliph. According to al-Masʿūdī, his tomb was desecrated by the ʿAbbāsids, but the version told by al-Shābushtī conflicts with this (*K. al-Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1951, 149).

In the Ayyūbid era pilgrims visited a monument called *maḳām Dāwūd* on Mt. Barṣāyā near Dābiḳ. The spot today has the name Nabī Dāwūd.

Dābiḳ is known above all for the decisive battle which was fought there on 15 Radjab 922/24 August 1516 between the armies of the sultan Kanṣūh al-Ghūrī and the Ottoman sultan Selīm I. The Ottoman artillery proved superior, the bravest elements of the Mamlūk cavalry were decimated, and Kanṣūh himself was killed. The Ottoman victory paved the way for their occupation of Syria and Egypt.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 171, 189; Ṭabarī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 397 and 471; Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 6 (trans. 11); Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. S. Dahān, i, Damascus 1951, 41, 56, 57, 63, 67; Ibn Shāddad, *La Description d'Alep*, ed. D. Sourdel, Damascus 1953, 29, 138-39; Yāḳūt, ii, 513; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 61, 426, 503; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 468, 474; M. Canard, *Histoire des H'amdânides*, I, Algiers 1951, 225; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Berlin 1902, 165 ff.; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, ii, Gotha, 1909, 336; D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom*, London 1956, index. (D. Sourdel)

DABĪḲ (variant forms *Dabḳa* and *Dabḳū*) was a locality in the outer suburbs of Damietta, noted for the manufacture of high quality woven material, which it exported to the whole of the Muslim empire. The location of Dabīḳ cannot be fixed more exactly. It is found mentioned along with other cities that have disappeared, such as Shaṭā, Tinnīs, or Tūna, which were probably on the islands of Lake Menzāleh.

Fine cloths embossed with gold were made there, and, during the Fāṭimid period, turbans of multi-coloured linen. These textiles were so sumptious that *dabīḳī* soon became known, and its fame grew to such an extent that the word came to designate a type of material. *Dabīḳī* came to be manufactured more or less everywhere, at Tinnīs and at Damietta, in the Delta, at Asyūṭ, in Upper Egypt, and even in Persia, at Kāzirūn. The quality of the cloth made at Dabīḳ must have dropped, because, according to al-Idrīsī, although these materials were very fine, they could not be compared with those of Tinnīs and Damietta, and this fact can already be deduced from the customs tariff of Djedda, given by al-Muḳaddasī.

At the present moment, three fragments of material are known—one ʿAbbāsid and two Fāṭimid—that include in their inscriptions the name of Dabīḳ.

The place name is not mentioned by Ibn Mammātī, who, however, mentions the *dabīḳī*.

Ibn Duḳmāḳ (v, 89) and Ibn Djiʿān (76; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Relation de l'Egypte*, 638) mention a place called Dabīḳ in the province of Gharbiyya, but this cannot be the town in the Damietta neighbourhood, which these two writers treat separately (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v, 78; Ibn Djiʿān, 62 and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 630).

For the same reason of distance, one could not possibly identify the old Dabīḳ with the modern Dabīdj, twelve kilometres south of Sinballāwayn, which could, on the other hand, well be the Dabīḳ of Ibn Duḳmāḳ and Ibn Djiʿān.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī-Wiet, 194-195; Ibn Khurradādhbih 83; Idrīsī, *Maghrib* 186-187; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 141; Muḳaddasī, 54, 104, 193, 443; Ibn Mammātī, 81; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, ii, 84; iii, 200, 215; iv, 82 (with a long bibliography), 247; Le Strange, 294; Salmon, *Introduction à l'histoire de Bagdadh*, 136, 138, 140; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Egypte*, 178; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, in *Ars islamica*, xiii, 89, 94, 97, 98, 100; xv, 76; Wiet, *Tissus et Tapisseries*, in *Syria*, xvi, 282-283; Kühnel, *Dated Tiraz Fabrics*, 107; *RCEA* iii, 902; vi, 2033, 2175. (G. Wiet)

DABĪL [see dwīn]

DABĪR, SALĀMAT ʿALĪ, Mīrzā, Lakhnawī, an Urdū poet, who devoted himself to writing and reciting highly devotional elegies on the death of the martyrs of Karbalā. He was a son of Mīrzā Ghulām Ḥusayn, who is claimed to be a grandson of Mullā Hāshim Shīrāzī (a brother of the famous Ahlī of Shīrāz, d. 934/1536-7). Salāmat ʿAlī was born in Ballīmārān, Dihlī on 11 Djumāda I 1218/29 August 1803; he accompanied his father as a child to Lucknow and there received a good education. He studied all the usual Persian and Arabic texts on religious and foreign sciences (*manḳūl wa maʿḳūl*) from well-known *ʿulamāʾ* of the city. He had finished his studies by the time he was 18. He began to write poetry at an early age (c. 1230 or 1232) and continued doing so along with his studies, under the guidance of Mīr Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Ḍamīr of Gurgāon. He soon acquired fame and won the appreciation of the rulers of Awadh, members of their family and the noblemen of the Court. For about 60 years of his life he wrote *marthiyas* (elegaic poems). Towards the end of his life he became almost blind. He, therefore, gladly accepted the suggestion of Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh, then living in Calcutta in exile, that he should go there for treatment; he reached there about Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1290/c. Jan. 1874. A successful operation by a German eye-specialist, who was staying with Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh in Calcutta, restored his sight. He returned to Lucknow, where he had spent the major part of his life, and which he had only left for short periods in the disturbances of 1857 he had moved to Sītāpur for a while; about 1858 he went to Kānpur and in 1859 to ʿAẓīmābād; he visited ʿAẓīmābād again in 1292/1875 and died there on 30 Muḥarram 1292/8 March 1875, he was buried in his own house in a lane which is now known as *Kūča-i Dabīr*, after him. In his old age he suffered much tribulation on account of his loss of sight, and he was grieved by the death of a grown-up son and of a brother.

Dabīr is described as a pious, ascetic, generous, hospitable and serious-minded person. As a poet he was extremely prolific, and had the gift of composing good verses quickly. His compositions consisted mostly of *marthiyas*, *Salāms* (for them see *al-Mīzān*, 485) and *rubāʿīs* (*Ḥayāt-i Dabīr*, i, 272). His rival in this genre of poetry was his contemporary Mīr Anīs, who appeared in Lucknow long after Dabīr had established his fame as a poet. Their rivalry divided their admirers into two rival groups called Dabīrīs and Anīsīs and a considerable literature was produced on their comparative merits and failings (see, for example, Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Muwāzana Anīs wa Dabīr*, Āgra 1907; Sayyid Nāẓir al-Ḥasan Fawḳ Raḍawi, *al-Mīzān*, ʿAlīgaṛh n.d.; ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Khān Nassākh, *Intikhāb-i Naḳs* 1879; Mīrzā Muḥammad Riḍā Muʿdjiz, *Taṭhīr al-Awsākh*; Mīr Afḍal ʿAlī Daw, *Radd al-Muwāzana*, etc. etc.).

While Anīs is usually praised for the simplicity of his style, easy flow of his verse, and his relatively eloquent (*faṣīḥ*) descriptions, Dabīr is eulogized for his brevity, freshness of his poetical ideas (*maḍāmīn*) and frequent and full use of rhetorical figures, and his touching laments and wailings (Urdū: *bayn*). As an Arabic and Persian scholar he drew freely on the literatures of these languages, incorporating in his poems materials taken from the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* and the works on *Maḳātil*, etc. (cf. a comparative view quoted in *Hay. Dab.*, i, 290: The Mīr is eloquent and sweet (*faṣīḥ wa namakīn*)). The fact remains that it was due to the efforts of these two poets that *marthiya* attained such an important position in Urdū Poetry.

Works: Most of Dabīr's poems have been lithographed, though some are still unpublished. These editions are marred by interpolations, *e.g.*, (1) an edition of *marthiyas* in 2 vols. (*Ḥay. Dab.* i, 624); (2) *Daftar-i Mātam*, 20 vols. Lucknow 1897. For an analysis of the contents see *Ḥay. Dab.*, i, 276 ff. These *marthiyas* etc. were lost in the disturbances of 1957 and after, and were collected again later; (3) *Marāthī-i Dabīr*, 2 vols. (*ibid.* i, 490, 493); (4) *Marthiya-i Mīrzā Dabīr*, 2 vols., Lucknow 1875-76 (several editions in the following years), Kānpur 1890-99 (several editions in the following years); (5) *Marthiyahā-yi Mīrzā Dabīr*, Lucknow 1882 (several editions in the following years)); (6) *Abwāb al-Maṣāʾib*, a prose work, relating to the story of Joseph, compared to the story of the martyr of Karbalā, Dihlī (*Ḥay. Dab.*, i, 280); (7) *Rubāʿiyyāt Mīrzā Dabīr*, Lucknow n.d., containing 197 *rubāʿīs*. A smaller collection of these was also published along with those of Anīs in Āgra.

In his younger days the Mīrzā also composed three *dīwāns* of *ghazals*, but later destroyed, lost or withdrew them.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text: Mīr Muḥsin ʿAlī, *Sarāpā-Sukhun*, Lucknow 1292/1875, 108; Mīr Ṣafdar Ḥusayn, *Shams al-Duḥā*, Lucknow 1298/1880-81; Sayyid Afḍal Ḥusayn, Thābit Raḍawī Lakhnawī, *Ḥayāt-i Dabīr*, Lahore, vol. i, 1913, vol. ii, 1915; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i Ḥayāt*, Lahore 1883, 550-562; Rām Bābū Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allāhābād 1940, 131 f. (Urdū version by Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAskarī, Lucknow 1952, 248 f.); Abu 'l-Layth, *Lakhnaʾū kā Dabistāni-Shāʿiri*, Lahore c. 1955, 690 f.; J. F. Blumhardt, *Cat. of Hind. Printed Books in the Br. Mus.*, London 1889, col. 7, 6, 308, *Suppl.*, London 1909, col. 421. (Mohammad Shafi)

DABISTĀN AL-MADHĀHIB, "The school of religions", a work in Persian describing the different religions of and in particular the religious situation in Hindustān in the 11th/17th century; it is the most complete account in the Persian language, later than the *Bayān al-adyān* (6th/12th century), which is accurate but concise, and than the *Tabṣirat al-ʿawāmm* (7th/13th century), written from the Shīʿite point of view. The sources of the *Dabistān* derive partly from the sacred books of the different religious persuasions, partly from verbal information given to the author, and partly from the latter's personal observations. In many chapters he also makes use of the earlier Arabic literature concerning these matters. First of all the religion of the Pārsīs is examined extensively; then that of the Hindūs; after some very short chapters concerned with the Tibetans, the Jews and the Christians, the author passes to the study of Islam and its sects; finally there are some chapters on the philosophers (the Peripatetics and the Neo-platonists) and on the Ṣūfīs. For a long time Muḥsin Fānī was thought (mistakenly) to be the author of this work; in some manuscripts he is mentioned solely in his capacity as the author of a *rubāʿī* which is quoted (see trans. by Shea-Troyer, i, 3); it was certainly an enlightened believer in the Pārsī religion who wrote the *Dabistān*, and we must probably accept those manuscripts which, in agreement with Sirādj al-Dīn Muḥammad Arzū (in a passage from his *Tadhkira*), attribute its composition to Mūbad Shāh or Mullā Mūbad (cf. also Ouseley, *Notices*, 182). It is apparent from the book itself that the author was born in India shortly before 1028/1619, went to Āgra as a youth, spent several years in Kashmīr and at Lahore, visited Persia (Mashhad) and acquired some knowledge of the west and south of India. The *Dabistān* was finished no doubt between 1064 and 1067/1654-57.

Bibliography: *Dabistān al-madhāhib* (Calcutta 1224/1809; other editions from Tehran, Bombay, Lucknow; *The Dabistan or school of manners*, trans. David Shea and Anthony Troyer, Paris 1843, 3 vols. (not always accurate); *JA*, vi, (1845) 406-11; Rieu, *Cat. Persian Mss. of the British Museum*, i, 141 & iii, 1081. (Useful references to other catalogues of manuscripts and to old translations of isolated chapters): Éthé, *Cat. of the Persian Mss. of the India Office Library*, i, no. 1369 (useful references to other catalogues of manuscripts). (J. HOROVITZ-[H. MASSÉ])

ḌĀBIṬ, in Turkish *zabit*, an Ottoman term for certain functionaries and officers, later specialized to describe officers in the armed forces. In earlier Ottoman usage *Ḍābiṭ* seems to indicate a person in charge or in control of a matter or of (? the revenues of) a place (*e.g. Ewḳāf ḍābiṭi, Wilāyet ḍābiṭi* etc.; examples, some with place-names, in Halit Ongan, *Ankara'nın I Numaralı Şer'iye Sicili*, Ankara 1958, index, and L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, i, Budapest 1955, 493 ff.; cf. the Persian usage in the sense of collector — Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, index). The term seems to have remained in occasional use in this sense until quite a late date (see for example Gibb and Bowen, i, 259, and Dozy, *Suppl.* s.v.). By the 11th/17th century, however, it was already acquiring the technical meaning of army officer. In a *fāʾide* inserted under the year 1058/1648-9 Naʿīmā remarks that in the janissary corps the seniors of each *oda* are as *ḍābiṭs* (*ḍābiṭ gibidir*) to the other soldiers (*nefer*), and proceeds to name the ranks of the janissary officers (Naʿīmā⁴, iv, 351). By the 12th/18th century the term was already in common use in this sense (*e.g.* Resmī, *Khulāṣat al-Iʿtibār*, 5, '*ridjāl we ḍābiṭān*') and documents cited by Djewdet (i, 360; vi, 367 etc.). From the time of the westernizing reforms onwards it becomes the standard Ottoman equivalent of the European term 'officer'. In the Turkish republic it has been replaced by *subay*, but it remains current in the Arab successor states of the Ottoman Empire. (B. LEWIS)

ḌABṬ, assessment of taxable land by measurement, applied under the later Dihlī sultanate and the Mughals; land so measured is called *ḍabṭī*. See ḌARĪBA, 6.

ḌABṬIYYA, in Turkish *zabtiyye*, a late Ottoman term for the police and gendarmerie. Police duties, formerly under the control of various janissary officers, were placed under the jurisdiction of the Serʿasker ([*q.v.*] see also BĀB-I SERʿASKERĪ) in 1241/1826, and in 1262/1846 became a separate administration, the *Ḍabṭiyye Mushīriyyeti* (Luṭfī viii 27-8). At about the same time a council of police (*medjlis-i ḍabṭiyye*) was established, which was later abolished and replaced by two quasi-judicial bodies, the *dīwān-i ḍabṭiyye* and *medjlis-i taḥḳīḳ*. After several further changes the *mushīriyyet* became a ministry (*neẓāret*) of police in 1286/1870. On 17 July 1909 the name ministry of *Ḍabṭiyye* was abolished and replaced by a department of public security (*Emniyyet-i ʿUmūmiyye*) under the Ministry of the Interior.

Bibliography: ʿOthmān Nūrī, *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, i, Istanbul 1338/1922, 934 ff. Laws and regulations on police matters will be found in the *Destūr*, (French translations in G. Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, Oxford 1905-6, and G. Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane*, Constantinople 1873-88. See further KARAKOL, SHURṬA. (B. LEWIS)

DĀBŪYA (DĀBŌĒ), the founder of the Dābūyid dynasty in Gīlān [*q.v.*]. The tribe claimed to be of Sāsānid extraction through Dābūya's father, Gīl Gāwbāra. Their residence was the town of Fūman [*q.v.*]. The dynasty clung to Zoroastrianism for a long time, and repeatedly defended the land against the Arabs, until the last ruler, Khūrshīdh II (758/60, 141 or 142 A.H.) had to flee before the superior force of the ʿAbbāsids, and put an end to his own life in Daylam (Ṭabarī, iii, 139 f.). One of his daughters, whose name is unknown, became the wife of the Caliph al-Manṣūr.

The names of the members of the dynasty are as follows: Dābōē, 40 to 56/660-1 to 676.—His brother Khūrshīdh I, 56 to 90/676 to 709.—His son Farrukhān, 709 to 721-22, 90 to 103 A.H., who took the title Ispāhbadh [*q.v.*] ("leader of the army"), and warded off an Arab assault in 717.—His son Dādhburzmihr (Dādhmihr), 103 to 116/721-22 to 734.—His brother Sārūya (Sārōē), for a few months in 116/721-22.—Khūrshīdh II, the son of Dādhburzmihr, 116 to 141 or 142/721-22 to 758-60 (see above).

A dynasty descended from Dābūya's brother Pādhūspān (title), ruled until 1567 and 1576 respectively (from 1453 in two branches) in Rūyān [*q.v.*] and some neighbouring districts.

Bibliography: Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, Tehran 1942 (to which I had access only in E. G. Browne, *An abridged translation of the history of Ṭabaristan .... by .... Ibn-i Isfandiyar ....*, Leiden and London 1905, index [GMS II]); *Sehir-eddin's* [= *Ẓahīr al-Dīn .... al-Marʿashī's*] *Geschichte von Tabaristan ....*, ed. Bernhard Dorn (*Mohammedanische Quellen ....*, vol. i), St. Petersburg 1850, 319 ff.; idem, in *Mém.*

Ac. Imp. St. Pétersbourg, xxiii, 1877, 103; G. Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres* ...., trans. by J. Th. Zenker, Leipzig 1868, 48 ff.—Family trees: F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (1895), 433/35; E. de Zambaur *Manuel de généalogie* ....², Pyrmont 1955, 186-190.—Coins: A. D. Mordtmann in *ZDMG*, xix (1865), 485; xxxiii (1879d), 110. (B. SPULER)

DACCA [see DHĀKĀ].

ḌĀD, 15th letter of the Arabic alphabet, conventional transcription *ḍ*; numerical value, according to the oriental order, 800 [see ABDJAD].

The definition of the phoneme presents difficulty. The most probable is: *voiced lateralized velarized interdental fricative* (see J. Cantineau, *Consonantisme*, in *Semitica*, iv, 84-5). According to the Arab grammatical tradition: *rikhwa madjhūra muṭbaḳa*. For the *makhradj*, the *shadjriyya* of al-Khalīl (al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 2nd ed. J. P. Broch, 190, line 20) is difficult to define exactly (see De Sacy, *Gr. Ar.*², i, 26, n. 1; M. Bravmann, *Materialien*, 48 and 51). The most plausible meaning for *shadjr* is 'commissure of the lips' according to al-Khalīl's own explanation (*Le Monde Oriental*, 1920, 45, line 8): *mafradj al-fam* (repeated in *Mufaṣṣal, ibid.*; Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya*, iii, 254, line 6); *ḍ* is thus in the lateral position.

Sībawayh represents *ḍ* as a lateral simply, and thus describes the *makhradj*; 'between the beginning of the edge of the tongue and the neighbouring molars' (Sībawayh, Paris edition, ii, 453, lines 8-9): a retracted lateral, for this beginning is to be taken as starting from the root of the tongue, and *lām* follows *ḍ* (*ibid.*, lines 9-11; *Mufaṣṣal*, 188, line 19). This does not indicate, for the peculiarity of *istiṭāla* of *ḍ*, a great extent for the place of articulation but rather a dwelling on it, a special prolongation of it. In modern Arabic dialects the passage from *ḍ* to *ḷ* is known (Landberg, *Ḥadramoût*, 637), but the almost universal treatment of *ḍ* is its confusion with *ẓ* (voiced emphatic interdental fricative), whose evolution it shares [see ẒĀʾ]. One is thus led to include in the articulation of *ḍ* an activity of the tip of the tongue in the region of the teeth similar to the corresponding lateralized articulation of modern South Arabian (Mehri, Shkhawri, but not the lateralized occlusive of Soḳoṭri), whence the definition proposed above.

A lateral character is to be claimed for *ḍ*, as N. Youshmanov, G. S. Colin, J. Cantineau, and others have done (J. Cantineau, *Consonantisme*, 84). The *ḍ* phoneme of Classical Arabic continues an autonomous phoneme of common Semitic which is even more difficult to define precisely. M. Cohen sees in it a consonant 'of the dental region of which the articulation was doubtless lateral: *ḍ* [conventional transcription]. As an emphatic, this consonant may anciently have formed one of a lateral series (triad ?)' (*Essai comparatif*, 149). In Classical Arabic *ḍ* is isolated.

In ancient Semitic, the South Arabian inscriptions assign a special character (of unknown pronunciation) to the phoneme corresponding with the *ḍ* of Classical Arabic. Geez does the same, but in the traditional nunciation it is a *ṣ*; *ṭ* in South Ethiopic. It is represented in Akkadian, Hebrew, and Ugaritic, by *ṣ*, but in Aramaic by *ḳ* in the oldest texts (preserved in Mandean), then by ʿ, a special evolution which represents a thorny problem. See the Table of correspondences in W. Leslau, *Manual of Phonetics*, 328.

For the phonological oppositions of the *ḍ* phoneme in Classical Arabic see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse*, in *BSL* (No. 126), 96, 7th; for the incompatibles, *ibid.*, 134. In view of the latter, J. Cantineau would see in *ḍ* a *lateralized* rather than a *lateral* consonant (*ibid.*, no. 1).

Ḍ undergoes few assimilations in Classical Arabic (see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 69).

The Arabs saw in *ḍ* one of the *khaṣāʾiṣ* 'special features' of their language (Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr ṣināʿa*, i, 222; al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*³, i, 329) and boasted of it (see the line of al-Mutanabbī quoted by Ibn Djinnī, *ibid.*). But Sībawayh (ii, 452, lines 14-5, 17 f.) already registers a corrupt pronunciation: *al-ḍād al-ḍaʿīfa* (M. Bravmann, *Materialien*, 53). In fact the articulation of *ḍād* has disappeared in the modern dialects and Ḳurʾānic recitation and either *ẓ* (voiced velarized interdental fricative) or *ḍ* (voiced velarized dental plosive) is used, according to the treatment of the phoneme in dialect.

In Persian and in Urdū, *ḍād* is a voiced alveolar fricative, and no differentation is made in pronuncation between *dh*, *z*, *ḍ* and *ẓ*.

Bibliography: in the text and s.v. ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. (H. FLEISCH)

DADALOGHLU, ĀSHIḲ MŪSĀ-OGHLU WELI, 19th century Turkish folk poet (1790?-1870?), was a member of the Afshār tribe which lived in the Taurus Mountains in S. Anatolia. His father was also a poet and took his *makhlaṣ* from the same family name. It is said that for a time Dadaloghlu acted as imām in the villages and as secretary to the tribal chiefs. As a result of government action against his tribe, which rebelled because it was unwilling to undergo conscription or taxation, he was transported with the rest of the Afshārs to the village of Sindel near ʿAzīziyye in the province of Sīwās (1866-8). It is difficult to establish how well founded are reports that at the end of his life he returned to the Čukurova region and recited his poems in the bazaars of Adana. His poems were not collected during his lifetime. Among them are to be found the chief forms of folk poetry such as *türkü*, *koshma*, *semai*, *varsaghı*, and *destān*. He embellished and enriched the story of Genč ʿOthmān in a number of poems with a local setting. His poetry is harsh and emotional in manner and shows the pure and sincere feelings of a bold, daring, upright, and sensitive tribesman. From passages in his poems one can understand the warlike psychology and nomadism of the society in which he lived. He was one of the last powerful representatives of epic, lyric, and pastoral Turkish folk poetry and story-telling which had continued ever since the composition of *Dede Korkud* and of which *Köroghlu* and *Karadja oghlan* are the leading examples.

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DADJĀDJA, the domestic fowl. The word is a noun of unity which, according to Arab lexicographers, may be applied to both the male and the female. Alternative pronunciations are *didjādja* and *dudjādja*. In more recent local usage (cf. Jayakar, Malouf), *didjādjat al-baḥr* and *didjādjat al-ḳubba* denote certain kinds of fish, just as the corresponding Hebrew דָּג.

The animal, which is not mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, was known to the Arabs from pre-Islamic times. Djāḥiẓ reports (ii, 277 f.) that it was given to poets as a reward for their literary achievements. Although it eats dung, it is permitted as human food by Islamic law because the Prophet was seen partaking of it.

The ample information on the fowl and its eggs, which is given in Arabic zoological writings, can partly be traced back to Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*. The fowl has no fear of beasts of prey except the jackal, an inherent enmity existing between the two. It is fearful at night and therefore seeks an elevated sleeping place. It shares the characteristics of both birds of prey and seed-feeding birds, since it eats flesh as well as grains. The hen lays, mostly one egg a day, throughout the year, except in the two winter months (in Egypt, according to Nuwayrī, all the year round without interruption); if she lays twice a day it is a portent of her approaching death. The chicken is produced from the white of the egg, while the yolk provides the nourishment for the embryo. From elongated eggs female chickens are born and males from round ones. Two chickens are produced from double-yolked eggs. If the hen while sitting hears thunder, the eggs are spoiled; if she is old and weak, the eggs have no yolk and produce no chickens. She also lays eggs without being covered by the cock (wind-eggs), but such eggs produce no chickens. When hens become fat they no longer lay, just as fat women do not become pregnant.

The sources mention and describe several kinds of *dadjādj*, some of them reaching the size of a goose. Numerous medicinal uses of eggs, fat, bile, gizzard, dung, etc. are mentioned by Arab zoologists and pharmacologists, partly from classical sources. The meat was considered a wholesome food, although its continual eating was said to cause gout and piles. Half-cooked eggs were credited with special efficacy as an aphrodisiac. The significance of fowl when seen in dreams has been treated in pertinent works.

The Arab astronomers give the name *al-Dadjādja* to the constellation of the Swan, which is also called *al-Ṭā'ir*.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Taʿṭīr al-Anām*, Cairo 1354, i, 220 f.; Damīrī, s.v. (transl. Jayakar, i, 766 ff.); Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1324, i, 139; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], index; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Filāḥa* (transl. Clément-Mullet), ii/b, 242 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 71, 92 (transl. Kopf, 44, 68); Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, bāb 62, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 32, 413 f.; al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī (Stephenson), 70 f.; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, x, 217 ff.; A. Malouf, *Arabic Zool. Dict.*, Cairo 1932, index.

(L. Kopf)

AL-DADJDJĀL, the "deceiver", adjective of Syriac origin, *daggālā*, joined to the word *meshīḥā* or *nebīyā* (Peshitto, Matth., xxiv, 24). In Arabic, used as a substantive to denote the personage endowed with miraculous powers who will arrive before the end of time and, for a limited period of either 40 days or 40 years, will let impurity and tyranny rule the world which, thereafter, is destined to witness universal conversion to Islam. His appearance is one of the proofs of the end of time. The characteristics attributed to him in Muslim eschatological legends combine features from Christ's sermon to his disciples (Matth. xxiv, Mark xiii) with some elements taken from the Apocalypse of St. John of Patmos (xi 7, xii, xiii, xx 5-18, 8-10).

These elements reappear in the pseudo-apocalyptic literature of later periods. After the invasions of the Huns, St. Ephraem makes him appear from Chorasé (Chorasène, Khurāsān), in his sermon on the end of time (Scti. Ephremi Syri, *Sermo II de fine extremo*, trans. T. J. Lamy, iii, 187-214, §§ 9-13). His essential activity is to lead the crowds astray, to accomplish miracles (short of restoring the dead to life), to kill Elias and Enoch, the two witnesses put forward by God against him—they will immediately come to life again—and finally to be conquered and dismembered at the coming of the Son. The Ps. Methodius (*Monumenta SS. Patr. Orthodoxographa graeca*, Bale 1569, 99) speaks of a "son of the destruction" coming from Chorasé, and finally perishing at the hands of the king of the Romans, before the Second Coming. In a similar passage, the relationship being unconcealed, the Apocalypse of Baḥīrā speaks in the same terms of one Ibn al-Halāk who will perish at the hands of the angel of Thunder (MS. Arab. Paris, 215, f° 171).

Unknown in the Ḳur'ān, the same figure appears in Muslim traditions. Ibn Ḥanbal repeats the legends about the ass on which he rides, the sinners and hypocrites who attend him, his end before Jesus (iii, 867, iii, 238, ii, 397-98, 407-408). Similarly, in the *Kitāb al-Fitan* of the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, there is a chapter *Bāb dhikr al-Dadjdjāl*, which describes him as a corpulent, red-faced man with one eye and frizzy hair, who brings with him fire and water, the water being of fire and the fire of cold water. The Prophet will have announced his coming and will have prayed to God for help against his *fitna*. Conquering the world, he will be unable, at Medina (and Mecca), to cross the barrier formed by angels standing at the gates of the town (al-Bukhārī, ed. Munīriyya, ix, 107-110). These traditions derive their details from St. Ephraem: he will bring with him a mountain of bread and a river of water, and also the episode, though condensed and distorted, of his meeting with Elias and Enoch (an upright man among upright men who will denounce him, and whom he will kill and bring to life again, but will be powerless to put to death once more). On his brow he will bear the mark *Kāfir* (for detailed references see art. by Wensinck in *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 67, and s.v., *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*).

Later apocalyptic writings: the revelations of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (Ms. Arab. Paris, 2602, f° 128 sqq., cf. f° 134 v°), *Ṣayḥat al-Būm fī ḥawādith al-Rūm* (ibid. f° 119, 120 v°), *Shams al-Ghuyūb fī ḥanādis al-Ḳulūb* (Ms. Arab. Paris, 2669, f° 55n-56 v°), and also the Christian pamphlet on the capture of Constantinople in 1204, repeating the old Revelations of Sibylla, daughter of Herael (Ms. Arab. Paris, 70, 74, f° 126 v° ff., 178, f° 175 ff.), reproduce the description of Dadjdjāl's coming, his false miracles, his conquests and his end. But clearly in the Muslim apocalypses it is at the hands of the Mahdī that the false claimant who had usurped his title is to perish, whilst the Revelation of Sibylla makes him die at the hands of Jesus, at the very moment of the end of time. These accounts insist upon Dadjdjāl's beauty and powers of seduction, and repeat the

episode of the righteous men denouncing him. The apocalypse of Sibylla believes that the decisive proof of his imposture is his inability to raise up the dead.

In considering these eschatological documents it appears that, from the 11th century at least until the 16th century, Judeo-Christian traditions regarding Dadjdjāl remained alive and formed an indispensable element in descriptions of the period preceding the Judgment. Conflating two traditions, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ* (Cairo 1910, 266 and 332-333) regards him as the ultimate term of comparison to describe false doctrine and going astray—though his sedition is only to last 40 days—and recalls that Christians believed that he would perish at the hands of Jesus who, in that way, would be converted to Islam after killing pigs, scattering wine and taking his place for prayer at the Kaʿba.

The body of legend about Dadjdjāl is completed by statements about his origin. Apocalyptic texts make him come from the most remote regions. In St. Ephraem and the apocalypse *Shams al-Ghuyūb* (Ms. Paris, 2559), he comes from Khurāsān (cf. Ibn al-Wardī, al-Bīrūnī). According to Ps. Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and the *Ṣayḥat al-Būm* (Ms. ar. Paris, 2502), he must come from the West. Geographers and travellers of the classical period state that he dwelt in the countries which the *ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* habitually peopled with extraordinary beings, following the traditions of the Alexander Romance. Generally it was the East Indies which were the chosen place, from the time of Ibn Khurradādhbih and al-Masʿūdī to Ibn Iyās. A giant, false prophet, king of the Jews, representations of him vary according to the degree of literary information available or the predominating prejudices. It is interesting to note the allusion to the legend of Prometheus which makes him live chained to a mountain on an island in the sea (*Mukhtaṣar al-ʿAdjāʾib*, 130; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 28) where demons bring him his food. (A. Abel)

ḌAFĪR, an important, purely nomadic camel-breeding Sunnī (Mālikī) tribe of south-western ʿIrāḳ, whose *dīra* has been for the last 150 years in the steppe south of the Euphrates and Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab from the neighbourhood of Zubayr to that of Samāwa. Their immigration into ʿIrāḳ, dating from about 1220/1805, was caused by bad relations with the then powerful and fanatical rule of Ibn Saʿūd, who forcibly demanded their obedience. Their earlier history traces legendary origins in Nadjd and even in the Ḥidjāz; but in fact the modern tribe represents evidently a conglomeration of various *badw* elements from many parts of Arabia, more or less unified by the ruling family of Ibn Suwayṭ. Tribal traditions record many wars and raids of the usual Arab type, with the Muṭayr, Banī Khālid, Shammar and others. They were, while still in Nadjd, occasionally tributary to the Shammar, the Shaykh of Kuwayt, and the family of Ibn Saʿūd.

Administratively, the Ḍafīr are now grouped under the *liwā* headquarters of Baṣra, but move seasonally into Kuwayt territory or that of Saʿūdī Arabia. Their relations with the Turkish and ʿIrāḳ Goverments since the early 13th/19th century have been fairly good, with lapses especially when they habitually looted caravans on the Nadjf—Ḥāʾil road; and they have now lost much of their wild and inaccessible, though not their nomadic, character. Varying, but on the whole amicable, relations have been maintained with the Muntafiḳ, their eastern and riverain neighbours; bad, with the Muṭayr and Shammar and ʿAniza. The tribe was heavily involved in the serious raiding into ʿIrāḳ by Saʿūdī (chiefly Muṭayr) forces in the period 1340/1344 (1921/25).

Bibliography: ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *ʿAshāʾir al-ʿIrāḳ*, Baghdād 1365/1937, vol. i; S. H. Longrigg, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950*, Oxford 1953.

(S. H. Longrigg)

DAFN AL-DHUNŪB [see Dhunūb, dafn al-].

DAFTAR, a stitched or bound booklet, or register, more especially an account or letter-book used in administrative offices. The word derives ultimately from the Greek διφθέρα "hide", and hence prepared hide for writing. It was already used in ancient Greek in the sense of parchment or, more generally, writing materials. In the 5th century B.C. Herodotus (v, 58) remarks that the Ionians, like certain Barbarians of his own day, had formerly written on skins, and still applied the term *diphthera* to papyrus rolls; in the 4th Ctesias (*in* Diodorus Siculus ii, 32; cf. A. Christensen, *Heltedigtning og Fortællingslitteratur hos Iranerne i Oldtiden*, Copenhagen 1935, 69 ff.) claimed, somewhat unconvincingly, to have based his stories on the βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι—presumably the royal archives—of Persia. The word also occurs in pre-Islamic and even pre-Christian Jewish Aramaic texts (V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*[2], i, Leipzig 1911, 91 f.; M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim etc.*[2], New York 1926, 304. Attempts to derive it from an Iranian root meaning to write (also found in *dabīr*, *dīwān*) are unconvincing; on the other hand, in view of the testimony of the Arab authors, it is probable that the word reached Arabic via Persian.

I. The Classical Period

In early Islamic times *daftar* seems to have been used to denote the codex form of book or booklet, as opposed to rolls and loose sheets. It was at first applied to quires and notebooks, especially those said to have been kept by some collectors of traditions as an aid to their memories; later, when sizable manuscript books come into existence, it was applied to them also (N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, i, Chicago 1957, 21-24; cf. Goldziher, *Muh.St.*, ii, 50-52 and 180-1. Stories of personal libraries and record collections in the first century A.H. must be treated with caution, cf. the comments of J. Schacht on the spurious tradition of the archives of Kurayb, *On Mūsā b. ʿUqba's Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, *AO*, 1953, xxi, 296-7. On the earliest Arabic papyrus quires see A. Grohmann, *The Value of Arabic Papyri*, *Proc. of the Royal Soc. of Hist. Studies*, i, Cairo 1951, 43 ff.).

The creation of the first Islamic record office is usually ascribed to the Caliph ʿUmar, who instituted the muster-rolls and pay-rolls of the fighting-men (see dīwān). The initial form of these is not known, but before long they were probably kept on papyrus, which after the conquest of Egypt became the usual writing material in the administrative offices of the Caliphate. The papyri show that records of land, population, and taxes were kept in Egypt; surviving documents include quires as well as rolls and loose sheets, though the latter seem to have been the usual form, and no quire in Arabic appears until a comparatively late date (see A. Grohmann, *New Discoveries in Arabic Papyri. An Arabic Tax-Account Book*, *BIE*, xxxii, 1951, 159-170. In general, the Umayyad Caliphs seem to have followed Byzantine bureaucratic practices, and kept their records on papyrus. This did not lend itself to the codex form. There was, however, also another bureaucratic tradition. The Sāsānids clearly could not have relied on supplies of imported Egyptian papyrus for

their administration, and made use of a variety of prepared skins as writing materials (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 21). According to Ḥasan al-Ḳummī, quoting Hamadānī on the authority of al-Madāʾinī (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm* 180), the Sāsānid Emperor Kobād kept a land-tax office at Ḥulwān; this is indirectly confirmed by Yaʿḳūbī's story (*Taʾrīkh*, ii, 258) of the procuring, in Muʿāwiya's time, of lists of Sāsānid domain lands from Ḥulwān (A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 15 n. 1). It is possible that some of the army lists of the earlier period, at least in the ex-Persian provinces, were already in codex form. Balādhurī (*Futūḥ* 450; ed. Cairo 1901, 455) has ʿUmar say to the Banū ʿAdī "if the *daftar* is closed (*yuṭbaḳ*) on you', and explains it as meaning "if you are registered last". Abū Muslim is said to have prepared a pay-roll called *daftar* instead of the usual *dīwān* of his followers in Khurāsān in 129/766-7 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1957, 1969; see further N. Fries, *Das Heerwesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omaijaden*, 1921, 9; W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der Abbasiden*, *Isl.*, xxix, 1949-50, 263). These may, of course, be no more than a projection backwards, by later historians, of a term common in their own time, though it is significant that the first example comes from the East.

According to the bureaucratic tradition, it was Khālid b. Barmak who, during the reign of al-Ṣaffāḥ, introduced the codex or register into the central administration. Until that time, says Djahshiyārī (fol. 45 b; ed. Cairo 89) the records of the *dīwāns* were kept on *ṣuḥuf*; Khālid was the first to keep them in *daftars*. Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 91) goes further and says that the *ṣuḥuf mudradja* (? papyrus rolls, cf. Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 423—*adrādj min kāghid waraḳ*) which had hitherto been used were replaced by *dafātir min al-djulūd*—parchment codices. In the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, Khālid's grandson, Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, was responsible, it is said, for the introduction of paper. In this story there is some element of exaggeration. An incident told by Djahshiyārī (fol. 79 b; ed. Cairo 138) shows that under Manṣūr papyrus was still much used in government offices, and the supply from Egypt a matter of concern; it was still used under Hārūn al-Rashīd, and even as late as the time of Muʿtaṣim, an abortive attempt was made to set up a papyrus factory, with Egyptian workmen, in Sāmarrā (W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 7; A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri*, Cairo 1952, 23 ff., 45 ff., 52; *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae*, iii, *Series Arabica*, ed. A. Grohmann, i/I, *Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papyri*, Vienna 1924, 32 ff., 54 ff., etc.). It is, however, broadly true that from the accession of the ʿAbbāsids the register in codex form came to be the normal method of keeping records and accounts in government offices. Its use was confirmed and extended with the general adoption of paper from the 9th century onwards, and from this time the term *daftar* is in the main confined to administrative registers and record-books. The system of *daftars* seems to have been first elaborated in Iran and ʿIrāḳ. In Egypt papyrus remained in use until the 4th/10th century, but the eastern form of *daftar* seems to have been introduced even before the general adoption of paper. Surviving specimens of papyrus account-books in quire form (described by A. Grohmann, *New Discoveries* . . , and idem, *New Discoveries* . . II, *BIE*, xxxv, 1952-3, 159-169) tally fairly closely with literary descriptions of the *daftar* in eastern sources (see below). From Egypt the *daftar* spread to the western Islamic world. In 373/985, al-Muḳaddasī (239) found it worthy of note that the people of Andalusia had their account-books as well as their Ḳurʾāns on parchment. (On writing materials see further DJILD, KĀGHID, ḲIRṬĀS, RIḲḲ, WARAḲ).

Types of Daftar.

With the development of elaborate bureaucratic organizations, the keeping of *daftars* became a task calling for special skills and knowledge, and *daftars* of many different types emerge. The first systematic account that we possess of the records and registers of a Muslim administrative office is that given by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khʷārizmī in the late 4th/10th century. He enumerates the following:

(1) *Ḳānūn al-Kharādj*—the basic survey in accordance with which the *Kharādj* is collected.

(2) *Al-Awāradj*—Arabicized form of *Awāra*, transferred; shows the debts owed by individual persons, according to the *Ḳānūn*, and the instalments paid until they are settled. (On *Awāradj* see V. Minorsky in his edition of *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, London 1943, 144; to be modified in the light of W. Hinz, *Rechnungswesen*, 120 ff.).

(3) *Al-Rūznāmadj*—day-book; the daily record of payments and receipts.

(4) *Al-Khatma*—the statement of income and expenditure presented monthly by the *Djahbadh*.

(5) *Al-Khatma al-Djāmiʿa*—the annual statement.

(6) *Al-Taʾridj*—an addition register, showing those categories (*abwāb*) which need to be seen globally, arranged for easy addition, with totals. Receipts for payments made are also registered here.

(7) *Al-ʿArīḍa*—a subtraction register, for those categories where the difference between two figures needs to be shown. It is arranged in three columns, with the result in the third. Such is the *ʿArīḍa* showing the difference between the original and the revised figures, the latter being usually smaller, (that is, presumably, the estimates and the amounts actually received. This seems to be the meaning of *aṣl* and *istikhrādj*, rather than income and expenditure, as assumed by Cevdet and Uzunçarşılı. On *istikhrādj* in the sense of revision cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Medhal*, 278 and Hinz, *Rechnungswesen* 18, On *Aṣl* cf. Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger 373, ed. Cairo 209. The expression *dafātir-i aṣl wa istikhrādj* occurs in a text from Saldjūḳ Anatolia—O. Turan, *Türkiye Selcukları hakkında Resmi Vesikalar*, Ankara 1958, text xxvi). These are itemized in the first and second columns, with the differences between them in the third column. Grand totals are shown at the foot of each of the three columns.

(8) *Al-Barāʾa*—a receipt given by the *Djahbadh* or *Khāzin* [*qq.v.*] to taxpayers. (It is not clear whether Khʷārizmī means a register of copies and receipts, or is merely naming the *barāʾa* as a kind of document).

(9) *Al-Muwāfaḳa wa 'l-djamāʿa*—a comprehensive accounting (*ḥisāb djāmiʿ*) presented by an *ʿāmil* on relinquishing his appointment. If it is approved by the authority to whom he presents it, it is called *muwāfaḳa*, if they differ, it is called *muḥāsaba*.

Passing to the registers of the army office (*dīwān al-djaysh*), Khʷārizmī lists:

(10) *Al-Djarīda al-Sawdāʾ*—prepared annually for each command, showing the names of the soldiers, with their pedigree (*nasab*), ethnic origin (*djins*), physical descriptions (*ḥilya*), rations, pay etc. This is the basic central register of this *dīwān*.

(11) *Radj'a*—a requisition (*ḥisāb*) issued by the paymaster (*mu'ṭī*) for certain troops stationed in outlying areas, for one issue of pay (*ṭama'*) on reference to the *dīwān*.

(12) *Al-Radj'a al-Djāmi'a*—a global requisition issued by the head of the army office for each general issue (*ṭama'*) of army pay, rations, etc.

(13) *Al-Ṣakk*—an inventory (*'amal*—cf. Dozy, *Suppl.* ii, 175) required for every *ṭama'* showing the names of the payees, with numbers and amounts, and bearing the signed authority to pay of the sultan. The *Ṣakk* is also required for the hire of muleteers and camel-drivers.

(14) *Al-Mu'āmara*—an inventory of orders issued during the period of the *ṭama'*, bearing at its end a signed authorization (*idjāza*) by the sultan. A similar *mu'āmara* is prepared by every *dīwān*.

(15) *Al-Istiḳrār*—an inventory of the supplies remaining in hand after issues and payments have been made.

(16) *Al-Muwāṣafa*—a list (*'amal*) showing the circumstances and causes of any changes occurring (*i.e.*. transfers, dismissals, deaths, promotions, etc.).

(17) *Al-Djarīda al-Musadjdjala*—the sealed register. The *Sidjill* (seal) is the letter given to an envoy or messenger, authorizing him, on arrival, to recover the expenses of his journey from any *'Āmil.* The *Sidjill* is also the judicial verdict (*maḥḍar*) prepared by a *ḳāḍī.*

(18) *Al-Fihrist*—a repertory of the inventories and registers in the *dīwān.*

(19) *Al-Dastūr*—a copy of the *djamā'a* made from the draft.

Finally, Khwarizmī gives the names of three registers (*daftar*) used by the scribes of 'Irāḳ. They are (as given in the edition) (1) الانجيذج

(2) الاوشنج

(3) الدروزن

The third is explained as a register of the land measurement survey (*misāḥa*). (Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. Van Vloten, 54-8, cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 103, Eng. tr. 109, where however Mez's meaning is not very clearly rendered. An abridged Turkish paraphrase of Khwārizmī's text was made, in the light of Ottoman bureaucratic experience, by M. Cevdet, *Defter*, 88-91; there is also a rather more rapid Turkish summary by I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 479-480. This last has been translated into German by B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 338 n. 1).

It is probable that Khwārizmī's account refers to Samanid rather than 'Abbāsid offices in this first instance. It is, however, almost certainly applicable in great part to 'Abbāsid administration, and much of what he says is attested by passing references in the historians of 'Irāḳ and Persia.

Khwārizmī's registers fall into two main groups, the fiscal and the military, which may now be considered separately.

Fiscal Registers.

The most important register of the tax-office is the *Ḳānūn*, the survey of land and taxable crops, (this would seem to be the meaning of the term *ḳānūn* in Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger 370, ed. Cairo 207).

This served as the basis for the assessment and collection of the land-tax and was thus the main instrument and authority for the department's activities. The term *Ḳānūn*, already recognized by Khwārizmī as arabicized Greek (*yūnāniyya mu'arraba*), was employed chiefly in 'Irāḳ and the East, and was still in use in the 13th and 14th centuries, when it designated a kind of cadastral and fiscal survey (M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, *Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī on Finance*, *BSOAS*, x, 1940, 761, 773, 781; Hinz, *Rechnungswesen*, 134 ff.). In later times the term *ḳānūn* in this sense seems to have fallen out of use, and was replaced by others. In Egypt the term *mukallafa* was used to designate the land survey registers, which were prepared by a *māsiḥ* and arranged by villages (Grohmann, *New Discoveries*.., 163). According to Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 82, a new survey was made in Egypt every thirty years. (For specimens of land-tax registers from Egypt, on papyrus rolls, see A. Dietrich, *Arabische Papyri*, Leipzig 1937, 81 ff. (see further DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ, MISĀḤA, RAWK, TAḤRĪR and TAPU).

The *Rūznāmadj* or *Rūznāmče* is mentioned in an anecdote attributed to the time of Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī. A Persian taunts an Arab with the dependence of Arabic on Persian for terms and nomenclature, "even in your cookery, your drinks, and your *dīwāns*", and cites the word *Rūznāmadj*, as an example in the last-named group. (Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-Kātib*, Cairo 1341, 193). A passage in Miskawayh throws some light on how the *Rūznāmadj* was kept, in the treasury, in early 4th/10th century Baghdad. In 315/927, he tells us, the wazīr 'Alī b. 'Īsā 'relied on Ibrāhīm b. Ayyūb (a Christian treasury official, appointed head of the *Dīwān al-Djahbadha* in the following year—'Arīb, *Tab. Cont.* 135; on him see also Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī* 199; Hilāl al-Sābī, *Wuzarā'*, 136, 279, 296) to report to him on financial matters, to instruct the Treasurer (*Ṣāḥib bayt al-māl*) concerning his daily disbursements, and to require of him the weekly presentation of the *Rūznāmadjāt*, so that he might quickly know what had been paid out, what received, and what the deficit was (*mā ḥalla wa-mā ḳabaḍa wa-mā baḳiya*). The previous practice in making up the account (*khatma*) had been to present a monthly statement to the *dīwān* in the middle of the following month'. (*Tadjārib al-Umam*, ed. Amedroz, i, 151-2).

Two other passages in the same work indicate that the functionary in the treasury whose task it was to prepare the *khatma* was the *Djahbadh* [*q.v.*] (ibid., 155 and 164. The rendering of these passages in the English translation of Miskawayh by D. S. Margoliouth does not bring out their technical significance). Two documents of the time of al-Muḳtadir, quoted in the *Ta'rīkh-i Ḳumm*, shows how the *Rūznāmadj* functioned in Ḳumm and Fārs. Here the writer (*Kātib*) of the *Rūznamādj* is distinct from the *djahbadh*, and is a government official. His task is to register the sums received in taxes and issue receipts, called *Barā'a* [*q.v.*], and to act as a kind of auditor on the operations of the *Djahbadh* (*Ta'rīkh-i Ḳumm*, 149 ff.; cf. Ann K. S. Lambton, *An Account of the Tarikhi Qumm*, *BSOAS*, xii, 1948, 595; C. Cahen, *Quelques problèmes économiques et fiscaux de l'Iraq Buyide* ... *AIEO*, x, 1952, 355. On the *Rūznāmadj* see further F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, Copenhagen 1950, 149 and 159). In Ayyūbid Egypt Ibn Mammātī still includes the preparation of the *Rūznāmadj* and the *Khatma* among the duties of the *Djahbadh* (*Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiya, Cairo 1943, 304), For examples of *Rūznāmadj* from Egypt see Grohmann, *New Discoveries*..; for a discussion of the systems of accountancy they reveal, C. Leyerer,

Die Verrechnung und Verwaltung.. See further ḤISĀB and MUḤĀSABA.

Many scattered references to the *daftars* kept in ʿAbbāsid offices will be found in the writings of Miskawayh, Hilāl, and others especially interested in administrative affairs. Some idea of the scale and presentation of the accounts of the state may be gathered from a few individual balance sheets of imperial revenue and expenditure that have been preserved by the historians. The earliest, dating from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, is preserved by Djahshiyārī (fol. 179a-182b; ed. 281-8) and, in a variant version, by Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳ.* i, 321-4= Rosenthal, i, 361-5. See further R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 317-320. A budget for 306/908 is given by Hilāl, *Wuzarāʾ*, 11-22, and was analysed, together with other sources, by A. von Kremer, *Über das Einnahmebudget des Abbasiden-Reiches, Denkschrift d. Phil. hist. Kl. d. Wiener Ak.*, xxxvi, 1888, 283-362. A statement of the revenues of the privy purse (*Bayt māl al-Khāṣṣa*) in the 4th/10th century is given by Miskawayh (Mez 115-6. See further BAYT AL-MĀL).

Military Registers.

The muster-rolls of fighting-men date back to the beginnings of the Islamic state. These tribal rolls were, however, of quite a different character from the regular army lists described by Khʷārizmī. It may be that Abū Muslim was the first to introduce the *daftar* of soldiers; certainly the practice became general under the ʿAbbāsids. Besides Khʷārizmī's notes, we have a fuller description of the army lists kept in the *dīwān al-djaysh* in Ḳudāma's treatise on the land-tax, and in a late anonymous treatise on tactics (Tr. Wüstenfeld, in *Das Heerwesen der Muhammedaner*, Göttingen 1880, 1-7. Both are examined, with other evidence, by W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung* ... 269 ff. See further ʿAṬĀʾ). Similar lists were kept in the *dīwān al-djaysh* and *dīwān al-rawātib* (army office and pay office) of the Fāṭimids in Egypt (Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 492-3 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Ägypten*, Göttingen 1879, 190-1). The common term for the army lists was *Djarīda*.

Diplomatic Registers.

Khʷārizmī's description is confined to financial and statistical registers—to accounts, inventories and the like in the tax and pay offices. Besides these there were also letter-books and other diplomatic registers, used in the chancery offices. A description of those kept in the Fāṭimid chancery (*dīwān al-rasāʾil*) is given by the Egyptian scribe Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (463-542/1070-1147). In the 12th chapter of his *Ḳānūn Dīwān al-Rasāʾil* (ed. ʿAlī Bahdjat, Cairo 1905, 137-141, Fr. trans. by H. Massé in *BIFAO*, xi, 1914, 104-8; cf. Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*., i, 133-5, where they are given in a slightly different order, and Björkman, *Beiträge*, 24-5), he considers the registers (*daftar*) and memoranda (*tadhkira*; Massé translates 'bulletin') which should be kept in this office, and the qualities of their keeper. This, he says is one of the most important tasks in the *dīwān*. The registrar must be reliable, long-suffering, painstaking, and work-loving, and should keep the following memoranda and registers.

(1) Memoranda (*tadhākir*) of important matters (*muhimmāt al-umūr*) which have been dealt with in correspondence, and to which it may be necessary to refer. These memoranda ((*tadhākir*) are much easier for reference than papers in bundles (*aḍābīr*; Massé translates 'dossier'). All letters received must therefore, after being answered, be passed to the registrar, who will consider them and record what is needed in his memoranda, together with any reply sent. He will assign a number of sheets (*awrāḳ*) in his memoranda to each transaction (*ṣafḳa*), with an appropriate heading. He will then register incoming letters, noting their provenance, date of arrival and contents, together with a note of the reply sent or, if such be the case, of the fact that no reply was sent. He will continue this to the end of the year, when he will start a new *tadhkira*.

(2) Memoranda of important orders (*awāmir*) in outgoing letters, in which are noted also the contents and dates of arrival of replies received to them. This is to ensure that orders are not disregarded and left unanswered.

(3) A register (*daftar*) showing the correct forms of *inscriptio* (*alḳāb*), *salutatio* (*duʿāʾ*), etc. to be used for various officials and dignitaries, as well as foreign rulers and other correspondents abroad, in different types of letters and diplomas. For each office or post (*khidma*) there should be a separate sheet (*waraḳa mufrada*) showing the name of its occupant, his *laḳab*, and his *duʿāʾ*. Changes and transfers must be carefully noted.

(4) A register of major events (*al-ḥawādith al-ʿaẓīma*).

(5) A specification (*tibyān*) of ceremonial (*tashrīfāt*) and robes of honour (*khilʿa*), to serve as a model when required. This should show grants made, with sartorial details, and prices.

(6) A repertory (*fihrist*), by year, month, and day, of incoming letters, showing provenance, date of arrival with a summary or, if needed, a transcript of the text.

(7) The same for outgoing letters.

(8) A repertory of diplomas, brevets, investitures, safe-conducts, etc. This is to be prepared monthly, accumulated yearly, and restarted each new year.

Finally, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī refers to the need to record Arabic translations of letters received in foreign scripts (*khaṭṭ*) such as Armenian, Greek or Frankish.

According to Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, i, 139, cf. Björkman, *Beiträge*, 39), these Fāṭimid registers were in general maintained in the Cairo chancery until the end of the 8th/14th century. It is clear that this system of chancery registration and records originated in the eastern lands of the Caliphate, and continued there in one form or another, through the Middle Ages. Its later development can be seen in the Ottoman *Mühimme Defteri*, *Aḥkām Defteri*, *Tewdjīhāt Defteri*, *Teshrīfātdjī Ḳalemi Defteri*, etc.

II. The Turkish and Mongol Period.

In bureaucratic practice, as is in most other aspects of government and administration, the period of domination by the Steppe peoples, Turks and Mongols, brought noteworthy changes. Some of these may be due to Chinese influences, penetrating through the Uygurs, the Karakhitay, and above all through the Asian Empire of the Mongols. It seems likely that the system of registration owes something to East Asian examples (see for example Djuwaynī, i, 24-5 = Boyle, i, 33-4, and Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Blochet, 39-40, 56-7; cf. ibid. 483 on the *daftars* of Pekin), but this whole question is still in need of further investigation.

Despite some evidence of reorganization under the Great Saldjūḳs, the registrars and book-keepers of the Sultanate, as well as of Saldjūḳid Anatolia and Ayyūbid Egypt, seem to have continued many of

the practices of the preceding period. What development there is seems to be in technical matters, especially in the collection and presentation of statistical data. Some idea of bureaucratic practice in the Sultanate of Rum can be obtained from Ibn Bībī, *Al-Awāmir al-ʿAlaʾiyya*, facsimile ed. Ankara 1956 (ed. N. Lugal and A. S. Erzi, part 1; Ankara 1937; abridgment, Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii; German trans. H. W. Duda, Copenhagen 1959; Turkish adaptation by Yazīdjīoghlu ʿAlī, Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii). Registers were kept at the *Dīwān-i Aʿlā*, and dealt with land and tax matters. As new territories were acquired or recovered, new surveys were conducted (Ibn Bībī, 146, Antalya; 153-4, Sinop; 428, Akhlāṭ). An addition by Yazīdjīoghlu (*Recueil*, iii 105—not in Ibn Bībī) tells that during the reign of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs the office of *Ṣāḥib-i Dīwān* and the care of the finance registers (*emwāl defātiri*) were entrusted to Khʷādja Badr al-Dīn Khurāsānī, 'who was unequalled in the lands of Rūm in his knowledge of *khaṭṭ*, *balāgha*, *inshāʾ*, *siyāḳat*, and *ḥisāb*' [*qq.v.*]. At the same time Khʷādja Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Tabrīzī was put in charge of *inshāʾ* and *maktūbāt*, and each of the 12 *daftars* in the *dīwān-i wizārat* entrusted to a competent master (*ustād*). On another occasion the office of *amīr-i ʿāriḍ* was entrusted to Shams al-Dīn, also a specialist in *inshāʾ* and *siyāḳat* (Ibn Bībī 127), Yazīdjīoghlu adds the explanation that this office involved the control of the military registers (*čeri defteri*, *Recueil*, iii, 109. For similar appointments to the *dīwān al-ʿarḍ* by Sandjar see *K. ʿAtabat al-Kataba*, edd. Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1329, 39-40, 72-3). Another passage in the same work (*Recueil*, iii, 210) speaks of 24 registrars, 12 in the *dīwān-i wizārat* dealing with land and taxes, and 12 in the *dīwān-i ʿāriḍ* dealing with the lists of soldiers, pay and fiefs. A poem cited by Yazīdjīoghlu (254-5), repeats these figures, but awakens doubt of their authenticity by linking them with the recurring figure 12 in the Oghuz legend. The same poem claims complete coverage in the registration of lands (Cevdet 91-3).

From the Il-Khānid period we have, for the first time, detailed treatises on public accounting. Two important works, the *Saʿādat-nāma* of Falak ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī (compiled 707/1307) and the *Risāla-i Falakiyya* of ʿAbd Allah b. Muḥammad b. Kiyā al-Māzandarānī (ca. 767/1363) were discovered and analysed by Zeki Velidi [Togan] (*Moğollar devrinde Anadolu'nun Iktisadî Vaziyeti*, *THITM*, i, 1931, 1-42). A Tīmūrid manual, written in Herāt ca. 845/1441, was discovered by Adnan Erzi (W. Hinz, *Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen im 15 Jahrhundert*, *Welt des Orients*, 1949, 313-40) and a complete budget (*Djāmiʿ al-Ḥisāb*) of 738/1337-8 found by Z. V. Togan. The first two were studied in great detail by W. Hinz (*Das Rechnungswesen*), to whom we also owe a critical edition of the second of them (*Die Resalä-ye Falakiyyä*, Wiesbaden 1952).

These works reveal a system of book-keeping based on seven main registers, as follows:

(1) *Rūznāma*—'Daybook', Arabicized form *Rūznāmadj*, also called *Daftar-i Taʿlīḳ*.

(2) *Daftar-i Awāradja*—cash-book, showing the balance of moneys in hand.

(3) *Daftar-i Tawdjīhāt*—register of disbursements.

(4) *Daftar-i Taḥwīlāt*—an off-shoot of the preceding, dealing with disbursements for stocks and running expenses in state establishments and enterprises.

(5) *Daftar-i Mufradāt*—budget register showing the income and expenditure by cities, districts, and provinces.

(6) *Djāmiʿ al-Ḥisāb*—the master-ledger, from which the annual financial reports were prepared.

(7) *Ḳānūn*—the survey and assessment book, or Domesday Book of the Empire.

(For a full discussion of these registers, and of the variations in usage and nomenclature, see Hinz, *Rechnungswesen*, 113-137).

III. The Post-Mongol States.

As in so many other respects, the Muslim states of the post-Mongol period seem to have followed, to a very large extent, the bureaucratic practices of the Il-Khāns, some of which can be recognized as far afield as Mamluk Cairo, Ottoman Istanbul and Mughal Delhi. Of these states only one, the Ottoman Empire, has left a collection of registers that has survived to the present day, though individual *daftars* have come to light in other parts. The Ottoman *daftars* have been discussed elsewhere (see BAŞVEKALET ARŞIVI, DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ, DIPLOMATIC, MÜHIMME DEFTERI, SIDJILL, etc.), and need not, therefore, be described here. Numbers of Ottoman registers have also come to light in the ex-Ottoman territories in Europe, Asia and Africa. For a description of their material form see L. Fekete, *Die Siyaqat-Schrift*, i, 70 ff.

Bibliography: For a general discussion see the unfortunately incomplete article of M. Cevdet, published in Osman Ergin's *Muallim M. Cevdet'in Hayatı, Eserleri ve Kütüphanesi*, Istanbul 1937, appendix, 69-96; on finance registers C. Leyerer, *Studien zum Rechnungswesen der arabischen Steuerämter*, *ArO*, xii, 1941, 85-112; idem, *Die Verrechnung und Verwaltung von Steuern im islamischen Ägypten*, *ZDMG*, N.F. 28, 1953, 40-69; W. Hinz, *Das Rechnungwesen orientalischer Reichsfinanzämter im Mittelalter*, *Isl.*, xxix, 1950, 1-29, 113-141; on military registers W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der Abbasiden*, *ibid.*, 257-290. On Ottoman finance registers, L. Fekete, *Die Siyaqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, i, Budapest 1955, 67-110; on the *Ḳāḍī*'s registers Halit Ongan, *Ankara'nın I Numaralı Şer'iye Sicili*, Ankara 1958, and J. Kabrda, *Les anciens registres turcs des Cadis de Sofia et de Vidin*, *ArO*, xix, 1951, 329-392; on Safavid Persia V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, London, 1943; on Central Asia, M. Yuldashev, *The State Archives of XIX century feudal Khiva*, in *Papers by the Soviet Delegation at the xxiii. International Congress of Orientalists, Iranian, Armenian and Central Asian Studies*, Moscow 1954, 221-30. Some *daftars* have been published in full. The earliest Ottoman survey register was edited by H. Inalcık, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954; an Ottoman survey register of Georgia was edited by S. Jikia, *Gurjistanis vilaiethis didi davthari. Defteri mufassali vilâyeti Gürcüstan.* Great register of the vilayet of Gurdjistan. Vol. 1, Turkish text. Vol. 2, Georgian translation. Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoy SSR: Tiflis, 1941-1947. (B. LEWIS)

DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ, the collection of registers in which were entered, during the Ottoman period, the results of the surveys made every 30 or 40 years until the beginning of the 11th/17th century, in accordance with an old administrative and fiscal practice.

The imperial registers or *Daftar-i Khāḳānī* consisted primarily of a list of the adult males in the

villages and towns of the Empire, giving, by the side of their names and the names of their fathers, their legal status, their obligations and privileges according to the economic and social class to which they belonged, and the extent of the lands which they possessed.

These registers also contain a great deal of information on the way in which the land was used (fields, orchards, vineyards, rice-fields, etc.), on the number of mills, on sheep and bee-hives, with an indication of their approximate fiscal value in aspers.

Nevertheless the fiscal information contained in the registers is not confined to this agricultural inventory. They also refer to fisheries and mines as well as to the proceeds from customs, fairs, markets and weighhouses, with their locations, their regulations and the volume of the transactions carried out.

We can also, by referring to the *daftar-i khāḳānī*, obtain an exact idea of the distribution of the revenues of the country as between the imperial domain, the military fiefs, *waḳf*s and private properties (*mulk*). These registers in fact constitute a survey showing the form of ownership of each estate with a summary of the successive changes which it underwent.

The compilation of the registers arose from the administrative organization of the Empire. The great majority of Ottoman officials, both civil and military, did not draw salaries from the budget of the central government but were allowed, in return for their services, to levy taxes on a given region on their own account. Thus at the beginning of the 10th/16th century the possessors of *timar*s alone, whose numbers had risen to about 35,000, appropriated more than half of the taxes levied on the territory of the Empire. This proportion moreover was to rise throughout the 17th century together with the number of timariots.

In order for this system to operate successfully it was essential to know every detail of the different sources of the Empire's revenues, and to follow their modifications step by step through a given period. In this way it was possible to examine whether the emoluments, whose amounts were entered in the registers, and the deeds of grant (*berāt* [*q.v.*]) issued to the beneficiaries, tallied with the taxes they actually levied. During the period of expansion, when the population and the resources of the Empire were constantly increasing, the frequent surveys always disclosed new surpluses in the State revenues.

But from the 11th/17th century onwards the central power, as a result of the anarchic mismanagement of State affairs, did not possess the authority necessary to carry out these surveys. The disorganization of the institution of *timar*s moreover rendered the value of these measures illusory.

In addition to these "detailed registers" (*daftar-i mufaṣṣal*) in which were listed the results of the surveys, auxiliary registers were also required, in which were noted, as they occurred, changes in the distribution of the *timar*s, thus avoiding the additions and corrections which would otherwise have had to be made in the "detailed registers". For the system in force at the beginning of the 10th/16th century two or even three kinds of auxiliary books were used:

1. *Daftar-i idjmāl* or "synoptic inventory". This register was a summary based on the detailed register, omitting the names of the inhabitants and giving the revenues only as lump sums for each unit. The *idjmāl* can cover all classes of ownership in a *sandjaḳ*, but is normally limited to one or two; there are thus *idjmāl*s of *timars*—*i.e.*, nominal rolls of timariots, with brief statements of their holdings and revenues; *idjmāl*s of domain, *waḳf*, and *mulk*.

2. *Daftar-i derdest* or "book of changes". This register was a list of the villages or towns constituting the nucleus of the military fiefs. It showed the successive changes which each fief had undergone and the authorities could, on consulting it, easily determine the fiefs escheated or without possessors.

3. *Daftar-i rūznāmče* or "daybook", into which were copied as they occurred the deeds of grant (*berāt*) issued to new fief-holders.

Each time a new survey was made, the old registers were replaced by new and consigned to the archives of the register-office (*daftarkhāne*). The greater part of the old registers were lost or destroyed during their removal from one repository to another. There remain nevertheless over a thousand in the Başvekalet Arşivi [*q.v.*] at Istanbul as well as a few in certain Turkish and foreign archives and libraries. Among these registers are some which date from the time of Murād II (824-55/1421-51) and of Meḥemmed II the Conqueror (855-86/1451-81), and which allude to still earlier surveys.

The archives section of the survey and land register office, at Ankara, includes a complete collection of the registers relating to the last surveys made during the reigns of the sultans Selīm II (974-82/1566-74) and Murād III (982-1003/1574-95). To these registers have been added the results of the surveys made in such provinces as Crete, conquered after this date, or the Morea, recaptured from the Venetians. Even today this collection is, on rare occasions, consulted in lawsuits.

In this collection the "detailed registers" number 254, the "synoptic inventories" (*idjmāl*) 116, the "books of changes" (*derdest*) 169, and the "daybooks" (*rūznāmče*) 1363 volumes. The "detailed registers" contain about 300 pages, 15 cms. across and 42 cms. down.

During the period of more than three centuries which has elapsed since the last survey, these records have been brought up to date each time it has been necessary to register the modifications which have occurred in the legal status of certain lands upon the creation of new *waḳf*s. The fact that certain judgments made in favour of privileged individuals and relating to law-suits concerning the boundaries of villages and pastures have been entered in these registers only increases their value. Nevertheless it would be wrong to believe that all the transactions carried out by the registry office have found a place in these documents.

Certain writers have suggested that the *daftar-i khāḳānī* constitute a land-register. But in the system of domain-lands (*arāḍī-i mīriyye*), the peasant has never been the owner of the land which happens to be in his possession, and he could not therefore dispose of the title-deed. He could indeed transfer the possession of the land which he occupied, but this act, which took place under the control and with the approval of the local lord (*sipāhī*), was not made the subject of an entry in the imperial registers. Only from the second half of the 19th century onwards was a land register, in the modern sense of the word, established in Turkey.

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DAFTARDĀR, in Turkish *defterdār*, keeper of the *daftar* [*q.v.*], an Ottoman term for the chief finance officer, corresponding to the *Mustawfī* [*q.v.*] in the eastern Islamic world. According to Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 485, 494, 525, 526), the title *Ṣāḥib al-Daftar* already existed in the Fāṭimid administration, for the official in charge of the *Daftar al-Madjlis*, that is, of accounts and audits. The title *Daftarkhʷān*—*Daftar*-reader—appears in the time of Saladin (B. Lewis, *Three Biographies from Kamāl ad-Dīn*, in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 343), and reappears in the Muslim West (Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 660). The title *Daftardār* seems to originate with the Il-khāns, who appointed a *daftardār-i dīwān-i māmalik* or *daftardār-i mamālik* to make and keep the registers (Uzunçarşılı, *Medhal*, 229-30; Köprülü, *Bizans* 204-5; Hammer, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, Pest 1840, 497-501).

The Ottoman *ḳānūnnāmes*, from the 9th/15th century onwards, show the development of the office of *defterdār* in the Ottoman Empire. In the *Ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II, the chief *Defterdār* is already a high ranking official who, under the general supervision of the Grand Vezir, is the officer responsible (*wekīl*) for the Sultan's finances (*Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, *TOEM suppl.* Istanbul 1330, 10). He is named immediately after the Grand Vezir, and is comparable with him in status. At the *Dīwān* he sits immediately after the Grand Vezir and the two *Ḳāḍīʿaskers*, and shares with them the right to issue fermans on matters within his jurisdiction. He has the right of personal access to the Sultan, who rises to greet him (*ibid.*, 10-11, 16-17, 23-5). His duties include the presentation of an annual report or balance sheet of income and expenditure, for which he is rewarded with a robe of honour. His emoluments may be an appanage (*Khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*]) worth 600,000 aspers, or a Treasury stipend (*sālyāne*) of from 150,000 to 240,000 aspers a year. In addition, the *Defterdārs* are entitled to a registration fee (*ḥaḳḳ-i imḍā*) of 1,000 aspers per load (*yük* = 100,000 aspers) on all grants of *Khāṣṣ*, whether by farm or by commission (*iltizām* or *emānet* [*qq.v.*]; to a collection fee (*Kesr-i mīzān*) of 22 aspers per thousand on moneys paid into the Treasury, and to an issue in kind from the produce collected in tithes from the Imperial domains. On retirement they received a pension of 80,000 aspers. (*ibid.* 28-9). The chief *defterdār* (*bashdefterdār*) presided over a hierarchy of lesser finance officers; first the ordinary finance officers (*Māl defterdārī*), then, under them, their adjutants (*Defterdār ketkhudāsī*), and under them the registrars of *tīmārs* (*Tīmār Defterdārī*), all with a recognized and established ladder of promotion. From the time of Bāyazīd II the *Bashdefterdār* was concerned chiefly with Rumelia, and was also known as *Rumeli Defterdārī*. A second *Defterdār*, the *Anadolu Defterdārī*, was appointed to deal with the revenues of Anatolia. In the early 10th/16th century a further *defterdār*'s office was set up in Aleppo, to look after the remoter Asian provinces. Its head was called *Defterdār-i ʿArab wa ʿAdjam*. This office was later subdivided, with separate offices in Diyārbakr, Damascus, Erzurum, Aleppo, Tripoli, and elsewhere. In the mid-16th century a separate office for Istanbul was established, and at the end of the century yet another for the Danubian provinces. This last was of short duration. The three main offices came to be known as the first, second, and third divisions (*shiḳḳ-i ewwel, thānī, thālith*) corresponding to Rumelia, Anatolia, and the remoter provinces. A fourth division was set up by Selim III to deal with the budget of the new style army (see NIẒĀM-I DJEDĪD); it was abolished with the latter. In 1253/1838 the office of the *Defterdār* was renamed Ministry of Finance (*Māliyye* [*q.v.*]), but the term *Defterdār* remained in use for provincial directors of finances.

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DĀGH, the *takhalluṣ* of Nawwāb Mīrzā Khān (originally called Ibrāhīm, *Āʾīna-i Dāgh*), one of the most distinguished Urdū poets of modern times. He was a son of Nawwāb Shams al-Dīn Khān, ruler of Fīrūzpur Djhirkā, and Wazīr Begam (usually called Čhoṭī Begam). Nawwāb Mīrzā was born in Čāndnī Čawk, Dihlī on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1246/25 May 1831 (cf. his horoscope in *Djalwa-i Dāgh*, 9). When Shams al-Dīn Khān was hanged (Oct. 1835) for his part in the murder of Mr. W. Fraser, Resident of Dihlī, Nawwāb Mirzā Khān's mother remarried, and he went and lived in Rāmpūr in 1844, because of the influence of his aunt, ʿUmda Khānam, a member of the *harīm* of Nawwāb Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān. There he studied Persian with Mawlawī Ghiyāth al-Dīn. His mother, in the meanwhile (1844), entered the *harīm* of Mīrzā Muḥammad Sulṭān Fatḥ al-Mulk (= Mīrzā Fakhrū), a son and the heir-apparent of Abū Ẓafar Bahādur Shāh. Nawwāb Mirzā (then 13 or 14 years old) also came to the Dihlī Fort and received his regular education there. He studied the usual Persian texts, learned calligraphy from Sayyid Muḥammad Amīr Pandja Kash (d. 1857, Ghulām Muḥammad, *Tadhkira-i Khwushnawīsān*, Calcutta 1910, 71 f.) and Mīrzā ʿIbād Allāh Beg (*ibid.*, p. 73); he also learned horsemanship and the use of various arms. But above all his sojourn in the Fort brought him into contact with the famous poets of the day, who assembled in the Fort for the *mushāʿaras* (poetical contests). This environment developed his latent aptitude for writing poetry. He began to write *ghazals* in Urdū at an early age and when Shaykh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Dhawḳ adopted him as his pupil, his genius blossomed fully. The tutorship of Dhawḳ lasted from 1844 to 1854 and in this period Dāgh took part in the *mushāʿaras* both of the Fort and the City. But Fatḥ al-Mulk's death (10 July 1856) forced him to leave the Fort. About ten months later followed the upheaval of 1857, after which Dāgh once again went to his aunt in Rāmpūr but

occasionally visited Dihlī and sometimes stayed there. When Kalb ʿAlī Khān succeeded Nawwāb Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān (d. 21 April 1865) as Nawwāb of Rāmpūr, Dāgh had the honour of becoming his companion (14 April 1866). He was also appointed Superintendent (*dārūgha*) of the stables and carpet stores (*farrāsh-khāna*) at Rs. 70 p.m. Towards the end of the same year he had the privilege of accompanying the Nawwāb to Calcutta and a few years later (1289/1872-3) of performing the *ḥadjdj* in the retinue of the Nawwāb. Rāmpūr in this period was a rendezvous of distinguished poets, such as Amīr, Djalāl, etc. (see *Nigār*, 46) and Dāgh had ample opportunities of shining in their company. From here he visited Calcutta (and several other cities) in connexion with his love-affair described by him in the *Faryād-i Dāgh* (a *mathnawī*). The death of the Nawwāb (23 March 1887) scattered many of the poets; Dāgh resigned his post (July 1887), and a few months later left Rāmpūr (Dec. 1887), after serving the State for about 22 years. He visited Ḥaydarābād-Deccan, and after some years, was appointed (26 Djumāda II 1308/6 Feb. 1891) the *Ustād* or instructor (in poetry) of the Niẓām (Maḥbūb ʿAlī Khān), and in 1309/1891 was paid Rs. 450/- p.m. (local currency) retrospectively from the date of his arrival in Ḥaydarābād; this sum was raised to Rs. 1000 in 1312/1894 and he received many other favours.

In 1312/1894 he received from the Niẓām the titles of "Bulbul-i Hindūstān, Djahān Ustād, Nāẓim Yār Djang, Dabīr al-Dawla, Faṣīḥ al-Mulk, Nawwāb Mīrzā Khān Bahādur". He appears to have been signing his name only as Faṣīḥ al-Mulk Dāgh Dihlawī (see Nūrī opp. 12). His only son died at Rāmpūr; he adopted a daughter. He had an attack of paralysis and died on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1322/14 Feb. 1905, and was buried on the ʿĪd day, in Ḥaydarābād. "Nawāb Mīrzā Dāgh" is the chronogram of his death. Dāgh was a tall person, with a somewhat pock-marked face and dark complexion, and he wore a beard. He had a pleasant personality, with a fine sense of humour, courtly manners, and an intense love of music.

His works: Dāgh composed four or five *dīwāns*. The earliest, comprising his poems of the Dihlī period up to 1857, is said to have been lost in that year, but was, later, partly rewritten by him from memory (Nūrī, 89); others say that he had it in Ms. form with marginal amendments by Dhawḳ. The other *dīwāns* were: *Gulzār-i Dāgh*, Rāmpūr 1296/1878-9; *Āftāb-i Dāgh*, Lucknow 1302/1884; *Mahtāb-i Dāgh*, Ḥaydarābād-Deccan 1310/1893; *Yādgār-i Dāgh* comprising his poems from 1310 till his death in 1322. The last one is said to have been lost, and was not published (*Wāḳiʿāt-i Dihlī*, ii, 451 f.). Dāgh's pupil Aḥsan Mārahrawī published in 1323/1905 what he could collect of the *Yādgār-i Dāgh* (Kāẓimī, 208) to which an appendix was published at Dihlī by Lāla Srī Rām. The above five *dīwāns* contain about 14,800 verses mainly in *ghazal* form, but there are also *ḳaṣīdas*, *rubāʿīs* etc. (Kāẓimī, 210). Dāgh also published in 1300/1882 the *mathnawī* called *Faryād-i Dāgh*. He composed a *dīwān-i muḥāwarāt* also (more than a thousand verses) which was surrendered by his relatives to Āṣaf Djāh VI.

Dāgh's prose: (i) *Inshā-i Dāgh*, his letters, collected and published by Aḥsan Mārahrawī, Dihlī 1941; (ii) *Zabān-i Dāgh*, his private letters collected and published by Rafīḳ b. Aḥsan Mārahrawī, Lucknow 1956. We may also mention *Bazm-i Dāgh*, (a diary compiled by Aḥsan & Iftikhār-i ʿĀlam, both of Mārahra, who had stayed with Dāgh for nearly 4 years from 15 August 1898 onwards) Lucknow 1956. The authenticity of these documents has been challenged (see Tamkīn Kāẓimī, *Dāgh*, 163 ff.).

Several selections from Dāgh have also appeared, viz. *Muntakhab-i Dāgh* (Allāhābād 1939), *Bahār-i Dāgh*, Lāhore 1940, *Kamal-i Dāgh* (Āgrā), and *Dīwān-i Dāgh* or *Intikhāb-i Dāgh* (Lucknow).

The art of Dāgh: Dāgh is famous for the purity and the charm of his diction, the easy and unaffected flow of his verse, and the simplicity and elegance of his style, all of which are especially suited to the *ghazal*. The artistic and realistic expression he gave to his amatory and other experiences made his appeal direct and vehement. His command of language is remarkable. He uses idiomatic phrases frequently and with masterly aptness (cf. Walī Aḥmad Khān, *Muḥāwarāt-i Dāgh*, Dihlī 1944; the author collects 4464 such phrases, arranges them alphabetically with brief explanations and citations from Dāgh; an earlier attempt by Aḥsan in his *Faṣīḥ al-Lughāt*, on similar lines, remained incomplete and only a few were published in some issues of the *Faṣīḥ al-Mulk* magazine). Dāgh made a powerful impression on Urdū poetry, especially on the *ghazal*, which he made once again primarily a vehicle of emotional expression couched in easy and simple language, free from unfamiliar, harsh-sounding Arabic and Persian words, as used, *e.g.*, by the school of Nāsikh and Ātish (cf. *Nigār*, 19). In fact, he defined Urdū as the language which is free from Persianisms (Nūrī, 65, 170; cf. *Djalwa-i Dāgh*, 142, for Dāgh's conception of what good Urdū poetry should be in form). Out of the three periods of his literary work, the earliest ends with his stay in Rāmpūr. In this he had already acquired the main characteristics of his poetry, *viz.*, a graceful and clear expression,—simple, fresh and forceful, and the boldness of his ideas. These were developed still further in the second or the Rāmpūr period, which is his best. His expressions become extremely sweet and elegant, almost unparalleled in Urdū literature, and the novel, dramatic and bold ways in which he clothes his ideas with words is to be rarely met with in other poets (*Kamāl-i Dāgh*, 50 f.). These outstanding features are embodied in the *Gulzār-i Dāgh* and the *Āftāb-i Dāgh*. The last of the three periods, that of Ḥaydārābād-Deccan, is the period of decay. The language is as correct, as perspicuous and smooth as ever, the composition is ingenious but there is nothing more. Towards the end, he became too fond of introducing in his verses idiomatic expressions. The characteristics of the period are to be seen in *Yādgār-i Dāgh*. Dāgh has been severely criticized for the low and degrading ideals which he consistently kept before himself when writing love poetry (cf. Čakbast, *Maḍāmīn-i Čakbast*, Allāhābād, 1936, 69 f.), but his poetry to a considerable extent reflected the general trends of the effete society of his time (see *Nigār*, 18, 49).

He had numerous pupils in all parts of India (*Djalwa-i Dāgh*, 125; *Nigār*, 28, 131), a fact which shows the great popularity which his style had gained in the country (but see *Mirʾāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ii, 36).

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(MUHAMMAD SHAFĪ)

DĀGHISTĀN "land of the mountains"; this name is an unusual linguistic phenomenon, since it consists of the Turkish word *dāgh*, mountain, and of the suffix which, in the Persian language, distinguishes the names of countries; this name seems to have appeared for the first time in the 10th/16th century). An autonomous Republic of the R.S.F.S.R. with an area of 19,500 sq. miles and a population of 958,000 inhabitants (1956), it is made up of two quite distinct parts: the Caucasian Range and the cis-Caspian Steppes, bordered in the north by the Terek and the Kuma, in the south by the Samur on one side and the Alazan, a tributary of the Kura, on the other.

Before the Russian conquest, the mountainous part of Dāghistān and the plain which lay beside the sea were never for very long united under the domination of one people or one dynasty. The coastal plain itself divided into two parts by the pass of Derbend, only 2 kms. wide. The southern section belonged principally to the civilized states of Asia Minor, while the northern section lay in the power of the nomadic kingdoms of southern Russia. Since history began, neither the people of the south nor those of the north have exerted any important influence on the ethnography of the mountain region. Before the establishment of Russian power, no foreign conqueror had succeeded in permanently subduing the inhabitants of this region. From time to time these people seized different parts of the coastal plain but each time these conquerors soon broke all political connexion with their brothers who remained in the mountains.

The southern part of the coastal plain as far as Derbend belonged in ancient times to Albania. North of this region, probably in the mountains, dwelt some small tribes whom Strabo (ch. 503) called Δῆγαι or Γῆλαι. Both the Romans and the Persians who succeeded them in the 4th century had to defend the pass of Derbend against the nomadic peoples. The condition in which the Arab conquerors found these regions suggests that the culture of the Sāsānid Empire and perhaps Mazdaïsm had some influence on the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains. Some princes of these countries possessed Persian titles, *e.g.*, the Ṭabarsarān-Shāh, who governed a district west of Derbend. There also dwelt in Ṭabarsarān the Zirīhgarān (from the Persian *zirih*, breastplate), famous armourers whose funeral customs, described by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī (*Tuḥfat al-Albāb*, ed. Ferrand, *JA* 207 (1925), 82-3; also text in Barthold, *Zapiski Vostoč. Otdel. Arkheol. Obshčestva*, xiii, 0104) and others, seem to owe their origin to Persian religious influence. It appears that Christianity began to spread in Albania in the 4th and 5th centuries and thence to the tribes in the steppes and mountains of Dāghistān.

In spite of the success of Arab arms in the north of Dāghistān, notably under the Caliph Hishām (105-125/724-743), when Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik first established with some degree of permanence the Arab power at Derbend, this town nonetheless retained its importance as a frontier fort under the Arabs as under the Sāsānids. There, as everywhere, close relations with the neighbouring peoples seem to have deepened in the wake of the Arab conquest. It was nevertheless the Christians and the Jews who first profited from this resurgence of activity, and only afterwards the Muslims. The Khazars are supposed to have adopted Christianity under the Armenian patriarch Sahak III (677 to 703 A.D.). In the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-193/786-809), the Jews succeeded in winning to their faith the sovereign and the nobility of this people.

The geographers of the 4th/10th century furnish us with exact information on the ethnographic distribution of Dāghistān and the spread of the three religions through this country. At that time the Arabs held, in addition to Derbend, the neighbouring castles which were only one *farsakh* or three miles away from the town, according to al-Masʿūdī, ii, 40). A Muslim, son of the sister of ʿAbd al-Malik, amīr of Derbend, ruled over Ṭabarsarān. Ibn Rusta (De Goeje ed., 147 ff.) relates that the sovereign of the neighbouring kingdom of Khajdān (a true account according to Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 492) professed the three religions simultaneously and observed Friday with the Muslims, Saturday with the Jews and Sunday with the Christians. In al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 39) the same prince appears as a Muslim and was even said to have had drawn up a genealogical tree showing his connexion with the Arab race. He was, however, the only Muslim initiate in his country. Further north reigned another Muslim, Barzbān, prince of the Gurdj. North of his principality lived the Christian Ghumīḳ; still further north lay the impenetrable mountains of the Zirīhgarān, where

the three religions each had their adherents, and finally the country of the Christian prince of Sarīr (which corresponds to present-day Avaristān), who bore the title of Fīlānshāh or Ḳīlānshāh. According to Ibn Rusta, only the inhabitants of the royal castle, built on a high mountain, were Christian; the prince's other subjects were pagan. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, Sarīr's frontier was only two *farsakh* away from the seaboard town of Samandar. Governed by a Jewish prince related to the king of the Khazars, Samandar lay four days' march from Derbend according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, eight days' march according to al-Masʿūdī. It was probably situated in the northern part of the coastal region where the town of Ṭarkī or Ṭarkhū was later built. It is described as a flourishing city where there were, some say, 4000, others, 40,000 vineyards; there the Muslims had their mosques, the Christians their churches, and the Jews their synagogues. On the west the country of Samandar bordered the land of the Alans.

The Arabs seem to have given the name of Lakz (Lezgians) to the people of southern Dāghistān, whose geographical position they do not elsewhere indicate with any precision. According to al-Balādhurī (De Goeje ed., 208), the land of the Lakz lay in the plain which stretched from Samur to the town of Shāberān, south of present-day Dāghistān. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 5), on the other hand, the Lakz people dwelt in the highest mountains of the region. Among these were the "infidels" who were not subject to the prince of Shirwān. "Strange stories" went round about their family life and customs. The mention of Shirwān shows that al-Masʿūdī imagined the country of the Lakz to lie in the mountainous region of upper Semur. At first the Russians only used the name of "Lezgians" for the tribes of southern Dāghistān, as opposed to the "highlanders" of the northern territories or "*Tawli*", from the Turkish *taw*—mountain.

During the succeeding centuries, Islam seems to have made but slow progress in Dāghistān. In 354/965, the power of the Khazars was shattered by the Russians. Then the southern part of this state itself suffered the ravages of war. It was the Christian Alans who, it seems, profited from this upheaval, for their territory, at the time of the Mongol conquest, stretched much further to the east than in the 4th/10th century. At the time of their first incursion into these countries, according to Ibn al-Athīr (xii, 252), the Mongols encountered north of Derbend first the people of the Lakz who then included "Muslims and infidels", further north some other half-Muslim tribes—ancestors of the Avars—and lastly the Alans. According to William of Rubruk who visited these countries in November 1254, the mountains were inhabited by Christian Alans; "between the mountains and the sea" lived the Saracen Lezgians (Lesgi), that is to say Muslims; however Rubruk himself gave the name of "castellum Alanorum" to a fortress situated only one day's march north of Derbend. The Mongols at that time had still not succeeded in subjugating these tribes. It was necessary to assign to special detachments the defence of the passes leading from the mountains to the plain, in order to defend the herds grazing on the steppe against the raids of the highlanders (cf. Fr. M. Schmidt, *Rubruk's Reise*, Berlin 1885, 84 ff.).

In the 13th and 14th centuries, the region which stretched to the pass of Derbend, and partially the territories situated to the south of this town also, formed part of the empire of the Golden Horde. It is in the history of the campaigns of Tīmūr (797-798/1395-1396) that the names of the two chief peoples of Dāghistān, the Ḳaytāḳ (or Ḳaytāgh) and the Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ (now Laks) appear for the first time in their modern forms. The territory of the Ḳaytāḳ, next to the pass of Derbend, belonged to the empire of Tokhtamīsh. Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī (*Ẓafar-nāma*, India ed. i, 742 sqq.) describes the Ḳaytāḳ as people "without religion" (*bī-dīn*) or of "bad faith" (*bad kīsh*) which shows that they were still not subject to Islam. According to Barbaro (Ramusio, *Viaggi*, ii, 109-a), there were among the Ḳaytāḳ even in the 15th century many Greek, Armenian or Roman Catholic Christians. On the other hand, the prince of the Ḳaytāḳ (Khalīl Beg), mentioned by Afanasid Nikitin in his account of the voyage (1466), bore a Muslim name.

The Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ were Muslim and were regarded as the champions of Islam against the pagan peoples around them. Their prince was called Shawkal. North of the Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ lived the Ashkūdja (modern Darghins), who had not yet become Muslim. The account of Tīmūr's campaigns also mentions the town of Tarḳi. Between the Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ and the Ḳaytāks, and therefore in the land of the present-day Köbeči, dwelt the Zirīhgarān who had retained their ancient fame as smiths and who offered to the conqueror coats-of-mail of their own making.

The Tīmūrid conquest and the Ottoman occupation (from 865-1015/1461-1606) marked the further advance of Islam into Dāghistān. From the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the Muslim faith won over the infidel populations in Dāghistān, often by recourse to force. From this period dates the somewhat superficial conversion to Islam of the Darghine (Ashkūdja) people and the permanent conversion of the Ḳaytāḳ. The Avars as well were gradually brought over to Islam, but Christianity survived amongst them throughout the 15th century, whilst the Andis and the Didos peoples remained firmly pagan. The Zirīhgarān (Kubačis), converted to Islam in the 15th century, preserved traces of Christianity until the end of the 18th century. The Lezgians were also superficially converted after the Tīmūrid period.

The Islamic conversion is not the only aspect of the historical evolution of Dāghistān at this time, in which we must include the formation of the feudal principalities which provided Dāghistān with the political structure which remained until the 19th century.

The feudal principalities which appeared or developed at that time claimed ancestry from the Arab conquest, but these fanciful allegations are today strongly disputed.

The account of Tīmūr's campaigns shows decisively that the situation in which the Ottomans found Dāghistān during their short domination dates from the 9th-15th to 10th/16th centuries only. Nevertheless this situation has been carried back to the first centuries of the *hidjra* by a historical tradition only invented during this era. Just as the Jews, perhaps before the Arab conquest, had located in Dāghistān certain events in their legends and history (cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 20), just as today those called Dagh-Čufut or "mountain Jews" still claim that their ancestors were formerly led into these regions by the conquering Assyrians or Babylonians, so also did the Muslim peoples all claim to have been converted to Islam by Abū Muslim and the princes all claim to be descended from the Arab governors whom he left in Dāghistān. The title of Maʿṣūm, borne by the prince of Ṭabarsarān, was

identified with the Arabic word *maʿṣūm*. Likewise Arabic etymologies were invented for the Ḳaytāḳ title of *ūsmī* ("renowned", from *ism* = "name") and for the Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ's *shāmkhāl*. The word *shāmkhāl* was alleged to derive from Shām = Syria. Another root was also found for this word, namely *shāh-baʿl*. It is not impossible that such etymologies also had some influence on the pronunciation of the titles in question. It is obviously not by chance that the title of the prince of the Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ appeared in the oldest Russian documents in the same form (*shewḳal* or *shawḳal*) as in Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī. Clearly the Persians and the Russians could not have corrupted *shāmkhāl* into *shawḳal* independently of each other; it is more likely if we assume that the present form of the title only took shape under the influence of the etymology described above. The subjects of the *shāmkhāl*, the Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ, claimed to have been distinguished under Abū Muslim as defenders of the faith and to have won at that time from the Arabs the title of "*Ghāzī*" or victors.

Three great feudal principalities dominated Dāghistān in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries: the the Shāmkhālat Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ, the Ūsmīyat of Ḳaytāḳ and the Maʿsūmat of Ṭabarsarān.

The first historical Ḳaytāḳ prince who bore the title of *ūsmī* seems to have been Aḥmad Khān, who died in 996/1587-88. He is credited with having founded the village of Madjālīs, where the representatives of the people assembled to discuss their affairs. He is supposed to have ordered the bringing together of the statutes of the popular law in a code to which the judges or *ḳāḍīs* had to conform, a measure which was considered a "great audacity" (*djasārat-i ʿaẓīma*) by Mīrzā Ḥasan Efendi, the author of *Āthār-i Dāghistān*, 65).

Towards the middle of the eleventh century (1050/1640), a number of the Ḳaytāḳ separated from their compatriots and proceeded to the regions south of Dāghistān. Husayn Khān, leader of these emigrants, succeeded in setting up a new principality at Sāliyān and Kūba. The Ottoman traveller Ewliyā Čelebi (*Siyāḥat-nāma*, ii, 291 ff.) met these Ḳaytāḳ emigrants in 1057/1647 between Shaki (today Nukha) and Shamākhī. The glossary compiled by Ewliyā Čelebi proves that the Ḳaytāḳ did not then, as today, speak Lezgian but Mongol.

The *shāmkhāls* of the Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ (today the Laks) extended their domination little by little beyond their mountains north-east as far as the coast, into Turkish country (Ḳumīḳ). In the 10th/16th century, these princes used to spend the winter at Būynāḳ, a village on the coastal plain, and the summer at Kumukh in the mountains. In 986/1578 at Būynāḳ died the *shāmkhāl* Čūbān, whose possessions were then divided among his sons. These divisions naturally weakened the power of the dynasty. The Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ who stayed in the mountains slowly proceeded to make themselves entirely independent of their ruling house. After the death of the *shāmkhāl* Sūrkhāy-Mīrzā, in 1049/1639-40, the *shāmkhāls* only ruled the coastal region, at Būināḳ or Tārkhū (Tarḳi). None of the later *shāmkhāls* ever returned to Kumukh, where the tombs of the first princes are still to be seen.

It was at this time that the Russians revived their efforts to seize, after Astrakhān, the countries of the northern Caucasus, among them Dāghistān. In 1594 a Russian detachment commanded by Prince Khvorostīnin succeeded in taking Tārkhū and in constructing a fortress on the Ḳoi-Su or Sulaḳ. It was not long, however, before the Russians suffered defeat by the sons of the *shāmkhāl* and were compelled to withdraw over the Sulaḳ. A fresh attack in 1604, directed by Buturlin and Pleshčeev against Tārkhū, was still less successful.

The period between the Ottoman occupation and the Russian conquest is distinguished in Dāghistān by the flowering of the Arab culture which attained its zenith in the period of Shāmil. During the 17th century a galaxy of Dāghistān scholars gathered round Shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Yamanī (born in 1637—died at Mecca in 1696): his most famous disciple was Muḥammad Mūsā of Kudatli, who disseminated his teachings in Dāghistān and died in Aleppo in 1708. In the 18th century parties of Dāghistān scholars went to Damascus and Aleppo to learn there the Arab language and the sharīʿa. This period of cultural renascence was also a period of juridical organization—a codification illustrated by the Code of Umma Khān, the Avar, and the laws of Rustum Khān, *ūsmī* of Ḳaytāḳ.

With this flowering of Islamic culture in the Arabic language there coincided on the political level an anarchic dispersion when Dāghistān, divided into manifold clans and rival kingdoms, wavered between Turkish and Persian influence, passing alternately from one to the other. This political dispersion confirmed the weakness of Dāghistān and inevitably provoked a foreign conqueror.

From the 16th century onwards three powers, Persia, Turkey and Russia, claimed possession of Dāghistān. The native princes allied themselves now with one, now with another, of these three powers. Not until the 19th century was the contest finally terminated, to Russia's advantage. After 986/1578 the prince of Ṭabarsarān, following the example of the *shāmkhāl* and of the *ūsmī*, made his submission to the Sultan. When, in 1015/1606, Shāh ʿAbbās restored Persian power in these regions, the *ūsmī* joined with him, whilst the *shāmkhāl* remained loyal to the Turks. One of the clauses of the peace treaty concluded in 1021/1612 stipulated that the *shāmkhāl* and the other princes loyal to the Porte would not suffer any reprisals on the part of Persia. The *ūsmī* Rustam-Khān having crossed over to the Turks in 1048/1638, his rival the *shamkhāl* won the favour of the Shāh, who confirmed him in his honours. He had moreover already received a similar investiture from the Tsar Michael (*Athār-i Dāghistān*, 81).

When, under the feeble government of the Shah Husayn, the Ṣafawid empire fell into decline, Dāghistān itself became the stage for a movement directed against Persian domination. At the head of this movement there was Čulāḳ-Sūrkhay-Khān who had just founded a new principality in the land of the Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ. Allied with the *ūsmī* and the *mudarris* Ḥādjdjī Dāwūd, the leader of a pupolar movement, he succeeded in taking Shamākhī in 1124/1712. Then the allies sent to Constantinople an embassy which obtained for them robes of honour from the Sultan, titles and diplomas and the favour of being received into the number of the subjects of the Porte. It was then that the intervention of Russia altered the course of events. Three hundred Russian merchants had been killed at Shamākhī, and Peter the Great seized this as a pretext for intervention. He directed an expedition against Persia and occupied Derbend in 1722. Soon afterwards the other provinces on the west coast of the Caspian sea had themselves to submit to Russia. By the treaty of partition of 1724, Russia's rights over this coast were likewise recognized by the Porte.

The Russian occupation was not at that time of

very long duration. Nādir Shāh succeeded in restoring the unity of the Persian empire, and Russia gave back to him, by the treaty of 1732, all the countries south of the Kura and also, by the treaty of 1735, the territory contained between the Kura and the Sulaḳ. When the Russians had contrived to defeat an expedition of Tātars from the Crimea into Dāghistān, the Porte likewise gave up its claims. As for the native population, it opposed the new Shāh with unyielding resistance, especially in the mountains. It was only on the coast that Nādir Shāh succeeded in establishing his power in any lasting fashion. In 1718 the *shāmkhāl* ʿĀdil Girāy had taken an oath of loyalty to Peter the Great and had aided him in his campaign of 1722; as, however, he later revolted against the Russians, he had been deported to Lapland in 1725 and the dignity of *shāmkhāl* had been abolished. Nādir Shāh restored this dignity and conferred it on Khāṣ Pūlād-Khān, the son of ʿĀdil Girāy, The people of the mountains remained independent, owing to persistent attacks, particularly those of 1742 and 1744.

After the murder of Nādir Shāh in 1160/1747, Persia was for half a century without a government strong enough to maintain its power in this frontier region. The provinces of the empire themselves could not be defended against the incursions of the princes of Dāghistān. In this way the town of Ardabil was sacked by the *ūsmī* Amīr Ḥamza. In turn the Russians, in spite of the treaty of 1735, began to wield influence in Dāghistān once more. The traveller Gmelin was captured in the country of the *ūsmī* and put to death in 1774, and in 1775 a Russian detachment commanded by Madem came and devastated the region. In 1784 the *shāmkhāl* Murtaḍa ʿAlī once more joined Russia. In 1785 the establishment of the post of governor of the Caucasus consolidated Russian domination over these countries. A religious movement instigated by Turkey and directed by Shaykh Manṣūr affected Dāghistān only superficially; most of the princes refused to support the movement.

The Ḳādjārs, when they had succeeded in re-uniting all the Persian provinces in one empire, strove once more to annex the lands of the Caucasus. But this time Russia was not disposed to give up her claims without a struggle, as she had with Nādir Shāh. The war began in the last year of the reign of Catherine II, in 1796. Derbend was occupied by the Russians but soon after evacuated by command of the Emperor Paul. In 1806 the town was recaptured, and this put an end to Persian domination in Dāghistān. It was, however, only by the peace treaty of Gulistān, in 1813, that Persia finally renounced her claims over the country.

The resistance offered to the Russians by the native princes and by their peoples in particular continued longer. In 1818 nearly all the princes of Dāghistān, with the exception of the *shāmkhāl*, formed an alliance against the Russians. This rebellion was not put down by the Governor Yermolov without difficulty. The title of *ūsmī* of the Ḳaytāḳ was abolished in 1819, that of *maʿṣūm* of Ṭabarsarān in 1828. After 1830 the princes who were allowed to remain accepted Russian officer advisers at their sides. The masses, excited by their preachers to a holy war against the infidels, resisted more tenaciously than their rulers. Since the end of the 18th century the adherents of the order of the Naḳshbandiyya had penetrated into Dāghistān and there disseminated their doctrines successfully. About 1830 the leaders of the order had stirred up among the Avars a popular movement directed both against the ruling house, against the intrusion of the infidels and in favour of the restoration of the *shariʿa* in place of the *ʿādāt*. The chief leader of the rebels was Ghāzī Muḥammad [*q.v.*], called Kazi Mulla by the Russians and praised by his pupils as a great expert in Arab sciences (*ʿulūm ʿarabiyya*).

On 17th (29th) of October 1832, Ghāzī Muḥammad was surrounded and killed by a Russian detachment in the village of Gimri. His successor, Ḥamza Beg [*q.v.*] also died in 1834 near Khūnzāḳ. The third leader of the rebellion, Shāmil [*q.v.*] was more fortunate. The inferior of his predecessors in learning, he excelled them in his qualities of administrator and leader. For twenty-five years he maintained in the mountains the struggle against the Russians. He gained his greatest successes in the years 1843 and 1844 when the Russians occupied only the coast and the southern regions. In the mountains many Russian strongholds had been taken by the high-landers. After 1849, Shāmil was once more confined to the western part of the mountain region, but he continued the struggle for another ten years.

After the fall of Shāmil who, on 25th August (6th September) 1859, yielded to Prince Baryatinsky, the Russians restored for a while the authority of the Avar princes, deeming it opportune to consolidate the power of the princes and the nobility in order to destroy with their support the influence of the priesthood. But the Russian authorities soon abandoned this policy. The royal house of the Avars was dispossessed in 1862, and soon afterwards the other princes in their turn had to abdicate the semblance of sovereignty which still remained to them. The deposition of the *shāmkhāl* took place in 1865. Dāghistān was then given the organization which it retained until the Revolution of 1917. In 1877, during the Russo-Turkish war, the population took up arms again. On 8th (20th) September the rebels succeeded in taking the fortress of Kumukh. In Ḳaytāḳ and Ṭabarsarān the descendants of the old ruling houses re-assumed the titles of *ūsmī* and of *maʿṣūm*. But meanwhile the war changed to the advantage of the Russians who soon put down the insurrection.

After the extremely savage civil war in Dāghistān (1917-20), the Soviet regime was set up in the autumn of 1920. On the 13th of November there was proclaimed the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Dāghistān with Makhač-Ḳala for the capital.

The population of this republic consists now of a majority of Muslims and a minority of non-Muslim immigrants: Russians, Ukrainians, Jews both autochthonous (Dāgh-Čufut) and immigrant (Ashkenazim).

The Muslim population contains three great linguistic groups:

I. The Ibero-Caucasians which divide into three sub-groups speaking languages distinct from each other:

(a) The Avaro-Ando-Dido group (cf. AVAR, ANDI, DIDO and ARČI), in 1959 268.000 strong in the northern part of mountainous Dāghistān. It contains the Avar (or Khunzak) people, eight small Andi nationalities (Andis proper, Akhwakhs, Bagulals, Botlikhs, Godoberis, Čamalals, Ḳaratas and Tindis) inhabiting the high bowl of the Ḳoysu of Andi, five small Dido nationalities (Didos proper or Tzezes, Bežeta, Khwarshis, Ginukhs and Khunzals) and the Arčis.

The Avars possess a literary language, have absorbed the other nations in the group whose

languages are not set down in writing, and form with them one sole Avar "nation".

(b) The Darghino-Lak group (cf. DARGHIN, LAK, ḲAYTĀḲ, KUBAČI) which numbered 222,000 in 1959 in the west-central part of mountainous Dāghistān, and which contain the Darghins (formerly Ashkūdja), the Laks (formerly Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūkh) and two small peoples, Ḳaytāḳ and Kubači (formerly Zirīhgarān).

The Darghin and the Lak possess literary languages; the Ḳaytāḳ and the Kubači are without these and have merged into the Darghin nation.

(c) The Samurian group in southern Dāghistān (cf. LEZG, TZAKHUR, RUTUL, ṬABARSARĀN and SHĀH-DĀGH peoples), 279,000 strong in 1959, contain two nations with a literary language, the Lezgians (223,000) and the Ṭabarsarān (35,000), and three small peoples destined to merge into the Lezg nation: Agul (8,000), Rutul (7,000) and Tzakhur (6,000). To this group are connected the five peoples of Shāh-Dāgh (numbering about 15,000) in northern Ādharbaydjān (Djek, Krīz, Khaputz, Budukh and Khinalug), who have been greatly influenced by Turkey and who are merging into the Ādharī nation.

II. The Turks are represented in Dāghistān by the Ādharīs in the plain round Derbend and in the low valley of the Samur; by the Ḳumīḳs [*q.v.*] who numbered 135,000 in 1959 in the cis-Caspian plains north of Derbend to the Terek; and by the Nogays [*q.v.*] (41,000 in 1959) in the steppes between the Terek and the Kuma. The Ḳumīḳş and the Nogays, like the Ādharīs, possess literary languages.

III. The Iranophone peoples are represented by the Tāts [*q.v.*] who numbered several thousands around Derbend, and the mountain Jews or Dāgh-Čufut (about 12,000) in the villages of the plain, Jewish in religion but speaking Tātī.

Dāghistān is a multi-national republic, the only one in the Soviet Union which was not founded on one nation or one dominant nationality (*narodnost'*). In the terms of the Constitution (art. 78), she possesses ten official literary languages: Avar, Darghīn, Lak, Lezg, Ṭabarsarān, Ḳumlḳ, Nogay, Ādhari, Tātī (in its Jewish form used by the Dāgh-Čufut) and Russian. These languages are used as teaching languages in the primary schools, but of the autochthonous languages only Avar, Darghin, Lak and Ḳumīḳ have newspapers. It thus appears that these four nations are destined to become poles of attraction and that in the end they will absorb the other groups.

Bibliography: As well as general works on the Caucasus, there is a rich literature on Dāghistān in Russian. A bibliography (134 titles of works and articles) will be found in A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Une République soviétique musulmane: le Dāghistān, aperçu démographique*, in *REI* 1955, 7-56, and another more complete version appended to the work *Narodī Dagestana*, Moscow, Acad. Sc., 1955 (137 titles of which 79 are of pre-revolutionary works and titles and 58 later than 1918); Turkish sources in *IA* s.v. (by Mirza Bala). For further details see the bibliographies of the articles on the peoples mentioned in the text. (W. BARTHOLD-[A. BENNIGSEN])

AL-ḌAḤḤĀḲ [see ZUHĀK].

AL-ḌAḤḤĀK B. ḲAYS AL-FIHRĪ, ABŪ UNAYS (or ABŪ ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN), son of a blood-letter (*ḥadjdjām*, Ibn Rusta, *BGA* vii, 215), head of the house of Ḳays. He is reported to have been of a vacillating character (*djaʿala yuḳaddimu ridjl^an wa-yuʾakhkhiru ukhrā*, *Aghānī* xvii, 111) and this is borne out by his changing attitude towards the ruling Umayyad house, in which he proved easy to influence. He was a keen follower of Muʿāwiya, first as head of the police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*), and then as governor of the *djund* of Damascus. In the year 36/656, al-Ḍaḥḥāk defeated the ʿAlid al-Ashtar near al-Mardj (between Ḥarrān and al-Raḳḳa), and the latter had to retreat to Mosul. At Ṣiffīn, he commanded the Syrian infantry. In 39/659-60, Muʿāwiya sent him against the ʿAlids with 3,000 men. He went to the Ḥidjāz via al-Thaʿlabiyya, al-Ḳuṭḳuṭāna etc., and temporarily stopped the pilgrim traffic, until, at ʿAlī's order, Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī, at the head of 4,000 men, forced him to retreat to Syria. In 55/674-5, or perhaps even in 54, Muʿāwiya nominated him as governor of Kūfa, in succession to ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd, but deposed him again in 58. In 60/680, Muʿāwiya was dying, and made al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Muslim b. ʿUḳba joint regents; he dictated his last will to them, charging them to give it into the hands of his successor Yazīd, who was away from Damascus at the time. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk led the prayer for the dead, and worked for the succession of Yazīd, being recognized by him as governor. During his illness, Muʿāwiya II had chosen him to lead the prayers in Damascus until such time as a new Caliph should be elected.

During the time of general strife and intrigue after the death of Muʿāwiya II in 64/684, al-Ḍaḥḥāk—together with the governors of Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrīn—went over to the side of the rival caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. At first he did this secretly, but later openly. Ibn al-Zubayr then made him governor of Syria, putting under him the other governors with pro-Zubayr leanings. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who had attended Muʿāwiya II's funeral, and was at that time the oldest and most respected of the Umayyads, considered the position so hopeless that he left for Mecca, to pay homage to Ibn al-Zubayr, and to intercede for an amnesty for the Umayyads. On the way, however, he met ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād in Adhriʿāt. The latter was on his way from ʿIrāḳ to Damascus, and reproached him severely, finally deciding him to turn back, which he did, going first of all to Palmyra. In Damascus, the crafty ʿUbayd Allāh suggested to al-Ḍaḥḥāk that he should break with Ibn al-Zubayr, and become the head of the Ḳuraysh himself and be recognized as their ruler. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk succumbed to this temptation, but within three days he had to yield to the revolt of his followers, who could find no blame in Ibn al-Zubayr, so he veered over to his side again. These vacillations lost him the confidence of his people, and at the same time he naturally became an object of suspicion to the Zubayrids. At this point, ʿUbayd Allāh gave him the fateful advice to leave the town, to collect an army, and to fight for Ibn al-Zubayr. So he left—apparently at ʿUbayd Allāh's instigation—and went to Mardj Rāhiṭ, whilst ʿUbayd Allāh himself remained in Damascus. Also at ʿUbayd Allāh's instigation, Marwān accepted the homage of the people at Palmyra, married the mother of the two sons of Yazīd, and asked Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal al-Kalbī, Yazīd's very powerful uncle, to come to Palmyra. When he refused, Marwān lost heart again, went to al-Djābiya where —after Ḥassān eventually gave up his position under pressure of the majority—he was elected caliph. After that, ʿUbayd Allāh had him recognized in Damascus as well.

In this way, it was possible for Marwān to lead

the warriors assembled in al-Djābiya, and all his followers from Damascus, against al-Ḍaḥḥāk. In 64/684, a momentous battle took place near Mardj Rāhiṭ, lasting for 20 days and ending with a victory of the Kalb over the Ḳays. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk himself was killed in battle and his followers fled. His son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, however, became governor of Medina under Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Ibn ʿAsākir still knew the house and the beautiful bath of al-Ḍaḥḥāk near the city wall of Damascus (*Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. Ṣ. Munadjdjid, ii/1, Damascus 1954, 140), and even al-ʿAlmawī (died 981/1573) tells of a mosque, supposedly that of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays, on the southern side of the citadel (H. Sauvaire, in *JA*, 9e série, tome vi, 1895, 442, and vii, 1896, 386).

The course of events following the death of Muʿāwiya II is by no means as clear cut as might appear from the above: accounts vary considerably, but Ibn Saʿd's report is, for factual reasons, the most acceptable on the whole.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 27-30, vi, 13, 35; Ṭabarī, i, 3283, 3447, ii, 170, 172, 181, 188, 197, 202, 433, 468-74, 477-9, 482; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 317, 416, 426, iv, 5, 120-5; idem, *Usd al-ghāba*, Būlāḳ 1286, 37 f.; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 229 f., 283 f., 304 f.; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (ed. Guirgass), 164, 183 f., 192, 239 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (ed. Wüstenfeld) 33, 179, 210; idem, *al-Imāma wa 'l-Siyāsa*, Cairo 1356, i, 174, 177 f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 198, 201; idem, *Tanbīh*, 307-9; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Djarḥ wa 'l-Taʿdīl*, ii/1, (Ḥaydarābād 1952, 457, no. 2019; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār* (Bibliotheca Islamica 22), no. 368; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* (Cairo 1358) ii, 199; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb* (printed together with the *Iṣāba*) ii, 197 f.; Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn II* (ed. Hārūn), 131 f.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1367-82, iii, 308, iv, 87 f., 362, 369, 372-4, 391-7; *Aghānī*, xv, 44, 46, xvi, 34, xvii, 111; Ibn Rusta, 209, 215; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 107-112; Buhl, *ZA*, 27 (1912), 50-64; Caetani, *Chronographia*, 394 f., 442 f., 586, 598, 608, 636, 654, 735, 737; Lammens, *MFOB*. iv (1910), 237, v (1911), 107, 110; idem, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, 203 f., 207; idem, *L'avènement des Marwānides et le califat de Marwān Ier* (*MFOB*. xii, 1927, fasc. 2 *passim*, see index).

(A. Dietrich)

AL-ḌAḤḤĀK B. ḲAYS AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, Khāridjite leader, opponent of Marwān b. Muḥammad (= Marwān II). During the disturbances which followed the murder of the Caliph al-Walīd II, the Khāridjites resumed their campaign in Djazīra and pushed forward into ʿIrāḳ, their leader at first being the Ḥarūrite Saʿīd b. Bahdal, and, after his death of the plague, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī, an adherent of the above-mentioned Ibn Bahdal. Several thousand fighters assembled under the standard of al-Ḍaḥḥāk; there were even among them Ṣufrites from Shahrazūr, who, at that time, according to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 209, were contesting, with Marwān, the possession of Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, and there were also old women who, dressed in male armour, fought bravely in his ranks. For some months in ʿIrāḳ, two governors had been at war with each other; one of them, ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿUmar II [*q.v.*], represented the Caliph Yazīd b. al-Walīd (= Yazīd II) and was supported by the Yemenites, and the other, al-Naḍr b. Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī, was the nominee of Marwān b. Muḥammad, and had the support of the Muḍarites. When the Khāridjites advanced, these two governors joined forces against the threat. In spite of their joint efforts, they were beaten in the month of Radjab 127/April-May 745, and al-Kūfa was evacuated. Ibn al-Ḥarashī returned to the domain of Marwān, and Ibn ʿUmar withdrew into the fortress of Wāsiṭ, but in the month of Shaʿbān of the same year, he was besieged there by al-Ḍaḥḥāk. After a few combats he ceased all resistance (Shawwāl 127/August 745), and, although a Ḳurayshite and a member of the ruling family, paid homage to the rebel. Ibn Kathīr, obviously struck by the enormity of this, diminishes its seriousness; he says that Ibn ʿUmar pressed the Khāridjite to oppose Marwān, promising to follow him if he killed the latter. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk, now master of al-Kūfa, did not delay there; invited by the inhabitants of al-Mawṣil, he entered that town and expelled the government officials (according to Ibn Kathīr, he marched against Marwān, and, on the way, he seized al-Mawṣil, at the invitation of the inhabitants). It is certain that he was popular. The sources imply that people flocked to his banner because he paid extremely well, but the real reason must have been that the ideas of the Khāridjites filled the masses with enthusiasm; the movement had acquired towards the end of the Umayyad dynasty a scope and an intensity that it had never known. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk's army is said to have numbered 120,000 men. Even the Umayyad Sulaymān, son of the Caliph Hishām, took his place alongside the Khāridjites, with his *mawālī* and his soldiers, although they had proclaimed him Caliph. Marwān, then busy besieging Ḥimṣ, asked his son ʿAbd Allāh, whom he had left at Ḥarrān, to march against al-Ḍaḥḥāk, but ʿAbd Allāh, beaten, retreated into Niṣībīn and was besieged there by the Khāridjite. Finally Marwān, who had meanwhile seized Ḥimṣ, himself marched against al-Ḍaḥḥāk. The battle took place at al-Ghazz on the territory of Kafartūthā (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 62: between Kafartūthā and Raʾs al-ʿAyn) towards the end of 128/Aug.-Sept. 746. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk fell in a fray, and his body was not discovered by Marwān's men until the following night. His successor, Khaybarī, was also killed when he attempted to renew the attack.

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(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

DAHISTĀN, erroneous spelling of Dihistān [*q.v.*].

DAHLAK Islands, a group of islands off the west coast of the Red Sea, opposite Muṣawwaʿ (Eritrea), with their centre about 40° 10′ E., 15° 45′ N. Of about 125 islands, including tiny islets, rocks and reefs, the two largest are Dahlak al-Kabīr and Nūra. Others are Nokra, Dohol, Harat Kubarī, Daraka and Dinifarikh. All are flat and low, with deeply indented coasts and scanty rain and vegetation; some are normally or seasonally inhabited, to a total in all of 1500 to 2500 persons, Tigré-speaking Muslims who closely resemble the Samhar coastal tribesmen. They represent an Ethiopian base with an admixture of Arabs, Danākil, Somālīs and Sūdānīs. The islands

afford miserable grazing for goats and camels, with some humble sea-trading, fishing, recovery of mother-of-pearl (and, in former times, pearls), and quarrying. The Italians, who used Nokra Island as a penal station for undesired politicians as well as prisoners, drilled unsuccessfully for petroleum in 1357-59/1938-40.

The derivation of the name is unknown; the islands are referred to to as 'Ελαία in Artemidorus and the Periplus, and as Aliaeu by Pliny. Occupied by the Muslims in the 1st/7th century, Dahlak al-Kabīr was used as a place of exile or prison by the Umayyad Caliphs (whose détenus included the poet al-Aḥwas and the lawyer Arrāk) and later by the ʿAbbāsids. About the 3rd/9th century the islands passed under the Yamanī coastal dynasty of Zabīd, and in probably the 6th/12th achieved independence as an amīrate both wealthy (thanks to trade and ruthless piracy) and highly civilized, as many recovered documents and elegant Kūfic inscriptions testify. Allied at times with (or menaced by) the Mamlūks of Egypt, and with claims to rule part of the neighbouring mainland including Muṣawwaʿ, the Dahlak amīrs (called "kings" by Maḳrīzī) still fell intermittently under Ethiopian or Yamanī suzerainty. The Amīr ruling when the Portuguese appeared in 919/1513 was Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl, whose opposition to the newcomers was punished by a devastation of his islands; but he was later restored as a Portuguese vassal. Adhesion to the cause of the Muslim conqueror and liberator Aḥmad Grañ against the Portuguese led, after temporary success and the appointment of Aḥmad Ismāʿīl's successor as Governor of Harkiko, to a second devastation and a mass evacuation of the islanders. Reoccupied, the islands fell easily to the Turkish fleets later in the century, and their fortunes were thereafter those of rarely-asserted Turkish suzerainty, actual or nominal dependence on Muṣawwaʿ, and temporary Egyptian Government in the second half of the 13th/19th century. When the Italians colonized Eritrea in 1885, the Dahlak Islands had long since ceased to offer any claims to interest. They became a Vice-Residenza, with headquarters at Nokra, in the Commissariato of Bassopiano Orientale. This was abolished as a separate administrative unit under the British occupation of Eritrea (1360-72/1941-52) and that of Ethiopia from 1372/1952 onwards.

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DAḤLĀN, SAYYID AḤMAD B. ZAYNĪ, born in Mecca towards the beginning of the 19th century, was from 1288/1871 Muftī of the Shāfiʿīs and *Shaykh al-ʿUlamā'* (head of the corporation of scholars and therefore of the body of teachers in the *Ḥaram*) in his native city. When the Grand Sharīf ʿAwn al-Rafīḳ, because of a dispute with the Ottoman Governor ʿUthmān Pasha, removed himself to Madīna, Daḥlān followed him there but died soon afterwards from the fatigue of the journey in 1304/1886. Particularly in his later years, Daḥlān was very active as an author. He not only covered the traditional Islamic sciences which were studied in Mecca in his time, but produced a number of treatises on controversial topical questions, and became the solitary representative of historical writing in Mecca in the 19th century. The most successful of his writings on traditional subjects were a commentary on the *Ādjurrūmiyya* (see IBN ĀDJURRŪM) and an edifying biography of the Prophet, known as *al-Sīra al-Zayniyya*, both of which were often printed. His *al-Durar al-Saniyya fi 'l-Radd ʿala 'l-Wahhābiyya* provoked a chain of pro-Wahhābī and anti-Wahhābī replies and counter-replies. His polemics against Sulaymān Effendi, one of two rival Turkish *shaykhs* of the Naḳshibandī *ṭarīḳa* in Mecca, who competed for the leadership of the Naḳshibandīs in Indonesia, and against the learned *shaykh* Muḥammad Ḥasab Allāh of Mecca, whose scholarly reputation equalled his own were not free of personal interest. Of his works on history, *al-Futūḥāt al-Islāmiyya*, a history of the Islamic conquests until the time of the author, is remarkable for the light it throws on his attitude to the contemporary Mahdist rising in the Sudan, and his history of Mecca, *Khulāṣat al-Kalām fi Bayān Umarā' al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, until the year 1095/1684 a short extract from the chronicle of al-Sindjārī (Brockelmann, II, 502), is a most valuable source for the events in Mecca during the following two centuries, including the rise of the Wahhābīs, their first rule over the Ḥidjāz, the fight of the Sharīfs against them, the restitution of Ottoman rule by Muḥammad ʿAlī, and the disorders in Djidda of 1274/1858. Being a friend of the family of the ruling Sharīfs, Daḥlān had access to the best written and oral information. The giving of *fatwās* formed, of course, an important part of his activities, and some of his decisions were incorporated in the current handbooks of Shāfiʿī doctrine; in his last years, however, he handed over this routine work to his assistant or *amīn al-fatwā*, Sayyid Muḥammad Saʿīd Bābaṣēl (Brockelmann, II, 650, S II, 811). Snouck Hurgronje has drawn a detailed picture, based on close acquaintance, of his person and background.

Bibliography: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iii, 65-122 (with two extracts from the *Khulāṣat al-Kalām*); Brockelmann, II, 649 f., S II, 810 f.; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, i, 290-2; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt*, 990-2. (J. SCHACHT)

AL-**DAHNĀ'**—in Saʿūdī Arabia—a long, narrow arch of *nafūd* or dune desert, varying in width from 10 to 75 km., extending around an eastward curve for a total length of over 1,000 km., connecting the Great Nafūd of the northwest with the Empty Quarter (al-Rubʿ al-Khālī [*q.v.*]) of the south, lacking in natural water sources except along the fringes, but furnishing a favourite area of pasturing.

In the past separating the interior area of al-Yamāma from the coastal region of al-Baḥrayn, al-Dahnā' today serves as an informal boundary between the Province of Nadjd and the Eastern Province (until 1953 the Province of al-Ḥasā or al-Aḥsā'). Its western edge formed a major sector of the westerly boundary of the petroleum concession granted in 1933 to American interests, although an area of potential priority extended still farther west. Beginning with the first well in 1957, an oil field has been discovered in the sand belt itself and adjacent easterly thereto—the Khurayṣ field, some 120 km. west of the immense Ghawār field and *ca.* 150 km. west of al-Hufūf (in the oasis of al-Ḥasā).

Al-Dahnā' is the easterly and much more continuous of two parallel strips of sand desert extending from al-Nafūd generally south-eastward (see DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB, esp. p. 536[1]). According to tribal

toponymy it begins in the north-easterly Nafūd projection some 50 km. west of Darb Zubayda, which crosses it roughly along the line of longitude 43° 32′ E., and ends far southward with the brownish *ʿirḳ*s of al-Duhm, which lie in the latitude of the district of al-Aflādj (to the west) and the well Muḳaynima (to the east), or just above 22° N. The final link with the southern sands is formed by the continuing band of ʿUrūḳ al-Rumayla, which joins the Empty Quarter slightly below the line of 20° N.

The upper portion of al-Dahnāʾ runs between the desert of al-Ḥadjara on the north and the upland of al-Taysiyya on the south, to the ancient channel of Baṭn al-Rumma (modern Wādī al-Rumah—Wādī al-Bāṭin). Here, just south of the small Wādī al-Adjradī, the Dahnāʾ sands spread south-westward so as to be connected, through the *nafūd* of al-Sayyāriyyāt, with those of Nafūd al-Maẓhūr and Nafūd al-Thuwayrāt in the westerly sand chain. Thereafter, al-Dahnāʾ continues between and roughly parallels the two arcs formed by the low, stony plateau of al-Ṣummān (classical al-Ṣammān), a part of which is called al-Ṣulb, on the east, and the lofty escarpment of Djabal Ṭuwayḳ on the west, but is longer than either. Closer on the west is the escarpment of al-ʿArama (not al-ʿArma), which is much shorter, ending southward at the discontinuous channel of Wādī Ḥanīfa—Wādī al-Sahbāʾ, through which the sand belt is crossed by the Saʿūdī Government Railway, completed in 1951. Beyond this second great channel, al-Dahnāʾ continues between the southerly Ṣummān (Ṣummān Yabrīn, etc.) on the east, and the eastward-sloping, gravelly limestone region of al-Biyāḍ on the west. Running on under the name of ʿUrūḳ al-Rumayla to join the sands of the Empty Quarter, the southernmost portion of the sand strip has to the east the gravel plains of Abū Baḥr and Raydāʾ, and to the west the lower part of al-Biyāḍ and the terminal stretch of Wādī al-Dawāsir (here called Wādī al-Aṭwāʾ).

Narrower in its northern and southern terminal reaches, al-Dahnāʾ attains its greatest width in the portion lying between the two ancient but now sand-choked *wādī* channels, and exhibits here its most striking features. In the area of Ḥawmat al-Niḳyān, which lies athwart the crossing of Darb al-Mubayḥīṣ above the line of 26° 30′ N., over 100 tall pyramidal dunes tower above the huge, long sand ridges and reach heights up to 175 m. These massive formations, which are also called "star dunes", seemingly ride upon the *ʿirḳ*s, but they actually rest upon their own bedrock and are separated from the surrounding sand massifs by peripheral hollows.

In normal seasons a choice pasture land to shepherds, al-Dahnāʾ has been described by travellers as a difficult barrier, because of its long, high *ʿirḳ*s and its lack of water. The dread which it inspired in those who were strangers to it is reflected in the account of how in 12 A.H., during the Wars of the *Ridda* an expedition to al-Ḳaṭīf and Dārīn temporarily lost its camel transport during the night of crossing and was saved from death only by the miraculous appearance of a lake of sweet water. (Caetani, *Annali*, ii-2, 722, with refs. to al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Yāḳūt, and the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*).

In addition to descriptions of Darb Zubayda with its chain of cisterns, we have, from Arabic sources, information regarding other and even earlier routes crossing al-Dahnāʾ. However, the details of toponymy from a long-past era are often difficult to reconcile with those of the present, in which there are many changes. A motorable crossing (with connexions to Medina, Mecca, and al-Riyāḍ) more or less follows Darb Zubayda between Birkat al-Djumayma, on the Saʿūdī-ʿIrāḳī border, and the *ḳalīb* of Zarūd, in Shāmat Zarūd south-west of al-Taysīya. Two motor crossings, which connect with this route and offer better travel to Zarūd *via* the *ḳalīb* of Turaba, branch from Līna (on the outer edge of al-Dahnāʾ, with old wells cut through stone; the junction of several motor and caravan tracks to al-ʿIrāḳ). One leads first westward by Darb Līna to Buraykat al-ʿAshshār (beside Darb Zubayda, in al-Dahnāʾ), and thence south-westward by Darb Ḳabʿa. The other runs south-westward over Darb Umm Udhn to Birkat al-ʿArāʾish in al-Taysīya, and continues in the same direction *via* Darb Umm Ṭulayḥa to join Darb Ḳabʿa and to cross ʿIrḳ al-Maẓhūr north-west of Turaba.

It is the presence of lasting wells which fringe al-Dahnāʾ, or lie sufficiently near, that has made it possible for the Badw to take advantage of the normally abundant pasturage of the sand belt. However, it is common for tribal groups, going forth with their camels, goats, and sheep from summering places (*maḳāyiẓ*) at more distant wells or villages, to spend in al-Dahnāʾ (as also in other sand deserts) all or most of the cooler portion of the year, keeping in their tents little or no water, and depending for sustenance on the milk from their animals. When rainfall has made the herbage plentiful and succulent, the animals, described as *djawāzī* or *madjziya* (classical verb: *djazaʾa, yadjzaʾu*), often remain at pasture without watering for as long as four or even six months.

The excellence and amplitude of the pastureland of al-Dahnāʾ are described by Yāḳūt, who says that it has been mentioned by many poets, especially Dhu 'l-Rumma.

Groups now pasturing regularly in al-Dahnāʾ are of the following tribes: in the north, from al-Nafūd to the wells of al-Bushūk, Shammar, and from al-Bushūk to Wādī al-Adjradī and the *zabāʾir* of al-Sayyāriyyāt, Ḥarb; therefrom to Darb al-Mubayḥīṣ, Muṭayr; thence to the crossings of the main north-south motor track and Darb al-ʿArʿarī, Subayʿ (with also some of Suhūl); thence through all the remaining portion of al-Dahnāʾ and through ʿUrūḳ al-Rumayla, al-Dawāsir. Groups of al-ʿUdjmān and of Ḳaḥṭān also range in the southern part of the pasture area of Subayʿ and the northern part of that of al-Dawāsir—*i.e.*, east of the wells of Ḥafar al-ʿAtk, Rumāḥ and al-Rumḥiyya, and Ramlān, al-Djāfiyya, and Siʿd. In addition, some of al-Ṣulaba range in the northerly area of al-Dahnāʾ.

There is little use in attempting to identify the "mountains" or "swords" of sand in al-Dahnāʾ as mentioned by various sources, especially Yāḳūt. The names have changed too much. Likewise, there is no profit in belabouring the question of the origin and meaning of the name *al-Dahnāʾ* itself. The name has often been explained as meaning "red". For the root *DHN*, there persists the sense of paucity of moisture (as in *dahan al-maṭar al-arḍ*), from which may have been derived the senses connected with ointment and oil, including cooking-fat and, in modern times, oil-base paints. The people use *ʿabl* (or *arṭā*)—which grows widely in al-Dahnāʾ—for tanning, but the resulting colour is expressed by *ḤMR*, not by *DHN*, which is reserved to the application of fat to make the leather pliable and soft. One association of redness in the language of the people concerning this desert may be found in the occasionally heard

expression *arḍ madhūna*, which is explained as distinguishing the sands of al-Dahnāʾ, as of a brownish or a duller red, from those of al-Nafūd, which are said to be of a lighter shade of red. At the same time, the people also equate *arḍ madhūna* with *arḍ mundahina*, land only lightly or superficially moistened by rain.

Yāḳūt, in both the *Muʿdjam* and the *Mus̲h̲tarik*, lists several other places and topographical features under the name *al-Dahnāʾ* or *al-Dahnā*.

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Maps: Series by the U. S. Geological Survey and Arabian American Oil Company under joint sponsorship of the Ministry of Finance and National Economy (Kingdom of Saʿūdī Arabia) and the Department of State (U.S.A.). Scale 1 : 2,000,000: The Arabian Peninsula, Map 1-270 B-1 (1950). Scale 1 : 500,000 (geographic): Southern Ṭuwayḳ, Map I- 212 B (1956); Northern Ṭuwayḳ, Map I-207 B (1957); Western Persian Gulf, Map I-208 B (1958); Darb Zubaydah, Map I-202 (in press 1960). *The Times Atlas of the World, Mid-Century Edition* (Bartholomew), map of Arabia in Vol. II, London 1960. (C. D. MATTHEWS)

AL-**DAHNADJ**, Persian *dahna, dahāna, marmar-i sabz* ('green marble'), Turkish *dehne-i frengi*, malachite, the well known green copper-ore. The description of the mineral in the *Rasāʾil Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafā* goes back to the pseudo-Aristotelian lapidary. According to that, the malachite is formed in copper mines from the sulphur fumes which combine with copper to form layers. Its colour is compared to that of the chrysolith (*zabardjad*), although it does appear in different shades: dark green, veined, the shade of peacock's feathers, and pale green, with all intermediate shades. Frequently all the shades appear in one piece, as it developed in the earth, layer by layer. The stone is a soft one, and therefore looses its gloss with the years. Tīfās̲h̲ī, following Balīnās (Apollonius of Tyana), explains how the very best copper is gained from it. There is new malachite and old, from Egypt, Kirmān, and K̲h̲urāsān. The very best kind is the old Kirmānian. The stone has been found in ancient Egyptian graves, usually in the form of amulets (scarabs), statuettes, and cut stones. Our detailed description of malachite comes from al-Rāzī, who also treats of the following: 1) its calcination (*i.e.*, its decomposition and the burning up of sulphur and oils which it contains), which can take place in 4 different ways; 2) its ceration, due to salts and borax, each again in 4 different ways; 3) its sublimation.

Taken in powder form and with vinegar, it is regarded as a powerful antidote to poison; on the other hand. it will harm a person who has not been poisoned, and then causes serious inflammations. If rubbed on the sting of a scorpion or a bee, it will reduce pain; it has also been used against leprosy and to cure diseases of the eye. Evidence in poetry can be found in al-S̲h̲ammāk̲h̲ (*LA*, s.v. *dahnadj*).

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DAHOMEY, a corridor 418 miles long by 125 miles wide, between Togoland and Nigeria, is one of the earliest known countries on the Gulf of Guinea.

The coast is low-lying, fringed with lagoons, while the central zone is formed of table-land and isolated mountains; the northern part is higher, slanted across by the mountains of Atacora, which rise to about 800 metres. In the south especially, the humidity is high and the temperature fairly constant although there are two rainy and two dry seasons.

The population of Dahomey, nearly two million inhabitants, is chiefly composed of Fon (central region), Goun and Yoruba (south-east region), Adja (south-west), Bariba, Somba, and Fulani (northern region).

The principal town is Cotonou (87,000 inhabitants), although Porto-Novo has always been the administrative capital.

In contact with Europeans since the seventeenth century, Dahomey was particularly affected by the slave trade, which helped also to increase the wealth of certain of its kingdoms, notably that of Abomey.

It was this last which put up the longest and fiercest resistance to French penetration (1892).

Dahomey, which entered the federation of French West Africa in 1899, played a great part in its development, through the agency of its élites who had emigrated to the various other territories. Together with Senegal, it was one of the first to form political movements, which demonstrated their strength well before the second world war.

Dahomey, like most of its neighbours on the Gulf of Guinea who have been influenced by the Benin cultures, has retained the strong animistic foundation upon which rests the life of its civilization.

The social and religious organization of the country, where animism was the state religion, forbade the introduction of any foreign doctrine and it was not until the fall of the kingdom of Abomey that Christianity could begin to spread.

Islam could nowhere take root very deeply nor bring about large conversions as the chiefs and the local princelings were before the end of the nineteenth century never willing to renounce their beliefs, neither among the archaic clan societies of north-west Dahomey called *Somba*, nor in the feudal Bariba societies of the north-east region which was still crossed by the caravan routes marked out by the Islamic caravanserais, nor in the kingdoms of the south, absolute monarchies where the king was the all-powerful repository of the ancestral traditions which he revived each year in honour of his predecessors.

The Muslim penetration probably began from the north-east; a little commercial colony of the Mali Empire was set up in the thirteenth century in the region which is today Sokoto: the travellers of the time called it Guangara. It was from there that the waves of caravans departed for present-day Ghana, land of the kola. Salt, slaves and other products from the north, sometimes even from Libya, came down to the south-west while kola nuts passed up to the Nigerian and the Hausa lands, crossing North Dahomey. Thus there were quickly established little Muslim colonies called *Wangara* or *Maro*(in Dahomey) which soon blossomed into important centres like Parakou, Djougou or Kandi.

These foreign settlements remained near the local chiefs, whose domains were crossed by the caravan routes; they founded families and so introduced Islam, which slowly developed, by the simple device of local marriages.

Later on, the conquest of the Songhai empire by the Moroccans, at the beginning of the 17th century, brought about the withdrawal towards the Niger of a group of Muslim Songhai called Dendi. These established themselves probably in the extreme north of modern Dahomey and formed the second wave of the Islamic influence. The third wave corresponded to the immigration of the Fulani shepherds, who spread out during the 18th century over the whole of the northern half of Dahomey. Although their religion was still tinged with traces of animism, it formed none the less an Islamic centre which converted a great many of the former slaves or Gando, with whom they maintained permanent contact.

At length, in the last years of the eighteenth century, Islam also entered by the south-east and Porto-Novo, the present capital of Dahomey, soon contained some Muslim Yoruba merchants, who had come from Ilorin and from the west of modern Nigeria. They quickly increased, converted certain Yoruba families of Dahomey and also some descendents of the slaves who had returned from Brazil bearing Portuguese names.

Although it is difficult to draw up statistics, we can reckon that, of a total Dahomey population of 1,800,000 inhabitants, between 230 and 240 thousand are Muslim, of whom only 100,000 are practising devotees.

The greater part of them are Tidjānī; some, particularly among the older people, belong to the Ḳādiriyya order. There are a few Hamallists in the north. In spite of this near-unity of sect, a difference of belief set some Muslims, Yoruba in origin, against the natives of the northern regions (Hausa-Zerma-Fulani-Dendi), who claimed to practise their religion with greater orthodoxy. These two aspects of Islamic Dahomey are to be met chiefly at Porto-Novo (Islamic Yoruba) and at Parakou (the Islamic north), which were soon called upon to become the two great Muslim capitals, Djougou having slowly to give place to its neighbour Parakou, where some conversion movements had already been born and where there were established some of the masters of the Ḳur'ān who possessed a new and more dynamic conception of their religion.

It is probable that, in the years to come, the religious leaders and the *imāms* will be chosen more and more from among the most educated notables and no longer, according to heredity, from the families connected with the animist chiefs. This explains the rise today of the schools of the Ḳur'ān in North Dahomey in particular, where religious learning is always an object of prestige.

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(J. Lombard)

DAHR, time, especially infinitely extended time (cf. Lane; al-Bayḍāwī on Ḳ. 76.1). The pre-Islamic Arabs, as is shown by many passages in their poetry, regarded time (also *zamān*, and *al-ayyām*, the days) as the source of what happened to a man, both good and bad; they thus give it something of the connota-

tion of Fate, though without worshipping it (W. L. Schrameier, *Über den Fatalismus der vorislamischen Araber*, Bonn 1881; Th. Nöldeke, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, i, 661 b; for possible parallels cf. A. Christensen, *Iran*, 149 f., 157—Zurvān as both time and fate; Kronos, Chronos, as father of Zeus; cf. also R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, Oxford 1955, esp. 254-61. This view is ascribed to pagans in the Ḳur'ān, 45. 24/23, "They say ... we die and we live and only *dahr* destroys us". Pre-Islamic conceptions probably influenced the Islamic doctrine of predestination (W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam*, London 1949, 20 ff., 31). Tradition supplies evidence of an attempt to identify God with *dahr*; Muḥammad is reported to have said that God commanded men not to blame *dahr* "for I am *dahr*" (*e.g.*, al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr* on 45. 24/23; *Adab*, 101; *Tawḥīd*, 35; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* on 45. 24/23; further references in Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *ādhā*, *khayb*; a possible connexion with funeral rites is noted by Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 254); the Ẓāhiriyya [*q.v.*] are said to have reckoned *dahr* as a name of God (but cf. I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, Leipzig 1884, 153 ff.). Many traditionists tried to interpret the tradition so as to avoid the identification (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.* 155; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ta'wīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, Cairo 1326, 281-4). The *mutakallimūn* show no interest in the point, and al-Ghazzālī is able to use *dahr* for the views of the Dahriyya [*q.v.*], which are independent of pre-Islamic Arab sources (*Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut, 1927, 208.1). By poets and prose writers the word continued to be used in the pre-Islamic way (cf. al-Mutanabbī, ed. F. Dieterici, Berlin, 1861, 473, 576); a biographer says that *al-zamān*, time, and *al-ayyām*, the days, took away al-Ghazzālī (al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324, iv, 109).

(W. Montgomery Watt)

DAHRIYYA, holders of materialistic opinions of various kinds, often only vaguely defined. This collective noun denotes them as a whole, as a *firḳa*, sect, according to the *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, and stands beside the plural *dahriyyūn* formed from the same singular *dahrī*, the relative noun of *dahr*, a Ḳur'ānic word meaning a long period of time. In certain editions of the Ḳur'ān it gives its name to *sūra* LXXVI, generally called the *sūra* of Man; but its use in XLV, 24 where it occurs in connexion with the infidels, or rather the ungodly, erring and blinded, appears to have had a decisive influence on its semantic evolution which has given it a philosophical meaning far removed from its original sense. These ungodly men said: "There is nothing save our life in this world; we die and we live, and only a period of time (or: the course of time, *dahr*) makes us perish". The word has as yet no philosophical specification; according to the commentaries of al-Bayḍāwī and the Djalālayn, it signifies "the passage of time" (*murūr al-zamān*), according to al-Zamakhsharī "a period of time which passes" (*dahr yamurru*) in XLV, 24, and an interval of time of considerable length in LXXVI, 1. The idea of a long period of time became increasingly dominant, and finally reached the point of signifying a period without limit or end, to such an extent that certain authors used *al-dahr* as a divine name, a practice of which others strongly disapproved (Lane, s.v. *dahr*; see also *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, i, 480). The vocalization given in the new edition of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, Beirut 1376/1957, iii, fasc. 9, 455, is *duhriyya*; this had already been attested by linguists who considered it to be in conformity with the transformation which vowels often undergo in the *nisbas* (Sībawayhi, ed. Derenbourg, ii, 64, 19-21). Al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, s.v., emphasizes the perenniality and defines *al-dahr* as "the permanent moment which is the extension of the divine majesty and is the innermost part (*bāṭin*) of time, in which eternity in the past and eternity in the future are united".

According to the explanation given by al-Bayḍāwī, a semantic link with the material world must be understood, for *dahr*, he says, basically denotes the space of time in which this world is living, overcoming the course of time. The doctrine of the *dahriyya* was subsequently denoted by the same term, and in this way al-Ghazālī, among others, speaks of "professing the *dahr*", *al-ḳawl bi 'l-dahr* (*Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, 19). The translation "fatalists", sometimes used, cannot be justified. The relative *dahrī* will therefore have two philosophical connotations. It denotes, firstly, the man who believes in the eternity of the world whether in the past or in the future, denying, as a result of this opinion, resurrection and a future life in another world; secondly, the *mulḥid*, the man who deviates from the true faith (Lane, s.v. *dahrī*; cf. for the first meaning given, Pococke, *Notae miscellanae*, Leipzig 1705, 239-240, under the transcription *Dahriani*). To place the whole of human life in this world is to lead swiftly to a hedonistic morality, and it is in this sense that the first literary use of the word has been noted, in the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* by al-Djāḥiẓ (Cairo 1325-6/1906-7) in which, in an over-wide generalization no doubt made under the influence of *sūra* XLV, 24, *dahrī* denotes the man who "denies the Lord", creation, reward and punishment, all religion and all law, listens only to his own desires and sees evil only in what conflicts with them; he recognizes no difference between man, the domestic animal and the wild beast. For him it is a question only of pleasure or pain; good is merely what serves his interests, even though it may cost the lives of a thousand men (vii, 5-6). It follows from the principles accepted by the *dahriyyūn* that they reject popular superstitions, the existence of angels and demons, the significance of dreams and the powers of sorcerers (al-Djāḥiẓ, *ibid.*, ii, 50). Some of them, however, on the basis of rationalist analogies, apparently admitted the metamorphosis of men into animals (*maskh*, *ibid.*, iv, 24).

The *dahriyya* are defined in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (ed. Van Vloten, Leyden 1895, 35) as "those who believe in the eternity of the course of time"; the *Ikhwān al-ṣafā'* call them the *azaliyya*, those who believe in the eternity of the cosmos, as opposed to those who attribute to it a creator and a cause (ed. Bombay 1306, iv, 39; ed. Beirut 1376/1957, iii, 455). In this respect the *Mutakallimūn* are opposed to them, affirming the beginning in time of bodies and of the world created by God, and to this adding an affirmation of the divine attributes, God being alone eternal and alone powerful (*ibid.* Bombay 39-40 and Beirut 456). Like the *Mutakallimūn* in general, the Judaeo-Arab theologian Sāʿadyā (d. 942) refutes their doctrine, first in his commentary on *Sēfer Yeṣīrah* (ed. Lambert, Paris 1891), and later in the first book of his *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa 'l-Iʿtiḳādāt* (ed. Landauer, Leyden 1880), in three pages (63-5) on the doctrine known by the name *al-dahr*, which regards not only matter as eternal but the beings of the world which we see as invariable; this sect limits knowledge to the perceptible: "no knowledge save of what is accessible to the senses" (64, l. 13). His trans-

lation of Job also alludes to it, for he renders *ōraḥ* *ʿōlām* by *madhāhib al-dahriyyīn*; cf. also several passages in his commentary on Proverbs (B. Heller, in *REJ*, xxxvii (1898), 229).

Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī does not mention them among the sects, in the *Kitāb al-farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, but he refers to them several times among the unbelievers, particularly the philosophers who looked on the heavens and stars as a fifth element escaping corruption and destruction, and who even believed in the eternity of the world (ed. Badr, Cairo 1328/1910, 102, 106 with typogr. error, 206, 346). He also compares them with the Christians, without any explanation, 157.

Al-Ghazālī for his part also looked on the *dahriyya* rather as an order of philosophers who throughout the centuries expressed a certain current of thought which was never without some representative. He does not always regard them in the same way. In the *Munḳidh min al-Ḍalāl* (ch. III, Cairo 1955, 96-97), he speaks of them as forming the first category (*ṣinf*) in chronological order. They were then a "sect (*ṭāʾifa*) of the ancients", denying a Creator who governs the world and the existence of a future world, professing that the world has always been what it is, of itself, and that it will be so eternally. He likens them to the *zanādiḳa*, who also included another, and more numerous, branch, the *ṭabīʿiyyūn*, naturalists. The *dahriyya* seem to make the perenniality of the world the centre of their doctrine, whilst the *ṭabīʿiyyūn* insist upon the properties of temperaments and deny, not creation but paradise, hell, resurrection and judgement. Against these two categories there stands a third, the deists, *ilāhiyyūn*, who came later and included Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. They refuted the errors of the first two groups, but they were not always followed by the Muslim philosophers, such as Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī. Both were particularly singled out in the *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* by al-Ghazālī (ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1927, 9) who with reference to them demonstrates the "Incoherence of the philosophers" (according to the translation preferred by M. Bouyges to "Destruction" of the philosophers), at the same time proving the incapacity (*taʿdjīz*) of the adversaries. For the two Muslims strove against those who denied the Divinity, though not without avoiding theories which led them to be classed by al-Ghazālī among the *dahriyya*. To the latter, who are also given the name *dahriyyūn*, are attributed the following theses: they deny a Cause which might be "causative of causes" (65, l. 3-4); the world is eternal and has neither cause nor creator; new things alone have a cause (133, l. 6 and 206, l. 5). Here there are only two groups of philosophers and not three, that of the "followers of truth" (*ahl al-ḥaḳḳ*) and one other, that of the *dahriyya* (133, l. 6). Now there are philosophers who believe that the world is eternal and, nevertheless, demonstrate that it is the work of a Creator (*ṣāniʿ*), a reasoning which al-Ghazālī declares to be contradictory (133, l. 6 ff.). In fact, Ibn Sīnā returns to this subject on many occasions, and he was clearly persuaded of the force of his reasoning. Al-Ghazālī, apparently not convinced, compares the *falāsifa* with the *dahriyya* (95, l. 6) on account of the ambiguity in a reasoning which allows that the work may be God's, provided that he had not planned to carry it out but had acted from necessity. This was very much what Ibn Sīnā maintained, believing that if God made some plan, his action would be determined by some external factor, which is inadmissible. Al-Ghazālī also finds fault with the theses which hold that from One only One can emerge (95-132), that matter is eternal, with the four elements on one hand, on the other the fifth, incorruptible element which forms the celestial bodies; all of these are reasons for classing those who hold these theories with the *dahriyya* (206, l. 5 ff.). In the *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges 1930), Ibn Rushd does not make the same strictures as al-Ghazālī; he does not name the *dahriyya* (see Index, 654) who only appear under this denomination in the summary of al-Ghazālī's theses (414, l. 5), but he uses *dahr* not only in the original sense of "period of time" (95, l. 1 and 120, l. 3) but also in the sense of the well-known philosophic doctrine wrongly attributed to the *falāsifa* (415).

The *dahriyya* appear as a sect, properly speaking, in the definitions of Ibn Ḥazm and al-Shahrastānī. The former ascribes to the *dahriyya* the doctrine of the eternity of the world, and the corollary that nothing rules it, whilst all the other groups think that there was a beginning and that it was created, *muḥdath* (*Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317, i, 9). He starts by giving the five arguments of the *dahriyya* who are called (11, l. 9) "those who profess the *dahr*", *al-ḳāʾilūn bi 'l-dahr*. These may be summed up as follows: 1. "We have seen nothing which was newly produced (*ḥadatha*) unless it arose from a thing or in a thing". — 2. What produces (*muḥdith*) bodies is, incontestably, substances and accidents, that is to say, everything that exists in the world. — 3. If there exists a *muḥdith* of bodies, it is either totally similar to them or totally different, or similar in certain respects and different in others. Now a total difference is inconceivable, since nothing can produce something contrary or opposite to itself, thus fire does not produce cold. — 4. If the world had a Creator (*fāʿil*), he would act with a view to obtaining some benefit, of redressing some wrong, which is to act like the beings of this world, or else by nature, which would render his act eternal. — 5. If bodies were created, it would be necessary that their *muḥdith*, before producing them, should act in order to negate them, negation which itself would be either a body or an accident, which implies that bodies and accidents are eternal (10-11). After refuting these arguments in turn, Ibn Ḥazm gives five counter-arguments of his own, continuing the discussion (11-23) into the following chapter which is devoted to "those who say that the world is eternal and that, nevertheless, it has an eternal Creator".

Al-Shahrastānī begins the second part of his *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, in which the philosophical sects are enumerated, with those who "are not of the opinion" that there is "a world beyond the perceptible world", *al-ṭabīʿiyyūn al-dahriyyūn*, "the naturalists who believe in *dahr*, who do not expound an intelligible [world]", *lā yuthbitūn maʿḳūlan*, this last word being in the singular (ed. Cureton, 201, l. 7). A second passage, "sometimes, on the other hand, ... they also admit the intelligible, (ed. Cureton, 202, l. 15)" seems to apply not to the naturalists who believe in *dahr* but to the *falāsifa dahriyya*, that is to say, very probably to Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī, contrasting them with the naturalists; this fits well with the position of the two philosophers who, for their part, strenuously affirm that an intelligible world exists. Thus the *dahriyya*, while having features in common, on the one hand with the naturalists, and on the other with the philosophers, could not be identified with

either. The passage, however, remains obscure. In the *Kitāb Nihāyat al-iḳdām* (ed. Guillaume, Oxford 1931, with partial translation) al-Shahrastānī records several discussions between the *dahriyya* (trans. materialists) and their adversaries (29, l. 1; 30, l. 15,' 123, l. 10, 126, l. 9), on the origin of the world, including the theory of atoms moving about in primal disorder. The mode of reasoning of the *dahriyya* appears sophistical, but the refuters who rely on the movements of Saturn adduce no proof. The origin of the world through the fortuitous encounter of atoms wandering in space is an opinion also attributed to the *dahriyya* by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī, *Mufīd al-ʿulūm wa-mubīd al-humūm*, Cairo 1310, 37.

The 19th century brought definition to a word that for so long had been somewhat loosely used. European natural sciences, penetrating the East, gave rise to a stream of very simplified but materialistic ideas which were the source of unexpected problems in Islam. (For an Ottoman ferman of 1798, refuting the Dahrī doctrines of the French Revolution, see Amīr Ḥaydar Aḥmad Shihāb, *Taʾrīkh Aḥmad Bāshā al-Djazzār*, edd. A. Chibli and I. A. Khalifé, Beirut 1956, 125 ff.; cf. B. Lewis in *Journ. World Hist.*, i, 1953, 121-2). The question of materialism was raised in an extremely acute form in India. After the Mutiny of 1857-8, Sayyid Aḥmad Khān realised that the Muslims could not challenge the British supremacy until they had assimilated western science and methods. In 1875 he founded the college of ʿAlīgaṙh [*q.v.*], later to be a University, combining English culture with the study of Muslim theology. Deeply impressed by the concepts of *conscience* and *nature*, he took the laws of nature as criteria of religious values. This new conception spread, giving, with the Arabic termination, the qualifying word *naturī*, which became *nayčarī*, plural *nayčariyyūn*, from transcription of the English pronunciation; in Persian *nayčeriyyé*. It was presented as a sort of new religion, appearing in the *Census of India*, where its followers were called *nečari*. These events exercised considerable influence on the whole of India, and made it necessary for orthodox Islam to take position.

Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] wrote a violent reply in Persian, as early as 1298/1878, with his *Refutation of the Materialists*, the translation of which into Urdū was lithographed in Calcutta in 1883; it was translated into Arabic by Muḥammad ʿAbduh and first published (1st. ed. Beirut 1303/1885) under the title *Risāla fī ibṭāl madhhab al-dahriyyīn wa-bayān mafāsidihim wa-ithbāt anna 'l-dīn asās al-madaniyya wa 'l-kufr fasād al-ʿumrān*, then (2nd. ed., Cairo 1312, 3rd ed., Cairo 1320/1902) under the title *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-dahriyyīn* (French translation A.-M. Goichon, Paris 1942), while the original title included *al-nayshuriyyīn*, clearly denoting the meaning given to *dahrī* which is therefore the translation of naturalistic-materialistic. In this short work Djamāl al-Dīn traces back this doctrine to the Greek philosophers in terms recalling those of al-Ghazālī; he traces its history, such as he represents it, in the first chapter; it finishes with Darwin. His refutation is, throughout, superficial.

While materialism was spreading, particularly through Arabic translations of European works like Büchner's *Kraft und Stoff*, translated by Shiblī Shumayyil (Alexandria 1884), a contrary movement was taking shape. The history of this struggle between two irreconcilable conceptions is far from finished; it would require considerable research, but has no place here. In the various works mentioned above, the terms *māddiyya* and *māddiyyūn* have, in fact, always been used as synonyms of *dahriyya* and *dahriyyūn*; these latter finally disappeared, replaced by the more exact term. They no longer occur in the contemporary vocabulary in Egypt (information supplied by R. P. Jomier) and, without being in a position to make the same observation in respect of other countries, we can nevertheless remark that they are no longer found in certain publications in Muslim India.

Bibliography: in the text; see also W. L. Schrameier, *Über den Fatalismus der vorislamischen Araber*, Bonn 1881, 12-22; M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, index s.v. Dahriten.

(I. Goldziher-[A. M. Goichon])

DAHSHŪR, a place in the province of Djīza, some 40 kms. south of Cairo, to the west of the Nile on the edge of the desert. A necropolis and pyramids dating from the first dynasties of the Old Kingdom are situated there. These relics of the age of the Pharaohs are mentioned by al-Harawī and al-Maḳrīzī without a precise description being given. Abū Ṣāliḥ speaks of a great church and an important monastery there.

The present-day hamlet is insignificant and the name continues to be well known solely on account of the pyramids.

Bibliography: Ibn Mammātī, 138; al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 39; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 53; Yāḳūt, ii, 633; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, ii, 120, iii, 39, iv, 122; ʿAlī Pasha, xi, 67; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 94.

(G. Wiet)

DĀʿĪ (rarely, dāʿiya), "he who summons" to the true faith, was a title used among several dissenting Muslim groups for their chief propagandists. It was evidently used by the early Muʿtazilites [*q.v.* in *EI*[1]]; but became typical of the more rebellious among the Shīʿīs. It appears in the ʿAbbāsid mission in Khurāsān; and in some Zaydī usage. It was ascribed to followers of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb. It was especially important in the Ismāʿīlī and associated movements (which were called *daʿwa*, "summons"), where it designated generically the chief authorized representatives of the *imām*.

Among the Ismāʿīlīs, at the height of the movement, the *dāʿīs* were organized hierarchically. (They have been compared to Christian bishops). The terms applied to the several ranks varied according to context (and probably the manner of ranking was not rigidly fixed). The chief of the *dāʿīs*, mouthpiece of the *imām*, was called *bāb* [*q.v.*] or *dāʿī al-duʿāt*. The greater dāʿīs (nominally, at least, the top twelve of them) were called *ḥudjdja*, "proof" of the truth, or, perhaps earlier, *naḳīb*; they seem each to have been in charge of a district (*djazīra*, island) where the *daʿwa* was preached. In some works, the *ḥudjdja* was called *lāḥiḳ* and the *dāʿī* was called *djanāḥ* (cf. W. Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, Leiden 1948, 2nd ed. Bombay 1955, ch. ii). Each *dāʿī* was apparently assigned to a particular territory, within which he evidently had extensive authority over the faithful, initiating new converts and admitting them by steps into the esoteric doctrine, the *bāṭin* [*q.v.*]. He was assisted by subordinates, entitled *maʾdhūn* (licensed to preach), *mukāsir* (persuader), etc.

Except where the *imām* himself was in power as Caliph, the *daʿwa* was usually a secret, conspiratorial movement. Accordingly, while a *dāʿī* in Ismāʿīlī-held lands had a high position in the state (the *dāʿī*

al-duʿāt, at the head of all official religious matters, seems to have been on a level with the *wazīr*, if not united with him in one person), the *dāʿīs* in other lands often had adventurous lives and sometimes ended bloodily. Many served as military leaders, particularly before the Fāṭimid state was established (for instance, the Ḳarmaṭian leaders; and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, who led Berber tribesmen in the revolt which established al-Mahdī in the Maghrib). Later, they still had to have a gift for political intrigue (some tried to convert the leading figures at the local court, or even the *amīr* himself; thus al-Muʾayyid fi 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī at the Būyid court), for they were not only preachers but agents of the Fāṭimid state. Nevertheless, the *dāʿīs* were often independent scholars; vigorous theological and philosophical controversies were carried on among them, and the chief Ismāʿīlī books seem to have been written by *dāʿīs*, many of the most important by those labouring in hostile Iran.

In the parallelism drawn between the Ismāʿīlī *ḥudūd*, religious ranks, and the principles of cosmic emanation from the One, the *dāʿī* was sometimes associated with "time" or with the *khayāl*, "fantasy". For such purposes, the *ḥudjdja* formed a separate rank between the *dāʿī* and the *imām*, as did the *bāb* [*q.v.*].

The title *dāʿī* came to mean something different in each of the sects which issued from the classical Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism. Among the first Druzes, the *dāʿīs* performed similar functions, but formed a rank directly dependent on the fifth of the great *ḥudūd*, the *tālī* (Bahāʾ al-Dīn); cosmically, they embodied the *djidd* ("effort"). Subsequently they became superfluous. The Nizārīs ("Assassins") inherited the Ismāʿīlī organization in the Saldjūḳ domains, which seems to have been headed by the *dāʿī* of Iṣfahān; *dāʿī* became the ordinary title for the chief of the sect, resident from the time of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ at Alamūt (in the name of an unknown *imām*), until in 559/1164 the then *dāʿī* proclaimed himself the actual *imām*. (Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ was evidently also regarded as *ḥudjdja* in a special sense). The Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* of the Yaman separated from the official Fāṭimid organization under a *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*, an "absolute" or sovereign *dāʿī*, who claimed to be the representative of the true line of *imāms*, themselves in *satr*, occultation. The *dāʿī* had full authority over the community, and the Ṭayyibīs split more than once over his person; in the mid-twentieth century there are two main rival *dāʿīs*, one seated traditionally in the Yaman (Sulaymānī) and one seated in Bombay (Dāʾūdī).

For bibliography, see ISMĀʿĪLĪS.

(M. G. S. HODGSON)

DĀʿĪ, AḤMAD B. IBRĀHĪM, Turkish poet of the end of the 8th/14th and the beginning of the 9th/15th century. The scanty information about his life is scattered in his works and in *tedhkires*. A *ḳāḍī* by profession, he began to gain prominence as a poet at the court of the Germiyān in Kütahya under princes Sulaymān and Yaʿḳūb II. He seems to have travelled a great deal in Anatolia and in the Balkans. During the chaotic years of struggle between the sons of Bāyezīd I after the battle of Ankara (804/1402), he entered the service of one of them, *amīr* Sulaymān in Edirne, whose court had become a gathering place for many famous men of letters of the period such as Aḥmedī, his brother Ḥamzawī and Sulaymān Čelebi. He continued to flourish at court under Meḥemmed I (816/1413-824/1421) and became tutor to his son, the future Murād II. The sources do not agree on the date of Dāʿī's death; Ḥādjdji Khalīfa gives the year 820/1427, but there is evidence that he might still have been living during the first years of Murād II (824/1421-848/1444) (I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya Şehri*. Istanbul 1932, 213). With the exception of Sehī (*Tedhkire*, 56) who has a short but appreciative note on him, until recently both Ottoman and modern scholars have considered Dāʿī a minor poet as but a few of his works were known. Since many of his works, specially an incomplete copy of his *dīwān* and his remarkable *mathnawī Čeng-nāme*, have come to light (Ahmed Ateş, *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, 3-4, 172-4) Dāʿī has proved to be an outstanding poet of his period, without doubt superior in richness of inspiration, originality, mastery of technique and fluency of style to many of his contemporaries.

Apart from various religious treatises (I. H. Ertaylan, *Ahmed-i Dâʿî*, Istanbul 1952) Dāʿī is the author of: (i) *Dīwān*; the only known copy is in Burdur Waḳf Library no. 735; it is incomplete and not arranged alphabetically, containing his later poems: six *ḳaṣīdas* two of which are dedicated to Meḥemmed I and 199 *ghazals*. (ii) *Čeng-nāme*, called wrongly *Djenk-nāme* by some sources (Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 256) and confused with Shaykhoghlu's *Faraḥ-nāme* (*Khurshīd-nāme*) by others (ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Akhbār* and Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmanlī Müʾellifleri*, s.v.) is a *mathnawī* of over 1400 couplets, dedicated to Amīr Sulaymān in 808/1405. In this allegory, the human soul is symbolized by the harp, whose heavenly music is a sign of its divine origin and which seeks the mystic paths of return to oneness with God. In a cheerful party on a flower-strewn lawn in spring, the poet asks the harp why it is so sad yet plays joyful melodies. Thereupon the four parts of the instrument tell him their stories: the silk of the strings came from worms which fed on the flesh of Job before eating the leaves of mulberry trees; the wood of the frame was a beautiful cyprus; the parchment covering the wood a gentle gazelle which was cruelly killed by hunters, and the hairs of the key were from the tail of a magnificent horse killed by the Tatars. This *mathnawī* full of vivid description and rich imagery, told in a moving and colourful style of unusual fluency compares favourably with the best contemporary narratives and even with those of the classical period. (iii) *Tarassul*, a letter-writer which became a classic and long remained a popular hand-book (Sehī, *Tedhkire*, 56); (iv) *Muṭāyabāt*, a small book of 12 light poems; (v) *Waṣiyyat-i Nūshirwān-i ʿĀdil*, a short didactic *mathnawī*, probably translated from the Persian; (vi) *ʿUḳūd al-Djawāhir*, a short Persian rhyming vocabulary, written for the use of his princely pupil, the future Murād II; (vii) Persian *Dīwān*, autograph copy written in 816/1413 is in Bursa, Orhan Library no. 66; it is dedicated to Khayr al-Dīn Hādjdji Khalīl Bey; (viii) *Tafsīr*, translation of Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarkandī's Ḳurʾān commentary, with an introduction in verse, both in simple language and unadorned style, dedicated to Umur Bey b. Timurtash (Üniversite Library T. Y. 8248); (ix) also attributed to Dāʿī, a translation of the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ*, ʿAṭṭār's well known biographies and sayings of Muslim mystics.

Bibliography: The *Tedhkires* of Sehī, Laṭīfī, Ḳïnalï-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, and the biographical section in ʿĀlī's *Kunh al-Akhbār*, s.v.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. Osm. Dichtkunst*, i, 72; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 256 ff.; I. H. Ertaylan, *Ahmed-i Dâʾî*, Istanbul 1952, a voluminous collection where

facsimile editions of the Turkish *Dīwān* and the *Čeng-nāme* and extracts from other works have been put together with all available data from sources; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 297-9. (Fahir Iz)

ḌAʿĪF [see al-djarḥ wa'l taʿdīl].

DAḲAHLIYYA, name of an Egyptian province in the eastern region of the Delta. It owes its name, which is an Arabicized form of the Coptic Tkehli, to the town called Daḳahla which was situated between Damīra and Damietta, a little closer to the latter than the former. At one time famous for its paper mills, it is now but an insignificant village.

The province was created at the end of the 5th/11th century and it has survived till today with some changes in its boundaries. At present it extends along the eastern bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile, which marks its western boundary, and ends on the south-east at the province of Sharḳiyya. Its chief town is now Manṣūra.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 82; Ḳudāma, 48; ʿAlī Pasha, xi, 17; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 90, 186-91. (G. Wiet)

DAKAR [see Supplement].

DAKHAN (deccan). This word is derived from the Sanskrit word *dakshiṇa* 'right (hand)', hence 'south', since the compass points were determined with reference to the rising sun. The conventional line dividing north India from the south is formed by the south-western spurs of the Vindhyas along with their continuation called the Satpuṛās; peninsular India to the south of this line is usually further divided into (i) Deccan proper, extending up to the Tungabhadra, and (ii) south India extending right up to the southernmost tip of the peninsula. Physically also these two parts form two distinct units. For, while the Deccan plateau is formed by the great lavaic upland slowly rising from a point a few miles west of the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Krishṇa ending abruptly in the Western Ghāṭs, the country lying to the south of the Tungabhadra and touching the port of Goa has a distinct crystalline character. The Deccan proper, therefore, may be said to consist of five sections, *viz*., (i) the western section enclosed by the sea and the Western Ghāṭs, called the *dēsh*, the original home of the Marāṭhas; this has extended beyond the Ghāṭs to include the whole territory with Aḥmadnagar and Poona as its principal towns; (ii) the area known as Berār during the Middle Ages and which is now known according to the ancient appellation of Vidarbha, with Nāgpur as its principal town; (iii) Maraṭhwāda, the Marāṭhi-speaking part of the old Ḥaydarābād State with its centre at Awrangābād; (iv) Tilangāna where Telugu is the mother-tongue of a large part of the population, with Ḥaydarābād as its historical and cultural capital; (v) the south-western portion populated mainly by the Kannadigās, with Bīdjāpur as its chief town.

Even if we disregard the legendary war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, the Aryanization of the Deccan up to the far south must have been complete by the end of the Mawrya rule. There is little to relate between the fall of the Mawryas and rise of the Āndhras who ruled practically the whole of the Deccan plateau for five hundred years. We also read of the Ikshvakus of Nāgardjunakoṇḍa, the Vakaṭakas of Berar, the Western Čālukyas of Badāmī and Kālyanī, the Rāshṭrakūtas of Malkhēd, the Eastern Čālukyas of Vengī, the Yādavas of Deogiri and the Kākatīyas of Warangal, who ruled in different parts of the Deccan during the centuries preceding the Muslim conquest.

The first contact of the Deccan with the Muslims of the north was in 693/1294 when ʿAlā' al-Dīn, nephew of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Khaldjī of Dihlī, marched to Deogiri [see dawlatābād] and forced the Yādava Radja Rāmačandra to pay tribute. It was, however, not till 718/1318 that this kingdom, which extended to most of the Marāṭha country, was annexed to the Dihlī Empire. Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ not merely added the dominions of the Kākatīyas of Warangal to his Empire but annexed a large portion of south India as well, making Deogiri his second capital and renaming it Dawlatābād [*q.v.*]. But he could not control his far-flung empire effectively, and in 746/1345 his Deccan nobles, the *amīrān-i ṣadah*, revolted and chose Ismāʿīl Mukh as the first independent Muslim ruler of the Deccan. He was replaced by Ẓafar Khān as king, with the title of ʿĀlā' al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh in 748/1347, who thus became the founder of the Bahmanī kingdom [see bahmanids]. The Bahmanids spread their Empire over the whole of the Deccan from sea to sea and ruled it first from Aḥsanābād-Gulbarga [see gulbarga] and then from Muḥammadābād-Bīdar [see bīdar]. Towards the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries the governors of the Bahmanid provinces became first autonomous and then independent, and the Deccan was finally divided into the five kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar, Bīdjāpūr, Berār, Bīdar and Golkonḍā under the Niẓāmshāhī, ʿĀdilshāhī, ʿImādshāhī, Barīdshāhī and Ḳuṭbshāhī dynasties respectively. Berār and Bīdar were soon absorbed into Aḥmadnagar which was itself annexed to the Mughal Empire during the reign of Shāh Djahān in 1042/1633. The turn of the extinction of Bidjapur and Golkonḍa did not come till 1097/1686 and 1098/1687 when the Emperor Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr annexed these two kingdoms to his vast Empire. But the Mughal authority in the Deccan was undermined by the continuous raids of the Marāṭhas who established a separate kingdom under Shivadjī in 1085/1674 and which forced the Emperor to direct his strategy from Awrangābād where he died in 1119/1707. The next important date in the history of the Deccan is 1136/1724 when Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh [*q.v.*] defeated Mubāriz Khān at Shakarkhēṛa and established his hegemony over the whole of the Deccan. The dynasty of the Āṣafdjāhīs ruled the Deccan first from Awrangābād and then from Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] effectively till 1948 when the Ḥaydarābād State was integrated into the Indian Union. The Niẓām, Sir Mīr ʿUthmān ʿAlī Khān, Āṣaf Djāh VII, was appointed *Rādjpramukh* or constitutional head of the state by the President of the Indian Union and acted as such till 1956 when the Ḥaydarābād State was partitioned between Andhra Pradesh, Bombay State and Mysore State more or less according to linguistic affinities.

Bibliography: R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan down to the Mahomedan Conquest*, 2nd. ed. Bombay 1895; S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, London 1921; J. S. King. *History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, London 1900; Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan, an Objective Study*, Ḥaydarābād, n. d,; J. D. B. Gribble, *History of the Deccan, Vol. I*, London 1936; Yūsuf Ḥusayn Khān, *Niẓāmu 'l-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh I.*, Mangalore 1936.

(H. K. Sherwani)

DAKHANĪ [see URDŪ],

AL-**DĀKHIL** [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN].

DAKHĪL. The dictionaries (*LA*, *TA*, etc.) give a general meaning, "interior, inward, intimate", and two particular derived meanings, (1) guest, to whom protection should be assured, and (2) stranger, passing traveller, person of another race. The first of the particular meanings relates to an institution of nomadic common law which guarantees protection, in traditional ways, to whoever requests it. Although the concept has at all times existed, it has never been incorporated into Islamic law, which has no technical term corresponding to it. In its practical application, the institution combines elements of the complex system of ties of hospitality to which general opinion seems to assimilate the rights of the *dakhīl* and of a very old law of refuge in private households which is attested all over the Semitic world (cf. DJIWĀR). See in particular the detailed analysis by A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1948, 202-20, and Burckhardt's notes on the same subject in *Notes on the Bedouins*, London 1831, i, 329-38; see also Layard, *Narrative of a second expedition to Assyria*, London 1867, ch. VI, 139-62, and Caskel, *apud* Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig 1939, i, 29.

From this last meaning, several meanings of the word as a technical term in philology, regarded as "late" by the lexicographers, have been derived, notably (1) "a foreign word borrowed by the Arabic language", like *dirham*, and (2) metrical term denoting the consonant preceding the rhyming consonant, the *dakhīl* itself being preceded by an *alif* (cf. ʿARŪḌ). (J. LECERF)

DĀKHLA WA KHĀRDJA [see AL-WĀḤĀT].

DAKHNĪ [see URDŪ].

DAKĪKĪ, ABŪ MANṢŪR MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD (or Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad), the poet to whom we owe the oldest known text of the national epic in the Persian language. His place of birth is uncertain (Ṭūs, Bukhārā, Balkh or Samarkand); he was born between 318 and 329/930 and 940, for he was at least twenty years old when he became panegyrist to the amīrs of Čaghāniyān, then of the Sāmānid amīr Manṣūr b. Nūḥ (350-366/961-976); further, Firdawsī, who continued after him the composition of *The Book of the Kings* (*Shāh-nāma*), assures us that Daķīķī was a young man when he began this work, at the behest of the amīr Nūḥ. b. Manṣūr, 366-387/976-997; Daķīķī therefore did not die before the time of this prince; and Firdawsī resumed the composition of the *Shāh-nāma* about 370/980, after the murder of his precursor by a slave (a murder provoked by his bad character (*khūy-i bad*) according to Firdawsī).

In the anthologies (*Lubāb al-Albāb*, *Madjmaʿ al-Fusaḥāʾ*, *Tardjumān al-Balāgha* etc.) there are lyrical pieces and fragments which bear witness to Daķīķī's precocious skill, his subtle and delicate mind, his easy style. But the work by which he is immortalized is the part of the *Shāh-nāma* (about a thousand lines) incorporated in the poem by his successor, Firdawsī: the reign of the king Goshtāsp, the appearance and the deeds of Zardosht (Zoroaster), and the war against their Chionite enemies.

The Zoroastrian faith of Daķīķī seems to assert itself in one of his *rubāʿis* and in other of his poems, in spite of his Muslim names. Did he remain Zoroastrian at heart? If he had been sincerely attached to Islam, would he, in undertaking the composition of the *Shāh-nāma* on the order of the Sāmānid amīr (a strictly orthodox Muslim), have straightway extolled the rise of Zoroastrianism and the war which it provoked? Howbeit, it is very probable, if not certain, that he chose this episode because he had at his disposal a copy of the *Memorial of Zarīr* (*Ayatkār-i Zarīrān*), a text from the Sāsānid period in Pahlawī verse (as E. Benveniste has shown) from which he drew direct inspiration. It may be that he had also put into verse other episodes from the *Shāh-nāma*, if we take into consideration some of his poems, epic in style and metre, scattered through the anthologies (*tadhkira*).

What remains of Daķīķī's lyrical poems shows his remarkable ability to vary his inspiration according to the descriptive, bacchic or amorous styles; quotations from his verse, numerous in the Persian anthologies and dictionaries, give proof of the lasting fame he enjoyed after his too-short career. Indeed his collaboration in the *Shāh-nāma* is as important for its own value as for the light it throws on the sources of the great national poem of Īrān.

Bibliography: Firdawsī, *Book of the Kings* (*Shāh-nāma*), ed. and trans. J. Mohl, 4to edition, iv, 358-730; 12mo edition, iv, 287 ff.; ed. Vullers-Landauer iii, 495-1747; Tehran ed. 1934-35 (pub. Beroukhim), vi; E. Benveniste, *Le Mémorial de Zarēr*, in *JA*, ccxx, (1932), no. 2, 245 ff. Lyrical poems: G. Lazard, *Les premiers poèmes persans*, critical edition, annotated, translation and bio-bibliography (in the press).

(CL. HUART-[H. MASSÉ])

AL-**DAKKĀK**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, Moroccan saint born at Sidjilmāsa. He and a certain Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Aṣamm who was assassinated in 542/1147-8 belonged to one of the small circles of Ṣūfīs generally disapproved of by authority. This Abū ʿAbd Allāh had already been imprisoned at Fez at the same time as some of his companions, among whom one was al-Daķķaķ, who on the orders of Tāshufīn b. ʿAlī the Almoravid was afterwards released.

No one knows the date of birth of this saint, nor that of his death. All the same, one can be sure that towards the middle of the 6th/12th century he had become known as a disciple of Ṣūfism at Fez, where his *aḥwāl* had aroused the kindly sympathy of Ibn al-ʿArīf and Ibn Barradjān, both of whom died in 536/1141.

If we may believe al-Tādilī, al-Daķķāķ went to and fro between Sidjilmāsa and Fez. It was in Fez that he met Abū Madyan at a time when the latter, seeking instruction, was studying the *Riʿāya* of al-Muḥāsibī under the direction of Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Ḥirzihim and the *Sunan* of al-Tirmidhī with Ibn Ghālib. Al-Daķķāķ and a person of the name of Abu 'l-Salāwī initiated him into Ṣūfism (*Tashawwuf*, 319). It is because he was one of the masters of Abū Madyan that al-Daķķāķ has not sunk into obscurity.

He led a life of renunciation, and was, it seems, before all else, a disciple of Ṣūfism rather than a scholar. His manner of claiming sanctity and the satisfaction which he felt when it was acknowledged has something displeasing about it. He died at Fez, most probably, according to A. Bel, at the latest in the last quarter of the 6th/12th century. He is buried in the cemetery of Bāb al-Gīsa.

Bibliography: A. Bel, *Sidi Bou Medyan et son maître Ed-Daqqâq à Fès*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, i, 31 ff.; al-Tādilī, *Al-Tashawwuf ilā Ridjāl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958, 135-7. (A. FAURE)

DAḲŪḲĀʾ (or Daḳūḳ), a small town in the Djazīra province of the ʿAbbāsid empire, some 25 miles S.E. of Kirkūk on the Mosul-Baghdād trunk-road, was known to the later Arab geographers and perhaps emerged into urban status, though never eminence, in the 5th/11th century. Some medieval brickwork and a minaret survive. The later and present name (from 9th/15th century, or earlier) was Ṭāwūḳ or Ṭāʾūḳ. The town, on flat ground immediately west of the foothills, stands healthy and well-watered beside the broad Ṭāʾūḳ Chay, a trickle in summer but a formidable flood after winter rains: this now flows into the ʿAẓaim river, and thence to the Tigris, but passed into the great Nahrawān canal when that existed. In modern ʿIrāḳ Ṭāʾūḳ, with some 2,000 Kurdish and Turkish-speaking inhabitants, is today a *nāḥiya* head-quarters, partially modernized, and an agricultural and market centre for the surrounding Kurdish tribesmen (Dāʾūdīyya and Kākaʾī) and Turkoman villagers. The ʿIrāḳ Railways line, and the main road, cross the Ṭāʾūḳ Chay by modern bridges. A well-known shrine of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Ḥusayn is 1.5 miles distant.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 92, and the Arab authorities there noted. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī, *al-ʿIrāḳ Ḳadīm*[an] *wa Ḥadīth*[an]; Sidon 1367/1948, 197. Undersigned's own observations.

(S. H. Longrigg)

DĀL, 8th letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *d*; numerical value 4, in accordance with the order of the letters in the Syriac (and Canaanite) alphabet, where *d* is the fourth letter [see abdjad]. It continues a *d* of common Semitic.

Definition: *voiced dental occlusive*; according to the Arab grammatical tradition: *shadīda*, *madjhūra*. For the *makhradj*: *niṭʿiyya* according to al-Khalīl (al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 2nd ed. J. P. Broch, 191, line 1), who places the point of articulation at the *niṭʿ* (or *niṭaʿ*), the anterior part of the hard palate, 'its striped part' (Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1460, line 19) and so: *prepalatal*. This articulation has left traces in modern dialects (Lebanon, Syria: M. Bravmann, *Materialien*, 69; H. Fleisch, *Zahlé*, in *MUSJ*, xxvii, 78). Another tradition, based on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh (Paris edition, ii, 453, line 13), which has been much more generally followed, indicates 'the bases of the central incisors', and so: *alveolar*. For the phonological oppositions of the *d* phoneme, see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse*, in *BSL* (No. 126), 99, 12th; for the incompatibles *ibid.*, 134.

Variants: in the mountain dialects of N. Morocco *d* may become *dh* after a vowel; *d* in Classical Arabic and in the modern dialects has numerous conditioned variants (assimilations), see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 37-8, 41-2.

Bibliography: in the text, and s.v. Ḥurūf al-Hidjāʾ.

(H. Fleisch)

(ii) — Various modifications of *dāl* in languages other than Arabic in which an adaptation of the Arabic script is used may be mentioned here.

In the Indo-Aryan languages there are two series of "d-like" sounds, the dental and the retroflex (also called cerebral, cacuminal, or even, perversely, lingual), the latter produced by the under side of the tongue tip being curled back to strike the hard palate in the post-alveolar position, the concave upper surface of the tongue forming a secondary resonating chamber within the oral cavity. Both sounds may in addition be accompanied by aspiration. In Pashto and Urdū the dental is represented by the unmodified *dāl*, the retroflex (transcribed in the Encyclopaedia by *ḍ*) by *dāl* modified in Pashtō by a small subscript circle (ډ), in Urdū by a small superscript *ṭā* (ڈ; this was originally ڐ). The aspirated varieties of both are now always written with the "butterfly" (*dūčashmī*) *hā*, the "hook" variety of *hā* being reserved for intervocalic *h*, hence the contrast دہی *dahī* 'curds', but دھی *dhī* 'daughter'.

In Sindhī the retroflex *ḍāl* is represented by ڊ, aspirated *dāl* (*dha*) by ڌ, and aspirated *ḍāl* (*ḍha*) by ڍ. Sindhī, in common with other languages of Western India, has in addition a series of implosive consonants (implosive *b*, *dj*, *ḍ* and *g*); the implosive *ḍ* (*ḍa*) is represented by ڏ.

Bibliography: *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vols. x (Pashtō), viii/1 (Sindhī), ix/1 (Urdū); D. N. MacKenzie, *A standard Pashto* in *BSOAS*, xxii/2 (1959), 231-5; R. L. Turner, *Cerebralization in Sindhī* in *JRAS*, 1924, 555-84; idem, *The Sindhī recursives* ..., *BSOS*, iii/2, (1924), 301-15; Mohiuddin Qadri, *Hindustani Phonetics*, Paris n.d. (1931?); also the articles pashtō, sindhī, urdū.

(J. Burton-Page)

DALĪL (Gr. σημεῖον) is an ambiguous term; it can mean sign or indication, every proof through the inference of a cause from its effect or the inference of the universal from the particular in opposition to the proof from a strictly deductive syllogism in which the particular is deduced from the universal; and finally it is used as synonymous with proof, ἀπόδειξις, *burhān* generally.

Aristotle treats the "proof from a sign" in the last chapter of his *Analytica Priora*. According to him "proof from a sign" is an enthymeme, *i.e.*, a syllogism in which one premiss is suppressed (ἐνθύμημα, *ḳiyās iḍmārī* or *ḳiyās idjāzī*) in which from a fact another fact, anterior or posterior in time, is inferred (although Aristotle says "anterior or posterior", the example he gives infers an anterior fact and for the Arab philosophers the inference is always the inference of a cause from its effect). He gives as an example that from a woman having milk it is inferred that she has conceived. He states that this enthymeme can be fully expressed in the following way: all women who have milk have conceived, this woman has conceived, therefore she has milk. This would seem to imply that for this type of reasoning the enthymeme is not a necessary condition and that the conclusion provides absolute evidence, although a "sign", according to Aristotle, is always an accident and there is no necessary proof for the accidental. We find in Avicenna the same definition and the same example (*Nadjāt*, p. 92) and he adds that *dalīl* can mean both the middle term of the syllogism (in this case "having milk") and the enthymeme itself.

This type of reasoning is the only one for which Aristotle reserves the name of "proof from a sign". The Arab philosophers, however, give the term a wider meaning, based on the distinction made by Aristotle in his *Analytica Posteriora* between the proof that a thing is, τὸ ὅτι, *burhān anna* and the proof why a thing is, the proof of its cause or reason, τὸ διότι, *burhān lima*. The proof *why* a thing is is preceded by the proof *that* a thing is, for one can ask only why a thing is, when one knows that it is. The proof that a thing is starts from the particular, the fact, the effect perceived, and infers the cause from its effect, and it is for this reason that the Arab philosophers call it a *dalīl*; on the other hand the

proof why a thing is starts from the universal, the cause, and deduces the particular effect from its cause. The distinction is confused through the ambiguity of the term "cause" which in Aristotelian philosophy can mean both the logical reason of a thing's being such and such, its formal cause, *e.g.*, the reason that Socrates is mortal is that he is a man, and the ontological cause of a thing's becoming, *e.g.*, this fire is the cause of the burning of this wood. I cannot discuss this here *in extenso*, but will give only Avicenna's examples from his *Nadjāt* (103, 105) which show clearly the confusion between the logical and the ontological, so usual in Aristotle. As an example of the *burhān lima* he gives: a great heat has changed this wood, everything a great heat has changed is burnt, therefore this wood is burnt; and as an example of the *burhān anna*: this wood is burnt, therefore a great heat has burned it. According to Avicenna the difference between the two syllogisms is that in the former the middle term (*i.e.*, a great heat) is both the cause (*i.e.*, the logical reason) of our conviction of the truth of the conclusion and the cause (*i.e.*, the ontological cause) of the major term (*i.e.*, the being burnt) in reality, whereas the latter gives us only the subjective conviction of the truth of the conclusion. That is to say in the *burhān anna* we can, purely logically, infer from the particular effect its formal cause, for being burnt implies the act of burning, and since being burnt is but the actualisation of the potentiality of heat, heat and the fact of being burnt are practically identical; in the *burhān lima* the ontological cause and the logical reason are identified.

The Arab philosophers hold also with Aristotle (*Anal. Prior.*, ii, 23) that through a syllogism based on a perfect induction of particular facts, that is the enumeration of all the particular cases, we can arrive at a universal proposition (cf. *e.g.*, Avicenna, *De demonstratione* [from his *Shifā'*], 31-2).

There is still another type of reasoning mentioned by Aristotle (*Anal. Prior.*, ii, 24) in which from a particular case a general principle may be inferred, reasoning by example, παράδειγμα, *mathal*. Avicenna gives in his *Nadjāt*, 90-91, as an example an argument of the theologians: the world is produced in time, because it is composed of parts, therefore it is like a building; now the building is produced in time, therefore the world is produced in time.

Aristotle had neglected in his logic the hypothetical and disjunctive syllogisms which were studied in his school by Theophrastus and Eudemus, but the Stoics for whom all argument is based on the inference of an event from another event, on the inference of the posterior from the anterior (or the reverse in prognostics), on the inference of a particular cause from a particular effect, that is on the inference from signs or symptoms, σημεῖα, a concept which becomes one of the most important elements of their logic, are chiefly concerned with the study of the hypothetical and disjunctive syllogisms and, indeed, inferences from actual events which imply a time-element, find an easier expression in a hypothetical than in a categorical syllogism. The example of σημεῖον given by Aristotle, becomes in Stoic logic a stock example in their syllogism: if this woman has milk, she has conceived, now she has milk, therefore she has conceived, and Avicenna in his *Ishārāt*, 84-5, gives an example of the difference between *burhān lima* and the *burhān anna* in a hypothetical form. Reasoning by example, regarded by Aristotle as a categorical syllogism, or as the Stoics call it reasoning by analogy (*ḳiyās*), takes in their logic a hypothetical form and becomes one of their principal arguments, since according to them all knowledge transcending the evidence of the senses proceeds by way of analogical inference. The analogical syllogism was the first one the Arabs became acquainted with (it may well be that because of this the term *ḳiyās* becomes later the general name for syllogism, just as the term *dalīl* becomes the general term for proof), the Muʿtazila, the rationalistic theologians in Islam, called by their adversaries *ahl al-ḳiyās*, used analogical reasoning for their interpretation of the Ḳur'ān and as a basis for criticizing traditions, and Shāfiʿī was aware that *ḳiyās* is based on signs, *dalā'il* and examples, *mithāl* (cf. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, London 1950, 124 and 128). Ghazzālī in his logical works emphasizes the importance of the hypothetical syllogism in all juridical matters and the Ashʿarīs, nominalists like the Stoics and who with them deny the existence of Aristotle's forms and formal causes, base their arguments on analogical reasoning or as Averroës says (*Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, Bouyges, p. 522) on what they call "sign".

Bibliography: in the text.

(S. van den Bergh)

DALLĀL (ar.) "broker", "agent". *Dallāl*, literally "guide"; is the popular Arabic word for *simsār*, *sensal*. In the *Tādj al-ʿArūs* we find, on the word *simsār*: "This is the man known as a *dallāl*; he shows the purchaser where to find the goods he requires, and the seller how to exact his price". Very little is known from the Arabic sources about the origins of these brokers, who have been of such great importance in economic affairs. The *dallāl* corresponded to the Byzantine μεδίτης. In the absence of any systematic earlier studies, only certain items of information collected at random can be given here. Law-books warn the *dallāls* of the need to be on their guard against the dishonest tricks customary in commerce (Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Kitāb al-Madkhal*, iii, 75). In fact the *dallāls* frequently recommended to purchasers goods which they knew to be inferior and always took sides with the seller against his customer. Their profession which, at times, was invested with an official character, was known as *dilāla*. The word al-dallāl occurs in early times as a surname (*Tādj al-ʿArūs*). Under the Fāṭimids, certain articles could only be sold through the intermediary of *dallāls* (al-Muḳaddasī, 213_6). In the time of the Mamlūks, the 2% commission which from the earliest days had been paid to these brokers was made subject to a charge, as a result of which the *dallāl* had to give up half his profits in taxes: the loss, naturally enough, he speedily passed on to his clients. This operation was known as *niṣf al-samsara* (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 89_6). A somewhat similar custom was to be found in northern Syria (cf. Sobernheim in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, ii, no 55 and the account given by C. H. Becker in *Isl.* i, 100). The principal transactions were concluded in the maritime customs offices. There the *dallāls* acted at the same time as interpreters when any deailngs with the Franks were required. Commercial treaties fixed precisely what fees were due to these agents and interpreters (Amari, *Diplomi Arabi*, 106, 203). Heyd, *Levantehandel*, i, gives a wide range of details about this kind of transaction. For the Western Mediterranean one should consult de Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce*, Paris 1866, 189. Later it was the West which monopolized

questions of brokerage (cf. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebietes*, 761).

It was, however, not only for their transactions with foreigners, but also for business matters amongst themselves, that the Eastern peoples made use of the *dallāls* (see, for example, the notes on Ottoman brokerage dues in B. Lewis, *Studies in the Ottoman Archives, I, BSOAS*, xvi, 1954, 495 ff.). Furthermore, the latter also acted as independent traders, selling, for example, old clothes on their own account (*Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, xviii/II, 321). The name *dallāl* was also applied to the hawker auctioning goods in the secondhand clothing market and, still more frequently, to the small intermediary and agent. The way of life of these agents has been well described by Lane, *Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*[5], ii, 13. Women are also found taking the part of agents. Known as *dallāla*, they act as intermediaries for harems of a superior sort (Lane, *op. cit.* I, 200, 239, 242). For other meanings of the word *dallāl* cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

(C. H. BECKER*)

II. — In the Muslim West, the *dallāl* is exclusively an intermediary who, in return for remuneration, sells by public auction objects entrusted to him by third parties. In the large towns the *dallāls* are grouped in specialized guilds, supervised by a syndic (*amīn*) who compels them to give a guarantee of good faith (*ḍāmin*). They chiefly concerned themselves with manufactured goods sold by artisans to the shopkeepers: slippers, locally woven fabrics, carpets, jewellery etc.; industrial raw materials such as hides (green or tanned), wool (untreated or yarn); commodities sold in bulk, such as oil, butter, honey, local soap, henna, eggs, fruit and vegetables; livestock, animals for both riding and baggage; furniture, books and old clothes. Before the French Protectorate was established in Morocco they were also engaged in the sale of slaves of both sexes.

The word has passed into Persian and Turkish (*tellāl*) and, from the latter, into various Balkan languages (modern Greek *tellāles*). Besides *dallāl* (*dellīl* in Granada), Spanish Arabic used *sawwāḳ*.

In the Muslim West today *dallāl* is quite distinct from *barrāḥ* "town crier" and from *simsār* [*q.v.*] "broker, business agent".

In the large towns the feminine *dallāla* denotes a "dealer in women's clothes" who frequents the houses of the rich, offering the women fabrics, clothes and jewellery.

Bibliography: Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, 1949, 306-14; Kampffmeyer, *Texte aus Fes*, 13; idem, *Weitere Texte aus Fes und Tanger*, 71. (G. S. COLIN)

DALTĀWA, the headquarter town of the *Ḳaḍā* of K͟hāliṣ in the *liwā* of Diyālā, central ʿIrāḳ (44° 30′ E, 33° 50′ N). The population of the town —all settled ʿIrāḳī Arabs, with S͟hīʿī predominance over Sunnī—was some 10,000 in 1367/1947, and that of the *ḳaḍā* 70,000; the two dependent *nāḥiyas* are those of K͟hān Banī Saʿd and Manṣūriyya (formerly Dalī ʿAbbās). The name Daltāwa is said by ʿIrāḳī scholars to be a corruption of an original Dawlatābād.

Surrounded by date-gardens, the town is watered from the K͟hāliṣ canal, an important offtake from the Diyālā, right bank. Though still largely old fashioned, and never very healthy, the town now contains a number of new streets and buildings, especially Government offices and institutions; modern services and communications have been greatly developed during the last 30 years. Though nowhere mentioned in mediaeval writers, because then of little importance, the town is certainly of some antiquity, and was watered from the Nahrawān-Diyālā canal system.

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(S. H. LONGRIGG)

AL-**DALW** [see NUD͟JŪM].

DĀM [see SIKKA].

DĀMĀD, a Persian word meaning son-in-law, used as a title by sons-in-law of the Ottoman Sultans. Under the early Sultans, princesses (*sulṭān*) of the reigning house were occasionally given in marriage to the vassal princes of Asia Minor, for example, to the Ḳaramānog͟hlu, and even to the vezirs and generals of the sovereign; the case of the saint Amīr Sulṭān of Bursa, who married a daughter of Bāyazīd I is, however, unique not only for that but also for later periods. We afterwards find Grand Vezirs, Kapudan Pas͟has, Ag͟has of Janissaries, Bostānd͟jības͟hīs and other high officials as sons-in-law of the Sulṭān; the best known are Ibrāhim Pas͟ha, the favourite of Sulaymān I, Rustem Pas͟ha (husband of Mihrimāh), Sokollu Meḥemmed Pas͟ha (husband of Asmāk͟hān), Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha (son-in-law of Meḥemmed III), Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha under Aḥmed III etc. (cf. Hammer, *GOR*, index, s.v. *Sulṭānin*). The title *dāmād* was applied to some of them both by their contemporaries and in historical writings and remained current to the end of the empire (*e.g.*, Dāmād Maḥmūd Pas͟ha, Dāmād Ferīd Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] etc.).

The marriage ceremonies were celebrated with great splendour and are minutely described in the Ottoman chronicles as well as by western travellers (cf. Hammer, *GOR*, index s.v. *Hochzeit und Vermählung*); the dowry had been fixed by Sulaymān I at 100,000 ducats and the appanage (*K͟hāṣṣ*) brought in 1000-1500 aspers daily. (Venetian *Relazione* of 1608, in Barozzi-Berchet, 72; Hammer, viii, 211); in addition a large palace was usually bestowed on the princesses. Till the time of Sulaymān I the Dāmāds were usually sent into the provinces as governors to prevent them having any personal influence on the affairs of the Sublime Porte, (Kočibey, ed. of 1303, 94, 97). Etiquette compelled the Dāmād to put away the wives he already had and to take no further wives (cf. the Venetian *Relazione* already quoted, 103 ff. and Hammer, iv, 103); he became the slave of his wife and this relationship finds expression in the form of address used between the spouses (cf. the above reports, 72, 104; de la Mottraye, *Voyages*, 338 ff.; Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 476-84 = *GOR*, viii, 211-13; C. White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, iii, 180 ff.). The statement that sons born of such marriages were done away with at birth (Eton, *Survey of the Turkish Empire*[3], 101; Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 463), may be disproved (cf. D͟jewdet, vi, 196 ff., *Relazioni* loc. cit., 181, 372); only in earlier times they were debarred from all public offices (*Relazioni* 181).

Bibl. in addition to that given in the article: Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945; A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*, Oxford 1956, 97-8. On the use of the title *Küregen* by the sons-in-law of Mongol rulers see D͟juwayni-Boyle, 174 n. 11; Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois Documents Mongols*, *HJAS*, 1852, 474; and article GŪRK͟HĀN.

(J. H. MORDTMANN*)

AL-**DĀMĀD**, "son-in-law", an honorific title given to MĪR MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR B. S͟HAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-ASTARĀBĀDĪ, called also *al-Muʿallim al-T͟hālit͟h*, the "third teacher" in philo-

sophy after al-Fārābī. This title properly belongs to his father who was the son-in-law of the famous Shīʿī theologian ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Karakī, called *al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Thānī* (Brockelmann, S II, 574), but it was extended to the son, who is more correctly called Dāmādī or Ibn al-Dāmād. Born at Astarābād, Mīr-i Dāmād spent his childhood at Ṭūs from where he went to Iṣpahān, most probably for preliminary studies. Educated at Mashhad, among his teachers are counted his maternal uncle, al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī b. ʿAlī (the *mudjtahid*), and al-Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-ʿĀmilī.

A noted divine, he is, however, chiefly esteemed for his attainments as a scholastic theologian (*mutakallim*), and two of his numerous works, *al-Ufuḳ al-Mubīn* (also called by the author, at four places in the text, *al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaḳīm*) and *al-Sabʿ al-Shidād*, are still prescribed, in spite of their being the writings of a Shīʿī *mudjtahid*, in the religious institutions of India and Pakistan, run and managed exclusively by the Sunnīs, as courses of logical studies. For a long period of 36 years, from 984 to 1025 (1576-1616), he remained actively engaged in philosophical and scholastic discussions and religious polemics.

Mīr-i Dāmād was also a poet of no mean order and composed verses under the pen-name of *Ishrāḳ*. Specimens of his poetry are given in the *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*, the *Riyāḍ al-ʿĀrifīn* and the *Ātash-Kada* (see Bibliography). Muḥammad Ḥasan "Zulālī" al-Khwānsārī (d. 1024/1615), the well-known author of the imaginative *mathnawī* "*Maḥmūd u-Ayāz*", was a great admirer of Mīr-i Dāmād.

The *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam Ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, written in 1025/1616, fifteen years before the death of Mīr-i Dāmād in 1040/1630, describes him as skilled in most of the sciences, especially philosophy, philology, mathematics, medicine, jurisprudence, exegesis and tradition. It further mentions about a dozen of the works of Mīr-i Dāmād which shows that long before 1025/1616, his fame as a writer and author of distinction had been established.

Held in great esteem, rather awe, by Shāh ʿAbbās Ṣafawī I (996-1039/1587-1629), at whose Court he wielded great influence, and his successor Shāh Ṣafī I, Mīr Bāḳir rose morally also above most of his contemporaries who were engaged in the ignoble pursuits of "petty jealousy and mutual disparagement" (cf. John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, i, 258-9). Among the notable pupils of Mīr-i Dāmād was Mullā Ṣadrā-i Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], the celebrated philosopher, accounted as the greatest in modern times in Iran.

Mīr Bāḳir died between al-Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ, during a visit to the holy places in ʿIrāḳ, in 1040/1630 and was buried in al-Nadjaf.

He was a prolific writer; a full list of his Arabic works is given by Brockelmann (S II, 579). Chief of these are: *al-Ufuḳ al-Mubīn* which has been the subject of numerous commentaries. Mawlawī Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ of Khayrābād, a famous theologian and *mutakallim* of India, was very fond of teaching this book. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm [*q.v.*] has written *taʿlīḳāt* (glosses) on it. *Al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaḳīm* and *al-Ḥabl al-Matīn*, are also on logic. Concerning the former a Persian poet says: "May the Muslim never hear nor the *kāfir* ever see the *Ṣirāt al-Mustaḳīm* of Mīr-i Dāmād".

His other notable works are: *al-Ḳabasāt* (composed in 1034/1624) on the *ḥudūth* (Creation) of the Universe and the Eternity of God, etc.; *Shāriʿ al-Nadjāt* (in Persian), on the principles of religion and jurisprudence, comprising an introduction, five books and a conclusion; *Sidrat al-Muntahā*, a commentary of the Ḳurʾān; *al-Djidhawāt*, (in Persian), a treatise on the mystic meanings of the detached letters (*ḥurūf muḳaṭṭaʿāt*) in the Ḳurʾān and also containing a discussion as to why the body of Moses, composed of organic matter, survived the divine *tadjallī* while Mount Sinai was (according to tradition) reduced to ashes. This work, specially composed for Shāh ʿAbbās Ṣafawī, is divided into 12 preliminary chapters and a large number of sections, each termed *djidhwa*; *Taḳwīm al-Īmān* or *al-Taḳwīm fi 'l-Kalām*, on the philosophy of *īmān*; and *al-Taḳdīsāt*, on the divine dispensation. He has also left two separate *dīwāns*, in Arabic and Persian.

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DĀMĀD FERĪD PASHA, one of the last Grand Vezirs of the Ottoman Empire. Meḥmed Ferīd, son of Ḥasan ʿIzzet, a member of the Council of State (Shūrā-yi Dewlet), was born in Istanbul in 1853, served in minor diplomatic posts, and, upon his marriage (1886) to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's sister Medīḥa, was made member of the Council of State and senator, and given the rank of Pasha. In 1911 he became co-founder and chairman of the Ḥürriyet we Iʾtilāf Fïrḳasï [*q.v.*]. After the Ottoman defeat he served his brother-in-law Meḥmed VI as Grand Vezir (4 March to 2 October 1919 and 5 April to 21 October 1920). His policy of accommodation to the victor powers in hopes of winning lenient peace terms proved as futile as his attempts to suppress the national resistance movement in Anatolia under Kemal [Atatürk]. Nationalist pressure forced his resignation in October 1919. Restored to office after

the reinforced Allied occupation of Istanbul, his government was responsible for issuing the well-known anti-nationalist *fetwās* (signed by the *shaykh al-Islām* Dürrizāde ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]) and dispatched troops against the nationalists in Anatolia. On 10 August 1920 his cabinet signed the peace treaty of Sèvres, but the growing strength of the nationalists soon caused his final dismissal. In September 1922 he left Istanbul for Nice, where he died on 6 October 1923.

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(D. A. RUSTOW)

ḌAMĀN (A.), in Islamic law, the civil liability in the widest meaning of the term, whether it arises from the non-performance of a contract or from tort or negligence (*taʿaddī*, literally "transgression"). Prominent particular cases are the liability for the loss of an object sold before the buyer has taken possession (*ḍamān al-mabīʿ*), for eviction (*ḍamān al-darak*), for the loss of a pledge in the possession of the pledgee (*ḍamān al-rahn*), for the loss of an object that has been taken by usurpation (*ḍamān al-ghaṣb*), and for loss or damage caused by artisans (*ḍamān al-adjīr*, *ḍ. al-ṣunnāʿ*). The depositary and other persons in a position of trust (*amīn*, [*q.v.*]) are not liable for accidental loss but they lose this privileged position through unlawful acts, *e.g.*, using the deposit, whether the loss is caused by the unlawful act or not. Questions of *ḍamān* are treated sporadically in numerous sections of the works on *fiḳh*, and it forms the subject of a number of special treatises.

Ḍamān in the sense of suretyship, guarantee, is a liability specially created by contract; it is synonymous with *kafāla* [*q.v.*]. In a wider sense, *ḍamān* is used of the risk or responsibility that one bears with regard to property of which one enjoys the profit, as in the old legal maxim, which was put into the form of a *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet, *al-kharādj bi 'l-ḍamān* ("profit follows responsibility").

Bibliography: al-Djurdjānī, *Kitāb al-Taʿrīfāt*, s.v.; Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, s.v.; (the entry in Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, contains several mistakes); E. Fagnan, *Additions aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, s.v.; Fuḍayl b. ʿAlī al-Djamālī, *K. al-Ḍamānāt fi 'l-Furūʿ* (Brockelmann, II, 573, S II, 645; J. Schacht, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, *Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1928, no. 8, § 43; 1929, no. 6, § 22; 1931, no. 1, § 33); Ghānim b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, *Madjmaʿ al-Ḍamānāt*, Cairo 1308 (Brockelmann, II, 492, S II, 502; J. Schacht, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, *Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1928, no. 8, § 45; 1929, no. 6, § 23; 1931, no. 1, § 34); Maḥmūd Efendi b. Ḥamza al-Ḥamzāwī, *al-Taḥrīr fī Ḍamān al-Maʾmūr wa 'l-Āmir wa 'l-Adjīr*, Damascus 1303 (Brockelmann, S II, 775); al-Ḥasan b. Raḥḥāl al-Maʿdānī (Brockelmann, S II, 696), *K. Taḍmīn al-ṣunnāʿ*, introduction, text, transl. and notes by J. Berque, Algiers 1949 (Bibliothèque Arabe-Française, XIII); J. Schacht, *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des Islamischen Rechts*, 64 f.; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di Diritto Musulmano Malichita*, II, index s.vv. *ḍamān*, *responsibilità*, *rischio*; J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 123, 181, 270; Wensinck, *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane*, s.v.; E. Tyan, *La responsabilité délictuelle en droit musulman*, Paris 1926; F. M. Goadby, in *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, 1939, 62-74; E. Schram-Nielsen, *Studier over Erstatningslaeren i Islamisk Ret*, Copenhagen 1945 (with résumé in French); J. Lapanne-Joinville, in *Revue Algérienne*, 1955/I, 1-24, 51-75.

(ED.)

ḌAMĀN, in the financial sense, 'farming' (of taxes). See BAYT AL-MĀL.

DAMANHŪR, a name derived from the ancient Egyptian Timinhur, the city of Horus. It is not surprising that a number of cities of this name are to be found, almost all in the Nile Delta.

I. Damanhūr al-Shahid, Damanhūr "of the Martyr", one of the northern suburbs of Cairo. This was the name still used by Yāḳūt, but the village was later known as Damanhūr Shubrā, a name which was however already known to al-Muḳaddasī. Ibn Mammātī calls it simply Damanhūr. The two names are sometimes inverted and certain authors speak of Shubrā Damanhūr or even Shubra 'l-Shahīd. This kind of phenomenon is frequent enough in Egypt, especially when it is necessary to distinguish one place from others of the same name. Shubrā is also called Shubra 'l-Khayma or Shubra 'l-Khiyām, Shubrā "of the tents".

There was once a Christian reliquary in this place containing the bones of a martyr. On 8th Bashans (3rd May) each year, the town celebrated a holiday while the people accompanied this casket in procession to the Nile, into which it was plunged in the hope of promoting the success of the river's annual flood. There was no doubt excessive drinking on this day and the feast was forbidden in 702/1302. It was re-established in 738/1338 but was definitely suppressed in 755/1354 and the relic burnt.

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II. Damanhūr, capital of the province of Buḥayra, the ancient Hermopolis Parva of the Byzantine era. Since the name is ancient it can hardly be called an Islamic creation, but nothing is heard of it in the chronicles until the time of the Arab conquest. The important locality is Ḳarṭasa, the only name known to the ancient authors, who mention it as the capital of a pagarchy (*kūra*).

The oldest reference is to be found in Ibn Mammātī, who calls it Damanhūr al-Waḥsh. Ibn Djubayr and Yāḳūt passed through it. To them it was an urban centre of medium size surrounded by a wall. Ibn Mammātī mentions a canal named after the city, the Bahr Damanhūr. The sultan Barḳūḳ restored its fortifications, in order better to resist the incursions of the Bedouin; furthermore the town had suffered greatly in the earthquake of 702/1302. Damanhūr increased in importance and according to Ibn Duḳmāḳ, it possessed a Friday mosque, schools, caravanserais and covered markets. It was, then, not only the capital of the province of Buḥayra, but also the residence of a senior Mamlūk officer commanding the whole of the Delta. The post road, skirting the desert from Cairo to Alexandria, had a stage post there and there was also a carrier pigeoncote.

According to Sonnini the town was "large but

badly built, almost all the houses being made either of mud or of bad quality brick. It is the centre of the trade in cotton, which is gathered in the vast and beautiful plains surrounding it".

On 30th April, 1799, a French company was massacred there by the troops of Mahdī Aḥmad; the reprisals were terrible.

Damanhūr is now a heavily populated town. The railway between Cairo and Alexandria has a station there, and it is the centre of a network of secondary railway routes.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 83; *Synaxaire, Patrologia Orientalis*, xvii, 565, 1107; Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, 160; Ibn Mammātī, 169, 226-7; Ibn Djubayr, 44 (trans. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 45); Yāḳūt, ii, 601; Ibn Furāt, ix, 86; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v, 101; Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 406, xiv, 376 (trans. Wüstenfeld, 111); Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 944 (trans. Quatremère, ii, *b*, 216); Ẓāhirī, 35, 117, 119 (trans. Venture de Paradis, 55, 197, 201); Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Cairo, xi, 291, xii, 113-4; Ibn Djīʿān, 116; Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, i, 361-3; Dehérain, *Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne*, v, 436; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 146-7, 175-8, 180-1, 183, 185, 194.

Other places of the same name are mentioned in geographical lists but not described.

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī, 55; Ibn Mammātī, 134, 135; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v, 89; Ibn Djīʿān, 78; Amelineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte*, 116.

(G. Wiet)

DAMASCUS [see dimashḳ].

DAMĀWAND, the highest point in the mountains on the borders of Northern Persia (cf. Alburz), somewhat below 36° N. Lat. and about 50 miles north-east of Tehran. According to de Morgan it rises out of the plateau of Rêhne to a height of 13,000 feet above it. The various estimates of its height differ: Thomson estimates it at 21,000 feet (certainly too high), de Morgan at 20,260 feet, Houtum Schindler at 19,646, Sven Hedin at 18,187, and in the last edition of Stieler's *Handatlas* (1910) it is given as 18,830 feet. Its summit, perpetually snow-clad and almost always enveloped in clouds, is visible several days' journey away, as Yāḳūt tells us from his own experience. In fine weather and favourable light it may be seen, according to Melgunof, from the Caspian sea, a distance of over 260 versts (162 miles). Ḳazwīnī's statements on this point are exaggerated, but it is certain that the Damāwand massif commands the whole coastlands of Māzandarān (the mediaeval Ṭabaristān).

Geologically Damāwand is of recent origin, as is clear from its volcanic nature which is apparent in several features. There are as many as 70 craters on this mountain mass; from one of them, which is covered with thick deposits of sulphur, rises the conical peak. There are also many sulphur springs on it; Ḳazwīnī mentions "the springs of Damāwand from which smoke arises by day and fire by night". Damāwand is the centre of the earthquake zone which stretches throughout Māzandārān. It is clear from the earlier accounts of Arab travellers that the internal activity of the central volcano had not then quite ceased as it has now.

Damāwand is rich in minerals, particularly anthracite. Sulphur is found in immense quantities; the finest quality, the best in Persia according to Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, ii, 178, is found just below the summit of the mountain, where it is collected in the summer months by the people of Ask and Damāwand and sold by them. Around the foot of Damāwand rise numerous mineral springs, of which two in particular—one in the little town of Ask, the other somewhat further north on the Herāz (Herhaz)—enjoy a great reputation as baths. The majority deposit considerable sediment; for example Ask is built on such alluvium (Polak, *op. cit.*, ii, 229). The apricots grown in the valleys of Damāwand are highly esteemed in Persia. (Polak, *op. cit.*, ii, 146).

Like the other giants of Eastern Asia, such as Ararat, Damāwand was long regarded as inaccessible; this opinion, which was widely held, is found repeatedly in the Arab geographers, although one successful ascent is mentioned (see ʿAlī b. Razīn's statement in Ḳazwīnī, 159). Oliver (1798) was the first European traveller to visit the mountain, without however being able to reach the summit. The first complete climb was by W. Taylor Thomson in 1837; he was followed in 1843 by the botanist Th. Kotschy and in 1852 by the Austrian engineer Czarnotta. H. Brugsch and Baron Minutoli seem also to have reached the summit in 1860; (see Petermann's *Geographische Mitteilungen*, 1861, 437). In more recent years a number of further successful ascents have been undertaken by Napier and others, usually from Ask; cf. particularly Sven Hedin, *Der Demāwend* in *Verh. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin, xix, 304-22.

In the ancient history of Persia Damāwand is the scene of the legendary history of the Pēshdād and Kayān rulers. Even at the present day the people of Māzandarān point out the different places which were the scenes of the wonderful deeds of Djamshīd, Farīdūn, Sām, Zāl, Rustam and other heroes immortalized in the *Shāhnāma*. Damāwand is also the abode of the fabulous bird Sīmurgh. From ancient times the prison of the cruel king Ḍaḥḥāḳ (O. Iran. Dahāka, also Bēwarasp) has been located here. Farīdūn (O. Iran. Θraētaona) is traditionally said to have shut him up in a cavern on the summit of this mountain, and here, in the belief of the local populace, the imprisoned tyrant lives to this day; the dull sounds which are periodically heard inside the mountain are thought to be his groans, and the vapour and smoke which escape from fissures and springs on the mountain-face are his breath. Obviously the volcanic properties of Damāwand have been responsible for these legends. According to another story the demon Ṣakhr, imprisoned by Solomon, is also locked in Damāwand. As the highest mountain in Persia, Damāwand is thought by the Persians to be that on which Noah's Ark rested. On the wealth of Damāwand legends cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 606, 610; Ḳazwīnī; Melgunof, 22 ff.; Grünbaum in *ZDMG*, xxxi, 238-9.

Formerly on the slopes and in the valleys of Damāwand there were many fortified places. Nowadays the most important place is the small town called Damāwand after the mountain and situated on its south-western spurs (according to de Morgan, 6425 feet above sea level). It is said to be very ancient, and according to Mustawfī was formerly called Pishyān. The beautiful valley of Damāwand, watered by two rivers and including ten villages as well as the town of Damāwand, no longer belongs to Māzandarān but to ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī. Because of its elevated situation the climate is very pleasant; for this reason the Shāhs of Persia used to delight in spending the summer in its valleys. The ultra-Shīʿī sect of the ʿAlī Ilāhī

[*q.v.*] has a large number of adherents among the inhabitants of this region.

The name of Damāwand appears in Persian and Arabic sources in a number of different forms: Persian Danbāwand (Vullers, Lex. Persico-Lat., i, 907b), Damāwand (ibid., 902b), Dēmāwand (ibid., 955b) and Dēmawand (ibid., 956b); Ar. Dunbāwand, Dubāwand, Dumāwand. The oldest form of the name appears to be Dunbāwand, while the usual modern one is Damāwand (Demāwend). On the different ways of writing the name, see Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, 200 ff.; Fleischer's ed. of Abu 'l-Fidā', *Histor. Anteislamica*, Lips. 1831, 213 ff., 232; H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1897, 17.

Bibliography: *BGA*, passim; Yāḳūt, ii, 544, 585, 606 ff.; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i, 82, 158 ff., 198; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā*ʿ (ed. Juynboll), i, 388, 408; v, 429, 432, 483; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, 200 ff.; Le Strange, 371; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 10, 502-5, 550-70; Fr. Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig 1871, i, 70; W. Ouseley, *Travels in var. countries of the East*, London 1819 ff., iii, 326-34; W. Taylor Thomson in *JRGeog.S*, viii (1838), 109 ff.; Hommaire de Hell, *Voy. en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris 1854 ff., with accompanying *Historical Atlas*, Pl. 74, 76a; Th. Kotschy in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1859, 49 ff.; J. E. Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i, 313, 315, 349; ii, 146, 178, 229; G. Melgunof, *Das südl. Ufer des Kasp. Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, 21-7, 52, 149, 183; F. v. Call-Rosenberg, *Das Lārthal bei Teherān u. der Demāwend* in *Mitteil. der Geog. Ges. in Wien*, N.F. ix (1876), 113-42; G. Napier's account in *Alpine Journal*, 1877, 262-5, and in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1877, 434; Tietze, *Der Vulkan Demāwend in Persien*, in *Jahrb. der k. k. geolog. Reichsanst.*, Vienna 1877, vol. xxvii; de Morgan, *Mission scientif. en Perse. Étud. géograph.*, i, Paris 1894, 115, 120-33, with good views; Sven Hedin, *Der Demāwend* in *Verh. der Ges. f. Erdkunde* (Berlin), xix, 304-22; Sarre in *ZG Erdk. Birl.* 1902, 100 ff.; Masʿūd Mayhān, *Dj̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi mufaṣṣal-i Īrān*, Tehran 1310/1932, index s.v.; Firdawsī, *S̲h̲āh-nāma*, ed. and tr. J. Mohl, 1878, vii, Index s.v. Demavend, Zohak; H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persans*, index ii, s.v. Démavend. (M. Streck*)

DĀMG̲H̲ĀN a town on the main highway between Tehran and Mas̲h̲had, some 344 km. east of Tehran; also, a station on the railway between Tehran and Mas̲h̲had. At an altitude of 1115 metres, it has a population of 9,900 (1950). One km. to the south of the town is the mound called Tappa Ḥiṣār where excavations conducted by the University of Pennsylvania in 1931 uncovered prehistoric burials and the plaster-decorated remains of a building of the Sāsānid period. The oldest Islamic structure—possibly the earliest surviving mosque in Īrān—is the Tārī K̲h̲āna, believed to date from the 3rd/9th century. Attached to this mosque is a minaret of the 5th/11th century. Several tomb towers of the Saldj̲ūḳ period survive: the Pīr ʿAlamdār dated 417/1026, the Čihil Duk̲h̲tarān dated 446/1054, and the Imām-zāda Dj̲aʿfar. The minaret of the Masdj̲id-i Dj̲āmiʿ is dated 500/1106.

Bibliography: Iḳbāl Yag̲h̲mānī, *Dj̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Taʾrīk̲h̲ī-yi Dāmg̲h̲ān*, Tehran 1326/1947, 36 ff.; *Rāhnāmā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1330/1951, 92; *Farhang-i Dj̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1330/1951, vol. 3, 116. (D. N. Wilber)

DAMIETTA [see DIMYĀṬ].

ḌAMĪR [see NAḤW].

AL-**DAMĪRĪ**, Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā Kamāl al-Dīn, was born in Cairo about the beginning of the year 742/1341 (according to a note in his own handwriting quoted by al-Sak̲h̲āwī, 59) and died there in 808/1405. Later dates of his birth, as given in some sources (745/1344 or 750/1349), would hardly be consistent with certain details of his biography. His *nisba* is derived from the northernmost of the two townlets both called Damīra near Samannūd in the Delta.

After first gaining his livelihood as a tailor in his native town he decided to become a professional theologian, choosing as his main teacher the famous S̲h̲āfiʿī scholar Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī [*q.v.*], with whom he became closely associated for years. He also studied under Dj̲amāl al-Dīn al-Asnawī (Brockelmann I, 110, S II, 107), Ibn al-ʿAḳīl, the renowned commentator of Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya* (Brockelmann II, 108, S II, 104), Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḳīrāṭī (Brockelmann II, 15, S II, 7) and others. His biographers point out his great competence in Muslim jurisprudence, *ḥadīt̲h̲* science, Ḳurʾānic exegesis, Arabic philology and *belles lettres*. His younger contemporary, al-Maḳrīzī [*q.v.*], in his *ʿUḳūd*, speaks of him with love and admiration.

Having been authorized to teach the usual branches of Muslim education and to give *fatwās*, al-Damīrī took up suitable posts in several places of learning and devotion (al-Azhar, the Dj̲āmiʿ of al-Ẓāhir, the *madrasa* of Ibn al-Baḳarī, the Ḳubba of Baybars II, etc.), where he held lectures and delivered sermons and exhortations, apportioning his time in turn to the different institutions. A member of the Ṣūfī community established in the K̲h̲ānḳāh Ṣalāḥiyya (previously known as Dār Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ; cf. ʿAlī Mubārak, iv, 102, Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 415), he was celebrated for his ascetic life and credited with performing miracles. Although as a youth inclined to gluttony, he later made it a habit to fast almost continually, indulged in prayers and vigils and performed the pilgrimage six times between the years 762-799/1361-97. During his stay in Mecca and Medina he completed his education with several local scholars, held lectures and gave *fatwās* and married twice. After his last pilgrimage he stayed in Cairo until his death. He was buried in the Ṣūfī graveyard beside the Dj̲āmiʿ of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ (cf. ʿAlī Mubārak, iv, 102 ff.).

Al-Damīrī's fame as an author rests on his *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, a para-zoological encyclopaedia, through which he became known both in the east and the west. He wrote it, as stated in the preface, not because of a natural disposition for such an undertaking, but in order to correct false notions about animals which were entertained even by the learned of his time. The work, completed in draft in 773/1371-2, is not only a compendium of Arabic zoology but also a store house of Muslim folklore, described in part in the researches of J. de Somogyi. The author did not restrict himself to the purely zoological aspect of his subject matter but also treated, often at great length, all that pertains to the animals mentioned in any way whatsoever. In addition, he made frequent digressions into other fields, the most remarkable of which is a survey of the history of the Caliphs (s.v. *iwazz*), which occupies about the thirteenth part of the whole work.

The articles, arranged alphabetically according to the first letters—not the radicals—of the anima names, generally contain discussions of the following items: 1) philological aspects of the animal's name;

2) description of the animal and its habits; 3) mention of the animal in the *ḥadīth*-literature; 4) its lawfulness as human food according to the different *madhāhib*; 5) proverbs bearing upon it; 6) medicinal and other properties (*khawāṣṣ*) of its different parts; 7) its meaning when occurring in dreams. The work contains 1069 articles but treats of a much smaller number of animals, real and imaginary (among them the *Burāḳ* [*q.v.*]), since one and the same animal is frequently entered under different names. Being no professional naturalist, the author often entertained superstitious and fabulous notions without any attempt at criticism. He merely transmitted and rearranged traditional knowledge basing himself on hundreds of sources which have been analysed, though not quite satisfactorily, by J. de Somogyi. There are three recensions of the work—a long, a short and an intermediate one—of which the long one is available in at least 13 Oriental impressions (in addition to those mentioned by Brockelmann also Cairo 1315-16, 1321-22, 1353), while a critical edition is still awaited. There exist also several abridgements and adaptations, a Persian translation from the 17th century and a more recent Turkish translation. The English translation of Jayakar extends only to the article *Abū Firās* (about three quarters of the whole) and is not quite satisfactory from the philological point of view.

Of al-Damīrī's other writings only three are extant (see Brockelmann). His last work was a five volume commentary on the *Sunan* of Ibn Mādja [*q.v.*], entitled *al-Dībādja*, of which, however, he was not able to finish a clean copy before he died.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, xi, 59; Brockelmann, II, 172 f.; S II, 170 f.; S III, 1260; *Ad-Damīrī's Ḥayât al-Ḥayawân*, transl. from the Arabic by A. S. G. Jayakar, London & Bombay, 1906-08, Introduction; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 696 f.; idem, ed. Flügel, index, 1127, no. 4759; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, year 808; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ*, x, 59 ff.; Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, iii/b, 1168 f., 1214, 1326, 1639; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-Ṭāliʿ*, ii, 272; J. de Somogyi, *Index des sources de la Ḥayât al-Ḥayawân de ad-Damîrî*, in *JA*, July-September 1928, 5 ff. (based merely on the Cairo edition 1284); idem, *Biblical Figures in ad-Damīrī's Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, *Dissert. in honorem E. Mahler*, 1937, 263 ff.; idem, *ad-Damīrī's Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, *Osiris*, ix (1950), 33 f.; idem, *ad-Damīrī Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawānja* (in Hungarian), *Sem. St. in Memory of I. Löw*, 1947, 123 ff.; idem, *Chess and Backgammon in ad-Damīrī's Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, *Ét. or. à la mém. de P. Hirschler*, 1950, 101 ff.; idem, *Medicine in ad-Damīrī's Hayat al-Hayawan*, in *JSS*, ii (1957), 62 ff.; idem, *The Interpretation of Dreams in ad-Damīrī's Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, in *JRAS*, 1940, 1 ff.; *Die Chalifengeschichte in Damîrî's "Ḥayât al-Ḥayawân"*, in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 154 ff.; idem, *A History of the Caliphate in the Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān of ad-Damīrī*, in *BSOS* viii (1935-37), 143 ff.; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Naturw.*, liii, 233 f.; H. A. Winkler, *Eine Zusammenstellung christlicher Geschichten im Artikel über das Schwein in Damīrī's Tierbuch*, in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 285 ff. (L. Kopf)

ḌAMMA [see ḤARAKA].

AL-**DAMMĀM**, a port on the Persian Gulf and capital of the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia. The name formerly designated a tower fort, located at 26° 27′ 56″ N., 50° 06′ 06″ E., on a reef near the shore north of the present town. The origin of the fort is not known, although the structure razed in 1957 to make way for a small-craft pier appeared to date from the time of the redoubtable Djalāhima sea captain Raḥma b. Djābir [*q.v.*]. Ibn Djābir built a fort at al-Dammām after allying himself with Āl Saʿūd about 1809, but the Saʿūdīs destroyed it in 1231/1816 when he deserted their cause to attack al-Baḥrayn. Two years later he assisted the Turco-Egyptian forces of Ibrāhīm Pāshā to capture al-Ḳaṭīf and re-established himself in al-Dammām. He immediately rebuilt the fort, which with its dependent fortifications and village settlement on the adjoining shore became the base for his naval activities against Āl Khalīfa of al-Baḥrayn. In 1242/1826 Āl Khalīfa and Banī Khālid captured al-Dammām, following the death of Raḥma b. Djābir in a naval engagement with the blockading Baḥraynī fleet. For the next seventeen years al-Dammām remained a possession of al-Baḥrayn. During this period Āl Khalīfa permitted the ʿAmāʾir section of Banī Khālid and members of Banī Hādjir to settle there. In 1259/1843 ʿAbd Allāh Āl Khalīfa, having been dispossessed by his grand-nephew Muḥammad, which was soon invested by a Saʿūdī force on land and a Baḥraynī fleet. Fayṣal b. Turkī Āl Saʿūd occupied the fort in 1260/1844, to the disillusionment of Bishr b. Raḥma b. Djābir, who had participated in the campaign in the expectation of recovering his paternal estate. In 1260/1852 Āl Saʿūd, having fallen out with Muḥammad Āl Khalīfa, re-established the sons of ʿAbd Allāh at al-Dammām. An attempt by these exiles to recover al-Baḥrayn led Britain to demand that Āl Saʿūd evict them; when this was not done, they were driven out by a brief British naval bombardment in 1278/1861. In 1282/1866 the garrison of al-Dammām repulsed a British naval force which sought to destroy the fort in retaliation for an incident at Ṣūr in Oman. A Turkish expedition captured al-Dammām in 1288/1871 in the course of occupying a large part of eastern Arabia. Under Turkish administration the fort fell into disrepair, and al-Dammām declined to a minor settlement of fishermen, which figured occasionally in the piratical exploits of the Banī Hādjir. In 1326/1908 Lorimer described it as an abandoned ruin. The site reverted to Saʿūdī rule as a result of the conquest of al-Ḥasā by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd in 1331/1913. The present town was founded by members of the tribe of al-Dawāsir [*q.v.*], who moved from al-Baḥrayn to the mainland in 1341/1923 to escape British reprisals following clashes with Shīʿī elements on the island. For twenty years al-Dammām remained an insignificant fishing village. In 1357/1938 the California Arabian Standard Oil Company (now the Arabian American Oil Company) discovered oil at nearby al-Ẓahrān [*q.v.*] (Dhahran) on a geological structure which was named the "Dammam Dome". Al-Dammām experienced little growth until its selection in 1365/1946 as the site of a modern deep-water port and the starting point for a railroad leading to the national capital of al-Riyāḍ. The port, which consists of a pierhead connected to the mainland by a trestle and causeway 10.7 km. in length, was opened in 1369/1950 and has since been expanded. In 1372/1953 the capital of the Eastern Province was transferred from al-Hufūf in the oasis of al-Ḥasā to al-Dammām. Al-Dammām has grown rapidly since then and has developed various municipal services, and a limited amount of trade and industry. The town's population was estimated in 1960 at 35,000.

Bibliography: Muḥammad al-Nabhānī, *Al-Tuḥfa al-Nabhāniyya*, Cairo 1342; ʿUthmān ibn Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-Madjd*, Cairo 1373; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, Calcutta 1908-15; H. St. J. B. Philby, *Saʿudi Arabia*, London 1954. (H. W. Alter)

DAMNĀT (Demnate, Demnat), a small Berber town situated on the edge of the Great Atlas in Morocco, 120 km. east of Marrākush, at an altitude of 960 m., on a small hill overlooking the fertile valley (barley, beans) of the Oued Tassawt, the slopes of which are covered with olive-trees and vines. The town is surrounded by a rectangular wall and includes a *məllāḥ* (Jewish quarter); in fact almost half the population, which stands at about 4,000, consists of Jews, whose numbers however are diminishing regularly. Local trade on a large scale in oil, leather and livestock is carried on at the market which is held on Sundays; in addition, tribes from the Atlas and Sahara used to bring their products (hides, wool, dates), bartering them for such manufactured goods as they needed. Demnat thus appears to have owed part of its prosperity to its situation on the route leading from Marrakush to Meknès and Fez in one direction, and to the Draa (Darʿa) and the Tafilalt in the other; but, without exception, the Arab geographers made no mention of it although its foundation certainly dates from ancient times. Leo Africanus appears to be the first to mention it, though he does not give the name of the town (according to a suggestion put forward by G. S. Colin, Adimmei which appears in Épaulard's trans. on p. 115 may be a mistake for Adimnat) and only mentions a place named El Madina (trans. Épaulard, 130-1), the description of which does in fact correspond closely with that of Demnat. Leo stressed the importance of the Jewish community and of the local leather-work; he also noted the lack of security on the roads, every merchant finding it necessary to maintain "an arquebusier or a cross-bowman". For the rest, the history of the town is little more than a series of disturbances caused either by jealousy of the Jewish population's wealth, or by dynastic rivalries in which the town was the stake. During the 19th century Demnat began to be of concern to the Western Powers who were obliged to intervene to protect the Jews from persecution by the authorities; as a result, on 17 Shaʿbān 1304/11 May 1887, sultan Mawlāy Ḥasan resolved to give them a separate *məllāḥ*, which they still occupy and which formed the subject of a monograph by P. Flamand, *Un Mellah en pays berbère*: *Demnate* (*IHEM*, Notes et Documents, x), Paris 1952 (see further, idem, *Les communautés israélites au Sud-Morocain*, Casablanca 1959). Some years earlier, however, Ch. de Foucauld who stayed at Demnat on the 6th and 7th October 1883 was able to note (*Reconnaissance du Maroc*, Paris 1888, 77-8) that the Jews were treated with exceptional generosity by the Muslims with whom they lived "pell-mell". The two elements of the local population in fact lived together on good terms with each other; their long-standing association had given rise to affinities in practical matters, particularly in regard to the veneration of saints, even though one could not always tell if they were Muslim or Jewish or in fact if they had ever existed (see L. Voinot, *Pèlerinages judéo-musulmans au Maroc* (*IHEM*, Notes et Documents, iv), Paris 1948, 25 sqq., 60-1); 4 km. south-east of Demnat there still exists a grotto known by the name of Imi n-ifri (opening of the grotto) where Jews and Muslims celebrate a pagan ritual at a miraculous spring (L. Voinot, *op. cit.*, 27-8; E. Doutté, *Missions au Maroc*: *En tribu*, Paris 1914, 216-17).

Seven years before the capture of Demnat by Col. Mangin (1912), Said Boulifa stayed there and made a study of the Berber dialect of the Ahl Demnat (*Textes Berb. en dial. de l'Atlas marocain* (Pub. École des Lettres d'Alger, xxxvi), Paris 1908-9); as a result the local dialects, which are important by reason of their situation at the edge of the two large groups in the South (*tashəlḥit*) and Centre (*tamazikht*), have been the subject of research carried out by E. Laoust (*Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa*, Paris 1918, and *Mots et Choses Berbères*—an ethnographical work—Paris 1920).

Leo Africanus noted that Demnat possessed a number of legal experts, but the true Damnātī rarely figure in Arabic literature; however, we may note ʿAlī b. Sulayman al-Damnātī, author of a commentary on the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd entitled *Daradjat mirḳāt al-ṣuʿūd ilā Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, published in Cairo in 1928.

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al-**DAMURDĀSHĪ**, Aḥmad, Egyptian historian of the 12th/18th century. Nothing is known of his life beyond the fact that he held the post of *katkhudā* of the ʿAzabān regiment in Cairo, but he may have been a relative of the *rūznāmedji* Ḥasan Efendi al-Damurdāshī, who flourished in the early 11th/17th century, and about whose doings he is well informed). His chronicle, *al-Durra al-muṣāna fī akhbār al-kināna*, covers the period 1099-1169/1688-1755. It reveals unfamiliarity with Arabic, and the sense is sometimes garbled or obscure. Nevertheless it is valuable, both as a detailed record of events in Cairo, and as perhaps the sole extant chronicle of Ottoman Egypt composed by a member of the military élite. There are considerable differences in phraseology, and even in data, between the British Museum and Bodleian manuscripts: the former is unique among known copies in giving the name of the author. One recension of *al-Durra* seems to have been used as a source by al-Djabartī for his *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*; for example, Djabartī's second legend of the origins of the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya and Ḳāsimiyya factions, and his list of the *ṣandjaḳ beys* at the beginning of the 11th century H. are closely paralleled in *al-Durra*: (Djabartī, i, 23-4; BM. Or. 1073, 5a-6b; Bodl. MS. Bruce 43, 2a-(3a). (P. M. Holt)

DĀNAḲ [see sikka].

DANĀḲIL, DANĀḲLA [see dankalī].

DANCE [see raḳṣ].

al-**DĀNĪ**, Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd b. ʿUmar al-Umawī, Mālikī lawyer and above all, "reader" of the Ḳurʾān, born at Cordova in 371/981/2. After having made his pilgrimage to Mecca and spent some time in Cairo between 397/1006 and 399/1008, he returned to his birthplace but was soon forced to flee, first to Almeria and finally to Denia (Dāniya, whence his *nisba*), where he settled down and died in 444/1053.

Among more than 120 works which he wrote and enumerated himself in an *urdjūza*, only about ten are known (see Brockelmann, I, 407, S I, 719); two of them deal with questions of grammar, and the others with matters connected with the "readings", a science in which Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī had become famous. His most celebrated works are the *K. al-Muḳniʿ fī Maʿrifat Rasm Maṣāḥif al-Amṣār* (see S. de Sacy, *Notices et Extraits*, viii, 290) and *al-Taysīr fī 'l-Ḳirāʾāt al-Sabʿ* (ed. O. Pretzl, Istanbul

1930), which was the one most studied according to the evidence of Ibn Khaldūn (*Prolégomènes*, ii, 456); *al-Muḥkam fī Naḳṭ al-Maṣāḥif* has recently been edited in Damascus (1379/1960) by ʿIzzat Ḥasan.

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DĀNISHGĀH [see DJĀMIʿA].

DĀNISHMENDIDS, a Turcoman dynasty which reigned in northern Cappadocia from the last quarter of the 5th/11th century until 573/1178. The origins and first conquests of its founder, Amīr Dānishmend, are obscure. Appearing in Cappadocia during the years of anarchy which followed the death, in 781/1085, of the Saldjūḳid Sulaymān b. Kutlumish, he became involved in the events of the First Crusade. When historians became interested in him they resorted to legends or imagination to fill the gaps in their knowledge. But it was above all the epic romance of which he was made the hero that gave rise to an imbroglio of historical facts which is difficult to unravel. The oral epic tradition about Dānishmend was put into writing for the first time in 643/1245 by Mawlānā Ibn ʿAlā'; this first romance, now lost, was rewritten in 761/1360 by ʿĀrif ʿAlī. This romance which attributes to Dānishmend a legendary relationship with the famous epic heroes Abū Muslim and Sayyid Baṭṭāl and which is conceived as a sequel to the Romance of Sayyid Baṭṭāl, very soon gave rise to error through the fault of certain Ottoman historiographers who could not distinguish between historical truth and legend. The chief culprits were the historians of the 10th/16th century, ʿĀlī and Djenābī who, by treating the romance as a historical document, mingled legendary elements with history in their works. These errors which were to be repeated by historians in succeeding centuries, Ḳaramānī, Kātib Čelebī, Münedjdjim-bashī and Hezārfenn, have been reproduced in the works of orientalists who made use of these sources. Those scholars who attempted to determine which parts of the story were, in their view, in disagreement with historical data often succeeded only in further confusing the facts. When Dānishmend appears in the historians' account of the First Crusade he is already master of Sebastea, the Iris Valley with Eudoxias (Toḳat), Comana, Amasya, Neocaesarea where he resided, and Gangra; he controlled the route from Ankara to Caesarea, the towns of the Pontic coast paid him tribute, and his foraging parties laid waste the shores of the Black Sea, making incursions into Georgia and Armenia. Later he was to make a further conquest, Melitene, and it is in connexion with Ḳilidj Arslan b. Sulaymān's expedition against this town in 490/1096-1097 that Dānishmend is first mentioned in history. The sultan having laid siege to Melitene which was defended by the Armenian governor Gabriel, Dānishmend appeared on the scene and made peace between the opposing leaders. These events were interrupted by the capture of Nicaea by the Crusaders in 490/1097. In the summer of the same year Dānishmend, together with the other Turkish amīrs, took part in the harassing attacks to which the Crusaders were to be subjected throughout their march across Anatolia. But soon afterwards an important occurence was to bring him into prominence: in Ramaḍān 493/July 1100 one of the most eminent of the Crusaders' leaders, Bohemund of Antioch, when going to the help of Melitene which was besieged by Dānishmend, fell into the hands of the amīr who imprisoned him in the fortress of Neocaesarea. The following year the Franco-Lombard Crusade coming to the rescue of Bohemund took the Cappadocia route and was defeated by Dānishmend. In September of that year the amīr took part in the massacre of the Crusade's last army, made up of contingents from Aquitaine and Bavaria, which was wiped out near Heraclea in Cappadocia. A year later, Dānishmend entered Melitene after a siege lasting for three years and, by his generosity, won the praise of a population made up of different races and creeds. In Shaʿbān 496/May 1103 the amīr freed Bohemund with whom he had concluded an alliance against their common enemies, Byzantine and Saldjūḳid. But the death of Dānishmend which took place in the year 497/1104 prevented Bohemund from reaping the benefits of this alliance and allowed Ḳilidj Arslan to take part of his rival's territory, as well as the town of Melitene. Dānishmend's eldest son, Amīr Ghāzī, succeeded his father. Intervening in the dynastic struggles which divided the sons of Ḳilidj Arslan who had died in 500/1107, he helped his son-in-law Masʿūd in 510/1116 to take Ḳonya. Then, in alliance with Tughrul Arslan, prince of Melitene, and his *atabek* Balak, in 514/1120 he defeated the amīr of Erzindjān, Ibn Mengüdjek, and his ally the duke of Trebizond; but he set free his prisoner Ibn Mengüdjek who was also his son-in-law, an act which was a source of dissension between the allies. In 518/1124, on the death of Balak, Amīr Ghāzī recaptured Melitene. Intervening in the war then being waged between Masʿūd and his brother Malik ʿArab, prince of Ankara and Ḳaṣṭamonu, he defeated the latter and in 521/1127 captured Caesarea and Ankara from him. ʿArab appealed for help to Byzantium, but Amīr Ghāzī also took Gangra and Ḳaṣṭamonu and imposed his authority over Cappadocia. In 523/1129, on the death of the Armenian prince Thoros, Amīr Ghāzī intervened in Cilicia, in the following year defeated Bohemund II of Antioch, brought the Armenian prince Leon into subjection and ravaged the Count of Edessa's lands. He then had to turn against John Comnenus who in 527/1132 took Ḳaṣṭamonu from him. Amīr Ghāzī who had given refuge to Isaac Comnenus, then revolted against his brother, and recaptured the town in the following year. In reward for his victories over the Christians the caliph al-Mustarshid and the sultan Sandjār granted him the title of Malik, but when the envoys reached Melitene they found the amīr on his deathbed and it was his son Muḥammad who was invested in his place, in 528/1134. John Comnenus at once resumed hostilities and, in 529/1135, recaptured Ḳaṣṭamonu and Gangra, but these two towns fell once more into the hands of the Turks as soon as the Emperor had withdrawn. The reign of Malik Muḥammad is marked by a series of unsuccessful attempts by John Comnenus, in both Cilicia and the pontic region at different times, to recapture the strongholds which had been taken by the Dānishmendids, as well as by the amīr's inroads into the territories of the count of Marʿash. In 536/1142, Malik Muḥammad died at Caesarea which he had rebuilt and where he had resided. It was his brother Yaghībasan, governor of Sebastea, who proclaimed

himself amīr at the expense of his nephew Dhu 'l-Nūn, and who married the dead man's widow. By thus usurping power, the new amīr caused the break up of the amīrate which was to lead to the fall of the dynasty; while Dhu 'l-Nūn seized Caesarea, Yaghībasan's brother ʿAyn al-Dawla made himself master of Elbistān and then of Melitene. Henceforth there were three rival branches whose interests were sometimes upheld, sometimes opposed by the Saldjūḳids. However the dynasty survived while Yaghībasan lived, in spite of his continual wars with his father-in-law Masʿūd and subsequently, with his brother-in-law Ḳilidj Arslan II. The emperor Manuel who had at first allied himself with the Saldjūḳids as a means of preventing the Dānishmendids' incursions into Byzantine territory, in 553/1158 took Yaghlbasan's side against Ḳilidj Arslan II and imposed his authority over Dhu 'l-Nūn. The following year marks the opening of hostilities between Ḳilidj Arslan and Manuel, while at the same time war flared up between the rival dynasties as a result of Yaghībasan's abduction of Ḳilidj Arslan's fiancée, the daughter of the Ṣalṭuḳid amīr of Erzurūm, who was married to Dhu 'l-Nūn. But the death of Yaghlbasan in 559/1164 gave rise to dynastic quarrels which provided Ḳilidj Arslan with his opportunity to destroy the amīrate. Yaghībasan's widow married Dhu 'l-Nūn's nephew—Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm, aged sixteen, and proclaimed him amīr. In order to protect the interests of Dhu 'l-Nūn, against whom he was afterwards to turn, Ḳilidj Arslan invaded the Dānishmendids' territories. In 567/1172, as a result of a palace revolution during which Ismāʿīl and his wife perished, Dhu 'l-Nūn was called to Sebastea and proclaimed amīr. He was at once attacked by Ḳilidj Arslan, and appealed for help to his father-in-law Nūr al-Dīn, *atabek* of Damascus, whose intervention compelled Ḳilidj Arslan to hand back the territories he had taken from Dhu 'l-Nūn. Nūr al-Dīn withdrew, leaving a relief garrison in Sebastea. But Nūr al-Dīn died in 569/1174 and Ḳilidj Arslan at once seized Sebastea, the Iris valley with Toḳat and Comana, then Amasya, and proceeded to lay siege to Neocaesarea. Dhu l'-Nūn appealed for help to Manuel. In spite of the emperor's efforts the Byzantines were defeated, the Saldjūḳids took possession of Neocaesarea, and Dhu 'l-Nūn was put to death by poison on Ḳilidj Arslan's orders in 570/1175. In the surviving Melitene branch discord reigned among the three sons of Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn b. ʿAyn al-Dawla, who had died in 557/1162. The eldest, Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥammad, was dethroned in 565/1170 in favour of his brother Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳāsim; but the latter, who was barely fifteen years old, was killed in a riding accident on his wedding day; and it was from the third brother, Afridūn, that Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥammad took back the town in 570/1175 and reigned for three years under Ḳilidj Arslan's suzerainty. But in 573/1178 the Saldjūḳid occupied Melitene, and so came the end of the Dānishmendids. According to Ibn Bībī, Yaghībasan's three sons Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mahmūd, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Ili and Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf entered the Saldjūḳids' service and helped Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I to regain his throne; in gratitude the monarch rewarded them by giving them important positions and restoring some of their possessions (cf. *al-Awāmir al-ʿAlāʾiyye*, Ankara 1956, 76 ff.).

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DĀNIYA, Span. Denia, capital of the north-eastern district of the province of Alicante, the most southerly of the three present-day provinces which used to make up the ancient kingdom of Valencia (Castellon de la Plana, Valencia, Alicante). This town of 50,000 inhabitants is situated at the south-east tip of the Gulf of Valencia (Sinus Sucronensis), north of the mountain Mongó (in Arabic Djabal Ḳāʿūn) which is 2,190 feet high. Because of its good harbour, north-west of the ancient Promontorium Artemesium, Ferrarium or Tenebrium (to-day Cabo de S. Antonio, S. Martin or de la Nao), Denia was an ancient foundation of the Phocians (of Massilia/Marseilles or of Emporium Ampurias) in the sixth century A.D., and was first called τὸ Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον (Strabo), Hemeroscopium, "the watch of the day"; then, because of the famous temple of Artemis of Ephesus erected on the castle hill, Artemisium; in Roman times this became Dianium (the city of Diana) which later gave the Arabic Dāniya (with the *imāla* Dāniya) and finally became Denia in Spanish. Although allied to the Romans, it was nevertheless spared by the Carthaginians since it was a Greek colony. Cato achieved a victory over the Spanish in the neighbourhood of this town before 195. The liberator of Spain, Sertorius, found his last point of support there, as well as a powerful naval base; according to the most likely evidence it was there that he was assassinated in 73. Caesar punished the town because it sided with Pompey (Dianium Stipendiarium); under the Roman Empire it became nevertheless an extremely flourishing municipality, as can be seen from the excavations that have been made there. It soon became Christian, and in the 7th century a bishopric was created there, four of whose prelates took part in the councils of Toledo. It possesses a fragment of the Paleo-Christian tomb of Severina in mosaic and other much more primitive remains which testify to its new faith. But it was under Arab domination, after the country had been conquered by Ṭāriḳ in 94/713, that it reached its highest stage of development (50,000 inhabitants, as it has to-day). On the other hand, we know almost nothing about the period of the migration of the peoples and the Goths. Denia began to play a certain part in the rebellions against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, but this part became considerably greater after the fall of the Caliphate in 403/1013, when the ʿĀmirid Abu 'l-Djaysh Mudjāhid, [*q.v.*] a manumitted slave of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Manṣūr (called in western sources Musett or Mugeto), at first with the assistance of the learned co-regent (*khalīfa*), al-Muʿayṭī (405-21/1015-30), took possession of Denia and the Balearic Islands [see mayurḳa] (405-36/1014-1045) and succeeded in surpassing the other *Reyes de Taifas* in learning and wealth. He surrounded himself with scholars and

was a distinguished commentator on the Ḳur'ān. Denia was at that time one of the most important cities of the Levante and the country round it, where the fields were cultivated almost without interruption throughout the year, was very rich. The semi-insular kingdom of Denia played a very important part also as a naval base and in its dockyard was constructed the greater part of the fleet which Mudjāhid used for piracy and with which, after he had seized the Balearic Islands, he undertook his celebrated expedition to Sardinia (406/1015). His son ʿAlī, called Iḳbāl al-Dawla, was taken prisoner by the Germans at the same time that his father was put to flight and pursued by the Christian coalition which retook the island. Ransomed after several years of captivity, he succeeded his father in 436/1044, and reigned for 32 years until 468/1076. Born of a Christian mother and brought up in captivity, he became a Muslim, but possessed none of his father's qualities. Dissolute, miserly and a coward, he confined himself to wringing all he could out of his subjects, and his only undertaking consisted of sending a large ship full of food in 446 or 447 (1054-55) to Egypt, where famine was raging; it came back full of money and jewels. When his brother-in-law, al-Muḳtadir, wanted to enlarge his frontiers on the Denia side, ʿAlī was incapable of resisting him, and his subjects abandoned him, delivering the town up to al-Muḳtadir who sent ʿAlī to Saragossa where he died in 474/1081-2. Al-Mundhir succeeded his father, al-Muḳtadir, in the kingdom of Denia, and his son, Sulaymān, continued to rule under the suzerainty of the Banū Batīr until 484/1091. In the same year the Almoravids had just taken Almeria, which they seized along with Murcia, Játiva and Denia, all of which fell later into power of the Almohads. In the spring of 599/1203, these last concentrated in the harbour of Denia a powerful squadron and landing party, who, on their way to attack the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*] at Majorca, put in at Ibiza and seized Palma in September of the same year. Denia was at that time governed by Muḥammed b. Isḥāḳ, who had succeeded his father Isḥāk b. Ghāniya on the throne of Majorca but had been deposed by his brothers because of his adhesion to the Almohads; the Almohad sultān al-Manṣūr had recommended him strongly in his will. In 641/1244, Denia was finally taken from the Muslims by James I of Aragon (Don Jaime el Conquistador), and one of his captains, the German Carroz, undertook the redivision of its lands. In 725/1325, it was given to the Infante, Don Pedro, whose descendants, the royal dukes of Gandía, ruled the County from 1356 up to the time that the Catholic Kings made it a Marquisate. In 1610, it lost most of its population through the expulsion of the industrious Moors by Philip III, and from that time on was of no importance. However, in the War of the Spanish Succession, Denia, whose harbour was fortified, fought stubbornly on the side of the Archduke, was besieged three times by Philip V, and taken in 1708. In 1812-3 it was occupied by the French.

The most famous Arab scholar of Denia is the great commentator on the Ḳur'ān, al-Dānī [*q.v.*] Abu ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd.

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C. F. SEYBOLD-[A. HUICI MIRANDA])

DĀNIYĀL. Muslim tradition has retained only a weak and rather confused record of the two biblical characters bearing the name Daniel, the sage of ancient times mentioned by Ezekiel (xiv, 14, 20 and xxviii, 3) and the visionary who lived at the time of the captivity in Babylon, who himself sometimes appears as two different people. Furthermore, the faint trace of a figure from the antiquity of fable combining with the apocalyptic tone of the book handed down in the Bible under the name Daniel, makes Dāniyāl of Muslim legend a revealer of the future and eschatological mysteries, and even lends his authority to astrological almanacs (*Malḥamat Dāniyāl*) of extremely mediocre quality.

Apocalyptical revelations are attributed to Daniel the Elder, it being suggested that a book recording such predictions was found in the coffin supposed to contain the remains of Dāniyāl (whoever he might be) which was brought to light at the time of the Muslim conquest of Tustar, and buried again with the body at the command of Caliph ʿUmar; according to a legend told by al-Bīrūnī, Dāniyāl acquired his knowledge in the Treasure Cave; Muslim sources moreover hand down, besides a garbled version of chapter xi, some authentic quotations from the Book of Daniel. Perhaps it is this Daniel whom the *K. al-Tidjān* (70) places on the same footing as Luḳmān [*q.v.*] and Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn [*q.v.*]: three characters considered by some as prophets not apostles or simply as just but not inspired men.

Other traditions treat as two characters the Daniel of the destruction of the first Temple in Jerusalem and the captivity in Babylon: an elder Daniel and a son of the same name; the former, son of the Judaean king Jehoiakim, the latter becoming an uncle to Cyrus by marriage (a garbled reference to the marriage of Ahasuerus and the Jewess Esther; moreover, another tradition has Ahasuerus converted to Judaism by Mordecai and taught by Daniel and his three companions).

Muslim tradition has retained, somewhat distorted, episodes related in the Book of Daniel: the presence of Daniel and his companions in the court of Bukht-Naṣṣar [*q.v.*]—Nebuchadnezzar; Nebuchadnezzar's dreams; the friction between Daniel and his detractors (here presented as Magi) and his miraculous delivery from the lions' den; Belshazzar's feast and the deciphering of the mysterious writing. Nebuchadnezzar's being driven temporarily to dwell with the beasts of the field is also to be found here and al-Thaʿlabī is even able to narrate the king's death in a version forming one of the numerous variants of the folk theme used by Schiller in his ballad *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer* (see Stith-Thompson, *Motif-Index*, K. 1612, iv, 414). The character of Daniel is also introduced in the framework of stories which in the Bible centre round Ezra and Nehemiah: Ahasuerus did not allow Daniel and his three companions to return to the Holy Land, but

he permitted Daniel, a great judge and a viceroy throughout his reign, to take from the royal treasure all that Nebuchadnezzar had taken from Jerusalem and restore it to the Jews.

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DĀNIYĀL, called Sulṭān Dāniyāl in the histories, the youngest and favourite son of the Mughal emperor Akbar, born Adjmēr 2 Djumāda I 979/22 September 1571. In 1008/1599 he was appointed military governor of the Deccan, and after his conquest of the city of Aḥmadnagar (1009/1601) he was honoured by Akbar and given the province of Khāndēsh, fancifully named Dāndēsh after him. He is described as well-built, good-looking, fond of horses, and skilful in the composition of Hindūstānī poems. He figures in Abu 'l-Faḍl's lists of the grandees of the empire (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 30) as a commander of 7000. He died of *delirium tremens* at Burhānpur on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1013/28 April 1605.

Bibliography: see AKBAR. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

DANḲALĪ, (plural Danāḳil), a tribe occupying the western Red Sea coast from the neighbourhood of Zūla (39° 15′ E, 15° 10′ N) to French Somaliland, and spreading inland over territory of extreme heat and desolation to the foot of the main escarpment of Ethiopia and astride the Dessié—ʿAṣṣāb road. Mainly but no longer exclusively nomadic, with some cattle-owning sections, they have formed many semi-permanent hamlets and a few larger villages on the coast and inland, where a few practise agriculture. Fishing and salt-mining are other occupations. The larger permanent villages today contain markets and police posts, and are gradually losing the complete isolation of centuries. The prevailing standard of life is extremely low, thanks to conditions of abnormal severity and (in the past) to pitiless and ever-repeated raiding from the Ethiopian highlands. The Danḳalī character is reckoned as suspicious, unstable and savage; early attempts at European exploration based on ʿAṣṣāb was met by murderous resistance, and no European survivor returned from the expeditions of Müntzinger (1875), Giuletti (1881), or Bianchi (1884).

The Danāḳil appear to represent a Hamitic base with much absorption in the past of Arab, Somālī, and other stock. Their own origin-legends, all mythical but faintly reflecting actual invasions and upheavals, seek to explain the presence of a phenomenon familiar elsewhere in Eritrea and northern Ethiopia—that of a relatively small ruling caste superior in status, freedom and economic privilege to a larger serf-caste: a distinction which cuts across the division into the subtribes and communities of which the Danḳalī nation is composed. Divided between 1303/1885 and 1372/1952 between Eritrean (that is, Italian and British) and Ethiopian rule, the people had at no time—or have now no remaining trace of—political unity or any more cohesion than can be based on common language, religion, and living-conditions; the only potentate commanding more than sub-tribal or group prestige has been the Sultan of Aussa, resident at Sardo. The Danāḳil in 1954 numbered probably about 50,000 to 80,000 souls.

The Danḳalī language, also called ʿAfar, can be placed as a dialect of the lower-Kushite branch of the Southern Hamitic group. It is close to the Saho language (of the plateau-dwelling tribes west and south of Zūla), and has links with the Somālī dialects.

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DAR, a Persian word meaning "door" or "gate", found in many Iranian and Turkic languages. It is synonymous with Arabic *bāb* and is used similarly, *e.g.*, *dar-i ʿaliyya*, *dar-i dawlat*, and in India *dar-bār* (durbar). In a special sense it refers to the ruler's court, or in extension, to a government bureau, already in pre-Islamic Iran. In Pahlavi it was usually written with the heterogram *BB'*. (R. N. FRYE)

DĀR, (dwelling place), house. The two words most commonly used to designate a dwelling place, *bayt* and *dār*, have, etymologically, quite different meanings. *Bayt* is, properly speaking, the covered shelter where one may spend the night; *dār* (from *dāra*, to surround) is a space surrounded by walls, buildings, or nomadic tents, placed more or less in a circle. *Dārat*[un] is the tribal encampment known in North Africa as the *duwwār*. From the earliest times there has been in Muslim dwellings a tendency to arrange around a central space: the park, where the shepherd's flock will be sheltered from the blows of enemies; the courtyard, where the non-nomadic family will live cut off from inquisitive strangers. The first house which Islam, in its infancy, offers for our consideration, is that built by Muḥammad, on his arrival in Medina, as a dwelling place for himself and his family, and as a meeting place for believers. The courtyard surrounded by walls is its essential feature. A shelter from the sun, intended to protect the faithful at prayer, runs alongside the wall on one side. Rooms built along another side were occupied by the Prophet's wives and were added to as a result of his subsequent unions.

Tradition brings us an interesting detail on the subject of these rooms. Their entrance on to the courtyard was fronted by a porch of palm branches which could be shut off, if required, by curtains of camel-hair. This front annexe of the room, which recalls the *riwāḳ*, the movable screen of the nomadic tent, which keeps the dwelling in touch with the outside world, and plays the part of a vestibule, was to be perpetuated in the Muslim house.

This arrangement, of a central open space, surrounded by habitable rooms, certainly does not belong exclusively to the Arab world. This disposition is also characteristic of the primitive Roman house, with its *atrium*, and the Hellenic house with its peristyle; it must have been adopted very early by

the Mediterranean countries. But this type of domestic architecture seems to offer an ideal framework for Muslim life. It is well adapted to the patriarchal view of the family and creates for it an enclosed sphere; it conforms easily with the element of secrecy dear to the private life of the Muslim, and this idea is reflected in the architectural arrangement both in elevation and in plan. Houses in European towns look out widely upon the street, the elegance and luxury of the façade are for the architect an object of very considerable attention, and for the owner of the house, a sign of wealth; on the other hand the Muslim dwelling, however rich, presents a most sober external appearence—bare walls pierced by a massive and ever closed door, and by few and narrow windows. The main concern of this domestic architecture is with the central open space. The courtyard seems almost the principal room of the dwelling, and the façades which surround it offer the builder a rich and varied aesthetic theme, —but one whose charm is only accessible to the occupants.

If the customs moulded by Islam contribute to the relative unity of the dwellings, this unity derives even more clearly from the climatic conditions which affect the majority of Muslim countries. The latter, as is well known, almost all occupy a long east-west region in which rain is rare, the sun fierce, and the heat of summer intense. The scarcity of rain and the steppe-like arid character of these countries make water, be it pool or fountain, a much appreciated element of comfort and adornment—one which plays its part in the decoration of palaces as well as in more modest dwellings. The fierce sun and hot summer motivate the arrangement of underground recesses such as the *sarādīb* (sing. *sardāb*) of ʿIrāḳ and Persia, or the building of rooms which are well ventilated but lit only by a subdued light, such as the *īwān*. The *īwān* is a room enclosed by three walls, opening out in the whole width of the fourth side, like an enormous gaping flat-based ledge, and is generally roofed by a cradle-vault (semi-cylindrical). Open to the space of the courtyard, it recalls the *riwāḳ* of the Arab tent; it can act as a reception room and is not without similarity to the *prostas* of the Greek house; yet it does seem to be a genuinely Iranian creation. In the Parthian palace of Hatra (2nd. century A.D.) it is revealed in all its majesty. It was to become a characteristic theme of the architecture of the Sāsānids. The most famous example is the Ṭāḳ-i Kisrā, the palace of Ctesiphon, built by K͟husraw Anūs͟hirwān (551-579 A.D.). The Mesopotamian architects working for the ʿAbbāsids were to make the *īwān* one of the essential elements of their monumental compositions. The palace of Ctesiphon clearly inspired the builder who created, in 221/836, the great *īwān* of the palace of al-Muʿtaṣim at Sāmarrā [*q.v.*]. It is to be found on a smaller scale in 147/764 in the palace of Uk͟haydir; this princely dwelling exhibits courtyards surrounded by buildings. In two of the courts, two *īwān*s open out face to face, each preceded by a gallery, along the whole width of the courtyard. This symmetrical arrangement, with two wide galleries facing each other and the *īwāns* opening out in the far wall, used according to the season—summer and winter—has been perpetuated in the houses of modern ʿIrāḳ. The gallery, or wide room, giving on to the courtyard through three bays, is called a *tarma*; the *īwān* is flanked by two small rooms (called *ōda*) which re-establish the rectangular scheme. However, by the 3rd/9th century this architectural idea (wide ante-room, deep *īwān* with lateral rooms whose doors open on the ante-room) moved towards the West and began to reach the Mediterranean world. In some houses of al-Fusṭāṭ (old Cairo) generally attributed to the Ṭūlūnids, the *īwān* plays an important role. The courtyard, which one reaches by one of the corners, is framed by walls, and the four sides contain *īwāns*, some deep, others shallow and rather like wide, flat-based ledges. On one of the sides there is an ante-room with three bays, and at its far end we find a central *īwān* and the two flanking rooms. The arrangement of the wide ante-room and the deep *īwān* forms a characteristic T shape. These Ṭūlūnid dwellings, built in brick like the monuments of the period, comprise several storeys. They were provided with a system of conduits which brought fresh water and carried away dirty water. Their courtyards were decorated with pools and plants. In two houses, a fountain is built into one of the rooms and the water is channelled into the courtyard pool. In the rooms of rectangular shape, the short sides of the rectangle and the long wall facing the entrance are often cut into by level ledges, a sort of atrophied *īwān*s, where seats could be placed.

Before following up the westward migration of these elements of domestic architecture shown by the Ṭūlūnid houses, it seems worthwhile to indicate how they have changed on the spot, and what can be found of them, modified by Turkish influence, in the modern dwellings of Egypt. The courtyard is still an important element in these dwellings, but it is no longer in the centre of the building. It stands in front of them, accessible by a curved corridor. The visitor can be received here, in a low room (*tak͟htabos͟h*), opening out widely on the ground floor, or in a loggia (*maḳʿad*) which stands above it and dominates the courtyard. If the visitor is entering the interior of the house, he will be received in the *selāmlīk*. Its principal element is a large room (*mandara*) whose central part, a substitute for the courtyard, is paved, adorned with a fountain and surrounded by two or three *īwāns*—or rather, *līwāns*, as the word has come to be used in local parlance. These *līwāns*, raised above floor level, are furnished with carpets and divans. The *ḥarīm* is completely separate from the *selāmlīk* and is accessible by a door opening onto the courtyard and by a staircase. The *ḳāʿa*, its principal room, is not dissimilar to the *mandara*, for here, too, one finds a central space and lateral extensions. But it is different, and derives more evidently from the ancient courtyard, for the walls surrounding the central space rise to the level of the terraces, and carry a lantern which lights the interior.

The dwelling with the central courtyard, with the characteristics inherited from the Iranian tradition being adapted to the domestic theme of the Roman world, spread early across the Mediterranean countries of Islam. Evidences of this expansion have been found in archaeological researches in recent years. Excavations lately undertaken at Ṣabra-Manṣūriyya, the town founded in 335/947 by the Fāṭimid al-Manṣūr at the gates of al-Ḳayrawān, have revealed a palace with walls of clay once decorated with ceramic marquetry. Here we find the arrangement of the wide ante-room and the deep *īwān* with two rooms alongside. From the same period, or possibly a little earlier, the castle of the Ṣanhād͟jī Amīr Zīrī at As͟hīr, dated about 324/935, is interesting for the use of courtyards and for the rigorous symmetry of the rooms which surround them. Five rooms exhibit flat-based ledges cut into

the wall facing the entrance; these inner recesses are fronted on the outside by rectangular fore-parts.

About a hundred years later, at Ṣanhādja in the Berber territory, the palaces of the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād were being constructed. Three of these royal dwellings have been excavated. *Dār al-baḥr*, the largest, owes its traditional name to the sheet of water which entirely occupied a large courtyard. Above the huge pool were the state rooms. A second courtyard was surrounded by buildings presumably for domestic use: storerooms for provisions and a bath intended for guests. The flat-based ledges, probably derived from the *īwān* which certainly was already well known to Sāsānid architects, give variety to the interior construction of the rooms. In another Ḥammādid palace, the *Ḳasr al-Manār*, castle of the Fanal, the four sides of a central room, once no doubt roofed by a cupola, are hollowed out in this fashion: a similar cruciform plan is seen in Palermo in the pavilion of the Zīza, built by the Norman kings (Twelfth Century). One of these ledges contains a fountain whose water flows in a canal across the room as in Ṭulūnid houses in al-Fusṭāṭ, already mentioned.

The survival of the Asiatic elements taken over by domestic architecture in North Africa can be seen in Sedrata, a town in the Sahara founded by the Khāridjī Berbers south of Ouargla, which was inhabited from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. Houses recovered from the sand contain rooms giving on to multiple courtyards. In addition to buildings provided with storerooms for provisions, the house includes state-rooms richly decorated with plaster sculptures, sometimes roofed by a cradle-vault which joins two half-cupolas on shell-shaped corbels. Some of the rooms are preceded by galleries opening, as at al-Fusṭāṭ, by three bays onto the courtyard. The room follows the T-plan, consisting of a wide shallow room, and the *īwān* in the wall facing the entrance. The two ends of the wide room each show a raised couch framed by an overhanging arch.

We do not know when and how this type of house, with its combination of Persian and ʿIrāḳī elements, reached Muslim Spain and the Maghrib. Many fashions derived from Baghdād or from Sāmarrā were imported by the Western Caliphs, especially in the 3rd/9th century, and made a mark in Andalusia. Perhaps in this way we can explain certain of the architectural elements revealed by the Castillejo of Murcia, attributed to Ibn Mardanish (541-66/1147-1171). Here we find wide rooms, at the end of which there is a narrow room preceded by a fore-part. The inner rectangular courtyard is designed in the manner of a garden divided by two paths intersecting at the centre—a characteristic Persian theme. Two overhanging pavilions on the shorter sides of the rectangle mark the position of the paths. This type of dwelling, transplanted into Muslim Spain, takes on an incomparable beauty and amplitude in the Alhambra, the palace of the Naṣrid kings of Granada. It is known that the principal buildings of this royal habitation, the work of Yūsuf I (735-55/1335-1354) and of Muḥammad V (755-93/1354-1391) are arranged around two rectangular patios. One of them (Patio de los Leones) is divided by two paths in the shape of a cross, dominated by two overhanging pavilions on the shorter sides of the rectangle, as at the Castillejo of Murcia. Water plays an important part in the décor of these courtyards, filling the pool of Alberca and playing over the basins of the famous Fountain of the Lions. Galleries and wide ante-rooms opening on to the court-yards lead to state-rooms, such as the splendid Ambassadors' Room which is in the Comares tower, the outstanding feature of the enclosure. The wide rooms have, at each end, a recess, a lateral *īwān*, bounded by an overhanging arch, as in the houses of Sedrata.

This theme of garden-courts, with fountains, and crossing paths, which certainly seems to have come from Īrān, must have reached Maghrib even in the Middle Ages. It survives in the charming *riyāḍs*, the interior gardens found in Fez and Marrakesh. The Algerian house, especially in Algiers itself, is quite different. The vestibule (*sḳīfa*), very long, and bordered by seats, leads on through a curved corridor, or by a staircase, into the courtyard. The latter is enclosed by the columns and horseshoe arches of four galleries; a fountain plays in the centre. The rooms beneath the galleries, on the ground floor or on the upper storeys, are very wide and rather shallow, the limited height being necessitated by the weak bearing of the ceiling beams. Opposite the door is a recess containing a divan. In this we can see a degenerate form of the *īwān*, whose movements we have traced from ʿIrāḳ. In Algiers, this median recess has a fore-part supported by arms set at an angle into the façade. This, there can be little doubt, is an eastern fashion, imported by the Turkish masters of the town. In the villas of the suburbs, the less restricted space makes this overhang unnecessary; the fore-part rises from ground-level. On the upper storey, it develops into a sort of small salon, a belvedere with windows on the three sides, and frequently surmounts the entrance porch. The Tunisian house is a little different, the rectangular court-yard having galleries only on the two shorter sides. The principal rooms follow the T-plan, with the wide room (*bayt*), the deep *īwān* (*ḳbū*), and the two small rooms alongside, (*maḳṣūra*, plu. *mḳāṣer*).

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(G. MARÇAIS)

DAR-I ĀHANĪN. Persian "the iron gate", also called Derbend-i Āhanīn. The Arabic form is *Bāb al-Ḥadīd*, old Turkish *Tāmir qapiy*. A name used for various passes in the eastern Islamic world. The most famous pass called *dar-i āhanīn*, is the pass in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr (Transoxiana), in the Baysuntau Mountain Range near the modern village of Derbent located on the old road between Samarḳand and Tirmidh.

Perhaps the earliest mention of this "Iron Gate" is in the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang who went through the pass about 630 A.D. and described it briefly. The first mention of this

pass under its Persian name is in al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldan*, 290, 5. In later times this pass was considered the boundary between Mā warāʾ al-Nahr and the lands dependent on Balkh. The pass is frequently mentioned in Islamic literature, but the first European to visit the site was Clavijo who passed here in 1404 and mentioned a customs house from which Timur received revenue. The pass is mentioned by Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. M. Ilahdād, Calcutta, 1887, I, 49, and the *Bāburnāma*, ed. Beveridge, 124, under the Mongolian name *qaʾalya* (in Arabic script *ḳahalghah*). The name Buzghāla Khāna, later applied to the pass, is first mentioned by Muḥ. Wafā Karmīnagī, *Tuḥfat al-Khānī* (uncatalogued, in the former Asiatic Museum, Leningrad f. 184b) in the description of a campaign by Muḥ. Raḥīm Khān in 1171/1757. A road runs through the pass today but it is no longer of any importance.

Bibliography: T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London 1904, i, 100-2. Yaʿḳūbī-Wiet, 105; Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1956, ii, 252 (s.v. *ḳahalghah*); Ruy Gonçalez de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy to the Court of Timur*, tr. C. R. Markham, London 1859, 122. (R. N. FRYE)

DĀR AL-ʿAHD, "the Land of the Covenant", was considered as a temporary and often intermediate territory between the *Dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*] and the *Dār al-Ḥarb* [*q.v.*] by some Muslim jurists (see Al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, iv, 103-104; Yaḥyā b. Ādam, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, trans. A. ben Shemesh, Leiden 1958, 58). Al-Māwardī (*Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, trans. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, 291) states that of the lands which pass into the hands of the Muslims by agreement, that called Dār al-ʿAhd is the one the proprietorship of which is left to their previous possessors on condition that they pay *kharādj*, and this *kharādj* is the equivalent of *djizya*. In case of the breach of the agreement their land becomes *Dār al-Ḥarb*. When the Imām accepts their request to submit and pay *kharādj*, war against them is prohibited (Yaḥyā, 58). But in theory these lands are in the end to be included in the *Dār al-Islām*.

Abū Ḥanīfa, however, holds the opinion that such a land can be considered only as part of the *Dār al-Islām*, and there can be no other territory than the *Dār al-Islām* and the *Dār al-Ḥarb*. If people in such a land break the agreement they are to be considered as rebels.

But, there existed, even in early Islam, a type of tributary lands which conformed to the theory defended by al-Shāfiʿī. Under Muʿāwiya the Armenian princes obtained, in return for the payment of *kharādj*, agreements from him guaranteeing their land and autonomous rule (see, J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 457, and ARMĪNIYA).

More precise information on the conditions affecting such lands is provided by the examples in Ottoman history. In the *ʿahdnāmes* granted by the Ottoman sultans to the tributary Christian princes (see Fr. Kraelitz, *Osmanischen Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1922, 42-106; Fr. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgesch. der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien*, Munich 1944, 21; Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt al-Salāṭīn*, ii, Istanbul 1265, 351-380) we find that submission and the payment of a yearly tribute (*kharādj*) by the Christian prince, with the request of peace and security on the one hand and the Sultan's grant of *ʿahd wa amān* [*q.v.*] on the other, are the essential points for the conclusion of an *ʿahd*. It is absolutely an act of grant on the part of the Sultan. In the *ʿahdnāmes* it is often stipulated that the tributary prince is to be 'the enemy of the enemies of the Sultan and the friend of his friends'. Besides these, further conditions were usually imposed, such as the sending of hostages to pay homage in person to the Sultan every year, and the provision of troops for his expeditions. In his *ʿahdnāme* the Sultan promises by oath peace, protection against the internal and external enemies of the prince, respect of the religion, laws and customs of the country (cf. Ferīdūn, ii, 355), no colonization of Muslim people there, and no interference by Ottoman officials in internal affairs. A *ḳapi-ketkhudā* of the prince represents him at the Porte. His people could freely enter and trade in Ottoman territory. Following Ḥanafī opinion, the Ottoman Sultan considered them as his own *kharādj*-paying subjects and the land as his own land (cf. Kraelitz, 57, doc. 7); Ferīdūn, ii, 358). If the circumstances changed, the Sultan could increase the amount of the tribute. If the prince failed to fulfill any of his obligations toward the Sultan, he would declare him a rebel and his land *Dār al-ḥarb*. If the Sultan saw fit, he could bring the land under his direct rule. But the first step in expanding the *Dār al-Islām* was usually to impose a yearly tribute. Most of the Ottoman conquests were achieved through it (cf. İnalcık, *Ottoman Methods of Conquest*, in *Stud. Isl.*, ii, 103). See also DĀR AL-ṢULḤ.

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(AL-)**DĀR AL-BAYḌĀʾ**, the Arab name for Casablanca, the principal city in Morocco. In Arab dialect Dār l-Bēḍa, formerly Anfā [*q.v.*].

After the Portuguese had destroyed Anfā in the 15th century, the town remained in ruins, sheltering but a few Bedouins and being occasionally used by ships as a watering-place. The Portuguese named the locality Casabranca, after a white house, overlooking the ruins, which served as a landmark for their ships. The Spanish transformed the name into Casablanca, the present European name of the city. The Arab name is its literal translation.

The ʿAlawid Sulṭān Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh had the city rebuilt in the 18th century, probably subsequent to the Portuguese evacuation of Mazagan in 1769. Fearing that the Christians would one day return to the attack, he wished to fill the gap in the defences which existed between Rabāṭ and Mazagan. The bastion, or *sḳāla*, provided with artillery emplacements, was similar to those at Rabāṭ and Larache. It is thought that he repopulated the city by setting up two *idālās*, one of Shlūḥ of Ḥaḥa (a Berber tribe giving its allegiance to the Makhzen, in the Agadir region), the other of Bwākher (ahl al-Bukhārī) of Meknès. Right to this day one of the oldest mosques in the city is named *djāmiʿ al-shlūḥ*. Travellers to Casablanca in the early 19th century described it as a mass of ruins used more for camping than for permanent settlement. Like Feḍāla and Manṣūriyya, it was a stopping-place on the journey between Rabāṭ and Marrākesh.

In 1782 the trade in corn, Casablanca's main export, was granted to a Spanish company in Cadiz, and in 1789 to the Compaña de los Cinco Gremios Mayores of Madrid. But following the revolt organized by the Shāwiya governor, who had estab-

lished his residence in Casablanca, Sulṭān Mawlāy Sulaymān closed the port to commerce in 1794, and summoned back to Rabāṭ the Christian traders who had set up business there. It was not reopened until 1830, by Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām.

European traders began to return from 1840 onwards, and the influx was particularly great in 1852. The first ones were representatives of French manufacturers in Lodève. They were sent in quest of raw wool, in an attempt to free themselves of dependence on the English market. They were followed by English traders from Gibraltar, by Germans, Portuguese, and Spaniards. The first European vice-consul in Casablanca was appointed in 1857. Thereafter, despite periods of stagnation due to European economic crises or to local causes (*e.g.*, droughts and epidemics), the small foreign colony grew continually. Steamship companies (notably the French line Paquet) called regularly at Casablanca. Trade expanded, and in 1906 the port's traffic (imports plus exports valued at 14 million gold-francs) exceeded that of Tangier.

Following the loan of 1904 and the Conference of Algeciras in 1906, French officials took over control of the Casablanca customs post, and a French company undertook improvements to the port facilities. These events constituted a threat to the Shāwiya tribe which inhabited the surrounding countryside, and on 30 July 1907 they attacked and killed some European workers in a quarry outside the city walls. The intervention of a French warship provoked the sacking of the city, during which the Jewish quarter suffered particularly severely. The French replied by a bombardment on August 5th, and two days later 2000 troops under the command of General Drude were sent ashore from a French squadron. Spain also sent a squadron of assault troops. The French expeditionary force gradually occupied the whole of the Shāwiya territory by driving back the warlike tribes, and the train of events ended with the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1912.

As a result of the decision of its first Resident General, Lyautey, to make it the principal port of Morocco, the city underwent an enormous expansion. No doubt the decision would have been very different if Casablanca had not already known considerable economic prosperity. This arose in part from the presence of a sizeable European colony, in part from the need to supply material to the Expeditionary Force. The modern port is completely man-made. It has 4,870 m. of deep-water quays, and is protected from the open sea by a breakwater 3,180 m. long. In 1956 it registered $8^1/_2$ million tons of traffic.

The census of 1952 showed a population of 680,000 (to be compared with 20,000 in 1907): 472,920 Muslims, 74,783 Jews (more than a third of the total Jewish population in Morocco), and 132,719 foreigners (of whom 99,000 were French).

The old city consisted of 3 districts: Medina (middle-class), Tnaker (working-class, not entirely built-up), Mellāḥ (Jewish). Today the whole area, its walls still in part intact, is called Old Medina, and to the W. and S.W. it has extended beyond the walls. The whole of the Jewish population lives there, mingled with the Muslims. The European districts have grown up around Old Medina, particularly to the E. and S., and further Muslim districts have been built outside these, the principal one being an immense area of 200,000 inhabitants, New Medina. The shanty-towns on the outskirts of the city, to which countryfolk flocked in search of work, have now been largely replaced by working-class dwellings, constituting quarters such as Muḥammadiyya to the E. (formerly the 'Central Quarries'), Sīdī ʿUthmān to the S. (formerly Ben Msīk), and Ḥasaniyya City, formerly Derb Jdīd (*al-darb al-djadīd*) to the S.W. The main centre of industry is in the N.E. along the road to Rabat. It contains the headquarters of most of the country's light industries, and is the most important industrial region in Morocco.

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DĀR AL-ḌARB, the mint, was an indispensable institution in the life of mediaeval Middle Eastern society because of the highly developed monetary character of its economy, particularly during the early centuries of Muslim domination. The primary function of the mint was to supply coins for the needs of government and of the general public. At times of monetary reforms the mints served also as a place where obliterated coins could be exchanged for the new issues. The large quantities of precious metals which were stored in the mints helped to make them serve as ancillary treasuries.

Soon after their conquest of the Middle East, the Arabs made use of the mints inherited from the former Byzantine and Sāsānid regimes. It was only during the Umayyad period that the Muslim administration began to interfere with the minting organization. This was manifested in the setting up of new mints (*e.g.*, Kūfa, Wāsiṭ) by al-Ḥadjdjādj, in the famous coinage reform of ʿAbd al-Malik [see DĪNĀR], and in the centralizing measures of Hishām who drastically reduced the number of mints. The policy of Hishām, obviously influenced by Byzantine minting traditions, could not be maintained for long by the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. During the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd the office of *nāẓir al-sikka* (inspector of coinage) was set up. Although by this measure the caliphate relinquished its direct authority over the mints in favour of a subordinate agency, it still defended the principle of a centralized minting system. But this office seems to have disappeared with the shrinking of the political and administrative authority of the ʿAbbāsids. The increased number of mints whose operations were necessitated by rapidly expanding trade and industrial activities, and the rise of many petty rulers asserting their control over these mints, led to a complete decentralization of minting, a situation closely resembling that which existed under the Sāsānids.

The assumption of control over the mints was one of the elements indicating the assertion of independent power by rulers. It was symbolized by the inclusion of their names in the inscriptions on the issues of their mints, hitherto an exclusive pre-

rogative of the caliphs. By this measure, also, they declared themselves responsible for the quality of their coinage. To safeguard the integrity of the coinage, and consequently the interests of the general public, the mints were submitted to the legal authorities (*e.g.*, *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* in Fāṭimid Egypt and Syria, and a *ḳāḍī* in 11th century Baghdād) whose agents personally assisted at the minting processes. In spite of this system, the confidence of the general public was abused by the rulers who exploited their mint prerogatives by illegal monetary speculations. The usual method was to declare the coins in circulation invalid, and order their exchange against the new, secretly debased issues, obtainable in the official mints.

The staff of the mint consisted of clerical and manual employees. The former were in charge of book-keeping and of internal security. The manual workers, such as the *sabbākūn* (melters) and *ḍarrābūn* (minters), carried out the actual coining operations. A special position among the craftsmen was occupied by the *naḳḳāsh* (die-sinker) whose professional activities were restricted to engraving only.

Coins issued by Muslim mints were struck of gold, silver and copper [see DĪNĀR, DIRHAM, FALS]. Precious metals for coining consisted of bullion which was supplied by the official authorities as well as by private customers. The latter delivered also obliterated coins and 'foreign' coins which were prohibited on local markets. A prescribed percentage of such deliveries was retained by the mint as a coining levy. The money cashed from the customers was spent on the wages of the minters, on the costs connected with minting operations, as well as on a special government tax. During the period of flourishing trade activities which entailed intensive minting operations, the proceeds from the mint yielded a substantial income to the government. But the economic regression of the late Middle Ages drastically diminished the demand for coinage, with detrimental effects on the position of the mints and the profits derived from them. It then became practicable to farm out the mints, an expedient resorted to, for instance, by Mamlūk Egypt.

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(A. S. EHRENKREUTZ)

Ottoman period. — The Ottoman mint is generally known as *Ḍarbkhāne-i ʿĀmire* but also *ḍarrābkhāne*, *nuḳrakhāne* and *dār al-ḍarb*. The first coin from an Ottoman mint was an *aḳče* [*q.v.*] struck in Bursa probably in 727/1326-7 (cf. I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Belleten* xxxiv, 207-221). On the *aḳče*s and *mangh̲ir*s, copper coins, of Murād I and Bāyazīd I no place-name is found (H. Edhem, *Meskūkāt-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1334, no. 1-58), but we know that under his sons there were mints in Bursa, Amasya, Edirne, Serez and Ayasoluḳ (Ephesus) (see H. Edhem, nos. 59-138).

The first Ottoman gold coin was struck in Istanbul in 882/1477-1478 (I. Artuk, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed namına kesilmiş bir sikke*, in *Ist. Arkeoloji Müzesi Yıllığı*, no. 7), but already in 828/1425 and even before the Ottoman mints must have produced Venetian gold ducats, *Frengī filori* or *aflūrī* (Fr. Babinger, *Zur Frage der osmanischen Goldprägungen im 15. Jahrhundert*, in *Südost-Forschungen*, vol. xv, 1956, 552). A regulation (R. Anhegger-H. Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī ber müceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, Ankara 1956, nos. 1 and 58) makes it clear that *Frengī filori* was struck in the mints of Istanbul, Edirne and Serez (Serres) under Meḥemmed II.

In their expanding empire the Ottomans established new mints in the commercially and administratively important cities and in the centres of gold and silver mines. Thus, under Bayazıd II, new mints were established in Ankara, Karatova (Kratovo), Kastamoni, Gelibolu (Gallipoli) in addition to those in Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Serez, Ayasoluk, Novar (Novaberda, Novobrdo), Üsküb (Skoplje), Amasya, Tire and Konya, which existed already under Meḥemmed II. Under Süleymān I, gold coins were struck in his name in Aleppo, Damascus, Miṣr (Cairo), Āmid, Baghdād and Algiers. In Shaʿbān 953/October 1546 a new mint was established in Djandja, a small town to the north of Erzindjān, when rich silver and gold mines were found there. The mints in Morava (Gilan), Novaberda, Sidrekapsa and Serebrenica (Srebrnica) owed their existence to the rich silver and gold mines (see R. Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im osmanischen Reich*, Istanbul 1943, 131-212). The Ottoman laws required that all bullion produced in the country or imported from abroad be brought directly to the *ḍarbkhāne*s to be coined. Also upon the issue of a new *aḳče* those possessing the old were to bring it to the mint. The special agents, *yasaḳ-ḳulu*s, were authorized to inspect any person for bullion or old *aḳče* (see *Belleten*, xliv, 697, doc. 2, and Anhegger-Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme*, no. 2, 5, 58) and the gold or silver imported by foreigners was exempted from the customs duties. The state levied a duty of one fifth on all silver coined at the *ḍarbkhāne* which corresponded to the difference between the real and face values of the *aḳče* (*Belleten*, xliv, 679 and Anhegger-Inalcık, no. 58).

As a *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*], this revenue was usually farmed out at auction to the highest bidder. The contractor, *ʿāmil*, was to pay it in regular instalments to the public treasury (see Anhegger-Inalcık, no. 15). Spandugino (ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1896, 57) tells us that each new issue of *aḳče* under Meḥemmed II brought a revenue of 800 thousand gold ducats. The *muḳāṭaʿa* of the Bursa *aḳče* mint alone amounted to 6000 ducats in 892/1487 (see *Belleten*, xciii, 56). All the mints in the empire could be farmed out as one single *muḳāṭaʿa* (Anhegger-Inalcık, no. 15). But an *ʿāmil* in turn could farm out at his own responsibility the local *ḍarbkhāne*s to others. The *ʿāmil* employed *emīn*s and *wekīl*s to assist him. Though he was responsible for the revenue of the mint its actual operation and control were in the hands of the employees appointed by the state, namely an *emīn* or *nāẓir* who had its supervision (Anhegger-Inalcık, no. 13), a *ṣāḥib-i ʿayār* who was the director and in this capacity responsible for all the technical and legal requirements (Anhegger-Inalcık, no. 14,

and, Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, x, 135) and an *ustād* or *usta* who supervised the actual minting processes. Under him the technicians and workers were divided into several groups, the *ḳāldjiyān* who prepared the standard ingots by melting the metal, the *kehledāns* or *kehledārs* who made them into plates to be minted and the *sikke-zens* or *sikke-küns* who, under strict supervision, prepared the steel moulds. There were also *dīdebāns*, watchers, *khazīne-dārs* treasurers, *kātibs*, scribes etc.

Minting was arranged on the basis of *newbet*, a system of turn; at each turn 13065 *dirhams* [*q.v.*] of silver were delivered from the capital out of which 3000 were placed in the *khazīne*, treasury, and 10,000 were delivered to the *ustād* to be minted, 65 *dirhams* were accepted as the legal loss.

The general supervision of the *ḍarbkhāne* and of its accounts was the responsability of the local *ḳāḍī* who kept there his own *emīn* (Anhegger-Inalcık, no. 13). It was the *ḳāḍī*'s duty periodically to see the accounts and send the balance sheets, *muḥāsabāt-i ḍarbkhāne*, to the central government (a *defter* of the *muḥāsebāt-i ḍarbkhāne-i Bursa* of the first half of the 10/16th century is now in Belediye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Cevdet yazm. no. 0.59).

In the *berāts* given to the *ʿāmils* and *emīns* it was made clear how much they should pay for the bullion purchased and how many coins should be minted from each 100 *dirhams* of it; all this reflected the monetary policy of the state.

Until 865/1460 out of each 100 dirhams of silver 265 or 278 *aḳče* were struck, but it was 355 or 400 *aḳče* under Meḥemmed II, 500 under Süleyman I and 1000 in 996/1588. The original Ottoman monetary system based on *aḳče* was disrupted from this time on (for the causes, see *Belleten*, lx, 656-684). The spoiled and adulterated (*züyūf* and *čürük*) *aḳčes* invaded the market. The renewed attempts to put right the quality and value of it, the so called *taṣḥīḥ-i sikke*, failed (see M. Belin, *Essais sur l'his. économique de la Turquie*, Paris 1865, 118 ff.; I. Ghālib, *Taḳwīm-i Meskūkāt-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1307, 220-226). In 1010/1601 the use of bad and old *aḳče* was prohibited once more and the rate of *sagh* ("good") *aḳče* was fixed at 120 *aḳče* to one gold piece of 1 *dirham* and 1 1/2 *ḳirāṭ* [*q.v.*]. In the following period the Ottoman mints showed little activity and many of them were closed down. In the 11th/17th century only were the mints of Istanbul, Cairo, Baghdād, Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers steadily active. The main reason for this situation was that Europeans, realizing the big profit to be made from the difference in price of silver, began increasingly to import their silver coins in the Levant (in 1614 the French alone imported 7 million *écu*). First *riyāls*, Spanish *reales*, then in the 11th/17th century *arslānī*, *esedī* or *abū kalb gurush*, Dutch *Loewen riksdaler*, and the *ḳara-gurush*, German thalers, invaded the Levantine markets. The import of these coins was free of duty, but the mark *saḥḥ* had to be struck on them in the Ottoman *ḍarbkhānes* as a condition of free circulation, because Europeans were increasingly importing counterfeit coins specially struck for the Levant. In 1010/1601 one gold coin was rated officially at 400, and one *gurush* (piastre) at 160, *aḳče* (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Fekete tasnifi, no. 3043). Eventually the *gurush* was made the Ottoman monetary unit, as the *aḳče* became too small in value as a result of the continual debasements and devaluations, and the abundance and cheapness of the commercial silver. The first Ottoman *gurush* of 6 *dirhams* of silver was struck in imitation of the German thaler in 1099/1688 (see I. Ghālib, 237, 254). It was rated 4 *para* (*pāre*), which was struck first under Murād IV. Pieces of half a *gurush*, *niṣfiyye*, and a quarter, *rubʿiyye*, were also struck.

The new system opened a new era in the history of the Ottoman coinage. The *aḳče* ceased to be the basic unit, though it was struck until 1234/1819; special care was then taken to improve the quality of the coins struck (see I. Ghālib, 230). New *ḍarbkhānes* were opened in Edirne, Izmir (Smyrna) and Erzurum for gold and others at Tawshan-tashī in Istanbul and in Bosna-Saray for copper coins in 1100/1689. New machines and techniques were adopted (Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, ii, 383, 394). On 13 Djumādā I, 1139/6 January 1727, the chief imperial *ḍarbkhāne* was transferred from its old location at the Sīmkeshkhāne to its new buildings in the first court of the Topḳapı-sarayı (Küčük Čelebī-zāde ʿĀṣim, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, ii, 443). During the same period, for better control, the provincial *ḍarbkhānes* were again closed down. In 1132/1720 the silver coins struck were the *gurush* of 8 *dirhams* and 12 *ḳirāṭ*, the *zolota* of 6 dirhams and 4 *ḳirāṭ*, the *para* of 2-3 1/4 *ḳirāṭ* and the *aḳče* of 3/4-1 3/4 *ḳirāṭ* in weight. The *gurush* and *zolota* contained 60% pure silver (I. Ghālib, 280).

As the Ottoman government always considered minting as a source of revenue to meet its financial difficulties, the new silver coins, too, became subject to adulteration, and all attempts at reforms (*taṣḥīḥ-i sikke*), failed (I. Ghālib, 303, 327, 407; A. Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, iv, Istanbul 1275, 122; v, Ist. 1278, 289). The situation became most confusing under Maḥmūd II, and, eventually under ʿAbd al-Medjīd, by the *ferman* dated 26 Ṣafar 1256/29 April 1840, Western principles of monetary policy were accepted as a guide by the government (see the text in S. Sūdī, *Uṣūl-i Meskūkāt-i ʿOthmāniyye we edjnebiyye*, Istanbul 1311, 76-104). Enlarged by the new buildings, the *ḍarbkhāne-i ʿāmire* was completely modernized by the machines and specialists brought from England (see H. Ferid, *Naḳd ve iʿtibār-i mālī, Meskūkāt*, Istanbul 1333, 215-222). In 1259/1843 new gold and silver coins known as Medjīdī were struck (see I. Ghālib, 422-445).

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(HALIL İNALCIK)

India. — The earliest coins of Muslim rulers to circulate in India—disregarding the insignificant issues from the early Arab kingdom of Sind in the 1st/8th century—were the bilingual *ṭankas* struck at Lahore by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in 418/1027 and 419/1028; after Lahore became the residence of the Ghaznawid princes small billon coins were occasionally struck there, but nothing is known of the mints they employed. Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām struck coin at Lahore, Dihlī and

'Parashawar' (Pēshāwar) as well as at Ghaznī and, after the conquest of Kanawdj [*q.v.*] in 590/1194, there also; these coinages were assimilated in weight series as well as in design to the existing coinages of north India, and included gold money—a convenient way of using the proceeds of plunder and war booty to maintain the local currency and simultaneously proclaim the victor's success. Muḥammad b. Sām's lieutenant Yïldïz struck coin in his own and his master's joint names: small *dihliwālas* assimilated to the local billon currency, first at Karmān, including also some gold and silver, and later in billon only at Dihlī. The outline of the Čawhān horseman was retained in the designs, frequently also the Karmān bull of Shiva, which seems to indicate that Hindū craftsmen were still employed in the production of coin. Up to the death of Muḥammad b. Sām no gold or silver money had been struck in India, with the exception of the Kanawdj gold pieces. Silver appears to have been coined first by Shams al-Dīn Iletmish: silver *ṭankas* of an original weight of 175 grs. His reign clearly brought a time of experimentation for his mint, for the weights and designs of his early coins are very diverse; by 632/1234-5 a stable design for the silver coinage seems to have been reached, which was taken as a model for his later gold coinage. Billon, however, remained the most frequent currency, supplemented by smaller coin in copper. The silver struck up to this time was very impure. His mints were extended to Multān and Nāgawr, and the coins of his successors continue his series from the same mints: Ghaznī is still frequent, and Parwān, a town with nearby silver mines, also appears. By the time of Sulṭāna Raḍiyya, 634-7/1236-9, the mints had been extended east to Bengal, and Lakhnawtī appears as a mint-name on silver *ṭankas*. Assays of the Dihlī coinages of about this time show from 990 to 996 grains of silver per 1000, while the Bengal mintings fall below this, from 989 to as low as 962. By the time of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, 664-86/1265-87, the Bengal coinage had become independent of Dihlī, where a period of settled rule had allowed the mint procedure to become stabilized; Balban's reign is notable for the appearance of a regular gold coinage on the silver models.

In the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, 695-715/1295-1315, the expense of the army caused him to contemplate reducing the silver *ṭanka* from 175 to 140 grs.; but gold *ṭankas* remained at the nominal 175 grs., often crudely struck, and the gold *hūns* of his southern conquests seem to have been re-struck as camp currency, with no attempt to bring them up to the standard of the northern mints: their average fineness is described in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 5, as 8.5 parts in 12, whereas ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's Dihlī coinage was 10.5 parts in 12. Devagiri now appears as a mint-town, including a gold issue in 714/1314-5. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's successor Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, 716-20/1316-20 struck at 'Ḳuṭbābād' (= Dihlī?) new *square* gold and silver pieces of standard weight, also square copper pieces of 66 and 33 grs.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ continued the Dihlī series almost unchanged, and also struck coin on his expedition to Bengal in 724/1324; but his son, Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, has been called a "prince of moneyers": his numismatic types are characterized by novelty of form and variety of weight as well as by perfection of execution. Gold coin was struck at Devagiri, later renamed Dawlatābād [*q.v.*], and at Sulṭānpur (= Warangal), up to the 200 grs. *dīnār*; the Dihlī coinage was much subdivided: the *ṭanka* was reckoned at 64 *kānīs*, and coins of 1, 2, 6, 8, 12, 16 and the full 64 *kānīs* are known. The *kānī* was further divided into 4 copper *fals*. Besides this system is a partially decimal system of 25, 50 and 100 *kānīs*: the 50-*kānī* piece, called *ʿadalī*, of 140 grs. silver, replaces the silver *ṭanka* as the largest silver piece of the coinage; the new *dīnār* exchanged at 8 old silver *ṭankas* or 10 *ʿadalīs*, a fictitious rate in terms of the relative values of gold and silver. The complete scheme of the sub-divisional currency was later conflated to mix silver and copper in arbitrary proportions to produce coins of similar size but different intrinsic values; this brought in the 'black *ṭanka*', containing only 16.4 grs. silver, valued at one-eighth of the old silver *ṭanka*. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 7, s.v. *Ḍarrāb*) the metal was cast into round ingots and cut by hand; since the black *ṭanka* was of the same size as the silver *ṭanka*, the same dies could be—and were—used for both, thus speeding and easing the work of the mint workmen. The uniform small size of the dies required less labour in the striking and resulted in increased efficiency of the mint.

In 731-2/1330-2 appeared Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's 'forced currency', brass tokens nominally valued at one *ʿadalī*; the experiment failed owing to inadequate precautions against forgery. Tokens were turned out in thousands by local artisans, but after three years all were called in and redeemed. The whole operation thus became virtually a temporary loan from the sultan's subjects which was repaid at a swingeing rate of interest. The issues reverted to normal after this, except for some gold and silver coins of 741-3/1340-3, struck in the name of the Egyptian caliphs.

Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, 752-90/1351-88, continued the 175 gr. gold *ṭanka*, but not its silver counterpart. Gold coin became more plentiful, thus relieving silver of its earlier responsibility, and mints concentrated on fractional issues, including small pieces in mixed silver and copper; assays of the 140 gr. pieces show 12, 18 or 24 gr. of pure silver. The later Tughluḳid sultans, and the Sharḳī sultans of Djawnpur, followed the Fīrūzian tradition with little change.

After the sack of Dihlī by Tīmūr the mints were in decline. Gold largely disappeared, thanks to Tīmūr's depredations, and the Sayyid Khiḍr Khān struck coin in the names of Fīrūz and other of his predecessors, (but not in Tīmūr's name, as Firishta asserts), using the original dies.

In the Deccan, mints were first established under the Bahmanīs [*q.v.*]; before these were set up at Aḥsanābād-Gulbarga and elsewhere, goldsmiths and dealers in bullion had been authorized to make money without reference to a royal stamp, and the currency was protected by the guild of craftsmen. Interesting among the later Deccan coinages are the silver *lārīns*, 'fish-hook' money, struck by ʿAlī II of Bīdjāpur, which became a standard Indian Ocean trading currency in the 10th/16th century (see G. P. Taylor, *On the Bijapur lārī or larin*, *JASB*, NS vi, 1910, 687-9).

The Mughals. Bābur's reign, 932-7/1526-30, was virtually a military occupation, and Humāyūn's was hardly a period of stability; this is reflected in their coinage, which seems to have been struck irregularly and to follow Central Asian patterns and a Central Asian system, probably depending on imported workmen. Both struck silver *shāhrukhīs* at Agra,

Lahore, Dihlī and Kābul, and Bābur uses Urdū, 'camp', as a mint-name; many of Humāyūn's gold coins are mintless, and his copper is anonymous. The interrex Shīr Shāh, 945-52/1538-45, who had an intimate practical knowledge of local conditions, commenced the reform of the coinage later fully implemented by Akbar: a new 178 gr. standard for silver and 324 gr. for copper, the rupee (*rūpiya*) and *dām* respectively, with fractional divisions to correspond; the abolition of billon; and a great increase in the numbers of mints (over 25). Many silver and copper coins are without mint-name; sometimes this seems to be a result of the dies being too large for the discs.

Humāyūn in his brief second regnal period left the Sūrī system unchanged; Akbar, however, while retaining the system in principle, greatly elaborated the number of coin-types—Abu 'l-Faḍl (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 10) enumerates over 30 without being exhaustive. (cf. Hodivala, *Studies*, iii). The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* mentions the working of the mint in detail. in charge is the *darūghā*, assisted by the *amīn*; the *ṣayrafī* is responsible for maintaining the fineness; the *mushrif* keeps a day-book of the expenditure; merchants, weighmen, smelters and ingot-makers are other non-craftsman officials. After the ingots have been refined, melted and recast they are cut by the *ḍarrāb* and stamped by the *sikkačī* from dies cut by the engraver who holds the rank of *yūzbāshī* (*sic*; see YŪZBASHĪ). The methods of extracting and separating the metals, refining silver and gold, and testing for fineness (*banwārī*) are fully described (*Āʾīn*, i, 4-9). From the statistics of *Āʾīn*, i, 12, it is clear that any individual could bring bullion to the mint where it would be converted into coin, after refining, on the owner defraying the cost of the minting operations and paying a seignorage to the state of 5½ per cent. Abu 'l-Faḍl also specifies the depreciation in face value to be allowed for wear of the coinage: *e.g.*, for gold, the *muhr* when struck was worth 400 *dāms*, although smaller *muhrs* were current of 360 *dāms*; as long as the loss in weight were no more than three rice-grains no allowance was made, but when it had lost from four to six its value was 355 *dāms*; after losing up to a further three rice-grains it was valued at 350 *dāms*; after losing further weight it ceased to be current and was considered as bullion. As a precaution against fraud by reducing full coins to the permitted legal deficiency the emperor ordered that official weights be made in the mint, and that revenue collectors should not demand payment in any particular species of coin. Abu 'l-Faḍl enumerates four mints for gold; ten more where silver and copper were struck; and 28 more for copper only. Over the entire reign gold is known from 21 mints, silver from 45, copper from 64. For the complete coin-system, see SIKKA.

Djahāngīr's and Shāhdjahān's system was similar, except for their gigantic pieces up to 1000 *tōlās* in weight (1 *tōlā* = 185.5 grs.) which were used as presents to distinguished persons or hoarded as bullion reserves, and the *nithārs* of about 40 grs. in gold or silver. With Awrangzīb's imposition of the *djizya* [*q.v.*] in 1090/1679 he caused the square silver *dirham sharʿī* to be struck in order to facilitate payment at the canonical rates; this was repeated in similar circumstances in 1129/1717 by Farrukhsiyar. The latter adopted the policy of farming out the mints, which led to many independent chiefs and states striking their own coin in the Mughal emperor's name; this was in fact done by the British East India company, and Shāh ʿĀlam's coinage with wreaths of roses, shamrocks and thistles, commemorating Lord Lake's entry into Dihlī in 1803, shows a very extraneous influence in the Imperial mint.

The Mughal coinage in general shows great diversity of mints—well over 200 are known—and a constant search for variation. The inscriptions could vary for each month of the year; for some years Djahāngīr struck round and square rupees in alternate months, and later varied the month names by zodiacal signs. Emblems appear on the coins from the time of Humāyūn; sometimes these appear to have marked a change of mint-masters, sometimes they were distinctive mint-marks. That the practice of the later Mughal mints was substantially the same as that recorded by Abu 'l-Faḍl is shown by the *Hidāyat al-ḳawāʾid* of 1126/1714-5 which records the current mint rules (quoted by W. Irvine, *Mint rules in 1126 A.H.*, in *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1898, 149-52) and prescribes a differential revenue to be exacted from Muslim and Hindū merchants: the latter when specially appointed (*mahādjanān ki muḳarrarī bāshand*) pay less than the Muslim rate of 2½ per cent, otherwise ½ per cent more.

Bibliography: Evidence for the history of the mint under the Dihlī sultanate is numismatic only; cf. E. Thomas, *The chronicles of the Pathán kings of Dehli*, London 1871; H. Nevill, *Mint towns of the Dehli Sultans*, *JASB*, NS xvii, 1921, 116-30; idem, *The currency of the Pathan Sultans*, ibid. 21-30 (corrects Thomas on many points of detail); R. Burn, *Muhammad Tughluq's forced coinage*, *JASB*, N.S. xxix, 1933, N. 5-6; H. N. Wright, *The Sultans of Delhi*: *their coinage and metrology*, Dihlī 1936; S. H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Calcutta 1923; C. R. Singhal, *Mint-towns of the Mughal emperors of India* (Memoir iv, NSI), Bombay 1953; idem, *Bibliography of Indian Numismatics*, ii (*Muhammadan and later Series*), Bombay 1952.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

DĀR AL-FUNŪN [see DJĀMIʿA].

DĀR FŪR, "the land of the Fūr", a province of the Republic of the Sudan, formerly a Muslim sultanate.

Geography and inhabitants.

Dār Fūr was one of the chain of Muslim states composing *bilād al-Sūdān*. Its eastern neighbour was Kordofān, from which it was separated by a tract of sand-hills. To the west lay Waddāī. The Libyan desert formed a natural boundary on the north, while the marshes of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*] marked the southern limits. Dār Fūr comprises three main zones: a northern zone, the steppe fringe of the Sahara, providing grazing for camel-owning tribes but little cultivation; a central zone (14° 30′ N to 12° N) with rainfall ranging from 12″ to 25″ (in the mountains), a country of settled cultivators; a southern zone of heavy rainfall (25″-35″), inhabited by cattle-owing nomads, the Baḳḳāra [*q.v.*]. In the central zone, the massif of Djabal Marra, rising to 3024 metres, runs from north to south. The northern and southern regions of Dār Fūr are locally known as *Dār al-Rīḥ* and *Dār al-Ṣaʿīd* respectively.

The central zone is a meeting place of routes. The *Darb al-arbaʿīn* [*q.v.*] (Forty Days' route) ran from Asyūṭ through Khārdja and Salīma to Kūbayh (Cobbé, Browne), where a small mercantile town developed. Another route connected Dār Fūr with Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Kabkābiyya, lying west of Dj. Marra was the mercantile centre on the route to Waddāī

and the western *bilād al-Sūdān*. The route to Kordofān and the east was a pilgrimage road, although some pilgrims preferred the long route through Egypt. Besides such articles as ivory and ostrich feathers, Dār Fūr exported slaves, obtained from the pagan lands to the south. Many of these went by the *Darb al-arbaʿīn* to Egypt. The construction, completed in 1911, of a railway linking El Obeid (*al-Ubayyiḍ*) in Kordofān with Khartoum and Port Sudan, followed by the annexation of Dār Fūr in 1916, ended the importance of the old routes to the north. The capital was finally settled in 1206/1791 at its present site of El Fasher (al-Fās͟hir [*q.v.*]). The *fās͟hir*, or residence of the sultan, had previously varied from reign to reign, the earliest sultans ruling from D̲j̲. Marra.

The inhabitants of Dār Fūr are of varied ethnic origins. The Fūr, (see A. C. Beaton, *The Fur*, in *Sudan notes and records*, xxix/1, 1948, 1-39), are a negroid people, originating in D̲j̲. Marra, who succeeded in imposing their hegemony on the surrounding tribes. From the Kund̲j̲āra, one of the three tribes of the Fūr, sprang the royal Kayra clan, and also, traditionally, the Musabbaʿāt, who established a sultanate in Kordofān. According to tradition, the dominant people in the region before the Fūr was the Tund̲j̲ur, and, before them, the Dād̲j̲ū: elements of both still survive in Dār Fūr. Arab immigration has played an important part in the ethnic pattern. Tribal groups connected with the great irruption of the D̲j̲uhayna into the eastern *bilād al-Sūdān* in the 8th/14th century are now represented by the camel-Arabs of the northern zone and the Baḳḳāra of the south. The name of Fazāra, once commonly applied to a group of camel-Arabs, is now obsolete. Among the Baḳḳārī tribes, the Rizayḳāt and Taʿāis͟ha may be noted. Individual immigrants, coming from the arabized Nubians of the Nilotic Sudan, Barābra [*q.v.*], Danāḳla [see DANḲALĪ] and D̲j̲aʿaliyyīn [*q.v.*], have made an important contribution to the development in Dār Fūr of Islamic culture and trade. The present-day population of the province amounts to 1,328,559 (*Sudan Almanac, 1959*).

Chronology.

The chronology of the dynasty before the eighth sultan, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ras͟hīd, is uncertain. Browne believed that Sulaymān Solong reigned c. 130-150 years before his time, *i.e.*, c. 1640-60; while al-Tūnusī, who makes the foundation of Dār Fūr contemporary with that of Waddāī and Kordofān, asserts that the event occurred not more than 200 years previously, *i.e.*, c. 1640 (Tūnusī, *Ouadây*, 75). S͟huḳayr's chronology, which refers Sulaymān Solong to the mid-9th/15th century, by incorporating a block of inert names, is a late tradition and clearly fictitious. Nachtigal gives the commencement of Sulaymān Solong's reign as 1596, which seems too early.

Sultans with dates of accession.

1. Sulaymān Solong c. 1050/1640
2. Mūsā b. Sulaymān
3. Aḥmad Bakr b. Mūsā
4. Muḥammad Dawra b. Aḥmad Bakr
5. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Dawra c. 1156/1743-4
6. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad Bakr c. 1163/1749-50
7. Muḥammad Tayrāb b. Aḥmad Bakr c. 1170/1756-7
8. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ras͟hīd b. Aḥmad Bakr 1202/1787
9. Muḥammad Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 1215/1800-1
10. Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Faḍl 1254/1838-9
11. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn 1290/1873 (Annexation of Dār Fūr to the Egyptian Sudan; 1291/1874)
    Shadow-sultans of the Khedivial and Mahdist periods:
12. Ḥasab Allāh b. Muḥammad Faḍl
13. Būs͟h b. Muḥammad Faḍl
14. Hārūn b. Sayf al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Faḍl
15. ʿAbd Allāh Dūd Band̲j̲a b. Bakr b. Muḥammad Faḍl
16. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm
17. Abu 'l-K͟hayrāt b. Ibrāhīm
    The revived sultanate:
18. ʿAlī Dīnār b. Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad Faḍl 1316/1898 (Annexation of Dār Fūr to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; 1916)

Traditions of the early sultanate.

In the absence of any native chronicle, we are dependent for information on foreign observers. Of these, the most important are the Tunisian Arab, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Tūnusī, whose visit of eight years began in 1218/1803; the German, Gustav Nachtigal, who was in Dār Fūr in 1894; the Austrian, Rudolf v. Slatin, governor 1881-3; and the Lebanese, Naʿūm S͟huḳayr, an intelligence official of the Condominium, whose principal informant was S͟hayk͟h al-Ṭayyib, (d. 1902), formerly *imām* to sultan Ibrāhīm.

The discrepancies in the traditional genealogies of the Kayra were noticed by al-Tūnusī, Nachtigal and S͟huḳayr. These genealogies are more or less sophisticated attempts to schematize traditions associated with folk-heroes, the chief of whom are Aḥmad al-Maʿḳūr, Dālī, and Sulaymān Solong (*i.e.*, "the Arab"). The many variants of tradition cannot be detailed here. Aḥmad al-Maʿḳūr, an Arab of Tunis, of Hilālī or ʿAbbāsid descent, is represented as the ancestor of the Tund̲j̲ur rulers who preceded the Kayra, or as the link (by marriage) between Tund̲j̲ur and Kayra. His son (or more remote descendant), Dālī, was the organizer and legislator of the Fūrāwī state. A descendant of Dālī, Sulaymān Solong, usually described as the son of an Arab woman, is credited with the introduction of Islam, and is the first of the historical rulers. Aḥmad al-Maʿḳūr may represent a genuine memory of Arab intermixture with the Tund̲j̲ur (or Fūr) or may be a late invention to antedate the coming of the Arab element. The epithet *al-Maʿḳūr*, "the Lame" is probably the arabicization of a non-Arab name: it is explained in Slatin and S͟huḳayr by an obvious legend. Dālī (or Dalīl Baḥr) may have been an historical individual, or may embody the traditions of the Kayra rulers before the coming of Islam. Sulaymān Solong, a warrior and administrator, is Dālī's Muslim counterpart and may have absorbed traditions originally connected with him. Sulaymān was probably not the founder of the Kayra dynasty, but simply the first Muslim ruler. The claims that the royal clan was descended from the Banī Hilāl or the ʿAbbāsids are sophistications, reflecting North African and Nilotic Sudanese influences respectively. The two claims are, of course, incompatible. There is more verisimilitude in a tradition that the Kayra, together with the Musabbaʿāt and the ruling house of Waddāī, were descended from the Fazāra. This

is in harmony with the tradition that Sulaymān's conquests were achieved in alliance with the nomad Arabs.

While Sulaymān may have begun the introduction of Islam into Dār Fūr, the full islamization of the region was a slow process. The persistence of non-islamic customs into the 19th and 20th centuries is noted by all observers. The religious teachers (*fakī* for *faḳīh*; *fuḳarā'* is invariably used as the plural), came mainly from the western *bilād al-Sūdān*, and from the Nilotic region, both areas where the Mālikī school predominates. Little is recorded of the sultans who immediately followed Sulaymān: his second successor, Aḥmad Bakr, is remembered as the father of many sons, five of whom were sultans after him. The traditions of both Dār Fūr and Waddāī preserve the recollection of a series of wars between the two sultanates, beginning in the time of Aḥmad Bakr and continuing until Muḥammad Tayrāb, early in his reign, made peace with sultan Djawda of Waddāī. Both ʿUmar and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim are said to have been killed in these wars, in which the advantage generally lay with Waddāī.

The later sultanate.

Fuller traditions begin with the reign of Muḥammad Tayrāb, who died only 16 years before the visit of al-Tūnusī. He is represented as luxury-loving and pacific, but his reign ended in war against sultan Hāshim, the Musabbaʿāwī ruler of Kordofān. The pretext for hostilities was found in Hāshim's aggression against the eastern frontier of Dār Fūr, but al-Tūnusī suggests that Tayrāb's real motive was to secure the succession for his son, Isḥāḳ, at the expense of the surviving sons of Aḥmad Bakr. Isḥāḳ, entitled *al-khalīfa*, "the successor", was left as regent in the capital, while the sultan's brothers and ministers accompanied Tayrāb on campaign. Hāshim was expelled from Kordofān and sought refuge with the Fundj sultan of Sinnār, while the Fūrāwī army occupied his dominions. The legend that Tayrāb advanced as far as Omdurman (*Umm Durmān*) and defeated an ʿAbdallābī army is not mentioned by al-Tūnusī or Nachtigal, and is a later elaboration, probably of the Mahdist period. Tayrāb died at Bāra in Kordofān, poisoned, it is said, by his grandees.

Tayrāb's death was followed by a succession struggle between the partisans of Isḥāḳ and those of the sons of Aḥmad Bakr. The latter finally chose as their sultan the posthumous son of Aḥmad Bakr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rashīd, a pious and scholarly youth. His election was brought about by Muḥammad Kurra, a eunuch of the late ruler, whom ʿAbd al-Raḥmān appointed as his chief minister. Kurra subsequently led another expedition into Kordofān, which he governed for some years. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's reign witnessed the progress of both trade and religion, developments which may be ascribed to Nubian immigration into Dār Fūr at this time, in consequence of the decline of Fundj power in the Nilotic Sudan. Increased contact with the outside world, through trade with Egypt, is indicated by the exchange of presents between ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and the Ottoman sultan, by the visit of the English traveller, W. G. Browne, in 1793-6, and by the correspondence with Bonaparte in 1799 (French text in *Pièces diverses et correspondance relatives aux opérations de l'armée d'Orient en Égypte*, Paris, An IX; 187, 216-7). A Mamlūk refugee from Bonaparte was granted asylum in Dār Fūr, but was killed for plotting against the sultan.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's young son, Muḥammad Faḍl, was installed as sultan by Muḥammad Kurra in 1215/1800-1, but a rift grew between the ruler and his minister, and Kurra was killed in Radjab 1219/Oct.-Nov. 1804. Faḍl's long reign was a period of declining power. An expedition sent by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha of Egypt, under his son-in-law, the *daftardār* Muḥammad Bey Khusraw, defeated the Fūrāwī viceroy of Kordofān, the *maḳdūm* Musallim, at Bāra in 1821, and annexed the province. Revolt in the Nile valley, however, deflected the *daftardār* from the conquest of Dār Fūr. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm Ṣābūn, the sultan of Waddāī, devastated the vassal state of Dār Tāma and laid it under tribute. Faḍl assisted a brother of Ṣābūn to obtain the throne of Waddāī after his death, but failed to establish a protectorate. The Baḳḳāra, especially the Rizayḳāt, also gave much trouble.

Faḍl's successor, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, was threatened by a pretender, Muḥammad Abū Madyan, a son of sultan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, who claimed Dār Fūr by virtue of a *farmān* of sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd (13 February 1841; see J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, New York, 1956; i, 120), supported Abū Madyan, and an expedition was prepared. The project was abandoned on the death of the ambitious *ḥükümdār* of the Egyptian Sudan, Aḥmad Pasha Abū Widān, in Ramaḍān 1259/Sept.-Oct. 1843. Relations between Ḥusayn and the viceroys Saʿīd and Ismāʿīl were friendly. In the later years of Ḥusayn's reign, his sight failed, and affairs were directed by his sister, the *iya basi* Zamzam.

His successor, sultan Ibrāhīm, soon became involved in hostilities over the Rizayḳāt with al-Zubayr Raḥma Manṣūr, the Sudanese merchant-prince who controlled the western Baḥr al-Ghazāl. Al-Zubayr invaded Dār Fūr from the south, in collusion with the *ḥükümdār* Ismāʿīl Pasha Ayyūb, who brought a force from the east. Ibrāhīm was defeated by al-Zubayr, and killed at the battle of Manawāshī on 24 Oct. 1874. Dār Fūr was annexed to the Egyptian Sudan.

The Khedivial and Mahdist Periods.

Fūr resistance, based on Dj. Marra. continued under a series of shadow-sultans. The first, Ḥasab Allāh b. Muḥammad Faḍl, surrendered to al-Zubayr, and was sent, with a large number of Fūrāwī princes and notables, to Egypt. His brother and successor, Būsh, raised an alarming revolt, but was killed by al-Zubayr's son, Sulaymān. A further revolt, in 1877, against newly imposed taxation, found a leader in Hārūn, a grandson of Muḥammad Faḍl. He besieged El Fasher, the provincial capital, but was driven back to Dj. Marra, and was killed in 1880 by al-Nūr Bey Muḥammad ʿAnḳara, subsequently a Mahdist officer. Another grandson of Muḥammad Faḍl, ʿAbd Allāh Dūd Bandja, next assumed the sultanate in Dj. Marra.

The outbreak of the Mahdist revolution in 1881 produced a critical situation in Dār Fūr, since many of the military and administrative officers were sympathizers with the Mahdi, like them a riverain Sudanese, while both the Fūr and the Rizayḳāt wished to throw off khedivial rule. After the Mahdi's capture of El Obeid and defeat of the Hicks expedition (January and November 1883), Slatin, the Austrian governor, was isolated, and he surrendered in December to Muḥammad Bey Khālid, formerly sub-governor of Dāra, whom the Mahdi had appointed as his agent in Dār Fūr.

In 1884, a Mahdist force captured Dūd Bandja, who subsequently became a Mahdist officer. After the Mahdi's death in 1885, Muḥammad Khalid concerted a plot with the Ashrāf (the Mahdi's relatives), to oust the new sovereign, the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. He marched on Omdurman with considerable forces, but was intercepted and arrested at Bāra (April 1886). He had left to govern Dār Fūr a son of sultan Ibrāhīm named Yūsuf, who in 1887 revived the sultanate. A force under ʿUthmān Ādam, the governor of Kordofān, defeated and killed Yūsuf early in 1888. ʿUthmān now assumed the governorship of Dār Fūr also.

A few months later, Mahdist authority in Dār Fūr crumbled, in consequence of a revolt, originating in Dār Tāma under a messianic *faki*, Abū Djummayza. He was joined by the shadow-sultan of the Fūr, Abu 'l-Khayrāt (a brother of Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm) with his supporters. The Mahdist forces were heavily defeated in two battles, but Abū Djummayza died of smallpox and his followers were routed outside El Fasher (February 1889). Abu 'l-Khayrāt fled to Dj. Marra, where he was killed by his slaves in 1891. ʿUthmān Ādam re-established his authority in the province, especially over the Baḳḳāra, who had supported the Mahdia against the khedivial administration, but were now resentful of Mahdist control. The Khalīfa's tribal policy, executed by ʿUthman Ādam, rested on three bases; the substitution of new nominees for the hereditary chiefs, the enforced migration (*hidjra*) of tribes to Omdurman, and the exploitation of tribal rivalries. The great migration of the Taʿāīsha, the Khalīfa's own tribe, was set on foot by ʿUthmān Ādam in 1888, and had important consequences for the Mahdist state.

ʿUthmān Ādam died in 1891, and was succeeded as governor by Maḥmūd Aḥmad, like himself a relative of the Khalīfa. In 1894, a Belgian expedition from the Congo reached the southern fringe of the province and concluded a treaty with the chief of the Farūḳī tribe, but withdrew shortly afterwards, (see A. Abel, *Traduction de documents arabes concernant le Bahr-el-Ghazal*, in *Bull. de l'Académie royale des Sciences coloniales*, xxv/5, Brussels 1954, 1385-1409). In 1896, Maḥmūd was recalled to Omdurman, to command the forces sent against the Anglo-Egyptian invasion.

The reign of ʿAlī Dīnār and subsequent history

When the Mahdist state fell in 1898, ʿAlī Dīnār, a grandson of Muḥammad Faḍl, who had had a chequered career in the Mahdia (see *A fragment from Ali Dinar*, in *Sudan notes and records*; xxxiv/1, 1953, 114-6), seized El Fasher and installed himself as sultan. Nominally a vassal of the Condominium government in Khartoum, he long imitated with success the Khalīfa's policy of excluding Europeans from his dominions. He was challenged by a survivor of the Mahdist régime, Sanīn Ḥusayn, who had held Kabkābiyya since ʿUthmān Ādam's time and now attempted unsuccessfully to obtain the protection of the Condominium government. Sanīn was not finally defeated until 1908. Like his predecessors, ʿAlī Dīnār had difficulty in asserting his authority, on the one hand over the Baḳḳāra, on the other, over the buffer states between Dār Fūr and Waddāī. This western frontier problem became more serious with the French occupation of Waddāī in 1909. The French, while accepting Dār Fūr proper as within the British sphere of influence, wished to occupy the buffer states. Although the British, through the Condominium government, vigorously supported Fūrāwī claims, the sultan, after prolonged hostilities, succeeded only in holding Dār al-Masālīt. Finding himself pressed by the extension of French power, and exasperated by a series of local grievances against the Condominium government, ʿAlī Dīnār was sympathetic to the Ottomans in the First World War. On the pretext of forestalling an attack from Dār Fūr, the Condominium government sent a force against him. The sultan's army was defeated near El Fasher on 22 May 1916. and he himself was killed on 6 November.

The removal of ʿAlī Dīnār, was followed by a settlement of the western frontier with the French. The final compromise in 1919 allowed Dār Fūr to retain Dār Ḳimr and two-thirds of Dār al-Masālīt, part of which had been ceded by its ruler to the French in 1912. The delimitation of the boundary was completed in 1924. The pacification of Dār Fūr did not prove difficult, although there was a belated rising under a messianic *fakī* at Nyala in 1921. As a consequence of its late annexation, Dār Fūr did not share in the early phase of development of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan: it remained an isolated and backward province until the last years of the Condominium. The opening-up of air communications from 1947, the development of schools, and the construction of a railway line through southern Kordofān to Nyala (completed in April 1959) are indicative of the fuller integration of Dār Fūr in the modern Sudan.

Administrative history.

The administrative system under the Kayra sultans was described by al-Tūnusī and, more systematically, by Nachtigal. It had few Islamic features. Almost all the titles were Fūrāwī, not Arabic; the chief exception being the sultan's personal representatives (*maḳdūm*, pl. *maḳādīm*), who were usually appointed for a term of years and exercised overriding powers in their provinces. The royal women (sing., *mayram*) held a dignified position; the queen-mother was the second person in the realm, but more real power was possessed by the *iya basi*, usually the sultan's sister. Slaves and eunuchs played an important rôle: the chief minister, who was also *ex officio* governor of the eastern province, was a eunuch. The powers of this functionary were reduced after the death of the king-maker, Muḥammad Kurra. A tradition that sultan Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was deserted in battle by his relatives because of his inclination to the blacks probably marks an increase in the military rôle of the ruler's slave-household at the expense of the free clansmen. A reorganization of the slave-army was carried out by sultan Muḥammad Ḥusayn, who equipped his troops with firearms. Besides the slave-solidiers, the forces included warriors summoned at need by the provincial authorities. Islamic influences are chiefly seen in the practices of the royal chancery and in the reception of the *Sharīʿa* according to the Mālikī school. The ancient customary law was not however disused: the "Book of Dālī", in which it was said to be codified, is probably mythical, or may be a generic term for attempts to commit custom to writing, (cf. A. J. Arkell, *The history of Darfur*: 1200-1700 *A.D.* III, in *Sudan notes and records*, xxxiii/1, 1952, 145-6).

After the conquest by al-Zubayr, the administration was assimilated, as far as circumstances

allowed, to that of other parts of the Egyptian Sudan. A governor (*mudīr ʿumūm Dār Fūr*) had his headquarters at El Fasher, while sub-governors (*mudīrs*) were stationed at El Fasher, Shakkā (to control the Rizayḳāt territory), Dāra (on the route from the south to the capital), and Kabkābiyya (on the route to Waddāī). The governors have been listed by R. L. Hill, *Rulers of the Sudan*, 1820-1885, in *Sudan notes and records*, xxxii/1, 1951, 85-95.

The Mahdist régime inherited the problems and administrative structure of its predecessor. Dār Fūr, later combined with Kordofān in the Province of the West (*ʿImālat al-G͟harb*), was ruled by a military governor (*ʿāmil*—originally *amīr*—*ʿumūm Dār Fūr*), who commanded a force composed of tribal levies (*awlād al-ʿArab*) and black troops (*d͟jihādiyya*). Many of the latter, as well as of the military and civil officials had previously served the khedivial administration. The governor was in frequent correspondence with Omdurman, but had his provincial treasury (*bayt al-māl*).

The revived sultanate under ʿAlī Dīnār reproduced many features of the K͟halīfa's central administration. Essentially it was a military autocracy under which the ancient Fūrāwī offices and the system of *maḳdūms* alike became obsolete, while special deputies (*mandūb*, plur. *manādīb*) gathered the revenue and represented the sultan in the provinces. Favourites and slaves had much influence at the centre. The influence of the Mahdia can be seen in the organization of a hierarchy of *ḳāḍīs*, and in the system of taxes, which closely resembled that of the K͟halīfa.

After the annexation of Dār Fūr in 1916, the province was administered by a British governor and district commissioners, who at first were army officers. Experiments in "native administration" resulted in some useful devolution, primarily of judicial functions, to local notables, but also produced an anachronistic attempt to create or revive large native authorities. This curious reversal of the policy previously followed by successive sultans and governors was too artificial to succeed generally. In the last decade of the Condominium, Dār Fūr shared in the rapid constitutional changes. Local government councils were formed and representatives were sent to the various central deliberative bodies. The coming of independence on 1 January 1956 did not affect the administrative structure, in which Sudanese officials had already filled the higher cadres, previously occupied by British. The military *coup d'état* of November 1958 did not directly affect provincial administration, but the continued existence of the local government councils is necessarily precarious. For the administration under ʿAlī Dīnār and the Condominium, see G. D. Lampen, *History of Darfur*, in *Sudan notes and records*, xxxi/2, 1950, 203-8.

Bibliography: W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria*, London 1799, 180-350; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Tūnusī, *Tas͟hḥīd͟h al-ad͟hhān bi-sīrat bilād al-ʿArab wa 'l-Sūdān*, lith. Paris 1850; tr. Perron, *Voyage au Darfour par le cheykh Mohammed Ebn-Omar El-Tounsy*, Paris 1845; Al-Tūnusī, tr. Perron, *Voyage au Ouadây*, Paris 1851; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, iii, Leipzig 1889, 355-446; R. C. [von] Slatin, *Fire and sword in the Sudan*, London 1896, 30-278; Naʿūm S͟huḳayr, *Taʾrīk͟h al-Sūdān*, Cairo 1903, ii, 111-48, iii, 68-84, 93-6, 185-92, 451-5, 458-65, 533-4, 546-9, 672; H. A. MacMichael, *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, i, 52-128; idem, *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, London 1934, 125-37; R. [L.] Hill, *A biographical dictionary of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Oxford 1951, various notices; P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist state in the Sudan*, Oxford 1958; 66-8, 127-30, 132-46; Numerous articles in *Sudan notes and records*, Khartoum 1918-. Information supplied by A. B. Theobald, whose article, *Darfur and its neighbours under Sultan ʿAli Dinar*, is to appear in *Sudan notes and records*. The government archives in Khartoum contain a very considerable body of material relating to the Mahdia, the rule of ʿAlī Dīnār and the Condominium period.

(P. M. HOLT)

DĀR AL-ḤADĪT͟H. I. Architecture [see SUPPLEMENT].

II. Historical development. The name *Dār al-ḥadīt͟h* was first applied to institutions reserved for the teaching of *ḥadīt͟hs* in the sixth century of the Hid͟jra. The conclusion that until that time *ḥadīt͟hs* were learned through the journeys called *ṭalab al-ʿilm*, there being no special schools for the science of *ḥadīt͟h* (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* ii, 186), is not consonant with the results of the study of materials now available. Hence, among other matters connected with *ḥadīt͟h*, the effects of the misunderstanding of the nature and object of the *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys need to be investigated (cf. F. Sezgin, *Buharî'nin kaynakları hakkında araştırmalar*, 23-36; idem, *Islam Tetkikleri Enst. dergisi* 1957, II/i, 24).

In his treatise *al-Amṣār d͟hawāt al-āt͟hār* (MS Veliyeddin 463/3, 90b-93a), al-D͟hahabī (d. 748/1347-8) gives us comprehensive information about the centres for hadīt͟h-study and their distribution in different centuries throughout the Muslim world. Interest in the science of *ḥadīt͟h* and the study of it had continued for centuries without intermission in Syria, where the first Dār al-Ḥadīt͟h was founded, one of the centres (with an interruption of 90 years) being Jerusalem (*op. cit.*, 93b).

Until special institutions for the study of *ḥadīt͟h* were set up, the teaching of this, as of other branches of religious learning, was carried out in the mosques. *Muḥaddit͟hs*, unwilling that such instruction should be given to a few people only in private residences, encouraged the use of public places (cf. *e.g.*, al-K͟haṭīb, *Taʾrīk͟h Bag͟hdād*, ii, 33). Al-Buk͟hārī (d. 256/870), who as a young man came to Basra at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, instituted *ḥadīt͟h*-lectures in the mosque there, which were attended by thousands of students (*op. cit.*, ii, 16-17). In Cairo in the 3rd century a pupil of al-S͟hāfiʿī was giving *ḥadīt͟h*-lessons in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*. Cairo 1299, i, 182). When later the institutions known as *dār al-ʿilm* or *madrasa* were founded, *ḥadīt͟h*-studies were, to some extent, attracted to them from the mosques and the private houses of the teachers. Nevertheless schools reserved for the teaching of *ḥadīt͟h* began to be opened from the 4th/10th century onwards; thus the *ḥadīt͟h*-school set up for Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 393/1003) in Nīs͟hāpūr had about a thousand students, and *ḥadīt͟h*-schools were founded for Ibn al-Fūrak (d. 406/1015-6), Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Kus͟hayrī (d. 465/1072-3) and Rukn al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 418/1027) (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Imam Schafiʿi*, i, 156, ii, 229, iii, 284). In the Sunnī Dār al-ʿilm which al-Ḥākim bi-amrillāh founded at Cairo in 400/1009-10, two Mālikī professors gathered around them the experts in *fiḳh* and *ḥadīt͟h* (al-D͟hahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, Ḥaydarābād, i, 186).

The first institution to be called specifically Dār al-Ḥadīth̲ was founded by the Atabeg Nūr al-Dīn (d. 569/1173-4) (al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh̲ al-madāris*, Damascus 1948, i, 99, cf. *Muh. Stud.* ii, 187). Though Nūr al-Dīn was himself Ḥanafī, he limited this school to S̲h̲āfiʿīs (Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, 69), and set over it the historian and *muḥaddith̲* ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAsākir (d. 571/1175-6) (al-Nuʿaymī, *op. cit.*, i, 100). There were many *waḳf*s for this institution and the people attached to it (Abū S̲h̲āma, *Al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1956, i, 23). Ibn ʿAsākir was succeeded by his son al-Ḳāsim (d. 600/1203-4) (al-Nuʿaymī, *op. cit.*, i, 100). Al-Nuʿaymī gives the names of the rectors of this *ḥadīth̲*-school down to Ibn Rāfiʿ (d. 718/1318). The opening of this first Dār al-Ḥadīth̲ was followed by the establishment of numerous similar institutions to which leading historians and *muḥaddith̲*s were attached, mostly in Damascus and its neighbourhood (for which al-Nuʿaymī records the names of 16), but spreading immediately all over the Muslim world: thus ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Bag̲h̲dādī (d. 629/1231-2), on going to Mosul in 585/1189, found such a dār al-ḥadīth̲ on the ground floor of the Madrasa of Ibn Muhād̲j̲ir (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 204); in 622/1225 al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn founded in Cairo a dār al-ḥadīth̲ inspired by the Dār al-Ḥadīth̲ al-Nūriyya, setting over it Abu 'l-K̲h̲aṭṭāb b. Diḥya. Maḳrīzī notes that in 806/1403-4 it had so far declined as to have as its head an ignorant young man, a mere child (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270, ii, 375). In the time of Ibn Duḳmāḳ (d. 845/1441-2) two of the 73 *madrasas* in Cairo were dār al-ḥadīth̲s (*Intiṣār*, Cairo 1299, 99).

After the establishment of the first *dār al-ḥadīth̲s*, institutions known as Dār al-Ḳurʾān wa 'l-Ḥadīth̲, for the teaching of both Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth̲*, made their appearance: the first institutions of this type were set up by Sayf al-Dīn al-Malik al-Nāṣirī (d. 741/1340-1) (for this and two other institutions cf. al-Nuʿaymī, *op. cit.*, i, 123-8).

The Dār al-ḥadīth̲, as an independent institution or as one of many departments of a *madrasa*, survived until recent centuries in the Muslim world: thus according to Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn (d. 927/1521), of the madrasas of Jerusalem, over 40 in number, one was called Dār al-Ḳurʾān and another Dār al-Ḥadīth̲ (Sauvaire, *Hist. de Jérus. et Hebr.*, 139). In the Ottoman period the teachers of the dār al-ḥadīth̲ opposite the Suleymāniyye Mosque were appointed from among the most senior and renowned of all the *mudarris* (*Taʾrīkh̲-i D̲j̲ewdet*, Ist. 1309, i, 111). In the last two or three centuries *dār al-ḥadīth̲s*, like *madrasas* in general, have lost their importance as centres of learning. (FUAT SEZGIN)

DĀR AL-ḤARB ('the Land of War'). This conventional formula derived from the logical development of the idea of the *d̲j̲ihād* [*q.v.*] when it ceased to be the struggle for survival of a small community, becoming instead the basis of the "law of nations" in the Muslim State. The Ḳurʾān, in its latest texts on the holy war, IX, 38-58, 87, makes this "holy war" a major duty, a test of the sincerity of believers, to be waged against unbelievers wherever they are to be found (IX, 5). This war must be just, not oppressive, its aim being peace under the rule of Islam.

The Ḳurʾān does not as yet divide the world into territories where peace and the faith of Islam reign, (*dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*]), territories under perpetual threat of a missionary war (*dār al-ḥarb*), or, of course, territories covered by agreements and payment of tribute (*dār al-ʿahd, dār al-ṣulḥ* [*qq.v.*]).

The *ḥadīth̲*, it is true, traces back the idea of *dār al-ḥarb* to the Medina period. In any event, the classical practice of so regarding territories immediately adjoining the lands of Islam, and inviting their princes to adopt this religion under pain of invasion, is reputed to date back to the Prophet who invited Caesar and Chosroes (and the Jews) to be converted (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Kitāb al-D̲j̲ihād*, §§ 147, 148, 149, 151 and *K. al-Mag̲h̲āzī*, § 416; see also al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ*, Cairo 1915, 6, 15). Historically, the invitation to the people of the Yamāma is the prototype (cf. al-Balād̲h̲uri, *Futūḥ*). This traditional concept, which ended by committing the Muslim community (or State) and its princes to war, either latent or openly declared, with all its non-Muslim neighbours (the adjective denoting the latter is *ḥarbī* or, more especially, *ahl al-ḥarb*) is classical and is elaborated in the most widely read law books (*e.g.*, the definitions in the *Kitāb al-D̲j̲ihād* of the *Durar al-ḥukkām fī s̲h̲arḥ g̲h̲urar al-aḥkām* of Mullā K̲h̲usraw, where the *ahl al-ḥarb* are defined as those who have refused to be converted after being duly invited on the best terms, and against whom any kind of warfare is henceforth permissible in keeping with the rules of *sūra* IX). In classical times, the kings of the *dār al-ḥarb* are rebels: the emperor of Byzantium is *malik al-Ṭāg̲h̲iya* (al-Ṭabarī, *Annals, passim*). Classically, the *dār al-ḥarb* includes those countries where the Muslim law is not in force, in the matter of worship and the protection of the faithful and *d̲h̲immī*s. A territory of the *dār al-Islām*, reconquered by non-Muslims of any description, thereby becomes a territory of the *dār al-ḥarb* once again, provided that (1) the law of the unbelievers replaces that of Islam; (2) the country in question directly adjoins the *dār al-ḥarb*; (3) Muslims and their non-Muslim *d̲h̲immī*s no longer enjoy any protection there. The first of these conditions is the most important. Some even believe that a country remains *dār al-Islām* so long as a single provision (*ḥukm*) of the Muslim law is kept in force there. The definition of the *dār al-ḥarb*, like the idea of *d̲j̲ihād*, has in the course of time been modified by the progressive loss of unity and strength in the Muslim State. The conception of hostility to neighbouring countries has equally been modified by the evolution of ideas in Islamic territories and is tending to be secularized. The proclamation of a holy war, at a time of international crisis and for psychological reasons, is an innovation (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Holy war "made in Germany"*, New York 1915, = Verspreide Geschriften, iii, 257 ff.).

Bibliography: Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the law of Islam*, Baltimore 1955, 52, 53, 143, 144, 156-7, 171-4, 224-8 and bibliography; L. Gardet, *La Cité musulmane*, 95 ff. (A. ABEL)

DĀR AL-ḤIKMA, "house of wisdom", used by Arab authors to denote in a general sense the academies which, before Islamic times, spread knowledge of the Greek sciences, and in a particular sense the institute founded in Cairo in 395/1005 by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim. Since the short-lived appearance of the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* [*q.v.*] of al-Maʾmūn, several libraries had been founded in ʿIrāḳ and Persia providing not only information on traditional learning, but also an introduction to classical sciences (*ʿulūm al-awāʾil*) (see DĀR AL-ʿILM).

Such establishments were very successful in Egypt under the Fāṭimids, where S̲h̲īʿī doctrines provided a favourable climate for the development of Greek sciences. The Cairo palace soon housed a large collection, and one of its librarians was the

writer al-Shābushtī (d. 388/998). The vizier of al-ʿAzīz, Yaʿḳūb b. Ḳillis (d. 380/990), organized meetings of men of letters, jurists, and theologians in his own residence, and granted them financial allowances, but this initiative was soon overshadowed by the *Dār al-ḥikma* (sometimes *dār al-ʿilm*) which al-Ḥākim housed in the north-western part of the western Palace. It contained a library and reading-room, and served as a meeting-place for traditionists, jurists, grammarians, doctors, astronomers, logicians and mathematicians. The Cairo *Dār al-ḥikma* was administered by the *Dāʿī al-duʿāt*, who invited learned men to meet there twice weekly. It was closely associated with the propagation of Shīʿī doctrine, and charged to give instruction in Ismaʿīlī doctrine, which has also been called *ḥikma* since the time of al-Muʿizz (see al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *K. al-Madjālis*, after Dachraoui, *Arabica*, 1960). In 435/1045 a new catalogue was prepared, and it listed at least 6500 volumes on astronomy, architecture and *falsafa*. The institute was closed at the end of the 5th/11th century by the vizier al-Afḍal, but al-Maʾmūn reopened it in 517/1123 in another building, to the south of the eastern Palace. It had already been looted in 461/1068, in the reign of al-Muntaṣir during the civil wars, and when the Fāṭimid dynasty came to an end (567/1171) the library was once more closed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sold the palace treasures, including the books, but fortunately some of them were re-purchased by enlightened men such as al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 408-9, 445, 458-60; ii, 342, 363, 481; Cairo ed., ii, 253-5, 313, 334-7; iv, 158, 192, 377; Kindī, 600, 640; al-Ḳifṭī, 440; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo ed., 1949, vi, 28; O. Pinto, *Le biblioteche degli Arabi*, Florence 1928, 16, 25, 26; Mez, *Renaissance*, 169-70; M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fatimite* . . ., in *Byzantion*, xxi (1951), 364 (D. Sourdel)

DĀR AL-ʿILM, "house of science", the name given to several libraries or scientific institutes established in eastern Islam in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. After the disappearance of al-Maʾmūn's *Bayt al-Ḥikma* [*q.v.*], a man of letters called ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim (d. 275/888), friend of al-Mutawakkil and, later, al-Muʿtamid, built a library at his own expense in his residence at Karkar, near Baghdād. It was called *Khizānat al-Kutub*, and was open to scholars of all countries (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 459, 467). Another writer and poet, the Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Mawṣilī (d. 323/934), founded the institute named *Dār al-ʿilm* at Mosul; it was also equipped with a library open to everyone (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 420). During the Buwayhid era further libraries were opened in other towns, and they did much to spread Shīʿī doctrines. The one in Shīrāz was founded by ʿAḍud al-Dawla, and was frequented by the geographer al-Muḳaddasī (449). Others in al-Baṣra and Rām Hormuz were founded by a certain Ibn Sawwār, and were associated with the Muʿtazilite school. The al-Rayy library (Muḳaddasī, 391, 413; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 315; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 53) was later burnt down as a centre of heterodoxy upon the orders of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī.

But the most important establishment was the *Dār al-ʿilm* which the vizier Abū Naṣr Sābūr b. Ardashīr founded in Baghdād during the reign of Bahāʾ al-Dawla. It was housed in a building in the al-Karkh quarter, and dated from 381/991 or 383/993. It contained more than 10,000 books, some of them models of calligraphy, on all scientific subjects. It was governed by two *sharīfs* and a *ḳāḍī*, and after Sābūr's death the Shīʿī poet al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā is thought to have taken over its administration. We also have the names of some of those who were appointed librarians, such as the grammarian Abū Aḥmād ʿAbd al-Salām, otherwise known as al-Wādjikā (d. 405/1014) (a friend of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī) and the secretary Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 418/1027). Sābūr's library was used by numerous scholars, in particular by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī during his short stay in Baghdād (399-400/1009-1010), and it also received the works of contemporary writers such as the Fāṭimid secretary Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Khayrān (d. 431/1039). It was finally burnt down when the Saldjūḳs reached Baghdād in 447/1055-56. The vizier ʿAmīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī was able to save only a few books from destruction.

It is thought that a Sunnī *Dār al-ʿilm* was founded at Fusṭāṭ in 400/1010 by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim; it was governed by two Mālikī scholars, but after three years they were put to death and the library was suppressed (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 64, 105-106).

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 93; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 172, 273; viii, 205; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 71, 246-7, x, 5; Yāḳūt, i, 799; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 242; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo ed. 1949, ii, 100; Bundarī, ed. Houtsma, 18; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 104 (*s.a.* 383); Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, ed. Yazīdjī, 73, 184; *Siḳt al-zand*, Cairo 1319, 1901, 103, 127; Mez, *Renaissance*, 167-9; O. Pinto, *Le biblioteche degli Arabi*, Florence 1928, 8-9, 14-5, 23; K. ʿAwwād, *Khazāʾin kutub al-Irāḳ al-ʿāmma*, in *Sumer*, 1946/2, 218-23 (in Ar.); H. Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie d'Abou-l-ʿAlāʾ*, in *BEO*, x, 1943-4, 127-9; idem, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, xxii-xxiii; G. Makdisi, *The Topography of eleventh century Baghdād*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 195-6. (D. Sourdel)

DĀR AL-ISLĀM, 'the Land of Islām' or, more simply, in Muslim authors, *dārunā*, 'our Country' is the whole territory in which the law of Islam prevails. Its unity resides in the community of the faith, the unity of the law, and the guarantees assured to members of the *umma* [*q.v.*]. The *umma*, established in consequence of the final revelation, also guarantees the faith, the persons, possessions and religious organization, albeit on a lower level, of *dhimmīs*, the followers of the creeds of Christianity and Judaism which sprang from earlier revelations, and of the Zoroastrians (*Madjūs*) [cf. DHIMMA, DJIZYA]. Until the beginnings of contemporary history Islam's oecumenical aspirations were maintained. *Ḥadīths* going back to the Prophet, *e.g.*, a *ḥadīth* on the capture of Rome (al-Bukharī, *Djihād*, § 135-139), are the source of these aspirations. In the classical doctrine, everything outside *dār al-Islām* is *dār al-ḥarb* [*q.v.*]. However, the historic example of Nadjrān (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, section *fī ṣulḥ Nadjrān*) and, at a later date, that of Nubia are proof of the permissibility of truces (*hudna*, *ṣulḥ*) concluded with the sovereigns of neighbouring territories, who preserve their internal autonomy in exchange for tribute which constitutes an external and formal recognition of the Muslim sovereign's authority (cf. DĀR AL-ʿAHD, DĀR AL-ṢULḤ).

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Government in Early Islam, in *Stud. Isl.*, 4; O. Turan, *The ideal of World Domination among the Mediaeval Turks, ibid.* (A. Abel)

DĀR AL-MAḤFŪẒĀT AL-ʿUMŪMIYYA. The Egyptian State Archives, consisting of the administrative records of the governments of Egypt from the start of the sixteenth century until the present time, and stored at the Citadel and in the Abdine Palace in Cairo. The extant archives of the Ottoman treasury and administration in Egypt from the time of its conquest by Selīm I in 922/1517 until it became autonomous under Muḥammad ʿAlī at the start of the nineteenth century are located at the Citadel (*al-Ḳalʿa*) archives, which were built by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1242/1827 to store the materials remaining after a disasterous fire in 1235/1820. A very few late-Mamlūk documents and registers, less important nineteenth-century administrative records, and all registers of births and deaths in Egypt are also kept at the Citadel, but the bulk of the nineteenth and twentieth century Egyptian government records are kept at the Abdine Palace in Cairo.

Materials remaining from the Ottoman administration fall into two broad classifications—registers (*dafātir*) and individual documents (*awrāḳ*). There are two basic types of Ottoman administrative registers, those containing copies of orders and decrees, written in the *Dīwānī* script, and those containing financial data, written in the *Siyāḳat* script. Most of the registers of Ottoman orders and decrees stored in Egypt were destroyed in the fire of 1820, and such materials are available only in the published collections of Ferīdun and Ḥayret Efendi (see bibliography) and in the *Mühimme-i Miṣr* registers kept in the *Başvekâlet Arşivi* [*q.v.*] in Istanbul. The materials remaining in the Citadel archives are principally financial registers and a few individual documents. In addition, the archives possess numerous private collections seized by the State upon the death of their owners. The nineteenth and twentieth-century archives kept in the Abdine Palace are far more comprehensive and complete and include copies made in recent times of materials concerning Egypt found in the principal European archives.

Registers of the deliberations of the *Dīwān* of Ottoman Egypt and of judicial archives since late Mamlūk times are found in the archives of the religious courts (*al-Maḥkama li 'l-Aḥwāl al-Shakhṣiyya*) in Cairo.

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DĀR AL-MUṢANNIFĪN [see DĀR AL-ʿULŪM (d.)].

DĀR AL-NADWA, a kind of town hall in Mecca in the time of Muḥammad. The building was to the north of the Kaʿba, on the other side of the square in which the *ṭawāf* took place. It was the gathering place of the nobles (*malaʾ*). The Dār al-Nadwa is said to have been built by Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], who is taken to be the ancestor of the Ḳuraysh and founder of the Kaʿba. He bequeathed it to ʿAbd al-Dār and then to ʿAbd Manāf and his son Hāshim and Hāshim's descendants. "All matters of import to the Ḳuraysh" are said to have taken place there up to the coming of Islam: marriages, councils of war, advice on public matters, the clothing of marriageable girls, circumcision (*ʿadhr*) of boys, bestowing of standards of war. It—or rather, the square in front of it—is also regarded as the beginning and end of all Meccan trade caravans (Ibn Saʿd, I, i, 39). Henri Lammens, following a suggestion by Martin Hartmann, reasoned from these and other indications that the Dār al-Nadwa in the old days was not a profane but a sacred building which served for the enactment of social-religious rites (*Les sanctuaires préislamites*, 27-33; cf. G. Levi Della Vida, art. ḲUṢAIY, in *EI*[1]). His proof lacks, however, sufficient basis.

To begin with, the Dār al-Nadwa remained after the rise of Islam. Muʿāwiya bought it, and subsequently it served the Umayyads and the first ʿAbbāsids as a residence during their pilgrimages. Hārūn al-Rashīd had a different building extended as a residence (the so-called Dār al-ʿImāra). After that, the Dār al-Nadwa fell more and more into decay. At the end of the 3rd/9th century, under the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, it was given columns, arcades and galleries, and incorporated as an annexe to the Masdjid al-Ḥarām.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 80, 83, 323 f., 789; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 39 f.; Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, (1858), 65-7 (Azraḳī); iv (1861), *passim*; Ṭabarī, i, 1098 f.; *al-Fāsī*, *Shifā al-gharām*, i (Mecca 1956), 226 f., 234-6; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, i, (1847), 237, 250 f.; Caetani, *Annali*, i (1905), Introduction § 78; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i (1888), 12; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke* (1923), 151 f.; H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire* (*MFOB*, ix, 3, Beirut 1924), 72-4, 226, 301; idem, *Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale* (*ibid.*, xi, 2, 1926), 39-173; Article ḲUṢAIY, in *EI*[1] (G. Levi Della Vida). (R. Paret)

DĀR AL-SAʿĀDA [see SARAY].

DĀR AL-SALĀM, "Abode of Peace", is in the first place a name of Paradise in the Ḳurʾān (vi, 127; x, 26), because, says Bayḍāwī, it is a place of security (*salāma*) from transitoriness and injury, or because God and the angels salute (*sallama*) those who enter it. Hence it was given to the city of Baghdād by al-Manṣūr, as well as Madīnat al-Salām (cf. BAGHDAD, and also the geographical lexicon of Yāḳūt, *ad init.*). For the capital of Tanganyika see DAR-ES-SALAAM. (T. H. Weir*)

DAR-ES-SALAAM, capital of the British administered United Nations Trusteeship Territory of Tanganyika, formerly German East Africa, lies in Lat. 6° 49′ S. and Long. 39° 16′ E. The settlement of

Mzizima (Swahili: the healthy town) was first made in the 17th century A.D. by Wabarawa, of mixed Arab-Swahili stock from Barawa, south of Mogadishu. The present name, a contraction of Bandar al-Salām ("haven of welfare") at least dates from 1862, when Sayyid Ma̲d̲j̲īd, Sultan of Zanzibar, built a palace and other buildings there, of which a few survive. So does his main street, "Barra-rasta" (Hind. *baṛā rāstā*, lit. 'big road'), now "Acacia Avenue". Its modern prosperity dates from 1888, when it became a station of the German East Africa Company, and, in 1891, the seat of the Imperial Government. In 1916, during the First World War, it was taken by the British forces, and has since been the capital of the British administration. In 1957 the population comprised 93,363 Africans, 2,545 Arabs, 4,479 Europeans, 2,460 Goans, 23,263 Indians, 1,718 Pakistanis, 11 Somali and 903 others. Probably about 85,000 Africans, 12,500 Indians and Pakistanis, the majority of Arabs and all the Somali, are Muslims.

At first a quiet, if imposing official capital, Dar-es-Salaam is now a busy commercial port. A railway bifurcating at Tabora connects it with Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria, while roads, some metalled, reach all parts of the Territory. A complete rebuilding of official buildings is in progress. The mass of the buildings are modern, and, if the African quarter retains its traditional style, as a whole the town has an occidental appearance.

As on the rest of the coast, and in many towns inland, Islam is the majority religion. Of a gross territorial population of 8½ m., there are probably 2 m. Muslims and almost as many Christians. Swahili, a Bantu language, has a vocabulary approximately 25% Arabic in origin: it is the coastal tongue from near Mogadishu to the Rovuma and the *lingua franca* far inland into the Belgian Congo. Except for a small number of Aḥmadiyya, who have published a Swahili translation of the Ḳurʾān, East African Muslims are Sunnīs of the S̲h̲āfiʿī rite. The *s̲h̲arīʿa* is administered for them in Dar-es-Salaam by a Liwali, with appeal to the civil courts. Since earlier than the 1st century A.D. there has been a constant drift of Arab migration along the coast, and possibly Islam reached it in the 7th century. There were already S̲h̲āfiʿīs when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the coast in 731/1331. Most of the present Arabs are from S̲h̲iḥr, but some derive from other parts of the Ḥaḍramawt and Masḳaṭ, the latter being Ibāḍīs. There are a few from the Comoros. The wealthiest inhabitants of Dar-es-Salaam are Indians, of whom probably half are Muslims. K̲h̲od̲j̲as (Ismāʿīlīs of the Nizārī branch) predominate, and their head, Āg̲h̲ā K̲h̲ān IV, was ceremonially enthroned there in 1957. Other S̲h̲īʿīs are the It̲h̲nā ʿAs̲h̲arīs and the Bōhorās. There is a small group of Mayman, and of Sunnīs from Pakistan. There are numerous mosques. Some thirty Ḳurʾānic schools are conducted by Africans. The followers of the Āg̲h̲ā K̲h̲ān conduct their own secular schools, one reaching secondary level, and certain charitable institutions. Apart from private lectures, there is no advanced Islamic religious instruction.

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DĀR AL-S̲H̲IFĀʾ [see BĪMĀRISTĀN iii].

DĀR AL-ṢINĀʿA (also, but more rarely: *Dār al-ṣanʿa*). Etymologically, this compound can be translated "industrial establishment, workshop". In fact it is always applied to a State workshop: for example, under the Umayyads in Spain to establishments for gold and silver work intended for the sovereign, and for the manufacture and stock-piling of arms. But the sense most widely used is that of "establishment for the construction and equipment of warships": *dār ṣināʿa li-ins̲h̲āʾ al-sufun*; or simply *dār al-ins̲h̲āʾ*, which also occurs. This does not include the arsenals which we are to consider later, while the construction of private merchant ships is not dealt with. See BAḤRIYYA, MILĀḤA, SAFĪNA, USṬŪL.

From the Arabic compounds *dār al-ṣināʿa*, *dār al-ṣanʿa* the words for "arsenal" and "wet-dock" in the "mediterranean" languages are derived: Castilian *ataruzana*, *arsenal*, *darsena*; Catalan *darsanale*, *drasena*; Italian *arsenale*, *darsena*; Maltese *tarzna*, *tarznar*. It is probably from an Italian dialect that Ottoman Turkish borrowed its *tersāne* (sometimes "returkicized" as *tersk̲h̲āne*, on the analogy of *topk̲h̲āne* "arsenal for artillery"); the word passed into several languages from the early Ottoman Empire: modern Greek τερσανας, Syrian Arabic *tarsk̲h̲āne*, Egyptian Arabic *tarsāne* and *tarsak̲h̲āne*.

Eastern Mediterranean. It was naturally in the eastern Mediterranean that the first arsenals in the service of the Muslims operated, partly inherited from the romano-byzantine Empire. Victorious on land, the Arabs remained exposed to reprisals by sea, which they tried to prevent by making use of the experience of the indigenous populations until, before long, they themselves took the offensive. Muʿāwiya, when still only governor of Syria, was the first to organize an arsenal at Acre, in 28/649, for the Cyprus expedition; the arsenal was later transferred to Tyre, where it was combined with a fortified dock, closed at night with a chain, in which vessels took refuge. Nevertheless, al-Mutawakkil thought it expedient to restore the arsenal to Acre, and Ibn Ṭūlūn, when he was put in charge of it, had it fortified (by the grandfather of the geographer al-Muḳaddasī) on the model of the one at Tyre. It is possible that smaller establishments also existed at times at Tripoli and Lād̲h̲iḳiyya (Latakia); however, apart from the sea they were eclipsed, in the extreme north, by the riverside works at Tarsus which combined the activities of the holy war on land and sea until, as the result of a revolt, the Caliph al-Muḳtadī had its fleet burnt in 287/900 and, fifty years later, the Byzantines regained possession of it. The Crusades gave the final blow to these establishments which were probably already weakened by disorders and political divisions, and it does not seem that the Mamlūks subsequently restored them even at Beirut, which had become the chief town on the littoral.

Egypt. It was also Muʿāwiya, when Caliph, who was responsible for the reopening of the Egyptian arsenals which the autonomous rulers of Egypt were, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, to bring to their fullest and most lasting development. The first to operate were those which the Byzantines had owned, at Ḳulzum (Clysma)—later to be replaced by Suez—which, thanks to the restoration of the canal linking it with the Nile, served both the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, and at Alexandria. Other naval centres were later established at Rosetta, Damietta and Tinnīs on the mouths of the Nile, and to protect

them from Byzantine raids the ʿAbbāsids (al-Mutawakkil in particular) had them fortified and equipped with enclosed harbours like those in Syria. Numerous papyri provide evidence of requisitions of men and materials, made from the Umayyad period onward, to meet the needs of these arsenals. Nevertheless, the most secure, and consequently most highly developed, arsenal was the one established on the Nile near Fusṭāṭ (later Cairo), at first on the island of Rawḍa, in 54/674; probably damaged by Marwān II who had the ships burnt to prevent the ʿAbbāsids from pursuing him (132/750), it was reorganized during the naval struggles of the 3rd/9th century with the Byzantines by al-Mutawakkil (238/853); the island at that time was called Djazīrat al-ṣināʿa. The fortifications which it had possessed in the time of the Byzantines (under the name of Babylon), and which had fallen into disrepair since the conquest, were restored by Ibn Ṭūlūn, who also carried out the work of rebuilding the fleet. The decisive effort was however made by the Ikhshīdids in the following century, to meet the Fāṭimid threat. As it was at that time impossible to defend the arsenal from attack owing to its insular position, Ibn Ṭughdj had the island made into a garden, and gave orders for another arsenal to be set up on the river bank at Fusṭāṭ at the place then called Dār bint al-Fatḥ. It seems however that under the Fāṭimids the two arsenals operated alternately or simultaneously; the wazīr al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī in 516/1122 tried to rationalize shipbuilding by making the arsenal at Misr (Fusṭāṭ), now enlarged, specialize in *shawānī* and "State vessels", and the Island arsenal in *shalandiyyāt* and *ḥarbiyyāt*. A third arsenal operated in the quarter known as al-Maḳs, north of the town, at the time of the early Fāṭimids, but we know nothing more about it; a fleet fitted out against Byzantium was burnt there in 386/996. The events of the Crusades and the troubles at the end of the dynasty proved fatal to the fleet and to the Cairo arsenals which disappeared in flames. Saladin attempted to re-establish shipbuilding at Alexandria, and in the Mamlūk period we once again hear of a fleet fitted out at the time of the Cyprus expedition; but these were sporadic efforts occurring at long intervals and, roughly speaking, although there had been sudden fluctuations in shipbuilding even earlier, it is safe to say that the Egyptian arsenals disappeared in face of the Italian domination over the Mediterranean.

The Muslims in Crete had an autonomous naval base at Khandaḳ in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries.

The West. The oldest arsenals in the West were necessarily somewhat newer than those in the East, but some of them were perhaps to survive longer, and the East at times tried to make use of the West in this respect as a reserve of materials and equipment.

Ifrīḳiya. The oldest arsenal in the West was at Tunis [*q.v.*]. It was founded in about 75/694 by the governor Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān on the orders of the Umayyad Caliph in the East, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. A thousand Copts, together with their families, were brought from Egypt to undertake the work of building and arming a fleet intended to guard the coast of Ifrīḳiya and, in particular, to conquer Sicily.

Other maritime arsenals were recorded at Al-Mahdiyya, Sousse (= Sūsa) and Bougie (= Bidjāya).

Al-Andalus. It was only in the first quarter of the 4th/10th century that the Umayyads in Spain built arsenals. In fact they needed fleets, firstly to resist the Norman attacks, and subsequently to support their policy of intervention in North Africa against the Fāṭimids. The most important arsenal was at Almeria (= al-Mariyya). Others are recorded at Tortosa (= Ṭurṭūsha), Denia (= Dāniya), Almuñecar (= al-Munakkab), Málaga (= Mālaḳa), Gibraltar, Saltés (= Shalṭīsh), Santa Maria de Algarve (= Shantamariyya), Silves (= Shilb), Alcacer do Sal. There was, perhaps, one at Cadiz (= Ḳādis), a fief of the Banū Maymūn, whose family provided several *ḳāʾids* for the Almoravid fleets, and also in the Balearics.

Western Maghrib. The two oldest are those at Ceuta and Tangier, on the straits of Gibraltar, intended at first for merchant ships. With the advent of the three great Berber-Moroccan dynasties, the Almoravids, Almohads and Marinids, these arsenals became military establishments. They supplied warships and transport vessels, making it possible to keep command of the straits and to allow the passage of armies sent to defend Muslim Spain.

The other principal arsenals known in the Middle Ages were at Algiers (this was to be particularly developed later, after the Ottoman occupation), Oran, Hunayn, Bādis, al-Maʿmūra (now al-Mahdiyya at the mouth of the Subū), Salé and Anfā (now Casablanca).

Sicily. We cannot say if the Muslims established arsenals in the places they occupied on the island or the Italian mainland in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. It is probable that there were some in Sicily, at Palermo and Messina.

Indian Ocean and neighbouring seas. In general, the Indian Ocean with its Muslim branches the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf were peaceful areas compared with the Mediterranean; many pirates were to be found there, but no hostile naval power. Police forces consequently proved sufficient, and it is probable that merchant ships, built as we know without nails, were often used by them; there seems to have been no true arsenal of the Mediterranean type. However, apart from Ḳulzum which has already been referred to, it is certain that the Fāṭimids maintained a fleet with ʿAydhāb as its base, to safeguard pilgrims and merchants in the Red Sea on their way to the Yemen. There is little doubt that shipbuilding was carried out in the large eastern commercial ports: Aden, at an earlier period Basra (or rather its outer harbour and precursor Ubulla), Sīrāf, later replaced by Kīsh, Ṣuhār then Mascat in ʿUmān, and perhaps also in Muslim towns on the coast of west India and east Africa; apart from Ubulla, it is difficult to be certain of their status and political character, and even there the dockyards were not able to remain in operation after the 5th/11th century when the maritime activity of Baṣra and Sīrāf began to decline considerably.

The Timber-Supply. The arsenals were naturally set up either within a short distance of districts producing timber for shipbuilding (pine and cedar, oak, acacia *labakh* or *sanṭ* in Egypt, sycamore and to some extent palm and fig) or else in a favourable situation for importing it from Italian, Indian (teak, coconut palm) and East African merchants, not to mention the raiders of the Anatolian coasts. Of the various causes of the decline in ship-building after the 5th/11th century, one may be the increasing shortage of timber.

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(G. S. COLIN and CL. CAHEN)

DAR AL-ṢULḤ 'the House of Truce', territories not conquered by Muslim troops but by buying peace by the giving of tribute, the payment of which guarantees a truce or armistice (*hudna, ṣulḥ*). The two historic examples of such a situation, which were evidently the starting-point for the whole theory, are Nadjrān and Nubia. Muḥammad himself concluded a treaty with the Christian population of Nadjrān, guaranteeing their security and imposing on them certain obligations which were later looked on as *kharādj* [*q.v.*] by some, and as *djizya* [*q.v.*] by others (for the whole question see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 63 ff.; Sprenger, *Leben Mohammads*, 3, 502 ff.; M. Hamidullah, *Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane*, 78 ff., *Corpus*, no. 79 ff.). In the course of events this protectorate proved to be of no use to the inhabitants of Nadjrān on account of their geographical situation. For Nubia it was somewhat different. Thanks to their skill in archery the Nubians were able for centuries to defend themselves against Muslim attack and to preserve their independence. As a result, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd in 31/652 concluded a treaty (*ʿahd*) with them imposing not a poll-tax (*djizya*) but merely a certain tribute in slaves (*baḳt* [*q.v.*]). On the other hand, some were not prepared to admit that, besides the *Dār al-Islām* and *Dār al-ḥarb*, [*qq.v.*], there existed a third category of territories excluded from Muslim conquest, and they held that in this instance it was in reality a question, not of a *ṣulḥ* or *ʿahd*, but merely of an armed truce (*hudna*) and the implementation of reciprocal undertakings (see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 236 ff.; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iii, 290 f.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 189). This somewhat vague theory also provided a basis upon which it seemed possible to establish contractual relations with Christian countries; presents sent by the latter were consequently looked on as a *kharādj*. The legal theory was expounded as follows by al-Māwardī. All the territories more or less directly under Muslim control can be divided into three categories; (1) those which have been conquered by force of arms; (2) those which have been occupied without battle after the flight of their rulers; (3) those which have been acquired by treaty, this third category including two instances which depend on whether the property (a) becomes common property (*waḳf*) of the Muslim community, or whether (b) it remains in the hands of the former proprietors; in the first instance the former proprietors can in fact remain on their land and become *dhimmīs*; they pay *kharādj* and *djizya* and their country becomes *Dār al-Islām*; in the second instance, the proprietors of the land keep their estates by contract and from their revenues pay a *kharādj* which is considered as a *djizya*, and collected until they are converted to Islam; their territory is considered neither as *Dār al-Islām* nor *Dār al-ḥarb* but as *Dār al-ṣulḥ* or *Dār al-ʿahd* [*q.v.*], and their estates can always be alienated or mortgaged without restriction; if the property is transferred to a Muslim, the land is no longer liable for *kharādj*; this state of affairs will continue so long as the proprietors observe the clauses of the treaty, and the *djizya* for which they are liable cannot be increased since they are not in the *Dār al-Islām*. However, according to Abu Ḥanīfa, if their territory became *Dār al-Islām* they would then be *dhimmīs* and subject to *djizya*. As regards the situation created by a rupture of the treaty, the various schools are not in agreement. According to al-Shāfiʿī, the country, if it is then conquered, belongs to the first category, that is to say, territories acquired by force; and if it is not conquered, it becomes *Dār al-ḥarb*. According to Abu Ḥanīfa, the the land becomes *Dār al-Islām* if there are Muslims there or if it is separated from the *Dār al-ḥarb* by Muslim territory, and its non-Muslim inhabitants are themselves considered as rebels (*bughāt*); if neither of these conditions applies, the land becomes *Dār al-ḥarb*. Others, on the contrary, claimed that in both cases it becomes *Dār al-ḥarb* (see *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1298, 131 ff.). It is evident that the position was irregular and ambiguous. Al-Māwardī himself (150 and 164) includes this *Dār al-ṣulḥ* in his enumeration of Muslim territories (*bilād al-Islām*) and al-Balādhurī does not observe this distinction when discussing *kharādj*.

In the period immediately following the Crusades numerous treaties, the details of which we possess, were concluded with Christian princes or princelings (treaties with the king of Armenia, the princess of Tyre, the Templars of Anṭarṭūs, etc.; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans Mameluks*, trans. Quatremère, ii, 201 ff., 206 ff., 218 ff.). For details and forms, and the traditional justifications of truce agreements concluded between Muslim sovereigns and non-Muslim princes, see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiii, 321 ff.; xiv, 7 ff.

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(D. B. MACDONALD-[A. ABEL])

DĀR AL-TAḲRĪB [see IKHTILĀF].

DĀR AL-ṬIBĀʿA [see MAṬBAʿA].

DĀR AL-ṬIRĀZ [see ṬIRĀZ].

DĀR AL-ʿULŪM or the "House of Sciences", (a) an establishment for higher instruction founded in 1872 by ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak [*q.v.*]. Its aim was to introduce a certain number of students of al-Azhar [*q.v.*] to modern branches of learning by means

of a five year course, in order to fit them for teaching in the new schools. In fact, as other centres were created in Cairo for the teaching of science, its curriculum was remodelled a number of times and the exact sciences were relegated to the background. The length of the course was reduced to four years. Attached as a Faculty since 1946 to the University of Cairo (formerly Fuʾād), Dār al-ʿUlūm endeavours to be at the same time Arabic and Islamic, and is proud to be the great Muslim Teachers' Training College of Egypt, influential through the teachers and inspectors who have been trained there. The students are divided into sections: four for Arabic language and three for Islamic studies. The diploma given on completion of the course is equivalent to a Bachelor's degree, and can be followed by a Master's degree or a Doctorate. Since 1951-2, apart from the students of al-Azhar, men who have passed the government secondary schools' 'Baccalauréat' (*tawdjīh*) have been admitted, and since 1953-4, a certain number of women students. Formerly, as at al-Azhar, the teaching was free and a modest sum was given to the students monthly, but now teaching fees are charged, with special concessions for those who undertake to become teachers. In 1957-8, there were 1,715 students as well as some scholarship holders completing their education in European universities.

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(b) the religious institution at Deoband [*q.v.*].

(c) Farangī Maḥall. In a house known as the Farangī Maḥall in Lucknow, granted by Awrangzīb to his family as compensation for loss of property on the murder of his father in 1103/1691, Niẓām al-Dīn started two years later a *madrasa* which came to be known as Dār al-ʿUlūm Farangī Maḥall. Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn's fame rests mainly on the introduction of a syllabus of religious instruction called *dars-i Niẓāmiyya*, an improvement on the syllabus said to have been originally drawn up by Fatḥ Allāh al-Shīrāzī, a well-known scholar of Akbar's court. Much stress is laid in this syllabus on the rules of Arabic grammar, logic, and philosophy, while practically no attention is given to modern disciplines. There has more recently been a persistent demand for a change in the curriculum, so far unsuccessfully.

With the establishment of the Dār al-ʿUlūm at Deoband the Farangī Maḥall institution lost the pre-eminence it had enjoyed since the time of Awrangzīb, and has now receded into the background; in recent times it has been politically active: in the early 1920s the *ʿulamāʾ* of the Farangī Maḥall championed the cause of the Ottoman Khilāfa, and played a prominent rôle during Muslim League agitation in the late 1930s for the creation of Pākistān.

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(d) The Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ, Lucknow, was founded in 1312/1894 by a band of progressive *ʿulamāʾ* who nominated Mawlawī Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Kānpūrī as the first *nāẓim*, with the declared object of reforming the current system of religious education and effecting a rapprochement between the various factions of the *ʿulamāʾ* by the establishment of an Islamic *dār al-ʿulūm* which would not only provide education in both religious and temporal sciences but would also offer technical training. In 1316/1898 the primary classes were started, and a year later the great library was founded, round which later grew up the Dār al-Muṣannifīn, also known as the Shiblī Academy, an institute of Islamic research with the monthly *Maʿārif* as its organ. In 1322/1904 Shiblī Nuʿmānī [*q.v.*] joined the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ as its secretary, and in 1326/1908 the present buildings were opened. Its periodical *al-Nadwa* appeared first in 1322/1904 under Shiblī's editorship. Under Shiblī's guidance the Nadwa became the first institution in India to adopt modern methods of critical research; it was, however, a synthesis of the Deoband and ʿAlīgaṙh ideologies, and failed to imbibe either the spirit of orthodoxy characteristic of Deoband or the purely rationalistic attitude of ʿAlīgaṙh. Its foremost scholar was Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī, whose completion of the Urdū biography of the Prophet, started by Shiblī, is a blending of the seemingly divergent views of East and West in the field of historical research. The Nadwa, however, was not successful in the religious sphere; its leaders were not orthodox, and could not instil into their students the spirit of classical Islam. The result was that the Nadwa came to be known merely as an educational institution with Arabic as the medium of instruction, and its reputation as a seat of learning and Islamic research is now on the decline.

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DĀRĀ, DĀRĀB, Persian forms (adopted by Arab writers) of the name of the Achaemenian king familiarly known under the hellenized form *Dareios* (Darius). Dārāb, and its abbreviation Dārā, are directly derived from the ancient Persian Darayahvahav- (Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 738; the different grammatical cases attested by Persian inscriptions, in Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, 1908, s.v. *darayavau*; for the ancient historians of these kings, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, index, s.v. Dareios).

The sources of information about these princes collected by Arab and Persian writers are legendary rather than historical (cf. preface by J. Mohl, *Livre des Rois*, 12mo ed., v, 1877). The Persian poet Firdawsī (*op. cit.*, v), of later date than the Arab historians, was inspired by their accounts particularly in regard to the reign of Alexander (Iskandar), but he combined them with elements from Persian legends. His account, even when stripped of poetic elaborations, is fuller than those of the Arab historians, even the earliest in date, al-Ṭabarī. A short summary follows (Dārāb and Dārā are Darius II and Darius III respectively).

Goshtāsp (Vishtāspa, the Greek Hystaspe), king of Persia, named as his successor his grandson Bah-

man, son of Isfandyār (Vahman, derived from the Avestan Vohū Manah, "Good Thought"), in whom we recognize Artaxerxes (Artaḵẖshatra) Longhand. In accordance with the *kheṭuk-das* (*kvaetvadaθa*) practice, Bahman married his own daughter Homāy ("who appears to represent in popular legend Parysatis", historically the wife of Darius II, to quote J. Mohl); Bahman got her with child; before his death, he declared her to be queen of Persia, and named as his successor the child whom she was to bear. From the time of its birth, the mother entrusted her child to a nurse who reared it secretly; when it was eight months old, the queen placed it in a box filled with treasure and committed it to the waters of the Euphrates; two spies set by the queen to keep watch brought her news that a washerman had rescued the baby. He and his wife, having lost their son, adopted the child and named it Dārāb (Persian: *dar āb*, "in the water", popular etymology); he grew up and questioned his parentage. A war broke out; he took part in it, came to the notice of the queen, then won great renown; the Persian commander-in-chief spoke to the queen of him and led her to recognize a jewel which she had fastened on her infant's arm. On Dārāb's return she had him proclaimed king. He founded Dārābgird, defeated first the Arabs and then king Faylaḳūs (Philip of Macedon); he compelled him to pay tribute and married his daughter. He was however repelled by her foul breath and sent her back, pregnant, to her father. She gave birth to a son whom she named Iskandar, after the plant *iskandar* (*iskandarus*, gr. σκόροδον) which had cured her complaint. Philip had Iskandar recognized as his own son. Dārāb for his part had had by another wife a son named Dārā. Then the two young princes becames kings. Iskandar, refusing to give Dārā the requisite tribute, conquered Egypt and invaded Persia which he hoped to take over from his half-brother; disguised as an ambassador he came to Dārā's camp and was received with great pomp; he was, however, recognized, took to flight and succeeded in escaping, subsequently inflicting four defeats on Dārā. Dārā was assassinated by his ministers who informed Iskandar; horrified by the news, the latter hurried to his half-brother whom he found on his death-bed. Dārā spoke with nobility of God's almighty power, and asked Iskandar to marry his daughter Rus̲h̲anak (Roxane) and to treat the Persians well. Iskandar who became king of Persia made further conquests. (The *Deeds of Alexander*, *Iskandar-nāma*, written by the Persian poets Niẓāmī, Amīr K̲h̲usraw, D̲j̲āmī, only describe Dārā's defeat, with further moralizing upon the fickleness of fortune.

Accounts given by the Arab historians differ only in certain details from that of Firdawsī. In the Chronicle by al-Ṭabarī (Persian version, trans. Zotenberg, i, 508 ff.), the infant Dārāb was saved from the water by a miller; Homāy, when told of this, entrusted her son to him with the words (in Persian): *dar* ("look after him!"), whence the name Dārā (another popular etymology); "it is also said that he was called Dārāb because he had been found *in the water*" (*dar āb*); Homāy voluntarily told her son the secret of his birth when he reached his twentieth year; on Iskandar's refusal to give tribute, Dārā had a symbolical message sent to him (racket, ball, sack of sesame) very similar to that sent by the Scythians to Darius I (Herodotus, iv, 131-33; and cf. E. Doblhofer, *Le déchiffrement des écritures*, French trans. 1959, 24); as a result of Dārā's injustice and wickedness, his soldiers deserted and his two chamberlains murdered him with the complicity of Iskandar who was hypocrite enough to be present at Dārā's death-bed and then to punish his assassins. Ḥamza of Ispahan is very brief (*Annals*, ed.-trans. Gottwaldt, 28-9), as is al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 127) who gives the same name (Dārā) to both Darius II and III. In al-T̲h̲aʿālibī's *History of the kings of the Persians* (ed. and trans. Zotenberg, 393 ff.), there is the same fanciful derivation of the name Dārāb, an account practically identical with al-Ṭabarī's, also insisting on Dārā's wickedness and Iskandar's duplicity. The same account appears in al-Maḳdisī's *Book of the Creation* (ed. and trans. Cl. Huart, iii, 154-9), with the exception that Iskandar, after refusing to pay tribute, thought better of it and sent it with an apology: Dārā gave him his daughter's hand.

Just as the Pseudo-Callisthenes had made Alexander heir to the kings of Egypt, so the legendary history of Persia made Iskandar a half-brother of Darius III with whom he disputed the throne (possibly a confused allusion to Cyrus the Younger's revolt against his brother Artaxerxes II in 401).

Dārā (or Daras-Anastasiopolis) is a fortress situated between Mardīn and Naṣībīn, captured from the Greeks by Chosroes I during the campaign in 540 (Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser ... zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 239, and A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], 372 and 445).

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DARʿA [see AD̲H̲RIʿĀT].

DARʿA. This is the name both of a river of south Morocco which rises on the southern slope of the High Atlas and flows into the Atlantic south of the D̲j̲ebel Bānī, and of a Moroccan province which stretches along the two cultivated banks of this water-course from Agdz as far as the elbow of the river Darʿa, for a distance of about 120 miles in a generally north-west to south-east direction.

This province is traditionally divided into eight districts corresponding with the wider parts of the valley which are separated by mountain barriers forming narrows. From north to south these are: Mazgīta, Ayt Saddrāt, Ayt Zarrī, Tinzūlīn, Tarnāta, Fazwāta, Ktāwa and Mḥammid.

It is populated by generally Berber-speaking tribes and by coloured people who can be divided into *ʿabīd*, slaves imported from the Sahara and negro countries, and *ḥarāṭīn*, who have a dark skin but whose features are not negroid, and who are thought to be the most ancient occupants of the region. Jews, apparently of Berber origin, complete the sedentary population of more than 100,000. At least up to the submission of Darʿa to the French Protectorate in 1932, the sedentary population lived in subjection to the sometimes Arab, but mainly Berber, nomad tribes of the surrounding mountains.

Darʿa has been inhabited from a very early date and must certainly have had an eventful history since it is a productive region in the midst of areas which are almost desert. Traditions lead us to believe that the Jews played an important part politically up to the 10th century and that Islam was brought there by a descendant of the founder of Fez in the first half of the 3rd/9th century. Later, at the end of the 4th/10th century, Darʿa came under the domination of the Mag̲h̲rāwa (belonging to the Zenāta) who had settled in Sid̲j̲ilmāsa.

With the Almoravids, Darʿa really enters on to the historical scene, for it served as an advance post for their penetration into Atlantic Morocco, as is witnessed by the ruins of a fortress which dominates Zagora. From the second half of the 5th/11th century on, Darʿa was part of the Moroccan empire created by the Almoravids, then by the Almohads and the Marīnids. The Maʿḳil Arabs infiltrated there towards the end of the 7th/13th century and exercised a dominating influence.

In the 10th/16th century, this province was the cradle of the first Sharīfian dynasty of the Saʿdīs [*q.v.*] and was the place from which the sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr started on his expedition to the Sudan (1591). This shows, in a very striking manner, the role of Darʿa as a point of contact between Morocco and the Sahara. Thanks to the trade with Gao and Timbuctoo at the beginning of the 11th/17th century, this region enjoyed a brief period of prosperity.

Held more or less by the ʿAlawī sultans, Darʿa was the centre of an important religious brotherhood, the Nāṣiriyyīn, which spread widely at the beginning of the 11th/17th century around the *zāwiya* of Tamgrūṭ. It was practically independant when Ch. de Foucauld crossed it in April 1884; its history then was essentially one of tribal and clan rivalries. The region was occupied by French troops between 1930 and 1932, almost without any fighting.

To-day, this overpopulated and poor region provides Casablanca and various other towns with a considerable number of workers, for its almost stagnant agriculture is very far from being able to support its growing population. This emigration is usually a temporary one, linked with the vicissitudes of its climate and agriculture (*Naissance du prolétariat marocain*, Paris, n.d., 67-9).

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(R. Le Tourneau)

DĀRĀ SHUKŌH, eldest son of Shāh Djahān and Mumtāz Maḥall, was born near Adjmēr on 19 Ṣafar 1024/20 March 1615. He received his first *manṣab* [*q.v.*] of 12,000 *dhāt*/6000 *sawār* in 1042/1633, as also the *djāgīr* of Ḥiṣār-Fīrūza, regarded as the appendage of the heir-apparent. The same year he was given the nominal command of an army despatched to defend Ḳandahār which was threatened by the Persians, and again in 1052/1642 when the threat was renewed. The attack, however, did not materialize. In 1055/1645, he was given the governorship of the *ṣūba* of Ilāhābād to which were added the *ṣūba*s of Lahore in 1057/1647, and Gudjarāt in 1059/1649. Though he took some interest in Lahore and constructed a number of buildings and market-places, he left the other *ṣūba*s to be governed by deputies, himself remaining at the court. By 1058/1648, he had attained the *manṣab* of 30,000/20,000 (which incidentally was the highest rank attained by Shāh Djahān before his accession).

Following the failure of two attempts to recover Ḳandahār from the Persians (who had captured it in 1059/1649), Dārā was deputed to lead a third expedition for its recapture in 1062/1652. Although the siege was vigorously pressed, and forts in Zamīndāwar taken, Ḳandahār itself defied capture. The failure of the campaign, due partly to a division in Dārā's camp as also his lack of experience, adversely effected his prestige as a political and military leader.

On his return, Shāh Djahān associated him more closely than ever with the affairs of the state, bestowing upon him unprecedented honours, and the rank of 60,000/40,000 (1067/1657). It seems that Shāh Djahān, having clearly marked out Dārā as his successor, wanted to avoid a struggle for the throne on his death, a position which his younger sons were not prepared to accept. In 1067/1657, when Shāh Djahān fell ill, his younger sons, fearing that Dārā might use the opportunity to seize power, advanced towards Āgra on a plea of meeting the Emperor, thereby precipitating a war of succession (see Awrangzīb). Awrangzīb and Murād raised the slogan of Dārā being a heretic (*mulḥid*) and the orthodox faith being in danger from his constant association with Hindū *yōgīs* and *sanyāsīs*. However, the slogan of religion does not seem to have influenced significantly the actual alignment of the nobles. Dārā was defeated, first at the battle of Sāmūgaṙh near Āgra (7 Ramaḍān 1068/8 June 1658), and then at Deorāʾī near Adjmēr (28 Djumādā II 1069/23 March 1659). Shortly afterwards he was captured by an Afghān noble, Malik Djīwan, with whom he had taken shelter. He was brought to Dihlī and executed (22 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1069/10 Sept. 1659), a formal charge of heresy being laid against him. Dārā's elder son, Sulaymān Shukōh, soon followed him to the grave, a younger son, Sipihr Shukōh, being imprisoned at Gwāliyār.

Although Dārā had an undistinguished political and military career, he was one of the most remarkable figures of his age. A keen student of ṣūfism and of *tawḥīd*, he came into close contact with leading Muslim and Hindū mystics, notably Miyān Mīr (d. 1045/1635) and Mullā Shāh (d. 1071/1661) of the Ḳādirī order (becoming a disciple of the latter in 1050/1640), Shāh Muḥibb Allāh Ilāhābādī, Shāh Dilrubā, Sarmad the famous heterodox monist, and Bāhā Lāl Dās Bayrāgī, a follower of Kabīr. A number of contemporary paintings showing Dārā in the company of ṣūfīs and *sanyāsīs* have been preserved.

Dārā was a prolific writer. His works include: *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ* (1050/1640) and *Sakīnat al-awliyāʾ* (1052/1642), dealing with the lives of *ṣūfī* saints, the latter with those of the Ḳādirī order; *Risāla-i Ḥaḳḳ numā* (1056/1646) and the rather rare *Ṭarīḳat-i ḥaḳīḳat*, both based on well known *ṣūfī* works; his *Dīwān*, also known as *Iksīr-i aʿẓam*, recently brought to light, containing verses and quatrains in a pantheistic strain; *Hasanāt al-ʿārifīn* (1062/1652) containing the aphorisms of *ṣūfī* saints belonging to

various orders; *Mukālama-i Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shukōh*, a record of his discussions with Bābā Lāl in 1063/1653; *Majma' al-baḥrayn*, (1065/1655), perhaps his most remarkable work, being a comparative study of the technical terms used in *Vedānta* and Ṣūfism; and the *Sirr-i akbar* (1067/1657), his most ambitious work, being a translation of fifty-two principal Upaniṣhads which Dārā claims to have completed in six months with the aid of learned pandits and *sanyāsīs*. In addition to this, with Dārā's patronage and support, fresh translations into Persian were made of a number of Hindū religious works such as *Yōga-Vashishta*, the *Gītā* and the mystic drama *Prabōdha-Čandrōdaya*. Dārā was also a good calligraphist, and patronized the arts: an album (*Muraḳḳa'*) of calligraphic specimens and Mughal miniatures was presented by him to his wife Nādira Begam (d. of Parwīz) in 1051/1641-42 with a preface written by him.

In some of his later writings, Dārā shows considerable acquaintance with Hindū philosophy and mythology. He was attracted by a number of ideas which have obvious parallels in Hindū philosophy, such as the triune aspect of God, the descent of spirit into matter, cycles of creation and destruction, etc. However, he was opposed to the practice of physical austerities advocated by the exponents of *yōga* and favoured by many *ṣūfīs*, arguing that God desired not to inflict punishment but that He should be approached with love. Like a number of eminent Muslim thinkers (cf. Mīr 'Abd al-Wāḥid, *Ḥaḳā'iḳ-i Hindī*, 1566) Dārā came to the conclusion that there were no differences except purely verbal in the way in which Vedānta and Islam sought to comprehend the Truth. Dārā's translation of the Upaniṣhads which he regarded as "the fountain-head of the ocean of Unity", was a significant contribution in the attempt to arrive at a cultural synthesis between the followers of the two chief faiths in the country, being the first attempt to comprehend and to make available to the educated Muslims these fundamental scriptures of the Hindūs.

It may be doubted if Dārā's interest in gnosticism was motivated by political considerations. From an early age, Dārā felt that he belonged to the circle of the select who were marked out for the attainment of divine knowledge. Though some sections of orthodox opinion had accused him of heresy and apostasy as early as 1062/1652, it does not seem that Dārā ever gave up his belief in the essential tenets of Islam, affirming them at more than one place. Nor does the undoubted pantheistic strain in his writings go beyond what had been considered permissible for *ṣūfīs*. The opposition of these orthodox elements to Dārā stemmed from a deeper conviction, viz., that emphasis on the essential truth of all religions would in the long run weaken the position of Islam as the state religion, and effect their privileges. It was thus closely related to Dārā's position as an aspirant for the throne.

Dārā occupies a pre-eminent place among those who stood for the concept of universal toleration and who desired that the state should be based on the support of both Muslims and Hindūs, and remain essentially above religion. His defeat in the war of succession did not, by any means, imply the defeat of the trend he represented.

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(SATISH CHANDRA)

DĀRĀBDJIRD (modern Dārāb), a town in the province of Fārs in the district of Fasā, situated 280 kilometres east of Shīrāz at an altitude of 1188 metres and with a population of 6,400 people (1950). In Iranian legend the foundation of this town is ascribed to Dārāb, father of Dārā (Darius III Codomannus). The Sāsānīd ruler Ardashīr rose to power by revolt from his post as military commander at Dārābdjird. The stone-strewn remains of the Sāsānid town lie 8 kilometres south-west of the modern village. The outline of the fortification walls exist as does the debris of a fire temple, located at the centre of the site. Six kilometres south-east of the modern village is a Sāsānid rock-cut relief known as the Naḳsh-i Rustam or as the Naḳsh-i Shāpūr. In the immediate vicinity is a spacious cruciform hall hewn into a rocky hillside, known as the Masdjid-i Sangī. Although it bears inscriptions dated 652/1254 and the title of the Sulṭān Abū Bakr, the hall is probably of the approximate period of the rock-cut relief.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Naṣīr Mīrzā Āḳā Furṣat Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī, *Āthār-i 'Adjam*, Bombay 1314/1896, 97-9, pls. 7-9; Le Strange, 288 ff.; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1944, 86-7; *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1330/1951, vol. 7, 95. (D. N. WILBER)

DARABUKKA, a vase-shaped drum, the wider aperture being covered by a membrane, with the lower aperture open. The body is usually of painted or incised earthenware, but carved and inlaid wood, as well as engraved metal are also used. In performance it is carried under the arm horizontally and played with the fingers. The name has regional variants: *darābukka* (or *ḍarābukka*), *dirbakki* and *darbūka*. Dozy and Brockelmann derive the word from the Syriac *ardabkā*, but the Persian *dunbak* is the more likely, although the lexicographers mistakenly dub the latter a bagpipe. The name *darabukka*, and its variants, is quite modern although a دربلة (a copyist's error for دربكة is mentioned in the *Alf layla wa layla*. The type is to be found in ancient Egypt. The *dirrīdj* is mentioned by Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (d. 319/930) although he wrongly thought that it was a kind of *ṭunbūr*, as do many Arabic lexicographers, but we know that it was a drum from Al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124). Ibn Mukarram (d. 710/1311) says that the correct vocalization is *durraydj*, and that form—with variants—is to be found in the Maghrib. The كريج and كربج found in Al-Maḳḳarī, are doubtless misreadings of دريج. Al-Shaḳundī (d. 628/1231) uses the Berber name *agwāl* for this drum, and that is still the name used in the Maghrib, although Höst calls it *akwāl*, whilst it is the *gallāl* of Algeria. In Tripolitania the name *tabdaba* is popularly used, and in Egypt *ṭabla*.

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AL-**DĀRAḲUṬNĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Mahdī b. Masʿūd b. al-Nuʿmān b. Dīnār b. ʿAbdallāh, was born in Dār al-Ḳuṭn, a large quarter of Baghdad, whence he got his *nisba*, in 306/918. He was a man of wide learning who studied under many scholars. His studies included the various branches of *Ḥadīth* learning, the recitation of the Ḳur'ān, *fiḳh* and belles-lettres. He is said to have known by heart the *dīwāns* of a number of poets, and because of his knowing the *dīwān* of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī he was accused of being a Shīʿī. His learning was so wide that many people felt there was no one like him. His biographers speak in fulsome terms of him. For example, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī calls him "the *imām* of his time". Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058) called him *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* in *Ḥadīth*. This was the subject for which he was specially famous. He had studied it under many masters in Baghdād, al-Baṣra, al-Kūfa and Wāsiṭ, and when he was of mature age he travelled to Egypt and Syria. He became so famous as a traditionist that every *ḥāfiẓ* who came to Baghdād visited him and acknowledged his pre-eminence. Among the many who studied *Ḥadīth* under him were al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014) and Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'inī (d. 406/1015). He died towards the end of 385/995 and was buried in the cemetery of Bāb al-Dayr near the grave of Maʿrūf al-Karkhī.

He contributed greatly to the advance of the critical study of Muslim traditions. His works, not all of which have survived, therefore deal primarily with the science of Tradition. His *Kitāb al-Sunan* (publ. Dihlī, 1306 and 1310) covers the normal ground of works of this nature. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī says it could have been produced only by one who was versed in *fiḳh* and acquainted with the conflicting views of the schools. It is said that he went to stay with Djaʿfar b. al-Faḍl, Kāfūr's *wazīr*, in Egypt because he heard that Djaʿfar wished to compile a *musnad*. Al-Dāraḳuṭnī is said to have helped him, or to have complied it for him. Whichever it was, he was richly paid for his trouble. His *Kitāb al-askhiyā' wa 'l-adjwād* has been edited by S. Wajahat Husain and published in *JASB*, n.s., xxx, 1934. It consists of stories of generosity. His *Kitāb ʿilal al-ḥadīth*, on weaknesses in traditions, was dictated from memory to al-Barḳānī. His *Kitāb al-afrād*, on traditions from one man or from one district only, is noted by Weisweiler as possibly the earliest book on the subject. Among other books on *ḥadīth* he wrote *Ilzāmāt ʿalā 'l Ṣaḥīḥayn*, in which he collected sound traditions not given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim which fulfilled their conditions. One other book which may be mentioned here is his *Kitāb al-Ḳirā'āt*, on Ḳur'ān readings, in which he began by stating the principles of the subject. He was the first writer to do so.

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DARAN (deren) [see the article atlas].

AL-**DARAZĪ**, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, was one of a circle of men who founded the Druze religion [see durūz]. He was not an Arab, and is called Nashtakīn in the Druze scriptures; according to Nuwayrī (who calls him Anūshtakīn), he was part Turkish and came from Bukhārā. He is said to have come to Egypt in 407 or 408/1017-18 and to have been an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* [see dāʿī and ismāʿīliyya], in high favour with the Caliph al-Ḥākim, allegedly to the point that high officials had to seek his good graces. He may have held a post in the mint (Ḥamza accuses him of malpractices with coinage).

He is said to have been the first who proclaimed publicly the divinity of al-Ḥākim; he is also accused, as heretics commonly were, of teaching *tanāsukh* (reincarnation) and *ibāḥa* (antinomianism) regarding the rules against wine and incest, though this latter is most unlikely. It is possible that his doctrine was a popularizing version of Ismāʿīlism such as the *dāʿīs* often warned against. His key treatise is said to have taught that the (divine) spirit embodied in Adam was transmitted to ʿAlī and (through the *imāms*) to al-Ḥākim. This would differ from orthodox Ismāʿīlism presumably in exalting ʿAlī over Muḥammad, imāmate over prophecy; and then in making public the secret *ta'wīl* (inner meaning of scripture) and probably denying the continued validity of the letter of revelation, *tanzīl*. For the commentator of Ḥamza's letters calls his followers Ta'wīlīs, who are accused by the Druzes of altogether rejecting the *tanzīl*. Ḥamza himself deems it necessary to remind al-Darazī that the inner truth and its outer form are always found together. He also accuses him of recognizing only the humanity of al-Ḥākim, not his divinity; which would follow, in Ḥamza's eyes, from his identifying al-Ḥākim with ʿAlī, the *asās*, who is a mere *imām*, leader of men, and far from the indefinable *One*, to Whom as such no functions can be assigned.

Al-Darazī seems to have gained a number of followers among al-Ḥākim's admirers, evidently with the approval of al-Hākim himself. Ḥamza, evidently claiming priority with al-Ḥākim, regarded al-Darazī as insubordinate and acting rashly on his own initiative; for instance, publicly attacking the Ṣaḥāba though warned against this. Ḥamza refused to let him see his doctrinal writings; he criticized the symbolism of the title al-Darazī first assumed, "sword of the faith", only to be worse offended when al-Darazī assumed instead a title, *sayyid al-Hādiyyīn*, "chief of the guided", which overreached Ḥamza's own title, *al-Hādī*, "the guide". He claims that some of al-Darazī's followers had at one time acknowledged Ḥamza's claims to leadership in the

movement, and that al-Darazī himself had done so, having been converted by an agent of Ḥamza, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥabbāl—who subsequently supported al-Darazī. Sacy thinks Ḥamza regarded him as the *Ḍidd*, Ḥamza's Rival as *imām*, who would as such have a major cosmic rôle. But many of al-Darazī's followers, most notably a *dāʿī* al-Bardhaʿī, had from the first rejected Ḥamza as unauthorized by al-Ḥākim.

It seems that al-Darazī, probably in 408/1017-18, took the step of making public, with al-Ḥākim's private but not open blessing, a demand for acceptance of the divinity of al-Ḥākim—according to Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, by reading his treatise in the main mosque of Cairo. This occasioned several riots, which engulfed Ḥamza also, and which evidently caused the whole movement to lose favour; it was probably this which forced Ḥamza to suspend his own preaching during 409. The Druze accounts are allusive, and other accounts seem to confuse several episodes, leaving the riots and the manner of al-Darazī's death unclear. Ḥamza's letters in 410/1019-20 seem to presuppose his death, which the Druze commentator places in 410, and imply that it was Ḥamza himself who—having denounced al-Darazī and others to al-Ḥākim—brought about his death on al-Ḥākim's orders. Ḥamza then tried to win over his followers, promising to intervene with al-Ḥākim for some who were in jail.

Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī makes al-Darazī withdraw secretly, on al-Ḥākim's orders, to Syria to preach, because people there readily accept novelties—which sounds like a later explanation of Druze geography. His name, in the form *Durzī*, was applied to the Druze community, probably not because it was he who first converted those of Syria—local tradition assigns this task to others—but because the whole movement was first associated with him in the public mind; thus al-Anṭākī applies the name "Daraziyya" to Ḥamza's own followers. The notion sometimes found, that either licentious teachings or loose moral practices among subsequent Druzes are to be traced to al-Darazī, is unsupported.

For bibliography see the article DURŪZ. Among Ḥamza's letters are especially relevant : *al-Ghāya wa 'l-naṣīḥa*, *al-Riḍā wa 'l-taslīm*, and *al-Subḥa al-kāʾina*. In Silvestre de Sacy's *Religion des Druzes*, the chief references are, in Vol. i, ccclxxxiii-cccxci, 99-113; in Vol. ii, 157-90 (and *errata*). See also Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, continuation of Eutychius, in *Scriptores Arabici*, text, ser. iii, Vol. vii, second part, edd. L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux, H. Zayyat, Beirut 1909, 220-4. (M. G. S. HODGSON)

DARB [see MADĪNA].

ḌARB [see DĀR AL-ḌARB and SIKKA].

DARB AL-ARBAʿĪN, one of the principal routes linking *bilād al-Sūdān* with the north, obtained its name from the forty days' travelling-time required to traverse it. W. G. Browne, the only European to have gone the whole way (in 1793) took 58 days from Asyūṭ to "Sweini" (al-Suwayna) near the southern terminus. Muḥammad ʿUmar al-Tūnusī in 1803 covered the same distance in 60 days. Starting from Asyūṭ, the route ran to the Khārdja oasis, an outpost of Ottoman Egypt. Thence it proceeded across the desert to al-Shabb, a watering-point where, as the name indicates, alum is found. At the next oasis, Salīma, a branch diverged to the Nubian Nile, which it attained a little above the Third Cataract at Mūshū, the frontier-post of the Fundj dominions. This route was followed in 1698 by Ch. J. Poncet (see his *Voyage to Aethiopia*, ed. Sir William Foster, in *The Red Sea and adjacent countries at the close of the seventeenth century*, (Hakluyt Society, Second Series, no. C), London 1949). From Salīma the Darb al-arbaʿīn proper continued across the deserts to al-Suwayna, the frontier post of Dār Fūr, where the caravans were held to await the sultan's pleasure. The route ended at Kubayh (*Cobbé*, Browne), about 35 miles NW of the sultan's residence at al-Fāshir. Kubayh, which is now deserted, was in the 18th and early 19th centuries an important town, principally inhabited by merchants, many of whom were immigrants from Nubia. The Darb al-arbaʿīn was the route followed to Egypt by the *ḳāfilat al-Sūdān*, which brought slaves, camels, ivory, ostrich feathers and gum, and returned with metal manufactured goods and textiles. During the 19th century, in consequence of the political changes of the eastern *bilād al-Sūdān*, and the decline of the slave-trade, the Darb al-arbaʿīn lost its importance, and only sectors of it are now occasionally used.

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ḌARB-KHĀNA [see DĀR AL-ḌARB].

DARBAND [see DERBEND].

DARBUKKA [see DARABUKKA].

DARD, one of the four pillars of Urdū literature and one of the greatest of Urdū poets, Khwādja Mīr (with the *takhalluṣ* of Dard) b. Khwādja Muḥammad Nāṣir "ʿAndalīb" al-Ḥusaynī al-Bukhārī al-Dihlawī, claimed descent from Khwādja Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband and in the 25th step from the Imām Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*]. Born in 1133/1720-21 in the decadent Imperial Dihlī, Dard received his education at home, mostly from his father, a very well-read man and the author of *Nāla-i ʿAndalīb*, a voluminous Persian allegory dealing with metaphysical and abstruse problems and of another Ṣūfī work, *Risāla-i Hūsh Afzā* (still in MS.). Casual references in Dard's work *ʿIlm al-Kitāb* (*vide infra*) show that on the completion of his studies he had attained proficiency in both the traditional and rational sciences. Starting life as a soldier he tried hard to secure a *djāgīr*, but soon withdrew from everything worldly and devoted himself, when barely 20 years of age, to a life of privation, austerity and asceticism. In 1172/1758-9, when he was 39 years old, he succeeded his father as the spiritual head of the local Čishtīs and Naḳshbandīs, and, despite the disturbed conditions prevailing in the capital in the wake of Nādir Shāh's invasion of 1152/1739 and Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī's incursions of 1175/1761, he did not leave Dihlī, being the only Urdū poet of note not to do so.

A great Ṣūfī, he passionately loved music and contrary to those who believed in the maxim "*al-ghināʾ ashadd min al-zināʾ*" (music is more heinous than adultery), he not only fraternized with the leading musicians of the town but also regularly held musical concerts (*madjālis-i samāʿ*) twice a month at his home, which were attended, among others, occasionally even by the ruling monarch Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur Shāh I [*q.v.*]. In one of his works *Nāla-i Dard* (p. 37) he describes devotional music (*samāʿ*) "as ordained by God".

Essentially a Ṣūfī writer, Dard's first work *Asrār al-Ṣalāt*, was written during *iʿtikāf*, while he was

still a lad of 15 years of age. It is a small tract dealing with the seven essentials of *al-Ṣalāt*. In 1166/1752 was begun *Risāla-i Wāridāt*, a collection of quatrains depicting the spiritual experiences of the author, and completed six years later in 1172/1758. His *magnum opus*, apart from his select Urdū *dīwān*, is, however, the *ʿIlm al-Kitāb*, a voluminous commentary on *Risāla-i Wāridāt*, comprising 648 very closely-written large-size pages. It is entirely on *sulūk* and is profusely interspersed with long Arabic quotations. Its style is sober and staid but powerful and the arguments adduced are cogent and sound. This book can be safely ranked with some of the outstanding works of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*], dealing with the same subject. It was followed by the supplementary works : *Nāla-i Dard*, *Āh-i Sard* and *Dard-i Dil*.

His other works are : *Shamʿ-i Maḥfil* (composed 1195-99/1780-84) ; a short Persian *dīwān* (Dihlī, 1309/1891-2); an Urdū *dīwān* (first published at Dihlī in 1272/1855 and later frequently printed); *Ḥurmat-i Ghināʾ*, in defence of devotional music and *Wāḳiʿāt-i Dard*, also on mystic problems. All these works have been published.

For an estimate of his quality and importance as a poet see URDŪ LITERATURE.

Dard died at an advanced age on 24 Ṣafar 1199/ 6 January 1785 and was buried in the old cemetery (now abandoned and converted into a public park) of Shāhdjahānābād, outside the Turkomān Gate. His tomb, along with that of his father and the attached small mosque, is still preserved and visited by the local Muslims.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

DARDANELLES [see ČANAḲ ḲALʿE BOGHAZÎ].

DARDIC AND KĀFIR LANGUAGES, the description now generally applied to a number of what are in many respects very archaic languages and dialects, spoken in the mountainous N.W. corner of the Indo-Aryan (IA) linguistic area, in Afghānistān, Pākistān and Kashmīr. With the exception of Kashmīrī, they are numerically insignificant, and have no written history. The others are known only from vocabularies and grammatical sketches, etc., the oldest dating from about 1830. There is still a great lack of adequate grammars, vocabularies, and collections of texts.

In the following account there is a departure from the normal transcription conventions of the Encyclopaedia: the symbol *ṣ* is used for a voiceless retroflex sibilant ('cerebral *s*'), *not* for *ṣād*; similarly the symbol *ṇ* is used for the retroflex nasal.

The Dardic and Kāfir languages may be roughly grouped as follows:

I. Kāfir Group. (*a*) Katī (Bashgalī), spoken, in two main dialects, in the Ramgel, Kulum, Ktiwī and Bashgal valleys in north Nūristān (Kāfiristān); (*b*) Prasun (Wasī-veri; Veron) in a small valley wedged in between the Katīs in Ktiwī and Bashgal; (*c*) Aṣkūṇ (with Wāmāī), south of Katī, between the Alingar and Peč rivers; (*d*) Waigalī (Wai-alā), in the Waigal valley, south-east of Prasun. There is a not inconsiderable dialect variation, and especially Gambīrī, spoken in the Tregam valley east of Waigal towards the Kunar, differs in many respects from ordinary Waigalī. The Kāfir languages have certainly occupied their isolated valleys since very ancient times. (*c*) and (*d*) have been more exposed to outside influences than (*a*) and (*b*); the last language has undergone such violent sound-changes that it has become incomprehensible to its nearest neighbours.

Dardic group. II. (*e*) Kalaṣa, spoken in two dialects by the Kalaṣ tribe, who are still mainly pagan, in S. Chitral (Čitrāl), chiefly in the west side valleys. Closely related to Kalaṣa is (*f*) Khowār, the principal language of Chitral, spoken, with little dialect variation, by the Khō tribe (see CHITRAL, ii). Khowār has adopted a number of words from Wakhī, as well as from some Middle Iranian languages (cf. *BSOS*, viii, 294 ff.). These two languages represent the earliest wave of IA penetration into the Hindu Kush region.

III. (*g*) Damēlī, in one village in an east side valley of Chitral, between Mirkhani and Arandu. It has adopted a number of Kāfirī words, and has little connexion, except the geographical one, with (*h*) Gawar-Bātī (Narisātī), spoken in a few villages on the Kunar river, on both sides of the Chitral-Afghān frontier. There is a tradition that this language was brought in from Swāt a few hundred years ago. (*i*) Remnants of dialects of a somewhat similar type are found further south, in Ningalām on the Peč (nearly extinct), and in Shumāsht, in N. E. Pashaī territory.

IV. (*j*) Pashaī, spoken in numerous and widely differing dialects, from the lower Kunar in the east, through Laghmān, and right up to Gulbahār on the Pandjshīr. The number of speakers may well run into the 100,000 guessed at in the *LSI*. Pashaī is descended from the ancient languages of Hindū and Buddhist civilization in Nagarāhāra, Lampāka and Kapisha, and there is still a marked difference of vocabulary between the east and west dialects. A few numerals of Pashaī type have been recorded in Al-Bīrūnī's India.

V. (*k*) Bashkarīk (Gāwrī/Gārwī), in the upper Pandjkora valley, above Dīr, and in three villages at the head-waters of the Swāt valley; (*l*) Torwālī, in the upper Swāt valley, below Bashk; (*m*) Maiyā̃, with a number of related dialects (Kanyawālī, Dubērī, Čilis, Gowro, etc.), in the Indus valley region between the Ṣinā and the Pashtō speaking areas. Maiyā̃ is also called Kōhistānī, but this term is also used for (*k*) and (*l*); in some respects it approaches (*p*); (*n*) Woṭapūrī (nearly extinct) and Kaṭārḳalāī, on and near the Peč, just above Čigha Sarāʾī on the lower Kunar. Connected with (*k*) and (*l*), but containing forms of

a more ordinary Lahndā [*q.v.*] type, is (*o*) Tirāhī, in a few villages S.E. of Djalālābād, driven out of Tirāh by the Afrīdīs and probably the remnant of a dialect group once extending from there, through the Pēshāwar district, into Swāt and Dīr.

VI. (*p*) Ṣiṇā, spoken in many dialects in Gilgit, Čilās, etc., as far south as Gurez in Kashmīr, and towards the east isolated in Drās and Ḍah Hanū in Baltistān, formerly even beyond Leh; (*q*) Phalūṛā, an archaic offshoot of (*p*), spoken in a few villages in S. E. Chitral. A related dialect, Sāwī, is spoken south of Gawar-Bātī; (*r*) Ḍumākī, the speech of the Ḍomas (musicians and blacksmiths) in Hunza, speaking Burushaskī [*q.v.* in Supplement]. It is influenced by (*p*), but has complex affinities with languages further south.

VII. (*s*) Kashmīrī, in the Kashmīr valley, with Kashtawārī as a true dialect, and other dialects strongly influenced by Ḍōgrī, etc.

The nomenclature and classification of these languages have been much discussed. E. Kuhn, in an important article in the *Album Kern* (1882) used the non-committal geographical term "Hindu Kush dialects". Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, 28, called them "Dardū and Kāfir dialects", employing the name Dard in the extended sense, accepted since. He thought that they were related to the so-called Piśāca dialect of Prākrit. This theory was further elaborated by Grierson in a series of publications, but no cogent linguistic arguments have been offered in support of it. According to Grierson the Dardic (or "Modern Piśāca") languages are not IA, but contain a number of Iranian features, and constitute a separate third branch of Indo-Iranian (IIr). Grierson divides the Dardic and Kāfir languages into (*A*) Kāfir group (= I, III, IV + (*e*) and (*o*); (*B*) Khowār (= (*f*)); (*C*) Dard group (= V, VI, VII). His classification has, in the main, been accepted in such recent works as *Les langues du monde* (2nd. ed. 1952), and Mhd. Shahidullah's article in *Indian Linguistics, Turner Jubilee Volume*, ii, 1959, 117. On the other hand, Sten Konow (*JRAS*, 1911, 1 ff.), drawing attention to some undoubtedly un-Indian features of Bashgalī (Katī), came to the conclusion that this language was of Iranian origin, and agreed with Grierson that the whole group must be separated from IA. Finally, Sköld (*ZDMG*, 81, LXXIV) went so far as to contend that the real Kāfir group (I) was not at all IIr, but a separate branch of the IE family.

In order to avoid confusion, it is important to distinguish between I (Kāfir group) and the rest (Dardic, II-VII). The latter languages, apart from some Kāfirī admixtures in (*g*), and in a few isolated cases in (*e*) and (*h*), contain absolutely no features which cannot be derived from Old IA. They have simply retained a number of striking archaisms, which had already disappeared in most Prākrit dialects. Thus for example the distinction between three sibilant phonemes (*s*, *ś* (*sh*), *ṣ*), or the retention, in the western dialects, of ancient *st*, *ṣṭ*. The loss of aspiration of voiced stops in some Dardic dialects is late, and in most of them at least some trace of the aspiration has been preserved. There is not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic, as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages, and the Dardic area itself is intersected by a network of isoglosses, often of historical interest as indicating ancient lines of communication as well as barriers. Dardic is simply a convenient term to denote a bundle of aberrant IA hill-languages, which in their elative isolation, accentuated in many cases by the invasion of Paṭhān tribes, have been in a varying degree sheltered against the expanding influences of IA Midland (*Madhyadesha*) innovations, being left free to develop on their own.

In the Kāfir group (I) the situation is an entirely different one. Although very heavily overlaid by IA (Dardic) words and forms, these dialects have retained several decidedly un-Indian features. The complete loss of aspiration of voiceless as well as voiced stops (*e.g.*, Katī *kur* 'ass'; *dyūm* 'smoke': S. Kalaṣa *khăr*; *dhūm*) must go back to an extremely remote period, since we also find, *e.g.*, Katī (*d*)*zim* 'snow'; *djāṙ* 'to kill': cf. Sanskrit *hima-*; *han*. Cf. also Katī (*d*)*zāṙ* 'to know'; *dji* 'bowstring', both with unaspirated *dj* in Sanskrit. In this respect Kāfirī follows Ir. as against IA in abolishing the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated sounds, while retaining the one between ancient IE palatal and palatalized velar stops. In most other respects, however, such as in the preservation of *s*, it agrees with IA: Kāfirī *c* (= *ts*) corresponding to Skt. *ś*, Avestan *s* (*e.g.*, in Katī *duc* 'ten') is an archaic feature, and still more so is the retention of dental *s* after *u*, as in *musä* 'mouse'. The vocabulary of Kāfirī contains a number of words not known from IA; some of these appear also in Iranian, *e.g.*, *kan-*, etc., 'to laugh', cf. Pers. *khand*; *washpik*, etc., 'wasp', cf. Ir. Pamir dialect, Yidgha *wofshio*; Prasun *yase* 'belt', cf. Av. *yāh-*; etc. Other words are found only in Kāfirī, and, in a few cases, in some of the adjoining Dardic dialects.

We are, therefore, entitled to posit the existence of a third branch of IIr, agreeing generally with IA, but being situated on the Ir side of some of the isoglosses which, taken as a whole, constitute the borderline between IA and Ir. This branch had also retained archaisms of its own, and must have separated from the others at a very early date. The present-day Kāfir languages represent, so to speak, the decayed ruins of this original building, largely rebuilt and reconstructed with the help of foreign (IA) material, but with the outlines of the original structure still visible.

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DARDĪRIYYA, name of the Egyptian branch of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] order. See also ṬARĪḲA.

DARDISTĀN, the name given to the area, lying between the Hindū Kush and Kāghān, between lat. 37° N. and long. 73° E., and lat. 35° N. and long. 74° 30′ E., the country of the Dardas of Hindū mythology. In the narrowest sense it embraces the Shinā-speaking territories, *i.e.*, Gilgit, Astor, Gurayz, Čilās, Hōdur, Darēl, Tangir etc., or what is now known as Yāghistān. In a wider sense the feudatory states of Hunza, Nāgar and Chitrāl [*q.v.*] (including the part known as Yāsīn), now forming the northern regions of Pakistan, comprise Dardistān; in the widest sense parts of what was till very recently known as Kāfiristān. Herodotus (iii, 102-5) is the first author who refers to the country of the Dards, "placing it on the frontier of Kashmīr and in the vicinity of modern Afghānistān". He, however, does not use the name "Dard" while referring to the country; on the other hand Strabo (xv) and Pliny (*Natural History*, xi) call the people inhabiting the area as *Derdae* or *Dardae*. The Dards are the "Darada" of the Sanskrit writers, a region to which Buddha sent his missionaries and *bhikshus*. These areas once formed the stronghold of Buddhism and even to this day numerous Buddhist remains and relics are found there. The Dards are "an independent people which plundered Dras in the last year, has its home in the mountains three or four days' journey distant and talks the *Pakhtu* or Daradi language. Those whom they take prisoners in these raids, they sell as slaves" (*Voyage par Mir 'Izzetulla in* 1812 in Klaproth's *Magasin Asiatique*, ii, 3-5).

Strangely enough the Dards have no name in common, each tribe inhabiting a different valley carrying a different name, derived mostly from the areas inhabited by them.

The history of Dardistān, a name first given to the entire country by Dr. G. W. Leitner after his visit in 1866, is the history of its component parts, namely Hunza, Nāgar, Chitrāl, parts of Baltistān, Ladakh, Gilgit etc. [*qq.v.*]. The main enemy of the Dards, otherwise a peace-loving people, was the Dōgrā State of Kashmīr under its first ruler, Gulāb Singh. He led a number of expeditions against the Dards. In 1850 a large Sikh army sent against Čilās met with an ignominious defeat. Next year, a force 10,000 strong under Bakhshī Hari Singh and Dīwān Hari Čand succeeded in destroying the fort of Čilās and scattering the hill tribes who had come to the assistance of the Čilāsīs.

A little-known fact about the outlying states of Hunza and Nāgar is that they never owed any allegiance to Kashmīr except that they occasionally sent a handful of gold dust to the Mahārādjā and received substantial presents in return. These two states have rather more than once punished Kashmīr when attempting agression, but they have never been hostile to the Dōgrā Kingdom.

The prevailing religion in the whole of Dardistān is Islam; a form of Shīʿism is met with in Hunza, Nāgar and parts of Chitrāl, although the latter is predominantly Sunnī. The Mawlāʾīs, as they call themselves, profess to be good Muslims with strong leanings towards the seventh Shīʿī *imām*. They, however, owe allegiance to the Āghā Khān. The *Kalām-i Pīr*, a book in Persian, an edition of which was published by Ivanow (Bombay 1935), is held in high esteem among the Mawlāʾīʿs. (See further ISMĀʿĪLIYYA).

Čamarkand in Yāghistān became the centre of the remnants of the *Mudjahidīn*, the followers of Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlwī [*q.v.*] after their defeat and dispersal in 1246/1831 at Bālākot in the Kāghān valley, at the hands of the Sikh forces led by Prince Shīr Singh, a son of the Lahore Chieftain, Randjīt Singh. Because of the suspected revolutionary and subversive activities of these *Mudjāhidīn* and their descendants, entry into Yāghistān from British India and subsequently from Pakistan was regulated by permits. This system was, however, abolished by the Pakistan Government in 1959.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

AL-DARDJĪNĪ, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. SAʿĪD B. SULAYMĀN B. ʿALĪ B. ĪKHLAF, an Ibāḍī jurist, poet and historian of the 7th/13th century, author of a historical and biographical work on the Ibāḍīs, the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Mashāyikh*. He belonged to a pious and learned Berber-Ibāḍī family from Tamīdjār, a place in the Djabal Nafūsa in Tripolitania. His ancestor, al-Ḥādjdj Īkhlaf b. Īkhlaf al-Nafūsī al-Tamīdjārī, an eminent *faḳīh*, lived in the neighbourhood of Nefṭa in the Djarīd [*q.v.*]. Son of Īkhlaf, the pious ʿAlī, who lived in the second half of the 6th/12th century, earned his living by trading with the Sudan. In the course of one of his trading journeys, in the year 575/1179-80, he is said to have converted the pagan king of Mālī in the western Sudan to the Ibāḍī faith, but this is a legend (cf. J. Schacht, in *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, xi, 1954, 21 f.). His son, the famous lawyer Sulaymān, who was the grandfather of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, lived at Kanūma in the Djarīd; he was regarded as a saint. The father of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, Saʿīd, who was a distinguished traditionist, settled at Dardjīn al-Sufla 'l-Djadīda near Nefṭa.

We do not know much about the life of al-Dardjīnī. He must still have been very young when he went to Ouargla in 616/1219-20, where he spent two years studying with the Ibāḍī *shaykhs* of this city. Afterwards he returned to the Djarīd, where we find him engaged in historical studies at Tozeur in 633/1235-6. Later he lived for some time on the island of Djarba, where he was highly regarded by the *ʿazzāba* (Ibāḍī scholars). It was at the request of these that he conceived the idea of writing the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Mashāyikh*.

The *Kitāb al-Djawāhir al-Muntaḳāt*, of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Barrādī [*q.v.*], gives some information on the origins of this work.

"Here", says al-Barrādī, "are the circumstances in which Abu 'l-ʿAbbās came to write his book. Al-Ḥādjdj ʿĪsā b. Zakariyyāʾ had just arrived from ʿOmān bringing various works with him . . . . . His brothers in the east had asked him to send them a work containing biographies of the earliest Ibāḍīs and recounting the virtues of the western forebears. Al-Ḥādjdj ʿĪsā consulted the learned *ʿazzāba* who were then to be found in Djerba and told them of this desire of their co-religionists in the east. They thought first of the book of Abū Zakariyyāʾ, but they recognized that it was not sufficiently complete, and that the style of the author, who was accustomed to the Berber language and hence not very accurate

in the rules of Arabic grammar or the propriety of its terminology, was often defective. They thought then of having a new work compiled on the history of the Rustumids and the virtues of the ancient doctors. No-one was more suitable than Abu 'l-ʿAbbās to fulfil this task worthily and it was to him that it was confided".

The *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Mashāyikh* exists only in some manuscript copies (a few in the Mzab and one in the collection of the late Z. Smogorzewski). It consists of two distinct parts of which the first is merely a reproduction of the *Kitāb al-Sīra wa-Akhbār al-Aʾimma* of Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wardjlānī, or rather of the first part of this chronicle. It contains a history of Ibāḍī penetration into North Africa, of the installation of the Ibāḍī imāmate and of the imāms of the Banū Rustum family, and finally some biographies of Ibāḍī doctors of Maghribī origin. The second part, the original work of al-Dardjīnī, is a collection of biographies of doctors and other celebrated Ibāḍīs, divided in the customary way into twelve classes, each class covering a period of fifty years. The first four classes of the work cover the biographies of the eastern Ibāḍī doctors of the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries. The author found it pointless here to give biographies of famous personages from the Maghrib, having reproduced the corresponding part of the work of Abū Zakariyyāʾ. The sources of the biographies of these eastern scholars are sometimes very old. The eight classes which follow, on the other hand, are confined to biographies of Ibāḍī shaykhs of Maghribī origin. The last 4 classes, indeed, deal only with persons from Ouargla, the Oued Rīgh, the Oued Souf, the Djarīd and the island of Djerba, and are therefore of no more than a local importance.

Al-Dardjīnī used a large number of sources in the second part of his book, among others the historical and biographical works of Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl al-ʿAbdi (2nd/8th century) and Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Wisyānī (6th/12th century). He included in his work some curious passages which are of great value for students of Ibāḍī history, for example the rules concerning the constitution of the *ḥalḳa* laid down by the great Ibāḍī scholar, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr al-Nafūsī (5th/11th century), and the *khuṭba* pronounced at Medina by the famous Ibāḍī chieftain, Abū Ḥamza al-Shārī (2nd/8th century). The exquisite language of of the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Mashāyikh* surpasses by far in elegance all other Ibāḍī works of North African origin, and the author has corrected the style of his Maghribī sources, as can be seen from a comparison with the original text of the chronicle of Abū Zakariyyāʾ.

Al-Dardjīnī is also the author of a *dīwān* and of letters in verse. As a jurist, he decided a number of questions on the division of inheritances, which al-Djīṭālī [*q.v.*] put together afterwards.

The date of his death is unknown, but it was undoubtedly in the second half of the 7th/13th century.

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(T. Lewicki)

DARGĀH, Pers., lit. "place of a door" [see DAR], usually "royal court, palace" in Persia, but in India with the additional specialized sense "tomb or shrine of a *pīr*".

DARGHIN, name of a Muslim Ibero-Caucasian people in Dāghistān formerly inhabiting the pre-Caspian plains and then, in the 12th century, driven back towards the mountains by the Ḳumlḳs who had come from the North. The Soviet census oj 1926 gives the number of 126,272 Darghins who, in 1954, had increased to 158,000. The Darghins are grouped in the sub-alpine and mid-alpine zones of central Dāghistān, and they form the greater part of the population in the districts of Sergo-Ḳalʿa, Akūsha and Dakhadaev. They are intermingled with Avars and Laks in the districts of Levashi and Tzudakhar, and with Ḳumīḳs and Ḳaytāḳs in the districts of Ḳaytāḳ (Madjālīs). They form isolated communities in the districts of Ḳarabudakhkent (*awls* of Gubden and Gurbuki), Buinaksk (*awls* of Ḳadar, Ḳaramakhi and Djankurbī), Agul (*awls* of Amukh and Čirakh) and Gunib (*awls* of Miamugi). Finally, in 1944 several Darghin *awls* emigrated towards the steppes of north Dāghistān to the district of Shuragat.

The earliest information concerning the Darghins was given by Arab historians of the 4th/10th century in the *Darband-nāma*. After the Arab conquest the feudal principality of the Usmī of Ḳaytāḳ was established in the south-west part of the Darghin territory with its centre at Ḳalʿa Ḳuraysh, near the present *awl* of Kubači, whilst other Darghin clans were found in the dependency of the Lak Shamkhalat of Ḳazi-Ḳumuḳ. After the end of the 8th/14th century when the Shamkhālat became weakened by the pressure of the Darghin clans allied with the Avars, the Darghin territory was divided between the principality of the Ūsmī of Ḳaytāḳ, which reached its apogee in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the free clans (*djamāʿa*) which were joined together in unions or federations of clans. These were originally four in number: Akūsha, Usala-Tabun, Makhala-Tabun, Khürkili-Tabun; to these, six others were added by force of arms at the beginning of the 19th century: Keba-Dargwa, Kutkula, Sergala-Tabun, Usmī-Dargwa, Vakun-Dargwa and Čirakh. The administration of these federations reverted to the *ḳādī* of Akūsha. This patriarchal structure was maintained until the Russian conquest in the 19th century.

The Darghin language is divided into three dialects: Urakhi (or Khürkili), spoken by the cattle-breeders of the high plateaux; Tzudakhar, spoken by the artisans and traders in the plains, and Akūsha which is clearly differentiated from the other two and serves as a basis for the literary language used also by the Kubačis and Ḳaytāḳs. But Turkish (*ḳumīḳ*, *azeri*) and Russian linguistic influence is considerable and the majority of Darghins are bilingual: in primary schools teaching is carried out in Darghin, in secondary schools only Russian being used. Darghin literature is of recent creation. The earliest works do not go back beyond the 19th century, and Soviet literature is only represented by a few writers, the best-known being the poet Rashid Rashidov.

At the beginning of the 20th century the Darghin literary language was transcribed in Arabic characters. In 1920 a new modified Arabic alphabet was

introduced (called the new *adjem*, with 43 letters). This gave way in 1928 to the Latin alphabet which in turn was replaced in 1938 by the Cyrillic alphabet. In 1958 eight Darghin newspapers were published: one Republican journal at Makhač-Ḳalʿa, and seven district journals.

The Darghins are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿi sect, with the exception of two *awls*, Kurush and Miskindjī, whose inhabitants up to the time of the revolution were twelver Shīʿīs. Their Islamization which had begun in the 11th century became decisive in the 16th century, on the elimination of the last Jewish and Christian traces. In the 15th century some at least of the Darghins were still not Muslims, since the *Ẓafar-nāma* (i,777 ff.) cites among the "infidel" tribes of Dāghistān who resisted Tīmūr the "Ashkudja" (who can be indentified with the *awl* Akūsha).

Until the revolution of 1917 the social structure of the Darghins was based on the division into clans, *tukhum*, and the great patriarchal family, *djins*. If in the 19th century the *tukhum* had already lost its economic significance, the customs deriving from it decayed more slowly.

Polygamy was always rare among the Darghins and endogamy fell into decline from the 19th century: the ritual of marriage remained traditional, but though marriage with infidels was for a long time impossible, marriages with Russians became comparatively frequent after 1917. Abduction was often practised in former times, particularly by those who could not pay the obligatory *kalīm*, but the *kalīm* persists.

Conquered by the Russians for the first time in 1819 (capture of Akūsha), and then for the first in the second time in 1844, the Darghins were threatened before the revolution with assimilation by both the Avars and the Ḳumīḳs at the same time. The Soviet authorities, wishing to ensure their protection, as a unique "nationality" possessing a literary language, favoured their consolidation with two small neighbouring peoples, the Ḳaytāḳs and the Kubačis, both also threatened with extinction.

The Darghins practise agriculture in the plains and horticulture at the foot of the mountains; and they take up their flocks and herds of sheep, cattle and horses to the summer pastures in the mountains. Kubača is celebrated for the local handicrafts of jewellery and goldsmiths' work, and Sulevkent for pottery. Industry is scarcely developed; there are canning factories at Akūsha, Levashi and Tzudakhar.

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(CH. QUELQUEJAY)

DARĪ, a Persian word meaning "court (language)" from *dar* [*q.v.*]. In Arabic authors such as al-Maḳdisī (335), Yāḳūt (iii, 925), and *Fihrist* (19), we find the *Darī* language (also *Fārsī Darī*) described as the spoken and written language of the (Sasanian) court. It was also the language of government and literature. After three centuries of Muslim rule in Persia it was written down in the Arabic script, and came to be called *Fārsī* or New Persian. The fact that New Persian literature arose and flourished in Khurāsān and Transoxiana because of political reasons (Iranian dynasties of the Ṭāhirids and Sāmānids) has caused some difficulty. The language was basically a West Iranian dialect, hence the name Fārsī after the province. In Islamic times, if not before, elegant Darī diverged more and more from the rather stilted language of the Pahlavi books, kept alive primarily by Zoroastrian priests. By the time of the Mongol conquest of Īrān the term Darī had gone out of use.

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(R. N. FRYE)

ḌARĪBA, one of the words most generally used to denote a tax, applied in particular to the whole category of taxes which in practice were added to the basic taxes of canonical theory. These latter (*zakāt* or *ʿushr*, *djizya* and *kharādj*, etc.) and their yield in the "classical" period, have been covered in a general survey in an earlier article, BAYT AL-MĀL, and a detailed description of the methodes of assessment and collection will be given under their respective titles, in particular under KHARĀDJ; along with *kharādj* and *zakāt* will be included associated taxes and payments linked with them or levied on other categories of agricultural or pastoral wealth; finally, in the article DJIZYA will be found a discussion of the problem of the original distinction between *djizya* and *kharādj*. Apart from *djizya* which, as a poll-tax, is not concerned with the nature of the wealth, the above-mentioned taxes which form the basis of the official fiscal system of Islam are essentially concerned with agriculture and stock-breeding; only the theoretical definition of *zakāt* makes it possible to include the products of industry and commerce, but only with the Muslims and, as we shall see, is far from embracing all the effective forms of taxes to which they were subject; and no canonical tax covers the fiscal dues which the State arrogates to itself to recover certain costs of the conduct of its administration. It is of this whole group of taxes, usually called *ḍarāʾib* or *rusūm*, and often stigmatized by theorists, on account of their more or less extra-canonical character, under the name *mukūs*, that we shall attempt to speak here although, precisely because they are poorly represented in doctrinal treatises as well as in papyri, any research into them is made under more difficult documentary conditions than is the case with canonical taxation, and they have been scarcely noticed by historians.

In the practice of the last years of the Prophet's life, treaties concluded with certain communities of *dhimmīs* had allowed them to make payments in kind with goods useful to the Muslims, if they produced them; after the conquest, and on a larger scale, stipulations of the same sort had again been expressed for the benefit of the army of occupation; and for many centuries the same element occurs in the taxes paid by certain provinces with important specific products, either natural or manufactured. It is however clear that it was always a question of the method by which the total contribution from the province was compounded, and not of specific taxes on industry or the trade of individuals. As regards *zakāt*, this of course includes a levy on

possessions in the form of precious metals (money included) or merchandise, as on other categories of wealth, as soon as they exceeded an estimated 200 dirhams, the figure regarded as marking the limit between "rich" and "poor"; but in fact it amounted to a preferential tariff granted to Muslims within the framework of a more general tax levied on traders of all faiths: it was to be confirmed in the rule that the Muslim should pay 1/40 = 2.5%, the *dhimmī* 1/20 = 5%, and the foreign merchant 1/10 = 10%. In the *zakāt* thus conceived two principles are combined: as regards foreigners, it is a matter simply (and explicitly in the account of the innovations attributed to caliph ʿUmar on this question) of conformity with international usage, and the rate of 10% was instituted in reciprocity with the usual rate levied by Byzantium on foreign merchants; for the native merchant, the relation between *dhimmī* and Muslim is the same for the levy on commercial goods as for the *kharādj* and the land tithe, and the conception of the tax appears to be inspired by what it is for livestock, (except that it is paid in money and not in kind) in the sense that it is an annual levy on the total trading capital, and not a tax on the profits from trading operations. Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē describes at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period a procedure of this sort for levying the "*ʿushr* tithe" on merchants, which, however, he seems to regard as exceptional in its severity or in its very nature; the schedule that such a conception implies, with an official fixing of values and a distinction between consumer goods and those intended for trade, obviously presents great difficulties particularly to a merchant when travelling, for, on introducing himself to officials in a new province, he has to prove that he has already made the obligatory annual payment, since no administration could be satisfied by the Muslim's right, however valid in theory, to determine the amount of his *zakāt* himself and even to pay it direct to the "poor"; the conception of an annual payment became impracticable at the time of the political fragmentation of Islam, no State being prepared to be deprived of the proceeds of a tax on the ground that it had already been paid to another, and Ibn Djubayr, for example, complains that the Alexandria customs-post taxes pilgrims without enquiring whether they have already paid their *zakāt*, and moreover without distinguishing between goods for private consumption and goods for trade, and between pilgrims and merchants. All this helps us to understand that what was taking place was a reorganization and development of the kind of taxes which had been known to the pre-islamic empires and which more or less must have survived the conquest in the framework of local institutions, particularly for towns enjoying a "treaty" which left them free to compound their tributes from such of their resources as suited their rulers.

A first group of taxes belongs to what might be called customs, dues and tolls (*marāṣid, maʾāṣir*). There exist customs such as those on the frontiers which are well organized, on the great international trade routes, and from the very first naturally at the ports (Ubulla, the fore-port of Baṣra, kept the name of *al-ʿashshār*, the tithe-man. The "tithe" levied there can only have been taken in kind on certain merchandise, and for the most part it was therefore necessary to pay in cash according to an official estimate of value; in this way there were evolved certain kinds of customs tariffs such as the one preserved in the *Mulakhkhaṣ* (see *Bibl.*). In theory no customs-post should exist except on the frontiers of Islam, for the foreign merchant is in law indebted only to the Muslim community as a whole; in fact, from the start every large region seems to have had autonomy in customs, and this state of affairs became general everywhere, irremediably so after the establishment of many separate principalities. In addition there were often town-dues at the gates of towns, and tolls on the trade routes, particularly the water-ways, from which the *ḥadjdj* itself was not exempt. The theoretical justification for such dues, insofar as one was looked for, is in this case less clear than for customs; it may in certain cases, as also for other dues to be discussed later, be a question of taxes for the use of a route belonging to the State; in general, variations of this "protection", *ḥimāya* or *khafāra*, became widespread and, although the normal taxation implied such protection, payments had to be made to the *imām*, to local authorities of all kinds and, in bedouin countries, to the tribes, according to immemorial custom; payment generally is calculated on a "load" of an ass or camel. Finally, although the jurists ignore the point, we must add that in addition to dues for the import of goods others, for export (to obtain authorization), were sometimes imposed or substituted, as in other mediaeval societies. The result of all this was that, contrary to what one might expect, the Muslim world, even at the time of its on the whole great political unity, did not allow goods to circulate with any real freedom from those restrictions which so impeded them in, for example, the more divided European communities.

A second category of dues can be grouped under the heading of the renting of lands or buildings belonging to the State. The State, rediscovering ancient habits or regulations under the ʿAbbāsids, sometimes looked upon itself as the proprietor perhaps of the whole territory of a town, but invariably of the ramparts and public highways, calculated on the basis of a width of forty cubits; everything that had in fact been established or built on this land had to recognize the ownership of the State by paying rent; in practice all the shops in the souks and markets in public places were subject to this charge. Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē again provides us with evidence from the reign of al-Mahdī, of whom we know in particular from al-Yaʿkūbī that he introduced dues on the *sūḳ*s in Baghdād, and from others that he made the same innovation in Egypt. This did not however signify that the State did not recognize some sort of ownership by occupants of shops or houses standing on rented land, since in fact it left them free to dispose of them normally by inheritance, sale, *waḳf* etc. It regarded itself as having a more direct ownership of the *khān*s and *funduḳ*s, to enter which it was of course necessary to pay; in Egypt, this was true of many shops.

With regard to the *khān*s, there was also *ḥimāya*, protection of goods, to be provided. The same justification was given for the dues which the State required from individuals wishing to make use of the post (*barīd*), weights and measures, as well as certain instruments in which it retained a monopoly and, of course, the profit made from minting money. Ovens, presses, and mills also came into this category although private ones also existed, which were subject to taxes similar to those applying to trades in general.

Indeed, it seems clear that, whether or not under the pretext of *zakāt*, the State levied certain dues

collectively on various organized trades or industrial establishments—without prejudice to secondary taxes on regulation, packing, etc., in the case of goods in which it had a monopoly or whose export it regulated (fabrics from Egypt and Fārs, among others). In addition, dues were charged on certain sales (especially of livestock) and on the exercise of brokerage which was particularly indispensable in commercial dealings with foreigners. We make no mention here of manufactures in which the State retained a monopoly, or of the fifth on mines, treasure trove, etc.

Dues for *ḥimāya* appeared frequently, though it is not always possible to distinguish between those which do or do not merge with certain of the dues noted above. Originally it was, generally speaking, a matter of demands from individuals or from local police, but subsequently the State replaced these beneficiaries, while keeping up their demands. We leave aside the question of State duties on legacies. The drawing up of any written legal deed also of course incurred a tax.

The *waḳf*s in principle were independent of the State, on condition that taxes were paid to it unless they had been renounced; but it tended to take over control, paying a fixed allocation to the parties concerned, while keeping the surplus : a kind of manipulation of property in mortmain.

It should not, however, be imagined that the various sorts of taxes and dues that we have just noted always coexisted everywhere and to the same degree. Of course it was Egypt which was the fiscal paradise, following the tradition of Antiquity. It is possible that at the start the conqueror, satisfied with the payment of poll-tax and other taxes and grants of land agreed upon by the terms of surrender, failed to pay attention to other sources of revenue which had been added by earlier régimes; subsequently, when equivalent measures were re-established, the Muslims accused the Copts of having appropriated them, though one cannot be certain if they meant that these revenues had fallen into private ownership, or that the local powers had embezzled the proceeds. Tradition, simplifying a more complex process that had been initiated earlier, attributes to Ibn al-Mudabbir, head of Egyptian finances on the eve of the Ṭūlūnid régime (mid 3rd/9th century), the particular responsibility for introducing the policy of new extra-canonical taxes. Succeeding régimes, according as to whether they were impelled by a desire for legality and popularity or by financial needs, alternately abolished and re-established all or part of these taxes which no doubt reached their fullest development during the difficult times of the last Fāṭimids; part of them (but not the customs) was later abolished by Saladin, with the loss of 100,000 dinars, and the report which has been preserved is one of the principal sources of our knowledge; but Saladin's successors re-established and perfected them (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 103 ff., Ibn Mammātī, ed. Atiya, chap. 5).

In ʿIrāḳ, tradition and the strength of custom did not allow such a fiscal system to be established, and the fact that the ʿAbbāsids had not the ability or the means to utilize for their own advantage the revenues from commerce like those from agriculture perhaps forms a part, which is difficult to evaluate, of their financial difficulties. Ibn Rāʾiḳ was said to be the first to set up a toll-house at the very gates of Baghdād. It was naturally the Būyids who in particular made repeated efforts to introduce in ʿIrāḳ a system similar to that of the Fāṭimids; ʿAḍud al-dawla, the best organizer of the dynasty, and his immediate successors tried to impose dues on the fine textile products which were the livelihood of great numbers of Baghdād artisans: popular riots compelled them finally to abandon the project, and the same was true of the attempt to place dues on mills, etc. In the time of the Būyids, Baṣra was notorious for the severity of its *ḍarāʾib*, as was Fārs; in Īrān, on the other hand, Iṣfahān in particular and the whole territory of the Sāmānids had moderate *ḍarāʾib*.

This very diversity raises a problem. It is indeed found in all sections of the fiscal organization, which was adapted to economic conditions and inherited different traditions, according to the region. But here there is another point. In principle, the Muslim has the right to pay his *zakāt* direct to the "poor", and if, as happened in fact, he paid it to specialized agents, it was understood that the money had to go direct to the true beneficiaries, and not pass into the coffers of the State, which was taken to imply that it was spent on the spot and not centralized in the capital; furthermore, we have indicated that various taxes had to be regarded as *ḥimāya*, which clearly meant that the beneficiaries were those who provided this *ḥimāya*, the local authorities. It can hardly be doubted that the police, either in their official form as *shurṭa*, or as *aḥdāth* militia etc. were the recipients in particular of the proceeds of certain taxes in particular. From all this it emerges that the *Bayt al-Māl* was not the recipient of all the taxes that we have noted. We must not, however, go too far in the opposite direction. In fact, all the *mukūs* abolished by Saladin had very clearly been profitable to his treasury, and it was no less clear that, to swell his own fortunes, ʿAḍud al-dawla in Baghdād made the fiscal efforts to which we have referred. Customs, which affected Muslims and non-Muslims alike, were in fact regarded as being unrelated to *zakāt* and profited the Treasury. The same was true of the proceeds from rents. However, it was a principle of the Muslim fiscal administration that local expenditure was met from the proceeds of local taxes, only the surplus being sent to the Treasury; the latter did not provide any means of evaluation or control for the *ḍarāʾib*, or for the *kharādj* and other basic taxes. In fact, without exception, the *ḍarāʾib* do not appear in the ʿAbbāsid "budgets" that still survive. However, the proceeds from certain *ḍarāʾib* perhaps formed part of the revenues of the caliph's or sovereign's private treasury, with which he thus contributed to the obligatory "good works".

Economic and international circumstances have sometimes brought about appreciable modifications in the system of *ḍarāʾib* and, more particularly, customs. Al-Ghazālī granted that the tariff could be lowered, even for infidels, if it was advantageous to the community to encourage the import of certain goods. From the 6th/12th century, this was in fact the object of the treaties concluded with the "Franks", setting up differential tariffs according to the goods, and sometimes even conferring on those nations' merchants advantages superior to those legally enjoyed by the Muslims. Naturally, this was not a practice peculiar to the Muslim States: Byzantium concluded similar treaties. It appears indeed that certain Muslim groups like the *Kārimīs* with the Indian Ocean trade were allowed to enjoy preferential tariffs at the end of the Middle Ages (according to the *Mulakhkhaṣ*, see *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: neither *fiḳh* works nor papyri

provide documentation on the aspect of financial history considered here (apart from the doctrinal definition of commercial *zakāt* and taxes on the non-Muslims which *fiḳh* approximates to it). Information is to be found either in geographers such as Muḳaddasī or, for certain countries, in various chroniclers and authors of technical treatises on administration, of which only a few examples can be quoted here; for Mesopotamia, Dionysius of Tell-Mahré, Syriac Chronicle, ed. trans. J. B. Chabot (see Cl. Cahen, *Fiscalité*, etc., in *Arabica*, 1954), Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, ed. trans. Margouliouth (*The eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*), with sequel by Abū Shudjāʿ Rudhawārī; for Egypt, in addition naturally to the materials in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, particularly i, 103 ff., Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. Atiya 1943, Nābulusī, *Akhbār al-Fayyūm* ed. B. Moritz (see Cl. Cahen, *Impôts du Fayyum*, in *Arabica*, 1956; for Arabia, G. Wiet, *Un Décret du sultan Malik Ashraf à la Mecque*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, III, 1957, and in particular the Yemenī *Mulakhkhaṣ al-fitan*, on which see the article by Cl. Cahen and R. B. Serjeant in *Arabica*, 1957; on Syria, Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. S. Dahan, i, 163 ff. (on the treaty of 358/969 with Byzantium), and ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ*, ed. D. Sourdel, 150 (see Sauvaget, *Alep*, 253-4), and, for the Djazīra, the same, provisionally in *REI*, 1934, 111-2. The treaties with the Franks are given in Mas Latrie, *Traités ... concernant les relations des Chrétiens avec ... l'Afrique septentrionale*, 1866; G. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle citta toscane coll'Oriente*, 1879; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handelsgeschichte Venedigs*, 3 vols. of *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, 2nd. s., xii-xiv, 1856-57. For the later Middle Ages, see the Italian technical treaties such as the *Pratica della Mercatura* by Pegolotti, ed. A. Evans, Cambridge Mass. 1936.

As regards the modern literature, besides the information given earlier in Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, New York 1916; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, viii; R. Heffening, *Das Islamische Fremdenrecht*, 1925, various works by Arabic-speaking scholars should now be added: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Dūrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-iḳtiṣādī fi 'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ al-hidjrī*, Baghdād 1948; ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḍarāʾib al-ʿirāḳiyya*, Baghdād 1959; M. ʿAwwād, *al-Maʾāṣir fi 'l-Islām*, Baghdād 1950; Rāshid al-Barawī, *Ḥālat Miṣr al-iḳtiṣādiyya fī ʿahd al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Cairo 1943.

(Cl. Cahen)

(2) — West. The history of fiscal systems in the Maghrib is still to be written, and perhaps may never be written. The texts are few and difficult to interpret, the terminology vague. The writers show little interest in the subject and apart from off-handed and scattered references restrict their remarks to conventional statements such as that "Such-and-such a king, on his accession, abolished illegal taxes and imposed only those allowed by the Sharīʿa". Scholars have fought shy of this unrewarding topic. The present writer has made an attempt to handle the subject for the period ending with the collapse of the Almohade régime (*see Bibliography*) and R. Brunschvig appears to have exhausted it for the Ḥafṣids. References apart from these are laconic. In any case it appears to be unlikely that more material would make the picture clearer, at least for the first few centuries of Muslim rule, simply because the subject actually is vague. The turbulent history of the country gave no opportunity for the establishment of a lasting fiscal tradition. Tax-collection, like the other functions of government, was generally organized *ad hoc*. The government took what revenue it could as opportunity offered without overmuch scruple. The Sharīʿa was generally acknowledged to be the only proper regulator of fiscal methods, but it was just as generally ignored in practice. It may be supposed that the townspeople as a rule came under a more or less regular taxation system; but the country people, and particularly the nomads, were less accessible to the central administration, who could often extract tribute from them only by sending out what were virtually military expeditions often manned by outsiders not bound by any feeling of *esprit de corps* with the taxpayers. Some taxes were, according to the Sharīʿa, to be collected in kind, but for N. Africa we have little more than hints to show that, at one time or another, the government accepted payment in this form. There is some evidence that certain taxes were occasionally farmed out, but this seems in the Maghrib to be a late development first reported under the Almoravids and sporadically mentioned thereafter. There is no clear distinction between the privy purse and the public treasury.

Governors under the Caliphs.—There are no contemporary texts. They collected *ṣadaḳa* and *ʿushūr* and *djizya* but there is no clear indication of what these terms implied; later writers tend to interpret them in the light of legal doctrines which became established later. It seems as though the multitude of newly-converted Muslims led to the same difficulties in Ifrīḳiya as it had in ʿIrāḳ 20 years before, and there was an ill-fated attempt by Yazīd b. Abī Muslim to deal with them as Ḥadjdjādj had done. In the earliest days the *khums* had some importance and there were even attempts to treat the vanquished populations themselves as booty.

Aghlabids.—New tax names (*maẓālim, ḳabālāt*) appear, without definitions, and a distinct reference to the conversion of the tithe from a proportion, in kind, of produce, to a fixed sum per area.

Idrīsids.—Little information. The Jews of Fez were obliged to pay the *djizya*.

Rustamids.—This period affords the only (and probably idealized) account of the distribution of the agricultural produce accruing from taxation.

Fāṭimids.—The taxation system seems to take on a better-organized aspect, though this may be an illusion due to the nature of the sources. For the first time we hear of a cadastral survey and of *tawẓīf* or *tawziʿ* ("apportionment" of tax?), and an attempt to establish the fiscal system on a rational and regular footing. Customs or *octroi* dues are first mentioned.

Zīrids, Hammādids, Berber Principalities (Maghrāwa, B. Ifren, etc.), Almoravids.—Information is very sparse, but Ibn Khallikān describes the Almoravids' tax-collecting detachments composed of European mercenaries.

Almohades.—ʿAbd al-Muʾmin is traditionally remembered as the one who introduced *kharādj* into the Maghrib. However this may be understood it probably symbolizes some striking innovation on his part. These is in fact an obscure account by Ibn Abī Zarʿ of a land-survey which preceded the levying of *kharādj*.

The *ṣāḥib al-ashghāl* (first mentioned in connexion with Manṣūr) was an important official in charge of finance. There seems to have been only one at any

given time and he is always mentioned among the high officers of state. The *mus̲h̲rif*, on the other hand, was a provincial official whose duties are not defined (but see the Ḥafṣid *mus̲h̲rif* below). We hear of *k̲h̲azāʾin* and *buyūt al-amwāl* "treasuries" but can only make guesses as to what these terms indicate.

Ḥafṣids.—A passage in Zarkas̲h̲ī (text 102, tr. 188) indicates a vast proliferation of taxes but in fact there is nothing to indicate that they were not in fact just as numerous in former times. The Ḥafṣids took over the title of *ṣāḥib al-as̲h̲g̲h̲āl*, and presumably his office, from the Almohades. Later this official is referred to as *munaffid̲h̲*. His subordinates are called *ʿummāl*. The *mus̲h̲rif* is in evidence here also but now as head of the maritime customs, with his subordinates called *mus̲h̲tag̲h̲il*. There were *octroi* duties (*maks*) collected by an official (he may have been a tax-farmer) called *makkās*. Tax-farming seems to have played a very minor rôle in the Ḥafṣids' fiscal policies. Many communities escaped close central control and were taxed only intermittently, when forced. One receives the impression that the taxes did not bear unduly hardly on the taxpayer; the system seems in general to have been mild and regular.

Marīnids.—Since the Marīnids inherited the Almohade machinery *en bloc* presumably their taxation system resembled that of the Almohades; but information is almost entirely lacking. Under Abū Saʿīd, however, tax-farming (if ʿUmarī is to be believed) was the rule; his successor Abu 'l-Ḥasan "abolished the illegal taxes". (*Masālik al-abṣār*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 170-1).

Beylerbeys, Pas̲h̲as, and Deys of Algiers. —Little is known, but the pillaging expeditions (*maḥalla*) sent out by the Beys into the countryside may perhaps be looked upon as part of a fiscal system. The Turkish government exploited the country to its utmost with the aid of *mak̲h̲zan* tribes and military colonies (*zmāla*) who were exempted from taxation; but its power hardly extended beyond the chief towns and the main lines of communication.

Ḥasanī Sharīfs (Saʿdīs).—During the days of the last Marīnids and the B. Waṭṭāṣ much of Morocco had lost the habit of paying taxes. The first Saʿdīs seem to have levied only an occasional tax in kind called *nāʾiba*, but later this became more or less permanent and payable in cash. The *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* was re-introduced, not without revival of an old controversy concerning the legal status of the lands of the Mag̲h̲rib. Certain monopolies were farmed out. and the Sultan took a percentage of the proceeds of piracy. Taxation was not only crushingly heavy, but it had extortion added to it. The Ḥasanī *mak̲h̲zan* is a prime specimen of a government organized solely to exploit the resources of the country for its own profit.

Filālī S̲h̲arīfs (ʿAlawīs).—Mawlāy Muḥammad (1171/1757-1204/1789) is said to have established sundry market and commodity taxes, but it is difficult to believe that this was really an innovation. At Fez, perhaps elsewhere also, they were sometimes farmed out to the governor. Apart from these indirect taxes collectively called *mustafād* the treasury received the "legal" taxes *zakāt* and *ʿus̲h̲ūr* (the distinction between these two terms, originally synonymous, is not clear), and the *nāʾiba* mentioned above. Customs dues and the *hadāyā* (customary "gifts" to the Sultan at the feasts) were received directly by the Sultan. The authority of the tax-collectors was reinforced by contingents of the *gis̲h̲* (*i.e.*, *d̲j̲ays̲h̲*) tribes, who were exempt from tax.

Beys of Tunis.—The subject is obscure and still awaits the investigation for which the sources would probably prove quite abundant, but the picture seems to be similar in general to that under the Beys of Algiers. Though from about 1112/1700 onwards the Beys were accepted as a national hereditary dynasty they and their administration continued to be a parasite on the Tunisian body politic, concerned more with exacting the maximum for their private profit than with maintaining a sound and equitable fiscal system. Their failure in this respect and their indebtedness to foreign creditors was one of the main causes of the imposition of the French protectorate in 1882.

Bibliography: Few writings are devoted exclusively to fiscal matters. The list below includes most of those which attempt to deal with the topic in any detail.

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(J. F. P. Hopkins)

(3) — Ottoman Empire. In the Ottoman system the taxes were divided into two groups, *ḥuḳūḳ-i s̲h̲arʿiyye* and *rusūm-i ʿurfiyye*. The former included *ʿus̲h̲r* [*q.v.*] or *ondalık*, *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*, *d̲j̲izya* [*q.v.*], *khums-i s̲h̲arʿī* levied on minerals mined and *g̲h̲anīma* [*q.v.*]. Other Islamic taxes objected to by some legists, such as *maks* [*q.v.*], were included rather among the *ʿurfī* taxes by the Ottomans (for the *s̲h̲arʿī* taxes dealt with by the Ottoman legists see Mollā K̲h̲usrew, *Durar al-ḥukkām fī s̲h̲arḥ g̲h̲urar al-aḥkām*, Istanbul 1258, 129-43). On the other hand they added to the *ʿus̲h̲r* an *ʿurfī* tax called *salāriyye* or *salārlık* which raised it from one-tenth to one-eighth, and collected some additional dues, *rusūm* or *ʿādāt*, on hives, fisheries, hay, and vegetables. Also *d̲j̲izya* was somewhat modified in its application in the Ottoman empire.

The *ʿurfī* taxes [see ʿURF] were those assessed by the Sultan and, in origin, were mostly pre-Ottoman local taxes. They were recorded by the Ottoman *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*] *emīns* and proclaimed in the *ḳānūn-nāmes* (see ḲĀNŪN) of the sand̲j̲aḳs. With the development of *ʿurf* this kind of taxation grew in importance, though from the 10th/16th century there appeared a strong tendency to accommodate these taxes, at least formally, to the *S̲h̲arīʿa*.

The *ʿurfī* taxes, generally called *rusūm* or *ʿādāt*, were divided into various categories: 1. Up to the late 10th/16th century the basic *ʿurfī* taxes were *čift resmi* and *ispend̲j̲e* [*qq.v.*]. The latter was paid by every adult non-Muslim at the rate of 25 *akče* [*q.v.*] per person. Widows paid it at the rate of 6 *akče* under the name of *bīwe resmi*. 2. Of the taxes levied on livestock the most important was *ʿādet-i ag̲h̲nām* or *ḳoyun resmi* which was usually 1 *akče* for two sheep, collected directly for the central treasury. The pasturage due, called *yaylaḳ resmi*, *otlaḳ resmi* or *resm-i čerāg̲h̲ah* was usually one sheep or its money equivalent for each flock of sheep of 300

which passed over to another *sandjak*, *kaḍā* or *tīmār*. It was paid to the person holding the land as *tīmār* or *khāṣṣ* (see TĪMĀR). 3. The dues called *bād-i hawā* [*q.v.*] or *ṭayyārāt* were principally such dues levied on occasional cases as *djerā'im* or *kanluk*, fines, *ʿarūsāne* or *gerdek resmi* or *nikāh akčesi* bridegroom due, *yawa* and *kačkun*, dues paid while recovering runaway cattle or slaves, *ṭapu resmi*, a due paid on entering into possession of a *čiftlik* [*q.v.*]. *Djerā'im* was also called *niyābet*, because for each case a decision of a *nā'ib* appointed by the local *kāḍī* was necessary. 4. The principal imposts on trade were *bādj* or *tamgha*, market dues, paid per load; *kapan* (*kabbān*) and *mīzān* or *terāzū rusūmu*, duties levied at the public scales. There were also *gümrük*, customs duties, *gečid resmi*, tolls levied at mountain passes and river fords, *köprü hakkı*, bridge-toll. 5. The state established monopolies on the trade of such commodities as salt, rice, wax-candles, soap, sesame and lumber. The monopoly of minting was also a large source of revenue [see DĀR AL-ḌARB]. 6. The *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye we tekālīf-i ʿurfiyye* [see ʿAWĀRIḌ] were in origin certain services which the state required from its subjects to fulfil in emergency, but *bedel*, cash substitute for them, could be given instead and from the late 10th/16th century this became a regular tax collected directly for the central treasury. 7. The fees paid by persons for whom a document, *berāt*, *tedhkire*, *ṣūret-i defter* etc., was issued at a government office were another important source of revenue for the treasury. The rates were carefully fixed by law. The tax collectors or other officials sent by the Sultan were authorized to collect *ʿā'idāt*, fees and remunerations, for themselves, and these in the period of the decline of the Empire became the source of many abuses.

In addition to these *ʿurfī* taxes there were some dues in contradiction to the *Sharīʿa* or to Ottoman administrative principles, which, nevertheless, continued to be levied either by the state or *tīmār*-holders as *bidʿat*s. For example the treasury could not give up the large revenue obtained from the *bidʿat-i khinzīr* or *domuz bidʿati*, pig-tax. There were, however, some *bidʿat*s called *bidʿat-i merdūde* ('rejected innovation') which were absolutely prohibited as against *bidʿat-i maʿrūfe* ('acknowledged innovation').

After its conquest each *sandjak* had its own *kānūn* embodying the *ʿurfī* taxes. Most of them were taken over from the pre-Ottoman regimes, but after a period of adjustment the Ottomans usually extended their own *kānūn-i ʿOthmānī* with typically Ottoman taxation. It seems to have formed still under strong local influences, Saldjūkid and Byzantine in western Anatolia and Thrace in the late 8th/14th century. Its main characteristics can be seen in the *kānūnnāme*s of western Anatolia which were extended to eastern Anatolia toward 947/1540. These characteristics were simplicity and the policy of abolition of all kinds of feudal services and dues. An excessive burden of local and feudal dues was replaced by a few taxes such as *čift resmi*, *ispendje* and *ʿādet-i aghnām*. It was provided that no tax should be levied twice under different names. This system did much in consolidating the Ottoman rule in Anatolia and Rumeli. But when in the late 10th/16th century a profound economic and financial crisis shook the established order, and the rates of *ʿawāriḍ*, *djizya* and the other taxes paid in cash were raised in an attempt to adjust them to the depreciation of the currency (see *Belleten*, no. 60), and and the exactions of the *ʿaskerī* class [see ʿASKARĪ] in the provinces became more and more arbitrary, the whole Ottoman tax system underwent a fundamental change.

In the collection of taxes two basic systems were followed, the *hawāla* and *mukāṭaʿa* or *iltizām* [*qq.v.*] systems. *Aʿshār* [see ʿUSHR] as well as *čift resmi*, *ispendje*, *bād-i hawā* and most of the other *ʿurfī* taxes were assigned as *tīmār*s to the members of the *ʿaskerī* class who collected them themselves in their respective *tīmār* lands. In view of the difficulties for the central government in collecting taxes in kind, such as *aʿshār*, and of the lack of adequate means of communication, this system was maintained as the best possible method at that time. In essence *tīmār* was a form of *hawāla*. The distribution and assignment of *tīmār*s were made by *taḥrīr* and all this made a vast department of financial administration called *daftar-i khākānī* [*q.v.*] under a *nishāndji* [*q.v.*]. The total sum of the revenues in this section was about 200 million *akče* or about 3.5 million gold ducats in 933/1527-934/1528. Income unrecorded in the *defter*s [see BAŞVEKÂLET ARŞIVI] was to be collected by officers of the Sultan called *mewkūfdju* or *mewkūfātdji*, under the *defterdār*, directly for the treasury.

Except for the *aʿshār*, *sharʿī* taxes, *resm-i berāt* and *tedhkire* and *bayt al-māl* (that is, escheated properties), *mewkūfāt*, and the revenues from the imperial domains [see KHĀṢṢ] were collected for the central treasury, *khizāne-i ʿāmire*, either directly by *kul*s, men of slave origin at the Porte, or through the *iltizām* system.

The following is an official statement of the revenues from these sources for the provinces of Rumeli, Anadolu, Karaman, Dhulkadriye and Rūm in the fiscal year of 933/1527-934/1528 (*İstanbul Üniv. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XV, 1-4, 269).

mukāṭaʿāt	71,524,055 *akče*
djizya	46,056,305 *akče*
resm-i berāt and *tedhkire*	1,897,625 *akče*
bayt al-māl, *mewkūfāt* and *mā-beyn*.	1,928,257 *akče*

This was about one fifth of the total amount of the state revenues in the same year. The most important item in it, *mukāṭaʿāt*, included the revenues of the Imperial domains (*Khāṣṣ-i Humāyūn*), state monopolies, *khums-i sharʿī*, customs duties and imposts on trade. The *mukāṭaʿāt* were usually farmed out to the *mültezim*s or *mukāṭaʿa ʿāmili* under the system of *mukāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*], and their accounts were kept in the *mukāṭaʿa defterleri* in the *defterkhāne-i ʿāmire* (one of the oldest and most important of these *defter*s covering the reign of Meḥemmed II is in the *Başvekâlet* Archives, Istanbul, nos. 176, 6222, 7387).

The *iltizām* system was essential for the Ottoman finances from the beginnings of the state and was also used by the big *tīmār*-holders. Upon an order, *hawāla*, of the Sultan payments were made for state expenses directly by the *mültezim*s. From the 10th/16th century onwards, the *iltizām* system became dominant throughout the empire and the *mukāṭaʿa*s began to be farmed out for much longer periods; by the 12th/18th century the governors of some provinces became *mültezim*s at the same time, which made them virtually autonomous. As the central authority weakened the abuses of the system grew until in 1255/1839, by the rescript of Gülkhāne, *iltizām*, termed a 'destructive instrument', was abolished. The system of *emānet*, a system of collection of *mukāṭāʿa* revenues directly by salaried employees called *emīn*, was made general and

muḥaṣṣils, financial heads in the *sandjaḳs* [*q.v.*] with full responsibilities, were appointed. But the decrease in the state revenues under the new system compelled the government to restore *iltizām* which lasted to the end of the Empire.

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(4) — Post-Ottoman Egypt. In the years immediately preceding the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt in 1798, the Egyptian government's principal source of revenue was derived from numerous taxes levied on the land. These fell into three main categories: (1) *al-māl al-ḥurr*; (2) *māl* (or *khidmat*) *al-kushūfiyya*; and (3) supplementary taxes, the *muḍāf* and *barrānī*. The government farmed out all these land taxes to *multazims* who collected them through their agents, most of whom were members of the Copt corporation.

The first of these taxes, *al-māl al-ḥurr*, was composed of the *mīrī* and the *fāʾiẓ*. The *mīrī* was a fixed tax, part of which was destined for the Sultan's Private Treasury in Istanbul while the remainder was kept in Egypt to support the cost of local government. The *fāʾiẓ* went to the concessionaires of *iltizāms* (tax farms), the amount of this tax being fixed by the terms of the concession. To increase their profits, the *multazims* eventually demanded the payment of extraordinary taxes (*muḍāf* and *barrānī*), collecting them regularly despite their illegality. The *māl al-kushūfiyya* paid for the military and administrative expenses within the Egyptian provinces. All these taxes were paid either in specie or in kind.

The government's other sources of revenue included a succession tax (*ḥulwān*) paid by those heirs of *multazims* who desired to inherit tax farms; the *djizya* [*q.v.*]; fixed tax on customs duties, which the tax farmers of customs were required to remit to the government; a tax levied on certain government officials whose functions involved the collection of recognized dues; duties on boats navigating Egyptian waters; duty on the corporation of goldsmiths; various levies on trades, merchants, and *wikālas*, *i.e.*, buildings designed for the reception of merchants and their goods; the proceeds from grants of tax farms on the sale or manufacture of various products; and profits from the mint. About a quarter of the revenue obtained from these sources was sent to Istanbul along with the *mīrī* on land and some Egyptian produce for use in the *saray* and naval arsenal.

This fiscal system remained substantially the same during the three-year period of the French occupation of Egypt. Napoleon announced shortly after his arrival in Cairo in July 1798 that he wished to change none of the existing institutions or traditional taxes but planned only to eliminate arbitrary exactions and to introduce a regular system of tax collection. Indeed, the only change he made at the outset was to join the lands formerly held by Mamlūk *multazims* to the state domain for the profit of the French Republic (approximately two-thirds of the land of Egypt). Napoleon then confirmed the non-Mamlūk *multazims* in their *iltizāms*. Taxes continued to be collected by the Copts, under the supervision of French inspectors.

When Muḥammad ʿAlī became Pasha of Egypt in 1805, he altered the fiscal system radically by expropriating the *multazims* and the beneficiaries (*mutaṣarrif*) of *al-rizaḳ al-aḥbāsiyya*, state lands which had been illegally endowed with the characteristics of *waḳf* property. *Waḳfs* on houses and gardens, *i.e.*, endowments based on *milk* property, were not affected, however, since they were considered sound or legal *waḳfs*. As compensation for their loss, the *multazims* received a pension and the right to cultivate their *waṣiyya* lands (the portion of the *iltizāms* which had been assigned to *multazims* for their exclusive enjoyment). Neither was heritable; upon the death of the *multazims*, these pensions ceased and the *waṣiyya* lands reverted to the state. The beneficiaries of *rizḳa* lands also received a life pension while the state assumed the responsibility of maintaining mosques and charitable institutions, which had depended for their support upon revenues from these lands.

A cadastre of all cultivated (*maʿmūr*) lands was carried out in 1813-14; registers were prepared, listing the names of landholders, the quantity of land held, and the amount of the *mīrī*, now a single tax replacing the former complex schedule of taxes and rated according to the fertility of the land and ease of irrigation. The only lands excluded from the cadastral registers were the *waṣiyya* lands of the expropriated *multazims* and the uncultivated or uncultivable land (the so-called *abʿādiyya* land). The rate of the land tax did not remain fixed at

the 1813-14 level, but was augmented periodically as the Pasha's need for revenue mounted; nor did all the land remain under direct government supervision. Instead, Muḥammad ʿAlī assigned estates to members of his family, to favourites, and to foreigners. Some of these estates were known as *čiftlik* [*q.v.*]; others as *abʿādiyya* (estates reclaimed from lands uncultivated at the time of the 1813-14 cadastre and granted on favourable terms); and *ʿuhda*s, estates consisting of bankrupt villages whose taxes were collected by their new landholders (*mutaʿahhid*s) rather than by members of the government hierarchy. The substance of the land (*raḳaba*) of all these estates was retained by the state, the landholders possessing only usufructuary rights (*taṣarruf*).

Along with his land reforms, Muḥammad ʿAlī also monopolized all money crops (cotton in particular), creating in consequence of this new policy an important source of revenue for the government.

Other innovations, as well as the retention of taxes antedating Muḥammad ʿAlī, are reflected in the extant budgets of this period. Receipts fell into three major categories: (1) direct taxes; (2) customs and *appaltos*, farms for the collection of duties on sundry items granted by the government for one or more years; and (3) profits from agriculture and industry. Direct taxes incorporated taxes on property, i.e., *mīrī* (land tax), tax on date trees, on successions to city properties and gardens, duties on *wikāla*s, bazaars, and houses; taxes on persons, called *furdat al-ruʾūs*, a personal tax amounting to 3 per cent on known or supposed revenue of all the inhabitants of Egypt, which was paid by all government employees, including even foreigners, by Egyptian employees of non-government establishments, by *fallāḥīn*, and by artisans and merchants, the *d̲j̲izya*, and a duty on dancers, prostitutes, jugglers, and conjurers; taxes on things, i.e., duties on boats navigating Egyptian waters, fish of the Nile, salt, fruit, butchers' shops, hides, tallow, smelting of silver, galloons for goldsmiths, animals, irrigation implements (*sāḳiya*s and *s̲h̲ādūf*s), exportation of cereals from Egypt, tax on textile looms, stamp duty, quarantine and lock dues, profits of the mint and the Transit, and miscellaneous duties; octrois, *i.e.*, octroi on eatables and duty on grain entering Cairo.

Revenues from customs and *appalto*s included customs collected at Damietta, Rosetta, Būlāḳ, Old Cairo, Deraoui, Asyūṭ, Suez, D̲j̲idda, al-Ḳuṣayr, and for merchandise coming overland from Syria; and *appalto*s on fish of Lake al-Manzala, Lake Ḳārūn, and Baḥr Yūsuf, on wines, spirits, and liqueurs, on senna, on oil from linseed and other seeds. Profits from agriculture and industry were obtained from the sale of cotton, sugar, indigo, opium, henna, honey and wax, safflower, flax, linseed, seed (sesame, lettuce, and *Carthamus*), raw silk, rosewater, rice, tobacco, wheat, beans, barley, maize, lentils, cotton goods, linen goods, silks, calicos and handkerchiefs, raw and tanned hides, horns, natron (carbonate of soda), nitre, sal-ammoniac, lime, plaster, tiles, and mats. In addition, the government obtained revenues from freight carried by government boats, gums (from Sinnār), coffee (from al-Yaman), and elephant tusks.

In general, Muḥammad ʿAlī's fiscal system endured until the British occupation of Egypt. Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a introduced nothing new during his short reign, while ʿAbbās altered the system very little, although he economized on those projects begun by his grandfather which seemed wasteful. He abolished those *ʿuhda*s whose proprietors had failed to comply with the terms of their concessions, and suppressed the octrois. He also relieved the tax burden of the peasants by removing a large part of the *furdat al-ruʾūs*.

His successor, Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a, changed the existing fiscal system, somewhat, by ending the monopoly system and opening the country to free trade, allowing foreign merchants to deal directly with the Egyptian peasants. To compensate for the loss of revenue from government monopolies, he introduced a new policy regarding land taxes. Former tax-free lands were now taxed, some with the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*, and others with the *ʿus̲h̲r*, the rate of taxes being substantially increased as well. In 1853, during ʿAbbās's reign, the revenues from the land tax had amounted to 348,398 purses or £ 1,741,995; by 1858, Saʿīd had increased them to 501,898 purses or £ 2,509,492, almost a 50 per cent increase on land taxes alone (Green, May 1, 1858, in F.O. 78/1401). In addition, Saʿīd reinstated the entire *furdat al-ruʾūs*, adding it to the land tax.

Saʿīd's Land Law of 1858 introduced an important innovation of long-range significance. Under this law, the right to inherit, mortgage, and retain land permanently was granted to existing landholders, provided they paid their taxes. If these taxes were not paid within five years, the landholders were deprived of their lands permanently. This time limit, imposed by the new law, constituted a real change from traditional practices. Formerly, a peasant who had failed to pay taxes on his *athar* land (land held on usufructuary tenure but passed from father to son for generations) was dispossessed until such time as he was able to meet his obligations. In this way, he could always hope to recover his land, no time limit existing which could for ever alienate him from it. Indeed, the class most favoured by the Land Law of 1858 proved to be that of the rich landholders rather than of the poorer peasants. The ill effects of this law were particularly felt in the next reign. Those peasants who had over-extended their credit during the cotton boom of the 1860's were greatly in debt when the market collapsed at the end of the American Civil War. Consequently, many peasants, unable to pay their taxes, lost their land. To make matters worse, Ismāʿīl's excessive demands deprived still more peasants of their land because of their inability to pay the government. The Khedive took advantage of the peasants' plight to add more and more of their land to his private estates, until he eventually possessed one-fifth of the agricultural land of Egypt, which he exploited for his own profit.

Khedive Ismāʿīl resorted to numerous expedients to increase his revenues. Among these was his *Muḳābala* Law of 1871 which provided that all landholders agreeing to pay six years' taxes in advance would be permanently exempted from 50 per cent of their land tax, whether *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* or *ʿus̲h̲r*. This fiscal device failed to meet Ismāʿīl's expectations because many landholders refused to take advantage of it. Ismāʿīl was no sooner removed from office when the law was abrogated (1880) and taxes reimposed on all land. With the British occupation of the country in 1882, the fiscal functions of the Egyptian government passed into the hands of the British administrators.

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(5) — Persia. There is, on the whole, a remarkable continuity of practice in the matter of taxation in Persia from early Islamic times down to the 20th century; but whereas there was in early times an attempt to reconcile existing practice with Islamic theory and sporadic efforts to abolish non-sharʿī taxes, after the break with tradition in early Mongol (Ilkhānid) times, in spite of the Islamization of the administration under Ghāzān Khān and his successors, the general tendency was away from the Islamic theory of taxation towards a multiplication of taxes and dues and a greater variety of usage. Moreover, since there was no longer even an outward attempt to make the tax administration conform to the ideal of Islamic theory, the tendency towards arbitrary action increased; but the general principles of the tax system, the methods of assessment and collection, and the main problems to be faced did not vary greatly and such changes as took place prior to the 20th century were of degree rather than of a more fundamental kind. New dynasties and new rulers did not involve fundamental changes in the tax administration. The tax regime of Uzun Ḥasan, laid down between 874/1470 and 882/1477, is alleged still to have been operative in Ṣafawid times. Many oft he main features of the Ḳādjār tax administration are already to be seen under the Ṣafawids, the period of Afshār and Zand rule having brought little that was new in the field of taxation. At no time, however, did a uniform system prevail throughout the country. In general the amount of money in circulation was limited; commerce was not highly developed and there was difficulty in transporting and remitting large sums of money, all of which affected the system of administration in general and of taxation in particular. Further, the tendency for the silver currency to depreciate makes it difficult to evaluate accurately the changes which took place in the amount of tax levied and its relative incidence. Money going into the Royal Treasury is alleged by various foreign observers to have been hoarded and seldom to have reappeared in circulation; but as against this the money thus accumulated would seem not infrequently to have been dissipated on military expeditions, accession gratuities to secure the throne against rival claimants, and other emergencies; while the frequency with which the pay of the army and the official classes was in arrears suggests that the treasury was not always as full as might be supposed were the surplus revenue hoarded. In any case by the latter part of the 19th century there was a constant struggle to provide revenue to meet the growing demands of the administration and an extravagant court. No very clear distinction was made between the revenue of the state and the ruler's private income; any surplus eventually found its way into the royal purse. In the Ṣafawid period there was a broad distinction between funds belonging to the state (*māl-i maṣāliḥ*), administered by the *mustawfī al-mamālik* under the Grand Wazir, and the funds belonging to the royal household (*māl-i khāṣṣa*), administered by the *mustawfī* of the *dīwān-i khāṣṣa*, corresponding roughly to the earlier division between the *dīwān* and the *dargāh*. How early this distinction is found is uncertain. Chardin affirms that it was first introduced by Shāh Ṣafī (A.D. 1629-42); in any case there was considerable overlapping between the two divisions. By Ḳādjār times the distinction between them such as it was had disappeared. The general tax structure and the broad division into "fixed" taxes (*māl wa djihāt* and later *māliyāt*) and extraordinary levies and requisitions, and the purposes to which the revenue was devoted, namely the payment of the army, salaries of officials, pensions, and the upkeep of the royal court, were largely the same. Whereas, however, under the Ṣafawids large areas of the empire were alienated from the direct control of the central government and little supervision exercised over the tax administration of these areas, there was an attempt under the Ḳādjārs to centralize the tax administration; but the farming of the taxes to governors and others made nonsense of this and by the 20th century chaos prevailed in the tax administration. Collection was profoundly unsatisfactory; such checks and controls as had been devised had broken down, and the system was oppressive in its operation.

The most important of the "fixed" taxes were those levied on the land or its produce. A great variety of practice existed as regards both the method and rate of assessment. Moreover the extent of the area subject to the payment of land tax varied considerably. Much of the land as stated above was alienated from the direct control of the government in the form of *tiyūl*s and *suyūrghāl*s, which carried full or partial immunity from taxation. The latter were granted mainly on crown lands, *waḳf* land, and dead lands. According to Chardin the the Ṣafawid empire was divided into "provinces" (*mamālik*), *i.e.*, indirectly administered areas, and directly administered territory (*khāṣṣa*); the governors of the former, he affirms, remitted to the central government only a lump sum by way of a present (*pīshkash*) at the new year and a proportion of the produce and products of the province for the use of the royal court and workshops, retaining the remainder of the provincial revenue for the expenses of the provincial administration. To what extent

such provincial governors under the Ṣafawids and those of the provincial governors who farmed the revenues of their provinces under the Ḳād̲j̲ārs exercised freedom of action in the assessment and collection of taxes is not entirely clear. In either period the *mustawfīs* of the central government prepared and sent, usually annually, to the provinces detailed assessments of the provincial districts, known as *dastūr al-ʿamal,* according to which, or on the basis of which, the *mustawfīs* in the provinces allocated the tax demand among the provincial population. It is also not clear to what extent *waḳf* land was exempt from taxation. It seems in any case unlikely that those *waḳfs* of which the ruling monarch was the *mutawallī* paid tax; Curzon states that *waḳf* land was exempt from taxation, but it may be that exemption was, in fact, not automatic but granted by a special decree or *farmān.* After the grant of the constitution in 1906, *waḳfs* of which the reigning S̲h̲āh was *mutawallī* were exempted from taxation on the grounds that the income of the S̲h̲āh was not taxable; other types of *waḳfs* were subject to taxation.

The land tax was assessed in three main ways: by measurement, as a proportion of the produce, or in a lump sum. The assessments were not made at regular intervals and were frequently hopelessly out of date; though where the tax due was assessed as a definite proportion of the crop, the government tax collectors of necessity estimated this annually. The most common form of assessment by Ḳād̲j̲ār times was the computation of the revenue due from a town or village in a lump sum; this had the advantage of avoiding annual visits by the tax collectors to assess the amount of the crop. The tax due, assessed partly in cash and partly in kind, was known as the *bunīča* of the area; it included from about the middle of the 19th century also the number of soldiers which the area was required to provide or a sum equivalent to the wages of a given number of soldiers. The final allocation of the tax demand among the population of the town or village was made locally. Special remissions on account of natural calamities or in return for some special service were granted from time to time and occasionally became permanent. More often, however, additional levies were made on account of arrears or to meet some emergency or special need, and the general tendency was for these to become part of the regular assessment. Further by the manipulation of the conversion rates (*tasʿīr*) by which taxes assessed at an artificial currency rate or in kind were converted into cash, the rate of taxation was increased. The assessments being usually out of date, it frequently happened that a village which had declined in prosperity and whose inhabitants had decreased on account of war, famine, emigration or some other cause, would be over-assessed and the amount of taxation due from the individual taxpayers automatically raised. Conversely villages which had increased in prosperity or had been newly developed were often under-assessed.

The rate of the land tax varied; it was affected by the nature of the crops grown and sometimes by the type of irrigation. Under Uzun Ḥasan's tax regime the rate at which tax was levied on the produce of the land varied from 14 to 20 per cent of the produce; in addition dues were levied on each plough-land. Under the Ṣafawids a somewhat similar situation presumably prevailed; Chardin, however, states that the tax on silk and cotton was one third of the produce. The rate in Ḳād̲j̲ār time seems to have been in the main some 20% of the crop; though a tradition affirms that prior to the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh the rate was one tenth. This rate seems unlikely, however, to have been generally current. In any case a wide variety of practice existed. On grain crops the tax demand was paid in kind, the grain thus obtained being stored in government granaries and held against emergencies such as military expeditions and famine, or in some cases sold at fixed prices to the local population. Where the tax demand was made in kind as a fixed proportion of the crop it was presumably usually levied on the threshing floor before the division of the crop between the landlord and the peasant.

The extent of crown lands fluctuated. In cases where they were directly administered land tax as such was not levied, the whole of the produce after the deduction of the peasant's share going to the treasury. If leased, the rent paid by the tenant presumably included, or was in lieu of, land tax, and resembled an ordinary crop-sharing agreement. Under the Ṣafawids the land round Iṣfahān was largely crown land and administered by a special *dīwān* under the *mustawfī-i k̲h̲āṣṣa.*

In addition to the tax on the land or its produce water dues in the case of large rivers were levied. Pasture dues and a herd tax were also collected in some areas from both the settled and the semi-settled population; but their incidence and method of assessment varied. Among the other "fixed" taxes was a tax on real estate (other than agricultural land), such as baths, shops, water-mills, and caravanserais etc. (*mustag̲h̲allāt*), computed in early Ḳād̲j̲ār times at 20 per cent of the estimated annual proift. Malcolm alleges that there had been large increases in crown property of this nature owing to confiscations after the fall of the Ṣafawid and later dynasties. Where such property was rented by the crown to tenants, the rent presumably included, or took the place of, the tax levied on privately owned property of this kind. A poll-tax was paid by non-Muslims, Jews, Armenians, and Zoroastrians; and by foreigners unless granted special immunity. This derived from the canonical poll-tax or *d̲j̲izya.* Various other sections of the community, including certain tribal groups, also paid what amounted to a poll-tax (*sarāna, sar-s̲h̲umārī*). There are references in various documents to some kind of house or family tax (*k̲h̲āna-shumār*). Poll-taxes were finally abolished by the law of 20 Ād̲h̲ar 1305 A.H. (solar)/1926.

Taxes were levied on the craft guilds, except where special immunities were granted, by a group assessment, also known as *bunīča.* In Iṣfahān in Ṣafawid times the *kalāntar* and *naḳīb* of Iṣfahān would assemble the guilds in the first three months of the year and the *naḳīb* would fix their *bunīča* with the *kadk̲h̲udā* of the guild, this being subsequently allocated among the individual members of the guild. In practice, however, in the same way as the assessment of the land tax tended to become out of date so too was the *bunīča* of the guilds often out of date. Craft guilds continued to pay tax in this way until 1926, when this form of tax was abolished by the law of 20 Ād̲h̲ar 1305 A.H. (solar).

As regards taxes on merchants there appears to have been no uniform practice. Certain commodities were from time to time subject to special taxes. For example the *Tad̲h̲kirat al-Mulūk* mentions taxes on the tobacco trade. Market taxes were also in some cases levied. The main fixed taxes to which merchants were subject were road tolls (*rāhdārī*) and customs

dues. The former were usually levied at so much per animal load at each town, the rate at which they were levied varying. Customs duties were paid on merchandise at the port of entry or exit. In the Ṣafawid period a duty of 10 per cent was levied by the customs houses in the Persian Gulf; on other frontiers the duty was levied per load. Certain exemptions and reductions were granted to various foreign merchants. By the Treaty of Turkomančay (1828) an *ad valorem* tariff of 5% was imposed on imports and exports by Russian merchants; in due course equivalent treatment was demanded by and granted to other nations. Persian merchants paid only 2 per cent but were subject in addition to road tolls. The revision of the customs tariff in 1903 was prejudicial to Persia and partial to Russia. The customs and road tolls were usually farmed in each district.

A levy on mines and pearl fisheries was made at the rate, in Ṣafawid times, of one third of the produce. Similarly a levy of 2 per cent on coins (*wād̲j̲ibī*) is mentioned. The mints were also a regular source of revenue in Ḳād̲j̲ār times. In the latter part of the 19th century the post and telegraphs became an additional source of revenue.

Numerous other dues made up the "fixed" revenue. Here again a great variety of practice existed and there is little detailed information on the rates at which these various dues were levied. Many of them were still levied in the 20th century. Millspaugh notes that some two hundred miscellaneous taxes existed in 1922. Included among these dues were those paid to afficials, local and otherwise, which did not necessarily go through the officials of the revenue department and were in many cases collected locally and constituted the whole or a large part of the salary of the officials in favour of whom they were levied. The holders of *tiyūl*s, annual grants, and *suyūrg̲h̲āl*s in Ṣafawid times paid a certain percentage of their assignments to various officials ranging from the *wakīl* of the supreme *dīwān* to the *daftardār* and other minor officials. More onerous than these, however, because more arbitrary in their incidence were the dues collected by local officials as their perquisites of office.

A further charge on the peasants and some of the craft guilds was labour service exacted by the state or a money payment taken in lieu of this. The incidence of labour service varied from place to place and it is difficult to assess it in money terms. The exaction of such service however could not fail to degrade the station of the peasant and artisan and to emphasize his subjection to authority.

The liability of the taxpayer was not limited to the payment of "fixed" taxation; perhaps the most onerous forms of taxation to which he was subjected were constituted by extraordinary levies, of which *ṣādirāt* and *suyūrsāt* were the most widespread and the most burdensome, and "presents" (*pīs̲h̲kas̲h̲*), casual and otherwise. *Ṣādirāt* comprised levies made to meet special expenditure such as that occasioned by a military expedition, the construction or repair of a royal building, or some special festivity, or simply to make good a deficit in the revenue. According to the nature of the occasion the whole country or a district or section of the community only was subjected to the levy. Its incidence was arbitrary in the extreme and its levy gave great scope for the show of partiality and the exercise of injustice. *Suyūrsāt* consisted of levies made for the keep and expenses of military forces, government officials, and foreign envoys passing through the country and like the *ṣādirāt* bore heavily upon the peasantry. Presents (*pīs̲h̲kas̲h̲*) were of two kinds, "casual" and "regular". The latter were remitted annually at the New Year and in some cases on certain religious festivals, such as the *ʿīd-i mawlūd*, by provincial governors, chiefs of tribes, and high officials. The amount of these presents was fixed broadly by custom. The occasions for the levy of casual presents were various. On the assumption of office by governors and high officials a payment, virtually equivalent to purchase money, was often expected and made; the grant of a *k̲h̲ilʿa* in many cases would cost its recipient a sum commensurate with his position in society; the progress of the shah through a district would involve the presentation of presents by all and sundry; similarly the visit of the Shah to the house of a favoured minister would impose upon the latter and his family and retainers heavy expenses in the form of presents; further, the heirs of the numerous body of persons who received pensions from the state had frequently to purchase the renewal of these grants, as did also the holders of *tiyūl*s and their heirs. This system of *pīs̲h̲kas̲h̲* extended throughout the administration; not only did the Shah expect and receive *pīs̲h̲kas̲h̲*, his governors and ministers also demanded and received similar treatment in the areas under their jurisdiction and from their subordinates.

Another irregular source of revenue, the extent of which, though difficult to compute, was no doubt considerable was confiscation (*muṣādara*) from officials dismissed from office, fines, and bribes. To these were added from the second half of the 19th century A.D. onwards considerable sums received from monopolies, concessions, and royalties.

In the latter part of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn various steps were taken to unify the tax administration of the country, abolish certain of the irregular taxes and requisitions, increase the revenue, and improve collection. A decree of 1303/1885-6 laid down certain changes in the collection of the revenue and attempted to define the financial responsibility of the governor. Instructions were issued for a new land survey and the levy of land tax at the rate of 10 per cent of the produce and various dues in 1307/1889-90. These and other measures were not, however, attended by any marked degree of success and were not operative throughout the country.

Full figures cannot be given for the total revenue owing to the impossibility of computing the extent of the revenue outside the "fixed" taxes. According to the *Tad̲h̲kirat al-Mulūk* the state revenue (*i.e.*, excluding revenue from the *k̲h̲āṣṣa*) in late Ṣafawid times amounted to c. 800,000 *tūmān*s. 61 per cent of this came from taxes registered in the *awārija*, which Prof. Minorsky thinks may have been land taxes; levies including rents from real estate excluding agricultural land, etc. accounted for 14.5 per cent, mines for 2 per cent, and produce and products remitted to the royal workshops for 1.5 per cent. According to the same source the total cost of the army and administration was 491,986 *tūmān*s 57,000 *dīnār*s, of which 396,792 *tūmān*s went to amīrs and governors. The first charge on the provincial revenues was the cost of the provincial administration. Under the Ḳād̲j̲ārs in addition to the regular tax assessment the provincial governors levied a sum known as *tafāwut-i ʿamal* for the expenses of the administration. Only after defraying local expenses and the payment of special drafts made on the local revenue by the central government

was any surplus remaining remitted to the central treasury. According to Malcolm the "fixed" revenue in the early 19th century A.D. amounted to about three millions sterling. Local estimates put the receipts from Naw Rūz presents at two fifths of the "fixed" revenue, from fines one fifth of the "fixed" revenue, and the sum levied by public requisitions two fifths of the "fixed" revenue, the total revenue of the Shah being thus estimated at c. 6 millions sterling, only a proportion of which was paid in cash and large deductions being made for the expenses of collection before remission to the central government. Curzon estimates the "fixed" revenue at 55,369,516 *tūmāns* (or £ 1,652,820, converted at 33½ *ḳirāns* to the £ sterling, the rate prevailing in 1888), comprising taxes in cash 36,076,757 *tūmāns*, in kind (converted at government rates) 10,100,983 *tūmāns*, customs 8,000,000 *tūmāns*, and posts, mints, telegraphs, etc. 1,191,776 *tūmāns*. Expenditure, excluding local charges for the collection of revenue, reductions for bad harvests, etc., he estimated at 42,233,472 *tūmāns* (£ 1,260,700), comprising maintenance of government buildings 2,633,472 *tūmāns*, and the army, central administration, pensions, allowances, and the Shah's establishment, etc. at 21,600,000 *tūmāns*, showing a surplus of 13,136,044 *tūmāns* (£ 392,121). These figures, however, do not give a true picture of revenue and expenditure since not only is the revenue derived from sources other than "fixed" taxes and dues omitted, but also expenses for military expeditions and equipment, foreign journeys, and unforeseen emergencies. The total picture was far less favourable and such reserves as may have been accumulated were rapidly dissipated in the second half of the 19th century A.D. and the early years of the 20th century. Foreign loans were contracted to make good budgetary deficits, for the servicing of which the customs were mortgaged. By 1911 there was an annual deficit of c. 6,000,000 *tūmāns*, which in fact was usually increased to some 11,000,000 *tūmāns* because the "fixed" taxes were not collected in full. By 1922 there had been considerable changes in the proportions of the total revenue derived from different sources; nearly half the revenue was derived from the customs tariff, and oil royalties constituted a not inconsiderable part of the national revenue.

The grant of the Constitution in 1906 marks the beginning of a new phase in the tax system of Persia. Under the constitution the approval of the National Assembly was necessary for the regulation of all financial matters, the preparation and execution of the budget, the imposition of new taxes, the reduction and exemption of existing taxes, the sale and transfer of national resources and property, and the grant of concessions. One of the first actions of the newly convened National Assembly in 1907 was to appoint a committee to examine the question of financial reform. As a result of their labours the number and amount of the pensions and grants paid to individuals were reduced, the revenue assessments of the provinces were revised and the *tafāwut-i ʿamal* abolished; *tiyūl*s were also abolished, and conversion rates (*tasʿīr*) abrogated. In the same year a Frenchman, M. Bizot, was appointed financial adviser for two years; he had no powers and his mission proved abortive. In 1911 an American, Mr. W. M. Shuster, was appointed Treasurer-General of Persia with a view to reorganizing the chaotic and archaic state of the financial administration. He was forced, however, by Russian diplomatic pressure to leave the country after some months. The finances of the country continued in a state of disorder and during the first world war the administration broke down. In 1922 another American, Dr. A. C. Millspaugh, was appointed Administrator-General of the Finances, and it is from this date that the reform in the tax system of the country promised by the constitution really began and the foundations of a modern system of taxation were laid.

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(ANN K. S. LAMBTON)

(6) — India (a) The Sultanate of Dihlī. The fiscal administration of the Sultanate of Dihlī was modelled to a considerable extent upon the pattern evolved under the ʿAbbāsids. One of the earliest *wazīr*s was Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIṣāmī, who had served at Baghdād before he joined the court of Iletmish (607-33/1210-35) (Firishta, i, 117). The sultans, however, had to take into consideration Hindū traditions, especially in their agrarian policies.

Their fiscal administration, therefore, was based upon precedents developed by the Muslim administrators and jurists of the Eastern Caliphate with an admixture of Hindū traditions. The reconciliation of Islamic law and patterns with native tradition did not prove too difficult because of certain similarities between the two.

A group of taxes payable only by the Muslims came under the category of *zakāt*. The State does not seem to have levied the *zakāt* on personal property, but left it to the discretion of the individual to fulfil his duty in this respect. The State demand on the produce of the *ʿus̲h̲rī* lands, the prescribed *ʿus̲h̲r* being 5% or 10% of the gross produce, was levied by the State like other revenue. The *ʿus̲h̲rī* lands formed an insignificant proportion of the total area under cultivation. All imports paid a *zakāt* of 2½%. In the case of non-Muslim merchants the rate was doubled. This was the only tax paid by non-Muslims which was classified as *zakāt*.

Property left by Muslims dying without heirs belonged to the State and was earmarked for charitable purposes. The property of a *d̲h̲immī* dying in similar circumstances was handed over to his community.

D̲j̲izya was levied in accordance with the rulings of the Ḥanafī jurists. Buddhists and Hindūs were recognized as *d̲h̲immī*s along with 'the peoples of the Book'. Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, the conqueror of Sind, first extended the status of *d̲h̲immī*s to Buddhists and Hindūs and no subsequent ruler withdrew it. The sultans of Dihlī assessed *d̲j̲izya* in their own money; they charged ten, twenty, and forty *tanka*s per annum, in accordance with the income of the assessee (S̲h̲ams-i Sirād̲j̲ ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī*, Calcutta 1890, 383). Imbecile old men, cripples, the blind, and those who had not enough to pay the tax after defraying the cost of their living, were excused. Women and children also were exempt. Non-Muslim servants of the State also were not required to pay the *d̲j̲izya*. The Brāhmans remained exempt most of the time. Only Fīrūz S̲h̲āh (752-90/1351-88) demanded *d̲j̲izya* from the Brāhmans, who protested and made a demonstration in front of the palace (*ibid*, 382-4). The sultan did not forego the tax in its entirety, but he relented to the extent of assessing all Brāhmans according to the lowest rate. Even this assessment was paid by charitably inclined rich Hindūs who wanted to relieve the Brāhmans of the burden. This is the only instance on record of a public protest against *d̲j̲izya*. The Hindūs perhaps did not find the idea of a poll-tax difficult to accept because it was also embedded in their own tradition. The Gaharwars of Kanawd̲j̲ had levied *Turus̲h̲kadanda*, either from the Muslims resident in their dominions or from all their subjects, as a contribution to defence against the encroachments of the Turks. Even during the British period a poll-tax was levied by some Rajput states.

The most important source of revenue and the mainstay of the financial stability of the Sultanate was *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*. The bulk of the cultivated area in the Sultanate consisted of *k̲h̲arād̲j̲ī* lands. Some grants to Muslims were classified as *ʿus̲h̲rī* lands; any other land in the possession of a Muslim or a *d̲h̲immī* was considered to be *k̲h̲arād̲j̲ī*. There was no *arḍ al-mamlaka*. The territories of tributary chiefs, so long as they remained true to their agreements, were treated as *ṣulḥī*. From these areas the State received only a fixed sum of money stipulated at the time of the treaty. The State did not concern itself with the internal administration of such areas or with the relations between the peasants and tributary chiefs.

The principle of the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲ al-muḳāsama* was applied to the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲ī* lands. This was found convenient because the Hindūs were used to various forms of sharing the produce of their lands with the State, as they recognised that the State was entitled to a share of the agricultural produce. As the share of the State was traditionally considered to be a defined percentage of the actual produce, the basic principle of *k̲h̲arād̲j̲ al-muḳāsama* was acceptable to the Hindūs. Thus the requirements of the *s̲h̲arʿ* and Hindū tradition could be easily reconciled and there was no need to create confusion by any radical change in the principles of assessing the State demand on agricultural produce. The Hindūs had developed various methods of sharing the produce with the State before the establishment of Muslim rule. These included actual sharing through grain heaps of equal size, appraisement and the division of the field. Through long experience appraisement gained considerable accuracy and, because of its convenience, was widely adopted. Gradually the average yield in a unit of homogeneous area came to be so well established in popular knowledge that it was sufficient to measure the area under cultivation to calculate the yield. All these developments were intended to spread the time of assessment so that the harvest would not lie in the open field awaiting the arrival of the assessment team. The village accountant, the *paṭwārī*, kept a record of the area cultivated and the crops raised in every season. He also kept a record of the average yield. These traditional methods, called Sharing, Appraisement and Measurement, were left almost intact by the sultans of Dihlī. The sultans encouraged Measurement, because they found this device a more convenient method of accounting and collection. Its great weakness was that it worked satisfactorily only in normal seasons. If the rains failed or the area suffered from some other disaster, the normal yields could not be expected. It was then necessary to revert to Appraisement or Sharing. If the peasant felt that the Appraisement was not fair, he could always elect Sharing. This was an insurance against excessive assessment.

The proportion of the State demand to the gross produce varied in accordance with local tradition. In the areas conquered and brought under effective administration up to the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī (695-715/1296-1316) the prevailing proportion was a fifth of the yield; because of the increased expenditure upon the army on account of Mongol pressure, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn raised it to the maximum allowed under the *s̲h̲arʿ*: a half (I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, Karachi 1958, 103 ff.). G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Tug̲h̲luḳ again reduced it to a fifth. When his son Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ (725-52/1325-51) tried once more to increase the level in the Dōʾāb by ten to twenty per cent, there was rebellion. A fourth of the gross yield seems to have been stabilized as the recognized demand before S̲h̲īr S̲h̲āh (945-52/1538-45) came to the throne (*ibid.*, 111-9). However, in certain desert areas, the demand was as low as a seventh; there also seem to have been certain outlying provinces, such as Gud̲j̲arāt, where it was a half.

The spoils of war, technically called *g̲h̲anīma*, were shared between the State and the soldiers. Legally the State was entitled to a fifth, but because the soldiers were paid salaries out of the Public Exchequer, the sultans considered it fair to give a

fifth to the soldiers and to deposit four fifths in the public treasury. Under Fīrūz Sh̲āh the legal ratio was restored (ʿAyn al-Mulk Māhrū, *In*s̲h̲*āʾ-i Māhrū*, Letter xv. [MS. in Bankipore Public Library, Patna, India]). The State was also entitled to a fifth of all minerals, provided they were capable of being melted and bearing an imprint. The same applied to treasure trove, if it consisted of unstamped bullion or of money minted before the Muslim conquest.

In addition to the above taxes, local imposts were continually imposed in spite of repeated abolitions by the State. These went mostly into the pockets of the local authorities and did not contribute to the income of the State. They had come down from very early times and were so deep-rooted in the habits of the people that their effective abolition was difficult. They were not excessive and were generally petty levies on certain professions and the sale of a few commodities (Qureshi, *op. cit.*, Appendix H, 244 ff.).

The fiscal administration of the Sultanate was vested in the *dīwān-i wizārat*, which was presided over by the *wazīr*. He was assisted by a deputy. The *mus*h̲*rif-i mamālik* was the accountant-general, and the *mustawfī-i mamālik* the auditor-general (ʿAfīf, *op. cit.*, 419-20). Every provincial capital had its own *dīwān-i wizārat* which was a replica of the central *dīwān-i wizārat* and functioned under its control (Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 200-1). Every *pargana*, the smallest unit of revenue administration, consisting of a number of villages, had its *ʿāmil* under whom there was an accountant, a treasurer and a field survey and assessment staff. The village accountant and registrar, called *paṭwārī*, kept all records concerning cultivation, assessment and yields (*ibid.*, 208, 209).

The *zakāt* on imports was assessed and collected at the local *sarā-i ʿadl*. G̲h̲*anīma* was administered by the *dīwān-i ʿarḍ*; the property of Muslims dying heirless went to the office of the local *ḳāḍī*.

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(I. H. Qureshi)

(b) The early Mug̲h̲als. No conspicuous modification of the system described above was attempted until the time of Sh̲īr Sh̲āh. Bābur and Humāyūn made no changes in the existing system, largely the result of Sikandar Lōdī's improvements, which they adopted in its entirety; the statistical returns of Bābur's times were based on the rent-rolls of Sikandar Lōdī, and all calculations were made in accordance with Sikandar's prescriptions on standards and computation. Both Bābur and Humāyūn granted new *d̲j̲āgīrs*. The account of the reconstruction of the central administration in Humāyūn's reign (K̲h̲ʷand Amīr, *Humāyūn-nāma*, see Bibliography) suggests that there was no change in the work of the revenue ministry, now called *dīwānī*.

The interrex Sh̲īr Sh̲āh was the first ruler to rationalize taxation, especially in respect of the chief source, the land. He tried to counteract the recurring tendencies to impose extra-legal taxes on the cultivators, but there is no evidence that he conscientiously applied the Islamic principles of taxation: *d̲j̲izya* and *zakāt* are not mentioned in contemporary records, although the later *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Dāwūdī* gives an extensive list of the sources of state income under heads other than land-revenue: sales tax, conveyance duty, ground rent from market vendors, tax on sugar refinery, ferry tax, grazing tax, cattle tax, profession tax from various artisans, gambling tax, and *d̲j̲izya* and pilgrim tax on Hindūs. Sh̲īr Sh̲āh is said to have forbidden the realization of transit dues and octroi, but how far this prohibition was effective is doubtful; it is probable that a distinction was made between *d̲j̲āgīr* and *k̲h̲āliṣa* territories. Property of intestates most probably escheated to the state. Presents to the Emperor do not seem to have been exploited by Sh̲īr Sh̲āh. The changes he introduced in respect of *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* lands seem to have been the result of the practical experience he acquired in administering the *d̲j̲āgīr* his father had been assigned under the Lōdīs. Sharing of the ripened crop (*g̲h̲allābak̲h̲s̲h̲ī*) and appraisement [(*kankūt*, *muḳtaʿī*) or visual estimation of the standing crop, the hitherto prevailing systems of assessment, were found difficult to operate effectively owing to the large numbers of personnel needed to apply them and because of the temptations for collusion between *riʿāya* and official; in their place measurement (*ḍabṭ*) was reintroduced wherever practicable; Bengal and Multān remained under appraisement until within Akbar's time, and in the latter province when taken for Sh̲īr Sh̲āh in 950/1543 the governor was ordered to observe the customs of the Langāhs and take no more than one-fourth of the produce as revenue (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i S̲h̲īr S̲h̲āhī*, tr. Elliot, iv, 399); elsewhere one-third was taken, reckoned by an averaging system: for all the principal staples the good, medium, and bad yields per *bīghā* were added and then divided by three to give the 'average produce' (*maḥṣūl*) per *bighā*; of this one-third was taken as the state's share (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 297 ff.; tr. Jarrett, ii, 62 ff.); the obvious effect of this was to over-assess the bad lands and under-assess the good. This was presumably only applied in the *k̲h̲āliṣa*-lands; no information is available on revenue collection in the *d̲j̲āgīr* lands, which were still being granted by Sh̲īr Sh̲āh.

The ten years following Sh̲īr Sh̲āh's death in 952/1545 were a period of confusion; it is reasonable to assume that his methods persisted, since they were adopted in Akbar's reign. It is recorded (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Dāwūdī*, tr. Elliot, iv, 479-81) that Islām Sh̲āh replaced *d̲j̲āgīrs* by cash salaries, but this seems to have been a temporary measure.

Under Akbar most of the general sources of revenue (*sāʾir*) described above continued unchanged, except that the *d̲j̲izya* and the tax on Hindū pilgrims were early abolished. Customs duty, only 2½ to 3 per cent *ad valorem*, was exacted at the ports (classified as major (*bandargāh*) and minor (*bāra*); 27 *bandargāhs* and 45 *bāras* are mentioned in the *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*, *K̲h̲ātima*, 239) by a *mutasaddī* with a large staff, and at the land frontiers. Certain internal

transit duties were also levied, including ferry taxes. Other regular taxes included those on salt—in some districts accruing to the provincial revenue, in others to the central administration—; fisheries, particularly the Bengal fish-tanks; *rāhdārī*, a road tax for merchants in exchange for protection; and *pandārī*, a sales tax. Regular revenue from non-tax sources included that from copper, zinc, and silver mines (*Āʾīn*, index); mints (6,174,500 *dām* is mentioned as mint income in the *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*, I. O. Ethé 3599, f. 728b), which were established in the principal towns of the empire (R. B. Whitehead in *JASB*, N.S. viii, 1912, 425-531; N.S. xi, 1915, 231-7; G. P. Taylor in *JASB*,N.S. x, 1914, 178-9; see also DĀR AL-ḌARB, c.); and tribute from vassal chiefs (*e.g.*, the revenue of the *ṣūba* of Adjmēr amounted to over 7,200,000 rupees, three-quarters of which comprised tribute from Rādjpūt chiefs; other tributary domains were in Gudjarāt, Ụṛisā and Central India). Irregular revenue included presents on appointment (*salāmī*), escheat through intestacy or forfeiture, treasure trove, and *khums* (one-fifth of war booty reserved for the imperial exchequer).

The greatest single source of recurrent revenue was from the land, demanded under several different systems during Akbar's long reign, and documented in great detail in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* and other contemporary texts (see Bibliography). The old methods of *ghallābakhshī* (which prevailed in Sindh when the *Āʾīn* was compiled, for where there are no records of any survey or measurement) and *kankūt* remained in force for some areas, but the most favoured system, *ḍabṭ*, was subject to a number of experiments in the first twenty-four years of the reign. First Shīr Shah's schedule of assessment rates was adopted for general use by the regent, Bayrām Khān, on the basis of a demand of a prevailing rate of one-third of the average produce, stated in grain. "From the beginning of this eternal reign, every year unavaricious and high-minded experts used to ascertain prices and lay them before the royal court; and taking the schedule of crop yield and the prices theroof, used to fix the schedule of demand rates (*dastūr*); and this caused great vexation" (*Āʾīn*, i, 347, trans. I. H. Qureshi in *JPakHS*, i/3, 1953, 208); but by the tenth year the uniform schedules gave place to differential schedules based on local price rates, the measuring instruments had been standardized, and land had been classified in accordance with the time it had been cultivated (*bandjar*, uncultivated for five or more years; *puladj*, cultivated for more than five years; *puladj* land lying fallow for a short time was *paṛawtī*, but for three of four years was called *čačar*; when *bandjar* land was brought under cultivation the demand was one-fifth of the norm for the first year, increasing yearly until the full *puladj* rate was attained; there was a similar differential rate for *čačar*; *paṛawtī* was untaxed but paid the full *puladj* rate on being taken into cultivation again). The *ḍabṭ* system was abolished in the *khāliṣa* lands in the thirteenth year (976/1569) under the specially appointed Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, who discontinued the annual assessment and established a *nasaḳ* ((*Akbar-nāma*, ii, 333), not precisely defined but assumed to be a form of assessment analogous to *kankūt* administered through the *muḳaddams* (according to Moreland, Appx.D, "group-assessment", where the term is discussed).

A new system was introduced in the fifteenth year (978/1571) when Muẓaffar Khān and Rādjā Ṭoḍar Mal were appointed to the *wizāra*, having been set in motion in the eleventh year (on the dating question, see Moreland, Appx.E), described in *Āʾīn*, i, 347: *ḳānūngos* ("interpreters of customs", accountants and registrars of the *pargana* [*q.v.*]) prepared new schedules of produce separately for each *pargana*, and on the basis of returns for the whole empire (*taḳsīmāt al-mulk*) a new *maḥṣūl* was determined by estimate, and hence a new valuation (*djamʿ*) made by applying the new schedules to actual or estimated crop areas (actual areas being on hand for the *khāliṣa* lands).

In the nineteenth year (982/1575) Akbar, requiring to pay salaries by cash rather than by assignment, decided that the areas of the *parganas* of the Empire should be re-examined, and the extent of all land, including that *bandjar* or *čačar*, which on cultivation could be expected to yield one crore (*karōṛ*, 10 million) *ṭankās* should be separated and entrusted to an official called *karōṛī*, who was to be responsible for effecting the cultivation of the *bandjar* land and realizing the correct demand (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, B.M.Or. 2274, f. 203), so that in the course of three years all the waste land should be brought under cultivation, improving the condition of the *riʿāya* and benefitting the treasury (Badāʾūnī, ii, 189). But after a successful start the system broke down under the rapacity of the *karōṛīs* and the corruption of their collectors and clerks. The period of this breakdown coincides with Shāh Manṣūr's *de facto* tenure of the *dīwānī* in the absence of Ṭoḍar Mal on military duty. On Todar Mal's return in the twenty-sixth year (985/1577) he resorted to ferocious measures to bring the collectors to account, and the following year an Imperial commissioner (*amīn al-mulk*) was appointed in Fatḥ Allāh Shīrāzī, invited from the court of Bīdjāpur, to both of whom the final system is due.

Previously, in the twenty-fourth year (987/1579-80), the practice of assignment of *djāgīrs* having been re-established, a new valuation was made, calculated on the data of the previous ten years' operation of Ṭoḍar Mal's assessment rates, described in a notoriously difficult passage of the *Āʾīn* (i, 347), known as *Āʾīn-i dahsāla* (tr. Qureshi, *loc. cit.*; see Bibliography for earlier translations and interpretations): the ministry held the correct figures for the preceding five years, and those for five years before were taken from reliable sources. One-tenth of the total was declared to be the average produce (*harsāla*) and would be taken as the basis of valuation for the ensuing year; deductions were made for partial or complete failure of crops in any area. This decennial average was re-computed each year; demand rates were now fixed in cash, not grain, thus obviating the necessity for yearly revision of the commutation rates. In the provisions the *parganas* are grouped into assessment circles, each with its own schedule (*dastūr*). This system is attributed to Akbar himself.

The final system maintains this ideal of valuation but improves its administration (*Āʾīn*, i, 285-8). Ṭoḍar Mal's proposals of the twenty-seventh year are incorporated in a code of practice which was periodically amended. Village records are kept by the *paṭwārī*, but were available to the State officials. The collector was required to familiarize himself with local agriculture and to extend cultivation wherever possible; to this end the headman was to be allowed up to $2^1/_2$ per cent share in the results, and was authorized to reduce the sanctioned rates on high-grade crops, and to depart from the system of *ḍabṭ* if the *riʿāya* elected *ghallābakhshī*, *kankūt*, or

nasaḳ; the *riʿāya* was to know in advance the extent of his liability to the State. These regulations were applied, successfully, in the *khāliṣa* lands; there is insufficient information on their operation in *djāgīrs*.

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(c) The later Mughals. The schedules of cash-rates adapted to the varying productivity of different regions were discarded at some time during the reign of Djahāngīr in favour of the earlier principle of *nasaḳ*; the seasonal *ḍabṭ*, effective enough under such a strong administration as Akbar's, would have been less so under a weak or unsupported ministry. Djahāngīr's memoirs reveal his own lack of interest in fiscal questions, and it is assumed that he neglected the administration; there is indeed a dearth of contemporary information on the fiscal history of his reign, although the summary financial history collected in the later *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ* ([*q.v.*]; ii, 813 ff.) confirms this assumption in the statement that the annual expenditure rose to treble the annual income from the *khāliṣa*-lands. This instability is reflected in the frequency with which *djāgīrs* changed hands (cf. the accounts of W. Hawkins and E. Terry, in *Early Travels*, 83, 91-3, 114, 326, and of Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie*, Eng. trans. in W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, *Jahāngīr's India*, Cambridge 1925, 64 ff.; for the contemporary situation in Gudjarāt cf. *De Remonstrantie van W. Geleynssen de Jongh*, The Hague 1929); some *djāgīr*-holders of high provincial office appear to have been appointed to their posts on farming-terms (Roe, 210; Terpstra, Appx. vi). An innovation of Djahāngīr's time is the introduction of the *āltamgha*, a grant of land given under the emperor's seal which required his direct personal authority to vary, and thus constituted the nearest approach to land-ownership, as now understood, in the Mughal period (*Tūzuk*, 10; cf. *Bādshāh-nāma*, ii, 409).

For Shāhdjahān's reign there is even less contemporary description of practices than for Djahāngīr's, although the account in the *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ* indicates that on his accession he designated as *khāliṣa* sufficient land to yield a revenue of 150 lakhs of rupees, and fixed the expenditure ceiling at 100 lakhs; the expenditure later greatly exceeded this figure, but the *khāliṣa* income was correspondingly increased. A later writer (Bindrāban, *Lubb al-Tawārīkh-i Hind.*, tr. in Elliot and Dowson, vii, 170 ff.) refers to agrarian orders having been issued by the emperor, but these have not been discovered, and the nature of his systems can best be inferred from Awrangzīb's early orders, referred to below. There is, however, a record of the practice in this reign in one area: the Deccan provinces had been brought almost to economic ruin as a result of the wars of conquest, and during Awrangzīb's second viceregal period their revenue systems were reorganized, from about 1062/1652, by Murshid Ḳulī Khān [*q.v.*] who retained plough rents where the state of agriculture was primitive, and elsewhere introduced *ghallābakhshī* and *ḍabṭ*, the former being introduced on differential scales for the first time in India, verying with the nature of the crop and with the nature of the source of water on which the crop depended; assessment rates were fixed at a low figure and were accompanied by positive measures to restore prosperity by repopulating and reorganizing the ruined villages and by capital advances. His achievements in the Deccan had apparently no reaction on the administration in the north.

The state of the revenue system when Awrangzīb came to the throne, and his measures towards a reform, can be gauged from two early *farmāns* of the 8th and 11th regnal years (1076/1665-6 and 1079/1668-9), with preambles containing descriptions of the systems of assessment then in force, with their defects, and the procedures to be adopted in future (texts with Eng. tr. in Jadunāth Sarkār, *The revenue regulations of Aurangzib* ..., in *JASB*, n.s. ii, 1906, 223-55); the former constitutes a manual of practice addressed to the provincial *dīwān* and his staffs, but intended to be applicable also for the staffs employed by *djāgīr*-holders, while the latter was issued with the object of ensuring an assessment and collection of revenue, throughout the whole empire, in accordance with the principles of Islamic Law. This latter *farmān* is based on the *Fatāwā-i ʿĀlamgīriyya* [*q.v.*] of contemporary jurists, whose authorities were the law-books and commentaries of the central Islamic lands rather than the practical conditions of agriculture in India, with consequent distortions of interpretation of the situation: *e.g.*, reference to peasants as though they held proprietary rights over the land; to a distinction between *ʿushr* and *kharādj* land, not applicable in India; and detailed rules for land under dates and almonds, irrelevant in India.

The first *farmān* is the more practical: revenue from the *khāliṣa* lands was expended by the emperor, not the viceroy, and was assessed and collected by the central *dīwānī* through the provincial *dīwāns*. There is to be increased control over the local staffs, and the central authority must be kept informed of actual agricultural conditions by more detailed

annual returns from each village; there is set out a development policy through extension of cultivation, increase of the area under high-grade crops, and the erection and maintenance of irrigation works; the old standard demand of one-third became the new minimum demand, with the maximum raised to one-half—in practice presumably generally demanded, since the officials' primary duty was to increase the revenue. Assessment was usually by *nasaḳ*, usually of a whole village but on occasion of an entire *pargana*; the *nasaḳ* could be refused, in which case revenue could be obtained by *ḍabṭ* or *g͟hallābak͟hs͟hī* at the discretion of local officials; cash-payments of revenue were usual, although Sarkār has shown (*Studies*, 217) that in parts of Uṛīsā revenue was paid in kind. The demand was assessed as a lump sum at the beginning of the year, distributed over the peasants by the headmen; these were paid as the crops matured, and passed their collections to the officials after having set aside their own portions as "village expenses"—a further exaction on an already oppressed peasantry. Provision was made for the occurrence of such calamities as drought, frost, or low prices (the second *farmān* makes a distinction between calamities occurring before and those falling after the crops were cut). That these regulations were intended to set a standard of procedure in the *d̲j̲āgīr*-lands is shown by a provision requiring the provincial *dīwān* to report on the loyalty and efficiency of the assessors and collectors employed in the *d̲j̲āgīrs*.

A distinction is drawn in the second *farmān* between two forms of tenure, *muḳāsama* and *muwaẓẓaf*; under the former, revenue was paid only when the land was cultivated, while under the latter revenue was paid whether the land was cultivated or not. The latter was thus a form of contract-holding, where a fixed sum was paid for the occupation of land irrespective of its produce. There seems to be no prior record of this tenure in Muslim India, although the frequency of such holdings at the beginning of the British period, and the fact that they had been long known in Udaypur, never under Muslim administration, would indicate that they were no new institution. Here the administration recognizes the existence of certain rights to retain or dispose of a holding; a *muwaẓẓaf*-holder was ordinarily succeeded by his heir, and he could lease, mortgage or sell his rights.

Although the necessity for full and punctual collection of revenues is stressed, there is no explicit provision for action to be taken in case of default; but it is recorded in other sources that a cultivator's wives and family could be sold into slavery in such cases (cf. Bernier, 205; Manrique, i, 53).

Stress is laid in these *farmāns* on the need for keeping peasants on the land, for absconding had by this time become a serious problem; that the scarcity of cultivators was due to flight and not to death through warfare or epidemics is shown by several contemporary reports (*e.g.*, Bernier's letter to Colbert, *Travels*, 200 ff., esp. 205; also 226, 232): the severity of the administration drove large numbers to the towns or camps, or to territories under Hindū rule.

After Awrangzīb's reign the *d̲j̲āgīr* seems to have become unremunerative and consequently unpopular (cf. K͟hʷāfī K͟hān, *Muntak͟hab al-Lubāb*, Bibl. Ind., i, 622 ff.), on account of the lack of cultivators and the general uncertainty of tenure; also an assignee could no longer rely on the authority of the emperor and had frequently to repel other claimants to the revenue by force of arms: *de facto* possession had more force than title. The place of the *d̲j̲āgīr* is taken more and more by a stipend in cash, and territorially the most important unit of revenue is the *taʿalluḳ* [*q.v.*]; the *k͟hāliṣa* areas were frequently farmed out in the later years of Awrangzīb and under his successors, and the large tax-farms in Bengal became the forerunners of the system of *zamīndārī* [*q.v.*]. The revenues thus passed out of the control of the imperial authority as such, and the later fiscal history more properly belongs to the period of British India.

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(d) Other Indian dynasties. Materials for the fiscal systems of the outlying regions are very scanty. For the fragmentary records of Gud̲j̲arāt and Mālwa see those articles; for post-Mug͟hal Bengal see ZAMĪNDĀRĪ. For the Bahmanīs there is no information beyond Firis͟hta's remarks that *d̲j̲āgīr*-holdings were common and that there were reserved *k͟hāliṣa*-areas (*Muntak͟hab al-Tawārīk͟h*, Kānpur lith., 320, 356).

For Aḥmadnagar there is no contemporary account of the reforms of Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*], although an account has been given bv Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Bombay 1826, from Marāṭhī sources, according to which Malik ʿAnbar abolished farming and substituted a collection of a percentage of the actual produce in kind; after some seasons this was commuted for a cash payment, fixed annually on the basis of cultivation, the State claiming one-third or two-fifths of the total value.

In Golkoṇḍa in the 11th/17th century the kingdom appears to have been entirely under the farming system, the amount payable having been settled annually by auction (cf. Methwold, *Relations of the Kingdom of Golckonda*, in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, London 1625); farming is said to have persisted in this region until abolished by Sir Salar Jang in 1853 (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xiii, 280).

Bibliography: In the text.

(P. Śaran and J. Burton-Page)

7. Indonesia [See SUPPLEMENT].

DĀRIM [see TAMĪM].

AL-DĀRIMĪ, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. al-Faḍl b. Bahrām b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Abū Muḥammad al-Samarḳandī belonged to the B. Dārim b. Mālik, a branch of Tamīm. He travelled in search of traditions and learned them from a number of authorities in al-ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt. Among those who transmitted traditions on his authority were Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjāj and Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī. Al-Dārimī lived a simple, pious life devoted to study, and acquired a reputation for knowledge of *Ḥadīth*, reliability, truthfulness and sound judgement. He was asked to accept office as *ḳāḍī* in Samarḳand but refused. The sulṭān insisted, so he accepted the office, but after acting once he asked to be excused and this was granted. He was born in 181/797 and died in 255/869. His writings were mainly concerned with *Ḥadīth*, but he is also credited with a Ḳurʾān commentary. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī says he compiled *al-Musnad* and *al-Djāmiʿ*, but one wonders whether these may not be alternative titles for the same work. His collection of traditions is commonly called *al-Musnad* (publ. Kānpur 1293, Ḥaydarābād 1309, Dihlī 1337, Damascus 1349), but this word is appropriate only if understood in the wider sense common in earlier times. It should be called *al-Sunan*, as the material is arranged according to the subject-matter. This work has not been treated on an equality with the six canonical books, but Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī considered it superior to Ibn Mādja's *Sunan*. It is much shorter than any of the six books. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa mentions three other works, two of them excerpts from his *Musnad*, but they have not survived.

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(J. Robson)

ḌARĪR, Muṣṭafā, Turkish author of the 7th/14th century. Very little is known of his life. He was born blind (*ḍarīr*) in Erzurum where he studied; later he travelled in Egypt, Syria and Karaman. His works which have come down to us are : 1. *Tardjumat al-Ḍarīr*, an enlarged free translation, interspersed with many original verse passages, of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī al-Baṣrī's (6th/13th century) version of the *sīra* of Ibn Isḥāk, filled with stories and legends borrowed from various sources. It consists of five volumes and was written by the order of the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt Al-Manṣūr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī; it was completed in 790/1388 and presented to the sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥādjdjī. The chapter on the birth of the Prophet seems to have inspired the corresponding chapter in Sulayman Čelebi's *Mewlid* (Ahmed Ateş, *Vesîletü'n-Necât, Mevlid*, Ankara 1954, 55-7); 2. a free translation of Wāḳidī's *Futūḥ al-Shām*, which relate the conquest of Syria under the caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, completed in Aleppo in 795/1392; 3. a translation of the Hundred *Ḥadīths*; 4. *Yūsuf we Zulaykhā*, a recently discovered *mathnawī* (Istanbul Univ. Library no. 311, 862). None of these works has yet been edited. Ḍarīr shows remarkable mastery of *ʿarūḍ*; his verse is fluent and he often reaches the heights of lyric poetry. His pleasant and simple prose is one of the best specimens of early Turkish narrative style.

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(Fahir İz)

ḌARIYYA, a village and a watering place in Nadjd located at 42° 56′ N., 24° 46′ E., on the Darb al-Sulṭānī pilgrim route from al-Baṣra to Mecca (*Handbook*, ii, 189). The village was a much frequented halting place for pilgrims, for the junction with the route from al-Baḥrayn was here. The district of Ḍariyya, according to Ibn Bulayhid, was a wide territory in Nadjd celebrated by the poets in pre-Islamic times for its sweet water and pasturage. The famous Ḥimā Ḍariyya is said to have been named after the village and was part of the district (Yāḳūt, iii, 457). There is some doubt as to when the *ḥimā* was first reserved. Yāḳūt states that Ḍariyya was set aside by Kulayb [*q.v.*], the legendary hero of the War of Basūs, whose burial ground, according to traditions handed down by the Ṭayyiʾ, lies within the confines of the *ḥimā* in the mountains of al-Nīr. The site of this grave was well known among the Arabs as late as the 15th century, for al-Samhūdī, who completed his work in 886/1481, reports that Adjwad b. Zāmil al-Djabrī, the lord of al-Ḥasā and al-Ḳaṭīf (called by the author, Raʾīs Ahl Naghd), had heard of the shrine from the local Arabs and visited it (al-Samhūdī, ii, 227). Al-Bakrī, however, claims that Ḥima Ḍariyya was first reserved for the state by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb for the camels given as *ṣadaḳa* or taken in battle. The statement by al-Hamdānī (172, 24) that Ḥimā Ḍariyya and Ḥimā Kulayb are not the same but are separated by the mountains of al-Nīr, which Yāḳūt himself recognizes as an independent *ḥimā*, supports al-Bakrī. It is likely that Ḍariyya was one of the many *ḥimā*s of the *djāhiliyya* epoch which later changed their names (Ibn Bulayhid, iii, 244). The Ḥemmey on Doughty's map is probably an approximation of the older Ḥimā Kulayb. According to al-Ṭabarī (i, 1107) and Yāḳūt (ii, 290), Ḍariyya derives its name from Ḍariyya, the mother of Ḥulwān, the son of ʿUmrān and grandson of Ḳuḍāʿa. Al-Hamdānī says that Ḍariyya was the daughter of Rabīʿa b. Nizār.

The *ḥimā* reserved by ʿUmar originally extended 6 miles in each direction from the village of Ḍariyya. Owing to the continuous increase in livestock, which reached a total of about 40,000 in the time of ʿUthmān the *ḥimā* was enlarged about 10 miles in at least one direction (al-Bakrī, iii, 860). The land, which was under the control of the Amīrs of Medina, was released by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mahdī and is said to have yielded, as private property, an annual tribute of 8,000 dirhams in the early ʿAbbāsid period. At that time the territory was chiefly inhabited by the Kilāb, against whom Muḥammad had sent troops in A.H. 6 and 7. Ḍariyya was not without strife, for al-Ahwāzī mentions that al-Rabtha, a neighbouring pilgrim station and *ḥimā*, was destroyed in the year 319/931 through continuous warfare between its people and those of Ḍariyya.

Today, by-passed by modern roads, Ḍariyya is a poor settlement with about 20 wells and only a few scattered palms, lying in desolate steppe terrain at the edge of one of the dikes in the granite shield underlying the western plateau. Western writers have frequently confused it with al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], the

former Wahhābī capital (cf. Wüstenfeld). Among European travellers in the area, Philby is the first to have visited and described Ḍariyya and its companion village Miska, about 6 kilometers to the north (*The Land of Midian*, 9, 52). He mentions Kūfic inscriptions found on rocks in Ḍariyya, attesting to its former prominence as a pilgram station. Ḍariyya is in territory now occupied by ʿUtayba and Ḥarb, tribes which figured as makeweights in the struggles of the late 18th and early 19th centuries among the Sharīfs of Mecca and the ruling families of Rashīd and Saʿūd for domination of Nadjd.

Bibliography: Cf. *EI*², ii, 924. In addition: al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, ii, 228; Ibn Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Akhbār*, iii, 11, 244; J. J. Hess, *Isl.* (1917) 106; Moritz, *Arabien*, 50: Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ii, 492; Philby, *The land of Midian*, 9, 52; Admiralty, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, 1946, 189. (PHEBE MARR)

AL-**DARʿĪYYA** [see AL-DIRʿIYYA]

DARḲĀWA, plural of the *nisba* Darḳāwī, a religious brotherhood founded in north Morocco at the end of the 18th century by an Idrīsī *sharīf*, Mawlāy al-ʿArbī al-Darḳāwī. His name is supposed to come from the appelation of one of his ancestors who used to be called Abū Darḳa, the man with the leather shield. He was the pupil at Fās of another Idrīsī *sharīf*, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djamal, an adept of the mystical doctrine of al-Shādhilī [*q.v.*], and after the latter's death, he organized a brotherhood inspired by this doctrine. The seat of this group was at first the *zāwiya* of Bū Brīḥ in the tribe of the Banū Zarwāl (on the right bank of the Oued Wargha), then, after 1863, the *zāwiya* of Amadjdjūṭ (Amjot) not far from there, where it is still located and where each year at the end of September the annual festival (*mawsim*) of the brotherhood is celebrated. Many pilgrims go there on this occasion.

The Darḳāwa brotherhood has spread above all in the north and east of Morocco and in the west of Algeria. In Morocco especially it has brought together adepts from every kind of social class, including the Sharifian court: the sultans, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1822-1859) and Mawlāy Yūsuf (1912-1927) belonged to it. At the end of the 19th century, the number of Darḳāwa in Algeria was estimated at about 14,500, and in 1939, at almost 34,000 in Morocco.

The doctrine of the Darḳāwa appears perfectly orthodox; it insists essentially on the necessity of man's consecrating himself as far as possible to the contemplation of divinity and to the mystic union with God. To attain this the Darḳāwī must pray as often as he can, and particularly during the sessions of prayer (*dhikr*) which are held regularly in the customary meeting-places of the brotherhood. These sessions aim at provoking ecstasy by means of the recitation of pious formulas, mystical poems, song and dance. An excellent description of them is to be found in the *Essai sur la mystique musulmane* of E. Dermenghem, the preface to his translation of the *Khamriyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (Paris 1931, 64, n. 1). In order better to detach themselves from the world, certain adepts go so far as to live as wanderers, a staff in their hands, clothed miserably, and with a rosary of a hundred beads round their necks. The majority content themselves with paying as little attention as possible to wordly matters, and with taking no part in any form of public life.

Nevertheless, on several occasions the Darḳāwa have played a part in politics: one of them, Ibn al-Sharīf, provoked serious agitation in the Turkish province of Oran which lasted for several years (1803-9); but for the moderation of the sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān (1792-1822), this agitation might have ended in the annexation of western Algeria by Morocco. Soon afterwards, various groups of Darḳāwa took an active part on the Berber revolt of the last years of Mawlāy Sulaymān's reign, and the head of the brotherhood was even imprisoned for a time. After the death of Mawlāy Sulaymān, the Darḳāwa took hardly any further part in the political life of Morocco, even in the troubled years at the beginning of the 20th century. On the other hand, they played a certain part during the first years of the French conquest of Algeria by opposing the Amir ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who was accused of making common cause with the French after the Desmichels (1834) and Tafna (1837) treaties.

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DARNA, in modern pronunciation Derna, a town on the northern coast of Cyrenaica which is to-day the second most important in the region after Benghāzī. It is situated in a little plain along the banks of a *wādī* of the same name, bounded by the plateau of the al-Djabal al-Akhḍar, which forms a steep slope to the south and touches the sea to the east and west, but thanks to its never-failing springs it is rich in palms (8,000) and in orange and other fruit trees. Darna owes its origin to the Greeks who founded one of their colonies in the neighbourhood. Darnis, as their trading post was called, did not become a *polis* and was not one of the five cities combined into a federation in the time of Alexander the Great, which gave the country its name, Pentapolis. It is probable that it developed only in the time of the Ptolemies. Darna shared the fate of the Pentapolis and with it became a Roman possession in 96 B.C., in accordance with the will of Ptolemy Apion, who renewed a decision already made in 155 B.C. by Ptolemy Physcon (= Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II Neoteros); concerning these facts, an important inscription discovered at Cyrene, and the bibliography, see Romanelli, *Cirenaica*, 1-24. Under the Byzantines, Darna was the seat of a bishopric which already existed at the time of the Council of Nicea in 325. On the conquest of Pentapolis by the Muslims, see BARḲA. According to Yāḳūt, it was at Darna that the governor of the country, Abū Shaddād Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī, was killed in 76/695 (or in 74/693?), as he was hastening to meet the Greeks who had disembarked there in an attempt to recapture the region. Yāḳūt says that his tomb, and those of others killed in the battle, were well-known. Under the Arabs Darna fell into decay; if this were not proved by the complete silence of the Arab geographers with regard to it, it would be possible to deduce it from the fact that its prosperity was always linked to the exploitation of its soil and that the conquering Arabs were never farmers. Its harbour was not as good as others in Cyrenaica, and its site was at some distance from the route followed generally by the Arab armies and the caravans of

merchants and pilgrims, which passed about 90 kms. to the south (by ʿAyn al-Ghazāla, al-Tamīmī and al-Makhīlī). It was from the end of the 15th century on, or even later, that Darna revived thanks to the immigration of Andalusians, coming less from Andalusia than from other places in North Africa where they had already found refuge. Accurate information on the arrival of these farmers of Spanish origin goes back to the 17th century: a Turkish Pasha called Ḳāsim, returning from Tripoli to Constantinople, had noticed the fertility of the Darna region and, after having obtained a concession from the Sublime Porte, established himself there with the Andalusians; later on his lieutenant requested the help of the Bey of Tunis in transferring there other Andalusians who had been living in Tunis. Eight hundred colonists were then brought to Darna in four ships (1637). These facts are confirmed by the authors of two well-known *riḥlas*, al-ʿAyyāshī (d. 1091/1679) and Ibn Nāṣir al-Darʿī (d. 1129/1717), who tell us that Darna was colonized by Andalusians in about 1040/ 1631-2. Before this date, according to these travellers, the town had been in ruins for a long time. It had therefore begun to prosper again when the Dey of Tripoli, Muḥammad (1041-59/1632-49), who wanted to keep all the threads of trans-Saharian trade in his own hands, and did not like foreign expansion in the cities of Cyrenaica, made an expedition against Benghāzī (1638) and Awdjila (1640), for part of the caravans from Fezzān and from Bornu used to reach the Mediterranean coast by way of this oasis. Darna must also have fallen into the power of this Pasha, because we learn that its population was unwilling to bear the yoke of Tripoli and that Muḥammad's successor, the Dey ʿUthmān, marched against the town in 1656. As a consequence of this attack, Darna was left almost deserted, so great was the number of the dead and the exiled. However, it soon revived again; even to-day it venerates the memory of Muḥammed Bey (presumably, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, governor for the Pasha of Tripoli: see Ibn Ghalbūn, *Cronaca*, or a rich private person of Anatolia), because he, towards the end of the 17th century, gave attention to the irrigation system and achieved various other public works, notably the construction of the Great Mosque, which has 42 cupolas and the only minaret in the town. The daring and hardihood of the people of Darna continued to cause trouble even to the government of the Ḳaramanlī; Aḥmad I tried in 1715 to subdue Benghāzī and Darna once and for all. In the time of Warthīlānī, who, too, described in a *riḥla* his journey of 1179/1765-1181/1767, there was continual struggle between the inhabitants of the town and the people of Miṣrāta; in the time of Ibn Nāṣir, these last formed the garrison, and perhaps later (see Ibn Ghalbūn), after they had become established there, became part of the population. In short, just as the Bedouins of Cyrenaica, who were at all times the true masters of the region, were turbulent, so were the foreign immigrants in the principal towns. Only famines and epidemics, frequent enough in this country, weakened the tendency to rebellion. Warthīlānī tells us about a famine which caused a temporary cessation of hostilities, and Della Cella of an epidemic of plague which in 1816 reduced the population from 7,000 to 500. In 1805, Darna was the scene of a surprise attack; it was bombarded and occupied by irregular troops (400 men) with the support of three ships of the United States, because that country's naval representative for Barbary, William Eaton, intended to march from Egypt against Tripoli via Cyrenaica, in order to punish the Pasha of this town, Yūsuf Ḳaramanlī, for his corsairs' attacks against United States ships, since the direct attempts of the American fleet against Tripoli had met with failure; he had persuaded the elder brother of the Pasha, Aḥmad, (Ahmet, Hamet, in the western sources), who was considered the legitimate ruler, to join the expedition. Nevertheless, these troops did not advance much farther than Darna, for a treaty between Yūsuf and the United States put an end to this strange adventure. In 1835, after the long interval of Ḳaramanlī [*q.v.*] rule, Cyrenaica came back under the direct government of Constantinople, and Darna, one of the three *ḳaḍās* of the *sandjaḳ* of Benghāzī, was useful to it in exercising a precarious control, which grew gradually stronger, over the interior and Marmarica. The government did its utmost to develop the land between Marsā Sūsa and Darna. When Italy decided to take possession of Libya and declared war on Turkey (29th September 1911), one of the first actions was the bombardment of Darna (30th September) and its occupation (16th October). The population of the town was then about 9,500. Under the Italians, Darna became a very beautiful and well cared for city which even tried to attract tourists. During the first world war it remained in Italian hands, and one of the places from which later the reconquest of Cyrenaica began. During the second world war, it passed several times from the hands of the Italians and Germans into that of the allies before its final occupation by the English in January 1943. It suffered much damage in the course of these operations.

Darna now forms part of the United Kingdom of Libya, following on Italy's renunciation of her colonies in the Peace Treaty (10th February 1947) and the proclamation of the kingdom (24th December, 1951). Notwithstanding the importance that the Sanūsiyya has in Cyrenaica, this *ṭarīḳa* has only one *zāwiya* in Darna, whereas 14 other *ṭarīḳas* are represented there, some of them for as long as 150 years. One of the 70 warriors killed at the side of the above mentioned Zuhayr al-Balawī, Sīdī Bū Manṣūr al-Fārisī, whose tomb stands in the cemetery, has given his name to that part of the town which stretches along the right bank of the *wādī*.

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(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

DARSHAN, also less correctly darsan, a Sanskrit word (*darśana*, from the root *dṛś* "see") meaning "showing, being visible"; hence, the ceremonial appearance of a king to his subjects. This Hindū practice was adopted by the Mughal emperor Akbar (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 73) and his immediate successors. The English traveller Coryat records that Djahāngīr in Āgra used to present himself three times a day from a canopied window. The failure of Shāhdjahān to appear during his illness at the end of 1067/September 1657 led to rumours of his death. The practice of *darshan* was at first followed by Awrangzīb, but abandoned by him in 1078/1668 as savouring of idolatry.

(J. Burton-Page)

DĀRŪGHA. The word is derived from the Mongol *daru-*, 'to press, to seal' and was used to denote a chief in the Mongol feudal hierarchy (K. H. Menges, *Glossar zu den Volkskundlichen Texten aus Ost. Turkistan*, ii, Wiesbaden 1955, 714 s.v. *dorγa*; B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, Paris 1948, 181, 209, 214; P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'or*, Paris 1950, 73). In 617-8/1221 there was a Mongol *dārūkhačī*, or representative of the head of the empire, in Almālīgh beside the native ruler. The duties laid upon him included the making of a census of the inhabitants, the recruitment of local troops, the establishment of postal communications, the collection of taxes, and the delivery of tribute to the court (W. Barthold, *Turkestan* ², 401). The term is first met with in Persia in the Ilkhānid period and by Tīmūrid times it had virtually superseded the term *shiḥna*, the *dārūgha* exercising broadly similar functions to the *shiḥna*. In his main capacities he belonged to the military hierarchy. The functions of the *dārūgha* in the Ṣafawid period were sometimes those of the governor of a town (Olearius, *The Voyages and Travels* ...., London 1669, 304; Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, v, 260); but more commonly he was a kind of police officer, usually under the *dīwānbegī*. His duty was to prevent misdeeds, tyranny, brawls, and actions contrary to the *sharīʿa*, such as prostitution, drinking, and gambling (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, Persian text in facsimile tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London and Leiden 1943, 77b ff.; Tavernier, *Collections of Travels* ...., 222, 232). He had power to fine and punish offenders and was himself responsible for the return of stolen goods (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, *ibid.*). Fees, known as *dārūghāna*, were levied in his favour (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 90b; Du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Paris 1890, 39). In the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries the main functions of the *dārūgha* in Persia continued to be those of a police official acting under the city governor. He regulated prices, weights and measures, preserved order in the towns and bazaars, and supervised the morals of the people; his jurisdiction, which tended to become restricted to the bazaar, encroached upon and in some cases superseded that of the *muḥtasib*. In the capital he appears to have kept special registers of certain crafts which performed labour service for the crown (cf. P. A. Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse*, Paris 1821, 334). The office of *dārūgha* was still found at the beginning of the Constitutional period (see E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 37, 109; *De Téhéran à Ispahan* in *RMM.*, June-July 1907, 459; and *Le Chiisme et la nationalité persane* in *RMM.*, 1908, 482); but with the new forms of government his office became an anomaly, the various functions formerly exercised by him being taken over by the municipalities and the police force.

The term *dārūgha* was not, however, applied exclusively to an official whose functions were those of a town governor or police officer. There are several instances of the appointment of a *dārūgha* over a tribal group, whose functions were clearly rather different from those of the *dārūgha* of a town or the *dārūgha* of the bazaar. For example ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ states that Tīmūr used sometimes to send a *dārūgha* and a *muḥaṣṣil* to collect the taxes due from the Hazāra near Harāt (*Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, ii, 1297). There was also a *dārūgha* of the Turkomans in Astarābād in Ṣafawid times (cf. Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, ed. and tr. C. N. Seddon, Baroda, 1931-4, 346-7); and under the Ḳādjārs the taxes of various Turkoman tribes appear to have been collected by a *dārūgha* (cf. *Rūznāma-yi Dawlat-i ʿAliyya-i Īrān*, 2 Rabīʿ I 1280, 26 Muḥarram, 1287). There are other cases also of a *dārūgha* being appointed over special sections of the population. Thus, the *dārūgha* of the Madjūsiyān of Yazd is mentioned c. 1054/1644 (Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmiʿi Mufīdī*, B.M. Or. 210, f. 363b). It is not stated what his functions were; they may well have been to collect the taxes due from the Zoroastrian community and to enforce any special regulations relating to that community.

Under the Ṣafawids the term *dārūgha* was also used to denote a kind of head clerk controlling the staff of the larger government departments; such were the *dārūgha* of the *farrāshkhāna* and the *dārūgha* of the *daftarkhāna* (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, ff. 91a-b, 141; Tavernier, 222). This usage of the term *dārūgha* continued in the Ḳādjār period.

In Muslim India the term *dārūgha* was used to denote an official in the royal stables (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, i, 53). In British India it was used to designate the native head of various departments; and from 1793 to 1862-3 the local chief of police was also known as the *dārōgha* (H. Yale and H. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, London 1903, 297-8). In Georgia in Ṣafawid times the *dārūgha* was a police officer working in conjunction with the *mouravi* (constable) and *melik* (Armenian burgomaster) and the *kadkhudā* (see the charters

analysed by M. F. Brosset in *Histoire de la Georgie*).

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AL-**DĀRŪM**, the name of a coastal plain in Palestine, and later in particular the name of a famous fortress of the time of the Crusades, is to be found in the works of Arab authors with both these meanings. The Hebrew *dārōm* from which it is derived and to which it corresponds in the Arabic version of Deuteronomy, XXXIV, 3°, appeared in a few passages of the Old Testament for south as a cardinal point, or any country situated in the south (F. M. Abel), and it was later applied especially to the south-west of Judea, a low-lying region distinct both from Sephela which bordered it on the north and the southern, desert territory of the Negeb. The Byzantine name Daromas, which corresponded to this ancient Darom, was equally applied to the south-west section of the vast district of Eleutheropolis (see BAYT DJIBRĪN), while not including the town itself. However, this distinction was forgotten in Arab times and al-Dārūm, according to the evidence of al-Muḳaddasī, was identified with the territory surrounding Bayt Djibrīn, and it shared its history from the time of its conquest under the Caliphate of Abū Bakr.

As to the Palestinian citadel of al-Dārūm, the Daron of the Crusaders, it stood on the road from Gaza to Egypt on the site marked to-day by the ruins of Dayr al-Balaḥ, to assure the defence of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem from this side. Attacked especially by Salāḥ al-Dīn, then conquered by him in 583/1187 at the time of his re-occupation of the greater part of Palestine, it was later besieged, taken, and then dismantled by Richard Cœur de Lion and the Franks of the Third Crusade in 588/1192, but was still counted in the Mamlūk period as one of the fortresses depending directly on the *nā'ib* of the district of Gaza, on the coastal border of the province of Damascus.

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ḌARŪRA, necessity (also *iḍṭirār*), in works of *fiḳh* has a narrow meaning when it is used to denote what may be called the technical state of necessity, and a wider sense when authors use it to describe the necessities or demands of social and economic life, which the jurists had to take into account in their elaboration of the law which was otherwise independent of these factors.

I. The state of necessity, whose effects recall those of violence, does not result from threats expressed by a person, but from certain factual circumstances which may oblige an individual, finding himself in a dangerous situation which they have brought about (shipwrecked, dying of hunger or thirst in the desert, for example), to do some action forbidden by the law, or to conclude a legal transaction on very unfavourable terms in order to escape from the danger which threatens him. The Ḳur'ān contains numerous verses which, directly or indirectly, legitimize on grounds of necessity certain acts which in principle are forbidden (II, 168; V, 5; VI, 119; XVI, 116). Ibn Nudjaym derived from this a maxim which became famous: *al-ḍarūrāt tubīḥ al-maḥẓūrāt*, which the Ottoman *Madjalla* (art. 21) reproduced literally and which may be translated: "Necessity makes lawful that which is forbidden".

The effects of the state of necessity of which the writers here fixed the conditions and limits, are more or less drastic according to the domain of *fiḳh* in which they occur.

a) In what concerns prohibitions of a religious character (the prohibition against eating pork or dead animals, or against drinking blood or other liquids regarded as impure, for example), it is admitted without difference between the Schools, that necessity legitimizes the non-observance of these rules. It follows—and this is the opinion which has prevailed in doctrine—that one is even obliged to disregard them in a case of danger.

b) Most of the offences committed under the rule of necessity (for example, the theft of food, a shipwrecked person's throwing into the sea the goods of another shipwrecked person in the same boat if it is too heavily laden) are excused and do not give rise to any form of punishment, although they do not cancel any civil responsibility. Three offences are never legitimized, let alone simply excused, whatever may be the circumstances in which they are committed (apart from legitimate defence). They are: murder, the amputation of a limb, or serious wounding likely to cause death; in these cases the evil inflicted is equal, if not superior, to that which the perpetrator of the offence has endeavoured to avoid, and there is no reason to favour him rather than the victim.

c) Jurists have not paid much attention to the effect of legal transactions (sale, lease) committed under necessity. They regard it only as a case of violence (*ikrāh*) to be decided according to the rules which govern violence in general. Nevertheless, in treatises on *fiḳh* rules are found relating to a sale concluded in a state of necessity, when one of the parties (buyer or seller) exploits the circumstances which force the other to buy or sell. The Ḥanafīs call such a sale *fāsid*; the writers of the other schools decree that the price should not be that so agreed, but the habitual price of something equivalent (*thaman al-mithl*).

II. *Ḍarūra* is used in a much wider sense by the commentators when they try to justify by practical necessity, solutions which the lawyers of the first

centuries of the Hidjra adopted by *istiḥasān* or *istiṣlāḥ* rather then by the rules of reasoning by analogy (*ḳiyās*). In these very numerous cases, the word is no longer synonymous with constraint, but signifies practical necessity, the exigencies of social and economic life. This is why other expressions such as *ḥādja* or *taʿāmul al-nās* or *maṣlaḥa* are frequently used. It is almost exclusively in Shāfiʿī law, which does not recognize *istiḥsān*, that these divergencies from *ḳiyās* had to be justified by reason of necessity, then taken in its narrower sense (al-Ghazzālī, *al-Mustaṣfā*, Cairo 1322, i, 284 ff.).

Ḍarūra in its wider meaning takes into consideration the existence in Muḥammadan law of rules and whole institutions which reasoning by strict analogy (*ḳiyās*) would have condemned, but which the "necessities" imposed, for instance contracts of hire and lease (*idjāra*) and of mercantile partnership (*sharika*), loan of money (*ḳarḍ*), the agricultural contract of *muzāraʿa*, several kinds of sale including the *salam* sale, and a number of rules concerning details which have no other justification.

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II. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Khallāf, *Maṣādir al-tashrīʿ al-islāmī fīmā lā naṣṣ fīhi*, Cairo 1955, especially 62; D. Santillana, *Instituzioni di Diritto Musulmano Malichita*, Rome 1925, i, nos. 22 to 25.

On the "necessity" in theologica, see IḌṬIRĀR.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

DARWĪSH (DARWĒSH) is commonly explained as derived from Persian and meaning "seeking doors", *i.e.*, a mendicant (Vullers, *Lexicon*, i, 839a, 845b; *Gr. I. Ph.*, i/1, 260; ii, 43, 45); but the variant form *daryōsh* is against this, and the real etymology appears to be unknown. Broadly through Islam it is used in the sense of a member of a religious fraternity, but in Persian and Turkish more narrowly for a mendicant religious called in Arabic a *faḳīr*. In Morocco and Algeria for dervishes, in the broadest sense, the word most used is *Ikhwān*, "brethren", pronounced *khuān*. These fraternities (*ṭuruḳ*, plural of *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*], "path", *i.e.*, method of instruction, initiation and religious exercise) form the organized expression of religious life in Islam. For centuries that religious life (see TAṢAWWUF) was on an individual basis. Beyond the single soul seeking its own salvation by ascetic practices or soaring meditations, there was found at most a teacher gathering round himself a circle of disciples. Such a circle might even persist for a generation or two after his death, led by some prominent pupil, but for long there was nothing of the nature of a perpetual corporation, preserving an identity of organization and worship under a fixed name. Only in the 6th/12th century—the troubled times of the Saldjūḳ break-up—did continuous corporations began to appear. The Ḳādirites, founded by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] (d. 561/1166), seem to have been the first still-existing fraternity of definitely historical origin. Thereafter, we find these organizations appearing in bewildering profusion, founded either by independent saints or by split and secession from older bodies. Such historical origins must, however, be sharply distinguished from the legends told by each as to the source of their peculiar ritual and devotional phrases. As the origin of Ṣūfism is pushed back to the Prophet himself, and its orthodoxy is thus protected, so these are traced down from the Prophet (or rather from Allāh through Gabriel and the Prophet) through a series of well-known saints to the historic founder. This is called the *silsila* or "chain" of the order, and another similar *silsila* or apostolic succession of Heads extends from the founder to the present day. Every darwīsh must know the *silsila* which binds him up to Allāh himself, and must believe that the faith taught by his order is the esoteric essence of Islam, and that the ritual of his order is of as high a validity as the *ṣalāt*. His relationship to the *silsila* is through his individual teacher (*shaykh*, *murshid*, *ustādh*, *pīr*) who introduces him into the fraternity. That takes place through an *ʿahd*, "covenant", consisting of religious professions and vows which vary in the different bodies. Previously the neophyte (*murīd*, "willer", "intender") has been put through a longer or shorter process of initiation, in some forms of which it is plain that he is brought under hypnotic control by his instructor and put into rapport with him. The theology is always some form of Ṣūfism, but varies in the different *ṭarīḳas* from ascetic quietism to pantheistic antinomianism. This goes so far that in Persia dervishes are divided into those *bā-sharʿ* "with law", that is, following the law of Islam, and those *bī-sharʿ* "without law", that is, rejecting not only the ritual but the moral law. In general the Persians and the Turks have diverged farther from Islam than the Syrians, Arabs or Africans, and the same *ṭarīḳa* in different countries may assume different forms. The ritual always lays stress on the emotional religious life, and tends to produce hypnotic phenomena (auto and otherwise) and fits of ecstasy. One order, the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*], is distinguished by its requiring from all its members an annual period of retreat in solitude, with fasting to the utmost possible limit and endless repetitions of religious formulae. The effect on the nervous system and imagination is very marked. The religious service common to all fraternities is called a *dhikr* [*q.v.*], a "remembering", that is, of Allāh (Ḳur. XXXIII, 41 is the basic text), and its object is to bring home to the worshipper the thought of the unseen world and of his dependence upon it. Further, it is plain that a *dhikr* brings with it a certain heightened religious exaltation and a pleasant dreaminess. But there go also with the hypnosis, either as excitants or consequents, certain physical states and phenomena which have earned for dervishes the various descriptions in the west of barking, howling, dancing, etc. The Mawlawīs, founded by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (d. at Konya in 672/1274), stimulate their ecstasies by a whirling dance. The Saʿdīs used to have the Dawsa [*q.v.*] and still in their monasteries use the beating of little drums, called *bāz*. The use of these is now forbidden in the Egyptian mosques as an innovation (*bidʿa*; Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 144 ff.). The Saʿdīs, Rifāʿīs and Aḥmadīs have particular feats, peculiar to each *ṭarīḳa*, of eating glowing embers and live serpents or scorpions and glass, of passing needles through their bodies and spikes into their eyes. But besides such exhibitions, which may in part be tricks and in part rendered possible by a hypnotic state, there appear amongst dervishes automatic phenomena of

clairaudience and clairvoyance and even of levitation, which deserve more attention than they have yet received. These, however, appear only in the case of accepted saints (*walīs*: [*q.v.*]), and are explained as *karāmāt* [*q.v.*] (χαρίσματα) wrought by Allāh for them. But besides the small number of full members of the orders, who reside in the monasteries (*k͟hānḳāh, ribāṭ, zāwiya, takiyya* or *takya*) or wander as mendicant friars (the Ḳalanderīs, an order derived from the Bakṭāsh͟īs, must wander continually), there is a vast number of lay members, like Franciscan and Dominican tertiaries, who live in the world and have only a duty of certain daily prayers and of attending *d͟hikrs* from time to time in the monasteries. At one time the number of regular dervishes must have been much larger than now. Especially in Egypt under the Mamlūks, their convents were very numerous and were richly endowed. Their standing then was much higher than it is now, when dervishes are looked down upon by the canon lawyers and professed theologians (*ʿulamā*) in the essential contest of intuitionists on the one hand and traditionists and rationalists on the other. For this division see further under TAṢAWWUF. Now their numbers are drawn mostly from the lower orders of society, and for them the fraternity house is in part like a church and in part like a club. Their relation to it is much more personal than to a mosque, and the fraternities, in consequence, have come to have the position and importance of the separate church organizations in Protestant Christendom. As a consequence, in more recent times, the governments have assumed a certain indirect control of them. This, in Egypt, was exercised by the S͟hayk͟h al-Bakrī, who was head of all the dervish fraternities there (*Kitāb bayt al-Ṣiddīḳ*, 379 ff.). Elsewhere there is a similar head for each city. The Sanūsīs [*q.v.*] alone, by retiring into the deserts of Arabia and North Africa and especially by keeping their organization inaccessible in the depths of the Sahara, have maintained their freedom from this control. Their membership is also of a distinctly higher social order than that of the other fraternities. As women in Islam have generally the same religious, though not legal, status as men, so there are women dervishes. These are received into the order by the s͟hayk͟h; but are often instructed and trained by women, and almost always hold their *d͟hikrs* by themselves. In mediaeval Islam such female dervishes often led a cloistered life, and there were separate foundations and convents for them with superiors of their own sex. Now, they seem to be all tertiaries. To give a complete list of fraternities is quite impossible here. Besides the separate articles referred to above, see, also, the articles on the various Ṣūfī leaders and orders.

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(D. B. MACDONALD *)

DARYĀ-BEGI, DERYĀ-BEYI, sea-lord, a title given in the Ottoman Empire to certain officers of the fleet. In the 9th/15th century the term *deryā-beyi* or *deñiz-beyi* is sometimes used of the commandant of Gallipoli [see GELIBOLU], who had the rank of Sand͟jaḳ-beyi, and was the naval commander-in-chief until the emergence of the Kapudan Pas͟ha [*q.v.*]. In the 10th/16th century the Kapudan Pas͟ha became, as well as an admiral, the governor of an *eyālet*, which consisted of a group of ports and islands [see D͟JAZĀ'IR-I BAḤR-I SAFĪD]. This province, like others, was divided into Sand͟jaḳs, the governors of which were called *deryā-beyi* instead of *sand͟jaḳ-beyi*. The *deryā-beyi*s and the officers under them held appanages and fiefs like the feudal cavalry; they were required to serve with the fleet, and to supply, equip, and man one, two, or three galleys, according to the importance of their sand͟jaḳs. Their fiefs were administered by the department called *Deryā Ḳalemi*, sea office, which also handled the *mensūk͟hāt* [*q.v.*]. The *deryā-beyi*s usually held their appointments for life, and transmitted them to their sons. Their ships were auxiliary to the main fleet.

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(B. LEWIS)

DARYĀ-YI S͟HĀHĪ [see URMIYA]

DASKARA, name of four places in ʿIrāḳ, viz: 1. a town on the Diyālā N. E. of Bag͟hdād, 2. a village in the district of Nahr al-Malik W. of Bag͟hdād, 3. a village near D͟jabbul, S. of Bag͟hdād, 4. a village in K͟hūzistān (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 575; *Marāṣid*, i, 402; cf. Muḳaddasī, 26).

Daskara is arabicized from the Pahlavi *dastakarta* (Dastkarta, Dastakrta), modern Persian Dastad͟jird [*q.v.*]; it means a post, a village, a town or simply level ground (see Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg 1948, 44; J. Markwart, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Eranshahr*, Rome 1931, 59; D͟jawālīḳī, *Muʿarrab*, 67; A. Geiger, in *WZKM*, xlii, 1935, 124; Eddi S͟hīr, *al-Alfāẓ*

al-Fārisiyya al-Muʿarraba, 64; Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Lat.*, i, 871-2, 878 (s.vv. *Daskara*, *Dastikār*, *Dastakarta*); Fleischer in Levy, *Chaldaeisches Wörterb.*, ii, 577 (contra ii, 430ᵃ); Perles, *Etymol. Studien*, 83; H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* (1897), 135, Yāķūt, ii, 575).

The best known is Daskara I, 16 parasangs (c. 88 km.) by the post road east of Baghdād (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 18-19) just above the 34° N. Lat. It is the modest successor of Sasanian Dastadjird [*q.v.*], probably a caravan post which developed into an important town. Its association with Hurmizd I (272-3) who very probably rebuilt it (cf. Yāķūt, v, 575 and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī), and with Khusraw Parvēz (590-608) who made it his permanent residence, account for its name Daskarat al-Malik (The King's Daskara) (Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 44; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 348, 363).

In 628, Heraclius reduced it to a heap of ruins, and a few years later the Arab conquests followed.

In the Islamic period, Daskara (or Daskarat al-Malik) was the centre of an agricultural district (*ṭassūdj*) in Astān Shādh Ķubādh, and a caravan station of some importance on the Khurāsān road. (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 13, 41; Yaʿķūbī, *Buldān*, 270). In early Islamic history Daskara became a Khāridjite stronghold (Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 290, 313; Ṭabarī, i, 3310, 3388; ii, 890, 896. Even in the 3rd/9th century the Khawāridj were associated with it, ibid. iii, 1689-90, 2108).

Daskara, as a village or small town, grew gradually and attained some prosperity in the 3rd/9th century (See Ķudāma, 238 for the revenue of the *ṭassūdj* of Daskara). Ibn Rusta considered Daskara a big town (164). Iṣṭakhrī (318-321/930-933) and Ibn Ḥawķal (c. 367/977) describe it as a flourishing town, surrounded by date groves and abundant cultivations. They refer to a clay fortress probably constructed by the Arabs. (Iṣṭakhrī, 87; Ibn Ḥawķal, i, 246). However, Muķaddasī (375/985) found it a small town with one long market (121; cf. 53). Daskara declined further and in the 7th/13th cent. Yāķūt followed by the *Marāṣid* spoke of it as a mere village (Yāķūt, ii, 575; cf. iii, 227; *Marāṣid*, i, 402). It is not known when Daskara was deserted.

Arab geographers were impressed with the ruins of old Dastadjird. Yaʿķūbī (*Buldān*, 270) refers to the wonderful buildings of old Persian kings, while Ibn Rusta (164) mentions a Sasanian palace surrounded by a high wall.

The ruins of Dastadjird-Daskara are seen now about 9 miles south of Shahrubān, left of the Diyālā (Herzfeld described them in 1905). The ruins of Muslim Daskara are called Eski Baghdād. They occupy a quadrangular area of about half a square mile surrounded by a wall with round towers (Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910).

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(A. A. Duri)

DASTADJIRD, Arabicized form of the Persian Dastagard, the name of a number of towns in the Sasanian empire. See DASKARA.

DASTŪR [see DUSTŪR].

DASTĀN [see ḤAMĀSA].

AL-**DASŪĶĪ**, BURHĀN AL-DĪN **IBRĀHĪM** B. ABI 'L-MADJD ʿ**ABD** AL-ʿ**AZĪZ**, nicknamed ABU 'L-ʿAYNAYN, founder of the Dasūķiyya order, also known as the Burhāniyya or Burhāmiyya, the followers being generally called Barāhima. Born most probably at the village of Marķus in the Gharbiyya district of Lower Egypt in the year 633/1235 according to Shaʿrānī in *Lawāķiḥ* (but 644/1246 according to Maķrīzī in *Kitāb al-Sulūk* and 653/1255 according to Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Shāmma the commentator on his *ḥizb*) he spent most of his life in the neighbouring village of Dasūķ or Dusūķ where he died at the age of 43 and was buried. His father (buried at Marķus) was a famous local *walī* and his maternal grandfather Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Wāsiṭī (Shaʿrānī, *Lawāķiḥ*, i, 176) was the leading Rifāʿī *khalīfa* in the Gharbiyya district. It would seem that Wāsiṭī, in conjunction with a disciple of his, Muḥammad b. Hārūn (*ibid.*, ii, 3), possibly in rivalry to Ibrāhīm's father, were the first to start a legend concerning the saintliness of Ibrāhīm when they credited him with having certified to the beginning of Ramaḍān by refusing to take his mother's breast on the day of his birth at the end of Shaʿbān. After a brief study of Shāfiʿī law, Ibrāhīm became a mystic. He left no children but was succeeded after his death by his brother Shaykh Mūsā.

His works include *al-Djawāhir* (quoted at length in Shaʿrānī's *Lawāķiḥ*) a collection mostly of instructions to novices and homiletic injunctions, *al-Djawhara*, which enumerates his *karāmāt*, and *al-Ḥaķāʾiķ*, a record of intimate conversations (*munādjāt*) with God. Ibrāhīm was also the author of several *ķaṣīdas*, two of which are quoted in *Lawāķiḥ* (see also Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, *Fihrist* Taṣawwuf no. 319 Madjāmīʿ) a *ṣalāt* (*ibid.*, no. 2593) and a *ḥizb*. *Al-Djawāhir*, his major work, consistently argues the compatibility of *ḥaķīķa* and *sharīʿa*. Only in ecstasy is *taklīf* dropped. Inner purity is the central theme. Adherence to the *sharīʿa* is not by word of mouth, nor is Ṣūfism a matter of outward garb or residence in *zāwiya*s. It is the inward action "*ʿamal djuwwānī*" that counts, inasmuch as one's real *zāwiya* is one's heart. The *walī* is in intimate communion with God "*muttaṣil*", and the strictest obedience to him is enjoined. Love, *taslīm* (complete trust, *i.e.*, in the *walī*) and self-mortification "*dhabḥ al-nafs*" are the true path of the Ṣūfī. Although the *karāmāt* listed in the *Djawhara* are extravagant, yet they were not unusual for the times. In his *Ḥaķāʾiķ* occurs the moving prayer that Ibrāhīm made to God that his body be so enlarged that it should fill up all Hell to ransom mankind. It is evident that Ibrāhīm owed no allegiance to any other Ṣūfī. In the *Djawhara* he stated that at the age of seven he had exceeded in rank all the other saints with the exception of ʿAbd al-Ķādir (thus affirming his independence of Rifāʿī and Badawī) but later he stated that at a ceremony in heaven God ordered him to invest all saints with the *khirķa* saying: "O Ibrāhīm, you are the *naķīb* over them all". The Prophet at the time was by his side but ʿAbd al-Ķādir was behind him and Rifāʿī behind ʿAbd al-Ķādir.

Ibrāhīm receives the briefest note from Maķrīzī (*Kitāb al-Sulūk*, i, 739), and commenting on a certain Khayr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Karam, the Dasūķī *khalīfa* who died in 890/1485, Ibn Iyās (ii, 228) merely says "*la baʿsa bihi*". But Ķāʾit Bay seems to have had great respect for Ibrāhīm, for he visited the sanctuary in 884/1479 (*ibid.*, ii, 189) and enlarged the building (Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xi, 7). Shaʿrānī devotes more space in the *Lawāķiḥ* (i, 143-58) to Ibrāhīm (mostly quotations from *al-Djawāhir*) than to any other saint and it is possible that this was the starting point of a Dasūķī revival. In 1168/1754

Ḥasan b. ʿAlī S͟hāmma wrote the first commentary on Ibrāhīm's *ḥizb* entitled *Masarrat al-ʿaynayn bi-s͟harḥ ḥizb Abi 'l-ʿAynayn* (Cairo *Fihrist*, Taṣawwuf 184 Mad̲j̲āmīʿ, and Sarkis 762) abridged by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ṣayrafī in *Kas͟hf al-g͟hāmma mukhtaṣar al-S͟haykh Ḥasan S͟hāmma* (*ibid.*, 2097). Another commentary on the *ḥizb* is by Muḥammad al-Bahī (*ibid.*, 2594) whilst a commentary on his *ṣalat* was written by a certain ʿAbd al-Ḥayy in 1271/1862 (*ibid.*, 2593). It would seem that Ibrāhīm's reputation rested to a large extent on his *ḥizb* and its efficacy in fulfilling wishes, driving away *d̲j̲inn* and its general curative and protective powers. According to Bahī, the famous 18th century Egyptian saint Muḥammad al-Hifnī used Ibrāhīm's *ḥizb*, which was usually read after the morning and sunset prayers.

According to D̲j̲abartī (iv, 176) the Burhāmiyya together with the Rifāʿiyya, Ḳādiriyya and Aḥmadiyya are the *aṣḥāb al-ʿas͟hā'ir*, *i.e.*, processions. Their founders were frequently referred to as the four *aḳyān*. A full description of the Dasūḳī *mawlids* is in Mubārak (*K͟hiṭaṭ*, xi, 7). There were three *mawlids* held in the three Coptic months of Barmūda, Tūbah, and Misrā respectively. The second and third lasted eight days each, but the third is *al-mawlid al-kabīr*. The Khedive Ismāʿīl enlarged the Dasūḳī sanctuary, and in 1293/1876 Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha, Ismāʿīl's son, presented it with a new *kiswa*. In his *Salsabīl al-muʿīn*, Sanūsī sums up the characteristics of the Burhāniyya, as he calls the order, as being *al-d͟hikr al-d̲j̲ahrī*, self-mortification *mud̲j̲āhadāt*, and the formula "*Yā Dā'im*".

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AL-DASŪḲĪ, AL-SAYYID **IBRĀHĪM** B. **IBRĀHĪM** (ʿABD AL-G͟HAFFĀR), a descendant of Mūsā, brother of the Ṣūfī Ibrāhīm Dasūḳī (see the preceding article) born in 1226/1811 in a poor family following the Mālikī ritual. After completing his elementary education in his native place of Dasūḳ, he attended the lectures of distinguished S͟haykhs at the Azhar Mosque, among whom was the celebrated Mālikī Muḥammad ʿIllīs͟h (d. 1299/1882). After himself lecturing in the Azhar for a short time, he entered the employment of the state in 1248/1832 where on account of the accuracy of his knowledge of Arabic philology he received the office of corrector of the text-books destined to be used in the higher educational institutes and was ultimately appointed *bas͟h-muṣaḥḥiḥ* (chief reader) at the government printing office in Būlāḳ in the time of the K͟hedive Ismāʿīl Pas͟ha. He was for a period also assistant editor of the official gazette *al-Waḳā'iʿ al-Miṣriyya*. He died in 1300/1883. His claim to a place in this work is based on the fact that, on the recommendation of Fresnel, he was employed during E. W. Lane's second residence in Cairo with him for several years as a trusted collaborator in the preparation of and collection of material for Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, for which Lane in his preface gave him a glowing testimonial. Even after Lane's return to England, Dasūḳī continued to assist him with extracts from Arabic works (preface, i, xxii, xxiii). We possess a memoir prepared for the former Egyptian minister ʿAlī Mubārak's encyclopaedic work in *sad̲j̲ʿ* from the pen of Dasūḳī in which he describes his meeting and intercourse with Lane, his impression of his personality, his domestic arrangements and mode of life in Cairo, his intercourse with Muslims there (including S͟haykh Aḥmad, immortalized in the preface to the *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*), his singular mastery of the Arabic idiom ("as if he were an ʿAdnānī or a Ḳaḥṭānī"), their joint method of studying the authorities on Arabic philology and their work on the utilization of these materials for the *Lexicon*, Lane's generosity to his Arab collaborators, etc., in the fullest detail. This article is an important document for the biography of the great English Arabist.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-K͟hiṭaṭ al-D̲j̲adīda li-Miṣr al-Ḳāhira wa-mudunihā wa-bilādihā al-ḳadīma wa 'l-s͟hahīra*, Būlāḳ 1305, xi, 9-13; S. Lane-Poole, *Life of E. W. Lane*, 117 ff. (I. GOLDZIHER)

AL-DASŪḲĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. **MUḤAMMAD** B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, a Ṣūfī of repute, b. 833/1429, d. in Damascus S͟haʿbān 919/October 1513, author of collections of prayers (*wird*, *ḥizb*).

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿImād, *S͟had͟harāt*, year 919; Brockelmann, II, 153; S II, 153. (C. BROCKELMANN *)

DĀTĀ GAND̲J̲ [see HUD̲J̲WĪRĪ].

DAT͟HĪNA (דתנת in Ḳatabanic inscriptions), a district in South Arabia, situated between the lands of the ʿAwd͟hilla (see art. ʿAWD͟HALĪ), in the north-west and the ʿAwāliḳ (see art. ʿAWLAḲĪ), in the east. It belongs to the Western Aden Protectorate and has ca. 8000 inhabitants. The country is called by Hamdānī *g͟hā'iṭ*, a steppe, a description still applicable to the greater portion of it. The climate is dry and the soil is fertile only in the north-east, where it produces tobacco, wheat and maize. Dat͟hīna is inhabited by two large tribes, the Ahl em-Saʿīdī (al-S.) and the ʿÖlah (al-ʿUlah: ʿUlah al-Kawr and ʿUlah al-Baḥr). The chief market is al-Ḥāfa (also called Sūḳ Ahl em-Saʿīdī(. In a wider sense Dat͟hīna also includes the districts of the Mayāsir and Ḥasana tribes in the east; here is also the town Mōdiya (em-Awdiya "the *wādīs*"), since 1944-5 the headquarters of the Government.

Dat͟hīna is a very ancient country, mentioned in the inscriptions. Hamdānī gives many details on it in his *D̲j̲azīra*. By that time it probably also comprised the territory now belonging to the ʿAwd͟hilla. It was inhabited by the Banū Awd, who spoke very good Arabic. The main Wādīs are: W. Dat͟hīna, al-Ḥār, Tārān, al-G͟hamr, al-Ḥumayrā', al-Maʿwarān, Ṣaḥb, ʿUruffān, Marrān, ʿAzzān, and Ḍurā. Among the numerous settlements are mentioned: Āt͟hira, al-K͟hanīna, al-Muwas͟hs͟hah (once the largest town in Dat͟hīna) etc. The big mountain al-Kawr (K. ʿAwd͟hilla) at one time belonged to Dat͟hīna; minor hills are D̲j̲abal Aswad and Rā'is͟h.

There are other places called (al-)Dat͟hīna or Dafīna; the geographers mention a town between Baṣra and Mecca, the name of which is usually recorded as al-Dafīna.

Bibliography: Ryckmans, *Les noms propres*, i, 330; Hamdānī, *D̲j̲azīra* (ed. Müller), 78, 80, 91 ff., 96, 125, 134; (trad. Forrer) 102, 126, 141 ff., 153 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, ii, 550; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, 81, 187, 275 ff.; H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Brunswick 1873, 269-74; C. Landberg, in *Arabica*, iv, 1897, 9-35; idem, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, ii: Daṯînah, 1-3 1905-13), *passim*; idem, *Glossaire Daṯînois*, i-iii (1920-42), *passim*; Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of social and*

economic conditions in the Aden Protectorate, Eritrea, 1949, 27, 34; v. Wissmann and Höfner, *Beiträge zur hist. Geographie des vorislam. Südarabien,* Wiesbaden 1953, 60 ff., *et passim.* Map: Southern Arabia: Aden Protectorate, Sheet 1, by v. Wissmann, 1957; Scale 1 : 500.000 (with special plan of Dat͟hīna 1 : 250.000).

(O. Löfgren)

DĀʾŪD, DĀʾŪD b. K͟HALAF, etc. [see dāwūd, dāwūd b. k͟halaf, etc.].

DAWĀʾ [see adwiya].

DAʿWA, pl. *daʿawāt,* from the root *daʿā,* to call, invite, has the primary meaning call or invitation. In the *Ḳurʾān,* XXX, 24, it is applied to the call to the dead to rise from the tomb on the day of Judgement. It also has the sense of invitation to a meal and, as a result, of a meal with guests, *walīma*: al-Buk͟hārī, *Nikāḥ,* 71, 74; *LA,* xviii, 285. It also means an appeal to God, prayer, vow: al-Buk͟hārī, *Daʿawāt,* beginning and 26, *Wuḍūʾ,* 69, *Anbiyāʾ,* 9 (Abraham's prayer, cf. *Ḳurʾān,* II, 123), 40 (Solomon's prayer, cf. *Ḳurʾān,* XXXVIII, 34; see also *Ḳurʾān,* II, 182; X, 89; XIII; XV; XL, 46 (to which al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* 24, 45, gives a gloss *duʿāʾ*). The *daʿwat al-maẓlūm,* prayer of the oppressed, always reaches God: al-Buk͟hārī, *Maẓālim,* 9 (cf. *D̲j̲ihād,* 180). The *daʿwa* of the Muslim on behalf of his brother is always granted: Muslim, *D̲hikr,* 88. The word is applied to a vow of any kind (*e.g.,* al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲,* vii, 361; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Rasāʾil,* Cairo, 1365, 53: *daʿwa bi 'l-s̲h̲ifāʾ*). It can also have the sense of imprecation or curse. Finally, it can be synonymous with *daʿwā,* signifying action, case, lawsuit.

In the religious sense, the *daʿwa* is the invitation, addressed to men by God and the prophets, to believe in the true religion, Islam: Ḳurʾān, XIV, 46. The religion of all the prophets is Islam, and each prophet has his *daʿwa,* an idea which has been developed, with the addition of heterodox elements, by the Ismāʿīlīs (see S. Guyard, *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaéliens,* in *Not. et Extr.,* xxii (1874), 193; al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ,* i, 393, 31; cf. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins,* 1955, 200 ff.). Muḥammad's mission was to repeat the call and invitation: it is the *daʿwat al-Islām* or *daʿwat al-Rasūl.* As we know, the Infidels' familiarity with, or ignorance of, this appeal determined the way in which the Muslims should fight against them. Those to whom the *daʿwa* had not yet penetrated had to be invited to embrace Islam before fighting could take place: see Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-k̲h̲arād̲j̲,* Fr. trans. Fagnan, 295; al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām,* ch. 4, *ḳism* 2; al-Buk͟hārī, *Siyar,* 101. Elsewhere De Goeje, *BGA,* iv, 235 noted *daʿwa* in al-Muḳaddasī, 311, 5 in the sense of *invitatio ad vitam beatam* and Goldziher, *Muh. St.,* i, 61 in the meaning of *s̲h̲iʿār.*

The word *daʿwa* is also applied to the propaganda, whether open or not, of false prophets: see, *e.g.,* al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-tarbīʿ,* ed. Pellat 75.

By a natural extension *daʿwa* also denotes the content of this appeal, the religious law, and the words *daʿwa, sunna, s̲h̲arīʿa, dīn,* are often used interchangeably. Lastly the word can be applied to those who have heard this appeal by the Prophet Muḥammad, the Islamic community, considered as a united body as a result of this appeal, and to some extent the word becomes a synonym of *umma.* Thus in al-Muḳaddasī, *BGA,* iii, 244, n.c.; cf. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, *S̲h̲arḥ al-ak̲h̲bār,* in Ivanow, *The Rise of the Fatimids,* text, 4. Note also *id̲j̲timāʿ al-daʿwa* in the sense of *id̲j̲timāʿ al-kalima* (*BGA,* iv, 236).

In the politico-religious sense, *daʿwa* is the invitation to adopt the cause of some individual or family claiming the right to the imāmate over the Muslims, that is to say civil and spiritual authority, vindicating a politico-religious principle which, in the final analysis, aims at founding or restoring an ideal theocratic state based on monotheism. The whole organization responsible for attracting the greatest possible number of people to this idea and for giving power to their representatives, as well as propaganda for this purpose, is thus called *daʿwa* which can often be translated as mission or propaganda. The *daʿwa* is one of the means of founding a new empire, as Ibn K͟haldūn noted, *Proleg.,* ii, 111 and 118, Rosenthal, ii, 121 and 129. Such was the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* which was, strictly speaking, propaganda for a member of the Prophet's family denoted impersonally by the name *al-Riḍā min Āl Muḥammad,* the accepted member of the family of Muḥammad, of which the ʿAbbāsids took advantage after the claims of the heir of the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya were handed down to the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. This is the *daʿwat Banī Hās̲h̲im* or *daʿwat Banī 'l-ʿAbbās*: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1467; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, 288. The *ṣāḥib al-daʿwa* is the person in whose name the propaganda is carried out, but the term also denotes the actual head of the organization; thus Abū Muslim is called *ṣāḥib daʿwat Banī Hās̲h̲im* (al Ṭabarī, iii, 129). Propaganda was carried out by missionaries devoted to the cause: *dāʿī,* pl. *duʿāt,* sometimes *naḳīb,* pl. *nuḳabāʾ.*

In the same way one speaks of the *daʿwa* of the ʿAlids who were persecuted by the ʿAbbāsids and took refuge in Ṭabaristān and Daylam, where they made their claims to the imāmate and founded a short-lived state (Ibn K͟haldūn, *Proleg.,* ii, 122, Rosenthal, ii, 133), or of the Almohad *daʿwa* (*ibid.,* ii, 123, Rosenthal, ii, 134). Every adventurer claiming prophetic powers and seeking to win authority used the same tactics and had his *daʿwa* (see above).

The word *daʿwa* is well-known as applied to the wide-spread Ḳarmaṭī-Ismāʿīlī propaganda movement appealing to Muslims to give their allegiance to an imām descended from Ismāʿīl b. D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, a movement which resulted firstly in the Ḳarmaṭī revolt in Syria-Mesopotamia in 289-294/902-907 (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2218 ff.), and later in the establishment in North Africa of the Fāṭimid dynasty. In this context the word takes on a particular shade of meaning from the fact that, in conformity with the S̲h̲īʿite idea of the permanence of the revelation through the person of the imām, this *daʿwa* had come to complete the Prophet's *daʿwa.* The latter had preached faith in one single God, without the other articles of the faith, a thing permitted only to Muḥammad, but that was no longer sufficient: see a saying of D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ in the *Kitāb S̲h̲arḥ al-ak̲h̲bār* by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān (Ivanow, *The Rise of the Fatimids,* text, i, trans., 104-105), where we see that the *daʿwa* (here called *duʿāʾ*) must be renewed by the Mahdī; cf. also article 65 of *Tād̲j̲ al-ʿAḳāʾid* by Sayyidunā ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, in Ivanow, *A creed of the Fatimids*; also al-S̲h̲ahrastānī, Cairo 1347, ii, 26: *kānat lahum daʿwa fī kull zamān.*

Ismāʿīlī propaganda was at first secret, so long as the imām was not sufficiently strong and had to remain in hiding. It was in this way that it was exercised in the East, the Yemen and North Africa (cf. B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismāʿīlism,* 19, 52, 73 etc.), and that in the Mag̲h̲rib the *dāʿī* of the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh took over power from his master. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān's book describing the beginnings of Fāṭimid propaganda in the Yemen and Northb

Africa and the establishment of the dynasty in the Maghrib is entitled *Kitāb iftitāḥ al-daʿwa waʾbtidāʾ al-dawla*. When the imām was strong enough and at the head of a state, he made his *daʿwa* public (*aẓhara daʿwatahu*: Ibn Khaldūn, *Proleg.*, i, 363, Rosenthal, i, 413). Unlike the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* which ceased once the dynasty was established, the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* did not cease but, on the contrary, became organized and even more extensive from the time the dynasty was established in Cairo. Though overt in the Fāṭimid possessions or in territories won over to the doctrine, it continued in secret in other parts, except that it was proclaimed openly in favourable districts (thus the *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad fi ʾl-Dīn preaching to the Buwayhid Abū Kālīdjar: see the *Sīra Muʿayyadiyya*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949, 43 ff.). Missionaries were each entrusted with some specified province, denoted by the term island (*djazīra*: for this name and these divisions see Ivanow, *Rise*, 20 and M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950, 19). In Persia it was known by a name recalling its Egyptian origin, *daʿwat-i Miṣriyān* (Ivanow, *Rise*, 140). From the purely political aspect this propaganda could be effected by those who were merely sympathizers, but for doctrinal matters it was carried out by means of preaching by the *dāʿī*s whose head, *dāʿī al-duʿāt* or chief missionary—whose duties were also called *daʿwa* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, x, 434)—had his headquarters in Cairo. In general, the political aim was to convince the Muslims that the *imām* alone, divinely inspired, aided by God and guardian of the secrets transmitted to ʿAlī by the Prophet, could give mankind good guidance, and that dynasties other than the Fāṭimids descended from Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar were usurpers and illegitimate, rotten with vices and neglectful of the most sacred duties of religion. The expression *ḳiyām* (*iḳāmat*) *al-daʿwa al-hādiya* clearly shows the task of directing humanity undertaken by the *imām*s and upon which their missionaries had to insist. It occurs, for example, in letters from caliph al-Mustanṣir to the Ṣulayḥid queen of the Yemen, of Fāṭimid persuasion (*Rasāʾil al-Mustanṣir*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mādjid (Magued), Cairo 1954, no. 46, p. 157) or in missionaries' investiture diplomas (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ix, 19, 8, x, 435, 7 a f.) or in an Ismāʿīlī oath (Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf*, 158; cf. B. Lewis, *The origins* .... 59-60, Arabic trans., 141, and in *BSOAS*, xii, 1948, 597-8). In addition, M. Canard, *L'impérialisme des Fāṭimides et leur propagande*, in *AIEO*, Algiers, iv, (1942-1947), gives a survey of the methods used by Fāṭimid propagandists to demonstrate the justice of the dynasty's claims and its exclusive merits, and to denigrate and weaken its enemies, whether Byzantine, Umayyad or ʿAbbāsid.

The propaganda was also concerned with education and initiation in doctrine. The doctrine of the sect is indeed a combination of political, religious, juridical and philosophical instruction forming a secret, esoteric side (*bāṭin*, whence the name Bāṭiniyya also given to the sect and misinterpreted by Ibn Khaldūn, i, 363, Rosenthal, i, 413, who makes it refer to the *satr* of the *imām*), founded upon the allegorical interpretation of the Ḳurʾān and the laws of Islam, and another overt, exoteric side (*ẓāhir*), the first reserved for the intellectual élite of the faithful (*awliyāʾ*), the second for those from whom only fidelity to the imāms was required, together with the various obligations it entailed (see the *Kitāb al-Himma* by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān), and the accomplishment of the religious duties of Islam. Doctrinal propaganda and instruction went together, and more exclusively juridical or philosophico-scientific instruction also had propaganda objectives. This we can see, as early as 385/995, in a lecture given on Fāṭimid *fiḳh* at the al-Azhar mosque, with a list of names of those present, and then by the wazīr Ibn Killis in his own house; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, *Patr. Or.*, xxiii/3, 434 (226). In 385/995, a vast crowd thronged to the lectures on "Science of the *ahl al-bayt*" given by Ḳāḍī Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān in the palace; eleven men perished, crushed to death. In 395/1005 the caliph al-Ḥākim compelled people to "enter the *daʿwa*", that is to say to attend lectures by the chief *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān who arranged sessions at the palace on different days, attended either by men or women, or else by dignitaries; there too there was a crowd so dense that men and women perished in the press. From other information we learn that the chief *dāʿī* directed the *daʿwa* sessions, known as *madjālis al-ḥikma*, in a section of the palace called al-Muḥawwal, where the *dāʿī* had a special *madjlis* and his own chair (*kursī al-daʿwa*). He had the oath administered to those who were being converted to the Fāṭimid doctrine, and received offerings of silver from those present (*al-nadjwā*). The lectures which he had carefully prepared with the help of his *naḳīb*s and official *faḳīh*s who worked and taught at the *dār al-ʿilm* or *dār al-ḥikma* [*qq.v.*], founded by al-Ḥākim in 395/1005, a kind of university with a library, were submitted to the caliph before being read. As has been noted above, there were separate sessions for men and women. According to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (525-617/1131-1220), those for men were held in the great hall of the palace (*al-īwān al-kabīr*), those for women in the *madjlis al-dāʿī*. On the other hand al-Musabbiḥī (366-420/977-1029) records five different sessions, one for the *awliyāʾ*, one for the élite of the senior administrative and palace officials, one for the people and visitors from the interior of the country, another for women (at the al-Azhar mosque), and another for women from the palace (for all these points see al-Maḳrīzī i, 341-42 and ii, 390-391). According to al-Ḳalḳashandī (iii, 487), it was at the *dār al-ʿilm* that the juridical meetings of the chief *dāʿī* were held, and the taking of oaths by converts to the Fāṭimid doctrine. But it is not absolutely certain that the religious and doctrinal lectures based on allegorical interpretation were held in this place (M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950, 32). Incidentally we know that at Aleppo at the time of the amīr Riḍwān, who died in 507/1113, there was a *dār al-daʿwa*: Ibn Shiḥna, 27; Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm, in *Rec. Hist. Cr. Or.*, iii, 589-90; Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin, *Nudjūm*, Cairo, v, 205, s.a. 507.

We have a detailed account of the procedure apparently used by Ismāʿīlī missionaries to gain neophytes for their philosophico-religious theses imbued with the neo-platonic theory of emanation, their cyclic conception of the world and imāmate, the way in which they made use of allegorical interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of the Ḳurʾān and the laws of Islam to attain their ends, and the different methods used, according to the religion of those whom they were trying to win over. According to this account which is found in al-Maḳrīzī, i, 391 ff. and with greater detail in al-Nuwayrī (translation in S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, i, Introduction), the initiation of neophytes (*al-madʿū*) was only completed after nine periods of instruction, each one of which was called *daʿwa*. This system was attributed to the alleged founder of Ismāʿīlism, ʿAbd

Allāh b. Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ. In it we see how they proceeded gradually to reveal the secrets of the doctrine, the *taʾwīl* and the *taʾwīl al-taʾwīl* (for this last expression see al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 395, trans. 501, and cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*[2], 246; Fr. trans., 206). Ivanow has on several occasions (*An Ismailitic Work by Naṣīru d-dīn Ṭusī*, in *JRAS*, 1931, 534; *The organization of the Fatimid propaganda*, in *JBBRAS*, xv (1939), 11 and *Rise*, 133 in the chapter *The Myth of ʿAbdu ʾl-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ*) challenged the existence of these nine degrees of initiation for converts to Ismāʿīlism with a gradual revelation of the mysteries. According to him, this is a misinterpretation of the hierarchy of the *ḥudūd al-dīn*, a kind of Fāṭimid "clergy" (for this expression see Ivanow, *Organization*, 8, and a note in M. Canard's translation of the *Sīrat Jaudhar*, 52); these nine degrees have no connexion with either the ancient or modern grades of initiates, there is no trace of it either in the literature of the sect or in controversial literature; he similarly rejects any comparison with initiation in Masonic lodges and their secret ceremonies. It is however difficult to believe that it is merely an invention. The nine degrees were known before al-Maḳrīzī and al-Nuwayrī, from Sunnī sources, not as stages in initiation but as stages (*marātib, daradjāt*) in the Machiavellian tricks (*ḥiyal*) to recruit new adherents and detach them from their religion (Sunnī interpretation, as opposed to the true religious fervour of the Fāṭimids). Each stage bears a name corresponding to the dialectical and psychological method used; the names given to these stages by al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. Cairo 1367/1948, 179 ff. are: *tafarrus, taʾnīs, tashkīk, taʿlīk, rabṭ, tadlīs, taʾsīs*, after which come the oaths (*aymān*), and then complete detachment (*khalʿ*). (See also al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb faḍāʾiḥ al-Bāṭiniyya* (Goldziher, *Streitschrift des G. gegen die Bāṭinijja Sekte*, 40 and p. ٤ ff.), and M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab* . . ., 19 ff.).

The question remains obscure. Various methods of propaganda and discussion were used, but the period of their full development can hardly be taken back to the time of the beginnings of Ismāʿīlism. The outline given by al-Nuwayrī and al-Maḳrīzī seems to be of later date.

The word *daʿwa* does not only have the sense of appeal and propaganda. We have seen above its use to denote the Islamic community. Similarly, in connection with the Fāṭimids and Ismāʿīlīs, it has the sense of doctrine, religion, community, sect, party of the imām. Ivanow, *Organization*, 18-19, noted this polyvalence. *Daʿwa* can even be equated with zone of obedience, empire, dynasty. Ibn Ḥawḳal says (57-8) that the lands of the Maghrib are in the *daʿwa* of the Commander of the Faithful al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh, and that (221) Kirmān is in the *daʿwa* of the people of the Maghrib. In the *Kitāb al-Himma* by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, chap. 7, *man shamalathu daʿwat al-imām* denotes the caliph's subjects, as a whole. *Shuyūkh al-daʿwa* in the *Sīrat Jaudhar* (trans. 54, cf. Ivanow, *Rise*, V 9) is synonymous with *shuyūkh al-dawla*. For this use in the sense of dynasty see also al-Iṣṭakhrī, 36, 4 and 296, 4: *sawād daʿwat Banī ʾl-Abbās*, the black colour of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty (*BGA*, iv, 236); al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 18. Finally we may note that *daʿwa* is the equivalent of *madhhab* among the Wahbī Ibāḍites who call themselves *ahl al-madhhab* or *ahl al-daʿwa* (T. Lewicki, *La répartition géographique des groupements ibāḍites dans l'Afrique du nord au Moyen Age*, in *RO*, xxi, 1957).

In the Ismāʿīlī community there was a schism after the death of al-Mustanṣir in 487/1094, when his son Mustaʿlī was proclaimed in opposition to his other son Nizār. A group of Ismāʿīlīs refused to recognize Mustaʿlī, and there were two branches or parties in the community, the Mustaʿlians and the Nizārīs. The former were called *al-daʿwa al-ḳadīma*, the old, and the latter *al-daʿwa al-djadīda*, the new *daʿwa*. This schism became permanent. When Āmir, Mustaʿlī's successor, was assassinated in 524/1130 by the Nizārīs, before dying he handed over his authority to ʿAbd al-Madjīd, the future Ḥāfiẓ, his cousin, as his son Ṭayyib was a minor. The latter disappeared or entered the *satr*. The *daʿwa ḳadīma* was also called *daʿwa ṭayyibiyya*, and was perpetuated in the Yemen where the Ṣulayḥid queen spread the *daʿwa* for the imām al-Ṭayyib. It is is this *daʿwa ḳadīma*, or Mustaʿlian or Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, which is today represented by the Bohoras in India, whilst the *daʿwa djadīda* or Nizārī *daʿwa*, made famous by Ḥasan b. Ṣabbāḥ and the Hashīshiyya (Assassins), is today represented by the Khodjas. For these two branches of the Ismāʿīlian *daʿwa* see Ibn Khaldūn, i, 363, Rosenthal, i, 413; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, 147, 150-152, ed. Cairo 1347, ii, 26, 28-31; Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, index. The Nizārīs or Assassins of Syria, also called Fidāʾiyyūn, who with their fortresses played an important part at the time of the Crusades, were conquered by the Mamlūk Baybars in 671/1278. They continued to occupy a certain number of places. They were then known by the name *al-ṭāʾifa al-ismāʿīliyya bi-ḳilāʿ al-daʿwa*; they called themselves *aṣḥāb al-daʿwa al-hādiya*, or *mudjāhidūn*, and had at their head an *atābek* appointed by Cairo (see al-Ḳalḳashandī, i, 122; iv, 146, 235, 309; ix, 254). For modern Islamic propaganda and the propagandist school founded by Rashīd Riḍā in the island of Rōḍa near Cairo, called *Dār al-daʿwa wa'l-irshād* ("House of propaganda and direction"), see Goldziher *Richtungen*, 343-4.

Bibliography: In addition to the works referred to in the text, see: De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain et les Fatimides* 16 ff., 23 ff., 27 ff.; Casanova, *La doctrine secrète des Fatimides d'Égypte*, in *BIFAO*, xviii (1921); Ḥusain F. al-Hamdānī, *The history of the Ismāʿīlī Daʿwat and its literature during the last phase of the Fāṭimid Empire*, in *JRAS*, 1932, 126-136; M. Kamil Husayn, edition of *al-Madjālis al-Mustanṣiriyya*, Cairo 1946, Introduction; M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. Muṣṭafā Hilmī, edition of *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl* by Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmani, Cairo 1952, Introduction; M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950, 19 ff.; Ivanow, *Brief survey of the evolution of Ismailism*, 1952; A. M. Magued, *Institutions et cérémonial des Fatimides*, Cairo 1953-5, i, 177 ff.; Muṣṭafā Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh al-daʿwa al-ismāʿīliyya*, Damascus 1954 (not consulted); Bayard Dodge, *Ismāʿīliyyah and the origins of the Fatimids*, in *The Muslim World*, Oct. 1959, 299-300. The work by B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismāʿīlism*, Cambridge 1940, has been translated into Arabic by Kh. A. Jallu and J. M. Rajab, Cairo 1947 (see 164 ff. and *passim*).

(M. Canard)

DAʿWĀ, action at law. According to a well-known formula the *daʿwā* is defined as: "the action by which a person claims his right, against another person, in the presence of a judge" (*Madjalla*, art. 1613). A case submitted to an arbitrator is, equally, a *daʿwā*. The plaintiff is termed *muddaʿī*, the defendant *muddaʿā alayh* and the object of the claim

muddaʿā or, more popularly—though less accurately, as certain writers note,—*muddaʿā bihi*. We also meet, particularly in the Mālikī *madhhab*, the terms *ṭālib* (plaintiff) and *maṭlūb* (defendant). The parties to the suit are called, in the dual, *khaṣmān*. and in the plural, *khuṣūm* or *khuṣamāʾ* (opponents)—(singular *khaṣm*); more concretely each party is the *khaṣm* of the other. The contentious argument itself is the *khuṣūma* (additional synonyms, though of a slightly less technical character, are *nizāʿ*, *munāzaʿa* and *tanāzuʿ*).

The fact that the *daʿwā* envisages two contesting parties excludes from this notion the process in which the magistrate effects *ex officio* the exercise of certain rights such as measures to safeguard the public welfare.

But in every case which involves the three essential elements of contentious process there is a *daʿwā*, whatever the judicial authority before whom the action is brought and whatever the nature of the interest in issue.

A *daʿwā* exists, therefore, in the following cases: in the suit brought by an individual, the victim of an offence against the person, who claims the application of the law of talion (*ḳiṣāṣ* [*q.v.*]) or the payment of compensation (*diya* [*q.v.*]); in the case of prosecutions for various "legal" offences sanctioned by public penalties (*ḥudūd*) (see ḤADD) when brought in the exclusive or partial interest of the victim, such as the offences of theft or fornication; in the case of criminal prosecutions *ex officio* where the victim intervenes as plaintiff as well as in every case of the exercise of the so-called *ḥisba* action, a kind of *actio popularis*, based on the principle that every Muslim, apart from any personal grievance, is authorized to stand in the rôle of prosecutor for any infringement of the law (see ḤISBA); and finally in the action brought in accordance with the extraordinary procedure of the *maẓālim* [*q.v.*].

Certain conditions are required for the "validity" (*ṣiḥḥa*), that is to say the acceptability, of the *daʿwā*: there must be an adequate determination of the object of the claim, of the identity of the parties, and of their capacity. The person who does not possess ordinary legal capacity, but who simply has the ability to discriminate, may go to law, provided, however, he is authorized to do so by his guardian or the judge. In a real action the defendant must necessarily be the person in possession of the object in dispute (*ṣāḥib al-yad*).

A *daʿwā* which does not satisfy all these conditions may, however, be subsequently rectified by the fulfilment of the condition(s) in question, such rectification being termed *taṣḥīḥ al-khuṣūma*. This may be accomplished solely upon the initiative of the plaintiff or upon the order of the judge.

The parties may appear in person or through a representative, who may be either appointed by the party (*wakīl*) or, as in the case of the guardian (*waṣī*) or the *walī* of those lacking capacity, required by the law. In the case of things which are open to the use of the general public such as sea-water or the public highway, every person is entitled to go to law to defend his right of user. In the event of litigation between defined groups, such as villages in relation to communal property, such as forests, pastures, etc., a single member of each of the groups may go to law in the name of the group whether as plaintiff or defendant, provided, however, it is a question of groups whose number is "unlimited" (*ḳawm ghayr maḥṣūr*), such a group being, according to the general opinion, one whose number exceeds one hundred persons.

Certain estates of property, such as *waḳfs*, which are regarded as a legal entity, appear in process of law through the medium of their qualified representatives. The same applies to an inheritance prior to its distribution: in principle each heir may appear as plaintiff or defendant in the name of the succession.

The court which is competent to entertain a *daʿwā* is the court of the domicile or of the place of simple residence of the defendant. This rule is equally applicable in the case of immovable property. In the Mālikī *madhhab*, however, it is admitted that in this latter case competence also belongs to the court of the *situs* of immovable. Where there exists in the same locality a number of judges—as will be the case when judges are appointed for the different *madhhabs*, or when there is an ordinary judge and a judge appointed to hear suits concerning military personnel (*ḳāḍī ʿaskar* [*q.v.*]), the choice of the competent court rests with the defendant. However, all these rules of competence are not of a peremptory nature; they may be avoided by the common agreement of the parties.

The appearance of the parties, is, in principle, a necessary condition precedent to the fighting of the issue; there does not exist, in Islamic Law, a procedure of judgment in default of appearance. Further, various procedures of indirect coercion are laid down with the object of securing the appearance of a recalcitrant defendant. As a last resort, the judge will appoint for such a defendant an official representative (*wakīl musakhkhar*).

In another system, followed notably in the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* and in the Shīʿī doctrine, the view is maintained that the appearance of the duly named defendant is not a necessary condition of the *daʿwā*: the procedure runs its course in the ordinary way in his absence, but without being for that reason considered as a procedure of default; further the judgment delivered will have precisely the same validity as a judgment delivered in the presence of the defendant.

Essentially the process is an oral one; and while the parties may be allowed to present their pleas in written form, the writing nevertheless will have no validity until it is orally confirmed by the litigant before the judge.

The term *dafʿ* is used for the reply which tends to traverse the *daʿwā*—and, by extension, for every reply made by a party in contradiction of a plea raised by his opponent.

It is upon the plaintiff that the burden of proof falls. The methods of legal proof are acknowledgement or confession (*iḳrār*), the oath (*yamīn*), testimony (*shahāda*), which is the normal proof *par excellence*, writing (*khaṭṭ*) and legal presumptions (*ḳarāʾin*).

One particular form of testimony is the *tawātur*. This consists of the affirmation of a fact by a number of persons (a minimum of twenty-five according to a fairly widespread opinion) so large as logically to exclude any possibility of fraud or lying. It is not necessary in this case that the strict conditions of testimony properly so-called—such as the condition that the witness should have personal knowledge of the attested fact, or the condition of moral integrity (*ʿadāla*, [*q.v.*])—should be observed. But in spite of this the *tawātur* is superior to all other modes of proof with the exception of confession.

Writing in itself has no evidential value; it is a

valid mode of proof only in so far as it is orally confirmed by duly qualified witnesses.

In the event of the defendant failing to put in a voluntary appearance with the plaintiff it is a matter of some controversy whether the suit is to be regarded as started by the simple action itself of the plaintiff, or whether there can be no question of continuing the process further and naming the defendant until there has first been a preliminary enquiry by the judge to establish that there is at least a *prima facie* ground for the action.

The system of proof is a 'legal' system, in the sense that once proof has been provided according to the dictates of the law and is in conformity with the facts alleged, it binds the judge, whatever his own inner conviction may be. Hence one arrives at solutions like the following: in the case where two contending parties, each of whom claims exclusive ownership of a certain chattel, both adduce a regular form of proof supporting their allegations, it will be incumbent upon the judge to decide that they are co-owners in equal shares; or even, according to one opinion, it will be necessary to draw lots (*ḳurʿa*) to determine the title to the property.

The trial terminates with the judgment (*ḥukm*). Since the system of Muslim judicial organization is a system of a single jurisdiction, the judgment of the *ḳāḍī* is not subject to an appeal before a superior jurisdiction, which does not exist. This principle, however, is subject to two important reservations. In the first place, in periods or in areas where there exists an organized procedure of *maẓālim*, any person who feels himself a victim of injustice as a result of the workings of the public services, may demand redress by presenting a petition to the sovereign authority. In the second place, the suit may be reopened either before the same judge or before another judge—the successor in office of the judge who delivered the decision, or in fact any judge who may be on other grounds competent—in order to determine the case afresh. Furthermore the principle of *res judicata* is, to a large extent, unknown to Islamic law. Although it would be difficult to indicate here the precise scope of this rule, which is, indeed, beyond a certain point a matter of controversy, it may simply be pointed out that the authorities are unanimous in holding that a judgment may be contested and, in suitable circumstances, withdrawn or annulled where there is an infringement of an undisputed rule of law.

The right of action at law is extinguished by prescription, the period of which varies, according to different opinions, from three to thirty-six years. In the Ottoman Empire the period was fixed at fifteen years, except in certain cases, such as those relating to a *waḳf* fund, where the period was extended to thirty-six years. The law further recognizes certain causes of suspension or interruption of the period. Prescription functions as a procedural bar, which paralyses the exercise of the right of action; it does not affect the substantive right itself.

In the final stage of Islamic law in the Ottoman Empire, as represented by the code known as *Medjelle-i aḥkām-i ʿadliyye* [*q.v.*], which was promulgated between the years 1870 and 1877, the old system of the *daʿwā* was reformed in a number of particulars, notably by the recognition of the intrinsic probative value of writing (art. 1736), by the acceptance of the principle of *res judicata* (art. 1837), and by the introduction of procedure in default of appearance (art. 1833 ff.). These modifications ran parallel with the modernization of the judicial organization, established in accordance with European models and based upon the principles of benches of judges and the institution of a hierarchy of courts with systems of appeal.

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DAWĀDĀR, also DAWĀTDĀR, DUWAYDĀR and AMĪR DAWĀT, the bearer and keeper of the royal inkwell. Under the ʿAbbāsids the emblem of office of the *wazīr* was an inkwell. The post of *dawādār* was created by the Saldjūḳs, and was held by civilians. Sultan Baybars transferred it to a Mamlūk Amīr of Ten. Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks the *dawādār* did not rank among the important amīrs, but under the Circassians he became one of the highest amīrs of the sultanate, with the title Grand Dawādār (*dawādār kabīr*), and with a number of *dawādār*s under him. The office of *dawādār* ranked among the seven most important offices of the realm. There was competition between the *raʾs nawba* and the *dawādār kabīr* for the fifth and sixth places, possession of which alternated irregularly between them. Some *dawādār*s even became sultans. One of the *dawādār*'s duties during the later Mamlūk period was to decide which of the members of the *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*] were fit to join in military expeditions; in addition, he regularly visited Upper Egypt, and sometimes the regions of Djabal Nābulus, al-Sharḳiyya, and al-Gharbiyya, in order to collect taxes and gather in the crops. These trips would take place amid great pomp, and the sources discuss them at great length. They were accompanied by cruel oppressions of the local population. At the close of the Mamlūk era, enormous power was concentrated in the hands of the *dawādār*; thus for example Amīr Yashbak was, in addition to his duties as *dawādār*, also *amīr silāḥ*, *wazīr*, *ustādār*, *kāshif al-kushshāf* (inspector-general), *mudabbir al-mamlaka*, and *raʾs al-maysara*; no previous Mamlūk amīr had accumulated such a great number of offices, though exactly the same offices were accumulated by the *dawādār* Ṭūmānbāy, who later became sultan. In the Ottoman and Safavid empires the *dawādār*s (called *divittār* and *dawātdār*) were functionaries with scribal duties in the chanceries.

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DAWĀʾIR, plural of *dāʾira*, group of families attached to the service and the person of a native chief in Algeria. Before the French conquest, the name of *dawāʾir* (local pronunciation *dwāyr*) was borne especially by four tribal groups encamped to the south-west of Oran and attached to the service of the Bey of that city, although there were other *dawāʾir*, for example in the Titteri. They were organized as a militia, living on the products of the

land put at their disposition by the Turkish government and the profit from expeditions against tribes who were unruly or refused to pay their taxes. The Zmāla, their neighbours, played the same part.

Local tradition, as discovered after the French conquest, held the members of these groups to be the issue of troops whom the Moroccan sultan, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, had brought into the region to fight against the Turks in 1701. The campaign having failed, a number of Moroccan soldiers passed into the service of the Turks and formed a *makhzen* tribe, placed under the command of two local families. Dawāʾir and Zmāla had the privilege of levying the taxes only in the district called Yaʿḳūbiyya in the southern region of Oran, which extended from the neighbourhood of Mascara and the mountains of Tlemcen to the Djabal ʿAmūr. Apart from this task, the Dawāʾir were charged with policing the tribes of the western region of Oran, and accompanied the Bey on all his expeditions. They were completely devoted to the Turks.

When the Turkish régime collapsed suddenly after the French expedition of 1830, the Dawāʾir found themselves deprived of their chief reason for existence and sought someone else under whom they could serve. They first embraced the cause of the envoy of the Moroccan sultan, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had come to occupy Tlemcen in 1830 at the request of part of the population, But the Moroccan régime did not last long and they found themselves once again out of employment.

The Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir tried in his early days to enrol them into his service, but their chief, Muṣṭafa b. Ismāʿīl, had already entered into negotiations with the French general in command at Oran, and did not respond to the Amīr's advances. Nevertheless, a part of the tribe joined ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. He tried to win over the rest in 1833 and seemed at one time to have succeeded, but Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl, already an old man, found the authority of the young Amīr difficult to bear and separated himself finally from him. He shut himself up in the citadel (*mashwar*) of Tlemcen with fifty families of the Dawāʾir and the Kulughlī [*q.v.*] of the town. At that time, other groups of Dawāʾir were submitting to the French and were settled around Misserghin. The whole tribe treated with General Trezel at the camp of le Figuier near Oran on 16th June 1835, and became again in the service of France, the *Makhzen* group that they had been in the days of the Turks. Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl, who remained at Tlemcen, was aided by the French early in 1836 and took back his place as head of the Dawāʾir. In this position, he co-operated with them in the struggle of the French against ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, and was appointed a brigadier by Louis-Philippe. He was assassinated at the age of almost 80 after the capture of the *smala* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (1843). His death brought to an end the greatest period in the history of the Dawāʾir.

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DAWʿAN (sometimes Dūʿan), one of the principal southern tributaries of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. Dawʿan, a deep narrow cleft in al-Djawl, runs c. 100 km. almost due north to join the main wādī opposite the town of Haynan. The precipitous walls of Dawʿan are c. 300 m. high; its towns nestle against the lower slopes with their palm groves lying in the valley bed below. The valley is formed by the confluence of two branches, al-Ayman (pronounced *layman*) and al-Aysar (pronounced *laysar*), with al-Ayman often reckoned an integral part of Dawʿan proper. Among the cluster of settlements in al-Ayman are al-Ribāṭ al-Khurayba, al-Rashīd, and al-Maṣnaʿa. Just below the juncture of al-Ayman and al-Aysar is the town of Ṣīf, after which come Ḳaydūn and al-Hadjarayn [*q.v.*], the last of which sometimes gives its name to the lower reaches of the valley. North of al-Hadjarayn is the comparatively recent shrine of al-Mashhad with the tomb of al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭās. Wādī al-ʿAyn empties into the valley from the east and Wādī ʿAmd from the west. The name Wādī al-Kasr (Kasr Ḳamāḳish in al-Hamdānī) is given to the lowest stretch where the stream beds of ʿAmd, Dawʿan, and al-ʿAyn run together. The towns of Ḥawra and al-ʿAdjlāniyya are on the right bank.

A motor road leads from al-Mukallā to the interior past Kawr Saybān, the highest peak in the region, and then past the sacred summit of Mawlā Maṭar to upper Dawʿan.

Relics of Sabaean times have been found in the valley, and the ruins of Ghaybūn lie south of al-Mashhad. The name Dawʿan has been detected in Ptolemy's Thauane (Thabane) and in the Toani, a tribe mentioned by Pliny. The valley lays within the territory of Kinda, and the royal house of Ākil al-Murār came from Dammūn at al-Hadjarayn. In al-Hamdānī's time the Imām of the Ibāḍīs in Ḥaḍramawt had his seat in Dawʿan, perhaps on the site now known as al-Khurayba. Later the upper valley became the stronghold of Āl al-ʿAmūdī, whose ancestor, al-Shaykh Saʿīd b. ʿĪsā (d. 671/1272-3 and buried in Ḳaydūn) is said to have been the first to introduce Ṣūfism into Ḥaḍramawt. The Bedouin tribes of Saybān and al-Dayyin in the highlands showed great reverence for the *shaykhs* of this family, but the religious basis of its influence did not keep the *shaykhs* from squabbling among themselves, and they could not resist the expanding power of the Ḳuʿayṭī Sultanate of al-Mukallā at the close of the 19th century. Dawʿan now forms a *liwāʾ* of the Sultanate with al-Hadjarayn as the northern limit. The house of Bā Ṣurra of Saybān provides the provincial governors, but Āl al-ʿAmūdī has recovered something of its old standing, its main centre now being at Biḍa in al-Ayman.

Many of the people of Dawʿan have emigrated to Aden, East Africa, and Java. For sentimental reasons a number of the rich emigrants maintain homes and gardens in the valley, the only export from which is honey.

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AL-DAWĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. AS'AD DJALĀL AL-DĪN, was born in 830/1427 at Dawān in the district of Kāzarūn, where his father was Ḳāḍī; he claimed descent from the Caliph Abū Bakr whence his *nisba* al-Ṣiddīḳī. He studied with his father and then went to Shīrāz where he was a pupil of Mawlānā Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Gūsha Kinārī and Mawlānā Humām al-Dīn Gulbārī and Ṣafī al-Dīn Īdjī. He held the office of *Ṣadr* under Yūsuf b. Djahānshāh, the Ḳarā Ḳoyūnlū, and after resigning this office became Mudarris of the Begum Madrasa, also known as the *Dār al-Aytām*. Under the Āḳ Ḳoyūnlū he became Ḳāḍī of Fars. During the disorders which occurred in Fārs at the time of the break-up of the Āḳ Ḳoyūnlū kingdom and the wars between them and Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī, Djalāl al-Dīn took refuge in Lār and Djurūn; and when Abu 'l-Fatḥ Beg Bayāndur took possession of Shīrāz, he set out for Kāzarūn but died some days after reaching the encampment of Abu 'l-Fatḥ in 908/1502-3. He was buried at Dawān. He wrote numerous commentaries on well-known works of philosophy and mystical literature and a number of dogmatic, mystic, and philosophical treatises in Arabic. His commentary on the *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiḳ wa 'l-Kalām* of al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1389), Lucknow 1264, 1293 (with glosses by Mīr Zāhid), and his *Risālat al-Zawrā'*, completed in 870/1465 (Cairo 1326 with *Ta'līḳāt*) have been printed. His best known work is the *Lawāmi' al-Ishrāḳ fī Makārim al-Akhlāḳ*, better known as the *Akhlāḳ-i Djalālī*, which he wrote in Persian (lith. Calcutta, 1283/1866-7, translated into English by W. T. Thompson, *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammedan People*, London 1839).

It is a 'modernized' and 'popular' version of the *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī* of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, made at the command of Uzun Ḥasan, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlū ruler, to whom it is dedicated (Persian text, 16). Djalāl al-Dīn admits his debt to Naṣīr al-Dīn (321). The *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī* is divided into three parts, ethics, economics, and politics; the first part is a translation and reworking of an Arabic treatise by Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya'ḳūb b. Miskawayh, entitled *Kitāb Ṭahārat al-A'rāḳ fī Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ*; the second derives from Bryson through an essay entitled *Tadābīr al-Manāzil* by Abū 'Alī b. Sīnā; and the third is based on al-Fārābī's *Madīna Fāḍila* and *Kitāb al-Siyāsa al-Madaniyya*. The *Akhlāḳ-i Djalālī* follows a similar arrangement. Djalāl al-Dīn, like Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, argues the necessity of a supreme law, a governor, and a monetary currency. The law he interprets to be the Sharī'a and the governor that person distinguished by the support of God and possessing such qualities as would enable him to lead individual men to perfection. Government was either righteous, in which case it was the imāmate, or unrighteous in which case it was the rule of force. He does not lay down any conditions of election or deposition for the ruler. Any righteous ruler was the shadow of God upon earth, His representative (*khalīfat allāh*), and the deputy (*na'ib*) of the prophet Muḥammad (236). It is, doubtless, in this sense that Djalāl al-Dīn addresses his patron, Uzun Ḥasan, as caliph. The righteous ruler maintained the equipoise of the world, for the preservation of which co-operation between men was needed. Djalāl al-Dīn recognizes two types of civilization, righteous and unrighteous, which, following al-Fārābī and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, he calls the "good city" (*madīna-i fāḍila*) and the "unrighteous city" (*madīna-i ghayr-i fāḍila*); and subdivides the latter into the "ignorant city" (*madīna-i djāhila*), the "profligate city" (*madīna-i fāsiḳa*), and the "wicked city" (*madīna-i ḍālla*) (260-1). Within the good city there were several intellectual grades among the citizens and a differentiation of function. Equity demanded that each class should be kept in its proper place and each individual engaged in that occupation to which he was fitted and wherein he could attain to perfection (266). Righteous government, the imāmate, consisted in the ordering of the affairs of the people in such a way that each might arrive at that degree of perfection which lay in him (269). Unrighteous government was force, and consisted in the subjugation of the servants of God and the devastation of His territories (270). In order to preserve the equipoise of civilization, society was to be resolved into four classes; (i) men of learning, such as the *'ulamā,'* *fuḳahā'*, *ḳāḍīs*, scribes, mathematicians, geometricians, astronomers, physicians, and poets; (ii) men of the sword; (iii) merchants, craftsmen, and artisans; and (iv) agriculturalists, without whom, Djalāl al-Dīn states, the continued existence of the human race would be impossible (277-8). He then, still following Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, divides men into five classes according to their moral nature: (i) those who were by nature righteous and who influenced others, whom Naṣīr al-Dīn describes as the choicest of creation, whom the ruler should treat with the utmost respect and consider to be over the other classes; and whom Djalāl al-Dīn declares to be such people as the *'ulamā'* of the Sharī'a, the *shaykhs* of darwīsh orders, and mystics; (ii) those who were by nature good but had no influence over others; (iii) those who were neither righteous nor unrighteous; (iv) those who were evil but had no influence over others; and those who were evil and had an influence over others (279-81). He then discusses the means to be adopted to coerce the evil and the need for the ruler to enquire personally into the affairs of his subjects (282 ff.). The final section of the work, also based on the *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī* contains a number of political maxims attributed to Plato and Aristotle.

Djalāl al-Dīn's *'Arḍ Nāma*, written for Sulṭān Khalīl when he was governor of Fārs on behalf of his father Uzun Ḥasan, has been translated into English by V. Minorsky, *A Civil and Military Review in Fars in* 881/1476, in *BSOS*, x/1, 141-78.

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(ANN K. S. LAMBTON)

DĀWAR [see ZAMĪN-I DĀWAR].

DAWĀR, an encampment of Arab Bedouins in which the tents (sing. *khayma*) are arranged in a circle or an ellipse, forming a sort of enceinte around the open space in the middle (*murāḥ*) where the cattle pass the night; this very ancient way of laying out an encampment is still to be found among the Bedouins of the east (northern Syria, Mesopotamia) and among all the nomads or semi-nomads of North Africa. The name of *dawār* which is given to it appears already in the writings of certain travellers

and geographers of the middle ages. In the East, the exact form of the word is *dawār* or *dwār*; in the Maghrib, it is *dūwār* or *dawwār* (pl. *dwāwīr*). The number of tents of which a *dawār* is composed can vary greatly; it can be as many as several hundreds, or no more than ten. Many different reasons, such as abundance or scarcity of pasturage, security or the lack of it, etc., bring about the splintering of the same Bedouin group into *dawār*s of little importance, or its reunion into *dawār*s of considerable size. Beside this term, which has in a way become the generic one, one finds for less important groups the dialectal representatives *rasm*, *ḥilla*, *nazla*, *farīḳ*, etc. In the administrative language of Algeria, the word *douar* no longer bears its original primitive meaning, but is employed to designate an administrative area, either nomad or sedentary, placed under the authority of the same chief, *ḳāʾid*, or *shaykh*. The word *dawār* was known in Arab Spain. The *Vocabulista* (ed. Schiaparelli) gives it as the equivalent of the Latin *mansio*, without further definition. In modern Spanish *aduar* means a gipsy camp.

Bibliography: Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, i, 473; on the *dawār* of the Bedouin of the east: Burckhardt, *Voyages en Arabie* (French. trans.), iii, 24; von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii, 44; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii, 130-1 and fig. 180; on the *dūwār*, *dawwār* of the Maghribī Arabs, cf. Delphin, *Recueil de Textes pour l'Étude de l'Arabe Parlé*, 284; A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, *L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie*, 276 ff.; Urquhart, *Pillars of Hercules*, i, 452; *Archives Marocaines*, iv, 105, 106; Loubignac, *Textes Arabes des Zaër*, 129, 215, 304; Marmal, *Descripción general de Africa*, i, ch. xxiv, fol. 36 v. (W. MARÇAIS-[G. S. COLIN])

DAWĀRO, one of the Muslim trading states of southern Ethiopia. It was a long narrow strip of territory lying immediately east of Bāli, and included the great Islamic centre of Harar. It seems to have reached the Webi Shabelle in the south, and the edge of the Danāḳil lowlands in the north, where, with Bāli, it met the state of Ifāt. It is clear, however, that for a time at least, and as early as the reign of ʿĀmda Ṣyon I of Ethiopia, there was an isolated continuation of Dawāro on the north side of the lower course of the Hawaš river, which included part of the present sultanate of Awssa. Dawāro first appears in Ethiopic records in the reign of ʿĀmda Ṣyon I (1312-42). Like the other Muslim states of Ethiopia it was under a king of its own (called *makuannen* in the History of ʿĀmda Ṣyon, BM. MS. Orient. 821, fol. 43), who was tributary to the king of Ethiopia. Under ʿĀmda Ṣyon the king, Hāydārā, revolted and joined the rebellious peoples of Adal; but it was conquered, and remained a dependency of Ethiopia till after 1548 when Fanuʾel was governor under Gālāwdēwos. According to al-ʿUmarī, though only five days' journey in length and two days' in breadth, it maintained a large and powerful army; the inhabitants were Ḥanafites. Al-Maḳrīzī repeats the account of al-ʿUmarī. The name Dawāro was applied also locally to the small Sidamā state of Kullo west of the Omo because this area was colonized by refugees from Dawāro during the war of Ethiopia with Aḥmad Grañ (1527-42); but there was no other connexion between Kullo and Dawāro.

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AL-**DAWĀSIR** (singular: Dawsarī), a large tribe based in central Arabia. The Dawāsir are remarkable for the way in which many of them have spread abroad and won success in areas and endeavours remote from their original environment, while at the same time even the settled elements among them have retained an unusually strong sentiment of tribal solidarity and attachment to the *mores* of their Bedouin forebears.

Whatever the origins of the tribe, the Dawāsir became primarily identified with Wādī al-Dawāsir in southern Nadjd (the closest of the populated districts there to al-Rubʿ al-Khālī) and with al-Aflādj [*q.v.*]. Although the mainstream of Dawsarī emigration has flowed off towards the north and east, Dawāsir (emigrants or relics clinging to an earlier home?) are found to the south and west in Raghwān near Mārib and in al-Khurma in the Ḥidjāz mountains. North of al-Aflādj, Dawāsir are numerous in the districts of al-Khardj (where they predominate in the principal town, al-Dalam), al-ʿĀriḍ, al-Maḥmal, and Sudayr. Among the towns for which they have provided rulers or judges or other prominent citizens in recent centuries are al-Bīr and Thādiḳ in al-Maḥmal; and al-Madjmaʿa, Djalādjil, al-ʿAwda, and al-Ghāṭ in Sudayr (Ibn Bishr, ii, 142-4, gives the biography of a famous Dawsarī judge of Ḥuraymilā). Dawāsir live in al-Zilfī on the borders of al-Ḳaṣīm, but not many have moved farther north.

The pride of the Dawāsir is the house of the Sudayrīs (al-Sadārā). Their name comes from Sudayr, where for about four centuries they have lived in al-Ghāṭ. In the 13th/19th century Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sudayrī was an illustrious lieutenant of Āl Saʿūd, and his descendants have been intimately associated with this dynasty ever since. A daughter of his was the mother of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1373/1953), and a great-granddaughter of his bore the King seven sons, two of whom (Fahd and Sulṭān) were Ministers in the Saudi Arabian Government in 1379/1960. In 1369/1950 thirteen of the Sadārā held provincial or district governorships in Saudi Arabia; through this one family Dawāsir have reached into every corner of the Kingdom.

On the Persian Gulf Dawāsir coming from Nadjd via Bahrayn have founded the new towns of al-Dammām [*q.v.*] and al-Khubar, in which they are prospering. Others live in Bahrayn and Ḳaṭar. From Bahrayn some have migrated to the Iranian shore, and from Ḳaṭar a few to the island of Dalmā. In ʿIrāḳ there are Dawāsir in al-Zubayr, and a stretch of Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab is called the district of the Dawāsir, whose name is also given to river islands there.

The tribe consists of two principal divisions, ʿIyāl Zāyid and the Taghāliba, originally independent of each other. Neither claims an ancestor called Dawsar ("strong camel"), though Dawsar occurs as a tribal name in classical sources. The plural Dawāsir is popularly derived from the phrase *al-da yāsir* (sometimes given as *al-dalyāsir* with an intrusive *lām*), the meaning and application of which are obscure. ʿIyāl Zāyid's eponym is Zāyid al-Malṭūm ("the Slapped"—not al-Maltub as in Philby, etc.), whose name appears in the tribal war-cry. Zāyid's identity is uncertain; frequently mentioned as a progenitor of his is ʿUmar al-Khaṭṭāb (without *ibn*),

but the ordinary tribesman knows him only vaguely as one of the Ṣaḥāba. In legend both Zāyid and the Taghāliba are associated with Sadd Mārib (pronounced Māridz), and Zāyid is said to have led the tribe from there into Wādī al-Dawāsir. Rather early sources speak of the Dawāsir as an offshoot of ʿĀʾidh, which may be plausible if ʿĀʾidh was in fact a branch of ʿUḳayl [q.v.], as ʿAdnānite ʿUḳayl once occupied the valley now known as Wādī al-Dawāsir. Against this identification are various indications, admittedly inconclusive, that ʿIyāl Zāyid are Ḳaḥṭānite rather than ʿAdnānite. ʿIyāl Zāyid are sometimes called Banī Zinwān, legend holding that Zāyid's mother had been falsely accused of adultery.

The other principal division, the Taghāliba, has a firm tradition of descent from Taghlib (pronounced Tughlub) b. (not *bint*) Wāyil, which is not impossible, as this ʿAdnānite tribe was in the forefront of eastern Arabian affairs well beyond the heyday of the Ḳarmaṭians. For unclear reasons the Taghāliba, particularly the section of the Khiyālāt, are referred to as ʿAbāt al-Dawāsir. The union between the two principal divisions is traced back to al-ʿIrʿir, the ancestor of Āl Ḥuḳbān of the Taghāliba, whose daughter is said to have been Zāyid al-Malṭūm's mother.

The most important sections of ʿIyāl Zāyid are the Masāʿira, Āl Ḥasan, the Ridjbān, the Makhārīm, the Wadāʿīn, the Badārīn (including the Sadārā), the Ghiyāthāt, the Sharāfā, and the Ḥarādjīn. The foremost chief is Ibn Ḳuwayd of the Masāʿira, who leads a semi-nomadic life in the hamlet of al-Ḳuwayz in Wādī al-Dawāsir. The Taghāliba consist of five sections: the ʿUmūr, the Maṣārīr, the Mashāwiya, Āl Ḥuḳbān, and the Khiyālāt.

The Dawāsir first appear by name about the 7th/13th century, when they were in contact with Āl Faḍl of Ṭayyiʾ, the Amīrs of the Syrian Desert, and with the Mamlūk Sultans in Cairo, who got horses from Arabia. The Dawāsir are called a tribe of the Yemen, and Ibn Badrān (of the Badārīn) is named as their chief.

Beginning in 851/1447-8, details on the history of the Dawāsir become more abundant and precise. In that year Zāmil b. Djabr, the Djabrid [q.v.] lord of al-Ḥasā and al-Ḳaṭīf, defeated the Dawāsir and ʿĀʾidh in al-Khardj. In the following year Zāmil led a large force of Bedouins and townsmen against the Dawāsir in their own valley (the first mention of the valley as Wādī al-Dawāsir) to punish them for their many raids on the nomads of al-Ḥasā. Later Zāmil's son Adjwad launched four separate expeditions against the Dawāsir without reaching their valley on any of them. With the decline of Djabrid power, the Dawāsir multiplied their attacks on caravans carrying merchandise from al-Ḥasā to Nadjd.

Of the 43 battles involving the Dawāsir which are recorded for the period between 851 and 1164/1751, fifteen were fought against Ḳaḥṭān. Other principal opponents were Subayʿ, Āl Maghīra, Āl Kathīr, and the Fuḍūl. Usually the Dawāsir had fewer friends than foes; no other tribe stood by them steadfastly, but on occasion even some of their opponents mentioned above, such as Ḳaḥṭān, joined their side, such being the evanescent loyalties of desert warfare.

The favourite battleground for the Dawāsir was the watering place of al-Ḥarmaliyya near al-Ḳuwayʿiyya, where no less than six encounters took place. In the broader district of al-Khardj the Dawāsir fought seven or eight battles, and four in al-ʿArama. The Dawāsir engaged in most of their strife on territory not their own; other tribes seem to have lacked the temerity to assault them in their homeland.

About 1100/1689 pressure by the Dawāsir forced Āl Ṣabāḥ [q.v.] and Āl Khalīfa [q.v.], both of ʿAnaza, to migrate from al-Haddār in al-Aflādj to the Persian Gulf, where they in time became the rulers of Kuwayt and Bahrayn. As the power of Āl Saʿūd [q.v.] grew during the 12th/18th century, the Dawāsir were among the last of the great tribes of Nadjd to adhere to the reform movement of Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. In 1199/1784-5 Rubayyiʿ b. Zayd of the Makhārīm swore allegiance to Āl Saʿūd, whose mainstay in Wādī al-Dawāsir he remained for the rest of his days. The Ridjbān and the Wadāʿīn resisted the progress of the reform movement in the valley, supported first by the Ismāʿīlī lord of Nadjrān and then by Ghālib, the Sharīf of Mecca. As the domains of Āl Saʿūd expanded, the Dawāsir fought for them in the west side by side with their old enemies Ḳaḥṭān. In 1212/1809 Dawāsir were among the Bedouins who raided Ḥaḍramawt. The large army annihilated by Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt at Bisl in 1230/1815 contained a contingent of Dawāsir.

When Āl Saʿūd returned to power after the capture of al-Dirʿiyya by Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces in 1233/1818, both Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh and his son Fayṣal maintained Amīrs in Wādī al-Dawāsir. The tribesmen were not always obedient subjects; in 1243/1827-8, for instance, Turkī disciplined Bedouin elements of the Dawāsir for their lawlessness.

About 1845 a number of Dawāsir arrived in Bahrayn, having come from Nadjd by way of the island of al-Zakhnūniyya, where they sojourned for a few years. In Bahrayn they settled in the towns of al-Budayyiʿ (cf. the Dawsarī town of al-Badīʿ in al-Aflādj) and al-Zallāḳ.

During the civil war between Fayṣal's sons ʿAbd Allāh and Saʿūd, the chief of al-Sulayyil in Wādī al-Dawāsir and the Ismāʿīlī lord of Nadjrān championed Saʿūd's cause. In 1283/1866-7 ʿAbd Allāh's forces under his brother Muḥammad crushed Saʿūd and his partisans at al-Muʿtalā in Wādī al-Dawāsir and during the next year ʿAbd Allāh himself spent two months in the valley inflicting condign punishment on its inhabitants. After the death of Saʿūd in 1291/1875, the Dawāsir supported his sons in the struggle which led to a temporary eclipse of Āl Saʿūd, whose rule in Nadjd was supplanted by that of Āl Rashīd of Ḥāʾil. Āl Rashīd is said to have kept a small force in Wādī al-Dawāsir in the closing years of the 19th century.

Following the recapture of al-Riyāḍ by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd in 1319/1902, Wādī al-Dawāsir was quickly brought back into the fold, though ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had no easy time in keeping the peace among the turbulent elements of the Dawāsir, who if not fighting with each other were often at war with Āl Murra to the east or Āl Murra's cousins of Yām to the south-west.

In 1336/1918 Philby became the first Westerner to visit Wādī al-Dawāsir and provide an accurate description of it. The valley in recent years has remained a backwater of the new Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, scarcely touched by the material progress being achieved in many other parts. Wādī al-Dawāsir, once an important way station for the coffee trade between the Yemen and Nadjd, has been replaced by Bīsha in the 20th century. The present centre of influence of the Dawāsir is in their government positions and their new towns on the Persian Gulf.

In the old days Dawāsir would go from their valley to the Gulf to work as pearl-divers every summer. Now many who reside on the Gulf shore are landowners, merchants, contractors, and laborers in the oil industry.

In Nadjd the Dawāsir have been Ḥanbalīs since the time of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Along the Persian Gulf some are Mālikīs, while on the Iranian side a number have embraced Shīʿism.

Wādī al-Dawāsir is one of the great eastward trending channels which cut through the long wall of Ṭuwayḳ. The Wādī's ancient tributaries, the valleys of Bīsha, Ranya, and Tathlīth, descend from the Ḥidjāz mountains and meet in the basin of Hadjlat al-Mukhatmiyya (for al-Mukhātimiyya?), where a sand barrier now prevents their waters from reaching the Wādī save in exceptional years (the Tathlīth *sayl* flooded the Wādī the year before Philby's first visit). The name Wādī al-Dawāsir is sometimes restricted to the western part of the valley, in which are found the capital of the whole district, al-Khamāsīn; its sister town, al-Lidām (incorrectly shown as Dam on many maps); and the westernmost settlements known as al-Farʿa. Like al-Khamāsīn, a number of other towns bear the names of units of the tribe, such as al-Sharāfā and al-Walāmīn (a subsection of the Wadāʿīn). South of the gap in Ṭuwayḳ lies Tamra, which earlier lent its name to the valley, if the identification of ʿAḳīḳ Tamra with Wādī al-Dawāsir is accepted. East of the gap is the oasis of al-Sulayyil, whence the principal route to the north leads to al-Aflādj. The lower course of the Wādī, called al-Aṭwā, disappears to the east in the sands of al-Rumayla, the southerly extension of al-Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*].

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(G. RENTZ)

AL-**DAWḤA** (Doha), the capital and only major city of Ḳaṭar, a Persian Gulf state. Al-Dawḥa is located at 25° 17′ N, 51° 32′ E in the SW corner of a natural shallow-draught harbour formed by two reefs in a bay (*dawḥa* in Persian Gulf Arabic) on the east coast of Qatar (Ḳaṭar) Peninsula. A former fishing village, al-Bidʿ, on the site is now a quarter of the city.

Little is known of al-Dawḥa before 1238/1823, when the British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf visited the town and reported that it was a dependency of Bahrain (al-Baḥrayn). The nature of this relationship, however, varied with changing circumstances. During the early 13th/19th century al-Dawḥa apparently belonged to Bahrain, which in turn paid Āl Saʿūd of Nadjd *zakāh* collected from al-Dawḥa by the British Resident, with whom both Bahrain, in 1235/1820, and Muḥammad b. Thānī, for al-Dawḥa in 1285/1868, had agreed to keep the maritime truce. After a Turkish force occupied al-Dawḥa in 1288/1872 and proclaimed it part of the so-called Sandjaḳ of Nadjd, the town still maintained close relations with Bahrain, Āl Saʿūd of Nadjd, and the British. Other parts of Qatar were treated occasionally as belonging to Bahrain, Abu Dhabi (Abū Ẓabī) or Nadjd until after the departure of the Turks. In 1335/1916, ʿAbd Allāh Āl Thānī as "Shaikh of Qatar" signed an agreement placing Qatar in a "special treaty relationship with H. M. Government". Its status has more recently been defined as that of "a British-protected state". As such, it remains the concern of the British Foreign Office, while British Protectorates proper, such as those in southern Arabia, come under the Colonial Office.

The ascendancy of al-Dawḥa derives from the destruction of the rival city of al-Zubāra in 1312/1895 and from the production of oil from a field at Dukhān, the oil being shipped from a marine terminal at Musayʿīd (incorrectly shown on most maps and in much other printed matter as Umm Said). In 1318/1900 al-Dawḥa was a pearling port of some 12,000 inhabitants in nine *fariḳs* or quarters, sprawling for almost two miles (three km.) along the waterfront on the rocky edge of the desert and dominated by the Ḳalʿat al-ʿAskar or Ḳaṣr Kunāra, as the Turkish garrison called it. This fort still stands in the quarter of the Kalʿat al-ʿAskar, in which are the finest shops and residential areas. Until recently the town proper had no water or gardens; today water is piped in or extracted from sea water by a distillation plant. The hereditary mansion of Āl Thānī still stands in the quarter of al-Dawḥa, from which the town derives its name, but the family now has palaces in the western suburb of al-Rayyān. The present population of al-Dawḥa, which may be roughly estimated at 20-30,000, forms the major part of the total population of Qatar. The city possesses a modern hospital and a small airport which affords connexions with international flights out of Dhahran (al-Ẓahrān) in Saudi Arabia and al-Muharraḳ in Bahrain. The British Political Agent is the only representative of a foreign government resident in al-Dawḥa.

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(R. L. HEADLEY)

DAWLA, 1) an Arabic word signifying the period of an individual's rule or power but also often employed in the meaning of "dynasty". The root *d-w-l* may occur in Akkadian *dālu* "to wander around aimlessly" (*The Assyrian Dictionary*, iii, 59) and Syriac *dāl* "to move, to stir" (Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*², 144 b). However, the basic meaning of Arabic *d-w-l* is clearly "to turn, to alternate" (relating it to *d-w-r*?). The Ḳurʾān has *nudāwiluhā* "We cause (days) to alternate" (III, 140/134) and *dūlatan* "something whose ownership is passed around" (LIX, 7/7). In addition, the *ḥadīth* uses *adāla* "to cause someone to obtain his 'turn' (success, victory)", and the famous report of the *Sīra* (Ibn Hishām, 1011) on Muḥammad's death mentions that it took place when it was ʿĀʾisha's regular "turn" (*daw/ūlatī*) for Muḥammad to visit her. The meaning "turn, time (of success, holding office, etc.)" is often attested in early times, as, for instance, in the verses of Farwa b. Musayk in which, however, one of the two occurrences of *dawla* is occasionally replaced by another word (*LA*, s.v. *ṭ-b-b*; al-Ṭabarī, i, 735). It appears to have been the starting point for the development of the meaning "dynasty".

How *dawla* acquired this meaning remains to be investigated. There is nothing to indicate a pre-Islamic origin. Tribal terms, such as *banū* or *āl*, continued to be used in Islam. Genuine verses antedat-

ing early ʿAbbāsid times and containing *dawla* in the meaning of "dynasty" have not yet been signalized. Prose references are open to the suspicion of anachronism. Thus, it seems unlikely that an Umayyad general should have blamed a son of the caliph ʿUthmān in these words: "we are fighting for your dynasty (*dawlatikum*) while you betray it" (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVB, 39). An increase in the use of the word is noticeable in the earliest ʿAbbāsid documents, some of which may have been transmitted with literal accuracy. In his speech to the Kūfans upon his accession, al-Saffāḥ said: "... you have reached our time, and God has brought to you our *dawla* (time of success)" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 30). Al-Manṣūr, advising al-Saffāḥ to kill Abū Muslim, praises the strength of "our *dawla*" (*ibid.*, iii, 85; P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*[6], 286). Al-Saffāḥ speaks of Abū Muslim's *dawla* (time in office) (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 86), and, in a document of doubtful historicity, he refers to those who "disrupt the rope of the *dawla* (dynasty)" (*ibid.*, iii, 104). A few years later, al-Manṣūr speaks of those who supported the ʿAbbāsid *dawla* (*ibid.*, iii, 339, but cf. the earlier, similar passage, iii, 32, where *dawla* means "victory"). In a paraphrase of al-Manṣūr's last will, reference is made to the *dawla* (reign) of al-Mahdī (*ibid.*, iii, 454). The evidence is inconclusive. It seems that at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period, the term *dawla* was by no means well established in the meaning of "dynasty". However, the word was frequently used by the ʿAbbāsids with reference to their own "turn" of success. Thus it came to be associated with the ruling house and was more and more used as a polite term of reference to it. Soon, one could speak of the supporters and members (*aṣḥāb, ridjāl*) belonging to the *dawla*, the supporters and members of the dynasty; again, the precise date of the earliest occurrence of such usage as yet eludes us.

It has been assumed that Persian political speculation along the lines of the Polybian ἀνακύκλωσις τῶν πολιτειῶν contributed to the formation of the concept *dawla* "dynasty". Such an assumption may find some slender support in the suggestion advanced here that it was the ʿAbbāsids who gave prominence to the term by stressing the significance of their "turn". However, no conscious application of any political theory seems to be involved, notwithstanding the fact that *dawla* occurred later in connexion with speculations about cycles of political power. Al-Kindī, in his *Risāla fī mulk al-ʿArab* (ed. O. Loth, in *Morgenländische Forschungen, Festschrift Fleischer*, Leipzig 1875) usually paired *dawla* with *mulk*. Cf. also al-Rāzī, *Fī amārāt al-iḳbāl wa 'l-dawla* (ed. P. Kraus, *Razis Opera Philosophica*, Paris 1939), where *dawla* means "political success".

2) *Al-dawla* as the second element in titles. At the end of the 3rd/10th century, the *wazīr* al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn Wahb was granted the title Walī al-Dawla "Friend of the Dynasty", which then also appeared on al-Muktafī's coinage; specimens dated 291/904 are common, but the existence of any dated 290 is doubted by G. C. Miles. Muslim authors stress that this is the first occurrence of a title composed with *dawla*. Al-Ḳāsim's son, al-Ḥusayn, continued the tradition inaugurated by his father when al-Muḳtadir solemnly bestowed upon him the title of ʿAmīd al-Dawla "Support", which was also inscribed upon coins. This happened in al-Muḥarram 320/February 932 (ʿArīb, 167; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse*, i, 223, trans. iv, 250).

Occasional use of descriptive composites with *dawla* can be traced for the immediately following years. At about this time, we also find a musician and littérateur nicknamed Djirāb al-Dawla "Bag" (*Fihrist*, 135); however, he is said to have chosen this nickname himself in order to ridicule the Būyids (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 62 f.). In any case, titles composed with *dawla* came into their own when in Shaʿbān 330/April 942, the Ḥamdānids Ḥasan and ʿAlī were granted the titles Nāṣir al-Dawla "Helper" and Sayf al-Dawla "Sword", respectively. Soon after (beg. 946), the three Būyid brothers claimed *dawla* titles as a sign that they had assumed control in Baghdād and the East. They received the titles Muʿizz al-Dawla "Fortifier", ʿImād al-Dawla "Support", and Rukn al-Dawla "Pillar". Bestowal of these titles was not a meaningless gesture but a highly significant step indicating cession by the caliph of most of the powers of his office.

The Ḥamdānids and the Būyids continued the use of *dawla* titles, and their example was followed in their time, for instance, by the Ghaznawids and Ilek-Khāns in the East and even some of the *reyes de taifas* in Spain. The Fāṭimids also bestowed occasional *dawla* titles upon their highest officials. But the tenth century was hardly over when *dawla* titles lost greatly in significance. They were at first supplemented and eventually replaced by other similar titles; this marked the beginning of the excessive use of titles in Muslim countries, which we find occasionally criticized by Muslim authors. A comprehensive study of post-Būyid occurrences of *dawla* has not yet been made. In the twelfth century, for instance, a court physician was called Amīn al-Dawla "Trusted Supporter" (Hibat Allāh b. al-Tilmīdh) (for *dawla* titles of non-Muslims, cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 490 f.; Ḥ. Zayyāt, in *al-Mashriḳ*, xlii, 1948, 8 ff.). However, while composites with *dawla* were reduced to merely honorific appellations, it can fairly be said that they always denoted high standing in the community. In India, for instance, they continued to be used by some rulers, and, until the abolition of honorary titles in 1935, Persian cabinet ministers often received titles composed with *dawla*.

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3) From its original meaning, *dawla* developed quite a few specialized connotations (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 476 f., and the dictionaries of Muslim languages other than Arabic; further, for instance, A. J. Maclean, *A Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac*, Oxford 1901, 62 b). In modern times, an adjectival formation *dawlī* or *duwalī*—from *dawla*, or its pl. *duwal*, in the meaning of "nation" (< state < government < dynasty)—has become accepted in Arabic as the current term for "international".

(F. Rosenthal)

DAWLAT GIRAY (918/1512-985/1577), styled the Taḥt-alghan or Daghtī-alghan (Conqueror of the

Capital), Khān of the Crimea from 958/1551 to 985/1577. He was the son of Mubārek Giray, and was appointed ḳalghay, first heir to the throne, by Saʿādet Giray Khān in 938/1532. When he was made Khān in 958/1551 with the firm support of the Ottomans, the latter increased their influence in the Crimea. He vigorously continued the anti-Russian policy of his predecessor, and made an alliance with the Jagellons against Russian in 959/1552. He made several expeditions against Moscow but could not prevent the capture by the Russians of the two sister Khānates of Ḳazan [*q.v.*] and Astrakhān [*q.v.*]. When the Ottomans failed to get control of the lower Volga in their expedition of 977/1569, they encouraged the Khān to continue the war against Russia. In 979/1571, breaking Russian resistance on the Oka river, he reached Moscow and burned it down, whence his cognomen. The following year, when the Czar rejected the Khān's claims on Ḳazan and Astrakhān, he made a new expedition but was severely defeated at Molodi near Moscow.

His co-operation with the Ottomans in the Polish elections against Russia was more successful (see *Belleten*, no. 46, 390). He died in Ṣafar 985/April-May 1577. His reign was marked by the vital struggle of the Crimean Khānate against Russia for the heritage of the Golden Horde in the Volga basin, and by the further integration of the Crimea in the Ottoman empire. Mention should be made of the Great Mosque that he built at Gözleve in 979/1571. Six of his eighteen sons became Khān after him (see *Giray* in *IA*).

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(Halil Inalcik)

DAWLAT-SHĀH (Amīr) b. ʿAlaʾ al-Dawla Bakhtīshāh, a Persian writer from a family owning estates at Isfarāʾ in in the Khurāsān. His father was one of the most intimate courtiers of Shāh-Rukh, son of Tīmūr; he himself took part in the battle fought by the Timurids Abu'l-Ghāzī Sulṭan Ḥusayn and Sulṭan Maḥmūd near Andakhūd. He was about fifty years of age when he began to write his *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* ("Memorial to the Poets"), which he finished in about 892/1487 towards the end of his life, the date of his death being unknown. In his *Madjālis al-nafāʾis* (chap. VI), Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, the famous minister, writer and patron of letters and the arts (cf. Browne, iii, 437), praises Dawlat-Shāh for renouncing the society of the great in order to devote himself to study and to writing his book. This "Memorial to the Poets", the earliest of the *tadhkira* [*q.v.*] made known through von Hammer's translation, is divided into seven parts, each containing information on twenty or so poets and the princes who were their patrons; there is an introduction on the art of poetry; the concluding section is devoted to seven poets who were contemporaries of the author, and to the glorification of the Timurid prince Abu 'l-Ghāzī Sulṭān Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr b. Bayḳarā, who was himself a man of letters (Browne, iii, 390 and 439). This concise anthology of poems which for the most part are well chosen is very useful in literary history, especially for the study of 8th/14th and 9th/15th century poets; but many mistakes have been detected in the notes on the princes and poets, while the judgments expressed on their talents are very often lacking in critical sense.

The eldest son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh was also called Dawlat-Shāh; born at Nawā on 7 Rabīʿ II 1203/6 January 1789, he was for many years governor of Kirmān-shāhān, and died on 26 Safar 1236/3 December 1820 on his return from his campaign against Maḥmūd Pasha; he has left a number of poems.

Bibliography: editions: Bombay, 1887; *The Tadhkiratu'sh-shuʿarā*, ed. E. G. Browne, London 1901. Translation: *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* .... by J. von Hammer, Vienna 1818. Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-fusaḥā*, i, 26; Belin, in *JA*, i, (1861), 245; Browne, iii, index, *sub nom.*; idem, *The Sources of Dawlat-shah*, in *JRAS* 1899, 37-60; list of other *tadhkira* in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 213-6. (Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

DAWLATĀBĀD, a hill fort lat. 19° 57′ N., long. 75° 15′ E., ten miles N.-W. of Awrangābād, now in Mahārāshṭra State, was called Deogiri (properly Devagiri), "the Hill of God", in pre-Muslim times as the capital of the Yādavas, originally feudatories of the Western Čālukyas but independent since 1183 A.D., after which they continued to rule the territory from Deogiri independently. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, nephew of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Khaldjī of Dihlī, actuated by reports of the immense wealth of Deogiri, reached there by forced marches in 693/1294 and invested the fortress. Rāmčandra, the then Rādjā, taken by surprise, was ultimately forced to surrender to the invaders huge quantities of gold, silver and precious stones, which became ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's bait to lure Fīrūz to his death, as well as agree to the cession of Eličpur to the Dihlī Empire. Rāmčandra failed to remit the revenues of Eličpur and in 706/1307 a force commanded by Kāfūr Hazārdīnārī, then Malik Nāʾib, was sent against him; but on making his submission to Kāfūr he was courteously sent to the capital where he offered sumptuous gifts in lieu of tribute. His ready pardon and official appointment as governor of Deogiri, with the title of *Rāy-i Rāyān*, has been attributed to ʿAlā al-Dīn's superstitious regard for Deogiri as the talisman of his wealth and power. But his son and successor, Shankara, having defied the Dihlī hegemony, Kāfūr was again sent south in 713/1313, where he assumed the government of the state having put Shankara to death. Shankara's son-in-law Harapāla proclaimed his independence some three years later, and the new Dihlī sultan, Ḳutb al-Dīn Mubārak Khaldjī, personally led an expedition south, slew Harapāla, re-annexed the Deogiri lands, and built in 718/1318 the g eat Djāmiʿ masdjid there (see Monuments, below).

The next important date in the history of Deogiri was when Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ decided in 727/1327 that, since Dihlī was not sufficiently central in his dominions, Deogiri should be renamed Dawlatābād and become his capital. Officials were at first encouraged to settle there, but in 729/1329 the entire population was compelled to move to Dawlatābād as a punitive measure (Baranī, 481 ff.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 314 ff.), and from there as a base of operations order was restored in the Deccan. But shortly thereafter Mughal raids in north India necessitated Muḥammad's return to Dihlī and Dawlatābād re-

verted to its status as a southern garrison. It was at Dawlatābād that Ismāʿīl Mukh was elected their leader by the Amīrān-i Ṣadah in . . ./1346 and it was again there that a year later Ẓafar Khān, who had defeated the Dihlī army, superseded Ismāʿīl and became the first Bahmanid sulṭān. The Bahmanīs retained Dawlatābād as a garrison on their northern frontier and improved its defences; the conspicuous Čānd mīnār dates from their occupation. It passed to the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar in 905/1500, becoming their capital in 1009/1600. The Mughal emperor Shāhdjahān clearly considered possession of Dawlatābād to be the key to dominion over the Deccan, and in 1043/1633 it was taken for the Mughals by Mahābat Khān after a fierce siege (ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, Bibl. Ind., 496-536). Salābat Djang secured Dawlatābād for the Niẓām al-Mulk in 1170/1757, but lost it three years later to the Marāṭhās.

Dawlatābād once boasted of the Fatḥābād mint (for the name Fatḥābād given to Dawlatābād in the time of Muḥammad I Bahmanī, see *Burhān al-Maʾāthir*, 1936 ed., 17) where coin was struck from 761-6 A.H.; it was also the centre of a paper-making industry.

Bibliography: in addition to references above, see Bilgrami and Willmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of H.H. the Nizam's Dominions*; T. W. Haig, *Historical Landmarks of the Deccan*; *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Hyderabad State*.

(H. K. Sherwani)

(*ii*) Monuments. The earliest building work at Dawlatābād (apart from the rock-cut caves of the 1st century B.C.) is the scarping of Devagiri, a single conical hill of rock some 200 m. high commanding a natural pass. This scarping, dating at least from the early Yādava times, results in the entire circuit of the rock presenting a vertical face 50 to 65 m. high, above a water-filled moat of rectangular section dug a further 15 m. into the rock (a causeway across the moat leading to a rock-cut shrine shows its Hindū provenance). The utilization of stone of Hindū workmanship in later Islamic building indicates the former existence of a town on the sloping ground to the east.

It is on the east that the triple apron of fortification lies, dating in origin from the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. The outermost wall is the curtain of the outer town, which is traversed from south to north by the Awrangābād—Khuldābād [*qq.v.*] road; the town (called ʿAnbarkōṭ in ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bādshāhnāma, passim*) is an area about 2 km. north-south by a maximum of 1 km. east-west; the second wall encloses an area of 1.2 km. by 0.4 km. to the west of the first, called Kaṭak (= Sanskrit *kaṭaka*) by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Mahākōṭ ("great fort") by Lāhawrī, and is entered through a hornwork formed by a succession of rounded bastions [see burdj, iii]; a less elaborate entrance in the third apron leads to the citadel, Devagiri (Bālākōṭ of Lāhawrī) through a steep flight of steps, the rock-cut moat crossed by a narrow stone bridge, a tunnel through rock-cut chambers and re-used Djayn caves emerging some 15 m. higher, a broad rock staircase leading to a Mughal *bāradarī*, and finally another flight of 100 steps to the acropolis, a platform 50 m. by 36 m., on which guns are mounted. All three walls are defended by external ditch and counterscarp; they all show signs (by heightening in work of smaller stone) of modification during the Bahmanī period. Of interest in the defence works are: (1) the bridge over the final moat, with its central portion about 3 m. below the level of each side, approached by steep flights of steps from counterscarp and gallery. The height of water in the moat must have been under control, so that the central portion of the bridge could be submerged; (2) the long tunnel, at the head of which was an iron barrier which could be rendered red-hot by lighting a fire on it (for a different interpretation see Sidney Toy, *The strongholds of India*, London 1957, 38 ff., criticized by J. Burton-Page in *BSOAS*, xxiii/3, 1960, 516 ff.); midway is a rock-cut look-out post.

The mosque of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Khaldjī of Dihlī (inscr. 718-1318) is perhaps the earliest Muslim monument. Largely an improvisation out of temple material, it has tapering fluted corner buttresses and a corbelled dome, and is some 78 m. square in overall plan (illustration in *Ann. Report, Arch. Dept. Hyd.*, 1925-6, Pl. III); the *miḥrāb* has since been filled with an idol.

The mosque has no minaret; fulfilling this function, however, is the Čānd mīnār, 30 m. high, of about 840/1435, similar in shape to the towers of Maḥmūd Gāwān's *madrasa* at Bīdar [*q.v.*] but with three galleries supported by elaborate brackets. In addition to its function as a *mīnar* of the mosque, it was also an observation post, since it commanded the dead ground on the north-east.

The palaces are mostly in ruins; noteworthy are the *bāradarī* mentioned above, built for Shāhdjahān's visit in 1046/1636, and the Čīnī maḥall in Mahākōṭ, of the Niẓām Shāhī period, with fine encaustic tile-work; the latter was used as a state prison for the last Ḳuṭb Shāhī ruler, Abu 'l-Ḥasan (Khʷāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, ii, 371 ff.).

Bibliography: There is no monograph on Dawlatābād as a site; in addition to references in the text, see S. Piggott, *Some ancient cities of India*, Bombay 1945, 78 ff. (including sketch-map).

(J. Burton-Page)

al-DAWLATĀBĀDĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shams al-Dīn b. ʿUmar al-Zāwulī al-Hindī, an eminent Indian scholar of the 9th/15th century, was born at Dawlatābād in the Deccan. He completed his studies in Dihlī at the feet of Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Muḳtadir and Mawlānā Khʷādjgī, two eminent disciples of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh-i Dihlī. When Tīmūr invaded India, Shihāb al-Dīn left Dihlī and settled at Djawnpur where Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharḳī (804-844/1400-1440) received him with honour and appointed him as the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of his kingdom. Later on he conferred upon him the title of *Malik al-ʿUlamāʾ*. Firishta says that he was held in such high esteem by the Sulṭān that a special silver chair was provided for him in the court. He died at Djawnpur in 848/1445.

Shihāb al-Dīn was a prolific writer. According to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith Dihlawī and Muḥammad Ghawthī Shaṭṭārī he enjoyed some reputation as a Persian poet also. Of his compositions, the following are particularly noteworthy: *Sharḥ al-Hindī*, a commentary on the *Kāfiya* (for Mss, *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, Zubaid Ahmad 401); *Sharḥ uṣūl al-Bazdawī*, (Ms. in possession of M. Abul Kalām Azād); *Al-ʿAḳaʾid al-Islāmiyya*, on scholastic theology (Ms, Rampur, 314); *al-Irshād*, on Arabic syntax, (printed at Ḥaydarābād); *Muṣaddiḳ al-faḍl*, commentary on the famous *Ḳaṣīda Bānat Suʿād*, (printed at Ḥaydarābād); *Baḥr al-mawwādj*, a Persian commentary on the Ḳurʾān, dedicated to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharḳī (for Mss,

Storey 10, 1193); *Taʾrīkh al-Madīna* (Storey, 427); *Fatāwā-i Ibrāhīm Shāhī*; *Badāʾiʿ al-bayān*; *Manāḳib al-sādāt*, on the merits and prerogatives of the descendants of the Prophet, (Storey 211, 1261).

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(K. A. Nizami)

DAWR [see SUPPLEMENT].

DAWRAḲ, formerly a town in south-western Khūzistān, was also called Dawraḳ al-Furs, 'Dawraḳ of the Persians' and sometimes al-Madīna, 'the Town'. The original Persian name was Darāk. In the middle ages Dawraḳ was the capital of a district which was sometimes called after it and was sometimes known as Surraḳ. Dawraḳ lay on the banks of the river of the same name, which was a tributary of the Djarrāḥī; it was connected by canal with the Kārūn [*q.v.*]. It was famous for its veils and for its sulphur springs. Pilgrims from Kirmān and Fārs used to pass through Dawraḳ on their way to and from Mecca. As late as the 4th/10th century a fire-temple and some other remarkable buildings dating from the Sāsānid era were still to be seen in the town. Dawraḳ was described in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (130) as a pleasant, prosperous and wealthy town. Towards the close of the 10th/16th century the Banī Tamīm occupied Dawraḳ and the surrounding area, but they were ousted by Sayyid Mubārak, of the Mushʿashaʿ dynasty of Ḥawīza, the well-known *Wālī* of ʿArabistān (Khūzistān) about the year 1000/1591-2. In 1029/1619-20 the *Beglerbegī* of Fārs conquered Dawraḳ and its district (see the *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, 675). Subsequently the district was occupied by a branch of the Afshār tribe [*q.v.*], but they were displaced by Shaykh Salmān of the Kaʿb [*q.v.*] during the reign of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]. Shaykh Salmān built a new town, which he called Fallāḥiya, five miles to the south of Dawraḳ, which thereafter fell into ruin. In order to protect Fallāḥiya against the Huwala and other hostile tribes, Shaykh Salmān erected a strong fort there and built a mud wall two miles in circumference round the town. When Layard visited Fallāḥiya a century later, he found this wall in bad repair; he stated, however, that the many canals and water-courses surrounding it would provide a formidable barrier to invasion if strongly defended (*Description of the province of Khuzistan*, in *JRGS*, 1846, xvi, 39; see also his *Early adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1887, ii, 57).

In 1933 the name of Fallāḥiya was changed to Shādagān; it is the capital of the sub-district (*bakhsh*) of the same name which forms part of the *shahristān* of Khurramshahr (formerly known as Muḥammara). The date-groves and rice fields surrounding the town are watered by irrigation canals; wheat is also grown. In the town there are some 400 houses, 120 shops, two mosques and two schools; the population, including that of the surrounding district, is about 20,000. The swampy area between Shādagān and the coast of the Persian Gulf is still known as Dawraḳistān. The name is also preserved in the Khawr Dawraḳ, a northern arm of the Khawr Mūsā, the large inlet of the Gulf which bounds Dawraḳistān on the east and north-east.

Bibliography: in addition to references in the text: *BGA*, *passim*; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 382, 415; Yāḳūt, ii, 618, 620; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, (ed. Juynboll), i, 414, v, 502-3; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), 191; J. Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, 88-9; J. H. Stocqueler, *Fifteen months' pilgrimage through untrodden tracts of Khuzistan and Persia*, i, 72; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 158-60; Le Strange, 242; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, ii, 322-3; Razmārā and Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, vi, 228.

(L. Lockhart)

DAWS [see AZD].

DAWSA (Dōsa), literally "trampling", a ceremony formerly performed in Cairo by the Shaykh of the Saʿdī *ṭarīḳa* on the *mawlids* [*q.v.*] of the Prophet, of al-Shāfiʿī, of Sulṭān Ḥanafī (a celebrated Saint of Cairo who died in 847/1443; *Khiṭaṭ djadīda*, iii, 93, iv, 100), of Shaykh Dashṭūṭī (or Ṭashṭūshī), another saint; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xxiv; *Khiṭaṭ djadīda*, iii, 72, 133, iv, 111), and of Shaykh Yūnus (see below). These took place by day; a similar ceremony was performed by the Shaykh al-Bakrī, the head of the *ṭarīḳas* in Egypt, on the *mawlid* of Dashṭūṭī by night. The ceremony has been described at length by Lane (*loc. cit.*, with drawing; another description, with a drawing by the artist C. Rudolf Huber, who was an eye-witness, in G. Ebers, *Aegypten*, Stuttgart and Leipzig 1879-80, ii, 129 ff.); it consisted, in short, of as many as three hundred members of the *ṭarīḳa* lying down with their faces to the ground and the Shaykh riding over them on horseback. It was believed that by a special *karāma* [*q.v.*], inherent in the *ṭarīḳa*, no one was ever injured, and by such physical contact the *baraka* [*q.v.*] of the Shaykh was communicated to his followers. The same ceremony was performed elsewhere (Lady I. Burton, *The inner life of Syria*, etc., chap. x, for Barze near Damascus; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Tūnisī, d. 1274/1857, in *Voyage au Ouaday*, tr. A. Perron, 700). In other *ṭarīḳas*, *baraka* has been ascribed to rubbing with the feet of the Shaykh and even to the dust on which he has trodden. The use of the horse by Saʿdī *ṭarīḳa* has been associated with the rank of its founder as a descendant of the Prophet. The origin of the Cairo *dawsa* is obscure; the legend has it that when Shaykh Yūnus, the son of Saʾd al-Dīn al-Djībāwī, the founder, came to Cairo his followers asked him to establish for their usage a *bidʿa ḥasana* (good innovation) which by its *karāma* would prove his rank as a saint; he thereupon made them cover his path with round and smooth vessels of glass, and he rode over them without breaking one. This his successors could not do, and prostrated men were substituted for the glass (Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, 1882, 647 f.; Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Taʾrīkh ... Muḥammad ʿAbduh*, ii, 147 ff., 2nd. ed., ii, 139 ff.). This Shaykh Yūnus is said by some to be buried outside the Bāb al-Naṣr (Goldziher, *loc. cit.*; *Khiṭaṭ Djadīda*, ii, 72). Saʿd al-Dīn is commonly assigned to the second half of the 7th/13th century. The date is quite uncertain, and there may have been confusion with the ecstatic (*madjdhūb*) Shaykh Yūnus al-Shaybānī, the founder of the Yūnusī *ṭarīḳa* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 435). The *dawsa* was abolished by the Khedīw Muḥammad Tawfīḳ in 1881, after the Chief Muftī of Egypt had given a

fatwā in which he declared it a *bid'a ḳabīḥa* (evil innovation), involving undignified treatment of Muslims. For some time afterwards, on the mornings of those *mawlid*s some members of the Sa'dī *ṭarīḳa* lay down in front of the door of their Shaykh and let him walk over them (A. Le Chatelier, *Les Confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz*, 225), but this, too, has now been discontinued.

Bibliography: in addition to the references given: 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, iv, 112; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, 329 ff.).

(D. B. MACDONALD*)

DĀWŪD, the biblical David. David is mentioned in several places in the Ḳur'ān, sometimes together with his more famous son and successor Solomon (Sulaymān). He kills Goliath (Djālūt, *Sūra* II, 251). God grants him the rule of the kingdom (*ibid.*) and enforces it (XXXVIII, 20). He makes him a "*khalīfa* on earth" (*i.e.*, the successor of an earlier generation of rulers, XXXVIII, 26). He gives him knowledge (*'ilm*) and wisdom (*ḥikma*), and the ability to do justice (*ḥukm*, esp. XXI, 78 f.; XXXVII, 21-24, 26; *faṣl al-khiṭāb*, XXXVII, 20). He gives him a *zabūr* (book, psalter, IV, 163; XVII, 55), and makes the birds and mountains his servants, so that they unite in his praise (XXI, 79; XXXIV, 10; XXXVIII, 18 f.). God also instructs him in the art of fashioning chain mail out of iron (XXXIV, 10 f.; XXI, 80). Together with Solomon, he gives judgment in a case of damage to the fields (XXI, 78). The fable of the rich man and the poor man, which Nathan tells the king (2 Sam, xii, 1-4), is retold in a somewhat modified form (XXXVIII, 21-23). There is no mention of the wrong David did to Uriah, but the subsequent verses show that the king feels himself to be guilty. His prayer for forgiveness is heard (24 f.).

The *ḥadīth* stresses David's zeal in prayer, and especially in fasting. Ḳur'ān commentators, historians, and compilers of the "Tales of the Prophets", specifically mention David as a prophet and add further material from Jewish (and Christian) tradition, including the story of Saul's jealousy of David, and that of the wife of Uriah (this as proof of David's 'temptation', *Sūra* XXXVIII, 24), and the story of Absalom and his early death. The details —especially in the later (and also in the mystical) works—are fantastically elaborated. The title *khalīfa fi 'l-arḍ* (*Sūra* XXXVIII, 26) is interpreted as 'God's delegate on earth'. David's readiness to do penance is mentioned in particular. Another favourite theme is David's gift in singing psalms. His voice has a magic power: it weaves its spell not only over man, but over wild beasts and inanimate nature.

There is proof of the name of Dāwūd (or Dāwud) in pre-Islamic times. There are poems which mention a Dāwūd, or his son, as a maker of coats of chain mail. Perhaps this refers to a Jewish armourer. In any case, presumably even in pre-Muḥammadan times, he was identified with King David (Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 109 f.). In the Ḳur'ān, the name is spelled Dāwūd (< Hebrew Dāwīd), or *D'wd* (Dāwud) throughout. Later on, the form Dā'ūd (with hamza) became common.

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(R. PARET)

DĀWŪD B. 'ALĪ B. **KHALAF** AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ ABŪ SULAYMĀN, the *imām* of the school of the Ẓāhiriyya ([*q.v.*]; also called Dāwūdiyya) in religious law. An extreme representative of the tendency hostile to human reasoning and relying exlusively on Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*, Dāwūd not only rejected personal opinion (*ra'y*) as al-Shāfi'ī [*q.v.*] had done, but, as far as he could, systematic reasoning by analogy (*ḳiyās*) which al-Shāfi'ī had admitted and tried to regularize, and he made it his principle to follow the outward or literal meaning (*ẓāhir*) of Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth* exclusively; he also restricted the concept of consensus (*idjmā'*) to the consensus of the Companions of the Prophet, and rejected the practice of allegiance (*taḳlīd*) to a single master which in his time had come to prevail in the other schools of religious law. In all these respects, his doctrine represents a one-sided elaboration and development of that of al-Shāfi'ī and his school.

Dāwūd's family came from a village near Iṣfahān; he was born in Kūfa in 200-2/815-8. He studied *ḥadīth* under well-known authorities in Baṣra, Baghdād and Nīsābūr, and then settled in Baghdād where he became highly esteemed as a teacher and muftī. His biographers praise him for his piety, humility and asceticism. Nothing is known of his teachers in *fiḳh* proper; his father was a Ḥanafī, and he himself is called a fanatical adherent (*muta'aṣṣib*) of al-Shāfi'ī, a description which fits both the starting-point and the later development of his own doctrine, and he occupies an honoured place in the biographical works of the Shāfi'ī school. In theology, he is reported to have held the opinion that the Ḳur'ān as it exists on the "well-preserved tablet", was uncreated, but as it exists in the actual copies, produced in time, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is said to have refused to meet him on account of this.

Dāwūd was the author of numerous treatises (see a more or less contemporary list in the *Fihrist*), some of them extremely long (up to 3000 folios), covering legal theory (*uṣūl*) and all branches of positive law (*furū'*); nothing of all this has survived, and we depend for statements of his doctrine on questions of detail on later authors (*e.g.*, al-Subkī, and particularly Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], and some of the works on *ikhtilāf*), who however do not always distinguish between Dāwūd's own opinions and those of his followers. The Ḥanbalī author Muḥammad al-Shaṭṭī (1307/1889-90), at the suggestion of the muftī of Damascus, Maḥmūd b. Ḥamza Effendi al-Ḥamzāwī (d. 1305/1887-8), collected many of these opinions and compared them with the corresponding Ḥanbalī doctrines (*R. fī Masā'il al-Imām Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī*, Damascus 1330). The school of the Ẓāhiriyya disappeared in due course, and for this reason their opinions and those of their *imām*, Dāwūd, are not

taken into account in establishing the consensus of the scholars, although a number of Shāfiʿī scholars take, theoretically at least, a more accomodating view (see al-Nawawī and, in more detail, al-Subkī). Dāwūd died in Baghdād in 270/884 and was buried there. His son, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd [*q.v.*], was a famous man of letters.

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DĀWŪD al-ANṬĀKĪ [see al-anṭaḳī].

DĀWŪD b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs **al-FAṬĀNĪ** or Faṭṭānī, *i.e.*, from Patani on the N.E. coast of the Malay Peninsula, a Malay author living in Mecca in the first half of the 13/19th century. He belonged to the Shaṭṭāriyya order. He wrote popular tracts as well as extensive handbooks on Shāfiʿite *fiḳh*, theology and orthodox mysticism. All these works are translations from the Arabic into Malay, more literal than those of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī [*q.v.*]. They aim at a public not learned enough to read Arabic fluently, but familiar, to a certain degree, with the structure of the language. His earliest dated work was finished in 1224/1810, the latest in 1259/1843. Most of his works are compiled from various Arabic sources, but it seems that sometimes he followed one model only, *e.g.*, in his translation of al-Ghazzālī's *Minhādj al-ʿābidīn ilā Djannat Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn*, and in *al-Bahdja al-wardiyya fī ʿaḳāʾid ahl al-djamāʿa al-sunniyya*, a Malay version of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ṣaffūrī's commentary on the *Manẓūma fi ʾl-tawḥīd* by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazāʾirī (printed Mecca 1331; on the title-page the *manẓūma* is erroneously ascribed to Ibn al-Wardī; the complete text of the Arabic *manẓūma* is incorporated in this edition). Another remarkable work is *Kanz al-minan ʿalā ḥikam Abī Madyan*, translated from a commentary on the maxims of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb b. al-Ḥusayn al-Andalusī (printed Mecca 1328; the maxims are quoted in Arabic). A popular treatise on marriage law by Daud Patani was lithographed in Singapore, 1287, and some other treatises a few years later in Bombay. His main works were printed in Mecca c. 1302, and from 1328 onward his descendants, still living in the holy city, reprinted some of his works and published some others for the first time. There are MSS. of Malay works by Daud Patani in Cambridge (Scott coll.), Djakarta, Leiden and London (R.A.S.) but none of them unpublished.

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DĀWŪD KHĀN KARARĀNĪ, younger son of the governor of Bengal under Shīr Shāh, Sulaymān Kararānī, who later asserted his independence, was raised to the Bengal throne in 980/1572 by the Afghān nobles who had deposed his elder brother Bāyazīd. Intoxicated by a sense of power he defied the Mughal emperor Akbar and attacked his outpost at Ghāzīpur in 982/1574. Munʿim Khān [*q.v.*], sent to oppose him, occupied his capital at Ṫānḋā and compelled him to retreat into Uṙisā; he counter-attacked at the important battle of Tukarōʾī [*q.v.*] (= Mughalmārī), but when Mughal reinforcements arrived he sued for peace and paid tribute to Akbar, being permitted to retain the province of Uṙisā. In 983/1575 Munʿim Khān died and in the following confusion Dāwūd attacked and regained Bengal. Khān Djahān and Ṫoḋar Mall renewed the Mughal attack in 984/1576, when Dāwūd was captured and executed, and Bengal finally passed into Mughal hands.

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DĀWŪD PASHA, Ḳara (? — 1032/1623), Ottoman Grand Vizier. The year of his birth is uncertain, but, in a "relazione" submitted to the Signoria in 1612, Simone Contarini, who had been Venetian Bailo at Istanbul, mentions a Dāwūd Pasha, whom he describes as a Croat in origin and at that time about 46 years old. According to the Ottoman sources, however, Ḳara Dāwūd Pasha was of Bosnian descent. He was trained in the Palace Schools, being appointed in due course to the office of *čuḳadār* (*čuhadar*). During the reign of Sulṭān Meḥemmed III (1003-1012/1595-1603) he became Ḳapïdjï Bashï and later, in the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmed I (1012-1026/1603-1617), was made Beglerbeg of Rūmeli in 1013/1604. Dāwūd Pasha served thereafter against the Djalālī [*q.v.*] rebels in Asia Minor and also in the Eriwān campaign against the Ṣafawīds of Persia in 1021/1612. He held the office of Ḳapudan Pasha [*q.v.*] for a short time during the first reign of Sulṭān Muṣṭafā I (1026-1027/1617-1618) and also accompanied Sulṭān ʿOthmān II (1027-1031/1618-1622) on the campaign of Choczim (Ḥotin) against the Poles in 1030/1621. Dāwūd Pasha was married to a sister german of Sulṭān Muṣṭafā. Māh-Peyker, the Wālide Sulṭān (*i.e.*, the mother of Muṣṭafā I) used her influence to secure the elevation of Dāwūd Pasha to the Grand Vizierate (9 Radjab 1031/20 May 1622), when her son Muṣṭafā became Sulṭān for the second time (1031-1032/1622-1623). Dāwūd Pasha at once carried out the execution of Sulṭān ʿOthmān II, who had just been deposed from the throne. On 3 Shaʿbān 1031/13 June 1622 Dāwūd Pasha was dismissed from the office of Grand Vizier. The conflict of factions at the Porte brought about in the end his own execution in Rabīʿ I 1032/January 1623. He was buried in the mosque of of Murād Pasha at Istanbul.

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DĀWŪD PASHA, Ḳodja, Darwīsh, d. 904/1498, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Of Albanian origin, he came through the *dewshirme* to the Palace School. In 876/1472, as beylerbeyi of Anadolu, he fought under Prince Muṣṭafā, *wālī* of Konya, against the Aḳ-ḳoyunlu Yūsufča Mīrzā. In the battle against Uzun Ḥasan at Otluk-beli in 878/1473, he was in command of the vanguard. He served in the Boghdan campaign of 881/1476 and, as beylerbeyi of Rumeli, in the operations in Albania and the siege of Ishkodra (883/1478). After the accession of Bāyezīd II he was made vizier and shortly afterwards, in 888/1483, succeeded Isḥāḳ Pasha as Grand Vizier, remaining in this post for 15 years. During this period he went on only two campaigns, the operations against the Mamluks in 892/1487, when he re-occupied Adana and Tarsus and reduced the Wārsāḳs to obedience, and the Albanian campaign of 891/1492, when he took Tepedelen and defeated the Albanian forces (though according to one source he remained at Üsküb to guard against a possible Hungarian attack from the north). He was dismissed from the Grand Vizierate on 4 Radjab 902/8 March 1497 and ordered to live at Dīmetoḳa (with a yearly pension of 300,000 *akčes*). The reason for his dismissal was that the flight of the Aḳ-ḳoyunlu Göde Aḥmed Bey, a grandson of Meḥemmed II, to Tabrīz was attributed to Dāwūd Pasha's negligence. Two years later, in 4 Rabī ʿI 904/20 october 1498. he died and was buried in the *türbe* before the *miḥrāb* of his mosque in Istanbul.

He is described as a capable and upright statesman and a patron of learning. In foreign policy he supported Venice. He was one of the richest statesmen of his time: the *resm-i ḳismet* due to the *ḳāḍiʿasker* on his estate amounted to no less than 2,000,000 *akčes*. The mosque which he built in the quarter which bears his name exists today, together with an *ʿimāret*, a *česhme*, a school and a *medrese*. There are also an *iskele* and a *ḳaṣr* named after him. The Dāwūd Pasha Ṣaḥrāsī, on which the Dāwūd Pasha Barracks now stands, was for centuries a famous camping-ground for the Ottoman army. His sons Muṣṭafā Pasha and Meḥemmed Bey are mentioned in the sources.

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DĀWŪD PASHA (1181-1267/1767-1851), the last Mamlūk ruler of Turkish ʿIrāḳ, was acquired in Baghdād as a Georgian slave-boy by Sulaymān Pasha (the Great), marriage with whose daughter, together with his own good looks, charm, learning and ostentatious piety, assisted him in his upward career in the civil service under his patron, as confidential secretary, treasurer, *daftardār*, and finally *ḳahya*. By opportunism, violence and a skilful balancing of forces—Kurds, Mamlūks, the court, the mob, the tribes—Dāwūd, aged 50 years, obtained the Pashalīk for himself in 1233/1817, and assured it by the assassination of his predecessor (Saʿīd Pasha), and by timely generosity. He ruled for fifteen years. He adopted a vigorous (at times a treacherous) tribal policy, preserved fair order, chastised the notoriously turbulent Yazīdīs and the mid-desert ʿAnaza, kept a watch on endless Kurdish princely schisms and threats, and contrived to stop a serious Persian invasion (1239/1823). Under orders from Istanbūl, he disbanded the Janissary forces in Baghdād, raised and armed new-type regiments, and—fitfully, jealously and inconsistently—permitted a marked increase of European methods, traffic and trade. He constructed numerous public works, and maintained a luxurious court and entourage. His decline and fall (1247/1831) was inevitable in the changing atmosphere of the Turkish government; immediately, it was brought about by his persistent insubordination to the Istanbul authorities, whose emissary (and his own successor as *wālī*) was able to evict and replace him thanks to a devastating flood in Baghdād and a terrible visitation of plague. Arrested and captive, Dāwūd was surprisingly well treated, re-promoted to important offices in both Europe and Asia, and, high in royal favour, became in 1261/1845 Guardian of the Holy Shrine at Madīna. He died in 1267/1851, after a career of extraordinary vicissitudes.

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DĀWŪD PASHA, first Ottoman *mutaṣarrif* (governor) of Mount Lebanon (1861-1868). He was an Armenian Catholic, born in Constantinople in March 1816. He spent his early years with a French family at Galata; later he married an English wife whom he abandoned before being appointed *mutaṣarrif*. He began his public career as an attaché to the Ottoman Embassy in Berlin, serving next as Ottoman consul general in Vienna. Transferred back to Constantinople, he held several posts in the

Ministry of Interior. In 1857 he was put in charge of the government publications; and in the following year he became superintendent of the Telegraph Office, where he introduced a number of improvements. In that same year, he assisted the Foreign Minister Fu'ād Pasha in applying for a foreign loan. Finally, in 1861, he was appointed to the governorship of Mount Lebanon by the Porte in conjunction with the European Powers. Sent to Beirut with the rank of Vizier, he established the seat of his government in Dayr al-Ḳamar and organized the new administration in a manner satisfactory to all parties concerned. Among other things, he organized the gendarmerie of Mount Lebanon, built roads and bridges, and established a number of schools, and his wise government soon restored peace, order, and good will in Lebanon. Appointed at first to govern the country for three years, the term of his administration was extended for five more years. During his second term, however, he met with a strong resistance from some of the traditional leaders in the Mountain, and was therefore advised to resign from the governorship in 1868, before the end of his term. He next served as Minister of Public Works, and was sent to Europe to negotiate a loan. But, having somehow incurred disfavour with the Porte, he preferred to remain in Europe. He died in Biarritz on 9 Nov. 1873—1292/1875 according to *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*.

Dāwūd Pasha was described by a contemporary as an able statesman and administrator, a good linguist, and a lover of learning. Among other things, he was a member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences.

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DĀWŪDPŌTRĀS, a rival branch of the tribe to which also belonged the Kalhōrās, one time rulers of former Sind. They and the Kalhōrās both claimed descent from Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. The rulers of the former princely state of Bahāwalpūr, now merged with West Pakistan, belong to the Dāwūdpōtrās, who unlike their collaterals, the Kalhōrās, take pride in calling themselves the ʿAbbāsīs. Their claim to nobility and high birth appears, however, based more on tradition, hallowed through a long period of rulership and authority, than on unimpeachable information derived from reliable sources.

The genealogical tables, contained in some of the local Persian histories, such as the *Mir'at-i dawlat-i ʿAbbāsī* and the *Djawāhir-i ʿAbbāsiyya*, are defective and on close examination appear to have been hastily composed at the behest of royalty. However, some references in the older and more authentic works like the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, (i, 825) show that both the Dāwūdpōtrās and the Kalhōrās were commonly believed to be the descendants of al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*].

The common ancestor of both the Kalhōrās and the Dāwūdpōtrās, of whom something is known to history, is believed to be one Muḥammad Čannēy Khān (variants: Čaynay Khān, Čīnā Khān, Čannī Khān, Djīhna *alias* Čīnah Khān), whose father Ḳā'im is said to have migrated to Sind from Iran *via* Kēč-Mukrān in c. 259/873, long before the advent of the Ghaznawids in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. But this date is both doubtful and improbable. Most of the works make no mention of Ḳā'im. They instead mention one Miyān Odhānā, who is said to have lived the life of a *shaykh* with numerous followers. In the fifth generation from him was one Thull Khān (Fatḥ Allāh Khān?) whose son, Bhallā Khān (Bahā' Allāh Khan?) was the father of Čannēy Khān. Čannēy Khān was succeeded to the tribal chieftainship by his sons Muḥammad Mahdī and Dāwūd Khān, the latter inheriting a copy of the Ḳur'ān, the *tasbīḥ* (rosary) and the prayer-carpet (*muṣallā*) belonging to his father; while the family-sword and his turban fell to the share of Muḥammad Mahdī whose descendants came to be known as the Kalhōrās after his son, Ibrāhīm *alias* Kalhōrē Khān.

As a result of family feuds, Dāwūd Khān I had to leave the place and shift for himself. He is stated to have founded a new settlement near the town of Wāndjī, now untraceable. He was followed by his son, Maḥmūd Khān and grandson Muḥammad Khān as the leaders of the tribe. During the chieftainship of Dāwūd Khān II, a son of Muḥammad Khān, the tribe had greatly multiplied and felt the need to enlarge its territory. The descendants and retainers of this Dāwūd Khān II came to be known as the Dāwūdpōtrās irrespective of the fact whether they were the issue of his body or had only spiritual or temporal attachment with him. This explains the fact why certain families of purely Sindhī origin, mainly engaged in the weaving profession and living in the Shikārpūr and Dādū districts of West Pakistan, still proudly call themselves Dāwūdpōtrās. Some foreign writers (for instance, R. F. Burton, *A History of Scinde*, London 1850, 410), not fully acquainted with the origins of the Dāwūdpōtrās, were led to believe that the Dāwūdpōtrās as a tribe were of indigenous origin and weavers by profession. In according recognition as equal members to all those who did not belong to the family or the clan of Dāwūd Khan II, the Dāwūdpōtrās simply revived the old Arab custom of admitting manumitted slaves (*mawālī*) into the family fold or the clan. The prevalence of this Arab custom among them also lends support to their claim to being of Arab stock and descent.

Dāwūd Khān II was followed by eight chiefs, of whom only Bahādur Khān II deserves mention. He is credited with having laid the foundations of the town of Shikārpūr in 1026/1617. The dates of birth and death of all the Dāwūdpōtrā chiefs who preceded Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Khān I (1136/1723-1159/1746), the founder of the House of Bahāwalpūr [*q.v.*], are practically unknown, none of them being important enough for history to record his annals.

One of the Dāwūdpōtrā chiefs, Mubārak Khān I, assisted the Mughal prince Muʿizz al-Dīn, a grandson of Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr, and the then *ṣūbadār* of Multān [*q.v.*] and Lahore [*q.v.*], in crushing the uprising of the Mīrānīs, a powerful Balūč tribe of Dēra Ghāzī Khān, in 1114/1702. As a reward for this military assistance, the towns of Shikārpūr, Bakhtiyārpūr and Khānpūr were granted to him as a *djāgīr*. The town of Shikārpūr became thereafter the seat of his clan. Most of his time was spent in fighting fraternal battles against the rival Kalhōrā chief, Yār Muḥammad Khān *alias* Khudā-Yār Khān. A grim battle lasting over a week was fought in which both the sides lost heavily. Contemporary accounts show that the Dāwūdpōtrās suffered grievously and had to seek for a truce. It was purely a faction fight, a dynastic feud, which determined the future course of events. Coupled with subsequent encounters between the rival factions this battle

culminated in the separation and demarcation of their respective spheres of influence and control.

The Dāwūdpōtrās, in the final phase, emerged successful, as they were able to conserve and consolidate their hard-won possessions, while their rivals, the Kalhōrās, were ousted by the Tālpūrs who, in their turn, gave way to the British when the latter occupied Sind in 1842, seven years before the annexation of the Pandjāb and the termination of the short-lived Sikh rule. Mubārak Khān I abdicated in 1136/1723 in favour of his son Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Khān ʿAbbāsī I and died three years later in 1139/1726. An ambitious ruler, he first annexed Uččh [*q.v.*] followed by a part of the Mughal *sūba* of Multān and the fort of Ḍērāwar, wrested from Rāwal Akhī Singh of Djaysalmēr, whose forefathers had held it for long. In 1152/1739 when Nādir Shāh Afshār invaded India, Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Khān I waited on him at Dērā Ghāzī Khān, and was granted the title of *Nawwāb*. In addition to what he had added to his possessions by the sword he was granted the *parganahs* of Sīwastān and Lārkāna. In 1159/1746 Shikārpūr, his ancestral home, was attacked by the rival Kalhōrā chief, Khudāyār Khān. Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Khān lost his life in the contest, and was succeeded by Muḥammad Bahāwal Khān I who, the very next year, founded some towns including that of Bahāwalpūr, which ultimately gave its name to the state. It was during the rule of Bahāwal Khān I that the state came to command respect and gained in political stature. The irrigation canals dug under his orders opened up a new era of prosperity for the otherwise arid regions of the state of Bahāwalpūr. Meanwhile the power of the Dāwūdpōtrās continued to increase. On the death of Bahāwal Khān I in 1163/1749 Muḥammad Mubārak Khān II was unanimously elected by the Dāwūdpōtrās to succeed him. In 1165/1751 Djahān Khān Pōpalzaʾi, the commander-in-chief of the Durrānī forces, first attacked Uččh and then marched on Bahāwalpūr at the instance of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān Khākwānī, the leaseholder of Dēra Ghāzī Khān. A pitched battle was fought near Khānpūr which resulted in the rout of the enemy, and Bhāwalpūr gained in stature. In 1173/1759 Rāwal Rāy Singh of Djaysalmēr surrendered the border fort of Ḍērāwar which had been recaptured from the Amīr of Bahāwalpūr. Two years later Ghulām Shāh Kalhōrā, the ruler of Sind, who several times in the past had received help from the ruler of Bahāwalpūr, attacked the state timing his invasion with the onslaught of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī [*q.v.*], banking on the confusion that was to prevail in the wake of the Afghān king's invasion. He had to be appeased by surrendering Ghulām Shāh's brother, ʿIṭr Khān, who had taken refuge in Bahāwalpūr, after an unsuccessful attempt against the former.

On his death in 1186/1772 he was succeeded by Muḥammad Djaʿfar Khān, his nephew, who on accession at the age of 12 years assumed the title of Bahāwal Khān II. In 1191/1777 Multān was lost to the Sikhs and was never recovered thereafter. In 1194/1780 Shāh ʿĀlam II, Emperor of Delhi, honoured him with a *khilʿat* and bestowed on him the titles of Rukn al-Dawla, Nuṣrat Djang, Ḥāfiẓ al-Mulk. In 1201/1785 Tīmūr Shāh Durrānī attacked the Nawwāb's principality, and captured and plundered the town of Bahāwalpūr which was subsequently set on fire and destroyed. The fortress of Ḍērāwar was also captured and garrisoned with Durrānī troops. Tīmūr Shāh even carried away his son, prince Mubārak Khan ʿAbbāsī, as a hostage and set him up as the ruler of the state virtually deposing Bahāwal Khān II. Tīmūr Shāh was so severe in his punishment that he also carried away to Kābul the cannon captured from Bahāwalpūr. Till 1203/1788 Bahāwal Khān II was engaged in mopping-up operations against the Durrānīs having earlier placed prince Mubārak Khān, on his return to Bahāwalpūr, under detention.

The threat of Durrānī invasion to his possessions over, he turned to aggression and began to annex the neighbouring areas. His territorial ambitions aroused the suspicions of Makhdūm Ḥāmid Gandj Bakhsh of Uččh, a descendant of Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī [*q.v.*] who, in close collaboration with the neighbouring chiefs, revolted in 1214/1799 against the Nawwāb and defied attempts at his capture. He also incited the ruler of Bīkānēr to invade the state, set prince Mubārak Khān free, and proclaimed him the Nawwāb. After some sharp encounters with the rebels and their confederates, the state forces under prince ʿAbd Allāh Khān (afterwards known as Nawwāb Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Khān II), succeeded in restoring peace. The disgruntled Makhdūm, who wielded considerable influence in the state, again rebelled in 1221/1806 at the instance of Shāh Shudjāʿ al-Mulk of Kābul. This attempt also failed and two years later the Nawwāb entered into a treaty of friendship with the British Government. Thereafter complete peace prevailed in the state and people from Lahore, Dihlī, Dēra Ghāzī Khān and Multān, etc., who felt insecure under the Sikh rule and the disturbed conditions in India, migrated to Bahāwalpūr.

On the death of Bahāwal Khān in 1805 he was succeeded by his son ʿAbd Allāh Khān, in supersession to his elder brother, prince Wāḥid Bakhsh, who was put to death. As already mentioned, ʿAbd Allāh Khān assumed the title of Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Khān II, on his accession. The greater part of his reign of 15 years (he died in 1825) was spent in either repelling the attacks of the Amīrs of Sind, suppressing the rebellions of his own *umarā*ʾ or defending his conquered territories. Among other notable events of his reign was the capture of Dēra Ghāzī Khān in 1234/1818 by Shāh Shudjāʿ with the military assistance provided by the Amīr himself. The very next year he was, however, dispossessed by Randjīt Singh, the ruler of Lahore, who made over Ḍēra Ghāzī Khān (see ḌĒRADJĀT) to the Amīr of Bahāwalpūr in consideration of an annual sum of 250,000 rupees. During the rule of his successor, Raḥīm Yār Khān entitled Muḥammad Bahāwal Khān III (1825-52), Dēra Ghāzī Khān along with Muẓaffargarh and Multān were irretrievably lost to Bahāwalpūr, having been conquered in 1235/1819 by the French military adventurer, General Ventura, for his Sikh master, Randjīt Singh. The Nawwāb wreaked his vengeance by providing a contingent 23,000 strong to the British for the capture of Multān, which fell in 1848 to Herbert Edwardes, the founder of Bannū [*q.v.*], and was annexed to the dominions of the East India Company.

On his death in 1852 he was succeeded by Saʿādat Yār Khān, entitled Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Khān III. The latter's coronation ceremony was performed by the Makhdūm of Uččh, a happy result of the reconciliation reached between the ruling family and the head of the most powerful spiritual group in the state. His harsh treatment of his brothers caused the eldest, prince Ḥādjdjī Khān, to rise against him. Subsequently Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad

Khān was deposed and imprisoned in a grain silo in the fort of Dērāwar. A small allowance was later settled on him and he was deported to Lahore, where he lies buried. Ḥādjdjī Khān assumed the title of Fatḥ Khān, but soon alienated the support of the Dāwūdpōtrās, who continued to intrigue unsuccessfully against him. He died, after a rule of five years, in 1858. He was followed by Raḥīm Yār Khān entitled Muḥammad Bahāwal Khān IV (1858-66), whose otherwise uneventful reign was marred by internal disturbances and commotions culminating in his death through poisoning. He was succeeded by his minor son, Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Khān IV. On attaining his majority in 1879 he was formally invested with the ruling powers by the Government of British India, the state having accepted British paramountcy in 1849 on the annexation of the Pandjāb. Close on his accession the Dāwūdpōtrās broke out into a rebellion which was, however, ruthlessly suppressed and its leader put to death.

During the minority of the ruler the state was administered by the Chief Political Officer and Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Pandjāb for Bahawalpur Affairs. A very popular ruler, he was known as "Ṣubḥ-i Ṣādiḳ". The 'Shāhdjahān' of the House of Bahāwalpūr, he constructed a number of beautiful palaces, in the construction of which foreign and local artisans were employed. Of these, two, the Ṣādiḳ-Gaṙh Palace and the Nūr Maḥall Palace, deserve mention.

He was succeeded in 1899 by Mubārak Khān, entitled Muḥammad Bahāwal Khān V, a lad of 16 years and the first Bahāwalpūr prince to have received education at the Aitchison College, Lahore. He died in the prime of youth in 1907 at Aden while on his way back home from a pilgrimage to Mecca.

He was succeeded by his infant son, Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Khān V (1907-56), then only three years old. During his minority, the affairs of the state were managed by a Council of Regency presided over by the late Mawlawī Sir Raḥīm Bakhsh, a native of Ṫhaskā Mīrāndjī (Gurāhm) near Ambālā. His efficient administration, anxiety for public weal combined with piety and philanthropy won him much admiration. In 1947 Bahāwalpūr acceded to Pākistān and rendered much useful service to the new state, especially in the rehabilitation of the uprooted refugees from India, who were then pouring in in large numbers. In 1956 the state of Bahāwalpūr ceased to exist as an independent unit when it was merged with West Pākistān, on the creation of the One Unit.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ḌAYʿA, plu. *ḍiyāʿ*, estate. The word can mean generally a rural property of a certain size, but is understood in a more precise sense in fiscal contexts. It is known that at the time of the Conquests the local people were left in possession of their lands, subject to their paying the *kharādj*; it was later understood that the conversion of the landowner would not change the fiscal status of the land. In contradistinction to the *kharādj* lands there were the original properties of the Arabs, especially in Arabia, and the grants made in favour of notables or their dependents by the Caliphs from public property, the *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* (the plural of *ḳaṭīʿa*) [see *iḳṭāʿ*]: in practice, the primitive *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* were assimilated into the Arab properties. These were not subject to the native taxes, but the Muslim had to pay out of the revenues that he drew therefrom the *zakāt*, comparable in land matters to the tithe *ʿushr* [*q.v.*]. It was the group of tithe-lands which came to be called *ḍiyāʿ*, whatever the origin of the land, and which appertained in fiscal matters to a *Dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ* as distinct from the *Dīwān al-kharādj*. It inevitably came about that some great landowners might possess numerous *ḍiyāʿ*, but the term *ḍayʿa* means not the group but each estate, the extent of which is sometimes less and rarely more than the area of a village. It was not unknown for the owner of a *ḍayʿa* to be a notable living on the estate, but usually they were rural properties owned by townspeople. During the first centuries of Islam, *ḳaṭīʿa* and *ḍayʿa* described different aspects of the same thing; when, later on, it became customary to distribute to the soldiers, as *iḳṭāʿ*, the *kharādj* of certain districts, in time amounting to the quasi-possession of those districts, the term *ḍayʿa* became distinct from this new *iḳṭāʿ* and continued to describe only estates of the old sort, now mostly in the hands of "civilians".

It follows from this that the holder of the *ḍayʿa* was not usually its cultivator. He maintained on the land, appointing a bailiff (*wakīl*) for their management, some peasants, usually share-croppers [see MUZĀRAʿA]. Here it must be understood that the rents payable by the *muzāriʿ* being of the same order as the taxes payable by the possessor of *kharādj* land, the real difference of status between the two categories of land rests less in an inequality in peasant conditions at the bottom—otherwise it would be difficult to explain why there was no migration from one to the other—than in the social hierarchy which required the fiscal revenues of the *kharādj* to go directly and entirely to the State, whilst on the tithe-lands the peasant rents went for the greater part to the holder of the *ḍayʿa*, who passed on to the State only a small part (a fifth in the case of the half crop of a *muzāraʿa*). The social rôle of the formation of the *ḍiyāʿ* was to ensure the existence of an aristocracy. The real difference between the *kharādj* lands and the tithe-lands faded in this respect as the practice developed of granting to local chiefs the levying of taxes on their subjects, on condition that they made an outright payment

to the State (*muḳāṭaʿa*), or to soldiers the right to the taxes of certain districts, on condition that they paid the tithe (usually a fifth of the *kharādj*) to the State (later, without any further payment). Certainly in law the holder of these revenues was not the landowner but in fact the difference gradually diminished, and many *ḍiyāʿ* were in fact enlarged by the surrounding lands through the workings of the practice of recommendation, *ildjā'* [*q.v.*]. The theory moreover, recognizing of necessity past encroachments, permitted the Caliph in the public interest to convert *kharādj* lands into tithe-lands.

The biggest owner of *ḍiyāʿ* during the ʿAbbāsid epoch was the Caliph himself, whose *ḍiyāʿ* were called *khāṣṣa*; then came the princes of the Caliph's family, the amīrs of the army, the heads of the administration and afterwards the merchants and other well-to-do citizens who had put a part of their savings in landed property; in general, very few of the notables lived in the country itself. On the other hand the estates directly maintained by the State (*sulṭāniyya, dīwāniyya*) were likewise divided into *ḍiyāʿ*; according to the state of the budget they could be disposed of, recovered, rounded off, or new estates created from land formerly uncultivated; no doubt this is the explanation of the formula *ḍiyāʿ mustaḥdatha* which is found in the ʿAbbāsid budgets; occasionally there is added the group of estates sequestrated from a very great official, such as the *furātiyya* of the *wazīr* Ibn al-Furāt, which were usually left to the management of an *ad hoc dīwān*, and even restored to its former owner in case of a turn of fortune. The allocation of the *ḍiyāʿ* obviously did not correspond to the original distribution, since in most cases they could be freely transmitted by inheritance, or sold (which seems to have been common), or transformed into *waḳf*, etc.; the only ones not to enjoy this were those which were a result of an *iḳṭāʿ-ṭuʿma*, given with a life-title, or those attached to the discharge of a temporary office.

Bibliography: See BAYT AL-MĀL, KHAṢṢ, IḲṬĀʿ, ʿUSHR. It is impossible to give here all the sources in which *ḍiyāʿ* occur, judicial, chronological, geographical etc. Many references will be found in Fr. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, by consulting the word *ḍayʿa* in the index. See also A. von Kremer, *Das Einnahmebudget des Abbasiden Reiches v. Jahre* 306 *H.*, in *Denkschr. K. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien*, xxxvi, 1888, especially 292 ff., and ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Dūrī, *Ta'rīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-iḳtiṣādī*, Baghdād 1948, chap. ii. (CL. CAHEN)

DAYBUL (Dēbal or Dēwal), the ancient port-town of Sind, which contained a *dēwal* (temple) of *al-budd* (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, Cairo ed., 442), situated on the mouth of a creek (*al-khawr*) and to the west of the Mihrān, *i.e.*, the Indus, was the first place to fall to Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*], who led a punitive expedition against Rādjā Dāhir, the ruler of Sind, in 92/711-12, who was alleged to have connived at an act of piracy committed at Daybul on some boats carrying Muslim men and women on their way to Mecca and ʿIrāḳ from Ceylon. A flourishing town, a centre of sea-borne commerce and trade, it was inhabited largely by traders and artisans belonging mostly to the Mēd tribe. Two earlier attempts by the Arabs under ʿUbayd Allāh b. Nabhān and Budayl b. Ṭahfa al-Badjalī to conquer Daybul by sea having ended in failure, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim decided to march against it by the land-route. His plans met with success, the *mandjanīḳ*, used by the Arabs for the first time in India, proving an effective weapon of war. The tower of Daybul, surmounted by a dome 40 yds. high from which flew a huge red flag, overshadowing the entire town, housed a Buddhist *stūpa* (*manārat al-budd*) or the *dēwal*, after which, it appears, the town itself came to be known as Dēwal (Dēbal, pronounced by the Arabs as Daybul). A huge stone hurled by the *mandjanīḳ* wrought havoc with the tower and brought it down with a thundering crash. The post and the gigantic flag, considered by the local population as a symbol of impregnability, fell to the ground. After the fall of the town Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim offered liberal terms to the vanquished non-Muslims and assured them of full protection as *dhimmīs*. He also built a mosque, the first to be constructed on the soil of Sind, and settled 4,000 Arab families in a new quarter, built by him. The ruined *stūpa* remained in a state of neglect and disrepair for a long time until it was partially restored and converted into a prison-house by ʿAnbasa b. Isḥāḳ al-Ḍabbī, governor of Daybul under al-Wāthiḳ Bi'llāh [*q.v.*], about 232/846.

According to the Arabic chronicles (Ṭabarī, *sub anno*, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam* v/2, 143) a terrible earthquake destroyed a large part of the town in 280/893, at the same time killing many thousands of the inhabitants. The town, however, survived the catastrophe and seems to have been rebuilt as it was long in existence thereafter having been visited, among others, in as late as c. 637/1239 by Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī [*q.v.*], who strangely enough refers to the old practice of the wealthy classes of Daybul of indulging in acts of piracy and buccaneering. In 618/1221 Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārizm-shāh after his defeat at the hands of the Tātars came to Sind, attacked and captured Daybul and built a Djāmiʿ Masdjid there on the site of an idol-temple. This means that even in the 7th/13th century idolatry was prevalent in Daybul and that there was a considerable number of non-Muslims residing there.

Various attempts have been made to identify and locate the ruined city of Daybul but they have met with little success. The description of the town, as given by Arab writers and travellers, beyond supplying useful information on the past glory of the town, has been of little use otherwise. The Pakistan Archaeological Department undertook large-scale excavations for the first time in 1958 at the site of Bhambōr, another ruined city, presumed by some scholars to be the original town of Daybul. But the uncovered topography of the Bhambōr mound and the archaeological finds so far (1960) discovered there have failed to provide any conclusive evidence that the ruins of Bhambōr are those of Daybul. Iṣṭakhrī makes separate mention of the town of Daybul and the idol temple of Bahamburā (Bhambōr).

During the early part of Muslim occupation it was a great centre of culture and learning and al-Samʿānī (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*, fol. 236 b) and Yāḳūt mention a large number of traditionists who flourished here.

The destruction of Daybul, its probable causes and the subsequent total disappearance of the town, despite its large size, a big population and its having been in existence till a very late date, are problems which have so far defied all attempts at a satisfactory solution.

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al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿs͟hā*, v : 64; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 372; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtaḳ* (extracts), ʿAlīgaŕh 1954, 28; Abdul Hamid Khan, *Towns of Pakistan*, Karachi n.d., 59-69; *Journal of the Sind Historical Society*, May 1934, 3 ff.; J. McMurdo in *JASB*, 1834; Sulayman Nadwī in *JPakHS*, i, 1953, 8-14; N. B. Baloch, *The most probable location of Daibul, the first Arab settlement in Sind*, in *Dawn*, Karachi, February (4, 18), 1951; D̲j̲uwaynī, ii, 94, 142-8; D̲j̲uwaynī-Boyle, ii, 411 ff.; Sidi Ali Reis, *Travels and Adventures*, London 1899, 38; *Čačnāma* (ed. U. M. Daudpota), Dihlī 1358/1936, 89-91, 100-10; al-Bīrūnī, *Ḳānūn-Masʿūdi*, Ḥaydarābād 1955, ii, 552; *Marāṣid al-ʿIṭṭilāʿ*, Tehrān 1310/184; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ* 432, 435-8, 443; Le Strange 331; H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta 1925, 124 ff.; Elliot and Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867, index; H. G. Raverty, *The Mihran of Sind*, Calcutta 1892 (special issue of *JASB*); M. R. Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, London 1894, 42 ff.; J. Abbot, *Sind*, Oxford 1924, 43-55; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb mā li 'l-Hind* (transl. E. Sachau, London 1914, 205, 208, 260, 316; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 330-1, 345-6, 448; Ṭabarī, i, 868; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Taʾrīk̲h̲* (Cairo ed.), iv, 257-8: Minhād̲j̲-i Sirād̲j̲, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* (transl. Raverty, i, 294, 295 *n*, 452 *n2*; D̲j̲awālīḳī, *Muʿarrab*, 67; Muḥammad Ṭāhir Nasyānī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭāhirī* (MS), Muḳaddasī, 481-4; *TA*, under the root *D'B'L*; N. B. Baloch, *The most probable site of Debal....*, in *IC*, xxvi/3, 1952, 35-49.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

DAYDABĀN, from Persian *dīdebān*, a term applied at different times to certain categories of sentinels, watchmen, inspectors, etc. It already appears as the name of a profession in the *Rasāʾil Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafā* (8th *risāla* of 1st series, ed. Cairo, i, 210; cf. *IC*, 1943, 147), together with the *Nāṭūr*. In classical Ottoman usage the term, pronounced *Dīdebān*, was applied to the Customs-house guards, whose chief was the *Dīdebān bas̲h̲ī*. It was also given to the watchmen on the fire-towers in Istanbul, as well as to naval and military look-outs.

Bibliography: Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 481; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilâtından Kapıkulu Ocakları*, i, Ankara 1943, 394; M. Z. Pakalın, i, 450. (Ed.)

ḌAYF. From the basic meaning "to incline towards, to set (of the sun), swerve, glance off (of an arrow)", the verbal root comes to mean "to turn aside (from one's road)" and "to halt, on a visit to someone", whence for the noun the sense of "guest"; the meaning "host"—recalling the ambivalence of the French *hôte*—also occurs, but very much later, as indicated by Dozy, *Suppl.* ('maître de maison'). The social implications of the right to protection were earlier associated with the word *d̲j̲ār* [*q.v.*], the corresponding Hebrew word *gēr* (but not exactly parallel; see D̲J̲IWĀR) attesting the same Semitic institution. It is curious that the root of this word shows the some semantic derivation from "deviate" to "descend, stay with someone". For a short bibliography, see DAK̲H̲ĪL. (J. Lecerf)

DAYÎ, Turkish word meaning "maternal uncle", which seems to have been used to designate official functions only in the Regencies of Algiers and Tunis. It probably began as a sort of honorific title (comparable to the word *alp*, used by the ancient Turks), and must have been difficult to acquire, as its bearer had to have demonstrated his prowess on land and sea in the Mediterranean (Pakalın, i, 407-8). This usage would conflict with the legend in which the father of the Barbarossas is supposed to have told his sons to obey K̲h̲ayr al-Din [*q.v.*] for "he will be your day" (Venture de Paradis, *Alger au XVIIIe siècle*, in *RA*, 1896, 257).

Another use of the honorific title was to designate a lower rank in the Janissary militia; towards the end of the 10th/16th century in Tunis, the name was born by the heads of the 40 sections of the militia. In 1591 these *dayî*s elected one of their number to the command of the army; this supreme *dayî* held the whole of the power in the Regency of Tunis, at least from 1594, allowing the *beylerbeyi-pas̲h̲a* to remain in office but with only nominal power (Pierre Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie et de ses Corsaires*, Paris 1637, 144-5). Ḥamūda b. Murād, when he came into power in 1640 allowed the title of *dayî* to continue, but the person who bore it was no longer the head of the Regency, even if he remained one of its highest dignitaries.

After 1705, the word *dayî* is no longer to be found among the titles conferred by the Ḥusaynid sovereigns, but still appears in the Tunisian hierarchy, in the ninth rank, according to Muhammad Bayrām al-K̲h̲āmis al-Tūnusī (*Safwat al-Iʿtibār*, Cairo 1302/1885, ii, 2-3); it is found in several diplomatic documents of the eighteenth century, particularly in the treaties drawn up between the Regency of Tunis and France on 16th December, 1710, 9th November, 1742, and 4 Ventôse, Year X. The word at that time referred to a high judicial officer. It seems to have continued up to the middle of the 19th century.

In Algiers, after 1671, when the Corsair Captains took over the power of the Ag̲h̲as (see art. ALGERIA (ii) (2), the title of *dayî* was borne by the head of the Regency. This was not yet the case at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Pierre Dan was in Algiers.

Elected at first by the company (*ṭāʾifa*) of corsair masters, the *dayî* was elected by the officers of the army after 1689. Thirty *dayî*s succeeded each other in power between 1671 and 1830. In theory their power was limited by the control of the *dīwān* of the militia; in fact if the *dayî* had a strong personality, he enjoyed an absolute power.

The *dayî* resided in Algiers, first in the palace of the D̲j̲anīna, on the site where the archbishop's palace now stands, then after 1816, in the fortress called the Ḳaṣba, which dominates the Muslim town. The private life of the ruling *dayî* was strictly regulated: he lived apart from his family, except on Thursday afternoons and the night of Thursday/Friday, which he could spend in his private house. No woman could enter his palace, except for a public audience. He was entitled only to the high pay of a Janissary and to allocations of provisions, but he received numerous presents as well, so that several *dayî*s amassed considerable fortunes. Fourteen of them died a violent death.

Bibliography: No books or articles are specially concerned with the function of *dayî*; some scattered information can be found in sources or studies relating to the Turkish regencies of Algiers and Tunis. (R. Le Tourneau)

DAYLAM, geographically speaking, the highlands of Gīlān [*q.v.*]. In the south, the lowlands of Gīlān proper are bounded by the Alburz range; the latter forms here a crescent, the eastern horn of which comes close to the Caspian coast (between Lāhīd̲j̲ān and Čālūs). In the centre of the crescent there is a gap through which the Safīd-rūd, formed on the central Iranian plateau, breaks through

towards the Caspian Sea. Before entering the gorge at Mandjīl the river, flowing here from west to east, receives a considerable tributary, the Shāh-rūd, which, rising in the district of Ṭālaḳān and flowing east to west, skirts the southern face of the Alburz wall. On its southern side the basin of the Shāh-rūd is separated by a line of hills from the plain of Ḳazwīn [*q.v.*], while on its right side it is fed by a number of streams flowing down the southern slopes of the Alburz. The principal of these tributaries is that watering the valley of Alamūt [*q.v.*]. The valleys of the Shāh-rūd and its tributaries seems to be the cradle of the Daylamite tribe. Though belonging to the basin of the great river of Gīlān (the Safīd-rūd), 'Daylam proper' (*al-Daylam al-maḥḍ*) is in fact separated from it by the Alburz wall. The Daylamites also occupied the northern slopes of the mountain and its ramifications stretching towards the sea (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*), and Daylam formed here a wedge between Gīlān and Ṭabaristān [*qq.v.*].

While Gīlān is marshy and unhealthy but highly fertile, the highlands of Daylam, much less favoured by nature, were inhabited by a robust and enterprising race of men ready to emigrate or serve abroad. The geographical term 'Daylam' followed the destinies of the Daylamite expansion in the 4th/10th century, and came to comprise many other neighbouring lands (see below).

The ancient period. The remote origins of the Daylamites are uncertain. They probably belonged to a pre-Iranian stock. The name of the peak of Dulfak (or Dalfak), which rises on the right bank of the Safīd-rūd gorge to the north-east of Mandjīl, has been compared to the name of the ancient tribe of Δρίβυκες. The name of the Daylamites is known to many classical writers. In the 2nd century B. C. Polybius, v, 44, mentions the northern neighbours of Media: *Δελυμαῖοι, *Ἀναρίακαι, ('non-Aryans'), Καδούσιοι, Ματιάνοι. In the 2nd century A.D., Ptolemy, vi, 2, places *Δελυμαῖς to the north of Choromithrene (Khʷār-u Waramīn, to the south-east of Rayy), and to the west of the Tapuri (Ṭabaristān). On the Iranian side the information begins to emerge only in Sāsānian times. Before the decisive victory of Ardashīr the Sāsānian over Ardavān the Arsacid the latter is said to have mobilized "the troops of Rayy, Damāwand, Daylamān, and Patishkhʷārgar" (*Kārnāmak-i Artakhshīr*, tr. Nöldeke, 47). This would suggest Arsacid influence established among the population of the southern face of the Alburz range. At first the Sāsānians treated the Daylamites with caution (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 126) but gradually the latter became conspicuous both in the army and at the court. Kāwādh sent an expedition against Iberia (Georgia) under the command of a "Persian" whose name Boēs (**Bōya*) and title Οὐαρίζης (**wahriz*) point, however, to his Daylamite connexions (see Procopius, *De bello persico*, i, 14). Under Khusraw Anūshīrwān a detachment of Daylamites is mentioned (ca. 552 A.D.) at the siege of Archeopolis (now Tsikhe-Godji) in Lazica where they were used as expert cragsmen, while the Turkic Sabirs were leading the frontal attack (see Procopius, *De bello gothico*, iv, 14 ed. Dindorff, 529-30). A few years later the Daylamites carried out an unsuccessful night attack on another corps of Sabirs employed by the Byzantines (see Agathias, iii, 17) According to Procopius, the "Dolomites" lived in inaccessible mountains; they were never subjects of the kings of Persia, and served them only as mercenaries. They fought on foot, each man being armed with a sword and a shield, and carrying three javelins (*acontia*) in his hands, which corresponds to the later Islamic descriptions.

Khusraw I's famous expedition to the Yemen (ca. 570 A.D.) consisted of 800 prisoners from Daylam and neighbouring places, and was led by an old man, also released from prison, bearing the title of *wahriz* [*q.v*]. When under Kāwādh and Khusraw the passes of the Caucasus were fortified and military colonies settled near them, the names of the latter reflected their origin from Daylam and its neighbourhood (see below, Toponymy). The conspiracy against Khusraw's successor Hurmizd IV, which resulted in his overthrow in 590 A.D., was led by Zoanab, the chief of the "Dilimitic" people (Theophylactus Simocatta, iv, 3, 1).

Daylam and the Arabs. During the Arab invasion the Daylamites took up an indecisive position when the people of Ḳazwīn invoked their help, but, supported by the people of Rayy, they opposed Nuʿmān b. Muḳarrin sent by the caliph ʿUmar. The Daylamites, led by their king (chief?) Mūtā (or Mūrthā), were defeated on the river Wādj in Dastabay (*Dasht-pay, *i.e.*, the "edge of the plain" stretching between Rayy and Hamadān) (Ṭabarī, i, 265 (*sub* 22/642)). Balādhurī, 317-25, and other historians mention seventeen Muslim expeditions into Daylam, from the time of ʿUmar I to that of al-Maʾmūn, which were reflected in Arabic poems (see Kasrawī, 4-20). The poet Aʿshā Hamdān (d. 83/702) was kept a prisoner by the Daylamites, though the place-names he quotes (Ḳ.līsm, Ḳayūl, Ḥāmin, Lahzamīn) seem to refer to the region of Damāwand (Wīma?). Nevertheless Daylam preserved its independence. The Muslim strongholds against them were in the south: Ḳazwīn; and in the north-east, on the frontier of Ṭabaristān: the fortifications on the rivers Kalār and Čālūs.

Language and religion. The name of the king Mūtā (?) sounds unusual, but when in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Daylamite chiefs appear on the stage in large numbers, their names are clearly pagan Iranian, not of the south-western "Persian" type, but of the north-western variety: thus Gōrāngēdj (not Kūrānkīdj, as formerly deciphered) corresponds to Persian *gōr-angēz* "chaser of wild asses", Shēr-zil to *shēr-dil* "lion's heart", etc. Iṣṭakhrī, 205, distinguishes between Persian and Daylamī and adds that in the highlands of Daylam there was a tribe that spoke a language different from that of Daylam and Gīlān.

There may have been some Zoroastrians and Christians in Daylam, but practically nothing is known about the pagan creed of the Daylamites. According to Bīrūnī, (*al-Āthār*, 224) they followed the law established by the mythical Afrīdūn who ordered men to be masters in their family and called them *kadhkhudhā*. Rather enigmatically Bīrūnī adds that this institution was abrogated by the ʿAlid *al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh (see below) and thus they reverted to the condition in which people were living in the time of the tyrant Ḍaḥḥāk Bīwarāsp, when "devils and demons" (*al-shayāṭīn wa 'l-marada*) dwelt in their houses and they were powerless against them.

Apart from the *kadhkhudhā*s exercising the rights of *pater familias*, the Daylamites had their local rulers of whose existence we can judge by such titles as *Wardān-shāh*, *wahriz* (cf. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.*, 78: *vahrič-i vahričay* "vahriz of Vahriz"), and even kings (see above, Mūtā). The rôle of the latter becomes clearer only in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. in connexion with their collaboration with the ʿAlids.

The ʿAlids. At an early date the mountain fastnesses of Daylam served as places of refuge for the ʿAlids who had been obliged to flee from the ʿAbbāsids. The earliest known refugee was Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh, whose two brothers had been executed and who himself joined a rebel brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He came to Daylam in 175/791, but soon surrendered to the Barmakid Faḍl b. Yaḥyā. It appears that in the meantime the caliph used pressure on the king of Daylam both by threats and by offers of money (cf. Ṭabarī, *anno* 176; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 462).

The Djustānids. When in 189/805 Hārūn arrived in Rayy he summoned the rulers of the Caspian region and let the lord of Daylam, Marzubān b. Djustān, go with a gift of money and a robe of honour; no payment of tribute is mentioned in this case, while such an obligation was imposed on the other kings. Although this is the first time that we hear of the family of Djustān, it is likely that the leniency of Hārūn had a connexion with the events of 175/791 when the same king (or his father?) must have been the ruler. Provisionally we can take Marzubān as the first in the list of the ruling *Banū Djustān*.

The next king known to us is Wahsūdān b. Djustān; the interval between Marzubān (who is mentioned in 189/805) and Wahsūdān (who was still living in 259/872, cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 188) is too great to consider them as brothers. The consensus (Justi, Vasmer, Kasrawī, Ḳazwīnī) is now to insert between them Djustān I (No. 2), putative son of No. 1, Marzubān, and father of No. 3, Wahsūdān. In fact under 201/816 Ṭabarī reports that ʿAbd Allāh b. Khurdadhbih in the course of his victorious campaign in Daylam captured a king called Abū Laylī. Laylī (or Līlī) is known in Daylam as a man's name (cf. the adventurer Laylī b. Nuʿmān), and the question is whether he is identical with Djustān (no. 2) or whether he was a usurper or a local ruler (of Lāhīdjān?).

The situation in Daylam becomes clearer with the advent on the frontier of Daylam of the line of Ḥasanid sayyids, clever politicians and able warriors who succeeded in involving the Daylamites in their struggles and schemes, although no obligation of professing Islam had yet been imposed on them.

Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd *al-dāʿī al-kabīr* (no. I) stood at the head of a rising in Čālūs and Kalār in 250/864 and protected the inhabitants against the Ṭāhirid governor who wished to appropriate the common lands which served for collecting fuel and as grazing grounds (Ṭabarī, iii, 1524). According to Iṣṭakhrī, 205, before the time of Ḥasan b. Zayd, Daylam had been considered as the 'territory of unbelief' (*Dār al-kufr*) from which slaves had been taken, but the ʿAlids had intervened on behalf of the Daylamites. Wahsūdān b. Djustān (no. 3) swore allegiance to Ḥasan b. Zayd, but soon after broke with him and died.

The *Taʾrīkh-i Djīl wa Daylam* (quoted by Djuwaynī, iii, 271) reports that in 246/860 a Djustānid began the construction of a building (*ʿimāra*) on Mt. Alamūt, in which the kings of Daylam took pride. It is more likely that this enterprise marked not the end of the long reign of Wahsūdān but the beginning of that of his energetic son Djustān II (no. 4). The latter invited the *dāʿī* to send his representatives to Daylam, and under the auspices of the ʿAlids took Rayy from the Ṭāhirids and occupied Ḳazwīn and Zandjān. In 253/867 the caliph al-Muʿtazz sent an army under Mūsā b. Bughā, who wiped out the successes of Djustān. In 259/872 the latter made a second, though unsuccessful, attempt to occupy Rayy, and continued to assist the *dāʿī* in his struggle against the Ṣaffārids. In 270/883 Ḥasan b. Zayd died and was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad b. Zayd, called *al-dāʿī al-ṣaghīr*, to whom also Djustān swore allegiance (no. II).

The worst experience befell Daylam ca. 276/889 when the Khurāsānian soldier of fortune Rāfiʿ b. Harthama, acting on behalf of the Sāmānids, ousted Muḥammad b. Zayd from Djurdjān. The *dāʿī* sought refuge in Daylam. The troops of Rāfiʿ occupied Čālūs, but the sayyid, assisted by Djustān, surrounded them. Then Rāfiʿ himself moved forward. Muḥammad b. Zayd retreated to Gīlān, while on the heels of Djustān Rāfiʿ marched from Čālūs to Talaḳān, and for three months (summer of 278/891) this region was plundered by the invaders. Djustān gave a promise not to assist the sayyid, and Rāfiʿ went on to occupy Ḳazwīn and Rayy (see Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 303, and Ibn Isfandiyār, ed. Eghbal, 252-4). In 279/892 Rāfiʿ, seeing himself threatened from many sides, suddenly swore allegiance to the *dāʿī* and returned Djurdjān to him, on the understanding that he would send him 4000 Daylamite stalwarts. By threats and promises the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr b. Layth prevented the *dāʿī* from helping Rāfiʿ and the latter had to flee to Khwārizm where he was killed in 283/November 896. Four years later (287/October 900) Muḥammad b. Zayd fell in a battle against a Sāmānid commander.

After a short interval the ʿAlid cause was taken up by the Ḥusaynid Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (Nāṣir al-Dīn, al-Thāʾir, al-Uṭrūsh "the deaf" (no. III), who despite the shortness of his reign (301-4/904-7) is regarded as the greatest of the ʿAlid rulers. According to Ṭabarī (iii, 2296) the world had never known such justice as that of al-Uṭrūsh. He had lived for thirteen years among the Daylamites, and succeeded in converting to the Zaydī creed a considerable number of people "between the farther (eastern) side of the Safīd-rūd and Āmul". To confirm this achievement al-Uṭrūsh had the fortifications of Čālūs razed to the ground. He was recognized by Djustān, and although their first campaign against the Sāmānids was a failure, the next year, after a pitched battle of forty days, the Sāmānids were driven out of the Caspian provinces.

The enigmatic phrase of Bīrūnī, referred to above, concerning Nāṣir's action in disrupting the ancient authority of the *kadhkhudhā* may hint at the influence of Islamic institutions which had established control over isolated households. Such a trend of events must have been resented by the Djustānids, and some historians (Awliyāʾ Āmulī, *Taʾrīkh-i Rūyān* (750/1349), ed. Tehran, 77; Ibn Wāṣil, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥī* in Dorn, *Muhamm. Quellen z. Gesch. d. Kasp. Meeres*, iv, 474) mention a period of struggles between Djustān and Nāṣir, though apparently before the latter's advent in 301/913. He died on 5 Shaʿbān 304/31 January 917, after having appointed as his successor his son-in-law, the Ḥasanid Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim (no. IV).

At about the same time, after a reign of forty years, Djustān was assassinated. The perpetrator of this crime was his brother ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān (no. 5), whom in 300/912 the ʿAbbāsids had already appointed their financial agent (*istaʿmala*) in Iṣfahān. He was dismissed in 304, but in 307/919 the ʿAbbāsid commander Muʾnis, who had just taken prisoner Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj, reappointed ʿAlī as the governor of Rayy, Ḳazwīn, and Zandjān. In the same year he

was killed in Ḳazwīn by Muḥammad b. Musāfir (Kangarī, or Sallārī, of the second Daylamite dynasty of Tārom), who being married to the clever Kharāsūya, daughter of Djustān b. Wahsūdān (no. 4) wished to avenge his father-in-law (not his "nephew", as in Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 76). With his political attitude, ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān could hardly have been recognized in the whole of Daylam. However, we learn that when the Ḥasanid Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim (the *dāʿī* no. IV) was captured in Ṭabaristān and delivered to ʿAlī to be sent to Baghdād, ʿAlī had him imprisoned in his "ancestral fortress" of Alamūt (see Ibn Isfandiyār, ed. Eghbal, 281). Immediately after ʿAlī's death, his other brother Khusraw Fīrūzān, who apparently had acted as ʿAlī's *locum tenens*, released the sayyid. Khusraw Fīrūzān (no. 6) marched against Ibn Musāfir but was killed by him. Khusraw's son Mahdī (no. 7) also took up arms against the Kangarid, but was defeated and took refuge with the new rising star of Daylam, Asfār b. Shīrōya or Shīrawayh [*q.v.*].

The epigons. With this event (ca. 315/927) ends our direct information about the Djustānids, but remnants of the dynasty may still have carried on, at least in a part of their dominions. When Ibn Musāfir had dealt with his Djustānid opponents (nos. 5, 6, 7), the former amīrs of the ʿAlids and Djustānids had already spread over the Iranian plateau, and Daylam proper lay at the mercy of Ibn Musāfir. In a report in which an official (some time before 379/989) summed up the history of Shamīrān (Tārom) for the Būyid minister Ibn ʿAbbād (see Yāḳūt, iii, 149-50, as explained by Kasrawī, i, 130-4), he states that the Musāfirid ruled over the whole of the mountainous *Ustāniya and (thus?) appropriated a part of Daylam, whereas the descendants of Wahsūdān (no. 3) b. Djustān had to content themselves with the region of *Lāʾidjiya. The same terms appear in the anti-Daylamite and pro-Turkish tract which the secretary Ibn Ḥassūl presented (ca. 450/1058) to al-Kundurī, the *wazīr* of Tughril-beg (see *Faḍāʾil al-Atrāk*, ed. ʿA. al-ʿAzzāwī, *Belleten*, iv/14-5, (1940) 31). Ibn Ḥassūl explains that *Ostān is the highlands, and *Lāʾidj (wrongly printed *Lāndj*) the lowlands of Daylam, the former being in the possession of the Wahsūdānid (here Kangarid) governors, and the latter in the possession of the Djustānid kings. These independent reports indicate that soon after the death of Djustān b. Wahsūdān (no. 4) his possessions were split up and the Wahsūdānids (here children of the *Kangarid* Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad of Tārom) had taken possession of the highlands of Daylam (presumably the "*ostān*", *i.e.*, "home, centre" of the Djustānids). The latter must have migrated to the neighbourhood of Lāhīdjān (*i.e.*, the coastal area of Daylam, of which ten districts are enumerated in the *Ḥudūd*).

On the contrary, when Sulṭān Tughril was operating near Ḳazwīn (Ibn al-Athīr, *anno* 434/1042) the king of Daylam appeared before him with a tribute; then separately Ibn al-Athīr mentions the submission of the *Salār* of Ṭarm (Tārom). We have to conclude either that the Djustānids had succeeded in reoccupying a part of their dominions, or that the tribute was paid by the Lāhīdjān branch. The latter surmise is more likely, for Nāṣir-i Khusraw in his *Safar-nāma* states that in 438/1046 a levy (*bādj*) was collected at the crossing of the Shāh-rūd (near its confluence with the Safīd-rūd) on behalf of the *amīr-i amīrān* who was "(one) of the kings of Daylamān". Nāṣir describes then his visit to Shamīrān whose ruler bore the title of "Marzubān al-Daylam Djīl-i Djīlān (*sic*) Abū Ṣāliḥ"; his name was Djustān Ibrāhīm and he possessed "many castles in Daylam". This must have been the great-grandson of Wahsūdān of Tārom (see MUSĀFIRIDS), and it appears as though the *bādj* on the Shāh-rūd was levied also in his name.

The story of the *dāʿīs* ends with the rule of the above-mentioned Ḥasanid Ḥasan b. Ḳāsim (no. IV), son-in-law (*khatn*) of al-Uṭrūsh. Although he was nominated by Nāṣir himself, struggles for the succession began between him and the sons of Nāṣir, and after the death of the latter the Daylamite amīrs, involved in complicated struggles, fought for their own supremacy. Ḥasan b. Ḳāsim was killed ca. 316/928 by Mardāwidj b. Ziyār, then the ally of Asfār b. Shīrōya.

Daylamite expansion. The result of the ʿAlids' activities was that the Daylamites, partly converted to the Zaydī creed, developed strong oppositionary tendencies with regard to the caliphate, and that in their numerous fights for the ʿAlids they greatly improved their military skill and became conscious of their strength. The revolts of the Sādjid Yūsuf b. Dīwdād (in 295/907 and in 304-7/916-9) and his final recall before his death in 315/928 opened the field for a chaotic succession in Rayy of Sāmānid governors, Turkish slaves, and ʿAlids of Daylam. An important branch of the Musāfirids of Tārom had expanded towards Ādharbaydjān and Transcaucasia (see Minorsky in *BSOAS*, xv/3, 1953, 514-29), while quite new elements appeared on the central plateau of Īrān: first Asfār b. Shīrōya who ca. 315/927 had proclaimed himself king, then the Ziyārids (316-434/928-1042), for a short time in Rayy in Iṣfahān, and later in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea whither they had had to withdraw under the impact of the more important Būyids [*q.v.*]. This period is known to us through such sources as Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 4-15; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse*; Ibn Isfandiyār, ed. Eghbal, 224-301, tr. Browne, 162-223; and such subsidiary mentions as are found in the historians of the Sāmānids, cf. Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*; Ibn Faḍlān, in his *Riḥla*, etc.

Having occupied the major part of the Iranian plateau (except Khurāsān held by the Sāmānids) the Būyids, who rose in 320/932, occupied Baghdād in 334/946, and for 109 years held the caliph under their ʿAlid tutelage. Under their shadow a great number of local dynasties of Iranian origin (Daylamite and Kurdish) sprang up in the peripheral areas: the Musāfirids; the Kurdish Shaddādids of Gandja (340-409/951-1018) and their branch of Ani (451-559/1059-1163); the Kākūyids [*q.v.*] of Hamadān and Iṣfahān (398-443/1007-51); the Kurdish Ḥasanūyids [see ḤASANAWAYHIDS] in the region of Kirmānshāh (348-406/959-1015); the Kurdish ʿAnnāzīds [*q.v.*] in Ḥulwān and on the western slopes of the Zagros (381-511/991-1117); the Kurdish Marwānids [*q.v.*] of Mayyāfāriḳīn and Diyārbakr (380-478/990-1085), etc. The weakness of the Daylamite régime consisted in the dispersion of the not too numerous elements of Daylam over too vast an area; the splitting up of the dynasty into several rival branches; and finally the Turko-Daylamite antagonism in the army (see below). The first great blow to the Būyid power was the occupation of Rayy by the Ghaznawid Maḥmūd in 420/1029; the definite end came under the impact of Tughril-beg who in 447/1055 arrested the last Būyid of Baghdād, al-Malik al-Raḥīm. In Fārs, the last scions of the Būyid house carried on for a few more years as vassals of the Saldjūḳs, (see Bowen in *JRAS*, 1929, 229-45). Outside their

country, the Daylamites continued to serve as mercenaries. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xix, still recommends the employment of 100 Daylamites together with 100 Khurāsānians as palace guards of the Saldjūḳs. Isolated colonies of Daylamites survived in many places before they were absorbed by the local populations.

Toponymy. The area over which generations of Daylamites scattered throughout the ages is very wide, but, in view of the chronological difficulties involved, it is better to combine the references under a single heading. Thus the Babylonian name of the island of Dilmun (Baḥrayn) still merits consideration, while the name of Bandar-i Daylam on the southern coast of Fārs seems to date back to the Būyid period. In the sub-Caucasian region the existence of military settlements of the Sāsānian times is reflected in such names as Layzān or Lāʾizān (now Lahīdj) connected with Lāhīdjān. The name of Shīrwān is probably linked with that of Shīr (in Arabic Shirriz) lying at the confluence of the rivers of Ṭalaḳān and Alamūt, cf. *Ḥudūd*, ch. xxxii, § 24, and Djuwaynī, iii, 425 (note of M. Ḳazwīnī). Even the title of the king of Sarīr (Avaria) figuring in Balādhurī, 196, as Wahrarzān-shāh, may prove to be linked with the title *wahriz*, cf. Minorsky, *History of Sharvān*, 1958, 23-5. The so-called "Zāzā", living north of Diyārbakr up to Pālū and Darsim and still speaking an Iranian language, call themselves *Dimlā*, which name F. C. Andreas identified with Daylam. The (now turkicized) tribe Dumbulī, active in the region of Khoy by the beginning of the 19th century, seems also to be connected with the Dimlā. It is noteworthy that Agathias, iii, 17, speaking of the *Dilimnitai* troops fighting in Lasica, says that their homes (perhaps of that particular group?) lay in the neighbourhood of Persian lands "on the middle course of the Tigris", *i.e.*, (if the "Tigris" is not a mistake for the Safīd-rūd) in the region where the Zāzā live nowadays. The traveller Abū Dulaf, ed. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, § 25, mentions a place called Daylamastān at seven *farsakhs* east of Shahrazūr whence "in the days of the ancient kings of Persia" the Daylamites used to send their raiding parties into the Mesopotamian lowlands. The borough of Daylamān lying west of Lāhīdjān may be the witness of the transfer of the Daylamite centre from *Ostān (see above) to the region of Lāhīdjān. North-west of Lake Urmiya the centre of Salmās was until recently called Dilmaḳān; south-west of Lake Urmiya near an important Zagros pass one finds a district called Lāhīdjān (see SĀWDJ-BULAK in *EI*[1]). Several other villages bearing the name Lāhīdjān are known in the basin of Lake Urmiya, north of Mt. Savalan (Lāhī), etc.

Territory and peoples. The earlier Muslim geographers, such as Ibn Khurradādhbih, Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Rusta, Ibn Faḳīh, have little to say on Daylam, but ample information on the country and its inhabitants is supplied by the geographers and historians after the rise of the Daylamite dynasties in the 4th/10th century. Already Iṣṭakhrī had described under Daylam all the southern coast of the Caspian and the lands forming a belt to the south of the Alburz range (including Rayy and Ḳazwīn). Muḳaddasī (who lived in the heyday of the Daylamite dominion) adds to it all the coasts of the Caspian comprising the Khazar kingdom at the estuary of the Volga.

Iṣṭakhrī (possibly following Balkhī) places the capital of the Djustān family at Rūdhbār. The editor of Djuwaynī, iii, 434, M. Ḳazwīnī, has presented weighty arguments for identifying it with the Rūdhbār of Alamūt, which would mark the latter valley as the home (*ostān*) of the dynasty of Daylam. In Ibn Ḥawḳal's text, which is mainly based on Iṣṭakhrī, the capital of the Djustānids is placed at al-Ṭarm, which is a slip probably on the part of a scribe or reader, for al-Ṭarm (Tārom) was the capital not of the Djustānids but of the later Musāfirids [*q.v.*]. More complicated is the identification of B.rwān, which according to Muḳaddasī, 360, was the capital (*ḳaṣaba*) of Daylam. The place was devoid of amenity, as opposed to the fertile Tālaḳān (in the Shāh-rūd valley) which in the author's opinion would have been more suitable for the capital. The residence of the government (*mustaḳarr al-sulṭān*), in B.rwān, was called Shahristān, where the treasure was kept in a deep well (Ẓahīr al-Dīn spells Shahr-astān, perhaps Shahr-*Ostān "the town of Ostān", see above). Muḳaddasī names separately Samirūm (*sic*) the capital of the Salāarwand rulers (Musāfirids) of the Tārom region, and Khashm the town of the ʿAlid *dāʿīs*, in eastern Gīlān, situated by a bridge.

Iṣṭakhrī, 205, describes the Daylamites as lean, having "light" (probably "fluffy") hair, rash, and inconsiderate. They practised agriculture and had herds but no horses. According to Muḳaddasī, 368-9, the Daylamites were good-looking and wore beards. Some valuable data on "Daylam proper" and Gīlān are given in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, ch. xxxii, §§ 24-5: Daylam consisted of ten districts in the Caspian lowlands, and three, *Wustān, Shīr (apparently Shirriz of the Arabic sources), and Pazhm, in the mountains.

Customs. Many habits and customs of the Daylamites struck the contemporary authors. Their men were extremely hardy and capable of enduring great privations (Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, i, 140). Particularly mentioned among their armament are javelins (*zhopīn*) and tall shields painted in gay colours and carried by assistant lads. Set side by side these shields formed a wall against the attackers. Special men throwing javelins with burning naphtha (*mazārīḳ al-nafṭ wa 'l-nīrān*) were also used in their army (see *Eclipse*, i, 282). A poetical description of Daylamite warfare is given in Gurgānī's *Wīs wa Rāmīn*, ed. Minovi, ch. xcix. The great disadvantage of the Daylamites was their lack of cavalry; they were obliged to operate jointly with Turkish mercenaries (whose armament was more complete, *Eclipse*, ii, 336) and basic rivalry between them disrupted the army.

Reference is often made to the extravagance of the Daylamite lamenting over their dead, and even over themselves in misfortune (Muḳaddasī, 369; *Eclipse*, ii, 162; iii, 260). In 352/963 Muʿizz al-Dawla introduced public mourning (*niyāḥa*) in Baghdād for the *imām* Ḥusayn (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 406; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, tr. Margoliouth, 219; but see Hilāl b. Muḥassin on the temporary character of the performance, *Eclipse*, iii, 458, *sub* 393), and this institution may be responsible for the later Persian *taʿziya*s in the month of Muḥarram (cf. A. E. Krimskiy, *Perskiy teatr*, Kiev 1921).

Ca. 200 A.D. the Syrian sage Bardesanes reports that the women of Gīlān work in the fields (*Leges regionum*, Patrologia Syriaca, ii/1, 1907, ed. F. Nau, 586). Eight centuries later the author of the *Ḥudūd* writes that the Daylam womenfolk are engaged in agriculture like men. According to Rudhrāwarī, *Eclipse*, iii, 313, they were "equals of men in strength of mind, force of character, and participation in the

management of affairs". The Daylamites practised endogamy within their tribes, and marriages were concluded by direct agreement between the parties (Muḳaddasī, 368-9).

The Ismāʿīlīs. The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī propaganda had been rampant in the environs of Rayy even since the beginning of the 3rd/9th century (see S. M. Stern, in *BSOAS*, xxiii, 1960, 56-90). Asfār of Daylam and Mardāwīdj of Gīlān had accepted the new teaching (Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, tr. A. Halkin, Tel-Aviv 1935, 113; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ismāʿīliyān*, ed. Dānishpazhūh, Tehrān 1338/1959, 12). Under the last Būyids the Daylamites in Fārs adhered to the doctrine of the Seven Imāms, and the penultimate Būyid Marzubān Abū Kālīdjār (d. 440/1048) lent his ear to the preacher al-Muʾayyad who was finally expelled from Fārs (*Sīrat al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn*, Cairo 1949, 43, 64; cf. *Fārs-nāma*, 115). The strong position of Daylam and the oppositionary tendencies of the population naturally attracted Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, who first sent his propagandists into Daylam, and then in 483/1090 seized the town of Alamūt, which was then held by an ʿAlid called Mahdī as a fief from Malik-shāh (Djuwaynī, iii, 174). Thus for the next 166 years the great stronghold of Daylam was transformed into a danger-spot on the very doorstep of Saldjūḳ territory and a threat to the whole Sunnī world. The efforts of the Saldjūḳs to liquidate Alamūt were unsuccessful, but they caused much harm to the population; cf. the expedition of Arslan-tash in 485/1092, that of the son of Niẓām al-Mulk in 503/1109, that of Shīrgīr before 511/1117. The last reminiscence of the Būyids in Daylam is Djuwaynī's report, iii, 239, on the deed of one of their scions, Ḥasan b. Nāmāwar, who in 561/1166 stabbed to death the master of the Ismāʿīlīs because, despite his being his brother-in-law, he disliked his propaganda.

The Mongols and after. The total destruction of the fortresses of the Assassins (Alamūt, Lamassar, Maymūn-diz) by the troops of Hulāgū in 654/1256, and the extermination of the followers of the last master of the Assassins, dealt a terrible blow to the original highlanders of Daylam. The Shāh-rūd valley became easily accessible from Ḳazwīn (cf. the account of the operations of Öldjeytü Khān, who in 706/1307 invaded Gīlān and reached Lāhīdjān; *Taʾrīkh-i Uldjāytū*, Bibl. Nat., Supp. 4197, fol. 42v).

At a later period the highlands of Daylam were more or less controlled by the dynasty of the *kār-kiyā* of eastern Gīlān (Biyapīsh) whose centre was at Lāhīdjān. They gradually eliminated their Hazāraspī princes of Ashkawar, the last scions of the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt, and the clan of Kūshīdj of Daylamān and Rūdhbār. In 819/1416 the sayyid Raḍī of Lāhīdjān invited the Daylamites to the bank of the Safīd-rūd and had two or three thousand of them murdered with their chiefs (Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. Rabino, Rasht 1330, 57, 118, 122-6).

The most recent movement in the history of Daylam is the uprising of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] leader Sayyid Muḥammad in Kalār-dasht in October 1891 (see Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahlé-Ḥaqq*, Paris 1920-1, 51).

No complete enquiries have been carried out on the population of Daylam proper, but H. Rabino, *Le Guilan*, 280, states that the original Daylamites are found only in Kalārdeh and Čawsāl (in winter) and in Kalač-khānī (in summer). The inhabitants of Daylamān (south-west of Lāhīdjān) have sold their lands and now live at Barfdjān (mentioned in the *Ḥudūd* as a canton in the lowlands of Daylam).

Bibliography: Given in the course of the article. The *Taʾrīkh-i Djīl wa Daylam*, dedicated to the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla (who according to G. C. Miles ruled in Rayy 373-87/984-97), and used by Djuwaynī, iii, 270, is now lost. No Djustānid coins have yet been discovered. Marquart., *Ērānšahr*, 126-7; H. L. Rabino, *Les provinces Caspiennes*, in *RMM*, xxxii, 1915-6, 227-384 (Daylamān, Lāhīdjān, Rān-i kūh); R. Vasmer, *Zur Chronologie d. Ǧastaniden*, in *Isl.*, iii/2, 1927, 165-86, and 483-5; A. Kasrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gumnām*, 1928, i, 23-37 (Djustāniyān) — a valuable work; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Daïlamites*, Soc. des Études Iraniennes, no. iii, 1932, 1-26; M. Ḳazwīnī, annotations to Djuwaynī, iii, 306-9 (ʿAlids), 432-45 (Djustānids); *İA*, s.v. Deilem (A. Ateş).

(V. Minorsky)

DAYN [see supplement],

DAYR, a word of Syriac origin denoting the Christian monasteries which continued to function after the Arab conquest of the Middle East. If we are to believe the lists drawn up by Arab writers, they were very numerous, particularly in ʿIrāḳ (along the Tigris and Euphrates valleys), Upper Mesopotamia, Syria (Stylite sanctuaries in the vicinity of the "dead cities"), Palestine and Egypt (along the whole length of the Nile valley). They were often named after a patron saint (Dayr Mār Yuḥannā near Takrīt, Dayr Samʿān in northern Syria) or founder (Dayr ʿAbdūn in ʿIrāḳ), but also occasionally after the nearest town or village (Dayr al-Ruṣāfa in Syria) or a feature of the locality (Dayr al-aʿlā near Mosul, Dayr al-Zaʿfarān in Upper Mesopotamia). Monks, called *dayyār* or *dayrānī*, lived in the *dayr*s (also known in ʿIrāḳ as *ʿumr*, a word of uncertain origin). The monasteries were often no more than simple hermitages, particularly if they were located in remoter parts. Usually however they consisted of several buildings—a church (*kanīsa* or *bīʿa*), cells (*ḳilliya*, pl. *ḳalālī*, or *kirḥ*, pl. *akrāḥ* and *ukayraḥ*, words of Syriac origin, the second being strictly speaking ʿIrāḳī), and outbuildings such as shops and inns. The *dayr* in fact constituted a centre of agricultural development, and drew revenue from the lands which were cultivated to meet its needs (vineyards, olive groves and palm plantations). Hermitages and convents were made defensible either by the construction of fortifications or by the careful choice of site (*e.g.*, on mountain-sides, or even set into the rock face and thus cut off from normal means of entry).

The Christian monasteries were centres of religious and intellectual life during the early years of Islam. For instance, the liturgical rules adopted in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries by the Nestorian church were formulated in the Dayr al-aʿlāʾ of Mosul (see J. M. Fiey, *Mossoul chrétienne*, Beirut 1959, 126-32). They also played an important role in diffusing the works of classical Greece, generally translated into Syriac and then into Arabic, and in some instances they built up large libraries, such as the notable collection in St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai (see A. S. Atiya, *The Arabic manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, Baltimore 1955). Furthermore, some ʿIrāḳī monasteries and the Christian communitites attached to them proved an important source of official clerks in ʿAbbāsid times. They took part in the administration of the empire, and if they adopted the Islamic faith they even had the right to be appointed vizier (see dayr ḳunnā).

The monasteries were also an important factor in the political and social life of the Islamic world.

They were open without distinction to virtually all travellers, including notabilities, and indeed often provided a safer stopping-place than elsewhere. At the Dayr Murrān [*q.v.*] near Damascus, for example, there was a princely residence nearby (confused with the monastery by some authors), and sovereigns or governors were sometimes accommodated in the *dayr* itself. This was the case in the Dayr al-aʿlaʾ of Mosul, the Dayr Zakkī of al-Raḳḳa, or the monastery of al-Anbār where Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd and his retinue stopped in 187/803—it was here that D̲j̲aʿfar the Barmakid was executed (Ṭabarī, III, 675, 678). Upon his arrival in Egypt the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz lived for some months in the monastery of al-Gīza. There are ample records showing that during their hunting excursions rulers and princes visited the local monasteries, where they were offered food and drink by the monks. Muslim visitors were also attracted to the monasteries on account of the taverns usually attached to them, and there they were free to drink as much wine as they wished. Each monastery solemnly celebrated an annual festival, and the buildings were generally surrounded by places of entertainment and even debauchery, particularly if they were situated near a large town. This explains why so many of the monasteries figure in bacchic and erotic poetry, and why there are so many stories relating to the questionable behaviour of some of their inhabitants. Indeed, Arab authors of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries even wrote whole books about them by collecting poems and stories in which they were mentioned. Only one is still in existence, the *Kitāb al-Diyārāt* of al-S̲h̲ābus̲h̲tī (d. 388/998). But the names of several other books are known, written by His̲h̲ām al-Kalbī, Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-Iṣfahānī, the poet al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, the two brothers al-K̲h̲ālidiyyān and al-Sumaysāṭī.

After the Arab conquest the monasteries and churches were subject to special conditions laid down by jurists. Although the existing monasteries remained intact, the monks were forbidden to put up new buildings, or even to repair damage incurred through wear and tear or accidental causes. In reality, however, the fortunes of the monasteries varied with the times, and periods of toleration were followed by periods of persecution. The tax regulations governing the occupants of the monasteries were a subject of continual discussion. The monks were initially exempt from poll-tax (*d̲j̲izya*), and the tradition was often later confirmed by jurists. But some maintained that exemption applied only to those living in poverty, and the S̲h̲āfiʿīs even went so far as to assert that the exemption was unjust. From the chroniclers it would seem that in the Umayyad age some governors subjected monks in Egyptian monasteries to personal taxation, and others in the ʿAbbāsid age granted exemption only in certain circumstances. The question was raised again during the caliphate of al-Muḳtadir, when in 313/925 ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, chief inspector of taxes in Egypt, demanded that exemption given to the monks of Wadi 'l-Naṭrūn be withdrawn; the caliph did not accede to his wishes, and in 366/976 al-Ṭāʾiʿ announced once more that the *d̲j̲izya* should not apply to poor monks (see DHIMMA).

The 5th/11th century was the beginning of a period of increasing hardship for the Christian monasteries. They had to contend with successive Sald̲j̲ūḳid and Mongol invasions, a growing insecurity (*e.g.*, Turcoman raids into Upper Mesopotamia), the worsening of relations with the Muslims at the time of the Crusades, and the progressive disappearance of former small Christian communitites.

In ʿIrāḳ the monasteries near Bag̲h̲dād and Samarrā perished, whilst many of those in Egypt were abandoned and became overrun by the sand (some of them have been discovered in recent excavations). After the Mongol invasion Christian monastic life was confined to a few groups of monasteries, primarily in Upper Mesopotamia, the Mosul and Mardin region (the monasteries of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn), the Sinai desert, and Egypt (at Wādī 'l-Naṭrūn and near the Red Sea). In Palestine and Syria, great monastic centres before the Arab conquest, there remained no more than a few scattered monasteries, mostly near Jerusalem and in Anti-Lebanon. In the Lebanon itself on the other hand monasticism found a new lease of life, particularly in the 15th century when the Maronite patriarchate was established in the mountains at the monastery of Ḳannūbīn.

During the age when they flourished, Christian monasteries took part in the artistic life of the region, and it is instructive to compare the decorative techniques used in some of them with Muslim works of the same period. Particularly interesting in this respect are the Dayr al-Suryānī at Wādī'l-Naṭrūn in Egypt, containing stucco ornamentation influenced by the style of Samarrā, and the Mār Behnām monastery near Mosul, some parts of which date back to the 6th/12th century. Furthermore, the illuminating of some manuscripts copied in the monasteries bears a resemblance to that of the oldest Islamic miniatures, which seem to have inherited some features of their style and workmanship.

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(D. SOURDEL)

DAYR ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, a place in the vicinity of Kūfa, next to Ḳanāṭir Rās al-D̲j̲ālūt (Ṭabarī, ii, 701), near Ḥammām Aʿyun (Ṭabarī, ii, 703). It was the assembly point of the Kūfan army which was sent by al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ under the command of al-D̲j̲azl against the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ites (Ṭabarī, ii, 902)

and of Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ (Ṭabarī, ii, 930). Al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Abī Rabīʿa encamped there in his revolt against al-Muk̲h̲tār (Ṭabarī, ii, 759). (Saleh A. El-Ali)

DAYR AL-ʿĀḲŪL, a town in ʿIrāḳ 15 parasangs (c. 83 km.) south east of Bag̲h̲dād on the Tigris (Yāḳūt, ii, 676-7. Muḳaddasi, p. 134 gives the distance as two stages, while Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, Cairo 1924, i, 263, makes it 12 parasangs or c. 67 km.). The town probably grew around a Christian monastery, and was the centre of an agricultural district (*ṭassūd̲j̲*) in central Nahrawān.

Ibn Rusta (300/912) mentions its Friday mosque and its market, thus indicating some prosperity. Besides, it was a post where tolls on merchandise carried in boats (*maʾāṣir*) were levied. (Ibn Rusta, 186). Iṣṭak̲h̲rī (318-21/930-3) speaks of it as being similar to other towns north of Wāsiṭ, moderate in size with cultivations around (Iṣṭakhrī, 87). Half a century later, the author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (372/982) describes it as a prosperous town, while Muḳaddasī (ca. 375/985) considers it the most important town on the Tigris between Bag̲h̲dād and Wāsiṭ. It was flourishing, well populated, and had markets with many branches at a distance from the mosque (Muḳaddasī, 123).

Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl is famous in history for the decisive battle fought there in 262/876 between Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layt̲h̲ al-Ṣaffār and the army of the Caliph al-Muʿtamid, led by his able brother al-Muwaffaḳ, in which the rebellious governor suffered his first serious defeat and a great danger for the Caliphate was averted (cf. Ṭabari, iii, 1893; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, viii, 41 ff.; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalif.*, ii, 441; Müller, *Isl.*, I, 583; Nöldeke, *Sketches* (1892), 195 ff.).

Then the town began to decline, and when Yāḳūt wrote of it, (beginning of 7th/13th century), followed verbatim by the *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, the period of its prosperity was already past. The decline of the Caliphate, the ruin of the Nahrawān canal, and the alteration in the course of the Tigris largely account for that. Yāḳūt found it one Arab mile (1848 metres) east of the river; it stood alone in a desolate area. (Yāḳūt, ii, 676; *Marāṣid*, i, 435).

Maps of Arab geographers show the gradual change in its position in relation to the Tigris. Balk̲h̲ī (308/920) and Iṣṭak̲h̲rī put it directly on the east bank of the Tigris. (Sousa, *al-ʿIrāḳ fi 'l-K̲h̲awāriṭ al-Ḳadīma*, Baghdād 1960, nos. 12 and 18, cf. the map of Muḳaddasī no. 23 and D̲j̲ayhānī no. 27). Ibn Ḥawḳal shows the river slightly removed westward (ibid no. 22). Abū Saʿīd al-Mag̲h̲ribī (685/1236) puts it at a distance east of the Tigris, thus confirming Yāḳūt (ibid., map no. 32).

It seems that the town revived again, for Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (d. 740/1339) describes it as a big town with humid air, as it was surrounded by gardens and palm trees (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 46). However, ʿUmarī (d. 748/1347) talks of the fine buildings of the monastery, but refers to Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl as a big village (*Masālik al-Abṣār*, i, 256-7).

Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl ultimately became utterly deserted. Its site may be identified now among the ruins called locally al-Dayr, consisting of three mounds east of the Tigris, north of modern ʿAzīziyya (see T. Hās̲h̲imī, *Mufaṣṣal D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyat al-ʿIrāḳ*, Baghdad 1930, 529).

The name Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl, though seemingly Arabic (lit. monastery of the camel-thorn [*Alhagi Maurorum* or *Hedysarum Alhagi*]) is almost certain to be, like so many pre-Islamic names in ʿIrāḳ, of Aramaic origin. The Arabic *ʿāḳūl* reproduces the Aramaic *ākola*, 'bend'; therefore the name means 'the monastery of the bend of the river'. *Ākōla* exists elsewhere as a place name in ʿIrāḳ as the name of the suburb of Kufa, a name given on account of a well marked bend in the Euphrates as is expressly stated in Syriac sources (cf. Nöldeke, in *SBAk. Wien*, cxxiv, Abh. IX, 43).

Bibliography: References are in the article. The following are to be noted: Sumer, x, 1954, 120; Le Strange, 35; idem, in *JRAS*, 1895, 41; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 191, 232. (A. A. Duri)

DAYR AL-AʿWAR, a place in ʿIrāḳ named after a member of the clan of Umayya b. Ḥud̲h̲āfa of the Iyād tribe (Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 283; Hamdānī, *Buldān*, 182; Yāḳūt, ii, 644). It is therefore an Iyādī Dayr (Hamdānī, 135, quoting al-Hayt̲h̲am b. ʿAdī; Bakrī, 69, quoting Ibn S̲h̲abba). Hamdānī's identification of it with Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im, *loc. cit.*, is probably an error, since no other source confirms it.

Dayr al-Aʿwar was mentioned in the description of the march of the Sāsānian general Rustam from Ctesiphon to Ḳādisiyya following the route Kūt̲h̲ā Burs (ancient Bursippa)—Dayr al-Aʿwar—Milṭaṭ —Nad̲j̲af, where he pitched his camps (Ṭabarī, i, 2254). This Dayr was also mentioned when Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, after leaving Kūfa with the Tawwābīn, chose it as the assembly point for his followers before he moved to Aḳsās Mālik and Karbala (Ṭabarī, ii, 548; Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, v, 209). It was mentioned also when Ḥamīd b. Ḳuḥṭuba moved south along the route Karbala—Dayr al-Aʿwar—ʿAbbāsiyya (Ṭabarī, iii, 15); when al-Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba followed a similar route (Ṭabarī, iii, 18); and finally when Saʿīd and Abu 'l-Buṭṭ passed through Dayr al-Aʿwar in their advance from Nīl to check Hart̲h̲ama's armies which were stationed in S̲h̲āhī, a village on the Surā canal.

These texts show that Dayr al-Aʿwar is located west of Burs and east of Nad̲j̲af; it is also south of Karbala, Surā and S̲h̲āhī, and north of ʿAbbāsiyya and Nīl; they also show that it was known up to the 3rd/9th century.

The Kūfan rebel ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥurr is said to have withdrawn to Dayr al-Aʿwar after having been defeated by ʿUmar b. Ubayd Allāh at the time of Muṣʿab (Ṭabarī, ii, 775; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, iv, 241).

Bibliography: in the text.

(Saleh A. El-Ali)

DAYR AL-D̲J̲AMĀD̲J̲IM, a place in ʿIrāḳ, near Kūfa. It was originally owned by the Iyād tribe before its migration from ʿIrāḳ (Bakrī, 69, quoting Ibn S̲h̲abba; Hamdānī, *Buldan*, 135, quoting al-Hayt̲h̲am b. ʿAdī).

Various etymological explanations of its origin have been given: Abū ʿUbayda states that its name was derived from the wooden cups that were made in it (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 412; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 156; Bakrī, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, 574; Yāḳūt, ii, 112, 652). Other authorities assert that it was named after the buried skulls of the casualties of the battle between Iyād Bahrā (al-S̲h̲arḳī, *Futūḥ*, 283; Hamdānī, *Buldān*, 182) or between Iyād and the Sāsānians (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Futūḥ*, 283; Ibn S̲h̲abba in Bakrī, 70; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 175). Yāḳūt (ii, 652) states that its name was derived from a well in a saline land.

Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im is west of the Euphrates (Bakrī, 70, 573, quoting Ibn S̲h̲abba) on the highlands of Kūfa (Iṣfahānī in Bakrī ,573; Yāḳūt, ii, 652) near ʿAyn al-Tamr and Fallūd̲j̲a [*q.v.*] (Ṭabarī, ii, 1073) and is about 7 parasangs from Kufah.

The description of the battle of D̲j̲amād̲j̲im (83/

702) shows that this Dayr is near Dayr Ḳurra, nearer to Kūfa and the Euphrates (Iṣfahānī in Bakrī, 592; Yāḳūt, ii, 685), i.e. south-east of Dayr Ḳurra [*q.v.*].

In Islamic history Dayr al-Djamādjim is known as the battlefield of the war between al-Ḥadjdjādj and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath (see IBN AL-ASHʿATH) in 83/702, the latter supported by most of the Arab Kūfans as well as by some non-Arab Mawālī. The long negotiations had failed; al-Ḥadjdjādj, supported by Syrian Arab reinforcements, defeated Ibn al-Ashʿath, who retreated to Maskin, leaving al-Ḥadjdjādj the unrivalled master of Kūfa and enabling him to assert his control over that city by taking severe measures against his opponents. On the battle see Ṭabarī ,ii, 1070 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, 332; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 315, and *Murūdj*, iv, 304; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 156; Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, 57; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 376 ff.

Bibliography: in the article.

(SALEH A. EL-ALI)

DAYR AL-DJĀTHALĪḲ, a name given to two monasteries in ʿIrāḳ. The first stands in the district (*ṭassūdj*) of Maskin, which is watered by the Dudjayl canal. This canal flows off from the west bank of the Tigris south of Sāmarrā and takes a southward course on almost the same line as modern Dudjayl till it reaches the neighbourhood of Baghdād. Maskin is to be located about 9-10 parasangs (50-55 km.) north of Baghdād. Its ruins seem to keep their old name and are called Kharāʾib (ruins of) Maskin; they are by the west bank of the modern Dudjay some 3 km. south of Smeika village (see Sousa, *Rayy Sāmarrā*, i, 191. Abū Ṣakhar could not be the ruins of Maskin as Streck thought; it is by the old course of the Tigris; see ibid., map 6, facing 192).

The place of Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ was near Maskin (cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 337). It seems probable that its remains are what is called "Tel al-Dayr", now some 6 km. S. E. of Smeika village. These ruins show a square building of bricks with a square courtyard higher than the neighbouring ground. (Sousa, *op. cit.*, i, 196-7).

Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ owes its fame in Arab history to the decisive battle fought in its neighbourhood in 72/691 between the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik and Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, governor of ʿIrāḳ for his brother, the anti-Caliph, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. The Zubayrī poet ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt calls it "The Day of the *Dayr*". Muṣʿab was defeated and killed (see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 343, 350, 355; Masʿūdī, v, 246 ff.; *Aghānī*, viii, 132, x, 147, xvii, 162; Ṭabarī, ii, 806, 818, 812; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 317; Wellhausen, *Das Arab. Reich* (1902) 120-123).

A mausoleum was built on the spot where Muṣʿab was buried which soon became an object of pilgrimage. It is likely that the dome of Imām Manṣūr is the tomb of Muṣʿab (see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 337; Sousa, *op. cit.*, i, 198. Balādhurī also states (p. 350) that the place of the battle is called Khirbat Muṣʿab, a desert where—as people claim—nothing grows).

The name 'Monastery of the Catholicos' points to the fact that the head of the Nestorians stayed here at times.

The second Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ was a great monastery in Western Baghdād (see M. Streck, *Die Alte Landschaft Babylonien*, i, 167; Le Strange, *Baghdād*, 210; Shābushtī, *al-Diyārāt*, ed. G. ʿAwwād, 221-224; R. Bābū Isḥāḳ, *Naṣārā Baghdād*, 1960, 104-108).

Bibliography: References are mentioned in the article. The following are to be noted: Yāḳūt, ii, 251, 260; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, 1850 ff., i, 426; v, 539; Sousa, *Ray Sāmarrā*, i, (Baghdād 1448), 198 ff.; M. Streck, *Die Alte Landschaft Babylonien*, ii, 190, 236; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt* (ed. G. ʿAwwād), Bagdad 1951, 221-4. (A. A. DURI)

DAYR KAʿB, an Iyādī Dayr (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 283) in ʿIrāḳ on the main Ctesiphon-Kūfa route which passes through Kūtha—Dayr Kaʿb—Muzāhimiyya (near Ḳissayn)—Kūfa (Ṭabarī, ii, 60; Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyin*, 63). The Muslim armies, in their advance on Ctesiphon after their victory in Ḳādisiyya, defeated a Sāsānian detachment under command of Nukhayridjan (*Futūḥ*, 262).

(SALEH A. EL-ALI)

DAYR ḲUNNĀ, a locality in ʿIrāḳ some 90 km. south of Baghdād and a mile from the left bank of the Tigris. The name comes from a large monastery still flourishing in ʿAbbāsid times; it consisted of a church, a hundred cells, and extensive olive and palm plantations, all enclosed by thick walls. On the occasion of the feast of the Holy Cross many people flocked to the monastery. It seems that it was abandoned at the time of the Saldjūḳid occupation, and geographers of the 7th/13th century record that only the ruins then remained.

Dayr Ḳunnā is famous primarily on account of the families of high officials, both Christians and converts to Islam, which came from there. The best known is the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ family, of which the viziers al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd and ʿAlī b. Īsā were members. The secretaries of Dayr Ḳunnā played a considerable political role in the late 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries. In al-Muʿtamid's reign they sought to obtain general recognition of the Nadjrān convention which granted certain privileges to Christians, and supported the conspiracy of Ibn al-Muʿtazz (296/908). Once converted to Islam, they were devout Sunnīs, tried to restore the waning authority of the Caliphate, and were influenced by the preachings of al-Hallādj (of whose disciples at least one was from Dayr Kunnā). But the open hostility of the pro-Shīʿī groups frustrated all efforts to restore the Sunnī caliph's authority and bring about a reconciliation between Christians and Muslims.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, ii, 687-8; Shābushtī, *K. al-Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1951, 171-6, 248-50; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 381; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. A. Zakī Pasha, 256-8; Ṭabarī, iii, 1961; Le Strange, 36-7; M. ʿAwwād. *Dayr Ḳunnā*, in *Machriq*, xxxvii, 1939, 180-98; L. Massignon, in *Vivre et penser* (*Revue biblique*), IInd series, 1942, 7-14; idem, in *Dieu vivant*, iv, 1946, 18, 22; A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-Musulmans*, Beirut 1958, 32; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, index. (D. SOURDEL)

DAYR ḲURRA, a place named after a certain Ḳurra of the Umayya b. Ḥudhāfa clan (Hamdānī, *Buldān*, 182; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 685, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī) of the Iyād tribe (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 283; Bakrī, 592, quoting Ibn Shabba), and is therefore to be considered as an Iyādī Dayr in origin (Hamdāni, 135, quoting al-Haytham b. ʿAdī; Bakrī, 698, quoting Ibn Shabba). Al-Iṣfahānī claims that Ḳurra was a Lakhmī (Bakrī, 592; Yāḳūt, ii, 685) and that the Dayr was established during al-Mundhir's reign (Bakrī, *loc. cit.*).

Dayr Ḳurra was mentioned in early Islamic history as the place through which a detachment of the Sāsānian army passed in its retreat after the battle of Ḳādisiyya (Ṭabarī, i, 2357) and where al-Ḥadjdjādj had encamped during the battle of

Djamādjim [see DAYR AL-DJAMĀDJIM]. This Dayr is about 7 parasangs from Kūfa; it is far from, and not on the borders of, Karbala, as A. Musil erroneously locates it in his study (*Middle Euphrates*, 411).

(SALEH A. EL-ALI)

DAYR MURRĀN, name of two former Christian monasteries in Syria. The name is of obscure origin; the Arab etymology *dayr al-murrān*, "ash-tree convent", is suspect, and Syriac does not offer a satisfactory explanation. The better known of the two monasteries was near Damascus, though its exact location cannot be determined. It was on the lower slopes of the Djabal Ḳaysūn, overlooking the orchards of the Ghūta, near the gateway of Bāb al-Farādīs and a pass (*ʿaḳaba*) where we may see in all probability the Baradā [*q.v.*] gorge. It was a large monastery, embellished with mosaics in the Umayyad era, and around it was built a village and, one presumes, a residence in which the caliphs could both entertain themselves and keep watch over their capital. Dayr Murrān often figured in poems of the time. Its estates no doubt benefited from the improvements to the river Nahr Yazīd carried out by the caliph Yazīd I. He was staying there when, before his accession, his father asked him to lead the expedition against Constantinople. Al-Walīd I died there in 96/715, and it is thought that al-Walīd II established his residence there. The ʿAbbāsid caliphs and their representatives visited or lived there on various occasions, as did Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Maʾmūn, who built a watch-tower on the mountainside and had a new canal dug, and al-Muʿtaṣim. Radja b. Ayyūb set up his headquarters there when al-Wāthiḳ sent him to Damascus to put down the revolt of the Ḳays.

Dayr Murrān was made well-known in the 4th/10th century by the poets Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Babbaghāʾ (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, i, 180), and Kushādjim and al-Ṣanawbarī of Aleppo. In the Ayyūbid era it was also mentioned by a geographer and by a panegyrist of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

It has been incorrectly asserted by some that the tomb of the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was in this Dayr Murrān. It was in fact in the other monastery of the same name on a hill overlooking Kafarṭāb, near Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, in northern Syria. The latter was also called Dayr al-Naḳīra and Dayr Samʿān. Although it probably no longer existed in Ayyūbid times, the locality was still inhabited, and it was the home of a holy figure, the *shaykh* Abū Zakariyyā al-Maghribī. He was known to chroniclers of the 7th/13th century, and was visited by the sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in person. He was buried near the tomb of ʿUmar (J. and D. Sourdel, *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, iii, 1953, 83-8).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1270, 1792; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 272; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 372; *Aghānī*, vi, 195; vii, 55; xvi, 33; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 362; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. Ṣ. Munadjdjid, ii, Damascus 1954, 41, 104, 166; Ibn Shaddād, *La description de Damas*, ed. S. Dahān, Damascus 1956, 282-7; Yāḳūt, i, 865; ii, 696-7; iv, 480, 604; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, after H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in *JA*, 1896, 381, 407; ʿUmarīʿ, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. A. Zakī Pāshā, i, 353-6; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwiya Ier*, Paris 1908, 377-8, 444-5; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 184, 298; M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Ghūṭat Dimashḳ*, Damascus 1368/1949, 241-3; Ḥ. Zayyāt, in *Mashriḳ*, xliii (1949), 425-48.

(D. SOURDEL)

DAYR MŪSA, a place near Kūfa on the way to Surā (Ṭabarī, ii, 644). Al-Ashʿath chose it as an assembly point for his troops after ʿAlī had sent him to fight the Khāridjites (Ṭabarī, i, 3422-4). Al-Mukhtār reached this Dayr in his bidding farewell to Yazīd b. Anas whom he sent to occupy Mosul (Ṭabarī, ii, 644).

(SALEH A. EL-ALI)

DAYR SAMʿĀN, the name of various places in Syria, often confused by writers past and present, which corresponded to the sites of Christian monasteries still flourishing during the first centuries of Islam. Among the monasteries to which the name Simeon, common in Syria, was given, were Dayr Murrān [*q.v.*] near Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, whose name Dayr Samʿān was also incorrectly applied to the Dayr Murrān at Damascus, and the Byzantine constructions built on hill-tops (called in every case Djabal Samʿān) in the region of Antioch. The most important of the monasteries was 40 km. north-west of Aleppo, and owed its fame to a Stylite who lived there, Simeon the Elder. In the 4th/10th century it suffered severely during the wars between Byzantines and Arabs and, later, between Fāṭimids and Ḥamdānids. By Ayyūbid times it had probably been abandoned. Nevertheless one of the most interesting archaeological sites in northern Syria today is the remains of the 'basilica of St. Simeon' together with the ruins of the extensive quarters which accommodated pilgrims (to which the modern word *dayr* refers in particular). In the Middle Ages the Muslims transformed the basilica into a fortress called Ḳalʿat Samʿān. A second monastery, situated on the road from Antioch to Suwaydiyya, commemorated the Stylite Simeon the Younger, and it is no doubt to this Dayr Samʿān that the description by Ibn Buṭlān, reproduced by Yāḳūt (ii, 672), applies.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, S. Dahān ed., i, Damascus 1951, 224; J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, Paris 1947, index, s.v. Deir Semʾân, Qalʾat Semʾân, Mont Admirable; G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, iii, Beirut 1958, 92, 100, 119, 124; Howard C. Butler, *Ancient architecture in Syria* (*Publications of the Princeton University archaeological expeditions to Syria in 1904-1909*), Division ii, Leiden 1919.

(D. SOURDEL)

DAYR AL-ZŌR, a small Syrian town, 195 m. above sea-level, on the right bank of the Euphrates. A suspension bridge 450 m. long, completed in 1931, crosses the river a short distance down-stream from the town. In 1867 it became the chief town of a *sandjaḳ* and later of a *muḥāfaẓa*, and today it has a modern aspect about it. The majority of its 22,000 inhabitants are Sunnī Muslims, and the small Christian minority comprises mainly Armenian refugees from former Turkish possessions. There are three mosques and several Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches. It is an important military centre, and also a stopping-place on the road from Aleppo and Damascus to Hasatché, Mosul and Baghdād. It thus takes the part played in the Middle Ages by Raḥbat Mālik and Ḳarḳīsiya.

It was probably the site of the ancient town of *Auzara*, from which, via the transposition Azuara, the name Dayr al-Zōr is derived. Its meaning is now explained as "convent set in a grove", referring to the clusters of tamarisks alongside the river. We may suppose that in the immediate neighbourhood of Dayr al-Zōr lay the Dayr al-Rummān mentioned by Yāḳūt (ii, 662) between al-Raḳḳa and Khābūr.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1890, 275 ff.; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 1-3, 254; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 456, 483-4; M. Canard, *Histoire des H'amdânides*, i, Algiers 1951, 95 (D. Sourdel)

DAYṢĀNIYYA, Daysanites or Disanites, disciples of Bar Dīṣān, Bardesanes, Ibn Dayṣān, the celebrated syncretist heresiarch of Edessa, 154 (or 134)-201 A.D., co-disciple and contemporary of Abgar the Great. Arab authors writing of the dualists have placed him among the false prophets, between Zoroaster (Zaradus̲h̲t) and Marcion (Marḳiyūn), after Manes (Mānī). The account of him which they give is very schematic and far from reliable. One may wonder if their knowledge of the Dayṣāniyya was confined to a chapter taken from one of the historians of the dualists, hitherto the sole source (*e.g.*, Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ). They give neither a biography of the author nor details of his descent. The doctrine attributed to him is a somewhat general dualism, regarded solely from the point of view of what may be called the physical state of being, in conformity with the constant preoccupation of Arab writers dealing with religions and sects, and which from the start envisages a theodicy. The Dayṣāniyya, taking light and darkness as the primal elements, looked upon them as the sources of good and evil respectively, with the distinction that light was active, living, perceptive and endowed with the fundamental attributes of life, knowledge and power, as against darkness which was purely passive, devoid of these attributes and endowed merely with existence. The cosmogonal drama stems from the determination of light to penetrate the darkness, by deliberate action, and so to bring about salvation. From this voluntary action it is then unable to free itself through some physical misfortune, the cause of which is not explained. Arab authors writing of the doctrine of Bar Dīṣān and his disciples differentiate between two doctrinal tendencies: some believe that in darkness there is a tendency, among the superior forms, to unite with the lower ranks of the creatures of light, who are subsequently unable to free themselves from this union; others consider the intermingling of light and darkness to be an action consciously undertaken by light, and followed by unexpected results inherent in the physical nature of darkness.

Alongside these ideas we may set those which emerge from the information invariably given by the Christian heresiologists, headed by Eusebius, Epiphanius, St. John of Damascus and the Syriac authors Theodore Bar Kouni, Elias of Nisibis, Moses Bar Kepha and St. Ephraem, and thereby may make some useful comparisons. We know that Bar Dīṣān, after receiving a pagan education, studied and reflected upon this cosmological system, influenced by the emanationist and Hermetic doctrines that were called astrology. For him, as for the rest of his contemporaries, the world was the result of the action upon beings of the influence of the spheres, exerted in succession by either the Monad or the Dyad. Persian influences, which underlie the beliefs of the region of Edessa where Bardesanes lived, are no doubt the basis of the dualist conception which, according to Arab writers, can be discovered in his natural philosophy. On the basis of the cosmological ideas provided by his education Bardesanes developed an interpretation of Christianity as it appeared to an inhabitant of Edessa who had grown up in Hierapolis in the house of a priest of the Syrian goddess, at the very time Lucian of Samosata described the ceremonies performed there (Lucian was born about 120 A.D.).

It is, no doubt, in his interpretation of Salvation that the origin must be found of the myths about the mingling of light and darkness, as given by Ibn al-Nadīm and al-S̲h̲ahrastānī. The *Dialogue on the Laws on the Lands*, the principal surviving work of Bar Dīṣān—with the very remarkable text on Destiny preserved by Eusebius—allows us to understand his basic philosophy as distinguishing between the physical state of being, horologically dependent upon the stars (it is possible to find an echo of his argumentation against the belief in astrological determinism in the chapter Ibn Ḥazm devotes to refuting the astrologers, Cairo ed., iv, 24), and the moral destiny which, like the escape from darkness, results from the contradiction between the irremediably determined nature of matter and the free nature granted to man by his Creator, who made him in his own image. Moreover this God is, above all, the co-ordinator and creator of a hierarchy of beings whose original characters and affinities he has defined, and in conformity with which this world is constantly built up and destroyed. It is furthermore a world of failure—and here the Manichaean spirit is revealed—where God in his patience allows confusion and promiscuity until, after the passing of 6,000 years, he will recreate a world all whiteness, light and good.

Bardesanes' reputation as an astrologer, despite his own very clearly defined attitude, was finally fixed by St. Ephraem who fought against him in his own town of Edessa, wrote sermons against him and composed hymns which were destined to supplant those by Bardesanes. Posterity, while recognizing his attitude against Marcion, nevertheless included him in the line of Manichaeans, alongside Marcion. The Arab authors followed suit. For the Christian heresiologists his philosophy, elaborated under the influence of Valentinism, is tainted with Manichaeism.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, Cairo edn., 474; S̲h̲ahrastānī, on the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, Cairo, ii, 70-2; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Bag̲h̲dādī, Cairo 1910, 333; Bāḳillānī, ed. MacCarthy, Beirut, 67 ff.; Eusebius, apud *Patr. Graec.*, xx, 397-400, 573; v. Philosophumena, *Patr. Graec.*, xvi, col. 170/599; Merx, *Bardesanes von Edessa*, Halle 1863; F. Nau, *Bardisane l'Astrologue. Le livre des lois des pays*, Paris 1899; idem, *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, s.v. (with bibliography). (A. Abel)

ḌAYZAN [see AL-ḤAḌR].

DAZA [see TŪBŪ].

DEAD SEA [see BAḤR LŪṬ].

DEBDOU [see DUBDŪ].

DECCAN [see DAKHAN].

DEDE, literally "grandfather, ancestor", a term of reverence given to the heads of Darwīs̲h̲ communities, as alternative for *ata* and *baba*. The meaning "father" is attested in G̲h̲uzz as early as the *Dīwān lug̲h̲āt al-Turk* (compare C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, Budapest and Leipzig 1928, under *dädä*). In western Turkish heroic tales, the term is also used (again as an alternative for *ata*) for the rhapsodes, thus Ḳorḳūt Ata, or Dede Ḳorḳūt [*q.v.*]. Concerning its use preceding a proper name in ancient Anatolian, cf. Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı teşkilâtına methal*, Istanbul 1941, 173 (Dede Bâli in a Germiyān deed of foundation).

Dede, following the name, is used predominantly

in Mewlewī Derwīsh circles. It is also used as a term of respect for various wonder-working holy men in Istanbul and Anatolia, as reported by Ewliyā Čelebi (cf. Ewliyā Efendi, *Travels*, translated by Hammer, i, 2, 21, 25; ii, 97, 213).

With this meaning, Dede has also entered the Persian language (*dada*, plur. *dadagān*) (compare F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, London 1830, s.v.). In the terminology of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa*, *dada* denoted one of the small group of officers in constant attendance on the *murshid* (cf. *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 125, n. 4).

Bibliography: other than the works already mentioned in the article: J. T. Zenker, *Türkisch-Arabisch-Persisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1866, s.v. 1; Hüseyin Kadrî, *Türk lûgati*, Istanbul 1928; Şeyh Süleyman Buhâri, *Lûgat-i çagatay ve türkîi osmanî*, Istanbul 1928; Abū Ḥayyān, *Kitāb al-idrāk li-lisān al-Atrāk*, ed. A. Caferoğlu; *İA*, iii, 506 (Mecdud Mansuroğlu). (Fr. Taeschner)

DEDE AGHAČ, now Alexandropolis, town on the Aegean coast of Thrace, founded in 1871, after the construction of the branch railway from the main Rumeli line. Being an outlet for the products of the hinterland it prospered rapidly, so that in 1300/1883 it supplanted Dimetoḳa as the centre of a *sandjaḳ* (*mutaṣarriflik*) of the *wilāyet* of Edirne. In 1894 the *sandjaḳ* of Dede Aghač comprised the *ḳaḍās* of Dede Aghač, Enez (Inos) and Sofrulu; the *ḳaḍā* of Dede Aghač comprised three *nāḥiyes*, Feredjik, Meghri and Semadrek, and 41 villages. This was the position until the region was lost as a result of the Balkan War of 1912-3. Two mosques were built in the town, one in the Muṣliḥ al-Dīn quarter in 1877, the other, in the Arab style, in the Ḥamīdiyye quarter in 1890, in the court-yard of which the *mutaṣarrif* Trabzonlu Hüseyn Rüshdī Pasha is buried. In 1894 there were some 1500 houses in Dede Aghač. In the village of Fere-Ilīdjalarī there were foundations of Ghāzī Ewrenos Beg [*q.v.*] and of (Ḳodja) Dāwūd Pasha [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Edirne Sâlnâmesi* for 1310 and 1317; ʿAlī Djewād, *Memālik-i ʿOthmāniyyenin ta'rīkh we djoghrāfyā lughātī*, i, Istanbul 1313; Bādi Aḥmed, *Riyāḍ-i Belde-i Edirne*, iii (Bayezid Library, Istanbul). (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin)

DEDE ḲORḲUT, a Turkish collection of twelve tales in prose, interspersed with verse passages, the oldest surviving specimen of the Oghuz epic and one of the most remarkable monuments of the Turkish language. They are named after the sage, a legendary character, who appears in each tale; he is the poet-singer who re-composes and recites each narrative, and bestows his blessings upon all. He is strongly reminiscent of the poet-magicians of the shamanistic era. The only existing complete manuscript is in Dresden (H. O. Fleischer, *Catalogus codicum man. orientalium* ... no. 86) of which J. H. von Diez made a copy for the Berlin Library (A. Pertsch, *Die Hand. Verzeichnisse* ... vi, no. 203). The works of von Diez (*Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, i, Berlin-Halle 1815, 399-457) and W. Barthold (*Zapiski Vostočnago Otdeleniya, Imp. Russ. Arkh. Obshčestva*, viii, 1894, 203-218; also ix, 1895; xi, 1898; xii, 1899; xv, 1904; xix, 1910) and the first edition of the book by Kilisli Muʿallim Rifʿat (*Kitāb-ī Dede Ḳorḳut ʿalā lisān-ī ṭā'ife-i Oghūzān*, Istanbul, 1332/1916) are based on the Berlin copy. The first edition in transcription with a long historical-bibliographical introduction by Orhan Şaik Gökyay (see bibliography) also uses the Berlin copy with some emendations from the Dresden copy. In 1950 Ettore Rossi discovered a second incomplete manuscript in the Vatican Library (*Un nuovo manoscritto del "Kitāb-i Dede Qorqut"* in *RSO*, xxv (1950), 34-43), which he published in facsimile with an Italian translation of the whole work and a 95-page introductory study. In 1958 Muharrem Ergin published a new transcription of the whole text with the facsimiles of both the original manuscripts and an introduction. A promised second volume will contain an index, grammar and notes. The work also aroused interest in Ādharbaydjān (for a criticism, on ideological grounds, see *Ost-Probleme*, iii, no. 35, 1951). An edition of the text appeared in Baku in 1939, and a Russian translation, based an a manuscript left by Barthold, in 1950.

The publication of the complete text in 1916 gave great impetus to Dede Ḳorḳut studies, and since then a growing number of scholars have been occupied with elucidating many historical, literary, linguistic, ethnological and folkloristic problems of the work. Despite the remarkable contributions of the above-mentioned authors and other scholars (among them M. F. Köprülü, A. Inan, P. N. Boratav, Hamid Araslı, Walter Ruben, Faruk Sümer, M. F. Kırzıoğlu, etc.) these problems continue to be controversial and there is still disagreement as to the date, authorship, the origin of the existing text, the identity of the heroes and of the place-names, etc. As research stands at present, we can cautiously assume that these stories were collected from oral tradition and put together and polished by an unknown author, probably during the second half of the 9th/15th century. They seem to be mainly based on the reminiscences of the Oghuz Turks concerning their life in their original home in Central Asia. In the present text they relate the life of the Oghuz Turkish tribes in north-eastern Anatolia, the deeds of their prince Bayundur Khan and their chief Salur Kazan Beg, of his wife Burla Khātun, and his son Uruz and their companions, their battles against other Turkish tribes and against the Black Sea Greeks and Georgians. The effect of Islamic culture is superficial. The pre-Islamic elements have strong common characteristics, in expression, style and content, with Anatolian and Central Asian popular literature. Some of the tales (*e.g.*, Beyrek) still live in Turkish folklore in slightly altered versions, and two tales (Depegöz and Deli Dumrul) show striking resemblances to Greek legends (Cyclops and Admetus) (cf. C. S. Mundy, *Polyphemus and Tepegöz*, *BSOAS*, xviii, 1956, 279-302).

Bibliography: Detailed bibliographical data are given in the following works : Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Dede Korkut*, Istanbul 1938; Ettore Rossi, *Il Kitab-ı Dede Qorqut*, Vatican 1952; P. N. Boratav, *Korkut Ata*, in *İA*; idem, *Dede Korkut hikâyelerindeki tarihî olaylar ve kitabın telif tarihi*, *TM*, xiii, 1958, 30-62; Muharrem Ergin, *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, i, *Giriş-Metin-Facsimile*, Ankara 1958. For a recent study of the language of the work see E. M. Demircizade, *Kitabı Dede Korkud dastanlarının dili*, Baku 1959. A German translation of the text was published by J. Hein, *Das Buch des Dede Korkut*, Zurich 1958. (Fahir İz)

DEDE SULṬĀN, epithet of a great religious fanatic by name of Bürklüdje Muṣṭafā, who was prominent in Anatolia in the time of Meḥemmed I (further information under badr al-dīn b. ḳāḍī samāwnā). (Fr. Taeschner)

DEFTER [see daftar].

DEFTER-I KHĀḲĀNĪ [see daftar-i khāḳānī].

DEFTERDĀR [see DAFTARDĀR].

DEFTER EMINI, the title given in the Ottoman Empire to the director of the Daftar-i Khāķānī [q.v.].

DEHĀS, a river in northern Afghānistān, explained by Ibn Ḥawķal, 326, as *dah-ās* "(that which drives) ten mills". It rises in the Band-i Amīr massif in the mountains of Kūh-i Bābā (Bāmiyān district), and flows in a general northerly direction through several natural lakes, past Mad(a)r and Ribāt-i Karwān, finally reaching the region of Balkh [q.v.]. This area, especially the southern part, is dependent on the river for its irrigation and its consequent fertility—especially Siyāhgird, on the route to Tirmidh, as well as the suburb Nawbahār. Because of its importance for Balkh, the Dehās was also called Nahr Balkh (*e.g.*, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 73, 211, no. 24); in the Middle Ages, however, this was also one name for the Āmū Daryā [q.v.], Today the river is called Balkh-āb. The neglect of the irrigation system in the late middle ages and in modern times has caused the once fruitful country-side to revert to marsh land, and brought about the complete decline of the Balkh region.

In ancient times the Dehās was known as Βάκτρος or Ζαριάσπης and reached as far as the Oxus (Strabo, xi, 4, 2 (516); Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclop.*, ii, 2814). Since Islamic times its waters have become dispersed in canals or in swamps.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 278; Le Strange, 420; J. Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, 1901, 230; idem, *Wehrot*, Leiden 1938, 3 ff., 45, 169; W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan*, London 1950, index s.v. Balkh; A. Foucher, *De Kaboul à Bactres*, in *La Géographie*, xlii, 1924, 147-61. See also Bibliography to BALKH. Maps: *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 339; Fraser-Tytler, 11.

(B. SPULER)

DEHHĀNĪ, KHODJA, Anatolian poet of the 7th/13th century, one of the earliest representatives of the *dīwān* poetry. Almost nothing is known about his life except that he came from Khurāsān and was at one time at the court of the Saldjūķ sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ķayķubād III, for whom he wrote a Saldjūķid *Shāhnāma* of 20,000 couplets which has not come down to us (M. F. Köprülü, *Anadolu Selçuklu Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları*, in *Belleten*, vii, 27, 396-7). Only ten of his poems survive; they have been assembled from various *naẓīra* collections and published from 1926 onwards (see bibliography). Dehhānī, unlike his contemporaries, does not dwell on mystical or religious-didactic themes, but sings, with remarkable mastery of *ʿarūḍ* and a flowing style, worldly love, wine and other set themes of *dīwān* poets.

Bibliography: Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Khodja Dehhānī*, in *Ḥayāt*, i, 1, Ankara 1926; idem, *Selçuklu devri edebiyatı hakkında bazı notlar*, in *Ḥayāt*, iv, 103, Ankara 1928; Mecdut Mansuroğlu, *Anadolu Türkçesi*, xiii *asır*, *Dehhānī ve Manzumeleri*, Istanbul 1947. (FAHIR İZ)

DEIR EZ-ZOR [see DAYR AL-ZŌR].

DELHEMME [see DHUʾ L-HIMMA].

DELHI, DELHI SULTANATE [see DIHLĪ, DIHLĪ SULTANATE].

DELI, Turkish adjective, meaning "mad, heedless, brave, fiery" etc. In the Ottoman empire the *delis* were a class of cavalry formed originally in the Balkans (Rumeli, [q.v.]) at the end of the 9th/15th or the beginning of the 10th/16th century. Although later official usage, abandoning their true name, styled them *delīl* (guides), they continued to be popularly known by their original name until recent times.

The *delis* were recruited partly among Turks and partly from Balkan nations such as the Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs. At first they were private retainers in the suites of the Beylerbeyi (*Beglerbegi*, [q.v.]) of Rumeli and of the border beys. They were called *deli*, "mad", on account of their extraordinary courage and recklessness. The caliph ʿUmar was considered the patron of their *odjaķs*. Their motto was *yazīlan gelir basha*, "what is written (*i.e.*, destined) will come to pass".

The *delis* were armed with curved scimitars, concave shields, spears, and maces (*bozdoghan*) attached to their saddles. They wore hats made of the skin of wild animals, such as hyenas or leopards, trimmed with eagles' feathers, and their shields were also decorated with such feathers. Their clothes and horsecloths were made of the skins of lions, tigers and foxes, and their breeches of wolves' or bears' skins, with the hairy side showing. Their calf-length spurred boots, pointed at the toes and high at the back, were known as *serḥaddlīķ* or border boots. Their horses were renowned for their strength and endurance. They received a fixed salary from the Beylerbeyi or the Beys whom they served. In his *Ṭabaķāt al-Mamālik fī Daradjāt al-Masālik*, Djelālzāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi mentions the *delis* of the Bey of Semendere, Yaḥyā Pasha-zāde Bālī Bey, in connexion with the Mohacz expedition, and describes their clothes. In the first half of the 10th/16th century the forces of *delis* of Yaḥyā Pasha-zāde Bālī Bey and Meḥemmed Bey and of Ghāzī Khusrew, Bey of the *sandjaķ* of Bosnia, were famous in the Balkans; Khusrew Bey had 10,000 *delis* in addition to his other forces.

The cavalry organization of the *delis* spread later to Anatolia, where *delis* were numbered among the retainers of *vezīrs* and Beylerbeyis. The clothes of *delis* were changed in the 12th/18th century, when they were seen to wear pipe-like hats some twenty-six inches long, made of black lambskin with a turban wound round them.

Fifty to sixty *delis* made up a company (under a standard, *bayraķ*), groups of several companies being commanded by a *delibashi*. A new recruit was attached to the retinue of the *agha* [q.v.]; after learning the customs of the *odjaķ* and proving his worth he took an oath to serve the Faith and the State and to be steadfast in battle. At the end of the ceremony, which included prayers, the recruit would then be entered as an *agha-čiraghi* (apprentice to an *agha*), a *deli*'s hat being ceremonially placed on his head. *Delis* breaking their oath, failing to observe the rules of the *odjaķ*, or deserting from the battlefield, were expelled and deprived of their hat. In the middle of the 11th/17th century a *deli*'s daily pay amounted to 12 or 15 aspers (*aķčes*), according to Rycaut; Marsigli, writing at a later date, says that *delis* were paid only while on active service.

The *delis* served the state well in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, but later they became disorganized like the other military units. *Delis* deprived of a patron, either through the dismissal of the *wālī* whom they served, or as a result of being paid off, wandered about in search of a new patron, raiding villages in the meantime. In the second half of the 12th/18th century their depredations were centred in the regions of Kütahya and Ķonya. A *delibashi* by the name of Ķodja-Bashī, who stood at the head of a numerous band, was notorious at Kütahya towards the end of the century. while the

delibashi Ismāʿīl terrorized the region of Ḳonya in 1801. In the rebellion which took place in Ḳonya in 1803 against the "new army" (*niẓām-i djedīd*), Ismāʿīl assisted the rebels and, entering Ḳonyā, shut off the *ḳāḍi* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha who had been appointed *wālī* of Ḳonya.

The riotousness of the *delis* reached its peak at the end of the 12th/18th and the beginning of the 13th/19th centuries, when they were a grave evil to the people of Anatolia. This prompted the Grand Vizier Yūsuf Ḍiyā Pasha to decide in Aleppo, on his return from the Egyptian expedition, to reorganize the *delis*. He had some of them sent to Baghdād, while those in his retinue were not demobilized but taken to Istanbul and billeted in the barracks at Üsküdar. The numerous *delis* of the factious Gurdjī (Georgian) ʿOthmān Pasha in Rumeli were also brought to Istanbul and billeted in the Dāwūd Pasha barracks. Later all the *delis* in Istanbul, amounting to 200 companies (*bayraḳs*) were sent off to Baghdād.

In 1829 after the Russian-Ottoman war, 2000 *delis* commanded by 18 *delibashis* and one *hāyṭabashi* (leader of armed band) moved into Anatolia and, gathering in the region of Ḳonya, tried to take up brigandage again. Sultan Maḥmūd II, determined to carry through his reforms, succeeded however in eliminating them, a remnant fleeing to Egypt and Syria. Of those who stayed behind, those who disobeyed the order to settle on the land were defeated by the *wālī* of Ḳaraman Esʿad Pasha.

(İ. H. Uzunçarşili)

DELI-ORMAN is the historical name of a district, the greater part of which lies in north-eastern Bulgaria and the remainder in southern Roumania. But as the term is a popular one, exact boundaries cannot be given. It is usually applied to the triangle, the apex of which is at the town of Rusčuk, and the two arms formed by the Danube and the Rusčuk-Varna railway, while the base is somewhat undefined and runs at a certain distance from the coast of the Black Sea. On the north-east, Deli-Orman is bounded by the Dobruja, in the south by the Bulgarian provinces of Tozluk and Gerlovo. The most important places in Deli-Orman are the towns of Balbunar, Kemanlar and Razgrad on Bulgarian territory and Akkadĭnlar and Kurtbunar on Roumanian.

The name Deli-Orman is of Turkish origin and means something like "wild forest, primeval forest". The country was actually at one time covered with primeval forest of which considerable stretches still survive at the present day. The wooded character of the district contrasts strongly with the flat and treeless Dobruja.

The name is also extended to the land on the left bank of the Danube, where in the Wallachian plain between the mouths of the Aluta and Vede lies a district called Teleorman (C. Jireček, *Einige Bemerkungen über die Überreste der Petschenegen und Kumanen, sowie die Völkerschaften der sogenannten Gagauzi und Surguči im heutigen Bulgarien*, in *Sitzungsber. d. K. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wiss.*, *Philos.-gesch. Klasse*, Year 1889, 11). According to Jireček, the name was formerly applied to the whole of the hilly forest country lying in front of the Carpathians in southern Moldavia and eastern Wallachia. Tomaschek thinks he recognizes the name Teleorman in a corrupt place-name in the Byzantine writer John Kinnamos of the 12th century. If he is right, the name Deli-Orman would be pre-Ottoman and come from an earlier North Turkish immigration.

Deli-Orman only a generation ago was still inhabited predominantly by Turks, but since the middle of the 19th century Bulgarian colonization has been steadily increasing. Nevertheless the Turks still form a considerable percentage of the population. One hears Turkish spoken everywhere, as is also the case in the provinces of Tozluk and Gerlovo adjoining on the south.

The Turks of this district form a particular type; they are remarkable for their tall stature and athletic build. Their language reveals dialectical peculiarities which are not found elsewhere in the Ottoman Turkish system but can be paralleled among the Christian Gagauz of Bessarabia. These peculiarities form the reason why they are regarded by some students as descendants of the Turkish Bulgars (K. and Ch. V. Škorpil, *Pametnici na gr. Oddessos-Varna*, Varna 1898, 4-6) and sometimes as descendants of the Kumans (V. Moškov, *Turetskiya plemena na Balkanskom poluostrově*, in *Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshčestva*, xl, 1904, 409-17). But a strict philological analysis proves no more than that their language shows certain North Turkish features which perhaps go back to an old North Turkish stratum in the population. This stratum was however assimilated in two waves of southern Turkish elements which came later (cf. T. Kowalski, *Les Turcs et la langue turque de la Bulgarie du Nord-Est*, in *Mémoires de la Commission Orientaliste de l'Académie Polonaise des Sc. et des Lettres*, no. 16, 1933). Nevertheless it is significant that in the Balkan Peninsula the most compact mass of Turks is found not in the south-east but in the north-east, which makes very probable the hypothesis of a very early Turkish settlement in the lands south of the lower Danube. Turkish immigration in the Saldjūḳ period (6th/12th century) to the neighbouring Dobruja appears to be a historical fact (cf. F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi, 1921, 24).

In the Ottoman period Deli-Orman was a place of refuge for all kinds of political and religious refugees. It therefore still offers a great variety of sects. It was from here that in 819/1416 Shaykh Badr al-Dīn began his missionary career (F. Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-Dīn, der Sohn des Richters von Simāw*, in *Isl.*, xi, 1921, 60). At various periods different teachings, usually strongly tinged with Shīʿism, have found an asylum here. To this day there are in Deli-Orman considerable remnants of the followers of ʿAlī, who are here called ʿAlawī or Kĭzĭlbash (Redheads). Their headquarters seem to be the little town of Kemanlar (plural of Kemal with peculiar dissimilation of the two *l* sounds) in the vicinity of which is the famous, now disused, monastery of the Bektāshī saint Demir Baba (F. Babinger, *Das Bektaschi-Kloster Demir Baba*, in *MSOSAs.*, xxxiv, 1931; Babinger calls my attention to Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, v. 579, where there is a reference to Demir Baba as a disciple of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh). There is a short poem (*nefes*) composed in honour of this sanctuary by the Bektāshī poet Derdli Kātib of Shumen (11th/17th century) in N. E. Bulgaria (Sadettin Nüzhet, *Bektaşî Şairleri*, Istanbul 1930, 55 ff.).

A remarkable feature is the wrestling bouts, apparently connected with the worship of Bektashī saints, which are the favourite amusement of the Turkish population of Deli-Orman. Indeed this little explored region is an interesting field for research not only for Turkologists but also for students of Islam.

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Leipzig 1879 (with full indexes); C. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1891 (indexes); W. Stubenrauch, *Kulturgeographie des Deli-Orman*, in *Berliner Geographische Arbeiten*, fasc. iii, 1933 (with full references).—On the problem of population: L. Miletič, *Staroto bìlgarsko naselenije v sèveroiztočna Bìlgaraija*, Sofia 1902; S. S. Bobčev, *Za deliormanskitè Turci i za Kìzìl-basite*, in *Sbornik na Bìlgarskata Akademija na Naukitè*, xxiv, 1929.—On the language question: D. G. Gadžanov, two short notices in *Anzeiger der philos.-hist. Kl. d.k. Akad. d. Wiss, in Wien*, year 1911, no. v. and year 1912, no. iii; T. Kowalski, *Compte rendu de l'excursion dialectologique en Dobroudja, faite du 10 septembre au 1er octobre 1937* in *Bull. Intern. Acad. Polon. Philolog.*, 1938, i/3, 7-12; idem, *Les éléments ethniques turcs de la Dobroudja*, in *RO*, xiv, 1939, 66-80; J. Eckmann, *Razgard Türk ağzı, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı hakkında araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1953, 1-25; P. Wittek, *Les Gagaouzes = Les gens de Kaykaus* in *RO*, xvii, 1953, 12-24; J. Németh, *Zur Einteilung der türkischen Mundarten Bulgariens*, Sofia 1956; A. Caferoğlu, *Die anatolische und rumelische Dialekte*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, i, 1959, 239-60; G. Doerfer, *Das Gagausische*, *ibid.* 260-71; I. Conea and I. Donat, *Contribution à l'étude de la toponymie pétchénègue-comane de la Plaine Roumaine du Bas-Danube* in *Contributions Onomastiques*, Bucarest 1958, 139-67.

(T. Kowalski-
[J. Reychmann and A. Zajączkowski])

DELVINA, former residence of an Ottoman *sandjak-bey* in Albania. In Ottoman times Delvina (so in Turkish and Albanian; Gk. Δέλβινον, Délvinon) formed a *sandjak* of the Rumelian governorship. It stands 770 ft. above sea level, about 10½ miles from the shores of the Ionian sea, and consists of one single bazar street set in the midst of olive, lemon and pomegranate trees, surmounted by the ruins of an old, perhaps Byzantine, stronghold. The inhabitants numbered about 3000 before 1940, of whom two-thirds were Muslims and the remainder Orthodox Christians, as well as a few (about 40) Jews, all of whom subsisted by cattle-breeding, fisheries, olive plantations, and retail trade. Delvina, as principal town of the *sandjak* of the same name, contains several mosques and Greek-Orthodox churches, and was formerly well fortified against the attacks of a population frequently restive under Ottoman dominion.

The history of Delvina in the Middle Ages is nebulous. In Byzantine times, probably also even earlier, it played a part of some importance, as is shown by the church of St. Nicholas (Kisha Shën Kollit bë Mesopotam) erected by the ruler Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-54)—of which some significant remains were until recently in existence; cf. Ph. Versanis, Βυζαντιακός ναός ἐν Δελβίνῳ, in Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, i (1915), 28-41, and S. Stoupi, Μοναστήρια τοῦ Δελβίνου, in Ἠπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία, iv (1959), 331 ff.—and likewise the imposing outworks of the castle which must have had a part to play in feudal times in Albania. An illustration of the church of St. Nicholas in its present state of conservation is to be found in *Historia e Shqipërisë*, Tirana 1959, 191, fig. 30. Since the establishment of Ottoman domination (end of the 9th/15th century) until well into the 19th century Delvina was a bulwark against the independent minded Albanians of the Himara region, who were constantly in conflict with their overlords. In the 10th/16th century Delvina was also a centre of the Khalwetī order of dervishes, which was spread in the direction of Albania about 937/1530 by one Yaʿḳūb Efendi of Yanina, to be later supplanted by the Bektāshīs. The Khalwetīs attracted a considerable following there, and some of the 12 mosques, two madrasas, and baths owed their beginnings to the adherents of this order. Yūsuf Sinān, son of the same Yaʿḳūb Efendi, has expatiated upon this point in detail in his *Menāḳib-i Sherīf* [sic] *we ṭarīḳanāme-yi pīrān we meshāyikh-i tarīḳat-i ʿaliyye-yi Khalwetiyye*, Istanbul 1290/1873; cf. H. J. Kissling in *ZDMG*, ciii, 1953, 264.

Delvina is depicted as a sizeable colony by Ewliyā Čelebi in the *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, 668 ff.; it had first come into contact with the Ottomans in 835/1431-2 through the incursions of Sinān Pasha (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1146, 104), but was not definitely brought under subjection until 944/1537, by the Albanian Ayās Pasha [*q.v.*] in the reign of Sulaymān the Magnificent (cf. Fr. Babinger, *Rumelische Streifen*, Berlin 1938, 9 ff.). The pentagonal castle, open towards the east, in the interior of which was the residence of the fort governor, a mosque, powder-magazine, and granaries, made a deep impression on the Ottoman globe-trotter. The largest mosque of that time was the Khunkār Djāmiʿi, founded by Bāyezīd II, which has long since disappeared. Nothing has remained of all the Islamic places of worship of older times, with the exception of the mosque of Ḥadjdjī Aḥmed Agha built in 1269/1872.

In 1913 Delvina came within the newly established principality of Albania, having formerly belonged to Greece (cf. L. von Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen*, i, Munich and Leipzig 1916, 360 (Delvina in 1847), and ii, 240 (transfer to Albania); also Edith P. Stickney, *Southern Albania 1912-1923*, Stanford 1926, *passim*.

Bibliography: In addition to references above: *Rumeli und Bosna geographisch beschrieben von Mustafa Ben Abdalla Hadschi Chalfa*, tr. J. von Hammer, Vienna 1812, 130 (whence the misspelling "Delonia"); M. F. Thielen, *Die europäische Türkey*, Vienne 1828, 58 ff. (also "Delonia"); Fr. Babinger in Karl Baedeker, *Dalmatien und die Adria*, Leipzig 1929, 250; Delvina was seldom visited and described by travellers, but cf. W. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, i, London 1835; cf. here the important statements made by Frashëri, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iii, Istanbul 1308/1889, 2153, with detailed information on Delvina up to 1890. For the 17th century the most important source is Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, 668 ff.; on the opposition of the Albanian population to the Ottomans at the end of the 15th century cf. Fr. Babinger, *Das Ende der Arianiten*, *SBBayr. Ak.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1960, Fasc. 4, 19 ff., and the sources, mostly ms., there enumerated. On the Delvina basin cf. H. Louis, *Albanien. Eine Landeskunde*, Stuttgart 1927, 9 ff., esp. 102. See further ARNAWUTLUḲ.

(Fr. Babinger)

DEMIRBASH, literally iron-head, a Turkish term for the movable stock and equipment, belonging to an office, shop, farm, etc. In Ottoman usage it was commonly applied to articles belonging to the state and, more especially, to the furniture, equipment, and fittings in government offices, forming part of their permanent establishment. The word Demirbash also means stubborn or persistent, and it is usually assumed that this was the sense in which it was

applied by the Turks to King Charles XII of Sweden. It is, however, also possible that the nickname is an ironic comment on his long frequentation of Turkish government offices.

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(Ed.)

DEMIR KAPİ [see DAR-I ĀHANĪN].

DEMNAT [see DAMNĀT].

DEMOKRAT PARTİ, Turkish political party, registered on 7 January 1946. In the general elections held in July of the same year, the party put up 273 candidates for 465 seats; sixty one of them were elected, forming the main opposition group. The first party congress, held on 7 January 1947, formally adopted the party programme and charter. As a result of various internal disagreements, notably the secession of a group of deputies who formed the National Party (*Millet Partisi*) in July 1948, the strength of the Democrat Party in the Assembly had fallen by 1950 to 31. Their influence in the country, however, continued to grow, and in the general election of May 1950 they won a clear majority. The *Demokrat Parti* now took over the government of the country, and remained in power for the next ten years. A series of cabinets was formed, Celâl Bayar and Adnan Menderes retaining the offices of President and Prime Minister respectively. In the general elections of 1954 the D. P. won an increased majority, but in the election of 1957 they were able to win only a popular plurality, which, however, gave them a clear parliamentary majority over a divided opposition. After a period of mounting discontents the *Demokrat Parti* was ousted from power by the revolution of 27 May 1960 (see TÜRKIYE, history). It was formally dissolved on 29 September 1960.

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(Ed.)

DEMOTIKA [see DIMETOḲA].

DENEB [see NUDJŪM].

DENIA [see DĀNIYA].

DEÑİZLİ, chief town of the *wilāyet* of the same name, in south-western Anatolia. Situated in a fertile plain which has been inhabited since the earliest times, Deñizli in the 14th century replaced Lādīḳ, the ancient *Laodiceia ad Lycum*, whose ruins stand at Eski Ḥiṣār, on the Çürük Ṣu, a tributary of the Büyük Menderes, near the railway station of Gondjali, 9 km. from Deñizli. Built in the 3rd century B.C. by the Seleucid Antiochus II on the site of the ancient Diospolis (Pliny, v, 105), Laodicaea controlled an important meeting point of trade routes, and in Roman times was ranked as one of the principal towns of Phrygia (Strabo, xii, 578). Until the end of the 11th century Laodicaea was Byzantine, but it was then disputed between the Comneni and the Saldjūḳid Turks who took possession of it on several occasions. Alexis I captured it from them in 491/1098 and held it temporarily (Anna Comnena, ed. Leib, iii, 27). In 513/1119, it was recaptured and fortified by John Comnenus (Cinn., 5; Nicetas, 17); although sacked in 553/1158 and 585/1189 by Turkish tribes who had settled at about that time in the district, it nevertheless remained in the hands of the Byzantines (Cinn., 198; Nicetas, 163, 523) until 602/1206, on which date Theodore Lascaris was forced to cede Laodicaea and Chonae (now Honaz) to Manuel Mavrozomes, father-in-law of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I (Nicetas, 842; Houtsma, *Rec. de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldj.*, iii, 66-7; iv, 26). However in 655/1257 ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II gave the town to Michael Palaeologus in order to secure his help against his brother Rukn al-Dīn and the latter's allies, the Mongols; but the little Greek garrison could no longer hold out (Acropolitus, 153-4) and two years later the town was once again in the hands of the Turcomans. It is at about this time, in eastern documents, that together with Lādīḳ one first finds a mention of Ṭoñuzlu; this name was later to be changed to Deñizli, and it was to take the place of Lādīḳ in the 14th century. In 659/1261 the chief Turcoman of the district, Meḥmed Beg—who must not be confused with the Ḳaramānid of the same name who died in 675/1277, nor with Meḥmed Beg Aydînoghlu who died in 734/1334—rose in revolt against ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus and conquered the district; then, refusing allegiance to the Saldjūḳid princes, he asked Hūlāgū for a charter of formal investiture for the towns of Ṭoñuzlu, Khōnās (Honaz) and Ṭālamānī (Dalaman). Thus the first Turcoman principality of Deñizli was founded, but it was short-lived: in 660/1262, at the request of Rukn al-Dīn, Hūlāgū marched against Meḥmed Beg who was defeated and put to death. His son-in-law ʿAlī Beg became chief of the Turcomans of the region, while the towns of Lādīḳ and Khōnās were included in the possessions which were granted, in 669/1271, to the sons of the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī. It was, no doubt, in order to regain his independence that ʿAlī Beg took part, in 675/1277, in the revolt of Djimrī and Meḥmed the Ḳaramānid; but he was defeated by the sultan's army and put to death. However, as a result of the weakness of the central authority, the Ṭoñuzlu-Lādīḳ region fell into the hands of the Turcoman amīrs of Germiyān who in the last quarter of the 13th century seized the town of Kütāhya and lost no time in proclaiming their independence. According to the accounts of al-ʿUmarī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who visited the town in 730/1330 and 732/1332, Ṭoñuzlu and the surrounding district were at that time in the hands of an amīr of the Germiyān family, Yînandj Beg. However the town, though still prosperous, lost its value owing to the conquests of the Turcoman amīrs of Menteshe who, at the end of the 13th century, took possession of the sea-coast of Caria; Ṭoñuzlu which was disputed between the amīrs of Menteshe and the Germiyān thereby lost its position as a frontier post and could no longer remain the centre of a principality of any great importance. In 792/1390, the district of Ṭoñuzlu-Lādīḳ was restored to the Ottoman empire at the same time as the amīrate of Germiyān. Temporarily given back to the Germiyān by Tīmūr who stayed in the town in the autumn of 1402, Ṭoñuzlu served as a residence, in the reign of Bāyezīd II, for one of his sons; it was at that time the chief town of a *liwāʾ* attached to the *eyālet* of Anatolia. In the 17th century it was reduced to the rank of *ḳaḍāʾ* attached to the *sandjaḳ* of Kütāhya. It was at that time that the name Ṭoñuzlu was replaced by Deñizli, under which name the town was mentioned in the accounts of Ewliyā Čelebi and Kātib Čelebi. According to these travellers, Deñizli was then divided into 24 districts and included 7 mosques; a small fort protected the bazaar, whilst the population was housed outside the town proper, in gardens and fields; this situation still remains to the present day and, despite the allegations of European travellers

in the 19th century, it is not the consequence of the terrible earthquake which struck the town in 1702, when 12,000 people perished. Although Deñizli has never managed to regain the position of importance it enjoyed in the Middle Ages, since the Republic was established it has once again become increasingly prosperous. In 1891 a railway line was built connecting Deñizli, via Gondjalî, with the Izmir-Eğridir line; Deñizli, which since the end of the 19th century had been the chief town of a *sandjaḳ* attached to the *wilāyet* of Aydîn, after the Republic became the chief town of the *wilāyet* of Deñizli. The population consisted of 19,461 inhabitants in 1940 (compared with 15,787 in 1927). Deñizli now possesses a Lycée and is a centre for agricultural products (fruit, cereals, tobacco, cotton, sesame, poppy-seed) and handicraft industries (tanning, weaving, carpet-making). The remains of the ancient towns scattered about the region (ruins of Laodicaea, Hierapolis, Hydrela, Kolossai, Chonae) also make it an important tourist centre.

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DEOBAND, in the Sahāranpur district of Uttar Pradesh, is a place of great antiquity but its early history is shrouded in myth and romance. In one of the many groves which almost surrounds the site there is an ancient temple of Devī. On this account the name is supposed to be a corruption of *Devi-ban*, 'forest of the goddess'. The earliest recorded reference to it is found in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* where Abu 'l-Faḍl refers to a fort of 'baked bricks in Deoband'. Monuments of earlier periods are, however, found in Deoband. The Čhattā Masdjid is considered to be one of the oldest monuments of Deoband, dating back to the early Paṭhān period. According to tradition, Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn known as *Shāh-i Djangal Bāsh*, who lies buried here, was a pupil of Ibn al-Djawzī and a disciple of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. Some mosques and other buildings constructed during the reigns of Sikandar Lodi (894-923/1489-1517), Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605), and Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1658-1707) are still extant.

Deoband is known to-day for its great seat of Muslim religious learning, the *Dār al-ʿUlūm*, founded by Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad ʿĀbid Ḥusayn with the support of three eminent scholars in the Education Department, and to which Mawlawī Muḥammad Ḳāsim was appointed as patron-principal in 1282/1867. During the last 90 years this institution has attained an unrivalled place amongst Muslim religious institutions. It combines the characteristics of three different types of religious institutions which existed in Dihlī, Lucknow and Khayrābād during the 13th/19th century. The institutions of Dihlī emphasized the teaching of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*; the institutions of Lucknow [see DĀR AL-ʿULŪM, (*c*), (*d*)] took to *fiḳh*, while Khayrabād [*q.v.*] specialized in *ʿilm al-kalām* and philosophy. Deoband represents a synthesis of these three experiments, but its main emphasis has been on the traditions established by Shāh Walī Allah and his Dihlī school of *muḥaddithīn*. It attracts students from many different parts of the Muslim world. Residential accommodation is provided for nearly 1500 students. The buildings of the *Dar al-ʿUlūm* comprise a mosque, a library, and a number of separate lecture halls for *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *fiḳh* etc. Its library, though without a catalogue, is one of the biggest manuscript libraries in India. It comprises 67,000 Arabic, Persian and Urdū books, both printed and manuscript. The system of instruction is traditional and the emphasis is more on building up a religious personality than on imparting knowledge with a view to fulfilling the requirements of the modern age. The institution has, therefore, produced mainly religious leaders though its contribution in the political sphere cannot be ignored. Many of those associated with it have been in the forefront of the national struggle for freedom. The principal officers of the *Dār al-ʿUlūm* are: *Sarparast* (patron), *muhtamim* (secretary), *Ṣadr mudarris* (principal) and *Muftī*. Very eminent persons like Mawlānā Rashīd Aḥmad Ganguhī, Mawlānā Muḥammad Yaʿḳub, Mawlānā Ashraf ʿAlī, Shaykh al-Hind Maḥmūd Ḥasan, Mawlānā Anwar Shāh Kashmīrī and Sayyid Ḥusayn Aḥmad Madanī have filled these posts. The present secretary, Mawlānā Muḥammad Ṭayyib is a grandson of the founder of the institution. The *Djamiʿat ʿUlamāʾ-i Hind*, a very influential organization of the Indian *ʿUlamāʾ*, derives its main ideological strength from the *Dār al-ʿUlūm*.

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DĒRADJĀT, name of a tract lying between the River Indus to the east and the Sulaymān Mountains to the west, including the modern districts of Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān and Dēra Ghāzī Khān. The name Dēradjāt is a supposed Persian plural of the Indian word *ḍēra*, "tent, encampment", and means the "country of the *deras*", that is, of the three towns Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān, Dēra Ghāzī Khān, and Dēra Fatḥ Khān, founded by Balōč leaders in the early 10th/16th century. (See BALŌČISTĀN). These three towns were all close to the R. Indus, and have been liable to damage by erosion; hence the modern towns show much rebuilding, especially Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān which was largely destroyed under Sikh rule. The mints of Dēradjāt and Dēra under

the Durrānī kings were at Dēra Ismā'īl Khān and Dēra Ghāzī Khān respectively; copper coins were also struck at Dēra Fatḥ Khān. Afghāns form the most important element in the population, especially in the Dāmān or western part, and the Balōč are numerous in the south. (M. Longworth Dames*)

DERBEND, a town of Dāghistān [*q.v.*], called Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*] by the Arabs in the Middle Ages. Only the modern period is described under this heading.

Having belonged to Russia from 1722 to 1735, Derbend was restored to the Persians, and Nādir Shāh attempted to restore to it its former importance; but after the death of this sovereign it passed into the hands of the Khān of Kūba, Fatḥ 'Alī (1765). Recaptured by the Russians in 1796, it was soon evacuated, to be ultimately occupied on 21 June/3 July 1806.

Under Russian domination the town has lost its former military importance. It has, however, retained traces of its past as a fortified town, carefully preserved. Of the two walls which formerly enclosed the town and the citadel, the one most badly damaged is the south wall, now reduced to four gates and three towers, whereas the north wall, with its 8 gates and 30 towers, is still intact over almost all its length.

To the north of the town lies the Arab cemetery of Ḳïrḳlar, which dates from the 8th/14th century. The old congregational mosque constructed in 783/1381-2 out of a Christian church, several mosques of the 17th and 18th centuries, and a few very old caravanserais, remain practically intact. Remains of the old irrigation system bear witness to a very advanced technical civilization.

The economic development of the old fortified city is very remarkable. It is favoured by a well-cultivated soil (supporting vines and fruit-trees), a sub-soil rich in petroleum and natural gas, the proximity of the sea which makes it an important fishing-port, and finally the Bakū—Makhač—Ḳala railway which allows for the transport of merchandise and the multiplication of food industries which make use of the local produce.

At the beginning of this century Muslims made up about 57 per cent of the population, against 18 per cent of Russians, 16 per cent Jews, and 7 per cent Armenians. At that time there was a penetration of socialistic ideas under the influence on the one hand of the Bolshevik organizations of Tiflis and Bakū, on the other of political exiles like I. V. Maligine and some others. The first agitators at Derbend were the Russian railway workers, whose rôle became apparent in the 1905 revolution. In December 1917 Soviet power was established in the town and entrusted to the workers' and soldiers' Soviet set up in the February revolution. From July 1918 to March 1920 the town was stricken with civil war; the power was in the hands of local nationalists ranged against the Bolsheviks, who had to appeal to the Red Army to establish their authority. Since the creation of the Republic of Dāghistān, Derbend has become the capital of the district of that name, and in importance the second town of the Republic. In 1956 its population was 41,800.

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DERDLİ, İbrahim, Turkish folk poet (1186-1261/1772-1845) born in Shahnalar, a forest village in the province of Bolu. At the death of his father, he tried his fortune in Istanbul but was soon forced to go back to his native province. He then spent ten years in Egypt and travelled extensively in Anatolia where he became one of the leading poet-singers of the period. Again in Istanbul under Maḥmūd II, he became a popular figure of the coffee-houses frequented by folk poets and wrote his famous *ḳaṣīda* on the fez, praising this newly introduced headgear, and enjoyed for a short time the favour of the court. Falling into disgrace, he left Istanbul and wandered again in Anatolia and, after an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, died in Ankara.

In his poems in *'arūḍ*, written in an awkward language, he is an unskilled imitator of *dīwān* poets, particularly of Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*]. His poems written in the traditional syllabic metre, though not perfect in language and style, echo in sincere tones his vagrant and nonchalant character, and reflect his endless sufferings in his chequered life.

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DEREBEY, 'valley lord', the Turkish name popularly given to certain rulers in Asia Minor who, from the early 12th/18th century, made themselves virtually independent of the Ottoman central government in Istanbul. The Ottoman historians usually call them *mutaghallibe*, usurpers, or, when a politer designation was needed, *Khānedān*, great families. The derebeys became in effect vassal princes, ruling over autonomous and hereditary principalities. In time of war they served, with their own contingents, in the Ottoman armies, which came to consist to a large extent of such quasi-feudal levies. Though given, as a matter of form, such titles as *muḥaṣṣil* and *mütesellim*, ostensibly as representatives of the titular governors, they were effectively independent within their own territories. Unlike the usurping pashas who had won similar autonomies in other Ottoman provinces, the Anatolian derebeys had deep local roots, and could count on powerful local loyalties. Being under no pressure, as were the pashas, to extract a quick return during a brief tenure of power, they were able to adopt more constructive policies, taking care for public security, the development of trade, and the well-being of their subjects, Muslim and non-Muslim alike. The travellers attest their good government, and the regard in which they were held by their people. The Porte found itself obliged to tolerate them and afford them some form of recognition, proceeding against them only if they openly rebelled against it. The war with Russia in 1182/1768-1188/1774 brought new opportunities, and helped to extend the derebey regimes over most of Anatolia. By the beginning of the 19th century only the *eyālet*s of Karamān and Anadolu were still under direct administration by governors sent from Istanbul. During the reign of Selīm III the derebeys reached the summit of their powers, and even began to play an important rôle in the affairs of the court and capital. Some of them, notably the Ḳara 'Othmān-oghlu and the Čapan-oghlu, supported the reforms of Selīm III, while

their rivals the Djānīkli bitterly opposed them. While on the one hand the struggle between reformers and reactionaries in the capital was confused with the rivalries of the feudal chiefs, on the other the clash between the Čapan-oghlu and the Djānīkli in central and eastern Anatolia assumed the appearance of a quarrel over the Sultan's New Order (see NIẒĀM-I DJADĪD). Where the derebeys did apply the New Order in their territories, they seem to have done so for their own purposes and to their own profit, using goverment money to strengthen their own armed forces. (For examples of abuse and corruption in the application of the New Order by the derebeys see ʿĀṣim, i, 111-3; cf. Akçura 140, Miller 100-101).

The leading derebeys played a role of some importance in the political struggles of 1807-8, and the victory of the Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā Pasha seemed to consecrate their power. One of his first tasks, after becoming Grand Vezir, was to convene a great imperial assembly in Istanbul, to which he invited dignitaries of various types from all over the Empire. The great derebeys from Anatolia came to Istanbul in person, with large forces of armed retainers, and seem to have played a considerable part in the proceedings. A deed of agreement (*Sened-i Ittifāḳ*) confirmed their rights, privileges, and autonomies, which were now, for the first time, officially defined and ratified (Shānīzāde, i, 66-73; Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*², ix, 3-7 and 278-83; Uzunçarşılı, *Alemdar*, 138-44; Miller, 283-91. On the *Sened-i Ittifāḳ* see further A. Selçuk Özçelik in *İstanbul Üniv. Hukuk Fak. Mec.* xxiv, 1959, 1-12).

Sultan Maḥmūd II, who had thus been compelled, at the dawn of the 19th century, to recognize the privileges of a feudal baronage, was determined to end them; the 19th century provided him with the means. After the conclusion of the war with Russia in 1812, he turned his attention to the task of establishing the authority of the central government in the provinces. By a series of political, military, and police actions he overcame rebellious pashas and autonomous derebeys alike, and replaced them by appointed officials sent from Istanbul. (For the impressions of a contemporary Western observer see A. Slade, *Record of travels in Turkey, Greece etc.*, i, London 1832, 215 ff.). The work of centralization was continued under his successors; the last major military expedition was that of 1866, sent to subjugate the surviving derebey dynasties in the Čukurova district, such as the Menemendji-oghlu, the Kökülü-oghlu, and the Kozan-oghlu of Kozan (Djewdet, *Maʿrūḍāt*, in *TTEM*, 14/91, 1926, 117 ff.). Though the autonomous principalities of the derebeys had disappeared, the term derebey remained part of the Turkish political vocabulary, used to designate large-scale hereditary landlords, especially in southern and eastern Turkey, who exercised quasi-feudal rights over their peasantry (see for example the remarks of K. H. Karpat in *Social themes in contemporary Turkish literature*, *MEJ*, 1960, 34-5).

The best known Derebey families were:

1) The Ḳara ʿOthmān-oghlu of Aydïn, Manisa, and Bergama; they ruled the sandjaḳs of Saruhan and Aydïn and their influence extended from the Great Menderes river to the coast of the sea of Marmara. [See ḲARA ʿOTHMĀN-OGHLU].

2) The Čapan (Čapar, Djabbār)-oghlu of Bozok, of Turkoman origin, practically contemporary with the Ḳara ʿOthmān-oghlu. They ruled the sandjaḳs of Bozok (Yozgad), Kayseri, Amasya, Ankara, Niğde, and, at the height of their power, also controlled Tarsus. The first member of the family whose name is known was Aḥmed Pasha, the mutaṣarrif of Bozok, who was deposed by order of the Porte in 1178/1764-5. (Wāṣif, i, 233 ff., 268). He was succeeded by his son Muṣṭafā Bey, who was murdered by his body-guard in 1196/1781 (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*², ii, 171-2); he in turn was followed by his brother Sulaymān Bey, the most powerful of the Čapan-oghlu, who played a rôle of some importance during the reigns of Selīm III, Muṣṭafā IV, and Maḥmūd II. After his death in 1229/1814, his lands reverted to the direct authority of the Porte. Descendants of the family held high offices under the Sultans as governors and generals. One of them, Čapanzāde Agāh Efendi (1832-1885), played a pioneer rôle in the development of Turkish journalism (see DJARĪDA). Another led an anti-nationalist band during the War of Independence. Their name survives in a Turkish proverbial phrase, with the meaning of a hidden snag.

3) The family of ʿAlī Pasha of Djānīk, in Trebizond and its neighbourhood. The founder of the family, Djānīkli ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] was succeeded by his two sons Miḳdād Aḥmed Pasha (executed in 1206/1791-2) and Ḥusayn Baṭṭāl Pasha (d. 1215/1801). After holding the offices of Kapldjï-bashï, governor of Aleppo, and governor of Damascus, Baṭṭāl Pasha became governor of Trebizond in 1202/1787-8. In 1201/1787 he led his forces against Russia, but in 1205/1790 was defeated and taken prisoner. The town of Battalpashinsk commemorates his name. After a period of disgrace, he was reappointed, thanks to Russian intercession, in 1213/1798-9. His elder son, Khayr al-Dīn Rāghib Pasha, governor of Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār, was dismissed and executed in 1206/1791-2, when the independent political power of the Djānīklis ended. This family opposed the military reforms of Selīm III, which were supported by their rivals the Čapan-oghlu and the Ḳara ʿOthmān-oghlu. Ṭayyāï Maḥmūd Pasha, a younger son of Ḥusayn Baṭṭāl, was active against the reforms, and in 1805-7 was in exile in Russia. He returned to Turkey in 1807, and was appointed Ḳāʾimmaḳām to the Grand Vezir during the brief interval of reactionary rule under Muṣṭafā IV. A few months later he was dismissed and executed by Maḥmūd II.

These three were the most important derebey dynasties, and ruled in western, central, and eastern Anatolia respectively. Among lesser dynasties mention may be made of the Ilyās-oghlu of Kush Adasï (Scala Nuova, near Ephesus), who ruled the sandjaḳ of Menteshe as far south as Bodrum from about the middle of the 18th century; the Küčük ʿAlī-oghlu, who ruled in Payas and for a while Adana, and the Yïlanlï-oghlu of Isparta and Eghridir, and the region of Antalya.

Bibliography: The Ottoman chronicles pay some attention to the Derebeys, but tend to gloss over their independent status and represent them as servants of the Porte. More realistic information will be found in Western sources, notably in diplomatic and consular reports and in the writings of travellers and archaeologists. These may be supplemented, especially for names and dates, from the numerous local inscriptions. Some attention has been given to the derebeys in recent Turkish work on local history (as in the important studies of M. Çagatay Uluçay on Manisa), but the subject still awaits detailed examination.

On the Ḳara-ʿOthmān-oghlu, see Kgl. Museum, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, i, Berlin 1885, 84-91; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ii, Oxford 1929, 597-603; Ç. Uluçay,

Karaosmanoğullarına ait bazı Vesikalar, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, ii, 1942-3, 193-207; 300-8; 434-40; idem, *Manisa Ünlüleri*, Manisa 1946, 54-62; on the Čapan-oghlu, J. Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor* ..., London 1818, 84 ff.; Georges Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, Paris 1864, 386 ff.; on the Djānīkli, Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*², iii, 144 ff.; iv, 29 f.; v, 133 ff., 254 ff.; on the Ilyās-oghlu, P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*, Istanbul 1934, 109-110. In general, see Yusuf Akçura, *Osmanlı Devletinin Dağılma Devri*, Istanbul 1940; I. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Alemdar Mustafa Pasha*, Istanbul 1942; idem, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, iv/I, Ankara 1956, 318-9, 436-7, 612-5; A. F. Miller, *Mustafa Pasha Bayraktar*, Moscow 1947; Gibb-Bowen, i/I, 193 ff.; B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London 1961, 38, 74, 441-2. (J. H. MORDTMANN-[B. LEWIS])

DERGĀH [see DARGĀH].

DERNA [see DARNA].

DERSIM, area in eastern Anatolia: bordered on the north by the ranges of the Monzur Dagh (3188 m.) and the Mercan Dagh; on the west by the northern source of the Euphrates (the Kara Su); on the south by its southern source (the Murat Su); and on the east by its tributary, the Piri Su. The area is of a predominantly hilly character, and (in the country districts) inhabited by Kurds. At one time, Dersim, under the name of Čemishkezek (the capital at that time) was a *liwā* of the *eyālet* of Diyārbekir. Dersim became a *wilāyet* temporarily in the 19th century, but in 1888 it came under the *wilāyet* of Maʿmūret al-ʿazīz (Harput) as a *sandjak*, with the capital Hozat and the *kaḍā's* Ovadjık, Čemishkezek, Čarsancak, Mazgird, Pertek, Kozičan, Kīzīlkilise, and Pah. During the reorganization in the administration of the Turkish Republic, Dersim once more became a *wilāyet* under the name of Tunceli [*q.v.*].

Towards the end of the 19th century, the *sandjak* of Dersim had 63,430 inhabitants, of whom 15,460 were Sunnī Turks, 12,000 were Kurds, 27,800 Kīzīl-Bāsh (Shīʿīs), 7,560 were Gregorian and 610 Protestant Armenians.

Bibliography: Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 439; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. ii, Paris 1892, 384 ff.; Ch. Samy-Bey Fraschery, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām* (*Dictionnaire Universelle d'Histoire et de Géographie*), iii, Istanbul 1308/1891, 2131 f.; Naşit Hakkı Uluğ, *Derebeyi ve Dersim*, Ankara 1932. (FR. TAESCHNER)

DERVISH [see DARWĪSH].

DERWĪSH PASHĀ (?-1012/1603)—the historian Pečewī refers to him (ii, 132) as Derwīsh Ḥasan Pasha—was born at Mostar in the Herzegovina and, in the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm II (974-982/1566-1574), entered the Palace service, where, in the course of his education, he revealed an interest and ability in literature and poetry. During the reign of Sulṭān Murād III (982-1003/1574-1595) he became one of the Imperial Falconers (*doghandjī*) and won the favour of the Sultan through the *ḳaṣīdes* and *ghazels* which he presented to him. At the order of Murād III he rendered from Persian into Turkish verse the *Shāhnāme* of the poet Bannāʾī, giving to his work the title of *Murādnāme*. Derwīsh Agha rose to the rank of *doghandjī bashī* and, according to Pečewī (ii, 132) acted as *ḳapu ketkhudā* of the Sultan. Pečewī (*loc. cit.*) describes him as a poet of force (*shāʿir-i metīn*) and a man who, in good qualities and knowledge, could vie with the greatest of the *ʿulemā'*. It is possible that he did not go out from the Palace service until the reign of Meḥemmed III (1003-1012/1595-1603). During the long war of 1001-1015/1593-1606 between the Austrian Habsburgs and the Ottomans Derwīsh Pasha was charged with the defence of the Hungarian fortress Istoni Belgrād (Stuhlweissenburg) in 1007/1599. He was at this time Beglerbeg of Bosnia. Derwīsh Pasha, again as Beglerbeg of Bosnia, shared also in the Ottoman reconquest (1011/1602) of Istoni Belgrād, which the Imperial forces had taken in the previous year (1010/1601). He was removed from the Beglerbeglik of Bosnia in 1011/1602, the office being then given to Deli Ḥasan Pasha, hitherto one of the leaders of the Djelālī rebels in Asia Minor. Derwīsh Pasha remained on the Hungarian front and fought in the campaign of 1012/1603, but was slain in battle near Pest on 4 Ṣafar 1012/14 July 1603.

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DERWĪSH PASHA (? -1015/1606), Ottoman Grand Vizier, was of Bosnian origin. He served in the corps of *Bostāndjīs*, becoming *ketkhudā* of the corps and then being raised, through the favour of the Wālide Sulṭān, to the office of *Bostāndjī bashī* in 1013/1604. Derwīsh Pasha was set in charge of affairs at Istanbul, when Aḥmed I visited Bursa in 1014/1605. He was made Ḳapudān Pasha, with the rank of Vizier, in Ramaḍān 1014/January 1606 and became Grand Vizier in Ṣafar 1015/June 1606. His tenure of the office was, however, brief, for the enemies whom he had made during his rapid rise to the Grand Vizierate so undermined the confidence which the Sultan reposed in him, that Aḥmed I had him executed in Shaʿbān 1015/December 1606. The Ottoman chroniclers describe Derwīsh Pasha as a harsh, unjust and incompetent man, but the English ambassador at Istanbul, Lello, took a much more favourable view of him and indeed refers to him (Lello-Burian, 27) as "the stouteste and polliticquest" of the Grand Viziers that he had known.

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DERWĪSH MEḤMED PASHA. (c. 993?-1065/1585?-1655), Ottoman Grand Vizier, was of Čerkes (Circassian) origin. As *ketkhudā* of Ṭabānī Yassī Meḥmed Pasha, Grand Vizier (1041-6/1632-7) in the reign of Sulṭān Murād IV (1032-49/1623-40), he shared in the Eriwān campaign of 1044-5/1635 against the Ṣafawīds of Persia and became thereafter Beglerbeg of Shām, an appointment that he held, according to Ibn Djumʿa, in 1046/1636-7. At the time of Murād IV's campaign against Baghdād in 1048/1638 he was Beglerbeg of Diyārbekir, but in 1049/1639 became Beglerbeg of Baghdād, receiving soon afterwards the rank of Vizier. Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha remained at Baghdād for three years. During the course of his subsequent career he served as Beglerbeg of Aleppo, of Anadolu, of Silistria and of Bosnia. Appointed to Silistria for the second time in 1059/1649, Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha was given also a special assignment, *i.e.*, command over the land defences of Čanaḳ-Ḳalʿe Boghazī (the Dardanelles) with the object of driving off the naval forces of Venice, which, in the course of the Cretan War begun in 1055/1645, were then blockading the Straits—a task that he accomplished with success in Djumādā I/May 1649. There followed a second tenure of office as Beglerbeg of Anadolu in 1061/1651, at which time he was entrusted with the defence of Bursa against the threatening advance of the Djelālī rebels in Asia Minor. Derwīsh Meḥmed became *Ḳapudān Pasha* in 1062/1652 and then in Rabīʿ I 1063/March 1653 was raised to the Grand Vizierate, which he held thereafter until Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1064/October 1654, when, disabled with paralysis, he was removed from office. Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha, noted as one of the wealthiest of the great Ottoman dignitaries of his time, died on 5 Rabīʿ I 1065/13 January 1655 and was buried in the cemetery of the mosque of ʿAtīḳ ʿAlī Pasha at Čemberlitash in Istanbul.

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(V. J. Parry)

DERWĪSH MEḤMED PASHA (1142-91/1730-77), Ottoman Grand Vizier, son of Yaghlīḳčī ("oil-cloth merchant") Ḳadrī Agha, was born in Istanbul in 1142/1730. (References to his having been born in 1146/1733-4 are probably wrong.) Derwīsh Meḥmed Efendi entered the service of the State as assistant seal-keeper to the *defterdār* (treasurer) Behdjet Efendi. He then became *dewātdār* (secretary or steward) of Nāʾilī ʿAbdullāh Pasha, Silāḥdār ʿAlī Pasha and Saʿīd Meḥmed Pasha, in that order. Promoted *defterdār kesedārī* (treasury cashier), he became finance clerk (*māliyye tedhkiredjisi*) during the expedition of 1181/1768. On 22 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1185/26 February 1772, while the army was camped at Shumnu (Shumen), he became *defterdār* of the first division (*shiḳḳ*). Although he left that post when the army returned to Istanbul, he was re-appointed to it on 6 Ramaḍān 1188/25 November 1774. On 3 Ṣafar 1189/5 April 1775 he became steward (*kedkhudā*) to the Grand Vizier, being finally appointed Gand Vizier himself on 7 Djumāda I 1189/6 July 1775.

Having in this way come to power in the period which followed the conclusion of the treaty of Küčük Kaynardja, Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha made use of the authority which Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I was in the habit of granting to his Grand Viziers, to procure a pleasurable life for himself instead of trying to make good the damage suffered by the Empire during the war. The laxity of his conduct of State affairs combined with gossip about him led to his dismissal on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1190/19 December 1776 and to his exile in Gallipoli. Nevertheless, he was appointed on 2 Muḥarram 1191/10 February 1777 to be *wālī* (governor) of Khanya (Canea in Crete). He fell ill, however, during his voyage out and died in Sakīz (Chios), being buried in the mosque of Ibrāhīm Pasha. Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha was a man of quiet disposition whose services to the State were negligible. Nevertheless, he built or, at least, repaired some pious establishments in Istanbul (in the districts of Eyyūb and of Üsküdar-Scutari), in Bursa and in Egypt. The fact that some of these were *tekkes* (*tekyes*) suggests that he had *ṣūfī* sympathies.

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DERWĪSH MEḤMED PASHA (1178-1253/1765-1837), Ottoman Grand Vizier, son of Rüstem Agha from Anapoli (Nauplion) in Mora (Peloponnesus). He received his training as seal-keeper (*mühürdār*) of the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Pasha, also of Peloponnesian origin, thanks to whose protection he was appointed *mīr-i mīrān* (Pasha of the second class) and *sandjaḳ-beyi*. He became later tax-collector (*muḥaṣṣil*) of the *liwā* of Ḥamīd, while in 1232/1817 he served as *mutaṣarrif* (with the rank of *wezīr* or Pasha) of Khudāwendigār, Eskishehir and Ḳodja-ili. The most influential functionary in the Empire, Ḥālet Efendi, wanted at that time to see a weak Grand Vizier and he, therefore, advised Sultan Maḥmūd II to appoint Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha, who became Grand Vizier on 27 Ṣafar 1233/6 January 1818. During his two-year tenure of office Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha did not succeed in imposing his authority: he was even unable to ensure the security of Istanbul, where he refrained from punishing the gang leaders, preferring instead to propitiate every one. Although this conduct was agreeable to the leading functionaries and particularly to Ḥālet Efendi, the Sultan realized the Grand Vizier's impotence, but chose to keep him for some time in order to safeguard the honour of the office. Finally on 19 Rabīʿ I 1235/5 January 1820 the Sultan

dismissed him and banished him to Gallipoli. On 11 Rabīʿ II 1236/16 January 1821 he was appointed nevertheless, governor of Damascus with additional jurisdiction over the *liwā* of Nablūs and with the additional function of *amīr al-ḥadjdj* (official responsible for the pilgrims). In this capacity he quarrelled with ʿAbdullāh Pasha, the *wālī* of Ṣaydā (Sidon), whom he besieged in Acre in accordance with the orders of the Sublime Porte. When, however, the latter was pardoned, Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha was transferred to the *eyālet* (province) of Anatolia, where the tyrannical behaviour of his son-in-law Ḥamdī Bey led to complaints by the people of Kütahya (Cotyleaum), as a result of which Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha was dismissed, stripped of the rank of *wezīr*, deprived of his property and exiled to Afyūn-Ḳara-Ḥiṣār, whence he was later transferred, at his own request, to Bursa. In Rabīʿ I 1253/June 1837 he was appointed *Shaykh al-Ḥaram* (governor of Medina), but died (in Ramaḍān/December of the same year) at Yanbūʿ on his way there.

A man of weak and kindly temperament, Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha is one of the least forceful of the Ottoman Grand Viziers. Some pious works in Bursa and in Istanbul are ascribed to him.

Bibliographie: Shānīzāde ʿAṭāʾullāh Efendi, *Taʾrīkh* (Istanbul 1290-1 A.H.) ii, 304, 331, 356 ff.; iii, 88 ff., 149; Djewdet Pasha, *Taʾrīkh* (Istanbul 1301 A.H.), xi, 38, 72, 80; xii, 23, 84 ff., 125; Luṭfī Efendi, *Taʾrīkh* (Istanbul 1302 A.H.), v, 88 ff.; Rifʿat Efendi, *Ward al-Ḥadāʾiḳ* (lith. Istanbul), 15. (M. Cavid Baysun)

DESTOUR [see dustūr].

DEVE BOYNU, literally "camel's neck", a Turkish geographical term used to designate certain mountain passes and promontories. The most celebrated mountain pass known as Deve Boynu is that between Erzurum [*q.v.*] and Ḥasan-Ḳalʿe, which played an important part in the defence of Erzurum. The transit road leads from Trebizond (ṭarabzun, [*q.v.*]) to Īrān, and the Erzurum-Kars railway passes through it (see F. B. Lynch, *Armenia Travels and Studies, 1898*, London 1901, ii, 194 ff.; E. Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien, Kurdistan und Armenien*, 1895, 260 ff.). Another pass known as Deve Boynu is situated near Göldjük and is crossed by the Elâziz-Ergani (Diyār-Bakr, [*q.v.*]) road (see Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie*, iv, 83; E. Chaput, *Voyages d'études géologiques et géomorphogéniques en Turquie*, 193 ff.). There are other passes (between Gaziantep (ʿAyntāb, [*q.v.*]) and Besni in the Ḳaradagh mountains) and villages (*e.g.* between Elbistan and Göksu) known by that name. Other similar place-names are Deve Geçidi ("Camel Pass"), a village and valley north-west of Diyār-Bakr; Deve Çayırı ("Camel pasture"), a village west of Gürün; Deve Tepesi ("Camel hill"), a peak in the Bulgar Daghī mountains, see T. Kotschy, *Reise in den Kilik. Taurus*, 1858, 201); Develi ("connected with camels"), name of inhabited localities and a mountain. Similar place-names occur in Syria and ʿIrāḳ. In ancient Assyria Gaugamela (Aramaic Gab Gamela,) where the famous battle was fought, meant "camel's back" (Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 865, s.v. Gaugamela). Pīrī Reʾīs mentions three promontories known as Deve Boynu on the Aegean coast of Anatolia (*Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, 140, 151, 240). Modern maps show another promontory known as Deve Boynu at the western tip of the Dadya peninsula, and there is also a Deve Boynu promontory on the southern coast of Lake Van [*q.v.*]. (Besim Darkot)

DEVEDJI, a Turkish word meaning cameleer, the name given to certain regiments of the corps of janissaries [see yeni čeri], forming part of the *Djemāʿat*, and performing escort duties with the supply columns. They were also called by the Persian term *shuturbān*. The Devedjis originally formed the first five *orta*s of the *Djemāʿat* (four according to D'Ohsson), and were later augmented to include many others. They wore heron's feathers in their crests (see sorguč); when attending the *dīwān* they wore velvet trimmed with sable and lynx fur. Devedji officers enjoyed high precedence among the *orta*s. According to Marsigli, the captains of the first five *orta*s were always preferred to the command of garrison centres. Their chief, the Bashdevedji, ranked high in the ladder of promotion, after the Khāṣṣeki Agha and above the Yaya-bashī [*qq.v.*].

Bibliography: Marsigli, *L'État militaire de l'Empire ottoman*, The Hague 1732, i, 72; D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, vii, Paris 1824, 343; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, iv, 217, 436; idem, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 209; Aḥmed Djewād, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAskerī-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1299 A.H., 12 etc.; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilâtından Kapıkulu Ocakları*, i, Ankara 1943, index; Gibb-Bowen i/I, 321-2. (B. Lewis)

DEVELĪ ḲARA ḤIṢĀR [see Ḳara Ḥiṣār].

DEVSHIRME, verbal noun of T. *devshir-* 'to collect' (with various spellings, cf. *TTS* s.v. *derşürmek*), Ottoman term for the periodical levy of Christian children for training to fill the ranks of the Janissaries (see yeni čeri) and to occupy posts in the Palace service and in the administration (Gr. παιδομάζωμα). The same verb is used in the earliest Ottoman sources (Giese's *Anon.* 22, l. 12 = Urudj 22, l. 4) for the 'collection' of the fifth part of prisoners from the *dār al-ḥarb* due to the Sultan as *pendjik* [*q.v.*], from whom, according to tradition, the Janissary corps was first raised in the early years of the reign of Murād I; but the date of the institution of the *devshirme* in its narrower sense of a levy of *dhimmī* children is still uncertain (Idrīs Bidlīsī's attribution of it to Orkhān is certainly anachronistic, although, having been followed by Saʿd al-Dīn and Hammer, it long enjoyed general acceptance). The earliest contemporary reference to the *devshirme* so far known appears in a sermon preached in 1395 (*i.e.*, in the reign of Bāyezīd I) by Isidore Glabas, the metropolitan of Thessalonica, lamenting the 'seizure of the children by the decree of the amīr' (Ὁμιλία περὶ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς τῶν παιδίων κατὰ το τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ ἐπίταγμα, first noticed by O. Tafrali, in *Thessalonique au XIVème siècle*, 1913, 286 f., and discussed by S. Vryonis Jr. in *Isidore Glabas and the Turkish Devshirme* in *Speculum* xxxi, 1956, 433-43); the second oldest appears in Sinān Pasha's letter, of 1430, to the inhabitants of Ioannina, promising them if they submitted exemption from πιασμὸν παιδίων (cf. K. Amantos, in Ἑλληνικά ix, 1936, 119). Bartholomaeus de Jano, in his letter written in 1438, says (Migne *Patr. Graec.* vol. 158, col. 1066): '[Murād II] *decimam puerorum partem de Christianis, quod prius numquam fecerat* (sic, not *fuerat* as in *EI*[1]), *nuper accepit* ...', which has been interpreted as indicating that it was Murād II who introduced the *devshirme*; however in the light of Isidore Glabas's reference it seems rather that Murād re-introduced it, perhaps after it had been suspended in the years of confusion following the battle of Ankara (as is

stated by ʿAṭā I 33) and as part of his re-organization of the Janissaries (Sphrantzes 92).

Although Idrīs Bidlīsī maintained, on the ground that most of the *dhimmīs* had been conquered by force (*be-ʿanwa*), that the *devshirme* was in accordance with the *sharʿ*, this argument seems not to have commended itself to Saʿd al-Dīn (cf. V. L. Ménage in *BSOAS*, xviii, 1956, 181-3), and the *devshirme* does appear in fact to have been an infringement of the rights of the *dhimmīs* (see DHIMMA). It has been suggested however that a justification of the *devshirme* might have been drawn from the Shāfiʿī doctrine that Christians converted since the Descent of the Ḳurʾān (and hence most of the rural population of the Balkans, but not the Greeks) were not entitled to the status of *dhimmī* (cf. P. Wittek, *Devshirme and Sharīʿa*, *BSOAS*, xvii, 1955, 271-8).

With certain exceptions (see below) all the Christian population of the European domains of the Empire, and later the Asiatic domains as well, was liable to the *devshirme*. In the 16th century, the *devshirme* was entrusted to a Janissary officer, usually a *yaya-bashî* (for the ranks eligible for this duty cf. I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, i [hereafter *KkO*], 15), who went to the district where the levy was to be made, accompanied by a *kâtib*, and taking with him a letter from the Agha of the Janissaries, a *berāt* of authorization, and (according to Navagero [see *Bibl.*]) a supply of uniforms. In each *ḳaḍā* criers summoned the children to gather, accompanied by their fathers and by the priests, who brought the baptismal registers. Under the supervision of the *ḳāḍī* and the *sipāhīs*, or their representatives, the officer selected the best of the children of the ages eligible. The age-limits reported in European accounts vary greatly, from as low as eight years old to as high as 20 (cf. Lybyer 48); relatively late Ottoman documents (of 1601, 1621, 1622 and 1666) prescribe the limits 15-20 (*KkO*, 95, 98; A. E. Vakalopoulos [see *Bibl.*] 286 f.). For each group of 100-150 children two registers were made, listing their names, parentage, ages and descriptions; one remained with the recruiting-officer, the other went with the *sürüdjü* ('drover') who conducted the impressed children to Istanbul (see especially documents in *KkO*, 92-7). The local *reʿāyā* were obliged to pay a special tax to meet the cost of the uniforms (*KkO*, 17 f., 22 n.).

On arriving in Istanbul the children were inspected both for their physique and for their moral qualities as revealed by the science of Physiognomy (*ḳiyāfa*, [*q.v.*]; cf. ʿĀlī, *Künh*, v, 14 f.; id., *Mevāʿidü'n-Nefāʾis*, Istanbul 1956, 21; Postel, iii, 3). The best were taken directly into the Palace service or distributed to high dignitaries; the rest were hired (for 25 *aḳčes* a head, according to Navagero [1553]: one ducat according to Busbecq; two ducats according to Ḳočî Beg) to Turks in Asia Minor, and later—already by the middle of the 16th century [Navagero, Busbecq, Chesneau]—in Rūmeli as well, to work on the land for some years, learn Turkish and assimilate Muslim ways (the term for this training period was *Türk üzerinde olmak*, cf. *KkO*, 115 ff.). The lads were called in as required to fill vacancies in the *ʿadjamī odjaḳ* (see ʿADJAMĪ OGHLAN).

In principle the *devshirme* was not applied to children of townsfolk and craftsmen, as being sophisticated and less hardy than peasant lads (*KkO*, 18, 39), though these rules were often abused: *devshirmes* were levied regularly in Athens in the middle of the 16th century (cf. the chronicle in *Ecthesis Chronica*, ed. S. Lampros, 1902, 86). As married lads were not taken, the Christian peasantry often married their children very young (Gerlach, 306). Regions which had submitted voluntarily to the Ottomans seem to have been exempt from the *devshirme* (cf. Des Hayes): certainly exemption is specified among the terms granted, for example, to Galata (cf. E. Dalleggio d'Alessio in Ἑλληνικά xi, 1939, 115-24), Rhodes (cf. Charrière, *Négociations*, i, 92; Fontanus in Lonicerus [1584 ed.] i, 423) and Chios (cf. P. Argenti, *Chius Vincta*, 1941, cxliii, 208 ff.). The inhabitants of Istanbul, perhaps as being townsfolk, were in practice not liable (Gerlach 48; and cf. the story in the *Historia Patriarchica* [Bonn ed. 167, discussed by J. H. Mordtmann in *BZ*, xxi, 1912, 129-144] that Meḥemmed II had granted them *amān*). Moldavia and Wallachia were never subject to the *devshirme* (Cantemir, 1734 ed., 38, and cf. *KkO*, 14 n., Jorga, iii, 188); the Armenians seem to have been exempt at first (Thevet, 799 b, but cf. *KkO*, 17), but were so no longer in later years (Ḳočî Beg). Freedom from the *devshirme*, temporary or permanent, was also included occasionally among the exemptions from taxes and *ʿawāriḍ* granted to various groups of *reʿāyā* in return for services rendered directly to the State, *e.g.*, miners, guardians of passes and dwellers on main roads, or to some dwellers on *waḳf*-lands (*KkO*, 109-14; Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 72, 85; *relazione* of Garzoni [1573] in Albèri, 3rd ser., i, 396); these exemptions were strictly checked and liable to be withdrawn (*KkO*, 97-101).

The Muslims of Bosnia were in a special position. According to a late Ottoman source (Shamʿdānī-zāde, *Marʾī al-tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1338, 454) the Christian population embraced Islam *en masse* upon the Ottoman conquest in 867/1463, but requested that their children should nevertheless be eligible for the *devshirme*. Though the Islamization of the peasantry was not in fact instantaneous (cf. B. Djurdjev, BOSNA, 1265 b above), there is a record of a recruitment of 1000 lads for the Janissaries from the Muslim population of Bosnia and Herzegovina as early as 921/1515 (Ferīdūn², i, 472). Here the converted Bosnians are called *Poturnāk* (cf. A. V. Soloviev, in *Byzantion*, xxiii (1953), 73-86); they are called *Potur ṭāʾifesi* in a document of 981/1573 (*KkO*, 103), and the recruited lads *Potur oghullarî* in a document of 998/1589 (*KkO*, 108), which defines them as 'circumcised but ignorant of Turkish', and which warns the beylerbey against recruiting boys who are '*Türkleshmish*', *i.e.*, Turkish-speaking. An undated list preserved in the Topkapu archives (published by R. M. Meriç in *Ist. Enst. Dergisi*, iii, 1957, 35-40) gives the names and descriptions of 60 boys (whose ages range from 13 to 19) recruited from the *ḳaḍā* of Yenipazar; the names show that 44 of them are Muslim-born and 16 Christian-born, the latter being identified both by their (new) Muslim names and by their (former) Christian names. It is said that these Muslims of Bosnia were not distributed for training, but mostly drafted straight into the Palace or into the *odjaḳ* of the *bostāndjîs*, [*q.v.*] (*KkO*, 19, referring to the *Ḳawānīn-i Yeničeriyān*, a work composed under Aḥmed I—see *Bibl.*).

Many of the European reports suggest that the *devshirme* was made at regular intervals, estimates ranging from every five years to annually (references in Zinkeisen, iii, 216 and Lybyer, 51). More probably it took place on an *ad hoc* basis according to need—infrequently in the reign of Meḥemmed II, when the Janissaries were relatively few and *pendjik* prisoners abundant (cf. Cippico [1472] in Sathas, *Docs. in-*

édits . . ., vii, 281: '*se non possono avere prigioni*' = Basle ed. 1544, ii, 51; Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis [ca. 1480] ed. Fr. Babinger, 1957, 36: '*manchandoli* [*i.e.*, prisoners] *preda rape de figlioli de christiani subditi soi*'), then at more and more frequent intervals throughout the 16th century, until at the end of the century the ranks of the Janissaries were in effect opened to all comers; thereafter, when recruitment was no longer dependent upon the *devshirme*, levies were spasmodic.

Again, many reports maintain, erroneously, that the *devshirme* officials recruited a fixed proportion of children, often stated to be a 'tithe', though estimates range as high as one in five (Spandugino, Thevet) and even one in three (anon. report of 1582 in Albèri, 3rd ser., ii, 245; Palerne [also 1582]). A *fermān*, said to be of the early 16th century (*KkO*, 92 ff.) shows that—at that time, at least—the number of boys to be levied was calculated beforehand on the basis of one boy (aged 14 to 18) from every 40 households.

Reports of the numbers taken also vary greatly, Postel's being as high as 10-12,000 a year. According to Gerlach (34) a *devshirme* of 1573 (documents in *KkO*, 103 ff. show that it covered both Rūmeli and Asia Minor) produced 8000 boys. Saʿd al-Dīn calculated that in the 200 years and more that it had been in force the *devshirme* had produced over 200,000 converts to Islam (i, 41), *i.e.*, an average of 1000 a year, which is the figure given by Shamʿdānīzāde (*loc. cit.*). However, there was much abuse by the recruiting officers, who levied more children than their warrants permitted, selling the surplus for their private profit (Spandugino); they also grew rich on bribes, both from Christians who bought their children off, and from non-Christians who smuggled their children in (Gerlach, 48, 306; Roe, *Negotiations*, 534; Selānikī 263 f., referring to the *devshirme* of 998/1589-90, for which cf. the documents in *KkO*, 102 f.).

When the *devshirme* was extended to Asia Minor is not clear. In 1456 the Greeks of the west coast appealed to the Grand Master of Rhodes for help against the Turks 'who take (πέρνουν) our children and make Muslims of them' (Miklosisch and Müller, *Acta*, iii, 291), but this complaint may refer only to piracy. Trabzon was liable to the *devshirme* at various times throughout the 10th/16th century (*KkO*, 15 n., 19); it may be that the *devshirme* was extended from this (formerly Christian) district over the rest of Asia Minor. Kartal had been subject to the *devshirme* before 945/1538 (*KkO*, 111 f.); the *sandjaks* of Sis and Kayseri were visited shortly before 972/1564 (*KkO*, 126), and the districts of Bursa, Lefke and Iznik before 984/1576—the year in which Gerlach visited Ulubad and found it liable to the *devshirme* (257). In 981/1573-4 there was an extensive *devshirme* not only in Rūmeli but also in the area Begshehri-Marʿash and around Biledjik (*KkO*, 103-6, 127), no doubt that which, according to Gerlach (34), brought in 8000 boys in January 1574. The *devshirme* reached as far as Batum in 992/1584 (*KkO*, 107), and in 1032/1623 almost the whole of Asia Minor was covered (*KkO*, 94 ff. and cf. 22 n.); in the latter year, that following the murder of Sultan ʿOthmān, Greece too was visited 'to fill the seraglio' (Roe, *Negotiations*, 534).

By the beginning of the 11th/17th century, the ranks of the Janissaries had become so swollen with Muslim-born 'intruders' that frequent recruitments by *devshirme* were no longer necessary. Although according to Lithgow (*Rare Adventures*, 1906, 106 and 149) the *devshirme* was 'absolutely abrogated' by Aḥmed I, levies were made throughout the century, but sporadically: according to the *relazione* of Foscarini (1637) there had then been no levy for twelve years (Barozzi-Berchet, v/ii, 86). There was a *devshirme* however in the next year, 1048/1638 (*Fedhleke*, ii, 211), and it was not, as Hammer believed (*GOR*, v, 244, and hence Zinkeisen, iv, 166), the last; for according to Rycaut (*Present State*, i, ch. 4) the Janissary leader Bektāsh Agha demanded (in 1061/1651) that henceforth the 'yearly' collection of children should be abolished, and only the children of Janissaries be admitted 'for the service of the Grand Signior'; and Ewliyā Čelebi (i, 598) speaks of a *devshirme* in Rūmeli every 7 years, when 7-8,000 boys were collected at Üsküb, brought to Istanbul, and placed directly into the various *odjaks* (the preliminary training in Anatolia evidently being by now abandoned, cf. *KkO*, 24 f.). Rycaut found that in his time (he was in Istanbul from 1660) the *devshirme* was 'in a great part grown out of use' (*op. cit.*, i, ch. 18) and 'wholly forgotten' (iii, ch. 8); so too Quirini (1676) reported that there had been no *devshirme* since 1663 (Barozzi-Berchet, V/ii, 160, and cf. Hammer *GOR*, vii, 555), and Morosini (1680) spoke of it as taking place only every twenty years or so (*op. cit.*, 219); article 3 of the Ottoman-Polish treaty of Buczacz (1083/1672) provided that the inhabitants of Podolia would be exempt 'if a *devshirme* is ordered' (Rāshid², i, 285), a phrase implying that the practice was by then irregular and infrequent. All the same there were *devshirmes* in 1666 (Vakalopoulos, 286) and 1674 (Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, vi, 299), the latter at least intended only to recruit staff for the Palace. Very shortly after his accession in 1115/1703 Aḥmed III ordered that the turbulent *bostāndjīs* should be enrolled in the Janissaries and 1000 *devshirme* boys be collected to replace them (Rāshid², iii, 88 f., Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, vii, 91); there may be a connexion between this and an attempt to carry out a *devshirme* in Greece in April 1705 (Vakalopoulos, 292). This is the latest record of a *devshirme* so far known, though Uzunçarşılı has found a *berāt* of 1150/1738 exempting a Christian subject from taxes and his son from the *devshirme* (*KkO*, 68 f.).

Bibliography (further to references given in the text): Zinkeisen, iii, 215-230, which is based mainly on the Venetian reports in Albèri (the most circumstantial being that of Navagero [1553], Albèri, 3rd ser., i, 48 ff.) and Gerlach's *Tagebuch*, 34, 48, 306; J. H. Mordtmann, DEWSHIRME in *EI*¹ (1912) and references there (most of which have been incorporated above); Ḳoči Beg, Ist. 1303, 27 f. = tr. Bernhauer, *ZDMG*, xv, 284 = Ist. 1939, 28; A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire* . . ., 1913, 49 ff.; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 1929, ii, 484 ff.; W. L. Wright, *Ottoman Statecraft*, 1935, index; Barnette Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror*, 1941, 74 ff., 174 f.; D. Pephanes, Τὸ Παιδομάζωμα, Athens 1948 (not seen); Gibb-Bowen, index; J. A. B. Palmer, *The Origin of the Janissaries*, in *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv, 1953, 448-481; A. E. Vakalopoulos, Προβλήματα τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ παιδομαζώματος, in Ἑλληνικά xiii, 1954, 274-293.

References in European travel-books etc. must be treated with caution, for authors frequently borrow without acknowledgement from their predecessors: thus the reference in Rycaut (*Present State*, i, ch. 10) to an annual *devshirme* of

2000 boys mostly from the Morea and Albania derives, presumably via Withers, from Bon (Barozzi-Berchet, v/i, 77), who was writing 60 years earlier, as does that in Baudier, and the account in B. de Vigenère's *Illustrations* (1650 ed., col. 49) largely from Postel. The following references seem to be independent: Spandugino, *Petit Traicté*, ed. Schefer 1896, 102 ff., 144 f., = Sathas, *Documents inédits*, ix, 212 f., 225; J. Chesneau, *Le Voyage de M. d'Aramon*, ed. Schefer 1887, 44 f.; A. Geuffroy, *Briefve Description* (appendix to preceding) 242 f.; G. Postel, *De la république* . . ., 1560, iii, 22 ff.; A. Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle*, 1575, 799 b, 808 b, 817 b (engraving); N. de Nicolay, *Navigations*, 1568, 79 ff.; S. Schweigger, *Neue Reysbeschreibung*, 1608, 168 ff.; Busbecq, *De Acie* . . ., 1581, 152 f. = Eng. tr. by N. Tate, 1694, 400 f.; J. Palerne, *Peregrinations*, 1606, 412 f., 502 f.; H. de Beauvau, *Relation Journalière*, 1619, 68; L. Des Hayes, *Voiage de Levant*, 1624, 137 ff.

These accounts can be controlled from the archive-material given by I. H. Uzunçarşılı in *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*, i, 1943, 1-141 (this includes nearly all the documents published by Aḥmed Refīḳ in *Edebiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmūʿasi*, v, 1926, 1-14, and on it is based I. H. Uzunçarşılı's article Devşirme in *IA*); Uzunçarşılı refers frequently to a work *Ḳawānīn-i Yeničeriyān* in his private library: this seems to be identical with the work, composed under Aḥmed I, which is described in *İst. Kit. Tarih-Cografya Yazmaları Katalogları*, i/10, 813 (MS Esad Ef. 2068) and of which MS Revan 1320 contains another copy (cf. L. Forrer in *Isl.*, xxvi, no. 62).

(V. L. Ménage)

DEWLET [see dawla].

DEY [see dayī].

DHABĪḤA: a victim destined for immolation according to Muslim law, in fulfilment of a vow, *nadhr*, for example, or for the sacrifice of *ʿaḳīḳa*, or on the occasion of the feast of the 10th day of Dhu 'l-ḥidjdja (then called *ḍaḥiyya*), or in order to make atonement for certain transgressions committed during the *ḥadjdj* (the victim in this case being known as *hadī*).

This *dhabīḥa* must be slaughtered according to a strict ritual known as *dhakāʾa*. Its form does not differ from the ritual slaughter of animals permitted as food: hence it is with this type of slaughter that we shall now concern ourselves. The differences between the various schools of law in this regard are comparatively unimportant. However, on this question, as with the rest of *fiḳh*, in order to adopt not only a theoretical but also a sociological point of view, it would be necessary to show what the actual practice on this matter has been throughout the world of Islam as whole. On this subject we shall limit ourselves to a single observation.

The matter is briefly referred to in the Ḳurʾān (v, 4, vi, 147) and dealt with at greater length in the collections of traditions and the texts of *fiḳh*.

1. What animals are proper subjects for ritual slaughter? The list does not coincide exactly with that of the animals that are permissible as food. For in the first place there are those animals which may be eaten without any necessity of ritual slaughter—grasshoppers or fish, for example (these latter, indeed, may be eaten even if found dead); in the second place there are special rules, which are not our present concern, applicable to hunting, and finally the foetus which is almost at term is permissible as food if its mother has been ritually slaughtered. On the other hand it is recommended that animals which are not lawful food should be slaughtered according to ritual in order to avoid any prolonged suffering. Nevertheless it is, in general, with a view to being able to eat the animal concerned that a ritual slaughter takes place, and this is the more so since the *dhabīḥa*, the sacrificial victim, is normally eaten. It may be remarked that a ritual slaughter makes the flesh of the animal lawful even if the animal is already sick or mortally wounded and the slaughter does no more than accelerate its end.

2. Who may perform ritual slaughter? It is lawful, although blameworthy, for the people of the Book to perform it on behalf of Muslims. On the other hand it is in no way prohibited, nor, even, is it reprehensible (contrary to a curious superstition which prevails in North Africa, for example) for a woman to kill an animal such as a chicken. (One observer has reported that at Tangier, if women are of necessity obliged to do this, they place a phallic symbol between their thighs). All those authorized to act as slaughterers must be in possession of their mental faculties.

3. How is the slaughter (*dhakāʾa*) effected? Four methods of killing may be distinguished of which only the first two need concern us: the *dhabḥ*; the *naḥr* (see below); the wounding or *ʿaḳr* (which is important with regard to the theory of hunting); any other method of killing. For the *dhabīḥa* to be validly put to death and the animal concerned to be permissible as food then either the *dhabḥ* or the *naḥr* should be employed according to the circumstances. Otherwise the dead animal will be regarded as carrion (*mayta*) and therefore legally unfit for consumption except in the case of absolute necessity. At the moment of slaughter it is obligatory to have the necessary intention and to invoke the name of God. The *dhabḥ* is the normal method of slaughter, for the *naḥr* is applicable only to camels (there are some differences of opinion among the schools as to the obligatory or simply praiseworthy character of these provisions). The *dhabḥ* consists of slitting the throat, including the trachea and the oesophagus; (as for the two jugular veins there are divergencies between the schools); the head is not to be severed. Preferably the victim should be laid upon its left side facing in the direction of the *ḳibla*. As for the *naḥr*, it consists of driving the knife in by the throat without it being necessary to cut in the manner prescribed above, the camel remaining upright but at the same time facing the *ḳibla*. There are some casuistic discussions regarding the nature of the instrument to be used. More important is the fact that many provisions of *fiḳh* bear witness to an anxiety that the victims should be spared any unnecessary suffering. In particular the knife ought to be well sharpened; the practice of collective slaughtering is condemned, as too is that of cutting off part of an animal or removing its skin (except in the case of fish) before it is dead.

Bibliography: The collections of traditions contain chapters on the subject—of a greater or lesser scope—such as Bukhārī, tr. Houdas and Marçais, iv, 72; so too do all the books of *fiḳh*, usually in the context of hunting (*e.g.*, Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Guidi, i, 315 ff., and tr. Bousquet, i, 85 ff.; Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh* (tr. Bousquet, i, 108 ff.)). We might also note the classical treatises of *ikhtilāf*, which have not yet been translated—for example, Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*; Shaʿrānī, *Mīzān*,

etc.; E. Gräf, *Jagdbeute und Schlachttier im islamischen Recht*, Bonn 1959. See also ṢAYD.

(G.-H. BOUSQUET)

DHAFĀR [see ẒAFĀR].

DHAHAB, gold, played an important part in various areas of the life of Muslim society. The main reason for the significance of the metal was its economic assets. These were referred to in the Ḳur'ān. Apart from implicitly alluding to the value aspect of gold (*Sūra* III, 85), the Ḳur'ān alludes to the attraction of 'hoarded ḳinṭārs of gold' for people (*Sūra* III, 12) and warns against hoarding since 'those who treasure up gold and silver and do not expend them in the way of Allāh' would meet with a painful punishment (*Sūra* IX, 34). The problem of gold was also discussed by Muslim jurists who determined its taxability and regulated property laws in respect of lands possessing gold deposits (cf. al-Māwardī, *Les Statuts gouvernementaux*, trad. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, 252-3, 426-7, 447-8).

Since gold, along with silver, constituted the basis for the official Muslim monetary system (see DĪNĀR), a sufficient supply of this metal was essential for general economic stability. This was secured by the exploitation of gold mines situated in the Muslim Empire, as well as by the influx of bullion from the adjacent countries. Although mediaeval sources refer to many mining areas (cf. D. M. Dunlop, *Sources of gold and silver in Islam according to al-Hamdani (10th Century A.D.)*, in *Stud. Isl.* viii, 1957, 29-49), the region of Wādī ʿAllāḳī was particularly famous for intensive mining activities (cf., al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Les pays*, trans. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 190), while that of Ghāna for the excellent quality of its ore (cf., *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale par el-Bekri*, trans. de Slane, 177). It seems that the exploitation of gold mines was not subject to the monopolistic pressure of Muslim political authorities (cf. C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, Leipzig 1924, i, 189; also, al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, trans. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, i, 58). The total volume of gold circulating in the Near East during various periods of Muslim domination can hardly be ascertained. It is nevertheless possible to infer on the basis of textual and abundant numismatic evidence that the Muslim Empire was well provided with gold. But a tremendous war expenditure connected with the operations of the Crusaders, a gradual re-establishment of European hegemony in the Mediterranean balance of trade, and a later absorption of West Sudanese gold by the Portuguese, led to a drastic draining of Near Eastern gold reserves (cf. M. Lombard, *Les bases monétaires d'une suprématie économique. L'or musulman du VIIe au XIe siècle*, in *Annales [Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations]*, 2, 1947, 142-60; F. Braudel, *Monnaies et civilisations. De l'or du Soudan à l'argent d'Amérique, ibid.*, i, 1946, 9-22).

As in the pre-Islamic period, the use of gold in jewellery, ornamental crafts, in manuscript illuminations and in calligraphy, was widely practised during the Middle Ages (Aḥmad b. Mīr-Munshī, *Calligraphers and painters*, transl. V. Minorsky [*Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers*, vol. 3, ii], Washington, D.C., 1959). A prominent place in the goldsmithing production was held by Baghdād (cf. Cl. Cahen, *Documents relatifs à quelques techniques iraquiennes au début du onzième siècle*, in *Ars Islamica*, xv-xvi, 1951, 23-8). Gold woven robes and gold vessels, whose use was condemned by Muslim tradition, were also in demand. The fashion of collecting such luxury objects prevailed particularly during the Buwayhid regime (cf. E. Kühnel, *Die Kunst Persiens unter den Buyiden*, in *ZDMG*, 106, i, [N.F. 31], 1956, 78-92).

The natural properties of gold were studied by Muslim alchemists. Although they still accepted the theory of transmutation of metals (cf. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, 2/ii, 1045), they were well acquainted with various chemical processes, such as cupellation, the separation of gold and silver by means of nitric acid, and the quantitative chemical analysis of gold-silver alloys (cf. E. J. Holmyard, *The makers of chemistry*, Oxford 1931, 77).

Finally, gold was used by Muslim medicine. It was considered particularly effective in diseases of the eye, melancholia, palpitation of the heart, alopecia, etc. Instruments of gold were preferably used for the piercing of holes in the ear, as well as for cauterization (cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, ed. Leclerc, *Notices et extraits*, ii, 150-151).

See also KHAZAF.

(A. S. EHRENKREUTZ)

AL-DHAHABĪ [see AḤMAD AL-MANṢŪR].

AL-DHAHABĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUTHMĀN B. ḲĀYMĀẒ B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-TURKUMĀNĪ AL-FĀRIḲĪ AL-DIMASHḲĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, an Arab historian and theologian, was born at Damascus or at Mayyāfāriḳīn on 1 or 3 Rabīʿ II (according to al-Kutubī, in Rabīʿ I) 673/5 or 7 October 1274, and died at Damascus, according to al-Subkī and al-Suyūṭī, in the night of Sunday-Monday on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 748/4 February 1348, or, according to Aḥmad b. ʿIyās, in 753/1352-3. He was buried at the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr.

His Life. His main lines of study were Tradition and canon law.

He began to study Tradition at Damascus in 690/1291 or 691/1291-2 under Yūsuf al-Mizzī, ʿUmar b. Ḳawwās, Aḥmad b. Hibat Allāh b. ʿAsākir, and Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Ḳamūlī. He continued his studies in Tradition in several Islamic centres, especially at Cairo where he stayed longest, under the best authorities of his time. The number of his teachers is said to have surpassed 1,300, whose biographies he collected in his *Muʿdjam*. The most important of them were: at Baʿlabakk ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ b. ʿUlwān, and Zaynab bint ʿUmar b. al-Kindī; in several towns of Egypt al-Abarḳūhī, ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Mu'min b. Shihāb, Abū Muḥammad al-Dimyāṭī and Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ẓāhirī; at Mecca al-Tūzarī; at Ḥalab Shawkar al-Zaynī; at Nābulus al-ʿImād b. Badrān; then at Alexandria Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿIrāḳī and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Ṣawwāf; and lastly at Cairo Ibn Manṣūr al-Ifrīḳī and chiefly Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd who was well-known for his discrimination in selecting his pupils.

He studied canon law with Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Zamlikānī, Burhān al-Dīn al-Fazārī, and Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ḳāḍī Shuhba. He was an adherent of the Shāfiʿī school.

Having obtained licence for teaching from Abū Zakariyyā b. al-Ṣayrafī, Ibn Abi 'l-Khayr, al-Ḳāsim al-Irbilī, and others, he became Professor of Tradition at the *madrasa* Umm al-Ṣāliḥ in Damascus; however, he was unable to succeed his teacher Yūsuf al-Mizzī at the *madrasa* al-Ashrafiyya of the same city because he could not subscribe to the conditions made by the founder of the institute concerning the canon law school of the Professor of Tradition.

The fields of research he mostly excelled in were Tradition, canon law, and history. He had an indefatigable energy, having been at his studies day

and night, even when he was struck by blindness which befell him, according to Abu 'l-Fidā' and ʿUmar b. al-Wardī, in 743/1342-3, or, according to others, as early as 741/1340-1. He had a great many excellent pupils, among whom we particularly mention ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā*, whose father Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī, the famous Shāfiʿī doctor of law, was his most intimate friend.

His many-sided qualities were acknowledged both by his contemporaries and his later biographers. By the latter he was commonly referred to as *muḥaddith al-ʿaṣr* ("traditionist of the age") and *khātam al-ḥuffāẓ* ("the seal [*i.e.*, the last] of the *ḥāfiẓ*s"). Al-Kutubī praised him with select poetical phrases. According to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, "he had nothing of the rigidness of the traditionists or the stupidity of the historians; on the contrary, he was a lawyer of spirit, and was at home in the opinions of people". Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī composed a beautiful *ḳaṣīda* in praise of his excellent qualities.

On the other hand, we also find opinions adverse to his reputation. His own most eminent pupil al-Subkī reproached him with reviling even his own Shāfiʿī school, in addition to the Ḥanafīs and the Ashʿarīs, and extolling the theological tendency known as al-Mudjassima. Similarly, Abu 'l-Fidā' and ʿUmar b. al-Wardī, while admitting that he was an historian and traditionist of a high rank, state that towards the end of his life, when he became blind, he compiled biographies of some of his living contemporaries which, based on the biased information of his young admirers, quite unwittingly tarnished the good reputation of certain persons.

His Work. As an author he was not as prolific as Ibn al-Djawzī before him or al-Suyūṭī after him; however, some of his works have attained a high standard in East and West alike. Like practically all the post-classical Arab authors he too was a compiler, but his works are distinguished by careful composition and constant references to his authorities. It is for these peculiarities that his works on Tradition, especially on the *ʿilm al-ridjāl*, have become very popular.

A) History. His greatest work is the *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* ("History of Islam"), printed together with his *Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāhīr wa 'l-aʿlām* at Cairo from 1367/1947-6 onwards, an extensive history of Islam, beginning with the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad and ending with the year 700/1300-1. It follows the system of the *Kitāb al-muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*], containing both the general narrative (*al-ḥawādith al-kāʾina*) and the obituary notices of the persons who died in the several years (*al-mutawaffūn*). The whole work is divided into "classes" (*ṭabaḳāt*) of decades, so that it contains seventy "classes" altogether. In each decade first comes the general narrative, subdivided into the several years; then follow the "classes" of the obituary notices, equally subdivided into the several years, and ended by the obituary notices of persons whose exact dates of death could not be stated. The relation of the extent of the general narrative to that of the obituary notices is, on an average, 1 to 6 or 7.

The system of the general narrative of the first three centuries is entirely different from that of the last four centuries. For the first three centuries it is very short, giving only the gist of the matter and being but a concise compendium of al-Ṭabarī's [*q.v.*] chronicle; it enumerates the notable persons who died in the year concerned, then the leaders of the annual pilgrimage, and last the political events. For the last four centuries the order is quite inverted. First come the detailed annual records of political history, with constant references to the authorities consulted; then there follow those of local and administrative history, especially of Baghdād and Damascus; then the so-called "strange things" (*al-ʿadjāʾib*), *i.e.*, the curiosities and striking phenomena of the year are recorded; then comes the enumeration of the leaders of the annual pilgrimage from Baghdād and Damascus, and last the list of the names of the notabilities who died in the year concerned. The literary value of the general narrative is in its recording of events neglected by Ibn al-Athīr [*q.v.*] in his *al-Kāmil fi 'l-taʾrīkh*, such as 1) the history of the Saldjūḳs, Ayyūbids, and the Mongol invasion; 2) the internal development of Islam, especially the Bāṭinīs and the Shīʿīs; 3) Western Islam. Al-Dhahabī's tendency is, therefore, to record the development of the *whole* of Islam although his narrative is more detailed for Syria and Egypt than for other countries.

The obituary notices record the biographies of all the caliphs and minor rulers of both the Eastern and the Western Islam; then the viziers, generals, and functionaries of rank; then the jurisconsults and theologians of all the schools of canon law as well as other scholars; and last the poets, whose biographies contain numerous quotations from their works. The obituary notices in general follow the scheme of the *ṭabaḳāt*-works; they have far greater historical value than the general narrative has.

The *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* was continued by at least six hands; three of these continuations are extant: 1) from 701/1301-2 to 740/1339-40 by al-Dhahabī himself; 2) from 701/1301-2 to 786/1384-5 by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāḳī and his son Aḥmad (died in 826/1422-3), only the latter's work being extant; 3) from 701/1301-2 to 790/1388 by Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (died in 851/1447-8) in his *Al-iʿlām bi-taʾrīkh al-Islām*.

Owing to the voluminous character of the *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* it was abridged many times. Six abridgments were made by al-Dhahabī himself:

1) *Kitāb duwal al-Islām* or *al-Taʾrīkh al-ṣaghīr* ("Small History"), published at Ḥaydarābād in 1337/1918-9.

2) *al-ʿIbar fī akhbār al-bashar mimman ʿabar* (*Muntakhab al-taʾrīkh al-kabīr*), an abridgment of the biographical "classes".

Whereas these two works combined give a fairly good synopsis of the whole of the *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, the following are extractions from the biographical "classes" (*ṭabaḳas*) only.

3) *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, published at Ḥaydarābād in 1332-3/1914-5 in five volumes. The best known abridgment and continuation of the work was done by al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] under the title *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, published by F. Wüstenfeld at Göttingen in 1833-4. Al-Suyūṭī's continuation was also published at Damascus in 1347/1928-9.

The *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* is also the basis of the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya* of Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba.

4) *al-Iṣāba fī tadjrīd asmā al-Ṣaḥāba*, an alphabetical list of Muḥammad's Companions, based chiefly on the *Usd al-ghāba* of Ibn al-Athīr, printed at Ḥaydarābād in 1315/1897-8.

5) *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ al-mashhūrīn*, published in 7 parts in *al-Hidāya* (an Arabic periodical in Turkey), iv, 1331/1912-3 and ff.

6) *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, printed in 2 vols. at Cairo n.d.

7) *al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ʿabar*, a transcript, enlarged in some passages, of al-Dhahabī's work under the same title (see above no. 2) by Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1447-8).

8) A similar recension of the same work by Ibn al-Shammāʿ (d. 936/1529-30), extending to 734/1333-4.

9) *al-Mukhtaṣar min Taʾrīkh al-Islām wa Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāhīr wa 'l-aʿlām*, by Ibn Ildekiz al-Muʿaẓẓamī al-ʿĀdilī al-Ayyūbī.

Two other historical works of al-Dhahabī are extant:

Mukhtaṣar li-Taʾrīkh Baghdād li 'bn al-Dubaythī, a synopsis of the history of Baghdād according to Ibn al-Dubaythī (died in 637/1239-40).

Mukhtaṣar akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn li 'bn al-Ḳiftī, a synopsis of Ibn al-Ḳiftī's (d. 646/1248-9) History of the Grammarians.

B) Tradition. His works of this category are nearly all of lexicographical character.

Tadhhīb Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā 'l-ridjāl, an improved edition of the *Tahdjīb al-kamāl fī asmā 'l-ridjāl* of Ibn al-Nadjdjār (died in 643/1245-6).

al-Mushtabih fī asmā 'l-ridjāl, ed. by P. de Jong at Leiden in 1881.

Mīzān al-iʿtidāl fī naḳd (or *tarādjim*) *al-ridjāl*, published at Lucknow in 1301/1883-4, at Cairo in 1325/1907-8, at Ḥaydarābād in 1329/1911-1331/1913, and the letter *hamza* only at Istanbul in 1304/1886-7. It was extracted by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalāni (died in 852/1448-9) in his *Lisān al-mīzān*.

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DHAHABIYYA, Persian name of the Kubrāwiyya [*q.v.*] order. See also Ṭarīḳa.

DHAHRAN [see Ẓahrān].

ḌHĀKĀ (Dacca) — (literally 'concealed', but origin obscure) is the capital of East Pakistan. The city is situated at the head of the waterways about a hundred miles from the sea, in a region which has had throughout history a premier position in this province of rivers and flooded plains. The Hindū capital was at Vikramapura, then favourably situated on the Dhaleshwarī river, where the line of old fortification can still be seen, but more important are the tomb and mosque (built 888/1483) of Bābā Ādam Shahīd, a pioneer Muslim saint. Sonārgāon on the Meghnā river was the early Muslim capital, which was famous for the seminary of Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Abū Tawwāma, a Ḥanafī jurist and traditionist of great renown in the 7th/13th century, for the lively court maintained by the romantic Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Aʿẓam Shāh in the late 8th/14th century, and for the fine muslin industry through the period. The place is full of ruined tombs, mosques and inscriptions, the most famous being the tomb of Aʿẓam Shāh and the remains of the Khānḳāh of Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsuf, who emigrated from Persia in the 8th/15th century. Later the local rebel chief ʿĪsā Khān made Sonārgāon and its neighbourhood his headquarters, but the town was destroyed in 1017/1608 by the Mughal soldiery under Shaykh Islām Khān Čishtī. The temporary Mughal camp, which was located in the old Thānā of Ḍhākābāzū, came to be developed as the new Mughal capital of the *ṣūba* of Bengal under the name of Djahāngīrnagar, after the reigning Mughal emperor Djahāngīr.

The capital city stood on the northern bank of the Burigangā, the river Dulāy of the Muslim historians, about eight miles above its confluence with the Dhaleshwarī and far away from the recurring floods. It was well protected against the raids of the Arakanese Maghs and the Portuguese pirates in the 11th/17th century by a system of river fortresses, which still survive at Munshīgandj, Narāyangandj and Sonakanda. The Mughal city spread out beyond the Hindū localities, well-laid with gardens, palaces, markets, mosques and minarets, which are all associated with the names of the Mughal officers. Of the princely governors Shāh Shudjāʿ, the ill-fated brother of the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb, and Muḥammad Aʿẓam, the latter's son, had a great reputation in Eastern India. From their time have been inherited the Baṙā Katrā (the great market quadrangle), the ʿĪdgāh and the fort of Awrangābād, commonly called Lāl Bāgh, the last still showing its terraced walls, bastions, gateways, a mosque and a beautiful mausoleum (partly in marble) of Bībī Parī, one of the wives of Muḥammad Aʿẓam. Of the other governors Mīr Djumlā is better known for his conquest of Assam, and Shāyista Khān for his twenty-five years' service in Bengal, his final conquest of Čaṫgāon in 1076/1666, his lavishly kept harem, and above all the numerous mosques and mausolea built by him in the provincial Mughal style, wrongly called by the people the Shāyistā Khānī style of architecture. Though the Mughal seat of government was transferred to Murshīdābād in 1118/1706, Dacca never lost its importance. It remained the centre of the flourishing muslin industry and many other luxury arts of the East, which attracted the foreign merchants, and as early as the middle of the 17th century we find here factories being established by the Dutch, French and British.

With the introduction of British rule and the growing importance of the city of Calcutta, Dacca lost its premier place in Bengal. In 1905 it was again made the capital of the newly created province of Eastern Bengal and Assam—an administrative measure to favour the Muslims which was annulled because of the growing opposition from Hindū nationalists. In 1906 Dacca witnessed the foundation of the All India Muslim League with the object of protecting the rights of the Muslims of the subcontinent. Many of the red-faced buildings of the newly-developed Ramna in Dacca were built at this time. In 1921 the University of Dacca was founded mainly to meet the demands of the local Muslims. It became a centre of both education and political training for the rising talents of Muslim Bengal. Today Dacca (population 432,853 in 1951) is the second capital of Pakistan and is fast growing

into a modern city with its industrial suburban town of Narāyangandj. The old Mughal city still survives with its numerous mosques and mausolea, but its lanes and by-lanes are being broadened, in line with the new developments in the city. Dacca shares fully in the rebirth of the Muslims of Pakistan.

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DHĀKIR, Kāṣim Bey, the foremost Ādharbāydjānī poet and satirist in the first half of the 19th century. He was born probably in 1786, at Penāhābād in the Khānate of Ḳarabāgh (now Shūsha, Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Avtonom. Oblast). He belonged to the clan of Djawānshīr, a renowned family of *beys*.

In his satirical poetry he relentlessly castigated the religious fanaticism of the Mollās as well as corruption and all kinds of abuses by the *beyzāde*—the local aristocracy—and the Czarist administration officials. His criticism of the latter resulted in his being persecuted by the governor of Ḳarabāgh, Prince Konstantin Tarkhanov, who took advantage of illegal actions in which a nephew of the poet was involved, to have him deported to Baku for some time. Upon the intervention of his friends he was allowed to return to his family estate, where he spent most of his lifetime.

There have been preserved and partly published (see M. A. Resulzade in the bibliography to this article) a number of complaints and appeals for help (*shikāyat-nāma*) which Dhākir addressed, in brilliant verse, to influential fellow-countrymen such as Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Akhund-zāda [*q.v.*] and the first Ādharbāydjānī novelist Ismāʿīl Bey Ḳutḳashīnlī (who had risen to the rank of general in the Russian army). His much esteemed style was obviously influenced by the great 18th century poet Mollā Panāh Wāḳif (1717-97). Like his predecessor, he preferred the simple, popular lyric forms applied by the *ʿāshiḳ* folk literature, such as "*Ḳoshma*" and "*Keraylī*", but he also wrote a number of poems in Persian and in traditional metric forms, as well as some pieces in rhymed prose (*e.g.*, *Darwish we ḳīz*). His fables in verse (*Tülkü we shīr, ḳurd, čaḳḳal we shīr, Tülkü we ḳurd* etc.) follow the widespread oriental tradition set by the "*Kalila and Dimna*", but may be also influenced by Krīlov's (1768-1844) genial adaptations. In his works a number of Russian words—mostly taken from the terminology of administration and selected to suit his satirical purpose—made their first appearance in Ādharī Turkish.

The first publications of poetry by Dhākir seem to have appeared in 1854 (in the official Tiflis newspaper *Kavkaz*) and 1856 (within an anthology published in Temir-Khān Shūra —now Buinaksk, Dāghistān—by Mīrzā Yūsuf Nersesov Ḳarabāghī).

Although there is reason to believe that Ākhundzāda had planned a complete edition of Dhākir's works after the latter's death in 1857, no such edition was printed in the pre-Soviet era.

The manuscripts of Dhākir's *diwān* are kept in the fund of the Academy of Sciences of the Ādharbāydjān SSR (Niẓāmī-Institute of Literature, inventory no. 15).

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DHĀL, 9th letter of the Arabic alphabet, here transcribed *dh*; numerical value 700, in the Eastern system [see abdjad].

Definition: voiced interdental fricative; according to the Arabic grammatical tradition: *rikhwa madjhūra*. For the *makhradj*: *lithawiyya* in al-Khalīl (al-Zamakhsharī, *Muf.*, 191, line 2, 2nd ed. J. P. Broch) indicates a position of the tongue on the *litha* "gum", therefore *gingival*. Ibn Yaʿīsh (1460, line 21, ed. G. Jahn) records a position quite close to this, "the base of the central incisors", and therefore *alveolar*. Sībawayh (ii, 453, line 14, ed. Paris), much more widely accepted (*e.g.* Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr ṣināʿa*, i, 53, line 3), indicates an inter dental properly speaking "from between the tip of the tongue and the tips of the central incisors".

Dh is the continuation in classical Arabic of a similar (or analogous) articulation in common Semitic (see S. Moscati, *Sistema*, 28-29); retained in epigraphic South Arabic, in Mehri, Shkhawri, and partly in Ugaritic; represented by *z* in Akkadian, Hebrew-Phoenician, Ethiopian (ancient and modern), by *d* in Aramaic and in Soḳoṭri. In modern Arabic dialects the following principle can be stated: interdental fricatives are preserved unchanged in the speech of nomads or former nomads; they have changed into the corresponding occlusives in the speech of settled populations. Following this principle we shall find *dh* or *d*; for the details and the nuances see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 50-54. In classical Arabic *dh* is subject to numerous conditioned corruptions (assimilations), see *ibid.*, 47-49.

For the phonological oppositions of the phoneme *dh* see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse*, *BSL* (no. 126) 96 5°; for the incompatibilities, see *ibid.*, 134.

Bibliography: in the text and under ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ. (H. Fleisch)

2. In Persian, and in Urdū which largely depends on Persian practice, *dhāl* is not distinguished in pronunciation from *ze*, *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ*. Its use in the writing systems of these languages is not, however, confined to borrowings of Arabic words with *dhāl*, for it occurs in words of certain Iranian origin.

Most cases of the occurrence of *dhāl* in Persian words arise since modern Persian represents a κοινή: in some Middle Iranian dialects post-vocalic *d* developed a spirant pronunciation, and is in fact shown fairly consistently as *dhāl* in the oldest Modern Persian mss, while in others the occlusive pronunciation persisted. The confusion between the dialects, and their mutual influence, has led to the general reintroduction of *dāl*, in spelling and pronunciation, for post-vocalic *d*, although cases of the spirant pronunciation, later > *z*, have resulted in the occasional retention of *dhāl* in some words.

The few cases of variation between *dāl* and *dhāl* in Indian languages are the legacy of borrowings from Persian at different periods; thus Urdū

kāghadh (pron. *kāghaz*), 'paper', appears in early 16th century Hindī texts as *kāgad*, also in Marāṭhī, Dakhnī Urdū, and in the Dravidian languages Kannaḍa and Telugu (*kāgad*ᵘ); similar variations in *gunbadh*: *gunbad*, 'dome' (Kann. *gumbad*ᵘ).

(J. Burton-Page)

DHAMĀR (or Dhimār, see Yāḳūt s.v.), a district (*mikhlāf*) and town in South Arabia, south of Ṣanʿā, on the Ṣanʿā-ʿAdan road, near the fortress of Hirrān. The district of Dhamār was very fertile and had rich cornfields, splendid gardens, and many ancient citadels and palaces. On account of its fertility it was called the Miṣr of Yaman. The horses of Dhamār were famed throughout Yaman for their noble pedigree.

Amongst places which are mentioned as belonging to the district of Dhamār are the following: Adraʿa, Balad ʿAns, Baraddūn, al-Darb, Dalān and Dhamūrān (the women of these two places had the reputation of being the most beautiful in all South Arabia), Dhū Djuzub, al-Talbūʿ, al-Tunan, Thamar, Rakhama (Hamdānī mentions a Rudjma), al-Samʿāniyya, Sanabān, Shawkān, al-ʿAdjala, al-ʿAshsha, al-Ḳaṭāyṭ, Ḳaʿra, Ḳunubba, Mukhdara, al-Malla al-ʿUlyā and al-Malla al-Suflā, Nahrān, and al-Yafāʿ; among Wādīs: Banā, Khubān, Surba or Suraba (a large Wādī, with many water-mills), Shurād and Māwā; among mountains: Isbīl (near which on the black hill of ʿŪsī was a hot spring called Ḥammām Sulaymān, "bath of Solomon", where people sought relief from leprosy) and Ṣayd (a high mountain with the citadel Sumāra); among citadels: Barʿ, Ḥayāwa, Dathar, al-Rabaʿa, ʿAwadān, ʿUyāna, al-Kawna, Hirrān, Baynūn [*q.v.*], and Hakir.

Not far from Dhamār there were popularly believed to be remains of the throne of Bilḳīs (*ʿArsh Bilḳīs*), consisting of several pillars near a large stream which could only be crossed at the risk of one's life; but the explorer Niebuhr, who visited Dhamār, could find no trace of it.

The town of Dhamār used to be the headquarters of the Zaydiyya sect, and had a famous *madrasa* attended by 500 students, from whose numbers arose many famous scholars. Its inhabitants included many Jews and Banians. After the fall of the kingdom of the Zaydī Imāms of Ṣanʿā, Dhamār lost its importance and now enjoys but a miserable existence.

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(J. Schleifer-[O. Löfgren])

al-**DHAMMIYYA**, "the people of the blame", is a name given by heresiographers to those who held certain disapproved doctrines. Shahrastānī (134) and Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270 A.H., ii, 353) apply it to Shīʿīs who claimed that Muḥammad was originally an agent of ʿAlī (the real prophet) but blameably summoned men to himself instead—a position noted (without a name) by Ashʿarī (*Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Md. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1950, 82), and ascribed also to al-Shalmaghānī [*q.v.*]. Maḳrīzī explains that ʿAlī was silenced by being given Fāṭima. Shahrastānī says they believed ʿAlī was a god. Both associate them with ʿAlbāʾ (or ʿUlyān, etc.) b. Dhirāʿ al-Dawsī (or Asadī or Sadusī), who in Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 265; cf. v, 475) and Ibn Ḥazm (cf. I. Friedlaender, *Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *JAOS*, xxix, 102-3) seems to be the originator of the ʿAlawiyya or ʿAyniyya, who exalted ʿAlī's rôle in revelation above Muḥammad's without disapproving Muḥammad.

The name is also applied by Baghdādī (*Farḳ*, 169) to Abū Hāshim b. al-Djubbāʾī and his followers among the Muʿtazilites, whose niceties of psychological analysis led them into seeming to assert that a man could be condemned for a sin he had not yet committed. Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī (*K. al-badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1916, v, 143) gives a different explanation of the same name. He also ascribes the name to one group of Karrāmiyya (145).

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

DHANAB [see nudjūm].

DHĀR, an ancient town on the scarp of the Vindhyas overlooking the Narbadā valley, and since 1956 the headquarters of Dhār district, Madhya Pradesh, India. It stood on the main routes from Dihlī to the Dakhan and to Gudjarāt. From the 3rd/9th to the end of the 7th/13th centuries it was a capital of the Paramāras who ruled Mālwā first as Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatories and then as independent monarchs. The most powerful of these, Vākpati II (or Muñdja) and Bhodjadeva I, receive mention in many Muslim histories of India. Bhodja's troops may have joined Ānandapāla in 399/1008 against Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, while Djagaddeva, 480/1087-497/1104, defeated Ghaznavid forces in the Pandjāb. Undermined by Čawlukya and Yādava onslaughts and attacked by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak in 596/1199, Iletmish in 632/1234 and Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī in 690/1291 and 692/1293, the Dhār Paramāras broke up in confusion at the end of the 7th/13th century.

In 705/1305 ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's general ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī defeated the Paramāra Rādjā Mahlakdeva and his minister Gogadeva, slaying both. Dhār was taken and ʿAyn al-Mulk appointed governor of Mālwā. Until 804/1401 Dhār remained the seat of the governors of Mālwā appointed from Dihlī. In 731/1330-31 Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ struck token *tankas* at Dhār. He himself was at Dhār during the famine of 736/1335. His appointment of ʿAzīz Khammār as *shiḳḳdār* of Dhār, with instructions to curb the *amīrān-i ṣada*, led to the massacre of over eighty of them at Dhār and precipitated the fatal revolts of 745/1345 onwards. The last governor, Dilāwar Khān [*q.v.*], was appointed prior to 793/1390.

From 801/1399 to 804/1401 Dilāwar Khān entertained Sultan Maḥmūd Tughluḳ, a refugee from Tīmūr, at Dhār, but on Maḥmūd's return to Dihlī Dilāwar Khān declared himself independent at Dhār. His son, Alp Khān, succeeded him in 808/1405 with the title Hūshang Shāh. Accused of parricide, he was attacked at Dhār and carried off prisoner by Muẓaffar Shāh of Gudjarāt, whose brother Naṣrat Shāh was appointed governor at Dhār. His extortion provoked rebellion and he was expelled from Dhār, where Hūshang Shāh was reinstalled in 811/1408.

Thereafter Hūshang Shāh made Māndū his capital, as did his successors. The importance of Dhār consequently declined, though during the struggle between the sons of sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn, in 905-06/1499-50 Nāṣir al-Dīn made Dhār his headquarters, as did his son, Shihāb al-Dīn, when he rebelled in 916/1512.

In the Mughal period, though visited by Akbar and Djahāngīr, Dhār was merely one of the sixteen

maḥals of Māndū *sarkār*, chiefly notable, as befitted Pīrān-i Dhār, for extensive *suyūrghal* grants. Its importance, as a strong fort on the Dihlī-Dakhan communications, revived with the Mughal-Marāṭhā struggle. South Mālwā was first invaded in 1111/1699, and in 1115/1703 the fawdjdār of Māndū took refuge from the Marāṭhās in Dhār. From 1129/1717 Shāhū granted *mokāsās* to his generals in southern Mālwā, and from 1135/1722 Dhār was allotted to Udādji Pawār. The Mughal governor Girdhār Bahādur and his cousin Dayā Bahādur refused Udādjī's demands and repelled Marāṭhā attacks until both were killed at the Amdjherā pass below Dhār on 25 Djumādā I 1141/29 November 1728.

From 1141-42/1729 the Marāṭhās collected dues from Dhār *maḥall*, though the fort, strengthened by Girdhār's son and successor Bhawāni Rām, held out and Muḥammad Khān Bangash defeated the attacks made on Dhār from 6-18 Ramaḍān 1143/15-27 March 1731 by Malhār Holkār. But on 15 Ramaḍān 1150/6 January 1738 Niẓām al-Mulk conferred Mālwā on the Peshwā, who allotted the Dhār territories to Yashwant Rāo Pawār. (Dhār fort was only taken on 6 Shawwāl 1153/25 December 1740). Dhār state, which came under British protection in 1234/1819, remained under Pawār rulers until 28 May 1948 when it was merged in Madhya Bhārat, and in 1956 in Madhya Pradesh.

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(J. B. HARRISON)

2. — Monuments. From the architectural point of view the monuments of Dhār are important only as illustration of the earliest phase of the Mālwā style, one of the characteristic provincial styles of Indian Islamic architecture (see HIND, Architecture). The earliest mosque building is that in the tomb enclosure of Kamāl al-Dīn Mālawī (locally called Kamāl Mawla), a disciple of Niẓām al-Dīn Čishtī of Dihlī; the oldest grave inscription in this enclosure is of 795/1392-3, which records that the ruling sovereign was Maḥmūd Tughluḳ, whose local representative was Dilāwar Khān [*q.v.*]. This, and the slightly later Djāmiʿ masdjid, are both adaptations from pillaged Hindū temple material, of trabeate construction; the outer portico of the Djāmiʿ masdjid shows an attempt to integrate the trabeate façade by the interposing of pointed arches, of no structural significance, between the columns, the forerunner of the arrangement in the mosque of Malik Mughīth at Māndū [*q.v.*]. The Djāmiʿ masdjid bears inscriptions of 807/1404-5 on the east entrance, and of 15 Radjab 807/17 January 1405 on the north entrance (presumably misread by Djahāngīr, *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Persian text 201-2); for these see *EIM*, 1909-10, 11-2 and plates III and IV. A third mosque of similar style and date is the so-called School of Rādjā Bhodj, which owes its misnomer to numerous paving slabs and pillar stones carved with mnemonic rules of Sanskrit grammar.

Later buildings almost all owe their origin to the first Khaldjī ruler of Mālwā, Maḥmūd Shāh (839/1436-873/1469), including the restoration of perhaps the oldest Muslim tomb in Dhār, that of ʿAbd Allāh Shāh Čangāl, who is said to have converted "Rādjā Bhōdj" to Islam; it has been disputed whether this refers to Bhōdja I (1010-1053), a broad-minded and tolerant but nevertheless strict Shayva Hindū—in which case this *pīr* could perhaps have come to Mālwā with the army of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī—, or to Bhōdja II (1280-1310), at a time when conversion to Islam might have been politically expedient for the ruler of a small state; nothing is known of this *pīr*, and the story of Bhōdja's conversion is now regarded as most doubtful, but the inscription erected by Maḥmūd Shāh in 859/1455 (*EIM*, 1909-10, 1-5 and Plate I; 42 couplets of Persian verse, one of the longest Persian inscriptions in India) shows the then implicit belief in this tradition. To Maḥmūd Shāh is due also the restoration of the tomb of Kamāl al-Dīn (inscription over doorway of 861/1456-7); a tomb opposite the *pīr*'s is said by local tradition to be Maḥmūd's own.

The Djāmiʿ masdjid is known in later times as the Lāṭ masdjid, from the iron pillar (*lāṭ*) — probably a victory pillar of a local Paramāra king in the early 13th century, cf. *ASI*, *Annual Report*, 1902-3, 203—lying outside; this pillar bears an inscription recording Akbar's brief stay in Dhār in 1008/1599, its position showing that the pillar had already fallen.

The fort, now empty of internal buildings, is said to have been built by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ on his way to the conquest of the Deccan; no adequate description of it exists.

Bibliography: E. Barnes, *Dhar and Mandu*, in *JBBRAS*, xxi, 1904, 340-54; idem, *Conservation of ancient buildings at Māṇḍū and Dhār*, in *ASI*, *Annual Report*, 1903-4, 30-45; C. E. Luard, *Dhār state gazetteer*, Bombay 1908, 106-12; G. Yazdani, *The inscription on the tomb of ʿAbdullāh Shāh Changāl at Dhār*, in *EIM*, 1909-10, 1-5 and Plate I; idem, *Remarks on the inscriptions of Dhār and Māndū*, in *EIM*, 1911-2, 8-11; Zafar Hasan, *The inscriptions of Dhār and Māṇḍū*, in *EIM*, 1909-10, 6-29.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

DHARRA, a term denoting, in the Ḳur'ān or *ḥadīths*, the smallest possible appreciable quantity. The Ḳur'ān uses it five times, in the expression *mithḳāl al-dharra*, "the weight of a *dharra*",—to extol the Omniscience of God (X, 61; XXXIV, 3), or His absolute Omnipotence (XXXIV, 20), or His supreme Justice in retribution: IV, 40 and the celebrated text XCIX, 7-8 "He who shall have done the weight of one *dharra* of good shall see it; he who shall have done the weight of one *dharra* of evil shall see it".

Commentators on the Ḳur'ān and interpreters of *ḥadīths* have explained *dharra* by two images, both of which go back to Ibn ʿAbbās. 1). From the most usual meaning of the root: powder, dust. The *dharra* is the dust which remains clinging to the hand after the rest has been blown off (the sense recollected in *tafsīr*, for example, by Khāzin in xcix, 7-8); or the weightless dust, seen when sunlight shines through a window (*id.*, iv, 40). 2). The image of the "red (black) ant", by a kind of equivalence *dharra-namla* (al-Zamakhsharī): "the weight of the head of a red ant", (Khāzin iv, 40); "little ant" (xcix, 7-8); "little red ant" (x, 61), etc.—The *dharra* is also said to be equivalent to "the hundredth part of a grain of barley".

In translation *dharra* is generally rendered as "atom" (cf. R. Blachère: "weight of an atom", except for iv, 40: "weight of an ant"). L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1922, 550, gives *dharra* in the sense of atom with *nuḳta* ("point") in order to

explain the *djawhar fard* ("elemental substance") of the *kalām* and the *falsafa*. It is noticeable, however, that *dharra* was not generally used as the technical term to denote the philosophical atomism of Democritus, Epicurus and the Muslim "atomists". Two technical expressions were used in preference: *djuz'* [*q.v.*], "part" (indivisible), and *djawhar fard*. On the other hand, modern Arabic readily renders the atom of modern physics by *dharra* (*djuz'* becoming "molecule").

Thus Arabic vocabulary is careful to distinguish between three terminologies: 1) physical sciences: *dharra*, atom; 2) mathematical sciences: *nuḳta*, geometrical point (thus Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fi 'l-Ḥudūd*); 3) philosophy: *djuz'* and *djawhar fard*, "atom",—and in this way to emphasize that the last usage does not include the atom of modern physics. (L. Gardet)

DHĀRWĀR, a district in the Belgaum division of the Indian State of Mysore. It has an area of 5,305 square miles and a population of 1,575,386 of whom 15% are Muslims (1951 Census). Until the 7th/13th century it remained free from the Muslim invader. In the following century it formed part of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's extensive empire. After the decline of Tughluḳ power its geographical position, especially its proximity to the Rāyčūr Dō'āb, made it a bone of contention between the Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan and the Hindū empire of Vidjayanagar. From about 972/1565 it seems to have been conquered by the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultans of Bīdjāpur who retained it until their power was crushed by Awrangzīb in 1097/1686. With the disintegration of the Mughal empire in the 12th/18th century it was frequently overrun by plundering Marāṭhā forces. For a time it was annexed to Ḥaydar ʿAlī's kingdom of Mysore but, in 1791, during the reign of Tipu Sulṭān, the fort of Dhārwār was taken by an Anglo-Maratha force under Captain Little and Paraśurāma Bhāu (see Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. ii, 197-201, Oxford 1921 and Wilk's *Mysoor*, vol. ii, 483-8, Mysore 1932). After this it remained in Marāṭhā hands until their defeat by the British in 1817. In 1857-8 Bhāskar Rāo (Bābā Sāhib), the chief of Nargūnd in Dhārwār, who had been refused permission to adopt an heir by Lord Dalhousie, rose in revolt and murdered Charles Manson, the British Commissioner and Political Agent for the Southern Maratha Country. This resulted in the execution of Bhāskar Rāo and the forfeiture of the Nargūnd estate (see *Indian Mutiny*, Kaye and Malleson, vol. v, 164-72, London 1889). Dhārwār was administered as part of Bombay until the reorganization of 1956 when it was transferred to the new State of Mysore.

(C. Collin Davies)

DHĀT. In Muslim philosophy this term is used in several senses. As a general term it can mean "thing", like the words *shay'* and *maʿnā*; next, it signifies the "being" or "self" or even "ego": thus *bi-dhātihī* means "by itself" or "by his self"; but most commonly *dhāt* is employed in the two different meanings of "substance" and "essence", and is a translation of the Greek οὐσία. In its former usage as "substance" it is the equivalent of the subject or substratum (ὑποκείμενον) and is contrasted with qualities or predicates attributed to it and inhering in it. In the second sense of "essence", however, *dhāt* signifies the essential or constitutive qualities of a thing as a member of a species, and is contrasted with its accidental attributes (*aʿrāḍ* [see ʿaraḍ]). In this sense it is the equivalent of *māhiyya* [*q.v.*] and corresponds to the Greek τό τι ἦν εἶναι. Some Muslim philosophers distinguish, within the essence, its prior parts from the rest and apply the description "essential" (*dhātī*) to the former: *dhātī* is the conceptually and ontologically prior part of the essence of a thing. Derivative from this second sense of the term is the distinction between the essential and the temporal order. Thus ordinarily a cause is said to be both essentially and temporally prior to its effects. Some causes are, however, not temporally prior to their effects but only essentially; this is the case with the relationship between God and the world according to Muslim philosophers who reject the idea of temporal creation.

Both these meanings of *dhāt* as essence and substance, however, are combined and often confused, like the term corresponding to *djawhar* [*q.v.*] by Aristotle and his followers. This is because essence is regarded as being constitutive of the substance which is a substance only in so far as it is constituted by this essence. The term *dhāt*, from the point of view of this ambiguity in meaning, is especially relevant to the philosophico-theological doctrine of God and His Attributes. The Muʿtazila and the philosophers deny Divine Attributes and declare God to be a simple substance or pure Essence; in this case simple substance and simple essence coalesce and are identical with one another. The Attributes are then construed either as negations or as pure relations. Although both the Muʿtazila and the philosophers agree in the denial of Divine Attributes, their reasons for doing so are very different. The Muʿtazila were moved to deny Attributes through the theological anxiety that affirmation of these would be contrary to strict monotheism. The philosophers' reasoning, on the other hand, is the result of the rational search for a simple being from which all multiplicity and composition—existential and conceptual—should be excluded, but which at the same time should "explain" the multiplicity of existing things. In this they were followers of Plotinus. The Islamic orthodoxy devised a formula according to which Attributes are "neither identical with God nor other than Him".

The Ṣūfī theosophy, which became widely influential during the later middle ages of Islam, found another way of reconciliation between philosophy and orthodoxy. According to this theory God, as absolute, is pure and simple Being without any Attributes; but through a series of "descents" or "determinations" He becomes progressively determinate. In this pantheistic world-view the mystic, in his upward march towards communion with God, passes through a series of theophanies (*tadjalliyāt*) from the levels of Names and Attributes to the final theophany of the Absolute.

Bibliography: al-Thānāwī, *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, s.v. (F. Rahman)

DHĀT al-**HIMMA** [see dhu 'l-himma].

DHĀT al-**SAWĀRI** [see supplement].

DHĀTĪ, Turkish poet, b. 875/1471 in Balıkesir. The son of a modest bootmaker, as a boy he practised his father's craft but soon gave it up, moving to the capital during the reign of Bāyezīd I where, following his natural inclinations, he devoted his life to poetry. An easy and prolific versifier, he made a living from the gifts of the notables of the day, to whom he dedicated *ḳaṣīdas* (among others, to the sultans Selīm I, Suleymān I, to Djaʿfer Čelebi and Ibn Kemāl). In his old age he practised geomancy in a shop which soon became a sort of literary club for men of letters, where Dhātī helped and encouraged many young talents (such as Tashlıdjalı Yaḥyā

Khayālī, Bāḳī). A "bohemian", unmarried and a heavy drinker, he died in 953/1546 at Istanbul, in poverty.

Apart from a voluminous *dīwān*, his major work is *Sham' we Pervāne*, a *mathnawī* of nearly 4000 couplets interspersed with *ghazals*, which develops one of the favourite themes of *mathnawī* literature (for a fairly good copy, see Süleymâniye (Lala Ismāʿīl) no. 443).

With no regular education and training, Dhātī taught himself all the knowledge which was required by a *dīwān*-poet. Much appreciated by his contemporaries and early *tedhkire*-writers, unduly neglected later, Dhātī was a poet of remarkable talent and skill, and contributed to the refinement of language and style of *dīwān*-poetry, and thus became a link between Nedjātī and Bāḳī.

Bibliography: The *tedhkires* of Laṭīfī, Ḳînalîzāde Ḥasan Čelebi, and the biographical section of ʿĀlī's *Kunh al-Akhbār*, s.v.; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, ii; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, Istanbul 1934, 133; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 336.

(Fahir İz)

DHAWḲ, "taste", is a technical term used in philosophy, in aesthetics (especially literature), and in Ṣūfism.

1. In philosophy [see FALSAFA] *dhawḳ* is the name for the gustatory sense-perception. Following Aristotle, it is defined as a kind of sub-species of the tactual sense, localized in the gustatory organ, the tongue. It differs from tactual sense, however, in that mere contact with skin is not sufficient for gustation to occur: besides contact, it needs a medium of transmission, viz. the salival moisture. The salival moisture, in order to transmit tastes faithfully, must be in itself tasteless, otherwise it will impose its own taste upon the object of gustation, as is the case with patients of bile. The problem is discussed whether the tasted object "mixes" with the saliva and thus its parts are directly tasted, or whether the object causes a qualitative change in the saliva, which is then transmitted to the tongue. The answer is that both are conjointly possible and it is therefore held that if it were possible for the object to be transmitted without this moisture gustation could occur all the same, unlike, for example, vision, for which a medium is absolutely necessary. Nine kinds of taste—which are joint products of the tactual and gustatory sensations—are enumerated by Avicenna.

2. In aesthetics, *dhawḳ* is the name for the power of aesthetic appreciation; it is something that "moves the heart". But although it is psychologically subjective, it nevertheless requires objective standards (*idjmāʿ*) for objectivity and verification, "just as the taste of sugar is private, nevertheless its sweetness is something universally agreed upon by consensus".

3. The aesthetic definition of *dhawḳ* already stands at the threshold of the mystic use of the term. In its mystical usage this term denotes the direct quality of the mystic experience. The Christian mystics had also used the term (*e.g.*, the αἴσθησις καρδίας and γεῦσις of Bishop Diadochus), although it would occur naturally to a mystic endeavouring to distinguish direct experience from discursive knowledge. The metaphor of "sight" is also often used, but *dhawḳ* has more qualitative overtones of enjoyment and "intoxication" (*sukr*) besides the noetic element which it shares with the term "sight". Thus, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī says "you cannot appreciate the intoxication of this wine unless you taste it". Kamāl al-Dīn in his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya* states that *dhawḳ* is the first stage of *wadjd* (ecstasy), the two further stages being *shurb* (drinking) and *riy* (satisfaction). According to some, however, *wadjd* is a higher stage than *dhawḳ*. These distinctions, however, are later, and concern the doctrine of Ṣūfism rather than its practice.

Dhawḳ is also commonly used to denote insight or intuitive appreciation, generally of any phenomenon whatsoever, and implies the previous acquisition and exercise of a skill. A doctor, for example, may *on the basis of* his previous experience be able to identify a novel disease by *dhawḳ*; or a historian, in face of conflicting evidence on a point, may be able to decide by a kind of "historical intuition".

Bibliography: in addition to the references above, and general works on philosophy and literary aesthetics, see al-Thānāwī, *Dictionary of technical terms*, s.v.; al-Djurdjānī, *K. al-Taʿrīfāt*.

(F. Rahman)

DHAWḲ, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Shaykh, Urdū poet b. Dihlī 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1204/18 December 1790 (so Āzād; in 1203 according to a contemporary Calcutta newspaper, cf. *Nawā-i Adab*, 45), the only son of Sh. Muḥammad Ramaḍān, a trusted servant of Nawwāb Luṭf ʿAlī Khān of Dihlī. His early schooling in Persian and Arabic was in the mosque-school of Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Rasūl Shawḳ, a poet and a pupil of Shāh Naṣīr (Sheftā, 150), who inspired the young learner with a love for reading and writing poetry. Dhawḳ later became a pupil of Shāh Naṣīr and followed his style, but after some time, when a rupture had taken place between the pupil and the teacher, he began to write successfully in the style of the well-known masters of Urdū poetry, particularly Sawdā. He was now attending *mushāʿaras* and acquiring fame as a young poet (cf. Sprenger, 222; Ḳāsim, *Madjmūʿa-i Naghz*, ii, 385: Dhawḳ was about 17 when this was written). He intensified his study of the sciences (medicine, music, astrology, etc.) when an opportunity came for him to complete his education, and the technical terms of these stood him in good stead later when he came to write *ḳaṣīdas*. His reputation grew rapidly, and Mīr Kāẓim Ḥusayn, an old class-fellow, introduced him to Abū Ẓafar, the heir apparent of Akbar Shāh II, whose poetical compositions he was in due course appointed to correct, roughly from 1816 (cf. Karīm al-Dīn, *Tadhkira-i Nāznīnān*, 118; but cf. also his *Ṭabaḳāt*, 459). On presenting a *ḳaṣīda* to Akbar Shāh he received the title of *Khāḳānī-i Hind*, by which Shefta (between 1831-3) calls him. After the prince ascended the throne, as Bahādur Shāh II, in 1837, Dhawḳ became his laureate, and his pay, formerly between Rs. 4 and 7, was raised to 30, later to 100, rupees. In his old age he was made a Khān Bahādur, and received many other favours after reciting his court odes in the ʿĪd *darbārs* and other ceremonial occasions. He died on 23 Safar 1271/15 November 1854 (Sābir, 224 ff., quoting also Ẓafar, and an elegy of Sōz, particularly 237, line 10).

Dhawḳ was of rather small stature, with a dark pock-marked face (the result of a childhood attack), bright eyes, and a loud but pleasant voice. He had a good memory, and knew a large number of Persian verses by heart. He was a religious-minded man, of the Shīʿa persuasion according to Karīm al-Dīn's information, contented and kind-hearted (he wrote no satires). His only son Muḥammad Ismāʿīl (called in the *Nawā-i Adab*, 49, Wakār al-Dawla Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān) survived him for only a few years.

He was a prolific writer, as his contemporaries (Ṣābir, Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Ānwar, Āzād and others) testify, but much of his work was lost in the disturbances of 1857-8. According to Shēfta, who used to meet him occasionally, 106, and Ṣābir, 223, he did not arrange his poems in the form of a *dīwān*; according to Āzād Dhawḳ compiled a *dīwān* when 15 or 16 years old, though its fate is unknown. Ẓafar also refers to a *dīwān* of Dhawḳ (*Hindustānī*, April 1945, 40). The earliest edition of the *dīwān*, 186 pp., was lithographed in Dihlī in 1859; no reference to it occurs in the subsequent editions. An attempt to collect his work was made by Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Rasūl Wīrān (the blind pupil of Dhawḳ, who had associated with him for some 20 years and who knew a large number of his poems by heart) and his co-editors Ẓahīr and Anwar (for whom see Saksena, 156 ff.; Bailey, 74 ff.); as well as taking dictation from Wīrān, Ẓahīr and Anwar made use of various *tadhkira*s and of the note-books of the poet's pupils. This *dīwān* (2393 *bayts*) was lithographed in Dihlī in 1279/1862-3, with an Urdū colophon and Anwar's Persian preface (20 pp.) appended to the book; it was later lithographed several times, without the Persian preface, in Kānpur, Dihlī, Mīraṭh, etc. The largest edition was produced by Āzād, in his old age (1885-9 ?) just before his mind became finally deranged; he states that soon after Dhawḳ's death he and the poet's son, Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, collected Dhawḳ's poems after the labour of many months. This collection was published from Lahore in 1890 (Blumhardt, *Suppl. Cat.*, 319), and is composed mostly of *ghazal*s, 24 or 25 *ḳaṣīda*s, and some fragments (5040 *bayts* in all), with interesting prefatory and marginal notes. Several pages of rare verses of the poet have been quoted from a *Nigāristān-i Sukhan* in the *Muʾāṣir*. More of his unpublished verses can be collected from old *tadhkira*s. This and what follows would justify a new critical edition of the *dīwān*.

In a critical examination of Āzād's edition (Ph. D. thesis, 1939) Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ claims that Āzād revised and improved Dhawḳ's juvenile work, in some cases slightly, in others drastically; later, in 1944-7, Professor Maḥmūd Shērānī proved the interpolations throughout the *dīwān* even more fully and conclusively, and the same is shown by Āzād's copy of the *dīwān* (edition of 1279 A.H.; now in Dr. Ṣādiḳ's possession) which bears emendations in his own handwriting.

As a poet Dhawḳ enjoyed great popularity among his contemporaries who praised him for handling *ghazal*s, *ḳaṣīda*s and other verse forms with equal facility. He owed his great prestige partly to his being a teacher of Bahādur Shāh II, partly to his writing in a style which was, unlike Ghālib's, easily intelligible to all. His work shows great technical skill; the language he uses is perfect in its eloquence, purity, sweetness and naturalness of expression; he uses idioms in a masterly manner, and his similes and metaphors have novelty and beauty. His ideas are well-arranged and often fresh, and his allusions have grace and elegance. Generally speaking, however, he has not the subjectivity of Dard or Mīr; his *ghazal*s, therefore, lack what *ghazal*s must have —effect and warmth of feeling. In the *ḳaṣīda*, however, he was much more successful, and is regarded as the best *ḳaṣīda*-writer, next to Sawdā, in Urdū. On the whole he shared the tastes of Nāsikh and Ātish of Lucknow, rather than those of the Dihlī school. Gradually public opinion has swung more in the direction of the rival school represented by Ghālib and Muʾmin.

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(Muhammad Shafi)

DHAWWĀḲ [see ČASHNAGĪR].

AL-DHIʾĀB, "the wolves", a South Arabian tribe whose lands lie between the territory of the Lower ʿAwāliḳ [*q.v.*] and the Lower Wāḥidī [*q.v.*]. There are also considerable settlements of the Dhiʾāb in the country of the Lower Wāḥidī itself, the villages of which are largely occupied by them. The soil is unfertile and mostly prairie-like pasture land. In the east of the distict is a mountain of some size, the Djabal Ḥamrā, over 4000 ft. high. The chief place is the fishing village of Ḥawra (al-Ulyā) with an important harbour.

The Dhiʾāb are a very wild, warlike tribe of

robbers, and are therefore feared throughout South Arabia. They are *Ḳabā'il* (free, independent tribes) and are considered as genuine Ḥimyarīs; their slogan (*ṣarkha*, *ʿazwa*) is: *anā dhēb* (*dhib*) *Ḥamyar* (*Ḥimyar*), "I am the wolf of Ḥimyar". They have no common sultan, and the various branches of the tribe are ruled by Shaykhs, called *Abū*, "father", whom they heed only in case of war. The most influential Shaykh of the Ḍhi'āb lives in ʿIrḳa (ʿIrgha).

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DHI'B, the wolf. Most of the cognate forms in other Semitic languages have the same significance. Numerous synonyms and sobriquets are found in Arabic, such as *sirḥān*, *uways*, *sīd*, *abū djaʿda*, etc. In local usage, *dhi'b* may also denote the jackal (Jayakar, Malouf), yet Hommel's assumption (303, n. 1) that this was the only meaning of the word in ancient Arabic (so also Jacob) is inconsistent with its use in the Sūra of Joseph (Ḳur'ān, XII, 13, 14, 17), where it stands for the biblical 'evil beast' (Gen. xxxvii 20, 33).

Ample mention of the *dhi'b* is made in ancient Arabic poems, proverbs, popular traditions and *ḥadīth*s, some of which are quoted in later zoological writings. Other information given by Arab zoologists goes back to foreign sources, such as Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* and the ancient *Physiologus* literature.

Since *dhi'b*, in the Arabic script, is similar to *dubb* (= bear), the two words were easily confused and, consequently, the behaviour and properties of one animal have sometimes been attributed to the other.

The *dhi'b* is described as extremely malignant, quarrelsome and cunning. It is quick of hearing and possesses a powerful sense of smell. It feeds on flesh only but eats herbs when ill. It can go without food for a long time, whence the proverb: "More hungry than a wolf". *Dā' al-dhi'b* (lit.: the wolf's disease) is a metaphorical expression for hunger. Its stomach (according to some: its tongue) is able to dissolve a solid bone but not a date stone. Its penis consists of bone. The female is robuster and more courageous than the male. If a hyena is killed or caught, the *dhi'b* takes care of her young. Some authors state that the wolf goes single and does not associate, while others describe its behaviour in aggregation; no one separates from the pack, as they do not trust one another. When one becomes weak or is wounded, it is eaten by the others. When asleep, they keep the right and left eye open alternately to keep watch on one another. The wolf is always prone to attack men in contrast to other wild animals which do so only when old and unable to hunt. It assails a person from behind, not from the front. A man who shows no fear of it remains unmolested, but is attacked when afraid. Only ravenous wolves are aggressive. When a wolf has designs on a flock of sheep, it howls so that the dog hears and runs in the direction of the sound; the wolf then goes to the other side where there is no dog and snatches the sheep away. It makes its raids preferably just before sunrise when shepherd and dog are both tired from the night watch.

Some of the information on the wolf belongs to the field of superstition, *e.g.*: If a man carries with him the fang, skin or eye of a wolf, he will overcome his opponents and be loved by all people. The wolf also played a part in Arabic oneiromancy. Its blood, brain, liver, bile, testicles, dung and urine were used for various medicinal purposes.

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DHIHNĪ, Bayburtlu, Turkish folk-poet, b. towards the end of the 12th/18th century in Bayburt. Educated in Erzurum and Trabzon, he spent ten years in Istanbul and later travelled in the provinces on minor governmental duties; he was for a short time in the service of Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha. He spent the last four years of his life in Trabzon and died in a village nearby while on his way to his home town (1275/1859).

His background, somewhat different from that of the usual folk poet, led him to imitate classical poets, and he even composed a complete *dīwān* of traditional poetry in *ʿarūḍ*. But he remained a poor and awkward imitator of *dīwān* poets and his fame rests entirely on a few poems, written in the folk tradition, which he himself tried to ignore and did not include in his *dīwān*. Dhihnī, as a folk poet, is strongly under the influence of classical poets and his poems are full of the figures, images, and similes of *dīwān* poetry. In spite of this he succeeds in capturing the spirit of the genuine folk poet of the early 19th century. His famous *koshma* about his home town was written when he saw Bayburt in utter ruin, after its evacuation by the Russians in 1828.

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DHIKR, reminding oneself. "Remind thyself of (*udhkur*) thy Lord when thou forgettest" (*Ḳur'ān*, XVIII, 24). Thus: the act of reminding, then oral mention of the memory, especially the tireless repetition of an ejaculatory litany, finally the very technique of this mention. In *taṣawwuf* the *dhikr* is possibly the most frequent form of prayer, its *muḳābal* ("opposite correlative") being *fikr* [*q.v.*], (discursive) reflection, meditation. In his *Ṭawāsīn*, in connexion with Muḥammad's "nocturnal ascension", al-Ḥalladj declares that the road which passes through "the garden of *dhikr*" and that which takes "the way of *fikr*" are equally valid. For the Ṣūfīs the Ḳur'ānic basis of the *dhikr* is the above-quoted text (cited, among others, by al-Kalābādhī) and XXXIII, 41: "O ye who believe! Remember (*udhkurū*) Allah with much remembrance (*dhikr*[an] *kathīr*[an])". *Ḥadīth*s are often quoted in support and in praise of the practice.

As an ejaculatory litany tirelessly repeated the *dhikr* may be compared with the "prayer of Jesus"

of the oriental Christians, Sinaitic then Anthonic, and also with the *djapa-yōga* of India and the Japanese *nembutsu*, and this quite apart from historical threads which may have played a rôle in one direction or another. One may recognize in these modes of prayer, without denying possible influences, a universal tendency, however climates and religious beliefs may differ.

Traditions of the Brotherhoods:—The *dhikr* may be uttered aloud (*djalī*) or in a low voice (*khafī*). At the beginning the formula must always be articulated. In the Muslim brotherhoods (*ṭarīḳa*) [*q.v.*] there is a double tradition: that of solitary *dhikr* (aloud or whispered). and that of collective *dhikr* (aloud). It is the first which the major texts of the great spiritual writers envisage: "The Ṣūfī retires by himself to a cell (*zāwiya*) ... After sitting in solitude he utters continously "God (Allāh)" being present with his heart as well" (al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, iii, 16-7). Several brotherhoods (the Shadhiliyya and their offshoots Khalwatiyya, Darḳāwa, etc.) stress the advantages of solitary *dhikr* and seem to make it a condition of the *dhikr al-khawāṣṣ* (of the "privileged", those well advanced along the spiritual path). Others (Raḥmāniyya, etc.), without excluding the entry into solitude, stress the dangers of it and recommend, at least for a long time, "sessions" (*ḥaḍra*) or "circles" (*ḥalḳa*) of collective *dhikr*. The latter is without doubt as old as the solitary *dhikr*; but in its liturgico-technical form, with prescribed attitudes regulating the respiratory rhythm as well as the physical posture, it seems to have been born at a relatively late date, about the 8th/13th century, betraying Indo-Iranian influence among the Mawlawiyya ("Whirling Dervishes") of Ḳonya, and Indian through Turko-Mongol influence (cf. the descriptions by the Mongol ex-functionary Simnānī, 13th-14th centuries). This technicality, which must have been introduced progressively, extends its influence to the experience of the solitary *dhikr* itself (cf. in the Christian Orient the connexions between the "prayer of Jesus" and the hesychastic technique).

The "sessions" generally take the form of a kind of liturgy which begins with the recitation of Ḳur'ānic verses and prayers composed by the founder of the brotherhood. This is the *ḥizb* or the *wird* [*qq.v.*], often accompanied by the "spiritual oratorio" (*samā'*). *Wird, samā'*, and physical posture during the recitation of the *dhikr* vary with the brotherhoods (see, for the Maghrib, Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*). For the *dhikr* itself the best summary is the *Salsabīl al-mu'īn fi'l-ṭarā'iḳ al-arba'īn* of Muḥammad al-Sanūsī (d. 1276/1859) printed on the margin of the same author's *Masā'il al-'ashr*, where there is a condensed account of the essential characteristics of the *dhikr* practised by the forty preceding brotherhoods, of which the Sanūsiyya claim to have adopted the essential. The collective *dhikr* sessions described by Western writers are generally classifiable as "*dhikr* of the commonalty (*al-'awāmm*)". One of the best-observed accounts is that of the Raḥmāniyya by W. S. Haas. It requires correction and completion (*e.g.*, in connexion with the interpretation of the formula used); in any case it can hardly exhaust the subject.

Description of the experience:—Whether collective or solitary, the recitation of the *dhikr* presupposes a preparation. This is the aim of the *ḥizb* and *wird* in the "sessions". But a general preparation is necessary ("renouncing the world to lead an ascetic life" says al-Ghazzālī) and always the intention of the heart (*niyya*). The part played by the *shaykh* ("spiritual director") is a capital one. It is he who directs and regulates the recitation in the collective sessions; it is he who must guide the solitary disciple step by step. The beginner is recommended to close his eyes and to place the image of his *shaykh* before his mind. The disposition of the "circle" in the collective *dhikr* is carefully regulated. He who recites the *dhikr* in solitude is enjoined to sit in an attitude of *tarabbu'* (with legs crossed) or on his heels. The position of the hands is specified. It is recommended that the disciple should perfume himself with benzoin and wear ritually pure clothing.

The formula chosen may vary according to tradition and according to the spiritual advancement attained by the Ṣūfī. A customary formula for the commencement is the "first *shahāda*", *lā ilāh illā 'llāh*. The Shādhilī method is: "One begins the recital from the left side (of the chest) which is, as it were, the niche containing the lamp of the heart, the focus of spiritual light. One continues by passing from the lower part of the chest on the right upwards to the upper part, and so on to the initial position, having thus, so to speak, described a circle" (Ibn 'Iyāḍ). There is another (slightly different) description of the Shādhilī *dhikr* by al-Sanūsī, and a description of the Raḥmānī *dhikr* (same formula) in the late work of Bāsh Tārzī, *Kitāb al-minaḥ*, 79-80, etc.

A formula for advanced adepts (sometimes for solitary beginners, sometimes from the beginning of "collective" sessions) is the "Name of Majesty" *Allāh*. The utterance is accompanied by two movements, says Bāsh Tārzī (ibid., 80): (1) "strike the chest (with the head) where the corporeal heart (which is cone-shaped) is, saying *Allāh* with the head inclined over the navel; (2) raise the head as you pronounce the *hamza* (*'A*) and raise the head from the navel up to a level with the brain, then pronounce the remainder of the formula (*llāh*) on the secret navel". The *dhikr* known as that of the Ḥallādjiyya, according to al-Sanūsī, is: *Allāh*, with the suppression of *Al* and with the vocalization *lāha, lāhi, lāhu* (cf. L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, 342). Al-Sanūsī warns that this procedure may only be used in solitude and by "a man aware of what the result will be". (It appears that the modern 'Alīwiyya brotherhood of Mostaghanem has re-adopted this procedure).

Other formulae are proposed by Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh of Alexandria, Simnānī, Bāsh Tārzī, etc. in accordance with gnostic hierarchies where spiritual progress is matched with the vision of "coloured lights" which is the sign of it: *Huwa, al-Ḥaḳḳ, al-Ḥayy, al-Ḳayyūm, al-Ḳahhār*.

The duration of the experience is regulated either by the *shaykh*, or, in solitude, by numbers, with or without the help of a rosary (*subḥa*): 300, 3,000, 6,000, 12,000, 70,000 repetitions (cf. the 6,000 or 12,000 "prayers of Jesus" daily of the "Russian Pilgrim" and the Japanese liturgy "of the million" (*nembutsu*). The invocation may finally become unceasing, without care about the exact number. Control of the respiration seems mostly to be concomitant, but it appears more deliberate in the Hamaylī *dhikr* (6th/12th century) and Simnānī's descriptions and also in the counsels of Zayn al-Milla wa 'l-Dīn (no doubt Khawāfī) the commentator on Anṣārī's *Manāzil*.

The *dhikr* as an internal experience:—One of the best sources is the *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ* of Ibn

ʿAṭāʾ Allāh of Alexandria, the second Grand Master of the Shādhilī order. Reference may also be made, on the one hand, to al-Kalābādhī's chapter on the *dhikr* and the matter-of-fact description of Ghazzālī, and, on the other hand, to the numerous gnoses of later times (Zayn al-Dīn, Bāsh Tārzī, Amīn al-Kurdī Nakshbandī, etc.). Three main stages may be distinguished, each being subdivided; it is to be noted that these progressive stages are found again in the writings of Malay Ṣūfism.

(1) *Dhikr* of the tongue with "intention of the heart" (the mere "*dhikr* of the tongue" without *niyya* is rejected, for it would be "just routine, profitless", says Bāsh Tārzī). (a) At the first step, there is a voluntary recitation, with effort, in order to "place the One Mentioned in the heart" according to the exact modes of utterance and physical postures taught by the *shaykh*; it is firstly to this level that the foregoing descriptions apply. (b) At the second step the recitation continues effortless. The disciple, says Ghazzālī (*Iḥyāʾ*, iii, 17), "leaves off the movement of the tongue and sees the word (or formula) as it were flowing over it". Cf. the similar testimony of those who have experienced the "prayer of Jesus" and the Japanese *nembutsu*. However, three elements are still present: the subject conscious of his experience, the state of consciousness, and the One Mentioned: *dhākir*, *dhikr*, *madhkūr* (cf. the triad of *Yoga-Sūtra*, i, 41: receptive subject, act of reception, object received). The "effortless" step may be compared with the *dhāraṇā* stage of Yoga experience, "fixation" (of mental activity).

(2) *Dhikr* of the heart

"The Ṣūfī reaches a point where he has effaced the trace of the word on his tongue, and finds his heart continuously applied to the *dhikr* (al-Ghazzālī, ibid. Same testimony in *Account by a Russian Pilgrim*). Here also there are two steps: (a) with effort (cf. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, *Miftāḥ*, 4), *i.e.*, with the obscure desire to "maintain the formula" which results in something like a pain felt in the physical heart; (b) effortless: this presence is expressed in a sort of hammering of the formula by the beating of the physical heart (same in *Russian Pilgrim*) and by the pulsation of the blood in the veins and the arteries, with no utterance, even mental, of the words, but where the words nevertheless remain. This is a mode of "necessary presence", where the "state of consciousness" dissolves into an *acquired* passivity. Cf. the step of "absorption" (*dhyāna*) of Yoga. Al-Ghazzālī's analysis in the *Iḥyāʾ* halts at this stage. "It is in his (the disciple's) power to reach this limit, and to make the state lasting by repulsing temptations; but, on the other hand, it is not in his power to attract to himself the Mercy of the All-High". This important distinction is reminiscent of al-Ḥallādj's exclamation to God: "You are my ravisher, it is not the *dhikr* which has ravished me!" (*Dīwān*, 53). Later traditions no longer draw this distinction. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh's monograph speaks of a third stage, for which the second is an effective preparation.

(3) *Dhikr* of the "inmost being" (*sirr*)

The heart (*ḳalb*) was the seat of the "knowledge of divine things"; the "inmost being" (*sirr*), "a substance more subtle than the spirit (*rūḥ*)" will be the place of the "vision" (*mushāhada*) of them. It is also the place where the *tawḥīd* takes place, the declaration of divine unity and the unification of the self with the self, and the self with God. The writers often associate this third stage of the *dhikr* with the state of *iḥsān*, spiritual perfection and beauty. The "arrival" of the "*dhikr* of the inmost being" is known by this, that "if you leave off the *dhikr* it does not leave you, and the whole being of the Ṣūfī becomes 'a tongue uttering the *dhikr*'" (*Miftāḥ*, 6). The slave of God "has disappeared (*ghāʾib*) both from the *dhikr* and the very object of the *dhikr*" (ibid.). Thus no duality must remain. But a twofold step is distinguished even here: (a) *fanāʾ ʿan al-dhikr wa 'l-madhkūr* ... *ilā 'llāh*, annihilation away from the *dhikr* and its object ... *towards* God; (b) *fanāʾ ʿan al-fanāʾ* ... *bi'llāh*, annihilation away from the annihilation ... *in* God.

It seems that this state may be compared with the entry into *samādhi* of Indian Yoga (or at least the "*samādhi* with seed"; any equivalence with the "*samādhi* without seed" should be more closely examined): "becoming one alone" (cf. the Indian *kaivalya*) conceived as abolition in God, generally in the line of "monism of the Being" (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*). The personality of the Ṣūfī has, it as were, "disappeared" in the act of abolishing all acts. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh's description of the *dhikr al-sirr* goes as far as possible in expressing this.

Accompanying phenomena and explicatory gnoses:—Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh describes the *dhikr* of the tongue as sounds of voices and rhythms "within the periphery of the head". Explanation: "the son of Adam is a mixture of all substances, noble and base", and the sounds heard come from each of the "constituent elements of these substances" (*Miftāḥ*, 5); the *dhikr* liberates the harmony established between the microcosm and the macrocosm (cf. the period of "cosmization" of Yoga). The *dhikr* of the heart resembles "the buzzing of bees, without a loud or disturbing noise" (ibid.) and is accompanied by luminous and coloured phenomena, at this stage intermittent. Al-Ghazzālī drew attention to this apparition of "lights" which "sometimes pass like a flash of lightning and sometimes stay, sometimes last and sometimes do not last, sometimes follow each other different from one another, sometimes blend into one single mood" (*loc. cit.*). He explains them as "gleams of truth" released by God's good will, but other authors later describe them as intrinsically and obligatorily bound up with the *dhikr* experience.

Later writers describe these luminous phenomena as being even more brilliant at the step of the *dhikr* of the inmost being, of which they become the particular mark. This time "the fire of the *dhikr* does not go out, and its lights do not flee ... You see always lights going up and others coming down; the fire around you is bright, very hot, and it flames" (*Miftāḥ*, 6). Yoga describes similar phenomena. Moreover it would be rewarding to make a comparison and a distinction between the Ṣūfī analyses and either the Buddhist "objective" illumination or the "uncreated light of the Thabor" of the oriental forms of Christianity. Various late authors establish other successive stages from the *dhikr* of the inmost being which are also marked by variously coloured luminous phenomena. The descriptions vary with the texts and do not seem to affect the structure itself of the experience. This is the hierarchy proposed by Simnānī: grey smoke (corporeal envelope); blue (physical soul); red (heart); white light ("inmost being"); yellow (spirit [*rūḥ*]); black (subtle and mysterious principle, *khafiyya*); green (reality [*ḥaḳīḳa*], the state of the perfect soul "which sums up all the other states" as Bāsh Tārzī states).

These rising and falling lights are held to be "divine illumination"; no longer a gift from Mercy,

as al-Ghazzālī believed, but an effect linked to the experience according to the extent to which the *dhikr* of the inmost being has liberated the divine element in the human spirit directly "emanating" from God (cf. the "trace of the One" of Plotinus). The *dhikr* also effects a direct communication with the "worlds" [see ʿĀLAM, § 2]. The *dhikr* of the tongue and its "cosmization" effects entry into the world of *djabarūt*, All-Power. The higher stages introduce into the domain of *malakūt* "angelic substances"; they may even lead to *lāhūt*, the world of the Divine Essence. "If you recite the *dhikr* with your inmost being, recite with yourself the Throne with all its worlds until the *dhikr* unites with the Divine Essence (*dhāt*) (*Miftāḥ*, 7). One is reminded here of the entry into the "Pure Land" of the *Jôdo* promised to the disciples of the Japanese *nembutsu*.

These gnostic visions, which in Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh are relatively sober, later become involved in the extreme, as in the above-quoted text of Ibn Amīn al-Kurdī.

Interpretations:—Al-Ḥallādj, al-Kalabādhī, etc., speak of the *dhikr* as a *method* of reminding one's self of God, of helping the soul to live in God's presence; but without for this reason underestimating the discursive method of *fikr*. Al-Ghazzālī portrays the *dhikr* as *the* way of the Sufis, but still preserves, so it seems, the *method* aspect of its nature: a method of unifying the disciple's spirit and preparing him to receive, if the Lord wills, the supreme Mercies. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh informs us at the beginning of the *Miftāḥ* that to the best of his belief no monograph has yet been devoted to the *dhikr*. If this is true, then the developments *ex professo* in the theory and practice of the *dhikr*, and the absolutely capital importance assigned to it, may be dated from the 6th/12th century. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh no longer speaks of it as a preparatory or concomitant method, but as an effective technique, up to its consummation: entry into the domain of *lāhūt*. Later works insist even more on technique—voice, breathing, posture, etc., give themselves up to long disquisitions on the gnostic theme, and never cease to see in the *dhikr* pursued to its last steps a "guarantee" of attainment. This emphasis on technique (where non-Muslim influences are at work) dates from the period when Ṣūfism was dominated by the One-ness of Being (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*); man, in respect of his most "spiritual" aspects, is considered to belong by nature to the divine.

Now the direct effect of experiencing the *dhikr* seems to be a monoideism working on the One Mentioned, "realizing" that perpetual (conscious) "re-remembering" which the first Ṣūfīs demanded of it (cf. the "prayer of Jesus" of the Sinaitic Fathers). But as techniques progressed the ever more numerous analyses are marked by the "cosmization" of the *dhikr* of the tongue, the influence of the *dhikr* of the heart on the circulatory system, and the probable influence of the *dhikr* of the inmost being on the para- and ortho-sympathetic systems, and it seems as though we are in the presence of a control by this monoideism on the individual's subconscious, not to say unconscious, zones. In this case we are dealing with an equivalent of the *djapa-yoga*, almost certainly bringing about a twisting-back of self on self towards an ineffable grip of the first act of existence. The conceptualizations of the *waḥdat al-wudjūd* remain faithful to their monist view of the world by calling this movement of "enstasis" *fanāʾ* ... *billāh*.

This "attainment" is the fruit of a difficult technique of natural spirituality based on long asceticism. It is understandable that certain brotherhoods should have sought the equivalent (or what they thought to be the equivalent) by purely physical procedures: the sacred dances of the Mawlawiyya, the cries of the "Howlers", not to mention stimulating and stupefying drugs. Thus one arrives finally at veritable counterfeits which have not been without effect on the opposition by the *nahḍa* of contemporary Islam to the brotherhoods and its distrust of Ṣūfism.

To sum up: we find, in the course of the history of Ṣūfism, two distinct lines of utilization of the *dhikr*. The first and oldest makes it simply a method of prayer, without excluding other methods, where technique appears only in rudimentary form. The second, which became dominant, sees in it a guarantee of efficacity in attaining the highest "states" (*aḥwāl*) by virtue of a seeking after *ittiḥād* conceived as a (substantial) identification with the divine. This latter tendency often yields to the attraction of "procedures" and gnoses which become ever more extravagant. The testimony of Ghazzālī in the *Iḥyāʾ* stands at the hinge of the two lines—nearer to the first, and yet bearing witness already to the appearance of technique.

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(L. Gardet)

DHIMMA, the term used to designate the sort of indefinitely renewed contract through which the Muslim community accords hospitality and protection to members of other revealed religions, on condition of their acknowledging the domination of Islam. The beneficiaries of the *dhimma* are called *dhimmīs*, and are collectively referred to as *ahl al-dhimma* or simply *dhimma*. An account of the doctrinal position of Islam vis-à-vis the religions in question, and of the polemics between the two sides, is given in the article ahl al-kitāb; for a detailed account of the various religious communities see madjūs, naṣārā, ṣābiʾūn and yahūd. Mention is made here only of the general characteristics of the Muslim attitude to non-Muslims, as expressed in their institutions and social practices.

The bases of the treatment of non-Muslims in Islam depend partly on the attitude of the Prophet, partly on conditions obtaining at their conquest. Muḥammad is known to have first tried to integrate the principal Jewish groups at Medina into a rather loose organization, then opposed them violently, and finally, after the expansion of his authority across Arabia, concluded agreements of submission and protection with the Jews of other localities such as Khaybar, and with the Christians of, *e.g.*, Nadjrān; this last action alone could and did serve as precedent in the subsequent course of the Conquest. The essential Ḳurʾānic text is IX, 24: "Fight those who do not believe ... until they pay the *djizya* ..." which would imply that after they had come to pay there was no longer reason for fighting them. The conditions at the time of the conquest consisted essentially of the enormous numerical superiority of non-Muslims over Muslims in the conquered countries, and of their generally favourable bias towards the Arabs (because of the vexations to which they had been subjected by the official Churches); the natural, and indeed the only possible, policy was to extend to the inhabitants of the new territories the conception that had been tested experimentally in Arabia,—a flexible attitude in the absence of which no régime of the conquerors could have endured.

However, the precise nature of the earliest régimes, which varied according to the conditions obtaining at each conquest, is difficult to determine exactly, since the relevant texts have often been altered, and sometimes fabricated from the whole cloth, as a consequence of the differing concerns of Muslims and non-Muslims at later periods. Certain regulations have the temporary character of the demands made on a subject population by an army of occupation: dwellings, food-supply, intelligence, and security against espionage (it is as an example of this that we must understand the prohibition, on which later rigorists were to insist, of the wearing by *dhimmīs* of Arab dress, since in fact the natives and the Arabs dressed differently). But the essential—and lasting—stipulation concerns the payment of the distinguishing tax or *djizya* [*q.v.*], which was later to develop into a precise poll-tax, and which, expressing subjection, was to inaugurate the definitive fiscal status of the *dhimmīs*; this was in conformity with the usual custom of all mediaeval societies where non-dominant religious communities were concerned. Precautions must have been taken to avoid clashes between different communities, which at first enjoyed such friendly relations that buildings could be divided between Christians and Muslims; but it was only in the *amṣār* that restrictions on the right to construct new religious buildings could already from that time be maintained. The preservation by each community of its own laws and peculiar customs, as well as its own leaders—this also in conformity with the attitude of all mediaeval societies—must have resulted in the first place from the situation as it was rather than from any formal decision. The autochthonous non-Muslims, who were often unaccustomed to bear arms, were only exceptionally called upon for military services.

The *dhimmī* is defined as against the Muslim and the idolater (with reference to Arabia, but this is scarcely more than a memory); also as against the *ḥarbī* who is of the same faith but lives in territories not yet under Islam; and finally as against the *mustaʾmin*, the foreigner who is granted the right of living in an Islamic territory for a short time (one year at most). Originally only Jews and Christians were involved; soon, however, it became necessary to consider the Zoroastrians, and later, especially in Central Asia, other minor faiths not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. The Zoroastrians, by committing to writing the previously orally transmitted Avesta, attained the status of *Ahl al-kitāb*; but more generally the Muslims, without waiting for such a step, and whether or not there existed recognized communal chiefs to guarantee the unbroken performance of the agreements, in fact accorded to the subject believers of most religions an effective status comparable to that of the *dhimmīs* properly so-called, except for a few points of inferiority of which one or two examples will be given.

Soon, however, Islam was reinforced numerically, organized itself institutionally, and deepened culturally. Polemics began to make their appearance between the faiths, and the Muslims sought to delimit more clearly the rights of those who were not Muslims. The measures for Islamization of the state introduced by ʿAbd al-Malik already included, as it turned out, an indirect threat to the *dhimmīs*; it is, however, to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz that tradition, doubtless partially based on truth, attributes the first discriminatory provisions concerning them. The only other Umayyad of note in this connexion is Yazīd II, on a special matter which will be referred to later; thereafter one must come down to Hārūn al-Rashīd, and more especially to al-Mutawakkil, to encounter a policy really hostile to the *dhimmīs*. But always, through the centuries, the evolution of ideas has shown two aspects at once different and interdependent. On the one hand are the doctrinaires, found mainly among the *fuḳahāʾ* and the *ḳāḍīs*, who have interpreted the regulations concerning *dhimma* in a restrictive way, developing a programme which, if not one of persecution, is at least vexatious and repressive. From time to time a sovereign, either through Islamic zeal or through the need for popularity amongst them, ordains measures to the doctrinaires' satisfaction; sometimes, also, there are outbursts of popular anger against the *dhimmīs*, which in some cases arose from the places occupied by *dhimmīs* in the higher ranks of administration, especially that of finance.

But indeed, on the other hand, we must recognize that current practice fell very much short of the programme of the purists, which was hardly ever implemented except in the great Muslim centres and in the capitals, and was even then incomplete and sporadic; the different juridical schools are moreover not all in agreement, and some of them reiterate rules without any practical effect. On the whole the condition of the *dhimmīs*, although unstable in its minor practical aspects, was until about the 6th/12th century in the west, and the 7th/13th in the east, essentially satisfactory, in comparison with, say, that of the admittedly smaller Jewish community in the neighbouring Byzantine empire.

The principal directions in which the strengthening of Islamic control operated were as follows. On the one hand people like the *zindīḳs*, Manichaeans and those under their influence, who were suspected of wishing to propagate false doctrines within Islam, were excluded from the benefits of the *dhimma*; so too, of course, were those who, like the Mazdakites of Bābak, called in question the very political domination of Islam. As far as the *dhimmīs* in the traditional sense are concerned, their rights held good, and it could even be said that their financial situation had become closer to that of the Muslims than it was at first, since the converted possessors of *kharādj* lands had to continue to pay this *kharādj*, which the Arabs from the time of the conquest had not paid, and, though they did not pay the *djizya*, had to pay the *zakāt* on their other income. The *dhimmīs* moreover retained the autonomy of their own internal law, the stipulations of which formed the subject of treatises compiled at that time, and although they were able, if they wished, to apply to a Muslim judge (who would then often adjudicate according to Muslim law), they continued normally to resort to their own chiefs where these existed. Nevertheless, in relations between *dhimmīs* and Muslims, the two parties were not treated equally; thus, the Muslim could marry a *dhimmī* woman, but a *dhimmī* could not marry a Muslim woman; a *dhimmī* could not own a Muslim slave, although the converse was permitted; at the frontier the *dhimmī* merchant, although paying only half the rate paid by the *ḥarbī*, would pay double the rate for Muslims (20%, 10%, 5%); in criminal law it was frequently considered, in spite of the contrary opinion of the Ḥanafīs, that the blood-wit (*diya* [*q.v.*]) for a *dhimmī* was less ($^1/_2$ or $^2/_3$) than that for a Muslim—less still in the case of a Zoroastrian—a principle the equivalents of which are encountered in all societies at this time. Finally the *dhimmī* had, according to the doctrine going back in part to the time of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, to wear distinguishing articles of dress, in particular the *zunnār* belt, the original intention of which was perhaps merely to prevent administrative errors but which gradually came to be regarded as a sign of humiliation, and was accompanied by complementary restrictions such as the prohibition of fine cloth, noble steeds, uncut forelocks, etc.; in fact, it would appear that these regulations, often variable in their detail, had never been respected for any length of time (whence their repetition by pietistic sovereigns), and it is even doubtful whether there was any real desire to apply them outside Baghdād and the great Islamic centres. On the other hand, although there may have been a natural tendency for town-dwellers to reside in different districts according to their faiths, there were no precise quarters, nor *a fortiori* any obligatory quarters, for *dhimmīs* of any kind. On the contrary, it was the close association of Muslims and non-Muslims in everyday life that provided the *raison d'être* of the restrictions mentioned above. Similarly, although there may have been some professional specialization, such as the trade of dyeing in the hands of the Jews, in general the mixture of faiths among all trades is the striking characteristic of society in "classical" times.

Although there was obviously no "liberty of conscience", as it would now be understood, in any Muslim society, Islam tolerated the religions of the *dhimmīs* subject to the following restrictions: it was forbidden to insult Islam, to seek to convert a Muslim, and apostasy was forbidden (all this, in principle, subject to the death penalty). The child of a mixed marriage was Muslim. As regards places of worship, the jurists are almost unanimous in interpreting restrictively the undertaking made on behalf of Muslims to uphold them, in the sense that this promise could apply only to those buildings which were in existence at the time of the advent of Islamic power; hence new building was forbidden, and rigorists opposed even the reconstruction of buildings fallen into decay. The practice of earlier centuries shows that these probibitions were rarely made absolute, and that as long as money was available the construction of new buildings was usually possible, even in Muslim centres like Fusṭāṭ and Cairo, and *a fortiori* in the regions where there was a non-Muslim majority during the greater part of the middle ages, such as certain districts in Upper Mesopotamia. Yazīd II had forbidden figure-representations in these buildings, but this order—linked with the iconoclastic movement, regarded favourably by many monophysite Christians, which was shortly afterwards to show itself so strongly at Byzantium—was certainly not enforced in any lasting way. There were also various limitations on the outward expressions of worship, such as processions and the use of bells, though these were never general in the earlier centuries of Islam. Only in Arabia, most strictly in the Holy Cities, was permanent residence by *dhimmīs* forbidden, following measures some of which go back to ʿUmar—although temporary exceptions made under the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids were numerous, and indeed Jews lived in the Yemen until a few years ago.

Of course, those Muslims who interpreted the early pledges on the *dhimma* restrictively endeavoured to find textual authority for their attitude, as did the Christians who opposed them. Thus appeared the allegedly ancient Pact of ʿUmar on the one hand—which in its complete form is not attested before the end of the 5th/11th century—and on the other the Edict of the Prophet to the Christians, a pious fraud of Nestorian monks of the 3rd/9th century. In addition there came gradually into prominence a person, the *muḥtasib* [*q.v.*], who, entrusted with the maintenance of order in the streets and markets, was to include within his province the control of the *dhimmīs*.

The domain from which one might have expected, from a doctrinal point of view, to see *dhimmīs* excluded is that of government; but in fact this is not the case. Originally the Arabs would, without their assistance, have been unable to carry out the duties of an administration which was primarily the administration of the non-Muslim population. Later Christian bureaucrats, Nestorians in ʿIrāḳ and, more permanently, Copts in Egypt, were able to uphold family positions acquired in the face of the

competition of Muslims, who turned more readily towards other professions, and to whom authority would in any case have found it difficult to entrust duties whose Islamic legality was questionable; the *dhimmīs*, whose situation depended more on the favour of prince or vizier, were more faithful to them. Nowhere had Jews and Christians played a more important part in these matters than in Egypt under the Fāṭimids; much the same position arose, however, at certain periods in Spain, and even in the east, al-Māwardī, the theoretician of Caliphal revival, admits—legitimizing past instances—that even a *dhimmī* vizier was possible, provided that his vizierate was 'executive' (*tanfīdh*) and not with power to command, *i.e.*, that in practice he should neither exercise explicit political responsibility for major political decisions nor, in particular, sit in judgment over Muslims or take the initiative in matters where Islam was concerned. Obviously, it happened on many occasions that the condition upon which a *dhimmī* could secure or retain a high post was that he should become a convert to Islam; but the bonds of clientship and patronage still held, and the official new Muslim could protect the *dhimmī* staff to whom he was used.

Moreover, since the *dhimmīs* remained to some extent under the jurisdiction of their own leaders, it followed that the latter were officially invested by the Muslim ruler—to whom the community did not hesitate to appeal when they disagreed on a candidate. The Jews thus came officially under the government of their Exilarch, and the Christians of different denominations similarly under that of their respective Catholicoi and Patriarchs; in this respect the position of the Zoroastrians is less clear. In ʿIrāḳ, the Catholicos of the Nestorians had some precedence within the entire Christian community.

One single persecution of the *dhimmīs* has been recorded in the classical centuries of Islam, that of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*], which made a considerable impact in both East and West, because of its severity and of the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre; this was, however, the work of a visionary caliph, whose decision, difficult to explain, may not derive from ordinary processes of reasoning; he himself, at the end of his reign, retracted his measures, and his successors until the end of the dynasty restored the previous tradition of an extremely broad toleration. Even the Ayyūbid conquest, which adversely affected the Armenian community, hardly impaired the administrative position of the Copts. The restriction of *dhimmīs* in special quarters in Jerusalem was an exceptional move on the part of the Fāṭimids, and was intended to ensure their safety.

One cannot, therefore, say that it was persecution which led in some cases to the diminution and in others the complete disappearance of non-Muslim communities. The factors, essentially social, involved in this process cannot be discussed here; it must, however, be emphasized that the general position of the *dhimmīs* was gradually transformed by the fact that they passed almost everywhere from the position of a majority to that of a minority community. Moreover, instead of consisting, as previously, of a variety of communities, the gradual disappearance of Christians (foreigners excepted) in the Maghrib, of Christians also in Central Asia a little later, and of Zoroastrians in Īrān, bring it about that in some regions the category of *dhimmī* had practically ceased to exist, while in others it had come to comprise only the Jewish community, more tenacious but by now almost exclusively urban. These proportions were of course to be reversed after the establishment of the Ottoman empire in Europe, but this represented a new phenomenon which was to lead to no modification in the rest of the Muslim world.

It cannot be denied that from the last three or four centuries of the Middle Ages there was a general hardening against *dhimmīs* in Muslim countries, helped materially and morally by the change in numerical proportions. Before proceeding further, however, it must be noticed that this hardening of opinion was contemporary with that which appeared in Christendom against the Jews and against Muslims where there were any, without our being able to say to what extent there was convergence, influence, or reaction. On the other hand it must be emphasized that the populace were more easily excited as a result of the deterioration in the economic climate, and that generally changes in the Muslim attitude had been occasioned more by political than by religious considerations. Hitherto there had been scarcely any difference in the treatment accorded to Christians and Jews (at most they were distinguished by prescribed differences in dress); but it later came about that some categories of *dhimmīs* were looked on as friends of foreign powers and were worse treated, and naturally some Christians were in this respect more of a target than the Jews. There is nothing in mediaeval Islam which could specifically be called anti-semitism.

Although it has sometimes been considered that the formation of the Saldjūḳ empire aggravated the condition of the Christian community, this is only very marginally true. The Saldjūḳids, partly because the numerical proportions of the various communities made it less of a natural conclusion, employed Christian functionaries less than their predecessors, whence doubtless there were a few less safeguards in the life of the community; nothing, however, was directly changed in the régime of which they were the beneficiaries. In Asia Minor the Turkish conquest evidently caused much suffering and loss to Byzantine Christendom, but inter-denominational relations became singularly good once a stable political situation had been established. Contrary to what might have been expected, the Crusades had at first no noticeable effect on the condition of the *dhimmīs*, because the eastern Christians were not of the Latin rite and maintained on the whole an attitude of correct loyalty to their masters—except for the Armenians, who were only to be met with locally. The first suspicions seem to have mounted against the Copts at the time of the Frankish expeditions into Egypt; there may also have been some in Syria and the neighbouring lands after the penetration of Latin missionaries, whose ministries were in vain precisely because it was impossible for the local Christian communities to come into contact with them without becoming politically suspect. The climax came with the Mongol invasions which, wherever they occurred, were of temporary advantage to the Christians, as there were Christians in the Mongol ranks, and because the Mongols held the balance between the various faiths; several acts of excess by Christians against Islam followed locally; but finally Muslim reaction made the Christians pay for their behaviour, and the expansion of intolerant nomads to the detriment of cultivators was a grave blow to rural Christian communities in Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia even when these were under Mongol

control. Tīmūr's massacres, and the rivalries between Turkomans in the 7th/15th centuries, heightened the drama.

In the Mamlūk state the native Christians, the Maronites even more than the Copts, suffered the repercussions of the struggle against the Mongols, the perpetuation of the state of war maintained against the Franks on the mediterranean coastline, and the growing supremacy of western merchants over their eastern rivals. The Mamlūk government tried in general to uphold the earlier legal system, but it was able neither to prevent popular violence stirred up by extremists, especially in 721/1321, nor to resist the pressure of jurists, such as Ibn Taymiyya, who insisted on an increasingly vexatious interpretation of the law regarding *dhimmīs*. Not only were the regulations on dress periodically renewed, though still with doubtful efficacy, but the regulations on mounts were narrowed so as to allow the *dhimmīs* nothing better than indifferent donkeys, and a new restriction was introduced—which has an Italian parallel—which forbade them to possess houses higher than those occupied by Muslims (thus indicating incidentally that they did not live in special quarters). Care was in general taken that nothing in their everyday social comportment might tend to conceal the evidence of their inferiority vis-à-vis Muslims; an attempt was made to embarrass the *dhimmī*'s trade by regulations, always temporary, against the sale of wine; there was a growing repugnance on the part of certain Muslims to associate with non-Muslims, and their religious buildings were destroyed on various pretexts; there was a partial exclusion of *dhimmīs* even from the administrative offices themselves. From this period date also treatises specially written against the *dhimmīs* (no longer merely religious polemics), to say nothing of chapters inserted in works of *fiḳh*.

In the West the Almoravids, and even more the Almohads, had adopted, earlier than the East, an intolerant policy, which is partly explained by the suspicions entertained of their Christian subjects of complicity with the Spaniards of the northern kingdoms who were already intent on the Reconquista, although the Jews suffered no less, whence for example the emigration of Maimonides to the East; *dhimmīs* ceased to be employed in the administration, the distinctive badges reappeared, etc. In the Maghrib there started to appear for the Jews, henceforth the only *dhimmīs*, special quarters (*mallāḥ*, *ḥāra*) which remind one of the European ghetto, and they were authorized to live in certain towns only. They regained, however, some influence after the arrival of their co-religionists who had been expelled from Christian Spain. It must be remembered that this country, for long tolerant, moved at the end of the Middle Ages towards the expulsion of all non-Christians, Jews and Muslims alike; this was achieved at the beginning of the 17th century after two centuries of ill-treatment.

Objectivity requires us to attempt a comparison between Christian and Muslim intolerance, which have partial resemblances and partial differences. Islam has, in spite of many upsets, shown more toleration than Europe towards the Jews who remained in Muslim lands. In places where Christian communities did not die out it may have harassed them, but it tolerated them when they did not seem too closely bound up with western Christianity (as in Egypt and Syria); it has bullied them more roughly in Spain, after a long period of toleration, in the face of the Reconquista (it is impossible to say how the Maghrib would have tolerated Christian communities there while Spain was expelling its Muslims, since except for foreigners there were none). What one may emphasize is that, although religious factors obviously contributed to the intolerance shown in particular by the Almohads, it is political factors which in general outweighed strictly religious intolerance in Islam. Finally, it was at the time of the expulsions from Spain and the religious wars in the West that the constitution of the Ottoman empire restored—albeit without modifying the situation in other Islamic countries—the spectacle of an Islamo-*dhimmī* symbiosis which was none the less remarkable for having been indispensable for the maintenance of the régime, as it had been for the Arab conquerors in the 1st/7th century. The Jews found asylum there, the Armenians and Greeks, in the 18th century, backed by Christian Europe, attained to positions of the highest importance. The later deteriorations are connected with the history of nationalist movements and the change in the notion of the State, which, gradually reaching all Muslim peoples, has emptied the concept of *dhimmī* of its traditional content. No more can be done here than merely to mention this last phase [see ḲAWMIYYA, MILLA and WAṬAN].

Bibliography: It is obviously impossible to enumerate here all the sources, which might include almost all Islamic legal and historical literature, with additions from the geographers, the *adab* authors, etc. An extensive, but incomplete, list will be found in Fattal, cited below. One might notice the importance, for the earlier period, of Balādhurī and Abū Yūsuf; later of Māwardī; then of the works on *ḥisba*, omitted by Fattal (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *JA*, ccxxx, 1938, and ʿArīnī's edition of Shayzarī, Cairo 1946); and in general the Christian chronicles, either Arabic, like the *History of the Alexandria Patriarchs* and the historical chronicle of Mari (ed. Gismondi, 1909), or non-Arabic, like the Syriac chronicle of Michael the Syrian (ed. Chabot); mention may also be made of the Jewish documents, mainly in Arabic, of the *Geniza*. Some smaller works specially directed against the *dhimmīs* date from Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times, such as al-Nābulusī, *Tadjrīd* (fragments edited by Cl. Cahen in *BIFAO*, lix, 1960; complete edition in prepation by M. Perlmann); Ghāzī b. al-Wāsiṭī, *Radd ʿalā ahl al-dhimmā*, ed. and trans. R. Gottheil, in *JAOS*, xli, 1921; the *Fetwa sur la condition des dhimmīs*, etc., trans. Belin, in *JA*, 4ᵉ série, xviii-xix, 1851-2; the *Tract against Christian officials* of al-Asnawī, ed. M. Perlmann, in *Goldziher Mem.*, ii, 1958. On this literature in general see Perlmann, in *BSOAS*, 1942.

In the modern literature there are two general studies worthy of notice: A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, London 1930 (Arabic trans. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, Cairo n.d.), and Ant. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'islam*, Beirut 1958. Neither however can be considered as complete, nor to have sought to portray and explain the evolution and the differentiation in the condition of the *dhimmīs*. Deeper studies, but limited to the category of the Jews, are: S. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, New York 1955; the numerous but scattered passages relevant to the world of Islam in S. Baron, *History of the Jews*, iii-vii (up to the 12th century), New York 1957-9; E. Strauss[-Ashtor], *History*

of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under the Mamlūks (in Hebrew), 2 vols., Jerusalem 1944-51; E. Ashtor, *History of the Jews in Muslim Spain*, (in Hebrew), i, *711-1002*, Jerusalem 1960. The fuller and more diverse history of the Christians has not been the subject of any special study; for religious polemics, see AHL AL-KITĀB. An important work on the Christians in Spain is I. de las Cagigas, *Los Mozarabes*, 2 vols., Madrid 1947-8; E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, 2 vols., Rome 1943, deals in fact with the entire religious history of that country. For the Zoroastrians the only collected references are to be found in works on Iranian history, such as B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952 (expanded English translation in the press). Some general information on *dhimmīs* as a whole in Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, ch. iv; Cl. Cahen, *L'Islam et les Minorités confessionelles*, in *La Table Ronde*, 1958; E. Strauss[-Ashtor], *The social isolation of Ahl adh-dhimma*, in *P. Hirschler Memorial Book*, Budapest 1950; N. Edelby, *Essai sur l'autonomie juridictionnelle des Chrétientés d'Orient*, in *Arch. d'Hist. du Droit Oriental*, 1952; O. Turan, *Les souverains Seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans*, in *Stud. Isl.*, i, 1953. More detailed bibliography appears in the articles on the various religions. On the Ottoman period, see F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols., Oxford 1929; Gibb-Bowen, 1/2, ch. xiv. (CL. CAHEN)

DHIMMA. The term *dhimma*, in its legal sense, bears two meanings, the first of which, that of the works on *Uṣūl* (legal theory), is equivalent to the notion of capacity, and such is the definition of it given by the classical doctrine. The *dhimma* is the legal quality which makes the individual a proper subject of law, that is, a proper addressee of the rule which provides him with rights or charges him with obligations. In this sense the *dhimma* may be identified with the legal personality. It is for this reason that every person is endowed with a *dhimma* from the moment of birth. Equally it follows that the *dhimma* disappears with the person at death.

But the *dhimma*, an attribute of the personality, is never used exclusively, by the Muslim legal theoreticians, in relation to a person's estate. It embraces all kinds of proprietary and extra-proprietary rights. Thus the duty of the ritual prayer binds the person insofar as it is endowed with a *dhimma*. So completely is the *dhimma* identified with the legal personality that certain authors have been able to assert that it is a useless notion and even devoid of any real meaning (Taftāzānī, *al-Talwīḥ*, ii, 726).

In its second sense, that of the legal practitioners, the term goes to the root of the notion of obligation. It is the *fides* which binds the debtor to the creditor. The bond of the obligation requires the debtor to perform a given act (*fiʿl*), and this act will be obtained at the demand of the creditor, *muṭālaba*. In the case of a real right (*ḥaḳḳ fi'l ʿayn*) on the contrary no bond exists: there will be no case of exacting any performance from a specified person. For this reason, then, there will be no question of *dhimma*. Some authors have so completely identified the idea of *dhimma* with that of obligation that in their view *dhimma* is properly undertaking, *ʿahd*, or guarantee, *ḍamān*. Others restrict the term to contractual obligations (al-Nasafī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ḥanafiyya*, 65).

But in actual fact *dhimma* is never identical with obligation: it is properly the basis of an obligation. Once *fides* has been brought into existence the object of the right will exist in the seat of rights which is the person. It is at this stage that the second sense given to the term by the legal practitioners merges with that of the theoreticians of Islamic law. The *dhimma* is not only the bond which ties the creditor to the debtor but is, in particular, the seat of it. But here it embraces only rights of debt properly so-called. Thus it is that the obligation to give alms to those in need is not held to exist in the *dhimma*. It must be particularly noted that, as distinct from Western law, a right of debt with which the *dhimma* is charged is restricted to the right which exists in relation to a sum of money or other fungible goods. It is therefore only the obligation termed *dayn* that has its basis in the *dhimma*. The case will be the same if the obligation is one of future performance (*istiṣnāʿ*). But if the obligation exists in regard to a specific object it will be termed *ʿayn* and this obligation will lie outside the *dhimma*. In this case indeed the obligation cannot be *in futuro* and on the other hand is not discharged, in case of non-performance, by payment of damages.

It results that the idea of obligation in Islamic law is of a quite different structure according as to whether it is or is not directed towards a specific object.

In the first case it does not create a legal bond since it cannot be *in futuro*. In the second case the creditor's purpose is to bind his debtor, and this bond is established on the basis of the *dhimma*. Obligation, then, will properly be, as it has been defined by Muslim lawyers, an incorporeal right existing in the *dhimma* of the debtor. Thus the *dhimma* becomes, in the final analysis, the equivalent of what is termed in modern law, the debtor's estate.

Bibliography: Chafik Chéhata, *Essai d'une théorie générale de l'obligation en droit musulman*, Cairo 1936, i, 171, § 263; Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 263; idem, *Handleiding*[4], 268; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, index; Taftāzānī, *al-Talwīḥ*, Cairo 1304 H., and other works on *uṣūl*; Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Radd al-muḥtār*, iv; Ibn Nudjaym, *al-Baḥr al-rā'iḳ*, vi, 204; Kāsānī, *Badā'iʿ al-ṣanāʿi*, v and vi; Mīkhā'īl ʿĪd al-Bustānī, *Mardjiʿ al-ṭullāb*, Beirut 1914, index. (CHAFIK CHEHATA)

DHIMMĪ [see AHL AL-DHIMMA].

DHIRĀʿ, originally the part of the arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, then the measure of the cubit, and at the same time the name given to the instrument for measuring it. The legal cubit is four handsbreadths (*ḳabḍa* = index finger, middle finger, ring finger, and little finger put together), each of six fingerbreadths (*aṣbaʿ* = middle joint of the middle finger) each the width of six barley corns (*shaʿīra*) laid side by side. A considerable number of different cubits were in common use in Islam. Roughly speaking they can be grouped around the following four measures: the legal cubit, the "black" cubit, the king's cubit, and the cloth cubit. The point of departure for all these calculations is the cubit of the Nilometer on the island of al-Rawḍa of the year 247/861, which, on an average, measures 54.04 cm.

1) The legal cubit (*al-dhirāʿ al-sharʿiyya*), is the same as the Egyptian hand cubit (*dhirāʿ al-yad*, also called *al-dhirāʿ al-ḳā'ima*), the Joseph cubit (*al-dhirāʿ al-Yūsufiyya*, called after Ḳāḍī Abū Yūsuf, who died in 182/798), the post cubit (*dhirāʿ al-barīd*), the "freed" cubit (*al-dhirāʿ al-mursala*), and the thread cubit (*dhirāʿ al-ghazl*), measuring 49.8 cm. (In ʿAbbāsid times, a cubit measured only

some 48.25 cm. in Baghdād; this can possibly be traced back to the caliph al-Maʾmūn (170-218/786-833) who reorganized surveying).

2) The "black" cubit (*al-dhirāʿ al-sawdāʾ*), fixed as above at 54.04, is identical with the "common" cubit (*al-dhirāʿ al-ʿāmma*), the sack-cloth cubit (*dhirāʿ al-kirbās*), and the cubit in common use in the Maghrib and in Spain, *al-dhirāʿ al-Rashshāshiyya*. The "black" cubit came into use in ʿAbbāsid times, but was not introduced, as is often stated, by al-Maʾmūn, who had measurements carried out in the legal cubit.

3) The originally Persian "king's" cubit (*dhirāʿ al-malik*), since the caliph al-Manṣūr (136/754-158/775) known as the (great) Hāshimī cubit (*al-dhirāʿ al-Hāshimiyya*). It measured eight *ḳabḍa* instead of six, and measured on an average 66.5 cm. It is identical with the Ziyādī cubit (*al-dhirāʿ al-Ziyādiyya*), which Ziyād b. Abīhi (died 53/673) used in the survey of ʿIrāḳ, and which is therefore also known as the survey cubit (*dhirāʿ al-misāḥa*); it is also identical with the "work" cubit (*dhirāʿ al-ʿamal*), and probably also with the cubit *al-dhirāʿ al-hindāsa*, which measures 65.6 cm.

4) The cloth cubit, which is also known in Levantine commerce as pic, varied from town to town. The Egyptian cloth cubit (*dhirāʿ al-bazz*, also called *al-dhirāʿ al-baladiyya*, identical with the late-mediaeval *dhirāʿ al-ḥadīd*, or "iron" cubit, which seems to have been originally the same as the "black" cubit) measured 58.15 cm., the cloth cubit of Damascus 63 cm., the widely accepted cloth-cubit of Aleppo 67.7 cm., that of Baghdād 82.9 cm., and that of Istanbul 68.6 cm.

Other cubit measures: beside the "great", there was also a "small" Hāshimī cubit of 60.05 cm., also known as *al-dhirāʿ al-Bilāliyya*, after Bilāl b. Abī Burda (died 121/739), a ḳāḍī in Baṣra. The Egyptian carpenter's cubit (*al-dhirāʿ bi 'l-nadjdjārī*) was identical with the architects' cubit (*al-dhirāʿ al-miʿmāriyya*), and measured ca. 77.5 cm. (standardised at 75 cm. in the 19th century). The ʿAbbāsid "house" cubit (*dhirāʿ al-dūr*) which was introduced by ḳāḍī Ibn Abī Laylā (died 148/765) measured only 50.3 cm. The "scale" cubit (*al-dhirāʿ al-mīzāniyya*), introduced by the caliph al-Maʾmūn, was chiefly used for measuring canals, and measured 145.6 cm.; it was double the length of the cubit of the caliph ʿUmar (*al-dhirāʿ al-ʿUmariyya*) which was 72.8 cm. The Persian cubit (*dharʿ*, generally called *gaz*) was in the Middle Ages either the legal cubit of 49.8 cm. or the Iṣfahān cubit of 8/5 *dharʿ-i sharʿi* = 79.8 cm. In the 17th century, there was a "royal" cubit (*gaz-i shāhī*) of 95 cm. in Iran; the "shortened" cubit (*gaz-i mukassar*) of 68 cm. was used for measuring cloth; this was probably the cloth cubit of Aleppo. Today, 1 *gaz* = 104 cm. in Īrān. There was also a "royal" cubit (*dhirāʿ-i pādishāhī*) in Mughal India which consisted of 40 fingerbreadths (*angusht*) = 81.3 cm.

Subdivisions of the cubit: basically, there were six handsbreadths (*ḳabḍa*) to the cubit; the *ḳabḍa* of the legal cubit was thus 8.31 cm., that of the common or "black" cubit was 9 cm. In the 19th century, the *ḳabḍa* in Egypt was even 16.1 cm. The *ḳabḍa*, in turn, consisted basically of four fingerbreadths (*aṣbaʿ*); the *aṣbaʿ* of the legal cubit was thus 2.078 cm., and that of the "black" cubit 2.25 cm. In Egypt, the *aṣbaʿ* is officially established at 3.125 cm. The fingerbreadth (*angusht*) of the Mughals was standardized at 2.032 cm. by the emperor Akbar at the end of the 10th/16th century.

Multiples of the cubit: the *bāʿ* or 'fathom', also known as *ḳāma*, is basically 4 legal cubits = 199.5 cm., or approximately 2 metres, and thus the thousandth part of a mile (*mīl*). Today in Egypt, the *bāʿ* = 4 "carpenter's" cubits = 3 metres. The *ḳaṣaba*, or measuring rod (Persian *nāb*; *bāb* is a reading error) is predominantly used in surveying. The Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim bi-amri'llāh (375-411/985-1021) introduced the *ḳaṣaba Ḥākimiyya*, which measured $7^1/_7$ "black" cubits, on the norm of 3.85 metres, established by a French expedition to Egypt. In 1830, the *ḳaṣaba* was established at 3.55 metres. The *ashl* or "rope" (Persian *ṭanāb*) equals 20 *bāʿ* = 60 Hāshimī cubits = 80 legal cubits = 39.9 metres; 150 *ṭanāb* or 3 *mīl* equal one parasang (*farsakh*) = 5985 metres = approx. 6 km.

Bibliography: W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden 1955, 54-64; A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, Prague 1954, 171-178; W. Popper, *The Cairo Nilometer*, Berkeley 1951, 102-105.

(W. Hinz)

DHOLKĀ [see GUDJARĀT].

DHŪ, DHĪ, DHĀ, demonstrative forms based on the demonstrative element *dh*. The variety of their uses precludes these forms from being regarded as a single declined word; thus:

Dhū was the relative pronoun, invariable, of the Ṭayyiʾ; corresponding to the Hebrew *zū*, the poetic form of the relative pronoun.

Dhī forms part of the masc. relative pronoun *alladhī*; but *allatī* in the feminine. The opposition *dh*/*t* marks the gender. Corresponding to *dhī* are the Aramaic biblical relative, invariable, *dī* (d^e in syr.), the Geez masc. demonstrative *ze*, acc. *za*.

Dhā masc. sing. demonstrative (near object), diminutive *dhayyā*; *dhī* for the feminine, the opposition *ā*/*ī* then marking the gender here. J. Barth understood it as *ē*/*ī*, maintaining the existence of an ancient sound *ē*, from which followed his sharp controversy with A. Fischer (*ZDMG*, 1905, 159-61, 443-8, 633-40, 644-71; J. Barth, *Sprachwissenschfl. Untersuch.*, i, Leipzig 1907, 30-46). *Dhā* occurs most often either reinforced with *hā*-: *hādhā*, or combined with other demonstratives: *dhāka*, *dhālika*. Corresponding with *dhā* are the Geez feminine sing. demonstrative *zā*, Hebr. $zōt^h$ (= **dhā* + *t*), the Geez masc. relative *za*.

Once in the nominal form with the sense: "he of", then "who has", "possessor of", *dhū* follows the Ist declension, taking the dual and the external plural. But it is always followed by a noun in the dependent grammatical phrase (common noun, according to the requirements of the Arab grammarians: al-Zamakhsharī, *Muf.*, § 130, 2nd ed. Broch; al-Ḥarīrī, *Durra*, ed. H. Thorbecke, 138). Thus *dhū mālin* "possessor of money", pl. *dhawū mālin* or (elegantly)*ulū mālin*; for the feminine with the same construction: *dhātu mālin*, pl. *dhawātu mālin* (or *ulātu mālin*). See W. Wright, *Ar. Gr*³, i, 265 D, in *Lisān* the art.: *dhū wa-dhawāt*, xx, 344/xv, 456; *Muf.*, § 122, for expressions like *dhāta yawmin* "a day", *dhāta 'l-yamīni* "on the right".

Dhū, having this meaning of "possessor of" or "who has", was suited to provide surnames or nicknames (*laḳab*), *e.g.* *Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn* (for Alexander), which have sometimes become the most commonly known name for some individual, e.g. the poet *Dhu 'l-Rumma*. For the kings or princes of the Yemen (such as *Dhū Yazan*) it has become an autonomous word with internal plural; these are the *adhwāʾ al-yaman* (see Wright, *ibid.*, 266 A and *Lisān*, *ibid.*),

[see ADHWĀ']. In addition, two Muslim names of months: *Dhu 'l-hidjdja*, *Dhu 'l-ka'da* [see TA'RĪKH, i].

Bibliography: in the text. In addition: J. Barth, *Die Pronominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1913, 103-16, 152-8; for modern dialects: W. Fischer, *Die demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte*, The Hague 1959, 57-98. (H. FLEISCH)

DHU 'L-FAKĀR, the name of the famous sword which Muḥammad obtained as booty in the battle of Badr; it previously belonged to a heathen named al-'Āṣ b. Munabbih, killed in the battle. It is mentioned in the *Sīra* (ed. Saḳḳā, etc., 1375/1955), ii, 100, and in several *hadīth*s (see for example Ibn Sa'd, ii, 2, section: *fī suyūf al-Nabī*. The expression Dhu 'l-Faḳār is explained by the presence on this sword of notches (*fuḳra*) or grooves (cf. the expression *sayf mufakkar*). According to a tradition, the sword bore an inscription referring to blood-money which ended with the words *lā yuḳtal Muslim bi-kāfir* "no Muslim shall be slain for an unbeliever". The proverbial expression *lā sayf illā Dhu 'l-Faḳār* has often been inscribed on finely engraved swords, from the middle ages down to our own times, throughout the Muslim world. The words *wa-lā fatā illā 'Alī* are sometimes added, because, although Muḥammad's sword, after belonging to 'Alī, passed into the possession of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, it became an attribute of 'Alī and an 'Alid symbol. Muslim iconography represented it with two points, probably in order to mark its magical character (the two points were used to put out the eyes of an enemy; for a representation of a sword with two points, among other magic objects, see V. Monteil, in *REI*, 1940/i-ii, 22). Dhu 'l-Faḳār became a proper name which is found more particularly among Shī'is.

Bibliography: F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 152; G. Zawadowski, *Note sur l'origine magique de Dhoû-l-Faqâr*, in *En Terre d'Islam*, 1943/I, 36-40. (E. MITTWOCH*)

DHU 'L-FAKĀRIYYA, (alternatively *Faḳāriyya*, *Zulfaḳāriyya*); a Mamlūk household and political faction in Egypt during the 17th and 18th centuries.

(1) Origin and first ascendancy. The eponymous founder of the household, Dhu 'l-Faḳār Bey, is a shadowy figure, who seems to have flourished in the first third of the 17th century, but is not mentioned by contemporary chroniclers. The account (in Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib al-Āthār*, i, 21-3) which makes Dhu 'l-Faḳār and the rival eponym, Ḳāsim, contemporaries of sultan Selīm I is legendary. The political importance of the Faḳāriyya began with the *amīr al-hadjdj* Riḍwān Bey, a *mamlūk* of the eponym (Muḥammad al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Āthār*, Būlāḳ, 1290; ii, 164-6). He held the command of the Pilgrimage for over twenty years until his death in Djumādā II 1066/April 1656. The grandees of his household dominated the Egyptian political scene until Ṣafar 1071/October 1660, when their rivals, the Ḳāsimiyya faction, joined with the Ottoman viceroy to overthrow them. Their forces and leaders were dispersed, several of the Faḳārī beys being put to death at al-Ṭarrāna by the Ḳāsimī, Aḥmad Bey the Bosniak.

(2) The Ḳāsimī ascendancy. For over forty years after the Ṭarrāna episode, the Faḳāriyya remained in a state of diminished power and prestige. The Ḳāsimiyya, although the dominant faction, did not display the arrogance and turbulence *vis-à-vis* the viceroys which had characterized the Faḳāriyya during their ascendancy. The disturbances of this period originated mainly in the garrison of Cairo. By 1123/1711-12, however, a dangerous political polarization had developed. The Faḳāriyya and Ḳāsimiyya were allied respectively with the much older factions of Sa'd and Ḥarām among the Egyptian artisans and nomads. In a quarrel between the Janissaries and 'Azabs in that year, the Faḳāriyya supported the former and the Ḳāsimiyya the latter. The Ḳāsimiyya-'Azab combination was ultimately victorious, but the death during the fighting of Īwāẓ ('Iwaḍ) Bey, the leading Ḳāsimī grandee, opened a vendetta between the two factions which dragged on for two decades. Finally in 1142/1729-30, the Faḳāriyya succeeded in extirpating their rivals, and restoring their own ascendancy.

(3) The second ascendancy of the Faḳāriyya. The architect of the Faḳārī triumph, another Dhu 'l-Faḳār Bey, (who was assassinated on the eve of victory), came, not from the original Mamlūk household deriving from Riḍwān Bey, but from a household established by a regimental officer of Anatolian (*Rūmī*) origin, Ḥasan Balfiyya, *agha* of the Gönüllüs, who flourished in the late 11th/17th century. Another branch of this household stemmed from Muṣṭafā al-Ḳāzdughlī, also an Anatolian, who entered the service of Ḥasan Agha. The predominance of the Ḳāzdughliyya branch was established by Ibrāhīm Kâhya, who in 1156/1743-44 allied with Riḍwān Kâhya al-Djulfī to oust 'Uthmān Bey, a *mamlūk* of the late Dhu 'l-Faḳār Bey and holder of the supremacy (*ri'āsa*) in Egypt. The Ḳāzdughliyya, hitherto a regimental household, now entered the beylicate, several of Ibrāhīm Kâhya's *mamlūk*s being appointed beys, both before and after his death in Ṣafar 1168/November-December 1754. Amongst them was Bulut Kapan 'Alī Bey, usually called 'Alī Bey the Great (see 'ALĪ BEY). In spite of the inveterate rivalry among the Ḳāzdughliyya grandees, they maintained their ascendancy, ultimately embodied in the duumvirate of Ibrāhīm Bey and Murād Bey, until the French invasion under Bonaparte in 1798.

Bibliography: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Surūr, *al-Rawḍa al-zahiyya* and *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, (Brockelmann, II, 297-8; 8, 409); the author was a friend of Riḍwān Bey; Anonymous, *Zubdat ikhtiṣār ta'rīkh mulūk Miṣr al-maḥrūsa*, (B.M., Add. 9972); anonymous fragment, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. arabe 1855; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib al-Āthār fi 'l-tarādjim wa 'l-akhbār*, Būlāḳ 1290. See also P. M. Holt, *The exalted lineage of Riḍwān Bey: some observations on a seventeenth-century Mamluk genealogy*, in *BSOAS*, xxii/2, 1959, 221-30. (P. M. HOLT)

DHU 'L-HIDJDJA [see TA'RĪKH, i].

DHU 'L-HIMMA or DHĀT AL-HIMMA, name of the principal heroine of a romance of Arab chivalry entitled, in the 1327/1909 edition, *Sīrat al-amīra Dhāt al-Himma wa-waladihā 'Abd al-Wahhāb wa 'l-amīr Abū* (*sic*) *Muḥammad al-Baṭṭāl wa-'Uḳba shaykh al-ḍalāl wa-Shūmadris al-muḥtāl*, which, in the subtitle, describes itself as "the greatest history of the Arabs, and the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid caliphs, comprising the history of the Arabs and their wars ..... and including their amazing conquests". Also known is the title *Sīrat al-mudjāhidīn wa-abṭāl al-muwaḥḥidīn al-amīra Dhū* (*sic*) *'l-Himma wa-'Abd al-Wahhāb* etc. (catalogue of Vienna MSS by Flügel, ii, 13). Cf. also Brockelmann, S II, 65 and Sarkis, *Dict. encycl.*, xi, 1930, 2008.

The main subject of this romance is the Arab

war against the Byzantines from the Umayyad period until the end of al-Wāthik's caliphate, that is to say it covers in principle the first, second and third centuries of the Hidjra, but also reflects later events. Though this is the general character of the romance, it also has an equally important but individual character as the history of the rivalry between two Arab tribes, the B. Kilāb and the B. Sulaym, the key to a whole series of vicissitudes in the *Sīra* and to the course of action taken by the leading figures, and it may indeed be regarded as the epic of the B. Kilāb tribe. In the edition noted above it covers a total of 5084 pages in 8vo with 27 lines to the page, in 7 volumes of 10 sections (*djuz'*) each, with 64 pages in each section except for sections 69 and 70 which have 92 and 158 pages respectively.

The name of the heroine appears in different forms. She is often called simply Dalhama or al-Dalhama, and this might be her original name, the feminine of Dalham, a well-known proper name and appellation signifying wolf. It has been regarded as a vulgarism for a name beginning with *dhū* (cf. *Abu 'l-* becoming *Bal*), which could be reconstructed as Dhu 'l-Himma, and then, as it refers to a woman, as Dhāt al-Himma, the woman of noble purpose. In the edition and the different manuscripts all these forms occur concurrently, even Dhu 'l-Himma al-Dalhama or Dhu 'l-dalhama. It is by the name Delhemma that the romance is most generally known. But whilst several of the characters have a historical prototype, the heroine herself seems never to have existed historically.

Contents of the romance. The starting point is the history in the Umayyad period of the rivalry between two Kaysī tribes in the Hidjāz, the B. Kilāb and the B. Sulaym, the former belonging to the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa group, a section of the Hawāzin who, with the Sulaym, are one of the two principal branches of Kays ʿAylān. The head of the Kilāb was Djandaba b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Khālid b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Kilāb, while the head of the Sulaym was Marwān b. al-Haytham. It was the latter, a favourite of the Umayyad caliph, who, despite the superiority which Djandaba had won by his exploits, held the *imāra* (command) over the Arab troops. But after Djandaba's death his son al-Ṣaḥṣāḥ, having saved the daughter of caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and sister of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, when she was attacked by Bedouin brigands on her return from the pilgrimage, won Maslama's friendship and, thanks to him, was given the *imāra*. It was as head of the Arab tribes that he took part with Maslama in a great expedition against Constantinople, in the course of which he had romantic adventures in a fortress (a monastery in the corresponding episode in the ʿUmar al-Nuʿmān's tale in the 1001 Nights) inhabited by a Greek princess who fell in love with him after a show of resistance and whom he carried off. He was the hero in the fighting outside Constantinople against the emperor Leo and his generals and allies, one of whom was the queen of Georgia, Bakhtūs. After foiling the devilish plots of Shammās, a monk, he entered the town as victor with Maslama, had a mosque built there and had Shammās crucified.

The romance then relates al-Ṣaḥṣāḥ's adventures in the desert with other women, one of whom was a *djinniyya*, his death while hunting, the disputes over the succession between his two sons Ẓālim and Maẓlūm, the birth of Ẓālim's son, al-Ḥārith, and Maẓlūm's daughter, Fāṭima who, having been carried off in a raid with her nurse and foster-brother Marzūk by the B. Ṭayy, grew up among that tribe, became a fearsome amazon and was given the name of Dalhama (Dhāt al-Himma). Returning to her own tribe as a result of romantic events too lengthy to describe here, she continued to astound the Kilāb by her exploits. It was in these circumstances that the revolution which brought the ʿAbbāsids to power took place. The amīr of the B. Sulaym at that time, ʿAbd Allāh (ʿUbayd Allāh) b. Marwān, supported the ʿAbbāsid cause and obtained from al-Manṣūr command over the tribes which from then onwards was lost by al-Ṣaḥṣāḥ's successor. Delhemma persuaded the Kilāb, despite their initial reluctance, to support the new dynasty. The Byzantines having taken advantage of the change of dynasty to regain the initiative, war broke out again and the two tribes, Kilāb and Sulaym, took part in it at the caliph's request, acquiescing in ʿUbayd Allāh's leadership. They freed Āmid, captured Malaṭya and took up positions to defend the frontiers, the Sulaym at Malaṭya, the Kilāb in the nearby fortress of Ḥiṣn al-Kawkab.

It was after this development that Delhemma's cousin al-Ḥārith, son of the Kilābī amīr Ẓālim, succeeded in overcoming the rebellious heroine's repugnance to love and marriage, aided by a drug (*bandj*) supplied by the *faḳīh*, later *ḳāḍī* ʿUḳba, of the Sulaym tribe, and made her the mother of a child, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb who, as a result of the strange circumstances in which the conception took place, was black. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was educated by his mother and, on reaching manhood, became the head of the Kilāb and the Blacks who formed a group under his leadership; he was the chief hero of the romance together with Delhemma, and won fame in the incessant wars against Byzantium. At his side was al-Baṭṭāl, a Sulaymī and pupil of the *ḳāḍī* ʿUḳba, playing an important part but relying on cunning rather than on force of arms. In the perpetual rivalry that existed between the two tribes al-Baṭṭāl took the side of the Kilāb, left Malaṭya for the Kilāb's fortress and became the implacable enemy of the *ḳāḍī* ʿUḳba who was secretly converted to Christianity and had become a traitor to Islam and the Byzantines' most valuable auxiliary. The amīr of Malaṭya and head of the Arab tribes was now ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh (ʿUbayd Allāh). Although he had concluded a pact of fraternity with ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and had been rescued by Delhemma from the hands of the Byzantines and their allies the "Christianized Arabs", a band whom Delhemma's ephemeral husband al-Ḥārith had led into Greek territory and placed at the emperor's service, he remained in a state of veiled hostility to the Kilāb and their leaders. If the Byzantines had valuable assistants like ʿUḳba and the "Christianized Arabs", the Muslims also had accomplices in Byzantine territory, in a small group of crypto-Muslims organized by Māris, the emperor's personal chamberlain, and his brother and sister, and also, near Malaṭya, an ally in the person of Yānis, of the imperial family and lord of a Greek fortress which he put at the disposal of the Muslims.

In the reign of al-Mahdī a great battle with the emperor Theophilus took place at Mardj al-ʿUyūn. Then the narrator, after a romantic account of al-Mahdī's death, takes us to the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, whom he speaks of as the immediate successor of al-Mahdī, and in Byzantium to the reign of Manuel, son of Theophilus. It was at this point that the great duel between al-Baṭṭāl and ʿUḳba began, each trying to seize his adversary and

have him put to death, and, as the Sulaym, their amīr and the caliph supported and defended ʿUḳba whose treason they refused to acknowledge despite the proof provided by Delhemma, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and al-Baṭṭāl, in consequence the Kilāb only took part in the war to save the situation when it had been rendered critical by the Byzantines' successes in capturing and even advancing beyond Malaṭya, or else to fight against the emperor and the caliph who were linked together in an unnatural alliance against the Kilāb, or else to go off into far distant lands beyond Byzantium to rescue ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's wife and daughter. Adventures which cannot be related here led al-Baṭṭāl into the West, whence he brought back a Frankish king whom he converted, and a little later to the Maghrib, returning with a contingent of Berbers. Subsequently the two tribes were reconciled and secured victories over the Byzantines near the Cilician Gates, recapturing Malaṭya from them and imposing a truce.

The narrator then tells, after the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, of the war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn in which the Kilāb fought against al-Amīn whilst the Sulaym supported him. The amīrs of the Kilāb who had been summoned to Baghdād, with the exception of al-Baṭṭāl who had escaped, were arrested by ʿAmr at the instigation of Zubayda, she in turn being inspired by ʿUḳba. A fratricidal struggle then broke out between the Sulaym, reinforced by troops from ʿIrāḳ, and the Kilāb and ʿĀmir. The Kilāb overcame the Sulaym and the ʿAbbāsid troops, reached Baghdād, attacked the palace, set free the Kilābite amīrs and took al-Amīn prisoner, but were persuaded by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and Delhemma to release him. However, some of the Kilāb still continued to support al-Maʿmūn.

The emperor Michael, Manuel's successor, taking advantage of the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, on ʿUḳba's advice renewed hostilities. Al-Ma'mūn, who had been supported by al-Baṭṭāl, came to the throne but had Delhemma, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and the Kilābī amīrs who had helped al-Amīn arrested. The caliph, following the not disinterested advice of ʿUḳba, the emperor's ally, set off in the direction of al-Raḳḳa and was captured, together with the Kilābīs whom he had taken with him, and they were all carried off to Constantinople. Delhemma was at once freed by al-Baṭṭāl. The others regained their liberty under cover of a war against the emperor that had been launched by a king named Kushānūsh, grandson through his father of the king of the Bulgars (al-Burdjān) and through his mother descended from Nestor, king of the Maghlabites (sic). Kushānūsh captured Constantinople, and then in his turn renewed the struggle with Islam and penetrated as far as Baṣra. He was finally captured by the Kilāb and beheaded by Delhemma herself. Thanks to the Kilāb, the emperor was freed and restored to the throne, and he decided for the future to give them the tribute which, in the past, he had paid to the caliph, a step which led to some jealousy of the Kilāb. However, the emperor resumed war against the caliph whom he compelled to take refuge in Persia with the Sulaym. Once again it was the Kilāb who saved the situation. Then they hastily started new operations, this time by sea, with the help of the amīr of Tarsus, ʿAlī al-Armanī, against the king of a remote island named Ḳarāḳūna who was holding some Kilābī women captive. But on hearing that al-Ma'mūn had come to lay siege to Constantinople and been captured with the help of the Franks, they hurried to the rescue, fought a naval engagement and laid siege to the city; they captured the emperor and then, reinforced by an army commanded by the future caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, they set al-Ma'mūn free; he had however been wounded by ʿUḳba and died. Al-Muʿtaṣim took over power, at al-Baṭṭāl's request set free the emperor Michael, who was to pay tribute, and gave orders to return to Malaṭya where for the time being he effected a reconciliation between the Kilāb and the Sulaym, later returning to Baghdād.

But soon afterwards he was won over by the amīr ʿAmr to the side of the Sulaym and ʿUḳba. He came to Malaṭya with the intention of invading Byzantine territory, arrested Delhemma, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and the Kilābī amīrs, and also al-Baṭṭāl shortly afterwards, while ʿAmr released ʿUḳba whom al-Baṭṭāl after prolonged search had finally captured. An attempt by the Kilāb to rescue the prisoners on their way to Baghdād failed on account of the superiority of al-Muʿtaṣim's and ʿAmr's forces. Thereafter the Kilāb seem to have been powerless against the Sulaym and ʿAmr. Those of the Kilāb and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's Blacks who were unwilling to submit to ʿAmr emigrated to Egypt. While the amīrs were held prisoner in Baghdād the emperor, urged on by ʿUḳba, launched an expedition. But he was soon besieged in his capital by Baḥrūn, the king of the island of Ḳamarān, and dethroned. Baḥrūn then invaded the Muslim territories, took Malaṭya, captured ʿAmr and later the caliph, and marched on ʿIrāḳ. It was then that the Kilābī amīrs were released during a riot. They at once out to fight Baḥrūn, defeated him and released his prisoners, and helped the caliph to recapture Constantinople and restore the emperor to his throne. They took the town of ʿAmūdā the Great, towards which Baḥrūn had fled, and once again freed the caliph who had been captured for the second time.

However, the emperor Michael had died and been succeeded by the usurper Armānūs (Romanus), who expelled the Muslims from Constantinople and was joined by Baḥrūn. Fighting continued, and an interminable series of adventures brought the Kilāb to the kingdom of Kordjāna, bordering on the country of the Abkhāz, in their search for Delhemma who was still a prisoner, while the Sulaym accompanied by the caliph had returned to Malaṭya. Then followed a great offensive by Armānūs who took Malaṭya and went as far as Mosul. The Kilāb, who through ʿUḳba's intrigues had been expelled from the frontier by the caliph, nevertheless saved the situation. Then the caliph became suspicious of ʿAmr, but the latter returned to favour, set out an on expedition, and was defeated. Finally Armānūs was overcome and surrendered. He was soon compelled to seek help from the Muslims against his enemy king Karfanās who, with the Saḳāriḳa and the Malāfiṭa (Amalfitans) captured Constantinople. The caliph sent the Sulaym against him. Karfanās captured ʿAmr, defeated the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim and reached Āmid. At that point ʿAbd al-Wahhāb intervened. Karfanās was killed and Armānūs regained the throne.

The narrator, who is not unaware that al-Muʿtaṣim led an expedition against Amorium in 223/838, does not fail to describe it in a fanciful way, with certain characteristics which recur in an already legendary account by Ibn al-ʿArabī in his *Muḥāḍarāt al-abrār wa-musāmarāt al-akhyār*, ii, 64. Then he had Armānūs dethroned by his own son Bīmund. The latter maltreated al-Baṭṭāl, who had fallen into the hands

of Armānūs, and thereby provoked ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and ʿAmr to intervene. The latter was made prisoner. Delhemma then came to the rescue, killed Bīmund and restored Armānūs to the throne.

ʿUḳba once more contrived to turn the caliph against the Kilāb, and the Sulaym and Kilāb were again at war, when the caliph called in Armānūs against the Kilāb. There followed a long series of exploits in the course of which, outside Constantinople, Delhemma killed a Frankish king, Mīlāṣ, who had come for the Crusade and conquest of Jerusalem, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was carried off by the Pečenegs, ʿUḳba and al-Baṭṭāl continued their perpetual game of hide and seek, and Armānūs took and sacked Malaṭya. Armānūs was later dethroned and strangled by Fālūghus (Paleologos?) whom Delhemma forced to keep peace. He resumed the war but was beaten and compelled to pay tribute and to rebuild in Constantinople Maslama's mosque which had fallen into ruin. ʿUḳba, whom al-Baṭṭāl had captured, was nearly crucified in Constantinople, but he managed to escape and returned to the caliph; he hatched a new plot against the Kilāb and procured the arrest of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and al-Baṭṭāl, and it was only by the vizier's help that they escaped from the sentence of death by drowning in the Tigris. Nevertheless, ʿAmr and the Sulaym continued to fight against the Kilāb.

A new emperor named Michael twice sent expeditions against the Muslims, the second time with a Frankish king Takafūr. He took Malaṭya but it was recaptured by the caliph and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb; it was then that al-Muʿtaṣim, after seeing ʿUḳba performing his devotions in the underground church in his house in Malaṭya, became convinced of his treason and no longer defended him, even suspecting ʿAmr also of being a Christian.

We come now to the final section of the romance, section 70, which like the preceding one is almost three times longer than the others. It is given up to a description of two important events: the pursuit of ʿUḳba through various countries from Spain to the Yemen, his capture and crucifixion on the Golden Gate at Constantinople in spite of the intervention of a vast army of Christian peoples led by 17 kings; the murderous ambush into which the Muslims fell on their way back, in the Defile of the Anatolians, from which the only survivors were the caliph with 400 men, al-Baṭṭāl and some of his companions, as well as Delhemma, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and a number of men who had been shut up in a cave and given up for lost, but were miraculously saved by a genie. Soon afterwards al-Muʿtaṣim died.

His successor al-Wāthiḳ decided on a reprisal expedition against Constantinople. The emperor was captured and executed. Until then, Muslim conquerors had limited themselves to making the emperors pay tribute. From that time, a Muslim governor was appointed in Constantinople in the person of a son of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb who had the mosque rebuilt with great splendour. The amīr ʿAmr had been killed in the disaster of the Defile of the Anatolians, and was succeeded at Malaṭya by his son al-Djarrāḥ.

At this point the narrator describes the deaths, first of Delhemma, then her son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, after their return from Mecca, in a state of piety, while al-Baṭṭāl ended his life at Ankūriya (a corruption of Ancyra-Angora through contamination with ʿAmmūriya-Amorium), saddened by the news that, from the time of al-Wāthiḳ's successor, al-Mutawakkil (or in some manuscripts al-Muḳtadir), the Byzantines had regained the initiative, reconquered the whole territory between Ankara and Malaṭya, and sent out endless expeditions against the Muslim countries. He died and was buried in the mosque at Ankara, but his tomb, being concealed, escaped the notice of his foes. Islam was to remain in this critical situation until the coming of the Turks (Saldjūḳid?—in some versions there is reference to Čerkesses, hence to the Mamlūks), with their king Āḳ Sunḳur, who recaptured Ankara and discovered al-Baṭṭāl's tomb.

Elements in the romance. Different elements enter into the creation of Delhemma. Firstly, a bedouin element which might be described as "antarian", since it is what occurs in the *Sīrat ʿAntar*, which may have served as a model, as comparisons sometimes appear between some personage and ʿAntar, whose horse Abdjar is mentioned. In the preamble of a Berlin manuscript the narrator, after giving al-Ṣaḥṣāḥ's genealogy, says that the events which he is about to describe took place after the death of ʿAntar b. Shaddād. To this element belong, in the first part of the romance, the intertribal raids and battles, the exploits of al-Ḥārith, his son Djandaba, and later of al-Ṣaḥṣāh and Delhemma herself, tales of pursuits and horse-stealing, al-Ṣaḥṣāḥ's romantic encounters with first Laylā, then Amāma, then a djinniyya. In the last analysis these bedouin tales go back to pre-islamic antiquity. It is noteworthy that Islam only plays a subsidiary part (doxology, Muslim talismanic formulae) although the importance of the *djihād* is stressed from the start.

The most important element is the pseudo-historical, for the romance claims to be an accurate history of the Arabs. This element appears as the often very vague recollection of a certain number of facts and historical personages, garbed in romantic trappings and presented in an imaginary way, with constant disregard for chronology and probability. In the internal history of the Umayyad period we find traces of the history of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and of the eulogy of him spoken by ʿAbd al-Malik on his death-bed; Maslama's renunciation of the throne in favour of al-Walīd rests on a historical basis, Maslama as the son of a non-Arab mother having been barred from the caliphate for that reason. The ʿAbbāsid propaganda and the story of Abū Muslim find an echo in the romance, like the founding of Baghdād by al-Manṣūr. The incident of the Zindīḳ in al-Mahdī's time is transformed into a meeting of 12,000 zindīḳs with renegade Arabs acting in the service of Byzantium. It would be fruitless to reveal the improbabilities and inventions in the story of al-Mahdī's succession, or the account of the Barmakids interwoven with ʿUḳba's intrigues. Similarly a Khāridjī, in revolt against Hārūn al-Rashīd, is endowed with the same characteristics as the Ḳarmaṭi in al-Muḳtadir's time, for he carries off the Black Stone. In the account of al-Baṭṭāl's adventures in the West there is an incredible farrago in which the Spanish Umayyad called Hishām al-Muʾayyad and described as the imām *mahdī*, the Mulaththama (Almoravids) whose king ʿAbd al-Wadūd (a recollection of the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen) pays tribute to the Frankish king of Andalusia, and the Maṣāmida (Almohads) all appear. Turks are mentioned in the Muslim army from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd. We have seen how the war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn is described in terms of the rivalry between the Kilāb and Sulaym. There is only a very brief allusion to the founding of Sāmarrā by al-Muʿtaṣim.

As regards the Arabo-Byzantine war, it is the historical element which plays the chief part. Thus, in the first part Maslama's expedition against Constantinople in 97-9/715-7 is the central event, around which all the romantic episodes are grouped. Al-Baṭṭāl who in actual fact took part in it is not mentioned here because he has been relegated to the second part of the romance. This part, which is based primarily on the Arabo-Byzantine war, reflects several important events of the ʿAbbāsid period, above all the establishment of a group of fortresses west of the Euphrates, with Malaṭya at the centre, dating from the period of al-Manṣūr, a fact well-known from al-Balādhurī. Then came al-Muʿtaṣim's great expedition against Amorium, which inspired several episodes in the romance, either under Hārūn al-Rashīd's caliphate or under al-Muʿtaṣim himself. Finally, and in particular, there is the fact that the amīr of Malaṭya, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd Allāh, is no other than the historical personage of that name of the 11th century, for whom see M. Canard, *Un personnage de roman arabo-byzantin*, in *RAfr.*, 1932 and H. Grégoire, *L'épopée byzantine et ses rapports avec l'épopée turque et l'épopée romane*, in *Bull. de la Cl. des Let. et des Sc. Mor. et Pol. de l'Ac. roy. de Belgique*, 5th series, volume xvii, and articles in *Byzantion*, v and vi. And as we know from Byzantine historians that ʿAmr was closely connected with the Paulician dissidents, we can deduce that the situation of the Greek Yānis al-Mutaʿarrab, poised between the two camps in his fortress near Malaṭya, reflects the position of the Paulician Carbeas.

If the romance does not trace the Arabo-Byzantine war after the reign of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), later events certainly inspired the narrators. It is probable that the disastrous defeat which the Arabs suffered at the end of al-Muʿtaṣim's reign is the counterpart of the defeat in which ʿAmr perished in 249/863. There are many allusions to situations in the 10th century, in the period of the Ḥamdānids. Apart from Malaṭya, the frequent references made to Shimshāt, Ḥiṣn Ziyād (also in the form Kharpūt, which takes us to a still later period), Mayyāfāriḳīn, Dārā, Āmid and the celebrated Byzantine stronghold Kharshana (Charsianon kastron) call to mind Sayf al-Dawla's campaigns. The emigration on two occasions of renegade Arab groups to Byzantium recalls the emigration of the B. Ḥabīb described by Ibn Ḥawḳal. Various Greek names also seem to suggest the events of the 10th century. No doubt it is Corcuas, the conqueror of Melitene, who can be recognized in Ḳarḳiyās, the Domestikos in al-Dimishḳī, Nicephores (Phocas) in Takafūr. In section 47, p. 34 there is a direct reference to John Tzimisces and his siege of Āmid. Armanus suggests Romanus Lecapenus. For the rest, many names and episodes take us to an even later epoch. From the start, the rivalry for the *imāra* between the two tribes reveals a situation which belongs, not to the Umayyad, but rather to the Ayyūbid period, when command of the Syrian tribes was held by one dominant tribe, but at that time the rivalry was between the Kilāb and the Yemeni Faḍl. The ceremonial forms of salutation, hospitality and procession, and the general use of titles are reminiscent of the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid or Mamlūk ceremonial forms and titles. The Crusades and the Saldjūḳid period are the source of many names of persons and peoples. Among the Christian, or presumably Christian, peoples in addition to the Bulgars, Armenians and Franks, we find ʿAmālīḳa (Amalekites!), Georgians (Kurdj), Abkhāz, Alans, Pečenegs (al-Badjnāk), Amalfitans (Malāfiṭa), Venetians (Banādika), Saḳāliba, Maghlabites (the Byzantine Μαγγλαβίτης = Latin manuclavium, lictor), Zaghāwira, Dūḳas (sic). As names of individuals we find Kundafarūn (Godefroy, cf. Kundafarī in Yāḳūt, i, 207, ii, 381 and Gontofrè in book x of the *Alexiad*), Fransīs, Ghaytafūr who is certainly king Tafūr in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, Bīmund (Bohemund) etc. Certain names of Christians, Greek or French, are simply taken from antiquity and to some extent garbled: Iflāṭūn, Christopher, Pythagoras, Ptolemy. These names reveal a very superficial knowledge of history and geography on the part of the narrators who, on the other hand, seem to be better documented on Christian practices, religious festivals and formulae (*e.g.*, *Kyrie eleison*, sect. 4, 39; 20, 4; 59, 26), the sign of the cross, the emperor's crown topped with a cross, and on certain Byzantine customs (games in the hippodrome, humiliation of prisoners by having a foot placed on the back of the neck, etc.).

The description of land-battles is full of clichés, but the description of naval battles which have inspired prose or verse accounts seem to be more realistic. There is, for example, (sect. 18, 35) a detailed description of the use of Greek fire, *ḳawārīr al-nafṭ*, boarding with the help of grappling-irons and several names of ships.

Folklore element. As in all romances and *Futūḥ* works, Delhemma contains a mass of features derived from folklore, of which we shall only specify a few: tricks to make the enemy kill each other, the description of wonderful objects (automatic birds, talismanic statues), amazons, the use of the *bandj*, etc. In the story of the queen of Georgia, Bakhtūs, which occurs in the first part, one can detect features which go back, through the legend of queen Thamar, to that of Zenobia. The theme of the camel-skin cut into strips in order to obtain a larger area for the building of the mosque in Constantinople is the same as the legend of Dido. Certain names (Kayḳābūs, Ḳilīdj b. Ḳābūs) suggest an Irano-Saldjūḳid influence, rather than the Iranian legend.

Composition of the romance. I have tried to show, in an article entitled *Delhemma, Sayyid Baṭṭāl et Omar al-Noʿmān*, in *Byzantion*, xii (1937), 183 ff., following an article by H. Grégoire in *Byzantion*, xi (1936), 571 ff., on the subject of the relegation of the personage of al-Baṭṭāl, the hero of the Umayyad period, to the legend of ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd Allāh, amīr of Malaṭya in the ʿAbbāsid period, that the romance of Delhemma is made up of two parts which are each a version or fragment of two cycles of different periods and origins. The first and shorter part goes back to a bedouin and Syrio-Umayyad cycle (other fragments of which are incidentally extant) describing the adventures of the Umayyad amīr Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and of personages of the B. Kilāb tribe related to Maslama through his wife. Though this part does not include the historical heroes of the Umayyad period, al-Baṭṭāl and his companion ʿAbd al-Wahhāb who have been relegated to the second part, al-Baṭṭāl's exploits have been put under the name of the Kilābī amīr al-Ṣaḥṣāḥ. The second, the principal and longer part of the romance, very closely related to the Turkish Sayyid Baṭṭāl, represents not only the Turkish romance but also a cycle which H. Grégoire and I have called a Melitenian cycle on account of the part played by Malaṭya-Melitene and its amīr ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd Allāh, of the B. Sulaym tribe in the ʿAbbāsid period. This must originally have been the epic of the B. Sulaym and their famous amīr.

As a result of al-Baṭṭāl's popularity the Sulaym must have appropriated the personage who is described in the romance as being of Sulaymī origin. In H. Grégoire's opinion, this change in respect of al-Baṭṭāl was determined by the fact that in the expedition during which he met his death, he was accompanied by an amīr of Malaṭya named Ghamr, a name easily confused with ʿAmr, and his relegation has also involved a similar change in respect of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. A later stage in the development of the romance was the fusion of the two cycles and the appropriation of the Melitenian cycle by the B. Kilāb, to their advantage, for the reasons I have given in the article under reference (the submission of the amīrs of Malaṭya to Byzantium in the 10th century, which was frowned upon by Islam; and, on the other hand. the important rôle played by the B. Kilāb in the Byzantine war in the 10th centuries, and their eminence in north Syria). It is in this way that the end of the first part, in which we see the birth and childhood of Delhemma, al-Ṣaḥṣāḥ's granddaughter, and then of her son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, forms a transition with the second part where the Kilābīs take their place in the Melitenian cycle, that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, historically an Umayyad *mawlā* of unknown origin, becomes a Kilābī and the principal character, with his mother, that al-Baṭṭāl is represented as voluntarily leaving the B. Sulaym in order to join the B. Kilāb, and that ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd Allāh, the central hero of the Melitenian cycle as he is in the Turkish romance under the name ʿUmar b. al-Nuʿmān (cf. also the story in the 1001 Nights of the same name) becomes a personage not only less important than ʿAbd al-Wahhāb but also less attractive, since the narrators give all their sympathies to the B. Kilāb. Moreover, it is known from Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 340 and iv, 231, that in his time the romance was regarded as having been written to glorify the B. Kilāb of north Syria who claimed to be adherents of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

Date of composition of the romance. It goes without saying that it is impossible to give an exact date for the composition of this romance as we have it in the published edition and in the manuscripts which differ little from it. It is probable that, if the first outlines of the Syrio-Umayyad cycle were traced as early as the Umayyad period, and those of the Melitenian cycle shortly after the death of amīr ʿAmr in 249/863, it was at a much later date, and under the inspiration of the spirit of hostility to the Crusaders, that an epic of the Arabo-Byzantine wars followed by the Islamo-Frankish wars finally took shape. Positive references to an epic of this sort do not go back beyond the 12th century. The Egyptian historian al-Ḳurṭī, writing at the time of vizier Shāwar and the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid (555-67/1160-72), speaks of the *Aḥādīth al-Baṭṭāl* and the 1001 Nights as being known in his time (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 485, ii, 181; cf. Macdonald, in *JRAS*, 1924, 381), a detail which should be added to the article AL-BAṬṬĀL. Samaʿwal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī, a Jew converted to Islam in 558/1163, says that before his conversion he took pleasure in reading stories and romances and collections of legendary histories like the *Dīwān akhbār ʿAntara*, the *Dīwān Delhemma wa 'l-Baṭṭāl* (see *Bibl.* to AL-BAṬṬĀL). If we can accept a tradition from al-Mughulṭāʾī reported in the *Tazyīn al-aswāḳ* by Dāwūd al-Antākī (ed. Būlāḳ, 1279, 55), a Maghribī shaykh was said to have heard the *Sīrat al-Baṭṭāl* recited in Cairo, at the time of al-Ḥākim. Thus a romance dealing with al-Baṭṭāl, or with both Delhemma and al-Baṭṭāl, was known in the Fāṭimid period, and it is difficult to tell if it is a question of one and the same romance, or of two separate romances. A *Sīrat al-Baṭṭāl* is also mentioned by al-Ḳalḳashandī, xiv, 149, l. 9. Can we go back even further? According to H. Grégoire (*ZDMG*, lxxxviii, 213-32), the basis of Delhemma's history and the tale of ʿUmar al-Nuʿmān (see also my article *Un personnage* ...) must have been known in about 390/1000 in north Syria since it served as a source for the Byzantine epic Digenis Akritas.

After this period we find other mentions of Delhemma. In the 8th/14th century Ibn Kathīr (see *Bibl.* to AL-BAṬṬĀL), repeating what Ibn ʿAsākir had said of al-Baṭṭāl, adds that the *Sīra* put out under the name of Delhemma, al-Baṭṭāl, amīr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and *ḳāḍī* ʿUḳba is no more than a tissue of lies, like the *Sīra* of ʿAntara or the one (on the Prophet) by al-Bakrī [*q.v.*]. In the 16th century, the jurist al-Wansharīshī, in his *al-Miʿyar al-mughrib* (see the analysis by Amar, in *Arch. Marocaines*, xi (1908), 456-7 and the lith. ed. vi, 52), says that it is not permitted to sell historical romances like the one on ʿAntar or the "Dalhama". Today, the disfavour shown by the most critical circles has become even more marked: see the modern contempt for this literature, in Brockelmann, S II, 62.

The author or authors of the romance. In the edition, no author is named, but there is a list of *rāwīs*. A manuscript analysed by Ahlwardt begins: *ḳāla Nadjd b. Hishām al-Hāshimī al-Ḥidjāzī*, as though in reference to the author. But in another, six *rāwīs* are listed, Nadjd being the third. The edition gives ten *rāwīs*, of whom Nadjd, with the ethnic al-ʿĀmirī, that is to say, of the tribe of ʿĀmir who plays a large part in the romance with the related Kilāb, is the last. These persons are unknown and one can scarcely draw any conclusions from the fact that the one has the *nisba* at al-Shimshāṭī, and the other at al-Marʿashī, that is to say, lands situated on the Arabo-Byzantine frontier. The fact that a *rāwī* is stated to have been present at the event described (sect. 18, 64), dated 190 A.H. is merely a device by the narrator.

Conclusion. Such then is this long romance of which our analysis gives only an incomplete idea, so complicated are the adventures of the characters, prolonged at will by the author by means of repetition, the constant return of similar situations, the artificial duplication of characters with identical rôles etc. Such as it is, this epic of the Arabo-Byzantine wars and of the B. Kilāb succeeded in pleasing a popular Muslim public by exalting the *mudjāhidūn* and their successes in battles and against adversaries that were often imaginary. A simple-minded audience accepted all this with enthusiasm as though it were fact. In addition to the epic character, with its accounts of combats and great feats of arms, the dramatic or melodramatic element is not lacking; the narrator is adept in holding his listeners spellbound waiting for some climax, through agonizing situations, sudden changes of fortune whether happy or unhappy, and by various means rousing sympathy or antipathy. The comical element, at times of a somewhat crude sort, appears fairly frequently, particularly in scenes portraying disguise, abduction or theft, and in the more or less childish devices employed by al-Baṭṭāl and ʿUḳba, the use of various mountebank tricks of which al-Baṭṭāl is past master, when for example he appears as a Christian king with his *ghulām*, in the guise of Christ and the

twelve apostles (cf. a similar story in *Murūdj al-dhahab*, viii, 175).

The personages are simple in character. They resemble each other and always act in the same way, according to the type they represent. The language is incorrect or careless, but at the same time it pretends to seem learned by making a show of rhymed prose and redundant and assonant epithets in descriptions (horses, arms, clothing, combats, receptions, processions). Verse which plays the same part as in the 1001 Nights is relatively infrequent, but section 70 contains a passage of 472 lines of verse in which al-Baṭṭāl himself reviews his exploits.

Bibliography: In addition to works referred to in the article, see M. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et la légende*, in *JA*, ccviii (1926), 116 ff.; idem, *Delhemma, épopée arabe des guerres arabo-byzantines*, in *Byzantion*, x, 1935; idem, *Les principaux personnages du roman de chevalerie arabe* Ḏāt al-Himma wa-l-Baṭṭāl, in *Arabica*, viii, 1961, 158-73. Mentions or fragmentary analyses in Perron, *Femmes arabes*, 352-3; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ed. 1836, ii, 146-162; M. Hartmann, in *OLZ*, 1899, 103; Chauvin, *Bibl. des ouvr. arabes*, iv; Kosegarten, *Chrestomathie*, 68-83 (extract: Djandaba and Kattālat al-Shudjᶜān); analysis of the beginning and end of the romance by W. Ahlwardt (*Die Handschr.- Verzeichnisse der kgl. Bibl. zu Berlin*, xx. Band; *Verzeichnis der arab. Handschr.*, viii. Band, Berlin 1896; *Grosse Romane*, no. 10, 107 ff.).—Besides the edition noted above, there is another dated 1298 H. (M. Canard)

DHU 'L-KAᶜDA [see ta'rīkh, i].

DHU 'L-KADR, Turkmen dynasty, which ruled for nearly two centuries (738/1337-928/1522) from Elbistan over the region Marᶜash-Malatya, as clients first of the Mamlūk and later of the Ottoman Sultans. Name: The use in Arabic sources of the spellings Dulghādir and Ṭulghādir and in one of the dynasty's inscriptions of Dulkādir (see R. Hartmann, *Zur Wiedergabe türkischer Namen* . . ., Berlin 1952, 7; this spelling occurs also in *Bazm u Razm*, Istanbul 1918, 456) indicates that the Arabicized forms Dhu 'l-Kadr and Dhu 'l-Kādir, usual in the later Ottoman sources, are a folk-etymology ('powerful') of a (presumably Turkish) name or title : A. von Gabain has suggested *tulga* + *dar*, 'helmet-bearer' (*Isl.* xxxi, 115).

The founder of the dynasty, Zayn al-Dīn Karadja b. Dulkādir, first mentioned as penetrating Little Armenia with 5000 horsemen in 735/1335, was the leader of Bozok clans whose summer-pastures were in the east range of the Anti-Taurus and who wintered in the valley east of the Amanus range. In the confusion following the death of the Ilkhān Abū Saᶜīd, Karadja Beg seized Elbistan and procured from the Mamlūk Sultan a diploma recognizing him as *nā'ib* (738/1337). The rest of his life was spent in struggles with his neighbours and in revolts against Egyptian suzerainty. Defeated at last by a strong force led by the governor of Aleppo, he escaped capture, but was eventually surrendered to the Egyptians by his rival Muḥammad b. Eretna and executed (754/1353).

Karadja's son and successor Khalīl, seeking revenge for his father's betrayal, seized Kharput from the Eretna-oghlu and began to menace Malatya. The Sultan sought to depose him; after several inconclusive expeditions, in 783/1381 the Egyptian forces, driving Khalīl out of Elbistan and advancing as far as Malaṭya, procured his temporary submission. Sultan Barkūk finally resolved to dispose of the turbulent Khalīl by craft and had him murdered (788/1386).

The Turkmens recognized as his successor his younger brother Sūlī, who defeated an Egyptian army near Göksün and allied himself with the rebellious Mamlūk Mintash. Sūlī sent troops to take part in the revolt of the Syrian governors against Barkūk (791/1389); he remained loyal to Mintash for a time after Barkūk's recovery of power, but was obliged to submit in 793/1391. Four years later Barkūk, learning that Sūlī had offered to guide Tīmūr's army into Syria, sent an expedition against him and Sūlī narrowly escaped capture. Barkūk eventually had him murdered (800/1398); but at this juncture the Ottoman Sultan Bāyezīd I arrived on the scene, drove Sūlī's son Ṣadaka from Elbistan, and installed Khalīl's son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (801/1399). In 803/1400, Tīmūr, whose army had been harassed by the Dhu 'l-Kadr Turkmens during the siege of Sivas, ravaged Muḥammad's territories, and on his return from Syria sent a force to attack the Dhu 'l-Kadr nomads near Tadmur (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta ed. ii, 270 ff., 346).

Throughout his long reign Muḥammad remained on friendly terms with Egypt, and also with the rising Ottoman state. In 815/1412 he sent troops to assist Meḥemmed I, who had married one of his daughters, against Mūsā (Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 122, 136 f.). He took part in the Egyptian punitive expedition against the Karaman-oghlu in 822/1419, and after its withdrawal defeated him and sent him prisoner to Cairo; for these service the Sultan al-Mu'ayyad made over Kayseri to him (where, in 835/1432, he built the Khātūniyye medrese). The Karaman-oghlu Ibrāhīm re-took Kayseri (O. Turan, *Tarihi Takvimler*, 40), but in 840/1436 Muḥammad appealed for help to the Ottoman Sultan Murād II, who captured the city and restored it to him (*İA*, art. Karamanlılar [Şihabeddin Tekindağ], 324 f.). In 843/1440, to restore the temporarily interrupted harmony with Egypt, Muḥammad visited Cairo and married one of his daughters to Čakmak; he died, over 80 years of age, in 846. Bertrandon de la Broquière, travelling through Syria in 1432, encountered nomads attached to the Dhu 'l-Kadr-oghlu north of Ḥamā, and noted, on passing through his territories, that this prince "a en sa compaignie trente mil hommes d'armes Turquemans" (*Le voyage d'outremer*, ed. C. Schefer, 82, 118).

The twelve-year reign of Muḥammad's son Sulaymān passed uneventfully. In 853/1449 Murād II, seeking an ally against the Karaman-oghlu and the Kara-koyunlu sultan (Ducas, 224), married the future Meḥemmed II to Sulaymān's daughter Sitt Khatun (see F. Babinger, *Mehmed's II Heirat mit Sitt-Chatum* (1449), in *Isl.* xxix, 1950, 217-35).

During the reign of Sulaymān's son Malik Arslan (858/1454-870/1465) the principality was menaced by Uzun Ḥasan, who seized Kharput, and Ottoman-Egyptian intrigues for control of the region became intensified. Malik Arslan was murdered, at the instigation of his brother Shāh-budak and with the connivance of the Mamlūk Sultan Khosh-kadem, who installed Shāh-budak. But Meḥemmed II sent against him his own candidate Shāh-suvār, another brother (his diploma [see *Bibl.*], dated 14 Rabīᶜ II 870/4 December 1465, appointed him *wālī* over his ancestors' domains "and all the dispersed Bozoklu and Dhu 'l-Kādirlü", *i.e.*, the nomads). Shāh-suvār drove out Shāh-budak, and gained such successes over the Egyptians that he threw off Meḥemmed's

protection (see *Ibn Kemāl, VII. defter* [facsimile], ed. Ş. Turan, 429-33). The Egyptians retaliated, took him prisoner to Cairo and executed him (877/1472), and re-installed Sh̲āh-budaḳ. (Sh̲āh-suvār alone of the Dh̲u 'l-Ḳadr rulers is said to have struck coins, cf. ʿĀrifī [see *Bibl.*], 430, 763).

Another brother, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla (whose daughter was married to Prince Bāyezīd and had borne him the future sultan Selīm I), sought Meḥemmed's protection (Ibn Kemāl, 433-7) and in 884/1479 drove out Sh̲āh-budaḳ. During the Ottoman-Mamlūk war of 890-6/1485-90, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla began to incline towards Egypt, so that the Ottomans made an unsuccessful attempt to depose him in favour of Sh̲āh-budaḳ, who had changed sides and was now sand̲j̲aḳ-bey of Vize (ʿĀsh̲iḳpash̲azāde, ed. ʿĀlī, 234-8; Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 63-5). During the next twenty years ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla remained at peace with the Ottomans, but came into conflict with Sh̲āh Ismaʿīl, who in 913/1507 sacked Elbistan (destroying the monuments of the dynasty) and Marʿash̲. When Selīm I marched against Sh̲āh Ismāʿīl the aged ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla refused to assist the Ottoman army, so that on his return Selīm sent against him K̲h̲ādim Sinān Pash̲a and ʿAlī, the son of Sh̲āh-suvār, an Ottoman sand̲j̲aḳ-bey. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla was defeated and killed (Rabīʿ II 921/June 1515) and his head sent to Cairo (Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 293-7; Ferīdūn, *Munsh̲aʾāt*[2], I, 407-413).

ʿAlī Beg, appointed in his stead, distinguished himself in Selīm's Egyptian campaign; but by playing the major part in suppressing the D̲j̲alālī revolt and the rebellion of D̲j̲ān-birdi he aroused the jealousy of Ferhād Pash̲a, who procured Suleymān I's consent to his killing ʿAlī Beg and all his family (Sh̲aʿbān 928/July 1522). Thereafter the region was administered as an Ottoman beglerbegilik, 'Dh̲u 'l-Ḳadriyya', with its headquarters at Marʿash̲ (from which it was later named); in the 17th century it comprised five sand̲j̲aḳs, Marʿash̲, Malaṭya, ʿAyntāb, Kars (modern Kadirli) and Sumeysat (ʿAyn-i ʿAlī in P. von Tischendorf, *Lehnswesen* ..., 60, 72).

Under Ottoman suzerainty the Dh̲u 'l-Ḳadr-og̲h̲ullarī enjoyed the privileges of a mediatized ruling house (*e.g.*, in the *alḳāb*, cf. Ewliyā, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 170) and were in the 17th century still reckoned among the 'famiglie del Regio sangue' (Sagredo, *Memorie istoriche* ..., Venice 1677, 1068). Members of the family appear, sometimes in official positions, throughout the Ottoman period (see ʿĀrifī, 694-6).

Dh̲u 'l-Ḳadirlü was the name of a large *ulus* of tribesmen, widely spread not only in E. Anatolia but also in Ṣafawid domains, where they formed an influential element in the state (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, tr. and comm. V. Minorsky, GMS New Series xvi, London 1943, 14-19).

Bibliography: Mordtmann's article in *EI*[1] was mainly based on Müned̲j̲d̲j̲imbash̲ī, iii, 167-71, ʿĀlī, *Künh* iv/3, 38-45, and Hammer-Purgstall. See further ʿĀrifī, *Elbistān ve Marʿash̲da Dh̲u 'l-Ḳadr* (*Dūlg̲h̲ādir*) *og̲h̲ullari ḥukūmeti*, in *TOEM*, v, 358-77, 419-31, 509-12, 535-52, 623-9, 692-7, 767-8, and (inscriptions) vii, 89-96; *İA*, art. Dulkadırlılar (Mordtmann's article in *EI*[1] much expanded by M. Halil Yinanç with many new facts, especially for the 14th century, from Arabic sources; *İA*, art Elbistan, by M. Halil Yinanç. Letters of Meḥemmed II to and concerning Sh̲āh-suvār are found in *Fatih devrine ait münşeat mecmuasi* (= Vienna, Nationalbibl. MS H.O. 161), ed. N. Lugal and A. Erzi, Istanbul 1956 (the diploma of appointment at 41); see also *Belleten*, xxi, 1957, 279. A *ḳānūn* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, confirmed by the Ottomans, is included in Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 119-24 (on the introduction of Ottoman administration see also *İA*, art. Elbistan, 229), and *Arşiv Kılavuzu* I (index s.v. Alâüddevle) notes some letters of his in the Topkapu Sarayı archives. For the Dh̲u 'l-Ḳadirlü tribesmen see firstly F. Sümer, *XVI. asırda Anadolu, Suriye ve Irakta yaşayan Türk aşiretlerine umumî bir bakış*, in *Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, xi (1949-50), 509-23 (esp. 512-3); sporadic references to them appear in the various articles of F. Sümer and F. Demirtaş concerning the tribesfolk.

1. Zayn al-Dīn Ḳarad̲j̲a b. Dulḳādir (738-754)
- 2. G̲h̲ars al-Dīn K̲h̲alīl (754-788)
  - 4. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (801-846) = d. of Ḳāḍi Burhān al-Dīn [1]) of Sivas
    - 5. Sulaymān (846-858)
      - 6. Malik Arslan (858-870)
      - 7. Sh̲āh-budaḳ (870-872, 877-884)
      - 8. Sh̲āh-suvār (872-877)
        - 10. ʿAlī (921-928)
      - 9. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Bozkurt (884-921)
        - ʿĀʾish̲e = Bāyezīd II
          - Selīm I
      - Sitt K̲h̲atun = Meḥemmed II
    - d. [2]) = Sultan Meḥemmed I (Ottoman)
    - d. = Sultan Čaḳmaḳ (Egypt)
- 3. Sh̲aʿbān Sūlī (788-800)
  - Ṣadaḳa

1) ʿĀsh̲iḳpash̲azāde, ed. Giese, 66; her name was perhaps Miṣr K̲h̲atun (K̲h̲. Edhem, *TOEM*, v, 456).
2) Perhaps named Emīne, see K̲h̲. Edhem, *Düvel*, 309n.

(This table shows only the ruling members of the line and their dynastic alliances; for a full genealogy see the table in *İA*, art. Dulkadırlılar, 660, which corrects and expands those of K̲h̲alil Edhem (*Düwel-i Islāmiyye*, 312) and E. de Zambaur (*Manuel de Généalogie* ..., 158 f.).

(J. H. Mordtmann-[V. L. Ménage])

DHŪ ḲĀR, name of a watering-place near Kūfa, in the direction of Wāsiṭ (Yāḳūt, iv, 10), where one of the most famous Arab *ayyām* [*q.v.*] took place. In contrast with most other clashes between Arabian tribes, this one had a historical importance because the Bakr b. Wā'il tribe (a coalition of all its clans except the Banū Ḥanīfa) put other Arabs to flight (Taghlib, Iyād, etc.) among whom, significantly, were regular Persian troops. Even if the battle was no more than a skirmish (though sources speak of several thousand combatants) it showed the Arabs that the Persians were not as invincible as had been supposed. Caetani points out that it was not mere coincidence that several years later, the same Bakr b. Wā'il tribe, led by al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, took the initiative in making the first incursions into ʿIrāḳ; it was henceforth well aware of the Persian weakness when faced with an Arab coalition. The date of the battle is uncertain (variously put at the year of Muḥammad's birth(!), or when he began preaching, *i.e.*, ten years before the *hidjra*, or immediately after the flight to Medina, or some months after Badr, *i.e.*, 2-3/623-625) but the account left of it allows us to place it within a very restricted period. Details vary, and are partly legendary; some of them however can be accepted as authentic, and indicate that the battle occurred soon after certain well-known historical facts. These details attribute the cause of the conflict to the imprisonment of the last Lakhmid leader, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, by Khusraw Parwīz (Abarwīz in Arab sources) From them it is possible to reconstruct the train of events: the Sāsānid made an error of judgment in replacing the Lakhmid monarchy by a system of direct government. The Bakr b. Wā'il were either incited by al-Nuʿmān's imprisonment followed shortly by his death, or else, suddenly freed from their fear of this guardian of the frontiers, they devoted themselves to plundering, and the Sāsānid resolved to punish them. His troops, however, were defeated and pursued as far as the Sawād, and through a combination of circumstances the expected reprisal did not ensue. The end of al-Nuʿmān's reign has been put at 602 A.D. (605 by Caetani), and the government of the Taghlibid Iyās b. Ḳabīsa, who followed the Lakhmid sovereign with a *marzubān* at his side lasted until 611. The date of the battle can therefore be restricted to the years between 604 and 611 A.D. (Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, 185, puts it at 611; Noeldeke, *Geschichte*, 347, n. 1., between 604-610; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 103, at 611; Caetani, *Annali*, Intr. § 230, at 610).

A famous *ḥadīth* bears witness to the great importance which the Arabs attached to this military success; the Prophet is recorded as having said "It is the first time that the Arabs have got the upper hand of the Persians, and it is through me that God has helped them (*nuṣirū*)". Poets and story-tellers of the *ayyām* have perpetuated the fame of this battle; many poems are recorded by al-Ṭabarī and in both the *Aghānī* and the *ʿIḳd*; the traditions of the event have been collected together principally by Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*], and in time provided the material of popular romances, such as (according to Goldziher, xvi, 6-43) the romance of ʿAntar, and (according to Mittwoch, *EI*¹, s.v. DHŪ ḲĀR) the romance entitled *K. Ḥarb Banī Shaybān maʿa Kisrā Anūshirwān.*

The *yawm* of Dhū Ḳār is also known by the names of other places situated near the watering-place, such as al-Ḥinw (*i.e.*, the *ḥinw*, "the curve", of Dhū Ḳār or of Ḳurāḳir), al-Djubābāt, al-ʿUdjrum or Dhu 'l-ʿUdjrum, al-Ghazawān, al-Baṭḥā' (*i.e.*, the *baṭḥā'*, the "wide valley", of Dhū Ḳār).

At Dhū Ḳār another battle took place, between the Bakr and Tamīm tribes, but it is of no historical interest (*ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1305, iii, 73).

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, i, 246, ii, 47; Ṭabarī, i, 1015-37; Th. Noeldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 310-45; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 352-8; Ibn al-Wardī, Cairo 1285, i, 117; *Aghānī*, x, 132-40 (summarized in Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, Cairo, xv (1949), 431-5 = end of *fann* v, *ḳism* iv, *bāb* v) and index s.v. Ḳār; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 227 ff.; iii, 205-9; idem, *Tanbīh*, ed. al-Ṣawī, Cairo 1928, 207-9 (trans. Carra de Vaux, 318-21); Maydānī, *Amthāl*, in the *bāb* 19 (ed. Freytag, iii, 557); *ʿIḳd*, Cairo, 1305, iii, 90-3 (at the end of *K. al-durra al-thāniya*); Bakrī, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), 723; Yāḳūt, iv, 10-12 (s.v. Ḳār); A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847-8, ii, 171-85; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 120-3; L. Caetani, *Annali*, Intr. § 230 & Note 1; year 12, §§ 135 and 136; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 103 ff; Djād, Badjawī and Abū Faḍl Ibrāhīm, *Ayyām al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1361/1942, 6-39. (L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

DHU 'L-ḲARNAYN [see ISKANDAR].

DHU 'L-KHALAṢA (or KHULAṢA). Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa refers to the sacred stone (and the holy place where it was to be found) which was worshipped by the tribes of Daws, Khathʿam, Badjīla, the Azd of the Sarāt mountains and the Arabs of Tabāla. "It was a white quartziferous rock, bearing the sculpture of something like a crown. It was in Tabāla at the place called al-ʿAblā', *i.e.*, White Rock (*TʿA*, viii, 3) between Mecca and the Yemen and seven nights' march from the former (*i.e.*, approximately 192 kilometres or 119 miles). The guardians of the sanctuary were the Banū Umāma of the Bāhila b. Aʿṣur" (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, 22 f.). As the rallying point for a good many tribes, the sanctuary acquired the name *al-Kaʿba al-Yamāniya* in contrast with the Meccan sanctuary which was called *al-Kaʿba al-Shāmiyya* (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 55), whence there arose occasional confusion with the legendary church built by Abraha in order to drawn Arabs away from Mecca (Yāḳūt, ii, 461, iv, 170). Can the divinity referred to by this characteristic be identified with the idol bearing the name al-Khalaṣa "built in the lower part of Mecca" by ʿAmr b. Luḥayy [*q.v.*]? We are told that, "It was adorned with necklaces; offerings of wheat and barley were made to it; milk was poured over it [as libations]; sacrifices were offered and ostrich eggs placed on it" (al-Azraḳī, 78).

The form of worship thus outlined suggests an agrarian goddess. She was also a cleromantic goddess, as is shown by the belomantic practices carried out in her sanctuary (cf. *Semitica*, viii, 1958, 59, 67). The arrows at Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa were called *al-āmir* (ordering), *al-nāhī* (forbidding), and *al-mutarabbiṣ* (expecting) (*Aghānī*, viii, 70, etc.). Legend has it that before leaving to avenge his father Imru 'l-Ḳays consulted the oracle at Dhu'l-Khalaṣa. Seeing 'forbidding' emerge he became angry, broke the arrow and continued on his way. "From then on until the advent of Islam and its destruction by Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī, nobody ever consulted the arrows again (*ibid.*; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 78). From the time of Ibn al-Kalbī (*op. cit.*, 23) the stone of Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa was used as the threshold in the entry to the mosque of Tabāla.

A *ḥadīth* of eschatological character is recorded

about the idol according to which the prophet said: "The hour will not come until the women of Daws crowd about Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa, worshipping it as in the past" (Ibn al-Kalbī, *l.c.*, 23; Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 85).

Bibliography: All traditional data has been assembled in Yāḳūt, ii, 461-3, which uses Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnam*, ed. Ah. Zakī Pasha, after R. Klincke-Rosenberg, Thesis, Leipzig 1941, 22 f. and 29 (English translation by N. A. Faris, Princeton 1952, 29-32). Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste*², Berlin 1897, 45-8. (T. Fahd)

DHU 'L-KIFL, a personage twice mentioned in the Ḳur'ān (XXI, 85 and XXXVIII, 48, probably second Meccan period), about whom neither Ḳur'ānic contexts nor Muslim exegesis provides any certain information. John Walker (*Who is Dhu 'l-Kifl?*, in *MW*, xvi (1926), 399-401) would like the name to be understood in the sense of "the man with the double recompense" or rather "the man who received recompense twice over", that is to say Job (Ayyūb [*q.v.*]; cf. Job xlii, 10). Without being certain, this explanation does not lack probability; in any case, no better suggestion has been put forward. Muslim exegesis either adopts a similar opinion in making Dhu 'l-Kifl the second name of Ḥizḳīl [*q.v.*] = Ezekiel, or else identifies him with an imaginary Bishr (Bashīr), son of Ayyūb (as early as Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 364). "Etymological" speculations about the meaning of *kifl* or the derivatives of the root *KFL* (double, caution, subsistence) have helped to swell the legends that have been woven round the rather insignificant figure in the Ḳur'ān; thus, for example, Dhu 'l-Kifl assumes the role of Obadiah, Ahab's pious *major domo* who, according to the Bible (I Kings, xviii, 4) kept and fed a great number of prophets. The figure of Dhu 'l-Kifl reappears elsewhere in certain edifying accounts in which another person of the same name is presented as typical of the sinner who, having overcome some particularly strong temptation, gains his eternal reward.

As with many other historical or legendary personages, various local traditions attribute to Dhu 'l-Kifl burial places far removed from each other.

Bibliography: Commentaries on the two passages in the Ḳur'ān; Thaʿlabī; *ʿArā'is al-Madjālis*, Cairo edition 1371, 155; other references in the very elaborate article by I. Goldziher in *EI*¹; in addition to the note by J. Walker quoted *supra*, there is also J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 113 (which adds nothing to Goldziher). For the theme of the repentant sinner, see the Judeo-Arab legend edited in the original language by J. Obermann (*Studies in Islam and Judaism, The Arabic Original of Ibn Shâhîn's Book of Comfort*, New Haven 1933, 129 ff.), and the introduction by H. Z. Hirschberg to his Modern Hebrew version of this text, *Rabbēnu Nissīm ... mi-Ḳayruwān, Ḥibbūr yāfeh mēha-yeshūʿāh*, Jerusalem 1954, 63-9.—The burial of Dhu 'l-Kifl: Harawī, *K. al-ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-Ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 76, trans. by the same *Guide des lieux de Pèlerinage*, Damascus 1957, 174 (in which the figure is identified with Ḥizḳīl). (G. Vajda)

DHU 'L-NŪN, ABU 'L-FAYḌ Thawbān b. Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī. This early Ṣūfī was born at Ikhmīm, in Upper Egypt, about 180/796. His father was a Nubian and Dhu 'l-Nūn was said to have been a freedman. He made some study of medicine and also of alchemy and magic and he must have been influenced by Hellenistic teaching. Saʿdūn of Cairo is mentioned as his teacher and spiritual director. He travelled to Mecca and Damascus and visited the ascetics at Lubbān, S. of Antioch; it was on his travels that he learnt to become a master of asceticism and self-discipline. He met with hostility from the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] because he upheld the orthodox view that the Ḳur'ān was uncreated: he was condemned by the Egyptian Mālikī ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam for teaching mysticism publicly. Towards the end of his life he was arrested and sent to prison in Baghdād, but was released by order of the caliph Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] and returned to Egypt; he died at Djīza in 246/861.

He was called "the head of the Ṣūfīs", a great teacher who had many disciples during his lifetime and afterwards. A few books on magic and alchemy, attributed to him, have survived, but his mystical teaching is found only in what has been transmitted by other writers, including his great contemporary, al-Muḥāsibī. There are many of his prayers recorded and also some poems of fine quality. He was the first to explain the Ṣūfī doctrines and to give systematic teaching about the mystic states (*aḥwāl*) and the stations of the mystic way (*maḳāmāt*). He taught the duty of repentance, self-discipline, renunciation and otherworldliness. Self, he considered, was the chief obstacle to spiritual progress and he welcomed affliction as a means of self-discipline. Sincerity in the search for righteousness he calls "the sword of God on earth, which cuts everything it touches". Solitude helps towards this end, "for he who is alone sees nothing but God, and if he sees nothing but God, nothing moves him but the Will of God".

Dhu 'l-Nūn was the first to teach the true nature of gnosis (*maʿrifa*), which he describes as "knowledge of the attributes of the Unity, and this belongs to the saints, those who contemplate the Face of God within their hearts, so that God reveals Himself to them in a way in which He is not revealed to any others in the world". "The gnostics are not themselves, but in so far as they exist at all they exist in God". The gnostic needs no state, he needs only his Lord in all states. Gnosis he associates with ecstasy (*wadjd*), the bewilderment of discovery. Dhu 'l-Nūn used the word *ḥubb* for love to God, which means, he says, to love what God loves and to hate what God hates. But the love of God must not exclude love to man, for love to mankind is the foundation of righteousness. He is one of the first to use the imagery of the wine of love and the cup poured out for the lover to drink.

Dhu 'l-Nūn was a practical mystic, who describes in detail the journey of the soul on its upward way to the goal, and gives the Ṣūfī conception of the unitive life in God.

Bibliography: al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya* (ed. J. Pedersen), i, 23-32; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, ix, 331-95; ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'* (ed. R. A. Nicholson), i, 114-34; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* (ed. Nassau Lees), 35-18; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh*, v, 271-88; L. Massignon, *Lexique technique*, 206-13, 238; Brockelmann, S I, 214. (M. Smith)

DHU 'L-NŪNIDS, in Arabic Bānū Dhi 'l-Nūn, a prominent family of al-Andalus, originally Berbers of the tribe of Hawwāra. Their name appears to be the Arabicization of an earlier Zannūn (cf. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, 276) which would explain the alternative spelling Dhunnūn (adj. Dhunnūnī). In the 5th/11th century, during the first period of the 'Party Kings' (*Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*), the Dhu 'l-Nūnids

ruled, with Ṭulayṭula (Toledo) as their capital, from Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra (Guadalajara) and Ṭalabīra (Talavera) in the N. to Murcia in the S.

The original territory of the Banū Dhi 'l-Nūn lay E. of Toledo in the *kūra* (administrative district) of Shantabariyya (represented by modern Santaver near the confluence of the Guadiela and the Tagus) where as early as the amīrate of Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86) we find established Sulaymān b. Dhi 'l-Nūn, a descendant in the fourth generation of a certain al-Samḥ, who is said to have been present at the conquest of al-Andalus. In this region of the Middle Frontier (*al-thaghr al-awsaṭ*) or, as is also given, of the Northern Frontier (*al-thaghr al-djawfī*), the family played an active part, frequently in opposition to the reigning dynasty, until the end of the Caliphate of Cordova.

In the troubles of the *Fitna* (literally 'sedition') after 399/1009 the Dhu 'l-Nūnids rallied at first to Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn (died 407/1016), but soon ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Miḍrās b. Dhi 'l-Nūn and his son Ismāʿīl, who is said to have received from Sulaymān the double vizirate and the title Nāṣir al-Dawla (Ibn Ḥayyān, quoted Ibn Bassām, iv/1, 110), struck out a line of their own. According to Ibn Ḥayyān, Ismāʿīl was the first of the 'Party Kings' to break with the central authority and was imitated in this by the others, but when and how he actually did so are not known. It is usually said that he began to rule in Toledo after the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Yaʿīsh in 427/1035. But this is evidently too late. The date of the death of Ibn Yaʿīsh is given by Ibn Bashkuwāl (ed. Codera, 628) as 419/1028-9. We also have an inscription of Ismāʿīl in Toledo dated 423/1032 with the titles Dhu 'l-Riʾāsatayn (cf. above) and al-Ẓāfir, 'the Triumphant', which must be placed after his accession (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, 66). As king in Toledo Ismāʿīl was beset by difficulties on all sides, including war with the Christians (Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ii, 15-16), but he made good his position and survived till 435/1043, when he was succeeded by his son Yaḥyā, called al-Maʾmūn.

Early in his reign al-Maʾmūn was attacked by Sulaymān b. Hūd of Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa), and subsequently both he and Ibn Hūd at different times leagued themselves with the Christians, who were able to operate practically unopposed in Muslim territory. The death of his rival in 438/1046 put an end to these anxieties, at least temporarily, and al-Maʾmūn was free in the next decades to occupy himself elsewhere. He intervened profitably in the E. of al-Andalus, wresting Valencia from the hands of a descendant of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir in 457/1065 (see art. BALANSIYA). In 464/1072 he received Alfonso VI, who had been defeated by his brother Sancho of Castile at the battle of Volpejares (Golpejera), and retained him as guest in Toledo for 9 months. The main object of al-Maʾmūn's ambition was Cordova, the former seat of the Caliphate, held by the Djahwarids till 461/1069. To secure help against Ibn Hūd, he had been obliged to support the claims to the Caliphate of the pseudo-Hishām, maintained by the ʿAbbādids of Seville, which his father al-Ẓāfir had always denied. But even though thus compromised, he was able to gain possession of Cordova, which had passed to the ʿAbbādids, in 467/1074-75, shortly before his own death in the same year.

Al-Maʾmūn was succeeded at Toledo by his grandson Yaḥyā al-Ḳādir, whose ineptitude was speedily shown by the assassination of the *wazīr* Ibn al-Ḥadīdī, hitherto a principal support of the Dhu 'l-Nūnid regime. Al-Ḳādir lost Cordova and Valencia and, faced by dissension at home and by the hostility of the other 'Party Kings', he took the disastrous decision of applying for help to Alfonso VI. He was brought back to Toledo, which he had been obliged to leave, by Christian arms and later installed by Alfonso in Valencia, in return for the cession of Toledo, but was assassinated in 485/1092. With al-Ḳādir ended the rule of the Dhu 'l-Nūnids. Toledo itself had passed into the hands of the Christians in 478/1085.

Less well-endowed than the ʿAbbādids, the family produced perhaps only one man of literary distinction, Arḳam b. Dhi 'l-Nūn, brother of Ismāʿīl al-Ẓāfir (Ibn Saʿīd, *ibid.*, 14), and at first their court appears to have been deficient in poetical talent (Ibn Bassām, *ibid.*, 111, 114). This state of affairs must have radically altered under al-Maʾmūn, since we know the names of many literary men and scholars who flourished under Dhu 'l-Nūnid protection, among them the *ḳāḍī* Ṣāʿid, author of the well-known *Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, valuable for the history of science, and the famous astronomer al-Zarḳāla (Azarchiel), who may have been employed as engineer by al-Maʾmūn in some of his constructions at Toledo. The luxury of al-Maʾmūn's court became proverbial in the expression 'the circumcision-feast of Ibn Dhi 'l-Nūn' (*al-iʿdhār al-Dhunnūnī*), given in honour of his grandson (an eye-witness description in Ibn Bassām, iv/1, 99 ff., paraphrased by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d'Occident*, 119-120).

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DHŪ NUWĀS, YŪSUF ASHʿAR, pre-Islamic king of the Yemen. According to a tradition probably deriving from Wahb b. Munabbih (*Tīdjān*, 2 ff.) and repeated by the Arab chroniclers (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 277; al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 63; al-Ṭabarī, i, 540 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, i, 90; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 129 etc.), Lahayʿa b. Yanūf (Lakhīʿa, Lakhīʿa Yanūf Dhū Shanātir; al-Ṭabarī, i, 540; see also Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 250) abandoning himself to unnatural practices with the sons of the aristocracy, the young Dhū Nuwās, who in Arab traditions is generally known as Zurʿa b. Tibbān Asʿad, and who took the name Yūsuf after his conversion to Judaism (Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 252, calls him Yūsuf Shuraḥbīl), was placed on the throne by the Ḥimyarites after he had

assassinated Laḥayʿa b. Yanūf to escape from his attentions. On the subject of his reign, which is said to have lasted 38 years, tradition tells in particular of the persecutions to which he subjected the Christians of Nadjran [see AṢḤĀB AL-UKHDŪD] and the invasion of the Yemen by the Negus at the request of the emperor of Constantinople. Dhū Nūwās was conquered by Aryāt, (who had Abraha under his command, and threw himself into the sea.

In the *Martyrium St. Arethae* he is called Δουναας (nom.) and Δουναᾶν (accus.) (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 174, 3) (Theophanus calls him Dimianus, which Nöldeke believes incorrect, the name belonging to an Ethiopian king). Thus the epithet Dhū Nuwās does not seem to be an invention of Arab traditions which explain it by his curly hair (al-Hamdāni, *Iklīl*, viii, 137); but a certain Dhū Ghaymān and Nuwās, lord of a fief, is mentioned in *CIH*, 68, li (cf. M. Hartmann, *Islamische Orient*, ii, 292 ff.). However, *The Book of the Himyarites* (A. Moberg, lxxiv, 34a; D. Smith, 456, 3) and the *Chronique de Seert* (v, 2, 330-1) call our Dhū Nuwās Masrūḳ; brought up in the Jewish faith by his mother (from Nisibis), he reigned after his father. The inscription Ry 446 = Ry 510, (*Muséon* lxv, lxvi), whose author was the South Arabian king Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur, at that time (631 sab. = 522 A.D.) on a campaign in central Arabia against al-Mundhir III of al-Ḥīra, and various pieces of evidence show that Dhū Nuwās Masrūḳ had succeeded Maʿdīkarib on the throne. If the *Chronique* is authentic, Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās must be his predecessor's son. The two inscriptions Ry 507 = Ḥima 444 (Philby 158, *Muséon*, lxiv, 93 ff.) and Ry 508 (*Muséon*, lxvi), discovered in 1952 by G. and J. Ryckmans confirm the historical existence of Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās; they describe the operations conducted against the Christians and Abyssinians in Ẓufār, Mukhā and Nadjrān in 633 sab. = 524 A.D. by a South Arabian king who can be conclusively identified with Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās. Between the dates of Ry 510 (522 A.D.) and Ry 508, Ry 507 (524, March, April, July-September 524 A.D.) we note the date of the letter from Simeon Bēth Arsham (cf. J. Ryckmans, *Persécution*, 18) written on the 20 January 524 and addressed to the Christians, telling of the coming of the new king and his persecution of the Christians. E. Glaser has however remarked that the Sabaean year began between January and February. It emerges that Dhū Nuwās, Yūsuf Ashʿar had come to power at the end of 523 A.D. Simeon Bēth Arsham's letter seems to establish this fact. Simeon was sent by Justinian I to negotiate a peace with al-Mundhir III at that time, in 524, to Ramla in the Syrian desert. It was there that the letter came from the king of Ḥimyar telling al-Mundhir: "this king whom the Abyssinians sent to us is dead, therefore I have become king of the whole Ḥimyarite region" (cf. J. Ryckmans, *Muséon*, lxvi, 329; Guidi, *Lettera*, 480 ff.).

John Posaltes' hymn and Simeon's letter, as I. Guidi has shown, must refer to the second persecution, that is to say to the period of Negus Ella Aṣbaha's second expedition. The letter from James of Sarug to the Ḥimyarites dated 521 A.D. (Guidi, *Lettera*, 479), must relate to an earlier and less general persecution. This letter and other facts from Abyssinian and Greek sources suggest that the persecution had in fact already started before Dhū Nuwās, during the reign of his predecessor Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur. According to a tradition from Ibn al-Kalbī (al-Ṭabarī, above; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 254), the Negus must have made two expeditions. In the first, Dhū Nuwās by means of a ruse succeeded in wiping out the occupation forces. After installing a viceroy, the Negus withdrew to Ethiopia, leaving an Ethiopian garrison on Ḥimyarite territory. According to Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Negus (Sidney Smith, *Events*, 454) tried to establish Abyssinian claims to the Ḥimyarite territory from 518 A.D. Abyssinian sources suggest that the Christians paid their tribute to the Negus himself.

On the other hand, Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur, the author of Ry 510, can be identified with his homonym of CIH 621 = RES 2633 (640 sab. = circa 530 A.D.; cf. Philby, *Muséon*, lxiii, 271-5). One explanation is therefore possible: Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur may have abdicated as he could not restore the economic autochthonous situation. His régime must have been in financial difficulties, with the result that he was compelled to seek a large credit from a Nadjrānī Christian, Raḥma (A. Moberg, 26a, 43b). Then Yūsuf Ashʿar, Dhū Nuwās and other leading Ḥimyarites, specially those of Ry 508, Ry 507 and a certain number of those of RES 4069 and Ist. 7608 bis must have joined together to seize power and unleash the persecutions (cf. Philby, *Muséon*, lxiii, 271 ff.). The Dhū Yazan tribe must have taken a leading part in these activities. Sharāḥīl Yaḳbul Dhū Yazan acted for Yūsuf Ashʿar in the persecutions at Ẓufar and Nadjrān. Sumayfaʿ Ashwā (Ist. 7608 bis ll. 1-2) whom the Abyssinians chose as king of Sabaʾ after the defeat of Dhū Nuwās (G. Ryckmans, lix; J. Ryckmans, *Muséon*, lxvi, 337-8; *The Book of the Ḥimarites*, 54a and c/xvii-ix; see also Smith, *Events*, 459) was grandfather of Sharāḥīl Yaḳbūl Dhū Yazan; this tribe must be the same as king Yūsuf's (J. Ryckmans, *Muséon*, lxvi, 337). At the beginning of his reign, Yūsuf Ashʿar invited the king of Ḥīra, al-Mundhir, just when the latter was leading a campaign against Byzantium in the Syrian desert, to follow his example and exterminate all Christians who would not deny Christ.

Then Yūsuf Ashʿar began a savage onslaught on the Christians and Abyssinians, first of all at Ẓufar where he destroyed and burnt the church (Ry 508 ll. 2-3; Ry 507 l. 4; cf. *The Book of the Ḥimyarites*, 7b). Then turning to the neighbouring Christian tribe of al-Ashʿar, he ordered his commander Sharāḥīl Dhū Yazan to march against Mukhā (Ry 508, 3-4). In the operations in the two inscriptions, casualties in the battles amount to 14,000 killed, with 11,000 prisoners. At Nadjrān, where the siege was said to have lasted some months, the king asked the Nadjrānīs for guarantees to prevent any invasion by the South. Meanwhile a certain Daws Dhū Thuʿlubān fled and informed the emperor Justinian I. Simeon Bēth Arsham arranged that the news should reach the monophysites in Tarsus and Antioch. An Ethiopian army then intervened, at Justinian's request, in May 525 A.D. (J. Ryckmans, *Persécution*, 18-22) and the Negus occupied the Yemen (see Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii, 324; Smith, *Events*, 451) at the head of 120,000 men (70,000 according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 548) who came down on Bāb al-Mandab (J. Ryckmans, lxvi, 334-5; Budge i, 262; Smith, 458).

According to Syrian evidence, Dhū Nuwās Ashʿar was killed (A. Moberg, Ch. XLII; Philby, *Background*, 120). We can see from what ensued that a split occurred among king Yūsuf's allies (cf. Smith, 549; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, i, 92). Sumayfaʿ Ashwā, viceroy to the Negus in 525, was among Yūsuf's supporters in 524. Inscriptions and *The Book of the Himyarites* are in agreement about the Jewish king's

successor, whom Ella Aṣbaḥa gave to the Ḥimyarites (see Smith, 459, B.H. 54b); it is a question of king Sumayafaʿ Ashʿwa (in Procopius, *Wars*, i, xx, 3-8, he is called Esimiphaeus) of Inst. 7608 bis, l. 1, a Christian convert of the royal family. J. Ryckmans and A. F. L. Beeston think that RES 2633 = CIH 621, the date of which, 640 sab., must indicate his death, not that of Dhū Nuwās Yūsuf (*Persécution*, 8-9). This inscription must relate to Abraha's revolt against king Sumayfaʿ Ashʿwa in about 530 A.D. (see also Procopius, *Wars*, supra). According to this thesis, the Sabaean era started in about 109 B.C., and not in 115. It is by this system of dating, which conforms better with the evidence of inscriptions and traditions, that the inscriptions quoted in this article have been dated.

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DHU 'L-RUMMA, lit. 'he who wears a piece of cord', nickname given to the famous Arab poet Ghaylān b. ʿUḳba, who died in 117/735-36.

He earned the name on account of a small charm which he hung around his neck by a piece of string. He was from the Ṣaʿb b. Milkān clan, an offshoot of the ʿAdī tribe which originated from the ʿAbd Manāt peoples of Central Arabia. On his mother's side he was related to the Asad tribe. If we accept that he died at the age of forty, his date of birth would be 77/696. This information is however open to doubt, as it is based on a very obscure passage in one of his poems (see Ibn Ḳutayba, 334, l. 7). He came from a family rich in poetical talent (see *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 111); and was known as the 'transmitter' (*rāwī*) of the poet al-Rāʿī [*q.v.*]. Later in his life, in Baṣra, he was regarded as an authority on poetry (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 88), but is said not to have divulged the fact that he knew how to read and write (see Ibn Sallām in *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 121, and Ibn Ḳutayba, 334). There is every reason to think that during his life he remained in close contact with his tribal group in Central Arabia; numerous anecdotes have come to us of his relations with the very aged governor of Yamama, Muhādjir (see *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 112, 115, and *Aghānī*[3], viii, 54—panegyric in his honour by the poet). Other anecdotes throw light on Dhu 'l-Rumma's activities in Kūfa (*ibid.*, xvi, 122) and, above all, in Baṣra, where he frequently came into contact with the ḳāḍī-governor Bilāl b. Abī Burda (d. after 120/738). Certain works addressed to this generous patron are evidence of the protection which he granted the poet (see Ibn Ḳutayba, 341. Ibn Sallām in *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 121 bottom, 128 ff.). It was in Baṣra, moreover, that Dhu 'l-Rumma met the reader (*ḳāri'*) ʿAnbasa and the grammarians Abū ʿAmr al-ʿAlā' [*q.v.*], Yūnus [*q.v.*] and ʿIsā b. ʿUmar (see *Aghānī*[8], xvi, 122 bottom; Ibn Sallām, 128; Ibn Ḳutayba, 334). The city was also the scene of his disputes with other poets from eastern Arabia; on one occasion, Ru'ba accused him in front of Bilāl b. Abī Burda of the shameless plagiarism of his own poems (see *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 121 and 123-5; also Ḳutayba, 339). The controversies with Djarīr [*q.v.*] were a result of the open preference which Dhu 'l-Rumma showed for the poetry of al-Farazdaḳ; his diatribes with the Tamīmī Hishām seem to have given rise to some of the choicest anecdotes in Baṣra (see *Aghānī*[3], viii, 55, and *ibid.*[8], xvi, 117). We have only a few facts of doubtful authenticity on his love affairs with Mayya and a certain Kharḳā'; they were later developed into a sort of novel. His thoughts on religion also remain obscure, there being but a few references to the Ḳur'ān in his poems, *e.g.*, *Dīwān* no. 7 verse 30, no. 22 verses 35 & 79 (cf. anecdotes in *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 128). His death, at a relatively young age, has been put at about 117/735 (for other estimations see Schaade in *EI*[1], s.v., and references). According to a story originating from two sources in Baṣra, an unknown person reported his burial at Huzwā, on the borders of Dahmā.

As was normal for the times, Dhu 'l-Rumma's works were diffused orally by *rāwīs*, one of whom is known by name (see *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 112, l. 27). Many stories attributed to him circulated among the nomads of eastern Arabia (*ibid.*, xvi, 112), and, although often of doubtful authenticity, they have helped preserve his poetry for later generations. In time, oral accounts were written down in the form of a *Dīwān*, and by the end of the 3rd/9th century two collections existed, one by Thaʿlab and the other, a more complete edition, by al-Sukkari (cf. *Fihrist*, 158, l. 20). In Macartney's work, the collection attributed to Dhu 'l-Rumma is extensive, comprising 87 complete poems to which the author has added 149 fragmentary works. Most of the poems are exceptionally long. Sometimes they are improvised for a particular occasion, *e.g.*, nos. 31, 33 (in praise of Muhādjir), 57 (traditional *ḳaṣīda* in honour of Bilāl), 81 (an allusion to events of which nothing is known historically). More often than not they are lyrical odes written in a style common to Bedouin poets of the time, beginning with a description of deserted camps, followed by some reflections on the poet's lover, and ending with a description of his camel and its wanderings across the desert. His beloved Mayya is mentioned in nearly all of them (nos. 4, 7, 10, 11, 17, 22, 28 etc.). The study of his works poses several well-known problems. Some pieces are fragmentary (*e.g.*, the end of no. 60, *ḳaṣīda*, is missing), others are of dubious origin because of the inconsistent sequence of themes treated in them. Some seem to have no more than a lexicographical inspiration, and were no doubt composed to meet the demands of certain learned men of Baṣra and Kūfa. If we are to believe Ḥammād 'the Transmitter', many poems full of *pathos* were written in Kūfa by persons using Dhu 'l-Rumma's name (see *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 122, l. 156 ff.). Moreover, it may well be asked whether certain elegaic poems were not included in the collection simply because they contained references to Mayya. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, the historical character of Dhu 'l-Rumma began to change and he took his place among those famous Arab lovers who were victims of unrequited passion; in this case, the hero pines away for Mayya, who is married to a rich *sayyid*, and his songs addressed to Kharḳā' are designed only to arouse his Lady's

jealousy (ref. *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 113, 114, 119 ff., 125, quoting Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ; cf. Ibn Ḳutayba 334-6, where the story, from an unknown source, is in a very conventional romantic manner).

Although this epic of love has been much elaborated (cf. mention of title in *Fihrist*, 306, l. 22), it has nevertheless retained traces of its Bedouin origin, as is shown by comparison with a story in al-Hamadhānī's [*q.v.*] *Maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*] (Beirut 1924, 43), which the author adapted from an old story of central Arabian origin.

Dhu 'l-Rumma's prestige stood particularly high with the Baṣra grammarians (see *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 113 ff.), although this assertion must be qualified with some reservations (see Ibn Sallām, 125, & Ibn Ḳutayba, 333). It was the profuse richness of the poet's descriptions of the camel, onager and oryx and the desert which aroused admiration; the great beauty of his elegies was also acknowleged, hence the large number of his verses which were set to music (*Aghānī*[1], xvi, 129 ff.), of which we may mention a *Kitāb akhbār Dhu 'l-Rumma* composed by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī (title in *Fihrist*, 142, l. 19). But it was nevertheless the lexicographers whom Dhu 'l-Rumma interested most, and, to give but one example, numerous verses of his are quoted in the dictionary *Lisān al-ʿArab*. This is due to the great number of rare expressions used by the poet. On the other hand, he is quoted only 6 and 20 times respectively in the *Bayān* of al-Djāḥiẓ and the *ʿIḳd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. Set in the perspective of his age and society, Dhu 'l-Rumma is one of the great figures in the tradition of eastern Arabian poetry. His excessive use of rare terms was a common tendency in poets (*e.g.*, Ruʾba, [*q.v.*]) who were in close contact with the philologists and grammarians of ʿIrāḳ; the frequent appearance of the *radjaz* metre in his *Dīwān* underlines his close relationship with certain of his contemporaries. He terminates a line of poets who, even in their own age, were considered 'behind the times'.

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DHU 'L-SHARĀ is the soubriquet of a god borrowed from the Nabataeans, known in Aramaic as *dshr*, *Dusares* (E. Littmann, *Thamūd und Ṣafā*, 30). These soubriquets for gods formed from the pronoun *dhū* (feminine *dhāt*) were of frequent use in Southern Arabia (G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques* 2, 44-5; W. Caskel, *Die alten semitischen Gottheiten*, 108-9). According to Ibn al-Kalbī, Dhu 'l-Sharā was a divinity of the Banu 'l-Ḥārith of the tribe of the Azd (*Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī[2], 37). Ibn Hishām records that Dhu 'l-Sharā "was an image belonging to Daus and the *ḥimā* was the temenos which they had made sacred to him; in it there was a trickle of water from a rivulet from the mountain" (Ibn Isḥāḳ's *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 254; trans. A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, 176). This tradition is resumed in the *Ḳamūs*: *dhu 'l-sharā ṣanam daws*. The tradition arose from confusion among the Arabs between Duserani, "the worshippers of Dusares", a naming for the Nabataeans, and the tribe of Daws (R. Dussaud and F. Macler, *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*, 67, n. 3).

Dhu 'l-Sharā is attested in Thamudic and Ṣafaitic. Its only trace in Thamudic is on an inscription from the region of Tabūk, in the Aramaic form *dshr* (Jaussen-Savignac 658[1], according to the reading of A. van den Brauden, *Les inscriptions thamoudéennes*, Louvain 1950, 451). Ṣafaïtic has the name of this god in the form *dhshr* (*CIS*, v 57, etc.) and in the Aramaic forms *dshr* (*CIS*, v 88 etc.) and *dshry* (*CIS*, v, 2955). The name *Dhu 'l-Sharā* means "The One from Sharā", the local god of the Sharā range, the southernmost tip of the chain of mountains to the south-east of the Dead Sea (A. Musil, *The Northern Heǧâz*, New York 1926, 252-5; R. Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie*, 30; W. Caskel, *Die alten sem. Gottheiten*, 109). The name of this god was Aʿara, as is shown by several Nabataean inscriptions dedicated to Dū Sharā Aʿara (*CIS*, ii 190; *RES* 83, 696; J. Cantineau, *Le nabatéen*, ii, nos X-XII, 21-4). This name might belong to a root *ghry*; in Arabic, *gharā* means "to coat with a sticky substance". At Ḥīrā, in the kingdom of the Lakhmids, there were known to be two obelisks (*ghariyān*) daubed with the blood of sacrifices (H. Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, 146 and 167). Aʿara would then be the god whose bethel was daubed with blood. It was the same with Dusares (Suidas, *Lexicon*, s.v. Θευσαρης) whose bethel was a black, rectangular, uncarved stone and who was the object of bloody sacrifices (D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque romaine*, 59; R. Dussaud, *Pénétration*, 40 and n. 4; J. Starcky, *Palmyréniens, Nabatéens et Arabes du Nord*, 222). The confusion of Dusares with the god Ares is due to Suidas who "takes Θευσαρης, a defective form of Dusares, for the god Ares" (M.-J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques* 2, 210, n. 1).

From the fifth century B.C. the god Aʿara was identified with Dionysos, according to Herodotus: "Dionysos, with Urania, is the only god whose existence they [the Arabs] recognize . . . They call Dionysos Orotalt, Urania Alitat" (*Hist.* iii, 8). Aʿara can be recognized in the part *Oro*, whatever may be the case with its second part *talt* or *tal* (C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, V, Paris 1903, 109-15; R. Dussaud, *Pénétration*, 45). Alitat, clearly, is the goddess Allāt. Hesychius (s.v.) identifies Dusares with Dionysos: Δουσάρης τὸν Διόνυσον· Ναβαταῖοι. Aʿara Dhu 'l-Sharā being none other than Dionysos the god of vegetation, "it may be concluded that during the occupation of Djebel esh-Sharâ by the Edomite Arabs the vine prospered there and that before the arrival of the Greeks the god of vegetation Orotal (Aʿara) had soon been identified with Dionysos" (R. Dussaud, *op. cit.*, 56). J. Perrot's excavations in the Negev and the recent experiments of the botanist M. Evenari, who has restored a Nabataean agricultural settlement dating from early in the Christian era, on the site of the former city of Subeita, prove that the fertility of the land in that desert area was ensured by the construction of terraces, dams and channels, irrigated by periodic rainfall and flooding. This explains how Dionysos-Dusares came to be represented on reliefs decorated with vine-branches, particularly on the lintels of Ḳanawāt and Suwayda (R. Dussaud, *Pénétration*, 57-61; see M. Dunand, *Le musée de*

Soueida, Paris 1934, nos 1, 2 and 3; D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Hauran*, 64, expresses certain doubts on these identifications). Similarly, the statue of a bearded god at Ghariya-Shubayḥ, holding a horn of plenty filled with bunches of grapes, seems indeed to represent Dusares (R. Dussaud, *op. cit.* 61; see D. Sourdel, *op. cit.* 64, who does not share this opinion).

An eagle with outspread wings was probably the symbol of Dusares. It figures above the entrance to numerous Nabataean tombs at Hegra (see particularly Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission*, i, pl. xxxvi and fig. 160; ii, *Atlas*, pl. xli, xliii, xliv and xlv). Jaussen and Savignac see in it the symbol of Dusares, who might have been assimilated in Zeus the sun god (*Mission*, i, 400-401). An eagle figures also on one of the lintels of Suwayda (M. Dunand, *op. cit.*, n. 2); attributing it to Dusares in this relief "is not subject to doubt" (R. Dussaud, *op. cit.*, 60). R. Dussaud sees Dusares on an altar relief from a Nabataean temple to that god in Siʿ (formerly Seia in the Ḥawrān; see R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 368-9), dating from early in the Christian era (D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1951, 97 n. 3). But the altar is dedicated to Zeus Kyrios (R. Dussaud, *Pénétration*, 57). This assimilation, as does also the assimilation of Dusares to Helios in the Roman era, nevertheless raises problems which are far from resolved (D. Sourdel, *op. cit.*, 63-5), and it should be noted that, while Strabo may associate Dionysos with Zeus Ouranos, he never identifies them with each other in any way (Strabo, xvi, 1, 11).

In the Hellenistic period Dionysos gave his name to the town of Suwayda, Dionysias, formerly called Soada, in Djabal Drūz. The Greek inscription [Waddington 2309 = CIG 4617] describes Dionysos as the founder of Dionysias: πρωνοία κυρίου κτίσλου Διονύσου. The identification of Suwayda with Dionysias has been established by the remains of an inscription, engraved on a milestone between the towns of ʿAtil (formerly Athela) and Suwayda: . . . ὅροι Διον[υσιά]δος . . . [ὅ]ροι 'Αθελεν[ῶ]ν (R. Dussaud and F. Macler, *Mission*, 247-248, Greek no. 23). This confirms that during the Nabataean occupation the worship of Dusares had spread into the Ḥawrān and adjacent areas. Several Nabataean inscriptions were dedicated to Dhu 'l-Sharā *dy bbṣr'*, "who is at Boṣrah" (*CIS*, ii 218; *RES* 83; see J. Cantineau, *Le nabatéen*, ii, 21, no. X 36,; no. VII).

According to Epiphanius (*Contra Haeres.*, LI, 22, 9-12), the Nabataeans celebrated on the sixth of January (formerly in the East the Christian feast of the Nativity) the feast of Dusares, the son of the virgin Χααβου (correction for Χααμου; R. Eisler, in *ARW*, xv (1912), 630). Epiphanius records this tradition with apologetical purpose, "with a view to showing that also the pagans had the notion of the virgin birth of a god" (D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Hauran*, 67). But Epiphanius's account rests on a linguistic confusion: Χααβου "virgin" (in Arabic *kuʿba, kaʿiba*) is in fact the Arabic *kaʿba* "cube" (a word belonging to the same root), whence *kaʿba*, "stele" or "bethel", the term which designates the Kaʿba of Mecca. This tradition is perhaps only a reminiscence of the worship of the bethel personifying Dhu 'l-Sharā. In Aramaic bethel is *mōtab* "seat". According to J. Starcky, coins from Boṣra presenting the legend of "Dusares the god", as might also three egg-shaped bethels resting on a support, may give some idea of Dusares' "seat", represented by the support (*Palmyréniens, Nabatéens et Arabes*, 221).

According to Ibn Hishām (see above) the *kaʿba* or bethel of Dhu 'l-Sharā was in a *ḥimā*, a sacred enclosure also called *ḥaram*. According to a scholion in the *Dīwān* of the Hudhaylīs (J. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 51), the *ḥaram* was itself enclosed in the *sharā*, which covered a greater area: *al-sharā mā kāna ḥawl al-ḥaram wa-huwa ashyaʾu 'l-ḥaram.* Thus Dhu 'l-Sharā, the god of Djabal Sharā, becomes also "the master of the sacred enclosure" (M.-J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*[2], 184-5). Nevertheless, that is only a secondary meaning of the name Dhu 'l-Sharā.

Also known are the Nabataean theophorous proper names ʿAbddūsharā, Taymdūsharā (references in J. Cantineau, *Le nabatéen*, ii, 126 and 256), and the Arabic proper name ʿAbd dhī Sharā (J. Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 3).

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DHŪ YAZAN [see SAYF].

DHUBĀB, the fly. Some authors state that word is used also for other insects, such as bees, hornets, butterflies or moths (*farāsh*), etc. According to Arab lexicographers, it is either a singular or else a collective noun, in which case *dhubāba* is used for the singular. Cognate synonyms are found in other Semitic languages, *e.g.*, Hebrew זְבוּב, Aramaic דִּבָּבָא.

The fly is often mentioned and described in ancient Arabic poems and proverbs. A *ḥadīth* has it that there are flies in hell to torture the condemned. Numerous kinds are mentioned by Arab zoologists, some of them bearing specific names and some being distinguished by their colour (black, blue, red, tawny [*aṣfar*]). Another distinction is made according to the supposed origin of the different varieties: Some are said to be produced by spontaneous generation, in putrescent substances or in the body of certain animals (lion, dog, camel, horse, cattle, etc.), to

which they adhere exclusively; others are born by sexual procreation. The flies that molest man are produced in dung. Certain places are pointed out as man.
particularly infested with flies, such as the town of Wāsiṭ. In some region flies are said to be eaten by man
The fly lives no longer than forty days (based on a *ḥadīth*). It belongs to the 'sunny' animals, appearing in summer and vanishing in winter. It is killed by intense heat or cold. It is active during day time and rests at night. It likes sweet and loathes certain substances, as oil, camphor and arsenic. It hunts bugs (*baḳḳ*) and gnats (*baʿūḍ*) and is eaten itself by bats, spiders, reptiles and other animals. If it were not for the flies' hunting bugs, it would be intolerable for man to live in houses. The tips of the fly's feet are rough so that it may not slip on smooth surfaces. The sources mention several devices for keeping flies away from human habitations.

In various ways flies were used for medicinal and cosmetic purposes: rubbed over the sting of a hornet they relieve the pain; burnt and mixed with antimony they increase the beauty of the eyes of women, etc. Their significance when seen in dreams was treated in pertinent writings.

A work entitled *Kitāb al-dhubāb* (probably a lexicographical treatise) is attributed by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel, v, 85, no. 10120) to Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Aʿrābī, who, but for the year of his death, 333 A.H. as given by Ḥ.Kh., could be identical with the well known philologist Ibn al-Aʿrābī (Brockelmann, S I, 179).

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DHUBYĀN [see GHAṬAFĀN].

DHUNNŪNIDS [see DHU'L-NŪNIDS].

AL-**DHUNŪB, DAFN**, burial of offences, a nomadic practice which consists of a make-believe burial of the offences or crimes of which an Arab is accused. According to Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (*al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, 165 ff.), almost the only source, this curious ceremony was practised as follows. A delegation consisting of men who had the full confidence of the culprit appeared before an assembly of notables belonging to the tribe of the victim, to whom they said: "We wish you to perform the *dafn* for So-and-so, who admits the truth of your accusations". The delegates then enumerated all the offences of their client. The plaintiff agreed, dug a hole in the ground, and said: "I throw into this hole all the offences with which I charge So-and-so, and I bury them as I bury this hole". He then filled in the hole and levelled the ground.

According to the same author, the practice of *dafn* was sometimes also applied to the *amān* [*q.v.*]. However, contrary to the customs of the nomadic Arabs, who recognized only oral confessions, the offences which were forgiven were also recorded in a written document.

This practice, about which we have little information, seems to have been current in the time of al-ʿUmarī. By the present day it would seem to have completely disappeared.

Bibliography: see also Ibn Nāẓir al-Djaysh, *Tathkīf al-taʿrīf*, ms. Escorial, Arabic mss., no. 550, fol. 97-8; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiii, 352-5; Chelhod, *L'enterrement des délits chez les Arabes*, in *RHR*, April-June 1959, 215-20. (J. Chelhod)

ḌIBĀB [see ʿĀMIR B. ṢAʿṢAʿA].

DĪBĀDJ [see ḲUMĀSH].

AL-**DIBDIBA**, an extensive gravel plain in north-eastern Arabia, bounded roughly on the east by the depression of al-Shaḳḳ (which forms the western boundary of the Saudi Arabia-Kuwait Neutral Zone), on the west by the *wādī* of al-Bāṭin, and on the south by the gravel ridge of al-Warīʿa. The plain extends northward from Saudi Arabia into the Shaikhdom of Kuwait for a distance of about 20 kms. It has an area of c. 30,000 sq. kms. and is remarkable for its firm, almost featureless surface, sprinkled with pebbles of limestone, quartz, and igneous rock carried from central and western Arabia during the Pleistocene by the Wādī al-Ruma al-Bāṭin drainage system. Al-Dibdiba is drained internally, with rain water collecting in shallow, silt-floored basins (*khabārī*; sing., *khabrāʾ*). It is part of the traditional *dīra* of Muṭayr and is now a favourite winter grazing area of several north-eastern tribes. The plain was once famous for its gazelle hunting. The term *dibdiba* (pl. *dabādib*) is applied by some of the Bedouins to any flat, firm-surfaced area and is related to the classical *dabdaba*, referring to the drumming sound of hooves on hard earth.

Maps: Series by the U. S. Geological Survey and Arabian American Oil Company under joint sponsorship of the Ministry of Finance and National Economy (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) and the Department of State (U. S. A.). Scale 1:500,000 (geographic); Wādī al-Bāṭin, Map I-203 B (1959); Northern Ṭuwayḳ, Map I-207 B (1957).

(J. Mandaville)

DIʿBIL, poetic nickname of ABŪ ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. RAZĪN AL-KHUZĀʿĪ, ʿAbbāsid poet, born 148/765 and died 246/860. His birthplace is uncertain; the cities of Kūfa and Ḳarḳīsiya are given as his places of birth. According to the accounts in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, he spent his youth in Kūfa from which he was forced to flee because of some mischievous activity. Diʿbil's apprenticeship as a poet was under the tutelage of Muslim b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*]. However, he soon made a reputation for himself as is indicated from his relationship with Khalaf al-Aḥmar (d. 180/796) and Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa (d. 181/797). The most probable date for Diʿbil's entry into the circle of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809) lies between 795-809.

Being pro-Shīʿite and famous for his poem praising ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] he generally attacks the ʿAbbāsid caliphs from Hārūn to al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861). However, Diʿbil's loyalty appears to be motivated also by monetary considerations so that we find him praising them on occasion. If Diʿbil is famous for his satires—at times of the vilest content—he is also capable of expressing a fine sentiment and an appreciation of nature. The simplicity and directness of his expression share and give additional evidence of this tendency which has become characteristic of the early ʿAbbāsid age.

Ibn Rashīḳ places him in the *Ṭabaḳa* of Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] and al-Buḥturī rates him above Muslim b. al-Walīd. Diʿbil's rivalry with Abū Tammām [*q.v.*], whom he excluded from his *Kitāb al-shuʿarāʾ*,

is based not only on literary grounds but also on political-religious foundations, since Abū Tammām was lukewarm to the Shīʿa and was pro-North-Arab.

Diʿbil's *Book of the Poets*, whose date of final composition is post 231/846, and whose fragments are cited in works from the 9th to the 17th century, is important in Arabic literary history since it forms a link between the *Ṭabaḳāt* of al-Djumaḥī (d. 230/845) and the *Kitāb al-Shiʿr* of Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889), Diʿbil's pupil. Moreover, since Diʿbil was chiefly interested in the minor poets of the Islamic period—including those of the category of Hārūn al-Rashīd, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zayyāt (d. 233/847), and Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād (d. 240/854)—his work can be regarded as a defence of the "modern poets" which preceded and anticipated that of the *Kitāb al-Shiʿr* by Ibn Ḳutayba.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 78, S I, 121-2; *Fihrist*, 161; *Aghānī*, xviii, 29-60; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr* (De Goeje), 593-541; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 382-5, ii, 342; iv, 143; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *al-Waraḳa*, Cairo 1373/1953, 17, 123; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ al-muḥdathīn*, ed. A. Eghbal, London 1939 (GMS, NS., xiii), 124-7; Masʿūdī, Murūdj, index; al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1354/1935, 244; al-Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif*, Cairo 1354/1935, 168; Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1325/1907, i, 64; Ibn Hadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1358/1939, ii, 102; idem, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ii, 430-2. (L. Zolondek)

ḌIDD, ναντίον, "contrary" is one of the four classes of opposites, ἀντικείμενα, *mutaḳābilāt*, as discussed by Aristotle in his Categories x (and also in his Metaphysics v, 10). There are four classes of opposites: 1) relative terms; 2) contraries; 3) privation and possession; 4) affirmation and negation. The fact that there are contraries implies that there must be a substratum in which they inhere, for it is impossible, even for God, to change, *e.g.*, the White into the Black, although a white thing may become black. There are things which have necessarily one of two contraries, *e.g.*, illness and health, for every animal is either sick or healthy (Galen, however, distinguishes three conditions of the body, *corpus salubre*, *corpus insalubre* and *corpus neuter*) and there are contraries which allow an intermediate term, for not all bodies are necessarily black or white. The question whether there is an intermediate term between virtue and vice was much debated by the Stoics who originally denied this, for whether a man is a hundred stadia from his aim or only one stadium, he is equally not there. In Islam the question whether there is a medium term between faith and unbelief was much discussed and those theologians who asserted that belief is based only on *taṣdīḳ* assent, (for faith as a θεοσεβείας συγκατάθεσις see for example, Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom*, ii, 2.8) held that faith can be neither increased nor diminished.

Ḍidd is used also as a translation of the Greek prefix ἀντί. So ἀντίδοτον is translated by *ḍidd al-samm* or simply by *al-ḍidd*.

Bibliography: See, *e.g.*, Ibn Rushd, *Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-Maʿḳūlāt* (ed. Bouyges), Beirut 1932, 92; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Maʿḳūlāt*, ed. Cairo 1958, 241. See also Aḍdād. (S. van den Bergh)

DIDJLA, the Arabic name (used always without the article *al-*) of the easterly of the "Two Rivers" of ʿIrāḳ, the Tigris. The name is a modernized and Arabicized form of the Diglat of the Cuneiform, and occurs as Ḥiddeḳel in the Book of Genesis.

The river (Dicle Nehri in modern Turkish) rises in the southern slopes of the main Taurus, south and south-east of Lake Golcük. Its upper course, with its many constituent tributaries, drains a wide area of foothills and plain, which formed the northern half of the ʿAbbāsid province of Djazīra) in which stood the important towns of Āmid (modern Diyarbakır), Mayyāfāriḳīn, and many others. Among the early tributaries the Arab geographers (Ibn Sarābiyūn, Muḳaddasī, Yāḳūt) name the Nahr al-Kilāb (alternatively Nahr al-Dhiʾb), the Wādī Ṣalb, Wādī Sātīdamā and Wādī al-Sarbaṭ. Identifications of these are not certain with the modern tributaries which are notably (in their Turkish forms) the Zulkarneyn Suyu, the Ambar-Çay, the Pamuk Çayı, the Batman Suyu and the Garzan Suyu. At the point where the river bends from eastward to southward, at the modern Til or Till (medieval Tall Fāfān) the Bohtan Çayı enters from the east, and at least doubles the discharge of the Didjla: this, the Wādī al-Zarm of the Arab geographers, drains the high mountains south of Lake Vān including the areas of Bidlīs (modern Bitlis), and Siʾird (modern Siirt). Above this junction, 50 miles to the west, lay the important town of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, modern Ḥasankayf.

Between the entry of the Bohtan Çayı and that of the Greater Zāb, Arab geographers mention as tributaries the Nahr Baznā, the Nahr Bāʾaynāthā (or Bāsānfā, or Saffān) the Būyār and the Wādī Dūsha. The identification of these with each of the present-day hill streams is uncertain. The Khābūr al-Ḥasaniyya (modern Khābūr) with its tributary the Iṭayzil Su, forms today the Turkish-ʿIrāḳī boundary. The town of Ḥasaniyya (probably the modern Zakho) contained a famous bridge. No main tributary except the Abu Maryā (modern Wādī al-Murr, joining the Didjla at Eski Mosul, the former Balad), and many small left-bank flood-channels, comes in south of the Khānbūr till the Greater Zāb is reached, 30 miles below the great city of Mosul (al-Mawṣil), itself a Sāsānid city which grew to greatness under the Umayyads.

The Greater Zāb (al-Zāb al-Aʿẓam) which rises partly in the Ḥakārī mountains and partly in those which form the Perso-ʿIrāḳī frontier, contribute a highly important volume to the Didjla. The same is true of the Lesser Zāb, which joins the river some 60 miles to the south, having drained a wide sector of the Perso-ʿIrāḳī frontier region. The point of junction of the Greater Zāb was in the middle ages marked by the town of Ḥadītha, that of the Lesser Zāb by Sinn; neither of these survives. There are no intermediate tributaries, but it is possible that a stream or streams, rising in Djabal Sindjār, may in some periods have found an outlet for their flood water into the Didjla near Ḳalʿa Sharḳaṭ.

Below the point where the river cuts through Djabal Ḥamrīn (at al-Fatḥa) it appears that, at or above Takrīt, the Wādī Tharthār (which may in some flood seasons have drawn water from the (western) Khābūr drainage-area, which belongs more naturally to the Euphrates) poured its waters into the Tigris passing by al-Ḥaḍr: Yāḳūt speaks even of a formerly navigable Euphrates-Tigris channel in this area. Lands in the Didjla drainage area above Takrīt have at all periods been rain-irrigated, and have therefore risked drought but not floods; skin-bucket water-lift devices (the modern *karad*) assured crops along the river-banks. The great mediaeval (and in part much more ancient) canal-system of ʿIrāḳ began below Takrīt. The Nahr al-Isḥāḳī, doubtless a partially-controlled spring-flood channel, took off from the right bank and after the expenditure of its waters in irrigation

poured the remainder into the river below Sāmarrā. South of the latter the Dudjayl took off also from the right bank, and (it is said) was sometimes augmented from the tails of Euphrates canals; it returned to the river at varying points south of ʿUkbarā. The course of the main river between a point south of Sāmarrā and one not far north of Baghdād (that is, for some 70 miles) lay in ʿAbbāsid times some five to twelve miles west of its modern channel, with the towns of Ḳādisiyya, al-ʿAlth, ʿUkbarā and Rashīdiyya on its banks. Many flood-season irrigation canals led off from this stretch of the river which later, when partially or wholly abandoned (perhaps by the 7th/13th century), was known as the Shuṭayṭ or Little River.

On the left bank the great Ḳāṭūl-Tāmarrā-Nahrawān waterway, probably initiated in Sāsānid times and improved under the early ʿAbbāsids, took off from the main river near Dūr (15 miles above Sāmarrā), and ran, at a maximum distance of 30 miles from it and nearly parallel, to re-join the Didjla near (modern) Kūt al-Amāra (medieval Mādharāyā) having received into its left bank, and somehow disposed of, the very important waters of the ʿUẓaym and the Diyālā which—especially the latter—are today major tributaries of the Didjla. (See NAHRAWĀN and DIYĀLĀ). Important canals taking off from the right bank of the Nahrawān system included the Khāliṣ (which still exists under that name, but with different alignment) and the Bīn; the waters of these made possible a closely-cultivated area north of Baghdād, and in part supplied the city itself.

Bringing Euphrates water, thanks to its proximity in this area (minimum, 20 miles) and to the slight eastward dip of central ʿIrāḳ, a number of large canals took off from that river and poured the unutilized portion of their waters into the Didjla at various points between Baghdād city and Mādharāyā. These were the Nahr al-ʿĪsā (approximately but not identically the modern Ṣaḳlāwiyya), the Ṣarṣār and the Malik (corresponding to the modern Abū Ghurayb and Raḍwāniyya), the Kūthā and the Nīl, the last of which took off just above Ḥilla (and the ruins of Babylon) and joined the Didjla not far above (modern) Kūt. Alike on these canals, on the main river channel, and on the parallel Nahrawān system, a relatively dense population lived in mediaeval times, cultivating by flow-water and lift.

Mādharāyā marked the spot from which, downstream, the greatest difference between the mediaeval and modern courses of the river was manifest. In ʿAbbāsid times the present course, by way of modern ʿAlī al-Gharbī, Ḳalʿa Ṣāliḥ and ʿAmāra was unimportant or (unless in high flood) non-existent; the main river ran down or near the channel of the (present) river Ḥayy or Gharrāf, past the great mediaeval but now vanished city of Wāsiṭ, and the sites of the modern towns of Ḥayy, Ḳalʿa Sikr, and Shaṭra. The change to the modern course of the Didjla (which had also probably prevailed in pre-Islamic antiquity), permitting to the Gharrāf a far smaller but considerable discharge, took place gradually from late ʿAbbāsid times onwards and was (on the evidence of European travellers) nearly complete by the 10th/16th century. Under the ʿAbbāsids the Didjla, like the Euphrates, poured its waters, except in so far as used for irrigation higher up, into the swamps (al-Baṭāʾiḥ) about 60 miles below Wāsiṭ, a vast area of water which, corresponding to but much larger than the Ḥammār Lake of today, took the full flood-discharge of both the great ʿIrāḳī rivers, and was in its turn drained into the Persian Gulf by the single water-way called in the Middle Ages Didjla al-ʿAwraʾ (one-eyed Didjla), and in modern times the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab. Ḳurna stood on the Shaṭṭ al-ʿAwraʾ a little below its point of emergence from al-Baṭāʾiḥ, and below it villages and towns were continuous. Dry land, created by the deposited silt of the Two Rivers and of the Kārūn, had in early ʿAbbāsid times pushed out as far as (modern) Ābādān, and later ruined this seaport by advancing further. Many irrigation canals (including those serving Baṣra, the Maʿḳil and Ubulla canals) took off from the Didjla al-ʿAwraʾ in the area today covered by extensive date gardens and numerous villages. Seagoing ships of the Caliphs could ascend the Didjla through the swamp to well above Wāsiṭ.

Although, as mentioned above, the Didjla has changed its course in more than one area since the Middle Ages, and although an idea of the canal system derived from it can be gained from the contemporary geographers and from remaining traces, it is evident that this system was under constant modification between the 2nd/8th and the 7th/13th centuries, until it was substantially destroyed by the Mongols in the middle of the latter. The alignment and degree of water control, and the discharge of the canals, varied from century to century; most were seasonal flood-channels without head-works, and the solution if any found for disposal of the devastating annual floods does not satisfactorily appear. Nevertheless, irrigation from the Didjla—and rain cultivation in the north—undoubtedly supported a population perhaps three times more numerous than that of today, in a host of cities and villages now forgotten. During the centuries following the ruin caused by Hūlāgū (656/1258) conditions fell to a low point of disorganization, misery and stagnation, during which the régime of the river deterioriated and all control was lost. No serious study of its problems was made thereafter until the 14th/20th century.

The efforts of the modern ʿIrāḳ Governments have been concentrated on such irrigation works as will stabilize the course of the river, prevent the extremely serious annual flooding of the country side—and almost of Baghdād itself—and regulate and conserve the water for summer irrigation upon which, in central and southern ʿIrāḳ, all cultivation other than precarious spring crops must depend. Many control works have been built, notably in 1357/1938 the Kūt Barrage which regulates the supply into the Ḥayy (Gharrāf) river; many more, and major flood-disposal arrangements—for instance, on the Greater Zāb, and by utilizing the Wādī Tharthār—are in hand or planned. But the immense difference between the high water and the low water discharge of the river, varying between some 6000 to 300 cubic metres a second at Baghdād, due to seasonal melting of snow in the north and to winter and spring rains, and the inadequacy of the river bed to take the flood water, combine to render the Didjla peculiarly difficult to control or utilize. The important extension of irrigation by mechanical pump from the Didjla has been a striking feature of the period since 1346/1927.

The river contains large quantities of indifferent or low-quality fish.

In modern as in ancient and mediaeval times, all the traditional types of river-craft—skin-borne rafts floating downstream from Mosul or the Zābs, bitumen-covered coracles, sailing-craft and paddled

skiffs of every size have been and are in use. They have been supplemented regularly between Baṣra and Baghdād (and rarely and precariously between Baghdād and Mosul) by river steamers since 1256/1840, and by motor-launches and tugs. In addition to public passenger and goods services, the work of river-steamship fleets has made an important contribution in both World Wars; the navigational difficulties are, nevertheless, formidable. The railway, of which a first German-made section (Baghdād-Sāmarrā) was opened in 1332/1914, now runs from Baghdād to Mosul along the right bank of the river, and north of Mosul branching westward joins the Turkish system. Main roads, successors to immemorial tracks, follow the course of the river in many areas. The river passes through the administrative provinces, in Turkey, of Diyārbakır, Siirt and Mardin, and in ʿIrāḳ those of Mosul, Irbīl, Baghdād, Kūt al-Amāra, ʿAmāra and Baṣra.

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(R. Hartmann-[S. H. Longrigg])

DIDO, a people comprising five small Ibero-Caucasian Muslim nationalities, whose total number reaches, according to a 1955 estimate, some 18,000. Ethnically close to the Andi [*q.v.*] and the Avar [*q.v.*], they inhabit the most elevated and inaccessible regions of Central Dāghistān, near to the Georgian frontier.

It is necessary to distinguish:

1. The Dido proper (Tsez Tsunta), numbering about 7,200, distributed in 36 *awl*s along the upper reaches of the Ori-Tskalis.

2. The Bežeta (Kapuči, Kapčui, Beshite, Khwanal), the most developed of the Dido peoples (2,500 in the 1926 census, 2,580 in 1933), who inhabit the three *awl*s of Bežeta, Khodjar-Khota, and Tladal, in the district of Tlarata.

3. Khwarshi (Kwan), 1561 in 1920, 1614 in 1933, living in five *awls* on the upper reaches of the Ori-Tskalis shortly before it flows into the Koysu of Andi.

4. The Khunzal (Gunzal, Nakhad, Enzeli, Enseba, Gunzeb), 799 in 1920, 616 in 1933, in the four *awl*s of Tlarata district on the upper reaches of the Avar Koysu.

5. The Ginukh, numbering a few hundreds.

The Dido peoples were converted to Islam by the Avars, and like them are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī rite. Each Dido race has its own language, not committed to writing, belonging to the Avar-Ando-Dido group of the Dāghistān branch of the Ibero-Caucasian languages, but the Dido are in general bilingual, and Avar serves as their cultural language.

The geographical position of the Dido peoples has protected them from external influences, and because of this they have retained patriarchal customs and Muslim traditions more than have the Andi. The Avar influence is less noticeable among them, except for the Bežeta, than among the Andi; and their integration within the Avar nation is less advanced. Russian linguistic influence is barely noticeable.

The economy of the Dido remains traditional; they subsist by fodder-production (maize, potatoes), by sheep-raising over changing pasture-lands, and by terraced horticulture. They are well-known for their craftsmanship: goldsmiths' work among the Dido and the Bežeta, and leatherwork among the Khunzal.

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(Ch. Quelquejay)

DIENNÉ, a town in the Sudan Republic, 360 km. SW of Timbuctoo and 200 km. ENE of Segou. Geographical position: lat. 13° 55′ N.—long. 4° 33′ W. (Gr.). Altitude: 278 m.

The etymology of this name (often wrongly spelt Djenné) is unknown but the most likely is Dianna = the little Dia (Dia is an ancient Sudanese town, 70 km. to the NW.). Dienné was mentioned for the first time in 1447 by the Genoese Malfante, under the name Geni.

The town is situated in the flood-area of the Niger and the Bani, 5 km. from the left bank of the latter river, to which it is connected by a navigable channel. It is built on a hill of sandy clay not subject to flooding, though surrounded by water particularly during the flood season, which normally lasts from August to February; and it is then that movement in the district is easiest, owing to the network of navigable channels between the Bani and the Niger, the most important and most freely used being the Kouakourou channel. In the dry season the town is linked up with surrounding districts by tracks which can be used by motor vehicles.

In area, Dienné extends for 900 m. from east to west, and 600 m. from north to south. Until the end of the 19th century it was surrounded by a brick wall; this was destroyed by the French who also cleared and laid out a large square in the town.

The population which has remained the same since 1900 is about 6,300; of these, 3,000 are Diennenké, 1,600 Fulani and 1,600 Bozo. Several languages are spoken, Songhai, Bozo and Fula among others.

The date on which the town was founded is not known. The *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, trans. Houdas, 23, mentions a first settlement at Zoboro, the foundation of the town in about 150/767 and the conversion to Islam in about 500/1106. It seems more likely that the actual date of founding was later: M. Delafosse puts it at about 648/1250 and attributes it to Soninke merchants, the Nono; according to him, the inhabitants' conversion to Islam followed in about 700/1300. Legend has it that a Bozo virgin, Tapama, was immured alive in the walls at the instigation of magicians, in order to ensure the future prosperity of the town.

When chief Konboro was converted he pulled down his palace and, on the foundations, built the great mosque which remained standing until about 1830 when it was destroyed by Shaykhu Aḥmadu.

Konboro's descendants remained in power until the Songhai conquest.

In spite of the well-known passage in *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* (26) stating that from the time the town was founded the inhabitants of Dienné were never conquered by any king until the day when Sonni Ali imposed his authority over them, there is a strong possibility that, after 735/1335, the city belonged to Mali. It must have regained its liberty fairly soon, before being captured by Sonni Ali (872/1467).

The Songhai domination was very favourable to Dienné and it seems that it was from this time onwards in particular that it became a commercial centre of the highest importance in the Sudan. In direct communication with Timbuctoo by river, it was also situated at the head of the overland routes leading to the gold mines of Bitou (Bonduku region, Ivory Coast), Lobi and Bouré. It was the great entrepot for salt from Teghaza on its way via Timbuctoo to the countries in the south.

The first account to speak of the town is the *Descripçam* ..... by Valentim Fernandes (1506): "Gyni is a large town built of rock and limestone, surrounded by a wall. To it come the merchants visiting the gold mines. These dealers belong to one particular race, the *Ungaros* (*Wangara*), who are red or brownish ..... When these Ungaros come to Gyni, each merchant brings with him 100 or 200 or more negro slaves to carry salt on their heads from Gyni to the gold mines, and to bring back gold. Merchants who trade with the gold mines deal in considerable sums. Some of them undertake a deal which may amount to 60,000 *mithḳāl*; even those who are content merely to take salt to Gyni make 10,000 *mithḳāl* ..... The Ungaros only come to Gyni once a year".

Leo Africanus (1525) repeats the theme of the town's prosperity, describing it under the name Ghinea (ii, 465-485).

This prosperity was maintained throughout the 16th century, and even to the beginning of the Moroccan domination. In fact Dienné followed the fate of her sister town, Timbuctoo, which from 1000/1591 was occupied by the Moroccans of Djūdhar. The *ḳāʾids* of Timbuctoo had no difficulty in compelling Dienné to recognize their overlordship. In Dienné the Moroccan authority was represented by a pasha, a *ḥākim* assisted by an *amīn* or treasurer and a *ḳāʾid* in command of the troops.

In the middle of the 17th century the *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* once again described (22 ff.) a town at the height of prosperity: "This town is large, flourishing and prosperous; it is rich, and enjoys Heaven's blessing and favour .... Dienné is one of the great markets of the Muslim world. It is the meeting-place for merchants with salt from the mines of Teghaza and others bringing gold from the Bitu mines. Almighty God has drawn to this blessed town a certain number of scholars and men of piety, strangers in this country who have come here to live".

The town's two-fold reputation for commerce and religion continued even after the decline of Timbuctoo in the 17th and 18th centuries; protected by its marshes, Dienné was able to hold its own in spite of the attacks of the Bambara [*q.v.*] who for a time even succeeded in making themselves masters of the Dienneri but were unable to take the capital.

After 1818, Shaykhu Aḥmadu founded the Fulani empire of Massina and took Dienné after a well-conducted siege. He drove out part of the population and built a new mosque (on the site now occupied by the school) in place of the old one which he allowed to fall into ruin. He left the administration of the city to the people of Dienné, but he was represented by an *Amīru mangal*, military commander. It was at this time (1828) that René Caillié visited the town. The Fulani rule lasted until 1861-1862 when al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar conquered Dienné. In 1893, Colonel Archinard took possession in the name of France. By bringing peace to the Sudan, French rule paradoxically enough led to the decline of Dienné, for what had previously been the source of its strength, its isolated position surrounded by flood-waters, in the 20th century became a source of weakness. The town's commercial functions were taken over by Mopti which is situated at the confluence of the Bani and the Niger, and is connected by a dyke with dry land. Dienné is no more than a second-rate local market and centre of the administrative sub-division.

The town has kept its beautiful old houses, built in the style which was peculiar to itself, now widespread and known as the "Sudanese style"; the old mosque, built before the 19th century, has been rebuilt in the old style on the same foundations.

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DIFRĪGĪ [see diwrīgī].

DIGLAL, the title of the hereditary ruler of the Banī ʿĀmir tribal group in the Agordat district of western Eritrea and in the eastern Sudan; he is also senior member of the aristocratic Nabtab class or caste, who, for historical reasons no longer possible to elucidate, form the superior stratum in every Banī ʿĀmir section. The title is believed of Fundj origin, and may recall days when the tribe was, in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, intermittently tribute-paying to the Nilotic but Muslim Fundj dynasty of Sennar. The insignia of the Diglal's position include notably a red velvet three-cornered hat of unique design.

The Diglal, whose relations with Ethiopian, Italian and British rulers of Eritrea have varied in the manner usual with feudal or tribal potentates, has at his best exercised good control over the lawless, scattered and wholly nomadic Banī ʿĀmir, themselves numerous (some 60,000 in Eritrea in 1936-44, and 30,000 in the Sudan), varied in origin (containing an original Hamitic base with large admixtures of Sudani, Ethiopian and Nilotic stocks), and speaking the Beja or Tigré languages according to subtribe or section. Indeed, the Diglal's traditional position, unchallenged for four centuries, has been a main unifying force in a group otherwise highly heterogeneous.

He lives normally in a main settlement of the Dagga (Dega, Dāga), a term which, by origin the "camp" of himself and his immediate circle, now signifies that section of the Banī ʿĀmir (numerically the largest) which contains the Diglal's family,

retainers and slaves, and the descendents and numerous accretions of these.

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DIGURATA [see OSSETES].

DIHISTĀN, name of two towns, and their respective districts in north-eastern Īrān:

1) A town north-east of Harāt, the capital of the southern part of the Bādghīs [*q.v.*] region, and the second largest town in that region ("half the size of Būshandj"), and according to Yāķūt (i, 461), the capital of the whole of Bādghīs around the year 596/1200. The town was situated upon a hill in a fertile area, and near a silver mine; it was built of brick. In 98/716-7, Dihistān is mentioned as the seat of a Persian *dihķān* (Ṭabarī, ii, 1320); ca. 426/1035, it came into the possession of a Turkish *dihķān* (these titles persisted amongst the Turks) by the agency of the Saldjūķs (to whom the Ghaznawids had left it). In 552/1158, it was the residence of the Oghuz prince Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Aytaķ, who, as the only ruler of this district, became subject to Khwārizmshāh Il Arslan (Bayhaķī, *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķ*). The Khwārizmshāh Sulṭān Shāh was robbed of his succession by his brother Tekesh, and fled with his mother Terken (Islamicized: Turkān) to Dihistān in 569/1174. Following this, Tekesh occupied the town of Dihistān, and had Terken executed; Sulṭān Shāh succeeded in escaping further to the Ghūrids (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 247/53). The town does not appear to have played an important part later on. It is probably to be equated with the modern shrine Khwādja Dihistān.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 268 f.; Ibn Ḥawķal 319 f.; Muķaddasī, 50, 298, 308; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 153, trans. (1919), 151; Le Strange, 414 f.; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr* ..... (1901), 150; J. Markwart (= idem), *Wehrot und Arang* (1938), 40; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 308, 335, 338; Spuler, *Iran*, 311.

2) A region rich in agriculture, to the north of the lower Atrek [*q.v.*], which waters its southern section. Its capital is Akhur (4 days' journey to the north of Djurdjān), which, according to Muķaddasī (358 f.), also bore the name of Dihistān, and was on the route from Djurdjān to Khwārizm. There was also a frontier fortification (Ribāṭ) by the name of Dihistān, with beautiful mosques and an active market (Muķaddasī, 358, compare also *ibid.*, 312, 367, 372; and see below). W. Barthold regards this fortress as the capital of the whole region in the 12th century, and bases this view on Yāķūt (i, 39). Islamic data concerning the area are not consistent and lack clarity: according to Ibn Ḥawķal (i, 277, 286; ii, 388, 398), the region was sparsely populated, and only by fishermen from the Caspian Sea. Muķaddasī, on the other hand, reckons the 24 villages of this area amongst the most densely populated of the region of Djurdjān.

According to the Middle Persian list of towns, Dihistān was founded by the Arsacid Narsahē (J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr* [1901], 54, 73, 310); in Islamic times, the Sāsānid Ķubādh b. Fīrūz (Pērōz) is mentioned (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, [1915], 160; trans. [1919], 157; comp. also index). In the 4th/10th century, the area was a border region [against the 'heathen' Turks], and even Ḥamd Allāh, 212 (trans. 205) mentions it as such in the 14th century. At this time it can only have referred to a few nomad tribes between Khwārizm and the Üst Yurt, as by then, Islamization—even of the Mongols of Transoxania—was complete.

The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, ed. V. Minorsky (1937), 60, mentions the peninsula *Dihistānān Sūr* (?), inhabited by fishermen and birdhunters, which W. Barthold takes to be the modern Cape Ḥasan Ķulī (to the north of the mouth of the Atrek). This is hardly possible, if Iṣṭakhrī's data (219) are correct: he states that there are 50 parasangs between the mouth of the river Djurdjān and this peninsula, and this would get on to the region of the Bay of Ķzîl Suw (Russian: Krasnovodsk).

V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 386, connects the name of Dihistān with the name of the ancient *Daher* (Δάαι) (concerning these, compare W. Tomaschek in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, iv, 12 [1901], col. 1945/6). Today, the ruins of Ribāṭ Dihistān (as can be gathered from an inscription in a mosque of the beginning of the 13th century) are known as Mashhad-i Miṣriyyān [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text: *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaķī*, Tehran 1946, index [but note that the vocalization Dahistān demanded on 135[5]—in view of the derivation from Δάαι—contradicts Yāķūt and the other Islamic sources]; Samʿānī, *K. al-ansāb*, 1922 (GMS xx), fol. 234 v (gives the correct vocalization); Nikbī (in Narshakhī, ed. Ch. Schefer), 144; Gg. Hoffmann, *Syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer* (1880), 277-81; W. Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana* (History of irrigation in Turkestan) (1914), 31-7; Le Strange, 337-82; Spuler, *Iran*, 430, 455, 464[4]; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, index. (B. SPULER)

DIHĶAN, arabicized form of *dehkān*, the head of a village and a member of the lesser feudal nobility of Sāsānian Persia. The power of the *dihķāns* derived from their hereditary title to the local administration. They were an immensely important class, although the actual area of land they cultivated as the hereditary possession of their family was often small. They were the representatives of the government vis-à-vis the peasants and their principal function was to collect taxes; and, in the opinion of Christensen, it was due to their knowledge of the country and people that sufficient revenue was provided for the upkeep of a luxurious court and the cost of expensive wars (*L'Iran sous les Sasanides*[2], Copenhagen 1944, 112-3). Masʿūdī divides the *dihķāns* into five classes, distinguished from one another by their dress (*Murūdj*, ii, 241). Persian legend imputes their origin to Vēghard, brother of the legendary king Hūshang (Christensen, *Le premier homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des iraniens*, i, 144, 150, 151, 153, 155, 159). After the Arab conquest the *dihķāns* continued to be responsible for local administration and the collection of tribute from the protected communities; many of them were converted to Islam and largely retained their lands (von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii, 160). In Transoxania, where immediately before the Arab invasion the *dihķāns* had enjoyed perhaps greater influence than in Persia in that their power was not limited by that of the monarchy and the Zoroastrian clergy, the local rulers as well as the landowners were designated by the term *dihķān* (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 180-1; and see Narshakhī, *Ta'rīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Mudarris Riżavī, 7, 72). The power of the Ṭāhirids and Sāmānids was largely founded on their community of interest with the *dihķāns*; but by the end of the Sāmānid period the *dihķāns* had become discontented and were in part responsible

for the eventual overthrow of the Sāmānid dynasty by Bughrā Khān Hārūn b. Mūsā, the Ilak Khān (Barthold, 257, 307). With the spread of the *iḳṭā'* system in the 5th/11th century and the depression of the landowning classes the position and influence of the *dihḳān*s diminished. With this the term *dihḳān* became debased and by the 5th/11th century it was also used to denote a peasant, in which sense it is used by Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*Dīwān*, Tehrān 1304-7 A.H. solar, 557) and Kā'ūs b. Iskandar (*Ḳābūs nāma*, G.M.S., 138). On the other hand under the Saldjūḳs the *dihḳān*s appear to have continued to exist in the eastern part of the empire as village heads or landowners. The term would appear to have this sense in a document issued by the *dīwān* of Sandjar (*'Aṭabat al-kataba*, ed. 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Tehrān 1950, 53, 55) and in a diploma for the *mi'mār* of Khwārazm belonging to the latter half of the 6th century A.H. (Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Mu'ayyad Baghdādī, *al-Tarassul ilā 'l-tarassul*, ed. Bahmanyār, Tehrān 1315 A.H. solar, 113, 114). Similarly Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī uses the term *dihḳān* to mean landowner (*Mirṣād al-'ibād*, Tehrān 1312 A.H. solar, 294 ff.). Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (*Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī*, Lahore, lith., 180-1) and Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (*Akhlāḳ-i Djalālī*, lith., 278), however, seem to use *dihḳān* simply in the sense of peasant, which is its meaning in modern Persia also. In Turkistan farmers are called *dihḳān* (*RMM*, xiii, 1911, 568).

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AL-DIHLAWĪ, NŪR AL-ḤAḲḲ [see NŪR AL-ḤAḲḲ AL-DIHLAWĪ].

AL-DIHLAWĪ, SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH, the popular name of ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AḤMAD ABU'L-FAYYĀḌ, a revolutionary Indian thinker, theologian, pioneer Persian translator of the Ḳur'ān, and traditionist, the first child of the 60-year-old Shāh 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Umarī of Dihlī, by his second wife, was born in 1114/1703 at Dihlī, four years before the death of Awrangzīb. A precocious child, he memorized the Ḳur'ān at the early age of seven and completed his studies with his father, both in the traditional and rational sciences, at the age of fifteen. On the death of his father in 1131/1719 he succeeded him as the principal of the religious college, *Madrasa Raḥīmiyya*, which Shāh 'Abd al-Raḥīm had founded, at Dihlī. This institution, in later years, produced a galaxy of brilliant scholars and was the fore-runner of the famous *Dār al-'Ulūm* at Deōband [*q.v.*]. In 1143/1730 Walī Allāh went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina and stayed in al-Ḥidjāz for 14 months before returning to India in 1145/1732. He took advantage of his stay in Medina to learn *ḥadīth* from eminent scholars like Abū Ṭāhir al-Madanī, 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣarī, and Tādj al-Dīn al-Ḳal'ī, all of whom he held in high esteem (*Anfās al-'ārifīn*, 191-3, 197-200). After his return from al-Ḥidjāz he devoted himself to writing along with his old profession of teaching. He died in 1176/1762, the author of more than forty works (*Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, vi, 407 f.). He lies buried in the family graveyard beside his father and his equally illustrious son, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī, in the Mēnhdīyān cemetery of Old Dihlī, behind the modern Central Jail.

Basically an altruist, Shāh Walī Allāh may be called the founder of Islamic modernism. He was much ahead of his times, a revolutionary thinker who attempted, although with little success, the reintegration of the socio-economic and the religio-ethical structure of Islam. His chief merit, however, lies in the propagation of the doctrine of *taṭbīḳ* (conciliation) which he skilfully applied even to such controversial problems as the *khilāfa* and the conflict between dogmatic theology and mysticism.

The reform movement outlined by Shāh Walī Allāh, which found full expression in the religio-military campaigns of Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlawī [*q.v.*] and Shāh Ismā'īl, the grandson of Walī Allāh, revolved round his concept of *maṣlaḥa*, *i.e.*, the establishment of a kind of welfare state based on the "relationship of man's development with the creative forces of the Universe". The time and the environment were both unsuited for the success of such a revolutionary movement. The inevitable result was that the movement, although launched with a great deal of fervour, soon lost impetus when faced with realities. On the other hand, the Wahhābī movement launched by his contemporary, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, [*q.v.*] succeeded, as it sternly refused to accept the idea of compromise, which constitutes the kernel of Shāh Walī Allāh's thought; he even attempted to reconcile such antithetic theories as the *waḥdat al wudjūd* [see IBN AL-'ARABĪ] and *waḥdat al-shuhūd* [see AḤMAD SIRHINDĪ].

His mission failed because both he and his successors failed correctly to assess the impact of contemporary forces and the increasing conflict of the East and West consequent on the growth of European influence in India, especially those parts of the country where Muslims dominated.

His chief works are: (a) Arabic, (i) *Ḥudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha*, his *magnum opus*, a unique work on the secrets of religion (*asrār al-dīn*), also dealing with various other subjects such as metaphysics, politics, finance and political economy. It was in this book (ed. Bareilly 1285/1868; Cairo 1322-3/1904-5), now prescribed as a course of study at al-Azhar and in the Sudan, that he propounded his revolutionary theory of "*fakk kull niẓām*" (down with all systems!). The book has also been translated into Urdū (Lahore 1953, Karachi n.d.); (ii) *al-Musawwā*, a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭā'* of Mālik b. Anas; (iii) *al-Fatḥ al-khabīr* . . . . . . the fifth and the last chapter of his Persian work *al-Fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, but with the above independent title (Lucknow 1289/1872); it is a pithy but highly useful dissertation on the principles of the science of Ḳur'ānic exegesis; (iv) and (v) *al-Budūr al-bāzigha* and *al-Khayr al-kathīr*, both on the *'ilm al-asrār*, a branch of *taṣawwuf* dealing with its truths and realities (Dābhēl n.d.); (vi) *al-Inṣāf fī bayān sabab al-ikhtilāf*, a masterly survey of the causes of the juristic differences between the various sects of Islam and the evolution of Islamic jurisprudence; (b) Persian, (vii) *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, partly in Arabic, contains *inter alia* addresses to the various

groups in Muslim society, pinpointing their vices, failings and weaknesses; (viii) *ʿIḳd al-djīd fī bayān aḥkām al-idjtihād wa ʾl-taḳlīd*, a scholarly survey of the two problems mentioned (Dihlī 1344/1925; partial Eng. transl. by M. Dāʾūd Rahbar in *MW*, xiv/4, 346-587) (ix) *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān bi tardjamat al-Ḳurʾān*, an annotated Persian translation of the Ḳurʾān, by far his greatest achievement, published several times in India and still in great demand; (x) *al-Muṣaffā*, a sister volume to the *al-Musawwā*, being a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*; (xi) *Izālat al-khafāʾ ʿan khilāfat al-khulafāʾ*; basically a vindication of the *khilāfa* of the first two caliphs, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar al-Fārūḳ, but also comprising an exhaustive discussion of the doctrine of the *khilāfa*, political theory in Islam, the basic principles of economics (*tadbīr al-manzil*), the *idjtihād* as practised by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and the significance of his judgments etc.; practically the same discussion figures in (xii) *Ḳurrat al-ʿaynayn fī tafḍīl al-shaykhayn*; (xiii) *Alṭāf al-ḳuds*, (xiv) *Fuyūḍ al-ḥaramayn* (Ar.); (xv) *Hamʿāt* (Ar.) (Urdū translation: *Taṣawwuf kī ḥaḳīḳat awr uskā falsafa-i taʾrīkh*, Lahore 1946); (xvi) *Saṭʿāt* (Ar.) and (xvii) *Lamʿāt* (Ar.), all deal with the different aspects of *taṣawwuf* as viewed by Shāh Walī Allāh; (xviii) *Anfās al-ʿārifīn*, contains an account of his ancestors, the *mashāʾikh* with whom they contracted their *bayʿa*, and the teachers of the author. This work is very useful for a critical appreciation of Shāh Walī Allāh and the evolution of his religio-political thought.

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DIHLĪ. 1. — History. The city of Dihlī, situated on the west bank of the river Djamnā [*q.v.*] and now spread out between 28° 30′ and 28° 44′ N. and 77° 5′ and 77° 15′ E., was the capital of the earliest Muslim rulers of India from 608/1211 (see DIHLĪ SULTANATE), and remained the capital of the northern dynasties (with occasional exceptions: Dawlatābād, Āgrā, and Lahore (Lāhawr), [*qq.v.*], were the centres favoured by some rulers) until the deposition of Bahādur Shāh in 1858; from 1911 it became the capital of British India, and after 1947 of Independent India.

The usual Romanized form of the name is Delhi, based on the commonest form in the earlier Muslim usage Dihlī; the common spellings in Urdū, Hindī (certainly from the time of the *Prithī Rādj Rāsō* of the 7th/13th century), and Pandjābī represent *Dillī*. The etymology is obscure; for some popular etymologies see A. Cunningham, *ASI*, i, 137 ff.

It has become popular to speak of "the seven cities of Delhi"; but the number of centres of government in the Dihlī area has in fact been nearer double that number. These are here described in approximate chronological order; all appear on the accompanying map, on which those which are no longer in existence are marked with an asterisk.

The earliest settlement was Indrapat, Sanskrit *Indraprastha*, a tell on which the present Purānā Ḳilʿa stands, supposed to have been built in legendary times by the Pāṇḍavas; the site is certainly old, and potsherds of Painted Grey ware and Northern Black Polished ware, types dating back to the 5th century B.C., as well as Kushan fragments of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., have been discovered there (see *Ancient India*, x-xi, 1955, 140, 144). The region of Dihlī seems to have been almost abandoned thereafter, for the next settlement dates from the 9th or 10th century, the Tomār city now known as Sūradj Kuṇḍ, where a large masonry tank and an earthwork are still in existence. More

extensive are the remains of the Čawhān Rādjpūt town, dating probably from the 10th century A.D., which existed immediately prior to the Muslim conquest. On a small hill in the south-west of this region a citadel, Lālkōt, was built *circa* 1052 A.D. by Ānang Pāl, and around the town an outer wall was thrown, as a defence against the Muslim invaders, by Prithwī Rādj in about 576/1180 (Cunningham, *ASI*, i, 183). Subsequent to the conquest a mosque, known as Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām, was built in 588/1192 by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, who later commenced the building of the adjoining *mīnār* not only as a *ma'dhana* but also as a commemoration of his victory; for these, their extensions by Shams al-Dīn Iletmish and ʿAlā' al-Dīn Khaldjī, and other buildings in this so-called "Qutb site" see Monuments, below. The systematic refortification and extension of these old Hindū walls was effected by the earliest governors and monarchs to form the first Muslim city of Dihlī, known by the name of its former occupant as Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā. An indication of the extent of these walls and of their periods is given in the sketch-map, Fig. 1; for a discussion of the archaeological evidence see J. D. Beglar, *ASI*, iv, 1874, 6 ff.

Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā remained the only regular residence of the Dihlī sultans until Muʿizz al-Dīn Kayḳubād built his palace at Kilōkhṛī, then on the banks of the Djamnā (Briggs, *Ferishta*, i, 274), in about 688/1289; this was occupied, completed, and its suburbs extended, by Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Khaldjī in and after 689/1290. It has now fallen completely into desuetude. Even in Djalāl al-Dīn's case the older city seems to have had a higher prestige value, and he moved his court there as soon as it was politically practicable so to do. The sultan ʿAlā' al-Dīn Khaldjī effected many improvements and repairs, including the west gate (Randjīt darwāza) of Lālkōṭ (Amīr Khusraw, trans. in Elliott and Dowson, iii, 561); he commenced also the extension of the citadel of Lālkōṭ, see Beglar, *loc. cit.*, and Fig. 1. As a protection against the invading Mongols he first established a camp on the plain of Sīrī to the north, later encompassed it by entrenchments, and finally walled it, in about 703/1303. The location of Sīrī has been questioned (*e.g.*, by C. J. Campbell, *Notes on the history and topography of the ancient cities of Delhi*, in *JASB*, xxxv, 1866, 206-14); but the descriptions of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 146, 155, and Tīmūr, *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī*, trans. in Elliott and Dowson, iii, 447, and the ruins and lines of defences on the ground, enabled Campbell's views to be

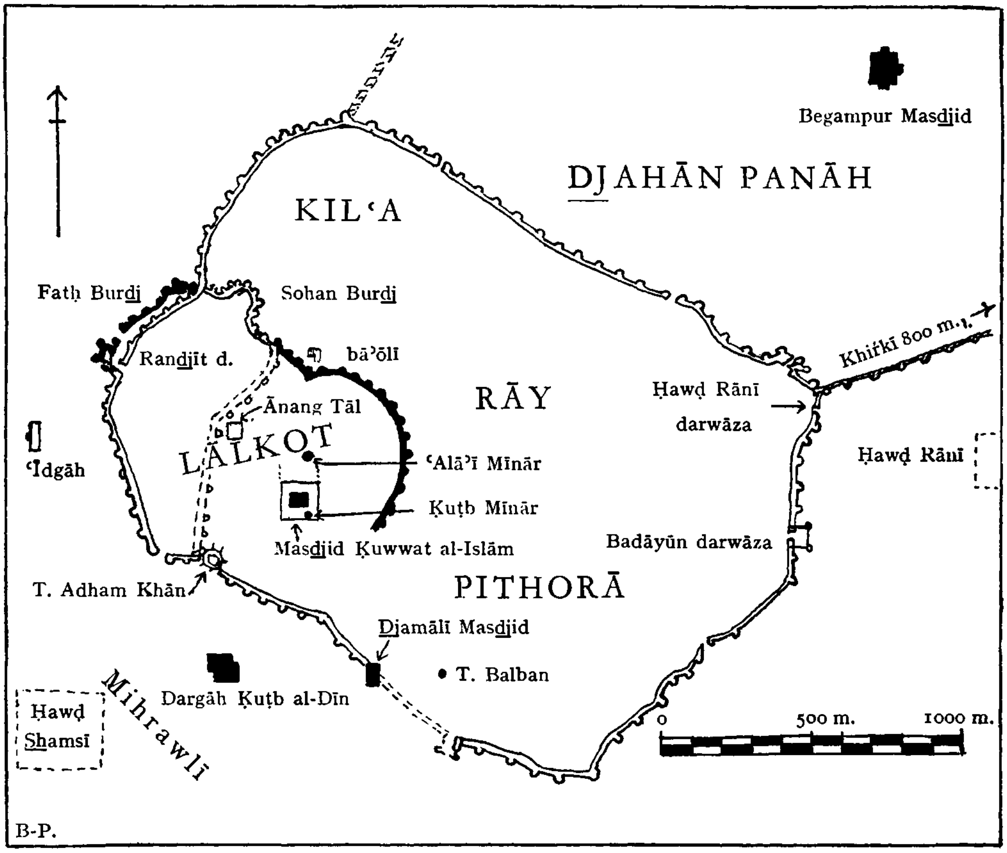

Fig. 1

Old Hindū walls — Extension of ʿAlā' al-Dīn, c. 700/1300

Walls removed by ʿAlā' al-Dīn — T = Tomb

convincingly refuted by Cunningham in *ASI*, i, 207 ff. All that now remains within the walls is the comparatively modern village of Shāhpur.

Hardly a "city of Delhi", but an important site in its history, is the group of buildings, the earliest of which date from Khaldjī times, surrounding the shrine of the Čishtī saint Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ, which make up what Piggott has described as the "squalid but entertaining complex" now known officially as "Nizamuddin" (for plan, and description of these buildings, see Monuments, below).

Some of the most ambitious building projects in the time of the Dihlī sultanate were conceived during the rule of the following Tughluḳ dynasty. Firstly, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ selected a site some 8 km. to the east of Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā, immediately after his defeat of the converted Hindū Nāṣir al-Dīn in 720/1320, for the building of his capital Tughluḳābād. The trace of the outer enceinte is approximately a half-hexagon, within which are a more strongly defended palace area, and an even stronger citadel; there are the ruins of a mosque in the city area, and the layout of the streets and houses of the streets and houses of the city, which shows it to have been well populated, can be seen from the aerial photograph in *Ancient India*, i, Plate IX. On the south of the city was formerly an artificial lake, in which stands the tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, connected to the citadel by a fortified passage supported on arches, itself fortified. Connected with Tughluḳābād by a causeway on the south-east, which formed a *band* to retain the waters of the lake, is the subsi-

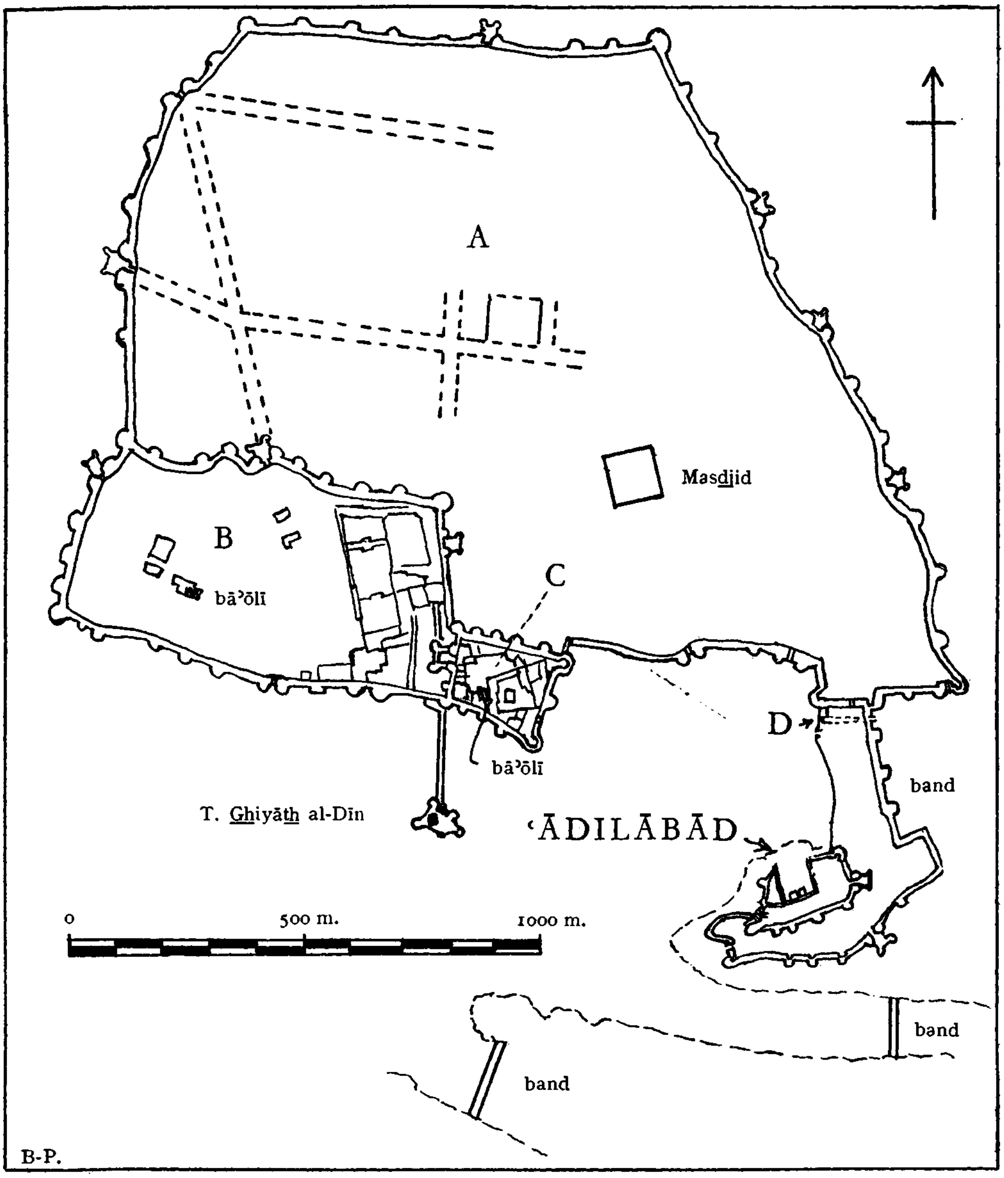

Fig. 2. Tughluḳābād

A: City B: Palace C: Citadel D: Sluices

diary fort of ʿĀdilābād built by his son Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ c. 725/1325, but abandoned by him, together with Tughluḳābād, in 729/1329 on his transfer of the capital to Dawlatābād [*q.v.*]. For these sites see Fig. 2, and the excellent article of Hilary Waddington, *ʿĀdilābād: a part of the "fourth" Delhi*, in *Ancient India*, i, 60-76, with photographs and survey plans. A small fort, known as the "Barber's" or "Washerman's" fort, to the east, machicolations, containing a palace complex, the remains of a fine mosque, and an extraordinary pyramidal structure built as a plinth for a column of Ashoka brought from near Ambālā; the isolated Ḳadam Sharīf and the nearby ʿĪdgāh show the western extent of the city to have been no further than the later Shāhdjahānābād. The extent of Fīrūz Shāh's building activity around Dihlī would indicate that the suburbs in his time were still well populated,

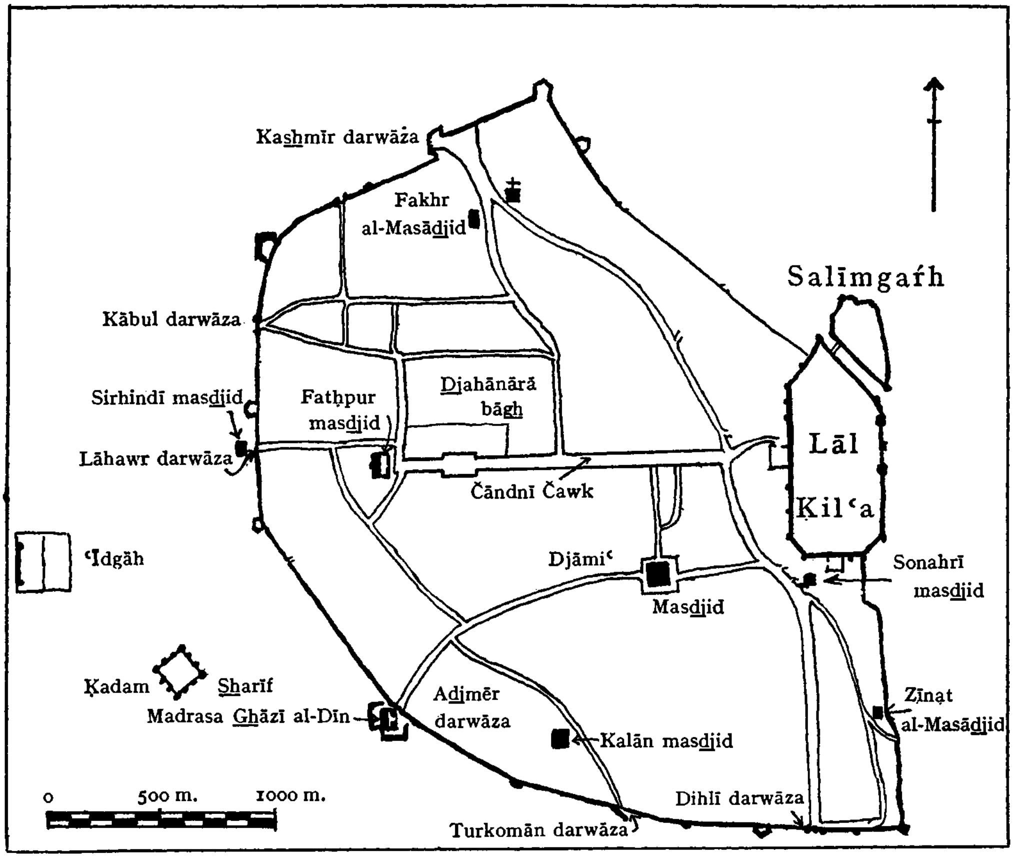

Fig. 3. Shāhdjahānābād

possibly a *madrasa* or a shrine in origin, was fortified and presumably used as a residence for Ghiyāth al-Dīn while Tughluḳābād was in building.

About contemporary with the building of ʿĀdilābād was Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's more grandiose project, the walling-in of the suburbs which had grown up between Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā and Sirī (see Map) to form yet another city, called Djahānpanāh, the walls of which, some 12 m. thick, have almost completely fallen and the exact trace of which cannot easily be located; for the sluice built into this wall near the village of Khiṛkī, the Sāt Pulāh, see *Monuments*, below.

Muḥammad's successor Fīrūz Tughluḳ was responsible for the building of another city, Fīrūzābād, extending from Indrapat to Kushk-i Shikār some 3 km. north-west of the later city of Shāhdjahānābād, and now largely covered by that latter city. Its buildings were dilapidated by later builders, especially Shīr Shāh Sūrī and Shāhdjahān, and all that remains is the citadel, known as Fīrūz Shāh Kōṭlā, its walls reduced to below the level of their as evidenced by the two large mosques in Djahānpanāh, another in Nizamuddin, and smaller ones in the northern suburbs and in Wazīrābād. A further occupied site was around the old reservoir built by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, the Ḥawḍ-i ʿAlāʾī, later known as Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ, where he established a large *madrasa* and built his own tomb.

The Tīmūrid sack caused the eclipse of Dihlī as a capital city for some time, and although the Sayyid governor Khiḍr Khān established his court at Khiḍrābād, and Mubārak Shāh his at Mubārakābād, both on the Djamnā, and the latter sultan built also his own tomb in the fortified village Mubārakpur (also Mubārikpur, Mubārik [*sic*] Shāh Kōṭlā), the Sayyids and their successors the Lōdīs built no further cities at Dihlī. The Lōdīs, indeed, moved their seat of government to Āgrā, and Dihlī became little more than a vast necropolis, the plains between Sirī and Fīrūzābād being covered with tombs and mausolea of this period; especially Khayrpur, 2 km. west of Nizamuddin, a region 1 km. west of Mubārikpur ("Tīn Burdj", *i.e.*, "three

towers"), and a region on the road to Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ (Kharērā); there was also some building in the region of the reservoir of Iletmish, Hawḍ-i Shamsī, south of the village of Mihrawlī.

After the Mughal invasions in the early 10th/16th century [see MUGHALS] Humāyūn settled at Dihlī and started the building of a citadel, Dīnpanāh, on the mound of the old Indrapat in 940/1533, but was dispossessed by the usurper Shīr Shāh Sūrī. Shīr Shāh took over and completed the building of Dīnpanāh, as the citadel of a new city, to which no particular name is given, little of which remains except the northern gate, near Fīrūz Shāh Kotlā, and the southern gate, opposite the citadel, as most of the stone was removed for the building of Shāhdjahānābād. His son and successor Islām Shāh, popularly called Salīm Shāh, built on the Djamnā the fortress Salīmgaṙh as a bulwark against the return of Humāyūn in about 957/1550. Humāyūn's return five years later added nothing to the Dihlī buildings, and the next two Mughal rulers preferred to reside at Āgrā and Lahore; some buildings at Dihlī date, however, from their time, especially the complex of monuments around Humāyūn's tomb (see S. A. A. Naqvi, *Humāyūn's tomb and adjacent buildings*, Dihlī 1947). Shāhdjahān also reigned at Āgra for 11 years, but the inconveniences there caused him to remove to Dihlī (*ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, fol. 575-6; Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, i, 183) and found there on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1048/16 April 1639 (so the contemporary historians and inscription in the Khʷābgāh; 9 Muḥarram 1049/12 May 1639 according to the *Maʾā-thir al-Umarāʾ*, iii, 464, and Sayyid Aḥmad Khān) a new fort, the citadel of his new city (Fig. 3) Shāhdjahānābād, known as the "Red Fort", Lāl ḳilʿa, which was completed after 9 years. The walling of the city proceeded at the same time, and it was enriched with many more buildings in the reign of Shāhdjahān and his successors (notably the Djāmiʿ masdjid, commenced two years after the completion of the fort), who made no further expansions of any of the successive cities. Shāhdjahānābād continued to be the capital of the Mughal rulers—except for Awrangzīb, who spent much time in the Deccan and died at Awrangābād [*q.v.*]—although other sites around continued to be used; *e.g.*, the Humāyūn's tomb complex, Nizamuddin, and the *dargāh*s of Rōshan Čirāgh-i Dihlī in Djahānpanāh and of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Kākī at Mihrawlī were all used as burial places for the later Mughal rulers, and at Mihrawlī is a small summer palace used by the latest Mughals.

With the fall of the Mughal dynasty in 1858, the destruction of many buildings by the British during and after the mutiny, and the transfer of the capital to Calcutta, Dihlī became a town of less importance, the head of a local administration and a garrison town. The British expansion was to the north of Shāhdjahānābād, where the Civil Lines were established; here the capital was transferred in 1911, and the building of the new city commenced, originally known as Raisena, later New Delhi, *Naʾī Dillī*. Later expansion has been westwards of Shāhdjahānābād in the Sabzī Mandī, Karōl Bāgh, and Ṣadr Bāzār quarters; south of Khayrpur and on the road to Mihrawlī; and around the Cantonment, north of the Gurgāʾōn road, and the new airport of Pālam.

Some confusions of nomenclature, omitted in the above description, must be mentioned. Lālkōt and Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā were known as "Old Dihlī" as long ago as Tīmūr's time, and this phrase was in regular use in the early British period; since the building of New Delhi the expression "Old Delhi" has often been falsely applied to Shāhdjahānābād. After the building of Shāhdjahān's new fort, Lāl ḳilʿa, the older fort of Humāyūn and Shīr Shāh was regularly known as the "Old Fort", Purānā Ḳilʿa or Ḳilʿa-i kuhnā.

2. — Monuments. As the buildings of Dihlī present the earliest monuments of a settled Islamic power in the sub-continent, and as it was there that the first characteristic Indian Islamic styles developed, the influence of which was to spread far and wide from Dihlī itself, the account of the monuments given here is confined to a simple description of the major works, arranged chronologically, and an account of the architectural features of the monumental complexes of buildings of different periods.

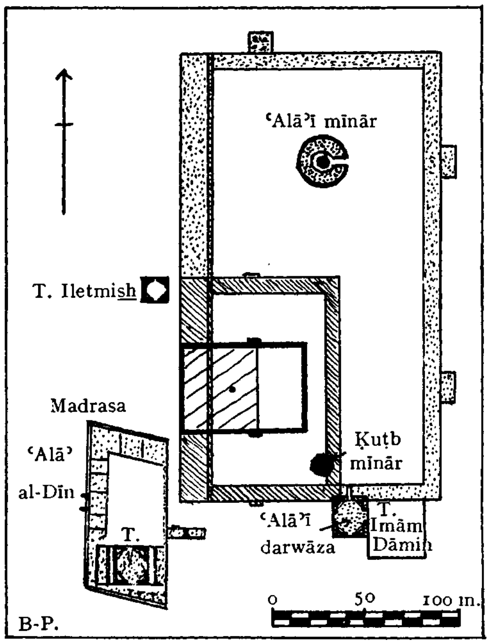

Fig. 4. Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām

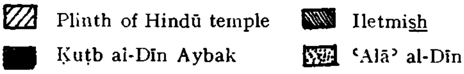

For a treatment of the styles, with plates and detailed drawings, see HIND, Architecture.

The earliest phase of Muslim building in Dihlī is represented, as in the earliest stages in other sites (see ADJMĒR, BHARŌČ, BĪDJĀPUR, DAWLATĀBĀD, DHĀR, DJAWNPUR, GAWṘ, GUDJARĀT, MĀNḌŪ, TRIBĒNI) by the re-utilization of pillaged Hindū temple material. This applied to the first mosque constructed in India, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak's Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām, earliest inscription 587/1191-2, in Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā: on a temple plinth 37.8 m. by 45.4 m. is constructed the central court, 65.2 m. by 45.4 m., with colonnades of three bays on the east and two on north and south; the western *līwān* is four bays in depth, originally with five domes covering voids in front of the *miḥrāb* recesses, its roof raised at the north end to accomodate a *zanāna* gallery. The *līwān* is separated from the mosque courtyard by a great arched screen, added 595/1199, whose arches

do not conform with the spacing of the columns and *miḥrāb*s behind. The columns of the arcades were taken from some twenty-seven Hindū and Djayn temples, arranged haphazard, often set one over another to give the necessary height, ranged to support a roof made from ceiling slabs of similar temples, the sculptured figures mutilated and roughly covered with plaster, sometimes turned face inwards. The screen arches are corbelled, ogee at the top, some 2.5 metres thick, the central arch 13.7 m. high with a span of 6.7 m. The whole surface of this *maḳṣūra* is covered with carving, Hindū floral motifs and arabesques, and vertical lines of *naskh*. In the court-yard stands a pillar of rustless malleable iron from a temple of Vishnu of the Gupta period (4th century A.D.), doubtless placed there by the builders not only as a curious relic but also as a symbol of their triumph over the idolaters. At the south-east corner of the mosque Ḳuṭb al-Dīn commenced, after the completion of his mosque, the minaret known as the Ḳuṭb mīnār, described below.

The reign of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's successor, Shams al-Dīn Iletmish, saw an increase in building, not only at Dihlī. To the Dihlī mosque he attempted to give greater scale and dignity by extensions of the colonnades and the great *maḳṣūra* screen—symmetrically disposed as regards the new *miḥrāb*s, columnar bays, and the arches of the *maḳṣūra*, thus indicating a design of homogeneous conception; the new *ṣaḥn* included the *mīnār*, to which he added also, and its entrances were arranged co-axially with those of the old mosque. The colonnade is composed of relatively plain columns, and the screen decoration, including Kūfic character and *ṭughra* devices, is more obviously the work of a craftsman familiar with his material than is the earlier example. The arches, still corbelled, differ in contour from those of the earlier screen by the absence of the ogee counter-curve at the apex. Immediately west of his northern extension of the mosque is the Tomb of Iletmish (c. 632/1235 ? No dating inscriptions), a square chamber, originally bearing a circular dome, supported on corbelled squinches, the whole interior surface intricately banded with arabesques, diaper-work, and *naskh* and Kūfic inscriptions (entirely Ḳur'ānic); the exterior is of dressed ashlar, with the arched openings on north, east and south in red sandstone; red sandstone is also used for the interior, with marble on the *miḥrāb* wall and the cenotaph; the true grave is in a subterranean *tahkhāna*.

The Ḳuṭb mīnār was extended by Iletmish by the addition of three further storeys, to a total height of 69.7 m. (Cunningham, *ASI*, i, 195), completed c. 626/1229. The angle of slope is about $4^1/_2$ degrees from the vertical, and the four storeys are separated by balconies supported by stalactite corbelling. Each storey is fluted—developing probably the polygonal outline of the prototype *mīnār* at Ghaznī —the lowest having alternately rounded and angular flutes, the second all rounded, the third all angular; the upper storeys, the work of Fīrūz Tughluḳ (see below), are plain. Each of the three lowest storeys is decorated with wide encircling bands of Arabic inscriptions in *naskh* (dating inscriptions, panegyrics of Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām and Shams al-Dīn Iletmish, Ḳur'ānic verses); features of typically Hindū origin are almost entirely absent.

To the reign of Iletmish belongs the first instance in India of a monumental tomb, the mausoleum of his son Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, at Malikpur, of 629/1231. This stands within a plinth some 3 m. high in an octagonal cell, the top of which projects into a court-yard with a plain enclosure wall pierced by corbelled arches, with arcades of Hindū columns on the east and west walls; that on the west forms a small mosque, with central portico and *miḥrāb*. The external gateway bears the dating inscription in Kūfic characters (non-Ḳur'ānic inscriptions in Kūfic are known only here, at the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām, and at Adjmēr); the corner towers appear to be part of Fīrūz Tughluḳ's restorations (*Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ʿAlīgaṛh ed. 1943, 16). The tomb is locally known as "Sulṭān Ghārī", presumably on account of the crypt (*ghār*) in which Nāṣir al-Dīn is buried, but this name is not known before Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār al-Ṣanādīd*, lith. Dihlī 1848, 206-8. For a detailed study see S. A. A. Naqvi, *Sulṭān Ghārī, Delhi*, in *Ancient India*, iii, 1947, 4-10 and Plates I-XII.

During the reigns of the suceeding sovereigns no buildings of note were erected until the reign of the Khaldjī ruler ʿAlā' al-Dīn, except for the tomb of the sultan Balban, d. 686/1287, in the south-east of Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā, larger than the tomb of Iletmish, with side chambers leading off the main hall, in which appears for the first time the use of the true voussoired arch. This marks not only a technical advance in construction but also a strengthening of Islamic building tradition, as opposed to that of the impressed Hindū craftsmen.

ʿAlā' al-Dīn Khaldjī's extensions to the citadel of Lālkoṭ, and the building of Sirī, have been mentioned above. He started a grandiose plan of extension to the Ḳuwwat al-Islām mosque to the north and east; a few columns remain, and the foundations of the north gateway, to show the extent of this, and of the great arched *maḳṣūra* screen which was intended to be twice as long as the two previous screens combined, and of twice the scale; in the northern court-yard stands the incomplete first storey of a gigantic *mīnār*, its diameter at base twice that of the Ḳuṭb mīnār. The most notable feature of these extensions is the southern gateway, the ʿAlā'ī darwāza, of exceptional architectural merit: a square building of 10.5 m. internal dimension, with walls 3.4 m. thick, is surmounted by a flat dome, with lofty (10.7 m. from ground level to apex) arches on east, south and west, and a smaller trefoil arch on the north leading to the new eastern extension of the court-yard. The three large arches, and the squinches which support the dome, are of pointed horse-shoe shape, voussoired, with on the intrados a fringe of conventionalized spear-heads. A similar style is seen in the Djamāʿat Khāna mosque at the *dargāh* of Niẓām al-Dīn, the first example in India of a mosque built with specially quarried materials, not improvised from Hindū material. (For a discussion of this mosque see M. Zafar Hasan, *A guide to Niẓāmu-d-Dīn* (= *Memoir ASI*, x), 1922). Apart from the early building (*madrasa*?) at Ḥawḍ ʿAlā'ī (= Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ), the only other structure of ʿAlā' al-Dīn at Dihlī is his tomb and madrasa to the south-west of the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām, now much ruined; the series of small cells on the west wall show for the first time in India domes supported by a corbelled pendentive. The location of this building and all others in the "Qutb site" is shown on Fig. 4; for an extensive description of all the monuments and archaeological work see J. A. Page, *Historical Memoir on the Qutb, Delhi* (= *Memoir ASI*, xxii), 1925; idem, *Guide to*

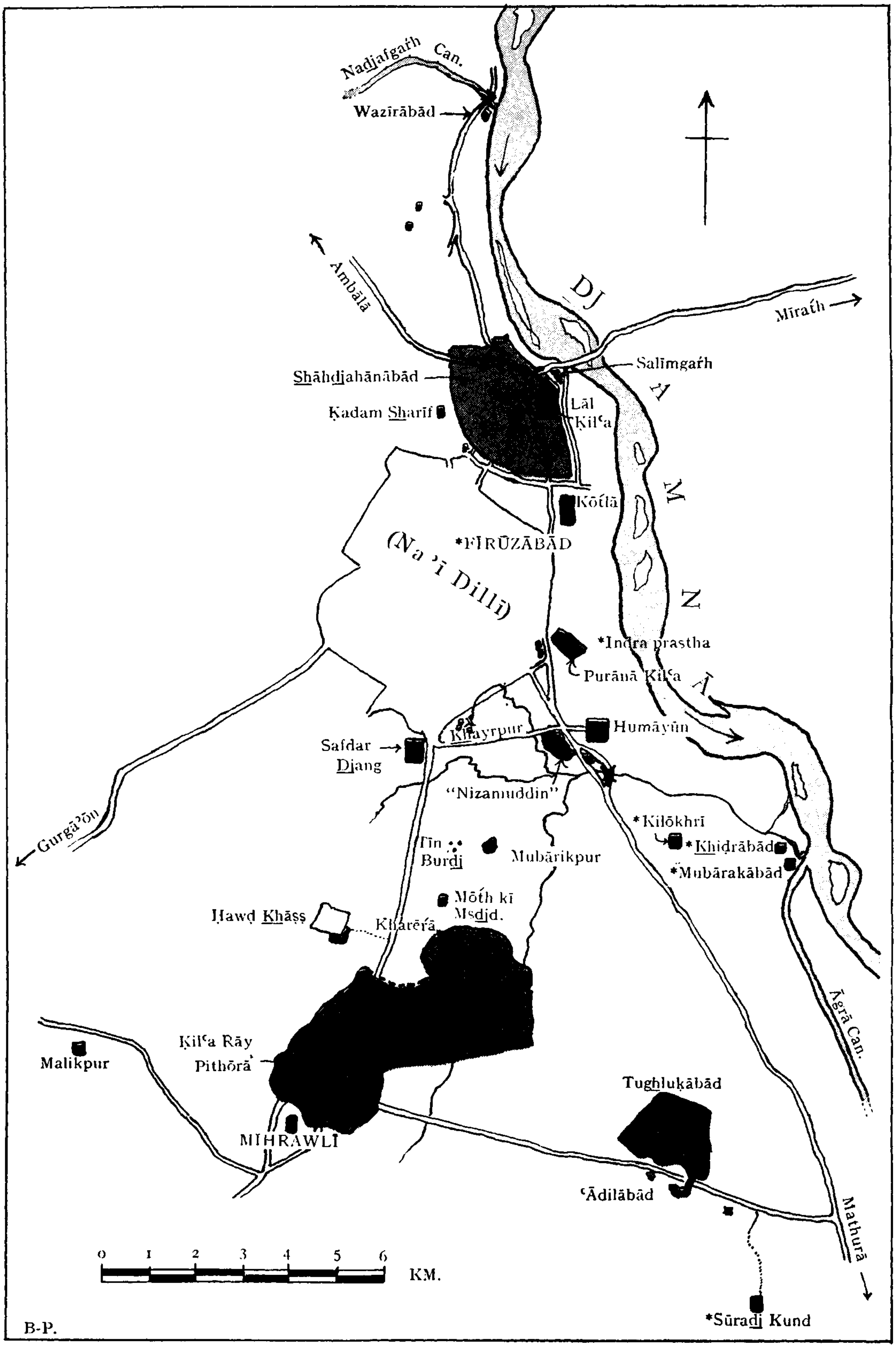
Nadjafgaŕh Can.
Wazīrābād
Ambālā
DJAMNĀ
Mīraṫh
Salīmgaŕh
Shāhdjahānābād
Kadam Sharīf
Lāl Kilʿa
Kōṫlā
*FĪRŪZĀBĀD
(Naʾī Dillī)
*Indra prastha
Purānā Kilʿa
Khayrpur
Humāyūn
Safdar Djang
"Nizamuddin"
Gurgāʾōn
*Kilōkhrī
*Khiḍrābād
*Mubārakābād
Tīn Burdj
Mubārikpur
Mōṫh kī Msdjd.
Hawḍ Khāṣṣ
Kharērā
Āgrā Can.
Malikpur
Kilʿa Rāy Pithōrā
Tughlukābād
MIHRAWLĪ
ʿĀdilābād
Mathurā
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 KM.
*Sūradj Kund
B-P.

the Quṭb, Delhi, (abridged from above), Dihlī 1938; best illustrations in H. H. Cole, *The architecture of Ancient Delhi*, London 1872.

The achievements of G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn, the founder of the Tug͟hluḳ dynasty, are confined to the building of the city of Tug͟hluḳābād (see above, History), and his own two tomb buildings; for the first of these see MULTĀN; the second, commenced after leaving the Pand͟jāb and coming to Dihlī as sovereign, forms an outwork on the south side of Tug͟hluḳābād (see Fig. 2 above), an irregular pentagon with bastions at each angle, with the tomb-building placed diagonally at the widest part of the enclosed court-yard. This mausoleum is of red sandstone faced with white marble, its walls with a strong batter (25° from the vertical), with a recessed archway in the north, east and south sides (the west side closed for the *miḥrāb*) with the "spear-head" fringe introduced under the K͟hald͟jīs and a slight ogee curve at the apex. Here the old Hindū trabeate system is joined with the newer arcuate by a lintel being imposed across the base of the arch.

Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ's foundation of ʿĀdilābād and D͟jahānpanāh has been mentioned above; in the walling of the second of these is a sluice or regulator of seven spans, the Sāt pulāh, with subsidiary arches and end towers, its two storeys of seven arches holding the mechanism for regulating the level of a lake contained within the walls. Another building of his time, near the village of Begampur, is the Bid͟jay Manḍal, which has been supposed to be the remains of his Ḳaṣr-i hazār sitūn, with the first example of intersecting vaulting in India; close to this is a superb but nameless tomb, and the Bārah Khambā (see below).

Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ's act in transporting the entire *élite* population of Dihlī to Dawlatābād [*q.v.*] resulted in the dispersal of the northern craftsmen, and the introduction of a rubble-and-plaster phase under the enthusiastic patronage of his successor Fīrūz S͟hāh (752-90/1351-88). A list of the numerous building projects sponsored by this monarch is given by S͟hams-i Sirād͟j ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Fīrūz S͟hāhī*, and by Firis͟hta, and in his own *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz S͟hāhī* he describes the monuments of his predecessors which he had rebuilt or renovated. These numerous building and restoration projects demanded a strict economy: plans for every undertaking were submitted to the *Dīwān-i wizāra*, and the more expensive building materials, red sandstone and marble, were no longer used. Of Fīrūz S͟hāh's cities, Fīrūzābād has been mentioned above; see also D͟JAWNPUR, FATḤĀBĀD, ḤIṢĀR FĪRŪZA, and for the fortification of the *kōṭlā* and the introduction of machicolation see BURD͟J, iii. The D͟jāmiʿ masd͟jid within the *kōṭlā* stands on a high plinth and the main gate is on the north; the *ṣaḥn* was surrounded by deep triple aisles, and around the central octagonal *ḥawḍ* was inscribed the record of the public works of Fīrūz. Only the shell of the building remains, much of the stone having been built into the walls of S͟hāhd͟jahānābād by British engineers. The other building standing within the *kōṭlā* is a three-storeyed pyramidal structure on which is mounted a pillar of As͟hoka (3rd century B.C.) brought from the Mīraṭh district. For these and other ruins in the citadel see J. A. Page, *A memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, Delhi* (= *Memoir ASI*, lii) Dihlī 1937. The mosque style of the period is better shown by half a dozen mosques of approximately the decade 766-76/1364-75: all are rubble-and-plaster, presumably originally whitewashed, with pillars and Hindū-style brackets and eaves in local grey granite, with prominent gateways, many-domed roofs, and tapering ornamental pillars flanking the gateways. The simplest is the mosque in the *dargāh* of S͟hāh ʿĀlam at Wazīrābād (= Tīmūrpur), a simple west *līwān* of five bays, with three domes, within which is the earliest example in Dihlī of a *zanāna* gallery in the rear corner of the *līwān*; the large (court-yard 68.0 by 75.3 metres) Begampur mosque in the north of D͟jahānpanāh has the *ṣaḥn* surrounded on all sides by a domed arcade, and the west *līwān* has a tall arched pylon in the centre of its façade which completely masks the large central dome; the Sand͟jar mosque (also called Kālī [black] masd͟jid) at Nizamuddin has the central court-yard divided into four smaller courts each 13.1 by 10.1 metres by a cruciform arcade one bay in depth, as well as the domed arcading on all sides (*ASI, Annual Report*, xxvii, Plate I); the Khiṛkī mosque, at Khiṛkī village in the south of D͟jahānpanāh close to the Sāt Pulāh, has a similar arrangement, but the crossing arcades are of three ranks of arches, as are the side *līwāns*: hence only the four courts, each 9.8 metres square, are open in the total area of about 52 m. square; the Kalān (this also sometimes miscalled 'Kālī) masd͟jid, within the walls of the later S͟hāhd͟jahānābād, is smaller with a single open court and surrounding domed arcades. This, the Khiṛkī mosque, and the D͟jāmiʿ masd͟jid in the *kōṭlā*, are all built on a high plinth over a *tahk͟hāna* storey, and the mosques themselves are approached by high flights of steps. The Kalān masd͟jid was no doubt the main mosque of the new Fīrūzābād suburbs, but the size of the Begampur and Khiṛkī mosques implies that the older cities still maintained a considerable population. The northern suburbs were further provided for by the Čawburd͟jī mosque on the Ridge, now so altered through various uses that its original plan is hardly discernible; near the mosque is the remains of Fīrūz S͟hāh's hunting lodge, Kus͟hk-i S͟hikār or D͟jahān-numā, to which he repaired for consolation after the death of his son, Fatḥ K͟hān, in 776/1374. This prince is buried in the Ḳadam S͟harīf, a fortified enclosure (see BURD͟J, iii, and *ASI Annual Report*, xxii, 4 and Plates III*c* and *d*) in which is a domed arcade surrounding the grave, over which is a stone print of the Prophet's foot set in a small tank of water. Fīrūz's own tomb is coupled with the *madrasa* he built on the site of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's structure at the Ḥawḍ-i K͟hāṣṣ; the *madrasa* buildings on the east and south of the *ḥawḍ*, double-storeyed on the lake front and single behind, are colonnades, several bays deep, of arches or lintel-and-bracket construction, connecting square domed halls at intervals, extending about 76 m. on one shore and 120 m. on the other; at the south-east corner is the 13.7 m. square tomb, with plastered walls slightly battering, the two outer (south and east) with a slight projection in which is an arched opening in which the entrance is framed by a lintel-and-bracket; there is a single dome on an octagonal drum, supported by interior squinches, and the west wall, in which is a door to the adjoining hall, has a small *miḥrāb*. The building stands on a short plinth extended southward to form a small terrace, which is surrounded by a stone railing of mortice and tenon construction resembling woodwork. Another tomb, of great architectural significance, is that of Fīrūz's Prime Minister K͟hān-i D͟jahān Tilangānī, d. 770/1368-9, within the *kōṭ* at Nizamuddin; this is the first octagonal tomb at Dihlī (although the tomb-

chamber at Sulṭān Ghārī is octagonal also), and is surrounded by a verandah, each side of which has three arched openings surmounted by a wide *čhadjdjā* or eaves-stone; there is a central dome, and eight smaller dome-like cupolas, one over each face. The prototype of this tomb has been sought in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem; it formed the model for many royal tombs of the subsequent "Sayyid", Lōdī and Sūrī dynasties. One of the latest buildings of the Tughluḳs is the tomb of the *shaykh* Kabīr al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (probably of the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, after 796/1394); although an indifferent

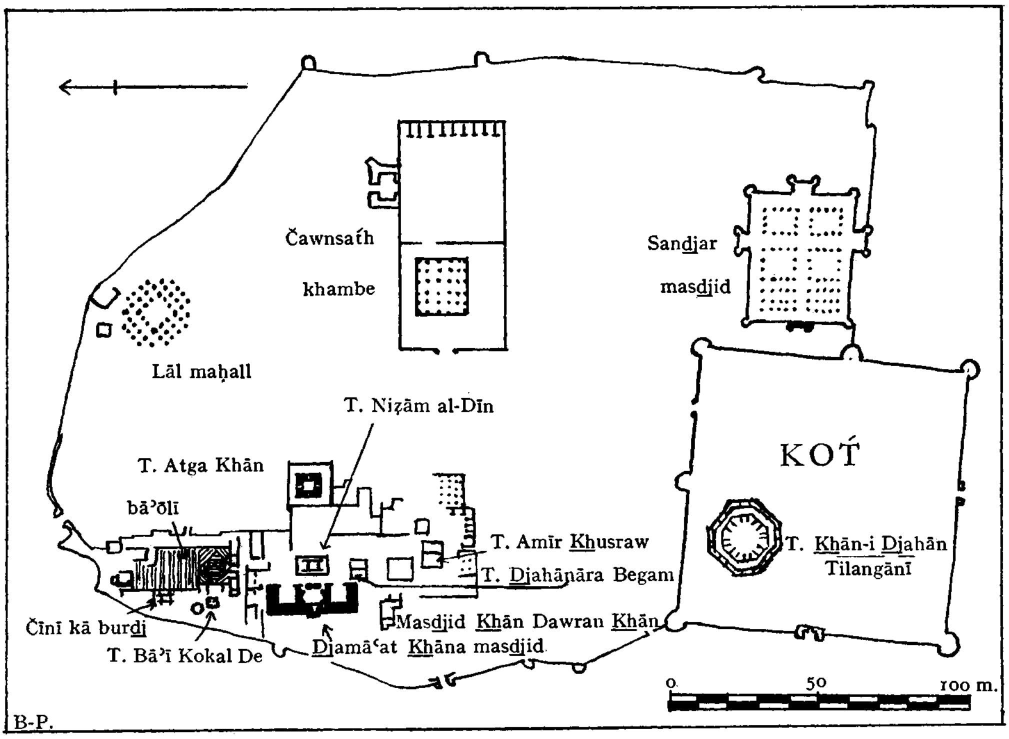

Fig. 5. Nizamuddin

and half-scale copy of the tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ, it is of interest in indicating a revival of sympathy for the earlier polychromatic style, a reaction against the Fīrūzian austerity.

On Fīrūz Shāh's tunnels at Dihlī, see H. Hosten, in *JASB*, n.s. vii (1911), 99-108; viii (1912), 279-81; ix (1913), lxxxiii-xci.

Since the major structures at the shrine of Niẓām al-Dīn are of this time the complex is described here (Fig. 5). The entrance gate bears the date 780/1378-9, within which is a large *bāʾōlī* [*q.v.*] flanked by two tombs and a two-storeyed mosque, all of Fīrūzian appearance; the *bāʾōlī* is named Čashma-i dil kushā (= 703/1303-4 by *abdjad*). A further gate leads to the shrine enclosure; the shaykh's tomb dates from the time of Akbar, replacing an earlier one built by Fīrūz Tughluḳ, but has been much restored since, the dome being an addition of Akbar Shāh II in 1823; the Djamāʿa khāna mosque, to the west of the tomb, has already been referred to. To the south of the enclosure are numerous graves (Djahānārā, daughter of Shāhdjahān; Muḥammad Shāh, d. 1161/1748; Djahāngīr, son of Akbar II; Amīr Khusraw, a contemporary of the *shaykh*, although the tomb is early 11th/17th century; and others); outside the east wall of the court is the square polychromatic tomb of Atga Khān, foster-father of Akbar, d. 969/1562, of a style similar to that of Humāyūn (see below). Some 60 m. south-east of this tomb is the Čawnsaṫh Khambe, a grey marble pavilion of excellent proportions forming the family burial place of Atga Khān's son, Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōkaltash, d. 1033/1624. The adjoining *kōṫ* and Tilangānī tomb have already been described. For a full account of all these buildings see M. Zafar Hasan, *A guide to Niẓāmu-d-Dīn* (= *Memoir ASI*, X), Calcutta 1922.

Another *dargāh* largely dating from Fīrūzian times is that of Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh-i Dihlī, d. 757/1356 (see ČISHTIYYA); the east gate is of 775/1373, but the tomb has been much modernized; the walls enclosing the shrine and village were built by Muḥammad Shāh in 1142/1729; beside stands one of the alleged tombs of Bahlōl Lōdī.

The "Sayyid" and Lōdī dynasties produced no great building projects; their monuments consist entirely of tombs, except for one significant mosque, and the principal ones are concentrated in three sites: Khayrpur, Mubārakpur, and south of Mudjāhidpur on the road to Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ. The tombs are of two distinct types, square and octagonal, in both cases with a large central dome, frequently also with open *čhatrīs* above the parapets. The earliest octagonal example is that of Mubārak Shāh, d. 838/1434, in Kōṫlā Mubārakpur, an improvement on the style of the Tilangānī tomb although the dome is not high enough and the octagonal *čhatrīs* over each face are too crowded. The tomb of Muḥammad Shāh, ten years later, removes these defects by raising the drum of the dome and the *čhatrīs*, and

adding a *guldasta* at each angle of the verandah parapet. The tomb of Sikandar Lōdī, c. 924/1518, at the north end of Khayrpur, is of similar proportions but without the *čhatrīs*, and the dome has an inner and outer shell; the mausoleum stands in a fortified enclosure, on the west wall of which is an arrangement of arches resembling an *ʿīdgāh*, presumably an outdoor *miḥrāb*. The tomb of Mubārak has a detached mosque, but that of Muḥammad has none. All tombs have sloping buttresses at the angles.

The square tombs probably all date from the last quarter of the 9th/15th century, but they lack inscriptions and are known only by very uninformative local names. The finest is the Baŕē Khān kā gumbad, "Big Khān's dome", the largest (height 25 m.) of the three known as Tīn burdj, west of Mubārakpur, apparently of three storeys from the exterior, but actually a single hall; this and the adjoining "Little Khān's dome" have octagonal *čhatrīs* in the angles of the square below the drum, as had the Dādī kā ("Grandmother's) and Potī kā ("Granddaughter's") gumbad of the Mudjāhidpur group. At Khayrpur are the best preserved, the Baŕā Gumbad ("Big dome"), date 899/1494, which has no graves within and is locally said to be a gateway to the attached mosque, court-yard and *madjlis-khāna* (?). The mosque has massive tapering and sloping pillars at each rear angle, each with a band of fluting, alternately rounded and angled, reminiscent of the lowest storey of the Ḳuṭb mīnār; the east façade has wide central arches whose spandrels are filled with the best cut-plaster decoration in Dihlī. Near is the Shīsh gumbad, very similar to the Baŕā gumbad, but with courses of dark blue encaustic tile work.

Apart from the mosque mentioned above, the Lōdīs produced one major example of this class, the isolated Moŕh kī masdjid south of Mubārakpur, built by the *wazīr* of Sikandar Lōdī c. 911/1505; the west wall shows similar tapering pillar-turrets, but at the angles of the projecting *miḥrāb*, and the external angles are provided with two-storeyed open towers; the side walls have trabeate balconies; the façade of the west *līwān* has the contours of the arches emphasized by the recession of planes of the intrados, and the central arch is emphasized further by a pylon-like structure of the same height as the remainder; the *līwān* side domes are supported on stalactite pendentives; white marble, red sandstone, and coloured encaustic tiles are used in the decorative scheme, as well as fine cut-plaster; it is aesthetically one of the liveliest buildings in the whole of Islamic art in India. Other buildings of the Lōdīs are few: a structure (*madrasa*?), incorporating a small mosque, known as the Djahāz maḥall, on the east side of the Ḥawḍ-i ʿAlāʾī at Mihrawlī, a few small *bārādārīs* and *maḥalls* near Nizamuddin, and the residence (Bārah Khambā), with enclosed court-yard and three-storeyed tower, at Begampur.

In the unsettled days of the early Mughal conquest the Lōdī mode seems to have continued: the Djamālī mosque, of 943/1536, in the south of Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithōrā, has fine ashlar masonry, five *līwān* arches with recession of planes in the intrados, and the central archway sunk in a larger arch, with a spearhead fringe, in a central propylon rising above the general level of the façade, with a single central dome; to the north is the insignificant-looking oblong building over the tomb of Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*], *takhalluṣ* Djamālī, with the best colour decoration in Dihlī on its ceiling. A continuation of the octagonal tomb style is in that of ʿĪsā Khān Niyāzī, of 954/1547-8 and hence in the reign of Islām Shāh Sūrī; the construction is similar to the preceding examples, including the closed west wall and *miḥrāb*, but more encaustic tile remains; a separate mosque stands on the west of the octagonal court-yard, of grey quartzite and red sandstone, the central bay of the three set in a projecting portico, with a central dome and *čhatrīs* over the side bays. The tomb-building has sloping buttresses at each angle, and is the last building in Dihlī so treated. (For these buildings see S. A. A. Naqvi, *Humāyūn's tomb and adjacent buildings*, Dihlī 1947, 21-4). The last octagonal tomb in Dihlī was built some fourteen years later, in the reign of Akbar, the tomb of Adham Khān in the extreme south-west of Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithōrā; this seeks to obtain additional elevation by converting the drum of the dome into an intermediate storey, arcaded externally, and without *čhatrīs*; the thick walls of the drum contain a labyrinth of stairways. Its general effect is rather spiritless. (Photograph and brief description in Cole, *op. cit.*).

The first two Mughal emperors, Bābur and Ḥumāyūn in his first period, added nothing to Dihlī's monuments, except perhaps the commencement of the Purānā Ḳilʿa; this, however, was mostly the work of the usurper Shīr Shāh Sūrī, as a citadel for his new city. Of the city only two gateways remain, the northern (Lāl, Kābulī or Khūnī darwāza), opposite Fīrūz Shāh Kōŕlā, and the southern, with a short stretch of walling, near Purānā Ḳilʿa (see *ASI*, *Annual Report*, xxii, 6 and Plate II). Of the citadel the walls remain, and two major structures within, the Shīr Manŕal, a two-storeyed octagon of red sandstone of unknown original purpose but used by Humāyūn as a library and from which he fell to his death; and the mosque, with no distinctive name, which has the Djamālī mosque as its immediate prototype: but each of the five façade bays has a smaller recessed archway, and every other feature of the earlier mosque is improved and refined in this later example. The external construction is in coursed ashlar, and the *līwān* façade in red sandstone, some of it finely carved, embellished with white marble and polychromatic encaustic tile work; inside the central dome is supported by two ranks of squinches, and in the side bays stalactite pendentives support the roof; the rear wall has tapering turrets on each side of the *miḥrāb* projection, and an open octagonal turret at each angle.

The first major building of the Mughals in Dihlī is the tomb of the emperor Humāyūn, of a style already prefigured in the small tomb of Atga Khān at Nizamuddin; the foundations of it were laid in 976/1568-9 (so Sangīn Beg, *Siyar al-Manāzil*, MS in Dihlī Fort Museum; 973/1565 according to Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, followed by most later writers) by his widow, employing the Persian architect Mirzā Ghiyāth, although the enclosure wall had been started some five years before. In a large square garden enclosure (340 m. side; this is the first *čārbāgh* garden in India still preserving its original plan) stands the mausoleum building, 47.5 m. square on a plinth 95 m. square, 6.7 m. high; each face is alike, having a central rectangular fronton containing an immense arch, flanked by smaller wings each containing a smaller arch; these wings are octagonal in plan and project in front of the main arches. The central chamber is surmounted by a bulbous double dome on a high collar, around which are *čhatrīs* over the corner wings and portals. The

entire building is in red sandstone, with a liberal use of white and coloured marble. Neighbouring structures are the small Nāʾī kā gumbad, "Barber's dome"; the Nīlā Gumbad, "Blue dome", earlier than Humāyūn's tomb and therefore not the tomb of Fahīm Khān, d. 1035/1626, as often stated; the "Afsarwālā" tomb and mosque; the ʿArab Sarāʾī; and the tomb of ʿĪsā Khān already described (see Fig. 6 for plan of this complex; full description of these buildings in S. A. A. Naqvi, ***Humāyūn's Tomb and adjacent buildings***, Dihlī 1947). Not far to the south is the tomb of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm [*q.v.*], Khān-i Khānān, d. 1036/1626-7, a similar structure but smaller and without the octagonal corner compartments—hence a more obvious forerunner of the wards to the river. The dīwān-i ʿāmm is of red sandstone, with slender double columns on the open sides; this and the palace buildings on the east have engrailed arches, stand on low plinths, and most have open *čhatrīs* at each corner of the roof. Through the palaces runs an ornamental canal, the Nahr-i Bihisht, which flows south from the Shāh Burdj, water being brought from a point thirty *kōs* up the Djamnā (through the Western Djamnā canal; for the history of this, which dates from the time of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk, see J. J. Hatten, ***History and description of government canals in the Punjab***, Lahore n.d., 1-3); this has a plain marble channel, which in the Rang maḥall flows into a large tank in which is set a marble lotus, having previously passed, in the royal

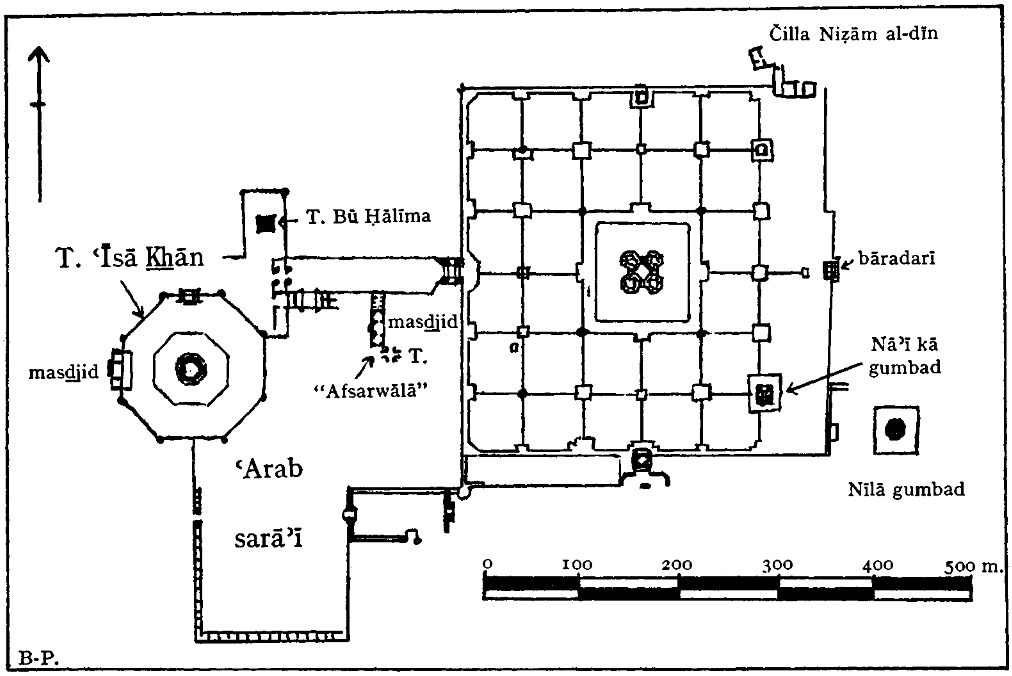

Fig. 6. Humāyūn's tomb

Tādj Maḥall than Humāyūn's tomb; the white marble of this building was later stripped off by Āṣaf al-Dawla, *wazīr* of Awadh. Other early Mughal buildings are the Lāl čawk or Khayr al-manāzil (the latter name a chronogram, 969 = 1561-2), a mosque built by Māham Anaga, foster-mother of Akbar, with double-storeyed chambers on east, south and north forming a *madrasa* (*ASI*, ***Annual Report***, xxii, 6 and Plate I a and b; inscr., *Memoir ASI*, xlvii, 10); and the mosque of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī, *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* of Akbar, between Fīrūz Shāh Kōtlā and the Purānā Ḳilʿa, built 983/1575-6 (see M. Zafar Hasan, *Mosque of Shaikh ʿAbdu-n Nabī* (= *Memoir ASI*, ix), Calcutta 1921).

The main phase of Mughal building in Dihlī was the construction of Shāhdjahānābād and the Red Fort, Lāl ḳilʿa, founded 1048/1638. The main features of Mughal palaces and other buildings will be described in MUGHALS; a brief account only is given here. Within the palace enclosure, about 950 by 505 m., are a central court, containing the Dīwān-i ʿāmm; flanking this, two open spaces containing gardens; and, on the eastern wall, the range of palaces facing inwards to the gardens and outprivate apartments, under a screen bearing a representation of the "Scales of Justice", Mīzān-i ʿadl. Off these apartments is the external octagonal balcony, the Muthamman Burdj, from which the emperor gave the darshan [*q.v.*]. The Rang maḥall and the Dīwān-i khāṣṣ are the most lavishly ornate of these palaces, built and paved in white marble, the piers of the arches inlaid with floral designs in *pietra dura*; the latter building contained the fabulous Peacock Throne (*Takht-i ṭāʾūs*), taken to Persia by Nādir Shāh in 1152/1739 and there broken up (G. N. Curzon, ***Persia and the Persian question***, i, 321-2). The disposition of these and the other buildings is shown in the plan, Fig. 7.

The fort originally contained no mosque; the Mōtī masdjid was added by Awrangzīb in 1073/1662-3, entirely of white marble, with a curved "Bengali" cornice over the central bay. For the fort and its buildings, see G. Sanderson, ***A guide to the buildings and gardens, Delhi Fort***[4], Dihlī 1937.

The Djāmiʿ masdjid of Shāhdjahānābād (named *Masdjid-i Djahān-numā*), built 1057-9/1648-50, stands on an open plain to the west of the Lāl Ḳilʿa, its high basement storey, with blind

arches on all sides, built on an outcrop of the local Aravallī ridge. The gates on north, east and south have an external opening in the form of a half-dome with a smaller door in the base of each. The east gate, used as the royal entrance, is the largest. The *līwān* surrounding the court is open to the outside, and has a square *burdj*, surmounted by an open *čhatrī*, at each angle. The western sanctuary is a detached compartment 79 m. by 27.5 m. with the

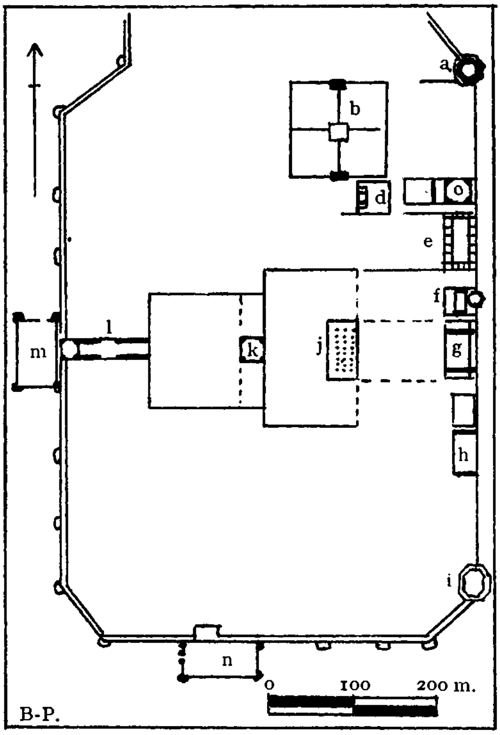

Fig. 7. Lāl ḳilʿa

a — Shāh burdj b — Ḥayāt Bakhsh bāgh c — Ḥammām d — Mōtī masdjid e — Dīwān-i khāṣṣ f — Khʷābgāh & Muthamman burdj g — Rang maḥall h — Mumtāz maḥall i — Asad burdj j — Dīwān-i ʿamm. k — Nawbat khāna l — Čhattā čawk m — Lāhawr darwāza n — Dihlī darwāza

court-yard (99 m. square), with a wide central arch flanked by five smaller bays of engrailed arches on each side, and a three-storeyed minaret at each front angle; above are three bulbous domes of white marble with slender vertical stripes of black marble. The mosque as a whole is in red sandstone, with white marble facings on the sanctuary, and white marble vertical stripes on the minarets. Nearly contemporary is the Fatḥpurī masdjid at the west end of Čandnī Čawk, the main street of Shāhdjahānābād, of similar style but less refinement, with a single dome; there is a mosque school within the enclosure. A smaller mosque of similar style, but with the three domes more bulbous and with equal black and white marble stripes, is the Zīnat al-Masādjid, c. 1112/1700, in the east (river) quarter of Shāhdjahānābād.

Of the latest Mughal phase must be mentioned the Mōtī masdjid in the *dargāh* of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Awliyāʾ at Mihrawlī (early 12th/18th century); the tomb, madrasa, and mosque of Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān, father of Āṣāf Djāh, in a hornwork outside the Adjmēr gate of Shāhdjahānābād (1122/1710), and where the Arabic school is still maintained; the gateway of the Ḳudsiya Bāgh, north of the Kashmīr Gate, c. 1163/1750, and the elegant diminutive mosque (Sonahrī masdjid) of Djāwid Khān, of fawn-coloured sandstone, of the same time; and the finely-proportioned fawn sandstone tomb of Safdar Djang, d. 1166/1753, standing in the last great Mughal garden. One British building is worth mention, St. James's church, built by Col. James Skinner in Palladian style in 1824. The vast building projects of New Delhi (*Naʾī Dillī*) show occasional reminiscences of the glory of Mughal building, but have no further Islamic significance.

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DIHLĪ SULTANATE, the principal Muslim kingdom in northern India from its establishment by Iletmish (608-633/1211-1236) until its submergence in the Mughal empire under Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605). The establishment of the Dihlī sultanate was made possible by the Indian campaigns of the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām and his lieutenant Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak. Having recovered Ghaznī from the Ghuzz in 568/1173, in 571/1175 Muḥammad b. Sām captured Multān and Učč, hoping to by-pass the Ghaznawid possessions in the Pandjāb. A severe defeat near Mount Ābū in 574/1178 by Mūlarādjā II, the Čālukya ruler of Gudjarāt, induced the Ghūrids not to persist with the southern route into Hindūstān via the Gumal pass. The capture of Peshāwar in 575/1179, of Siālkōt in 581/1185, and of Lahore finally in 582/1186, ended Ghaznawid rule in India and placed the Ghūrids in a favourable strategic position *vis-a-vis* the Rādjput clans. Defeated however at Tarāʾīn (Tarāorī) in 587/1191 by the Čawhāns (or Čāhamānas) under Pṛithvīrādja, Muʿizz al-Dīn returned the following year with an army, said by Firishta to be of 120,000 horse, decisively to defeat the Čawhāns at the same place. Although Hānsī, Kuhrām and Dihlī (588/1192) were occupied, the political fragmentation of northern India prevented Ghūrid victories from having more than a temporary and local result. The Gāhaḍavāla chief, Djayačandra was defeated and slain near Čandāwar on the Djamnā in 590/1194 and Banāras occupied, but even so Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak had to fight hard to retain Koyl and

Adjmēr and Muʿizz al-Dīn had to enter India himself in 592/1195-6 to take Bayāna, the stronghold of the Djadon Bhaffī Rādjpūts. Thereafter, however, until the year of his death, Muʿizz al-Dīn left Ḳuṭb al-Dīn a free hand in Hindūstān. In 592/1196, the latter defeated an attempt by the Mhers, in alliance with the Čālukyas, to retake Adjmēr and in the following year defeated the Čālukyas near Mt. Ābū without however attempting permanently to occupy their territory. Turning his attention to the upper Ganges, Aybak occupied Badā'ūn in 594/1197-8 and Kanawdj in 595/1198-9. In 597/1200-1, Gwāliyār was taken and the Bundelkhand area was penetrated in 599/1202-3 with the capture of Kālāndjara (Kālindjar).

When, in 602/1206, Muʿizz al-Dīn was assassinated at Damyak on the Indus (on the identity of the assassins see Habibullah, *The foundation of Muslim rule in India*, 79), the Ghūrid position in India was that of a precarious military occupation. Holding only the chief towns of the Pandjāb, Sind and the Ganges-Djamna Dō'āb, the Ghūrid forces were menaced by the Khokars along their line of communication with Ghaznī and were faced by a resurgence of the Rādjpūts in Bundelkhand (Kālindjar had been retaken by the Čandelas) and around Gwāliyār which had been retaken by the Parihāras. Moreover the Gāhadavālas were still active in the districts around Farrukhābād and Badā'ūn. The Rādjpūt clans had but melted into the countryside hoping to re-emerge and take control when the Turkish invaders had passed on. Indeed, by accepting Pṛithvīrādja's son and the Rāy of Gwāliyār Sallakshaṇapāla as tributaries, the Ghūrids may have testified to their limited political rôle in Hindūstān and their principal pre-occupation with their extra-Indian rivalry with the Khʷārazm-Shāh and the Ḳara-Khitay.

That the consolidation of the Ghūrid position in Hindūstān was still a secondary consideration even after Muʿizz al-Dīn's death is evident from the subsequent career of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak. Said by his panegyrist Fakhr-i Mudabbir to have been appointed *walī ʿahd-i Hindūstān* by Muʿizz al-Dīn shortly before 602/1206, on his master's death Ḳuṭb al-Dīn moved from the neighbourhood of Dihlī to Lahore and assumed power there. (Statements that he assumed the title of sulṭān are not corroborated by numismatic or inscriptional data and are not consonant with others that he sought and obtained a patent of manumission and a diploma as *malik* of Hindūstān from Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, nephew of Muʿizz al-Dīn and ruler of Fīrūz Kūh). Maintaining his headquarters at Lahore, he fended off Tādj al-Dīn Yïldïz who claimed the Ghūrid conquests in Hindustan; when, in 605/1208 Yïldïz moved out of Ghaznī into the Pandjāb, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn promptly drove him back and occupied Ghaznī himself, only in turn to be expelled by the people of Ghaznī after the proverbial 'forty days'.

It is significant that no efforts by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn to extend the conquests in Hindūstān are recorded in the four years before his death at Lahore in an accident at *čawgān* in 607/1210.

Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was succeeded at Lahore by his son Ārām Shāh, but at Dihlī a group of military officers set up Iletmish, *muḳṭaʿ* of Badā'ūn and son-in-law of Aybak. Ārām Shāh was slain while marching on Dihlī. However, before Iletmish was secure, he had first to put down a revolt by the Turkish *djāndārs* of Dihlī.

Shams al-Dīn Iletmish (Iltutmish), an Ilbārī Turk, may be regarded as the founder of an independent sultanate of Dihlī. (The correct form of the name is Iletmish, as shown by Hikmet Bayur in *Belleten*, xiv, 1950, 567-88). His reign saw three main political developments—the severance of political ties between the Turks and Afghāns in Hindūstān and Central Asia, the achievement of primacy in Muslim India by the ruler of Dihlī, and the firm grasping of the main strategic centres of the north Indian plain by the forces of Dihlī. But in 608/1211, another former Muʿizzī slave, Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča, the ruler of Multān, had taken advantage of the struggle between Ārām Shāh and Iletmish to occupy Lahore, Tādj al-Dīn Yïldïz had not abandoned his claim to the Ghūrid conquests in India and numerous Hindū chiefs were threatening the Turkish hold over Badā'ūn, Kanawdj and Banāras. Rādjāsthān also had slipped out of Dihlī's feeble grasp.

Placating Yïldïz by acceptance of the *čhatr* and *dūrbāsh* of sovereignty and by not stirring when the latter's troops drove Ḳabāča from Lahore, Iletmish tightened his hold over Sarsūtī and Kuhrām east of the Satladj and when, in 612/1215, Yïldïz was forced out of Ghaznī into the Pandjāb by the forces of the Khʷārazm-Shāh, Iletmish was able to defeat and capture him at Tarā'īn (Tarāorī). He still did not hasten, however, to occupy Lahore.

Čingiz Khān's attack upon the Khʷārazm-Shāh hastened the political isolation of the Turks in India. Iletmish refused to be drawn into the struggle between the Mongols and Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārazm-Shāh [*q.v.*], watching the latter erode Ḳabāča's position in the Pandjāb and Sind. Taking advantage of Ḳabāča's difficulties, Iletmish occupied Lahore and in 625/1228 drove Ḳabāča from Multān and Učč to a death by drowning in the Indus. Although Iletmish occupied Siālkoṭ (and Lahore when he could), by drawing back his effective frontier east of the Beās, he managed to avoid a head-on clash with the Mongols before his death.

In the east, where Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī had overcome the Sena kingdom in Bengal in 600-2/1203-6, Iletmish repelled Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿIwāz Khaldjī's encroachments in Bihār in 623/1225; in the following year the latter was slain by Iletmish's eldest son Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Towards the end of 627/1230, Iletmish invaded Lakhnawtī and slew the Khaldjī chief Balka.

Against the Rādjpūts, Iletmish was successful in capturing, at least temporarily, Ranthambhor in 624/1226, Mandor in 625/1227, Gwāliyār in 629/1231, and in plundering Bhīlsā and Udjdjayn (Ujjain) in 632/1234-5. Nevertheless his lieutenants were worsted in encounters with the Čawhāns of Bundī and the Čandelas of Narwar and even in the Dō'āb Hindū chiefs needed constant overawing.

The appearance of an independent Muslim power in north India was however signalized by Iletmish receiving, in 626/1229, a robe of honour and the title of *Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn* from the ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Mustanṣir.

That the Dihlī sultanate had 'settled in' in northern India by the end of Iletmish's reign is suggested by its capacity to survive faction, Mongol pressure and sapping by Hindū chiefs during the years immediately following. Within ten years of Iletmish's death, the *muḳṭaʿ*s and officials had accepted and deposed four of his children or grandchildren, Rukn al-Dīn Fīrūz (633/1236), Raḍiyya (634-7/1236-40), Muʿizz al-Dīn Bahrām, (637-9/1240-2) and ʿAlā' al-Dīn Masʿūd (639-44/1242-6).

Stability was not achieved until the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (644-64/1246-66) during whose time effective authority was exercised by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban as *nā'ib*. Most sources picture Nāṣir al-Dīn as a pious recluse, but from the evidence of ʿIṣāmī's *Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn*, it is possible that this is an exaggeration. (See also K. A. Nizami, *Balban, the regicide*, in bibl.).).

The ceaseless struggle required of the Turks and Afghāns in Hindūstān to maintain Dihlī as the principal, let alone the paramount, power at this time, is emphasized by the career of Balban both as *nā'ib* and sultan. Ceaseless military activity was demanded. In 645/1247, Balban plundered the areas between Kālindjar and Karra; in 646/1248, he led an unsuccessful raid against Ranthambhor and in 649/1251 he marched against Čaharadeva, the Djadjapella ruler of Gwāliyār and Narwar. In 652/1254 he campaigned against the Katehriyas whose activities always threatened the hold of Dihlī over Badā'ūn and Sambhal, north of the Ganges. Depredations by the Yaduvanshī Rādjpūts of the northern Alwār area, the 'Mewātīs', were endemic in the last decade of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd's reign, with raids against Hānsī in 655/1256 and even as far as the environs of Dihlī itself.

Early in Balban's own reign (664-86/1266-87), he cleared the forests near Dihlī of marauders and pacified the Bhodjpur, Patīyālī and Kampil districts, stationing garrisons of Afghāns there. One historian of the next century, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, depicts Balban as consciously pursuing, in his own reign, a purely defensive policy and as concerned mainly to hold the western marches against the Mongols. That this is probably an *ex post facto* rationalization, provoked by the contrast with the succeeding period, is suggested by the fierceness of Balban's reaction to trouble in Lakhnawtī in the 1280's when he put forth a great military effort to suppress Tughril who had assumed independence under the title of Sulṭān Mughīth al-Dīn. Dihlī was not always so mindful of events in Bengal. Although Balban strengthened the frontier strongholds of Dīpālpur, Sāmāna and Bhātinda and posted his favourite son Muḥammad to Multān and Lahore, the Mongols were too preoccupied with the quarrels between the Čaghatāys and the Il-Khānids and their rivalry in Afghānistān to be a serious threat to the Dihlī sultanate in Balban's time.

As Muḥammad was killed in a skirmish with the Mongols in 684/1286, and Balban's second son Bughrā Khān preferred his *iḳṭāʿ* of Lakhnawtī, Balban was succeeded by his grandson, Muʿizz al-Dīn Kayḳubād who, young and frivolous, proved incapable of withstanding the intrigues of ambitious ministers and the faction struggles between groups of Turks and Khaldjīs. Eventually, succumbing to paralysis, he was displaced by his infant son, Kayūmarth, a puppet in the hands first of the Turks and then of the Khaldjīs. The Khaldjī leader, Djalāl al-Dīn, accepted the status of *nā'ib* to Kayūmarth; after about three months, finding that, in order to protect himself against the jealousies of other nobles, he needed the title to as well as the reality of power, Djalāl al-Dīn assumed the sultanate himself (689/1290).

By Muslim historians of a later generation, the end of Balban's dynasty was regarded as signalizing the end of the Turkish sultanate of Dihlī. In the sense of the race of the sultan this is so, but not in the sense that the ruling élite had hitherto been exclusively Turkish. Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī had been Balban's *muḳṭaʿ* of Sāmāna before becoming *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* under Muʿizz al-Dīn; and Balban's *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik*, ʿImād al-Mulk Rāwat, was a converted Hindū. The outcome of the diversification of the Muslim ruling groups through immigration, intermarriage and concubinage with the subject population was to become more evident under the Khaldjīs, but Baranī's rhetoric, for example, cannot conceal the fact that the process had already gone a considerable way under Balban.

Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī's assassination by his nephew, ʿAlā' al-Dīn, has enabled Baranī, against the evidence of events and the testimony of Amīr Khusraw's *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ*, to fasten upon him the character of an ageing, indulgent and gullible valetudinarian. Actually, he suppressed a revolt by Balban's former officers in Shaʿbān 689/August-September 1290, besieged Ranthambhor (though unsuccessfully) in 690/1291 and defeated a Mongol foray in 691/1291-2. He also pillaged Mandor and Udjdjayn (Ujjain) at the end of 691/1292.

But it was under ʿAlā' al-Dīn Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1315) that, for a brief period, the Dihlī sultanate attained an imperial status in the sub-continent. ʿAlā' al-Dīn was probably born about 666/1267-8. A participant in the Khaldjī coup against Balban's family and the other military officers, he was appointed *muḳṭaʿ* of Karra in 690/1291 from whence he raided Bhīlsā and then, in 695/1296, unbeknown to Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī, the Yādava kingdom of Devagiri (Deogir). Loaded with booty, he was met on the Ganges near Mānikpur by Djalāl al-Dīn who appears to have been so avid to share the spoils that he was careless of his own safety. Fear of the influence of powerful enemies at court feeding his ambition, ʿAlā' al-Dīn had his uncle slain.

Supported by his brother Almās Beg, ʿAlā' al-Dīn bought over many *maliks* and *amīrs* by money and promotion. Within a few months of his accession, he had captured the surviving sons of Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī and their supporters and blinded, imprisoned or executed them.

The reign was noteworthy in that serious attacks upon Hindūstān by the Čaghatay Mongols of Transoxiana were repulsed, the influence of Dihlī over Rādjāsthān was greatly extended and profitable raids, which made possible the introduction of a Muslim ruling class there later, were made against the Hindū kingdoms of the Deccan and the far south. The historian Baranī details important changes in the system of administration and measures to control the prices of necessities at headquarters and thus lessen the cost of a large army. (See Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bib. Ind. ed., 282-8, 302-19). There are hints of unwonted activity in these spheres in other contemporary or near-contemporary evidence. It is not clear from the evidence why ʿAlā' al-Dīn should have succeeded in winning the co-operation of the military and official classes for reforms which adversely affected them.

The rivalry between Dawā Khān, great-great grandson of Čaghatay and ruler of Transoxiana, and the Great Khāns in the east in alliance with the Il-Khāns in the west, led to an effort by Dawā to expand in the direction of Afghānistān and Hindūstān. The first Mongol invasion of ʿAlā' al-Dīn's reign, into the Pandjāb in 697/1297-8, was worsted at Djalandhar and the second, into Sīwistān in 698/1299 was equally abortive. A third, later the same year, under Ḳutlugh Khʷādja, son of Dawā, reached Kīlī near Dihlī before it too was defeated. The invasion of Ṭarghī in 702-3/1303 invested Dihlī and appears to have

been thwarted of success only by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's entrenchments at Sīrī. (On the location of Sīrī, see *ASI*, i, Simla 1871, 207-12). Other incursions were defeated at Amroha in 705/1305, and near the Rāwī in 706/1306 by Malik Kāfūr and Malik Tughluḳ. But although Dihlī was almost uniformly successful against the Čaghatay Mongols, the cessation of major attacks during the latter half of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's reign was probably caused more by an intensification of antagonism between the Il-Khāns and Dawā's successors than by discomfiture in Hindūstān; Malik Tughluḳ appears to have been kept busy combatting minor forays as *muḳtaʿ* of Dīpālpur.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn had not waited upon security from the Mongols before expanding the sultanate in India itself. In 698/1299, Gudjarāt was invaded and Khambāyat plundered. (See K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljīs*, 83, on the date of this expedition). In 700/1301, Ranthambhor, in 702/1303 Čittor, in 705/1305 Māndū were captured, to be followed in 708/1308 by the capture of Siwāna and in 711/1311-2 of Djālor. These victories in Rādjāsthān were essential to the success of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's expeditions south of the Narbadā. The Yādava kingdom of Devagiri was laid under tribute in 706-7/1307, the Kākatīya kingdom of Telingāṇa in 709/1309-10. In 710/1311, with the help of the Hoysāla Ballāladeva of Dwārasamudra, Malik Kāfūr invaded the Pāndya kingdom in the far south, returning laden with spoils to Dihlī in 711/1311.

The successes of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's reign may be attributable partly to the personal drive of a sultan requiring, as his uncle's murderer, to go on living dangerously, partly to the financial appeal of his earliest Deccan raid and the conquest of Gudjarāt to the soldiery, and partly to the services of Indian-born Muslims and converted Hindū slaves. Moreover, he treated defeated Hindū rulers in a conciliatory way, receiving them at court and marrying into their families. (He himself married a daughter of Rāmadeva of Devagiri and his son Khiḍr Khān married "Duwal Rānī" (correctly Devaldevī), daughter of Rāy Karan of Gudjarāt). It is significant that he was content to reduce the Hindū kingdoms of south India to a tributary status. His administrative measures will be mentioned under a general reference to the political institutions of the Dihlī sultanate.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī did not however succeed in perpetuating the sultanate in his family. On his death, his *nāʾib* Malik Kāfūr raised ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's six-year-old son ʿUmar Khān to the throne as Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar Khaldjī, blinding Khiḍr Khān and Shādī Khān before himself being murdered by the palace *payk*s. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's third son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaldjī then ascended the throne. During his reign (716-20/1316-20), a revolt in Gudjarāt was suppressed, Devagiri was garrisoned and Telingāṇa and the far south raided again. However, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was murdered by a Hindū convert, his favourite Khusraw Khān Barwārī (on his name and origin see: Hodīvālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, 369-71), who assumed the title of Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw Shāh.

Tradition formed under the Tughluḳs depicts his rule of four months as that of an avowed Hindū infidel; it is evident however that Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was unpopular among important elements of the military classes [there had been plots against his life in 718/1318 when coins were struck in favour of one Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh (see R. B. Whitehead, *Some rare coins of the Pathan sultans of Delhi*, in *JASB*, 1910, Numismatic Supplement xiv, 566-7; *Shamsu-d-din Mahmūd of Dehli*, in *JASB*, 1912, Numismatic Supplement xvii, 123-124; H. Nelson Wright, *The sultans of Delhi; their coinage and metrology*, Dihlī 1936, 109-10; K. S. Lal, *op. cit.* 330-2, 337-8)]. Historians favouring the Tughluḳs state that many Muslims either accepted office under him or refused to join Malik Tughluḳ's revolt, or fought energetically on the Barwārī's behalf. It is stated that Hindū Khokhar chiefs also supported the Tughluḳs. However, Ghāzī Malik, later Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ, encouraged by his son Malik Fakhr al-Dīn Djawnā, marched on Dihlī, defeating the forces of Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw Shāh twice, capturing and executing him.

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, (*Riḥla*, ed. Defremery and Sanguinetti, iii, 201), Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ was a Ḳarawna Turk. (On this see Wolseley Haig, *Five questions in the history of the Tughluq dynasty of Dihli*, in *JRAS*, July 1922, 319-21). He appears to have risen to the appointment of *wakīl-dār* under Muʿizz al-Dīn Kayḳubād and first to have obtained the post of *muḳtaʿ* under Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī. His reign (720-5/1320-5) saw a further campaign against Telingāṇa, the repulse of a Mongol raid, a raid into Djādjnagar and an expedition to Lakhnawtī to re-assert Dihlī's suzerainty. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ met his death under a collapsing hunting pavilion at Afghānpur. The complicity of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ in his father's death has been exhaustively argued (see Syed Moinul Haq, *Was Mohammad bin Tughlak a parricide?*, in *Muslim University Journal*, Aligarh, v/2, October 1938, 17-48). In the light of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī's apparently genuine mystification at the event, the absence of condemnation of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (whom he condemns fiercely on other counts) and the unnecessarily elaborate and haphazard method of killing alleged, Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ is, in this article also, adjudged innocent of his father's death.

The reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725-52/1325-51) appears to have been a watershed in the history of the Dihlī sultanate. At the outset, Dihlī's authority was, according to Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, recognized in twenty-three provinces, and the picture drawn by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the 730/1330's is one of Dihlī's power and magnificence. Yet by 752/1351 the power of Dihlī south of the Narbadā was clearly forfeit and revolt endemic elsewhere. Baranī's interpretation of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's troubles is too redolent of his general philosophy of history (see P. Hardy, *Historians of medieval India*, 36-9, 124-5) to be acceptable as it stands (it hardly explains the military support the sultan enjoyed until his natural death, for instance).

Perhaps the decision which did most, in the long term, to undermine the sultan of Dihlī's authority was Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's attempt to make Deogir (Dawlatābād [*q.v.*]) a second capital and to settle numbers of Muslims belonging to the ruling *élite* in the Deccan. During the two previous reigns, the temptation among Muslims of the Deccan armies to plot against the Dihlī sultan had been shown to exist. By changing the Khaldjī policy of suzerainty over south India for one of settlement in south India, Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ unintentionally ensured that such temptations would be successful. The relationship of other projects of the sultan—an expedition said to have been aimed at the conquest of Khurāsān, but probably at the seizure of Peshāwar or Ghaznī (Baranī's geographical statements are

vague and uncorroborated, while ʿIṣāmī speaks of a Pes͟hāwar expedition about the same date), a disastrous campaign against Ḳarāčil in the Kumāon-Gaṙhwāl region of the Himālayan foothills, the issue of token currency [see DĀR AL-ḌARB]—to the many rebellions has not been satisfactorily established. It was perhaps important that the Dihlī-Dōʾāb area was afflicted by a disastrous famine in 736/1335-6. In all, Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ was called upon to put down twenty-two rebellions, the most important of which, as resulting in a permanent loss of hegemony, were in Maʿbar (735/1334-5), Gulbargā (740/1339), Warangal (746/ 1345-6) and Deogir, which led to the proclamation, in 748/1347, of an independent sultanate under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahman S͟hāh [see BAHMANIDS]. Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ died near Ṭhaṭṭhā while in pursuit of one Tag͟hī, a Turkish rebel, who had taken refuge with the Sammas of Sind. It is noteworthy that tradition in *ṣūfī* or *ṣūfī*-influenced writing is generally hostile to Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ. (He is known to have welcomed a pupil of Ibn Taymiyya to his court (see K. A. Nizami, *Some aspects of khānqah life in medieval India*, in *Stud. Isl.*, viii, 1957, 69).)

Muḥammad's successor, his cousin Fīrūz b. Rad͟jab, selected by the army in Sind, was apparently *persona grata* to the *ṣūfī*s of the time; the extant accounts of the reign are mainly panegyrical and in the *manāḳib* idiom; they depict him as pious and benevolent, shunning war and devoting himself to building. Nevertheless, before old age came upon him, he seems to have been no more pacific than Dihlī sultans usually were. He led expeditions to Lakhnawtī in 754/1353-4 and in 760/1359, followed by a foray into D͟jād͟jnagar in 761/1360 and Nagarkoṭ 762/1361. Other campaigns followed to Ṭhaṭṭha in 767-8/1366-7, Etāwā in 779/1377 and Katehar in 782/1380. Fīrūz S͟hāh Tug͟hluḳ did however refrain, despite an invitation, about 767/1366, from disaffected leaders in the Bahmanī sultanate, from attempting to recover Dihlī's former possessions south of the Narbadā. The impression of prosperity and contentment among all sections of the population given in ʿAfīf's *Taʾrīk͟h-i Fīrūz S͟hāhī* was probably heightened by the contrast with the period after Tīmūr's incursion into Hindūstān, when the work was written.

Perhaps Fīrūz's longevity (he died in 790/1388) had removed all restraint from the frustrated ambitions of his descendants, for after his death his sons and grandsons fell to struggling for the throne without regard for the consequences for the sultanate. By 796/1393-4, there were two would-be sultans, Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad the third son of Fīrūz S͟hāh Tug͟hluḳ, with headquarters in old Dihlī, and Nuṣrat K͟hān, son of Fatḥ K͟hān the eldest son of Fīrūz, with headquarters in Fīrūzābād, the new capital built by Fīrūz S͟hāh Tug͟hluḳ to the north-east of old Dihlī. It was not surprising that the *muḳtaʿ*s of the provinces seized their opportunity to become independent or to raise their terms for supporting one or other of the contestants.

Upon a scene of political disintegration burst Tīmūr's invading army. Crossing the Indus in Muḥarram 801/September 1398, capturing Bhatnagar but by-passing Dīpālpur and Sāmāna, Tīmūr defeated the forces of Sulṭān Maḥmūd before Dihlī and occupied and sacked Dihlī itself. The consequent political anarchy is reflected in the purely local scale of the events recorded in the histories of the period. The possessor of Dihlī itself became merely one of many military chiefs, both Muslim and Hindū, struggling to widen the area in north India from which they drew revenue, or to increase their military following. Some of Dihlī's former officers succeeded in assuming complete independence of Dihlī. In 808/1406 Hūs͟hang S͟hāh put the seal on his father Dilāwar K͟hān's independent rule in Mālwā with a proclamation of an independent sultanate; in 810/1407 Ẓafar K͟hān did the same in Gud͟jarāt. In the east, the area of Awadh and Tirhut became the centre of the independent power of D͟jawnpur under the eunuch Malik Sarwar (D͟jawnpur appears to have become formally independent of Dihlī in 803/1400). K͟hāndes͟h in the valley of the Tāptī, Kālpī and Mahoba in eastern Rād͟jāsthān also became independent in the period immediately after Tīmūr's invasion.

Dihlī itself, a capital city without an empire, came in 817/1414 into the possession of the 'Sayyid' K͟hiḍr K͟hān, governor of Multān, Maḥmūd, the last of the Tug͟hluḳs, having died the previous year. He lay claim to a title no higher than Rāyāt-i Aʿlā and, according to the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Muḥammadī*, (B.M. Or. 137, folios 311b-312a) acknowledged the suzerainty of S͟hāh Ruk͟h, Tīmūr's son. K͟hiḍr K͟hān and his 'Sayyid' successors, Mubārak S͟hāh (824-37/1421-34) and Muḥammad b. Farīd (837-49/1434-45) were obliged to play the part of provincial rulers, struggling with the Rāys of Katehar, Etāwā, Čandwar, Bayānā, Gwāliyār for the acknowledgment of suzerainty by the payment of tribute. The possession of Dihlī and its historic claims was worth so little at this time that in 855/1451 the last of the Sayyids, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam S͟hāh, peacefully relinquished Dihlī to the Lōdī Afg͟hān, Bahlūl, contenting himself until his death in 883/1478 with possession of the district of Badāʾūn, a possession which, illustrative of the particularist outlook of the time, Bahlūl was equally prepared peacefully to allow.

There are now extant no records strictly contemporary with the Lōdī period of the sultanate; moreover some authors in Mug͟hal times tend to romanticize the Lōdīs under the influence of pro-Afg͟hān sentiment. It is incontrovertible that considerable Afg͟hān immigration into India occurred (it is said with the deliberate encouragement of Bahlūl) and that during Bahlūl's reign (855-94/1451-89), the Loḥānīs, the Sūrs, the Sarwānīs, the Niyāzīs and the Karranīs come into prominence as settlers in India.

Bahlūl Lōdī was the grandson of Malik Bahrām who had migrated to Multān during the reign of Fīrūz S͟hāh Tug͟hluḳ. Bahlūl succeeded his uncle Malik Sulṭān S͟hāh as governor of Sirhind and acquired Lahore becoming *K͟hān-i K͟hānān* under Muḥammad b. Farīd. He was invited to take over at Dihlī by Ḥamīd K͟hān, the *wāzir* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam S͟hāh. Bahlūl succeeded in widening the area of Dihlī's influence. He pacified the Dōʾāb, reduced Etāwā, Čandwar and Rewārī and, in 856/1452, defeated an attempt by sultan Maḥmūd S͟harḳī of D͟jawnpur to seize Dihlī itself. Another attempt by sultan Ḥusayn S͟hāh in 880/1475 was also defeated. Desultory warfare between Dihlī and D͟jawnpur continued until, in 884/1479 Bahlūl succeeded in occupying D͟jawnpur itself and seating his son Bārbak S͟hāh on the throne. Much of Bahlūl's success is attributed to his dexterous handling of his Afg͟hān *amīrs*; he is reputed to have avoided any extreme assertion of the authority of the sultanate and to have limited his demands upon his *d͟jāgīrdārs* to military service.

Bahlūl's third son, Niẓām Khān (Sikandar Lōdī), was preferred as successor by the Afghān chiefs. Sikandar completed the incorporation of Djawnpur into the Dihlī kingdom, deposing Bārbak Shāh, and campaigned in Bihār where the fugitive Ḥusayn Shāh had taken refuge. In order to control the Etāwā, Koyl, Gwāliyār and Dholpur areas more effectively, he founded Āgra in 910/1504, but the latter years of his reign (894-923/1489-1517) saw incessant military activity in this region.

His successor, Ibrāhīm (923-32/1517-26), was soon faced by a Loḥānī and Farmūlī revolt under the nominal leadership of Djāl Khān, a younger brother, in Djawnpur and Bihār where the tradition of independence of Dihlī at that time was still strong. Although Ibrāhīm enjoyed some successes, Dawlat Khān, governor of the Pandjāb appealed to the Mughal Bābur at Kābul to intervene in Hindūstān, as also did ʿĀlam Khān, Ibrāhīm's uncle who claimed Dihlī for himself. Bābur, proving more adept at using them than they at using him, marched on Dihlī to defeat and kill Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānīpat in Radjab 932/April 1526. But this victory merely established Bābur as one of the serious contenders for empire in Hindūstān. The Afghāns melted into the countryside or withdrew into Bihār out of Bābur's immediate reach, waiting on events and by no means reconciled to Mughal supremacy.

The Afghān sultanate of Dihlī was temporarily restored by Shīr Shāh Sūr and his son Islām Shāh. Farīd Khān's (Shīr Shāh's) grandfather had migrated to Hindūstān during the reign of Bahlūl Lōdī; his father Miyān Ḥasan Khān receiving under Sikandar Lōdī the *parganas* of Sahsarām, Ḥādjīpur and Kharpur Tānda near Banāras in *djāgīr* for the maintenance of 500 horsemen. Shīr Shāh, who was born about 1472 (see P. Saran, *The date and place of Sher Shāh's birth*, in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, xx, 1934, 108-22, and Ishwari Prasad, *Life and times of Humayun*, Calcutta 1955, 96 *fn.*) was given the management of his father's *parganas* about 917/1511. Losing them to his half-brother Sulaymān, in 933/1527 he took service with Bābur only to leave him the following year to place himself under Bahar Khān Loḥānī who had set himself up as Sultan Muḥammad Shāh in southern Bihār. In 936/1529, after Muḥammad Shāh's death, Shīr Khān ruled in co-operation with Dudū, the mother of the boy successor Djalāl Khān. Shīr Khān temporarily lost his position in Bihār to the Lōdī claimant Maḥmūd b. Sikandar Lōdī. His rivals were however discomfited by the Mughal Humāyūn at the battle of Dawra 937/1531, with the help of Shīr Khān's neutrality. His spirited defence of Čunār rallied the Afghāns of Bihār around him and he consolidated his position in Bihār by defeating an invasion by the forces of the Bengal ruler Maḥmūd Shāh at Suradjgaṛh in 940/1534. Counter-attacking, by Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 944/April 1538, the sultanate of Bengal was at his feet with the occupation of the capital Gawṛ.

Alarmed at the rise of Shīr Khān, Humāyūn moved eastward from Āgra in Ṣafar 944/July 1537 only to waste six months besieging Čunār. Losing an opportunity to secure Shīr Khān's submission as a tributary, Humāyūn marched on to Bengal only to meet defeat at Čawnsa in Ṣafar 946/June 1539. He was again defeated near Kanawdj in Muḥarram 947/May 1540 and forced to flee to Lahore and then via Multān to Sind from whence he eventually made his way to Ḳazwīn.

Shīr Shāh secured his position in the west by occupying the Pandjāb, founding a stronghold, Rohtās, near Balināth; Multān was also occupied in 950/1543. Shīr Shāh took up Dihlī's perennial struggle with the Rādjpūts with the capture of Rāysen in 950/1543 and campaigns against Mārwār in 950-1/1544. He was killed while besieging Kālindjar in Rabīʿ I 952/May 1545.

His successor, Islām Shāh Sūr (952-60/1545-53), the younger son of Shīr Shāh, though far from adroit in handling the Afghān chiefs, managed to hold Shīr Shāh's dominions together until his death. He is criticized by later Afghān writers for attempting to curb the powers of the *djāgīrdārs*.

On his death the throne was seized by Mubāriz Khān, a nephew of Shīr Shāh who took the title of Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh. This was the signal for the collapse of any unifying authority in the area of the Dihlī sultanate. Tādj Khān Karranī in Gwāliyār, Ibrahīm Khān Sūr, Aḥmad Khān Sūr in Lahore and Muḥammad Khān Sūr in Bengal threw off their allegiance. Upon this scene of political confusion Humāyūn re-entered in 962/1555, occupying Lahore in Rabīʿ II 962/February 1555, defeating the Afghāns at Sirhind in Shaʿbān 962/June 1555 and entering Dihlī the following month. It was not however until after Humāyūn's death (Rabīʿ I 963/January 1556) that the Mughal victory at Pānīpat over Hemū, the Hindū general of Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh, guaranteed that the Mughals would not be expelled from India again.

Under Akbar, the Dihlī sultanate merged imperceptibly into the Mughal empire, distinguished from that empire less by the character of its institutions (for Akbar built more upon Khaldjī and Tughluḳ foundations than his panegyrists acknowledge) than by the narrower extent of its authority, its failure to guard the north-west marches and its failure to hold Rādjāsthān for any appreciable period.

Despite the rhetoric of Muslim historians of the period and the undoubted achievements of the Khaldjīs and the early Tughluḳs, the Dihlī sultanate made no violent break with the later Rādjpūt political tradition that rulers in Hindūstān sought paramountcy rather than sovereignty, that is, acknowledgment of their superior rights in the spheres of military service and revenue enjoyment rather than a general control over the people at large. This is hardly surprising when it is remembered that at no time did the Turks and the Afghāns succeed in reducing the Hindū chiefs to disarmed impotence. The panegyrics of Muslim historians require correction by the inscriptional evidence cited, for example, in H. C. Ray, *The dynastic history of Northern India*, i, Calcutta 1931, 544-7, 565; ii, Calcutta 1936, 729-35, 908, 1096-1103, 1132-4, 1190-5 (see also *Cambridge History of India*, iii, *Turks and Afghans*, Chapter xx), which shows clearly that the Rādjpūt clans remained politically active away from the principal centres of Turkish military occupation; the emergence of the Hindū chiefs into prominence in the 9th/15th century is explicable only on the basis that they had been there all the time, concealed from view by the earlier Muslim historians. It is important to recall that except for a short period under the Khaldjīs and Tughluḳs, Rādjāsthān was generally independent of Dihlī. Moreover the Ghūrid conquest of Hindūstān was undertaken by a military *élite* of Turks, Khaldjīs and Afghāns, accustomed at home to a predatory relationship with the economically productive sections of the population but leaving them a large measure of autonomy in law and custom. Although

there was a large and continuing (though imperfectly documented) migration of Muslims to India during the sultanate period, it was largely a movement of professional classes and did not involve economic and social displacement of the mass of the Hindū population. The bulk of the Muslim 'working' population consisted of converts made in the group or the products of intermarriage and concubinage. Neither their own political traditions nor their political necessities would suggest more than the minimum interference, political and administrative, by the Muslim conquerors with the principal unit of Indian social life, the village community. (It is probable that the Muslim *djāgīrdārī* contingents living in the villages near the larger towns had some social and cultural impact upon the local population).

The relations of the Dihlī sultanate with the Hindū population were dominated usually by considerations of policy rather than of religion. Hindū chiefs were acceptable as tributaries and Hindū cultivators as tax-payers. Hindū clerical assistance in leyying the land revenue and Hindū bankers' services in providing sultans with ready cash were indispensable. The description of the place of the Rādjpūts at Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's court by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, following upon Khaldjī marriages with Rādjpūt families, suggests that Akbar's policy of conciliating the Rādjpūts was not without precedent in the sultanate period. It cannot be regarded as established, without question, that the sultans of Dihlī normally levied *djizya* as a discriminatory tax on non-Muslims as such. It is suggested that many statements in Indo-Muslim historians to that effect may be discounted as attempts to depict, for the comfort and edification of the pious, an ideal Muslim ruler. Moreover, where the terms *kharādj* and *djizya* are found together, it is suggested that they are being used as conventional legal terms, with emotive intent, for what was in fact the tribute or land revenue customarily paid to a paramount power. In support of this latter hypothesis, it may be noted that in his *Fatāwa-yi Djahāndārī*, Ḍiyā᾽ al-Dīn Baranī speaks of Hindū Rāys taking *kharādj* and *djizya* from Hindū *mushriks* and *kāfirs* (India Office Library MS. 1149, f. 119a). However, for a contrary (and indeed the more usual) view of this very controversial question, see, *e.g.*, Ishwari Prasad, *History of mediaeval India*, 475-6; A. L. Srivastava, *The sultanate of Delhi*, Agra 1950, 443-5; and *The advanced history of India*, index, *s.v. jizya*, 1051.

The Muslim ruling *élite* was ethnically heterogeneous. Turks from the steppe, Afghāns and Khaldjīs were dominant until Balban's time, but Hindū converts soon made their appearance in important offices (see P. Saran, *Politics and personalities in the reign of Nasir-uddin Mahmud, the Slave*, in *Studies in medieval Indian history*, Delhi 1952) and later, under the Khaldjīs and Tughluḳs, sometimes played a dominant rôle (*e.g.*, Malik Kāfūr, Khusraw Khān Barwārī and Khān-i Djahān Maḳbūl, *wazīr* of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ). Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ was reported to have encouraged Muslims to come to India to take service under him. As in Mughal times, the Indian-born Muslim of Hindū stock did not enjoy the same prestige as did descendants of the original conquerors or Muslim immigrants. Although Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, Iletmish and Balban, their principal commanders and *muḳṭa*ʿs, and the Khaldjī favourites Malik Kāfūr and Khusraw Khān, began as slaves in the royal household, the position of slaves in administration and war under Dihlī followed the Ghaznawid and Sāmānid precedents. Slavery was not the only or indeed the principal road to power; slaves formed merely one source of recruitment to the ruling *élite*.

The headquarters administration of the Dihlī sultanate followed familiar Sāmānid and Ghaznawid lines. The *wakīl-i dār* and the *amīr-i ḥādjib* were to be found managing the sultan's household and regulating access to him; the *wazīr*, the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik*, the *barīd-i mamālik* and the *ḳāḍī al-mamālik* appear to have exercised broadly the same functions as under the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids.

The administrative, the military and the salary *iḳṭāʿāt* (cf. A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 61-64), are clearly discernible under the Dihlī sultanate. The provincial governor, in the period from Balban to Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, *wālī* or *muḳṭaʿ* was an official, transferable at will, commanding the local military forces and paid personally by the grant of a revenue assignment or by a percentage of the provincial revenues. He was supposed to remit the revenue, surplus to local expenditure, to headquarters, where a record was kept of the numbers of the provincial contingents and the anticipated revenue. This system broke down after the Tughluḳs when the distinction between the administrative and the military *iḳṭāʿ* became blurred, governors became semi-independent tributaries with their own private armies, and the process of revenue audit also became spasmodic. The military assignment, or grant of the revenue from villages for the recruitment and upkeep of a body of cavalry, is reported to have existed under Balban; ʿAlā᾽ al-Dīn Khaldjī is said to have resumed many such assignments and to have paid his soldiers in cash. An Arabic source (*Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, trans. Otto Spies *etc.*, *Muslim University Journal*, Aligarh, March, 1943, 28-9) written in Egypt during the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ states that the troops of the Dihlī sultan were paid in cash from the *dīwān*. The encomiast ʿAfīf clearly indicates that during the time of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ the military assignment was common, though there are passages which suggest that the assignee was not always allowed the personal management of his assignment. In the 'Sayyid' and Lōdī periods payment of troops by the grant of *djāgīrs* or assignments, which the *djagīrdār* managed himself and over which the sultan's *dīwān* exercised minimal supervision, was usual. It is clear that there was throughout the sultanate period a tension between the sultan, like ʿAlā᾽ al-Dīn Khaldjī, with a preference for an extension of the *khāliṣa* land, or area under direct revenue administration from which the troops could be paid in cash, and the Muslim military class with a preference for assignments which they managed themselves. Neither the sultan nor the military class ever wholly succeeded in obtaining their wishes throughout the whole area of the sultanate. Probably ʿAlā᾽ al-Dīn Khaldjī succeeded more in managing the assigned areas than in abolishing all such grants of revenue. The accounts of Shīr Shāh give a vivid picture of the opportunities open to a *djāgīrdār* or military assignee in the Afghān period to become the *de facto* ruler of the area of the *djāgīr* and aspire to a provincial sultanate or even to the throne of Dihlī itself. Shīr Shāh did not himself, as sultan, abolish *djāgīrdārs* but set a limit to their influence by maintaining a large army recruited by himself and financed by a more extensive *khāliṣa* area.

Evidence on the sub-organization of a province

(*iḳṭāʿ* or *wilāyat*)—which in any event denoted that area around the principal town which the *wālī* or *muḳṭaʿ* could control rather than a clearly defined administrative area—is scanty. There are references to *shiḳḳdārs* in the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ and *fawdjdārs* rather later; these probably represented military commands subordinate to the *wālī* or *muḳṭaʿ* rather than regular heads of a definite administrative subdistrict. Shīr Shāh is said however to have appointed *shiḳḳdār-i shiḳḳdārān* to the unit known as the *sarkār* under the Mughals. The existence of the *pargana* or *ḳaṣaba* as a revenue district of a number of villages is well attested. Shīr Shāh is said to have appointed a *shiḳḳdār* and an *amīn* to each *pargana* to control the police and the revenue aspects of its work respectively. Below the *pargana* was the village community with which the Muslim official dealt through its *muḳaddam* or headman and *paṭwārī* or village accountant. In the 9th/15th century *shiḳḳ* is sometimes used to denote a province — a sign perhaps of the smaller political scale of that period.

In the collection of the land revenue, the Dihlī sultanate, its revenue officers and assignees, did not depart seriously from the principles and practices of the pre-Muslim period—of demanding a proportion of the gross produce of the soil assessed either by sharing the harvest (*ḥukm-i ḥāṣil*), by estimating its probable yield (*ḥukm-i mushāhada*) or by measurement of the area under cultivation and assessment according to a standard rate of demand per unit area according to the crop sown (*ḥukm-i misāḥat*). For the best account of the known changes and permutations in the sultanate period, see W. H. Moreland, *The agrarian system of Moslem India*, Cambridge 1929; see also ḌARĪBA, 6(a).

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DIHLĪ SULTANATE, ART. With the exception of the coinage [see SIKKA] and a very few ceramic fragments (a few described in J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Dehli museum of archaeology*, Calcutta 1908; for the pottery fragments of the ʿĀdilābād excavations see H. Waddington, in *Ancient India*, i, 60-76), the only body of material for the study of the art of the Dihlī sultanate is monumental. Most of the monuments are in Dihlī itself and are described s.v. DIHLĪ. The remainder are mostly described under the appropriate topographical headings, and are listed here in more or less chronological order.

The first major undertaking outside Dihlī was at Adjmēr [*q.v.*], where Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak built the mosque, known as Aṛhāʾī din kā djhōmpṛā ("Hut of two-and-a-half days"), at about the same time as the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām at Dihlī, to which Iletmish added a *maḳṣūra* screen as he had done to the Dihlī example. Other buildings attributed to Iletmish include a large masonry tank, the Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī, and an *ʿidgāh* and mosque at Badāʾūn [*q.v.*]; for the last, one of the largest mosques in India, see J. F. Blakiston, *The Jami Masjid at Badaun and other buildings in the United Provinces* (= *Memoir ASI*, xix), Calcutta 1926, and Cunningham, *ASI*, xi, 1880. In Nagawr [*q.v.*] is a fine gateway, the Atarkin kā darwāza, c. 627/1230, and at Bayānā, about 80 km. south-west of Āgra, is a mosque made out of temple spoil with corbelled arches similar to those of the Dihlī mosque; known as the Ukhā mandir, it was later reconverted to temple use. Of the time of Balban is a *minār* at Koyl (see ʿALĪGAṚH), demolished in 1862, described in *ʿAligarh Gazetteer*, v, 218.

Noteworthy buildings of the Khaldjī dynasty include the bridge over the Gambērī river at Čitawr built by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in c. 703/1303, and the Ukhā masdjid of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak (716-20/1316-20) at Bayānā, with colonnades of temple pillars but typical Khaldjī arches with their "spear-head" fringe.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ's buildings after his accession were confined to Dihlī; for his previous buildings see MULTĀN. His son, Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, carried the Dihlī craftsmen south to Dawlatābād [*q.v.*], whence the Dihlī style spread to the Deccan (see BAHMANIS, monuments). Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ was responsible for the early buildings of the towns of Djawnpur, Fatḥābād, Ḥiṣār and Lalitpur [*qq.v.*], and the last Tughluḳ, Maḥmūd Shāh, for the Djāmiʿ masdjid at Irič [*q.v.*], the arches of which anticipate the recession of planes characteristic of the Lōdīs (there is not general agreement about the date of this building; the interpretation of Blakiston, *op. cit.*, seems the most plausible).

The Lōdī dynasty's buildings outside Dihlī are mainly at Āgra, Kālpī, Lalitpur, and Hansī, [*qq.v.*], to which must be added the fine tomb of Muḥammad Ghawth at Gwāliyar [*q.v.*], of c. 972/1564, which is Lōdī in spirit if not in date. The Čawrāsī Gumbad at Kālpī is said to be the mausoleum of one of the Lōdī sultans, who is not further identified (cf. Blakiston, *op. cit.*).

For the buildings of the Sūrī dynasty see especially RŌHTĀS, RŌHTĀSGAṚH, SAHSARĀM, and the bibliography to BIHĀR.

See also HIND, Architecture.

(J. Burton-Page)

DIḤYA (or Daḥya) b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī, Companion of the Prophet and a somewhat mysterious character. He is traditionally represented as a rich merchant of such outstanding beauty that the Angel Gabriel took his features; and, when he arrived at Medina, all the women (*muʿṣir*, see *LA*, root. ʿṣr) came out to see him (Ḳurʾān, LXII, 11, may be an allusion to this occurrence). There is no reason to accept the suggestion put forward by Lammens (*EI*[1], *s.v.*) of some commercial connexion with Muḥammad; we only know that a sudden death put

a stop to a projected marriage between a niece of Diḥya and the Prophet, that the latter died just as he was about to marry a sister of the Kalbī and that Diḥya, to whom Ṣafiyya [*q.v.*] had been allotted after the capture of Khaybar, had to renounce her, to receive instead a cousin of the young captive.

After being present, if not at Uḥud, at least at the Khandaḳ, Diḥya commanded a small detachment at the battle of the Yarmūk, but it was his "diplomatic" activities in particular which have been pointed out. As a Kalbī he was bound to have an intimate knowledge of the districts along the Syrian *limes*, and his business allowed him to move freely everywhere without arousing suspicion; for this reason, he was probably used as a secret agent. Tradition however simply reports that, in 6 or 7, he was given the task of conveying to Heraclius a message from the Prophet inviting him to be converted to Islam, and that on his return the caravan was plundered by the Djudhām, against whom Muḥammad was compelled to send Zayd b. Ḥāritha. Several orientalists have noted legendary characteristics in the account of these events and have called into question the authenticity of the letter addressed to Heraclius; M. Hamidullah has recently applied himself to the task of refuting their arguments and even of finding evidence concerning the fate of the original document which may still be in existence (see *Arabica*, 1955/i, 97-110).

After the conquest of Syria, it is surprising that Diḥya should disappear from the scene; one source makes him withdraw to Egypt, but most biographers state that he settled in Damascus (al-Mizza = Mezzé), where he died in the caliphate of Muʿāwiya, in about 50/670.

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(H. LAMMENS-[CH. PELLAT])

DĪK, the cock. The word is perhaps of non-Semitic origin. No cognate synonyms seem to exist in the other Semitic languages, except in modern South Arabian (Leslau, *Lexique soqoṭri*, 1938, 126). The cock is mentioned quite often in ancient Arabic poems and proverbs and in the *ḥadīth*. In zoological writings it is described as the most sensual and conceited of birds. It is of feeble intelligence, as it cannot find its way to the hen-house when it falls from a wall. Yet it possesses a number of laudable properties: it is courageous and enduring, bold and clever in fighting other cocks and in defending its hens. The numerous hens with which it mates at the same time are treated by it impartially; it apportions to them grains even when hungry itself, its generosity having become proverbial. The best cocks (for eating) are those which do not crow yet. For fecundation a cock of two years should be chosen. Its vigour is recognizable by a round comb, a short mandible, a black pupil of the eye, etc. A good fighting cock is distinguished by its red comb, its thick neck, etc.

The cock lays one small egg in its whole life-time, the cock's egg (*bayḍatu 'l-ʿuḳr*). Its testicles are big; they are tasty and easy to digest. Castrated cocks yield meat fatter and tastier than that of any other animal; yet the Prophet, according to a *ḥadīth*, forbade their castration. When castrated their comb and 'beard' wither. Several kinds of *dīk* with various epithets (*hindī, nabaṭī, zandjī* etc.) are mentioned in the sources. According to Nuwayrī, the *dīk* in a town of Sind reaches the size of an ostrich.

It is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the cock that it apportions its crowing correctly to the different hours of the night, whether the night is 9 or 15 hours long. People are delighted by its crowing; the sick, when hearing it, feel alleviation of their pains, and even God, according to a *ḥadīth*, likes its voice. The Prophet was fond of white cocks and used to keep one in his house.

There is an angel in the form of a gigantic cock in Paradise, immediately below the throne of Allāh; by his crowing, which is repeated by all the cocks in the world, he announces the hours of prayer (M. Asín Palacios, *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, 2nd ed., Madrid and Granada 1943, 50 ff.; E. Cerulli, *Il "Libro della Scala"*, Vatican City 1949, 98 ff. (§ 69) and plate 4 (opp. 49); R. Ettinghausen, in *Convegno di Scienze Morali Storiche e Filologiche* (XII Convegno "Volta", Rome 1957, 362 f.; J. Berque, *Les Arabes*, Paris 1959, 17.). The Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] determined the times of their prayers by the call of the cock, and did not eat him (al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, 139 f.).

Although the *dīk* is the male of the *dadjādja* [*q.v.*] it is treated in most of the sources under a separate heading. Its medicinal properties, however, are mentioned by Ibn al-Bayṭār and Dāwūd al-Anṭākī in the chapters of *dadjādj*. Mainly its flesh and a gravy soup prepared therefrom, its bile, brain, comb and blood were put to medicinal use.

Djāḥiẓ, who mentions quite often a dispute between *ṣāḥib al-dīk* and *ṣāḥib al-kalb*, seems to quote from an anonymous work belonging to that kind of literature which has been treated by Steinschneider in his *Rangstreit-Literatur* (*SBAk. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 155, Abh. 4, 1908).

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *K. al-wadīk fī faḍl al-dīk*, Cairo 1322 (Brockelmann, II, 198, and S II, 193, no. 245); Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Fayyūmī al-Gharḳāwī, *Al-Ishārāt wa 'l-dalā'il ilā bayān mā fi 'l-dīk min al-ṣifāt wa 'l-faḍā'il* (Brockelmann, S II, 438); ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Taʿṭīr al-anām*, Cairo 1354, i, 219 f.; Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 144, 187 (transl. Kopf, *Osiris*, xii [1956], index); Damīrī, s.v. (transl. Jayakar, i, 800 ff.); Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Filāḥa* (transl. Clément-Mullet), ii/b, 243; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 78, 89 (transl. Kopf, 53, 65); Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, bāb 62, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 412 f.; al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī (Stephenson), 71 f.; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, x, 219 ff.; J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The medico-philosophical controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo*, Cairo 1937, 73 ff., 79 f. (English), 37 f., 44 ff. (Arabic); J. Henninger, *Über Huhnopfer und Verwandtes in Arabien und seinen Randgebieten*, in *Anthropos*, xli-xliv, 1946-9, 337-46.

(L. KOPF)

DĪK AL-DJINN AL-ḤIMṢĪ, surname of the Syrian Arabic poet ʿAbd al-Salām b. Raghbān b.

ʿAbd al-Salām b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Raghbān b. Yazīd b. Tamīm. This latter had embraced Islam at Muʾta [*q.v.*] under the auspices of Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihrī [*q.v.*], whose *mawlā* he became. The great-grandfather of the poet, Ḥabīb, who was head of the *dīwān* of salaries under al-Manṣūr, gave his name to a mosque at Baghdād, masdjid Ibn Raghbān (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī 327, trans. Pellat, index; al-Djahshiyārī, 102; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 95). Dīk al-Djinn, born at Ḥimṣ in 161/777-8, died under the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, in 235 or 236/849-51, without ever having left Syria. He is said to have had a frivolous and happy-go-lucky disposition. A moderate Shīʿī, as the elegies on al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib prove, he was associated particularly with Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Hāshimī and his brother Djaʿfar, to both of whom he addressed panegyrics. He also composed epigrams and erotic poems in the taste of the times. Arab critics do not recognize any superior talent in him, although his work has largely spread beyond the bounds of his native land. The Ḳayrawānīs of the 5th/11th century however have not failed to extract therefrom a particularly obscure and complicated verse (Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 147; Ibn Sharaf, ed. and tr. Pellat, 85; A. Benhamouda, in *Bull. des Ét. Ar.*, March-April 1949, 65). The few fragments which have come down to us are of interest only since the poet upholds the equality of the rights of his compatriots, the Arabized Syrians, with those of the true Arabs, and since he seizes the opportunity to write on the conflicts between the Northern and Southern Arabs.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text: *Aghānī*¹, xii, 142-9 (= Beirut ed., xiv, 49-65); Ibn Khallikān, no. 394, tr. de Slane, ii, 133); Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, i, 66, 172; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 156; Brockelmann, S I, 137.

(A. Schaade-[Ch. Pellat])

DIKKA, or *dikkat al-muballigh*. During the prayer on Fridays (or feast-days) in the mosque, a participant with a loud voice is charged with the function of *muballigh*. While saying his prayer he has to repeat aloud certain invocations to the imām, for all to hear. In mosques of any importance he stands on a *dikka*. This is the name given a platform usually standing on columns two to three metres high, situated in the covered part of the mosque between the *miḥrāb* and the court. In Cairo numerous undated platforms are to be found. The oldest dated inscription, with the word *d-k-t*, dates back to Sulṭān Ḳāytbāy (end of the 9th/15th century). Mosques of the Ottoman period have their *dikka* in the form of a rostrum against the wall opposite the *miḥrāb*. Nowadays, a microphone is used to amplify the *muballigh*'s voice.

The *dikka* should not be confused with the *kursī al-sūra*, the place where the ritual reader of the Ḳurʾān sits cross-legged. The term *dikka* is also used to describe a kind of wooden bench of secular usage.

Bibliography: Van Berchem, *CIA*, *Egypte*, index. (J. Jomier)

DILĀWAR KHĀN, founder of the kingdom of Mālwa [*q.v.*], whose real name was Ḥasan (Firishta, Nawalkishore ed., ii, 234); or Ḥusayn (Firishta, Briggs's tr., iv, 170; so also Yazdani, *op. cit.* below); or ʿAmīd Shāh Dāwūd (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, tr. Rogers and Beveridge, ii, 407, based on the inscriptions of the Djāmiʿ masdjid (= Lāt masdjid) in Dhār, cf. Zafar Hasan, *Inscriptions of Dhār and Māndū*, in *EIM*, 1909-10, 11-2 and Plates III and IV). He was believed to be a lineal descendant of Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām, Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī, and this belief is reflected in the dynastic name Ghūrī usually given to himself and his descendants. During the reign of Fīrūz Tughluḳ a title had been granted to him and a *manṣab* conferred on him. From an inscription on a gravestone discovered in the enclosure of the shrine of *shaykh* Kamāl al-Dīn Mālwī at Dhār it is established that in 795/1392-3 Dilāwar Khān was the governor of Mālwa. The date of his assumption of the pseudonym of Dilāwar Khān is not known precisely, but most probably this was the title conferred on him by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, whose son Muḥammad Shāh had appointed him as the *ṣūbadār* of Mālwa (the inscription referred to curiously mentions the name of the regnant sovereign as Maḥmūd Shāh).

Dilāwar Khān unhesitatingly offered protection and refuge to the runaway Tughluḳ monarch Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh when Tīmūr attacked India in 801/1398. His devotion and loyalty to this ill-starred monarch, however, incurred the resentment of his ambitious son Alp Khān (later Hūshang Ghūrī [*q.v.*]) who disapproved of his father's homage to his fugitive overlord and removed himself to Māndū [*q.v.*] where he put in order and consolidated the fortress-buildings. On the departure of Maḥmūd Tughluḳ for Dihlī in 804/1401 Dilāwar Khān, who had since 795/1392 ceased to send to Dihlī the balance of the revenue collections, proclaimed his independence, much instigated by his son Alp Khān (cf. Briggs, *Ferishta*, iv, 169). Dilāwar Khān did not, however, live long to enjoy the fruits of freedom, and died suddenly in 808/1405; his sudden death gave rise to a suspicion, shared by some of the high-ranking army commanders, that he had been poisoned by his ambitious son, and Muẓaffar Shāh I, ruler of the neighbouring kingdom of Gudjarāt, long had the same impression and ultimately made the desire to avenge his old friend and sworn brother-in-arms the reason for his attack on Mālwa.

Djahāngīr's record (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Lahore ed., 431) of the year of construction of the Djāmiʿ masdjid at Dhār as *hasht ṣad wa haftād* (870) is apparently a misreading of the line in the inscription on the east gate referred to above, since Dilāwar Khān had died in 808/1405; the inscription on the north entrance (*EIM*, 1909-10, 12 and Pl. IV) gives the date of its construction as Radjab of *sabʿ wa thamānī miʾa* (807). Other buildings of Dilāwar Khān are the mosque which bears his name at Māndū (insc. of 808/1405, *EIM*, 1909-10, 20-1 and Pl. XII/1) and the Tārāpur gate of that fort (Ins. of 809/1406, ibid., 19 and Pl. VII/2); the latter inscription, though attributing its erection to Dilāwar Khān, is presumably a reference to the date of its completion after his death.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Hādī Kāmwar Khān, *Haft Gulshan* (ms), *faṣl* 3; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Nawalkishore ed., ii, 234; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Eng. tr. Rogers and Beveridge, London 1909, ii, 407 ff.; E. Barnes, *Dhar and Mandu*, in *JBBRAS*, xxi, 1900-3, 339-91, *passim*; J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London 1910, 541; G. Yazdani, *Mandū: the City of Joy*, Oxford 1929; Amīr Aḥmad ʿAlawī, *Shāhān-i Mālwa*, Lucknow n.d., 14-7. See also DHĀR; MĀLWA; MĀNDŪ.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

DILĀWAR PASHA (?-1031/1622), Ottoman Grand Vizier, was of Croat origin. He rose in the Palace service to the rank of Čashnigīr Bashī,

becoming thereafter Beglerbeg of Cyprus and then, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1022/January 1614, Beglerbeg of Baghdād. As Beglerbeg of Diyārbekir—an appointment bestowed on him in 1024/1615—he shared in the Erivān campaign of 1025/1616 against the Ṣafawids of Persia. His subsequent career until 1030/1621 is somewhat obscure. The Ottoman chronicles (cf. Pečewī, ii, 366; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 392; Naʿīmā, ii, 166) state that a certain Muṣṭafā Pasha, killed in action during the last hostilities of the Ottoman-Ṣafawid war (1024-7/1615-8), was Beglerbeg of Diyārbekir at the moment of his death in 1027/1618. A Venetian "relazione" of July 1620 mentions the removal of Dilāwar Pasha from the Beglerbeglik of Diyārbekir, the office being now given to the "Silidar del Re" (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, viii, 267). Dilāwar Pasha fought—once more as Beglerbeg of Diyārbekir (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 406; Naʿīmā, ii, 194)—in the Choczim (Ḥotin) campaign of 1030/1621 against the Poles. It was on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1030/17 September 1621, in the course of this war, that Sultan ʿOthmān II (1027-31/1618-22) raised Dilāwar Pasha to the Grand Vizierate. His tenure of the office was destined to be brief. He lost his life on 8 Radjab 1031/19 May 1622 during the revolt of the Janissaries which led to the deposition and death of ʿOthmān II. Dilāwar Pasha built a large khān at Čār-Malik, between al-Ruhā' (Urfa) and Bīredjik, and another khān—not completed until the time of Sulṭān Murād IV (1032-49/1623-40)—at Sīdī Ghāzī (Seyyid Gâzî).

Bibliography: Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 368, 378, 382, 383; Ḳaraçelebizāde, *Rawḍat al-abrār*, 544, 546, 547, 549; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i, 375, 393, 406, 407, 410, 411 and ii, 1, 8, 10-16 *passim*, 31; Ṣolaḳzāde, *Ta'rīkh*, 702-14 *passim*; Naʿīmā, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 142, 168, 194, 201-19 *passim*; Naẓmīzāde, *Gulshan-i khulafā'*, Istanbul A.H. 1143, 66v; M. Sertoğlu, *Tuği tarihi*, in *Belleten*, xi, 1947, 489-514 *passim*; Ferīdūn, *Munsha'āt al-salāṭīn*, ii, 429 ff.; M. A. Danon, *Contributions à l'histoire des Sultans Osman II et Mouçtafa I*, in *JA*, onz. sér., xiv, Paris 1919, 69 ff. and 243 ff., *passim*; A. Galland, *La mort du Sultan Osman ou le retablissement de Mustapha sur le throsne, traduit d'un manuscrit Turc ....*, Paris 1678, 29, 35, 41, 60, 79, 82, 85, 98, 104, 105, 117; M. Steinschneider, *Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden*, i, Frankfurt 1905, § 146; S. Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, viii, Glasgow 1905, 343-59 *passim* ("The Death of Sultan Osman"); R. Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes ... together with the Lives and Conquests of the Othoman Kings and Emperours: A Continuation of the Turkish History from .... 1620 untill .... 1628. Collected out of the Papers and Dispatches of Sir Thomas Rowe ....*, London 1638, 1406-18 *passim*; *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte from the Year 1621 to 1628 inclusive*, ed. S. Richardson, London 1740, 42-51 *passim*; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, viii, 214, 242, 243, 267, 278, 281-91 *passim*, 298, 302; Zinkeisen, iii, 744-9 *passim*; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, iii, Gotha 1910, 444; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/2, Ankara 1954, 375; ʿOthmānzāde Aḥmed Ta'ib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, 31; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iii, Istanbul A.H. 1308, 2151; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, ii, 339; *İA*, s.v. Dilâver Paşa (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin).

(V. J. Parry)

DİLSİZ, in Turkish tongueless, the name given to the deaf mutes employed in the inside service (*enderūn*) of the Ottoman palace, and for a while also at the Sublime Porte. They were also called by the Persian term *bīzabān*, with the same meaning. They were established in the palace from the time of Meḥemmed II to the end of the Sultanate. Information about their numbers varies. According to ʿAṭā', three to five of them were attached to each chamber (*Koghush*); Rycaut speaks of 'about forty'. A document of the time of Muṣṭafā II (d. 1115/1703), cited by Uzunçarşılı, dealing with the distribution of cloth to the palace staff, mentions one mute in the *ḥarem*, two mutes and a dwarf (*djüdje*) in the Privy Chamber (*Khāṣṣ oda*), a chief mute, chief dwarf, six mutes and two dwarfs in the Treasury Chamber (*Khazine Koghushu*), a chief mute, chief dwarf, and ten mutes in the Campaign Chamber (*Seferli Koghushu*).

The mutes received pay and pensions, and had special uniforms and ceremonial dress. Their chiefs were called *bashdilsiz*—chief mute. Though deaf mutes from birth, they are said to have been men of intelligence, and to have had an elaborate sign language in which they communicated among themselves and received orders from their superiors. According to Bon, many of them could write 'and that very sensibly and well'. Their duties were to act as guards and attendants, and as messengers and emissaries, in highly confidential matters, including executions.

Bibliography: *Ta'rīkh-i ʿAṭā'*, i, 171-2, 283; Robert Withers, *A description of the Grand Seignor's seraglio* (adapted from Ottaviano Bon, *Il serraglio del gransignore* [1608]), *Purchas his Pilgrims*, ii/II. London 1625 (repr. Glasgow 1905, vol. ix), chap. VII (also repr. J. Greaves, London 1650, 1653, 1737); P. Rycaut, *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*[4], London 1675, ch. viii, 61-2; D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, vii, Paris 1824, 45; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 57; Gibb-Bowen, i/I, 80; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 330; Pakalın, i, 237. There are descriptions and pictures of the deaf-mutes in a number of western accounts of the Ottoman court.

(B. Lewis)

DIMASHḲ, Dimashḳ al-Shām or simply al-Shām, (Lat. Damascus, Fr. Damas) is the largest city of Syria. It is situated at longitude 36° 18′ east and latitude 33° 30′ north, very much at the same latitude as Baghdād and Fās, at an altitude of nearly 700 metres, on the edge of the desert at the foot of Djabal Ḳāsiyūn, one of the massifs of the eastern slopes of the Anti-Lebanon. To the east and the north-east the steppe extends as far as the Euphrates, while to the south it merges with Arabia.

A hundred or more kilometres from the Mediterranean behind the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, a double barrier of mountains which rise to 3,000 metres, the city, which is deprived by these of sea-winds and cloud, gives the impression already of belonging to the desert. The seasons are capricious, the winter short but severe with very occasional snowfalls. The rains which come in December, January and February, this last being a particularly wet month, are by no means abundant (in fact the city only has from 250 to 300 mm. as against 850 to 930 at Bayrūt [*q.v.*]. The spring, sudden and short, lasts for only a few weeks at the end of March and the beginning of April, followed by a relentless summer. From May to November there is absolute dryness, the daily temperature exceeds 35° centigrade in the shade and the glaring light accentuates

the shadow. At the end of November the first heavy showers wash the dust from the leaves; it is autumn. In this semi-desert type of climate vegetation sufficiently abundant and above all sufficiently lasting to support animals or man would scarcely be expected. But nature had fixed the site of Dimashk in advance. It was at the point where the Baradā [*q.v.*], the only perennial water-course of the region, emerges on to the plain after crossing the mountain-side and before losing itself in the desert. By means of an ingenious system of irrigation, man learned how to use this water, succeeded in wrenching from the desert a corner of ground which responded to his needs, and even made of it one of the richest agricultural regions of all "Hither Asia", the Ghūṭa [*q.v.*], which Muslim tradition likes to regard as one of the three earthly paradises (the others are Samarkand and al-Ubulla; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, 169). Thus with its situation between the desert and the mountains, its fertile soil and abundant water, it was able to support human habitation on a scale which from the dawn of time has caused it to be regarded as a metropolis.

Difficulties of communication between the town and the sea forced Dimashk to turn towards the interior. Protected on the west by the mountains, endowed with an excellent water supply, situated along the road which crosses Syria from north to south, and in the middle of a rich oasis, the city served as a market for the nomads and as a halt for the caravans which joined the Euphrates to the Nile; the incessant movement of men and goods was not unlike the activity of a great maritime port. Turned towards the desert, many times attacked but never destroyed, Dimashk offers us, against this unchanging background, evidence of a history of several thousands of years.

We have no precise knowledge of the epoch in which the city was founded. Nevertheless the excavations made in 1950 to the south-east of Dimashk at Tell al-Ṣāliḥiyya have disclosed an urban centre dating from the fourth millennium. When we compare the rudimentary equipment even of Bronze Age man with the complexity of the irrigation system, we can understand that the prosperity of this city in the middle of the second millennium must have been the result of a long and slow development.

Dimashk enters into history with the mention made of her in the Tell al-Amarna tablets. She is named as one of the towns conquered in the 15th century B.C. by the Pharaoh Thutmoses III who occupied Syria for a time.

In the 11th century B. C. Dimashk was the flourishing capital of the land of Aram referred to in the history of Abraham (Genesis, X, 22, XIV, 15); even to-day Muslims venerate the Masdjid Ibrāhīm at Berzé, to the north of Damascus, which according to tradition was the birthplace of Abraham. It seems that it was at this time that the Aramaeans introduced its grid-like plan with straight streets and rectangular intersections, similar to that which existed in the second millennium in Babylon and Assyria. The city owed the development of its canal system to the Aramaeans; we know from the Old Testament history of Naʿamān the Leper (II Kings, V) that the Abāna was already flowing alongside the Baradā before the 10th century B.C., while the Nahr Tawrā with its Aramaean name, which had been dug along the slopes of the Kāsiyūn, irrigated the region to the north and north-east of the city and played an important part in the agricultural economy of the oasis.

The town was conquered by David (II Kings, viii, 5-6) but in the century of Solomon, the king of Dimashk fought successfully the Assyrian kings to the north and the kings of Israel to the south. In 732 B.C. the Assyrian troops of Tiglatpilezer III put an end to the kingdom of Dimashk; they took the town and despoiled the temple and palace, part of whose furniture was rediscovered in 1930 in Upper Mesopotamia. For this period of the city's history, as for the successive occupations by the Assyrians in the 8th century, the Babylonians in the 7th century, the Achaemenids in the 6th century, the Greeks in the 4th century and the Romans in the 1st century B.C., see K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damascus*, i, *Die Antike Stadt*, and the articles of J. Benzinger in *Pauly-Wissowa*, iv, 2042-8, Jalabert in the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* of Cabrol and Leclercq, art. *Damas*, iv, 1920, col. 119-46, R. Janin in the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* of R. Aubert and E. van Cauwenbergh, xiv, 1957, col. 42-7.

The conquest of Alexander the Great in 333 B.C. is an important date, for Dimashk, lost to the Achaemenids, was now to come for several centuries, up to the time of the Arab conquest in 14/635, under western influence. Three stages can be distinguished in the Hellenistic period; first a Ptolemaic foundation in the 3rd century B.C., then the raising of the town to the rank of a capital by the Seleucid Antiochus IX of Cyzicus (111 B.C.), and finally the installation of a new Greek colony about the year 90 B.C. under Demetrius III. As a Seleucid capital Dimashk became important once again and began to be developed according to Hellenistic urban planning. At the side of the Aramaean town, where stood the temple which since the 9th century B.C. had dominated the development of the city, there arose a twin city, that of the Greeks, following a normal procedure when two cultures of quite different character are obliged to exist upon the same site. Elements of Hellenistic urban architecture appeared such as the street with side arcades, traces of which are to be found to the east of the Umayyad Mosque, or the agora of which we are reminded by the still-existent Zuḳāḳ al-Sāḥa, or the small blocks of houses with the standard size of 100 by 45 metres with the longer side orientated north-south.

In 85 B.C. the town fell for the first time into the hands of the Nabataeans who had come from Petra under the rule of Aretas III, the Philhellene. These fresh arrivals constructed a new quarter to the east of the Hellenistic city, which mediaeval Arab historians called al-Naybaṭūn. In addition, they made on the the slopes of the Djabal Kāsiyūn above the Nahr Tawrā a canal which was reconstructed under the Umayyads and then took the name of Nahr Yazīd.

In 64 B.C. Pompey proclaimed Syria a Roman province, but Dimashk was not its capital and the imperial legates installed themselves in Antioch. From 37 to 54 A.D., under Aretas IV Philopator, the Nabataeans became for a second time masters of Dimashk with the approval of Rome. It was at this period that Saul, the future St. Paul, came to visit the important Jewish colony of the city in order to seek out Christians and was himself converted to Christianity by Ananias whose chapel, excavated in 1921, is still preserved to-day. Under Hadrian (beginning of the 2nd century) Dimashk was given the rank of metropolis. Septimus Severus and Caracalla carried out many public works there and Alexander Severus set it up as a Roman colony after the year 222.

Rome brought internal peace and administrative order, which in their turn brought amazing prosperity to the town. The upward trend of its economy led to a considerable influx of population and goods and the city very soon became too small. The Romans therefore imposed a new urban plan and set about combining the original Aramaean town with the Hellenistic one to form a new city. The state occupied itself mainly with projects of general interest such as the city walls and additional canals to provide extra water.

Rectangular walls measuring 1500 by 750 metres were built on the right bank of the Baradā to protect the inhabitants against pillaging nomads. Strengthened by a *castrum* in the north-east corner, the entry took on the appearance of a vast quadrangle which could be entered by seven gates: to the east, the Eastern Gate (Bāb Sharḳī), to the south the Kaysān Gate and the Little Gate (Bāb al-Ṣaghīr), to the west the al-Djābiya Gate, and to the north the Gate of the Gardens (Bāb al-Farādīs), the Djīnīḳ Gate and the Thomas Gate (Bāb Tūmā). Important remains of these walls and gates are still visible to-day. The growth in the population necessitated the construction of an aqueduct, *al-Ḳanawāt*, to provide drinking water which functions up to the present time. New blocks of houses in the southern part of the rectangle settled the problem of finding homes for the newcomers. Two great colonnaded streets were new features of the urban picture. One of these important thoroughfares, 25 metres wide and with arcades on either side, joined Bāb Sharḳī to Bāb al-Djābiya, crossing the city from east to west and corresponding with the *decumanus* of Roman cities. This road, the present Sūḳ Midḥat Pasha, is still referred to by foreigners as the 'Street called Straight' from the allusion to it in Acts, IX, 11. In the middle we can still see to-day one of the three Roman arches which used to stand there, and in a little semi-circular *tell* on its south side, crossed obliquely by a small alleyway, is the site of the ancient theatre. The second colonnaded street was the ancient road joining the temple and the *agora*, which was now turned into a *forum*. The temple, which was dedicated to Jupiter of the Damascenes, the successor to Hadad, god of storms, was partially rebuilt and altered on several occasions, especially in the second and third centuries A.D. Part of the *peribolus* (enclosure), two of whose corner towers serve as bases for minarets, is to be found in the outer wall of the Great Mosque. The eastern propylaea are to be seen in the present day Djayrūn to the east of the Great Mosque, while the western propylaea, which are ornamented with a wide pediment, are visible at Bāb al-Barīd to the west of the sanctuary. Finally it is also known that the Circus, which perhaps replaced the Stadium, was situated on the site of the present Boulevard de Baghdād, north of a cemetery outside the Gate of the Gardens, where Roman sarcophagi have been found.

Medieval Arab nomenclature has preserved in other ways the memory of certain Roman districts such as al-Dīmās, corresponding with the ancient *demosion*, al-Fūrnaḳ which recalls the furnaces or pottery kilns, and again al-Fusḳār, which seems to show that at this end of the Street called Straight there once stood the *foscarion* where the *fusca* was made and sold.

Many of the ancient remains must have disappeared beneath the earth whose level has risen by more than four metres in some places since the Roman period, but the plan of the city as it was laid out at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. was hardly altered up to the arrival of the Muslims. The Roman city, in fact, formed the skeleton of the mediaeval one.

The Romans were succeeded by the Byzantines. Syria became a part of the Eastern Empire after the death of Theodosius in 395. When Dimashḳ became the outpost of Byzantium, a new urban element, the church, appeared there. First of all the Temple of Jupiter was rebuilt and transformed into the cathedral which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The head of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā' is preserved in a crypt now situated in the Great Mosque and is venerated alike by Christians and Muslims. The present Orthodox Patriarchate stands on what was once the site of the Church of St. Mary.

The weakening of the Ghassānids and the Persian wars of the 6th century ruined the Syrian economy. In 612 the soldiers of Khusraw II occupied Dimashḳ, the majority of whose population was Jacobite Monophysite and hostile to the Melkite Byzantines. Well received, the Sāsānids did not ravage the town as they were to do later (614) in Jerusalem. In 627 on the death of the Persian monarch, the city was evacuated and the following year Heraclius returned to Syria.

The Muslim Conquest.—After first the dissolution of the Ghassānid Phylarchate and then the devastations of the Persians, the Arabs of the Ḥidjāz must have had no difficulty in conquering Syria. Each year Arab expeditions crossed the Byzantine frontier; in Djumāda I 13/July 634 Khālid b. al-Walīd's men crossed Palestine and then went up towards the north along the route of the Djawlān. The Byzantines offered some resistance to the north of al-Ṣanamayn in the Mardj al-Ṣuffar before turning back to Dimashḳ in Muḥarram 14/March 635. A few days later, the Muslims were at the gates of the city. Khālid b. al-Walīd established his general headquarters to the north-east of the town; an ancient tradition puts his camp near the existing tomb of Shaykh Raslān outside Bāb Tūmā. A blockade aimed at hindering a reunion of the Byzantine troops flung back into Dimashḳ with any army which might come to their aid from the north. The dislike of the population of Dimashḳ for Byzantine rule brought a group of notables, among them the bishop and the controller-general, Manṣūr b. Sardjūn, father of St. John of Damascus, to engage in negotiations to avoid useless suffering for the people of the city. In Radjab 14/September 635 the Eastern Gate was opened to the Muslims and the Byzantine troops retired to the north. There are several traditions concerning the capture of the city. The most widely spread is that of Ibn ʿAsākir (*Ta'rīkh*, i, 23-4) according to which Khālid b. al-Walīd forced his way through the Bāb Sharḳī, sword in hand, while Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ entered by the Bāb al-Djābiya after having given them the *amān*, and the two generals met in the middle of the *Kanīsa*. Another version, that of al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 120-30), says that Khālid received the surrender of the city at Bāb Sharḳī and that Abū ʿUbayda entered by force of arms at Bāb al-Djābiya; the meeting of the two commanders is said to have been at al-Barīṣ, towards the middle of the Street called Straight near the church of al-Maḳsallāt (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 130). By demonstrating that Abū ʿUbayda was not in Syria in the year 14, Caetani has destroyed the validity of these traditions. Lammens (*MFOB*, iii, 255) has tried to save them

by proposing to substitute the name of Yazīd b. Sufyān for that of Abū ʿUbayda. In any case, Lammens has shown the unlikelihood of a division of the town, a legend which seems to have come into being only at the time of the Crusades.

The Muslims guaranteed the Christians possession of their land, houses and churches, but forced them to pay a heavy tribute and poll tax.

In the spring of 15/636, an army commanded by Theodorus, brother of Heraclius, made its way towards Dimashḳ. Khālid b. al-Walīd evacuated the place and reformed his troops at al-Djābiya before entrenching himself near the Yarmūk to the east of Tiberias. It was there that on 12 Radjab 15/20 August 636 the Byzantine army was put to flight by Khālid who, after this success, returned to Medina. This time the conquest of Syria and Dimashḳ was to be the work of Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ. The town capitulated for the second time in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 15/December 636, and was finally integrated into the dominion of Islam.

The fall of Dimashḳ was an event of incalculable importance. The conquest put an end to almost a thousand years of western supremacy; from that time on the city came again into the Semitic orbit and turned anew towards the desert and the east. Semitic by language and culture, Monophysite and hostile to the Greek-speaking Orthodox Church, the people of Dimashḳ received the conquerors with unreserved pleasure, for they felt nearer to them by race, language and religion than to the Byzantines, and, regarding Islam as no more than another dissident Christian sect, they hoped to find themselves more free under them. At Dimashḳ more than elsewhere circumstances seemed as if they ought to have favoured Arab assimilation to Greek culture but in fact Hellenization had not touched more than a minute fraction of the population who for the most part spoke Aramaic. While the administration continued to maintain Byzantine standards, religious controversies arose and contributed towards the formation of Muslim theology. Assimilation took place in the opposite direction so that the positive result of the conquest was the introduction of Islam, which within half a century succeeded in imposing Arabic, the language of the new religion, as the official tongue.

The Caliph ʿUmar nominated Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān [*q.v.*] as governor of the city. The more important of the conquerors installed themselves in houses abandoned by the Byzantines (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, xiii, 133-44). The town had made a deep impression on the nomads who referred to it as the 'beauty spot of the world', but the lack of space and above all of pasturage led the Bedouins to camp at al-Djābiya. Dimashḳ very soon took on the character of a holy city, for traditions recognized here places made famous by the prophets, and pilgrimages began to increase. People went chiefly to the Djabal Ḳāsiyūn to visit Adam's cave, the Cave of the Blood where the murder of Abel was thought to have taken place, or the Cavern of Gabriel. At Berzé, Abraham's birthplace was honoured; the tomb of Moses (Mūsā b. ʿImrān) was regarded as being situated in what is now the district of Ḳadam. Jesus (ʿĪsā b. Maryam) was cited among the prophets who had honoured the town; he had stayed at Rabwa on the 'Quiet Hill' (Ḳurʾān, XXIII, 50) and would descend at the end of time on to the white minaret sometimes identified as that of Bāb Sharḳī, sometimes as the eastern minaret (*maʾdhanat ʿĪsā*) of the Great Mosque, in order to fight the Antichrist.

The Umayyads.—In 18/639 Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān died of the plague; his brother, Muʿāwiya, succeeded him in command of the *djund* of Dimashḳ. In 36/656, after the death of ʿAlī, Muʿāwiya was elected Caliph and, leaving al-Djābiya, he fixed his residence in Dimashḳ. The Umayyads were to carry the fortunes of the new capital to their highest point; for a century it was the urban centre of the metropolitan province of the Caliphate and the heart of one of the greatest empires that the world has ever known.

The domination of the conquerors did not at first bring any changes in the life of the city since the Muslim element was no more than an infinitesimal minority; arabization was slow and Christians predominated at the court up to the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik. At this time the growth in the number of Muslim subjects provoked a reaction which caused Arabic to replace Greek as the official language of the administration. At the beginning of the dynasty, discipline, prosperity and tolerance were the order of the day, but later on civil strife culminated in anarchy and in the end of Umayyad rule. Troubles broke out in the city, fires increased in number, even the walls had been demolished by the time that Marwān II installed himself in his new capital, Ḥarrān, in 127/744.

The change of régime was reflected in the urban plan only by the erection of two buildings closely connected with each other, the palace of the Caliph and the mosque, which did not alter the general aspect of the city. Muʿāwiya was content to remodel the residence of the Byzantine governors to the south-east of the ancient *peribolus* on the site of the present-day gold- and silversmith's bazaar; it was called *al-Khaḍrāʾ*, 'the Green (Palace)'. This name must in fact have been given to a group of administrative buildings as was also the case in Constantinople and later at Baghdād. At the side of the palace, which under the ʿAbbāsids appears to have been transformed into a prison, was situated the *Dār al-Khayl* or Hostel of the Ambassadors. The Caliph Yazīd I improved the water supply by reconstructing a Nabataean canal on the slopes of the Djabal Ḳāsiyūn above Nahr Tawrā which was given the name of Nahr Yazīd which it still bears to-day. Al-Ḥadjdjādj, the son of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, built a palace outside the walls to the west of Bāb al-Djābiya whose memory is preserved in the name of the district of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥadjdjādj.

It is to Caliph al-Walīd I that we owe the first and one of the most impressive masterpieces of Muslim architecture, the Great Mosque of the Umayyads. The Church of St. John continued to exist under the Sufyānids and Muʿāwiya did not insist on including it in the *masdjid*. The Gallic bishop, Arculf, passing through Dimashḳ about 50/670, noted two separate sanctuaries for each of the communities (P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymita, Saeculi iv-viii*). Conversions grew in number and the primitive mosque, which was no more than a *muṣallā* situated against the eastern part of the south wall of the *peribolus*, became too small. ʿAbd al-Malik laid claim to the church and proposed its purchase but the negotiations failed. "By the time that Caliph al-Walīd decided to proceed with the enlargement of the mosque, the problem had become difficult to solve. There was no free place left in the city, the *temenos* had been invaded by houses and there remained only the agora where the Sunday markets were held. In spite of previous agreements, he confiscated the Church of St. John the Baptist from

the Christians, giving them in exchange, however, several other places of worship which had fallen into disuse". A legend which tells of the division of the Church of St. John between Christians and Muslims springs from an error in translation. Neither al-Ṭabarī (*Annales*, ii/2), nor al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 125), nor al-Masuʿdī (*Murūdj*, v, 363) mentions the division of the church. The text of Ibn al-Muʿallā which Ibn ʿAsākir and Ibn Djubayr have helped to spread, speaks of a division of the *kanīsa* where the Christian sanctuary adjoined the *muṣallā* of the Muslims. We must take the word *kanīsa* in a broad sense as meaning place of prayer, that is to say the open-air *ḥaram* of the ancient sanctuary (J. Sauvaget, in *Syria*, xxvi, 353) which can also be called *masdjid*. Fascinated by the plan of the mosque in which they hoped to discover an ancient Byzantine basilica, certain authors, of whom Dussaud is one, have stated that the Christian hall of prayer was divided between the two communities. Lammens admits, however, that the construction of the cupola must be attributed to al-Walīd. All those who have studied it on the spot, such as Thiersch, Strygowski, Sauvaget and Creswell, agree with only some slight differences of opinion in regarding the Great Mosque as a Muslim achievement. In 86/705, al-Walīd had everything within the *peribolus* of the ancient temple demolished (al-Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān*, 107-109), both the Church of St. John and the little chapel which stood over the three cubits square cript, in which there was a casket containing the head of St. John the Baptist (Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ). Only the surrounding walls made of large stones and the square corner towers were allowed to remain. In this framework, approximately 120 by 80 metres in size, the architects placed to the north a court-yard surrounded by a vast covered portico with double arcades. "Along the whole length of the south wall of the *peribolus*, extended in the same direction as that in which the faithful formed their ranks for prayer, an immense hall made a place of assembly for the Muslim community". In the middle was an aisle surmounted by a vast cupola. In the east the "*miḥrāb* of the Companions" served as a reminder of the primitive *masdjid*. In the west a new door, Bāb al-Ziyāda, was opened in the wall to replace the central portico which had been blocked up. "Finally, in the centre of the north wall a high square minaret showed from afar the latest transformation which had come to the old sanctuary of Damascus". The walls of the building were hidden in some places under marble inlays, in others under mosaics of glass-paste. The Great Mosque was built in six years and "by the vastness of its proportions, the majesty of its arrangement, the splendour of its decorations and the richness of its materials" it has succeeded in impressing the human imagination down the centuries. A Muslim work in its conception and purpose, it was to be "the symbol of the political supremacy and moral prestige of Islam".

Two new Muslim cemeteries were made in addition to that of Bāb al-Farādīs: the first was situated at Bāb Tūmā but the one in which most of the Companions of the Prophet were to lie was to the south of the city outside Bāb al-Ṣaghīr.

The ʿAbbāsid period.—ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, uncle of the new Caliph Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, having put an end to the Umayyad dynasty, took Dimashḳ in Ramaḍān 132/April, 750 and became its first ʿAbbāsid governor. Umayyad buildings were sacked, the defences dismantled, tombs profaned. A sombre era began for the city which dwindled to the level of a provincial town, while the Caliphate installed its capital in ʿIrāḳ. A latent state of insurrection reigned in the Syrian capital. Under al-Mahdī (156-68/775-85) a conflict between Ḳaysīs and Yamanīs flared up into a vain revolt led by an Umayyad pretender called al-Sufyānī, with the support of the Ḳaysīs. Under the Caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the movement against Baghdād became more broadly based; in 180/796, the ʿAbbāsid ruler sent a punitive expedition under the command of Djaʿfar al-Barmakī. Order was only temporarily re-established and the authority of the ʿAbbāsid governors was continually being put to scorn. In an endeavour to restore calm, the Caliph al-Maʾmūn made a first visit there in 215/830, but the troubles continued. He made a second visit in 218/833, the year of his death. In 240/854 a violent revolt ended in the execution of the ʿAbbāsid governor of Dimashḳ, but troops of the Caliph succeeded in restoring order. Four years later the Caliph al-Mutawakkil tried to transfer his capital to the Syrian metropolis but only stayed there 38 days before returning to Sāmarrā.

In 254/868 a Turk of Bukhārā, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], was appointed governor of Egypt by the Caliph of whom he was no more than a nominal vassal. He seized the opportunity of the Caliphate's being much weakened by the successive revolts of the Zandj to occupy Dimashḳ in 264/878. His son, Khumārawayh [*q.v.*], succeeded him in 270/884 and continued to pay an annual tribute to the Caliph-Sultan in order to remain master of Egypt and Syria. He was assassinated at Dimashḳ in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 282/February 896. In the course of the last years of Ṭūlūnid power, the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*] appeared in Syria and helped to increase the centres of political and social agitation. The decline of the Ṭūlūnids and the growing activity of the Ḳarmaṭians who got as far as besieging Dimashḳ forced the Caliph to dispatch troops who reduced the Ḳarmaṭians to order in 289/902 and lifted the siege of Dimashḳ whose governor, Ṭughdj b. Djuff, a Turk from Transoxania, re-allied himself with the ʿAbbāsid general, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, without difficulty, and as a reward was appointed governor of Egypt by the Caliph. In this country his son, Muḥammad, founded the dynasty of the Ikhshīdids [*q.v.*] in 326/938. Recognizing the nominal suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsids, the new dynasty went to the defence of Dimashḳ against the Ḥamdānids. In 333/945 an agreement was reached, the Ikhshīdids holding the town in return for paying a tribute to the masters of Ḥalab. When Muḥammad died at Dimashḳ in 334/946 chaos was born again both there and in Cairo.

The Fāṭimids [*q.v.*] replaced the Ikhshīdids in Cairo in 357/968. With their coming, first in Egypt and then in Syria, a Shīʿite Caliphate was installed which was the enemy of Baghdād. At the beginning of the 11th century, Dimashḳ was in a difficult situation; the Ḥamdānids were putting on pressure from the north, the Fāṭimids from the south, not to mention Byzantine movements, Ḳarmaṭian activities and Turkoman invasions. At one time the city was occupied by the Ḳarmaṭians but in 359/970 the Fāṭimids expelled them, not without causing a certain amount of fire and destruction in the town. The Fāṭimid domination only aggravated the situation for the city, where the Maghrabī soldiers in the pay of Cairo exasperated the population. It was a century of political anarchy and decadence. The riots sometimes turned into catastrophe, for the majority of the houses were built of unfired brick

with framework and trusses of poplar trees, and any fire could have grave consequences; such was the case in 461/1069 when one which broke out owing to a brawl between Damascenes and Berber soldiers caused serious damage to the Great Mosque and the city.

The Turkish domination.—A Turkoman chief, Atsız b. Uvak [*q.v.*], who had been in the pay of the Fāṭimids, abandoned their cause and occupied Dimas͟hḳ on his own account in 468/1076, thus putting an end to Egyptian rule. Threatened by his former masters, Atsız hastened to strengthen the citadel and endeavoured to form an alliance with Malik S͟hāh [*q.v.*] whom he asked to help him. In reply, the Saldjūḳid sultan gave the town in appanage to his brother, Tutus͟h [*q.v.*]. He arrived in Dimas͟hḳ in 471/1079, re-established order and got rid of Atsız by having him assassinated. The era of violence continued. In 476/1083, Muslim b. Ḳurays͟h besieged the city; the Fāṭimid aid which he expected failed to arrive and Tutus͟h succeeded in setting the city free. He died fighting his nephew, Barkyārūḳ [*q.v.*], in 488/1095. His sons divided his domain. Riḍwān installed himself at Ḥalab and Duḳāḳ at Dimas͟hḳ. The latter put the direction of his affairs into the hands of his *atabeg*, the Turk Ẓahīr al-Dīn Tug͟htakīn, who from that time on seems to have been the real ruler of Dimas͟hḳ. His political position was a delicate one for he had against him the Fāṭimids, the Saldjūḳids of Bag͟hdād and, after 490/1097, the Franks as well.

On the death of Duḳāḳ (Ramaḍān 497/June 1104), Tug͟htakīn exercised his power in the name of the young Tutus͟h II who died soon afterwards. From then on, the *atabeg* was the only master of Dimas͟hḳ and his dynasty, the Būrids [*q.v.*], remained there until the arrival of Nūr al-Dīn in 549/1154. During the quarter of a century of Tug͟htakīn's reign, there was a remarkable improvement in the state of the city, both morally and economically. On his death in Ṣafar 522/February 1128, he was succeeded by his son, Tādj al-Mulūk Būrī. The Bāṭiniyya [*q.v.*], who had already made themselves felt in Dimas͟hḳ by killing the Amir Mawdūd in 507/1113, redoubled their activities supported by the Damascene vizier, Abū ʿAlī Ṭāhir al-Mazdaḳānī. In 523/1129 Būrī had this vizier killed. This was the signal for a terrible massacre, the population, out of control, exterminating some hundreds of Bāṭiniyya. The survivors did not long delay their revenge; Tādj al-Mulūk Būrī was the victim of an attempt on his life in 525/1131 and died as a result of his wounds a year later in Radjab 526/May-June 1132. The two succeeding princes were also assassinated, the one, Ismāʿīl, by his mother in 529/1135, the other, S͟hihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, by his enemies in 533/1139.

In 534/1140 the military leaders brought to power the young Abū Saʿīd Abaḳ Mudjīr al-Dīn, who left the direction of his affairs to his *atabeg*, Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur. On the *atabeg*'s death ten years later Abak took over the power himself but was obliged to accept the guardianship of Nūr al-Dīn who finally chased him out of Dimas͟hḳ.

The situation of the Būrids was not easy. Invested with their power by the Caliph, they defended an advance position on the road to Fāṭimid Egypt, while the replenishment of their grain supplies was dependent on two regions, the Ḥawrān and the Biḳʿa, which were threatened by the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. It was necessary at certain times to negotiate with the Franks, while at the same time they had to account for this conduct to Bag͟hdād. A new threat hung over Dimas͟hḳ from the beginning of 524/1130, that of the Zangids, who at that time became masters of Ḥalab. In order to cope with them, the Būrids on more than one occasion obtained the help of the Franks, but as these last themselves attacked Dimas͟hḳ in 543/1148, new agreements with them became no longer possible. The city was obliged to seek other alliances in order to safeguard its recently re-established economy.

Before Tug͟htakīn succeeded in restoring order, Dimas͟hḳ had known three centuries of anarchy. Delivered up to the arbitrary power of ephemeral governors and their agents, the population lived under a reign of terror and misery. Hence the quest for security which haunted them determined the lay-out of its streets. They had to live among people whom they knew and who knew each other and be near to those who lived a similar kind of life. It was from this starting-point that they were able to make a new beginning in their corporate life.

The plan of the city, which had changed very little since Roman times, from the beginning of the 4th/9th century on became broken up into numerous water-tight compartments. Each district (*ḥāra*) barricaded itself behind its walls and gates and was obliged to form itself into a miniature city provided with all the essential urban constituents such as a mosque, baths, water supply (*tāliʿ*), public bakery, and little market (*suwayḳa*) with its cook-shop keepers; each had its own chief (*s͟hayk͟h*) and group of militia (*aḥdāt͟h* [*q.v.*]).

This breaking up of the ancient town was accompanied by a complete religious segregation since each community had its own sector of the city, the Muslims in the west near the citadel and the Great Mosque, the Christians in the north-east and the Jews in the south-east. The whole appearance of the city changed, houses no longer opening directly on to the streets. From this time on, there sprang up along the ancient roads of the city streets (*darb*) each of which served as the main thoroughfare of its own district and was closed at both ends by heavy gates. It branched out into little lanes (*zuḳāḳ*) and blind alleys.

Nevertheless there still existed in the city some elements of unity. These were the fortified outer walls which protected the town, the Great Mosque of the Umayyads, its religious and political centre where official decrees were proclaimed and displayed, and finally the *sūḳs* which, under the supervision of the *muḥtasib*, furnished provisions and manufactured goods. Commercial activities went on in the same places as in the Roman epoch. One sector was on the great thoroughfare with the side arcades and another on the street with the columns which, to the east of the Great Mosque, led from the temple to the agora. These highways had been completely changed. The arcades had been occupied by shops, the roadway itself invaded by booths, and in each of the commercial sectors there had developed a maze of *sūḳs*. One of the centres of the ancient Decumanus was the Dār al-Biṭṭīk͟h which, as in Bag͟hdād, was the actual fruit-market, while not far from the ancient agora the Ḳayṣariyyas were much frequented. In these covered and enclosed markets, like civil basilicas based on Byzantine models, trade in valuable articles such as jewels, embroideries carpets and furs, was carried on.

When tranquillity returned under Tug͟htakīn, new districts were built, al-ʿUḳayba to the north, S͟hag͟hūr to the south, and Ḳasr al-Ḥadjdjādj to the south-west. At the gates of the city, tanneries produced raw

materials for the leather workers, two paper-mills functioned from the beginning of the 9th century, and many water-mills ground various fatty substances.

Of the period preceding the Būrids, the only monument which still exists is the cupola of the Treasure-house (*Bayt al-Māl*) built in the Great Mosque in 161/778 by a governor of the Caliph al-Mahdī.

During the reign of Duḳāḳ, the city's oldest hospital was built to the west of the Great Mosque, and there also in 491/1098 the first *madrasa*, the Ṣādiriyya, was constructed for the Ḥanafīs.

The first *khānaḳāh* of Dimashḳ, the Ṭāwūsiyya, once contained the tombs of Duḳāḳ and his mother, Ṣafwat al-Mulk, but the last traces of it disappeared in 1938. Intellectual activity and Sunnī propaganda developed in the city under the Būrids. The Shāfiʿīs had their first *madrasa*, the Amīniyya, by 514/1120, whereas the first Ḥanbalī one, the Sharafiyya, was not built until 536/1142. On the eve of Nūr al-Dīn's capture of Dimashḳ seven *madrasas* were to be found there but there was still none for the *madhhab* of the Imām Mālik.

Dimashḳ under Nūr al-Dīn.—A new era began for the city with the arrival of Nūr al-Dīn in 549/1154. In establishing his residence at Dimashḳ, this prince, already master of Ḥalab, set a seal on the unity of Syria from the foot-hills of Cilicia to the mountains of Galilee. For the first time since the Umayyads, Dimashḳ was to become once again the capital of a vast Muslim state, unified and independent. Nūr al-Dīn's politics imprinted his character on the city which assumed the rôle of rampart of Muslim orthodoxy as opposed to the Fāṭimid heretics and the infidel Franks. A recrudescence of fanaticism showed itself at this time; its one and only aim was the triumph of Sunnī Islam and all efforts were concentrated on the *djihād* [*q.v.*]. Great centre of the Sunnīs, its fame was heightened by a large number of new religious buildings, mosques and *madrasas*. Dimashḳ retrieved at this time both its military importance and its religious prestige.

Works of military defence were carefully planned and carried out. The surrounding city walls were strengthened, and new towers built, of which one can still be seen to the west of Bāb al-Ṣaghīr. Some gates such as Bāb Sharḳī and Bāb al-Djābiya were merely reinforced, others provided with barbicans (Bāb al-Ṣaghīr and Bāb al-Salām). A sector of the north part of the city wall was carried forward as far as the right bank of the Baradā, and a new gate, Bāb al-Faradj, was opened to the east of the citadel, while Bāb Kaysān to the south was blocked up. Nūr al-Dīn carried out works at the citadel itself, strengthening Bāb al-Ḥadīd and building a large mosque. Finally, in keeping with the military life of the city, two great plots of ground were reserved for the training of cavalry and for parades, the Maydān al-Akhḍar to the west of the the town and the Maydān al-Khaṣā to the south.

Religious and intellectual life was very highly developed and here two families played leading rôles, the Shāfiʿī Banū ʿAsākir and the Ḥanbalī Banū Ḳudāma who came originally from the now district of al-Ṣāliḥiyya, outside the walls on the slopes of the Ḳāsiyūn, in 556/1161. Places of prayer multiplied; Nūr al-Dīn himself had a certain number of mosques restored or constructed. An especially energetic effort was made to spread Sunnī doctrine and traditions and Nūr al-Dīn founded the first school for the teaching of traditions, the Dār al-Ḥadīth. There remain only ruins of this little *madrasa* whose first teacher was the Shāfiʿī historian, Ibn ʿAsākir. Other new *madrasas* were built, for the most part Shāfiʿī or Ḥanafī. It was at this time that the first Mālikī *madrasa*, al-Ṣalāḥiyya, was begun, to be finished by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. It was to the initiative of Nūr al-Dīn that we owe the construction of the great *madrasa*, al-ʿĀdiliyya, now the home of the Arab Academy. Begun about 567/1171, it was only finished in 619/1222.

Another new institution owed to Nūr al-Dīn was the Dār al-ʿAdl, which later on became the Dār al-Saʿāda. A high court of justice occupied the building to the south of the citadel; there, in the interests of equity, the prince grouped representatives of the four *madhhabs* around the Shāfiʿī *ḳaḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*.

New forms showing an ʿIrāḳī influence appeared in Damascene architecture, notably the dome with honey-comb construction outside, to be found on the funerary *madrasa* of Nūr al-Dīn which was built in 567/1171, and in the cupola over the entrance to the *Māristān* whose portal is ornamented with stalactites. This hospital, one of the most important monuments in the history of Muslim architecture, was founded by Nūr al-Dīn to serve also as a school of medicine. An accurate inventory of the 12th century monuments of Dimashḳ is to be found in the topographical introduction drawn up by Ibn ʿAsākir for his *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*. By the end of Nūr al-Dīn's reign the number of places of worship had risen to 242 *intra muros* and 178 *extra muros*.

The Ayyūbid period.—In 569/1174 on the death of Nūr al-Dīn his son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, whose *atabeg* was the Amīr Shams al-Dawla Ibn al-Muḳaddam, inherited his father's throne. In Dimashḳ, where a powerful pro-Ayyūbid party had been in existence since the time when Ayyūb, father of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], had been governor, plots were hatched among the amīrs. The young prince was taken to Ḥalab while Ibn al-Muḳaddam remained master of the city. To ensure its stability, the amīr negotiated a truce with the Franks, an agreement which upset one section of public opinion. The agents of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn presented him as the champion of Islam and won over the population of Dimashḳ to their side. The former Kurdish vassal of Nūr al-Dīn took over the waging of the Holy War and entered Dimashḳ in 571/1176. During the years which followed fighting hardly ever ceased; it was the time of the Third Crusade and the Muslims were dominated by a desire to throw the Franks back to the sea. At last, in 583/1187, the victory of Ḥaṭṭīn [*q.v.*] allowed Islam to return to Jerusalem. Some months after having made peace with the crusaders, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty [*q.v.*], died on 27 Ṣafar 589/4 March 1193 at Dimashḳ. Buried first at the citadel, his body was to receive its final sepulchre in the al-ʿAzīziyya *madrasa* to the north of the Great Mosque. After the sovereign's death fierce fighting broke out between his two sons and his brother. Al-Afḍal [*q.v.*], who in 582/1186 had received Dimashḳ in fief from his father, tried to retain his property, but in 592/1196 he was chased out by his uncle, al-ʿĀdil, who recognized the suzerainty of his nephew, al-ʿAzīz, successor of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Cairo. Al-ʿAzīz died three years later and after lengthy disputes, al-ʿAdil was recognized as head of the Ayyūbid family in 597/1200. Under the rule of this spiritual heir of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn there began a period of good organization and political

relaxation. Cairo from that time on became the capital of the empire but Dimashḳ remained an important political, military and economic centre. Al-ʿĀdil died near Dimashḳ in 615/1218 and was buried in the al-ʿĀdiliyya *madrasa*. Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā, who had been his father's lieutenant in Syria since 597/1200, and who had received the province in fief in 604/1207, endeavoured to remain independent in Dimashḳ, but the twists and turns of political life brought him at the beginning of 623/1226 to mention in the *khuṭba* the Khʷārazm-shāh, Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who thus became nominal suzerain of the city. When al-Muʿaẓẓam died in 624/1227 his son, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, succeeded him under the tutelage of his *atabeg*, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak. Very soon afterwards, the Amīr al-Ashraf arrived from Diyār Muḍar, eliminated his nephew, Dāwūd, and installed himself in Dimashḳ in 625/1228.

On the death of al-Kāmil, who had succeeded al-ʿĀdil in Cairo in 635/1138, there had begun a period of decline. Fratricidal disputes started again. In order to hold on to Dimashḳ, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl allied himself with the Franks against his nephew, al-Ṣalīḥ Ayyūb, master of Egypt. With the help of the Khʷārizmians, Ayyūb was victorious over him in 643/1245 and once again Dimashḳ came under the authority of Cairo. Ayyūb died in 646/1248, his son, Turanshāh, disappeared presumably assassinated a few months later, and in 648/1250, the prince of Ḥalab, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, seized Dimashḳ of which he was the last Ayyūbid ruler. The Mongol threat was, indeed, now becoming more imminent; Baghdād fell in 656/1258 and less than two years later the Syrian capital was taken in its turn.

The arrival of Nūr al-Dīn had undoubtedly brought about a renaissance in Dimashḳ, but the circumstances of the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had put a stop to the evolution of the city.

Progress began again under the Ayyūbids when Dimashḳ became the seat of a princely court. The growth in population and new resources which such a promotion implied had repercussions on its economic life, all the more appreciable since the calm reigns of al-ʿĀdil and his successor brought a peaceful atmosphere. This improvement in economic activity went side by side with the development of commercial relations. From that time on, Italian merchants began to come regularly to Dimashḳ. Industry took an upward trend; its silk brocades remained as famous as ever, while copper utensils inlaid or not, gilded glassware and tanned lambskins were also much in demand. The markets (*sūḳs*) stayed very active and at the side of the *Ḳayṣariyya*s, warehouses (*funduḳ*) multiplied in the town, while the Dār al-Wakāla, a depôt of merchant companies, gained in importance.

To strengthen their resistance against both family cupidity and the threats of the Franks, as well as to bring the system of defence up to date with the progress of the military arts, the Ayyūbids made changes and improvements in the outer walls and the citadel of Dimashḳ. The work on the walls was confined to the gates; Bāb Sharḳī and Bāb al-Ṣaghīr were strengthened in 604/1207 by al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā; al-Nāṣir Dāwūd rebuilt Bāb Tūmā in 624/1227; Bāb al-Faradj was reconstructed in 636/1239; lastly, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb remodelled Bāb al-Salām in 641/1243, adding a square tower which may still be seen at the north-east corner of the walls. Complete reconstruction of the citadel, a piece of work which took ten years, was begun in 604/1207. A new palace with a throne-room was built in the interior to serve as a residence for the Sultan, while the military offices and financial services were installed in new locations there. The present-day arrangements, indeed, go back to this period and although the citadel was burnt down and dismantled by the Mongols, two of these 7th/13th century towers still remain almost intact.

The general prosperity allowed the Ayyūbids to practise an exceptionally generous patronage of writers and scholars. Dimashḳ at this time was not only a great centre of Muslim cultural life but also an important religious stronghold. The Sunnī politics of the dynasty showed themselves in the encouragement which its leaders gave, following the custom of the Saldjūḳids and the Zangids, to the propagation of the Islamic faith and of orthodoxy. Civil architecture flourished at this time also. Princes and princesses, high dignitaries and senior officers rivalled each other in making religious foundations and Dimashḳ was soon to become the city of *madrasas*; the number of these—twenty are mentioned by Ibn Djubayr in 1184/1770—was to quadruple in a single century. (On the Ayyūbid *madrasas*, see Herzfeld in *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii, 1-71). From then on, the *madrasa* with its lecture-rooms and its lodgings for masters and students, began, like the mosques, to be combined more and more often with the tomb of its founder (see, for example, the ʿĀdiliyya and the Muʿaẓẓamiyya). Linked with the funerary *madrasa*, there appeared also at this time the *turba* of a type peculiar to Dimashḳ. The mausoleum consisted of a square chamber whose walls were decorated with painted stucco, above which four semi-circular niches and four flat niches symmetrically placed formed an octagonal zone surmounted by a drum composed of sixteen niches of equal size upon which rested a sixteen-sided cupola. This was the typical way of erecting a cupola over a square building. The first example whose date we know is the mausoleum of Zayn al-Dīn, built in 567/1172. Among the monuments of this kind which can still be seen to-day are the following of the 6th/12th century: the Turbat al-Badrī, the al-Nadjmiyya *madrasa*, the al-ʿAzīziyya *madrasa* where the tomb of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is situated, and the mausoleum of Ibn Salāma, built in 613/1216. Most characteristic of Ayyūbid architecture is its sense of proportion; the buildings have façades of ashlar of harmonious size, and the alternation of basalt with limestone forms a decorative motif whose finest example, perhaps, is the Ḳilidjiyya *madrasa*, completed in 651/1253. The dimensions of the cupolas are such that they seem to sink naturally into their urban background.

The 7th/13th century was one of Dimashḳ's most brilliant epochs. It had once more become "a political, commercial, industrial, strategic, intellectual and religious centre" and most of the monuments which still adorn the city date from this period.

The Mamlūk period (658-922/1260-1516).—A new phase began in the history of Dimashḳ when in Rabīʿ I 658/March 1260 the troops of Hūlāgū entered the city. The governor fled, the garrison was forced to retreat towards the south, the Prince al-Malik al-Nāṣir and his children were made prisoners. The Ayyūbid dynasty had come to an end. The invasion stopped at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] where the Mamlūks, under the command of the Amīrs Ḳuṭuz and Baybars, put the Mongols to flight. These then evacuated Dimashḳ which was given by the powerful Kurdish family of the Ḳaymarī into the hands of the Sultan

of Egypt's troops. The Christians of the city suffered reprisals for their attitude with regard to the Mongols, and the Church of St. Mary was destroyed at this time. From then on Cairo, where since 656/1258 a shadow Caliphate had been maintained, supplanted Dimashk which became a political dependency of Egypt.

It was still to be the most important city of the Syrian province, the *mamlaka* or *niyāba* of Dimashk. (For its administrative organization, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 135-201). The first great Mamlūk sultan, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars [*q.v.*], interested himself especially in Dimashk which he visited frequently during his reign (658-76/1260-77). He reconditioned the citadel which served as a residence for the sultan when he visited the city; in it also were to be found the mint, the arsenal, a storehouse of military equipment, food reserves, a mill and some shops. This veritable "city" served also as a political prison (see J. Sauvaget, *La Citadelle de Damas*, in *Syria*, xi (1930), 50-90 and 216-41).

On the Maydān al-Akhḍar to the west of the town Baybars built a palace with black and ochre courses of masonry, the famous Ḳasr al-Ablaḳ, of which the Sultan Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn was later to build a replica in Cairo. In the 10th/16th century the Ottoman Sultan Sulaymān erected the *takkiyya* on the site of this building. Baybars died in this *ḳaṣr* in 676/1277 and on the orders of his son, al-Malik al-Saʿīd, was buried in the al-Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* where the National Library is now situated. During his long reign of seventeen years Dimashk had only four governors but after the death of Baybars it was to undergo a long period of political anarchy punctuated by frequent rebellions.

Dimashk was the second city of the empire and the post of governor was given to eminent Mamlūks, usually coming from the *niyāba* of Ḥalab. The possibility of rivalry between the governor of Dimashk and the Sultan was diminished by the presence of the governor of the citadel. There were, in fact, two governors, the *nāʾib* of the city who received his diploma of investiture from the Sultan and who resided to the south of the citadel at the Dār al-Saʿāda where he gave his audiences, and the *nāʾib* of the citadel who had a special status and represented the person of the Sultan. The constant rivalry between these two dignitaries and the amīrs of their circles was sufficient pledge of the maintenance of the Sultan's authority. A change of Sultan in Cairo usually provoked a rebellion on the part of the governor of Dimashk. Thus when al-Saʿīd, Baybars' son, was dismissed from the throne and succeeded by the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], the governor, Sunḳur al-Ashkar, refused to recognize his authority. Supported by the amīrs and strengthened by a *fatwā* given him by the *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt*, the celebrated historian, Ibn Khallikān, Sunḳur seized the citadel whose governor, Ladjīn, he imprisoned, and proclaimed himself Sultan in Djumādā II 677/October-November 1278. He had the *khuṭba* said in his name until Ṣafar 679/June 1280, when the troops of Ḳalāwūn were victorious over him, following the defection of certain Damascene contingents. Sunḳur fled to al-Raḥba on the Euphrates. Ladjīn, now freed, was proclaimed governor of the city. A new Sultan often decided to change the governor; thus ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak was relieved of his office in 695/1296 on the succession of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā, who nominated Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Adjirlu. After the deposing of Kitbughā, who was imprisoned in the citadel of Dimashk, Ladjīn, who became Sultan, nominated Sayf al-Dīn Ḳipčaḳ governor in 696/1297. The latter put himself at the disposition of prince Ghāzān [*q.v.*] and accompanied him at the time of his incursion into Syria. In 699/1300 the Mongol army entered Dimashk; it seized the Great Mosque but did not succeed in taking the citadel where the Mamlūks had entrenched themselves. The whole sector of the town between these two strongpoints underwent serious damage and the Dār al-Ḥadīth of Nūr al-Dīn suffered. When the Mongols evacuated the city, Ḳipčaḳ betook himself to Egypt and rejoined the new Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn. In 702/1303 a new Mongol threat hung over the city, but the advance was repulsed. From the beginning of 712/1312, in the course of the third reign of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, Dimashk had, in the person of Tankiz, a governor of true quality whose authority was recognized by the Syrian amīrs. Viceroy of Syria in fact as well as name, he inspired respect in the Sultan whose nominal representative he was for almost a quarter of a century. The prosperity which this period brought allowed intellectual life to flourish. This was the epoch of the Muslim reformer Ibn Taymiyya, and of the historian al-Ṣafadī. In 717/1317 Tankiz built the mosque where his tomb was to be placed *extra muros*. Some years later he had work done on the Great Mosque; finally in 739/1339, he founded a *Dār al-Ḥadīth*. On the succession of the new Sultan, al-Malik Abū Bakr, he fell suddenly into disgrace, was arrested in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 740/June 1340 and imprisoned at Alexandria where he died of poison.

From 730/1340 until 784/1382, the time when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was visiting the Muslim East, twelve Baḥrī sultans succeeded each other in Cairo, while a dozen governors occupied the position of *nāʾib* of the city. Some of them had charge of its destiny on more than one occasion. It was a continual struggle stirred up by the ambitions of one or another and aggravated by the audacity of the *zuʿar*, whose militias, intended for self-defence, neglected their proper duties and, often with impunity, terrorized the population.

The succession of Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*] in 734/1382 brought a new line of Circassian Sultans to power who are also called Burdjīs.

In 791/1389 Dimashk fell for some weeks into the power of Yīlbugha al-Nāṣirī, a governor of Ḥalab who had revolted against the Sultan. Master of Syria, he penetrated the walls of Dimashk, overthrew an army sent by Barḳūḳ and made his way towards Egypt. He was defeated in his turn but in Shaʿbān 792/July-August 1390 we find him once again governor of Dimashk.

Although warned of the progress of Tīmūr, Barḳūḳ did not have time to reinforce the defences of his territory for he died in 801/1399. In Dimashk, Sayf al-Dīn Tanibak who had governed the city since 795/1393, revolted against Faradj, the new Sultan, and marched on Egypt. He was beaten near Ghazza, made prisoner and executed at Dimashk. Syria, torn apart by the rivalries of the amīrs, fell an easy prey to Tīmūr. The Mongol leader advanced as far as Dimashk and it was in his camp near the town that he received the memorable visit of Ibn Khaldūn. The Sultan Faradj, coming to the aid of the Amīr Sudun, Barḳūḳ's nephew, was forced to turn back, following a series of defections. After its surrender the city was given over to pillage but the citadel held out for a month. Many were the victims

of fires which caused serious damage. The Great Mosque itself was not spared nor the Dār al-Saʿāda. In 803/1401, Tīmūr left Dimashk, taking with him to Samarkand what remained of qualified artisans and workmen. This mass deportation was one of the greatest catastrophes in the history of the town. After the Mongols' departure, the Amīr Taghrībirdī al-Ẓāhirī became the governor of a devastated city, despoiled and depopulated. The exhausted country had to face a thousand difficulties. Two long reigns gave Dimashk the opportunity of rising from its ruins: that of Sultan Barsbāy (825-41/1422-38) and, more important, that of Ḳāʾitbāy [*q.v.*] whose rule from 872/1468 until 901/1495 brought a long period of tranquillity. Moreover between 16 Shaʿbān and 10 Ramaḍān 882/23 November and 16 December 1477 this Sultan paid a visit to Dimashk where the post of governor was held by the Amīr Ḳidjmas, whose rapacity remains legendary. The civil strife had swallowed up large sums of money and the amīrs did not hesitate about increasing the number of taxes and charges. The Sultans themselves would often use violent means of procuring a sum of money with which the taxes could not provide them, nor did they scruple about reducing their governors to destitution by confiscating their fortunes. Under the last Mamlūks corruption even won over the *ḳāḍīs* who, in return for a reward, were willing to justify certain measures against the law. After Ḳāʾitbāy, there began once again a régime of violence and extortions which ended only with the reign of Ḳānṣūh al-Ghawrī (905-22/1500-16). This last Mamlūk Sultan had to defend himself against the Ottomans who had invaded Syria. He died in battle in Ramaḍān 922/mid-October 1516, and the troops of Selīm I made their entry into Dimashk.

Paradoxically enough, a large number of buildings were constructed in the city during this tragic period. The Mamlūks, who lived uncertain of what the next day would bring, tried at least to secure themselves a sepulchre, so that mausoleums and funerary mosques multiplied although they built few *madrasas*.

There were no innovations in the art of this period, for any lack of precedent frightened these parvenus. At the beginning of Mamlūk times they built according to Ayyūbid formulas. The al-Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa*, now the National Library, where Baybars' tomb is situated, was originally the house of al-Aḳīḳī, where Ayyūb, father of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, had lived, and the modifications made in 676/1277 were limited to the addition of a cupola and an alveoled gate.

The only new type of building was the double mausoleum, of which that of the old Sultan Kitbughā, built in 695/1296, was the first example in Dimashk.

In 747/1346 Yīlbugha, then governor of the city, erected a building on the site of a former mosque whose plan was inspired by that of the Great Mosque. It was in this sanctuary, situated near the modern Mardja Square, that the new governor put on his robe of honour before making a solemn entry into the city.

The artistic decadence which became more pronounced in the course of the 8th/14th century came into the open at the beginning of the 9th/15th century after the ravages of Tīmūr. At this time everything was sacrificed to outward appearances and the monument was no more than a support for showy ornamentation. This taste for the picturesque manifested itself in the minarets with polygonal shafts, loaded with balconies and corbelling whose silhouettes were to change the whole skyline of the city. The first example was the minaret of the Djāmiʿ Hishām, built in 830/1427. Polychromatic façades grew in popularity and even inlays were added. The al-Ṣabūniyya mosque, finished in 868/1464, and the funerary *madrasa* of Sibay called the Djāmiʿ al-Kharrāṭīn, built in the very early years of the 9th/16th century, are two striking examples of the decadence of architecture under the last Mamlūks.

It is interesting to notice that most of these Mamlūk monuments were built *extra muros*. There was no longer room within the city walls and the city "burst out" because, paradoxically, "there was an immense development of economic activity during this sad period". "All the trades whose development down the course of the centuries had been assisted by the presence of a princely court, had now to satisfy the demand for comfort and the ostentatious tastes" of military upstarts who thought only of getting what enjoyment they could out of life and of impressing the popular imagination with their display. Dimashk, while remaining the great market for the grain of the Ḥawrān, became also a great industrial town, specializing in luxury articles and army equipment. This activity was reflected by a new extension of the *sūḳs* which was accompanied by "a sharp differentiation between the various trading areas according to their type of customer". A new district, Taḥt Ḳalʿa, developed to the north-west of the town below the citadel. In the Sūḳ al-Khayl, whose open space remained the centre of military life, groups of craftsmen installed themselves whose clients were essentially the army and who left the shops inside the city walls to other groups of artisans. Wholesale trade in fruit and vegetables also went outside the town; a new Dār al-Biṭṭīkh was set up at al-ʿUḳayba where the amīrs and the members of their *djund* lived.

Towards the middle of the 9th/15th century there appeared the first symptoms of an economic crisis. The state, whose coffers were empty, lived on its wits, but commerce still remained active as is demonstrated by the accounts of such travellers as Ludovico de Varthema (*Itinerario*, v-vii) who visited Dimashk in 907/1502. The city profited from the very strong trading activity between western Europe and the Muslim East, but the hostility of the people of Dimashk and the despotic nature of its governors prevented European merchants from founding any lasting establishments likely to acquire importance. Merchants arrived bringing a above all cloth from Flanders, stocked themselves up with silk brocades, inlaid copper-work and enamelled glassware, and then departed. The effects of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope did not immediately make themselves felt; it was excessive taxation rather which was beginning to slow down trade on the eve of the coming of the Ottomans.

The Ottoman Period (922-1246/1516-1831). — On 25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516 the Ottoman troops, thanks to their well-trained infantry and the superior firing power of their artillery, put the Mamlūk cavalry to flight at Mardj Dābiḳ near Ḥalab. This success gave the Sultan Selīm I a conquest of Syria all the more swift since the majority of the *nāʾibs* rallied to the Ottoman cause. There was practically no resistance at Dimashk where the Mamlūk garrison retreated and the Sultan made his entrance into the town on 1 Ramaḍān 922/28 September 1516. The Mamlūk detachments protecting Egypt were beaten three months later near Ghazza. The commander of the Syrian contingents,

Djanbirdī al-Ghazālī, joined forces with Selīm and was allowed to return to the post of governor of Dimashḳ to which he had been nominated by Ḳānṣūh al-Ghawrī, the last Mamlūk Sultan.

The arrival of the Ottomans seemed no more to the Damascene population than a local incident and not as a remarkable event which was to open a new era. To them it was merely a change of masters; the Mamlūks of Cairo were succeeded by another group of privileged foreigners, the Janissaries who had come from Turkey. Fairly quickly, however, there was a reaction on the part of the amīrs and Djanbirdī surrounded himself with all the anti-Ottoman elements. On the death of Selīm I in 927/1521 the governor of Dimashḳ refused to recognize the authority of Sulaymān, proclaimed himself independent and seized the citadel. The rebel quickly became master of Tripoli, Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā, and marched against Ḥalab which he besieged without success, then returning to Dimashḳ. Sulaymān sent troops which crossed Syria and in a battle at Ḳābūn, to the north of Dimashḳ, on 17 Ṣafar 927/27 January 1521, the rebellious governor was killed. The violence and pillaging of the Turkish soldiery then sowed panic in Dimashḳ and its surroundings. A third of the city was destroyed by the Janissaries.

Under the rule of Sulaymān, the political régime changed and the administration showed some signs of organization. In 932/1525-6 the Ottomans made their first survey of the lands, populations, and revenues of Dimashḳ (see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ and B. Lewis, *The Ottoman Archives as a source for the history of the Arab lands*, in *JRAS*, 1951, 153-4, where the registers for Dimashḳ are listed). Dimashḳ was no more than a modest *pashalīk* in the immense empire over which the shadow of the Ottoman Sultanate extended. Most certainly the city no longer had the outstanding position in the game of political intrigue which it had enjoyed in the century of the Circassians. Pashas, accompanied by a Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* and a director of finance but with no authority over the garrison, succeeded each other at a headlong rate; between 923/1517 and 1103/1679 Dimashḳ was to have 133 governors. A list of them and an account of these years is to be found in H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1952.

Early in the 12th/late in the 17th century there was a change of feeling in the empire; the Sultans lost their authority and remained in the Seraglio, and the Ottoman frontiers receded, but they still remained wide enough to shelter Dimashḳ from enemy attempts. Furthermore the population had internal troubles at that time. The offices of State were farmed out during this period; the holders and especially the governors, wanting to recover the cost of their position as quickly as possible, put pressure on the people; corruption became the rule and lack of discipline habitual. Nevertheless Dimashḳ was not without a certain prosperity thanks to the two factors of trade and the pilgrimage to Mecca.

As early as 942/1535, France concluded with the Porte a Treaty of Capitulations which opened Turkish ports to its traders and enabled them to do business throughout the eastern Mediterranean. European merchants, three-fifths of whom at the end of the 18th century were French, imported manufactured goods and exported raw materials and spices. Despite the very high custom duties, the bad behaviour of officials and even, to some extent, the insecurity, external trade remained very lucrative and political events never succeeded in stopping the broad movements of commerce. At Dimashḳ, as in other parts of Syria, the native Christians served as intermediaries between the Europeans and both the Turkish administration and the population which spoke an Arabic that in the course of four centuries had taken in many Turkish loan-words. The intensity of the commercial traffic justified the construction of numerous *khān*s which served as hotels, as well as exchanges and warehouses, for the foreign traders. In the oldest *khān*s, such as the Khān al-Ḥarīr, built in 980/1572 by Darwīsh Pasha and still in existence to-day, we find the usual Syrian arrangements: a court-yard, generally square, surrounded by an arcaded gallery on to which open the shops and stables, while the floor above is reserved for lodgings. Certainly the Venetian *funduḳ* which came into being in Damascus after 1533 would have had the same arrangements. Early in the 18th century this plan was modified; the central space became smaller and was covered with cupolas, the merchandise thus being protected in bad weather. This was a new type of building and specifically Damascene. Still to be seen to-day is the Khān Sulaymān Pasha, built in 1144/1732, whose central court is covered by two great cupolas, and most important of all, the Khān Asʿad Pasha, constructed in 1165/1752, which is still alive and active. This masterpiece of architecture is a vast whole, square in plan, covered by eight small cupolas dominated by a larger one in the middle which is supported by four marble columns.

Trade with Europe was carried on via the ports of the *wilāyet* of Dimashḳ, the most important of which was Ṣaydā.

The Ottoman Sultan, having become protector of the Holy Cities, showed a special interest in the pilgrimage to Mecca. This became one of Dimashḳ's main sources of income. Being the last stop of the *darb al-ḥadjdj* in settled country, the city was the annual meeting-place of tens of thousands of pilgrims from the north of the empire. This periodical influx brought about intense commercial activity. The pilgrims seized the opportunity of their stay in order to prepare for crossing the desert. They saw to acquiring mounts and camping materials and bought provisions to last three months. At the given moment, the Pasha of Dimashḳ, who bore the coveted title of *amīr al-ḥadjdj*, took the head of the official caravan accompanying the *maḥmal* and made his way to the Holy Cities under the protection of the army. On the way back, Dimashḳ was the first important urban centre and the pilgrims sold there what they had bought in Arabia, whether coffee or black slaves from Africa.

Once past the Bāb Allāh which marked the extreme southern limits of the town, the caravans passed for three kilometres through the district of the Maydān, where cereal warehouses and Mamlūk mausoleums alternated without a break between them. This traffic to the south helped to develop a new district near the ramparts outside Bāb Djābiya; this was to be the quarter of the caravaneers. These found equipment and supplies in the *ṣūḳ*s where, side by side with the saddlers and blacksmiths, the curio dealers installed themselves as well. This district owed its name of al-Sināniyya to the large mosque which the Grand Vizier, Sinān Pasha, *wālī* of Dimashḳ, had built between 994/1586 and 999/1591; its minaret covered with green glazed tiles could be seen from a very long way off. Some years earlier, in 981/1574, the governor, Derwīsh

Pas̲h̲a, had had a large mosque, whose remarkable faïence tiles are worth admiring, built in the north of this quarter. This mode of decoration arrived with the Ottomans when the art of Constantinople was suddenly implanted in Dimas̲h̲ḳ. A new architectural type also appeared in the urban landscape, that of the Turkish mosque, schematically made up of a square hall crowned by a hemispherical cupola on pendentives, with a covered portico in front and one or more minarets with circular shafts crowned by candle-snuffer tops at the corners. The first example of this type in Dimas̲h̲ḳ was the large mosque built on the site of the Ḳaṣr al-Ablaḳ by Sulaymān Ḳānūnī in 962/1555 according to the plans of the architect, Sinān. This mosque, indeed, formed part of a great ensemble which is still called to-day the Takkiyya Sulaymāniyya. The covered portico of the hall of prayer opens from the south side of a vast court-yard; on the east and west side there are rows of cells with a columned portico in front of them; on the north stands a group of buildings which used to shelter the kitchens and canteen but which since 1957 has housed the collections of the Army Museum. Active centres of religious life were to spring up both around the ʿUmariyya *madrasa* at al-Ṣāliḥiyya, and around the mausoleum of Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-ʿArabī, where in 959/1552 the Sultan Selīm I had an *ʿimāret* constructed to make free distributions of food to the poor visiting the tomb of the illustrious *ṣūfī*, or again at the Takkiyya Mawlawiyya built in 993/1585 for the Dancing Dervishes to the west of the mosque of Tankiz. The fact that all these great religious monuments of the Ottoman period were built *extra muros* shows that the Great Mosque of the Umayyads was no longer a unique centre of assembly for the Muslim community and definitely confirms the spread of the city beyond the old town.

With the progress of artillery the ancient fortifications of Dimas̲h̲ḳ became outdated, but on the other hand the peace which reigned over the empire diminished the value of the surrounding walls which at this time began to be invaded by dwelling-houses, while the moats which had become a general night-soil dump were filled with refuse.

Within the ramparts the streets were paved, cleaned and lit at the expense of those living along them, as under the last Mamlūks. If the piety of the population showed itself in the construction of public fountains (*sabīl*), the *madrasas* and *zāwiyas*, in contrast, were deserted by many in favour of the coffee-houses which multiplied and added to the number of meeting-places for the people. The only monument worth notice *intra muros* apart from the *k̲h̲āns* is the palace which the governor Asʿad Pas̲h̲a al-ʿAẓm had built to the south-east of the Great Mosque in 1162/1749. The whole body of buildings is grouped according to the traditional arrangements of a Syrian dwelling of the 18th century with a *salāmlīk* and a *ḥarāmlīk* decorated with woodwork in the Turkish style. This palace is at present occupied by the National Museum of Ethnography and Popular Art.

The Modern Period (1831-1920).—Between 1832 and 1840, Egyptian domination was to bring to Dimas̲h̲ḳ, which had for centuries remained outside the main current of political events, a relative prosperity. In 1832 Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, after crossing Palestine came to seize Dimas̲h̲ḳ, where revolts against the Ottomans had preceded his arrival. The population aided the Egyptian troops who put the Ottomans to flight near Ḥimṣ, then at the end of July inflicted a new defeat on them near Ḥalab and forced them back across the Taurus.

The Egyptian regime lasted a decade and allowed the return of Europeans who up to that time had not been able to enter the town in western clothes and had been forced to submit to all kinds of irritating formalities. In spring 1833 the Sultan ceded the viceroyalty of Syria to Muḥammad ʿAlī and Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a governed it in his father's name. From that time on, foreign representatives came and settled in Dimas̲h̲ḳ. Very liberal and tolerant on the religious side, Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a founded a college in Damascus where some six hundred uniformed pupils received both general and military instruction. Many administrative buildings were put up even to the sacrifice of some ancient monuments such as the Tankiziyya, which was turned into a military school and remained so until after 1932. A new residence, the Sérail, was built for the governor. This, which was erected outside the walls to the west of the city facing Bāb al-Ḥadīd, was soon to bring about the creation of a new district, al-Ḳanawāt, along the Roman aqueduct. The buildings of Dar al-Saʿāda and the Iṣṭabl, where in 932/1526 there had existed a small zoological garden dating from the Mamlūks, were transformed into a military headquarters which only ceased to exist in 1917, while in this same sector of the city the best patronized shops were grouped together in the Sūḳ al-Arwām. In J. L. Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*, 2 vols., London 1855, an interesting picture of the city in the middle of the 19th century is to be found. In 1840, after having re-established order and peace, Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a made a first attempt at reform (see BALADIYYA and MAD̲J̲LIS) and proposed an independent and centralized government. Europe, and above all Palmerston, was opposed to the ambitions of Muḥammad ʿAlī; they profited therefore by the discontent provoked by the introduction of conscription to rouse the population against Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a who was forced to evacuate Dimas̲h̲ḳ. His attempt at reform was not followed up and the Damascenes fell back under Ottoman domination. A violent outburst of fanaticism was to break the apparent calm of life there. Bloodthirsty quarrels having arisen between the Druzes and the Maronites of the south of Lebanon, public opinion was stirred up in Damascus and on 12 July 1860 the Muslims invaded the Christian quarters and committed terrible massacres, in the course of which the Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, exiled from Algeria, was able by his intervention to save some hundreds of human lives. This explosion was severely punished by the Sultan and, at the end of August 1860, provoked the landing of troops sent by Napoleon III.

From the beginning of this period European influence made itself felt in the cultural and economic spheres. Foreign schools of various religious denominations were able to develop, thanks to subventions from their governments. The Lazarist Fathers had had a very active college since 1775, and a Protestant Mission had been functioning since 1853. New establishments were opened after 1860 such as the British Syrian Mission and the College of Jesuits (1872). Education of girls was carried on by the Sisters of Charity. Midḥat Pas̲h̲a made an attempt to develop state education but it was no more than an attempt and was not followed up. Cairo was the true intellectual centre at this time, and it was Cairo's newspapers, *al-Muḳtaṭaf* and *al-Muḳaṭṭam*, which were read in Dimas̲h̲ḳ. *Al-S̲h̲ām*, the first Arabic language newspaper edited and printed in

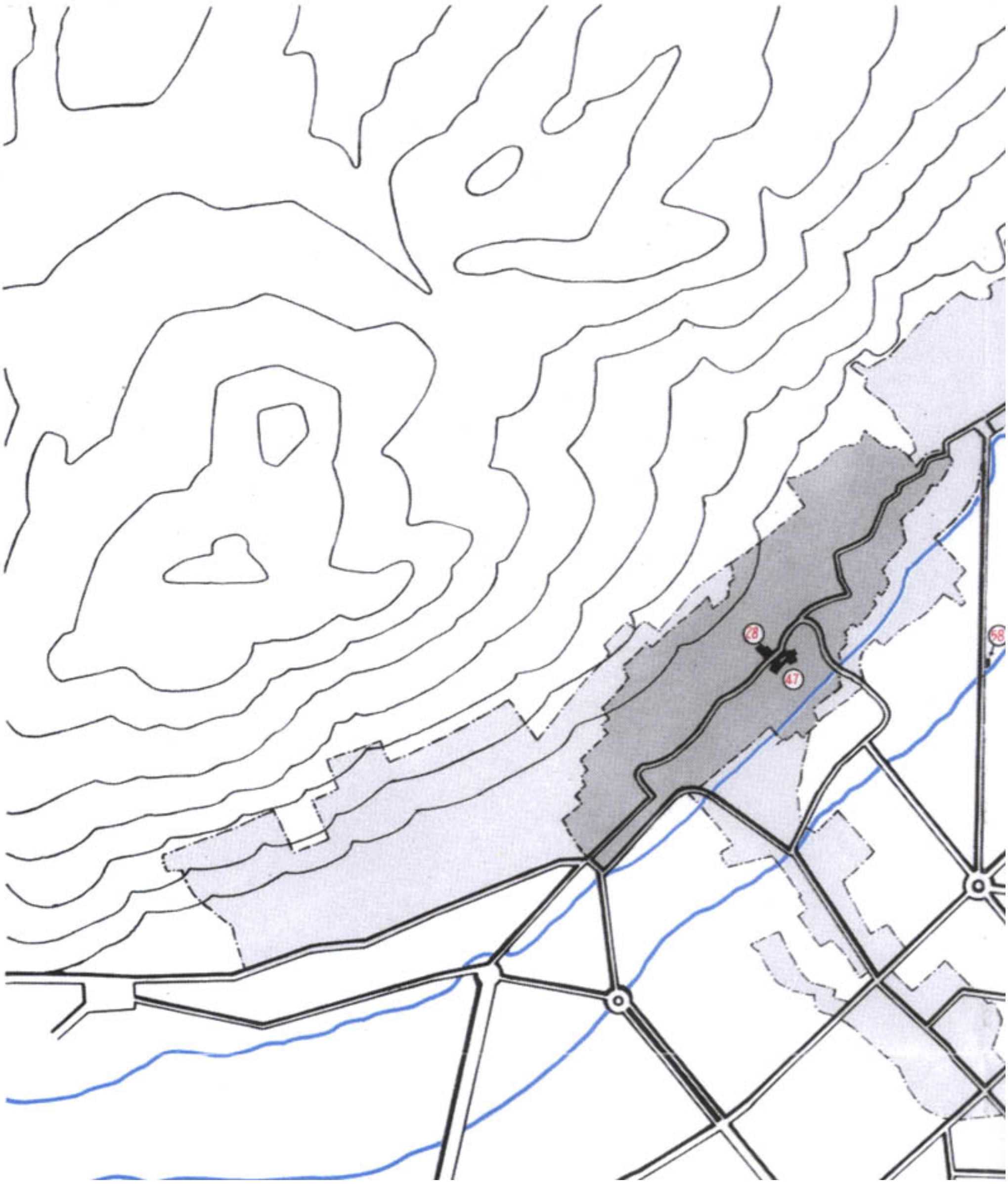
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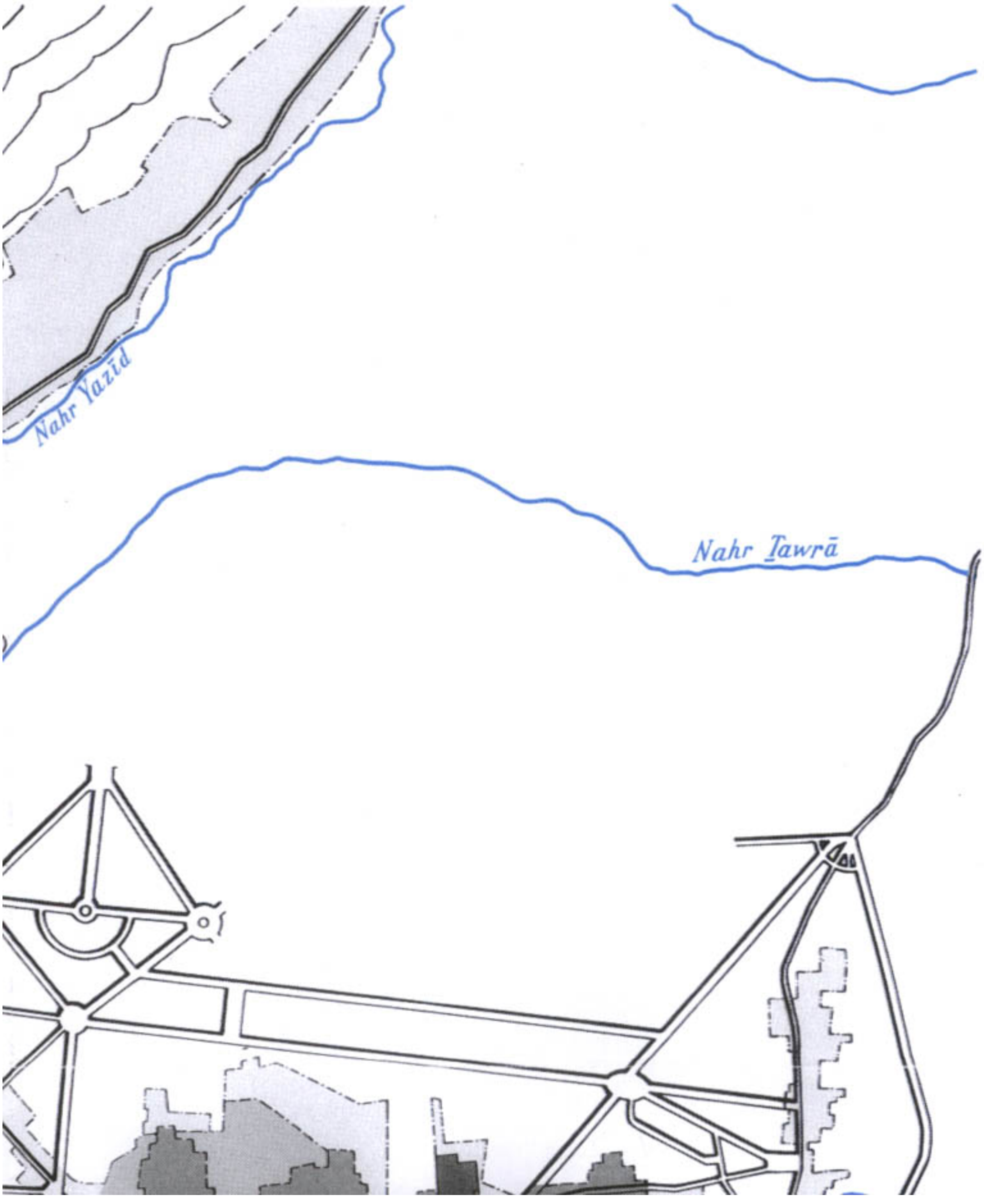
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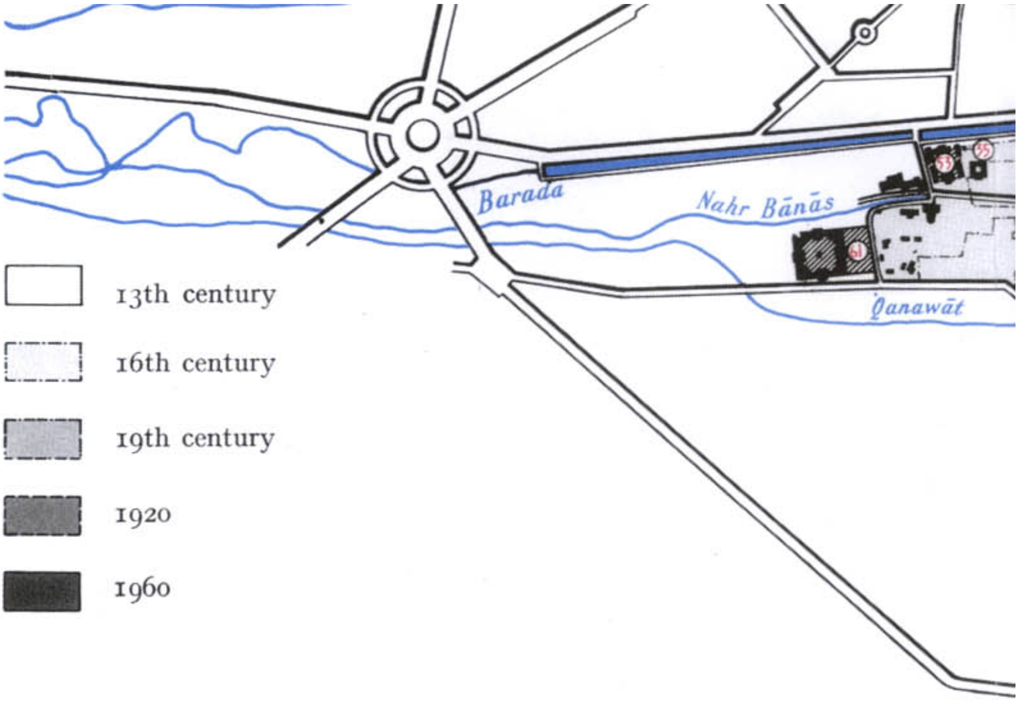

LIST OF MONUMENTS SHOWN ON THE PLAN OF DIMASHK

1.	Roman arch	3rd century
2.	Agora	B.C.
3.	Castrum	3rd century
4.	Chapel of Ananias	1st century
5.	Citadel	13th century
6.	Bāb al-Barīd	3rd century
7.	Bāb al-Djābiya	3rd-12th century
8.	Bāb Djayrūn	3rd century
9.	Bāb Djīnīḳ	3rd century
10.	Bāb al-Farādīs	13th-15th century
11.	Bāb al-Faradj	12th-15th century
12.	Bāb Kaysān	14th century
13.	Bāb al-Ṣaghīr	12th century
14.	Bāb al-Salām	13th century
15.	Bāb Sharḳī	3rd-12th century
16.	Bāb Tūmā	3rd-13th century
17.	Dār al-Biṭṭīkh	8th century
18.	Dār al-Ḥadīth of Nūr al-Dīn	12th century
19.	Dār al-Khayl	7th century
20.	Djāmiʿ Darwīshiyya	16th century
21.	Djāmiʿ Hishām	15th century
22.	Djāmiʿ Sibāʾiyya	16th century
23.	Djāmiʿ Sināniyya	16th century
24.	Djāmiʿ of Tankiz	14th century
25.	Djāmiʿ of Yilbughā	13th century
26.	Church of St. Mary	
27.	Great Umayyad mosque	8th century
28.	ʿImāret of Selīm	16th century
29.	al-Khaḍrāʾ	7th century
30.	Khān Asʿad Pasha	18th century
31.	Khān al-Ḥarīr	16th century
32.	Khān Sulaymān Pasha	18th century
33.	Khānaḳāh al-Ṭāwūsiyya	12th century
34.	Ḳaṣr al-ʿAẓm	18th century
35.	Ḳaṣr al-Ablaḳ	13th century
36.	Ḳaṣr al-Ḥadjdjādj	8th century
37.	Madrasa al-ʿĀdiliyya	12th-13th century
38.	Madrasa al-Amīniyya	12th century
39.	Madrasa al-ʿAzīziyya	12th century
40.	Madrasa al-Ḳilīdjiyya	13th century
41.	Madrasa al-Nūriyya	12th century
42.	Madrasa al-Ṣābūniyya	15th century
43.	Madrasa al-Ṣādiriyya	12th century
44.	Madrasa al-Ṣalāḥiyya	12th century
45.	Madrasa al-Ẓāhiriyya	13th century
46.	Māristān of Nūr al-Dīn	12th century
47.	Mausoleum of Muḥyi 'l-Dīn	16th century
48.	Mausoleum of Shaykh Raslān	12th century
49.	Sūḳ al-Arwām (site of)	17th century
50.	Sūḳ al-Ḥamīdiyya	19th century
51.	Sūḳ Midḥat Pasha	19th century
52.	Takkiyya Mawlawiyya	16th century
53.	Takkiyya Sulaymāniyya	16th century
54.	Primitive tell	
55.	Temple of Jupiter	2nd-3rd century
56.	Tower of Nūr al-Dīn	12th century
57.	Tower of Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb	13th century
58.	Turbat al-Badrī	12th century
59.	Turbat al-Nadjmiyya	12th century
60.	Turbat Zayn al-Dīn	12th century
61.	University of Damascus	20th century

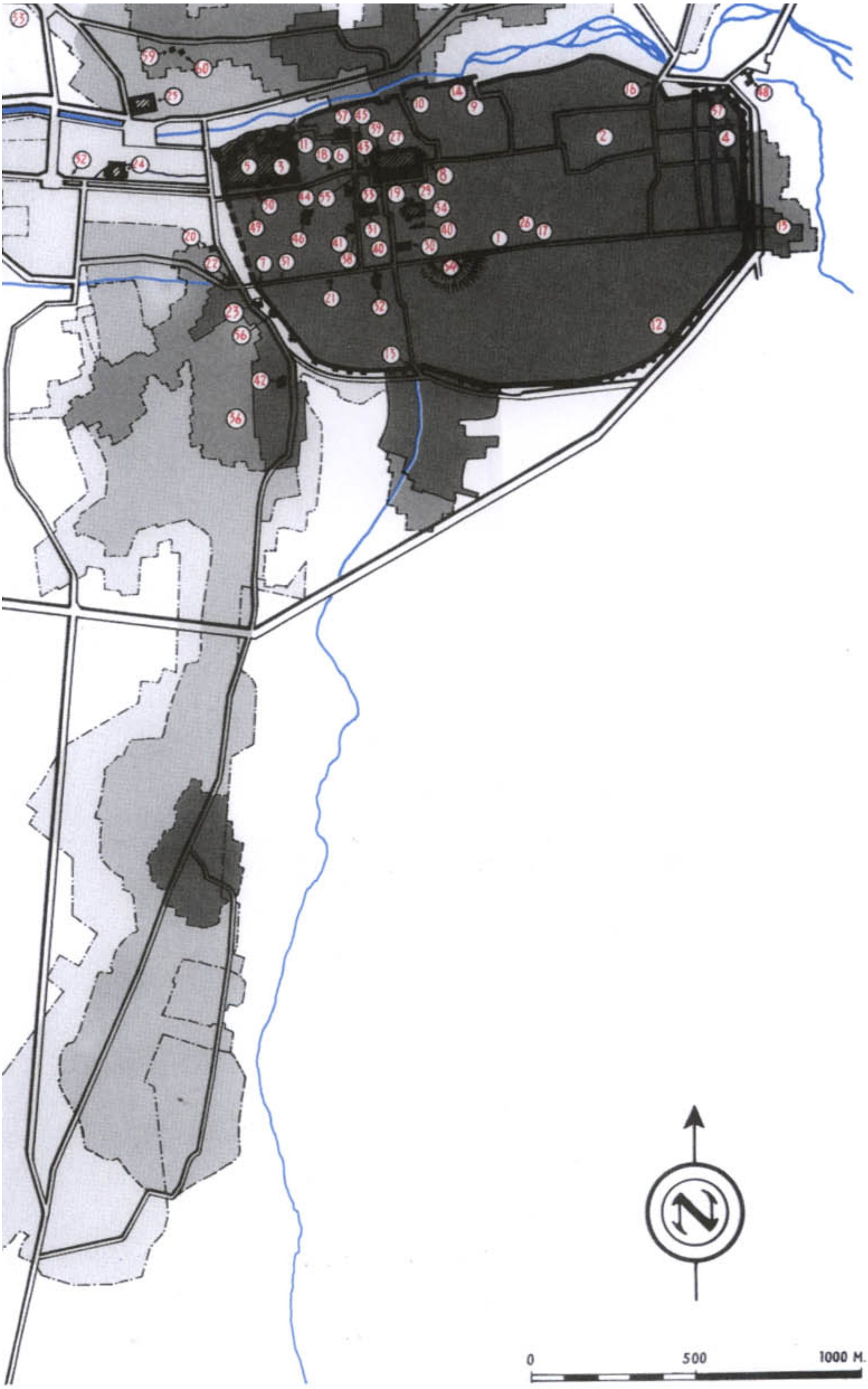
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Damascus, was not to appear until 1897. Little by little, however, the Syrian capital was to become one of the centres of Arab nationalism. As in the other towns of Syria, secret revolutionary cells showed themselves very active in the last quarter of the 19th century and periodically exhorted the population to rebel. It was even said that Midḥat Pasha, author of the liberal constitution of 1876, protected the movement after he had become governor of Dimashḳ in 1878. The great reformer had a population of about 150,000 to administer and accomplished lasting good in the city, chiefly in matters concerned with public hygiene and improvement of the traffic system, which since carriages had come on the scene had grown very inadequate in the old town. The governor replaced a number of alleyways in the *sūḳs* with broader streets. The western part of the Street called Straight was widened and given a vaulted roof of corrugated iron; this is the present day Sūḳ Midḥat Pasha. To the south of the citadel the moat was filled in and its place occupied by new *sūḳs*, while the whole road joining Bāb al-Ḥadīd with the Great Mosque was made wide enough for two-way carriage traffic and was given the name Sūḳ Ḥamīdiyya. New buildings were put up at this time on vacant lots to the west of the town around the Mardja, the "Meadow". These were a new "sérai", seat of the civil administration, a headquarters for the military staff, the town-hall, the law-courts, a post-office and a barracks. The Ḥamīdiyya barracks, which was newly fitted out and arranged after 1945, was to be the kernel of the present-day university. The Christian quarter of Bāb Tūma saw the rise of fine houses where European consuls, missionaries, merchants and so on, settled themselves, while the old town began to empty; there were no longer any gaps between the suburbs of Suwayḳāt and al-Ḳanawāt to the west, or those of Sarūdja and al-ʿUḳayba to the north-west. A new colony of Kurds and of Muslims who had emigrated from Crete settled at al-Ṣāliḥiyya, which gave the quarter the name of al-Muhādjirīn. The situation of this suburb on the slopes of the Djabal Ḳāsiyūn attracted the Turkish aristocracy who built beautiful houses surrounded by gardens there. At this time also relations with the outer world became easier and to the two *locandas* existing before 1860 were added new hotels for the foreigners who, after 1863, were able to travel from Bayrūt to Dimashḳ by stage-coach over a road newly constructed by French contractors. Further progress was made in 1894 when a French company opened a railway between Bayrūt, Dimashḳ and the Ḥawrān. Later on a branch from Rayyāḳ to the north went to Ḥimṣ and Ḥalab. Then ʿIzzat Pasha al-ʿAbīd, a Syrian second secretary to the Sultan, conceived the idea of a Damascus-Medina line to make the pilgrimage easier. From this time on, the Sultan was to be on friendly terms with Kaiser Wilhelm II, who had visited Dimashḳ in the winter of 1898, and so the construction of this line was placed in German hands. The narrow gauge Ḥidjāz railway was inaugurated in 1908; it allowed pilgrims to reach the Holy City in five days instead of the forty which it had taken by caravan. In this same year, an army officers' movement forced the Sultan to restore the Ottoman constitution which had been suspended for 31 years and it was not long after this that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II was overthrown. This news was greeted in Dimashḳ with large-scale popular manifestations and many firework displays, but their happiness was to be of short duration. The spirit of liberalism which had led Kurd ʿAlī to bring to the city his review, *al-Muḳtabas*, which he had founded in Cairo three years earlier as a daily paper, was deceptive. Indeed after 1909 the Ottoman authorities banned it and the only resource for the Arab nationalists was to band themselves together again in secret societies.

The declaration of war in 1914 was to have grave consequences for Dimashḳ. At the end of that year, Djemāl Pasha was appointed Governor-General of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, and Commander-in-Chief of the 4th Ottoman army with headquarters in Dimashḳ. This town rapidly became the great General Headquarters of the combined German and Turkish forces and their operational base against the Suez zone. Djemāl Pasha soon showed himself a mediocre general but a very energetic administrator. He had hoped to win the people of Dimashḳ over to the Turkish cause but was soon forced to give up this idea. It was in Dimashḳ, in the circle of the family al-Bakrī, that the Amīr Fayṣāl, son of Ḥusayn, the Sharīf of Mecca, was won over to the idea of Arab revolt in April 1915; he met with members of the secret societies *al-Fatāt* and *al-ʿAhd*, at that time. At the end of May, Fayṣal returned from Constantinople and shared in the elaboration of a plan of action against the Turks with the co-operation of the British. They arrived ultimately at the famous "Protocol of Damascus" asking Britain to recognize Arab independence and the abolition of capitulations. In January 1916, Fayṣal was in Damascus again and was still there on 6 May when Djemāl Pasha had twenty-one partisans of the Arab cause hanged. This event, the "Day of the Martyrs", is still commemorated every year. On 10 June, the revolt broke out in the Ḥidjāz, where the Sharīf Ḥusayn proclaimed himself "King of the Arabs". It was not until 30 September 1918 that Turkish troops evacuated Dimashḳ. On 1 October Allied forces, including units of the Amīr Fayṣal, entered the city. In May 1919 elections took place to appoint a National Syrian Congress and in June this congress decided to reject the conclusions at which the Peace Conference of Paris had arrived concerning the mandates. On 10 December a national Syrian government was formed in Dimashḳ. On 7 March 1920 the National Congress proclaimed Syria independent and elected Fayṣal as king. The Treaty of San-Remo in April 1920 gave the mandate over Syria to France, in the name of the League of Nations. But this decision roused serious discontent in Dimashḳ and other large Syrian towns. On 10 July the National Congress proclaimed a state of siege and introduced conscription, but on 14 July General Gouraud, High Commissioner of the French Republic, gave an ultimatum to Fayṣal who accepted its terms. Popular agitation grew in Dimashḳ and on 20 July the Arab army had to disperse a large meeting of the people. French troops were sent to Syria to put the agreement which had been concluded into force. On 24 July fighting broke out at Mayṣalūn and on 25 July the French entered Dimashḳ. King Fayṣal was forced to leave the country and power passed into the hands of the High Commissioner. The mandate had begun.

The Contemporary Period.—The period of the mandate was marked by expressions of hostility to the mandatory power, which sometimes took the form of strikes, sometimes of more violent outbreaks.

The most serious revolt which broke out in 1925 in the Djabal Durūz, under the leadership of the

Amīr Sulṭān al-Aṭrash, succeeded in taking Dimashk. At the end of August the rebels, newly arrived in the suburbs of the city, were repulsed. The population did not openly support them until they came back a second time, when on 15 October 1925 serious rioting occurred in the city which caused General Sarrail to bombard it on 18 October. In April 1926 a new bombardment put an end to a rising in the Ghūṭa and the city, but tranquillity was not restored until the following autumn.

From 1926 onwards the town began to develop in the western sense of the word very quickly. Undeveloped quarters between al-Ṣāliḥiyya and the old city were rapidly built up and from then on, the suburbs of al-Djisr, al-ʿArnūs and al-Shuhadāʾ provided homes for a growing number of Europeans and Syrians without any segregation of ethnic groups. The Christians of Bāb Tūma left the city walls in greater and greater numbers to set up the new district of Ḳaṣṣāʿ. To avoid chaotic development, the French town-planner, Danger, in 1929 created a harmonious and balanced plan for the future town, and its working out was put into the hands of the architect, Michel Écochard, in collaboration with the Syrian services. New roads, often tree-lined, were made and the ancient Nayrāb became the residential quarter of Abū Rummāna which continued to extend towards the west. New suburbs were developed to the north of the old city between the Boulevard de Baghdād and the Djabal Ḳāsiyūn, and to the north-east towards the road to Ḥalab. In view of the growth of the population and in the interests of public health the drinking water was brought from the beginning of 1932 by special pipelines from the powerful spring of ʿAyn Fīdja in the valley of the Baradā.

Dimashk suffered very much less in the Second World War than in the first. In June 1941 British and Free French troops entered Syria. On 16 September 1941 General Catroux proclaimed its independence, but there was no constitutional life in Dimashk until August 1943. It was then that Shukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī was elected President of the Republic. On 12 April 1945 the admission of Syria to the United Nations Organization put an end to the mandate, but a new tension was to be felt in Franco-Syrian relations. They reached a culminating point on 29 May 1945, when the town was bombarded by the French army. The British intervened in force to restore order and some months later foreign troops finally evacuated Syria.

From 1949 until 1954 Dimashk was shaken by a series of military *coups d'état*. In 1955 Mr. Shukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī became President of the Republic again and from 1956 on discussions were broached with a view to a Syro-Egyptian union. On the proclamation of the United Arab Republic in 1958 Dimashk became the capital of the northern region; but after the *coup d'état* of the 28th September 1961 it again became the capital of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Ruled by a municipal council, the city in 1955 had a population of 408,800 of whom 90% were Sunnī Arabs. Important groups of Kurds, Druzes and Armenians were also to be found there.

Numerous cultural institutions make Dimashk an intellectual centre of the first rank. The Arab Academy (*al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmi al-ʿArabī*), founded in June 1919, on the initiative of Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, is situated in the al-ʿĀdiliyya *madrasa*, while opposite this, the al-Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* houses the National Library which possesses more than 8,000 manuscripts. The Syrian University, which originated from a school of medicine (1903) and a school of law (1912), was founded on 15 June 1923. In 1960 it had about 10,000 students divided into six faculties. The National Museum of Syria, founded in 1921, has been installed since 1938 in premises specially devised for the preservation of its rich collections (Palmyra, Doura Europos, Ras Shamra, and Mari rooms). The *Direction générale des antiquités de Syrie*, created in 1921, is housed in the same buildings. Many bookshops, a dozen or so cinemas, radio and television transmitting stations, help make Dimashk give a very modern impression. It is an important centre of communications with its railway connections with ʿAmmān and beyond that, ʿAḳaba, terminus of the Dimashk-Ḥimṣ line and its prolongation (D.H.P.), its motor-roads, Bayrūt-Baghdād and al-Mawṣil as well as Jerusalem-ʿAmmān-Bayrūt, and its Class B international aerodrome situated at Mizza. It is also the greatest grain market of the Ḥawrān and a centre of supplies for the nomads and peasants of the Ghūṭa. These not only find many foreign products in its *sūḳs* but also goods specially manufactured to fit the needs of the country-dweller. There exists also a class of artisans which specializes in luxury goods such as wood inlays, mother of pearl mosaics, silk brocades and engraved or inlaid copper work. Wood turners and glass blowers are also very active.

The protectionist measures of 1926 brought a remarkable upward trend to industry and thus it was that a first cloth factory (1929), a cement works at Dummar (1930) and a cannery (1932) were founded one after the other. Modern spinning mills were installed in 1937, and by 1939 there were already 80 factories representing 1500 trades. A large glass-works was put up to the south of the city at Ḳadam in 1945, while to the east many tanneries and dye-works ply their centuries-old activities. Since 1954 an important international exhibition and fair has been held at the end of each summer on the banks of the Baradā. This has helped to establish Dimashk as a great commercial and industrial centre of the Arab Near East.

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AL-DIMASHKĪ, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Anṣārī al-Ṣūfī, known as Ibn Shaykh Ḥittīn, author of a cosmography and other works. He was *shaykh* and *imām* at al-Rabwa, described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as a pleasant locality near Damascus, now the suburb of al-Ṣāliḥiyya, and d. at Ṣafad in 727/1327. Al-Dimashkī's best known work, *Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿadjāʾib al-barr wa ʾl-baḥr* is a compilation dealing with geography in the widest sense, and somewhat closely resembling the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūkāt* of al-Kazwīnī. Though the author's standpoint is conspicuously uncritical, his book contains a good deal of information not to be found elsewhere. Less well known but also of considerable interest is another work of al-Dimashkī, *al-Makāmāt al-falsafiyya wa ʾl-tardjamāt al-ṣūfiyya* (see E. G. Browne, *Handlist of the Muhammadan MSS preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge*, 217-218, no. 1102), fifty *makāmas* forming an encyclopaedia of physical, mathematical and theological information, placed in the mouth of one Abu ʾl-Kāsim al-Tawwāb (*i.e.*, the Penitent), on the authority of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Awwāb (*i.e.*, the Repentant). Al-Dimishkī has also left a defence of Islam, *Djawāb risālat ahl djazīrat Kubrus*, in which traces of Ṣūfī mysticism appear (see E. Fritsch, *Islam u. Christentum im Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1930, 33-36). Another work of his has been printed: *al-Risāla* (variant: *al-Siyāsa*) *fī ʿilm al-firāsa* (Cairo 1300 A.H.); but *Maḥāsin al-tidjāra* (Cairo 1318 A.H.) attributed to Shams al-Dīn by Brockelmann (correctly *K. al-ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra*, tr. H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, vii, 1917, 1-91) was written by Abu'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Dimashkī.

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DIMETOKA, also called Dimotika, a town in the former Ottoman Rumeli. Dimetoka lies in western Thrace, in a side valley of the Maritsa, and at times played a significant role in Ottoman history. The territory has belonged to Greece since the treaty of Neuilly (27 November 1919), again bears its pre-Ottoman name of Didymóteikhon, and lies within the administrative district (Nomos) of Ebros. It has a population of about 10,000, and is the seat of a bishop of the Greek church as well as of an eparch (provincial governor). It is situated near the junction of the Saloniki—Alexandroupolis—Dimetoka line with the Orient line.

Dimetoka, which was called Didymóteikhon (Διδυμότειχον) by the Byzantines, fell first into Ottoman hands in Muḥarram 763/November 1361, according to the Florentine chronicler Matteo Villani (cf. F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien (14.-15. Jhdt.)* = *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten*, xxxiv, Munich 1944, 46). Dimetoka had been defended by a castle encircled by a double wall, built for protection on a conical hill, and provided with strong fortifications under the ruler Matthew Cantacuzenus; it was probably the commander Ḥādjdjī Ilbegi who brought it into Ottoman possession. Murād I, before the conquest of Adrianople early in 762/1361 (cf. F. Babinger, in *MOG*, ii (1926), 311 ff.), set up his court there. The Burgundian traveller and diplomat Bertrandon de la Broquiere (see his *Voyage d'outre-mer*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892, 172 ff., 180) has vividly depicted its appearance in 1443; from this it may be seen that Dimetoka, as the first residence of the new Ottoman lords—their final removal to Adrianople/Edirne cannot have followed until about 766/1365—was built and beautified with especial care, although the layout of the fortifications of that time goes back for the most part to Byzantine times. The rich and broad hunting grounds of the surrounding country made Dimetoka a favourite resort of early Ottoman rulers, such as the prince and claimant to the Sultanate Mūsā Čelebi, and Bāyazīd II, who was born there in Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 852/January 1449 to the 15 year-old future Sultan Meḥemmed II. The planning of the royal palace and its additions owed its origin to this circumstance. The first design was brought to completion under Murād I (Cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, trans. J. von Hammer, Vienna 1812, 65). Bāyazīd II, weary of wordly cares, proposed to spend the rest of his life there, to avoid persecution by his son Selīm I, but died en route—probably poisoned—on 10 Rabīʿ I 918/26 May 1512, not far from Hafsa (on the place of death cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, ii, 365 ff., 625). The Swedish king Charles XII (1697-1718) fared rather better when, before reaching Stralsund, he stayed in Dimetoka from February 1713 to October 1714, and managed to evade pursuit by an adventurous ride.

A graphic description of Dimetoka in the year

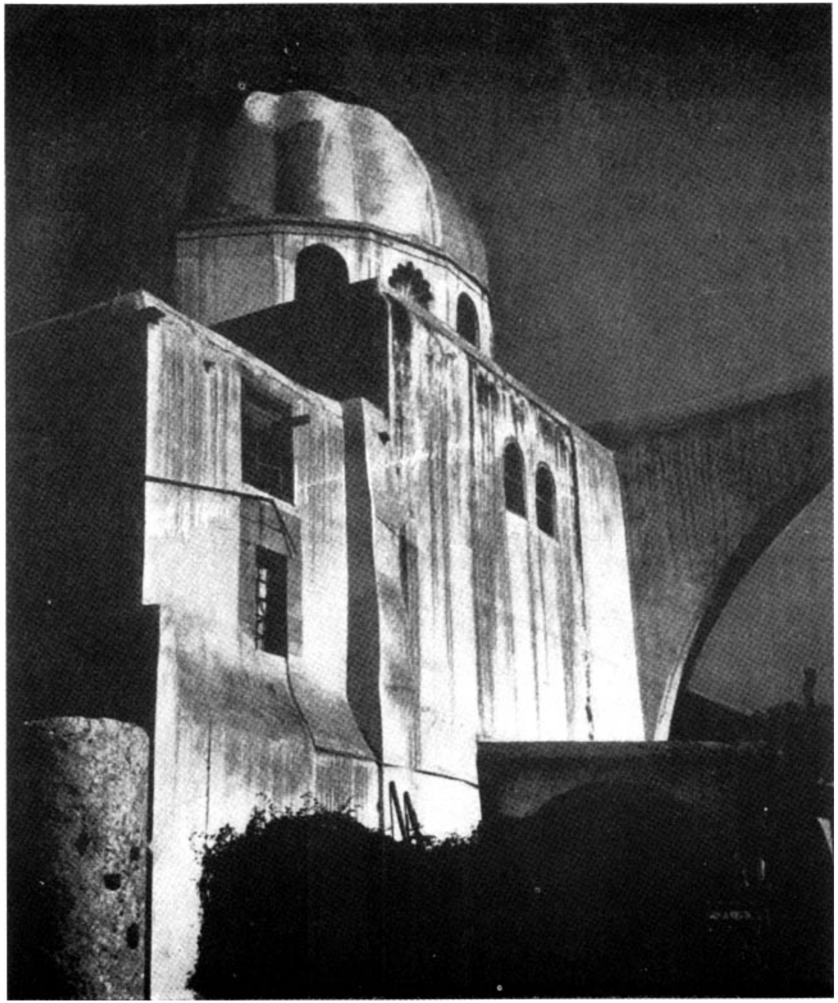

1. Mausoleum of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, eastern façade
By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus

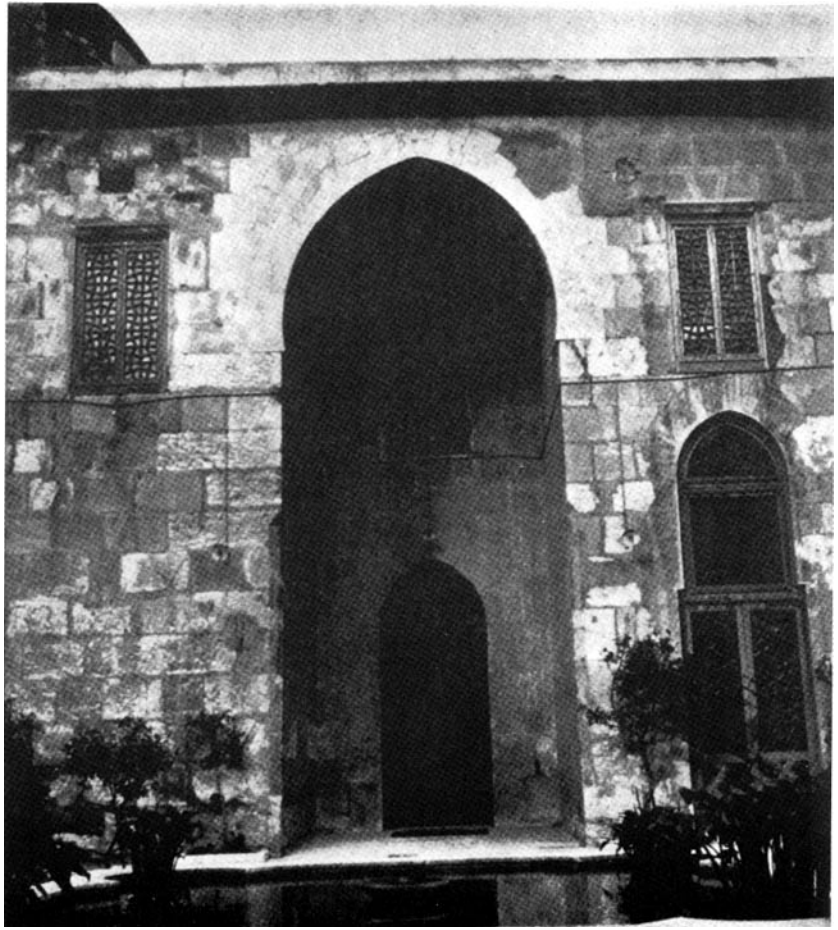

2. Courtyard of the Madrasa al-ʿĀdiliyya, eastern façade
By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus

3. Wooden cenotaph from a tomb within the mausoleum of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn
By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus

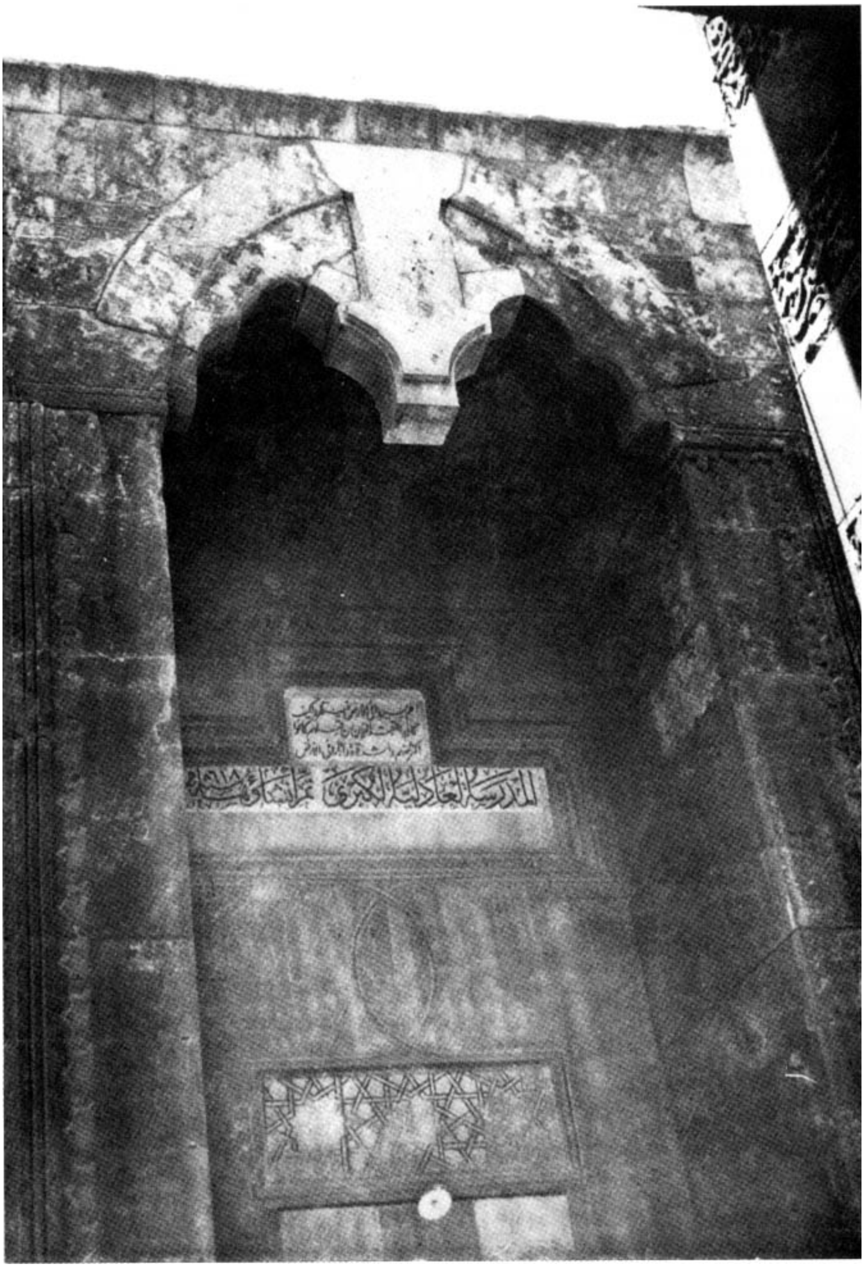

4. Entrance to the Madrasa al-ʿĀdiliyya
By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus

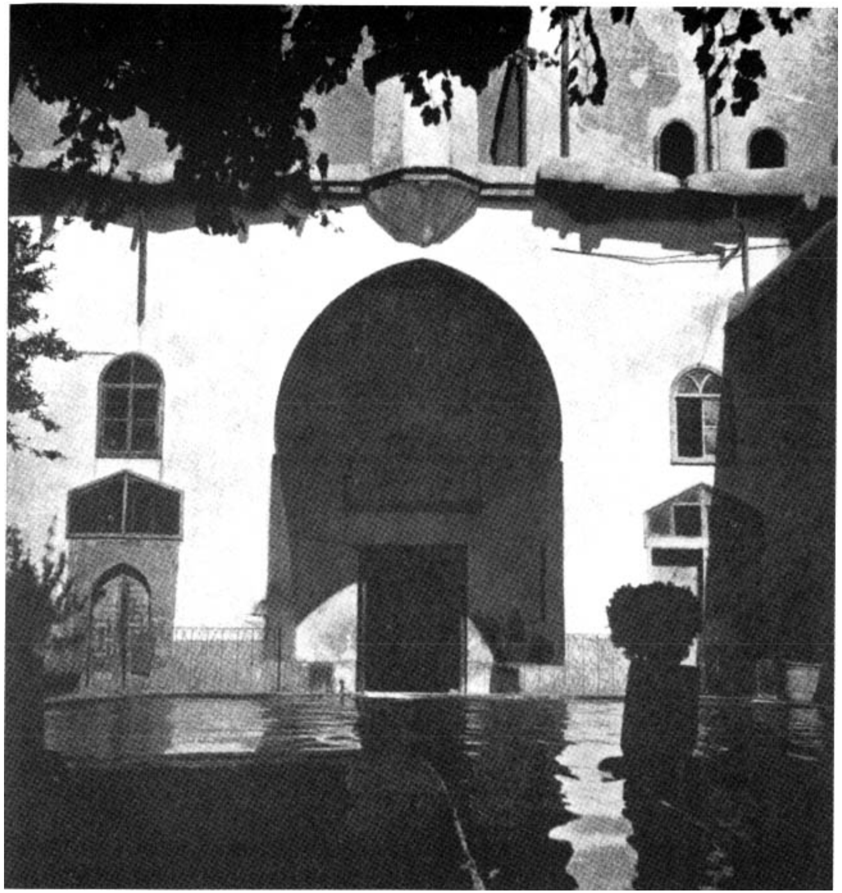

5. Courtyard of the Madrasa al-Nūriyya, interior of the eastern façade
By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus

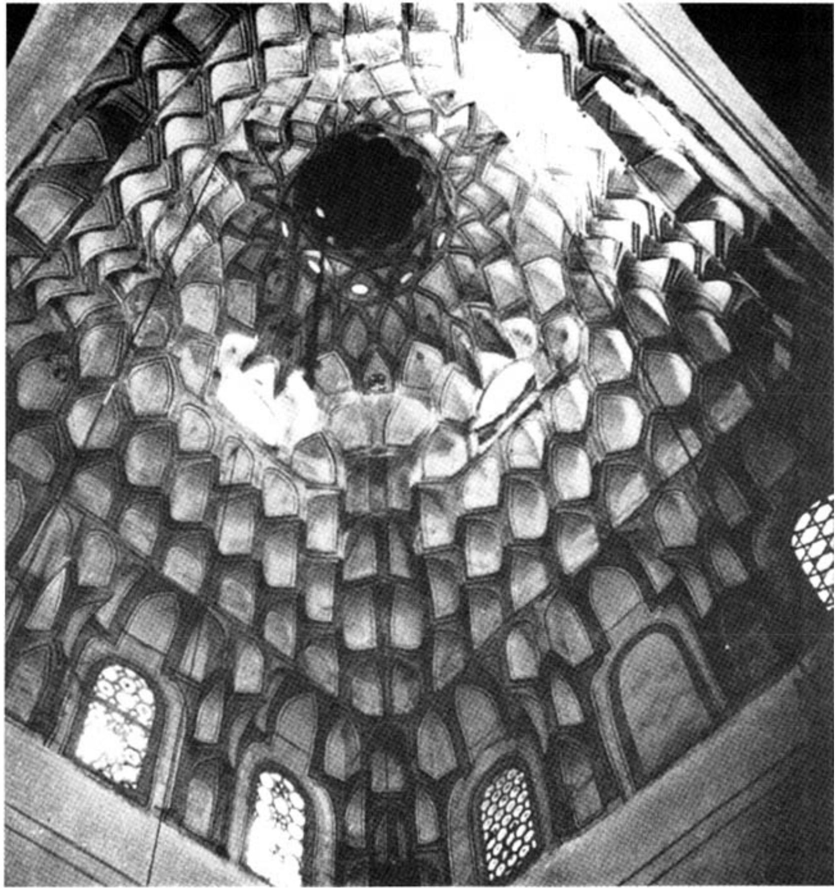

6. Stalactite ornamentation on the dome of the Madrasa al-Nūriyya
By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus

7. Madrasa al-Nūriyya, exterior façade
By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus

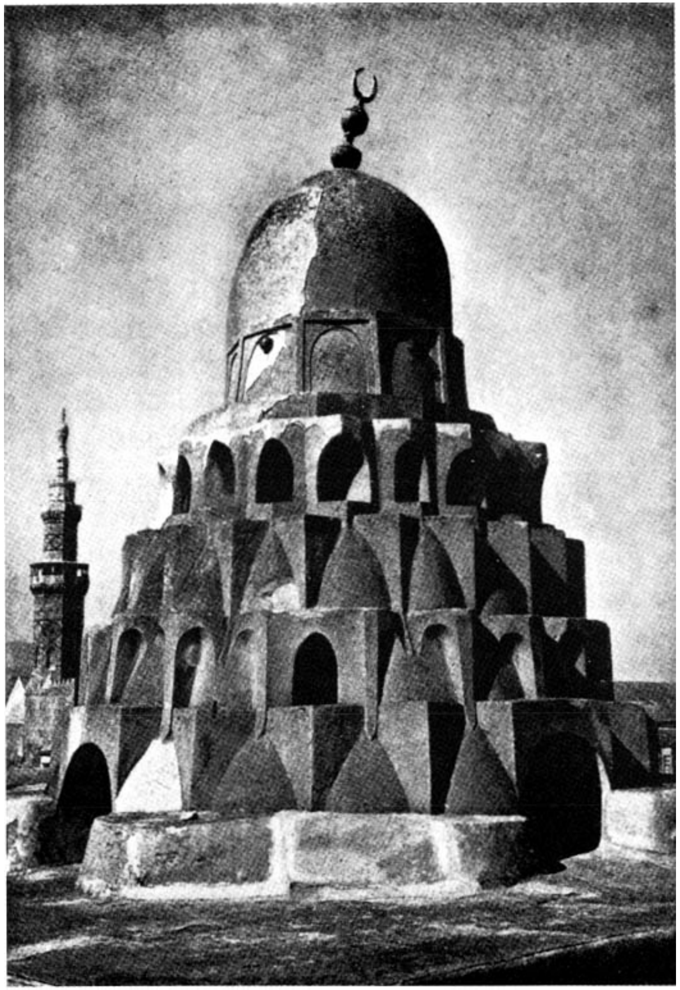

8. Dome of the Māristān of Nūr al-Dīn, exterior view
By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus

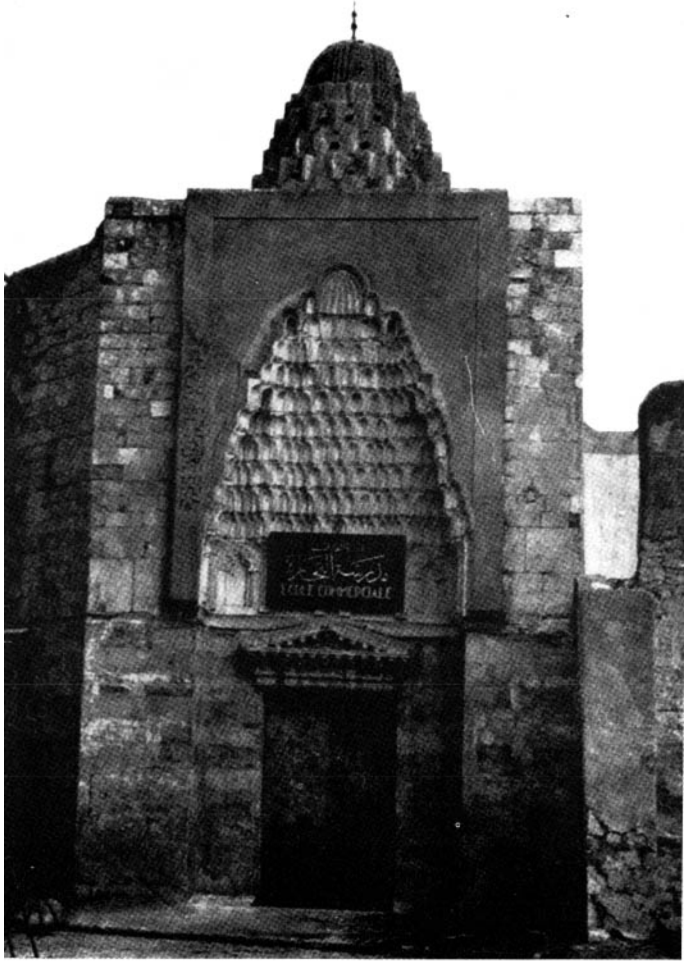

9. Māristān of Nūr al-Dīn, façade and doorway
By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus

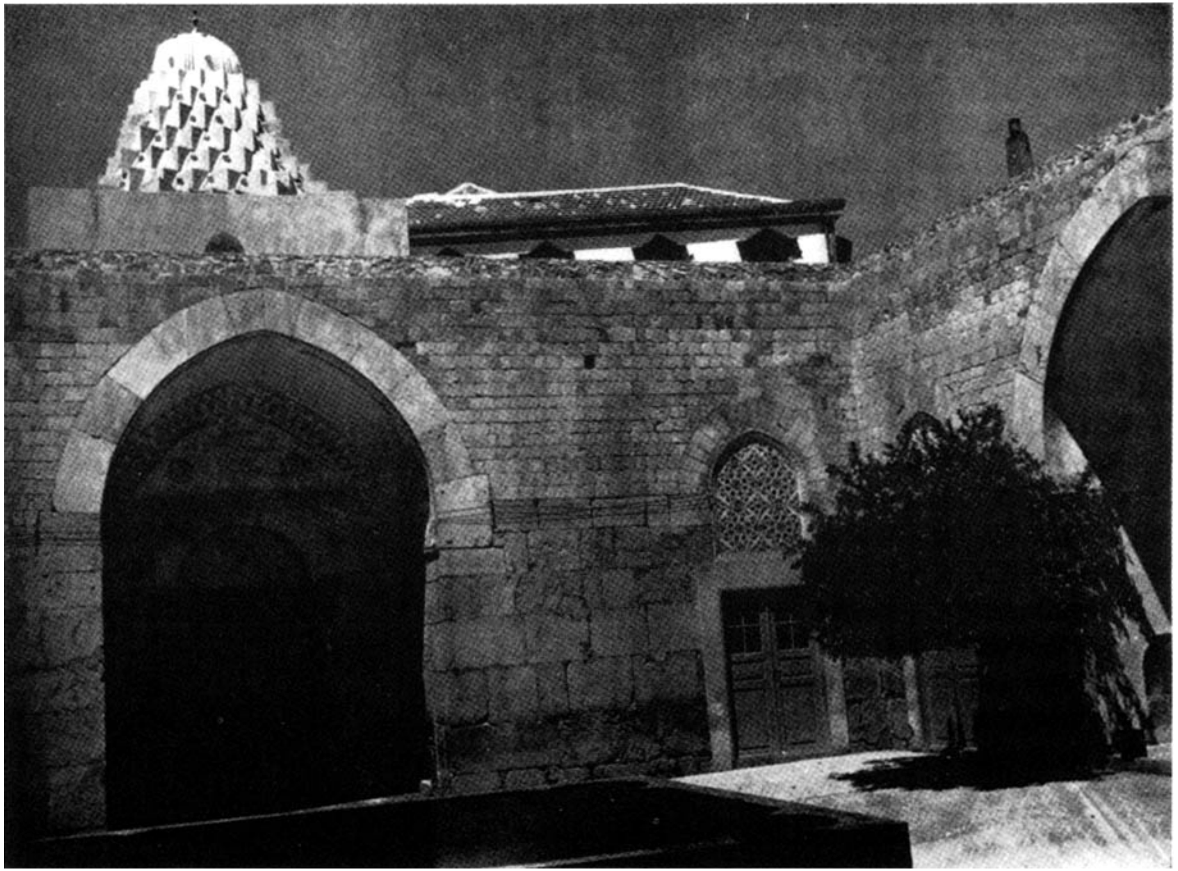

10. Courtyard of the Māristān of Nūr al-Dīn, west façade
By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus

1080/1670 is given by the Ottoman globe-trotter Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] in the eighth volume of his *Siyāḥatnāme* (73 ff.; cf. the abridgement in H. J. Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahrhundert* = *Abh.K.M.*, xxxii/3 (1956), 81 ff.). At that time the sole Muslim in the fortress of the city was its commandant (*dizdār*), for the inner castle (*derūn ḥiṣār*) consisted of a hundred tumbledown houses occupied by "unbelievers". Dimetoḳa was the seat of a judge and the administrative centre of a district (*nāḥiye*). The upper fortress measured, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, 2500 paces in circumference, and the outer double walls of stone were defended by "a hundred" towers. There was no moat, no space for one being available. The citadel (*ič ḳalʿe*) of the upper fort is arranged on two vertical levels; one part is commonly called the "Maiden's tower" (*Ḳïz ḳalʿesi*). From Ewliyā Čelebi's detailed description of the defensive arrangements of Dimetoḳa it is specially noticeable that the royal palace, which was at that time no longer much used, lay in the upper fortress, and could be reached through doors accessible only to the sultan. The lower city (*varoš*) was divided in Ewliyā Čelebi's time into twelve wards (*maḥalle*) and consisted of 600 multi-storeyed tiled houses. In Dimetoḳa at that time there were twelve places of worship, the most important of these being that with which sultan Bāyazīd I graced his usual abode. The remainder are smaller mosques (*mesdjid*), many of which our traveller mentions by name; they owe their origin for the most part to the well-to-do Ottoman dignitaries established there. Sultān Bāyazīd I had a Ḳurʾān school erected in Dimetoḳa, which next to that of Urudj Pasha is the most important of the four in existence. Of the baths, the so-called "Whisper Bath" (*fïsïltï ḥammāmï*), with its "Ear of Dionysus", is also mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*op. cit.*, 66). According to the *Sālnāme* of Edirne, 1309/1891-2, 208, it was still standing and widely famous. There was no *bazzistān*, although the market (bāzār) was dominated by some 200 potters' stalls, whose wares, especially the red Dimetoḳa glasses, beakers, dishes and jugs enjoyed a great reputation. The chief produce of Dimetoḳa and its environs is grapes and quinces.

There were numerous graves of holy men, who found their last resting place in or near Dimetoḳa; Ewliyā Čelebi gives a list of them by name, from which it appears that they belonged entirely to the Bektashī order; from the evidence of Ottoman toponymy the hinterland of Dimetoḳa towards the west must have been to a very great extent a centre of the dervishes, particularly those of the Bektashīs (cf. H. J. Kissling, *op. cit.*, 83, n. 310). In more modern times Dimetoḳa, out of the way from the bustle of the world, had practically no part to play under the Ottomans, and gradually declined.

Bibliography: in addition to references in the text, cf. *Sālnāme-i Edirne*, 18th ed. 1309, 203-9; 28th ed. 1319, 996 ff.; Sāmī Bey Frashëri, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iii, Constantinople 1308/1891, 2216 ff.; Ami Boué, *Recueil d'itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, i, Vienna 1854, 102 ff. European travellers have hardly touched Dimetoḳa and its surroundings and have left no descriptions.

(F. Babinger)

DIMYĀṬ (Damietta), a town of Lower Egypt situated on the eastern arm of the Nile, near its mouth. Dimyāṭ, which was an important town before the Muslim conquest, was captured by a force under al-Miḳdād b. al-Aswad, sent by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. As a Muslim town, it suffered repeated naval raids, at first from the Byzantines and subsequently from the Crusaders. After an attack in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 238/June 853, al-Mutawakkil ordered the construction of a fortress at Dimyāṭ as part of a general plan to fortify the Mediterranean coast. Dimyāṭ, as the key to Egypt, played a particularly important part in the conflicts between Franks and Muslims at the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty and in Ayyūbid times. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī was vizier of Egypt, the Franks under Amalric I of Jerusalem besieged Dimyāṭ, but were compelled to withdraw in Rabīʿ I 565/December 1169. Dimyāṭ was twice more the centre of important military operations. The great Crusading expedition of 615-8/1218-21 (see Hans L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, 58-70, 76-88, 104-15) succeeded in capturing the town but was ultimately forced to capitulate by al-Kāmil. In Ṣafar 647/June 1249 Dimyāṭ was taken by Louis IX, shortly before the death of al-Ṣāliḥ, but was restored to Muslim rule on Louis's subsequent capitulation. The Baḥriyya Mamlūks, who then formed the ruling élite of Egypt, decided to end its military importance. The walls and town, except for the mosque, were demolished in 648/1250-1; while in 659/1260-1 the river-mouth itself was blocked to sea-going ships by order of Baybars I. The devastation of Dimyāṭ was no doubt the cause of the extinction of its famous textile industry, although a new urban centre, which took the old name, soon arose on a site south of the former town. In the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, Dimyāṭ was used as a place of banishment. In Rabīʿ I 1218/July 1803 the Ottoman viceroy of Egypt, Meḥmed Khüsrev Pasha, who had been expelled from Cairo by a revolt of Albanian troops, was compelled to surrender at Dimyāṭ, where he had fortified himself, to a force commanded by Meḥmed ʿAlī and the Mamlūk grandee, ʿUthmān Bey al-Bardīsī.

Bibliography: The principal data are given in Maḳrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ*, ed. Wiet, iv/2, 37-80; and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xi, 36-57 (largely a reproduction of Maḳrīzī). For a full bibliography, see Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 92-3.

(P. M. Holt)

al-DIMYĀṬĪ, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Khalaf Sharaf al-Dīn al-Tūnī al-Dimyāṭī al-**Shāfiʿī**, traditionist born in 613/1217 on the island of Tūnā between Tinnīs and Damietta; at the end of his career he was professor at the Manṣūriyya and at the Ẓāhiriyya in Cairo, where he died in 705/1306. Apart from the works listed by Brockelmann, to be supplemented by the recent study of A. Dietrich, *ʿAbdalmuʾmin b. Xalaf ad-Dimyāṭi'nin bir muhācirūn listesi*, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuasi*, iii (1959), 125-55) he has left a dictionary of authorities, often cited and used by subsequent historians and biographers, called *Muʿdjam Shuyūkh*; it only survives at the present time in a single incomplete manuscript (Tunis, *Aḥmadiyya*, 911-2,—about 1185 entries out of the 1250 contained in the complete work) which was written at the author's dictation. In this document are contained the *Ḥadīth*, and also other texts collected by al-Dimyāṭī in the course of his numerous voyages in Egypt, the two holy cities, in Syria, Djazīra and in ʿIrāḳ between 636/1238 and 656/1258; these, together with the numerous reading-certificates which accompany them, will be the subject of a monograph by G. Vajda. Apart from his own works, al-Dimyāṭī is one of the most

important figures of the last third of the 7th/13th century in the field of the handing down of traditions.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II², 88; S. II, 79 (to the sources quoted may be added *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, ii, 417, no. 2525 and Ibn Rafiʿ, *Muntakhab al-Mukhtār*, in the edition of ʿAzzāwī, 120-2, no. 104; for Dimyāṭī as a transmitter of traditions, see also Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss ... Berlin*, no. 9648 (ix, 193 f.); G. Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture* ... 12; Ahmed Ateş, in *RIMA*, iv, 1, 1958, 14.

(G. VAJDA)

AL-DIMYĀṬĪ, AL-BANNĀʾ. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-GHANĪ AL-DIMYĀṬĪ, known as AL-BANNĀʾ, though he had some local reputation in Lower Egypt as a pillar of the Nakshbandiyya order of dervishes, owes his fame to his work *Itḥāf fuḍalāʾ al-bashar* on the Ḳurʾānic variants of the Fourteen Readers. He was born at Dimyāṭ where he had the usual education of a Muslim youth under local teachers, till he was able to journey to Cairo, where he studied *ḳirāʾāt*, *ḥadīth* and Shāfiʿī *fiḳh* under al-Muzāḥī and al-Shabrāmulsī, and was able to hear such contemporary masters as al-Adjhūrī, al-Shawbarī, al-Ḳalyūbī and al-Maymūnī. At the conclusion of his studies he went on pilgrimage to Mecca where he studied *ḥadith* under al-Kūrānī. On his return to Dimyāṭ he published his *Itḥaf*, on which he had apparently been at work while in the Ḥidjāz, and in which he collected the variant readings of Ibn Muḥayṣin of Mecca, al-Yazīdī of Baṣra, al-Ḥasan of Baṣra, and al-Aʿmash of Kūfa, as well as the more commonly studied Ten Readers, prefacing the whole with an excellent study on the science of *ḳirāʾāt*. He also made a one volume digest of the famous *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, and compiled a treatise, *al-Dhakhāʾir al-muhimmāt*, on the signs which precede the coming of the Last Day. After a second pilgrimage to the Holy Cities he journeyed to the Yemen, where he was initiated by Shaykh Aḥmad b. ʿAdjīl into the Nakshbandiyya fraternity. On his return to Egypt he established himself as a marabout in the sea-side village of ʿEzbet al-Burdj. During a third pilgrimage he died at Medina in Muḥarram 1117/April-May 1705, and was buried in the Baḳīʿ. Besides the *Itḥāf*, which has been printed at Constantinople in 1285/1868-9, and at Cairo in 1317/1899-1900, he wrote smaller works on Ḳurʾānic readings, of which MSS survive, and the gloss he made to al-Maḥallī's commentary on the *Waraḳāt* of Imām al-Ḥaramayn has been printed at Cairo in 1303/1885-6 and again in 1332/1913-14.

Bibliography: al-Djabarti, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Āthār*, i, 89, 90, copied into ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak's *Khiṭaṭ Djadīda*, xi, 56; Sarkis, *Bibliographie*, col. 885; Brockelmann, II, 327; S. II, 454).

(A. JEFFERY)

AL-DIMYĀṬĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN or AṢĪL AL-DĪN; his dates are uncertain but almost certainly not before the end of the 7th/13th century; author of a *ḳaṣīda* in *lām* on the names of God (see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ and DHIKR); each verse of this *ḳaṣīda* is reputed to possess mysterious virtues, given in detail by the commentaries of which the text has several times been the object (the best-known is that by the Moroccan mystic, Aḥmad al-Burnusī Zarrūḳ, d. 899/1493). The *ḳaṣīda Dimyāṭiyya* holds a considerable place in the worship of the semi-literate, in particular in North Africa. A translation of it was made into Ottoman Turkish in 1257/1841 by Ibrāhīm b. Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ al-Ḳādirī al-Kasṭamūnī al-Istānbūlī, and printed in the following year at Istanbul, together with several *taḳrīẓ* and the Arabic text, under the title of *Farāʾid al-Laʾālī fī bayān asmāʾ ʾl-mutaʿālī*. A fragment of another work of the same kind attributed to al-Dimyāṭī is preserved, with a commentary, in the ms. Paris, B.N. Arabe 1050, fol. 138-139, while an imitation, not without vulgarisms in its language, was written by a certain Maḥmūd Hizza al-Dimyāṭī (printed as an appendix to *Badīʿ al-maḳāl* by an anonymous Andalusian, with the title of *al-Istighfār al-asmā fī naẓm asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, Būlāḳ 1319/1901).

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(G. VAJDA)

DĪN, I. Definition and general notion. It is usual to emphasize three distinct senses of *dīn*: (1) judgment, retribution; (2) custom, usage; (3) religion. The first refers to the Hebraeo-Aramaic root, the second to the Arabic root *dāna, dayn* (debt, money owing), the third to the Pehlevi *dēn* (revelation, religion). This third etymology has been exploited by Nöldeke and Vollers. We would agree with Gaudefroy-Demombynes (*Mahomet*, 504) in not finding it convincing. In any case, the notion of "religion" in question is by no means identical in Mazdaism and Islam. On the contrary, the two first etymologies, Hebrew and Arabic, seem to interact, and the meanings are nothing like so diverse as has sometimes been stated. Thus the semantic dialectic of Arabic causes *dayn* "debt which falls due on a given date" to pass to *dīn* "custom" (cf. *EI*¹, s.v., art. by Macdonald). "Custom, usage", in its turn, leads to the idea of "direction" (given by God), *hudā*; and to judge (the sense of the Hebrew root) is to guide each one in a suitable direction, hence to give retribution. In Gaudefroy-Demombynes' view the "Day of Judgment" (*yawm al-dīn*)" is the day when God gives a direction to each human being". Elsewhere the Arabic philologists freely derive *dīn* from *dāna li-...* "submit to". *Dīn* henceforth is the corpus of obligatory prescriptions given by God, to which one must submit.

Thus *dīn* signifies obligation, direction, submission, retribution. Whether referring to the Hebrew-Aramaic sense or the ancient Arabic root, there will remain the ideas of debt to be discharged (hence obligation) and of direction imposed or to be followed with a submissive heart. From the standpoint of him who imposes obligation or direction, *dīn* rejoins the "judgment" of the Hebrew root; but from the standpoint of him who has to discharge the obligation and receive the direction, *dīn* must be translated "religion"—the most general and frequent sense.

There is no doubt about this translation. But the concept indicated by *dīn* does not exactly coincide with the ordinary concept of "religion", precisely because of the semantic connexions of the words. *Religio* evokes primarily that which binds man to God; and *dīn* the obligations which God imposes on His "reasoning creatures" (*aṣḥāb al-ʿuḳūl*, as Djurdjānī says). Now the first of these obligations is to submit to God and surrender one's self to Him. Since the etymological sense of *islām* is "surrender of self (to God)", the famous Ḳurʾānic verse then shows its full meaning: "This day I have perfected your religion (*dīn*) for you and completed my favour unto you, and have chosen for you as religion *al-Islām*" (V 3; cf. II 126, III 19).

These few remarks cast some light on and perhaps

oversimplify the difficulties encountered in translating the *dīn* of Ḳur'ānic verses into Western languages. (1) The sense of judgment (and retribution) is quite frequent in the *sūras* of the Meccan period: four times taken absolutely and 12 times in the expression *yawm al-dīn*. (2) The sense of religion is suitable in the other cases. It is true that R. Blachère several times, and appropriately, translates it by "act of worship" (*culte*) (e.g. II, 189; XLII, 11 and 20, etc.). Notice XLII, 11: "Discharge the debt of worship" (*acquittez-vous du Culte*), which evokes the primitive Arabic sense of debt, owing. But if we recall that *dīn* is defined by the obligations and prescriptions laid down by God, it must be admitted that the *culte* is the essential part of *dīn*. (Moreover Muslim authors often associate *ʿibāda*, the act of worship proper, and *dīn*). Finally sundry Ḳur'ānic expression must be indicated which are found again in subsequent elaborations: *al-dīn al-ḳayyim* "the immutable religion": "The Judgment (*ḥukm*) rests with Allāh only Who hath commanded you that ye worship none save Him. This is the immutable religion" (XII, 40); *dīn al-ḥaḳḳ*, "the religion of Truth": "He it is Who hath sent this Messenger with the guidance (*hudā*) and the religion of Truth" (XLVIII, 28); *al-dīn ḥunafāʾ*, "religion practised as a *ḥanīf* [*q.v.*]" (XCVIII, 5); *al-dīn al-k͟hāliṣ*, "the pure religion" (XXXIX, 3). The three texts cited above (V, 3; IX, 36; and XLVIII, 28) emphasize the relationships of meaning between *dīn* on the one hand and, on the other, *islām* (surrender of self to God), *ḥukm* (judgment), and *hudā* (right direction). Other references could be given.

II. Content of the notion of *dīn*

There are numerous Ḳur'ānic verses which associate the worship of God, or the prayer due to God, and the religion (or *culte*), *e.g.*, XXXIX 14, etc. A well-known *ḥadīt͟h* (Buk͟hārī, ii, 37) unites under "the teaching of religion" (a) the contents of the faith (*īmān*), (b) the practice of *islām*, (c) *iḥsān* or interiorization of the faith ("to adore God as though one saw him"). It later became common to define *dīn* by these three elements.

We now come to a few elaborations of doctrine. The Ḥanafī-Māturīdī text *Fiḳh Akbar II* defines religion as an appellation including faith, *islām*, and all the commandments of the Law. The *Kitāb al-tamhīd* of the As͟hʿarī Bāḳillānī devotes a short chapter to the meaning of *dīn*. He distinguishes several possible meanings: (1) judgment in the sense of retribution (in the expression *yawm al-dīn*); (2) judgment in the sense of decision (*ḥukm*); (3) doctrine (*mad͟hhab*) and religious community (*milla*), implying faith, obedience, and the practice of a given belief; in this last sense there may be more than one religion (cf. below); (4) *dīn al-ḥaḳḳ*, which is *islām* (and Islam): allowing one's self to be led by God and abandoning one's self to Him. In his *Taʿrīfāt*, D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī defines *dīn* as a divine institution (*waḍʿ*) which creatures endowed with reason receive from the Apostle. Similar definitions are repeated in the treatises of the As͟hʿarī school. Thus in Bād̲j̲ūrī's elementary manual *dīn* is "the corpus of prescriptions (*aḥkām*) which God has promulgated through the voice of His Apostle".

Thus the Māturīdīs willingly make faith an element in religion; the As͟hʿarīs stress the prescriptions to be observed. As for the Ḥanbalī school, their accent falls on the "authentic tradition" taken in the widest sense. The Ḳur'ān and the Sunna—therein lies religion (*ʿAḳīda I* of Ibn Ḥanbal); Ibn Taymiyya repeats that it is "the whole of religion". Hence the assertion that *dīn* is *taḳlīd* (*Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, i, 31), endowing *taḳlīd* with a positive value of faithfulness to the Prophet (contrarily to other schools who see it primarily as pure acceptance, passive and non-reasoning). L. Massignon writes that, for Ibn Ḥanbal (*Passion d'al-Ḥallād̲j̲*, 669), *dīn* may be understood as "devoting our religious observances to God", as distinct from *islām* (external practices) and *s͟harīʿa* (observance of legal precepts): the whole constitutes faith (*īmān*). Thus understood *dīn* is nourished by the Tradition and supererogatory acts of piety. Besides the Ḥanbalīs associate *dīn* with the act of worship (*ʿibāda*) which is "action", and with right guidance (*hudā*). Now the first act of worship is prayer (*ṣalāt*). Ibn Taymiyya quotes several Traditions where prayer is stated to be "the basis of religion"; "those (then) who cause it to be observed and themselves observe it preserve their religion" (cf. *Siyāsa*, tr. Laoust, 19). He is pleased to reproduce the dictum of the "Ancients", which makes *īmān* the complement of *dīn*: "Religion and faith consist of word, action, and the fact of following the Sunna" (*Maʿārid̲j̲*, tr. Laoust, 76). Commenting on the author's thought, M. Laoust stresses that "religion" is "above all a law" (ibid., 79 n.). Finally, the contemporary writer Ras͟hīd Riḍā, whose links with Ibn Taymiyya are well known, presents religion as "the act of worship, the care to avoid bad and blameworthy deeds, to respect right and justice in social relationships, and to purify the soul and prepare it for the future life; in a word [it consists of] all the laws whose aim is to bring man near to God" (*K͟hilāfa*, 192; tr. Laoust, 156). This concept, though losing nothing of its specifically Muslim character, reminds one of the more usual meaning of *religio*.

III. *Dīn wa-milla: dīn al-ḥaḳḳ*

In order to set forth clearly the elements of the problem *dīn* is often distinguished from terms with related meanings or made more specific by a determinative which limits its connotation.

Ibn Ḥanbal employed *milla* in the sense of *dīn* (cf. Massignon, *loc. cit.*, n. 4), and, as we have seen, Bāḳillānī noted that *dīn* could be synonymous with *milla* or, in a more restricted sense, with *mad͟hhab*. D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, 111) distinguishes a shade of meaning: *dīn* and *milla* agree in respect of their essence, but are distinct in respect of their signification. Both go back to the idea of Law, divine positive legal prescriptions (*s͟harīʿa*). Here we come across the usual As͟hʿarī position again. *Dīn*, says D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, is the Law as something obeyed; *milla* (a word of Aramaic origin: word, revelation) is the Law gathering men in a community; *mad͟hhab* is the Law to which one strives to return. *Dīn* relates to God, *milla* to the Apostle (*rasūl*), *mad͟hhab* to the founder of a school, the *mud̲j̲tahid* who strives to know and interpret the Law. It is to be noted that in the Ḳur'ān *milla* is used now to designate the "religion of Abraham", which is already essentially Islam, now to designate the communities of "possessors of the Scripture".

But Islam alone is *dīn al-ḥaḳḳ*, the "religion of Truth". Each time that this expression appears in the Ḳur'ān it is to affirm that the "religion of Truth" has the primacy over the "whole of religion", that is over all the domain of religion, and so over any other religion (*e.g.*, XLVIII, 27; IX, 33; and parallel text LXI, 9). Opposite to *dīn al-ḥaḳḳ* is *al-dīn al-mubaddal* "corrupted religion", "like that of the polytheists or the Zoroastrians" says Ibn Taymiyya (*Maʿārid̲j̲*, tr. Laoust, 87). Tradition, especially that of the Ḥanbalīs (*e.g.*, Barbahārī, cf. Laoust, *La*

profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa, 4, n. 1), distinguishes *ḥaḳḳ*, what comes from God, *i.e.*, the Ḳur'ān; *sunna*, what was established by the Prophet; *djamā'a*, the common practices and beliefs of the Companions. Thus we have on the one hand *dīn al-ḥaḳḳ*, revealed religion, and on the other *al-dīn al-'atīḳ* "the ancient religion" understood as Islam as practised by the Companions (from whom Barbahārī exludes 'Alī). This latter expression is connected with the Ḥanbalite conception of *taḳlīd*.

Dīn al-ḥaḳḳ is to be compared with and distinguished from the other Ḳur'ānic expression *al-dīn al-ḳayyim* "the immutable religion": it is Islam referred to the faith of Abraham (VI, 162, here synonymous with *dīn ḥunafā'*) or considered as bound to laws testifying to the order of the universe (IX, 36) and recapitulated in the worship of God alone (XII, 40). Note finally that one of the characteristics of the *dīn al-ḥaḳḳ* is to be a "religion of the golden mean", "far from extremes". Several Muslim apologists, arguing from *Ḳur'ān* II, 137 where the determinative is applied to the Community (*umma*) and on the other hand from the phrase "no constraint in religion" (II, 256, cf. XXII, 78), like to present Islam as a religion of the "golden mean". This is a theme which readily re-occurs when a writer wishes to urge a balanced solution on the opponents of his school (*madhhab*); thus Ibn 'Asākir, in his defence of Ash'arism, or Ibn Taymiyya, in his solution of this or that legal problem (*e.g.*, *Siyāsa*, tr. Laoust, 31). In the opposite direction a severe warning is addressed to the "People of the Book" (Jews or Christians) who "are extravagant" or "exaggerate" in their religion (*Ḳur'ān* II, 171; V, 77; cf. VII, 31); those who do not practise *dīn al-ḥaḳḳ* must be combated.

IV. *Dīn wa-dunyā, dīn wa-dawla*

Dīn, distinct from *milla* and *madhhab*, is opposed to *dunyā*. The nearest translation would be the *relations* of the spiritual and the temporal. *Dīn*: the domain of divine prescriptions concerning acts of worship and everything involved in spiritual life; *dunyā*: "domain of material life", as M. Laoust translates (*dunyā* appears besides as the opposite correlative to *ākhira*: "this world" and "hereafter".

Dīn and *dunyā* are undoubted opposites. The Ṣūfīs stress the ascetic's disdain in the face of *adhā 'l-dunyā*. But the most traditional tendency is to subordinate *dunyā* to *dīn*, to make "this base world" in some way included in the "domain of religion". The Ḥanbalī school is insistent on this. It is "an act of religion (*diyāna*)" says Ibn Baṭṭa, "to give good advice to the imāms and all the other members of the Community, whether in the domain of religion (*dīn*) or that of material life (*dunyā*)" (tr. Laoust, 129-30). Ibn Taymiyya quotes Ḥasan al-Baṣrī with approval: "Religion is good advice, religion is good advice, religion is good advice". Religion and state are closely bound to each other: "exercise of a public office is one of the most important duties of religion; we would add that public office is essential to the very existence of religion". Again: "Thus it is a duty to consider the exercise of power as one of the forms of religion, as one of the acts by which man draws near to God" (*Siyāsa*, tr. Laoust, 172-4). "Social order and peace" are indispensable to the exercise of religion. Commenting on Ibn Taymiyya's political doctrine, M. Laoust writes: "Religion (*dīn*) is intimately bound up with the temporal (*dunyā*)", (*Doctrines sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taymiyya*, 280).

The contemporary Salafiyya school puts the elements of the problem somewhat differently. By a modernized apologetic, Muḥammad 'Abduh intends above all to show the conformity of reason (*'aḳl*) and *dīn*. Rashīd Riḍā, having set forth what in social life is an integral part of the religious domain (cf. quotation above), enumerates everything which depends on it in a wide sense: respect for life, honour, other people's property, an attitude based on sound counsel, shunning of sin, iniquity, violence, deceit, abuse of confidence, unjust wastage of other people's property; in other words the domain of morality. Thus it is a question, both here and there, of an equivalence between "the rights of God and of men", according to the classic distinction of Muslim jurists. But Rashīd Riḍā adds that there is a third order of facts, which no longer depends on the domain of *dīn*: everything to do with "administrative, juridical, political, and financial organization" (*Khilāfa* 92/154). Two concepts may be brought up here: (1) the principle of distinction established by Ibn Taymiyya between the prescriptions of the Ḳur'ān, as distinct from the beliefs (*'aḳīdāt*) and laws concerning the acts of worship (*'ibādāt*), which are untouchable, ethics (*akhlāḳ*) (in certain cases) and social relationships (*mu'āmalāt*) (more generally) are capable of adaptation to time and place; (2) the prescriptions of the Ḳur'ān taken as a whole (domain of *dīn*) do not by any means legislate in detail for the actual organization of social life; this organization must be, and it is sufficient that it be, subservient to those prescriptions. Thus we see the sketch, according to a traditional line of reflection, of a possible principle of distinction between the "spiritual" and the "temporal" derived not so much from the *object* of the prescriptions as from their *source* ("revealed" or not).

The Muslim Brethren vie with one another in repeating that Islam is at one and the same time *dīn* and *dawla* (government, domain of politics). The principle of distinction is by no means abolished. *Dīn* and *dawla* are not identical. But Islam, which is the link between the two, includes both. According to this view there is a distinction between *dīn*, domain of religion, and Islam, which is religion, true enough, but temporal Community also. The Muslim "laicists" or "progressives", on the contrary, tend to identify *dīn* with Islam, and to see in the latter a "religion" in the Western sense of the word.

V. *Uṣūl al-dīn*

Apart from this latter case, where modern Western influence is obvious, *dīn* and Islam are distinct. Sometimes Islam, as the practice of the Ḳur'ānic faith, is one of the elements of *dīn* (*ḥadīth* quoted above, Bukhārī, ii, 37); and sometimes *dīn* is one of the elements of Islam understood as an organized politico-religious Community (e.g. Islam is *dīn* and *dawla*). In current language *dīn* is employed absolutely in the sense of *dīn al-ḥaḳḳ* and then becomes the religious expression and spiritual radiation of Islam itself. Such is the connotation of the frequent proper names where *dīn* is a determinative (*e.g.*, Muḥyī —, Fakhr —, Nūr —, Ṣalāḥ —, Taḳī al-Dīn, etc.).

But if we translate *dīn* by "religion" or "spiritual domain" we must not forget that the Muslim concept denotes above all the Laws which God has promulgated to guide man to his final end, the submission to these laws (thus to God), and the practice of them (acts of worship). The expression *uṣūl al-dīn* "sources (or bases) of religion" is to be taken in this sense.

The advanced course in the great mosques is

often shared by three faculties (cf. an old official syllabus of al-Azhar, *REI* 1931, 241-75: *kulliyyat al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* ["faculty of Arabic language"], *k. al-sharīʿa* [centred on *fiḳh*], and *k. uṣūl al-dīn* ["theology" and apologetics]). As a matter of fact the writers on *ʿilm al-kalām* often used the term *uṣūl al-dīn* (or *al-diyāna*) to denote an introduction to or a résumé of dogmatics, and so we have the titles of well-known works: *Al-ibāna ʿan uṣūl al-diyāna* (Ashʿarī); *Maʿālim uṣūl al-dīn* (Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī), etc. The *Uṣūl al-dīn* of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī deals with the methods (*asbāb*) towards knowledge and their degree of certitude. The expression *ʿulūm al-dīn* made famous by Ghazzālī's great work there signifies the body of knowledge on the spiritual plane. The "religious sciences" as properly understood, in the technical sense of organized disciplines, are rather to be called *al-ʿulūm al-sharʿiyya* (as often) or (more rarely, and also by Ghazzālī) *dīniyya*.

Bibliography: The quotations in the body of the article are completed and specified by: I. Muslim Works. *Fiḳh Akbar II*, tr. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 194; Ibn Baṭṭa, *Kitāb al-sharḥ wa 'l-ibāna ʿalā uṣūl al-sunna wa 'l-diyāna*, text and tr. in Henri Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958 (see Index); Abū Bakr al-Bāḳillānī, *Kitāb al-tamhīd*, ed. R. J. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 345; Ibn Taymiyya, *Maʿāridj al-wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat anna uṣūl al-dīn*, tr. H. Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique de Taḳī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939 (Index s.v. Religion); idem, *Kitāb al-siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, tr. Laoust, *Le traité de droit publique d'Ibn Taimiya*, Beirut 1948, Index; Djurdjānī, *Kitāb al-taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 111; Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ... ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1352/1934, 9-10; Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1353/1935, 124-9; Rashīd Riḍā, *Al-khilāfa aw al-imāma al- ʿuẓmā*, Cairo (Manār) 1341/1922, 92 (tr. Laoust, *Le califat dans la doctrine de Rashīd Riḍā*, Beirut 1938, 154-5). (See also the principal *tafsīrs* on the Ḳurʾānic texts concerning *dīn*, *e.g.*, Ṭabarī, i, 51).

II. Western Works. References given by D. B. Macdonald (*EI*[1]), especially for the etymology and meaning of the word: Lane, *Lexicon*, 944; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xxxvii, 534, n. 2; *Gr.I.Ph.*. i/1, 107, 270; i/2, 26, 170; ii, 644; Vollers, in *ZA*, xiv, 351; Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 40, 58. These are supplemented by: Louis Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1922, 669; Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, Cairo (IFAO) 1939, 280, 312, 453; L. Gardet and M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 375; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, Paris 1957, 504-5.

(L. Gardet)

DĪN-I ILĀHĪ (Divine Faith), the heresy promulgated by the Indian Mughal emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] in 989/1581. The heresy is related to earlier *Alfī* heretical movements in Indian Islam of the 10th/16th century, implying the need for the re-orientation of faith at the end of the first millennium of the advent of the Prophet. Among its formative inspirations was Akbar's reaction to the decadence and corruption of contemporary *ʿulamāʾ*, his eclecticism and religious tolerance, and the intellectual scepticism of his chief associate Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī. Ethically, the *Dīn-i Ilāhī* prohibited sensuality, lust, misappropriation, deceit, slander, oppression, intimidation and pride. To these was added the Djayn dislike of animal slaughter and the Catholic value of celibacy. Nine of the ten virtues enjoined were presumably derived directly from the Ḳurʾān: liberality, "forbearance from bad actions and repulsion of anger with mildness", abstinence, avoidance of "violent material pursuits", piety, devotion, prudence, gentleness, kindness; while the tenth was the ṣūfistic "purification of soul by yearning for God". Ritually, it was a kind of solar monotheism with an exaggerated preoccupation with light, sun and fire, showing primarily Zoroastrian, and secondarily Hindū and *ṣūfī* influences.

The brunt of the orthodox Muslim criticism of Akbar's age was focussed on its indirect suggestion of extolling the emperor to a status of prophethood, even of divinity in such manifestations as the mutual greetings of his disciples *Allāhu Akbar* and *Djalla djalāluhu* hinting flatteringly at Akbar's name; though these were also familiar formulae of *ṣūfī dhikr*. Actually Akbar discouraged enrolment to his sect on the plea: "Why should I claim to guide men before I myself am guided?" The number of its adherents did not exceed nineteen. Akbar seems to have regarded it as a spiritual club confined to those of the élite of his court whose devotion to himself, by his own encouragement, had assumed the form of an esoteric and heterodox personality cult. The *Dīn-i Ilāhī* did not claim to possess a revealed text, and did not develop a priest-craft. The apologetics of Akbar in diplomatic correspondence with ʿAbd-Allāh Khān Ūzbek [*q.v.*], stressed that the basis of his religious faith was essentially rationalistic, affirmed Akbar's attestation of faith as a Muslim, and denied any claim on his part to prophethood or divinity. On the other hand Abu 'l-Faḍl quotes Akbar as confessing, at least figuratively, to cessation from Islam.

Though electically influenced by other religions, the *Dīn-i Ilāhī* derives its essential tenets from various streams of orthodox and heterodox ṣūfism. Its preoccupation with light was an exaggeration of the Suhrawardiyya emphasis on *nūr*; Akbar's personality cult was inspired by Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] and al-Djīlī's doctrines of the 'Perfect man'; the use of the Emperor's name in salutation was giving a heterodox significance to familiar *ṣūfī* formulae of *dhikr*; the ritual of the initiation of a disciple was based on the Čishtiyya example.

Some features of the ritual of sun and fire, specially at one stage Akbar's recitation of one thousand Sanskrit names for the sun, suggest Hindū influence; but it is remarkable that very little was borrowed from either orthodox Hinduism or the Bhakti movement. The sect had only one Hindū member, Rājā Bīrbal, while Akbar's trusted administrators like Bhagwān Dās and Mān Singh were opposed to it.

The trend of recent scholarship is to treat the *Dīn-i Ilāhī* as a heresy within Islam, rather than a form of apostasy. In Akbar's own age Muslim orthodoxy treated it with some apprehension, and although it died out with him, it set in motion a strong orthodox reaction represented in Naḳshbandiyya ṣūfism by Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī and in theological studies based on *ḥadīth* by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i (Eng. tr. by H. Blochmann), Calcutta 1927, 50-8, 64, 110-5, 157-76; *ibid*, ii (tr. by Jarrett) Calcutta 1891, 30; *ibid*, iii (tr. by Jarrett), Calcutta 1948, 426-49; idem, *Maktūbāt*, Lucknow 1863, ii, 26; ʿAbd al-Ḳadir Badāyūnī, *Muntakhab*

al-tawārīkh, Calcutta 1868-9, ii, 200-8, 255-87, 301-26, 336-9, 356, 391-2, 399; Muḥsin-i Fānī, *Dabistān-i madhāhib* (Eng. tr. by D. Shea and A. Troyer, Paris 1843, iii, 48-105); ʿInāyat Allāh Khān "Rāsikh", *ʿInāyat nāma*, India Office Pers Ms. 549, ff. 20b-21a; Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, Oxford 1927, 209-22, 237; F. W. Buckler, *A new interpretation of Akbar's "Infallibility" decree of 1579*, in *JRAS*, 1924, 591-608; Sri Ram Sharma, *The religious policy of the Mughal emperors*, Oxford 1940, 18-68; Makhanlal Roychoudhury, *The Dīn-i Ilāhī*, Calcutta 1941; Shaykh Muḥammad Ikram, *Rūd-i Kawthar*, Karachi n.d., 47-82; E. Wellesz, *Akbar's religious thought reflected in Mogul painting*, London 1952; Y. Hikmet Bayur, *L'Essai de réforme religieuse et sociale d'Ekber Gürkan ...*., in *Belleten*, ii, 1938, 127-85; Aziz Ahmad, *Akbar, hérétique ou apostat?*, in *JA*, 1961, 21-38; Correia Afonso, *Father Xavier and the Muslims of the Mughal empire*, 1957.

(Aziz Ahmad)

DĪNĀDJPUR: a district in East Pakistan; population (1951) 1,354,432.

In 1947 the district was partitioned, and its southern part was given to India. The name has been wrongly derived from Dinwadj or Danudj, identified with king Danudja Mardana Deva, whose coins are dated in Sáka 1339-40 = A.D. 1417-18. This king has nothing to do with Rādjā Ganesá, whose original estate was at Bhatoriya in this district and who played an important role in the early 9th/15th century Muslim history of Bengal. *Dīnādj* is a non-Aryan term, which with the Sanskrit ending *pur* makes the full name of the town and district. Such non-Aryan terms are common in the place names of Bengal. The district is famous for the fortified remains of the old city of Devkoṭ, the ancient Koṭivarsha, about 18 miles south-south-west of Dīnādjpur, now marking the boundary between India and Pakistan, just on the Indian side of the railway station Hilly. It was at this place that Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī, the first Muslim conqueror of Bengal, returned from his ill-fated Tibetan expedition and died in 602/1206. There is also to be found the famous *dargāh* of Shaykh al-Mashāyikh Mawlānā ʿAṭāʾ Waḥīd al-Dīn, who died in the middle of the 8th/14th century. Another important saint, Shāh Ismāʿīl Ghāzī, who died a martyr's death in the third quarter of the 9th/15th century in fighting against the non-Muslim rulers of this area, has a memorial *dargāh* at Ghoṛāghāṭ, 18 miles east of Hilly. The third important place is Mahisantosh, spelt in Persian works as Mahisūn, which was a centre of Muslim education during the early Muslim rule.

Bibliography: *Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers*: *Dinadjpur*, Allāhābād, 1912; A. Cunningham, *ASI*, xv, Calcutta 1882; G. H. Damant, *Notes on Shāh Ismāʿīl Ghāzī, with a sketch of the contents of a Persian Ms. Risālat ush-Shuhdā*, in *JASB*, 1874; A. H. Dani, *The House of Rādjā Gaṇeśa of Bengal* in *JASB*, 1952; idem, *Bibliography of the Muslim inscriptions of Bengal*, Dacca 1957.

(A. H. Dani)

DĪNĀR (pl. *danānīr*), the name of the gold unit of currency in early Islam. The word derives from Greek δηνάριον (Latin, *denarius*), originally signifying a silver coin but in post-Constantinian times commonly synonymous with *solidus*, *denarius aureus* or νόμισμα χρυσοῦν. The Arabs were familiar with the word and with the Roman and Byzantine gold coin before Islam (*Ḳurʾān*, ed. Flügel, iii, 68; and cf. J. Stepková in *Numismatický Sborník*, iii, 1956, 65).

The earliest type of Arab dīnār, undated but attributable to approximately the year 72/691-2, and struck almost certainly at Damascus, imitates the *solidus* of Heraclius and his two sons but with specifically Christian symbolism deleted and an Arabic religious legend added. A new type, more distinctly Arab, that of the "standing sword-girt Caliph", appears at the Umayyad capital with an issue dated 74/693-4 and is repeated in 76 and 77; but in the latter year ʿAbd al-Malik's coinage reform drastically affects the style of the dīnār which henceforth, with very rare exceptions, is purely epigraphic. In North Africa and Spain the early dīnār (*ḳūḳī*) has an independent history: before approximately the year 85/704 the unit and its fractions imitates the Carthaginian *solidus* of Heraclius but bears Muslim legends in abbreviated Latin translation; thereafter until the year 95/713-4 the portraits are deleted and dates are sometimes given in indiction years; Hidjra dates appear in 95, bilingual legends in 97/715-6, and just after the turn of the century both Ifrīḳiya (Ḳayrawān) and al-Andalus (Cordoba) issue dīnārs of purely Arab type, differing only in minor detail from the reformed dīnār of the East. The minting of gold in al-Andalus ceases in 106/724-5 (except for an anomalous unpublished issue of 127/744-5) and is not resumed until 317/929 under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III.

The weight standard of the early transitional dīnār appears to have been the same as that of the Byzantine *solidus*, *i.e.*, approximately 4.55 grams. With ʿAbd al-Malik's reform, however, the weight was reduced to 4.25 grams. The accuracy of this latter figure is attested not only by the weights of well-preserved dīnārs but by the evidence of Egyptian glass dīnār and dīnār fraction weights dating from the end of the first to the end of the second century A.H. The reduced standard of the post-reform dīnār resulted from a decision to redefine the mithḳāl (*i.e.*, dīnār) in convenient terms of 20 Syro-Arabian ḳīrāṭs of 0.2125 grams in place of such cumbersome terms as $21^3/_7$ ḳīrāṭs, or "22 ḳīrāṭs less a fraction", etc., which had been employed by the Arabs in pre-Islamic times to express the weight of the mithḳāl. The latter was doubtless based on the Attic drachm theoretically weighing 4.37 grams but actually, as circulated in Arabia, falling somewhat below that weight. While in general the weight standard of the dīnār was maintained in most parts of the Islamic world down to the 4th century of the Hidjra, thereafter extreme irregularity occurs both in weight and purity. In any case the dīnār usually passed by weight rather than tale, except where payments were made in sealed purses (*ṣurra*) of coins of guaranteed weight and fineness.

The half dīnār (*niṣf*, *semissis*) and the third dīnār (*thulth*, *tremissis*) were struck in North Africa and Spain in the transitional period and in the early years of the 2nd/8th century, while glass weights for these fractions (2.12 and 1.41 grams) continued to be issued until the third quarter of that century. The quarter dīnār (*rubʿ*) was introduced by the Aghlabids in North Africa early in the 3rd century and subsequently was issued in large quantities by the Fāṭimids both in North Africa, and in Sicily where in due course it became the well-known *tari d'oro*; as well as in Spain under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and his successors and some of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif*.

With respect to fineness the standard of the early dīnār was exceptionally high. The post-reform Umayyad dīnār ranges between 96% and 98% fine

and this same standard prevails by and large during the ʿAbbāsid period. Exceptions are the years of civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, the period between the end of Ṭūlūnid and the beginning of Ikhshīdid rule in Egypt and the Buwayhid period in Baghdād. Less debased but still below the early standard is the gold of the Caliph al-Nāṣir and his successors who resumed the striking of dīnārs and multiples in their own names in Baghdād during the last years of the Caliphate. In Egypt under the Fāṭimids the standard exceeds 98% and even approximates 100% under al-Āmir; under Saladin it falls below 90% but rises again to 98-100% under his successors, particularly under al-Kāmil. "There existed neither in the West nor in the East dīnārs of a standard excelling the standard *al-Āmirī al-Kāmilī*" (Ibn Baʿra, writing between 615 and 635 A.H.). Reliable statistics for the fineness of the dīnār in the period of its decline in the East are lacking (Ghaznawids, Saldjūḳs, Khwarizmshāhs, etc.), but it is evident from the appearance of preserved specimens and from limited technical data available that in eastern Khurāsān in the 5th and 6th centuries A.H. the alloy is low-grade electrum containing a large percentage of silver. Electrum fractions also appear among the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* in Spain. Silver and copper "dīnārs" of eastern Irān and Transoxiana are known in Mongol and post-Mongol times (see v. Schrötter, *op. cit.* in bibliography).

For the division of the dīnār into various theoretical fractions, see *Dānaḳ*, *Ḳīrāṭ*, *Ḥabba*, s.v. SIKKA.

In outward appearance the dīnār of the Caliphates and of most independent dynasties differs very little. The prototype carries the *shahāda* and part of Ḳurʾān CXII in the field or area, and the "prophetic mission" (Ḳurʾān IX, 33) and a formula stating the date of striking in words in the circular margins. The ʿAbbāsids alter the legends and arrangement slightly. Down to the year 170/786-7 the dīnār is anonymous; thereafter the name of the official charged with the administration of the coinage begins to appear; some of the issues of al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn bear their names, and from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim the Caliph's name appears regularly. Until the year 198/813-4 there is no indication of the mint, but beginning with that year at Miṣr (Fusṭāṭ) and subsequently at Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdād), Ṣanʿā, Dimishḳ, al-Muḥammadiyya (Rayy), Marw, Surra-man-raʾa (Samarra) and many other cities, the name of the mint regularly appears in the date formula. Gradually other legends are added, such as the name of the heir-apparent, supplementary religious legends and eventually the names of independent dynasts and princes. The Fāṭimids, while not entirely abandoning the style of the prototype, introduce Shīʿite legends and a type in which the inscriptions are arranged in concentric circles.

The word dīnār disappears from the coinage in the 6th century A.H. in the West, in the 7th/13th century in the East and in India, and in the 8th/14th century in Egypt. As a money of account the word was widely used both during and after its circulation as an actual coin.

The influence of the dīnār on the economy of western Europe, its rôle in mediaeval international commerce along with the Byzantine *solidus* or *nomisma* have been discussed at length, notably by Pirenne, Monneret de Villard, Block, Lombard, Lopez, Bolin, Grierson (synthesis and bibliography conveniently assembled by F.-J. Himly in *Rev. Suisse d'Histoire*, v, 1955, 31); and it was inevitable that it should on occasion be imitated as other popular media of exchange have at various times been imitated (*e.g.*, the florin, the ducat, etc.). Most important was the Crusader bezant (*besantius saracenatus*, *sarrazinas*, etc., etc., the Arabic *dīnār ṣūrī*), chiefly imitating Fāṭimid coins of al-Mustanṣir and al-Āmir. In the western Mediterranean the dīnār gave rise to the *mancus*, a European term used not only to describe the Arab dīnār and as an accounting term, but also, with qualifying proper names, to designate various Christian imitations of the 5th/11th century in Spain (cf. P. Grierson in *Rev. belge de phil. et d'histoire*, xxxii, 1954, 1059, and J. Duplessy in *Rev. Numismatique*, 1956, 101). The original *marabotino* (*maravedi*, etc.) of Alphonso VIII of Castile was an imitation of the Murābiṭ dīnār with Christian legends in Arabic character.

Sauvaire (see bibliography) lists numerous adjectives and nouns which occur in written sources qualifying or describing various types of dīnārs. To these may be added: *Atābakī* (Zangid), *ṭūrī* (for *ṭarī* ?, *JAOS* 1954, 163), *djayshī* (Dozy, *Suppl.*), *Ḥākimī* (Fāṭimid), *Ḥasanī* (Fāṭimid), *al-kharīṭa* (for special occasions, Herzfeld, *Geschichte ... Samarra*, 195), *ʿadad* ("counted", ἀρίθμια νομίσματα, papyri), *sawā* ("correct weight", papyri), *ṭarā* ("fresh", "uncirculated", papyri), *ḳawāmī* (Buwayhid, *Ars Islamica* 1951, 23), *mithḳālī* ("full weight", papyri), *mudawwara* (Fāṭimid, with concentric legends ?), *musaṭṭara* (Fāṭimid, with legends in parallel lines ?), *mashkhaṣ* or *mushkhaṣ* ("with effigies", *i. e.*, European, *BSOAS*, 1953, 72, *JESHO* 1958, 48), *mashriḳī* ("eastern", papyri), *muẓaffarī* (Shah-i Arman, *JAOS* 1954, 163), *maʿsūl* ("correctly counted out", papyri), *malikī* (Zurayʿid, *Num. Zeitschrift* 47, 1914, 172), *munaḥḥat* ("clipped", papyri), *nizārī* (Fāṭimid), *yūsufī* (Muwaḥḥid, Ibn Khallikān).

The word dīnār as a denomination applied to coins of various metals including nickel, copper, etc., bearing no relationship to the classical Arab unit, has survived in modern times: *e.g.*, Ḳādjārs (Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and successors, and the Pahlavī dynasty), ʿIrāḳ (1 dīnār, paper money = 1000 fils), Yugoslavia (1 dinar = 100 para).

(See also DIRHAM, MITHḲĀL, ḲĪRĀṬ, SANADJĀT and SIKKA).

Bibliography: al-Maḳrīzī, *K. Shudhūr al-ʿuḳūd*, various eds. including Tychsen (1797), Istanbul (1298 A.H.), L. A. Mayer (1933), A.-M. de St.-Elie (1939); E. v. Bergmann, *Die Nominale der Münzreform der Chalifen Abdulmelik*, in *SBAk.* Wien, 1870, 239; H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes* (*JA*, 1879-82); convenient summary of this comprehensive, indispensable work by S. Lane-Poole in *NC* 1884, 66-96; R. Vasmer in F. v. Schrötter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1930), s.v. Dinar; J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umaiyad coins* (*Cat. of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum*, ii, London 1956); A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde* (*Monografie Archivu Orientálniho*, xiii/1, Prague 1955); A. S. Ehrenkreutz, several articles on the dīnār and its standard of fineness in *JAOS* 1954, 162, 1956, 178, and *JESHO* 1959; G. C. Miles, *Some early Arab dinars* in American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes*, iii, 1948, 93; idem, *The numismatic history of Rayy* (N.Y., 1938); idem, *Fāṭimid coins* (N.Y., 1951); idem, *The coinage of the Umayyads of Spain* (N.Y., 1950); the various

catalogues of Arab glass weights (see SANADJĀT); P. Grierson, *The monetary reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik* in *JESHO*, 1960, 241; the numerous catalogues of papyri (full bibliographies in A. Grohmann's *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library*) and of coin collections, notably those of London (Lane-Poole), Paris (Lavoix), Berlin (Nützel), Istanbul (Ismāʿīl Ghālib, Aḥmed Tevḥīd, Khalīl Edhem), and W. Tiesenhausen's compendium of Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid coins, *Moneti vostočnago Khalifata*. The bibliographical details are available in L. A. Mayer's *Bibliography of Moslem Numismatics*², London 1954. (G. C. MILES)

DĪNĀR (MALIK), name of one of the Oghuz chieftains who set themselves up at Khurāsān after the dislocation of the kingdom of the Saldjūḳid Sandjar; unable to maintain his position there before the pressure of the Khʷārizmian state, he found a way to profit from the dissensions among the Saldjūḳids of Kirmān to lay hands on that principality (582/1186) and to hold it, in spite of hostilities on the borders of Sīstān, Fārs, and the Persian Gulf, until his death in 591/1195. After his death, however, Kirmān in its turn became absorbed within the Khʷārizmian empire, on account of insufficient Oghuz immigration.

Bibliography: Almost the only source for the history of Kirmān in this period lies in the *Badāʾiʿ al-azmān fī waḳāʾiʿ Kirmān* of the contemporary Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī, the text of which, reconstituted from later compilers (especially Ḥasan Yazdī), was published by M. Bayānī in 1331/1952, but was already almost equally well accessible in Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's *History of the Saldjūḳids of Kirmān* ed. by Th. Houtsma as vol. i of his *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, and analysed by him in an article in *ZDMG*, 1885; also to be consulted is the special apologetic work of Afḍal al-Dīn on Malik Dīnār, *ʿIḳd al-ʿUlā*, ed. Tehran 1311/1932, and the *Risāla* recently discovered and published by A. Iḳbāl, 1331/1952, which continues the history of Kirmān until 612/1215 (excellent editorial preface on Afḍal al-Dīn). Isolated references in Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 116, 248-9, and xii, 198; and Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed. Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī, ii, 20-2 (Khurāsānian period). (CL. CAHEN)

DĪNAWAR (sometimes incorrectly written Daynawar) in the middle ages was one of the most important towns in Djibāl (Media); it is now in ruins. The exact location is 34° 35′ Lat. N. and 47° 26′ E. Long. (Greenwich). The ruins are situated on the north-eastern edge of a fertile plain 1600 metres above sea level which is watered by the Čam-i Dīnawar. This stream, after traversing the precipitous Tang-i Dīnawar, joins the Gamas-Āb near the rock of Bisitūn; the Gamas-Āb is a tributary of the Ḳara Sū which, in its lower reaches, is known as the Karkha. When Ibn Khurradādhbih (ed. de Goeje, 176) stated that the Nahr al-Sus (Karkha) rose in the neighbourhood of Dīnawar, he was obviously regarding the Čam-i Dīnawar as its real source.

The foundation of Dīnawar dates from the Seleucid era, if not earlier. As at Kangāwar (42 km. east by south), there was a Greek settlement there; recent excavations have brought to light a stone basin decorated with busts of Silenus and satyrs, thus making it probable that the cult of Dionysus had been introduced there by the Greeks (see R. Ghirshman, *Iran*, 236).

Dīnawar surrendered to the Muslim Arabs immediately after the battle of Nihāwand in the year 21/642. In Muʿāwiya's reign it was renamed Māh al-Kūfa. In the administrative division of the Caliph's empire, Māh al-Kūfa appears not only as the name of the town of Dīnawar, but also as that of two districts of Djibāl, Dīnawar comprising the upper lands and Ḳarmīsīn (Kirmānshāh) the lower. In the west Māh al-Kūfa was bounded by the district of Ḥulwān, in the south by Māsabadhān, in the east by Hamadhān and in the north by Ādharbāydjān (see Ḳudāma in *BGA* (ed. de Goeje), vi, 243 ff.). There has been some controversy as to the meaning of the word Māh in such names as Māh al-Kūfa and Māh al-Baṣra (Nihāwand). Some Arab authors have maintained that Māh was a Persian noun equivalent in meaning to the Arabic *ḳaṣaba* 'town' or 'capital', while Balʿamī, in his Persian translation of Ṭabarī, stated that it was a Pahlawī word meaning 'province' or 'kingdom' (see Zotenberg's French version, iii, 480); it is to be noted that this explanation is not given in the Arabic text. A more probable explanation is that Māh is equivalent in meaning to the ancient Māda or Media. It is noteworthy that all geographical names which are compounded with Māh and can be fairly definitely located (cf. for example Māh al-Baṣra) belong to Media. In the case of Māh al-Kūfa, it has been said that the place was so called because the taxes raised from it and its district were applied for the benefit of the citizens of Kūfa. On the word Māh, see in particular Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, xxxi, 559 ff. and his *Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (1879), 103, and J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, 18-19.

In the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods Dīnawar was very prosperous. In the 4th/10th century it was, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, only one-third less in size than Hamadhān. Muḳaddasī praised its well-built bazaars and its rich orchards. The confusion that broke out in the last years of al-Muḳtadir's reign (d. 320/932) temporarily ruined the town. When the rebellious general Mardāwīdj of Gīlān seized the whole province of Djibāl after defeating the troops sent against him by the Caliph, Dīnawar also fell into his hands (319/931), and several thousands (the figures vary from 7,000 to 25,000) of the inhabitants perished soon afterwards. Ḥasanwayh (Ḥasanūya), a Kurdish prince living in this region, founded a small independent kingdom of which the capital was Dīnawar; he was able to retain possession of it for nearly 50 years (until his death in 369/979). Ḥamd Allah Mustawfī (*Nuzha*, 106) described Dīnawar as a small town, with a temperate climate and abundant water, producing crops of corn and also fruit. Half a century after Mustawfī's time, Dīnawar was completely destroyed by Tīmūr and has never been rebuilt.

Theodore Strauss, who visited the ruins of Dīnawar in 1905, stated that: "The site of Dīnawar is indicated only by mounds of earth which have been ransacked several times in the search for coins; numerous finds are still being made especially by peasants tilling the fields" (See his *Eine Reise im Westlichen Persien*, in Petermann's *Geog. Mitteil.*, 1911, 65). Strauss also stated that traces can still be seen in the adjacent Tang-i Dīnawar of an ancient road hewn out of the rock which probably connected Dīnawar with Baghdād.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text: *BGA* (ed. de Goeje), *passim*, particularly, iii, 395-6, v, 259, vi, 119 ff., 226 ff., 243 ff., vii, 271; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 194, 306-8, 310; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 263, ix, 24, 25, 31; Yāḳūt, ii, 704, iv,

407; Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii, 250; *Aghānī*, Tables, 752; Le Strange, 189, 227; A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen* (1875), i, 337-8, 365; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxviii, 102; Weil, *Chalifen*, i, 93; ii, 620 (wrongly vocalized Deinewr); J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientif. en Perse, Études Géograph.*, ii, 95 ff.; *Guides Bleus*: *Moyen Orient*, Paris 1956, 705.

(L. LOCKHART)

AL-DĪNAWARĪ, ABŪ ḤANĪFA AḤMAD B. DĀWŪD, Arab scholar of the 3rd/9th century. The name of his grandfather, Wanand, indicates that he was of Iranian origin. In spite of the great value attached to his work by later authors very little has been handed down about his life except a short notice by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 78), copied by Yāḳūt with additional notices about the year of his death, which according to various sources fell in 281 or 282/894-5 or before 290/902-3; an appreciation of his work quoted from the *K. Taḳrīẓ al-Djāḥiẓ* by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī and an anecdote about his meeting in Dīnawar with the philologist al-Mubarrad (*Irshād al-arīb*, 1, 123-7; an extract in ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, 1, 25-26). That he lived in Dīnawar is corroborated by what is said by the astronomer ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī, who in the year 335/946-7 saw the house in Dīnawar that served him as an observatory (*Ṣuwar al-kawākib*, Ḥaydarābād 1373/1954, 8). His philological studies he prosecuted in ʿIrāḳ, where he is said to have learned both from Baṣran and Kūfan teachers, especially from the two grammarians al-Sikkīt and his son Ibn al-Sikkīt (see also Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, 132).

Dīnawarī belonged to the epoch of Arabic literature which was dominated by the spirit of al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*] to whom he may be compared (as did Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī) in consideration of his interests in the "philosophical" studies of the Hellenistic learning (*ḥikmat al-falsafa*) and the Arabic humanities alike. Unlike Djāḥiẓ, however, he had a clear disposition for a systematical approach, which was from the very beginning applied by the masters of the philological schools of ʿIrāḳ to materials treated by them. It may be that this disposition was connected also with his mathematical genius attested by works of his in the field of the exact sciences, which were cultivated by scholars of Iranian origin like himself. From the beginning, Arabic philology, the study of pre-Islamic literature and culture, had been associated with Ḳurʾānic studies; a commentary on the Ḳurʾān is mentioned by the bibliographers among his works. These studies may have corresponded also to his temperament, because he is characterized as pious and ascetic (*wariʿ zāhid*).

Of his mathematical works, one on Indian arithmetic (*K. al-baḥth fī ḥisāb al-Hind*) and another on algebra (*K. al-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala*), nothing has been preserved. A work on astronomical geography (*K. al-Ḳibla wa 'l-zawāl*) was plagiarized by Ibn Ḳutayba, according to Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*. vii, 335). For his *K. al-anwāʾ*, which was estimated by al-Ṣūfī as most complete in its kind (*op. cit.*, 7), he tried to check, by observations of his own, the statements made by the Bedouins and collected by the philologists concerning the *anwāʾ* [*q.v.*].

To later authors Dīnawarī is especially known as the author of the *K. al-nabāt*, the main purpose of which is lexicographical, to collect all available tradition, oral and literary, about names and terminations in the field of plants and plant life as documented by verses of poetry or by authorities on Bedouin dialects. In this field he had predecessors among the philologists (see AL-NABĀT). The work of Dīnawarī incorporated their material and added to it collections and observations of his own. To later generations it was the standard work in the field and was to a great extent quoted by lexicologists from Ibn Sīda [*q.v.*] on. Of the two sections into which it was divided the first contained a series of monographs some of which go far beyond the field of "botany" proper, treating with themes that have a more or less indirect connexion with the world of plants; see B. Silberberg, *Das Pflanzenbuch des Dīnawarī* in *ZA* xxiv, 1910: 225-65, xxv, 1911: 39-88. Two volumes of the original work have come down to us, the 5th containing the last part of the monograph section and the letters *alif* to *zāy* of the alphabetical section (ed. by B. Lewin, *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* 1953: 10), and the 3d (M. S. Salisbury 77, Yale Univ. Libr.; an edition of this together with the monograph part of the 5th vol. is under preparation to appear in *Bibliotheca islamica*).

The only work of Dīnawarī's that has come down to us in its full extent is his historical work *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (ed. by V. Guirgass, Leiden 1888; Preface, variantes et index par I. J. Kračkovskij, Leiden 1912). That this work, in spite of its literary and scholarly qualities, never met with great approval and popularity in the Arab speaking world may be due to accidental circumstances rather than to a deliberate disregard. Its title was known to bibliographers from Ibn al-Nadīm on, but the author is never called a historian. History is seen from an Iranian point of view; thus the Prophet is mentioned so to speak in a marginal note of the history of Anūsharwān; Islam and the Arabs appear on the scene when invading Persia; the Umayyads are treated with only as far as the religious and political movements involving the eastern part of Islam are concerned, etc. This tendency towards promoting Iranian views may be due, not to anti-Arab feelings, but to the sources on which he drew. His chief aim was certainly to write a book of literary and entertaining qualities. For this reason he omitted the *isnād*s of the *akhbār*, took the liberty of choosing, among different traditions about one and the same event, the one that suited him and insisted on points of dramatic value; *e.g.*, the days of Ḳādisiyya, Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān, the death of Ḥusayn, the *fitna* of Ibn al-Ashʿath etc., narratives which belong to the finest products of Arab historiography.

Bibliography: in the article. (B. LEWIN)

AL-DĪNAWARĪ, ABŪ SAʿĪD (SAʿD) NAṢR B. YAʿḲŪB, is a writer chiefly remembered as author of *al-Ḳādirī fī 'l-Taʿbīr* (composed in 397/1006 and dedicated to al-Ḳādir Bi'llāh 381-422/991-1020), which is the oldest authentic Arabic treatise on oneirocriticism and an excellent synthesis of everything that was known on the subject at the time. Its sources were Arabic: Ibn Sīrīn [*q.v.*] to whom innumerable interpretations are attributed; Greek: Artemidorus of Ephesus, whose *Oneirocritica* translated into Arabic by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (died 260/873; cf. *Fihrist*, 255, MS A 4726 in the Istanbul University Library; edition being prepared) is reproduced almost in its entirety in this learned compilation. As for Christian and Byzantine sources, al-Dīnawarī would have used the Arabic original of the Greek treatise known as Ἀχμετ υἱὸς Σηρείμ, written by a Christian and translated into Latin by Leo Tuscus in 1160 [see IBN SĪRĪN[. The same work would have served him for Hindū and Persian sources. The author makes frequent reference to

interpretations imputed to the Jews and has numerous quotations from the Bible.

Bibliography: *al-Ḳādirī fi 'l-taʿbīr* is still unpublished; 29 MSS. are known. It was translated into Persian (AS 1718) and following Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ii, 312, no. 3068), translated into Turkish verse by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿArabshāh (died 854/1450). On this work and Arabic oneirocritical literature, cf. T. Fahd, *Les Rêves en Islam*, in *Sources Orientales*, ii, Paris 1960, 125-58.

(T. Fahd)

DINDĀN, the *laḳab* of Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn, a Shīʿī traditionist of the 3rd/9th century. His father was a reliable authority who related traditions of the Imāms ʿAlī al-Riḍā, Muḥammad al-Djawād, and ʿAlī al-Hādī; originally from Kūfa, he lived for a while in Ahwāz, where Dindān was born. Dindān also related traditions on the authority of his father's masters, but was regarded as a *ghālī*, extremist, and his reliability as a relator was impugned. He wrote several books, among them *Kitāb al-iḥtidjādj*, *K. al-anbiyā'*, *K. al-mathālib*, and *K. al-mukhtaṣar fi 'l-daʿwāt*; none of them appears to have survived. He died and was buried in Ḳumm.

These data are found in twelver Shīʿī biographical and bibliographical sources (*e.g.*, *Tusys List of Shy'ah Books*, edd. Sprenger and ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Calcutta 1853, 26; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamā'*, ed. Eghbāl, Tehrān 1934, 10; Astarābādī, *Minhādj al-maḳāl*, Tehran 1307, 34). The reference to Dindān's extremist views is amplified in a group of Sunnī sources, dealing with the genesis of Ismāʿīlism. (*Fihrist* 188; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 266, tr. A. S. Halkin, *Moslem schisms and sects*, Tel-Aviv 1935, 108; Maḳrīzī, tr. Quatremère, in *JA*, 1836, 132, etc.). In these Dindān appears as one of the founders of the sect, in association with ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn [*q.v.*]. He is said to have played an active part in both the formulation and propagation of Ismāʿīlī doctrines, and in addition to have provided large sums to finance the *daʿwa*. According to the *Fihrist*, he was secretary to Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf (d. 280/893). His name and pedigree are variously distorted in these sources, but remain recognizable. His grandfather's name is given, with various corruptions, as Čahār Lakhtān, 'four parts'—obviously a nickname. Abu 'l-Maʿālī (*Bayān al-adyān*, ed. Eghbāl, 36, tr. Massé in *RHR*, 1926, 57) makes Čahār Lakhtān an associate of Dindān and ʿAbd Allah b. Maymūn in founding the Bāṭinī sect, and attributes to him the role of financier.

The much better informed Shīʿī sources make it clear that Dindān lived in the 3rd century. While therefore he may have been a secretary of Ibn Abī Dulaf, he cannot have been associated with ʿAbd Allah b. Maymūn, who lived and died during the 2nd/8th century. He may well, however, have played some part in the early history of Ismāʿīlism, though it is noteworthy that neither his name nor any of his works appear to have been preserved by the Ismāʿīlīs.

Bibliography: M. J. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes* ...[2], Leiden 1886, 15; L. Massignon, *Esquisse d'une bibliographie Carmathe*, in *A volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 331; B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismāʿīlism*, Cambridge 1940, index; S. M. Stern, *Abu'l-Qasim al-Busti and his refutation of Isma'ilism*, in *JRAS*,, 1961, 28-9. (B. Lewis)

DIOSCORIDES [see DIYUSḲURIDĪS].

DIPLOMACY [see ELČI, MUʿĀHADA, SAFĪR].

DIPLOMATIC

i. Classical Arabic

1) Diplomatic has reached the status of a special science in the West, and the results of such research are accessible in good manuals (like Harry Bresslau's *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, 2nd. ed. 1931). Much less work has been done on Arabic documents: the material is very scattered, and not yet sufficiently collated to permit detailed research. Yet Arabic documents have aroused interest for some considerable time: a number have been published, and the editing of Arabic papyri of the first centuries of Islam in particular has added materially to our knowledge. It is thus not mere chance that so much of the groundwork for the establishment of a science of Arabic diplomatic should have been done by a papyrologist (Grohmann), and it is to be hoped that the publishing of further papyri will advance work in that direction. It is indeed of very special advantage to possess original documents of so early a date, particularly as there are not so many Arabic documents of the later centuries. Some collections have become known only recently, and it is to be hoped that here, too, more material will be discovered. Numbers of important Arabic documents have already come to light in the *Genīza* collections and among the manuscripts in the St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. Documents of the Mamlūk period are preserved in archives in Italy and Spain.

Arabic manuals for secretaries also form part of the material on which a science of Arabic diplomatic can be based, and these are preserved in great number. In part, they consist of theoretical explanations and advice to scribes, in part of practical examples in the text; these, however, are usually no more than model forms without either names or dates. It is obviously difficult to decide to what extent these texts are authentic, that is to say to what extent they are based on original documents. Such manuals gradually grew and became more complete, until in the time of the Mamlūks they reach encyclopaedic extent in Ḳalḳashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fi ṣināʿat al-inshā'*. This great work is an essential source book for the study of documents, and therefore its author may be regarded as the most important precursor of scientific Arabic diplomatic. Here too, of course, it is hard to tell to what extent Ḳalḳashandī had himself seen the originals of the numerous texts he gives. It is known that he did have access to the archives, and that many more texts survived then than do today. We are not so certain about the older texts: Ḳalḳashandī probably based his work largely on literary sources (some of which he names), but we can hardly expect a critical treatment of these.

The following is an attempt at a survey, based on Bresslau's classification, in order to get nearer to a complete picture.

2) Composition of Documents. The same division which is observed in occidental documents is also to be found in Arabic ones; namely the introductory protocol, the text, and the closing protocol.

A. The introductory protocol is known as *ṭirāz* and *iftitāḥ*. *Ṭirāz* is the name of the protocol in the Arabic papyri: to begin with the formulae were bilingual, Greek-Arabic, and later Arabic-Greek; later on, purely Arabic. There is considerable variety in the wording, and extensive material has been published by Grohmann. The purpose seems to

have been to endow the document with a certain authenticity, but as far as the validity of Arabic documents goes, it is without import. From the 4th/10th century it was omitted altogether, and the term *ṭirāz* is now used only in the sense of the inscription of names on clothes. Ḳalḳas͟handī knows it only in this sense, and uses the term *iftitāḥ* for the introduction of documents, for example *iftitāḥ al-kutub* and *iftitāḥ al-mukātaba.* He calls the individual parts of this *iftitāḥ fawātiḥ*; they are *basmala, ḥamdala, tas͟hahhud, ṣalwala* (*taṣliya*), *salām*, and *baʿdiyya* (*ammā baʿdu*). Each of these terms has its own history; thus the *ṣalwala*, for example, is said to have been added only in the year 797.

The *ʿunwān*, a direction or address, is also part of the introduction. It was formerly known as *min fulān ilā fulān* or *li-fulān min fulān*, and developed from there. Ḳalḳas͟handī collected 15 different forms. The designation of the sender in the *ʿunwān* was *tard͟jama*, which developed from the simple *ak͟hūhu* or *waladuhu* to *al-mamlūk al-Nāṣirī* etc. There is also evidence of the use of *tafdiya* for sender, developing from the ancient *d͟jaʿalanī 'llāhu fidāʾaka* through numerous intermediate forms, as early as ʿAbbāsid times. The formulae of benediction for the addressee, which were called *duʿā* and were taken very seriously, were even more varied. Developing from inconspicuous beginnings in Umayyad times, there was a whole system of gradation under the ʿAbbāsids. Scribes appear to have compiled lists of these *adʿiya* fairly early on, which became more detailed when distinctions in rank became more and more minute in the times of the Fāṭimids and Mamlūks, when every *laḳab* had its own precise *duʿāʾ*.

The different personal names (*asmāʾ, kunā, alḳāb, nuʿūt*) also underwent considerable development, and details concerning them are naturally of great importance in the interpretation of documents. Ḳalḳas͟handī devoted his third *maḳāla* to them, and the material which he collected is very extensive. Here too, the development is towards ever increasing complexity. Under the Umayyads, *ism* and *kunya* were sufficient, but *laḳab* and *naʿt* became current under the ʿAbbāsids. There was a veritable inflation of terms in Mamlūk times, which is borne out by Ḳalḳas͟handī's lists of 152 *alḳāb* and 372 *nuʿūt*. These can be checked with Caetani's *Onomasticon*.

B. The term used for the actual text is *matn*, in letters also *mā bayn al-salāmayn*, because they usually began and ended with *salām*. The text can be cast in either a subjective or an objective form: objective, as for instance *hād͟hā mā* ... There are definite terms for different parts of the text: *e.g.*, in letters of appointment the *isnād* mean the decisive words *an yuʿhada ilayhi*, etc. The *waṣiyya* is the part in which the duties of the nominee are specified in detail. Such details are important for the consideration of the ethics of civil servants and throw light on lesser known offices.

C. The concluding protocol consists of the *k͟hawātim* : *istit͟hnāʾ* = *in s͟hāʾ allāhu taʿālā*, often run together in writing, though some authorities state that this should have a line to itself. *Taʾrīk͟h* = dating, sometimes omitted and a separate subject of enquiry, see 14 below. *ʿAlāma* = signature of the person drawing up the document; this was known popularly, with great lack of respect as 'crow's foot' (*rid͟jl g͟hurāb*), often in particularly large writing (*al-ṭūmār al-kāmil*); in the *ik͟hwāniyyāt* this was in the margin. Ḳalḳas͟handī, for example, has *ḥasab al-marsūm al-s͟harīf* and *bi 'l-is͟hāra al-ʿāliya al-wazīriyya* as *mustanadāt* of the closing phrases. The *ḥamdala, ṣalwala, ḥasbala* and others are religious closing phrases, and amongst these one might perhaps list the *ḥr*, which Ḳalḳas͟handī did not understand, and explains as a second *ḥasbala* or mere padding (more correctly, perhaps, a mere differentiatory sign under the letter *ḥ*).

3. Types of Documents. Grohmann has made an attempt to submit Arabic documents to the same kind of classification as European ones: with and without legal content, public and private documents, cancellarial and non-cancellarial documents, mandates, diplomas, evidential and business documents etc. The Arabs, Ḳalḳas͟handī in particular, likewise classified their documents clearly.

A. The following are general terms: *kitāb, wat͟hīḳa, ṣakk, sanad, ḥud͟jd͟ja, sid͟jill, ẓahīr. Kitāb* is frequently explained by such additions as *k. al-ins͟hāʾ, k. al-nikāḥ, k. al-ṭalāḳ, k. al-iʿtimād* and others. A more limited meaning was attached to the other ones, but the Fāṭimids had a preference for *sid͟jill*, and in the Mag͟hrib, for *ẓahīr*.

B. At the beginning, documents of state were apparently also just known as *kutub*, although quite early on a distinction was made between *kutub ʿāmma* or *muṭlaḳāt*, and *kutub k͟hāṣṣa*, and these were further sub-divided into *k. al-aymān, k. al-awḳāf, k. al-mulūk, k. al-sid͟jill*, and others, according to their contents. Their inclusion under the heading of 'state documents' gives this a very wide meaning. Consequently, the exchange of letters concerning matters of state was called *mukātabāt* by the ʿAbbāsids, and the chancellery the *dīwān al-mukātabāt*. This was also usual in Egypt, under the Fāṭimids, Ayyūbids, and Mamlūks. There were also *rasāʾil* and *dīwān al-rasāʾil. Murāsalāt* and *tarassul* were also known, though these appear to have been less common. *Ins͟hāʾ* and *muns͟haʾāt* were used, and *dīwān al-ins͟hāʾ* was already known in ʿAbbāsid times, then, especially under the Fāṭimids and Mamlūks, it became the general term for chancellery (cf. 6 below).

C. Letters of Appointment. *Wilāyāt* = offices are dealt with in detail under that heading by Ḳalḳas͟handī in his 5th *maḳāla*. Generally, however, compound terms appear to have been more common, such as *wilāyat al-ʿahd, w. al-dīwān, w. al-ḥisba, w. al-Ḳāhira* and others. Thus there is, for instance, a term like *nusk͟hat sid͟jill bi-wilāyat al-Ḳāhira. Tawliya* was the right to appoint, but this, in Mamlūk times, rested with the governors of Syria only, not with those of Egypt. The following terms for the different grades of appointment were, at least in Mamlūk times, more common than these general terms: *bayʿa, ʿahd, taḳlīd, tafwīḍ, marsūm, tawḳīʿ, mans͟hūr*. Each of these has its own history.

(*a*) *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] = the homage paid to a Caliph. Under the Fāṭimids, this reached particular importance, and reports of it were written in the capital and sent to the provinces, where the governor accepted the oath of allegiance from the subjects.

(*b*) *ʿahd* = contract in general, but here the contract between a caliph and his successor, or a sultan, in particular; and later also the contract between a sultan and his successor, or the sultan and rulers of smaller lands. Ḳalḳas͟handī classifies all these as appointments. He believes that the first two are traceable back to the Prophet, but he describes the latter as developments which took place only under the Ayyūbids after the death of Nūr al-Dīn.

(*c*) In the actual letters of appointment of officials, there was also one supreme grade, called *ʿahd*,

which concerned only the highest officials. It has not been usual since the time of the Fāṭimids.

(*d*) *taḳlīd* was a much used term for high officials such as *wazīr*s and *ḳāḍī*s, although under the Mamlūks it was restricted to very special high officials such as the confidential secretary = *kātib al-sirr*.

(*e*) *tafwīḍ*, applied to supreme *ḳāḍī*s, appears to have been used in Mamlūk times only. It may have been introduced by Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allāh (?).

(*f*) *marsūm*, used for military personnel, also seems to appear in Mamlūk times only. By this, Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allāh means minor documents which are not connected with appointments (of these, the more important with *basmala*, and the less important, such as passes, without), but Ḳalḳashandī distinguishes between major and minor *marāsīm* : *mukabbara* for the appointment of the commander of a fortress, and military persons of medium rank, *muṣaghghara* for the lower ranks. The latter are said to be rare (presumably because they were normally given a *manshūr*).

(*g*) *tawḳīʿ*: to begin with this seems to have been the ruler's signature, which was appended in the chancellery (whilst *ʿalāma* was a kind of motto written in the ruler's own hand, like a signature, at the bottom of documents). The *tawḳīʿ ʿalā 'l-ḳiṣaṣ* may well have developed from this. Later on, *tawḳīʿ* was also used for letters of appointment: to begin with, quite generally (thus Ibn Faḍl Allāh, perhaps even Ayyūbid); but later only for the lesser officials, and in Ḳalḳashandī for the fourth and lowest group of the *mutaʿammimīn* = turban wearers.

(*h*) *manshūr*. In the first centuries, this was a pass for peasants in Egypt, apparently designed to curb increasing movement away from the land. In ʿAbbāsid times, it was the name given to grants of fiefs; under the Fāṭimids it denoted certain letters of appointment; rather general appointments under the Ayyūbids; but under the Mamlūks, it became restricted to feudal grants, in different grades according to size and writing. The wording was short and precise, there were no instructions (*waṣāyā*), neither was there the sultan's signature, but a kind of tughra can occasionally be found at the head.

D. Contracts. The general terms *ʿahd*, *ʿaḳd*, and *mīthāḳ* appear as early as the Ḳur'ān, and seem to have been usual at all times. *ʿAhd* [*q.v.*] seems to have been used particularly for political agreements; *ʿaḳd* [*q.v.*] for civil contracts, often more clearly defined by an additional genitive, such as *ʿaḳd al-nikāḥ*, *ʿaḳd al-dhimma*, *ʿaḳd al-ṣulḥ*. *Mīthāḳ* seems to have been less common. Ḳalḳashandī does not mention it, but Ibn Faḍl Allāh's *Taʿrīf* mentions *mawāthīḳ* and *muwāthaḳa*. Ḳalḳashandī uses the terms *hudna* and *muhādana* for an armistice, giving examples from ʿAbbāsid and Mamlūk times. He pays particular attention to the form which the oath takes, and states that such contracts have not been current in more recent times. He knew the terms *muwādaʿa*, *musālama*, *muḳāḍāt*, and *muwāṣafa* as having the same meaning, but these were probably all less usual. Neither did the terms *faskh* and *mufāsakha*, for revocation by one or both parties, appear frequently. See further SHURŪṬ.

E. Documents of a predominantly business nature. These include not only grants of fiefs (see C (*h*) above) and annual tax settlements, but also the *musāmaḥāt* and the *tarkhāniyyāt*. The former concerned tax-relief, probably only in Mamlūk times, and were divided into large (*ʿiẓām*), issued in the name of the sultan, and small (*ṣighār*) in the name of the governor. Dues thus cancelled were called *mukūs*, *djihāt mustaḳbaḥa*, *munkarāt*, and *bawāḳī* (ref. balance of tax due). Some were valid for merchants and all their goods, others only for certain sums. The *ṭarkhāniyyāt* were concessions granting aged officials exemption from taxes, and possibly also a fixed salary (*maʿlūm*). In the case of the military, they were called *marsūm*, and in others *tawḳīʿ*.

F. Documents of a predominantly legal nature. Such were *amān* [*q.v.*], safe-conducts either for whole tribes or for individuals, in particular for foreigners in Islamic territory, though later also for Muslims "whose attack is feared, and especially those who have renounced their allegiance", so that, if possible, they might yet be recalled to obedience. The drawing up of such documents gradually came to form the bulk of the work of a *dīwān*. Ḳalḳashandī endeavours to trace both varieties back to the time of the Prophet and gives examples from Umayyad, ʿAbbāsid, Fāṭimid, and Mamlūk times. Some documents refer to an application of the *mustaʾmin* (*e.g.*, *innaka dhakarta raghbataka*), others do not.

Yarlīgh = Ferman, extensively used by the Turks, and introduced as far as Mamlūk Egypt by consular traffic, but only in its limited meaning of a pass for foreign ambassadors.

Iṭlāḳāt was the name given to documents reaffirming decisions of former rulers; sometimes, however, they were simply called *tawḳīʿ*. The Fāṭimid proclamation of the year 415/1024 (ed. Grohmann, *RSO*, 32, 641) can be added to the three texts cited by Ḳalḳashandī.

Dafn, the burying of sins, is said to have been known in pre-Islamic Arabia, but appears to have fallen into disuse (perhaps replaced by the *amān* ?) [see DHUNŪB, DAFN AL-].

Taḳālīd ḥukmiyya were occasionally written for the *ḳāḍī*s; they were appointments either in the form of diplomas or mere *mukātabāt*.

Isdjālāt al-ʿadāla were certificates of good character of witnesses. They are known both in the papyri, and later right into Mamlūk times. The *ʿalāma*, date, and *ḥasbala* at the end were written by the *ḳāḍī* himself, and witnessed by the scribes.

al-tawḳīʿ ʿalā 'l-ḳiṣaṣ, *i.e.*, the decision of petitions in open court, is said to have been the custom even in Sāsānid times. In Islam under the Umayyads, and under Hārūn al-Rashīd, the right of *tawḳīʿ* is said to have been transferred to Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. Egyptian governors exercised this right, too, but it seems to have been forgotten after the Ṭūlūnids, and not revived until the Fāṭimids fostered and developed it. The decision was made immediately, and was noted briefly on the back by the 'owner of the fine pen', then, after instruction (*taʿyīn*) by the head of the *dīwān*, it was fully executed by the 'owner of the broad pen'. The right of decision remained with the head of the *dīwān al-inshāʾ*, even under the Mamlūks. The Sultan himself also presided in court, and Ḳalḳashandī reports six different ways of submitting a petition. This *tawḳīʿ* was so popular that the people applied the term *tawḳīʿ* to the profession of the scribe, and called the scribes themselves *muwaḳḳiʿūn*.

ʿAḳd al-nikāḥ. Marriage contracts; legal documents in which the economic details were of special importance (*ḥawāʾidj al-ʿurs*, *nuskhat ṣadāḳ*), though the attestation of equality, the undertaking to pay the remainder of the marriage portion, and the rejection of all claims in case of divorce, etc., were likewise important.

Fatwā. Whereas certain qualities were demanded of the muftī, there does not appear to have been any set form for the *fatwā*. A customary form did, however, emerge, as can be seen from the many collections, and a certain brevity appears to have been typical.

Waḳfiyya, deed of *waḳf,* also traced back to the Prophet. Lawyers have laid down regulations for the content and form of endowments, and the deciding words *waḳaftu, ḥabastu, sabbaltu,* as well as the exhortation that it must be neither sold, nor given away, nor bequeathed, appears in every such deed. Such texts are extant in the original, in literature, and carved in stone. The numerous endowments affected the economic situation adversely, and the state found a solution for this in large scale confiscations, as also—in more modern times—in supervision by Ministries of *Awḳāf*.

Waṣiyya, last will and testament, legacy. The content is laid down by law in detail, the form appears to be free, but two witnesses are prescribed.

Waṣāyā dīniyya were large and ornate documents for reading from pulpits, in order to inculcate the rules of Islam. They were of particular importance at the time of the Sunnī restoration after the fall of the Fāṭimids, but appear also in the Maghrib.

Yamīn. Oaths played an important part in the ceremonies of homage (*bayʿāt*), and the *aymān al-bayʿa,* introduced by al-Ḥadjdjādj, were famed for being particularly strong. The Fāṭimids systematically extended these oaths, particularly in view of the fact that their subjects were of a different faith. Later, too, the oaths had their significance when they sealed contracts, or were made on attaining office or entering certain professions.

ʿUmra. These were documents for pilgrims to Mecca, who there made the *ʿumra*; these appear to have been rather rare.

Idjāzāt were frequently issued on behalf of scholars and writers, *e.g.*, for *futyā, tadrīs, riwāya,* often in the form of large sized *farkhat al-shāmī*.

Mulaṭṭifāt were sent by the Fāṭimids to the governor of a province when he took up his office, and also when honours were bestowed (*khilaʿ, tashārīf*). *Mulāṭafa* was also the term applied to letters accompanying appointments or presents.

Tadhkira were the orders laid down for the higher officials, ambassadors, and commanders of fortresses. These were chiefly concerned with income and expenditure.

Taḳrīẓ recommending books or poems occur occasionally.

4. Transmission and multiplication of documents. Naturally, the Arabs recognized a difference between draft, original, and copy (*musawwada, aṣl, nuskha*). A capable copyist (*nāsikh*) might advance to being a *munshiʾ* (Ṣūlī 118). Ibn al-Ṣayrafī 142 mentions copying as an important occupation, and also mentions a fair-copyist (*mubayyiḍ*). Copies are marked with *nusikha* or *nusikhat,* and, like originals, could be attested by *ṣaḥḥ*. The copies were kept, and it may well be that some collected works of the *inshāʾ* literature were compiled from collections of drafts or books of copies.

There are innumerable examples of the transmission of documents, in historical works. M. Hamidullah has collected no fewer than 269 texts attributed to the period before 652 (*Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane à l'époque du Prophète et des khalifes orthodoxes.* Suivi de: *Corpus des traités et lettres diplomatiques de l'Islam,* Paris 1935. Also in Arabic: *al-Wathāʾiḳ al-siyāsiyya fi 'l-ʿahd al-nabawī wa 'l-khilāfa al-rāshida*). This has of course no bearing on the unsettled question of their authenticity.

5. Archives. The preservation of originals and copies in archives was already customary in the Ancient Orient and in Greek Egypt. It may therefore be assumed that the Arabs likewise knew of the practice at an early date, and indeed we find a short précis on the back of some papyri, intended to facilitate storing and reference. But there is no evidence of the existence of a central archive, as there was in Greek times. Barthold in 1920 treated the question of the preservation of documents in the states of the Islamic orient (*Arkhivnie Kursī,* i, Petrograd 1920; cf. *Islamica,* iv, 145). Perhaps one might be permitted to regard the documents drawn up between Hārūn al-Rashīd and his sons Amīn and Maʾmūn in 186/802, and sent to Mecca to be hung up in the *Kaʿba,* as being kept in a kind of archive in that holy place.

There was a proper archive in Fāṭimid times, and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (*Ḳānūn,* 142) calls the archivist *khāzin* [*q.v.*], and stresses his importance. He praises the Baghdād archive *al-khizāna al-ʿuẓmā* as a model. It was the archivist's task to file the originals of incoming documents, and the copies of the outgoing ones according to months, in folders with headings (*iḍbāra yaktub ʿalayhā biṭāḳa*). A certain decline in this practice seems to have set in in Mamlūk times, and there were periods when the *dawādār* of the confidential secretary sufficed as an archivist.

6. Chancelleries. A. Whether the Prophet himself had a chancellery in which his famous writings to the rulers of the world were written is not certain, although we do have a whole list of scribes of the Prophet, among them the first caliphs. According to one report, ʿUmar is said to have set up the first chancellery and called it *dīwān* [*q.v.*], a word which might go back to the Persian *dīwān,* or even the Assyrian *dep,* and in fact, a certain parallel with Persian administration can be discerned. Yet it would appear to have been a *dīwān* for matters of finance and the army, rather than an actual chancellery of state.

B. In Umayyad times, the official language—which had hitherto been Persian in the east and Greek in the west—became Arabic. This *taḥwīl al-dīwān ilā 'l-ʿarabī* was carried through by al-Ḥadjdjādj in the east, and by ʿAbd al-Malik in the west. It was indeed a disaster when all the *dīwāns* were burnt in the battle near Dayr al-Djamādjim [*q.v.*] in 82/701. Otherwise we know little about Umayyad chancelleries. A special office for the sealing of documents (*dīwān al-khātam*) is said to have been introduced because of an attempted forgery under Muʿāwiya. Some innovations are said to have been made by Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, when papyrus appears to have become better and the writing more beautiful; though here, as on other occasions, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is said to have reverted to the customs of his forebears. The custom of the caliph's hearing and deciding complaints in open session (*al-tawḳīʿ ʿalā 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*) is said to have come into being under the Umayyads. The scribes then had to record the caliph's decisions in writing. The most famous of the Umayyad scribes was ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā [*q.v.*], who was active from the time of Sulaymān to the end of the dynasty. He appears to have enriched the scribal art in respect of both form and content, and he was probably influenced by the Persians. Not all the writings attributed to him have, however, been authenticated.

C. ʿAbbāsid Chancellery. The ʿAbbāsids do

not appear to have taken over much of the Umayyad administration. They developed a completely new scheme, in which Persian influence—still only latent in Umayyad times—came to the fore. The *kātib* became *wazīr*, and the state chancellery became known as *dīwān al-rasāʾil* or *dīwān al-inshāʾ*. We have only scanty reports (and those particularly from Ibn ʿAbdūs al-Djahshiyārī and Maḳrīzī) of its organization and the way it functioned. Some innovations are attributed to the Barmakids. Thus, for example, Khālid b. Barmak is said to have introduced parchment books (*dafātir min al-djulūd*) instead of scrolls (*ṣuḥuf mudradja*), Yaḥyā b. Khālid is said to have enlarged the *basmala* by the *taṣliya*, and Hārūn al-Rashīd is said to have bestowed the right of the *tawḳīʿ ʿala ʾl-ḳiṣaṣ* on him. The *tawḳīʿāt* of Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā were copied, collected, and studied as models of erudition. Al-Mahdī is said to have decreed that scribes should be free every Thursday, and it became a working day again only under al-Muʿtaṣim. The following were famous scribes and *wazīrs* of the ʿAbbāsids: Ibn Muḳla (died 328/940), Ibn al-ʿAmīd (died 360/970), and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ (died 384/994), and many innovations are traced back to them. One used to quote: *Futiḥat al-rasāʾil bi-ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd wa-khutimat bi-Ibn al-ʿAmīd*. We hear little of the working of the state chancellery in later ʿAbbāsid times, but it will still have served as an example to the chancelleries in Egypt and other countries.

D. Chancelleries in Egypt. Papyri are the main source for the earliest days, and Grohmann has attempted to describe the administration of the provinces from these in *From the world of Arabic papyri*, 114 ff. Of course, Egypt had no state chancellery at that time, although it did have one for the provinces which dealt with the exchange of letters with the capital. A seal of the conqueror of Egypt, ʿAmr b. al-ʿAṣ (died ca. 43/663), has survived by chance, and there are a number of letters by Ḳurra b. Sharīk (died 96/714), which exhibit the uniform style of a chancellery.

It was not until around 258/872, when Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn became independent, that a chancellery on the Baghdād pattern was introduced in the general development of his administration. Its first head was Ibn ʿAbd Kān, and some of his documents became famous. Other scribes were Ibn al-Dāya (died 340/951), and four brothers of the Banu ʾl-Muhādjir family, descendants of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā.

The first report of an exchange of letters between Egypt and a non-Islamic country dates from the time of the Ikhshīdids: at the time when Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj (323-35/935-46) wished to write to the Byzantine co-emperor Romanus I (920-944), he asked several scribes to submit their drafts, and chose that of Nadjīramī.

Thanks to Ibn al-Ṣayrafī we know a great deal more about the Fāṭimid chancellery. His *Ḳanūn dīwān al-rasāʾil* is practically a treatise on the chancellery. It is dedicated to the wazir al-Afḍal (487-515/1094-1121). After a foreword, the work consists of what amounts to a chancellery programme; even if it was in fact put into practice, this still leaves the following questions unanswered: what was the *dīwān* like before? On what pattern did he model his suggestions? Did he evolve them himself, or in imitation of Baghdād or even Byzantium? According to Dölger, there are certain similarities with Byzantium; but how did Ibn al-Ṣayrafī come to hear of them? Could it be through Monte Cassino (cf. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, 7)? From Ibn al-Ṣayrafī we learn many details of the duties of civil servants in the state chancellery, which he calls *dīwān al-rasāʾil*, also *dīwān al-mukātabāt*, and (in his later work *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla rutbat al-wizāra*) *dīwān al-inshāʾ*. He distinguishes 12 different kinds of officials: 1) the head (*raʾīs*, *mutawallī*, *ṣāḥib*), 2) a secretary for correspondence with rulers (*mukātabat al-mulūk*), 3) one for the decision of complaints (*al-tawḳīʿāt fī riḳāʿ al-maẓālim*) with two under him (*ṣāḥib al-ḳalam al-daḳīḳ*, and *ṣāḥib al-ḳalam al-djalīl*), 4) one for nominations and official proclamations (*inshāʾāt*), 5) one for correspondence with the important men in the country, especially the governors of the provinces, 6) one for letters of investiture (*manāshīr*), 7) one fair-copyist (*mubayyiḍ*), 8) one copyist (*nāsikh*), 9) one keeper of bound model texts (*tadhākir*), 10) an archivist (*khāzin*), 11) a keeper (*ḥādjib*), 12) a translator (*mutardjim*), who was only consulted when the need arose. Thus the departments of the *dīwān* were: documents of state, appointments, decisions of complaints and occasional documents such as proclamations of important events (*al-kutub fi ʾl-ḥawādith al-kibār waʾl-muhimmāt*), passes (*amānāt*), texts of oaths (*kutub al-aymān waʾl-ḳasāmāt*), and others.

There is no special text giving us information concerning the chancellery of state in the time of the Ayyūbids, but there are a few details in the *Rasāʾil* of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, and in Ibn Mammātī, al-Nābulusī, and Ibn Shīth. Al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil describes his admission to the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* by a stringent examination. Cliques and intrigues in the *dīwān* are also mentioned. Ibn Shīth describes conditions in the province of Syria, and pays special attention to the form of the documents. There is a detailed description of the *Tardjama* of the sender; *duʿāʾ*, *nuʿūt*, and *ʿunwān* are treated in detail, and so is collaboration with other *dīwāns*.

Our most extensive sources date from Mamlūk times, namely from Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allāh (d. 749/1349), in his *al-Taʿrīf bi ʾl-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf* (with three commentaries: *Tathḳīf*, *ʿUrf*, and *Laṭāʾif*); and, above all, there is Ḳalḳashandī's (died 821/1418) great encyclopaedia *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (with *mukhtaṣar Ḍawʾ al-ṣubḥ*). Of late Mamlūk times, we have the Paris MSS *Dīwān al-inshāʾ*, and Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (died 872/1468), *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*. Ḳalḳashandī may be regarded as the main source, particularly as he did a great amount of historical research, and gives a survey of earlier developments. His work can thus be regarded as a precursor of an Arabic diplomatic. Amongst the heads of the *Dīwān al-inshāʾ*, the families of Banū ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir and Banū Faḍl Allāh became famous and continued to improve their position. The title *kātib al-sirr* emerged under Ḳalaʾun, and under Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalaʾun, the head acquired the right of the *tawḳīʿ ʿalā ʾl-ḳiṣaṣ*, and precedence over the *wazīr*. The number of employees rose with the increasing importance of the office. The higher employees bore the title of *kātib al-dast*, the others *kātib al-dardj*. Although their numbers increased, their status in the public eye diminished. The head also succeeded in bringing official mail and the whole of the news service gradually under his control.

The spheres of work were the same as under the Fāṭimids, but they were enlarged and differentiated. Foreign correspondence in particular had grown very much, through contact with almost the whole of the world which was then known. Foreign languages and

interpreters were of importance. The exchange of letters with governors became increasingly complicated as the number of grades, titles and addresses increased. Offices (*wilāyāt*) also became more numerous, demanding further written work, and one now distinguishes 5 different grades of officials (cf. C 3 above). The *tawḳīʿāt ʿalā ʾl-ḳiṣaṣ* continued, as did a whole group of occasional documents such as contracts, passes, oaths, amnesties etc.

E. Compared with Egypt our knowledge of chancelleries in the other Arab countries, such as the Maghrib and al-Andalus, is scanty. In these, the term *ẓahīr* was commonly applied to all documents. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (died 776/1374) became famous with his *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb*, which is frequently quoted by Ḳalḳashandī. Cf. below, ii.

7. Probative force of documents. Islamic law accepts only proof brought by witnesses, and rejects written testimony in principle. Nevertheless, in the actual practice of law, documents have achieved great importance. Incidentally, contracts seem to have appeared in writing in Arabia even in pre-Islamic times. The seal (*khātam*), which is of very long standing in the Orient, was an important means of authentication in Arabic documents. This seal was not replaced, as it was in the West, by the use of a signature, for the document was not valid unless a seal appeared on it, even if it was signed. The Prophet is said to have had a silver seal with the inscription: *Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*. The earliest known seal is that of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, which has the picture of a bull.

8. Development of Documents. Petitions and preliminaries also occur amongst Arabic documents. Petitions (*ḳiṣaṣ*) naturally preceded decisions (*tawḳīʿ*), and were the instigation of their formulation. The actual text of the *tawḳīʿ* was generally short and to the point, so that mention of the petition was hardly possible. The *fatwā*, too, was preceded by an investigation, and the state of affairs was described more or less explicitly in a set formula which omitted names. Contracts were often preceded by lengthy negotiations, but there is no mention of these preliminaries in the actual text of the contract.

9. Procedure and authentication, stages of authentication. Of the nine stages of authentication which are known in western documents, only a few can so far be traced in Arabic ones. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (108 f.) mentions revision and correction as *muḳābala* and *iṣlāḥ*. During the consultation with the ruler, the head of the *dīwān* merely indicated the main points of the reply, whilst the reply itself was drawn up by the relevant secretary. Then he compared the reply with the excerpt, corrected omissions and errors if need be (there is also mention of a special corrector = *mutaṣaffiḥ*), and only then did he submit the completed reply to the ruler to be signed. The latter then added his signature (*ʿalāma*), but the address (*ʿunwān*) had to be written by the head of the *dīwān* himself, in order to give visible proof that he was aware of the contents and accepted responsibility for it. In order to be put into effect, the document required the *taʿyīn* for the charge of carrying out the decision, which was summarized on the reverse of the *ḳiṣṣa*; this charge had to be assigned in writing by the head of the *dīwān*. According to the rank of the secretary who was ordered to carry this out, it had different phrasing and placing, *e.g.*, *yuktab bi-dhālika* or *li-yuktab bi-dhālika* (cf. Ḳalḳashandī, vi, 210). Great attention was obviously paid to the elegance of the fair copy, and the Fāṭimids had a special fair-copyist (*mubayyiḍ*) who was responsible for all types of documents (cf. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 133 f.). Nothing is said concerning the reading of this fair copy to the ruler, or about its handing over.

10. Intercessors and witnesses. The religious intercession (*shafāʿa*) of the Prophet is well known in Islam. There are also intercessions of a secular nature, such as on the occasion of the handing in of a petition to the ruler, or on standing surety for a debtor. Ḳalḳashandī, ix, 124 gives early and late textual examples, and, in xiii, 328, an *amān* in which the intercessor is referred to as follows: *inna M.b. al-Musayyib saʾala fī amrikum wa-dhakara raghbatakum fī ʾl-khidma*.

11. Model documents for use by scribes. In the West, set forms were always used, from the days of ancient Rome to the end of the Middle Ages. As early as the first century, there are some Arabic papyri which prove that letters and documents were written in a certain set form, and one may therefore assume the presence of models, although none is extant. Later Arabic formularies, the so-called *inshāʾ* works, are an independent genre of literature. Of these, three types can be distinguished: 1) collections of models similar to the formularies of the West, 2) treatises on stylistics and rules concerning the drawing up of the documents, similar to the Western *artes* or *summae dictaminis*, 3) a mixture of both, that is to say, formularies with theoretical commentary, or theoretical treatises with examples from practice, similar to the ones found in the West from the 12th century onwards. The most important of the many (over 50) Arabic *inshāʾ* works are probably the following: al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946), *Adab al-kuttāb* (type 2); Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 384/994), *Rasāʾil* (type 1); Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 542/1147), *Ḳānūn dīwān al-rasāʾil* (type 2); al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200), *Rasāʾil* (type 1); Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allāh (d. 749/1349), *al-Taʿrīf biʾl-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf* (type 3); al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418), *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ* (type 3). As examples of preliminaries, one might perhaps mention those known as *iṭlāḳāt*, which confirmed decisions of earlier rulers. These naturally refer to the older decisions, but there is no evidence of a complete list as an *insertum*.

12. Copies. There are many examples of official facsimiles or copies in the West, but I know of no Arabic ones. But there were grounds for them, too, such as the loss of an original, or the accession of a new ruler. There are Arabic examples of illegal imitations or forgeries. As early as Ṣūlī (143), there is mention of forgery from *miʾat alf* to *miʾatay alf*, which is given as the reason for introducing the *dīwān al-khātam* of the Umayyads. Ḳalḳashandī (xiii, 104) writes on Tamīm al-Dārī's first investiture with land, and Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allāh (*Masālik*, i, 173) claims to have seen the original. This can hardly have been anything other than a forgery. Hamidullah seems to accept the documents attributed to the Prophet as genuine, but some internal evidence would argue against the authenticity of some of them. Concerning forged papyri cf. Grohmann, *Chrestomathie* 35.

13. The language of the documents. Whilst much thorough work has been done on the development of Latin in the Middle Ages, only the main outline of the development of modern literary Arabic from Classical and Middle Arabic is known (cf. ʿARABIYYA). This development is of great importance for the interpretation or documents. A special branch is the emergence of rhymed prose

(*sadj*ʿ), on which there are the treatises by Zakī Mubārak (*La prose arabe au 4ᵉ siècle de l'hégire*, thesis, Paris 1931; also in Arabic, *al-Nathr al-fannī fī 'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ*, 2 vols., 1352/1934). The zenith of *sadj*ʿ was, in documents as elsewhere, the time of the Mamlūks. The infiltration of the vulgar tongue into the language of the documents poses a further question. It can already be traced in the papyri and later it repeatedly led to errors on the part of the scribes. This is dealt with in detail by Ṣūlī (129) and Ḳalḳashandī (i, 148 ff.).

14. Dating. Just as in the West, dating (*ta'rīkh*) brought a wealth of problems. Even the normal *hidjra* dating offered many possibilities, such as dating according to nights and days, feast-days, parts of the month etc.; but Ḳalḳashandī (vi, 234 ff.) treats no less than 19 older eras and one younger era, that of Yezdegird. Most of them were of little importance. Only the Christian and the Coptic occurred frequently. A special problem was the adjustment between the lunar and the solar year (*sana hilāliyya* and *kharādjiyya*) for the purposes of taxes. As far back as ʿAbbāsid times, special documents, *fī taḥwīl al-sana*, were written when the need arose. [see TA'RĪKH].

15. Writing materials. Extensive work has been done on writing materials by papyrologists, the most recent being by Grohmann, (*Chrestomathie* 63 ff.). Apart from the usual materials (papyrus up to the 11th century, parchment, paper), there were the rarer materials, such as cloth (especially for marriage contracts), wood, stone, wax, bones and potsherds. Size (*ḳaṭ*ʿ, in Ṣūlī *miḳdār*) also differed greatly, and so did the kinds and the prices. Ḳalḳashandī gives several recipes for the ink (*ḥibr*, *midād*). [See DJILD, KĀGHAD, ḲIRṬĀS, RIḲḲ, WARAḲ].

16. Script in documents. Although much groundwork has been done by Moritz, Tisserand, Cheikho, and others there is as yet no full scholarly history of Arabic script (cf. KHAṬṬ). Grohmann investigated the script of the papyri (*Chrestomathie* 88-103). As far as later documents are concerned, observation of the peculiarities of different types of script, the use of diacritic marks and differential signs, must suffice in order to decide the age of undated pieces approximately. Certain formulae, numbers, notes on records etc. often appear in a shortened cursive hand which one might almost call shorthand. Grohmann (*Chrestomathie* 83) discusses the writing materials, and Ḳalḳashandī (ii, 430) lists no less than 17 terms, the precise meaning of which can hardly be determined in the absence of drawings. Codes and hidden allusions may always have played a part, as in Ṣūlī (186) (*tardjama*), and Ḳalḳashandī (ix, 229, *taʿmiya*, later *ḥall al-rumūz*). They even occur in a papyrus (Grohmann, *Chrestomathie* 103²).

17. Sealing. Ṣūlī (139) and Ḳalḳashandī (iii, 273) were already interested in seals (*khātam*), and in Europe too the shape and use of Arabic seals has roused a certain amount of interest since Hammer. According to Grohmann (*Chrestomathie* 129 f.), one should distinguish between the use of a seal to replace the signature as a means of authentication, the attaching of a seal by way of recognition and ratification, and sealing on the part of witnesses. [See KHĀTAM].

Bibliography: Information concerning the extensive literature on Arabic papyri now probably best found in A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, 1955, iv-viii. Cf. also *Die Papyri und die Urkundenlehre*, 107-30. Works in Arabic: al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, ed. M. Bahdjat al-Atharī, Cairo 1341 A.H.; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḳānūn dīwān al-rasā'il*, ed. ʿAlī Bahdjat, Cairo 1905; Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allah, *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312 A.H.; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshā'*, i-xiv, Cairo 1331-8/1913-9. Index in W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 87-177. Older publications of documents by S. de Sacy, Amari, Cusa, de Sousa, Remiro, Ribera, and others, are collected by G. Gabrieli, *Manuale* 255-288. Concerning more recent publications, cf. H. R. Roemer, *Über Urkunden zur Geschichte Ägyptens und Persiens in islamischer Zeit*, in *ZDMG* 107, 1957, 519-38 (this also mentions an Egyptian project of editing Fāṭimīd and Mamlūk documents); A. Grohmann and Pahor Labib, *Ein Fatimidenerlass vom Jahre 415/1024*, in *RSO* 32, 1957, 641-54 (which mentions a projected series of *Monumenta diplomatica arabica*); J. Wansbrough, *A Mamluk letter of 877/1473*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv/2 (1961), 200-13; S. D. Goitein, *The Cairo Geniza as a source for the history of Muslim civilization* in *Stud. Isl.*, iii, 1955, 75-92; G. E. El-Shayyal, *Madjmūʿat al-wathā'iḳ al-Fāṭimiyya*, i, Cairo 1958; Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *Al-Alḳāb al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo 1937. See further DAFTAR, SIDJILL, etc. (W. BJÖRKMAN)

ii. — MAGHRIB

In the Maghrib the external characteristics of documents (format, colour of paper, kinds of script, etc.) as well as the choice of protocols and formulae appear always to have been simpler than in the East.

To be mentioned, however, is the introduction by the Moroccan Almohad dynasty (*al-Muwaḥḥidūn*) of a sign manual of authentication called *ʿalāma*. This consisted of the precatory formula *wa 'l-ḥamdu li-llāhi waḥdah*! elegantly inscribed in large, thick letters, with a ligature of the *hā'* and the *dāl* in the final word, and followed by a "terminal sigla" (see below). This mark of authentication was written afterwards at the top of the document, in a broad space left free for this purpose by the scribe, below the *basmala* and the *taṣliya*, of which it was a complement.

Of a "unitarian" nature, this formula was possibly used by the mahdī Ibn Tūmart himself in some of his epistles. His successor ʿAbd al-Mu'min certainly used it in his famous *Risālat al-Fuṣūl* (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Arabic text, 13). But it is Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) whom the *Ḳirṭās* (ed. Fās 1305, 154) considers to have been the first to use this formula as an *ʿalāma* and to write it with his own hand. Indeed, it was not until under this ruler that the formula appeared, as a dynastic device, on the Almohad *dīnars* (see Lavoix, *Cat. mon. mus.*, Espagne et Afrique, 303-308) replacing the earlier formula *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi rabbi 'l-ʿālamīn*.

The Almohad Ḥafṣid rulers of Ifrīḳiya expanded the formula by adding *wa 'l-shukru li'llāh*. Later, the Naṣrids of Granada chose *wa-lā ghāliba illa 'llāh* "and there is no conqueror but God", very likely in memory of the name of their eponymous ancestor Naṣr ("divine aid which grants victory"). Moreover their first ruler chose the *laḳab*: al-Ghālib bi'llāh.

These two dynastic devices, Ḥafṣid and Naṣrid, appeared as well on their coins and some monuments.

Left at first to the ruler himself, the responsibility for inscribing the *ʿalāma* was later entrusted to a very

high confidential official, a kind of head chancellor or keeper of the seal called *ṣāḥib al-ʿalāma*. It was most often a scholar of great distinction; thus it was that Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*] and Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*] filled this office at Tunis. According to the importance of the document to be authenticated, it could have an *ʿalāma kubrā* or an *ʿalāma ṣughrā*, whose inscription was entrusted to two chancellors of different rank.

In Morocco the use of the Almohad *ḥamdala* as *ʿalāma* continued to the end of the Saʿdian dynasty. But it became much more stylized and ended by becoming a kind of tracery of arabesques, difficult to decipher, and possibly in imitation of the Turkish *ṭughrā* [*q.v.*]. This very artistic *ʿalāma* of the Saʿdians, for them a sort of coat of arms, is found on their guns, some of their coins, and in the ornament of their palaces. In the last years of the Saʿdian dynasty as well as the manual *ʿalāma*, use was made of a stamp in ink engraved on an oval seal.

The succeeding Moroccan dynasty, that of the ʿAlawids, abandoned entirely the Almohad *ʿalāma*, both manual and stamped. The sole mark of authentication became the ink stamp of a round seal (*ṭābiʿ*), large or small according to the importance of the document, placed below the blank space between the *ḥamdala* and the *taṣliya*.

Yet another particularity of Maghrib diplomatic must be noted. To mark the end of the text in a document, a terminal sigla was splaced immediately after the date, consisting of an initial *hāʾ* with a tail curving towards the right, which it is tempting to read, not without reason, as an abbreviation of the verb *intahā* ("it is concluded"). In any case it cannot be an abbreviation of the postscript (*tawḳīʿ*) *ṣaḥḥ hādhā* or *ṣaḥīḥ dhālik* ("this is authentic") which appears at the end of diplomas conferring privileges and favours, often written by the ruler in his own hand.

We might add that some Moroccan documents, of the Waṭṭāsids and Saʿdians, are dated in "Greek numerals" which also appear on some of their coins, and that the Saʿdian sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr made use of a cryptographic writing.

The principal types of Maghribī documents are the following:

ẓahīr (for *kitāb ẓahīr*), pl. *ẓahāʾir*, in the Moroccan dialect *ḍahīr*, pl. *ḍwāher*. This is a diploma of investiture or of immunity from taxes, tolls, and forced labour, especially in favour of *sharīf*s or *murābiṭ*s.

tanfīdha, a diploma conferring a life pension or personal usufruct of a property belonging to the royal domain. These first two kinds of letters-patent are also called *ṣakk*.

risāla or *barāʾa* (in dialect *brā*), a letter addressed to a community, in order to announce an important event (the appointment of a new governor, victory over the enemy or rebels, etc.), or in order to exhort or to admonish. These official communications were generally read from the *minbar* in the mosque on Friday. Several Moroccan ʿAlawid sultans, among them Sayyidī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and Mawlāy Sulaymān b. Muḥammad, acquired a solid reputation as letter-writers in this *genre*.

bayʿa, the "contract of allegiance" concluded between notables and the new ruler.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Bulak 1274, 120, 129: trans. de Slane, *Prolégomènes*, i, xxxi, ii, 26, 63; Rabino, *Contribution à l'histoire des Saadiens*, in *Archives berbères*, iv (1920), 1; H. de Castries, *Les signes de validation des chérifs saadiens*, in *Hespéris*, i, (1921), 231; E. Tisserant and G. Wiet, *Une lettre de l'almohade Murtaḍā au pape Innocent IV*, in *Hespéris*, vi (1926), 27; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, in *Hespéris*, xxviii (1941), 1. The text and the notes of the last three articles provide a basic bibliography, which can be supplemented by S. de Sacy, *Mémoires d'histoire et de littérature orientales*, Paris 1832, 119 and 149; G. S. Colin, *Contribution à l'étude des relations diplomatiques entre les Musulmans d'Occident et l'Égypte*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, 197, Cairo 1935; idem, *Note sur le système cryptographique du sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr*, in *Hespéris*, vii (1927), 221; L. Di Giacomo, *Une poétesse grenadine du temps des Almohades*, in *Hespéris*, xxxiv (1947), 64-65; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, 61; Cusa, *I Diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, Palermo 1868; ʿAbd Allāh Gannūn, *Rasāʾil Saʿdiyya—Cartas de historia de los Saadies*, Tetuan 1373/1954; M. Nehlil, *Lettres chérifiennes*, (collection of 128 official documents of the Moroccan ʿAlawid dynasty, in facsimile), Paris 1915. The collection of *Sources Inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* contains in transcription, as well as plates, numerous Moroccan diplomatic documents.

(G. S. Colin)

iii. — Persia

The origins of Persian diplomatic are to be found in the period of the foundation of Turkish states in Persian territory. While in the chancelleries of the Ṭāhirids and Sāmānids, who in so many respects were influenced by Iranian culture, Arabic was employed and efforts to introduce Persian (in the form of a "court language", [see DARĪ]) failed, Maḥmūd of Ghazna (389-421/999-1030) declared Persian the official language and thus provided for its introduction into the chancellery. A similar development took place under the Saldjūḳs (see B. Spuler, *Iran*, 245-6). It is impossible to say to what extent Arabic documents served as models for Persian, though the strong Arabic influence can very likely be traced back to this early period. The relations between the ruler of Ghazna and the Caliphal court necessitated the translation of Persian documents into Arabic as well as of Arabic into Persian. There were in addition a number of Turkish elements, considerably increased during the Ilkhānid period by elements of Mongol-Turkish origin, which for centuries were to influence in particular the external form of documents and other written communications.

Categories of documents. These correspond broadly with the types described above for Arabic documents. An important distinction is between documents which attest and documents which command. The first consist of legal deeds or certificates which were recorded and confirmed by witnesses with seal and signature (*muhr wa niwishta*), for example, *ḳabāla* (deed of purchase, confirmed by a judge), *tamassuk* (bill or receipt), *ʿaḳd-nāma* or *nikāḥ-nāma* (marriage contract), *wakālat-nāmča* power of attorney), *bayʿ sharṭ-nāmča* (deed of sale), *waṣiyyat-nāma* (testament), *waḳf-nāma* (act for the establishment of a pious foundation). These documents (*sidjillāt-i sharʿiyya*) belong primarily to the sphere of competence of the authorities for religious law. In contrast to these, documents containing orders were the exclusive prerogative of the organs of state, executed by the ruler or his

deputies and recorded in the chancellery. In principle an "official document" (*farmān*) can be found for every expression of the ruler's will. In practice they may be divided according to contents into the following groups: deeds of appointment, of investiture (*iḳṭā*ʿ, in the Mongol and post-Mongol period: *soyūrghāl*; *musallamī*, tax-exemption; *tiyūl*, office-holder's fief; *waẓīfa*, grants to religious from foundations or state funds; the awarding of a robe of honour, *khilʿa*, etc.), treaties, passports, judicial decisions of the ruler, and orders of a general nature to governors and officials. In the Saldjūḳ period the terminology appears to have been still largely undeveloped. In addition to *farmān*, the most general term, *manshūr* (*manāshīr*) refers to documents of the greatest diversity, while others are *taḳlīd*, *tafwīḍ*, *taslīm*, *mithāl* (*amthila*), and *manshūr-i taḳlīd* or *tafwīḍ* (see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss in the Brit. Mus.*, London 1879, i, 389; Ethé, *Cat. Pers. Mss in the Ind. Off. Library*, i, 1131; Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ Atābeg al-Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba, passim*). The expression *nishān* appears in the Tīmūrid period (see Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, *passim*) and is used until the 17th century (see Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, ii, 97). Synonymous with *nishān* is *maktūb*, occasionally used in the Tīmūrid period (Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. F. Tauer, ii, 264, index). Decrees were further called *ḥukm* (Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū/Tauer, *Cinque opuscules*, 83, index), *tawḳīʿ* (originally only the signature of the ruler and later his seal as well, see below) or *mithāl* (Shāmī/Tauer, ii, 299). The Mongol designation *yarlīgh*, alone or in the combination *ḥukm-i yarlīgh*, remained in use until the end of the 15th century (Shāmī/Tauer, ii, 274). A distinction according to diverse introductory formulae (see below), though not according to contents, appears in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries: *parwānča* and *ḥukm* with solemn formulae are contrasted with simpler documents designated by *raḳam* (see H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen an Hand turkmenischer und safawidischer Urkunden* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe), i, Cairo 1959, 67); the acts of subordinate authorities are now evidently called *mithāl* (*mithāl-i dīwān al-ṣadāra*: Papazyan no. 17, 970/1562). In the Ḳādjār period the designations depend upon the issuing authority: only the decrees of the Shah are called *farmān*; acts of governors of royal origin are called *raḳam* (*arḳām*); those of other governors *ḥukm* (see Greenfield, *Die Verfassung des persischen Staates*, Berlin 1904, 115). In less official language, however, almost all of the expressions listed above occur (see S. Beck, *Persische Konversationsgrammatik*, Heidelberg 1914, ii, 211 ff.).

Distinct from deeds and orders in the strict sense are the letters concerned with domestic and foreign affairs (*maktūb*, *kitābat* or *risāla*). Like the former they are provided with an official attestation and have a fixed external and internal form, but lack a legal content, as for example in the letters confirming friendly relations (*ikhwāniyyāt*). There is a form for every occasion, such as congratulation (*adʿiyyāt*), condolence (*taʿziyat-nāma*), etc. Into the 9th/15th century foreign correspondence, based on a Mongol pattern, preserved in part the form of a decree, from which, however, it tended to depart under the Ṣafawids in the 11th/17th century. Owing to their legal contents "border-books" (*sinūr-nāma*, examples in Evoğlu Ḥaydar, *Inshā*ʾ, see Rieu, i, 390) approach the form of decrees. The same may be said of letters-patent for envoys. Letters from the royal hand (*dast-khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* or *mubārak*), the highest in rank, assume a middle position between documents and other writings, their contents ranging from the personal execution of an act by the ruler to confidential communications.

The internal structure of documents and writings has in the course of nine hundred years of Persian chancellery history scarcely changed—that is, until modern times. The documents begin with an invocation to God (*invocatio*) frequently combined with a devotional ejaculation (*al-ḥukm li'llāh, al-mulk li'llāh*). These formulae, together with the formula of promulgation, the *arenga* and the *narratio*, constitute the protocol, which is followed by the most important part of the document, the *dispositio*. In the *arenga* the execution of the document in general terms, mostly of a religious character, is established, partly by the abundant use of Ḳurʾānic citations, verse, and rhetorical analogy. Here, in contrast to other parts of the document which are bound by more rigid formulae, the writer is free to display his literary talent. Evidence of this art is to be found, however, in pronounced form more frequently in *inshā*ʾ works than in original documents. The *narratio* on the other hand contains the essential transaction, for the most part a report of the proposition (*ʿarḍa-dāsht*) of the petitioner, while in documents of confirmation the proposed act, or, depending upon the affair in question, several acts are included completely or in their most important parts (*insertio*). In the *narratio* appear for the first time the name and title of the addressee, who is always referred to in the third person, and afterwards only by *madhkūr*, *mazbūr*, *mushār ilayhi* and *mūmā ilayhi*. The full titles can, in artistic combinations with *panāh*, *dastgāh*, *niẓām*, etc., be extended for several lines. The formulae of promulgation (such as *farzandān wa wuzarā ... bi-dānand ki*) are placed before the *arenga* or *narratio*, but can be omitted. The *arenga* closes frequently with the phrase *ammā baʿd*.

The nucleus of the document is the *dispositio*, or decision of the ruler: in appointments and investitures the office and date of the nomination or object of the investiture are given in more detail (*circumscriptio*), while in other acts the decision or command is set forth. The *dispositio* is expressed in either active (that is, the ruler refers to himself in the first person plural: *muḳarrar farmūdīm wa arzānī dāshtīm*), or passive form, (*muḳarrar farmūda shud ki*). Vestiges of an original first person singular were preserved in isolated phrases into the 17th-18th centuries: *shāh bābam*, *djadd-i buzurgwāram* (accompanied by blessings). The transition from the *narratio* to the *dispositio* is accomplished by means of set formulae: frequently *bināʾan ʿalayhi*, *binā bar īn*, *li-hādhā*, or *mī-bāyad ki*. To the *dispositio* in cases of appointments and investitures, prescriptions (*adhortatio*) for the addressee or officials and persons concerned might be added, usually introduced by *sabīl wa ṭarīḳ*. In contrast to the formulae of promulgation, where the highest dignitaries are named first, they appear here at the end. The accountants (*mustawfiyān*) are often directed to register the document (*dar dafātir ʿamal namāyand*). Finally a prohibition might follow, forbidding the annual request for a renewal, with the directive "may this apply in all similar cases". Except for the *invocatio* all of these parts which precede and succeed the *dispositio* may be omitted, in which case the document consists only of the *dispositio*. Most frequently, however, the order

is *narratio—dispositio*—conclusion (date etc.). In this case the entire text is included between *čūn* (beginning of the *narratio*) and *binā bar īn* (*dispositio*). In the *narratio* or in the *dispositio* by means of *siyāķat* script directions for registration of the document might be given; should these instead be written on the reverse side (*ẓahr*, *ḍimn*), this is indicated by a remark in the text.

The documents close with a phrase in which reference is made to the seal (*corroboratio*), and with the Islamic date: *kutiba fī* (as early as Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Jahn, *GMS*, n.s. xiv, 222) or *taḥrīr*[an] *fī*. The day of the month, in Arabic numerals as well as in Persian ordinals, disappears almost completely in the 10th/16th century. The Persian day of the week is occasionally given (Papazyan, no. 18, 977/1570). The first day of the month is called *ghurra*, the last *salkh*. The names of the months appear with their customary attributes: *Muḥarram al-ḥarām*, *Ramaḍān al-mubārak*, etc. The year was at first written in Arabic, replaced by Arabic numerals from the 10th/16th century on. Until the 10th/16th century the *Hidjra* year was usually accompanied by the corresponding year of the animal cycle, which was used even later (with the *Hidjra* year) with reference to dates in the *dispositio*. Up to the end of the 9th/15th century the place of issue was named after the date: *ba-maķām*, *ba-madīna* or *ba-dār al-salṭana*. With some exceptions this later disappears. In Turcoman documents, beneath the date and place name, is an *apprecatio*: *rabbī ikhtim bi'l-khayr wa'l-iķbāl* (see Busse, *Untersuchungen*, no. 2). In the 10th/16th century this phrase was moved to the right-hand margin and shortened to *khutima bi'l-khayr* or *khutima*, later disappearing altogether. Similarly, until the end of the 9th/15th and beginning of the 10th/16th centuries, to the right below the text and perpendicular to it, was a reference to the secretary and other officials who might have participated in the preparation of the text: *parwānča-yi ashraf-i aʿlā*, *ba-risāla* (name), *ba-wuķūf* (name). From the beginning of the 11th/17th century this remark can be found in altered form on the reverse side of the document (see below).

The external form of the documents has been more subject to change than the internal form. The periods of modification are roughly the following: Pre-Mongol—Mongol—Tīmūrid and Turcoman—Ṣafawid to the beginning of the 14th/20th century. The *tughra*—[*q.v.*] was employed by the Saldjūķs and the rulers of Khwārizm (in *ʿAtabat al-kataba* a *wazīr-i tughra* is mentioned, no. 16; for Khwārizm see al-Nasawī, *Sīrat al-sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Mängübärdī*, ed. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Ḥamdī, Cairo 1953, 324). While here they consisted evidently only of the name and titles of the ruler, in the Mongol period was added, in addition to *bahādur* (after 1319, see Spuler, *Mongolen*[2], 197 and 271), after the name the phrase *üge manu* ("an order from us"). In Tīmūr's documents the phrase reads in Turkish translation: *Tīmūr gürkān sözümüz* (see Fekete, *Arbeiten der grusinischen Orientalistik auf dem Gebiet der türkischen und persischen Paläographie und die Frage der Formel sözümüz*, in *AO Hung.* vii (1957), i, 14). In this form the *tughra* was preserved on particular documents throughout the Turcoman period into the 11th/17th century, and was employed by the khāns of Bukhārā as well as by the Golden Horde in southern Russia (see Fekete, *op. cit.*, 14). In Aķ Ķoyunlu documents the *tughra* is combined with the *tamgha* which appears on their coinage (see Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin and Leipzig 1936, 106 and the illustration opposite 104). An innovation for the world of Islam was the Uyghur practice introduced by the Mongols of indenting the first lines of the text, as well as emphasizing (owing indirectly to Far Eastern influence) the name of the ruler and the word *yarlīgh* by beginning a new line (see Busse, *Die Entwicklung der Staatsurkunde in Zentralasien und Persien von den Mongolen bis zu den Safawiden*, in *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalisten-kongresses München*, Wiesbaden (1959), 372-4). With insignificant changes this usage can be observed as late as the 11th/17th century in documents with a *tughra*, from which it was also extended to other documents. During the rule of the Ṣafawid Ismāʿīl I (1501-24) the *tughra* disappeared from certain documents, though the first two lines of the text continued to be indented. The seal, earlier at the bottom of the document, came generally to be placed at the top (where it is still, in the form of a crest). There was a new development under the second Ṣafawid Ṭahmāsp I (1524-76), in that the *tughra*, written by the head of the chancellery (*munshī al-mamālik*), appeared now in red or gold ink in two forms as an introductory phrase (while the indenting of the first two lines was dropped): *farmān-i humāyūn shud* and *farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yāft*. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century was added the phrase (written in black ink by the *wāķiʿa-niwīs*, equivalent to the *madjlis-niwīs* or *wazīr-i čap*): *ḥukm-i djahān-muṭāʿ shud*. In documents of the *dīwān begi* the same formula appears in red ink (see *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1943, fol. 21b, 24b, 40a). A further differentiation had already begun to develop (the first example in Papazyan no. 3, 866/1462), in that the *tughra* in documents emanating from members of the royal family had instead of *sözümüz* the term *sözüm* ("my order"), to be found up to the end of the 10th/16th century (see Puturidze no. 17, 1591). There appeared further in the 10th/16th century in the documents of governors the formula *amr-i ʿālī shud* (also in combination with the *tughra* containing *sözüm*: Puturidze no. 76, 1051/1642), and in the 11th/17th century *muķarrar ast ki*. Under Ismāʿīl II (1576-77) the phrase *amr-i dīwān-i ashraf-i aʿlā* was used in certain decrees (Papazyan no. 19, 984/1577). Documents of the authorities in the central government bore in the 11th/17th and beginning of the 12th/18th centuries the imperial seal but contained no introductory phrase (see Busse, *Untersuchungen*, 65). The same is true even today for letters of the Shāh, which begin directly with the name and title of the addressee. Diverse introductory phrases characteristic of different kinds of documents remained in use in the Post-Ṣafawid period. The formula *farmān-i humāyūn shud* continued to appear in the acts of the Afshārs, though combined with *biʿawn Allāh taʿālā* (later *aʿūdhu bi'llāh taʿālā*), while the strokes of the letters were curved into an artistic shape similar to a row of treble clefs. In Ķādjār documents is the phrase *ḥukm-i djahān-muṭāʿ shud* (with *al-mulk li'llāh taʿālā*), while in the acts of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh (1896-1907) *farmān-i humāyūn shud* reappears (see Beck, *op. cit.*, ii, 342-3 and facsimile). The *tughra* in gold ink was preserved. The phrase *ḥukm-i djahān-muṭāʿ shud* (without additions) appears even in the late Afshar and in some Zand documents, retaining the same simple form of the Ṣafawid period. The acts of Nādir Shāh prior to his coronation (8 March 1736; the nominal ruler was the Ṣafawid ʿAbbās III, 1732-6) contained the phrase *farmān-i*

ʿālī shud (with *bi-ʿawn* ...) already in the peculiar form described above. After 1736 *farmān-i ʿālī shud* was replaced by *farmān-i humāyūn shud. Farmān-i ʿālī shud* (without additions and in simpler form) is also to be found in the documents of Karīm Khān Zand (1750-96), who was content to hold the actual power under the nominal rule of the Ṣafawid Ismāʿīl III. His predecessor the Bakhtiyārī leader ʿAlī Mardān Khān, also unofficially Shah, employed the introductory phrase *ḥukm-i wālā shud* (without additions). Here tendencies towards a practice which was definitively established in the Ḳādjār period become apparent: documents emanating from governors belonging to the royal family bear the formula *ḥukm-i wālā shud*, while other governors must content themselves with *ḥukm-i ʿālī shud* (customary as early as the Ṣafawid period; see *Sayyid al-inshāʾ*, Tehran 1327/1919; Beck, *op. cit.*, i, 451 and 455). Modern edicts (with an obvious European influence) contain the following protocol: crest (a lion and sun). *farmān-i muṭāʿ-i mubārak—aʿlā-ḥaḍrat-i humāyūn-i shāhinshāhī—ba-taʾīdāt-i khudāwand-i mutaʿāl—mā* ("we")—*Pahlawī shāhinshāhī Īrān.* Seal. Here parts of the old formulae are combined into one.

Scripts and writing materials. Owing to the lack of original documents nothing is known of the kinds of script used in the Saldjūḳid chancellery. The *tughra* was written with a "broad pen" (*ḳalam-i ghalīẓ*; see Spuler, *Iran*, 362). It may be presumed that the variety of scripts developed in the late ʿAbbāsid period (see *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 4 ff.) continued to be cultivated in the chancellery in the 5th/11th century. The earliest Persian fragment, a deed of sale (see Margoliouth, in *JRAS* 1903, 761 ff.), indicates tendencies towards *taʿlīḳ*, which later came into general use. The Mongol documents of the Ilkhans were of course written in Uyghur script, still used in the Turkish documents of the Tīmūrids in the 9th/15th century though with an interlinear transcription in Arabic script (see Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı ... yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 195 ff.: an act of Abū Saʿīd 873/1468). In the post-Mongol chancelleries *taʿlīḳ* had become firmly established, though some parts (*invocatio*, *tughra*) were occasionally written in *thulth*. In the 10th/16th century *nastaʿlīḳ* came into use, though *shikasta* script was also employed. The development towards *shikasta*, which did not attain its pure form until the 11th/17th century, had been evident in the *taʿlīḳ* of the 8th/14th century.

From the beginning the writing material used was probably paper, a domestic product in the Near East from the end of the 3rd/9th century. As early as the end of the 9th/15th century, as in other Islamic states, a part of the paper was obtained from Europe; Chardin (*Voyages*, iv, 271 f.) bears witness to this at any rate for the second half of the 11th/17th century in Persia. Better grades of paper came from Balkh, Bukhārā and Samarḳand. The format varied in breadth from 15 to 30 cm; some documents were several metres long (for example, Busse, no. 3: 263 cm), consisting of separate sheets pasted together.

Mongol decrees were already richly decorated in coloured (red and gold) inks, especially in those parts which were emphasized by means of *elevatio*. The same is true into the 11th/17th century for documents with a *tughra*, in which, especially, gold ink was used for the *invocatio*, prayers, the *tamgha* (in Aḳ Ḳoyunlu decrees), Ḳurʾānic citations, and words on the right-hand margin. Gold and red inks were used abundantly in documents with introductory formulae, with the exception of those with *ḥukm-i djahān-muṭāʿ shud*, which with this phrase were executed completely in black. The use of coloured inks was dropped also in the documents emanating from provincial authorities. In writing, a large margin was left at the top and on the right, in which only words to be stressed were written. The lines rise, especially in the early period, slightly to the left; occasionally, in order to prevent later insertions, the last word of the line was extended to reach the left-hand edge of the paper. Until the end of the 9th/15th century the beginning of the *dispositio* was indicated by particularly large letters (see Busse, no. 3). In letters to foreign rulers the name of the addressee is placed above the text; the place in the text in which it was to be inserted (after the execution of the title) was indicated by a small space.

Seals. Originally, decrees and writings (except for those with a seal?) were attested by the ruler's flourish (*tawḳīʿ* or *imḍā*), in the place of which the seal (alone?) must have early appeared. In any event into the 10th/16th century the expression *tawḳīʿ* in the *corroboratio* refers to the seal; not until the 11th/17th century was *tawḳīʿ* replaced by the (long overdue) designation *muhr*. Shāh Ismaʿīl included in his edicts the phrase *huwa Allāh al-ʿādil* (Papazyan no. 19, 984/1577), though it was an exception; in principle the seal was enough. Not until the Ḳādjār period did the seal require a countersign (*tughra*) by the Shah (see Greenfield, *op. cit.*, 197; Beck, *op. cit.*, facsimile: *saḥḥa* below the first line). The ruler's seal was originally at the bottom of the document. The Mongol square seal was also used on paste-joints, in order to preclude the possibility of later insertions, though in the 9th/15th century the seal appeared only at the bottom (see Kurat, *op. cit.*, 19). At the beginning of the Ṣafawid period, in acts of the ruler and those of the central government, the seal was put in the place of the *tughra* at the top of the document. In the decrees of governors with the *tughra*: *ḥukm-i ʿālī shud*, the seal remained at the end, while those governors who were princes placed their seals to the right of the *tughra* (similar to the *penče* of the Ottoman viziers). Correspondence (*maktūbāt*) was sealed on the reverse side (see *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, 2 vols., London 1939, plate opposite 95 in vol. i). In the Mongol chancellery seals for the various affairs of state were stamped in different colours, such as blue, red (or gold), green, and black (see Spuler, *Mongolen*, 293). For the square seal still to some extent used by the Tīmūrids, gold ink was employed; later all seals were stamped in black. In addition to square seals (Ghāzān Khān had introduced different kinds of seals for the different branches of government; see Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Jahn, 292) the Tīmūrids also had round seals, often stamped at the top of the document (see J. Deny, *Un soyurgal du Timouride Shah Rukh en écriture ouigure*, in *JA* 245 (1957), 253-66). The use of different seals for different kinds of documents, of which there were tendencies under Ismāʿīl I, reached full development in the later Ṣafawid period: "great" seals (*muhr-i sharaf-i nafādh* and *muhr-i humāyūn*) were used in documents with the introductory formulae *farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yāft* and *farmān-i humāyūn shud*, while "small" seals (*muhr-i angushtar-i āftāb-āthār*), or signet rings, were used for documents with *ḥukm-i djahān muṭāʿ shud*. The inscription in the large seals partly contained the names of the twelve *imāms*, that in the

small seals contained only the ruler's name, frequently combined with the title *banda-yi shāh-i wilāyat* (servant of the king of holiness, that is, ʿAlī). Chardin gives evidence also of a square seal (Plate XXXI, and v, 461). The large seals were round (occasionally with an upper extension in the shape of a roof), and the small seals rectangular or in the form of a shield (plates in Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins, medals and seals of the Shahs of Iran, 1500-1941*, place of publication not given, 1945, plate 3). The seals of the ruler were later for the most part rectangular with an upper extension in the form of a roof. The lion and sun (*shīr wa khūrshīd*) appears in the seal as early as 1159/1746 (Chubua, no. 47). Large (rectangular with extension) and small (oval) seals are still to be found in the Ḳādjār period (plates in Rabino, *op. cit.*, 4). The governors' seals were in the Ṣafawid period mostly rectangular or oval (some isolated examples are round) with inscriptions containing the name of the office-holder and a religious device. These were not much changed. Imperial authorities employed during the Ṣafawid period a special round "dīwān-seal" (*muhr-i musawwada-yi dīwān-i aʿlā*). Originally in the custody of the keeper of the seal (*muhr-i dār*), the seals passed in the early Ṣafawid period into the safe-keeping of harem officials (see Roemer, *Der Niedergang Irans nach dem Tode Ismaʿils des Grausamen* (1577-81), Würzburg 1939, 44), in whose protection they remained in the later Ṣafawid period. The actual sealing was executed by officials with the title *dawāt-dār* (see DAWĀDĀR), while the keepers of the seal placed only a small stamp on the reverse side (see *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, ed. Minorsky, fol. 41a ff.).

Before delivery to the addressees the documents were sent through different departments of the financial administration (*daftar khāna-yi humāyūn aʿlā*), where high officials supplied flourishes and seals, and other officials confirmed the entry of the documents in various registers (*daftar, dafātir*) by means of seals and annotations (*muhr wa khaṭṭ*) (other than for example in the Ottoman administration, where these remarks were placed on the draft, that is, as mere bookkeeping comments; see Fekete, *Die Siyaqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, i, Budapest 1955, 67, 68 note 2). While flourishes and comments were placed, in Fāṭimid decrees for example, between the last lines (see Grohmann in *RSO*, xxxii (1957), 641-54), in Persia they appear early on the reverse side from and written in a direction perpendicular to that of the text. This procedure was already to be found in Ilkhān documents (see Cleaves in *HJAS*, xiv (1951), 493-526). In this respect Ghāzān Khān also introduced obligatory prescriptions (see Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Jahn, 291-6). A series of seals and comments are also to be found on Tīmūrid (see Deny, *op. cit.*), Turcoman and early Ṣafawid documents (see Busse, *Untersuchungen*, 77 ff.). A definitive system was introduced at the beginning of the 11th/17th century and remained substantially in effect until the end of the Ḳādjār period. The flourishes consist of a religious device (for example, *tawakkaltu ʿalaʾllāh*), while the registration comments contain a reference to the nature of the business, for example, *thabt-i daftar-i tawdjīh-i dīwān-i aʿlā shud* ("it has been entered in the outgoing register of the high dīwān"), or simply *saḥḥa* ("correct"). In the later Ṣafawid period flourishes and seals were applied to all documents by the grand vizier (*iʿtimād al-dawla*), by the *ṣadr* and officials who belonged to the *arkān-i dawlat*, such as the *ḳurčī bashī* and *ḳullar aḳasī*, on documents which fell within their jurisdiction, while registration comments and seals were applied by the *mustawfī al-mamālik* (or—*khāṣṣa*), *lashgar-niwīs*, *ṣāḥib-tawdjīh*, *nāẓir-i daftar-khāna-yi aʿlā*, *darūgha-yi daftar-khāna-yi aʿlā*, and others. The documents were brought first to the *mustawfī*, then circulated in the various departments, returning finally to the *mustawfī*. The registration comments of the imperial officials (*sarkār-i mamālik*) differed from those of the officials for the royal domain (*sarkār-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*) in composition: for example *ba-naẓar rasīd* (imperial), *thabt-i daftar-i naẓārat shud* (royal domain). In contrast to those documents which were registered in the *daftar-khāna* (*arḳām-i daftarī*), are those which were not registered (*arḳām-i bayāḍī*) because they did not concern the financial administration or because they were to be kept secret (see *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, fol. 42b; and Busse, *Untersuchungen*, 79).

The documentary commission was given orally by the ruler or a high official directly, or in writing by way of the "relator", to the chancellery. The actual process was then, even in the Mongol period, entered on the document (see Hinz, *Die Resālā-yi Falakiyyā des ʿAbdollāh ibn Mohammad ibn Kiyā al-Māzandarānī*, Wiesbaden 1952, fol. 44a ff.). In Turcoman documents into the 10th/16th century the annotation was placed on the lower right-hand front (see above), but from the beginning of the 11th/17th century it is to be found on the reverse side: in an oral commission from the ruler *biʾl-mushāfa al-ʿalīya al-ʿāliya*, otherwise *huwa ḥasab al-amr al-aʿlā*. In the latter case beneath this formula the relator was named: *az ḳarār-i niwishta* ... when the relator was the grand vizier; otherwise *ba-risāla*. The phrase *ḥasab al-amr al-aʿlā* was omitted when the grand vizier or another official had given the commission (see Busse, *Untersuchungen*, 69 ff.). In post-Ṣafawid documents such annotations appear to have been omitted. After all of the formalities had been seen to the documents were rolled together with the writing inside and pressed flat. Letters to foreign rulers were often sent in richly ornamented covers of brocade, protected against unauthorized view by a special seal.

In the early period documents and correspondence were prepared in the imperial chancellery (*dār al-inshāʾ*, *dīwān al-rasāʾil*) under the authority of the *munshī al-mamālik*. From the 11th/17th century on, documents with the introductory formula (*tughra*) *ḥukm-i djahān-muṭāʿ shud* (in black ink) were executed in the chancellery of the *wāḳiʿa-niwīs*, who was also responsible for letters addressed to foreign princes. There was also a subdivision in the jurisdiction for the empire and for the royal domain: documents relating to imperial affairs (with the introductory formulae *farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yāft* and *farmān-i humāyūn shud*) were prepared by the *munshī al-mamālik*, those for the royal domain by the *wāḳiʿa-niwīs*. In addition to these two authorities separate departments of the *daftar-khāna* were also authorized to execute documents, in the Ṣafawid period for example, the *lashgar-niwīs* and the secretariats of the *ḳullar aḳasī*, *tubčī bāshī*, *tufangčī bashī*, and others. These documents contained no introductory formulae (*tughra*). The provincial authorities had their own chancelleries. Solemn documents were independent pieces of writing; on less important occasions, though the other formalities were preserved (seal, *tughra*), the resolution was placed in the upper margin of the petition (*ʿarḍa-dāsht*). Supplementary

remarks and additions by subordinate officials were until the 9th/15th century written between the lines, later in the right hand margin (with the phrase *muḳarrar ast kī* and seal). In solemn edicts the ruler could make additions in his own hand (*ḥās͟hiya ba-k͟hatt-i mubārak*).

In addition to the Persian section there were, as was mentioned before, in the chancellery departments for foreign languages as early as the G͟haznawids. Especially comprehensive in this respect, corresponding to the many nationalities involved, was the Ilk͟hānid chancellery (see Hinz, *Die persische Geheimkanzlei im Mittelalter*, in West-östliche Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden 1954, 345). The Tīmūrids corresponded with the Ottomans partly in Arabic and partly in Eastern Turkish (Rieu, i, 389; Kurat, *op. cit.*, 195 ff.), the Ṣafawids in Ottoman Turkish (see Fekete, *Iran Şahlarının iki türkçe mektubu*, in *TM*, v (1935), 269-74). During the Ḳād͟jār period French became the principal foreign language of the chancellery, a position which it has preserved.

Original deeds and deeds of confirmation may be distinguished according to the occasion of their issue. Confirmations were necessary upon the death of the incumbents of hereditary offices and fiefs, and general upon a change of government. The prohibition at the conclusion of many documents "a renewal (*tad͟jdīd*) shall not be requested annually" was very likely of a precautionary nature. In practice an annual renewal does not seem to have been customary. For practical reasons possessors of documents might have issued verified copies of these which carried the same degree of authority as the originals. Edicts which concerned larger groups of people or the population of an entire community were frequently posted in the form of inscriptions in public buildings and places (see Barthold/Hinz, *Die persische Inschrift an der Mauer der Manūcehr-Moschee zu Ani*, in *ZDMG*, ci (1951), 241-69; and Hinz, *Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Vorderen Orient*, in *Belleten*, xii (1949), 745-69).

The oldest original documents preserved belong to the Ilk͟hān period (largely Mongol letters to European princes). Some Persian documents of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries are to be found in Persia (and bordering territories), and in European archives and museums. Only Ṣafawid and later documents have been found in greater quantity. Especially rich in this respect are Georgian (M. Chubua, *Persidskie firmanī i ukazī Muzeya Gruzii*, i, Tbilisi 1949; and V. S. Puturidze, *Gruzino-persidskie istoričeskie dokumentī*, Tbilisi 1955) and Armenian sources (A. D. Papazyan, *Persidskie dokumentī matenadarana*, 2 vols., Erivan 1956-60). A small collection of Ṣafawid documents (of which two are Turcoman) is located in the British Museum (Rieu, *Suppl.* 252-60, the greater part having been published by Busse, *Untersuchungen*). Isolated documents and letters are to be found in the Vatican (*A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, Appendix B) and in Italian archives (see F. Gabrieli, *Relazioni tra lo scià 'Abbas e i Granduchi di Toscana Ferdinando I e Cosimo II*, in *Rend. Lin.* 1949), in Poland (H. S. Szapszal, *Wyobrazenia swietych muzulmanskich*, Wilna 1934, 26-48), in Sweden (see K. V. Zettersteen, *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv*, Uppsala 1945), in Austria (Vienna), and in Germany (Dresden, see Fekete, *Iran Şahlarının . . .*). In Persia there are large and small collections in private archives in Teheran (Ḥusayn S͟hāhs͟hāhānī, Maḥmūd Farhād Muʿtamid, K͟hān Malik) and Tabrīz (Muḥammad and Ḥusayn Āḳā Nak͟hd͟juwānī), other collections in the Archaeological Museum in Teheran, in the Čihil-Sutūn pavilion in Iṣfāhān, in the Armenian church in New D͟julfā, and in the Sanctuary Library (*kitāb-k͟hāna-yi āstāna*) in Mas͟hhad. In Germany there is a small collection of documents, assembled in 1938-9 by Wilhelm Eilers (Würzburg) in Persia (original documents and copies of inscriptions), in the possession of Hans R. Roemer (Mainz). In two articles the latter has brought together the material known up to 1957: *Vorschläge für die Sammlung von Urkunden zur islamischen Geschichte Persiens*, in *ZDMG*, civ (1954), 362-70; and *Über Urkunden zur Geschichte Ägyptens und Persiens in islamischer Zeit*, in *ZDMG*, cvii (1957), 519-38.

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(H. Busse)

iv. — Ottoman Empire

Diplomatic in Ottoman Turkey can be traced back to the beginnings of the Empire in the 8th/14th century. The diplomatic system was fashioned after

the pattern brought by Asiatic Turks who in turn followed diplomatic models that were developed by the states of Central Asia, thus presenting a blend of Uyghur and Chinese traditions. On the other hand its organization was largely based on European practice, especially that established by the Byzantine Empire. The Tatar documents (those of the Golden Horde and of the Crimean Tatars) mainly followed Central Asian models and showed influence of Uyghur and indirectly of Chinese diplomatic usage. This fact is evidenced by Persian documents dating from the 16th to 17th century which use the title-forms of *sözümüz* (see L. Fekete, *Arbeite der grusinischen Orientalistik auf dem Gebiete der türkischen und persischen Palaeographie und die Frage der Formel "sözümüz"*, in *AOHung.*, vii, 1, 1957). The documents of Ottoman Turkey from the 15th century represent a set of more or less consistent patterns (see F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, in *SbAK Wien* 1921 and *TOEM*, xxviii, P. Wittek, in *WZKM*, 1957). The documents, their general names being *ewrāḳ* or *wethiḳa*, were issued by the chancellor's office of the Sublime Porte; solemn public documents proclaimed by sultans or announced by viziers were issued by the office of the so-called *beylik* or *beylik ḳalemi*, a special department of the central office of the Porte, formally known as *dīwān-i humāyūn ḳalemi*. The secretary, the scribe and the official in charge of the whole department (*beylikdji*) attached their signatures to the documents, before they were sent to the *reʾīs efendi* for his stamp (the *resīd*). More important deeds were checked by the *nishāndjī* and had to bear his *tughra*. In the office of *taḳwīl* documents such as letters of appointments, proclamations and letters-patent were renewed or ratified. The documents called *tedhkere* were issued by the office of the *büyük tedhkeredji* and those of the fisc were made out by the clerks of the *defterdār*. Officials of lower rank in the capital as well as in the provinces had their own secretariats and were endowed with the authority to issue their own documents (see J. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des osman. Reichs*, Wien, 1815; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtı*, 1945, and also BEYLIK above).

The documents were of two main trends. On the one hand there were proclamations, messages, and pronouncements, as for instance public edicts of the sultan, called *nāme, mektūb, kitāb, yazi, biti, tewḳīʿ*. The most solemn was the royal proclamation called *khaṭṭ-i-humāyūn*. These terms have never been very precise in meaning. Quite frequently the same document bore one or another name. The same is the case with various documents falling into the second category, of orders, edicts and ordinances such as *fermān, emr, ḥükm, buyuruldu* ([*q.v.*] see also I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Buyuruldu*, in *Belleten*, 5/19, 1941), and deeds of appointment (*berāt*). The most solemn public documents bore names consisting of several words, *e.g.*, *ʿahd nāme, mülk nāme* (or *temlīk nāme*), *ṣulḥ nāme*. Of another category were the deeds called *nishān* (denoting also patent letters, diplomas, or charters), *menshūr* (a deed of nomination to an office or rank), *mithāl*, *ʿarḍ ḥāl* (Tk. *arzuhal*) etc. Documents would at times bear elaborate names, *e.g.*, *nishān-i sherīf ʿālīshān, fermān-i beshāret-i ʿunwān* etc. These names concerned exclusively documents promulgated by the ruler or by his highest officials and clerks of the public offices. There were, too, numerous acts issued by officials of lower ranks, such as *tedhkere, telḫīṣ, taḥrīr, defter, sidjill* etc., while the documents (diplomatic notes) presented to the Turkish government by members of the foreign diplomatic corps were called *taḳrīr*. Another group of documents issued by religious authorities (especially by the *sheykh al-islām*), the so-called *fetwā*, concerned rulings in disputes and controversies.

The body of a Turkish document shows a great similarity to a European document. It is quite probable that its form and shape were imitated from the Byzantine model. The Turkish document can be divided into two parts; the first (the opening and concluding formulae) bears the character of protocol while the middle part contains the essential text. There are particular formulae which are also found in any Turkish document: *erkān*: (1) *daʿwet*, being an invocation composed of the formula containing the name of governor (the Bey's name). This would range from the simplest *huwa* to the longest titles (numerous examples are quoted by Fr. Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, in *SbAK Wien* 1921). A little space that follows the initial formula somewhat to the right hand side (in the documents issued by the Sultan only) is succeeded by (2) *tughra*, the device or the sign of the sultan, named also *nishān-i humāyūn, tewḳīʿ*, or *ʿalāmet*, and of different design for each sultan. This device contains the name of the sultan and all his titles and other distinctions with the formula *muzaffer dāʾimā*. All this is encased in an ornamental design, always with the same motifs and shape. The *tughra* was drawn and painted with particular care by a clerk specially assigned to this work, the *tughra-kesh*. It was made in colours. The origin of *tughra* is not certain (see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten* v, 1941; P. Wittek, in *Byzantion* xviii, 1948 and xx, 1956; F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, in *MOG* i; F. Babinger, *Sarre-Festschrift* 1925; P. Miyatev, *Tugrite na osmanskite sultani ot XV-XX wek*, in *Godischnik na plovdivska narodna biblioteka i muzei 1937-1939*, Sofia 1940; E. Kühnel, *Die osmanische Tughra*, Wiesbaden 1955; and TUGHRA). The documents issued by higher officials bore instead of the *tughra* another sign, the *penče*. It was usually placed not at the beginning but on the left hand or right hand margin or at the foot of the scroll. Sometimes it was called *imḍā* or erroneously *tughra* (see F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *Studien zur osmanischen Urkundenlehre*, i; *Die Handfeste (Penče) der osmanischen Wesire*, in *MOG*, ii). (3) The *ʿunwān*, that is, the title of the person in whose name the document was made, was, especially in sultanic documents, of considerable length and worded in solemn form beginning with the traditional *benki* . . . (see Orgun Zarif, *Tuğralarda el muzaffer daʿima duası ve Şah unvanı*, *Türk Tarih, arkeol. ve etnogr. dergisi*, Istanbul 1949). (4) The *inscriptio* or the title of the person to whom the document was addressed (*elḳāb*), especially in documents of great importance, was also very long, and was introduced with the formula *sen ki* or *ḥālā*. Beside the name and titles of the addressee it contained (as regards Christian rulers) certain long-established formulae, *e.g.*, "the paragon of the highest princes of Jesus", "the pattern of the most illustrious dignitaries of the people of Messiah", etc. The addressee's name was followed by (5) *duʿāʾ*, *e.g.*, by a brief clause expressing the good wishes of the sender, an equivalent to a certain extent of a salutation in European documents. If the person addressed was a Muslim the clause contained also a blessing, an invocation to Allāh for protection over his person, etc. If the letter was addressed to a Christian, this formula would contain

an allusively worded hope for his future conversion to Islam, *e.g.*, *khutimat ʿawāḳibuhu bi'l-khayr*, see J. Østrup, *Orientalske Høflighedsformler*, Copenhagen 1927, 85-8 (German tr., *Orientalische Höflichkeit*, Leipzig 1929). The *duʿā'* concludes the introductory part of the protocol. The transition to the contents proper of the document is achieved through a special expression, *e.g.*, "when this writing comes to your hand, let be known that", then follows (6) *naḳl-i iblāgh* or *taṣrīḥ*, that is the main body of the letter or document which tells of the reasons for writing it, of favours bestowed or letters which have preceded it, sometimes introduced by means of the *areng*, *i.e.*, excuses and apologies that would occasionally contain a quotation from the Ḳur'ān, or a proverb, etc. In documents dispatched to foreign rulers no distinction is made between the narrative part and the succeeding one, which is (7) a *dispositio* with the opening words *ḥükm* or *emr*. This bears the main decision or resolution, either being strengthened by the use of the word *te'kīd* and the formula, such as for instance *shöyle bilesiz* together with *laʿnet*, a threat of punishment in case of disobedience to orders (in relation to superior authorities). Then follows (8) an attesting formula, corresponding to the European *corroboratio* as *biti taḥḳīḳ bilüb, iʿtimad kïlasïz*. The dating or (9) *ta'rīkh* is marked by means of an Arabic formula, *e.g.*, *taḥrīr^{an} fī*. Then comes the decade of the month, the name of the month, and the year. The numerals are written in letters without any diacritic signs. To the names of the months there are usually added such descriptive definitions as *ramaḍān-i sherīf*. Instead of the name of the day there we find the monthly decades indicated. The first one is called *awā'il*, the second, *awāsiṭ*, the third *awākhir*. The first day of the month is called *ghurre*, the last one, *salkh*, the middle of the month, *muntaṣaf*. To indicate particular months abbreviations are used. This rule is followed in documents written in the *siyāḳat* script. From the abbreviated forms the names of the quarters of the year are made (the first is *müshir*, the second *redjedj*, the third *reshen* and the fourth *ledhedh*) see J. H. Mordtmann, in *Isl.* ix; F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, in *Isl.*, viii; J. Mayr, *Islamische Zeitrechnungen*, in *MSOS*, xxx, 1927; H. Šabanović, *Izrazi evaʾ il, ewasit i evahir u datamima turskih spomenika*, in *Prilozi za Orijentalnu filologiju*, i, 1950. (10) The place of promulgation or announcement comes after the date and here the usual formula is *be-meḳām-i* .... Then the name of the town is given (sometimes accompanied with an appropriate epithet), which frequently is descriptively defined. If the writing was made out on a journey or in camp, the phrase *be yurt* is used. Last comes (11) the seal *mühür*, *khātem*, serving to attest the document. It is impressed in China ink on the moistened paper. The seal is of various sizes and shapes, round, oval, square, polygonal etc. It contains the name of the writer, religious formulae and ornamental elements (see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, iv, 1940; also MUHR). On the front page of the writing or on its back there are attached various attesting formulae for ensuring its validity, *e.g.*, *ṣḥ* (= *ṣaḥīḥ*) inserted by the officials of the chancellery to attest to the authenticity and correctness of the document. There frequently occur abbreviated forms of certain terms, *e.g.*, *m* in the meaning of *merḳūm* (= mentioned), *la* instead of *Allāh*, etc.

As a matter of course documents of the Turkish chancery were written in the vernacular (in Turkish), but there are also other documents in Greek, Old Slavonic (Cyrillic characters), Hungarian, with the genuine *tughra* or *penče* attached to them. Sometimes a translation in Italian, Polish etc. accompanied the Turkish text, or its transcription in Latin, Greek or Armenian characters. The documents of the Ḳazan Khāns and those of the Golden Horde that were dispatched to the sultans in the 15th century were written in the Uyghur language and bore the specific characteristics of Central Asian diplomatic documents.

Turkish diplomatic practice led to the development of a specific technique for writing more formal and solemn documents. The left hand side of each line was rounded upward and resembled a sabre with a curved point. For the sake of more intricate ornamentation the last letter in each line was inscribed in oval shape (usually *nūn*, *rā'* or *tā'*). The script used was the *dīwānī*, also known as *tewḳiʿ* in its various forms (see under KHAṬṬ). Not infrequently the invocation would be written in *thuluth* while the rest of the text would be written in the *dīwānī* characters. Documents signed by inferior officials were written in *neskhī* and *dīwānī* (see Mahmut Yazır, *Eski yazıları okuma anahtarı*, Istanbul, 1942). Fiscal documents were written in the *siyāḳat* characters which are very difficult to read (see L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, i-ii, Budapest 1955; N. Popov, *Paleografski osobenosti na čislitelnite imena v pismoto siyakat*, Sofia, 1955).

Official papers are usually written with a rather broad margin (*kenār*) on the right hand side. It is covered with notes and remarks (*der kenār*), suggesting the main points to be worked into the body of the answer.

The usual ink used for writing was black China ink; in some words the black letters were covered with gold dust (*altïn rïg* or *rïh*).

Waxpaper, frequently imported from Italy, with watermarks was used (see F. Babinger, in *OM*, xi, 1931). The sheets were of elongated rectangular shape about 50 cm. long and 20 cm. wide; the letters of sultans, solemn acts of alliance were at times several metres long.

Generally the document was folded in pleats breadthwise so that when it was unfolded the introductory part with the forms of courtesy etc. would be the first to be read. Longer documents were rolled up like scrolls. Each document was kept in a satin bag, *kise*, tied up and having a slip of paper sticking out that contained the address or *ḳulaḳ*.

Copies (*ṣūret*) were made and sewn together into files (*munsha'āt*). They would contain the bare text only, with no remarks, notes, *tughra*, or stamp. The legal formula which was usually placed on the right side close to the first lines of the text stated (usually in Arabic) the conformity of the copy with the original and was called *imḍā* or *tewḳiʿ -i ḳāḍī* (see F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *Legalisierungsformeln in Abschriften osmanischer kaiserlicher Erlässe und Handschreiben*, in *MOG*, ii, 1926). In order to indicate that this was a copy only and not an original, such phrases were used as *yazïldïdjak*, *gönderiledjek*, *irsāl olunan*. Also registers of documents were kept with entries which contained transcripts or summaries, the so-called *defter* or *sidjill*.

The development of the style and phraseology of the Turkish diplomatic document continued till about the 17th century, when the forms crystallized and acquired their uniform character. In the 19th century the lettering looked exactly like print. The

style and wording of Turkish documents had their effect upon the somewhat different tradition and usage of the Crimean Tatars, as they also left their mark upon Persian diplomatic practice. A certain number of letters sent out by the Chancellor's office of the Persian *pādishāh* in the 17th and 18th centuries were written in Turkish (see L. Fekete, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v, 1936).

The copies of the documents and incoming correspondence were kept in special offices from which Turkish archives later developed (see BAŞVEKALET ARŞIVI and F. Bajraktarević, *Glavni Carigradski arhivi i ispisi iz niega* in *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugosl. naroda*, vi-vii, Sarajevo 1958).

Numerous Turkish documents are extant in the countries once forming part of the Turkish Empire—in Egypt (see J. Deny, *Sommaire des Archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930), Tunisia (see R. Mantran, in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, 1957, 341 ff.); Bulgaria (see V. Todorov-Hindalov in *Godischnik na Narodna Biblioteka*, Sofia 1923; P. Mutafčiev in *Mitteilungen des deutsch. wissenschaft. Instituts in Sofia*, Sofia 1943; P. Miyatev in *Levéltári Közlemények*, 1936; B. Nedkov in *Istoričeski Pregled*, x/2, 1954), Yugoslavia (see F. Giese in *Festschrift Jacob*; G. Elezović, *Turski izvori za istoriju Jugoslavena*, Belgrade 1932; H. Šabanović, *Turski diplomatički izvori*, in *Prilozi za orijentolnu filologiju*, i, Sarajevo 1950; R. Muderizović, *Turski dokumenti v dubrovackom arhivu*, in *Glasnik Zem. Muz.*, Sarajevo, 1938, v. L.); Rumania (see M. Guboglu, *Documentele turçeşti din arhivele Statului*, Bucharest 1957). Less numerous are Turkish documents in Greece (see E. Rossi, in *OM*, xxi, 1941). A great many of them, either through diplomatic channels or as booty or through trade relations, became part of foreign collections. Especially rich are the collections in those countries that maintained close diplomatic and other relations with Turkey: in Austria (see F. Zsinka, in *KCA*, i); Germany (on the Berlin and Dresden collections—see L. Fekete in *Levéltári Közlemények*, 1928-1929); Hungary; Poland (see E. Zawaliński, in *RO* xiv, 1938 and Z. Abrahamowicz, *Przegląd Orient.*, 1954, 2); Italy (see A. Bombaci, in *RSO*, xviii, 1939 and xxiv, 1949; L. Fekete in *Levéltári Közlémenyek*, 1926); the Soviet Union. Numerous documents are found in Sweden (see K. V. Zetterstéen, *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im schwedischen Reichsarchiv*, Uppsala 1945), Denmark (see H. Duda, *Mitteil. d. Instit. f. Oesterreich. Geschichtsforschung*, lviii, 1950), Great Britain (see P. Wittek, *The Turkish documents in Hakluyt's 'Voyages'*, in *Bull. of Inst. of Hist. Research*, xix, 1942; and A. N. Kurat, *Ingiliz devlet arşivinde ... Türkiye tarihine ait bazı malzemeye ait*, in *AÜDTCFD*, 1949), Czechoslovakia and in other countries (see the bibliography by J. Reychman and A. Zajączkowski, *Zarys dyplomatyki osmańsko-tureckiej*, Warsaw 1955, English edition in the press). Many collections are still to be classified, some are being catalogued at present.

The fullest and most comprehensive bibliography of published Turkish documents is given by A. Zajączkowski and J. Reychman (English edition). The first textbook of Turkish diplomatic was published by L. Fekete, *Bevezetés a hodoltság török diplomatikájába*, Budapest 1926, with an introduction followed by a series of photographed documents. The introduction contained valuable information on the progress of research in this particular field of the history of diplomatic.

In 1955 in Warsaw there was published a textbook by A. Zajączkowski and Jan Reychman: *An outline history of Ottoman Turkish Diplomatic* (*Zarys dyplomatyki osmańsko-tureckiej*). An English version of this book, under the title: *A manual of Ottoman Turkish Diplomatics*, revised and considerably enlarged, is in the press. In 1958 a Rumanian scholar M. Guboglu published a new book: *Paleografia, şi diplomatica turco-osmanā*, Bucharest 1959, which beside the facsimiles contains 203 Turkish documents from Rumanian archives. In this book the author gives new and useful information on the subject of Turkish diplomatic and documents.

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(J. Reychman and A. Zajączkowski)

DĪR, a princely state, which acceded to Pakistan in 1947, with an area of 2,040 sq. miles and a population of 148, 648 in 1951, lies to the south of Čitrāl in 35° 50′ and 34° 22′ N. and 71° 2′ and 72° 30′ E., taking its name from the village of Dīr, seat of the ruler, lying on the bank of a stream of the same name and a tributary of the Pandjkōřā. Politically the Dīr territory roughly comprises the country watered by the Pandjkōřā and its affluents. The state gained prominence in the second half of the 19th century for its hostility to the cause of the *mudjāhidīn*, remnants of the defeated forces of Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlawī [*q.v.*], with their headquarters first at Asmast (Samasta) and later at Čamarkand in Yāghistān.

The present Nawwāb of Dīr, Prince Muḥammad Shāh Khusraw, is a member of the Akhund Khēl, a branch of the Pāyandah Khēl subtribe of the Yūsufzaʾīs. The founder of the ruling family, like those of the sister states of Swāt, Amb and Čitrāl, was one Mullā Ilyās *alias* Akhund Bābā, who flourished in the 11th/17th century. His grandson, Ghulām Bābā, however, is said to be the first to have discarded the rôle of a religious leader and assumed worldly power. It was his great-grandson, Ghazzan Khān b. Ḳāsim Khān b. Ẓafar Khān who, with a force 10,000 strong, joined the tribal *lashkars* during the Ambēylā Campaign of 1863 directed by the British-Indian troops against the *mudjāhidīn* of Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlawī and their allies. He, however, withdrew his contingent when he found that the scales had turned in favour of the invaders. He was succeeded by his son, Raḥmat Allāh Khān, who, aware of his weak title, gained the throne with the monetary assistance of the Mahārādjā of Kashmīr. In 1875 Raḥmat Allāh Khān, offended at the misbehaviour of the Kashmīr agent, broke off relations with the Mahārādjā and threw off his suzerainty. On his death in 1884 his son Muḥammad Sharīf Khān came to the throne and soon started a series of campaigns and skirmishes against the neighbouring state of Čitrāl [*q.v.*]. The forces of Muḥammad Sharīf Khān were, however,

completely defeated and the Mihtar Amān al-Mulk of Čitrāl acquired great influence in Dīr. Muḥammad Sharīf Khān had to take refuge in Swāt [*q.v.*] with whom his principality had been almost constantly at war. He made several unsuccessful attempts to regain from Amān al-Mulk his territory, which in 1890 was conquered by the adventurer, ʿUmrā Khān, chief of Djandōl. Five years later in 1313/1895, Muḥammad Shārīf Khān succeeded with the moral and material backing of the British forces, in recovering Dīr and even capturing Shīr Afḍal, pretender to the throne of Čitrāl.

In 1897 the title of Nawwāb was conferred on Muḥammad Sharīf Khān who had, the same year, annexed a part of the upper Swāt territory, the old enemy of his House. This title was, in all probability, conferred on him in recognition of his services to the British in dissuading the Dīr tribes from participating in the *djihād* which Mullā Saʿd Allāh Khān of Bunēr, nicknamed *Sartōr* (crazy) *Faḳīr*, had launched against the alien government. A close ally of the British Government, in receipt of an annual allowance amounting to 26,000 rupees, Muḥammad Sharīf Khān died in 1904 and was succeeded by his son Awrangzīb Khān (Bādshāh Khān). He soon fell out with his younger brother, Miyān Gul Djān, who in alliance with the disaffected sections of the population of Dīr, marched against his elder brother and captured, in Djumādā I 1323/ June 1905, two of the Dīr fortresses. Peace was, however, restored through the efforts of the British Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province. It proved short-lived and fighting broke out between the two brothers again in 1911-12. This period of internecine war came to a close with the death of Miyān Gul in Djandōl in 1914.

In 1917, while World War I was still in progress, Bādshāh Khān helped ʿAbd al-Matīn Khān, a son of ʿUmrā Khān, to regain the principality of Djandōl but soon afterwards occupied it himself. This act was characterized as usurpation and betrayal of the worst kind. The Sultan of Turkey, in an appeal issued in Muḥarram 1336/October 1917 to the war-like tribes of Yāghistān, exhorted the Nawwāb of Dīr to give up creating discord among the tribesmen and restore Djandōl to its rightful ruler. In 1919 the oppressed people of Swāt, under Miyān Gul Gul Shāhzāda, threw off Bādshāh Khān's rule but the British forced Shāhzāda in 1922 to withdraw from the area conquered by him. On his death in 1925 Bādshāh Khān was succeeded by his eldest son, Muḥammad Shāh Djahān Khān, the deposed ruler. In 1930 when the entire north-west frontier of India was ablaze he placed his resources at the disposal of the British Government for quelling the Red Shirt disturbances in Pēshāwar and the surrounding area. The same year existing boundaries between Dīr and Swāt were confirmed, putting an end to centuries-old hostilities.

A great part of the Dīr territory is divided into small Khānates, held by the Nawwāb's relations. There have recently (1959) been some disturbances in the state but these were described as mostly agrarian rather than political in nature.

In 1960 Muḥammad Shāh Djahān Khān was deposed, arrested and interned by the Government of Pakistan on serious charges of misgovernment and maladministration. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Prince Muḥammad Shāh Khusraw, who was formally installed as the Nawwāb of Dīr on 9 November 1960 at Čakdara, in the Malākand' Agency.

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DIR [see SOMALI].

ḌIRĀR B. AL-**KHAṬṬĀB** B. MIRDĀS AL-FIHRĪ, a poet of Mecca. Chief of the clan of Muḥārib b. Fihr in the Fidjār [*q.v.*], he fought against the Muslims at Uḥud and at the battle of the Trench, and wrote invectives against the Prophet. He was however converted after the capture of Mecca, but it is not known if he perished in the battle of Yamāma (12/633) or whether he survived and went to settle in Syria.

Bibliography: *Sīra*, ed. Saḳḳā, etc., Cairo 1375/1955, i, 414-5, 450, ii, 145-6, 254-5; Ṭabarī, index; Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 170, 176, 434; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Shākir, 209-12; *Aghānī*, iv, 5 = ed. Beirut, iv, 144-5; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 4173; Ibn ʿAsākir, vii; Nallino, *Litt.*, 74. (ED.)

DIRE DAWA, important road, rail, and air communication centre and chief commercial town in Eastern Ethiopia, situated 35 miles North-West of Harar [*q.v.*] and thus within the cultural orbit of this major Muslim city in the Ethiopian Empire. The name is most probably derived from the Somali *Dir-ḍabo* 'limit of the Dir' (the *Dir* being the confederation of Somali tribes which inhabit the vast arid region between Dire Dawa and Djibuti), but it is possible that the Amharicized form is meant to reflect a popular etymology from the Amharic *dire dawa* 'hill of uncultivated land'. Dire Dawa owes its comparatively recent origin and importance to the Addis Ababa-Djibuti railway which climbs from the desolate Dankali plain to this first great centre of sedentary population at the edge of the escarpment at an altitude of just below 4000 feet. The total population (estimated between 30,000 and 50,000) includes Ethiopians proper as well as Gallas, Somalis, Italians, French, Greeks, Indians, and Arabs. The ill-starred Emperor, Lidj Iyasu, built a mosque at Dire Dawa during the First World War, while during the Second the town became the headquarters of the British Reserved Areas Administration after the reconquest of Ethiopia in 1941. The Islamic culture of the Muslim population of Dire Dawa and its *hinterland* varies considerably and includes remnants of pagan practices. The Shāfiʿī is the most generally accepted *madhhab* in this area.

Bibliography: *Guida dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, Milan 1938, 432 ff. (street plan 435; area map 448); Reale Società Geografica Italiana, *L'Africa Orientale*, Bologna 1936 (index under Dire Dawa); Chamber of Commerce, *Guide Book of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1954 (index under Dire Dawa); Lord Rennell of Rodd, *British military administration of occupied territories in Africa, 1941-1947*, H.M. Stationery Office 1948 (index under Dire Dawa); J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952 (for general characteristics of Islam in this area). (E. ULLENDORFF)

ḌIRGHĀM ("Lion"), Fāṭimid *amīr* and *wazīr*; his full name Abu 'l-Ashbāl al-Ḍirghām b. ʿĀmir b. Sawwār, he received the agnomens of Fāris al-Muslimīn, Shams al-khilāfa, and, when he was

vizier of the last Fāṭimid al-ʿĀḍid, the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the victorious king, according to a protocol issued by Riḍwān [*q.v.*]. He was Arab in origin and was perhaps descended from the former kings of Ḥīra, to judge from the dynastic names of al-Lakhmī and al-Mundhirī that he bore.

The first mention of him is made in 548/1153. He was among the detachment charged with relieving the garrison of ʿAsḳalān led by the future vizier al-ʿAbbās together with Usāma b. Munḳidh [*q.v.*]. It was during the advance of this company that the murder of the vizier Ibn al-Sallār [*q.v.*] was planned, and was carried out by Naṣr, the son of al-ʿAbbās; the latter, advised of this, returned to Cairo with his company and seized the vizierate (Muḥarram 548/April 1153). Al-ʿAbbās was overthrown by Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk in 549/1154. The latter, whose trust Ḍirghām seems to have received (Abu 'l-Maḥāsin calls him "one of the emirs of Banū Ruzzīk"), made him commander of the corps of Barḳiyya which he had just formed. He rose in the hierarchy and became ***nāʾib al-bāb***, that is to say lieutenant of the ***ṣāḥib al-bāb*** or grand chamberlain. He distinguished himself as commander of the army sent by Ṭalāʾiʿ against the Franks, which gained a victory at Tell al-ʿAdjūl in Palestine on the 15 Ṣafar 553/19 March 1158. The following year, together with Ruzzīk, son of the vizier, he triumphed over the rebel Bahrām in Upper Egypt near Aṭfīḥ (Derenbourg, ***Oumara du Yémen***, i, 1-3, ii, 127). During the vizierate of Ruzzīk, Ṭalāʾiʿ's successor, Ḍirghām, was sent with an army to stop the expedition of the king Amalric I who, in September 1162, invaded Egypt in order to claim the tribute already promised by Ṭalāʾiʿ. Ḍirghām (Dargan of Guillaume de Tyr, in *RHC. Occ.* i/2, 890-1), was defeated and fell back on Bilbays. But, taking advantage of the rising of the Nile, he breached its dikes in order to flood the adjoining plain and Amalric had to withdraw into Palestine (Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, ii, 203-4, 208-9). Immediately afterwards, he took part in the putting down of a rebellion in the province of al-Gharbiyya.

But there soon broke out the revolt of Shāwar, the powerful prefect of Ḳūṣ, which was to end with his victory and the death of Ruzzīk. When Shāwar's success was certain, Ḍirghām, in spite of his good relations with Ruzzīk whom he had instructed in horsemanship and knightly pursuits (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 78), did not hesitate to leave him and go over to the side of Shāwar, who became vizier (Ṣafar 558/January 1163). Shāwar, in whose circle he remained, made him grand chamberlain or *ṣāḥib al-bāb* (Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, v, 338, 10), the most important office after the vizierate. But Ḍirghām, supported by his brothers and a considerable part of the army, was not long in forming a faction against the vizier and, after nine months of the vizierate of Shāwar, revolted against him, although Shāwar, according to the Continuator of the ***History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria***, had made him swear forty oaths that he would not betray him (Derenbourg, ii, 246). In Ramaḍān 558/August 1163 Shāwar was driven from Cairo and took refuge in Syria where he sought the support of Nūr al-Dīn in regaining the vizierate. Ḍirghām had Ṭayy, the eldest son of Shāwar, put to death, and on 29 Ramaḍān/31 August he was invested with the vizierate with the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr.

He had three brothers, Nāṣir al-Dīn Humām, Nāṣir al-Muslimīn Mulham and Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥusām. The first, after his brother's accession to the vizierate, took the title of Fāris al-Muslimīn which Ḍirghām had formerly borne. According to al-Maḳrīzī, during his vizierate Ḍirghām was dominated by his brothers Humām and Ḥusām.

Fortune did not smile on Ḍirghām for very long, and difficulties soon arose. Aware of Shāwar's preparations for revenge, he attempted to start negotiations with Nūr al-Dīn by promising him his allegiance and an advantageous alliance against the Franks. Nūr al-Dīn gave an evasive reply. And perhaps it was at the instigation of Nūr al-Dīn that Ḍirghām's messenger was seized by the Franks of Karak on his return from Damascus. Thwarted in this and disturbed by the attitude of the ***amīr***s of the corps of the Barḳiyya, who had given him powerful support in winning the vizierate but some of whom envied him and were negotiating with Shāwar, Ḍirghām trapped them in an ambush and massacred seventy of them, not counting their followers. Historians do not fail to point out that these executions removed men of ability and weakened Egypt dangerously.

Amalric however had not given up his scheme to conquer Egypt, and at the end of 1163 or at the beginning of 1164 his advance-guard invaded Egyptian territory. Ḍirghām, after failing to bring over Nur al-Dīn to his cause, decided to negotiate with Amalric and offered him, on condition that he withdrew his troops, a peace treaty, the delivery of hostages, and the payment of an annual tribute to be levied until a date fixed by the king. But Shāwar had finally gained the support of Nūr al-Dīn, who in Djumādā I 559/April 1164 sent into Egypt with Shāwar an army commanded by Shīrkūh which included Saladin his nephew. It crossed unhindered the territory controlled by the Franks who were prevented from taking action by a manoeuvre of Nūr al-Dīn. Mulham the brother of Ḍirghām (Ḥusām according to al-Maḳrīzī), who was sent against the invaders with a large but, according to Shāwar, inglorious army, was surprised near Bilbays and put to flight at the end of April 1164. This caused panic at Cairo, where Shīrkūh and Shāwar soon appeared. Several battles took place between the troops of Shāwar and those of Ḍirghām. In order to raise some resources Ḍirghām made the mistake of seizing the possessions of the orphans, and so alienated the population. He was deserted by some of his troops; the corps of Rayḥānīs who had sustained some losses promised their aid to Shāwar. Ḍirghām, after trying in vain to muster some supporters and accompanied by no more than 500 cavaliers, presented himself at the palace of the Caliph, who refused to admit him and advised him to have a care to his own life. The desertions continued until he retained only thirty cavaliers. He took to flight followed by the curses of the people while Shāwar's troops entered Cairo. Overtaken between Cairo and Fusṭāṭ, Ḍirghām was dragged from his horse and killed near the mausoleum of al-Sayyida Nafīsa in Ramaḍān 559/July-August 1164, or, according to certain traditions, at the end of Djumādā II/24 May 1164 or in Radjab/May-June 1164. His three brothers were likewise killed soon afterwards. His corpse remained without burial for two or three days and his head was carried on a pikestaff. He was buried near Birkat al-Fīl and a cupola was raised over his tomb. His vizierate had lasted only nine months.

ʿUmāra al-Yamanī and al-Maḳrīzī praised Ḍirghām whom they consider among the greatest ***amīr***s and bravest cavaliers. He combined with his physical

qualities (skill at polo, archery, wielding the spear, and feats of prowess at tilting in the ring) a gift for penmanship, for poetry (he composed some fine *muwashshaḥāt*) and for poetic criticism. ʿUmāra has spoken highly of his generosity, but has also noted that he was quick to turn against his friends, and it must not be forgotten that he betrayed successively Ruzzīk and Shāwar.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, Cairo edition 1303, xi, 108 f., 111 f., Tornberg edn., xi, 191, 196-7; Ibn Khallikan, Būlāḳ ed., i, 276 f., ii, 499 (trans. de Slane, i, 609 f., iv, 485 f.); Derenbourg, *Oumara du Yémen, sa vie et son œuvre*, i, (*Kitab al-Nukat* and *Extraits du Diwan*), 67 f., 73 f.; ii (*Vie de Oumara du Yémen*, 101, 166, 257 f., 281-303 and in the index; Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahhān, ii, 316-7; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Massé, 92, 97; Ibn Shaddād, *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, Cairo ed., 1346, 28-9; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn*, in *RHC Or.*, iv, 107-8; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-Kurūb*, ed. Shayyal, i (1953), 137-9; Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ẓāfir, *Kitāb al-Duwal*. . . ., in Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fatimiden-Khalifen*, 329 f.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 338, 358, ii, 12 f., 78; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *Nudjūm*, Cairo ed., v, 317, 338, 346-7; S. Lane-Poole, *Hist. of Egypt*, 175-8, *Saladin*, 80-2; Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreichs Jerusalem*, 314 f., and G. Schlumberger, *Campagnes du roi Amaury Ier*, 36 f. (with dates to be rectified); G. Wiet, *Hist. de la Nation Égyptienne*: *L'Égypte arabe*, 284, 287 f., 291-4; idem, *Précis dc l'hist. de l'Égypte*, 196; Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, ii, 447-8, 453-4 and in the index. For the poetic gifts of Ḍirghām, cf. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyya*, 138, 178, 199-200. See also the articles AL-ʿĀḌID, CRUSADES, RUZZĪK, SHĀWAR, SHĪRKŪH, ṬALĀʾIʿ B. RUZZĪK. (M. CANARD)

DIRHAM. 1. The name of a weight, derived from Greek δραχμή. Traditionally the *dirham kayl* or *sharʿī* weighed from 50 to 60 average-sized, unshelled *shaʿīra* or *ḥabba*, and was theoretically divided into 6 *dānaḳ*, the latter being calculated variously between 8 and 10 *shaʿīra*. So numerous and contradictory are the reports on the weight of the dirham and its relationship to other Arab metrological units in different parts of the Islamic world and at different times that they cannot be summarized here, and the reader is referred to such works as Sauvaire's *Matériaux* and Grohmann's *Einführung* (see bibliography under DĪNĀR). Efforts to define the weight of the traditional dirham in terms of modern metric grams have resulted in various figures, most of them probably erroneous. Cf. W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse u. Gewichte* (*Handbuch der Orientalistik, Ergänzungsband* 1, *Heft* 1, Leiden 1955, 2 ff.), where also 19th and 20th century legal definitions in different countries are to be found. Although most Muslim states have now officially adopted the metric system, the dirham and other traditional weights continue irregularly in use in various trades. In present-day Egypt, the dirham is defined as weighing 3.12 grams; two actual goldsmith's brass dirham weights of the year 1953 are found to weigh 3.1322 and 3.1335 grams respectively.

2. The silver unit of the Arab monetary system from the rise of Islām down to the Mongol period. The earliest Arab dirhams (*baghlī*) were imitations of the late Sasanian *drahms* of Yezdigird III, Hormuzd IV and (chiefly) Khusraw II. The Sāsānian iconography was retained, but a Kūfic religious inscription was added to the margin; on a few issues the name of the Caliph (Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Malik) and on most issues the name of the provincial governor and the abbreviated mint name and date according to the Hidjra, Yezdigird or post-Yezdigird era (all in Pahlevi characters), were engraved. About the year 72/691-2 (American Numismatic Society *Museum Notes* vii, 1957, 191) and for a few years thereafter variations of the conventional type, including the use of more Kūfic legends and innovations in iconography more suitable to Islam, were experimented with, but in the year 79/698-9 ʿAbd al-Malik's monetary reform drastically altered the style of the dirham, which thenceforth, with few exceptions, was, like the dīnār, purely epigraphic. The post-reform dirham was at first anonymous, but in the course of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.H. the names of governors, heirs-apparent, Caliphs, etc. were added. The name of the mint and the date, in words, was always present. In Umayyad times the chief dirham mints were located in former Sāsānian administrative centres, but silver was struck also in Damascus, North Africa and Spain. Wāsiṭ, founded in 84/703-4, appears to have been the most prolific of Umayyad dirham mints, and it is possible that the administration of the silver coinage was centred in this city and that the dirham dies were engraved there.

Little change in the style and general appearance of the dirham occurred under the various independent dynasties down to the end of the 4th/10th century, except that the legends on the Fāṭimid dirham were usually arranged in concentric circles. There followed a period of silver famine in the East when the output of silver coinage was relatively insignificant (cf. R. P. Blake in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1937, 291, where the study of this phenomenon is broached but not investigated to the depth which it deserves); but with the rise of the Mongols in the mid-7th/13th century, dirhams and multiples thereof, differing in design from the "classical" type, were again issued in immense quantities. For the late Fāṭimid *dirham warak*, the Ayyūbid *dirham Nāṣirī* and *Kāmilī*, and Mamlūk dirhams, see P. Balog in *BIE*, xxxiii, 1950-1, and v. Schrötter, s.v. *dirhem*. In the West the dirham declines in quality with the fall of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain, is restored in somewhat altered form under the Murābiṭs, and undergoes a complete change in style and weight with the Muwaḥḥids, when the square dirham (*murabbaʿ*), also imitated by the Christians in France (the *millares*), is introduced (corpus and bibliography in H. W. Hazard, *The numismatic history of late medieval North Africa*, N.Y. 1952).

With regard to the weight of the classical Arab dirham, statistics (unpublished) show that the highest frequency group of the Sāsānian drachm of Khusraw II falls between 4.11 and 4.15 grams. The Arab-Sasanian dirham was definitely lighter, approximately 3.98 grams. After the reform of 79 A.H., an entirely new standard is adopted with the result that thenceforth until the middle of the 3rd/9th century, when weights begin to be very erratic, the peak weight of the dirham consistently lies between 2.91 and 2.95 grams (A.N.S. *Museum Notes*, ix, 1960, see bibliography). The corrected figure, allowing for loss of weight, is 2.97 grams, which conforms exactly with the traditional theoretical figure based on the classical Arab formula which pronounced the weight of the dirham to be 7/10 that of the *mithḳāl* (dīnār), *i.e.*, $^7/_{10} \times 4.25 = 2.97$ (see s.v. DĪNĀR). Dirham glass weights fall slightly below this figure; and a special category of glass weights establishes the fact

that there were in Egypt dirhams of 13 *kharrūbas*, weighing still less.

The rate of exchange between dīnār and dirham fluctuated widely at different times and in different parts of the empire. The jurists speak of 10 (or 12) dirhams to the dīnār in the time of Muḥammad, but subsequently there is plentiful evidence to show that the dirham at times sank as low as 15, 20, 30 and even 50 (see the numerous textual citations by Sauvaire, Lane-Poole in *NC* 1884, Grohmann in *Einführung*, etc.). P. Grierson (*op. cit.* under DĪNĀR) has attempted to explain the economic bases of the mint and market gold-silver ratios, with particular reference to Byzantine-Arab relationships.

Both typologically and economically the dirham exerted a strong influence on Byzantium and the West. The Byzantine *miliaresion*, introduced in the second quarter of the 8th century after a generation during which virtually no silver coinage was issued in Constantinople, was clearly inspired by the dirham, and many *miliaresia* of the 8th and 9th centuries were actually struck on Arab dirham planchets. There is some reason to believe also that the style of the Carolingian *denier* or *denar* may have been influenced by the dirham. The great importance of Arab silver in commerce between the lands of the Eastern Caliphate on the one hand and Russia, eastern Europe, Scandinavia and the Baltic regions on the other, is abundantly documented by the immense numbers of dirhams and fragments of dirhams found in these areas in hoards dating from four clearly defined periods between 780 and 1100 A.D. (comprehensive summary and full bibliography in U. S. L. Welin in *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, i, Copenhagen 1956, s.v. *Arabisk mynt*). Dirhams also have been found in lesser numbers in England and France (cf. J. Duplessy in *Rev. Numismatique* 1956, 101).

Beginning in the 5th/11th century, dirhams of base silver (billon) and copper were struck by various dynasties (late Buwayhid, Ḳarakhānid, Khwārizm-shāh, etc.). The large, thick copper dirhams of the Artuḳids (in the coin catalogues "Urtuḳids"), Zangids and Ayyūbids, with figured types resembling those of Hellenistic, Roman provincial, Byzantine and other coinages, and occasionally exhibiting original Islamic iconography, constitute a unique phenomenon so far unsatisfactorily explained and deserving of further study (best illustrations in the British Museum and Istanbul catalogues and in S. Lane Poole, *Coins of the Urtuḳi Turkumāns*, London 1875; cf. also J. Karabacek, in *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1869, 265).

Bibliography: In addition to the bibliography under DĪNĀR and the works cited in the body of the present article, see R. Vasmer in F. v. Schrötter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1930) s.v. *Dirhem* (with valuable bibliography); J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (*A Cat. of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum*, i, London 1941); U. S. L. Welin, in *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, iii (Copenhagen, 1959), s.v. *Dirhem*; G. C. Miles, *Byzantine miliaresion and Arab dirhem: some notes on their relationship* in *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* ix (1960), 189-218; idem, *The Iconography of Umayyad Coinage* in *Ars Orientalis* iii (1959), recent bibliography; idem, "*Trésor de dirhems du IXe siècle*", in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran*, xxxvii, 1960, 67-145 (detailed study of a large hoard of dirhams found at Susa).

(G. C. MILES)

AL-**DIR'IYYA** (or al-Dar'iyya), an oasis in Wādī Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] in Nadjd, the capital of Āl Sa'ūd [*q.v.*] until its overthrow in 1233/1818. The oasis lies c. 20 km. north-west of al-Riyāḍ, the present capital. The wadi flows south-east through the upper part of the oasis and then bends to the east before passing the main settlements. Beyond these settlements the high cliff of al-Ḳurayn forces the wadi to make a sharp turn to the south-west. The road from al-Riyāḍ descends the cliff by Nazlat al-Nāṣiriyya to enter the wadi opposite Sha'īb Ṣafār, the largest tributary on the right bank. On the left bank just below the pass lies the cultivated plot of al-Mulaybīd.

The wadi is a narrow ribbon threading the oasis from one end to the other, hemmed in by abrupt cliffs on both sides. The flash floods coursing down the wadi may be as few as two or as many as fifteen a year; as soon as they are gone the wadi is dry. In many places the date gardens occupy a raised step above the valley floor which is protected from the floods by a levee (*djurf*) of large stone blocks sometimes three metres high. On occasion the floodwater surges over the levee and reaches the base of the cliff (*djabal*) at the outer edge of the palms. The houses are built either among the palms or on the heights above.

The settlements farthest up the wadi are al-'Ilb and al-'Awda, both among the palms on the right bank. Below these is Ghaṣība, now a complete ruin, on the high ground on the left bank opposite the tributary al-Bulayda. The tributary Ḳulayḳil runs along the eastern side of Ghaṣība. After the wadi bears eastwards the left bank is lined with a series of settlements, among them being the low-lying al-Budjayrī, the home of the reformer Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb and the many '*ulamā'* among his progeny, Āl al-Shaykh. A mosque stands on the site where the Shaykh was accustomed to worship, and his grave is not far off, though, in keeping with his doctrine, it is not an object of visitation. On the right or southern bank facing these settlements is the promontory of al-Ṭurayf thrusting into the pocket between Wādī Ḥanīfa and Sha'īb Ṣafār; here rise the majestic ruins of the palaces where the princes of Āl Sa'ūd once lived and held court—in Philby's words, "the noblest monument in all Wahhabiland". The buildings, made of clay save for the pillars of stone, have a grace and delicacy of ornamentation unusual in Nadjd. Near the north-western corner of the fortified enclosure is the highest point in al-Ṭurayf, the citadel known as al-Darīsha (it is noteworthy that in Nadjd, the wellspring of Arabic, the common words for window, *darīsha*, and gate, *darwāza*, are both Persian in origin). Leading up to the citadel from the shelf of palms below is a ramp called Darb Fayṣal after Fayṣal b. Sa'ūd, one of the captains guarding the town when Ibrāhīm Pasha besieged it in 1233/1818. The most impressive palace still standing is Maḳṣūrat 'Umar on the brink of the northern cliff. Near it is the congregational mosque of al-Ṭurayf in which the Imām 'Abd al-'Azīz was assassinated in 1218/1803. The ruins of al-Ṭurayf are gradually disintegrating because of the ravages of time and the development of a new settlement which is spreading from the foot of the promontory up to its shoulder.

According to the chroniclers of Nadjd, al-Dir'iyya was first settled in 850/1446-7 when Māni' b. Rabī'a al-Muraydi was given Ghaṣība and al-Mulaybīd by his relative Ibn Dir' of Ḥadjar al-Yamāma. Māni' was an emigrant from the east; his former home, said to have been called al-Dir'iyya,

is reported to have been in the region of al-Ḳaṭīf, but its exact location is not known. Some genealogists state that the Marada, the kinsfolk of Mānīʿ, belong to Banū Ḥanīfa, while others advocate a descent from ʿAnaza, which appears to be the prevailing view among members of Āl Saʿūd.

After Mānīʿ various branches of his descendants took turns in ruling al-Dirʿiyya. Ghaṣība seems to have been the original centre and strong point; no record has been found of when it was supplanted by al-Ṭurayf, which topographically enjoys an even greater degree of impregnability. In 1133/1721 Saʿdūn b. Muḥammad Āl Ghurayr of Banū Khālid, the lord of al-Ḥasā, plundered houses in al-Ẓuhayra, Malwī, and al-Surayḥa, all settlements still existing along the left bank.

In 1139/1726-7 Muḥammad b. Saʿūd Āl Muḳrin, a direct descendant of Mānīʿ, became the independent ruler of al-Dirʿiyya, including Ghaṣība. At that time the primacy among the towns of central Nadjd was held by al-ʿUyayna, farther up the valley, under the domination of Āl Muʿammar of Tamīm. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, the most powerful representative of this house, died the same year Muḥammad b. Saʿūd came to power in al-Dirʿiyya. Muḥammad b. Saʿūd won a good reputation as a secular lord. In 1157/1744 Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb chose al-Dirʿiyya as his new home when requested to leave al-ʿUyayna, his native town, by ʿUthmān b. Aḥmad Āl Muʿammar. The Shaykh and Muḥammad b. Saʿūd made a compact to work together in establishing the true version of Islam throughout the land of the Arabs.

The spiritual force of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and the military skill of Muḥammad b. Saʿūd and his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and grandson Saʿūd brought virtually the whole of the Arabian Peninsula under the authority of al-Dirʿiyya by the early 13th/19th century. Ibn Bishr records his own eye-witness description of the capital in the time of Saʿūd. Much of the land now given over to palms was then occupied by buildings. Particularly vivid are Ibn Bishr's vignettes of the market in the valley bottom, the sunrise religious assembly in the same spot attended by Saʿūd and his resplendent corps of *mamlūk*s, Saʿūd's hearing of petitions and dispensing of largesse to his subjects and guests, and the diligent Islamic instruction given by the sons of the Shaykh. Saʿūd was said to own 1,400 Arab horses, of which 600 were taken on campaigns by Bedouins or his *mamlūk*s. He had 60 cannon, half of which were of large size. For Nadjd, al-Dirʿiyya had become a very cosmopolitan and expensive centre: visitors from Oman, the Yemen, Syria, and Egypt thronged its bazaar; shops rented for as high as 45 riyals a month, and houses sold for 7,000 riyals. So much building went on that there was a great scarcity of wood.

The first and only European to see al-Dirʿiyya while it flourished was J. L. Reinaud, an Arabic-speaking Dutchman (or Englishman?) sent there in 1799 by Samuel Manesty, the East India Company's Resident in al-Baṣra, to negotiate with the Imām ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Reinaud, who spent a week in the oasis, remarks on the simplicity of the ruler's establishment and the sullen hospitality of the inhabitants.

When Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt advanced into Nadjd with the intention of breaking the power of Āl Saʿūd, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿūd, who had succeeded to the rule in 1229/1814, fortified himself in al-Dirʿiyya instead of using the superior mobility of his forces to harass the enemy's over-extended lines of communication. Ibrāhīm, establishing himself athwart the wadi at al-ʿIlb, began a siege which lasted about six months. The attack consisted of a ponderous advance step by step down the wadi, accompanied by a piecemeal reduction of the numerous towers and barricades of the defenders scattered about the heights on either flank. Ibrāhīm moved his headquarters from al-ʿIlb down the wadi to Ḳarī Ḳuṣayr (now known in memory of his army as Ḳurayy al-Rūm), a tributary descending from the north. Sweeping around the oasis, the invader's horse fell on the town of ʿIrḳa farther down the wadi. Progress was impeded by the explosion of Ibrāhīm's ammunition depot, but ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿūd failed to exploit this opportunity. Once a new supply of ammunition had been built up, Ibrāhīm resumed pressure on the main front and fought his way into the palm grove of Mushayrifa south of the tributary al-Bulayda, thus gaining access to the promontory of al-Ṭurayf from the heights to the west. A resolute offensive launched at all points brought about the surrender of the capital in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1233/September 1818. After staying in al-Dirʿiyya a short time, Ibrāhīm returned to Egypt. On his orders the place was systemically torn down in 1234/1819. According to Captain Sadleir, a British officer who saw it almost immediately afterwards, "the walls of the fortification have been completely razed by the Pacha, and the date plantations and gardens destroyed. I did not see one man during my search through these ruins. The gardens of Deriah produced apricots, figs, grapes, pomegranates; and the dates were of a very fine description; citrons were also mentioned, and many other fruit trees, but I could only discern the mutilated remains of those I have mentioned. Some few tamarisk trees are still to be seen."

An attempt was soon made to restore al-Dirʿiyya as the capital. As many members of Āl Saʿūd had been killed during the siege or carried off to Cairo, Muḥammad b. Mushārī of the old princely house of Muʿammar of al-ʿUyayna, a nephew on the distaff side of the great Saʿūd, established himself in al-Dirʿiyya before the end of 1234/Oct. 1819 with the aim of rebuilding the oasis and making himself the head of the reform movement in Nadjd. A few months later, in 1235/1820, Mushārī b. Saʿūd appeared in al-Dirʿiyya, and Ibn Muʿammar swore allegiance to him as scion of Āl Saʿūd. Having once tasted power, Ibn Muʿammar dreamed of regaining it and rebelled against Mushārī b. Saʿūd. Another member of Āl Saʿūd, Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh, a cousin of the great Saʿūd, now returned to the scene after having escaped Ibrāhīm Pasha's dragnet. Turkī sided with his relative Mushārī b. Saʿūd, but the Egyptian forces got hold of Mushārī and he died in captivity in 1236/1821. In revenge Turkī put Ibn Muʿammar to death. After taking al-Dirʿiyya, Turkī also occupied al-Riyāḍ, but the Egyptian troops quickly drove him out. In 1236/1821 Ḥusayn Bey, the new Egyptian commander, ordered all the people who had settled in al-Dirʿiyya with Ibn Muʿammar to go to Tharmadāʾ, the new Egyptian headquarters. After their departure al-Dirʿiyya was destroyed for the second time, trees being cut down and the torch set to whatever was inflammable. In Tharmadāʾ about 230 men from al-Dirʿiyya were paraded on orders from Ḥusayn Bey and slaughtered in cold blood. The obliteration of al-Dirʿiyya was complete. When Turkī in 1240/1824 gained strength enough to challenge the Egyptian forces, he attacked them in al-Riyāḍ, which he chose

as the new capital for his realm in preference to the twice desolated home of his forefathers.

In 1281/1865 Colonel Pelly, the British Resident in the Persian Gulf, passed through al-Dirʿiyya on the way to al-Riyāḍ; the place seemed to him "utterly deserted". The modern oasis, now encroaching on the territory of its forerunner even in the hallowed precincts of al-Ṭurayf, was described by Philby after his visit in 1336/1917.

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DİRLİK, a Turkish word meaning living or livelihood. In the Ottoman Empire it was used to denote an income provided by the state, directly or indirectly, for the support of persons in its service. The term is used principally of the military fiefs (see TIMAR), but also applies to pay (see ʿULŪFA), salaries, and grants of various kinds in lieu of pay to officers of the central and provincial governments. It does not normally apply to tax-farms, the basis of which is purchase and not service.

Bibliography: Djaʿfer Čelebi, *Maḥrūse-i Istanbul fetḥnāmesi*, *TOEM* suppl. 1331, 17; *Koçi Bey Risalesi*, ed. Ali Kemali Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 84; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālīf ḳawāʿidi*, i, Istanbul 1328, 243-4; Pakalın, i, 455; Gibb-Bowen, i/1, 47, 238. (B. Lewis)

DIŪ, an island off the southern point of Saurashtra (Sawrāshṭrā, Sōraṭh), India, with a good harbour clear of the dangerous tides of the Gulf of Cambay. Taken from the Čudasāmas in 698/1298-99 by the generals of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, probably lost a few years later, it was recovered by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ in 750/1349.

In 804/1402 Muẓaffar Khān, governor for the last Tughluḳs and first sultan of Gudjarāt, built mosques, appointed ḳāḍīs and installed a garrison in Diū. By 834/1431 Diū was a flourishing port furnishing ships for the Gudjarātī fleet. From 916/1510 it became the seat of the governors of Soraṭh, of whom the most famous was Malik Ayāz. He made Diū a great emporium, built the fort and harbour defences and threw a bridge to the mainland suburb of Goglā. Though in 914/1509 his fleet and that of the Mamlūk admiral Amīr Ḥusayn were crushed in Diū harbour by the Portuguese viceroy Francisco d'Almeida, he was able to persuade Sultan Muẓaffar II to withdraw his offer of Diū made to Albuquerque in 919/1513 and to repulse Portuguese fleets in 926/1520 and 927/1521.

Malik Ayāz died in 928/1522 and was succeeded at Diū by his son Isḥāḳ. Isḥāḳ rebelled in 933/1526-27 and offered Diū to the Portuguese; their fleet was forestalled and defeated by the new governor Ḳawām al-Mulk, but next spring so crushed the Diū fleet under his son that Ḳawām al-Mulk was replaced by Malik Tūghān, second son of Malik Ayāz.

In 937/1531 Tūghān, aided by the timely arrival of two Ottoman generals, Amīr Muṣṭafā and Khʷādja Ṣafar, defeated a full-scale attack by the viceroy Nuno da Cunha.

In 942/1535 Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh, a refugee from Humāyūn, and the Mughal emperor both offered Diū to the Portuguese. Nuno da Cunha chose the less formidable Bahādur Shāh with whom he signed a treaty of military aid in return for Diū on 27 Rabīʿ II 942/25 October 1535.

In 943/1536 Bahādur Shāh, having expelled the Mughals, returned to Diū. He invited Nuno da Cunha to come north, and having failed to tempt him ashore, visited his galleon. On his way back to the shore he was killed in a scuffle with the Portuguese, 3 Ramaḍān 943/13 February 1537.

The Portuguese thereupon seized the palace, treasury and arsenals in Diū, and in 943/1537 proclaimed Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā sultan, in return for his confirmation of their position in Diū. He was defeated outside Diū, however, and in 945/1538 Khʷādja Ṣafar laid siege to the island. The siege was intensified after the arrival of Khādim Sulaymān Pasha [*q.v.*], governor of Egypt, with a powerful fleet, but after three months, distrust between Ottomans and Gudjarātīs and reports of Nuno da Cunha's approach led to the break-up of the siege and the conclusion of peace, 6 Shawwāl 945/25 February 1539.

On 20 Rabīʿ II 953/20 April 1546 Khʷādja Ṣafar opened a second siege of Diū which lasted seven months and cost the lives of the Khʷādja and his son before the viceroy João de Castro routed the Muslim forces and lifted the siege on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 953/11 November 1546.

For many years the Portuguese from Diū fort controlled all seaborne traffic from Gudjarāt through a system of *cartazes* or passes. Though in 1079/1668 and 1086/1676 Diū was overrun and sacked by Arabs the Portuguese were able to use Mughal decline to extend their control over the whole island and its mainland suburb. They retained them until December 1961.

Bibliography: M. S. Commissariat, *A history of Gujarat*, i, London 1938; A. B. de Braganca Pereira, *Os Portugueses em Diu*, Bastora n.d. (J. B. Harrison)

DIVAN [see DĪWĀN].

DIVINATION [see KIHĀNA, also DJAFR, FAʾL, IKHTILĀDJ, RAML, TAʿBĪR].

DIVORCE [see ṬALĀḲ].

DĪW (originally *dew*, Avestan *daeva*, Sanskrit *dēva*), in Persian the name of the spirits of evil and of darkness, creatures of Ahriman, the personification of sins; their number is legion; among them are to be distinguished a group of seven principal demons, including Ahriman, opposed to the seven Amshaspand (Av. *aməša spənta*, the "Immortal Holy Ones"). "The collective name of the *daiva* designates ... exclusively the inimical gods in the first place, then generally other supernatural beings who, being by nature evil, are opposed to the good and true faith .... These *daiva*, these *dēv* have become increasingly assimilated to the ogres and other demoniac beings whose origins are to be found in ancestral beliefs" (A. Christensen). In the Iranian epic Kayūmarth, the first of the civilizing kings of Īrān, and then his son and his grandson, fought the Black Dīw and his hordes; Tahmurath, his great-grandson, deprived them of power, and they taught him writing (Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, Fr. tr. J. Mohl, i, 19-32); Djamshīd, son of Tahmurath (ibid., 35), controlled the *dīws* (as Solomon did the *djinns* in the Muslim legend [see SULAYMĀN B. DĀWŪD]); these, on his orders, constructed palaces and other buildings, then took him to heaven on a day later called *nawrūz*; under the following dynasty, that of the

Kayanids in the course of the war against the king of Māzandarān—a country frequented by the *dīws* (ibid., 421 ff.)—the hero Rustam, champion of the king Kay-Kawūs, killed the *dīw* Arzang whose hordes he dispersed, and then the White Dīw whose blood, which he carried to the king of Īrān, cured him of incipient blindness (cf. the fish-gall which restored sight to Tobit). In the *Garshāsp-nāma* (see ASADĪ) that hero, the great-grandfather of Rustam, several times opposed *dīws* of monstrous form (*Livre de Gerchasp*, tr. Massé, ii, 46, 48, 129-31, 190).

It is impossible to mention here all the *dīws* who appear in Persian literary or popular sources : most frequently the term *dīw* is juxtaposed to the Arabic epithets *ʿifrīt*, *shayṭān*, *tāghūt*; for example, the Dīws with Cows' Feet (*dīw-i gāw-pāy*: Saʿd al-Dīn Warāwīnī, *Marzubān-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, 79 ff.; M. Nizāmuʾd-dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmiʿ ul-ḥikāyāt of Muḥammad Awfī*, 163). In modern popular tales *djinn* is generally substitued for *dīw*; but *dīw* remains, *e.g.*, in H. Massé, *Contes en persan populaire*, nos. 27 and 29; or it may be associated with both *djinn* and *parī* (*e.g.*, Ria Hackin and A. A. Kohzad, *Légendes et coutumes afghanes*, 17 and note). According to the Shīʿas, men, *dīws*, and *djinns* will receive reward or punishment at the day of resurrection (*Tabṣirat al-ʿawāmm*, ed. Iqbal, 210). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī mentions a Dīw River (*Dīw rūd*, district of Djiruft, Kirmān), so called because of its rapid current (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 217, 139).

Bibliography: For the various senses of *dīw* and its use in metaphor and composition: Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinum*, and Desmaisons, *Dictionnaire persan-français*; *dīw* occurs frequently in Firdawsī (see F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, s.v. *dīw*, *dēv*; and *Shāh-nāma*, ed. and Fr. tr. J. Mohl, 1878, vii, index, s.v.); Spiegel, *Eranische Altherthumskunde*, II, 126-36; A. V. W. Jackson, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 139, 165, 175, 196, 646 ff., 662; A. Christensen, *Essai sur la démonologie iranienne*, 60 (*dīws*, *parīs* and dragons in the neo-Persian epic), 67 (*dīws* in Arabic and Persian texts), 71 (*dīw* and *djinn*), 92 (conclusions). On the *dīws* in Persian secondary epics: Firdawsī, *op. cit.*, i, introd., 68 note 1, 70 note 1, 72, 77, 87). Popular beliefs: H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, ii, chap. XIII and index III: *dīv*. On the Armenian *dews*: Christensen, *op. cit.*, 87; F. Macler, *Les dew arméniens* (text and facsimile mss.). There are few miniatures representing the *dīws*, apart from those illustrating the epics; some confuse *dīws* and *parīs*; see E. Blochet, *Enluminures . . . de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, plates 20, 64b, 75, 78a, 106b, 117a; Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, plate 78; Ph. W. Schulz, *Die persische-islamische Malerei*, plates 14 and 63, 31, 172 (*dīws* and *parī*); *Iran*: *Miniatures de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Téhéran* (New York Graphic Soc.—Unesco), plate 6 (*dīw* in the aspect of a man).

(CL. HUART-[H. MASSÉ])

DĪWĀN, a collection of poetry or prose [see ʿARABIYYA; PERSIAN LITERATURE; TURKISH LITERATURE; URDŪ LITERATURE and SHIʿR], a register, or an office. Sources differ about linguistic roots. Some ascribe to it a Persian origin from *dev*, 'mad' or 'devil', to describe secretaries. Others consider it Arabic from *dawwana*, to collect or to register, thus meaning a collection of records or sheets. (See Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 90; *LA*, xvii, 23-4; Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 187; Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 175; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 16-17; cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 449). However, in administration, the term first meant register for troops (cf. Ṣūlī, *op. cit.*, 190; Kindī, *Wulāt*, 86; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 454) and then any register. Only later was it used for office. It seems that the idea is foreign, but the term itself was in use earlier.

i. — THE CALIPHATE

ʿUmar I instituted the first *dīwān* (usually called *al-Dīwān*) in Islam (Djahshiyārī, *op. cit.*, 16). The sources ascribe this action to the need to organize the pay, register the fighting forces, and set the treasury in order. (Cf. Djahshiyārī, 16-17; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 449-51; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 148; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 130; Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, 25; Ṣūlī, *Adab*, 190-1; Abū Sālim, *al-ʿIḳd*, 154-5). Though some reports put this in 15 A.H., more reliable authorities prefer 20 A.H. (See Ṭabarī, iv, 162; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 170; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 148-9; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 450; Abū Yūsuf, 24).

This first *dīwān* was the *dīwān al-djund*. The register covered the people of Medina, the forces that participated in the conquests and those who emigrated to join garrisons in the provinces, together with their families. Some *mawālī* were included in the register, but this practice was not continued. With the names, pay and rations were indicated (Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Amwāl*, nos. 562, 567, 568; Ṭabarī, iv, 163). A committee of three genealogists carried out the registration, by tribes, and pay depended on past services to Islam and relationship to the prophet. Registration by tribes continued till the end of the Umayyad period. (Abū Yusuf, 24, 26-7; Ṭabarī, iv, 162-3; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 132; Abū ʿUbayd, *Amwāl* nos. 569, 520, 577; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* 450 ff.; 457-9, Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 149-50). Similar *dīwāns* (of *djund*) were set up in provincial capitals like Baṣra, Kūfa and Fusṭāṭ (cf. Djahshiyārī, 21, 23; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 59). Besides, Byzantine and Sāsānian *dīwāns* of Kharādj continued to function in the provinces as before (Djahshiyārī, 38; cf. 3).

The Umayyad Period. — The *dīwān al-kharādj* of Damascus became the central *dīwān* and was now called '*al-dīwān*' to indicate its importance. It looked after the assessment and levying of land taxes. Under Muʿāwiya (d. 60/680) the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* (correspondence) took shape. The Caliph would read all correspondence and make his comments, and then the secretary (*kātib*) would draw up the letters or documents required (Djahshiyārī, 24, 34; Ḳalḳashandī, i, 92). Muʿāwiya established the *dīwān al-khātam* or 'office of the seal', where a copy of each letter or document was made and kept while the original was checked, sealed and dispatched. It was set up as a check to prevent forgery (Djahshiyārī, 25; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 16; Nabia Abbott, *Ḳurrah papyri*, 14; See also Grohmann, *CPR*, iii, Bd. I/1, 17 ff). Balādhurī states that Ziyād b. Abīh, governor of ʿIrāḳ, first organized it under Persian influence (*Futūḥ*, 464). Muʿāwiya also initiated the *dīwān al-barīd* (post office), which was later reorganized by ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 86/705) (see further BARĪD).

The *dīwān al-djund* carried out, at intervals, censuses of the Arabs by tribes to keep its registers up to date. The *dīwān* of Egypt made three censuses during the 1st/7th century, the third by Ḳurra b. Sharīk in 95 A.H. (Kindī, *Wulāt* 86; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 151.

The *dīwān al-nafaḳāt* (expenditure), which is very probably a continuation of a Byzantine office, kept account of all expenditure (cf. Djahshiyārī, 3).

It seems to be closely linked to the treasury (*Bayt al-Māl* [*q.v.*], Djahshiyārī, 49). The *dīwān al-ṣadaḳa* was founded to assess the *zakāt* and *ʿushr* [*qq.v.*]. A *dīwān al-mustaghallāt* was established, apparently to administer government lands in cities, and buildings, especially *sūḳ*s rented to the people. The *dīwān al-ṭirāz* was responsible for making banners, flags, official costumes and some furniture. The name of its secretary was inscribed on the cloth (cf. Djahshiyārī, 60; Ṣābī, *Rasāʾil*, i, 141).

Each province had a *dīwān* of *kharādj* to which all revenue came (*li-wudjūhi ʾl-amwāl*), a *dīwān* of *djund* and a *dīwān* of *rasāʾil* (Djahshiyārī, 21, 23, 24, 27, 36, 44-5, 60, 61, 63-4). The chief secretary of a *dīwān* received three hundred dirhams a month under Ḥadjdjādj (Djahshiyārī, 61).

ʿAbd al-Malik initiated the policy of Arabization in the *dīwān*s, *ṭirāz* and currency. Hitherto, the *dīwān*s of *kharādj* used local languages: Persian in ʿIrāḳ and Persia, Greek in Syria, and Coptic and Greek in Egypt, and followed previous practices of book-keeping and recording. Even local seals and dates were frequently used. Arabic forms and formulas were introduced and previous calendars adjusted to the Muslim lunar year. (See *PERF* Nos 566, 559, 566, 586, 587, 572, 589, 601; *CPR* III Bd. I, Teil I 87, Teil II c-ci). Arabic was occasionally used (the first available papyrus dates from 22 A.H. *PERF* no. 558) before it became the official language. However, local languages were occasionally used far into the 2nd/8th century (cf. Grohmann, *Étude de papyrologie*, i, 77-9; P. Lond IV, 417; Nabia Abbott, *op. cit.*, 13-14). The arabization of the *dīwān*s was effected in the Empire by stages. In 78/697 Ḥadjdjādj arabized the *dīwān*s of ʿIrāḳ (Djahshiyārī, 39; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 300-1; Ṣūlī, *Adab*, 192); then in 81/700 ʿAbd al-Malik arabized the *dīwān*s of Syria (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 193; Djahshiyārī, 40; Sūlī, *Adab*, 192-3). The *dīwān*s of Egypt followed in 87/705 (Kindī, *Wulāt*, 80; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 122; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 150). Finally, the *dīwān*s of Khurāsān were arabized under Hishām in 124/742 (Djahshiyārī, 63-4). *Dhimmī*s, who were the bulk of secretaries in these *dīwān*s were to be removed, but some continued to be employed. The *mawālī* were always employed (cf. Djahshiyārī, 61, 67, 38-40, 51; Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, Ch. ii; Kindī, *Wulāt*, 80; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 193; von Kremer, *The Orient*, 196-7).

The ʿAbbāsid period. — The ʿAbbāsids extended and elaborated the Umayyad system of *dīwān*s, and provided a central bureaucratic direction through the office of *wazīr* [*q.v.*].

Under Saffāḥ a *dīwān* for confiscated Marwānid lands was established (Djahshiyārī, 90). It probably developed into the *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ*, which looked after caliphal domains (ibid, 277).

Under Manṣūr a temporary *dīwān* for confiscations (*muṣādara*) was created to look after confiscated properties of political enemies (Yaʿkūbī, iii, 127; *al-Fakhrī*, 115). A *dīwān al-aḥshām* is mentioned; it probably looked after people in the service of the palace (Wiet-Yaʿkūbī, *Les Pays*, 15). There was a *dīwān al-riḳāʿ* (petitions) responsible for collecting petitions to be presented to the Caliph (Ibn Ṭayfur; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi).

During the reign of Mahdī, in 162/778, we hear of *dīwān*s of *zimām* (control), one for each of the existing *dīwān*s. In 168/784 a central *dīwān*, *zimām al-azimma*, was established to control all *zimām*s. These *dīwān*s checked the accounts of the *dīwān*s, supervised their work and acted as intermediaries between single *dīwān*s and the *wazīr* or other *dīwān*s (Djahshiyārī, 146, 166, 168; Ṭabarī, x, 11; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 464). The *dīwān al-maẓālim* was created to look into complaints of the people against government agents. Judges sat in this *dīwān* (*Fakhrī*, 131).

The *dīwān al-kharādj*, it seems, looked after all land taxes, while the *dīwān al-ṣadaḳa* confined its work to the *zakāt* of cattle (cf. Yaʿkūbī, *Buldān*, 11; Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, 80-1). It had different sections, including one of *djahbadha* to check accounts and to examine the quality of items of revenue (Djahshiyārī, 220 1; Tanūkhī, al-Faradj, i, 39-40 [see further DJAHBADH]). Another section was the *madjlis al-ʿaskudār*, where a record was made of incoming and outgoing letters and documents with the names of people concerned. The same section is found in the *dīwān al-barīd* and in the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* (Djahshiyārī, 199; Khʷārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 42, 50). Letters of the *dīwān al-kharādj* were checked in the *dīwān al-khātam*, and delays here led Rashīd to permit his wazīr to send the letters directly (Djahshiyārī, 178).

Under Mutawakkil we hear of a *dīwān al-mawālī wa ʾl-ghilmān*, which may be another version of the *dīwān al-aḥshām*. It was concerned with slaves and clients of the Palace whose number was very large (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 23).

The *dīwān al-khātam*, also called *dīwān al-sirr* (confidential affairs) (Djahshiyārī, 177), was of special importance because of the close relation its head kept with the Caliph (cf. Ṭabarī, x, 51-2).

In the provinces there were local *dīwān*s of *kharādj*, *djund* and *rasāʾil* which were smaller copies of the central *dīwān*s (cf. Djahshiyārī, 141, 142, 177, 220-1).

A distinguished *kātib* was sometimes appointed over more than one *dīwān* (ibid., 266; cf. 179). Until the time of Maʾmūn the salaries of *kuttāb* ranged between 300 dirhams and ten dirhams a month (Djahshiyārī, 23, 126, 131-2. Djāḥiẓ states that the highest in pay after Maʾmūn was that of *kātib al-kharādj* (cf. *Three essays*, ed. Finkel, 49). (See further KĀTIB).

*Dīwān*s reached full development during the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries.

The *dīwān al-kharādj* usually kept copies of records of local *dīwān*s. But by the middle of the 3rd/9th century each province had a special *dīwān* (of *kharādj*) in the capital. Muʿtaḍid combined these *dīwān*s and organized them into one *dīwān* called *dīwān al-dār* (or *dīwān al-dār al-kabīr*). Under his successor Muktafī, it was reorganized in three *dīwān*s: *dīwān al-mashriḳ* for Eastern provinces, *dīwān al-maghrib* for Western provinces, and *dīwān al-sawād* for ʿIrāḳ. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā considered the *dīwān al-sawād* "the most important *dīwān*" (Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, i, 152). However, under Muḳtadir a central office (*dīwān al-dār*) still remained. The three *dīwān*s remained under the *wazīr*, or one secretary next to him, and were still considered sections of the *dīwān al-dār* (Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 123-4, 131-2, 262; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 226; ʿArīb, 42; Miskawayh, i, 151-2; Bowen, *ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā*, 31-2). It seems that '*dār*' or palace refers to the *dār al-wizāra* or ministerial residence (cf. Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 131). The secretary of the *dīwān al-dar* was authorized to communicate directly with the *ʿummāl* (Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 177). After the Buwayhid occupation (334/945) we hear only of *dīwān al-sawād* because of the dismemberment of the caliphate (cf. Ṣābī, *Tāʾrīkh*, 467-8).

The *dīwāns* of *kharādj* kept a record of the areas of lands, the rates of taxation in money or in kind, and the measures used. (Māwardī, *op. cit.*, 182-3; Khwārizmi, *Mafātīḥ*, 37). They received the revenue of *kharādj*, *djizya* and *zakāt* (al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, *Āthār al-uwal* (Bulāḳ 1295/72. Māwardī's reference to *dīwān [al-ʿushr* could only mean a section of this *dīwān*. Māwardī, 182).

When the *dīwān al-dār* was formed, the relevant *dīwāns* of *zimām* were combined in one (Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 73, 84; idem, *Taʾrīkh*, 468). The *zimām* was "guardian of the rights of *Bayt al-Māl* and the people" (Māwardī, 189). It kept another copy of the documents concerning lands in the *dīwān al-kharādj* and checked assessments, orders for payments and receipts (Māwardī, 190-1). An *iḳṭāʿ* granted by Muʿtaḍid, and passed by the Wazīr and the secretary of *dīwān al-dār*, was not passed by the secretary of *dīwān al-zimām* until he checked the *iḳṭāʿ* in his records (Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 683).

The *dīwān al-nafaḳāt* dealt with all *dīwāns*. It examined accounts of their expenses and drew its reports (al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, *op. cit.*, 71). By the end of the 3rd/9th century it dealt mainly with the needs of *Dār al-Khilāfa* (Mez (Arabic), i, 125; cf. Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 11 ff.). It kept records of recurring and of current expenditures (Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 16), and had sub-sections dealing with various heads of expenditure (cf. Mez (Arabic) i, 125-6). There was a *zimām* of *nafaḳāt*, and in 315/927 its secretary held the *zimām* of treasury stores (*khazāʾin*) as well (Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa ʾl-Muttaḳī*, 61; Miskawayh, i, 152).

The *dīwān* of *Bayt al-Māl*, also called *al-dīwān al-sāmī*, kept classified records of the sources of money and goods, coming to the Treasury, and maintained stores (*khizāna*) for the different categories of revenue, and a small *dīwān* for each, such as *dīwān al-khizāna* (for cloth and money), *dīwān al-ahrāʾ* (for cereals), and *dīwān khizānat al-silāḥ* (for arms) (al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, *op. cit.*, 72; cf. Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 16). This *dīwān* checked all items of income, and all expenditure had to be passed by it. The secretary's mark on all cheques and orders of payment was required by the *wazīr* (Mez (Arabic), i, 126-7). Usually, the *dīwān* drew up monthly and yearly balance sheets. (In 315/927 ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā requested weekly sheets. Miskawayh, i, 651-2; Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 303, 306).

The *dīwān al-djahbadha* branched off from the *Bayt al-Māl*. ([*q.v.*] See further DAFTAR, DJAHBADH). The *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ* administered domains of the treasury (Hamadānī, *Takmila*, 18; Miskawayh, i, 21; cf. Ṣābī, *Rasāʾil*, i, 139). Yet we hear at times of more than one *dīwān* for *ḍiyāʿ*. In 325 A.H. there was a *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ al-khāṣṣa wa ʾl-mustaḥdatha* (*i.e.*, Caliphal and newly acquired domains) and *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ al-Furātiyya* (*i.e.*, Domains on the Euphrates) (Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 123-4; Miskawayh, i, 152).

In 304/916 Ibn al-Furāt established a *dīwān al-marāfiḳ* (lit. aids; bribes, *i.e.*, which were paid by governors, obviously from riches accumulated by dubious means). The *marāfiḳ* amounted then to 100,000 dinars per year from Syria and 200,000 dinars from Egypt. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā forbade the *marāfiḳ* because they corrupted administration (Miskawayh, i, 44, 108, 241-2; Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 31-2, 81).

While every *dīwān* dealing with finance had a *zimām*, all *dīwāns* of *zimām* were occasionally put in one hand. In 295/907 the *wazīr* of the one-day Caliph Ibn al-Muʿtazz put all the *uṣūl* (*dīwāns* proper) under ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and the *dīwāns* of *zimām* under Ibn ʿAbdūn (Miskawayh, i, 60). In 319/931 the *zimāms* were put under one secretary and the *uṣūl* under the *wazīr* (Miskawayh, i, 226). This was repeated in 325/936-7 and in 327/938-9 (Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa ʾl-Muttaḳī*, 87, 147).

The *dīwān al-djund* kept a register of the forces classified according to their ranks, and their pay or *iḳṭāʿ*. It consisted of two sections, one dealing with pay (*ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*]) and expenses, and the other with recruiting and classification (*taṣnīf*) (Djāḥiẓ, *Three essays*, 49; Ḳudāma calls them *madjlis al-Taḳrīr* and *madjlis al-Muḳābala*, Mez (Arabic), i, 165. See also Māwardī, 179-80). This *dīwān* had a *zimām*, called *dīwān zimām al-djaysh*, to supervise its accounts and expenditure (Miskawayh, i, 152).

The *dīwān al-rasāʾil* was directly under the *wazīr* or under a secretary. Letters and documents were drafted by the first secretary on the instructions of the *wazīr* (or Caliph) and when approved by him the final copy was made. Sometimes, a special calligrapher (*muḥarrir*) made the last copy. At intervals of three years, letters and documents were sent to the great store (*al-khizāna al-ʿuẓmā*) to be finally classified and indexed (Ḳalḳashandī, i, 96; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḳānūn dīwān al-rasāʾil*, 94, 100-3, 108 ff., 116, 118, 144-5; Djāḥiẓ, *Three essays*, 49; Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 50; cf. Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 109 where *dīwān al-kharāʾiṭ* is used). The *dīwān al-faḍḍ*, probably a section of the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* in origin, received letters and documents, opened and classified them, put indications of their contents on the back, presented them to the *wazīr* and kept a record of them. (Mez (Arabic), i, 130-1; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *op. cit.*, 108; Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāʿ wa ʾl-muʾānasa*, i, 98). In 315, *Faḍḍ* and *Khātam* were combined in one *dīwān* (Miskawayh, i, 152).

In 301 A.H. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā established a *dīwān al-birr*, to administer pious endowments and charitable gifts (*wuḳūf* and *ṣadaḳāt*). The revenue was spent on the holy places, in Mecca and Medina, and on volunteers in the Byzantine front (Miskawayh, i, 257; cf. 151). The *dīwān al-ṣadaḳāt* continued to levy the *zakāt* of cattle. In 315/927 one secretary looked after the two *dīwāns* of *birr* and *ṣadaḳāt* (Miskawayh, i, 152; Ṣābī, *Rasāʾil*, 111).

Mention is made of a *dīwān al-ḥaram* which looked after the affairs of the female section of the palace (Miskawayh, i, 152).

There was a *dīwān* to administer confiscated property, called *dīwān al-musādarīn* (Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 306, 311). Two copies of confiscations were made, one for the *dīwān*, and the other for the *wazīr* (Miskawayh, i, 155). A *dīwān* was created to administer confiscated estates, *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ al-maḳbūḍa* (Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 21, 30; cf. Miskawayh, i, 84; cf. Hamadānī, *Takmila*, 83 where a *dīwān al-mukhālifīn* is mentioned, as administering the property of *Muʾnis*.

It is clear that sections of a *dīwān* were sometimes called *dīwāns*, while some *dīwāns* were short-lived and were set up for temporary needs. Besides, more than one *dīwān* were sometimes put under one secretary (cf. Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 27, 123-4).

In the reign of Muʿtaḍid, the two days rest was resumed, Tuesday for relaxation and Friday for prayers (Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 223).

Salaries of the heads of *dīwāns* varied. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the secretary of the *dīwān al-sawād* received 500 dinars per month and the secretary of *the dīwān al-ʿaṭāʾ* 10 dinars. In 314, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā reduced salaries by one third, so the secretary of the *dīwān al-sawād* got 333½ dinars,

and the secretaries of the *dīwān al-faḍḍ* and *dīwān al-khātam* 200 dinars each. The secretaries of the *dīwān al-mashriḳ* and *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ al-khāṣṣa wa 'l-mustaḥdatha* 100 dinars each, the secretary of the *dīwān al-dār* 500 dinars, and the secretary of the *dīwāns* of *zimām*, together with his *kuttāb*, 2700 dinars (Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 31, 84, 177, 178, 314; cf. ibid. 20-1; Miskawayh, i, 68). Measures of economy led ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā to reduce the year to 8-10 months of pay, and this became a common practice (Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 314; Miskawayh, i, 152.

In the Buwayhid period (334-447/945-1055), we still hear of a *dīwān al-sawād* with a secretary and an assistant-secretary (*khalīfa*), and of a *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ* (or *al-ḍiyāʿ al-khāṣṣa*) (Ṣābī, *Taʾrīkh*, year 390 A.H., 401-2, year 392 A.H., 467-8; Miskawayh, ii, 120-1; Abū Shudjāʿ, *Dhayl Tadjārib al-umam*, 147). The central *dīwān* for finance was now called *al-Dīwān*; it was under the *wazīr* or a secretary next to him in importance (cf. Miskawayh, ii, year 338 A.H., 242, 263, 266; Abū Shudjāʿ, 143). In 389/999, a special *dīwān* was set up to levy the *ʿushr* on silk cloth made in Baghdād (Ṣābī, *Taʾrīkh*, 364). The *dīwān al-nafaḳāt* continued (Miskawayh, ii, 120-1) with a special *zimām* to check expenditure in accounts and in amount (cf. Ṣābī, *Tāʾrīkh*, 353, 357). However, there was the *dīwān al-zimām* to supervise financial *dīwāns* (ibid., 467-8). The *dīwān* of the Treasury was called *dīwān al-khazāʾin* or *dīwān al-khazn* (Abū Shudjāʿ, 76, Ṣābī, *Taʾrīkh*, 368; Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 41). The head of its *dīwān* was the *khāzin* or *nāẓir*, and at times, the mint (*dār al-ḍarb*) was put in his charge (Abū Shudjāʿ, 250-1). Al-Tawḥīdī, however, mentions a special *dīwān* for the mint called *dīwān al-naḳd wa 'l-ʿiyār wa dār al-ḍarb* (*Imtāʿ*, i, 98).

The *dīwān al-djund* was divided into two *dīwāns*, one for the Daylamites and the other for the Turks (the two main elements of the army) and called *dīwān al-djayshayn* (Ṣābī, *Taʾrīkh*, 467-8). There was however one head or paymaster, called *al-ʿāriḍ* (Abū Shudjāʿ, 258).

The Fāṭimids. — Fāṭimid *dīwāns* are basically related to the ʿAbbāsid. The *dīwān al-rasāʾil* is here *dīwān al-inshāʾ*; its head is *ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshāʾ* or *kātib al-dast al-sharīf*. The detailed account of this *dīwān* given by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī shows that it was similar to the ʿAbbāsid *dīwān*. (See Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḳānūn dīwān al-rasāʾil*, ed. A. Bahjat, Cairo 1905; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 244, 306; iii, 140; Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 490; i, 103; x, 310; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 80; Shayyāl, *al-Wathāʾiḳ al-Fāṭimiyya*, 365).

The *dīwān al-djund* was called *dīwān al-djaysh*, or *dīwān al-djaysh wa 'l-rawātib* (office of troops and salaries). It consisted of two sections: the *dīwān al-djaysh*, under a *mustawfī*, dealing with the recruitment, equipment and inspection of the troops, and the *dīwān al-rawātib* dealing with pay. However, other references show that the two *dīwāns* were often separate, the first under *ṣāḥib dīwān al-djaysh* and the latter concerned with salaries of the military and civilians (See Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 242; Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 492-3, 495, cf. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 25, 47; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, year 542; Shayyāl, *Wathāʾiḳ*, 304). The Fāṭimids, who attached great importance to the fleet, had a *dīwān al-ʿamāʾir* to look after the construction of ships and their forces (Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 496).

Accounts of the *dīwāns* of finance are involved. The *dīwān al-madjlis* seems to have been the central bureau. It had different sections, one of which dealt with fiefs (*iḳṭāʿāt*). It was probably similar to the ʿAbbāsid '*al-Dīwān*'. It made the estimate of the budget (*istīmār*) when required, after getting estimates from all *dīwāns* (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 236 ff.; i, 160-2; cf. ii, 245; Shayyāl, *Wathāʾiḳ*, 325). The *dīwān al-naẓar* had general control over the *dīwāns* of finance (*amwāl*) and over their officials. It seems to correspond to the central *dīwān* of *kharādj* of the ʿAbbāsids (cf. Shayyāl, *Wathāʾiḳ*, 304, i, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra* 35; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 241; Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 493). The *dīwān al-taḥḳīḳ* was linked to *dīwān al-naẓar*, but its function was to check the accounts of other *dīwāns* of finance. It is parallel to the ʿAbbāsid central *zimām* (Maḳrīzī, ii, 242; Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 493, i, 401; Ibn Muyassir, *Akhbār*, 43).

The *dīwān al-khāṣṣ* looked after the financial affairs of the palace (Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 200). The office of *waḳf* was the *dīwān al-aḥbās* (Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 494-5). The *dīwān al-mawārīth al-ḥashriyya* was instituted to administer escheated and heirless property (Ibn Muyassir, 56; Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 496).

The *Maẓālim* [*q.v.*] were presented to the Caliph or *wazīr*. There was a *dīwān al-tawḳīʿ*, with two secretaries, to deal with them (Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 307; Ḳalḳashandī, 491).

Salaries of secretaries varied. The secretary for *inshāʾ* got 150 dinars monthly, that of *naẓar* 70, of *bayt al-māl* 100, of *taḥḳīḳ* 50, and the secretaries of *djaysh*, *tawḳīʿ madjlis* and *iḳṭaʿ* 40 dinars each. Lesser secretaries got 5-10 dinars (Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 526; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 243). Non-Muslims were widely employed in the *dīwāns* and this led to occasional reactions against them (cf. Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 59; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Taʾrīkh*, 370; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, 34, 35, 48, 53. cf. Tritton, *op. cit.*, ch. ii).

The 11th-13th centuries. — Since the Buwayhid period, the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* had been called *dīwān al-inshāʾ*, and its secretary *kātib al-inshāʾ* (Abū Shudjāʿ 153-4; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 55; x, 125; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Ḥawādith*, 16; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *Djāmiʿ*, ix, 222). The central bureau was *al-Dīwān* (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 91, 27, 28, 29, 83). It was headed by the *wazīr*, and at times by a secretary called *ṣāḥib al-dīwān* (Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 56, 165, 125). Later it was called *al-dīwān al-ʿazīz* (cf. al-Fuwaṭī, 47, 63, 88; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *Djāmiʿ*, ix, 285).

Finances were primarily the concern of *dīwān al-zimām*, which in effect carried the work of *dīwān al-kharādj*; fief farmers and governors sent revenue to it (Ibn al-Sāʿī, ix, 16). It had two sections: the main *dīwān* headed by a *kātib* (*kātib al-zimām*) (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 150, 223, x, 27, 124) later called *ṣadr*, and the other section headed by a *mushrif* who supervised the work of the *dīwān* and the revenue (Ibn al-Sāʿī, ix, 98-9, 118; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 16, 62, 63). Each province (or district) had such a *dīwān* headed by a *nāẓir* and a *mushrif* (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 63, 101).

Al-makhzan al-maʿmūr replaced, in time, *al-makhzan* (treasury) used for *Bayt al-Māl*, and its head *ṣāḥib al-makhzan* was replaced by *nāẓir* or *ṣadr*. This *dīwān* supervised the mint also (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 24-5, 52, 125; ix, 125, 155, 216). His standing was very high (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 203). In 594/1198 the *ṣadr* of this *dīwān* was given authority over all *dīwāns* (Ibn al-Sāʿī, ix, 250). It had many sections each headed by a *nāẓir* (for example *khizānat al-ghallāt*. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 7, 37. cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 83; x, 52; Ibn al-Sāʿī, ix, 103, 127. He describes the ceremony of appointment, 141). Here, again, there was a *mushrif* to supervise

the work of the *makhzan*. Obviously, *ishrāf* replaces the old *zimām* (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 103; Ibn al-Sāʿī, ix, 20, 229).

The *dīwān al-djawālī* (*i.e.*, poll-tax) looked after assessing and levying the poll-tax. (See DJAWĀLĪ, DJIZYA). A new bureau, *dīwān al-tarikāt al-hashriyya*, appeared to administer heirless property (Ibn al-Sāʿī, 107; Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 68). The *dīwān al-ʿaḳār*, headed by a *nāẓir*, looked after buildings, such as shops, owned by the state (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 63; cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 243). Building and repairs, however, were the concern of another bureau called *dīwān al-abniya* (building bureau). It had engineers and architects among its staff (Ibn al-Sāʿī, ix, 93, 184). In 635/1237-8 it participated in repairing the walls of Baghdād (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 111). The *dīwān al-ḥisba* was usually under the *Ḳāḍī al-Ḳuḍāt*, or under a deputy (Ibn al-Sāʿī, ix, 16; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 64).

Non-Muslims worked with Muslims in financial offices to the end of the Caliphate. Occasionally restrictions against them were enforced, but only temporarily. In 533/1139, Jews and Christians were expelled from *al-Dīwān* and *al-Makhzan* only to be returned after one month (Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 78). The repetition of such orders (like that of al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh in 601 A.H.) shows that they were not enforced and non-Muslims continued to be employed (Ibn al-Sāʿī, ix, 162).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See further Nabia Abbott, *The Ḳurrah papyri*, Chicago 1938; *British Museum Greek Papyri IV, the Aphrodito Papyri*, ed. H. I. Bell, London 1910; *National Bibliothek Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* Vienna 1894; *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae III*, ed. Adolf Grohmann, 1923-4; H. F. Amedroz, *Abbasid administration in its decay* . . ., in *JRAS*, 1913, 823-42; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā*, Cambridge 1928; A. A. Duri, *al-Nuẓum al-Islāmiyya*, i, Baghdād 1950; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 325 ff.; S. A. Q. Husaini, *Arab administration*, Madras 1949, 76 ff., 149 ff.; Mez, *Renaissance*, chapter VI; (Arabic tr. by A. H. Abū Rīda, 2 v., Cairo 1920-1); D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside de 132/750 à 324/934*, Damascus 1961.

(A. A. DURI)

ii. Egypt.

Three periods may be distinguished in the development of the Egyptian *dīwān*, though, since continuity in administrative institutions tends to be stronger than changes of governments, there are in reality no clear cleavages: (1) the time when Egypt was a province of the great Muslim Empire (18/649-358/969); (2) the Fāṭimid caliphate (358/969-567/1171); (3) the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk period (567/1171-923/1517).

The sources for the first section are scattered remarks in the earlier and later historians and manuals for *kuttāb* as well as the growing number of Arabic papyri. For the second and third periods the manuals and encyclopaedic works for *kuttāb* provide ample materials which increase by the end of the mediaeval period; and the historians supplement the actual facts rather than the more theoretical explanations of the former. Among the latter al-Maḳrīzī's (d. 845/1442) *al-Khiṭaṭ* is of outstanding importance, as he gives a nearly continuous history of the Egyptian administration from the Muslim conquest until his own time (ed. Būlāḳ, i, 81 ff., 397 ff.; ii, 215 ff.), besides many important additions in the scattered "vitae" and the descriptions of buildings etc.

(1) The Muslims carried on the administrative practice in Egypt that the Byzantines had established with the help of the resident Christian population, even allowing them the use of the Coptic language.

Since the term *dīwān* was not in use in Egypt under the Byzantines, we may deduce that it was brought by the new masters. Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ (living about 1000 A.D.; see IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ, ABU'L-BASHAR) reports that the second governor ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Sahl (24/644-35/656, [*q.v.*] "established the *dīwān* at Miṣr (al-Fusṭāṭ) to which all the taxes of Egypt were paid" (*History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, ed. C. F. Seybold 103; ed. B. T. Evetts (*Patr. Orient.* v) i, 50, quoted by N. Abbott, *The Kurra papyri*, 13, and D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and poll tax*, 74). Unfortunately the Muslim sources do not offer any confirmation either for the establishment of a central revenue office, or the use of the word *dīwān* for it at such an early time. Al-Maḳrīzī relates (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 94, 2-10) that the governor Maslama b. Mukhlid al-Anṣārī (47/667-62/682; al-Kindī, ed. Rh. Guest 38-40; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* i, 301, 18-27) appointed an official to go round among the immigrant Arabs each morning to inquire about changes in their family status, or the arrival of guests, and to report it to the *dīwān*. The governor would then advise the *ahl al-dīwān* (the officials of the *dīwān*) to pay the increased pensions. This narration indicates the existence of an organized office called *dīwān*, as well as its concern with registration and the payment of pensions to the immigrant Arabs. The same use of the term *dīwān* also appears in a note by al-Kindī (ed. Guest 71; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* i, 94, 10-3): the first *dīwān* was established in Egypt by ʿAmr b al-ʿĀṣ, the second by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, the third by Ḳurra b. Sharīk [*q.v.*], the fourth by Bishr b. Ṣafwān. After the establishment of the fourth *dīwān* nothing worth mentioning happened except the admission of the Ḳays into the *dīwān* during the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (105/724-125/743). Al-Kindī (ed. Guest 76) refers to that event in the year 109/727: 3000 families of the Ḳays were transferred to Egypt together with their *dīwāns*. These notes show that the term *dīwān* was used from an early time to denote (*a*) the pension lists of the Muslim-Arab tribes, (*b*) that these lists accompanied the tribe wherever it moved, (*c*) that consequently the *dīwān* (pension list) of the Ḳays was transferred to Egypt and there added to the other already existing *dīwāns*.

During the second half of the 1st/7th century, the use of the term *dīwān* to denote central government offices must have become more general. We read (al-Kindī, 58-9; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, i, 98, 11-15) that the change-over from Coptic to Arabic in the Egyptian *dīwāns* took place in 87/705 (cf. ed. Wiet, ii, 58). This can only mean that in the above-mentioned year the term *dīwān* was already the name of the central government office at al-Fusṭāṭ. The first independent director of finances (*ʿāmil al-kharādj*) was Usāma b. Zayd al-Tanūkhī who was appointed in 96/715 by the caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik on the death of the governor Ḳurra b. Sharīk. That Usāma worked with the help of a *dīwān* is shown by the report of al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 77, 37-8, 3) that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99/717-101/720) abolished the poll-tax for Muslims and notified the *dīwān* (*al-kharādj*?) about it. In

105/725 the governor al-Ḥurr b. Yūsuf sent officials of the *dīwān* against Coptic peasants in order to enforce the payment of higher taxes. Two years later the well-known *ʿāmil al-kharādj* Ibn Ḥabḥāb (C. H. Becker, *Beiträge*, ii, 107-10) set up lists of taxpayers which were carefully put together and provided with detailed information for the *dīwān al-kharādj* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 74, 24 & 99, 10). *Aṣḥāb al-ahrāʾ* (officers of the government granary) are already mentioned in a papyrus dated Shawwāl 90/August-September 709; it seems likely that they were officials of the *dīwān al-ahrāʾ* listed later by al-Nābulusī (C. H. Becker, *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt* 70, 37 & 49; see below). — The *dīwān al-barīd* (*dīwān* of the post) is alleged by al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 226, 27-9; W. Björkmann, *Staatskanzlei*, 18 note 3) to have preceded the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* in early times; and A. Grohmann (*Studien z. hist. Geogr. und Verw.* 35) takes it for granted that revenue-offices with a director (*ʿāmil*) and his deputy existed in the main places of the provinces (*kūra*) besides many other offices. The existence of the *dīwān asfal al-arḍ* (*dīwān* of Lower Egypt) is proved by a papyrus dated 143/761 (C. H. Becker, *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, 36, note 9; A. Grohmann, *APEL* IV 143; see below).

An increase of the number of *dīwāns* can be noticed in the years shortly before the rise of the Ṭūlūnids (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* i, 107, 28-9; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge* ii, 144; A. Grohmann, *Zum Steuerwesen im arabischen Ägypten*, in *Actes d. V. Cong. Int. d. Pap.*, Brussels 1938, 132): The famous director of finances Ibn Mudabbir introduced new taxes on pasture and fishing (*marāʿī*, *maṣāyid*) and established a special *dīwān* for their administration. On the other hand an order of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim terminated the pension-rights of Arab settlers and therefore presumably of the relevant *dīwāns*. The seat of the *dīwān al-kharādj* at al-Fusṭāṭ was at first a building near the mosque of ʿAmr; the *mutawallī ʾl-kharadj* (inspector of finances) used to sit in public in the mosque itself in order to assess the fiefs. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn transferred the seat of the *dīwān* to the mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn where it remained until the Fāṭimid period (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 82, 3-15).—A papyrus dated 301/913 describes the local tax-office as *dīwān al-kharādj* (A. Grohmann, *APEL* IV², 227). The *de facto* independence of Egypt under Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn from the Baghdād caliphate was shown by the foundation of the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* (chancellery of state) as first head of which was appointed Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Kān (d. 278/868, al-Ḳalḳashandī, i, 95; W. Björkman, 18-9; Zaki Mohammad Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, 191-216 & 280-2).

(2). The Fāṭimid period. Our main sources are (*a*) for general information (1) al-Ḳalḳashandī (iii, 490-6; Wüstenfeld, 188-94); (2) al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 397-402); (3) for the last decades of the Fāṭimid dynasty and the first years of the Ayyūbids Ibn Mammātī (*Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, viii and ix); (*b*) for the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* especially Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ḳānūn dīwān al-inshāʾ*. The reports of al-Ḳalḳashandī and al-Maḳrīzī are largely based on the lost *Nuzhat al-muklatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-Fāṭimiyya wa ʾl-Ṣāliḥiyya* by al-Murtaḍā Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭuwayr al-Kaysarānī, life-time unknown (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, (ed. G. Flügel) vi, 334, no. 13720; R. Guest, *Writers, books, etc., in the Khiṭaṭ*, in *JRAS*, 1902, 117; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge*, i, 29-30; W. Björkman, 26 note 1, 83). According to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 93; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 397, 32 ff.; see also al-Nābulusī, *Lamʿa* chapter iii, in Cl. Cahen, *Quelques aspects* ..., 103) the first central administrative office and the mother of all the other *dīwāns* had been the *dīwān al-madjlis* (*dīwān* of the council) in which the whole of the administration was concentrated. A number of clerks sat there in their own rooms with one or two assistants (*muʿīn*). The chief of this *dīwān* was responsible for the grant of fiefs (*iḳṭāʿāt*; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 226; W. Björkman, Index; Cl. Cahen, *Evolution de l'iḳṭāʿ*, in *Annales ESC* 1953), and his decisions were called *daftar al-madjlis* (record of the council). The different departments of the *dīwān al-madjlis* dealt with such topics as alms, gifts, clothing and administration of the private purse of the sultan. Our sources do not state whether that *dīwān* existed already before the Fāṭimids or when its splitting up into different independent *dīwāns* took place. But it seems probable that the *dīwān al-madjlis* was the predecessor of the *dīwān al-amwāl*, and that the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* existed side by side with it.

The following list of *dīwāns* culled from the above-mentioned sources can not claim to be a complete one. It should be kept in mind that the different offices styled *dīwān* do not rank on the same level, as *dīwān* denotes sometimes even provincial branches of central offices.

(i) *Dīwān al-inshāʾ*, or *al-rasāʾil*, or *al-mukātabāt* (chancellery of state) is subdivided into three departments: 1) *Ṣaḥābat dīwān al-inshāʾ wa ʾl-mukātabāt*, or *dīwān al-naẓar* (head office or control-office). Its head was called *raʾīs* (head), or *mutawallī* (superintendent), or *ṣāḥib* (master), or *mushidd* (director), and addressed as *al-shaykh al-adjall* (excellency). His exalted position resulted from his influence with the caliph to whom he brought the papers of state and whom he advised on their answering. He was assisted, according to Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, by two high-rank officials, The other two departments of the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* were (2) the office of appeal (*tawḳīʿāt bi ʾl-ḳalam al-daḳīḳ*) which dealt with the caliph's decisions about complaints which any person could bring before him during a public audience, and (3) the registrar's office (*tawḳīʿāt bi ʾl-ḳalam al-djalīl*), which executed the decisions of the office of appeal, with copious legal notes to the petitioner. Other minor offices of the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* included (*a*) the bureau for correspondence with foreign princes (*mukātaba ila ʾl-mulūk*), (*b*) the appointments board (*inshāʾāt, taḳlīd*), (*c*) the bureau for correspondence with high officials in the provinces and nobles (*mukātaba ila umarāʾ al-dawla wa-kubarāʾihā*), (*d*) the bureau for the letters-patent (*manāshīr*), secret decrees (*kutub liṭāf*) and copies (*nusakh*). Besides these departments four clerks of lesser rank are mentioned, who, however, do not conduct independent bureaus: the copyist (*nāsikh*), a clerk for the safe-keeping of records in systematic order so that they could be used as models for later usage, the keeper of original documents (*khāzin*) and the chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) who takes care that no unauthorized person trespasses into the presence of the chief of the *dīwān* (Ibn al-Ṣayrafī-Massé, Index; al-Ḳalḳashandī, i, 130 & iii, 490 ff.; W. Björkman 20 ff.; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* i, 402).

(ii) *Dīwān al-djaysh wa ʾl-rawātib* (*dīwān* of the army and the salaries) is divided into three departments: (*a*) *dīwān al-djaysh* a kind of war office as well as military administration; its principal must be a Muslim; (*b*) *dīwān al-rawātib*, the central pay office for all receivers of salaries from the *wazīr* down

to the cavalry trooper (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance* 74-6); (*c*) *dīwān al-iḳṭāʿ* (*dīwān* of fiefs and pensions) for civilians, as the military personnel belonged to the *dīwān al-rawātib* (al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, iii, 492-3; al-Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ* i, 401-2).

(iii) *Dīwān al-amwāl* (*dīwān* of finance, the treasury) was divided into fourteen departments, also called *dīwān*, which are enumerated by al-Ḳalḳas͟handī (iii, 493-6) and much more briefly by al-Maḳrīzī (*K͟hiṭaṭ*, i, 400-1). Ibn Mammātī offers a list of seventeen employees of the class of civil servants (*asmāʾ al-mustak͟hdamīn min ḥamal al-iḳlīm*) which apparently belonged to the staff of the *dīwān al-amwāl*; but it is not always clear to which of the 14 departments these 17 groups correspond (ed. A. S. Atiya 297-306). (*a*) *Naẓar al-dawāwīn*, or *dīwān al-naẓar* (control-office of the *dīwān*). The head of it is *ex officio* the chief of the *dīwān al-amwāl*, *i.e.*, the chancellor of the exchequer. Ibn Mammātī distinguishes between the *nāẓir* of the *dīwān* (the controller, auditor) who checked and countersigned the accounts and the *mutawallī* (superintendent) who was responsible for all business (C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien* i, 170, 173; (*b*) *dīwān al-taḥḳīḳ* (*dīwān* of official enquiry (cf. Dozy s.v.) was founded by al-Afḍal b. Badr al-D̲j̲amālī [*q.v.*] in 501/1107-8, when a Jew and a Christian were employed as its heads; later on it was not filled for most of the time (Ibn al-Ṣayrafī/Massé 82 note 1); (*c*) *dīwān al-mad̲j̲lis* (see above xxx) only administered royal gifts, alms etc.; (*d*) *dīwān k͟hazāʾin al-kiswa*, *dīwān* of the storehouses of clothing; about the numerous storehouses see the long lists in al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, iii, 475 ff. and al-Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, i, 408 ff.; (*e*) *Dīwān al-ṭirāz* (*dīwān* of the embroidered garment-factories and storehouses). The *dīwān* maintained several branches at places where the factories were situated, *e.g.*, Alexandria, Damietta, Tannīs (Ibn Mammātī 330-1; A. Grohmann. *Stud. z. hist. Geogr. u. Verw.*, 44); (*f*) *dīwān al-aḥbās* (*dīwān* of endowments). Since its foundation by the caliph al-Muʿizz in 363/974 the *dīwān* dealt with the administration of pious foundations (*waḳf* [*q.v.*]); its officials were Muslims only (al-Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 295 ff.; Cl. Cahen, *Le régime des impôts*, in *Arabica*, iii, 24-5; (*g*) *dīwān al-rawātib* (*dīwān* of wages). It is not clear what the relation had been between this *dīwān* and the office of the same name in the *dīwān al-d̲j̲ays͟h*. It seems possible that this *dīwān al-rawātib* had been a kind of predecessor to the *dīwān al-k͟haṣṣ* (the *dīwān* of the private fund of the caliph; al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, iii, 495 and 457); (*h*) *dīwān al-Ṣaʿīd* (*dīwān* of Upper Egypt); (*i*) *dīwān Asfal al-arḍ* (*dīwān* of Lower Egypt); (*j*) *dīwān al-t͟hug͟hūr* (*dīwān* of the frontier districts). The marches of Alexandria, Damietta, Tannīs and ʿAyd͟hāb formed an administrative unity for the purpose of levying import-taxes from the merchants at the ports (*al-k͟hums* and *matd̲j̲ar* [see MAKS]; Ibn Mammātī 325-7); (*k*) *dīwān al-d̲j̲awāli wa 'l-mawārit͟h al-ḥas͟hriyya* (*dīwān* of the poll tax and estate duty of *d͟himmīs*; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation* 51 & 140-1; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 172; Ibn Mammātī 306, 317-8 and 454; Cl. Cahen, *Le régime des impôts*, in *Arabica*, iii, 24; (*l*) *dīwān al-k͟harād̲j̲i wa 'l-hilālī* (*dīwān* of the lawful and illegal taxes). F. Løkkegaard, 185-6; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 177-9). Ibn Mammatī enumerates several officials connected with this *dīwān*: *al-d̲j̲ahbad͟h* (the tax collector), *al-s͟hāhid* (the notary) who countersigned the invoices, *al-māsiḥ* (the surveyor), etc.; (*m*) *dīwān al-kurā* or *al-iṣṭiblāt* (*dīwān* of the horses or the stables); (*n*) *dīwān al-d̲j̲ihād* or *al-ʿamāʾir* (*dīwān* of the holy war, or the navy). Its seat was in the dockyards at Cairo, and it served as administrative centre for the navy (Ibn Mammātī, 340-1).

(3). The Ayyūbid period. The political and religious break which the end of the Fāṭimid caliphate meant for Egypt was counterbalanced by the administrative continuity clearly demonstrated by the leading personality: the last *ṣāḥib dīwān al-ins͟hāʾ*, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil Muḥyī al-Dīn, [*q.v.*], was kept on by Saladin in the same office and later on created *wazīr*. Hence al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil and his numerous pupils form a link between the two periods. As already mentioned Ibn Mammātī's *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn* can serve as a contemporary source for the first half of the Ayyūbid period; for the second half two other contemporary authors have come down: Ibn S͟hīt͟h al-Ḳuras͟hī and ʿUt͟hmān al-Nābulusī. Like Ibn Mammātī, Ibn S͟hīt͟h al-Ḳuras͟hī was a pupil of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil whose high esteem he gained by his skill in poetry and prose. He went to Damascus where he became the head of the *dīwān al-ins͟hāʾ* and the friend of al-Muʿaẓẓam b. al-ʿĀdil (d. 624/1227). *Maʿālim al-kitāba*, being a guide to the correct form of letter-writing for clerks of the *dīwān al-ins͟hāʾ*, offers but one chapter dealing with our theme (pp. 23-32). The *dīwān al-ins͟hāʾ* is in the eyes of Ibn S͟hīt͟h the most important government office, hence its head (*ṣāḥib al-dīwān*) should be of a moral standard that corresponds to his exalted rank and the high esteem he enjoys among his colleagues. His next subordinate to whom he forwards the answering of letters and deeds was called *mutawallī kitābat al-ins͟hāʾ*, (superintendent of the secretariat of the chancellery). Other offices enumerated by Ibn S͟hīt͟h: *dīwān al-d̲j̲uyūs͟h* whose chief (*kātib al-d̲j̲ays͟h*) holds a lower rank than the *ṣāḥib dīwān al-ins͟hāʾ*, and needs an account-book (*d̲j̲arīda*) with the names and fiefs of all the military personnel to be in a position to pay out their salaries, even if no head of the *dīwān al-iḳṭāʿ* should have been appointed. The *dīwān al-iḳṭāʿ* apparently was an independent office, whose head was of lower rank than that of the *dīwān al-d̲j̲ays͟h* and both worked together with and under the control of the *ṣāḥib dīwān al-naẓar* who is the same person as the *ṣāḥib dīwān al-māl*, *i.e.*, the chancellor of the exchequer. This important appointment is carried out directly by the sultan. The assistant to the *ṣāḥib dīwān al-māl* is called *mustawfī* (bookkeeper); other ranks of the treasury include the *s͟hāhid bayt al-māl* (notary of the treasury), the *mus͟hārif* (the supervisor), the *d̲j̲ahbad͟h* (the tax-collector) and the *k͟hāzin* (the recorder). Al-Nābulusī enumerates only the following *dīwāns*: (*a*) *dīwān al-d̲j̲uyūs͟h*, (*b*) *dīwān al-ins͟hāʾ*, (*c*) *dīwān al-aḥbās* that had grown into an independent ministry out of a branch office of the *dīwān al-amwāl* in the Fāṭimid period (above xx), (*d*) *dīwān al-māl* which is divided into two departments (i) *dīwān bi 'l-aʿmāl* (*dīwān* for the provinces) and (ii) *dīwān bi 'l-bāb* (*dīwān* for the court). These two names and the offices are new ones; the first one seems to have taken the place of the *dīwān al-Ṣaʿīd*, *dīwān asfal al-arḍ* and *dīwān al-t͟hug͟hūr*; it administered the *k͟harād̲j̲ī* and *hilālī* taxes in these provinces. The *dīwān bi 'l-bāb* managed the *zakāt*, and *d̲j̲awāli*, and *wawārit͟h* duties as well as the control (*naẓar*) of all other treasure departments including the former *dīwān al-taḥḳīḳ*, *dīwān al-mad̲j̲ālis*, etc.

A wider and vaguer use of the term *dīwān* is found in such expression of the *Lumʿa al-ḳawānīn* as

dīwān khazā'in al-silāḥ (*dīwān* of the arsenal), *dīwān sāḥil al-sanaṭ* (*dīwān* of the acacia-coast, Ibn Mammātī, ed. A. S. Atiya 347-8; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* ed. Wiet ii, (*MIFAO* xiii, 1913) 108 note 4), and *dīwān al-aḥrā'* (see above xxx). Al-Nābulusī also mentions the *dīwān al-zakāt*, *dīwān al-mawārīth* and *al-dīwān al-nabawī* (*dīwān* for the descendants of the Prophet) an office otherwise known as *niḳābat al-ashrāf*, whose head was called *naḳīb al-ashrāf* (syndic of the Prophet's descendants (W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria* 101, 15; W. Björkman, Index).

(4). The Mamlūk period. The administration under the Mamlūks shows an increasing influence of the military class (*arbāb* or *aṣḥāb al-suyūf*) over the civilians, the *kuttāb* (*arbāb al-aḳlām*), in many governmental departments, such as exercised by the *ustādār*, the *dawādār* [*qq.v*], etc. Ibn Khaldūn considers it as typical sign of "senility" of an epoch and a dynasty, as in such a situation "the sword" has the advantage over "the pen" (ii, 41, tr. Rosenthal ii, 47; I. Goldziher, *Ueber Dualtitel*, in *WZKM* xiii (1899), 321-9). Two reforms of administration have been tried which both affected the *dīwāns*: Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn (709/1309-741/1341) abolished for the first time in 710/1310 the *wizāra* and divided its functions between four officials: *nāẓir al-māl* (controller of the exchequer), *shādd al-dawāwīn* (superintendent of the *dīwāns*), *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (controller of the private funds of the sultan; W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 97: "controller of privy funds) and *kātib al-sirr* (secretary of state; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 28; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 227, al-Sulūk, ii, 2, 93 & 103). And again the first Circassian Mamlūk sultan, al-Ẓāhir Sayf al-Dīn Barḳūḳ (784/1382-801/1208, [*q.v.*]) strengthened the *dīwān al-khāṣṣ* by surrendering to it the administration of the *thaghr* of Alexandria (see above) and established the *dīwān al-mufrad* (*dīwān* of the special bureau) for the control of stipends, clothing of the royal Mamlūks etc., and all that at the expense of the *wizāra*. The *wazīr*, however, becomes chancellor of the exchequer and was put "in charge of collecting all the different kinds of taxes" being "the highest rank among the men who are in charge of financial matters", and thus Ibn Khaldūn explains why many Copts were chosen for that and similar appointments who are "familiar with these matters since ancient times" (Ibn Khaldūn, ii, 15 & 20; tr. Rosenthal, ii, 19 & 25. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 223, 28; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Syria* xliii; W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 96-8). (i) The *dīwān al-inshā'*, called also *kitābat al-sirr* (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 225, 36 ff.; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 30; al-Ẓāhirī, *zubda* 99-100) still executed many of its former functions (see above xxx). Its chief, the *kātib al-sirr*, enjoyed the highest esteem among the hierarchy of civil servants (W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 97; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 226, 37); but he was responsible to the *dawādār* [*q.v.*], a *ṣāḥib al-sayf*, a sign of the influence of the military caste. He had been the head of the sultan's civil cabinet who received the postbag and forwarded it to the sultan, or presented foreign ambassadors to the sovereign (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 19). On the other hand the *kātib al-sirr* gradually took over the function of *ṣāḥib al-barīd*; the first holder of both offices had been Awḥad al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥanafī (d. 786/1385; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 78; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin b. Taghrībirdī, *Manhal* no 1483; W. Björkman, *Staatskanzlei*, 41 & note 3). The *dīwān al-inshā'* was concerned with (*a*) correspondence (*mukātabāt*) with foreign powers as well as with the provincial authorities. Al-Ḳalḳashandī, therefore, asks for the knowledge of foreign languages among the officials of that *dīwān* such as Turkish, Persian, Greek and 'Frankish' *al-farandjiyya* (Latin?); *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā'*, i, 165-7; Björkman, *Staatskanzlei*, 44 and note 1); (*b*) appointments (*wilāyāt*), including the oath of allegiance (*bayʿa*) and the document of investiture for the sultan's successor (*ʿahd*) as well as the governors of the provinces (*taḳlīd*) and other officials (*tafwīḍ*, *tawḳīʿ*; al-Ḳalḳashandī, i, 252; Björkman, *Staatskanzlei* 48, 52); (*c*) the royal decisions upon complaints of the common folk (*tawḳīʿāt ʿala 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*, see above, al-Ḳalḳashandī, vi, 202 ff.; Björkman, *Staatskanzlei* 52-3). (ii) *Dīwān al-djaysh*, or *dīwān al-djuyūsh al-manṣūra* administered the grant of fiefs of army personnel (al-Ḳalḳashandī, i, 102), hence sometimes called *dīwān al-iḳṭāʿ*; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 457; Björkman, *Staatskanzlei* 51, note 2). Its chief, *nāẓir al-djaysh* (controller of the army-*dīwān*), often a *Ḳāḍī*, was assisted by the inspector of the *dīwān al-djaysh* (*ṣāḥib dīwān al-djaysh*) and numerous other officials called *shuhūd*, *kuttāb*, etc. (Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 97). According to al-Ẓāhirī (*zubda* 103) the *dīwān al-djaysh* was divided into two regional sections, *dīwān al-djaysh al-Miṣrī* and *dīwān al-djaysh al-Shāmī*. (iii) *Dīwān al-khāṣṣ* gained its importance under the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kalā'ūn (see above xxx; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* ii, 227, 10 reports its existence already under the Fāṭimids) and it grew in influence during the following decades until it reached its peak at the beginning of the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ in 790/1388 when it absorbed the *dīwān al-khizāna* (*dīwān* of the storehouses; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 227, 15 ff.; Popper, *Egypt and Syria* 97, 4). (iv) *Dīwān al-mufrad* (*dīwān* of the special bureau) was founded by al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ when he replaced the *wizāra* with it (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 223, 28 ff.; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 457, mentions an office of that name already under the Fāṭimids). Its real head was the *ustādār* [*q.v.*], a *ṣāḥib al-sayf* who even was appointed sometimes (titular) *wazīr* (Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 93, 9; al-Ẓāhirī, *zubda* 107, tr. 178). Under the *ustādār* the *nāẓir* (controller) of the *dīwān al-mufrad* directed with the help of a large staff the obligations of that *dīwān* such as "stipends, clothing, fodder, etc., for the Sultan's mamlūks" (Popper, 97). (v) The *dīwān al-amwāl* exercised the control of all the financial manipulations, and was responsible for the payment of salaries, and keeping of accounts (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 29 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 224, 7 ff.). His chief was the *wazīr*, but he, too, became more and more subordinate to the *ustādār* like the *nāẓir dīwān al-mufrad*; hence the high esteem of that office declined (Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 96; Ibn Khaldūn, ii, 20-1; tr. ii, 25). And disastrous appointments showed the real state of affairs such as when in 868/1464 a certain "wholesale butcher", Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Babāwī, was made *wazīr* and *nāẓir al-dawla*, or again in 870/1466 the "money-changer", Ḳāsim Yughayta/Shughayta, both men without education (Abu 'l-Maḥāsin b. Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, vii, 724-5 & 738-9; tr. Popper, iv 58, 67; Ibn Iyās, unpublished pages 136, 2 & 160, 4-5). The *nāẓir al-dawla* (sometimes the vizier, sometimes working with the vizier) functioned as the head of the exchequer and under him were numerous accountants (*mustawfī*), notaries (*shāhid*), etc. As mentioned already the supervision of the *dīwān al-amwāl* extended over a number of offices called *dīwān* or *naẓar* dealing with different branches of administration, *e.g.*, *naẓar bayt al-māl* which according to Maḳrīzī no longer existed at his time (*Khiṭaṭ*,

224, 36-7), *naẓar al-mawārīth al-ḥashriyya* (control-office of heirless property; Popper, *Syria and Egypt*, 99, 17), *naẓar al-murtadja'āt* also called *naẓar al-sulṭān* (control-office of reclaims; W. Popper, *loc. cit.* 99, 18; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 33) its head being called *mustawfī al-murtadja'āt*, *naẓar al-wadjh al-ḳiblī* and *naẓar al-wadjh al-baḥrī* (control-office of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively), *dīwān al-istīfā'* (*dīwān* for the payment of salaries), *dīwān al-aḥbās* (*dīwān* of pious foundations), *dīwān al-zakāt* (*dīwān* of alms), etc. The historians provide ample examples for the working of that complicated machinery, the disastrous effect of its inefficiency aggravated by the incessant changes of the leading personnel as well as of the rulers and the cruel arbitrary system of punishments (*muṣādara*) that accompanied every change.

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(H. L. GOTTSCHALK)

iii. Muslim West.

A. So far as Muslim Spain is concerned, we do not know how much of the civil and military administration of the Visigoths, which unquestionably was influenced by the Byzantine system, was found and adopted by the first conquerors at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century.

In the 4th/10th century, in the Umayyad period, three basic *dīwāns* are known to have been in operation, corresponding with the three essential needs of a State, each directed by a special minister (*wazīr* or *ṣāḥib*). These were:

1.—The Chancellery and State Secretariat, *dīwān al-rasā'il* (= *al-tarsīl*) *wa'l-kitāba*, which dealt with official correspondence, both incoming and outgoing, and also with the drafting of various diplomas and commissions (*sidjillāt*, *ṣukūk*).

2.—The Ministry of Finance, *dīwān al-kharādj wa 'l-djibāyāt*, *dīwān al-ashghāl* or *al-a'māl* (+ *al-kharādjiyya* or *al-māliyya*), *dīwān al-ḥisbān*, *dīwān al-zimām*, which was responsible for the collection of various taxes, supervision of tax-collectors, and keeping of accounts of revenue and expenditure. Connected with it by more or less direct links was the *Dīwān al-khizāna* which looked after the State's secular treasury, and separate from the *Bayt al-Māl* which was religious in character.

3.—The Ministry of the Army, *dīwān al-djaysh*, *dīwān al-djund*, *dīwān al-'asākir*, *dīwān ahl al-thughūr*, which had three different functions; keeping up to date the financial records of the regular army; keeping accounts and giving the army their pay (*arzāḳ*) and active service gratuities (*'aṭiyyāt*); distributing gifts of estates to senior officers (*iḳṭā'āt*). But it had no share in the command of troops or direction of campaigns.

After the Umayyads, a similar tripartite organisation, though naturally on a much reduced scale, was found at the "satraps' "court (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*), and later at the Naṣrids'.

With regard to North Africa before the Almohad period (6th/12th century), we know practically nothing about the *dīwāns*.

In 554/1159 the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'min, after imposing his authority over North Africa from Wādī Nūl to Barḳa, had a survey made of his empire, with the aim of compiling a register for the assessment of land taxes (*kharādj*), payable in kind and money; from this we can deduce that a special fiscal *dīwān* was either set up or developed.

Another Almohad, Ya'ḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-94) introduced the practice of *'alāma*, the formula of authorization written in large lettering at the head of despatches and commissions, the text of which was: *wa'l-ḥamdu li-llāhi waḥdah*. At first this was inscribed by the sovereign himself; later the insertion of *'alāma* was entrusted to the High Chancellor. The practice was maintained by the Ḥafṣids and Marīnids, and was observed until the end of the Sa'dids. The Naṣrids alone did not adopt it.

In other respects the Almohad *dīwāns* correspond with those of the Umayyads in Spain. But the High Chancellery tended to become the *dīwān al-inshā'*. This organization was maintained in Ifrīḳiya by the Ḥafṣids, and in Morocco by the Marīnids. However, several *dīwāns* were often put together and held simultaneously by a single statesman belonging to one or other of the great ministerial families.

From the 10th/16th century there is very little information about the operation, or indeed the existence, of *dīwāns* in North Africa. In Morocco we only know of the *dīwān al-djaysh* which included all regular troops, at first Arab and later negro (*'Abīd* or *Ḥarāṭīn*). As these troops (more particularly the *'Abīd*) had often made and deposed 'Alawid sultans, their *dīwān* sometimes appeared to be a kind of royal Council.

After the disastrous Tetuan war (1860), sultan Muḥammad III b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān tried to establish a modernized *dīwān al-djaysh*, but his attempt proved abortive.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Būlāḳ 1274, 114-20: trans. de Slane, 2nd part, 1-29; E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xe siècle*, 69, 128; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, trans. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in the index, s.v. *Dīwān*. For Morocco under the Saʿdids and ʿAlaouits, cf. Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā*ʾ, trans. Fumey (= *Archives Marocaines*, vol. ix and x), i, 46, 66, 94, 128, 178, 239, 283; ii, 240.

B. From the Almohad period (6th/13th century), in those ports open to trade with Christian Europe (from al-Mahdiyya in Ifrīḳiya to Ceuta, and also in Almeria), the existence has been established of special offices which were subordinate to the *dīwān al-ashghāl*, and whose function was to collect tithes (*aʿshār*) and other incidental taxes (*malāzim*) which were imposed upon European importers. This sort of office was in general called simply *al-dīwān*; but more detailed titles are also encountered: *dīwān al-baḥr* and in particular *dār al-ishrāf ʿalā ʿimālat al-dīwān* "supervisory headquarters for the levying of customs-duties". The local official in charge was called *mushrif*.

To facilitate the operation of customs, and in addition to ensure the safety of Christian merchants and their merchandise, one or more entrepots (one for each nation) were situated very close to the *dīwān*; these were *funduḳ* or *ḳaysāriyya*, the eastern equivalents of which were *khān* and (*dār al-*)*wikāla*.

As an exception, offices of this sort also operated in capital cities situated inland, as for example at Tlemcen and Fez. In the latter town, the "office for the tax" levied on cloth imported from Europe which Leo Africanus (beginning of 10th/16th century) recorded as being in the *ḳaysāriyya* there must correspond with the small commercial quarter, still known today as *Ed-Dīwān*, immediately north of the present *ḳaysāriyya*.

The word *dīwān*, taken in this narrow sense (which must have been the one best known to European merchants), is evidently the origin of the Italian *dogana* and the Spanish *aduana*, and so of the French *douane*. But the loss of the *-ī-* and the addition of the final *-a* in the two first borrowings cause difficulty. In Granada (end of 9th/15th century), P. de Alcala still gave, as the Arabic translation of the Spanish *aduana*, the word *dīwên*.

However that may be, the present-day term in Morocco is *dīwāna*, perhaps influenced by the Spanish form. In the other Maghribī languages as in eastern languages, that is to say in the Arabic-speaking countries which were annexed to the former Ottoman empire, the words for "Customs" are borrowed from the Turkish *gümrük* which goes back to the Latin *commercium* through demotic Greek.

Bibliography: Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. De Goeje, for Alexandria (39-40) and ʿAkkā (302); De Mas Latrie, *Relations et commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale*, 1886, 166, 335; *Hespéris*, xii (1931), 162 (for Ceuta).

C. From the middle of the 10th/16th century *dīwān*s made their appearance in the Turkish principalities of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. At that time the word denoted a clique of senior officers who were appointed to assist and, more particularly, to supervise the leading Turkish official of the locality.

It was no doubt on the precedent of these cliques that, at the beginning of the 11th/17th century, the Moors living in the *ḳaṣaba* of Rabat set up their *Dīwān* or Council (contemporary European texts refer to them as *duan, duano, duana*), the members of which exercised supervision over the Governor.

In its present use in dialect, the word *dīwān* is sometimes applied to the "councils" which the Saints, and also *djinn*s, are reputed to hold from time to time. It is partly for this reason that the word is sometimes used in the sense of "plot, cabal".

Bibliography: See the articles ALGERIA, LIBYA, TUNISIA; de Castries, *Les trois républiques du Bou-Regreg*, in *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* (Holland, 1st series, V, i-xxviii), in which the author is mistaken with regard to "douane".

In the East, special systems of writing were used in government offices, notably the *dīwānī* for chancery and diplomatic usage, and the *siyāḳ* or *siyāḳa*, including a system of numerical abbreviations, for fiscal and financial records. In the Muslim West the accountants in the financial offices made use of a series of 27 figures called *rusūm* (or *ḥurūf*) *al-zimām* "abbreviations or characters of the great book", the Byzantine origin of which is established. See also KHAṬṬ.

Bibliography: G. S. Colin, *De l'origine grecque des "chiffres de Fès"*, in *JA*, 1933, 193.

(G. S. COLIN)

iv. Īrān

The term *dīwān* was variously used to mean the central government in general, in which sense it was also more specifically known as the *dīwān-ī aʿlā*, the office or place in which government business was transacted and the "civil" administration as opposed to the "military" administration, though the dividing line between them is sometimes difficult to establish. By the mid-19th century the term *dīwān* in the sense of the central government had been largely replaced by *dawla* or *dāʾira-i dawla*. Secondly the term *dīwān* was used to mean a government department in general, in which sense it was eventually replaced by *wizāra*, *dāʾira*, and *idāra*. These *dīwān*s varied according to the exigencies of the time. The adjective *dīwānī* is similarly used. Thus, *muhimmāt-i dīwānī* meant the affairs of the central administration; *takālīf-i dīwānī* were taxes or dues (of a non-canonical nature) imposed by the *dīwān*. Applied to land *dīwānī* meant state land in contradistinction to crown land or private estates.

Barthold's statement that "throughout the whole system of the eastern Muslim political organization there runs like a red thread the division of all organs of administration into two main categories, the *dargāh* (palace) and *dīwān* (chancery)" (*Turkestan*, 227) is, perhaps, an over-simplification; there was, almost inevitably, because of the intensely personal nature of power, a tendency for the dividing line between the competence of the various officials to be a shifting one. The general tendency in the early phases of Ilkhān, Ṣafawid, and Ḳādjār rule, for obvious reasons, was for the central administration to be relatively simple and for the differentiation between the various organs of government to increase with the passage of time. This is noticeable especially in the Ṣafawid and Ḳādjār periods.

The *dīwān-i aʿlā* covered the whole field of administration; but it was concerned primarily with three aspects; the issue of diplomas and decrees; financial administration; and the administration of justice (apart from cases of personal status which came under the *sharʿī* courts). The first two fell

within the purview of the *wazīr*; the last, so far as it was delegated, was delegated, not to the *wazīr*, who lacked the power to execute decisions, but rather to "military" officials. In Saldjūḳ times the sultan or his officials as well as conducting state business in the *dīwān-i aʿlā* also held from time to time a *dīwān-i maẓālim*. Under the Tīmūrids and Ṣafawids the chief judicial official was the *dīwānbegī*, who was usually a member of the military classes. The tradition of personal administration, including the administration of justice, by the ruler continued into Ḳādjār times (Malcolm, *History*, London 1829, ii, 308), and the royal residence in which state business of all kinds was transacted by the ruler (and by the governors in the provinces) in general, and the audience hall in particular, was known as the *dīwānkhāna*.

The central administration had little influence in the field of policy or over the appointment of governors, which was in the hands of the sultan or the shāh. Large areas of the empire were also alienated from its control in the form of *iḳṭāʿ*s or *tiyūl*s. There was, nevertheless, a remarkable continuity of administrative tradition in Persia, especially in the field of finance, which was that aspect of the central government which was most highly organized. This tradition stretches back from the mid-19th century (after which administrative changes influenced by the example of western European countries began to take place) to Ṣafawid and Tīmūrid times, and it can, in spite of certain innovations made by the Ilkhāns, be traced back still further to the period of the Great Saldjūḳs. That this continuity should have been preserved was, perhaps, largely due to the fact that the members of the bureaucracy were drawn almost exclusively from the settled population and served the successive dynasties. Thus, the administrative personnel of the early Ṣafawid empire was largely composed of officials who had served the preceding Turkoman dynasties; similarly the bureaucratic officials of the Ilkhāns had served the dynasties ruling in Persia before the Mongol conquest. Equally striking is the extent to which high office under the early Ḳādjārs was held by the ministers and officials of the Zands, who had ruled before them.

The most important official of the central administration was the *wazīr* [*q.v.*]. His power was delegated to him by the ruler, and might, and sometimes did, range over the whole field of government, "civil", "military", and religious. The personal factor was of immense importance in deciding the extent of his authority and influence. For a brief period under the early Ṣafawids the chief official of the state came to be known as the *wakīl* [*q.v.*], the term *wazīr* being used mainly for the head of a department or ministry and for the head official of the provincial administration under the governor. In the later Ṣafawid period the chief official of the central government was called the *wazīr-i aʿẓam* and had the title *Iʿtimād al-dawla*; under the Ḳādjārs the chief minister, who was called the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, also sometimes bore this title.

In Great Saldjūḳ times the wazīrate was the keystone of the central administration; the *wazīr*, when he was at the height of his power, supervised all aspects of the administration over which the central government had control, including especially finance. Sources of revenue were in some measure regulated by him; and his main business was to increase the revenue. The principal *dīwān*s under him were the *dīwān al-inshāʾ wa ʾl-ṭughrāʾ* (sometimes known as the *dīwān-i rasāʾil*), which dealt with incoming and outgoing correspondence, and the *dīwān al-zimām wa ʾl-istīfāʾ* (also known as the *dīwān-i ishrāf*), which dealt with financial affairs. It is not without interest that two of the main departments of the central government in the 19th century were under the *munshī al-mamālik* and the *mustawfī al-mamālik* respectively. The *dīwān al-zimām wa ʾl-istīfāʾ* was divided into two main sections, one under the *mustawfī al-mamālik* and the other under the *mushrif al-mamālik*. Their relative importance varied. In post-Saldjūḳ times the two offices tended to be independent, the former being concerned with revenue matters and the latter with inspection and control. The main object on which the revenue was expended was the army; it therefore followed that even when the revenue was alienated in the form of assignments (*iḳṭāʿ*s) from the control of the central government the records of these transactions should have been kept in a department of the central government, the *dīwān-i ʿarḍ* (cf. *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehrān 1950, 39-40, 76, and see DAFTAR).

After the reign of the first three sultans the importance of the *wazīr* declined relative to that of the *mustawfī* [*q.v.*]. Fakhr al-Mulk b. Niẓām al-Mulk, the *wazīr* of Barkyāruḳ, was, for example, overshadowed by the *mustawfī* Madjd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī (Bundārī, *Dawlat al-Saldjūḳiyya*, Cairo 1318, 79). Further, whereas in the early period there was no intermediary between the sultan and the *wazīr*, in the later period the *wakīldār* and *amīr ḥādjib* were interposed between them (Bundārī, 86, 107, 175; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 59); and as the wazīrate decreased in influence there was a tendency for the ruler to deal with the heads of the various *dīwān*s directly and not through the *wazīr* (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, B.M. Add. 7628, f. 251a). This is not to say that in the early period all *dīwān* business invariably went through the *wazīr* or that in the later period the reverse was the case.

In addition to the two major *dīwān*s of the central government there were various *dīwān*s which dealt with special aspects of financial affairs and land, such as the *dīwān-i khāṣṣ* (concerned with crown lands) and the *dīwān-i awḳāf* (*ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 33, 52 ff.). The pattern of the central government was to some extent repeated in the provinces. The governor had his *dīwān*, known sometimes as the *dīwān-i ayālat* (cf. *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 79). There was a *dīwān-i istīfāʾ* in the principal districts, for example in Marw and Bisṭām (*ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 56, 46); and a number of *dīwān*s dealing with various aspects of the financial administration. Thus in Rayy Ḳiwām al-Dīn Ināndj Ḳutlugh Bilgā, who was governor on behalf of Sandjar, was ordered in his deed of appointment to hold the *dīwān-i ʿamal* and the *dīwān-i shiḥnagī* in his own residence (*sarāy*) (*ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 73). Similarly the document appointing Tādj al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Makārim *raʾīs* of Māzandarān on behalf of Sandjar laid down that he should hold the *dīwān-i muʿāmilāt wa ḳismāt* in his own residence (*ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 26). Cases concerning the levy of dues, public contraction, and taxation were apparently in some cases referred to the *dīwān-i riyāsat* (A. K. S. Lambton, *The administration of Sanjar's empire*, in *BSOAS*, 1957, xx, 386). The extent to which the heads of these various *dīwān*s had freedom to appoint and dismiss their subordinates probably varied. Muʿīn al-Dīn, who was appointed *shiḥna* of Djuwayn by Sandjar, was given freedom to dismiss his subordinates but was instructed to confirm the appointment of the

kadkhudā of the *dīwān* (*ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 61). There are also cases recorded of Saldjūk women having *dīwāns* (cf. *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 61; Khwāndamīr, *Dastūr al-wuzarāʾ*, Tehrān, 190).

With the Mongol invasion of Persia there was to some extent a break with tradition; much of the earlier administrative structure nevertheless remained, or was revived after the adoption of Islam by the Ilkhāns; and the officials of the bureaucracy and the religious institution with their various *dīwāns* were again found alongside the officials of the "military" government. The foremost minister of state continued to be known as the *wazīr*, or, sometimes, in his position as the representative of the ruler as the *nāʾib* (Spuler, *Mongolen*², 282). There was, however, a tendency to remove financial affairs from the direct supervision of the *wazīr* and to entrust these to an official known as the *ṣāḥib dīwān*, who tended at times to overshadow the *wazīr*. It seems not unlikely that the Ilkhāns intended in this way to lessen the likelihood of the *wazīr* gaining an undue ascendancy. Djuwaynī as *wazīr* shared power with Madjd al-Mulk Yazdī, the *mushrif al-mamālik*, for several years from 677/1279; and from 699-718/1300-18 there were joint *wazīrs* at the head of the administration. In this, however, the Ilkhāns may have been merely following the example of earlier rulers in Central Asia (cf. Pritsak, *Die Karachaniden*, in *Isl.*, xxxi/1, 24). This practice of appointing two officials to hold office jointly was subsequently adopted on various occasions by the Ṣafawids. When Rashīd al-Dīn was appointed *ṣāḥib dīwān* in 699/1299-1300 he was charged with the general supervision of the kingdom, especially the tax administration, and among other things crown lands, the appointment of the officials of the bureaucracy, the post (*yām*), and the development of the country. (Waṣṣāf, Bombay 347). Under the *ṣāḥib dīwān* was the *mustawfī al-mamālik* and various departments dealing with different aspects of the finances, including a *dīwān-i khāliṣāt* (Waṣṣāf, 349).

Under the Tīmūrids, although there was an attempt in theory to reaffirm the principles of *sharʿī* government and to return to the traditional forms, in practice the distinction between the "civil" and "military" branches of the administration, which broadly coincided with the dichotomy between Turk and Tādjīk (*i.e.*, Persian) was clearly marked. Under Ḥusayn Bāyḳara the *dīwān-i aʿlā*, the supreme organ of government was divided into the *dīwān-i buzurg-i amārat* (under the *dīwānbegī*), which dealt with military affairs, and the *dīwān-i māl* (under a *wazīr*), which was concerned with "civil" affairs (Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, 169 ff.).

It seems likely that the administrative pattern of the Ilkhānid empire was inherited by the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (Minorsky, *The Aq-Qoyunlu and land reforms*, in *BSOAS*, 1955, xvii/3), but little is known of the details of the organization of their various *dīwāns* apart from their tax administration. There is mention of the *dīwān-i tawādjī* and the *dīwān-i parwānačī* (Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-90: An abridged translation of Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjīʿs Tārīkh-i ʿalam-ārā-yi amīnī*, London 1957, 28, 101). For a survey of the administrative organization of the Ilkhāns in Persia see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, specially 187 ff.

Information on the central administration is considerably fuller for Ṣafawid times than for the preceding periods. It is, however, extremely difficult to establish a dividing line between the various aspects of the *dīwān-i aʿlā*, which was both the royal court and the central government; similarly there was not always a clear demarcation of the functions of the members of the bureaucracy, the military officials, and the officials of the religious institution. The internal organization of the *dīwān-i aʿlā* was under the *ishīk-aḳāsī-bāshī* (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, ff. 7b, 13a ff.). The master of ceremonies of the Ḳādjār court was similarly designated. There appears to have been something in the nature of a state council, to which certain members of the *dīwān-i aʿlā* belonged; this council seems to have been outside the traditional pattern of the central administration. Alessandri states that Ṭahmāsp held a daily council attended by twelve sultans (*i.e.*, provincial governors and therefore members of the military classes) and those of his sons who were at court (*A narrative of Italian travels in Persia*, Hakluyt, 220-1). The functions of this council appear to have been purely advisory. The *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* states that the *ḳūrčī-bāshī*, *ḳullar-āḳāsī*, *ishīk-āḳāsī-bāshī*, *tufangčī-āḳāsī*, *wazīr-i aʿẓam*, *dīwānbegī*, and *wāḳiʿa-niwīs* "had from early times belonged to the council of amīrs of the *umarā-yi djānḳī* and at the end of the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn the *nāẓir*, *mustawfī al-mamālik*, and the *amīr-shikār-bāshī* were also, on some occasions, included in the council. If the council met on the subject of sending an army commander (*sipahsālār*) to some outlying part of the empire, the presence of the *sipahsālār* at the *djānḳī* was a necessary condition" (ff. 7b-8a). Minorsky considers the institution to be of Mongol or Tīmūrid origin. Chardin maintains that there was no council of state similar to the European institution; Sanson, on the other hand, states that all decisions were taken in the King's Council (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 113-4). Under the Ḳādjārs the *djānḳī* does not appear to have been a regular part of the central government administration, but to have been a tribal council dealing with affairs concerning the Ḳādjār tribe, which presumably normally sat under the *ilkhānī*. Malcolm mentions a case of treason by a "high noble" of the Ḳādjār tribe being tried about 1808 by a *djānḳī* (*History*, ii, 327n.).

The highest official of the *dīwān-i aʿlā* under Ismāʿīl and Ṭahmāsp was the *wakīl*, who was the *alter ego* of the shāh as the *wazīr*, in his heyday, had been of the sultan; his competence extended virtually over the whole field of the administration. The use of the term *wakīl* for the chief official of the *dīwān-i aʿlā* appears to have died out in the middle of the 10th/16th century and to have been replaced by the term *wazīr-i aʿẓam*, who held the title of Iʿtimād al-dawla. After 920/1514 his office tends to be referred to as the *niẓārat-i dīwān-i aʿlā*, *niẓārat-i dīwān*, or *dīwān-i wizāra* (R. M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Safawid state*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii/1, 1960, 91-105 and xxiv/1, 1961, 65-84). In due course an elaborate system of administrative procedure was evolved. As head of the *dīwān-i aʿlā* the *wazīr* confirmed official appointments; documents concerning these matters and the pay of officials went through an office called the *daftarkhāna-i humāyūn-i aʿlā* under a special *wazīr*. Documents concerning the pay of the "standing army" (*ḳūrčīs*, *ghulāms*, *tufangčīs*, and members of the *topkhāna*) went through the relative department (*sarkār*), which was under a *wazīr* and *mustawfī* and staffed by secretaries belonging to the *dīwān* (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, f. 58 ff.). Letters of appointment and salary grants for "civil" and military officials as well as being sealed by the

wazīr-i aʿẓam were also sealed by the *lashkar-niwīs* of the *dīwān-i aʿlā*, who was also *wazīr* of the department (*sarkār*) of the eunuchs, falconers (*ḳūshčiyān*), ushers (*yasāwulān*), and doorkeepers (*ḳāpūčiyān*) (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, f. 65a ff.).

Among his other duties as head of the *dīwān-i aʿlā* the *wazīr* checked the legality of the proceedings of officials and presided over the financial affairs of the state (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 115); this last was, in effect, his most important function. Like his predecessors in the wazīrate in earlier times, it was his duty to exert himself in increasing the revenue (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, f. 8b). The financial administration was divided into two main departments, the *dīwān-i mamālik* under the *mustawfī al-mamālik* and the *dīwān-i khāṣṣa* under the *nāẓir-i buyūtāt* (also called the *nāẓir-i buyūtāt-i sarkār-i khāṣṣa*). The exact relationship of the *wazīr-i aʿẓam* to the *nāẓir-i buyūtāt* and the nature of his control over the *dīwān-i khāṣṣa* are not entirely clear. The budget of the *buyūtāt* was apparently submitted to the *wazīr-i aʿẓam* (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, f. 16a). Under the *mustawfī al-mamālik* there were various officials in charge of different tax offices (*daftar*), parallel offices in many cases being in existence to deal with the relevant matters according to whether they were situated in *mamālik* or *khāṣṣa* areas. These included a *daftar-i mawḳūfāt* (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, f. 71a) and a *daftar-i baḳāyā* (Iskandar Munshī, *ʿAlam-ārā*, 765). A special department, the *sarkār-i fayḍ āthār*, at Mashhad administered the *waḳf*s of the shrine of the Imām Riḍā (*ʿAlam-ārā*, 258 *bis*, 654). General supervision of *waḳf*s was carried out by the *dīwān al-ṣadāra* under the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* (H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 204). Some of the provincial *ṣadr*s also had *dīwān*s or *sarkār*s (cf. a diploma dated A.H. 1077 for the *mustawfī* of the *mawḳūfāt* of Yazd, *Djāmiʿ-i mufīdī*, B.M. Or. 210, ff. 168b-170b; and Busse, 132).

The *dīwān-i mamālik* was concerned with the administration of provinces and districts which were administered by governors and were alienated from the direct control of the central government. The *dīwān-i khāṣṣa* was concerned with areas directly administered by the central government under *wazīr*s. The extent of the indirectly administered areas relative to the directly administered varied (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk* 24 ff., A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 108). With the increase in the extent of the *khāṣṣa* which took place under Shāh Ṣafī the importance of the *dīwān-i khāṣṣa* was presumably enhanced; the *nāẓir-i buyūtāt-i sarkār-i khāṣṣa* is mentioned as the greatest of the offices of the *dīwān* in the time of Shāh Ṣafī, (*Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, f. 338b-339a). The *mustawfī* of the *dīwān-i khāṣṣa* appears to some extent to have been subordinate to the *mustawfī al-mamālik* and hence to the *wazīr-i aʿẓam* (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 27b-28a). Iṣfahān, as the capital, enjoyed, perhaps, a special position. The *sarkār-i fayḍ āthār* and the *sarkār-i intiḳālī* dealt with special categories of land (presumably *waḳf*s and land resumed by the state); the administration of crown lands appears to have been under the *wazīr* of Iṣfahān. All three departments were under the general supervision of the *wazīr-i aʿẓam* of the *dīwān-i aʿlā* (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, ff. 71a ff.).

The *buyūtāt, i.e.*, the Royal Household, was administered by the *wazīr-i buyūtāt* under the general supervision of the *nāẓir-i buyūtāt*. It was divided into a number of offices (*daftarkhāna*) and workshops (*kārkhāna*), each under a *ṣāḥib djamʿ* and a *mushrif*, the former responsible for its general activities and the latter for administrative routine (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 140).

The department corresponding to the former *dīwān-i inshāʾ* was known under the Ṣafawids as the *dār al-inshāʾ* and was under the *munshī al-mamālik* (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, ff. 39b-40a; Busse, 59 ff.).

The *dīwān-i aʿlā* under the Ḳādjārs was broadly speaking modelled on the practice of the Ṣafawids. As the royal court its procedure from the time of Fatḥ ʿAlī onwards was elaborate. The administration of the royal household, which comprised a number of offices which were collectively known as the *buyūtāt*, was, however, more clearly separated from the *dīwān-i aʿlā* than had previously been the case. So far as the *dīwān-i aʿlā* in the central government was concerned, its organization was less elaborate than in Ṣafawid times; and there was no longer a distinction between the *mamālik* and *khāṣṣa* departments. Āḳā Muḥammad Khān apparently attended to the details of the administration largely in person; the rule of Fatḥ ʿAlī was also personal, but during his reign the administration was expanded. The chief official of the *dīwān-i aʿlā* was the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*; his power varied with the relative energy, indolence, and competence of the shāh. Under Āḳā Muḥammad Khān the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, Ḥādjdji Ibrāhīm, is said to have presided over all the departments of state (Malcolm, ii, 308-9). The two most important departments were under the *mustawfī al-mamālik* and the *lashkar-niwīs* respectively; the latter was concerned with the pay and levy of the military forces, which was closely bound up with the tax administration. Under Fatḥ ʿAlī the office of *munshī al-mamālik* again became important. The internal administration of these various departments appears to have been of a relatively rudimentary nature under the early Ḳādjārs. Morier, writing in 1809, states that the offices of the ministers and secretaries of state were situated in the shāh's palace where they assembled every day to be ready whenever the shāh might summon them (*A journey through Persia*, London 1812, 216); but in fact the ministers often had to set up their departments wherever they happened to be. Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and Fatḥ ʿAlī both spent much of their time on military expeditions and in camp (as also did their successors); and they were normally accompanied on these occasions by their ministers. In such circumstances government departments had to function without any elaborate administrative apparatus. Malcolm states that "the accounts of the receipts and disbursements throughout the ecclesiastical, civil, revenue and military branches of the government, are kept with much regularity and precision" (*History*, ii, 310). In fact, these records were largely treated as the personal property of the officials who made them; and so far as they concerned the revenue assessment, by the middle of the century they often bore little relation to conditions as they were. The *dīwān* of the *mustawfī al-mamālik* was organized on a geographical basis, the tax assessment and records of a given area being placed in charge of a *mustawfī*, who was known as the *mustawfī* of that district. Separate departments dealt with crown lands (*khāliṣa*) and *waḳf*s and other special aspects such as arrears (*baḳāyā*).

The provincial administration was delegated to the governor, who often attended to the details of this in person. In the case of a powerful provincial governor, especially if he were a Ḳādjār prince,

the provincial court tended to be a replica (on a smaller scale) of the *dīwān-i aʿlā*. The most important provincial official was the *wazīr*, who was normally appointed by the *dīwān-i aʿlā*. His main responsibility was to ensure that the governor remitted the provincial tax quota to the central government.

Bibliography: see authorities quoted in the text. (ANN K. S. LAMBTON)

v. India

The term *dīwān*, meaning a government department, appears to have been first introduced into India during the rule of the Ghaznawids with the seat of their administration at Lahore. Ariyaruk, the Commander of India appointed by Sultan Maḥmūd, had all the wealth which be had accumulated during his viceroyalty in India confiscated on his dismissal and recall to Ghazna. A great part of this fortune must have come from *kharādj* (land-revenue) for whose collection and disbursement there must have existed a separate department. Narshakhī (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Schefer, 24) mentions the existence of no less than 10 *dīwāns* under the Ghaznawids, including the *dīwān-i wizāra* or revenue department (cf. also Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. Said Naficy, Teheran 1319 s/1940, 53, 180, 792). Bayhaḳī was himself on the staff of the *dīwān-i risāla* (*dīwān-i inshāʾ*) during the rule of Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd. Moreland's contention [see Bibl.] that the word *dīwān* was first used by Indian historians to denote a department or a ministry in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries is, therefore, erroneous. The term was in use much earlier.

During the Sultanate period its use was mainly confined to the minister for revenue, who was ordinarily the *wazīr* himself, and his department, the revenue ministry. A new department, on its creation, was also known as the *dīwān*, such as the *dīwān-i risāla* or the *dīwān-i maẓālim*. During the same period the word was also used for the military department, which too was under the control of the *wazīr*, although under the Ghaznawids, this department was known separately as the *dīwān-i ʿarḍ*.

This system of government seems to have been fully developed during the Sultanate period as we find quite a number of departments in existence. These included: (i) *dīwān-i wizāra*, which dealt mainly with finance (cf. Shams Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (Pers. text, 419-20); (ii) *dīwān-i ʿarḍ*, the military department, under the *ʿĀriḍ-i Mamālik* who was sometimes the Sultan himself; (iii) *dīwān-i Risāla*, which dealt with religious matters, endowments, and grants of *madad maʿāsh*, and which was controlled by the *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*, who also combined the office of the *ḳāḍī-i mamālik* or Chief Judge of the realm; (iv) *dīwān-i inshāʾ*, the same as the *dīwān-i khātam*, first established by Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, or *dīwān-i risālat*, under the Ghaznawids. It dealt with all official correspondence, a prototype of the modern, but more complex and highly developed, secretariat; (v) *dīwān-i maẓālim*, which dealt with courts of *Maẓālim* [*q.v.*] jurisdiction, the *sharīʿa* courts being administered by the *dīwān-i ḳaḍāʾ*, under the *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* or the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*; (vi) *dīwān-i ishrāf*, under the *mushrif* or the accountant-general, which dealt with the accounts received from the provinces or other departments. These were audited by the sister department controlled by the *mustawfī al-mamālik*. During the reign of Fīrūz Tughluḳ (cf. ʿAfīf, Pers. text, 409-10) the *mushrif* dealt with the income and the *mustawfī* with the expenditure only. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ had also set up a separate *dīwān*, under a *mutaṣarrif*, for the royal *kārkhānas* (factories), whose accounts were, however, audited by the *dīwān-i wizāra*. There occurred a slight change in the designation of the *wazīr* during the Mughal period, who came to be known as the *dīwān-i kull* and his colleagues in the same department as mere *dīwāns*, with such other appellations as denoted their functions and duties such as the *dīwān-i tan* or the *dīwān-i khāliṣa*.

Another significant change under the Mughals was that the head of the department of revenue and finance came exclusively to be known as the *dīwān*. During the reign of Akbar the word *wazīr* in this sense was seldom used, having been replaced by the term *dīwān*, which had come to denote a person rather than an institution or a government department. However, in the reign of his son, Djahāngīr, the old practice was revived and the term *wazīr* again came into vogue. It was during the reign of Shāhdjahān that the *wazīr* came to be known as the *dīwān-i kull* and his other colleagues in the department as *dīwāns*, with the addition of such epithets as showed their designations. For some time the two words *wazīr* and *dīwān* remained almost synonymous, and even in private business, a person who managed a high officer's or a wealthy person's financial affairs came to be known as a *dīwān*. Dayānat Khān was the *dīwān* of Mumtāz Maḥall in the first year of Shāhdjahān's reign (*Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, Eng. tr. by A. H. Beveridge, i, 484). Even to this day male members of some families, both Hindū and Muslim, proudly carry the hereditary honorific of *Dīwān*, once borne by some illustrious ancestor.

The revenue ministry, under the *dīwān*, was consequently known as *dīwānī*, a term which was destined to survive in the *dīwānī* (civil) and *fawdjdārī* (criminal) courts of the British days, which still form a part of the legal structure of Pakistan.

During the Mughal period the *dīwān* performed multifarious duties. He was not only responsible for the disposal of revenue papers, but also drafted urgent royal letters and *farmāns*. He also granted interviews to the agents of the princes, provincial governors and high nobles. The mounting of the guard, under the command of a nobleman, round the imperial palace at night was also a part of his duty. He had to submit revenue collection and expenditure returns to the emperor who was in this way kept informed of the finances of the State. As an administrative functionary, he allocated duties to all high dignitaries on first appointment, received regular reports from them, and also had powers to grant leave. He was also in charge of all official records which were deposited in his office (for a detailed list of these records, see Jadūnāth Sarkār, *Mughal administration*[4], Calcutta 1952, 29-32).

His colleagues, the *dīwān-i khāliṣa* and the *dīwān-i tan*, had separate duties to perform. The former, *inter alia*, examined the accounts prepared by the revenue department, checked up the *ṭūmār-i djamʿ* (record of total standard assessment) of the *khāliṣa* (Crown lands), prepared the estimates of expenditure (*barāwurd*) on the troops and the emperor's personal staff and retinue. The *dīwān-i tan* was responsible, *inter alia*, for the submission of all matters to the emperor, which dealt with the *djāgīrs* or cash disbursements including the drafting of *farmāns*, memoranda, *parwānas* etc. for the grant of *madad maʿāsh* to scholars, the *ʿulamāʾ*, *ḳāḍīs* etc.

The office of the provincial *dīwān* was next in

importance to that of the *sipāhsālār* only. The provincial *dīwān* having been appointed directly by the emperor on the recommendation of the central *dīwān*, was, in no way subordinate to the governor. He obtained his orders from the central *dīwān* and was only responsible to him; the idea was to keep the *fiscus* independent of gubernatorial control and thus minimize dangers of misappropriation, defalcation and embezzlement of public money as well as of the insurrection of the *ṣūbadārs*. The *Mir'at-i Aḥmadī* (Baroda 1928, i, 163-70) quotes a *farmān* of Akbar giving in a comprehensive form the duties of a provincial *dīwān*, who according to this *farmān*, should be a "trustworthy and experienced person who has already served some high noble in the same capacity". His duties entailed heavy responsibilities as he was supposed to scrutinize the accounts of the revenue collectors (*ʿāmils*) and report corrupt ones for dismissal. He sometimes also acted as the provincial auditor.

As time passed, the powers of the *dīwān* increased greatly. Not only could he make grants up to 99,000 *dāms* but could also sign the deeds for the grant of *djāgīrs* and *a'imma* lands, which technically were defective and void without the Imperial seal or the signature of the central *dīwān*. In spite of this the *dīwān* did not enjoy a rank equal to that of the *ṣūbadār* who, as head of the executive, enjoyed a higher status, prestige and honour in the public eye than the 'chancellor of the exchequer'.

The provincial *dīwān* was assisted in his duties by a *pīshkār* or personal assistant, who was appointed by an imperial *sanad* under the seal of the central *dīwān*, a *dārūgha* or office superintendent, a *mushrif* and a *taḥwīldār-i daftarkhāna* (record-keeper), all holding a *manṣab*. Among the lower staff the *mirdhā* (process-server) occupied an influential position in the public eye and was generally held in great respect.

In 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries the term *dīwānī* came to be used only for the revenue administration in contrast to the *niẓāmat* or *fawdjdārī*, terms which denoted the general administration, concerned primarily with the maintenance of law and order. Even to this day civil courts in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are known as *dīwānī* courts, as distinguished from the criminal or *fawdjdārī* courts. In this sense the word owes its origin to the appointment of the East India Company as the *dīwān* of the Province of Bengal. The management of the Company found it desirable to establish their own court of justice which they named the *Dīwānī ʿAdālat*, *i.e.*, court of the *dīwān*.

In some of the former princely States in India, now merged with the Indian Union, the chief minister was known as the *Dīwān*. The word also formed part of two of the titles *Dīwān Ṣāḥib* and *Dīwān Bahādur*, conferred by the British Indian Government; their use was, however, restricted to South Indian celebrities.

The use of the word in expressions like the *Dīwān-i ʿāmm* (Hall of Public Audience) and the *Dīwān-i khāṣṣ* (Hall of Special Audience) in the Mughal forts at Lahore, Agra, Dihlī, and elsewhere, is a faint echo of its original meaning. In the houses and mansions of the great or well-to-do people, in days gone by, there was a separate apartment known as the *Dīwān-Khāna*, equivalent to the modern drawing-room, but reserved exclusively for the use of the male members of the family or their guests and visitors.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

vi. — Ottoman. [see DĪWĀN-I HUMĀYŪN].

DĪWĀN AL-SHŪRĀ [see MADJLIS AL-SHŪRĀ].

DĪWĀNĪ [see KHAṬṬ].

DĪWĀN-I HUMĀYŪN, the name given to the Ottoman imperial council, until the mid 11th/17th century the central organ of the government of the Empire. Evidence on the *dīwān* under the early Sultans is scanty. According to ʿĀshiḳpashazāde (ch. 31; ed. N. Atsız, *Osmanlı tarihleri*, Istanbul 1949, 118; German trans. R. Kreutel, *Vom Hirtenzeit zur hohen Pforte*, Graz 1959, 66), the practice of wearing a twisted turban (*burma dülbend*) when attending the *dīwān* was introduced during the reign of Orkhān. Probably a kind of public audience is meant. The Egyptian physician Shams al-Dīn b. Ṣaghīr, sent by Barḳūḳ to treat Bāyazīd II, describes how the Ottoman ruler used to hold public audience in the morning and dispense justice to the people (quoted by Ibn Ḥadjar in the *Inbā' al-ghumr*, *anno* 805; Şevkiye Inalcık, *Ibn Hacer'de Osmanlı'lara dair haberler*, in *AÜDTCFD*, vi/3, (1948), 192, 195; cf. Tashköprüzāde Kemāl al-Dīn Meḥmed, *Ta'rīkh-i Ṣāf*, Istanbul 1287, 34). ʿĀshiḳpashazāde (ch. 81; text 155-6, tr. 134) speaks of the pashas holding a *dīwān* when Meḥemmed I was dying, and of a daily *dīwān* at the Porte (*ḳapu*), and again (ch. 122; text 190-1, tr. 195) of a similar *dīwān* of the pashas on the death of Murād II. From these, and parallel narratives in Neshrī and other early chroniclers, it may be inferred that by the early 9th/15th century it had become a regular practice for the Sultan to preside over a council of the pashas, and that during the interregnum between the death of a Sultan and the arrival of his successor the *dīwān* could, exceptionally, be held by the pashas on their own. Meḥemmed II seems to have been the first Sultan to give up the practice of presiding over the meetings of the *dīwān*, relinquishing this function to the Grand Vizier. According to an anecdote recorded by later historians the reason for this was that a peasant with a grievance came to the *dīwān* one day and said to the assembled dignitaries: "Which of you is the Sultan? I have a complaint". The Sultan was offended, and the Grand Vizier Gedik Aḥmed Pasha suggested to him that he might avoid such embarrassments by not appearing at the *dīwān*. Instead, he could observe the proceedings from behind a grille or screen (Solaḳzāde, *Ta'rīkh*, 268; Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netā'idj al-wuḳūʿāt*[2], i, Istanbul 1327, 59; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Topḳapu Sarāy-i humāyūnu*, in *TOEM*, i/6, 1911, 351). Whatever the truth of the

anecdote, the withdrawal of the Sultan is confirmed by the *Ḳānūn* of Meḥemmed II, which states clearly that the Sultan sits behind a screen (*djanāb-i sherīfim pes-i perdede oturup* (*ḳānūnnāme* 23)). This practice continued until the time of Suleymān Ḳānūnī, who ceased to attend the meetings of the *dīwān* even in this form (Koču Bey, *Risāle*, ch. 2, ed. A. K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 20-3; German trans. by W. F. A. Behrnauer in *ZDMG*, xv, (1861), 275 ff. cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, iii, 489; *Histoire*, vi, 282).

Constitution and procedure. The *Ḳānūn* of Meḥemmed II, which purports to set forth the practice of the Sultan's father and grandfather, lays down the constitution of the *dīwān-i humāyūn* in some detail. The *dīwān* met every day; those attending were, in order of precedence, the Grand Vizier, the other viziers, the ḳāḍīʿaskers, the defterdārs, and the nishāndjī. If the nishāndjī had the rank of vizier or beylerbey, he sat above the defterdārs; if that of sandjaḳ-beyi, below the defterdārs. When they came, they were received with obeissance by the Chief Pursuivant (*Čaʾush-bashī*) and by the Intendant of the Doorkeepers (*Ḳapīdjīlar Kâhyasī*). Four times a week a meeting was held in the audience chamber (*arḍ odasī*), attended by the viziers, ḳāḍīʿaskers, and defterdārs, at which the Sultan was present behind a grille (*ḳānūnnāme* 13, 23). In former times, it had been the practice of the Sultans to dine with the viziers, but Meḥemmed had abolished this (ibid. 27).

In the course of the 10th/16th century the membership of the *dīwān* was somewhat extended. A document of 942/1536, quoted by Ferīdūn (*Munsheʾāt al-Selāṭīn*[2], i, 595) authorizes the Beylerbey of Rumeli to attend the *dīwān* but excludes the Beylerbey of Anatolia. Later, in recognition of the growing importance of naval affairs, the Ḳapudān Pasha was added. The Agha of the Janissaries, however, was only a member if he held the rank of vizier. Besides the full members of the *dīwān*, a number of other dignitaries were in attendance, though they had no seats in the council-chamber and did not participate in the deliberations. Among these were the Chief Secretary (*reʾis al-kuttāb* [*q.v.*]), head of the chancellery; the Chief Pursuivant; the Intendant of the Doorkeepers, who maintained liaison between the Grand Vizier and the Sultan; the financial secretaries (see MUḤĀSABA); the *dīwān* interpreters (see TERDJUMĀN); the police chiefs [see SHURṬA], and a number of other palace and administrative officers who might be called upon to carry out the decisions of the *dīwān*, with their assistants, clerks, and messengers.

During the 10th/16th century, the *dīwān* met regularly four times a week, on Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. Its proceedings began at daybreak, and dealt with the whole range of government business. The morning was normally devoted to public sessions, and especially the hearing of petitions and complaints, which were adjudicated by the relevant member of the *dīwān*, or by the Grand Vizier himself. About noon, the mass of petitioners and other outside visitors withdrew, and lunch was served to the members of the *dīwān*, who then proceeded to discuss what business remained. Withers (after Bon) makes it clear that the council was purely consultative, the final responsibility resting with the Grand Vizier: "Dinner being ended, the chief Vizier spendeth some small time about general affairs, and taking counsel together (if he pleaseth and thinks it fit) with the other Bashaws; at last he determineth and resolveth of all within himself, and prepareth to go in unto the King (it being the ordinary custom so to do, in two of the four Divan days, *viz.* upon Sunday, and upon Tuesday) to render an account briefly unto his Majesty of all such businesses as he hath dispatched" (ed. Greaves 1747, 616). Besides the regular *dīwān* meetings, certain special *dīwān*s were held. These were 1) the *ʿulūfe dīwānī* or *ghalebe dīwānī*, held quarterly for the distribution of pay and supplies to the Janissaries and other 'slaves of the gate' (see ḲAPU-ḲULU), and also for the reception of foreign ambassadors, 2) the *ayak dīwānī*—foot *dīwān* —an extraordinary or emergency meeting presided over by the Sultan or army-commander. It was so-called because all present remained standing. (On these two, see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları*, i, Ankara 1943, index, and idem, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 225-9).

Place of meeting. The *dīwān* building, usually known as *dīwānkhāne*, stands in the second court of the Topḳapu palace, between the Middle gate (*Ortaḳapu*) and the Gate of Felicity (*Bāb al-seʿāde*). The present structure was erected during the reign of Suleymān Ḳānūnī, by order of the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, and repaired in 1792 and 1819. In earlier times the *dīwān* met in another building, later referred to as the 'old *dīwānkhāne*'. The council chamber was known as *ḳubbe-altī*, 'under the dome', and those viziers who had the right to attend the *dīwān* were called 'the dome viziers' (see further WAZĪR). Overlooking the council-chamber was a screened enclosure, known as the *ḳaṣr-i ʿādil* or *ḳafes*, from which the Sultan could observe the proceedings. This was directly connected with the *ḥarem* quarters. Adjoining the *dīwānkhāne* were the offices and quarters of the various viziers, and the office of the Grand Vizier, known as *Divit* (= *dawāt*) *odasī* (cf. DAWĀDĀR). (On these buildings, see ʿAbd al-Rahmān Sheref, *Topḳapu-Sarāy-i humāyūnu*, in *TOEM*, i/6, 1911, 329-64, especially 350 ff.).

Administration. The main branches of the central administration, functioning under the *dīwān-i humāyūn*, were as follows :

(1) *Dīwān ḳalemi*, also called *Beylik* or *Beylikdji ḳalemi*, the central chancery office, headed by the *Beylikdji*, the senior chancery officer under the *reʾis al-kuttāb*. This office was responsible for drafting, issuing, and filing copies of all edicts, regulations (*Ḳānūn*), decrees and orders other than those concerned with finance. Treaties, capitulations, privileges and exequaturs issued to foreign powers were also, for a time, the concern of this department.

Besides the chancery, there were two departments dealing with questions of personnel, *viz*:

(2) the *Taḥwīl ḳalemi*, also called *nishān* or *kese ḳalemi*, which issued orders and kept records on appointments to the rank of vizier, beylerbey, sandjaḳ-beyi, and *mawlā*—*i.e.*, *ḳāḍī* of a *wilāyet*, as well as appointments and transfers to *timar*s and *ziʿāmet*s [*qq.v.*] (see further TAḤWĪL).

(3) the *Ruʾūs ḳalemi*, which was concerned with appointments to all ranks and posts other than those covered by the *Taḥwīl ḳalemi*, the emoluments of which came from treasury or *waḳf* funds. These included religious as well as civil and military posts.

Apart from these three main offices, there were two other branches, headed by the *Teshrīfātdjī* and the *Waḳʿanuwīs* [*qq.v.*], dealing respectively with ceremonial and with historical records. A later

addition was the office of the *Āmedī* or *Āmeddji* [*q.v.*], who headed the personal staff of the *Reʾīs al-kuttāb*. This was concerned with the conduct of relations with foreign states, and with the maintenance of liaison between government departments and the palace.

Some of the staff employed in these offices received salaries; others, of lower status, were paid with *tīmār*s and *ziʿāmet*s. The latter could be promoted to salaried appointments. The more important established officials had the rank of *khʷādjegān* [*q.v.*]. Their subordinates were called *khalīfe*.

Decline of the *Dīwān-i humāyūn*. The growing importance of the Grand Vizierate as against the palace led to the practice of the *Ikindi dīwānī*, a meeting held in the Grand Vizier's residence after the afternoon prayer (*ikindi*), to deal with unfinished business left over from the *dīwān-i humāyūn*. This body came to meet five times a week, and gradually took over a large part of the real work of the *dīwān-i humāyūn*. The transfer of the effective control and conduct of affairs from the palace to the Grand Vizierate was formalized in 1054/1654, when Sultan Meḥemmed IV presented the Grand Vizier Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha with a building that served both as residence and as office (see BĀB-I ʿĀLĪ and PASHA ḲAPUSU). To this new institution most of the administrative departments formerly under the *dīwān-i humāyūn* were, in time, transferred. By the 18th century the *dīwān-i humāyūn* had dwindled into insignificance. A new form of *dīwān* appeared under the reforming sultans Selīm III and Maḥmūd II, who established special councils to plan and apply the reforming edicts (see TANẒĪMĀT). These in time evolved into a system of cabinet government.

Bibliography: an early statement, from an Ottoman official source, on the constitution and functioning of the *dīwān-i humāyūn* will be found in the Ḳānūn of Meḥemmed II, dealing with the officers and organization of the government (*Ḳānūnnāme-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Meḥmed ʿĀrif, *TOEM* Supplement 1330 A.H. 13 ff.; 23 ff. The existing copy contains revisions dating from the reign of Bāyazīd II). This description may be supplemented from information in the Ottoman chronicles (notably the *Hasht Bihisht* of Idrīs Bidlīsī [*q.v.*], reign of Meḥemmed II), and the foreign sources (*e.g.*, G. M. Angiolello [Donado da Lezze] *Historia turchesca*, ed. I. Ursu, Bucarest 1909, 130 ff.). The subsequent development of the institution may be traced in later *ḳānūn*s (*e.g.*, that of 1087/1676, published in *MTM*, i/3, (1331 A.H.), 506 ff.) and later foreign descriptions (*e.g.*, the very full account written by the Venetian Bailo Ottaviano Bon in 1608, *Il Serraglio del gran Signore*, in N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, edd., *Relazioni degli stati europei lette al Senato* ..., 5 ser., i, Venice 1866 (English adaptation by Robert Withers, *A Description of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio*, *Purchas' Pilgrims* ii/II, London 1625, repr. Glasgow 1905, ix, 322 ff.; also in John Greaves, *Miscellaneous Tracts*..., ii, London 1650 and later reprints), P. Rycaut, *History of the present state of the Ottoman Empire*[4], London 1675, Bk i, ch. xi, 77 ff. From about the middle of the 10th/16th century, the development and functioning of the *dīwān-i humāyūn* and the various administrative departments and services which it controlled can be followed in great detail in the records preserved in the Ottoman archives. A classification and description will be found in Midhat Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından başvekâlet arşivi*, Ankara 1955, 13-14 (see also BAŞVEKÂLET ARŞIVI). The fullest general description of the *dīwān-i humāyūn* and its administration is that of I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 1-110. Briefer accounts will be found in Djewdet[2], i, 43 6 (summarizing Wāṣif); D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, vii, Paris 1824, 211-32; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, 412-36; idem, *GOR*, index; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge Mass. 1913, 187-93; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, iii, Gotha 1855, 117-25; Gibb-Bowen, i/1, 115 ff. and index; Pakalın, i, 462-6, including a passage from the unpublished *Ḳawānīn-i teshrīfāt* of Nāʾilī ʿAbd Allāh Pasha (d. 1171/1757); Sertoğlu, *Resimli Osmanlı tarihi ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1958, 78-81. On the early Ottoman and Saldjūḳid background, see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 42-4, 95-8; V. A. Gordlevsky, *Izbrannie sočineniya*, i, Moscow 1960, 166-77; Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî ve içtimaî tarihi*, i, 1243-1453, Ankara 1959, 217-23, 323-33.

(B. LEWIS)

DĪWĀNIYYA, a town of central ʿIrāḳ, on the Ḥilla branch of the Euphrates, (at 44° 55′ E, 32° N.), midway between Ḥilla and Samāwa. With a population of some 12,000, almost all Shīʿī Arabs, it is the headquarters of a *liwāʾ* (total population, 508,000 according to the 'preliminary figures' of the 1957 census with the dependent *ḳaḍā*s of Samāwa, ʿAfak, Shāmiyya, Abū Ṣukhayr, and Dīwāniyya itself; the tribes included in the *liwāʾ* are among the largest and least amenable of the middle Euphrates, and whether in Turkish times or the British occupation (notably in 1336/39, 1919/20) or under the ʿIrāḳ government (notably in 1354/57, 1935/38), have frequently embarrassed the government by faction and disobedience calling for punitive expeditions; the influence of the Nadjaf *ʿulamāʾ* is strong. The town, built mainly on the left bank and with only small date-gardens, is now extending to the right and has been greatly modernized in recent years with improved streets, bazaars and public buildings. A new steel bridge has replaced the ancient pontoons, and passable roads and the ʿIrāḳ Railways and a landing-ground serve the town and district. It is an important military station.

Dīwāniyya under its present name dates only from about 1271/1854, when it was formed as a settlement of the Khazāʿil *shaykh*s for the accomodation of the office and reception room (*dīwān*) of their tax-gatherers. The Turkish government adopted it soon afterwards as headquarters of a *ḳaḍā*, and merchants, officials, and a military and police garrison augmented the existing matting dwellings and mud-huts, and inaugurated the modern town.

In site, however, and as an important middle-Euphrates tribal, administrative and intermittently military station, it seems to have continuity with the Ḥiska of earlier (post-medieval) centuries. It and its district were disorganized and largely deserted by the tribesmen and cultivators when the Euphrates increasingly abandoned its eastern (Ḥilla) channel from 1298/1880 onwards in favour of the Hindiyya channel; but conditions were restored by the erection of the Hindiyya barrage in 1330/1912.

Bibliography: S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925, and *ʿIraq 1900 to*

1950, Oxford 1953; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī, *al-ʿIrāḳ Ḳadīm^an wa Ḥadīth^an*, Sidon 1947.

(S. H. Longrigg)

DIWRĪGĪ or difrīgī, now divrigi, a small town in modern Turkey, situated on the confines of Armenia and Cappadocia on one of the routes leading from Syria and Upper Mesopotamia to the Anatolian plateau. Through it runs a torrent which flows into the Çaltı Irmak, a tributary of the Kara Su (northern Euphrates). This chief town of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the province of Sivas, situated among market gardens and orchards which make it a pleasant resort—archaeological remains alone testify to its former prosperity in the Middle Ages—is now no more than a very scattered village, part of which is deserted (in about 1930 it had less than 4000 inhabitants). It stands at the bottom of a fertile valley, the old quarters of the town clustered together on the right bank, along with the ruins of the citadel.

The ancient Byzantine Tephrikè, which must not be confused, as is sometimes done, with the Nikopolis of Pompey, and which Arab authors of the early centuries knew by the name of al-Abrīk or al-Abrūk, "capital of the Paulicians" (G. Le Strange, *Al-Abrīk, Tephrikè*, in *JRAS*, 1896, 733-41, and Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Tephrikè*), known to have been long occupied by Manichaean sectarians who were persecuted by the emperors of Constantinople and aided by the caliphs of Baghdād. But the most important period in its history followed the annexation of the country to Islam, shortly after the battle of Manāzgird in 464/1071 and the partial conquest of Armenia and Asia Minor by the Saldjūḳid sultan Alp Arslan. The upper Kara Su region, with Erzindjan as its capital, was in fact entrusted to a Turcoman officer serving under this prince, Amīr Mangudjak, whose possessions were thus adjacent to those of Malik Dānishmend who had settled in Kayseri and Sivas, and a second small Mangudjakid independent state was subsequently organized around Divrigi until, in 625/1228, it was compelled to recognize the suzerainty of the more powerful Saldjūḳids of Rūm. It was at this period that the chief monuments in the town were erected, with inscriptions revealing the genealogy of this branch of the Mangudjakids (see table in *CIA*, *Asie mineure*, i, 90). Then the history of Divrigi, which though sacked on several occasions, by the Mongols among others, still continued to depend upon minor local dynasties, is consequently somewhat obscure. For a time reunited with the Ottoman possessions by Bāyezīd I in 801/1397, it was recaptured by the Mamlūks who have left many epigraphic traces of their occupation and, along with the other Taurus frontier-zones which for a time protected their empire, from the Divrigi territory they created the third of the great Armenian districts forming the mountain marches of the province of Aleppo, connected with Malaṭya and Cairo by a post road. Finally, in the reign of Selīm I in 922/1516, Divrigi was to become Ottoman for several centuries.

The dismantled castle which dominates the town was probably founded in ancient times, but the present fabric apparently dates entirely from the Middle Ages (inscriptions of 634/1236-7, 640/1242-3 and 650/1252). The mosque of *amīr* Shāhanshāh or Ḳalʿe Djāmiʿi, built in 576/1180-1, is still well-known, but the most remarkable building in the town, and indeed one of the most curious Turkish monuments in the whole of Anatolia is, beyond question, the architectural group comprising the great mosque and the adjoining hospital, built in 626/1228 for Aḥmad Shāh, grandson of the previous sovereign, and his wife Tūrān Malik by the skill of a native craftsman of Akhlāṭ. The rich decoration of the three doorways is no less effective than that of the vaults which have been used to cover these buildings. One must search far in the East to find parallels to these features. Various mausolea of the same period, aedicules built on an octagonal base, crowned with a pyramid of stone and containing a domed burial chamber, are also noteworthy, in particular the tomb of Shāhanshāh, known by the name of Sitte Malik Türbesi, and the tomb of the *amīr* Ḳamar al-Dīn, both of which were built in 592/1192-6. On the other hand, it is profitless to seek to identify in present-day Divrigi the site of the strange place of pilgrimage, venerated both by Muslims and by Christians and housing in a grotto the mummified bodies of "martyrs of the time of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb", which the shaykh ʿAlī al-Harawī, whose account has been reproduced by Yāḳūt, had the opportunity to visit at al-Ubrūḳ, doubtless the present locality of Ubruk which appears on maps between Konya and Ak Saray.

Bibliography: Ibn Rusta, 93; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 74; *al-Tanbīh*, 151, 183; Maḳdisī, *Livre de la création*, ed. trans. Cl. Huart, iv, 54; Harawī, *K.al-ziyārāt*, ed. trans. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953 and 1957, 59-60 (trans., 133-5); Yāḳūt, i, 87-8; Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma, iv, 210, 318; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 96; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnüma*, 624; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥatnāme*, iii, 210-4; Le Strange, 119; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 98; J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941, 56; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 685. For inscriptions and monuments see: M. van Berchem and H. Edhem, *CIA*, *Asie mineure*, i, 55-110; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, ii, Paris 1934, 169-89 and pl. lxii-lxxix; J. Sauvaget, *Décrets mamlouks de Syrie*, in *BEO*, xii, 1947-8, 52-5 (decree of 891/1486-7); *İA* s. v. (art. by Besim Darkot).

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

DIYA, a specified amount of money or goods due in cases of homicide or other injuries to physical health unjustly committed upon the person of another. It is a substitute for the law of private vengeance. Accordingly it corresponds exactly to the compensation or *wergeld* of the ancient Roman and Germanic laws. Etymologically the term signifies that which is given in payment. The *diya* is also called, though very much more rarely, *ʿaḳl*.

In a restricted sense—the sense which is most usual in law—*diya* means the compensation which is payable in cases of homicide, the compensation payable in the case of other offences against the body being termed more particularly *arsh*.

The historical origin of the institution lies in pre-Islamic customary practice, where it was closely bound up with the social organization of Arabia. This rested upon a tribal basis, with the absence of any political authority, even within the individual tribe, and a system of private justice tempered to some extent by the practice of voluntary submission to arbitration. In matters of homicide particularly the principle of the exercise of personal vengeance (*thaʾr* [*q.v.*]) reigned supreme, apart from the possibility of voluntary renunciation of the right against the payment of *diya*. The amount of this was, in principle, fixed—at least in the area in which Islam was born—at one hundred head of camels, although

there are certain traditions which speak of ten camels only. A strong solidarity, as much active as passive, united the members of the tribe in the application of the system: the tribe as a whole was obliged to share in the payment of the *diya*, just as vengeance itself could be exercised upon members of the tribe other than the culprit himself. In the opposite case, and where the nearest blood-relative of the victim was himself unable to exact vengeance, any other qualified fellow-tribesman could take his place.

Islam did not interfere with the basic system; various Ḳur'ānic texts even expressly confirmed it. They indicated, however, certain modifications, among which the most important was the rule which made compensation obligatory in the case of accidental homicide.

On the other hand the integration of the ancient custom in the Ḳur'ānic revelation perforce had the effect of fixing this custom in a definite form in the law and thus constituting, in principle, a barrier to any further development.

It was, however, soon to find itself out of tune with the new Islamic society such as was to develop rapidly into a community unified in principle and, in particular, organized as a State.

Working under the influence of such opposing demands the jurists constructed a theory of the *diya* (and of the law of private justice (see ḲIṢĀṢ)) in which divergent trends are readily apparent. This theory is, in general, the same in both the Sunnī and the S̲h̲īʿī doctrine, apart from certain differences on secondary points, some of which will be noted below.

The operation of the institution is confined to the field of homicide and a certain number of injuries to the body which will be defined below and which are restricted by enumeration to such effect that outside their bounds the developed common law of civil liability and the precise calculation of damage asserts its sway. *Diya*s are sometimes optional and sometimes obligatory.

They are optional in the case of offences committed deliberately (*ʿamd*). In the case of homicide the condition of intention is interpreted restrictively: notably it is necessary that the murder should have been committed with a weapon intrinsically likely to kill. In the absence of this last condition there is quasi-deliberate (*s̲h̲ibh ʿamd*) homicide where the *diya* is no longer optional. The Mālikī *mad̲h̲hab* does not recognize this separate category: whatever the means employed might be, as soon as the intention to kill is established the *diya* remains optional.

There are, however, a certain number of cases where an *ʿamd* offence does not entail a right of vengeance and for which the *diya* is no longer optional, such as infanticide, murder which is not the direct and immediate result of the assault, etc. (see ḲIṢĀṢ).

The *diya*s are obligatory in all cases other than those of deliberate offences which entail a right of vengeance.

Controversy exists among the different schools on the question as to whether the choice of the optional *diya* in place of *ḳiṣāṣ* depends solely upon the wishes of the victim or his heirs, or whether the agreement of the offender is necessary for the choice to be effective.

In the absence of a contrary agreement between the parties there is a fixed tariff for the amount of the *diya*. In principle it consists of camels of different ages and sex. The *diya* in cases of homicide is one hundred camels, split into five categories equal in number: twenty four-year-old, twenty three-year-old, twenty two-year-old and twenty one-year old female camels and twenty one-year-old male camels. Subject, however, in the matter of this division, to divergent juristic opinions, if the homicide is deliberate or quasi-deliberate, the value of the *diya* is increased (*diya mug̲h̲allaẓa*) comprising now only female camels of the first four categories described.

The *diya* for accidental homicide is also due in full in all cases of total loss of an organ or of a physiological or intellectual function. In cases of partial loss the amount of the *diya* is in proportion to the part lost: a half of the total *diya* for the loss of an arm, a leg, an eye or an eyelid; a quarter for the loss of eyelashes; a tenth for the loss of a finger or toe; a twentieth for a tooth, etc.

The remaining physical injuries for which a *diya* or *ars̲h̲* is prescribed and for which, again, the amount is determined by reference to the *diya* of homicide are the following: the *d̲j̲āʾifa*, a wound penetrating the interior of the body, and the *āmma* (or *maʾmūma*), a wound penetrating the brain: 1/3rd of the *diya*; the *munaḳḳila*, a fracture with displacement of a bone: 3/20ths; the *hās̲h̲ima*, a fracture of a bone: 1/10th; the *mūḍiḥa*, a wound laying bare the bone: 1/10th.

All other injuries lie outside the system of the *diya* and are dealt with on the basis of what is called *ḥukūmat ʿadl*, *i.e.*, an assessment of the actual harm suffered. This remains, however, under the influence of the *diya* system inasmuch as compensation is determined by a comparison with an injury for which a fixed *diya* is established and it cannot, in any case, exceed the amount of the *diya*.

The proviously cited amounts of *diya* or *ars̲h̲* are due in full only where the victim is a Muslim, of the male sex and of freeborn status. The *diya* of a woman is half that of a man. According to the Mālikīs, however, who are here followed by al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, this reduction to half is only applicable where the *diya* exceeds a third of the full *diya*; but if, for example, the offence is one for which it would have been due at the rate of a quarter of the full *diya*, this same amount will be due to the woman.

The *diya* of the *d̲h̲immī* or the *mustaʾmin* (a non-Muslim foreigner, temporarily admitted to Muslim territory—in the case of the foreigner who is not *mustaʾmin* nothing is due) is at the rate of one third or one half in the opinion of the majority, though the Ḥanafīs admit an equal rate. In every case the *diya* is due only where the offence is committed in Muslim territory. As for the slave, he is outside the system when he is the victim (see below for his position when he is the offender). Since he is assimilated to property, if he is killed or is the victim of some injury to his physical well-being, his master will be entitled to an amount of compensation equivalent to the loss he himself suffers from this fact. Such compensation may even exceed the amount of the relevant *diya*, except, according to a minority opinion, in the case of murder, where the compensation may not exceed this amount.

Although, according to the original principle, the *diya* consists of camels, it was very soon recognized that it could eqally well be paid in gold coinage (1000 dinars) or silver coinage (10,000 or 12,000 dirhams according to different versions which, without doubt, depend upon the variations in gold and silver currency rates). According to certain opinions the *diya* may consist of cattle (200), sheep (1000) or clothing (200 garments). Opinions differ, however, on the point as to whether the choice of

the mode of payment depends upon the agreement of the parties or belongs to the guilty party or to the judge; or whether one or the other of the modes is obligatory in circumstances where it would constitute the mode of payment most widely or exclusively used in the locality where the debt is to be exacted, or whether the *diya* in camels is the fundamental obligation and it is only in circumstances where the provision of payment in this form is impossible that recourse may be had to the other forms.

As to the matter of deferred payment of the full *diya*, the majority opinion (Shāfiʿī, Mālikī and Ḥanbalī) draws a distinction according as to whether the offence is deliberate or not. In the former case the *diya* may be demanded within the year in which the offence was committed; while in other cases it may be paid over a period of three years in instalments of one third. According to the Ḥanafīs the *diya* may, in all cases, be paid within the three year period.

Where the *diya* is equal to one third of the full *diya*, payment may be exacted, in all cases and according to all opinions, in the course of the first year. Where the *diya* exceeds one third of the full *diya* the same controversy exists as in the matter of the full *diya*; the second third may also be exacted within the first year in the case of a deliberate offence according to the majority opinion, while according to the Ḥanafīs it may be paid in the course of the second year.

The legal nature of the *diya* is complex and is marked by diverse and contradictory characteristics which are the result of its origin and subsequent development. It appears at one and the same time as a manifestation of the law of private vengeance, as a measure to safeguard the public order and as a means of compensation for loss suffered.

The creditor of the *diya* is the victim; in the case of homicide it will be the victim's heirs according to the order of succession; it is not precisely the circumstances of the victim of the loss which will be the determining factor.

The debtor of the *diya* was, at the outset, the tribal group—referred to, in these circumstances, as the *ʿāḳila* [*q.v.*]—to which the culprit belonged; and this is the explanation for the comparatively high amount of the *diya*. The principle of this collective responsibility was firmly maintained in theory; but in fact it was progressively impaired, eventually disappearing altogether; it is avoided in the case of deliberate offences, as we have seen. The responsibility of the *ʿāḳila*, having previously been the primary one, became subordinate to that of the culprit himself; it was now regarded as no more than the act of a beneficiary towards a debtor without means; and then, in recognition of the fact that the tribal organization had disappeared in developed Islamic society, the place of the *ʿāḳila* was taken by the State itself, whose responsibility, in turn, eventually disappeared. In cases where there is a number of culprits the *diya* is divided among them *per capita*.

If the perpetrator of the offence is a slave, again a distinction is drawn according as to whether the offence is deliberate or accidental. In the former case there is ground for *ḳiṣāṣ* just as in the case of a freeman, unless, according to one opinion, the victim or his heirs should choose to surrender the slave. In the view of the majority, however, the choice of the successful prosecutor lies solely between *ḳiṣāṣ* and outright pardon.

A secondary practice connected with that of *diya* and *ḳiṣāṣ* is that of *ḳasāma* [*q.v.*]. When the corpse of a murdered person is found in a locality—tribe, village or district—and the identity of the culprit is not discovered, fifty persons from the local population are asked to take an oath that they have no knowledge of the identity of the perpetrator of the offence. In default of such oaths, the obligation to pay the *diya* will fall upon the local population. This practice also, as was observed by an author of the 6th/12th century, eventually disappeared.

The survival of the *diya*.

The system of the *diya* survives in the present contemporary period in two principal forms according to circumstances.

Among the Bedouin tribes, with their innate hostility towards a State organization, the system of private vengeance tempered by the practice of the *diya* still survives upon a basis of customs which are analogous to ancient Arabian customs in several particulars—though they differ from tribe to tribe—and which often contradict the precepts of the Ḳurʾān and the rules of Islamic law. The efforts of the governments concerned have not been able to achieve more than the imposition upon these groups of certain regulations of a procedural character and of limited scope.

Thus, among the Arab tribes of Egypt, Jordan and Syria there is a fairly general custom which renders the *diya* obligatory in all cases save those of deliberate homicide. The composition of the *diya* varies from tribe to tribe—40 male camels only, 40 male camels and a virgin girl, a sum of money (in Egypt, for example, £E 400, or 300 or 150 etc.). The *diya* of a woman is usually greater than that of a man; among certain tribes it even reaches four times or eight times the amount of a man's *diya*. As regards proof of the offence, the system of ordeal, by fire and water particularly, is often practised. Among certain tribes a procedure of *ḳasāma* is in evidence.

The survival of the system in communities more fully developed and politically organized is essentially attributable to the religious character which it had acquired. A typical example in this regard is provided by the Ottoman Empire, where, despite the modernization of the law towards the middle of the 19th century, and notwithstanding the fact that the principle of the rule of compensation (properly so-called) for loss suffered had been enunciated and the system of public law had been duly organized, the right of the interested parties to demand the application of *ḳiṣāṣ* and, finally, the *diya*, was retained, notably under the terms of the penal code of 1863. The amount of the *diya* was officially fixed at £T 224.

All this has now, in actual fact, disappeared from positive legislative enactments; but traces, hard to erase, of the former state of things still persist. In certain countries such as Syria the courts, in spite of the spirit and the letter of legislation, such as a civil code and a penal code wholly modern in inspiration and in force since 1949, still continue to pronounce liability for *diya*s, the amount of which, in cases of homicide, is always fixed as a lump sum of money, and is greater or less according as to whether it is a case of deliberate or accidental homicide.

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ḳī, *Raḥmat al-umma fī ikhtilāf al-aʾimma*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 255 ff.; Ibn al-Humān, *Fatḥ al-ḳadīr*, Cairo, viii, 244 ff.; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, 3rd. ed. Rashīd Riḍā, Cairo 1367/1947, vii, 636 ff., viii, 1 ff.; Khirshī, Commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl, viii, 2 ff.; Querry, *Recueil de lois concernant les musulmans chiites*, Paris 1871, ii, 541 ff.; Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1903, vi, 2 ff.; Abou-Heif, *La diya* (Arabic translation from the French), Cairo 1932; Hakim, *Le dommage de source délictuelle et son évaluation en droit musulman*, thesis (typewritten), Beirut 1955, 1 ff.; Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 295 ff., 353; Tyan, *Système de responsabilité délictuelle en droit musulman*, thesis, Lyon 1926, 13 ff. (E. TYAN)

ḌIYĀ GÖKALP [see GÖKALP, ZIYA].

ḌIYĀ PASHA [see ZIYA].

ḌIYĀFA [see ḌAYF, MIHMĀN, MUSĀFIR].

DIYĀLĀ, an important river of east-central ʿIrāḳ. Its name, of unknown origin and meaning, is ancient, appearing in antiquity as Σίλλα or Δέλας or Dialas; its upper waters are known as the Sirwān or (originally and more correctly) Shirwān, as known to Yāḳūt, and this name is in common use for most of its length. It forms a left-bank tributary of the Didjla (Tigris), navigable only by small craft, and with a discharge formidable in the flood season (March-May), slight in the later summer and autumn.

The river rises in western Persia, where the many hill-streams (often dry in the summer and autumn) which unite to form its principal tributaries drain (1) the area north of Kirmānshāh, (2) the area both north and south of Sanandadj (Senna, Siḥna) in the Ardalān province, (3) the Perso-ʿIrāḳī frontier area around Mariwān, (4) the westerly area of Kirmānshāh province, west of Karind, opposite (ʿIrāḳī) Khāniḳīn and (Persian) Ḳaṣr-i Shirīn. The first three of these sources have made their contributions before the main stream of the Sirwān crosses the frontier; the tributaries are known locally by various names, all flowing in valleys of great natural beauty and inhabited, from time immemorial, by Persian-Kurdish tribesmen. The contribution from area (4) of those suggested above forms the Alwānd river (the Ḥulwān river of ʿAbbāsid times, called from the famous town of that name) and enters immediately west of Khāniḳīn, in ʿIrāḳ. The Tandjera stream, draining the Shahrizūr valley (Sulaymāniyya *liwāʾ*), also forms an ʿIrāḳī contribution; there are others of lesser importance. The middle course of the river, until realignment by the Frontier Commission of 1333/1914, marked the Turko-Persian boundary in so far as that had by then been stabilized; but areas west of this sector, now forming part of Khāniḳīn *ḳaḍā*, were then assigned to Turkey as "Transferred Territories".

The river greatly changes its character in its middle and lower course, where it flows first through undulating, then through flat country, diminishing its speed of flow, and lending itself to important use for irrigation. Near the point where it breaks through the Djabal Ḥamrīn a series of major canals takes off, and maintains extensive date gardens and winter and summer crops. These are notably, from the right bank, the Khāliṣ canal, which waters Daltāwa [*q.v.*], and from the left bank the Rūz (on which stands Balad Rūz), the Maḥrūt, and the Khurāsān. The intensive cultivation and famous ruits of the Diyālā *liwāʾ*—itself named from the r iver, of which it contains nearly the whole length in ʿIrāḳ (*liwāʾ* headquarters at Baʿḳūba, dependent ḳaḍās of Khāniḳīn, Mandalī, Khāliṣ, and Baʿḳūba) —are due entirely to the presence of these canals, and to water-lift irrigation by *Karad* and mechanical pump from the main stream. This irrigation system is similar to, but less than and not identical to, that prevailing in the 3rd/9th to 7th/13th centuries, before its ruin by the Mongols; but in that age, or most of it, the Diyālā waters below the Djabal Ḥamrīn discharged into the great Tāmarrā-Nahrawān canal (see DIDJLA, and NAHRAWĀN), and were extensively canalized from it; a major part was probably delivered to the Tigris at or near the present mouth, 10 miles below Baghdād. Technically, the relation between the Diyālā (with its capacity for sudden and formidable flooding) and the Nahrawān canal-system, remains obscure; nomenclature varies in the Arab geographers, who do not distinguish between canals and mere flood-channels, and at times even identify the Diyālā with the Nahrawān or Tāmarrā. The mediaeval cities dependent on the Diyālā and its connected canals included Nahrawān, Bādjisrā, Baʿḳūba, Daskara and Djalūlā. The area astride its lower course was closely administered and sustained hundreds of villages and a dense population; traces of Sāsānian and older sites indicate that this had always been a favoured region. The main road from Baghdād to, and through, the province of al-Djibāl—the Khurāsān highway—ran through it, and largely followed the course of the river; this is still the case; the motor-road running from Baghdād to and across the Persian frontier follows substantially the old alignment by way of Baʿḳūba, Shahrabān, Ḳizil Rubāṭ, Khāniḳīn, and Ḳaṣr-i Shirīn. The metre-gauge railway to Khāniḳīn, constructed in and after 1337/1918, follows a similar line; railway bridges exist at Baʿḳūba and at Ḳaraghān, where the Kirkūk-Irbīl line branches off.

Bibliography: For the Arab geographers, see bibliography under DIDJLA; equally for the relevant works of Streck, Le Strange, Willcocks, and Longrigg. (S. H. LONGRIGG)

DIYĀR BAKR, properly "abode of (the tribe of) Bakr", the designation of the northern province of the Djazīra. It covers the region on the left and right banks of the Tigris from its source to the region where it changes from its west-east course to flow in a south-easterly direction. It is, therefore, the upper basin of the Tigris, from the region of Siʿirt and Tell Fāfān to that of Arḳanīn to the north-west of Āmid and Ḥiṣn al-Ḥamma (Čermük) to the west of Āmid. Yāḳūt points out that Diyār Bakr does not extend beyond the plain.

Diyār Bakr is so called because it became, during the 1st/7th century, the habitat of an important portion of the Rabīʿa tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*]. The latter had already moved forward, following the tribal wars of the pre-Islamic period, into Mesopotamia. Having stayed for some time in the region of al-Kūfa, the Bakrī groups spread out towards the north. It was at the time of the conquests under the caliphate of ʿUthmān, while Muʿāwiya was governor of Syria and the Djazīra, that some Muḍarī and Rabīʿī tribes were settled in the unoccupied lands of this region on the orders of the government. Muʿāwiya installed these Muḍarīs in what came to be called the Diyār Muḍar and the Rabīʿīs in what came to be called the Diyār Rabīʿa. Al-Balādhurī, who gives us this information, does not mention the Bakrīs expressly, who were included in the Rabīʿī group, but it is probable that it was in the same manner and at the same time

that they established themselves in the Diyār Bakr. This appellation does not however mean that this territory was inhabited by Bakrīs alone; on the other hand, there were Bakrīs elsewhere.

The Diyār Bakr and the Diyār Rabīʿa, since the two groups were connected, are sometimes spoken of jointly under the single name of Diyār Rabīʿa (Yāḳūt, ii, 637).

The principal towns of the Diyār Bakr are Āmid, the capital, Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ḥiṣn Kayfā, and Arzan, which strictly speaking is part of Armenia. The territory of the Diyār Bakr has, from the administrative point of view, generally followed the destiny of the Djazīra. It has, however, sometimes formed, with neighbouring Armenia, a distinct and quasi-independent government. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh al-Shaybānī, from 256/870 to 269/883, and his descendants ruled over the Diyār Bakr until the reconquest of Āmid by the caliph Muʿtaḍid in 286/899. The same situation recurred in Ḥamdānid times when Diyār Bakr and Armenia were in the hands of the Amīr of Aleppo, Sayf al-Dawla, at the same time as northern Syria. After the death of the latter in 356/967 Diyār Bakr returned to the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib of al-Mawṣil. With the rest of the Djazīra, it fell under the domination of the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 367/978, but after the death of the latter in 372/983 it passed into the hands of a Kurdish chief, Bādh (the Kurds were also inhabitants of this part of the Djazīra), then to those of his nephew Abū ʿAlī b. Marwān, who disputed the Diyār Bakr lands with scions of the Ḥamdānid family, but remained in control, and was the founder of the Marwānid dynasty.

From Diyār Bakr comes the name of the Bakrī frontier posts (*al-thughūr al-bakriyya*) enumerated in M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Ḥamdānides*, i, 254-61, and cf. 846 ff., which are situated in the north and north-west of the province.

ii. The formation of the Saldjūḳ empire faced the Marwānids with a new problem. From the beginning they rejoiced in their increasing power, causing the *khuṭba* to be read in the name of the Sultans as well as of the Caliphs. The Saldjūḳs were in no hurry to suppress a principality which was functioning as a buffer state between themselves and Byzantium. The Marwānids, however, were unable to prevent some Turcoman infiltrations, some of which were accompanied by plunder. The collapse of the Byzantine power and the policy of the third Saldjūḳ, Malikshāh, which tended to reabsorb autonomous states, were in the long run a danger to the Marwānids; the Banū Djahīr [*q.v.*], originally from Diyār Bakr, whose resources they knew, were able to convince Malikshāh and Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] of the interest of a conquest, which these latter entrusted to them; it was a bitter struggle, since the population was attached to a dynasty which guaranteed their autonomy, and took two years of campaigning (476-7/1084-5). Scarcely, however, had Diyār Bakr been thus directly annexed to the Saldjūḳ empire when the troubles which followed after the death of Malikshāh (485/1092) restored to them an autonomy of a different kind. A series of small Turcoman dynasties had set themselves up at Āmid (Īnālids), Arzan, Isʿird, etc., the most important of which was soon to become that of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*] at Mārdīn, Ḥiṣn Kayfā, Mayyāfāriḳīn and Kharpūt, and, after 578/1183, Āmid as well. It is true that this family was divided into two branches often at rivalry, and that it ran counter to the ambitions of the Saldjūḳids of Rūm, of the princes of Akhlāṭ, and especially the Zangid governors, then princes, of al-Mawṣil; nevertheless Diyār Bakr seems to have enjoyed in the 6th/12th century a relative material and cultural prosperity. More serious for the Artuḳids was to be the ambition of the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*], who aimed, for reasons of military recruitment, at setting foot in this country which was in part peopled by their Kurdish congeners. After 580/1185 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn occupied Mayyāfāriḳīn, which afterwards fell to the lot of two successive sons of his brother al-ʿĀdil, then in 630/1233 to the son of the latter, al-Kāmil; the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, however, had occupied Kharpūt, and penetrated right into the heart of the Diyār Bakr country by the conquest of Āmid (638/1241). Diyār Bakr was thus politically divided when the Mongol invasion took place. In the face of this invasion, Artuḳids and Ayyūbids had no differences, and both Mayyāfāriḳīn and Mārdīn succumbed after severe sieges (657/1259 and 659/1261), but the Mongols allowed two small dynasties, an Artuḳid one at Mārdīn and an Ayyūbid one at Ḥiṣn Kayfā, to remain, under their suzerainty; these recovered some degree of autonomy as the dislocation of the empire of the Ilkhāns proceeded. The region, however, became the prey of nomadic pastoral tribes, especially Kurds in the north and Turcomans in the south, whose attacks against the rural Christian communities of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn contributed to the Islamization of this region which had hitherto not proceeded very far. On the eve and the morrow of Tīmūr's devastations (especially at Mārdīn), Diyār Bakr was the stake in the struggles with which the two great confederations of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu and the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu occupied themselves; the former, masters of Āmid, made themselves masters of the whole of Diyār Bakr having taken Mārdīn from the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu, and then Ḥiṣn Kayfā from the Ayyūbids. Diyār Bakr was, however, occupied for a time by the troops of Shāh Ismāʿīl, founder of the Ṣafawī dynasty in Persia (913/1507), and fell, for three centuries, into Ottoman hands in 922/1516.

It must be borne in mind that, in the terminology of the Saldjūḳids of Rūm, Diyār Bakr referred to the western confines of the province, which were all that they possessed, whereas in that of the Mongols it often refers to all the Djazīra, including the Diyār Muḍar and the Diyār Rabīʿa.

iii. Diyār Bakr, in its Turkish form Diyarbakır, is the name by which the Turks called the capital of the province, Āmid, which they also called Ḳara ("black") Āmid, on account of the black colour of its ramparts and its houses, built of basalt (or millstone); this is noted by the Arab geographers, and is perhaps alluded to in a verse of al-Mutanabbī (ed. Barḳūḳī, i, 182; cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii/2, 316). A proverb relates that all there is black, dogs, walls, and hearts.

Only the Āmid of Arab times is described here. This was built on the left bank of the Tigris on a plateau which runs down abruptly to the river, which runs beside the enceinte on three sides, the fourth being protected by a moat and an outer wall.

Āmid was taken without a fight in 19/640 at the time of the conquest of the Djazīra by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm. It was besieged by al-Muʿtaḍid who put paid to the attempt at independence of the small Shaybānī dynasty (see above), and the walls of the town were dismantled; at the time of al-Muḳtadir, however, in 297/910, they were restored. An inscription commemorating this restoration is still legible on the Mārdīn gate. Āmid fell into the hands of the Buway-

hids in about 368/978. It was also the target of several attacks by the Byzantines, such as in 347 and 348/958 and 959 by the Domesticos John Tzimisces, and again when the same Tzimisces was emperor, in 972, 973 and 974 A.D. In the course of that of 973 the Domesticos Melias was taken prisoner. But the accounts of the historians of these sieges are often vague, contradictory and in part legendary. At all events, at the time when al-Muḳaddasī was writing, in 375/985, Āmid, capital of Diyār Bakr, had become a frontier post threatened in consequence of the success of the Byzantines, and Ibn Ḥawḳal seems to have foreseen that it would fall into Greek hands.

Āmid was renowned for its woollen and fine linen products, said to be "Greek" and "in the Sicilian style" (al-Muḳaddasī, 145).

Bibliography: i. (to the 10th century): Le Strange, 109 ff., where reference to the geographers will be found; M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Armenien und Diyarbekr*, in Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialen zur ältesten Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens*, Abh. G. W. Gött., ix/3, 22; idem, *Inschriften Max Oppenheim*, i, *Arab. Inschr.*, 71, 91-2; M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida*; J. Strzygowski, *Kara-Amid*, in *Orientalisches Archiv*, i/5; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii, 363; G. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, 322 ff.; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, index; Amedroz, *The Marwanids*, in *JRAS*, 1903; M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, i, 77 ff., 572 ff., 795, 799, 838 ff. *et passim*; Margoliouth, *The eclipse of the Abbasid caliphate*, index. On Amida in Roman times, see Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrat*, 323 ff.

ii. The sources are those of the history and general geography of the periods covered, for which see AḲ-ḲOYUNLU, ARTUḲIDS, AYYŪBIDS; the only references specifically to Diyār Bakr are Ibn al-Azraḳ al-Fāriḳī (Marwānid part ed. B. A. L. Awad and M. S. Ghorbal, Cairo 1959; Artuḳid part analysed by Cl. Cahen in *JA*, 1935), and the anonymous Vienna ms. analysed by Cl. Cahen in *JA*, 1955; in Persian, the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* of Abū Bakr Tihrānī (ed. Faruk Sümer); in Syriac, the chronicle published by Ottomar Behnsch, *Rerum saeculo XV in Mesopotamia gestarum*, Bratislava 1838.—Modern works: Cl. Cahen, in *JA* 1935 and 1955; M. H. Yınanç and Faruk Sümer, in the articles Diyarbekir, Akkoyunlu and Karakoyunlu in *İA*.

(M. CANARD and CL. CAHEN)

iv. Ottoman period. In 923/1527 the district of Diyār Bakr was conquered by the Ottomans, who organized the newly conquered territories into an extensive province (*wilāyet*) centred on the city of Āmid, and including the districts of Diyār Bakr, Mawṣil, Diyār Rabīʿa and Diyār Muḍar, as well as the territory of Bitlis (Bidlīs). Later, at the time of Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent, when ʿIrāḳ was conquered, another *wilāyet* was formed at Ūrfa, while the territory of Bitlis was included in the *wilāyet* of Vān which had been formed in the territory of Akhlāṭ. The province of Diyār Bakr remained, nevertheless, one of the largest and most important Ottoman provinces, and during four centuries of Ottoman government, protected from invasion and wars, it began to recover some of its prosperity. Its position near the Persian frontier gave it special importance. Its first *beylerbeyi* was Bīyīḳlī ("the mustachioed") Meḥmed Pasha, who had taken the city of Āmid from the Persians and was, therefore, known as the Conqueror (Fātiḥ Pasha). Other famous governors, who numbered Grand Viziers among them, included Khusrew, Rustem, Iskender, Behrām, Özdemir (Oz-ṭemür)-oghlu ʿOthmān, Čighāla-zāde Sīnān, Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed, Bosnalī Khusrew, Ṭayyār Meḥmed, Melek Aḥmed, Ḳaplan Muṣṭafā, Dalṭaban Muṣṭafā, Köprülü-zāde ʿAbd Allāh, Ḥekīm-oghlu ʿAlī, Ḥasan, Reshīd Meḥmed, Esʿad Mukhliṣ and Kurt Ismāʿīl Pashas. Both Bīyīḳlī Meḥmed Pasha and Özdemir-oghlu are buried within the enclosure of the Fātiḥ Pasha mosque, founded by the former. Other *wālīs* are also buried in the same mosque. Two inscriptions made in the name of Suleymān the Magnificent are in existence, an Arabic one in the court-yard of the Ulu(gh) Djāmiʿ and a Persian one on the gate of the Ič-Ḳalʿe (Inner Castle or Keep). A long decree (*fermān*) drawn up in Turkish in the name of Sultan Meḥemmed IV is engraved in the Djāmiʿ-i Kebīr (Great Mosque) (Basrı Konyar, *Diyarbekir tarihi*, ii, 130-3).

As the centre of an important province and the base and winter quarters of the armies against Persia, Āmid was also the headquarters of a *beylerbeyi* having a large number of troops under his command. Sultan Suleymān the Magnificent visited Āmid on 22 Rabīʿ II 942/20 October 1535, on his return from the Persian expedition, when he went up to the Castle, prayed in the Ulugh Djāmiʿ and spent some twenty days in the city, and also in 961/1554 when he stayed for eight days on his way out to the second Persian expedition. Sultan Murād IV visited Āmid in 1047-8/1638 on his way out to the Baghdād expedition and also on his return in 1049/1639 when he ordered the execution of the famous and very popular Shaykh Maḥmūd Urmewī, known as the *shaykh* of Rūmiyya.

Of the Ottoman *wālīs* Khusrew, Iskender, Behrām, Naṣūḥ, Murteḍā, Melek Aḥmed, Dalṭaban ʿAlī and Ismāʿīl Pashas built one mosque each in the city, while Ḥasan Pasha had an inn (*khān*) built. Another *khān* is ascribed to Melek Aḥmed Pasha. Baths were built by Meḥmed, Iskender and Behrām Pashas and a *dār al-ḳurrāʾ* by Köprülü-zāde ʿAbdullāh Pasha. Sarī (yellow or fair) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha founded a library. In 1815 Suleymān Pasha repaired the walls.

Āmid, now known as Diyārbakr, also became an important cultural centre in Ottoman times. In the 10th/16th century it bred the poet Ibrāhīm Gulshenī, who also founded a *ṭariḳa* (religious order), and the historian Ḳāḍī Ḥuseyn. It was during that century that the famous historian Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Lārī was *muftī* of Āmid. Many poets are known as Āmidī in the 12th/18th century, including Labīb, Ḥāmī, Wālī and Aḥmed Murshidī, as also the physician Aḥmed Riḍā, the mathematician Ismāʿīl and the theologian Küčük Aḥmed-zāde Abū Bakr. Later local notables included the poets Refīʿ, Rāghib and Ṭālib in the 19th century, as also the historian, belletrist and poet Saʿīd Pasha, while in modern times there are the latter's sons Suleymān Naẓīf and Fāʾiḳ ʿAlī Beys, ʿAlī Emīrī Efendi, the founder of the *Millet* library, and the political thinker Ziya (Ḍiyā) Gökalp. The ʿAbd al-Djalālī-zāde family which gave many distinguished Pashas to the service of the Ottoman Empire is also of Diyārbakr origin. Descendants of tribal chiefs in the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu States, of 10th/16th century governors and of regional notables can still be found in the city.

In the second half of the 19th century the Diyārbakr region, like other Ottoman provinces, was the

scene of opposition and sometimes of revolts of local *amīrs*, tribal chiefs and other notables who did not wish to accept the reforms carried out in the Ottoman Empire. This led to long drawn out punitive operations, as a result of which local chiefs, such as Bedr Khān Pasha, were forced to submit, or were punished, sometimes by exile. Leaders of nomadic or settled tribes, however, succeeded in maintaining their influence, even although their official titles had been abolished, only instead of gathering round *amīrs* or tribal chiefs, these notables gave allegiance to the *shaykhs* of *derwīsh* orders (*ṭarīḳa*). Led by shaykh Saʿīd, the latter rebelled in 1925 against the reforms which the new Republican government of Turkey sought to carry out. The revolt started in Khani and spread before long to most of the Diyārbakr region. The rebels were, however, beaten back before the walls of Diyārbakr, after which the Government, which had proclaimed a partial mobilization, rapidly quelled the rebellion. In 1928 an Inspectorate-General was formed in the regions of Diyārbakr and of Akhlāṭ with the object of promoting reforms. While it was in existence a small rebellion was quelled at Ṣāṣūn.

The city of Diyārbakr is always named Āmid in all writings up to the end of the 10th/16th century. It then began to acquire its present name, which was the name of the province of which it had become the centre, the name of Āmid being gradually forgotten. Under the Republic the form Diyarbakır was officially adopted, in place of the earlier Diyarbekir.

Bibliography: Among Ottoman geographers and travellers, Kātib Čelebi (*Djihannumā*) gives some information, Ewliyā Čelebi very much more (*Siyāḥatnāme*, iv, 24 ff.). There are useful data on the social and cultural conditions in the region of Diyārbakr in the *Menāḳib* of Ibrāhīm Gülshenī. Interesting information on local customs is given in the chapter on Diyārbakr written by Bakr Fayḍī (in the author's private library). At the end of the 19th century Diyārbekirli Saʿīd Pasha gives the mediaeval Islamic history of the city in his *Mirʾāt al-ʿibar*: he does not, however, add very much to the data of Ibn al-Athīr and Munedjdjim-Bashī. Detailed information on local scholars and writers is given in ʿAlī Emīrī Efendi, *Tadhkira-i shuʿarā-i Āmid* (Istanbul, 1227). The second volume of this work has not, however, been printed. There is further information in the same writer's *Diyārbekir Vilāyeti*, Istanbul 1918, in his *Mirʾāt al-fawāʾid* and in the magazine *Āmid* which he published. For more recent Turkish work on the history of the city and province see Basri Konyar, *Diyarbekir tarihi, kitâbeleri, yıllığı*, Ankara 1936; Ibrahim Tokay, *Diyarbakır*, Istanbul 1937; Osman Eti, *Diyarbakır*, Diyarbakır 1937; Kadri Günkut, *Diyarbakır tarihi*, Diyarbakır n.d.; Kâzim Baykal and Süleyman Savci, *Diyarbakır şehri*, Diyarbakır 1942. Much useful information will also be found in the *Sālnāmes* of Diyārbakr.

Data on the city and region can also be found in European travellers from the 16th century onwards. Scholars have also described the region and the archaeology, geography and history of the city. For local monuments and inscriptions see van Berchem and Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg 1910) (reviewed by Khalīl Edhem in *TOEM* 1st year, no. 6, 1329, 365-77). Further information on inscriptions is given by J. Sauvaget and Basrı Konyar. See also the extensive bibliography in A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale* (Paris 1940). (Mükrimin H. Yinanç)

Monuments. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the present-day town of Diyārbakr is without doubt the archaeological wealth of this city of black stone, with its old quarters still surrounded by walls which give the site its character and which, throughout the middle ages, gave a strategic value to this locality which is otherwise lacking in natural protection. The well preserved enceinte naturally attracted the attention of 19th century European travellers, as well as admiration from all visitors to the stronghold since the Arab conquest (for example, the account of Nāṣir-i Khusraw). But not until the serious archaeological investigation made on the spot by A. Gabriel, re-opening the joint study to which M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski had formerly bent themselves on the basis solely of photographic material, was it possible to recognize in it one of the most eloquent witnesses of military art in the mediaeval Near East. The site shows a rampart of regular trace, somewhat modified by certain configurations in the terrain (the original town was in fact situated on the edge of a plateau bounded by escarpments on the side of the Tigris), displaying on a perimeter of more than 5 km. a curtain flanked by towers and contreforts, before which were a fausse-braie and a ditch, now filled in, interrupted by several monumental gates and by breaches of recent date. The layout of the curtain (8 to 12 m. high, 3 to 5 m. broad, built of masonry rubble between two matching facings), with its chemin de ronde protected by a crenellated parapet and its arched gallery running at certain places under the chemin de ronde,—the disposition of the square, polygonal or circular flanking towers, of varying dimensions, with powerful basalt piers equipped with lower casemates and with upper rooms or platforms arranged for defence,—the roman elements still in place between the circular salients of the gates now called the Kharpūt, Urfa and Mārdīn gates, all combine with epigraphic evidence to show the antiquity of an enceinte which indeed underwent successive alterations after the Arab conquest but "which remains the most important and the most complete example of Byzantine fortification of the 4th century" (A. Gabriel). No less significant, however, is the nature of the works which were carried out later,—on the one hand, during the ʿAbbāsid period, indicated particularly by the restoration of the principal gates (dismantled by al-Muʿtaḍid, then rebuilt by al-Muḳtadir, as inscriptions of 297/709 testify)—on the other, under the Marwānids, Saldjūḳids and Artuḳids who undertook at different times partial repairs to the curtain and towers on the western front (indicated both by inscriptions and by underpinning of coursework), or more important works of reconstruction attested by those enormous circular bastions of the Artuḳid period, Ulu Badan and Yedi Kardash, which are over 25 m. in diameter and encompass previous works within their complex systems of casemates and galleries—and, finally, under the Ottomans, who were content to keep the enceinte of the town in repair but directed their main efforts to the citadel, on the north-east corner of the rampart, extended it, and substituted their own works for the ruins of the former palace of the Artuḳids.

In the interior of the enceinte the great mosque, Ulu Djāmiʿ, is noteworthy, whose abundant inscriptions, scattered in the greatest disorder on a heterogeneous composition in which re-utilized older material dominates, have provoked a clash of opinions concerning its origin and history. In fact

the most probable conclusions, with regard to both the actual state of the building and the vicissitudes (fire in particular) which, according to textual information, it must have undergone, tend to show it as a specifically Islamic construction, modified however continually under the different masters of the country "from Malik Shāh down to the Ottoman sultans of the 16th and 17th centuries". Mention must also be made of some Artuḳid *madrasas*, with a central court surrounded by porticos and with a great interior *īwān*, like the Masʿūdiyya and Zindjiriyya *madrasas*, as well as the numerous Ottoman mosques, with a prayer-hall entered by a simple portico and covered by a cupola on a polygonal drum, which were built in the years after the capture of the town in 920/1514. Other interesting remains of this last period, marked for Diyārbakr by a real commercial prosperity, belong to the field of civil architecture, shown by the great caravanserais and spacious houses of an original type, built alike in fine ashlar.

The structural qualities of these various works should not let it be forgotten that there developed at Diyārbakr in the middle ages a school of very capable sculptors, who not only left some reliefs on their walls, not without artistic merit (Artuḳid reliefs often representing animal forms), but also brought a remarkable impetus to the particular style of decorative writing which then was most favoured for the exterior enrichment of monuments. The inscribed bandeaux of the 5th/11th century at Diyārbakr, which have already been the subject of intensive research by S. Flury (a real pioneer in this field), constitute the best examples of this ornamental epigraphy of Upper Mesopotamia the influence of which was to be felt in neighbouring lands and whose luxuriance, with its "incessant variations of detail brought to an initial type by an incomparable richness of invention" (J. Sauvaget, in *Ars Islamica*, 1938, 214), has been emphasized.

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften*, *apud* M. von Oppenheim, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909, 71-100 (nos. 114-25); M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg-Paris 1910; S. Flury, *Islamische Schriftbänder Amida-Diarbekr*, Basle-Paris 1920 (= *Bandeaux ornementés à inscriptions arabes*, in *Syria*, 1920-1, 235-49, 318-28, 54-62); A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, with a *Recueil d'inscriptions arabes* by J. Sauvaget, Paris 1940, 85-205, 310-38 (nos. 38-108). (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

DIYĀR MUḌAR, a name formed in the same way as Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*], is the province of the Djazīra whose territory is watered by the Euphrates and its tributary the Balīkh as well as by the lower reaches of the Khābūr. It extends on both banks of the Euphrates from Sumaysāṭ (Samosata) in the north to ʿAnā (ʿĀnāt) in the south. The principal town of the Diyār Muḍar was al-Raḳḳa on the left bank of the Euphrates; other major towns were Ḥarrān on the Balīkh, Edessa (al-Ruhā, Urfa), capital of Osrhoene, and Sarūdj to the south-west of Edessa. Those places situated on the Euphrates after its confluence with the Balīkh, such as al-Ḳarḳīsiyāʾ and al-Raḥba, were sometimes united in a special district known as the "Euphrates Road".

For most of the time the Diyār Muḍar formed part of the government of the Djazīra, but was sometimes separated from it. Such was the case in Ḥamdānid times when it formed part of the amīrate of Aleppo with Sayf al-Dawla. After him it reverted to the amīrate of al-Mawṣil, and later fell into the power of the Buwayhids like the rest of the Djazīra; then it became the capital of the small Numayrī dynasty (Banū Numayr), which was brought to an end by the Saldjūḳs. On the other hand, the Diyār Muḍar was often overrun by the Byzantine armies in the 4th/10th century, and in the 5th/11th century the Byzantine empire succeeded in annexing Edessa and its district, in 423/1032.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 86 ff., 101 ff.; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 110 ff.; Margoliouth, *The eclipse of the Abbasid caliphate*, index; M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, i, 86 ff., 795 ff., 838 ff., et *passim*; D. S. Rice, *Medieval Harran*, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii, (1952), 36-83. (M. Canard)

ii.—After the Byzantine conquest of Edessa, the Diyār Muḍar, which continued to be a communication territory without real autonomy, was divided into two parts, one in the north under Christian domination, partially colonized by Armenians, the other in the south, with Ḥarrān as its principal centre, where the dominant influence was that of the Numayrī Arabs. From 457/1065, however, the country sustained the repercussions of Turkish expansion; it was troubled by marauding bands, and then at the beginning of 463/1071 it was crossed by the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan who, on his way to Syria, at one point besieged Edessa, and in 471/1078 by Tutush, brother of the new sultan Malikshāh. In the same year Ḥarrān and Sarūdj were incorporated, at the same time as Aleppo, in the principality of the ʿUḳaylid of al-Mawṣil, Muslim b. Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], a nominal vassal of Malikshāh, and Edessa into the state of the Graeco-Armenian Philaretes, master of the western Taurus and later of Antioch. Finally the two divisions of the Diyār Muḍar fell into the hands of Malikshāh himself, with al-Mawṣil and northern Syria, in 479/1086.

Nevertheless, Saldjūḳ domination in this frontier region was fairly lax, and the disorders following the death of Malikshāh (485/1082) maintained at Edessa an Armenian rulership which was practically autonomous. The Crusade at the end of 1097 renewed for a half-century the partition commenced by the Byzantine conquest. Although the Franco-Armenian county of Edessa, as well as the lands to the south of the western Taurus along the middle Euphrates, formed its northern part, Ḥarrān, seat of an ephemeral Turkish principality at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, was cast with the lot of Aleppo between the hands of the Artuḳids and the Zangids. In 553/1158 Zangī granted it in fief to ʿAlī Küčük, the holder of Irbil to the east of al-Mawṣil, in order to ensure the recruitment of the Turco-Kurdish contingents who were responsible for its defence, which was strategically important; his successors, the Begteginids [*q.v.*], held it for half a century. The ʿUḳaylid Arab seignory which held sway at Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar was suppressed by Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] in 558/1163. Thanks to the disturbances which marked the succession of this prince, the Diyār Muḍar was occupied by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who granted it first to his nephew Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar, then to his brother al-ʿĀdil. The latter, who had become master of the Ayyūbid heritage, assigned it to his son al-Ashraf (597/1201), who in 624/1227 exchanged it for Damascus with his brother al-Kāmil of Egypt. Al-Kāmil incorporated it in the government set up in the east for the benefit of his son al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb who, threatened by the anti-Ayyūbid coalition

following the death of al-Kāmil, granted it to the Kh͟wārizmians, recent fugitives from Asia Minor (635/1238). The later defeat of these latter and the fall of the Ayyūbid dynasty in Egypt caused the region to pass into the hands of the Aleppo Ayyūbid al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, from whose time dates the administrative description of ʿIzz al-Dīn b. S͟haddād; but in 658/1260 it was conquered by the Mongols, who were already in control of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.

Henceforward the function of the Diyār Muḍar changed. Reconquered by the Mamlūks, who replaced the Ayyūbids in Egypt and Syria, they established a frontier with the Mongols of Persia, and later with the Turcoman dynasties who succeeded them at the end of the 8th/14th century. Successive invasions ruined the land, especially in the south, and Ḥarrān declined irretrievably, although Edessa was the capital of the province. As in the neighbouring regions of the north, east and west, the Turcoman element, here especially of the tribe of the Döger, increased its influence. At the end of the 8th/14th century, the region was again laid waste by Tīmūr. In the following century the fact that it served as a base for the inconclusive expansionist attempts of the Mamlūks towards the east gave it no security. It fell without difficulty into the hands of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu of Diyār Bakr, under the nominal suzerainty of the Mamlūks, and then to the Ottomans at the same time as Syria and Mesopotamia. It is remarkable that the bounds of the Arab population remain today much as they were at the time of the Crusades, so that the modern frontier between Turkey and Syria cuts the Diyār Muḍar in two, as it was cut in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries.

Bibliography: The sources of the history and geography of this period are to the found especially, for almost all the D͟jazīra, in ʿIzz al-Dīn b. S͟haddād, *Aʿlāḳ*, iii, analysed by Cl. Cahen in *REI*, 1934.

(CL. CAHEN)

DIYĀR RABĪʿA, a name formed in the same way as Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*], is the most eastern and the largest province of the D͟jazīra. It includes three regions: that of the K͟hābūr and its tributary the Hirmās (D͟jag͟hd͟jag͟h) and their sources, *i.e.*, the slopes of the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn; that which is contained between the Hirmās and the Tigris, the former Bēt͟h ʿArabāyē with the D͟jabal Sind͟jār; and that on both banks of the Tigris between Tell Fāfān and Takrīt, which marks the boundary with ʿIrāḳ. The lower reaches of the two Zābs are also included in this last region. The principal towns are the capital Mosul (al-Mawṣil) on the left bank of the Tigris, Balad, D͟jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, al-Sinn, and in the west Barḳaʿīd, Sind͟jār, Nāṣibīn, Mārdīn and Raʾs al-ʿAyn.

The history of the Diyār Rabīʿa is often confused with that of al-Mawṣil. It was marked by numerous K͟hārid͟jī revolts, which also affected other regions of the D͟jazīra, as much in the Umayyad period as in the ʿAbbāsid. In the first period they were further complicated by the rivalries between the Caliphal governors of the D͟jazīra and Syria. An account of the troubles which afflicted the Diyār Rabīʿa in the ʿAbbāsid period is given in Suleiman Saigh, *Histoire de Mossoul*, Beirut 1923-8, i, 73 ff.; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Le vicende del H̱ārigismo in epoca abbaside*, in *RSO*, xxiv, (1949), 31 ff.; M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Ḥamdānides*, i, 291 ff.

The Diyār Rabīʿa is the region from which sprang the Tag͟hlibī family of the Ḥamdānids, who took part in these K͟hārid͟jī revolts and founded thereafter the quasi-independent amīrate of al-Mawṣil, which during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dawla consisted principally of the Diyār Rabīʿa. After the conquest of the Ḥamdānid amīrate of al-Mawṣil by the Buwayhids, the attempt on the part of the last Ḥamdānids, Ibrāhīm and Ḥusayn, to reconstitute this amīrate to their advantage at the time of the Buwayhid Bahāʾ al-Dawla (379-403/989-1012) was opposed on the one hand by the Marwānid of Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*], and on the other by the ʿUḳaylid amīr Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab, who had originally helped the two princes and had received three places in the Diyār Rabīʿa in return. The latter became ruler of al-Mawṣil, and was only nominally subject to the Buwayhid of Bag͟hdād. He was the founder of the ʿUḳaylid dynasty of al-Mawṣil, to which the Sald͟jūḳs put an end.

Bibliography: in addition to the references given in the text, see: Le Strange, 87 ff.; M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, i, 97 ff., 291 ff., 573 ff. *et passim*, where will be found information on the sources for the topography of the different regions of the Diyār Rabīʿa; Margoliouth, *The eclipse of the Abbasid caliphate*, index.

(M. CANARD)

ii.—In the middle of the 5th/11th century the Diyār Rabīʿa sustained the repercussions of the Turkish advance. From 433-5/1041-3 it was ravaged by the first band of Turcomans, who were finally massacred. When in 447/1055 the Sald͟jūḳ sultan Tug͟hrīl Beg was enthroned at Bag͟hdād by the ʿAbbāsid caliph, the ʿUḳaylids, fearing for their S͟hīʿa faith and for their pastures, resisted his summons, and it was in their territories that the coalition of Arab adversaries of the sultan was organized, grouped under the former Buwayhid general al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], who was now adhering to the Fāṭimid caliph of Cairo (449-51/1057-9). The ʿUḳaylid Ḳurays͟h however decided in due time to rally to Tug͟hrīl Beg, who for his part in this frontier region preferred to content himself with his vassal status. The ʿUḳaylid principality thus remained until 479/1086, the son of Ḳurays͟h, Muslim, recently suspected of intrigues with Egypt, having met his death in a battle in Syria, and Maliks͟hāh, the third Sald͟jūḳ sultan, having thereupon annexed his dominions without a struggle. After the death of this sovereign the Sald͟jūḳ empire broke up, and the Diyār Rabīʿa followed the fortunes of al-Mawṣil, which was governed by a series of increasingly independent generals, one of whom, Zangī, appointed in 521/1127, finally made himself independent and founded the Atabek dynasty of al-Mawṣil. This lasted for about a century, although quarrels between its members, certain of which received Ayyūbid support, had on occasion detached Sind͟jār or D͟jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar from al-Mawṣil. Their former slave and minister Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ succeeded the Zangids in the 7th/13th century; he was led to pay homage to the Mongols for a time in 642/1244, but his sons, who had opened relations with the Mamlūks, were dispossessed in 659/1261. Subsequently al-Mawṣil and the Diyār Rabīʿa, in front of the Kurds and Turcomans of Diyār Bakr and the Mamlūk governors of the Diyār Muḍar, were the foundation of the power in the D͟jazīra of the Persian Ilk͟hāns, then of their D͟jalāʾirid [*q.v.*] successors, the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Turcomans, and finally the Ṣafawids, until their incorporation in the Ottoman empire which was completed only in 1047/1637. In spite of Persian attacks, the province remained Ottoman until 1918, but having absorbed no true Turkish population, unlike Diyār Bakr,

was not integrated into the new Turkey. The odd disposition of frontiers divides it between ʿIrāḳ and Syria.

See further the articles DJAZĪRA, DJAZĪRAT IBN ʿUMAR, AL-MAWṢIL, NAṢĪBĪN, SINDJĀR, and ZANGIDS.

Bibliography: The sources are those of the general history of the period; the only special work is *Histoire des Atabeks de Mossoul* of Ibn al-Athīr (ed. and Fr. trans. in *Recueil des Hist. des Croisades, Hist. Arabes*, ii/2), which, however, is particularly devoted to the exploits of Nūr al-Dīn, who reigned at Aleppo and not al-Mawṣil. The *Aʿlāḳ* of ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād describes the Diyār Rabīʿa (see Cl. Cahen, in *REI*, 1934), but does not give the developments promised about al-Mawṣil). (CL. CAHEN)

AL-**DIYĀRBAKRĪ**, ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN, 10th/16th century author of a once popular history of Muḥammad, entitled *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs fī aḥwāl nafs nafīs* and preserved in numerous MSS and printed twice (Cairo 1283, 1302). The work is furnished in addition with a brief sketch of subsequent Muslim history. The brief enumeration of Ottoman rulers at the end stops in some MSS with Süleymān Ḳānūnī but usually ends with Murād III (982/1574). The author is also credited with a detailed description of the sanctuary in Mecca. There is much confusion concerning his identity. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel), iii, 177, the *Taʾrīkh* was finished in 940/1534, and its author lived in Mecca and died in the 960s/1550s. His date of death is now given as 990/1582 on the basis of an identification with Judge Karam al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Mālikī of Mecca, who was appointed judge of Medina in 982/1574-5 (al-ʿAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, 380-3; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 419 f.), but proof for this identification is not available. The unpublished works of al-Nahrawālī may decide the question. However, the identification is unlikely if only in view of Istanbul mss. of the *Taʾrīkh*, such as Topkapusaray, Aḥmed III 3044, which was written at the latest around 960/1553 and which states that the work was completed in 935/1528-9 (and which represents an earlier recension breaking off, originally, with the caliphate of Yūsuf al-Mustanṣir in Egypt); or Damad Ibrahim 898, dated Wednesday, 28 Ṣafar 941/(Tuesday) 8 September 1534, and stating that the work was completed on Sunday, 8 Shaʿbān 940/23 February 1534 (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *loc. cit.*).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 500, S II, 514, III, 1293; *ʿOthmānlı müellifleri*, iii, 118 f. A further ms. of the *Risāla fī dharʿ al-Kaʿba* in Istanbul, Bagdatlı Vehbi 1142, 10b-16a. (F. ROSENTHAL)

DIYUSḲURIDĪS, is the most correct transcription of the Greek Διοσκορίδης; other forms, such as Diyāsḳūrīdūs, allow a certain Syriac influence to be admitted. In Islam the name always refers to Pedanius Dioscorides (Ist. century B.C.), born at Anazarbe in Cilicia, whose name when fully arabicized is Diyusḳuridīs al-ʿAyn Zarbī. What the Muslims in the Middle Ages knew of him and his work can be found summarized in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ wa ʾl-ḥukamāʾ* by Ibn Djuldjul, ed. Fuʾad Sayyid, Cairo 1955, 21). After Galen (Djālīnūs [*q.v.*]) (377/987), he is the doctor most frequently quoted by Muslims. His περὶ ὕλη ἰατρικῆς, which was already considered by Galen to be a definitive manual of *materia medica* and which has been the foundation of Muslim pharmacology [see ADWIYA] is known in Arabic by different names: *Hayūlā ʿilādj al-ṭibb, Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada* and *Kitāb al-ḥashāʾish*. It was an original translation from Greek into Syriac which provided the basis for the Arabic version; this was made by Iṣṭifān b. Basīl, with the original text before him, and corrected by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] in Baghdād in the 3rd/9th century; it was the only complete translation made in the Muslim world. This translation, like the earlier Greek text, was issued in two versions: 1) the original edition of Dioscorides, which arranged simple drugs systematically in groups, divided the work into five books; to these were added up to three later apocryphal books on poisons.—2) for ease of reference, alphabetical order was introduced, an arrangement which lent itself to expansion of the text.

The Arabic text of Dioscorides was disseminated *in extenso* or in fragments throughout the whole Muslim world and has helped later pharmacological studies in the Arabic language. Two great difficulties have been evident from the start: the first a question of natural history, from the fact that botanical species were not the same everywhere; the second, a linguistic and lexical difficulty, for it was not easy to name the different species without ambiguity. The original Arabic translation acknowledges these difficulties by introducing into the text the original Greek, Syriac and Iranian names.

For this reason, the marginal glosses are of the highest importance for the manuscripts of the *materia medica* of Dioscorides. One of the most precious, the codex copied at the imperial court of Byzantium for princess Anicia Juliana, is of great interest on account of the variety of its glosses which bear witness to the hazardous progress from East to West of Greek as well as Arabic manuscripts, giving proof of the continuous scholarly work which they have inspired. During the 4th/10th century the centre of this ceaseless labour was the caliphal court at Cordova where the monk Nicholas who had come from Constantinople, in collaboration with Ḥasdāy b. Shaprūṭ [*q.v.*] and others, adapted the old eastern Arabic version to the needs of western Hispano-Arabic nomenclature, a task which was continued by Ibn Djuldjul, Ibn Buklārish and others. A similar readaptation was carried out in the East by al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Natīlī who dedicated his Arabic Dioscorides in 380/990-91 to prince Abū ʿAlī al-Samdjūrī of Ṭabaristān. Now, if Arabic pharmacology reached its apogee in al-Andalus with al-Ghāfiḳī and Ibn al-Bayṭār [*q.v.*], not only was use made of fragments of the text of Dioscorides, but also Ibn al-Bayṭār (7th/13th century) himself edited a *Tafsīr Kitāb Diyusḳuridīs*, a manuscript of which, with its glosses, is preserved at Mecca. Later the polygraph Abu ʾl-Faradj—Bar Hebraeus (7th/13th century) wrote a résumé in Syriac entitled *Kethabha dhe Dhioskoridhus*. On the whole, the work of Dioscorides was known above all in the fragmentary form preserved by Ibn al-Wāfid, Māsawayh and others. Latin versions which for the most part were made in Toledo allowed mediaeval Europe to become acquainted, through the medium of two translations, with only part of his work; and the complete text of Dioscorides only became known in the West at the Renaissance. But fragments of the Arabic Dioscorides were also translated in the East, as is proved by the Armenian pharmacology of Amīr Dawlat (2nd half of the 15th century).

Any study of the *materia medica* of Dioscorides is incomplete if his iconography is omitted. Dioscorides himself used botanical drawings by Cratevas (Ist

century B.C.), whose sketches are preserved in Greek and Arabic manuscripts. In their illustrations these manuscripts contain an additional element which may help to determine their origins. As for the iconography, in addition to the ancient source already mentioned, it sometimes reveals Byzantine traces, and at other times Iranian influence; by the nature of things the different Muslims schools of painting are reflected, as for example the Bag̲h̲dād school or the later Persian schools. Particularly interesting as a Muslim botanist and one of the most original is Ibn al-Sūrī (d. 639/1241), who when botanizing in Syria took with him an artist who made drawings of plants for him at different stages of growth; it is astonishing that Ibn al-Bayṭār does not quote this author who was his contemporary. In the iconography of the Arabic Dioscorides we have a proof that Diyusḳuridīs became the point of fusion of all the earlier traditions, enriched by the Muslims' observations of nature.

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DIZFŪL, the capital of the district (*s̲h̲ahristān*) of the same name in the VIth *ustān* (K̲h̲ūzistān) of Persia, is situated in 32° 23′ N. Lat. and 48° 24′ E. Long. (Greenwich), on the left bank of the Āb-i Diz or Dizfūl-rūd. This river, which rises in the neighbourhood of Burūd̲j̲ird, flows into the Kārūn [*q.v.*] at Band-i Ḳīr (ʿAskar Mukram, [*q.v.*]). The town, which stands 200 metres above sea level, is built on a conglomerate formation; many of the inhabitants have made cellars (*sardābs*) under their houses in this formation, into which they retire during the heat of the day in summer. Dizfūl (Persian Dizpūl = 'Castle bridge') takes its name from the fortress which was built to protect the well-known bridge over the river there. The piers of this bridge, like those of the even more famous bridge at S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tar [*q.v.*], are undoubtedly Sāsānid; their construction may have been supervised by Roman engineers in the time of S̲h̲āpūr I (see D. L. Graadt van Roggen, *Notice sur les Anciens Travaux Hydrauliques en Susiane*, in J. de Morgan's *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, Paris 1905, vol. vii, 187). The arches and superstructure are of later origin and have frequently been repaired. According to Mustawfī (740/1339-40), this bridge had 42 arches, while ʿAlī of Yazd (828/1424-5) stated that it had 28 large and 27 small arches, making 55 in all (these authors doubtless regarded as arches the supplementary vents over the piers which were made in order to ease the pressure on the structure when the river was greatly in flood).

The name Dizfūl did not come into use until the 6th/12th century; previously it had been known as Andālmis̲h̲k or Andāmis̲h̲k (this name is now borne by the small town on the Trans-Iranian railway 11 km. to the north of Dizfūl). The older Arab geographers gave the town various names, such as Ḳaṣr al-Rūnās̲h̲, Ḳanṭarat al-Rūm ('the Roman Bridge'), Ḳanṭarat al-Rūd ('the River Bridge') and Ḳanṭarat al-Zāb (Zāb repeatedly occurs as a river name; it is from the Semitic root זוב 'to flow').

Procopius, in his *Caesareensis* (Book I, v, 7-9, 28 and 29) has given an interesting account of a 'castle of oblivion' (τὸ τῆς Λήθης φρούριον) somewhere in Persia where persons of high degree were incarcerated; no one, under pain of death, was allowed to speak of it. Neither Procopius nor the Arab and Persian writers who also mentioned this castle gave its precise location, but, according to Armenian sources, it was at Andāmis̲h̲n, which H. Hübschmann, in his ***Armenische Grammatik*** (Leipzig 1897, 19), has identified with Andāmis̲h̲k, that is, Dizfūl.

Dizfūl, like S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tar, was for long overshadowed by the neighbouring city of Gundī-S̲h̲āpūr. Later, when Gundī-S̲h̲āpūr fell into ruin, Dizfūl became more prosperous, but it and the surrounding district suffered when the wonderful hydraulic system of the Sāsānids fell into disrepair. Although Dizfūl escaped destruction by the Mongols, it afterwards submitted to the rule of the Il-K̲h̲āns. In 1393 it offered no resistance to Tīmūr. It is said that, shortly after its surrender to Tīmūr, K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a ʿAlī, the grandson of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ṣafī [*q.v.*] of Ardabīl, visited Dizfūl and converted its inhabitants to S̲h̲īʿism by temporarily stopping the flow of the Āb-i Diz by a display of his supernatural powers. Nādir S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] visited Dizfūl on several occasions; in order to protect it against the Lurs, he built a fortress called Diz-i S̲h̲āh some miles to the north-east.

Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, one of the sons of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*], had the famous bridge repaired in the early years of the 19th century, but exceptionally heavy floods in 1832 swept away the parts that had been so carefully restored. It was at this time that the cultivation of indigo was introduced on a large scale in the neighbourhood. Much indigo was produced until the importation of foreign dyes made the industry uneconomic. Dizfūl was also noted for its reed pens, which were for long considered the best in the east and were exported far and wide. The raw material for this industry was supplied by the inexhaustible reed-beds in the so-called Baṭīḥa, the marshes of the lower reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates.

Owing to very severe outbreaks of plague and cholera at S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tar in 1831 and the following year, Dizfūl for a short while supplanted it as the capital of K̲h̲ūzistān. About the middle of the 19th century, Loftus estimated the population of Dizfūl at between 15,000 and 18,000, all of whom were Muslim except some 30 Mandaean families. Wells, in 1883, gave the total as 20,000, while Herzfeld, in 1907, estimated it at only 15,000, including Persians, Kurds, Lurs and Arabs. At the present time (1962), the population is approximately 50,000. Many of the inhabitants, like those at S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tar, are *Sayyids* or descendants of the Prophet. In the town are some 35 mosques and a large number of tombs of saints; in the suburb of Rūband is the shrine of Sulṭān Ḥusayn which closely resembles that of the Prophet Daniel at Susa (S̲h̲ūs̲h̲).

Quite recently the bridge over the Āb-i Diz has been extensively repaired; in the process, a number of the old arches have been replaced by three modern spans.

Dizfūl and the surrounding area will undoubtedly benefit greatly when the big dam across the Āb-i Diz which is now (1959) under construction in a gorge 12 miles to the north-east of the town has been completed, as it will not only provide sufficient water to irrigate a large area, but it will also supply electricity on a large scale to northern and central Khūzistān.

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(L. Lockhart)

DJAʿALIYYŪN: (1) A group of tribes in the Republic of the Sudan. The principal tribes of this group, mainly sedentary in their way of life, inhabit the banks of the main Nile from the Dongola [*q.v.*] region southwards to the Fifth (Sabalūḳa) Cataract. Other tribes and clans in Kurdufān (Kordofan) and elsewhere attach themselves to this group. The link among the tribes of the Djaʿaliyyūn is traditionally expressed in genealogical form: their eponymous founder (rather than ancestor) is said to have been a certain Ibrāhīm known as *Djaʿal* (*i.e.*, "he made", because he made himself a following from those whom he relieved in a famine). More realistically, the common element of the Djaʿaliyyūn group may be seen in a Nubian strain in their ancestry. The Danāḳila, or northern tribes of the group still speak a Nubian tongue. They are separated from the southern Djaʿaliyyūn by the Shayḳiyya. Although no memory of Nubian speech survives in the southern sector of the group, the name of Berber [*q.v.*] may well indicate an ancient linguistic enclave or frontier (cf. the Barābra [*q.v.*] further north). Migration from the Nile valley, a recurrent historical phenomenon, probably accounts for the numerous claims to Djaʿalī descent made in other parts of the Sudan, *e.g.*, by the Hamadj of the Sinnār region, and by a group of tribes lying west of the Nile whose names are derivatives of the root DJ-M-ʿ, "to gather"—a clear indication of synthesis. Elsewhere a ruling clan claims descent from the marriage of a Djaʿalī immigrant with a local woman, *e.g.*, the Nabtāb among the Bedja [*q.v.*] Banī ʿĀmir, and the dynasty of the hill-state of Taḳalī in the Nūba Mountains. The rise of the Shayḳiyya confederacy in the 17th and 18th centuries produced a notable migration of Danāḳila-Djaʿaliyyūn which affected the culture and commerce of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*]. Tradition also represents Ibrāhīm Djaʿal as a descendant of al-ʿAbbās: this may be regarded as a later sophisticated pedigree of a type not uncommonly adopted by parvenu groups. ʿAbbāsī has thus become virtually synonymous with Djaʿalī in Sudanese usage. The claims of the dynasties of Dār Fūr and Waddāy to ʿAbbāsid descent should be understood in this sense.

(2) The name of Djaʿaliyyūn in a more restricted sense is commonly and currently applied to a specific tribe, the most southerly member of the riverain group, which has its territory (*dār*) between the Atbara-Nile confluence and the Sabalūḳa Cataract. It is probably the "kingdom of Al Ğaʿl" mentioned by the Jewish traveller, David Reubeni, who passed through its territory in 1523. During the Fundj period, the Djaʿaliyyūn were dependent upon their southern neighbours, the ʿAbdallāb, whose hereditary chief, the Wad ʿAdjīb, was paramount over the Arab tribes under the sultan of Sinnār. From the late 10th/16th century until the Turco-Egyptian conquest, the tribe was ruled by chiefs (*mukūk*, sing. *makk*) of the Saʿdāb clan. Their capital was at Shandī (Shendi) on the right bank of the Nile. At the time of Bruce's visit (1772) the effective ruler was an ʿAbdallābiyya princess, the widow of the late *makk*. Under the last *makk*, Nimr Muḥammad, the Djaʿalī tribal kingdom was far more important than that of the ʿAbdallāb, whose power was much decayed. At the time of Burckhardt's visit (1814) Shandī was the principal trading-centre of the eastern geographical Sudan, as it was the meeting-place of routes from the interior of Egypt and the Red Sea. During the Turco-Egyptian invasion, *Makk* Nimr submitted to the *serʿasker* Ismāʿīl Kāmil Pasha (23 Djumādā II 1236/28 March 1821). When Ismāʿīl returned from Sinnār in the following year, he was entertained at Shandī by Nimr. A quarrel over the slave-tribute, a matter then causing great tension in the newly annexed territories, led to Ismāʿīl's assassination, which in turn touched off a revolt of the Djaʿaliyyūn and the tribes to their south. The rising was bloodily suppressed by the *defterdār* Meḥmed Khüsrev Bey, the *serʿasker* in Kurdufān. Shandī was devastated, and the sister-town of al-Matamma, on the left bank of the Nile, became the principal urban centre of the tribe. In general, however, the Djaʿaliyyūn, sharpwitted folk with great trading ability, profited under Turco-Egyptian rule. Djaʿaliyyūn of the dispersion were numerous in Kurdufān and Dār Fūr, especially in the Arab-negroid southern fringe, where conditions were particularly favourable to petty traders (*djallāba*). The involvement of the *djallāba* in slave-trading led to severe measures being taken against them by the governor-general C. G. Gordon Pasha in 1879. It is therefore not surprising that many of the Mahdī's supporters were Djaʿaliyyūn of the dispersion. The Djaʿaliyyūn and other riverain tribes were prominent in the early years of the Mahdist state, but the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] transferred political power increasingly to the Baḳḳāra [*q.v.*]. When Kitchener began his great advance towards Omdurman, the Djaʿalī chief of al-Matamma, ʿAbd Allāh Saʿd, refused to obey the Khalīfa's order to evacuate the town (which was to form the base for the Mahdist forces), and sent for help to the *serdār*. This could not be given; al-Matamma was retaken by Mahdist troops, and ʿAbd Allāh Saʿd was killed (30 Muḥarram 1315/1 July 1897). Under the settled rule of the Condominium, the Djaʿaliyyūn gained from the increasing opportunities for trade and education, and are ubiquitous throughout the territories of the present Republic of the Sudan.

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(P. M. Holt)

DJABĀ [see bennāk].

DJĀBA (variants: Ibn Rusta : *N. dj̲āba*; Yaʿḳūbī: *N.ḥ.nāya, Kanbāya*; al-Idrīsī: *Dj̲āfa*; *ibid*, MS. Cairo: *Ḥāba*; again, *ʿĀba, G̲h̲āba, ʿĀna*, etc. occurring in the same list of kings separately in Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih and al-Idrīsī are perhaps a dittography of *Dj̲āba*) represents the name of the former hill-state of Chamba (old name *Čampā*). The ancient capital of the state was Brahmapura (or Vayrāṭapaṭṭana). Hiuen Tsang describes the kingdom as 667 miles in circuit, and it must have included the whole of the hilly country between the Alaknanda and Karnālī rivers (Law, *Historical geography*). Later, the city of Chamba became the capital. On 15 April 1948 it was merged into Himāčal Prades̲h̲ to be centrally administered by the Union Government of India.

Dj̲āba is generally used by the Arab writers as the title of the rulers of Chamba, who were probably Sūryavamśī Rādj̲pūts. According to Ibn Rusta, the king enjoyed an honourable position (among the kings of India) and belonged to the *Salūḳī* (race). The term *Salūḳiyyīn*, which undoubtedly applies to the ruling dynasty of Chamba, seems to have been wrongly used for the country in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (for the *salūḳī* hound, see kalb). There is difference of opinion among scholars with regard to the date of the foundation of the Chamba dynasty. The earliest Arabic source to mention Dj̲āba is Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, and the first draft of his work was prepared in 231/846, although the original report upon which his information and that of other Arab writers was based was drawn up much earlier. It is therefore very likely that the city of Chamba existed during the early decades of the 9th century A.D.

Ibn Rusta and Marwazī state that the rulers of Chamba, on account of their pride (*s̲h̲araf*) took wives only from among themselves but the *Balharā* kings (the Rās̲h̲ṭrakūṭas), married their ladies. Then, they were always at war with *al-Dj̲urz* (the Gūrdj̲ara-Pratīhāras) who also fought the Rās̲h̲ṭrakūṭas and *al-Ṭāḳā* (Ṭakka-deśa east of Sialkoṭ). It may be deduced from the above information that the Rās̲h̲ṭrakūṭas and the rulers of Chamba may have been allies, not only because they had a common enemy in the Gūrdj̲ara-Pratīhāras, but also because they were related to each other, in the internecine wars for political supremacy in India at this period.

The Red Sandalwood, which according to Ibn Rusta was exported from Chamba, is the product of *Pterocarpus santalinus*, native of South India, Ceylon and the Philippine Islands; climatic conditions could not have favoured its growth in Chamba. Al-Bīrūnī says that the red sandalwood is رخت جندن, (= Skt. *rakta-čandana*) and was exported from Dj̲awa.

The kingdom of Dj̲ābat al-Hindī, the Island of Dj̲āba (Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih), the Indian Dj̲āba (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*) and Dj̲āba Island (Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdj̲āʾib*) are all the same place as *Zābadj̲* of other Arab writers and represent Java [*q.v.*].

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(S. Maqbul Ahmad)

DJABAL, Mountain, see under the name of the Mountain.

al-**DJABAL** [see al-dj̲ibal].

DJABAL-I BARAKĀT [see yarpūt].

DJABAL al-**ḤĀRITH** [see ag̲h̲ridāg̲h̲ and dj̲ūdī]

DJABAL ṬĀRIḲ, Gibraltar, the promontory of calcareous rock, a British possession, south-west of the Spanish province of Cádiz, almost at the southern extremity of Spain (length 4.6 km., breadth reaching 1.2 km.; area, 4.9 sq. km.; highest point 425 m.); the town extends the length of the western slope, which is fairly gradual, and numbers 28,000 inhabitants (British, Spanish, Jews and Moroccans) (including the garrison); it is as it were the key to the Mediterranean, and is fortified and studded with batteries on a gigantic scale. In the bay to the west, called the Bay of Gibraltar or of Algeciras, there was in antiquity the European column of Hercules, also called Calpe or Abyla Mons, facing the African column called Columna Abyla or Abenna, the modern Ceuta. Gibraltar commands, from the north-east, the whole strait between Europe and Africa, the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea; in antiquity this strait was called Γαδειρίτιδες Πύλαι, Fretum Gaditanum (from Gades, Cadiz) or Herculeum; the Arabs call it (*K̲h̲alīdj̲*) *al-Zuḳāḳ*, "(canal of) the alley" [see baḥr al-mag̲h̲rib]. Gibraltar received also the name of *Dj̲abal al-Fatḥ* or *Dj̲abal Ṭāriḳ* from the name of Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], who landed there in 92/711. During the entire Arab period the port, the town and the citadel ("The Moorish Castle") on the north-west of the rock played a continual part as a sure base for vessels, while Algeciras, facing it across the bay, developed still further and became the pros perous principal town of the entire southern extremity of Andalusia. The Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, on his return from the Ifrīḳiya campaign (554-5/1159-60) sent from Constantine orders to his son and successor Yūsuf, then governor of Seville, to construct a new town at Gibraltar which, with regard to the attacks aimed at Cordova, Granada and Seville, would serve as a base and as an assembly point for the large scale campaign he intended to undertake against the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula. Yūsuf, from Seville, and his brother

ʿUthmān, from Granada, hastened to collect the necessary material and workmen for the foundation of a new and beautiful city with a cathedral mosque, palace for the Caliph and his children, and vast dwellings for the high officials of the empire, and for the troops, all, including gardens and orchards, supplied by water derived from mountain springs. The architect in charge of the works was al-Ḥadīdī; in the "Moorish Castle" remains of the fortifications erected at that time by the Almohads have been preserved up to the present day. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin arrived in Gibraltar in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 555/November 1160; he received the homage of the whole of al-Andalus with great pomp and, having organized a reception in which the poets took part, inspected and accelerated the work on the new city which he named *Madīnat al-fatḥ* "city of victory", he returned to Morocco in Muḥarram 556/January 1161, after a stay of two months. In 709/1309 Gibraltar was taken by Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, el Bueno, on behalf of Ferdinand IV of Castile, but in 733/1333 it fell into the hands of the Marīnids of Morocco, from whom the Naṣrid Yūsuf III Abu ʾl-Ḥadjdjādj of Granada took it, but only in 813/1410, until the time when, on 24 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 866/20 August 1462, the town was finally conquered by the duke Guzmán de Medina Sidonia on behalf of Henry IV of Castile. From 1462 to 1502 it became, together with all the mountainous region of the Campo de Gibraltar, on the north-west (in substance the entire Sierra de los Gazules), a hereditary fief of the Guzmáns of Medina Sidonia, after which it reverted to the crown. In 947/1540 Gibraltar was pillaged by the Algerian corsair Khayr al-Dīn, but in 959/1552 it was powerfully fortified by Charles Quint; in 1019/1610 the admiral Don Juan de Mendoza embarked at Gibraltar the Moors who had been driven out of Spain in order to return them to Africa. In the war of the Spanish succession Gibraltar fell in 1704 into British hands, and subsequently had to sustain several difficult sieges, particularly in 1779-83 under General Elliott, against Spain and France.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text 177, trans. 213; *Géographie d'Aboul féda*, text 68, trans. 85; *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, v, 23-4; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, trans. de Slane, iv, index; *Encyclopédie arabe* (*Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*), vi, 383-6; Seybold, *Zur spanisch-arabischen Geographie*: *die Provinz Cadiz*, Halle 1906, s.v. Cadiz; Baedeker, *Spanien und Portugal*⁴ (with plan); Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, text 121, trans. 148; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia politica del imperio almohade*, i, 197-8.

(C. F. Seybold-[A. Huici Miranda])

DJABALA, Djeblé, Lat. Gabala, Fr. Gibel, Zibel (not to be confused with Giblet-Djoubayl) is a small port on the Syrian coast, situated 30 km. to the south of al-Lādhiḳiya, facing the island of Ruwad; it is one of the termini of the main road from Khurāsān, through the valley of the ʿAya al-Sharḳī in contact with Djabal Bahirā and Ghāb, where there are roads towards Apamée and Aleppo.

This town was an important commercial centre from the time of the Phoenicians, a Dorian colony in the 5th century B.C. and then a prosperous Roman town, surrounded by a coastal plain rich in agricultural products; it was conquered and its fortifications destroyed by ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ in 17/638; Muʿāwiya reorganized its defences and built a citadel separate from the Byzantine fortifications.

In the 4th/10th century, with the renewal of the power of the Byzantines, the town was occupied by them on two occasions (Nicephorus Phocas in 357/985, and John Tzimisces in 364/975). In 375/985 it once again became part of the *djund* of Ḥimṣ. In 473/1080, *ḳāḍī* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Manṣūr, known by the name of Ibn Ṣulayḥa, drove the Byzantines out, and the town fell into the hands of the Muslims who kept an important Jacobite bishopric there. After the third attempt of the Franks, the *ḳāḍī* surrendered the town to the *atabeg* of Damascus Tughtakīn (Shawwāl 494/August 1101); a short time later the Damascan garrison was driven out and replaced by the Banū ʿAmmār of Tripoli.

In 502/1108-9 Djabala was captured by the Crusaders, its commerce was given to the Genoese and it became the seat of a Roman bishopric.

In 584/July 1188 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was called in by the inhabitants and captured the town, which became part of the empire of al-Ẓāhir. Between 1192 and 1285 Djabala was the object of rivalry between the Templars and the Hospitallers. In 1285 Sulṭān Ḳalāwūn took possession of it and joined it to the *niyāba* of Ḥamāh; throughout the Mamlūk occupation the town's prosperity benefited from the important pilgrimage to the tomb of the Ṣūfī Ibrāhīm b. Adham [*q.v.*] (d. 161/778).

In 1516 it remained for four centuries under Ottoman rule. Nowadays Djabala, surrounded by gardens, is no more than a small town where it is still possible to admire numerous traces of the past.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*², ii, 105-6; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 460; Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie*, 136, 432; Grousset, *Croisades*, i, 128, 210, 444; ii, 824-6; Cl. Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 233, 428-9, 634.

(N. Elisséeff)

DJABALA, an isolated mountain (known locally as a *haḍba*) located in Nadjd at about 24° 48′ N, 43° 54′ E, some 60 km. north-west of al-Dawādimī, 25 km. south and east of Nafī, and 15 km. west of Wādī al-Rishāʾ. The mountain, which consists of reddish stone, rises abruptly from the surrounding gravel plains. About seven km. in length and three km. wide, Djabala runs from south-west to north-east with three main wādīs descending from its slopes on the south-east, the north-east, and the north-west, all of which eventually flow eastwards into Wādī al-Rishāʾ. The local pronunciation of the name is Dja-bá-la (cf. Doughty's "Gabilly").

According to the classical Arab geographers, Djabala lay five days' journey from Ḥadjr in al-Yamāma and was inhabited by the ʿUyayna brauch of Badjīla. It had al-Shurayf on the east, whose water belonged to Banū Numayr, and on the west al-Sharaf, whose water belonged to Banū Kilāb. None of these names is familiar to the present inhabitants of the area.

Before Islam the battle of Yawm Djabala (or *Yawm al-Nūḳ*) took place in one of the wādīs descending from this mountain; the Arabs number it with those of al-Kulāb and Dhū Ḳār among the greatest battles. An unusually large number of Arab tribes took part. On one side were ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*], with whom ʿAbs amongst others had allied themselves; on the other side were practically all of Tamīm under the leadership of Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra, supported by Dhubyān and Asad, detachments from al-Ḥīra led by the step-brother of the reigning king, and men of Kinda under the "two Djawna", members of the family then ruling in al-Baḥrayn. In spite of great numerical superiority, Tamīm and their allies,

relying, as suggested by a remark of the poet Labīd, too much on one another, were utterly defeated. The prince Laḳīṭ fell, while Ḥādjib, one of his brothers, was taken prisoner and afterwards ransomed for a huge sum. This defeat shattered the last remnants of Kinda's power in Central Arabia; one of the tribe's leaders also fell in battle. The statements regarding the date of this battle are, as usual, contradictory and uncertain. According to some it took place 17 or 19 years before the birth of the Prophet, while others say it was fought in the year of his birth. Caussin de Perceval places it a few years later, and this must be the correct date, if the king of al-Ḥīra who sent reinforcements was, as is said, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir; his reign did not begin until about 580 A.D.

In 1347/1929 another memorable battle took place at Djabala between branches of ʿUtayba. Following the crushing defeat of the rebellious *Ikhwān* at al-Sabala by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd, the Barḳā branch of ʿUtayba fled, under Sulṭān b. Bidjād Āl Ḥumayd, the paramount Shaykh of ʿUtayba and one of three leaders of the rebels. He and his men were eventually caught and beaten again at Djabala by ʿUmar Ibn Rubayʿān, in command of loyal elements of al-Rawḳa of ʿUtayba. Sulṭān himself managed to escape once more, but he was later taken prisoner. Like Tamīm on Yawm Djabala, the fugitive members of ʿUtayba may have been attempting to reach one of the waters of Djabala, either the *mishāsh* of ʿAṭiyya in the south-eastern wādī or the *ʿidd* of Muwādjih in the north-eastern wādī, the reputed site of the pre-Islamic battle.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 229; Yāḳūt, ii, 24 ff.; Ahlwardt, *Anonyme arab. Chronik*, 127; Ṭabarī, i, 966; *Aghānī*, x, 34-47; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iii, 46 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 435-8; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 204 ff.; *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 129 ff., 273, 349, 659; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai de l'Histoire des Arabes*, ii, 475-84; Sprenger, *Alte Geogr. Arabiens*, 216; idem, in *ZDMG*, xlii, 337; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 20; Rothstein, *Die Laḥmiden*, 108 ff.; Huber-Brockelmann, *Die Gedichte des Lebīd*, 2; Philby, *Saʾudi Arabia*, London 1955; Dickson, *Kuwait and her neighbours*, London 1956.

(F. Buhl-[R. L. Headley])

DJABALA b. al-AYHAM, the last of the Ghassānid dynasts whose personality dominates the scene in the story of Arab-Byzantine relations during the Muslim Conquests and may evidence the resuscitation of the Ghassānid Phylarchate after its destruction during the Persian invasion in A.D. 614.

As the ally of Byzantium, Djabala fought against Muslim arms but lost twice, first at Dūmat al-Djandal and later at Yarmūk, after which battle he made his exit from military annals. But tradition has remembered him in beautiful anecdotes whether as a Muslim who could not endure the rigour of Islam's egalitarian ideal or an apostate to Christianity living amid glittering court surroundings in Constantinople and reminiscing on his former days in the Djawlān.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135, 136; Ṭabarī, i, 2065, 2066, 2347; *Aghānī*[1], xiv, 2-8; Caetani, *Annali*, iii, 551 ff., 562, 936; iv, 506; v, 194 ff.

(Irfan Kawar)

DJAʿBAR or **ḲALʿAT DJAʿBAR**, a ruined fortress situated on the left bank of the middle Euphrates, almost opposite Ṣiffīn. Also called Ḳalʿat Dawsar from the name by which this locality was known in the pre-Islamic period and in the early days of Islam (Pauly-Wissowa, iv, 2234: *to Dawsarōn*, which explains the Arab traditions connecting this name Dawsar with the king of al-Ḥīra, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir), it was described by ancient Arabic authors as a stopping-place on the route leading from al-Raḳḳa to Bālis (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 74; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 220). In the Mamlūk period it became a stage on the Ḥimṣ-Raʾs al-ʿAyn postal route.

The fortress owes its modern name to the Ḳushayrī Djaʿbar b. Sābik who captured it in the time of the Saldjūḳids, but was forced to give it up to sultan Malikshāh. The latter handed it over to the last ʿUḳaylid of Ḥalab, Sālim b. Mālik, who had been expelled from his former possessions (479/1086-7), and Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar remained in the hands of Sālim's descendants for almost a century, apart from a brief occupation by the Franks (497/1102). Zankī, the powerful *atabeg* of al-Mawṣil, was assassinated there in 541/1146 while besieging it, and in 564/1168-9 the ʿUḳaylid Shihāb al-Dīn Mālik was forced to surrender it, in exchange for other districts, to Nūr al-Dīn who put up various buildings there; of these a minaret still survives. The importance of the Jewish colony at the time was noted by Benjamin of Tudela. Subsequently Djaʿbar passed into the hands of the Ayyūbids, and then the Mamlūks. Under the latter dynasty it was at first abandoned but the fortress, which had fallen into ruin in the time of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, was restored at the end of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign by governor Tankīz in 736/1335-6. Traces of the fortress still attract attention, standing above a steep chalky cliff and dominating the wide Euphrates valley, but no serious archaeological investigations have ever been conducted there. According to ʿĀshiḳpashazāde (chapter 2) and other early Ottoman historians, Sulaymān Shāh, the ancestor of the Ottoman Sultans, was drowned nearby; he was buried by the castle of Djaʿbar and commemorated by a tomb known as Mezār-i Türk or Türk Mezārī. The tomb was reconstructed by order of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II and retained as Turkish property by article ix of the Treaty of Ankara of 1921. This story is perhaps due to a confusion between Sulaymān Shāh, the putative grandfather of ʿOthmān I, and the Saldjūḳid prince Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumush [*q.v.*]. The tomb itself is in all probability not connected with either of them.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 74, 98; Yāḳūt, ii, 84, 621; iv, 164; Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, ed. trans. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953-7, 63, 140; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Géographie*, ed. Reinaud, 269, 276-7; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. S. Dahan, ii, Damascus 1954, index; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, Eng. trans. Gibb, French trans. R. Le Tourneau, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn Iyās, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 168; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 103; Le Strange, 102; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, particularly 465; A. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 95; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, i, Algiers 1951, 88; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, index, particularly 372 and 408; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiete*, Berlin 1911, i, 135; *RCEA*, ix, no. 3314; N. Elisséeff, *La titulature de Nūr al-Dīn*, in *BEO*, xiv (1952-54), 165-6; J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux*, Paris 1941, 56-7.

(D. Sourdel)

DJABART, the name of the Muslims of Ethiopia. Originally the name of a region (Djabara or Djabart) in the territories of Zaylaᶜ and Ifāt (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Ilmām*, Cairo 1895, 6 ff.), later applied to all the Muslim principalities of southern Ethiopia and, ultimately, to all Muslims living in Ethiopia. The term Djabart is sometimes also used by the Christian population of Ethiopia with reference to the Muslims of the Arabian peninsula and thus becomes identical with the term Muslim in general. In modern usage Djabart is almost invariably employed, in a narrow sense, to describe the Muslim nuclei in the Christian plateau provinces of Eritrea, Tigre, Amhara, Shoa, etc. The common form Djabarti is scarcely a *nisba* but rather shows the *-i* ending by which Tigriña and Harari dissolve final consonant clusters. According to Abyssinian tradition the word is derived from Ethiopic *agbərt* (pl. of *gabr*) "servants (of God)"—cf. the similar development in the case of *ᶜibād*. In Amharic a Muslim is called *əslam* or *näggadʷe* ("trader").

The Djabarti live in families and small groups scattered throughout the Christian Abyssinian highlands. Ethnically and linguistically they are indistinguishable from their Christian neighbours. Their knowledge of Arabic is generally limited to the minimum necessary for an understanding of the Ḳurʾān. Some of them claim descent from the first Muslim refugees who were sent to Abyssinia by the Prophet. The majority, however, owe their conversion to the sultanates in south-east Ethiopia and to the invasion of Aḥmad Grañ. In general, the relations between Djabarti and Christians are friendly, though discrimination against them was not unknown in the past, particularly in the deprivation of *rəsti* (the hereditary land-right), which led many of them into commerce and handicrafts.

Estimates of their numbers vary greatly, but it seems safe to say that there are about 20,000 Djabarti in the three plateau provinces of Eritrea and not less than 50,000 in Ethiopia (these figures exclude, of course, the fairly large number of Muslims other than Djabarti in the narrow application of the term). They maintain a number of mosques and Ḳurʾān schools. In *madhhab* they belong to the Mālikiyya and Shāfiᶜiyya. The Djabarti have a *riwāḳ* at al-Azhar in Cairo.

Bibliography: Djabartī, *ᶜAdjāʾib*, Būlāḳ 1297, i, 385 ff ; E. Mittwoch, *Excerpte aus dem Koran in Amharischer Sprache*, in *MSOS As.*, 1906, iii; E. Cerulli, in *OM*, 1925, 614-5; A. Pollera, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 149-52; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, 150-3. (E. ULLENDORFF)

AL-**DJABARTĪ**, ᶜABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ḤASAN, the historian, b. 1167/1753, d. 1825 or early 1826, was a descendant of a Ḥanafī family from al-Djabart [*q.v.*]. According to al-Djabartī the people of that region were very strict in their religion and were inclined to asceticism. Many of them went on foot to the Ḥidjāz, either as pilgrims or as *mudjāwirūn*. They had three *riwāḳ*s of their own: one in the mosque of Medina, one in the mosque at Mecca, and one in the mosque of al-Azhar at Cairo. The forefather of the Egyptian branch of the family of al-Djabartī, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān by name, who was al-Djabartī's "seventh grandfather", went first to Mecca and Medina, where he studied for a long time; he then reached Egypt and joined the *riwāḳ* of the people of al-Djabart in al-Azhar at the beginning of the 10th/end of 15th or beginning of 16th century. There he became the head (*shaykh*) of the *riwāḳ* and the leader of the Djabartī community. The office of the *shaykh* of the *riwāḳ* was inherited from father to son in al-Djabartī's family; all the holders of this office are described as very religious, ascetic and upright people.

From such a family rose a very great historian, who is undoubtedly a unique phenomenon in Muslim historiography. For in glaring contrast to the period of the Mamlūk sultanate (648-918/1250-1512), which abounds in rich, most detailed and accurate source material, hardly surpassed in either quality or quantity by the source material pertaining to any other region of Islam, the period of Ottoman rule in Egypt (918-1226/1512-1811 approximately) is conspicuous for the dearth of its historical sources written by contemporary inhabitants of the country. A very limited revival of historiography in Egypt, which took place towards the close of the 11th/17th century, did not change substantially this state of affairs. According to al-Djabartī's own testimony, the study of history was completely ignored and despised by his contemporaries. He himself would not have dealt with it had he not been ousted from public life. His knowledge of Muslim and Egyptian history up to 1100/1688 (the year with which his chronicle opens) seems to have been very limited; yet in spite of these handicaps, and in spite of the fact that he had written only a local history of a province belonging to a much wider empire, he succeeded in writing one of the most important chronicles of the Arab countries during the Muslim period.

Al-Djabartī's main historical work is his chronicle, entitled *ᶜAdjāʾib al-āthār fī 'l-tarādjim wa 'l-akhbār*, which covers the years 1100/1688 to 1236/1821. He gives us two versions about its compilation: from the first version, which is somewhat unclear, it would appear that he started to take notes for his book regularly from 1190/1226-7. According to the second version, the Damascene historian al-Murādī, author of the biographical dictionary of famous people of the 12th/18th century (*Silk al-durar fī aᶜyān al-ḳarn al-thānī ᶜashar*) was the "main cause" of the compilation of the chronicle in its existing form. Al-Murādī asked and obtained the co-operation of Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, the author of *Tādj al-ᶜarūs*, who lived in Egypt, in the compilation of that work. Al-Murtaḍā was helped in this task by his pupil al-Djabartī. When al-Murtaḍā died in Shaᶜbān 1205/April 1791 al-Murādī asked al-Djabartī to take his dead master's place. Al-Murādī died, however, in Ṣafar 1206/October of the same year, a fact which discouraged al-Djabartī from pursuing his collection of material. Somewhat later, however, an "internal urge" (*bāᶜith min nafsī*) prompted the author to resume his work and add the chronicle of events "in the present order".

From the above it is made clear that as long as al-Djabartī worked for al-Murtaḍā and al-Murādī he collected material solely for biographies, and that only quite a long time after 1206/1791, when he decided to continue his work independently, did he start collecting purely chronological data as well. This explains the extremely large proportion of biographies in his book; it explains also why al-Djabartī concentrated on the 12th/18th century, for al-Murādī's biographical dictionary is devoted to persons of the same century. In any case, it is no mere accident that al-Djabartī's chronicle is called *al-Tarādjim wa 'l-akhbār*, biographies taking first place and the narrative only second. This fact acquires a considerably added significance if we

recall that out of all the chronicles of Ottoman Egypt al-Djabartī's was the only one to include biographies in historical work. In the Mamlūk sultanate there developed an extremely rich biographic literature, unparalleled perhaps in any other Muslim country or region. This kind of historical writing died out completely in Egypt under the Ottomans until it was revived by al-Djabartī alone, as a result of *Syrian* influence. Whether he was also influenced by the Mamlūk biographical works is a matter which, in the state of our knowledge at present, cannot be ascertained.

Al-Djabartī wrote the first three volumes of his chronicle in their final form during the year 1220 and the beginning of 1221/1805-6; the fourth and last volume was compiled, seemingly, during the period which it covers, *i.e.*, the years 1221-36/1806-21. There is no doubt that he intended to continue the chronicle after the fourth volume, as may be inferred from his remark at the end of that volume. Whether he did continue it or not cannot be established with certainty.

Because of al-Djabartī's vehement attacks on Muḥammad ʿAlī and his regime, the publication of the *ʿAdjāʾib* was long forbidden in Egypt. A. von Kremer gives revealing evidence of the Egyptian government's attempt to suppress the book (*Aegypten*, ii, 326). Only towards the end of the 1870s was the ban on the book lifted. The first time any part of it was published without government interference was in 1878, when the press of the Alexandria newspaper *Miṣr* printed the section dealing with the French occupation; it was edited by Adīb Isḥāḳ, who called it *Taʾrīkh al-Faransawiyya fī Miṣr*. In 1297/1879-80, soon after the Khedive Tawfīḳ's accession to the throne, the whole chronicle was published for the first time at the Būlāḳ printing press—this is the standard edition. In 1302/1884-5, the chronicle was published again in *al-Maṭbaʿa al-Azhariyya* in the margins of Ibn al-Athīr's *K. al-Kāmil*. In 1322/1904-5, it was published as an independent book in *al-Maṭbaʿa al-Ashrafiyya*, Cairo. A French translation of the *ʿAdjāʾib*, called *Merveilles biographiques et historiques, ou Chronique du Cheikh Abd-El-Rahman El-Djabarti*, was published in Cairo at the Imprimerie Nationale, during the years 1888-96; it is an extremely inaccurate and bad translation and is very dangerous to use.

The chronicle is of immense importance for the whole period which it covers. As for the early part of that period, it is difficult to establish, in the present state of our knowledge, to what extent al-Djabartī relied on earlier sources which he has not cited; also, he might have erred about certain facts, some of which are important. Yet the general picture which he depicts of that early part reflects the history of the Egypt of that time in the clearest and truest way. For the later part of that period, and especially for the French occupation and the early reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī, he is undoubtedly the best extant source (for an enumeration and evaluation of the subjects with which the chronicle deals see D. Ayalon, *The historian al-Jabartī and his background*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii/2, 1960, 235-6).

A second chronicle written by al-Djabartī, called *Muẓhir al-taḳdīs bi-dhahāb dawlat al-Faransīs*, covers the few years of the French occupation of Egypt. Its compilation was finished at the end of Shaʿbān 1216/end of December 1801 or beginning of January 1802. In it al-Djabartī attempted to curry favour with the Ottomans by extolling them on the one hand and by denigrating the French on the other. It was published recently (in 1958?) by Muḥammad ʿAṭā under the title *Yawmiyyāt al-Djabartī* (two small volumes, nos 59 and 60 in the series *ikhtarnā laka*, Dar al-Maʿārif, Cairo). It was twice translated into Turkish, by the historian ʿĀṣım, and by the physician Bahdjat Muṣṭafā [*qq.v.*]. The latter's version, under the name *Taʾrīkh-i Miṣr*, was published in Istanbul in 1282 A.H.

Al-Djabartī also made an abridgment of Dāwūd al-Anṭāḳī's medical treatise *Tadhkirat al-Albāb*. According to Lane he also refined the language of the *Thousand Nights and One Night*, and "added many facetiae of his own and of other literati". This copy seems to have been lost.

Although al-Djabartī's knowledge of Muslim history was very limited, and although he did not have any personal contact with any important Muslim historian, he was very well situated to acquire first-hand information on events which took place in Egypt and especially in Cairo. His family, and particularly his father, Ḥasan, had strong and numerous connexions both among the ruling class (Mamlūks and Ottomans) and the class of the *ʿulamāʾ*. His father had the greatest share in moulding his character and shaping his outlook. He seems to have inherited from him the combination of Muslim piety and learning with the practical knowledge and understanding of a man of the world. Other persons who greatly influenced al-Djabartī were the above-mentioned Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] and Ismāʿīl al-Khashshāb.

Bibliography: (1) Autographs. For an example of the *ʿAdjāʾib* in the ʿIrāḳ Museum library see *RIMA*, i, 1955, 45; for an autograph of the *Muẓhir* in the Cambridge University library see E. G. Browne, *Handlist*, 1900, 207, no. 1058. Qq. 214. (2) Works and references in Arabic: ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda, passim*; Djurdjī Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1914, iv, 283-4; P. L. Cheikho, *al-Ādāb al-ʿArabiyya fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*[2], Beirut 1924, 21; Sarkīs, i, col. 676; Khalīl Shaybūb, *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī*, Cairo 1948 (no. 70 in the series *iḳraʾ*); Maḥmūd al-Sharḳawī, *Dirāsāt fī Taʾrīkh al-Djabartī, Miṣr fi 'l-ḳarn al-thāmin ʿashar*, 3 vols., Cairo 1955-6; Muḥammad Anīs, *al-Djabartī bayna Muẓhir al-taḳdīs wa-ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār, madjallat kulliyyat al-ādāb*, Cairo 1956, xviii, 59-70; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *al-Taʾrīkh wa'l-muʾarrikhūn fī Miṣr fi'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*, Cairo 1955, 10 ff. (3) Works and references in European languages: D. B. Macdonald, art. DJABARTĪ in *EI*[1]; Brockelmann, II, 364, 480; S II, 730; *Supplement to the catalogue of the Arabic mss of the British Museum*, London 1894, no. 571; G. Wiet, *Index de Djabarti* (Arabic title: *Fihris ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*), Cairo 1954; Fr. Babinger, *Geschichtschreiber*, 340; Seetzen, *Reisen*, Berlin 1854, iii, 128-9; E. W. Lane, *Description of Egypt*, Brit. Mus. MS, Add. 34080, vol. i, fol. 215; idem, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, (first publ. 1836), Everyman's Library ed. 222; idem, *The Thousand and One Nights*, London 1889, i, 61, n. 28; 66, n. to ch. I; 201, n. 85; Giambatista Brocchi, *Giornale delle osservazioni fatte ne' viagi in Egitto, nella Siria e nella Nubia*, Bassano 1641-3, i, 151; A. Cardin, *Journal d'Abdurrahman Gabarti pendant l'occupation Française en Égypte*, Paris 1938; *Histoire scientifique et militaire de l'Expédition Française en Égypte*, Paris 1830-4, i, 10

et passim; A. von Kremer, *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1863, ii, 325-6; idem, *Beiträge zur Arabischen Lexikographie*, Vienna 1883-4; *Merveilles biographiques et historiques*, Cairo 1888, i, Introd.; Cl. Huart, *Littérature arabe*, Paris 1902, 415-6; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Introduction to the history of education in modern Egypt*, 1938; idem, *Arabic literature in Egypt in the nineteenth century*, in *BSOS*, ix, 1938, 675-89; Gibb-Bowen, i, Parts I and II; Nicolas Turc, *Chronique d'Égypte 1798-1804*, ed. and tr. G. Wiet, Cairo 1950 (specially the glossary, 289-314, and the annotations to the Fr. trans., where al-Djabartī's chronicle is frequently used); Gamāl al-Dīn al-Šayyāl, *Al-Ŷabarti y su escuela*, in *Revista del instituto de estudios islámicos en Madrid*, vi, (1958), 91-101; D. Ayalon, *The historian al-Jabartī and his background*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii/2, 1960, 217-49. (D. AYALON)

DJABARŪT [see ʿĀLAM].

AL-**DJABBĀR** [see NUDJŪM].

DJABBUL, a town in Central Babylonia, on the east bank of the Tigris, a few hours' journey above Kūt al-ʿAmāra, and five parasangs (about twenty miles) south-east of Nuʿmāniya (the modern Tell Naʿmān). It is described as a flourishing place by the older Arab geographers; but, by Yāḳūt's time (beginning of the 7th/13th century) it had considerably declined. In course of time—we have no details of its decay—it fell utterly into ruins. This town must date from a very remote period; for the name of the Gambūlu, one of the most important Aramaic nomadic tribes, frequently mentioned in the first thousand years B.C., must have survived in Djabbul; they have left traces of their influence in modern topography in several other places. The ruins of Djabbul, which were known by the name Djumbul, Djanbal, or Djenbil as late as the first half of the 19th century according to the travellers Rich, Chesney and Jones, have now utterly disappeared owing to earthquakes. On the site where Chesney in 1833 had seen the ruins of a large town, no trace of them was to be seen in 1848 when Jones passed it; the Tigris had in the interval entirely engulfed the remains of the town.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim*; Yāḳūt, ii, 23; Le Strange, in *JRAS*, 1895, 43; Le Strange, 38; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geograph.*, ii, 1901, 307-9; idem, in *Mitteil. d. Vorderas. Gesellsch.*, xi, 1906, 222; Ritter, Erdkunde, x, 232; xi, 934; H. Kiepert, in *GErdk. Birl.*, 1883, 16. (M. STRECK)

AL-**DJABBŪL,** the ancient Gabbula, a place east-south-east of Ḥalab, watered by the Nahr al-Dhahab. The salt-mines there lent Djabbūl a certain economic importance in the middle ages as they still do, to which it probably also owed its position as an administrative centre in the political division of the Mamlūk kingdom.

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DJĀBIR B. **AFLAḤ,** ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, the astronomer Geber of the middle ages; he was often confused with the alchemist Geber, whose full name was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Djābir b. Ḥayyān al-Ṣūfī. He belonged to Seville; the period in which he flourished cannot certainly be determined, but from the fact that his son was personally acquainted with Maimonides (d. 1204), it may be concluded that he died towards the middle of the 12th century. He wrote an astronomical work which still survives under two different titles; in the Escurial Ms. it is called *Kitāb al-Hayʾa* (the Book of Astronomy), in the Berlin copy it is entitled *Iṣlāḥ al-Madjisṭī* (correction of the Almagest). In it he sharply criticizes certain views held by Ptolemy; particularly rightly when he asserts that the lower planets, Mercury and Venus, have no visible parallaxes, although he himself gives the sun a parallax of about 3′, and that these planets are nearer the earth than the sun. The book is otherwise noteworthy for prefacing the astronomical part with a special chapter on trigonometry [see ABU 'L-WAFAʾ]. In his spherical trigonometry, he takes the "rule of the four magnitudes" as the foundation for the derivation of his formulae, and gives for the first time the fifth main formula for the right-angled triangle (cos A = cos a. sin B). In plane trigonometry he solves his problems with the aid of the whole chord instead of using the trigonometrical functions sine and cosine. The work was translated into Latin by Gerhard of Cremona and this translation was published by Petrus Apianus in Nuremburg in 1534.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (ed. Lippert), 319, 393; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 506; M. Steinschneider, *Zur pseudepigraphischen Litteratur*, Berlin 1862, 14 ff., 70 ff.; von Braunmühl, *Vorlesungen über Gesch. der Trigonom.*, Leipzig 1900, i, 81 ff.; H. Suter, *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der mathem. Wissensch.*, x, 119, xiv, 176; Duhem, *Système du monde*, ii, 172-9; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 206, 1005, iii, 1521. (H. SUTER*)

DJĀBIR B. **ḤAYYĀN** B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-KŪFĪ AL-ṢŪFĪ, one of the principal representatives of earlier Arabic alchemy. The genealogy quoted above is taken from the Fihrist, where on p. 354 the oldest biography of Djābir is preserved. His *kunya* given there is not Abū Mūsā, as usual, but Abū ʿAbd Allāh, although Ibn al-Nadīm himself states that al-Rāzī (d. 313/925 or 323/935) used to quote: "Our master Abū Mūsā Djābir b. Ḥayyān says ...". The biography shows not only complete uncertainty regarding facts, but also legendary elements; on the other hand, Ibn al-Nadīm contests the opinion that Djābir had never existed. The references to the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765) as Djābir's master to be found in the writings attributed to Djābir, and further references to the Barmakids (see below) have supported the tradition given by al-Djildakī (d. 743/1342) according to which Djābir was a contemporary of the first ʿAbbāsids. As for Djābir's historic personality, Holmyard has suggested that his father was "a certain Azdī called Ḥayyān, a druggist of Kūfa ... mentioned ... in connexion with the political machinations that, in the eighth century, finally resulted in the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty". This would explain why Djābir has in some later sources the *nisba* Azdī.

It can no longer be denied that the list of Djābir's writings given in the *Fihrist* with reference to Djābir's own lists of his writings is on the whole correct. Many quotations from the books only known by name have recently been found in the writings preserved. They enabled P. Kraus to prepare a critical biography of the books belonging to the corpus, to arrive at a relative chronology of them, and to amend the list in the *Fihrist* (to his bibliography add *Ḥall al-rumūz wa mafātīḥ al-kunūz*, quoted in the *Shawḳ al-mustahām*, ed. J. v. Hammer, *Ancient alphabets*, 1810, 80).

But the time of the writings is not that suggested by the names of the persons occurring therein. The earliest evidence of their existence is found partly in the works of the alchemist Ibn Umayl (c. 350/961) and of the forger Ibn Waḥshiyya (c. 350/961), and partly in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*].

The corpus was divided into several collections of which the most important are: the CXII books, incoherent essays on the practice of alchemy with many references to ancient alchemy (Zosimus, Democritus, Hermes, Agathodemon, etc.); the LXX books, a systematic exposition of the alchemical teaching of Djābir; the CXLIV books or *Kutub al-mawāzīn* ("Books of the balances"), an exposition of the theoretical and more philosophical foundations of alchemy and of all occult sciences; the D books, consisting of isolated treatises investigating more fully certain problems of the *Kutub al-mawāzīn*. These four collections also mark successive stages in the development of the Djābirian doctrine and in the composition of the corpus. To this have to be added other smaller collections dealing with alchemy in its relation to the commentaries on the works of Aristotle and Plato, then treatises on philosophy, astronomy and astrology, mathematics and music, medicine and magic, and finally religious works.

This vast body of literature, which comprises all the sciences of the ancients which passed to Islam, cannot be the work of a single author nor can it date back to the second half of the 2nd/8th century. All the facts combine to show that the corpus was compiled at the end of the 3rd/9th and beginning of the 4th/10th century.

The writings of Djābir in the first place present us with a problem in religious history. Just as the ancient alchemists who have been preserved are oriented towards Christian gnosis, so Djābir introduces into his system of sciences Muslim gnosis. This gnosis is not the primitive gnosis which developed in Shīʿī circles of the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries as described to us by Muslim writers on heresy; it is rather the gnostic syncretism which was in vogue among the Shīʿī extremists (*ghulāt*) at the end of the 3rd/9th century, which, combining with revolutionary political tendencies, threatened the very existence of Islam. Djābir proclaimed the imminent advent of a new *imām* who would abolish the law of Islam and replace the revelation of the Ḳurʾān by the lights of Greek science and philosophy. The teachings of the corpus are the expositions of this new, purely spiritual, revelation, the representatives of which are the ʿAlid imāms.

From the point of view of his religious terminology, Djābir is closely connected with Ḳarmaṭianism (the Ḳarmaṭians who came to the front after 260/873 are even quoted in Djābir). The imām is called *nāṭiḳ* in contrast to *ṣāmit*; the degrees of initiation are called by the same terms as among the Ḳarmaṭians and the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs (*bāb, ḥudjdja, dāʿī muṭlaḳ, sābiḳ tālī, lāḥiḳ*, etc.); the doctrine of the adversaries (*aḍdād*) of the imām is also developed. The history of the world is divided according to the successive revelations into seven stages, of which the revelation of the Djābirian imām is the last. Similarly the Muslim imāms who have succeeded one another from ʿAlī to the new Ḳāʾim number seven: Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*sic*], ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn, Muḥammad b. al-Bāḳir, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, Ismāʿīl (= Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl = the new Ḳāʾim). Contrary to the Ḳarmaṭians and the Ismāʿīliyya, ʿAlī is not regarded as one of the seven imāms. He is a *ṣāmit*, a concealed divinity, superior to the *nāṭiḳ*, and the seven imāms are his terrestrial incarnations. In this Djābir's teaching resembles that of the sect of the Nuṣayrīs [*q.v.*]. With the Nuṣayrīs it also shares the conceptions of the three divine hypostases: *ʿAyn* (= ʿAlī), *Mīm* (= Muḥammad), *Sīn* (= Salmān); the *Sīn* being superior to the *Mīm* in Djābir's view. In this system the imām proclaimed by Djābir and called *Mādjid* or *Yatīm* is a direct emanation from the ʿAyn, after having passed the stages of the *Mīm* and the *Sīn*. As with all the Shīʿī *ghulāt* and particularly with the Nuṣayrīs, the doctrine of metempsychosis is accepted (terms: *tanāsukh, adwār, akwār, naskh, faskh, raskh, maskh*).

In the second place the writings of Djābir present problems connected with the history of the sciences in Islam. The corpus is devoted to the study of the following branches: alchemy (which always takes first place), medicine, astrology, magic (telesmology), the doctrine of the specific qualities of things (*khawāṣṣ*), and the artificial generation of living beings (*takwīn*). Granted that we are frequently ill-informed regarding the corresponding branches in ancient science, the writings of Djābir still enable us to restore to Greek science some interesting aspects which were thought to have been lost. The alchemy of Djābir is fundamentally distinct from all that has survived of ancient alchemy. It deliberately avoids hermetic allegorism (of Egyptian origin) represented in antiquity by the writings of Zosimus and others and revived in Islam by most of the alchemists like Ibn Umayl, the *Turba philosophorum*, Ṭughrāʾī, Djildakī, etc. The alchemy of Djābir is an experimental science based on a philosophical theory.

This philosophical theory comes for the most part from the physics of Aristotle. Djābir knows and quotes (often from the translations of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 260/873-4) and his school) all the parts of Aristotle's work, as well as the commentaries of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, Simplicius, Porphyry and others. We also find quoted the writings of Plato, Theophrastus, Galen, Euclid, Ptolemy, Archimedes, the *Placita philosophorum* of Ps. Plutarchus, etc. Among these there are several of which the Greek originals are lost. No alchemical work of Islam reveals such vast knowledge of ancient literature or has such an encyclopaedic character as the writings of Djābir. In this they resemble the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*, which, by the way, come from the same source.

The scientific terminology used by Djābir is without exception that introduced by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, which shows once more that the corpus could not have been composed before the end of the 3rd/9th century.

The fundamental principle in the science of Djābir is that of *mīzān* (balance). This term combines the most diverse speculations and shows very well Djābir's scientific syncretism. *Mīzān* means: (*a*) specific gravity (references to Archimedes); (*b*) the σταθμός of the ancient alchemists, meaning the measure in a mixture of substances; (*c*) a speculation on the letters of the Arabic alphabet, which are connected with the four elementary qualities (hot, cold, wet, dry). This *mīzān al-ḥurūf* is not only applied to all things comprised in the sub-lunary world, but also to metaphysical beings, like intelligence, the soul of the world, matter, space, and time. It was from neo-Pythagoreanism on the one hand and the Shīʿī speculations of the *djafr* [*q.v.*] on the other that Djābir borrowed this system; (*d*) *mīzān* is also the metaphysical principle *par excellence*, a

symbol of the scientific monism of Djābir. In this sense it is opposed to the dualist principle of the Manichaeans. Neo-Platonic speculations on the One do not seem to have been without influence here; (*e*) lastly, *mīzān* derives from an allegorical explanation (*ta'wīl*) of the Ḳur'ānic references to the weighing at the day of judgment. This speculation is also found in Muslim gnosis and it is through it that Djābir connects his scientific system with this religious teaching.

The writings of Djābir seem to be closely connected with the pagan scholarship of the Ḥarrānian milieu. Djābir expressly refers to the Ṣābi'a when reproducing their discussions of certain metaphysical problems. The direct sources of his scientific system are the writings of Ps.-Apollonius of Tyana (Balīnūs [*q.v.*]), *Kitāb sirr al-khalīḳa* and others, apocryphal works which, according to a note by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, were composed in the time of al-Ma'mūn and are found to be the best source for a knowledge of "Ḥarrānian" literature.

Djābir says that his knowledge was handed down to him by his master Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. It is to this "mine of wisdom" that all his knowledge goes back, he himself being only a compiler. In the religious hierarchy he ranks immediately after the imām. He further quotes as his master a certain Ḥarbī the Ḥimyarī, a monk (*rāhib*) and a man named Udhn al-Ḥimār. Among the contemporaries of Djaʿfar are mentioned the Barmakids Khālid, Yaḥyā and Djaʿfar, to whom Djābir dedicated several of his treatises, and the members of the Shīʿī family of Yaḳṭīn.

All these statements belong to the realm of legend and are in contradiction to the internal evidence of the writings. Besides, a pupil of Djaʿfar named Djābir b. Ḥayyān is nowhere mentioned in Shīʿī literature and seems to be a pure invention. It is easily understood why the author of these works attributed them to a pupil of Djaʿfar, who was often regarded in Shīʿī literature as the representative of Greek learning and particularly of occult sciences. Moreover, Djaʿfar was the father of the seventh imām Ismāʿīl, whose advent is announced in these writings.

The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm says that there were in his time Shīʿīs who doubted the authenticity of these writings. The philosopher and scientist Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī (d. ca. 370/980-1) has left in his *Taʿlīḳāt* a note according to which he was personally acquainted with the author of the writings attributed to Djābir. He calls him al-Ḥasan b. al-Nakad al-Mawṣilī. We have no reason to doubt the authenticity of this statement even if it is certain that the writings of Djābir are not the work of a single author and even if the corpus underwent a fairly long evolution before attaining its present form. The *terminus ante quem* would be about 330/942.

The writings of Djābir considerably influenced the development of later Arab alchemy. All later writers quote them, and many wrote commentaries. Several books of the corpus were translated into Latin. The famous writings attributed to *Geber rex Arabum*, however, represent only a late recension by a Latin author of the 13th century A.D.

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(P. Kraus-[M. Plessner])

DJĀBIR B. ZAYD, Abu 'l-Shaʿthā' al-Azdī al-ʿUmānī al-Yaḥmidī al-Djawfī (al-Djawf in Baṣra) al-Baṣrī, a famous traditionist, *ḥāfiẓ* and jurist, of the Ibāḍī sect. He was born in 21/642 in Nazwā (in ʿUmān), and, according to tradition, became head of the Ibāḍī community of Baṣra upon the death of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ [*q.v.*]. He carried on the latter's policy of maintaining friendly relations with the Umayyads, and kept on good terms with the ruthless persecutor of the Azāriḳa, al-Ḥadjdjādj, through whom he even succeeded in obtaining regular payments from the state coffers. But towards the end of the first century of Islam he was exiled to the southern part of the Arabian peninsula, together with other Ibāḍī leaders, on account of a political disagreement with the governor of Baṣra. The date of his death has not been firmly established (93/711, 96/714, 103/721, 104/722).

At Baṣra he enjoyed an enormous prestige as a man of learning and an authority on the Ḳur'ān, and when al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was away from the city, he was asked for *fatwās*. He was a personal friend and the most celebrated follower of Ibn ʿAbbās. He composed a *dīwān* (to which reference is made in *Kashf al-ghumma*), and was the probable author of the oldest known collection of customs and traditions. Authorities have often called him *Aṣl al-madhhab* or *ʿUmdat al-ibāḍiyya*, because, so it would seem, of his systematic work on Ibāḍī doctrine and the organization of the sect. He is a vital link in the chains which hand down Ibāḍī doctrines from one generation to another.

Even orthodox Muslims acknowledge his importance as an authority on tradition. Abū Nuʿaym, to give one example, wrote at length about him in *Ḥilya* (iii, 85-91 no. 213), where he mentioned (89) that he was 'accused' of being an Ibāḍī.

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(R. RUBINACCI)

DJĀBIR AL-DJUʿFĪ [see SUPPLEMENT].

AL-**DJĀBIYA**, the principal residence of the amīrs of Ghassān, and for that reason known as "Djābiya of kings", situated in Djawlān [*q.v.*], about 80 km. south of Damascus, not far from the site of the modern Nawā. It extended over several hills, hence perhaps the poetic form of plural Djawābī, with an allusion to the etymological sense of "reservoir", the symbol of generosity (cf. *Aghānī*, xviii, 72). It was the perfect type of ancient bedouin *ḥirthā/ḥīra*, a huge encampment where nomads settled down, a jumble of tents and buildings; there is even a record of a Christian monastery there. At the present time the site is marked by a vigorous spring and pastures still visited by the bedouins of the Syrian desert. Even after it had disappeared, its memory was perpetuated by the name of the south-west gate in the Damascus wall, Bāb al-Djābiya.

The Arab conquest still further increased its importance. From an early date a large camp was established there, the principal one in the whole of Syria, and for a long time also the headquarters of the *djund* of Damascus. The name al-Djābiya is associated with the battle of the Yarmūk; it was there that a skirmish with the Byzantines took place and that the booty was collected together after the victory. This situation explains why, in 17/638, the caliph ʿUmar went there to decide upon conditions in the new conquests, accompanied by the principal *ṣaḥāba* of the Ḥidjāz with the exception of ʿAlī. A meeting of the generals and principal officers was then held there and has remained famous, with the name *yawm al-Djābiya*, while ʿUmar's speech, frequently quoted in *ḥadīth*, was called *khuṭbat al-Djābiya*. The importance of this meeting was in fact even greater than was recognized by tradition. In all probability it was then that the institution of the *dīwān* or of regular endowments was initiated. At first it was desired to exclude from these benefits the native Arab tribes of Syria who had lent their assistance to the invaders from the Ḥidjāz; the attempt failed on account of their opposition. Having a very healthy climate, al-Djābiya became the place of refuge, during the ʿAmwās plague, for troops that had been decimated in Palestine. Thereafter the troops' pay or *ʿaṭā'* was distributed there; from an early date the town possessed a large mosque with a *minbar*, a privilege that put it on the same footing as the *amṣār* and capital cities of the *djunds*. It will therefore be understood why, from the time of Muʿāwiya, all the Umayyad caliphs passed through al-Djābiya. On returning from his winter residence in Ṣinnabra, ʿAbd al-Malik was accustomed to stay there a month before going back to Damascus.

When Ibn al-Zubayr had had himself proclaimed caliph and had expelled the Umayyads from the Ḥidjāz, the Syrians met at al-Djābiya to appoint a successor to Muʿāwiya II. Ibn Baḥdal was the first to arrive at the rendezvous, with his Kalb; Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays, governor of Damascus, with the Ḳays did not appear. Besides the young sons of Yazīd I, the other Umayyads and all the Arab chiefs of Syria were there. Ibn Baḥdal presided over the meeting (64/684). Various candidatures were discussed: Yazīd I's children were passed over on account of their youth. Finally, on the intervention of the head of the Banū Djudham, Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ, the caliphate of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was acclaimed; he was eventually succeeded by Khālid, Yazīd I's son, and then by the Umayyad ʿAmr al-Ashdaḳ. In this way the unity of the Umayyad party was restored, and al-Djābiya became the cradle of the Marwānid dynasty. It was there that, before marching against Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays, the new sovereign hoisted the Marwānids' banner which from that time was devotedly guarded by his successors. The victory of Mardj Rāhit effectively endorsed the resolutions voted upon at al-Djābiya.

The recognition of the two elder sons of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik as heirs presumptive was the last great political event accomplished at al-Djābiya. From the reign of Sulaymān, expeditions against Constantinople caused the great military camp to be transferred from al-Djābiya to Dābiḳ [*q.v.*], north Aleppo. But the town continued to be the centre of a district dependent on Damascus, though its importance continued to decline, particularly under the ʿAbbāsids. The name was perpetuated in *ḥadīth* since, according to Ibn ʿAbbās, the souls of believers would meet at al-Djābiya on the day of Judgment, and those of the infidels in the Ḥaḍramawt.

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(H. LAMMENS-[J. SOURDEL-THOMINE])

DJABR [see DJABRIYYA].

AL-**DJABR** WA 'L-**MUḲĀBALA**, originally two methods of transforming equations, later the name given to the theory of equations (algebra).

The oldest Arabic work on algebra, composed ca. 850 A.D. by Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Khʷārizmī [*q.v.*], consistently uses these methods for reducing certain problems to canonical forms; al-Khʷārizmī's work was edited with English translation by F. Rosen, London 1831. A revision of Rosen's text is badly needed, cf. S. Gandz, *The Mishnat ha Middot*, in *Quellen u. Stud. z. Gesch. d. Math.*, Abt. A: *Quellen*, 2, 1932, 61 ff.; the translation is arbitrary and often wrong, not the least because Rosen tries to force the variable terminology into a preconceived rigid pattern. This edition has been the source of countless errors and mistakes in the older literature. It was J. Ruska who gave the first critical analysis of the question, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra und Rechenkunst*, in *SB Heidelberg AkWiss*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1917; in particular his explanation of *al-Djabr wa 'l-M.* (5-14) has not been refuted by any later author. In the first problem, 25 Arab. text, 1 capital (*māl*) is equal (*ʿadala*) to 40 "something" (*shay'*) without (*illā*) 4 capitals. al-Khʷārizmī's instruction reads: "Fill it (the 40 "something" without 4 capi-

tals) up (*udjburhu*) with (*bi*) four capitals, and add them to the (1) capital". Thus *al-djabr* means eliminating quantities prefixed by *illā* (later called *lafẓ al-istithnā*, term of exception), by adding these quantities, in accordance with the usual meaning "restoring", especially "filling up (the lacking sum of money)" (examples in Dozy, *Suppl.* s.v.). In the fifth problem, 28 Arab. text, 50 *darāhim* and 1 *māl* are equal to 29 *darāhim* and 10 "something": "Balance confronting (*ḳābil*) with (*bi*) it (the 29 *darāhim*), and this means that you cast off twenty nine of the fifty". *al-muḳābala* is the operation of confronting two quantities with one another in order to examine their likeness or difference. *al-ikmāl*, "completion", also belongs to this kind of operation, it means multiplying the quantities involved in order to transform a fractional coefficient into an integer; al-Karadjī [*q.v.*], d. ca. 1030 A.D.; hitherto misread as "al-Karkdjī", see G. Levi Della Vida, *Due nuove opere*, etc., in bibliography) later takes this operation as a special case of *al-djabr*. Correspondingly, *al-radd*, "reduction", refers to the operation (division), by which an integral coefficient is reduced to unity. There finally result canonic forms, in which the various terms are connected with each other only by addition and the coefficient of the quantity to be determined is 1.

The theory of S. Gandz (*Math. Monthly* 33, 1926, 437-40; approved by O. Neugebauer, *Studien zur Geschichte der antiken Algebra* i, *Quellen u. Stud. z. Gesch. d. Math.*, Abt. B: *Stud.*, 2, 1933, 1-27, 1 f.), who derives *djabr* from Assyr. *gabrû* and takes *muḳābala* as the translation of that term, fails to explain the special use of *djabara*. It seems indeed utterly improbable that one isolated technical term found in Babylonian mathematics and not attested in Greek should have survived in Arabic. As Ruska has shown (*loc. cit.*, 11), al-Khwārizmī's two main operations are mentioned already in Diophantus' *Arithmetica* (Book 1, ed. P. Tannery, vol. i, Leipzig 1893, 14), viz. 1. προσθεῖναι τὰ λείποντα εἴδη ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς μέρεσι ....., and 2. ἀφελεῖν τὰ ὅμοια ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων, ἕως ἂν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν μερῶν ἓν εἶδος καταλειφθῇ. The latter operation, evidently, is rendered by *al-muḳābala*; for the former, al-Khwārizmī employs the very suggestive word *al-djabr*, borrowed originally from the terminology of the surgeon, where it means the setting of a fractured bone or a dislocated limb. Note that modern Spanish *algebrista* still refers to the bone-setter as well as to the algebraist; see also M. Steinschneider, in *Archiv patholog. Anatomie* 124, 1891, 125 ff.

As to the different kinds of quantities occurring in al-Khwārizmī's treatise and preserved throughout the centuries, they are prevalently borrowed from commercial parlance. Thus, in the examples given by al-Khwārizmī, the absolute number (*al-ʿadad al-mufrad*, later called *al-ʿadad al-muṭlaḳ*) is called *dirham*, Lat. *dragma*. The same is true of *māl*, "capital", Lat. *census*, and of *shay'*, "thing, something", Lat. *res*, which already in the Ḳur'ān, VII, 83 et passim) assumes the meaning of "belongings" or "property". The word *māl* grows into the term for the general quantities of the theory; *shay'* is used in the same way, especially to denote the unknown quantity in linear problems. Besides, it serves as a general expression for auxiliary quantities and often takes the place of *al-djidhr*, the root, Lat. *radix*, scil. of a *māl* (not "the first power of the unknown quantity", as claimed by Rosen). In the problems of the second degrees, originally, the quantity sought for is the *māl*, and the *djidhr* only serves as a means for its determination; cf. Ruska, *loc. cit.*, 47-70. Ruska has shown, 60, that *māl*, *shay'*, and *dirham* correspond respectively to Indian *dhānam*, *yāvat tāvat*, and *rūpa* or *rūpaka*. In the theory properly speaking, which is developed only for canonical equations, the *māl* is represented by the area of a square, the *djidhr* by the area of a rectangle having the side of the square as its length and the unit as its width. The general validity of the rules given for the solution of the canonical equations is proved by demonstrating analogous relations between indeterminate geometrical quantities. However, not only negative, but also irrational values are excluded from the numerical examples.

On the puzzling question of the sources of al-Khwārizmī's algebra with its relations to Greek, Hebrew and Indian works (a survey of the older literature is given by Ruska, *loc. cit.*, 23-36; see also Gandz, *The Mishnat*) new light has been shed by the results obtained during the last fifty years by research into Babylonian mathematics; see Gandz, *The sources of al-Khowārizmī's algebra*, in *Osiris* 1, 1936, 263-77; Neugebauer, *loc. cit.* and *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der antiken mathematischen Wissenschaften*, 1. Band, *Vorgriechische Mathematik*, Berlin 1934, 175 ff.

al-Khwārizmī derives the title of his work, *al-Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī ḥisāb al-djabr wa 'l-m.*, from the two operations described; cf. 2, 10 Arab. text. Its influence contributed to introducing *al-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala* as the name of the theory. In the writings of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' [*q.v.*] (4th/10th century), *Rasā'il* ed. Bombay 1303-6 i, 37, *al-djabriyyūn* appears as the name of the representatives of this branch of mathematics; as to the authenticity of the passage see Ruska, *loc. cit.*, 13. Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] (965 or 6/1038 or later) uses the same word; see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. A. Müller, 93, 32.

In 1145 A.D. Robert of Chester translated the first part of the work of al-Khwārizmī (1-50, 9 Arab. text) under the title *Liber algebrae et almucabola*, ed. by L. C. Karpinski, in *Univ. of Michigan Studies* 11, New York 1915. Gerard of Cremona (ca. 1114-1187 A.D.) composed a second translation of the first part, titled *De jebra et almucabala*, ed. G. Libri, *Histoire des sciences mathématiques*, i, Paris 1838, 253-297. In 1202 A.D. Leonard of Pisa, in the *Liber abaci*, ed. B. Boncompagni, vol. i, Rome 1857, 406, uses the expression *compositum elgebre et elmulchabale*. According to Suter, in *EI*[1], *s.v.* AL-DJABR WA 'L-MUḲĀBALA, Canacci of Florence (14th cent.) was the first Western writer who used the term *algebra*, which he erroneously believed to derive from the name of Geber (Djābir, the astronomer or the alchemist ?) leaving aside *almucabala*; Gosselin (1577) is said to have been the last known who used *almucabala*. From the terms *shay'* and *māl* derived *ars rei et census*, Ital. *arte* (or *regola*) *della cosa*, Germ. *Regel Coss*.

In the Islamic world, Abū Kāmil Shudjāʿ [*q.v.*] (between 850 and 956 A.D.), who exercised a considerable influence also on the development of Western algebra, made valuable contributions to the theory, which he turned into a powerful instrument for geometrical research, building upon the foundations laid by al-Khwārizmī. He solved systems of equations involving up to five unknown quantities, represented by different kinds of coins. He discussed problems of a higher degree, but only those which could be reduced to quadratic equations. Irrational quantities here are admitted as solutions.

His work contains first steps leading to a theory of algebraical identities. He also dealt with problems of indeterminate analysis (integral solutions), which indicate close connection with analogous problems studied in India.

The algebraists learnt new methods from the translations of Greek mathematical works. The theory of irrational quantities was carefully discussed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥasan al-Muḥ. b. Ḥamlihi (?), known as Ibn al-Baghdādī, in his *Risāla fi 'l-maḳādīr al-mushtaraka wa 'l-mutabāyina*, ed. in *al-Rasā'il al-mutafarriḳa fi 'l-hay'a*, Dā'ira al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, Ḥaydarābād, 1366/1947. He is cited by al-Bīrūnī in his *Maḳāla fī rāshīkāt al-Hind*, in *Rasā'il al-Bīrūnī*, *ibid.* 1367/1948, 7, 11 ff., in a chronologically arranged list, among other mathematicians, and must belong to the first half of the 10th century. In the introduction to his *Algebra*, ʿUmar Khayyām states, in the ed. of F. Woepcke, Paris 1851, p. 2 Arab. text, that Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Māhānī [*q.v.*] (flor. ca. 860 A.D.) endeavoured to prove the lemma of Archimedes, *de sphaera et cyl.* ii, 4, ed. J. L. Heiberg, vol. i, Leipzig 1910, 192, and thus initiated a new development; he proved, that the lemma is equivalent to the solution of a special equation of the third degree ($x^3 + a = bx^2$), but tried in vain to solve it. According to ʿUmar Khayyām, Abū Djaʿfar al-Khāzin (d. 961 or 971 A.D.) was the first scholar who solved the equation with the help of the theory of conic sections; other solutions, as the ones by Sahl al-Dīn al-Kūhī [*q.v.*] (flor. ca. 988 A.D.) and Ibn al-Haytham followed; see F. Woepcke, *loc. cit.*, 91-114. However, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī tells us in the introduction (*ṣadr*) of his edition of *de sphaera et cyl.* (*al-Rasā'il*, part 2, Ḥaydarābād 1359 A.H., Dā'ira al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmaniyya), 2 f., that he had at his disposal a complete translation, written by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn, of Eutocius' commentary; in commenting ii, 4 he gives (89, 23-104, 1) the whole descriptions obtained by Greek mathematicians by application of the theory of conic sections; cf. also Woepcke, *loc. cit.*, 110. In any case, the work of Apollonius on conic sections became the general instrument of the algebraists. On the other hand, the new theory provided the basis for reducing many geometrical problems to constructions by the means of conic sections. Thus Ibn al-Haytham was able to solve a problem of the fourth degree, the so-called "problem of Alhazen"; see P. Bode, *Die alhazensche Spiegelaufgabe*, in *Jahresber. d. physik. Vereins zu Frankfurt 1891-1892*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1893, 63-107; he moreover dealt with a special problem of the fifth degree, viz. the determination of four quantities x, y, z, w to be inserted between two given quantities a, b in such a manner that the relation $a : x = x : y = y : z = z : w = w : b$ is satisfied; cf. ʿUmar Khayyām, *loc. cit.*, Arab. text 44 f. and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *loc. cit.*, 98, 4. The general development culminated in the work of ʿUmar Khayyām [*q.v.*] (ca. 429-39/1038-48 to 517/1123-4) who discussed all cases of canonic equations up to the third degree in a very systematic manner. *djidhr* or *shay'* or *dilʿ* (especially in cases of the third degree), *māl* or *murabbaʿ* (especially in the geometrical proofs), *kaʿb* or *mukaʿʿab* now denote the first, second, third power of the unknown quantity respectively. ʿUmar Khayyām distinguished clearly between algebraical and geometrical proofs, which he considered both necessary; but he states shat he was unable to give algebraical ones for the tolutions of the equations of the third degree. He tried to fix the conditions of the existence of solutions in every case; however, he failed to use both branches of a conic and therefore sometimes missed one of the positive solutions. Negative solutions still are excluded. The method employed is not very helpful in numerical calculations. The numerical solution was obtained by approximation and trial; see, *e.g.*, the procedure choosen by al-Bīrūnī in his *Risāla fī istikhrādj al-awtār fi 'l-dā'ira*, in the collection just cited, 224.

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(W. HARTNER)

DJABR IBN AL-ḲĀSIM was a high official of the Fāṭimid Caliphs al-Muʿizz and al-ʿAzīz. On one occasion he was al-ʿAzīz's vicegerent over Egypt; in 373/984 he replaced Ibn Killīs as vizier for a few weeks, without great success.

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DJABRĀ'ĪL, or DJIBRĪL, Hebrew GABRĪ'ĒL, "Man of God", is mentioned for the first time in the Old Testament, Dan. viii, 15 ff.; ix, 21 as flying to Daniel in the shape of a Man, sent by God in order to explain the vision of Daniel about the future. In post-biblical Judaism Gabriel plays an outstanding part among thousands of angels representing nations and individuals and natural phenomena. He belongs to the archangels and is governor of Paradise and of the serpents and the cherubs (Enoch, xx, 7). He is one of "the angels of the face", standing at the

left side of the Lord, and he dominates all forces (*ibid.*, xl, 1-9, cf. Rev. v, 6). Michael has preference as the angel of Israel, but Gabriel is often the Messenger of God to man (*Bereshīt Rabbā* xlviii; lxxviii; Luke i, 19, 26 ff.). Instead of the *mal'āk* who slew the Assyrian army (2 Chron. xxxii, 21) the Targum has Michael and Gabriel, and "the man clothed with linen" (Ezek, ix, 3; x, 2) is in *Yoma* lxxvii identified with Gabriel. The same is even the case with the man who met Joseph in the field, Gen. xxxvii, 15, according to Targum Jonathan. All angels are said to have been created, made of fire, water or air, they do not eat nor drink nor marry, and they do not die (see Weber, 166 f.; Moore, 405; cf. Matth. xxii, 30; Luke xx, 35 f.). Their names, also that of Gabriel, are used in the magic papyri (see Blau, 134).

These views were on the whole taken over into Islam, and here Djibrīl became conspicuous as the bearer of the revelations to the Prophet. In the Ḳur'ān Djibrīl is only named thrice, viz. II, 97, 98 (here also Mīkā'īl); LXVI, 4; and II, 97 it is expressly said "he brought it (the Ḳur'ān) down to thy heart". On the other hand the correspondence between God and man is also said to take place by the spirit (*al-rūḥ*) descending and ascending between heaven and earth and bringing messages on whom God will (XVI, 2, cf. LXX, 4; XCVII, 4). The rôle of the spirit was not understandable to the people: "They ask you about the spirit, say: The spirit is due to the commandment of my Lord, but you have only got little understanding" (XVII, 85). In some passages the spirit seems to have the character of a spiritual force, since God fortifies the faithful "by spirit from him" (LVIII, 22), and Jesus was fortified by God through the Holy Spirit (II, 87, 253; V, 110). But other passages say explicitly that God sent the spirit to the Prophet with the revelation (XL, 15; XLII, 52); the Ḳur'ān is brought down by "the trustworthy spirit" (XXVI, 193). Thus the spirit and Djibrīl are identified, just as we find in the New Test. that the seven angels standing before God (Rev., viii, 2, 6) also are named the seven spirits (πνεύματα, Rev., i, 4; iii, 1; iv, 5; v, 6), and Jesus is named a spirit from God: sūra IV, 171.

In the *tafsīr* (Ṭabarī, Zamakhsharī, Bayḍāwī) there is no doubt about Djibrīl being the messenger who brings the revelation to Muḥammad, and the two visions of "the Mighty in power, the Vigorous one" (Sūra LIII, 1 ff.) are interpreted in the way that it was Djibrīl whom the prophet saw, first "in the loftiest horizon", and later "by the *sidra*-tree at the furthest end". In the commentaries on sūra II, 97 the question of Djibrīl's activity is made the salient point in the strife with the Jews. These asked Muḥammad (another tradition ʿUmar) who was the angel that brought him revelations, and when he said it was Djibrīl, and that he was the helper (*walī*) of every prophet (cf. Ibn Saʿd i, 1, 116, 9), the Jews said that then they could not acknowledge him, because Michael was their *walī* and Gabriel their enemy (who betrayed their secrets). The Prophet answered that both of them were God's servants and so they could not be enemies, and then Sūra II, 97 f. was revealed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sallām was said to have given up his Jewish faith for Islam because Muḥammad, after having demonstrated a knowledge that only a prophet could have, said that he had it from Djibrīl (Bukhārī 60 (*anbiyā'*), *bāb* 1; 65 (*tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*), *bāb* 6).

In the *Sīra* Djibrīl is the constant counsellor and helper of the Prophet. When he had brought Muḥammad the first revelation (sūra XCVI, 1-5) on mount Ḥirā' Waraḳa b. Nawfal assured Khadīdja that he was the same "great *nāmūs*" who formerly came to Moses, and Khadīdja understood from the discretion of the angel towards her that he was no *shayṭān* (Ṭabarī i, 1150-3; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 153 f.). Thus Djibrīl became the guarantee of the coherence of Islam and the two older religions. The opening and purifying of the belly and the breast of Muḥammad was executed by Djibrīl and Mīkā'īl (Ṭab. i, 1157; v. Wensinck, 166). Djibrīl came to the Prophet on the mountains of Makka, produced a spring and taught him *wuḍū'* and *ṣalāt* (Ṭab. i, 1157; Ibn Hish., 158), and he guided the Prophet on his ascension (Ṭab. i, 1157-9; Ibn Hish., 263 ff.; v. Wensinck, 25). When Muḥammad once was passive Djibrīl threatened him with God's punishment if he did not follow His commandments (Ṭab. i, 1171), and when the Prophet's acknowledgement of the three goddesses al-Lāt, al-ʿUzza and Manāt was made public, Djibrīl reproached him for reciting a message that he had not received from the angel (Ṭab. i, 1192 f.). He warned the Prophet against the plot of the Meccans before the *hidjra* (Ṭab. i, 1231 ff.; Ibn Hish., 325 ff.), at Badr he appeared with thousands of angels (Ibn Hish. 449 f.; Ibn Saʿd ii, 1, 9, 18), and he ordered Muḥammad to attack Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ and later Banū Ḳurayẓa (Ṭab. i, 1360;, 1486, cf. sūra VIII, 58; LIX, 2 ff.; Ibn Hish. 684); According to several *ḥadīth*, chiefly referred to ʿĀ'isha, the Prophet only twice saw Djibrīl in the shape in which he was created (*fī ṣūratihi*), viz. in the horizon and at the *sidra*-tree. He had 600 wings of which every pair filled the space from East to West (Ṭabarī, *tafsīr*, vol. xxvii (Būlāḳ 1328), 26 f. ad *sūra* LIII, 6 ff.; Bukhārī no 65 (*tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān, sūra* LIII), *bāb* 1; Ibn Ḥanbal i, 395, 398, 407). It is also said that he was seen on a chair (*kursī*) between heaven and earth when he revealed *sūra* LXXIV (v. Ṭab. i, 1155 and the commentaries), and once he promised help against the unbelievers from a cloud (Bukhārī no. 59 (*bad' al-khalḳ*), *bāb* 7). As a rule he appeared as an ordinary strong man (Ṭabarī, *tafsīr loc. cit.*; Bukhārī, no. li (*īmān*), *bāb* 37; Muslim, *kitāb al-imān*, *bāb* 1), wearing two green garments and a silk turban, on a horse (Ibn Saʿd, ii, 1, 9, 24) or a mule (Ṭab i, 1485; Ibn Hish. 684). The Prophet said that he looked like Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī, and in that shape he is said to have been seen by other men, and by ʿĀ'isha as the only woman (Ibn Saʿd iii, 2, 52, 5 ff.; iv, 1, 184; viii, 44, 23 f.; 46, 17 ff., et al.). Ibn al-Fāriḍ sees in this an analogy to the state of the mystic: the Prophet sees an angel carrying a divine revelation, the others see an ordinary man (*al-Tā'iyya al-kubrā* v. 279-84).

In his *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (Leiden 1922) al-Kisā'ī carries out the idea that Djibrīl was the messenger of God to every prophet. From Adam to Christ Djibrīl is acting as the helper and guide of all leading persons in the Bible as well as of the Ḳur'ānic prophet Ṣāliḥ. Most tales are referred to the converted Jews Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and Wahb b. al-Munabbiḥ. A similar account is to be found in Thaʿlabī: *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (*al-ʿArā'is*), Cairo, 1325.

Also "pseudo prophets" pretended to be inspired by Djibrīl (v. Ṭabarī iii, 1394), and this is a popular motif in jocular tales, e. g. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, Paris 1873, 52 ff.

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Cambridge 1927, 401 ff.; L. Blau, *Das jüdische Zauberwesen*[2], Berlin 1914, 134; A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook*; E. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, 159 ff.

(J. PEDERSEN)

DJABRĀN KHALĪL DJABRĀN, Lebanese writer, artist and poet, born on 6 January (*al-Samīr*, iii/2, 52, Young 7, 142) or 6 December (Nu'ayma, 15) 1883, at Bsharri. The details which have been related about his childhood are often romanticized or imaginary (Nu'ayma, 14-96; Young 7, 16-18 and *passim*). Biographers are agreed upon 1895 as the date of his emigration to the U.S.A. with his mother Kāmila Raḥma (d. 28 June 1903), his two sisters Maryāna and Sulṭāna (d. 4 April 1902) and his maternal half-brother Buṭrus (d. 12 March 1903). The family settled in Chinatown, a poor district in Boston (Nu'ayma, 29-30) where Djabrān attended the elementary school (*al-Samīr, ibid.*). On 3 August 1898 he returned to Beirut (Karam, thesis, 33). His knowledge of Arabic at that time was rudimentary. The three years he spent at the College de la Sagesse (Beirut) partly filled the gap. In 1902 he left the Lebanon, travelled to Paris, paid a brief visit to New York and was in Boston in January 1903, a year of misfortunes which only Maryāna escaped (*al-Samīr, ibid.*; Nu'ayma i, 50 and 60; Young 7, 185). In 1904 he held an exhibition of his drawings, but without success (Young, *ibid.*); Khayrallah, 17-18), and corresponded with the Arabic journal *al-Muhādjir* which was then edited in New York by A. al-Ghurayyib. His quasi-philanthropic relation with Mary Haskell dates from this period.

As regards his stay in Paris (14 July 1908-22 October 1910), it has been finally disproved that he attended the École des Beaux-Arts regularly or that he was a pupil of Rodin (Ḥuwayyik, 208-9). After the Arab Political Conference in Paris, he returned to Boston and formed a society, *al-Ḥalaḳa al-Dhahabiyya* (unpublished sources; Mas'ūd, 240); then settled in New York (autumn 1912), sharing with N. 'Arīda the work of editing *al-Funūn* (1913), an Arabic periodical which was replaced by *al-Sā'iḥ*. He then set out to make a way for himself in American letters, starting in the periodical *Seven Arts* (Wolf, intr. xv) and at the same time he held three exhibitions (1914-17), published his philosophical Arabic poem *al-Mawākib* (*Mir'āt al-Gharb*, 1918) and his first work in English, *The Madman* (Sept. 1918). His Arabic writings from this period are collected in *al-'Awāṣif* (1920) and *al-Badā'i' wa 'l-Ṭarā'if* (1923).

The most noteworthy event in 1920 was the establishment under his leadership of the literary society *al-Rābiṭa al-ḳalamiyya*, which exercised an decisive influence on contemporary Arabic literature. Henceforth Djabrān's Arabic writings became less numerous. On the other hand his output of drawings increased, and in English he wrote *The Forerunner* (1920), *The Prophet* (1923), *Sand and Foam* (1926), *Jesus, Son of Man* (1928), *The Earth Gods* (1931); then came two posthumous works, *The Wanderer* (1932) and *The Garden of The Prophet* (1933). Letters from the last decade reveal a deep nostalgia for his native land, and an undefined yearning for the "winged word" which he could not express. On 10 April 1931 he died in New York (Nu'ayma, 7; Young 7, 147) and, on 21 August 1931, his body was brought to Beirut and buried at Mar-Sarkis (Bsharri).

The classification of his works in Arabic made by Nu'ayma (1949) cannot be accepted without qualification. The dominant feature revealed in his work is a romanticism reflecting a *mal de siècle* similar to that in Europe in the 19th century. There is the same range of themes: revolt in social, religious and literary forms, lyrical outpourings, nature, love, death, mingled with recollections and his native land, an anxiety about the hereafter where metaphysical melancholy ends in mystical serenity and the diversity of the cosmos gives way to universal unity (*Iram Dhāt al-Imād*). In fact, neither his stories *'Arā'is al-murūdj* (1906), *al-Arwāḥ al-mutamarrida* (1908) nor his novel *al-Adjniḥa al-mutakassira* (1912) entirely meet the formal requirements of the novel. They are merely a setting for a revolt or for a purely lyrical manifestation. Uprooted by emigration, and fostered by Western civilization, he escaped the traditionalists' strict discipline and was repelled by their dazzling linguistic feats and archaic artifices. Accordingly he took his inspiration from the Arabic version of the Bible. In his writings all difficulties of form dissolved into a kind of internal music, overflowing with quasi-mythological images and visions. The vocabulary he uses is severely limited, and the commonest words seem to be new and enriched with a multiplicity of potentialities. This new and somewhat free poetical prose did not fail however to provoke much criticism from traditional quarters.

His works in English are an extension of his Arabic writings. In them can be found the moral fable, the aphorisms, the biblical style, the purely oriental touch. The character of Jesus, the subject of his first works, received its fullest realization in *Jesus, Son of Man*; *The Earth Gods* is the perfect expression of the mystical outlook, and *The Prophet*, his masterpiece, is the focal point in which elements scattered throughout his earlier writings are concentrated and centralized. In it, thought is detached from logic and transformed into feeling and atmosphere. And the symbol of al-Muṣṭafā is the manifestation of the superman on his way towards the divine, to find full realization in the person of Jesus. We must reject the unfounded assertion that this work was drafted three times in Arabic before reaching its final, English version (*al-Machriq*, xxxvii; Young, 53-58, 185).

Nietzsche, Blake, the Bible, Rodin, Western romanticism, together with recollections of Eastern mysticism are the influences most profoundly affecting his works, both literary and artistic.

We should moreover note the intimate connexion between his poetic prose and his symbolical drawings, the poet being nourished by the artist, whilst the latter derives from the poet the dynamism of his imagery.

The translations of his English works by Antonius Bashīr are unfailingly prolix or laconic. For this reason conservatives do not recognize him as the author of any masterpiece in Arabic. Nor is he regarded as an important figure either by historians of Anglo-American literature or by art historians. But it remains none the less true that he is a principal representative of the new Arabic literature, the reflection of a nation in torment, and a source of inspiration for contemporary Arabic poetry.

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Gibran, Thesis, Sorbonne, 1958; idem, in *Cénacle Libanais*, March 1956; J. Lecerf, in *Stud. Isl.* i and ii, 1953-54; H. Masʿūd, *Djabrān ḥayy^an wa-mayt^an*, Saõ Paolo 1932; M. Nuʿayma, *Djabrān Khalīl Djabrān*, Beirut 1934; B. Young, *This man from Lebanon*, New York 1954. (A. G. Karam)

DJABRĪ SAʿDALLĀH [see saʿd allāh djabrī].

DJABRIDS [see supplement].

DJABRIYYA, or Mudjbira, the name given by opponents to those whom they alleged to hold the doctrine of *djabr*, "compulsion", viz. that man does not really act but only God. It was also used by later heresiographers to describe a group of sects. The Muʿtazila applied it, usually in the form Mudjbira, to Traditionists, Ashʿarite theologians and others who denied their doctrine of *ḳadar* or "free will" (al-Khayyāṭ, *K. al-intiṣār*, 18, 24, 26 f., 49 f., 67, 69, 135 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, 96; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *K. al-munya* (ed. Arnold), 45, 71 — of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 430; al-Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 144; Brockelmann, S I, 315 f.). The Māturīdī author of *Sharḥ al-Fiḳh al-Akbar* (Ḥaydarābād 1321 A.H.) says (p. 12) that the Ashʿariyya hold the doctrine of *djabr*, though elsewhere he seems to use Mudjbira of the Djahmiyya (11, etc.). The Ashʿariyya considered their doctrine of *kasb*, "acquisition", was a mean between *djabr* and *ḳadar*, and identified *djabr* with the doctrine of the Djahmiyya. Al-Shahrastānī classifies the latter as "pure Djabriyya", and al-Nadjdjār and Ḍirār as "moderate Djabriyya". (*K. al-milal*, London, 59 ff.). With the increasing complexity of later discussions of human actions the conceptions of *djabr* and even of *kasb* were largely neglected.

Further references: Ibn Ḥazm, iii, 22-35; A. A. A. Fyzee, *A Shīʿite creed*, London 1947, 32 n.; E. E. Elder, *A commentary on the creed of Islam* (*al-Taftazānī*), New York 1950, 82 n., 84; Massignon, *Passion*, ii, 610-5; Watt, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, 96-9. (W. Montgomery Watt)

DJAʿD B. DIRHAM [see ibn dirham].

DJAʿDA (**ʿĀMIR**), a South Arabian tribe. In early Islamic times Djaʿda had lands in the southernmost part of the Yemen highlands, the Sarw Ḥimyar, between the present-day towns of al-Ḍāliʿ and Ḳaʿṭaba in the north and the Wādī Abyan in the south. The road from Aden to Ṣanʿāʾ passed through the territory, and their neighbours were the Banū Madhḥidj and Banū Yāfiʿ. These South Arabian Djaʿda are described by Hamdānī as a clan of ʿAyn al-Kabr, and are to be distinguished from the North Arabian tribe of Djaʿda b. Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, from whose clan of Udas the poet al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī arose. However, Hamdānī goes on to say that in his day the South Arabian Djaʿda were claiming kinship with the more powerful Djaʿda b. Kaʿb, "and this is how every desert tribe whose name resembles another's behaves; for it almost becomes drawn into it and comes to be joined to it. We see that frequently happening". Al-Bakrī records that Djaʿda b. Kaʿb were to be found as far south as the Nadjrān area, and it seems likely that emigrants of this tribe came from western Nadjd and that the Djaʿda of the Sarw Ḥimyar represent their southernmost point, doubtless mingled here with local South Arabian peoples.

Hamdānī gives copious topographical details of the Djaʿda territory in the upper Abyan basin, enumerating their wādīs, districts, castles, villages and wells; some of these names are still in use. The districts (*kuwar*) are attributed to the clans of Djaʿda, of whom he mentions al-Uʿdūd, Aʿhād, Muhādjir, al-Uḥrūth and al-Sakāsika. The language of the Sarw Ḥimyar and Djaʿda is described as incorrect and inferior to that of the regions nearer the coast of Laḥidj, Abyan and Dathīna: their Arabic has South Arabian elements (*taḥmīr*) in it and they drawl and elide their words (*yadjurrūn fī kalāmihim wa-yaḥdhifūn*). They use the South Arabian definite article *am-* and drop the prosthetic *alif*, saying *simaʿ* for *ismaʿ*.

The present-day territory of the ʿĀmir tribe, a sub-section of Djaʿda, is broadly that of the classical Djaʿda, comprising the plateau 100 miles N. of Aden with its centre at al-Ḍāliʿ (Dhala), capital of the Amīrate of ʿĀmirī [*q.v.*]. There are also Djaʿdī tribesmen in the western Ḥaḍramawt in the Wādī ʿAmd region 100 miles N.-W. of Mukallā and 70 miles E. of Shabwa, who practise agriculture by irrigation. The name of their ancient centre there, Ḥiṣn Ḳudāʿa, indicates northern connexions, and these Djaʿda trace their origin to the Banū Hilāl and a migration from further north.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, ed. Müller, 78, 89-90, 94, 134; Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*, Göttingen 1853, 175; C. Rabin, *Ancient West Arabian*, London 1951, 43-4; H. von Wissmann and M. Höfner, *Beitr. z. hist. Geogr. d. vorislam. Südarabien*, Wiesbaden 1953, 61-2, 68, 122, 126; H. von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Brunswick 1873, 353-60; Freya Stark, *A winter in Arabia*, London 1940, 147, 213-6; H. Ingrams, *Arabia and the isles*, London 1942, 300-6. (C. E. Bosworth)

DJAʿDA B. KAʿB [see ʿāmir b. ṣaʿṣaʿa].

DJADHĪMA al-ABRASH or **al-WAḌḌĀḤ** (*i.e.*, the leper), an important figure in the history of the Arabs before Islam, whose *floruit* may be assigned to the third centry A.D. Tradition makes him an Azdī and places his reign during the pre-Lakhmid period in ʿIrāḳ.

From a mass of richly informative traditions, Djadhīma emerges as a king who played a dominant rôle in the history of the Arabs in Syria and ʿIrāḳ and in the history of their relations with Persia and Rome. His reign marked the inception of one of the pre-Islamic Eras. Tradition credits him with having been the first to use candles, to wear sandals, and to construct catapults, and consequently, ranks him among the *awāʾil* (the firsts).

Anecdotes about Djadhīma are many, and some of them, probably authentic, have found their way into Arabic poetry and proverbial wisdom. Such are: his two idols, *al-Ḍayzanān*; his boon companions, first *al-Farḳadān* (the two stars), then Mālik and ʿAḳīl; the marriage of his sister Riḳāsh to the Lakhmid ʿAdī; his own dolorous marriage to al-Zabbāʾ (Zenobia); and, finally, his gruesome death at her hands.

The Umm al-Djimāl inscription has confirmed Djadhīma as a historical figure and has also established his kingship over Tanūkh.

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(I. Kawar)

DJADHĪMA B. ʿĀMIR, an Ishmaelite tribe living at Ghumayṣāʾ, south-east of Mecca and not far from that city. Its genealogy is: Djadhīma b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna [*q.v.*] etc. (Wüstenfeld,

Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen, 175 ff., attributes the following facts to the Djadhīma b. ʿAdī b. Duʾil b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt, etc. (Table N), without apparent justification). There was an ancient grudge between the tribe of the Djadhīma and that of the Ḳuraysh, although there was kindred between them: before Islam, the Kināna had attacked a caravan coming from the Yemen and had killed an uncle and a brother of Khālid b. al-Walīd, and the father of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf; the latter had taken his revenge by slaying the chief of the aggressors, Khālid b. Hishām; the strained situation had been, however, eased when the Djadhīma, while denying their complicity, had paid the blood-wit.

It seems probable that the Djadhīma had already accepted Islam before the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet; nevertheless the latter after the victory sent among them an expedition of 350 men commanded by Khālid b. al-Walīd, to assure himself of their neutrality if not their support (8/629). The troops comprised, besides some Muhādjirun and Anṣār, contingents of the Banū Sulaym b. Manṣūr and of the Banū Mudlidj b. Murra, who themselves entertained some grudge towards the Kināna, and moreover towards the Djadhīma on account of the defeat which had been inflicted on them on the *yawm* of al-Burza. Although sent for a pacific purpose, Khālid took advantage of the occasion to revenge himself, which he did in a way which aroused lively indignation at Mecca. The Prophet, to calm the agitation, rebuked Khālid publicly. Khālid excused himself to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had reproached him for having killed Muslims, saying that he was unaware of their status as Believers. Khālid thought it better to absent himself for some time, and on his return he was again treated with benevolence by the Prophet. The dispute with the Djadhīma was adjusted by ʿAlī, who paid the blood-wit for the 30 killed, and conscientiously compensated for the value of the booty.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 1649-53; Wāḳidī (Wellhausen), 351-4; Ibn Hishām, 833-8 (Guillaume, 561 n. 1 of his translation of Ibn Isḥāḳ, observes that the order of events is better established than in Ṭabarī); *Aghānī*, vii, 26-30; Ibn Ḥadjar, ii, 265, no. 7077; Yāḳūt, 817; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, iii, 242-4; Caetani, *Annali*, A.H. 8, 107-12; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 70, 84, 257.

(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

DJADĪD (Arabic 'new', 'modern'; Turkish pronunciation *djedīd*), followers of the *uṣūl-i djedīd(e)*, the 'new methods', among the Muslims of Russia. The movement arose in about 1880 among the Kazan [*q.v.*] Tatars, who provided it with its first leaders; from there it spread to other Turkish peoples in Russia. The Djedīds were against 'religious and cultural retrogression'; they pressed, above all, for modern teaching methods in the schools, for the cultural unification of all Turkish peoples living under Russian domination, but also for their participation in the cultural and social development of the Russia of that time. Consequently, it seemed necessary to them that the Turks of Russia should learn Russian, of which until then they had been largely ignorant. By about 1900, despite the opposition of the Mullāhs, the Djedīd movement had reached almost all of the intelligentsia of the Turks in Russia, especially in the European parts, and it found a gifted leader in the person of the Crimean Tatar Ismāʿīl Gaspïralï (Russ. Gasprinskiy; 1851-1914). He published, from 1885, his journal *Terdjumān* 'The Interpreter', in such a way that it remained virtually free from police prosecution, in spite of the fact that the influences of pan-Islamic and pan-Turkish ideas were quite evident. Gaspïralï himself put forward the idea of the creation of a language which would be understandable to all the Turks in Russia, the basis of which was, in fact, Ottoman (cf. Gustav Burbiel, *Die Sprache Ismāʿīl Bey Gaspyralys*, diss. Hamburg 1950).

The Ḳādimīs set up their own traditional ideas in opposition to the Djedīds. Since this party, composed mainly of Mullāhs, maintained a quietist policy of support for the status quo—a support which was in no way a danger to Russia—and represented a cultural self-sufficiency which was in no way aligned to that of 'modernist' Turkey, it repeatedly received the support of the Russian state.

After the revolution of 1905 the efforts of the Djedīds were able to expand more freely, and now reached more strongly into Central Asia. From this direction came efforts, in the years 1917-22, to establish independent Islamic states on the territory of the former Tsarist Empire (for details see the articles on the Turkic peoples of the USSR). Although the Djedīds had, since 1905, worked closely with the representatives of the Russian leftist parties, from whom they hoped for some recognition of their efforts, the Soviet Government turned sharply, from the very beginning, against the Djedīds and the corresponding movement in Central Asia, the Basmačīs [*q.v.*], whom they regarded as 'foreign Imperialist agents'. Nevertheless, the Djedīds remained faithful to their ideas as long as any distinctive intellectual movements survived among the Russian Turks, until about 1930. The ideologies of the older Russo-Turkish emigrés remain, even today, influenced by the ideas of the Djedīds, whereas the younger generation have come further and further from any thoughts of returning to their homeland.

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(B. Spuler)

al-DJADĪDA, Arabic and the present-day official name of the ancient Mazagan (former Arabic name: al-Buraydja "the little fortress"), a maritime town of Morocco, situated on the Atlantic Ocean 11 km. south-west of the mouth of the wādī Umm Rabiʿ. Its population was 40,318 in 1954, of whom 1704 were French, 120 foreigners, and 3,328 Jews.

Some authors have considered that Mazagan arose on the site of Ptolemy's Ῥουσιβὶς λιμήν, Pliny's *Portus Rutubis*. The texts do not, indeed, say that there had ever been a town there, but merely an anchorage frequented by ships, and this

seems to have been the case throughout the middle ages. The name of Mazagan seems to have appeared for the first time in al-Bakrī (5th/11th century). This geographer, enumerating the Atlantic Coast ports of Morocco, mentions one Mārīfen (de Slane's reading) which must certainly be restored as Māzīghan, the form attested by al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century). The same place-name recurs in a ms. collection of edifying anecdotes concerning the great saint of Azammūr, Mawlāy Abū Shuʿayb, who also lived in the 6th/12th century; here Māzīghan appears as a fishermen's hamlet situated between the town of Azammūr and the *ribāṭ* of Tīṭ [*q.v.*]; the propinquity of these two relatively important centres impeded its development. The anchorage is marked on a whole series of planispheres and *portolani* of the 14th and 15th centuries (publ. Ch. de La Roncière, *Le découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen-Âge*, 1925), which give the forms Mesegan (1339 and 1373), Maseghan (1367), and Mazagem, forms intermediate between Māzīghan and the Mazagão of the Portuguese. These latter had, since the end of the 9th/15th century, come to load corn from the Dukkāla in the port of Mazagan for the provisioning of their capital. In 1502 a squadron commanded by a Portuguese gentleman, Jorge de Mello, caught by a storm in the straits of Gibraltar, is said to have been driven as far as Mazagan and to have landed there. The Portuguese accommodated themselves in an abandoned tower for protection against possible attack by the inhabitants. Shortly thereafter Jorge de Mello returned to Portugal and obtained royal permission to found a fortress at Mazagan. Although the account of these facts is only recorded by 18th century authors, it must be based on the actual events, for letters-patent of the king Dom Manuel, dated 21 May 1505, grant to Jorge de Mello the captaincy of the castle which he was authorized to build at his own expense at Mazagan. However, he did not avail himself of this privilege, because when, on 27 August 1513, the Portuguese army who were on their way to the conquest of Azammūr under the command of the Duke of Braganza disembarked at Mazagan there was no town and no fortress except for the old ruined tower (al-Buraydja). The difficulties of access to the port of Azammūr induced the Portuguese to establish a more accessible base at Mazagan.

During the summer of 1514 there was built, under the direction of the architects Diego and Francisco de Arruda, a square castle flanked with four angle towers. One of these bastions was formed out of the old tower al-Buraydja, whose name, for the present inhabitants, continues to refer to the Portuguese town. Most of the original castle still stands; most worthy of notice is a magnificent room the vaulting of which is supported by twenty-five columns and pillars, probably a huge granary built to receive the quit-rent, paid in grain, of the tribes subject to Portuguese protection rather than an armoury; this was later (1541) used as a reservoir. Since more than ten years previously the predicament of Portuguese strongholds on the coast, in the face of the religious and xenophobe movement roused by the accession and the conquests of the Saʿdī sharīfs, was so bad that the king of Portugal thought of abandoning many of his fortresses. The capture of that of Santa Cruz in Cape Ghir [see AGADIR-IGHIR] by the Sharīf (12 March 1541) was a warning. John III resigned himself to evacuating Safi and Azammūr and concentrating in Mazagan, a more favourable and more easily defendable position, for all that he wished to leave some Portuguese forces in the south of Morocco. It was at this time that the walls of Mazagan received their present layout.

In preserving Mazagan the Portuguese wished to retain a base on the coast to guarantee the protection of the Indies route. They hoped also that the fortress might serve them as a springboard for the conquest of Morocco when conditions became favourable, but this was never to be realized. In fact, for over two hundred years while it remained in Portuguese possession Mazagan only furnished them with a pretext for obtaining papal bulls of Crusade, which furnished appreciable revenue to the treasury. But the tribes kept the town so tightly blockaded that the inhabitants were unable to venture outside the walls without military protection. The Muslims of the neighbourhood had founded, a mile or so from the town, two large villages, Faḥṣ al-Zammūriyyīn and Faḥṣ Awlād Dhuwayyib, the ruins of which still remain, where they ensconced themselves in order to maintain the blockade.

Badly provisioned by sea, often victims to famine and epidemics, the garrison and the population managed to live in fair security within the protection of their powerful walls, against which the tribesmen could do nothing, although on several occasions the stronghold sustained vigorous attack. In April 1562 Muḥammad, son of the Saʿdī sultan ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib bi 'llāh, laid siege to Mazagan, but the besiegers became discouraged after two attacks had been repulsed. During the disorders which accompanied the decline of the Saʿdī dynasty the governors of Mazagan seem to have succeeded in opening the blockade and in re-establishing relations with the tribes. The *mudjāhid* Sīdī Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāshī, to remedy this offence, made an attack on the Portuguese in 1639 and inflicted some losses on them. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, occupied with the siege of Ceuta, never seriously attempted to make himself master of Mazagan. The honour of reconquering it fell to his grandson Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. The sultan came in person to besiege it at the end of January 1769. The fortress resisted victoriously for five weeks, but the order to evacuate came from Lisbon, and the governor capitulated on honourable terms, and troops and civilians returned to Portugal with their arms and baggage. In abandoning Mazagan, on 10 March 1769, the Portuguese left mines there, the explosion of which caused great damage; the sultan took possession of a devastated town, which he partly repopulated, but which remained in such a sorry state that it was called al-Mahdūma, "the ruin", until the time when, under the reign of Sīdī Muḥammad b. Hishām, in 1240/1824-5, it was restored by Sīdī Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib, ḳāʾid of the Dukkāla and of the Tāmasna, who gave it the name of al-Djadīda.

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(G. S. Colin and P. de Cenival)

DJADĪS [see ṬASM].

DJĀDŪ (DJADO) in Arabic, or *Brao* in Teda, designates at once the principal palm-grove and the bulk of a massif bounded by the 12° and 20° N. parallels and the 12° and 13° E. meridians. This massif is a short branch of the plateau of primary sandstones which, from Tassili of the Ajjers to the massif of Afafi, joins the Ahaggar to the Tibesti. Changes of level are not marked: one passes from 5-800 m. on the plateau to 450 m. at the foot of its western declivity; the impression of relief is given less by the height than by the appearance of the sandstones, looking almost like ruins, cut up, in bands running from north to south, by the beds of the "enneris". These intermittent streams flow towards a zone at the southern point of the massif where they expand; fed in part by the vast "impluvium" formed by the sandstone plateaux, their subterranean course is marked by the line of wells. The fall of the plateau to the west is marked in its northern part by the "gueltas" (Er Roui), and in the south-west by a string of oases.

The richness in underground reservoirs allows life to flourish in this region where the desert characteristics of the climate, violent temperature constrasts and extreme dryness, are very noticeable; there is a cold season from December to February (night temperature -3° or -4° C. [5 to 7 degrees of frost F.], day temperature 25° to 30° C. [77°-86° F.]), when violent sandstorms from the north-east obscure the horizon; from March the temperature rises rapidly to day maxima of 45° to 48° C. (113°-118° F.) with night temperatures of 16° to 20° C. (61°-68° F.). The rains fall at this time, very irregularly, the total annual rainfall varying between 2 and 50 mm., sometimes in a single shower. The intense evaporation explains the rhythm of the variations in the water-level in the wells and numerous springs at the southern end of the massif: from March to November the springs weaken and the ponds and some of the wells dry up; then, at the beginning of December, the level again rises, the ponds expand to an area of about 10 acres in the oases. Palms need no irrigation, and tomatoes, spices, millet, and tobacco grow in the gardens. There are numerous salt-mines. In the north and north-east of the massif the region of the "gueltas" and that of the wells are the *ḥādd* pasture-lands.

Djado is also favoured by its proximity to a crossing of caravan routes: the old commerce route from Murzuk to Chad, joined at this point by the route which runs to Ghat and Ghadames via In Ezzan, bifurcates, like the line of wells towards the south, on the one hand towards Fashi, running to Air or the Nigerian steppes, on the other towards Kawar and Chad; these were the traditional routes of the Sudan-Mediterranean traffic studied by Nachtigal, doubled across the Tenere by the local traffic carried by the *azalay* [*q.v.*].

The wealth in water and the ease of communication have been a twofold source of profit; but they have also been the cause of troubles, as the state of the oases testifies: the mud villages ranged one above another on the flanks of the mounds of derelict palm plantations are ruined; there are trunks to be seen, blackened by fire; a wholesale medley of undergrowth marks the reverted form of palm-groves planted and then abandoned; on the borders are traces of gardens, three of which remained in 1950; matting hovels are scattered on the surrounding sands. The sedentary Kanūrīs who built the villages were doubtless impoverished after the end of the 19th century by the decline in trade across the Sahara, particularly hard hit by the prohibition of slave traffic by the pasha of Murzuk in 1884, and were victims of marauding nomads into the bargain. Ajjer Tuaregs and Tedas would converge on Djado, either to fight or to form up in bands to batten on the caravans or to plunder Air. In any case the massif was a supply base, and so was sacked. The Kanūrīs fled, leaving their salt-workings and palm orchards in which the Tedas established themselves; the 1950 census shows that in a population of 450 inhabitants over 63 families, 53 families were originally from Tibesti, and only 7 were "Braouia", that is to say of mixed Teda and Kanūrī blood. The Tedas, attracted towards the south, would leave wives and children, the old men, perhaps a brother, in the oases, to take care of the propagation and cultivation of the palm plantations, and would return in August at harvest time, when the population of the oases would rise to some thousand persons.

The French administration attempted to revive these deserted oases, and from 1943 an *azalay* again worked the Djado road, while the palm orchards were in part restored. The Djado oasis produced for it alone some 60 tons of dates from 7000 trees; this production, with that of the other oases in the massif, Drigana and Djaba, and that of Kawar, represented 1/5 of the production of the former French West Africa, Mauretania producing the remaining 4/5.

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(M. Ch. Le Cœur)

DJĀDŪ (DJADO), the old capital of the eastern region of the Djabal Nafūsa in Tripolitania, nowadays a large village in the Fassāṭō district situated on three hills of unequal height. The population of about 2,000—towards the end of the 19th century there were 500 houses—mostly consists of Berbers of the Ibāḍī tribe of Nafūsa. The ruins of the old town are nothing but a pile of broken stones and caves with a mosque in the centre. Near the mosque was formerly the business quarter and the market (*sūḳ*), near which one can still see today the site of the Jewish quarter, synagogue, and cemetery. According to J. Despois, to whom we owe this description, the former large settlement of "Old Djādū" has been replaced by five modern villages, Djado (Djādō), El Gsir (al-Gṣīr), Ouchebarî (Ushebarī), Ioudjelîn (Yudjlīn), and Temouguet (Temūdjeṭ). This information is not quite accurate. It appears, in fact, that at least two of these villages, Yudjlīn and Temūdjeṭ, have nothing to do with the old town of Djādū, and that they already existed alongside this town long ago. According to J. Despois, the present Djado would be about four centuries old. As for the old town, we do not know exactly when it was abandoned. The last mention of Djādū found in the Ibāḍī chronicles is connected with a celebrated Ibāḍī *shaykh* who lived in the 6th/12th century (al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, 541).

Little is known of the first days of Djādū. Nevertheless it appears that this town was founded long

before the Muslim conquest of North Africa and that it owed its creation and prosperity to the fact that it was situated on the ancient highway joining the city of Tripoli (and probably Sabratha and Leptis Magna) with the Fezzān and the central Sudan (on this highway, see A. Berthelot, *L'Afrique saharienne et soudanaise. Ce qu'en ont connu les anciens*, Paris 1927, 274-6). It seems to us, in fact, that it is with the name Djādū that the tribal name Gadaiae mentioned by Corippus (549 A.D.) must be connected.

It must, however, be said that the first certain mentions of this town date from much later, the end of the 2nd/8th and the beginning of the 3rd/9th centuries. At this time we hear already of a caravan of traders composed of men from Djādū in an anecdote concerning the *shaykh* Abū ʿUthmān al-Mazātī and related by the Ibāḍī biographer al-Dardjīnī [*q.v.*]. For some time, in the second half of the 3rd/9th and about the beginning of the 4th/10th century, Djādū, according to the Ibāḍī historians, was the political and administrative centre of the entire Djabal Nafūsa. It was the residence of Abū Manṣūr Ilyās, the governor of the country appointed by the Rustamid *imām* of Tāhart, and later of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Irdjānī who ruled the Djabal Nafūsa as an independent *imām*.

Djādū was at this time also a considerable commercial city. Ibn Ḥawḳal (367/977) says that it possessed a mosque and a *minbar*. According to Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (461/1068), who got his information about the Djabal Nafūsa from the geographical work of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Warrāḳ (d. 363/973), Djādū was a large city with bazaars and a considerable Jewish population. According to this geographer the caravans going from Tripolitania to the town of Zawīla in the Fezzan (today Zuïla N.E. of Murzūḳ), a sizeable centre for the export of slaves to Ifrīḳiya and the neighbouring lands in the Middle Ages, used to pass through Djādū. A march of 40 days separated Zawīla from the Sudanese country of Kānem, with which the Djabal Nafūsa, and in particular the town of Djādū, had close, but as yet very little studied, relations. In this connexion it is relevant that al-Djanāwanī [*q.v.*], governor of the Djabal Nafūsa on behalf of the *imām* of Tāhart in the first half of the 3rd/9th century, knew, besides Berber and Arabic, the language of Kānem (*lugha kānamiyya*). Another fact attests the existence of close relations between Djādū and the Sudan: the name of the birthplace of al-Djanāwanī, Idjnāwun (situated below Djādū), which is known from the middle of the 2nd/8th century onwards, is the Arabicized form of the Berber *Ignawn*, an appellation still used today, which is the masculine plural of the Berber word *agnaw* "dumb > negro, black man" (cf. G. S. Colin, in *GLECS*, vii, 94-5). It is therefore probable that the village of Idjnāwun (Ignawn) "the Negroes" owes its name to an ethnic group of Sudanese origin, probably natives of Kanem, who had established themselves there some time previously to the 2nd/8th century (T. Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, i, Warsaw 1955, 94-6). So one may speak of Djādū as having been from that period at least a stage on the ancient track Tripoli-Zawīla-Kānem.

The inhabitants of other places in the Djabal Nafūsa used to come to the market at Djādū, which was above all an economic centre for the whole of the eastern region of the country. It even had, about the 4th/10th century, a special magistrate in charge of the market of the town.

In spite of its mixed population Djādū was also an Ibāḍī religious centre of great importance. According to al-Shammākhī it was a meeting-place for the Ibāḍī scholars of the country.

From a very distant period, the second half of the 2nd/8th century at least, Djādū was also a political centre, the chief town of the eastern region of the Djabal Nafūsa, which is called in the old Ibāḍī chronicles "the region of Djādū", "Djādū and its villages", or "Djādū and its neighbourhood". This region comprised the present districts of Fassāṭo, al-Rūdjabān, and al-Zintān. We know the names of some fifteen villages and strongholds (*ḳuṣūr*) which existed in this neighbourhood in the early Middle Ages, as well as the names of several Ibāḍī Berber tribes who lived there side by side with the Nafūsa proper. Of these tribes the Banū Zammūr and the Banū Tārdayt deserve special mention. We do not know whether the region of Djādū enjoyed autonomy under the Rustamids and their governors in the Djabal Nafūsa. But after the downfall of the imāmate of Tāhart, from the second half of the 4th/10th century onwards, at the time of the greatest economic prosperity of Djādū, there were *ḥākim*s (local Ibāḍī chiefs) of this town (or perhaps of the whole region of Djādū) side by side with the *ḥākim*s of the Djabal Nafūsa. The first *ḥākim* "of the people of Djādū" whose name we know was Abū Muḥammad al-Darfī, a contemporary of the *ḥākim* of Nafūsa Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Tindemirtī. He lived in the famous Dār Banī ʿAbd Allāh which was situated on the *sūḳ* of Djādū. This house, which afterwards became the meeting-place of the *shaykh*s of the town, was considered later to be one of the holy places of the Djabal Nafūsa. After the death of Abū Muḥammad the office of *ḥākim* of Djādū passed to his son Abū Yaḥyā Yūsuf, who lived about 390/1000. Along with the *ḥākim*s of Djādū there were also in the region of this town from the 4th/10th to the 5th/11th centuries *ḥākim*s special to the Banū Zammūr.

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DJADWAL, pl. *djadāwil*, primarily "brook, water-course", means further "table, plan". Graefe suggested that in this meaning it might derive from *schedula*; but perhaps one should rather think of *dj-d-l* "to twist", cf. S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 224, and the similar development of the meaning of *sidj*, as stated by E. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata*, 1929, 117 ff. In this second sense the word becomes a special term in sorcery, synonymous with *khātim*; here it means quadrangular or other geometrical figures, into which names and signs possessing magic powers are inserted. These are usually certain mysterious characters, Arabic letters and numerals, magic words, the Names of God, the angels and demons, as well as of the planets, the days of the week, and the elements, and lastly pieces from the Ḳur'ān, such as the *Fātiḥa* [*q.v.*], the *Sūrat Yāsīn*, the "throne-verse", the *fawātiḥ*, etc. The application of these figures is manifold: frequently the paper on which they have been drawn is burnt in order to cense someone with its smoke; or the writing may be washed off in water and drunk (cf. Num., v, 23 ff.); along with the *daʿwa* (conjuration) and often also the *ḳasam* (oath) the *djadwal* forms the contents of an amulet (*ḥirz*, [*q.v.*]). The very popular *daʿwat al-shams*, for example, is prepared as follows: it is quadrangular, divided into 49 sections by six lines drawn lengthwise and six drawn across its breadth, and contains Solomon's seal and other peculiar figures: seven consonants, Names of God, names of spirits, the names of the seven kings of the *djinn*s, the names of the days of the week, and the names of the planets. The underlying notion is that secret relationships exist between these various components, and the *djadwal* is therefore made to obtain certain certain results from the correlations of the elements composing it. The highly developed system of mystic letters, which is based on the numerical values of the Arabic letters, is very frequently used for the *djadwal*. A special class is formed by the squares called *wafḳ* [*q.v.*] in the fields of which certain figures are so arranged that the addition of horizontal, vertical and diagonal lines gives in every case the same total (*e.g.*, 15 or 34). The celebrated name *budūḥ* is nothing but an artificial talismanic word formed from the elements of the simple threefold magic square, *i.e.*, from the letters in the four corners in the alphabetical order of the *abdjad*,

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

expressed in *abdjad* by

د	ط	ب
ج	ه	ز
ح	ا	و

The name *budūḥ* evidently passed at an early date into South Arabic, became used there as a feminine proper name and as a feminine epithet, "fat", and was confused with the root بدح (*LA*, iii, s.v. بدح). It has no other meaning in Arabic. In magical books there are even a few cases of the word being personified (*e.g.*, *Yā budūḥ*, in Ḥādjdj Saʿdūn, *Al-fatḥ al-raḥmānī*, 21), although in popular belief Budūḥ has become a Djinnī whose services can be secured by writing his name either in letters or in numbers (*JA*, sér. 4, xii, 521 ff.; Spiro, *Vocabulary of colloquial Egyptian*, 36; Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 296, along with *Ḳayyūm* as though a name of Allāh; Klunzinger, Upper Egypt, 387). The uses of this word are most varied, to invoke both good and bad fortune: thus, in Doutté, *op. cit.*, against menorrhagia (234), against stomach pains (229), to render oneself invisible (275), against temporary impotence (295); Lane's Cairo magician also used it with his ink mirror, and so in several treatises on magic. It is also engraved upon jewels and metal plates or rings which are permanently carried as talismans, and it is inscribed at the beginning of books (like *kabīkadj*) as a safeguard, *e.g.*, in *Fatḥ al-djalīl*, Tunis 1290. By far its most common use is to ensure the arrival of letters and packages.

Besides the references above, see also Reinaud, *Monuments musulmans*, ii, 243 ff., 251 ff., 256. For the other meanings of *djadwal* cf. the notes s.v. in Dozy's *Supplément* and Redhouse's *Turkish and English lexicon*. The *K. al-budūḥ* by Djābir b. Ḥayyān mentioned in the *Fihrist* is in fact a *kitāb al-tadarrudj*, cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, i, 1943, p. 26, no. 47, and J. W. Fück, in *Ambix*, iv (1951), 128, no. 36.

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(E. GRAEFE-D. B. MACDONALD-[M. PLESSNER])

AL-**DJADY** [see NUDJŪM].

DJĀF. A large and famous Kurdish tribe of southern (ʿIrāḳī) Kurdistān, and of the Sanandadj (Senna) district of Ardalān province of Western Persia.

The tribe, cattle-owning and seasonally nomadic, was centred in the Djawānrūd [*q.v.*] area of the latter province in the early 11th/17th century, and is first mentioned in connexion with the operations and Turko-Persian treaty of Sultan Murād IV. About 1112/1700, following bad relations with the Ardalān authorities, the main body of the tribe (estimated at 10,000 tents or families) moved into Turkish territory, leaving substantial sections in their own original homes. The Djāf who settled in the Turkish and border districts occupied, in summer, the highlands around Pandjwīn: in spring and autumn, the plain of Shahrizūr, with headquarters at Ḥalabdja: and in winter, lands dependent upon Kifrī, on the right bank of the Sīrwān (Diyālā). Other Djāf elements at various periods became incorporated with the Gūrān, others with the Sindjābī, others the Sharafbayānī, others the Bādjalān (all more or less astride the reputed frontier, which was not fixed until 1263/1847), and separated from their original tribe.

The main body of the Djāf, although grouped in many distinct sections, sometimes of formidable size and self-consciousness, showed fair general cohesion under capable leaders. For a century and a half (1112-1267/1700-1850) they intermittently (but

never much more than nominally) formed part of the dependencies of the Bābān [*q.v.*] empire. Their nomadic habit and indiscipline involved them in endless quarrels with neighbours and settled folk, and their seasonal entry into, and close contacts in, Persian districts gave them a footing in both countries which made them for a century an element in Turko-Persian frontier politics: an element the more unmanageable by reason of their formidable numbers, and the rivalries between claimants for power among their own Beg-zāda, who frequently courted, or were championed by, both Governments in turn. Even after their nominal incorporation in the Turkish administrative system, about 1267/1850, and in spite of increasing contacts of their leaders with Turkish officialdom and forces, they remained effectively ungoverned until the first World War, dominated the area in which they camped and grazed (as well as the town of Ḥalabdja, which was a Djāf creation), and paid infrequent dues to the Treasury in the form of lump sums collected by their own chiefs. Since 1337/1918, however, a defined frontier, more effective government, and increasing tribal settlement have deprived the tribe of much of its former importance.

Bibliography: E. B. Soane, *Report on the Sulaimania district of Kurdistan*, Calcutta 1918; ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *ʿAshāʾir al-ʿIrāḳ*, ii, Baghdād 1366/1947. Cf. also SENNA. (S. H. LONGRIGG)

MĪR **DJAʿFAR** or Mīr Muḥammad Djaʿfar Khān (*Siyar al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, vol. ii in both the text and rubrics, and not Djaʿfar ʿAlī Khān), son of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Nadjafī, of obscure origin, rose to be the Nawwāb of Bengal during the days of the East India Company. A penniless adventurer, like his patron Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī entitled ʿAlīwirdī Khān Mahābat Djang (see the article ʿALĪ WERDI KHĀN), he married a step-sister, Shāh Khānim, of ʿAlīwirdī and served his master and brother-in-law as a commandant, before the latter ascended the *masnad* of Bengal in 1153/1740 after defeating and killing Sarfrāz Khān, son and successor of Shudjāʿ al-Dīn, the Mughal *sūbadār* of Bengal. He fought, successfully on a number of occasions, against the Marāṭhās, who were then making inroads into Bengal. In one of the encounters on the banks of the Bhagīrthī in 1155/1741 he scattered and dispersed the *lashkar* of the Marāṭhā chieftain, Bhāskar Pandit. After the withdrawal of the Marāṭhās he was appointed *nāʾib-nāẓim* of Cuttack and *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*] of Medinīpur and Hidjlī. He, however, continued to held the office of paymaster (*bakhshī*) of the army, to which post he had been appointed in 1153/1740 by ʿAlīwirdī Khān. In 1160/1747 he was ordered to oppose the Marāṭhās, but he fled and fell precipitately on Burdwan. The same year he was deprived of this and other offices held by him for malversation and his insolence towards ʿAlīwirdī Khān, who had gone to his house to condole with him in a family bereavement. The next year, however, he was reinstated. In 1164/1751 he was again successful against Mīr Ḥabīb and his Marāṭhā confederates. On the accession of Sirādj al-Dawla, a grandson of ʿAlīwirdī Khān, to the *masnad* of Bengal, Mīr Djaʿfar was removed from the all-important office of *bakhshī* as by reason of his maturity, war experience, and high position, he was the only man whom Sirādj al-Dawla had reason to fear in a trial of strength. It must have been within the knowledge of Sirādj al-Dawla that Mīr Djaʿfar was an ambitious man and had on an earlier occasion during the life-time of ʿAlīwirdī Khān conspired to kill his master and patron and himself occupy the *masnad* of Bengal (*Siyar*, ii, 157). Soon after the death of ʿAlīwirdī Khān (1169/1756), Mīr Djaʿfar sent a secret letter to Shawkat Djang, the Nawwāb of Purnia, to attack Sirādj al-Dawla, assuring him of full support. Shawkat Djang needed no such invitation as he had refused to recognize the succession of Sirādj al-Dawla. Djaʿfar, however, did not slacken his efforts and in 1170/1757 entered into a secret treaty with Lord Clive, through William Watts, the chief of the English Factory in Ḳāsimbāzār, for the overthrow of Sirādj al-Dawla, who had by his various indiscretions alienated not only his own officers but even the influential Hindū bankers, the Djagat Seṭhs, whom he had threatened with circumcision. Not very sure of the support promised by Mīr Djaʿfar, Clive took the field at Plassey in 1170/1757. On the fall of Mīr Madan, the Chief of Artillery (*Mīr Ātash*) of Sirādj al-Dawla's army, the Nawwāb in utter despair called Djaʿfar to his tent and begged and implored him to "defend his honour". Djaʿfar, in spite of his having sworn on the Ḳurʾān, informed Clive of the helplessness of the Nawwāb and urged the English to advance at once and seize his camp. Next day Mīr Djaʿfar, instead of supporting the Nawwāb, retreated from the battlefield, thus facilitating the victory of the English. After the battle he returned to Murshidābād, the capital, and was proclaimed Nawwāb by Clive. (S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, London 1905, ii, 437). A few days later he had Sirādj al-Dawla, who had been captured while fleeing and brought back to Murshidābād, executed by his son Mīran, although the fallen Nawwāb abased himself by begging for mercy. Mīr Djaʿfar soon found that he was not in a position to fulfil his monetary commitments (£ 3,388,000) rashly entered into with the East India Company. In 1174/1769 he was deposed and supplanted by his son-in-law, Mīr Ḳāsim, partly because of his doubtful attitude during the attempted Dutch invasion of Bengal in 1173/1759 and partly because of his having been in arrears with his payments to the Company. The declaration of war against the Company by Mīr Ḳāsim in 1177/1763 and his ultimate defeat and flight into Awadh again brought Mīr Djaʿfar to the *masnad*, which he occupied till his death in 1178/1765. Taking account of the standards of the time, the prevailing atmosphere of political chicanery and doubtful entitlement to high offices of State, of the way his contemporary ʿAlīwirdī Khān had obtained the *niẓāmat* of Bengal, of Sirādj al-Dawla's incompetence and unpopularity, it is rather difficult to justify the charge of national treachery commonly levelled against Mīr Djaʿfar, much less to dub him "Lord Clive's jackass". His last years were not very happy or comfortable as he had contracted leprosy and was strongly addicted to sensual pleasures, opium, and *ḥashīsh*.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

DJAʿFAR B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, cousin of the Prophet and brother of ʿAlī, whose elder he was by ten years. When his father was reduced to poverty, his uncle al-ʿAbbās took Djaʿfar into his house to solace him, while Muḥammad took care of ʿAlī. Soon being converted to Islam (Djaʿfar occupies the 24th, or 31st, or 32nd place in the list of the first Muslims), he was among those who emigrated to Abyssinia (his name heads the second list given by Ibn Hishām, 209); his wife Asmāʾ b. ʿUmays followed him. When the Ḳuraysh sent Abū Rabīʿa Ibn al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to the Negus to demand the detention of the émigrés, Djaʿfar, by reciting Ḳurʾānic verses on the Virgin (from Sūra XIX) before the sovereign, and at a subsequent audience verses on Jesus (from Sūra IV), obtained his protection for himself and his companions; it is even said that he converted him to Islam. During this period of exile the Prophet expressly commended Djaʿfar to the Negus; at the time of the famous Pact of Fraternity between *Muhādjirūn* and *Anṣār*, he allotted Muʿādh b. Djabal to him as adoptive brother, and, unless the tradition is in error, he considered him as present at the battle of Badr, since his name figures among the Badrites.

On his return from Abyssinia, Djaʿfar met the Prophet on the day of the capture of Khaybar (7/628). Muḥammad, embracing him with the greatest fervour, cried "I know not what gives me the greater pleasure, my conquest or the return of Djaʿfar".

The name of Djaʿfar is found in the sources in connexion with an episode concerning ʿAmmāra, daughter of Ḥamza the uncle of the Prophet. The girl had stayed at Mecca; to withdraw her from the pagans while respecting the pact of Ḥudaybiya, ʿAlī proposed to take her as wife to Medina. Zayd b. Ḥāritha protested that he was her *walī* in his capacity as Ḥamza's brother and heir, and that Djaʿfar was also on account of his kinship with her (he was Ḥamza's nephew and brother-in-law of ʿAmmāra's mother). Muḥammad agreed that Djaʿfar should be the girl's guardian, but restrained him from marrying her because of his double bond of relationship. Djaʿfar welcomed the decision of the Prophet, skipping (*ḥadjala*) around Muḥammad in the way in which the Abyssinians did around the Negus. It was on this occasion that the Prophet is reputed to have said "Thou art like me in thy features and thy manners (*ashbahta khalḳī wa khuluḳī*)".

In the year 8/629, when the Prophet decided to send an expedition beyond the Byzantine frontier, he appointed Zayd b. Ḥāritha as commander-in-chief, and, in case the latter should be killed, Djaʿfar, and then, as Djaʿfar's eventual replacement, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. All three fell in the battle of Muʾta (Djumādā I 8/629) and were buried in the same tomb which had no distinctive markings. A tomb is in existence at Muʾta on which Djaʿfar's epitaph in Kūfic characters is partly preserved, which shows the antiquity of the tradition concerning him. Djaʿfar fought and died bravely (at this time he was about forty years old); he is said to have hamstrung his horse before the battle so that he should have no means of flight, and that he was the first in Islam so to do; having had his hands cut off one after the other, he carried the standard against his chest with his stumps; more than sixty wounds were counted on his body. The Prophet, through his supernatural powers of perception, witnessed the battle from his *minbar*. The following day he went to Djaʿfar's house and revealed to his widow, by his tears, the sorrow which had fallen upon her.

Djaʿfar was the one of Muḥammad's kinsmen who most closely resembled him. He was surnamed Abu 'l-Masākīn (or Abu 'l-Masākin) for his charity towards the poor. After his death he was called Djaʿfar dhu 'l-djanāḥayn or Djaʿfar al-Ṭayyār fi 'l-djanna, as the Prophet declared that he had had a dream of him flying on two bloody wings among a group of angels in Paradise. The *Usd* and the *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* say that he was also called Dhu 'l-hidjratayn because of his two emigrations, to Abyssinia and to Medina, which seems strange since, on account of his exile, he could not have had the opportunity of following Muḥammad on his *hidjra*.

Of the sons Djaʿfar had by his wife al-Asmāʾ, ʿAwn and Muḥammad fell at Karbalāʾ beside al-Ḥusayn; only ʿAbd Allāh gave him any descendants.

Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd tells us of the arguments of those who considered the merits of Djaʿfar to be superior to those of ʿAlī: he had embraced Islam after puberty; he had died a martyr's death, whereas there was dispute as to whether ʿAlī's had been a *shahāda*, etc. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī has also treated of this subject in the 5th part of his *K. al-Baṣāʾir*.

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(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

DJAʿFAR B. ʿALĪ B. ḤAMDŪN AL-ANDALUSĪ, a descendant of a Yemeni family which settled in Spain at an unknown date, subsequently moving to the district of Msīla, in the Maghrib, at the end of the 3rd/9th century at the latest. Like his father ʿAlī, he was at first a loyal supporter of the Fāṭimid cause, as Governor of Msila; then, probably inspired by jealousy of the Zīrids [*q.v.*] who were increasingly favoured by the Fāṭimid caliphs, he changed sides in 360/971 and swore obedience to the Umayyad

caliph of Spain. After a few years in favour, he incurred the displeasure of the all-powerful *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] who had him assassinated in 372/982-3.

Bibliography: M. Canard, *Une famille de partisans, puis d'adversaires des Fatimides en Afrique du Nord*, in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Occident musulman*, Algiers 1957, ii, 33-49, with references to sources in Arabic.

(R. Le Tourneau)

DJAʿFAR b. **al-FAḌL** [see ibn al-furāt].

DJAʿFAR b. **ḤARB.** Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb al-Hamadhānī (d. 236/850), a Muʿtazilī of the Baghdād branch, was first a disciple of Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf at Baṣra, and then of al-Murdār at Baghdād, whose asceticism he tried to imitate; this is what inspired him to give to the poor the large fortune which he had inherited from his father.

In agreement with the Muʿtazila, he defended the doctrine that God knows through Himself from all eternity, that His knowledge is His very being, and that the object of His knowledge can exist from all eternity. He said that we have, in the divine wisdom, the guarantee that God does not commit injustice and does not lie; indeed that we cannot reasonably conceive the idea of a God who in fact commits an injustice. The infidel who is converted by his own effort, he said, has greater merit than one who is converted by divine grace. Again in agreement with the Muʿtazila, he admitted that the Word of God—the Ḳur'ān—is created; it is therefore an accident and its place is the Prophet. He considered the soul to be essentially different from the body and united to it accidentally. He said that we act according to the last decision we have taken, provided it is not halted by another decision or by an obstacle.

Djaʿfar was a Zaydī: he said that the imāmate falls on the most worthy and not on the person who deserves it by right; and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is the most deserving in the community after the Prophet.

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(Albert N. Nader)

DJAʿFAR b. **MANṢŪR al-YAMĀN** [see supplement].

DJAʿFAR B. MUBASHSHIR al-Ḳaṣabī (also al-Thaḳafī), a prominent Muʿtazilī theologian and ascetic of the school of Baghdād, d. 234/848-9. He was a disciple of Abū Mūsā al-Murdār, and to some slight degree also influenced by al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] of Baṣra. Little is known of his life except some anecdotes about his abnegation of the world, and the information that he introduced the Muʿtazilī doctrine to ʿĀna [*q.v.*], and held disputations with Bishr b. Ghiyāth al-Marīsī [*q.v.*]. He is the author of numerous works on *fiḳh* and *kalām* (al-Khayyāṭ 81; *Fihrist* 37) and he had numerous disciples who, together with the disciples of his like-minded contemporary Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*], were called Djaʿfariyya, a branch of the Muʿtazila of Baghdād, by later heresiographers. Nothing of his literary output seems to have survived, except one long quotation on various opinions concerning the Ḳur'ān, from which it appears that he had anticipated al-Ashʿarī's style of literary exposition (*Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 589-98). His principle in *fiḳh* was, according to al-Khayyāṭ (89), to follow the *ẓāhir* meaning of Ḳur'ān, *sunna* and *idjmāʿ*, and to avoid *ra'y* and *ḳiyās*, and among his writings are mentioned works directed against the *aṣḥāb al-ra'y wa- 'l-ḳiyās*, and against the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*. His opinions in theology remain within the framework of the various doctrines held by the Muʿtazila; some of them seem directly to reflect his unworldly attitude, such as his definition of the world of Islām not as the "world of faith" but as the "world of unrighteousness" (*dār fisḳ*, in the technical meaning of the word; *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 464); this seems to have been the basis for Ibn al-Rēwendī's [*q.v.*] charge, repeated by later heresiographers but rejected as false by al-Khayyāṭ (81), that Djaʿfar regarded some Muslim sinners (*fussāḳ*) as worse than the Jews, Christians, Zindīḳs and Dahriyya. As regards the caliphate, Djaʿfar held, in common with Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb and al-Iskāfī [*q.v.*], that ʿAlī was the most meritorious of men after the Prophet, but that the appointment of his less meritorious predecessors before him was valid; he and the other Muʿtazila of Baghdād are therefore regarded as a branch of the Zaydiyya (al-Malaṭī 27).

Djaʿfar's brother, Ḥubaysh b. Mubashshir (d. 258/872), was a *faḳīh* and traditionist who is claimed both by Sunnī and by Shīʿa biographers (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, no. 4369; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, no. 363; al-Māmaḳānī, *Tanḳīḥ al-Maḳāl*, Nadjaf 1349 ff., no. 2237); it is reported that Djaʿfar refused to talk to him because he was a Ḥashwī (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 443).

Bibliography: al-Khayyāṭ, *K. al-intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, index; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Ritter, index; al-Malaṭī, *K. al-Tanbīh*, ed. Dedering, index; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, in *Muḥ. Shafiʿ Presentation Volume*, Lahore 1955, 64; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *K. al-farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, ed. Badr, 153 f.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, no. 3608 (tradition from ʿAlī, of an ascetic tendency); al-Isfarā'īnī, *al-Tabṣīr fi 'l-Dīn*, Cairo 1359, 47; al-Shahrastānī, *K. al-milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. Cureton (cf. T. Haarbrücker, *Religionspartheien* etc., transl., index); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *K. firaḳ al-Muslimīn wa'l-Mushrikīn*, Cairo 1356, 43; al-Īdjī, *al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Soerensen, 338; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *K. al-Munya*, ed. T. W. Arnold, *al-Muʿtazilah*, 43 f.; ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, *Die Klassen der Muʿtaziliten*, Wiesbaden 1961, 76 ff.; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, index; W. M. Watt, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, index; A. N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Muʿtazila*, index.

(A. N. Nader and J. Schacht)

DJAʿFAR b. **MUḤAMMAD** [see abū maʿshar].

DJAʿFAR b. **YAḤYĀ** [see al-barāmika].

DJAʿFAR BEG (?-926/1520)—the "Zafir agà, eunuco" listed in the index to Marino Sanuto, *Diarii*, xxv, col. 832—was Sandjaḳ Beg of Gallipoli, *i.e.*, Ḳapudān or High Admiral of the Ottoman naval forces. He was appointed to this office, not (as *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām* and *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī* assert) in 917/1511, but in 922/1516. His tenure of the office coincided with the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt (922-3/1516-7) and with the extensive naval preparations that Sultan Selīm I (918-26/1512-20) urged forward during the last of his reign. Djaʿfar Beg was noted for his harsh character (cf. Hammer-

Purgstall, *GOR*, iii, 7). His misdeeds brought about his execution at the beginning of the reign of Sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī (926-74/1520-66).

Bibliography: Saᶜd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, Istanbul A.H. 1280, ii, 373, 389; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, Istanbul A.H. 1329, 23; Paolo Giovio, *Historiarum sui temporis tomus primus*, Paris 1558, lib. xvii, fol. 197r (= *La prima parte dell'istorie del suo tempo di Mons. Paolo Giovio .... tradotta per M. Lodovico Domenichi*, Venice 1560, 469); M. Sanuto, *I Diarii*, edd. Barozzi, Berchet, Fulin, Stefani, Venice 1879-1903, xxiv, col. 848, xxv, cols. 832-833, xxvi, col. 628, xxviii, col. 821 and xxix, col. 549; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, ii, 533; iii, 7; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aᶜlām*, iii, Istanbul A. H. 1308, 1818; *Sidjill-i ᶜOthmānī*, ii, 69; *Arşiv kılavuzu*, fasc. I, Istanbul 1938, 88. (V. J. Parry)

DJAᶜFAR ČELEBI (864/1459-921/1515), Ottoman statesman and man of letters, was born at Amasya (for the date see E. Blochet, *Cat. des mss. turcs*, ii, 1-2), where his father Tādjī Beg was adviser to Prince (later Sultan) Bāyezīd. After rising in the theological career to *müderris*, he was appointed nishāndjī by Bāyezīd II (in 903/1497-8, see *Tâci-zâde Sa'dî Çelebi Münşeâtı*, ed. N. Lugal & A. Erzi, Istanbul 1956, 85). Suspected of favouring Prince Aḥmad in the struggle for the succession, Djaᶜfar, with other of Aḥmad's partisans, was dismissed at the insistence of the Janissaries (Djumādā II 917/ September 1511), but Bāyezīd's successor Selīm, appreciating his talents, restored him to office. After the battle of Čāldirān he was given Shāh Ismāᶜīl's wife Tādjlī Khanum in marriage (see I. H. Uzunçarşılı in *Belleten*, xxiii, 1959, 611 ff.) and appointed ḳāḍiᶜasker of Anadolu (Ferīdūn[2], i, 406, 464); back in Istanbul, however, he was accused of having encouraged the discontent of the Janissaries on the campaign and put to death (8 Redjeb 921/18 August 1515).

His poetical works consist of (1) a *Dīwān* (selections published by Gibb and S. Nüzhet, see Bibl.) and (2) *Hevesnāme*, composed in 899/1493-4, a Turkish *mathnawī* completely original in theme, containing a description of Istanbul and the account of an amatory adventure. He was reckoned especially skilful as a *munshī*. His ornate description of Meḥemmed II's capture of Constantinople, *Maḥrūse-i Istanbul Fetḥnāmesi*, was published from a MS owned by Khāliṣ Ef. as the supplement to *TOEM*, parts 20-1, 1331/1913 (simplified text in Latin transcription by Şeref Kayaboğazı, Istanbul 1953; further MSS: Ist. Un. TY 2634, Vienna 993/1 [see A. S. Levend, *Gazavâtnâmeler*, 16]). He translated into Turkish a Persian *Anīs al-ᶜārifīn* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 1448; MSS: Istanbul, Esad Ef. 1825, Un. TY 834). A collection of his official compositions (*Munshaʾāt*) was owned by Khāliṣ Ef., but seems now to be lost (for one specimen see Ferīdūn[2], i, 379 ff.). Djaᶜfar was also a famous calligrapher and a patron of poets.

Bibliography: Sehī, 28; Laṭīfī, 117; Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, tr. Rescher 212 = tr. Medjdī 335 ff.; Gibb, *Ottoman poetry*, ii, 263-85; B. Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ᶜOsmānlı müʾellifleri*, i, 263; Babinger, 49 f.; S. Nüzhet Ergün, *Türk şairleri*, ii, 882-90; *IA*, s.v. Câfer Çelebi (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin). (V. L. Ménage)

DJAᶜFAR AL-ṢĀDIḲ ("the trustworthy"), Abū ᶜAbd Allāh, son of Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, was a transmitter of *ḥadīth*s and the last *imām* recognized by both Twelver and Ismāᶜīlī Shīᶜīs. He was born in 80/699-700 or 83/702-3 in Medina, his mother, Umm Farwa, being a great-granddaughter of Abū Bakr. He inherited al-Bāḳir's following in 119/737 (or 114/733); hence during the crucial years of the transition from Umayyad to ᶜAbbāsid power he was at the head of those Shīᶜīs who accepted a non-militant Fāṭimī imāmate. He lived quietly in Madīna as an authority in *ḥadīth* and probably in *fiḳh*; he is cited with respect in Sunnī *isnād*s.

He made no sharp break with the non-Shīᶜī majority—even a Shīᶜī follower of his could appear in Sunnī *isnād*s (and his heir, ᶜAbd Allāh, was accused by later Shīᶜīs of Sunnī tendencies); but he seems to have been a serious Shīᶜī leader nonetheless. He appears to haye permitted his own *shīᶜa*, his personal following, to regard him, like his father, as sole authoritative exponent of the *sharīᶜa*, divinely favoured in his *ᶜilm*, religious knowledge (and in principle as the only man legitimately entitled to rule). But he taught also a wider circle who consulted him along with other masters; Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik b. Anas, and Wāṣil b. ᶜAṭāʾ, among other prominent figures, are alleged to have heard *ḥadīth* from him. It is in his time, at the earliest, that distinctive Shīᶜī positions in *fiḳh* begin to appear; but it is uncertain how far the subsequent Twelver or Ismāᶜīlī (or Zaydī) systems may be ascribed to his teaching, though he is given a leading role in the two former.

At the time of Zayd's revolt (122/740), Djaᶜfar served as symbol for those Shīᶜīs who refused to rise; and during the revolutions after the death of al-Walīd (126/744), when most Shīᶜīs were expecting that at last the ᶜAlid family would come to power, he remained neutral. His support and possibly his candidacy may have been solicited by the Kūfa Shīᶜa at the time of ᶜAbbāsid victory, but he seems to have declined to recognize any other Shīᶜī candidacy than his own, while, if he did think of himself, he held to the principle of *ḳuᶜūd*, that the true *imām* need not attempt to seize power unless the time be ripe, and can be content to teach. At the time of the Shīᶜī revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya in the Ḥijāz (145/762), he was again neutral, leading the Ḥusaynids in their passivity in that largely Ḥasanid affair, and was left in peace by al-Manṣūr.

Djaᶜfar attracted a circle of active thinkers, most of whom, like the majority of his *shīᶜa*, lived normally in Kūfa (or some in Baṣra). The most fecund leader among the early Ghulāt, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], seems to have had close relations with him, and some radical ideas were attributed to Djaᶜfar himself (but were later rejected by Twelvers as interpolations by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb). Before the latter was killed in 138/755, however, Djaᶜfar repudiated him as going too far; this repudiation greatly disturbed some of his associates. It seems likely that though certain radical Shīᶜī ideas helped to make his imāmate attractive in ᶜIrāḳ, Djaᶜfar made a point of keeping them within bounds. More technical philosophers also were associated with him and with his son, Mūsā, notably Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and Muḥammad b. al-Nuᶜmān, nicknamed Shayṭān al-Ṭāḳ, who were inclined to an anthropomorphist system in contrast to that of the early Muᶜtazilites with whom they disputed. Djaᶜfar himself is assigned (with uncertain authenticity) a position on the problem of *ḳadar* which claims to be between determinism and free-will.

Djaᶜfar died in 148/765 (poisoned, according to the unlikely Twelver tradition, on the orders of al-Manṣūr) and was buried in the Baḳīᶜ cemetery in

Medina, where his tomb was visited, especially by Shīʿīs, till it was destroyed by the Wahhābīs. He left a cohesive following with an active intellectual life, well on the way to becoming a sect. But some of the differing tendencies which he had usually managed to reconcile now seem to have caused historic splits in it, occasioned by a disputed succession to his imāmate. He had designated Ismāʿīl, his eldest son (by an ʿAlid wife, Fāṭima, granddaughter of al-Ḥasan), but Ismāʿīl had died before his father—a fact which had troubled the faith of some of Djaʿfar's followers. A considerable body held by Ismāʿīl, some maintaining that he was himself not dead but only concealed; others passing on to his son Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. These formed the nucleus of the later Ismāʿīliyya, for whom Djaʿfar was the fifth imām. Most of Djaʿfar's following, however, accepted ʿAbd Allāh, Ismāʿīl's uterine brother and the eldest surviving son, on the ground that Djaʿfar had generalized that an *imām*'s successor must be his eldest son; but ʿAbd Allāh died without sons a few weeks later. The majority thereupon accepted Mūsā, whose mother was Ḥamīda, a slave (and whom some, including prominent philosophers, had hailed as *imām* from the start); these developed into the Twelver Shīʿa, for whom Djaʿfar was the sixth *imām*. A few asserted that Djaʿfar was not really dead, but absent, and would return as *mahdī* (these were called the Nāwūsiyya). Some of Djaʿfar's following looked to Mūsā's young brother Muḥammad, who later became the Imām of the Shumayṭiyya [*q.v.*].

Among most Shīʿīs, Djaʿfar has been regarded as one of the greatest of the *imāms* and as the teacher of *fiķh* par excellence. The Twelvers, when referring to themselves as a *madhhab*, have called it the Djaʿfariyya. To Djaʿfar have been ascribed numerous utterances defining Shīʿī doctrine, as well as prayers and homilies; he has been ascribed, by both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, numerous books, probably none of them authentic, dealing especially with divination, with magic, and with alchemy, of which the most famous is the mysterious *Djafr* [*q.v.*], foretelling the future. He is regarded as the chief teacher of the alchemist Djābir b. Ḥayyān (who did in fact revere him as a religious teacher). He is also regarded as a master Ṣūfī. Especially among the Shīʿa, so many sayings on all sides of all controverted questions have been ascribed to him that such reports are almost useless for determining his actual opinions in a given case.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii, 2509 f.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. M. Muḥyi 'l-dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1367/1948, i, 291 f. (no. 128); al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaķ al-Shīʿa*, ed. M. Ṣādiķ Āl Baḥr al-ʿulūm, Nadjaf 1355/1936, 62-79. Other references in Julius F. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*, ii, *Ğaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, der Sechste Imām*, Heidelberg 1924 (see also Ruska, *Ğābir ibn Ḥayyān und seine Beziehungen zum Imām Ğaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq*, in *Isl.*, xvi, 264-66), and in the less critical Dwight M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933, Chapter XII. See also, for his alleged works, Brockelmann, S I, 104; and Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *How did the early Shīʿa become sectarian?* in *JAOS*, lxxv, 1955, 1-13; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sayyid al-Ahl, *Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad*, Beirut 1954.

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

DJAʿFAR SHARĪF b. ʿAlī Sharīf al-Ķurayshī al-Nāgōrī, whose dates of birth and death are unknown, wrote his *Ķānūn-i Islām* at the instigation of Dr. Herklots some time before 1832. He is said to have been "a man of low origin and of no account in his own country", born at Uppuēlūru (Ellore) in Kistna District, Madras, and was employed as a *munshī* in the service of the Madras government. He was an orthodox Sunnī, yet tolerant towards the Shīʿas, who had considerable influence in south India in his time, learned yet objective in his approach to his faith, knowledgeable in magic and sorcery yet writing of it in a deprecatory and apologetic tone, and a skilful physician of the Yūnānī school. In the course of his duties he met with Gerhard Andreas Herklots (b. 1790 in the Dutch colony of Chinsura in Bengal of Dutch parents, d. Wālādjābād 1834), who had studied medicine in England and had been appointed Surgeon on the Madras establishment in 1818. Herklots, struck by the lack of any information on the Indian Muslims comparable with the *Manners and customs of the Hindoos* of the Abbé Dubois, had started a collection of material when he met Djaʿfar accidentally, whom he encouraged to produce the work himself acting "merely as a reviser", occasionally suggesting "subjects which had escaped his memory".

The original was written in Dakkhinī Urdū, which Herklots had intended to publish also, but his death prevented this and the original has now been lost. To the translation Herklots added notes and addenda incorporating additional material from Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, 1832, and Garcin de Tassy's *Mémoires sur les particularités de la religion mussulmane dans l'Inde*, Paris 1831, that the work might embrace "an account of all the peculiarities of the Mussulmans ... in *every part* of India". His *Qanoon-e-Islam* was published (London, late 1832) with a subvention from the East India Company.

Djaʿfar's account traces the religious and social life of the south Indian Muslims from the seventh month of pregnancy to the rites after death, with full descriptions of all domestic rites and ceremonies and festivals of the year, including necromancy, exorcism, and other matters of magic and sorcery; Herklots's appendix adds information on relationships, weights and measures, dress, jewellery, games, etc., and a glossary. The work was rearranged and partially rewritten by W. Crooke for the new Oxford edition of 1921, enhancing its value as an authoritative account of Indian popular Islam with particular reference to the Deccan. (J. Burton-Page)

DJAʿFARIYYA [see fiķh, ithnā ʿashariyya].

DJAFR. The particular veneration which, among the Shīʿas, the members of the Prophet's family enjoy, is at the base of the belief that the descendants of Fāṭima have inherited certain privileges inherent in Prophethood; prediction of the future and of the destinies of nations and dynasties is one of these privileges. The Shīʿī conception of prophecy, closely connected with that of the ancient gnosis (cf. Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918, ch. vi) made the prophetic afflatus pass from Adam to Muḥammad and from Muḥammad to the ʿAlids (cf. H. H. Schaeder, in *ZDMG*, lxxix, 1925, 214 ff.). The Banū Hāshim, to whom ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib belonged, had long since claimed superiority over the Banū Umayya, as having prophecy as their appanage. Immediately after his conversion, seeing the armies of Muḥammad filing off ready for the conquest of Mecca, the Umayyad Abū Sufyān said to al-ʿAbbās, the Prophet's uncle, who was standing beside him, "Your nephew's authority has become very great!"; and al-ʿAbbās replied, "Yes, wretched one, that is Prophethood!" (Ṭabarī, iii, 1633).

A Bāṭinī tradition tells that the Prophet, when on the point of death, said to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, "O ʿAlī, when I am dead, wash me, embalm me, clothe me and sit me up; then, I shall tell thee what shall happen until the day of resurrection". When he was dead, ʿAlī washed him, embalmed him, clothed him and sat him up; and then Muḥammad told him what would happen until the day of resurrection (Ps. al-Dja⁽fī [read al-Dju⁽fī; cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 7, l. 13], *K. al-Haft wa 'l-aẓilla*, ed. ʿA. Tāmir and I.-A. Khalīfé, Beirut 1960, 135; on the *K. al-djafr*, attributed to ʿAlī, see Brockelmann, S I, 75). Here, clearly defined, is the *terminus a quo* of the *djafr*, which in origin was identified with the *ḥidthān* and the *malāḥim*.

In the desperate struggle for the Caliphate carried on by the descendants of ʿAlī, early divided and weakened amongst themselves and suffering from the severe persecution of which they had been victims—notably in 237/851 under al-Mutawakkil—an esoteric literature of apocalyptic character arose, created in order to bolster the hopes of the adepts, who were near to despair, and to sustain in the minds of the ruling Caliphs that quasi-religious respect which they felt they should owe to the descendants of the daughter of the Prophet. This literature appears in different forms, all grouped under the generic name of *djafr*, to which is often added the noun *djāmiʿa* or the adjective *djāmiʿ*. It is of a fatidical and sibylline character, and in its later form is summarized in a table in which the *djafr* represents fate (*ḳaḍā'*) and the *djāmiʿa* destiny (*ḳadar*). "It is", says Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ii, 603 ff.), "the summary knowledge (of that which is written) on the tablet of fate and destiny, which contains all that has been and all that which will be, totally and partially". The *djafr* contains the Universal Intellect and the *djāmiʿa* the Universal Soul. Thus, the *djafr* tends to be a vision of the world on a supernatural and cosmic scale. Deviating from its original form of esoteric knowledge of an apocalyptic nature, reserved to the imāms who were the heirs and successors of ʿAlī, it became assimilated to a divinatory technique accessible to the wise whatever their origin, particularly to the mystics [see ʿILM AL-ḤURŪF]. Among the numerous authors who contributed to the development of this technique four great names must be cited: Muḥyī al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Būnī (d. 622/1225), in *Shams al-maʿārif*, a work which exists in three recensions, the small, the mean, and the great; the last-named was edited in Cairo in 1322-4 (1903-6) in 4 vols. It should be noted that the small work called *Djafr al-imām ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* or *al-Durr al-munaẓẓam* . . ., attributed to Ibn ʿArabī (cf. ms Leipzig 833, 1; cf. Paris 2646; Aleppo-Sbath 57 and 390), is nothing but paragraphs 33 and 34 of the *Shams al-maʿārif* (cf. Hartmann, *Eine arab. Apokalypse* . . ., 109 ff.). Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), *Miftāḥ al-djafr al-djāmiʿ* (mss. Istanbul-Hamidiye, Ism. Ef. 280; Paris 2669, 14, etc.). Ibn Ṭalḥa al-ʿAdawī al-Rādjī (d. 652/1254), with the same title or under the title *al-Durr al-munaẓẓam fi 'l-sirr al-aʿẓam* (mss. Paris 1663/4; Istanbul, Amuca Hüseyin Paşa 348; Saray Ah. III, 3507, etc.). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī (d. 858/1454), with the same titles (mss. AS 2812/3; Vat. V. 1254; cf. Nicholson, in *JRAS*, 1899, 907).

In all these writings, and in many others, there is great confusion as to the procedures to be followed. Other heterogeneous elements, belonging to other forms of obscure thought, have been added; one finds the occult properties of the letters of the alphabet (*ḥurūf*) and of divine names (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*), gematria and isopsephy (*ḥisāb al-djummal*), the indication of the numerical value of a name which one wishes to keep secret, the transposition of letters in a single word, for the purpose of forming another word, the combination of letters composing a divine name with those of the name of the object desired (*al-kasr wa 'l-basṭ*), the substitution of one letter in a word by another according to the *atabash* system (a table of concordance in which the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet corresponds to the last, the second to the penultimate, etc.), the formation of a word by putting together the first letters of the words of a phrase, in other words all the procedures made use of by the cabbala (cf. J. G. Février, *Histoire de l'écriture*, Paris 1948, Appx. III, 588-91).

These speculations on the numerical value of the letters have played a considerable part in Muslim mysticism, where not only the letters composing the divine names, but also the seven letters not found in the *fātiḥa*, have been the object of a special veneration. In the Islamic *ḥurūfiyya* neo-Platonic and cabbalistic traditions join with the speculations of certain exalted Ṣūfīs, to form a body of esoteric knowledge of such an obscurity that "only the Mahdī, expected at the end of time, would be capable of understanding its true significance" (Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 603). This diversity of procedure is further complicated by divergences in the methods of classification. Certain authors, in fact, follow the long alphabet (*alif, bā', tā', thā'*, etc.) while others follow *al-abdjadiyya* (*alif, bā', djīm*, etc.). The first method is called *al-djafr al-kabīr* and includes one thousand roots, the second *al-djafr al-ṣaghīr* and includes only seven hundred. There is also a *djafr mutawassiṭ* based separately on the lunar and solar letters; this last method is preferred by authors, and is used generally in talismanic compositions (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *loc. cit.*).

Beside this numerical and mystical aspect of the letters, which by its technical and mechanical character puts the *djafr* on the level of the *zā'irdja* [*q.v.*], mention must be made of their astrological aspect. According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ii, 191; Rosenthal, ii, 218; cf. 184, Rosenthal, 209) the Shīʿas gave the name of *djafr* to a work of astrological predictions by Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (d. after 256/870), which is probably that mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm under the title *al-Istidlāl bi 'l-kusūfāt ʿalā 'l-ḥawādith* (*Fihrist* 259; cf. the *Risāla fi 'l-ḳaḍā' ʿalā 'l-kusūf*, mss. Escurial, Casiri 913, 4; AS 4832, 27; for details, cf. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes*², Leiden 1886, 117 ff.). This work, in which al-Kindī establishes according to the eclipses the fortunes of the dynasty of the ʿAbbāsids until its downfall, was not to be found at the time of Ibn Khaldūn, who considered that it must have disappeared with the ʿAbbāsids' library, thrown into the Tigris by Hūlāgū after he had conquered Baghdād and killed al-Muʿtaṣim, the last caliph. However, it appears that a part of this work reached the Maghrib under the name of *al-Djafr al-ṣaghīr*, and must have been there adapted to the dynasty of the B. ʿAbd al-Mu'min.

According to the Ps. Djāḥiẓ (*Bāb al-ʿirāfa wa 'l-zadjr wa 'l-firāsa ʿalā madhhab al-Furs*, ed. Inostranzev, St. Petersburg 1907, 4) this astrological aspect of the *djafr* is of Indian origin; "*Al-djafr*" he says, "is the knowledge of the [auspicious and inauspicious] days of the year, the knowledge of the direction of winds, of the appearance and withdrawal of lunar mansions .... The book called *al-djafr*

contains the predictions for the year, arranged according to the seasons and the lunar mansions; each group of seven lunar mansions, constituting a quarter of the year, is called *djafr*; they [the Persians] take omens from it for rains, winds, journeys, wars, etc. It is from India that the Chosroes and their people have learnt all these sciences ....".

The last and most important of the aspects of the *djafr* is the apocalyptic. This is properly the original aspect, already well developed under the Umayyads and much expanded in ʿAbbāsid times, in the form of books of oracles, called *kutub al-ḥidthān* (cf. references in De Goeje, *Carmathes*, 115 ff.). The starting-point of these speculations was the book of Daniel. Books of predictions attributed to Daniel were being read in Egypt in the year 61/680 (Ṭabarī, ii, 399; on the Arabic apocalypse of Daniel cf. the references in A. Abel, in *Stud. Isl.*, ii, (1954), 28 n. 2). Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī (d. 521/1127), who continued al-Ṭabarī's chronicle up to 487/1095 (ms. Paris 1469, f° 45r, quoted by De Goeje, *Carmathes*, 225 ff.; cf. ed. A. J. Kanaan, in *Al-Machriq*, 1955 ff.; and cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ii, 198, Rosenthal 227-8) relates that under the vizierate of (Abū Djaʿfar) al-Karkhī (324/936) there was in Baghdād a bookseller, called al-Dāniyālī, who exhibited ancient books attributed to the prophet Daniel, in which there figured certain prominent persons together with their descriptions. He enjoyed great success with the statesmen (cf. an anecdote in Ṭabarī, iii, 496 ff., in the story of Mahdī, cited by Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ii, 192, Rosenthal 219, illustrating the tricks employed by forgers in this genre of writing). This literature is also known under the name of *Malāḥim* (cf. the astrological mss. Berlin 5903, 5904, 5912 and 5915, the last two of which are attributed to Daniel, as is Istanbul-Bağdatlı Vehbi Ef. 2234). It has been widely diffused in the Maghrib. Written in verse or prose, sometimes even in dialect, it deals sometimes with events which were to happen within the Islamic community in general, sometimes with those concerning one dynasty in particular. The greater part of these writings is attributed to famous authors, although it is not possible to verify their authenticity. A list of *malāḥim* is given by Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ii, 193 ff., Rosenthal 220 ff.), mostly of Maghribī origin and dealing in general with the Ḥafṣid dynasty. Two names in this list deserve particular attention: Ibn ʿArabī, in whose name there was current, in the time of Ibn Khaldūn, a *malḥama* entitled *Ṣayḥat al-būm* (on this work cf. A. Abel, in *Arabica*, v (1958), 6 n. 3), and al-Bādjarbaḳī (d. 724/1323) to whom a poem on the Turks is attributed. The latter belonged to the Ḳarandaliyya (or Ḳalandariyya; cf. references in Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 340), and founded a sect called al-Bādjarbaḳiyya (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ii, 199 ff., Rosenthal 229; cf. *TA*, vi, 283. Other sources on al-Bādjarbaḳī are cited by Rosenthal, 230 n.). There are also many citations from these *malāḥim* to be found in the writings of Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa (d. 668/1270) and al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442; cf. De Goeje, *Carmathes*, 125 ff.).

Finally, one fact must be mentioned which enhances the prestige of the *djafr* in the eyes of the Shīʿa; this is its use in a spiritual and mystical interpretation of the Ḳurʾān as opposed to the traditional and lexicographical exegesis of the Sunnīs. Ibn Saʿd (ii, 101) attributes such an interpretation to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. From the latter it is said to have passed to Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/763) through his uncle Zayd b. ʿAlī (d. 122/740); and Hārūn b. Saʿīd (Saʿd) al-ʿIdjlī (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 314) is said to have received this esoteric interpretation from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*]. With regard to this, Ibn Khaldūn says: "It should be known that the *Kitāb al-Djafr* had its origin in the fact that Hārūn b. Saʿīd al-ʿIdjlī, the head of the Zaydiyya, had a book that he transmitted on the authority of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. That book contained information as to what would happen to the family of Muḥammad in general and to certain members of it in particular. The [information] had come to Djaʿfar and to other ʿAlid personages as an act of divine grace and through the removal [of the veil, *kashf*] which is given to saints like them. [The book was] in Djaʿfar's possession. It was written upon the skin of a small ox. Hārūn al-ʿIdjlī transmitted it on [Djaʿfar's] authority. He wrote it down and called it *al-Djafr*, after the skin upon which it had been written, because *djafr* means a small [camel or lamb]. [*Djafr*] became the characteristic title they used for the book.

The *Kitāb al-Djafr* contained remarkable statements concerning the interpretation of the Ḳurʾān and concerning its inner meaning. [The statements in it] were transmitted on the authority of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. The book has not come down through continuous transmission and is not known as a book as such. Only stray remarks unaccompanied by any proofs [of their authenticity] are known from it. If the ascription to Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ were correct, the work would have the excellent authority of Djaʿfar himself or of people of his family who enjoyed acts of divine grace. It is a fact that Djaʿfar warned certain of his relatives about accidents that would occur to them, and things turned out as he had predicted." (*Muḳaddima*, ii, 184-5., Rosenthal 209-10). Many books of mystic exegesis and of divination bear the name of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 104), notably a *Kitāb al-djafr* (B.M. 426, 10; cf. Steinschneider, *Zur pseudepigraph. Literatur*, 71). The foundation of this "pneumatic" exegesis seems to rest on this saying of Jesus: *Naḥn^u maʿāshir al-anbiyāʾ naʾtīkum bi 'l-tanzīl wa ammā 'l-taʾwīl fa-sayaʾtī bih^i al-Bāraḳlīṭ al-ladhī sayaʾtīkum baʿdī*, "We the Prophets bring ye the revelation; its interpretation the Paraclete [the Holy Spirit], who shall come after me, will bring ye" (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 603; cf. John, xiv, 26).

Bibliography: In order sufficiently to cover the range of this literature, the lists of writings on the *djafr* to be found in the manuscript catalogues should be consulted, especially Ahlwardt, iii, nos. 4213-29, and *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya al-maḥfūẓa bi 'l-kutubkhāna al-khidīwiyya al-Miṣriyya*, v, 333 ff.; numerous *djafr* treatises are to be found in the various collections at Istanbul. The principal works of reference are: R. Hartmann, *Eine arabische Apokalypse aus der Kreuzzugszeit. Ein Beitrag zur Ǧafr-Literatur*, in *Schriften d. Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswiss. Kl.*, Berlin 1924, 89-116 (Study of an extract of Ibn ʿArabī, *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār*, ed. Cairo 1324/1906, i, 197 ff., completed by the Berlin ms. no. 4219); cf. especially 108 ff.; A. Abel, *Changements politiques et littérature apocalyptique dans le monde musulman*, in *Stud. Isl.*, ii (1954), 23-43; idem, *Un ḥadīṯ sur la prise de Rome dans la tradition eschatologique de l'Islam*, in *Arabica*, v (1958), 1-14; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 224 ff., 263 ff.; Fr. trans. Arin, Paris 1920; idem, in *ZDMG*, xli (1887), 123-5.

(T. Fahd)

AL-DJAGHBŪB, a small oasis to the south-east of Cyrenaica, the site of the tomb of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī, founder of the brotherhood of the Sanūsiyya. It is the furthest east, the smallest and the least prosperous of the oases along the important traditional route which leads from the valley of the Nile and Sīwa to Fezzan and the region of Tripoli, passing through a chain of depressions where are to be found the palm-groves of Djālo, Awdjīla, Marada, and Djufra, which are close to the 29th parallel.

The depression of Djaghbūb consists of a sinuous basin called Wādī Djaghbūb covering 700 sq. km., and going down to 29 m. below sea-level: in the north it is dominated by the plateau in sand and limestone of the Marmaric (Miocene period); this gives way in the south to soft hills covered by dunes of Libyan erg. The depression is carpeted in red earth and yellow sand and the beds occupied by *sebkhas* or, to the east, by salt lakes (*baḥr*).

The only traces of the distant past are the tombs dug out of the northern cliff, similar to those at Sīwa. Djaghbūb owes its existence to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī, who came from Cairo in 1856 with his family, followers and servants, and founded the mother *zāwiya* of the brotherhood on a slight hill to the N-E of the depression. Later a large mosque was built while gradually a town grew up, which, according to Duveyrier in 1881 had nearly 3,000 inhabitants, of which 750 were *tolba* and 2,000 slaves. But the departure in 1895 of Muḥammad al-Mahdī—the son of the founder of the town, who died in 1859—for Kufra, marked the start of the decadence of Djaghbūb, which is briefly mentioned by some travellers: Rohlfs (1869), Rosita Forbes and Hassanein Bey (1921 and 1923) and Bruneau de Laborie (1923). The town was occupied by the Italians in 1926: they put up two forts and encouraged agriculture. The British took it in 1941 and ceded it to Cyrenaica, a province of the Libyan federal union which was founded in 1951.

Djaghbūb is a very small settlement of 200 inhabitants. Its enclosure of huge dry stones surrounds the great mosque and the *zāwiya*, both of which have a large porticoed courtyard, their annexes and a small number of houses which are often two-storied. The tomb of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī, situated under the dome of the great mosque, is a place of pilgrimage for all the followers of the brotherhood, and the *zāwiya* a place of learning. Masters, *tolba* and officials of the *zāwiya* and the mosque form the greater part of the population, together with the negro servants who work in the few gardens in the date-grove; the latter consists of scarcely more than 2,000 cultivated date-palms; the gardens, watered by the brackish water of a shallow well, have been improved thanks to the drilling done by the Italians, who bored an artesian well of fresh water. There is practically no commercial activity.

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(J. DESPOIS)

AL-DJAGHMĪNĪ (or ČAGHMĪNĪ), MAḤMŪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR, a well-known Arab astronomer, a native of Djaghmīn, a small town in Khwārizm. The dates of his birth and death are not precisely established, but it is very probable that he died in 745/1344-5 (cf. Suter, in *ZDMG*, liii (1899), 539). The following works of his have been preserved: (1) *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi 'l-hayʾa* (Epitome of astronomy), which was very widely known and was frequently commented upon, notably by Ḳāḍīzāda al-Rūmī, by al-Djurdjānī, and by many others; a German translation of this work, by Rudloff and Hochheim, was published in *ZDMG*, xlvii (1893), 213-75; manuscripts of this work are to be found in many collections, *e.g.*, Berlin, Gotha, Leiden, Paris, Oxford, etc.—(2) *Ḳiwā 'l-kawākib wa ḍaʿfuhā* (The strong and weak influences of the constellations), preserved at Paris.—(3) *Ḳānūnča* (The little canon), a medical work, an extract from the canon of Ibn Sīnā, preserved at Munich, Gotha, etc., which has appeared in several lithograph editions.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 113; Brockelmann, I, 473; II, 213; S I, 826, 865 (this author makes Djaghmīnī two authors of the same name: the first, d. 618/1221, is said to be the author of no. 1 above and of two arithmetical treatises; the second, a physician, d. 745/1344, of no. 3 above); Nallino, *Al-Battānī, Opus astronomicum, passim* (in index); Suter in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. mathem. Wissensch.*, x, 164; xiv, 177; Sarton, *Introduction*, iii, 699-700.

(H. SUTER-[J. VERNET])

DJĀGĪR, land given or assigned by governments in India to individuals, as a pension or as a reward for immediate services. The holder (*djāgīrdār*) was not liable for land tax on his holding (see ḌARĪBA), nor necessarily for military service by virtue of his tenure. See further IḲṬĀʿ.

DJAHĀN SHĀH (i) [see SUPPLEMENT].

DJAHĀN SHĀH (ii) [See MUGHALS].

DJAHĀNĀRĀ BĒGAM, the eldest daughter of Shāhdjahān and Mumtāz Maḥall (the lady of the Tādj at Āgrā) and their first child, was born on 21 Ṣafar 1023/23 March 1614. She bore the complimentary title of Fāṭima al-Zamān, which misled von Kremer followed by Macdonald (*The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, London, 205) into believing that her name was Fāṭima. To contemporary historians she is known by the Court title of Bēgam Ṣāḥib or Ṣāḥiba (ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bādshāh-nāma* (text), i, 1178 and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbōh, *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, i 80) or Pādshāh Bēgam. After the death of her mother in 1041/1631, she enjoyed the status of the first lady of the realm, partly reflected in her aforesaid Court title. Throughout her life she remained staunchly devoted to her father and even kept company with him during his incarceration after his deposition by Awrangzīb, whose displeasure she earned through her excessive fondness for her brother, Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*], his rival.

An accomplished lady, she is the author of two Ṣūfī works: (i) *Muʾnis al-arwāḥ* and (ii) *Ṣāḥibiyya*, an incomplete biography of her *pīr*, Mullā Shāh Ḳādirī. According to her own statement (see *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore xiii/4, 16), she was the first woman in the line of Tīmūr to have taken to mysticism. Originally a disciple of Mullā Shāh Ḳādirī, she contracted her *bayʿa* in the Čishtī order [*q.v.*], and one of her works, *Muʾnis al-arwāḥ*, is on the life of Khwādja Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī [*q.v.*]. She wielded great influence during the reign of her father, and enjoyed an allowance of 600,000 rupees, half in cash and half in lands, settled on her by the Emperor; Awrangzīb doubled this amount during

his reign. During Shāhdjahān's captivity she served as a link between the deposed emperor and the reigning monarch, Awrangzīb, all the important political correspondence passing through her. She died unmarried in 1092/1681 and was buried in Delhi, according to her wishes, in the compound of the shrine of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā᾽ [see DIHLĪ, Monuments] in a simple marble tomb, built by herself and covered with grass at the top. The allegations against her by some European travellers that she had illicit relations with her own father, the deposed emperor, are baseless and may be disregarded.

The Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Āgrā, which had an attached madrasa, was built by Djahānārā. This is the first mosque of major dimensions built under the Mughals, except for Akbar's at Fatḥpur Sīkrī [*q.v.*].

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

DJAHĀNDĀR SHĀH, Muʿizz al-Dīn, Mughal emperor *regnabat* 21 Ṣafar 1124/29 March 1712 to 16 Muḥarram 1125/11 February 1713. Born 10 Ramaḍān 1071/10 May 1661, eldest son of Bahādur Shāh [*q.v.*], at the time of his father's death he was governor of Multān. Pleasure-loving and indolent, he was able to participate actively in the struggle among Bahādur Shāh's sons for the throne only through the support of the ambitious Dhu 'l-fiḳār Khān, *mīr bakhshī* and *ṣūbadār* of the Deccan who was anxious to exclude ʿAẓīm al-Sha᾽n from the succession and to win the *wizāra* for himself.

After three days fighting near Lahore, ʿAẓīm al-Sha᾽n was defeated and killed. With the help of Dhu 'l-fiḳār Khān, Djahāndār Shāh disposed of his other brothers Djahān Shāh and Rafīʿ al-Sha᾽n. At the time of his accession Djahāndār Shāh was 52 (lunar) years of age. His sybaritic tastes and devotion to the dancing girl Lāl Kunwar, quickly seized upon by contemporary historians as the explanation of his fate, certainly did nothing to restore the finances of the central government, nor did the intrigues of Lāl Kunwar's entourage against the *wazīr* Dhu 'l-fiḳār Khān make for vigour and loyalty in the administration.

In Shaʿbān 1124/September 1712, supported by the Sayyids of Bārha [*q.v.*] ʿAbd Allāh Khān and Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān, whom Djahāndār Shāh had failed to conciliate, Farrukhsiyar, second son of ʿAẓīm al-Sha᾽n, marched on Āgra from Paṭnā, defeating ʿIzz al-Dīn, son of Djahāndār Shāh. at Khwādja on the way. Hastily gathering an army, Djahāndār Shāh and Dhu 'l-fiḳār Khān marched to Āgra but were defeated on 13 Dhu 'l-ḥidjdja 1124/10 January 1713. Djahāndār Shāh fled to Dihlī to take refuge with the *wakīl-i muṭlaḳ* Asad Khān, father of Dhu 'l-fiḳār Khān. Father and son imprisoned him in the fort of Dihlī in the hope of mollifying Farrukhsiyar. The day before Farrukhsiyar's triumphal entry into Dihlī, Djahāndār Shāh was slain by his orders.

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(P. Hardy)

DJAHĀNGĪR, the fourth Mughal emperor of India in the line of Bābur [*q.v.*], the first surviving child of Akbar, others born earlier having all died in infancy, was born on 17 Rabīʿ I 977/31 August 1569 of a Rādjpūt queen, called Miryam al-Zamānī, at (Fatḥpur) Sīkrī, near Āgrā, in the hermitage of a recluse Shaykh Salīm Čishtī, to whose intercession the birth of a son was attributed. The young prince was named Salīm after the Shaykh but Akbar always called him Shaykhū Bābā, scrupulously avoiding the Shaykh's name. History is silent on the conversion of Djahāngīr's mother to Islām either before or after her marriage to Akbar. Badā᾽ūnī's silence on the subject may, however, be taken to mean that she had embraced Islām before entering the *ḥarīm* of the emperor.

In spite of the best education that Akbar provided his son and successor, the youthful prince could not escape the prevailing atmosphere of political intrigue and chicanery which ultimately vitiated relations between father and son. In 1001/1591 Akbar fell seriously ill and in his agony accused Salīm of conspiring to poison him. This was the beginning of estranged relations which reached a climax in 1008/1599 when Djahāngīr revolted and proclaimed his independence at Allāhābād [*q.v.*].

His alleged romance with a palace-maid called Anārkalī, which resulted in a tragedy, finds no corroboration in history. The mausoleum known as Anārkalī's tomb, in Lahore (see S. M. Latif, *Lahore, its history, architectural remains* . . ., Lahore 1892, 186-7) is said to have been raised over the mortal remains of his lady-love by the baulked lover, prince Salīm. The marble sarcophagus, still preserved in a corner of the plain whitewashed octagonal building, bears the intriguing inscription "*madjnūn Salīm-i Akbar*". The entire affair is so shrouded in mystery that nothing convincing can be said about it. The unusual inscription while on the one hand may be interpreted to reveal the depth of prince Salīm's intense grief on the cruel death of his beloved, said to have been built up alive in a wall by the order of Akbar, on the other hints at a compromise having been reached between the emperor, as head of the royal family, and the demented prince, the heir to the 'Great Mogul'. Why none of the contemporary historians or Djahāngīr himself makes any mention of this tragedy is difficult to comprehend. Latif (*op. cit.*, 187) gives the date 1008/1599 as the date of Anārkalī's death. This date, according to him, is inscribed on the sarcophagus along with another date 1024/1615 and the words "in Lahore" which is considered to be the date of the construction of the mausoleum, but in 1008/1599 Djahāngīr was 31 (lunar) years of age and already married to a number of wives. Moreover, Djahāngīr was at Allāhābād in 1008/1599 when he rose in open revolt against his father. Was the cruel fashion in which Anārkalī was done to death the real cause of this rebellion? Akbar's leniency towards the rebel prince seems to be precalculated as he apparently wanted to soothe the lacerated heart of the erratic prince carried away by passion and distress by adopting a mild policy.

Akbar's attempts at a reconciliation were thwarted by the ambitious prince who in 1010/1601 marched at the head of a large army to Āgrā. On Akbar's showing signs of resistance the rebel prince retreated to Allāhābād where he assumed the royal title and set up a regular court. Temporary reconciliation was again brought about by the widow of Bayram Khān [*q.v.*], Salīma Sulṭān Bēgam, but the youthful prince soon after took to his old ways. He went back to Allāhābād where he again set up his Court. In the meantime Salīm was convinced that Abu 'l-Faḍl [*q.v.*], the talented minister of Akbar, was responsible for his troubles and that he was constantly poisoning the ears of the emperor against him. He, therefore, designed an attack on Abu 'l-Faḍl and while the latter was on his way back from the Deccan in 1011/1602 he was set upon by the retainers of the Bundēlā chieftain, Bīr Singh Dēw, who had been commissioned by Djahāngīr to perform the deed; his head was cut off and sent to Djahāngīr at Allāhābād. This cold-blooded murder was unjustifiable, but Djahāngīr was so much convinced of the villainy of Abu 'l-Faḍl that he felt no compunction, but rather was relieved at the removal of a stumbling-block from his way. (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, tr. Rogers and Beveridge, i, 25).

On the death of Akbar in 1013/1605 Djahāngīr ascended the throne under the title of Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Djahāngīr Pādshāh-i Ghāzī, which also appears on some of his coins. Soon after his accession he had to face the rebellion of his eldest son Khusraw in 1015/1606. Although a reconcilation was effected, the emperor never forgave the audacity of his son, whose death in suspicious circumstances in 1031/1622 at Burhānpūr relieved Djahāngīr of considerable worry. The Sikh *guru* (spiritual leader) Ardjun, who had helped and sheltered Khusraw during his rebellion, was punished with death by the emperor. This punishment, however, was interpreted as an atrocious act on the part of the Mughal emperor, and it laid the foundations of that deep-rooted hostility which continued to embitter the relations between the Indian Muslims and the Sikhs over the centuries, at its worst during the supremacy of the Sikh general, Banda Bayrāgī, in the 12th/18th century, and during the large-scale disturbances in India on the eve of Independence in 1947.

In 1016/1607 Djahāngīr was able to crush a conspiracy to murder him while camping at Kābul. Four of the ringleaders were executed while prince Khusraw, the moving spirit, was partially blinded by the orders of the emperor. With his marriage to Nūrdjahān, daughter of Ghiyāth Bēg, known to history as Iʿtimād al-Dawla, in 1020/1611 Djahāngīr commenced a new phase in his life as a ruler. Contemporary sources make no mention of the popular story of Djahāngīr's passionate love for Nūrdjahān and the premeditated murder of her husband, ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān Istadjlū (Shīr Afkan), at the instance of Djahāngīr, in 1016/1607. None of the European travellers who visited India during the reign of Djahāngīr makes even an oblique mention of Djahāngīr's complicity in the murder of Shīr Afkan and his anxiety to marry Nūrdjahān, then known as Mihr al-Nisāʾ. After her marriage to the emperor, Nūrdjahān gradually assumed all power and wielded great influence in affairs of state. Her name, along with that of the emperor, was inscribed on gold coins and she came to be recognized as the *de facto* ruler.

The Shīʿī scholar Nūr Allāh al-Shūstarī, who had been appointed ḳāḍī of Lahore by Akbar and who had so far practised *taḳiyya*, successfully concealing his faith from the people, emboldened by the meteoric rise to power of Nūrdjahān, herself an orthodox Shīʿī, began to pronounce judgments which created doubts in the minds of the Sunnī majority. This led to a Court conspiracy against the *ḳāḍī*, then in the queen's favour. He was accused of professing the Shīʿī faith while boldly acting as a Sunnī *ḳāḍī*. This revelation resulted in his execution by order of the emperor, who punished him for practising a fraud (*Nudjūm al-samāʾ*, 15-6). This act of bigotry on the part of a latitudinarian and eclectic like Djahāngīr, whose own consort Nūrdjahān was a Shīʿī, is rather surprising but it shows, at the same time, the measure of influence that the disgraced theologians and *ʿulamāʾ* had again come to exercise in state affairs, after their calculated downfall during the reign of Akbar. No less surprising is Djahāngīr's estimate, based on intelligence reports, of *shaykh* Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] whom he described as an impostor (*shayyād*), and his famous *Maktūbāt* as a tissue of absurdities (*Tūzuk*, Eng. tr., ii, 91-2). He was so much convinced of the *shaykh's* fraudulence that on the pretext of his having transcended the limits of Ṣūfic propriety in his *Maktūbāt* (i, no. 11), he ordered his imprisonment in the fort of Gwāliyār [*q.v.*], where political criminals were generally confined, but after a year or so revised his opinion and liberated him.

In 1032/1623 Djahāngīr had to face a filial revolt when prince Khurram (Shāhdjahān) rebelled, driven to this predicament by the machinations of

Nūrdjahān who wanted her son-in-law Shahryār, a step-brother of Shāhdjahān, to succeed to the throne once the latter was removed from the way. Khurram's rebellion, pursued all over India with the support of his own forces, amounted to a civil war which weakened Imperial prestige and greatly depleted the treasury; but the superior generalship of Mahābat Khān [*q.v.*] forced his surrender in Djumādā II 1035/ March 1626 after a revolt of three years.

An attempt by Mahābat Khān to seize Djahāngīr in 1035/1626 in order to remove him from the influence of Nūrdjahān and her brother Āṣaf Khān was at first successful, to the queen's discomfiture; but Āṣaf Khān, having first fled, later joined Mahābat Khān at Kābul at Nūrdjahān's instigation, and provoked dissension among the Imperial followers. On Mahābat Khān's flight and his subsequent alliance with Prince Khurram, Nūrdjahān appointed Khān-i Djahān Lōdī as Imperial commander, with orders to subdue the rebels; but her plans were thwarted by the death of Djahāngīr, whose health had been shattered by excessive drinking, his greatest weakness, pursued since his early youth. Some hagiological works attribute Mahābat Khān's conduct to the maltreatment and disgrace that Aḥmad Sirhindi suffered at the hands of Djahāngīr. It has further been claimed that prince Khurram, (Azad Bilgrami, *Subḥat al-mardjān*, Bombay 1303/ 1886, 49), Mahābat Khān and some other high-ranking nobles had secretly contracted their *bayʿa* with the *shaykh* and held him in high esteem; and that the treatment meted out to him was bitterly resented by them all. Before any decisive action could be taken against Mahābat Khān, Djahāngīr died while on his way to Bhimbar from Rādjawrī, on 27 Ṣafar 1037/28 October 1627 in the 58th solar year of his age and the twenty-second of his reign. His body was brought down to Lahore where it was laid to rest, without its receiving an appropriate funeral on account of the disturbed conditions, at a spot designated by Nūrdjahān over which she erected a magnificient mausoleum at her own expense. (For a description of the tomb, see LĀHAWR).

A well-read man, a patron of literature and art, a keen observer of men and matters, Djahāngīr was the most polished and cultured scion of the House of Tīmūr. He was a sensible ruler, kind-hearted and generous, who hated oppression and had a passion for justice. Immediately after his accession to the throne he ordered a chain of gold, adorned with bells, to be hung from the imperial palace in Āgrā which an aggrieved person could shake at any moment of the day or night and get justice. (See *Tūzuk*, Rogers and Beveridge, i, 7). He was lover of nature; Djahāngīr's *Tūzuk* is full of descriptions of the scenic beauty of Kashmīr and other lovely places and of the fauna and flora of the regions he visited. An accomplished prose-writer, his memoirs are in no way inferior to those of Bābur, although he sometimes portrays himself as a violent and unprincipled man whose personal account arouses our disgust and contempt. But unlike Bābur he must be credited with greater honesty and frankness in whatever he writes except in one or two instances when he deliberately tried to conceal the truth.

He makes no secret of his addiction to wine and opium, which ultimately ruined his robust health and hastened his end. He was exceedingly cruel sometimes, having once got a sodomite flayed alive and another castrated. Similarly he ordered the bones of Naṣīr al-Dīn Khaldjī, ruler of Mālwa, who was guilty of poisoning his father, to be exhumed and thrown into the Narbadā, when he visited Māndū [*q.v.*] in 1027/1617. As a rule, his reign brought peace and prosperity to the people; industry and commerce flourished; architecture, painting and literature progressed and on the political side there was stability and strength only marred by a few wars in Mewār and the Deccan, and some minor disturbances in Bengal as the ineffectual revolt of ʿUthmān Khān Afghān.

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For the buildings of Djahāngīr, see HIND, Architecture; MUGHALS; also ĀGRA, LĀHAWR, PALAMAŪ.

For the Mughal garden, which Djahāngīr specially developed, see BŪSTĀN, KASHMĪR, SRĪNAGAR.

For miniature painting, which reached its highest point in India under Djahāngīr's patronage, see HIND, Art.

Mughal coinage reached its highest point of elaboration in the variety of pieces and the refinement of designs during Djahāngīr's reign. For Djahāngīr's coins see SIKKA.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

DJAHANNAM, Gehenna (Hebrew *gêhinnōm*, valley of the Gehenna); the Arabic word evokes etymologically the idea of "depth" (cf. *infernus*). Used very often in the *Ḳurʾān* as a synonym of *nār* ("fire"), *djahannam* must accordingly be rendered by the general idea of Hell. The same is true in traditions.

Exegetists and many treatises on *kalām* (or *taṣawwuf*) were, subsequently, to give it a particularized connotation. The description of the Muslim Hell, the problems relating to it and consequently the references to verses in the *Ḳurʾān* mentioning *djahannam*, are considered in the article NĀR; here only its restricted sense is considered. Here

are two examples from among the most familiar:

1. Some traditionists like al-Baghawī, with an extremely literal and uncritical outlook, considering the precise wording of the dialogue (*taṣwīr*) in the *Ḳur'ān*, L, 30, between God and Gehenna, regard the latter as a fantastic animal of hell which they describe with endless hyperbole. It will be drawn along by 70,000 angels, its guardians, at the time of the resurrection, the width between the shoulders of each guardian angel being equal to 70 years' march, etc. The description, supported by *ḥadīth*, is repeated in al-Shaʿrānī's *Mukhtaṣar* (for this sort of commentary in Muslim thought, see *Djanna*).

2. Descriptions which show hell as a place made up of concentric layers of increasing depth generally put Gehenna in the higher zone, that reserved for members of the Muslim community who have committed "grave sins" about which they have not repented and whom God, in accordance with his threats, decides to punish for a time with infernal torments. It is thereby admitted, even by those who uphold the eternity of hell, that Gehenna will cease to exist. It will be wiped out when the last repentant sinner among the believers leaves it to enter paradise. We may note that the etymological reference to the idea of "depth" is suppressed here.—This interpretation, which occurs in the *tafsīr* of Khāzin and elsewhere is freely expounded in the manuals of the Ashʿarī school (e.g. al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya* .... *ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 107). For the place of Gehenna in the circles of Hell according to Ibn ʿArabī, see the diagrams reproduced by Asin Palacios, *La Escatologia musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid-Granada 1943, 147.

Bibliography: in the article; detailed references will be given in the article NĀR.

(L. GARDET)

DJAHĀN-SŪZ, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ḤUSAYN B. AL-ḤUSAYN, Ghūrid ruler—poet, notorious for his burning of Ghazna in 546/1151. The cause of the violence between the Ghūrids and Bahrām Shāh of Ghazna [*q.v.*] would appear to have been an attempt by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, (eldest brother of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn) to seize Ghazna through an intrigue with some of its inhabitants. Bahrām Shāh had him poisoned; an attempt by another brother, Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī, to avenge his brother ended, after the temporary occupation of Ghazna by the Ghūrid forces, in his ignominious death at the hands of Bahrām Shāh. Death (from natural causes) prevented another brother, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Sām, from action, whereupon ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn marched against Bahrām, defeating him in three battles and occupying Ghazna. The city was probably sacked so ruthlessly through rage at the fickleness of its inhabitants but also with the intention of securing ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's rear for his wider ambitions against the Saldjūḳ possessions to the west and north of Ghūr. In the year following (547/1152), with Bahrām Shāh a fugitive in the Pandjāb, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn moved against Sandjar, in alliance with the *muḳṭaʿ* of Harāt, only to be defeated and captured at Awba near Harāt. He was released before Sandjar's quarrel with the Ghuzz in 548/1153 and appears to have ruled quietly at Fīrūz-Kūh until his death in 556/1161. Several of his poems in self-praise survive both in the histories and in the biographies of the poets.

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(P. HARDY)

DJAHBADH (pl. DJAHĀBIDHA), a term of Persian origin, perhaps derived from a **gahbadh* in the Sāsānid administration, (the term is suggested by Herzfeld; Paikuli, gloss. N° 274) used in the sense of a financial clerk, expert in matters of coins, skilled money examiner, treasury receiver, government cashier, money changer or collector (*Tādj al-ʿArūs*, ii, 558; Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 226; Vullers, *Lexicon Persicum*, i, 544; Ibn Mammātī, 304, etc.).

From the end of the 2nd/8th century on, bearers of this title in the time of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs Manṣūr, Harūn, and Mahdī are mentioned (Djahshiyārī; Masʿūdī, vi, 227) also frequently in Arabic papyri (Karabaček, Becker, Grohmann, Dietrich, etc.).

In an economy based on bimetallism, *dīnār* and *dirham*, with their fluctuating weights and values and their diversity in circulation, the function of the Djahbadh assumed an ever-increasing importance, as manifested by repeated references in Arabic sources of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries to:

(a) *Māl al-Djahābidha*, also known as *Ḥaḳḳ al-Djahābidha*, which represents the fee of the Djahbadh for his services to the government, levied as a charge on the taxpayer and which, though somewhat dubious in its legality, became an integral part of the public budget (Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*; al-Ṣābī; *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*; Løkkegaard).

(b) *Dīwān al-Djahbadha*, whose chief was required to prepare a monthly or yearly statement accounting for all the items of income and expenditure of the treasury (Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar; Løkkegaard; Cl. Cahen; see further DAFTAR); and above all to:

(c) Individual bearers of the title *Djahbadh* by name with precise information about their activities.

The text of an official appointment of a *Djahbadh* (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, 149-53) specifies his function, his salary, and his obligation "to be just and fair in the collection of taxes ... and to give an official receipt for all incoming amounts in the presence of witnesses".

The 4th/10th century Arabic sources (Miskawayh, Tanūkhī, Ṣābi, Ṣūlī, etc.) indicate that it was customary for viziers to have their own *Djahbadh* with whom they deposited large, legally or illegally acquired, amounts of money as the safest method of securing their fortune.

In the time of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Muḳtadir, (295-320/908-32), however, the Djahbadh emerged as a banker in the modern sense, who, in addition to his functions as an administrator of deposits and as a remitter of funds from place to place through the medium of the *ṣakk* and especially of the *suftadja* [*qq.v.*],—then a widely used instrument of the credit economy,—was called upon to advance huge sums to the Caliph, the viziers, and other

court officials on credit terms with interest rates and securities.

The *Djahābidha* were mostly Christians and Jews whose appointment to this office despite their status as *Dhimmī* was legalized by a special decree issued in 295/908 by the Caliph (Muḳaddasī, ed. de Goeje, 183). Among the *Djahābidha* listed in the sources were Ibrāhīm b. Yuḥannā, Zakariyā b. Yuḥannā, Sahl b. Naẓīr, Ibrāhīm b. Ayyūb, Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, Isrā'īl b. Ṣāliḥ, Sulaymān b. Wahb, etc., and, above all two Jewish merchants and bankers, Yūsuf b. Pinkhās and Hārūn b. ʿImrān of Baghdād. They were appointed to the office of *Djahbadh* of the Persian province of Ahwāz, and then became the court bankers (*Djahābidhat al-Ḥaḍra*) of al-Muḳtadir and his viziers, and the pillars of the financial administration of their time. By virtue of their vast resources and commercial connexions, these Jewish merchants and *Djahābidha* and their associates were instrumental in establishing the first State bank in Islamic history (ca. 302/913), through which the urgent financial needs of the State could be satisfied and the financial ruin of the State staved off. The sources indicate the amounts they lent, the contracts they concluded with the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, and other details of the methods of their credit transactions. They were given interest on their loans and securities in the form of the tax revenues of the province of Ahwāz (Fischel).

Under the successors of al-Muḳtadir, the *Djahabidha* continued to play a rôle not only in Baghdād, but also in Baṣra and other cities of the ʿAbbāsid Empire. Under the Buwayhid Amīrs mention is made of one ʿAlī b. Hārūn b. ʿAllān (d. 329/941), and of Abū ʿAlī b. Faḍlān (d. 383/993). At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, Abū Ṭāhir b. Shibr, the "chief of the Jews in Baghdād" occupied the position of a *Djahbadh* (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī). In later centuries the *Djahbadh* lost his central significance as a Court banker; his functions were equated with that of a ṣayrafī [*q.v.*] (Ḳalḳashandī, Ṣubḥ, v, 466).

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DJĀHIDIYYA [see khalwatiyya].

DJĀHIL wa ʿĀḲIL [see durūz].

DJĀHILIYYA, a term used, in almost all its occurrences, as the opposite of the word *islām*, and which refers to the state of affairs in Arabia before the mission of the Prophet, to paganism (sometimes even that of non-Arab lands), the pre-Islamic period and the men of that time. From the morphological point of view, *djāhiliyya* seems to be formed by the addition of the suffix *-iyya*, denoting an abstract, to the active participle *djāhil*, the exact sense of which is difficult to determine. I. Goldziher (*Muh. St.*, i, 219 ff.; analysis in *Arabica*, vii/3 (1960), 246-9), remarking that *djāhil* is opposed to *ḥalīm* "administered" [see ḥilm], gives it the sense of "barbarous", and renders *djāhiliyya* as "the time of barbarism", but he has not been followed to the letter by translators of the Ḳur'ān who render *djāhil* as "not knowing God, the Prophet and the Law", or "lawless", and *djāhiliyya* as "time of ignorance", "heathendom" (cf. however T. Izutsu, *The structure of the ethical terms in the Koran*, Tokyo 1959, index). The fact is that the nine attestations of *djāhil* and the four of *djāhiliyya* in the Ḳur'ān scarcely permit of their sense being precisely determined; however, in the feeling of Muslims and of the commentators, *djāhil* is opposed to *ʿālim* "one who knows God, etc.", and *djāhiliyya* to *islām* taken not in the sense of "submission to God" but rather that of "knowledge of God, etc." (compare the Druze terminology [see durūz], where *djāhil* is opposed to *ʿāḳil*, and designates all those who have not been initiated into the mysteries of the sect.) The word *djāhiliyya* as an abstract is thus applicable to the period during which the Arabs did not yet know Islam and the Divine Law, as well as to the beliefs current at that time. One the basis of Ḳur'ān, XXXIII, 33, where the expression *al-djāhiliyya al-'ūlā* "the first *djāhiliyya*" appears, one is inclined to distinguish two periods, the first *djāhiliyya* extending from Adam to Noah (or to other prophets), and the second corresponding to the "Interval" between Jesus and Muḥammad [see faṭra]. The relative adjective *djāhilī* formed from *djāhiliyya* is applied to all which is anterior to Islam, in particular to the poets who died before Muḥammad's preaching; those who knew both periods are called *mukhaḍram*, and those born after Islam *islāmī*. The double opposition *djāhilī*/*islāmī* and *djāhiliyya*/*islām* thus marks an evolution and a departure from the primitive sense of *djāhil*.

The history of the Arabs during the *djāhiliyya* has been dealt with under al-ʿarab, the geography and ethnography under djazīrat al-ʿarab, the language under ʿarabiyya, and nomadism under badw; on all these points the articles on the different

regions, on the major tribes, and on the towns, should be consulted; for the economic situation see especially under TIDJĀRA.

A point calling for some remark is, rather than the true state of pre-Islamic Arabia, the distinctive characters attributed by Muslims to their pagan ancestors, that is to say the traits which allow their conception of *djāhiliyya* to be defined.

The ideas of the Muslims on pre-Islamic paganism are based on the Ḳur'ān and on traditions which, in spite of their contempt for everything before Islam, they have collected in the framework of their historical and linguistic researches; in the article ḲUR'ĀN will be found a résumé of the pronouncements of the Sacred Book on earlier beliefs; in the articles ḤADJDJ and KA'BA an account of the ancient cult and the history of the Sacred House; under ṢANAM a study of idolatry. Also to be consulted are the various articles on the principal divinities, and also the articles on the adepts of the revealed religions, NAṢĀRĀ and YAHŪD.

While attributing to the *djāhiliyya* the faults condemned in the Ḳur'ān, Muslims do not fail to recognize a certain number of virtues among the ancient Arabs, such as honour [see 'IRḌ], generosity [see KARAM], courage and dignity [see MURUWWA], and hospitality [see ḌAYF].

For relevant information on social organization see 'Ā'ILA, 'ĀḲILA, ḲABĪLA, etc., and, for the position of women, NIKĀḤ and ṬALĀḲ. (ED.)

DJAḤĪM [see NĀR].

DJAHĪR (BANU), one of the families of government contractors characteristic of their period who almost completely monopolized the caliph's vizierate during the protectorate of the Great Saldjūḳids, and deriving their particular importance from that fact.

The founder of the political fortunes of the dynasty, Fakhr al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Djahīr, born in al-Mawṣil in 398/1007-8 of a family of rich merchants, entered the service of the Shī'ī 'Uḳaylid princes of that town; then, after one of them, Ḳirwāsh, fell in 442/1149, as a result of somewhat obscure feuds he went to Aleppo where at one time he was vizier to the Mirdāsid Shī'ī Mu'izz al-Dawla Thimāl, and finally (in about 446/1054 ?) he settled down with, and soon became vizier to, the Marwānid of the Diyār Bakr, Naṣr al-Dawla (401-53), a Sunnī and vassal of the Saldjūḳids from before the time of Tughrul Beg's entry into Baghdād (447/1055). After his protector's death, the rivalries between the sons apparently caused him some anxiety, and he was able to take advantage of the difficulties which caliph al-Ḳā'im was experiencing in choosing a vizier who would be *persona grata* to the sultan and at the same time ready to safeguard the prerogatives of the caliphs, to have the post offered to himself (454/1062), for which no doubt he was further recommended by the administrative talents he had revealed at Mayyāfāriḳīn. The family was to hold the 'Abbāsid vizierate almost without a break for half a century, and Fakhr al-Dawla himself was to remain as vizier, apart only from four months in 460-1/1068, until 471/1078 when once again he fell into disgrace, to be replaced, however, after some months by his son (born in 435) and close colleague 'Amīd al-Dawla. Ibn Djahīr calculated that, if he was obliged on the one hand to defend the rights of the caliphate and to avoid wishing to appear to act without the caliph's orders, on the other hand he could only enjoy a really secure position if he maintained close personal relations with the sultanate and his eminent and powerful vizier (from the time of Alp Arslan's reign 455/1063), Niẓām al-Mulk; these ties were strengthened, after the incident in 460-1/1068, by the marriage of 'Amīd al-Dawla to one of Niẓām's daughters, and then after her death (on the eve of the affair in 471/1078 which possibly her death precipitated) by his subsequent marriage to her niece: thanks to this it was possible at last to put a stop to the hostile intrigues of Göherāīn, the sultan's representative in Baghdād, in that year. However in the second half of Malikshāh's sultanate (463-85/1072-92), in face of the Saldjūḳid hold over Baghdād which was becoming increasingly severe, the caliph al-Muḳtaḍī (467-87/1075-94) in 476/1083 replaced the Djahīrids by Miskawayh's successor, Abū Shudjā' Rudhrawārī who, without being in any way anti-Saldjūḳid, was perhaps a truer representative of the vizier in his heart, and more attentive to the religious, orthodox aspect of the caliphate's own policy. It was then that the Djahīrids embarked on another venture, the explanation of which, if not from their point of view at least from that of the sultan's government, seems far from clear. Taking advantage of the Marwānids' difficulties, Fakhr al-Dawla in fact arranged that Malikshāh, who provided him with the necessary troops, should entrust him with the task of conquering the principality in which, it was true, he had maintained his interests and relations, but of which neither Malikshāh nor his predecessors had ever had cause to complain. Furthermore, the military operations were difficult, being complicated by the intervention of the 'Uḳaylid of al-Mawṣil, Muslim, who saw clearly that if an autonomous neighbouring state were to disappear, his own, which he had put to far more questionable uses, would not long survive, and even by the somewhat equivocal attitude of the Saldjūḳid Turkoman leader Artuḳ. Actual sieges were necessary to take Mayyāfāriḳīn, Āmid and other fortresses in the Diyār Bakr, and the war in which 'Amīd al-Dawla's brother al-Kāfī Za'īm al-Ru'asā' Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Alī also took part was only concluded at the beginning of 478/1085. Fakhr al-Dīn hunted out and apparently squandered the Marwānids' treasure, appropriating a portion of it for himself, and from the end of that year Malikshāh thought it advisable in view of his unpopularity to replace him by a less self-seeking representative as head of government in the province. However, in 482 'Amīd al-Dawla obtained the right to farm taxes from the province, paying ten million dinars in three years, while his father received the administration of al-Mawṣil which meanwhile had also come into Malikshāh's possession; he won a good reputation with everyone by the remission of taxes, and the family was able to retrieve its fortunes before the death of Fakhr al-Dawla which occurred in al-Mawṣil in 483. In the following year Niẓām al-Mulk persuaded the caliph to reappoint 'Amīd al-Dawla to the office of vizier which he was to retain after the death of the great Saldjūḳid administrator, Malikshāh and al-Muḳtaḍī until 493/1100; to govern the Diyār Bakr he had left his brother al-Kāfī as representative, later succeeded by his son.

But harsher times were to befall the family. In 487/1094, after Malikshāh's death, his brother Tutush took possession of the Diyār Bakr; after retaining al-Kāfī as vizier, perhaps for a short time, he recalled him and, under the Turkoman leaders who were to partition the province between themselves, we hear no more of the Djahīrids. In Baghdād the new sultan Barkyārūk, running short of funds

during the wars he was obliged to wage against his brothers, and possibly not being certain of ʿAmīd al-Dawla's loyalty to his cause, had him arrested and fined an enormous sum on the charge of misappropriating or squandering the treasure from the Diyār Bakr and al-Mawṣil, and left him to die shortly afterwards in prison (493/1100). However, his brother al-Kāfī later became vizier to al-Mustaẓhir, the new caliph, from 496/1102-3 to 500/1106-7 and then, on the recommendation of the new sultan Muḥammad, from 502/1108-9 to 507/1113-4. Henceforward new families were to share the ʿAbbāsid vizierate among themselves. Nevertheless we do once again find a Niẓām al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad b. Djahīr as *ustādhdār*, and then vizier to the caliph from 535/1140-1 to 541/1146-7, so proving that the Djahīrids had not completely disappeared. But that is the final mention. The residence of Fakhr al-Dawla b. Djahīr at Bāb al-ʿĀmma had been destroyed by al-Mustaẓhir, and the new one, belonging to Niẓām al-Dīn at Bāb al-Azadj, soon fell into the possession of the caliphate.

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AL-**DJĀḤIẒ**, ABŪ ʿUTHMĀN ʿAMR B. BAḤR AL-FUḲAYMĪ AL-BAṢRĪ, was a famous Arab prose writer, the author of works of *adab*, Muʿtazilī theology and politico-religious polemics. Born at Baṣra about 160/776 in an obscure family of *mawālī* from the Banū Kināna and probably of Abyssinian origin, he owes his sobriquet to a malformation of the eyes (*djāḥiẓ* = with a projecting cornea). Little is known of his childhood in Baṣra, except that from an early age an invincible desire for learning and a remarkably inquisitive mind urged him towards a life of independence and, much to his family's despair, idleness. Mixing with groups which gathered at the mosque (*masdjidiyyūn*) to discuss a wide range of questions, attending as a spectator the philological enquiries conducted on the Mirbad [*q.v.*] and following lectures by the most learned men of the day on philology, lexicography and poetry, namely al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda, Abū Zayd, he soon acquired real mastery of the Arabic language along with the usual and traditional culture. His precocious intelligence won him admittance to Muʿtazilī circles and bourgeois salons, where conversation, often light, was also animated by problems confronting the Muslim conscience at that time: in the realm of theology, harmonizing faith and reason and, in politics, the thorny question of the Caliphate which was constantly brought up by the enemies of the ʿAbbāsids, the conflicts between Islamic sects and the claims of the non-Arabs. His penetrating observation of the various elements in a mixed population increased his knowledge of human nature, whilst reading books of all kinds which were beginning to circulate in Baṣra gave him some outlook on to the outside world. It is quite certain that the intellectual resources offered by his home town would have been fully adequate to give al-Djāḥiẓ a broad culture but the ʿIrāḳī metropolis, then at its apogee, had a decisive influence in helping to form his mind. It left its rationalist and realist imprint so clearly on him, that al-Djāḥiẓ might be considered not only one of the most eminent products of his home town, but its most complete representative, for the knowledge he subsequently acquired in Baghdād did not modify to any noticeable degree his turn of mind as it had been formed at Baṣra; Baṣra is the continuous thread running through all his works.

Although he probably began writing earlier, the first proof of his literary activity dates from roughly 200/815-6; it relates to an event which had a decisive effect on his subsequent career. Some works (the plural is no longer in doubt) on the imāmate, a very characteristic subject, won him the compliments of al-Maʾmūn and thereby that consecration by the capital coveted by so many provincials eager to have their talent recognized and so reach the court and establish themselves. From then on, without completely abandoning Baṣra, al-Djāḥiẓ frequently stayed for long periods in Baghdād (and later Sāmarrā) devoting himself to literary work of which an appreciable part, fortunately, has been spared the ravages of time.

In spite of some slender indications, it is not really known on what he relied for his income in Baṣra. In Baghdād, we know, he discharged for three days the functions of scribe and was very briefly assistant to Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī at the Chancellery; it is also probable that he was a teacher, and he records himself an interview he claims to have had with al-Mutawakkil who, anxious to entrust him with the education of his children, finally dismissed him because of his ugliness. Although information about his private and public life is not readily forthcoming from either his biographers or himself, it appears from what knowledge we have that al-Djāḥiẓ held no official post and took on no regular employment. He admits, however, that he received considerable sums for the dedications of his books and we know that for a time at least he was made an allowance by the *dīwān*. These fragmentary indications are indeed confusing and tend to suggest that al-Djāḥiẓ who otherwise, unlike some of his fellow countrymen, does not appear to have led the life of a courtier, acted the part of an *éminence grise*, so to speak, or of unofficial adviser at least. We have seen already that the writings which won him the recognition of the capital dealt with the Caliphate and were certainly intended to justify the accession to power of the ʿAbbāsids; they were the prelude of a whole series of opuscules addressed to the authorities, if not inspired by them, and relating to topical events; notwithstanding some degree of artifice in *risāla*s beginning: "Thou hast asked me about such and such a question .... I answer thee that ...", it may be presumed that in many cases the question had in fact been asked and he had been requested to reply in writing. For, if he was never admitted to the intimacy of the Caliphs, he was in continuous contact with leading political figures and it is rather curious that he should have attached himself successively to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt [*q.v.*], then after the latter's fall from favour (233/847) which almost proved fatal to both men, to the *Ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* (d. 240/854) Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*] and to his son Muḥammad (d. 239/853) and finally to al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [*q.v.*] (d. 247/861).

He nevertheless retained ample independence and was able to take advantage of his new position to

further his intellectual training and to travel (particularly to Syria; but al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 206, was to criticize him for having attempted to write a geography book—now almost entirely lost—without having travelled enough). In Baghdād also he found a rich store of learning in the many translations from Greek undertaken during the Caliphate of al-Maʾmūn and studying the philosophers of antiquity —especially Aristotle (cf. al-Ḥādjirī, *Takhrīdj nuṣūṣ arisṭaṭāliyya min K. al-Ḥayawān*, in *Madjallat kulliyyat al-ādāb*, Alexandria, 1953 ff.)—enabled him to broaden his outlook and perfect his own theological doctrine, which he had begun to elaborate under the supervision of the great Muʿtazilīs of the day, of whom al-Naẓẓām and Thumāma b. Ashras [*qq.v.*], who seems to have had a strong influence on him, should be placed in the first rank.

Towards the end of his life, suffering from hemiplegia, he retired to his home town, where he died in Muḥarram 255/December 868-January 869.

Like many Arabic writers, al-Djāḥiẓ had a very great output. A catalogue of his works (see *Arabica*, 1956/2) lists nearly 200 titles of which only about thirty, authentic or apocryphal, have been preserved, in their entirety; about fifty others have been partially preserved, whilst the rest seem irremediably lost. Brockelmann (S I, 241 ff.) has attempted to classify his works according to real or supposed subjects and gives us some idea of the breadth and variety of his interests. Considering only the extant works, which now for the most part are available in editions of varying quality, two broad categories may be distinguished: on the one hand, works coming under the head of Djāḥiẓian *adab*, that is to say intended in a rather entertaining manner to instruct the reader, with the author intervening only insofar as he selects, presents and comments on documents; on the other hand, original works, dissertations where his ability as a writer and to some extent his efforts as a thinker are more clearly shown.

His chief work in the first category is *K. al-Ḥayawān* (ed. Hārūn, Cairo n.d, 7 vols..) which is not so much a bestiary as a genuine anthology based on animals, leading off sometimes rather unexpectedly into theology, metaphysics, sociology etc.; one can even find embryonic theories, without it being possible to say how far they are original, of the evolution of species, the influence of climate and animal psychology, which were not to be developed till the nineteenth century. Following *K. al-Ḥayawān*, which was never completed, came *K. al-Bighāl* (ed. Pellat, Cairo 1955). *K. al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn* (ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1367/1948-50, 4 vols, and other editions) seems fundamentally to be an inventory of what have been called the "Arabic humanities", designed to stress the oratorical and poetic ability of Arabs; he attempts to justify his choice by positing the bases of an art of poetry, but he does so in an extremely disorderly fashion, as was pointed out by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, 5, who decided to write a more systematic treatise.

Another quality of the Arabs, generosity, is emphasized in *K. al-Bukhalā* (ed. al-Ḥādjirī, Cairo 1948 and other editions; Ger. tr. O. Rescher, *Excerpti*..; Fr. tr. Ch. Pellat, Paris 1951), which is at the same time a portrait gallery, an attack on non-Arabs and an analysis of avarice, the equivalent of which is not to be found anywhere in Arabic literature. His acute powers of observation, his light-hearted scepticism, his comic sense and satirical turn of mind fit him admirably to portray human types and society; he uses all his skill at the expense of several social groups (schoolmasters, singers, scribes etc.) generally keeping within the bounds of decency; only *K. Mufākharat al-djawārī wa 'l-ghilmān* (ed. Pellat, Beirut 1957), dealing with a delicate subject, is marred by obscenity, whilst *K. al-Ḳiyān* (ed. Finkel), which is about slave-girl singers, contains pages of remarkable shrewdness. But this work really belongs to the second category, which includes the dissertations assembled by Kraus and Ḥādjirī: *al-Maʿād wa 'l-maʿāsh*, *al-Sirr wa ḥifẓ al-lisān*, *al-Djidd wa 'l-hazl*, *Faṣl mā bayn al-ʿadāwa wa 'l-ḥasad*, and several other texts published either by al-Sandūbī or in the *11 Risāla*. One might also add the politico-religious works, now for the most part lost, perhaps even deliberately destroyed when Sunnism finally triumphed over Muʿtazilism. Of those still extant, the most voluminous is *K. al-ʿUthmāniyya* (ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1374/1955; see *Arabica*, 1956/3) in which al-Djāḥiẓ asserts the legitimacy of the first three Caliphs, attacks the claims of the Shīʿa and thereby justifies the accession of the ʿAbbāsids to power. No less important is *K. Taṣwīb ʿAlī fī taḥkīm al-ḥakamayn* (ed. Pellat, in *Machriq*, July 1958), unfortunately incomplete and defective but clearly directed against the outdated partisans of the Umayyads, who again were enemies of the ʿAbbāsids. In this respect *Risāla fī 'l-Nābita* (or *fī Banī Umayya*) is interesting also (see Pellat's translation, in *AIEO Alger*, 1952), for it is nothing short of a report by al-Djāḥiẓ to the son of Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād on the political situation, the causes of division in the community and the danger presented by the *nābita*, that is the neo-*ḥashwiyya*, who were reviving Muʿāwiya for their own ends and using the *kalām* to support their theses; *Risāla fī nafyi 'l-tashbīh* (ed. Pellat, in *Machriq*, 1953) is in the same manner. Revealing of the correspondences between government policy and al-Djāḥiẓ's activity are *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Naṣārā* (see Allouche's translation, in *Hesp.*, 1939) and *Risāla fī manāḳib al-Turk*, dealing respectively with measures taken against the Dhimmīs and the forming of the Turkish guard. Generally speaking, in politics al-Djāḥiẓ shows himself a resolute Muʿtazilī, that is an apologist of the ʿAbbāsids against the pro-Umayyad movement of the Nābita, the Shuʿūbīs and the Shīʿa; but his highly personal manner of presenting facts tends to mislead his readers and in all probability the pro-ʿAlid al-Masʿūdī in *Murūdj*, vi, 55 ff. misunderstood the true significance of his writings. If the chronology of al-Djāḥiẓ's work could be established, one would probably see that after warning the authorities against the regression that might be the result of abandoning Muʿtazilism, he gave up the struggle once Sunnī reaction had won the day and from then on restricted himself to purely literary activity; the fact that he wrote *K. al-Bukhalāʾ* in the latter part of his life supports this hypothesis.

As in politics so in theology al-Djāḥiẓ was a Muʿtazilī, though his doctrine appears to offer hardly any original features; as the writings where he expounded are for the most part lost, one has to make do with occasional annotations in al-Khayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, translated and edited by A. N. Nader, Beirut 1957, and with data supplied by the heresiographers (al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 160 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 181, 195; al-Shahrastānī, on the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, i, 95-6; etc.; see also, Horten, *Die phil. Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, 320 ff.; L. Gardet and M. M. Anawati, *Introd. à la Théologie musulmane*, index; A. N. Nader, *Le Système*

philosophique des Muʿtazila, Beirut 1956, index) which summarize or indicate points where al-Djāḥiẓ differs from other Muʿtazilīs. Too little is known of the doctrine itself for one to be able to do more at this stage than simply refer to the article MUʿTAZILA, pending the completion of a thesis specifically concerned with the question.

Meanwhile, even though al-Djāḥiẓ's place in the development of Muslim thought is far from negligible, he is chiefly interesting as a writer and an *adīb*, for with him form is never overshadowed by content; even in purely technical works. If he is not the first of the great Arab prose writers, if in rhetoric ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] and Sahl b. Hārūn [*q.v.*], to name but two, are his masters, nevertheless he gave literary prose its most perfect form, as was indeed recognized first by politicians who made use of his talent for the ʿAbbāsid cause and then by Arab critics who were unanimous in asserting his superiority and making his name the very symbol of literary ability.

Al-Djāḥiẓ's writing is characterized by deliberately contrived disorderliness and numerous digressions; the individuality of his alert and lively style lies in a concern for the exact term—a foreign word if necessary—picturesque phrases and sentences which are nearly always unrhymed, but balanced by the repetition of the same idea in two different forms; what would be pointless repetition to our way of thinking, in the mind of a 3rd/9th century writer simply arose from the desire to make himself clearly understood and to give ordinary prose the symmetry of verse; though difficult to render and appreciate in a foreign language, the flow of his sentences is perfectly harmonious and instantly recognizable. Nevertheless, for the majority of literate Arabs al-Djāḥiẓ remains, if not a complete buffoon, at least something of a jester; his place as such in legend can undoubtedly be attributed in part to his fame and his ugliness, which made him the hero of numerous anecdotes; but it must also be attributed to a characteristic of his writing which could not but earn him the reputation of being a joker in a Muslim world inclined towards soberness and gravity; for he never fails, even in his weightiest passages, to slip in anecdotes, witty observations and amusing comments. Alarmed at the dullness and boredom enshrouding the speculations of a good many of his contemporaries, he deliberately aimed at a lighter touch and his sense of humour enabled him to deal entertainingly with serious subjects and help popularize them. But he realized he was doing something rather shocking and one cannot help being struck by the frequency with which he feels it necessary to plead the cause of humour and fun; the best example is in *K. al-Tarbīʿ wa 'l-tadwīr* (ed. Pellat, Damascus 1955) a masterpiece of ironic writing, as well as a compendium of all the questions to which his contemporaries whether through force of habit, imitative instinct or lack of imagination offered traditional solutions or gave no thought at all. Without stepping outside the boundaries of the faith—this itself was something of a strain—he takes for granted the right to submit to scrutiny accepted attitudes to natural phenomena, ancient history and legends handed down as truths, to restate problems and skilfully suggest rational solutions. Nor is that all; for at a time when mediaeval Arabic culture was taking shape, he brought together what seemed of most value to him, drawing either on the Arab heritage, of which he was a passionate defender, or on Greek thought, always careful however to curb the intrusion of the Persian tradition, which he considered too dangerous for the future of Islam, into the culture he longed to bestow on his co-religionists. This vast undertaking, based on the spirit of criticism and systematic doubt in everything not directly concerned with the dogma of Islam, was unfortunately to be to a considerable extent narrowed and side-tracked in the centuries to follow. It is true that al-Djāḥiẓ was to have admirers as noteworthy as Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, imitators and even counterfeiters, who made use of his name to ensure greater success for their works; but posterity has only kept a deformed and shrunken image of him, seeing him at the most as a master of rhetoric (see Pellat, in *al-And.*, 1956/2, 277-84), the founder of a Muʿtazilī school—whose disciples no one bothers to enumerate—and the author of compilations to be drawn upon for the elaboration of works of *adab*, a sizeable share of recorded information on *djāhiliyya* and the early centuries of Islam.

Bibliography: The main biographies are those of Khaṭīb Baghdādī, xii, 212-22; Ibn ʿAsākir, in *MMIA*, ix, 203-17; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 56-80. A general outline is to be found in manuals of Arabic literature, as also in: Sh. Djabrī, *al-Djāḥiẓ muʿallim al-ʿaḳl wa 'l-adab*, Cairo 1351/1932; Kh. Mardam, *al-Djāḥiẓ*, Damascus 1349/1930; Ṭ. Kayyālī, *al-Djāḥiẓ*, [Damascus] n.d.; Ḥ. Fākhūrī, *al-Djāḥiẓ*, Cairo [1953]; M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Umarā' al-bayān*, Cairo 1355/1937; Ḥ. Sandūbī, *Adab al-Djāḥiẓ*, Cairo 1350/1931; Ch. Pellat, *Le Milieu basrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953; idem, *Ǧāḥiẓ à Bagdād et à Sāmarrā*, in *RSO*, 1952, 47-67; idem, *Ǧāḥiẓiana* in *Arabica*, 1954/2, 1955/3 and mainly 1956/2: *Essai d'inventaire de l'œuvre ǧāḥiẓienne*, with an account of mss, editions and translations (one should add to the bibliography: A. J. Arberry, *New material on the Kitāb al-Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm*, in *Isl. Research Assoc. Miscellany*, i, 1948, which gives the notice from *Fihrist* on Djāḥiẓ, missing in the editions; and also: F. Gabrieli, in *Scritti in onore di G. Furlani*, Rome 1957, on the *R. fī manāḳib al-Turk*; the Tunisian review *al-Fikr*, Oct. 1957 and March 1958, on the *R. al-Ḳiyān*); J. Jabre, *al-Djāḥiẓ et la société de son temps* (in Arabic, Beirut 1957 (?), not consulted here). It should be pointed out that in addition to the editions quoted in the course of the article, the following collections have been published: G. van Vloten, *Tria opuscula*, Leyden 1903; J. Finkel, *Three essays*, Cairo 1926; P. Kraus and M. T. Ḥādjirī, *Madjmūʿ rasā'il al-Djāḥiẓ*, Cairo 1943 (a French translation of these texts is being prepared); Ḥ. Sandūbī, *Rasā'il al-Djāḥiẓ*, Cairo 1352/1933; *Ihdā ʿashrata risāla*, Cairo 1324/1906; O. Rescher, *Excerpte und Übersetzungen aus den Schriften des ... Ǧāḥiẓ*, Stuttgart 1931 (analytical translation of a good many texts). The texts in the three manuscript collections: Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha 949; Br. Mus. 1129 and Berlin 5032 (see *Oriens*, 1954, 85-6) have in a good many cases been published; those not yet published, along with some other texts of less importance, will be included in our *Nuṣūṣ Ǧāḥiẓiyya ghayr manshūra*. *K. al-ʿUrdjān*, etc. has been recently discovered in Morocco, but is of no great interest.

(CH. PELLAT)

DJAHLĀWĀN (from Balōčī *djahla* "below" or "southern"), district of Pakistani Balōčistān, lying below Sarawān. Formerly part of the Khānate of Kalāt and one of the two great divisions of the

Brahōīs (or Brahūī). Area, 21,128 sq. miles, population unknown, estimated 100,000. The capital is Khuzdār and the population is mainly Brahōī with a few Balōč and Lōrīs. It is mainly a grazing country.

Bibliography: *Baluchistan Gazeteer*, vi, B, Bombay 1907; M. G. Pikulin, *Beludzhi*, Moscow 1959. (R. N. FRYE)

DJAHM B. ṢAFWĀN, ABU MUḤRIZ, early theologian, sometimes called al-Tirmidhī or al-Samarḳandī. He was a client of Rāsib (a *baṭn* of Azd) and appears as secretary to al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj, "the man with the black banner" who revolted against the Umayyads and from 116/734 to 128/746 controlled tracts of eastern Khurāsān, sometimes in alliance with Turks. Djahm was captured and executed in 128/746, shortly before al-Ḥārith himself. The basis of this movement of revolt, of which Djahm was intellectual protagonist, was the demand that government should be in accordance with "the Book of God and the Sunna of His Prophet" (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1570 f., 1577, 1583, etc.); and the movement is therefore reckoned to the Murdji'a (al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shī'a*, 6). Nothing further can be said with certainty about Djahm's own views, except that he argued for the existence of God against the Indian sect of Sumaniyya (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Radd 'alā 'l-Djahmiyya*, in *Dār ül-Fünūn Ilāhiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmū'asi*, v-vi (1927), 313-27). Other views ascribed to him are those of the sect of Djahmiyya [*q.v.*], which is not heard of until seventy years after his death, and whose connexion with him is obscure. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

DJAHMIYYA, an early sect, frequently mentioned but somewhat mysterious.

Identity. No names are known of any members of the sect, apart from the alleged founder Djahm [*q.v.*]. The basic fact is that "after the translation of the Greek books in the second century a doctrine (*maḳāla*) known as that of the Djahmiyya was spread by Bishr b. Ghiyāth al-Marīsī [*q.v.*] and his generation (Ibn Taymiyya, *'Aḳīda Ḥamawiyya*, *ap.* M. Schreiner in *ZDMG*, liii, 72 f.; lii, 544). A pupil of Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), Bishr (d. 218/833 or a little later) was questioned about his strange views under Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (c. 202/817) (Ibn Abi 'l-Wafā', *al-Djawāhir al-muḍī'a*, i, nos. 1146, 371). Apart from this the early references to the Djahmiyya are by opponents, notably Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (*al-Radd 'alā 'l-Zanādiḳa wa 'l-Djahmiyya*) and men of similar outlook, *e.g.*, Ibn Ḳutayba (*al-Ikhtilāf fi 'l-lafẓ wa 'l-radd 'alā 'l-Djahmiyya wa 'l-Mushabbiha*), al-Ash'arī (esp. *Ibāna*), Khushaysh (in al-Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*), Ibn Khuzayma (*K. al-Tawḥīd*); cf. *ZDMG*, liii, 73; Brockelmann, S I, 281 (p), 310 (3a); Ibn Radjab al-Baghdādī, *Histoire des Ḥanbalites*, Damascus 1951, i, 38, 40; W. M. Patton, *Aḥmed b. Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*, Leiden 1897, 37 f., 48. Aḥmad considered a Djahmī one who said the speaking (*lafẓ*) of the Ḳur'ān was created or who denied God's knowledge (H. Laoust, *Essai sur .... Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, 172, 261; Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, who died in prison about 231/846 when he denied the Ḳur'ān was created, said he had earlier been a Djahmī, Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftari*, 383 f.) and he attributed the growth of the sect to followers of Abū Ḥanīfa and 'Amr b. 'Ubayd in Baṣra (*Radd*, 315). Thus the Ḥanbalites in attacking the Djahmiyya may have been thinking of men usually reckoned as Mu'tazila (cf. H. Laoust, *Profession de Foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, 167-9). There is in fact a close similarity between the views of the Djahmiyya and those of a Mu'tazilī like Abu 'l-Hudhayl (cf. S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, 124-33). In course of time the Mu'tazila disacknowledged those who, while agreeing with them in many points, differed in the doctrine of *ḳadar* or 'free will' (al-Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, 133 f.) and tried to minimize the resemblances between themselves and the Djahmiyya (*ibid.* 12). There is also criticism of the Djahmiyya by followers of Abū Ḥanīfa, probably prior to the advent of Bishr al-Marīsī (*al-Fiḳh al-akbar* I, § 10, *ap.* Wensinck, *Muslim creed*, 104; Ibn Abi 'l-Wafā, *op. cit.*, i, nos. 23, 61); but the Māturīdite author of *Sharḥ al-Fiḳh al-akbar* seems embarrassed by the reference in § 10, and brackets the Djahmiyya with the Ḳadariyya and Mu'tazila (19; cf. 30). Al-Baghdādī (*Farḳ*, 200; translation by A. S. Halkin, 14) says there were Djahmiyya in Tirmidh in his own time, some of whom became Ash'arites.

Doctrines. They held an extreme form of the doctrine of *djabr*, according to which men acted only metaphorically, as the sun "acts" in setting. They held the Ḳur'ān was created. They denied that God had a distinct eternal attribute of knowledge, considering that his knowledge of temporal events followed the occurrence of the event. More generally they denied the distinct existence of all God's attributies, and were therefore accused of *ta'ṭīl* (making God a bare unity) and called Mu'aṭṭila. For attributes of God, such as hand and face, occurring in the Ḳur'ān, they had a rational interpretation (*ta'wīl*). On the question of faith their views were a form of those of the Murdji'a.

Bibliography: al-Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt*, i, 279 f., with further references; Massignon, *Passion*, see Index; Montgomery Watt, *Free will and predestination*, London 1948, 99-104; 'Abdus Subhan, in *IC*, xi (1937), 221-7; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 62 f., with further references; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-Radd 'alā 'l-Zanādiḳa wa 'l-Djahmiyya*, Cairo n.d., and *Dār ül-Fünūn Ilāhiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmū'asi*, v-vi (1927), 313-27; al-Dārimī (d. 282/895), *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā 'l-Djahmiyya*, ed. G. Vitestam (with introduction and commentary) Lund and Leiden 1960. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AL-**DJAHSHIYĀRĪ**, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABDŪS, a scholar born in al-Kūfa, who played a political rôle at the beginning of the 4th/10th century on account of his relations with the viziers of the time. He succeeded his father in the office of *ḥādjib* to the vizier 'Alī b. 'Isā, of whose personal guard he was in command in 306/912. Later, he is found among the supporters of Ibn Muḳla whom he helped to be proclaimed vizier and whom he concealed after his fall; several times he was imprisoned and fined, either by the viziers or by the amīrs Ibn Rā'iḳ and Badjkam. He died in 331/942.

Al-Djahshiyārī is principally known as the author of a *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa 'l-kuttāb* which traced the history of the Secretaries of State and viziers until 296/908; only the first part, stopping at the beginning of al-Ma'mūn's caliphate, has been preserved for us intact. This work, which reveals the true spirit of inquiry of a chronicler as well as an undeniable taste for *adab*, lays quite as much emphasis upon men's characters and intellectual qualities as upon their administrative or political activities. Al-Djahshiyārī also wrote a voluminous chronicle of al-Muḳtadir's caliphate, from which certain passages are thought to have been recovered, and a collection of stories (*asmār*) which seems to be lost despite the opinion of those who would like to

attribute to al-Djahshiyārī the *K. al-Ḥikāyāt al-ʿadjība*, an anonymous work published recently (see *Arabica*, iv, 1957, 214).

Bibliography: on his life, see M. Canard, *Akhbâr ar-Râḍî billâh*, Algiers 1946, i, 143 n. 3; J. Latz, *Das Buch der Wezire und Staatssekretäre von Ibn ʿAbdūs al-Ǧahšiyārī, Anfänge und Umaiyadenzeit*, Walldorf-Hessen 1958, 3-6; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, index; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Cairo 1948, vi, 23. On his writings, see *GAL*, S I, 219-20; in addition to the facsimile edition of the *Kitāb al-wuzarāʾ* by H. von Mžik (Leipzig 1926), the edition by Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳāʾ, etc., which appeared in Cairo in 1357/1938, should be added; the pages devoted to the beginnings and the Umayyad period have been translated into German by J. Latz (*supra*); the character of the work has been studied by D. Sourdel, *La valeur littéraire et documentaire du "Livre des Vizirs" d'al- Ǧahšiyārī*, in *Arabica*, ii, 1955, 193-210; the surviving fragments of the second part have been published or recorded by Mikhāʾīl ʿAwwād, in *MMIA*, xviii, 1943, 318-32 and 435-42, and D. Sourdel, *Mélanges L. Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957, 271-99. On the *Akhbār al-Muḳtadir*, see D. Sourdel, *Mélanges L. Massignon*, iii, 271 n. 2. (D. SOURDEL)

DJAHWARIDS. The terrible conflict brought about by the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate led the Cordovans, under the direction and advice of the influential and respected vizier Abū Ḥazm Djahwar b. Muxammad b. Djahwar, to declare incapable and expel from the city all the members of the imperial family. They proclaimed a form of republic (422/1031) at the head of which they placed the vizier, who had already demonstrated his great political talents at the court of Hishām II. Once elected, however, he refused to assume all the reigns of power, and formed a democratic government which administered all public affairs. He himself claimed to be no more than the executor of the Council's decisions on behalf of the people. Order and calm were restored at Cordova, the vizier earned the respect of the petty Berber kings in the neighbouring areas, and even the Banū ʿAbbād of Seville learned to leave him in peace. Trade took on a new lease of life, prices came down, and the ruins were repaired. His paternal government lasted for 12 years until his death in 435/1043. His son Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad, called al-Rashīd, succeeded him. Without assuming the title of Sultan, he followed the line of conduct established by his father. In order to avoid a rupture with al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville, he recognized the deceitful farce of Hishām II, and intervened as a mediator in the war between al-Muʿtaḍid and Ibn al-Afṭas of Badajoz. But he was not of the same mettle as his father, and, lacking the energy to command, he delegated the administration of his small state to his vizier Ibn al-Raḳā, who became the virtual sovereign of Cordova. He earned the hatred of Muḥammad's younger son, ʿAbd al-Malik, who, drawn into the intrigues of al-Muʿtaḍid, treacherously assassinated the vizier in Muḥarram 450/March 1058. Far from punishing him for the deed, his father appointed him crown prince, giving him a free hand in governing and the right to use Caliphate titles. The Cordovans rapidly developed a strong dislike for him on account of his illegal dealings. Whereas al-Muʿtaḍid dethroned the *reyes de taifas* of the south, ʿAbd al-Malik continued his arbitrary rule. In 461/1069, when al-Muʿtadid and the vizier Ibn Raḳā were dead, Ibn al-Afṭas saw his chance to seize Cordova, and ʿAbd al-Malik summoned the assistance of al-Muʿtamid. The latter sent a cavalry detachment of 1300 men, and they raised the siege set by Ibn al-Afṭas. But the Cordovans allowed al-Muʿtamid's generals to capture ʿAbd al-Malik and his aged father who had ruled for 25½ years, and they were both exiled to the island of Saltis, off Huelva, where the Odiel flows into the sea.

Bibliography: The main source is Ibn Ḥayyān, which is used by Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 114, i/4, 182; Dozy, *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*, Leiden 1846; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 175-7; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 168. (A. HUICI-MIRANDA)

DJAḤẒA, ABU 'L-ḤASAN AḤMAD B. DJAʿFAR B. MŪSĀ B. YAḤYĀ AL-BARMAKĪ AL-NADĪM (and also AL-ṬUNBŪRĪ, because he played the *tunbūr*, lute (Fr.: "pandore")). A philologist and transmitter of traditions, singer and musician, poet and wit and a descendant of the Barmakids. He was reputedly born in 224/839, and died at the age of a hundred, at Wāsiṭ in Shaʿbān 324/June-July 936. A man of very varied culture, but little religion, of doubtful morals and repulsive appearance (he was dirty and ugly, and owed his last name to a malformation of his bulging eyes), he is the hero of numerous stories—in which nonetheless he is shown as keeping the company of persons in high society: Ibn al-Muʿtazz (who apparently gave him his last name), al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, Ibn Muḳla, Ibn Rāʾiḳ. Apart from the *Amālī* and a *dīwān*—what remains of the latter is mainly incidental writings—he has left a series of works enumerated by the *Fihrist* (208), about the kitchen, lute-players, astrology, and the life of al-Muʿtamid (*K. mā shāhada-hu min amr al-Muʿtamid*).

Bibliography: M. Canard, *Akhbâr ar-Râḍî billâh*, etc., i, 1440, note (biographical note and references); Bouvat, *Barmécides*, 104-5; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 261-2; *Aghānī*, index; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, iv, 65; Ibn Khallikān, i, 41; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, 183; Ibn Hadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, i, 146; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, ii, 241-82. (CH. PELLAT)

DJĀʾIZ, a term used in a general way to denote permissible acts, that is to say acts which are not contrary to a rule of the law. However, in the classical division of acts into five categories (*al-aḥkām al-khamsa*; cf. *Dict. Tech. Terms*, i, 379 ff.; I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓāhiriten*, 66 ff.; Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 59 ff.) adopted by the writers on *uṣūl* [*q.v.*] the permissible act is generally described as *mubāḥ*. It is thus quite as clearly differentiated from the act which is obligatory (*wādjib*) or merely recommended (*mandūb*), as from that which is forbidden (*ḥarām*) or simply considered reprehensible (*makrūh*).

In writings on *furūʿ*, that is to say of the Muslim jurisconsults, the term *djāʾiz* assumes a different significance. The juridical act which is not completely null and void (*bāṭil*) or merely defective (*fāsid*)—according to the Ḥanafīs—is regarded as *ṣaḥīḥ*, that is to say valid. It is the act carried out in conformity with the prescriptions of the law, and it must in principle produce all its effects. A valid act of this kind is certainly *djāʾiz*, or permissible; but the correct term to denote it is *ṣaḥīḥ*.

Ḥanafī authors, however, preferred to use the term *djāʾiz*, not to denote a valid act but, in particular, to specify that the act was legitimate or licit, in point of law. In their works, the study of each contract under consideration generally begins with

a preamble in which the writer is at pains to state that the contract is *d̲j̲āʾiz* by reason of some text, or custom, or *omnium consensus*, or simply its practical usefulness (Chafik Chehata, *Théorie générale de l'obligation en droit musulman*, i, 105, no. 117). This is true of the contract of hire (Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ*, iv, 174); of guarantee (ibid., vi, 3); and of deposit (Saraḵh̲sī, *Mabsūṭ*, xi, 108). In all these texts the writer raises the question whether the contract is or is not *d̲j̲āʾiz*, quite apart from the fact that it can be valid or not, according to whether the conditions of its conclusion or validity have or have not been fulfilled. Thus, with regard to the contract of *locatio operis* (*istiṣnāʿ*), the conditions of legality are made clear, independently of conditions of conclusion (*inʿiḳād*), validity (*ṣiḥḥa*), irrevocability (*luzūm*) or efficacity (*nafād̲h̲*) (Kāsānī, v, 209). Sometimes the term *mas̲h̲rūʿ* is used in place of *d̲j̲āʾiz*, as for example in the contract of crop-sharing (*muzāraʿa*) (Kāsānī, vi, 175); and in the contract of association (ibid., v, 220). In fact the *d̲j̲āʾiz* act is, correctly, the lawful act, *mas̲h̲rūʿ* in point of law. But lawful must here be understood in a special sense. It is not a question of the legality of the object or cause of the contract, but rather of the act considered in itself, as to how far it is sanctioned by law. And thus, in the final analysis, the term *d̲j̲āʾiz* as used by jurisconsults in writings on *furūʿ* by indirect means comes to approximate the term *mubāḥ* which is found in works on *uṣūl*, in the writings of *fiḳh* logicians.

Furthermore the term *d̲j̲āʾiz*, taken in the sense of *mas̲h̲rūʿ*, goes beyond the limits of juridical acts. It underlies the theory of criminal responsibility, since it is established that a lawful act cannot give rise to damages (*al-d̲j̲awāz al-s̲h̲arʿī yunāfi 'l-ḍamān*). Here again, by lawful act we must understand an act permitted by law, however prejudicial.

Certain authors, however, including Ḥanafīs, use the term to denote a valid contract. Thus for Ḳudūrī a contract vitiated by risk is looked upon as illegal (Ḳudūrī, *Muk̲h̲taṣar*, 60), in the same way as a contract whose object is illegal (ibid., 54). In both these texts the writer specifies that the contract is not *d̲j̲āʾiz*.

Finally it must be stated that, in non-Hanafī writers, the term *d̲j̲āʾiz* has assumed an entirely unexpected significance. In effect, in Mālikī as well as S̲h̲āfiʿī and Ḥanbalī writings, the contract is said to be *d̲j̲āʾiz* when it is revocable. (For the Mālikīs, see Ḳarāfī, *Furūḳ*, iv, 13; for the S̲h̲āfiʿīs, Suyūṭī, *As̲h̲bāh*, 141; for the Ḥanbalīs, Ibn Ḳudāma, iv, 119). Thus it is that the contract can be *d̲j̲āʾiz* for one of the parties, that is to say revocable by him, and not *d̲j̲āʾiz*, or irrevocable, for the other—just as it can be *d̲j̲āʾiz* for both, that is to say revocable by both parties (al-Aʿlawī, *Bug̲h̲yat al-mustars̲h̲idīn*, 112).

In logic, *d̲j̲āʾiz* means what is not unthinkable, whether it be necessary, probable, improbable, or possible (*Dict. Tech. Terms*, i, 207 ff.)

Bibliography: the works on *uṣūl*, e.g. al-Taftāzānī, *al-Talwīḥ*, 1304 H.; Chafik Chehata, *Théorie générale de l'obligation en droit musulman hanifite*, i, Cairo 1936; J. Schacht, *G. Bergstrasser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, 31-3; al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-Ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327; al-Saraḵh̲sī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324. (CHAFIK CHEHATA)

D̲J̲ĀʾIZA [see ṢILA].

D̲J̲AKARTA, town on the north coast of Java, a few miles to the east of 107° E. Long. The name is believed to be the abbreviated form of Djajakarta, 'Victorious and Prosperous'; in its turn it was corrupted into Jakatra (Jacatra) by the first Dutch visitors (1610). Judging by the name, we may suppose old Djakarta to have been the residence of a more or less independent king who was Javanese by descent or by culture. The Dutch settlement was given the name Batavia, from Batavi, one of the Latin names for the Netherlanders; Jan P. Coen, local representative of the Dutch Chartered Company, decided to establish his headquarters here in 1619. In 1628 and 1629 Batavia was heavily attacked by Anjakrakusuma alias Sultan Agung, king of Mataram. The narrow escape was followed by a long period of peace and prosperity which made the Indonesians use the expression *untung Betawi*, 'Batavian luck'. Several stories were invented to explain that luck, the most interesting being the one which Cohen Stuart published in 1850 (*Geschiedenis van Baron Sakèndhèr*, Batavia); it says that Jan P. Coen was the son of a Javanese princess with a flaming womb who had been given in marriage to Sukmul, twin-brother of Sekènḍèr (Iskandar D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳarnayn, Alexander the Great).

The town was the seat of a Dutch Governor-General from 1619 to 1942, with a British interregnum from 1811 to 1816. As such it developed into an international centre of trade, and within the Indonesian Archipelago into a centre of administration. Under the Chartered Company (1619-1799) it attracted a multitude of merchants, from various parts of Indonesia as well as from various foreign countries (China, India, Arabia). Especially in the second half of the existence of the Netherlands Indies (1800-1942) Batavia was the gateway for various kinds of missionary activities, in the field of religion as well as in the field of school education. Both factors—commerce and propaganda—have contributed to the cosmopolitan character of the town; it may be true that the majority of the Indonesian population is Muslim, it is as true that the town does not owe its importance, character and function to the Muslims as such.

From the view-point of Islamology it deserves attention that Batavia was an observation-post for the study of Muslim life ever since it came into existence as an Indonesian town under Dutch rule. When Snouck Hurgronje was appointed adviser to the Colonial Government for Muslim and native affairs (1889) his office in Batavia became a centre for theoretical and applied Islamology. The Batavian Faculty of Law, founded in 1924, had a chair for Muslim law and Islamology from the very beginning. This is why Indonesian Islam, in many respects different from the type of Islam which one finds in Egypt and similar countries, is fairly well known. See D̲J̲ĀWĪ, INDONESIA, JAVA, SUMATRA.

Batavia became Djakarta once more in 1942, when the Japanese conquered Indonesia and put an end to the colonial empire of the Dutch. The Indonesian Republic, proclaimed in 1945 and recognized by the Dutch in 1949, maintained Djakarta as its capital. The town which counted a population of approximately 400,000 people in 1940, is rapidly growing. It still has a cosmopolitan character, though its present function might detract from this character in a near future. (C. C. BERG)

D̲J̲AKAT [see ZAKĀT].

D̲J̲AʿL [see TAZYĪF].

D̲J̲ALĀʾIR, D̲J̲ALĀʾIRID [see D̲J̲ALĀYIR, D̲J̲ALĀYIRID].

D̲J̲ALĀL AL-DAWLA, honorific title of various princes, notably the Būyid (see below), the G̲h̲aznawid Muḥammad [*q.v.*], and the Mirdāsid Naṣr [*q.v.*].

DJALĀL AL-DAWLA, ABŪ ṬĀHIR B. BAHĀʾ AL-DAWLA, a Būyid, born in 383/993-4. When Sulṭān al-Dawla, after the death of his father Bahāʾ al-Dawla in 403/1012, was named *amīr al-umarāʾ*, he entrusted his brother Djalāl al-Dawla with the office of governor of Baṣra. The latter stayed there for several years without becoming involved in the private quarrels of the Būyids. In 415/1024-5 Sulṭān al-Dawla died and his brother Musharrif al-Dawla died in the following year. Djalāl al-Dawla was then proclaimed *amīr al-umarāʾ*, but, as he did not appear at Baghdād to take possession of his new dignity, an invitation was given instead to Abū Kālīdjār, son of Sulṭān al-Dawla, who was also unable to accept the office. When Djalāl al-Dawla heard that he was no longer named in public prayers he marched on Baghdād with an army, but was defeated and had to retreat to Baṣra. However, in Ramaḍān 418/October 1027 he entered the capital at the request of the Turks who were unable to keep on good terms with the population of Baghdād and were afraid of the influence of the Arabs. But friendly relations with the Turks were short-lived. In the following year an insurrection broke out in Baghdād, and Djalāl al-Dawla restored order only with difficulty. At the same time Abū Kālīdjār took possession of Baṣra without striking a blow and in 420/1029 succeeded in capturing Wāsiṭ. As Djalāl al-Dawla was preparing an expedition against Ahwāz, Abū Kālīdjār wanted to start peace negotiations; but Djalāl al-Dawla preferred to sack Ahwāz, and took prisoner the women of Abū Kālīdjār's family. At the end of Rābīʿ I 421/April 1030 the latter marched against Djalāl al-Dawla but was defeated after a three days' battle and had to flee, while the victor first took Wāsiṭ and then entered Baghdād. Baṣra was also conquered, but Abū Kālīdjār's troops soon reoccupied it, though in Shawwāl/October of the same year they suffered a further defeat near al-Madhār. In the capital, the insubordination of the Turkish mercenaries increased constantly, and the *amīr al-umarāʾ* soon lost the last vestiges of his authority. In 423/1032 Djalāl al-Dawla's palace was sacked, and he was obliged to leave the town and flee to ʿUkbarā, while Abū Kālīdjār was proclaimed *amīr al-umarāʾ* by the Turks in Baghdād. Abū Kālīdjār then came to Ahwāz and, as the amīrate held no particular attraction for him, Djalāl al-Dawla was able, after about six weeks, to return to his capital where, however, the situation was steadily worsening. In the following year his palace was once again attacked and pillaged, and for the second time the Būyid, who from now on was completely powerless, was forced to take to flight. This time he went to al-Karkh where he was protected by the Shīʿīs, remaining there until the rebels called him back to Baghdād. In the same year the governor of Baṣra, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, revolted against Abū Kālīdjār who was intending to depose him, and called in Djalāl al-Dawla's son al-ʿAzīz to Baṣra. But in 425/1033-4 al-ʿAzīz was driven out, and the population again took an oath of loyalty to Abū Kālīdjār. During this period complete anarchy dominated the capital and in 427/1035-6 a new revolt broke out in the army which however was brought back to loyalty by the caliph's intervention. In 428/1036-7 Barsṭoghan, who was one of the most powerful Turkish leaders in Baghdād and whose position was threatened, called on Abū Kālīdjār for assistance. Once more Djalāl al-Dawla was driven out of Baghdād but, after being helped by Ḳirwāsh b. al-Muḳallid of Mawṣil and Dubays b. ʿAlī of Ḥilla, while the Daylamites broke away from the Turks in Baghdād, he was soon able to expel Barsṭoghan and occupy the capital. Barsṭoghan was taken prisoner and put to death, and Abū Kālīdjār at last made peace with Djalāl al-Dawla. The final reconciliation was sealed by the marriage of one of Djalāl's daughters with Abū Manṣūr, Abū Kālīdjār's son. On this occasion Djalāl al-Dawla took the ancient Persian title "king of kings", which in fact was far from justified by his own lack of authority and the general anarchy. In 431/1039-40 or, according to others, in 432/1040-1, he had to face a further Turkish revolt in the capital. Djalāl al-Dawla died on 6 Shaʿbān 435/9 March 1044, leaving the Būyid kingdom in a state of the deepest degradation.

Bibliography: see BUWAYHIDS.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SHARĪF **DJALĀL AL-DĪN AḤSAN**, d. 740/1339, first Sultan of Madura [*q.v.*]. A native of Kaythal in the Pandjāb, he is known from a well-inscription (cf. B. D. Verma, in *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, *1955-6*, 109 ff.) to have been *nāʾib-i iḳṭāʿ* in the province of Maʿbar [*q.v.*] in 725/1324; later he was appointed governor by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (or, according to ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn*, 449, was *kotwāl* [*q.v.*] at Madura and usurped the government), but shortly after this, in 735/1335, he proclaimed his independence under the title of Djalāl al-(Dunyā wa 'l)-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh at Madura, the old Pāndya capital, where he struck coin. Muḥammad's march south to crush the rebel was prevented by an outbreak of cholera at Warangal, which decimated his army, and the Dihlī sultan had no further opportunity of regaining his lost province. Djalāl al-Dīn was killed in 740/1339 by one of his officers who seized the throne as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Udawdjī Shāh; thus although he was the first independent sultan of Madura he founded no dynasty. One of his daughters, however, married the fourth sultan, and another daughter, Ḥūrnasab, married the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who spent some time at the Madura court, and to whom much of the scanty knowledge of this small sultanate is due.

Djalāl al-Dīn is erroneously called Sayyid Ḥasan by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī (Eng. tr. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* ..., iii, 243) and Firishta (Eng. tr. Briggs, i, 423).

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(J. BURTON-PAGE)

DJALĀL AL-DĪN ʿĀRIF (Celâleddin Ârif), Turkish lawyer and statesman, was born in Erzurum on 19 October 1875, the son of Meḥmed ʿĀrif, a writer of some repute. He received his education at the military *rüshdiyye* in Çeşme and the *Mekteb-i Sulṭānī* at Galatasaray (Istanbul), where he graduated in 1895. He studied law in Paris and began to practise it in Egypt in 1901. He returned to Turkey after the 1908 revolution and joined the Ottoman Liberal (*Aḥrār*) Party, the first group of this period to oppose the centralizing tendencies of the Union and Progress movement in the name of multinational equality within the Empire. He became a lecturer at the Istanbul Law School and president of the Istanbul Bar Association (1914-20). In 1919 he acted as defence counsel in the trial of the wartime Union and Progress cabinet. In the last

Ottoman Chamber of Deputies (*medjlis-i mebʿūthān*) he served as deputy for Erzurum, temporary presiding officer, and co-founder of the Nationalist *Felāḥ-ı Waṭan* group; upon the death of Reshād Ḥikmet, he was elected (4 March 1920) President of the Chamber. Two weeks later, after the reinforced occupation of the capital and the adjournment *sine die* of the Chamber, he led the flight of deputies to Ankara, where he urged his colleagues to join the Grand National Assembly convened by Muṣṭafā Kemāl [Atatürk]. He became the Assembly's Second President (*reʾīs-i thānī*), Minister of Justice in the Ankara government (April 1920 to January 1921 and July to August 1922), and its diplomatic representative in Rome (1921-3). His differences with Kemāl became apparent as early as the autumn of 1920 during an extended stay in his native Erzurum. A proposal that ʿĀrif be appointed governor-general over the Eastern wilāyets went unheeded, and he in turn delayed for two months before accepting Kemāl's invitation to return to Ankara. During his brief second tenure as Minister of Justice he was considered one of the parliamentary leaders of the conservative opposition (*ikindji grub*) in the Assembly. After 1923 he retired from political and diplomatic life. He died in Paris on 18 January 1930.

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(DANKWART A. RUSTOW)

DJALĀL AL-DĪN ḤUSAYN AL-BUKHĀRĪ, surnamed *Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān Djahāngasht*, one of the early *pīrs* of India, was the son of Sayyid Aḥmad Kabīr whose father Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn-i Surkh had migrated from Bukhāra to Multān and Bhakkar [*q.v.*]. A descendant of Imām ʿAlī al-Naḳī, his father was a disciple of Rukn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ, son and successor of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā [*q.v.*]. Born 707/1308 at Učč, where he also lies buried, he was educated in his home-town and in Multān but seems to have left for the Ḥidjāz at a very young age in search of more knowledge. He is reported to have visited, in the course of his extensive travels which earned him the sobriquet of *Djahāngasht*, Kāzarūn, Egypt, Syria (including Palestine), Mesopotamia, Balkh, Bukhāra and Khurāsān, in addition to Mecca and Medina. The *Safarnāma-i Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān* (Urdū transl. Lahore 1909), purporting to be an account of his travels, is full of supernatural stories and may, therefore, be regarded as apocryphal. A contemporary of ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāfiʿī al-Yamanī, with whom he read *al-Ṣiḥāḥ al-Sitta* in Mecca, and of Ashraf Djahāngīr al-Simnānī [*q.v.*], he received his *khirḳa* from Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh-i Dihlī [*q.v.*]. He was appointed Shaykh al-Islām by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ and forty *khānaḳāhs* in Sīwastān (modern Sēhwān) and its suburbs were assigned to him; but he left for the Ḥadjdj before taking up the appointment. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ became deeply attached to him after his return, and held him in high esteem. The *shaykh* used to visit the sultan at Delhi every second or third year. He had also accompanied him on his expedition to Thaṭṭā in 764/1362. Fīrūz's religious policy, as outlined in the *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, was greatly influenced by the saint. He died on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 785/3 February 1384. Three collections of his *obiter dicta* are known to exist: i) *Khulāṣat al-alfāẓ djāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, compiled by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlāʾ b. Saʿd al-Ḥasanī in 782/1380 (MS. Riḍāʾ Library, Rampur Urdū transl. "*al-Durr al-manẓūm fī tardjamat talfūẓāt al-Makhdūm*", Anṣārī Press. Dihlī n. d.); ii) *Sirādj al-hidāya*, compiled by ʿAbd Allāh in 787/1385 (MSS. Rampur, Aligarh, I.O.D.P. 1038); and iii) *Khizāna-i Djalālī* (also called *Manaḳib-i Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān*) compiled by Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Ridjāʾ ʿAbbāsī (only an incomplete MS. in A.S.B.). All these collections, especially the *Djāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, are voluminous, and are written in a miraculous and supernatural strain. Another work based on his teachings is the *Khizānat al-fawāʾid al-Djalāliyya* composed in 752/1351 by Aḥmad Bahāʾ b. Yaʿḳūb (Storey, ii, 945).

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DJALĀL AL-DĪN KHALDJĪ [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE, KHALDJIDS].

DJALĀL AL-DĪN KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀH, the eldest son of Sultan Muḥammad Khʷārazm-Shāh [*q.v.*] and the last ruler of the dynasty. The spelling and pronunciation of his personal name (MNKBRNY) are still uncertain. Such forms as Mangoubirti, Mankobirti, etc., are based upon a derivation first proposed by d'Ohsson, from the Turkish *mengü* in the sense of "Eternal [God]" and *birti* (for *birdi*) "[he] gave"; but this etymology is now discredited. Muḥammad had originally designated his youngest son, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Uzlagh-Shāh, as his successor, but shortly before his death on an island in the Caspian Sea had altered his will in favour of Djalāl al-Dīn. The princes, who had remained in attendance on their father throughout his flight, now left the island and landing on the Manḳishlaḳ Peninsula made their way to Gürgāndj [*q.v.*], which they reached some little time before its investment by the Mongols. The discovery of a plot against his life caused Djalāl al-Dīn to leave the capital almost immediately and to make for the territories formerly allotted to him by his father and corresponding more or less to the modern Afghānistān. The Mongols had posted observation parties along the nothern frontiers of Khurasān but Djalāl al-Dīn succeeded in breaking through this cordon and reaching Ghazna, where he found himself at the head of a heterogeneous force of some 60,000 Turks, Khʷārazmīs and Ghūrīs. At Parwān to the north-east of Čarīkār he inflicted upon a Mongol

army the only serious defeat that the invaders suffered during the whole campaign. However, deserted on the very battlefield by almost half of his followers he was obliged to retreat southwards pursued by Čingiz-Khān in person at the head of the main Mongol army. He was overtaken on the banks of the Indus and after offering desperate resistance (8 Shawwāl 618/24 November 1221) escaped to safety by riding his horse into the river and swimming to the farther side. After a successful expedition against a petty rādjā in the Salt Range Djalāl took the field against Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳubača [*q.v.*], the ruler of Sind, and sought in vain to form an alliance with Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iletmish [*q.v.*] of Dihlī. He remained nearly three years in India and then decided to make his way to ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, where his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn had now established himself. In 621/1224 he appeared in Kirmān, where Burāḳ Ḥādjib [*q.v.*] had seized power. Djalāl al-Dīn found it expedient to confirm him in his usurped authority before continuing his journey to Fārs, where he stayed only long enough to marry a daughter of the Atabeg Saʿd [*q.v.*], and to ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, where he was at once successful in dispossessing his brother. The winter of 621-2/1224-5 he passed in Khūzistān, his troops colliding with the forces of the Caliph al-Nāṣir. He then proceeded to attack and overthrow the Atabeg Öz-Beg [*q.v.*] of Ādharbāydjān, whose capital Tabrīz he entered on 17 Radjab 622/25 July 1225. From Ādharbāydjān he invaded the territory of the Georgians capturing Tiflis on Rabīʿ I 623/9 March 1226. Here he received a report that Burāḳ Ḥādjib had risen in revolt, and he travelled, according to Djuwaynī, from the Caucasus to the borders of Kirmān in the space of 17 days. Returning to the west he laid siege, on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 623/7 November 1226, to the town of Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*] in the territory of al-Ashraf [*q.v.*] but was obliged to raise the siege almost immediately owing to the severe cold. In the following year the Mongols reappeared in Central Persia and Djalāl al-Dīn engaged them in a great battle before the gates of Iṣfahān. The result was a Pyrrhic victory for the invaders who at once retreated northwards and had soon withdrawn beyond the Oxus. After another campaign against the Georgians Djalāl al-Dīn again, in Shawwāl 626/August 1229, laid siege to Akhlāṭ. With the fall of the town in Djumādā I 627/April 1230 he found himself involved in war with the combined forces of al-Ashraf and Kay-Ḳubād I [*q.v.*], the Sultan of Rūm. Defeated in the battle of Arzindjān (28 Ramaḍān 627/10 August 1230) he withdrew into Ādharbāydjān and had no sooner concluded peace with his opponents than he was threatened with the approach of new Mongol armies under the command of Čormaghun. A Mongol force overtook him in the Mūghān Steppe and he fled first to Akhlāṭ and then to the vicinity of Āmid. Here the Mongols made a night attack in his encampment (middle of Shawwal 628/17 August 1231): roused from a drunken sleep he made off in the direction of Mayyāfāriḳīn and met his death in a nearby Kurdish village, where he was murdered for reasons either of gain or of revenge. The ruler of Āmid recovered his body and gave it burial, but many refused to believe that he was dead, and time and again, in the years that followed, pretenders would arise claiming to be Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn.

Bibliography: Nasawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, ed. and transl. O. Houdas, 2 vols., Paris 1891-5; Djūzdjānī, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, transl. H. G. Raverty, London 1881; Djuwaynī, *The history of the world-conqueror*, transl. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols., Manchester 1958; Barthold, *Turkestan*; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953; H. L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958; I. Kafesoğlu, *Harezmşahlar devleti tarihi*, Ankara 1956. (J. A. Boyle)

DJALĀL AL-DĪN RŪMĪ B. BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN SULṬĀN AL-ʿULAMĀʾ WALAD B. ḤUSAYN B. AḤMAD KHAṬĪBĪ, known by the sobriquet Mawlānā (Mevlâna), Persian poet and founder of the Mawlawiyya order of dervishes, which was named after him, was born on Rabīʿ I 604/30 September 1207 in Balkh, and died on 5 Djumāda II 672/1273 in Ḳonya. The reasons put forward against the above-mentioned date of birth (Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Celâleddîn*³, 44; idem, *Mevlânâ Şams-i Tabrîzî ile altmış iki yaşında buluştu*, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, iii, 153-61; and *Bir yazı üzerine*, in *Tarih Coğrafya Dünyası*, ii/12, 1959, 468) are not valid. His father, whose sermons have been preserved and printed (*Maʿārif. Madjmūʿa-i mawāʿiẓ wa sukhanān-i Sulṭān al-ʿulamāʾ Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn-i Khaṭībī-i Balkhī mashhūr ba-Bahāʾ-i Walad*, ed. Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfarr, Tehran 1333), was a preacher in Balkh. The assertions that his family tree goes back to Abū Bakr, and that his mother was a daughter of the Khwārizmshāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (Aflākī, i, 8-9) do not hold on closer examination (B. Furūzānfarr, *Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn*, Tehrān 1315, 7; ʿAlīnaḳī Sharīʿatmadārī, *Naḳd-i matn-i mathnawī*, in *Yaghmā*, xii (1338), 164; Aḥmad Aflākī, *Ariflerin menkibeleri*, trans. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1953, i, Önsöz, 44). According to the biographical sources, he left Balkh because of a dispute with the Khwārizmshāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and his protégé Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209-10) and, when his son Djalāl al-Dīn was five years old (Aflākī, ed. Yazıcı, i, 161), *i.e.*, in 609/1212-3, emigrated to the west. In fact the sermons of Bahāʾ al-Dīn contain attacks on the Khwārizmshāh and the above-named religious philosopher. But according to the same book of sermons, he was in Wakhsh between 600/1203 and 607/1211, and in Samarḳand in 609/1212-3 (Maʿārif. ed. Furūzānfarr, *Muḳaddima*, 37 and *Fīhi mā Fīh*, ed. Furūzānfarr, 173 respectively). He must, however, have returned from Samarḳand to Balkh, as according to the sources the emigration took place from there. The date of 609/1212-3 for the emigration is in any case too early (*Isl.* xxvi, 117 ff.). As according to Aflākī he arrived in Malaṭya only in 614/1217, one may perhaps assume that he emigrated in 614/1217 or the year before. Whether his quarrel with the Khwārizmshāh was connected with the latter's hostile attitude towards the Caliph in Baghdād cannot be settled, but would be possible. In 616/1219 Bahāʾ al-Dīn was in Sivas, stayed for some four years in Akshehir near Erzindjan, went to Larende, probably in 619/1222, and stayed there for seven years. In Larende there is the tomb of Mawlānā's mother, Muʾmina Khātun (Azmı Avcioğlu, *Karaman'da mader-i Mevlânâ câmi ve türbesi*, in *Konya dergisi*, v, no. 35, 2088). Bahāʾ al-Dīn married his son in Larende to Djawhar Khātun, the daughter of Sharaf al-Dīn Lālā.

In the year 626/1228, at the request of the Saldjūḳ Prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubad, the family moved to Ḳonya, where Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad died on 18 Rabīʿ II 628/1231 (Aflākī, i, 32, 56). A year after his death Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Muḥaḳḳiḳ, an old pupil of his, came to Ḳonya to visit his former master, but found that he was no longer alive. Djalāl al-Dīn became a *murīd* of Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn until the latter's death nine years later. Burhān al-Dīn,

however, withdrew to Kayseri after some time and died there, probably in 637/1239-40. His tomb is in Kayseri. According to Aflākī, Djalāl al-Dīn went to Aleppo and Damascus after the arrival of the Sayyid to complete his studies. Burhān al-Dīn is supposed to have made him aware that his father possessed, besides exoteric learning, other learning that could be won not through study but through inner experience. After the death of Burhān al-Dīn Djalāl al-Dīn was alone for five years. On 26 Djumādā II 642/1244 the wandering dervish Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabrīzī came to Ḳonya and put up in the *khān* of the sugar-merchants. Djalāl al-Dīn met and talked to him; Shams asked him about the meaning of a saying of Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī, Djalāl al-Dīn gave the answer. According to Aflākī, Djalāl al-Dīn had already seen Shams once in Damascus (Furūzānfar, *Mawlānā*, 65-6). However that may be, the appearance of Shams-i Tabrīzī made a decisive change in the life of Mawlānā. In the Ṣūfī manner he fell in love with the dervish and took him into his home. It will be possible to say something about Shams's remarkable personality only when his collected sayings, the *Maḳālāt*, have been edited. He constantly wore a black cap (*kulāh*) and because of his restless wandering life was called *paranda* "the flier". Although, as his *Maḳālāt* show, he had the usual theological conceptions of his time, he tried to keep Mawlānā away from the study of books. It seems from his sayings that he had a certain bluntness of character. Shams-i Tabrīzī is called in the sources *sulṭān al-maʿshūḳīn*, "prince of the loved ones", and Mawlānā's son Sulṭān Walad, who knew Shams well, and was aware of the relationship Shams had with his father, develops in the *Ibtidānāma* a theory that there is another class of "lovers who have reached the goal" (*ʿāshiḳān-i wāṣil*) besides the "perfect saints" (*awliyā'-i kāmil*). Beyond these there is a further stage (*maḳām*), that of the "beloved" (*maʿshūḳ*). Until Shams appeared nobody had heard anything about this stage, and Shams had reached it. Shams showed Mawlānā this way of Ṣūfī love, and Mawlānā had to re-learn everything from him. Mawlānā's love for Shams-i Tabrīzī turned him into a poet, but at the same time caused him to neglect his *murīds* and disregard everyone but Shams. The *murīds* were angered by this and maintained that they were more important than the foreign, unknown dervish and are even said to have threatened Shams's life. Thereupon Shams fled on 21 Shawwāl 643/11 March 1246 to Damascus. But the *murīds* did not achieve their end. Mawlānā was quite disconcerted, and sent his son Sulṭān Walad to Damascus. Shams could not resist the spoken entreaties of Sulṭān Walad and the written poetical entreaties of Mawlānā, and returned on foot with Sulṭān Walad to Konya. But at once the *murīds* began to murmur again and took pains to keep Shams away from Mawlānā. Shams is said to have declared that he would now disappear for ever and no-one would be able to find him again. On 5 Shaʿbān 645/5 December 1247 Shams was murdered with the participation of Sulṭān Walad's brother ʿAlā' al-Dīn, or at his instigation, and the corpse was thrown into a well and later found and buried by Sulṭān Walad. It seems that his coffin has been discovered in the latest repairs done on the burial-place in Ḳonya, (A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Celâleddîn*[3], 83). It is understandable that Sulṭān Walad says nothing of this murder in the *Ibtidānāma*, not wanting to make the family scandal public. Shams's death was obviously kept from the Mawlānā, as he went to Damascus twice to look for him. His spiritual condition is depicted in touching verses by Sulṭān Walad (*Waladnāma* 56-7) : he became all the more a poet, devoted himself to listening to music and to dancing (*samāʿ*) to an extent that even his son obviously felt was immoderate, and found the lost Shams in himself. In most of his *ghazals* the *takhalluṣ* is not his own name, but that of his mystic lover.

Shams had, however, flesh and blood successors. In the year 647/1249 Mawlānā announced that Shams had appeared to him again in the form of one of his *murīds*, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb of Ḳonya. He appointed the goldsmith, who was illiterate but distinguished by his handsomeness and pleasant character, as *khalaf*, and thus as the superior of the other *murīds*. He himself wanted to retire from the offices of shaykh and preacher. The *murīds* found that Shams al-Dīn, the Tabrīzī, had been more bearable than the uncultured goldsmith's apprentice from Ḳonya, whom they had known from childhood. Plans were even made to murder him, and then revealed. The *murīds* noticed that Mawlānā threatened to desert them completely, and they asked remorsefully for forgiveness. We may assume that the loyal attitude of Sulṭān Walad himself and the modest, pleasant personality of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn helped to surmount this second crisis. For ten years Ṣalāḥ al-Din filled the office of a deputy (*nā'ib* and *khalīfa*), then he became ill and died, according to the inscription on his sarcophagus, on 1 Muḥarram 657/29 December 1258 (A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, 355). His successor, Čelebi Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan, whose family came from Urmiya, was to be the inspirer of the Mathnawī. Ḥusām al-Dīn's father was the chief of the *akhis* in Ḳonya and the surrounding districts and so was known as Akhi Turk. Ḥusām al-Dīn lived with Mawlānā for ten years until the latter's death on 6 Djumāda II 672/18 December 1273; his appointment as Shaykh must therefore fall approximately in the year 662/1263-4, and there must therefore be five years between the death of his predecessor and his own taking office (according to this the statement in *Isl.* xxvi, 124-5, should be corrected). After Mawlānā's death Ḥusām al-Dīn offered the office of Khalīfa to Sulṭān Walad, the son of the master, who, however, declined. Ḥusām al-Dīn died in 683/1283.

On the people's insistence Sulṭān Walad now accepted the title of Shaykh and held it until his death on 10 Radjab 712/1312. He was followed by his son Ulu ʿĀrif Čelebi (d. 719/1319), followed by his brother ʿĀbid Čelebi, followed by his brother Wādjid Čelebi (d. 742/1341-2). A list of the Čelebis to the present day can be found in A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, 152-3, and in Tahsin Yazıcı's translation of the *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 62-6 of the Önsöz.

The real history of the order begins with Sulṭān Walad. He founded the first branches of the order and helped it to gain greater respect. Already in the lifetime of Mawlānā the members of the order had the title Mawlawī (Aflākī, i, 1, 334). At first they were recruited from among artisans, which gave offence (Aflākī i, 151). The central part of the religious practices was held by listening to music, and dancing, which were indeed usual among other orders, but never had the greatest importance, as with the Mawlawīs. The dance ceremony in the regular, solemn form which is usual later, was, as Gölpınarlı has proved, first introduced by Pīr ʿĀdil Čelebi (d. 864/1460) (*Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, 99-100). On this ceremony cf. H. Ritter, *Der Reigen der tanzenden Derwische*, in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, i; A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan*

sonra, 370-89, and *Mevlevî âyînleri* (Istanbul konservatuarı neşriyatı, Türk Klâsiklerinden VI-XV cild) 1933-9 publ. by Istanbul Music Conservatoire.

Mawlānā's piety and thought have not yet been the object of a thorough examination. Anyone undertaking such an examination would have to take care not to rely too much on the Mat͟hnawī commentaries, which read into the work the views of their own time or their personal views. Also the *Dīwān* of Mawlānā has only now become available in a critical edition, so that the examination can really begin. According to A. Gölpınarlı, himself a former Mawlawī dervish, the Mawlawīs do not regard their order as a Ṣūfī order in the strict sense. Gölpınarlı is inclined to connect the order with the Malāmatiyya movement from K͟hurāsān. Even in reading the sermons of Mawlānā's father one notices a gladness praised there which reminds one of the "merriness of hearts" (*ṭībat al-ḳulūb*) of the Ḳalandariyya, who are related to the Malāmatiyya (cf. Ritter in *Oriens*, viii, 360 and xii, 15). Some of the Čelebis lived like Ḳalandar dervishes, as Ulu ʿĀrif Čelebi, and still more his brother ʿĀbid Čelebi, and the Diwāne, Mehmed Čelebi, who was used in the expansion of the order (Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra*, 101-22). But of course this does not prove anything for Mawlānā himself. He appears to have been of a philanthropic, anything but fanatical, strongly emotional type, to judge from the countless love-poems in the *Dīwān*, easily inflamed, inclined to work off his excitement in the dance. Whether his religious ideas possess anything original besides the general mystical piety of his time, will have to be shown by the analysis of his works, which are :

1) The *Dīwān*, containing *g͟hazal*s and quatrains. There are also Greek and Turkish verses in this, the presence of which shows a certain connexion with sections of the common folk and also with the non-Muslim elements of the Ḳonya population. His *tak͟hallus* is "K͟hāmūs͟h". This, however, is usually replaced with the name of S͟hams-i Tabrīz. In some *g͟hazal*s Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn also appears as the *tak͟hallus*. Former impressions and editions of the *Dīwān* have now been superseded by the good edition of Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Kulliyāt-i S͟hams yā Dīwān-i kabīr, mus͟htamil bar ḳaṣāʾid wa g͟hazaliyyāt wa muḳaṭṭaʿāt-i fārsī wa ʿarabī wa tard͟jīʿāt wa mulammaʿāt az guftār-i Mawlānā D͟jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad mas͟hhūr ba-Mawlawī*, Tehran 1336 ff., of which so far three volumes have appeared. Complete Turkish translation by ʿAbdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, Dîvân-i kebîr*, Istanbul 1957 ff. So far three volumes have appeared. Of earlier selections and translations the following are still important: R. A. Nicholson, *Selected poems from the Dīvāni Shamsi Tabrīz, edited and translated with an introduction, notes and appendices*, Cambridge 1898; S. Bogdanov, *The Quatrains of Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī and two hitherto unknown manuscripts*, in *JASB*, 1935, i, 65-80.

2) *Mat͟hnawī-i maʿnawī*. Didactic poetical work in double verses, in six *daftar*s. (The seventh *daftar* supposedly discovered by Rüsūk͟hī Ismāʿīl Dede is spurious). The long poem was inspired by Ḥusām al-Dīn Čelebi, who suggested to Mawlānā that he should produce something like the religious *mat͟hnawī*s of Sanāʾī and ʿAṭṭār. Mawlānā is supposed to have at once pulled the famous eighteen verses of the introduction out of his turban already written. The rest he dictated to Ḥusām al-Dīn. The date when the work was begun is not known. We know only that between the first and second *daftar* was a pause of two years, caused by the death of Ḥusām al-Dīn's wife. The second *daftar* was started in 662/1263-4, as the poet says himself (ii, 7). Mawlānā dictated his verse whenever it occurred to him, dancing, in the bath, standing, sitting, walking, sometimes in the night until morning. Then Ḥusām al-Dīn read out what was written and the necessary corrections were made. The whole is composed very informally and without any thought of a well-planned structure. Thoughts hang together in free association, the interspersed stories are often interrupted and continued much later on. (On the style, cf. Nicholson's edition, 8-13 and the preface to Gölpınarlı's translation). The classic edition is that of R. A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawī of Jelálu'ddín Rúmí, edited from the oldest manuscripts available; with critical notes, translations and commentary*, London 1924-40 (*GMS*, vi, 1-8). Latest Turkish translation: Mevlâna, *Mesnevi, Veled Izbudak tarafından tercüme edilmiş, Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı tarafından muhtelif şerhlerle karşılaştırılmış ve esere bir açılma ilâve edilmiştir*, Istanbul 1942 ff. The fourth edition is now in the press. On European translations before Nicholson cf. his edition ii-xv; on Urdū translations cf. *Catalogue of the library of the India Office*, ii, vi, *Persian Books*, by A. J. Arberry, London 1937, 301-4. The best known earlier printed Turkish commentaries and translations are: Ankaralī Ismāʿīl Rüsūkhī, *Fātiḥ al-Abyāt*, Istanbul 1289, six volumes; Bursalī Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, *Rūḥ al-Mat͟hnawī* (Commentary on one part of the first *daftar*) Istanbul 1287; Sarī ʿAbdallāh Efendi (to the first *daftar*) Istanbul 1288, five volumes; translation in verse by Naḥīfī, Cairo 1268; ʿĀbidīn Pas͟ha, Istanbul 1887-8, six volumes. On the commentaries and translations written and printed in Īrān and India, and the earliest oriental editions cf. Nicholson, Introduction to i, 16-18; vii, Introduction 11-12 and the above-mentioned catalogue by Arberry, 301-4. On the Tehran edition of ʿAlā al-Dīn cf. ʿAlīnaḳī S͟harīʿatmadārī, in *Naḳd-i matn-i Mat͟hnawī*, in *Yag͟hma*, xii, 1338. On the sources of the stories in the Mat͟hnawī; Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfarr, *Maʾāk͟hid͟h-i ḳaṣaṣ wa-tamt͟hīlāt-i Mat͟hnawī*, Tehran 1333 (see *Oriens*, viii, 356-8); on the *ḥadīth*s quoted in the Mat͟hnawī: idem, *Aḥādīt͟h-i Mat͟hnawī mus͟htamil bar mawāridī ki Mawlānā dar Mat͟hnawī az aḥādīt͟h istifāde karde ast bā d͟hikr-i wud͟jūh-i riwāyat wa maʾāk͟hid͟h-i ānhā*, Tehran 1334.

3) *Fīhi mā fīh*. Collection of Mawlānā's sayings. (The title comes from a verse of Ibn al-ʿArabī). Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *The Table Talk of Jalalu'ddin Rumi*, in *Centenary Supplement to the JRAS*, 1924, 1-8. Edition by Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfarr, Tehran 1330. Turkish translation: Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, *Fîhi mâ fîh. Çeviren, tahlilini yapan, açıklamasını hazırlayan Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı*, Istanbul 1959.

4) *Mawāʿiẓ macālis-i sabʿa. Mavlânâ'nin 7 öğüdüdür. Düzelten Ahmed Remzi Akyürek, mütercimi Rizeli Hasan Efendi-Oğlu*, Istanbul 1937.

5) *Maktūbāt. Mevlânâ'nın mektupları.* Düzelten *Ahmed Remzi Akyürek*, Istanbul 1937. Also Şerefeddin Yaltkaya in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 1939, vi, 323-45; Fuad Köprülü, in *Belleten* 1943, vii, 416.

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Risāla-i Sipahsālār. Latest edition: Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Aflākī al-ʿĀrifī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, i, Ankara 1959. (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından.)

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ii) It is not easy to summarize systematically the main lines of Djalāl al-Dīn's thought. He was not a philosopher (in his works there are often attacks against the vacuity of purely intellectual philosophy) and claimed not to be a classical poet (both in the *Dīwān* and the *Mathnawī* he proclaims his dislike for rhymes and poetical artifices) but above all he was a passionate lover of God who expressed his feelings in a poetically unorthodox, volcanic way, thus creating a style which is unique in the entire Persian literature. Historically, influences on him by the religious and philosophical thought of Ghazzālī, Ibn ʿArabī, Sanāʾī, and ʿAṭṭār have been traced. The importance of the influence of Ibn ʿArabī on him has been perhaps exaggerated. The following account outlines as shortly as possible some of the main trends in Djalāl al-Dīn's thought. Quotations from the *Mathnawī* are from Nicholson's edition mentioned in *Bibliography*.

God: The absolute transcendence of God seems conceived not only spatially and intellectually but even morally. God is Himself the Absolute Value, Good and Evil being relative to Him and both at His orders (ii, 2617 ff.). Reality is ordered in four "spaces": the Realm of Nothingness, of Phantasy, of Existence, of Senses and Colours (ii, 3092-7). God is beyond Nothingness and Being, He works in the Nothingness, which is His Workshop (ii, 688-90; ii, 760-2; iv, 2341-83). In this sense is difficult to speak of a real "pantheism" in Djalāl al-Dīn: in any case immanentism is totally foreign to his turn of mind.

Creation: Djalāl al-Dīn seems to accept the Ashʿarī idea of the discontinuity of time and creation. God creates and destroys all in discontinuous atoms of time (i, 1140-8). He creates things murmuring enchanting words in their ears while they are still asleep in the Nothingness (i, 1447-55).

The World: The non-human World is something created by God in preparation for the creation of Man. Nature is a hint of God: every tree that germinates from the dark earth extending its branches towards the sun is a symbol of the liberation of Spirit from Matter (i, 1335-6; 1342-8). Creation has been however progressive. In a famous passage (v, 3637 ff.) Djalāl al-Dīn sketches a theory of mystical evolution (not to be mistaken for a scientific and Darwinistic evolution). The emergence of Man (who always remained Man, even in his former stages of development) from the animal kingdom is a first step indicating further journeys to the realms of the Angels and of the Godhead.

Man: Man is not simply a compound of body and soul. The human compound is formed by a body, his manifest part, a deeper soul (*rūḥ*, ψυχή), a still more concealed mind (*ʿaḳl*) and, even deeper, a *rūḥ-i waḥy* (spirit partaking of Revelation) present only in Saints and Prophets (ii, 3253 ff.). Djalāl al-Dīn's spiritual anthropology does not accept an indiscriminate possibility for every one to reach the highest stages of sanctity. Prophets and Saints are "different" from ordinary men. In a very interesting passage Djalāl al-Dīn shows the pragmatic utility of bowing in veneration to the Holy Men: it is the only way of breaking the ever-reappearing humanistic pride and superbity of Man (ii, 811 ff.).

God speaks through the mouth of the "man of God". The Prophet, the Holy Man is the manifest sign of the Unity of God, he is above the normal human standards (i, 225-7).

Ethics: Djalāl al-Dīn is far from speaking the language of modern "liberal" religious thinkers. The exterior practices of worship are binding for all. The reason given for this is also of a typically Muslim pragmatic character: the exterior rites are useful, like the presents of a lover to his Beloved. If Love were purely a spiritual thing why should God have created the material World? (i, 2624 ff.). On the problem of freedom and destiny he acutely remarks that there is a great difference between the momentaneous act of God (*ṣunʿ*) and the result of that act (*maṣnūʿ*), between *ḳaḍāʾ* (the act of deciding or predestining) and *maḳḍī* (the predestined thing). One has to love the *ṣunʿ* of God, not his *maṣnūʿ* like an idolater (iii, 1360-73). When his spiritual eyes are open, man recognizes that he is, at the same time, totally "operated" and moved by God (i, 598 ff.) and totally free, of a freedom unmeasurably above the petty freedoms of ordinary men (i, 936-9). To reach this deeper freedom in God, efforts and action (*kūshish*) are necessary (i, 1074-7). Perfect examples of this supreme freedom are the Saints and the Prophets (i, 635-7).

Life after death: The nearness to God in the worlds beyond is never felt by Djalāl al-Dīn as a real absorption in God without any residue. The metaphors he uses to express *fanāʾ* in an interesting passage of the *Mathnawī* (iii, 3669 ff.) are for instance the following: the flame of the candle in the presence of the sun (but yet the candle exists and "if you put cotton upon it, the cotton will be consumed by the sparks") or a deer in presence of a lion, or, elsewhere, as red-hot iron in the fire, when iron takes the properties of fire without losing its own individual essence. In that state it can claim to be fire as well as iron. The

soul near God becomes then one "according to whose desire the torrents and rivers flow, and the stars move in such wise as He wills" (iii, 1885 ff.). In another passage Djalāl al-Dīn tells of a lover who, as he reached the presence of his Beloved, died and "the bird, his spirit, flew out of his body" for "God is such that, when He comes, there is not a single hair of thee remaining" (iii, 4616, 4621). What an encouraging idea for a pantheist! But Djalāl al-Dīn is always ready to surprise us with some coup-de-scène. So the real end of the story is told some lines further, under the heading: "How the Beloved caressed the senseless lover that he might return to his senses" (iii, 4677 ff.). Djalāl al-Dīn goes even so far as to admit an element of activity in the otherworldly plane, so that the highest degree in the life of spirit "is not attainment but infinite aspiration after having attained": "... there is a very occult mystery here in the fact that Moses set out to run towards a Khiḍr ... This Divine Court is the Infinite Plane. Leave the seat of honour behind: the Way is thy seat of honour!" (iii, 1957 ff.).

Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's style: The style of the *ghazals* of Djalāl al-Dīn's *Dīwān* is conditioned by the fact that many of them were "sung" by the poet himself or were destined to be sung. A well known tradition shows us Djalāl al-Dīn improvising odes while gently dancing around a pillar in his school, and another story tells how he found one of his beloved pupils and companions, the already mentioned goldsmith Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb, while listening enraptured, in a street, to the rhythmic beat of his goldsmith's hammer. His powerful sense of rhythm is not always accompanied by equal attention to the strict rules of classical quantitative Persian poetry. He often complains against metres ("*mufta*ʿ*ilun mufta*ʿ*ilun mufta*ʿ*ilun* killed me!") and more than one verse both in his *Dīwān* and in his *Mathnawī* shows strong irregularities. In his *dīwān* two styles can be distinguished, a "singing" and a "didactic" style. Often some *ghazals* begin in the former (strong rhythm, double rhymes etc.) to pass slowly into the second or *vice versa*. In the *Mathnawī*, which is a single uninterrupted discourse, where the Speaker is often drawn by a word or a casual connexion of words to pass into ever newer subjects, anecdotes and sub-anecdotes, three styles can be distinguished. The purely "narrative" style; at the end, or during the telling of a story, however, comments are introduced in a "didactic" style. Here and there, either in the context of a story or of its comment, the author seems to be suddenly taken away as by rapture and then he uses his "ecstatic" style, in which some of the best verses of the *Mathnawī* are composed. Both the narrative and the didactic styles are of a remarkable simplicity and colloquialness, almost unique in the Persian literature of that time. Elements of colloquial language penetrate sometimes even into the more refined language of the *ghazals* and of the "ecstatic" style of the *Mathnawī*. We have even some verses of Djalāl al-Dīn containing a few words and sentences in colloquial Greek. Because of its strongly personal features Djalāl al-Dīn's style found practically no imitators, but it is highly—and rightly—valued by modern Persians (even by those who do not fully agree with his mystical views) and perhaps exerted a certain influence in the movement of simplification and modernization of Persian literature begun in the past century.

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(A. Bausani)

DJALĀL AL-DĪN TABRĪZĪ [see TABRĪZĪ, DJALĀL AL-DĪN].

DJALĀL AL-DĪN THANESARĪ [see THANESARĪ, DJALĀL AL-DĪN].

DJALĀL ḤUSAYN ČELEBI (Celāl Ḥüseyin Çelebi), Turkish poet. He was born in Monastir, the son of a *sipāhī* (?-978/1571?). As a young man he went to Istanbul to study, later wandered in Syria where he found protectors through whose help he entered the court of prince Selīm, who liked his easy manner and gaiety and who kept him at his court when he ascended the throne as Selīm II. Djalāl remained a boon-companion of the Sultan until he became involved in political intrigues and religious controversies; he then had to leave court life and returned to his home-town where he died.

His *dīwān* has not come down to us. Many of his poems are collected in most *medjmu*ʿ*as*. His only surviving book is a small collection of *ghazels*: *Ḥusn-i Yūsuf*, not yet edited.

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(Fahir İz)

DJALĀL NŪRĪ [see ILERI, CELĀL NURI].

DJALĀL REDJĀʾĪZĀDE [see REDJĀʾĪZĀDE].

DJALĀLĀBĀD, principal town and administrative centre of the region of the same name in the Kirghiz SSR, situated in the plain of Kongar to the extreme south of the essentially mountainous region which is a prolongation of the Tian Shan and whose mean altitude is from 2000 to 3000 m., the lowest regions of the plains being no less than 500 m. This former small town, of no economic importance, is now a large industrial city supported by the cotton production of the hinterland. The urban population reflects that of the region, peopled since the remotest past by Kirghiz, to whom have been added Uzbeks in the southern part, also Tatars, Tadjiks, and Russians. (H. Carrère d'Encausse)

DJALĀLĪ (*Taʾrīkh-i Djalālī*), the name of an era and also that of a calendar used often in Persia and in Persian books and literature from the last part of the 5th/11th century onward. The era was founded by the 3rd Saldjūḳid ruler Sulṭān Malikshāh b. Alp Arslan (465-85/1072-92) after consultation with his astronomers. It was called Djalālī after the title of that monarch, Djalāl al-Dawla (not Djalāl al-Dīn as some later authors supposed). The era was also called sometimes *Malikī*. The epoch of the era (*i.e.*, its beginning) was Friday, 9 Ramaḍān 471/15 March 1079, when the vernal equinox occurred in about $2^{h.}$ $6^{m.}$ Greenwich time (in Iṣfahān $5^{h.}$ $33^{m.}$).

The names of the astronomers who helped in the matter of the reform of the calendar and advocated the institution of the era are given in some sources, and include the name of the famous mathematician and poet ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī [*q.v.*]. As

he died at least 50 years after the reform, Khayyāmī, if he ever took part in that consultation, must have been very young.

By the term *Ta'rīkh-i Djalālī* is meant a new calendar instituted in 467/1075 by the above mentioned sultan Malikshāh. This was, as a matter of fact, rather a reform of the common Persian calendar that had remained in general usage in Īrān, side by side with the Arabian calendar with lunar year and months used by Muslims, after the downfall of the Persian empire and the domination of the Arabs in Īrān in the 7th century A.D. Through this reform the Persian vague year of 365 days was stabilized and brought into exact agreement with the astronomical tropic year of $365^1/_4$ days (or strictly speaking 365 days 5 hours and about 49 minutes). This regulation was effected by adding one day in every four and sometimes five years to the vague year, thus making it 366 instead of 365 days. This was in a way more or less similar to the Julian calendar.

The Persian year was, from the time of its institution probably in the 5th century B.C., a vague year of 12 months of 30 days each and five odd days (*andargāh*, Arab. *al-mustaraḳa*) added at the end of the year as intercalary days. This is believed to have been the original order which was re-established towards the end of the 4th/10th century in the great part of Persia by one of the Būyid kings of Fārs, who transferred the epagomenae from the end of Ābān where they then were, to the end of the 12th month where they remained in those parts of the country and also with the Zoroastrians of Īrān and the Pārsīs of India. As a matter of fact the place of the five supplementary or intercalary days, *i.e.*, the above mentioned *andargāh* (the so-called epagomenae) has not been always at the end of the year after the 12th month, but they had been periodically advancing in the civil year by being moved forward a month every 120 years. That is to say, after being at first at the end of the last month for 120 years, they were moved to the end of the first month, where they remained for another 120 years, and then they were again moved forward and put at the end of the second month and so on, until they were brought to the end of Ābān or the 8th month probably in the 5th century A.D. (of course after some 960 years from the institution of this process). This periodical and regular movement or change of the place of the epagomenae in the civil year was a consequence of the periodical shifting of the places of the six Zoroastrian religious festivals of 5 days each, called *gāhanbārs*, a whole month forward in the civil year once every 120 years, with a view of keeping those most important religious feasts fixed in their original astronomical places in the tropic year.

The epagomenae, which were, as a matter of fact, the Avestan 5 Gāθā days, also constituted one of those *gāhanbārs*, the sixth one, *i.e.*, the Avestan *Hamaspaθmaēδaya*, and hence it moved in the civil year in the same way as the other *gāhanbārs*. This operation of shifting forward the *gāhanbārs* periodically, and consequently the epagomenae as well, was considered, according to the reports in the Muslim books of chronology, as an intercalation of one month in the year (in reality in the ecclesiastic fix year) carried out by a special process which cannot be fully explained in this article.

The above mentioned periodical operation, executed more or less regularly in the pre-Islamic ages, ceased to be carried out during the last century or the last two centuries of the Sāsānid period, and was no longer carried out after the downfall of that dynasty and the Muslim conquest of Īrān. Therefore the epagomenae remained, as has already been said, at the end of Ābān till about 1000 A.D. in the southern provinces of Persia, and still later in the northern provinces of the country *e.g.*, in Māzandarān (and, as I have been recently informed, also in the district of Sangsar near Simnān) even at the present time.

The effect of the calendar reform of Malikshāh was (1) to fix the beginning of the Persian solar year in the day of vernal equinox. The New Year or the first day of the month Farwardīn, through the retrogression of the vague year (due to the neglect of the quarter of a day which the tropic year has in excess to the vague year of 365 days), had reached 26 February (Julian) in the year in which the reform was decided upon (467 A. H.). It was now brought forward to 15 March (Julian), which corresponded in that year to the day of vernal equinox; and (2) to provide a rule for keeping New Year's Day always fixed in the same astronomical point of time by counting every fourth (or sometimes fifth) year 366 days instead of 365. This was, in fact, an intercalation of one day every four or five years at the end of epagomenae, somewhat similar to that effected in the Julian year, where once in every four years (leap years) an intercalary day is placed at the end of February.

However, just as the above mentioned intercalation in the Julian calendar did not bring the Julian year into exact agreement with the tropic year, because the latter is about 11 minutes (at the present rate 11 minutes and 14.9 seconds) shorter than the Julian year, which is 365 and a quarter days, the difference amounted to about 45 minutes in 4 years or one day in about 128 years, and therefore a further adjustment was found necessary; the Djalālī year would have been as imperfect as the Julian if the intercalation of one day in the year were limited to every fourth year.

In both calendars a means for eliminating the imperfection was elaborated. While in 1582 A.D. the Pope Gregory XIII introduced a new arrangement in the order of the above mentioned four-yearly intercalation in the Julian year, by establishing a rule according to which this intercalation would be omitted in the last year of every century except in those divisible by 400, such as 1600, 2000, 2400 A.D. etc., the initiators of the Djalālī calendar or rather reform made the intercalation of one day in the year dependent on the vernal equinox occurring in the afternoon of the 366th day, provided that it had been in the preceding year before midday. The equinox or the exact point of time when the sun (in reality the earth) reaches the equinoctial point of the ecliptic, which in astronomy is conventionally called "the first point of Aries", was the real commencement of the year. In other words the Djalālī year, being a solar tropic year, always began on the vernal equinox and the exact time of this astronomical beginning could be found out every year by calculation. Thus the first day of the calendar year (civil year), or New Year's Day, was always the day on which the sun at midday was already in Aries, having entered that sign sometime between that point of time and midday of the preceding day.

Now as a rule every time the equinox occurred in the afternoon after having occurred the last time (*i.e.*, at the beginning of the preceding year) before noon, the year just coming to a close would be a leap year, *i.e.*, an intercalation of one day would be

effected. This happened normally once in every four years, when the fourth year was of 366 days instead of 365. However, if in a given fourth year when, as has been said, an intercalation would normally have been due, the equinox did not fall in the afternoon but occurred before midday, even though it also occurred before noon in the preceding year, such a year in spite of the fact that it followed three successive common years (of 365 days each) would not be a leap or bissextile year and the intercalation would be effected only in the next year (*i.e.*, in the fifth year). The precise time of this quinquennial or five-yearly intercalation was never fixed by a regular rule by the reformers. It was left absolutely dependent on the result of the astronomical calculation each year, that is to say it was to be estimated by deductive method. A similar process is followed in the modern calendar of Persia instituted in 1925 A.D. It was, however, noticed that this case (the postponement of intercalation to the fifth year) occurred only after some 6 or 7 or 8 quadrennial intercalations. In other words some oriental astronomers like Ulūgh Beg (d. 1449) believed that the quinquennial intercalation would follow at times the sixth, and at other times the seventh, quadrennial ones, however without giving any regular sequence for the alternative cycles. Again, other astronomers like Ḳuṭb al-Dīn of Shīrāz (d. 1311) put the alternative periods as 7 and 8. This means that according to the former the quinquennial intercalation would fall in the 29th (instead of 28th) or 33rd (instead of 32nd) year, and according to the latter in 33rd or 37th year. If by alternative numbers the regular sequence were meant, the first system (that of Ulūgh Beg) would mean 15 intercalations in 62 years and the second (that of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn) 17 intercalations in 70 years. Possibly every author worked out these cycles according to his own opinion of the length of the tropic year.

By calculation on the basis of the length of the fraction of the day (over 365 days) in the tropic year, according to the modern measure, there will be still an error of one day in 3844 years in the case of 15 intercalations in 62 years and in 1470 years in the case of 17 intercalations in 70 years.

Some European scholars, misunderstanding the statements of the Oriental authors about the different cycles and the alternative periods, have discussed at length the question as to whether this or that cycle was more correct and corresponded to what they supposed to be the original plan of Malikshāh's astronomers. Golius, Weidler, Bailly, Montucla, Sédillot, Idler, Matzka, Ginzel and Suter have tried to find a more or less plausible solution and some of them have proposed formulae based, in fact, on their own calculation according to the modern opinion as to the length of the tropic year. Some of them have even credited the founders of the Djalālī calendar with such an ingenious system as to make the divergence between the Djalālī and tropic year possible only one day in every 10,000, 28,000, or even 400,000 years. The truth, however, is that as it has already been said, not only was no rule ever established by the men responsible for the institution of the Djalālī calendar for the cycles of the quinquennial intercalations, but even their own opinion of the length of the tropic year is not known with any certainty. Further, in order to find out whether the next leap year will be a quadrennial or quinquennial, several big cycles are proposed by different Oriental astronomers. These theories are given with details in an article by the present writer in *BSOS*, x/1, 115-6. They are conjectures worked out each according to the length of the tropic year in the opinion of its proposer. They have nothing to do with the supposed original scheme of the founders of the Djalālī era and calendar, which most probably never existed. Perhaps it is not necessary to add that not only were the calculations of the old astronomers of the Middle Ages at variance with each other, but also all of them differ from the modern measures of time (year and day). Therefore no rule proposed or thought of for the sequence of quadrennial and quinquennial intercalations would agree with the result of scientific observations of the present day. It is not impossible to work out a formula in accordance with the modern measures of the tropic year as Riyāhī did (see bibliography) in his treatise on the subject (in Persian). He puts the quinquennial intercalations in 440 Djalālī years in the 101st, 262nd, and 423rd or 68th, 130th, 192nd, 287th, 349th and 411th. But owing to the progressive changes in the measures of time, the shortening of the day, and so many other factors, no plan whatever can be permanently entirely correct. It must also be said that what astronomers until recent times conventionally considered to be the beginning of New Year's Day (namely midday), must be now discarded, and midnight (of Greenwich time) should be adopted for the beginning of the day.

The question of whether the reform of Malikshāh took place in Iṣfahān, Rayy or Nīshāpūr is not very important from the astronomical point of view.

The Djalālī calendar found general usage in the greater part of Persia. The famous Persian poet Saʿdī used it in his verse about two centuries after its institution. In spite of losing ground to a certain extent, as a result of the extension of the Arabian calendar used generally by Muslims, it is still to-day commonly the means of time-reckoning in the cental part of Persia, especially by peasants and the inhabitants of many towns such as Kāshān, Yazd, Nāʾīn etc.

The year has 12 months of 30 days each, and five days (or 6 days in leap years) following the 12th months. A curious phenomena, however, is observed in a district, or rather a group of villages, near the small town of Natanz in the province of Kāshān, where the epagomenae follow the eleventh month (Bahman) instead of the twelfth. The principal place of the district is the village Abiyāna.

The names and length (*i.e.*, 30 days each) of the months of the Djalālī calendar are the same as those of the Persian calendar before the reform.

This seems to me to be unquestionable. Nevertheless, according to the famous author Ḳuṭb al-Dīn of Shīrāz, some astronomers adopted for the length of each month the period of time during which the sun remained in the corresponding sign of the zodiac, so that the first and second month, corresponding to Aries and Taurus, were each of 31 days long, and the 3rd month, corresponding to Gemini, 32 days and so on. Further, while most of the sources agree that the names of the months were the some as those of the common Persian year, some authors speak of the introduction of new names for the Djalālī months and even for the days of the month, of both of which a list is given by them. This list is to be found in a Persian treatise called *Sī faṣl* by the famous Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsi, and elsewhere.

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DJALĀLĪ [see SUPPLEMENT].

DJALĀLZĀDE MUṢṬAFĀ ČELEBI (ca. 896/1490-975/1567), known as 'Ḳodja Nishāndjī', Ottoman civil servant and historian, was the eldest son of the *ḳāḍī* Djalāl al-Dīn from Tosya (for whom see *Shaḳā'iḳ*, tr. Rescher, 297 = tr. Medjdī, 466). His talents having attracted the attention of Pīrī Pasha, in 922/1516 he turned from the scholarly career to become a clerk to the *dīwān-i humāyūn*. He was private secretary to Pīrī Pasha during his Grand Vizierate (924/1518-929/1523) and to his successor Ibrāhīm Pasha; his services in helping to regulate the affairs of Egypt after the revolt of Aḥmed Pasha were rewarded with the post of *ra'īs al-kuttāb* (931/1525). Just after the conquest of Baghdād in 941/1534 he was promoted to *nishāndjī* (Ferīdūn, *Munsha'āt*², i, 592), holding office with great distinction for 23 years: his state papers and the styles of address (*alḳāb*) which he instituted remained models to the Chancery for years afterwards (Pečevī, i, 43; Ḥuseyn, *Badā'i' al-Waḳā'i'*, Moscow 1961, 584 f.). In 964/1557 he was induced by Rustem Pasha to resign, with the post of *müteferriḳa-bashī*, but allowed to retain his *khāṣṣ* (amounting to 300,000 *akčes*, according to 'Aṭā'ī). While on the Szigetvar campaign he was re-appointed to his old office by Sokollu, immediately after Suleymān's death (cf. Selānikī, 46, 51). He died a little over a year later (Rebī' II 975/October 1567), and was buried by the mosque which he had built at Ayyūb, in the quarter known thereafter as Nishāndjī (*Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmi'*, i, 295; Ewliyā, i, 393 f.).

Of his projected description of the whole Empire and its government in thirty books, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mamālik wa daradjāt al-masālik*, only the last, a very full and elaborate history of the reign of Suleymān to 962/1555, is known to exist, although a note in a MS copied by the author's son (cf. Uzunçarşılı [see Bibl.], 405) refers to the other books as having been written (perhaps only in draft). The work was highly esteemed and used by 'Ālī, Pečevī, and Hammer-Purgstall, who also published with translation a short excerpt from the description of the campaign of 939/1532 (*Fundgruben des Orients*, ii, 143-54). Portions of the work exist independently in MS under such titles as *Mohāč-nāme*, *Fetḥ-nāme-i Rodōs*, etc. Muṣṭafā Čelebi later wrote a detailed history of Selīm I, *Ma'āthir-i Selīm Khānī*, which depends in part on the relation of Pīrī Pasha (also used by Hammer-Purgstall; except translated by H. v. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, ii, 355-71).

The following works, all in Turkish, also survive: (1) *Mawāhib al-Khallāḳ fī marātib al-akhlāḳ*, a work on ethics; (2) *Dalā'il-i nubuwwat-i Muḥammadī*, a translation of Molla Miskīn's Persian *Ma'āridj al-nubuwwa*; (3) a short treatise entitled *Hadiyat al-mu'minīn*; (4) *Djawāhir al-akhbār fī khaṣā'il al-akhyār*, a translation of Sirādj al-Dīn 'Umar's *Zahr al-kimām* (Brockelmann, S II, 377 f.). He wrote poems under the *makhlaṣ* Nishānī. One MS of a Ḳānūn-nāme is ascribed to Muṣṭafā Čelebi (cf. *Ist. Kit. Tarih-Coğ. Yazmaları Kat.* i/10, 805), but its editor Meḥmed 'Ārif thinks the attribution false (*TOEM 'ilāve*, 1329, intr. v). The Istanbul catalogue ascribes to him also (791) the *ḳānūn-nāme* for Egypt published by Ö. L. Barkan (*Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 355-87).

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DJALĀLZĀDE ṢĀLIḤ ČELEBI. Ottoman scholar, historian and poet, and younger brother of the famous *nishāndjī*, Djalālzāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi. Born in the last decade of the 9th century A.H. in Vučitrn (NW of Prishtina) where his father, Djalāl al-Dīn, was *ḳāḍī*, upon completing his studies under Kamāl Pasha-zāde and Khayr al-Dīn Efendi, the tutor of Sulṭān Sulaymān, he entered the normal teaching career, reaching the Ṣaḥn in 943/1536-7 and the Bāyazīdiyya in Edirne in 949/1542-3. His judicial appointments include Aleppo (951/1544), Damascus (953/1546) and Cairo (954/1547), from which latter post he retired in 957/1550 to settle in Ayyūb where he was later (966/1559) given the professorship of the local *madrasa*. Forced to retire by failing eyesight in 969/1561, he devoted himself to writing until his death at about the age of eighty in Rabī' I 973/September-October 1565. He is buried in the courtyard of his brother's mosque in Ayyūb. Of the seventeen works ascribed to him, the most famous is certainly his *Ta'rīkh-i Miṣr-i djadīd* (953/1547), a compilation from familiar Arabic sources and, unlike his other historical works, of no original value. More interesting are his translations from the Persian of the *Ḳiṣṣa-i Fīrūz Shāh* and 'Awfī's *Djawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, representative works of a period when elegant Ottoman prose style was establishing its own aesthetic identity. Apart from his *Laylā wa Madjnūn*, his poetry has commanded little praise or admiration.

Bibliography: The most recent study on Ṣāliḥ is that of I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Belleten*, lxxxvii (1958), 422-41, which enters into more detail than M. T. Gökbilgin's contribution to *İA*, iii, 63, and fully discusses his surviving works. Babinger, 100; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. osman. Dichtkunst*, ii, 327; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iii, 300 and *'Othmānlī Mü'ellifleri*, ii, 278, all contain inaccuracies. The most important source is 'Aṭā'ī, *Ḥadā'iḳ al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, 47; aside from 'Ahdī's *Gulshan-i shu'arā'* (Brit. Mus., Add. 7876, f. 23b) and Laṭīfī's *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'*, 218 (neither this text nor the Brit. Mus. ms., Or. 6656, f. 68b, containing the *ḳaṣīda* mentioned by Hammer-Purgstall), the other *tadhkiras*—viz., Ḳīnalīzāde Ḥasan Čelebi (Brit. Mus., Add. 24, 957), f. 157b; Bayānī (Millet, 757), f. 100; Riyāḍī (Nuruosmaniye, 3724), f. 93b; Ḳāfzāde Fā'iḍī, *Zubdat al-Ash'ār* (Şehid 'Ali Paşa, 1877), f. 57b—all derive from that of 'Āshiḳ Čelebi (Süleymaniye, 268), f. 273b. 'Ālī, *Kunh al-akhbār* (Es'ad Efendi, 2162), f. 411b, adds nothing of value to the above, nor do Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Aywānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmi'*, i, 296, or Mustaḳīm-zāde Suleymān Efendi, *Tuḥfat al-khaṭṭāṭīn*, 229. For his *Laylā wa Madjnūn*, cf.

Agâh Sirri Levend, *Leyla ve Mecnûn hikâyesi* (Ankara 1959), 287 ff., and for certain of his historical works, ibid., *Ġazavât-nâmeler* (Ankara 1956), index. The Bibl. Nat. possesses fragments, additional to those in the Istanbul libraries, of his translation of the *Ḳiṣṣa-i Fīrūz Shāh* (A.F. 103, Supp. 140), and the unique copy of his *dīwān* is in the Nuruosmaniye, no. 3846. (J. R. WALSH)

DJALĀYIR, DJALĀYIRID (DJALĀʾIR, DJALĀʾIRID). Originally the name of a Mongol tribe (see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Ghāzānī*, esp. *bāb* a), the term Djalāyir (and Djalāyirid) in Islamic history principally denotes one of the successor-dynasties that divided up the territories of the defunct Ilkhānid empire. The spelling 'Djalāyir' is given by al-Ahrī, the contemporary, and very likely official, chronicler of the dynasty. Djalāyirid genealogies usually begin with Ïlkā Nūyān (hence the dynasty's other name Ïlkānī), a follower of Hūlāgū, and proceed through Āḳbūḳā and Ḥusayn to Ḥasan "Buzurg", the founder of the dynasty, who was Ūlūs Beg and governor of Rūm under Abū Saʿīd.

When Abū Saʿīd died without heirs in 735-6/1335 A.D., the great chiefs of the Ilkhānid empire struggled to control the succession, and elevated in turn three obscure Hūlāgūids: Arpā (736/1335-6), Mūsā (736-7/1336), and Muḥammad (737-9/1336-8). These rapid changes at the top did not seriously disturb the structure of the empire: Muḥammad, the protegé of Ḥasan Buzurg, ruled over as large a realm as had Abū Saʿīd.

The breakdown of the empire began with the defeat of Ḥasan Buzurg and execution of Muḥammad by the Čubānid, Ḥasan "Küčük" (so-called to distinguish him from the Djalāyirid Ḥasan), in 738-9/1338. Ḥasan Küčük, who ruled in the name of Sātībek (739/1338-9) and Sulaymān (740-4/1340-3), could not control the whole Ilkhānid realm. Ḥasan Buzurg and his followers established themselves at Bagdad, and continued to dispute Čubānid authority, as did Eretna, the governor (and, after 741/1340-1), independent ruler) of Rūm, and the ruler of Khurāsān, Ṭughā Tīmūr. Ḥasan Küčük's attempts to subdue the Djalāyirids (741/1340-1) and Artanā (743-4/1343) failed. On his death in 743-4/1343, his brother, Malik Ashraf, seized power and forced Sulaymān and Sātībek to flee to Ḥasan Buzurg. Ashraf (who ruled in the name of a certain Anūshirwān) also failed to dislodge the Djalāyirids from Baghdād (748/1347-8), and, moreover, lost control of the provinces of Iṣfahān, Kirmān, Yazd and Shīrāz that had owed allegiance to Ḥasan Küčük.

Although Ḥasan Buzurg was instrumental in the breakdown of the Ilkhānid empire, he seems to have hoped rather for its restoration—on his own terms—than its collapse. He used only the title Ūlūs Beg that he had held under Abū Saʿīd, and either acknowledged legitimate Djingizids as sovereigns—Ṭughā Tīmūr (739/1338-9), 740-6/1340-5), Djihān Tīmūr (739-40/1339-40), and Sulaymān (746-7/1346)—or left sovereignty unattributed (746-57/1346-56).

Ḥasan Buzurg died in 757/1356, leaving Djalāyirid leadership to his son, Uways. When, in the same year, Sulṭān Djānībek of the Golden Horde overthrew Ashraf, the Djalāyirids in Baghdād recognized Djānībek as their sovereign. But the Mongol empire in Īrān was not to be renewed. Djānībek died in 758-9/1357, and his son, Bīrdībek, abandoned Ādharbaydjān to Ashraf's former supporters, led by a certain Akhīdjūk.

Uways now assumed personal sovereignty (759/1358), and undertook to annex Ādharbaydjān. His first campaign failed, but after his retreat, Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar, who had seized Fārs and Iṣfahān in the years following Ḥasan Küčük's death, raided Ādharbāydjān (760/1359), and so weakened Akhīdjūk that Uways' second invasion succeeded (761/1360).

There were further Djalāyirid successes during the years 762-5/1361-4, especially in Fārs, where the Muẓaffarid princes, Shāh Maḥmūd and Shāh Shudjāʿ, having deposed their father, Muḥammad, were quarrelling over the succession. Shāh Maḥmūd acknowledged Djalāyirid suzerainty, and was enabled by Uways to hold Iṣfahān and seize Shīrāz. But after 765/1364 a series of reverses precluded further Djalāyirid expansion. Until about 770/1368 Uways was busy suppressing revolts by the Shīrwānshāh, by Khʷādja Mirdjān in Baghdād, and by the Ḳaraḳoyunlu Turkomans in the Diyārbakr region. While meeting these challenges, Uways faltered in his support of Shāh Maḥmūd, who was driven from Shīrāz. Another enemy appeared in 772/1370-1, when Amīr Walī of Astarābād began to attack Rayy.

Uways died in 775-6/1374, and was succeeded by his son, Ḥusayn, after the great amīrs had murdered an unpopular elder son, Ḥasan. Other harbingers of decline appeared during Ḥusayn's reign (776-86/1374-82): Ḥusayn came to depend entirely upon Amīr ʿĀdil for leadership; and Ḥusayn's brothers, Shaykh ʿAlī, Aḥmad, and Bāyazīd, were left at large and even given positions of power despite the example Ḥusayn had set of profiting from a brother's murder. Abroad, the death of Shāh Maḥmūd in 776-7/1375 enabled Shāh Shudjāʿ to occupy Iṣfahān and attack Ādharbāydjān (777/1375-6, 783/1381); Amīr Walī continued to threaten the border at Rayy; and the Ḳaraḳoyunlu had again to be subdued (778-9/1377).

The dangers implicit in these conditions were soon realized. Shaykh ʿAlī rebelled in 780/1378-9, held Shūshtar against Ḥusayn and ʿĀdil, and, in 782/1381, seized Baghdād. Then, in 783/1382, ʿĀdil led the army against Rayy, leaving Ḥusayn at Tabrīz. Aḥmad, seeing Ḥusayn unprotected, gathered a force from his own domains in Ardabīl and slew his brother. When attacked in turn by Shaykh ʿAlī, coming from Baghdād, and by ʿĀdil, returning from Rayy with Bāyazīd, Aḥmad called in the Ḳaraḳoyunlu. Shaykh ʿAlī was killed, and ʿĀdil and Bāyazīd retreated to Sulṭāniyya.

Before Aḥmad could consolidate his position in Ādharbaydjān, the intervention of the Golden Horde and then Tīmūr drove him away. Aḥmad retired to Baghdād (787/1385), and later fled before Tīmūr to the Ottomans, and then to Egypt. After Tīmūr's death in 807-8/1405, Aḥmad regained Baghdād, and briefly reoccupied Tabrīz, only to be driven out by the Tīmūrid Abū Bakr, who was, in turn, ousted by the Ḳaraḳoyunlu. When Aḥmad tried again to take Tabrīz (812-3/1410), he was captured by the Ḳaraḳoyunlu, and executed on the pretext of having violated an agreement to cede Ādharbaydjān to Ḳarā Yūsuf Ḳaraḳoyunlu, made while they were fellow-exiles in Egypt.

Although Baghdād fell to the Ḳaraḳoyunlu in 814-5/1412, Djalāyirid princes survived in lower Mesopotamia for some years. The last of these, Ḥusayn II, fell during the siege of Ḥilla by the Ḳaraḳoyunlu in 835-6/1432.

Djalāyirid patronage has left us the khān and mosque of Mirdjān in Baghdād, Salmān Sāwadjī's poems, and the miniatures of Shams al-Dīn. Aḥmad, himself a poet, unsuccessfully offered his support to Ḥāfiẓ, who would not leave Shīrāz.

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The Hague 1954; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Dhayl-i Djamiʿ al-tawārikh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and trans. Kh. Bayānī; i-text: Tehran 1317s/1938; ii-trans.: Paris 1936; A. Markov, *Katalog Dželairidskikh monet*, St. Petersburg 1897; idem, *Inventarniy katalog musulmanskikh monet ... Ermitaža* (1 vol. and suppls.), St. Petersburg 1896, 1898; Lane-Poole, *Cat.*, vi and x; Cl. Huart, *Mémoire sur la fin de la dynastie des Ilékaniens*, in *JA*, 7ème sér., viii (1876); C. Defrémery, *Mémoire historique sur la destruction de la dynastie des Mozafferiens*, in *JA*, 4ème sér., iv (1844) and v (1845); Spuler, *Mongolen*²; H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, London 1888; ʿAbbas al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayn iḥtilālayn*, ii, Baghdād 1354/1936; M. H. Yınanç, art. Celâyir, in *İA*. See also ČUBĀNIDS.

(J. M. SMITH, JR.)

DJĀLĪ [see DJAWĀLĪ].

DJALĪLĪ, a family and quasi-dynasty in Mosul, where seventeen members held the position of *wālī* of that *wilāya* for various periods between 1139/1726 and 1250/1834. If legendary origins in eastern Anatolia can be ignored, the founder of the family, ʿAbd al-Djalīl, seems to have begun life as a Christian slave of the local and equally famous ʿUmarī family in the later 11th/17th Century. His son Ismāʿīl, a Muslim and well educated, attained the Pashalīḳ of Mosul by exceptional merits after a long career of public office, and governed it with distinction for some years from 1139/1726; and the easy succession of his son, Ḥādjdj Ḥusayn Pasha, in 1143/1730 to a position which, with interruptions, he was to hold eight times between then and his death in 1173/1759, showed that the family was already a firm claimant to hereditary rule of the province. Ḥādjdj Ḥusayn, an outstanding personality, attained lasting fame for his part in the defence of Mosul against Nādir Shāh, notably in 1156/1743; he held also at intervals other *wilāyas* and high positions in ʿIrāḳ and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, as did for the next fifty years his sons and relations, to an extent doubtless unique among ʿIrāḳī families before or since. The chronic tribal and country-side disorders of northern ʿIrāḳ, and of Mosul itself, at this period rendered all government precarious, and tenures shortlived; but a Djalīlī pasha, from the numerous descendents of Ḥādjdj Ḥusayn, was to be found in office at Mosul, struggling with the forces of anarchy and with the jealous factions—and on one occasion, the murderous attacks—of his own family discontinuously till 1250/1834, when the last *wālī* of the family, Yaḥyā Pasha, was displaced by a modernized central government. Eminent among these were Amīn Pasha (son of Ḥadjdj Ḥusayn) who was six times *wālī*, in part during his father's lifetime: his son, Muḥammad Pasha, who ruled the *wilāya* more or less at peace for 18 years (1204-22/1789-1807): and Aḥmad Pasha, who rebuilt the walls of Mosul at intervals from 1228/1813.

The local annals of the ninety years covered by Djalīlī pre-eminence in northern ʿIrāḳ are unedifying in their tale of violent, selfish and corrupt misgovernment, and are of interest mainly for the light they throw on the contemporary administration of the remoter Turkish provinces; but the virile persistence, and at times the superior qualities, of the effectively irreplaceable Djalīlī dynasty for so long a period entitles them to a place in history. Their descendants in Mosul are still numerous, but no longer influential.

Bibliography: S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925, esp. 158, 176 f., 210, 242, 284, authorities specified on 328-30, and genealogical tree, 347. (S. H. LONGRIGG)

DJĀLĪNŪS, Arabic for Galen, born in Pergamon, in Asia Minor A.D. 129, died in Rome about 199; the last great medical writer in Greek antiquity, outstanding as an anatomist and physiologist as well as as a practising physician, surgeon and pharmacologist. He also became known as an influential though minor philosopher. More than 120 books ascribed to him are included in the last complete edition of his Greek works by C. E. Kühn (Leipzig 1821-33); they represent by no means his whole output: some works have survived in Arabic, Hebrew or Latin translation only, others are unretrievably lost.

Although Djālīnūs stands nowhere in the first rank, his popularity especially as a physician grew steadily in subsequent centuries, and he eventually became the most influential teacher of medicine together with Hippocrates (Buḳrāṭ [*q.v.*]) whom he had helped to establish as a model physician and a pattern of perfection, and whose treatises he had explained in many elaborate commentaries. When the teaching of Greek philosophy and medicine was definitely made part of the Christian syllabus of learning in ± 500, the preservation of the greater part of his numerous works was assured and his supreme position established for the next millennium. Whereas the far superior works of his predecessors in Alexandria and elsewhere have perished, his codification of the great achievements of the Hellenistic physicians, whose independence of mind he still understood and taught himself, was handed on to posterity and was instrumental in establishing a fundamentally unbroken tradition of scientific medicine which never lost sight of him.

As in the case of philosophy and other sciences, Syrian and Arabic medicine follow the late Greek syllabus almost without a gap. We are not too badly informed about the Syriac translations of Djālīnūs, by Sergius of Rāshʿayna (d. 536) and Job of Edessa (about 825) for instance. We have Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's [*q.v.*] detailed survey of 129 major and minor works by Djālīnūs translated into Syriac and/or Arabic by himself and others, he actually lists 179 Syriac and 123 Arabic versions (cf. O. Neugebauer, *The exact sciences in antiquity*, Providence 1957, 180). This unduly neglected autobibliographical account by Ḥunayn was edited and translated into German by G. Bergsträsser in *Abh. K.M.* XVII/2, 1925 and XIX/2, 1932, cf. M. Meyerhof, in *Isis* VIII 1926, 658 ff.; *Byzantion* III, 1927, 1 ff.; *The legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931, 316 ff., 346 ff. Ḥunayn's list is not even complete. The Arabs eventually came to possess translations of every work of Djālīnūs still read in Greek centres of learning during the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries A.D., and thus knew a number of medical and philosophical works of Djālīnūs which disappeared in the late Byzantine period.

There can be no doubt—although details have still to be ascertained and interpreted in monographs—that Galen's medical works in their entirety, his methods and his results, were fully digested and appreciated by all the later Arabic physicians and became an integral part of their medical learning, in their original form as well as in summaries, commentaries and new works based on them. This by no means applies only to such outstanding physicians as Muḥammad b. Zakariya al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] or Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] but to many others as well (cf., *e.g.*, J. Schacht-M. Meyerhof. *The medico-philosophical*

controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo, Cairo 1937, passim). A comparison between Djālīnūs and Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn fi 'l-ṭibb* would yield very interesting results indeed. Djālīnūs deserves a major chapter in any future history of Arabic medicine down to the first half of the 20th century. The Galen studies in medieval and Renaissance Europe owe very much to the Arab precedent and to Galen-translations from the Arabic.

A number of otherwise lost medical and philosophical works of Djālīnūs has been recovered from Arabic translations, and it seems appropriate to mention them here.

Medical works: 1) M. Simon, *Sieben Bücher Anatomie des Galen*, 1906 (cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Hunayn ibn Isḥak und seine Schule*, Leiden 1913) with Ger. tr.; Eng. tr. by the late W. H. L. Duckworth, edd. M. C. Lyons and G. Towers, *Galen on anatomical procedures; the later books*, Cambridge 1962. 2) Ps.-Galenus *In Hippocratis de Septimanis Commentarius*, ed. G. Bergsträsser, *Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, xi/2.i. 3) M. Meyerhof-J. Schacht, *Galen über die medinischen Namen* in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1931, no 3 (with Ger. tr.). 4) *In Hippocratis Epidemias* i, ii, vi/1-8, ed. E. Wenkebach-F. Pfaff, *Corpus medicorum Graecorum* v/10, 1.1; v/10, 2.2 (German translation only, cf. *Gnomon*, xxii, 1950, 226 ff.). 5) *Schrift über die Siebenmonatskinder*, ed. R. Walzer, in *RSO*, xv, 1935, 323 ff.; xxiv, 1949, 92 (with Ger. tr. 6) *On medical experience*, ed. R. Walzer, Oxford 1944 (with Eng. tr.).

Philosophical works: 1) *Summary of Plato's Timaeus*, see AFLĀṬŪN (with Latin translation). 2) Additional fragments of the medical commentary on the Timaeus, ed. P. Kahle, see AFLĀṬŪN (with Ger. tr.). 3) Epitome of Περὶ ἠθῶν, ed. P. Kraus 1939 (Arabic text and notes), cf. R. Walzer in *Classical Quarterly* 1949, 82 ff.; idem, in *Harvard Theological Review* 1954, 254 ff. S. M. Stern, *Classical Quarterly*, 1956, 91 ff. 4) *De demonstratione*: P. Kraus, *Jabir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, Cairo 1942, passim; S. Pines, *Rāzī, Critique de Galien* in *Actes du Septième Congrès Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences*, 1953, 480 ff. 5) Statements on Jews and Christians: R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians*, Oxford 1949. 6) S. Pines, *A refutation of Galen by Alexander of Aphrodisias* in *Isis*, lii, 1961, 21 ff. 7) J. Schacht-N. Meyerhof, *Maimonides against Galen*, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts in the University of Cairo*, vi, 1939, 54-84.

The Arabic versions of books by Galen which are preserved in the original Greek may often prove useful for the establishment of the Greek text, especially in cases where only late Greek manuscripts are available. Moreover, they are very important for the general history of medical terminology, and work in this direction has scarcely stated. The Arabic text of Galen's commentary on Hippocrates Κατ' ἰητρεῖον, ed. M. Lyons (with Eng. tr.) will be published in 1962 as part of the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*. A Ger. tr. of the Arabic text of Περὶ ἠθῶν by F. Pfaff is to be found in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum Supplementum*, iii, 1941.

A survey of Arabic MSS of Galen, as far as it could be established at the time of the compilation, is to be found in H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte*, Berlin 1906. Additions: H. Ritter-R. Walzer, *Arabische Übersetzungen griechischer Ärzte in Stambuler Bibliotheken* in *Berichte der Berliner Akademie*, phil-hist. Klasse, 1934 and in many miscellaneous publications.

An intensive and detailed study of Arabic medical writers will no doubt eventually yield more texts of Galen and will make it possible to write the history of his very important impact on the development of Arabic medicine.

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DJĀLIYA (from Arabic *djalā* [*ʿan*], to emigrate), used here for the Arabic-speaking communities with special reference to North and South America. About eighty per cent of these emigrants are estimated to have come from what is today the Lebanese Republic; fifteen per cent from Syria and Palestine and the rest from al-ʿIrāḳ and al-Yaman. Egypt's quota is negligible.

Overpopulation in mountainous Lebanon, whose soil was less fertile than its women, combined with political unrest, economic pressure and a seafaring tradition, found relief in migration to other lands. Egypt, the only country to which the Ottoman authorities before 1890 permitted emigration, offered a special attraction particularly after the British occupation in 1882. The response came from the Western-educated group, graduates of the American University of Beirut (then known as the Syrian Protestant College) and the Jesuit St. Joseph University. Clerks, government employees, physicians, pharmacists, teachers found rewarding employment in Egypt and the Sūdān. Two of the earliest and most influential learned magazines (*al-Muḳtaṭaf* and *al-Hilāl*) and of the newspapers (*al-Muḳaṭṭam* and *al-Ahrām*) were founded by such graduates. In addition a Syro-Lebanese commercial colony flourished mainly in Cairo and Alexandria and gained possession of about a tenth of the entire wealth of the land. Western Africa, where today Syro-Lebanese communities—with about 30,000 settlers—are sprinkled over the major cities, was not discovered until the late 1890's. South Africa claims about an equal number.

But the golden fleece lay in more distant horizons. The first recorded Arabic speaker to land in North America was a Christian Lebanese youth Anṭūniyūs al-Bishʿalānī, whose tombstone in a Brooklyn (N. Y.) cemetery gives 1856 as his date of death, two years after his arrival. But there was no mass movement until after the mid-1890's following the World's Fair at Chicago. The peak was reached in the pre-first World War period. For the thirteen years ending in 1913 the Commissioner General of Immigration reported 79,420 "Syrians" (which term then embraced Lebanese and Palestinians), of whom 4064 entered the United States in 1901 and 9211 in 1913, By that time there was hardly a village in Lebanon which could not claim an American citizen as its son. Decline began with the war followed by restricted quota imposed in 1924 by the United States government. Its official statistics indicate that in 1940 there were about 350,000 of Arabic-speaking origin; estimates in 1950 raise the figure to 450,000; but Lebanese government statistics released in 1958 make those of Lebanese descent alone in the United States 450,000.

The majority of these emigrants were Christians, who felt less strange in the Western world, and were recruited largely from the uneducated classes. Wherever these people went they carried along their cuisine, churches and Arabic printing press. By 1924 they had established two hundred and nineteen churches and missions scattered all over the larger commercial and industrial cities of the United

States. Since then nine mosques have been built, of which the most imposing is that of Washington, D.C., founded in 1952 and patronized by the embassies. Of the estimated 33,000 Muslims, mostly Palestinians and Yamanites, 5,000 live in Detroit, attracted by employment in the automobile factories. In 1924 New York housed six newspapers (in 1960 five) and three monthlies. The oldest newspaper extant, *al-Hudā*, celebrated on 22 February 1960 its sixty-second anniversary. A census taken in 1929 lists 102 Arabic periodicals and papers, extant and extinct, which saw the light in North America and 166 in South America [see DJARĪDA].

The first to reach Brazil was again a Lebanese in 1874. The movement acquired mass proportions in the 1880's following Emperor Pedro II's visit to Lebanon and Palestine. In 1892 an Ottoman-Brazilian treaty gave further impetus. Argentina was equally interested in new emigrants to develop its vast resources. The Syro-Lebanese community in Brazil is larger than that of the United States; that of Argentina numbers about 150,000, of Mexico 60,000. A number of streets in Latin American countries bear the names of Syria, Lebanon or of a citizen born there. In South America such emigrants felt more at home than in North America; they also prospered more and maintained a stronger Arab tradition. In wealth and influence the São Paulo colony, headed by the Jafet (Yāfith) family—founded by a Christian from al-Shuwayr, Lebanon—compares favourably with that of Cairo. In 1959 the São Paulo community maintained two sport clubs (one Syrian, one Lebanese), two chambers of commerce, one hospital, one orphanage, two secondary schools and a score of philanthropic organizations. Its Greek Orthodox Cathedral, begun in 1939, is the most imposing place of worship erected by Syro-Lebanese emigrants anywhere.

Though originating mostly in villages the bulk of the emigrants to the two Americas took to business. The general pattern was to start from peddling, carrying a *kashsha* (from Portuguese *caixa*) and knocking at doors, move on to shopkeeping and graduate to large store owning and perhaps to a leading position as a merchant or industrialist. Arabic papers abound in "success stories" of penniless emigrants developing into millionaires. Arabic-speaking merchants are credited among other things with contributing to the introduction and popularization of kimonos, lingeries, negligées, linens, laces, Oriental rugs and Near Eastern food articles. The "folks back home" were generally never forgotten. Remittances to relatives and friends in the course of the first World War have been credited with saving numberless lives. Even as late as 1952 Lebanese official statistics credit Lebanese emigrants with remittances to relatives, friends and religious and educational institutions amounting to $ 22,000,000. Descendants of emigrants have entered all kinds of professions. In 1959 California sent to the House of Repesentatives in Washington the first son of a Lebanese emigrant; in the same year a second-generation girl singer was admitted to the Metropolitan Opera in New York. In 1960 an American citizen whose father was born in Zaḥlah (Lebanon) was elected mayor of a large city (Toledo, Ohio).

More striking perhaps has been the literary contribution. New York boasted a literary circle, founded by Kahlil Gibran (Djabrān Khalīl Djabrān, [*q.v.*]), whose influence has been felt throughout the Arab world. Its counterpart in São Paulo published for twenty years a magazine (*al-Andalus*) which had a wide vogue. These writers treated new themes, struck fresh notes, introduced modern styles and reflected the Western influences to which they were exposed in their adopted lands. By their writings, correspondence and return visits Arabic-speaking emigrants contributed substantially to the liberalizing, modernizing trend of their native lands. Some of the tenderest and most often quoted modern verses have been composed by Arabic poets in New York and São Paulo.

Legislative restrictions on immigration into the New World encouraged the movement into Australia where the Syro-Lebanese community is estimated at 20,000 largely clustered in Sydney.

The wave of migration which rolled from the eastern Mediterranean in the decade preceding the first World War sent sprinkles to the remotest corners of the habitable world. The Canadian community now counts about 30,000.

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DJALLĀB, or, according to the dialect, DJALLĀBA or DJALLĀBIYYA, an outer garment used in certain parts of the Maghrib, which is very wide and loose with a hood and two armlets. The *djallāb* is made of a quadrangular piece of cloth, which is much longer than it is broad. By sewing together the two short ends a wide cylinder is formed. Its upper opening is also sewn up except for a piece in the centre where a hole is required for the head and neck. Holes are cut on each side for the arms. When the garment is put on, the seam joining the two short ends runs down the middle of the breast. The two seams which close the two ends of the upper

part run along the shoulders and the upper part of the arms. The head and neck are put through the space left open in the middle of the upper end. The forearms come through the holes at each side; they would be left uncovered if armlets were not sewn on to the edges of the armholes. These armlets are very short. At their lower extremity is a slit (*nîfuk*) for the elbow and at the top a second slit (*fatḥa*) across, through which, when necessary (*e.g.*, for the ritual ablution) the bare fore-arm can be thrust. The *djallāb* is made either of native cloth or (in prosperous towns) of European. The former is woollen, rarely and only quite recently of cotton or cotton and wool. These cloths are dyed in different colours in different districts; red, brown, black, white, of uniform colour, striped or spotted. The European materials are thick, usually navy blue, black or dark grey.—The *djallāb* of native manufacture consists of a single piece of cloth, which is made of the required size. The hood is not added but consists of a quadrangular piece of cloth woven on, the sides of which are folded together behind and sewn. In the *djallāb* of European cloth, the hood is cut separately and put on. The seams of the *djallāb* are covered with braid and often ornamented with tassels, knots and rosettes.—The cut, the form of the *djallāb* and the hood, the ornamentation, the style of weaving, of sewing and of lining vary much in different districts.—This garment is called *djallāb* (*djallāba*, *djallābiyya*), throughout the greater part of Morocco and in the west of Algeria; it is also used in other parts of the Maghrib, *e.g.*, in the south of Algeria and in the Mzāb but it is given another name there. Among the Andalusian Muslims, however, the word *djallābiyya* was the name of a garment, the shape and use of which we do not know; in Egypt, we find a phonetic equivalent of the word, *gallābiyya* (with *g* for *dj*), but the garment it denotes is quite different from the *djallāb* of the Maghrib. The origin of the word is uncertain. Dozy considers the form *djallābiyya* to be the original one and *djallāb*, *djallāba* to be corruptions. He therefore gives the original meaning as "garment of a *djallāb*, *i.e.*, a slave dealer". This view seems philologically untenable. It is much more probable that *djallāb* is connected with the Old Arabic *djilbāb* "outer garment". The dissimilative dropping of the *b* in this word of foreign origin (cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 53) is not surprising; moreover it has also taken place outside the Maghrib in the modern forms of the word *djilbāb*: thus for example in the dialect of ʿUmān we find *gillāb* with the meaning of "women's veil".

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DJĀLOR, a town in the Indian state of Rajasthan, some 75 miles south of Djodhpur on the left bank of the Sukrī river.

Although the troops of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī had passed through Djālor on their return from the conquest of Gudjarāt in 696/1297, it was not then occupied by them. In Djumādā I 705/December 1305, however, that king sent ʿAyn al-Mulk, governor of Multān, on an expedition to Djālor, Udjdjayn and Čanderī; he was opposed by an army of 150,000 Hindūs on his entry into Mālwā, and his victory over them, which brought Udjdjayn, Dhār, Māndū, and Čanderī [*qq.v.*] into Muslim possession, so impressed the Čawhān rādjā of Djālor that he accompanied ʿAyn al-Mulk to Dihlī to swear his allegiance to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. Two years later this rādjā's arrogance caused ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn to attack Djālor, which was taken for Dihlī by Kamāl al-Dīn Gurg. On the weakening of the sultanate at ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's death it seems to have relapsed into Čawhān possession.

At some time in the 8th/14th century a body of Lohānī Afghāns left their adoptive province of Bihār and came to Mārwāṛ, where they entered the service of the Čawhān rādjā of Djālor. On the latter's death by a trick at the hands of a neighbouring rādjā in 794/1392 their leader, Malik Khurram, assisted the rādjā's widow in carrying on the government, but after disagreements between the Afghāns and the Rādjpūts he established himself as ruler over the city and its fort, Songir (Sanskrit: *suvarṇa-giri* "golden hill"), and sought through Ẓafar Khān, *ṣūbadār* of Gudjarāt under the Tughluḳs, a *farmān* from Dihlī confirming his title; this was given, 796/1394. After Tīmūr's depredations in north India in 801/1399 the Djālorīs became independent rulers for a time, before later becoming feudatory to the new and powerful sultanate of Gudjarāt.

At some time in the early 10th/16th century the Djālorī family had added Pālanpur [*q.v.*] to its dominions, and by mid-century its ruler had acquired the title of Nawwāb. By about 1110/1699 the Nawwāb moved his seat from Djālor to Pālanpur, which remained an independent Muslim state until 1956; for the history of the dynasty, see pālanpur.

Monuments. The fort of Djālor was built by the Paramāra Rādjpūts, and remained substantially unchanged under Muslim rule except for the modification of its perimeter wall for artillery. The oldest monument is the mosque in the city, built from temple spoil probably at the time of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, 56.4 m. square, with cloisters of three arcades on north, south, and east, broken by doorways, and a deeper three-domed *līwān* on the west. The latter is faced with a screen wall of later date, probably of the time of Muẓaffar II of Gudjarāt (917-32/1511-26); an inscription including the name of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ stands over the north door, implying an extension or restoration in his time. The arcades have been enriched by the addition of graceful and delicate stone lattice screens of the middle Gudjarātī period. Known as the Tōpkhāna masdjid, it was for long used as an arsenal. A smaller mosque stands in the fort; although said by Erskine (*Rajputana Gazetteer*, iii A, 1909, 189 ff.) to have been built by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's armies, it seems to be in its present form entirely a construction of the period of Maḥmūd I (863-917/1458-1511) or Muẓaffar II of Gudjarāt, and bears an inscription of the latter.

Bibliography: Malik Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sharf al-Dīn, *Khātim-i Sulaymānī*, on which the *History of Palanpur state* (in Gudjarātī) by H. H. Sir Taley Muhammad Khan, Nawab of Palanpur, is based; *Bombay Gazetteer*, v, 318 ff.; *Rajputana Gazetteer*, ii, 1879, 260, and second ed., 1909, iii A, 189 ff.; J. Tod, *Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan*, 2nd. ed. W. Crooke, Oxford 1920, iii, 1266-8; *Progress Report, ASI, Western Circle, year ending March 1909*, Bombay 1909, 54 ff.

(J. Burton-Page)

DJALŪLĀʾ, a town in ʿIrāḳ (Babylonia) and, in the mediaeval division of this province, the capital of a district (*ṭassūdj*) of the Shādh-Ḳubādh circle to the east of the Tigris, was a station on the important Khurāsān road, the main route between Babylonia and Īrān, and was at about an equal distance (7 parasangs = 28 miles) from Dastadjird [*q.v.*] in the south-west and from Khāniḳīn in the north-east. It was watered by a canal from the Diyālā (called Nahr Djalūlāʾ), which rejoined the main stream a little further down near Bādjisrā [*q.v.*]. Near this town, which seems from the statements of the Arab geographers to have been quite unimportant, the Arabs inflicted a severe defeat on the army of the Sāsānian king at the end of the year 16/637.

According to Mustawfī, writing about 740/1340, the Saldjūḳ sultan Malikshāh (465-85/1073-92) built at Djalūlāʾ a watch-house (*ribāṭ*, popularly *rubāṭ*) which probably served also as a caravanserai; after his time the place was usually called Ribāṭ Djalūlāʾ. This statement helps us to locate the site of Djalūlāʾ with certainty; for indeed there can be almost no doubt that Ribāṭ Djalūlāʾ must be identified with the modern Ḳīzīlrobāṭ, especially since the distances given by the Arab geographers for Djalūlāʾ apply perfectly to Ḳīzīlrobāṭ. Its geographical position is 34° 10′ N., 45° E.; it lies within the mountains, at the east end of the pass through the Djabal Ḥamrīn. The Diyālā flows by at some distance to the east of the town. The name Ḳīzīlrobāṭ ("red caravanserai") is popularly corrupted to Ḳazīlābādh and Ḳazrābādh (cf. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii, 274) or abbreviated to Ḳizrabāṭ (cf. Herzfeld, in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitt.*, 1907, 51). Like its mediaeval predecessor, the modern Ḳīzīlrobāṭ is of only moderate importance; it still has no other rôle than that of a transit and relay station on an important caravan route.

Bibliography: in addition to references in the article BAʿḲŪBĀ, see in particular M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geograph.*, i, 8, 15; Le Strange, 62; and, on Kīzīlrobāṭ, cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 418, 489; Ker Porter, *Reisen in Georgien, Persien u. Armenien*, etc., Weimar 1833, ii, 234.

(M. STRECK)

DJĀLŪT. The Goliath of the Bible appears as Djālūt in the Ḳurʾān (II, 248/247-252/251) (the line of al-Samawʾal where the name occurs is inauthentic), in assonance with Ṭālūt [*q.v.*] and perhaps also under the influence of the Hebrew word *gālūt*, "exile, Diaspora", which must have been frequently on the lips of the Jews in Arabia as elsewhere. The passage of the Ḳurʾān where he is referred to by name (his introduction in the exegesis of V, 25 seems to be sporadic and secondary) combines the biblical account of the wars waged by Saul and David (I Samuel xvii) with some traces of Gideon's expedition against the Midianites (Judges vii, particularly the episode of the water drinking test to select warriors.

Furthermore, Muslim tradition, tending to see in the Ḳurʾān account a prefiguration of the Battle of Badr, embroiders on the Haggadic development of the Bible story (for instance, the sling-stones given to David and their joining together into one, the latter detail borrowed from the Midrashic legend about the stones of Bethel, which Jacob put for his pillow); the same tradition attempts to link the giant Djālūt variously with the Amalekites (see ʿAmālīḳ), the ʿĀdites or the Thamudites, or even with the Berbers, no doubt in connexion with the Talmudic legend about the emigration of certain Canaanite tribes into "Africa" at the time of the Israelite conquest of Palestine (*Tosefta Shabbat*, vii, 25; Talmud of Jerusalem *Shebīʿit* vi, 2 [36c]; cf. H. Lewy, *MGWJ*, lxxvii, 1933, especially 178). With the help of these linkings, even though the Bible story in its authentic form must have been known to a writer as particular about first hand information as al-Yaʿḳūbī, Djālūt became a kind of collective name for the oppressors of the Israelite nation before David. The battle against Djālūt is localized in the Ghor or lower valley of the Jordan (see ʿAYN DJĀLŪT).

Bibliography: K. *al-Tidjān*, Ḥaydarābād 1347/1928, 178 f.; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 51 f. (Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, 61 f.); Ṭabarī, i, 370-6, cf. 278-80; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 105-8; iii, 241; Kisaʾī, *Vita Prophetarum*, 250-4; *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿadjāʾib* (*Abrégé des Merveilles*), translated by Carra de Vaux, 101; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 191 f.; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 106; R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, 803-5.

(G. VAJDA)

DJAM [see FĪRŪZKŪH].

DJĀM, a village in Afghānistān (orchards, particularly of apricots) in the region of Ghūr [*q.v.*] on the Tagao Gunbaz, tributary on the left bank of the Harī Rūd, above Čisht; an hour's march away, by the confluence of the tributary and the main stream, stands a cylindrical minaret of harmonious proportions, with an octagonal base which carries three superposed stages of truncated conical form, with an interior staircase (over 180 steps); the height of this minaret (about 60 m.) puts it between the Ḳuṭb mīnār of Dihlī [*q.v.*] and the minaret of Bukhārā [*q.v.*]. One of the inscriptions on this minaret, which is entirely covered with a striking decoration, gives the name of the prince who ordered its construction: Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Sām, 5th Ghūrid sultan (558-99/1163-1202; cf. GHŪRIDS, and Wiet, *op. cit. infra*, 21-55). A. Maricq, who in 1957 discovered this minaret which previously had been known only by hearsay, considers it to have been a "tower of glory" as well as a minaret (as was the Ḳuṭb mīnār, so described in its inscription), the central point of the territories of the Ghūrid sultanate; furthermore, he has collected (*op. cit. infra*, 55 and 65) the texts and other evidence which allow this monument of Djām to be considered as the only apparent vestige of the town of Fīrūzkūh, the Ghūrid capital (contrary to identifications previously proposed, *e.g.*, FĪRŪZKŌH in *EI*[1]); this hypothesis calls for a meticulous examination of the site.

Bibliography: A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret de Djām: la découverte de la capitale des sultans Ghōrides* (*XIIᵉ-XIIIᵉ siècles*), in *Mém. Delegation archéol. française en Afghanistan*, xvi, Paris 1959, 91 pp., 17 plates and two maps.

(H. MASSÉ)

DJAMʿ, DJAMĀʿA.—The aim of the present article is to clarify general ideas, and to show what system underlies the expression of grammatical number, as regards the Arabic plural and collective.

The Arabic language distinguishes between: 1) the singular, 2) dual, 3) plural, 4) collective. Arab grammarians have paid close attention to the first three: 1) the singular: *al-wāḥid*; *mufrad* is applied to the "simple" noun (as opposed to *murakkab*, applied to the "compound" noun) by the *Muf.* § 4; but it has also been used for "singular", likewise *fard* [*q.v.*].—2) the dual: *al-muthannā*, for units of two.—3) the plural: *al-djamʿ*, for units numbering three or more, with the subdivision: *djamʿ sālim* "sound plural", the external plural and *djamʿ mukassar* "broken plural", the internal plural. As

regards 4), the collective, they have no general word to denote it. In relation to the noun of unity they have distinguished between: the *ism al-djins* "specific name", which possesses a noun of unity, made by means of the suffix *-a*ᵗ, added *to it, e.g.*: *tamr* "dates", noun of unity *tamra*ᵗ "a date"; the *ism al-djamʿ* which denotes a *djamāʿa* "collection, assembly of beings", but does not possess a noun of unity or else forms it in a manner different from that given above: without a noun of unity, like *ḳawm* "tribe, group to which one belongs", with noun of unity provided by another word, like *ibil* "camels", *baʿīr* "a camel", or by another Form of the same root, like *rakb* "travellers" *rākib* "a traveller".

Note: A. Fischer has studied *Die Terminologie der arabischen Kollektivnomina* (*ZDMG*, xciv (1940), 12-24): *Shibh al-djamʿ*, in the sense of *ism al-djamʿ* and the plural *ashbāh al-djamʿ*, recent terms (taken from the author of the *Baḥth al-maṭālib*), current in European grammars, are to be ignored; *asmāʾ al-djamʿ* can already be traced back to Ibn Yaʿīsh (*e.g.* 732, l. 6) (*asmāʾ al-djumūʿ* in the *Muf.* § 285). *Ism al-djins* (coll.) gave rise to amphibology with *ism al-djins* (common noun). Al-Ushmūnī (d. 900/1494) had already in his time defined the collective by *ism al-djins al-djamʿī*, a term at present in general use in Egypt, according to Fischer (20).

The article by A. Fischer will provide useful references for Arabic terminology, see in particular the text of al-Ushmūnī (*op. cit.* 21-22) on the difference between: *al-djamʿ*, *ism al-djamʿ*, *ism al-djins al-djamʿī*. In the latter, al-Ushmūnī (l. 12) puts the collectives with noun of unity in *-iyy-* (like *rūm*, *rūmiyy-*). The text can be compared with that of the *Sh. Sh.*, ii, 193 ff.

I. — The external plural

A.—The external plural for rational beings (*al-ʿuḳalāʾ*).

a) By reason of their constitution, agent-nouns and passive nouns of Forms derived from verbs are not capable of forming an internal plural; they form the external plural necessarily, where there is a question of rational beings: *mufaʿʿil/alūna*, *mufaʿʿil/alāt*, etc.; as for the IVth F., *mufʿil/al* can form the internal plural, but one finds only a few examples of this (*Muf.* § 252); the external plural is normal for them. The Forms *faʿʿāl* (intensive agent-noun and noun of occupation), *fiʿʿīl*, *fuʿʿāl* (with one exception, *Muf.*, *ibid.*) take only the external plural for rational beings, similarly the relative adjective: *miṣriyyūna* "Egyptian (men)", *miṣriyyāt* "Egyptian (women)". These constructions are constant.

b) For the *ʿuḳalāʾ*, the external plural is the proper plural of *fāʿil* and *mafʿūl* (agent-noun and passive noun which is exactly the *ṣifa* of the Arab grammarians), through and by reason of the verbal "value" which they contain, in the view of these grammarians: this is true of them considered as "participles". In proportion as they become substantives (*ism*), they become further removed from the position of "participles" and can take the internal plural. This is the principle which emerges from Ibn Yaʿīsh's explanations, 625, in particular l. 14-9, on the subject of the masculine external plural (with exceptions: *Muf.* § 247 and 252). See also *Sh. Sh.*, ii, 116, l. 9 ff.

c) This extends to adjectives (*ṣifa mushabbaha*) of the Form *faʿl*, *fiʿl*, *fuʿl*, *faʿal*, *faʿil*, *faʿul*, *fuʿul* (*Muf.* § 239; Ibn Yaʿīsh, 625, l. 20-4); see (Ibn Yaʿīsh, 626-8) examples and cases of internal plural. As for the numerous adjectives with a *long* vowel after the second root consonant (like *faʿūl*), the internal plural is normal for them (unlike the preceding instances). The external plural can occur, especially in the case of *faʿīl* in the active sense (*karīmūna*, *karīmāt*), as opposed to *faʿīl* in the passive sense which cannot take it for the *ʿuḳalāʾ*; (for *afʿalu* see *Muf.* § 249).

This outline sufficently shows the Arab point of view; it remains, with the help of monographs, to define the usage of the authors themselves, particularly in their use of the external feminine plural for non-rational beings, like *wa-ḳudūri*ⁿ *rāsiyāti*ⁿ (Ḳurʾān, XXXIV, 12/13) "and firm cooking-pots", *fī ayyāmi*ⁿ *maʿdūdāti*ⁿ (Ḳurʾān, II, 199/203) "on days well numbered". Such instances are infrequent, less frequent than those of the internal plural (like *ayyām ḳalāʾil*ᵘ "days few in number").

Used as a feminine singular substantive for non-rational beings, *fāʿila*ᵗ and *mafʿūla*ᵗ take the internal plural *e.g.*: *fāʾida*ᵗ "utility", pl. *fawāʾid*ᵘ, *maḳṣūra*ᵗ "small private room", pl. *maḳāṣīr*ᵘ. This does not create any difficulties. It remains to examine the external plural for substantives *which are only substantives* (proper names included). The difficulty noted above, for the *ʿuḳalāʾ*, arose precisely from the participial adjectives (the *ṣifa*) which can become substantives.

B. — The external plural for substantives and proper names.

a) Proper names: the question of the *ʿuḳalāʾ* naturally affects the use of the plural of proper names and also of diminutives.

For the former, Sībawayhi (ii, ch. 350) leaves a choice between the external plural and the internal plural when the name is capable of forming it, *e.g.*: for Zayd (masc. proper name): *zaydūna* or *azyād*, *zuyūd*, for Hind (fem. proper name): *hina/idāt* (or *hindāt* of the Tamīm) or *ahnād*, *hunūd*; but *-āt* for the plural of men's proper names terminated by *-at*ᵘ: *ṭalḥat*ᵘ "Ṭalḥa", pl. *ṭalaḥāt* (according to the Baṣrians, 4th disputed question, Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Inṣāf*, ed. Weil, 18 ff.).

As to the diminutive (like *shuwayʿir*, diminutive of *shaʿir* "poet"): for the masculine *ʿuḳalāʾ*: *shuwayʿirūna*; *shuwayʿirāt* for the feminine; *-āt* for the plural of the diminutive for non-rational beings: *kitāb* "book", diminutive *kutayyib*, pl. *kutayyibāt*.

b) Substantives which are purely substantives: a small proportion reverts to the suffix *-ūna*: biliteral nouns like *sana*ᵗ "year": *sinūna* and some isolated ones, like *ʿālam* "world": *ʿālamūna*. The suffix *-āt* is used much more widely. It is given to:

1. feminine nouns with the suffix *-āʾu* or *-ā*: *ṣaḥrāʾu* "desert" *ṣaḥrāwāt*, *dhikrā* "memory" *dhikrayāt*.
2. names of the letters of the alphabet: *alif*, *alifāt*.
3. names of the Muslim months: *ramaḍān*ᵘ, *ramaḍānāt*.
4. infinitives of the derived Forms of verbs used as substantives: *taʿrīf* "definition", *taʿrīfāt*.
5. foreign nouns: *iṣṭabl* "stable", *iṣṭablāt*; the same, denoting men: *bāshā* "Pasha", *bāshawāt*. The modern language still carries on this procedure: *tilifūn* "telephone", *tilifūnāt*.
6. biliteral nouns: *sana*ᵗ "year", *sanawāt* and a few isolated instances, some feminine like: *arḍ* "earth", *araḍāt*, others masculine like *djamād* "mineral", *djamādāt*.
7. a particular and important usage can be included here: agent-nouns or passive nouns of

all Forms of the verb and of adjectives with the suffix *-āt* are regarded as neuter, *e.g.*: *al-ṣāliḥāt* "Good" (Ḳur'ān, II 23/25, 76/82, etc.), *al-sayyiʾāt* "Evil" (Ḳur'ān, IV 22/18, VII 152/153, etc.), *al-makhlūḳāt* "creatures", etc. This usage still exists in modern Arabic: *al-mashrūbāt* "refreshments", etc.

To sum up, for the *ʿuḳalāʾ* the external plural is the proper plural of relative adjectives, the agent-nouns and passive nouns *fāʿil* and *mafʿūl*, *mufʿifal* (and still more, Forms which take only the external plural), of the Forms *faʿʿāl*, *fiʿʿīl*, *fuʿʿāl*; for adjectives with one or two short vowels, the external plural is also given as the standard form (the *ḳiyās*) but not for the other adjectives subject to greater variation. With substantives, the *ʿuḳalāʾ* apply only in respect of proper names and diminutives. In this special treatment of rational beings is to be found the indication of a true *Class*, operative in classical Arabic. It was important to place it.

C.—External plural, plural for small numbers.

Another assertion by the Arab grammarians is that the external plural is a plural for small numbers (*Muf.* § 235, Ibn Yaʿīsh, 611-2) (which characteristic can cross its influence with the preceding). There is thus a way of explaining, in certain instances, the coexistence of the external plural and the internal plural for the same word, *e.g.*: *ḳarayāt* (small number), *ḳuraⁿ* (large number) for a singular *ḳaryaᵗ* "village". This seems to be particularly noticeable for the external plural in *-āt* and to have had an influence on dialects: the plural for a small number, described by E. F. Sutcliffe in *A grammar of the Maltese language*, London 1936, 36, is of this kind. The question of small numbers will occur again in connexion with internal plurals.

II—The internal plural

The internal plural is found sporadically (as it were, still on trial) in Western Semitic languages in the north (Hebrew-Aramaic) (Brockelmann, *Précis*, § 165). It is the Western Semitic languages in the south which made use of the procedure, particularly Arabic (only ten Forms of the internal plural in Geez). But from what do these internal plurals derive? Are they the plural of a singular following a genetic connection, or on the other hand are they independent words linked simply by the singular-plural relationship? This genetic connexion cannot be established: even in the case of sing. *fuʿlaᵗ*, pl. *fuʿal*, sing. *fiʿlaᵗ*, pl. *fiʿal*, the question is not clear (cf. below); some *fiʿlān* plurals are seen to come from a suffix *-ān*: **akhwān* > *ikhwān* "brothers", **djārān* > *djīrān* "neighbours", but the words thus pluralized are lost in the mass of internal plurals of the Form *fiʿlān*, independent of a singular. Thus the second position is adopted by many Orientalists (see Barth, *Nominalbildung*, 417-8). Internal plurals are therefore considered to be derived from collectives which are connected with abstract words (M. Bravmann has recently maintained the contrary view, in *Orientalia*, xxii, 1953, 7-8, but he is not convincing).

Internal plurals are collectives clarified by the plural: collectives offered a mass; through this use of the plural, individualities have become *distinct* in this mass (see below, III) and can be numbered (that is to say, counted precisely according to the different numbers), or else remain simply with a vague, not fixed, number—the *indeterminate* plural. The human mind can easily make the transition from the collective to the indeterminate plural because, while being a true plural, it retains some subtle element of the former through the vagueness and imprecision of the number of units comprised. This explains how, in Arabic, the same word without any internal change or variation in its external form may be looked upon in one connexion as a collective and in another as an indeterminate plural. A good example is provided by Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī (*Sh. Sh.*, ii, 196, l. 1-3) when he states explicitly that the *ism al-djins* (coll.) for the noun of unity with *-aᵗ*, takes the plural in *-āt* for a small number and uses the same form without *-aᵗ* for a large number, as for example for "ant": *namlaᵗ* (n. of un.) pl. *namalāt* (small number), *naml* (large number). This is his example (*loc. cit.*) even though there exists the internal plural for a large number *nimāl*. This concept of an *indeterminate plural*, for a vague number of units, brings an element of clarity, here and in other instances, *e.g.* for *ḳawm* (see below). A true plural, it forms a link and transition between collective and plural.

The link between collectives and abstract nouns, it seems to us, cannot be denied; a collective on the way to becoming an abstract word (this cannot be developed here (see my *Traité* § 71); conversely, an abstract word which becomes collective, *e.g.* *shabāb* "youth" (abstract word), *shabāb* "young people" (coll.). The collective thus proves to be the link between the abstract word and the internal plural. But not all collectives derive from an abstract word. Can one therefore refuse the language the power of *directly* creating, for natural masses, collectives to which it has opposed nouns of unity to designate separate members of these masses? In this question of the internal plural it is well to consider the complexity of the collective from which it derives, a complexity increased by the diversity of the collective *wazn*s, which have passed into the internal plural.

How has the relationship between singular and plural for internal plurals been established? Semantic analogies have been followed, *e.g.* *fiʿalaᵗ* for animals, and also formal analogies, *e.g.* the so-called plural of quadriliterals, also extensions purely analogical by simple propagation of a *wazn*. All this has varied from one region of the language to another, either in diachrony or in synchrony throughout the vast expanse of Arabia.

Behind the internal plurals lies a long and complicated history which we have no longer the means to unravel. In classical Arabic they appear as a product that had been moulded in the general process of internal flexion. A good way of approaching the question is to consider this product within the framework of internal flexion, according to the series affected: initial basis and development, as a sort of outline. No doubt an outline simplifies and neglects cross-currents, but it is not altogether without its value in introducing a systematic arrangement based on the general progress of the language.

In this way one can distinguish four main series, with progression in them according to the lengthening of the vowels, the gemination of the second root consonant or the use of the affix:

a) Series: *fiʿal*, *fiʿāl*, *fiʿālaᵗ* (*fiʿāl* + *aᵗ*), *afʿāl* (= **a* + *fiʿāl*, or *fiʿāl* > **fʿāl* > *afʿāl*, see below), *fiʿalaᵗ* (= *fiʿal* + *aᵗ* or secondary parallel formation of *fiʿāl*).

b) Series: *fuʿl*, *fuʿul*, *fuʿūl*, *fuʿūlaᵗ* (*fuʿūl* + *aᵗ*), *afʿul* (= **a* + *fuʿul*), *fuʿlān* (*fuʿl* + *ān*).

c) Series: *fiᶜl, fiᶜil* (these only collective), *fiᶜlaᵗ* (= *fiᶜl* + *aᵗ*), *afᶜilaᵗ* (= **a* + *fiᶜil* + *aᵗ*), *afᶜilāʾu* (= **a* + *fiᶜil* + *āʾu*), *fiᶜlān* (= *fiᶜl* + *ān*).

d) Series: *fuᶜal, fuᶜalaᵗ* (= *fuᶜal* + *aᵗ*), *fuᶜalāʾu* (= *fuᶜal* + *āʾu*), *fuᶜᶜal, fuᶜᶜāl*.

Out of series: *faᶜlā* (= *faᶜl* + *ā*) and *faᶜalaᵗ* (probably *faᶜal* + *aᵗ*). The internal plurals of quadriliterals will be discussed later. But *faᶜal* like *khadam* "servants" is a collective (*ism al-djamᶜ*), similarly *faᶜīl* (like *ḥamīr* "asses") and *faᶜal* for a singular *faᶜlaᵗ* (like *ḥalḳaᵗ* "ring", *ḥalaḳ*) is also a collective (*ism al-djins*).

As for *fuᶜal* (sing. *fuᶜlaᵗ*), *fiᶜal* (sing. *fiᶜlaᵗ*), they are indisputably acknowledged by Arab grammarians to be broken plurals. A problem arises with the development: *fuᶜalulāt, fiᶜalilāt*. Is this the plural of a plural (Brockelmann's solution, *Grundriss*, i, 430, Anm. 2)? Or merely the external plural of the singular *fuᶜlaᵗ, fiᶜlaᵗ* (with *supplementary* vowel for the second root consonant) (see Nöldeke, in *ZA*, xviii, 72)? Arab grammarians had proposed the solution adopted by Brockelmann; Ibn Yaᶜīsh refutes them (630, l. 6-8): *fuᶜalulāt, fiᶜalilāt*, applied in the usage for a small number [1]), cannot be the plural of a plural, a kind of plural which is valid for a large number. The question could be discussed further. The situation is not clear. But the solution is, more probably, to be found in the direction: simple external plural.

Internal plurals for a small number.

The distinction is made between plurals for a large number and plurals for a small number (3 to 10 inclusive) in the general teaching of Arab grammarians (see *e.g. Muf.* § 235). They did not invent it. But to what extent they fixed what had been a flexible usage, or imposed a distinction which departed from the spoken language and which was preserved only in the traditions of fine language (poetry), one cannot tell exactly. A study of the practice of the different authors will certainly produce interesting results. We know already that poets have not always conformed with rules. The language itself did not always provide the means to observe them, *e.g. ḳalam* "reed cut for writing" has only one plural *aḳlām* (plural for a small number), similarly *rasan* "horse's nose-band" *arsān*; on the contrary, *radjul* "man" *ridjāl, sabuᶜ* "wild beast" *sibāᶜ*, without a plural for a small number (according to Ibn Yaᶜīsh 612 l. 14; like Sībawayhi, he does not recognize any plural except *sibāᶜ*, see *LA*, x, 10 l. 16). The so-called internal plurals of quadriliterals are incapable of expressing the distinction, *e.g.*: *burthun* "talon, claws", pl. *barāthinᵘ* (for a small or large number). From all this one can discern that in practice there was considerable variation. It remains to say that Arab grammarians have put forward, for a small number, the Forms *afᶜāl, afᶜul, afᶜilaᵗ* (in frequent association respectively with *fiᶜāl, fuᶜūl, fiᶜlān* for a large number), and *fiᶜlaᵗ* (seldom used), and besides the external plural noticed above. This subdivision of the internal plural was noteworthy.

Apart from this last (*fiᶜlaᵗ*), the other Forms (of the plural for a small number) have the peculiarity of having an initial *hamza*. It seems to me that this *hamza* is not unconnected with the indication of the small number and acts in the linguistic sense as a formative prefix (however *afᶜilāʾᵘ* is not considered as a plural for small numbers). Barth (*Nominalbildung*, 422, l. 16-17) already considered it to be "ein specifisches Mittel der Pluralbildung", but did not see how to explain its precise origin. It seems that some research work is to be done to investigate the possibility that a *hamza*, originally prothetic (in *fiᶜāl* > **fᶜāl* > *afᶜāl*), was later reinterpreted as a formative *hamza* and capable of generalization and of extension to other Forms.

The so-called internal plurals of quadriliterals.

The so-called formation of "quadriliterals" is considered separately. In fact it possesses a special characteristic. It includes not only quadriliterals properly speaking like *ᶜaḳrab* "scorpion", but words which, with three root consonants, add another as prefix, like *maktab* "place where one writes, office", or many words with a long vowel after the 1st or 2nd root consonant, like *fāris* "horseman", *ᶜadjūz* "old woman". The term quadriliteral becomes incorrect but it is useful and in fact does not cause any misunderstanding as to its significance. This Form of internal plural has one single type, that is to say (denoting the four possible consonants by dots) the pattern: *. a . ā . i .* and follows the second declension (special question). When applied to the examples given above, the formula gives *ᶜaḳāribᵘ, makātibᵘ, fawārisᵘ, ᶜadjāʾizᵘ*. It has the very considerable advantage that in the great majority of instances it is possible to predict the result whereas, for the other Forms (described in order above) since in most of the cases two or more Forms of internal plural are possible for a given singular, one is reduced in practice to learning every word with its plural.

An individual characteristic, and no doubt also an individual origin, but what is it? Brockelmann in *Grundriss* (i, 434 Anm.) was unable at that time to see any certain explanation. M. Bravmann (*Orientalia, loc. cit.* 20 f.) proposed a phonetic solution, taking as his starting-point **faᶜālt*, deriving from *faᶜālaᵗ*. This does not appear to be satisfactory; *faᶜāl* can be used, but in another manner, in a solution which I am describing very briefly here but which I shall develop later. It consists of these processes: adaptation of the Form *faᶜāl* (collective) to quadriliterals, on the analogy of *fuᶜayl* (diminutive) which became *fuᶜaylil* for quadriliterals, and of *fuᶜāl* which became *fuᶜālil* (even with quadriliteral roots of the pattern 1212); *faᶜāl* (collective) thus became *faᶜālil* (collective). This gives a collective to quadriliterals and makes it possible to represent, in this category, animals whose designation by a quadriliteral noun is not lacking in Arabic. Subsequently it was possible in the linguistic sense to interpret *faᶜālil* as having been augmented by an *ā*, internal, characteristic moved elsewhere, *e.g.*: *faᶜlā*, collective (then internal plural of *faᶜlānᵘ*) could become *faᶜālā* (*kaslānᵘ* "lazy", pl. *kaslā* and *kasālā*); *faᶜālā* thus opened up a way of propagating. From the collective the internal plural was easily derived.

Variations: *faᶜālīlᵘ* when the singular quadriliteral noun contains a long vowel in the second syllable: *ᶜuṣfūr* "sparrow", *ᶜaṣāfīrᵘ*; *faᶜālilaᵗ*, secondary and parallel formation of *faᶜālilᵘ*, used especially for nouns of foreign origin: *tilmīdh* "disciple", *talāmīdhᵘ* and *talāmidhaᵗ*.

1) Ibn Yaᶜīsh argues from the possibility of saying: *thalāthᵘ rukabātiⁿ* "three knees". This is not the usual construction: according to the *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, ii, 139 (ed. Constantinople 1275 A.H.), the general practice is to use the internal plural and not the external plural for numbers from 3 to 10.

III—The collective

It is important to have a clear conception of the collective. Collectives are not plurals. Plurals denote a plurality of *distinct* beings or objects, collectives on the contrary denote a sum or assembly of several objects, abstracting *from the component units* (see the *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique* by J. Marouzeau, Paris 1933, 41 and 145). The collective is the mass in which the individuality of those "massed together" is blurred: it is this mass which is envisaged and which constitutes as it were a unit, a kind of singular. A collective, considered purely as such, cannot be numbered, unless one wishes to indicate the plurality of the unit represented by the mass of its components. When the collective can be numbered to denote the plurality of the latter, it is a sign that it has ceased to belong to the collective category through becoming plural: the individuality of the "objects massed together" has become *distinct* (see above for the indeterminate plural).

At the beginning of this article the Arabs' terminology was explained: it now remains to examine the question of gender and the distribution of collectives in the light of the *ʿuḳalāʾ*.

The *ism al-dj̲ins* (n. of un. with *-a*ᵗ) is formed for *natural* masses of *non-rational* beings, *e.g.* *naḥl* "bees", *naḥla*ᵗ "a bee", very rarely for objects made by man. As for gender, it can be considered as either masculine or feminine, according to *e.g.*: Ḳurʾān, LIV, 20 and LXIX, 7. This is the teaching of *Muf.* § 271, Ibn Yaʿīs̲h̲ 701, l. 20-2. But according to the *S̲h̲. S̲h̲.* (ii, 195, l. 2-3) the masculine is dominant.

The *ism al-dj̲ins* (n. of un. with *-iyy-*) is formed for the *ʿuḳalāʾ* (with very rare exceptions), *e.g.* *yahūd* "Jews", *yahūdiyy-* "a Jew". The question of gender is not discussed in grammars; according to the usage of the Ḳurʾān, *yahūd* is used as masculine plural or feminine singular (for the verb which precedes, *e.g.*: *ḳālat-i-l-yahūdu*).

The *ism al-dj̲amʿ* without an individual noun or with the individual noun provided by another word: masculine or feminine for the *ʿuḳalāʾ*, feminine for the others.

The *ism al-dj̲amʿ* with the noun of unity provided by another Form of the same root. It exists both for the *ʿuḳalāʾ* and for the others. Howell (i, 1145) does not express himself clearly, Wright (i, 181 A) is not sufficiently thorough. For Sībawayhi in his ch. 429 (ii, 210-1), the masculine is dominant; the same view is held by al-Astarābād̲h̲ī (*S̲h̲. S̲h̲.*, ii, 204, l. 7-8); Ibn Yaʿīs̲h̲ (673, l. 23-4) is even more positive.

As regards the *ʿuḳalāʾ*, there exists an important collective which Arab grammarians have not fitted exactly into their categories (*Muf.* § 267, Ibn Yaʿīs̲h̲ 695). It is formed by means of the suffix *-a*ᵗ added to the agent-noun: *al-sābila*ᵗ "the travellers", *al-muḳātila*ᵗ "the combatants", *al-muslima*ᵗ "the Muslims", etc., and in particular to the relative adjectives: *al-marwāniyya*ᵗ "the Marwanids", *al-zubayriyya*ᵗ "the Zubayrites", etc. This procedure allows one to designate sects, groups, parties, and it is freely used in the modern language. Used in this manner, *-a*ᵗ has formed the collective in the reverse way from that used for the *ism al-dj̲ins* (n. of un. with *-a*ᵗ).

Note: *faʿl* (coll.) can provide a complete system, *e.g.*: *ṣaḥb* (coll.) "companions", *ṣāḥib* (n. of un.), *aṣḥāb* (plural for small number), *ṣiḥāb* (plural for large number), or else *ṭayr* (coll.) "birds", *ṭāʾir* (n. of un.), *aṭyār* (plural for small number), *ṭuyūr* (plural for large number). But this system cannot be generalized: it is not *ḳiyās* (al-Astarābād̲h̲ī, *S̲h̲. S̲h̲.*, ii, 203). One habitually says: *ṣāḥib* pl. *aṣḥāb*, *dj̲ālis* pl. *dj̲ulūs*, etc., but *genetically* these internal plurals derive from *faʿl* (coll.) and not from the noun of the Form *fāʿil*.

There are at least two aspects to the collective: the collective-unit, the mass considered as a sort of unit, whereby use in the singular is possible: *ḳawm karīm* "a noble tribe", *al-ḥamām al-muṭawwaḳ* "the ring-dove"; the collective-object which inclines towards the neuter, and hence the tendency to denote the anonymous mass by a feminine singular, even for rational beings: *ibil rāʿiya*ᵗ "grazing camels", *ḳawm sāfira*ᵗ "a nomadic tribe". The internal plurals of nouns have inherited from their former status as collectives the possibility of being treated in this way: *rid̲j̲āl kat̲h̲īra*ᵗ. But if the component parts resume their distinct individuality in the mass, the collective passes into the indeterminate plural: *ḳawm kuramāʾᵘ*, *ḳawm mukrimūna* "noble people".

These different considerations have been able to exert their influence to a greater or lesser degree, and in the same way with greater or lesser regard for the *ʿuḳalāʾ*, among the various tribes throughout the vast territories of Arabia. Arab grammarians intended to portray the *ʿarabiyya* as an entity and have been at pains to show its unity and harmony. It was necessary to simplify the diversity, but by selecting which aspect? Hence the divergencies of opinion. Only precise monographs furnished with statistics and based on texts will give a clear view of the situation.

Bibliography: in the text; in addition, works discussing the genesis of internal plurals: H. Derenbourg, *Essai sur les formes des pluriels arabes*, Paris 1867, 105 (extract from *JA*, June 1867); St. Guyard, *Nouvel essai sur la formation du pluriel brisé en arabe*, Paris 1870, 32 (Biblioth. Ec. H.-E., Sc. Ph. Hist., 4); L.-Marcel Devic, *Les pluriels brisés en arabe*, Paris 1882, 24; J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* 2, Leipzig 1894, 417-83; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, i, Berlin 1908, 426-39; on the external plural, *ibid.*, 441-55. Lists of internal plurals in all instructional grammars, in particular W. Wright, *Arabic Gr.*³, i, Cambridge 1933, 199-234 or *Le pluriel brisé* by Mohammed-Ben-Braham, Paris 1897, viii, 121, using Arabic sources and following the Arab manner. Also J. H. Greenberg, *Internal a-plurals in Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic)*, in *Afrikanistische Studien* (Festschrift Westermann), Berlin 1955, 198-204.

For Arabic sources: *Kitāb* by Sībawayhi (Paris), ii: internal plurals: ch. 416, 418, 422, 424, 426, 427, 429-31; external plural: ch. 423, 425; plural of plurals: ch. 426; plural of biliterals: ch. 421; collectives: ch. 417, 419, 420, 429. *Mufaṣṣal* (quoted as *Muf.*) by Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, 2nd, ed. J. P. Broch, § 234-61; *S̲h̲arḥ* by Ibn Yaʿīs̲h̲, ed. G. Jahn, 604-80, *S̲h̲arḥ al-S̲h̲āfiya* (quoted as *S̲h̲. S̲h̲.*) by Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarabad̲h̲ī, 4 vols., Cairo 1358/1939, ii, 89-210.

On the external plural and its origin: W. Vycichl, in *RSO*, xxviii, 71-8; S. Moscati, *ibid.*, xxix (1954), 28-52 and particularly 178-80; W. Vycichl, *ibid.*, xxxiii, particularly 175-9 and on the plural in *-āt*, in *Aegyptus*, xxxii (1952), 491-4. On collectives, H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, i, 256-8.

For all the questions discussed in this article: H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, §§ 59-63, 65, 101 and 102. (H. Fleisch)

DJAMĀʿA, meeting, assembly. In the religious language of Islam it denotes "the whole company of believers", *djamāʿat al-muʾminīn*, and hence its most usual meaning of "Muslim community", *djamāʿa islāmiyya*. In this sense *djamāʿa* is almost synonymous with *umma* [*q.v.*]. The two terms must, however, be distinguished.

The term *umma* is Ḳurʾānic. It means "people", "nation", and is used in the plural (*umam*). It acquires its religious significance particularly in the Medina period when it becomes, in the singular, "the nation of the Prophet", "the Community, *e.g.*, Ḳurʾān III, 110, etc.). The term *ḥizb Allāh*, "the party of God" is used in a similar sense on two occasions (V, 56; LVIII, 22). On the other hand, although $\sqrt{\text{dj.m.}^{c}}$ is of very frequent usage, the word *djamāʿa* itself does not belong to the vocabulary of the Book. It was, however, very soon to appear, for example in the (diplomatic) "Documents" reproduced by Ibn Saʿd and ascribed by him to the Prophet. Letter from Muḥammad to the Ṣāḥib of Baḥrayn: "and that you enter into the Community (*djamāʿa*)". The use of this term was to become general in the *sunna*. We may restrict ourselves to two frequently cited *ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ* of Ibn ʿAbbās: "Whosoever removes himself from the Community by the space of a single span, withdraws his neck from the halter of Islam", and: "Whosoever dies after being separated from the Community, dies as men died in the days before Islam (*djāhiliyya*)" (translation by H. Laoust).

In Western languages *umma* and *djamāʿa* are very often translated by this same word "community"; and Muslim writers, in fact, find no difficulty in using them interchangeably. (The famous *ḥadīth*: "my community does (or: will) never agree upon error" uses *umma*. Cf. Wensinck, *Handbook* 48 A.). If, etymology apart, one wishes to distinguish them: *umma* is the community as constituting a nation on a religious-legal basis; while *djamāʿa* is the whole body of believers united by their common faith. Both terms equally reflect "the desire to live together" (L. Massignon)—so characteristic of Islam—in accordance with the code of behaviour laid down by the Ḳurʾān for this world and for the hereafter. But it is to the head of *umma* that the study of the ideal structure of this Community as ordained by *siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* is best referred; while the term *djamāʿa* focuses our attention upon the bond which fashions from a group of individuals a community of believers. We may add that in current Islamic terminology, and even in actual popular sentiment, it is *umma* which first and foremost expresses the values of unity and solidarity.

It is by a doctrinal implication that *djamāʿa* comes to bear its technical religious sense. This "assembly of the believers" is united by its faith. It will, accordingly, stand opposed to those who "deviate" and those who "innovate" (even though these latter have not officially left the duly constituted Community, *umma*). And it will be identified with *al-djumla*, "the majority" of Muslims, as opposed to the sects which "are withdrawn apart". Al-Fuḍayl: "The hand of God rests upon the Community (*djamāʿa*). God looks not upon the innovators".

The most widely used expression which embodies this doctrinal significance is *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa* "the people of the Tradition and the Community"; here, Tradition (of the Prophet) and "assembly" of the believers are mutually supporting (cf. L. Veccia Vaglieri, in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, ii, 573 ff.). From a slightly different standpoint, the *ahl al-ʿaḳd wa 'l-ḥall* ("the people who bind and loosen") are an equivalent body. They are the representatives of Community (*umma*) insofar as they give it expression by their consensus (*idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*]). *Djamāʿa* and *idjmāʿ* are two words from the same root; it may be said that the second is the agreement of the first. The two *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās mentioned above, as well as that concerning the *umma*, are among the "divinely-revealed texts" which establish the *idjmāʿ*.

In fact, the extent of the *djamāʿa* was to become closely linked with the recognized concept of *idjmāʿ*. It is in the development of Ḥanbalī thought that we find a very particular attachment to the *djamāʿa* which was that of the first Muslims and of them alone; and it is a well-known feature of Ḥanbalī doctrine that the only *idjmāʿ* of value is the consensus of the Companions. Barbahārī, a Ḥanbalī of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th century, would define the *djamāʿa* as "the ancient religion" (*al-dīn al-ʿatīḳ*), by which we understand the practices, beliefs and customs of the Companions during the period of the first three "rightly guided" Caliphs (cf. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn b. al-Farrāʾ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 32-3, cited by H. Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, 9, n. 1). But if the *djamāʿa* in its strict sense is the community of the Companions, there remains the fact that every Muslim is bound, down through the centuries, to follow it and conform to it. "To follow the Community", *luzūm al-djamāʿa*, is a duty of the believer upon which the Ḥanbalīs have consistently insisted (e.g. Ibn Baṭṭa, *Ibāna*, 5/10). By the same token, "the *djamāʿa* of the Ancients" is kept alive down through the ages. At every epoch those Muslims who are wholly faithful to the Tradition are integrated in the *djamāʿa*. The first *credo* (*ʿAḳīda*, i) of Ibn Ḥanbal describes them as *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa wa 'l-athar*, thus joining to the first two terms the "precedent" of the Prophet and the Companions (cf. H. Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, 11, n. 1). The expression *ahl al-ḥadīth* ("traditionists") was to become an approximate equivalent, until the appearance of *ahl al-ḥaḳḳ*, which was to have a tendency to prevail later.

The stream of Ḥanbalī doctrine was to remain faithful to this notion of a Community centred upon the faith of the Ancients as the only absolutely authentic faith. Ibn Taymiyya for example was to speak of both *umma* and *djamāʿa*. He was to stress the obligation of the *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa* to follow the "precedents" (*āthār*) of the Prophet "just as much in the depths of their inmost beings (*bāṭin*) as in their external behaviour (*ẓāhir*)", and to follow in the same way the paths of the Companions (*Wāsiṭiyya*, 34, cf. H. Laoust, *ibid.*, 10,n.). This reverential attachment of Ḥanbalism to the *djamāʿa* finally arrives, in a manner of introverted devotion, at the point where the faithful of the Medina period grouped around Muḥammad are recalled, and where this ancient "religion" is revived by each generation of believers until the last hour of the end of time.

The same was not to hold good for the other schools. For example, to the extent that the *idjmāʿ* is understood (e.g. the Shāfiʿī school) to be the consensus of the scholars living in a given generation, and becomes the fourth "source" (distinct from the *sunna*) of Islamic law, *al-djamāʿa* loses its strict

historical reference to the first years of Islam. Already al-Ṭabarī (cited by Rashīd Riḍā, *Khilāfa*, 14) had argued against a *djamāʿa* restricted to the group of the Companions. According to him the *luzūm al-djamāʿa* ought to be defined, without reference to any particular period, as the obedience of the Muslim community to the sovereign that it has chosen for itself; and "whosoever breaks his contract with the sovereign leaves the *djamāʿa*". The verb here employed which signifies "to obey the sovereign" evokes the notion of "the one who commands authority", and must be taken to refer to the Imām, the guide and leader of the Community. The *djamāʿa* will, therefore, be defined by reference no longer to the first Muslims alone, but to every Imām recognized as legitimate. It will become, according to this point of view, a factual reality rather than a value primarily doctrinal, and will thenceforth tend to be supplanted by *umma*.

This is most noticeable in the *ʿilm al-kalām*. Notwithstanding his affirmed respect for Ibn Ḥanbal, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī was to present his two celebrated *credo* of the *Ibāna* and the *Maḳālāt* simply as the agreement of the *ahl al-sunna*. Once only is the notion of "community" there in operation: the intercession of the Prophet for "the great sinners of the Community", and *umma* is the term employed (*Maḳālāt*, i, 322). In the *Lumaʿ* likewise, whether it is a question of the attitude (condemned as dissidence) of the Muʿtazilites, or of the consensus of the Community as the foundation of the *idjmāʿ*, it is always *umma* which alone appears. It was no part of the task of *kalām* to devote a chapter to *al-djamāʿa*. As for the works which deal with "Public law" they look at the *Imāma* or the *Khilāfa* from the aspect of the conditions of power, and have no concern to analyse the formal constituent elements of the Community. More and more it is the term *umma* which comes to epitomize the communal fervour of the believers.

And yet *djamāʿa*, with its connotation of doctrinal unity, never entirely disappeared from the technical vocabulary. It could be found, *passim*, in many works; such, too, is the case in the contemporary period. It is found also, incidentally, in the *Ẓuhr al-Islām*, 199, of Aḥmad Amīn citing Masʿūdī. The adjective *djamāʿī* was to retain the same sense. When Ibn ʿAsākir, in the 6th/12th century, wrote his apologetic biography of al-Ashʿarī, his purpose was to describe him as *sunnī*, *djamāʿī*, *ḥadīthī*: and one can recognize in these epithets the formula maintained by the Ḥanbalīs. *Djamāʿī* also must be understood to mean the supporter of the true doctrine of the Ancients. It remains to note that in general the Ashʿarīs call themselves "the people of the Tradition and the Truth", *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-ḥaḳḳ*,—this last word recalling quite accurately the technical sense of *djamāʿa*, but, as is easy to appreciate, with other connotations. In short, *al-djamāʿa*, when understood as a duly constituted *union* of Muslims, tends here to give way to the term *umma*; when it is taken to signify the *unity* of the true beliefs, it is consistently replaced by *al-ḥaḳḳ*.

As regards the contemporary period, mention must be made of the "reformist" movement of the *salafī*, which is broadly receptive to the influences of Ḥanbalī thought. It might, therefore, be expected that their scheme would refer to *djamāʿa*. In fact, and very logically, Rashīd Riḍā, in his analysis of the notion of *idjmāʿ*, examines, in his *Khilāfa*, the meaning of *al-djamāʿa*. But he does not hesitate to expand the strict sense given to it by the Ḥanbalīs, readily admits the definition of Ṭabarī referred to above, and identifies *djamāʿa* with the "men who bind and loosen" in each period. In the same paragraph he uses *umma* in a fairly approximate, but nonetheless not identical, sense. For him the *djamāʿa* is the whole group of those who hold the reins of authority and who must be followed when they are in agreement (*idjmāʿ*). It is the *umma* which is liable to be split by disturbances; the best line of conduct to observe, therefore, (the *ḥadīth* of Ḥudayfa b. al-Yaman) is to remain faithful to the *djamāʿa* and its Imām. Furthermore, the title of Rashīd Riḍā's chapter, "Concerning the power of the *umma* and the meaning of the term *djamāʿa*" is characteristic.

In the *salafī* sense, then, it may be said that the people who constitute the *djamāʿa* are those Muslims whose faith and truth are guaranteed and who are thereby in perfect line of continuity with the faith of the Ancients (*salaf*). To them belongs the right to designate the supreme Imām to whom they promise allegiance (*bayʿa*) in the name of all, and who, by the same token, will be the duly appointed leader of the entire *umma*. The *djamāʿa* only attains its full import when united with its Imām.

The same applies to the more restricted, more localized meaning of the word. Every assembly of Muslims gathered together in order to "perform the prayer" (*ṣalāt* [*q.v.*]) is a *djamāʿa*. This definition is eminently suitable for the obligatory ritual of the *ẓuhr* on Friday, *djumʿa*, which is, accordingly, the day of meeting par excellence; and the mosque, *djāmiʿ*, where the ritual is performed in the place which gathers together the believers. The same holds good for the obligatory prayers performed in congregation on the prescribed festivals. It is in relation to the congregational prayers that the two *credo* of al-Ashʿarī speak of *djamāʿa* in the singular in the *Maḳālāt*, i, 323, and in the plural in the *Ibāna*, 12. This *djamāʿa* of Muslims united in the performance of the prayer, as testimony to their faith, will be of a form and nature which is not so much determined by principle as fixed by the description of its own particular imām "little *imāma*".

Bibliography: as indicated in the text with the following particularizations or additions: Muḥammad Ḥamidullah, *al-Wathāʾiḳ al-siyāsiyya*, 2nd. ed., Cairo 1956, n. 67; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 247, 360; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad B. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939 (v. Index, *djamāʿa*); idem, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958 (v. Index); Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, *al-Ibāna ʿan uṣūl al-dīn*, Cairo edition 1348 A.H., 11-2; idem, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 322-3; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn Kadhib al-muftari fī mā nusiba ilā 'l-imām Abī 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī*, Damascus 1347 A.H. (cf. A. F. Mehren, *Exposé de la reforme de l'Islamisme* . . . in *Travaux de la 3e session du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, ii; and the English translation of R. J. McCarthy, *The theology of al-Ashʿari*, Beirut 1953, 147 ff.); Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāma al-ʿuẓmā*, Cairo 1341 A.H. (edition of *al-Manar*), 13-5 (French translation by H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de Rashīd Riḍā*, Beirut 1938, 21-5). (L. Gardet)

(ii) The word has been most regularly used in Morocco. In Algeria, records at least a hundred years old confirm the existence under the name "djemaa", of local administrative assemblies. Their competence to own property was confirmed as regards the patrimony of the "douar", but was suppressed

politically and juridically (decree of 25 May 1863; ruling of 20 May 1868; decree of 11 September 1873, with particular reference to Kabylia). However, even before the 1914 war, public opinion was demanding a liberalization of the system. This was in part the aim of the 1919 reform which established elected "djemaas" within the "mixed commune". The administration was later to attempt, not without circumspection, to develop from these first assemblies the communal evolution of which they contained the nucleus.

As for Algeria, it was no doubt in the Berber regions, and especially in Kabylia, that the first observers had noted the most revealing features of these collective undertakings. The *t͟hajmāʿt͟h* (and variants), which included all the adults but paid regard to individual and family influences, and much nearer to a "senate" than to an *ekklesia*, met regularly, deliberated on all matters of concern to the village and showed a vitality which has endured side by side with official life, even to the point of continuing to exert influence, in certain cases, through the codification of the *ḳānūn*s, an accepted function of public law.

But it is in Morocco, in the High and Middle Atlas, that investigation has demonstrated the system functioning in its purest form. A constant theme of the research conducted up to the present time has been to bring out the triple incidence of these communal customs upon political life which becomes organized, within the canton, in a sort of spontaneous democracy, upon judicial life which is governed by regulations of extraordinary detail, and upon the tenure of property. In 1922, L. Milliot defined the *d͟jamāʿa*s as "representative assemblies of the different groupings of tribe, subdivision, douar, family which make up Muslim society in Morocco. These groupings exercise over vast stretches of territory rights characterized by occupation in the form of cultivation leaving widely scattered areas of fallow-land, and grazing . . . .".

This economic aspect, stimulating the competition of the two systems of cultivation, the European and the native, the intensive and the extensive, has throughout the colonial period constituted a constant preoccupation for the legislator, administrator and judge through its actual effects on practical life. Juridical definitions have reflected the successive phases of the proceedings and have taken a particular turn in Algeria (*ʿars͟h* or *sābga* (*sābiḳa*) land) in Morocco (*blād əj-jmāʿa* (*bilād al-d͟jamāʿa*)), and lastly in Tunisia where this regulation seems to have reached its latest development. Tunisia, however, provides the example which reveals most clearly, through the interference that has taken place between private ownership of estates, collective property and religious foundations or *ḥubus*, both the richness and the danger of this form of tenure which is so exposed to spoliation from all sides.

The juridical designation of the *d͟jamāʿa*, elevated to the small tribal or cantonal senate, gave rise in Morocco to an evolution that was taking shape at the time of the beginning of the Protectorate and which led to its acquiring a competence not merely with regard to property, but also in civil and penal matters. The culminating point was reached at the time of the celebrated "Berber dahir (*ẓahīr*)" of 16 May 1930 which the nationalist opposition, with the support of Islamic opinion throughout the world, at once denounced as an attack upon the religious Law. One of the first measures taken by Morocco after gaining independence was therefore the revocation of this dahir, and the establishment of lay judges incidentally contributed a further step towards modernity.

In short, whatever may be the hazards of this long history, they have served to emphasize the intimate connexion which, in the rural Maghreb, associates the use of this term with certain forms of effort by local groups and of its connexions with the soil. These forms, hitherto characterized by their anarchic particularity, seem at the present day to be adapting themselves to the demands of a more intensive agriculture and of administrative decentralization. That is why, particularly in Morocco, the *d͟jamāʿa* is always found as the central point of programmes of reform. It is possible that, by remarkable sociological conjuncture, certain contemporary evolutions are being based upon the rich communal potentialities comprised, in the Maghreb, by the *d͟jamāʿa*, an ancient word and a reality of long standing.

Bibliography: Property law: P. Lescure, *Du double régime foncier de la Tunisie*, 1900; L. Milliot, *Les terres collectives* (*blād Djemāʿa*)—*étude de législation marocaine*, 1922; F. Dulout, *Des droits et actions sur la terre arch ou sabga en Algérie*, 1929; A. Guillaume, *La propriété collective au Maroc*, 1960. Judicial procedure: A. Ribaut, *Les djemaas judiciaires berbères*, 1930; various articles and works by Henri Bruno, G. Surdon etc., listed in the excellent summary of J. Caillé, *La justice coutumière au Maroc*, 1945.—Administration and politics: in addition to the basic work of Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*[2], Paris 1893 and the thesis of Masqueray, *La formation des cités, etc.*, Paris 1886, cf. Maxime Champ, *La commune mixte algérienne*, 1933, 127 ff.; H. Brenot, *Le douar, cellule administrative de l'Algérie du Nord*, 1938.—The connexion between these different aspects emerges from sociological studies that have emphasized the various regional peculiarities in the Maghreb: cf. especially R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen*, 1930; L. Milliot, *Les institutions kabyles*, in *REI*, 1932; G. Marcy, *Le droit coutumier Zemmour*, 1949; G.-H. Bousquet, *Justice française et coutumes kabiles*, 1950; J. Berque, *Structures sociales du Haut-Atlas*, 1955; idem, *Droit foncier et intégration sociale au Maghreb*, in *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, 1958. (J. Berque)

D͟JĀMAKIYYA. A term current in the Muslim World in the later Middle-Ages equivalent to salary. Its origin is the Persian *d͟jāma* = "garment", whence *d͟jāmakī*, with the meaning of a man who receives a special uniform as a sign of investiture with an official post. From this came the form *d͟jāmakiyya* with the meaning of that part of the regular salary given in dress (*malbūs*, *libās*) or cloth (*ḳumās͟h*). Ultimately it took the meaning of "salary", exactly as the word *d͟jirāya*, which meant originally a number of loaves of bread sent daily by the Sultan to someone, took the sense of salary in the terminology of the Azharīs during the Ottoman period. *D͟jāmakiyya* first seems to have acquired the sense of salary under the Sald͟jūḳs, since the official terminology of the Fāṭimids did not use the term. In his detailed study of the organization of the Fāṭimid Empire, al-Ḳalḳas͟handī uses only the Arabic term of *rātib* (pl. *rawātib*) (*Ṣubḥ*, iii), but the term appears already in texts concerning the later Sald͟jūḳs (*e.g.*, Ibn al-Át͟hīr, *Taʾrīk͟h al-Atābika*), Zangids, and Ayyūbids (*e.g.*, Abū S͟hāma, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn*, Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrid͟j al-kurūb*, and al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*). This last author, speaking of the *ad͟jnād* (soldiers) mentions

mabāligh iḳṭāʿātihim (revenues of their fiefs), *djāmakiyyātihim wa rawātib nafaḳātihim* (the regular payments necessary to cover their expenditure) (*Sulūk*, i, 52). The *djāmakiyyāt* most probably stands here for the part of the regular payment given in the form of dress or cloth. Later on the term was used under the Mamlūks to denote the part of the salary given in money: al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ* iii, 457) says that the payments of the mamluks of the Sultan were composed of *djāmakiyyāt waʿalīf* (fodder) *wa kiswa* (dress). In the time of Baybars, al-Maḳrīzī uses the term *djāmakiyya* as equivalent to "salary" in general (*e.g.*, *djāmakiyyat al-ḳaḍāʾ*, iii, 475). But al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1931, viii, 205) specifies that the *djamakiyyāt* were the regular payments for a category of Mamlūks who worked as clerks (*al-mamālīk al-kitābiyya arbāb al-djāmakiyyāt*). This sense is most probably what he meant when he said later on: *wa asmāʾ arbāb al-istiḥḳāḳāt wa 'l-djāmakiyyāt wa 'l-rawātib wa 'l-ṣilāt* (viii, 218-9). In the Circassian period the *djāmakiyya* was the regular monthly pay of the army, paid at a special parade (*ʿarḍ*) in the sultan's court-yard (*al-ḥawsh al-sulṭānī*) usually beginning in the middle of the Muslim month. It was paid by *ṭabaḳa* [*q.v.*], each individual mamlūk being called by name. For details of the procedure and the rates of pay, see D. Ayalon, *The system of payment in Mamluk military society*, in *JESHO*, i, 1958, 50-6. For the further use of the term in the sense of "salary" see Dozy, *Suppl.* i, 1666.

Bibliography: Other than that included in the article: Alexandre Handjéri, *Dictionnaire français, arabe, persan et turc* (Moscow 1844), under "habit", and Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, under *djāma*. (Hussain Monés)

DJAMAL [see ibil].

al-**DJAMAL**, "the camel" is the name of the famous battle which took place in the month of Djumādā II 36/November-December 656 near al-Baṣra between the Caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib on the one hand, and the Prophet's widow ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*] with the Companions of the Prophet Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Taymī and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*qq.v.*] on the other. At that time it was these two companions who, after ʿAlī, had most authority among the Muslims.

ʿĀʾisha was completing the *ʿumra* in Mecca when she learned of the assassination of the Caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, and, on the way back to Medina, of the election of ʿAlī to the Caliphate at the same time as the riots in Medina where public order had broken down. Without revealing her intentions she turned back, and when she reached Mecca, gave a fiery speech near the Kaʿba accusing the rabble of the murder of ʿUthmān, and demanding the punishment of the culprits, for ʿUthmān, she said, had been killed 'unjustly' (*maẓlūm^{an}*) (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3098 etc.); with these words she was alluding to a verse of the Ḳurʾān (XVII, 32/35), which Muʿāwiya was to invoke later (see ʿalī b. abī ṭālib), and which prescribed revenge as a duty in such a case, thus establishing a *ḥadd* [*q.v.*]. She had been one of ʿUthmān's opponents (this was used against her to impugn her right to protest) but she would not condone his murder and made some characteristic remarks on this point (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 3097, Ibn Saʿd, iii, 1, 57-8); in particular she could not bear that ʿAlī, towards whom she had for long felt great animosity, should have taken advantage of the murder. Some time later (four months, it is said, after the death of ʿUthmān; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3102) Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr arrived in Mecca; after rather violent discussions with ʿAlī, who refused them posts in the government, they had asked and obtained permission from him to go to Mecca to perform the *ʿumra*. A conspiracy was formed against ʿAlī, in which took part, besides the persons mentioned above, some Umayyads and other Muslims alarmed by the turn of events. ʿUthmān's assassination had caused a scandal, but the real causes of the rebellion were above all ʿAlī's indulgent attitude towards the culprits, which indicated that they would go unpunished, his weakness towards the dissidents who had become so arrogant and dangerous that several persons had fled, and his popularity-seeking anti-Ḳurayshī policy. In the provinces nearest to the Ḥidjāz, opposition to ʿAlī was strong; in Syria, Muʿāwiya had refused homage; Kūfa had rejected the governor sent by the Caliph, preferring the one already in office, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*]; elsewhere parties opposed to the newly elected Caliph had been formed. The rebels tried to choose the place offering the best prospects for the success of the insurrection, and in the course of a meeting the conspirators decided to go to Baṣra, in the hope of finding there the money and troops needed for the enterprise. ʿĀʾisha agreed to join the expedition; she was to rouse the people, as Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr seemed hardly qualified for that rôle; not only had they so stirred up opinion against ʿUthmān that they could be accused of being murderers of the Caliph, but they had also paid homage to ʿAlī immediately after the election; in rebelling against him they were thus violating their pact, so that they had to claim, in order to justify themselves, that they had been forced to pay homage by violence. Ḥafṣa bint ʿUmar [*q.v.*], whose first intention was to follow the rebels, was dissuaded by her brother ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]. After collecting several hundred men with their mounts (600 or 700?) they set off. ʿAlī, hearing of this, realized that he must react in order not to be isolated in Medina. After bringing together, slowly and with difficulty, a contingent of 700 warriors he too set out (according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 3139, the last day of Rabīʿ II). His aim was to intercept the insurgents, but he did not succeed in reaching them; at al-Rabadha, he learned that they had already passed that halt, and as he too needed money and troops, he set off again, in the direction of al-ʿIrāḳ. At the same time the rebels were hurrying to Baṣra. When, in a place called al-Ḥawʾab, dogs barked at the troops, ʿĀʾisha was on the point of giving up the adventure, as she remembered a sort of foreboding of the Prophet's, but they swore to her that this was not al-Ḥawʾab, and, with her mind at rest, she carried on (cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 352, etc.); this episode is worth mentioning only because of the importance attached to it in the sources. When they reached the outskirts of Baṣra, the rebel leaders opened negotiations and began to make propaganda. ʿĀʾisha, through an emissary and letters to certain notables in the town, tried to persuade the Baṣrans to join the insurrection, the aim of which, she proclaimed, was *iṣlāḥ*; a word that implied, for the rebels, the restoration of the law and its *ḥudūd* and hence revenge for ʿUthmān, the re-establishment of the disrupted social order, the placing of power in the hands of a Caliph legally elected by a committee or *shūrā*, but, for ʿAlī, the restoration of his authority, a return to the observance of the Sunna of the Prophet, and the suppression of privileges. The Baṣrans split into two parties: some followed the governor nominated by

ʿAlī, ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf, who, without deliberately opposing the rebels, temporized while awaiting the arrival of ʿAlī; others made common cause with ʿĀʾisha and her two associates, whose forces had grown on the way. In a meeting at al-Mirbad, an esplanade three miles from Baṣra, the rebel leaders addressed the people and their propaganda was successful. Disorders followed, then a mêlée at the "place of the tanners" and on the following days fights near the Dār al-Rizḳ, or supply store (the sources do not agree on details). It is there that the chief of police, Ḥukaym b. Djabala, was killed. He was too pro-ʿAlī to stand aside and wait without acting. At last, an armistice was concluded: to settle who would hold power in the town of Baṣra, they were to await the return of a messenger sent to Medina to find out whether it was true that Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr had been forced to pay homage to ʿAlī (evidently the governor was trying to gain time). In the meantime, the situation was not to be altered: the governmental palace, the great mosque, and the *bayt al-māl* were to stay in the hands of the governor Ibn Ḥunayf; but because of the significance attached to the leadership in prayer, it was agreed that this office would be performed by two *imāms*, the governor himself, and another nominated by the insurgents. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr quarrelled, as each wanted to have this function, but ʿĀʾisha decided that they would exercise it on alternate days, or, according to another version of the facts, that their respective sons Muḥammad and ʿAbd Allāh would exercise it in turn. The inquiry of the messenger sent to Medina was favourable to Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, but a letter which had reached the governor declared exactly the opposite of what they asserted. Consequently ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf would not give up his office and a brawl broke out in the mosque. But the most serious fact was the assault made by the rebels on the *bayt al-māl*; they killed or made prisoner (and later decapitated) its guards who were Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] and Sayābidja [*q.v.*]. The attackers moreover forced ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf to leave the palace and pulled out his hair and his beard: he succeeded in getting himself released and joining ʿAlī by threatening them with reprisals against their families in Medina, where his brother Sahl was governor. In these brawls and fights, who were the aggressors? Some traditions praise the moderation of the rebels (ʿĀʾisha is said to have forbidden her men to use their hands except in self-defence) but it is evident that it was they who were the attackers, as they needed provisions and money, and were afraid of being caught later between the advancing forces of ʿAlī and those of the governor. With Baṣra occupied, the rebels published an order calling on the population to surrender all who had taken part in the siege of the House (the house of the Caliph ʿUthmān), called *nuffār* in the sources, so that they might be killed like dogs. The people obeyed and those killed, it was said, numbered six hundred (only Ḥurḳūṣ b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] was able to escape because he was protected by his tribe). This slaughter and the distribution of gifts and supplies which Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr made to their partisans angered part of the population of Baṣra, and 3,000 men went to join ʿAlī at Dhū Ḳār, among them the Banū ʿAbd al-Ḳays. The tribe of the Tamīm, the most important in Baṣra, on the other hand, remained neutral with its chief al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*].

While these events were taking place (the parleys with the governor had lasted, it is said, for twenty-six days), ʿAlī had advanced as far as Dhū Ḳār, for, instead of marching on Baṣra, he had preferred to approach Kūfa so as to win over its inhabitants to his cause. Unfortunately for him, the governor Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, although he had recognized ʿAlī's election as valid, exhorted the Kūfans to stay neutral in the approaching civil war and the envoys sent by ʿAlī to Kūfa (al-Ashtar, Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Ḥasan, ʿĀmmār b. Yāsir) had to make a great effort to persuade part of the population (6, 7 or 12 thousand men?) to leave the town and join him. Abū Mūsā was deprived of his office. At last ʿAlī arrived on the outskirts of Baṣra and negotiations were opened between him and the insurgents. Although everyone was convinced that agreement was near, fighting began between the two armies. The same question arises here—who started it? According to some traditions, ʿAlī had ordered his men not to attack, and it was only after the murder of some of his partisans that he felt himself entitled to fight against opponents belonging to the *ahl al-ḳibla* (*Aghānī*, xvi, 132; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 314 ff. etc.). But al-Ṭabarī (i, 3181-3) reports another tradition which explains why and how the battle began: ʿAlī is said to have shown his intention of not according protection to the persons implicated in the murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān, and these, anxious about their fate, are said to have provoked the conflict by a sudden attack unknown to ʿAlī. The battle lasted from morning to sunset (according to the (pseudo-) Ibn Ḳutayba, Cairo 1377, 77, seven days). The sources differ on the date when it took place: the most frequent date is 10 Djumādā II 36/4 December 656, but according to Caetani (A.H. 36, § 200) the date 15 Djumādā II/9 December is to be preferred.

It is a striking fact that the warriors often belonged to the same tribes, to the same clans, and sometimes even to the same families, and they fought one another regardless of kinship. ʿĀʾisha was present during the fighting on a camel, in a palanquin the cover of which had been reinforced by plates of iron and other materials (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 315) and the camel was protected by a kind of armature (al-Dīnawarī, 159); at the end of the battle, the palanquin had so many arrows stuck in it that it looked like a hedgehog. ʿĀʾisha was not hit; all she received was scratch on an arm. The fighting round the camel was particularly fierce; the defenders followed one after the other while declaiming verses; those who fell handed the bridle of ʿĀʾisha's camel to other fighters and there were many dead (but the figures vary from 40 to 2,700). The victory went to ʿAlī, when his soldiers succeeded in hamstringing the camel, thus forcing the beast to lie down on its side with its precious burden. But even before this last episode the battle was virtually lost, as Ṭalḥa, struck by an arrow which many sources say was shot by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], had retired into a house where he soon died, and al-Zubayr, who was no longer very sure of the merits or prospects of his cause, had withdrawn from the battlefield after a talk with ʿAlī, who had reminded him of an episode of the past, and of certain sayings of the Prophet. Al-Zubayr was pursued by some Tamīmīs and treacherously killed in a lonely place (Wādī al-Sibāʿ); al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays was suspected of instigating his murder (for the death of al-Zubayr, see also Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat Ibn ʿAbdūn*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1848, 150-4).

The sources tell of a host of episodes concerning duels, the courage of the combatants, the verses declaimed by them, but they do not explain the

development of the battle from the tactical point of view; the general picture that emerges from the mass of details is that, following the Arab custom, the battle consisted of a series of duels and encounters along the opposing ranks, and not of a general engagement. The most serious fighting was undoubtedly that which took place round the camel. It is impossible to calculate the numbers of combatants or of casualties because of the great variation in the figures (which vary, for the dead, between 6,000 and 30,000; the latter figure is considerably exaggerated, since for the forces of ʿAlī alone, the combined figure of the men who followed him from Medina and those who joined him later can hardly have exceeded 15,000 men). ʿĀʾis̲h̲a was taken prisoner, but far from being ill-treated was shown great respect. ʿAlī decided, however, that she must return to Medina and on that point he was inflexible. He granted *amān* to all the insurgents, and certain compromised individuals (Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, for example) were able to join Muʿāwiya in Syria. An act which caused a stir among ʿAlī's partisans, and which provoked recriminations among the most fervent of them, was his refusal to allow them to take captive the women and children of the conquered or to seize their goods, with the exception of things found on the battlefield (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3227; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 316 ff., etc.); they asked why enemies whose blood it had been judged lawful to shed should be treated in this way; the K̲h̲āridjites made this afterwards one of their points of indictment against ʿAlī.

After the battle ʿAlī received the homage of the inhabitants of Baṣra, of which he nominated Ibn ʿAbbās governor (with Ziyād b. Abīhi at his side) thus causing the indignation of al-As̲h̲tar, as two other sons of al-ʿAbbās had the same office, one in the Yemen, and the other in Mecca.

In the whole insurrection of al-D̲j̲amal, the preeminent personality is ʿĀʾis̲h̲a; she appears as energetic, resolved (except for a moment at al-Ḥawʾab) to gain her end and respected in her decisions; while Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, under her orders, quarrelling with each other, making weak excuses to defend themselves against the accusation of having broken faith with ʿAlī, withdrawing during the battle instead of fighting to the death, look like men impelled only by ambition and at the same time lacking the energy and firmness necessary to succeed. Caetani assumed that there was an organizer of the enterprise behind the widow of the Prophet, namely Marwān, who followed the insurgents; the theory is attractive, but there is nothing to confirm it; if Marwān was in fact the insurgents' counsellor, he operated so discreetly that the sources hardly speak of his actions.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3091-233 (in detail, excluding episodes: ʿAlī prepares to fight his opponents: 3091-6; ʿĀʾisha excites the people in Mecca and calls for vengeance for the murder of ʿUt̲h̲mān, agreement and march of the rebels, who occupy Baṣra: 3096-106, 3111-38; march of ʿAlī halting in D̲h̲ū Ḳār: 3106-11, 3141-3, 3154 ff.; situation in Kūfa and ʿAlī's efforts to win the inhabitants to his cause, removal of Abū Mūsa: 3140 ff., 3145-54, 3172 ff., 3187 ff.; ʿAlī's march towards Baṣra: 3138-40; negotiations between ʿAlī and the rebels: 3155-8, 3175 ff.; events preceding the battle, neutrality of al-Aḥnaf; 3143-5, 3162-9; battle: 3174-98; ʿAlī and ʿĀʾis̲h̲a after the battle: 3224-6, 3231; homage of the Baṣrans and nomination of Ibn ʿAbbās as governor of the town: 3229 ff.; Ṭabarī transl. Zotenberg iii, 658-64 (with some additions); Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, ms. Paris, ff. 467 recto-493 verso (contains traditions neglected by Ṭabarī: cf. G. Levi Della Vida, *Il Califfato di ʿAlī secondo il Kitāb Ansāb al-Ašrāf di al-Balāḏurī*, in *RSO*, vi (1913), 440-9); Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 209-13; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Ak̲h̲bār al-ṭiwāl*, 150-63; (pseudo) Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, ed. Muḥ. Maḥmūd al-Rāfiʿī, Cairo 1322/1904, i, 88-133; idem, ed., Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, second ed. 1377/1957, i, 52-79 (speeches, letters and details missing elsewhere); Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 292 ff., 304-23, 324-37; idem, *Tanbīh*, 295; Ibn Miskawayh, *Tad̲j̲arib al-umam*, facsimile of the Istanbul ms., i, 518-62; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Kāmil*, iii, 164-218 (résumé of Ṭabarī); Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd; *S̲h̲arḥ ʿalā K. Nahd̲j̲ al-balāg̲h̲a*, Cairo 1329, ii, 77-82, 497-501 (passage interesting for details of the occupation of Baṣra); Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *Bidāya*, vi, 229-44 (with details missing elsewhere); Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, ii, App., 153-61 (good résumé of Ṭabarī). The résumés of Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, D̲h̲ahabī, and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ are not important. Much information about al-D̲j̲amal and especially about its episodes and the verses declaimed on that occasion are to be found scattered among the books of *adab* (such as Mubarrad; *Ag̲h̲ānī*; *ʿIḳd*; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*; D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān*; etc., and in biographical collections, *e.g.* in Ibn Saʿd; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Usd*; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*; Ibn K̲h̲allikān etc. The following are passages with a certain historic interest; Ibn Saʿd, iii, 1, 20; v, 26; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xvi, 131; *ʿIḳd*, ed. Bulāḳ 1293, ii, 275-84; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318-9, 209 (part played by al-Zubayr), 213 ff. (part played by Ṭalḥa). Besides the well-known histories of Weil, A. Müller, and Muir, see also: Fr. Buhl, *ʿAli som praetendent og Kalif*, Copenhagen 1921, 40-55; N. Abbott, *Aishah the beloved of Mohammed*, Chicago 1942 and especially Caetani, *Annali*, 36 A.H., §§ 21-302. (L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

D̲J̲AMĀL [see ʿILM AL-D̲J̲AMĀL].

D̲J̲AMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFG̲H̲ĀNĪ, AL-SAYYID MUḤAMMAD B. ṢAFDAR, was one of the most outstanding figures of nineteenth century Islam. Cultured and versed in mediaeval Muslim philosophy, he devoted his life and talents to the service of the Muslim revival. He was, in the words of E. G. Browne, at the same time a philosopher, writer, orator and journalist. Towards colonial powers he was the first to take the political attitude since adopted by many movements of national liberation. He is known above all as the founder of modern Muslim anticolonialism, admired unreservedly by many and considered by his opponents as a dangerous agitator. There is, on the other hand, a tendency to overlook the intellectual side of his personality, to forget his importance as a thinker. Notwithstanding the factors that crowded in on him (the decadence and lethargy of the Muslim countries, the increasing control of their economic and political life by European powers, the diffusion in the East of an atheism claiming its origin in Darwin) he had a clear view of the situation. It is with him that begins the reform movement which gave rise to the Salafiyya and, later, the Muslim Brothers. He expresses almost all the attitudes adopted between 1900 and 1950 by Muslim apologetics. By the spoken and written word he preached the necessity of a Muslim revival, both in thought (the need to throw off blind fatalism and give intelligence and freedom their

proper place in life) and in action. Courageous and uncompromising, he aroused and strengthened the enthusiasm of his audiences wherever he went in his long years of exile. In Egypt he influenced the youth of Cairo and Alexandria, so that his personality left its mark both on future moderate leaders and partisans of immediate violence. He supported movements working for constitutional liberties and fought for liberation from foreign control (Egypt, Persia). He attacked Muslim rulers who opposed reform or did not show enough resistance to European encroachments. He even envisaged the possibility of political assassination. His ultimate object was to unite Muslim states (including Shīʿī Persia) into a single Caliphate, able to repulse European interference and recreate the glory of Islam. The pan-Islamic idea was the great passion of his life. He remained unmarried, made do with the absolute minimum in the way of food and clothing and took no stimulants other than tea and tobacco.

His family descended from Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī through the famous traditionist ʿAlī al-Tirmidhī, whence his right to use the title Sayyid. According to his own account he was born at Asʿadābād near Konar, to the east and in the district of Kābul (Afghānistān) in 1254/1838-9 to a family of the Ḥanafī school. However, Shīʿī writings give his place of birth as Asadābād near Hamadān in Persia; this version claims that he pretended to be of Afghān nationality, in order to escape the despotic power of Persia. He did in fact spend his years of childhood and adolescence in Afghānistān. At Kābul he followed the usual Muslim pattern of university studies and in addition began to pay attention to philosophy and the exact sciences, through the still mediaeval methods used at that time. Then he spent more than a year in India, where he received a more modern education, and made the pilgrimage to Mecca (1273/1857); on his return, he went back to Afghānistān and entered the service of the *amīr* Dūst Muḥammad Khān [*q.v.*], whom he accompanied on his campaign against Herāt. The *amīr*'s death led to civil war between his sons over the succession [see AFGHĀNISTĀN]. Djamāl al-Dīn taking sides with one of them, Muḥammad Aʿẓam, shared the short-lived successes of that prince as his minister. But when the rival faction under Shīr ʿAlī finally triumphed, he judged it prudent to leave the country. On the pretext of making the pilgrimage a second time (1285/1869), he went to India where he remained for less than two months; he was kept under observation by the British, and requested to leave as soon as possible. He then went to Cairo where he stayed for forty days, became acquainted with Azharīs and gave lectures in his home. Then he went to Constantinople (1287/1870). As he already enjoyed a brilliant reputation, the high society of the Turkish capital gave him an enthusiastic welcome. He was soon called to the council of public education and invited to give lectures at the Aya Sofya and the mosque of Sulṭān Aḥmed. But many were jealous of his success. A lecture given at the *Dār al-Funūn* on the usefulness of the arts gave rise to such criticisms (especially from the *shaykh al-Islām*, Ḥasan Fehmī) that he decided to leave Turkey. Certain of his words on the rôle of prophets in the organization of societies had been twisted to look like rationalism.

He went to Cairo (March 1871) with no thought of settling there; but the welcome he received made him decide to stay. The government made him an annuity of 12,000 Egyptian piastres without asking anything of him in exchange. Young men, among them Muḥammad ʿAbduh, the future chief muftī of Egypt, and Saʿd Zaghlūl, the future hero in the struggle for Egyptian independence, gathered round him. At his home he gave them lectures on various subjects, read to them from Muslim philosophy and generally broadened their outlook. A wider circle, composed of these same pupils and older people, would listen to him at the "Café de la Poste" speaking on literature, science, politics etc. He urged the young people to fight with the written word by going into journalism, considered as the modern method of influencing people's minds. He gave his encouragement to Adīb Isḥāḳ who founded the review *Miṣr*, then the daily *al-Tidjāra*; he helped found *Mirʾāt al-Sharḳ*. He contributed himself to these journals, but above all got his pupils to do so. He aroused patriotic resistance to European interference in the question of the Egyptian debt. In 1878 he joined the Scottish Freemasons; but, disillusioned, he founded an Egyptian lodge affiliated to the French *Grand Orient*, whose three hundred members formed the fieriest element of the nationalist youth. Politics were discussed in the lodge and plans for reforms drawn up. At that time, Djamāl al-Dīn was involved in all requests for a parliamentary régime. He is even said to have suggested to Muḥammad ʿAbduh the idea of assassinating the Khedive Ismāʿīl. The replacement of Ismāʿīl by the Khedive Tawfīḳ (1879) put an end to any such project. In bad odour with the conservative Azharīs and the Council of Ministers, closely watched by the British, Djamāl al-Dīn was finally expelled on the instigation of the latter (September 1879). Next he went to India, living under close scrutiny first at Ḥaydarābād, then at Calcutta, where the British requested him to remain as long as the ʿUrābī Pasha affair lasted. It was while staying in Ḥaydarābād that he composed in Persian his refutation of materialists [see DAHRIYYA]. He begins with an attack on Darwin's ideas and goes on to assert that only religion can ensure the stability of society and the strength of nations, whilst atheistic materialism is the cause of decay and debasement. He stresses this assertion by detailing all that belief in God and religion gives a society, first in terms of the collectivity: pride in the knowledge of one's superiority to animals and of belonging to the finest community, *i.e.*, Islam, and also in terms of the individual: fear of stricture, loyalty and truthfulness. He attributes the loss of political supremacy of certain states to materialism (Epicureanism in Greece, the doctrines of Voltaire and Rousseau in France etc.). He ends with an apologia for Islam, rendered antonomasically as religion.

During this time the situation in Egypt was becoming explosive. In 1881 ʿUrābī Pasha rose up against the Khedive, the Circassian officers in the army, and foreigners. It is certain that Djamāl al-Dīn's activities in Egypt had helped to stir up unrest. The revolt failed because of the British intervention of 1882 ending in the occupation of the country. Djamāl al-Dīn left India. We next find him in London in the spring of 1883, when Wilfrid Scawen Blunt met him. According to Blunt he had just returned from the United States where, after leaving India, he stayed for a few months with a view to naturalization. (This information given by Blunt without any explanation, cf. Browne, 401, is contested by all Arab studies on the subject; a letter from Djamāl al-Dīn to Muḥammad ʿAbduh written in Port Said on the 23 September—no mention of the year—bears simply the instruction to write to him in London where he is going. It can

only refer to 23 September 1882 although a number of studies in Arabic prefer 1883. But let us look at his subsequent activities). On 18 May 1883 in the *Journal des Débats* of Paris he published a reply to the lecture which Ernest Renan had given at the Sorbonne on 29 March 1883 on *L'Islam et la science* and which had caused a great deal of feeling in Muslim circles in Paris. In his reply he asserted that Islam is compatible with science, that in the past there had been Muslim scientists, some of them Arabs; only the present state of Islam could support the opposite view. On 3 September 1883 Blunt met him in Paris. He was conducting a campaign against British policy in Muslim countries. Leading newspapers published articles by him which made an impact on influential circles (on the Eastern policy of Russia and Great Britain, the situation Turkey and Egypt, the importance and justification of the movement brought about in the Sudan by the Mahdī). But the outstanding feature of his stay in Paris was the joint publication with Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who had joined him and acted as his editor, of an Arabic weekly *Urwa al-Wuthḳā* (The Indissoluble Link). This journal was the organ of a secret Muslim society of the same name which financed it. The first number appeared on 15 Djumādā I 1301/13 March 1884 and the eighteenth and last on 26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1301/16 October 1884. Sent free of charge to members of the association and anyone else requesting it, its entry into Egypt and India was barred by the British (confiscations and heavy fines for being in possession of it). In spite of various stratagems (such as sending it in closed envelopes, as Djamāl al-Dīn later revealed) it did not reach enough readers and had to lapse. Its influence was nevertheless considerable. It attacked British action in Muslim countries. It emphasized the doctrinal grounds on which Islam should lean, in order to recover its strength. In 1885 Muḥammad ʿAbduh left his mentor and went to Beirut; from then on the two men followed politically divergent paths. Muḥammad ʿAbduh temporized, concentrating mainly on reforms that were immediately possible, above all in teaching. Djamāl al-Dīn continued as a lone pilgrim along the road to pan-Islamism.

In 1885, on the suggestion of W. S. Blunt, British statesmen approached Djamāl al-Dīn, in spite of the aggressive character of his anti-British activities, over steps to be taken with regard to the movement of the Mahdī in the Sudan. The discussions led to no practical result. Shortly afterwards (1886) Djamāl al-Dīn was invited by telegram to the court of Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn in Tehran. He was given a lavish reception and was earmarked for high office. But very soon his increasing popularity and influence became offensive to the Shāh and he was forced to leave Persia "for health reasons". Next he went to Russia where he established important political contacts and on behalf of Russian Muslims obtained the Tsar's permission to have the Ḳur'ān and religious books published. He stayed there till 1889. On his way to the Paris World Fair he met the Shāh in Munich, and was persuaded by him to return to Persia. During his second stay there Djamāl al-Dīn had cause to realise how changeable the sovereign was. Djamāl al-Dīn had drawn up a plan of legal reforms; by criticizing it the jealous and scheming grand vizier Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣghar Khān, *amīn al-sulṭān*, reversed the Shāh's favourable attitude. Djamāl al-Dīn retired to the sanctuary of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm near Teheran. In an asylum considered inviolable [see BAST], he remained for seven months, sourrounded by a group of admirers who listened avidly to his theories for politcal reform in the oppressed country. Urged by the grand vizier and spurning the right of asylum, the Shāh had him forcibly removed by 500 cavalry, put into chains and despite his delicate state of health taken as far as Khāniḳīn on the Turko-Persian border (beginning of 1891). From then on Djamāl al-Dīn showed nothing but hatred and a desire for vengeance towards the Shāh, an attitude which Aḥmad Amīn contrasts with the nobler feelings of other exiled reformers. From Baṣra, where he stayed just long enough to recover his health, he sent a scorching letter to Mīrzā Ḥasan-i Shīrāzī, the first *mudjtahid* of Sāmarrā, opposing the Shāh's decision of March 1890 to grant the tobacco rights of Persia to a British firm. He mentioned other concessions made to Europeans and accused the Shāh of wasting public moneys to the advantage of "the enemies of Islam". He also denounced other abuses and cruelty by members of the government, particularly ʿAli Aṣghar Khān (see this letter in Arabic in *Manār*, x, 820 ff., and in English in Browne, 15-21). His letter had swift results; the *mudjtahid* published a *fatwā* prohibiting the use of tobacco to all believers until the government cancelled the contract of concession. The government had to give in and compensate the concessionaires. Djamāl al-Dīn then went to London for a year conducting a violent campaign through articles and lectures against the régime prevailing in Persia. He contributed particularly to the bilingual monthly review (in Arabic and English) *Ḍiyā' al-Khāfiḳayn*, "Radiance from the two hemispheres", which he helped to found (1892). He demanded the deposition of the Shāh. He looked especially to the professional men of religion, assuring them they were the ramparts of Islam against European designs. His repeated appeals, the feeling caused by his expulsion and the successful tobacco boycott were the beginning of a powerful movement for reform backed by the Persian religious authorities.

The closing years of Djamāl al-Dīn's life were clouded by sadness. He spent them so to speak in a gilded cage at Constantinople, where sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd had twice summoned him through his ambassador in London (1892). After first declining, Djamāl al-Dīn consented to go. Was the sultan sincere in inviting the illustrious champion of a pan-Islamism, in which Turkey would have played a major part, and did he really intend to work with him towards its realization? Or, as Aḥmad Amīn suggests, did he want Djamāl al-Dīn near him to be able to neutralize his influence more effectively? It is difficult to say. The newcomer was given a fine house on the hill of Nishāntāsh, not far from the imperial palace of Yildiz. He received 75 Ottoman pounds a month and was allowed to keep contact with people wishing intercourse with him. The sultan behaved kindly towards his guest, listened to him to begin with at least and persuaded him to drop his resentful attitude to the Shāh. He even offered him the post of *shaykh al-Islām*, but he declined it. That was the turning-point. Intrigues and rivalries, especially on the part of Abu 'l-Hudā, the leading religious dignitary at the court, did the rest. Relations between the sultan and his guest became extremely frigid. Djamāl al-Dīn made several requests for permission to leave, which always met finally with a negative reply. We have some idea of his position at that time from the visitors he received. He was pained and dejected by the sight of so much cowardice around him. He

criticized Muslims for their boastfulness and inactivity. His ideas were twisted so that he was accused, for example, of wanting to recognize the young Khedive ʿAbbās as Caliph because the latter had gone out of his way to meet him during a walk one day. But he continued to profess the same ideas on the need for constitutional liberties and on Islam, the one solid foundation of reformed Muslim states of the future. When on 11 March 1896 the Shāh fell victim to an assassin who was a loyal follower of Djamāl al-Dīn, he was accused of guiding the murderer's hand. He defended himself against the charge, notably in his statements shortly afterwards to the correspondent of the Paris newspaper *Le Temps*. But his position was even more precarious.

He died on 9 March 1897 from cancer of the chin; rumour had it that Abu 'l-Hudā ordered the doctor only to pretend to treat him, or even poisoned him. He was buried in the cemetery of Nishāntāsh. At the end of December 1944, his remains were taken to Afghānistān and laid to rest on 2 January 1945 in the suburbs of Kābul near ʿAlī-Ābād, where a mausoleum had been raised to him.

Despite his knowledge of Muslim theology and philosophy, Djamāl al-Dīn wrote little on these subjects. His treatise on the refutation of materialists was soon translated [see DAHRIYYA]. He has left an extremely succinct outline of the history of Afghānistān called *Tatimmat al-bayān* (lith. Cairo, undated, 45 p.) and the article *Bābī* in the *Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif* of Buṭrus al-Bustānī. But his pamphlets and political articles above all establish him as a commentator on current affairs. Apart from those in European languages, others in Arabic are to be found in the Egyptian press of about 1872-9 under his own name or such pseudonyms as Muẓhir b. Waḍḍāḥ; he later contributed to *al-ʿUrwa al-Wuthḳā* (anonymously) and to *Diyāʾ al-Khāfiḳayn* (signing al-Sayyid or else al-Sayyid al-Ḥusaynī). It should finally be noted that the intensification of the struggle against the Western colonial powers after the war of 1939-45 gave Djamāl al-Dīn a topical interest. Consequently, his life and ideas became the subject of several works published in Cairo and intended for the general public.

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(I. GOLDZIHER-[J. JOMIER])

DJAMĀL AL-DĪN AKSARAYĪ, a Turkish philosopher and theologian, who was born and died (791/1389?) at Aksaray. According to tradition Djamāl al-Dīn Meḥmed, who during his lifetime was known by the name of Djamālī, is said to have been the great-grandson of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī. He was appointed instructor at the *madrasa* of Zindjirli, at Aksaray, after learning by heart the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, al-Djawharī's Arabic lexicographical work, an indispensable requirement of anyone seeking to obtain this appointment. Like the ancient Greek philosophers he split up his very numerous pupils into three classes: those in the first class, known as *meshāʾiyyūn* (peripatetic), met outside the door of his house and accompanied their master to the *madrasa*, his lesson being given as they walked along; those in the second class, known as *riwāḳiyyūn* (stoics), awaited him under the pillars of the *madrasa* where their master, still standing, gave his second lesson; finally he went into the hall of the *madrasa* to join the pupils of the third class. The learned Molla Fenārī was one of his pupils; another scholar, Sayyid Sharīf Djurdjānī, attracted by the master's reputation, is said to have started out from Ḳaramān to come to attend his lectures, but the news of Djamāl al-Dīn's death interrupted his journey. According to a written tradition recorded by Ḥuseyn Ḥusām al-Dīn in his *Amasya taʾrīkhi* (a work which appeared in 5 vol. in Istanbul 1330-2 and 1927-35), Djamāl al-Dīn is said to have held office as *ḳāḍī ʿasker* to the governor of Amasya, Ḥādjdjī Shādgeldi, and to have retired to Aksaray in 783/1381 after the latter's defeat by the Amīr of Sivas, Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn; however, this tradition derives from an unreliable source and must be treated with reserve. Writers differ as to the year of Djamāl al-Dīn's death: 1377 according to Brockelmann, 1389 according to Tahir Bursalı, 1388 according to Adnan Adıvar. His works in manuscript are divided among various libraries; with the exception of a moral treatise entitled *Akhlāḳ-i Djamālī*, they consist for the most part of commentaries; a commentary on *al-Ghāya al-ḳuṣwā* of al-Bayḍāwī; commentaries on theological works, *Sharḥ al-īḍāḥ*, *Sharḥ-i mushkilāt al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*; on medical works, *Ḥāl al-mūdjiz*; on jurisprudence, *Ḥāshiyat-i multaḳā*; on syntax, *Sharḥ al-lubāb al-musammā bi-kashf al-iʿrāb*, etc.

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DJAMĀL AL-DĪN (T. Cemaleddin) **EFENDI**, 1848-1919, Ottoman Shaykh al-Islām, was born in Istanbul (9 Djumādā I 1264/13 April 1848), the son of the *ḳāḍīʿasker* Meḥmed Khālid Ef. Educated by his father and by private tutors, he attained the rank of *mudarris* and entered the secretariat of the Shaykh al-Islām's department. In 1295/1880 he was appointed Secretary (*mektūbdju*), with the rank of *müṣile-i Süleymāniyye*, then became *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rūmeli, and in Muḥarram 1309/August 1891 Shaykh al-Islām. He held office until 1327/1909, retaining his post in the cabinets formed immediately after the revival of the Constituent Assembly in 1908. He became Shaykh al-Islām again in 1912, in the cabinets of Ghāzī Aḥmed Mukhtār Pasha and Kāmil Pasha, but lost office with the fall of Kāmil Pasha's cabinet in the *coup* of 1331/1913. Like many prominent personalities who were known to be opposed to the Society for Union and Progress he was banished from Istanbul, and spent his last years in Egypt, where he died in Radjab 1337/April 1919. He is buried in Istanbul. A shrewd and affable man, he won the confidence of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II and managed to conform to the exigencies of his time. He was a writer of some power and an amateur of *dīwān* literature.

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DJAMĀL AL-DĪN HANSWĪ [see HANSWĪ, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN].

DJAMĀL AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, a complimentary title of the Persian divine and historian AMĪR DJAMĀL [AL-DĪN] ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH B. FAḌL ALLĀH AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-DASHTAKĪ AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, who flourished at Harāt during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusayn the Tīmūrid (875-911/1470-1505); the probable date of his death is 926/1520. His known works are: (1) *Rawḍat al-aḥbāb fī siyar al-Nabī wa 'l-āl wa 'l-aṣḥāb*, a history of Muḥammad, his family and companions, written at the request of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and completed in 900/1494-5 (Lucknow ed. 1297/1880-2, Turkish tr. Constantinople 1268/1852); (2) *Tuḥfat al-aḥibbāʾ fī manāḳib Āl al-ʿAbāʾ*, on the merits of Muḥammad, Fāṭima, etc.; (3) *Riyāḍ al-siyar*.

Bibliography: For details of MSS., and additional biographical information, see Storey, ii/1, 189-92, and i/2, 1254-5. (R. M. Savory)

DJAMĀL PASHA [see DJEMĀL PASHA].

DJAMĀLĪ, MAWLĀNĀ ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-DJAMĀLĪ, Ottoman Shaykh al-Islām from 908/1502 to 932/1526, also called simply ʿAlī Čelebi or Zenbilli ʿAlī Efendi, was of a family of *shaykhs* and scholars of Karamān who had settled in Amasya. Djamālī was born in this city (Ḥ. Ḥusām al-Dīn, *Amasya taʾrīkhi*, i, Istanbul 1327, 105, 321). After his studies under such famous scholars as Mollā Khusraw in Istanbul and Ḥusām-zāde Muṣliḥ al-Dīn in Bursa Djamālī was appointed a *mudarris* at the ʿAlī Beg Madrasa in Edirne. His cousin, Shaykh Muḥammad Djamālī in Amasya, was using his influence in favour of Bāyazīd against Djem, rivals for the succession to Meḥemmed II (cf. Madjdī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1269, 285).

ʿAlī Djamālī had to resign when Karamānī Meḥemmed, who favoured Djem, became grand vizier in 881/1476. But with Bāyazīd II's accession to the throne in 886/1481 Djamālī was again made a *mudarris* and then in 888/1483 a muftī in Amasya where he was appointed in addition a *mudarris* in the newly opened *madrasa* of Bāyazīd II (Ḥ. Ḥüsāmeddīn, iii, 235-6) in 891/1486. After a long service in various important *madrasas* in the empire he was eventually appointed a *mudarris* at the Themāniye Madrasa in Istanbul in 900/1495, thus reaching the highest degree in the career of *tadrīs*. His biography (Madjdī, 302-8) suggests that he retained a spiritual influence on Bāyazid II as did his cousin Shaykh Muḥammad.

ʿAlī Djamālī left Istanbul for the *ḥadjdj* but had to stay one year in Egypt where he learned of his appointment to the post of Shaykh al-Islām [*q.v.*] in Djumādā II 909/November-December 1503. Under Bāyezīd II, Selīm I, and Süleymān I he kept this post for twenty four years until his death in 932/1526.

By his personal influence and bold interferences in certain important governmental affairs (cf. Madjdī, 305-7) he was responsible for making the office of Shaykh al-Islām one of the most influential in the state. When Selīm I argued that his interference meant an infringement of the Sultan's executive power in the affairs of the sultanate which should be absolutely independent, Djamālī replied that as Shaykh al-Islām he was responsible for the Sultan's salvation in the other world. The Sultan eventually agreed to modify some of his decisions to meet Djamālī's objections. As a sign of his admiration Selīm wanted to confer on him the office of *Ḳāḍīʿasker* [*q.v.*] of both Rumeli and Anadolu. He declined the offer, saying that he would never accept a position in *ḳaḍā* [*q.v.*]. However, he was to overshadow the *ḳāḍīʿaskers* who were most influential in the government as the heads of the administration of *tadrīs* and *ḳaḍā*.

In the tradition of the *shaykhs* attached to the Ottoman Sultans, Djamālī was interested in *taṣawwuf* [*q.v.*] and was also called Ṣūfī ʿAlī Djamālī. He is said to be the author of a treatise on *taṣawwuf* entitled *Risāla fī ḥaḳḳ al-dawarān*. He was venerated as a *walī* after his death and various *manḳibas* were told about him. He was buried in the garden of the small mosque he had built in Zeyrek street in Istanbul. A selection of his *fatwās* were collected in *Mukhtārāt al-fatāwī*. He is also the author of a *Mukhtaṣar al-hidāya*.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Tashköprī-zāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawla al-ʿOthmāniyya*, Ger. tr. O. Rescher, Istanbul 1927, Turkish tr. with additions by Muḥammad Madjdī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1269/1853, 302-8; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, MS. in the list of Selīm I's ʿulamāʾ; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, ii, 549-54; Ḥ. Ḥusām al-Dīn, *Amasya taʾrīkhi*, i, Istanbul 1327, 321; iii, 235-40, T. Spandouyn Cantacassin, *Petit traicté de l'origine des Turcqz*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1896, 112-3; *IA*, art. Cemâlî (M. Cavid Baysun). (Halil Inalcik)

"DJAMĀLĪ", ḤĀMID B. FAḌL ALLĀH of Dihlī (d. 942/1536), poet and Ṣūfī hagiographer. He travelled extensively throughout the Dār al-Islām from Central Asia to the Maghrib, and from Anatolia to Yemen, meeting a number of prominent Ṣūfīs including Djāmī [*q.v.*], with whom he had interesting discussions in Harāt. His travels constitute a link

between the Indian Ṣūfī disciplines and those of the rest of the Muslim world; while it is possible that the style of the Persian poetry of the court of Harāt travelled to India in his wake, creating the *sabk-i Hindī* of the 10th/16th century. Though a Ṣūfī, with a reputation for asceticism, Djamālī, like other Suhrawardī mystics before him, associated intimately with the Sultans of Dihlī. His relations with Sikandar Lodī were especially cordial, on whose death he wrote a *marthiya*. After the overthrow of the Lodīs by the Mughals [*q.v.*], he developed friendly relations with Bābur [*q.v.*] and Humāyūn [*q.v.*], often accompanying the later on his military expeditions. His son Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Gadāʾī became *ṣadr* early in the reign of Akbar [*q.v.*].

He compiled a lengthy *dīwān* and a mystical *mathnawī*, *Mirʾāt al-maʿānī*; but his fame chiefly rests on *Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, a *tadhkira* of the Indian saints of the Čishtiyya and Suhrawardiyya orders, a classic of hagiography.

Bibliography: Works, *Dīwān* (unpublished), two known *mss* in the Rāmpūr Library (Nadhīr Aḥmad, no. 179), and in the private library of Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān Khān Shīrwānī, which also has a copy of his *Mirʾāt al-maʿānī*. *Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, *mss*: Lindesiana, no. 115; Rieu, i, 354a, 355a; Ethé 637-9; Berlin 590-1; Ivanow, Curzon 71; Bankipore, Suppt, i, 1782; ed. Dihlī 1311/1893. ʿAbd al-Ḥakk Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1332/1914, 227-9; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabakāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., i, 340; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1864-9, i, 325-6; iii, 76-7; Abū Bakr Ḥusaynī, *Haft Iklīm*, no. 393; Ṣādiḳ Kāshmīrī, *Kalimāt al-ṣādiḳīn*, no. 91; Brindābandās Khʷushgū, *Safīna-i Khʷūshgū*, no. 43; Mubtalā, *Muntakhab al-ashʿār*, no. 137; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khizāna-i ʿĀmira*, Kānpur 1900, 177-9; Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, no. 751; Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Sandīlawī, *Makhzan al-gharāʾib*, no. 493; Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār al-ṣanādīd*, Dihlī 1270/1853, 47; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Kānpur 1914, ii, 84; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-i ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*, Lucknow 1894, 43; Yāsīn Khān Niyāzī, *Sikāndar Lodī aur uskē baʿd fārsī muṣannifīn*, in *Oriental College Magazine* (*OCM*), ix/3 (May 1933), 37-48; Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān Khān Shīrwānī, *Taṣānīf-i Shaykh Djamālī Dihlawī*, in *OCM*, x/i (Nov. 1933), 145-59; Imtiyaz ʿAlī ʿArshī, *Istidrākāt*, in *OCM*, xi/i (Nov. 1934), 74-8; Shaykh Muḥammad Ikrām, *Āb-i Kawthar*, Lahore 1952; idem, *Armaghān-i Pāk*, Karachi 1953, 47.

(Aziz Ahmad)

DJAMBI [see PALEMBANG].

DJAMBUL [see AWLIYĀ ATA].

DJAMBUL DJABAEV, a popular Ḳazakh poet, illiterate and thus representing oral poetic tradition. Born in 1846 in Semireče of a nomadic family, he took the name Djambul (Džambul) from a mountain; later, in 1938, this name was to be given in his honour to the town of Awliyā Ata [*q.v.*] and to an *oblast'* of Ḳazakhistān. From an early age he was devoted to music and singing, and by them earned his living while still a youth; taking his inspiration from popular grievances, he often improvised poems which he sang, accompanying himself on the *dombra*; the best known are entitled "The Plaint", "The poor man's lot", etc. His first teacher was the popular poet Syuyumbay, but he soon surpassed him and was given the title of "father of the popular poets" (*akîn*).

After the October Revolution he employed his talents in the cause of the new régime and made himself its panegyrist, composing poems in praise of Lenin, Stalin and other important figures; he even celebrated China and the Spanish Republic (1937), and later, during the Second World War, the Red Army's feats of arms, particularly at Leningrad, while in an elegy he mourned the loss of his son who fell on the battlefield. His poetry is characterized by its great simplicity, though daring comparisons occur not infrequently.

The Soviet authorities who had previously awarded him the Order of Lenin and a Stalin Prize in 1941 were preparing to celebrate his centenary when he died in 1945.

His original works, transmitted orally or in writing, were collected and published in Alma Ata in 1946, at the same time and in the same town as the collected edition of his poems translated into Russian.

Bibliography: M. Abdîkadîrov, *Narodniy Pevets Stalinskoy épokhi*, 1946; M. Balakaev, *O yazîke Džambula*, in *Vestnik Akad. Nauk Kazakhskoy SSR*, 1947/6; *BSE*, xiv, 206-8 (with portrait).

(Ed.)

DJAMDĀR. The word *djamdār* is a contraction of Pers. *djāma-dār*, "clothes-keeper", cf. Dozy, *Suppl.* This word is not, as stated by Sobernheim in *EI*[1], a "title of one of the higher ranks in the army in Hindustān ...", although *djamʿdār*, popularly *djamādār*, Anglo-Indian Jemadar, "leader of a number (*djamʿ*) of men", is applied in the Indian Army to the lowest commissioned rank, platoon commander, but may be applied also to junior officials in the police, customs, etc., or to the foreman of a group of guides, sweepers, etc. (Ed.)

In Mamlūk Egypt the *djamdāriyya* (sing. *djamdār*), "keepers of the sultan's wardrobe", were all Royal Mamlūks (*mamālīk sulṭāniyya*). Many, but not all, of them belonged to the sultan's corps of bodyguards and select retinue (*khāṣṣakiyya*). A head or commander of the *djamdāriyya* was called *raʾs nawbat al-djamdāriyya*. Of these there were seven, according to Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, 115-6.

Bibliography: D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army*, in *BSOAS*, xv/2, 1953, 214 and note 5 (bibliographical note).

(D. Ayalon)

DJĀMĪ, Mawlanā Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the great Persian poet. He was born in Khardjird, in the district of Djām which is a dependency of Harāt, on 23 Shaʿbān 817/7 November 1414 and died at Harāt on 18 Muḥarram 898/9 November 1492. His family came from Dasht, a small town in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān; his father, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, had left that district and settled near Harāt; consequently the poet had for some time signed his works with the *takhalluṣ* Dashtī before adopting the *takhalluṣ* Djāmī. In the regular course of his studies, he became aware of his deep passion for mysticism, and took as his spiritual director Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kāshgharī, the disciple of and successor to the great saint Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband, founder of the order of the Naḳshbandīs [*q.v.*]. Two biographers, ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Lārī (his disciple, buried in 912/1506 beside Djāmī's tomb) and, in particular, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, a famous minister and scholar, have described the events of his life: apart from two pilgrimages, one to Mashhad, the other to the holy cities of the Ḥidjāz (in 877/1472, with a further stay of four months near Baghdād, and about two months in Damascus and Tabrīz), he lived quietly in Harāt, dividing his time between his studies, poetry and

spiritual exercises, honoured by the sovereigns of the time whom he in no way flattered with excessive panegyrics by dedicating his works to them. Bābur [*q.v.*] in his Memoirs says that he was without an equal in his time in the field of the concrete and speculative sciences; Meḥemmed II tried to attract him to Istanbul; Bāyezīd II sent two letters to him (reproduced in Ferīdūn Bey, *Munsha*ʾ*āt*, i, 361-4); his influence on Turkish literature is well-known (Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, ii, 7 ff.). According to Dawlat-Shāh (who should be treated with caution), Djāmī is said at the end to have lost his reason; but ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, who lived on intimate terms with him and was present during his last days, does not confirm this statement (which recalls St. Jerome's about the madness of the poet Lucretius). Djāmī's funeral, conducted by the prince of Harāt, was attended by great numbers; his tomb, near that of Saʿd al-Dīn his director, is well cared for. Of his four sons (he was son-in-law of Saʿd al-Dīn), three died in infancy, the fourth in early youth (when reading to him and commenting on Saʿdī's *Gulistān*, he conceived the idea of writing his *Bahāristān*).

His writings, which are both diverse and numerous, testify to the flexibility of his genius, the depth and variety of his knowledge, and his perfect mastery of language and style. Although he wrote a great deal in prose, he is mainly known for his poetic works; these consist, firstly, of seven *mathnawīs* [*q.v.*] collected together under the title *Haft awrang* ("the seven thrones", one of the names of the Great Bear) and, secondly, of three collections of lyric poems (*dīwān*) written from the time of his youth and arranged, towards the end of his life, under the following titles: *Fātiḥat al-shabāb* ("The beginning of youth", 884/1479), *Wāsiṭat al-ʿiḳd* ("The central pearl in the necklace", 894/1489), *Khātimat al-ḥayāt* ("The conclusion of Life", 895/1490)—on his lyric poetry: H. Massé, introd. to the translation of *Bahāristān*, 18 ff. The seven poems mentioned above are: *Silsilat al-dhahab* ("The chain of gold") dedicated to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳarā, written between that prince's accession in 873/1468, and Djāmī's journey to the Ḥidjāz in 877/1472: a series of anecdotes provides a framework for an exposé of philosophical, ethical or religious questions; *Salamān wa-Absāl*, 885/1480, dedicated to Yaʿḳūb Aḳ-ḳoyunlu, an allegorical romance in which the characters, in the words of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, "are symbols denoting the various degrees of the intellect" (ed. Forbes Falconer, 1850-6; Eng. tr. by E. Fitzgerald 1879, new edition with literal translation by A. J. Arberry 1956; Fr. tr. A. Bricteux, 1911, with an important introd.); *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār* ("The gift to the noble", 886/1481), a didactic poem of moral and philosophic character, written (as the two panegyrics inserted in the introduction show) in honour of Bahāʾ al-Dīn, founder of the order of Naḳshbandīs, and of the superior of the order, Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿUbayd Allāh, known by the name Khʷādja-yi Aḥrār (ed. Forbes Falconer, 1848); *Subḥat al-abrār* ("The rosary of the devout", of about 887/1482, written in honour of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳarā), similar to the last, but with mystical trends (ed. 1811, 1818, 1848); *Yūsuf wa-Zalīkha* (Zulaykha), 888/1483, the best known, written in honour of the same prince: a legendary life of Joseph, son of Jacob, treated in a mystical manner (ed. and Ger. tr. Rosenzweig, 1824; Eng. tr. R. T. H. Griffith, 1882; Fr. tr. A. Bricteux, 1927); *Layla wa-Madjnūn*, 1484, a romance with a theme of Arabic origin (Fr. tr. Chézy, 1805); *Khirad-nāma-yi Sikandarī* ("The wisdom of Alexander"), a didactic poem written in about 890/1485 in honour of Ḥusayn Bayḳarā: discussions between Alexander and certain philosophers on philosophical and moral questions.

Although earlier writers had already made use of identical or similar subjects, Djāmī did not allow their works to exert an influence upon these great poems: for example, the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* of Sanāʾī and the *Djām-i djam* of Awḥadī upon the first; a lost work of Avicenna (known from the commentaries of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī) upon the second (cf. introd. by Bricteux, 47 ff.); the *Makhzan al-asrār* of Niẓāmī and the *Maṭlaʿ al-anwār* of Amīr-i Khusraw upon the third and fourth; the *Yūsuf wa-Zalīkha* attributed to Firdawsī upon the fifth; the Arabic *dīwān* attributed to Ḳays upon the sixth; Niẓāmī (*Iskandar-nāma*, 2nd part) and Amīr-i Khusraw upon the seventh. But if Djāmī is not the first to deal with these subjects, he has the ability to bring new life to the material by means of a style that is fresh, graceful, supple and highly distinguished, at times foreshadowing his successors' over-elaborate affectations, but nevertheless avoiding the complexities and obscure allusions in which Niẓāmī delighted; in addition to the revelation of the noblest moral qualities, in certain parts of these poems (especially in *Yūsuf* and *Salamān*), and in a number of lyric poems we find the language and the themes of pantheistic mysticism, challenging comparison with the works of the very greatest poets of Ṣūfism; if Djāmī is not, as he is often said to be, (perhaps through Dawlat-Shāh's influence) the last of the classical poets, he is probably the last of the great mystical poets.

Of his very numerous works in prose (commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, on the *ḥadīth*s, and on mystical questions and poems—in particular on the *Khamriyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ), mention must be made of the highly prized collection *Nafaḥāt al-uns* ("The breath of divine intimacy", ed. Calcutta 1859), biographies of mystics, preceded by a comprehensive study of Ṣūfism (trans. Silvestre de Sacy, in *Not. et extr. des mss. B.N.*, xii (1831), 287-436; for this work, Djāmī made use of the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā*ʾ of Farīd al-dīn ʿAṭṭār while completing it); the treatise *Shawāhid al-nubuwwa* ("Distinctive signs of prophecy"), which is clear and precise; the short treatise on mysticism *Lawāʾiḥ* ("Shafts of light"), interspersed with invocations and poems (ed. and tr. Whinfield and Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, Or. Translat. Fund, 1906); lastly, the *Bahāristān* (1478), a collection of memorable sayings, witticisms, striking anecdotes, short notes on poets and stories about animals (several ed.; Ger. tr. Schlechta-Wssehrd, 1846; Fr. tr. H. Massé, 1925).

Bibliography: the manuscript of the complete works (*Kulliyāt*) of Djāmī, in his own hand, is preserved in the Institute of Oriental Languages at Leningrad (cf. Victor Rosen, *Collections de l'Institut ... Les manuscrits persans*, 215-61). In addition to the references given in the article, see: *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 231-3 and 305-7; E. G. Browne, iii, index s.v. Jāmī; and in particular ʿAlī Aṣghar Ḥikmat, *Djāmī* (in Persian; Tehran 1320/1942: life and works, 1-228; selected pieces, 228-373).

(Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

DJĀMIʿ [see masdjid].

DJĀMIʿA. From the root *djamaʿa* (to bring together, to unite), this Arabic term is used to denote an ideal, a bond or an institution which unites individuals or groups, *e.g.*, *al-Djāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya* (Pan-Islamism); *Djāmiʿat al-Duwal al-ʿArabiyya* (League of Arab States); *Djāmiʿa* (Uni-

versity). This article is limited to the last-mentioned meaning and deals with university institutions in the Islamic countries.

Although *D̲j̲āmiʿa*, in this sense, includes, in popular and semi-official usage, traditional institutions of higher religious education (such as *al-D̲j̲āmiʿa al-Azhariyya*; see, for example, Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm G̲h̲anīma, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-D̲j̲āmiʿāt al-Islāmiyya al-Kubra*, Taṭwān 1953), officially it is restricted to the modern university, established on western models. Thus, Law no. 184 of 1958, organizing the *d̲j̲āmiʿāt* of the United Arab Republic does not name al-Azhar among these universities. This article will, consequently, deal with "modern" universities. It should be stressed, however, that in Islamic countries higher education had a remarkable tradition in the older institutions of the mosque, the *madrasa* and other centres of education and learning. For these traditional institutions, see the articles AL-AZHAR, DAR AL-ʿULŪM, DEOBAND, MASD̲J̲ID, etc.

The term *d̲j̲āmiʿa* seems to have come into use towards the middle of the 19th century, and to have been translated from "université" or "university". Buṭrus al-Bustānī does not have an article on it in his *Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif* (vi, Beirut 1882). Originally, it seems to have been used as an adjective qualifying *madrasa*. (The earliest such use I have been able to trace is by Aḥmad Fāris al-S̲h̲idyāḳ, in *al-Sāḳ ʿala al-sāḳ*, Paris 1855, 513, where he speaks of *madārisihim al-d̲j̲āmiʿa*. But there may have been earlier ones. This adjectival form continued down to the early years of the twentieth century. See D̲j̲urd̲j̲i Zaydān, *al-Hilāl*, viii/8, 15 January 1900, 24, and xii, 18 and 19, 1 July 1904, 590; *madrasat Oxford al-d̲j̲āmiʿa*).

Furthermore, there was no clear distinction in those years between *d̲j̲āmiʿa* and *kulliyya* which was used as equivalent to "college". Badger's *English-Arabic Lexicon* (London 1881) includes *madrasa d̲j̲āmiʿa* as one of the Arabic equivalents of "college", whereas for "university" he gives: "*dār kulliyyāt al-ʿulūm*", and "*dār al-ʿulūm wa 'l-funūn*". Neither Bellot's *Vocabulaire arabe-français* (Beirut 1893), nor Hava's *Arabic-English Dictionary* (Beirut 1899), includes *d̲j̲āmiʿa*, but both include *kulliyya*, the former translating it by "l'université" and the latter by "university, college".

Similarly, other dictionaries published in the nineteenth or early twentieth century either do not include *d̲j̲āmiʿa* (such as al-Bustānī's *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, 1867-70, Steingass, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 1881, or S̲h̲artūnī's *Aḳrab al-mawārid*, 1889-93), or use it as an adjective qualifying *madrasa*, without distinguishing it properly from *kulliyya* (Abcarius, *English-Arabic Dictionary* 1903; Hammām, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-ṭālib*, 1907; Saadeh, *English-Arabic Dictionary*, 1911).

The first definite use of *d̲j̲āmiʿa* in the technical meaning of university appears to have been in the movement of some intellectual leaders and reformers in Egypt in 1906 for the establishment of a *d̲j̲āmiʿa miṣriyya*. On 12 October 1906 a group of such leaders, the most active among whom seems to have been Ḳāsim Amīn, met in the house of Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl and formed a preparatory committee to appeal to the Egyptian people for funds for the establishment of a university (*d̲j̲āmiʿa*) which, they decided, would be called "*al-D̲j̲āmiʿa al-Miṣriyya*" (Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Badīr, *al-Amīr Fuʾād wa nas̲h̲ʾat al-d̲j̲āmiʿa al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1950, 6 ff.). From then on, the use of *d̲j̲āmiʿa* began to be established in the Arab countries as equivalent to "university", whereas *kulliyya* is now reserved for a faculty or an independent college.

In other Islamic countries, other terms came into use, either derived from the national language, such as *Dānis̲h̲gāh* (the abode of knowledge) in Īrān, or borrowed from the West such as "Üniversite" in Turkey, "University" (U. *Yūniwarsiṭī*) in Pakistan, and "Universitas" in Indonesia.

Survey of university activity in Islamic countries

In recent years, university education has undergone rapid and extensive development in Islamic countries. Established universities are yearly increasing their facilities, courses and student enrolments, and new universities are being planned or opened to meet the increasing demand for higher education. Any statement about them is likely to become out-of-date the time it is published. Consequently, only a general summary of their history and present situation will be attempted here. For current details the reader will have to consult the catalogues or handbooks of individual universities, national or regional handbooks or reports, or a general work of reference such as the *International Handbook of Universities*. No attempt will be made to refer to independent colleges, or any other institutions of higher learning that do not bear the name *D̲j̲āmiʿa* or its equivalent.

Since the establishment of universities is closely bound up with the cultural and national development of their respective countries, or regions, the following summary will follow the lines of the various cultural areas in the Islamic world.

United Arab Republic: Egypt. Technical and professional education began in Egypt in the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī. The contacts which Egypt had with the West since Bonaparte's campaign and the autonomy it enjoyed within the Ottoman Empire laid the ground for the educational efforts and reforms under Muḥammad ʿAlī. Use was made of foreign, particularly French, advisors and professional men; educational missions were sent to Europe, and a number of specialized technical and professional schools were established, mainly to meet the needs of forming an army and a civil service on modern lines. The years 1824-37 witnessed a movement of active educational expansion. In 1827 a School of Medicine was established and was followed by various military Schools, and by Schools of Pharmacy, Maternity, Engineering, Agriculture, Civil Administration and Accountancy, Languages and Translation, etc. This movement received a set-back under ʿAbbās I and Saʿīd (1848-63). Most of these Schools were closed, but they were reopened under Ismāʿīl. In 1871, *Dār al-ʿUlūm* for the training of teachers of Arabic was opened; in 1880 a Teachers' Training College; and in 1882 a School of Administration (changed in 1886 to School of Law).

In 1906, there arose a movement for the establishment of a national university. A committee of prominent citizens and intellectual leaders was formed and funds were sought from the Government and the public. This university—commonly known as *al-D̲j̲āmiʿa al-Ahliyya* to distinguish it from the later state university—was opened on 21 December 1908. Its teaching was limited to courses in literature, history, philosophy, and social sciences, and a number of leading European orientalists and other professors were invited to teach in it. Following World War I, the Egyptian Government took steps to establish a state university. This university, con-

sisting of the former national university as the nucleus of the Faculty of Letters, of the Schools of Law and Medicine already established and of a new Faculty of Science, was instituted by law in March 1925. It continued to develop by the incorporation of existing Schools into Faculties, or by the creation of new ones.

In 1938 a branch of this University was established in Alexandria comprising branches of the Faculties of Letters and of Law. In 1941 a third branch, of the Faculty of Engineering, was opened. In 1942 a full-fledged university was founded in Alexandria. This was followed by another university in Cairo in 1950. These three universities which in course of time came to bear the names of, respectively, Fuʾād I, Fārūḳ, and Ibrāhīm, have since the Revolution been called the Universities of Cairo, Alexandria and ʿAyn Shams. Following a policy of spreading facilities of higher education throughout the country, the Egyptian Government began in 1954-55 to plan for another university in Asiūṭ. This university opened its doors in October 1957 with a Faculty of Science and a Faculty of Engineering. Other Faculties are being instituted gradually, the scientific ones taking precedence over others. Of the four universities in Egypt, the oldest and most developed is the University of Cairo. In addition to its twelve faculties and its various institutes in Cairo, it administers a branch in Khartoum comprising faculties of Law, Letters, and Commerce.

In 1919 the American University at Cairo was established. An independent private institution, it now includes a faculty of Arts and Sciences, a faculty of Education, a School of Oriental Studies, a Social Research Centre and a Division of Extension, and is smaller than the state universities in facilities, number of staff and students, and educational influence.

Syria. In 1902, under Ottoman rule, a School of Medicine was established in Damascus with Turkish as the medium of instruction. During World War I, it was transferred to Beirut, where a School of Law had been opened in 1912. Both institutions were closed at the end of the War. They were reopened in Damascus in 1919, with Arabic as the medium of instruction. In 1924, they were joined together in the Syrian University, which continued to be limited to them, until, with the gaining of independence, higher national education received a vigorous impulse. In 1946 four new Faculties were opened in the University: Letters, Science, Engineering (at Aleppo), and a Higher Teachers' College (later changed to Faculty of Pedagogy). In 1954-55, a Faculty of Holy Law (*Sharīʿa*) was added.

Following the formation of the U.A.R., the name of the Syrian University was changed into that of the University of Damascus. Law no. 184 of 1958, published on October 21, 1958 governed the organization of universities in the U.A.R. In addition to the five universities mentioned above, it instituted a University at Aleppo (which was due to open in 1960-61) and created the Higher Council of Universities, with seat in Cairo, to co-ordinate the activities of these institutions. Since 28 Sept. 1961, the former organization was reestablished in Syria.

Lebanon: The universities in Lebanon, in order of foundation, are: The American University of Beirut, the Université St. Joseph and the (state) Lebanese University, all of which are located in the capital, Beirut. The oldest, the American University of Beirut was established by the American missionaries in the sixties of the last century, but was from the start made separate from the Mission, and governed by an independent Board of Trustees. Its original name was the Syrian Protestant College and under this name it was granted a charter by the State of New York in April 1864. University work in the School of Arts and Sciences began in 1866. The School of Medicine opened in 1867, the School of Pharmacy in 1871, the School of Commerce in 1900, the School of Nursing and the Hospital in 1905. On November 18, 1920, the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York changed the name of the institution into the American University of Beirut. In 1951, the School of Engineering was established, in 1952 the School of Agriculture and in 1954 the School of Public Health. The medium of instruction is English.

The Université St. Joseph was founded by the Jesuits in Beirut in 1875. It received the title of University from Pope Leo XIII in 1881, but in Arabic it continued for many years to be called *Kulliyyat Mār Yūsuf* (See Cheikho's article on its fiftieth anniversary, *Al-Machriq*, xxxiii 5, May 1925, 321 ff.). Originally, its higher instruction was limited to theology and philosophy. In 1883, under agreement between the Jesuits of Syria and the French Government, the School of Medicine was established, and, in 1888, the School of Pharmacy, both becoming in 1889 the *Faculté française de Médecine et de Pharmacie*. In 1902 was founded the Faculty of Oriental Studies which was closed with the rest of the University during World War I. In 1913, the School of Law was opened; in 1919, the School of Engineering; and in 1937 the Institute of Oriental Studies. The medium of instruction is French.

The Lebanese University started in 1951 with a Higher Teachers' Institute for the training of teachers for secondary schools. It was formally organized by Legislative Decree no. 25 of 6 February 1953 (revised by Leg. Decree no. 26 of 18 January 1955), but its activity remained restricted to the Higher Teachers' Institute with its two divisions, literary and scientific, of three years each leading to the Licence, and a fourth year of pedagogical training. In 1959 a Faculty of Law and Economic and Political Sciences was established, and in the same year a regulatory decree (no. 2883 of 16 June 1959) gave the University its inner constitution. This decree provided for faculties of Letters, Sciences, Law and Economic and Political Sciences, for a Higher Teachers' Institute and an Institute of Social Studies, and, like similar state university constitutions or charters, for other faculties, colleges or institutes which might later be created. Also, like other state universities in Arab countries, the language of instruction is Arabic, unless otherwise decided in particular fields.

ʿIrāḳ. Before World War I, there was only one institution of higher education in ʿIrāḳ: a School of Law. In 1923, the ʿIrāḳ Government decided to establish a university called *Djāmiʿat Āl al-Bayt*, but this plan was later abandoned. Instead, between 1920 and 1949, a number of Faculties or Colleges (Medicine, Education, Engineering, Business and Economics, etc.) were established and made dependent to various ministries. In 1951, a "Council of Higher Education" was set up to co-ordinate the work of these Faculties, "in preparation for the establishment of the ʿIrāḳī University". Following many commissions and reports, the University of Baghdād was established by Law no. 60 of June 6, 1956. This Law provided for the establishment of a "Constituent Council" which was charged with the study of each of the existing Faculties and Colleges

to decide on its inclusion in the University. On 15 September 1958 a new Law was issued to replace the previous one. According to it, the University is composed of the Faculties of Letters, Sciences, Law, Commerce, Education, Education (Women), Engineering, Agriculture, Medicine, Dentistry, Pharmacy, Veterinary Medicine and such other Faculties and Institutes as may be established in the future.

Saʿūdī Arabia: The King Saʿūd University was established in Riyāḍ by Royal Decree no. 17 of 21 Rabīʿ II 1377/14 November 1957. It started with a Faculty of Letters. In 1958 a Faculty of Science was added, and in 1959 a Faculty of Pharmacy and a Faculty of Commerce. Each of these Faculties is being developed at the rate of a class a year. A project has been drawn up for an extensive campus and ample building facilities, and plans are under study for curricular and other developments.

Kuwayt: The Government of Kuwayt asked a committee of experts to study the question of establishing a university in that Principality. The committee met in Kuwayt during the month of February 1960, and presented its recommendations to the Government.

Sudan: The University of Khartoum was officially constituted by Act of Parliament on 24 July 1956, seven months after the establishment of the new Republic of the Sudan. It developed from the University College of Khartoum, which was instituted in 1951 by the fusion of Gordon Memorial College and the Kitchener School of Medicine. The former had in 1945 grouped together the Schools which had been set up from 1936 onwards to give post-secondary training in Arts, Law, Public Administration, Engineering, Agriculture and Veterinary Science. The academic standard of the College was recognized in 1945 by the University of London which admitted it to Special Relationship. The Kitchener School of Medicine was founded in 1924, and from 1940 onwards its final examination was supervised by a visitor appointed by the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons of England.

The University of Khartoum includes at present the following Faculties: Agriculture, Arts, Economic and Social Studies, Engineering, Law, Medicine, Science, and Veterinary Science. The only other institution of higher education in the Sudan is the previously mentioned branch in Khartoum of the University of Cairo including faculties of Law, Letters, and Commerce.

Libya. The University of Libya was founded in 1955-56. The Law establishing it was issued on 15 December 1955. It started with a Faculty of Letters and of Pedagogy in Benghazi. Since then a Faculty of Commerce in Benghazi and a Faculty of Science in Tripoli have been added. Plans for the development of these Faculties and for the creation of new ones are under way.

Tunisia: al-Dj̲āmiʿ al-Aʿẓam, the traditional centre of higher religious instruction in Tunisia has in recent years been popularly called al-Dj̲āmiʿa al-Zaytūniyya, but the only post-secondary education it has given is in the fields of Islamic studies and of Arabic language and literature related to them. Modern university studies were recently started in schools or institutes on the French model and using generally the French language. Thus, the *Institut des Hautes Études*, founded in 1945 and attached to the Sorbonne, covered the fields of Law, Arabic Studies, Sciences, and Social Sciences. In 1960, the Tunisian University was founded incorporating existing institutions and establishing new ones. Law no. 2 of 1960 (31 March 1960) established the Tunisian University as a public institution, Decree (*Amr*) no. 98 of the same date set up its organization, and a ten-years plan for its development has been formulated.

Algeria: The University of Algiers was until 1962 a French university organized and administered as other French state universities. Growing out of a School of Medicine and Pharmacy (1859) and Schools of Law, Science and Letters (1879), it was formally established as a university in 1909. It included these Faculties and certain specialized institutes and used French as the medium of instruction.

Morocco: As in the case of other countries, modern higher instruction in Morocco started with separate institutions: the *Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, *Centres d'Études Juridiques* and *Centre d'Études Superieures Scientifiques*. With the acquisition of independence, there was a movement for the establishment of a national university. This university, the University of Rabāṭ, was inaugurated in December 1957, and was formally organized by royal decree (*Ẓahīr S̲h̲arīf* (no. 1.58.390 of 29 July 1959). It consists of Faculties of Holy Law (*S̲h̲arīʿa*), Legal, Economic and Social Sciences, Letters, Physical and Natural Sciences, and a Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy to be established. Here again the relation of this University (and particularly its Faculty of Holy Law) with the traditional Islamic higher education centred around the celebrated Dj̲āmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn in Fās depends upon future developments.

Turkey: Modern technical and professional education started in Turkey towards the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, to meet the needs of the army, navy and civil service. In 1773 a *Muhendiskhāne* [*q.v.*], or School of Engineering for the navy was set up and another for the army in 1796. These were followed by a School of Medicine (1827), and a school of Military Sciences (*Ḥarbiyye* [*q.v.*]) in 1834. In 1846 a committee on education recommended the creation of a state university, without however any practical result. A new start was made in 1859, with the foundation of a school for Civil Servants (*Mülkiyye* [*q.v.*]) which was reorganized and expanded in 1877. Many other higher schools followed, including finance (1878), law (1878), fine arts (1879), commerce (1892), civil engineering (1884), etc. In August 1900, after long preparation, the University of Istanbul, at first known as the Dār al-Funūn, was opened, and in 1908 the Schools of Medicine and of Law were incorporated in it. This University now includes Faculties of Medicine, Law, Economics, Letters, Science, and Forestry, and Schools of Dental Medicine and of Pharmacy.

Growing out of the *Muhendiskhāne*, the Technical University of Istanbul (Istanbul Teknik Üniversitesi) was established in 1944. It includes to-day five Faculties and several Institutes, for teaching and research in various fields of engineering. In 1946 the University of Ankara (Ankara Üniversitesi) was founded in the capital, incorporating the already existing Faculties of Law, Letters, Science, Medicine and Agriculture. Now it includes in addition Faculties of Veterinary Medicine, of Political Science and of Theology (*Ilâhiyat*).

In 1955 the Aegean University (Ege Üniversitesi) was established in Izmir. In 1956 Atatürk Üniversitesi was founded in Erzurum to serve the needs of eastern Turkey. This was done with the assistance of the University of Nebraska, under contract between this University and the Technical Cooperation Administration of the U.S.A. All these

universities are state institutions. By the University Law of 1946, they were granted administrative and financial autonomy.

In 1957, the Middle East Technical University was established in Ankara, by special act of parliament, with certain unique features. The United Nations and Unesco have been closely associated with the Government of Turkey in the planning and development of this university. Whereas the other universities use Turkish as their medium of instruction, this uses English and hopes to attract students from other countries of the region.

Īrān: The oldest and the most important of the universities of Īrān is the University of Tehran, *Dānishgāh-i Tehrān*. Growing out of the polytechnic school, *Dār al-Funūn* (1851), and of other more recently established schools, it was constituted as a state university in 1934. It now includes eleven Faculties: Arts, Fine Arts, Islamic Sciences (*ʿUlūm-i Maʿḳūl wa Manḳūl*), Law, Science, Engineering, Agriculture (at Karadj), Medicine, Dentistry, Pharmacy and Veterinary Medicine. Other universities to serve the needs of the provinces have been established since World War II. In 1947, the University of Tabrīz (Ādharbāydjān) was founded, and was followed by the Universities of Mashhad (Khurāsān), of Shirāz (Fars), of Iṣfahān, and of Ahwāz (Khuzistān).

These provincial universities have as yet a limited number of Faculties (mostly professional), but their development in this short period indicates the concern of the Government of Īrān to extend the facilities of university education and to spread it throughout the country. The language of instruction in all the universities of Īrān is Persian.

Afghānistān: Higher university education in Afghānistān began with a Faculty of Medicine in 1932. Other Faculties were later established and all were incorporated in the University of Kābul, which was founded by Royal Decree in 1946. This University now includes Faculties of Medicine (including Women's Division and School of Nursing), Law and Political Science, Science, Letters, Islamic Law, Agricultural Engineering, a Women's Faculty (Social and Physical Sciences) and Institutes of Economics and of Education. Instruction is through the medium of Persian and Pashtō.

India and Pakistan: It was not until the early decades of the nineteenth century that schools and colleges on western models began to be established in the sub-continent of India. These institutions used English as the medium of instruction. Following the recommendations of Sir Charles Wood, the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were established in 1857, and remained for twenty-five years the only universities in India. In 1882 the University of the Panjab was created at Lahore, and in 1887 the University of Allāhābād. No other university was established before World War I. Subsequently there were two periods of rapid development of university institutions: 1915-1929, and after partition. The latest edition of the *Commonwealth Universities Handbook* (1960) lists thirty-seven universities in India, of which eighteen were established or achieved full university status after 1947. Of the six universities of Pakistan, only two, the University of the Panjab (1882) and the University of Dacca (1921), existed before independence, although many colleges were affiliated to universities in India before partition.

In India, two universities have been active in the field of higher education for the Muslim community. The older, the ʿAlīgaṙh Muslim University, has played its particular rôle in the intellectual life of this community. Founded in 1875 by the author and reformer Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, as the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, with the object of imparting to the Muslim youth a modern scientific education, it received its charter as a university in 1920, and has since its establishment served as an influential centre of Indian Muslim intellectual life. The other University, Osmania, at Ḥaydarābād, Deccan, was established in 1918 and has also paid special attention to Islamic studies. In addition to these two universities, there are Muslim colleges which either form part of, or are affiliated to, other Indian universities. Among other institutions of higher education, mention should be made of the Jamia Millia Islamia [*q.v.*] at Jamaniagar, Dihlī, whose courses in the arts and social sciences lead to an examination recognized by the government as equivalent to the B.A. degree of an Indian university.

In Pakistan, there are six universities: University of the Panjab at Lahore (1882), University of Dacca (1921), University of Sind (1947), University of Karachi (1950), University of Peshawar (1950), and University of Rajshahi (Rādjshāhī) (1953). Although these institutions are entirely secular and pursue liberal, scientific and professional education on modern lines, they are permeated by Islamic traditions and spirit.

The first universities established in the sub-continent of India in the middle of the last century took as their model the then newly established University of London. This University was at that time a purely examining body. Thus the early universities were slow to develop teaching of their own. At present, the universities of India and Pakistan are of various types, but most of them are both teaching and affiliating. Post-graduate teaching is generally carried on by the universities themselves, whereas first-degree teaching is still largely done by affiliated colleges under university supervision and examination arrangements.

Malaya and Singapore: The University of Malaya was founded in 1949 by the combined actions of the governments of the Federation of Malaya and the Colony of Singapore. It grew out of two existing colleges in Singapore, King Edward VII College of Medicine and Raffles College. Full university teaching began in Kuala Lumpur in 1957, and on the Singapore site in 1949-50. It includes teaching in arts, science, engineering, law and medicine. According to the new constitution which came into effect in 1959, the University now comprises two divisions of equal status, the University of Malaya in Singapore and the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, each with its own principal, divisional council and divisional senate. These two divisions are equally represented on the central council of the University.

Indonesia: Although Faculties (largely professional) had been instituted in Indonesia in the period between the two World Wars, the movement for the establishment of universities began in 1949 and has progressed rapidly since the country acquired its sovereignty. These universities have incorporated previously-existing Faculties and created new ones. In 1949 Universitas Gadjah Mada was instituted at Djogdjakarta by merger of five Faculties, whose number has grown to eleven. Universitet Indonesia was founded in 1950 at Djakarta and now includes Faculties of Medicine, Law and Social Sciences, Philosophy and Letters, Economics, Mathematics

and Natural Sciences (at Bandung), Technology (at Bandung), Veterinary Medicine (at Bogor) and Agriculture (at Bogor). Other Faculties of the University established at Surabaya, Bukitinggi and Makassar, have since formed the nuclei of separate universities: Universitas Airlangga (1954), Surabeja (also incorporating the former Faculty of Law of Universitas Gadjah Mada in Surabeja); Universitas Andalas (1956), Bukitinggi; and Universitas Hasanuddin (1956), Makassar. A new university is being established in Bandung independently of the Faculties of the Universitet Indonesia set up there.

In addition to the above, which are all state universities there are a number of private institutions. Of particular importance for us are the Universitet Islam Indonesia, Diogdjakarta (theology, social economics, law) and the Perguruan Tinggi Islam Indonesia, Medan (law and social sciences, theology).

Reference should finally be made to universities in some of the predominantly Muslim Republics of the U.S.S.R. which also serve the needs of the Muslim population, such as the Ādharbāydjān State University at Baku (1919), the Tadjik State University at Stalinabad (1948), and the Uzbek State University (1933). These Universities follow the pattern of universities in the Soviet Union, and use, along with Russian, local languages in their instruction.

Bibliography: As the majority of the universities in the Islamic countries are state institutions, the basic sources on their constitutions and organization are the government promulgated charters embodied in laws, decrees, or other government acts, as well as the catalogues, reports, or handbooks issued by the individual universities, national associations of universities, or the government ministries. For universities in Arab countries, Ṣāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣri's *Ḥawliyyat al-thaḳāfa al-ʿarabiyya*, published by the Cultural Section of the League of Arab States (5 vols., Cairo, 1949-57), summarizes the governing legislation and other acts, and gives pertinent information on the programs and activities of the universities up to 1956. For Pakistan and India see the *Handbook of the Universities of Pakistan*, 1955-6 (Inter-University Board of Pakistan, 1956) and the *Handbook of the [Indian] Universities, 1953-4* (Inter-University Board of India, 1958). For universities in these two and other countries of the British Commonwealth, see *Commonwealth Universities Yearbook*, 1960, (37th edition, ed. J. F. Foster, London 1960). General information about universities (outside the Commonwealth and the U.S.A.) is given in the *International Handbook of Universities* (1st edition, ed. H. M. R. Keyes, International Association of Universities, Paris 1959). Discussions of various problems will be found in *Universität und moderne Gesellschaft*, edd. C. D. Harris and M. Herkheimer, Frankfurt 1959; *Science and Freedom*, 12, Oct. 1958; J. Jomier, *Écoles et universités dans l'Égypte actuelle*, in *MIDEO* 1955, ii, 135-60, 1956, iii, 387-90; H. de la Bastide, *Les universités islamiques d'Indonésie*, in *Orient*, no. 21, 1962, 81-4. For accounts of current university activity and development see the *Bulletin of the International Association of Universities* (quarterly, published since February 1953). The International Association of Universities (6, Rue Franklin, Paris, 16ᵉ) also maintains a documentation and information centre on universities, including those treated in this article.

(C. K. Zurayk)

DJĀMID [see naḥw and ṭabīʿa].

DJAMĪL b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maʿmar al-ʿUdhrī, an Arab poet of the 1st/7th century, in literary tradition the most famous representative, and almost symbol of, the "ʿUdhrī(te)" school of poetry, with its chaste and idealized form of love. He is a quite authentic historical figure, although very few details of his life have come to light. He was born about 40/660, and spent his life in the Ḥidjāz and in Nadjd. It is also thought that, on the instigation of the parents of his beloved, he fled for a period to the Yemen in order to escape persecution by an Umayyad governor. Towards the end of his life he went to Egypt, where he made the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān famous in his *ḳaṣīdas*, and it was there that he died in 82/701, still relatively young. Although most of the poems which have come to us are on the theme of love, we can also discern other aspects of his character and poetic ability. He was adept at composing *fakhr* and *hidjā'* poetry, was quarrelsome and quick at repartee, and devoted to the glories of his forefathers and his clan. (Although genealogists assert that the Banū ʿUdhra tribe originated from the south, he speaks of his ancestors' triumphs as those of the Maʿaddīs). But the outstanding historical image of Djamīl is that of the love-poet. Right from his early youth he was inflamed with love for his fellow tribeswoman Bathna, or Buthayna, of the Banu 'l-Aḥabb ʿUdhrī tribe, and the story of his deep and unhappy love is commemorated both in the work of the poet himself and in the stories of other men of letters of the 2nd/8th century (often based in part on Djamīl's own poems). Buthayna's parents refused him their daughter's hand, and she was married off to a certain Nabīh b. al-Aswad. After periods of reconciliation followed by periods of reproach, he eventually left Wādi 'l-Ḳurā, the camp of the ʿUdhra where his love had first become inflamed, and never returned. He remembered it in moving lines composed on his death-bed.

The *dīwān* of Djamīl (during whose lifetime the poet Kuthayyir ʿAzza was *rāwī*) circulated widely in the 3rd/9th century, and was studied and made known by philologists such as Ibn al-Anbarī and Ibn Durayd. But it was not preserved for posterity, and we have access to no more than a few fragments and extracts of Djamīl's poetry gleaned from anthologies and other literary sources (primarily from the *Aghānī*). They amount to some 800 verses, and bear the stamp of an unmistakably individual personality, although his originality has been somewhat clouded by the mass of imitators, and by the literary conventions of Djamīl's time which even he could not ignore. The story of his passionate love as it emerges from his poetry is much more than the normal run of such stories. He was the first to speak of love as an ever-present cosmic force which attracts a person from the moment he is born, and lives on after his death. True to the ʿUdhrī tradition, he constantly laid emphasis on the purity and nobility of love, the virtue of self-denial, the ability to worship the beloved one, and endure suffering oneself. There is with him no trace of the wanton and joking love described in the trifles of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa and others. He developed the Bedouin tradition of love, infusing into it his own deep personal experience, the poignant sincerity of which cannot be doubted. His poetry, together with that of ʿUmar, soon became classical (al-Walīd b. Yazīd was proud of his ability to write verse "in the manner of Djamīl and ʿUmar"). Time has with good reason shown him

to be the most perfect representative of the ʿUdhra poets, who "when loving, die".

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(F. Gabrieli)

DJAMĪL (b.) Nakhla al-Mudawwar, Arab journalist and writer, born in Beirut in 1862, died in Cairo on 26 January 1907. Djamīl came from a wealthy, intellectually active, Christian family, and grew up in conditions which were very favourable to his development as a writer. His father (1822-89), who had attended lectures on Arabic grammar, French, and Italian in Beirut, was an interpreter at the French Consulate, and a member of the Beirut town council; he also took part in editing the Beirut newspaper *Ḥadīḳat al-Akhbār*, as well as being a member of the *Société Asiatique*, Paris, and of *al-Djamʿiyya al-ʿilmiyya al-sūriyya*, Beirut.

Djamīl pursued Arabic studies, and also studied French language and literature at Beirut University. He soon began to show a preference for the history of the peoples of the ancient Orient. Later on, he became editor of several journals. He collaborated in the semi-monthly *al-Djinān*, and also in *al-Muḳtaṭaf*. The second of these moved its offices from Beirut to Cairo in 1888. Finally, he brought out the pan-Islamic paper *al-Muʾayyad* in Cairo. Djamīl al-Mudawwar reached fame with his *Ḥaḍārat al-Islām fī Dār al-Salām*, Cairo 1888, ²1905, ³1932. This work is of great literary importance, because it is a completely new departure in Arabic literature. It was probably modelled on J. Barthélémy's (1716-95) *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*, and takes the form of letters. It quotes many sources and treats of early ʿAbbāsid times from al-Manṣūr to Hārūn al-Rashīd in a popular manner. Occasional references to the past of Islamic history and culture add further to the attraction of the book. The special quality of al-Mudawwar's presentation of history lies in the fact that he views the rule of the caliphs from the point of view of a Shīʿī Persian and friend of the Barmakids. Yet his view is also influenced by such great modernistic ideas as Panislamism and Nationalism, which appeared in the Islamic Orient at that time. As a document of modern Arabic thought, the *Ḥaḍārat al-Islām* is one of the most important works of the so-called renaissance of Arabic literature.

Al-Mudawwar also wrote *Taʾrīkh Bābil wa Āshūr*, a compilation based on European sources, which was improved and edited by Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī. From the French, he translated *ʿAṭṭalā*, Beirut 1882 (F. R. de Chateaubriand's Red Indian tale of *Atala*), and *al-Taʾrīkh al-ḳadīm*, Beirut 1895, ed. Yūḥannā ʿAkkā, director of the catholic patriarchal school.

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(E. Köcher)

DJAMĪL, ṬANBŪRĪ [see ṭanbūrī djamīl].

DJAMĪLA, a famous singer of Medina at the time of the first Umayyads. Tradition has it that she taught herself the elements of music and singing by listening to her neighbour Sāʾib Khāthir [*q.v.*] (d. 63/682-3). It became unanimously recognized that her great natural talent put her in a class of her own, and she founded a school where, among numerous lesser-known singers and *ḳiyān*, Maʿbad [*q.v.*], Ibn ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*], Ḥabāba and Sallāma received their training. Artists as great as Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*] would come to hear her, and would accept her critical judgments, while her salon was regularly frequented by such poets as ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, al-Aḥwaṣ, and al-ʿArdjī. When at one time she was on a pilgrimage, all the singers and musicians of the Ḥidjāz gathered to accompany her, or to welcome the 'star' of Medina to Mecca. They then accompanied her back to Medina, where an enormous festival of music and song lasted for 3 days. Although the story is of doubtful authenticity, being regarded as false by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī himself, it is nevertheless an indication of the fame which has always surrounded the figure of Djamīla. The date of her death is unknown.

Bibliography: The basic reference-work is the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vii, 124-48 (Beirut ed., viii, 188-234); it has been extensively used by Caussin de Perceval, *Notices anecdotiques sur les principaux musiciens arabes des trois premiers siècles de l'Islamisme*, Paris 1874 (*JA*, 1873), and by ʿAmrūsī, *Al-Djawārī al-mughanniyāt*, Cairo n.d., 48-73.

(A. Schaade-[Ch. Pellat])

DJAMʿIYYA. This term, commonly used in modern Arabic to mean a "society" or "association", is derived from the root DJ - M - ʿ, meaning "to collect, join together, etc.". In its modern sense it appears to have come into use quite recently, and was perhaps first used to refer to the organized monastic communities or congregations which appeared in the eastern Uniate Churches in Syria and Lebanon at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries (*e.g.*, *Djamʿiyyat al-Mukhalliṣ*, the Salvatorians, a Greek Catholic order founded c. 1708). In the middle of the nineteenth century the term came into more general use first in the Lebanon and then in other Arabic-speaking countries, to refer to voluntary associations for scientific, literary, benevolent or political purposes. Perhaps the first of them was *al-Djamʿiyya al-sūriyya*, founded in Beirut in 1847 through the efforts of American Protestant missionaries with learned tastes, for the purpose of raising the level of culture. Its members were all Christians, and included the famous writers Nāṣif al-Yāzidji and Butrus al-Bustānī [*qq.v.*], as well as a number of missionaries and the English writer on the Lebanon, Colonel Charles Churchill, then living near Beirut. The society met regularly

until 1852; in 1857 it was succeeded by *al-Djamʿiyya al-ʿilmiyya al-sūriyya*, a larger society on the same model but including Muslims and Druzes; it had corresponding members in Cairo and Istanbul, including the reforming Prime Minister Fuʾād Pasha, and in 1868 received official recognition from the Ottoman government. In 1850 the French Jesuit missionaries in Beirut created a similar organization, *al-Djamʿiyya al-sharḳiyya*; its membership was partly foreign, partly local and wholly Christian.

At a slightly later date there arose societies with more practical aims: for example, the first feminist society, *Djamʿiyyat bākūra Ṣūriyya*, founded in Beirut in 1881 or earlier, and a number of benevolent associations. Perhaps the first of these was *al-Djamʿiyya al-khayriyya al-islāmiyya*, founded in Alexandria in 1878, as an expression of the new public consciousness which was appearing in Egypt at that time. Its aim was to found national schools for boys and girls; one school was established in Alexandria and placed under the direction of the famous nationalist orator, ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm, but the ʿUrābī movement and British occupation put an end to it, as to a similar society, *Djamʿiyyat al-maḳāsid al-khayriyya*, founded in Cairo about the same time for the same purpose. A later organization, *al-Djamʿiyya al-khayriyya al-islāmiyya*, started in 1892, had more success: the great reformer of Egyptian Islam, *shaykh* Muḥammad ʿAbduh, was active in it, and it established a number of schools. The *Djamʿiyyat al-maḳāsid al-khayriyya* of Beirut, founded in 1880, had a similar success, and its schools for the Sunnī Muslim community of the Lebanon are still flourishing.

In an age when representative institutions did not exist, and newspapers were still new, such societies provided an opportunity for educated men to form political ideas and exert a certain pressure of opinion on the government. Some of them were political by implication, and in the 1870's the development of national consciousness and the comparative freedom of expression in Egypt led to the growth of specifically political associations. Among the earliest was *Miṣr al-fatāt* or the "Young Egypt" society, formed in Alexandria in 1879. It included ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm and other Muslim nationalists and a number of Lebanese Christian journalists working in Egypt; one of them, Adīb Isḥāḳ, published the journal of the society until it was suppressed. It had a programme of reforms—ministerial responsibility, equality before the law, liberty of the press, etc.—but could do nothing effective to carry it out, and only remained in existence for a year or so. More famous although scarcely more effective was the *Djamʿiyyat al-ʿurwa al-wuthḳā*, a secret society of Muslims pledged to work for the unity and reform of the Muslim world, through the restoration of a true Islamic government, and more specifically for the liberation of Egypt from British control. The moving spirits in this society were the famous publicist Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and his disciple Muḥammad ʿAbduh. It was established in the period after the British occupation of Egypt, and appears to have had branches in several Muslim countries and an oath of initiation. Little is known of its activities, and perhaps in fact it did nothing except to sponsor the publication of the famous periodical *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā*, issued in Paris by al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh in 1884. Although this lasted for a few months only it had a far-reaching influence on educated Muslims, and the leading articles are still reprinted from time to time and widely read.

The use of the term *djamʿiyya* for political associations continued for some time. For example, the most famous of the Arab nationalist societies of late Ottoman days was called *al-Djamʿiyya al-ʿarabiyya al-fatāt*. Founded in Paris in 1911 by seven Arab students, its centre later moved to Damascus and its membership grew to two hundred. It played an important part in the secret negotiations between the Sharīf Ḥusayn and the British authorities in Cairo, which led to the revolt in Arabia against Turkish rule; the military leader of the revolt, Ḥusayn's son Fayṣal, was himself a member of the society. A generation later, in Egypt, there was founded another *djamʿiyya* which played an important role in politics: *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* [*q.v.*], started in 1928 by Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ [*q.v*],, had the explicit purpose of bringing about a moral reform in Islam, but in course of time it became more openly political in its aims and methods, and in the confused decade after 1945 seemed near to taking over power in Egypt, until suppressed by the military régime in 1954. In general however the word *ḥizb* [*q.v.*] had by this time replaced *djamʿiyya* to refer to political movements, although the latter term still remained in use for charitable, cultural and other such voluntary organizations.

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(A. H. Hourani)

Ottoman Empire and Turkey

The most common term for "society" or "association" in Ottoman and modern Turkish is *djemʿiyyet* (*cemʿiyet* or *cemiyet*), to which partisans of *öztürkçe* prefer *dernek*, or more rarely, *birlik*. Since the late 19th century *djemʿiyyet* has been the word used for voluntary associations, secret or open, for political, benevolent, professional and other purposes. In the early twentieth century, political parties began to call themselves *firḳa* or, occasionally, *ḥizb*, both of these yielding, in common usage since the 1920's, to *parti*. Among the near-synonyms of *djemʿiyyet*, *endjümen* (*encümen*, from P. *andjuman* [*q.v.*]) designates (i) a parliamentary committee and (ii) a quasi-public organization such as the Turkish History and Turkish Language Societies, its *öztürkçe* equivalents in these two senses being, respectively, (i) *komisyon* and (ii) *kurum*; *heyʾet* or *heyet* ("committee") designates a temporary or *ad hoc* grouping; *gurup* or *parti gurubu* a parliamentary party; and *kulüb* (club) a more informal cultural, social, or convivial organization.

Legislation granting and regulating the right of association has been a product mainly of the 20th century. The Ottoman reform decrees of 1839 and 1856 promised civic equality and security of person and property, but the 1876 constitution for the first time included a specific if limited guarantee of freedom of association (art. 13: "Ottoman subjects have the right within the limits of existing laws and

regulations to found all manner of associations for commercial, industrial, and agricultural purposes"), buttressed by promises of freedom of the press (art. 12: "... free within the limits of the law...") and of the right of individual and collective petition for redress of grievances (art. 14). The constitutional revision of 21 August 1909 left art. 13 unchanged but added a new art. 120 guaranteeing freedom of assembly and association generally, except for (i) associations offending against public morals, (ii) associations aiming at violation of the territorial integrity of the state or at a change of the constitution or the government or at setting various ethnic groups against each other, and (iii) secret societies. A Law of Association adopted at the same legislative session (*Djemʿiyyetler Ḳānūnu* of 16 August 1909) elaborated these constitutional prohibitions and provided for registration of associations with the local civil authorities. The immediate political target of the 1909 legislation were "reactionary" political movements such as that leading to the abortive counter-revolution of 13 April 1909 (known, according to the Julian calendar then in effect, as *Otuz-Bir Mart Hadisesi*) and nationalist and secessionist tendencies among ethnic minority groups.

The 1909 Law of Associations remained in force until the end of the Ottoman period and (with two amendments: laws 353 and 387 adopted by the Ankara Grand National Assembly in 1923) under the First Republic until 1938. Article 70 of the 1924 constitution guarantees in summary fashion "the rights and freedoms of conscience, of thought, of speech and press, of travel, of contract, of work, of owning and disposing of property; of assembly and association and of incorporation...". A new Law of Associations (no. 3512) of 28 June 1938 specifically prohibited, among others, associations with aims contrary to the five of the Six Arrows (*altı ok*) of the Republican People's Party incorporated by 1935 amendment into art. 2 of the constitution (*i.e.*, republicanism, nationalism, étatism, secularism, and revolutionism (*inkılâpçılık*]); associations directed against the territorial integrity of the state or "disrupting political and national unity"; and associations based on "religion, confession, or sect", on "region", and on "family, congregation [*cemaat*], race, kind [*cins*], or class" (art. 9). Branches of international organizations or of those with headquarters outside Turkey also were outlawed, except where special permission should be granted by cabinet decree in the interests of international cooperation (art. 10). By a major amendment of 5 June 1946 (law no. 4919), the prohibitions against associations contrary to the Six Arrows and against those based on class were lifted, and that against regional associations limited to political parties. Other laws of the First Republic provided additional restrictions. Laws no. 334 (15 April 1923) and 556 (25 February 1925) prohibited propaganda for restoration of the sultanate or caliphate and the abuse of religion for political purposes. A decree of 1922 outlawed Communism, and one of 2 September 1925 closed the dervish orders. These prohibitions were incorporated into the Penal Code (*Türk Ceza Kanunu*) of 1926 (arts. 141 and 142 being directed chiefly against Communism and art. 163 against religious-political associations). Law no. 5018 of 20 February 1947 for the first time specifically regulated trade unions and employers' associations (both being termed *sendika*, from Fr. *syndicat*). The Constitution of the Second Republic of 9 July 1961 provides broad and specific guarantees of the freedom of association (art. 29: "Every individual is entitled to form associations without prior permission. This right can be restricted only by law for the purposes of maintaining public order or morality") and of the right to form trade unions and employers' associations (art. 46) and political parties (art. 56).

The actual development of associational life was at times broader and at times narrower than the legislative history would indicate. Until the 1908 revolution, political associations within the Empire took the form of secret conspiracies, often with headquarters in exile. Among the first were those organized by nationalists among the Christian minorities, notably the Greek *Ethnike Hetairia* (National Association) founded in Odessa in 1814, followed by the Armenian Hinčak party (Geneva 1887) and the Dashnaktsutiun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation, 1890). The earliest political movements among Ottoman Muslims lacked elaborate organization; rather they were short-lived and abortive conspiracies aimed at the quick overthrow of the reigning *sulṭān*. Such was the nature of the *Kuleli* Incident of 1859, the *Čiraghān* Incident of 1878 and the so-called Scalieri-ʿAzīz Committee of the same year. A more elaborate society was formed in 1865 by a number of prominent literary and political figures with liberal and constitutionalist aims, including the poet Nāmīk Kemāl. When its members were banished or exiled in 1867, the centre of their activities shifted to Europe, where they adopted the name *Yeni ʿOthmānlīlar* (New Ottomans) or *Jeunes Turcs*. From this time onward, "Young Turks" became the name commonly used by Europeans to designate the advocates of Ottoman constitutionalism; in Turkish, the name occurs only as a French loan word, *Jön Türk*. Returning from exile after the deposition of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the original "Young Turks" played a leading rôle in the events leading to the adoption of the constitution of 1876. With the establishment of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's autocracy, the movement was at first eclipsed and then relegated once again to secrecy, banishment, and exile. In 1889, a number of students at the Army Medical College (*Mekteb-i Ṭibbiyye-i ʿAskeriyye*) in Istanbul, including Ibrāhīm Temo and ʿAbdullāh Djewdet, formed a secret political society known at first as *Teraḳḳī we Ittiḥād* and later as *ʿOthmānlī Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* (Ottoman Society of Union and Progress, later commonly known to Westerners as the Committee of Union and Progress). In Paris, the most prominent spokesman of the anti-Ḥamīdian exiles was Aḥmed Rīza (Riḍā), editor of the journal *Mechveret* (*i. e.*, *Meshweret*, "Consultation"). Defections and factionalism weakened the movement from time to time, whereas ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's repressive measures supplied a steady stream of new recruits both for the secret internal and for the exiled opposition movement. Thus, whereas Aḥmed Rīza considered himself an adherent of Comtean positivism and hence an advocate of strong central government, his rival "Prince" Sabāḥ al-Dīn formed a "Society for Individual Enterprise and Decentralization" (*Teshebbüth-ü Shakhṣī we ʿAdem-i Merkeziyyet Djemʿiyyeti*, Paris 1902). By 1906, the centre of gravity of the opposition movement had once again shifted from Europe to the Empire itself, where discontented military officers and civil servants spread the conspiracy to the provincial centres to which they were posted. That year a small Fatherland and Freedom Society (*Waṭān we Ḥürriyyet Djemʿiyyeti*) was formed in Damascus with the participation of Muṣṭafā Kemāl (the later Atatürk) and a

larger *ʿOthmānlī Ḥürriyyet Djemʿiyyeti* in Salonica with participation of Ṭalʿat, Djemāl (both later Pashas) and other prominent future figures. By the end of 1907, the Salonica group had absorbed the remnants of the Damascus society and merged with representatives of the Paris exile movement under the name of "Committee (or Society) of Union and Progress—a name adopted out of respect to its predecessors rather than a name acquired by direct inheritance" (Ramsaur, 122 f.). The successful revolution of 1908 was the result mainly of pressure of Macedonian army units enlisted into the conspiracy by this consolidated Salonica group.

From 1908 to the present, periods of proliferation of political and other voluntary associations have alternated with periods of suppression or coordination under the aegis of a single, powerful party. The number of parties and political associations listed for each of these periods in the index of Tunaya's work (772-7) may serve as a rough measure of this ebb and flow: 1814-1908: 18; 1908-13: 22; 1913-8: 2; 1918-23: 55; 1923-45: 5; 1945-52: 30. Among the many associations formed after the 1908 revolution were the New Generation Club (*Nesl-i Djedīd Kulübü*, 1908, representing Sabāḥ al-Dīn's decentralist tendency), an Ottoman Press Association (*Maṭbūʿāt-i ʿOthmāniyye Djemʿiyyeti*, 1908), an Arab-Ottoman Brotherhood Society (1908), a pro-Unionist association of *ʿulemāʾ* (*Djemʿiyyet-i Ittiḥādiyye-i ʿIlmiyye*, 1908), the Turkish Society (1908) and the Turkish Home Society (1911) both later (1913) merged and expanded into the Turkish Hearth (*Türk Odjaghī*, for the next two decades the most important association of Turkish nationalist intellectual and cultural leaders with branches throughout the country). The list of constituent organizations which on 17 April 1909 formed the Ottoman Unity Committee (*Heyʾet-i Müttefiḳa-i ʿOthmāniyye*) to oppose the threat of counter-revolution provides an indication of the variety of political and semi-political associations which had sprung up in the capital in the first few months after the 1908 revolution (see Tunaya, 275 f.): Ottoman Society of Union and Progress, Ottoman Liberal Party, Dashnaktsutiun, Greek Political Society, Ottoman Democratic Party, Albanian Central Club, Kurdish Mutual Aid Club, Circassian Mutual Aid Club, Bulgarian Club, Club of *Mülkiyye* Graduates, Ottoman Medical Society, etc. Philanthropic and professional societies, such as the Red Crescent (*Hilāl-i Aḥmer Djemʿiyyeti*, later called *Kızılay*), the Children's Aid Society (*Ḥimāye-i Eṭfal Djemʿiyyeti*, today *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu*), and the Istanbul Bar Association also date back to this period. On the political scene, the Society of Union and Progress was the most powerful organization in the country, and for the next decade it became known as *the* Society—*Djemʿiyyet tout court*—even though in 1913 it officially proclaimed its transformation into a political party. Meanwhile, adherents of Sabāḥeddīn and a continuous stream of dissidents from Unionist ranks formed a number of opposition parties, most of which eventually merged in the Freedom and Accord Party (*Ḥürriyyet we Iʾtilāf Firḳasī*, or, with its official French name, *Entente Libérale*) in 1911. But the coup d'état of January 1913 (*Bab-ī ʿAlī Waḳʿasī*) firmly entrenched the Unionists in power and the assassination of Maḥmūd Shewket in June of that year prompted a wave of stern suppression, including banishment of most Freedom and Accord leaders. For the next five years, the Union and Progress Party, led by Ṭalʿat and Enwer, ruled unchallenged, and control of government patronage and tightening wartime economic regulations gave it the opportunity to dominate such voluntary associations as continued to be active in public life.

The period following upon the Ottoman defeat in the first World War and the armistice of Moudros (30 October 1918) led to an intensive resumption of party and other associational activity in the capital. Many of the new groups were political parties trying to rally the anti-Unionist politicians for whom the discrediting and flight of the Unionist leaders had left an open field. The largest among these resumed the name Freedom and Accord Party, and for a time provided the major political support for the government of Dāmād Ferīd Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1919. Other, semi-political societies of the armistice period included the Kurdistan Resurrection (*Teʿālī*) Society, the National Unity Committee, the Society of the Friends of England and the Society for Wilsonian Principles (the last two respectively a collaborationist and a nationalist group), a Society for Mutual Aid Among Victims of Political Persecution (*Maghdūrīn-i Siyāsiyye Teʿāwün Djemʿiyyeti*). Once again the list of societies adhering to a non-partisan effort at national unity, the National Congress (*Millī Kongre*) of 29 November 1918, gives an indication of the wide variety of associations then in existence. It reads, in part, as follows: Turkish Hearth, Children's Aid Society, Teachers' Colleges Alumni Association, Navy Society, Galatasaray Students' Home, Mutual Aid Society of Kabatash (a quarter of Istanbul), Women's Employment Society (*Kadīnlarī Čalishtīrma Djemʿiyyeti*), National Defence Society, Press Association, Teachers' Society, National Instruction and Physical Education Association, Bar Association, Painters' Society, Farmers' Association, National Association of Private Schools, Craftsmen's Society, Women's Welfare Association (*Djemʿiyyet-i Khayriyye-i Niswāniyye*), Muslim Women's Employment Society, Society of Music-Loving Ladies, Society for the Modern Woman (*ʿAṣrī Ḳadīn Djemʿiyyeti*), Society for the Promotion of Fine Arts, etc, etc. (Tunaya, 420). During this same period we also encounter the first parties with a specific appeal to the lower classes, notably the Workers' and Peasants' Socialist Party of Turkey, the Ottoman Labour Party, and the Socialist Party of Turkey (*ibid.*, 438, 458, 463).

While the capital and the central government were coming increasingly under the control of Allied occupation authorities, local societies were forming in most of the *wilāyet* and *ḳaḍā* seats of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace for the purpose of opposing Allied occupation, partition, and annexation plans. In the case of one of the earliest and most prominent of these, the Ottoman Committee for the Defence of Thrace and Pashaeli (Edirne, 2 December 1918), we know that it was prepared and founded at the behest of Ṭalʿat Pasha, who hoped that such local groups would be able to carry on the Unionist political cause after the defeat of the Empire and the demise of the central party organization (see Bıyıklıoğlu, i, 123; cf. Rustow in *World Politics*, xi, 541). Since several similar organizations were founded in other important cities within a few days or weeks of each other, in some cases also with direct participation of local Unionist leaders (Ottoman Society for Defence of Rights of Izmir, 1 December 1918; Society for the Defence of Rights of the Eastern Wilāyets, founded in Istanbul, 4 December 1918, Erzurum branch opened 10 March 1919; Cilician Society, Adana 21 December 1918), one

may infer that there may have been a more comprehensive central plan. Whereas the earlier nationalist organizations rallied to the slogan of "Defence of Rights" (*müdāfaʿa-i ḥuḳūḳ*), those formed in western Anatolia at the time of the Greek occupation of Izmir (May 1919) commonly called themselves "Rejection of Annexation" (*redd-i ilḥāḳ*) societies. Regional congresses of these groups were held throughout the summer of 1919 at Erzurum, Balïkesir, Alashehir, and elsewhere. Whatever the antecendents of the Defence of Rights movement, its nation-wide consolidation was the result of the activities of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha [Atatürk] [*q.v.*], who was elected chairman of the Erzurum Congress and himself called for a nationwide congress at Sivas (4-11 September 1919) which repudiated the Union and Progress Movement, defined the foreign policy aims of the nationalist resistance movement in the so-called National Pact (*mīthāḳ-i millī*), and created the consolidated Society for the Defence of Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia (*Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdāfaʿa-i Ḥuḳūḳ Djemʿiyyeti*). Following the reinforced occupation of Istanbul in March 1920, the convening of a Grand National Assembly at Ankara on 23 April created a *de facto* nationalist government which was to become the foundation of the First Turkish Republic (proclaimed on 29 October 1923).

In the Ankara Assembly Kemāl time and again faced a religious-conservative opposition, known as the Second Group, but the elections of 1923 resulted in the complete elimination of these opponents. Later that year the Defence of Rights Society was reconstituted as the People's Party, later as the Republican People's Party (*Khalḳ Fïrḳasï*, *Djumhūriyyet Khalḳ Fïrḳasï* [*q.v.*], and eventually *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*). The precipitate manner in which the Republic had been proclaimed and fears of personal rule by Kemāl led to the formation of a new opposition group, the Progressive Republican Party (*Teraḳḳīperver Djumhūriyyet Fïrḳasï*, 17 November 1924), led by Kemal's closest and earliest associates of the 1919-20 period. Following the Kurdish uprising of February-April 1925, this party was charged with complicity in the insurrection and dissolved by cabinet decree (3 June 1925) under authority of the Law for the Restoration of Order (*Taḳrīr-i Sükūn Ḳānūnu*, 4 March 1925). The following year, most of the members of its Assembly group were tried, and seven of them sentenced to death and executed, on unproven charges of complicity in the attempt on Kemāl's life discovered in Izmir.

Although the formation of opposition parties was never formally prohibited, the events of 1924-26 clearly discouraged any would-be founders for the next two decades. The only important exception was the short lived Free Republican Party founded (and reclosed within four months) at Kemāl's suggestion by his close friend Ali Fethi [Okyar] [*q.v.*] in 1930. The dissolution of the Turkish Hearth (see above) in 1931 (involving the conversion of its branches into People's Houses to be administered by the People's Party), the merger of the posts of *wālī* and *wilāyet* chairman of the Republican People's Party (1936), the formation of a new Press Association under the chairmanship of Atatürk's long-time journalistic spokesman Falih Rıfkı Atay (11 June 1935), and the Law of Association of 1938 (see above) were so many steps toward the complete coordination of all associational and political activities within a single official party. Earlier, the formation under Atatürk's personal auspices of the Turkish Historical Society and the Turkish Language Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu* and *Türk Dil Kurumu*, 1932), provided a vehicle for Atatürk's concern with the promotion of a national-historical consciousness and of language reform.

A radical shift toward a policy of democratization and liberalization came at the end of the Second World War, first heralded in President İnönü's speech of 19 May 1945, and confirmed after some wavering by his pledge of impartiality between government and opposition parties of 12 July 1947. (The 1946 revision of the Law of Associations and the new Labour Code of 1947 were parts of the new political course). As a result, the formation of political and other associations multiplied in unprecedented fashion in the years after 1945. Tunaya lists as many as 14 parties founded during the single year of 1946. During the same year voluntary associations of national prominence were numerically distributed among various categories as follows: Craftsmen's Associations 343; sports clubs 246; social clubs 241; benevolent societies 100; town clubs 89; student societies 80; sports societies 79; civic improvement associations 79; scholarly associations 22; trade unions and employers' associations 20; health societies 17; journalists' associations 13 (*Türkiye Yıllığı* 1947, 266). The more liberal atmosphere also encouraged a secret revival of dervish orders which continued to be outlawed. (For specific cases of arrest see G. Jäschke, *Die Türkei in den Jahren 1942-51*, Wiesbaden 1955, index s.v. Derwischorden). Among these, the Tidjaniyye attracted the greatest notoriety because of its campaigns for reintroduction of the Arabic version of the *adhān* and of smashing statues of Atatürk. The latter subsided after the passage in 1953 of a new law for the protection of the memory of Atatürk which imposed heavy penalties on such activity.

A number of parties were disbanded after 1945 because of Communist leanings, notably the Socialist Toilers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey (closed 16 December 1946 by the Istanbul Martial Law Command) and the Socialist Party of Turkey (closed by the same decision, reopened after acquittal of its founders in 1950, and reclosed by court order on 17 June 1952). A number of other parties or associations of the extreme right were similarly dissolved, including the Islam Democratic Party (involved in an assassination attempt on the liberal journalist Ahmed Emin Yalman and closed by court order on 20 October 1952), the Great East (*Büyük Doğu*) Society (dissolved itself 26 May 1951 while on trial for "reactionary" activities and after its leader, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek had been apprehended on a gambling charge), and the pan-Turkist and racist Turkish Nationalists' Association (*Türk Milliyetçiler Derneği*, dissolved by court order 4 April 1953). (Information in this paragraph furnished to author by Turkish Ministry of the Interior, January 1954).

The advent to power of the Democratic Party under Celâl Bayar and Adnan Menderes as a result of the 1950 elections soon brought more systematic legal and extra-legal restrictions upon the freedom of association. Whereas the parties just listed consisted mainly of small groups of obscure men whose aims were repudiated by the vast majority of thoughtful citizens, the major targets of Menderes's repressive policies, it soon became clear, were the major opposition parties themselves. In December 1953, the assets of the Republican People's Party

(in opposition since 1950) were taken over by the government treasury, and just before the 1954 elections the second largest opposition group, the Nation Party (*Millet Partisi*) was dissolved by court order on tenuous allegations of being in fact a religious association. The latter party soon reappeared as the Republican Nation Party, enlarged in 1957 into the Republican Nation Peasants' Party. Toward the end of the decade opposition parties were subject to stringent police controls at their meetings, suppression of their newspapers, and systematic harrassing of their leaders in their movements throughout the country. At the same time many voluntary associations were pressed into joining the Patriotic Front (*Vatan Cephesi*) under Democratic Party auspices. The overthrow of the Menderes regime in the revolution of 27 May 1960 brought a temporary moratorium on all political activities under the provisional government of General Gürsel's Committee of National Unity. With the proclamation of the Constitution of the Second Republic, political and associational freedoms were once again restored, although the leaders of the deposed Democratic regime of Bayar and Menderes remained barred from political activity for the time being.

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(D. A. Rustow)

(iii)—Persia. The word which came to be commonly used in Persian for a voluntary society or association for literary, scientific, benevolent, or political purposes was *andjuman* [*q.v.*]. The terms *madjmaʿ*, *idjtimāʿ*, and *ittiḥādiyya* were less frequently used. The formation of *andjumans* in Persia was a relatively late growth. In a country where government was despotic and power arbitrary any group of persons regularly associating together was likely to be suspected of plotting against the state (cf. the story related in the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk, Persian text, ed. Schefer, 145 ff.); or of religious heresy, which was also closely bound up with opposition to the state, since an attack on orthodoxy implied a threat to the established order. This was perhaps a dilemma inherent in the very nature of the Islamic theory of state, which led the government to adopt an uncompromising attitude towards the unorthodox, thereby driving them to the very action which the government feared, namely the formation of secret societies, whose ultimate aim was the violent overthrow of the state. Further, co-operation between the citizens was mainly through associations such as the dervish orders and the craft guilds; and the *futuwwa* organizations, which in medieval Persia were connected at one extreme with the dervish orders and at the other with the craft guilds, and of which the *zūrkhāna* of modern Persia was in some measure an offshoot; and lastly perhaps even the factions, which had a vigorous life in some towns. Many of these various types of association were in some measure charitable associations also. These various factors to some extent account for the late growth of voluntary associations in Persia and their relative weakness in the nineteenth century when they were first found in any number.

The earliest *andjumans* mentioned in modern times are the literary societies which are recorded in early Ḳādjār times. That the first associations to be formed should have been literary societies is probably due to two factors: first there was a long tradition in Persia of literary discussion, and secondly a literary circle was less likely to draw the suspicion of the authorities upon itself than was any other type of association. Mention is made of a literary circle formed by the poet, Mushtāḳ (d. 1171/1757-8); and the formation of another some time prior to 1218/1803-4 in Iṣfahān by the poet Nishāt (d. 1244/1828-9) in imitation of the *andjuman-i mushtāḳ*. Nishāt's *andjuman*, which met weekly, was a centre for poets, men of letters, and Ṣūfīs (Ibrāhīm Safāʾī, *Nahḍat-i Adabī-i Īrān*, Tehrān n.d., 17). Sir Harford Jones Brydges describes literary gatherings which were attended by a mixed company of jurists, officers, merchants, and others, c. 1747 at the house of the poet Mīrzā Ḥusayn Wafā in Djīrāz (*The dynasty of the Kajars*, London 1833, cxlviii). The Ṣāḥib Dīwān, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī ʿAlī Ābādī (d. 1256/1840-1) is also said to have formed a literary society in Zandjān and later in Shīrāz during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (*Nahḍat-i Adabī-i Īrān*, 28-9). Wiṣāl (d. 1262/1845-6) formed a similar society in Shīrāz during the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (ibid., 35). It is difficult to know whether these literary societies really had any regular membership or were merely circles of literary-minded men. Iʿtiḍād al-Salṭana, at one time minister of education to Nāṣir al-Dīn (reg. 1848-96) mentions in an essay that as a young man at the beginning of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign he liked having meetings with literary and mystically inclined persons and had formed a group which met nightly. It included poets, such as Ḳaʿānī, and learned men, such as Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Harawī, who later became one of the Bābī leaders (*Rasāʾil-i Mutaʿaddida*, Madjlis, ms. 1293).

Under Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī when freedom of political association was limited, a number of literary societies (known individually as *andjuman-i adabī*) were founded in Tehrān and the provinces under official and private inspiration.

During the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn there was a gradual intellectual, or rather political, awakening; and with this there began a movement of revolt against internal corruption and misgovernment on the one hand and foreign intervention on the other. There was, however, at the time little political freedom and it was difficult for men to meet openly for political discussion, nor was there a free press in which they could express their views. This accounts both for the slowness with which the movement of revolt developed and also for the tendency to form secret or semi-secret societies. About the middle of the century there appear to have been attempts to organize societies known as *farāmūsh-khāna*, which are alleged to have been connected with freemasonry (though neither English nor French freemasonry apparently recognized these associations). On 12 Rabīʿ II 1278/19 October 1861 a notice appeared in the official gazette forbidding the organization of such groups.

One of the earliest societies to be formed during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn was the Madjmaʿ-i Ukhuwwat founded by ʿAlī Khān Ẓahīr al-Dawla b. Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān, the *Ishīkāķāsībāshī* and son-in-law of Nāṣir al-Dīn. Ẓahīr al-Dawla succeeded Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāh as the leader of a group of Niʿmatallāhī dervishes who had gathered round Safī ʿAlī Shāh as their *pīr*. Although Madjmaʿ-i Ukhuwwat was something in the nature of a Ṣūfī fraternity rather than a literary or political society, it appears to have been regarded by some as the first of the "political" *andjumans* and on these grounds its premises were destroyed on the orders of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh after the bombardment of the National Assembly (Muʿayyir al-Mamālik, *Ridjāl-i ʿAṣr-i Nāṣirī*, in *Yaghmā*, ix/7, 1956, 326 ff.). Nevertheless the society appears to have continued in existence or to have been reformed (see Ḥusayn Samīʿī, *Manthūrāt ya munshaʾāt wa tarasullāt*, Tehrān n.d., 314 ff.).

Towards the end of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign various secret or semi-secret associations started to meet in Tehrān and the provinces. When these *andjumans* (which came to be known individually by the term *andjuman-i millī*, *i.e.*, a national or popular society), first started to meet their deliberations appear to have been mainly confined to discussions on the desirability of the liberation of the people from the yoke of tyranny, and of the benefits which accrued from freedom, justice, and education. Their members were held together by discontent at existing conditions and a belief in the need for modernization. After the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn in 1896 the activities of the *andjumans* increased and their members advocated reform more openly. Their membership appears to have been drawn predominantly from the middle ranks of the *ʿulamā*. At this period the *andjumans* (or those of which we have records) seem to have considered their function to have been purely an educative one: to awaken the people to the evils of despotism and the benefits of freedom. Their members were apparently convinced that "progress" would inevitably result from the acquisition of the "new learning". With this in view they encouraged their members to found schools, which some of them did. In the second period of their existence after the grant of the constitution many of the *andjumans* themselves ran classes to combat illiteracy and even founded schools (Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, Tehrān n.d., ii, 207-8; E. G. Browne, *The Persian revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910, 245). One of the late 19th century *andjumans*, the Andjuman-i Maʿārif founded in 1315/1897-8, was apparently specifically concerned with educational matters (*Tarbiyyat*, no. 90, 6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdjā 1315, Tehrān; ʿIsa Ṣadīķ, *Taʾrīkh-i farhangī-i Īrān*, Tehrān, 1957-8, 340). Some of the *andjumans* after the grant of the constitution published newspapers; but most of these were ephemeral (see Browne, *The press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, and Muḥammad Ṣadr Hāshimī, *Taʾrīkh-i djarāʾid wa madjallāt-i Īrān*, 4 vols., Iṣfahān).

By 1903 discontent against the government had become more open and the need for reform seemed to the members of the *andjumans* more urgent. In 1904 a secret meeting of various groups which had hitherto been acting independently took place. They agreed to work for the establishment of a code of laws and the rule of justice and the overthrow of tyranny. The drew up a programme of action, or charter of association, consisting of eighteen articles; and set up a revolutionary committee of nine. The main purposes of the association were the dissemination of information, the establishment of contact with various classes of people inside and outside Persia, and the fanning of dissension among those opposed to their aims. (Malikzāda, *Taʾrīkh-i inķilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, Tehrān n.d., ii, 8; and see also Malikzāda, *Zindagī-i Malik al-mutakallimīn*, Tehrān 1946). Somewhat later, in 1905, a group called the Andjuman-i Makhfī (the Secret Society) was formed. Its membership was mainly drawn from the religious classes. It, too, was concerned to restrain corruption on the one hand, and curtail foreign intervention in the affairs of Persia on the other. It was both nationalist and Islamic. It is clear from its proceedings as recorded in the *Taʾrīkh-i Bīdārī-i Īrāniyān* by Nāẓim al-Islām-i Kirmānī (Tehrān, 2nd edition, n.d.) that its members were convinced that the despotism and the tyranny of the government on the one hand and the possibility of intervention by Great Britain and Russia on the other constituted a threat to Islam, and secondly that they believed that all the ills of the country could be cured by education. The activities of this and other *andjumans* played an important part in preparing the people for modernization, canalizing the growing discontent, and bringing the disaffected elements together. Their members became active supporters of the constitutional revolution. About the end of 1905, or the beginning of 1906, after the conflict between the Shah and the "reformers" had become open, a group broke away from the Andjuman-i Makhfī and the Andjuman-i Makhfī-i Thānawī (the Second Secret Society) was formed. The original *andjuman* continued its activities for some months, but by June 1906, various of its members having been arrested, it ceased to exist.

With the grant of the constitution in August 1906 the Andjuman-i Makhfī-i Thānawī was reconstituted and numerous other *andjumans*, with local and professional affiliations, sprang up in the capital and the provinces. In Tehrān within a short space of time some two hundred *andjumans* were formed; some of the larger ones are said to have had several thousand members. Their purpose was to support the constitution, advocate reforms, watch over the actions of the government and its officials, and demand redress for the citizens in cases of real or alleged injustice. Two main types of *andjuman* came into existence: "official" *andjumans* and "popular" *andjumans*. The former were the provincial councils (*andjuman-i ayālatī wa wilāyatī*) which were originally set up in the provincial towns for the purpose of electing deputies to the National Assembly and were later recognized by Article 90 of the Supplementary Fundamental Laws promulgated on 7 October 1907. Article 91 lays down that they should be elected by the people and Article 92 states that they were to be free to exercise supervision over all reforms connected with the public interest. The second type of *andjuman*, the "popular" *andjuman*, was also recognized by the supplementary Fundamental Laws, Article 21 of which states "Societies (*andjumans*) and associations (*idjtimāʿāt*) which are not productive of mischief to religion or to the state and are not injurious to good order are free throughout the whole empire, but members of such associations must not carry arms, and must obey the regulations laid down by the law on this matter . . ."

The provincial councils varied a good deal from place to place. The Andjuman-i Ayālatī of Tabrīz, which had been set up for the purpose of the election

of deputies to the new National Assembly, was dissolved by Muḥammad ʿAlī, the *walī ʿahd* and governor of Ādharbāydjān, as soon as the deputies had been elected. It reformed almost immediately as the Andjuman-i Millī though it subsequently appears to have been known by its original name (Karīm Ṭāhirzāda Bihzād, *Ḳiyām-i Ādharbāydjān dar inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, Tehrān n.d. 148-9, 174 ff; cf. also Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourdhui*, Paris 1908, 40). After the *coup d'état* of 1907 it became, in the absence of the National Assembly, the focal point of the constitutional or nationalist movement in Persia. In Iṣfahān the Andjuman-i Muḳaddasī-i Millī-i Iṣfahān, opened on 6 Dhu'l Ḳaʿda 1324/22 December 1906, appears to have had executive as well as consultative functions and to have been run by the leading *ʿulamāʾ*, merchants, and citizens of the town (see the weekly paper published by the Andjuman-i muḳaddas-i millī-i Iṣfahān, 1907-8; and also Muḥammad Ṣadr Hāshimī, *op. cit.*, i, 290). The membership of the "popular" *andjumans* also varied from place to place. They were more strongly developed in Tehrān, Tabrīz, Iṣfahān, and north Persia than in the south. Whereas prior to the grant of the constitution the Tehrān *andjumans* were largely drawn from the religious classes and the intellectuals, in the second phase they had a strong connexion with the craft guilds; many of them also had local affiliations. In Tabrīz each street tended to have its own *andjuman*; and in Tehrān not only were there local *andjumans* but the inhabitants of different districts and provinces who lived in Tehrān also formed their own *andjumans*. In Ādharbāydjān from the first the *andjumans* were opposed to the large landowners and had a strong "middle class" bias. In Iṣfahān, on the other hand, the *andjumans* were largely dominated by the local religious leaders. In Rasht some of the members of the Andjuman-i Millī formed there are said to have been connected with the Social Democratic Party of Baku (Malikzāda, *Taʾrīkh-i inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, ii, 264). In general, however, the members of the *andjumans* had had no political experience, and there was a tendency on the part of some of them to an irresponsible interference in the administration of the country (Cf. Cd. 4581 Persia No. 1 (1909), no. 176, p. 143). In spite of this they played an important part in creating a public opinion in favour of constitutional reform and were the one support which the National Assembly had against the reactionary party. Further, through the contact which the *andjumans* established with each other they fostered a certain sense of solidarity among those who were seeking to assert themselves against the arbitrary, and often tyrannical, rule of the provincial governors. Prior to this time any attempt by the people to assert themselves against the local authorities was likely to be isolated. The *andjumans* created a sense of a community of interest and this gave the people in widely separated districts courage to act. The success of the *andjumans* in providing a focal point for public opinion in support of the constitution was such that their opponents sought to counter this by infiltrating into existing *andjumans* and by forming *andjumans* themselves, hoping to confuse the issue by working in secret against the constitution under cover of nationalist associations.

Muḥammad ʿAlī, who succeeded his father, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, in January 1907, disliked the constitution from the start. After the appointment of Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣghar Khān Amīn al-Sulṭān, the Aṭabak-i Aʿẓam, as prime minister in the late spring of 1907 there was a great increase in the numbers of the *andjumans*, secret and otherwise, formed for the defence of the constitution (ʿAbdallāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagī-i man*, Tehrān 1945, ii, 244-6; memorandum by Churchill, enclosed by Sir Cecil Spring Rice to Sir Edward Grey in a letter dated 23 May 1907, Cd. 4581, no. 26, p. 27). Little was done to implement the constitution. Disorders were fomented in the provinces. Russia was suspected of aiding and encouraging the Shah against the National Assembly, and the belief grew that there was secret collusion between the Shah and the Amīn al-Sulṭān for the overthrow of the constitution and the sale of the country to Russia. On 31 August the Amīn al-Sulṭān was assassinated by a certain ʿAbbās Āḳā (who immediately afterwards shot himself). On the assassin's body was found a paper stating that he was devotee (*fidāʾī-i millī*) no. 41 of the Andjuman. Whether in fact such an *andjuman* whose members were thus known as *fidāʾīs* really existed remains an open question. There is, however, no doubt that the murder heightened the morale of the nationalists, and gave rise to the belief that the membership of secret societies whose members would not stop at political assassination to gain their ends was spreading. Popular sentiment approved the murder and regarded ʿAbbās Āḳā as the saviour of the country (Kasrawī, *op. cit.* (in Bibl.), 447 ff., Browne, *op. cit.*, 150 ff.).

An abortive attack by the court party on the National Assembly in the winter of 1907-8 was frustrated by the help of the Tehrān and provincial *andjumans*. Some of them meanwhile began to raise volunteers for a kind of national militia. In June 1908 a more serious attack was made against the National Assembly. The *andjumans* again rallied to its defence, this time in vain. The Cossack regiment bombarded the Assembly and the *andjumans* were dispersed after a brief resistance. The Assembly was closed and a number of prominent nationalists were arrested and some executed. The organization of the nationalist resistance, which culminated in the deposition of Muḥammad ʿAlī and the restoration of the constitution in July 1909, largely devolved on the *andjumans*. They were helped in this by *andjumans* formed by Persian communities abroad, especially the Andjuman-i Saʿādat in Constantinople.

As soon as Muḥammad ʿAlī had closed the National Assembly he sent instructions to the provinces for all the *andjumans* to be closed also (Kasrawī, *op. cit.*, 672). Immediate and effective resistance came from Tabrīz only. Government troops were expelled from the town, which was then blockaded, the siege being raised by Russian troops who opened the Julfa road in April 1909. The resistance of Tabrīz organized by the Andjuman-i (Millī-i) Ayālatī, although the nationalists were eventually forced to capitulate, gave the nationalists in other cities of Persia, especially Iṣfahān and Rasht, time to recover after the *coup d'état* of 1908. In Iṣfahān contact was eventually established between the *andjumans* and the Bakhtiyārīs and in January 1909 Iṣfahān was taken. At the end of April a force of Bakhtiyārīs and nationalist fighters (*mudjāhidīn*) set out from Iṣfahān for the capital, while the Sipahdār-i Aʿẓam Muḥammad Walī Khān, who had been in command of the government troops outside Tabrīz and had gone over to the the nationalists and assembled a force of *mudjāhidīn* in Gīlān and Tunākabūn, marched on Tehrān from the neighbourhood of Ḳazwīn. The two forces entered Tehrān on 13 July and Muḥammad ʿAlī abdicated on 17 July.

With the restoration of the constitution the activities of the "popular" *andjumans* declined. For a brief period in 1911 when renewed attempts to strangle the constitution were made they were again sporadically active; and various acts of violence were attributed to them. However, when the constitution was again suspended in 1911 on account of the opposition of the National Assembly to the Russian ultimatum demanding the dismissal of Mr. Morgan Shushter, the treasurer-general, the cumulative effect of internal disorders, the infiltration of hostile elements into the nationalist movement, and, above all, Russian pressure, discouraged, if it did not make virtually impossible, the emergence of a popular movement of protest. The "popular" *andjumans*, thus, had no longer a function to perform and so they disappeared from the political scene.

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(A. K. S. Lambton)

(iv)—Tunisia. In Tunisia, the term *djamʿiyya* does not appear to have been in use before the 19th century. Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnusī used it in 1284/1867 in the sense of academy, scientific association; charitable society; municipal or cantonal organization (*djamʿiyyat al-kāntūn*), agricultural or industrial association; parish, parish council; various groups of teachers, notables, officials, local magistrates, municipal councillors. In the field of economics he used *sharika* (but *djamʿiyya* for a joint-stock company). He even used the expression *al-sharikāt al-djamʿiyya* (*Akwam al-masālik*, 77).

In the twentieth century *djamʿiyya* signifies association, society, corporation, league, parliamentary assembly (*al-djamʿiyya al-waṭaniyya*) and includes so-called voluntary associations of every sort (*al-djamʿiyyāt al-ḥurra*).

Religious associations.—The oldest is the *Djamʿiyyat al-Awkāf*, in charge of the public habous and with the right to inspect the endowments of private habous and Zaouias (*zawāyā*). It is social and religious in character. With it can be connected the *djamʿiyyāt khayriyya* (charitable), the first of which was founded in 1323/1905. In 1380/1902 the Yearbook (*Rūznāma*) added the *takāyā* (sing: *takiyya*), institutions dating from 1188/1774 under ʿAlī Pasha Bey). Neither the traditional Islamic organizations nor the confraternities (*ṭarīka*) bear this name. The non-confessional associations founded after 1900 added to their titles the adjective *islāmiyya* or *ʿarabiyya*, to be replaced by *tūnusiyya* or *waṭaniyya* between 1919 and 1938 (a period ot intense Destour activity). In 1935 *shaykh* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bawandī founded the *djamʿiyyat al-imlāʾāt al-kurʾāniyya* (Ḳurʾānic readings).

Political associations.—To the "evolutionist" group are attributed numerous foundations connected with music (al-Hilāl, 1322/1904 and al-Ḥusayniyya founded in 1907 in al-Naṣriyya), sport (al-Islāmiyya, 1905), the theatre (1905), etc. Special mention must be made, on account of its influence, of the "Association of North African Muslim students in France" (*Djamʿiyyat ṭalabat shamāl Ifrīkiya al-muslimīn bi-Firansa*), which was presided over by several well-known Tunisians. From the time of its foundation (1934) the Neo-Destour created or controlled numerous associations (for example, *al-shubbān al-muslimūn*). In 1945 there occurred a characteristic regrouping of existing associations (agricultural labourers, workers, officials, students, and teachers, women, young people etc.). The word *ḥizb*, party, denotes a purely political association from the time of the foundation of the Young Tunisian Party (1907).

Economic associations.—The first of these appears to have been the association of food merchants: *Djamʿiyyat tudjdjār al-maʿāsh* (15 September 1888). After 1906 they became more numerous (at least nine societies were founded between 1910 and 1921); in this sphere, after 1906 *sharika* tends to replace *djāmʿiyya*. From 1888 to 1938, out of 38 societies only 6 bear this second name. At first societies had a symbolic name (*nahḍa, taʿāwūn, taʿāḍud*) with *sharika* as a secondary name, but soon *sharika* became their name. After 1900, as the development of such societies was curbed by the latent objection to loans subject to interest (*ribāʾ*), their Islamic character was stressed: *Islamic* Commercial Society (*al-Ikbāt*, 1908). After 1910 the national aspect was emphasized: the *Tunisian* Islamic Society (*al-Taraḳḳī*, 1910), the National Commercial Society (*al-Amān*, 1914); and the still more significant title *al-Istiklāl al-iktiṣādī*.

Cultural associations.—The term *djamʿiyya* applies particularly to unaffiliated associations of this sort. The earliest in date (18 Radjab 1314/22 December 1896) was *al-Djamʿiyya al-khaldūniyya* whose aim was the teaching of modern science to Tunisian students, particularly those of the great mosque. The second (23 December 1905) was the Association of Former Pupils of Ṣādiḳī (*Djamʿiyyat Ḳudamāʾ talāmidhat al-ṣādiḳiyya*) which rapidly acquired great political importance. Groups with aims concerned with sport, music, the theatre etc. also adopted or at least implied the title *Djamʿiyya*.

New associations.—With the coming of independence (20 March 1957), the associations underwent a transformation (juridical reforms, a new political, cultural, social and economic orientation). Unions (*ittiḥād*) took the place of *Djamʿiyyāt*. However, the term remained in use for cultural associations, as is shown by the recently established "Cultural Associations Centre" (*Dār al-djamʿiyyāt al-thaḳāfiyya*).

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publications) of associations and societies (in Arabic and French): a more detailed study is to appear in *IBLA*. (A. Demeerseman)

India and Pakistan.—In Muslim India the word *djamʿiyya* is replaced by *djamiʿat* or *djamāʿat* as a term for religious or religio-political as distinct from purely political organizations. The term, in this sense, is of recent though not of modernist origin.

The *Djamāʿat-i mudjāhidīn*, the religio-political organization formed by Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlwī, owed its name to its movement of *djihād* against the Sikhs in the early 19th century and later against the British. Essentially it based its programme on the teachings of Shāh Walī Allāh and his successors to purify Indian Islam from syncretic elements borrowed from Hinduism and to organize and strengthen the Muslim community socially and politically. It was a popular organization deriving its support from all cross-sections of Muslim society and operating its own *bayt al-māl* and law courts.

The *Djamīʿat al-ʿulamāʾ-i Hind* was founded in 1919 at the peak of the Indian Muslim agitation in favour of the Ottoman Khilāfat. Mawlana Maḥmūd Ḥasan, already a well-established religio-political leader was among its founders, and though the ʿulamāʾ of the Farangī Maḥall [see dār al-ʿulum] and members of the *Nadwat al-ʿulamāʾ* also participated in it, the element of Deoband [*q.v.*] remained by far the most powerful. It supported the nationalist programme of the Indian National Congress and was opposed to separatist trends in Muslim politics and to the demand for Pakistan by the general Muslim consensus.

This led in 1945 to the formation, by a dissident group of Deobandī and other ʿulamāʾ, of the *Djamīʿat al-ʿulamāʾ-i Islām*, under the leadership of Shabbīr Aḥmad ʿUthmānī, which supported the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan. It moved to Pakistan in 1947, and during the various phases of that country's constitution-making championed the traditionalist view of the *sharīʿa*. Another traditionalist organization which participated to some extent in the processes of constitution-making and legislation was the *Djamīʿat al-ʿulamāʾ-i Pākistān*.

The *Djamāʿat-i Islāmī* differs from these traditionalist religio-political bodies in basing its programme strictly on fundamentalism. It was founded in 1941 by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Mawdūdī, with its centre at Paṭhānkoṭ, and moved to Pakistan in 1947, where it developed itself into a well-knit, well-organized religio-political group, extending its influence into urban and rural areas of West Pakistan and playing a controversial rôle on the question of the ideals and constitution of Pakistan as an Islamic state. Its fundamentalism is the complete antithesis of liberal modernism and vests all rights of legislation immutably in God alone, denying them to all human agencies, individual or collective, thus preaching a theocracy which is to be run by the consensus of the believers according to the letter of the revealed law.

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al-DJAMMĀZ

al-Djammāz, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥammād b. ʿAṭāʾ b. Yāsir, a satirical poet and humorist who lived in Baṣra in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries. Nephew of Salm al-Khāsir [*q.v.*], pupil of Abū ʿUbayda, and friend of Abū Nuwās, of whom he has left an exceptionally accurate portrait (see al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 163; idem, *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, 115). Unlike many of his contemporaries, he does not seem to have gained entrance to the court of Baghdād, despite his attempt during the reign of the caliph al-Rashīd. He therefore remained, poverty-stricken, in his native town, satisfying himself with amusing the local notabilities. But it is said that late in life he was called to the capital by al-Mutawakkil and presented with the sum of 10,000 dirhams; legend has it that he died of shock on the spot. This event must have taken place before 247/861, but his death has also been put at 255/868-9.

As a satirical poet he composed little other than *muḳaṭṭaʿāt* of 2 or 3 verses, which were nevertheless remarkable for their malicious liveliness aimed, among others, at Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya and al-Djāḥiẓ. He was quick and scathing at repartee, but his humour, following the taste of the time, was in general very coarse.

Bibliography: Among old writers, it is to be noticed that Ḥuṣrī (*Zahr* and *Djamʿ*, see index) frequently quotes anecdotes and lines of al-Djammāz; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, iii, 125-6, and Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, MS. Paris 1588, 149 a-b, carry a notice of him; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 278, and *Muʿdjam*, 431, concentrate more on the work than the man. See also: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 174-5, *Bayān* and *Bukhalāʾ*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Mukhtalif*, 71; Ṭabarī, iii, 1412: Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 39; *Aghānī*, index; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, 322; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa*, 275; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 50; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, iii, 46; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 60. Biographical data and a number of lines are contained in Sandūbī, *Adab al-Djāḥiẓ*, 46-8; Hādjirī, in his edition of the *Bukhalāʾ* of Djāḥiẓ, 315, gives a summary of his biography. (Ch. Pellat)

DJAMNĀ

DJAMNĀ, the usual modern Muslim spelling of the Indian river which rises in Tehrī in the Himālaya and falls into the Ganges at Allāhābād. Generally called Jamnā (older Jumna) on western maps, its Sanskrit name Yamunā has been largely re-adopted in modern India; it was known to Ptolemy as Διαμούνα, to Arrian as Ἰωβαρής, and to Pliny as *Iomanes*; the spellings *Gemini* (Roe) and *Gemna* (Bernier) occur among early European travellers. Early Muslim historians of India refer to it as جون.

Its depth and width have made it a natural frontier in the division of territory in north India, between the Pandjāb and the Doʾāb lands and between Awadh (Oudh) and the districts (Gwāliyār,

etc.) to the south. Navigable for the greater part of its length in the plains, it was an important traffic route until the coming of the railways; this and the purity of its water have largely been responsible for its urban settlements in Dihlī, Mathurā (Muttra), Āgrā, Eṭāwā, Kalpī and Allāhābād [*qq.v.*].

Of its canals, the East Jumna canal was a British enterprise. The western canal, however, was begun by Fīroz Shāh Tughluk in 757/1356, as a monsoon supply channel to Ḥiṣār and Hansī [*qq.v.*]. In 976/1568 it was re-excavated, by Akbar's orders, and became a perennial water-course, as shown by the contemporary bridges at Karnāl, Safīdon, etc., and implied by the *sanad* of construction. It was further extended and improved in 1025/1626 by ʿAlī Mardan Khān. On the canals see J. J. Hatten, *History and description of government canals in the Punjab*, Lahore n.d. [see also NAHR].

The "Jumna musjid" of Forbes (1785) and other 18th-century writers is a misapprehension of Djāmiʿ (commonly Djamā, Djammā) masdjid.

(J. Burton-Page)

AL-**DJAMRA**, lit. "pebble", (pl. *djimār*). The name is given to three halts in the Vale of Minā, where pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt during their annual pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj*) stop to partake in the ritual throwing of stones. The *Lisān al-ʿArab* explains that the place acquired its name either through the act of throwing, or through the stones themselves, which accumulate as more pilgrims perform the rite. Travelling from ʿArafāt, one comes first to *al-djamra al-ūlā* (or *al-dunyā*), then, 150 metres further on, to *al-djamra al-wusṭā*. They are in the middle of the main street of Minā, which runs in the direction of the valley itself. There is at each halt a square column of stonework surrounded by a trough into which the stones fall. 115 metres further on to the right, where the road leaves Minā and climbs towards the mountains in the direction of Mecca, the pilgrim comes to *djamrat al-ʿaḳaba* (also known as *al-kubrā* in *ḥadīth*), which consists of a wall and a basin sunk into the earth. The columns and wall are called 'the devils' (*Iblīs* or *Shayṭān*) by the people. The halts also sometimes go by the name *al-Muḥaṣṣab*, which is a plain lying between Mecca and Minā. The ritual stone-throwing is considered compulsory (*wādjib*) by the 4 schools, and exact procedural instructions are laid down. Any infraction invokes a penalty, ranging from the giving of food to a beggar to the offering of a victim for sacrifice.

On 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, before the sacrifice of the Feast, the pilgrim throws 77 stones into the *djamrat al-ʿaḳaba*. On the 11th, generally between midday and sunset, he visits each *djamra* in turn, beginning with the *djamra al-ūlā*, and throws 7 stones into each one. He does the same on the 12th (and on the 13th should he still be in Minā). The stones normally come from Muzdalifa, although this is a custom and not an obligation, and they are about the size of a date-kernel or large bean. Burckhardt speaks of stones collected into actual heaps by some pilgrims. They are thrown from a short distance with a flick of the right thumb, rather like marbles. As he makes a throw, the pilgrim utters a *takbīr*, which some jurists consider is the essence of the rite. The crowd presses thick and excitedly round the *djimār*. Poets of the past recounted that the mob allowed them a glimpse of their beloved (see *e.g. Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vi, 30; Yāḳūt, iv, 427; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 166, 13; cf. 370, 8 ff.). The Saʿūdī Arabian authorities have recently improved the means of access to the *djamrat al-ʿaḳaba*. In Arab countries, where stones are within easy reach, lapidation is an expression of hostility (cf. stones thrown at tombs which carry a curse). At *al-djamra* it is Satan who is stoned; there is an old story that Adam was the first person to drive Satan away there by stoning him. Another version attributes the event to Abraham, Hagar and Ishmael. The three *djimār* are said to mark the spots where each in turn was accosted by Satan, who wished to prevent the sacrifice of Ishmael. They all resisted the temptation, and repelled him with stones. There is no explicit mention of the Minā rites in the Ḳurʾān, but reference to them can be found in the biographies of Muḥammad and the *ḥadīth* (see for example Ibn Hishām, 970; Wāḳidī, Wellhausen, 417, 428 ff.; Ibn Saʿd, ii, 1, 125, viii, 224 ff.). They can be traced to an ancient pagan rite adapted by Islam. According to Ibn Hishām, 534, 17 (see also Wellhausen, *Maghrī*), in pagan times there existed blood-spattered stones, used in sacrifices, near the present heaps; cf. references to stone idols of al-Muḥaṣṣab in a poem of al-Farazdaḳ (Boucher ed., 30). Both van Vloten and Houtsma have given interpretations of the pre-Islamic significance of lapidation (cf. *EI*[1], and bibliography below). In a more detailed study, Gaudefroy-Demombynes suggested that it was an idolatrous cult of planetary origin, but warned that the present state of knowledge does not permit of a definitive answer being given (see ḤADJDJ).

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(F. Buhl-[J. Jomier])

DJAMSHĪD (Avestan Yima Khshaēta "Yima the brilliant"), in abbreviated form Djam, an Iranian hero who has "remained alive in popular and literary tradition, from Indo-Iranian times until our own day (see the texts collected, translated and commented upon by A. Christensen, *Le premier homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, ii). To the Indian hero Yama, son of Vivasvant, sometimes immortal man become god, sometimes the first human to have suffered death and to have become its god (*Rig-Veda*, *Mahābhārata*, *Atharva-Veda*; cf. the texts in Christensen, *op. cit.*) there corresponds, in the texts from ancient Īrān, the hero Yima, son of Vīvahvant, a hero of the millennium when men, rescued from the influence of the *dīws* [*q.v.*] by the establishment of morality and religion, did not know hunger or thirst, heat or cold, old age or death; he founded towns and villages in thousands, kindled the three sacred fires, organized the social castes, preserved humanity from perishing by providing a safe, vast refuge, underground but nevertheless light, the *Var* (cf. Noah's ark), on the approach of a terrible winter followed by floods, provoked by a

sorcerer or demon; but, according to the texts, he taught men, who were then simply vegetarians, to eat animal meat (hence his condemnation by the Avesta which forbids sacrifices of blood; cf. text and commentary in Christensen, *op. cit.*, ii); moreover, having fallen under the demon's influence, he believed he was God, lost his purity, gave himself up to profane pleasures and was forsaken by his glory (*kh^w arəna*) which was of divine origin; it was in this way that he brought misery upon mankind and was reduced to living in hiding for a century; finally, on being discovered by the demons, on the order of their leader Azhi-dahāka (Azhdahag, Ẓaḥḥāk) he was sawed in the hollow tree in which he had taken refuge (a borrowing from Talmudic tradition: Christensen, *op. cit.*, 74); later, he was avenged upon Azhi-dahāka through Θraētaona (Farīdūn), a hero descended from the royal family who inherited the divine glory and re-established the monarchy which for some years had been usurped. Christensen has shown that three of the legend's principal characteristics recur in legends of various Iranian herous: the loss of divine favour as a result of a deadly sin (cf. Hartman, *Gayōmart*, 87), the building of a wonderful palace, immortality lost. According to the oldest texts, which find a reflection in al-Ṭabarī (Persian tr. by Balʿamī), Yima was the type of the first man to reign throughout the first millennium; but very soon legend credited him with predecessors: Gayōmart (Kayūmarth) and his children, Hūshang, Takhmōruv (Tahmūrath) whose reigns preceded his own, in the course of the first millennium (Christensen, *Premier homme*, i, 124 ff.).

Arabic and Persian texts deriving from the (lost) Pahlavi work *Kh^w adāinâmagh* differ as to the genealogy and chronology of these heroes. As an example we may note that only the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī makes Djamshīd the son of Ṭahmūrath, unlike tradition which makes them brothers; again, several authors insert two or three generations between Hūshang and Djamshīd. In these works we find, developed to a lesser or greater extent (most of all in al-Ṭabarī, Balʿamī, Firdawsī, from the *Kh^w adāinâmagh*), details from the ancient texts summarized above (see the summaries and tr. in Christensen, *op. cit.*, ii). Popular tradition and Persian poetry have clung to two elements in the Djamshīd legend: the magic cup (*djām-i Djam*) in which he saw the universe (a very ancient legendary theme: Christensen, *op. cit.*, ii, 128 ff.), the celebration of the *nawrūz* (ibid., 138). Several Arab authors protest against the identification of Djamshīd with Solomon—which proves that this belief was widespread (Christensen, *op. cit.*, ii, 119), and hence the buildings which they are supposed in popular tradition to have erected: Takht-i Djamshīd ("Djamshīd's throne": Persepolis), Takht-i Sulaymān (Murghab), Masdjid-i mādar-i Sulaymān ("mosque of the mother of Solomon": tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadu). In short, Islamic authors do not add any notable element to the legend of Djamshīd; in their works we find borrowings from Avestan sources through the intermediary of Pahlavi texts and the *Khodāi-nāma* (*Kh^w adāinâmagh*); in general, they are agreed on the details of his civilizing work, but differ as to his genealogy.

Several historical personages bore the name of Djamshīd (or Djam); among others, the son of the Sāsānid king Kavadh I (Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, index: Zham; idem, *Les Kayanides*, 40), a son of the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II [see DJEM], Ghiyāth al-Dīn Djamshīd, who collaborated with Ulugh-Beg [*q.v.*] for his astronomical tables, *zīdj* (Browne, iii, 386). According to Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 118), "Djāmm (sic) is a town in Fars to which was given the name of Djamshīd son of Ṭahmūrath".

The poet Asadī [*q.v.*] of Ṭūs told of the romance between Djamshīd and the daughter of the king of Kābul with whom he had taken refuge from Ẓaḥḥāk, who pursued him as far as China (*Livre de Gerchasp*, i, 37-91, text and trans. Cl. Huart); Djamshīd's magic cup has given the name to a poem *djām-i Djam* [see art. AWḤADĪ; the vowel of the second Djam should be changed to a short *a*]; a romance in verse by Salmān of Savè [*q.v.*] tells of the love of Djamshīd, son of the emperor of China, and Khūrshīd, daughter of the emperor of Byzantium. As it is not possible to mention here all the poems in which Djamshīd features, we will limit ourselves to the *ḳaṣīda* by Manūčahrī (ed.-trans. Biberstein-Kazimirski, no. 57) on the wine-jar which the poet calls "Djamshīd's daughter", following the popular belief which credits Djamshīd with the invention of wine (cf. Muḥammad Muʿīn, *Mazdayasna*, Tehran 1326/1948, 267 ff.); Djamshīd appears many times in the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ (play of words on *djām* and *Djam*: ed. Kazwīnī-Ghanī, no. 78, 179, 431, 468).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see: Desmaisons, *Dict. persan-français*, art. Djam, the name denoting three sovereigns; *Gr. I Ph.* (s.v. Yima); A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides* (index: Yim); Sven S. Hartman, *Gayōmart* (index: Yim, Yima); E. Benveniste, *Les classes sociales dans la tradition avestique*, in *JA*, ccxxi (1932), 117 ff.; G. Dumézil, *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus*, 45 ff.; Browne (index: Djamshid as named in lyric poetry); Dr. Safa, *Ḥamāsa-sarāʾī dar Īrān*, 396 ff.; idem, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyāt-i Irān*, (index); H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes* (index I: Djamchīd).

(CL. HUART-[H. MASSÉ])

DJĀN-I DJANĀN [see MAẒHAR].

DJANĀB SHIHĀB AL-DĪN (CENAP ŞEHABETTIN) (1870-1934). Turkish poet and writer, one of the three representatives of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* school of literature (the others being Tewfīḳ Fikret and Khālid Ḍiyā (Ziya)).

He was born in Monastir. Upon the death of his father, an army officer, killed at the battle of Plewna (1876), he settled in Istanbul with his mother and attended, as a boarder, various military high schools, graduating from the military School of Medicine in 1889 as an army doctor. He spent four years in Paris completing his medical studies. On his return to Turkey he served in various Department of Health offices in the provinces and in Istanbul. After the Constitution of 1908 and during the First World War he tried political life without success. On retiring from government service he joined the staff of the Faculty of Arts of Istanbul University (1914) but had to resign in 1922, following a student protest about his hostile attitude towards the Nationalist movement in Anatolia. After the establishment of the Republic (1923), and after a vain attempt to win the favour of the new Government in Ankara, he lived until his death a relatively secluded life, contributing essays and occasional poems to the revived literary review *Therwet-i Fünūn*.

In his early youth Djanāb came under the influence of the last important group of supporters of

the old school of literature and his first poems are in the classical tradition. But he soon freed himself of this influence and began to write poems strongly inspired by the work of the great modernist ʿAbd al-Ḥakk Ḥâmid and of Redja'īzāde Ekrem. On his return from Paris, where he had ample opportunity to study contemporary French literature, he definitely chose the modern school, which, led mainly by Redja'īzāde Ekrem and Tewfīḳ Fikret, was now developing round the literary review *Therwet-i Fünūn*. Djanāb was invited to join this review, which gave its name to the literary movement of the turn of the century. He became, after Fikret, the most successful and admired poet of the movement.

After 1908, the prose-writer eclipsed the poet, and with his numerous articles, political and literary polemics, essays, criticisms and travel notes, he came to be considered, by a whole generation, as the brilliant master of Turkish prose.

Ignoring completely all the new tendencies which were to revolutionize Turkish poetry and the Turkish language, Djanāb remained an adherent of 'Art for art's sake'. He was influenced in choice of words, concern with rhythm and unusual images by the French Parnassiens and to a lesser degree by the early Symbolists. Djanāb's comparatively few poems (collected after his death by Saadettin Nüzhet Ergun, see *Bibliography*) are all limited variations upon two themes: nature and love. Despite his obsession with metre and choice of words, which were often unearthed from the depths of Arabic and more particularly Persian dictionaries, he is no master of form. But his uncertainty, often awkwardness in form, does not prevent him from achieving at times an original and strangely attractive poetry, with unusual imagery and internal rhythm. "A silvery dew had fallen on the black leaf of night—The moon quivered like a dewdrop on the night".

Djanāb's prose is more ornate and very precious and equally full of rare Arabic and Persian words; it quickly became antiquated because of his failure to see the rapid and inevitable development of the Turkish literary language and style after 1910. In long and futile polemics, supported by his admirers, he fought a losing battle against the generation of young writers, supporters of "New Language" ("*Yeñi Lisān*"), led by the short story writer ʿUmar Seyf al-Dīn (Omer Seyfettin), who were determined to rid Turkish of the domination of Arabic and Persian grammar and vocabulary and introduce spoken Turkish, "the living Turkish" as they called it, into literature. When he realized his mistake in the 1920's and began experimenting with the "new language", it was too late: his day as writer was over. He collected some of his many essays and articles in *Ewrāḳ-i Eyyām*, Istanbul 1915, and *Nethr-i Ḥarb, Nethr-i Ṣulḥ*, Istanbul 1918; and his travel notes in *Ḥadjdj Yolunda*, Istanbul 1909, 1925, and in *Avrupa Mektūblari*, Istanbul 1919. He also wrote two plays: *Yalan*, 1911, *Kôrebe*, 1917. His last book was a study on *William Shakespeare*, 1931.

Djanāb owes his important place in the history of Turkish literature to his remarkable contribution in the 1890's to the modern school of Turkish poetry, which completed the break with almost all the traditions of *dīwān* poetry and established for good the "westernized" type of Turkish poetry. In this, his role was second only to that of Tewfīḳ Fikret.

Bibliography: Rushen Eshref, *Diyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1918, 81-93 and *passim*; Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Cenap Sehabettin, Hayati ve seçme siirleri*, Istanbul 1934; Ali Canip Yöntem, in *Aylik Ansiklopedi*, Istanbul 1945, i, 298-9; Kenan Akyüz, *Batı tesirinde Türk şiiri antolojisi*[2], Ankara 1958, 265-96. (FAHIR İZ)

AL-DJANABA (sing. Djunaybī), one of the leading tribes of Oman. Apparently at one time the strongest of all the Bedouin tribes there, the Djanaba still number enough nomadic members to rank as peers of the Durūʿ [*q.v.*] and Āl Wahība [*q.v.*] in the desert. The main divisions of the Djanaba are the Madjāʿila (sing. Madjʿalī, pronounced Mēʿalī), the Fawāris, Āl Dubayyān, and Āl Abū Ghālib, of which the first is recognized as paramount. The present chief (*rashīd*) of the tribe is Djāsir b. Ḥamūd, whose predecessors were the descendants of al-Murr b. Manṣūr.

Covering a wide territory, the Djanaba generally speaking fall into two groups, an eastern and a western. In the east many have settled along the coasts, in Ṣūr on the Gulf of Oman, which is shared with Banī Bū ʿAlī, and in the little ports of the coast of the Arabian Sea as far south as al-Djāzir. These settled folk have largely turned their hand to nautical affairs, and some have done well as merchants, trading to Bombay, Zanzibar, and the Red Sea. The nomads in the eastern group have large herds of camels and goats, which they keep on the coasts in winter and in the interior in summer, sheltering themselves in caves from the south-west monsoon. Some are skilful fishermen, especially in catching sharks.

The western group consists primarily of Bedouins, though some own property, *e.g.*, the chief of the tribe, Djāsir, who has land in ʿIzz, which is regarded as the tribal capital. Djāsir also has a claim to the island of Maṣīra, on which he stays for a time each year. The favourite range of the western Djanaba, the wadis in the vicinity of the town of Adam, lies east of the range of the Durūʿ.

The Djanaba belong to the Ghāfirī faction, in which they are allied with the Durūʿ in opposition to Āl Wahība, who are Hināwīs. The enmity between these tribes is no longer as bitter as it once was. In Djaʿlān the Djanaba are allies of Banī Bū ʿAlī. The Djanaba call themselves Sunnīs; Ibāḍī doctrines have not made much headway among them, though they respect the Ibāḍī Imām.

Bibliography: B. Thomas, *Alarms and excursions in Arabia*, Indianapolis, 1931; W. Thesiger, *Arabian sands*, London, 1959; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-Aʿyān*, Cairo, 1332-47. Also information from inhabitants of Oman. (G. RENTZ)

DJANĀBA, the state of so-called major ritual impurity. It is caused by marital intercourse, to which the religious law assimilates any *effusio seminis*. One who is in this state is called *djunub*, and can only become ritually clean again by the so-called major ritual ablution (*ghusl* [*q.v.*]) or by the *tayammum* [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, the law prescribes for a Muslim in the state of so-called minor impurity the minor ritual ablution (*wuḍūʾ* [*q.v.*]). The distinction is based on the wording of Ḳurʾān, V, 6. The *djunub* cannot perform a valid *ṣalāt*; he may not make a *ṭawāf* round the Kaʿba, enter a mosque (except in cases of necessity), touch copies of the Ḳurʾān or recite verses from it; these last provisions are based on the traditional interpretation of Ḳurʾān, LVI, 77-9. *Djanāba* is also called "the major *ḥadath*" [*q.v.*], in opposition to the minor ritual impurity.

Bibliography: The chapters on *ṭahāra* in the

collections of traditions and the works on *fiḳh*; I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, Leipzig 1884, 48-52.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL*)

AL-DJANADĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. YAʿḲŪB B. YŪSUF, Shāfiʿite jurist and historian of Yemen. His family was of the town of Ẓafār in Yemen although he resided most of his life in Zabīd where he apparently died in 732/1332. His only known extant work, *Kitāb al-sulūk fī ṭabaḳāt al-ʿulamāʾ wa ʾl-mulūk*, is an important biographical dictionary of the learned men, primarily jurisconsults, of Yemen arranged by the towns in which they were born or lived. The dictionary proper is preceded by a long introduction comprising a political history of the country from the time of the Prophet to 724/1323-4, early recognized by the later historians of Yemen to be of the greatest value so that his work is quoted as a source by al-Khazradjī, al-Ahdal, Abū Makhrama, and others. The biographical portion was later continued by al-Khazradjī in his *Ṭirāz aʿlām al-zaman fī ṭabaḳāt aʿyān al-Yaman* and in the *Tuḥfat al-zaman fī aʿyān al-Yaman* by al-Ahdal. The *Sulūk* of al-Djanadī has not as yet been edited in its entirety although a portion of the historical introduction, that concerning the Fāṭimid *dāʿīs* in Yemen, has been edited and translated from the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (2127, Add. 767, foll. 30a-32b) by H. C. Kay in his *Yaman, its early mediaeval history* (London, 1892). To those manuscripts of the *Sulūk* listed by Brockelmann should be added the excellent copy in the Chester Beatty Library (no. 3110, i. & ii) and another in the Egyptian National Library in Cairo (25 Taʾrīkh); the latter is a recent photocopy of that in the library of the great mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 184, S II, 236; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 613; al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān* in Franz Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 406-7; Kay, pp. xii-xiv.

(C. L. GEDDES)

AL-DJANĀḤIYYA (or al-Ṭayyāriyya), the special partisans of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], great-grandson of Djaʿfar al-Ṭayyār Dhū ʾl-Djanāḥayn. Though Djaʿfar and his son and grandson were highly respected by Shīʿīs, no political or religious party seems to have been attached to the family until ʿAbd Allāh took the leadership of the general Shīʿī revolt against the Umayyads in 127/744. The wider party of ʿAbd Allāh included for a time most politically active Shīʿīs (including some ʿAbbāsids), not to mention certain displaced Khāridjites; but the term *Djanāḥiyya* may be applied more particularly to those for whom ʿAbd Allāh had exclusive rights to the imāmate. These claimed that Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya had left the imāmate not to the ʿAbbāsids but to ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, then still a lad, in care of a certain Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik. They are said to have believed that the *imām* knew the unseen, and that whoever knew the *imām* was exempt from other (presumably ritual) obligations. (It is doubtful if ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya shared these opinions). Among them, Isḥāḳ (or ʿAbd Allāh) b. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith and his partisans are said to have believed in reincarnation and in the presence of the light of God in the *imām*. On the death of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, some claimed he was withdrawn into the mountains of Iṣfahān, whence he would return to put an ʿAlid in power; others evidently accepted Isḥāḳ b. al-Ḥārith as *imām*.

Bibliography: see ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUʿĀWIYA (to which add in particular Ṭabarī, ii, 1976 ff.); see also Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 41, 42, 67-8; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ*, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 6, 22 (the group was strengthened by the Kaysānī Ḥarbiyya), 85; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. M. Zāhid Kawtharī, 142-3, 150, 152, 163, 193, 216 (ed. M. Badr, 235 ff.); Ibn Ḥazm, Cairo ed. iv, 137, 143; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, i, 113 (ed. on margin of Ibn Ḥazm), i, 156 (branch of the Hāshimiyya), trans. Haarbrücher, ii, 408); Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn* (commentary of the *Risāla* of Ibn Zaydūn), Cairo ed., 241-4; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 488 and note (the Ḥamāsa of Buḥturī contains many of his verses), vii, 160; *Aghānī*, xi, 72 ff.; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, 261; I. Friedlaender, *The heterodoxies of the Shiʿites*, in *JAOS*, xxviii, 45, 71, and xxix, 44-5; Moscati, *Il testamento di Abū Hāshim*, in *RSO*, xxvii, 32-3, 46.

(M. G. S. HODGSON and M. CANARD)

AL-DJANĀWANĪ (also AL-DJENĀWUNĪ), ABŪ ʿUBAYDA ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD, governor of the Djabal Nafūsa for the Ibāḍite *imāms* of Tāhart. He was a native of the village of Īdjnāwun (also Djenāwen, in Berber Ignaun) situated below the town of Djādū in the present district of Fassāṭo. He already enjoyed great prestige there about 196/811 during the stay of the *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam in the Djabal Nafūsa. On the death of Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Ayyūb he was elected governor of the Djabal Nafūsa by the people of the country and afterwards received the investiture from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, probably a little before the death of the latter which occurred in 208/823. His governorship, the duration of which corresponded very nearly with the reign of the *imām* Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (208/823-258/871), was troubled by the continuous war which he had to wage against the heretic Khalaf b. al-Samḥ, grandson of a previous Ibāḍite *imām* of North Africa, Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Maʿāfirī. Several episodes are known of this war which came to an end only after the victory which al-Djanāwanī achieved over Khalaf's army in 221/835. As a result of this victory the Djabal Nafūsa, whose population were fanatical partisans of the Rustamids, continued to be a province of the state of Tāhart until the latter's downfall.

Al-Djanāwanī was pious and learned. Besides Berber he also knew Arabic and the language of Kanem (*lugha kānamiyya*), a very strange fact. He is counted among the twelve *mustadjāb al-duʿāʾ* ('those whose prayers are answered') who inhabited the Djabal Nafūsa towards the end of the 2nd/8th century and the beginning of the 3rd/9th. He resided at Īdjnāwun which at this period became for a time the religious and political centre of the whole Djabal Nafūsa. The Ibāḍite tradition recorded by al-Shammākhī speaks of seventy Ibāḍī scholars who flocked there at that time from all the province governed by al-Djanāwanī.

Bibliography: *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, trans. with comm. by E. Masqueray, Paris-Algiers 1878, 144-74; Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301/1883, 179-89; A. de C. Motylinski, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1899, 88, n. 2; R. Basset, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*, in *JA* 1899, July-August, 95-6; T. Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, i, Warsaw 1955, 92-3, 131, and *passim*.

(T. LEWICKI)

DJANĀZA (or DJINĀZA, Ar.) a corpse, bier, or corpse and bier, and then, funeral. It was *sunna* [*q.v.*] to whisper the *shahāda* [*q.v.*] in the ear of a dying man whose face was turned towards Mecca. The dead body was washed by those of the same sex though

there were exceptions; Abū Bakr [*q.v.*] gave orders that he should be washed by his widow. It was a mark of piety for one at the point of death to wash himself in readiness. The body was not stripped entirely and was washed several times, always an uneven number, and for the last *sidr* leaves or camphor was steeped in the water. If disease made it unwholesome to touch the body, it was enough to pour quantities of water over it. Washing began with the right side and the parts washed in the ritual ablution. Martyrs who fell in battle were not washed and were buried in their blood-stained clothes without prayers. Grave-clothes might be the every day garments, usually three, though sheets were used; white was the normal use though colours were allowed but not red. The eyes were closed, the jaw tied up and the graveclothes tied tightly but were loosened in the tomb. If the clothes were short they had to cover the head while the feet might be covered with reeds. The body was carried to the grave on an open bier with a cloth thrown over it, and there was an extra covering for a woman. Burial might be in the house but was more usual in a cemetery. The funeral moved quickly for, "If I am good, hurry me to God; and if I am bad, get rid of me quickly". It was better to walk in the procession than to ride and it was a work of merit to help carry the bier, if only for a few steps. A halt might be made at a mosque for prayers which differed from the *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*] because the mourners stood throughout. Prayers were said by the grave. A near relative officiated though the governor or a famous scholar might be asked to lead or might insist on doing so. The *imām* [*q.v.*] stood by the head of a man or by the trunk of a woman. Prayers were said over an infant if it had cried once but not over a suicide. Those sitting in the street should stand as a funeral passes. Women were not allowed to be present; this was to avoid the lamentation customary in the *Dj̲āhiliyya* [*q.v.*] because lamentations added to the pains of the dead. The earth must not press on the body which must sit up to answer Munkar and Nakīr (see ʿADH̲ĀB AL-ḲABR) so the grave was a pit with a narrower trench at the bottom or a niche hollowed out at the side; the trench was roofed with flagstones and the niche shut off by a wall of sun-dried bricks. Grave-diggers specialized in one or other of these forms and Muḥammad's grave depended on whether a "trencher" or a "nicher" came first. If this tale is true, these forms of burial existed before Islam but the details are so precise that the whole is suspect. The nearest relatives descended into the grave to put the body in position with the face towards Mecca and to loosen the grave-clothes. One man one grave is the rule; after the battle of Uḥud two bodies were put in one grave but one was taken away later; if a man and a woman had to be laid in one grave, there had to be a partition between them. Burial might be on the day of death or the following day but a hurried burial at night was not approved. Some held that the earth over a grave should be level though others allowed a small mound. Covering it with plaster and inscriptions was forbidden but headstones with name, date and sentences from the Ḳurʾān soon became common. Water was often sprinkled on the grave; rain watered that of a saint and in later times, if there was a horizontal stone, it had a hole in it to let water through. Coffins were not used at first but by the 6th century they were common. There might be a meal with gifts of food to the poor. Customs changed; women followed funerals, professional mourners were employed and masonry tombs became common.

Bibliography: Chapter *dj̲anāʾiz* in the collections of traditions; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 2/ii, 60 ff. (burial of Muḥammad); Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal* (1929), 2, 220 ff., 281 ff., 3, 234-80 (middle ages); M. Galal, in *REI*, ii (1937), 131-300 (modern Egypt); Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. 28; Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. *Burial*; I. Gruetter, in *Isl.*, xxxi (1953), 147-73, xxxii (1955), 79-04, 168-94; A. S. Tritton, in *BSOS* ix, 653-61.

(A. S. TRITTON)

DJĀNBĀZ. The Persian *dj̲ānbāz* 'playing with one's life; dare-devil' developed three meanings which, mainly through Ottoman Turkish, spread into a number of languages: 1. 'acrobat', especially 'rope-dancer', which is known in the east as far as Eastern Turki (*čāmbashči*), in the west in the Caucasus, Turkey, and Egypt (*ganbādhiya* 'rope-dancers', *gunbāz* 'gymnastics'), 2. 'soldier' [see article DJĀNBĀZĀN), 3. 'horse-dealer'; this latter word spread through Turkey (recorded in the 16th century: Gliša Elezović, *Iz Carigradskih Turskih Arhiva Mühimme Defteri*, Belgrade 1951, 115, no. 659) north as far as Rumania and south to Syria and Lebanon, often with pejorative development of the meaning: 'one who drives a hard bargain' (Bulgaria), 'merchant who demands exorbitant prices' (Syria), 'trickster' (Rum. *geambaş*). —Acrobats, known since antiquity, were always popular in the Near East, and, in particular, in the festivities given by the Ottoman sultans to the people of the capital they were never missing. 'A troupe of excellent Tumblers and Mountebanks (where of Turkey abounds aboue all the Regions of the Earth) . . .' begins the description of such a festivity (Michel Baudier, transl. by Edward Grimestone, *The History of the Serrail and of the Court of the Grand Seigneur*, London 1635, 88 f.). The earliest reference to *dj̲ānbāz* in Ottoman times seems to be found in the description of a circumcision feast for the royal princes in Edirne in 1457 (here Laonikos Chalkokondyles translates the Turkish term, spelled τάμπεζιν instead of τζάμπεζιν, as 'rope-dancer', cf. Moravscik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 2, 252). From the 16th century we have many descriptions, often accompanied by illustrations, both in Turkish sources and narratives of European travellers, of the performances of various kinds of acrobats at public festivities; particularly famous was the circumcision feast which Murād III gave for his son Meḥemmed (III) in 990/1582. Ewliyā Čelebi's travel book offers interesting details about the *dj̲ānbāz* in the 17th century. In his account of the parade of the Istanbul guilds he mentions the guild of the acrobats (i, 625 f.), listing several names. He also mentions that the most outstanding rope-dancer, Meḥmed Čelebi of Üsküdar, was holding an imperial letter patent (*k̲h̲aṭṭ-i s̲h̲erīf*) by which he was appointed warden (*ser-češ̲h̲me*) of all acrobats (here the term is *pehliwān*) of the empire, of whom a total of 200 masters were listed in his register (*defter*). Meḥmed Čelebi is again mentioned among the participants of a memorable show at Istanoz (now Zir, *vilâyet* of Ankara) where—we are told by Ewliya Čelebi (ii, 439-42, ed. Özön, iii, 10-13)—all rope-dancers (here the narrower term *resenbāz* is used) assembled once every 40 years for a contest which resulted in the promotion of the apprentices to master's status. The sources for the 16th and 17th centuries can be found in Metin And, *Kırk gün, kırk gece, Eski donanma ve s̲h̲enliklerde seyirlik oyunları*, Istanbul

1959. For the *djānbāz* in Istanbul's more recent past see Refik Ahmed, *İstanbul nasıl eğleniyordu?* Istanbul 1927, 83-86, and Musahipzade Celâl, *Eski İstanbul yaşayışı*, Istanbul 1946, 68 f.

(A. Tietze)

DJĀNBĀZĀN (Persian plural of *djānbāz*, see previous article)—the name of a military corps in the Ottoman Empire. It is not known when exactly the corps was founded, although it may have been in the reign of Orkhān Ghāzī [*q.v.*]. The *djānbāzān* served only in time of war, like the *ʿazab* [*q.v.*], *gharībān* and *čerekhōr* ("territorial" miners and sappers). Grzegorzewski (*Z sidzyllatów Rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej*, Lwów 1912, 53 ff.) believes, however, that they were organized in 844/1440 by Murād II [*q.v.*] to meet the first Balkan expedition of John Hunyady and that they took part in the battle of Varna. The *djānbāzān* served in the vanguard and were charged with dangerous tasks. This fact led Hammer (*Staatsverfassung*, index) to class them with the irregulars known as *serden-gečti* (lit. "mad or wild adventurers"), *gönüllü* ("volunteers") and *deli* ("madmen", [*q.v.*]). Grzegorzewski followed by Babar (*Zur wirtschaftlichen Grundlage des Feldzuges der Türken gegen Wien im Jahre 1683*, Vienna/Leipzig 1916, 29 ff.) held, however, that they formed the personal body-guard of *Beglerbegi*s [*q.v.*] and *sandjak begi*s, like the *djāndārān*, while D'Ohsson (*Tableau général*, vii, 309) thought that, like the *gharībān*, the *djānbāzān* served as coastal militia in Anatolia.

The *djānbāzān* later joined the *yürük*s ("nomads", [*q.v.*]) and Tatars as well as the *yaya* ("infantry") and *müsellem*s ("sappers") in forming support forces for the Janissaries (cf. Djelāl-zāde Nishāndjī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mamālik fī daradjāt al-masālik*, Fātiḥ Library MS 4467, f. 8; I. Ḥaḳḳī Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtında kapı kulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, 2).

A *ḳānūnnāme* dating back to the middle of the 10th/16th century is in existence concerning the *djānbāzān* of Rumeli. It states that 10 *djānbāzān* formed an *odjaḳ*, that only one served at a time, the remaining nine paying 50 *aḳče*s each as *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye* [see ʿAwāriḍ]. The *ḳānūn-nāme* describes the *djānbāzān* as nomads, paying taxes (*bād-i hawā rusūmu*) to their own officers (*Su-bashî*). The relatives and dependants of the *djānbāzān* were assimilated to the corps, which could also be joined by outsiders, related by marriage, and by converts. The *djānbāzān* of Rumeli were considered part of the *yürük zeʿāmet* of Vize; they were subject to the same penal, taxation and other rules, and seem, therefore, to have come largely from the same stock. They were subject, however, to a more complicated system of *ʿawāriḍ* services (*Ḳānūnnāme-i Djānbāzān*, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu Defterleri, no. 226). The *Ḳānūnnāme-yi Āl-i ʿOthmān* (v. *TOEM*) states that *djānbāzān* on active service should be considered as soldiers and that the "estate duty" (*resm-i ḳismet*) for any killed in war should be paid to the *ḳāḍī ʿasker*, if it exceeds 100 *aḳče*s, and in other cases to the *ḳāḍī*s of *wilāyet*s. Later, however, all *djānbāzān* were considered soldiers and all duties became payable to the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumeli.

In 950/1543 the corps (*ṭāʾife*) of *djānbāzān* amounted to 39 and in 964/1557 to 41 *odjaḳ*s. ʿAyn-i ʿAlī (*Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, 45) gives their strength together with that of *ʿazab*s as 1280, of whom one tenth served at any one time. The corps was abolished towards the end of the 16th century (according to D'Ohsson under Selīm II) together with those of the *yaya* and *müsellem*s.

The *djānbāzān* were cavalry troops and they also bred horses for the army. After their dissolution their name lived on in the form "*at djānbāzī*" meaning "horse broker". (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin)

DJĀNBULĀṬ, a family of *amīr*s, Durūz in religion and Kurdish in origin ("soul of steel" in this language), established in the Lebanon, where they formed the Djānbulāṭī party, active until the present day (common modern spellings: Djoumblatt, Jomblatt, etc.). The Djānbulāṭ, related to the Ayyūbids according to Lebanese tradition, appeared in the region of Killis during the latter half of the 10th/16th century (the Mamlūk Djānbulāṭ al-Nāṣirī, governor first of Aleppo and then of Damascus in 902-4/1497-9, sultan of Egypt for six months under the name of al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Naṣr, d. 906-7/1501, seems to have no connexion with this family).

Djānbulāṭ b. Ḳāsim al-Kurdī (d. 980/1572), surnamed Ibn ʿArabī, perhaps by *taḳiyya*, suppressed brigandry in the sandjaḳ of Killis, where he hade been placed in charge by the Ottomans, and participated in the conquest of Cyprus. His son Ḥusayn (d. 1013/1604) evicted the wālī Naṣūḥ Pasha from Aleppo, whom he had assisted against the rebels of Damascus, and was executed at Van for having refused to join in an expedition against Īrān. ʿAlī, his son (Djānbulāṭoghlu to the Ottoman historians), rebelled in Aleppo and extended his rule in Syria; he aligned himself with the amīr of Mount Lebanon, Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn, against Yūsuf al-Ṣayfa, also a Kurd, the governor of Tripoli, defeated the latter at Ḥamā, but then was reconciled to him; he established an independent amīrate from Ḥamā to Adana, failed to remit taxes to the Sultan, had the *khuṭba* recited in his own name, and raised an army of more than 30,000 men. He was conquered at Orudj in 1016/1607, as was his ally Fakhr al-Dīn; thanks to his uncle Ḥaydar, he received the pardon of the Sultan at Istanbul. Placed in command of Temesvar, he joined battle with the Janissaries, fled to Belgrade, and was decapitated in 1020/1611. The Djānbulāṭ, however, kept their command over Killis and thereafter remained faithful to the Sultan; a nephew of ʿAlī, Muṣṭafā, became bey of Rumeli. They seem to have left some remnants in the Lebanon, where one of these was imprisoned at Shakīf in 1019/1610, and where they struggled against Yūnis Maʿn during Fakhr al-Dīn's absence in Italy; the latter, however, after his return and before his new revolt, made a fresh appeal to the Djānbulāṭ of Killis.

Djānbulāṭ b. Saʿīd (d. 1050/1640), probably grandson of ʿAlī, finally emigrated to the Lebanon in 1040/1630 with his sons Saʿīd and Rabāḥ, settled in the Shūf, and, from 1041/1631, joined the campaigns of the amīr. His son Rabāḥ succeeded him, and ʿAlī, his grandson (d. 1124/1712), outlived his brothers Fāris and Sharaf al-Dīn, who were assassinated; he entered the service of the powerful Druze chieftain Ḳablān al-Ḳāḍī al-Tanūkhī, married his daughter, and inherited his fortune and his influence, which he increased by his generosity towards the common people. He helped the amīr Ḥaydar Shihāb to carry the battle of ʿAyn Dāra, 1123/1711, against the Yamanī "party". Before his death he wished to divide his fortune between his son-in-law ʿAlī and the amīr, but the Druzes bought back the latter's portion for ʿAlī's benefit. This son-in-law ʿAlī built the castle of Mukhtāra, finally established the local authority of his family, developed with the Djānbulāṭī "party" an opposition movement to the amīral power, and intervened in the dissensions

of the Shihāb whom he looked upon as upstarts. In 1173-4/1760 he assured the succession of the amīr Manṣūr against his co-regent Aḥmad, then, deceived by him, brought the amīr Yūsuf to power, joined with him in an unhappy struggle against Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar, and later turned against him, won over by the intrigues of Djazzār. He died as an octogenarian in 1192/1778.

Bashīr Djānbulāṭ, grandson of ʿAlī (?), built the mosque of Mukhtāra on the model of that of Acre, and undertook important irrigation works; he helped the accession to power in 1202/1788 of the amīr Bashīr II Shihāb, and long supported him, but he set up his lieutenant ʿAbbās against him during the amīr's absence in Egypt; the latter on his return defeated him at Mukhtāra and had him strangled in 1240/1825. After the downfall of the Shihāb dynasty in 1841 the Ottomans preferred the Arslān to the too rich and powerful Djānbulāṭ for the Ḳāʾimaḳāmate of the Shūf. Saʿīd Djānbulāṭ, set aside in this way, took an active part in the bloody events of 1860; condemned to death, he died in prison in 1861. His son Nasīb continued after him the struggle for authority against the Arslān, whom he eliminated, at the end of the 19th century, from the Ḳāʾimaḳāmate of the Shūf.

The Djānbulāṭī "party" (with a scarlet flag edged with green, bearing a hand and a dark green scimitar) was formed, not in the 17th century as is often supposed, but during the first half of the 18th, when the amīr Ḥaydar supported against ʿAlī Djānbulāṭ ʿAbd al-Salām Yazbak ʿAmād, who formed the Yazbakī "party". These parties do not continue, as is sometimes claimed, the classical Yamanī (totally eliminated from the mountains after ʿAyn Dāra) and Ḳaysī (with whom the Djānbulāṭ were always friendly) clans, but substitute for this traditional division an analogous one, some effects of which persist in the contemporary political life of the Lebanon.

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DJĀNDĀR or Djandār, the name given to certain guards regiments serving the great Saldjūḳs and subsequent dynasties. Attached to the royal household, they provided the sovereign's bodyguard, and carried out his orders of execution. Their commander, the *amīr djāndār*, was a high-ranking officer; some of them are reported as becoming *atābaks* [*q.v.*]. Under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, they formed an élite cavalry guard, and wore their swords on a gold-embroidered baldric. At the accession of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳobād I in 616/1219 he is said to have had a bodyguard of 120 djāndārs (Ibn Bībī, *El-Evāmirü 'l-ʿalāʾiyye*, facsimile ed. A. S. Erzi, Ankara 1956, 216). Under the Khwārizm-Shāhs the djāndārs, as guards and executioners, held positions of great influence (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 378). Under the Ayyūbids the *amīr djāndār* was one of the highest ranking officers in the state; he remained so under the early Mamlūks [*q.v.*], the post being held by an amīr of a thousand. Later the office declined in importance, and from the middle of the 9th/15th century to the end of the Mamlūk Sultanate the djāndārs were common soldiers. From Mamlūk Egypt the term passed to North Africa, where it was used of the bodyguards of the Marīnids.

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DJANDARLI, name of an Ottoman family of *ʿulemāʾ*-statesmen, prominent from ca. 750-905/1350-1500, five of whom held the office of Grand Vizier. The name, variously spelt in the early sources, in later works usually Čandarlî, appears in the oldest inscriptions as Djandarī, which has been explained as a *nisba* from Pers. *djāndār*, 'bodyguard' (so Fr. Taeschner and P. Wittek, in *Isl.* xviii, 83) or from a locality Djender or Čender near Sivrihisar (so I. H. Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, xxiii, 457 f.).

(1) Khayr al-Dīn Khalīl b. ʿAlī (popularly 'Kara Khalīl') is said to have been *ḳāḍī* successively of Biledjik, Iznik and Bursa. Murād I, shortly after his accession, appointed him to the newly-created office of *ḳāḍīʿasker* [*q.v.*], and later (certainly by 783/1381, perhaps earlier, see *Belleten*, xxiii, 465-8) made him vizier; as the first Ottoman vizier to combine with the supervision of the administration the command of the army he is reckoned the first 'Grand Vizier'. He played a prominent part in the conquest of Western Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly, and penetrated Albania (787/1385). Left in Rumeli as Murād's representative during the Karaman campaign, he died at Serres in 789/1387.

Khayr al-Dīn Pasha is credited by the chroniclers with the establishment of the corps of the *yaya* [*q.v.*] and later of the *yeni-čeri* [*q.v.*]. He was married to a daughter of Tādj al-Dīn Kurdī, *müderris* of the *medrese* of Iznik. Three sons of his are known: ʿAlī (2), Ibrāhīm (3) and Ilyās; the last is said to have been beglerbegi and to have died under Bāyezīd I; he had a son, Dāwud Čelebi, who died in 898/1492.

(2) ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] served Murād I, Bāyezīd I and Emīr Suleymān as Grand Vizier, and died in 809/1406.

(3) Ibrāhīm Pasha's early career is obscure (he too seems to have been a partisan of Emīr Suleymān). In 808/1406 he was *ḳāḍī* of Bursa (*Belleten*, v, 560 f.). According to one account (Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 133) he was sent by Mūsā Čelebi, after Emīr Suleymān's death, to Constantinople to demand tribute, and seized the opportunity to desert to Meḥemmed I,

who appointed him vizier (but ʿĀshiḳpashazāde [ed. Giese, 196] says he had been ḳāḍīʿasker to Meḥemmed, who made him vizier on occupying Bursa). A document of 818/1415 shows that he was in that year ḳāḍīʿasker (*TTEM* xvi, 379 and n. 11), and another of 823/1420 (*Belleten*, v, 561) that he was by then second vizier (Bāyezīd Pasha being Grand Vizier). When, shortly after Murād II's accession, Bāyezīd Pasha was killed by the pretender 'Düzme' Muṣṭafā, Ibrāhīm succeeded him as Grand Vizier and remained in office until his death, of the plague (O. Turan, *Tarihî takvimler*, 24), on 24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 832/25 August 1429. Ibrāhīm Pasha restored the influence of his family, weakened by their adherence to Meḥemmed I's rivals, and followed a cautious and prudent foreign policy.

(4) Khalīl Pasha [*q.v.*], the eldest son of Ibrāhīm, was by 847/1443 Grand Vizier. He enjoyed Murād II's full confidence to the end of his reign, but the part he had played in recalling Murād to the throne in 850/1446 and the suspicion of having dealings with the Byzantine Emperor incurred the displeasure of Meḥemmed II, and he was executed (the first Grand Vizier so to suffer) shortly after the capture of Constantinople (857/1453).

His brother Maḥmūd Čelebi was married to a sister of Murād II; taking part as *sandjaḳ-bey* of Bolu in the campaign of the Izladi Pass (847/1443-4) he was captured, but later ransomed (Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 172). Maḥmūd had a son, Suleymān Čelebi, who died in 860/1455.

Khalīl's son Suleymān Čelebi was by 851/1447 *ḳāḍīʿasker*; he predeceased his father (Medjdī, 126).

(5) Ibrāhīm Pasha, son of Khalīl, was born in 833/1429-30. Documents (to those cited by Uzunçarşılı, *İA* s.v. Çandarlı, 356a, add M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, 333, 203, 344, 327 etc.) show that he was *ḳāḍī* of Edirne at the time of his father's disgrace and remained in that office until 869/1465, when he was appointed *ḳāḍīʿasker* (thus Tashköprüzāde's story of the poverty he suffered is to be rejected); by 878/1473 he was *lala* (with the rank of vizier) to Prince Bāyezīd (cf. also *Ibn Kemal, VII. defter*, ed. Ş. Turan, 1954, 399 ff.). After his accession, Bāyezīd II appointed him *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rumeli in 890 and, in Ṣafar 891/February 1486, vizier (Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 217, and cf. Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 74-5, 418, 121). Second vizier by 893 (Ḳiwāmī, ed. F. Babinger, Istanbul 1955, 321), he succeeded Hersekzāde Aḥmed Pasha as Grand Vizier in 903/1498, but died two years later while on the campaign against Lepanto.

Thereafter the family fell into relative obscurity. One son of Ibrāhīm, Ḥuseyn Pasha, died after 940/1533-4 as beglerbegi of Diyārbekir, and another, ʿĪsā Pasha, for a short time *nishāndji*, died in 950/1543-4 as beglerbegi of Damascus; the latter's son Khalīl was *lala* to Prince Orkhān, the son of Suleymān I's son Bāyezīd, and died in 976/1568-9 as defterdār of Budin.

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DJANDJĪRA [see ḤABSHĪ].

DJANFIDĀ KHATŪN [see SUPPLEMENT].

DJANGALĪ, the name of a nationalist and reformist movement in Persia which came into being in 1915 in the forests (*djangal*) of Gīlān under the leadership of Mīrzā Kūčik Khān, Iḥsān Allāh Khān and a number of other liberals (*āzādīkhʷāhān*) and constitutionalists (*mudjāhidīn*). The Djangalīs (in Persian: *djangaliyān* or *aḥrār-i djangal*), whose slogans were freedom from foreign influence and the independence of Īrān under the banner of Islam, set up a revolutionary committee called *Ittiḥād-i Islām*, published a newspaper entitled *Djangal*, and engaged as military instructors a number of German, Austrian and Turkish officers. The movement, which was financed by money extorted from the landowners of Gīlān, was given an added impetus by the Russian Revolution of 1917, and by 1918 had spread to other Caspian regions, notably the province of Māzandarān. In March 1918 the Djangalīs were narrowly prevented from occupying Ḳazwīn. The territory held by the Djangalīs lay across the path of the British force which had been dispatched from Hamadān to prevent German and Turkish penetration of the Caucasus and seizure of the Baku oilfields. After some fighting between the Djangalīs and the British on the Mandjīl-Rasht road, the British signed an agreement with Mīrzā Kūčik Khān on 12 August 1918 whereby they recognized the latter's authority in Gīlān; in return, Mīrzā Kūčik Khān agreed to suspend hostilities against the British, expel his German and Turkish instructors, and release his remaining British hostages. This agreement caused a split between Mīrzā Kūčik Khān, who represented the more moderate element among the Djangalīs, and the radicals led by Iḥsān Allāh Khān, and this dissension enabled the Persian Government's Cossack troops temporarily to disperse the Djangalī forces.

The second phase of the Djangalī movement was marked by open Bolshevik support, which changed its whole character. On 18 May 1920 the Red fleet bombarded Enzeli, and Soviet troops occupied Rasht, the capital of Gīlān; a new committee was formed, and on 5 June 1920 Mīrzā Kūčik Khān, styling himself the "representative of the Persian Socialist Soviet Republic proclaimed in the city of Rasht", announced the establishment of the Soviet Republic of Gīlān. The Gīlān Soviet, which remained in power until the autumn of 1921, confiscated the estates of the big landowners and distributed them among the peasants, but met with no success in its attempts to organize the Persian peasants into independent local Communist groups.

By the terms of the Soviet-Iranian treaty of 26 February 1921, the Soviet Government renounced the imperialist policies of the former Czarist Government towards Persia, and on 8 September 1921 Soviet forces were withdrawn from Persia. Deprived of Soviet support, the Djangalī movement collapsed when faced by strong Persian forces under the leadership of Riḍā Khān (later Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*]), and by October 1921 the rebellion was over. Mīrzā Kūčik Khān was captured and executed.

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DJĀNIDS, name of the dynasty which ruled Bukhārā [*q.v.*] from 1007/1599 to 1199/1785. It was descended from Djān(ī) b. Yār Muḥammad, a prince of the house of the Khāns of Astrakhań (Tatar *Azhdarhān* and *Ashtarkhān*) who had fled from his homeland before the advancing Russians to Bukhārā around 963/1556. It was from this homeland of his that the dynasty was also called Ashtarkhānids (for genealogy cf. čingizids).

Djān married Zahrā Khanīm, a sister of the Shaybānid ruler ʿAbd Allāh II b. Iskandar [*q.v.*]. On the latter's death in 1006/1598 the empire that he had founded rapidly crumbled, and it was then that the son of this marriage, Bāḳī Muḥammad, was able to establish himself in the territory at the core of the state around Bukhārā in 1007/1599 (for more detailed information see bukhārā); he died in 1014/1605-6. The state was strengthened by Imām Ḳulī Khān (1027-53/1611-43?), who secured internal order by the cruellest of methods and, thanks to his religious leanings, enjoyed the favour of the dervishes. He finally retired to undertake the *ḥadjdj* (1060/1650).

The most significant ruler of the dynasty was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1055-91/1645-80), who was also outstanding as a Muftī. After his death the authority of the dynasty sank rapidly. The local princes (Biy) became almost independent, and the Farghānā valley was separated off as a Khōḳand [*q.v.*] Khānate on its own. Abu 'l-Fayḍ (1123-60/1711-47) became a plaything in the hands of the amīral family of Mangit [*q.v.*], whose members often held the position of an *Atalīk*. From 1167/1753-4 it was the Mangits who exercised the actual power within the state. The last Djānid Abu 'l-Ghāzī (1171-99/1757-85) was only nominally Khān, rather like the Čingizids in the case of Tīmūr. Yet the first completely independent Mangit ruler (since 1199/1785) continued to be related in marriage to the Djānids.

Under the Djānids Bukhārā was one of the centres of Sunnī orthodoxy; its leading rôle in defensive struggles against Shīʿī Persia was politically significant also. Furthermore, the state constantly had to do battle with penetrations of the Ḳazakhs and of the Khāns of Khiwa (*e.g.*, in 1099/1688), and also withstood attempts on the part of the Mughal ruler Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*] in the first half of the 11th/17th century to regain the homeland of his ancestors. Through the rivalries of the Biys and the growing pressure of taxation, however, the agriculture of the state deteriorated more and more, and commerce took other paths. Literary expression was in Persian rather than in Özbeg, and it consisted essentially of works of a traditional stamp; yet these works, as also the historical writings of this period (in spite of much Russian pioneer work) have not yet been fully investigated. The architecture is greatly inferior to that of the Tīmūrids.

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DJĀNĪK (Canik), an area along the Black Sea between Bafra and Fatsa, including the mouths of the rivers Kïzïl and Yeshil Irmak, as well as the mountainous regions to the east. It is called after the Tsan (Georg. *čan*, compare Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey*, 282)—a tribe of the Laz—and it has a mild climate and fertile soil; consequently, it is relatively densely populated (between 50 and 100 people per sq. km.). Until recent times, the name was applied to the *sandjaḳ* of Samsun [*q.v.*], and is applied even today to the beautiful mountain forests of Djanik Dağlarï along the Black Sea coast from Samsun to Ordu.

Djānīk once belonged to the Turkish principality of the Djāndār-oghlu of Ḳasṭamūnī, and together with this, it was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire by Sulṭān Bāyazīd I. After Bāyazīd's defeat at Ankara in 1402, Djānīk was re-established by Tīmūr, but it was later conquered by Meḥemmed I, becoming a *liwā* of the *eyālet* of Siwas with Samsun (which—next to Trabzon—is the most important port on the Black Sea) for capital. In more recent times, it was a *sandjaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Trabzon, with the *ḳaḍā*s Ṣamṣūn, Fatsa, Ünīye, Terme, Čarshamba, and Bafra. Under the Turkish Republic, the greater part of Canik forms the *vilâyet* of Samsun.

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(Fr. Taeschner)

DJĀNĪKLI ḤĀDJDJI ʿALĪ PASHA, Ottoman soldier and founder of a Derebey [*q.v.*] family. He was born in Istanbul in 1133/1720-21, the son of Aḥmed Agha, a ḳapïdjï-bashï at the Imperial palace. As a youth he accompanied his elder brother Suleymān Pasha to Djānīk, where he eventually succeeded him as ruler with the title, customary among the autonomous derebeys, of *muḥaṣṣil* [*q.v.*]. During the Russo-Turkish war of 1182/1768-1188/1774 he held a number of military commands. Serving first in Georgia, he was appointed in Djumādā II 1183/September-October 1769 to the staff of the Serʿasker of Moldavia, where he distinguished himself in the fighting against the Russians and took part in the battle of Khotin, narrowly escaping capture. As a reward he was given the rank of vizier. In 1188/1774 he led an expedition to the Crimea and in 1190/1776 was appointed Serʿasker of Kars. In the meantime he had been able to consolidate his authority in

Djānīk, overcoming or winning over such opposition as existed, and to extend his dominions eastwards. In 1185/1771 he was recognized as *Wālī* of Trebizond, where his brother Süleymān Pasha had preceded him. The province was assigned to him as a *mālikāne* [*q.v.*]. Within the next few years his holdings were extended to include Sivas and Erzurum.

On 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1191/2 January 1778 he was again appointed Serʿasker of the Crimea and given the command of an expeditionary force which, with naval support, was to threaten the peninsula. This plan came to nothing. ʿAlī Pasha now had to deal with his Anatolian rival the Čapanoghlu (see DEREBEY), who, at the instigation of his enemies in Istanbul, launched an attack against him. Deprived of his offices and of his vizierial rank, he fled in 1193/1779 to the Crimea, where he sought refuge with the Khan, Shāhīn Giray. In Shaʿbān 1195/August-September 1781, thanks to the mediation of the Khan, he was pardoned and reinstated, recovering the rank of vizier and the control of his dominions. In 1190/1776 he presented a memorandum to the government on the reasons for the Turkish defeat in the Russian war and, more generally, on the reforms that were needed in the Empire. The work of a man of action, it deals with practical problems in simple, direct, and sometimes forceful language, and is a remarkable document of its time. An edition is in preparation. ʿAlī Pasha died in Shaʿbān 1199/June-July 1785.

Bibliography: Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*², iii, 144-6; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 548-9; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/I, Ankara 1956, 447-51, 509-11, iv/II, 1959, 32-3. ʿAlī Pasha's memorandum is mentioned by Djewdet (*loc. cit.*) and is preserved in Upsala (a rather free paraphrase of parts of it will be found in M. Norberg, *Turkiska Rikets Annaler*, v, Hernösand 1822, 1425-43).

(B. LEWIS)

DJANNA, "Garden", is the term which, used antonomastically, usually describes, in the Ḳurʾān and in Muslim literature, the regions of the Beyond prepared for the elect, the "Companions of the right". *E.g.*: "These will be the Dwellers in the Garden where they will remain immortal as a reward for their deeds on earth" (Ḳurʾān, XLVI, 14). Other Ḳurʾānic terms will be considered later either as synonyms or as particular aspects of the "Garden": *ʿAdn* and *Djannāt ʿAdn*. (Eden, *e.g.*, LXI, 12), *Firdaws* ("Paradise", sg. *farādis*, cf. παράδεισος XXIII, 11), the Dwelling of Salvation or of Peace (*dār al-Salām*, VI, 127; X, 25), of Sojourn (*al-Muḳāma*), XXXV, 35), of the true Life (*al-Ḥayawān*, XXIX, 64), Garden of Retreat or of Refuge (*djannat al-Maʾwā*, LIII, 15), of Eternity or Immortality (*al-Khuld*, XXV, 15), Gardens of Delight (*djannat al-Naʿīm*, X, 9), etc. Following current usage, we will translate *Djanna* as "Paradise", and cite *Firdaws* in its transliterated form.

(A) EVIDENCE FROM THE ḲURʾĀN

The description of Paradise, the presentation of the relationship between its delights and the "good deeds" (*ṣāliḥāt*) performed on earth by the believer, together with the description of Hell (*nār*, *djahannam*) and the torments awaiting the damned, form one of the major themes of Ḳurʾānic preaching. These passages constitute a form of *ṭarīḳa khiṭābiyya* ("way of eloquence") with frequent and urgent evocations of the blessed life. The schools were to differ on the interpretation of these verses.

It would take too long to classify and enumerate here the descriptive details of the Ḳurʾān. The essentials may be found in Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *Les Délices et les Tourments de l'Au-Delà dans le Coran*, doctoral thesis (Sorbonne 1954), typescript, 18 ff. The following summary is derived from it:—Location: "the garden of Retreat" is in heaven, near the "Lotstree of the Boundary (*al-Muntahā*)" (LI, 22, LIII, 14-5). Two texts which suggest a prosopopœia (*taṣwīr*) foretell that Paradise "shall be brought near" to the righteous (LXXXI, 13), "close unto them" (L, 31). There is mention of the gates of Paradise, of their guards and of the greetings with which they met the elect (XXXIX, 73). The size of Paradise is equal to that of earth and heaven together (*e.g.*, III, 133, LVII, 21). There will be pleasant dwellings for the chosen (XIX, 72) and pavilions where Houris are kept (LV, 72). Lofty gardens (LXXXVIII, 10), leaping fountains (*passim*), streams of living water (id.), of milk, wine and honey (XLVII, 15), fountains scented with camphor (LXXXVI, 5) or ginger (id., 17), shady valleys, all sorts of delicious fruits (*passim*), of all seasons and without a thorn....

The life of Paradise is described in concrete details, especially in the Sūras of the first Meccan period (the Sūras of the other periods also refer to it): regal pomp (LXXXIII, 24), costly robes, scents, bracelets; the texts lay emphasis on the visions of exquisite banquets, served in priceless vessels (e.g. LII, 24) by immortal youths "like separate pearls", with meats and fruits to the heart's desire (LII, 22, LV, 54, etc.), where scented wines, never-failing goblets of a limpid liquid (LXXXVII, 47), "delight for those who drink" (XLVII, 15), bring neither drunkenness (XXXVII, 46-7) nor rouse folly or quarrelling (LXXXVIII, 35). "Eat and drink in peace, as a reward for your deeds, reposing on rows of couches!" (LII, 19-20),—couches inlaid with gold or with precious stones (LXVI, 15), etc.

The elect will rejoice in the company of their parents, their wives and children who were faithful (XIII, 23, XXXVI, 56, XL, 8, XLIII, 70). They will praise their Lord (XXXV, 34), bending towards each other in love, conversing in joy and recalling the past (e.g. XV, 47, LII, 25, etc.). "Pure consorts" are promised (II, 25, III, 15, IV, 57). Tradition has identified these with the Houris (*ḥawrāʾ*, pl. *ḥūr*), beings from the Other World "with modest looks and large fine eyes" (XXXVII, 48), "like the hidden pearl" (LXVI, 23), "whom We have created in perfection and whom We have kept virgin" (id., 34-5) "so that they have been touched by neither man nor demon before" (LV, 72-4).

A happy life, without hurt or weariness, neither sorrow, fear nor shame (Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ 24) where every desire and every wish is fulfilled (XVI, 31, 39). "The Pious will there enjoy what they desire and We will grant yet more (*mazīd*)" (L, 35). This "more", like the "addition" (*ziyāda*) of, X 26, is usually associated with the "approval" (*riḍwān*) of God foretold to the elect (thus, III, 15 *in fine*). Now, "to believers, God has promised Gardens where rivers flow, where they will rest immortal. He has promised them goodly dwellings in the gardens of Eden. (But) the approval of God is greater. That will be the great Victory' (IX, 72). The fruits of it will be nearness to God. God will bring the elect near to his Throne (*passim*), and "on that Day some faces will shine in contemplating their Lord" (LXXV, 22-23). This last text, understood in the sense given in our translation, was to serve as the accepted scriptural foundation

for the dominating thesis of the "vision of God" (*ruy'at Allāh*) in Paradise (see below).

Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, 12 ff., emphasizes a certain progression in the Ḳur'ānic annunciation of Paradise: the Sūras of the first Meccan period describe it with numerous brief, concrete details "in an ardent, brief and elliptical style, with the symmetry of antithesis". During the second and third Meccan periods "the descriptive elements become (...) more summary". Later we find "a more abstract means of evocation". Well-known is verse XIII, 35, *Mat̲h̲al al-d̲j̲anna*, "the picture of the Garden promised to the Pious"; the later allegorical interpretations were to base themselves on it, making the concrete descriptions of Paradise the representation of an inexpressible reality. And it was during the Medina period that stress was laid on the divine "approval", joy above all others.

Does the Ḳur'ān refer to different sorts of Gardens organized hierarchically, or should we understand the terms used as synonyms? Either hypothesis can be accepted, according to the commentators. Let us simply consider two verses: "For those who fear the (Judgment) seat of their Lord, there will be two Gardens" (LV, 46), and "this side of the two, two Gardens" (id., 62); certain *tafsīr*s render *dūn* not by "this side of" like M. Blachère (en deçà), but by "above". Should we assume four distinct Gardens? A single description applies to each pair; and the descriptions of both groups are identical except for infinitesimal differences.

Relationships may be established between the Muslim Paradise and some earlier eschatological traditions, particularly Persian and Judeo-Christian, cf. as an example the comparison proposed by Grimme and Tor Andrae between the Ḳur'ānic descriptions and certain Syriac hymns by the Deacon Ephrem (cf. Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Fr. tr., *Les origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme*, Paris 1955, 151 ff.).

(B) Principal elaborations

How has Muslim thought interpreted the data of the Ḳur'ān? Laying aside the copious S̲h̲ī'ī exegeses, we shall consider:—(1) *ḥadīt̲h̲* and so-called traditional commentaries; (2) developments of the "science of *kalām*"; (3) *falsafa* and *taṣawwuf*; (4) efforts at synthesis; (5) reformers and contemporary modernists.

1. Traditions and traditional exegesis

The *ḥadīt̲h̲*s devoted to Paradise and the life therein are very numerous. Their dominating tendency is a literalness which emphasizes the reality and the detail of sensual pleasure. The value attributed to them is variable. While many are considered *ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic), others are called *ḍa'īf* (doubtful). Certain of them derive not from the Prophet, but from a Companion or a Follower (*ḥadīt̲h̲ mawḳūf* or *maḳṭū'*). Among the many *ṣaḥīḥ*, if some are *mutawātir* (ensured by many lines of transmission), many are *'azīz* (rare), little known and vouched for by only two authorities; or even *aḥād* (unique), by one only. The *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal abounds with descriptions of the joys of the Beyond. The two *Ṣaḥīḥ* (al-Buk̲h̲ārī and Muslim) and the four *Sunan* reproduce numerous traditions on the same subject; see in particular al-Buk̲h̲ari, *K. Bad' al-K̲h̲alḳ*, c. 8, *K. al-Riḳāḳ*, c. 51, and especially *K. al-Tafsīr*. Muslim's commentators are in the habit of grouping eleven principal *ḥadīt̲h̲* reproduced by him, on the subject of Paradise. For a restatement and discussion of these sources, see Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *op. cit.*, 43 ff. A typical example of traditional exegesis is given in the *tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī. It may be considered together with the abundant contribution from the "preachers", themselves inspired by the old "story-tellers" (*ḳaṣṣāṣ*) and "weepers" (*bakkā'ūn*), who in their concern to catch the popular imagination multiplied all kinds of extravagant concrete details. On the basis of these diverse sources, there were extensive and varied developments. It is impossible to give an exhaustive survey. Here are some points of reference, borrowed from authoritative compilations of *ḥadīt̲h̲*, or from al-Ṭabarī, or al-S̲h̲a'rānī (*Muk̲h̲taṣar*), who himself gives a summary of al-Ḳurṭubī, etc.

Location:—most commonly Paradise is placed under the Throne of God, above the highest heaven. It is usually distinguished from the Eden of Adam. Traditional accounts of the "ascension" (*mi'rād̲j̲*, [*q.v.*]) of the Prophet describe in detail his progress across the levels and degrees of Paradise.

The Entrance:—the different levels of Paradise are reached through eight principal gates, the respective dimensions and distances of which are described (the figures are intended to give an impression of limitless space). Each level is in turn generally divided into a hundred degrees. The highest level, which is either in the seventh heaven or, better (see below), beyond, is sometimes called Eden, sometimes *Firdaws*, etc. According to an often-quoted *ḥadīt̲h̲* (*e.g.*, al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *D̲j̲anā'iz*, 7), the key to open these doors has three webs: the proclamation of the divine Unity (*tawḥīd*); obedience to God; and abstention from all unlawful deeds. Others add "the swords of battle on the path of God". The Prophet Muḥammad will enter first. The poor believers will precede the rich. Angels will welcome the elect to the strains of an exquisite Arab melody—Arabic being the only language in Paradise. A banquet of welcome awaits them and each dish is described at length. They will be led to dwellings made ready for them, "accompanied by their wives, their children, by houris and by youths" (Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, 121). Note: though Paradise already exists, the descriptions of a happy Beyond are always related to the resurrection of the body. It is not until after the resurrection, the "gathering" (*ḥas̲h̲r*) and the Judgment, that the "Halls Eternal" will receive their guests.

The representation of Paradise. An eternal Spring will spread an everlasting light. One day in Paradise is equal to a thousand days on earth. The stuff of which it is made is of musk, gold and silver. The palaces are of gold, silver, pearls, rubies, topazes, etc.: descriptions which may be taken metaphorically, but which the commentaries usually see as concrete realities. The stream al-Kawt̲h̲ar (cf. Ḳur'ān, CVIII, 1), with a scent more subtle than musk, flows over pearls and rubies between banks of gold. Four rivers, whose names are given, spring from mountains of musk, flow between banks of pearls and rubies, and carry to the elect milk "of an unvarying flavour", wine "a delight to those who drink", "clearest" honey (cf. al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Ḥanbal, etc.). There are references to four mountains (Uḥud, Sinai, Lebanon, Ḥaṣīb), to a large valley, innumerable plains, wonderful fruit-trees. It would take a horse a hundred years at the gallop to emerge from the shade of the banana-tree (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Riḳāḳ*, 114; *Musnad*, *passim*). A single leaf from the "Lote-Tree of the Boundary" could shade the whole Community

of the Faithful. In Paradise there are horses and camels "of dazzling whiteness", perhaps goats and sheep, and winged *Rafraf* made of red rubies will serve as the mounts of the elect (al-Tirmidhī, *Djanna*, 88, etc.).

The pleasures of Paradise. Here too there is the same concern for extravagant and concrete descriptions. Each of the elect will have the same stature as Adam (60 cubits by 7), and the same age, 33 years, as Jesus. Their robes and adornments will be marvellous. The delights of eating and drinking are the occasion for a surfeit of endless detail, as are also the hours of rest which follow them. The Ḳur'ānic evocation of the Houris calls forth endless commentaries (cf. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, 133-40) which celebrate the carnal joys, "a hundred times greater than earthly pleasure", that the elect will derive from their perpetual virginity. But the female Believers who have been admitted to Paradise through the merit of their good deeds will rank 70,000 times greater than the Houris in the eyes of God.—The whole of Paradise will be drenched in glorious music: the angels, the elect, the creatures of Paradise, the hills, trees and birds all joining in the universal melody.

The Vision of God. The most wonderful melody of all is the voice of God greeting the elect. Several traditions (*e.g.*, al-Sha'rānī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 118; Ibn al-Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Hādī 'l-arwāḥ*, 225) speak of the visit that the elect will pay "each Friday" to the Most High, at his invitation, and after they have chosen "a fine face" at the "*suḳ* of Recognition". The men following the Prophet, the women in the train of his daughter Fāṭima, will cross the heavens, pass by the celestial *Ka'ba* surrounded by praying angels, draw near to the "Guarded Table" (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*) where the Pen writes the divine decrees, and finally emerge on to the "terrace of the Throne", which is of musk. "The veil of light lifts" and God appears to his guests "like the moon at the full" (Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, 148). He greets each and everyone with "Peace be with you", and the angels serve them. There is supreme bliss which surpasses all other joy.

These traditional concepts and their concrete details permeate the mind of the Islamic peoples. In considering their implications two comments are necessary. They are put forward as a continuous extrapolation of sensual earthly pleasures. If the "Vision of God" is the highest reward, even so that too is described as a sensual ocular sight. However, the famous *ḥadīth*, both *ṣaḥīḥ* and *mutawātir*, "I have prepared for my faithful servants that which no eye has seen, no ear heard, no human heart ever felt", is constantly quoted. A literalist exposition explains it by multiplying every earthly joy tens of thousands of times. But the idea of "without common measure", indeed the idea of "another order" of reality or existence, also has its place. This is certainly one of the leitmotifs of Ibn al-Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (14th century), the well-known disciple of Ibn Taymiyya, in his *Hādī al-arwāḥ*.

2. "The Science of kalām".

Among the *mutakallimūn*, three fundamental attitudes may be distinguished: a) Mu'tazilī schools (which influence the *tafsīr* of al-Zamakhsharī). Their principle of "reason as the criterion of the Law" does not favour an allegorical or spiritual interpretation, but in the sense of a more restrained literal exposition, which treats as figurative any statement or description deemed rationally unacceptable. Applications: the anthropomorphisms applied to God or to the acts of God are interpreted metaphorically; the sensual delights of Paradise, on the contrary, are taken literally, but with the exclusion of all the hyperbole and all the traditional wonders. The Houris are like beautiful women, the fruits of Paradise like earthly fruits, etc. The future heresiographers (al-Ash'arī, al-Baghdādī, al-Shahrastānī, al-Khayyāṭ) were to note that Abu 'l-Hudhayl does indeed allow the "corporeal pleasures" (*djismiyyāt*) of Paradise but that, with the rest of the school, he associates with them "spiritual" delights (*rūḥāniyyāt*). All the Mu'tazila, on the other hand, deny the vision of God and, by an appropriate grammatical exegesis, give a different interpretation to the Ḳur'ānic verses which mention it. In the same way they reject the present existence of Paradise which, according to them, will only be created at the Resurrection.

b) The first Ash'arī school asserts the reality (*ḥaḳīḳa*) of the attributes of God as expressed by the anthropomorphisms of the text, the reality of the descriptions of Paradise, those deriving from the principal traditions as well as those of the Ḳur'ān, and the reality of the ocular but not spatialized vision of God, "like the moon at the full". In his *Ibāna*, Cairo ed. 15, al-Ash'arī calls this last the "highest bliss": a "spectacular", not a transforming, vision (Massignon). Paradise, which will be eternal, already exists. But the emphasis is laid on the incomparable and ineffable nature of the conditions of the future life. In conformity with one of the great Ash'arī principles, all that is said of it must be taken literally but *bilā kayf*, "without asking how". Not only have the pleasures of Paradise no common measure with earthly joys, but they bear no analogy to them; they are of a different nature.

c) The later Ash'arīs (called "modern" by Ibn Khaldūn), in whom there is often a mixture of Ash'arism properly so called and Māturīdism, adopt a *ta'wīl* (interpretation) which is perhaps more influenced by the *Falāsifa* than by the Mu'tazila. The most notable example is Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (12th-13th centuries). The principles of his exegesis are stated in his *Kitāb asās al-taḳdīs* (Cairo ed. 1327), and applied at length in the famous *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* (Cairo ed. 1321), still known as the "great *tafsīr*". A broad metaphorical interpretation is given of the descriptions of Paradise as well as of the divine attributes. While allowing, with the school, the reality of the Beings of the Beyond, al-Rāzī concludes, in conformity with a *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās, that there is equivocality between the names which describe them and the same names which describe things on earth (*Mafātīḥ*, viii, 280; cf. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, 245 ff.). He does not deny the sensual rewards of Paradise, the luxury, the feasts, the carnal relations with the Houris, but he underlines the "without asking how", and insists upon "the glorious divine presence which impregnates the soul with sanctity and spirituality" (viii, 281; tr. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ).

A disputed question in the Kalām: is Paradise, especially under its name of Eden, or the Garden of Eden, the Eden where God placed Adam and Eve? The Mu'tazilī al-Djubbā'ī, who was at one time the teacher of al-Ash'arī, placed Eden in the seventh heaven. A later opinion, which is supported by al-Iṣfahānī and which claims to follow Hanafī-Māturīdīs, considers the Eden of Adam an

earthly garden, distinct from the heavenly Paradise. The commentaries which distinguish the two Edens in this way usually place Paradise above the seventh heaven.

One last detail. Some hierarchical plans ("stages") of Paradise are often allowed; but there was no consensus on the order of enumeration. A *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās proposes: (1) (the highest circle) the dwelling of Majesty, (2) of Peace, (3) the garden of Eden, (4) of Refuge (or "Retreat"), (5) of Immortality, (6) of the *Firdaws*, (7) of Delights.—But in other texts the *Firdaws* is put at the summit; and in others again Eden. Certain opinions, less popular, define only four "dwellings" or gardens, and place Eden on the level of the fourth heaven. But it is generally accepted that, beyond the seventh heaven (or simply the highest heaven), and thus not cosmically located, Paradise, whether or not divided into plans or hierarchical divisions, has above it only the Stool (*kursī*) and the Throne (*ʿarsh*) of the Most High God. (See below the summary by al-Bādjūrī).

3. Falsafa and taṣawwuf.

Between al-Ashʿarī, who follows Ibn Ḥanbal, and the *tafsīr* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, the Hellenistic *falsafa*, during the course of these controversies, exerted some influence on the school. For the "philosophers", the future life begins, not with the Resurrection, but with the individual death; and the human soul separated from its body will know, in accordance with its nature, only intelligible joys. Ibn Sīnā in his exoteric works is careful not to deny the Resurrection; the same is true of Ibn Rushd, who, at the conclusion of the *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, confines himself to declaring his respect for the prophetic teaching. But everything is determined by the conception of prophecy in question. In his "esoteric" *Risāla adḥawiyya fī amr al-maʿād* (ed. S. Dunyā, Cairo 1949), Ibn Sīnā clearly suggests that the Resurrection must be taken as a lesson meant for the people; the wise man must understand it as a symbol or allegory, for "opposed to the true happiness of man is the existence of his soul in the body, and (...) corporeal pleasures are different from true pleasures, and to return to the body would be a punishment for the soul" (53). Henceforth, in its deepest reality, the life of Paradise will be that of intelligible substances united with the Active Intellect and the Universal Intellect in which, as in a clear mirror, will shine the supreme Divine Lights. —Is then the apparent meaning of the Ḳurʾānic descriptions totally ignored? No. They are of value, in their literalness, for the "weak-minded" (*buhl*) who, although they have observed God's commandments on earth, will be incapable of rising to the life of pure intelligence. They will be experienced, in the strict sense, not as sensual delights, but as pleasures of the imagination, thanks to the heavenly Bodies (cf. *Nadjāt*, 2nd Cairo ed. 1357/1938, 298; see also *Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 196 § 2; Ibn Sīnā, in order to put forward this opinion, takes shelter behind the authority of "certain teachers").

Avicenna's influence marks a break in the history of *taṣawwuf*. The first Ṣūfīs took Ḳurʾānic teaching literally, but focussed their hopes on the supreme bliss and reward, the vision of God. Well-known is the allegorical act of Rābiʿa, who wanted "to burn Paradise" (and "drown Hell") so that God might be loved for Himself alone and not for His rewards (and feared for Himself alone and not for His punishments). In some famous texts, al-Bisṭāmī objects to the "market of images" (the *sūḳ* of the traditional exegesis where the elect choose "a fine face" for "the visit on Friday"), and proclaims: "If in Paradise I were prevented from meeting Him, were it only for an instant, I would make life intolerable for the elect of Paradise" (cf. L. Massignon, *Lexique technique*, Paris 1954, 253). For al-Ḥallādj everything is turned towards the *ruyʾat Allāh*, dazzling but intermittent, in which the elect find happiness only "after the event".—Characteristic is the attitude of al-Muḥāsibī, of whom certain texts transpose the promised bliss into spiritual values, whilst his *Kitāb al-tawahhum*, in order to encourage popular piety, emphasizes the sensual and carnal descriptions.

The later Ṣūfīs took care not to remove the sensual character of the joys of Paradise, but they developed, often extensively, the "superior" spiritual sense, revealed by the *kashf* ("unveiling"). The most remarkable presentation is that of Ibn ʿArabī in his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. Paradise is an "abode of Life", *dār al-Ḥayawān*, overflowing with both sensual and spiritual joys. In *Futūḥāt*, i, 353 ff., he enumerates three Gardens or Paradises: "the Garden of the Exception" for children who died before attaining the age of reason, the *amentes*, the righteous who have not received the revealed Law, "and those for whom God destines it"; "the Garden of Inheritance" into which the souls in the "Exception" and the believers who have been punished for a time in Gehenna may enter; and lastly "the Garden of Works" where believers will be rewarded for their good deeds. This last is in turn subdivided into eight Gardens, each comprising a hundred degrees. The highest Garden is Eden (preceded by the *Firdaws*); and the highest degree of Eden, *al-Maʾwā*, is reserved for the Prophet (ii, 96). The second volume of the *Futūḥāt* takes up the traditional descriptions and gives a commentary based on distinctions between desire, pleasure and will. The eschatology of Ibn ʿArabī has been briefly summarized by Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, 288 ff., and analysed in detail by Asín Palacios, *La escatalogia musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid-Granada 1943, 230 ff. and references given there. See particularly the diagrams reproduced on pp. 233, 262, 264, where the gardens of Paradise are drawn in concentric and ascending levels. Another representation (ibid., 235) in a pyramid of eight levels has been suggested on the basis of the *Maʿrifat-nāma* of Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī, studied by Carra de Vaux (*Fragments d'eschatologie musulmane*, Brussels 1895).

If we refer to *Futūḥāt* i, 353, it appears that the concrete eschatological descriptions of Ibn ʿArabī may all bear an allegorical meaning; and that they refer, not to two distinct Paradises, "earthly" and "heavenly", as Asín Palacios suggests, but to one single place of delights in which these two aspects join to make one: an application of the gnostic thesis of the author, which was developed in the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Cairo ed. 1365/1946) where the world of the created being is the manifestation *ad extra* of the transcendent God. A text attributed to Ibn ʿArabī, but which is more probably from al-Ḳāshānī (cf. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, 312) gives to the Ḳurʾānic texts themselves an interpretation which is very spiritual and uses a very Avicennian terminology: where the "lofty beds" are the degrees of perfection, the brocade lining is the inward aspect of the soul, the Houris the heavenly Spirits.

4. Two essays in synthesis.

The *falāsifa* on one side and the many Ṣūfīs on the other were regarded with mistrust and often opposed by the official teaching. Nevertheless their influence was effective. The expansion of *Ṭarīḳas* ("brotherhoods") spread throughout the masses many Ṣūfī interpretations, sometimes but not always mixed with "philosophical" glosses. This resulted in some attempts at synthesis, clearly concerned to maintain the values of the faith. We will consider two of them.

Al-Ghazzālī.—The most important synthesis is that by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (earlier therefore than Ibn ʿArabī), in which are united the traditional currents, *kalām*, *falsafa* and *taṣawwuf*. In the *Iḳtiṣād* and the *Iḥyāʾ*, al-Ghazzālī defends the Ashʿarī thesis of the vision of God. The *Kitāb al-mawt wa-mā baʿdahu* of the last quarter of the *Iḥyāʾ* (Cairo ed. 1352/1933, iv, 381-468) reproduces extensively *ḥadīth* and traditional texts which describe the sensual pleasures and joys of Paradise. But the *Maḳsad al-asnā* (Cairo ed., n.d.), without rejecting them, insists on the superiority of spiritual bliss. Paradise is a "medium of bliss" of which only images are revealed to us. There is the same doctrine in *Mīzān al-ʿamal* (cf. tr. Ḥikmat Hashīm 5-6): it is because the pleasures of Paradise "are incomprehensible to the understanding of the commonalty of men" that they "assimilate them to the sensual pleasures which they know". Here we are very close to the theses of Ibn Sīnā. Al-Ghazzālī, however, differs radically from the "philosopher" in his teaching of the reality of the resurrection of the body. His own personal ideas seem to take shape as follows: the believers who can only conceive of sensual and material happiness will enjoy the pleasures of Paradise in the flesh; others will delight in imaginative pleasures; and others again, "the holy and the initiated (*ʿārifūn*)" will enjoy superior delights, intellectual and spiritual, which alone can satisfy them and of which the sensual delights described in the Law are only the image. Elsewhere the possibility is not ruled out that some of the elect may share in the three kinds of joy at the same time (cf. *Arbaʿīn*, 40, and Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, 286).

An elementary manual of kalām.—The popular treatise on *kalām* by al-Bādjūrī (18th-19th centuries, *Ḥāshiya ... ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo ed. 1352/1934), so often taught in the great mosques and the centres of the brotherhoods, contains only some sober observations on the subject of Paradise. Throughout his work al-Bādjūrī faithfully follows the traditional Ashʿarī line; reality in the literal sense of the texts, but *bilā kayf*, "without asking how"; he is sometimes not averse from admitting a double meaning, literal but also allegorical, and is receptive to Ṣūfī influences. He does not treat in detail the question of paradisiacal rewards, and confines himself to noting that "the whole of Paradise is abundantly supplied with all sorts of delights" (107). He centres his comments on the existence and the structure of the Garden. Existence: (1) Paradise has already been created (contrary to Muʿtazilī opinion), and the Eden of Adam and Eve is identified with the Dwelling Beyond; (2) it is an eternal abode which will never end (contrary to the Djahmīs).—Structure: three hypotheses are admitted, and al-Bādjūrī draws no conclusion (id.): (1) Paradise will consist of seven parts (and not of eight as proposed by Ibn ʿArabī), concentric and ascending circles. The Highest, which is in the centre, is the *Firdaws*, where the rivers part; and Eden comes in the second place; (2) four Gardens, according to the Ḳurʾān, LV, 46 and 62, which are named in ascending order: Delights, Refuge, Eden, *Firdaws*; (3) a single Abode to which the seven designations may be applied, each underlining one of its qualities.

5. Reformers and contemporary modernists (cf. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, Vth part.).

Muḥammad ʿAbduh (*Risālat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1353H., 203-4 on the "vision of God", *Tafsīr Djuzʾ ʿamma* ...., a commentary on the thirtieth part of the Ḳurʾān or the "thin suras", 1st ed., Cairo 1322/1904; an article from the *Manār*). The vision of God is possible, but is not of the same nature as an ocular vision on earth; it is by transforming their visual faculty that God will reveal himself to His elect. The literal, descriptive sense (localization and pleasures of Paradise) is upheld but soberly explained. The principle of *bilā kayf* is reaffirmed, especially on the subject of the joys dispensed by the Houris. Let us note finally that a critique of traditional sources is adumbrated. For Muḥammad ʿAbduh, the *ḥadīth*s, even if *ṣaḥīḥ*, may only be retained if they are *mutawātir*, warranted by many lines of transmission. This principle leads him to reject the hyperboles of many literalist descriptions.

Rashīd Riḍā and his great *Tafsīr al-Manār*.—This important differentiation between the *ḥadīth*s is taken up again and elaborated, even to the point of an internal criticism of certain *matn* (texts) of the traditions. Thus Rashīd Riḍā rejects as inauthentic those which promise to the elect Houris in abundance, and he refers to a *ḥadīth* reproduced by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, which awards to everyone in Paradise his earthly wife and a single Houri. The descriptions abounding in hyperbolical literalism are, he says, mistaken in not considering the spirit of the Arabic language, which requires that all anthropomorphisms be interpreted metaphorically. We should strive to understand the inner spirit of the Ḳurʾān which teaches both sensual and spiritual delights, but which places the second far above the former. For Rashīd Riḍā, the authentic *ḥadīth par excellence* is that which defines the blessed life as "that which no eye has seen, no ear heard" .... He criticizes in turn the descriptive hyperboles of many "literalists", the excessively rationalist principle of the Muʿtazila, the allegorism of the Ṣūfīs, and he attacks by name Ibn ʿArabī. Only the attempt to understand the actual text of the Ḳurʾān counts. If the spiritual life prevails over the life of the flesh, if the delights of Paradise are both sensual and intelligible, it is because that is the teaching of the Book. The vision of God is possible (contrary to the Muʿtazila) but "it is not a fundamental basis of the Islamic faith" (see Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, 325-35, and ref. *Tafsīr al-Manār*).

In conclusion it may be useful to mention with M. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ "the philological exegesis" presented by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī who, in 1920, wrote a commentary on the twenty-ninth section of the Ḳurʾān, *djuzʾ Tabārak* (reissued in the work *ʿAlā hāmish al-Tafsīr*, Cairo n.d.). The author dismisses the literalist exegesis which presents the life of the Beyond in purely sensual terms: that would be to fail to take account of the incomparable power of expression of the text; he also dismisses the purely spiritual allegorical exegesis, for it derives only from subjective views. He requires an exegesis founded on the laws of the Arabic language, its eloquence and its use of metaphor. The terms describing the delights of Paradise aim at evoking

the grandest possible conception of joy. We should then understand these terms literally, but as designating, in the Other World, concrete realities intrinsically different from those here below. It is thus we should understand the fleshly joys promised to the elect: consequently, the feasts of Paradise are by no means intended for the satisfaction of sensuality, and the delights offered by the Houris represent a reality inaccessible to human understanding, a noble pleasure in which the female believers will share.—The author adds that his exegesis is only one of the interpretations possible, and that a Muslim is free to prefer another.

The Egyptians Sayyid al-Ḳuṭb, Amīn al-Khūlī, and especially Muḥammad Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh, a disciple of the former, go even further than the *shaykh* al-Maghribī in the study of the "literary genres" of the Ḳurʾān. Azharī circles displayed violent opposition towards Dr. Khalaf Allāh.

In conclusion: the official teaching has never confirmed the exclusively allegorical and spiritual interpretations of Ḳurʾānic verse and *ḥadīth* concerning Paradise. Throughout the centuries two trends have co-existed: (1) the so-called traditional exegesis, which accepts many traditions and which endlessly multiplies concrete details about the life of Paradise and its sensual pleasures; (2) the attempts of *kalām*, of al-Ghazzālī, the Salafiyya reformers, etc., who retain indeed the obvious literal meaning of the Ḳurʾānic text, but take care not to amplify it; who insist on the intrinsic difference between the realities of the Beyond and earthly realities, emphasizing the primacy of the spiritual over the carnal order. Even without mentioning the "philological" exegesis of al-Maghribī, we may say that the attempts of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and of Rashīd Riḍā to perform an internal critique of the traditions may well open new perspectives to our knowledge of the *tafsīr*.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. GARDET)

DJANNĀBA, (Djannābā, Djunnāba), arabicized forms of Ganāfa, a town and port in the VIIth *ustān* (Fārs) of Persia. The name is a corruption of *Gand-āb*, 'stinking water', so called because of the bad quality of its water (see Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārsnāma*, 149 and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 130). Ganāfa is situated on the coast of the Persian Gulf in Lat. 29° 35′ N. and Long. 50° 31′ E. In former times it was an important manufacturing centre where cloths of good quality were produced. Pearl-fishing was also carried on from there. It was the birthplace of Abū Sulaymān al-Djannābī [*q.v.*], the well-known Ḳarmaṭian *dāʿī*. According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (127), it was a large and flourishing town in the 4th/10th century. An oil pipe-line from the Gač Sarān oilfield (which lies 70 km. to the north-east) to the island of Khārag [*q.v.*], where tankers of the largest size will be loaded, is shortly to be constructed; it will enter the sea just to the north-west of Ganāfa. The town is connected with Būshahr [*q.v.*] by a dry weather road 156 km. in length. Agriculture, fishing and shipping repairs are carried out at Ganāfa, the population of which in 1951 was 2,235. The modern form of the name is Ganāveh.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text: *BGA*, *passim*: Yāḳūt, ii, 122; Fuch, *De Nino Urbe*, Lipsiae 1845, 10; Le Strange, 273-4, 296; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter n. den Arab. Geogr.*, ii, 61, 63, 86; iii, 125-7: Monteith, in *JRGS*, 1857, 108: Tomaschek, *Die Küstenfahrt Nearchs* = *SBAk.Wien*, cxxl/8, 67; Razmārā and Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, vii, 204. (L. LOCKHART)

AL-**DJANNĀBĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD MUṢṬAFĀ B. ḤASAN B. SINAN AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-HĀSHIMĪ, 10th/16th-century author of an Arabic historical work dealing with eighty-two Muslim dynasties in as many chapters, entitled *al-ʿAylam al-zākhir fi aḥwāl al-awāʾil waʾl-awākhir*, usually called *Taʾrīkh al-Djannābī*. A Turkish translation and abridgment were prepared by the author himself. Whether the accepted form of the *makhlaṣ* is correct or should be rather Djanābī cannot be decided in the absence of information as to whence it was derived. Al-Djannābī came from a distinguished Amasya family, studied and taught in various cities, and was for a short time judge of Aleppo. His younger brother was the poet Suʿūdī. Both died in the same year 999/1590.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 387, S II, 411 f., III, 1281; *ʿOthmānlī müellifleri*, iii, 40; F. Babinger, 108 f. (F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-**DJANNĀBĪ**, ABŪ SAʿĪD ḤASAN B. BAHRĀM, was the founder of Ḳarmaṭian power in East Arabia. Born at Djannāba on the Fārs coast, he is said to have become a flour merchant at Baṣra. He was crippled on the left side. His first mission as a Ḳarmaṭian is said to have been as a *dāʿī* in southern Īrān, where he had to go into hiding from the authorities. He was then sent to (mainland) Baḥrayn, where he married into a prominent family and won followers rapidly, perhaps among a group formerly attached to the line of Ibn-al-Ḥanafiyya.

We find that in 286/899 he had subjected a large part of Baḥrayn and taken Ḳaṭīf. In 287 his partisans were in strength around Hadjar, the capital of Baḥrayn, and were approaching Baṣra. The Caliph Muʿtaḍid sent an army of 2,000 men against them, to which were added many volunteers. This army was cut to pieces; its general was taken prisoner, then set at liberty; the other prisoners were killed. About 290/903 Abū Saʿīd took Hadjar after a long siege, by cutting off the water supply; he then subjected Yamāma and invaded ʿUmān. In 300 his troops again invaded the district of Baṣra, but in 301/913 he was murdered by a slave, together with several of his high officers.

He left seven sons, of whom Saʿīd succeeded, to be replaced later by the youngest, the famous Abū Ṭāhir [see art. below]. Abū Saʿīd was venerated after his death. His partisans believed that he would return; a horse was always kept saddled at the door of his tomb. The Ḳarmaṭians of Baḥrayn called themselves Abū Saʿīdīs after him, and attributed to him the later constitution of their republic.

Bibliography: The sources are presented and in part translated in Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, i, ccxi ff., and M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*[2], Leiden 1886, 31-47, 69-75. Add Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, transl. Carra de Vaux, 498-501. Important corrections are in Bernard Lewis, *Origins of Ismāʿīlism*, Cambridge 1940 (see index).

(B. CARRA DE VAUX-[M. G. S. HODGSON)

AL-**DJANNĀBĪ**, ABŪ ṬĀHIR. Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān b. Abī Saʿīd al-Ḥasan was one of the most famous chiefs of the small Ḳarmaṭian state of Baḥrayn and, for several years, the terror of the pilgrims and of the inhabitants of lower ʿIrāḳ. On the death of Abū Saʿīd [see art. above] in 301/913-4, or 300/912-3 according to al-Masʿūdī, his son Saʿīd succeeded him and governed

with a council of notables (al-ʿIḳdāniyya). For some time the Ḳarmaṭians refrained from troubling the caliphate and were even on good terms with the government of the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, who granted them privileges such as the use of the port of Sīrāf, in 304/916-7. In 307/919-20, however, there was an attack on Baṣra to support a Fāṭimid attempt against Egypt, according to Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, iv, 89). At this time Abū Ṭāhir was not personally at the head of affairs, since he was still too young, having been born in Ramaḍān 294/June-July 907, and he seems not to have wielded any power before 311/923-4 when he appears, although aged then no more than 16, in Rabīʿ II/July-August 923, as commander of the Ḳarmaṭians who entered Baṣra by surprise at night. Escalading the walls, they established themselves in the town before any resistance could be organized, and spent seventeen days in pillage and massacre. As early as 305/917-8, however, Saʿīd, whom the sources depict as lacking energy and authority, had been deposed, perhaps at the instigation of the Fāṭimid ʿUbayd Allāh. The latter, according to Ibn Khaldūn, sent a letter of investiture to Abū Ṭāhir, whose reign is by some sources dated from this year.

The attack against Baṣra in 311/923-4 coincided with the removal of the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā whom his enemies represented as the ally of the Ḳarmaṭians. At the end of the same year Abū Ṭāhir attacked the pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca to al-Habīr, and took prisoner the amīr Abu ʾl-Haydjāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, who had been charged with the protection of the caravan. Abu ʾl-Haydjāʾ and the prisoners were released some time afterwards at the same time as an envoy from Abū Ṭāhir arrived at Baghdād demanding the cession of Baṣra, Ahwāz and even other territories. This claim was rejected and, in 312/924-5, the pilgrims were again attacked and Kūfa was sacked by Abū Ṭāhir. In 315/927-8, having again plundered Kūfa, Abū Ṭāhir gained a great victory over the army sent against him by the caliph and commanded by Yūsuf b. Abi ʾl-Sādj [*q.v.*], whom he captured and who was put to death in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 315/January 928 in the course of the operations that followed. Advancing up the Euphrates, Abū Ṭāhir arrived at Anbār, crossed the river with the intention of marching on Baghdād, but was stopped by the army of Mu'nis [*q.v.*] thanks to the destruction, at the instigation of Abu ʾl-Haydjāʾ, of the bridge on the Nahr Zubāra. He thereupon turned north and reached Raḥba, Ḳarḳīsiyyā and Raḳḳa, holding the inhabitants to ransom. Some detachments penetrated as far as Sindjār, Raʾs ʿAyn and Naṣībīn. Abū Ṭāhir did not return to Baḥrayn until the beginning of 317/February-March 929, when he had built a *dār al-hidjra* called al-Muʾminiyya (it is known that the Ḳarmaṭians called themselves *muʾminūn*), near al-Aḥsā, his capital.

The most sensational act of Abū Ṭāhir was his expedition against Mecca where the pilgrims were gathered and where he arrived on 7 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 317/11 January 930. He killed the pilgrims in the mosque, removed everything of value in the holy house, and took away the Black Stone, having spent eight days in pillage and massacre. In 318/930 he possessed himself of ʿUmān. In 319/931 he was thought to be reattempting the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, but the Ḳarmaṭians went no futher than Kūfa where they remained for 25 days of pillage. According to De Goeje, the expedition was put off on account of the troubles which broke out in the Ḳarmaṭian state following the enthronement as *Mahdī* of an impostor set up by the vizier Ibn Sanbar and for some time recognized by Abū Ṭāhir himself (see below).

Since the pilgrimage had become impossible and the operations of Abū Ṭāhir were continuing (against Sīnīz in 321, and against Tawwadj in 322, that is to say against the coast of Fārs), the chamberlain of the caliph al-Rāḍī, Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt, in 322/934 entered into negotiations with Abū Ṭāhir for his recognition of the authority of the caliphate, the cessation of his interference with the pilgrims, and the return of the Black Stone; in return he would receive official investiture for the regions which he possessed or had conquered. Abū Ṭāhir refused to restore the Black Stone, but agreed to cease obstructing the pilgrims and offered to have the *khuṭba* read in the name of the caliph if he were allowed free use of the port of Baṣra. However, in 323/935 he again attacked the pilgrimage, defeated the caliphal troops between Kūfa and Ḳādisiyya, and occupied Kūfa for everal days before returning to Baḥrayn. Fresh negotiations were commenced in 325/937, by the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ibn Rāʾiḳ, with Abū Ṭāhir who had again entered Kūfa. In reply to the demand of the Ḳarmaṭian, who wanted the caliph to give him 120,000 dinars per year in silver and supplies, Ibn Rāʾiḳ proposed that Abū Ṭāhir and his troops should consider themselves as enrolled in the service of the caliph and that this sum be considered as a salary. No agreement was signed. Finally, in 327/939, thanks to an ʿAlid of Kūfa, the pilgrimage was able to resume in consideration of a tribute of 25,000 (or 120,000) dinars and a protection due (*khifāra*) which was regularly levied by the Ḳarmaṭians on the pilgrims; this did not, however in any way prevent incursions into the south of ʿIrāḳ.

Abū Ṭāhir died of smallpox at the age of 38 in 332/943-4, and was succeeded by his brother Aḥmad.

The activity of Abū Ṭāhir raises questions as to what were his relations with Ismāʿīlism, whether he really considered the Fāṭimid caliph ʿUbayd Allāh to be the awaited *imām* and obeyed him, and whether it was at his secret request that he carried off the Black Stone and launched attacks against ʿAbbāsid territory. The question of the differences and the common ground between Ḳarmaṭians and Ismāʿīlīs, dealt with by Ivanow, *Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, 69 ff., and *Ismailis and Qarmatians* in *JBBRAS*, 1940, 78 ff., and B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismāʿīlism*, Cambridge 1940, ch. iii on the Ḳarmaṭians of Baḥrayn and particularly the Ḳarmaṭians and the Fāṭimids, will not be examined here; this account is restricted to a review of the facts concerning the history of Abū Ṭāhir. There are documents as much in favour of an adherence to the Fāṭimid caliphs as against (see the texts in B. Lewis, *op. cit.*). In their work on ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī Ḥ. Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and T. Aḥmad Sharaf incline to the idea of secret and close relations between Abū Ṭāhir and the first Fāṭimid caliph, and a real subordination of the former to the latter (cf. also De Goeje, *passim*). Many sources indicate that Abū Ṭāhir recognized ʿUbayd Allāh as the *mahdī*, that he sent him the *khums*, and that he was his agent in Baḥrayn (see the declarations of the Ḳarmaṭian interrogated by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and of the secretary of Yūsuf b. Abi ʾl-Sādj in Miskawayh, i, 167, 181, and cf. B. Lewis, *op. cit.*). Al-Dhahabī cites the words of Abū Ṭāhir : *Anā al-dāʿī ilā ʾl-mahdī* (Ḥ. Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, 277). Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin declares that he recognized ʿUbayd Allāh as *mahdī*

on his return from Raḥba in 317/929; but the letter of ʿUbayd Allāh to Abū Ṭāhir which is cited in support of this theory, extracts from which are given by al-Baghdādī, is most probably apocryphal. Moreover, Abū Ṭāhir cannot have been very convinced of the legitimacy of ʿUbayd Allāh, since he considered as the awaited *imām* an impostor of Persian origin, the very name of whom varies in the sources, and enthroned him as such (it is said that he even proclaimed him as God). The attitude of Abū Ṭāhir is comprehensible if, as Ivanow says, the Fāṭimids were not regarded as *imām*s by the Ḳarmaṭians. Moreover, how did Abū Ṭāhir himself appear in the eyes of the Ḳarmaṭians? If we are to believe al-Dhahabī, some considered him as Prophet, some as the Messiah, some as the *Mahdī* himself, some as "he who prepares the way for the Mahdī" (*al-mumahhid ila 'l-mahdī*). At all events there is a curious mixture of phantasmagoria and realism about him, for he did not hesitate to put to death the impostor in whom he had believed when certain of the latter's acts had opened his eyes, and his politics towards the ʿAbbāsids is further evidence of realism.

It does not appear that the attacks of Abū Ṭāhir against the caliphal territories, whether Baṣra, Kūfa, etc., or the south-west region of Persia, could have had as their precise purpose to help the Fāṭimid caliphate in its attempts against Egypt; but everything which could weaken the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, to which Abū Ṭāhir as a Ḳarmaṭian was violently hostile, would help the Fāṭimids. Nevertheless he agreed to negotiate with the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, as has been shown, to obtain certain advantages, while keeping up relations with their enemies, such as the Fāṭimids, the Grand Mobed Isfandiyār, or the Daylamid Mardāwīdj who supported him, or the Barīdī, who offered him sumptuous presents on the occasion of the birth of his son and who took refuge with him for a time. In all, it could be said that if Abū Ṭāhir did assist the Fāṭimids, this was perhaps not on account of absolute devotion to their cause; he was carrying out a very personal policy. In his attitude to the practices and dogmas of Islam one must recognize, even making allowances for the exaggerations and slanders of the Sunnī authors, an extraordinary violence, which Ivanow explains (in *JBBRAS*, 1940, 82) by saying that the Ḳarmaṭians "regarded themselves as the followers of a new religion, revealed to supersede the now obsolete religion of Islam", and he compares this attitude with that of the original Islamic community in the face of Christianity and Judaism both of which refused to recognize their legitimate continuation by Islam. But his violent acts, even if the removal of the Black Stone was executed at the instance of ʿUbayd Allāh, as Defrémery and later De Goeje thought, could not have been openly approved by the caliph who was aspiring to supplant the ʿAbbāsids (cf. Ḥ. Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, 225-6).

Bibliography: The basic work remains that of De Goeje, ***Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides***[2], Leiden 1886, where reference will be found to the works of historians and geographers and other authors, published or in manuscript. Of editions and translations later than this work: Miskawayh, i, 33-4, 121, 139, 167, 181 ff., 201, 330, 367; ii, 55 (with a long passage from al-Dhahabī on the history of the impostor in a footnote); Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, tr. Carra de Vaux, 149, 483, 484-92, 495-7; idem, *Murūdj*, viii, 285-6; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *Nudjūm*, Cairo ed., iii, 207, 211, 213, 217, 220, 224-5, 232, 245, 260, 264, 279, 281, 287; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, 49, 56, 210, 314-6; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaḳī*, tr. i, 71, 77, 122, 152, 207; ii, 27, 66, 78; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. 1367/1948, 172-3, 175, 177-9; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 246; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 173-5. For modern works, other than those of Ivanow and B. Lewis mentioned in the article (there is an Arabic tr. of B. Lewis entitled *Uṣūl al-Ismāʿīliyya*, Baghdād 1947), see H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī Ibn ʿĪsà*, Cambridge 1928, index; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and Ṭaha Aḥmad Sharaf, *ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī*, Cairo 1947, 94, 176, 180 ff., 217 ff., 225 ff., 220 ff., 231, 277, 279, 302. For the episodes of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ and Ibn Abi 'l-Sādj, see M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, i, 352 ff., 355 ff.

(M. CANARD)

DJANZA [see GANDJA].

DJĀR [see DJIWĀR].

AL-**DJĀR**, once an Arabic port (*furḍa*) on the Red Sea, 20 days' journey south of Ayla, 3 from al-Djuḥfa. Until almost the end of the Middle Ages (when Yanbuʿ, which is situated further north, took over this function), al-Djār was the supply port of Medina, one day's journey away (this according to Yāḳūt, ii, 5; according to BGA, vi, 191 it was two days' journey; according to BGA, i, 19, and ii[2], 31 it was three). Al-Djār was half on the mainland, and half on an island just offshore. Drinking water had to be brought from the Wādī Yalyal, two parasangs distant. It was an important entrepôt for trade with Egypt, Abyssinia, India and China. The harbour of Ḳarāf (probably the Κοπαρ κώμη of Ptolemy), used for trade with Abyssinia, was situated on an island, a square mile in area,facing the town. There were many castles (*ḳuṣūr*) in al-Djār. Their beginnings must date back to the time of ʿUmar, who had two castles built here for the purpose of housing 20 ship-loads of grain (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 177). By 1800, the name of the town no longer appears in descriptions of travel, and it was apparently replaced by Burayka (Burēka), which is the name of the bay of al-Djār. Extensive ruins found there may well be the remains of the old castles. The whole stretch of the Red Sea from Djudda to al-Ḳulzum was referred to as al-Djār in antiquity.

In the time of the Prophet, those who had taken part in the second great emigration to Abyssinia returned in two ships to al-Djār, and then went on to Medina (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 139; Ṭabarī, i, 1571). ʿUmar gave ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ the order to bring Egyptian grain to Medina by sea via al-Djār (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* 216; Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 224; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 177), and this supply-route—though occasionally interrupted by pro-ʿAlid risings (in 145/762: Ṭabarī, iii, 257)—remained the usual one until the time of the Caliphate of al-Manṣūr. The trade in assignments (*ṣukūk*) for grain from the stores in al-Djār, the earliest recorded instance of promissory notes, ie recorded in the *ḥadīth* and in the discussions of ths scholars of Medina (Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, sections *al-ʿīna* and *djāmiʿ bayʿ al-ṭaʿām*, with al-Zurḳānī's commentary; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 166 ff.; G. Jacob, *Die ältesten Spuren des Wechsels*, in *MSOS*, xxviii/2, 1925, 280-1). The name of al-Djār is also frequently linked with reports of unrest on other occasions: for instance in 230/814-5 (Ṭabarī, iii, 1336), 266/879-80 (Ṭabarī, iii, 1941), under al-Muḳtadir (Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-ṭālibiyyīn* 706, Cairo 1949).

Bibliography: (In addition to works mentioned in the text): BGA, i, 27; ii[2], 40; iii, 12, 53, 69, 83, 97, 107, 110; v, 78; vi, 153, 191; vii, 96, 313, 341;

Hamdānī (ed. D. H. Müller) 47, 182, 218; Yāḳūt, *Mushtarik* (ed. Wüstenfeld) *passim*; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 355-7 (ed. al-Saḳḳāʾ, Cairo 1947); *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (transl. Minorsky) 81, 148, 414; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ (ed. Reinaud) 82; Dimashḳī, *Cosmogr.* (ed. Mehren) 216; *Aghānī*², ix, 25, Cairo 1936; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 119 a, b; Wüstenfeld, *Das Gebiet von Medina*, 12 f.; Sprenger, *Geographie des alten Arabien*, 38; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 181-3.

(A. Dietrich)

DJARĀD, locusts. The word is a collective noun, the nom. unit. being *djarāda*, which is applied to the male and the female alike. No cognate synonym seems to exist in the other Semitic languages. For the different stages of the locust's development the Arabic language possesses special names (such as *sirwa, dabā, ghawghāʾ, khayfān*, etc.) which, however, are variously defined by different authorities.

Being found in abundance in the homeland of the Arabs, locusts were often mentioned and described in ancient Arabic poetry and proverbs. In the Ḳurʾān they figure in the enumeration of the Plagues of Egypt (VII, 133) and in a simile describing the resurrected on the day of judgement (LIV, 7). According to some *ḥadīth*s they are lawful as human food.

In Arabic zoological, pharmacological and lexicological works numerous kinds are mentioned, part of which, according to some authors, differ in colour (green, red, tawny [*aṣfar*], white). Where it is stated that the male is tawny and the female black, a specific variety is obviously spoken of. Some locusts fly and some leap. Some have a big and some a small body. They have no fixed habitat but wander about from place to place following a leader. The males have a lighter body and therefore are better able to fly. Locusts have six feet, the tips of which (or: the tips of the two hindlegs) are like saws. Their eyes are immobile. Next to fish they lay the largest number of eggs of all oviparous animals. The young hatch in less than a week. Several authors state that, for laying eggs, the female seeks rocky ground which cannot be broken even with sharp tools, strikes that ground with her tail (ovipositor) and thus makes a crevice into which she lays the eggs. Other sources give a different and more detailed description: In spring, the females seek out good, soft soil, dig holes with their tails, in which they conceal the eggs, fly away and perish of cold or are killed by birds; in spring of the following year, these buried eggs open, the young hatch, feed on all they can find and, when they are big, fly to another country where they in their turn lay eggs. Locusts eat dung and the young of hornets and of similar animals; they themselves are eaten by sparrows, crows, snakes and scorpions. No animal causes greater harm to the means of human sustenance since they eat all that they come across. Their saliva is a deadly poison to plants. Some devices to keep them away from crops are mentioned in the sources.

In the opinion of the ancient Arabs, who used to eat them, locusts yield a delicious food tasting like the meat of scorpions; and Djāḥiẓ wondered why certain people did not like it. Yet eating it was believed to cause epilepsy (*ṣarʿ*). Locusts are eaten to this day by the Bedouin; methods of preparation in Hess, 124.

Medicinal uses of the locust and its significance when occurring in dreams are dealt with in pertinent works.

Three writings, each entitled *Kitāb al-Djarād* (probably little lexical treatises), none of which is extant, are attributed to the following authors (*Fihrist*, 56, 59, 83): 1) Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ḥātim (al-Bāhilī [*q.v.*]); 2) Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī [*q.v.*]; 3) al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Taʿṭīr al-anām*, Cairo 1354, i, 126 f.; Damīrī, s.v. (transl. Jayakar, i, 407 ff.); Dāʾūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1324, i, 96; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; J. J. Hess, *ZATW*, xxxv (1915), 123 f.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 161; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 100 f. (transl. Kopf, 75, 77); Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 172 ff.; Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, bāb 62, s.v.; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1305, ii, 202 (= Dieterici, *Thier und Mensch*, 84); Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 430 f. (transl. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Naturw.*, liii, 252, 271); al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī (Stephenson), 37, 67; A. Malouf, *Arabic zool. dict.*, Cairo 1932, 152; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, x, 292 ff.

(L. Kopf)

(ii). The locust, more commonly known as grasshopper, exists in various harmless forms in almost all climatic regions, but in its gregarious destructive form it is particularly and lamentably well-known. Invasions of locusts are a phenomenon not peculiar to the Muslim world, since they occur from China to America and from the U.S.S.R. to South Africa, but almost the entire Muslim world lies within the affected area, and in a region where invasions are especially frequent and severe. There is no need to give an account here of a well-known phenomenon which from the Bible to our own times has been described by many writers. Contemporary biologists have established that in their gregarious forms locusts are the same as in their solitary, peaceful forms: unfavourable climatic conditions simply modify the nature of their reproduction and mode of life. Young locusts then take flight in dense masses numbering millions which darken the sky like a vast cloud; the sound of the rasping of their legs and wings is intensified; when there is a drop in temperature, as for example in the evening, they suddenly settle on the ground and in a few moments every scrap of vegetation is destroyed, sometimes over an area of several square kilometres. As a result the local population suffers an economic catastrophe, except only that the locusts themselves, if they can be killed, provide some food.

From time to time chronicles mention certain particular invasions of locusts, but generally without giving details, and the information to be gathered from these references is, it seems, too haphazard and localized to allow any deductions to be made in respect of possible modifications in the habits of the locusts, the periodicity of their invasions or the area of their migrations. Today there are several migratory species, the two that chiefly concern us being the Desert Locust (Schistocerca gregaria, mainly in East Africa and Asia) and the Migratory Locust (Locusta migratoria, all other parts of Africa). Attempts have always been made to prevent these invasions; and although modern techniques have to some extent increased the effectiveness of control, they have not in fact introduced any new methods for a long time nor, as yet, have they overcome the scourge. Naturally, the local inhabitants have destroyed the eggs whenever they have found them, as a preventive step. When an invasion takes place, they try to stop the locusts advancing, or to kill them by digging pits, spraying poison, using wheeled screens and flame-throwers etc., (poison and fire already envisaged by Ibn Waḥshiyya) although the destruction inflicted does not prevent terrible

damage being done. Resistance can only be successful if immediate notice of the locusts' flight from their outbreak areas is sent, together with details of their route; and it is obvious that particular efforts must be made to discover the places where egg-masses are deposited and to destroy eggs and young on the spot, and perhaps later to make these areas ecologically unsuitable as breeding-grounds. This is what the international organizations are now trying to do, so far without success; and they have suffered from the vicissitudes of African politics, particularly the Organisation Internationale contre le Criquet Migrateur which is chiefly concerned with the breeding grounds on the Niger, and the Anti-Locust Research Centre for East Africa and West Asia, with its headquarters in Nairobi. Partial successes have been gained, for example in South Africa, and it is to be hoped that, so long as the state of international relations does not once again lead to a postponement of effort, it may at last be possible to put an end to one of the strangest and most fearful of the scourges of nature ever known, particularly in the climatic zones inhabited by the Muslim peoples.

Bibliography: It seems difficult to include a bibliography, since in essence it consists of semi-official publications of the various regional administrations concerned. For biological questions the pioneer works are those of P. B. Uvarov, *e.g.*, *Locusts and Grasshoppers*, 1928; for the geographical aspect the synthesis, dated, however, 1935, by E. W. Schleich, *Die geographische Verbreitung der Wanderheuschrecken*; for anti-locust control see in particular the periodical *Locusta*, from 1954.

(Cl. Cahen)

DJARĀDJIMA (Mardaïtes). This name, the singular of which is Djurdjumānī (cf. *Aghānī*[1], v, 158, *Aghānī*[2], v, 150, in a poem of Aʿshā Hamdān), according to Yāḳūt, ii, 55 denotes the inhabitants of the town of Djurdjūma, situated in the Amanus (Lukkām), and of the marshy districts north of Antioch between Bayās and Būḳā. This word could also be connected with Gurgum, the old name of a legendary province in the region of Marʿash, on which see Dussaud, *Topogr. hist. de la Syrie*, 285, 469. On the other hand Father Lammens recorded a village called Djordjūm near the road between Aleppo and Alexandretta and the springs of Ḥammām (Ḥammām Shaykh ʿĪsā?).

As inhabitants of the Arabo-Byzantine border country, the Djarādjima played an important part during the early days of Islam in the wars between Arabs and Byzantines, and they were known to Byzantine historians by the name Mardaïtes (see below). Somewhat lukewarm Christians, though whether Monophysite or Monothelite is not known, and dependants of the "patriarchate of Antioch", they enjoyed a semi-independence vis-à-vis the Byzantines to whom they supplied soldiers and irregular troops. The Arabs, after taking Antioch, sent an expedition against them commanded by Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihrī. According to al-Balādhurī and Ibn al-Athīr, the Djarādjima agreed to serve the Arabs as scouts and spies, to guard the Amanian Gates and, along with the Arabs, to garrison the small forts commanding the road into and out of Syria. Wellhausen has, however, questioned whether they ever played this rôle before the time of Walīd I, after 89/708 (see below). They were given exemption from *djizya* and had the right to a share of the booty when they took part in military operations. But their loyalty was intermittent, and they did not hesitate to betray the Arabs and pass information to the Byzantines. The instability of the frontier and the difficulty of access to their country made it impossible for the Arabs to impose their authority over them.

The Byzantine historian Theophanes, like Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus, states that during the reign of Muʿāwiya, the emperor Constantine Pogonatus (641-68) sent the Mardaïtes (Djarādjima) against Syria. Suported by Byzantine troops and under the command of Greek officers, their forces occupied the whole stretch of territory from the Black Mountain (the Amanus) to the Holy City (Jerusalem) and took control of all the mountains in the Lebanon. Many runaway slaves, no doubt Greek in origin, joined the Djarādjima, as did a number of the inhabitants of the mountain districts. In a short time their forces numbered several thousand men. According to Father Lammens, this operation is said to have started in about 46/666. To put a stop to this dangerous development, Muʿāwiya began negotiations with the emperor and, after lengthy discussions, accepted a severe peace treaty (annual tribute of 3,000 gold pieces, liberation of 8,000 prisoners and handing over of 50 thoroughbred horses). This treaty was perhaps accompanied by a promise that the emperor would abandon the Mardaïtes and withdraw from them all help in the form of men, arms and money. It is not known if the emperor intervened with the Mardaïtes in the Lebanon who in any case, as Michael the Syrian testifies, suffered partial defeats at the hands of Muʿāwiya and were further discomfited in about 49 or 50 by the settlement of the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] in the Antioch region and further north in the country of the Djarādjima (al-Balādhurī).

It is curious that the account given by Theophanes is not confirmed by the Arab historians who do not connect the peace treaty, probably concluded in 58 or 59/678-9 shortly before Muʿāwiya's death, with the question of the Djarādjima whom they do not mention at that period. Wellhausen has accordingly raised doubts regarding the account given by Theophanes, suggesting that he had brought the Mardaïtes into Muʿāwiya's treaty as a result of confusing it with the treaty made by ʿAbd al-Malik and the history of the Djarādjima in his time, which we shall deal with later; while Father Lammens thinks, on the contrary, that the Arab historians have not preserved any record of this incident because they have confused it with events at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. However al-Balādhurī, when speaking of the Djarādjima at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, makes a very clear reference to a treaty concluded with them by Muʿāwiya, who gave them money and in return took hostages whom he kept at Baʿalbekk. But the writer places this incident at the time of Muʿāwiya's war against "the people of ʿIrāḳ". That would mean the war against ʿAlī, that is to say at an earlier period. The uncertainty remains.

In the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, in 69-70/688-9, taking advantage of the fact that the caliph was not only engaged in a difficult war with the anti-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr but also preoccupied with the revolt of the Umayyad ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaḳ whom he had left in command of Damascus, the emperor Justinian II sent the Djarādjima to attack Syria. Al-Balādhurī reports that Greek cavalry, under the command of a Byzantine officer, came into the Amanus district and then advanced as far as the Lebanon, and that this force was joined by large numbers of Djarādjima, native peasants (*anbāṭ*) and runaway slaves. To put an end to the attacks of

these adventurers the caliph was compelled to sign a treaty with them, guaranteeing a weekly payment of 1,000 dinars. Then he offered the emperor to make peace on the same terms as Muʿāwiya when the latter had been engaged in the war with the people of ʿIrāḳ. Theophanes also mentions this treaty, in connexion with two particular years, 6176 (65/684) and 6178 (67-8/686), the latter possibly being a renewal. The figures given by him are not the same as for the treaty with Muʿāwiya (for 6176: 365,000 gold pieces, 365 slaves, 365 thoroughbred horses; for 6178: 1,000 gold pieces a day, 1 horse and 1 slave). But at the same time the emperor increased his claims, for we see in 6178 that the caliph had to surrender to the emperor half the tribute from Cyprus, Armenia and Iberia (cf. Michael the Syrian, ii, 469). For this consideration Justinian agreed to withdraw the Mardaïtes, and he recalled 12,000 of them; they settled on Byzantine territory. Theophanes reproves him for denuding the frontier in this way. But al-Balādhurī who dates the treaty 70/689 is unaware of this withdrawal and, according to Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, 36, the recall of the Mardaïtes, insofar as they were recalled, took place when Justinian broke the truce, and in order to reinforce his army. Theophanes also says under 6179 (68-9/687) that some Mardaites from the Lebanon came to rejoin the emperor's army in Armenia. Others remained in the Amanus, and there were still some tnere at the time of Walīd II (see below).

According to al-Balādhurī, the caliph after signing the treaty resorted to a trick to get rid of the Djarādjima. He sent one of his trusted supporters, by name Suḥaym b. al-Muhādjir, to see the Greek officer commanding them; Suḥaym succeeded in winning his confidence by pretending to take his part against the caliph. Then, using troops that had been in hiding, he made a surprise attack, killing the officer and massacring the Greeks who were with him. As for the Djarādjima, he granted them the *amān*; some went away and settled in villages in the neighbourhood of Ḥimṣ and Damascus, others went back to the Amanus. The native peasants who had made common cause with them returned to their villages and the runaway slaves returned to their masters.

Some of these adventurers entered the caliph's service. According to al-Balādhurī, one of them named Maymūn al-Djurdjumānī (known to the Byzantines as Maïouma), a former Greek slave of a member of the Umayyad family, was set free at the request of ʿAbd al-Malik who had been told of the prowess he had shown in battle in the Lebanon, and he was put in charge of a garrison at Antioch. In the time of Walīd, at the head of an army of 1,000 men who were no doubt Mardaïtes, he took part in the expedition sent by Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik against Tyana, where he was killed. But al-Balādhurī was certainly mistaken when he said that his death was a great sorrow to ʿAbd al-Malik, for the latter was already dead at that time. Another mistake about him occurs in al-Ṭabarī who, under 87/706, records a tradition from Wāḳidī, according to which he was said to have been killed in the ranks of the Greeks. We see from Theophanes (under 6201 (89/709-10); cf. Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, 43-4) that this is certainly a reference to a former Mardaïte fighting for the Arabs; it was precisely to avenge his death that the Arabs were said to have undertaken the expedition in the course of which they laid siege to Tyana. (For the complications of this incident see Wellhausen 436-7, according to whom the Tyana expedition lasted for two years, 88 and 89).

However the Djarādjima, in their retreats in the Amanus, and with the support of Greeks who had come from the neighbourhood of Alexandretta, continued to be a source of trouble for, in the same year 89, Maslama organized an expedition against their stronghold Djurdjūma which was captured and destroyed. But the Djarādjima were treated exceptionally : they were allowed to keep their Christian faith whilst wearing Muslim dress, without being subject to *djizya*, to receive pay and rations for themselves and their families and to take part in Muslim expeditions with the right to despoil those whom they slew; their goods and their trade were not to be subject to any discrimination from the fiscal point of view. This shows beyond doubt that their secession was feared and that they were needed. A number of them were settled in the region of Tīzīn and Laylūn in north Syria, others at Ḥimṣ and at Antioch. Many emigrated however, crossing over into imperial territory. They settled in Pamphylia in the neighbourhood of Attaleia where they were known by the name of Mardaïtes and were commanded by a catapan. It has been observed that, even today, the population of this district still shows very clear traces of its Syrian origin (see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 41, following Petersen and Von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis*, ii, 1889, 208 ff.).

We find references to those who stayed on in Muslim territory under Yazīd II in the ʿIrāḳ army (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 114), and under Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik in a garrison in the Amanus (al-Balādhurī, 167, ed. Cairo, 174). During the ʿAbbāsid period their privileges were confirmed for them by Wāthiḳ, but Mutawakkil ordered that they should be subject to *djizya*, though continuing to give pay to those who were employed in the frontier posts.

As we have seen, the Djarādjima are the Mardaïtes. The Syrian historians call them Gargūmayē, with the additional epithet Līphūrī or Līporē, that is to say brigands (cf. *luṣūṣ* in Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, under *ḥardjama*). The name Djarādjima is given in Ibn al-Faḳīh, 35, as denoting natives (*ʿulūdj*) of Syria, as opposed to Djarāmiḳa, natives of Djazīra, Nabaṭ, natives of Sawād and Sabābidja, natives of Sind. But we find in *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 76 (*Aghānī*[2], xvi, 73) that Djarādjima, in Syria, denotes those of Persian origin like the Abnāʾ in the Yemen, the Aḥāmira in Kūfa, the Asāwira in Baṣra and the Khaḍāmira in Djazīra. An allusion to the existence of the Djarādjima in the Amanus in the 4th/10th century will be found in H. Zayat, *Vie du Patriarche melkite d'Antioche Christophore* (d. 967) *par le protospathaire Ibrâhîm b. Yuhanna. Document inédit du Xe siècle*, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, ii, 1952, 60, where mention is made of a monastery of the Virgin called Dayr al-Djarādjima in the Djabal al-Lukkām.

Bibliography: In addition to the authors referred to in the text of the above article, see: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 224-5; Balādhurī, 159-67 (Cairo ed., 166-9); Ṭabarī, ii, 796, 1185; Ibn al-Athīr, Cairo ed. 1303 H, ii, 192, iv, 118-9; idem *Nihāya* under *djardjama* and *ḥardjama*; Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ* 87 (where Djurdjūma should be read instead of Djurthūma); Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, ii, 455 479; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronographia*, ed. Budge, 101; Theophanes, A.M. 6169, 6176, 6178, 6179, 6201 (Bonn ed., 542, 552, 555, 557, 576-7); Constantine Porphy-

rogenitus, ch. 21, 22 (repeated from Theophanes), and 50; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 116 (= Eng. tr., 187), and *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umaijiden*, in *NGW* Gött., 1901, 216 ff., 428 ff., 436 ff.; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿāwiya Ier*, in *MFOB*, i, 14-22; Van Gelder, *Moḫtar de valsche profeet*, Leiden 1888, 98-9; Sachau, *Zur historischen Geographie von Nordsyrien*, in *SB I Pr. Ak. W.*, 1892, 320; Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, 92-3.

(M. Canard)

D̲J̲ARAS̲H̲, the ancient Gerasa, a place in Transjordan situated south-east of the D̲j̲abal ʿAd̲j̲lūn, in a well-wooded hilly district, standing on the bank of a small tributary of the Wādī 'l-Zarḳā', the Wādī 'l-Dayr or Chrysoroas of the Greeks. Founded in the Hellenistic era at a centre of natural communications, later to be followed by Roman roads, it was captured by the Jewish leader Alexander Jannaeus in about 80 B.C., but freed by Pompey; it then belonged to the towns of the Decapolis, being incorporated successively in the Roman province of Syria and the province of Arabia. Known as Antioch on the Chrysoroas, it enjoyed its greatest prosperity in the time of the Antonines, and it was then that most of the monuments whose imposing remains we admire today were built. A fortified city in the 4th century, it became the seat of a bishopric, and churches and basilicas abounded.

Conquered in 13/634 by S̲h̲uraḥbīl, it formed part of the district of al-Urdunn. In the 3rd/9th century, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, its population was still half Greek, half Arab. But soon the town lost all its importance. No building of the Muslim period survives, nor is there any trace of the castle which Tug̲h̲takīn, *atabeg* of Damascus, had built, and which Baldwin captured and destroyed in 515/1121. According to Yāḳūt, the town was entirely in ruins at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, and through it ran various water-courses used to drive mills, while numerous villages were scattered over the nearby hills.

It was only in 1878 that the Čerkes came and settled on the deserted site of D̲j̲aras̲h̲, and built the present village on the east bank of the *wādī*.

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D̲J̲ARBA (Djerba) is the largest island of the Mag̲h̲rib littoral, with an area of 514 sq. kms. It lies to the south of Tunisia in the gulf of Gabès (Little Syrtis in ancient times), an area noted for its sandbanks and tidal currents. The two peninsulas of Mehabeul and Accara reach out towards it from the Djeffara plain, but the island is separated from the mainland by the Bou Grara Sea and Strait of al-Ḳanṭara to the west, and the Ad̲j̲im channel to the east. Although the channel is no more than 2 kms. wide, it can be navigated by ships drawing up to 4 metres of water. The Bou Grara Sea, in the shape of a sack, has an area of 500 sq. kms., and a depth ranging between 5 to 25 metres. Low tide forms a series of shallows in the Strait of al-Ḳanṭara. Djerba consists of a small plateau with an elevation of 15-40 metres. It attains its highest point to the south near Sedwikes̲h̲ (55 m.) and slopes down towards the coastal plains, which are very wide to the west of the island. The terrain is a deposit of the quaternary age, being marine on the periphery and continental inland.

There is no source of fresh water on the island apart from the few gullies along the clayey cliff of Guellala in the south, where the water merely trickles for a few hundred yards even after the heavy rains. The precipitation is slight and sporadic, an average of 200 mm. (= 7.84 in.) falling in a season of about 40 days, and even a continually high relative humidity cannot offset this lack of rain. The underground water-level to which wells are sunk through a layer of sandy soil and a limestone crust is abundant but salty, except in the eastern interior. Deep drillings have been made to an artesian water-level in the miocene clay of the substructure, but the water is salty and virtually unusable. The inhabitants of the island have always had to collect water in tanks, private and public, and except on certain small plots, cultivation of the land has yielded a very low output. All those who throughout the centuries have attacked the island have had to contend with its shortage of water.

Like the Kerkena islands, Djerba is connected with the mainland by the wide sandbanks which surround it less than 10 m. below the surface of the sea. These banks often silt up completely. At Ṭriḳ el-D̲j̲mel, for instance, the caravans cross them on their way to the Tarbella peninsula, and nearby a road has recently been constructed over the remains of the Roman causeway to al-Ḳanṭara. There is thus a direct link for modern traffic between the mainland and the island. The effect of tidal currents on the mud and fine sand has been to create a series of channels, 'oueds', in the sandbanks. Indeed, the gulfs of Venice and Gabès are the only areas of the Mediterranean which are tidal. At Djerba there is a difference of 1 m. between high and low tide. The dangers of navigating the currents and sandbanks have always served as a defence against outside intruders. In 253 B.C., during the first Punic War, a Roman fleet ran aground at low tide off Djerba, and it was only refloated at high tide by unloading the ships. (Polybius, i, 39). In 1511, Pedro Navarro landed his troops at high tide, and had sufficient foresight to withdraw his ships with the ebb tide. But the Spanish soldiers were thrown back by the islanders, and had great difficyulty in regaining their ships which were lying four miles offshore (Leo Africanus, trans. Épaulard, 401). It should be added that the sea abounds in fish, and certain shallows are strewn with sponges.

"Djerba, the isle of the shallows of Periplus, of the Lotus-eaters of Erasthones and other Greek writers, was called Pharis by Theophrastus, Meninx by Polybius, and possibly Phla by Herodotus. The land was well cultivated from the middle of the fourth century B.C. onwards, at which time it was certainly under the rule of Carthage" (Gsell, *Hist.*, ii, 124). As in Roman times, its economy was based mainly on the growing of olives, although in the fourth century B.C. the oil was still extracted from wild trees. Not much is known about its maritime activity during classical times apart from the fact that there were considerable fishing-grounds in the area. The for the most part shapeless remains of ancient settlements point to its economic importance at that time. Only Meninx can be accurately located, its ruins standing under the Burd̲j̲ al-Ḳanṭara at the end of the Roman causeway. It is probable that Girba, from which the island's name originated, was situated near Houmt-Souk, and that Tipaza and

Haribus were in the neighbourhood of Adjim and Guellala respectively. The sack of Jerusalem in the first century A.D. resulted in a considerable influx of Jews, from whom most of the present-day Jewish population is descended. After having been part of the proconsular province, Djerba fell successively under the power of Tripolitania, the Vandals, and Byzantium. In the Byzantine age the bishop of Djerba was appointed from Tripoli. In 665, during the wars waged in Byzacene by Maʿāwiya b. Ḥudaydj, Djerba was conquered and occupied by Ruwayf b. Thābit. For the next few centuries little is known about the island, except that it came under the rule of Ḳayrawān and Mahdiyya. Its natural isolation was reinforced by the independent spirit of its inhabitants and their attachment to the Khāridjite schism, which between the 2nd/8th and 4th/10th centuries extended to places so wide apart as Djabal Nafūsa (Tripolitania) and the Mzāb (Algerian Sahara). It explains perhaps why Arab writers such as al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī have so few kind words to spare for them, finding them ill-natured and hypocritical. Al-Bakrī remarked that they 'acted piratically on both land and sea', and al-Idrīsī pointed out that they were Berbers and could speak no other tongue. Nevertheless the island was described in the eleventh century as a mass of gardens and olive-groves, and Djerba (Girba) figured as one of its small towns.

The invasions of the Banū Hilāl in the 5th/11th century, and the fall of the Zīrid dynasty, seemed to increase the Djerbians' spirit of independence. Their piratical raids on the Tunisian coast and on the Christian fleets became more frequent. In 1115-6 ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā the Zīrid was still their master. But George of Antioch, admiral to the Norman king of Sicily Roger II, conquered and occupied the island in 1135. The capture of Mahdiyya in 1148 strengthened Norman rule, which persisted until 1160 despite an uprising in 1153 which was rapidly suppressed. They were then driven from the Tunisian coast and islands by the great Almohad conqueror ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. In 683/1284, at the beginning of the reign of the Ḥafṣid prince Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, a Christian expedition easily retook the island. It was under the command of Roger of Lauria, and was sent by the king of Sicily, Peter III of Aragon. In 1289 the Christians built a fortress to guard over the Strait of al-Ḳanṭara and the Roman causeway. It was sited near the ruins of ancient Meninx, and its towers and battlements formed a square surrounded by a moat. After several uprisings, and a raid by the Tunisians in 706/1306, Frederick of Sicily sent Ramon Muntaner to reoccupy Djerba. This Catalan adventurer maintained an iron rule from 1311 until 1314, at which date the island was brought under the direct rule of Sicily. But a fresh revolt, in which the Djerbians gained the assistance of the Ḥafṣid king Abū Bakr, forced the Christians to relinquish the island after a heroic resistance in the Ḳashtīl (1334-5), Only once more were they to regain control of it. from 1383 until 1392, when the Sicilian expedition was reinforced by a Genoese fleet. In the following century, attempts by Alfonso V of Aragon to recapture the island were doomed to failure. During his second assault, in 835/1432, the sultan Abū Fāris came in person to the assistance of the Djerbians, and the Arabs built a second fortress on the island, this time near the ancient ruins of Girba in the north. It became known as al-Burdj al-Kabīr, and in time a small trading settlement named Houmt-Souk grew up round its walls.

The defiant and independant spirit of the Djerbians brought clashes with the Ḥafṣids as well as with the Christians. Not only did they turn a deaf ear to Abū Fāris's peaceful propaganda in favour of orthodoxy, but in 885/1480 they suddenly broke their association with Abū ʿUmar ʿUthmān and deliberately destroyed their only link with the mainland, the Roman causeway. Up to then it had been restored several times and kept in good condition.

Despite the plunderings, massacres and deportations resulting from Christian invasions, and the internal dissensions of the two rival sects (the Wahbiyya in the north-west and the Nakkāra in the south-east), Djerba was reputed for its wealth. The Sfaxians came from the ravaged mainland to buy oil, there was a considerable trade in dried raisins, and the vegetation included apple-trees, fig-trees and palms. Salt was supplied to the visiting merchants of Venice, and the fishing industry flourished. There were also exports of *djarbī*, the name given to the plain and coloured woollen cloths produced on the island. Goods were stored in 'fondouks', which also housed Christian merchants. The general population was dispersed among the plantations in houses 'of a square shape and very unusual in style'. In the fifteenth century the traveller Adorne recorded that 'the king raises taxes of 20,000 doubloons or ducats annually'. But successive wars and droughts brought serious famines, such as that of 711/1311, when bread was made from the sawdust of palm-trees.

In the sixteenth century, Djerba became a stake in the struggle between Spaniards and Turks for mastery of the Mediterranean. The Ḥafṣids ceded it to the latter as a base, from which the Christians were not able to dislodge them. The Spanish invasion of 1511, led by Pedro Navarro, victor in Algeria and Tripoli, ended in failure. In 1550 the island served as an operational base for Dragut, the famous corsair [see ṬURGHŪD ʿALĪ PASHA and the following article].

Djerba finally came under Turkish rule, and it was variously administered from Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis. It came under the permanent control of Tunisia during the reign of Ḥammūda-Bey (1040-69/1631-59). It was to suffer under its several masters. In 976/1568, the Pasha of Tripoli imposed a crushing burden of taxation, and in 1006/1598 the island was literally laid waste by Ibrāhīm Pasha in punishment for its refusal to bow to the demands of Tripoli. The description of Djerba given by the writers of the 16th century, though more detailed than that of their predecessors, differs little from earlier accounts; the cultivation of trees and export of woollen cloths were still its principal occupations. There was a persistent shortage of corn and abundance of dromedaries and donkeys. All livestock came from the mainland. The population varied between 30-40,000, and the countryside was only sparsely inhabited. In the mid-seventeenth century Leo Africanus wrote that 'trade done with merchants from Alexandria, Turkey and Tunisia yielded a revenue of 20,000 doubloons from the salt tax and customs duties'.

The rulers of Turkish Tunisia, Deys and Beys, who were succeeded from 1117/1705 onwards by the rulers of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, appointed first *shaykhs* and then *ḳāʾids* to represent them in the outlying possession of Djerba; these important officials were recruited hereditarily from certain families. In the 10th/16th century it was the Semumeni family which ruled, and they were succeeded by the Bel Djellouds. One of them, Saʿīd, was put to death in 1151/1738 for ordering the sinking of all

flat-bottomed boats in order to prevent them falling into the hands of the invading troops of Yūnus Bey, son of ʿAlī Pasha. Thereafter the Ben Ayed ḳāʾids ruled the island until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

From the early eighteenth century onwards, Mālikī orthodoxy gradually replaced the Ibāḍī schism, and Arabic began to establish itself as the most common language. Uprisings against the central power periodically brought war to the island, in particular from 1007/1599 to 1009/1601, and in 1864. In the 18th century there were also several raids by the nomadic Urghāmma and Accara tribes from the plain of Djeffara. In 1794 a bold adventurer from Tripoli, ʿAlī Burghul, occupied and plundered the island for 58 days. In 1864 it was the turn of tribesmen from the Zarzis area to invade it. Plague ravaged the island in 1705-6, 1809, and 1864. Its economy was severely affected when Aḥmad Bey suppressed the slave-trade in 1846, for until then Djerba and Gabès had been the principal outlets for the slaves carried by merchant caravans which crossed the desert from eastern Sudan via Ghadamès and Ghāt. The new law forced the caravans to head for Tripoli, which was already supplied with slaves from the Fezzān route. Nevertheless, travellers of the nineteenth century describe an active and prosperous island, and so it was when, by the treaty of the Bardo Protectorate, a small French force came to garrison the Burdj al-Kabīr on 28 July 1881.

The population had always been relatively large, and the period of peace ensuing after 1881 saw a great increase. Although there has been much emigration, its population in 1956 was 63,200, or 121 per sq.km. Ibn Khaldūn (iii, 63) classes the Djerbians as part of the Kutāma people, although he is careful to point out that there are elements also of the Nefza, Huwwāra and other Berber tribes. In recent years there has been much immigration from the mainland, especially from southern Tunisia. Some were from the Ibāḍī tribe of Nafūsa, others were penniless shepherds given work as labourers, whilst yet others were exiles from various countries, seeking asylum in Djerba. Most of them were easily absorbed into the population. Djerbians themselves are nearly all distinguished by their short stature and flat skulls. About 50% of them speak Berber—particularly in the south-west—but they virtually all speak Arabic as well. Half the population has retained the Ibāḍī faith in its local form of 'Wahbism', but the great majority in the eastern and central parts are orthodox Muslims. In general the Wahbīs are bearded and wear the turban (*kashta*). They lead an austere life which excludes gambling and smoking, and they only break the fast of Ramaḍān after having personally observed the crescent moon. The great number of squat and simple mosques is evidence of the former importance of their sect. They have certain traditional customs in common with orthodox Muslims, such as the ritual visit to the olive-grove, symbol of wealth and peace, on the occasion of marriage or circumcision. Another marriage custom, of Berber origin, is the *djaḥfa* procession, which recalls the old Bedouin custom of the abduction of the bride. The island's Jewish inhabitants are mostly descended from immigrants of the first century, and have remained dolichocephalic. They are concentrated in the two villages of Ḥāra Kabīra and Ḥāra Ṣaghīra, in the north. These villages, together with the economic and administrative centre of Houmt-Souk, which for the most part is of recent construction, are the only centres of population in an island which is characterized by the sparse distribution of its rural settlements.

Cultivation of the land is intensive only in the centre and east, where irrigation of fruit and vegetable crops from an underground water-level is effected by means of animal-driven pumps. Cereal crops are grown on only a few small fields in the south. The island contains 400,000 olive trees, most of them now too old to be productive, and 570,000 palm trees, many of which are neither fertile nor irrigated. As in Zarzis, they are extensively used in the making of fishing tackle. Land-holdings are small, being usually of 2 to 5 acres where there is irrigation, and 7 to 13 where the land is dry, but they are cultivated to an average degree of 70%. As already mentioned, there is virtually no stock-farming.

For centuries the houses have been dispersed all over the island, for the constant danger of attack precluded the islanders from living in village communities as on the mainland. Many of the farms were built on defensive lines, and the earth embankments, from which Barbary fig trees stand out like spikes, served the double purpose of enclosing the fields and guarding against attack. Because of the shortage of productive land on the island itself, the Djerbians have for centuries owned land on the nearby coastal strip, and farmed it with labour from their related tribe, the Towazins.

The old crafts have lost a lot of their former importance, but nevertheless there are still 1500 looms in use, mostly primitive machines grouped 3 or 5 to a small workshop. Their supply of wool comes from the island's 8,000 sheep, and imports which find their way from the steppes. The industry produces brightly-striped woollen cloths, and other fabrics. The art of pottery has not died out in Guellala (S.-W.), where there are some 250 kilns, and various types of vessels are shipped to all parts of the coast, as far as Tunis. Jewellery and embroidery are the domain of the Jews, and are consequently declining in importance as the Jewish elements emigrate.

The main source of wealth for Djerba lies outside the island itself. It is derived from the fishing industry (employing 11% of the adult population), coastal traffic to Sfax, Sousse and Tunis by *lūds* (flat-bottomed sailing ships which can safely negotiate the shallows), navigating for the Mediterranean or even other shipping companies, and above all from emigration.

Emigration is exclusively by males, for a temporary period, and for commercial reasons. The Djerbians form themselves into limited partnerships and dispense with the need for banks. Wherever possible, the partnership is restricted to a particular family, and they are found predominantly in the grocery, weaving, and hosiery trades. Of the 6,000 traders who are known to be living outside Djerba, 80-90% are in Tunisia, concentrated in the Tell and Tunis areas, and a few have settled in the Constantine and in Tripolitania. The male members of the partnerships replace each other abroad according to a certain roster, which is so arranged that they spend about one third of their time with their family in Djerba. This system enables the island to support a greater population than would otherwise be possible on its meagre natural resources.

Fishing is carried out in the gulf of Gabès, mostly from 'bordigues', which are small constructions built in the sandbanks with mud and palm leaves. A speciality of their catch is the large number of

octopuses and sponges which are so abundant in the waters off Djerba. The islanders also fish with rods, eel-pots and various types of nets.

The Djerbians work hard in their several occupations, and although they emigrate a good deal they remain very devoted to their island, and to their social and family ties.

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(J. Despois)

DJARBA (Battle of). — In the middle of the 10th/16th century the Ottoman corsair Ṭūrghūd Raʾīs made the island of Djarba the base of his operations against the Spaniards. Although the latter had succeeded in blockading it in Rabīʿ I 958/ April 1551, he was able to escape with his fleet by cutting the causeway of al-Ḳanṭara and digging a channel which enabled him to reach the Gulf of Bū Ghrāra and thence the high seas (13 Rabīʿ II 958/20 April 1551). Shortly afterwards he seized Tripoli (Shaʿbān 958/August 1551), then put into repair the fortress of Houmt Souk (Burdj al-Kabīr; inscr. of 964/1557). In the face of the menace of these Turkish bases of Tripoli and Djarba John of Valletta, the Grand Master of Malta, and the Duke of Medina-Celi obtained in 1559, from Philip II, king of Spain, permission to send out a naval expedition. This left Malta on 10 February 1560 with 54 galleys, 36 cargo-vessels, and 11 to 12 thousand men; but, rather than attack Tripoli, it sailed on Djarba, which was occupied on 7 March. The Ottoman fleet, however, under the command of Piyāle Pasha and Ṭūrghūd Raʾīs surprised the Spanish fleet at its anchorage on 11 May, and destroyed the greater part of it. The garrison of Burdj al-Kabīr, commanded by Alvaro de Sande, was besieged from 16 May; short of water and decimated by sickness, it surrendered on 31 July 1560, and the few thousand survivors were either massacred or divided among the Ottoman galleys as oarsmen. Following their defeat the Spanish were totally driven out of southern and central Tunisia.

The famous "Tower of Skulls" (Burdj al-ruʾūs) built by the Djarbans with the bones of the dead, often mentioned by European travellers, was demolished in 1848 by order of Aḥmad Bey, bey of Tunis.

Bibliography: Ch. Monchicourt, *Episodes de la carrière de Dragut*: ii, *Le stratagème de Dragut à El-Kantara de Djerba*, in *RT*, xxv (1918), 263-73; and, especially, idem, *L'expédition espagnole de 1560 contre l'île de Djerba*, in *RT*, xx (1913), 499-519, 627-53; xxi (1914), 14-37, 136-55, 227-46, 332-53, 419-50, where there is an important bibliography of documents in archives and of various sources relevant to this expedition; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1949, 372, 375-6; A. Bombacı, *Le fonti turche della battaglia delle Gerbe (1560)*, in *RSO*, xix, (1946) 193-218.

(R. Mantran)

AL-DJARBĀʾ, an ancient fortress in Arabia Petraea situated on the Roman road leading from Buṣrā to the Red Sea, about one mile north of Adhruḥ [*q.v.*]. Like Adhruḥ, it submitted to Muḥammad, in 9/631, on condition of payment of tribute. The distance between Adhruḥ and al-Djarbāʾ, estimated at "three days' journey", has been mentioned frequently in the *hadith* as an indication of the size of the basin (*ḥawḍ* [*q.v.*]) where the Prophet will stand on the day of Judgment. The expression "between Adhruḥ and al-Djarbāʾ" has thus become proverbial to denote a considerable distance.

The place came into prominence for the second time during the Crusades, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn camped there in August 578/1182, during his expedition against Damascus.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 59; Ṭabarī, i, 1702; Yāḳūt, ii, 48; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 83-4, 239; Le Strange, *Palestine*, index; A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1938, 183; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *La marche de Saladin du Caire à Damas*, in *RB*, 1906, 469-70 (following William of Tyre, xxii, 14, 15); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ed. Cairo 1313 H, ii, 21; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. 1330-4 H, ii, 209.

(D. Sourdel)

AL-DJARDJARĀʾĪ, patronymic deriving from the locality of Djardjarāyā in ʿIrāḳ (on the Tigris, south of Baghdād), borne by several viziers of the ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid caliphs.

1. — Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, former secretary of al-Faḍl b. Marwān [*q.v.*], was vizier to al-Mutawakkil at the beginning of the reign, after Ibn al-Zayyāt's disgrace, but was soon discarded by reason of his negligence. Recalled to the vizierate by al-Mustaʿīn in Shaʿbān 249/September-October 863, he died soon afterwards in the year 250/864-5, aged about eighty (see Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, iv, 4, ed. Dedering, no. 1878).

2. — Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, son of a governor of Egypt (Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, a. 265), had been secretary-tutor to prince al-Muntaṣir and became vizier in Shawwāl 247/December 861 when his master was proclaimed caliph; after his death, he helped to secure al-Mustaʿīn's succession, but he incurred the hostility of the Turkish officers in Sāmarrā and was exiled to Crete in Djumādā I 248/August 862. He died in 265/879.

3. — al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan, private secretary to the vizier al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh under al-Muktafī, thanks to the recommendation left by his master succeeded in taking his place after his death in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 291/October 904. As vizier to al-Muktafī, he entered into close alliance with Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Furāt whom he made his right hand man and chose as his successor; it was on the advice of this unscrupulous individual that, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 295/September 908, he had the young

Djaʿfar proclaimed caliph when he was only thirteen years old; he took the name of al-Muḳtadir and retained him as his minister. The haughty attitude of al-ʿAbbās seems to have occasioned the conspiracy of Rabīʿ I 296/December 908 which, even if it did not succeed in replacing al-Muḳtadir by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, nevertheless cost the vizier his life.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, i, Damascus 1959, 271-5, 293, 289-90, 359-71.

4. — Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, a secretary of ʿIrāḳī origin who came to Fāṭimid Egypt with his brother, and held various offices in the provinces where his peculation was punished by his hands being cut off in 404/1013-4 on al-Ḥākim's orders; nevertheless he succeeded in becoming director of the *dīwān al-nafaḳāt* in 406/1015-6, and then in holding the office of *wāsita* in 412/1021-2 and of vizier in 418/1027. He was retained in the vizierate under the reigns of al-Ẓāhir and al-Mustanṣir until his death in Ramaḍān 436/March 1045.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, ed. Cairo 1948, iii, 84-5; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla ʾl-wizāra*, in *BIFAO*, xxv (1925), 77-9.

(D. Sourdel)

AL-DJARḤ WA ʾL-TAʿDĪL, (disparaging and declaring trustworthy), a technical phrase used regarding the reliability or otherwise of traditionists and witnesses. This article deals with the former; for the latter see ʿADL. While the criticism of *ḥadīth* did not, as is often said, apply solely to the *isnād*, this formed a very important part of it. In the course of the 2nd/8th century when it was realized that many false traditions were being invented, interest in the transmitters developed, and statements regarding their qualities were made. In the 3rd/9th century books began to be written, generally in the form of lists of men with their dates, and statements regarding their credibility. We also find notes on the qualities of traditionists in the canonical *Sunan* collections of tradition, in the *Sunan* of al-Dārimī [*q.v.*], and elsewhere. In the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ* Muslim found it necessary to justify the investigation of traditionists' credentials because many felt it was wrong to criticize them. Such views must have continued for a long time, for al-Ḥākim (d. 405/1014) still found it necessary to defend the practice. When books on *ʿIlm al-ḥadīth* were written (4th/10th century onwards), *al-djarḥ wa ʾl-taʿdīl* formed a recognized branch of the subject.

The Companions of the Prophet were considered reliable, so *djarḥ* could not apply to them; but traditionists of later generations were subject to investigation. Views were held regarding the qualities of a reliable transmitter. He must (1) be a Muslim, (2) have sound intelligence, (3) be truthful, (4) never conceal defects in his transmission, (5) be trustworthy. In his *K. al-djarḥ wa ʾl-taʿdīl*, Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/939) discusses in the introduction the various classes of transmitter, and his classification served as a standard for writers of later times; *e.g.*, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) in his *Kifāya*, and Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) in his *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*. He mentions in order of merit four types whose traditions may be accepted. They are (1) *thiḳa* (trustworthy), or *mutḳin* (exact); (2) *ṣadūḳ* (truthful), *maḥalluhu al-ṣidḳ* (his station is veracity), or *lā baʾs bihi* (there is no harm in him); (3) *shaykh*; (4) *ṣāliḥ al-ḥadīth* (good, or upright, in tradition). The second type is not so authoritative as the first and the third is slightly inferior to the second. The fourth contains men whose traditions may be written down for comparison with those of others. There are four classes of lower authority still: (1) *layyin al-ḥadīth* (easy-going in tradition); (2) *laysa bi-ḳawī* (not strong); (3) *ḍaʿīf al-ḥadīth* (weak in tradition); (4) *matrūk al-ḥadīth* (one whose traditions are abandoned), *dhāhib al-ḥadīth* (rejected), or *kadhdhāb* (liar). The first two deserve to have their traditions considered and compared with those of others; the third, though inferior, is not to be rejected outright, but one must find whether his traditions are supported elsewhere. The fourth is utterly rejected. A number of other terms are also applied by other writers.

But while this sounds straightforward matters were not so simple, for sometimes a transmitter called trustworthy by one authority was called weak by another. This raised a difficulty, but opinion seemed to prefer the view that when both *djarḥ* and *taʿdīl* were expressed about the same man, the *djarḥ* had more authority because those who expressed this view must have possessed information not available to others. But while those who expressed *taʿdīl* did not need to supply reasons for their view, those who expressed *djarḥ* must do so, for people differed in their idea of what constituted weakness, and it is only when the reasons are stated that one can know whether the judgment is valid. Opinions differ as to whether one authority is enough to express *djarḥ* and *taʿdīl*. Two men are required to attest the reliability of witnesses, but Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ holds that the testimony of one man is sufficient to state the reliability or otherwise of a transmitter of tradition.

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(J. Robson)

DJARĪB [see KAYL].

DJARĪD [see DJERĪD].

DJARĪD (Bilād al-). The Djerid or "country of palms" is a district of the Sahara situated in southwestern Tunisia which includes the oases of Nefta, Tozeur (Tūzar), El-Oudiane (al-Udyān) and al-Ḥamma (not to be confused with al-Ḥamma of Gabès). In the Middle Ages the Djerid was more often called Ḳasṭīliya; but this name which is sometimes a synonym of Tozeur only (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 243; al-Idrīsī, 121), frequently embraces Gafsa and the Nefzāwa (Ibn Khaldūn, i, 192) along

with the modern Djerid, and sometimes even the district of Gabès (Leo Africanus, 8).

Apart from al-Ḥamma which is in the north, the oases are situated at the foot of the last anticlinal fold (Drāʿ al-Djarīd) of the Atlas, between 25 and 75 metres in altitude, on the edge of an immense *sebkha* wrongly named Chott el-Djerid on maps: it is an immense plain of salty clay, absolutely sterile, 110 by 70 km.; it produces no pasturage of salsolaceous plants except along its border, to which alone the name *shoṭṭ* applies; this is the *sebkha* Takmart of Arab writers. According to tradition, the sea covered this district at quite a recent period; in fact, its altitude is about twenty metres, and it has been possible to show recently that the *sebkha* of Djerid and its eastward extension, the *sebkha* of Fedjedj, were in the Quaternary Age merely lagoons temporarily connected with the Gulf of Gabès.

The climate is essentially that of a desert: Tozeur only receives 89 mm. (3½ ins.) of rain a year, and very irregularly; mean temperatures there for January and July are 10°5 C. (50.9° F.) and 32°3C. (90.1° F.); frosts are very rare, but the temperature often exceeds 40° C . It is the typical climate of the date-palm, provided that it is given abundant irrigation. Numerous springs appear at the foot of the Drāʿ al-Djarīd, fed by a strong artesian water-level enclosed in the upper Cretaceous limestones and Pontien sandstones (Tertiary): with some artesian wells, which have been sunk fairly recently, they provide a total of about 1850 litres a second. Thus the oases of the Djerid have always had the reputation of being the finest in Tunisia.

Tozeur (Tusuros, or Blād al-Ḥaḍar), Nefṭa (Nepte) and al-Ḥamma (Aquae) were points on a forward road near the Roman and Byzantine *limes*. It is not certain that Tokyūs (El-Oudiane), referred to by al-Yaʿḳūbī in the 3rd/9th century, is of ancient origin. The Djerid was twice conquered by Arab conquerors: in 26/647 by Ibn Zuhayr and in 49/669 by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ. But the Djerid was "at all times the home of separatist movements and rebellions" (G. Marçais). In the 9th century, however, Ḳasṭīliya was an Aghlabid province with a governor and, although mainly Ibāḍite, it only once revolted, in 839. There were then few Arabs in the district; the nomads were Luwātā, Zowāra and Miknāsa. The "Rûm" (of European origin) were still mentioned in the cases. The sugar-cane was cultivated there, the Ḳasṭīliyan fairs were crowded and trade in black slaves was brisk. The country remained prosperous until the middle of the 5th/11th century although it was often autonomous; its centres were in fact small principalities administered by councils of notables who were to a greater or lesser degree consulted by the heads of the most powerful families like the Banū Furḳān, and the Banū Waṭṭa of Tozeur. Tozeur was a real town, with ramparts pierced by four gates, a large mosque, crowded bazaars, baths and densely populated suburbs. The mosque of Blād al-Ḥaḍar, built between 1027 and 1030 in the traditional style of al-Ḳayrawān, did not have its *miḥrāb* ornamented with Hispano-Maghribin decoration until 1193. The system of irrigation described by Al-Bakrī is still in existence. Nefṭa was guarded by a wall and had a large population. At Tokyūs, which included "four cities enclosed by walls, so close that it was possible to hold a conversation from one to the other", various crops including olives were cultivated. The Djerid had plentiful resources, its oranges were celebrated, its sugar-cane was well known, but the date was its great product: Al-Bakrī claims that every day there left Tozeur "a thousand camels or even more, laden with this fruit". The inhabitants were reputed to be cynophagists. There were still some Ibāḍites in the 5th/11th century.

In 1053, the Ḳasṭīliya was ravaged by the Riyāḥ, the vanguard of the Banū Hilāl, commanded by ʿAbid b. Abi 'l-Rayth; it was quickly incorporated in the independent principality carved out of southern Tunisia by the governor of Gafsa, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Rand; this principality, with its sometimes brilliant court, was to endure until the Almohad conquest (1159-60). Shortly afterwards the Djerid became one of the bases of operations of ʿAlī, and then of Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya, in their attempts to restore the Almoravid empire. Under the Ḥafṣids, in the 13th and 14th centuries, it was in fact in the hands of families who were seeking to preserve their hereditary power; among them were the Banū Yamlūl at Tozeur and the Banu 'l-Khalaf at Nefṭa, both descended from nomadic Arabs; they paid no more heed to the councils of notables than to the advice of their sovereigns, especially in the 14th century. But they were compelled to negotiate constantly with the nomads, to whom the settled population paid tribute (*ghafāra* on harvests or a payment of money); the nomads guaranteed their supplies of grain and the export of dates, stored provisions in the houses and guarded the flocks of the rich oasis inhabitants; though turbulent and dangerous, it was not in the nomads' interest to abuse their strength. These nomads, the Riyāḥ, were little by little thrust back in the course of the 6th/12th century, and in the 13th century were replaced by tribes of Sulaym origin, the Kūb and Mirdās, who migrated from the Djerid to the neighbourhood of Bône. In the 14th century the Kūb levied the *iḳṭāʿ*, whilst certain Mirdās, after acquiring property at Tozeur, gradually began to settle. But the great Ḥafṣid sovereigns of the 15th century, as a result of several expeditions, succeeded in imposing their authority over the settled as well as the nomadic population, through the help of active governors.

From the 12th century Khāridjism was in full decline, weakened by dissensions between Wahbiyya and Nekkāra; it seems to have disappeared when faced with the propaganda of a marabout who lived in about 1200, Sīdī Abū ʿAlī al-Nafṭī, whose tomb stands in the middle of the palm grove at Nefṭa. The economy was still based on cultivation of oases and on trade with nomads. Tozeur was still the capital, and was renowned for the additions which had been made to its palm grove: it had two mosques with *khuṭba* and public baths; but the trade in human excrement and the practice of cynophagy sometimes brought its inhabitants into disrepute.

From the end of the 16th century the Turks, and from 1705 the Ḥusaynid sovereigns, attempted by repeated expeditions to maintain their authority over the Djerid and to enforce the payment of taxes. As a result of the refusal of the inhabitants of Ceddada to pay taxes during the third quarter of the 17th century, their village which at that time was situated high up by the tomb of Sīdī Bū Helāl, was destroyed and a number of the inhabitants massacred by the regular troops; the survivors went down and settled by their palmtrees at El-Oudiane. The habit grew up among the Ḥusaynides of organizing a force (*meḥalla*) in winter, to come in January and February to collect taxes and, where necessary, to restore order in the tribes in the South and the oases. This practice gave rise to abuses which were

denounced at the beginning of the 18th century by the traveller Moula-Ahmed (Berbruger, *Voyages dans le sud de l'Algérie*, 245-7) shortly after Yūnus, the son of ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, kept the proceeds of heavy fines levied irregularly on the wealthy inhabitants of Djerid. More than once, unjustified confiscations of estates were effected for the benefit of the Bey who lost no time in reselling them. Nevertheless the *meḥalla* was successful in settling, at least for the time being, the not infrequent disputes between the settled population and the nomads, and internal feuds like the one between the inhabitants of the El Ḥādef and Zebda districts of Tozeur. The Djerid trade suffered from the abolition of slavery (1857) and the decline in trans-Sahara trade.

Since 1880, the year when the French Protectorate was established, the oases have been extended as the result of a number of borings, and many more palm-trees of the *deglat al-nūr* variety, which produces soft dates for export to Europe, have been grown. In the Djerid there are more than 1,100,000 date-palms, almost half of which are *deglat al-nūr*; but the cultivation of fruit and vegetables is not on a large scale. The luxuriance of the vegetation is in contrast to the abject poverty so wide-spread among the people, the result in part of the rapid increase in population (despite considerable emigration to Tunis), in part of the very unequal distribution of land, or division into too small units, and also the decline in handicrafts. In addition, the land is often inadequately manured and indifferently cultivated. Gardens are enclosed by banks of earth (*tabya*), thickly planted with palm-trees; a Spring festival, a nature festival of pagan origin, called *mayo*, is still celebrated there.

The richest palm-grove, where however the greatest disparity between the various proprietors is to be seen, is at Tozeur. Tozeur, with its 12,000 inhabitants, is the chief town of the Djerid and the largest market in the Tunisian Sahara; it is patronized in particular by the Ulād Sīdī ʿAbīd, nomads from the frontier region. Tozeur often has an urban appearance, with its lofty houses of brick decorated with geometrical motifs, and with new districts near the station. It has been connected by railway with Sfax since 1919. Nefṭa, with a larger population (14,600 inhabitants) is more purely rural, and suffers from an irregular water supply in summer: the Nememcha, who are Algerian nomads, are its principal customers. El-Oudiane has five villages (Degache, Zaouyat al-Arab, Zorgane, Kriz and Ceddada) which are scattered along an almost continuous palm-grove, fed by a chain of abundant springs: its trade is mostly with the Hamāma. This is true also of al-Ḥamma, a modest group of three villages (El-Nemlet, Mharet, El-Erg), situated on the north of the Drāʿ al-D̲j̲arīd, with only 2,800 inhabitants, but with a local reputation since ancient times for its hot springs. The small mountain oases of Tamerza, Midès and Chebika, near the Algerian frontier, as picturesque as they are poverty-stricken and inaccessible, are for administrative purposes grouped with the Djerid.

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(J. Despois)

D̲J̲ARĪDA, literally "leaf", which has become the usual term in modern Arabic for a newspaper, its adoption being attributed to Fāris al-S̲h̲idyāḳ [*q.v.*]. Its synonym *ṣaḥīfa* is less used in the sing., but the plural *ṣuḥuf* is more common than *d̲j̲arāʾid*. Some interest in the European press was shown by the Ottomans as early as the 18th century and, it would seem, excerpts from European newspapers were translated for the information of the *dīwān* (Prussian despatch from Constantinople, of 1780, cited by J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vi, Gotha 1859, 290-1). This grew into a press bureau, which served the Ottoman government throughout the 19th century and after.

The first newspapers in the Middle East were in French, and were published under French official auspices. In the seventeen-nineties the French printing press in Constantinople (see maṭbaʿa) began to produce bulletins, communiqués and other announcements put out by the French embassy. In 1795 the ambassador, Verninac, reported that he was printing every fortnight, after the arrival of the mail from Europe, a bulletin of 6 to 8 octavo pages where French nationals could find information about new laws and events of concern to them. This bulletin was distributed throughout the Levant. In the following year, under his successor Aubert Dubayet, the bulletin became a newspaper—the *Gazette française de Constantinople*, the first to appear in the Middle East. It consisted of 4 octavo pages, sometimes increased to six, and was published rather irregularly, at intervals of about a month, from the French Embassy, for a period of about two years. In September 1798, after the French expedition to Egypt, the French staff were interned and the press sequestered by the Turkish authorities. It was returned in 1802, and later used to reprint military communiqués for local distribution, but the *Gazette* did not apparently resume publication.

At the time of the Egyptian expedition, Bonaparte was accompanied by two printing-presses; one of these, privately owned, belonged to the printer Marc Aurel and only possessed Latin characters, while the other, officially owned, was placed under the direction of the orientalist J. Marcel and was equipped with French, Arabic and Greek characters. It was from the former printing-press that the first number of the *Courrier* [sic] *de l'Égypte* appeared in Cairo on 12 Fructidor VI = 29 August 1798; published every five days, it contained local news, announcements, notices etc., as well as items of European news. A month later, on 10 Vendémiaire VII = 1 October 1798, the same publisher was selling the first number of a quarterly review, *La Décade égyptienne*, which was devoted to the publication of records of the meetings of the "Institut d'Égypte" and the papers read to this learned society. When Bonaparte returned to France, Marc Aurel followed him, with the result that J. Marcel's "Imprimerie orientale et française" took on the printing of the two periodicals, with the direction of which the names of the mathe-

matician Fourier and doctor Desgenettes, among others, were connected. The 116 numbers, each of 4 quarto pages, of the *Courrier* and the 3 volumes of the *Décade* constitute a historical source of the highest importance. In Arabic, Marcel's printing-press had mainly published proclamations, notices and communiqués, but after Kléber's assassination (16 June 1800) it also printed the first Arabic newspaper, *al-Tanbīh*, which was founded by Menou and, it seems, was only short-lived (see F. Charles-Roux, *Bonaparte, gouverneur d'Égypte*[4], Paris n.d., 138 ff.; R. Canivet, *L'imprimerie de l'expédition d'Égypte*, in *BIÉ*, 1909; Reinaud, in *JA*, 1831, 249).

It was at Ceuta, at the opposite end of the Maghrib, on 1 May 1820, that the first newspaper to be published in Morocco appeared, *El Liberal Africano*, the weekly publication of the patriotic Society of the town; it came to an end after 6 numbers on 5 June of the same year (V. Ferrando la Hoz, *Apuntes para la historia de la Imprenta en el Norte de Marruecos*, Tetuan 1949, 23).

In 1824 a French monthly, called *Le Smyrnéen*, was founded in Izmir by a Frenchman, Charles Tricon. After some initial difficulties with both the Turkish and French authorities, it was reorganized under new management, and began to appear weekly, under the name of *Le Spectateur oriental*, with four quarto pages. It circulated mainly among foreign commercial elements. In 1827 Alexandre Blacque, a lawyer from Marseilles and a well-known figure in the Levant, became part owner and effective editor of the *Spectateur*, to which he was already a regular contributor. Later renamed the *Courrier de Smyrne*, it played a lively rôle in the affairs of the time, and more than once involved its editor in trouble with the Powers by its forthright comment, notably by its advocacy of the Ottoman cause against the Greek insurgents (L. Lagarde, *Note sur les journaux français de Constantinople à l'époque révolutionnaire*, in *JA*, ccxxxvi, 1948, 271-6; idem, *Note sur les journaux français de Smyrne à l'époque de Mahmoud* II, in *JA*, 1950, 103-44; Selim Nüzhet, *Türk Gazeteciliği 1831-1931*, Istanbul 1931, 10-28—with a reproduction of a whole issue of the *Gazette*, dated 1 Floréal, year V = 20 April 1797, and of *Le Spectateur Oriental* of 21 July 1827; Ahmed Emin, *The development of modern Turkey as measured by its press*, New York 1914, 28-9; Charles White, *Three years in Constantinople*, ii, London 1845, 218-22). A Turkish account of Russian attempts to get the paper suppressed will be found in the history of Luṭfī (*Taʾrīkh-i Luṭfī*, iii, 98 ff.). Luṭfī quotes the Russian ambassador as saying "Indeed, in France and England journalists (*gazetedji*) can express themselves freely, even against their kings; so that on several occasions, in former times, wars broke out between France and England because of these journalists. Praise be to God, the divinely-guarded realms were protected from such things, until a little while ago that man turned up in Izmir and began to publish his paper. It would be well to prevent him . . ." (Luṭfī, iii, 100; cf. Emin 28).

It was at this point that Egypt was to re-appear on the scene. As early as 1821, Muḥammad ʿAlī had given instructions for the publication of a daily newspaper which was to be submitted to him each day and to contain various official, administrative and economic items of information, but it was probably (the numbers prior to 1840 have not been preserved) on 12 Djumādā I 1244/20 November 1828 that there appeared in Cairo the first number of the first real periodical in Arabic, *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*, the organ of Muḥammad ʿAlī's Government of Egypt; at first issued weekly in Arabic, it later appeared for several months in Turkish and then finally returned to Arabic; it subsequently appeared three times weekly, with a separately published French edition, and it remained the only periodical in Egypt under Muḥammad ʿAlī's Government; from the time of the Khedive Ismāʿīl it was published daily, and in addition to orders, decrees and laws it also contained new local and foreign items, editorials and occasional illustrations. In 1881, with Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] as chief editor, it was the most important and widely circulated newspaper of the time.

During the British occupation it reverted to its earlier form and merely contained notices and information on affairs of state. In 1929 it still appeared in official lists.

In this as in so many other matters, the Sultan in Istanbul responded quickly to the challenge of the pasha in Cairo. In 1831 M. Blacque was summoned to Istanbul to publish the *Moniteur ottoman*, the official journal of the Ottoman government, in French. The following year, on 1 Djumādā I 1247/14 May 1832, the first issue of the Turkish *Taḳwīm-i Weḳāʾiʿ* appeared. A leading article presented the newspaper as a natural development of the imperial historiographies, with the function of making known the true nature of events and the real purport of the acts and commands of the government, in order to prevent misunderstanding and forestall uninformed criticism. A further purpose was to provide useful knowledge on commerce, science, and the arts. Unlike the *Moniteur*, which gave some space to news and comment, the *Taḳwīm* was limited to official statements. It was issued by an office called the *Taḳwīmkhāne-i ʿĀmire*, the first director of which was the Imperial Historiographer Esʿad Efendi (on whom see Babinger, *GOW*, 354-6). Five thousand copies were distributed to officials and notables, as well as to foreign embassies. The inauguration of the postal service in 1834 greatly helped its circulation. Between 1832 and 1838 about 30 issues a year were published. Thereafter it appeared about once a week, though with some interruptions. The final issue, number 4,608, was published on 4 Rabīʿ I 1341/4 November 1922, after which it was replaced as official organ of the Turkish government by the *Resmī Djerīde*, later renamed *Resmi Gazete*, of Ankara. (Luṭfī, iii, 156-60; Nüzhet, 30-5; Emin 29-32).

The first non-official newspaper published in the Turkish language was the weekly *Djerīde-i Ḥawādith*, founded in 1840 by the Englishman William Churchill. After his death in 1864 it was continued by his son. In appearance rather like the *Taḳwīm-i Weḳāʾiʿ*, it was commercial in purpose, and carried an increasing amount of advertising. It did, however, publish many articles and features, often in serial form, thus offering an apprenticeship in journalism to a number of Turkish men of letters. (On some of the contributors to the *Djerīde-i Ḥawādith* see the articles of Ibnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl in *Türk Taʾrīkhi Endjümeni Medjmūʿasi*, 96 and 97). The Crimean War brought new needs and opportunities. Churchill reported from the battlefront for English newspapers, and his reports were also published in Turkish in special supplements of the *Djerīde-i Ḥawādith*, giving the Turkish reader, anxious for news of the war, a new insight into the function of the press.

A second officially sponsored Turkish periodical was the *Waḳāʾiʿ-i Ṭibbiyye*, a medical monthly published for the first time in 1850, in both Turkish

and French. Other journals also appeared in French, as well as in Italian, Greek, Armenian, and Judaeo-Spanish.

In 1855, the second Arabic newspaper, the *Mirʾāt al-Aḥwāl,* founded by Ḥassān who was compelled to take refuge in London [see below, iii], appeared in Beirut; the same town also saw the start of *al-Sulṭāna* in 1857 and, on 1 January 1858, of the *Ḥadīḳat al-Afkār,* published in Arabic and French by Khalīl al-Khūrī; the main purpose of this publication, which had the backing of the Turkish Government, was to acquaint the numerous foreigners residing in Beirut with the Porte's views.

The year 1860 brought two important innovations: the first was the establishment of an Arabic newspaper, *al-Djawāʾib,* compared with which the earlier efforts seemed formless and inarticulate; started in Constantinople by the Lebanese Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāḳ in July 1860, and vigorously supported by the Turkish Government, this periodical defended the cause of Islam which had been recently embraced by its founder. The latter can be regarded as the father of newspaper Arabic, having done so much to enrich the language, while *al-Djawāʾib* was the greatest Arabic newspaper of the 19th century, on sale in Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, ʿIrāḳ and West Africa, its wide circulation depending on the care lavished upon its editing and presentation. It reached its apogee in about 1880, but after the death of Aḥmad Fāris in 1884 his son Sālim was unable to maintain the earlier standard. From 1288 to 1298/1871-81, al-Shidyāḳ printed, under the title *Kanz al-raghāʾib fī muntakhabāt al-Djawāʾib,* seven volumes made up of articles on literature, history etc. reproduced from his newspaper, and still of undeniable documentary interest. — The second innovation of 1860 was the weekly *Terdjümān-i Aḥwāl,* the first privately owned newspaper produced by a Turk. Its founder was Čapanzāde Agāh Efendi, scion of a *derebey* [*q.v.*] family, and a senior official in the Translation Office of the Sublime Porte. Associated with him as editor was the writer Ibrāhim Shināsī [*q.v.*]. Churchill responded to this competition by publishing a daily version of his paper five times a week—the *Rūznāme-i Djerīde-i Ḥawādith,* and for a while there was keen rivalry between the two. In the increasingly authoritarian mood of the time the press began to encounter difficulties, and soon the *Terdjümān* was suspended for two weeks because of an article probably written by Ziya (Ḍiyāʾ) Pasha. This was the first time a newspaper was suppressed by the government in Turkey.

(B. Lewis & Ch. Pellat)

In the preceding section we have tried to give an account of the first attempts to establish a press throughout the Muslim world, necessarily devoting most attention to the publications directed by foreigners in the various Islamic countries, since they played a considerable part in the rise of journalism. From about 1860 there began a new period during which journalistic activity developed to the point at which it becomes necessary to relegate newspapers published in European languages to second place, despite their importance, and to trace the history of the press in the various Muslim countries separately, with due regard to the language in which publication was made.

i. — ARABIC LANGUAGE PRESS

A. — Middle East.

Egypt.—The history of the Arabic press of Egypt can be divided into four periods. The first lasts until the time of the British occupation. After *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya,* it was only in 1866 that the *Wādī ʾl-Nīl* appeared, founded in Cairo by ʿAbd Allāh Abu ʾl-Suʿūd; in 1869, the *Nuzhat al-Afkār* was started by two Egyptians, Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī and ʿUthmān Djalāl, but it was between 1876 and 1878, under the impulse of Syro-Lebanese journalists who were unable to follow their career in their own countries in freedom, that the great organs of the press came into being. At their head we must note *al-Ahrām,* founded by Salīm and Bishāra Taḳlā, and making a modest start in 1876 at Alexandria in the form of a 4-page weekly, dependent upon French cultural influence but paying close attention to the policies of the caliph in Constantinople; it was later issued daily and, maintaining its high literary standards and scrupulous presentation, was to remain until our own time as the greatest newspaper in the Arabic language. In addition to *al-Ittiḥād al-Miṣrī,* a bi-weekly founded in Alexandria in 1879 which lasted until 1892, we should mention the Cairo Coptic newspaper *al-Waṭan* (founded in about 1878, and still recorded in 1929), and the interesting attempt at nationalistic propaganda by Yaʿḳūb Ṣanūʿ, known as Abū Naḍḍāra [*q.v.*] who had to continue his activities in Paris.

The second period lasts from the British occupation to the first world war. It was in about 1885 that the Ṣarrūf-Nimr-Maḳāryos consortium was set up for a group of publications, the most important of them being the fortnightly review *al-Muḳtaṭaf,* founded in Beirut in 1877 and moving to Cairo, and *al-Muḳaṭṭam,* a daily paper with political news which was pro-British and in sympathy with reform; after 1889 it became an opponent of *al-Ahrām* which still supported the policies of Constantinople. A third party, opposed to reforms and advocating traditional Islam, was formed and, after 1890, represented by a daily newspaper, *al-Muʾayyad,* under the remarkable and skilful direction of Shaykh ʿAlī Yūsuf. The Syro-Lebanese, who until then had had a monopoly of the press, were gradually replaced by Muslim Egyptians, mostly conservative and orthodox; *al-ʿAdāla,* founded in 1897, took over the rôle held by *al-Muʿayyad* as soon as the latter began to become more moderate and, during the last decade of the 19th century, there appeared a considerable number of newspapers also belonging to the conservative party, and of varying degrees of fanaticism. The growing nationalism was defended at first by Adīb Isḥāḳ, one of the chief editors of the daily *Miṣr* (1896), and later by Muṣṭafā Kāmil whose principal organ was *al-Liwāʾ*. It was during this period that another large newspaper appeared in Cairo, *al-Djarīda,* which took account of the effective domination of the British. Mention must also be made of the review of *al-Hilāl,* directed in Cairo (1892) by Djirdjī Zaydān, which has survived until our own time, and of the *Manār,* founded by Rashīd Riḍā in 1897. For that same year Washington-Serruys (XVII-XIX) lists 52 different publications in Cairo, more than half of which date from 1895 at the latest, and 6 in Alexandria, including *al-Ahrām.* In 1909 there appeared in Egypt 144 reviews and various newspapers, 90 of them in Cairo and 45 in Alexandria (see *RMM,* xii, 308).

During this second period, therefore, we see the expansion of a powerful press, still producing many non-political publications, but tending, when entering the political arena, to express the still vague aspirations of the Muslim peoples, to formulate them more precisely, and to stimulate the con-

centration of the divergent trends in an Arab and Muslim nationalism. In the third period of the Egyptian press, after the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the general aspiration for independence took shape and gathered momentum, though not without the accompaniment of violent crises. In 1922 the "Liberal-Constitutional" Party started a weekly publication, *al-Siyāsa*, under the direction of Ḥusayn Haykal; after 1926 it was duplicated by a daily edition, and it shows signs of an Egyptian particularism. The Wafd Party in its turn owned a group of newspapers representing the opinions of Saʿd Zaghlūl and his successors: *al-Balāgh*, *Kawkab al-Shark* and *al-Miṣrī* are the most important.

During the second world war and the years following, the Egyptian press took a more active part in the political struggle which culminated in the evacuation of British troops. From October 1944 the different parties created new organs: *al-Kutla* (the Wafdist "Bloc"), *Bilādī* (Saʿdist weekly), *al-Liwāʾ al-Djadīd* (Nationalist Party weekly), to which was added a weekly review of news, *Akhbār al-Yawm*. This upsurge of newspapers does not include the rise of extensive undertakings made by the press: *Société Orientale de Publicité*, *Ahrām*, *Dār al-Hilāl*, all of whose publications cannot be listed (for the state of the Arabic press of Egypt at the end of 1944, see *COC*, No. 1, 124-6; at the end of 1946, *ibid.*, No. 4, 817, giving a detailed list).

The final period opens with the suspension of the political press as a result of the revolution of 25 July 1952. The political parties having been dissolved and replaced by a single party, the "National Union", in 1958, the press was reorganized in May 1960 and the ownership of newspapers was transferred from the hands of private individuals or companies to the National Union, with the result that the whole press was subject to a single official administration. Of the principal newspapers which continued to appear, mention may be made of *al-Ahrām*, *al-Djumhūriyya*, *al-Masāʾ*, and *al-Akhbār*. (Ed.)

The Sudan.—The Sudanese periodical press originated during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1899-1955). The earliest Arabic newspaper, *al-Sūdān*, was first issued on 24 September 1903, by a Syrian editor, under the auspices of Dr. Fāris Nimr. Four or five other papers appeared during the next thirty years, the most successful being *Ḥaḍārat al-Sūdān*, which ran from 1919 to 1938. The rise of Sudanese nationalism in the 'thirties resulted in a greatly increased output of newspapers, chiefly as organs of political comment. In 1958, out of a total of 35 papers, mostly dailies or weeklies, 5 had been founded between 1935 and 1945, 20 between 1946 and 1955, and 10 under the Republic. There has also been a succession of English and Greek journals from 1903 and 1909 respectively. Since the establishment of the military régime in November 1958, the Sudanese press has not enjoyed freedom of expression. (P. M. Holt)

Lebanon.—It was only in 1869 that the first real Arabic newspaper appeared in Beirut, *al-Bashīr*, a weekly published by the Jesuits which survived until recent times. Before that, Buṭrus al-Bustānī had founded the modest *Nafīr Sūriya* as far back as 1860, but it was from the middle of 1870 that, to interest public opinion in the cause of general education and national literature, he brought out the bi-weekly *al-Djanna* which his son Salīm continued to publish until 7 July 1886. Its vogue was such that *djanna* became synonymous with newspaper in Lebanon. Al-Bustānī also published *al-Djunayna*, which only lasted three years, and *al-Djinān*.

Not wishing to be left behind, the Muslims of Beirut in 1874 founded the weekly *Thamarāt al-Funūn* which carried on until the Young Turk revolution and then took the name of *al-Ittiḥād al-ʿUthmānī*; this newspaper was conspicuous for its poverty and the turgid prose of its pedantic conservative contributors. The same year saw the foundation of *al-Taḳaddum*, which declared itself the earnest champion of progress and the inveterate enemy of all reactionary elements in the country; Adīb Isḥāḳ was a notable contributor.

On 18 October 1877 Khalīl Sarkīs, son-in-law of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, brought out the first number of the *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, a daily and, to some extent, a rival to *al-Djanna*. The two newspapers hardly concerned themselves with politics and presented events in as colourless a form as possible, while paying particular regard to the government's opinion. The *Lisān al-Ḥāl* mainly concerned itself with scientific and economic matters, but nevertheless it fell foul of the Ottoman Government which suspended it for some months, during which Sarkīs published another newspaper, *al-Mishkāt*; but that did not stop him from resuming publication, and he became the doyen of the Lebanese press in our day.

In 1880 a new party took shape: the Maronites who opposed the encroachments of the Roman Curia founded a small newspaper *al-Miṣbāḥ*, while Protestantism was supported by the reviews *Kawkab al-Ṣubḥ al-Munīr* and *al-Nashra al-Usbūʿiyya*; the Greek Orthodox church, for its part, also had a newspaper, *al-Hadiyya*. An important addition to the press came in 1885 with the weekly *Bayrūt* which, with government support, served as a counterpoise to the *Thamarāt al-Funūn*. When in March 1888 Beirut became the chief town of the *wilāyet*, an official governmental organ was set up under the name *Bayrūt al-Rasmiyya*. At the nd of the century (see Washington-Serruys, XIX, XX), 9 periodicals were being published in Beirut and 3 elsewhere in Lebanon; for 1912, the figures are 8 dailies, 17 weeklies and 12 reviews (*RMM*, xix, 76 ff.).

In addition to the *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, various dailies date from this period as for example the *Ṣadā Lubnān* (1900), *al-Balāgh* (1910), *al-Bayraḳ* (1913) and the Zahle weekly, *Zaḥla al-Fatāt* (1910), all of which can be regarded as veterans. Later, the development of the Lebanese press continued without interruption. During the French mandate a certain number of dailies appeared, some of which have survived until our own time: *al-Aḥrār* (1923), *al-Shark* (1926), *al-Nahār* (1933), *al-Ittiḥād al-Lubnānī* (1933), *al-Rawwād* (1934), *Bayrūt* (1936), *al-Niḍāl* (1936), *al-Yawm* (1937), *Raḳīb al-Aḥwāl* (1939), and finally *al-ʿAmal* (1939), the organ of the *Katāʾib* (Phalanges).

Since 1941, and especially in the years following the second world war, a considerable number of newspapers and reviews were introduced; the situation of the Arabic press of Lebanon in 1946 was the subject of a survey in *COC*, No. 4, 809-12, which noted 29 dailies and 25 periodicals appearing in Beirut, and 16 other periodicals elsewhere in the country.

In 1956 the Lebanese press consisted of 27 dailies and 37 periodicals, figures which are explained only by the extreme complexity of the social, religious and political structure of the country, as well as by the great liberty enjoyed by the press. To these figures should be added 18 periodicals from inland districts,

2 dailies in Armenian, 2 publications in English and 10 in French, of which *L'Orient* (1924), *la Revue du Liban* (1928) and Le Jour (1934) date from the time of the mandate, and reacher circulation figures that were high for this country (up to 7,000 or 8,000 copies); *Le Commerce du Levant* (1928), on economic and financial subjects, had a wide distribution.

Syria.—It was only in 1865 and 1866 that there appeared, in Damascus and Aleppo respectively, the first newspapers to be printed in Arabic and Turkish and founded by the Ottoman Government, *Sūriya* and *al-Furāt*; the foundation of these publications was correlated with the reorganization of the Turkish administration; it was decided at the same time that the authorities of all *wilāyets* should have a newspaper printed, and this fact explains the bilingual nature of these publications. Other instances which may be quoted are *Dimashḳ*, set up by the Turkish Government in 1879, and the *Mirʾāt al-Akhlāḳ* which appeared in 1886. An independent political weekly, *al-Shām*, came out in Damascus in 1896, whilst in Aleppo the weekly *al-Shahbāʾ* was published from 1893, and *al-Iʿtidāl* from 1879, and in Tripoli *Ṭarābulus al-Shām*, a weekly publication, from 1892.

In Syria, however, as in Lebanon, the press had a precarious existence, all the more since the government treated any independent criticism of its actions with the greatest severity. Consequently we find that a good many Syro-Lebanese journalists took refuge in Egypt. After the setting up of the French mandate, the Damascus press underwent a very extensive development and a large number of newspapers made their appearance, but for the most part circulation figures remained very low. In 1939, 9 Arabic and 2 French dailies, not counting a varying number of periodicals, appeared in Damascus alone; the number is obviously excessive since an output of this order was in no way justified by the same reasons as at Beirut; and yet this number actually increased after the second world war. In 1946, 19 dailies are recorded at Damascus, 7 at Aleppo and 1 at Ḥamāt, as well as 3 Damascus periodicals (*COC*, No. 4, 812-3). From the period of the mandate the only survivors in 1956 were *Alif Bāʾ* (1920) and *al-Ayyām* (1931), both moderate, *al-Ḳabas* (1928), *al-Akhbār* (1928) and *al-Inshāʾ* (1936), organs of the National Party; in addition to these veteran dailies about 15 others came out, representing every sort of political opinion. At the same time half a dozen periodicals also sprang up and, elsewhere in Syria, about ten other publications, the organs of the various parties. We may note that an independent Aleppo paper established in 1928 and published in French, "*L'Éclair du Nord*", in 1945 became the *Barḳ al-Shimāl*.

Palestine.—The development of the Arabic press in Palestine was slower and later than in Egypt, Syria, or Lebanon. Syrian and Lebanese publications no doubt circulated in Ottoman Palestine, but apart from a few mission sheets and school publications, the first Palestinian Arabic newspaper was *al-Karmal*, founded in Haifa in 1908 by Nadjīb Naṣṣār, an Orthodox Christian. It lasted until 1942. In 1911 another orthodox Christian, ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā, started the newspaper *Falasṭīn* in Jaffa. Both papers appeared at somewhat irregular intervals, and during the first world war were suppressed by the Turkish authorities. After the war, they resumed publication, and were accompanied by many new journals, expressing Arab political reactions to the British Mandate and the policy of the Jewish national home. Among these were *Sūriya al-Djanūbiyya* (ed. ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif and Muḥ. Ḥasan al-Budayrī) and *Mirʾāt al-Sharḳ* (ed. Būlus Shehāda); both were started in 1919, and were of brief duration. *Al-Ṣabāḥ* (ed. Muḥ. Kāmil al-Budayrī and Yūsuf Yāsīn), founded in 1921, became the organ of the Arab executive.

The first daily newspaper in Arabic was the old *Falasṭīn*, which began regular daily publication in 1929, and has continued to the present day in the old city of Jerusalem. Other dailies were *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḳīm* (founded 1925, daily from 1929, edited by Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Ḳalḳīlī) and *al-Difāʿ* (founded 1934, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Shanṭī). Both papers were owned and edited by Muslims; the former was markedly Islamic in tone; the latter expressed strong Arab nationalist views, at first connected with the *Istiḳlāl* party, later with the groups led by the Ḥusaynīs. It is still published in Jordanian Jerusalem. The weekly *al-Waḥda*, founded in 1945, became a daily in the following year.

During the nineteen-thirties and forties there was a very rapid development of the periodical press, notably of political weeklies and fortnightlies. Modelled on the Egyptian weeklies, some of them offered their readers feature articles, film news and other lighter entertainment, sometimes with pictures, in addition to political news and comment. Two papers, the weekly *al-Ittiḥād* (founded 1944) and the fortnightly *al-Ghadd* (first published irregularly in the twenties, re-started 1945) represented communist or pro-communist views; the remainder expressed various shades of Arab nationalism and factions among the Arab leadership. The press in languages other than Arabic was mainly Jewish. The first Hebrew journal, the *Ḥavaṣeleth*, began publication in Jerusalem in 1871. Other Jewish papers, in Hebrew and other languages, followed in great numbers.

After the termination of the Palestine Mandate, the major Palestinian Arab journals continued or resumed publication in Jordan where, according to the *Middle East* for 1961, there were 7 daily newspapers in Jerusalem and Amman, and 14 periodicals, in Arabic and English. The same source cites one Arabic daily newspaper and 6 Arabic periodicals in Israel.

ʿIrāḳ.—The liberal Ottoman governor Midḥat Pasha in 1868 set up the first newspaper in ʿIrāḳ, *al-Zawrāʾ*, which appeared in Arabic and Turkish and, while supporting the government's policy, published official texts and news in general. In 1875 the government started another newspaper in Mosul, *al-Mawṣil*, and, in 1895, a third entitled *al-Baṣra*, in Baṣra.

Among the many newspapers which sprang up after the promulgation of the Constitution of 1908, the following may be mentioned: *Baghdād* (1908), *al-Raḳīb* (1909), *Bayn al-Nahrayn* (1909) in Arabic and Turkish, *al-Riyāḍ* (1910), *al-Ruṣāfa* (1910), and *al-Nahḍa* (1913). Under the British mandate a great number of new newspapers appeared, notably *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-ʿIrāḳiyya*, *al-Mawṣil*, *al-ʿIrāḳ* and *al-Sharḳ*. After the second world war the many newly established political parties owned their own organs and until the revolution of 14 July 1958 practically every town in ʿIrāḳ had a daily or weekly newspaper.

Arabia.—In the Arabian peninsula the oldest newspaper, *Ṣanʿāʾ*, dates back to 1877 and, like so many official publications under the Ottoman régime, was printed in Arabic and Turkish. It was only in 1908 that Mecca had its first newspaper, *al-Ḥidjāz*. The press is now represented by the official newspaper which appears once a week in Mecca, *Umm al-Ḳurā*, and by *al-Bilād al-Suʿūdiyya* (bi-weekly,

Mecca), *al-Ḥadjdj* (monthly, Mecca) and *al-Madīna* (weekly, Medina). In 1953 a more modern newspaper, *al-Riyāḍ*, made its appearance at Djudda but it was compelled to stop publication as a result of the hostility of the *Ikhwān* [*q.v.*].

The Colony of Aden has six Arabic publications, among which *al-Akhbār al-ʿAdaniyya* and *Fatāt al-Djazira* may be noted. In Kuwayt the most important newspaper is *al-Kuwayt al-Yawm* (1955), but it also produces a monthly review with coloured illustrations, *al-ʿAsalī*, published by the government.

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B. — North Africa.

Paradoxical though it may appear, it was Algeria, at present the Maghrib country which is poorest in Arabic newspapers, which was the first of them to put into circulation a modest periodical, *al-Mubashshir*, from 1847 to 3 December 1926; this was an Arabic edition of the official *Moniteur* founded at Algiers on 27 January 1832 (see H. Fiori, in *RAfr.*, lxxxii (1938), 173-80; G. Sers-Gal, in *Documents algériens*, 8 December 1948). As well as official information, the *Mubashshir* carried news, historical, archaeological, and medical studies, etc. Its example was not immediately followed, and it was necessary to wait until the beginning of the 20th century for an independent press to appear, edited by Muslims indeed, but directed in many cases by Europeans who were desirous of informing and educating the Arabic-reading public; in this way *al-Nāṣiḥ* (1899), *al-Djazīrī* (1900), then *al-Iḥyāʾ* (1906), *Tilimsān* (Tlemcen), *Kawkab Ifrīḳiya* (Algiers, 17 May 1907), *al-Djazāʾir* (Algiers, 1908), *al-Fārūḳ* (Algiers, 1909), *al-Rashīdī* (Djidjelli), etc., were founded. These publications, however, had only an ephemeral life and disappeared before 1914.

The inter-war period was the second in the history of the Muslim press in Algeria. This saw the birth, on the one hand, of a series of newspapers edited in French by Muslims, such as *La Voix indigène*, *La Voix des Humbles* (1923), *L'Entente*, *La Défense*, *La Justice*, *Le Réveil de l'Islam* (Bône, 1922), etc., all intended for the expression of popular aspirations and various political tendencies; and, on the other hand, of a periodical press in Arabic, of a distinct politico-religious character. This period was, in fact, dominated by the struggle which opposed two active groups and caused heated polemics: the reformist *ʿUlamāʾ* (Oulémas), hostile to the Brotherhoods [see ṬĀʾIFA], and to the *bidāʿ* [see BIDʿA], etc., relied on *al-Shihāb* (daily, then monthly; Constantine 1924-39), then on *al-Iṣlāḥ* (Biskra 1929-42), and finally *al-Baṣāʾir* (Algiers, 27 December 1935-56); and the Marabout party, generally favourable to the Franco-Muslim entente, which had as its organs *al-Nadjāḥ* (tri-, then bi-weekly, Constantine, 1919-56) and *al-Balāgh al-Djazāʾirī* (Mostaganem, 1927-47). The Khāridjī *Wādī Mīzāb* (Algiers, 1926-38) is also worthy of mention, among about ten papers which flourished during this period.

In 1945 only *al-Balāgh al-Djazāʾirī*, *al-Baṣāʾir* (prohibited 5 April 1956), and *al-Nadjāḥ* (which ceased to appear from 1 September the same year) remained. The organ of the *ʿUlamāʾ* had been supplemented, from 15 December 1949 to 8 February 1951, by a weekly published at Constantine, *al-Shuʿla*, while the Marabout party published a monthly, *al-Dhikrā*, at Tlemcen from 15 December 1954 to August 1955. However, during this third period, Muslim predilections perceptibly changed, and some essentially political newpapers (*al-Djazāʾir al-Djadīda*, January 1946 to 14 September 1955, communist; *Ṣawt al-Djazāʾir*, from 21 November 1953, which became *Ṣawt al-Shaʿb* from 21 August 1954 to 5 November 1956: MTLD) made a timid appearance. All have now (1960) ceased to appear, or have been prohibited by the authorities; for its information the public depends on a highly developed French-language press. It must be noticed, moreover, that none of the Arabic dailies has ever held good in Algeria, and that the papers mentioned above have, in many cases, known only an irregular appearance. It should be said that they were published by amateurs, with precarious financial resources and rudimentary technical means.

In Morocco, the first newspaper was founded at Ceuta on 1 May 1820, but was in Spanish; and in this language or in French the press developed, particularly at Tangier, in the course of the 19th century. In 1889 an Arabic paper (*al-Maghrib*) appeared a few times, published by an Englishman in that town, where, at the beginning of the 20th century, many European journalists tried to reach the Muslim population by supplementing their papers with an entire or partial Arabic edition. Thus, thanks to European initiative and the collaboration of editors from Syria and Lebanon, the weeklies *al-Saʿāda* (1905), *al-Ṣabāḥ* (1906), *Lisān al-Maghrib* (1907), the Arabic supplement to *El Telegrama del Rif* (1907), and the *Istiḳlāl al-Maghrib*, Arabic edition of the bi-monthly *L'Indépendance marocaine* (1907), were able to appear at Tangier. The first Muslim newspaper was *al-Ṭāʿūn* ("The Plague", *sic*), a monthly controlled by the *sharīf* al-Kittānī (March 1908). In the same year the Moroccan government had an official newspaper published, *al-Fadjr*, edited by a Syrian Christian, which was transferred to Fez in 1909. Other weeklies also were founded at Tangier, notably *al-Ḥaḳḳ* (1911) and *al-Taraḳḳī* (1912).

After the inauguration of the Protectorate, *al-Saʿāda* was transferred to Rabat, where it became first tri-weekly, then daily; this semi-official newspaper, edited with care, beautifully printed, graced with numerous illustrations, anxious to inform its readers of events in Moroccan life, and widely circulated in all Morocco, played an undeniable educative and political rôle. In other towns the Arabic press hardly developed at all. *Al-Widād* had only a restricted number of readers; a daily, *al-Akhbār al-tilighrāfiyya*, was started at Fez, while a weekly, *al-Akhbār al-Maghribiyya*, supplemented *L'Information Marocaine* at Casablanca; at Marrakesh *al-Djanūb* had only a short life, but in the north, at Tetuan, several political newspapers met

with some success (*al-Iṣlāḥ*, *al-Ittiḥād*, *Iẓhār al-Ḥaḳḳ*).

The accession of Morocco to independence (1956) saw the renewal of the Arabic press in the country, although the French-language newspapers had received authority to continue publication, at least provisionally. Three dailies were produced: the unofficial *al-ʿAhd al-Djadīd* (Rabat), supplemented since 1 September 1960 by *al-Fadjr*, which was destined to replace it, *al-ʿAlam* (Rabat), and *al-Taḥrīr* (Casablanca), these two latter being organs, with some bias, of the Istiḳlāl party. The total circulation of these three dailies was less than 25,000. The Democratic Party of Independence (PDI), which has on occasion published a weekly in French (*Démocratie*), relies on a bi-weekly, *al-Raʾy al-ʿĀmm*. The Moroccan Labour Union (UMT) and the Moroccan Union of Commerce, Industry and Handicrafts (UMCIA) own two weeklies at Casablanca, *al-Ṭalīʿa* and *al-Ittiḥād* respectively. In 1959 four other political weeklies were also published: *al-Ayyām* (Istiḳlāl, Casablanca), *al-Maghrib al-ʿArabī* (Moroccan Popular Movement, Rabat), *al-Niḍāl* (independent Liberals, Rabat), and *Ḥayāt al-Shaʿb* (communist). Finally, a monthly literary review at Marrakesh, *Risālat al-Adīb*, must be mentioned.

It is, naturally, in Tunisia that the Arabic press has reached its greatest development; the two world wars, bringing about some flexibility, would make it possible for three periods to be distinguished, but on the whole one can consider that the end of the French Protectorate and the advent of the country's independence (1955) mark the limits of two well-differentiated periods.

As early as 1861 Tunisia possessed an official newspaper, *al-Rāʾid al-Tūnusī*, and, from 1890, a daily news-sheet, *al-Zuhra*, which was to survive more than 60 years; a second daily, *al-Rushdiyya*, appeared from 1904 to 1910, and a third, *al-Nahḍa*, was founded in 1923. To these publications a crowd of periodicals of political, religious, commercial, etc., character, and of more or less ephemeral duration, was early added. Among the weeklies may be mentioned the unofficial *al-Ḥāḍira*, from 1888 to 1910, then the liberal *al-Zamān* (1930), the Pan-Islamist *al-Ṣawāb* (1904-11, 1920), the (Archaeo-) Destourian *Lisān al-Shaʿb* (1920-37). In the inter-war period a few weeklies appeared in the provinces; of a sharply marked political character, they were divided between Archaeo-Destourian (*al-ʿAṣr al-Djadīd*, Sfax 1919-25, 1936; *al-Difāʿ*, Ḳayrawān, 1937) and, especially, Neo-Destourian tendencies (at Sfax, *Ṣadā al-Umma*, 1936-7; *al-Anīs*, 1937; *al-Inshirāḥ*, 1937; *al-Kashkūl*, 1937. At Sūsa: *Fatā al-Sāḥil*, 1936-7. At Ḳayrawān: *Ṣabra*, 1937).

In 1937 G. Zawadowski (see *Bibliography*) collected 161 titles and presented a very striking diagram: from 1861 to 1903 the number of Arabic journals varied between one and six; it reached 23 in 1907, after the relaxation of security on 2 January 1904, fell to four during the first world war, to attain 32 in 1921; it fell again to eleven in 1928-9, following the measures taken for the suppression of criminal and political offences, and finally reached the figure of 51 in 1937. The same author indicates, moreover, 13 periodicals published in French by Tunisians, and, no less interesting, 73 titles of Judaeo-Arabic publications, in Arabic but in Hebrew characters, the oldest of which, *al-Mubāshir*, appeared in 1884-5. Flourishing until the first world war, this Jewish press afterwards continually declined until in 1937 there were only three miserable papers, at Tunis and at Sūsa.

The Arabic press of the capital played an important part during the years which immediately preceded the country's independence; depending on financial resources and skilled techniques, directed and partly edited by professional journalists, it became the herald of nationalism, endeavoured to bring its public round to the idea of independence, and spread the themes of anti-French propaganda in the towns and villages. Their end achieved, or on the point of being so, some papers, among the most important, went into opposition and tried to outbid the government; they had finally to cease publication, so that there remained of the former press only *al-ʿAmal*, a bi-weekly founded 1 June 1934 by the future president of the Republic, al-Ḥabīb Abū Ruḳayba (Bourguiba), and now a daily; and the communist weekly *al-Ṭalīʿa*, founded 1937. A new daily, *al-Ṣabāḥ*, has been started, while the weekly *al-Irāda*, organ of the Archaeo-Destūrians since 1934, has been replaced by *al-Istiḳlāl*. A few other nationalist periodicals such as *al-ʿAlam*, *al-Nidāʾ* and *al-Djumhūrī* appear more or less regularly. The organ of the FLN, the weekly *al-Muḳāwama al-Djazāʾiriyya*, has become *al-Mudjāhid*. Finally must be noticed a monthly cultural review, since 1 October 1955, *al-Fikr*, which young Tunisians of university education maintain at a respectable standard. Three French dailies, the oldest of which is *Dépêche tunisienne*, and one Italian, now (1960) appear at Tunis.

Worthy of mention is a political weekly *l'Action* (now *Afrique-Action*) which won some renown abroad.

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Libya.—In 1871 the first Arabo-Turkish newspaper, *Ṭarābulus al-Gharb*, was started in Tripoli; it was of an official character. It still continues to be published in Arabic and forms the chief organ of information for the Federal Kingdom. A second weekly, of a scientific and political nature, *al-Taraḳḳī* was published from 1897. Other newspapers were published during the period of Italian domination but are of only the most slender interest. Since the country became independent various newspapers have made their appearance, notably the periodicals *al-Rāʾid* and *al-Ṭalīʿa* (the organ of the Federal Union of Workers). (Ed.)

C. — Arabic-speaking Emigrants.

In the course of the last decade of the 19th and the first of the 20th centuries colonies of Arabic-speaking emigrants (*djāliya*, [*q.v.*]) sprang up in large cities of North and South America, Australia and West Africa. The main source of emigration was Lebanon and Syria, where the Arabic press was cradled and

Arabic journalism, in the proper sense, was born and nurtured. Prior to 1890 Ottoman authorities in the area permitted emigration nominally only to Egypt, but Lebanese and Syrian emigrants had found their way, even earlier, into numerous European capitals where a rash of Arabic papers and magazines made its appearance. The census of the historian of the Arabic press, Ṭarrāzī (iv, 490), for the period ending 1929 makes the number in Constantinople 49, Russia 3, Switzerland 2, Germany 7, Italy 4, France 43, Great Britain 14, Malta 8, Cyprus 5, a total of 135 of which 107 were newspapers. The pioneer emigrant journalist was an Armenian from Aleppo, Rizḳ Allāh Ḥassūn, who founded *Mir'āt al-Aḥwāl* and later (1872) in London *Āl Sām*. First a favourite with the Ottoman authorities, Ḥassūn had to flee for his life to London. There he re-issued *Mir'āt al-Aḥwāl* in about 450 lithographed copies and used it to attack the Ottoman government.

Of the Paris publications mention should be made of *al-ʿUrwa al-Wuthḳā* issued March 1884 by the Egyptian reformer Muḥammad ʿAbduh and his celebrated friend Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. Though short lived, *al-ʿUrwa* distinguished itself in its vigorous defence of Islam and attack on the British in Egypt and India. A Beiruti deputy in the Ottoman parliament of 1876, Khalīl Ghānim, incurred the anger of the Porte for his liberal views and fled to Paris, where he started (April 1881) *al-Baṣīr*, which exposed the massacre of Armenians. Like other anti-Ottoman publications *al-Baṣīr* was banned by Turkish authorities and thus doomed to early death. With Amīn Arslān, a Lebanese Druze, Ghānim issued (1890), partly in French, *Turkiyā al-Fatāt*. Of a different character was the only known paper in West Africa, *Ifrīḳiyya al-Tidjāriyya* (commercial Africa, Dakar, 1931-5).

Most of these papers began as and remained personal sheets with the founder, editor and publisher as one person. They were more concerned with politics and literature than with news and, with no local colonies to support them, they were destined to be short lived. None survived.

The New World papers likewise began as personal sheets but the founder-editor-publisher was usually an *adīb* (literary) emigrant—not a political émigré—who sought his living by the pen. Though the rate of mortality was high, certain papers developed into real newspapers and received enough local support to give them a long lease of life. But the circulation rarely exceeded 5,000. The census of Ṭarrāzī (iv, 492; cf. *al-Hilāl*, i (1892), 12, 14) for the period ending 1929 credits North and Central America with 102 publications, of which 71 are newspapers, South America with 166, including 134 newspapers of which 3 appeared in Cuba. The pioneer in this area was Ibrāhīm ʿArbīlī, a Damascene graduate in medicine from what is now the American University of Beirut. ʿArbīlī had to secure the aid of the American embassy in Constantinople for a permit to export Arabic type from Beirut. The first number of his *Kawkab Amīrikā* was issued in New York, 15 April 1892, and bore his and his brother Nadjīb's name. One of his editorial assistants, Nadjīb Dhiyāb, a Greek Orthodox Lebanese, founded seven years later *Mir'āt al-Gharb*, still issued in New York. In February 1898 a Maronite, Naʿʿūm Mukarzal, founded in Philadelphia *al-Hudā*, which later moved to New York and is still perhaps the most widely read in America. Sectarian rivalry between these two papers spurred their early circulation. Both Dhiyāb and Mukarzal attended the Arab congress of Paris (1913) which advocated decentralization for the Arab provinces of Turkey. Other than these two papers New York had in December 1961 *al-Bayān*, founded 1911; *al-Iṣlāḥ*, 1933; *al-Rābiṭa al-Lubnāniyya*, 1957 (cf. Hitti, *Syrians*, app. F). The late birth of this paper is rather unusual. For many years after its foundation in 1912 *al-Sā'iḥ* served as an organ for a circle of literary men (*al-Rābiṭa al-Ḳalamiyya*) led by the celebrated Djabrān Khalīl Djabrān [*q.v.*] (Kahlil Gibran). So did *al-Funūn* magazine, founded 1913. A leading poet, Iliyā Abu Māḍī, published in New York *al-Samīr* from 1929 till his death in 1956. Detroit supports at present (December 1961) three newspapers.

In South America al-ʿĪd, himself a Syrian journalist in Buenos Aires, names in Rio de Janeiro (1958) 31 newspapers, of which 2 are living, and 3 magazines (391-2); in São Paulo 52 papers and magazines, of which 5 are extant (350-1); in Buenos Aires 31 newspapers, of which 6 are living, and 16 magazines (381-3); cf. al-Badawī, ii, 567-85). The pioneers were again Christian Lebanese: Naʿʿūm Labakī, co-founder in 1896 at Rio of *al-Raḳīb* and later of two other papers in São Paulo, and Shukrī al-Khūrī, co-founder in 1899 of the first paper in São Paulo and in 1906 of the longer lived and especially influential *Abu 'l-Hawl*. Of special interest in São Paulo was *al-ʿUṣba al-Andalusiyya* magazine (founded 1928), organ of a literary circle headed by the two poets Rashīd Salīm al-Khūrī (al-Shaʿir al-Ḳarawī) and Shafīḳ Maʿlūf. In Buenos Aires the oldest surviving paper is *al-Salām* (1902), and of special interest is *al-Istiḳlāl* (1926) founded and still edited by a Druze.

In the struggle for existence within a steadily shrinking market of readers some editors resorted to dubious if not outright unethical journalistic practices. Others, wiser and more adventurous, made their publications bilingual or entirely in the new language of the second generation of emigrants. One pictorial monthly in Portuguese (São Paulo), one in Spanish (Mexico City) and a third in English (Hollywood) thrive on social functions. The *Lebanese American Journal* (founded 1951), and *The Caravan* (1953, which was to cease publication in 1962), are weekly newspapers. More learned was *The Syrian World* (New York, 1926-32) of Sallūm Mukarzal, who also edited Arabic papers and introduced the Arabic linotype.

The Arabic press of the diaspora was predominantly liberal but hardly ever radical, loyal to the countries of its adoption while mindful of its obligation to the countries of origin. As a liaison agent it kept alive the ties of relationship between emigrants and old folks and meanwhile interpreted the new culture and helped adjustment to it. It contributed generously to the enrichment of modern Arabic literature—prose and poetry—in vocabulary and ideas and to the enhancement of the Westernization of the Arab East.

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(PHILIP K. HITTI)

D.—Survey of the Arabic Language Press. The language of the press has already been studied in the art. ʿARABIYYA, II, 4, but one cannot emphasize too strongly the part taken by the various newspapers, and particularly the Egyptian ones, in the evolution, development and enrichment of the so-called modern or contemporary Arabic which is indebted to them, far more than to actual literature, for its ability to express a multitude of new ideas, most of which have been imported from the West.

Basically, the Arabic press has made enormous progress; for a long time the only material that it had presented to the public, apart from news from abroad that was already stale, had been such information as would please the Ottoman Government or the notices provided by it; *al-Djawāʾib* alone perhaps constituted a fortunate exception. From the beginning of the century and especially since the first world war the main daily newspapers have explored a wider field, giving their readers information of every kind, concerning themselves with social, economic, literary and artistic questions, and shaping, orienting or arousing public opinion by means of commentaries which are not always dictated by the most praiseworthy objectivity. Side by side with this press, which in certain respects is comparable with the Western press and has at its disposal powerful technical and financial resources, a large staff and modern printing presses, there exists a swarm of minor publications whose preparation is entirely the work of craftsmen, when their frequency of publication does not depend upon the more or less acknowledged resources of their proprietors. Without going so far as to resort to the odious practice of blackmail to guarantee a certain edition of their newspaper, far too many journalists of the lowest category often indulge in petty polemics, crude quarrels and personal vituperation. Sanctions are frequently taken, sometimes leading to the disappearance of the paper, but they can hardly change the general demeanour of the so-called independent press. The measures taken in recent years in Egypt, even though they have unfortunately deprived journalists of their freedom, at least have the merit of having clarified the situation.

The very large daily newspapers, like the *Ahrām*, can call upon sources of information which could well be a matter of envy to many of the organs of the Western press. But this is not the case with the majority of newspapers. These do indeed receive bulletins from one or two world-wide European or American agencies, without counting the purely Arabic Middle East Agency, but in each of them one editor exploits broadcast material, while one or two colleagues are employed in collecting local news. It is rare for newspapers to keep correspondents abroad, and the proprietor generally acts as chief editor.

Newspapers of this sort almost always have a small printing press where the newspaper is composed by hand and printed on 4 or 6 pages; the circulation figures seldom exceed a few thousands, and readers are few outside the town where the newspaper is printed. Some Lebanese newspapers, however have, subscribers in America, and copies of the leading Egyptian or Lebanese dailies can be seen on newspaper stalls in the European and American capitals.

The reviews deserve especial mention. Many of these have assumed the task of spreading among the populace a useful knowledge of science, literature and history, and circulation figures reveal that they often reach a fairly wide public. The *Hilāl* (1892) needs no further praise; the *Machriq*, published since 1898 by the Jesuits in Beirut, enjoys an international scientific reputation. The *Muḳtabas*, founded in Damascus in 1908 by Muḥ. Kurd ʿAlī and the *Lughat al-ʿArab*, published in Baghdād by the Rev. Father Anastasius, played a cultural and scientific rôle that in our own time has been taken by the journals of the various academies of the Arab world. The different published lists also contain the titles of various reviews of juridical, economic, financial, commercial or corporate character, etc., as well as a certain number of feminist publications.

Since the experiment of Abū Naḍḍāra, satirical and humorous papers are not very numerous: in Beirut *al-Ṣaḥāfī al-tāʾih* (1920) and *al-Dabbūr* (1924), with the addition in 1943 of *al-Ṣayyād*, are still continuing, while a larger number of illustrated magazines like *al-Muṣawwar* (Cairo) are enjoying an undeniable success. (ED.)

ii. — ĪRĀN

The first printing press was set up in about 1817 in Tabrīz, followed by one in Tehran; but in about 1824 lithography quickly and almost completely eclipsed printing for over half a century. From 1848 the first newspapers appeared, first in Tehran, then in Shirāz, Iṣfahān and Tabrīz; in about 1860 portraits and illustrations were introduced; the first periodical of scientific character dates from 1863; the first daily newspaper from 1898; the first humorous and satirical newspaper from 1900. In 1875 the first of the newspapers established outside Īrān appeared in Constantinople; others appeared in London, Calcutta, Cairo, Paris, Bombay and Washington (Bahāʾī).

In its early period the press was literary rather than political; the opposite was true after the Constitution of 1906. The development of the press was caused by the spread of printing which little by little replaced lithography. From 1910 to 1912 it underwent various changes caused by the political turmoil in the country. Nevertheless, E. G. Browne (*The Press* . . .), completing the list drawn up in 1911 by H. L. Rabino, named 371 daily publications and periodicals in 1914 (see his summary of the development of the press, 7 ff.); many periodicals are of literary or scientific character; it is important to add that political newspapers very frequently ranked as literature: so too the numerous political poems and satirical articles in prose which, besides their literary value, also possess actual historical interest (see Browne, *op. cit.*, introd., xvi and the anthology, 167 ff.).

If the newspapers of the early period were often unofficial and poorly supplied with information, they provided a wealth of instructive articles, edited in excellent style; "they inspired a taste for reading and thus contributed to the progress of general instruction" (Rabino). As for the press which prepared for and followed the Constitution of 1906,

Browne, the eminent authority, states: "Several of these newspapers, in particular the *Ṣūr-è Isrāfīl*, the *Ḥabl ol-matīn* and the *Musāwāt* were indeed of a superior sort and serve as models of a vigorous, nervous and concise style which until then was virtually unknown" (*The Persian Revolution*, 127); later he defined his views (*Lit. History*). To the bibliography which he drew up (in *The Press*) can be added the lists of newspapers and periodicals compiled by ʿAlī Nô Rouze (Nawrūz) (1914-1925) and the *Annuaire du monde musulman* (1929). It is also worth recalling various newspapers published in French, Armenian and Chaldaean.

In 1930, in his supplement to the Persian translation of Browne's *Literary History*, Rashīd Yāsmī makes a stand against the increasing disregard for literary form in many newspapers, the result of the enforced speed of publication, and of the invasion of foreign words introduced in information and articles translated from European newspapers; he provides a list of newspapers (among which he singles out *Raʿd* "The thunder", *Īrān*, *Shafaḳ-i surkh* "The red twilight", *Iṭṭilaʿāt* "Information", *Nāhīd*) and a list of periodicals (among which he notes *Armaghān* "Gift", *Bahār* and *Nawbahār* "Spring", *Āyanda* "Future", *Īrān-i djawān* "Young Iran", *Sharḳ* "East", *Mihr* "Sun"); to these periodicals should be added those published by the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Universities (Tehran and Tabrīz) and, though it is not possible to mention them all, the literary review *Yādgār* "Memorial", the critical review *Rāhnumā-yi kitāb* "Guide to [new] books", and several scientific and technical reviews; finally he mentions some annual publications with a wealth of information as important as it is varied (*Pārs*, *Gāhnāma*). Several newspapers listed by the *Annuaire du monde musulman* have disappeared; to the list should be added, among others, *Kayhān* "The world", (Tehran), *Āzādī* "Liberty" (Mashhad) and the remarkable reviews *Farhang-i Īrān zamīn* "Iranian culture", *Madjalla-yi mūsīḳī*, *Sukhan*" The word", *Yāghmā* "Booty".

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(H. Massé)

iii. — Turkey

The early history or the press in Turkey is given in section i above. 1860 saw the birth of the first unofficial Turkish newspaper published by a Turk. This was the *Terdjumān-i Aḥwāl* published by Agāh Efendi, with the help of the writer and poet Shināsī and numbering Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha among its contributors. Polemics between this and Churchill's paper were frequent, the first occasion being a criticism in Churchill's newspaper of Shināsī's *Shāʿir Evlenmesi* ("A Poet's Marriage") which was serialized in the *Terdjumān-i Aḥwāl*.

In 1861 Shināsī, wishing for greater freedom of expression in his own newspaper, started the *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* which also carried articles by Nāmik Kemāl as from issue number 200. The *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* closed down in 1866: in all 830 issues were published, issues of the greatest importance in the history of the Turkish Press, because of the newspaper's advocacy of libertarian ideas.

1861 also saw the birth of the first purely Turkish magazine in Turkey, the *Medjmūʿa-i Funūn* of Munīf Pasha [*q.v.*; see also djemʿiyyet-i ʿilmiyye-i ʿothmāniyye], followed in 1863 by the first military publication, the *Djerīde-i ʿAskeriyye* of Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi, and then in 1865 by the first commercial magazine, the *Taḳwīm-i Tidjāret* of Ḥasan Fehmī Pasha. In the meantime, in 1864, the Government published the first Press regulations (the 1857 regulations did not mention the periodical Press as such, but applied to books and pamphlets which were to be submitted to the Council of Education, *Maʿārif Shūrāsī*, before publication). The 1864 regulations remained in force, save for a short interruption, until 1909, and provided for official warnings to the Press, for suspension and the cancellation of licences at government discretion, and also for the trial of Press offences by the *Medjlis-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye* tribunal. Newspapers were also asked to submit a copy of each issue, signed by the responsible Editor, to the Press Directorate, a Government office the beginnings of which are obscure, but the existence of which in 1862 can be inferred from the fact that Saḳīzlī (from Chios) Ohannes Pasha was appointed to it. The 1864 Press regulations were inspired by the Press Law of Napoleon III and did not provide for a censorship as such. Until 1877 Press affairs were the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, although the 1864 regulations provided for the submission to the Foreign Ministry of applications for Press licences by foreigners. Mention must also be made of the "Society for original compositions and translations" (*Teʾlīf we Terdjeme Djemʿiyyeti*), attached to the Ministry of Education and entrusted with the choice and translation into Turkish of useful foreign publications. The 1864 regulations seem to have fallen into desuetude in 1867, when an order issued by ʿĀlī Pasha authorized administrative action against the Press, including suspension, where this was dictated by the public interest. The reason for this was the growth of the revolutionary Press, ushered in by ʿAlī Suʿāwī's *Mukhbir*, first published in Philippopolis (Filibe) in 1866 and closed down in the following year. The task which that newspaper set itself originally was to defend the rights of the

Muslims against foreign (Christian) encroachment and in the face of presumed official lethargy. The publication of the 1867 order led to the flight abroad of members of the "Society of New Ottomans" (*Yeñi ʿOthmānlılar Djemʿiyyeti*), including ʿAlī Suʿāwī, Nāmıḳ Kemāl, Ziya (Ḍiyāʾ) Pasha, Agāh Efendi and others. With financial help from the Egyptian prince Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pasha they undertook the publication of revolutionary newspapers directed against the policy of ʿĀlī Pasha. ʿAlī Suʿāwī restarted the *Mukhbir* in 1867 in London. In 1868 it was followed in London by *Ḥürriyyet*, designed by Ziya Pasha and Nāmıḳ Kemāl as a weekly organ of the New Ottomans. Nāmıḳ Kemāl left the paper in 1869, while in the following year *Ḥürriyyet* moved to Geneva, where another 11 issues were published, making 200 in all. ʿAlī Suʿāwī had in the meantime moved to Paris, where in 1869 he published *ʿUlūm*, which was the first newspaper in Turkish to advocate Turkish nationalism. Another revolutionary sheet, *Inḳilāb*, published in 1870 in Geneva by Ḥuseyn Waṣfī Pasha and Meḥmed Bey, is noteworthy for the fact that it attacked not the Sultan's Ministers, but Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz himself.

In the meantime there was an increase in Press activity in Turkey, particularly between 1868 and 1872; new publications included important organs of opinion like *Teraḳḳī*, *Baṣīret*, *ʿIbret* and *Ḥadīḳa* and humorous publications like *Diogène* and *Khayālī*, whose outspokenness shows that the "provisional" order of 1867 was no longer applied. *Teraḳḳī*, which first appeared in 1868, had the first weekly supplement for women, while *Mümeyyiz*, which followed it in 1869, had the first children's supplement in the country. *Diogène* started publication in Greek and in French, appearing later in Turkish. *Ḥadīḳa* was started in 1869 by ʿĀshir Efendi, as a scientific publication passing in 1871 under the control of Ebü 'l-Ziyā (Abu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ) Tewfīḳ [*q.v.*] (who had collaborated earlier with *Teraḳḳī*) and in 1873 under that of Shems al-Dīn Sāmī. *Baṣīret*, which carried articles by the Pole Karski, by Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi and also by ʿAlī Suʿāwī, can be considered as the most successful newspaper of the time, coming second in popularity after the official police sheet *Waraḳa-i Ḍabṭiyye*. *ʿIbret*, first edited unsuccessfully by Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi, passed in 1872 under the control of Nāmıḳ Kemāl, Ebü 'l-Ziyā Tewfīḳ and Reshād Nūrī. In it Nāmıḳ Kemāl attacked the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha, who in consequence had him exiled to Gallipoli, suspending the newspaper for four months. Nāmıḳ Kemāl returned from exile and resumed editorship after his enemy's fall from favour. The newspaper suffered one more suspension and was then permanently closed down in 1873, as a result of the excitement caused by Nāmıḳ Kemāl's play *Waṭan weyā Silistre*, the author being exiled this time to the castle of Famagusta. In all 132 issues of *ʿIbret* appeared, and this newspaper can be considered as the best propagator of liberal ideas during the period of the *Tanẓīmāt*. The period saw the birth of many short-lived journalistic ventures of predominantly political character, as well as of some organs of more enduring importance, like the best-selling newspaper *Waḳit*, which owed its popularity to the political commentaries of Saʿīd Bey; Meḥmed Tewfīḳ Bey's *Ṣabāḥ*, first published in 1876 and noteworthy for its courage in being the first newspaper to appear with several blank columns as a protest against the censors; and finally, the high-minded *Istiḳbāl* which devoted much attention to educational matters. Mention must also be made of the *Medjmūʿa-i Ebü 'l-Ḍiyā*, published by the prolific journalist and author Ebü 'l-Ziyā Tewfīḳ (1880), and of the first children's magazine *Eṭfāl*.

The return to absolutism under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II was marked administratively by the transfer of Press affairs to the Ministry of the Interior in 1877; in 1878 newspapers came under the joint censorship of the Ministries of Education, Interior and Police; in 1881 an "Inspection and Control Commission" (*Endjümen-i Teftīsh we Muʿāyene*) was formed and charged with preventive censorship, an even higher authority, the "Commission for the Examination of Compositions" (*Tedḳīḳ-i Muʾellefāt Komisyonu*) being formed in 1897 and supplemented for religious publications in 1903 by the "Commission for religious and legal books" (*Kutub-i Dīniyye we Sherʿiyye heyʾeti*); dangerous publications outside the borders of the Empire were dealt with by the Foreign Press Directorate (*Maṭbūʿāt-i Edjnebiyye Müdürlüghü*) formed in 1885. All these measures were taken in spite of the 1876 Constitution which, in article 12, guaranteed the freedom of the Press "within the bounds of the law", and in spite of the rejection by Parliament of the draconic Press Law of 1877. Press censorship under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II was supplemented by control of printing presses (1888) and of booksellers (1894).

All this limited the number and contents of publications, although it did not stop the development of the Turkish Press. Important dailies included Mihrān Efendi's *Ṣabāḥ*, founded in 1876 and already mentioned, which included the young and later famous journalist Ḥüseyn Djāhid Bey among its contributors; Aḥmed Djewdet Bey's *Iḳdām* (1890), which had a semi-legal correspondent in Paris in the person of the later famous ʿAlī Kemāl Bey, and Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi's (known as "the typewriter" for his prolific writings) *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat*, which between 1882 and 1884 had a passing literary phase thanks to Muʿallim Nādjī. Important periodicals included Murād Bey's political weekly *Mīzān* (1886-90 with interruptions), and above all ʿAḥmed Iḥsān Bey's *Therwet-i Fünūn*, standard-bearer of a new literary school (Tewfīḳ Fikret, Djenāb Shehāb al-Dīn [see DJANĀB SHIHĀB AL-DĪN], Khālid Ziyā (Ḍiyāʾ) etc.) in opposition to Muʿallim Nādjī's conservatives. *Therwet-i Fünūn* was started in 1892 and, after a period of brilliance, was reduced to dull harmlessness by official pressure.

This official repression led to a rebirth of revolutionary publications abroad: in 1880 ʿAlī Shefkatī started *Istiḳbāl* in Geneva; in 1895 Aḥmed Rīzā (Riḍāʾ) Bey founded the important *Meshweret* in Turkish and French (the French side being edited by another temporary expatriate, Murād Bey of *Mīzān*). Started in Paris, *Meshweret* was driven by official Ottoman pressure first to Switzerland and then to Belgium. The last decade of the 19th and the first years of the 20th centuries saw a host of short-lived Turkish revolutionary sheets in Paris, Switzerland, London and Egypt. They included organs of the Committee of Union and Progress, such as *ʿOthmānlı*, published by Isḥāḳ Sukūtī and ʿAbdullāh Djewdet; *Ḥaḳḳ* and *Shūrā-i Ummet*, published in Cairo with the cooperation of Aḥmed Rīzā Bey. In the same year as the latter, in 1902, Prince Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn published his newspaper *Teraḳḳī*. Another influen tial newspaper published abroad was *Terdjümān*, which Gaspīralī Ismāʿīl (Gasprinski) founded in the Crimea in 1883.

When the Constitution was once again put into practice on 24 July 1908, the Turkish Press attained

to unlimited freedom for a period of some eight or nine months. The three main newspapers of the Hamidian era (*Iḳdām*, *Ṣabāḥ* and *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat*) were soon joined by a daily edition of *Therwet-i Fünūn*, by the *Yeñi Gazete* of ʿAbdullāh Zuhdī and Maḥmūd Ṣādiḳ and, most important, by *Ṭanīn*, published by Tewfīḳ Fikret, Ḥüseyn Kāẓim and Ḥüseyn Djāhid. In all more than two hundred newspaper licences were granted in the first few weeks of the constitutional régime, while the number of periodical publications in 1908-9 amounted to 353. This number decreased constantly in subsequent years: 130 in 1910, 124 in 1911, 70 in 1914. The fortunes of the Press were linked closely with the course of the political struggle between the Committee of Union and Progress and its opponents. In the months between the restoration of the Constitution and the "31st March incident" (13 April 1909) the Committee was opposed by *ʿOthmānlı*, the organ of the Liberal Party of Prince Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn, by *Iḳdām*, which carried articles by ʿAlī Kemāl, by *Yeñi Gazete*, *Therwet-i Fünūn* and others. It was supported by *Shūrā-i Millet*, Ebü 'l-Ziyā Tewfīḳ's *Yeñi Taṣwīr-i Efkār*, *Milliyyet*, *Ḥürriyyet* and other publications. The religious opposition was led by Derwīsh Waḥdetī's newspaper *Volkan* and by the magazine *Beyān al-Ḥaḳḳ*. After the "incident" censorship was re-imposed by the military administration, in spite of the provision in the revised constitution forbidding all pre-publication censorship. Military censorship continued until the assumption of power by the "opposition" in 1912, but was reimposed by the Union and Progress after the coup of 10 January 1913. It then lasted until the dissolution of the Empire. Military censorship rendered largely inoperative the 1909 liberal Press Law, which was in any case amended in 1913, the amendment granting wide powers to the authorities in cases where publications were deemed to endanger the security of the State. A Directorate-General of the Press was formed at the same time. Opposition newspapers tended in these conditions to be short-lived. Among the few which deserve mention one could include *Selāmet-i ʿUmūmiyye* (1910) which carried articles by ʿAbdullāh Djewdet, signed "A Kurd", and also *Teʾmīnāt*, published in 1912 by Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Pasha on behalf of the Party of Freedom and Concord (*Ḥürriyyet ve Iʾtilāf*). The years before the First War also saw the birth of some important literary and scientific magazines, like the journal of the Ottoman Historical Society (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni Medjmūʿasī*) (1910), *Türk Yurdu*, the organ of the Turkish Hearths (*Türk Odjaḳları*), and the literary avant-garde papers *Genč Ḳalemler* and *Rubāb*. One must also point to the existence of a numerous religious periodical Press. In 1913 ʿAlī Kemāl founded the daily *Peyām*, which was to amalgamate after the war with Mihrān Efendī's *Ṣabāḥ* and, under the name of *Peyām-i Ṣabāḥ*, to be in the forefront of the opposition to Muṣṭafā Kemāl in Istanbul during the Turkish War of Independence. The last years of the 1914-18 war witnessed the first ventures of journalists who were to become famous under the Republic. It was then that Aḥmed Emīn (Yalman) and Ḥaḳḳī Ṭāriḳ (Us) started *Waḳit*, that Yūnus Nādī entered the field with *Yeñi Gün* and Sedād Sīmāvī with the humorous magazine *Diken*; it is also to those years that the important daily *Aḳsham* goes back. Newspapers published in Istanbul at the end of the war included also Saʿīd Mollā's *Istanbul*, Refīʿ Djewād's *ʿAlemdār* and Meḥmed Zekeriyyā (Sertel)'s *Büyük Gazete*.

In Anatolia the nationalist movement was first defended by *Irāde-i Milliyye*, the organ of the Sivas Congress, which first appeared on 4 September 1919. A fortnight after his arrival in Ankara on 27 December 1919 Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha founded his organ *Ḥākimiyyet-i Milliyye*, which was renamed *Ulus* in 1928, *Halkçı* in 1955, reverting to *Ulus* in 1956. In 1920 Yūnus Nādī transferred his *Yeñi Gün* to Ankara, returning to Istanbul in 1923 to found *Djümhūriyyet* (*Cümhuriyet*), which then became the main Kemalist newspaper in the old capital. Noteworthy magazines founded or published in the years between the end of the war and the proclamation of the Republic included the Communist *Aydînlîk*, the literary *Dergāh*, which carried articles by Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī (Karaosmanoğlu) and Ziya Gökalp's *Küčük Medjmūʿa*, started in Diyarbekir (Diyār-Bakr) in 1922.

Censorship ceased with the entry of the Turkish Army into Istanbul on 7 October 1923. The 1924 Constitution re-asserted the existing constitutional assurance that the Press was free within the bounds of the law and could not be submitted to pre-publication censorship. Powers of suspension were, however, assumed by the authorities the following year under the Maintenance of Order (*Taḳrīr-i Sukūn*) law which remained in force for two years. Suspension and confiscation by Government decision were also allowed by the 1932 Press Law, which was later repeatedly amended, Press offences, penalties and other provisions being several times re-defined. The Directorate-General of the Press which had been disbanded in 1931 was reformed in 1933, becoming in 1940 the "Directorate General of Press, Broadcasting and Tourism", attached to the office of the Prime Minister, and, towards the end of the Democratic Party administration (1950-60), the Ministry of Press, Broadcasting and Tourism.

The Turkish Press was faced with great difficulties in 1928 when the Arabic alphabet was replaced by the Latin alphabet. Newspapers appeared for a time printed in both alphabets. Circulations dropped and the Government had to come to the assistance of the Press with subventions which were continued for three years. The development of the Press under the Turkish Republic was greatly influenced by a small number of distinguished journalists and journalistic dynasties. They include Ahmed Emin Yalman who, after leaving *Vakit*, founded *Vatan* in 1923, *Inkilâb* in 1934, was associated with *Tan* in 1935, then restarted *Vatan* and remained in control of it until 1960 when he founded a new paper *Hürvatan*; the Nadi family who retained control until the present day of *Cümhuriyet*; the Simavi family who own the best-selling *Hürriyet*, founded by Sedad Simavi; the Sertel family who edited *Tan* until 1946 when the newspaper's left-wing views provoked official displeasure and student demonstrations, as a result of which the paper's offices were wrecked; the Ali Naʿi family, associated with *Inkilâb*, *Ikdam* and, at present, with the successful *Milliyet* etc. An important part was also played by the veteran journalist Hüseyin Cahid (Yalçın) who, after having made his peace with the Republic, resumed journalistic activity in *Yeni Sabah* (started in 1938) and then re-started *Tanin*, in whose columns he defended the Allied cause during the Second World War and the policy of the Turkish Republican People's Party after it.

Important political and social developments in the Republican period were reflected largely in political, social and literary periodicals: the People's

Houses (*Halkevleri*) organization had its organ in *Ülkü*; new ideas of social development which inspired the policy of *Étatisme*, were championed in *Kadro* (1933); a populist conception of literature took shape in the columns of *Varlık* (1933-); the revival of racialist and Pan-Turanian ideals, particularly noticiable in the years of the Second World War, was marked by the appearance of the reviews *Bozkurt*, *Çınaraltı* etc.; the vogue for extreme left-wing views at the end of the war had its counterpart in the periodical *Görüşler* (and the short-lived newspaper *Gerçek*); the influence of American news magazines led to the appearance of their Turkish equivalents, such as *Akis* (Ankara) and *Kim* (Istanbul); the influence of serious British political weeklies made itself felt in the fortnightly *Forum* (Ankara) etc.

The years after the Second World War were marked by the political struggle between the Republican People's Party and its opponents, a struggle in which the Turkish Press played a prominent part. Between 1950 and 1960 the Democratic Party administration had an organ in Ankara in the daily *Zafer*, while in Istanbul the Government cause was defended by *Havadis* and criticized by the majority of the other dailies. The Turkish Press, as a whole, played an important part in preparing the ground for the military *coup d'état* of 27 May 1960 as well as in the political struggle which has followed it. Just as important, however, as this political rôle has been the increasing professional competence of the Press: equipment and lay-out were much improved, circulations soared (reaching the 300,000 mark), the industry became highly capitalized with a growing tendency to produce mass-circulation, non-political newspapers, providing not only news, but also entertainment. This tendency can be expected to gather strength, with a consequent reduction in the number of newspapers published in the country. Journalistic history was made in 1960 when the daily *Akşam* started simultaneous publication in Istanbul and Ankara, thus opening a new line of approach to the problem of increasing circulations. In the meantime improved communications and distribution have consolidated the dominant position of the Istanbul papers in the life of the Turkish Press.

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(VEDAD GÜNYOL and ANDREW MANGO)

iv. — MUSLIM PRESS OF RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

Compared with the press of the other Islamic countries, the Muslim press of Russia is of relatively recent date, mainly on account of the hostility of the Russian authorities towards movements of cultural revival among the non-Russian peoples of the Empire.

Nevertheless, the first attempt to establish an organ in a Muslim language dates back to the beginning of the 19th century. It was due to a professor of Kazan University, Zapol'skiy, who in 1808 worked out a plan for a bilingual weekly in Russian and Tatar, but the project remained unfulfilled. In 1828, a second attempt was made, successfully this time, by a Russian official in the Military Administration of Transcaucasia, A. S. Sosnovskiy, who succeeded in publishing at Tiflis a Russian newspaper, *Tifliskie Vedomosti*, which also included an edition in Persian and, after in 1832, in Ād̲h̲arī Turkish. After a few numbers this original venture came to an end, and we have to wait until 1870 to see the appearance of the first newspaper intended for Muslims, the *Türkistān Wilāyetiniñ Gazeti*, published at Tas̲h̲kent in Uzbek, on behalf of the Chancellery of the General Government of Turkestan, by the Russian missionary N. P. Ostrumov. Five years later, at Baku, there appeared the Ād̲h̲arī weekly *Ekinči*, edited by the author-schoolmaster Ḥasan Bey Melikov Zerdabi [*q.v.*]; and it is this little newspaper, with only 700 printed copies, that can be regarded as the true ancestor of the Muslim press in the Russian Empire. Quite soon it brought upon itself the hostility of conservative circles, and it was suspended by the Russian authorities in 1877.

The Muslim press of Russia only reached international rank with the famous *Terd̲j̲ümān*, published at Bag̲h̲če-Saray in 1883 by Ismāʿīl Bey Gasprinski [see GASPĪRALĪ ISMĀʿĪL], in the Crimean Tatar language strongly influenced by Ottoman Turkish. The *Terd̲j̲ümān* survived until 1918. For some forty years it was the mouth-piece of the reform movement and of pan-Turkism in Russia, and for over twenty years remained the only press organ of the Muslims in Russia, since the severity of the Russian censorship over the Muslims, until 1905, prevented the rise of the national press. Until the revolution of 1905, in fact, apart from the above-mentioned newspapers there were only six organs of local significance. Four were in Ād̲h̲arī Turkish : *Ḍiyāʾ* (1879), *Ḍiyā Ḳāfḳāsiyā* (1880), *Kes̲h̲kül* (1884), and *S̲h̲arḳ-i rūs* (1903) at Tiflis; one in Ḳazaḳ (Ḳīrg̲h̲īz) : *Dālā Wilāyeti*, published in 1899 at Omsk (Siberia); and one in Ḳāzān Tatar at St. Petersburg: *Nūr*, in 1904.

After the publication of the Manifesto of 17 October 1905 granting liberty of the press to all the peoples of Russia, periodicals sprang up throughout all the regions of the Empire inhabited by Muslims, representing every sort of political opinion from right-wing conservative to left-wing socialist.

Thus, from 1905 until the revolution of February 1917, Muslims in the Russian Empire published 159 periodicals (newspapers and reviews) in the following languages : Ḳāzān Tatar, 62; Ād̲h̲arī Turkish, 61; Uzbek, 17; Ḳazaḳ (Ḳīrg̲h̲īz), 8; Crimean Tatar, 6; Arabic, 2; Türkmen, 2; Persian, 1. The principal centres for the editing and publication of the press were Baku (59 periodicals), Ḳāzān (22), Orenburg (13), Tas̲h̲kent (12), St. Petersburg (9), Astrak̲h̲an (9), Ufa (6), and Bag̲h̲če-Saray (5). Periodicals and newspapers were also published at Troïtzk, Ural'sk, Tomsk, Samarḳand, As̲h̲ḳabād, Buk̲h̲ārā, Samara, Ḳarasu-Bazar, Omsk, Erevan, Ḳoḳand, Gand̲j̲a and Petropavlovsk.

The majority of the Muslim newspapers had only an ephemeral existence because of their very slender finances, lack of subscribers and, above all, the interference of the censorship which after 1908 again became very vigilant. Some of them, however, played

a leading part in developing a national feeling among the Turkish peoples of Russia.

Among the most remarkable which were read far beyond the frontiers of the Russian Empire, we should mention the liberal organs *Waḳīt* and *Shūrā* of Orenburg which, from 1906 to 1917, made themselves the disseminators of pan-Turkism in Russia; *Ḳāzān Mukhbire* (1905) and *Yulduz* (1906) in Ḳāzān; *Ḥayāt* (1904), *Irshād* (1905) and *Fuyuḍāt* (1906) in Baku; *Mollā Naṣreddīn* (1906) in Tiflis; the last-named, a satirical weekly, had a fairly wide circulation in Persian Ādharbāydjān. Other organs, of local importance and with a more restricted circulation, also exerted a lasting influence on the cultural life of the Muslims, such as the *Ḳazaḳ* of Orenburg (1913), published in Ḳazaḳ by Ahmed Baytursunov. In Turkestan alone, where the Russian authorities maintained a very close watch on the cultural development of the Muslim population, there existed no real press, all the organs which made their appearance there being swiftly banned by the censorship.

The overthrow of the monarchy in February 1917 introduced a new chapter in the history of the Muslim press in Russia. The earlier, and often apolitical, periodicals were succeeded by a 'committed' press reflecting the opinions of the various political groups of Muslim society which, after October 1918, whether from intention or force of circumstances, were to be involved in the Revolution and civil war. From February 1917 to the end of 1920, 256 periodicals made their appearance on Russian territory, spread over 53 towns and large villages. Inferior in quality to its predecessors, the press of the revolutionary period attempted to reach wider circles, both by a larger circulation and also by the use of language nearer to popular speech. Ḳāzān Tatar enjoyed unrivalled supremacy since nearly half (139 exactly) of the periodicals published during this period were in this language, Ādharī Turkish coming far behind with only 39 organs, followed by Uzbek (37), Ḳazaḳ (21), and Crimean Tatar(7). In 1917 other newspapers also appeared, in Turkish (2 at Batum), Ḳumīḳ (3 at Temir Khan Shura), in Avar, Abkhaz and Lak.

In 1921, with the victory of the Red Army in the civil war, a new era began, that of the Soviet press, distinguished from earlier periodicals by its monolithic character, its very wide circulation and, lastly, by the appearance of new languages. Under the Soviet regime, six Turkic languages, two Iranian languages and nine Ibero-Caucasian Muslim languages became literary languages. Until 1924-8 they were written in Arabic characters; between 1928 and 1930 they were given a Latin alphabet, which was replaced between 1938 and 1940 by the Cyrillic alphabet. These new languages are : Bashkir, Ḳīrghīz (formerly Ḳara-ḳīrghīz), Nogay, Ḳaraḳalpaḳ and Uyghur (Turkic languages); Kurdish and Tat (Iranian languages); Abkhaz, Kabard, Adighe, Čečen, Ingush, Abaza, Darghin, Lezg and Tabasaran (Ibero-Caucasian languages). The total number of periodicals has much increased. In 1954 in the Soviet Union there existed (counting only the dailies) : 190 newspapers in Uzbek, 171 in Ḳazaḳ, 116 in Ādharī Turkish, 107 in Ḳāzān Tatar, 72 in Ḳīrghīz, 70 in Tādjīk, 53 in Türkmen, 30 in Bashkir, 19 in Avar and Ossetic, 17 in Kabard, 13 in Ḳaraḳalpaḳ 11 in Darghin, 9 in Ḳumīḳ, 8 in Lezg, 5 in Abkhaz, 4 in Nogay, 3 in Uyghur and Lak, 2 in Tabarasan and Abaza, 1 in Adighe, 1 in Čerkes, 1 in Tat and 1 in Kurdish. Since then, new periodicals have been published in Čečen, Ingush, Crimean Tatar and Ḳaračay-balḳar.

Bibliography: No comprehensive study on the Muslim press of Russia exists, but only monographs or articles for certain regions. For the Tatar press, besides the basic work of Ismail Ramiev, *Waḳītlī Tatar Maṭbū'ātī*, Ḳāzān 1926, fragmentary information is contained in Elif-Bi, *Iz tatarskoy musul'manskoy pečati*, Ḳāzān 1908; Fedotov, *Pečat' Tatrespubliki*, in *Bulletin d'information du V.O.K.S.*, Moscow 1927, no. 23-5; T. Nasīrov, *Sovet vlastenin berenče ellerinda tatar vaḳītlī maṭbū'ātī*, in *Sovet Ädäbiyatī Ḳāzān*, no. 9 1956); A. Saadi, *Tatar ädäbiyatī ta'rīkhi*, Ḳāzān 1926; A. Safarov, *Z istorii tatarskoy periodičnoy presi- 1905-25*, in *Shidny Svit*, Kharkov 1928, no. 3-4 (in Ukrainian); Dj. Validov, *Očerki istorii obrazovannosti i litteraturī Tatar do revolyutsii 1917 goda*, Moscow 1933; P. Žuže, *Musul'manskaya pečat' v Rossii*, St. Petersburg 1911.

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Information on the history of the press in the Crimea, with more particular reference to the *Terdjümān*, is contained in the work of Cafer Seydahmet, *Gaspıralı Ismail Bey*, Istanbul 1934, and in the study of Ahmed Özenbashlī, *Gečen devrimize tenkitli bir bakīṣ*, in *Oku Ishleri*, Baghče-Saray June 1925.

For the press of Turkestan, we possess an excellent monograph of Ziya Saidov, *Uzbek vakītlī maṭbū'ātī tarihige matiriyyalar*, Samarkand-Tashkent 1927. For the Turkmen press, an article of Mihaylov, *Natsional'naya pečat' Turkmenii*, in *Revolutsiya i natsional'ni nosti*, Moscow 1931, no. 4 and for the press of Daghistān, that of Sh. Magomedov, *Kumīkskaya periodičeskaya pečat' v 1917-8 godakh*, in *Trudī Instituta Istorii Partii pri Dagestanskom obkome K.P.S.S.*, ii, Mahač-Ḳala 1958.

(Ch. Quelquejay)

v. — the Muslim press in China and Japan

(*a*) China.—China has a Muslim population of some ten to twelve million persons according to the census of 1959. About two-thirds live in Sinkiang province where they constitute an overwhelming majority. The following table contains data on the geographical distribution of Chinese mosques in 1935 and on Muslim periodical publications during the period 1908-39. We may assume that an average Chinese mosque serves 200 to 250 people. In the absence of precise statistics, the table therefore indicates the distribution of the Muslim population in the mid-Thirties.

DISTRIBUTION OF MOSQUES AND MUSLIM PERIODICALS IN CHINA

Province	Number of mosques (1935)	Number of periodicals (1908-39)
Anhwei	1,515	
Chekiang	239	
Chinghai	1,031	3
Fukien	157	
Honan	2,703	4
Hopei	2,942	33
Hunan	932	2
Hupei	1,134	4
Kansu	3,891	
Kiangsi	205	
Kiangsu	2,302	24
Kwangsi	429	2
Kwangtung	201	7
Kweichow	449	
Manchuria	6,811	2
Mongolia	1,083	1
Shansi	1,931	2
Shantung	2,513	1
Shensi	3,612	3
Sinkiang	2,045	
Szechwan	2,275	1
Yünnan	3,971	6
Others		5
Total	42,371	100

A total of 100 Chinese-Muslim papers have been located. One was published abroad (1908), and for 13 the dates of origin are unknown. The remaining 86 were founded between 1913 and 1939; 18 magazines being established between 1913 and 1926. In the decade marked by the establishment of the Chinese Nationalist Government in Peking (1927) and the beginning of the Chinese-Japanese conflict (1937), the press expanded rapidly, and 63 new journals came into being—38 after the capital was moved from Peking to Nanking (1932). The outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan brought repressions and most of the papers disappeared. The five new periodicals which were issued during the next two years were actually official publications of the two combatants aimed at gaining increased Muslim support of the war effort.

The frequency of issue is known for 71 magazines: 12 appeared at least weekly; 50—monthly or semi-monthly; 9—quarterly or annually. One magazine had a circulation of more than 3,000 copies; eight others ranged from 1,000 to 2,000 copies, while the remainder served local needs and ran to a few hundred copies only. Not more than six periodicals exceeded 40 pages.

Most of the publications appeared in Chinese, though a few were written partly or entirely in Japanese, Arabic, Uygur (Eastern Turkī), and English. The great majority were religious in content, while the remainder in addition dealt with historical or contemporary problems. Most of the magazines were printed and circulated in the cultural and national centres of Peiping and Nanking, and in large port cities, such as Tientsin, Shanghai, Canton, and Hongkong.

Yüeh Hua (月華), Peiping, was the leading Muslim national magazine with a circulation of 3,000. It was begun in 1929 under private subsidies and attempted to represent all factions fairly. In its columns were domestic and international news items pertaining to Islam.

T'u Chüeh (突崛), Nanking, was established in 1934. It was the most substantial Muslim organ in the capital area, and advocated the "Three People's Principles", improvement of education, domestic unification, and contacts with co-religonists abroad.

T'ien Fang Hsüeh Li Yüeh K'an (天方學理月刊), Canton, was founded in 1929. It was distributed monthly without charge, but financial support was solicited. *T'ien Fang* dealt chiefly with contemporary issues, and the editor answered readers' queries in a special column.

The Muslim communities in the large cities during the 1930's organized protest demonstrations under *Ahungs* (*Mullahs*) whenever Islam was slandered in the Chinese press. In some instances the offices and printing plants of the offending newspapers were wrecked. The Nationalist government, needing the good will of its Muslim subjects, took prompt action to prevent further insult.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, in addition to native papers, some liberal Arabic and Turkish journals advocating constitutional reform were imported from Constantinople. The need for them was gone after the revolution of 1911.

The Muslim press in China was late in developing because of low educational and economic standards and because of language difficulties. Arabic was known only to religious leaders and to a few theologically trained laymen. The *Ahungs*, on the other hand, had often only a rudimentary knowledge of the Chinese script. Most of the population were illiterate. The declining Manchu dynasty was suspicious of any particularistic or sectarian tendencies, especially in the Turkī-speaking north-west borderland. One might say that the revolution of 1911 paved the way for the Muslim press in China, while the Communist revolution of 1949 decisively ended it. Muslim publication efforts were fragmentary. Most magazines were too small or too ephemeral to have a lasting influence. In contrast to the Protestant and Catholic missions in China, the Muslims lacked a centralized organization and adequate funds.

(*b*) Japan.—Japan has very few Muslims, but Japanese interest in Islam dates from the invasion of China (1937-45) when efforts were made to win over Chinese Muslim minorities. Prior to that date Japan experienced three private attempts to publish Muslim papers. *Hsing Hui* (醒回 "Muslims Awake") was established as a quarterly by Chinese students of the Muslim College in Tokyo for distribution in China; it dates back to 1908. In 1925, I. T. Sakuma, a Japanese business man and convert to Islam, founded in Shanghai the progressive *Mu Kuang* (穆光 "Light of Islam") with articles in Chinese, Japanese, and English. He desired an Islamic revival in China, Korea, and Japan and even advocated the translation of the Ḳur'ān into Chinese; *Mu Kuang* survived only three issues. *Hui Chiao* (回教 "Islam"), a Peiping monthly devoted to social and historical problems, was published in Japanese between 1927 and 1929. The

issues also contained biographies of Chinese Muslim leaders.

Following the actual occupation of Chinese territory, Japanese military authorities launched new Muslim papers, or adapted existing periodicals to their own purposes. The Japanese took over the ten-year old illustrated monthly *Chen Tsung Pao* (震宗報) after they occupied Peiping in 1937. Thereafter it assumed a strongly anti-Soviet character. The *Hsing Shih Pao* (醒時報), a non-political monthly, first appeared in Mukden, Manchuria, in 1925. It was revived by the Japanese in 1937, reporting mainly on Muslim life in Japan. Copies were distributed locally free of charge. Another monthly by the name of *Hui Chiao* (回教 "Islam") began to appear in April 1938 under the auspices of the Japanese-sponsored United Chinese Muslim Association, Peiping. This was a Japanese propaganda organ, but it was printed in Chinese. The *Hsin Min Pao* (新民報), official Chinese newspaper of the Japanese occupation authorities in Peiping, launched in October 1939 a weekly supplement, the *Tsung Chiao Chou K'an* (宗教週刊), which furnished historical and religious information on Islam.

Japanese research on Islam and Islamic peoples is scattered among numerous academic journals. Only two Japanese periodicals are entirely devoted to this topic. Both are published in Tokyo and date from 1959 and 1960 respectively. *Chû-Kintô geppô* (中近東月報 "Middle and Near East Monthly") is issued in mimeographed form by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ajia Rengô Yuko Kyokai (アジア達合好友會) publishes *Arabu* (ヤラブ "Arab") reporting on Arabs and Arab countries.

Bibliography: R. Loewenthal, *The Mohammedan press in China*, in *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis in Sinis*, Peking, xi/9-10 (Sept.-Oct. 1938), 867-94, with 2 charts.—Reprinted in: *The religious periodical press in China*, Peking, The Synodal Commission in China, 1940, 211-49.

(RUDOLF LOEWENTHAL)

vi. — THE HAUSA PRESS

There is a regular weekly newspaper in Hausa, *Gaskiya ta fi kwabo*, printed in Zaria, which began publication in January 1939. In addition, news sheets in the main recognized Hausa dialects are also published, while the *Kano Times* includes articles in the Hausa language.

It was on Saturday 14 November 1931 that there issued from the newly built printing house at Kaduna the first number of *The Northern Provinces News*. It consisted of sixteen pages of items in three columns, printed respectively in English, in Hausa in a roman orthography, and in Arabic, together with a page of photos of stallions and agricultural subjects. The reader is told "Mallams of the Secretariat have written the Hausa and Arabic translations, and compositors sent to the Press by the Emir of Kano have set up the Arabic type". This number was produced "as a basis for discussion as to whether Residents and Native Chiefs would desire the regular issue of a News Sheet of this or a similar type in the future". The next issue was on 9 April 1932, and had the Hausa title added, *Jaridar Nigeria Ta Arewa*, together with an Arabic title. It consisted of twenty-six pages of print and three pages of pictures. The third number also included items translated into two other Northern vernaculars, Tiv and Fula (Fulani). By July 1934, when number eight appeared, the paper was of a smaller format, and was printed only in Hausa, and no longer bore titles in English and Arabic. The tenth issue, 1 June 1935, included an article by R.M. East, of the Translation Bureau, Zaria, on the subject of Hausa books and writing. The spelling included new letters, ḳ, ḍ and ḅ.

After the Translation Bureau in Zaria began publication of *Gaskiya ta fi kwabo*, it also produced a smaller news sheet *Jakadiya*, in a simpler form of the language, as well as a news sheet in Tiv. In addition, it undertook the production of a large number of cheap pamphlets in Hausa on a wide range of educational topics, from well-digging to baby care. More literary works in Hausa were produced, as well as books in other Nigerian languages, such as Igbo. The Hausa newspaper has helped to develop the written language and has set a standard for the importation into Hausa of a large number of borrowed words—mostly from English. The printing of the news also in the chief dialects is now enriching the standard language, by enabling people from all over the Hausa-speaking area to share and enjoy the different forms, expressions and idioms of this widely used and colourful language. (J. CARNOCHAN)

vii. — INDIA and PAKISTAN

viii. — EAST AFRICA

[see SUPPLEMENT].

D̲J̲ARĪMA (A.), also *d̲j̲urm*, a sin, fault, offence. In Ottoman usage, in the forms *d̲j̲erīme* and *d̲j̲ereme*, it denoted fines and penalties (see D̲J̲URM). In the modern laws enacted in Muslim countries it has become a technical term for *crime* (*d̲j̲urm* in Pakistan). For the corresponding Islamic concepts, see ḤADD, and for penal law in general, ʿUḲŪBA. (ED.)

D̲J̲ARĪR B. ʿAṬIYYA B. AL-K̲H̲AṬAFA (ḤUD̲H̲AYFA) B. BADR was among the most important *hid̲j̲āʾ*-writers of the Umayyad period (the other two were his rivals al-Ak̲h̲ṭal and al-Farazdaḳ [*qq.v.*], and may be considered one of the greatest Islamic-Arabic poets of all time. He belonged to the clan of the Banū Kulayb b. Yarbūʿ an, a branch of the Muḍarī Tamīm who were widespread in the eastern part of central and northern Arabia. He was born in the middle of the 1st/7th century and began by entering into verbal disputes with second class writers in his own district, ostensibly because he himself had been attacked but in fact because of his naturally argumentative disposition. In 64/683-4 or shortly afterwards he began his famous forty-year-long dispute with al-Farazdaḳ, who was a foe worthy of his steel. It was caused indirectly by a long quarrel between the Banū D̲h̲uhayl, a branch of the Banū Yarbūʿ, and the Mud̲j̲ās̲h̲iʿ, also Tamīmī and the tribe to which al-Farazdaḳ belonged, over the theft of a camel. After they had abused each other from a distance for some time, D̲j̲arīr went to ʿIrāḳ and met al-Farazdaḳ for the first time in Baṣra. There were such scenes that the authorities had to put a stop to the meetings—although without any lasting success.

D̲j̲arīr began his public career by writing poems

in praise of al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb, an official of the governor of ʿIrāķ, al-Ḥadjdjādj. Al-Ḥakam recommended him to his master who invited him to Wāsiṭ. After staying with al-Ḥadjdjādj for some time and writing a series of *ķaṣīda*s of praise to him, Djarīr was sent with his son Muḥammad to ʿAbd al-Malik's court in Damascus. He was first rejected, then graciously received by ʿAbd al-Malik. But in the long run their relationship was not particularly good, for the caliph favoured the Taghlibī Christian al-Akhṭal ("al-Akhṭal is the poet of the Umayyads!") who took al-Farazdaķ's part against Djarīr. Djarīr's relations with ʿAbd al-Malik's successor al-Walīd were even worse; the latter supported his favourite ʿAdī b. al-Riķāʿ [*q.v.*] against Djarīr's attacks. In fact Djarīr and his friend Ladjʿa al-Taymī are even said to have been whipped and publicly stripped on account of some satirical lines on the court ladies. However he was on a rather better footing with ʿUmar II who, as a pious man, took no very passionate interest in either eulogies or satires, and remained courteously neutral. Nevertheless he does seem to have preferred Djarīr to his rivals. Djarīr also attempted to win the favour of the later caliphs Yazīd II and Hishām by writing poems in praise of them. Finally, in old age he retired to the Yamāma where he owned property (in Uthayfiyya). He died there when over eighty, in 110/728-9 or a little later, shortly after the death of his opponent al-Farazdaķ. Among his numerous descendents were three sons (Bilāl, ʿIkrima and Nūḥ) who also produced poetry but did not, however, approach their father's importance.

In Djarīr's *dīwān*, collected by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (died 245/859), the satirical poems occupy the most space, and of them the larger number are directed against al-Farazdaķ. The extent to which contemporaries were interested in this poetic battle is shown by a report of a quarrel which broke out among soldiers in al-Muhallab's camp during the Azraķī war—a quarrel eventually decided (thanks to one of the Khāridjī soldiers) in Djarīr's favour. The total number of poets satirized by Djarīr is something over forty. After the satirical poems, the poems of praise form the largest category in the *dīwān*, but it also contains some fine elegies. According to his adversary al-Akhṭal, Djarīr was particularly skilled in the *nasīb* and the *tashbīh*. The Arabic literary historians and critics rightly praise Djarīr's fluent diction.

Djarīr's work does indeed show him to be a true descendent of the old Bedouin poets, with all their strong points and weaknesses. In his work and that of his rivals al-Akhṭal and al-Farazdaķ, the old Arabic form of *ķaṣīda*-poetry underwent "an Indian summer of undeniable loveliness' (G. E. Von Grünebaum).

There are several editions of Djarīr's *dīwān* in which the poems are sometimes arranged according to the rhyme-letters. Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Shawāribī is the man chiefly responsible for the first of these editions (Cairo 1313); its sources are not given. The editions of Muḥammad al-Sāwī (Cairo 1353), and Karam al-Bustānī (Beirut 1379/1960) are no more worthy of critical attention. The *Naķāʾid*, however, of Djarīr and Farazdaķ, as collected by Abū ʿUbayda (d. ca. 210/825) and revised by others, have been published in a model edition by A. A. Bevan (Leiden 1905-12), and furnished with a glossary and indexes. Finally, the *Naķāʾid* of Djarīr and Akhṭal have also been published, according to the recension of Abū Tammām, by the Akhṭal scholar Salḥānī (Beirut 1922). Both *Naķāʾiḍ* also contain poems attacking other persons and their answers.

Bibliography: Djumaḥī (ed. Hell), 86-108; Ibn Ķutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 283; *Aghānī*[3], viii, 3-89; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 118-32 and *passim*, cf. Brockelmann, II, 53-5; S I, 86-7. Cf. also Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 265-74 and A. Schaade, *Djarīr* (supplement to the German edition of *EI*[1].

(A. Schaade-[H. Gätje])

DJĀRIYA [see ʿabd].

DJĀRIYA B. ĶUDĀMA b. Zuhayr (or: b. Mālik b. Zuhayr) b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Rizāḥ b. Asʿad b. Budjayr (or: Shudjayr) b. Rabīʿa, Abū Ayyūb (or: Abū Ķudāma, or: Abū Yazīd) al-Tamīmī, al-Saʿdī, nicknamed "al-Muḥarriķ", the "Burner"—was a Companion of the Prophet (about the identity of Djāriya b. Ķudāma with Djuwayriya b. Ķudāma see *Tahdhīb*, ii, 54, 125, and *Iṣāba*, i, 227, 276). Djāriya gained his fame as a staunch supporter of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

According to a tradition quoted by Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaķāt*, vii/1, 38) Djāriya witnessed the attempt at the assassination of ʿUmar; later, he was in Baṣra when the forces of Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr entered the city. He harshly reproached ʿĀʾisha (al-Ṭabarī, ed. Cairo 1939, iii, 482; *al-Imāma wa 'l-Siyāsa*, ed. Cairo 1331 A.H., i, 60), and took part in the battle of the Camel with ʿAlī (although his tribe, the Saʿd, remained neutral); he was given command of the Saʿd and the Ribāb of Baṣra in the battle of Ṣiffīn and distinguished himself in this battle (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim: *Waķʿat Ṣiffīn*, 153, 295, ed. Beirut). He seems to have approved the idea of arbitration and was among the delegation of the heads of Tamīm, who tried to mitigate al-Ashʿath and the Azd (al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Wright) 539).

Djāriya remained faithful to ʿAlī after the arbitration and supported him in his struggle against the Khawāridj: he was at the head of the troop levied with difficulty by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās from Baṣra (37 A.H.) and despatched to fight the Khawāridj (al-Ṭabarī, iv, 58; Caetani, *Annali*, x, 85). He remained faithful when the influence of ʿAlī began to shrink and ʿAlī was deserted by his friends. After his conquest of Egypt Muʿāwiya, being aware of the peculiar situation in Baṣra, in which the differences between the tribal groups were acute and the partisans of ʿAlī not numerous, decided to wrest the city from ʿAlī. The details about these events holding ʿIrāķ are provided by al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* among other sources (fols. 206b-209a). Muʿāwiya sent to Baṣra (in 38 A.H.) his emissary, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (or b. ʿAmr) al-Ḥaḍramī, [see ibn al-ḥaḍramī] in order to win the hearts of the Banū Tamīm in Baṣra. He gained in fact the protection of the Banū Tamīm. The deputy prefect of Baṣra Ziyād b. Abīhi was compelled to seek protection for himself with the Azd in Baṣra. ʿAlī sent his emissary, Aʿyan b. Ḍubayʿa al-Mudjāshiʿī in order to prevent the fall of the city into the hands of Muʿāwiya; he was, however, killed by a group of men said to have been Khāridjites (although the version of the participation of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī seems to be plausible). Ziyād asked ʿAlī to send to Baṣra Djāriya b. Ķudāma, who was highly respected in his tribe (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, i, 353). Djāriya arrived at Baṣra with a troop of 50 warriors (or 500—see al-Ṭabarī, iv, 85; or 1000 or 1500—see *Ansāb*, fol. 208b), met Ziyād b. Abīhi, rallied the followers of ʿAlī, succeeded in winning the hearts of groups of Tamīm who joined him, attacked the forces of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and defeated them. Ibn

al-Ḥaḍramī retreated with a group of 70 followers to a fortified Sāsānid castle, belonging to a Tamīmī called Sunbīl (or Ṣunbīl). Djāriya besieged the castle, ordered wood to be placed around it and set the wood on fire. Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and his followers were burnt alive. There are controversial traditions about the course of the encounter between Djāriya and Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī (see *Ansāb*, fol. 208b). According to a rather curious tradition (refuted by al-Balādhurī) Djāriya came to Baṣra as an emissary of Muʿāwiya together with Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, but forsook him however in Baṣra (*Ansāb*, fol. 209a). After the victory of Djāriya, Ziyād returned to the residence of the Governor of Baṣra.

The authority of ʿAlī was thus secured in Baṣra. Ziyād b. Abīhi praised in his letter to ʿAlī the action of Djāriya and described him as the "righteous servant" (*al-ʿabd al-ṣāliḥ*). It was Djāriya who advised ʿAlī in 39 A.H. to send Ziyād to the province of Fārs to quell the rebellion of the Persians who refused to pay their taxes (al-Ṭabarī, iv, 105). According to Ibn Kathīr (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iii, 165) the revolt was caused by the brutal action of burning committed by Djāriya (*al-Bidāya*, vii, 320).

Djāriya fought his last fight in the service of ʿAlī against Busr b. Abī Arṭāt [*q.v.*] in 40 A.H. When the tidings about the expedition of Busr reached ʿAlī he dispatched Djāriya with a troop of 2000 men to pursue Busr (another troop under the command of Wahb b. Masʿūd was also despatched by ʿAlī). Djāriya, following Busr, reached the Yemen (so al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* 211b; according to al-Ṭabarī, iv, 107 he reached Nadjrān) and severely punished the partisans of Muʿāwiya. Pursuing the retreating Busr, Djāriya arrived at Mecca and was told that ʿAlī had been killed. He compelled the people of Mecca to swear allegiance to the Caliph who would be elected by the followers of ʿAlī. In Medina he compelled the people to swear allegiance to Ḥasan b. ʿAlī.

In the time of Muʿāwiya there was a reconciliation between Djāriya and Muʿāwiya. Anecdotal stories report about the talks between Djāriya and Muʿāwiya (*al-Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 608; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, fol. 358b; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, ii, 186; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed Wright, 40). According to a fairly reliable tradition in al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb* (fol. 1048b) Muʿāwiya granted Djāriya a large fee of 900 *djarīb*.

Djāriya died in Baṣra. His funeral was attended by al-Aḥnaf.

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DJARR [see NAḤW].

DJARRĀḤ, "he who heals wounds", "surgeon"; *djirāḥa*, "the art of healing wounds , "surgery", from *djurḥ*, "injury", "wounds"—like the German "Wund , whence "Wundarzt", "Wundarznei", etc. In the time of the Arabic versions of the Greek texts on medicine, another expression corresponding exactly to *djirāḥa* made its way into Arabic medical language and was adopted by the classical authors, namely: *ʿamal bi ʾl-yad* (Ibn Sīnā) or *ʿamal al-yad* (al-Zahrāwī), "work, action performed with the hand" or "by hand" (which was only a literal translation of χειρουργία). But this last expression, perhaps for practical reasons of usage, was gradually to lose ground in the course of centuries and ultimately to be replaced by the first, which is the only one to have remained in use until today, with all its derivatives. However, it is under the title *ʿamal bi ʾl-yad* or *ʿamal al-yad*, in classical texts, that we find mentioned many expressions relating to medico-surgical techniques. From general surgery we may note such terms as *rabṭ* "ligature" (of veins), *ḳaṭʿ* "excision" (of soft diseased substance), *baṭṭ* and *baṭr* "incision" (for the removal of morbid matter), *kayy* "cauterization by fire (from καίειν "to burn"), with the object of surgical excision; from specialized surgery such terms as *ḳadḥ* "operation for cataract", "*reclinatio*"); from minor or simple surgery, *djabr* "reduction" of a fracture (*kasr*) or luxation (*khalʿ*); from manual practices having medical purposes, like *ḥadjm* "cupping" without or after the *sharṭ* "scarification", *faṣd* "bleeding", *kayy* itself as a revulsive or stimulating remedy, etc.

From *ʿamal* [*al-yad*] there remain in modern Arabic only the words *ʿamaliyya*, followed by the adjective *djirāḥiyya*, "operation", or "surgical operation" properly speaking, and *ʿamalī*, "operative" or "operational".

In old texts one very often comes across the forms [*ʿilādj*] *bi ʾl-ḥadīd* or *bi ʾl-āla*, the [*cura*] *cum ferro* and *cum instrumento* respectively of the Latin translators of the Middle Ages, referring specifically to surgical operations which necessitated the use of cutting instruments.

Djarrāḥ occurs for the first time in Arabic literature in translations of the 3rd/9th century, and from there the expression made its way into medical literature. As the name of a well-known family we find the word in the 4th/9th century [see Ibn al-Djarrāḥ]. However, in contradistinction to the custom of the Hellenistic-Roman period, in Islam, as in mediaeval Europe, the surgeon has always been regarded as a worker of an inferior order. It is probable that this point of view derives in essence from the Islamic aversion from any interference with the condition of the human body, and even with the bodies of animals (the prohibition of vivisection of animals). With regard to the most celebrated and distinguished doctors in Islam such as Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zuhr, we know that they vigorously expressed their dislike of every sort of surgical treatment, which they left to the *djarrāḥ* and *mudjabbir* (bone-setter and bone-healer). In spite of that, Ibn Sīnā devoted a large part of his *Ḳānūn* to the art of surgery (*ʿilm al-djirāḥa*), and his precursor ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī (d. 384/994) treated surgery in great detail in the ninth book of his work *Kāmil al-ṣināʿa*, devoting no less than 110 chapters to it, and added to the tenth book a special theory of surgical therapy.

The only specialized surgical manual of any importance in Islamic medical literature seems to be *al-ʿUmda fī ṣināʿat al-djirāḥa* of Ibn al-Ḳuff

(Syria, 7th/13th century). The work which exerted the greatest influence on the West was the part on surgery by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī (Cordova, 4th/10th century), section XXX of his *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*. This part was translated into Latin at a very early date and was studied with great enthusiasm in the West, although close links between this work and Paul of Aegina's surgery can be noted. It is illustrated with drawings of instruments. In the works on *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] one frequently finds a section devoted to doctors, oculists and surgeons, as for example in the unpublished book of al-Shayzarī. In it the surgeon is required to be familiar with the anatomy and therapy of Galen (Djālīnūs [*q.v.*]) and to possess a well-assorted set of instruments which must include methods for checking bleeding. The work of the bone-setter (*mudjabbir*) is given special attention by al-Shayzarī: he is required to know the number and shape of all the bones as well as Paul of Aegina's chapter on bone fractures and sprains.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Arab surgery was always advanced in comparison with European surgery, and indeed it helped the latter to make great advances (it is known that Lanfranc of Milan, a famous exponent of surgery in Paris in the 13th century, had based his theories almost exclusively on the *Maḳāla fi ʿamal al-yad*, the famous treatise *De chirurgia* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī). But Arab surgery avoided every kind of destructive operation (amputation), even apart from prohibitions or scruples of a religious nature. Nor did it fail to contribute as well to the knowledge of the human body, replacing anatomical dissection, however, casually and in a limited way. Incidentally, *ʿilm al-tashrīḥ* "anatomy" was always regarded as an indispensable science even in the practice of specialized surgery. In this connexion one may recall the anecdote of al-Rāzī dismissing the man who was to have operated on him for cataract, but who had been unable to answer the questions on ocular anatomy previously put to him by the great doctor (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa).

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AL-**DJARRĀḤ** B. ʿ**ABD ALLĀH** AL-ḤAKAMĪ, Abū ʿUḳba, an Umayyad general, called *Baṭal al-Islām*, 'hero of Islam', and *Fāris Ahl al-Shām*, 'cavalier of the Syrians'. He was governor of al-Baṣra for al-Walīd (Caliph 86-96/705-15) under al-Ḥadjdjādj, then governor of Khurāsān and Sidjistān for ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, till deposed by ʿUmar after a year and five months (99-100/718-9) for harsh treatment of the new converts to Islam in Khurāsān. In 104/722-3 al-Djarrāḥ was appointed governor of Armenia with orders to attack the Khazars, who at this time were threatening the lands south of the Caucasus. Advancing from Bardhaʿa, he occupied Bāb, the frontier town (see BĀB AL-ABWĀB), near which he defeated a large Khazar force under 'Bārdjīk, the son of the Khāḳān'. Continuing his advance round the eastern end of the Caucasus, al-Djarrāḥ captured the Khazar towns of Balandjar and Wabandar, and reached the neighbourhood of Samandar, probably Ḳizlar (Kizliyar) on the Terek, before withdrawing. Some time later he was recalled, but was reappointed in 111/729-30. Next year the. Khazars appeared in force in his province and were met by al-Djarrāḥ with an army of Syrians and local levies in the plain of Ardabīl (Mardj Ardabīl). Here for several days in Ramaḍān 112/November-December 730, a great battle was fought, which ended in the total defeat of the Muslims and the death of al-Djarrāḥ. The Khazars temporarily occupied the whole of Ādharbāydjān, their cavalry raiding as far south as Mosul. The loss of al-Djarrāḥ caused wide-spread consternation and grief, especially among the soldiers. He is said to have been so tall a man that when he walked in the Great Mosque of Damascus, his head seemed to be suspended from the lamps.

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(D. M. DUNLOP)

DJARRĀḤIDS or BANU 'L-DJARRĀḤ, a family of the Yemeni tribe of Ṭayy which settled in Palestine and in the Balḳāʾ region, in the mountains of al-Sharāt as well as in the north Arabian desert where the two hills of ʿAdjāʾ and Salmā, known also as the mountains of the Banū Ṭayy, are part of their territory. This family attained some importance at the end of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, but without ever succeeding in creating a state as the Banū Kilāb tribe did at Aleppo, or in having a capital, except for a very short time at Ramla. The Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ followed a policy of vacillation between the Fāṭimids and the Byzantines, at times supporting one side and at times the other, not hesitating to flatter abjectly either of them when danger threatened, or to betray them, and only abandoning these equivocal tactics to seize the chance of plundering towns or the countryside or caravans on pilgrimage. In general they remained essentially Bedouins, with the qualities and failings of the Arabs of the desert, and their activities were far from glorious.

The first of the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ to figure in the chronicles was named Daghfal b. al-Djarrāḥ and was an ally of the Ḳarmaṭians. At the time of his expedition against Egypt in 361/971-2, al-Djannābī [*q.v.*] left one of his officers with Daghfal at Ramla. During the second Ḳarmaṭian invasion of Egypt in 363/974, a Djarrāḥid named Ḥassān b. al-Djarrāḥ was in the Ḳarmaṭian army, and it was thanks to his defection, in return for a bribe of money by the caliph al-Muʿizz, that the Ḳarmaṭian force was routed after reaching the gates of Cairo. Daghfal and Ḥassān are possibly one and the same person.

Some years later Daghfal's son Mufarridj made his appearance, and was to remain in prominence until 404/1013-4; certain texts give his name wrongly as

Daghfal b. al-Mufarridj. At the time of the caliph al-ʿAzīz's expedition against Alptekīn, a Turk who had seized Damascus and allied himself with the Ḳarmaṭians, in the battle which took place outside Ramla in Muḥarram 367/August-September 977. Alptekīn took to flight and was found dying of thirst by Mufarridj with whom he was on friendly terms. As the caliph had promised 100,000 dinars to anyone who handed over Alptekīn to him, Mufarridj, whose allegiance at that moment is not specified in the records, had Alptekīn kept in custody at Lubnā. He then went to the caliph and, on receiving an assurance that the offer of the reward still held good, betrayed Alptekīn and took him to the caliph. Two years later we find him involved in the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib's venture in Palestine. For the moment he was in control of Ramla, a fact recognized by the head of an Egyptian army, al-Faḍl, whom the vizier Ibn Killīs had sent into Syria at that time against a usurper from Damascus, Ḳassām, and Abū Taghlib. Mufarridj was then on bad terms with the Banū ʿUḳayl; as they appealed to Abū Taghlib, war broke out between him and Mufarridj who was supported by Faḍl. Abū Taghlib was defeated and made prisoner by a supporter of Mufarridj. Faḍl asked the Djarrāḥid to surrender Abū Taghlib to him so that he might take him to Egypt. Fearing that the caliph might use Abū Taghlib against himself, Mufarridj killed his prisoner with his own hand.

The agreement between Mufarridj and Faḍl did not last long, and Faḍl turned against him. But Mufarridj was sufficiently adroit to persuade the caliph al-ʿAzīz to give orders to his general to leave him in peace, so allowing Mufarridj to become master of Palestine once again and to ravage the land (370/980). His exactions led the caliph to send troops against him in the following year. Being put to flight, he went off to raid a caravan of pilgrims returning from Mecca, probably at the end of 371/June 982. He was more fortunate against a second Fāṭimid force which he crushed at Ayla. He returned to Syria but was defeated and, taking the desert route, sought refuge at Ḥimṣ with Bakdjūr, the governor of the Ḥamdānid Saʿd al-Dawla, probably at the end of 982; from there he went on to Antioch where he sought protection and help from the Byzantine governor. He appears to have received nothing more than gifts and fair words. It is not certain that he returned to Syria, for after 373/983 we find him accompanying Bardas Phocas the Domesticus when he went to the rescue of Aleppo after it had been attacked by the rebel Bakdjūr. Warned by him of the imminent arrival of the Byzantine troops, Bakdjūr took to flight.

Mufarridj then seems to have rejoined Bakdjūr, for when the latter received from the caliph al-ʿAzīz the governorship of Damascus, entering office in Radjab 373/December 983, the vizier Ibn Killīs put the caliph on his guard against a possible revolt by Bakdjūr with the warning that he had Mufarridj with him, and that he was an enemy. He followed Bakdjūr when the latter, threatened by a Fāṭimid army, left Damascus for Raḳḳa in Radjab 378/October 988. In the following year we find him attacking a caravan of pilgrims in north Arabia. It is said that Ibn Killīs regarded him as a dangerous individual and that on his deathbed in 380/991 he advised his master not to spare Ibn Djarrāḥ if he fell into his power. Nevertheless the caliph pardoned him, for next year he had a gift of apparel and horses sent him and invited him to take part in the expedition against Aleppo for which the Turkish general Mangūtekīn was making extensive preparations. But we do not know if he took any part in the campaign of 382/992 or in subsequent campaigns. We find no other mention of him until 386/996, the year of al-Ḥākim's arrival.

At that period he was supporting Mangūtekīn, the governor of Damascus, in his attempt to seize power from Ibn ʿAmmār and the Kutāma, and took part in the fighting led by the Turkish general outside ʿAsḳalān against Sulaymān b. Djaʿfar b. Falāḥ. Following his usual tactics, however, he did not hesitate to desert Mangūtekīn and to cross over to Sulaymān's camp. It was one of his sons, ʿAlī, who pursued and captured Mangūtekīn when he took to flight.

In 387/997 he tried to take Ramla and laid waste the district. The new governor of Damascus, Djaysh b. Ṣamṣāma, having crushed ʿAllāḳa's revolt at Tyre, attacked and gave chase to Mufarridj who took refuge in the mountains of the Banū Ṭayy. When on the point of being captured he took part in a little comedy, sending the old women of his tribe to ask for *amān* and pardon, which were granted. And thus in 396/1005-6 we find Mufarridj sending his three sons ʿAlī, Ḥassān and Maḥmūd with a large number of Bedouins to assist al-Ḥākim's troops against the rebel Abū Rikwa. But in the following year he held up pilgrims from Baghdād north-east of the mountains of ʿAdjā' and Salmā, that is to say in Ṭayyī territory, and compelled them to pay tribute; as the enforced halt had made them lose time, they were obliged to turn back and to call off their pilgrimage.

Some years later, an opportunity occurred for Mufarridj to play a part of genuinely political significance. In about 402/1011-2 the Fāṭimid vizier Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Maghribī fled and took refuge in Palestine at the encampment of Mufarridj's son Ḥassān who gave him his protection. The caliph having given the governorship of Damascus and the command of troops in Syria to Yārūkh, a Turk, Mufarridj's sons were unwilling to submit to his authority, representing to their father the danger to which they would be exposed from this all-powerful governor and advising him to attack Yārūkh before he arrived at Ramla. The vizier al-Maghribī also stirred up Ḥassān against Yārūkh, with the result that the Djarrāḥids laid an ambush for him on the Ghazza road, took him prisoner and, at al-Maghribī's instigation, occupied Ramla. Ḥassān, fearing that his father would yield to the pleas of the caliph to have Yārūkh set free, had him beheaded. Urged on by this same al-Maghribī, Mufarridj took a further step towards rebellion against al-Ḥākim at the beginning of 403/July 1012 when, at Ramla, he proclaimed an anti-caliph in the person of the ʿAlid Sharīf of Mecca. But al-Ḥākim knew that it was always possible to suborn the members of this family. He had already arranged for Ḥassān, who had been entrusted with the care of Djawhar's grandsons, to betray them to one of the caliph's officers who had them executed. He also succeeded in persuading Ḥassān and his father to abandon the anti-caliph who returned crestfallen to Mecca, whilst al-Maghribī fled to ʿIrāḳ.

The Djarrāḥids remained masters of Palestine for only two years and five months. During this period Mufarridj tried to win the favour of the Christians in Jerusalem, and perhaps of the Emperor also, by giving orders for, and helping with, the restoration of the Church of the Resurrection which had earlier been destroyed on al-Ḥākim's instructions.

At the beginning of 404/July-August 1013 al-

Ḥākim, changing his tactics, decided to treat the Djarrāḥids with severity and sent an army against them. ʿAlī and Maḥmūd surrendered; at that moment Mufarridj died, possibly poisoned by order of al-Ḥākim; Ḥassān who had taken to flight succeeded in obtaining a pardon from the caliph by sending his mother to beg the caliph's sister, Sitt al-Mulk, to intercede for him. The caliph pardoned him and allowed him to return to Palestine where he recovered his father's lands. Thereafter he refrained from stirring up trouble until the disappearance of al-Ḥākim. He even took part in the expedition against Aleppo organized by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḍayf, the former governor of Afāmiya, at the same time as the Kalbids of Sinān b. Sulaymān in 406/1015-6. However he entered into closer relations with the heir presumptive to the throne, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, brother of al-Ḥākim and governor of Damascus, who sent an envoy to him to seek an undertaking that he would support him in case of need. But Sitt al-Mulk, the regent, had ʿAbd al-Raḥīm assassinated. Ḥassān also intrigued with ʿAlī al-Ḍayf who was anxious to be sent to Palestine, and who was also put to death by Sitt al-Mulk. Ḥassān himself escaped an attempt on his life, also made on her orders.

Ḥassān's ambition was to rule Palestine. Even in al-Ḥākim's time he had concluded a pact with the Kalbid Sinān and the Kilābid Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, whereby Damascus was allotted to the Kalbid, Aleppo to the Kilābid and Palestine to himself. This pact was renewed in 415/1024-5. The emperor Basil refused to give them his support. Nevertheless they overcame the general sent by al-Ẓāhir, Anushtekīn al-Duzbarī, at ʿAskalān, and Ḥassān entered Ramla. With the help of Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, Ḥassān once again defeated Anushtekīn and continued his depredations in Syria. After Sinān's death, his nephew joined the caliph's cause; but Ṣāliḥ continued to support Ḥassān. In 420/1029, at al-Ukḥuwāna near lake Tiberias, they joined battle with Anushtekīn who gained a complete victory. Ṣāliḥ was killed and Ḥassān fled to the mountains.

Like his father, Ḥassān was in touch with the Byzantine empire. In the next year, 1030, when the emperor Romanus Argyrus was preparing his expedition against the sons of Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās of Aleppo, he offered him the support of his tribe, and the emperor received his envoys at Antioch with great cordiality, gave them a flag for their master (according to Ibn al-Athīr, it was decorated with a cross) and promised to reinstate the Djarrāḥid in his country once again. The emperor's expedition ended in disaster. Ḥassān, again with the support of the Kalbids of Rāfiʿ b. Abi 'l-Layl, started a campaign against the Fāṭimid troops in the region of Ḥawrān, but was driven back towards the desert. There, in the neighbourhood of Palmyra, he met an envoy from the emperor who persuaded him to come and settle near Byzantine territory. As a result, a group of over 20,000 people, with their herds and tents, moved towards the region of Antioch, almost certainly in the year 422/1031. Ḥassān was loaded with gifts from the emperor and his son ʿAllāf was received at court.

The Ṭayyīs pitched their camps in the neighbourhood of the Rūdj, south-east of Antioch. They were twice attacked by Anushtekīn al-Duzbarī. The names of the places mentioned in this connexion (Kastūn, al-Arwādj, Inab; for the identification of the last-named place, see Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab*, 117; Dussaud, *Top. historique* ...., 168; *Guide bleu*, 280) show that they were not in Byzantine territory. Ḥassān gave active support to the Byzantines, not only making a successful raid on Afāmiya but also, according to the Byzantine historians, helping Theoctistus, Domesticus of the Scholae, to take the fortress of Menikos (Manīka) in the Djabal al-Rawādīf then held by Naṣr b. Musharraf. It was on this occasion, so it is recorded in Scylitzes-Cedrenus, that his son ʿAllāf (Allach to the Byzantines) was received at court and made a patrician. Ḥassān is called Pinzarach (Ibn al-Djarrāḥ) or Apelzarach (by Kekaumenos), but Scylitzes incorrectly gives him the title of amīr of Tripoli. According to these authors he was twice received at Constantinople, but Kekaumenos says that he did not always have cause to be satisfied with his visits.

Moreover we know that, at the time of the negotiations which took place between the caliph and the emperor, after the Byzantines captured the fortress of Bīkisrāʾīl in the summer of 423/1032, Ḥassān was present in person at the discussions at Constantinople. One of the conditions laid down by the emperor for the peace settlement was that the caliph should allow Ḥassān to return to his country and to resume possession of the lands he held at the time of al-Ḥākim, except for those that he had appropriated since the coming of al-Ẓāhir, in return for a promise of fidelity to the caliph. But the caliph refused.

When Anushtekīn al-Duzbarī, taking up a curious attitude, asked the emperor to send an expedition against Aleppo (which he did not enter until 429/1037-8), promising to hold it as a vassal of the empire, we note that with him was Ḥassān's son ʿAllāf (ʿAllān in Kamāl al-Dīn). In 427/1035-6, when the Numayrid Ibn Waththāb and the Marwānid Naṣr al-Dawla attacked Edessa, a Byzantine possession since 422/1031, Ḥassān came to the rescue with 5,000 Greek and Arab horsemen. There is a further mention of him in 433/1041-2 (we are then in the reign of al-Mustanṣir, al-Ẓāhir having died in 427/June 1036). It is said that at that moment he regained possession of Palestine, after al-Duzbarī had been driven from Damascus, but that the new governor of Damascus continued the war against him.

After that date we hear nothing more of Ḥassān. Much later, we come across his nephews, Ḥumayd b. Maḥmūd and Ḥāzim b. ʿAlī, during the disturbances which Badr al-Djamālī had to face in Damascus in about 458/1065-6, in the entourage of an ʿAlid sharīf, Ibn Abi 'l-Djann, who tried to seize Damascus. They must have been arrested and imprisoned in Cairo, for in 459/1066-7 the amīr Nāṣir al-Dawla b. Ḥamdān asked the caliph to free them from the Flag store where they were incarcerated.

Finally, in 501/1107-8 we find a certain Abū ʿImrān Faḍl b. Rabīʿa b. Ḥāzim b. al-Djarrāḥ coming from Baghdād to enter the service of the Saldjūḳid sultan. His equivocal behaviour in Syria —at times he was on the side of the Franks, at others on the side of the Egyptians—led the *atābek* Tughtekīn of Damascus to expel him from Syria. In Baghdād he offered to fight the Mazyadid from Ḥilla, Ṣadaḳa, and to bar the desert route to him. He went to Anbār and nothing more is heard of him.

That, it seems, is all that we know of this turbulent family who were not without significance as pawns on the chess-board of Syria in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, whom the Fāṭimids alternately attacked and wooed, whom the Byzantines succeeded in using, but who seem to have created for themselves,

in their own best interests, a rule of duplicity, treason and pillage.

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DJĀRSĪF [see GUERCIF].

AL-**DJĀRŪDIYYA** (or Surḥūbiyya), a group of the early Shīʿa, listed as "Zaydī" [*q.v.*] because they accepted any Fāṭimid ʿAlid as *imām* if he were worthy and claimed the imāmate with the sword. Their chief teacher was the blind Abu 'l-Djārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir, who reported *ḥadīth* from Muḥammad al-Bāḳir and was nicknamed by him "Surḥūb" (blind sea-devil); other leaders were Abū Khālid Yazīd al-Wāsiṭī and Fuḍayl b. al-Zubayr al-Rassān. In contrast to other early "Zaydīs", they rejected Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, not admitting the imāmate of the less worthy when the worthier was present. They seem to have regarded supporters of a non-ʿAlid *imām* as *kāfir*. They claimed that authority was potentially equal in all Fāṭimids; some claimed that the needful knowledge came to the *imām* by nature, not by teaching. The name continued to be applied to certain Shīʿīs for a century and a half. Some of them are said to have believed that one or another ʿAlid rebel was to return as *mahdī*: either Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya of Madīna (killed under al-Manṣūr), or Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim of Ṭāliḳān (killed under al-Muʿtaṣim), or Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar of Kūfa (killed under al-Mustaʿīn).

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DJARUNDA (Spanish *Gerona*), capital of the province of the same name, one of the four capitals of the principality of Catalonia. It stands about 25 km. from the sea, and its coastline extends along the well-known Costa Brava. Situated in the outer foothills of the Pyrenees, on a small eminence surrounded by the Ter and Oñar rivers, it has at the present day about 40,000 inhabitants. By reason of its strategic situation on the eastern route between France and Spain it has throughout its history been subjected to sieges and constant attacks, from which it derives its name *Ciudad de los sitios* "the town of sieges". From a village of Iberian origin the Romans raised it to the rank of a town: it figures in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus as a halting-place on the first road to cross Catalonia. Falling in turn into the hands of the Visigoths, Arabs, Franks of the Spanish march and the Catalan-Aragonese, it became a great fortress known in the Middle Ages as *Forsa vella*. At the beginning of their occupation the Muslims, under the command of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, son of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, took possession of the whole sub-Pyrenean region, including Gerona, passing through it on their way to invade the Narbonnaise. In the 2nd/8th century there was no fixed frontier on what was later the Spanish march. For this reason the inhabitants of Gerona in 169/785 entrusted their town to the authority of the Franks, under Louis the Pious, after the Amīr of Cordova ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I had been defeated in this sector. The establishment of this Frankish enclave on Spanish soil foreshadowed the conquest of more extensive territories, that is to say Barcelona, in the near future. But the Muslims were not long in reacting, and in 177/793 ʿAbd al-Malik b. Mughīth, Hishām I's general, laid siege to Gerona and, according to the Arab chroniclers, decimated the Frankish garrison and destroyed a large part of the towers and ramparts, but he was unable to capture the town by assault and went on to raid Narbonne. In 178/798 the Franks occupied the mountain region between Gerona and the upper valley of the Segre, and surrounded Barcelona which they succeeded in capturing after a long siege. Among the feudal overlords taking part in this siege was Rostaing, Count of Gerona, at the head of one of the three corps which comprised the besieging army. In 212/828, a new *ṣā'ifa* against Barcelona and Gerona failed; the Spanish march having been consolidated, the Muslims were unable to reach Gerona, even when the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr captured Barcelona. On the other hand, during the final period of the caliphate in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 400/June 1010, a band of Catalans fought on the side of caliph Muḥammad al-Mahdī against the Berbers in the valley of the Guadiaro, not far from Ronda; they were routed and suffered casualties, among them Otón, Bishop of Gerona, at the head of his contingent from Gerona. The county of Gerona, as a dependency of the principality of Catalonia, was the scene of a meeting on 1 November 1143 at which the Order of Templars of Catalonia was admitted. In 1205 Philip Augustus of France seized it. Thereafter, as the result both of civil wars provoked by the prince of Viana and also of struggles against France, the town had to endure numerous sieges and assaults; after being razed to the ground during the war of the Spanish Succession for declaring itself in favour of the Archduke, its tribulations reached their culminating point with the heroic resistance directed by General Alvarez de Castro when, for seven months, the town stood out against Napoleon's Marshals.

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DJĀSAK (Djāsek or Djāsik), an island in the Persian Gulf mentioned only by Yāḳūt, ii, 9) and Ḳazwīnī (*Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 115) among Arab geographers. From their statements, it is probably to be identified with the island of Lārak in the straits of Hormuz 35 km. SSE. of Bandar ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], and not with the large island of Ḳishm as was done by Le Strange (261). In the time of these two authors Djāsak belonged to the prince of Kis (Kish, the modern Ḳays), a small island in Lat. 26° 33′ N., Long. 54° 02′ E.

At the present time the name Djāsak (now pronounced Djāsk) is borne by the flat, low-lying promontory on the Persian side of the Gulf of ʿUmān in Lat. 25° 31′ N., 57° 36′ E. and by the adjoining village. Early in the 10th/16th century Djāsk was seized and fortified by the Portuguese and in the following century the English East India Company established a factory there. There is a landing strip for aircraft south-west of the village. The population in 1951 was 3,115.

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al-**DJAṢṢĀṢ**, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, famous Ḥanafī jurist and chief representative of the *aṣḥāb al-raʾy* [*q.v.*] in his day. He was born in 917/305, went to Baghdād in 324, and there studied law under ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī. He also worked on the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, handing down the *ḥadīth*s of al-Āṣim, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Ḳāniʿ (the teacher of the famous al-Dāraḳuṭnī [*q.v.*]), ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar al-Iṣfahānī, Ṭabarānī, and others. Following the advice of his teacher Karkhī, he went to Nīshāpūr, in order to study *uṣūl al-ḥadīth* under al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī. During this time, Karkhī died, whereupon he returned to Baghdād (in 344). Later, Djaṣṣāṣ became the head of the Ḥanafīs in Baghdād. According to reports, he was twice nominated for the office of judge but he declined. He mediated between the traditionists and the lawyers. Amongst his pupils were Ḳudūrī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī, and others. He died on 7 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 370/14 August 981 in Nīshāpūr.

Of his works, the following survive: *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*; his commentary on *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* by Shaybānī; his commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiḳh* by Ṭaḥāwī (which is the oldest of its commentaries); his excerpts from the *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-fuḳahāʾ* by Ṭaḥāwī, compare Schacht, *Aus den Bibliotheken*, i, no. 24; *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat, Istanbul 1335-38; 3 vols., Cairo 1347.

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al-**DJASSĀSA**, "the informer", "the spy", a name which seems to have been given by Tamīm al-Dārī [*q.v.*] to the fabulous female animal which he claimed to have encountered on an island upon which he had been cast by a storm, at the same time as the Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*] who was chained there; the latter being unable to move about, the Djassāsa, which is a monster of gigantic size, brings him whatever news it has gathered. Assimilated by later exegesis with the Beast (*dābba* [*q.v.*]) mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (XXVII, 84/82), it adds considerably to the fantastic element in travellers' and geographers' tales in the classical period which place the incident on an island in the Javaga (Zābadj [*q.v.*]) to which Ibn Khurradādhbih (48) and others give the name Barṭāʾīl. (Ed.)

DJASSAWR (Jessore), principal town of a district of East Pakistan. The town has a garrison and a landing strip. Population of the district in 1951 : 1,703,000. Its name is said to derive from the Sanskrit *yashohara* "disgraced", relating to the story of Rādjā Pratāpāditya, a *zamīndār* whose rebellious attitude was crushed at the time of the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr. Under Muslim rule the region formed part of the *sarkār* of Khalīfatābād, represented now by Bāgerhāt in Khulna district, where Khān Djahān (d. 863/1459), conqueror of this region under the Bengal sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd II, is buried. A number of monuments of this period remain at or near Bāgerhāt, the most important being the tomb of Khān Djahān and the Sāthgunbad, Masdjidkur, Ḳaṣba and Saylkuppa mosques. These mosques mark the appearance of a new style of Muslim architecture in Bengal which, with its dwarf angle buttresses and covered *ṣaḥn*, seems to bring together some aspects of the Dihlī style of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ and those of local origin. Khān Djahān, popularly called Khāndjā ʿAlī, is today venerated as a saint; with Muḥammad Ṭāhir, alias Pīr ʿAlī, he promoted the expansion of Islam in this region. The latter personage brought into being a sect, the Pīr ʿAlī Muslims, which is widespread in the region.

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DJASTĀNIDS, DJUSTĀNIDS [see daylam].

DJĀSŪS, a word used to denote the spy, concurrently with *ʿayn*, observer, literally "eye", with the result that it is not always possible to distinguish between the two words and one can hardly discuss the one without speaking of the other. However, it seems that *djāsūs* is used more particularly to refer to a spy sent among the enemy. Dictionaries also give for *djāsūs* the sense of bearer of an unfavourable secret (*ṣāḥib sirr al-sharr*) as opposed to *nāmūs*, the bearer of a favourable secret (*ṣāḥib sirr al-khayr*; see *LA*, vii, 337, Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, i, 163).

The Ḳurʾān (XLIX, 12) ordains that believers should not spy upon one another. According to al-Māwardī (*Aḥkām*, tr. Fagnan, 538) it is permissible for the *muḥtasib* to make use of *tadjassus* when there is a violation of a prohibition and proof of it might be overlooked, but al-Ghazzālī (*Iḥyāʾ*, ed. 1348, ii, 285, 289) refutes this.

Espionage was practised by the authorities internally for administrative and governmental reasons, and externally for politico-military reasons. Works of the Mirror of Princes type note that sovereigns of all periods have invariably made use of spies in order

to obtain information about their subjects, their ministers and officials, their entourage and even their own family (see the *Kitāb al-tādj* of the Ps. al-Djāḥiẓ, 99, tr. 124; 122, tr. 141-2 (on this passage, cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 116), 167, tr. 184 ff.; *Āthār al-uwal*, of al-Ḥasan al-ʿAbbāsī, in the margin of *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ* of al-Suyūṭī, 97 ff.; the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk, tr. Schefer, 88, 99, 103 ff.; R. Levy, *A mirror of Princes*, tr. of Ibn Ḳābūs, 135). We know that the Postal Service (*barīd*) was made responsible for this surveillance. Thus the official organization of espionage was reflected in the allegory of the *djunūd al-ḳalb* of al-Ghazzālī, in which the five senses are the spies (*djawāsīs*) who bring their information to the imagination which is, so to speak, the *ṣāḥib al-barīd* (*Iḥyāʾ*, iii, 5 and 8; cf. *Kimiyāʾ al-saʿāda*, ed. 1343, 10 and tr. H. Ritter, *Das Elixir der Glückseligkeit*, 30). There are numerous accounts relating to the use of spies of this sort, for example al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, ii, 157-63, tr. 253-8 (al-Muʿtaḍid having his vizier spied on), Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī, 59 (ʿAḍud al-Dawla asking schoolmasters to seek information from the children about their fathers' activities, and to pass it on to the *ṣāḥib al-barīd*). For the spies in the Buwayhid period, sent out to search for fortunes to be confiscated, known as *suʿāt*, calumniators, and *ghammāzūn*, informers, see Miskawayh, ii, 308 (cf. ii, 83), Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, in *Eclipse*, iii, 438.

Politico-military espionage was used by the Prophet who had his *djawāsīs* and *ʿuyūn* against the polytheists and Abū Sufyān. There are many instances of the use of spies in war, particularly in civil wars and rebellions: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 585, 904, 947, 949 (Khāridjī affairs), ii, 1248 (Ḳutayba's conquests in central Asia); ii, 1588, 1966 (ʿAbbāsid movement); iii, 284 (affair of the ʿAlid Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh); iii, 1174 ff. (war with Bābek: al-Afshīn wins over Bābek's spies). For the Arabo-Byzantine wars, see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 434; viii, 75 ff.; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 485 etc. We know that in Constantinople St. Basil the Younger was mistaken for an Arab spy (*BÉt.Or.*, xiii, 55); cf. the legend of al-Baṭṭāl, a spy of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The Mongols used spies disguised as *faḳīrs*, ascetics and holy men (al-Mufaḍḍal, *Hist. des sult. mamelouks*, ed. Blochet, 343, 355).

Just as military leaders are recommended to send spies among the enemy (R. Levy, *op. cit.*, 219; Ibn Djamāʿa, *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām*, in *Islamica*, vi, 402), so they are advised to exclude from their forces all those who might act as spies for the enemy (al-Māwardī, tr. 74), and the *ṣāḥib al-barīd* must watch both land and sea routes by which enemy agents might enter (al-ʿAbbāsī, *Āthār al-uwal*, 100). One of the reasons why it is recommended that non-Muslim secretaries be not employed is that they might act as spies for the Infidels (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 61). Precautions against espionage were not otiose, for there are instances of correspondence with the enemy (Theophanes, under the year 6248: the Patriarch of Antioch writing to the Byzantines with information about the Arabs; al-Balādhurī, 192, ed. Cairo, 201: an amīr executed for having corresponded with the Greeks).

In al-Ḳalḳashandī (i, 123 ff., *Fī amr al-ʿuyūn wa 'l-djawāsīs*), we find a statement of the conditions which a good spy has to fulfil: absolute sincerity, intelligence and sagacity, cunning, experience of travel and knowledge of the countries to which he is sent, the ability to endure torture if caught in order to avoid betrayal of what he knows. The author also indicates the rules of conduct of the *ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshāʾ* (upon whom they were dependent in the time of the Mamlūks) with regard to spies: to show them sincere affection and not let them feel any suspicion on his part, to pay them liberally both before and, what is more important, after their mission, to provide for their families' needs, not to hold a grudge against them in the event of failure; spies must never know each other, or be known by the army; there must be no intermediary between them and the *ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshāʾ*, etc. This long passage ends with a warning against enemy agents and stresses the importance of winning them over to one's own cause. See also the less detailed statement by al-ʿAbbāsī, *loc. cit.*

There is also some discussion of *djawāsīs* and *ʿuyūn* in works of jurisprudence. First of all, in the rules relating to *dhimmīs*, which include a clause forbidding them to communicate to the enemy any secrets relating to poorly defended points of Muslim territory, or to guide or give shelter to their agents (see, for example, Abū Yūsuf, tr. Fagnan, 305; al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, 295; Abū Shudjāʿ, *Taḳrīb*, tr. Van den Berg, 624; al-Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf*, 239). Incidentally this clause occurs in the first treaties drawn up between Muslims and Christians (Ibn ʿAsākir, i, 149, l. 8, 178, l. 9. See also the typical treaty from the *Kitāb al-umm* of al-Shāfiʿi in Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, chap. I and A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-Musulmans en pays d'Islam*, 77).

In the *Kitāb al-ikhtilāf* of al-Ṭabarī (58-9, cf. 24) or in *al-Mīzān al-kubrā* of al-Shaʿrānī (ed. 1291, ii, 233 ff. and tr. Perron, 1898, 198 ff.), we find a summary of the jurists' views as to how spies working for the enemy should be treated, on which subject there is a considerable divergence of opinion. In the event of a spy being a *dhimmī*, according to al-Awzāʿī he is thus breaking the contract which binds him to the Muslims and he can be put to death; Abū Yūsuf, tr. 294, takes the same line. But al-Shāfiʿi believes that he is only subject to an exemplary punishment since there is no breach of contract. Abū Ḥanīfa also maintains that there is no breach of contract and the *dhimmī* is only liable to corporal punishment and imprisonment. According to the Mālikīs (Ibn al-Ḳāsim), there is a breach of contract and the *dhimmī* can be put to death (al-Khalīl, tr. Guidi, i, 418). The Ḥanbalīs (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Ḳudāma's commentary on *al-Muḳniʿ* in *al-Rawḍ al-murbiʿ* of al-Manṣūr al-Bahūtī, ii, 71) consider that there is a breach of contract: the criterion is the harm caused to the Muslims (for the whole question cf. Fattal, *op. cit.*, 81 ff.).

When the spy is a foreigner who has entered Muslim territory without a safe-conduct he is put to death, and if he came with a safe-conduct without commercial objectives he is simply expelled; if travelling for purposes of commerce, he is sentenced to corporal punishment and is expelled (Abū Ḥanīfa; cf. also al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-umm*, iv, 167). According to the Mālikīs, (Khalīl, i, 392), it is permitted to kill enemy spies even though they have come armed with a safe-conduct, and Abū Yūsuf (tr. 294) also recommends having them beheaded. If the spy is a Muslim guilty of corresponding with the Greeks and passing them information about the Muslims, according to al-Awzāʿī he is liable to corporal punishment, banishment and prison, unless he shows repentence; the same is true of Abū Ḥanīfa (cf. also Abū Yūsuf, tr. 294). In al-Shāfiʿī's view, since the action is not a characteristic act of *kufr*, punishment is therefore not inevitable and it rests with the *imām* to decide. Mālik also states that the case is left to the free

decision of the *imām* (al-Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf*, 172). It is probable that, in practice, and according to circumstances, greater severity was shown.

Bibliography: in the article. See also ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, *Risāla fī naṣīḥat walī ʿahd Marwān b. Muḥammad*, in *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, ed. Kurd ʿAlī, 153. (M. Canard)

DJĀṬ, the central Indo-Aryan (Hindī and Urdū) form corresponding to the north-west Indo-Aryan (Pandjābī, Lahndā) Djaṭṭ, a tribe of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent found particularly in the Pandjāb, Sind, Rādjāsthān and western Uttar Pradēsh. The name is of post-Sanskritic Indian origin (Middle Indo-Aryan **djaṭṭa*), and the form with short vowel is employed by the Persian translator of the *Čač-nāma* (compiled 613/1216), the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Sind* (*Taʾrīkh-i Maʿṣūmī*) and Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*] in his Persian letters. For the Arabicized form *Zuṭṭ* [*q.v.*] see *TA* and Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Patanī, *Madjmaʿ biḥār al-anwār*, Kānpur 1283, ii, s.v. *Zuṭṭī*.

Little scientific or systematic study has been undertaken so far to determine the ethnological and anthropological strains in the Djāṭs, tall, well-built, sturdy with a dark complexion. It may be presumed that they are racially Aryans, although some writers have alluded to their Scytho-Aryan origin and to the subsequent fusion of various local tribes into the main body (cf. Pradhan, 15). In the undivided Pandjāb the Djāṭs in the districts west of the Ravī were mostly Muslims, those in the centre mostly Sikhs and those in the south-east mostly Hindūs. The non-Muslim Djāṭs of the present Pakistan regions have now all migrated to India. In the northern and western districts of Uttar Pradēsh (India) they constitute an important element of the population, and played a significant rôle in bringing about the downfall of the Mughal empire, which was unable to withstand, in the days of its decadence, their lawlessness and predatory raids on the seat of the government itself. Mostly agricultural by profession, they include Hindūs and Muslims, while many Djāṭs in the Indian Pandjāb profess Sikhism. The Hindū and Sikh Djāṭs may still interdine (and intermarry?); Muslim Djāṭs in many cases retain the old tribal and clan (*khap*) names, and although they may associate with Hindū and Sikh Djāṭs in some social and political activities at the village level in India, their Pakistan cognates have largely lost this connexion.

The Indian Hindū Djāṭs practised polygamy until the passing of the Hindū Marriage Act (1955), and a fraternal polyandry was at one time common. Female infanticide was fairly common until the end of the 19th century. Widow marriage and the levirate are still permitted. The widespread and indiscriminate exogamous marriages and liaisons reported by earlier writers seem no longer to be permitted.

The Djāṭs are proverbially stupid, awkward, and simple in money-matters, caring more for their buffaloes and sugarcane than for their fellow humans, although they are courageous and make good soldiers. On the Djāṭs in the Muslim countries of the Middle East see Zuṭṭ.

In India they fought against the Arab commander, Budayl b. Ṭahfa al-Badjalī, during his attack on the sea-port of Daybul [*q.v.*], some years prior to the invasion of Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, and killed him, and again encountered the forces of Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim when he marched upon Daybul in 94/712. A very large number of them was captured by the Muslims, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim sent ship-loads of them to al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*]. Thereafter they seem to have taken to a settled and peaceful life both in Sind and abroad, as they figure in no further events until the times of Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*] who had to fight a naval engagement with them on the Indus, where they troubled the victorious Sultan by attacking his rear and several times looting the baggage (see Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. M. Nazim, Berlin 1928, 87-9). The Djāṭs, thereafter, suffered a long eclipse until the reign of the Mughal emperor Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*], when in 1047/1637 they broke out into a revolt and killed the *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*] of Mathurā, Murshid Ḳulī Khān. During the reign of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], taking advantage of his preoccupation with the Deccan wars, the Djāṭs of northern India, under their leaders Rādjā Rām and Rām Čehrā, terrorized the population and even attempted to despoil the tomb of the emperor Akbar at Sikandra. They were, however, met with stout opposition from the local commandant, Mīr Abu 'l-Faḍl (Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, v, 696-7). In 1097/1686 Awrangzīb, in a bid to crush them, deputed his general Khān-i Djahān Kokaltāsh, who was, however, defeated by the Djāṭs in several engagements; this compelled the emperor to change the command, and entrust it to his grandson, Bīdār Bakht b. Muḥammad Aʿẓam. After the death of Awrangzīb, when the Mughal empire had begun to disintegrate, the Djāṭs of Bharatpūr [*q.v.*] and the surrounding territory, under their leader Sūradj Mall, terrorized the entire country lying between Agra and Dihlī. The atrocities perpetrated by them on the ill-starred inhabitants of Dihlī have been vividly described by Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī and his son Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī [*qq.v.*] in their letters. The depredations of the Djāts provoked Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, when he attacked India, to say "Move into the territories of the accursed Jat, and in every town and district held by him slay and plunder .... Up to Agra leave not a single place standing". (cf. *Indian Antiquary*, ... 58-9 and J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal empire*, Calcutta 1950, ii, 61, 85). In 1171/1757, during his fourth invasion of India, Abdālī marched against them but could not subdue them completely, and the Djāṭ chieftain refused to own allegiance to the Durrānī chief. The terrible defeat of the Marāṭhas at his hands in 1175/1761 at the third Battle of Pānīpat practically broke the back of the Djāṭs. Almost at the same time, a petty Djāṭ chieftain of the Pandjāb, Ālā Singh, received a number of villages from the retiring Shāh as a grant, in return for military services rendered. Later these villages formed the nucleus of the former Indian princely state of Paṭiālā. Early in the 13th/18th century Randjit Singh Djāṭ succeeded in establishing a small and shortlived Sikh kingdom in the Pandjāb. Elsewhere the Djāṭs kept quiet till the Mutiny of 1857 when, taking advantage of the general chaos at Dihlī, they indulged in loot and massacre and became a terror to the neighbouring population and the refugees. The subsequent British occupation of India subdued them. During the disturbances of 1947 they were again active in and around Alwār and Bharatpur [*qq.v.*], taking a leading part in the loot and massacre that followed the partition of India. They are still politically active in the Indian Pandjāb and Uttar Pradēsh. For their political organization, see Pradhan (in Bibliography).

In India some Djāṭs appear to have embraced Islam during or soon after the Muslim conquest of Sind; in the Pandjāb most of the Djāṭ tribes were

converted either by Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Bukhārī or by Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-Shakar [*qq.v.*] of Pak-pattan (see *Gazetteers* of *Multan district* and *Bahawalpore*); many further conversions are reported from the time of Awrangzīb.

Contrary to the popular belief that the Djāṭs are deplorably lacking in common sense and are illiterate and uncultured, they have produced a number of people who have made a name for themselves in the field of learning. A Djāṭ (Zuṭṭ) physician, who was apparently well-versed in witch-craft also, is said to have been called in to treat ʿĀʾisha, when she fell seriously ill. (Cf. al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-Mufrad*, Cairo 1349 A.H., 45, Urdū tr. *Kitāb-i Zindagī* by ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Hāshimī, Karachi 1960, 84, where the translator, in a note, characterizes this tradition as *munkar*). Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] was also of Zuṭṭ stock, his grandfather being known as Zūṭī, apparently a corruption of Zuṭṭī. (Cf. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 324-5). Imām al-Awzāʿī [*q.v.*] was of Sindhī origin and his forefathers might have belonged to those Djāṭs who fell into the hands of Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim and were sent as prisoners of war to ʿIrāḳ (cf. Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 61). The Indian Muslim writer and biographer of the Prophet, Shiblī Nuʿmānī [*q.v.*] was also of Djāṭ (Rāwat) origin, a fact reflected in his self-adopted *nisba* Nuʿmānī, pertaining to Abū Ḥanīfa. A Pākistānī Djāṭ (Muḥammad Ẓafar Allāh Khān) till recently (1961) served as a judge of the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

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For their tribal organization, much general information, and full bibliography, see M. C. Pradhan, *Socio-political organization of the Jats of Meerut District*, Ph. D. thesis, London November 1961. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

DJĀWA [see DJĀBA, DJĀWI, INDONESIA, JAVA].

AL-**DJAWĀD** AL-**IṢFAHĀNĪ**, ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ (he also had the honorific name of DJĀMAL AL-DĪN), vizier of the Zangids; he had been carefully educated by his father, and at a very early age was given an official appointment in the *dīwān al-ʿarḍ* of the Saldjūḳid sultan Maḥmūd. Subsequently he became one of the most intimate friends of Zangī, who made him governor of Naṣībīn and al-Raḳḳa and entrusted him with general supervision of the whole empire. After Zangī's assassination he very nearly shared his master's fate, but succeeded in leading the troops to Mosul. Zangī's son, Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, then confirmed his position. Meanwhile, Djamal al-Dīn was so greatly renowned for his charity that he was given the name al-Djawād "the noble". He particularly deserved the Muslims' gratitude for the many useful improvements he made at his own expense in the two holy cities of Medina and Mecca. However, in 558/1163 he was imprisoned in Mosul by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd who had in the meanwhile succeeded his brother, and he died in prison during the course of the following year. His body was taken, first to Mecca where it was carried round all the holy places, then to Medina where it was buried. Ḥayṣa-Bayṣa and ʿImād al-Dīn were among his panegyrists.

Bibliography: see especially Ibn al-Athīr, *Atabeks*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, ii, 147 and 226 ff., and Ibn Khallikān, no. 714, de Slane, iii, 295; of secondary importance, Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 286, 307, 356, 361, with extracts from Ibn al-Azraḳ published in notes ibid.; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, 209 ff. and in Abū Shāma, i, 134; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, x, 209; Usāma b. Munḳidh, in H. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Usāma*, 298; Ibn Djubayr, ed. De Goeje, 124; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 202 ff. (ED.)

DJAWĀD PASHA, AḤMAD (T. Ahmed Cevad Paşa), 1851-1900, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born in Syria, the son of the *mīralāy* Muṣṭafā ʿĀṣīm (whose family originated from Afyonkarahisar), he was educated at the Military College and completed the Staff College course in 1871. He served in the Russo-Turkish war as A.D.C. to the Commander-in-Chief Süleymān Pasha and as chief of staff of Nadjīb Pasha's division. Rapidly promoted, he was appointed successively ambassador to Montenegro, with the rank of *mīrliwā* (1301/1884), chief of staff to the governor and military commander of Crete, Shākir Pasha, with the rank of *ferīḳ* (1306/1889), and soon afterwards vice-governor of Crete and extraordinary commissioner. His services in Crete having commended him to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, he was appointed Grand Vizier on 29 Muḥarram 1309/20 February 1891 and held office for over three years.

During this period, when the Ottoman Empire was disturbed particularly by the Armenian question, Djawād Pasha tried to act justly, but he lost the favour of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who was dissatisfied with his conduct of affairs. In memorials addressed to the Palace Djawād Pasha attributed the various revolts in different parts of the Empire to the ineffectiveness of the system of government, and proposed that the influence of the Palace in the government should be reduced and the authority of the Bāb-i ʿĀlī increased: these recommendations led to his dismissal on 9 June 1895. After a period in disgrace, he was again appointed military commander of Crete (14 July 1897) and soon after, when he was already a sick man, commander of the Fifth Army in Syria. His health worsened in Syria and he was recalled to Istanbul, where he died shortly afterwards (14 Rabīʿ II 1318/11 August 1900).

Djawād Pasha, who had from his early years devoted himself to study, was a man of learning, and knew Arabic, Persian, French, Italian and Greek. Among his works are: *Maʿlūmāt-i kāfiye fī memālik-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1289 (a textbook for military *iʿdādī* schools); *Taʾrīkh-i ʿaskerī-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1297, = *État militaire ottoman* ..., 1882, (on the history of the Janissaries); *Riyāḍiyyeniñ mebāḥith-i daḳīḳasī*; *Kimyānıñ ṣanāyiʿa taṭbīḳi*; *Semā*; *Telefon*.

He published a review entitled *Yādigār* and founded a rich library.

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DJAWĀLĪ, double plural of *d̲j̲ālī* (through the intermediate form *d̲j̲āliya* which is also found, particularly in old papyri), literally "émigrés", a term which, in administrative usage, very soon served to denote the *d̲j̲izya* [*q.v.*]. Ancient writers believed that the word had originally been applied to the poll-tax on the *d̲h̲immīs* who were émigrés (driven out) from Arabia; some modern writers have thought that it could have taken on its meaning, by extension, from a term used of the tax on the Jewish community in "Exile" *d̲j̲ālūt*: there is no trace of any such specific use. It would seem that, in order to understand the semantic development of the word, account should be taken of the distinction, going back to the Roman Empire, made between colonists attached to the soil, and consequently to an immutable fiscal community, and those men whom the efforts of the administration did not succeed in preventing from changing their place of residence and occupation, *inquilini*, φυγάδεις. Muslim fiscal practice distinguishes more and more sharply between, on the one hand, the tax due upon the land, which was immovable, from the community collectively responsible, irrespective of the actual whereabouts of each individual on the date of the assessment or payment, and, on the other, the tax due upon the person, which could only be paid by the individual in the place where he was. In the tax registers therefore an entry was made, among the theoretical inhabitants of each district, of the names of those who were "émigrés", together with their place of emigration, for the purpose of informing the authorities concerned. Since this procedure related more particularly to the *d̲j̲izya*, it might in consequence have led to the name *d̲j̲awālī* being given to this tax, meaning the individual tax paid also by the émigrés, or, to express it better, by all individuals irrespective of their place of residence. However, no text confirms the truth of this explanatory hypothesis.

Bibliography: see d̲j̲izya; more particularly Løkkegaard (index), and Fattal, 265. (Cl. Cahen)

al-**DJAWĀLĪḲĪ** or Ibn al-D̲j̲awālīḳī, Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb b. Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. al-K̲h̲aḍir, so named according to Brockelmann, I², 332 and S I, 492. Born in Bag̲h̲dād in 466/1073, he died there on 15 Muḥarram 539/19 July 1144. According to Brockelmann, he belonged to an ancient family, but the *nisba al-d̲j̲awālīḳī* "maker, seller of sacks", Persian *gowāl(e)* "sack", arabicized *d̲j̲uwāliḳ*, pl. *d̲j̲awāliḳu*, recorded in the *Muʿarrab* (48 end - 49), pl. *d̲j̲awālīḳu* (Sībawayhi, ii (Paris), 205, allows us to suppose a humble origin.

He was the second successor of his master al-Tibrīzī in the chair of philology at the Niẓāmiyya. A zealous Sunnī (Ḥanbalī, according to *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt al-d̲h̲ahab*, iv, 127 and al-Tanūk̲h̲ī, in *RAAD*, xiv, 164), he was appointed in place of ʿAlī b. Abī Zayd (d. 516/1122), a too notorious S̲h̲īʿī who was compelled to resign.

The man was a conscientious teacher, prudent in his answers to questions and with a much admired calligraphy. His works deservedly take their place along with those of al-Tibrīzī in raising the cultural level in the Arabic language from the depths to which it had fallen in the Sald̲j̲ūḳid period: a) the *K. al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-ʿad̲j̲amī ʿala ḥurūf al-muʿd̲j̲am*, to preserve the *faṣīḥ* language by collecting together words of foreign origin and recording them as such. This explanatory lexicon, which was highly thought of in its time, has proved to be very useful and made Ibn al-D̲j̲awālīḳī's reputation. In fact, as was said by one of his pupils (Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 475), "the s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ was a better lexicographer than grammarian". But it remains principally a creditable application of his predecessors' work: published by Ed. Sachau, from the Leiden MS, Leipzig 1867, x + 70 (notes) + 158 (Arabic text) + 23 (Index) pp. in 8°. W. Spitta filled the gaps from the two Cairo MSS (*ZDMG*, xxxiii, 208-24); an edition in Cairo (Dār al-kutub al-Miṣriyya), 1361 A. H. by Aḥmad Muḥ. S̲h̲ākir. Glosses originated by Ibn Barrī (d. 582/1186) occur in an Escurial MS (H. Derenbourg, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, ii, 772, 5). b) *K. al-Takmila fī mā yalḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*, the aim of this work on incorrect expressions is evident: published by H. Derenbourg, *Morgenländ. Forsch.* (Festschrift Fleischer), Leipzig 1875, 107-66 (from a Paris MS, entitled: *K. K̲h̲aṭaʾ al-ʿawāmm*), published again in Damascus by ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūk̲h̲ī (*RAAD*, xiv, 1936, 163-226) from the Ẓāhiriyya MS (with glosses by Ibn Barrī), under the title *Takmilat iṣlāḥ mā tag̲h̲liṭ fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*, This complements the works of this sort, apart from the *Durrat al-g̲h̲awwāṣ* by al-Ḥarīrī (al-Tanūk̲h̲ī, *ibid.*, 167-168). c) The *S̲h̲arḥ* of the *Adab al-kātib* by Ibn Ḳutayba, a guide for the practice of the pure Arabic language, in fact an average work; printed, Cairo, Maktabat al-Ḳudsī, 1350 A.H.

In manuscript (Köpr. 1501, Mesh. xi, 16, 50), the *K. al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-naḥw*. Ibn al-Anbārī (*Nuzha*, 474) attributes to him a *K. al-ʿArūḍ* written for the caliph al-Muktafī. Brockelmann lists as his work a *S̲h̲arḥ Maḳṣūrat Ibn Durayd* (S I, 492) and al-Tanūk̲h̲ī (*loc. cit.* 166) a *K. G̲h̲alaṭ al-ḍuʿafāʾ min al-fuḳahāʾ*. The *K. Asmāʾ k̲h̲ayl al-ʿarab wa-fursānihā* is to be deleted from his works.

Bibliography: J. Fück, *ʿArabīya*, Paris 1955, 179; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, 473-8; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 205-7; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, iv, 424-6 (no. 722); Suyūṭī, *Bug̲h̲ya*, 401; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt al-D̲h̲ahab*, iv, 127; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāʾ al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāʾ al-nuḥāt*, iii, 335-7, see 335 note for other references. (H. Fleisch)

DJAWĀN, Mirzā Kāẓim ʿAlī, one of the pioneers of Urdū prose literature and a *muns̲h̲ī* at Fort William College (Calcutta), originally a resident of Dihlī, migrated to Lucknow after the break-up of the cultural and social life of the Imperial capital following the invasion of Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Abdālī in 1174/1760, and was living in Lucknow in 1196/1782 when Ibrāhīm K̲h̲ān K̲h̲alīl was busy compiling his *tad̲h̲kira* (see *Gulzār-i Ibrāhīm*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1352/1934, 93). A writer of simple, chaste and unornamented Urdū prose and a scholar of Persian and Arabic (he revised the Urdū translation of the Ḳurʾān, undertaken partially by Amānat Allāh and others), he was also conversant with Brad̲j̲-bhās̲h̲ā. He joined Fort William College on its establishment in 1800 as a teacher and settled permanently in Calcutta. He was alive in 1815 when he revised, in part, the second edition of Ḥafīẓ al-Dīn's *K̲h̲irad Afrūz*, an Urdū translation of Abu 'l-Faḍl's *ʿIyār-i Dānis̲h̲*.

In 1216/1801 he translated from a Bradj-bhāshā version Kālidāsa's Sanskrit drama *Shakuntalā* into Urdū at the instance of Dr. Gilchrist, head of the Hindustānī Department of Fort William College and one of the early patrons of Urdū literature (ed. Calcutta 1804, London 1826, Bombay 1848 and Lucknow 1875). His second literary achievement is the *bārah-māsa Dastūr-i Hind*, a long poem in Urdū, arranged according to the Hindū calendar months, describing in detail the Hindū and Muslim festivals falling in those months, composed 1802 and published at Calcutta 1812. He also attempted a translation of the *Ta'rīkh-i Firishta* comprising the chapters on the Bahmanīs [*q.v.*], and collaborated in the preparation of an anthology of the poems of Walī, Mīr, Sawdā and Sōz [*qq.v.*]. He also helped Munshī Lallūdjī Lāl, his colleague at Fort William College, in the translation of the *Siṃhāsana Dvātriṃśika*, a collection of tales of Vikramāditya, the rādjā of Udjdjayn, from the Bradj-bhāshā version (*Singhāsan Battīsī*) made by Sundar, a *kavi-rāy* of Shāhdjahān's court. He died some time after 1815.

Bibliography: Sayyid Muhammad, *Arbāb-i Nathr-i Urdū*[3], Lahore 1950, 196-207; Muḥammad Yaḥyā Tanhā, *Siyar al-Muṣannifīn*, Dihlī 1924, 119-20; Rām Bābū Saksēna, *A history of Urdu literature*[2], Allahabad 1940, 248; T. Grahame Bailey, *A history of Urdu literature*, Calcutta 1932, 82; Bēni Narāyan Djahān, *Dīwān-i Djahān* (a *tadhkira* of Urdū poets compiled in 1227/1812); *EI*[1], s.v. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

DJAWĀN MARDI [see futuwwa].

DJAWĀNRŪD (local Kurdish djwānrō), a district of Persian Kurdistān lying to the west of Mt. Shāhō, between Avroman (Hawermān [*q.v.*]) in the north, Shahrizūr in the west, and Zuhāb and Rawānsar in the south and east. The country is generally mountainous and thickly wooded. The valleys are well watered and very fertile, being in effect the granary of the Avroman area.

There is no river now known by this name, but Minorsky derives it from **Djāwān-rūd*, influenced by Persian *djawān* 'young'. A Kurdish tribe Djāwānī, listed by Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 253; *Tanbīh*, 88), appears to be the same as the Djāf [*q.v.*]. Those sections of the Djāf still living in Persia are known collectively as Djāf-i Djawānrūd. The Kurd-ī Djwānrō proper occupy villages as far north as the river Sīrwān, where this becomes the frontier of ʿIrāḳ, and thus surround the Hawrāmī villages of Pāwa.

There have been a number of poets of Djawānrūd, the most famous being Mawlawī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: V. Minorsky, *The Gūrān*, in *BSOAS*, xi, 81; C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London 1957, 141, 189, 198; ʿAlī Razmārā, *Djughrāfiyā-yi niẓāmī-yi Īrān, Kurdistān*, [Tehran] 1941; Muḥammad Mardūkh Kurdistānī, *Kitāb ta'rīkh-i Mardūkh*, 2 vols., Tehran n.d.; B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, Paris 1956, 36, 55 n. 1, 204; M. Amīn Zakī, *Khulāṣat ta'rīkh al-Kurd wa-Kurdistān*, Ar. tr. Cairo 1936, 362-3. (Ed.)

al-DJAWBARĪ [see supplement].

DJAWDHAR, a eunuch—as is indicated by the epithet *ustādh* generally appended to his name—and slave who played an important part under the first Fāṭimid caliphs. Even in the time of the last Aghlabid he was already working in his service and, while still young, was marked out by al-Mahdī when he came to al-Raḳḳāda. By his devotion he won the favour of the caliph and his son al-Ḳā'im. During the latter's reign he became director of the Treasury and Textile Stores, but in addition was the intermediary (*safīr*) of the caliph, that is to say in charge of relations between him and the various functionaries and officers. In this capacity he was chosen as the depository of important secrets, for example al-Ḳā'im's choice of al-Manṣūr as his heir. In the time of al-Manṣūr, who was much preoccupied with the struggle against Abū Yazīd, very real power had been delegated to Djawdhar. He was given his freedom, directed the *ṭirāz* workshops and had his name marked on officially woven fabrics. Moreover he was responsible for the upkeep of the treasure, in particular the caliph's books, and for watching over the inhabitants of the palace, especially the caliph's uncles and brothers, and he was the sovereign's confidential adviser. Under al-Muʿizz who made him move from al-Mahdiyya to the new capital al-Manṣūriyya he exercised still greater responsibilities, dealing with the receipt and transmission of letters and requests addressed to the caliph, and with the transmission of the sovereign's replies and decisions. But he did more than merely transmit letters; sometimes he not only made for the caliph a résumé of incoming letters and the problems they raised, but the sovereign also made him answer them himself, merely indicating what general lines he should take in his reply.

Djawdhar's boundless devotion inspired such confidence in the caliph that he became a sort of prime minister. Holding the secret of the nomination of the heir to the throne, flattered by members of the great families from whom the governors were selected, and apparently even figuring in the Ismāʿīlī hierarchy, he ranked third in the State, coming after the heir apparent. He possessed great wealth, ships with which he imported wood from Sicily (perhaps he owed his skill in maritime commerce to his slave ancestry?), and he was in a position to make gifts of wood and money to the caliph.

Djawdhar left for Egypt at the same time as al-Muʿizz, and died on the road near al-Barḳa, still affectionately regarded by the caliph who held him in his arms shortly before he died.

Certain information about this person whom historians have ignored is to be found in his *Life* (*Sīra*), compiled by his private secretary al-Manṣūr, who was probably a slave like himself, in the time of al-ʿAzīz. This work contains biographical sections, but it is also primarily a collection of documents relating to the various affairs in which Djawdhar was involved, and includes sermons, letters and drafts made by the caliphs, and from this point of view it is very important historically. It was published in Cairo in 1954.

Bibliography: See M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. ʿAbd al-Hādī Shaʿīra, *Sīrat al-ustādh Djawdhar*, Cairo 1954 (Silsilat makhṭūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn, 11), with a detailed introduction, and the French translation with introduction and notes by M. Canard, *Vie de l'ustādh Jaudhar*, Public. de l'Inst. d'Études Orientales de la Fac. des Lettres d'Alger, IIe série, tome xx, Algiers 1958. See also Ivanow, *Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, 263 and index, and M. Kāmil Husayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyya*, 29, 114-6, 170, 309. (M. Canard)

DJAWF, a topographical term denoting a depressed plain, is similar in meaning to and sometimes replaced by *djaww*, as in Djawf or Djaww al-Yamāma (al-Bakrī, II, 405) and Djawf or Djaww Tu'ām. The name *djawf* is applied to many locations: chiefly Djawf al-Sirḥān and Djawf Ibn Nāṣir (also known as Djawf without the definite article (al-

Bakrī), Djawf al-Yaman, al-Djawf, and the two Djawfs—Djawf Hamdān and Djawf Murād of the lexicographers). Djawf Ibn Nāṣir of north-west al-Yaman is a broad plain, roughly trapeziform, bounded on the north by Djabals al-Lawdh, Baraṭ, and Shaʿaf; on the west by Djabals Madhāb, Khārid Khabash, and al-ʿIshsh; on the south by Djabal Yām; and on the east by the sands of Ramlat Dahm of the south-western Rubʿ al-Khālī. Djawf Ibn Nāṣir, which lies north-west of Maʾrib [*q.v.*], was the centre of the Minaean Dynasty and abounds with archaeological sites (called locally Kharib, the plural of Khariba) which were first described by Hamdānī and later by Halévy, Ḥabshūsh, Glaser, Philby, Fakhry, Tawfīḳ, and von Wissman, and which include Maʿīn, al-Ḥazm, Barāḳish, Kamnā (Kumnā in the local dialect), al-Sawdā, and al-Bayḍā. Among the *wādī*s originating in the mountains to the west and flowing into Wādī al-Djawf and thence to the sands in the east, are Wādī al-ʿUla, Wādī al-Khārid, and Wādī Madhāb. Two canals of ancient construction, Bāhī al-Khārid (which parallels Wādī al-Khārid) and Bāhī al-Sāḳiya, are still in use to irrigate the agricultural lands of al-Ḥazm and al-Ghayl respectively, while al-Maṭimma is irrigated by the seasonal waters of Wādī Madhāb. Al-Ḥazm, the chief village of Djawf Ibn Nāṣir, is the *markaz* of the *nāḥiya* of al-Djawf and seat of the *ʿāmil*, who reports to the governor of the province in Ṣanʿāʾ. Djawf Ibn Nāṣir produces wheat, barley, grain sorghums, sesame seeds and oil, cotton, fruit, camels and sheep for export. It is the *dīra* of Dahm, a tribe tracing its ancestry to Nāṣir (whence Djawf Ibn Nāṣir) through Hamdān [*q.v.*]. Dahm's warlike reputation, which was noted by Niebuhr in 1763, has survived to the present, and raids were carried out by Dahm until the late 1940's (Thesiger). Hamdānī speaks of the bellicosity of the tribes of al-Djawf and mentions two opposing groups, Hamdān and Madhḥidj, whence Djawf Hamdān and Djawf Murād ibn Madhḥidj according to Schleifer) of the lexicographers.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, index s.v.; Yāḳūt, ii, 157 ff.; *BGA*, iii, 89; vi, 137, 249; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā istaʿdjam*, ii, 404-6, Cairo 1945; Ibn Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-akhbār*, iv, 167-9, Cairo 1953; M. Tawfīḳ, *Āthār Maʿīn fī Djawf al- Yaman*, Cairo 1951; A. Fakhry, *An archaeological journey to Yemen*, i, 139-52, Cairo 1952; N. Faris, *The antiquities of South Arabia*, Princeton 1938; S. Goitein (ed.) *Travels in Yemen*, Jerusalem 1941; N. Lambardi, *Divisioni amministrative del Yemen*, in *OM*, xxvii, no. 7-9; D. Müller and N. Rhodokanakis, *Eduard Glasers Reise nach Marib*, Vienna 1913; C. Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, Copenhagen 1773; H. St. J. Philby, *Sheba's Daughters*, London 1939; Thesiger, *Arabian sands*, London 1959; H. von Wissman and M. Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, Mainz 1952.

(M. Quint)

al-DJAWF, district and town in north central Saudi Arabia, near the southern terminus of Wādī al-Sirḥān. The district of al-Djawf (= "belly, hollow"), also known as al-Djuba, is a roughly triangular depression, with one base along the northern fringe of al-Nafud and its northern apex at al-Shuwayhiṭiyya. It is bounded on the west by Djāl al-Djūba al-Gharbī and on the east by Djāl al-Djūba al-Sharḳī. Al-Djawf, or al-Djūba, with an area of approximately 3,850 square kms., is separated from Nadjd by the sand desert of al-Nafūd. It is administered as a district under the Saudi Arabian Amirate of the Northern Frontiers. The area is relatively well watered, has many palm groves, and is considered to have agricultural potential. The two most important settlements of al-Djawf are the towns of Sakākā, now the administrative centre, and al-Djawf. Ḳāra, al-Ṭuwayr, and Djāwa are smaller villages. The total population of the district was roughly estimated as 25,000 in 1961.

The town of al-Djawf, or Djawf ʿĀmir (29° 48.5′ N., 39° 52.1′ E., elev. c. 650 m.), has historically been the centre of al-Djūba and has been identified with the Dumetha of Ptolemy. It was known to the early Arab geographers as Dūmat al-Djandal, [*q.v.*]. The name Djawf ʿĀmir (also Djawf Al ʿĀmir, Djawf Ibn ʿĀmir) is often used to differentiate the town from the southern Djawf, Djawf Ibn Nāṣir, south-east of Wādī Nadjrān.

Muḥammad b. Muʿayḳil added al-Djawf to the Wahhābī realm of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. Saʿūd in 1208/1794, when the people of the area surrendered to his combined forces from Nadjd. In c. 1853 the district was taken by Āl Rashīd of Haʾil who held it, in the face of internal rebellion and threats from the Turks, until 1909. In that year, Nūrī b. Shaʿlān, the Ruwala chief, took al-Djawf. There followed 13 years of struggle between the Ruwala and Shammar for mastery of the area, with the town changing hands several times. The *Ikhwān* levies of Ibn Saʿūd took al-Djawf in 1922 with the aid of local leaders who had adopted Wahhābī tenets. The area has since remained a part of the Saʿūdi state. Al-Djawf, now declining in importance because of the rise of the new administrative centre at Sakākā, has been a trading town of the Shammar, Ruwala, and Sharārāt. It is still known for its date market and crafts, while a planned (1961) road system and development scheme may make it an important agricultural centre.

Bibliography: ʿUthmān b. Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-madjd*, Cairo 1373, 110-11; Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*[3], Cairo 1956, 45, 67; J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, i, 123-40; Ibn Hishām, 668, 903, 991; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, Calcutta 1908-15, 935-3; A. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1927, 464-74, 520-3, 531-53 (a valuable historical discussion with many additional references); H. St. J. B. Philby, *Arabia*, London 1930; *Saudi Arabia*, London 1955; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 71, 713, 842; xiii, 343, 362, 377 ff., 389-95, 467; Yāḳūt, i, 825; ii, 157-8, 625-9; iii, 106, 277; iv, 12, 32, 76, 389, index; C. A. Nallino, *L'Arabia Saʿudiana*, Rome 1938, 68 ff., 87.

Maps: Series by the U. S. Geological Survey and Arabian American Oil Company under joint sponsorship of the Ministry of Finance and National Economy (Kingdom of Saudi Atabia) and the Department of State (U.S.A.). Jawf-Sakākah, Map I-201 B, scale 1 : 500,000 (1961).

(J. Mandaville)

DJAWF KUFRA is the chief oasis of the Kufra oasis complex in the Libyan Desert and is located about 575 miles SE of Benghazi. The 2200 (1950 estimate) inhabitants of Djawf raise dates, grapes, barley, and olives. Local industry is limited to handicrafts and olive pressing. In the mid-nineteenth century, the founder of the Sanūsī Order, al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī, established Zāwiyat al-Ustādh at Djawf at the request of the local tribe, Zwuyya (Ziadeh 49, cf. *EI*[1], iv, 1108 which gives the tribe's name as Zāwiya) and opened the Sahara and the central Sudan to Sanūsī penetration. Djawf

experienced a short period of prominence in 1895 when al-Sanūsī's son and successor, al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Mahdī, transferred the capital of the order to Zāwiyat al-Ustā<u>dh</u>. However, the capital was soon moved to the newly constructed Zāwiyat al-Tā<u>dj</u>, also in the Kufra Oasis, and finally in 1899 was moved to the Central Sudan.

Bibliography: A. Desio, "*Cufra*", *Enciclopedia italiana*, xii, 86-8, Milan 1931-40; E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1949; R. Forbes, *The secret of the Sahara*, New York 1921; J. Wright, *Wartime exploration with the Sudan Defence Force*, in *GJ*, cv, Nos. 3-4, 100-11; N. Ziadeh, *Sanūsīyah*, Leiden 1958. (M. QUINT)

DJAWHAR "substance" (the Arabic word is derived from Persian *gawhar*, Pahlawī *gōr*, which has already the meaning of substance, although both in Pahlawī and in Arabic, it can mean also jewel) is the common translation of οὐσία, one of the fundamental terms of Aristotelian philosophy. "Substance" in a general sense may be said to signify the real, that which exists in reality, *al-mawdjūd bi 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*. In opposition to Plato, for whom the particular transitory things of the visible world are but appearances and reality lies in a world beyond, the world of constant, eternal ideas, for Aristotle and his followers in Islam the visible world possesses reality and consists of individuals and in its most pregnant sense "substance" is the first and most important category of Aristotle's table of categories, that which signifies the concrete individual, τόδε τι, *al-mu<u>sh</u>ār ilayhi, al-<u>sh</u>a<u>kh</u>ṣ*. In this sense it may be said that all things in the visible world, all bodies, parts of bodies, plants and animals are substances (these individual substances are sometimes called first substances, πρῶται οὐσίαι, *djawāhir uwal* to distinguish them from the second substances, δεύτεραι οὐσίαι, *al-djawāhir al-<u>th</u>awānī*, species and genera). However, according to Aristotle and his school every concrete individual is composed of two factors, matter and form, and although mere matter, unendowed with form, cannot exist by itself, nor form—at least in the sublunar world—can exist without matter, both possess objective reality. Matter in its pregnant sense is prime matter, the underlying entity, substratum of the forms, and is by itself absolutely undetermined. Still, as it bears or carries the forms, the universal essences, it has at least some reality and therefore the name of substance cannot be denied to it. Besides, although it is mere potentiality, it is the principle of all becoming and therefore cannot have become itself, but is eternal. Form is the essence, τὸ τί, τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, *<u>dh</u>āt, māhiyya, ḥaḳīḳa*, the universal character of any particular and is the cause which differentiates this particular being from other particular beings of its genus through its species, for instance, every particular man is a man and his being a man, his essence, differentiates him from other living beings and is the cause—the formal cause according to Aristotle and his school—of his being a man. Although these essences, according to Aristotle, never exist by themselves, for only particular beings exist, he regards them as having a reality superior to that of the transitory beings, for they are causes—and a cause, according to him, is superior to its effect— and they are eternal and they merit therefore still more the name of substance than the particular things. But how can one regard these essences, non-existent by themselves, but eternal, as the formal causes of the transitory existents? It is here that the neoplatonizing Muslim philosophers go beyond Aristotle. According to them the fundamental and eternal source of these essences lies in the mind of God or in God's thinking them; it is God's thought which is the ultimate formal and final cause of all things. However, God's absolute Unity is not affected by his thought; in God's self-consciousness these essences are comprehended and in God, the thinker, the thinking and the object of thought are all one.

There is besides another point where the Muslim Aristotelians go beyond their master. It is one of the characteristics of Aristotle's system that reality is regarded as having degrees or, as he expresses it, that being is predicated analogically; first there is the sublunar world of transitory things, then beyond it is the heavenly eternal world of the incorruptible in which there is this mysterious substance, the active intellect, ὁ νοῦς ποιητικός, *al-ʿaḳl al-faʿʿāl*, ungenerated and immortal, the immaterial form which in combination with the passive reason activates the thoughts in human beings. Still higher are the intellects, pure immaterial forms or substances, which are the movers of the celestial sphere, and at the pinnacle is God, the most Real, substance in the truest sense. However, for Aristotle God is but the eternal mover of an eternal universe, he is not its creator, nor are the movers of the celestial spheres dependent on him in their nature or existence. But for the Muslim philosophers under the influence of the neoplatonic theory of emanation God is the eternal, constant creator of the world, co-existent and co-eternal with him. According to them the plurality of the world arises out of God's unity through the eternal and timeless emanation of a descencing chain of intermediaries, intellects and souls, immaterial substances moving the heavenly spheres and the last of these intellects is the active intellect, the *dator formarum*, *wāhib al-ṣuwar*, which according to Avicenna, when the matters are disposed to receive them, provides them with their forms. All these immaterial substances, essences or forms have a different degree of reality and their reality increases with their nearness to God, who is an existent, a substance, an intellect and a cause, these terms taken, however, in a superior sense to what they have in all other beings, for God's very essence consists in his existence which is necessary by itself and exclusively confined to him and God's substance is the only truly independent substance on which all other substances depend.

The whole theory is highly controversial and <u>Gh</u>azālī in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* has seen its fundamental weakness. If the plurality in the world derives from the intermediaries, there will be primary causes besides God, if from God himself, they will be useless; if God is the supreme, eternal and constant cause of the World's existence all changes in the world will derive from him; they cannot derive from a pre-existent mattter, since here is no such pre-existence and besides, matter not endowed with form does not exist. The philosophers, indeed, tried to combine two contradictory theories: the supernaturalistic theory of a divine, eternally acting cause for all existence and the naturalistic theory of an eternal and independent matter in which lie the potentialities of all becoming.

The theory of the A<u>sh</u>ʿarī theologians, on the contrary, is frankly supernaturalistic. For them *djawhar* means simply the underlying substratum of accidents; one may regard it as matter—not of matter in the Aristotelian sense of an entity possessing potentialities, but only as that which

bears or carries accidents—or even as body for the substratum consists of atoms which by their aggregation compose the body. The term, however, is somewhat ambiguous, since often in As̲h̲ʿarī terminology *d̲j̲awhar* means atom, although the full designation for atom is *al-d̲j̲awhar al-fard* or *al-d̲j̲awhar al-wāḥid*. The atoms out of which the world consists have no independent existence; they rest only on the power of God who, continually, in every time-atom, creates and recreates his atomic world. And since *d̲j̲awhar* has in theology a purely material meaning it is forbidden to apply the term to God.

One point, where the Muslim Aristotelians deviate from Aristotle, should be still mentioned. Although Aristotle calls the soul a substance, since it is the formal cause of the living organism, he does not regard it as having an existence separate from the body, that is independent of the body and surviving it. The Muslim philosophers regard the soul as a substance subsistent by itself, *d̲j̲awhar ḳāʾim binafsihi*, that is independent of the body, and they teach personal immortality. It is however somewhat difficult for them as Aristotelians to uphold this, since, according to Aristotle, matter is the *principium individuationis*—Avicenna gives this as an argument against the possibility of the pre-existence of the soul—perception and representation are localized in the body and all thinking, according to Aristotle, presupposes preliminary perception and representation and is activated by the active intellect which is one for all human beings. Their theories are therefore not always consistent or easily understood.

Bibliography: al-G̲h̲azāli, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (ed. Bouyges), Beirut 1927, where the philosophers' theories are exposed and critically examined; Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges), Beirut 1931.

(S. VAN DEN BERGH)

D̲J̲AWHAR (ii) [see SUPPLEMENT].

D̲J̲AWHAR ĀFTĀBAČĪ, the author of *Tad̲h̲kirat al-wāḳiʿāt*, valuable memoirs of the reign of Humāyūn [*q.v.*] and giving much useful information not available elsewhere, was for some years ewer-bearer (*āftābačī*) to Humāyūn and in this capacity came very close to the emperor. He enjoyed the honorific title of *mihtar* (cf. *Akbarnāma*, Bib. Ind., i, 346; the appellation *mihtar* was, however, common to all the *āftābačīs* in the service of the emperor), and was a trusted confidant of his master. Although he was neither a scholar not a writer of any high standard, history has, however, preserved D̲j̲awhar's name for the simple, unostentatious and truthful narration of events of the reign of Humāyūn and his deep loyalty to his master. In recognition of his services he was appointed in 962/1554-5 *muḥaṣṣil* (tax-collector) of the *pargana* of Haybatpur Bīnī and subsequently of the villages included in the *d̲j̲āgīr* of Tātār K̲h̲ān Lodī. It, however, appears that he enjoyed this office for a short while only, as the same year (cf. *Akbarnāma*, i, 346; tr. Beveridge, i, 627) he was appointed the *k̲h̲azīnadār* (treasurer) of the government of the *sarkārs* of the Pand̲j̲āb and of Multān. While in Haybatpur, dominated by the Baniyās (Hindū traders and bankers), D̲j̲awhar paid off the debts which the local Afg̲h̲āns owed to the Hindūs and secured the release of pawned Afg̲h̲ān women and children. This humanitarian act earned for him royal approbation resulting in his promotion as a provincial treasurer (*k̲h̲izānčī*; cf. *Tad̲h̲kifat al-wāḳiʿāt*, fol. 132, B.M. MS. Add. 16711). Although a personal servant of Humāyūn, he was entrusted with special State assignments on critical occasions and his counsels were given due weight (cf. *Tad̲h̲kirat al-wāḳiʿāt*, faṣl 32 *passim*). As with the meagre details of his life, nothing is known about the dates of his birth and death. He survived his imperial patron but passed into eclipse after Humāyūn's sudden death in 963/1556.

His claim to fame rests chiefly on his only work, the *Tad̲h̲kirat al-wāḳiʿāt*, whose value as a very useful source-book for the reign of Humāyūn has been fully recognized. The original Persian text is still in MS. although English and Urdū translations have since appeared; (C. Stewart, *The Tezkereh al-Vakiat* .... London 1832 Calcutta 1904; Muʿīn al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-wāḳiʿāt*, Karachi n.d.). At the request of D̲j̲awhar a recension in ornate prose was made by Ilāh-dād Fayḍī Sirhindī the author of the Persian lexicon *Madār al-Afāḍil* for presentation to Akbar (cf. Rieu, iii, 927a and Ethé 222).

Bibliography: *Tad̲h̲kirat al-wāḳiʿāt* (Urdū tr. Muʿīn al-Ḥaḳḳ), Karachi n.d., index s.v. D̲j̲awhar; Storey, i, 536-7; Rieu, i, 246; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* ...., v, 136-49.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

D̲J̲AWHAR AL-ṢIḲILLĪ, general and administrator, one of the founders of the Fāṭimid Empire in North Africa and Egypt.

His name was D̲j̲awhar b. ʿAbd Allāh, also D̲j̲ōhar together with the epithets of al-Ṣaḳlabī (the Slav), al-Ṣiḳillī (the Sicilian) or al-Rūmī (the Greek) and al-Kātib (the State Chancellor) or al-Ḳāʾid (the General). The first two epithets cast some light on his obscure origin, the other two denote the two highest posts he occupied. His birth date is unknown, but judging by the date of his death (20 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 381/28 April 991) we may guess that he was born sometime during the first decade of the 4th/10th century; he was in the prime of his activity between 340/950 and 366/975. From the parallel career of D̲j̲awd̲h̲ar, well known to us, thanks to his recently published biography, we may infer that D̲j̲awhar was a freedman of the Fāṭimid house, of Slav origin. (Leo Africanus, tr. Épaulard, 19, 503 = Esclavon; on this question see I. Hrbek, *Die Slaven im Dienste der Fāṭimiden*, in *ArO*, xxi (1953), 560-71). His father ʿAbd Allāh was most probably a slave, but D̲j̲awhar appears as a freedman from the very beginning.

The first time we hear of D̲j̲awhar he was a *g̲h̲ulām*, perhaps also the secretary of the third Fāṭimid Caliph al-Manṣūr. In 347/958 al-Muʿizz decided to put all the power he possessed in a military venture to dominate the whole of North Africa, and chose for the leadership of this important campaign his secretary D̲j̲awhar, giving him in this way the opportunity to prove that he was the most talented soldier the Fāṭimids ever had.

D̲j̲awhar's campaign in the Central and Far Mag̲h̲rib was perhaps the most resounding achieved by a Muslim army since that of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ some 284 years before, but in spite of the victories D̲j̲awhar gained, it was neither decisive nor of any lasting effect. This was due not to any fault of D̲j̲awhar, but to the difficulty of the terrain and to the greatly superior strength of the enemy. Near Ṭahart D̲j̲awhar had to measure arms with a large army of Zanātīs, supporters of the Umayyads, under Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad al-Yafrānī, governor of Ṭahart and Ifkan; according only to Ibn Abī Zarʿ, also of Ṭand̲j̲a (Tangier). He won the day and killed Yaʿlā (347/958). Instead of marching on Fez and the other Umayyad strongholds in the region, he chose to use his small forces to realize easier gains. He turned south-east, invaded

the small principality of Sidjilmāsa and put its prince Muḥammad b. al-Fatḥ b. Maymūn b. Midrār to flight. Some days later this last of the Midrāris fell into the hands of Djawhar who killed him mercilessly. He spent more than a year in this region waiting for a suitable opportunity to move northwards. In the last days of Shaʿbān 349/October 960 he headed towards Fez and laid siege to it. On 20 Ramaḍān 349/13 November 960 he stormed the city, thanks to the bravery of Zīrī b. Manād al-Ṣanhādjī who was under his command. Its Umayyad governor Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Djudhāmī was taken prisoner and died in prison. This great victory brought all the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā (except Ṭandja and Sabta) under Fāṭimid authority for a short time. Even the last of the Idrīsids, al-Ḥasān b. Djannūn, who contented himself with a small principality around the city of al-Baṣra under Umayyad vassalage, paid homage. To give al-Muʿizz a tangible proof of his victory he sent to him some live fish, taken from the Atlantic Ocean, in huge jars full of water. Some months later he returned victorious to al-Ḳayrawān with prisoners and rich booty.

These victories of Djawhar's opened the eyes of his master al-Muʿizz to his talents, and convinced him that with his aid he could realize the dearest Fāṭimid dream since the rise of their power: the conquest of Egypt.

Between 350/961 and 358/968-9 we have no information whatsoever about Djawhar. But in 358/968-9 he came to the fore once more as the general chosen by al-Muʿizz to lead the campaign in Egypt. Al-Muʿizz had such confidence in him that he is reported to have said: "By God, if this Djawhar were to go alone, he would conquer Egypt and we would be able to enter this land clad only in our simple clothes (*i.e.*, without armour or shield) without war and we could dwell in the ruined abodes of Ibn Ṭūlūn and build a city which would dominate the world" (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 378). As a sign of honour al-Muʿizz bestowed on Djawhar before his depature all his royal garments and apparel except his seal and underwear. He ordered all the governors on the route to Egypt to meet him dismounted and to kiss his hand. The governor of Barḳa [*q.v.*] Aflaḥ al-Nāshib offered to pay 100,000 dinars to be spared this humiliation to his dignity, but the Caliph refused. Djōdhar, the highest dignity after the Caliph, was ordered to address Djawhar as an equal brother.

Al-Muʿizz was not disappointed in his hopes. Within four months Djawhar achieved the conquest of Egypt. He left al-Ḳayrawān in Rabīʿ II 358/February 969 and by mid-Shaʿbān of the same year/1 July 969 he was already master of al-Fusṭāṭ after a very little fighting near al-Djīza on 11 Shaʿbān/30 June. He knew how to gain the sympathies of the Egyptians and inspire their confidence in the new régime through a long pompous proclamation read in public and through the nomination of Djaʿfar b. al-Furāt as *wazīr*. As a measure of precaution, however he did not dwell in Fusṭāṭ, but passed the first night after his victory in his camp to its north. The next day he laid the foundations of a new capital Cairo (al-Ḳāhira [*q.v.*]) which was destined to be the greatest of Muslim cities after Baghdād. A year later (24 Djumādā I 359/4 April 970) he founded the famous mosque of al-Azhar [*q.v.*].

Having established Fāṭimid rule in Egypt, Djawhar stayed as sole governor of Egypt for more than four years; al-Muʿizz entered Cairo only on 17 Muḥarram 364/7 October 974. A little later he dismissed Djawhar.

During these four years Djawhar showed noteworthy capacity and foresight as administrator. Besides the sympathies of the people, which he fully gained, he succeeded in putting order in the finances of the country which were in complete chaos during the last years of the Ikhshīdids. It is known that Egypt had yielded since the time of Muʿāwiya an annual revenue of about 4 million dinars when well administered. Djawhar raised 3,400,000 dinars during the first year of his administration, almost the largest revenue of Egypt in the Fāṭimid period. Some 85 years later, the able vizier al-Yāzūrī could raise only 800,000. Djawhar had more confidence in the Maghribīs who came with him than in Egyptians, and gave them almost all the important posts. He may have been following in this respect the instructions of al-Muʿizz.

Besides his work in the administration of the new province, Djawhar had to face the menacing peril of the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*], who in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 358/September 969 defeated and took prisoner at Damascus his lieutenant Djaʿfar b. Fallāh, who had been placed in change of the occupation of Palestine and Syria. During this conflict with the Ḳarmaṭians and their allies, Djawhar was able to annex al-Ḥidjāz to Fāṭimid rule. By 366/976 the *khuṭba* was read in their name in Mecca and Medina.

After 368/976 we hear no more of Djawhar till his death in 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 381/30 April 992. He is said have passed those idle years of his life between 368 and 381 in works of piety and welfare. His son al-Ḥusayn, commander-in-chief to the caliph al-Ḥākim, was killed as a result of intrigues in which he took part against the Caliph.

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(H. Monés)

AL-DJAWHARĪ, Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl (b. Naṣr?) b. Ḥammād, a celebrated Arabic lexicographer of Turkish origin, born in the town (or: in the province) of Fārāb [*q.v.*] (whence his *nisba* al-Fārābī), situated east of the Sir-Daryā. In later times, Fārāb was called Otrār or Oṭrār.

The date of his birth is unknown. For the year of his death most sources give either 393/1002-3 or 398/1007-8, while others mention 397/1006-7 or about 400/1009-10. The first date (or even earlier ones; see Rosenthal) is made doubtful by the statement of Yāḳūt that he had seen an autograph copy of al-Djawharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ* dated 396.

Al-Djawharī commenced his studies at home under his maternal uncle Abū Ibrāhīm Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī (Brockelmann I, 133; S I, 195 f.), the author of the *Dīwān al-adab*, an Arabic lexicon which greatly influenced al-Djawharī's own dictionary *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. In order to complete his education he went to Baghdād where he attended the lectures of Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī [*q.v.*] and Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (Brockelmann I, 116; S I, 175) and later travelled to the abodes of the Bedouin tribes of Muḍar and Rabīʿa (probably in Syria and ʿIrāḳ) and even to the Ḥidjāz and Nadjd (see, *e.g.*, *Ṣiḥāḥ*, s.v. *n kh s*). He thus followed the habit of earlier lexicographers who used to make linguistic investigations among the Arabs of the desert, and he seems to have been the last lexicographer of fame to maintain that tradition. After having spent a large part of his life on travel he returned to the east, stayed some time in Dāmaghān [*q.v.*] with the *Kātib* Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan (variant: al-Ḥusayn) b. ʿAlī and then settled in Nīsābūr, where he made a living by teaching and copying books, especially the Ḳurʾān, and also devoted himself to literary activity. His beautiful handwriting was so much admired that it was put on the same level as that of the celebrated Ibn Muḳla. He died in Nīsābūr either as the result of an accidental fall from the top of his house or of the old mosque, or else, in a fit of madness, while trying to fly with two wooden wings (or: with the two wings of a door) fastened to his body.

Besides some verses, part of which are preserved in a Berlin MS. (Ahlwardt 7589_2) or quoted by later authors (*e.g.*, al-Thaʿālibī and Yāḳūt), he wrote an introduction to syntax, *Muḳaddima fi 'l-naḥw*, and a treatise on metre, *ʿArūḍ al-waraḳa*, both of which appear to be lost. His distinction in the field of metrics, where he deviated in some respects from the system laid down by al-Khalīl [*q.v.*], is pointed out by Ibn Rashīḳ.

His fame rests on his dictionary *Tādj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿArabiyya*, commonly known as *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (*al-Ṣaḥāḥ* is also correct), which represents a milestone in the development of Arabic lexicography. For centuries it was the most widely used Arabic dictionary until, in more recent times, the *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī [*q.v.*] took its place. In addition to outspoken statements in the sources, the important standing of al-Djawharī's lexicon is attested to by the fact that, in the centuries following its appearance, it gave rise to a huge mass of lexicographical literature, part of which has been described and characterized by Goldziher. The *Ṣiḥāḥ* was abridged, rearranged, supplemented, commented upon, and translated into Turkish and Persian; its contents, together with those of other dictionaries, were merged into new lexicographical works; the verses and *ḥadīth*s quoted in it as *shawāhid* were assembled in special treatises; a versification of it was begun by Zayn al-Dīn al-Maghribī (Yāḳūt, ed. Margoliouth, vii, 292); and a considerable number of writings were devoted to criticism of its shortcomings. On the other hand, several authors made it a point to defend al-Djawharī from the attacks of his critics.

As the title suggests, the *Ṣiḥāḥ* was intended to contain only authentic lexicographical data, their authenticity, according to the notions of indigenous Arabic lexicography, being dependent upon their transmission through a continuous chain of reliable tradition (cf. Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, i, 58). Hence, the same degree of authority was attributed to the *Ṣiḥāḥ* in lexicography as to the two *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of Bukhārī and Muslim in the science of *ḥadīth*. In both cases, however, the formal principles adopted did not make for absolute correctness, and numerous errors were detected in the *Ṣiḥāḥ* although the work as a whole was held to be highly reliable.

In his short introduction, al-Djawharī claims that he arranged his subject matter according to an entirely new scheme. His innovations, however, are mainly a combination of various principles followed by his predecessors. The arrangement of the roots under the last radical, adopted, after the model of the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, by the best known of later lexicographers, had already been introduced by al-Djawharī's teacher and uncle, al-Fārābī, in the *Dīwān al-adab*. The use of the common order of the Arabic alphabet, in contrast to the phonetical arrangement of al-Khalīl which was followed by several of al-Djawharī's forerunners and successors, had also been in vogue before the *Ṣiḥāḥ*. As to the principle of authenticity, as understood by Arabic lexicographers, al-Djawharī's older contemporary, Ibn Fāris [*q.v.*], had set the example in his *Mudjmal*.

The use of the last radical as the primary basis for the arrangement of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* has been interpreted as being due to the author's intention to help poets find rhyme words. However, Sanskrit lexicography, which seems to have influenced Arabic lexicography in some respects, occasionally used the same principle, although Sanskrit poetry has no rhyme.

At al-Djawharī's time, independent lexicological research had already come to a close. So the *Ṣiḥāḥ* contains mainly an abstract from earlier lexicographical works, in the first place the *Dīwān al-Adab* (see Krenkow), while al-Djawharī's own contributions are minimal. Being replete with grammatical discussions, the *Ṣiḥāḥ* earned its author the reputation of being the outstanding expert on grammar among lexicographers. It is reported that al-Djawharī compiled his dictionary for the *Ustādh* Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (variant: Raḥmān) b. Muḥammad al-Bīshakī, with whom he became closely associated in Nīsābūr (cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Bīshak). In the circulation of the work an important part was taken by the author's pupil Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūs al-Dahhān al-Nīsābūrī, the Egyptian philologist Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Harawī and, later on, the well known calligrapher Yāḳūt al-Mawṣilī. Variant readings in different MSS of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* are frequently pointed out by later lexicographers.

According to a tradition which has never been doubted by Western scholars, al-Djawharī did not live to finish a fair copy of his work, reaching only the middle of the letter *Ḍād*, while the rest was completed from his rough draft by his pupil Ibrāhīm b. Sahl (variant: Ṣāliḥ) al-Warrāḳ. This fact, according to tradition, is held responsible for the numerous errors which later scholars detected in the *Ṣiḥāḥ*. The account, however, may have been a mere invention, probably designed to maintain al-Djawharī's reputation as an unfailing authority. Doubts with regard to its correctness were already voiced by Yāḳūt and, more outspokenly, by Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, since the existence of autograph copies of the complete work had come to their knowledge or

else since, according to some traditions, the entire lexicon had been handed down from al-Djawharī himself. In addition, errors were found not only in the latter part of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* but also in the first which, as agreed by all, had been edited by the author himself. A similar account, probably resulting from the same tendency, exists with regard to the authorship of al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*.

The *Ṣiḥāḥ* is available in a Persian lithographed edition (1270) and two Būlāḳ prints (1282 and 1292), while a critical edition is still awaited. Of a European edition, undertaken by E. Scheidius, only the first fascicle appeared (1776; 179 pp.; see Zenker, *Bibl. Or.* i, Leipzig 1846, 5). The Turkish version of Van Kulu [*q.v.*] was the first book issued from the Müteferriḳa press in Istanbul, in 1141/1729.

Bibliography: Abu'l-Fidāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, year 398; Brockelmann, I, 133 f.; S I, 196 f., 943 f.; S III, 1196; idem, *Ǧauharī u. d. Anordnung d. arab. Alphabets*, in *ZDMG*, xix (1915), 383 f.; M. Djawād, *Fawāʾid Lughawiyya*, in *Lughat al-ʿArab*, viii (1930), 48 ff.; Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, 227, 253 f.; Goldziher, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Sprachgelehrsamkeit b. d. Arabern II*, in *SBAk. Wien*, lxxii (1872), 587 ff.; Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes*, 78, 83, 119; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1071 ff.; idem, ed. Flügel, iv, 91 ff. and *passim* (see index, vii, 1184, no. 6859); Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, Cairo 1294, 418 ff.; Djamʿiyyat Iḥyāʾ Maʾāthir ʿUlamāʾ al-ʿArab, Cairo, 227 ff.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, year 393; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāh*, i, 194 ff.; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, Cairo 1934, i, 114; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, year 393; Krenkow, *The beginnings of Arabic lexicography*, in *Cent. Suppl. to the JRAS*, 1924, 269; Lane, Preface, xiv, xvi f.; Naṣr al-Hūrīnī, *Muḳaddima*, at the beginning of the edition of the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, Būlāḳ 1292; F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, 21; Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, 652, 654, 689; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 195; idem, *Muzhir*, Cairo, index; Tāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, i, 100 ff.; al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iv, 289 f.; G. Weil, *Grundriss u. System d. altar. Metren*, 49; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, ii, 226 ff., 266 ff., 356, v, 107, vi, 419 f., vii, 268; ed. Cairo, vi, 63 f., 151 ff., vii, 40 f., xii, 280, xviii, 34 f., xix, 313; ʿAbd Allāh Darwīsh, *al-Maʿādjim al-ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1956, 91 ff.

(L. Kopf)

DJĀWĪ, plur. Djāwa, Muslims from the Bilād al-Djāwa. Bilād al-Djāwa was the collective name for the South-East Asian area used by the inhabitants of Mecca when C. Snouck Hurgronje visited it in 1884-5, and probably much earlier; it has remained in use. Djāwa means not only the Javanese, but also the linguistically related people from the other islands, including the Philippines, and even the linguistically non-related peoples from the South-East Asian mainland. Generally well-to-do and pious, the Djāwa were welcome guests in Mecca, especially since they were less parsimonious than the pilgrims from various other countries and therefore more apt to provide the *shaykhs* concerned with pilgrims with an easy income. Snouck Hurgronje took a particular interest in those Djāwa who came from the Netherlands Indies; to this circumstance we owe the valuable sociological treatise on the Djāwa group in Mecca in *Mekka*, ii, *Aus dem heutigen Leben*, The Hague 1889, ch. iv. The whole pattern of Djāwī life, *e.g.*, their behaviour in their unfamiliar surroundings, how they spent their time in case of a prolonged sojourn, how they reacted upon international and pan-Islamic influences, is discussed here brilliantly and in a very illuminating way. This picture, however, needs to be completed by Snouck Hurgronje's later studies of Islam in Indonesia [*q.v.*], and it is now of historical interest only owing to the considerable change in conditions both in Mecca and in South-East Asia. (C. C. Berg)

DJĀWĪD, Young Turk economist and statesman. Meḥmed Djāwīd was born in 1875 in Salonika, where his father was a merchant, and received his early education both there and in Istanbul. He graduated from the *Mülkiyye* in 1896, where he formed a lasting friendship with his classmate Hüseyin Djāhid [Yalçin], the journalist. After a brief tour of duty with the Agricultural Bank, he entered the service of the Ministry of Education, resigning in 1902 as secretary of the bureau of primary education. Back in Salonika he became director of a private elementary school, *Mekteb-i Tefeyyüz*, and joined the *ʿOthmanlī Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti*, the Macedonian nucleus of the Young Turk conspiracy against the despotism of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. In 1908 he became lecturer in economics and statistics at the *Mülkiyye*. During this period in Salonika and Istanbul he published several textbooks on economics (*ʿIlm-i iḳtiṣād*, 4 vols., 1905, ²1912; *Inshāʾiyyāt*, 1909; and *Mekātib-i iʿdādiyyeye makhṣūṣ ʿilm-i iḳtiṣād*, 1909, ²1913) and, together with Aḥmed Shuʿayb and Riḍa Tewfīḳ [Bölükbaşi], edited a learned journal called *ʿUlūm-u Iḳtiṣādiyye ve Idjtimāʿiyye Medjmūʿasī* (1909-11). Following the 1908 revolution he was elected a deputy for Salonika (1908-12) and Bīgha (Çanakkale, 1912-8), and became minister of finance (1910, 1913-4, 1917-8), and a member of the general assembly (*medjlis-i ʿumūmī*) of the Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī*) party (1916-8). In the Chamber of Deputies he soon distinguished himself as an eloquent orator and a competent rapporteur of the Budget Commission. During his years as finance minister he conducted delicate negotiations in Paris and other European capitals for public loans to the Ottoman Empire. Together with a number of other ministers he resigned from the cabinet after Turkey's entry into the war, in opposition to the Germanophile policy of Enwer Pasha; later he re-entered it on the plea of Ṭalʿat Pasha. He was the only wartime Young Turk minister to retain his position in the ʿIzzet Pasha cabinet (14 October to 14 November 1918). Subsequently he went into hiding and exile to escape the wave of prosecution of Union and Progress leaders; in July 1919 an Istanbul tribunal sentenced him *in absentia* to 15 years' hard labour. In 1920 he married ʿAliyye, divorced wife of Burhān al-Dīn, son of the late ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II.

Djāwīd returned to Istanbul in 1922, where he acted as representative of the Ottoman creditors of the *Dette publique ottomane*. According to Halide Edib, *The Turkish Ordeal*, London 1928, 74, Mustafa Kemal rejected Djāwīd's suggestion that he be allowed to join the Anatolian movement. In 1923 he served as an adviser to the Turkish delegation to the Lausanne peace conference. He was arrested following the 1926 assassination attempt on Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk], and tried before the special Independence tribunal in Izmir (6 July) and Ankara (10 August) on charges of having conspired to resuscitate the Union and Progress movement and thereby to subvert the regime. Much of the questioning turned around a meeting of former Union and Progress leaders held in Djāwīd's house in Instabul on 16 April 1923; yet no specific or overt acts of high

treason were alleged or proved against him. Together with three other ex-Unionist leaders he was sentenced to death and executed by hanging in the Djebedji quarter of Ankara on 26 August 1926.

Bibliography: Djāwīd, Memoirs, *Tanin*, 30 August 1943 to 22 December 1946; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, x, 37-8; Ibrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurlar ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1946, 79; Ali Çankaya, *Mülkiye ve mülkiyeliler*, Ankara 1954, ii, 332 f.; Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*², Ankara 1951, 117; *Harp kabinelerinin isticvabı*, Istanbul: Vakıt Matbaası, 1933; Kandemir, *İzmir suikastının içyüzü* (Ekicigil Tarih Yayınları), Ankara 1955, ii, 29-49.

(Dankwart A. Rustow)

DJĀWĪDĀN [see supplement].

DJAWKĀN [see čawgān].

al-**DJAWLĀN**, a district in southern Syria bounded on the west by the Jordan, on the north by the spurs of Hermon, on the east by the Nahr al-ʿAllān and on the south by the Yarmūk. The northern part lies at a certain altitude and presents the appearance of a wild, hilly region, covered with blocks of lava and oak forests which were once magnificent but are now extremely impoverished. The southern part is fairly low-lying and differs but little from the plain of Ḥawrān, with a soil of volcanic detritus, more even and of greater fertility.

The territory of Djawlān corresponds with the ancient Gaulanitis of the Hellenistic period, which probably took its name from the town of Golan mentioned in the Old Testament. But it appears to have dwindled with time. At one period, continuing into the early days of Islam, this province included the country lying to the east of Nahr al-ʿAllān, which can be inferred from the existence of places called Djābiyat al-Djawlān and Saḥm al-Djawlān beyond that boundary. It was the latter village, which still keeps the same name, that Schumacher thought to be identified with the ancient Ǧōlān. A distinction may have been made later, from the 7th/13th century, between Djawlān and Djaydūr where Yāḳūt places al-Djābiya [*q.v.*].

Djawlān, which during the Byzantine period belonged to Palestina Secunda and which had then been one of the centres of power of the Ghassānids (Nābigha, ed. Derenbourg, iv, 4; xxiv, 25, 29; Ḥassān b. Thābit, ed. Hirschfeld, index) was conquered by Shuraḥbīl when he occupied Urdunn, but was later restored to the province of Damascus (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 84) and, according to al-Muḳaddasī, formed one of its six districts. Its capital was originally Bāniyās [*q.v.*] which still held that position in the Mamlūk period but which in modern times was replaced by Ḳunaytra, situated on the important road between Damascus and Tiberias. The population, which previously consisted mostly of Banū Murra, now forms an ethnic and linguistic mosaic in which Druzes and *mutāwila* Shīʿis who have settled at the foot of Hermon live side by side with Čerkes and Turkoman colonies and various nomadic tribes who are turning to a sedentary life. It has always been praised for the richness of its agricultural produce which served to supply Damascus and today still forms the main resource of the region.

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(D. Sourdel)

DJAWNPUR (Jaunpur), city on the Gumtī in Uttar Pradesh, north India, lat. 25° 48′ N., long. 82° 42′ E., and the surrounding district. The city was founded in 760/1359 by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ [*q.v.*], near the ancient Manāyč reduced by Maḥmūd of Ghazni in 409/1018 and renamed Ẓafarābād by Ẓafar Khān, its governor under Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ after 721/1321. Muslim historians derive the name Djawnpur from Djawna Shāh, Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's title before his accession; but Djamanpur is known as a by-form of the name (? connexion with Djawn = Djamnā, [*q.v.*]; Skt. *Yamunendrapura* has been suggested as the etymon), and this origin cannot be regarded as established.

In the confused conditions at the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Tughluḳ [see dihlī sultanate] the disaffected Hindūs of the eastern provinces rejected all obedience to Dihlī. The eunuch Malik Sarwar, Khʷādja Djahān, persuaded Maḥmūd to grant him the title of Sulṭān al-Sharḳ and send him to crush the rebellion in 796/1394; having brought under control Koyl, Eṭāwā and Kanawdj he occupied Djawnpur, and there established himself as independent ruler of a kingdom extending over Awadh, west to Koyl and east into Tirhut and Bihār; to these lands were later added the Čunār district of Uṛīsā (857/1453) and Rohilkhand (870/1466). For the history of this kingdom see sharḳids. In 884/1479 Bahlōl, the first Lōdī sultan of Dihlī, defeated the last Sharḳī sultan, Ḥusayn, and established his son Bārbak as ruler over Djawnpur with permission to use the royal title and to issue coin. After Sikandar overcame his brother Bārbak as sultan of Dihlī in 894/1489 Djawnpur was absorbed in the Dihlī empire.

In 933/1526-7 Djawnpur was taken for his father Bābur by Humāyūn, and a governor was appointed; but the growth of the power of Shīr Khān (Shīr Shāh Sūrī, [*q.v.*]) and the disaffection of the Afghān faction on the death of Djunayd Birlās, the governor, compelled Humāyūn to march again on Djawnpur in 943/1536, with success; but Humāyūn's long absence from Dihlī lost him his hold on the eastern provinces, and even before his great victory of Muḥarram 947/May 1540 Shīr Shāh was in command, with his son ʿĀdil Khān installed as viceroy in Djawnpur. The importance of Djawnpur declined with the rise of Čunār, and not until the rebellion (970/1563 onwards) of ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān, governor since 965/1558, does it again come into prominence; ʿAlī's final defeat in Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 974/June 1567 led to Akbar's temporary residence there and the governorship of Khān-i Khānān Muḥammad Munʿim Khān. After the foundation of Allāhābād [*q.v.*] the importance of Djawnpur waned; it passed into the possession of the Nawwābs of Awadh in the early 12th/18th century, and into British hands in 1775.

Djawnpur was long celebrated for its learning, "the Shirāz of Hind", from its foundation by Fīrūz certainly until the time of Shīr Shāh; some of its rulers—notably Ibrāhīm and Ḥusayn—were cultured connoisseurs of more than mere scholastic learning; Ḳurʾān schools still exist within the precincts of the mosques.

Monuments. The fort of Fīrūz Shāh, an irregular quadrilateral on the north bank of the Gumtī, is of high stone walls built largely from local temple spoil, with a single gateway protected by tapering semicircular bastions; other bastions were destroyed in 1859 by the British, as were some of the

internal buildings, including the palace built by Fīrūz Shāh's governor, the Čihil Sutūn (Plate I). The fort mosque of the same governor, Ibrāhīm Nā'ib Bārbak, still stands: the side *līwāns* are low, trabeate, supported on rows of pillars from Hindū temples set up at random; there are many additions of later periods (illustration in Kittoe, see *Bibl.*); a detached *mīnār* in the court-yard, some 12 m. high, has a fine Arabic inscription giving its date as Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 778/March-April 1377. A small detached pillar within the fort proclaims an edict of Āṣaf al-Dawla of Awadh on the continuance of the daily stipend to indigent sayyids (*sādāt bī-nawā*) from the revenues of Djawnpur (1180/1766).

The Aṭalā mosque, whose foundations were prepared on the site of the Hindū temple to Aṭalā Devī by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, was not built until 810/1408 under Ibrāhīm Sharḳī; its main feature, the central bay of the west *līwān* covered by a large dome which is concealed from the court-yard by a tall pyramidal gateway resembling the Egyptian propylon, is the special characteristic of the Djawnpur style under the Sharḳī sultans. The Aṭalā mosque is the largest (78.7 m. square) and most ornate: the *līwāns* on north, east and south are composed of five pillared aisles in two storeys, the two outer aisles at ground level being formed into a range of pillared cells facing the streets; in the middle of each side is an archway, with a smaller propylon on the outside, and with domes over the north and south gates; a dome covers the central bay of each *līwān* on the north and south of the main dome, each with its propylon facing the court-yard. Within each propylon is a large arched recess, with a fringe of stylized spear-heads similar to those of the Khaldjī buildings at Dihlī [*q.v.*], in which are pierced arched openings in front of the dome, and the main entrances beneath. The main propylon is 22.9 m. high, the dome behind being only 19.5 m., and 16.8 m. wide at its base. The dome is supported on a sixteen-sided arched triforium, on corner brackets over an octagon with pierced windows, supported on squinch arches. The *ḳibla* wall is relieved on its exterior by square projections behind each dome, the corners of each supported by a tapering buttress; larger tapering buttresses support the main angles of the wall. There are no *mīnārs*, the top storeys of the propylon serving for the *mu'adhdhin*.

The masdjid Khāliṣ Mukhliṣ, built by two governors of Ibrāhīm, is of the same period, only the central propylon and dome and western *līwāns* remaining, all massive and without ornament. Of the contemporary Djhandjharī (*djhandjhar* "perforated") mosque only the screen of the central propylon remains, filled with the finest stone tracery in Djawnpur. The Lāl darwāza ("red gate"; near the gate of a former palace) mosque in the north-west of the city, the smallest of the Djawnpur mosques, was built c. 851/1447, the sole surviving monument of the reign of Maḥmūd Sharḳī, has a single central dome and propylon with tall trabeate transepts, and *zanāna* galleries on a mezzanine floor flanking the central bay. The foundation of the Djāmiʿ masdjid (Plate II) was laid in 842/1438, but it was not finished until the reign of Ḥusayn. The mosque stands on a raised terrace 5 to 6 m. above street level, with a single propylon in the west *līwān*, the transepts covered by fine barrel-vaults, and the façade entirely arcuate. These are the only remains of the Sharḳīs standing at Djawnpur, the rest having been demolished by Sikandar Lōdī; all are of stone, largely pillaged from Hindū or Buddhist temples, and cement, the work of Hindū craftsmen. Echoes of the characteristic style of the capital occur in other places within the quondam Djawnpur kingdom, in the Aṙha'ī Kangura masdjid at Banāras (Benares), and in the Djāmiʿ masdjids at Eṭāwā and Kanawdj [*qq.v.*].

By far the most significant monument of Mughal times is the great bridge of Munʿim Khān, begun 972/1564 and finished 976/1568. Built by Afghān workmen under a Kābul architect, Afḍal ʿAlī, it consists of ten spans of arches—the four central ones of wider span than those at each end—the very massive piers of which carry pillared and screened pavilions at road level, partly projecting over the water on brackets; a further five spans carry the road over a smaller branch of the Gumtī.

In the old town of Ẓafarābād, 6.5 km. south-east of Djawnpur, is the mosque of one Shaykh Bārha, converted c. 711/1311 from Buddhist temple remains, entirely trabeate though originally with a large central arch between two piers which was probably the prototype of the propylons of the Djawnpur mosques. There are also many tombs, the most noteworthy being those of Makhdūm Ṣāḥib Čirāgh-i Hind (781/1389) and Sayyid Murtaḍā in the *dargāh-i shahād*, the burial ground of the martyrs who fell in the invasion of Shihāb al-Dīn Shūrī in 590/1194.

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(J. Burton-Page)

al-DJAWNPŪRĪ, Sayyid Muḥammad al-Kāẓimī al-Ḥusaynī b. Sayyid Khān alias Baḍḍh Uwaysī (cf. *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., ii, 241) and Bībī Āḳā Malik, the pseudo-Mahdī [*q.v.*], was born at Djawnpur [*q.v.*] on Monday, 14 Djumādā I 847/10 September 1443. None of the contemporary sources mentions the names of his parents as ʿAbd Allāh and Āmina, as claimed by the Mahdawī sources (*e.g.*, *Sirādj al-Abṣār*, see Bibliography), in an obvious attempt to identify them with the names of the Prophet's parents so that the prediction made in the *aḥādīth al-Mahdī* (cf. Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhādj al-Sunna*, Cairo 1321/1903, ii, 133) might fit his case. The *Tuḥfat al-kirām* of ʿAlī Shīr Ḳāniʿ and the *Djawnpūrnāma* of Khayr al-Dīn Ilāhābādī, which mention these names, are much later compilations and therefore not reliable.

A precocious child, gifted with an extraordinary memory, he committed the Ḳur'ān to memory at the early age of seven and received the title, according to Mahdawī sources, of Asad al-ʿUlamā' at the age of twelve from his teacher Shaykh Dāniyāl Čishtī. At the age of forty he left Djawnpur for Mecca and, after visiting a number of places *en route* such as Dānāpur, Kālpī, Čanderī, Djāpānīr, Māndū, Burhānpur, Dawlatābād, Aḥmadnagar and Bīdar, reached there in 901/1495. During his stay at Mecca, one day while performing the *ṭawāf*, [*q.v.*], he suddenly announced that he was the promised

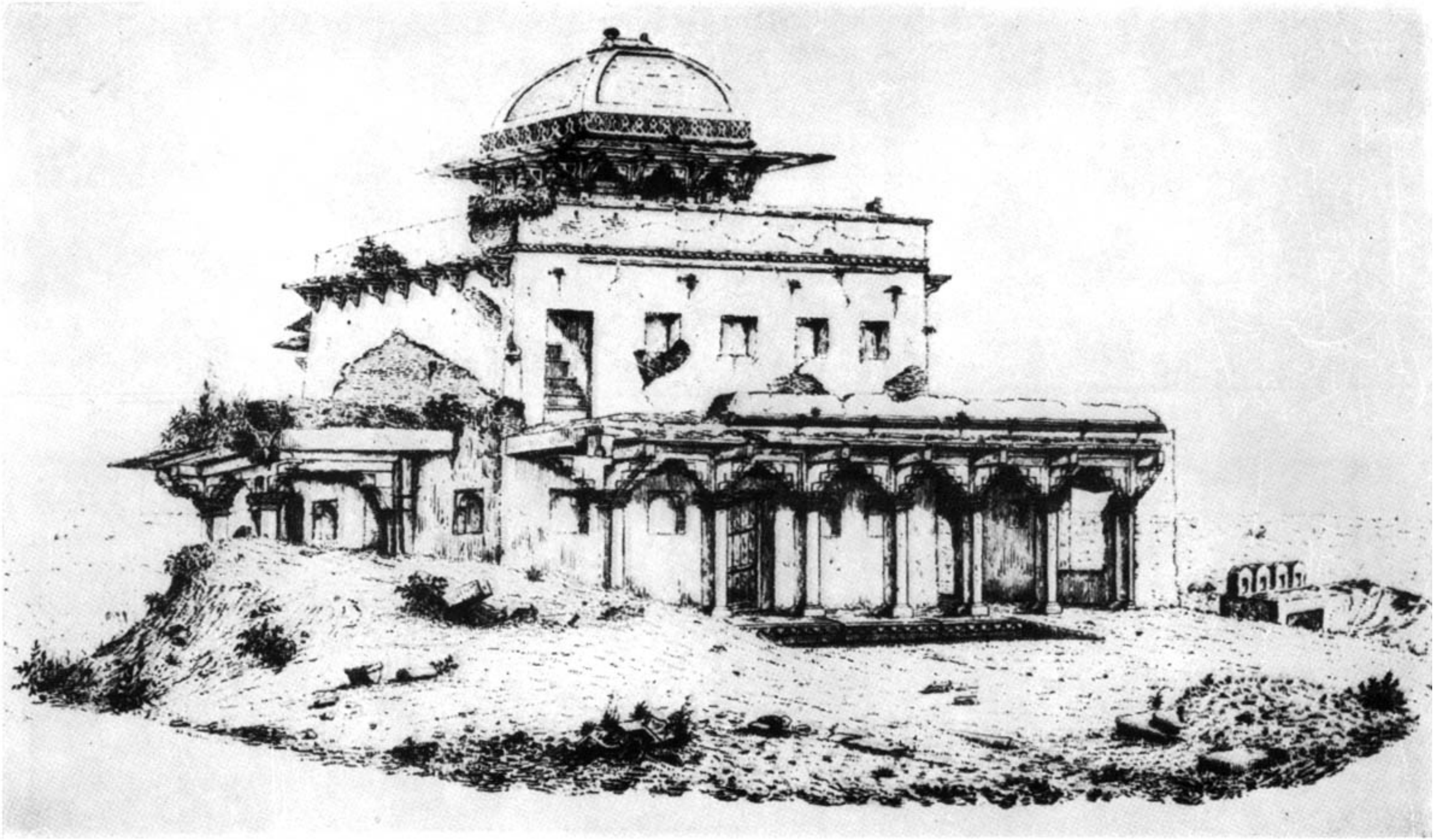

Čihil Satūn (destroyed 1858).
(Markham Kittoe, *Illustrations of Indian architecture from the Muhammadan conquest*..., Calcutta 1838)

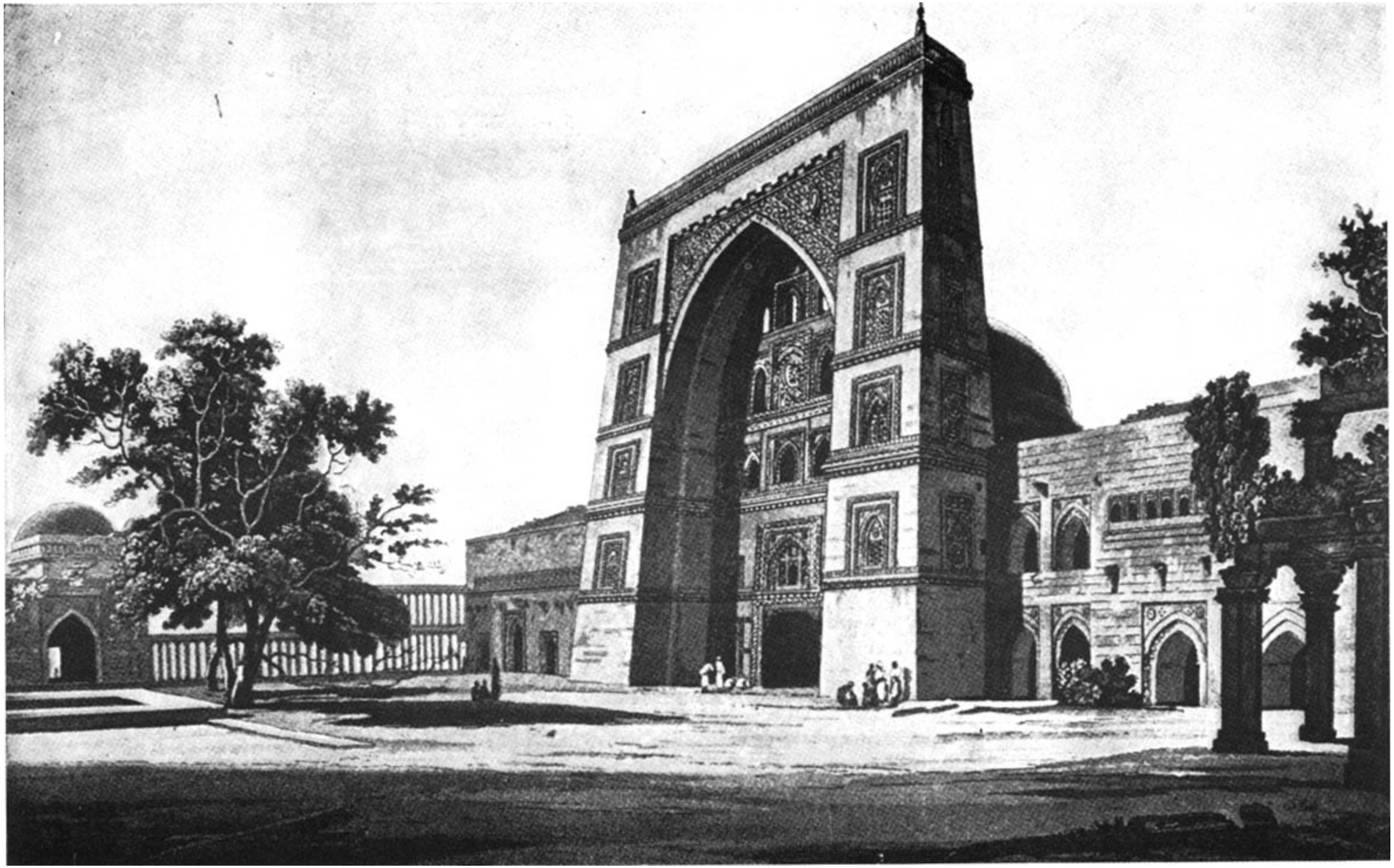

Dj̲āmiʿ masdj̲id.
(T. and W. Daniell, *Oriental scenery*, 3rd series, London 1801-3: "A mosque at Juanpore")

Mahdī. He was not taken seriously by the Meccan *ʿulamāʾ*, who simply ignored his claim. He returned to Gudjarāt the following year. While at Aḥmadābād he came into conflict for the first time in 903/1497 with orthodox *ʿulamāʾ*, who challenged his assertion that God could be seen with physical eyes. Finding the atmosphere hostile, he left Aḥmadābād and in 905/1499 reasserted his claim to being the Mahdī at a small place called Baṛhlī near Paṭan.

The same year he wrote to some of the independent rulers about his mission inviting them either to accept him as the Mahdī or condemn him to death if he was proved to be an impostor. Of these, according to Mahdawī sources, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khaldjī of Mālwa, Maḥmūd Bēgṛā of Gudjarāt, Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar, Shāh Bēg of Ḳandahār and Mīr Dhu' l-Nūn of Farāh accepted his claim. This, however, failed to impress the *ʿulamāʾ*, and the majority of the people continued to regard him as an impostor. The *ʿulamāʾ*, finding his influence growing among the masses and unable to counteract or stem it, demanded his banishment. Hounded from place to place and unable to convince the leading *ʿulamāʾ* of the validity of his claim, he ultimately came to Farāh [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān and died there on Thursday 19 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 910/23 April 1505. Monday, as claimed by the Mahdawī sources to be the day on which he died in order to make it tally with the day of his birth, is definitely to be discarded, as Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 910 began on a Sunday. His shrine in Farāh is still visited by his followers who are mainly concentrated in certain places in South India.

After his death he was succeeded in his spiritual heritage, in imitation of the Prophet, by a number of his *Khulafāʾ*, the first being his son Sayyid Maḥmūd. By this time the Mahdawīs had established a number of centres called *dāʾira*s, mostly in Gudjarāt, where they lived a communal life, dealing only among themselves and shunning the rest of the population who were regarded as unbelievers. Their growing popularity was interpreted as a danger to the State and society, leading to the persecution of the Mahdawīs. They were accused of heresy and their leader, Sayyid Maḥmūd, was put into prison where he died in 918/1512, unable to bear the rigours of incarceration. His successor, Khʷānd Mīr, faced still harder times when the *ʿulamāʾ* of Gudjarāt declared it permissible to kill a Mahdawī. Consequently a pitched battle was fought between the Mahdawīs and the Gudjarāt troops at Sadrāsan in Shawwāl 930/August 1524 in which Khʷānd Mīr, along with a large number of his followers, was killed. In spite of these reverses and the mounting opposition of the *ʿulamāʾ* and the masses, the movement did not completely die out. Among historical personalities who suffered in the cause of the movement are Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Niyāzī, who flourished during the reign of Islām Shāh Sūr, his disciple, Shaykh ʿAlāʾī and Miyāṇ Muṣṭafā Gudjarātī, a very learned man of his times who ably argued his case with the *ʿulamāʾ* of the Court of Akbar but failed to convince them. After his death in 983/1575-6, while on his way from Fatḥpur Sīkrī to Gudjarāt, the movement withered and collapsed.

The piety, learning and sincerity of Sayyid Muḥammad convinced even a severe critic like ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Badāʾūnī, who regards him as one of the greatest of the *awliyāʾ*. Like most of the *ṣūfī shaykh*s who lay stress on the renunciation of the world (*tark al-dunyā*), seclusion from the people (*ʿuzla ʿan al-khalḳ*), *tawakkul*, associating with righteous people, Sayyid Muḥammad bade his followers to remain constantly absorbed in *dhikr*, which he raised to the level of an article of faith with them. Great importance was also attached to *hidjra* and here again the founder himself set the example in imitation of the *Hidjra* of the Prophet. Although the Mahdawīs abjured politics, their activities compelled the authorities to act. Consequently, ʿAbd Allāh Niyāzī, his piety notwithstanding, was severely punished, and Shaykh ʿAlāʾī, his disciple, lost his life. *Sawiyat*, which the Mahdawīs interpret as the equal distribution of wealth, material possessions and whatever comes to or is acquired by the community, among its members living within a particular *dāʾira*, is the cardinal point of the teachings of Sayyid Muḥammad, who also denounced capitalism, stockpiling and hoarding as utterly un-Islamic. The failure of the movement, on a deeper analysis, can be attributed to the aloofness of its adherents from the main body of the Muslims, their insistence on the recognition of the founder as the promised Mahdī and the consequent opposition of the *ʿulamāʾ* and the State. Lack of capable leadership in the North and the subsequent involvement of its adherents in politics in the Deccan hastened the decline of the movement which had, in its heyday, fired the Indian Muslim community with a new zeal and religious fervour. At the present day pockets of Mahdawīs exist in the former Ḥaydarābād State (India), Mysore, Djaypur and Gudjarāt. In Pakistan, at Shahdādpūr in Sind, they have established a *dāʾira* after their migration from India.

ʿAlī al-Muttaḳī (d. 975/1567), the author of *Kanz al-ʿummāl* and ʿAlī al-Ḳārī (d. 1016/1607) took serious notice of the movement and wrote *al-Burhān fī ʿalāmāt Mahdī ākhir al-zamān* and *Risālat al-Mahdī* respectively in which they forcefully rebutted the claim of Sayyid Muḥammad to being the promised Mahdī. ʿAlī al-Muttaḳī followed *al-Burhān* by his *Risālat al-radd*, which aroused considerable opposition among the Mahdawīs and has been the subject of criticism in a number of Mahdawī works in vindication of their faith. Asʿad al-Makkī (see Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-i ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*, 178) also wrote his *Shuhub muḥriḳa* on the same subject. An Indian writer, Abū Ridjāʾ Muḥammad Zamān Khān of Shāhdjahānpūr, who strongly criticized the Mahdawīs and the founder of the movement, fell in 1872 to the knife of an assassin for his polemic work *Hadya Mahdawiyya* (ed. Baroda 1287/1870, Kānpur 1293/1876).

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* (Bib. Ind.), ii 319; idem, *Nadjāt al-rashīd* (MS. Asafiyya no. 1564), a near-contemporary and very detailed account of Sayyid Muḥammad and his movement; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.) ii 241, English translation, H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873, Intro. iv-v; Sikandar Mandjhū b. Muḥammad, *Mirʾat-i Sikandarī* (Eng. trans. Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi), 90-1; ʿAlī Shīr Ḳāniʿ, *Tuḥfat al-kirām*, Lucknow 1304/1886-7, ii, 22 ff.; Ashraf ʿAlī Pālanpūrī, *Siyar-i Masʿūd*, Murādābād 1315/1897-8, 7 ff.; ʿAbd al-Malik al-Sadjāwandī, *Sirādj al-abṣār* (with a voluminous introduction and Urdū translation by S. Muṣṭafā Tashrīf Allāhī), Ḥaydarābād (Dn.) 1365 (this work contains, in the beginning, a very comprehensive and detailed bibliography); Shāh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Mawlūd* (MS. in Persian); Sayyid Yūsuf, *Maṭlaʿ al-wilāyat* (MS.); Shāh Burhān al-Dīn, *Shawāhid al-wilāyat*, Ḥaydarābād 1379 (a first-hand complete biography of the

Sayyid, very rich in detail); Walī b. Yūsuf, *Inṣāf nāma*, Ḥaydarābād 1367; ʿAbd al-Rashīd, *Nakliyyāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1369; S. Athar ʿAbbās Rizvī in *Medieval India*, ʿAlīgarh 1954 ("*The Mahdavi movement in India*"); Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, *Tadhkira*[3], Lahore 1960, 39-44, 52 ff.; Khayr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ilāhābādī, *Djawnpūrnāma*, Djawnpur 1878; D. S. Margoliouth, *On Mahdis and Mahdism*, London 1916; Maḥmūd Shīrānī in *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Nov. 1940; Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Bhakkarī, *Taʾrīkh-i Sind*, Poona 1938, index; ʿAbd al-Ḥakk Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, s.v. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf; idem, *Zād al-muttakīn* (MS.); Samsām al-Dawla Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, (Bib. Ind.) i, 124 ff.; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*[2], 364; idem, *Ghair Mahdi* in *ERE*, vi, 189; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Bombay 1899, ix/2, 62; Djaʿfar Sharīf, *Qanoon-e-Islam*[2], Oxford 1921, 208-9; Sayyid Walī, *Sawāniḥ Mahdī Mawʿūd* (not available to me); Miyān Muṣṭafā Gudjarātī, *Makātīb* (MS.); Sayyid Shah Muḥammad, *Khatm al-hudā subul al-sawā*, Bangalore 1291; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, iv, Ḥaydarābād, s.v. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf; apparently follows the notice in *Akhbār al-akhyār* where the copyist seems to have read Yūsuf for Sayyid Khān written in *shikasta* style; Muḥammad Sulaymān, *Khātam-i Sulaymānī* (still in MS.); ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Makkī, *Ẓafar al-wālih bi Muẓaffar wa ālih*, (ed. Denison Ross), 35-6; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Aḥmad, *Maʿdan al-djawāhir*, Ḥaydarābād 1304, 98 ff., 161; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Kānpur 1874, ii, 150; Khwānd Mīr, *ʿAkīda-i sharīfa* (MS.), an important Mahdawī source as it is the work of the son-in-law of Sayyid Muḥammad; ʿAbd al-Ghanī Rāmpūrī, *Madhāhib al-Islām*, Kānpur 1924, 713 ff.; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-i ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*, Lucknow 1332/1914, 197-201; ʿAlī al-Muttakī, *al-Burhān fī ʿalāmāt Mahdī ākhir al-zāman*, (MS.) Asafiyya no. 968); idem, *Risālat al-Radd* (MS.) extensively quoted in *Sirādj al-abṣār*; ʿAli al-Ḳāri, *Risālat al-Mahdī* (MS. Saʾīdiyya, Ḥaydarābād (*ʿakāʾid wa kalām* no. 65); idem, *Mirkāt* (ed. Cairo), v, 183 ff; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, *Ṭabakāt-i Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.), index; W. A. Erskine, *A history of India under the first two sovereigns of the House of Taimur*, London 1854, ii, 475 ff.; *Beloochistan Gazetteer* (s.v. *Zikris*); Sayyid Gulāb Miyān, *Taʾrīkh-i Pālanpūr*; Sayyid ʿĪsā, *Maʿāriḍ al-riwāyāt*, Bangalore 1283; idem, *Shubhāt al-fatāwā*, Bangalore 1283 (both in refutation of *Risālat al-Radd*); anon., *Ḥālāt-i Sayyid Muḥammad-i Djawnpūrī*, MS. Asafiyya, ii, no. 34; anon., *Intikhāb-i tawārīkh al-Aghyār*, MS. Peshāwar no, 1549. See also MAHDAWĪ, MAHDĪ.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

AL-**DJAWWĀNĪ**, ABŪ ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. ASʿAD, Arab genealogist and historian, b. 525/1131, d. 588/1192. The Djawwānī family claimed ʿAlid descent through a son of ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. This pedigree was well established at least as early as the first half of the 4th/10th century when Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (*Makātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Cairo 1368/1949, 193, 435, 438) reported historical information received by him personally from ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Djawwānī, himself a genealogist and the eighth lineal ancestor of our Djawwānī. The latter was born and educated in Egypt. He taught *ḥadīth* there as well as in Damascus and Aleppo. At one time, he was appointed ʿAlid Chief of Egypt, apparently by Shīrkūh or Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the late 1160s. It seems that he did not hold this position very long. His main love and occupation were his genealogical and historical studies. They may have compensated him for the pain he must have felt in witnessing the decay of the power of the Fāṭimids whose fame, it seems, had attracted his family to Egypt. However, he continued to enjoy the favor of the Ayyūbids to whom he dedicated some of his works. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is said to have granted al-Djawwāniyya, the estate near Medina after which his family was named, to him as a fief.

A list of his works from al-Maḳrīzī's *Mukaffā* mentions eighteen titles, some of them large works. They deal with ʿAlid genealogy, including a history of the Djawwānī family, a study of his father's pedigree, and works on Ṭālibid biographies, Ṭālibid genealogists, the Banu 'l-Arḳaṭ, and the Idrīsids. He also wrote genealogical and historical works of a more general nature, among them works on the praiseworthy qualities of the *ʿashara* (*al-mubashshara*, [*q.v.*]), on those who, like al-ʿĀdil, had the *kunya* Abū Bakr, and on Arabic tribes (*al-Djawhar al-maknūn fī dhikr al-kabāʾil wa 'l-buṭūn*). The last work, as well as a topographical work on Egypt (*al-Nukaṭ ʿala 'l-khiṭaṭ*) and a monograph on the sanctuary of Sayyida Nafīsa, are also known from quotations in al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (the *Djawhar* is also cited in Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Bughya*). These quotations tend to confirm al-Djawwānī's considerable stature as a scholar, although even in his case orthodox scholars could not entirely suppress their customary suspicion of the veracity of Shīʿī genealogists.

Manuscripts of only two works by al-Djawwānī appear to have been signalized so far. One of them, on the genealogy and history of the Prophet and the people in his life, is dedicated to al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil and entitled *al-Tuḥfa al-sharīfa* (Berlin 9511, Paris 2010, 4798, Topkapusaray Ahmet III, 2759, Cairo[2], v, 129 f., Sohag 315 taʾrīkh). The other, on tribal genealogy, is called *al-Tuḥfa al-ẓarīfa* or *Uṣūl al-aḥsāb wa-fuṣūl al-ansāb* (Paris 4798, Cairo[2], v, 30 f.). Al-Maḳrīzī's list does not include any exactly corresponding titles, but the second work may correspond either to *Tādj al-ansāb wa-minhādj al-ṣawāb* or to *Tadhkirat uli 'l-albāb li-uṣūl al-ansāb*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmilat Ikmāl al-ikmāl*, Baghdād 1377/1957, 83, 99-104, 189, 299. The editor, Muṣṭafā Djawād, adds detailed information on other sources, to wit: al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda* (on Egyptian poets), Cairo, n.d. (1951), 117 ff.; al-Ḳifṭī, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, and *Inbāh*; Yāḳūt, ii, 137; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, *anno* 588; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ii, 202; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, v, 74 ff. (containing references to other sources at present unavailable); Ibn ʿInaba (ʿUtba), *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, 212, 285. Cf., further, C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, Strasburg, 1902, 26 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 451 f., S I, 626; *Fihrist al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, ii/1, Cairo n.d. (1954), 83.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-**DJAWZĀʾ** [see NUDJŪM].

AL-**DJAWZAHAR** or AL-DJAWZAHR, technical term occurring in Arabic and Persian astrological and astronomical texts.

1. It indicates primarily the two lunar nodes, *al-ʿukdatāni*, *i.e.*, the two diametrically opposite points of intersection between the moon's orbit and the ecliptic: the ascending node or "head", *raʾs*, and the descending node or "tail", *dhanab* (*scil.* of the

dragon, *al-tinnīn*). In many cases it refers only to the "head"; in some mss. a special word, *nawbahr*, is used for the "tail" [see below].

The word Djawzahar, though explained differently in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, clearly derives from the Avestan *gao-čithra* (= Pahlawī *gočihr* = mod. Persian *gawzahr*), an (adjectival) epithet of the Moon meaning "forming the origin of the bull" (Bartholomae) or rather "preserving the *sperma bovis*". In the *Bundahishn*, *gočihr*, together with the tailed (*dumbōmand*) *mūsh-parīk*, on one occasion appears as an antagonist of the sun and the moon, while, on another, it is said to have "placed itself in the centre of the heaven, in the shape of a serpent (*mār*, 'draco')".

The complicated semasiological development of the word and its various functions in mythology and early astrology can be understood only when seen in connexion with the myth of the eclipse monster (dragon), of wide distribution all over the Eurasian continent, and in particular the Indian Rāhu myth: There the demon Rāhu, immortalized by the forbidden *amṛta* drink, from which he had sipped, is beheaded by Vishnu; but his two parts, the head (Rāhu) and the tail (thenceforth called Ketu), having become stellified, incessantly try to devour the Sun and the Moon so as to take revenge for their having denounced Rāhu's crime to Vishnu. Thus Rāhu and Ketu are both identified with the eclipse monster, but the latter also appears at irregular intervals in the shape of a comet (*dhūmaketu*, "smoke-*ketu*"; see also art. KAYD, under which name the cometary aspect of the Indian *Ketu* has survived in Islamic astrology).

In the later, "scientific" (*i.e.*, computing) phase of astrology, in India, Rāhu was identified with the ascending, and Ketu, with the descending, node, in view of the fact that eclipses can occur only when the two luminaries stand sufficiently near the nodes. In Arabic it is undoubtedly owing above all to Indian influence that the Gr. terms ὁ ἀναβιβάζων and ὁ καταβιβάζων (scil. σύνδεσμος) as found in the Almagest were replaced by *al-raʾs* and *al-dhanab*; in particular, the synonym of *al-dhanab*: *nawbahr*, "the new part", clearly betrays its relationship with Ketu. As for the eclipse monster, the Djawzahar, it is regarded as a giant serpent or dragon (*tinnīn*); for its representation in Near Eastern art, see Hartner, *opp. cit.* below; for its appearance in Western art, see also Kühnel, *op. cit.* below. As indicated above, the *Bundahishn* identifies the *gočihr* with the constellation of the Dragon, which stands in fact "in the centre of the heaven", near the pole of the ecliptic; but in the same context it is said that it "retrogrades in such a way that after 10 years the head takes the place of the tail, and the tail that of the head". This applies of course not to the immovable constellation but to the Djawzahar joining the two nodes, because these make indeed a complete retrograde revolution in the course of 18.6 years (of which one-half is approximately 10). The circumstance that the nodes have a constant motion, again, gave rise to the astrologers' conceiving of, and treating them as invisible planets ("pseudo-planets"): they attributed to them "exaltations" (*ashrāf*), viz. Gemini to the head, and Sagittarius to the tail, and counted them among the maleficent stars. In European horoscopes, the Djawzahar is always called *Caput et Cauda* (Draconis), and Latin transliterations of the term itself, though sometimes occurring, have not become common. Ephemerides for the Djawzahar are contained in all astronomical tables; they serve of course not only astrological but also astronomical purposes because they are needed for the computation of solar and lunar eclipses.

2. The following two meanings, encountered mostly in texts dating from the 11th century A.D. or later, are obviously secondary: (a) al-Djawzahar = the *circulus pareclipticus* [see article ʿILM AL-HAYʾA, section on "Theory of planetary motion"] of the moon, Ar. *al-mumaththal bi-falak al-burūdj* = ὁ ὁμόκεντρος τῷ κόσμῳ κύκλος (Alm.), or in Ibn al-Haytham's theory of *solid* spheres, the spherical shell concentric with the earth, within which the excentric sphere (*al-falak al-māʾil*, "*sphaera deflectens*") is comprised. (b) al-Djawzahar = the nodes of the orbit of any of the five planets.

Bibliography: W. Hartner, *The pseudo-planetary nodes of the moon's orbit in Hindu and Islamic iconographies*, in *Ars Islamica*, idem, v/2, Ann Arbor 1938; idem, *Zur astrologischen Symbolik des "Wade Cup"*, in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst*, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel, Berlin 1959; E. Kühnel, *Drachenportale*, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, iv, 1/2, Berlin 1950; Albattānī, *Opus Astronomicum*, i, 250; *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (ed. van Vloten), 220; *Dictionary of technical terms*, etc. (ed. Sprenger) s.v. Djawzahar and Dhanab; *Tabulae long. ac latit. stellar, fixar. ex observat. Ulugh Beighi* (ed. Th. Hyde, Oxford 1665), p. 14 of the commentary.

(W. HARTNER)

DJĀYASĪ [see MALIK MUḤAMMAD DJĀYASĪ].

DJAYB-I HUMĀYŪN, the privy purse of the Ottoman Sultans. Under the authority of the privy secretary (*Sirr kâtibi*), it provided for the immediate needs and expenses of the sovereign. Its regular revenues consisted of the tribute from Egypt (see IRSĀLIYYE), the income from the imperial domains (see KHĀṢṢ), and the proceeds from gardens, orchards, forests etc. belonging to or attached to the imperial palaces. Irregular revenues included the fees paid by newly appointed rulers of Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania and, for a while, Ragusa, the Sultan's share of war-booty, and the proceeds of confiscations (see MUṢĀDARA).

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(ED.)

DJAYḤĀN, (modern Turkish Ceyhan), the name by which the Arabs denote the ancient Pyramus, one of the two rivers which cross Cilicia and flow into the Mediterranean, the other and more westerly river being the Sayḥān, the ancient Saros. The names Djayḥān and Sayḥān appear to have been given by the Arabs to these rivers which separate them from Greek territory, on the analogy of the Djayḥūn and Sayḥūn in central Asia, rivers which separate them from Turkish territory, and which owe their names to a corruption of the names of biblical rivers (Genesis, ii, 11, 13), unless they are an arbitrary translation of the Greek names (cf. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xliv, 700 and the articles ĀMŪ DARYĀ, SAYḤĀN, SIR DARYĀ).

The Djayḥān rises a little to the north-east of Elbistan, in the mountains which divide it from the valley of the Tohma Suyu, a tributary of the Euphrates. Its upper part is the Söğütlü Suyu. Near Elbistan it is swollen by numerous secondary streams, one of the most important being the Hurman Suyu.

Below its confluence with the Göksün Çayı, south of Afs̲h̲īn (the old Yarpuz-ʿArbasūs-Arabissos), it flows southwards towards Marʿas̲h̲. On the outskirts of this town it is joined by the Ak Sū (Nahr Ḥūrīth̲ of Suhrāb) which comes from the north-east and flows past al-Ḥadath̲. It then turns south-west, passing to the west of the Anti-Taurus, and reaches the edge of the Cilician plain after receiving tributaries from the region of Sīs (now Kozan). It makes its way to Missis (al-Maṣṣīṣa) where the main Adana road crosses it by an ancient stone bridge. The mouth of the D̲j̲ayḥān into the Mediterranean has moved several times owing to the delta formed by alluvial deposits. At the present time, after bending sharply to the east, it comes into the sea in a bay lying to the west of Yumurtalık (the old Āyās). Abu 'l-Fidāʾ compares it in importance with the Euphrates.

The region of the lower and middle D̲j̲ayḥān formed part of the *th̲ug̲h̲ūr* (frontier districts). The name of the river consequently occurs more than once in poets of the Ḥamdānid period, al-Mutanabbī, Abū Firās and al-Sarī [for its history, see CILICIA]. In the Mamlūk period this region was conquered by Malik Nāṣir Muḥammad and was known as *al-Futūḥāt al-d̲j̲āhāniyya*, following the Armenian corruption D̲j̲ahān from D̲j̲ayḥān.

The name D̲j̲ayḥān is sometimes used to signify the region rather than the river. This is so in Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī (cf. Stephanus of Taron, tr. Gelzer and Burckhardt, 140).

Bibliography: *BGA*, i, 63-4; ii, 122, 246; iii, 19, 22, 137; vi, 177; vii, 91, 362; viii, 58; Suhrāb, ed. v. Mžik, 143; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 359; vi, 273; Yāḳūt, ii, 170; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud, 50 (tr. ii, 62-3); Dimas̲h̲ḳī, ed. Mehren, 107; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf*, Cairo 1312, 56, 183; al-ʿUmarī's *Bericht über Anatolien*, ed. Taeschner, 6, 30; Ibn al-S̲h̲iḥna, *al-Durr al-muntak̲h̲ab*, 180; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 617, 632, 838, 869; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *Nud̲j̲ūm*, ed. Cairo, vii, 168 and index; Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 76, 82, 123, 133, 134, 136; xiv, 145; Mufaḍḍal, *Hist. des sult. mamelouks*, ed. and tr. Blochet, 229; Quatremère, *Hist. des sult. mamelouks*, ii/1, 260; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *D̲j̲ihānnümā*, 598, 601; von Kremer, *Gesch. des nördl. Syriens*, 19; R. Hartmann, *Pol. Geogr. des Mamlūkenreichs*, in *ZDMG*, lxx (1916), 32; Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien in Mittelalter*, in *SBAk. Wien*, cxxiv (1891), 86; idem, *Hist.-Topographisches vom oberen Euphrat und aus Ost-Kappadokien*, in *Kiepert Festschrift* (1898), 145; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xix, 6-119; Schaffer, *Cilicia*, 18 ff.; Le Strange, 131, 132 and cf. 434; Rosen, *Basil Bulgaroctonos*, 2, 23 (= Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, *PO*, xxiii, 165, 214), 85, 193; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 8, 18, 88, 98-101; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 63, 84-5, 87, 103, 153; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord* ..., 150; Canard, *Sayf al-Daula, Recueil de textes*, 44-6, 91, 98, 103, 104, 114, 141, 393; idem, *Hist. de la dynastie des H'amdānides*, i, 270 ff., 279 ff., 764, 775 and *passim*; *IA*, art. Ceyhan (Besim Darkot).

(M. CANARD)

AL-**D̲J̲AYHĀNĪ** [see SUPPLEMENT].

D̲J̲AYḤŪN [see AMU DARYĀ].

D̲J̲AYN, The D̲j̲ayn (Jain) community (followers of Mahāvīra, called the Jina) was much more widely distributed over the Indian sub-continent at the time of the Muslim conquest than in later times, as is shown by the re-utilization of D̲j̲ayn material in early Islamic building. Although they were fairly widespread in the Deccan, their particular stronghold was peninsular Gud̲j̲arāt. Allusions to the D̲j̲ayns in earlier histories have probably been obscured by their being not distinguished from their Hindū neighbours and described with them as "unbelievers" and "idolators"; but their chief social characteristic, an exaggerated reverence for the sanctity of all animal life, was certainly known to and exploited by the Muslims, as the account of the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa, who visited Gud̲j̲arāt early in the 10th/16th century, shows: the Muslims would take fowls and other birds and offer to kill them in the presence of devout D̲j̲ayns, or threaten to kill themselves, or visit them as rat- or snake-catchers, and would be paid large sums of money not to do these things. They were, however, tolerated by the Muslims, since they were of economic importance as the money-lending community (cf. *The book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. and tr. M. Longworth Dames, Hakluyt Socy., i, 111-2).

Religious contact with the D̲j̲ayns was made by the Mug̲h̲al emperor Akbar in 990/1582, who invited first Hīravid̲j̲aya and later the great Bhānučandra to the Mug̲h̲al court, and whose personal beliefs and habits seem to have been much influenced by the D̲j̲ayn leaders (Badāʾunī, *Muntak̲h̲ab al-tawārīk̲h̲*, tr. Lowe, ii, 331, speaks with disgust of Akbar's orders prohibiting the slaughter of animals on certain days—adding that disobedience was visited with capital punishment!). Many of Akbar's *farmāns* in favour of the D̲j̲ayns were confirmed by his successor D̲j̲ahāngīr, on whom however the personal influence was never profound and who ended by condemning their character and morals (cf. *Tūzuk-i D̲j̲ahāngīrī*, ed. trans. Rogers and Beveridge, i, 437-8).

Bibliography: For Mug̲h̲al *farmāns* in favour of the D̲j̲ayns see particularly M.S. Commissariat, *Imperial Mughal farmans in Gujarat*, in *Journal Univ. Bombay*, ix/1, 1940; cf. also *Akbar-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, iii, 1061-3. For D̲j̲ayn sources on the relationship between Bhānučandra and Akbar and D̲j̲ahāngīr see *Bhānučandra-čarita*, ed. and Gud̲j̲. trans. Mohanlāl M. Desai, Ahmedabad 1941; some *farmāns* corroborated in D̲j̲ayn inscriptions especially in *Epigraphia indica*, ii, and in A. Guerinot, *Répertoire d'épigraphie jaina*, Paris 1908. See also Kamta Prasad Jain, *Jainism under the Muslim rule*, in *New Indian Antiquary*, i, 516-21; Kalipada Mitra, *Jain influence at Mughul court*, in *Proc. 3rd Ind. Hist. Cong*, 1939, 1061-72; idem, *Historical references in Jain poems*, in *Proc. 6th Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1943, 344-7; idem, *Jahangir's relations with the Jains*, in *IHQ*, xxi (1945), 44-8.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

D̲J̲AYPUR, formerly a princely state in India, now a part of the Indian Union, lying between 25° 41′ and 28° 34′ N. and 74° 13′ E., with an area of 15,579 sq. miles and a population of 1,650,000 in 1951. The ruling dynasty claimed descent from a son of Rāma, the legendary king of Ayōdhyā and the hero of the Sanskrit epic Rāmāyaṇa by Valmīki, in spite of the fact that the ex-ruler was also the head of the Kačhwāha clan of Rād̲j̲pūts. The first ruler of the country, then known as Dhundhār, was a descendant of the Kačhwāha chief of Gwāliyār, who had received the district of Daosa in about 522/1128 as a gift from his father-in-law. Daosa thus became the first capital of the newly acquired territory. The present city of D̲j̲aypur, which gave its name to the entire state was, however, founded by Rād̲j̲ā D̲j̲ay Singh II, better known to history as D̲j̲ay Singh Sawāʾī, in 1141/1728. Abandoning Ambēr, the former capital, he made the new city the seat of

his government. The city was planned on the model of Aḥmadābād [*q.v.*] with broad boulevards and spacious bazars. Even craftsman skilled in various trades were sent for from that place, but the founder of Djaypur did not succeed in making the new city as prosperous as its model (ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Yād-i Ayyām*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1337, 30-1, in which the city is called Djaynagar). The title *Sawāʾī*, conferred on him by the Mughal emperor, and meaning $1^1/_4$, is not only indicative of the respect that he enjoyed at the Mughal Court but is also a tribute to his personal qualities as the scion of an illustrious ruling family. This ruler who ascended the *gaddī* of Ambēr in 1111/1699 and died in 1156/1743 was a remarkable and accomplished person. He made good use of his scientific knowledge and skill in constructing observatories at Djaypur, Dihlī, Banāras, Mathurā and Udjdjayn (see G. R. Kaye, *A guide to the old observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain and Benares*, Calcutta 1920). The sun-clock, mounted on a triangular tower in the Dihlī observatory, gives accurate time even to this day. He also reconstructed the astronomical tables known after the reigning Mughal emperor of Dihlī, Muḥammad Shāh, as the Zīdj Muḥammad Shāhī. More illustrious and better known to history is, however, Djay Singh I who enjoyed a *manṣab* of 6,000 and the imperial title of Mīrzā Rādja, conferred on him by Awrangzīb. Soon after Djay Singh's death in 1156/1743 the Djāṫs of Bharatpur [*q.v.*] succeeded in wresting, following a number of sharp encounters, a part of the state; the defection of the chief of Māčērī (now Alwar) about 1205/1790 further reduced the area of the State. By the end of the century Djaypur was in confusion, torn by internal strife and the extortions of the depredatory Marāṫhās. A treaty concluded in 1218/1803 with the East India Company, was dissolved only two years later. Another treaty was concluded in 1234/1818 putting a stop to the molestation of the Marāṫhās.

On the outbreak of a rebellion in 1820, during the infancy of Djay Singh III, a British Officer was posted in the state. In 1835 another rising took place resulting in the murder of a British political officer and injuries to the Agent to the Governor-General. Repression naturally followed resulting in the tightening of the administration and reduction in the state troops.

The Djaypur Records Office has a rich and rare collection of historical documents, including a large mass of *akhbārāt*, the daily news-sheets pertaining mostly to the reign of Awrangzīb. Two unique works of Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*], the *Khazāʾin al-futūḥ* (ed. Waḥīd Mīrzā, Calcutta 1952) and *Inshāʾ-yi Khusraw* are preserved in the State Library.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

DJAYSH, one of the common Arabic terms (with *djund* and *ʿaskar*) for the army.

i. — Classical.

Except possibly in the Yaman, pre-Islamic Arabia, although living under permanent conditions of minor warfare, knew no armies in the proper meaning of the term apart from those of foreign occupation. Conflicts between tribes brought into action virtually all able-bodied men, but without any military organization, and combats were very often settled by individual feats of arms. The embryo of an army may be said to have appeared with Islam in the expeditions led or prepared by the Prophet, although the *djihād* at this stage was the duty of all able-bodied Muslims. One cannot speak of a real army until the beginning of the Conquests, when there first appeared a division between the combatant and non-combatant sections of the Muslim people. Even though in principle all able-bodied Muslims could be summoned to the *djihād*, in practice the tribes had only to supply a certain percentage of their menfolk, and the numbers were usually more or less made up by volunteers. Their installation in the conquered countries separated these men, if not from their families who usually accompanied them, at any rate from the other members of their tribe and from their traditional way of life. They did not form an army *stricto sensu*, inasmuch as that, in the intervals between campaigns, they followed other activities if they wanted to and, with few exceptions, were not shut up in barracks away from their families; but in any case they were a section of the people permanently obliged to respond to the call of war, and deriving their main livelihood from this. In relation to the conquered, they considered themselves from the start not entirely as a conquering people but rather as an army of occupation. Superior to their adversaries because of their mobility, their being used to a rough mode of life, and a consecrated enthusiasm which was reinforced by the appeal of booty and confirmed by victory, they lacked all knowledge of strategy, their arms remained rudimentary, and their successes were more than half due to the weakness of the enemy empires, the disaffection of the peoples of which these were made up, and to the recruitment of foreign mercenaries as part of the troops which these empires employed. It is perhaps imprudent to try to reckon the manpower which the conquerors were actually able to mobilize: probably round about fifty thousand men under ʿUmar, and double this at the time of the greatest extension of the Umayyad empire.

Except to a certain degree in Syria, the Arab troops were not installed in the settlements of the natives, but rather in camps which ultimately became new cities, the *amṣār* (see miṣr). Thus there came into being Baṣra and Kūfa in ʿIrāḳ, Fusṭāṭ in Egypt, somewhat later Ḳayrawān in Ifrīḳiya, and so on. Their organization was a compromise between new necessities and tribal heritage: the whole army was a mixture of men of various tribes, but in the lower ranks of the army as in the towns, the soldiers remained grouped in communities of tribal origin. Originally they had no other income but the profits of victory which rapidly became considerable, and were regulated by the rules relating to the *ghānima* [*q.v.*]. When immense territories were added to the spoils reaped on the battlefield, there were differences of interest between those who would have liked to have seen them entirely divided up, and those around the growing Caliphate who succeeded in imposing the doctrine that they belonged to the Islamic community collectively, both present and future, which meant in fact allowing the original

owners to keep them against payment of taxes, which in turn served to provide the money for regular army pay (see ʿARĪF, ʿAṬĀʾ, and DĪWĀN). In Syria, and later in the Islamic west, the coordinated provincial-military organization of the *djund* [*q.v.*] was brought into being, an organization no precise equivalent of which ever appeared in the vast area of expansion in the east (ʿIrāḳ-Īrān).

Needless to say, this first, primitive army was entirely Arab-Muslim; in the former Byzantine provinces at any rate, this was all the easier to ensure, as the native populations had long since lost the habit of following the profession of arms. Nevertheless, soon enough, the Arab chiefs began to bring their *mawālī* [*q.v.*] with them in a subordinate rank, while on the other hand, certain warlike border peoples (in Central Asia, northern Īrān and Armenia, and in the Syrian Amanus), without embracing Islam, were associated with the military operations of the Muslims as auxiliaries exempt from taxes; only a little later the Berbers, superficially converted to the new religion, were to form the greater part of the army that set out to conquer Spain.

Fairly soon, a special corps under the name of *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] was constituted which, more closely linked to the Caliph or the Governor, was basically concerned less with war than with the maintenance of internal order, and little by little became a kind of police force (see also AḤDĀTH).

From the time of the Umayyads onward, the conditions of military organization were very con- considerably modified. War, because of growing resistance and lengthening lines of communication, ceased to be as profitable as before. The result was that pay, which was not very high, now became the main source of income of the troops, if not of their commanders, and they therefore became all the more demanding. On the other hand, a new cleavage appeared between the reserve troops stationed at Baṣra, Kūfa, etc., living an increasingly civilian life, and the frontier elements who no longer came back but continued to live on the borders of Asia Minor, Central Asia, the Maghrib or Spain. Finally, the nature of military operations changed and demanded war-materials and methods adapted from those of their enemies, an adaptation for which the Arabs were not always very well prepared. Tradition credits tactical reform to the last of the Umayyads, Marwān II, who had had long experience of war in Armenia; but on the whole, the army had not been substantially re-organized when the dynasty was overthrown by the ʿAbbāsids.

These owed their success from the military point of view to the new army organized by Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] from among the people of Khurāsān. For nearly a century, this army was the backbone of the new régime, and at first, the Khurāsānīs alone formed the troops quartered near the Caliph and in the great political centres. There were thus for a certain time two armies side by side. Of prime importance from the social point of view, the intervention of the Khurāsānīs was no less so from the military standpoint. Īrān, and more especially Khurāsān, had, in this respect, their own traditions which the Arab occupation had not succeeded in effacing. In archery, in siege warfare, in the use of "naphtha" (Greek fire), they possessed skills with which the Arabs could not compete, and thus brought to the ʿAbbāsids an element of technical reform which had been missing in the Umayyad army. On the other hand, the Arabs divided their lives between civilian life and that of the camps, still closely linked to the quarrels of the tribes and the clans; the Khurāsānīs, however, formed a more clearly defined corps of professional mercenaries linked to the person of the sovereign. Actually, despite some brilliant exceptions, it was less in external warfare than in the repression of internal revolts that they were mainly employed. The Arabs themselves henceforth belonged to two categories: there were those who lived far away from the zones of military activity, who were above all the cause of disorders, and whom in Egypt the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim was for this reason to delete entirely from the registers of the *dīwān*; and there were the frontiersmen who could not be demilitarized in the same way, but who organized themselves according to the autonomous new world of the *ghāzīs* and *murābiṭ(ūn)*, cutting themselves off from the regular army proper. The result socially was that the Arabs for the most part no longer formed the breeding-ground of the aristocracy and were lucky indeed if they did not relapse into a miserable Bedouin way of life.

Whoever its members were, the regular army was distinguished from other more ephemeral bodies of combatants, in that they alone appeared on the registers of the *dīwān* as having a right to a permanent wage and a status which made a kind of state corporation out of them. The others, who were various kinds of free corps of "volunteers" (*muṭṭawiʿa*), not only received less pay but, what is more important, only received it for the duration of the campaign for which their presence was required, and were not considered as professionals. As for the *ghāzīs*, they lived on the combined profits of their non-military activities in the intervals between campaigns, on booty during them, and on pious foundations which the Muslims of the interior created in increasing numbers in their favour as a substitute for waging the *djihād*. They also did not appear in the ordinary registers of the *djaysh* and were clearly not professionals.

In its turn, the Khurāsānī army did not survive the first ʿAbbāsid century. When the Caliph al-Maʾmūn bestowed the autonomous government of Khurāsān on the family of the Ṭāhirids, these tended to keep for themselves a large part of the Khurāsānī recruitment. Furthermore, if the ʿAbbāsid dynasty had owed its power to the Khurāsānīs, and more recently, in particular, al-Maʾmūn had owed his victory over his brother, al-Amīn, to them, they themselves were fully aware of this, and in Baghdād itself, where the Ṭāhirids were responsible for keeping order, they came in the end to be resented as somewhat burdensome protectors. Al-Muʿtaṣim, the same who had suppressed the regular Arab army in Egypt, also took the initiative in replacing the Khurāsānīs by Turks. Actually, it was at first mainly the Turks established within the frontiers of Islam who were referred to as such, above all the people of Farghāna whose social conditions resembled those of the Khurāsānīs; but soon young people born outside Islam and brought there as slaves (*mamlūk* in this case rather than *ʿabd*) from Central Asia or what are now the Russian steppes by warriors or merchants, were to be recruited as Turks. The Turks, who were above all excellent horsemen, not only had an apparently justified reputation for military, physical and moral courage, as is witnessed by a well-known short treatise of al-Djāḥiẓ, but it was thought that they, linked to the person of their master by ties of slavery, acquired young enough to be formed in character by him, and being strangers to the aspirations and rivalries of the indigenous peoples,

would form a still more reliable army for the sovereign than had the first Khurāsānīs. In fact, experience was to prove that, having the sovereign in their power, they were to be far less tolerable and far more devoted to their own generals than to the Caliph (who, after al-Muʿtaṣim, never again commanded them directly). Nevertheless, because of their technical qualifications, because of the care bestowed by the Turkish chieftains on maintaining recruitment, and even because the acquisition of new slaves was the easiest remedy against the lack of discipline of the old ones (although in the long run, of course, it merely perpetuated the evil), it seemed no longer possible, right up to modern times, for oriental Muslim states to do without a Turkish army, and all of them, one after another, were to adopt one. At best, in the orient, they were counter-balanced by the calling in of other elements, rough, indigenous mountain people, skilled in fighting on foot in the mountains, such as the Daylamīs, or horsemen like the Kurds, or locally negroes (in Arabia) or Hindūs (army of the Ghaznavids). In Egypt, the Fāṭimids, who conquered it with Berber contingents, reinforced as in Ifrīḳiya with negroes, Slavs and Rūmīs, themselves later tried to neutralize these by introducing Turks, whom in turn they sought to replace by Armenians under chiefs who could hardly be claimed as Muslims, and finally gave back some part in army affairs to the Arabs. The breaking up of the ʿAbbāsid empire also gave the opportunity of a military career to the Arabs of Mesopotamia and Syria, who gave support to the Ḥamdānid [*q.v.*], Mirdāsid [*q.v.*], ʿUkaylid [*q.v.*] and other principalities. The Būyids in western Īrān owed their specific strength to the Daylamīs, but the need for cavalry compelled them nevertheless to reinforce them from the start with Turks. But the racial differences of the contingents, which language and technical differences hindered from mixing easily together, were the cause of disorders, because they were jealous of each other, quarrelled over their share of the state revenues, and espoused the disagreements of their leaders; they made the streets of Baghdād and Cairo run with blood when they were not occupied in promoting their respective generals to power. Even when, later on under the Saldjūḳids, a Turkish people and no longer only an army were to instal themselves in former Islamic territory, the structure of the army was not permanently affected: in the beginning, the Turkoman element, nomadic and natural warriors like the first Arabs, assured them victory; but the new masters of the Muslim east re-organized their army in the traditional manner with Turco-Muslim forces recruited from slaves, and the Turkomans were only able to use their warlike qualities as *ghāzīs* in the outer battlefields of Asia Minor, which they had taken from the Byzantines. The successors of the Saldjūḳids added a new element by introducing, among their Turks, some Kurds, from whom the Ayyūbid dynasty was to rise; but the Ayyūbids, masters of Egypt which they had taken from the Fāṭimids, had themselves an army which became increasingly Turkish in content. The Saldjūḳids of Asia Minor added Armenian mercenaries, Franks, etc., to their ranks in the Byzantine manner, and the Mongol conquerors brought Georgians into theirs. As for the Arabs, the Turkish conquest, combining as it did the old half-Bedouin country of the "fertile crescent" with the Asiatic part of the Byzantine empire which had been the stage of their occasional efforts as *ghāzīs*, eliminated them finally and completely (except in some corners of Arabia) from any part whatsoever in military life.

The evolution which has just been described was not peculiar to the Muslim world. Following the example of the former Roman empire, Byzantium in Islamic times left the running of its wars more and more to mercenaries, of whom a great number were Turkish. Recruitment of slaves proper was unknown to it, but this omission probably made only a limited difference in practice. It was uncommon for the mercenaries to return to their country of origin and they were bound by oath to the emperor. On the Muslim side it must be emphasized that the *mamlūk* in the army of a sovereign, whose agent of power he was, could not be compared with a private, domestic slave. Like the mercenary, he received a salary, he had considerable freedom of action outside his military duties, if he rose in rank he could be set free and the most successful could even rise to govern provinces and rule over free men.

It has already been indicated that the development outlined here was affected by technical as well as social factors. There is no need to give here the full account of armaments and military art (difficult enough in any case because of the lack of earlier studies of these subjects) which will be attempted in the articles ḤARB and SILĀḤ (see in the meantime the names of the various arms); this much, however, must be said—that the dominant characteristic of the development of warfare was the growing rôle of heavy cavalry. This was also the situation in Europe, but, because of the oriental tactical preference for mobility, they never went quite as far as the Europeans in the matter of sheer weight of equipment. From the time of the Arab conquests up to the appearance of fire-arms, armament changed little in nature, but it could change in bulk and above al lin the relative propor tions of the various arms, and technical progress, albeit of a secondary kind, could exercise some influence on the art of combat and the fortunes of war. The struggle against the Crusaders before the time of the Mongols possibly played a locally stimulating part in this respect.

Amongst the ancient Arabs the principal arms were the sword (*sayf*) and the javelin (*rumḥ*), as well as the lance (*ḥarba*) used by the infantry; the bow was not unknown, but little used on horseback; it served more as a weapon in hunting than in warfare, where it did not lend itself well to single combats of the traditional type. Here lay a difference between the Arabs on the one hand, and the Persians and Turks on the other: among the Persians the exercise of drawing a bow, which might be of any shape or size, was a living tradition among the whole population; the Turks excelled in the rapid shooting from horseback of a hail of arrows (*nāvak*) in all directions, thus sowing disorder in the ranks of their enemies. The cross-bow (*djarkh*), often included also with the ordinary bow under the same name (*ḳaws*), followed by a qualifying expression, seems to have been known in the orient since the 3rd/9th century. ʿAbbāsid and later cavalry made much use of the bow, but still also of the javelin, and the lance, too, now became a cavalry weapon; the infantry used the cross-bow while remaining faithful also to the sword which was was much improved by the quality of the so-called "Damascus" steel—in reality an Indian technique; amongst other weapons, the club (*ʿamūd*, Persian *gurz*) was still employed as well as the knife (*sikkīn*). In defence, Arabs used the shield (*daraḳa*), the cuirass (*tirs*), various types of coats of mail (*durʿ*, *zarad*, *djawshan*), and the helmet; they nevertheless

avoided armour that was too heavy, and the large shield does not seem to have been in current usage before the Crusades, the period when this size in shields became fashionable. The cavalryman was almost always mounted on a horse which was also protected by armour; in the armies of eastern Īrān, the Indian elephant was used in some heavy corps; the camel, however, was only used for transport. The fully equipped horseman was given various names, one of which among the Ayyūbids was *ṭawās͟hī*, a meaning which should be carefully distinguished from its other possible meaning of "eunuch". The soldiers had to maintain their arms as well as their animals but, except in very early times, they were given to them in the first place and renewed in case of need; most of them came from state workshops which, in Egypt, held an almost complete monopoly in their manufacture. *A fortiori*, the state workshops alone dealt in engines worked by teams, that is to say, above all, siege artillery whose use developed increasingly: the heavy-beamed mangonels (*mand͟janīḳ*), light ballistas, (*ʿarrāda*, [*q.v.*]), battering-rams (*dabbāba*), etc. The Muslims did not take very long to pierce the secret of *nafṭ* or "Greek fire", which land as well as naval forces used; archaeology has found the pots from which it was hurled. It was to an army possessing all this equipment that the term *ʿaskar* (Persian *las͟hkar*) was more particularly applied. When on campaign they settled themselves in camps and based themselves on fortresses, *ḥiṣn* [*q.v.*] or *ḳalʿa*, the attacking of which, from the opposing point of view, was one of the most important forms of warfare (see ḤIṢĀR). Finally, mention may be made of the importance, at the beginning of a battle, of the trumpet and other resounding instruments.

We know little of how young soldiers (*g͟hulām*, pl. *g͟hilmān*) of the ʿAbbāsid army were trained, and what Niẓām al-Mulk says about the G͟haznavid army must be treated with some reserve; for precise information we must wait until the time of the Mamlūks [*q.v.*]. Occasionally billeted on the people, the troops were far more usually gathered together in barracks or camps, one group of them, the *ḥud͟jariyya*, near the palace of the sovereign, whether Caliph or otherwise entitled. The brawls which nevertheless frequently broke out between them and the population were one of the causes of the temporary emigration of the Caliphate to Samarra from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim. The *s͟hurṭa*, however, was no longer recruited from amongst themselves, and tended to be replaced by local elements which were sometimes opposed to them. But the Sald͟jūḳid conquest re-created unity by increasing the numbers of heads of garrisons (*s͟hiḥna*), and giving them the duties of the *s͟hurṭa* which was generally abolished. The army did its military training in open spaces situated on the outskirts of cities.

The army of a large state was divided into regiments which generally corresponded both with a division into ethnic groups and a division according to technical functions, complemented by detachments of sappers. There was also a division according to recruitment under famous generals or during certain reigns. The soldiers who had been part of a general's army continued to form a group solidary until death, and those who had been recruited by one prince kept themselves apart from those younger ones who had been recruited by his successor; hence there were differences and jealousies, with each prince favouring his own. In the lower ranks there were units which might be of ten or a hundred, etc., but these numbers seem fluid. The head of an army, often called *ḳāʾid* in the early days of Islam, and even later than this in the Islamic west, now began to call himself *amīr* [*q.v.*], a title which ultimately included the rule over a province linked to the command of an army. Where there was a commander-in-chief he called himself *amīr al-umarāʾ*; but the title of *amīr* was in the end to become devalued and to finish as a title for all officers, and consequently *amīr al-umarāʾ* fell to being the title of any general. In the Sald͟jūḳid period, etc., the man who represented the military authority of the sovereign when he himself did not exercise it over the body of the army, was the Grand Chamberlain, *ḥād͟jib*, who was first and foremost head of the guard. In Īrān, the commander of an army was called *sālār*, the commander-in-chief, *ispāhsālār* or *sar-i las͟hkar*; among the Turks, the practical equivalent of *amīr* was *beg*, while *amīr al-umarāʾ* was *beglerbeg* or *subas͟hī*.

While there was no uniform in the modern sense, each regiment had its own regulation dress. We can picture for example, that of the G͟haznawid guard since the archaeological discoveries at Las͟hkar-i Bāzār. The different corps had their flags (*rāya*), and the general or sovereign his own (*liwāʾ*), flying near the tent from which he commanded the battle and forming a rallying point. If there were no true medical services, at least there were transports of arms and food, for which purpose the camel was invaluable. Women often accompanied the army and in case of defeat, formed part of the spoils. A *ḳāḍī*, "readers" of the Ḳurʾān and preachers, sometimes doctors as well, were likewise attached to the army.

The chief preoccupation, whether of the soldiers or of the power they served, was the provision for their pay (*rizḳ*, *k͟hubz*), which went with the supervision of the strength of the establishment and its maintenance. These services were dependent on the section of the *dīwān al-d͟jays͟h* called *ʿarḍ*, which was so important that in the Īrānian states the head of military administration was called *ʿāriḍ*. This supervision was based on an extremely exact registration of the men, and of the animals branded with the mark of the prince. It was exercised by means of periodic and very strict parades (*ʿarḍ*) which were taken if possible by the prince or at least in his presence, and at the end of which the men were given their pay [see DAFTAR].

The total amount of pay was very variable, as was its nature and the intervals at which it was paid, which might be monthly or yearly, while the situation of temporary soldiers was a further confusing factor. In general, money payments and payments in kind which could be dealt with in accounts together with the former were combined. As far as we can believe the scattered and inaccurate data which are all we have, it seems that up to about the 4th/10th century, the pay of a foot-soldier in the Caliphate varied between 500 and 1,000 dirhams a year, that is, about two to three times the earnings of a Bag͟hdād journeyman; the cavalry earned double this and the commanders naturally more again. To this must be added payments in kind, gifts from sovereigns on their succession to the throne, gratuities on the occasions of feasts, battles, etc., not to mention those which the troops' growing lack of discipline enabled them to appropriate, or the booty taken after victories or perhaps rather in the permitted period of pillage which followed them. In addition, the state budget had to support the cost of manufacturing

arms, the upkeep of armouries, fortresses, roads of military importance, transports, animals, etc. At 14[1]/8 dirhams to the dīnār, the legal rate of exchange in ʿAbbāsid times, the manufacture of arms, etc., may be estimated to have cost some five million dīnārs, quite apart from the expense of an army of 50,000 men, whose overall budget at the zenith of the empire we know to have been in the neighbourhood of fourteen million dīnārs. The two together presumably accounted for half the income of the state; a heavy burden, bringing with it heavy taxation, discontent and, in a vicious circle, revolts provoked by this discontent which lessened the chances of a decrease in taxes since military effort had then to be intensified and an ever-growing proportion of the budget be taken up by the demands of the army. Moreover, even when it had sufficient available funds on account, the Treasury did not always possess the liquid assets needed for the payment of the army at the time promised, and when this happened another vicious circle appeared, and the complaints of those concerned over the delays could only be appeased by means of increases which compromised the future even more. More and more often, the caliphs had to cede the government of provinces to generals on condition that henceforward they and not the state would pay their own army. It is hardly necessary to recall the way in which this development led to the formation of autonomous principalities, but all the same it did not solve the problem of finding by one means or another the resources needed for the upkeep of the whole army.

This was why very soon it was necessary to reorganize the system of payment completely by means of the spread and transformation of the system of *iḳṭāʿ* ([*q.v.*]; see also DAYʿA) which, to express it briefly, allowed the army to tax a village or a district and thus take directly from the source the sums which were due to them. It is not possible to dwell here on the alterations in the administrative order which resulted from this development, but it is worth remarking that the value of the *iḳṭāʿ* seems to have been considerably greater than that of their former pay (500-1,000 dīnārs). This indicates clearly the growing social and political importance of the army and fits in with the fact that on his *iḳṭāʿ* the cavalryman had to provide for some few retainers as well as to maintain an increasingly large amount of gear and secure the whole of his supplies in kind. It must be kept in mind, too, that in the district allocated to him, the *muḳṭāʿ* had now to take over the expenses which had formerly been the business of the state, so that the income of the *iḳṭāʿ* was not solely given up to covering the simple pay of earlier times. Such very varied applications of *iḳṭāʿ* were tried out under different states and in different periods, that only a brief enumeration of them is possible here. The system of *iḳṭāʿ* could be used for the whole army or for only a part of it; it could free the *muḳṭāʿ* or not from the obligation of paying the tithe, *zakāt*; it could be temporary and exchangeable or definitive and hereditary; it could be individual, that is to say formulated to assure the upkeep of each cavalryman and his few retainers or general, that is to say very much broader and put into the charge of an officer on condition of his being responsible for the supplies and upkeep of a whole contingent, a situation which, due allowances being made, amounts more or less to the grant of a whole district (for which see above). Finally, the *iḳṭāʿ* could to all intents and purposes free the *muḳṭāʿ* of all narrow governmental control within the extent of the jurisdiction assigned to him or, on the contrary, leave him under detailed supervision and subject to the intervention of the state administration. This was the situation in Egypt, and from it developed the organization of the Mamlūks [*q.v.*]. It is possible that in Syria certain mutual influences occurred between the Muslim *iḳṭāʿ* and the fief of the Latins installed there following the Crusades.

Leaving aside differences of time and place, it can be seen that in almost every country of the Muslim east (rather less so in the west), the army has played an important and special part. Guardian of real power and of growing fortunes based on landed property, it constituted more and more the true aristocracy superimposed upon the ancient native rural and urban aristocracies. By the manner of their recruitment almost foreigners to the native population, which in consequence paid little attention to their internal conflicts and changes of domination, the army imposed on this native population something of the régime of a military occupation which, nevertheless, was only upheld by the mutual support given to one another by the army and the orthodox religious framework of the régime which depended on it. This was a development whose scope, overflowing by far the domain of military matters proper, can in conclusion be no more than indicated here.

Bibliography: Most of the important information is to be found in the chronicles. However, ideas concerning certain aspects or problems of the army are to be found more explicitly discussed, from the first century of the ʿAbbāsids on, in treatises such as the *Risālat al-ṣaḥāba* of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ and the *Risāla fī manāḳib al-Turk wa ʿāmmat dj̲und al-K̲h̲ilāfa* of al-Dj̲āḥiẓ (ed. Van Vloten 1903); and in some works on finance, certain chapters deal specifically with military administration, for example, the *K. al-K̲h̲arādj̲* of Abū Yūsuf and especially, the general treatise on institutions with the same title by Ḳudāma written at the beginning of the 4th/10th century; then in the 6th/12th century, the *Minhādj̲* of Mak̲h̲zūmī for Egypt which enables us to complete the retrospective accounts in the *K̲h̲iṭaṭ* of Maḳrīzī (i, 94 ff.) and, in Persian, the *Siyāsatnāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk (Saldj̲ūḳids), the *Adab al-mulūk* of Fak̲h̲r-i Mudabbir Mubārak-s̲h̲āh (representing the military tradition of the G̲h̲aznawids and G̲h̲ūrids, still unpublished), the *Dastūr al-kātib* of Hindūs̲h̲āh Nak̲h̲dj̲awānī (representing the military tradition of the Mongols of Persia), etc. On the other hand, according to the evidence of the *Fihrist*, there existed early enough a technical literature in Arabic concerned with the military arts and engines of war, which drew its inspiration from Greek and Īrānian antiquity; however, no example of this has been preserved prior to the Ayyūbid period which produced the *Tadhkira fī 'l-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya* of al-Harawī, ed. and French trans. J. Sourdel-Thomine in *BEO*, xvii (1962), the *Treatise on swords* attributed to Kindī, analysed by J. v. Hammer-Purgstall in *JA*, v/3 (1854) and published by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī in *Rev. Fac. Lettres Univ. Fuad I* xiv/2 (1952), and especially, the *Traité d'armurerie* put together for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by Marḍā or Marḍī Ṭarsūsī, ed. Cl. Cahen in *BEO*, xii (1947), a type of literature which was to be developed further in the time of the Mamlūks. On the Persian side should be mentioned the *K. al-ḥarb wa 'l-s̲h̲adj̲āʿa* (G̲h̲az-

nawid), published by I. and M. Shāfiʿ in *IC*, 1946. Earlier information about the Muslims' manner of fighting has been preserved in Byzantine literature, especially in the *Taktikon* of Leon VI and the *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos, as well as in Armenian chronicles.

No general and thorough modern work exists on the Muslim army in the "classical" centuries. The account of A. v. Kremer in his *Kulturgeschichte des Islams*, i, remains useful; it should be complemented on several points by the corresponding chapters of R. Levy in his *Social structure of Islam*, by ʿA. Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and Ḥ. Ibr. Ḥasan in *al-Nuẓum al-Islāmiyya*, and by A. v. Pawlikowski-Cholewa in *Die Heere des Morgenlandes*, 1940; better, but more limited geographically, is the chapter, p. 485-508, of B. Spuler in his *Iran in frühosmanischer Zeit*; see also M. F. Ghāzī, *Remarques sur l'armée chez les Arabes*, in *Ibla*, 1960. The following are monographs dealing with shorter periods: for pre-Islamic Arabia, F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, 1886, which should be complemented by the studies on pre-Islamic Arab society of H. Lammens, B. Farès, etc.; for the period of the conquests, the considerations of Caetani in his *Annali*, iv, and the dissertation of L. Beckmann, *Die musl. Heere der Eroberungszeit*, Hamburg 1952; for the Umayyads, N. Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omayyaden nach Tabari*, 1921, and A. E. Kubbel, *Sur certains traits du système militaire omayyade*, in *Palestinskiy Sbornik*, iii, 66 (1958) (in Russian, with an analysis in French by M. Canard, in *Arabica*, 1960, 219-21); for the ʿAbbāsids, W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der Abbasiden, Studie über Qudama*, in *Isl.*, xxix (1950); and for some later states, the two important studies by C. E. Bosworth, *Ghaznavid military organization*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), and H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, iii (1951); see also the chapter on military matters in B. Spuler's *Mongolen*², 1955. For the political and social aspects, see Cl. Cahen, *The body politic*, in *Unity and variety in Muslim civilization*, ed. G. E. Von Grünebaum, 1955.

From a more technical point of view, K. A. C. Creswell's *Arms and Armour*, 1956, gives considerable space to examples from the museums, for the most part of a later period than that which has been dealt with here; important is K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlischen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen*, Helsinki 1941, which compares all the "oriental" societies; also A. Zeki Velidi, *Die Schwerter der Germanen* (in fact, this speaks mainly of the Muslim world), in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), not used by A. Mazahéri, *Le sabre contre l'épée*, in *Annales ESC*, xiii (1958); cf. Cl. Cahen's notes to his editon quoted *supra*. For Greek fire, there is now a general review of the use of this in all countries by J. R. Partington, *A history of Greek Fire and gunpowder*, Cambridge 1960 (cf. D. Ayalon, *A reply to Prof. J. R. Partington*, in *Arabica*, 1963). For the *iḳṭāʿ*, see Cl. Cahen, in *Annales ESC*, 1953. For the sake of comparison, it is worth reading R. C. Smail, *Crusading warfare*, Cambridge 1956. (Cl. Cahen)

ii. — Mamlūk [see mamlūks].

iii. — Muslim West

The word *djaysh* in north-west Africa has two further special meanings.

1. *Djīsh*, plur. *Djyūsh* means in the south of Algeria and Morocco an armed band to go out on a *ghazw* (ambush for purposes of plunder or of a holy war) against a caravan or a body of troops. When the *djīsh* consisted of several hundred men, it was called a *ḥarka*. The *Djyush* carried on their operation from the northern Sūdān or the Niger valley throughout the Sahara and the south of Algeria and Morocco. They were composed sometimes of Tuāregs but more often of Berbers from the southern slopes of the High Atlas. The latter assembled on the al-Mayder plateau in the valley of the Wēd Gheris.

When the formation of a *djīsh* was decided upon, the Tuāreg who were to belong to it bound themselves together by an oath before setting out. Among the Awlād Djarīr on the borders of Algeria and Morocco, two mounted marabouts were placed opposite one another. Between these two men of religion ran those intended for the foray, with a branch of the *retem* (Sahara broom) in their hands which they would throw into the air. Each *djīsh* took with him some one to bring him luck, usually a marabout or a warrior who had already taken a successful part in several similar enterprises.

In the sandy plains of the Sahara or in the sand hills the members of the *djīsh* walked in Indian file so that the enemy could not estimate their number from their tracks. They also made all sorts of deviations. When they came to the place chosen for the ambush, they lay in wait. The attack was usually made by night or in the grey of morning, a fierce onslaught, a hail of shot mingled with the shrill wild yells of people shrieking like demons, while the rifles poured forth bullets. All the forces of the attacking party were concentrated on the first onslaught. The terrified animals could no longer be controlled and often stampeded in all directions. Then began the second part of the fight, in which the best horsemen of the *djīsh* played the principal part in driving their dismounted opponents into the desert to die. It was mainly to put down the *djyūsh* that the French military authorities instituted the corps of *Méharistes Sahariens*, who have succeeded in restoring order.

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2. *Djīsh*, or according to the pronunciation in western Morocco *gīsh*, a kind of feudal organization in the Moroccan Army.

Historical. The *djīsh* dates from the beginnings of the reigning dynasty. Previously the various dynasties of North Africa had succeeded to power with the help of groups of the people whose political and religious interests were their own. Revolutions not only overthrew the ruling families but forced them to maintain their power by force of arms and to spill their blood on countless battlefields. The great families, tribes and clans, who had accompanied the first ruler, became extinct. Lest they should become dependent on Berber clans, who could not be relied on to be faithful to a dynasty they had not created, the sultans had to surround themselves with foreign mercenaries, who had no connexion with the

Atlas territory. The older North African dynasties enlisted Christians, Kurds, Persians and negroes. Under the Banū Waṭṭās, however, the Kurd, Christian and negro guards were abolished and replaced by a guard composed solely of Arabs (*al-shurṭa*). This was composed mainly of the elements which had been introduced to west Morocco by the Almohad ruler Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (Dwī Ḥassān, Shabanat, Kholoṭ etc.) or of Maʿāḳil Arabs from the Tlemcen country (Swīd, Banū ʿĀmir, Ṣbāyḥ, Riyyāḥ, etc.). The latter were quartered in the environs of Fās (Fez) and formed the corps of Sherāga (Orientals). The attacks of the Christians in the 9th/15th century forced the ruler of Fās to place garrisons in the strongholds on the coast called *makhzen* (garrison placed in a stronghold), which was very soon to be transferred to the whole feudal organization of Morocco. But this *makhzen* succumbed to the attacks of the Portuguese and Spaniards, the rebellious Berbers and those of a new Maʿāḳil *makhzen*, which had been formed by the Saʿdid Sharīfs of Sūs (1545).

When the Saʿdids had become lords of the kingdom of Fās, they quartered the Arabs of their *djīsh* in the garrisons of Fās, under the name of *Ahl Sūs*; they were soon afterwards transferred to the fortresses of the Gharb as a defence against the Kholoṭ Arabs of the former Marīnid *djīsh*. They later united the remnants of the *djīsh* of the Banū Waṭṭās (Shabana, Zirāra, Awlād Mtāʿā, Awlād Djerrār) with their own and placed them in the garrisons of Tadla and Marrākūsh. The Sherāga were also enlisted and remained in garrison in the neighbourhood of Fās. The Saʿdid army, the *djīsh*, was thus created. As in the time of the Banū Waṭṭās, it consisted of military cantonments of members of the *makhzen* who were at the call of their sovereign throughout their lives. They lived on estates which formed a kind of fief and were free from taxation. The highest officials rose from their ranks.

But the Saʿdid court became influenced by the Turks in the adjoining lands. In addition to the corps of *djīsh*, the Sharīfs wished to have a corps drilled in the European fashion by Turkish instructors. The nucleus of this corps, consisting of Andalusian Moors, renegades and for the greater part of Sudan negroes, was only of any real value in the reign of Sultan Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (al-Manṣūr). While this dynasty was breaking up in the civil wars caused by rival claimants for the throne, Sultan ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaykh wished to have a body of faithful troops upon whom he could implicitly rely and gave the Sherāga most of the lands which they had previously held only in fief.

When Mawlāy al-Rashīd seized the throne in 1665, and with the help of Arabs and Berbers from the Udjda country founded the dynasty of ʿAlid Sharīfs, he amalgamated his retainers with the Sherāga of Fās. His successor Mawlāy Ismāʿīl gave the *djīsh* its character. His mother belonged to the Arab tribe of Mghāfra, a division of the Udāya. He invited this tribe to come from the other end of Sūs and settled them as a *makhzen* tribe near the lands of the Sherāga of Fās. He reorganized the negro contingent the members of which he had sought out with the help of the Saʿdid Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's registers. They had to swear an oath of fealty on the Imām al-Bukhārī's book; whence their name *ʿAbīd al-Bukhārī* (slaves of Bukhārī, plur. Bwākher). The *djīsh* further consisted of the Sherāga (Awlād Djamaʿ, Hawwāra, Banū ʿĀmir, Banū Snūs, Sedjʿa, Aḥlāf, Swīd, etc.), the Sherārda (Shabana, Zirāra, Awlād Djerār, Ahl Sūs, Awlād Mtāʿ, etc.), the Udāya (the Udāya proper, Mgafra etc.) and Bwākher. These were the four *makhzen*-tribes and together formed the *djīsh*. Henceforth the history of the *djīsh* is that of the domestic history of Morocco; indeed it may be said that their history is that of the revolutions of Morocco. In the reigns of Mūlāy Ismāʿīl's successors, it was the *djīsh* that decided the fate of the rulers. The four great tribes acted as suited their individual interests. From 1726 to 1757, in the brief space of 31 years, 14 Sultans were enthroned, and deposed or slain by them, in consideration of the presents (*munā*) they received. In 1757 on the death of the Sultan ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl, who had himself been seven times deposed and restored again, his son Muḥammad succeeded him. Under his iron rule, the *djīsh* tribes were kept under control. He broke the power of the Bwākher by dividing them up and sending them to garrison the various seaports. To counteract the influence of the Sherārda of Tadla and the plain of Marrākush, he enlisted sections of the tribes of this plain in the *makhzen*—Mnābeha, Rḥāmna, ʿAbda, Aḥmar and Harbil. Each of these tribes had to send two ḳāʾids and their retainers to the *djīsh*. These detachments were released from their tribes, entered the *makhzen* of Marrākush, to which they belonged, received the pay of other troops and were freed from taxes (*nayba*).

Under Sultan Yazīd, son of Muḥammad, insubordination again broke out, favoured by the weak character of the ruler. He was assassinated and the struggles for the throne of Morocco began again, which became the plaything of the *djīsh* tribes. Finally, about 1791, Mawlāy Slīmān succeeded in winning his way to the throne and overthrowing his rival Mawlāy Hishām, who had been chosen in Marrākush. While he was on a campaign against the Berbers in the south, the Sherārda aroused a great rebellion against him. The Udāya took his side against the rebels and seized the opportunity to plunder Fās. Mawlāy Slīmān was victorious but on his death his successor Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was proclaimed sultan by the Udāya in 1822. The latter was almost overthrown by another rising of the Sherārda and had as a rule to reside in Marrākush, the better to be able to control the tribes. But events in the north of his kingdom, a rising of the Udāya, the conquest of Algeria by the French and the wars of his representative ʿAbd al-Ḳādir against them, forced him to retire to Fās. He wished to take the field in person against the French. But after his defeat at Isly, he recognized how unequal to European armies his *djīsh* was, and resolved to have an army modelled on those of Europe. His successor Muḥammad carried out this plan by his edict of 22 Radjab 1277/18 July 1861. The organization of the new army was after many experiments finally entrusted to a body of French officers.

State of the Djīsh since the French Protectorate. The *djīsh* still consisted of the Sherāga, Sherārda, Udāya and Bwākher with the half *makhzen*-tribes of the plain of Marrākush (ʿAbda etc.). The tribes still had only the use of the lands occupied by them, except the Sherāga, who obtained the cession of most of their lands, and the Bwākher, almost all of whom had land around Meknès (Miknāsa). The *djīsh*-tribes were divided into regiments of 500 men (*rḥa*). At the head of each *rḥa* was a *Ḳāʾid rḥa*, a kind of colonel. Below him were five *ḳāʾid al-mya*, commanders of 100 men, each of whom had 5 *muḳaddams* below them, who were subordinate

officers commanding 20 men. The private soldier of the *djīsh* was called *mkhāznī*.

The members of the *djīsh* could attain to the highest positions in the *makhzan*. The Bwākher retained a special privilege; from their ranks alone were drawn the *Shwirdet*, pages of a kind, who were employed in the palaces of the sovereign. The Udāya had the right to call themselves "Uncles of the Sultan". The tribes belonging to the *djīsh* were each commanded by a Pasha, except the Sherārda and Udāya, who were divided into garrisons, each of which was commanded by a Ḳāʾid. The Pasha of the Bwākhīr was also Pasha of Meknès, and the Pasha of the Ahl Sūs was also Pasha of Fās Djadīd. All officers were supposed to live in their garrison towns but in time of peace they did not strictly observe this rule. Their military duties were not taken very seriously and most of them lived on their estates. The administration of the affairs of the tribe was in the hands of the *shaykh*, the oldest of the *ḳāʾid rḥa*.

When the Sultan required troops each *makhzen*-tribe sent a detachment corresponding to the number of its *rḥa*. This held for the Sherāga, Sherārda and Udāya, all of which consisted of too many families for them to belong in a body to the *djīsh*. The families who were to be detached were chosen by drawing lots. The others were free, though they paid no taxes and tilled the lands granted them for the time. They formed the reserve of the *djīsh*, from which the Sultan drew the corps of *msakhkhrīn* (muleteers, army service corps) for the *ʿasker* (regular army) and for the artillery. Each member of the *djīsh* called to the colours received in his garrison an allowance of rations (*mūna*) and a monthly pay (*rāteb*).

The Bwākher, who numbered only 4000 men at the time in question, and the Ahl Sūs, were all soldiers. A special register was kept of them. They all received the *mūna* and the *rāṭeb* and their widows also received pensions.

Positions in the *djīsh* often descended from father to son and their holders thus formed a permanent element in the *makhzen* caste.

Although the creation of a standing army on the European model, the *ʿasker*, lessened the influence and political importance of the most prominent members of the *djīsh*, it by no means destroyed its military value. The fact that they were peerless horsemen was largely due to the *laʿb al-bārūd* [*q.v.*] "powder-game", in which the *djīsh* excelled. The field artillery of the standing army was also recruited from them. Trained by the officers of the French military mission, this artillery acquitted itself excellently.

As we have already seen, the *djīsh* was divided into *rḥa* and these were commanded by a *ḳāʾid*, below whom were five *ḳāʾid mya* with their *muḳaddams*. The standing army on the other hand was divided into *ṭābōrs* (battalions or regiments) of varying strengths; these were commanded by a *ḳāʾid rḥa* who had a *khalīfa* and a corresponding number of *ḳāʾid mya* below him.

Distribution, Armament and Dress. The *djīsh*-troops were unequally distributed among the four imperial cities Fās, Meknès, Rabāṭ and Marrākush, the two seaports Tangier and Larash, and a few small garrisons in the Gharb (west), and the east and south of Morocco. In these places the *djīsh* and their people lived by themselves and hardly mixed with the local populations by whom they were feared.

These horsemen were armed with the Winchester rifle, which supplanted the long flintlock; they also carried the *sekkin*, a sword with an almost straight blade, a horn handle and a wooden sheath covered with red leather. They also carried the *kummiyya* and the *khandjar*, engraved daggers with very curved blades. Their horses as a rule, were good, but the harness as usual among the Arabs was very poor.

They wore a cloth kaftan of some loud colour over which they put a white *faradjiyya*, the whole being held together by a leather girdle with silk embroidery. Their red *sheshiyya* was conical in shape and wound round by a turban of white muslin. Soft slippers of yellow leather with long spikes instead of spurs completed this picturesque outfit.

Bibliography: al-Salāwī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā*, Cairo 1312, *passim*, especially iii and iv; Cour, *Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs*, Paris 1904, *passim*; E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1905, 172 ff.; Weisgerber, *Trois mois de campagne au Maroc*, Paris 1904, 82 ff.; Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières Années du XVIe Siècle*, Algiers 1906, 172 ff.; Houdas, *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812*, Paris 1886, *passim*. (A. Cour)

iv. — Modern period

The history of Islamic armies in modern times is, in its most significant aspect, the history of their reform and westernization. The progress of the sciences in Europe enabled European Powers to wage war with increasing efficiency and their threat to the Islamic domain became progressively more difficult to contain. But it is only towards the end of the eighteenth century that Islamic rulers came to appreciate the threat in its full extent and began to take measures to cope with it. It is true that European techniques of war had been introduced here and there before that time, but the attempts were neither systematic nor long-lived. In the Crete campaign of 1644-69 the Ottoman Government employed English and Dutch instructors to train their sappers. At the end of the seventeenth century, the foundries for the manufacture of cannon were being supervised by a Venetian ex-officer of artillery named Sardi who had turned Muslim. In 1731, the French Count de Bonneval (1675-1747) who had adopted Islam and taken the name of Aḥmad (see aḥmad pasha bonneval), was given the task of reforming the Corps of Bombardiers. He recruited and trained some 300 Bombardiers and opened a school of geometry. The innovation did not survive opposition by the Janissaries. In the 1770s, the Baron de Tott, a French Officer of Hungarian extraction who had gone to Turkey with Vergenne's Embassy, and had then been employed by Choiseul on an embassy to the Crimean Tatars, was employed to form a corps of artillery on modern lines. He formed a corps of 600 *sürʿatčis* and built a foundry for cannon. He also introduced the use of the bayonet and set up a mathematical school for the navy. His work was continued, after his return to France in 1775, by a Scotsman called Campbell who had adopted Islam and was known as Ingiliz Muṣṭafā. When the Russians annexed the Crimea in 1783, westernization of the Ottoman army gained impetus, and the French Government, fearing the extension of Russian power further, lent officers headed by General Lafitte for technical instruction and training in military engineering and the art of fortification.

But it was not until the reign of Selīm III (1203-22/1787-1807) that a sustained attempt was made to transform the old-style army into an instrument fit for modern conditions. In 1792 and 1793, as part of his attempt to reform the civil and military institutions of the Empire, and to set up a new system, a *Niẓām-i djadīd*, he issued regulations for

a new model army, which itself came to be known by this very title. The advantages to be derived from a new model army may be gathered from a treatise published in translation in an appendix to W. Wilkinson, *An account of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia ...*, London 1820. The treatise, which the author states to be a translation from a Turkish Ms, dating from 1804, when the Sultan was concerned to extend his military reforms, purports to be "An explanation of the Nizam-y-Gedid institution", and to have been written on the Sultan's orders by "Tshelebi-Effendi, one of the Chief dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire, Counsellor, Minister of State etc. [= Čelebi Muṣṭafā Re<u>sh</u>īd Efendi, known as Köse Ked<u>kh</u>udā]". It is a long defence of the Sultan's policy setting out the evils of the old system and the reason for the superiority of European armies which it explains thus: "... their regular troops keep in a compact body, pressing their feet together that their order of battle may not be broken; and their cannon being polished like one of Marcovich's watches [Markwick Markham, a London watchmaker in great esteem with the Turks] they load twelve times in a minute and make the bullets rain like musket balls". The advantages of the *Niẓām-i <u>dj</u>adīd*, according to the author, are that the wearing of a distinctive uniform makes desertion more difficult, that the troops, drawn up in lines with the rear ranks parallel with the front, are easy to manœuvre, that discipline is easier to enforce, and that defeats are not turned into routs. A British Admiralty handbook of 1920 summed up and contrasted, after a century or so of reform, the methods and aims of the old and the new model armies: "The chief features of the new methods were the systematic training of the soldiers in drill movements and in the handling of weapons; (2) their organization in symmetrical units (regiments etc.). The undrilled forces of the older armies fought to a large extent as individuals, and the military units, so far as they existed, lacked cohesion and discipline, and therefore full effectiveness in attack and defence. Under the new system the commanders exercised more control in battle and could better calculate the numbers of their troops and thus dispose them more accurately to plan [whilst in the old style armies units were not of uniform size, even approximately]. Under the reformed system an army in battle order was arranged in two or three successive lines, the rear line acting in support and as reserves and each unit being of uniform depth. The ancient crescent movement of the front line was replaced by movement in straight lines". (Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty, *A handbook of Syria*, 1920, 163). From all this it may be concluded that the objects of military reforms were threefold: the acquisition and manufacture of modern weapons, the inculcation of technical knowledge in the appropriate sections of the army such as sappers and artillerymen, and the creation of a disciplined body of troops easily manœuvrable by their commanders. The second requisite has always been, in the modern period, more difficult to attain than the first, and the third infinitely more so than the second.

Selīm III took up and amplified previous attempts at modernization. He introduced reforms in the artillery, tightened discipline, and increased the pay for privates from 20 to 40 aspers per day. The corps was put under the command of a *topči ba<u>sh</u>ī* who was made a pa<u>sh</u>a of two tails, but administration, supplies and finances were separated from operational command and entrusted to a *nāẓir*. In 1796, following earlier negotiations, the Ambassador of the French Republic Aubert-Dubayet brought with him to Istanbul a number of officers who were assigned to train the *Niẓām-i <u>dj</u>adīd*. The new corps, composed of voluntary recruits, consisted of *topčis*, *sipāhīs* and infantry. The recruits were drilled in the European fashion and taught how to manœuvre in a body on the battlefield. Seeking to avoid undue contact with the Janissaries who looked askance at these innovations, the Sultan housed the *Niẓām* in barracks outside Istanbul. When the French, in Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition, marched into Palestine in 1798, the new corps, which amounted by then to three or four thousand gunners and musketeers, was employed to help with the defence of Acre and gave a good account of itself. This raised its reputation particularly with the people of Istanbul and encouraged the Sultan to take a further step. He now desired to recruit troops for the *Niẓām* by conscription both from among the Janissaries and the general population. This new departure had the support of the Mufti, Welizāde Meḥmed Emīn, and other high religious dignitaries who were convinced of the necessity of reform. It is presumably in aid of this policy that the treatise of "Tshelebi-Effendi" mentioned above was written. The Sultan promulgated a *<u>kh</u>aṭṭ* on these lines in 1805, but strong opposition was soon apparent. The reading of the *<u>kh</u>aṭṭ* was interrupted by a riot in Edirne, and one *ḳāḍī* reading its text in Rodosto was actually killed. The Janissaries broke out in revolt in Rumelia and the authorities dared not have the *<u>kh</u>aṭṭ* read in Istanbul. A regiment of *Niẓām* sent from Anatolia against the rebellious Janissaries was decisively defeated. The Sultan had to appoint the A<u>gh</u>a of the Janissaries as Grand Vizier, to return the *Niẓām* to Anatolia, and abandon for the time being the extension of reforms. But he does not seem to have given them up altogether for in 1806 an attempt was made to recruit for the *Niẓām* in Ḳaramān whose Wālī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pa<u>sh</u>a, had shown energy and loyalty in carrying out the Sultan's policy, and in 1807 auxiliary levies, Yamaks, were ordered to put on the *Niẓām* uniform. This precipitated a revolt, and the Yamaks marched on Istanbul and were soon the masters there. The Sultan attempted to save his throne by decreeing the abolition of the *Niẓām*, but he was deposed by virtue of a *fatwā* which ruled that his actions and enactments were contrary to religion. The Janissaries burnt down the barracks of the *Niẓām*.

Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā Pa<u>sh</u>a, who shortly thereafter procured the deposition of Selīm's successor Muṣṭafā IV and the enthronement of Maḥmūd II, attempted in 1808 to carry on with Selīm's schemes, by recruiting troops for the new model army which he sought to disguise by giving its members the traditional title of *Sagbāns* [*q.v.*], but his ruin and death at the hands of the Janissaries ended attempts at reform for the time being. It was not until eighteen years afterwards, in 1826, that Sultan Maḥmūd II (1808-39) was enabled, by a shrewd and lucky stroke, to end the power of the Janissaries and endow the Empire with a modern army. In 1826, having secured the support of the Mufti and the principal Janissary officers at a council held on 24-5 May 1826, the Sultan promulgated a *<u>kh</u>aṭṭ* which, while speaking of restoring the traditional practices of the Empire, in effect proposed the continuation of Selīm's reforms. A new force was to be formed by each Janissary battalion stationed in Constantinople providing 150

men from its ranks; 5,000 men in all were to be enrolled. The *khaṭṭ* provided for regular payment of salaries, for promotion by seniority, for the orderly provision of leave and pensions and for the abolition of the sale of military offices. The troops were to be armed with rifles and swords and to be trained by Muslim and not European officers. In spite of the ostensible agreement of their chiefs, the Janissaries revolted against the innovation. They proclaimed rebellion on 15 June, but the Sultan was ready for them and the mutiny was crushed. On 17 June the order of the Janissaries was abolished and shortly thereafter the *Sipāhīs*, the *Silīḥdārs*, the *Ghurabā* and the *ʿUlūfedjis* likewise.

No time was lost in proclaiming the formation of a new army which, to emphasize the ostensibly Islamic and traditional character of his reforms, the Sultan called the *ʿAsākir-i Manṣūre-i Muḥammediyye*. The new military code, published towards the end of 1826, divided the army into 8 sections and put at its head the *Serʿasker* [*q.v.*] who combined the functions of commander-in-chief and minister of war, and, under the Sultan, controlled the whole, except that a Grand Master of the Artillery (*Ṭopkhāna Nāẓiri*) was made responsible directly to the Sultan for the artillery, the engineers and munitions (see further BĀB-I SERʿASKERI). This division of functions between the Commander-in-chief and the Grand Master of the Artillery remained until 1909. The new army was to consist of 12,000 troops serving for twelve years; but the term of service was at times extended, as appears from a letter of Helmut v. Moltke of 1838, where he speaks of a term of service of 15 years.

In the following decades the army was considerably enlarged and its administration rationalized. By a law of 1843 army service was fixed at five years. In 1869 service was reduced to four years, in 1886 to three. In the Army Law of 1886, Ottoman subjects were made liable to service in the army for nine years from the age of twenty; they were then to be transferred to the reserve (*redīf*) for a further nine years and to the territorial army (*mustaḥfiẓ*) for a further two. The Law of 1843 provided for five army corps: the Imperial Guard, and the army corps of Istanbul, Rumelia, Anatolia and Arabistan. In 1848 a sixth army corps, with headquarters at Baghdād, was created. The army ranks were graded in the European fashion (a list of Ottoman army ranks with their equivalents in the British Army is conveniently found in Captain M. C. P. Ward, R.A., *Handbook of the Turkish army*, London 1900). The 12,000 of Sultan Maḥmūd's army were quickly increased. By the eighteen-forties the Ottoman armies had some 150,000 members, and this seems to have remained its peace-time strength thereafter. Until the promulgation of the *Khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* of 1856 the army was exclusively drawn from the Muslim population of the Empire. The *Khaṭṭ*, envisaging equality of rights and duties for all the Sultan's subjects, laid it down that henceforth military service would be borne by all, the poll-tax payable by the *dhimmīs* being abolished. This intention remained a dead letter, for until 1909, the non-Muslim subjects of the Sultan were exempt from military service against payment of a *badal* [*q.v.*], and such exemption seems to have tallied with the consensus of both the Muslim and the non-Muslim communities. The law of 1909 which abolished exemption for non-Muslims also abolished the privileged exemption from military service of the inhabitants of Istanbul.

This latter exemption gives an indication of the kind of difficulty which stood in the way of uniform military administration. The heterogeneous character of the Empire, the multiplicity of its religions and sects, the survival of ancient privileges and the creation of new ones during the nineteenth century militated against uniformity. The law of 1886 which mentions the exemption of the inhabitants of Istanbul also lays down that inhabitants of the *sandjak* of the Lebanon and of Samos would also be exempt. Also the law was not to be applied in Scutari (except for Durazzo), in the Yemen, the Ḥidjāz, Nadjd, Tripoli and Benghazi. These anomalies are a fair indication of the resistance which uniform European-style administration aroused.

The training and management of a conscript army and its performance in war depend on the existence of efficient health, supply and financial services, and on the orderly keeping of records. It was of course the case that such services had to be created at the same time as the army was being recruited and expanded, and it is to be expected that in time of emergency, particularly in the beginning, they would fall short of the need. In 1842, for instance, soldiers slept in their clothes and wore a heterogeneous collection of uniforms. Furthermore, the new model army depended heavily for training on a miscellany of foreign officers, French, English, Prussian, Austrian, who, as Christians, were treated with scant respect by the rank and file. Leadership at the top may have been energetic and knowledgeable, but subalterns and non-commissioned officers were scarce and inexperienced. This was the judgment of one observer in 1828 (C. Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828* . . ., London 1829, 26). The judgement is echoed by the Maréchal de St.-Arnaud in 1854 who wrote that in the Turkish Army there were two things only: a commander-in-chief and soldiers and that there were no intermediary points, no officers, and even less non-commissioned officers (E. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, Paris 1882, i, 116). In Helmut v. Moltke's judgment the advantages of European drill were lost by reason of the impersonality and mass character of the conscript army. The cavalry, he wrote, "learned to ride in masses, but they lost the impetuosity of the wild Turkish charge; and with their endurance of new customs, the old fanatical inspiration vanished. What was good in barbarian warfare was lost without gaining much benefit from the resources of civilization; popular prejudices were shaken, but the national spirit was destroyed at the same time, and the only change for the better was that the troops obeyed the orders of their leaders more than before". (*The Russians in Bulgaria and Rumelia* . . ., London 1854, 269.) The deficiency of officers was gradually made good. Maḥmūd II sent military and naval cadets to European colleges in 1827, and in 1834 the military college at Pangaltī (see ḤARBIYE) was opened. The following decades saw a steady increase in and accumulation of modern military knowledge, but it was not until the educational reforms of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II that a notable extension of military education came about. The creation of this modern military *élite*, conscious of its superior knowledge and open, by virtue of its training, to European ideologies, was to have momentous consequences in the political history of the Empire and its successor states.

Contemporary with the Ottoman army reforms were those carried out by Muḥammad ʿAlī, the Wālī of Egypt. Shortly after the consolidation of his

power in the country, Muḥammad ʿAlī determined on forming an efficient army. In 1815, after his return from the Ḥidjāz expedition, Muḥammad ʿAlī introduced European drill in his forces. The enterprise aroused great discontent and a mutiny broke out in Cairo; Muḥammad ʿAlī had to postpone his plans for the time being. In 1819 he obtained the services of Colonel Joseph Sève, a retired Napoleonic officer (who later embraced Islam and became known as Sulaymān Pasha [*q.v.*]) to direct training in a new military school which he established at Aswān, away from Cairo. The trainees were Sudanese slaves and 300 of Muḥammad ʿAlī's mamlūks. Sève encountered the same difficulties which European officers met in the Ottoman Empire: insubordination owing to contempt for the European Christian, and utter unfamiliarity with European techniques and drill. To start with, Muḥammad ʿAlī attempted to recruit Sudanese slaves for the rank-and-file, but their rate of mortality was extremely high: of the 24,000 slaves collected up to 1824 only some 3,000 were still alive by then. This method was abandoned and Muḥammad ʿAlī began recruiting from among the Egyptian peasantry. The *mudīr*s of the provinces were ordered each to provide a fixed quota of recruits. Press-gangs were first used to round up the recruits, an attempt was then made to substitute choice by lot (*ḳarʿa*) for the more forcible method, but neither force not persuasion could overcome the peasant's repugnance for military service: resistance, flight, self-mutilation were his unavailing resort; recruitment by lot proving even more unsatisfactory, the press-gang was once again employed. After the Morea campaign, Muḥammad ʿAlī, seconded by his son Ibrāhīm, increased the facilities for the training of officers; an infantry school, a cavalry school and an artillery school, all directed by Europeans, were established, and the French military code was translated and adapted for use in the army. He entrusted the administration of the army to a *nāẓir al-djihādiyya*, whose labours were to be guided and supervised by a council of officials, *dīwān al-djihādiyya*. By 1831 a disciplined force consisting of 20 regiments of infantry and 10 of cavalry was ready to take the field against the Ottoman Army in the Levant. At the end of the Levant campaigns in 1841 it was estimated that some 100,000 troops, including irregulars, were at the disposal of the Wālī of Egypt.

As part of the settlement between Muḥammad ʿAlī and the Ottoman Empire following his withdrawal from the Levant, the Egyptian Army was reduced to 18,000 troops, by a *fermān* of 13 February 1841. This figure was, however, informally increased by vizieral letters under the khedivate of ʿAbbās I and Saʿīd, the informal arrangement being confirmed by a *fermān* of 27 May 1866 issued to Ismāʿīl. This Khedive later succeeded in removing the limit on the number of Egyptian troops, a *fermān* to this effect being issued to him on 8 June 1873. But following his deposition, and consequent on the disturbed and enfeebled state of Egypt, the Ottoman Government was able to withdraw this concession on the accession of Tawfīḳ, and a *fermān* of 7 August 1879 once again limited the number of Egyptian troops to 18,000.

The second year of Tawfīḳ's khedivate saw the promulgation of a law (of 31 July 1880) which laid down that all Ottoman subjects in Egypt regardless of religion were liable, from the age of 19, to four years' active military service, followed by five years in the *redīf* and a further six in the territorial reserve. The recruits were to be chosen by lot from among those liable to conscription. It seems that this law contributed to the discontent which led to the ʿUrābī movement, since ʿUrābī and his friends argued that four years active service were not enough to gain promotion from the ranks; they therefore considered this law as directed by the Turkish element in the Army against the Egyptian element. An indication of their feelings on this matter is the law of 22 September 1881, which they forced the Khedive to promulgate, and which made promotion regular and mandatory once the prescribed periods of service, and examinations, were passed.

Following the collapse of ʿUrābī's movement and the British occupation of Egypt, the Khedive, by a decree of 17 September 1882, disbanded the Egyptian Army prior to its reorganization. A Khedivial rescript of December 1882 provided for a new army to be formed limited to 10,000 men. This army was intended for internal purposes, its general officers were British and its methods of training and organization followed the British model. Khedivial decrees promulgated in 1886 reiterated the provisions of the Law of 1880 and further allowed exemption on payment of a *badal* (a decree of 22 April 1895 disallowed exemption by payment of *badal* after the holding of the annual recruitment ballot). At the reconquest of the Sudan in 1898, the Army was increased to some 30,000 troops, but numbers thereafter reverted to 10,000-15,000 men until the signature of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936.

The attempts to reform military institutions in Persia during the nineteenth century were neither as sustained nor as systematic as in Egypt and the Ottoman Empire. Persia was drawn into European politics during the Napoleonic period, and both France and Britain attempted to acquire exclusive influence in the country. The French sent a mission to train Persian troops in 1807-8, as did the British in 1810. Thereafter a succession of foreign officers, Russian, French and Italian, attempted to introduce European drill and techniques, but their impact was neither profound nor lasting. In 1842 a modified form of conscription was introduced. The cultivated land was surveyed and divided into units, each unit (the amount of land which could be tilled by one plough) being liable to provide a soldier together with a monetary contribution, part of which went to provide for the conscript's family and part to the Government, to defray the expenses of the soldiers. The division of the country into British and Russian zones of influence following the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, and the events of the First World War, prevented the Persian Government from exercising effective control over its armed forces, and it was not until after the *coup d'état* of 1921 that Riḍā (Rizā) Shāh, who then became commander-in-chief, was able to organize the Persian army on the European model. A Conscription Act passed in 1925 provided for universal military service for a period of 2 years. A military college was also set up in Tehrān.

The successor Arab States which were set up after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War had, under the mandatory régime, small volunteer forces organized and trained by the mandatory governments whose methods of training and organization tended to influence later practices. On attaining full independence these states speedily introduced universal conscription, the administration of which was not always easy. The Government of ʿIrāḳ, the first to do so (by Law No. 9 of 1934), encountered armed resistance to conscription among

the Euphrates tribes and the Yazīdīs of Djabal Sindjār. A table of equivalent ranks in the armies of Arab states is conveniently set out in ʿAbdallāh al-Tall, *Kārithat Filasṭīn*, Cairo 1959, p. x.

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AL-**DJAYṬĀLĪ** (also AL-DJĪṬĀLĪ, var. AL-DJIṬĀLĪ), ABŪ ṬĀHIR ISMĀʿĪL B. MŪSĀ, celebrated Ibāḍite scholar who was a native of Īdjayṭāl (also Īdjīṭāl or Djiṭāl), an ancient village of the Djabal Nafūsa still there today and now called Idjeyṭal or Djeyṭal. The date of his birth is unknown. However, we know that he was a pupil of the *shaykh* ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Ṭarmīsī, who lived in the second half of the 7th/13th century. For some time he taught at Mazghūra (today Mezghūra or Timezghūra) in the eastern part of the Djabal Nafūsa not far from Īdjeyṭal. He also lived for nine years at the village of Forsaṭā situated in the western part of the Djabal Nafūsa. It seems that at this period he was occupied with trade. It is said that he once went to Tripoli with some slaves he wished to sell there. Thrown into prison by the *ḳāḍī* and the *amīr* of this town who wished to confiscate his goods, he was freed by the intervention of Ibn Makkī, governor of Gabès, to whom he had addressed a poem full of eulogies. Set at liberty, he retired to Djarba, which at this time was under the authority of the governor of Gabès. He died there, according to al-Shammākhī, in 750/1349-50, or according to Abū Rās in 730/1329-30, and he was buried in the cemetery of the great Ibāḍite-Wahbite mosque on this island.

He was the author of many treatises, especially concerning dogma and the law, which, according to the opinion of later Ibāḍite scholars, revived their sect: 1) *Ḳawāʿid al-Islām* on the fundamental tenets of Islam, of which there is a lithographed Cairo edition with a commentary by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Sitta al-Kusbī (10th/16th century); 2) *Al-Ḳanāṭir* (or *Ḳanāṭir al-khayrāt*), a kind of religious and moral encyclopaedia in several volumes, lithographed at Cairo; 3) *Sharḥ al-Nūniyya* (also *Sharḥ al-Ḳaṣīda 'l-Nūniyya* or *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-dīniyya mushtamil^an ʿala talkhīṣ maʿānī 'l-ḳaṣīda 'l-nūniyya*, a three-volume commentary on the poem rhyming in *nūn* on the principles of religion composed by Abū Naṣr Fatḥ b. Nūḥ al-Malūshāʾī; 4) *Kitāb fi 'l-ḥisāb wa-ḳism al-farāʾiḍ* or simply *Kitāb al-Farāʾiḍ*, a treatise on the calculation and division of inheritances based on a compilation by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Dardjīnī (7th/13th century, printed edition); 5) *Adjwibat al-aʾimma*, a collection of legal opinions originating with imāms of the Ibāḍite sect (in three parts); 6) *Kitāb al-Ḥadjdj wa 'l-manāsik*, a book on the pilgrimage and the ritual practices attaching to it; 7) a collection of epistles (*mā djamaʿa min al-rasāʾil*); 8) poems (*ḳaṣāʾid*), probably religious; 9) *Maḳāyīs al-djurūḥ wa'stikhrādj al-madjhūlāt*, on *fiḳh*, lithographed edition appended to the *K. al-Farāʾiḍ*; 10) *Tardjamat al-ʿaḳīda al-ḳanāṭir*; 11) *Kitāb al-Mirṣād*. Several manuscripts of these works are to be found in the libraries of the Mzab.

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DJAYYĀN (Spanish Jaén), capital of the Andalusian province of the same name, situated on the slopes of the rocky hill of Santa Catalina, on the summit of which the Muslims built a fortress which was considered to be impregnable; they also encircled the town with a wall. At the present time the town has a population of about 70,000. It stands in the centre of a fertile plain in which al-Idrīsī noted as many as 3,000 villages devoted to agriculture, and in particular to the breeding of silk-worms which is also the speciality of the *iḳlīm* of the Alpujarras, of which Jaén is the capital. On the other hand, he does not mention the cultivation of olive-trees, now the chief source of wealth. Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of it as one of the ancient cities of Spain under the name Auringis, conquered by Scipio during the second Punic war, after Hasdrubal's defeat nearby. At the time of the Arab conquest of the Peninsula, the *djund* of Kinisrīn settled there; on his arrival in al-Andalus, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I came in touch with it. In 210/825 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II ordered the *fata* Maysara, governor of Jaén, to build the great mosque with five naves supported by marble pillars, which dominated the whole view of the city. At the end of the reign of the *amīr* Muḥammad, the revolt of

ʿUmar b. Ḥafsūn broke out and the district of Jaén was the scene of struggles and frequent uprisings until the rebel was crushed at Poley in Ṣafar 278/ May 891. The town took the side of the *amīr* of Cordova but, in the following year, it was recaptured by the rebel and remained under his domination until 290/903. On the fall of the Caliphate the Banū Birzāl and the Banū Ifrān settled there as the result of a grant made by Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn. Later the town was taken by Habbūs b. Māksan, lord of Granada. The Almoravids occupied it without resistance, and it was from this town that Tamīm b. Yūsuf set out, in 501/1108, for the Uclés campaign. The Almohads entered the town in 543/1149, but the king of Murcia Ibn Mardanīsh annexed it in 554/ 1159 and handed it over to his father-in-law Ibn Hamushk. The *sayyid*s Yūsuf and ʿUthmān laid siege to it in the summer of 557/1162 but failed to capture it; and Ibn Mardanīsh, irritated by the defection of his father-in-law who had given the town to the Almohads in 564/1169, also failed. When starting the campaign for al-ʿIḳāb (Las Navas de Tolosa), al-Nāṣir set up his head-quarters at Jaén. The *sayyid* ʿAbd Allāh al-Bayāsī, governor of Jaén, rebelled against the caliph al-ʿĀdil, and allied himself with Ferdinand III of Castile, who laid siege to the town with great vigour, but was compelled to withdraw with heavy losses, in revenge for which he devastated the whole district. It was only in 644/1246 that he finally succeeded in incorporating the town in the kingdom of Castile. During the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries the town was subjected to constant attacks by the Banū Marīn and the Naṣrids of Granada and, thanks to its powerfully-built castle, became the defensive bastion of Castile. Al-Idrīsī, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim who copied him, noted the variety and wealth of springs, both hot and cold, within the town; some of these springs existed before the Arab period, such as *Ḥammām al-thawr* "the hot springs of the bull", where there was a marble statue of a bull, and the large spring covered with very ancient vaulting, from which the water flowed out into a large pool. Today, the cathedral square is embellished with a monumental fountain. Among the famous natives of Jaén in the Muslim period can be mentioned the poet Yaḥyā al-Ghazāl "the gazelle", who was sent to Constantinople by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II as his ambassador to the emperor Theophilus; the philologist Abū Dharr Muṣʿab, *ḳāḍī* of his native town in 509/1115-6, and referred to in *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭar* in various poems; Abū Muḥammad b. Djiyār al-Djayyānī, tax-collector in Fez under the Almoravids, who betrayed the governor prince Yaḥyā Ibn al-Ṣahrawiyā, great-grandson of Yūsuf b. Tashfīn, handed it over in 540/1146 to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and thereafter enjoyed great influence under his government.

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DJAYYĀSH b. Nadjāḥ [see Nadjāḥ, Bā].

DJAYZĀN, the name of a wadi, a port, and a *muḳāṭaʿa* (district or province) on the Red Sea in south-western Saudi Arabia. The classical form, Djāzān, is still often used, especially by writers from the province itself. Variant pronunciations are Djē-, Djī-, Djō-, and rarely Zē- (among the tribe of the Masāriḥa). The form Qīzān, which occurs on many maps, is spurious; it is said to be the plural of *ḳawz* (sand hill), whereas the plural of this word is actually *aḳwāz*.

The name appears to have belonged originally to the wadi, which rises in Djabal Rāziḥ and the territory of Khawlān in the Yaman, flows south of Djabal al-ʿUrr, and then turns south-westwards to empty into the Red Sea at the modern port (lat. 16° 53′ N, long. 42° 33′ E). A detailed list of tributaries is given in al-ʿUḳaylī, i, 33-5, along with the names of 13 small dams (*ʿaḳm*, pl. *ʿuḳūm*). The *sayl*s, with a volume of water reaching 500,000 gal. a second and waves over 10 m. high, make the lower reaches one of the most productive agricultural regions in Arabia, but without proper flood control much of the water is wasted. The principal crops are millets (*dhura* and *dukhn*) and sesame; other grains, cotton, and indigo are also grown. The soil is so rich that fertilizers are not needed, and four plantings a year can be raised. In 1380/1961 the Saudi Arabian Government, with technical and financial assistance from the United Nations, was implementing a scheme for erecting a large dam across the wadi, modernizing the irrigation system, and building good roads to link the port with its immediate hinterland.

Two channels, one of which is known as the Pearly Gates, lead from the open sea past the Farasān Bank to Djayzān port. The approach is beset with shoals, and large vessels must anchor a mile or more offshore. A haven for dhows lies inside the reefs. The town is built beside hills, the highest rising c. 60 m. Probably salt domes in origin, the hills are now capped with forts. There is no other elevated ground in the vicinity, and on the landward side the town is encircled by a salt flat. Round grass huts with conical roofs of African design prevail, but there are also a number of masonry houses, along with a new hotel, hospital, customs house, and school, all of modernistic aspect.

The climate is trying, with very high temperatures and humidity and fierce sand storms in summer, and the water supply is poor, the only sweet wells lying some distance out of town. Many inhabitants are stricken with malaria during the monsoon rains.

Pearling was once the occupation for which Djayzān enjoyed special fame. On the outskirts of the town a salt mine is exploited commercially; the open face of the salt is c. 5 m. thick.

Djayzān province, sometimes called Tihāmat ʿAsīr [see ʿAsīr and the accompanying map], embraces, in addition to the lowlands, the mountains west of the continental divide on the crest of which stands Abhā. Among the mountains belonging to Djayzān are those of al-Ḳahr, Harūb, al-Rayth, Banū Mālik, and Fayfā, all of which are 50 km. or more from the coast. The port of al-Ḳaḥma, cut off from the rest of the province by a lava field, its neighbour al-Shuḳayḳ, and the Farasān Islands [*q.v.*] are the only places in the province where the date palm grows; elsewhere the *dawm* palm flourishes. Some of the numerous livestock are regularly exported to the Ḥidjāz. The grazing grounds of the nomads are called *mayr*.

The chief tribe of the region in early Islamic times was Ḥakam b. Saʿd al-ʿAshīra [*q.v.*] of the Southern Arabian stock of Kahlān, with Banū ʿAbd al-Djadd as the ruling family. The tribe's capital was the city of al-Khaṣūf, the site of which appears to be no longer known, and its port was al-Shardja, the ruins of which lie near al-Muwassam just north of the present Yemen border. Other tribes in the lowlands

were Kināna, al-Azd, and Khawlān. It has been suggested that Ghassān [q.v.] once lived in this part of Arabia.

A comprehensive list of the modern tribes is provided by al-ʿUkaylī, i, 83-93, including 12 tribes in the lower wadi with Djayzān port as their headquarters and 17 in the upper wadi centered on Abu ʿArīsh [q.v.]. Among the more important ones are the Masāriḥa near Abū ʿArīsh, the Djaʿāfira along the coast of Ṣabyā [q.v.], and Banū Shuʿba with their capital at al-Darb (or Darb Banī Shuʿba, incorrectly shown on the map in *EI*², i, 708 simply as Darb). The province contains a noteworthy linguistic boundary: in Djayzān port and Abū ʿArīsh and to the south the old form *am* for the definite article is still common, while in Ṣabyā and Baysh and to the north it gives way to *al*.

The information given here on the history of the province supplements the account in the article ʿASĪR.

The name Djayzān (Djāzān) occurs in a *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet, in which it is bracketed with Ḍamad, the name of the wadi immediately to the north. Djayzān when mentioned in the early geographers apparently refers to the wadi only, and not to a town.

The dates 373-93/c. 983-1003 are suggested by al-ʿUkaylī for the rule of Sulaymān b. Ṭarf (or Ṭaraf), the lord of ʿAththar (or ʿAthr) on the coast of Baysh, but these dates are not certain. Possibly al-Ḥusayn b. Salāma (d. 402/1011-2), the Ziyādid vizier who improved the pilgrim road to Mecca, was the one who broke Sulaymān's power and brought al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī back under Ziyādid rule.

Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī, 101-3, presents new evidence to show that ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī was killed in 459/1067, not in 473/1081 (cf. *EI*¹, iv, 516). If this is correct, ʿAlī's victory in the battle of al-Zarāʾib could not have taken place in 460/1068; Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī, 83, dates it in 450/1058.

The time of the establishment of the Sulaymānid *sharīf*s in the Mikhlāf is undetermined. One source states that Dāʾūd b. Sulaymān, great-grandson of Mūsā al-Djūn, was the first of the line to migrate from the Ḥidjāz to the Mikhlāf, in the days of the Rassid al-Hādī Yaḥyā (d. 298/910). However, the Sulaymānids do not appear to have transferred the core of their power to the Mikhlāf until after the final defeat in Mecca, c. 462/1070, of their leader Ḥamza b. Wahhās at the hands of the Hāshimid Abū Hāshim Muḥammad. Ḥamza's son Yaḥyā and grandson Ghānim both held authority in the Mikhlāf. The Sulaymānids from Ghānim on are often called Ghānimids (al-Ghawānim), a name which has the advantage of avoiding confusion with Sulaymān b. Ṭarf. Wahhās b. Ghānim was the Ghānimid killed in battle near Ḥaraḍ by the Mahdid ʿAbd al-Nabī b. ʿAlī in 560/1164.

Under the Ziyādids, the Nadjāḥids, and the Mahdids, parts of the Mikhlāf, if not the whole region, were at times brought under the nominal or real suzerainty of Zabīd, the capital of all these dynasties (204-569/819-1174). For example, Surūr, who as vizier was the power behind the Nadjāḥid throne, 529-51/c. 1135-56, secured the Mikhlāf as a fief for himself. From time to time the Zaydī Imāms, often reigning in Ṣaʿda in the highlands almost due east of Djayzān, intervened in the affairs of the Mikhlāf.

Under the Ayyūbids the Ghānimids in the Mikhlāf were called the Shuṭūṭ, the meaning of which sobriquet is not given. Two sons of Ḳāsim b. Ghānim in succession revolted against Ayyūbid rule but were overcome.

The Rasūlid al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf (d. 696/1296) in his *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb* names Hāshim b. Wahhās, a great-great-grandson of Ghānim b. Yaḥyā, as lord of Djayzān in his time. Other Ghānimids were lords of Baysh and Bāghita, while members of collateral branches ruled in lower and upper Ḍamad, Ṣabyā, and al-Luʾluʾa (al-Shuḳayḳ).

In the early 9th/15th century a new branch of Ghānimids appeared, the Ḳuṭbids, the issue of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad, who chose as their capital Darb al-Nadjā, the ruins of which are still to be seen near Abū ʿArīsh. The Ḳuṭbids were usually subject to the Rasūlids and later the Ṭāhirids. In 882/1477 or 884 the Sharīf of Mecca, Muḥammad b. Barakāt I, raided the Mikhlāf and carried off much loot, including precious books. The connexion of Barakāt II's brother and rival, Aḥmad Djayzān (or al-Djayzānī, d. 909/1503-4), with the Mikhlāf is not clear. He may have lived with his Ghānimid relatives there for a time and secured support from them. One of his descendants was ʿAbd al-Malik al-Djayzānī. Some of the descendants of the Sharīf al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Abū Numayy (d. 1010/1601) were also known as Dhawū Djayzān.

Visiting Djayzān in 909/1503, Varthema found 45 vessels from different countries in the port. Writing in the late 9th/15th century, the master pilot Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mādjid [q.v.] gives instructions for entering Djayzān (Djāzān) port. He mentions both the Mikhlāf and the port of al-Shardja. As an authority on this part of the Red Sea he cites the famous captain ʿUthmān al-Djāzānī.

During the first half of the 10th/16th century, Djayzān was attacked on three different occasions by Ḳays b. Muḥammad al-Ḥirāmī, the lord of Ḥaly Ibn Yaʿḳūb [q.v.].

In 946/1539 an Ottoman Mudīr was assigned to the Mikhlāf with headquarters at Abū ʿArīsh. About this time the district was occupied briefly by the Sharīf Muḥammad Abū Numayy. In the 11th/17th century the influence of the Zaydī Imāms grew stronger. In 1102/1690 Aḥmad b. Ghālib, who had made himself master of Mecca for several years despite the fact that he did not belong to any of the three principal clans of Sharīfs (Dhawū Barakāt, Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh, and Dhawū Zayd), was appointed governor of the Mikhlāf by the Zaydī Imām of Ṣanʿāʾ to whom he appealed for favour after his expulsion from Mecca. The first Khayrātid master of the Mikhlāf, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, also began his career in 1141/1728-9 as governor there for the Zaydīs. Aḥmad's grandfather Khayrāt, on coming from Mecca to Abū ʿArīsh, had been assigned a stipend from the revenues of Djayzān port by the Zaydī Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḳāsim (d. 1087/1676).

In the mid-12th/18th century the warlike tribe of Yām of Nadjrān penetrated into the Mikhlāf under its new leaders, the Makramid [q.v.] *dāʿī*s of the Ismāʿīlī persuasion.

Niebuhr in 1176/1762-3 found the second Khayrātid, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, an independent ruler over the extensive district of Abū ʿArīsh, which included Djayzān port.

Although the Wahhābīs were never very active in the Red Sea, in 1809 ships of theirs entered Djayzān port and seized coffee and other goods. About a year later the port was taken by Wahhābī *mudjāhidūn* of the tribe of Ridjāl Almaʿ. The Khayrātid Sharīf Ḥamūd Abū Mismār was instru-

mental in bringing about the capture by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a's forces of the Wahhābī highland chieftain, Ṭāmī b. S̲h̲uʿayb al-Rufaydī, who recited the Ḳurʾān as he was paraded through the streets of Cairo in a scene described by al-Djabartī, iv, 219-20.

Combes and Tamisier, visiting Djayzān in 1835, observed that the commerce of the port had greatly declined as a consequence of Muḥammad ʿAlī's monopolistic practices. Senna and coffee were sent from the mountains to Cairo.

The most powerful of the K̲h̲ayrātids who came after Ḥamūd was his grandnephew al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (regn. 1840-8), who held Tihāma as far south as Mocha and even occupied for a time Taʿizz and other places in the mountains of al-Yaman al-Asfal. Beaten in battle by the Zaydī al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, al-Ḥusayn abdicated. Under Ottoman rule two of al-Ḥusayn's sons served short terms as Ḳaʾimaḳāms in Abū ʿArīs̲h̲.

The last K̲h̲ayrātid, a nephew of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, revolted against the Turks and ruled independently and oppressively for a brief span. His name is given by al-ʿUḳaylī as al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, whereas *Nayl al-waṭar*, i, 356, calls him al-Ḥasan.

Having supplanted the Turks in the Mik̲h̲lāf in 1909, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī defeated them two years later at al-Ḥafāʾir, close to Djayzān port. The capital was moved by al-Idrīsī from Abū ʿArīs̲h̲ to Ṣabyā.

Under Saudi Arabian administration the capital has been transferred to Djayzān port. The fullest description of the port and province in recent times is given by Philby, who was there in 1936.

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DJAZĀʾ (AR.), recompense, both in a good and in a bad sense, especially with reference to the next world; *t̲h̲awāb* (Ar.) means the same but usually only in a good sense. Opinions differed on its nature, duration, the recipients, and how men knew of it. The Muʿtazila held that God must reward goodness and punish wickedness; reason shows this though some held that the eternal duration of recompense was known only by revelation. The opposing view was that God is not a subject for argument; if He sends all to the fire, it is His justice, and if He takes all into paradise, it is His mercy. The Muʿtazila of Baṣra said that God must reward goodness but may forgive all sinners. Ibn Karrām taught that revelation told that reward may be merited. Some said that reward should be eternal because it is greater than man's merit but not punishment because of God's mercy, though wilful disobedience to Him deserves an eternity of penalty. The common view was that no believer would be kept in the fire for ever; God would at last deliver him. Most Muʿtazila and the K̲h̲awāridj said that great sins sent the sinner to the fire for ever but Djāḥiẓ said that this was the fate of obstinate unbelievers only and that the fire drew such to itself by its nature, God did not send them. Kaʿbī said that venial sins would not be punished in the fire but that they might add up to great. Murdār said that even venial sins sent to the fire for ever. Some argued that, if the penalty were limited, so should the reward be, for man's acts are limited. Another view was utilitarian; if God's threats were to be efficacious, they should be as wide as possible but, if encouragement were needed, the limitation of punishment should be stressed. The general view was that all infants would go to paradise though some made their lot depend on the religion of the parents.

Bis̲h̲r b. Muʿtamir [*q.v.*] said that God can punish infants without being unjust. Some held that believing *djinn* would be in paradise but others thought there would be no resurrection for them, either because there was no resurrection except as a reward or no reward except after responsibility and on either ground *djinn* were excluded. Some said that useful animals would be in paradise but in more beautiful forms to delight the blessed while noxious beasts and insects would be in the fire, helping to torment the wicked but feeling no pain themselves. Paradise is a reward for merit or bounty to those without it, infants and madmen. The nature of recompense was in dispute, whether spiritual, corporeal or both; Naẓẓām argued that bodies were needed if the blessed were to eat and drink. He also said that there were no rewards in this world as blessings were only for encouragement; he also said that God cannot lessen the joys of paradise nor the pains of the fire. Djubbāʾī taught that the torments in hell were not profitable to any but were the result of wisdom and justice. A saint, seen in a dream, said that friends were eating and drinking before the throne but God knew that he cared for none of these things so granted him to look on His face. It was one of the charges against the philosophers that they taught only a resurrection of the spirit. Kaʿbī said that if the hand of a thief were cut off and he died an unbeliever, it was given to one who had lost a hand but died a believer or was given to some other believer. The next world is *dār al-djazāʾ*.

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(A. S. TRITTON)

ii.—OTTOMAN PENAL LAW

In Ottoman usage, *djazāʾ* means punishment and *ḳānūn-i djazāʾī* (cezâi) a penal code.

The oldest Ottoman penal code so far discovered forms part of the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II published by Kraelitz (*MOG*, i, 1921, 13-48). It deals chiefly with those criminal offences that are to be punished by strokes and fines. Soon it was enlarged by an additional chapter, a *siyāsetnāme* [*q.v.*] (see *Belleten*, vi, 1942, 37-44), which prescribes capital or severe corporal punishment (*siyāset*) and regulates criminal procedure. This enlarged code constitutes the first part of the so-called *Ḳānūnnāme* of Süleymān I (*TOEM*, 1329, suppl.) which in its major parts,

however, seems to have been compiled already under Bāyezīd II. A third criminal code came into existence in Süleymān I's time. This *ḳānūnnāme*, which will be published soon, covers many additional fields and is differently organized. A fourth, most comprehensive but rather inconcise version, was compiled privately by a clerk of a *s̲h̲arīʿa* court in the 11th/17th century. In addition, there exist a number of intermediary and secondary types.

Criminal regulations are also found in individual *fermān*s and *yasaḳnāme*s (*e.g.*, Babinger, *Sult. Urkunden*, Munich 1956) and in the *ḳānūnnāme*s concerning the organization of the State, the market police, the artisans, and the various military forces. The numerous provincial *ḳānūnnāme*s contain relatively few penal regulations, since in principle the same criminal law was in force in all parts of the Ottoman Empire. In some Muslim countries conquered in the early 10th/16th century the Ottomans at first confirmed existing secular, including criminal, law, such as the D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳadr codes (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 119-29). After a short time, however, they introduced their own penal code, proclaiming their wish to abrogate many *bidaʿ* of the previous rulers and alleviate the plight of the population by reducing penalties and abolishing abuses in criminal procedure.

In Ottoman criminal codes wide use is made of *taʿzīr*, *i.e.*, discretionary punishment by the *ḳāḍī* in the form of corporal chastisement, generally the bastinado [see FALAḲA]. For many offences the penalty is a fine (*ḳînlîḳ*, *d̲j̲erīme*), with or without *taʿzīr* and often in addition to damages. Fines are laid down either as fixed amounts of money (mostly graded in accordance with the financial circumstances of the offender) or set in a certain ratio to the number of strokes inflicted on the criminal. In many instances slaves and non-Muslims pay half the fine of a free Muslim, but in the case of the non-Muslims this privilege is partly cancelled out by their being graded differently. The fines constituted a considerable income for the fief-holders and/or governors (or their subordinates); in later periods *ḳāḍī*s often exacted fines for themselves. Many offenders were also condemned to be ignominiously led through the town and exposed to to public scorn (*tes̲h̲hīr*). Imprisonment and banishment are rarer penalties; sending to the galleys, though not mentioned in the *ḳānūn*, was quite common. The form of capital punishment referred to specifically in the criminal codes is hanging; historians and travellers also report impaling, beheading, ganching, strangling, etc. Other severe penalties mentioned in *ḳānūnnāme*s are emasculation, the cutting off of a hand or the nose, the branding of the forehead, etc.

The *ḳānūn*, though pretending merely to complete the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, diverges from its criminal law in a number of important points. On the one hand, it commutes certain *ḥadd* penalties or seems to assume that they are commonly commuted to lighter punishment. On the other hand, it extends the range of many penal regulations of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* and adds a great many delicts not covered by it. With a view to serving, above all, the interests of the State and ensuring public peace and order, many more crimes are made punishable by death (*siyāseten ḳatl*); many of the penalties are evidently meant to be preventive or intimidating. The monetary fines and some of the corporal penalties laid down in the *ḳānūn* are unknown to religious law. The treatment of attempt, complicity and repeated offences also differs from the *s̲h̲arīʿa*. Most important, the *ḳānūn* frees criminal procedure from the latter's limitation and strict regulations. Similar to the earlier *maẓālim* (*s̲h̲urṭa*, *ḥād̲j̲ib*) and *muḥtasib* jurisdiction in other Muslim countries, the Ottoman *ḳānūn* accepts evidence that is not admissible according to the *s̲h̲arīʿa* and proof regarded by it as insufficient. Admission of guilt may be obtained by torture; suspicion and the criminal past of the accused are taken into decisive consideration. In several later *ḳānūnnāme* manuscripts, marginal notes, mostly ascribed to the *Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲î*, abolish some regulations of the criminal code because of their inconsistency with the *s̲h̲arīʿa*.

The Ottomans tried to eliminate the traditional dualism of *ḳāḍī* and *maẓālim* jurisdiction by making the *ḳāḍī* administer both *s̲h̲arīʿa* and *ḳānūn*. Ordinary citizens were generally to be punished by the governors, *subas̲h̲î*s, *voyvoda*s, etc. only after a trial by a *ḳāḍī*, but in reality this rule was constantly violated. The clash between the authority of the *ḳāḍī* and the governor in the administration of criminal justice remained a major problem throughout Ottoman history. Certain classes of the population (soldiers and other *ḳapî ḳullarî*, *tîmār*-holders, *s̲h̲erīf*s, *ʿulemāʾ*, foreigners, etc.) were in many cases subject to special penal regulations and tried by separate tribunals. Trade delicts and certain religious and moral misdemeanours were dealt with by the *muḥtasib* [*q.v.*].

The Ottoman penal codes were not conceived merely as laws for the protection of society from the criminals but to a large extent also as a means of protecting the people from oppressive officials and fief-holders. Sulṭān Süleymān I ordered that a bound copy of the penal and feudal *ḳānūnnāme* be sent to every law-court, but to what extent its criminal regulations were actually enforced is not known. From the 11th/17th century, in any case, the *ḳānūn* for various reasons began to lose its practical importance. Criminal justice was henceforth based exclusively on the *s̲h̲arīʿa* as administered by increasingly corrupt *ḳāḍī*s or the arbitrary will of oppressive governors and their subordinates. Ottoman criminal justice, praised by European observers in earlier periods for its efficiency, degenerated completely.

Modern reform of Ottoman penal law began under Maḥmūd II. After the destruction of the Janissaries (1826), governors were forbidden to inflict the death penalty without the formal sentence of a *ḳāḍī*. A new penal code, published in 1840 in the spirit of the Gülk̲h̲āne Charter, still largely aims at curbing tyrannic officials. Penalties are reduced and procedure is to become more regular; every capital punishment has to be confirmed by the Sultan. This primitive and very deficient law was somewhat improved by the code of 1851, only to be replaced in 1858 by a completely different, secular and comprehensive penal code which followed French law and, with many amendments, remained in force until 1926.

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(U. HEYD)

AL-DJAZĀʾIR is the name given to the islets just off the north-west coast of Algiers Bay,

and which now constitute the Admiralty of the town. The Arabs applied the name of the islets to the town, which was founded in the 4th/10th century on the mainland opposite them. Under the Turks it became the capital of Algeria, and has remained so ever since. It was the French who transformed its Arab name into "Alger" (Algiers). It lies at a latitude of 36° 47′ N., and a longtitude of 3° 4′ E. (Greenwich) In the census of 1954 a municipal population of 355,000 was recorded, of whom 162,000 were Muslims; in 1959, the population of Greater Algiers (city and adjacent communes) stood at 805,000, of whom 456,000 were Muslims.

The discovery in 1940 of an important collection of Punic coins, of lead and bronze, found in the district neighbouring the port (J. Cantineau & L. Leschi, *Monnaies puniques d'Alger*, in *Comptes Rendus Ac. Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, 1941, 263-77), is ample proof of the existence of a Phoenician warehouse, probably on the islets, with the name Ikosim (the isle of owls, or thorns).

The Latin form of the name, Icosium, was given to the Roman settlement on the mainland. It is not known at which date this was founded, but it was not an important settlement, although it was the seat of a bishopric. We find no more reference to it in historical documents after the fifth century. According to al-Bakrī (*Desc. de l'Afr. sept.*, 66, *tr.*, 156), its ruins existed until the 4th/10th century, when the Muslim town was founded by Buluggīn b. Zīrī.

Its name then became Djazā'ir Banī Mazghanna, after a Ṣanhādjian tribe which lived in the region at that time. It remained a town and port of little importance up to the early 10th/16th century, and was tied to the vicissitudes of the central Maghrib. It should nevertheless be mentioned that at the beginning of the 6th/12th century the Almoravids erected a large mosque in Algiers, and that from about 771/1370 onwards, under the protection of the Thaʿāliba Arabs in the Mitidja area, it gradually asserted its claim to be an independent town. In the 9th/15th century its protector was a holy figure, Sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī, and since that time he has been the patron saint of the city. The mediaeval population of Algiers consisted in part of refugees who had fled from the Christian reconquest of Andalusia, and many of them established themselves as corsairs in Algiers.

In 1510 the Spanish imposed a levy on the city and occupied the islets, in order to suppress the corsairs. When it was realised that this would seriously impair their prosperity, the inhabitants and their leader, Salīm al-Tūmī, sought for an ally to help rid them of the Spanish yoke. When they summoned to their aid the Turkish corsair, ʿArūdj [*q.v.*], who at that time ruled over Djidjelli, he did not succeed in expelling the Spaniards, but seized the town himself and established it as his principal base of operations. The Spaniards attempted to recapture Algiers in 1516 and 1519, but met both times with failure. After the death of ʿArūdj in 924/1518, his brother Khayr al-Dīn assumed power, but was not able to maintain control over Algiers, and fell back to Djidjelli, 926-31/1520-5. Then in 1525 Algiers once more sent out an appeal for assistance, and on 27 May 1529 he succeeded in capturing the fortress (Peñon) which the Spaniards had built on the largest of the islets. The Peñon was pulled down, and the materials served to construct the breakwater which henceforth connected the islets with the mainland. Such was the origin of the port of Algiers.

Meanwhile, Khayr al-Dīn had bequeathed his conquest to the Ottoman Empire, which was thus in possession of an important naval base in the western Mediterranean. It is therefore in no way surprising that Charles V attempted to capture Algiers in 1541. On October 23 his forces landed on the shores of the Bay of Algiers, and after crossing the Wādī Harrāsh, they set up camp on a hill overlooking the town, now known as the Fort l'Empereur but at that time called Kudyat al-Ṣabūn. But during the night of 24-5 October the weather quickly deteriorated, and half the landing fleet was lost in the consequent storm. Defeated as much by the elements as by the Turks, Charles V had to abandon much material and withdraw from Algiers, leaving it with a legend of invincibility which remained intact until 1830.

Charles V's expedition served as a warning signal to the Turks, and they proceeded to extend and perfect the fortifications, especially on the seaward side, until Algiers literally was a stronghold. Moreover, it had become the capital of a considerable Turkish province, enjoying a *de facto* independence of Constantinople, and was the operating base for many corsairs. All these factors contributed to its great economic and social development, beginning in the 16th century.

Very little is known of the town before the Turkish period. It is probable that the original city-wall extended as far as the Turkish wall, but that the density of building within it was much smaller. The Turkish wall, 3,100 m. long, was continuous, even on the coastal side, and was equipped with towers and a moat. Five gates gave access to the city: the Fishery gate and the Fleet gate on the harbour side, Bāb al-Wād to the north, Bab ʿAzzūn to the south, and Bāb Djadīd to the south-west. Various other fortifications reinforced the protection offered by the city-wall: the Ḳaṣba, which in 1816 became the residence of the Dey of Algiers, was built in 1556 to replace a Berber stronghold on the summit of the triangle which the town then formed; the Fort l'Empereur, built on the site of Charles V's camp; several forts and gun emplacements between the Bāb al-Wād and Bāb ʿAzzūn gates along the sea-front, and on the former islets which guarded the port.

The Turks built a palace called the 'Djanīna' (small garden) inside the town, and the former archbishop's palace was at one time part of it. It was used as the Regent's residence until 1816. In the lower part of the town, near the port, several Turkish dignitaries and wealthy privateers built themselves luxurious dwellings. The interior decorating, depending on the owner's taste and his 'catch' on the high seas, was often of European origin (Venetian crystal, Dutch porcelain, etc.). Many mosques were built, the best-known of which is the Djāmiʿ Djadīd (also called the 'Fishery Mosque') in Government Square (1660). There were also a number of barracks and prisons in the town, but virtually nothing remains of them.

We have at hand only rough estimates of the population at various times. Haëdo put it at 60,000 at the end of the 16th century. According to P. Dan, it was 100,000 in 1634, whereas Venture de Paradis counted only 50,000 inhabitants at the end of the 18th century, and 30,000 in 1830. It was always a very mixed population; there were the Turks, mainly members of the army and administration (numbering 4,000 in 1830); the Kulughlis (Turkish Kul-oghlu, cf. the Awlād al-Nās in Egypt), offspring of Turks and the indigenous women of that region, and held in disdain by the Turks; old families with

long roots in the past, often of Andalusian or Moorish origin, forming the bulk of the commercial and artisan classes; the numerous Kabyles, forming the labouring class; Saharans from Biskra and the Mzāb; Jews (4,000 in 1830), the richest of whom had come from Leghorn in the 18th century, and enjoyed the privileges of Europeans; some European business-men and consuls; finally, those taken prisoner from the Christians, numbering as many as 25,000 in 1634 (P. Dan). It is clear that the population was just as much Mediterranean as North African.

As far as is known, the town of Algiers was placed directly under the authority of the head of government. The judicial system was administered by two Ḳāḍīs, one from the Ḥanafī school for the Turks, the other from the Mālikī school for the Arabs. They worked together with a tribunal of rabbis and consuls representing the Jewish and Christian minorities. The police-force was staffed by *shāwsh*s (Turkish *čāʾūsh* [*q.v.*]) under the command of a *bāsh shāwsh*. There was one force to deal with the Turks, and another to deal with the Moors. To complete the administration, there was a chief of municipal services (*shaykh al-balad*), and a *mizwār*, more or less the equivalent of the *muḥtasib* in Moroccan cities. The Jewish community had its own institutions, and Europeans enjoyed the protection of their respective consuls.

Privateering was the great industry of the Turkish era. After having taken the form of a holy war or of a conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Spanish Empire of Charles V and Philip II, it became a profitable business and therefore the chief occupation of the inhabitants. All sections of the population drew benefit from it—the government, which received part of the takings, private individuals, who formed companies to arm the ships, and the general populace, who gained from the generosity of the privateers and wealthy ship-owners. It also led to an influx of adventurers, usually of European or Mediterranean origin, who 'took to the turban' to give vent to their spirit of adventure and taste for plunder, or simply to avoid falling into the hands of slave-traders. It has been estimated that there were 8,000 renegades in Algiers in 1634.

Such piracy often provoked reprisals from the European powers. They generally took the form of naval bombardments of Algiers, some of which caused serious damage. The Spaniards bombarded it in 1567, 1775 (the ensuing landing did not succeed) and 1783, the Danes in 1770. The main attacks came from France (1661, 1665, 1682, 1683, 1688) and England (1622, 1655, 1672). After having been largely suppressed by the end of the 18th century, privateering experienced a revival during the wars of the French Revolution and the First Empire, and the British consequently carried out further shellings in 1816 and 1825.

The French invasion of 1830 had been prepared in 1808 by Major Boutin, an engineering officer sent by Napoleon to make a first-hand report of the conditions necessary to carry out such an operation successfully. The general lines of his plan were used by those who prepared the expedition of 1830; the French forces landed on the shore of the Sīdī Farrūsh peninsula, to the west of the town, on 14 June, and by the 29th they had reached the defences of the Fort l'Empereur. It was captured on 4 July, and on the following day the town itself surrendered, without having suffered much damage.

For many years the French lived within the existing urban boundaries, although they did burst out at one or two points. But as the town's population increased, it overflowed northwards (Bāb al-Wād quarter) and southwards (Bāb ʿAzzūn quarter). Today the metropolis extends to the suburban districts of Saint-Eugène (N), Hussein Dey (S.-E.), Birmandreis (Biʾr Murād Raʾīs) (S), El-Biar (S.-W.) and almost as far as Bouzaréa (W). Its growth remains uninterrupted, and is gradually spoiling the open spaces and gardens which formerly surrounded the town.

The port has undergone a considerable expansion in recent years, and in 1955 it registered the movement of 9387 ships and 500,000 passengers. The airport of Maison-Blanche (25 kms. E. of the town) meets all the requirements of modern international air services.

The organization of local authorities has been modified since April 1959. The city, divided into arrondissements on the French pattern, together with the neighbouring communes, forms the single municipality of Greater Algiers.

After the Anglo-American landings of 8 November 1942, Algiers became the provisional capital of France until Paris was liberated in August 1944. Since the beginning of the Algerian revolution on 1 November 1954, Algiers itself has been the scene of political events of far-reaching importance, particularly those of 6 February 1956, 13 May 1958 and 24 January 1960 and the following days. Since 1 July 1962 it has become the capital of independent Algeria.

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

DJAZĀʾIR-I BAḤR-I SAFĪD, the name given to an *eyālet* of the Ottoman empire, often called simply DJAZĀʾIR and usually known to Europeans as the Vilayet of the Archipelago. It originated as the area under the administration of the Ḳapudan Pasha, the *sandjaḳ beyleri* being known as *deryā beyleri* [see DARYĀ-BEGI] and serving with the fleet instead of with the army. At its greatest extent, in the 11th/17th century, it comprised most of the islands of the Aegean Sea, coast districts of Asia Minor and Greece, and for a time Cyprus, but never Crete. At first the Ḳapudan Pasha, an official of two *ṭughs*, governed

the *sandjak* of Gallipoli (Gelibolu) with the *ḳaḍā*'s of Galata and Izmid. Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, who submitted to the Sultan in 940/1533, and his successors were *wazīrs* of three *ṭughs* and members of the *dīwān-i humāyūn*. He already governed Algeria and Mahdiyya. His *eyālet* was extended to incorporate the *sandjaḳs* of Ḳodja-eli, Ṣughla and Bīgha in Asia, and Negropont (Eghriboz, Euboea), Lepanto (Aynabakhtī), Ḳarlī-eli, Mitylene (Midilli), and Mistra (Mizistre) in Europe. Rhodes (Rodos) was added after his death and about 1027/1618 Chios (Sakız), Naxos (Naksha) and Andros (Andıra). In 1052/1642 Algiers became virtually independent. Cyprus was added to the *eyālet* about 1080/1670 but was detached again in 1115/1703 when it became a *khāṣṣ* of the Grand Vizier. It reverted to the Ḳapudan Pasha in 1199/1785. Mistra and Ḳarlī-eli were attached to the *eyālet* of the Morea by Merzifonlū Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, and by the time that the Tanẓīmāt abolished the jurisdiction of the Ḳapudan Pasha the eyālet consisted of the six *sandjaḳs* of Bīgha from which it was governed, Rhodes, Chios, Mitylene, Lemnos (Limni) and Cyprus. In 1876, after the transfer of Bīgha to the eyalet of Khudāvendigar, the centre was moved to Chios and later, in the course of further reorganizations, to Rhodes. Cyprus was occupied by Britain in 1878; Rhodes and the Dodecanese islands passed to Italy after the war of 1911-2, and were incorporated in the Greek kingdom after the second world war; the remaining islands were occupied by Greece during the Balkan war, and the 'eyalet of the islands' ceased to exist. The islands of Imroz (Imbros) and Bozdja-Ada (Tenedos) [*qq.v.*] were returned to Turkey by the treaty of Lausanne, 1923.

Bibliography: Sāmī Frasherī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iii, 1794-5; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 420-2; further information will be found in the articles on the various islands, placed under their Turkish names. (C. F. Beckingham)

al-DJAZĀ'IR al-KHĀLIDA, 'the Eternal Islands', the Arabic equivalent of Gk. αἱ τῶν Μακάρων νῆσοι, Lat. Fortunatae Insulae, as applied to certain islands off the W. African coast, apparently the Canaries. The 'Fortunate Islands', Djazā'ir al-Saʿādāt (also Djazā'ir al-Suʿadā'), are sometimes distinguished from, more usually identified with, the Eternal Islands. As these names indicate, the early Arab geographers acquired their knowledge of the Atlantic islands from Classical, *i.e.*, Greek, sources, and their accounts share the vagueness of reference of the originals. Thus, as well as the Canaries, the Madeira group and the Azores, even the Cape Verde Islands, may occasionally be intended (cf. Reinaud, *Taḳwīm*, i, ccxxxv). The islands are described as possessing rich natural fertility and a mild climate throughout the year. They are inhabited, six or seven in number, lying in the Circumambient Ocean (al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ) at the farthest point to the west. According to al-Bīrūnī (cited Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 70), they are 200 *farsakhs* out to sea, while in other accounts (Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 104, see also below) they can be seen from shore on a clear day. Following Ptolemy, Arab geographers made the prime meridian pass through the Eternal Islands. The Spaniard Bakrī (d. 487/1094) has fresh knowledge, or at least a new source, for he names the islands Furṭunātash, certainly from Latin (cf. Pons Boigues, *Historiadores*, 163), and al-Idrīsī (*circa* 1154) gives the names of two of the six islands: Masfahān, for the volcanic peak of which he cites a description, evidently Teneriffe, and Lamghūsh (?). Al-Idrīsī also knows that in the time of the Almoravid ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn (500-37/1106-43) an expedition was planned, though it never took place, to an island opposite Āsafī (Safi, Morocco), the smoke of which could be seen on a clear day. Al-Dimishḳī (d. 727/1327) has the story of a successful voyage to certain islands 10° west of al-Andalus (ed. Mehren, 135), which should be taken with accounts of the exploits of Khashkhāsh and the Adventurers (al-Mugharrirūn) (see al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ). These stories afford perhaps the only indications of direct contact in early times between the lands of Islam and the Atlantic islands. On the other hand, Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Būlāḳ-Beirut, 53-4) mentions a Christian expedition to the Eternal Islands, which seems to refer to Portuguese activity in the Canaries in 1341 (cf. R. Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae*, Leiden 1936-9, iii, 138, 206 ff.).

Bibliography: C. A. Nallino, *Al-Ḫuwârizmî e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo, Memorie d. R. Accad. d. Lincei, class. sci. morali.*, Ser. quint., ii/1a (Rome, 1896), 24-5 (reprinted in *Raccolta di scritti*, v. 490 ff.); *Al-Battani sive Albatenii Opus Astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, 25-8, transl. 17-20; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. De Slane, 109; al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, 2, 28, 55, transl. 1, 33-34, 63; F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah*, London 1958, i, 117. (D. M. Dunlop)

al DJAZARĪ, the historian Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Madjd al-Dīn Abī Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Djazarī al-Dimashḳī (not to be confused with his compatriot Abu 'l-Khayr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad . . . , better known as Ibn al-Djazarī [*q.v.*], the author of *Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn* and a contemporary of Tīmūr), was born at Damascus on 10 Rabīʿ I 658/25 February 1260. He studied with a number of teachers including al-Fakhr ʿAlī al-Bukhārī, Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Kāmil al-Taḳī al-Wāsiṭī, Ibn al-Mudjāwir and al-Dimyāṭī [*q.v.*]. Hard of hearing, he was a good conversationalist, pure of heart, sincere and upright; he liked the company of virtuous people, towards whom he showed great magnanimity. His fame chiefly rests on his historical work styled *al-Ta'rīkh al-musammā bi-ḥawādith al-zamān wa-anbā'ih wa-wafayāt al-akābir wa 'l-aʿyān min abnā'ih*, better known by the shorter and simpler title of *Ta'rīkh al-Djazarī*. It is a large work of which only the last volume is preserved both in the library of Köprülüzāde at Istanbul and in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya. Several other copies are also to be found in European libraries; a detailed analysis of the Paris fragment was published by J. Sauvaget in 1951. The remaining portion, however, still awaits an editor. It is patterned more or less on the lines of al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, arranged as a diary of events (annals). The latter's work is apparently a continuation of al-Djazarī's. The Istanbul MS. has a detailed biography of the author appended to it in the hand of his friend and admirer the historian al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad al-Birzālī [*q.v.*] who also compiled for him a *Mashyakha* (*Mashīkha*) comprising the biographies of ten of his *shaykhs*. The extant portion of his work is in three volumes and comprises the events of thirteen years from 726/1326 onwards until his death in 739/1338.

He was rated very highly as a historian, and his work would have proved a mine of information had

the whole of it survived. Al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī have both utilized it and extensively quoted from it. Al-Dhahabī, however, is of the opinion that facts have been mixed up with fiction (*al-ʿadjaʾib wa ʾl-gharāʾib*) in this work. Al-Djazarī died at Wāsiṭ on 12 Rabīʿ I 739/29 September 1338.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, iii, 301; al-Ḥusaynī al-Dimashḳī, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Damascus 1347 A.H., 22; idem, *al-Tanbīh wa ʾl-iḳāẓ*, Damascus 1347 A.H., 8-9; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa ʾl-nihāya*, xiv, 186 (where his *nisba* is wrongly printed as al-Djawzī); Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2, 471; Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ al-Sulamī, *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ Baghdād*, Baghdād 1357/1938, 212-3; *Fihris Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya*, 80a-b; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 189a-b; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*..., Paris 1940, 80; idem, *Chroniques des derniers Fatimides*, in *BIFAO*, 1937, 8-9; Brockelmann, S II, 45 (also see S II, 33 where Brockelmann confuses the author's name and the year of his death).

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

DJAZĪRA (Ar.), pl. *djazāʾir*, a term which signifies essentially an island and secondarily a peninsula (for example *Djazīrat al-Andalus*, Spain; *Djazīrat al-ʿArab* [see AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT-]). By extension, this same word is applied also to territories situated between great rivers (see following article) or separated from the rest of a continent by an expanse of desert; it also designates a maritime country (see Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Cordoba*, Madrid 1927-32, i, 291 n. 347) and, with or without a following *al-nakhl*, an oasis (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.). Finally, with the Ismāʿīlīs *djazīra* is the name of a propaganda district; see S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, cxiv; W. Ivanow, *The organization of the Fatimid propaganda*, in *JBBRAS*, xv (1939), 10, and *Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, 20-1. See also DĀʿĪ. (Ed.)

AL-**DJAZĪRA**, DJAZĪRAT AḲŪR or IḲLĪM AḲŪR (for Aḳūr or Athūr see Yāḳūt, i, 119, 340; ii, 72) is the name used by Arab geographers to denote the northern part of the territory situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates. But the Djazīra also includes the regions and towns which are across the upper Tigris in the north (Mayyāfāriḳīn, Arzan, Siʿirt) and which lie to the east of the middle stretch of the river (Bāʿaynāthā, the Khābūr al-Ḥasaniyya, the two Zāb). In the same way, a strip of land lying to the west, along the right bank of the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates Route, is also considered to belong to the Djazīra.

The Djazīra is a fairly low-lying plateau which includes certain groups of mountains, the Ḳaradjā Dāgh between Āmid and the Euphrates, the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn between Mārdīn and Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, the Djabal ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz between the Balīkh and the Khābūr, the Djabal Sindjār between the Khābūr and the Tigris, and the Djabal Makḥūl south of Mosul. In these mountains rise various streams, and in particular the tributaries of the left bank of the Euphrates, that is to say the Balīkh which comes from the district of Ḥarrān, and the Khābūr which comes from Raʾs ʿAyn with its tributary the Hirmās which rises in the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. In the Djabal Sindjār are the sources of the Nahr Tharthār which flows into the desert and disappears.

The Djazīra is bounded on the west by Syria, on the north-west by the region of the Mesopotamian *thughūr*, on the north and north-east by Armenia, on the east by Ādharbāydjān and on the south by ʿIrāḳ which begins at a line from Anbār to Takrīt. It consists of three districts (*kūra*), the Diyār Rabīʿa in the east, the Diyār Muḍar in the west, the Diyār Bakr in the north, called after the names of tribes who inhabited them in the pre-Islamic period and at the beginning of the Islamic period. But even in ancient times there were already Arabs in the Djazīra and one of its districts, that of Nisibis (Naṣībīn) was called Arvastān by the Persians and Bēth Arabāyā by the Aramaeans. Apart from the Arabs, the Djazīra contained considerable Aramaean elements, especially in the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, and a number of localities bear Aramaean names, and there were Kurds in the Mosul region and Armenians to the north of the upper Tigris.

The Djazīra is of great importance historically, being astride the lines of communication between ʿIrāḳ and Anatolia (it is crossed by the Baghdād railway), ʿIrāḳ and Syria on the vast curve of the so-called Fertile Crescent, and between the Armeno-Iranian regions and Syria on the one side and ʿIrāḳ on the other. It contained many market-towns and cities on the banks of the two rivers and on their tributaries in the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and along the Mawṣil-Raḳḳa road. In the Romano-Byzantine period it was divided between Persia and Rome-Byzantium. At the time of the Arab conquest, Byzantium held the region extending from Raʾs ʿAyn to the Euphrates and the plain to the south of the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. The frontier lay between Nisibis and Dārā, at the fort of Sardja (Yāḳūt, ii, 516; iii, 70; Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, *K. al-kharādj*, ed. 1302, 22, tr. Fagnan, 62). After the conquest of Syria the Byzantine garrisons were isolated, only being able to communicate with the Empire through Armenia. ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm therefore encountered no resistance; the western part was conquered between 18/639 and 20/641, and the eastern part in 20/641 by troops coming from ʿIrāḳ (al-Balādhurī, 171 ff., ed. Cairo, 179 ff.).

In the Umayyad period the Djazīra was the scene of strife between the Syrians and the ʿIrāḳī Shīʿīs: Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, supported by the Ḳaysī Zufar b. al-Ḥārith, was killed in 65/685 in a battle near Raʾs ʿAyn against a lieutenant of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād; after Mukhtār's victory over the Syrians in 67/686 on a tributary of the Zāb, the victors occupied Nisibis, Dārā and Sindjār (see al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr under the years indicated). ʿAbd al-Malik, before being able to go on to defeat Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr at Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ in ʿIrāḳ in 72/691, first had to conquer the Djazīra. It was also in the Djazīra that the fighting between the Ḳaysīs and Taghlabīs took place before and after this date (cf. al-Ṭabarī and Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 126 ff.; Eng. tr. 202 ff.). In like manner numerous Khāridjī revolts started in the Djazīra at the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj, and later in the reigns of the last Umayyads when the Khāridjīs of Djazīra all but succeeded in seizing power (see Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, 41 ff.) It was in the Djazīra, at Ḥarrān, that the last Umayyad, Marwān II, had his capital.

At the time when Muʿāwiya was governor of Syria the Djazīra was joined with it under a single administration. It later became a separate province comprising the three districts, responsibility for it being sometimes held by members of the Umayyad family, such as Muḥammad b. Marwān and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik who were at the same time governors of the neighbouring province of Armenia. Mosul was separate, and it was only under Marwān II that it became the capital of the Djazīra.

The Djazīra did not submit to the ʿAbbāsids without resistance, and there were even grave in-

cidents at Mosul where Muḥammad b. Ṣūl, and then Yaḥyā, brother of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph, had been sent (see Ibn al-Athīr, *anno* 132, ed. 1303 A.H., 163 and 166-7). It was the scene of the rebellion of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, al-Manṣūr's uncle; later, under al-Maʾmūn, Naṣr b. Shabath's revolt swept through the Djazīra and was with difficulty crushed by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, governor of Syria and the Djazīra, in 209/821. In the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim, a Kurdish revolt to the north of Mosul was put down with difficulty. Khāridjī revolts broke out again in the Djazīra, particularly after al-Mahdī's reign. The province was known as a Khāridjī stronghold, and al-Djāḥiẓ was able to say: *ammā 'l-Djazīra fa-ḥarūriyya shāriyya wa-khāridja māriḳa* (*Fī manāḳib al-Turk*, ed. 1324, 10; cf. on the Khāridjīs in the Djazīra, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 140). In Hārūn al-Rashīd's time there took place the rebellion of the Taghlabī Khāridjī al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf (see Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 47). Violent Khāridjī outbreaks occurred in the second half of the 3rd/9th century with Musāwir, and later with Hārūn al-Shārī [see the references given in DIYĀR RABIʿA]. The caliph al-Muʿtaḍid put an end to these revolts (same references).

In the ʿAbbāsid period Mosul was at times separated from the administration of the Djazīra, at other times the province was included in a larger grouping. Armenia, the neighbouring province, was often linked with it or on occasion united merely with the Diyār Bakr [see DIYĀR BAKR]. Among the governors of the Djazīra worthy of note, we may mention Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn and, later, his son ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir in al-Muʾmūn's reign. In the second part of the 3rd/9th century the Djazīra for a time escaped from the central authority and became a dependency of the Ṭūlūnid ruler of Egypt, with Isḥāḳ b. Kundādjīḳ, then Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Sādj, and then Isḥāḳ's son. But it was recovered by the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid after 279/892.

The Djazīra is the home of the Ḥamdānid family who, after various wanderings (their ancestor Ḥamdān was himself a Khāridjī), extended their power over the entire province which was divided between the two Ḥamdānid amīrates of Mosul and Aleppo which, though recognizing the nominal authority of the caliph, were almost independent. It then passed under the domination of the Buwayhids of Baghdād after the conquest by ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 367/977. Then, as a result of the increasing weakness of the Buwayhids, it was divided between the Marwānids in the north (Diyār Bakr) and the ʿUḳaylids (Mosul), one of whose princes, Ḳirwāsh b. Muḳallad, in 401/1010-1 recognized Fāṭimid suzerainty. The Saldjūḳids put an end to these two dynasties.

The Djazīra was a relatively rich and fertile province, plentifully supplied with water by its rivers, and the steppes with their abundant pastures were not short of wells. The triangle enclosed by the Armenian mountains, the Djabal ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Djabal Sindjār, was an immense cultivated area, and there were also large areas of cultivation along the Balīkh and the Khābūr. Horses and sheep, cereals (Mosul supplied Baghdād and Sāmarrā with flour—see al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, 76, 109, tr. 133, 177—and the floating mills of Mosul and Balad were famous), rice (Nisibis), olive-oil (al-Raḳḳa, Mārdīn), butter, cheese, sugar-cane (Sindjār), fowls, fresh and dried fruit, raisins, chestnuts (Nisibis), jam (*ḳubbayṭ*), honey, dried meat (*namaksūd*), charcoal, cotton (Ḥarrān and the Khābūr valley) etc.—these, among other things, were the agricultural products of the Djazīra specially mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī and Ibn Ḥawḳal. Among the products of local industrial crafts are mentioned: soap, tar, iron, buckets, knives, arrows, chains, straps, scales (Ḥarrān and Nisibis), linen and woollen fabrics (Āmid), fullers' hammers. Aided by shipping on the Tigris and Euphrates, commerce flourished there. Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar was the port of shipment for goods from Armenia and the Greek countries, and Bālis for goods from Syria.

It is therefore not surprising that the authority established in Baghdād always tended to keep the Djazīra either directly or indirectly under its domination, which explains the policy of al-Muʿtaḍid, and of the central authority in Baghdād in the Ḥamdānid period. It is difficult to form an exact idea of the revenues of the Djazīra. The amounts vary greatly, and if one compares the figures given by Ḳudāma with those for the 306 budget, given in von Kremer, *Über das Einnahmebudget des Abbasiden-Reiches vom Jahre 306 H*, and with the figures of tribute paid by, or demanded from, the Ḥamdānid amīr of Mosul, we notice a large fall in the contribution. According to Ḳudāma, the Diyār Muḍar had a revenue of 6 million dirhams, the Diyār Rabīʿa 9,635,000, Mosul 6,300,000. However, in 332/944 the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla agreed to pay for the Diyār Rabīʿa and part of the Diyār Muḍar 3,600,000 dirhams, in 337 the Buwayhid demanded 8 million dirhams from him but settled for 3 million, and it seems that he never paid more than 2 million. Even if payments made in kind are added, it is little enough. But for the central authority it was not to be despised.

For the subsequent history of the Djazīra, see DIYĀR BAKR, DIYĀR RABĪʿA, and DIYĀR MUḌAR.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 86-114 where references to the Arab geographers are given; in addition, the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, see index; E. Herzfeld, *Über die historische Geographie von Mesopotamien* (*Pet. Mitt.*, 1909, xii); F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* (*Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst*), 3 vols. 1911-20; Von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, 2 vols. 1899-1900; Banse, *Die Türkei*, 238 ff.; A. Poidebard, *Les routes anciennes de Haute Djezireh*, in *Syria*, viii (1927); idem, *Mission archéologique en Haute Djezireh*, in *Syria*, xi (1930); Maḥmūd Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-ʿArab*, i, 217 ff.; Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, deals with the towns on the middle Euphrates and in the Khābūr basin, 447 ff., 481 ff.; M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, i, 75-143, 291-302, 308-11, 334 ff., 377-407, 418, 520 ff., 526-31 and passim.

(M. CANARD)

AL-**DJAZĪRA** AL-**KHAḌRĀʾ**, Spanish ALGECIRAS. The town takes its Arabic name from the Isla Verde which lies opposite, in the bay between the Punta del Carnero and the Punta de Europa. It is also called Djazīrat Umm Ḥakīm, from the name of a woman with whom Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, when freed by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, entered the peninsula and to whom he left it as a bequest. It was here that Julia Traducta must have been founded by a number of colonists brought from Arcila and Tangier; and it was here that the Syrian leaders were held the hostages given by Baldj in 124/740 when he crossed from Ceuta to the peninsula to suppress the Berbers' revolt. The town also had the hybrid Latino-Punic name of Julia Ioza which is the equivalent of Julia Traducta.

In the time of the Romans the present Algeciras was called Ad Portum Album, and in Christian sources there are references to two places with the name Algeciras, one on the island which was later deserted, the other on the mainland which kept its name and importance since its harbour and bay have from remotest antiquity provided a safe anchorage, even in winter, and it is the starting point for the crossing to Ceuta, a distance of only 18 miles. The Almohads almost always preferred to cross by the Tarifa-Alcazarseguir route, which is 12 miles across; and the Marīnids followed their example.

The town is situated on a hill dominating the sea, and its walls go right down to the sea-shore; the citadel, built of stone, rises sharply above the ravine that lies alongside the town, to the East.

Through the town runs a river, the Wādī 'l-ʿAsal —river of honey—which has kept this name in Spanish; its banks are covered with orchards and gardens. To the south-east, not far from the gate to the sea, was the Mosque of Banners where the standard-bearers met before the invasion, whilst the Berber contingents sent by Ṭāriḳ came by Gibraltar. It was opposite this same mosque that the Normans (al-Madjūs [*q.v.*]) drew up their forces in 245/859-60, when they seized and burnt it. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III built an arsenal there for his squadrons and it was from this port that his generals undertook expeditions against the Idrīsids of Morocco. On the fall of the caliphate the Berbers pillaged it in 401/1011 and from 427 to 448/1035-56, the Hammūdids Muḥammad and al-Ḳāsim established themselves there as caliphs before it was annexed to Seville.

In 479/1086, al-Muʿtamid delivered it to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn who went into al-Andalus to rout Alfonso VI at al-Zallāḳa. Yūsuf lost no time in fortifying the town and repairing the weak points in the walls; he had the town entirely surrounded by a moat, laid in stocks of arms and food, and installed a picked garrison of his best soldiers. On his second crossing he again disembarked at Algeciras, setting out from there to lay siege to Aledo. The Almohads occupied the town in 541/1146, and the Castilians laid waste its territory and that of Ronda in 569/1173 and 578/1182. In 629/1231-2 Algeciras recognized Ibn Hūd. Alfonso the Learned blockaded Algeciras by sea in the summer of 677/1278, and the Christian army camped there in March 1279; on 10 Rabīʿ I/21 July the Castilian squadron was routed by the Marīnids; Algeciras was taken by assault and its defenders put to the sword. In his four Andalusian campaigns Abū Yūsuf made Algeciras the base of his operations and built nearby the royal palace of al-Binya, on the lines of the palace he had built at Fez with Fās al-djadīda; he died there in Muḥarram 685/March 1286. On the same day his son Yaʿḳūb was proclaimed king in this same palace of al-Binya. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī returned to the Marīnid tradition of a *djihād* in al-Andalus and, in 741/1340, after defeating admiral Tenorio's squadron in Algeciras bay, he disembarked there and set out to lay siege to Tarifa nearby; after being defeated on the Salado on 7 Djumādā I 741/29 October 1340, he returned to Algeciras where he had left his harem, and from there went back to Morocco. With him the Marīnids' intervention in al-Andalus came to an end; two years later Alfonso XI laid siege to his great naval base and, after twenty months of fierce fighting, succeeded in taking it. In 771/1369 the sultan of Granada recaptured it and completely destroyed it. The territory was annexed to that of Gibraltar and it was not separated administratively from San Roque until 1755. Later, it developed rapidly in the 18th and 19th centuries and, in 1905, an international conference on the question of Morocco was held there.

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(A. Huici Miranda)

DJAZĪRAT IBN ʿUMAR [see IBN ʿUMAR, DJAZĪRAT-].

DJAZĪRAT ḲAYS [see ḲAYS, DJAZĪRAT].

DJAZĪRAT SHARĪK, Name given by the Arabs to the small peninsula thrusting from the eastern coast of Tunisia between the two gulfs of La Goulette (Ḥalḳ al-wādī) and al-Ḥammāmāt. As a physical continuation of the Tunisian Dorsal range, its surface is rather hilly and cut by ravines, but in its east and west and particularly its northern part are wide plains famous since Roman times for their wheat and olives. Its area is about 600 square kilometres. Its farthest point in the north (Cap Bon, or Ra's Maddār, currently called al-Dakhla) is the nearest point of Africa to Sicily. The peninsula is actually a part of the province (*wilāya*) of Grombalia (Ḳurunbāliya). Its western and northern parts form a subdivision (*délégation*, *muʿtamadiyya*) of that province called Kiiibia (Iḳlībiya). There are some middle-sized and small towns, such as Grombalia (capital of the province), Korbes (Ḳurbus), Sulaymān, Manzil Bū Zalfā, and Tazeghzān; fishing-ports, such as Iḳlībiya, Manzil Tamīm, Ḳurba, Banī Khiyār, and two fairly important ports: Nabeul (Nābil) and al-Ḥammāmāt. Communications are assured by railways between Nābil, al-Ḥammāmāt, Manzil Tamīm, and Tunis.

Sharīk al-ʿAbsī, after whom the peninsula was named, was one of the officers of the Arab army which conquered Ifrīḳiya under ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ in 27-8/647-9. After the victory of Subayṭila (Sbeitla, Suffitulum), ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd sent Sharīk to occupy the peninsula and nominated him its governor. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd evacuated Ifrīḳiya before the end of 28/649 and the Byzantines were able to reconquer the peninsula from their stronghold of Carthage (Ḳarṭādjanna). Some 32 years later Abu 'l-Muhādjir Dīnār, leader of the Arab troops in Ifrīḳiya between 55/674 and 62/681, was able to conquer Carthage and consequently assure permanent Muslim domination of this important bridge-head to Sicily.

Owing to its strategic importance, Djazīrat Sharīk was always a target for all those contemplating the conquest of Ifrīḳiya from the sea, and hence for long periods of its history it was a battle-field between Ifrīḳiya and its attackers. The Normans dominated it after their conquest of al-Mahdiyya in 543/1148 and held it till 555/1160, when the Almohads under ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī expelled them and annexed Ifrīḳiya to their Empire). Later, during the 10th/16th century, Djazīrat Sharīk, like the rest of

Tunisia, was one of the battlefields in the war between the Spaniards and the Ottomans in their fierce dispute for the hegemony of the Mediterranean [see TUNISIA].

Two other aspects are characteristic of the history of Djazīrat Sharīk during the middle ages: the first is that its hilly terrain offered refuge for rebels against the governors of Ifrīḳiya, especially under the Fāṭimids, when a group of the Nakkāriyya (a branch of the Khawāridj) allies of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] caused much trouble to al-Ḳā'im; later, during the second half of the 6th/12th century, the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*] invaded Djazīrat Sharīk, and committed atrocities against its inhabitants. The second aspect is that its coasts, as well as those of the adjacent islands of Ḳawṣara (Pantelleria), Ḳirḳinnā and Djarba were from the beginning of the 8th/14th century suitable lairs for pirates (*ghuzāt al-baḥr*), which brought against Ifrīḳiya the wrath of the Normans, the Pisans, the Genoese, the Venetians, the Spaniards, and almost all Europe, and were the cause of disastrous attacks on their part.

Djazīrat Sharīk was described by at least four of the leading Muslim geographers and travellers in the middle ages, namely al-Bakrī, al-Tidjānī, al-Idrīsī and Yāḳūt. All, except al-Tidjānī, agree that the peninsula was flourishing and rich. Al-Idrīsī calls it Djazīrat Bashshū, after its then biggest town Manzil Bashshū. Al-Tidjānī, who visited it in 706/1306-7, gives in his *Riḥla* the most detailed description we possess, including a sad picture of the peninsula as a result of the devastations of the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*]. A branch of the Hilāliyya, the Banū Dalādj, were masters of Djazīrat Sharīk in his days. He mentions only three towns: Manzil Bashshū, Ṣilṭān and al-Fallāḥīn.

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DJAZĪRAT SHUKR, Spanish Alcira, called by the Muslims the island of the Júcar, since it is situated between two channels of the river Júcar, in Latin Sucro, one of which is now dry. 37 km. from Valencia, it has a population of about 30,000 and stands at the centre of a natural region known as the Ribera which includes the lower part of the Júcar valley, from Játiva to Catarroja and from the sea to the valley of Cárcer. The fertile alluvial plain is one of the richest in the Peninsula. It is watered by the royal irrigation canal of the Júcar which was constructed by James I the Conqueror in the second half of the 13th century, built up on the site of earlier irrigation works which go back not merely to the Arab period but to the Visigothic and Hispano-Roman periods. Orange-trees, rice and horticulture have brought prosperity. Al-Idrīsī praised it for its fertility and the distinction of its inhabitants; he said that in his time it was possible to reach it only by boat in winter, and by a ford in summer, but in 622/1225, according to al-Muʿdjib, it had a bridge. It must have been inhabited even in prehistoric times, to judge by excavations made on its boundaries, on the mountain of Solá. Its identity with Sucro or Sicania Iberica is open to question, and in the Roman period it must have been fortified, as a stopping place on the Via Augusta, to judge by the commemorative tablets found there.

During the Arab period and until comparatively recent times, timber felled in the great pine-forests of Cuenca was transported on the river Cabriel and, after being taken across the Júcar was brought through Alcira to Cullera, with Denia as its final destination for ship-building and Valencia for building.

Throughout the amīrate and Umayyad caliphate its history was uneventful; it was a dependency of Murcia or of Valencia at the time when the first kingdoms of Taifas were created, until the Cid took possession of it when conquering Valencia and its territories. Ibn ʿĀ'isha, the son of Yūsuf b. Tashfīn, reconquered it and then routed and wiped out a division of the Cid's army. In 519/1125 Alfonso I the Warrior, when undertaking his celebrated expedition into Andalusia, tried to seize it; but after several days he was repulsed, and withdrew with heavy losses. In 523/1129 he once again invaded the region, and between Alcira and Cullera he routed another Almoravid army, thereby opening up the way.

When the Almoravids of al-Andalus disappeared and the second period of the kingdoms of Taifas started, Saʿd b. Mardanīsh succeeded in making himself master of Murcia and Valencia, and appointed as governor of Alcira a noble inhabitant of the town, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar b. Sufyān. The latter, after seeing Ibn Mardanīsh reinforce the Christian garrison of Valencia and, to make way for them, turn out a number of Muslims from their homes, and fearing that he too would be turned out in the same way, rebelled and joined the Almohads, as Ibn Hamushk had done at Jaén and ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd at Almería.

Believing that he could recapture the town and so set an example, Ibn Mardanīsh laid siege to Alcira in the middle of Shawwāl 566/June 1171, helped by his brother Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf, amīr of Valencia; the siege lasted for two months until the middle of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/August. The caliph, who had been in Cordova since July, and the sayyid Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, who was besieging Murcia, came to the help of the inhabitants of Alcira; but they saw that they were being more and more closely confined, and appealed to Abū Ayyūt Muḥammad b. Hilāl, the friend and colleague of Ibn Baṣīt during the relief of Almería. Ibn Mardanīsh, unable to force the town, had to withdraw.

Under the Almohads the town enjoyed a period of comparative calm, but was soon threatened by the advance of the Christians; and two celebrated poets, Ibn Khafādja and Abu 'l-Muṭarrif Ibn ʿAmīra, sensing that its loss was imminent, wrote with nostalgia of its charms and the beauty of its surroundings. At the end of 1242 James I the Conqueror captured the town.

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(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

DJAZM [see NAḤW].

AL-**DJAZR** WA 'L-**MADD** [see MADD].

DJAZŪLA, Arabic name of a small ancient Berber tribe in south-western Morocco, doubtless related to the Ṣanhādja group [*q.v.*]. In association with the Lamṭa [*q.v.*], their kinsmen, they led a nomadic life south of the Anti-Atlas. But, at quite

an early date, some of them began to settle in the western part of this mountain (Djabal Hankīsa); their chief settlement was at Tāghdjīzat, now known as Tāghdjīdjt, 80 km. south-south-east of Tīznīt. It was among them that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn was born, the originator of the religious and political movement of the Murābiṭūn [*q.v.*]. The Djazūla took an important part in it and some of them settled in the Moroccan plains.

At the time of the first reverses of the Almoravids in the Sūs, the Djazūla rallied round the Almohads (533/1138) and provided them with contingents. But the loyalty of the latter at Tlemcen, when faced by their kinsmen the Almoravids, was so suspect that the Almohads treacherously massacred them (539/1144). As a result, they gave a welcome to several persons who had revolted against the Almohads and were severely punished.

Later, for almost a century the Djazūla were subjugated by the Banū Yaddar of Sūs. The latter having introduced Arab Bedouin from the group of the Maʿḳil as allies, the Djazūla in the end united with one of their tribes, the Dhawū-Ḥassān. At the beginning of the 16th century, Leo Africanus described them as impoverished and bellicose villagers; it was from among them that the first Saʿdid princes recruited their harquebusiers.

During the decline of the Saʿdid dynasty, the Djazūla's country was governed by the Djaʿfarid (?) Shurafāʾ of the tribe of the Samlāla, with Īlīgh as capital. Their domination lasted for about fifty years until 1080/1670; it extended over the Sūs and, for the time being, over Darʿa and Sidjilmāsa (period of Abū Ḥassūn, surnamed Abū Dumayʿa). At the beginning of the 19th century a new principality appeared, still with Īlīgh as its centre, founded by a sharīf of the Samlāla; it was to be maintained until towards the end of the 19th century. Under the name of the "kingdom of Sīdī Hāshem, or Hīshem", it enjoyed among European travellers and cartographers a notoriety not attested by the Arab historians of Morocco.

Today the name Djazūla is no longer used except for one of the two ethno-political clans (*laff*) between whom the tribes of the Anti-Atlas district were divided. The former Djazūla are now the confederation of the Waltīta (Berb. Idā Ultīt); the centre of this district is the Tāzarwālt.

In addition to ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn and the two personages who form the subject of the following articles, the Djazūla have produced two other men of distinction: the great saint Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Samlālī (d. 971/1563), popularly known by the name Sīdī Ḥmād u-Mūsā [*q.v.*], and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥuḍīgī [*q.v.*] (d. 1197/1782), author of a collection of biographies of local saints.

The Arabic orthography *Djazūla* (sometimes *Djuzūla*) corresponds with the Berber plurals *awgūzūlen* (archaic) and *igzūlen*. Some have tried to identify them with the ancient Getuli.

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(G. S. COLIN)

AL-**DJAZŪLĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN B. ABĪ BAKR AL-DJAZŪLĪ AL-SAMLĀLĪ, although both his father's name and, still more, his grandfather's are in dispute, according to his biographers and associates was descended from the Prophet, like all founders of religious orders. He was born and bred in the Berber tribe of Djazūla in Moroccan Sūs [*q.v.*].

After having studied for a time in his native country he went to Fās and entered the madrasat al-ṣaffārīn where one can still see the room he occupied. Hardly had he returned to his tribe when he was compelled to go back to north Morocco, after charging himself with a crime he did not commit in order to avoid bloodshed. He went to Tangier, then he sailed for the East, spending forty years (?) there partly at Mecca and Medina, partly at Jerusalem. He returned to Fās, and it was during this second stay that, with the help of books from the library of al-Ḳarawiyyīn, he wrote his *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt*. He was then initiated into the order of the Shādhiliyya, then he withdrew into a *khalwa* to worship the Eternal for fourteen years. On leaving his retreat he went to live at Asfī (Safī) where he soon had so great a number of proselytes that the governor of the town felt obliged to expel him. Al-Djazūlī thereupon invoked the help of God against the town which, as a result, was for forty years in the hands of the Christians (Portuguese). It even appears that this governor, thinking him to be the awaited Fāṭimid (the Mahdī), is said to have poisoned him, and the Shaykh died in prayer at Āfūghāl in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 869/25 June-24 July 1465, or 16 Rabīʿ I 870, 872 or even 875.

One of his disciples, ʿUmar b. Sulaymān al-Shayẓamī, known as al-Sayyāf, who as a result claimed to be a prophet himself, conceived the idea of avenging al-Djazūlī. He had the body of his master placed on a bier and raised the standard of revolt. For twenty years he burned and sacked the district of Sūs, accompanied by the body of his master; every evening he laid it out in a place he called *al-ribāṭ*, surrounded by a guard and illuminated all night long by a wick the size of a man's body which stood in a sort of bushel measure full of oil. ʿUmar al-Sayyāf was killed in 890/1485-6. Al-Djazūlī was then buried in the locality of Ḥāḥa, at a place called Āfghāl or Āfūghāl. Seventy-seven years later, on the orders of Sultan Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad known as al-Aʿradj, at the time of his entry into Marrākush, and for what were perhaps political motives, his body was exhumed together with that of the Sultan's father who had been buried beside al-Djazūlī. Wrapped in shrouds, they were taken to Marrākush where they were both finally buried side by side, in the place known as Riyāḍ al-ʿArūs where his mausoleum stands. It seems that when the *shaykh* was exhumed from his first tomb, his body had suffered no change and it would have been thought that he had just died. Popularly known by the name of Sīdī Ben Slīmān, he became one of the patron saints (*sabʿatu ridjāl*) of Marrakush.

There grew up in Morocco a sort of religious brotherhood called the Aṣḥāb al-Dalīl, whose essential function was the recital of the celebrated collection of prayers. This book of prayers is often carried as a talisman, hanging over the shoulder in an embroidered leather or silver case (*tahlīl*).

Apart from his immense knowledge of Ṣūfism al-Djazūlī was also a jurisconsult and knew by heart the *Mudawwana* and *al-Mukhtaṣar al-farʿī* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib.

Of his numerous Ṣūfī works only the following are

now known: 1.—*Dalā'il al-khayrāt wa-shawāriḳ al-anwār fī dhikr al-ṣalāt ʿala 'l-nabī al-mukhtār*, a collection of prayers for the Prophet, description of his tomb, his names, etc., published several times in Cairo and Constantinople, and in St. Petersburg in 1842; 2.—*Ḥizb al-falāḥ*, a prayer, exists in MS. in Berlin 3886, Gotha 820, Leiden 22003; and 3.—*Ḥizb al-Djazūlī*, now called *Ḥizb subḥān al-dā'im lā yazūl*, which is found among the Shādhilīs, is in the vernacular.

Al-Djazūlī founded a Shādhilī sect called al-Djazūliyya whose adherents are required without fail to recite the *basmala* 14,000 times and the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* twice a day, the *Dalā'il* once and a quarter of the Ḳur'ān every night.

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AL-**DJAZŪLĪ**, ABŪ MŪSĀ ʿĪSĀ B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. YALALBAKHT B. ʿĪSĀ B. YŪMARĪLĪ, a member of the Berber tribe of Djazūla, a section of the Yazdakten in southern Morocco, is chiefly known for his short Introduction to the study of Arabic grammar, *Muḳaddima*, entitled *al-Ḳānūn*.

After studying at Marrākush he went to the East to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. In Cairo he attended classes given by the celebrated lexicologist Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Barrī; and some have even said that the Introduction merely reproduces his teacher's lectures on *al-Djumal* by al-Zadjdjādjī, adding by way of proof that al-Djazūlī himself admitted that he was not the author. In Cairo he also studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Bukhārī with Abū Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh. While in Cairo he endured the greatest privations and, to raise some money to meet his needs and to be able to complete his studies, he was on several occasions compelled to take on the duties of *imām* in a mosque in the suburbs, refusing to go into a *madrasa*.

On returning from the East, and still in the grip of poverty, he stopped at Bougie for a time, which he spent teaching grammar.

In 543/1148-9 he was in Algiers where he taught his *Ḳānūn* to Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim b. Mandās, a grammarian and native of Āshīr. Crossing into Spain, he stayed for some time in Almeria where he taught grammar. It was in this town that he pawned his copy of the *Uṣūl* by Ibn al-Sarrādj which he had studied with Ibn Barrī and which was in his own handwriting. His creditor to whom this work was given as security disclosed his plight to Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Maghribī, at that time the greatest ascetic in the land, and he in his turn approached the Almohad sultan on his behalf. The latter entrusted al-Djazūlī with the *khuṭba* at the great mosque at Marrākush. He died at Azammūr in 606 or 607 or 610, or else in 616 according to Ibn Ḳunfudh in his *Wafayāt*.

Of his disciples two in particular are noteworthy, Zayn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī (or more simply Ibn Muʿṭī) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zawāwī, the first grammarian to compose an *Alfiyya*, and Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī al-Shalūbīnī who edited his master's *Ḳānūn* with commentaries, copies of which survive at the Escurial (Cat. Serenbourg; no. 2, 36, 190).

Al-Djazūlī composed the following works: 1.—Commentary on *Bānat Suʿād* by Kaʿb b. Zuhayr, published by M. R. Basset in Algiers in 1910; 2.—*al-Ḳānūn*, also called *al-Muḳaddima al-Djazūliyya*; 3.—Commentary on the preceding work; 4.—*Amālī fi 'l-naḥw* (dictations on grammar); 5.—An abridged version of the commentary by Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān b. Djinnī on the *dīwān* by al-Mutanabbī; 6.—Commentary on the *Uṣūl* by Ibn al-Sarrādj (grammar).

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DJAZZĀR PASHA [see SUPPLEMENT].

DJEBEDJI [see SUPPLEMENT].

DJEBELI, also DJEBELÜ, in the Ottoman empire an auxiliary soldier equipped by those to whom the state assigned a source of income such as *tīmār*, *čiftlik*, *waḳf* etc. The word *djebeli* is made by adding the suffix *-li* or *-lü* to the word djebe, arms (cf. *Mogolların gizli tarihi*, tr. A. Temir, Ankara 1948, 75; in the Ottoman army the *djebedji-bashī* was the superintendent of the arms store at the Porte, see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapīkulu ocaklari*, ii, Ankara 1944, 3-31).

In the 15th century the arms of a *djebeli* consisted mainly of a lance, bow and arrow, a sword, and a shield (cf. *Ḳānūnnāme Sultan Meḥmeds des Eroberers*, ed. F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *MOG*, i, 28; B. de La Broquière, *Voyage d'outremer*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892, 221, 269, 270). Soldiers equipped with such arms and sent to the Sultan's army from various organizations in the provinces such as *yaya müsellem*, *tatar*, *yürük* etc. were designated under the general term of *djebeli* or *eshkündji* [*q.v.*]. Certain *waḳf*s and *mülk*s also were required to send such *djebeli*s for the Sultan's army (see for example, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 318 doc. 49; ʿAynī ʿAlī, *Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOsmān* . ., Istanbul 1280 H., 75). In the Ottoman *tīmār* [*q.v.*] the *djebeli* was a cavalryman equipped with the same kind of arms. According to a *tīmār* register of 835/1431 (*Sūret-i defter-i sancāk-i Arvanid*, ed. H. Inalcık, Ankara 1954) the holders of the smallest *tīmār*s between 750-1500 *akče*s were *djebeli*s themselves. Those between 1500-2000 approximately were *djebeli*s themselves but in addition were to bring with them an *oghlan*, or *ghulâm*, page. Those above 2000 were called *bürüme*, "one with a coat of mail". These and the *beg*s who usually held *tīmār*s of more than 20,000 *akče*s were to furnish *djebeli*s for a certain portion of their *tīmār*s (for the number of *djebeli*s in proportion to the *tīmār*s see the table in *Süleymān's Ḳānūnnāme*; M. ʿĀrif's edition in *TOEM* is unreliable in this part).

If the heir to a *tīmār* was too young to join the army in person he had to send a *djebeli* instead (see *Ḳānūnnāme*, Bib. Nationale, Paris, MS. turc 41). To "show one's djebelis" meant a military parade

and inspection (cf. ʿĀs̲h̲ıkpas̲h̲azāde, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1332, 135). Most of the *djebelis* in the *timār* system were of slave origin.

(Halil İnalcik)

DJEDDA [see djudda].

DJEK [see s̲h̲ahdāg̲h̲].

DJELALI [see supplement, s.v. djalālī].

DJEM, son of Sultan Meḥemmed II, was born on 27 Ṣafar 864/22 December 1459 in Edirne (cf. *Wāḳiʿāt-i Sulṭān Djem*, 1). His mother, Čiček Khātūn, was one of the *djāriyes* in Meḥemmed II's harem. She may have been connected with the Serbian royal house (cf. Thuasne, *Djem-Sultan*, Paris 1892, 2). Her brother, ʿAlī Beg, was with Djem in Rhodes in 887/1482 (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 7).

Djem was sent to the sandjaḳ of Kastamoni as its governor with his two *lalas* in the first ten days (*awāʾil*) of Radjab 873/15-25 January 1469 (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 1; according to Kemāl Pas̲h̲azāde, *Tevârih-i Āl-i Osman*, ed. Ş. Turan, Ankara 1954, 316, 412, he was sent to Magnisa). There, in these early years, he showed a keen interest in Persian literature (cf. I. H. Ertaylan, *Cem Sultan*, Istanbul 1951, 11-4). He came back to Istanbul for his circumcision in 875/1470-1 (cf. Kemāl Pas̲h̲azāde, 316) and to Edirne (cf. *Speculum*, xxxv/3, 424) to safeguard Rūmeli during Meḥemmed II's expedition against Uzun Ḥasan in 878/1473. A reliable source (Angiolello, cited in Thuasne, 8) relates that having no news from his father for more than forty days, his two *lalas* made Djem decide to take the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] of high officials. On his return Meḥemmed II, though he forgave the young prince, executed the two *lalas*, Kara-Süleymān and Nasūḥ (cf. his letter to Djem in Ferīdūn, *Muns̲h̲eʾāt*, i, 283). In the middle of S̲h̲aʿbān 879/20-30 December 1474 (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 1) Djem succeeded his deceased brother Muṣṭafā as governor of Ḳaramān in Konya. Ḳaramānī Meḥemmed Pas̲h̲a, grand vizier from 881/1476 to 886/1481, favoured Djem (cf. *Al-S̲h̲aḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya*, tr. Madjdī. Istanbul 1269, 285; Th. Spandouyn Cantacasin, *Petit traicté de l'origine des Turcqz*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1896, 43). But Bāyezīd, his elder brother, had become virtually the leader of all the opponents to Ḳaramānī and his financial policy which had been especially ruinous for the holders of *waḳfs* and *mulks* in the empire (cf. art. Mehmed II, in *İA*). Meḥemmed II himself had serious complaints against Bāyezīd in the last years of his reign (see the documents in Ertaylan, 51, 53).

When Meḥemmed II died on 4 Rabīʿ I 886/3 May 1481 Ḳaramānī's enemies, supported by the Janissaries, eliminated him, invited Bāyezīd to the throne and took all measures to block the way for Djem (cf. documents in I. H. Ertaylan, 82, 84). When Bāyezīd was in Istanbul Djem came to capture Bursa (Rabīʿ I 886/May 1481). Here he had the *khuṭba* read and coins struck in his name (Nes̲h̲rī, *Djihānnumā*, ed. F. Taeschner, i, Leipzig 1951, 220; the silver coin described by H. Edhem, *Meskūkāt-i ʿOthmāniyye*, i, Istanbul 1334, No. 447). He cooperated with the Ḳaramānids (cf. document in I. H. Ertaylan, 97). His proposal for dividing the empire was declined by Bāyezīd (Nes̲h̲rī, 22-3). Defeated by the regular forces of the empire under Bāyezīd at Yenis̲h̲ehir on 22 Rabīʿ II 886/20 June 1481 (cf. *Wāḳiʿāt*, 2; Nes̲h̲rī, 221, Ferīdūn, *Muns̲h̲eʾāt al-Salāṭīn*, i, Istanbul 1274, 290), Djem fled to Konya (he arrived on 27 Rabīʿ II 886/25 June 1481) and took refuge in Tarsus, a town under the Mamlūks (12 Djumādā I 886/9 July 1481). He arrived in the Mamlūk capital on 1 S̲h̲aʿbān 886/25 September 1481 and was received by Sultan Ḳāyitbāy as a prince (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 4; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* . ., ii, Bulāḳ 1311, 208). When he made the pilgrimage and returned to Cairo (1 Muḥarram 887/20 February 1482) Ḳāsim Beg, the Ḳaramānid pretender (see ḳaramān-og̲h̲lu) and Meḥemmed, sandjaḳ-beg of Ankara, urged him to return to Anatolia. Despite the objection of the Mamlūk amīrs, Sultan Ḳāyitbāy permitted him to leave Egypt for Anatolia (Ibn Iyās, ii, 213; *Wāḳiʿāt*, 5; document in Ertaylan, 121). Djem was in Aleppo on 17 Rabīʿ I 887/6 May 1482; Ḳāsim and Meḥemmed joined him in Mamlūk territory. While Djem and Ḳāsim came to lay siege to Konya, Meḥemmed Beg, who had moved towards Ankara, was defeated and killed in Čubuḳ-Owa. They gave up the siege of Konya and went to capture Ankara, but, at the news of the advance of an army under Bāyezīd II himself, hastily retreated. Djem, changing his original plan of going to Īrān, fled to Tas̲h̲-eli in Ḳaramān (29 Rabīʿ II 887/17 June 1482). There he entered into negotiations with Bāyezīd II who always rejected his demand for the assignment to him of at least a part of the Ottoman territories. He only promised a yearly allowance of one million *akčes* provided that he would retire to Jerusalem (cf. *Wāḳiʿāt*, 5 and his letters in Ferīdūn, i, 291-2; Djem's original letter in Ertaylan, 127). Ḳāsim, who never gave up the idea of restoring his principality of Ḳaramān, made Djem decide to pass over to Rūm-eli by sea. With this in mind Djem made an agreement with P. d'Aubusson, Grand Master of the Knights of St. John in Rhodes. While governor of Ḳaramān in his father's time Djem had had close relations with P. d'Aubusson (cf. Thuasne, 11-7). The agreement of safe-conduct (text in Thuasne, 60, cf. *Wāḳiʿāt*, 7) dated 24 Djumādā I 887/10 July 1482 provided that Djem could enter, stay and leave Rhodes as he pleased. He arrived at the island on 13 Djumādā II 887/30 July 1482 (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 7). P. d'Aubusson wrote to the Pope that Djem should be used as an instrument to destroy the Ottoman empire (Thuasne, 68) while Djem hoped that he could at least reach an agreement to partition the empire with his brother. In S̲h̲aʿbān 887/September 1482 Bāyezīd agreed to a peace treaty with the knights favourable to the Order and at the same time his ambassador to the Grand Master made a separate agreement about Djem who was to be detained by the Knights so as not to cause any concern to Bāyezīd (Thuasne, 85; document in Ertaylan, 152). In return he was to pay 45 thousand Venetian gold ducats annually to meet Djem's expenses (24 S̲h̲awwāl 887/6 December 1482) (Thuasne, 86; for the negotiations now see the documents in Ertaylan, 156-61). It was understood that the Grand Master had Djem's mandate on this matter (cf. Thuasne, 80, 86 and Bāyezīd's letter to the French King in Ertaylan, 186). With the promise of sending him to Hungary via France (cf. *Wāḳiʿāt*, 8) d'Aubusson interned him in the Order's places in France for seven years (his departure from Rhodes was on 17 Radjab 887/1 September 1482). Bāyezīd II had asked Venice to intercept him on the sea if he should leave Rhodes (see documents in Ertaylan, 142-3, 188). Actually the Venetians must have attempted to seize him on his way to France (doc. in Ertaylan, 158-9; in *Wāḳiʿāt*, 8, Neapolitan ships). Worried lest Djem should proceed to Hungary, Bāyezīd sent envoys and spies to the West to prevent it (see documents in Ertaylan, 186, 189, 192, 193, 203). His envoy to the French King, Hüseyn Beg, was sent to assure Djem's detention there (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 12; Thuasne, 110).

As Djem was a valuable hostage bringing political prestige as well as money the rulers of the time were most anxious to have him and the Kinghts had to be always on guard. In 892/1487 they imprisoned him in the *Grosse Tour* or *Tour de Zizim*, a fort especially built to intern him near Bourgneuf (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 16; Thuasne, 157). Sultan Ḳāyitbāy who had been at war against the Ottomans since 890/1485 and Matthias Corvinus, Hungarian King, maintained active diplomatic relations with the Knights and the Pope to get Djem (for Ḳāyitbāy's ambassadors in Europe see Thuasne, 174, 199, 337). Djem's early attempt to get into contact with Matthias Corvinus had failed (cf. *Wāḳiʿāt*, 11, in Muḥarram 888/ February 1483).

When Djem was interned in France Bāyezīd II put to death Gedük Aḥmed Pasha, the strong man of the empire, and Djem's son, Oghuz-khān, who was then only three years old (Shawwāl 887/December 1482) (documents in Ertaylan, 167-8).

Finally the Knights and the Pope Innocent VIII thought it necessary "for the general good of Christendom" to transfer Djem to Rome, where he arrived on 1 Rabīʿ II 894/4 March 1489. He met the Pope in a royal reception ten days later (description of the reception in *Wāḳiʿāt*, 21-2; Thuasne, 232) and in their private talk Djem complained that the Knights had violated their agreement to lead him to Rūm-eli and treated him as a prisoner. He wanted the Pope to send him back to his family in Egypt asserting that he would never cooperate with the Hungarians against his co-religionists (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 21-3).

Djem's presence in Rome increased the international prestige and activities of the Pope who now planned a Crusade against the Ottomans for which, he said in the letters to the Christian rulers, the conditions were most propitious (Thuasne, 241, 260, 265).

Bāyezīd was most worried by Djem's transference to Rome and he protested against it as a breach of the pact on the part of the Knights. Actually Matthias Corvinus was now pressing the Pope and the Egyptian Sultan was offering 150-200 thousand ducats to have Djem. On 17 Muḥarram 896/30 November 1490 Bāyezīd's ambassador, Ḳapîdjî-bashî Muṣṭafā Beg, came to Rome with a letter assuring the Pope of his friendship and asking him to stand by the agreement made with the Knights. He had brought with him 120 thousand ducats representing three years' pension for Djem which was to be delivered after Muṣṭafā's seeing him alive. Muṣṭafā saw him and delivered him a letter and presents from Bāyezīd. (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 23-4). On 23 Shaʿbān 898/9 June 1493 another ambassador of Bāyezīd came to Rome to renew the agreement about Djem with Alexander VI, successor of Innocent VIII, and delivered 150 thousand ducats as Djem's pension (Thuasne, 314). The Pope gave guarantees about Djem, and, on the other hand he assured the Christian powers that with Djem in his hands he could neutralize the Ottomans in their plans against Christendom. Soon afterwards he could even expect support from Bāyezīd II against Charles VIII of France who was about to invade Italy. The French King came to Rome in 899/1494 and compelled the Pope to hand Djem over to him for his plans of crusade (1 Djumādā I 900/27 January 1495) (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 30). He was taken by the king in his expedition against Naples. On the way he fell ill and died in Naples on the night of 29 Djumādā I 900/25 February 1495. Rumours spread that the Pope had poisoned him (Thuasne, 365-76; Saʿd al-Dīn, *tādj al-tewārīkh*, ii, 37; but in *Wāḳiʿāt*, 30-5, the latter's source, there is no hint at Djem being poisoned; Saʿd al-Dīn must have taken this from Idrīs Bidlīsī's *Hasht Behisht*. Bāyezīd took the place of the Pope in the story in some Ottoman chronicles, see ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, MS.). Djem left a testament (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 32) in which he expressed the wish that his death be made public so that the "infidels" could not use his name in their plans of crusade, that Bāyezīd should have his corpse taken to the Ottoman land, that all his debts be paid, and that his mother, daughter and other kin and servants receive proper care from the Sultan Bāyezīd.

Bāyezīd learned of Djem's death through the Venetians on 24 Radjab 900/20 April 1495. He made it known throughout the empire by public prayers for Djem's soul (Ferīdūn, i, 294), and brought back his corpse, which was embalmed and put in a lead coffin (*Wāḳiʿāt*, 32), from Naples only in Ramaḍān 904/April 1499. Buried at last in the mausoleum of Muṣṭafā, his elder brother, in Bursa (cf. I. Baykal, *Bursa ve Anıtları*, Bursa 1950, 40), Djem's corpse, too, had been subject of high politics (cf. Thuasne, 378-87).

Djem's will was fulfilled by Bāyezīd II (an official record shows that his daughter Gawhar Malik Sulṭān was honored by the Sultan with presents in Ramaḍān 909/February 1504, cf. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, Istanbul 1952, 474). His son Murād, however, who took refuge in Rhodes, was captured during the conquest of the Island and executed with his son on 8 Ṣafar 929/27 December 1522. Murād's wife and two daughters were sent to Istanbul (Ferīdūn, i, 539; Thuasne, 389).

Djem, whose poems were collected in two *dīwāns*, one in Persian (ed. in part by I. H. Ertaylan, *Cem Sultan*) the other in Turkish (ed. by I. H. Ertaylan, *Cem Sultan*) was considered as a distinguished poet (cf. Laṭīfī, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1314, 64). He is also the author of a *Fāl-i reyhān-i Sulṭān Djem* (ed. by I. H. Ertaylan, *Fālnāme*, Istanbul 1951).

Bibliography: Documents connected with Djem and his own letters that are preserved in the archives of Tokapî Sarayî Müzesi, Istanbul, have recently been published in fascimile by I. H. Ertaylan (*Sultan Cem*, Istanbul 1951). These original documents as well as the correspondence of Djem in Ferīdūn (*Munsheʾāt al-Salāṭīn*, i, Istanbul 1274, 290-4) have not yet been studied properly. They are mostly undated. The *tahrīr defters* of Konya and Ḳaramān contain a number of documents given in the name of Djem (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Istanbul, tapu def. No. 119, 392, 63, 32, 40, 58, 809). The *Wāḳiʿāt-i Sulṭān Djem* (ed. M. ʿArif, Istanbul 1330 H.) was written or dictated by one of the closest men to Djem, Ḥaydar (cf. M. Ârif's introduction) Ayās or Sinān, who had been with him from his childhood until his death. Saʿd al-Dīn (*Tādj al-tewārīkh*, i, Istanbul 1280, 8-40) reproduced it with a few additions from other sources. *Ghurbetnāme* (Ist. Universite Kütüphanesi, Hāliṣ Efendi Kitapları) is an incomplete copy of the *Wāḳiʿāt*. The collections of poems of ʿAynī-i Tirmidhī (Konya Müzesi Kütüphanesi 2420/16), of Ḥamīdī (ed. I. H. Ertaylan) and of Ḳabūlī (ed. I. H. Ertaylan) contain contemporary information on Djem's life in Anatolia. Donado Da Lezze, *Historia turchesca*, ed. I. Ursu, Bucarest 1911; L. Thuasne, *Djem-Sultan, étude sur la question d'Orient à la fin du XVᵉ siècle*, Paris 1892; Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd Bayātī, *Djām-i Djem-āyīn*, Istanbul 1331 H.; Aḥmad Sayyid al-Darrādj,

Djem Sulṭān wa 'l-diblūmāsiyya al-duwaliyya, in *al-Madjalla al-ta'rīkhiyya al-miṣriyya*, viii, (1959), 201-42; *İA*, art. Cem (Cavid Baysun).

(Halil İnalcik)

DJEMĀL PASHA (Cemal Paşa), Young Turk soldier and statesman. Aḥmed Djemāl was born in Istanbul in 1872. He graduated from the *erkān-i ḥarbiyye mektebi* in 1895, was commissioned as a captain in the general staff, and posted to the Third Army in Salonika. There he joined the Macedonian nucleus of the Young Turk conspiracy, the *'Othmānlī Ittiḥād we Terakkī Djem'iyyeti* (known in Europe as the Committee of Union and Progress), using his assignment as inspector of railways in Macedonia to help spread and consolidate the Committee's organization. Following the 1908 revolution he became a member of the *Ittiḥād we Terakkī*'s executive committee (*merkez-i 'umūmī*). He participated energetically in the suppression of the 1909 counter-revolution (the *Otuz-bir Mart Wak'asī*) and became military governor (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Üsküdar (Asiatic Istanbul). Later that year he was appointed *wālī* of Adana and, in 1911, of Baghdād. In 1912 he took command of the Konya reserve division and, in the First Balkan War, fought at Vize, was defeated at Pīnar Ḥiṣār, and later took over the inspectorate of the Čataldja front.

Following the *Ittiḥād we Terakkī*'s *coup d'état* of 23 January 1913 (known as the Sublime Porte Incident or *Bāb-ī 'Ālī Wak'asī*), Djemāl Pasha became military governor and *wālī* of Istanbul. He strongly supported the Unionists' plans for recapturing Edirne in the Second Balkan campaign and, by his forceful measures in rounding up and deporting opposition leaders in the capital, contributed decisively to the consolidation of the new régime; he could not, however, prevent the assassination, in June 1913, of the *ṣadr a'ẓam*, Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha. From this period onward and until the end of the World War, Djemal was widely considered, together with Enwer and Ṭal'at Pashas, to be part of the informal dictatorial triumvirate ruling the Ottoman Empire. He was promoted to Lieutenant-General, in December 1913 entered the cabinet as minister of works and, in February 1914, was transferred to the navy office, where he worked hard to improve the equipment and training of the fleet. His efforts, during a trip to Paris in July 1914, to bring about a closer understanding between the Ottoman Empire and France bore no fruit and he later supported, somewhat reluctantly, Enwer's policy of alliance with Germany.

In August 1914 Djemāl Pasha was given command of the Second Army (then stationed on the Aegean coast), and from November 1914 until December 1917 he was commander of the Fourth Army, with headquarters in Damascus, as well as military governor of the Syrian Provinces (including Palestine and the Ḥidjāz). Throughout this period, and until October 1918, he retained the navy portfolio, which put him in the anomalous position of being both the colleague and subordinate of Enwer Pasha (as minister of war and deputy commander-in-chief). Djemāl Pasha's initial assignment on the Syrian front was to prepare an attack on the Sinai peninsula and the Suez canal. But several successive forays towards the canal (in February 1915, and in April and July 1916) brought no decisive advance, and Ottoman hopes for an anti-British uprising in Egypt in response to the Ottoman proclamation of *djihād* were disappointed. During the early war years, Djemāl undertook a large programme of public works in the Syrian provinces and took an active interest in the archaeology of the region. But there were indications of political disaffection among the local Arab leaders, and to these Djemāl reacted with characteristic severity. Eleven prominent Arabs were hanged after a summary trial in August 1915, and 21 more, including a member of the Ottoman senate (*medjlis-i a'yān*), in May 1916—this time without formal trial. A month later, the revolt in the Ḥidjāz under the Sharīf Ḥusayn (with which some of the executed Syrians had been connected) greatly weakened the Fourth Army's position. Early in 1917 the British began their attack on Palestine, and when Djemāl was recalled from the Syrian front at the end of the year, his forces were retreating before Allenby's advance.

Djemāl resigned as minister of navy along with the rest of the Ṭal'at Pasha cabinet. On 2 November 1918 he fled with Enwer and Ṭal'at, going first to Berlin and then to Switzerland. (In the meantime his case was tried before an Istanbul court-martial, and he was ordered to be expelled from the army and was later sentenced to death *in absentia*). While in Europe, Djemāl took service with Amīr Amān Allāh of Afghānistān and upon the mediation of Karl Radek, travelled to Russia, where he secured the support of Chicherin, Soviet commissar of foreign affairs, for his mission of modernizing the Afghān army. While in Moscow, he offered his support to the Turkish nationalist movement under Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk), with whom he carried on an intermittent correspondence by letter and telegram beginning in June 1920; together with Enwer's uncle Khalīl Pasha (Halil Kut), he facilitated the diplomatic contacts between the Bolshevik and Kemalist régimes which culminated in the Treaty of Moscow of 1921. In the summer of 1920 Djemāl stopped in Ṭāshkent, where he recruited a group of interned Ottoman officers for his mission, and proceeded to Afghānistān to assume his post as inspector-general of the army. He returned to Moscow in September 1921 for further negotiations with the Bolsheviks, with Kemāl, and with Enwer Pasha (whom he tried to dissuade from his activities against Kemāl and from his adventurous plans in Uzbekistān). On his way back to Afghānistān, Djemāl was shot to death in Tbilisi (Tiflis) on 21 July 1922 by two Armenians, Kerekin Lalayan and Sergo Vartayan—his death apparently being part of the same assassination campaign to which Ṭal'at and Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pashas had earlier fallen victim. He was buried in Tbilisi and later reburied in Erzurum.

Bibliography: *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, x, 141 f.; Ibrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul [1946], 82; *Millī Newsāl* 132, 314 f.; Djemāl's memoirs (*Khāṭirāt* 1913-1922, Derse'ādet 1922, and modernized and annotated edition, *Hatiralar*, ed. Behcet Cemal (his son), Istanbul 1959; translations: *Erinnerungen eines türkischen Staatsmannes*, Munich 1922, and *Memories of a Turkish Statesman 1913-1919*, London, n.d.) are largely an apologia for his conduct in Syria, as is the "red book" *La vérité sur la question syrienne*, Istanbul 1916, issued by the Fourth Army; for the Arab point of view, see especially George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, London 1938, 150-52, 185-90, 202-3. On the war years in Syria much information will he found in the memoirs of his chief of staff Ali Fuad Erden, *Birinci Dünya Harbinde Suriye hâtıraları*, i, Istanbul 1954. The most detailed and reliable

account of Djemāl's last three years is provided by his comrade-in-arms of his Syrian days, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, *Moskova hâtıraları*, Istanbul 1955, 48-50, 57-8, 274-99. Djemāl's archaeological interests are reflected in his book *Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina, und West-Arabien*, Berlin 1918. (D. A. Rustow)

DJEMALĪ EFENDI [see djamālī efendi].

DJEMʿIYYET-I ʿILMIYYE-I ʿOTHMĀNIYYE, the Ottoman Scientific Society, was founded in Istanbul in 1861 by Munīf Pasha [*q.v.*]. Modelled on the Royal Society of England, and perhaps inspired by the reopening of the *Institut d'Égypte* [*q.v.*] in Alexandria in 1859, it consisted of a group of Turkish officials, dignitaries and scholars, some of them educated in Europe. It was the third such learned society to appear in 19th century Turkey, having been preceded by the *Endjümen-i Dānish* in 1851 (see andjuman), and by the 'learned society of Beshiktash' in the time of Maḥmūd II (see Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*[2], xii, 184; Luṭfī, 168-9,; Djewād, 69, n. 1.; Mardin, 229 ff.). The Ottoman Scientific Society arranged public lectures and courses on premises assigned to it by the government, where there was also a reading-room with a small library. Its most important achievement, however, was the publication of the *Medjmūʿa-i Fünūn*, the first scientific periodical in Turkish, published monthly and circulated with official support. Besides the natural sciences, history and geography, politics, economics and philosophy figured largely in the pages of the journal, which introduced its readers to classical and European achievements and writings in these fields, and to the scientific, non-dogmatic study of scientific and philosophical problems. Its rôle in Turkey has been likened by Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar to that of the *Grande Encyclopédie* in 18th century France. It was of brief duration. During the cholera epidemic of 1865 the journal was compelled to cease publication, and after a brief resumption some years later was finally suppressed in 1882 by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II.

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DJEMSHĪD [see djamshīd].

DJENDERELI [see djandarlī].

DJENNÉ [see dienné].

DJERBA [see djarba].

DJERĪD. the wooden dart or javelin used in the game of Djerīd, *i.e.*, Djerīd Oyunu in Turkish and, in the Arabic of Egypt, Laʿb al-Djerīd—a game which was popular and widespread in the Ottoman empire of the 10th/16th-13th/19th centuries. The actual form of the djerīd or wooden javelin varied somewhat in the different parts of the empire; its length, moreover, seems to have ranged in general between $^3/_4$ and $1^1/_2$ metres (von Oppenheim, 598-9). The djerīd, in Egypt, consisted of a palm branch stripped bare of its leaves, such being indeed the original sense of the Arabic word *djarīd*. At the court of the Ottoman Sultan in Istanbul the game of Djerīd was much in evidence and never more so than in the second half of the 11th/17th century. It afforded to the pages of the Sultan and to the other personnel of the court an admirable opportunity to show their physical prowess and dexterity. The Djerīd Oyunu was in fact a mock battle in the course of which horsemen threw darts at one another, each participant in the game being now the pursuer and now the pursued. Some of the sources declare that the Djerīd horsemen sought, during their mounted evolutions, to gain possession of the darts thrown earlier in the game and carried for this purpose thin canes curved at one end (Hobhouse, 634). At Istanbul large numbers of the court personnel often engaged in the Djerīd Oyunu—indeed rival "factions" existed under the names of Lahanadjī (cabbage men) and Bamyadjī (gumbo men). The game of Djerīd demanded a high degree of skill in horsemanship and in the throwing of the javelin or dart (Guer, *Mœurs et usages des Turcs*, ii, 252 gives an interesting account of the methods followed in order to acquire proficiency in this latter art.). It meant also for the participants a considerable risk of serious wounds and even of death, since the head was a common target of attack. The Djerīd Oyunu was abolished at Istanbul in the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd II (1223-55/1808-39) after the suppression of the Janissaries in 1241/1826, but it survived long thereafter in the provinces as a game popular amongst the mass of the people.

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DJEWDET, ʿABD ALLĀH (Abdullah Cevdet) Turkish poet, translator, politician, free-thinker and publicist. He was born of the Kurdish family of the ʿUmar Oghullarī, at ʿArabgīr, on 3 Djumādā II 1286/9 September 1869. Having completed his studies at the military school at Maʿmūret el-ʿAzīz (Elâzığ), he came to Istanbul about the age of 15 to attend the Army Medical School. There, in May 1889, he became a founder-member of the Ottoman Society for Union and Progress.

By 1891 he had published four small volumes of poetry, the second of which opened with the well-known *Naʿt-i Sherīf* in praise of the Prophet, which more than once during his stormy career swayed officialdom in his favour. In 1892 he underwent a brief spell of imprisonment for his political activities, and in 1896 was exiled to Tripoli. Becoming involved with the local branch of Union and Progress he was again imprisoned, but after his release succeeded in escaping from Tripoli and making his way to Geneva (September 1897), where he worked for the Young Turk fortnightly *ʿOthmānlī*. In 1899 he was induced to accept the post of medical officer to the embassy in Vienna: by thus taking service under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd he debarred himself for life from attaining office under the Young Turks.

Yet so far was he from abandoning his revolutionary activities that in September 1903 he was dismissed from his post and forced to leave Austria. Returning to Geneva, he put all he possessed into founding the *Imprimerie Internationale*, which on 1 September 1904 produced the first number of *Idjtihād*, a periodical devoted to the cause of political, intellectual, religious and social liberty, which Djewdet was to edit, albeit with interruptions, for almost 30 years. In the same year he began publication of the series known as *Kütübkhāne-i idjtihād*, in which many of his own works appeared and which he controlled until his death.

Among his works published about this time were *Kafkasyadaki Müslümanlara Beyānnāme*, an appeal to the Muslims of the Caucasus to fight against Russian absolutism, and translations of Byron's *Prisoner of Chillon* and Alfieri's *Del principe e delle lettere*.

Within a few months the Turkish ambassador in Paris brought about Djewdet's expulsion from Switzerland. After a short stay in France, during which the Ottoman government sentenced him, in his absence, to life-imprisonment, loss of civil rights and confiscation of his property, he moved on to Cairo (late 1905), where he remained till mid-1911, working as an oculist while continuing his political and publishing activities. He joined the Young Turk Decentralist party and maintained an incessant output of pamphlets against the Sultan and, for a short while only, against the Ottoman house in general. Regarding ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd as an incorrigible despot, he was not impressed by his acceptance of the Constitution in 1908, but in this matter Djewdet's was a lone voice.

In July 1909, after the Sultan's abdication, *Idjtihād* ceased publication in Cairo, reappearing in June 1911 in Istanbul, where Djewdet had taken up residence. But his troubles did not end with the abdication. In February 1910 the Young Turk cabinet of Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī Pasha banned 'the *History of Islām* by ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet Bey, which is directed against the Muslim faith', though it was Dozy's original and not Djewdet's preface to his translation of it which most offended the authorities. He was imprisoned for a month in the winter of 1912, after the Turkish defeats in the Balkan war. His attacks on the official theologians in the pages of *Idjtihād* led to its temporary suspension in 1913 and to a compulsory change in its title on three occasions in 1914. Djewdet's opposition to Turkish participation in the First World War caused the periodical to be suppressed again, from 13 February 1915 to 1 November 1918. Meanwhile he published several non-political works, among them his edition and translation of the *Rubāʿiyyāt-i Khayyām*.

During the grand-vizierate of Dāmad Ferīd Pasha he twice served as director-general of public health. But he again brought himself into conflict with the authorities by an article which he wrote in favour of Bahā'ism; in April 1922 he was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for blasphemy (*enbiyāya ṭaʿn*), but the legal argument dragged on till December 1926. In the result he was discharged and the crime itself was dropped from the new Turkish code. He died on 29 November 1932, working to the end.

His published works, original and translated, number over 60. Among his translations are six of Shakespeare's plays: although all but *Anṭuān we Kle'opātrā* suffer through being made from French versions, they are by no means without merit. He deserves great credit also for making the modern study of psychology known to his compatriots.

The long article on DJEWDET by K. Süssheim in *EI*[1] (Suppl.), on which the present article is based, gives a complete list of his works and a bibliography, to which may be added: Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Ziya Gökalp, İttihat ve Terakki ve Meşrutiyet tarihi*, Istanbul 1943, 30, 49-50, 70; Ahmed Bedevî Kuran, *İnkılâp tarihimiz ve Jön Türkler*, Istanbul 1945; idem, *İnkılâp tarihimiz ve İttihad ve Terakki*, Istanbul 1948; E. E. Ramsaur, Jr., *The young Turks*, Princeton 1957; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961. (G. L. LEWIS)

DJEWDET PASHA [see AḤMAD DJEWDET PASHA].

DJEZĀ'IRLI GHĀZĪ ḤASAN PASHA, one of the most famous *ḳapudan pashas* (Grand Admirals) of the Turkish navy. He was born in Tekfurdaghī (Rodosto) on the Sea of Marmora, where he is said to have been a slave in the service of a Muslim merchant; on being set free, he took part as a janissary in the campaign against Austria in 1737-39. At the end of the war he went to Algiers where he was received by the Deys and in the end was appointed beg of Tlemcen. Some time afterwards, to escape from the persecution of the Dey of Algiers, he took refuge in Spain. In 1760 he returned to Constantinople and was put in command of a warship by Sultan Muṣṭafā III. In 1180/1766-7 he obtained command of the *ḳapudana* (admiral's flag-ship) and in 1770 took part in the naval war against Russia in the Mediterranean. At the nava

battle of Česhme [*q.v.*] the *ḳapudana* of which he was in command caught fire while an attempt was being made to board the Russian flag-ship, and both ships blew up; Ḥasan Beg, although wounded, swam to safety. He then reached the Dardanelles and from there embarked on a daring manœuvre, as a result of which he succeeded in capturing from the Russians the island of Lemnos which they had previously occupied (10 October 1770). For this brilliant feat he was awarded the title of *Ghāzī* and the position of *ḳapudanpasha*. In 1773 and 1774 he took part, as *serʿasker* of Rusčuk, in the continental war against Russia; after the signature of the Treaty of Kaynardja (17 July 1774) he once again held the office of *ḳapudanpasha*. During the following years (1775 and 1776) he brought to an end the domination of Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar [*q.v.*] and his sons over ʿAkkā; in 1778, when disputes with Russia over the Crimea gave rise to fears of a new war, he conducted a naval demonstration in the Black Sea; but in fact it entirely failed to achieve its purpose and resulted in the loss of several large ships which ran aground or were involved in various accidents. In 1779 he was sent to the Morea and drove out the hordes of Albanians who had settled there after the withdrawal of the Russian fleet. He was made responsible for governing the Morea while continuing to hold the position of *ḳapudanpasha*; and in 1780 he crushed the revolt of the Maïnots. In the years that followed he took an important part in the government of his country. On three separate occasions (in 1781, 1785 and 1786), though for short periods only, he was entrusted with the Grand Vizierate in the capacity of *ḳāʾimmaḳām*. His second tenure of the Grand Vizierate followed the fall of his rival Khalīl Ḥāmid Pasha (31 March 1785) whom he had denounced to Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I as the instigator of a plot to depose the sultan and replace him by the crown prince Selīm. At the same time he carried out a reorganization of the navy, built the first barracks for the crews of the fleet (1784) and organized the upkeep of the forts on the Bosphorus, at the entry into Black Sea. In the years 1786 and 1787 he was given the task of restoring the Porte's control over Egypt which, under the Mamlūk *begs* Murād and Ibrāhīm, had become virtually independent. Though with only inadequate forces, he advanced to Cairo, set at liberty Yegen Meḥmed Pasha who was imprisoned there (8 August 1786) and routed the rebel begs; but in the autumn of 1787, while still engaged in restoring order in Egypt, he was recalled on account of the threat of war with Russia. When hostilities broke out, he was ordered to relieve the siege of Oczakov; with this aim, he engaged in several naval battles with the Russians in June 1788, in the vicinity, but in each case without success; he did contrive to send troops and supplies of food into the town, but he was unable to force the Russians to raise the siege. After losing several ships in a storm, he returned to Constantinople at the beginning of December 1788. On 7 April 1789 his patron Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd died. The new sultan, Selīm III, dismissed Djezāʾirli Ḥasan Pasha from the office of *ḳapudanpasha* and appointed him *serʿasker* of Ismāʿīl. After the Grand Vizier had suffered a severe defeat near Martineshti (22 September), Ḥasan Pasha who had just driven back a Russian army from the fortress of Ismāʿīl received the seal of office as Grand Vizier and Commander-in-chief of the forces (end of November). He spent the winter at Shumla and there carried on negotiations with Prince Potemkin. Some days after giving orders to leave winter-quarters he fell ill and on 14 Radjab 1204/30 March 1790 he died, perhaps poisoned by order of the Sultan. He was buried in the Bektashi convent which he had himself built outside the gates of Shumla.

Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha was distinguished in a quite remarkable way from other commanders of his time by his personal bravery: his missions to Syria, the Morea and Egypt show not only his military skill but also a political clear-sightedness which was rare at that period. Although his two expeditions in the Black Sea in 1778 and 1788 failed on all counts, he at least had the merit of rebuilding the fleet which had been destroyed at the battle of Česhme and of inaugurating the work of reorganizing the Turkish navy with the help of European technicians, a task which was to be continued by Küčük Ḥuseyn Pasha [*q.v.*]. His complicity in the fall and death of Khalīl Ḥāmid Pasha, though a proof of his own fidelity to his master, was nevertheless a dastardly action which delayed the revival of the Empire.

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DJIBĀL, plural of the Arabic *djabal* (mountain or hill), a name given by the Arabs to the region formerly known as *Māh* (*Māda*, Media), which they also called ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī, to distinguish it from Arabian ʿIrāḳ, *i.e.*, Lower Mesopotamia. The province came by its name of Djibāl because it is, except in its north-eastern portion, extremely mountainous. It was bounded in the east by the great desert of Khurāsān, on the south-east by Fārs, on the south by Khūzistān, on the west and south-west by Arabian ʿIrāḳ, on the north-west by Ādharbāydjān and on the north by the Alburz range. The boundaries were never well defined and therefore underwent frequent changes. According to Iṣṭakhrī (203) and Ibn Ḥawḳal (267) there were antimony mines at Iṣfahān. Owing to the altitude, the climate is in general cold and there is much snow in winter.

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(L. Lockhart)

AL-DJIBĀL, name formerly given by Arab authors to that portion of Arabia Petrea situated directly south of the Wādī al-Ḥasā, an affluent of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, which from its lofty summits (rising to 1400 or 1600 m.) dominates the depression of the Wādī al-ʿAraba [*q.v.*], the southern prolongation of the Jordan Fault. This important mountain system, continued afterwards by that of al-Sharāt [*q.v.*] with which it is often confused, thus corresponds to the broken

border of the steppe desert, in a region where the Transjordan plateau perceptibly rises. Its tortuous relief, which makes it appear almost like a wall coloured with granites and porphyries on the east of Palestine, opens however by deep gashes on to the basin of the Dead Sea which receives most of the water of its streams, and for long supported by exports of bitumen the traffic of its commercial routes. It was always a region of communication, the strategic importance of which was plain at the time of the defence of the Roman *limes* against the invasions of the nomads, and at the time of the struggles between the Franks of Palestine (fortress of Montreal or al-Shawbak built by Baldwin I in 1115) and the Muslim principalities of Egypt and Syria. But it was also, until the first centuries of Islam, a cultivated region where the relatively abundant springs permitted the development of small centres of settled population, still attested by numerous ruins although these have been little studied.

In the Hellenic period this ancient land of eastern Edom, separated from the country of Moab by the traditional frontier of the Wādī al-Ḥasā already mentioned, had seen the growth of Nabataean power, the apogee of which must have marked the first period of Arab penetration to the borders of Palestine. We know that some sites of Gebalene like Boṣra, the former Mibṣar identified with the present-day village of Buṣayra to the south of al-Ṭafīla, are reckoned among the localities of the caravan kingdom of Petra. The same territory thereafter became part of the province of Arabia, the frontier marches which Trajan had substituted, in 106, for the Nabataean kingdom and which must then have gradually lost, to Palmyra's advantage, its monopoly of wealth of merchant origin. In 295 new administrative changes rejoined Gebalene to Palestine, an enormous province which was divided first into two and later into three departments in the second half of the 4th century. It was thus to the Third or Salutary Palestine that belonged, according to the Byzantine lists, the towns of Metrocomia (al-Ṭafīla), Mamopsora (Buṣayra), Arindela (al-ʿArandal) and the military post of Rabatha (the former Reḥoboth near the Wādī al-Riḥāb), all townships whose location can today only be established with difficulty, but whose importance seems to have been maintained at the very beginning of Muslim domination.

In fact the names of ʿArandal (Arindela), provided by al-Yaʿḳūbī, and of Ruwāth (Robatha), given by Ibn Ḥawḳal (113), are generally found in the early Arab geographers mentioning the capital of the canton of al-Djibāl (according to the authors a canton of the djund of Damascus or of the djund of Filasṭīn) and distinguishing this district from Maʾāb (capital: Zughār) and from al-Sharāt (capital: Adhruḥ). Such a distinction, which Ibn Khurradādhbih also observes in his enumeration of the Syrian cantons, was not long in becoming blurred, doubtless because of the impoverishment and the progressive abandonment by its population of a region which had however been conquered without a struggle by Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān and would have been able to continue to live on its former prosperity. Even al-Maḳdisī (145) knows only al-Sharāt, to which he attributes Zughār as its capital and cites Maʿān and Adhruḥ as its principal towns, and Yāḳūt does likewise, locating the village of ʿArandal there. The term al-Djibāl had then fallen into desuetude, and in the Mamlūk period writers, such as al-Ḳalḳashandī and al-ʿUmarī, only mention, in the *niyāba* of al-Karak, the *wilāyas* of al-Shawbak, Zughār and Maʿān, extending over all the southern part of the province of Syria.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

DJIBĀYA [see ʿĀMIL, BAYT AL-MĀL, ḌARĪBA, DJAHBADH, KHARĀDJ, etc.].

DJIBRĪL [see DJĀBRĀʾĪL].

DJIBŪTĪ (modern orth. Djibouti), a town and port on the African coast of the Gulf of Aden, at the mouth of the Gulf of Tadjoura. The promontory, composed of four small madrepore reefs upon which the town is built, was called Ras Djabūtī or Gabūtī, probably an Arabicized form of Gabod (in ʿAfar: "the plateaux in wicker-work"), a name still used for part of the coast nearby. The territory of Djibūtī was given to France in March 1885 by local notables of the ʿĪse, a Somali-speaking tribe who had taken the place of the ʿAfar in that region during the 19th century and enjoyed independent status.

The town and port were built up from nothing by France. The former was founded by governor Lagarde on 6 March 1888. In 1896 it officially replaced Obok as chief town of the French establishments in the Gulf of Aden. In 1897 work was started on the Franco-Ethiopian railway (completed in 1917) which connects Djibūtī with Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia (784 m.). The port very soon supplanted Zaylāʿ and Tadjoura as the outlet for southern Ethiopia: possessing several deep-water docks, it is one of the leading ports on the east coast of Africa.

The population of Djibūtī consists of 32,000 inhabitants, 28,000 of whom are Muslim. About two-thirds of the latter are Somalis (ʿĪse, Gadabbūrsi, Habar-Awwal and other Isāḳ, and some Dārōd), mostly immigrants from the former Somaliland or Ethiopia; a quarter are of foreign extraction. In addition, there are about 5,000 Arabs, 2,000 of whom are of foreign extraction, from the Yemen and Aden Territory, and who hold an important position in commerce; about 3,000 ʿAfar, and a small number of Indian, Ethiopian and Sudanese Muslims. Arabic is the common language of the majority.

For the territory known as French Somali Coast the Ḳāḍī of Djibūtī, traditionally of Arab origin, is the leading religious personage. A very great majority of the population belongs to the Shāfiʿī school; almost the only exception are some Zaydī Arabs. With the ʿAfar and the Somali, custom (*ʿāda* and *ḥēr*, respectively) frequently takes precedence over the *sharīʿa*. The religious order most widespread in Djibūtī and throughout the region is the Ḳādiriyya; the next, though only in Djibūtī, is the Aḥmadiyya which predominates in the Somali tribe of the Habar-Djaʿlo. In addition to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī, whose *maḳāmāt* are numerous, various saints of either foreign or local origin are venerated almost everywhere; in the ʿAfar country the (false) tomb of a certain shaykh Abū Yazīd, who is said to

be Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī [*q.v.*] dominates the Goda mountain. Besides the veneration of local inhabitants, pilgrims from the Arab and Somali regions sometimes visit it. In Djibūtī there are eight large mosques (*djāmiʿ*) of masonry, and several other smaller ones of lighter construction. Several Somali tribes or tribal groups (ʿĪse, Izāḳ, Dārōd) have dedicated small mosques or oratories in the town to their eponymous ancestors.

Since 1957, through the application of the law of 23 June 1956, Djibūtī, an over-seas territory of the French Republic, is administered, under the tutelage of a Governor representing metropolitan France, by a Council of Government, and possesses a Territorial Assembly elected by universal suffrage.

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AL-DJIDD WA 'L-HAZL "seriousness and joking", a common combination of antithetical terms which have a certain resonance in Muslim ethics and the Arabic literary genre known as *adab*. Although only the second of these words occurs in the Ḳur'ān, without implication of any kind, while its antonym *djidd* and its synonym *muzāḥ* do not appear there at all, and although the Ḳur'ān does not explicitly prescribe either serious behaviour or the avoidance of jocularity, Islam without necessarily inspiring sadness and tears in spite of its pessimistic view of this world here below, at least invites Believers seriously to consider the divine promises and threats and, during their life on earth, to prepare for the eternal life which awaits them. Thus, in contrast to the levity and carefree attitude of the heathen who, not believing in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection, are inclined to enjoy all worldly pleasures with impunity, in Islam there is found a gravity dictated by the constant anxiety to deserve the divine reward; if, furthermore, *ḥilm* [*q.v.*] is a fundamental basis of Islamic ethics, it implies in particular a dignity of attitude which excludes any possibility of giving way to laughter and joking. The recollection of the ridicule suffered not only by the first Muslims but also by God's earliest messengers inspires a distaste for mockery which moreover is forbidden by the Ḳur'ān (XLIX, II), and even mere laughter, which is itself disapproved of; it is indeed God "who causes to laugh and causes to weep" (LIII, 44), but they will weep much in the other world who in this world have laughed a little (IX, 83/82); laughter is the behaviour of the enemies of God (cf. XXIII, 112/11; XLIII, 46/47; LIII, 60; LXXXIII, 29); however, the Believers will be rewarded in the hereafter, they will laugh and their faces will be bright and joyful (LXXX, 38-9).

Conscious of the nobility and dignity of his religion, of the gravity of his most ordinary actions and the moderation which he must observe in all things the Muslim, when he does not consider himself compelled to shed countless tears [see BAKKĀ'], accordingly feels that he must be essentially serious and must reject any conduct incompatible with the impassivity which *ḥilm* requires, above all laughter and jocularity. This feeling, based upon a narrow interpretation of Ḳur'ānic ethics, finds an additional justification in a certain number of *ḥadīth*s and memorable sayings which somewhat later authors of ethical works or popular encyclopaedias unfailingly collect together in special paragraphs. Thus al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyā'*, book xxiv) declares jocularity to be forbidden and blameworthy, and quotes various *ḥadīth*s in support of his assertion, not, however, without tolerating a moderate joke; al-Ibshīhī (*Mustaṭraf*, ii, 308), immediately after the chapter concerning the prohibition of wine, devotes a paragraph to the forbidding of the joke, but does not fail to quote the favourable traditions at greater length and to repeat a certain number of droll anecdotes.

Indeed, the defenders of the joke are not short of arguments; the basic ideas which would serve to justify complete condemnation are in fact contradicted by certain *ḥadīth*s and reflections of wise Muslims, and it is easy to invoke the help of the Prophet himself who joked in various circumstances, as well as the pious forbears who hardly seem to have observed literally the Ḳur'ānic provisions against laughter and jocularity. The instance of the great *fuḳahā'* of Medina is readily taken as a precedent, and one cannot forget the curious but explicable fact, from the 1st/8th century in the Holy Cities, especially Medina, of the rise of an actual school of humourists whose profession it was to bring laughter and who helped to raise the amusing anecdote, the *nādira* [*q.v.*], to the rank of a literary form. ʿIrāḳ was not unaffected by this movement, and it is only necessary to glance through the *Fihrist* (Cairo ed., 201 ff., 435) to get an idea of the wealth of collections of anecdotes, either signed or anonymous, in circulation as early as the time of Ibn al-Nadīm; it is very probable that, insofar as they have a historical existence—and it is known that some of them did indeed exist—these entertainers and their aristocratic clients were scarcely embarrassed by prohibitions which others considered absolute. Collections of this kind, which certainly enjoyed a great vogue, have for the most part disappeared—like the imaginative writings, the richness of which is shown by the *Fihrist*—probably as the result of puritanical reaction, but they have been partly absorbed in more recent collections, and the literature of *adab* has preserved extracts from them which testify to the enduring though unacknowledged taste of Arab readers for the anecdote that is piquant, not to say obscene and indecent.

Apart from its moral aspect properly speaking, the comic element in fact raises a literary problem which al-Djāḥiẓ appears, once again, to have been the first to define clearly. Inheriting a religious and literary tradition of long standing, he was shocked by the needlessly stiff attitude of some of his contemporaries, and from the start he set out to justify laughter, which he associated with life, and jocularity, stressing its advantages so long as it was not exaggerated, and showing that Islam was a liberal religion which in no way enforced reserve and severity; from there he went on to attack the boredom bred by most writings which, in his opinion, were too serious, and he suggested a leavening of a little *hazl* in even the most severe speculations; at times he did not hesitate to interrupt a learned argument to quote some anecdotes, at the risk of discrediting the rest of his work, but he succeeded in harmoniously blending together the serious and the comic in

several of his writings, among which the *Kitāb al-Tarbīʿ wa'l-tadwīr* is unquestionably the most perfect example; in a word, he wished the literary form of *adab* to instruct while it amused. On this point he seems to have been partially successful for he has many imitators in both West and East. Going still further he put into practice, although unknowingly, the motto *castigat ridendo mores*, and wrote the *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ* in which he used laughter as an element in a moralizing design; in this case, however, his success is more questionable, and Ibn al-Djawzī appears to be more or less the only other writer who tried to use laughter freely for a similar purpose (*Akhbār al-ḥamḳā wa 'l-mughaffalīn*, Damascus 1345, 2-3). In general, comic writings and even contemporary theatrical comedies (a comedy is called *hazliyya*) are never looked on as more than an agreeable diversion, without any moral significance. (CH. PELLAT)

DJIDDA [see DJUDDA].

DJIDJELLI (Gegel in Leo Africanus; Zizeri, Zigeri-Gigerry, Gigeri in western writers), a coastal town in Algeria, 70 km. west of Bougie and 50 km. east of Collo. Geographical position 36° 49′ 54″ N.-5° 44′ 38″ E. Population 21,200 inhabitants (1955).

The ancient town of Djidjelli stood high up, where the citadel still stands, on a rocky peninsula which juts out between two bays, one to the west, small and very sheltered, the other lying to the east in a deep basin divided from the open sea by a line of reefs. The present town was built after the destruction of the Turkish town by an earthquake in 1856, and lies along the sea near to the large easterly bay. The port gains a certain importance from the export of cork which comes from the forests of the Little Kabylia.

Djidjelli is of very ancient origin. The Phoenicians in fact established a trading post at this spot, named Idgil, which later passed into the hands of the Carthaginians. During the Roman period the colony of Idgilgili was included in Mauretania Caesariensis, eventually being restored to Setifian Mauretania in the time of Diocletian. It was the seat of a bishopric. It passed successively under the domination of the Vandals and Byzantines. When the Arabs became masters of the Maghrib, Djidjelli no doubt retained its independence. Ibn Khaldūn tells us, in effect, that for the early centuries of the Hidjra it was in the hands of the Berber tribe of the Kutāma, who inhabited the nearby mountains (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, i, 198). It seems, however, to have been ravaged and in some measure depopulated, since al-Bakrī describes it as a town "now inhabited" (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, tr. de Slane, 193). According to this geographer, some remains of ancient monuments still survived. The inhabitants exported copper ore from the surrounding mountains to Ifrīḳiya and to other even remoter regions (al-Idrīsī, IIIe climat, tr. De Goeje, 114). The Ḥammādids who had incorporated it in their kingdom had a castle built there.

Like various other places on the coast of Africa, Djidjelli passed into the hands of the Christians in the 6th/12th century. In 537/1143 George of Antioch, an admiral of Roger II of Sicily, seized the town and the castle. This situation remained unchanged until the overthrow of the Ḥammādid dynasty by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (547/1152). The Christians were then compelled by this prince to evacuate Djidjelli.

After the break-up of the Almohad empire, Djidjelli fell to the Ḥafṣids and on several occasions was the subjects of disputes between the kings of Bougie and Tunis. Taking advantage of these quarrels, the inhabitants succeeded in making themselves practically independent of both parties (Leo Africanus, ed. Épaulard, 362). They made their living by exporting barley, flax, hemp, nuts and figs which they sent to Tunis, Egypt and even to towns in Italy. The port there was crowded with Christian shipping from Naples, Pisa, Catalonia and Genoa. Genoese merchants were even given favoured treatment there. The commercial importance of Djidjelli declined however in the 9th/15th century owing to the increase in piracy.

At the beginning of the 10th/16th century the Genoese, alarmed by the Spanish occupation of Bougie [see BIDJĀYA], had Djidjelli occupied by a fleet commanded by Andreas Doria. But in the following year ʿArūdj, who had been called in by the inhabitants, seized the Genoese fortress with the help of the Kabyle chief Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāḍī and settled in Djidjelli. It was from there that he set out in 918/1512 to lay siege to Bougie and, in 922/1516, to take Algiers [see ʿARŪDJ]. It was also there that Khayr al-Dīn came to seek refuge when defeated by the Kabyles, while his enemies ravaged Mitīdja and made themselves masters of Algiers. He lived there from 926/1520 until 934/1527, making it the base for his fleet, and even thought of choosing Djidjelli as his capital. He gave up the idea after the capture of the Peñon at Algiers [see KHAYR AL-DĪN], but granted exemption from all taxes in kind to the people of Djidjelli, for themselves and their descendants, as a reward for their fidelity.

Throughout the 16th century and the first half of the 17th, the Djidjelli seafarers continued their privateering, thus provoking reprisals from the Christian Powers. In 1020/1611 a Spanish fleet commanded by the marquis of Santa Cruz came and burnt the town. In 1074/1663 the French Government, on the advice of Admiral Duquesue and the engineer Clerville, considered setting up in Djidjelli a permanent base for the warships engaged in combating the Barbary corsairs. In the following year, a squadron under the orders of the duke of Beaufort disembarked at Djidjelli an expeditionary corps of 8,000 men commanded by the count of Gadagne. The French troops took possession of the town, almost without striking a blow, on 23 July 1664, and constructed entrenchments and fortifications at some distance from the shore. But, paralysed by the quarrels between their two leaders, they remained inactive in their positions and allowed the Algerians to bring up an army and to establish powerful batteries. Pulverized by the fire of the enemy's artillery, they were compelled to evacuate the town on 31 October 1664 and with great difficulty they re-embarked, with the loss of 2,000 men.

As a guarantee against further attacks, the Turks then established a permanent garrison in the town. It was, however, much too small to overawe the Kabyle tribes, and it remained penned in the citadel in a state of almost perpetual siege. The deys were only able to negotiate with the local inhabitants, from whom they had to obtain the wood required for ship-building, through the intermediary of marabouts belonging to one of the branches of the family of the Moḳrānī. One of them, al-Ḥādjdj ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, was appointed marabout of Djidjelli in 1168/1755, and the office was inherited by his descendants. At this period Djidjelli seems to have regained some of its commercial activity.

This relative prosperity was compromised by the Kabyle insurrection of 1803. The marabout Bū

Dali (al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad b. al-Ḥarsh) attacked the town, and the Turkish garrison fled. Bū Dali proclaimed himself sultan and entrusted the government of Djidjelli to one of his supporters with the title of *agha*. Sent with a squadron to punish the rebels, the raʾīs Ḥamīdu bombarded the town, without result (1805). But shortly afterwards, having been maltreated by the Kabyles, the inhabitants made their submission to the dey who set up a new garrison in the town.

The fall of the Turkish Government in 1830 gave the people of Djidjelli their independence which they kept until 1839, when the sack of a French trading-post made Marshal Valée, the Governor-General of Algeria, decide to have the town occupied, on 13 May 1839. But the garrison, having no communications with the hinterland, remained besieged by the Kabyles until the moment when an expedition led by general Saint-Armand brought the tribes of the Little Kabylia to submission (1851).

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(G. Yver*)

DJIHĀD etymologically signifies an effort directed towards a determined objective. (Cf. *idjtihād*: the work of the scholar-jurists in seeking the solution of legal problems; *mudjāhada* or, again, *djihād*: an effort directed upon oneself for the attainment of moral and religious perfection. Certain writers, particularly among those of Shīʿite persuasion, qualify this *djihād* as "spiritual *djihād*" and as "the greater *djihād*", in opposition to the *djihād* which is our present concern and which is called "physical *djihād*" or "the lesser *djihād*". It is, however, very much more usual for the term *djihād* to denote this latter form of "effort").

In law, according to general doctrine and in historical tradition, the *djihād* consists of military action with the object of the expansion of Islam and, if need be, of its defence.

The notion stems from the fundamental principle of the universality of Islam: this religion, along with the temporal power which it implies, ought to embrace to whole universe, if necessary by force. The principle, however, must be partially combined with another which tolerates the existence, within the Islamic community itself, of the adherents of "the religions with holy books", *i.e.*, Christians, Jews and *Madjūs* [*q.v.*]. As far as these latter are concerned the *djihād* ceases as soon as they agree to submit to the political authority of Islam and to pay the poll tax (*djizya* [*q.v.*]) and the land tax (*kharādj* [*q.v.*]). As long as the question could still, in fact, be posed, a controversy existed—generally resolved by a negative answer—on the question as to whether the Christians and Jews of the Arabian peninsula were entitled to such treatment as of right. To the non-scriptuaries, in particular the idolaters, this half measure has no application according to the opinion of the majority: their conversion to Islam is obligatory under pain of being put to death or reduced into slavery.

In principle, the *djihād* is the one form of war which is permissible in Islam, for, in theory, Islam must constitute a single community organized under a single authority and any armed conflict between Muslims is prohibited.

Following, however, the disintegration of Muslim unity and the appearance, beginning in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, of an ever increasing number of independent States, the question arose as to how the wars which sprang up between them were to be classified. They were never included within the strict notion of *djihād*—even in the case of wars between states of different religious persuasion—at least according to the general Sunnī doctrine; and it is only by an abuse of language that this term is sometimes applied to them, while those authors who seek for a precise terminology label them only as *ḳitāl* or *muḳātala* (conflict, war). There is even hesitation in referring to the struggle against the renegade groups in Islam as *djihād*. The viewpoint of Shīʿite doctrine is not the same, for, according to the Shīʿa, a refusal to subscribe to their teaching is equivalent to unbelief (*kufr*). The same holds good, *a fortiori*, for the Khāridjite doctrine [see further TAKFĪR].

The *djihād* is a duty. This precept is laid down in all the sources. It is true that there are to be found in the Ḳurʾān divergent, and even contradictory, texts. These are classified by the doctrine, apart from certain variations of detail, into four successive categories: those which enjoin pardon for offences and encourage the invitation to Islam by peaceful persuasion; those which enjoin fighting to ward off agression; those which enjoin the initiative in attack, provided it is not within the four sacred months; and those which enjoin the initiative in attack absolutely, at all times and in all places. In sum, these differences correspond to the stages in the development of Muḥammad's thought and to the modifications of policy resulting from particular circumstances; the Meccan period during which Muḥammad, in general, confines himself to moral and religious teaching, and the Medina period when, having become the leader of a politico-religious community, he is able to undertake, spontaneously, the struggle against those who do not wish to join this community or submit to his authority. The doctrine holds that the later texts abrogate the former contradictory texts (the theory of *naskh* [*q.v.*]), to such effect that only those of the last category remain indubitably valid; and, accordingly, the rule on the subject may be formulated in these absolute terms: "the fight (*djihād*) is obligatory even when they (the unbelievers) have not themselves started it".

In two isolated opinions, however, attempts were made to temper the rule in some respects. According to one of these views, attributed to ʿAṭā (d. 114/732-3), the ancient prohibition against fighting during the sacred months remains valid; while according to the other, attributed to Sufyān al-Thawrī (born 97/715), the *djihād* is obligatory only in defence; it is simply recommended (*li 'l-nadb*) in attack. According to a view held by modern orientalist scholarship, Muḥammad's conception of the *djihād* as attack applied only in relation to the peoples of Arabia; its general application was the result of the *idjmāʿ* (general consensus of opinion) of the immediately succeeding generations. At root, of course, this involves the problem as to whether Muḥammad had conceived of Islam as universal or not.

The opinion of al-Thawrī appears to have been adopted by al-Djāḥiẓ. The heterodox movement of the Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*], beginning towards the end of the 19th century, would go further than al-

Thawrī inasmuch as it refuses to recognize the legitimacy of the *djihād* even as a recommended activity. Cf., in the same sense, the doctrine of Bābism (see BĀB).

According to the general doctine of the Shīʿa, due account taken of their dogma concerning "the absence of the Imām", who alone has the necessary competence to order war, the practice of the *djihād* is necessarily suspended until the re-appearence of the Imām or the *ad hoc* appointment of a vicar designated by him for this task. The Zaydī sect, however, which does not recognize this dogma, follows the same teaching as that of the Sunnī doctrine.

Characteristics of the duty of *djihād*. The *djihād* is not an end in itself but a means which, in itself, is an evil (*fasād*), but which becomes legitimate and necessary by reason of the objective towards which it is directed: to rid the world of a greater evil; it is "good" from the fact that its purpose is "good" (*ḥasan li-ḥusn ghayrih*).

A religious duty. The *djihād* has the effect of extending the sway of the faith; it is prescribed by God and his Prophet; the Muslim dedicates himself to the *djihād* in the same way that, in Christianity, the monk dedicates himself to the service of God; in the same vein it is said in different *ḥadīths* that "the *djihād* is the monasticism of Islam"; the *djihād* is "an act of pure devotion"; it is "one of the gates to Paradise"; rich heavenly rewards are guaranteed for those who devote themselves to it; those who fall in the *djihād* are the martyrs of the faith, etc. A substantial part of the doctrine reckons the *djihād* among the very "pillars" (*arkan*) of the religion, along with prayer and fasting etc. It is a duty which falls upon every Muslim who is male, free and able-bodied. It is generally considered that non-Muslims may be called upon to assist the Muslims in the *djihād*.

A "collective" obligation (*farḍ kifāya*) in contrast to *farḍ ʿayn*. The *farḍ kifāya* is that duty which is imposed upon the community considered as a whole and which only becomes obligatory for each individual in particular to the extent that his intervention is necessary for the realization of the purpose envisaged by the law. Thus, as soon as there exists a group of Muslims whose number is sufficient to fulfil the needs of a particular conflict, the obligation of the *djihād* no longer rests on the others. The general teaching is that the duty of *djihād* falls, in the first place, individually as a *farḍ ʿayn*, upon those who live in the territory nearest to the enemy, and that the same holds good in the case of the inhabitants of a town which is besieged. In the organized State, however, the appreciation of the precise moment at which the *djihād* is transformed into an *ʿayn* obligation is a matter for the discretion of the sovereign; so that, in the case of general mobilization, the *djihād* loses, for all the members of the community, its character of *farḍ kifāya*, and becomes, instead, *farḍ ʿayn*.

All this implies, however, that for those who hold the reins of authority and, in particular, the sovereign, the *djihād* is always an individual duty, since their own personal action is necessary in every case. Where there are several independent Muslim states, the duty will fall upon the ruler of the state which is nearest to the enemy.

Further, the duty of the *djihād* is relative and contingent in this dual sense that, on the one hand, it only comes into being when the circumstances are favourable and of such a nature as to offer some hope of a victorious outcome, and, on the other hand, the fulfilment of the duty may be renounced in consideration of the payment by the enemy of goods reaching a certain value, if such policy appears to be in conformity with the interests of the moment.

Its subsidiary character. Since the *djihād* is nothing more than a means to effect conversion to Islam or submission to its authority, there is only occasion to undertake it in circumstances where the people against whom it is directed have first been invited to join Islam. Discussion turned on the question as to whether it was necessary, on this ground, to address a formal invitation to the enemy. The general doctrine holds that since Islam is sufficiently widespread in the world, all peoples are presumed to know that they have been invited to join it. It is observed, however, that it would be desirable to repeat the invitation, except in cases where there is ground for apprehension that the enemy, thus forewarned, would profit from such a delay by better organizing his defences and, in this way, compromising the successful outcome of the *djihād*.

Its perpetual character. The duty of the *djihād* exists as long as the universal domination of Islam has not been attained. "Until the day of the resurrection", and "until the end of the world" say the maxims. Peace with non-Muslim nations is, therefore, a provisional state of affairs only; the chance of circumstances alone can justify it temporarily. Furthermore there can be no question of genuine peace treaties with these nations; only truces, whose duration ought not, in principle, to exceed ten years, are authorized. But even such truces are precarious, inasmuch as they can, before they expire, be repudiated unilaterally should it appear more profitable for Islam to resume the conflict. It is, however, recognized that such repudiation should be brought to the notice of the infidel party, and that he should be afforded sufficient opportunity to be able to disseminate the news of it throughout the whole of his territory [see ṢULḤ].

Its defensive as well as offensive character. The *djihād* has principally an offensive character; but it is equally a *djihād* when it is a case of defending Islam against aggression. This indeed, is the essential purpose of the *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] undertaken by isolated groups or individuals settled on the frontiers of Islam. The *ribāṭ* is a particularly meritorious act.

Finally, there is at the present time a thesis, of a wholly apologetic character, according to which Islam relies for its expansion exclusively upon persuasion and other peaceful means, and the *djihād* is only authorized in cases of "self defence" and of "support owed to a defenceless ally or brother". Disregarding entirely the previous doctrine and historical tradition, as well as the texts of the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna* on the basis of which it was formulated, but claiming, even so, to remain within the bounds of strict orthodoxy, this thesis takes into account only those early texts which state the contrary (v. *supra*).

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Radd al-muḥtār, Istanbul 1314/1905, iii, 315 ff.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Raḥmat al-umma fi 'khtilāf al-aʾimma*, Cairo, 294; Ibn Djumāʿa, *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām*, ed. Kofler, (in *Islamica*, 1934), 349 ff.; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, 3rd. ed. Rashīd Riḍā, Cairo 1367/1947, viii, 345 ff.; Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, Cairo 1322/1904, 156 ff.; Marāghī, *al-Tashrīʿ al-islāmī*, Cairo, 24 ff.; Māwardī, *Aḥkam sulṭāniyya*, Cairo, 30 ff.; Querry, *Recueil de lois concernant les musulmans chiites*, Paris 1871, i, 321; Rashīd Riḍā, *Khilāfa*, Cairo 1341/1922, 29, 51; Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Cairo, x, 35; Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-umm*, Cairo 1903, with the Muzanī gloss, v, 180 ff.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, Paris 1957, 578 ff.; Draz, *Le droit international publié et l'Islam*, in *Revue égyptienne de droit international public*, 1949, 17 ff.; Haneberg, *Das muslimische Kriegsrecht* (Abh. der kgl. Bayer. Akad. der Wissensch., 1870, philos.-philol. cl., xii. Bd., II. Abt.), 219 ff.; Juynboll, *Handbuch* 57, 335 ff.; Milliot, *Introd. à l'étude du droit musulman*, Paris 1953, 22, 34; Ṣaʿīdī, *al-Siyāsa al-islāmiyya*, Cairo; Sanhoury, *Le Califat*, thesis, Lyon 1925, 146; Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strasbourg 1922, 42 ff.; Muh. Shadīd, *al-Djihād fi 'l-Islām*, 1960; *İA*, art. Cihâd (Halim Sabit Şibay).

(E. Tyan)

DJIHĀNGĪR [see DJAHĀNGĪR].

DJILD. The use of leather (*djild*, *adīm*) as a writing material is well known in the Near East. In Egypt it was used already in the Middle Kingdom; leather manuscripts are known from the empire of Meroe and Nubia to the south of Egypt, from Palestine and Persia. In the latter country the βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι—the Royal archives consisting of leather documents—were known to Ctesias (*apud* Diodorus Siculus, ii, 32, cf. DAFTAR), and when the Persians conquered Egypt for a short time at the beginning of the 7th century A.D., they continued to write on leather here. The leather pieces found in Egypt and preserved in several European collections testify to this fact. When the Persians conquered Southern Arabia soon after 570 A.D., they greatly encouraged the leather industry there; the South-Arabian leather was famous as a writing material of special delicacy and smoothness. But even before the Persian occupation of the Yaman, leather was known there as a writing material. The debenture of a Ḥimyarite to the grandfather of the Prophet Muḥammad, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, which was preserved in the treasury of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn, was written on a piece of leather. Leather was thus well known to the Arabs even before Islam, and poets like al-Muraḳḳish the Elder and Labīd quote instances to this effect. Arabs even knew how to colour skins yellow with saffron, and later invented, in al-Kūfa, an improvement on the treatment of skins, *viz.*, they replaced quick-lime (which made the skins very dry) by dates, so that the skins became soft. We are told of numerous cases when the Prophet Muḥammad wrote (or had written) on leather—*e.g.*, gifts of lands and wells—and even pieces of the Revelation were written on it. His immediate successors, *e.g.*, ʿAlī, followed this example. As a peculiarity it may be mentioned that the Caliph ʿUthmān is credited with a Ḳurʾān, written on ostrich-skin and preserved in the ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Library in Medina (cf. *ZDMG*, xc, 1956, 102). During the Umayyad period leather was used among the Arabs as writing material; for example the poet Dhu 'l-Rumma (d. 117/735-6) mentions it in one of his *Ḳaṣīdas* (*Aghānī*, xvi, 111). A letter on leather, addressed in Arabic by the Soghdian ruler Diwashtī to the governor Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh about 100/719, was discovered in 1932 in Zarafshān in Central Asia (cf. I. Yu. Krachkovsky, *Among Arabic manuscripts*, Leiden 1953, 142). This document was not a unique piece, for the book-collection of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (40, 54), contained also leather pieces along with papers and papyri. Various documents on leather are preserved in different papyrus-collections; the oldest piece, a debenture in respect of a nuptial gift, dated 233/847, is in the possession of the Egyptian National Library in Cairo (Cat. Taʾrīkh, n° 1871), the youngest, dated 722 A.H., of the State Museum in Berlin. Special mention must be made of Ḳurʾān-manuscripts written on antelope-skins, to which al-Bīrūnī refers in his *Taʾrīkh al-Hind* (81).

A special kind of leather is parchment (*djild*, *waraḳ*, *ḳirṭās*, *raḳḳ*, *riḳḳ*), refined from skins of sheep, goats and calves. It was known in Arabia already in the fifth century A.D., since the Himyarite poet Ḳudam b. Ḳādim mentions it in his poem, and Labīd speaks of "talking parchment" (*ṭirs nāṭiḳ*). *Ṭirs* means parchment from which the original text had been washed off and which then was written on again; such a *ṭirs*, bearing a Latin biblical fragment of the fifth century A.D. on one side and an Arabic legal text of the 1st/7th century running across the Latin text on the other, is preserved in Florence. Such palimpsests are still rare. Parchment was used—among other materials—to write parts of the Revelation, and such scraps were found in the legacy of the Prophet. The use of parchment for sacred books was specific for the Hebrews, and the parchment *Thora*-rolls were well known to the Arabs (cf. Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 511, who quotes a verse of Djarīr (d. 110/728)). Also the Prophet Muḥammad used parchment on several occasions, and *raḳḳ* as well as *ḳirṭās* is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (VI, 7, LII, 3). The collection of the Holy Book of Islam, arranged by Zayd b. Thābit, is also said to have been written on parchment (A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muḥammad*, iii, p. xl). In the early Umayyad period parchment was preferred as a writing material along with papyri in Syria; in Egypt it was especially used for Ḳurʾān-codices—as also in other Islamic countries—but only exceptionally for secular literary texts. In North Africa a depository of the Sidi ʿUḳba Mosque in al-Ḳayrawān furnished lately some hundreds of literary parchment manuscripts. In ʿIrāḳ parchment was predominantly used in the chanceries until the Barmakid al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid replaced it by paper. A special precious kind of parchment was made of gazelle-skins. This gazelle-parchment was expensive but nevertheless mentioned several times in papyri, *e.g.*, also in a magical text. The Egyptian National Library possesses several Ḳurʾān manuscripts written on gazelle-parchment (cf. *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya al-maḥfūẓa bi 'l-kutubkhāna al-Khedīwiyya*, i, Cairo 1892-93, 2). In Egypt parchment, made of skins of sheep, goats and calves, plays a very minor rôle in comparison with papyrus. The oldest parchment document hitherto known is dated 168/784; it formed part of the collection of the late German consul Todros Muhareb in Luxor. A specially precious kind of parchment was purple-coloured, well known from early Latin mediaeval manuscripts. The collection of F. Martin contained a beautiful blue-coloured parchment with exquisite Kūfic script in gold, originally belonging to a

Ḳur'ān manuscript from the Mosque at Mes̲h̲hed (Persia).

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(A. Grohmann)

al-**D̲J̲ILDAḲĪ** [see supplement].

al-**D̲J̲ĪLĪ** [see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī].

D̲J̲ILLIḲ, the name of a pre-Islamic site famous for its abundant water and shady gardens, and often celebrated by Damascene poets who discovered this name in Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit. It was there that the G̲h̲assānid princes of the D̲j̲afnid branch venerated the tomb of one of their ancestors, and that they built what was, with the exception of D̲j̲ābiya [*q.v.*], the most renowned of their dwellings. It was also no doubt the principal, if not permanent, place of encampment for their troops. About twelve kilometres south of Damascus, the place became a *bādiya* [see ḤĪRA] to which Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya loved to go. When praising the beauties of this resort, the poet ʿArḳala al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī called it "the languorous pupil of the eye of the world".

The identification of this site is somewhat vague in the writings of Arab authors: according to some, it is a village in the G̲h̲ūṭa, where there is a statue of a woman from which a spring gushes forth; for others, the name covers the whole group of districts of Damascus together with the G̲h̲ūṭa. Finally, some writers, among whom are the mediaeval geographer al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī and the polygraph al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, who is the only one to use the spelling D̲j̲illāḳ, attribute the name to Damascus itself; thus for instance Quatremère in his *Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks* always translates D̲j̲illiḳ by Damascus. Yāḳūt placed D̲j̲illiḳ in the G̲h̲ūṭa, by which term we must understand all the cultivated land in the territory of Damascus, the southern boundary of which for administrative purposes was on the D̲j̲abal Kiswa. From the different texts at our disposal we can deduce the following topographical data: D̲j̲illiḳ was situated to the south-east of Mount Hermon for, when coming from the south, one could see the "snow mountain" behind the town; it was not far distant from Boṣrā [*q.v.*]; through it passed the road from the Balḳā', as well as the road from Damascus to Cairo, crossing the hills at D̲j̲illiḳ by the pass of the ʿ*aḳāba* of al-S̲h̲aḥūra.

Relying on these facts, R. Dussaud has shown that D̲j̲illiḳ must be distinguished from Damascus and identified with Kiswa. These conclusions, although accepted by R. Devreesse, were not shared by H. Lammens who tried to fix the place in the south of Syria and, despite the philological difficulties of the change in the last syllable, identified it with D̲j̲illīn in southern Ḥawrān. In support of his theory Lammens quoted as evidence a gloss from De Goeje. The identification of D̲j̲illiḳ with Kiswa is supported by the fact that on two occasions, in 12/633 and 15/636, the Byzantines when fighting against the Muslim conquerors pitched camp at D̲j̲illiḳ; now the only place south of Damascus where a strategic position for the defence of the town is to be found, and where, on many occasions throughout the centuries, armies have regrouped at the natural barrier (the *t̲h̲aniyya* of al-Ṭabarī) formed by the Nahr al-Aʿwad̲j̲ is precisely at Kiswa [*q.v.*].

We do not know at what date the name D̲j̲illiḳ disappeared from Syrian toponomy. At the end of the Umayyad period it was still sufficiently alive for the Syrian conquerors of Spain to give the name to a spot renowned for its abundant supplies of water, not far from Sarragossa.

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(N. Elisséeff)

D̲J̲ILLĪḲIYYA, Galicia, the north-west region of the Iberian peninsula, which now includes the four Spanish provinces of La Coruña, Lugo, Pontevedra and Orense. Arab geographers thought of al-Andalus as a triangle, one of the angles being fixed on the sea-coast at the end of the Cantabrian *cordillera*; there they placed an image or monument which can be identified with the Tower of Hercules —situated on the promontory where the town of La Coruña stands—which, from Roman times, has served as a lighthouse. As Arab rule lasted for only a short time in this part, historians were not very familiar with its boundaries or topography. They made no distinction between Galicia and Asturias, and gave no clear definition of the eastern frontier, even putting it as far away as the country of the Vascones. They placed the Rock of Galicia and the mountain of Pelayo—Covadonga—in the sea. For al-Idrīsī, the church of St. James of Compostella stood on a promontory in the Atlantic, and *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* speaks of the lighthouse castle—the Tower of Hercules?—as being near Lugo, on the third angle of the triangle and near the church of St. James. In order to indicate the frontiers of Galicia they relied on the state of the country as they knew it at the time they were writing or as described by their sources, without taking their date into account. In this way they placed the south-west frontier in the Algarve, the old name of what is now Portugal, and gave Braga as the frontier, while at other times they spoke of the town of Viseo as the centre of Portuguese Galicia which extended to the Mondego.

At the time when it was conquered, Lugo was looked upon as the capital and the whole of Galicia was occupied by the Berbers who, after being defeated by the Arabs and made desperate by famine, fled to Morocco, leaving Alfonso I to extend the territories of the D̲j̲illīḳiyya as far as the Duero. A state of war existed permanently between Galicia and Cordova, and military expeditions were halted only when the belligerents were compelled by disputes and internal difficulties to refrain from war. Al-Bakrī, an Andalusian, writing in the middle of the 5th/11th century, is the Arab writer who indicates

most precisely the limits and divisions of the Djillīkiyya at his own time, that is to say when the kingdom of the Taifas was at its height. In the Kayrawān manuscript which the editor of *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* cannot have known, he tells us that the ancients had already divided Galicia into four regions: the first lies to the west, curving round towards the north. Its inhabitants are Galicians and its territory is Galicia, properly speaking, reaching as far north as the town of Braga; the second is the region of Asturias which, according to him, takes its name from the river Ashtru, an unknown name which cannot be identified phonetically with the Nalón, the principal river in Asturias; the third zone is south-west Galicia, and its inhabitants, owning only the small enclave between Braga and Oporto, took from the latter town the name "Portuguese"; the fourth zone, situated in the south-east, was called Castile and included two sub-divisions, Upper Castile corresponding with the kingdom of Leon and Lower Castile, at that time with fortresses at Grañon in the province of Logroño, 25 km. from Najera, Alcocero on the Oca 30 km. from the same town, and lastly Burgos *caput Castellae*. Al-Bakrī was familiar with Constantine's division of the Peninsula into six zones; in the second of these zones, the centre of which was Braga and which included the region of the Galicians and Celts, he names Oporto, Tuy, Orense, Lugo, Britania—now Santa Maria de Bretonia, in the *partido judicial* of Mondoñedo—Astorga, in the province of Leon, St. James of Compostella—which can only be the town of the Golden Church (*Kanīsat al-dhahab*), although al-Bakrī makes them two distinct towns—and lastly Iria—now Padrón in the province of La Coruña—Bataca, an unidentified name, and Sarria, 35 km. south of Lugo. Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim, following al-Bakrī, describes Galicia as a country with flat, sandy ground while the inhabitants are depicted as unscrupulous warriors, highly primitive in their customs. On the other hand al-Makkarī praises them for their beauty and remarks upon the good qualities of captives; but all are agreed in thinking their reckless courage equal or even superior to that of the Franks, and in striking contrast to the character of the Visigoths and Hispano-Romans before the Muslim invasion.

Under the one name Djillīkiyya Arab historians include the kingdoms of Asturias and Leon; in their view, the kings of both are Galician, and the towns Galician also, Oviedo and Leon like Zamora and Astorga. Military expeditions by the Caliphate did not succeed in reestablishing a firm hold upon the territories south of the Duero which had been lost; and although ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and *al-ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr were successful in imposing their authority over the kings of Asturias and Leon and making them their vassals, the victorious campaigns of the latter, which reached their apogee with the capture and sack of St. James of Compostella, completed the wide ring of devastating raids into the territories of the Great Djillīkiyya; and very soon afterwards, when the Umayyad caliphate crumbled, it was these kingdoms, springing from the nucleus of Galicia, which carried the war into the Muslim territories and, under Alfonso VI, even captured Toledo.

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DJILWA, the ceremony of raising the bride's veil, and the present made by the husband to the wife on this occasion.

According to al-Djurdjānī who bases himself on Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-ʿArabī (*Definitiones*, ed. Flügel, 80, 294), *djilwa* is the name of the state in which the mystic is on coming out of the *khalwa*: filled with the emanations of divine attributes, his own personality has disappeared and mingles with the being of God (cf. Guys, *Un derviche Algérien*, 203).

One of the two sacred books of the Yazīdīs is called *Kitāb al-Djilwa* [*q.v.*]. (Cl. Huart)

DJILWATIYYA (Turkish Djelwetiyye), the name of a *ṭarīḳa* founded by Sheykh ʿAzīz Maḥmūd Hudāʾī of Üsküdar (Scutari, nr. Istanbul). The name is said to come from *djalwa* (leaving one's native country, emigrating), which, as a *ṣūfī* term, denotes a creature's emergence from solitary withdrawal (*khalwa*) through contemplation of God's attributes and its annihilation in God's Being (Sayyid Sharīf, *Taʿrīfāt*, 3). An alternative or simultaneous derivation from *djilwa* [*q,v.*], can also be put forward. The Djilwatiyya were a purely Sunnī *ṭarīḳa*, based on the *dhikr* [*q.v.*] of seven of the names (*asmāʾ*) of God, known as "essential" or "root-names" (*uṣūl-i asmāʾ*) to which five "branch-names" *furūʿ-i asmāʾ*) were added (*i.e.*, *Wahhāb*, *Fattāḥ*, *Wāḥid*, *Aḥad* and *Ṣamad*). The *sheykh* of the *ṭarīḳa* prescribed to individual dervishes those names which they had to recite, a prescription which might be varied on the basis of dreams reported by the dervishes. Other devotional practices of the *ṭarīḳa* included various supererogatory prayers and fasts. Djilwatīs wore green turbans (*tādj*) made of 13 strips of material which were meant to symbolize the 12 names of God and their transcendent unity (Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī, *Silsilanāme-i Djilwatiyye*, 1291 AH, 87). The centre (*pīr maḳāmī*) of the *ṭarīḳa* was in the *tekke* in Üsküdar where Maḥmūd Hudāʾī was buried. A second famous centre was the *tekke* in Bursa of Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī, the historian of the order and the author of the Turkish commentary *Rūḥ al-bayān* and of other treatises.

According to Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī (*Silsilanāme*, 63) the practice of the *dhikr* of seven names derives from Sheykh Ibrāhīm Zāhid Gīlānī (690/1291) through his pupil *Shaykh* Abū Isḥāḳ Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī (735/1334-5). It was also the former who devised the practice (*mashrab*) of *djalwa*, as opposed to that of *khalwa*. Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī adds that a Djilwatī who stops short at the withdrawal of *khalwa* should really be considered a Khalwatī, just as a Khalwatī who has tasted the joy of *djalwa* (or *djilwa*) is really a Djilwatī (*op. cit.*, 64).

In any case the Djilwatiyya were an off-shoot of the Bayrāmiyya, although the spiritual filiation of Maḥmūd Hudāʾī to Ḥādjdjī Bayrām is uncertain in places. In his treatise entitled *Wāḳiʿāt*, Hudāʾī names as his *sheykh* Muḥyī al-Dīn Uftāde, who died in Bursa in 988/1580-1. The latter was, according to Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī, the *khalīfa* of Kötürüm (or Paralytic) Khiḍr Dede, also of Bursa, who was in turn a follower of Ḥādjdjī Bayrām (*op. cit.*, 76). Another tradition (Ḥarīrīzāde Kamāl al-Dīn, *Tibyān wasāʾil al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī bayān salāsil al-tarāʾiḳ*, Fātiḥ Lib., Ibrāhīm Efendī Collection, Nos. 430-2, i, 227b, 246a), the spiritual genealogy is from Ḥādjdjī Bayrām to Aḳ Shams al-Dīn to Ḥamd Allāh Čelebi to Uftāde.

According to ʿAtāʾī (*Shaḳāʾiḳ-i nuʿmāniyye dheyli*, 64 ff., 358 ff., 760 ff.), Hudāʾī was born at

Seferī-Ḥiṣār. Meḥmed Gülshen Efendi (*Kulliyāt-i Ḥaḍrat-i Hudā'ī*, 1338-40 A.H.) varies this to Sivri-Ḥiṣār and gives the date of birth as 950/1543-4, while both the *Silsilanāme* and *Tibyān* agree on Ḳoč-Ḥiṣār of Ḳonya, the latter bringing the date of birth forward to 948/1541-2. Hudā'ī studied in Istanbul before becoming an instructor (*muʿīd*) at the *madrasa* of Sultan Selīm in Edirne, from where he went to Syria and Egypt as assistant *ḳāḍī* (*nā'ib*). In Egypt he attached himself to one Karīm al-Dīn Khalwatī, becoming himself a Khalwatī. He went next to Bursa where he was appointed *mudarris* at the Farhādiyya *madrasa* and *nā'ib* at the Court of the Old Mosque (Djāmiʿ-i ʿAtīḳ). Tradition has it that it was at this time that he saw in a dream a vision of some people whom he considered righteous tormented in hell, and others in heaven whom he had thought sinners. He thereupon made his submission to Sheykh Uftāde. The *Tibyān* and the *Kulliyāt* give the date of the conversion as 985/1577, the latter giving another version of the story, according to which Hudā'ī first served Uftāde for some three years and was then sent as the latter's *khalīfa* to Sivri Ḥiṣār (*op. cit.*, 4 ff.). Going later to Istanbul, Hudā'ī first settled in two rooms which he had built of stone next to the *masdjid* of Muṣallā in Čamlīdja, moving on first to a room near the mosque of Rūm (the Greek) Meḥmed Pasha and then to the present Djilwatiyya mosque and *tekke* which was built between 997/1589 and 1003/1595. He also preached and taught in other mosques, chief among them the Conqueror's mosque (Fātiḥ Djāmiʿi), where, according to Pečewī (*Ta'rīkh*, 1283 AH, ii, 36, 357) he was appointed preacher at the instigation of Ṣunʿ Allāh, the *ḳadʿasker* of Rumeli. This, Pečewī says, was the beginning of his fame. He enjoyed the favour and the respect of the Sultan Aḥmed I, owing these, according to the *Silsilanāme*, to a miraculous interpretation of the Sultan's dream. This royal favour is corroborated by the respectful references to Hudā'ī in both Pečewī and Naʿīmā (*Rawḍat al-Ḥusayn fī khulāṣat akhbār al-khāfiḳayn*, 1280 AH, i, 112 ff., 357; ii, 154, 158). Naʿīmā reports, for example, that he was asked to wash the dead Sultan's body, but that he excused himself on the grounds of old age, entrusting the duty to his *khalīfa* Shaʿbān Dede (ii, 154). Hudā'ī per-formed the pilgrimage three times. He died in 1038/1628.

Naʿīmā describes Hudā'ī as an eloquent and soft-spoken man. The *dhayl* (continuation) of the *Shaḳā'iḳ* (i, 64) reports that he let his hair grow long, a habit which was imitated by his followers. Hudā'ī wrote 18 works in Arabic and 12 in Turkish. These are to be found in the Selīm Āghā Library in Üsküdar (for titles of lost works see *Kulliyāt*, 607 note). Most of them are short treatises, including an unfinished Arabic commentary on the *Ḳur'ān* entitled *Madjālis*. His printed *Kulliyāt* includes a *dīwān*, as well as an Arabic treatise entitled *Risāla fī Ṭarīḳāt al-Muḥammadiyya*, a Turkish *Ṭarīḳatnāme* and a Turkish rhymed treatise, entitled *Nadjāt al-gharīḳ* (Salvation of the Drowned). His most important work is undoubtedly the *Wāḳiʿāt* or collected sayings (in Arabic rendering) of Sheykh Uftāde (MS in the author's hand, No. 574 in the Selīm Āghā Library). Apart from its mystical interest, this contains many important historical references to contemporary men and events. Meḥmed Gülshen Efendi in his edition of the *Kulliyāt* dates many of the devotional poems, one of which commemorates the death of Murād III (p. 79), adding that many of them were set to music, some by Hudā'ī himself. Some of the poems are syllabic in metre and are strongly influenced by Yūnus Emre. They show Hudā'ī as an orthodox Sunnī *shaykh*, an ascetic (*zāhid*) within the limits of the *sharīʿa*, hostile to exalted and more-or-less free-thinking *ṣūfī*s. He even petitioned the Sultan against Badr al-Dīn, the son of the *ḳāḍī* of Simavna, and his followers, among whom he seems to have been numbered for a time (M. Sharaf al-Dīn (Şerefeddin), *Simavnaḳāḍīsī-oghlu Sheykh Badr al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1927, 72 ff.).

The Djilwatiyya had an off-shoot in the Hāshimiyya, founded by Hāshim Baba (d. 1773), a Djilwati *sheykh* who was simultaneously a Malāmī (even laying claim to the title of "Pole" or *ḳuṭub*) and also a Bektashī (among whom he was known as *Baba* or *Dede* and whom also he tried to split by devising an amended ritual).

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(ABDÜLBÂKÎ GÖLPINARLI)

DJĪM, 5th letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *dj*; numerical value 3, so agreeing, like *dāl*, with the order of the letters of the Syriac (and Canaanite) alphabet [see ABDJAD]. It represents a *g* (occlusive, postpalatal[1], voiced) in the ancient Semitic (and in common Semitic).

In Arabic, this articulation has evolved: the point of articulation has been carried forward, in an unconditioned way[2], to the middle and prepalatal region, as a consequence of which it readily developed elements of palatalization (g^y and d^y) and affrication (*dj*). A simplification of the articulation into a spirant became possible, through the dropping of the first occlusive phase in the affricated (*dj* $>$ *j* where *j* represents a voiced palatal fricative, as French *j*), through the weakening and disappearance of the occlusive element in the palatalized consonant ($d^y > y$). This course of evolution can be written out as follows:

$$g > g^y > d^y \begin{cases} d^y > y \\ d^y > \underline{dj} > j \end{cases}$$

It is probable that the sound *g* of the Semitic *djīm* began at a very early time to evolve in the field which we are now considering. In any event, from the traditional pronunciation of the readers of the Ḳur'ān, from the basic ideas of the Arab grammarians regarding its articulation, and from the modifications in it conditioned by the proximity of other sounds which they have noted (assimilations and dissimilations), one can justifiably conclude that,

1) *g* is defined as: occlusive, postpalatal, voiced; but *g* and *k* (the corresponding unvoiced) are the consonants most influenced, as regards the point of articulation, by the adjacent vowel; they are brought forward to the mediopalatal region with a palatal vowel, and carried back to the velar region with a velar vowel; *postpalatal* signifies a medial position: that of *g*, *k*, articulated with a vowel *a*.

2) It would be better to say: for reasons unknown. A. Martinet has tried precisely to discover the causes of this displacement by structural methods, in his study *La palatisation "spontanée" de* g *en arabe*, in *BSL*, liv/1, 90-102; he has brought out the structural conditioning of the evolutionary processes, by starting from the concept that Arabic emphatics are derived from glottalized consonants. His analysis is original and instructive, but in its turn also is conditioned by the basic hypothesis described above.

from the dawn of the classical period, the occluded *g* in *d̲j̲īm* was opened through palatalization, affrication or even complete spirantization, at least in certain dialects. Naturally, differences analogous to those existing today in spoken languages, concerning the pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm*, must have existed between the various ancient languages; some of them had no doubt gone much further than others in evolving towards spirantization. Besides, this process of evolution is still continuing today, as we can see: in Jerusalem, for example, a European observer (Dr. Rosen) has noticed that the affricated *d̲j̲* which as a child he used to hear as the pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm* has now, in the pronunciation of the present time, become a palato-alveolar *j* (see E. Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*, 3 n. 1). In certain languages in which the current pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm* is now *j*, dissimilations in *d* or *g* can only be explained as fixed survivals of a former condition, at a comparatively recent stage in the development of this consonant (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i, 235-6).

Arab grammarians looked upon *d̲j̲īm* as a *s̲h̲adīda*, and therefore an occlusive, which excludes an affricated (*d̲j̲*) or spirant (*j*); and as a *mad̲j̲hūra*, which means *voiced* (Sībawayhi, ii (Paris), 453 and 454; al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, *Muf*., 2nd ed. Broch. § 734; etc.). As regards the *makhrad̲j̲*, al-K̲h̲alīl's *s̲h̲ad̲j̲riyya* (*Muf*., *ibid*.) is difficult to interpret, but the description given by Sībawayhi (ii, 453 l. 7-8) indicates clearly that the active organ of articulation is the middle of the tongue (that is to say, the front) and the middle of the upper palate. Elsewhere they rejected (Sībawayhi, ii, 452; etc.) the articulation of *d̲j̲īm* like *kāf* (usual in Bag̲h̲dād and in the Yemen) and of *d̲j̲īm* like *s̲h̲īn*, that is to say like *g* for the first and *j* for the second, which is a quite justifiable interpretation (as in J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 72 and others); d^y (palatalized *d*) being excluded by the designation of the front (and not the tip) of the tongue, there only remains g^y [1]. Arab grammarians appear indeed to consider this to be the only correct pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm*. This articulation fulfils the required conditions and in addition easily conforms with the passage of *yāʾ* to *d̲j̲īm* practised in certain tribes (Rabin, chart 19). In the traditional reading of Arabic the pronunciation *d̲j̲* (affricated, prepalatal, voiced) is generally adopted.

As regards the modern dialects, it is possible to draw up a table tracing the pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm* in general lines as follows:

1. Retention of the original pronunciation *g*: this seems to have been known in Aden in the Middle Ages (according to al-Muḳaddasī, 96 *l*. 14). It is found today in Muscat, in Yemeni dialects and in various Bedouin-dialects in central Arabia. In Dat̲h̲īna (south-west Arabia) it is found in the conjugation of verbs with *d̲j̲īm* as first radical, when it forms a syllable with the prefixes (e.g.: *yigzaʿ*). In Ḍofār (south-east Arabia) this pronunciation no longer exists save in the recitation of poetry, that is to say it has an archaic and quasi-artificial character. This pronunciation is also the manner of articulation proper to the dialects of Lower Egypt, and of Cairo in particular. Finally, in most of the dialects of north Morocco and also in Nédroma (Algeria), *g* is by dissimilation the pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm* when used in conjunction with a sibilant or palato-alveolar.

2. Pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm* as g^y or d^y: this is the pronunciation found in the majority of Bedouin-dialects in north, central and south Arabia. It is also the pronunciation used by the fellaheen and Bedouins of Upper Egypt. It occasionally occurs in Ḍofār.

3. Pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm* as *y*: today this occurs widely in the lower Euphrates region. It is the most widely used pronunciation in Ḍofār. It is common but not regularly used in various dialects in south-west Arabia. It is attested in a certain number of north Arabian tribes (notably the Sardīye and the Sirḥān) and in the D̲j̲ōf; for further particulars see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 74. In the other Arabic dialects only a few sporadic examples can be given.

4. Pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm* as *d̲j̲*: this pronunciation is already attested in ʿIrāḳ in the golden age of classical literature (according to Brockelmann's interpretation, in *ZA*, xiii (1898), 126 and *Grundriss*, i, 122). It is found in certain places in central Arabia, it is the form most widely used in the Yemen, it is current in Mecca, in ʿIrāḳ, among the Muslims in Jerusalem, in Aleppo, and is most widely used in country districts in Palestine, Jordan and Syria; in the Syrian desert it is regularly used among the tribes of nomad-shepherds. In north Africa it is in almost general use in both rural and urban dialects in north Algeria (for more precise details see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 75); it has remained in use in Tangier and perhaps in certain places in north Morocco, in cases of gemination (*ḳud̲j̲d̲j̲a* "lock of hair", but pl. *ḳ*ᵘ*jej*).

5. Pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm* as *j*: in Syria, Palestine and Jordan this is the town-dwellers' pronunciation: Damascus, Nablus, Jaffa, Jerusalem (Christians), etc. It is the pronunciation of the whole of the Lebanon (except to the north of the Beḳāʿ: *d̲j̲*), the Anti-Lebanon and the D̲j̲abal al-Drūz. In North Africa it is found in Tunisian, Tripolitanian, Moroccan and south Algerian dialects; it is found in certain places in northern Algeria. Probably it was the usual pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm* in the Arabic dialect of Granada.

6. Pronunciation of *d̲j̲īm* as *z*: it must, finally, be noted that in the towns of north Africa one can observe a tendency in certain individuals to open the palato-alveolar *j* into a sibilant *z*. This tendency appears to be limited to certain social groups (Jews) or to certain social classes (lower-class people in north Morocco), and is not sufficiently generalized to make it possible to refer to anything more than individual pronunciations.

All the pronunciations of *d̲j̲īm* given above are voiced. Some unvoiced pronunciations are known, and are extremely local: *č* in Palmyra and in some villages in the Anti-Lebanon, *t̲s̲* in Suk̲h̲ne (between Palmyra and the Euphrates).

In classical Arabic *d̲j̲īm* is subject to certain conditioned modifications (accommodations, assimilations), see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 72-3; (for the various modifications in modern dialects, see *ibid*., 76-9). For the phonological oppositions of the phoneme *d̲j̲īm*, see idem, *Esquisse*, *BSLP*, cxxvi, 102, 18; for the incompatibilities, see *ibid*. 135.

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1) An occlusive dorsal mediopalatal with palatalization.

Dialekt im Ḍofâr, i, p. viii, ii, 78-9; J. Cantineau, *Cours de Phonétique arabe*, Algiers 1941, 71-9; M. Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber*, Göttingen 1934, 48-9; C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London 1951, 31, 126.

(W. Marçais-[H. Fleisch])

ii.—LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ARABIC

In Persian the letter *dj̲īm* represents a voiced palatal affricate, which has a voiceless counterpart *č* (*čīm*). The voiced velar occlusive is represented always by *gāf*, although in Arabic loanwords from Iranian *dj̲īm* frequently represents this Iranian *g* (*e.g.*, *dj̲āmūs* "buffalo", P. **gāw-mēs̲h̲*). The letter *čīm* is formed on the model of *dj̲īm*, with three *nuḳṭa*s instead of one.

In Ottoman Turkish, *dj̲īm* and *čīm* are written as in Persian and with the same values, except that in some morphophonemically conditioned situations the voiced/voiceless opposition disappears. In the modern Turkish orthography *dj̲īm and čīm* are replaced in general by *c* and *ç* respectively with, however, account taken of phonetic values; hence *ç* can on occasion represent original *dj̲īm*.

In Urdū *dj̲* (*dj̲īm*) and *č* (*čē*, *čīm*) are palatal affricates as in Persian, frequently but not invariably uttered with dorsal contact with the tongue-tip behind the lower teeth. Among less educated speakers, especially in areas in India away from the main centres of Muslim culture, *dj̲* is also the pronunciation of the four *z* sounds (*d̲h̲āl* [zāl], *ḍād* [zād, zwād], *ẓā'* [zwē, zoē], as well as *zā'* [zē]), which results in occasional false back-formations, *e.g.*, *mawzūd* for *mawdj̲ūd*. Both *dj̲* and *č* occur with aspiration, written with *dj̲īm* or *čē* with the "butterfly" (*dūčas̲h̲mī*) form of *hā*.

In Sindhī there occurs beside *dj̲* and *dj̲h* the voiced palatal *implosive* affricate, written with two *nuḳṭa*s arranged vertically, ڄ. Other modifications of *dj̲īm*/*čīm* are the aspirated *čh* (ڇ), and the palatal nasal, *ñ*, with two *nuḳṭa*s placed horizontally, ڃ.

In Pas̲h̲tō beside *dj̲* and *č* occur the dental affricates *dz* and *ts*, both, however, written with the sign ځ.

Bibliography: see Bibliography to DĀL, ii.

(J. Burton-Page)

DJIMAT (Malay), an amulet, more particularly a written amulet. The word is of Arabic origin = *ʿazīma*. [see ḤAMĀ'IL]. (Ed.)

DJIMMĀ, known also as Dj̲immā Kakā, "Dj̲immā of the confederacy", and Dj̲immā Abbā Dj̲ifār, from the name of its most famous king. This state lies in the angle formed by the Omo and Godj̲eb rivers in south-west Ethiopia, and was inhabited by Sidamā (Hamites) of the same stock as the neighbouring kingdom of Kafa; the south-east corner of Dj̲immā, called Garo, was inhabited by the Bos̲h̲a, who are mentioned in an epinikion of Yesḥaḳ of Ethiopia (1412-27) together with the neighbouring state of Enāryā, later known as Limmu and Limmu-Enāryā (I. Guidi, *Le canzoni geez-amariña*, in *Rend. Lin.*, ii, 1889,). The Bos̲h̲a were among the pagans forcibly converted to Christianity by Sarṣa Dengel of Ethiopia about 1586. When the Galla invaded Ethiopia they reached this region about the middle of the 16th century, and began to found small monarchies in the Gibē region, the first of which was Enāryā, where a Galla dynasty was founded about 1550-70. In Dj̲immā six tribes of the Dj̲immā group formed the basis of the Galla state, whence the name Dj̲immā Kakā. Nominally Christian under Ethiopian rule, which ended about 1632, and pagan under the Galla founders of the new dynasty, a Muslim element soon entered, but died out together with Christianity during the 18th century. A monarchy is repugnant to the Galla, and its development was due to the influence of Islam. In Dj̲immā alone of the five Galla monarchies was the kingship allowed to survive after the Ethiopian conquest between 1891 and 1900. The language spoken here is Galla, and there has been a blending of Galla and Islamic institutions. The king has both a Galla war-name, *e.g.*, Abbā Dj̲ifār, "owner of a dappled horse", and a Muslim name, Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd. The kingship was hereditary, passing to a brother if there was no son. Owing to the influence of the monarchy, which was inconsistent with the Galla ideal of a tribal ruler who held office for only eight years, the Galla *gada*-system became much curtailed, and eventually the *gada*-grades were reduced from five to two. Islam was re-introduced early in the 19th century, and by the last quarter of the century Dj̲immā had become a centre of Islamic learning in western Ethiopia, though it caused no real anxiety to the kings of Ethiopia; nevertheless this did prevent Menilek II from annexing Dj̲immā to his kingdom along with the rest of the tributary states that lay round Ethiopia. From the time of the re-introduction of Islam till the end of the century the names of eight kings are preserved, the best known being Sanna Abbā Dj̲ifār I; the last king was also called Abbā Dj̲ifār. The trade route from Kafa to the coast lay through Dj̲immā; since it was a fertile land, the presence of traders from outside encouraged the development of agriculture; wheat, coffee, cotton, and aromatics were its chief products. It was also a centre of the slave-trade. Under Ethiopian rule the kingship was allowed to remain, the king being a vassal of the king of Ethiopia.

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(G. W. B. Huntingford)

DJINĀḤ (Indian-Pākistānī equivalent of Dj̲anāḥ; English spelling: Jinnah), Muḥammad ʿAlī. Muḥammad ʿAlī Dj̲ināḥ, known by his fellow-countrymen as the *Ḳā'id-i Aʿẓam*, was the founder of the state of Pākistān. He organized and led the Pākistān movement and became the first Governor-General of the new state.

It is generally accepted that he was born on 25 December 1876, though some records give dates in 1875 and 1874. His father was a moderately wealthy merchant, a member of a *K̲h̲ōdj̲a* family living in Karachi. His early education took place in Bombay and later at the Sindh Madrasat al-Islām and the Missionary Society High School in Karachi. After matriculation he was sent to England in 1892 where he qualified for the bar (Lincoln's Inn) in 1896.

While in London, during the final days of Gladstonian liberalism, he showed a keen interest in public life, as an admirer and supporter of Dādābhā'ī Nawrōdj̲ī, the first Indian to be elected to the House of Commons. At this stage also he assumed the outward appearance of an Englishman. Until the last year of his life he normally wore immaculate English clothes and he used a monocle. All his important speeches were delivered in English and even his

broadcast on 3 June 1947 on the acceptance of the partition scheme was translated into Urdū by others. In short, he had become "Mr. Jinnah".

He returned to India in 1896 and in the following year began to practise law in Bombay. After several lean years he became quite rapidly a leading member of the Bombay bar. His mind was always that of the lawyer. His speech aimed at precision rather than eloquence. He had little patience with those who used words as symbols to awaken emotions. He addressed himself to the British government or to the educated Indian minority. When he spoke to the masses it was in English and in the same terms he employed in writing a brief. If the masses responded it was to the man's intensity and uprightness, not to the warmth of his words.

D̲jināḥ's first venture into Indian politics was as a member of the Indian National Congress. He attended the 1906 session as private secretary to Nawrōd̲jī who was then Congress President. Three years later, in January 1910, he took his place as a member of the first Imperial legislative Council. He was elected to represent the Muslims of Bombay, and he was the first non-official member to secure adoption of a legislative Act, in this case an Act validating Muslim *waḳf*s.

In 1913, while remaining an influential figure in the Congress, D̲jināḥ joined the Muslim League. He was to serve, said Gokhale, as the "ambassador of Hindū-Muslim unity". He took the leading rôle in negotiating the "Lucknow Pact" whereby the Congress and the Muslim League agreed on a scheme of constitutional reform containing guarantees for the rights of the Muslim community. D̲jināḥ presided over the 1916 session of the League which approved these proposals.

The years after 1918 brought a wave of radicalism and violence into Indian politics. D̲jināḥ, with his repeated emphasis on what he called "constitutional lines" felt himself being supplanted by the extremists. In 1919 he resigned from the Legislative Council in protest against the extension of repressive police authority. The following year he parted from the Congress on the issue of non-cooperation. In addition to his break with the Congress, D̲jināḥ found himself separated from many of his fellow Muslims who were ardent supporters of the K̲h̲ilāfat movement. The Muslim League declined in importance and was internally divided.

D̲jināḥ was married for the first time as a child, before he left for England in 1892, but his wife died whilst he was away. His second marriage, to the daughter of a rich Pārsī, took place in 1918. It was not a success and they had separated before her death ten years later. Throughout most of his life his sister Fāṭima looked after his domestic needs.

Between 1920 and 1930 D̲jināḥ played a part in Indian public life but he cannot be said to have been a leading figure and certainly not the sole or principal spokesman for the Indian Muslims. He was elected to the new Central Assembly and was a delegate to the first two Round Table Conferences (1930-1). At this stage he began to practise at the Privy Council bar and established a home in London, paying only intermittent visits to India.

His final return took place in 1935, after the enactment of the new constitutional provisions of the Government of India Act. Almost at once he began to move toward control of the Muslim League and its development as the main instrument of Muslim nationalism. In 1936 be became President of the Parliamentary Board of the League, the committee that took charge of the election campaign. Their object was a programme of mass contact but they were not markedly successful as was shown by the poor electoral record of the League in 1937. The Congress, which had done well, now assumed power in the majority of the Provinces and seemed to have established a claim to be the sole heir to British authority. D̲jināḥ, now President of the League, moved to dispute this claim, stating that no further constitutional steps could be taken without the consent of the Muslim nation, represented by the League.

D̲jināḥ's first line of argument was that the Muslims could not expect full justice in a political society with a Hindū majority. The League gave much attention to Muslim grievances against Congress provincial ministries. In 1939, after the outbreak of war, the Congress governments resigned. D̲jināḥ, giving cautious support to the war effort, was able to strengthen his organization and to bring about, during the war years, League participation in the government of several provinces.

The second main argument was now launched. It consisted in the assertion that a separate state for the Muslims of India was possible and necessary. Muḥammad Iḳbāl had suggested such a scheme in 1930 but it was not adopted as a political programme until the meeting of the Muslim League at Lahore in March, 1940. This was the Pākistān Resolution.

It was not yet clear whether D̲jināḥ could validly claim to speak for Muslim opinion. In Bengal, the Pand̲jāb, Sindh and the North-West Frontier Province, all Muslim-majority areas, the League was unable to exercise effective and continuous control. However, in the elections of 1946 the League won almost all the Muslim seats and D̲jināḥ's position as spokesman for the overwhelming majority could not be denied.

He participated actively in the negotiations leading to the partition scheme, insisting always that the Muslims must be allowed to choose a separate state. In June 1947 his object was accomplished and the state of Pākistān came into existence at midnight on 14-15 August 1947. He took office as Governor-General and President of the Constituent Assembly. His first efforts were directed to ending communal bloodshed and hatred. He was, by this time, seventy years old and his health was showing signs of collapse. Nevertheless he presided over the establishment of the machinery of government and was in effective control of policy. During 1948 he became progressively weaker and on 11 September he died.

He was a man who changed the course of history, for, while there was Muslim national feeling before D̲jināḥ, he gave it self-confidence and organization. He was a man of rigid integrity, perhaps hard to love but made for admiration. He was a nationalist who seemed at times to be more English than Indian; he was a Muslim who made few references to God or the Prophet or the Ḳur'ān. He was not a deeply religious man. To him the Muslim heritage was a civilization, a culture and a national identy. And he founded a state just as surely as had Bābur.

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D̲JINĀS [see TAD̲JNĪS].

D̲JIND̲JI K̲H̲ʷĀD̲JA [see ḤUSAYN D̲JIND̲JI].

D̲JINN, according to the Muslim conception bodies (*ad̲jsām*) composed of vapour or flame,

intelligent, imperceptible to our senses, capable of appearing under different forms and of carrying out heavy labours (al-Bayḍāwī, Comm. to Ḳur'ān, LXXII, 1; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayawān*, *s.v.* *djinn*). They were created of smokeless flame (Ḳur'ān, LV, 14) while mankind and the angels, the other two classes of intelligent beings, were created of clay and light. They are capable of salvation; Muḥammad was sent to them as well as to mankind; some will enter Paradise while others will be cast into the fire of hell. Their relation to Iblīs the Shayṭān, and to the Shayṭāns in general, is obscure. In the Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 48, Iblīs is said to be a *djinn*; but according to the Ḳur'ān, II, 32, he is said to be an angel. In consequence there is much confusion, and many legends and hypotheses have grown up on this subject; on the last passage quoted, see al-Bayḍāwī and al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ*, Cairo 1307, i, 288 ff. The Arab lexicographers try to make the word *djinn* derive from *idjtinān*, "to be hidden, concealed" (see Lane, *s.v.* *djinn* and al-Bayḍāwī, on II, 7). But this etymology is very difficult, and the possibility of explanation through borrowing from Latin (*genius*) is not entirely excluded. The expression "naturalem deum uniuscuiusque loci" (Serv. Verg. G., i, 302) exactly expresses the formal localization of the *djinn* (cf., *e.g.*, Nöldeke, *Muʿallaḳāt*, i, 74, 78 and ii, 65, 89) as well as their standing as semi-divinities in old Arabia (Robertson Smith, *Rel. of Semites*², 121; Ger. tr. (Stübe), 84 ff.). In the singular one says "*djinnī*"; *djānn* is also used as the equivalent of the form *djinn* (but cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 492c); *ghūl*, *ʿifrīt*, *siʿlāt* are classes of the *djinn*. For an Ethiopic point of contact with *djānn* see Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 63.

Consideration of the *djinn* divides naturally under three heads, though these necessarily shade into one another.

I. The *djinn* in pre-Islamic Arabia were the nymphs and satyrs of the desert, and represented the side of the life of nature still unsubdued and hostile to man. For this aspect, see Robertson Smith, *loc. cit.*; Nöldeke in *ERE*, i, 669 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste*; van Vloten, *Dämonen ... bei d. alt. Arabern*, in *WZKM.*, vii and viii (the author uses materials in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*). But in the time of Muḥammad *djinn* were already passing over into vague, impersonal gods. The Arabs of Mecca asserted the existence of a kinship (*nasab*) between them and Allāh (Ḳur'ān, XXXVII, 158), made them companions of Allāh (VI, 100), offered sacrifices to them (VI, 128), and sought aid of them (LXXII, 6).

II. In official Islam the existence of the *djinn* was completely accepted, as it is to this day, and the full consequences implied by their existence were worked out. Their legal status in all respects was discussed and fixed, and the possible relations between them and mankind, especially in questions of marriage and property, were examined. Stories of the loves of *djinn* and human beings were evidently of perennial interest. The *Fihrist* gives the titles of sixteen of these (308) and they appear in all the collections of short tales (cf., *e.g.*, Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-aswāḳ*, Cairo 1308, 181 ff.; al-Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ*, Istanbul 1301, 286 ff.). There are many stories, too, of relations between saints and *djinn*; cf. D. B. Macdonald, *Religious attitude and life in Islam*, 144 ff. A good summary of the question is given in Badr al-Dīn al-Shiblī (d. 769/1368), *Ākām al-mardjān fī aḥkām al-djān* (Cairo 1326); see also Nöldeke's review in *ZDMG*, lxiv, 439 ff. Few even of the Muʿtazila ventured to doubt the existence of *djinn*, and only constructed different theories of their nature and their influence on the material world. The earlier philosophers, even al-Fārābī, tried to avoid the question by ambiguous definitions. But Ibn Sīnā, in defining the word, asserted flatly that there was no reality behind it. The later believing philosophers used subterfuges, partly exegetical and partly metaphysical. Ibn Khaldūn, for example, reckoned all references to the *djinn* among the so-called *mutashābih* passages of the Ḳur'ān, the knowledge of which Allah has reserved to himself (Ḳur'ān, III, 5). These different attitudes are excellently treated in the *Dict. of techn. terms*, i, 261 ff.; cf. also al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ*, lxxii.

III. The *djinn* in folk-lore. The transition to this division comes most naturally through the use of the *djinn* in magic. Muslim theology has always admitted the fact of such a use, though judging its legality varyingly. The *Fihrist* traces both the approved and the disapproved kinds back to ancient times, and gives Greek, Ḥarrānian, Chaldean and Hindū sources. At the present day, books treating of the binding of *djinn* to talismanic service are an important part of the literature of the people. All know and read them, and the professional magician has no secrets left. In popular stories too, as opposed to the tales of the professed littérateur, the *djinn* play a large part. It is so throughout the *Thousand and One Nights*, but especially in that class of popular religious novels of which Weil published two in his Translation of the *Nights*, namely the second version of "Djūdhar the Fisherman" and the story entitled "ʿAlī and Ẓāhir of Damascus". In the *Thousand and One Nights*, particularly in the first part, the *djinnī* generally turns against any human being out of spite to get the better of him; roaming the world at night (Night No. 76), the *djinnī* (or fairy, *parī*) transports a man for immense distances, to make him lose his way; he turns him into an animal (a monkey, in No. 48, a dog, in No. 5 and 66); but on the other hand he sometimes restores his human form (No. 5 and 34); he protects the man undeservedly duped by one of his fellows (No. 47); he teaches man how to free someone possessed by another *djinnī*, by means of exorcism (*ibid.*); moreover, *djinn* and fairies sometimes join together to do good (No. 78); on the other hand, man can defend himself and by his cunning has the *djinnī* at his mercy (like the fisherman who imprisons him in a jar, No. 11); and sometimes a man harms *djinn* unintentionally (a man eating dates throws away a stone which kills one of their children, No. 1). Still nearer to the ideas of the masses are the fairy stories collected orally by Artin, Østrup, Spitta, Stumme, etc. In these stories the folk-lore elements of the different races overcome the common Muslim atmosphere. The inspiration of these tales is more characteristic of the peoples of North Africa, as well as of the Egyptians, Syrians, Persians and Turks rather than of Arabia or Islam. Besides this there are the popular beliefs and usages, so far very incompletely gathered. Throughout this field also there are points of contact with the official Islamic view. Thus, in Egyptian popular belief, a man who dies by violence becomes an *ʿifrīt* and haunts the place of his death (Willmore, *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, 371, 374), while in the Islam of the schools a man who dies in deadly sin may be transformed into a *djinnī* in the world of al-Barzakh (*Dict. of techn. terms*, i, 265). Willmore has other details on the *djinn* in Egypt. For South Arabia see ʿAbdullah Mansur, *The land of Uz*, 22, 26, 203, 316-20. See also R. C. Thomson in *Proc. of Soc. of*

Bibl. Arch., xxviii, 83 ff.; Sayce, in *Folk-lore*, 1900, ii, 338 ff.; Lydia Einszler, in *ZDPV*, x, 170 ff.; H. H. Spoer, in *Folk-lore*, xviii, 54 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, 326 ff. But much still remains to be done.

D̲j̲inn are most commonly spoken of by allusion (*hāduk al-nās*, "those people there", North Africa) or by antiphrasis, like the Eumenides (*az mā bihtarān*, "those better than ourselves", Īrān).

Bibliography: Damīrī, *Ḥayawān*, for the words *d̲j̲inn*, *siʿlāt*, *ʿifrīt*, *g̲h̲ūl* (cf. also the translation of Jayakar, London and Bombay 1906-8); Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 368 ff.; R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, i, 59, 74, 90, 123, 151, 159, 174, 175, 180; Goldziher, *Arabische Philologie*, i, index; idem, *Vorlesungen*, 68, 78 ff.; Macdonald, *Religious attitude and life in Islam*, chap. V and X and index; Lane, *Arabian Nights*, Introd. n. 21 and chap. I, No. 15 and 24. For Egypt: Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, 1836 (vol. i, chap. X; superstitions, and index, *s.v. ginn*); Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt ... al-miṣriyya*, 141 ff. For the Yemen: two *d̲j̲inn*, the *ʿudrūṭ* and the *dubb*, are described in R. B. Serjeant, *Two Yemenite d̲j̲inn*, in *BSOAS*, xiii/1 (1949), 4-6, with further biblography. For North Africa: E. Doutté, *Magie et religion* (passim); Dermenghem, *Le culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin*, 96 ff.; Desparmet, *Le mal magique*, in *Publ. Fac. Lettres Alger*, lxiii (1932); Legey, *Essai sur la folklore marocain* (index, *s.v.* génies); E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco* (index: *s.v. jenn, jinn, jnūn*); H. Basset, *Le culte des grottes au Maroc*; idem, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, 101 ff.; M. L. Dubouloz-Laffin, *Le Bou-Mergoud, folklore tunisien* (Ist part); W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, index *s.v. Djinns*; P. Bourgeois, *L'univers de l'écolier marocain*, Rabat 1959, 23-43. For Īrān: A. Christensen, *Essai sur la démonologie iranienne*, 71: *dīw* and *d̲j̲inn*; H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes* (index III: *d̲j̲inn*). (D. B. Macdonald-[H. Massé])

In Turkish folklore. Of the words used to denote these, *cin* (d̲j̲in) is the most common; *ecinni* (ed̲j̲inni) is a variation of it. The word *in*, used only in the form *in-cin*, has in certain instances the same sense as *d̲j̲inn*; it is a corruption of *ins*, from the group *ins wa d̲j̲inn* (= "men and d̲j̲inn"), which occurs frequently in the Ḳurʾān. In everyday speech as well as in stories of fantastic adventures and tales of the supernatural, the word *peri* is often taken as a synonym of *d̲j̲inn*; the two terms are often confused even in traditions, nevertheless the former really belongs to the realm of supernatural tales where the word *d̲j̲inn* is less common. In parts of eastern Anatolia (at Tokat and Erzurum, for example: for the latter locality, see Sami Akalın, *Erzurum bilmeceleri*, Istanbul 1954, glossary) the word *mekir* is used to denote a supernatural being with all the characteristics of a *d̲j̲inn*. At times when one is anxious to avoid any harm being done by them, the word *d̲j̲inn*, by a linguistic taboo, is replaced by expressions such as *iyi saatte olsunlar* ("may they be at an auspicious moment", meaning: "beings who, I hope, are in good humour and well-disposed towards us"). It is believed that there are Muslim *d̲j̲inn* and heathen *d̲j̲inn*; the latter are considered to be the more wicked and difficult to control.

They are thought of as beings of both sexes, and living collectively. They have their chief or, as he is usually called, *pādis̲h̲āh*. All their activities take place at night and come to an end with the first cock-crow or the first call to morning prayer. Traditions, tales and supernatural stories of all kinds name the places where they live or which they frequent and where they choose to meet for their amusement (always at night); — mills, *ḥammāms* (public baths), ruins, derelict houses, cemeteries, certain inns (particularly when deserted and falling into ruin), certain places in the country, especially at the foot of big trees. Certain private houses are reputed to be haunted by *d̲j̲inn*, and similarly "guest rooms" in villages. In Istanbul, according to local tradition, there are a number of places inside and outside the town which are reputed to be inhabited by these supernatural beings; and the home of the King of the sea-*d̲j̲inn* is said to be off Leander's Tower, in the Bosphorus. One legend explains why even a mosque, at Dimetoḳa (in Rumelia) is frequented by *d̲j̲inn* at night. Even in daytime precautions have to be taken with regard to certain places such as water-closets, remote corners where rubbish is piled or where dirty water overflows, at the foot of trees, quiet dirty corners on river-banks, the base of walls above the gutter, enclosed dark places in houses (like lumber-rooms) etc.

D̲j̲inn appear to men in many different forms, most often in the guise of animals, such as; — a black cat (without any light markings), a goat (kid, or he-goat), a black dog, a duck, a hen with chickens, a buffalo, a fox; or else in human shape; either as men of ordinary size or dwarfs, and sometimes as men of gigantic stature (many who claim to have seen them describe them as quite white, thin, and as tall as a minaret or a telegraph pole); they also appear with the features of a baby wrapped in its swaddling-clothes. In the magic arts of the negroes in Turkey, the snake is regarded as the animal in which *d̲j̲inn* are incorporated. Wolves and birds are the only other living creatures to whose attacks *d̲j̲inn* are vulnerable.

Their behaviour towards human beings is of three sorts: if people understand how to refrain from irritating them, they do no harm: they are indifferent or, at times, are satisfied if they tease people by playing various harmless tricks; to those whose actions deserve some reward they bring great benefits; the imprudent and insolent they punish by inflicting illnesses or infirmities. Some tales, and in particular some legendary stories, give accounts of happenings at certain places, in which persons who have suffered strange treatment by these supernatural beings are mentioned by name (for stories of this type see Eberhard-Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, types no. 67, 67 III, 67 V, 118 and the words: *Geister*, *Peri*, *Teufel* in the index; Melahat Sabri, *Cinler* in *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri*, iii, 143-51; the same article is repeated intact in M. Halit Bayrı, *Istanbul folkloru*, Istanbul 1947, 176-181; A. Caferoğlu, *Orta Anadolu ağızlarından derlemeler*, Istanbul 1948, 209-210). Among these supernatural stories there are some which tell how men can make requests, either on their own initiative or with the help of an "initiate", to the King of the D̲j̲inn while he is taking counsel. A characteristic feature of the rewards granted by *d̲j̲inn* to those they favour is that they are given in the form of onion and garlic peel, the former being subsequently changed into gold pieces, the latter into silver.

The illnesses which they inflict are of various kinds: hemiplegia, different forms of paralysis and twisted limbs are the most usual. They sometimes

interfere in family life and wreck marriages; such incidents are due to the young man or woman having irritated a *djinn* in some way, or else because one or other of them is loved—and indeed "regarded as a spouse"—by one of these supernatural beings, either by a male or female *djinn* according to the circumstances.

Methods of avoiding *djinn* and their misdeeds can be put into two categories: precautionary measures which anyone can take of his own initiative, and measures to be taken in cases requiring recourse to a specialist. Some of the precautions to be taken in order not to irritate *djinn* are as follows: — so far as one can, to avoid the places they frequent, never to "profane" those places (by soiling, spitting, urinating etc.), always to say a *besmele* (*bism-illāh*) or a *destūr* (this word means "with your permission") before each action and before moving anything, never to forget to say these words, *e.g.*, each time any object or article of clothing is put away in a chest or when any provisions are put in store etc., so that the *djinn* may not consume them.

In serious cases of illnesses or infirmities thought to have been incurred through *djinn*, recourse is made to specialists, who are *khodja* or *shaykhs* or even simple people without any religious title who however are initiates of the *djinn*; they are called *huddamlı*, "masters—or patrons—of servants", the *djinn* being considered as servants or slaves entirely subject to them. The procedure for exorcising takes various forms, but the principle is invariable: the sorcerer (who is also given such names as *cindar* [djindār] or *cinci* [djindjī], signifying the captor of a *djinn*), invokes the *djinns* or *djinn* thought to be responsible for the trouble, or to be able to reveal it; when he succeeds in calling up the guilty *djinn*, he negotiates with him, either with apologies or with threats, to free and cure the victim. Some of these exorcisms are carried out in the absence of the victims; others require their presence—as is the case in the magic arts of the Turkish negroes (natives of Africa) who, before 1920, and especially in big towns like Istanbul and Izmir, set up corporations of exorcisors under the *godyas*, their spiritual leaders; the efficacity of their magic cures was acknowledged by the white population also. (On this subject see: A. Bombaci, *Pratiche magiche africane*, in *Folklore*, iii, no. 3-4, 1949, Naples, 3-11; P. N. Boratav, *The Negro in the Turkish folklore*, in *Journal of American Folklore*, lxiv (1951), no. 251, 83-8; P. N. Boratav, *Les Noirs dans le folklore turc et le folklore des Noirs de Turquie*, in *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xxviii (1958), 7-23).

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the text of the article, the author has made use of materials resulting from his own research, together with the texts of tales, legends and fantastic stories in his collection of manuscripts. The lack of any single comprehensive work on this subject is a gap in Turkish folklore studies.

(P. N. Boratav)

India: In India one encounters three distinct concepts of *djinn*—traditional or orthodox, based on literal interpretations of the Ḳur'ānic verses; superstitious, as revealed in the popular superstitions; and rationalistic, as attempted by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and others of his school of thought.

(*a*) In traditional or orthodox accounts the *djinn* is represented as a creature created from fire, unlike man who has been created from clay. The *djinns* are invisible and aery (*Lughāt al-Ḳur'ān*, ʿAbd al-Rashīd Nuʿmānī, ii, 254-6). Almost all the Indian scholars on exegesis have held this view. ʿInāyat ʿAlī mentions four types of *djinn*: (i) ærial creatures, without any physical form, (ii) snake-like creatures, (iii) those who shall be subjected to the same process of divine dispensation on the Day of Judgment as human beings, and (iv) creatures with beast-like features (*Miṣbāḥ al-furḳān fī lughāt al-Ḳur'ān*, Dihlī 1357 A.H., 85). Some jurists have, despite their belief in the supernatural character of the *djinns*, considered them so real as to deal with hypothetical problems arising out of human marriages with *djinns*.

(*b*) It is popularly held that the *djinns* are invisible creatures with great supernatural powers and with an organization presided over by a king. Even in the educated circles of Muslim society, this concept was common in the middle ages. During the time of Iletmish, an area in the vicinity of the Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī of Dihlī had the reputation of being the abode of *djinns* (*Miftāḥ al-ṭālibīn*, Ms personal collection). Djamālī [*q.v.*] refers to a guest house which was constructed by Iletmish (607-33/1210-35) and was known as *Dār al-Djinn* because it was thought to be frequented by the *djinns*. A *Shaykh al-Islām* of Dihlī, Sayyid Nadjm al-Dīn Ṣughra, accommodated Shaykh Djalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī in this house in order to test his spiritual powers. The Shaykh sent his servant to place a copy of the Ḳur'ān in the house before he himself occupied it (*Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn*, Dihlī 1311 A.H., 165, 166). This has given birth to a superstition that before a new house is occupied, a copy of the Ḳur'ān should be placed therein in order to expel the *djinns*. Since it was believed that the *djinns* could do harm to human beings and also cause serious ailments, many religious writers deal with incantations and litanies to counteract their evil effects. Shāh Walī Allāh (d. 1763) suggests methods to expel *djinn* from houses (*Ḳawl al-Djamīl*, Kānpur 1291 A.H., 96, 97).

(*c*) An attempt to rationalize the concept of *djinn* by divesting it of all supernatural and superstitious elements was made by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. He held the view that by the word *djinn* the Ḳur'ān meant Bedouins and other uncivilized and uncultured people. To him the expression *djinn wa 'l-ins* which occurs fourteen times in the *Ḳur'ān* meant 'the uncultured and the cultured people'. The different contexts in which the word *djinn* is used in the Ḳur'ān have been explained by him as references to different qualities and characteristics of these 'people' (*Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, iii, ʿAlīgaṛh 1885, 79-89); this point of view was subjected to criticism by the *ʿulamā'*.

Bibliography: In addition to references above and the different *tafsīrs* written by Indo-Muslim scholars: Mawlānā Muḥammad Zaman, *Bustān al-Djinn*, Madrās 1277 A.H.; Ṣādiḳ ʿAlī, *Māhiyyat al-malāk wa 'l-djinn wa 'l-insān ʿalā mā thabata min al-tadabbur fī āyāt al-Ḳur'ān*, Rawalpindi 1899; Aslam Djayrādjpurī, *Taʿlīmāt al-Ḳur'ān*, Dihlī 1934, 37-8; Mawlawī Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥaḳḳānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳur'ān*, Dihlī 1324, 119-28.

(K. A. Nizami)

Indonesia. The Arabic *djinn* is generally known to Indonesian Muslims from Arabic literature and its offshoots. The word *djinn* passed into various Indonesian languages (Malay, Gayō etc. *djin*, Javanese *djin* or *djim*, Minangkabau *djihin*, Acheh *djén* etc.) and even into the literary language of a non-Muslim people such as the Batak (*odjim*). Malays use it as a polite equivalent or euphemism

for *hantu* (evil spirit); in some languages (*e.g.*, Gayō) it is used as a general name for all kinds of indigenous spirits. (P. Voorhoeve)

DJINS, γένος, genus, is the first of the five predicables *al-alfāẓ al-khamsa* (genus, species, difference, property, accident) as given by Porphyry in his Introduction (Isagoge) to Aristotle's Logic—introduction which is incorporated by the Muslim philosophers in Aristotle's Organon—and its logical sense (for also its common sense of "race", "stock", "kin", is mentioned by Aristotle, Porphyry and the Arab commentators) is said to be that which is predicated of many things differing in species in answer to what a thing is, *e.g.*, animal. These predicables are also called *al-maʿānī al-thāniya*, "*intentiones secundae*" in scholastic terminology, to distinguish them from *al-maʿānī al-ūlā*, "*intentiones primae*". According to the later Greek and to the Muslim commentators the first intentions refer to the particular things, the second intentions refer to the ten categories which are themselves the highest genera of particular things and to which the Muslim philosophers give the name of the *al-adjnās al-ʿashara*, the ten genera.

As to the problem of the objective reality of the genera, species and, generally speaking, of universals, it is not discussed as much in Muslim philosophy as in Scholasticism, although it is one of the fundamental problems in Aristotilean philosophy and constitutes one of its fundamental difficulties (cf. for this and the following the article DJAWHAR). There are three possible views, the realist view that universals exist objectively, the conceptualist view that they are but abstractions of the mind without a corresponding reality, the nominalist view that they are but names without any reality. Now Aristotle holds at the same time the conflicting realistic and conceptualist views. On the one hand he holds the immanent realistic view that universals form a constitutive part in individuals, Socrates, *e.g.*, is a man because the specific, the universal form of man is realized in him, on the other hand he holds that universals are but entities in the mind and acquired by abstraction. The Muslim philosophers tend to the view that the specific forms are individualized through their realization in the individual, a theory already held by Alexander of Aphrodisias (an individual specific form, however, is a *contradictio in adjecto* and they express Aristotle's conceptualist view by the maxim, often quoted in scholastic philosophy, *intellectus in formis agit universalitatem*, it is the mind that gives the forms their universality. On the other hand they go beyond Aristotle in their neoplatonizing transcendent realism and they hold that the universal forms emanate from eternity out of the mind of God, the supramundane intellects and the *dator formarum*, and we find in a passage in Avicenna's Introduction, *al-Madkhal*, to the Logic of his *Shifāʾ*, Cairo 1952, 65, a threefold distinction *djins ṭabīʿī*, natural genus, *djins ʿaḳlī*, mental genus, *djins manṭiḳī*, logical genus, the first exists before the many, *ḳabl al-kathra* (*ante res*, as the Latins have it) that is in the active intellect, the second in the many, *fi 'l-kathra* (*in rebus*) that is in the particular things, the third *baʿd al-kathra* (*post res*) that is in the human mind. In this passage Avicenna takes the curious view that genera in their own nature are neither universal nor individual; if *e.g.*, "animal" by itself were universal, there could not be several animals; if it were indivudual, there could not be the universal "animal", individuality and universality are therefore accidents added to it, the former in the exterior world, the latter in minds (this passage has been discussed by I. Madkour in his introduction to *al-Madkhal* 63, and his *L'Organon d'Aristote dans le monde arabe*, Paris 1934, 151).

Although Averroës often polemizes against the transcendent realism in Avicenna's theory of the *dator formarum*, he holds fundamentally the same position and he says *e.g.*: "Just as artifical products can only be understood by him who has not made them, because they take their origin in an intellect that is in the form which is in the soul of the artisan, so the products of nature prove the existence of supermundane Forms which are the causes that the sensible substances are potentially intelligible". And he adds: "This is the theory to which the partisans of the Ideas tended, but which they could not attain" (cf. my *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroës*, Leiden 1924, 42).

The Muslim theologians, generally speaking, are nominalists. They argue against the conceptualist side of the philosophers' view by asking: "how can knowledge give any truth, if reality is individual and knowledge universal, since truth is the conformity of thought with reality?" The theologians do not admit the objective reality of forms, all reality is individual, universals exist only in minds, they are *ṣifāt nafsiyya*, spiritual qualities which, however, are not wholly real, but something intermediate between reality and unreality, or unreal, that is to say they are *ḥālāt*, *modi*, or *maʿānī* (the Stoic λεκτά or σημαινόμενα, *maʿnā* in this sense is the literal translation of σημαινόμενον, meaning, something meant, cf. Lane, s.v.). We find also the absolute denial of universals. Since for their sensualism thinking is nothing but the possession of representations and you cannot represent a universal *e.g.*, "a horse", but only a particular, *e.g.*, a definite horse, the universals are totally denied by then, (cf. Ghazzālī, *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* (ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1927, 330).

Bibliography: The works quoted in the text and my translation (with notes) of Ibn Rushd *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (*the Incoherence of the Incoherence*), Oxford 1954. (S. van den Bergh)

DJINS is the Arabic word in use at the present time to denote "sex", the adjective *djinsī* corresponding to "sexual" and the abstract *djinsiyya* to "sexuality" as well as "nationality". The juridical aspect of sexual relations has already been examined in the article BĀH, and is to be the subject of further articles, NIKĀḤ and ZINĀ; the present review will be limited to general considerations on the sexual life of the Muslims and the place that it occupies in literature.

Pre-Islamic poetry, in so far as it is authentic, indicates that a certain laxity of behaviour was prevalent among the Arabs of the desert (Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, 276 ff.), and the "réunions galantes" of the contemporary Touaregs, described by Father de Foucauld (in his *Dictionnaire touareg-français*, Paris 1952, ii, 559 ff., s.v. *ahāl*), probably are not far removed from pre-Islamic practices. The *nasīb* of the classical *ḳaṣīda*, markedly erotic in character, is no doubt an indication of the existence of temporary unions in the encampments; in any case, its position at the head of the poem is evidence of the importance which the ancient Arabs attached to love, and especially sensual love, particularly since a number of lines of verse as realistic as those of Imruʾ al-Ḳays have probably been deleted, through puritanical reaction, from the ancient poems collected in the 2nd and 3rd/8th and

9th centuries; a further indication of this interest is shown by the richness of the vocabulary relating to the sexual organs, which is no doubt mainly due to the use of slang terms, as is confirmed at the present time by an unpublished study by Dr. Mathieu on the prostitutes of Casablanca. Incidentally we know that prostitution (*bighā*ʾ), which is to be discussed in the article ZINĀ, was already in existence and that prostitutes were distinguished by a special emblem which floated over their tents (see Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*).

It does not seem that Islam has in practice made many changes from the earlier state of affairs. Certainly the Ḳurʾān, in several verses (IV, 30; XVII, 34; XXIII, 5-7, 35; XXIV, 31, 33; LXX, 29-31), enjoins chastity, but only outside the bonds of marriage or concubinage (see S. H. al-Shamma, *The ethical system underlying the Qur'ān*, Tübingen 1959, 95 ff. and bibliography); it condemns prostitution (XXIV, 33) and, above all, fornication [see ZINĀ], but the conditions laid down by the *fuḳahā*ʾ for the legal proof of *zinā* are such that it more often than not escapes punishment. Marriage, as conceived by the Ḳurʾān, has a two-fold object: it is intended to allow the male, who is largely favoured since it is he who benefits from the privileges of polygamy and repudiation (while women are in certain cases even deprived of the right of giving their consent), to satisfy his sexual needs lawfully, and to ensure the perpetuation of the race. That is why celibacy is in no way recommended, and it is even recommended to give the celibate in marriage (XXIV, 32). The Ḳurʾān is realistic where it deals with sexual pleasures which it authorizes and the enjoyment of which it encourages, on the sole condition that Believers should make use of one of the two means at their disposal, marriage and concubinage [see ʿABD]. The celebrated verse (II, 223; see also 183, 222) "Your women are a field for you. Come to your field as you will" may be compared with some of the sūras, such as that of Joseph (XII), or verses such as those which describe the delights of paradise and, above all, the houris (LV, 56, 70, etc.). The Prophet himself is cited as an example of ardent sensuality, and tradition has preserved a certain number of *ḥadīth*s which strongly favour satisfaction of the sexual instinct; G.-H. Bousquet (*Éthique sexuelle*, 41) notes that the 25th of the *Forty ḥadīth*s of al-Nawawī contains this statement by the Prophet: "Each time that you satisfy the flesh, you do a deed of charity"; al-Ghazālī (*Le livre des bons usages en matière de mariage*, trans. L. Bercher and G.-H. Bousquet, Paris-Oxford 1953, 40 ff.) sees only three disadvantages in marriage (the impossibility of lawfully gaining the necessities of life, the difficulty for the husband of meeting all his obligations to his wives, and neglect of religion), while he has no difficulty in celebrating its virtues. It should, however, be noted that sexual relations, though greatly facilitated by Islamic legislation, not only are not absolutely free, but even within their lawful sphere place the partners in a state of major impurity which only the greater ablution (*ghusl*) can remove; in this a certain ambiguity of attitude manifests itself.

Pederasty [see LIWĀṬ] is explicity condemned by the Ḳurʾān (VII, 78, 79) which on the other hand makes no reference to sapphism (*saḥḳ, siḥāḳ, tasāḥuḳ*), to bestiality (*waḥshiyya*) which the jurists rank with *zinā* without, however, considering that it entails the penalty of death, nor finally to onanism (*istimnā*ʾ; *nikāḥ al-yad*; *djald ʿUmayra*), regarding which the jurists' opinions do not agree (see al-Ghazālī, *op. cit.*, 119, n. 47) but which is often considered as more reprehensible than sodomy and bestiality (see Bousquet, *Éthique sexuelle*, 57).

The freedom with which the Ḳurʾān and the Prophet discuss these delicate questions ensured that the early Muslims felt no shame in speaking of them in the most direct terms, as is especially shown by juridical literature in its treatment of particular cases. Traditions relating to the early years of Islam are full of details about the importance then attached to sexual life, and in this respect the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* is a mine of information for the historian; it abounds with precise particulars about relations between the sexes in the holy cities, and about the tastes of the women of the aristocracy who often lived lives of the greatest freedom, entirely preoccupied with their pleasures, in surroundings where the flourishing arts of poetry and music invited frivolity (see GHAZAL]. It is impossible in this brief account to mention all the anecdotes which cast a harsh light on the preoccupations of this leisurely society, and of certain caliphs too, but it will be recalled that temporary marriage [see MUTʿA] which the Ḳurʾān had not suppressed (although Sunnī Islam finally rejected it) allowed transitory unions at small cost and, along with female musicians and singers, true professionals of love gained lasting reputations; for example the woman of Medina, by name Ḥubbā, of whom al-Djāḥiẓ (*Djawārī*, 64, 65; *Ḥayawān*, ii, 200; vi, 61, 75) relates that she gave her son advice which seems to us shocking, and that she taught the women of Medina every sort of erotic refinement.

Under the ʿAbbāsids we see the development of a refined society, of luxury and pleasures (on the old Persian practice of incest, see particularly al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Bukhalā*ʾ, ed. Ḥādjirī, 3-4). We have little information about the sexual life of the lower orders of Muslims, among whom there was apparently a certain degree of laxity, but it seems clear that if the members of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie married free women who gave them children, they went elsewhere in search of sensual pleasures; this is the reign of the *ḳiyān* [see ḲAYNA], so magnificently described by al-Djāḥiẓ, bringing with them an atmosphere of distinguished sensuality. Although during the pre-Islamic period and in the early days of Islam men's tastes had favoured women of ample proportions, it was now slenderness of figure that they sought, and literature provides many examples of the dubious taste shown with regard to *ghulāmiyyāt* who adopted the appearance of boys. The pronounced liking for ephebes (*ghulām* [*q.v.*]), whose praises were so often sung by poets such as Abū Nuwās, is a recurring characteristic (see A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 337 ff.; English trans., 358 ff.; Spanish trans., 427 ff.). A text such as the one by al-Djāḥiẓ entitled *Mufākharat al-djawārī wa 'l-ghilmān*, despite the obscenity of certain passages, is in this respect extremely instructive. The literary sources abound with anecdotes which refer to sexual abnormalities such as bestiality (al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Bighāl*, (53, § 73, 67, § 100) and sapphism. Prostitution, controlled, existed almost everywhere (Mez, *op. cit.*, 432). In the account of Bashshār given in the *Aghānī*, the most striking detail is the number of successes with women that this poet achieved, but it would be wrong to generalize too hastily and to conclude that debauchery had invaded the whole of society. The heroes of the anecdotes which are related to us almost all belong to the same class of libertines, whilst persons of rectitude, especially the Ḥanbalīs, protested vigorously against public immorality.

On this question, an anecdote attributed to al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*] seems to show to what an extent certain Bedouins had succeeded in keeping their sober habits; the philologist having asked a Bedouin to give him a definition of love (*ʿis̲h̲ḳ*), the latter replied: "a glance after a glance and, if it be possible, a kiss after a kiss; this is the entrance to Paradise". The Bedouin's reply astonished al-Aṣmaʿī who, when asked in his turn to give his own definition, drew this remark from his interlocutor: "But you are not in love! You are merely seeking to have a child!" (al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲āʾ, *Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā*, 77).

Throughout the following centuries, interest in sexual matters continued, as can be seen from the copious literature devoted to these subjects. In this connexion we should note that, if writers and poets of restraint do exist in Arabic literature, many others practise complete freedom of language; the restrictions on the circulation of unexpurgated translations of the *Arabian Nights* are well known, and *Das Buch der wunderbaren Erzählungen und seltsamen Geschichten* edited by H. Wehr, Damascus-Wiesbaden 1956, again confirms the general tendency towards indecency, towards *suk̲h̲f*, later successfully cultivated by the poet Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ and many others.

To meet the sort of demand that requires that serious matter should be interspersed with amusing passages, works of *adab* literature frequently contain smutty anecdotes, and even popular encyclopaedias indulge in scabrous sections; there is no reason to be shocked by thus, for the prudishness displayed by some is often no more than hypocrisy, as al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ points out, who, in his introduction to the *Mufāk̲h̲arat al-d̲j̲awārī wa 'l-g̲h̲ilmān*, after making fun of the Tartuffes who are too easily offended, recalls that the virtuous ancestors were in no whit so prudish and states that the words of the Arabic language were made to be used, even though they may seem shocking. The short work just referred to is particularly scabrous, dealing plainly with one aspect of sexual life and at the same time providing a sort of anthology of love, normal and abnormal; the author verges on obscenity without any sort of restraint.

Earlier works dealing with sexual life seem to have been quite numerous already, if we can judge by the references that D̲j̲āḥiẓ makes to the *Kutub al-bāh*, of Indian origin, saying that these works are in no sense pornographic and that the Indians regarded them as manuals of sexual education with which they taught theirc hildren (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, index); no doubt he is here alluding to the *Kāmasūtra*, of which, however, no Arabic translation has survived. Other and later works also appear to have been inspired by the Indian tradition, in particular the *K. al-Alfiyya* which the *Fihrist* quotes, while Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa (see index) says that it was written by a certain al-Ḥakīm al-Azraḳ for the master of Nīsābūr, Tug̲h̲ān S̲h̲āh (569-81/1174-85), and embellished with suggestive illustrations. In its development, *adab* literature soon spread to sexual questions also, and two authors of the 3rd/9th century seem to have specialized in this type of writing. The first, Abu 'l-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī (d. 275/888 [see AL-ṢAYMARĪ]), who had, however, been a *ḳāḍī* and to whom are attributed books on astrology still preserved in mss., is the author of some forty works which include one treatise on onanism (*K. al-K̲h̲aḍk̲h̲aḍa fī d̲j̲ald ʿUmayra*) and one on sapphism (*K. al-Saḥḥāḳāt wa 'l-bag̲h̲g̲h̲āʾin*). The second is a certain Muḥammad b. Ḥassān al-Namalī to whom the *Fihrist* (217) devotes a passage, reproduced in full by Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, xviii, 119), and entirely taken up with the enumeration of titles relating to sexual questions, in particular a large work *K. Bard̲j̲ān wa-ḥubāḥib* in which the author makes a special study of the best ways to fascinate women. The *Fihrist* (436) lists the titles of 12 works "on the Persian, Indian, Byzantine and Arab *bāh*", none of which appear to have survived, but it is probable that some of them were serious in purpose: a study of the harmony between men and women in relation to their physical characters, female physiology, the mystery of generation, sexual medicine and hygiene, etc.

Subsequently, the literature that can be described as erotologic *adab* developed quite considerably; to modern eyes it may appear obscene in character, though it was not so regarded by its readers, since whole chapters characteristically combine verses from the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt̲h̲*s of the Prophet with obscene anecdotes or poems, while others on the contrary are merely inspired by the wish to popularize certain notions about medicine and hygiene. Ṣ. al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id (*Ḥayāt d̲j̲insiyya*, 107 ff.) reproduces a list of the contents of several of these works which are mostly unpublished; we will name them briefly, noting the characteristics of the authors to whom several are, rightly or wrongly, attributed: *D̲j̲awāmiʿ al-lad̲h̲d̲h̲a* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Naṣr al-Kātib who took his documentation from earlier texts, now lost, particularly the *K. Bard̲j̲ān wa-ḥubāḥib* referred to above; in character it is at once lexicographical, juridical, medical, psychological and magical, and deals especially with aphrodisiacs. —*Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī muʿās̲h̲arat al-aḥbāb* of the doctor al-Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Mag̲h̲ribī al-Isrāʾīlī (d. 570/1174, see Brockelmann, I, 892), composed for the Artuḳid ʿImād al-dīn Abū Bakr; it is an *adab* work of somewhat composite nature, medical ideas appearings side by side with advice on buying slaves or behaviour in society. *Nuzhat al-albāb fī-mā lā yūd̲j̲ad fī kitāb* of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tīfās̲h̲ī (d. 651/1253 [see AL-TĪD̲J̲ĀNĪ]) is mainly devoted to prostitution and sexual anomalies.—*Kitāb al-Bāhiyya wa 'l-tarākīb al-sulṭāniyya* of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274 [see ṬŪSĪ]), a medical work with some chapters on sexuality.—*Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-daftar al-ʿilm wa-rawḍat al-ʿarūs*, an anonymous *urd̲j̲ūza* of 10,000 lines of verse on the virtues of marriage, the terminology of the subject, aphrodisiacs, physiognomy and its use in love.—*Tuḥfat al-ʿarūs wa-rawḍat al-nufūs* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al Tid̲j̲ānī (d. after 709/1309 [see AL-TĪD̲J̲ĀNĪ]), which contains above all the canon of female beauty; this very popular work was printed at Cairo in 1301.—*Rud̲j̲ūʿ al-s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ilā ṣibāh fi 'l-ḳuwwa ʿalā 'l-bāh*, attributed to Ibn Kemāl Pas̲h̲a (d. 941/1535 [see KEMĀL-PAS̲H̲AZĀDE]), a compilation of earlier works, medical and hygienic in character but at the same time markedly erotic; this work was printed several times at Cairo and Bombay, and enjoyed great popularity. To this list must be added *al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir fi nuzhat al-k̲h̲āṭir*, composed ca. 813/1910 by Muḥammad al-Nafzāwī on the request of a minister of the Ḥafṣid Abū Fāris, and which offers "the advantage of informing us of the ideas then current, at certain levels, on the subject of women and love" (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 372-3); this has been the object of numerous editions and a Fr. trans. (Algiers 1876, Paris 1904, 1912).

Systematic search through catalogues of manuscripts would certainly provide a richer harvest, but the particulars given above should prove sufficient.

Bibliography: In the text. Two funda-

mental studies have been devoted to the subject discussed in this article; the first, by G.-H. Bousquet, *La morale de l'Islam et son éthique sexuelle*, Paris 1953, is the work of a jurist and sociologist who does not neglect practical reality; the second, by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *al-Ḥayāt al-djinsiyya ʿind al ʿArab*, Beirut 1958, is an excellent exposé based essentially on literary sources; another work by the same author, *Djamāl al-marʾa ʿind al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1957, is also rewarding. Since then two works have appeared but have remained unavailable to me: M. ʿAbd al-Wāḥīd, *al-Islām wa'l-mushkila al-djinsiyya*, Cairo 1380/1961, and Y. el-Masri, *Le drame sexuel de la femme dans l'Orient arabe*, 1962. (CH. PELLAT)

DJIRDJA [see GIRGA].

DJIRDJENT (in Arabic *Dj.r.dj.n.t* and *K.r.k.nt.*; we know of a *nisba* of Kirkintī, borne by a mystic of Sicilian origin, in the 4th/10th century), Agrigentum. Far removed from its ancient splendour, the town fell into the hands of the Arabs in 214/829 and was destroyed, or more probably dismantled, in the following year for fear that the Byzantines would return. It rose again, however, under Arab rule, and was frequently involved in hostilities with Palermo, which resulted in the bloody struggles of the first half of the 4th/10th century: in the years 325-9/937-41 in particular the people of Agrigentum rose against the Fāṭimid authorities, whose representative in Sicily was the governor Sālim b. Rāshid until he was succeeded by the general Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, sent by the caliph of of Mahdiyya, al-Ḳāʾim. The general reduced Djirdjent to a state of obedience to the Fāṭimids and carried off several notables as prisoners to Africa; he had them drowned during the crossing by sinking the ship in which they were travelling. Djirdjent then came under the rule of the Kalbid *amīrs* of Sicily, and when in about 431/1040 their power collapsed, it was taken into the territories of the *amīr* of Castrogiovanni Ibn al-Ḥawwās who had a palace at Djirdjent. In the general anarchy which preceded the arrival of the Normans, the town was occupied first by the Zīrid prince Ayyūb b. Tamīm, and then by a Ḥammūdid *sharīf* from Spain. The Normans under Roger captured the town from the *sharīf* on 25 July 1087, and thereafter it formed part of the Norman state of Sicily. Al-Idrīsī speaks of Djirdjent as a flourishing town with very rich markets, beautiful buildings and imposing ancient remains (this certainly refers to the Greek temples). Today nothing survives from the Muslim period apart from the name "Porta Bibirria" (Bāb al-Riyāḥ, Gate of the Winds) which is still current. The Biblioteca Lucchesiana there possesses a few dozen Arabic manuscripts.

Bibliography: M. Amari, ***Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*** and ***Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula***, index; Idrīsī, ***L'Italia nel libro del re Ruggero***, ed. Amari and Schiaparelli, Rome 1883, 31-2 in the text, 36 in the trans. (F. GABRIELI)

DJIRDJĪ ZAYDĀN [see ZAYDĀN].

DJIRDJĪS, St. George. Islam honours this Christian martyr as a symbol of resurrection and renovation; his festival marks the return of spring.

The legend of St. George had become syncretic long before the days of Islam, for we can recognize in St. George overthrowing the dragon a continuation of Bellerophon slaying the Chimaera. Bellerophon himself was symbolic of the Sun scattering the darkness, or of spring driving away the mists and fogs of winter.

According to Muslim legend, Djirdjīs lived in Palestine in the time of the disciples, and was martyred at Mosul under the ruler Dādān—presumably Diocletian; during his execution the saint died and was resurrected three times. The legend is found in a considerably developed form in the Persian version of Ṭabarī and always with the same motif: it is simply a series of deaths and resurrections. The saint makes the dead rise from the tombs; he makes trees sprout and pillars bear flowers; in one of his martyrdoms, the sky becomes dark and the sun only appears again after he has returned to life.

In the end St. George converts the wife of the monarch persecuting him; she is put to death; the saint then begs God to allow him to die, and his prayer is granted.

In the town of Mosul a *mashhad* of Nabī Djirdjīs is still known, already noticed in the 6th/12th century by al-Harawī (*K. al-Ziyārāt*, ed. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 69; trans. Damascus 1957, 154), and which corresponds to a former Chaldaean church (F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, ***Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris Gebiet***, Berlin 1911-22, ii, 236-8; A. Sioufi, ***Les antiquités et monuments de Mossoul***, Mosul 1940, 17-23; J. M. Fiey, ***Mossoul chrétienne***, Beirut 1959, 118-20).

In Islam St. George is frequently confused with the prophets Khiḍr and Elias [see KHIḌR and KHIḌRELLEZ].

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ṭabarī, *Chronicle*, tr. Zotenberg, Paris 1869, ii, 54-66; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, index; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, Cairo 1282, 466 ff.; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iii, 1778. (B. CARRA DE VAUX*)

DJIRM [see DJISM].

DJĪRUFT, a fertile, high lying district of Kirmān with a city of the same name south-west of Bam and separated from it by the Bāridjān Mountains. There is no record of the city in pre-Islamic times and the first mention of the city is when Djīruft was captured by Mudjāshiʿ b. Masʿūd in 35/655 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 391). Thereafter the city is mentioned many times, especially in the Arabic geographies.

The Khāridjites were active in Djīruft but nothing is known of the history of the city. The geographer al-Muḳaddasī (461) praises the district highly in describing the fertility of its land and its beauty. The Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb and his brother ʿAmr are said to have embellished Djīruft with buildings (Sykes, ii, 16). The city suffered much from the anarchy of the Mongol and post-Ilkhānid periods but it continued to exist in the Tīmūrid period after which Djīruft disappears from the sources, although the district or *shahristān* retains the name to the present day.

The site of the old city of Djīruft is unknown but it must be near the present town of Sabzāwārān, and some nearby ruins (Le Strange, 314) may be those of the old city.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 314; Schwarz, ***Iran***, iii, 240; P. Sykes, ***A history of Persia***, London 1930, ii, 16. (R. N. FRYE)

DJISM (A.), body. In philosophical language the body (σῶμα) is distinguished from the incorporeal (ἀσώματον), God, spirit, soul, etc. In so far as speculation among the Muslims was influenced by Neo-Platonism two features were emphasized: 1. the incorporeal is in its nature simple and indivisible, the body on the other hand is composite and divisible; 2. the incorporeal is in spite of its negative character the original, the causing principle, while the body is a product of the incorporeal.

The more or less naive anthropomorphism of early Islam, *i.e.*, the conception of God after the analogy of the human form, is not to be considered here. On it one may consult I. Goldziher, ***Vorlesungen über den Islām***, 1910, 107 f., 120 f., and A. J. Wensinck, ***The Muslim Creed***, 1932, 66 f. But from the usual ***tadjsim*** or ***tashbih*** we must distinguish the teaching of certain philosophers who called God a body; this is to some extent a question of terminology. According to al-Ashʿarī (***Maḳālāt***, ed. Ritter, i, 31 f., 44 f., 59 f., 207 f., ii, 301 f.), the Shīʿī theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (first half of the 3rd/9th century) was the most important champion of the view that God is a body. He would not however (cf. 208 and 304) compare Him with worldly bodies but only describe Him in an allegorical sense as an existing being, existing through Himself. His description of God (p. 207) is thus to be interpreted: God is in a space which is above space; the dimensions of His body are such that His breadth is not distinguished from His depth and His colour is similar to His taste and smell; He is a streaming light, a pure metal shedding light on all sides like a round pearl. If we add that the qualities of bodies are also called bodies by Hishām and others, then we must conclude with S. Horovitz (***Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie***, 1919, 38 f.) that here Stoic terminology is present but with foreign additions. The doctrine that God is light etc. is not a Stoic theory.

After a long fight among the theological schools the incorporeality of God was recognized by Islam. Only the doctrine of the spirituality of the soul of man, held by many theologians, notably Ghazālī, did not find general recognition [cf. NAFS]. Ibn Ḥazm, for example (*Kitāb al-Faṣl*, 80 ff.), calls the individual *nafs* a *djism*, because it is distinguished from the souls of other individuals, because it has knowledge about much that another does not know, and so on.

A remarkable doctrine about the body had already appeared before Ashʿarī and then developed in his school, namely a theological atomism. Regarded from the philosophical side, the atomists and their opponents have at least one hypothesis in common: the body is composed of the incorporeal. But how? According to the view of the atomist theologians, the body is composed of the smallest particles (atoms) which cannot be further subdivided, incorporeal themselves and not perceptible. They then fall out over the question how many atoms are required to make a body, in a way which reminds one of the old problem of how many grains of corn make a heap. A survey of this speculative atomism, the origins of which have not yet been fully explained, is given by D. B. Macdonald, ***Continuous re-creation and atomic time in Muslim scholastic theology*** (in *Isis*, no. 30, ix/2, 1927, 326 ff.).

The philosophers, on the other hand, say with Aristotle and his school that the body is composed of matter and form (*hayūlā* or *mādda* and *ṣūra*). Both are in themselves incorporeal, indivisible and imperceptible, but their combination, the body, is divisible because the body is a continuous magnitude. This is really a philosophically diluted cosmogonic conception, the birth of the body from a male active principle (form) and a female receptive principle (matter). For Aristotle, who taught the eternity of a world order coming from God, the idea had hardly any importance; still less had it for the Stoics, who taught that matter and form are in reality eternally combined and can only be separated in imagination (Arab. *fi 'l-dhihn, fi 'l-wahm*). But for the Neo-Platonists it became a gigantic problem, to derive the material, corporeal world from the incorporeal; it became still more difficult for the Muslim philosophers to effect a reconciliation with the absolute doctrine of creation.

Aristotle gives the following definition (cf. *De coelo*, i, I, 268ᵃ, 7 f., and *Metaph.*, v, 13, 1020ᵃ, 7): a body is that which has three dimensions (dimension = διάστασις, διάστημα, Arab *buʿd, imtidād*) and is a continuous, therefore always divisible, quantity (ποσὸν συνεχές, *kam muttaṣil*).

A wordy dispute arose over this; the question was which is the most essential, the dimension or the magnitude, and how the magnitude is to be conceived (as incorporeal form). When the Neo-Platonists wish to "explain" something they make an abstract out of the concrete: ποσόν becomes ποσότης, *kam* becomes *kamiyya*, magnitude becomes quantity and *djism djismiyya* (corporeality). The following answer is then given to the question how a body comes into being: through corporeality (= corporeal idea of form) being assumed by matter (also incorporeal by definition). When the absolute body or second matter is thus brought into existence, the dimensions and other qualities of the concrete bodies come into existence; the gap between in corporeal and corporeal is thus bridged.

As regards matter, this doctrine comes from the Enneads (ii, 4); the formulation, that corporeality is the first form of the body (σωματικὸν εἶδος) is found in the Neo-Platonist expositor Simplicius (4th century) in his commentary on Aristotle's Physics (ed. Diels, 227 ff.). Hence in Arabic the expression *ṣūra djismiyya* and in Latin *forma corporeitatis*; because the body according to Aristotle is one of the five continuous magnitudes (like line, surface, space and time) one talks of continuity (*ittiṣāl*) as the form of the body.

The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī adopted these subtleties, although in different proportions. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā place corporeality or absolute body (*djism mutlaḳ*) last in the series of emanations [cf. FAYḌ].

Ibn Sīnā, who also distinguishes two matters, although he knows that *mādda* is the translation of the Greek ὕλη (*hayūlā*) and he regularly uses it synonymously, regards as the first form of existence of the body continuous quantity, in which the power is according to the dimensions, in other words, the dimensions are added like attributes or accidents (cf. *ḥudūd* in *Tisʿ Rasāʾil*, 58, 60 [thereon al-Ghazālī, *Miʿyār al-ʿilm*, 180]; *Ishārat*, ed. Forget, 90 ff.).

Ibn Rushd disputes (***Metaphysics***, Cairo ed., 37 ff.), as so often, the teachings of his predecessor without quite clearing up the problem.

When the Neo-Platonizing philosophers and theologians talk of the body, it should always be asked what they mean by it: the divine original (= idea of the body) or its purest, unalterable copies in the heavenly spheres and constellations, or lastly the sublunar elementary bodies with their qualities, changes and combinations. This is the first step to comprehension, so far as this is possible.

The distinction between the heavenly bodies and earthly bodies influenced by them was very important for the natural philosophy of the period. The latter were composed of the four relatively simple bodies (elements, in Aristotle ἁπλᾶ σώματα: Arab. *al-basāʾiṭ*). In the higher sense the heavenly bodies were simple; to describe them the term *djirm* (plur. *adjrām*) was often used, which otherwise is synonymous with *djism*. It is to be noted that the *Theology of Aristotle* (ed. Dieterici, 32, 40 f.) understands by

Djirmiyyūn those philosophers who as followers of Pythagoras teach that the soul of man is the harmony of its body (*iʾtilāf, ittifāḳ, ittiḥād*). This was a theory particularly common among physicians.

Generally popular also was the distinction taken from Aristotle between the physical and the mathematical body (*dj. ṭabīʿī* and *dj. taʿlīmī = dj. al-handasa*). The geometricians are said to regard dimensions as ideal figures, abstracted from the many qualities possessed by natural bodies, with which the physicists deal.

Djirm, *badan* and *djasad* are used as synonyms of *djism*; the two last are usually applied to the human body, *badan* often only to the torso. While *badan* is also used for the bodies of animals, *djasad* is rather reserved for the bodies of higher beings (angels etc.). *Djamād* is an inorganic body, but *adjsād* is used particularly for minerals. It may also be mentioned that *haykal* (plur. *hayākil*) means with the gnostics and mystics the physical word as whole as well as the planets, because the world-soul and the spirits of the stars dwell in them like the soul of man in its body (cf. AL-ṢĀBIʾA; Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, 110; cf. *Theology of Aristotle*, 167).

Bibliography: P. Duhem, *Le système du Monde*, iv, 541 ff.; S. v. d. Bergh, *Die Epitome des Averroes*, Leiden 1924, 63 ff.; H. A. Wolfson, *Crescas' critique of Aristotle*, 278 ff.; S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, 4; L. Gauthier, *Ibn Rochd, Averroès*, Paris 1948, 71.

See also ʿĀLAM and MĀDDA. (TJ. DE BOER*)

DJISR, pl. *djusūr* (Ar., cf. Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 285), "bridge", is more particularly, though by no means exclusively, a bridge of boats in opposition to *ḳanṭara* [*q.v.*], an arched bridge of stone.

An incident in the history of the conquest of Babylonia has become celebrated among the Arab historians as *yawm al-djisr* "the day of [the fight at] the bridge": in 13/634 Abū ʿUbayd al-Thaḳafī was defeated and slain in battle against the Persians at a bridge across the Euphrates near Ḥīra; cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 68 ff., 73; Caetani, iii, 145 ff. (ED.)

DJISR BANĀT YAʿḲŪB, the "bridge of the daughters of Jacob", name of a bridge over the Upper Jordan, above the sea of Galilee and to the south of the former marshy depression of the lake of al-Ḥūla, now dry. At this point, which was that of an old ford known at the time of the Crusades under the name of the "ford of Yaʿḳūb" (*Vadum Jacob* of William of Tyre) or "ford of lamentations" (*makhāḍat al-aḥzān* of Ibn al-Athīr and Yāḳūt), the *Via maris* from Damascus to Ṣafad and ʿAkkā crossed the river, following a trade route which was especially frequented in Mamlūk times and which coincided also with a *barīd* route. From this time dates the improvement of the crossing by the erection of a bridge of basalt of three arches, traces of which are still visible, and the construction nearby of a caravanserai, before 848/1444, by a Damascene merchant, who marked along with his foundations the route from Syria to Egypt (al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, ed. Dj. al-Ḥasanī, ii, Damascus 1951, 290; cf. H. Sauvaire, in *JA*, 1895, ii, 262). Travellers and geographers, oriental and western alike, only rarely omit mention of this stage, sometimes under the designation, also frequent, of Djisr Yaʿḳūb or *Pons Jacob*.

The strategic importance of this crossing, again emphasized in 1799 when it marked the extreme point of the advance of French troops, was especially marked in the 6th/12th century when Franks and Muslims contested it furiously: Baldwin III was defeated here by Nūr al-Dīn in 552/1157; Baldwin IV built here in 573/1178 a fortress entrusted to the Templars, the Castellet of the ford of Jacob, whose ruins still remain on a knoll on the west bank 500 m. south of the bridge; this stronghold was taken and destroyed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn a year later, in 575/1179.

The favour enjoyed by the Biblical reminiscences centred on this locality even in the middle ages, and which seem to have resulted from a transfer to the Jordan of the tradition of Jacob's crossing of the Jabbok (now Nahr al-Zarḳā), according to *Genesis*, xxxii, 22, is attested by the toponymy of the region and by the mentions in Arabic authors of the 6th/12th century of a *mashhad Yaʿḳūbī*, then a place of pilgrimage, and of a "castle of Jacob" (*ḳaṣr Yaʿḳūb*) or "house of lamentations" (*bayt al-aḥzān*); the latter name refers to the lamentations of Jacob for the death of his son Joseph (recalled not far from there, at the place called Djubb Yūsuf or Khān Djubb Yūsuf, by the pit in which he is said to have been cast by his brothers). At the present day there further exists the "grotto of the daughters of Jacob" (*maghārat banāt Yaʿḳūb*), a sanctuary whose name explains that of the bridge, and whose history is fixed by an inscription of the 9th/15th century (L. A. Mayer, *Satura epigraphica arabica*, in *QDAP*, ii (1932), 127-31).

Bibliography: R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 314; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1933-8, i, 162, 480, 486; ii, 226; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 53; A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques*, Paris 1951, 7; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 246; R. Hartmann, *Die Strasse von Damaskus nach Kairo*, in *ZDMG*, lxiv, 694-700; William of Tyre, xxi, 26; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 301; *RHC Or.*, i, 636; iv, 194, 203 ff.; Harawī, *K. al-ziyārāt*, ed. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 20 (Fr. tr. idem, Damascus 1957, 51 and note); Yāḳūt, i, 775; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 107; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, Paris 1934-6, index s.v. *Jisr Banât Yaqûb* and *Gué de Jacob*). (J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

DJISR AL-ḤADĪD, "iron bridge", name of a bridge over the Orontes in the lower part of its course, at the point where the river, emerging from the valleys of the calcareous plateau and widening towards the depression of al-ʿAmḳ [*q.v.*], turns sharply westwards without being lost in that marshy depression whose waters it partly drains to the sea. The fame of this toponym, frequently mentioned in mediaeval documents but of obscure origin (perhaps local legend), is explained by the strategic and commercial importance of this stage, through which, in antiquity and in the middle ages, has always passed the route joining Antioch to Chalcis (Ḳinnasrīn) and then Aleppo (a route frequently taken, at the time of Antioch's prosperity, by the caravan traffic descending from the col of Baylān [*q.v.*]). The bridge itself, defended by strong towers and fortified on various occasions (notably in 1161 by Baldwin IV), is known to have played a part of prime importance in the wars between Arabs and Byzantines as early as the 4th/10th century, later in the history of the principality of Antioch after its storm by the Franks of the first crusade. The present bridge retains no trace of the building of this period. In the neighbourhood is a raised site

which doubtless marks the position of the ancient Gephyra.

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DJISR AL-SHUGHR or Djisr al-Shughūr, the modern name of a place in north Syria, the site of a bridge over the Orontes which has always been an important centre of communications in an area that is mountainous and difficult to traverse. It was in fact at this spot that the most direct route from the Syrian coast to the steppes in the interior and the Euphrates, passing over the Djabal Nuṣayri and the Limestone Massif, crossed the line of communications that ran north-south and followed the Orontes between Apamea/Ḳal'at al-Muḍīḳ and Antioch/Antāḳiya. Of these two routes the second is today abandoned, its traffic having gradually declined during the Middle Ages, while swamps spread over the once fertile and cultivated plain of al-Ghāb [*q.v.*]. But the valley of the Nahr al-Kabīr and the depression of al-Rūdj are still partly followed by the modern road from al-Lādhikiya to Ḥalab, crossing the Orontes by this bridge which has been so often rebuilt and altered, and across which the old trade route used to run, linking the coastal town of Laodicaea with Chalcis/Ḳinnasrīn and Berea/Ḥalab, in one direction, and with al-Bāra [*q.v.*] and Arra/Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān in the other.

There have long been attempts to identify this spot with the Seleucia ad Belum of Ptolemy, or Niaccuba (corruption of Seleucobelus) of the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, which in ancient times commanded one of the routes leading from the Limestone Massif. But the identification of this bridge with the one at Kashfahān, so often mentioned in the fighting at the time of the Crusades, has given rise to much discussion which has served to emphasize the utter lack of precision in the descriptions given by Arab authors, and also the modern aspect of the present village. Only a caravanserai and a mosque of the Ottoman period testify to the fact that it was once a halting-place for pilgrims of the ḥadjdj coming from Anatolia and crossing Syria by the ancient road along the Orontes valley, and it is difficult to place at a date earlier than the Mamlūk period (defaced inscription) the bridge with its assortment of materials and the sharp elbow projecting upstream. There seems however to be a convincing case, and on this point we follow R. Dussaud in his refutation of Max van Berchem's suggestion, for distinguishing the site of the cross-roads, the Kashfahān of the Crusades, and Shughr in the *Voyage* of the Mamlūk sultan Ḳāytbāy, from the site of the twin castles of al-Shughr and Baḳās which stood in the same valley, but 6 km. to the north-west, and constituted one of the eastern defences of the Frankish principality of Antioch.

It is this fortress, whose ruins still crown a ridge of rock of which the central part has collapsed (hence the need to build two separate fortications) and dominate the village of Shughr al-Ḳadīm amidst its gardens, which was conquered by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the course of the celebrated campaign of 584/1188, during which he first halted at Tall Kashfahān. Later, this fortress formed part of the domains of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī and, after being captured by the Mongols, it became during the Mamlūk period the centre of a military district ranking as one of the *niyābas* of the province of Aleppo. Its decline, from the time when it lost all its strategic importance, finally explains the subsequent rise of the modern Djisr al-Shughūr and the return of a settled population to the neighbourhood of the bridge where, in the time of Abu 'l-Fidā', there had only been a weekly market (crowded, however), and where caravanserais for foreign merchants were then built (the sovereign of Aleppo promised to put up a *fondaco* for the Venetians).

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DJIṢṢ (A.), plaster.—Muslim builders have generally shown themselves unanxious to use carefully chosen and worked materials in their constructions. Frequently walls, apparently hurriedly built, are composed of rubble (undressed stones) or even of pisé (compacted earth and lime) or mud-brick. This mediocre skeleton, however, is clad by facings which disguise its poverty and give it the illusion of richness. Just as the Byzantine builders decorated church sanctuaries and rooms in princely dwellings with marble plaques and mocaics with a gold ground, those of Persia, Egypt, or the Maghrib have covered the façades and interiors of their mosques and palaces with incised fayence or with sculptured and coloured plasters, and the windows themselves are adorned with perforated plaster *claustra*, their voids filled with coloured panes.

Plaster and stucco (made of a mixture of lime and marble or powdered eggshell, or else of pure gypsum and dissolved glue) are both of especial interest as the facings of exteriors and interiors. The plaster is carefully smoothed and decorated with paint, or, when it has been applied more or less thickly on the wall, sculptured by an iron tool whence the name of *naḳsh ḥadīda* given in North Africa to work of this genre. In his book *L'Alhambra de Grenade*, 5, Henri Saladin has provided the following technical account [here translated]: 'On a wall coated with plaster the craftsman would trace the intended design with a dry-point; then, with the help of chisels and burins, he would cut in the fresh plaster the ornaments which he had outlined. This prodecure necessitated the use of a slow setting plaster, which could be obtained by the addition of gum or salt to the plaster, as the Tunisian craftsman do today. Later this method was replaced by moulding, but this gives less delicacy. Mouldings of the Arab period may still be seen at the Alhambra. An examination of the ornamentation of the convent at S. Francisco, an old Arab palace . . . reveals the manner in which plaster was retained against wooden surfaces: at one place where the plaster has fallen the wooden backing

can be seen, pierced by nails joined one to another by a network of string'. One should add that besides the sculpture obtained by cutting away the field between the decorative elements one does also find moulded or impressed reliefs—particularly border mountings—level with and adhering to the groundwork, which has been cut back for this purpose.

The important rôle played by decoration of this genre in the Islamic art of the 8th/14th century, which saw the erection of the most notable parts of the Alhambra, is attested by a passage of Ibn Khaldūn, who considers it as a branch of architecture (*Muḳaddima*, ii, 321; Rosenthal, ii, 360-1): he remarks that the work is executed by iron tools (*bi mathāḳib al-ḥadīd*) in the still wet plaster. However, it goes without saying that plaster as an element of decoration is much earlier than the blossoming of Hispano-Moorish art. To what period should one assign its adoption by the Muslims, and to what influence can it be attributed?

Hellenistic art, one of the essential sources of the Muslim arabesque, was not ignorant of stucco relief, which was often delicately modelled. It must not be supposed, however, that Islam has inherited the art of the Roman or Byzantine workers in gypsum plaster, for Islamic moulded-plaster decoration is very different, both as a technique and as a style. It is apparently towards Sasanian art that the search for its origin must be directed. The Syrian castle of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr, founded by the Umayyad Hishām in 110/728, in the ornamentation of which Sasanian motifs preponderate, presents some panels which are indicative of this origin. A compact floral decor, wholly filling the geometrical frames which divide the panels, is treated without relief but by cutting out the plaster perpendicularly or obliquely to the surface plane. This sunken two-dimensional scupture, in which there is no projection, is already that of the Muslim works in plaster of the succeeding centuries. It flourishes in the 3rd/9th century at Sāmarrā and, mixed with Hellenistic elements, gives rise to the linear undercut decoration of the ʿAbbāsid palaces. This was transmitted, with many another fashion, from ʿIrāḳ to the Egypt of the Ṭūlūnids. From Egypt it reached North Africa, where it found a favourable soil. An extension towards the Sahara among the Khāridjites, who had taken refuge at Sedrāta near Wargla, must be mentioned. The plaster there, which mixed with sand is very durable, is used, under the name of *timshent*, for incised decorative facings, where the African Christian inheritance appears side by side with Mesopotamian reminiscences. However, it is especially in the Maghrib and in Spain that sculptured plaster attains its greatest beauty. The 6th/12th century saw the birth in Marrakesh, Fez, and Tlemcen, of facings with a floral decoration where the sculptor has given to this plastic decoration a richness of forms, a firmness yet a flexibility of composition, a vigour in relief (*e.g.*, the Almoravid domes of the *mīḍāt* at Marrakesh and of the Ḳarawiyyin of Fez, the Almohad capitals of the Kutubiyya etc.) which greatly transcend the usual frontiers of the arabesque. The rôle played by sculptured plaster in Hispano-Moorish art in the 13th and 14th centuries is well known. It was to be maintained in Spain in the *mudéjar* monuments, and to survive in the later Tunisia and Morocco, attesting less the decorative invention of the artists than their fidelity to tradition and their manual skill. (G. Marçais)

DJĪTAL [see SIKKA, WAZN].

AL-**DJIWĀʾ** (also Līwā, probably derived from the local pronunciation of *dj* as *y*, resulting in al-yiwāʾ > līwā) a district of many tiny oases in the heavy sands of south-central al-Ẓafra, the large, almost completely sand-covered region extending southward from the Persian Gulf between Sabkhat Maṭṭī in the west almost to Long. 55° E. The oases nestle in the hollows and passage ways of the northernmost sand mountains of al-Baṭīn, with the greatest number lying between Lat. 23° N. and Lat. 23° 15′ N. The eastern third of the oases, which are smaller and less frequented than the others, bear to the south-east below Lat. 23° N.

The water of al-Djiwāʾ, which lies only a few feet below the surface, supports numerous small groves of date palms growing on the sheltered side of great dunes. In many places the owners live above their gardens on the dunes themselves, where there is a chance of catching a cooling breeze. The ruins of several forts are scattered throughout the district, but today the inhabitants live only in palm-thatch huts. All but a few of the oases are uninhabited except during the summer when the date groves require attention. During the rest of the year most of the owners are in the desert with their herds or along the coast of the Persian Gulf. Among the settlements usually inhabited the year round are al-Māriya, Ḳaṭūf, Shidḳ al-Kalb, al-Kayya, al-Ḳarmida, Shāh, and Tharwāniyya.

The people of al-Djiwāʾ belong, in roughly descending order of numbers, to the tribes of al-Manāṣīr, al-Mazārīʿ, al-Hawāmil, al-Maḥāriba, al-Ḳubaysāt, Āl Bū Falāḥ, al-Marar, and Āl Bū Muhayr. All but al-Manāṣīr belong to the conglomeration usually referred to as Banī Yās [*q.v.*]. Sand-dwelling tribesmen, such as members of Āl Rāshid and al-ʿAwāmir, some of whom even own a few palms, are frequent visitors. A few residents of al-Djiwāʾ own pearling boats, and every year some of the men journey north to the Persian Gulf to seek their fortunes on the pearling banks. Their number declines, however, as more find employment with the oil companies operating in various parts of Arabia.

Al-Djiwāʾ lies within the more than 70,000 sq. km. of territory in dispute between Saudi Arabia and Abū Ẓaby. During the abortive arbitration of this dispute in 1954-5 (see AL-BURAYMĪ), both sides contended that they had historical rights to sovereignty over al-Djiwāʾ and that they had exercised jurisdiction by collecting *zakāt* (Saudi Arabia on camels and Abū Ẓaby on dates) and by maintaining law and order. Abū Ẓaby claimed the traditional loyalty of all the inhabitants of al-Djiwāʾ, while Saudi Arabia maintained that the preponderance, including all of al-Manāṣīr and al-Mazārīʿ, were loyal Saudis.

Al-Djiwāʾ was unknown to the Western world until 1324/1906 when the acting British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, P. Z. Cox, learned of its existence from a former inhabitant.

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concerning Buraimi and the Common Frontier between Abu Dhabi and Saudi Arabia, 1955. The only detailed material on the district in Arabic is to be found in the Arabic versions of the Saudi Arabian and United Kingdom arbitration memorials cited above. (W. E. MULLIGAN)

DJĪWAN, the *ʿurf* of Mullā Aḥmad b. Abī Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Makhdūm Khassa-i Khudā al-Ḥanafī al-Ṣāliḥī (he claimed descent from the Prophet Ṣāliḥ) was born at Amēthī, near Lucknow, in 1047/1637, as he was 21 (?) lunar years old in 1069/1658 when he completed his *al-Tafsīr al-Aḥmadī* (cf. *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafiyya*, 436). The same source, however, states that he was 83 years of age at the time of his death in 1130/1717. Gifted with an extraordinary memory, he learnt the Ḳurʾān by heart at the age of seven. Studying in his early years first with Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ al-Sitarkhī, he completed his education in rational and traditional sciences at the age of sixteen with Luṭf Allāh Kōṛā-Djahānābādī. Contrary to the official histories such as the *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma* and the *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, all his biographers unanimously agree that he was appointed as one of his 'teachers' by Awrangzīb who greatly respected and honoured him. This must have happened between 1064/1653 and 1068/1657, the year Awrangzīb ascended the throne. Most probably the emperor, on his accession, read certain books with the youthful Mullā. Shāh ʿĀlam I, the son and successor of Awrangzīb, like his father, also held him in great esteem. The Mullā must have attained high proficiency in *fiḳh* as, at the comparatively young age of 21, he compiled his Arabic *Tafsīr* dealing with those *aḥkām sharʿiyya* that are deducible only from the Ḳurʾān. After completing his education, he began to teach at his home-town. He left for Adjmēr and Dihlī in 1087/1676, where he stayed for a considerable time teaching and preaching. In 1102/1690 he left on a visit to Mecca and Medina for the first time and after a stay of five years there returned to India in 1107/1695. He then joined the imperial service and spent some six years with the armies of Awrangzīb who was then engaged in fighting against the Deccan kingdoms. In 1112/1700 he left for the second time for al-Ḥidjāz and after twice performing the *ḥadjdj* and *ziyāra* returned to Amēthī in 1116/1704. After a short stay of two years, during which he received the Ṣūfī *khirḳa* from the Shaykh Yāsīn b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳādirī, he repaired to Dihlī with a large number of pupils. He was received in audience at Adjmēr by Shāh ʿĀlam I (1119-24/1707-12) who took him to Lahore. He returned to Dihlī on the death of Shāh ʿĀlam and engaged himself again in his favourite profession of teaching. He had also established a *madrasa* in his home-town Amēthī. A detailed account of this institution appears in the Urdū work *Taʾrīkh ḳaṣaba-i Amēthī* by Khādim Ḥusayn (ed.? date ?). He died in his *zāwiya* in the Djāmiʿ masdjid of Dihlī in 1130/1717 but his dead body was later disinterred and taken to his home-town for final burial.

He is the author of: (i) *al-Tafsīrāt al-Aḥmadiyya fī bayān al-āyāt al-sharʿiyya*, compiled in five years 1064-9/1653-8 while he was still a student (ed. Calcutta, 1263 A.H.); (ii) *Nūr al-anwār*, a commentary on al-Nasafī's *Manār al-anwār* on the principles of jurisprudence, written at the request of certain students of Medina in a short period of two months; also frequently printed; (iii) *al-Sawāniḥ*, on the lines of Djāmī's [*q.v.*] *al-Lawāʾiḥ* written in the Ḥidjāz during his second visit in 1112/1700; (iv) *Manāḳib al-awliyāʾ*, biographies of saints and *mashāyikh* which he compiled in his old age at his home-town. The work contains a supplement by his son ʿAbd al-Ḳādir and a detailed autobiographical note (for an extract see *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, vi, 21); (v) *Ādāb-i Aḥmadī*, on *ṣūfism* and mystic stations, compiled in his younger days.

Bibliography: Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Subḥat al-mardjān*, Bombay 1303/1885, 79; idem, *Maʾāthir al-kiram*, Agra 1328/1910, 216-7; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-i ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*[2], Cawnpore 1914, 45; Faḳīr Muḥammad, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafiyya*[3], Lucknow 1324/1906, 436; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Abdjad al-ʿulūm*, Bhopāl 1295 A.H., 907; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād 1376/1957, vi, 19-21 (contains the most detailed and authentic notice); ʿAbd al-Awwal Djawnpūrī, *Mufīd al-Muftī*, 113; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, Bibl. Ind., iii, 794; M. G. Zubaid Ahmad, *Contribution of India to Arabic literature*, Allāhābād 1946, index; Brockelmann, S II 264, 612; Khādim Ḥusayn, *Taʾrīkh ḳaṣaba-i Amēthī*, n.p. n.d.; Sarkis, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt al-ʿArabiyya*, ii, col. 1164-5; Muḥammad b. Muʿtamad Khān, *Taʾrikh-i Muḥammadī* (Ethé 2834), contains a short but useful notice in Arabic; Khādim Ḥusayn, *Ṣubḥ-i Bahār* (MS. in Urdū).

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

DJIWĀR, "protection" and "neighbourhood", noun of action of the 3rd form to which only the second meaning corresponds, as in the grammatical term *djarr al-djiwār* "attraction of the indirect case" (syn. *djarr al-mudjāwara*, cf. Wright, *Gr. Ar. Lang.*[3], 1955, ii, 234 B). *Djiwār* "protection" corresponds to the 4th form *adjāra*, and particularly to the substantive *djār* "one protected, client" coinciding with the Hebrew *gēr* "one protected by the clan or community". Nöldeke in his study of the *Aḍdād* noted the identity of the institution "in the same juridical sense" (im wesentlich demselben rechtlichen Sinne, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachw.*, Strasbourg 1910, 38). The religious suggestion of "protection of a holy place", so frequent in Arabic, strangely recurs in the Hebrew *gēr* and especially in the Phoenician equivalent which, in numerous proper names, denotes one protected by a sanctuary or divinity, as well as in a text of Ras Shamra kindly brought to our attention by M. Ch. Virolleau, the eminent pioneer in this field of study: "*gr* already figures in the 14th century B.C. in a poem containing the expression *gr bt il* which I translated in 1936, in my *Légende de Danel*, 165, as 'l'hôte de la maison de Dieu' . . . Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugar. Manual glossary* no. 357, rendered it by 'a person taking asylum in a temple' ". The evident relationship of the term to the religious vocubulary is further emphasized by the later evolution of the Hebrew *gēr* in the well-known sense of "converted to Judaism". Nöldeke's remark (*loc. cit.*) giving precedence to the sense of "one protected" presupposes, in accordance with a well-known law, a term of socio-religious significance, owing its survival to the importance of the institution in nomadic customary law. Despite the Arab lexicographers, and also Gesenius, who wish to derive from a primitive meaning "to deviate", the meaning "to stay in the house of a host", it may be a question of the almost universal semantic link between "foreigner, enemy" (cf. Latin *hostis*) and "guest, client", for the root *gwr* in both languages also has the sense of hostility, injustice. Gesenius compares the Akkadian *geru*, but it is rather *gār*, "enemy", which would agree with the suggested etymology.

Bibliography: Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebr. aram. Hdwörterbuch*, 16 ed. Leipzig 1915, 134-5; also quotes an Egyptian proper noun and Coptic *goile*, "foreigner", Aramaic *giyyūra* from which the Septuagint took a Greek γειώρας on which see Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 37. On the old sense of *gēr*, cf. A. Lods, *Israel des origines au VIII siècle*, 229, and for the later evolution, *JE*, art. Proselyte, and Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, Paris 1912, v, 758. The Akkadian *gāru* is noted in the index of J. J. Stamm, *Die Akkadische Namengebung*, Leipzig 1959, with reference to p. 179.

(J. Lecerf)

DJĪZA [see al-Ḳāhira].

DJĪZĀN [see Djayzān].

al-**DJĪZĪ**, Abū Muḥammad al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Azdī al-Aʿradj (died in Djīza, Egypt, in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 256 or 257/870 or 871), an eminent follower of al-Shāfiʿī and most probably a direct disciple of his. Like a good number of early Shāfiʿīs he was originally a Mālikī and disciple of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. After his adherence to Shāfiʿism he devoted himself to making an accurate compilation of *Kitāb al-Umm*. Together with that of al-Buwayṭī, his version of this master work of Shāfiʿism is the most trustworthy. It may be considered as representing the second phase of Shāfiʿī jurisprudence known as the Egyptian. His compilation was rewritten at a later date with insertions of another Rabīʿ (Abu Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Murādī, d. 270/883). It is difficult to distinguish in *Kitāb al-Umm* things attributed to our Rabīʿ from those of the other. Zakī Mubārak, in his study of *Kitāb al-Umm* has tried to find characteristics of both, but his reasoning is not convincing. Al-Rabīʿ al-Djīzī counts among his disciples Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasāʾī. Ibn Khallikān illustrates him as a most virtuous and modest man.

Bibliography: Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo, i, 53; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1948, i, 53, no. 220; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fi tartīb al-ziyāra*, Cairo, 151; Zakī Mubārak, *Taḥḳīḳ nasab Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1932, 73; M. K. Ḥusayn, *Adab Miṣr al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo, 58, 95 (note).

(H. Monés)

DJIZYA (i)—the poll-tax which, in traditional Muslim law, is levied on non-Muslims in Muslim states. The history of the origins of the *djizya* is extremely complex, for three different reasons: first, the writers who, in the ʿAbbāsid period, tried to collect the available materials relating to the operation of the *djizya* and the *kharādj* found themselves confronted by texts in which these words were used with different meanings, at times in a wide sense, at others in a technical way and even then varying, so that in order to be able to complete a reasonable picture they tended to interpret them according to the meaning which had become current and best defined in their own time; secondly, it is a fact for which due allowance is not made that the system which sprang from the Arab conquest was not uniform, but resulted from a series of individual, and not identical, agreements or decisions; finally, this system followed after, but did not overthrow, earlier systems which themselves differed one from another and which, moreover, in the period immediately before Islam, are imperfectly understood and a subject of controversy. In these conditions, the account that follows can do no more than serve as a provisional guide.

The word *djizya*, which is perhaps connected with an Aramaic original, occurs in the Ḳur'ān, IX, 29 where, even at that time, it is applied to the dues demanded from Christians and Jews, but probably in the somewhat loose sense, corresponding with the root, of "compensation" (for non-adoption of Islam), and in any case as collective tribute, not differentiated from other forms of taxation, and the nature of its content being left uncertain (the examples given in the works on the biography of the Prophet are very variable; tribute was adapted to the individual conditions of each group concerned). It is possible that, *mutatis mutandis*, precedents can be found in pre-Islamic Arabia outside the religious sphere, in the conditions of submission of inhabited oases to more powerful tribal groups, in return for protection; but as a result of their conquests the Arabs, heirs of the Byzantine and Sāsānid régimes, were to be faced with new practical problems.

Naturally there was no hesitation over the fact that the *dhimmīs* [*q.v.*] had to pay the Muslim community a tax which, from the point of view of the conqueror, was material proof of their subjection, just as for the inhabitants it was a concrete continuation of the taxes paid to earlier regimes. This tax could be of three sorts, according to whether it was levied on individuals as such, or on the land, or was a collective tribute unrelated to any kind of assessment. In the ʿAbbāsid period, the texts show us a clear theoretical distinction between two taxes, on the one hand a tax on land, the *kharādj*, which except only in particular instances could not be suppressed since the land had been conquered once for all for the benefit of the permanent Muslim community, and a tax on persons, the *djizya*, which, for its part, came to an end if the taxpayer became Muslim. But it is far from being the case that such a distinction was always made, either in law or in fact, in the first century of Islam, and the problem is simply to determine what was the primitive practice, and how the ultimate stable system was gradually attained.

Starting from the indisputable fact that in the very early texts the words *djizya* and *kharādj* are constantly taken either in the wide sense of collective tribute or else in apparently narrower but interchangeable senses (*kharādj* on the head, *djizya* on land, as well as *vice versa*), Wellhausen, and then Becker and Caetani etc., built up a system according to which the Arabs, at the time of the conquest, are alleged to have levied collective tribute on the defeated, without taking the trouble to distinguish between the different possible sources of tax, and it was only the multiplicity of conversions which, at the very end of the Umayyad rule, led, particularly in Khurāsān, to a distinction in the total revenues being made between two taxes, the one on the person, ceasing with the status of *dhimmī*, the other on land which remained subject to the obligations placed upon it by the conquest. This theory, apart from the prejudicial question that it contradicts the opinion of all classical jurists, in fact comes up against numerous difficulties and recently has been severely breached, especially by Løkkegaard and even more by Dennett whose conclusions, in their general lines and inspiration, no longer seem to be refutable, although even they do not answer all the problems which they in their turn raise. They have demonstrated completely that the texts often make an effective distinction between the tax on land and the tax on the person, even if the term denoting them is variable, and have stressed the improbability that a reform which covered the whole empire should have started in the remote province of Khurāsān

during the final anarchic years of the Umayyad dynasty, and (especially Dennett in a closely reasoned analysis of the situation region by region) that one could not speak of a uniform system immediately after the conquest, since neither the earlier institutions nor the conditions of occupation had been everywhere the same.

The Sāsānid empire had possessed a fiscal system which distinguished between a general tax on land and a poll-tax, at rates varying according to the degree of wealth, but from which the aristocracy were exempt. The Roman-Byzantine empire had a more complex system about which we still remain uncertain on many points. A personal tax did exist, but was scarcely used, except only for colonists and non-Christians. The general tax made no distinction; in the case of a small property fiscally subject to the direct administration of the State, it was apparently levied on agricultural cultivation, on the basis of a unit of measurement or *jugum*; on the other hand, in large estates enjoying a certain autonomy it appeared to be more practical to base the calculation on the number of persons working; but if the tax was in this way proportional to the size of the population, it was still in no way a specific poll-tax since it was not added to another tax which was apparently based on the land. This precise point must be kept clearly in mind if we wish to understand the subsequent developments.

Now in some instances the conquest was effected purely by force, in which case the system established was at the conqueror's discretion, at other times as the result of a treaty of capitulation, and in this case, when the native population kept its fiscal autonomy, a particular fiscal system might be merely stipulated, or else a certain sum might be fixed in advance as tribute to be paid, with allowances being made for considerations of assessment. In ʿIrāḳ, the province to which most of the ʿAbbāsid jurists refer, the conquest was in general effected by force, or at least with the abandonment of the Sāsānid administrative services; with the help of native subordinates the Arabs controlled the institution and collection of taxes which followed the tradition, that is to say a poll-tax was still distinct from a land tax, though its rate was probably increased (1, 2, 4 dīnārs = 12, 24, 48 dirhams), but the grading of wealth was maintained. To remain exempt from this poll-tax, the members of the aristocracy declared their allegiance to the Muslim faith; one cannot say if at the same time they were freed from the land tax, though subject to it in the modified form of the tithe levied on Muslims' property.—In most of the towns of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, the Arab occupation was carried out by means of treaties which distinguished them from the large autonomous estates of the previous régime; although temporary agreements at the very beginning had established collective tribute, the system which was set up was one of autonomous control, but with the tax defined by the conqueror and usually calculated (as at Ḥīra in ʿIrāḳ) on the basis of a fixed contribution (generally 1 dīnār) per head, and thus a tax proportional to the population, as was the case before on the large estates; the same method of calculation may have continued on the large estates, but under the direct control of the conqueror, since most of the great Byzantine landowners had disappeared, and with the addition of the poll-tax on the colonists (?); incidentally the conquerors often found it advantageous at that time to accept the peasants' payments in kind. In Egypt most of the Christian communities were taxed under a system which united payments in kind, a land tax of 1 dīnār per *faddān* (unit of cultivated land) and a specific poll-tax of 2 dīnārs per head, this last figure, however, being based on the calculation of the sum which the community had to pay, on the condition that the total amount would eventually be divided among the inhabitants in the most equitable proportions (as papyri show); contrary to previous belief, this poll-tax must in practice have constituted for the mass of the inhabitants a burden almost as heavy as the land tax. Finally, in the greater part of Īrān and central Asia, as well as in some places in Cyrenaica, the system established was of fixed tribute to be paid by the local rulers who were maintained in office, with no interference from the conquerors either in declaring or collecting the tax; in Khurāsān in particular, taxpayers continued to be charged on the basis of the Sāsānid dual system of land tax and poll-tax, apart from any questions of conversion or non-conversion to the new religion. Whatever uncertainties remain in particular systems (especially in Syria, it seems), it will be seen that, in general, the duality of land tax and poll-tax existed at the taxpayer's level, under various conditions, for the greater part of the peasant populations, while on the other hand a system of unitary contribution prevailed throughout most of the Syrian towns and in Upper Mesopotamia; the conquerors, particularly in the East, held aloof from these distinctions so long as the tribute was paid.

However, difficulties very soon appeared. In Egypt monks were exempt from poll-tax; the Copts, who since Roman times had been past masters of tax evasion, noted that the taxpayer could escape payment of poll-tax if he left the district where he was enrolled or, better still, if he entered a monastery. It therefore became necessary to make all monks in their turn subject to poll-tax (a much more probable explanation than the alternative upon which one is driven back if one accepts that the poll-tax was absent at the beginning of the Muslim régime: since it was later found applied to monks, the argument runs that it made its original appearance in the form of a tax on the monks). It was necessary to apply for authorization for removal, and to mark taxpayers with an indelible stamp, hence all those passports, seals etc. of which archaeologists have provided us with so many unimpeachable examples. Phenomena of the same sort must have existed in many places, and are for example recorded in Upper Mesopotamia and also in ʿIrāḳ.

There, however, matters are presented to us somewhat differently. In ʿIrāḳ, in fact, evasion of taxes took the form of conversion to Islam, the convert believing that his new status would free him from the whole fiscal complex levied on the non-Muslim, that is to say the land-tax and the poll-tax. In reality what happened at the beginning —and the Muslim administration did not look upon it amiss—was that the convert abandoned his land, with no thought of it ceasing to be subject to the *kharādj*, to a non-convert who guaranteed its cultivation and fiscal capacity. The thing was possible so long as it happened infrequently and the treasury had little to fear, for the new régime had inherited from its predecessors, both Byzantine and Sāsānid, the idea of the joint liability of each locality in regard to taxation, and those who remained therefore paid for those who had left and whose land they exploited. However, by the time when the terrible governor al-Ḥadjdjādj came to ʿIrāḳ the matter had

already assumed dangerous proportions as regards the development of land, and hence also threatened the treasury. He then took the draconic decision to send back the peasants to the land, to subject them to taxation again, including poll-tax, and, in practice, to forbid them to be converted to Islam.—A similar problem arose in Khurāsān; but there it was the native aristocracy who persecuted the peasantry who were guilty of conversion to Islam: since every conversion risked increasing the burden of taxes on non-Muslims and compelling the aristocracy to make good from their own pockets any shortcomings in payments, they tried wherever they could to impose still heavier taxes upon the Muslims, at least the poorer ones, rather than on the non-Muslims: inequality in reverse ....

It is clear that these repressions also could not last. It was somehow inadmissible, in a Muslim State, virtually to penalize entry into Islam. The pious ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is credited with an attitude of absolute reaction to the policy, and he is said to have gone so far as to encourage conversions by the remission of the whole complex of taxes levied on non-Muslims. The most authoritative texts recently discovered or interpreted do not confirm such a Utopian outlook (H. A. R. Gibb, *The fiscal rescript of Umar II*, in *Arabica*, ii, (1955)). It seems that, under the influence of the jurists who elaborated the doctrine of *fay*ʾ [*q.v.*], there was a move towards the idea of dissociating from the complex of taxes imposed on the non-Muslims the *kharādj*, which from this time on was regarded rather as being levied specifically on land and not on the person, and hence was compatible with the status of Muslim: the poll-tax, as such, was to disappear, but the treasury did not necessarily suffer nor did the taxpayer gain as a result, since the convert had to pay the *zakāt* on his income. It was a system of this sort that, at a later date, Naṣr b. Ṣayyār, the last great Umayyad Governor, tried to introduce in Khurāsān; he is thus at the rear of the movement, and not in the vanguard. In a country like Syria a more delicate adaptation must have been necessary, and appears to have been undertaken from the time of Yazīd and ʿAbd al-Malik (Abū Yūsuf, 24; cf. Løkkegaard, 133), to give a truly personal character to the traditional poll-tax, in addition to a tax on land. In any case, from the moment when the poll-tax had been differentiated from the land-tax in the assessment, the same could also be done in the collection, and the collective responsiblity of places in respect of taxation would cease to operate in this matter. In Egypt particularly, we know that movement of persons became legal, provided that a record of them was kept and that the whereabouts of those concerned was known (see Cl. Cahen, *Impôts du Fayyum*, quoted below, 21). Thus the term which customarily denoted "fugitives"—in Greek φυγάδες —the *djawālī* (plur. of *djāliya*), in administration came to be taken, without further addition, as a synonym of *djizya* in the sense of poll-tax. Naturally, this fiscal arrangement did not solve the economic problem of peasant emigration, and there were further instances of the enforced return of peasants to their fields (see Cl. Cahen, *Fiscalité*, etc. in *Arabica*, i (1954), 146-7); but, in proportion as the rural communities were now able to become Muslim, the problem no longer affected the *djizya*, and it is probable that it was less grave in the solidly-based Christian communities which remained faithful to their creed (Lebanon, Upper Mesopotamia, Egypt itself) and where collective responsibilty was to act against emigration (ibid., 151). Other factors may have counted in favour of attachment to the land, and against emigration to towns, which cannot be discussed here; it seems in any case that, in the centuries that followed, the problem was no longer expressed in the terms in which the sons of the Arab conquerors had known it.

The ʿAbbāsid period thus witnessed the specialization of terminology, as of institutions, at least in technical writings and works of *fiḳh* (the latter treat of it as an appendage to the *djihād*); and whilst the *kharādj* no longer denotes anything more than land-tax, *djizya* is henceforth applied only to the poll-tax on *dhimmīs*. The latter incidentally lost its financial importance everywhere when the non-Muslim communities ceased to be numerically superior. Even when thus diminished, it does not appear to have become uniform. Syria-Palestine and Egypt kept their own system until the 18th century (see Gibb-Bowen, i/2, 254 and Nābulusī in Cl. Cahen, *Impôts du Fayyum*, in *Arabica*, iii (1956), 21-2), despite the assertions of theorists (including Balādhurī but, characteristically, excluding Mālik and Shāfiʿī), while the hierarchized tax system attributed to ʿUmar continued to be practised in the East and from there later passed into the non-Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The numerical importance to it of the *dhimmīs*, as earlier in Saldjūḳid Asia Minor (for this point see in particular Kerimüddin Aksarayī, *Müsâmeret ül-ahbar*, ed. O. Turan, 153, with analysis of F. Işıltan, 1943, 81), once again confers considerable importance on the *djizya*, although the word often bestowed on it is *kharādj* (the land-tax at that time bearing other names; see below).

A certain number of rules formulated during the ʿAbbāsid period appear to be generally valid from that time onwards. *Djizya* is only levied on those who are male, adult, free, capable and able-bodied, so that children, old men, women, invalids, slaves, beggars, the sick and the mentally deranged are excluded. Foreigners are exempt from it on condition that they do not settle permanently in the country. Inhabitants of frontier districts who at certain times could be enrolled in military expeditions even if not Muslim (Mardaïtes, Armenians, etc.), were released from *djizya* for the year in question.

A personal fixed contribution, the *djizya* was levied by lunar years (generally just before or just after the beginning of the year; sometimes in Ramaḍān under the Mamlūks), unlike taxes connected with agriculture; it could thus be dissociated from them in tax-farming and *iḳṭāʿ* concessions. Money was stipulated, and normally payment had to be made in it, but payment in kind was admissible, under an officially determined scale of equivalent values. According to the Ḳurʾānic text, one must give *al-djizyat*ᵃ *ʿan yad*ⁱⁿ, which has since been interpreted, perhaps wrongly, to mean "by hand" and personally (on this point see F. Rosenthal, *Some minor problems in the Qur'ân*, in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, New York 1953, 68-72, and Cl. Cahen, *Coran IX-29* ..., in *Arabica*, ix (1962), 76-9); administratively, this meaning suggests the need to count the non-Muslim population, hence for instance the forbidding of all village notables to accept a lump payment of *djizya* from their subordinates. Furthermore it was desired to have confirmation given to every individual concerned of his status as a subject of Islam or, more accurately, as a member of an inferior social class; it is apparently in this way that we must interpret the Ḳurʾānic formula (which

follows the one given above) *wa-hum ṣāghirūn* (sometimes glossed as *aḳarrū bi 'l-ṣaghār*), in connexion with the well-known instances of notables or Arabs refusing, although Christians, to pay the "*djizya* of the *ʿulūdj*", rather than as implying the necessity for a humiliating procedure, which later rigorists claimed to find in it. Actual censuses were apparently undertaken, especially at the time of the differentiation between *djizya* and *kharādj* (by ʿAbd al-Malik in Syria, Yazīd II in Egypt, etc.), and, reciprocally, the evaluation at 130,000 dīnārs of the total return from *djizya* in Egypt at the time of Saladin, for example, at the average rate of 2 dīnārs, allows us to estimate the Christian population then in the country at about 65,000 heads of families.

In principle, the *djizya*, like the *zakāt*, had to be used for pensions, salaries and charities. But under this pretext it was often paid into the Prince's *khāṣṣ*, "private" treasury. Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī admit that the rate of tax could be increased; with or without doctrinal justification, arbitrary demands appeared at times during the economically difficult and religiously strict period of the Mamlūks; however, we must take count of the fact that the growing scarcity of gold and the devaluation of the dirham had often brought the *djizya* to a level lower than was stipulated by doctrine; moreover the monks, or at least those in poor monasteries, found a way to reduce their returns.

In the territories directly controlled by the Mongols, before their conversion to Islam, the original fiscal system abolished the poll-tax on non-Muslims; when they adopted the Muslim religion, zealous agents sought to make the Christians pay all the arrears (forty years . . .) (al-Djazarī, *Chronique*, ed. Sauvaget, 48, Nr 307).—In Sicily, after the Norman conquest, the poll-tax on Muslims and Jews was called *djizya*.

The *djizya* has naturally disappeared from modern Muslim States as a result of the growing equality of religions, the introduction of military service and the organization of new fiscal systems.

Bibliography: Almost the whole bibliography of sources, al-Balādhurī, Abū Yūsuf, al-Māwardī and other chroniclers, recorders of traditions, jurists, etc., is to be found collected together in Caetani, quoted *infra*; to it should be added Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl*, and, for the *K. al-Kharādj* of Yaḥyā b. Adam, the annotated English translation by A. Ben Shemesh, 1958; for papyri see, besides Becker and Grohmann quoted *infra*, C. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Rheinhardt*, 1906, and H. I. Bell, *Greek papyri in the British Museum*, iv, 1910, as well as R. Rémondon, *Les papyrus d'Apollonos Ano*, 1953, and C. J. Kraemer, *Excavations at Nessana*, iii, *Non-literary papyri*, 1958.

It is not possible here to give the very extensive bibliography of works relating to poll-tax and the associated problems in the Roman-Byzantine Empire; the latest restatements will be found in the bibliography of R. Palanque's edition of the posthumous *Histoire du Bas-Empire* of E. Stein, i, 1959, and in Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates*, 1958; the outstanding works are still those of Piganiol, F. Lot and E. Deléage; for Egypt, A. Ch. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt*, 1949.

For the Muslim world, J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 172 ff., Eng. tr. 276 ff.; C. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens*, 81 ff. (in the 2nd fascicule); idem, *Islamstudien*, i, 1924; Caetani, *Annali*, v, 280-532; A. Grohmann, *Probleme der arabischen Papyrusforschung*, in *ArO*, 1933, 276 ff. and 1934, 125 ff.; Fr. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation*, ch. VI; D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the poll-tax in early Islam*, 1951; A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*, 1958, ch. VII, more detailed than Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, 1930; M. Ḍiyā al-Dīn al-Raʾīs (Rayes), *al-Kharādj fī al-dawla al-islāmiyya* (a history of Muslim state-finances), Cairo 1957, especially 107 ff.; Mez, *Renaissance*, ch. IV and VIII. Among specialized studies, Ḥabīb Zayyāt, *al-Djizya* in *al-Machriq*, xli (1947), 2; Finocchiaro-Sartorio, *Gizyah e Kharaj nella Sicilia*, in *Archivio giuridico*, lxxxi (1908). (Cl. Cahen)

ii.—Ottoman

The word *kharādj* was used for preference instead of *djizya* by the 10th/16th century, later *djizye* or *djizye-i sherʿī*. (cf. indexes in R. Anhegger-H. Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī* ..., Ankara 1956; Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Paşa Livası*, Istanbul 1952; F. Kraelitz, *Os. Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1922; Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943). *Bash-kharadjī* for *djizya* was occasionally found in the documents (cf. T. Gökbilgin, 158, and B. Lewis, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 553, 559) to distinguish it from land-*kharādj*. For the collector of *djizya*, *kharādjī* or *kharādjdjī* is used in the first period, *djizyedār* later.

The payment of *djizya* was sometimes dependent on the land possessed: anyone, Muslim or non-Muslim, who possessed a *bashtina*, land recorded under the possession of a *dhimmī* (cf. ČIFTLIK), was to pay *djizya* (cf. the regulation of Ohri dated 1022/1613 in Ö.L. Barkan, 295; that of Avlonya in *Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, ed. H. Inalcık, Ankara 1954, 124). The reason given for this was the treasury's concern to protect the *djizya* revenues.

Following a conservative policy in the conquered lands, the Ottomans identified certain pre-Ottoman poll-taxes with *djizya*. Upon the request of their new subjects in Hungary (Barkan, 304) they accepted for *djizya* the old tax of one *flori*, gold, paid per family to the Hungarian kings before the conquest (cf. Barkan, 303, 320). Previously in the Balkans the Ottomans, however, had introduced a native poll-tax, probably of the same origin as the Hungarian one *flori* tax, in their own taxation only as an *ʿurfī* poll-tax under the name of *ispendje* (cf. H. Inalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüsûmu*, in *Belleten*, xcii, 602-8). They ruled that anyone subject to *djizya* was to pay *ispendje* (*Belleten*, xcii, 602). But the latter was ordinarily included in *tīmār*s [*q.v.*]. It can be supposed that the Ottomans, like the first Muslim conquerors of Egypt and Syria, found in the Balkans and Hungary a poll-tax of one gold piece, probably from a common Roman origin (cf. F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation*, Copehagen 1950, 134-5). Sanctioned by *naṣṣ* and *idjtihād* as asserted in the firmans, *djizya* was for the Ottomans a religious tax the collection and spending of which had to receive special care. It was collected as a rule directly for the state treasury by the Sultan's own *kul*s [*q.v.*]. It was exceptional to grant *djizya* revenues as *tīmār* or *mülk*. Also it was farmed out only in special cases (cf. Anhegger-Inalcık, 39). As a *sharʿī* tax belonging to the *bayt māl al-muslimīn* its administration was put under the supervision of the *ḳāḍī*s and not infrequently its actual collection was made by them (cf. Gökbilgin, 158).

The *djizya* revenues were spent usually for military purposes or assigned to the regular pay of a military

unit as *odjaklïk*. Mahmūd II raised the rates of *djizya* and assigned it to the upkeep of his reformed army of *ʿasākir-i manṣūra*, claiming this as a religious use for *ghazā* (cf. Hadžibegić, *Džizja ili harač*, in *Prilozi*, v (1954-5), doc. 19, 78-9). Exemption from *djizya* was usually made in return for military services as was the case with the *voynuks*, *martolos* and *eflaks*.

When a conquered land was to be organized as an Ottoman province a census of people subject to *djizya* was made by the *kādī* appointed there, and a book called *defter-i djizya-i gabrān* was drawn up (for an example made after the conquest see the *defter* of Buda and Pest in L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1955, i, doc. 8, 20, pp. 176-98, 350-5; ii, facsimiles, Tables XI, XXXVI). Referred to also as *aṣl defter*, original *defter*, this book was made in two copies, one for the central treasury, the other for the provincial administration. The census was to be renewed. But, as we read in the *nishān* of 22 Djumādā II 1102/23 March 1691 such censuses were not renewed for long periods and as a result of deaths and births, flights and conversions the books did not reflect the actual situation. In the reign of Meḥemmed II half of the *djizya* due from the fugitives of a village was to be made good by its *tīmār*-holder and the other half by the remaining *djizya*-payers (R. Anhegger-H. Inalcık, 76). But with the collapse of the *tīmār* system in the late 10th/16th century the whole burden fell upon the latter. Finally by the reform of 1102/1691 each *djizya* payer was made responsible only for his own personal *djizya* and a paper, *kāghïd* or *warak*, was delivered to certify its payment. On the other hand the fugitives were pursued, (*ibid.*) or, sometimes, the authorities would try to bring them back by promising a reduction in the rate of *djizya*, as was done to repopulate the deserted villages in the province of Manastir (Monastir) in 1117/1705.

As a rule every third year, called *new-yāfte* (*Naw-Yāfta*) *yïlï* a general inspection was made to cross out the dead, *mürde* (*murda*) and to add *new-yāfte* (*naw-yāfta*), those who were omitted from the *defter* for one reason or another, among them the *bāligh*, adolescents who by the time of the inspection had become legally fit to pay *djizya*. But the inspectors were instructed to carry out this operation so as not to reduce the number of *djizya*-payers. Strangers and passers-by found in a district were subject to the payment of *djizya* on the spot, as ordered in the firmans issued after the reform of 1102/1691 (cf. Hadžibegić, doc. 5, in vol. iii-iv, 111).

It seems that *ruhbān*, clerics, and *keshīsh*, monks, were exempted from *djizya* in the first period (for exemption from *djizya* of a *metropolit* in the time of Meḥemmed II see Anhegger-Inalcık, 66). But in the reform *nishān* of 1102/1691 all clerics except those who had really a disability were subjected to *djizya*. In 1103/1692 the *ruhbān* sent a petition to the Sultan stating a *sharʿī* opinion about the exemption of those *ruhbān* who were in retirement and not earning their own living (cf. *Al-Durar*, 213; Mewkūfātī, i, 351), but it was rejected on the basis of the different opinion of Imām Yūsuf. By 1255/1839 the monks of the Mount Athos were exempted from all taxes but *djizya*.

However, in accordance with the precise command of the *sharīʿa*, the Ottoman government always exempted from *djizya* children, women, disabled and blind men, and the unemployed poor. Only the widows (*bīve*) possessing the land of their deceased husbands were liable for *djizya*.

The treatises of *fikh* (*Al-Durar*, 212; Mewkūfātī, i, 350) distinguished two kinds of *djizya*, that fixed by *ṣulḥ*, agreement, the amount of which could not be altered, and that levied from individuals, *al-djizya ʿala ʾl-ruʾūs*. The former, called in Ottoman official terminology *djizya ber wedjh-i maḳṭūʿ* or simply *maḳṭūʿ*, was extensively applied and found two different fields of application in the Ottoman empire: (*a*) The submission as a vassal of a Christian prince always implied the payment of an agreed yearly tribute however small the amount might be. Then the Sultan considered the non-Muslims under the prince as the Sultan's own *kharādj*-paying subjects (see BOGHDAN, RAGUSA) and the yearly tribute which was usually paid in gold pieces as a *kharādj-i maḳṭūʿ* (see DĀR AL-ʿAHD); (*b*) In some cases the *dhimmīs* under the Sultan's direct rule were permitted to pay their *djizya* in a fixed sum, *ber wedjh-i maḳṭūʿ*, as a community. The *dhimmī raʿāyā* applied for it mostly to escape the abuses of the *djizya*-collectors and their request was accepted by the government often to insure its payment, for otherwise they often threatened to abandon their villages and run away. On the other hand the Albanian mountain tribes of Klementi living in five villages were permitted to pay a nominal *fixed* sum of one thousand *akče* for their *djizya* in 902/1497, and in return they promised to guard the highway passing through their area. Also in Kurvelesh, Albania, seventeen villages in rebellion agreed to submit on condition that they paid their *djizya ber wedjh-i maḳṭūʿ* at a fixed sum of 3301 esedī ghurūsh in 1106/1695. In these examples we see the government being rather forced to come to an agreement with its *dhimmī* subjects. Sometimes the *maḳṭūʿ* was agreed upon between the *djizya*-collectors and the *kodja-bashīs*, Christian notables, who thus being able to distribute the *djizya* in their communities themselves expected to have some advantages such as to alleviate their own share, as actually stated in a document. But this practice was denounced by the government.

The *maḳṭūʿ* system gave the Jewish community of Ṣafad the opportunity to save their clerics from paying *djizya* (B. Lewis, *Notes and documents from the Turkish Archives*, Jerusalem 1952, 11; U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine*, Oxford 1960, 121; cf. idem on the Djizya-registers for Palestine in *Jerusalem*, iv (1952), 173-84 (in Hebrew, with Turkish documents).

Considering its basic character of a poll-tax, however, the government often insisted on its payment individually. On the other hand the *maḳṭūʿ*, fixed sum of *djizya* for a group, might become too onerous when the number in such a group for one reason or another decreased. In such cases a new census was often asked for, to reduce the amount or to return to the payment by individuals.

The *maḳṭūʿ* system in *djizya*, however, came to be more and more extensively applied in the period of decline during which the central government had increasingly lost the control of tax collection in the provinces. The *kodja-bashīs*, *čorbadjīs* and *knez* then took over, as the *aʿyān* among the Muslim population, the collection of taxes within their communities, and this prepared their rise as a local aristocracy in the Balkans in the 12th/18th century. In the belief that the *maḳṭūʿ* system was favourable for the *raʿāyā* the initiators of the *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] generalized the system (the circular of 25 Muḥarram 1257/17 March 1841 in Mühimme no. 13663 Maliye Yeni

Seri, Başvekâlet Archives) and even sanctioned it by a *fatwā* [*q.v.*].

It was the Sultan's responsibility to declare every new year the rates of *djizya* to be collected on the basis of a *fatwā* given by the Shaykh al-Islām who determined it according to the *sharʿī* scale. In Ottoman terminology the grades were *aʿlā*, *awsaṭ* and *adnā* corresponding to *ẓāhir al-ghināʾ mukthir*, wealthy, *mutawassiṭ al-ḥāl*, medium status, and *faḳīr muʿtamal*, working poor man, who were to pay, 48, 24 and 12 *dirham-i sharʿī* (see DIRHAM) of pure silver, or four, two and one dīnār gold pieces respectively. In a document of 6 Djumādā II 896/16 April 1491 (Gökbilgin, 159) we find *djizya* applied according to the *sharʿī* scale. But in a firman of 880/1475 the collector was instructed to accept payments over fixed rates (Anhegger-Inalcık, 78).

Payment could be made in silver and gold coins in circulation, and rarely the rates were also shown in current copper coins. In Radjab 1101/April 1690 the rate for the lowest grade was fixed as one Egyptian gold piece, *sharīfī altun*, or $2^1/_4$ esedī (Dutch) ghurūsh, or 90 para or 1170 copper manghır. But payments were mostly made in silver *akče* [*q.v.*] until the late 10th/16th century, and in *ghurūsh* or *para* in later periods. The recurrent debasements and depreciations in coinage (cf. H. İnalcık, in *Belleten*, loc., 676-84; Hadžibegić, in *Prilozi*, v, 51-6) made it necessary for the Ottoman government to declare in the firmans of *djizya*-collection every year (cf. examples in Hadžibegić, doc. nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 19, 22, 25) a schedule of the official rates of the coins in circulation. But disparities between the official and current rates often gave rise to disputes between the tax-payers and collectors, and the treasury sometimes preferred to accept only gold pieces. At other times, on their own initiative, the collectors forced the tax-payers to pay only in gold with the intention of exchanging this later for their own profit. To prevent this the Sultan often had to send special orders to the collectors to accept silver coins too (the *Aḥkām defterleri* in the Başvekâlet archives, Istanbul, are indeed full of such orders). The rates of *djizya* in the Ottoman silver coinage went up from 1102/1691 to 1249/1834 as shown in the following table (Hadžibegić, in *Prilozi*, v, 102).

(in esedī ghurūsh)

Year	*aʿlā*	*awsaṭ*	*adnā*
1102/1691	9	$4^1/_2$	$2^1/_4$
1108/1696	10	5	$2^1/_4$
1156/1744	11	$5^1/_2$	$2^3/_4$
1218/1804	12	6	3
1231/1816	16	8	4
1239/1824	24	12	6
1242/1827	36	18	9
1244/1829	48	24	12
1249/1834	60	30	15

Maḥmūd II emphasized in his firmans that the increases, *ḍamāʾim*, were not newly assessed taxes, *muḥdathāt*, but simply the result of a necessary adjustment of the fixed *sharʿī* quantities of silver to be paid as *djizya* in the currency of the day (cf. Hadžibegić, v, 69, 79). But these increases, even if they were not real in value, gave rise to widespread discontent among the *dhimmīs* in the Ottoman empire.

It must be remembered that until the introduction of radical changes in the Ottoman finances in the 11th/17th century, *djizya* was levied in some large areas of the empire only at one single fixed rate (cf. the Sandjaḳ regulations in Barkan, 83,201, 226, 316): for the *dhimmīs* subject to *djizya* of all classes 25 *aḳče* in the province of Yeni-il in Süleyman's time, 40 *aḳče* in 991/1583, 35 *aḳče* in some areas and 55 in others in the province of Bitlis 30 in the island of Tashoz, 46 in the province of Mosul in the 10th/16th century. It was 80 *aḳče* in the lands conquered from the Mamlūks, namely in the provinces of Adana, Damascus, Ṣafad; the rates here, except for the latter, were less than the normal lowest rate (one gold piece was 60-70 *aḳče* during this period). The reason given for this special treatment in the provinces of Eastern Anatolia was the poverty due to the physical conditions of the area. As for the islands, similar conditions together with the special defence responsibilities imposed on the population accounted for it. The *dhimmīs* of the island of Imbros were even exempted altogether from *djizya* (Barkan, 237). The single rate of 80 *aḳče* in Syria and Palestine appears to be a survival from the last phase of the Mamlūk period during which *djizya* was for all classes one gold piece plus a fraction to cover collection costs (B. Lewis, *Notes*, 11). Being considered too low as compared to the *sharʿī* rates, these fixed single rates of assessment were raised on the accession of a new Sultan to the throne (on Selīm II's accession an increase of ten *aḳče* was made; cf. Barkan, 318).

The assessment of *djizya* was made per family in Hungary, Palestine in the 10th/16th century (cf. B. Lewis, *Notes*, 10; idem, *Studies in the Ottoman Archives*, in *BSOAS*, xvi/3 (1954), 484-5), in the province of Salonika, and many other places in the Balkans (cf. Gökbilgin, 155-7) before the reform *nishān* of 1102/1691.

Also in the early period there were certain groups exempted from *djizya*. It was true, in principle, that the exemption from *djizya* was considered as a waste of a revenue belonging to the *bayt māl al-muslimīn*; hence it was made only exceptionally and, if done, in return for military services. Thus the *dhimmī* population of a crucial fortress (cf. Barkan, 204; but in 835/1431 the population of Akčaḥiṣār, Albania, was exempted from all taxation but *djizya*, cf. *Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, 104), *dhimmīs* in charge of guarding a mountain pass (cf. H. Inalcık, *Fatih devri*, i, Ankara 1954, doc. 1), relatives of the children levied for the Janissaries, *dhimmīs* supplying sulphur for the powder factories in Salonika (defter, K. Kepeci tasnifi no. 3510, Basvekâlet archives) were exempted from *djizya*. The Christian soldiers who formed part of the Ottoman fighting army in the 9th/15th century, namely Christian tīmār holders, *voynuḳs* [*q.v.*], *martolos* [*q.v.*] and *eflaḳs*, enjoyed total exemption from *djizya* (H. Inalcık, *Fatih devri*, i, 176-9). The sons and brothers of *voynuḳs* were subjected only to a *bedel-i djizya*, substitute of *djizya*, at a fixed rate of 30 *aḳče* which was about half of the lowest rate of *djizya* by 922/1516 (Barkan, 396, 398). When these groups lost their military use in the 10th/16th century they were mostly made *dhimmī raʿāyā* and subjected to *djizya*. Those maintained were subjected to a fixed low rate.

At all times the Ottoman government granted partial exemption from *djizya* to the *dhimmīs* of a particular position. Those living in the provinces in the borderland, *i.e.*, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, paid *djizya* only at the lowest rate, *adnā*, and in time of war the *dhimmīs* living nearest to the fields of operation and on the military routes paid it as half (cf. Hadžibegić, in *Prilozi*, iii, doc. 2,

101; v, V, 102). The *dhimmīs* having to abandon their homes because of enemy invasion were exempted from *djizya* for a certain period.

The *dhimmī* miners in some regions paid it at a very low rate (only six *akče* in Silistre in the mid-16th century, cf. H. İnalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüsûmu*, in *Belleten*, xcii, 608, note 173). As late as 1170/1757 the *dhimmīs* of 21 villages in Chios who were engaged in the production of mastic paid it all equally at the lowest rate.

Under the capitulations the *dhimmī terdjumāns*, dragomans, attached to the foreign embassies, enjoyed exemption from *djizya*. But many *dhimmīs* had managed to obtain *berāts* of *terdjumān* by dubious ways to escape paying *djizya* (see BERĀTLĪ).

If a *musta'min* (see ĀMĀN) prolonged his stay in the Ottoman dominions longer than one year he was treated as a *dhimmī*, subjected to *djizya*, and could not leave the country for the *Dār al-ḥarb* [*q.v.*] (cf. *Al-Durar*, 207). Though we find in the records, *sidjillāt*, of the ḳāḍī of Bursa cases testifying the application of this rule, some ways must have been found to allow foreign merchants to stay as *musta'min* for longer periods in the great commercial centres even as early as the 9th/15th century (cf. documents in *Belleten*, xciii, 67-96). Later on under the capitulations the Ottoman government became more and more tolerant on this matter (cf. the capitulation of 1153/1740 to France, article 63). The Armenians of Persia, *Arāmine-i ʿAdjem*, visiting the Ottomans lands usually as merchants, were also subject to *djizya* (the *nishān* of 1102/1691, and Hadžibegić, doc. 4, 10, pp. 107, 125).

The *nishān* of 1102/1691 provided that *djizya* was to be levied per head by all the *dhimmīs* subject to *djizya* on the basis of the *Sharʿī* scale, thus abolishing the *maḳṭuʿ* system and exemptions (cf. Fīndīḳlīlī Meḥmed Agha, *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, i, ed. A. Refīḳ, Istanbul 1928, 559). But many old practices and exemptions survived, and only in 1255/1839 with the proclamation of equality in payment of taxes all such exemptions and privileges were abolished.

Djizya-payers had always to pay two additional dues, *maʿīshat* or *maʿāsh* for the living expenses of the collector and *resm-i kitābet* (also called *resm-i ḥesāb, udjrat-i kitābet, khardj-i muḥāsebe* or *ḳalemiyye*) for the services of the central department of *djizya* (cf. Hadžibegić, iii, 112). Actually these were well established dues found with all the departments of the Ottoman finances. In the firman of 880/1475 on the collection of *djizya* (Anhegger-Inalcık, 77-8) we find a due of two *akče* per family called *resm-i kitābet* and a one *akče* due levied formerly by the *il-ketkhudās*. In the 10th/16th century the collector and the scribe accompanying him each took one *akče* for themselves (Barkan, 180; in Hungary, in addition, one *akče resm-i khāne*, Barkan, 316). In 1102/1691 *maʿīshat* was 12, 6 and 3 para for *aʿlā*, *awsaṭ* and *adnā* respectively and one *para* was paid for *udjrat-i kitābet* by all alike. Four years later a new due, *maʿīshat* for the ḳāḍīs, was added, which was 9, 4 and 1½ para for *aʿlā*, *awsaṭ* and *adnā* respectively. In 1106/1694, to prevent the abuses in collection of these dues, it was made clear that the collectors were to levy these not for their own account but for the treasury, and the remunerations were to be paid to them by the treasury from the *djizya*-revenues at the central department of *djizya* (Hadžibegić, iii-iv, doc. 4, 5, 10, 11, pp. 107, 112, 125, 131). The total sum of these legal dues amounted to $^1/_{26}$ of the *djizya* itself and their rates were raised following the increases in *djizya*. From the same firmans we learn that the collectors were illegally subjecting the *djizya* payers to some exactions under the names *dhakhīra*, *kātibiyya*, *ṣarrāfiyya*, *ḳoldju akčesi*, *khardj-i maḥkeme* (Hadžibegić, iii-iv, 113, 127), *mum-akčesi buyruldu awāʾidi* and others. With the proclamation of the *Tanẓīmāt* in 1255/1839 collectors with a salary from the treasury were appointed and were allowed to take from the tax-payers only a minimum of provisions for themselves and their animals (Hadžibegić, *Prilozi*, v, doc. 25, 93). But the heaviest burden on the *djizya*-payers was the obligation to make good the *djizya* of the fugitive *dhimmīs*, *gurikhta* (in Turkish *gürikhte*) and the dead, *murda* (in Turkish *mürde*), which sometimes caused the depopulation and ruin of a whole village. As disclosed in the *nishān* of 1102/1691, in some villages the surviving quarter of the previous population was forced to pay the *djizya* of the missing three quarters too. On the other hand the collectors in cooperation with the local ḳāḍīs sometimes tried, without official permission, to collect *djizya* from the *new-yāfte* (*naw-yāfta*), those not yet recorded as *djizya* payers in the official *defters*. They also collected *bedel-akčesi*, a lump sum for those names in the *defter* under which no one could be identified. The government always struggled to prevent such abuse and ended by assessing a fixed new tax, called *gürikhte*, to be levied equally on each *djizya* payer. This appears in the *djizya* accounts of 1102/1691 and it was then 40 *akče* per head, a sum about one-eight of the *djizya* itself. Also we find a similar tax called *nev-yāfte akčesi* even at an earlier period. These proved to be only new burdens for the *raʿāyā* since the collectors continued their exactions according to the established customs. When in 1102/1691 the method of collecting *djizya* by distributing personal certificates of payment was established, the collectors, in an effort to use all the certificates delivered to them by the treasury, forced people not subject to *djizya* to accept them, or imposed certificates of higher rates to those subject to low rates. Some of the collectors were denounced as having accepted bribery from the wealthy to save them from the certificates of high rate and then forced the poor to accept them. To all this must be added the common complaint about the *raʿāyā* having to provide the needs of the collectors' large suite of *ḳoldjīs*, guardians, and many other exactions which were common in the collection of taxes in the period of decline. The collectors acted apparently even more harshly towards *djizya*-payers, since the firmans commanded, on the basis of the *sharīʿa*, that the *dhimmīs* were to pay *djizya* in complete humiliation, *dhull wa ṣaghār* (cf. Hadžibegić, doc. 5, 10, pp. 112, 126). All this was no doubt mainly responsible for the discontented *raʿāyās* cooperating with foreign invaders from the late 11th/17th century on. The reform measures taken in 1102/1691 and later did not improve the situation, and it can be safely said that the abolition of the exemptions, especially those of clerics under the new system, ended by turning some influential groups among non-Muslims against Ottoman rule.

Bibliography: The Ottoman state followed the Ḥanafī school in the application of *djizya*; *Al-Durar fī sharḥ al-ghurar al-aḥkām* by Molla Khüsrew (Istanbul 1258, 195-216) and later Mewḳūfātī's translation of the *Multaḳā al-abḥur* (Istanbul 1318, 349-51) became the principal authorities for the Ottoman ʿulemāʾ and administrators on these matters. For a statement of the *sharʿī* principles in an official Ottoman regulation

see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar,* 351. The earliest firman on the levy of *djizya* that has come down to us is dated 880/1475-6 in R. Anhegger-H. İnalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i Osmānī*, Ankara 1956, 76-8; facsimile in F. Babinger, *Sultanische Urkunden zur Geschichte der osmanischen Wirtschaft und Staatsverwaltung am Ausgang der Herrschaft Mehmeds II, des Eroberers*, i, Munich 1956, 270-80; French summary in N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers Sultans*, Paris-The Hague 1960, 148-50; H. Hadžibegić in his fundamental article on *djizya* in the Ottoman empire *Džizja ili harač*, in *Prilozi*, iii-iv, 55-135; v, 43-102, published twenty-seven documents from the *sidjillāt* of the ḳāḍīs of Bosnia and Macedonia. Two *berāts* dated 5 Ramaḍān 1111/24 February 1700 and 1 Shaʿbān 1121/6 October 1709 published by B. C. Nedkof in *Sammlung orientalischer Arbeiten*, xi, Leipzig 1942 and reproduced in *Belleten*, xxxii, 641-9, are transcribed with some errors.

The *cizye muhasebe defterleri, mâliye ahkâm defterleri* and *mukataât defterleri* in the collections of Mâliye, Kâmil Kepeci and Yeni Seri, the Başvekâlet archives, Istanbul, constitute an inexhaustible source on the subject. The oldest *defters* in these series are a *defter-i muḳāṭaʿāt* of Meḥemmed II's time, Yeni seri, nos. 176, 6222 and 7387, a *defter-i tawzīʿ-i djizya-i gabrān-i wilāyat-i Rumeli wa Anadolu*, dated 958/1551, K. Kepeci, no. 3523 and a *defter-i aḥkām-i māliyye*, dated 973/1565 Mâliye Yeni Seri, no. 2775. The collection of *daftar-i muḥāsebe-i djizya*, the most comprehensive source on *djizya*, start in 1101/1690, K. Kepeci nos. 3508-3799. (Halil İnalcık)

iii.—India

The question of the levy of *djizya* in India has provoked more emotion than scientific study, it being assumed that practice in India was closely modelled on the teachings of *fiḳh*, or the precepts of Indo-Muslim scholars, or the policies of the Ottomans. The view taken here that *djizya* was not normally levied under the Dihlī Sultanate in the sense of a discriminatory religious tax may be contested; the evidence for this view is set out below.

The earliest extant source for the Arab conquest of Sind, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 439, speaks of Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim levying *kharādj* as tribute upon the conquered. The *Čač-nāma*, said to be a Persian translation (c. 613/1216-7) of an early Arabic account of the conquest, speaks (India Office Library MS 435, 268) of the Sindhīs being allowed the status of *dhimmī* and of a graduated poll-tax being laid upon the people of Brāhmanābād, the three classes paying at the canonical rates of 48, 24 and 12 *dirhams* respectively (MS. 261-262). This account, however, would seem more a reflection of later tradition than of events in 94/712 which antedate the differentiation between *kharādj* as land-tax and *djizya* as poll-tax under the late Umayyads which became the basis of *fiḳh* teaching.

Under the Dihlī sultanate [*q.v.*], political conditions —the continued presence of armed Hindū chiefs in rural areas, the particularism of the period 801/1398-9 to 932/1526—do not appear apt for the imposition of a novel discriminatory tax by a minority upon a majority. Ḳāḍī Minhādj al-Sirādj Djūzdjānī does not refer to *djizya* being levied in the period to 658/1260. Amīr Khusraw, *Ḳirān al-saʿdayn*, ʿAlīgaṛh lith, 1918, 35, uses *djizya* to mean tribute from Hindū kings. References in the Khaldjī and early Tughluḳ period couple *djizya* indiscriminately with *kharādj* to mean tribute or land revenue (*e.g.*, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, *Bib. Ind.*, 291, 574; Baranī states also (*Fatāwa-yi Djahāndārī*, India Office Library MS 1149, fol. 119a) that Hindū *Rāys* and *Rānās* levied *kharādj* and *djizya* from their own Hindū subjects). An anecdote in Amīr Ḥasan Sidjzī's *Fawāʾid al-Fuwād* (707/1307-722/1322) speaks (Dihlī lith. 1865, 76) of a Muslim *darwish* being required to pay *djizya*, in a context showing that tax in general is meant.

There are, however, for the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, a number of references, principally in works of the *manāḳib* idiom, stating that that Sultan levied *djizya*. The anonymous *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, (772/1370-1), (India Office Library Roto 34 of Bankīpur MS, fol. 61b), claims that Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ ordered that only canonical taxes should be collected, a claim repeated in the *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. Shaykh Abdur Rashid, ʿAlīgaṛh 1954, 6. Shams al-Dīn Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, states (*Bib. Ind.* ed. 382-4) that Fīrūz, having obtained a *fatwā* that *djizya* should be levied from the Brāhmans, ordered it to be levied, but reduced its incidence, after protest from the Brāhmans of Dihlī and petition from other Hindūs, from the three rates of 40, 20 and 10 *tankas* to 10 *tankas* of 50 *djītals*. The contemporary collection of ornamental epistles, *Inshā-yi Mahrū* (ed. Shaykh Abdur Rashid, ʿAlīgaṛh n.d.), also mentions (41, 53-4) the levy of *djizya*, although the latter context suggests it was not distinguished from land revenue.

In the Sayyid and Lodī period nothing is heard of the levy of *djizya*. From the manner in which the historians of Akbar's reign report its abolition by him, even the references to it in the Tughluḳ period may be largely panegyrical There is indeed no agreement on the date at which the abolition took place. Abu 'l-Faḍl in the *Akbar-nāma* (*Bib. Ind.*, ii, 203), places it in 971/1564, Badāʾūnī in 987/1579 (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, *Bib. Ind.*, ii, 276). The latter, who is otherwise quick to condemn Akbar for any deviation from orthodoxy, mentions the event without comment. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad does not refer to *djizya* but mentions an abolition of *zakāt* in 989/1581.

Following a number of orthodox measures discriminating against non-Muslims, Awrangzīb imposed *djizya* in 1090/1679, the *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī* states (i, 296-8), after a petition by *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ*. Financial stringency as well as Awrangzīb's personal inclination doubtless helped to prompt the decision, although this would not, of course, explain the discriminatory character of the tax. Īsar Dās, *Futūḥāt-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, (British Museum Add. 23884, fol. 74a-74b), states that government servants were exempted and that there were three rates of tax—owners of property worth 2,500 rupees were assessed at 16 rupees, those worth 250 rupees at 6 rupees 8 annas, and those worth 52 rupees were assessed at 3 rupees and 4 annas, the blind, the paralysed, and the indigent being exempt. Its introduction encountered popular and court opposition at Dihlī, which was, however, overborne. The *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī* states that *djizya* brought in 500,000 rupees in the province of Gudjarāt.

Djizya did not long survive the death of Awrangzīb in 1118/1707. Bahādur Shāh, Djahāndār Shāh, Farrukhsiyar and Muḥammad Shāh are all said to have abolished it, although Farrukhsiyar had at one time struck a *dirham sharʿī* to facilitate payment of the *djizya* at the canonical rates (see dār al-ḍarb,

iii). Niẓām al-Mulk Āsaf Djāh attempted to revive it in 1135/1723, and Muḥammad Shāh nominally restored it in 1137/1725, but this restitution was never carried into effect.

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DJŌDHPUR or Mārwāŕ was the largest of the former Indian States in the Rajputana Agency with an area of 36,120 sq.m. and a population of 2,555,904 (1941 Census). There appears to be no evidence to support the Rādjpūt legend that the state of Djōdhpur was founded by the Rādjpūts of Kanawdj after their defeat by Muḥammad of Ghūr in 590/1194. Siyāhdjī, the founder of the Rāthōr dynasty of Djōdhpur, was probably descended from Rāthōr rādjās whose inscriptions are found in Djōdhpur as early as the tenth century. The city of Djōdhpur dates back to 1459. Rāw Māldew of Djōdhpur, who refused to grant asylum to Humāyūn, was defeated by Shīr Shāh and by Akbar whose tributary he became. From this time the rulers of Djōdhpur were closely connected with the Mughal emperors of Dihlī, giving their daughters in marriage to the imperial family and serving in the Mughal armies. The most famous Rādjpūt in the service of the Mughal emperors was Mahārādjā Djaswant Singh (1048-89/1638-73). Because of Awrangzīb's orthodox religious policy war broke out in 1090/1679. Djōdhpur was sacked, but guerilla warfare continued for many years. The Sayyid brothers forced the ruler of Djōdhpur to give a daughter in marriage to the Emperor Farrukhsiyar. With the decline of Mughal power Djōdhpur was overrun by Marāthās and by the forces of Amīr Khān the Paṭhān freebooter. It came under British protection in 1818. Mahārādjā Takht Sing who was loyal to the British in 1857 was guaranteed the right of adoption in 1862. The history of the State under British protection is uninteresting. In 1949 Djōdhpur was merged into the new Indian State of Rādjāsthān.

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DJOLOF (Diolof) is the name of a kingdom which was set up on what is now Senegalese territory from the 13th to the 16th centuries. At the height of its power this kingdom included Walo, Cayor, Baol, Sine, Salūm and Dimar, as well as part of Bambūk. The inhabitants and their language are called *Wolof* (modern spelling: *Ouolof*).

Physical features.—Djolof, which now designates merely one region of the Republic of Senegal, lies between 14°-16° N., and 16°-18° W. On the north it is bounded by Walo, Dimar and Fūta Toro, on the east by Fūta Damga and Ferlo, on the south by Niani-Ouli and Baol, and on the west by Cayor and N'Diambour.

The Nounoum runs across Djolof from south-east to north-west, a river which is permanent only in its lower reaches where, from downstream, it receives the outflow from lake Guiers. It is one of the least fertile regions of Senegal; it can count on only 500 mm. of rain during the four months of the rainy season (July to October), called *navète*, a period of violent storms alternating with dry tornadoes. A transition period which is already dry, the *lollé*, though sometimes marked by a little rain (*heug*), then follows, corresponding with the ground-nut season (November to January). It is then that water-melons (*beref*) are cultivated, being harvested at the end of the dry season (*nor*). The harmattan blows violently in February and March, while in May and June, during the *tiorom*, the drought is alleviated and vegetation begins to grow green again.

History.—The history of Djolof is not fully known. Legend relates that in about 595/1200, a pious Muslim of the Prophet's family, by name Būbakar (Abū Bakr) b. ʿUmar, also called Abū Dardāy, came from Mecca to settle in Senegal, and converted the country to Islam. Apparently it was only in the 15th century that one of his presumed descendants, Ndiadiane Diaye, freed Djolof from the domination of Tekrūr and annexed Walo, Baol, Sine and Salūm in turn. The sovereigns bore the title of *Bour ba Djolof*. Quarrels that broke out between the various Ouolof communities led to the secession of the Lebou who crossed Cayor and went to settle on the peninsula of Cap Vert under the suzerainty of the *damel*. In the 16th century a certain Koumbi Guielem, with the help of the Lebou, started a revolt against *Bour* Biram Diem Koumba who crushed it, but was unable to prevent the chiefs of Cayor and Baol from seceding. In the middle of the 16th century, Leleful Fack was unable to withstand a further revolt, led by a certain Amani Goné Sohel who was the true founder of the kingdom of Cayor, with M'Bour as its capital.

Probably as a result of the profoundly democratic temperament of the Ouolofs, there is not a single sovereign from this period whose name is outstanding. But the linguistic and cultural mark had been set, and was later confirmed during the colonial period.

Djolof, being situated inland, was affected by European colonization only at a late date. In the 16th century Islam had only superficially penetrated to this region where the pagan practices of the Ouolofs scandalized the pious Muslims. However, the progressive Islamization of the inhabitants was noted as early as 1445 by Ca da Mosto.

After settling on the coast from 1683, the French explored the interior. In 1682 Lemaire gave information about the Ouolofs, while three years later La Courbe sent his agents to make a treaty with the *Bour ba Guiolof*. From 1749 to 1753, Djolof was visited by the French naturalist Michel Adanson. A century later it served as a place of refuge for the rebels during the campaigns conducted against Lat Dior, *damel* of Cayor. In 1871 the Tidjānī chief Aḥmadu Sheykhu invaded Djolof and Cayor, but was routed by an expeditionary force and killed in 1875.

In 1889, a force under the command of Colonel Dodds put the *bour ba Djolof* to flight. The latter's brother acknowledged the French Protectorate on 3 May 1890. Henceforth Djolof shared in the development of Senegal and, in 1931, a branch line of the

Dakar-Saint Louis railway reached Linguère in the heart of the Djolof country. At the present time the region is almost entirely Islamized. In every village can be found a place reserved for communal prayer (*diāma*) and one or more marabouts. The Muslim Ouolofs are very strict in praying and fasting; the name *tabaski* (Touareg *tafaski*, from *pascha*) which they give to *al-ʿīd al-kabīr* is evidence of their partial conversion by the Berbers; they are very ready to become members of a religious confraternity, usually the Ḳādiriyya. It was from Djolof that Aḥmadu Bamba, founder of the Murīd sect, recruited his followers. This Murīdism (in a peasant form) is regarded as a "Ouolofisation" of Islam.

Society.—According to tradition, the first villages are said to have been formed by gifts of land by the Burba Djolof to warriors who had distinguished themselves in expeditions. As in most of the Ouolof country, society is divided into endogamous groups which no-one can leave or join. The freemen (*gor*) are descendants of the founder of the village or marabout: artisans, cobblers (*wudé*), blacksmiths (*teugne*), wood-workers (*laobé*), sorcerers (*gueveul*). The caste of the unfree (or *diame*) seems to have disappeared.

The place of habitation is the village (*deuk*), formed of squares which house the scattered family. Although the ground-nut has noticeably improved living conditions, Djolof is one of the most barren regions of Senegal, and hence the temporary emigration of the men to the towns.

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(R. Cornevin)

DJUBAYL, a small port in Lebanon situated between Bayrūt and Tripoli on the site of the ancient Byblos (or Gebal in the Old Testament), formerly a centre at once maritime, commercial and religious, closely connected with Egypt since the 4th millennium B.C., and as celebrated for the worship of Adonis, of a syncretistic nature, as for its specialization in woodwork and products from the forests on the mountains nearby. If Byblos remained truly prosperous in the Roman period and later became the seat of a bishopric, it appears to have greatly declined by the time when it was conquered by the Muslims, and when Muʿāwiya established a colony of Persians there, as in the neighbouring territories. Djubayl, which was attached to the *djund* of Damascus, kept a small garrison until the 5th/11th century. At that period, when the Fāṭimids had extended their domination over the Syrian coast, it was under the direct dependency of the Shīʿī ḳāḍīs of Tripoli, the Banū ʿAmmār. According to the traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw who passed through it in 438/1047 the town, triangular in shape and surrounded by high walls, stood by the sea, whilst the surrounding plain, at the foot of Mount Lebanon, was covered with date-palms.

Captured in 496-1103 by Raymond de Saint Gilles, Count of Tripoli, it became a feudal domain under the name Gibelet, and was given to a family of Genoese origin who were known as the "lords of Gibelet"; it remained in the hands of the Crusaders until reconquered by Saladin in 583/1187. Archaeological traces of the Frankish period can be seen in the castle which stands on a hill at the north-east angle of the enceinte, no doubt on the site of an earlier Muslim fortress, and in the church of St. John, most of which was later rebuilt, though the baptistery, a masterpiece of Romanesque art, has survived intact.

At one time reoccupied by the Franks, to whom the Kurdish garrison put there by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had surrendered in 593/1197, the town was reconquered in 665/1266-7 by Baybars who restored the fortifications, and later made it part of the Mamlūk district of Bayrūt. Then, at the end of the 9th/15th century, it fell into the hands of the Banū Ḥamāda, a family of Mutawālīs dominating Upper Lebanon, and remained in their power until the 12th/18th century. The importance of its port had by then greatly diminished, its place being taken by Djūniya, a rival port from ancient times which had long been in control of the local coastal shipping.

At the present day Djubayl is merely a small village of about 1,500 inhabitants, almost all Maronite, and it is chiefly known for the ruins of the Phoenician town which have been methodically excavated since 1921 by the French mission under the direction of M. Montet and M. Dunand respectively.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Byblos*; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 63-9; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1913-5, 105-13; *Guide Bleu, Syrie-Palestine*, Paris 1932, 38-45; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 32, 464-5; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, cv and 74; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, index, esp. i, 141 and iii, 147; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 77 and 255; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 105; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 328; Yaʿḳūbī-Wiet, 178; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, ed. Schefer, 43; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra*, 2nd part, ms. Leyden 800, f° 98b; Yāḳūt, ii, 32; *Marāṣid*, 1, 240.

(D. Sourdel)

AL-DJUBAYL, a Saʿūdī Arabian port on the Persian Gulf, located at 27° 00′ N., 49° 39′ E.; also known as ʿAynayn. Al-Djubayl al-Baḥrī, a rocky islet several hundred metres offshore, is the most prominent landmark of the site; al-Djabal al-Barrī is a hill about 12 km. to the south of the town. Al-Djubayl is located at the start of the Darb al-Kunhurī, a caravan trail and motor track leading to al-Riyaḍ. Members of the tribe of Āl Bū ʿAynayn assert that the site was settled by their ancestor Khuwaylid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Dārim of Banī Tamīm

and took the name ʿAynayn from its two flowing springs; it is also said to have been once occupied by the tribe of ʿAbd al-Ḳays. In the early Islamic period ʿAynayn was noted for its plentiful date palms and for a poet, Khulayd ʿAynayn, who is chiefly remembered for exchanging lampoons with the famous Umayyad satirist Djarīr b. ʿAṭiyya. The site was later abandoned. The present town was populated about 1330/1911-2 by members of Āl Bū ʿAynayn who emigrated from Ḳaṭar, with the permission of the Turkish authorities, as the result of a local dispute. The settlers were Mālikī Sunnīs engaged in pearl fishing and other seafaring occupations. Al-Djubayl came under Saʿūdī rule during the conquest of al-Ḥasā by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd in 1331/1913. The town was formally acknowledged to be Saʿūdī territory in the treaty of 1334/1915 by which Britain recognized the independence of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. During the consolidation of the Saʿūdī Kingdom, al-Djubayl became a port of entry for goods destined for Central Arabia. Its significance has since diminished as the result of the decline in the Persian Gulf pearling trade and of the development of modern communication routes through the port, rail, and road centre of al-Dammām [*q.v.*]. The population of al-Djubayl was estimated in 1960 at 4,200.

Bibliography: *LA*, xiii, Beirut 1955, 308; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā istaʿdjam*, iii, Cairo 1949, 986; al-Fayrūzābādī, *al-Ḳamūs al-muḥīṭ*, iv, Cairo 1344/1925, 252; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOman, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15. (H. W. ALTER)

AL-**DJUBAYLA**, a small town of 50-60 dwellings located in Nadjd at 24° 54′ N, 46° 28′ E, on the left bank of Wādī Ḥanīfa between al-ʿUyayna and al-Dirʿiyya. Yāḳūt mentions a place called al-Djubayla as the chief town of Banū ʿĀmir of ʿAbd al-Ḳays, but there is no evidence definitely linking this place with the present town. According to Ibn Bulayhid and local tradition, the site of ʿAḳrabāʾ [*q.v.*] is near the present town. Mounds on the right bank of Wādī Ḥanīfa, called locally Ḳubūr al-Ṣaḥāba, are believed to be the graves of Companions fallen in the battle of ʿAḳrabāʾ, and ʿAḳrabāʾ is the name of the garden area of al-Djubayla, a small *rawḍa* about one kilometre east of the town, which is said to be the actual site of the gardens in which the battle took place.

Ibn Bishr relates that in 850/1446 al-Djubayla belonged to Āl Yazīd, whom Mūsā b. Rabīʿa b. Māniʿ al-Muraydī, an ancestor of Āl Saʿūd, attacked and virtually exterminated shortly thereafter. Āl Dughaythir of al-Dirʿiyya claim descent from the survivors of Āl Yazīd, who were a branch of the Banū Ḥanīfa (Ḥanīf b. Ludjaym of Bakr ibn Wāʾil), the supporters of Musaylima al-Kadhdhāb at the battle of ʿAḳrabāʾ and the tribe which gave its name to Wādī Ḥanīfa. The battle site of ʿAḳrabāʾ was in ancient al-Yamāma, which is believed to have extended as far north as the present town of al-Djubayla and its garden of ʿAḳrabāʾ. However, in many cases the identification of ancient places by modern usage remains inconclusive.

Both al-Djubayla and ʿAḳrabāʾ are mentioned several times by Ibn Bishr as the scene of clashes between the growing power of Āl Saʿūd and the influential lords of Banū Khālid from al-Ḥasā (al-Aḥsāʾ) between 1133/1721 and 1172/1758-59.

In 1153/1740 the young reformer, Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, then virtually unknown outside of al-ʿUyayna, destroyed the alleged tomb of Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the eldest brother of the Caliph ʿUmar and one of the Companions who fell at ʿAḳrabāʾ, as a step towards the obliteration of false worship in Nadjd. Today the site of the tomb is forgotten.

Al-Djubayla lies at the juncture of two roads from al-Riyāḍ to al-Ḥidjāz; one road winding across the rolling rocky country between the east bank of Wādī Ḥanīfa and al-Riyāḍ, and a second road which is paved as far as al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] and then follows the bed of Wādī Ḥanīfa to al-Djubayla. These roads give the town access to al-Riyāḍ for the sale of crops raised in the garden of ʿAḳrabāʾ and a small steady income from trans-peninsular motor traffic. In 1961 a new road was completed which provides a paved all-weather route from al-Riyāḍ to the Tuwayḳ escarpment at Shaʿīb Luḥā (sometimes shown on maps as al-Ha) south-south-east of al-Riyāḍ, whence it proceeds north-west, parallel to the escarpment, as far as Marāh where it rejoins Darb al-Ḥidjāz, eliminating completely the difficult stretch of road between al-Djubayla and the pass of al-Ḥaysiyya at the head of Wādī Ḥanīfa.

Bibliography: Ibn Bishr; Ibn Bulayhid; Philby, *Saʾudi Arabia*, London 1955; Yāḳūt. (R. L. HEADLEY)

DJUBBA [see LIBĀS].

AL-**DJUBBĀʾĪ**, ABŪ ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB, one of the most celebrated of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*]. Born at Djubbā in Khūzistān, he attended the school at Baṣra of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf al-Shaḥḥām who at that time occupied the chair of Abu ʾl-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf. He succeeded al-Shaḥḥām, and it can be said that he was able to add a final brilliance to the tradition of the masters, while at times he refreshed it and opened the way to new solutions. He died in 303/915-6.

He thus holds a place in the line of the Baṣra Muʿtazila who, especially over the question of human actions, differ from the Baghdād Muʿtazila. In Baṣra itself, he was particularly at variance with al-Naẓẓām (whom he opposed) and al-Djāḥiẓ, but he also differed from the two lines of thought of al-Aṣamm and ʿAbbād although these were closer to his own. The two last-mentioned both combined the influence of Muʿammar with the tradition of Abu ʾl-Hudhayl; and the two former added to the Baṣra teaching influences deriving from Baghdād (school of al-Murdār).

Al-Djubbāʾī had two pupils who later became celebrated: his son Abū Hāshim (cf. below), and Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] who, after breaking away, was to devote himself to refuting Muʿtazilism and to become the "founder" of the so-called school of the *Ashʿariyya* [*q.v.*]. The traditions of the *ʿilm al-kalām* take pleasure in recounting the dialogue reputed to have brought al-Ashʿarī and his teacher into conflict on the subject of the fate of the "three brothers"—one pious, one impious and one who died *infans*. In this issue was posed the problem of the rational justification of the divine Decree. Al-Djubbāʾī, it is said, was unable to reply, and al-Ashʿarī left him. W. Montgomery Watt has reminded us that the wish to "justify" absolutely the divine Decree in respect of every human destiny seems to derive perhaps from the Baghdād Muʿtazila rather than from the Baṣra school (*Free will and predestination in early Islam*, 137).

However that may be, no complete work of al-Djubbāʾī has survived until the present time. We know that he left a *Kitāb al-uṣūl*, to the refutation of which al-Ashʿarī devoted several treatises (cf. in

the bibliography of McCarthy, *Lumaʿ*, Appendix iii, nos. 16, 61, 65, 78), and various polemical works against Ibn al-Rāwandī and al-Naẓẓām. But one of the best available sources allowing us to evaluate his tendencies is still the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of al-Ashʿarī (see particularly Cairo ed., ii, 181-5, 196, 199-201, 243, etc.).

The teaching given by al-Djubbāʾī followed after the reaction by caliph Mutawakkil which dates from 235/850. Muʿtazilism is no longer the official doctrine. Certain tendencies of al-Djubbāʾī are linked with the best traditions of the school, others already proclaim the solutions of the Ashʿarī *kalām*. On the one hand, he maintains the validity of *ʿaḳl* (reason) as a criterion, and he continues to affirm the identity of the divine attributes and the divine essence; on the other hand, however, he tends to introduce once again the mystery of the divine Will and its action upon the world.—Two examples: (1) those of the Baghdād Muʿtazila, followed with certain modifications by al-Shaḥḥām, who adopted the idea of "acquisition" (*kasb, iktisāb*), applied it only to involuntary human actions, God being, in their view, in no way the "cause" of free human actions; for al-Djubbāʾī, on the contrary, God retains Supreme Power even over the actions which man performs freely. But, unlike the later Ashʿarī solution, he refuses to apply the theory of the *kasb* to free actions; and he calls man the "creator" (*khāliḳ*) of his actions, in the sense that man acts, or his actions proceed from him, with a determination (*ḳadar*) which comes from God.—(2) ʿAbbād objected to any association of God with evil, and for example refused to speak of *sharr* or *ḳabḥ* as sickness or weakness; according to al-Djubbāʾī, they can be called "evils", provided that this term is taken metaphorically. Similarly, he offers personal solutions to the problem of "divine aid" (*tawfīḳ*) and "divine favour" (*luṭf*), which do not destroy the voluntary character of the action. What is more, foreshadowing certain Ashʿarī theories, he breaks away from the Muʿtazila tradition of allotting merit and demerit according to an exact, rational criterion, and maintains that God grants to whom He will His favour or good-will gratuitously (the problem of *tafaḍḍul*).

Al-Djubbāʾī was no doubt one of the Muʿtazila whom al-Ashʿarī took the greatest pains to refute, all the more since he knew him better; but this did not happen without his influence being felt, and we have already noted al-Djubbāʾī putting forward certain Ashʿarite arguments. This complex relationship between al-Ashʿarī and his former teacher helps, we feel, to explain the paradox of Ashʿarism in its infancy: claiming kinship with the "Ancients", particularly Ibn Ḥanbal, but rejected, no less than Muʿtazilism, by contemporary Ḥanbalites.

Abū Hāshim ʿAbd al-Salām, son of al-Djubbāʾī, d. 321/933. He was a contemporary of al-Ashʿarī, and one of the very last Muʿtazila to exercise a direct influence on Sunnī thought. He conducted a school, his disciples being called *bahshamiyya*, or even, by their enemies, *dhammiyya* [*q v.*] (mentioned in al-Baghdādī). The Muʿtazilī influence, though opposed by the official Sunnism, continued to affect the Shīʿa, and Ibn ʿAbbād al-Ṭālaḳānī (326-85/938-95), vizier of the Būyid princes Muʾayyid al-Dawla and Fakhr al-Dawla, recognized Abū Hāshim as his master.

The works of Abū Hāshim have not survived, and we know almost nothing of the author himself except from later polemical works. He was known chiefly for his theories of "modes" (*aḥwāl*), a sort of conceptualism which was to exert great influence on the *falsafa* on the one hand, and on the later *kalām* on the other. It was on the question of the relationship between the divine attributes and the divine essence that the problem was raised. Anxiety to safeguard the absolute Unity of God led the Muʿtazila, and even al-Djubbāʾī, to "extenuate" (*taʿṭīl*) the reality of the attributes to the point of turning them into simple denominations. Abū Hāshim made use of the grammatical notion of *ḥāl*, "state" of the verb in relation to the agent, to define the degree of reality of mental concepts, and thence the degree of reality of the divine attributes. According to an observation of L. Massignon (*Passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, 556), he compares "les modes [*aḥwāl*] d'inhérence des attributs divins en Dieu avec les modalités [*id.*] d'insertion des concepts en notre esprit". Now, as Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī was to say (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 38), the *ḥāl* is the "state" established in our mind by the meaning according to which the idea is received, and it is intermediate "between existence and non-existence".

From the human concept to the divine attribute there is thus, for Abū Hāshim, a constant interplay between the logical (and noetic) and the metaphysical. Just as the *kasb* of al-Shaḥḥām (rejected by al-Djubbāʾī) was later taken up and transformed by the Ashʿarīs, so the *ḥāl* of Abū Hāshim was later adopted in terms of their own perspectives by al-Ashʿarī, no doubt by Bāḳillānī, and certainly by Djuwaynī, master of al-Ghazzālī in *kalām*. What is more, it is not inopportune to turn to Abū Hāshim's theses to explain the semi-conceptualism of Ibn Sīnā and his commentator the Shīʿī Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī.—Al-Djubbāʾī and his son thus exerted on Muslim thought an influence which far surpassed the direct rôle of Baṣra Muʿtazilism, considered as an independent school.

Bibliography: Houtsma, *Zum Kitāb al-Fihrist*, in *WZKM*, iv, 224; Ibn Khallikān, nr 393, 618; Arnold, *al-Muʿtazilah*, 45 ff.; Shahrastānī, *Milal* (ed. Cureton), 54 ff.; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 167; Steiner, *Die Muʿtaziliten*, 82 ff.; Horten, *Die Modustheorie des Abū Hāshim*, in *ZDMG*, lxiii, 308 ff.; idem, *Die philosophische Systeme der spekulativ. Theologen im Islām*, 352 ff., 403 ff. (and ref.); Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, ed. and English tr. R. J. McCarthy, Beirut 1953, 29-30/41-2 and ref. in art.; idem, *Maḳālat al-Islāmiyyīn*, ref. in art.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., 38; Ibrāhīm Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya . . . ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1352/1934, 64; L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1922, s.vv. *Djubbāʾī* and *Abū Hāshim*; L. Gardet and M. M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, index; W. Montgomery Watt, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, 83-7, 136-7.

(L. Gardet)

DJUBŪR, a large and predominantly sedentary Sunnī tribe of central and northern ʿIrāḳ. A considerable community so named occupies land and villages in the Khāliṣ *ḳaḍā* of the Diyālā *liwāʾ*, and another on canals drawing from the Ḥilla branch (right bank) of the Euphrates, below Ḥilla. Minor sections calling themselves Djubūr are also found elsewhere in central ʿIrāḳ. But the largest body lives in riverain villages on the Lesser Zāb between Altun Köprü and the Tigris, and on the latter river between points south of Mosul and north of Takrīt. The former of these branches have habitually quarrelled with the ʿUbayd of the Ḥawīdja west of Kirkūk

and the Dizā'ī in the plain between the two Zābs; the latter have a long history of bad relations with the Shammar (Djarbā) of the Djazīra. All alike were in frequent collision with the Turkish Government in the 13th/19th and earlier centuries. As with most settled ʿIrāḳ tribes, however, disorder and disobedience are now less in evidence than ever before.

The Djubūr have limited sheep-grazing sections, who take their flocks into the steppe each winter; but the great majority are cultivators on the flow canals of the Khāliṣ or the Ḥilla river, or on the water-lift lands of the Zāb and Tigris where mechanical pump-irrigation and some flow-irrigation have greatly developed. Many from the latter districts work for the oil company whose pipelines from Kirkūk oilfields cross or skirt their territory.

The various Djubūr sections have little cohesion, and have produced no unifying leader for generations. They consist of many unconnected elements with little bond save their name. The usual legend of noble origins in Nadjd, and entry into ʿIrāḳ via the Wādī Ḥawrān as conquering immigrants, does not contain any assessable historical basis.

(S. H. Longrigg)

DJUČI or rather Djoči (ca. 580-624/1184-1227), the eldest son of Čingiz-Khān [*q.v.*] and the ancestor of the Khāns of the Golden Horde, Ḳrīm, Tiumen, Bukhārā and Khīwa. A depalatalized, perhaps Turkish form of his name, Toshī or Doshī, is represented by the Tūshī of Djuwaynī and Djūzdjānī, the Tosucchan (*i.e.*, Toshī Khān) of Carpini and the Dūshī of Nasawī. The historical data on this progenitor of so many dynasties are sparse and contradictory. His very paternity is uncertain. It is implied in the *Secret history of the Mongols* that his real father was Čilger Bökö of the Merkit, by whose tribe his mother Börte Fudjin was carried off into captivity shortly after her marriage to Čingiz-Khān. On the other hand Rashīd al-Dīn, who reproduces the *Altan Debter*, the official chronicle of the imperial family, specifically states that Börte was already pregnant at the time of her capture. Contrary to the *Secret history* she was not, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, rescued by a joint expedition of Čingiz-Khān, Djamuḳa and Ong-Khān but was handed over by the Merkit to the last named, with whose tribe, the Kereyt, they were then at peace. Delivered up by Ong-Khān to an emissary of Čingiz-Khān Börte gave birth to Djoči in the course of the homeward journey; and the circumstances of his birth are in some way reflected in his name, apparently the Mongol word *djoči* "guest". Djoči is first mentioned in the *Secret history*, under the year 1207, as being sent on a campaign against the Oyrat and other forest peoples along the western shores of Lake Bayḳal: after conquering these peoples he advanced in a westerly direction to receive the submission of the Ḳïrghïz tribes in the region of the Upper Yenisey. Rashīd al-Dīn, whilst recording the submission of the Ḳïrghïz in 1207, makes no mention of Djoči in this connection, though he refers to him as having suppressed a revolt of that people in the winter of 1218-19. Djoči took part in his father's campaigns against the Chin rulers of Northern China, being active with his brothers Čaghatay and Ögedey in Shan-hsi (1211) and Chih-li, Ho-nan and Shan-hsi (1213). He likewise took part, in 1216 or 1217, in a campaign against the remnants of the Merkit which resulted in their defeat and annihilation in what is today the Kustanai region of Northern Kazakhstān. A clash with Sultan Muḥammad Khʷārizm-Shāh [*q.v.*] as the Mongols were returning eastwards from this campaign formed the prelude to the hostilities which broke out in 1219. Upon the arrival of Čingiz-Khān's forces before Otrar, probably in September of that year, Djoči was dispatched upon an expedition down the Sïr-Daryā. The details of this expedition, which is passed over in silence by the contemporary Muslim sources, are given by Djuwaynī, who refers to Djoči as Ulush-Idi, a title which Rashīd al-Dīn, in reproducing Djuwaynī's account, takes to be the name of a general in joint command. Advancing down the Sïr-Daryā Djoči captured Sughnak, Özkend, Barčin and Ashnās. It had been his intention not to attack Djand but to rest his troops in the Ḳara-Ḳum steppe to the north-east of the Aral Sea in what is now Central Kazakhstan. However a report on the conditions prevailing in Djand caused him to change the direction of his march and lay siege to the town, which surrendered in April or May, 1220. Djoči now proceeded to the Ḳara-Ḳum steppe and seems to have remained in this region or in the Djand area until the end of the year, when he was ordered by Čingiz-Khān to join Čaghatay and Ögedey in the siege of Gurgāndj [*q.v.*]. The siege operations appear to have been hampered by a quarrel between Djoči and Čaghatay: upon the fall of the town in Ṣafar 618/March-April 1220 it became part of Djoči's *yurt* or appanage, which now extended from the region of Ḳayalïgh [*q.v.*] to the eastern banks of the Volga, comprising within its limits almost the whole of the present-day Kazakhstan. From Gurgāndj Djoči withdrew northwards into this enormous territory, there to remain till the spring of .../1223, when he joined his father and brothers in the Ḳulan-Bashï steppe between the present-day Čimkent and Djambul in Southern Kazakhstān, driving before him, for the purposes of a *battue*, great herds of wild asses: he brought also with him, as a present for Čingiz-Khān, 20,000 grey horses. After the *battue* the princes passed the remainder of the summer in Ḳulan-Bashï and Djoči then returned to his own territories, where he remained for the rest of his life, apparently on bad terms with his father, whom he predeceased by several months. Upon his death his *yurt* was divided between his eldest son Orda and his second son Batu [*q.v.*], the founders respectively of the White Horde and the Ḳipčak Khānate or Golden Horde.

Bibliography: As in the article Čingiz-khān with the following additions: Barthold, *Turkestan*; Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1950; J. A. Boyle, *On the titles given in Juvainī to certain Mongolian princes*, in *HJAS*, xix (1956).

(J. A. Boyle)

DJUDĀLA [see gudāla].

DJUDDA, pronounced Djidda locally, a Saudi Arabian port on the Red Sea at 21° 29′ N., 39° 11′ E. Its climate is notoriously poor. The town, flanked by a lagoon on the north-west and salt flats on the south-east, faces a bay on the west which is so encumbered by reefs that it can only be entered through narrow channels. By paved road, Djudda is 72 km. from Mecca and 419 km. from Medina.

Most Arab geographers and scholars maintain that Djudda, signifying a road (Lane; al-Bakrī, ii, 371) is the correct spelling of the name of the town, rather than Djidda or Djadda (grandmother) as claimed by Gautier, Philby (*Heart*, i, 221) and others (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 41; Hitti; Wahba) on account of the existence (until 1928), of the "tomb of Eve" not far from the city (for description and photographs, see E. F. Gautier, *Mœurs et coutumes des Musulmans*, Paris 1931, 64-6). The town dates

from pre-Islamic times. Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī in *al-Aṣnām* claims that ʿAmr b. Luhayy of the Khuzāʿa introduced idols from Djudda into Mecca several centuries before Islam (cf. al-Anṣārī, in bibliography). According to Yāḳūt, Djudda b. Ḥazm b. Rabbān b. Ḥulwān of the Ḳuḍāʿa took his name from the town which was part of the territory of the Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*]. The foundations of Djudda's importance were laid in 26/646 by the Caliph ʿUthmān, who chose it as the port of Mecca in place of the older port of al-Shuʿayba a little to the south (al-Batanūnī, 6; Nallino, 155). As the focus of the Muslim world, Mecca became a great importing centre, its supplies coming from Egypt and India via Djudda.

By the 4th/10th century Djudda was a prosperous commercial town and its customs were a considerable source of revenue to the rulers of al-Ḥidjāz (Muḳaddasī, 79, 104). In addition, taxes were levied on pilgrims at Djudda, for it was here that those who came by sea landed on Arabian soil. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (ed. Schefer, 65; 181-3 of the translation) describes the city in the 5th/11th century as an unwalled town, with a male population estimated at 5,000, governed by a slave of the *sharīf* of Mecca, whose chief duty was the collection of the revenues. A century later Ibn Djubayr (ed. De Goeje, 75 ff.) gives a picture of the town with its reed huts, stone *khāns*, and mosques, and he praises Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn for having abolished the taxes levied by the *sharīfs*.

With the decline of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, much of the trade formerly going to al-Baṣra was diverted to Djudda, where ships from Egypt, carrying gold, metals, and woollens from Europe, met those from India carrying spices, dyes, rice, sugar, tea, grain, and precious stones. Djudda exacted about ten per cent *ad valorem* on these goods. After 828/1425 the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt, whose cupidity had been aroused by Djudda's prosperity, took the collection of customs at Djudda into their own hands (although they shared it with the *sharīfs* from time to time), thus making Djudda politically as well as economically dependent on Egypt (Ibn Taghrībirdī, iv, 21, 41; v, 79).

The coming of the Portuguese to eastern waters, and their attacks on Muslim shipping from 1502 onward, brought a new threat to Djudda, which the Mamlūks and after them the Ottomans made determined efforts to meet. Ḥusayn al-Kurdī, the Governor of Djudda, appointed by the Mamlūk Sultan Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī, built a formidable wall around the town in 917/1511 (al-Batanūnī erroneously states that it was in 915/1509) and made Djudda a base for attacks against the Portuguese fleet. Lopo Soares de Albergaria sailed to the Djudda harbour in 923/1517 in pursuit of the Mamlūk fleet commanded by Salmān Reʾīs but declined to attack the city because of its powerful fortifications (Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, 1894, 335). In 945/1538 the Ottoman naval expedition, on its way to India, called there, and collected masts and guns (Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*², ii, 156-8; Uzunçarşılı, *Osm. Tar.*, ii, 379 ff., 538; Fevzi Kurtoğlu in *Belleten*, iv, (1940), 53-87; Stribling, 89-90). In 948/1541 the Portuguese made their last unsuccessful attempt to take the city, which was defended by the Sharīf Abū Numayy. The Sultan Süleymān repaid him for his successful resistance by granting him half of the fees collected at Djudda (Daḥlān, 53). The trade of the Red Sea did not, as was at one time thought, end with the Portuguese circumnavigation of Africa, but continued under Ottoman protection, right through the 10th/16th century. Ottoman sources of this period refer to the regular appearance at Djudda of ships from India, and a Venetian consul in Cairo, in May 1565, speaks of the arrival of 20,000 quintals of pepper at Djudda. It was not until the late 16th and early 17th centuries that the transit trade through the Red Sea began to come to an end (F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris 1949, 423-37; Halil İnalcık, in *Belleten*, xv, (1951), 662 ff.).

Little of importance occurred in the history of Djudda during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. Al-Ḥidjāz, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, was ruled locally by the Ḥasanid family of the *sharīfs*, who intrigued to their own advantage against the declining power of the Turks (Daḥlān, al-Djabartī). The town of Djudda was a sandjaḳ, for a while the centre of the *eyālet* of Ḥabesh, later part of the *wilāyet* of Ḥidjāz. According to Ottoman sources, the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha (held office 1087/1676-1094/1683) endowed Djudda with a mosque, khān, ḥammām, and water supply.

During the 13th/19th century, Djudda passed through a number of vicissitudes. In 1217/1803 the Wahhābīs [*q.v.*] besieged the *sharīf* Ghālib in Djudda but were unable to take the town, which began to boast of itself as a Gibraltar (Ibn Bishr, i, 122). Ghālib later surrendered and Djudda was subject to the rule of the Wahhābīs until 1226/1811, when Muḥammad ʿAlī restored nominal Ottoman sovereignty. In 1229/1814 Burkhardt described Djudda as a town with 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, among whom indigenous elements were scantily represented, while strangers from the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt appeared to be numerous. Both Burton (i, 179) and al-Batanūnī (6) mention the coral and mother-of-pearl taken from the Red Sea at Djudda and made into prayer beads at Mecca and crucifixes at Jerusalem. In 1256/1840 Egyptian rule was replaced by the direct rule of the Porte, represented by a *wālī* in Djudda.

On 3 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1274/15 June 1858 Djudda was the scene of a massacre, instigated, it is thought, by a former Djudda police chief, and several dissatisfied Djudda merchants, in which about 25 Christians were killed, including the British and French Consuls and a group of wealthy Greek merchants. The British steamship *Cyclops*, anchored in the harbour, bombarded the city for two days and restored order without much damage (Isabel Burton, ii, 513 ff.).

Djudda was the first Ḥidjāzī city to fall into sharīfian hands after Sharīf al-Ḥusayn's proclamation of Arab independence in 1334/1916 (Naṣīf, 50). The Turks surrendered the city on 15 Shaʿbān/17 June after a combined land attack by Sharīf al-Ḥusayn's army and a six-day bombardment by the British navy. The port then became the major supply depot for the sharīfian forces operating behind Turkish lines during the Arab revolt.

Under the short-lived Kingdom of al-Ḥidjāz, Djudda was a focal point in the struggle between the Wahhābīs and the *sharīfs* for control of al-Ḥidjāz. After the Saʿūdī occupation of Mecca in Rabīʿ I 1343/October 1924, Djudda became the capital of the government of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. The city was under siege by the Wahhābī forces, situated in the coastal hills ten miles from the town, for almost an entire year from Djumādā II 1343/January 1925 until its submission in Djumādā II 1344/December 1925. Defence of the city was hindered by the inadequacy of the sharīfian army, estimated by

Philby (*Forty Years*, 114) at 1,000 regulars augmented by Bedouin recruits, and by internal divisions among the citizens, a party of whom, led by the Ḳā'immaḳām, favoured negotiation with the Sa'ūdīs and the deposition of 'Alī (Naṣīf, 156 ff. Details of the town's history during this year are contained in the newspaper *Barīd al-Ḥidjāz*, ed. Muḥammad Naṣīf). In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1345/May 1927 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd and Gilbert Clayton met in Djudda and concluded the Treaty of Djudda in which Britain recognized the "complete and absolute" independence of Āl Sa'ūd's territories.

Nallino, describing the town in 1938, mentions the site of the tomb of Eve, quietly demolished by the Sa'ūdis in 1928, the so-called European cemetery, which is thought to date from 1235/1820 and which contains the remains of some Jews and Asiatics, and the villages beyond the wall. These included al-Hindawiyya to the south, al-Nuzla to the south-west, al-Baghdādiyya and al-Ruways to the north, and Nākatū, a reed hut settlement inhabited by Takārīr (sing. Takrūrī) [*q.v.*], all of which have become part of the enlarged city.

The city now has a population variously estimated at 106,000 to 160,000; it is governed by a Ḳā'immaḳām (the only local governor in Saudi Arabia who still retains the Turkish title), who is under the administrative authority of the Governor of Mecca. The town has an elected Municipal Council. Since World War II, Djudda has experienced a commercial boom. Its wall was demolished in 1946-7, and the town expanded in three directions: east along the road to Mecca, north along the road to Medina, and south along the pier road. Many of the traditional coral block houses with their latticed balconies have been razed in the old section of the town to make room for modern office buildings. Djudda is known for the cosmopolitan character of its populace: Bukhārīs, Yamanīs, Ḥaḍramīs, and some tribal communities, notably Ḥarb, still live in separate quarters of the town.

Djudda has numerous light industries including a cement plant and several marble cutting works. A new water system completed in 1948 supplies the town with over 2,500,000 gallons of water a day, most of which is piped in from wells in Wādī Fāṭima. A modern port at the southern end of the city, equipped with a two-berth pier 1,300 feet long, handles over 800,000 tons of cargo a year. Djudda is the official air and sea port of entry for pilgrims on their way to Mecca, over 147,000 of whom landed in Djudda during 1381/1961. The city has a quarantine station, with a hospital and an observation clinic, and two Pilgrim Towns, one attached to the pier and the other attached to the airport, all built since 1950, to handle the pilgrims.

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(R. Hartmann-[Phebe Ann Marr])

DJUDHĀM, an Arab tribe which in Umayyad times claimed descent from Kahlān b. Saba' of Yemen and relationship with Lakhm and 'Āmila; this certainly corresponded with the prevailing political alliances. However, the North Arab tribes claimed that Djudhām, Ḳuḍā'a and Lakhm were originally of Nizār but had later assumed Yemenī descent. Djudhām were among the nomads who had settled in pre-Islamic times on the borders of Byzantine Syria and Palestine; they held places like Madyan, 'Ammān, Ma'ān and Adhruḥ, and ranged as far south as Tabūk and the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā. The Judaized tribe of al-Naḍīr in Medina allegedly arose from them. From their Byzantine contacts, part of Djudhām were superficially Christian, but Ibn al-Kalbī includes them among the "people of Syria" who worshipped the idol al-Uḳayṣir.

When Muḥammad was expanding northwards, Djudhām barred his way at Mu'ta. One clan, that of al-Ḍubayb, had become Muslim, but punitive expeditions under Zayd b. Ḥāritha and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ were necessary. Djudhām were among the Arab allies (*Musta'riba*) of the Emperor Heraclius, and fought for him at the Yarmūk in 15/636; later, they became Muslims and took part in the conquest of Syria. Under the Umayyads, they formed the greater part of the Djund of Filasṭīn, and together with Kalb, were the mainstay of the Yemenī party in the tribal warfare in Syria. On the death in 64/684 of Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd, their chief Rawḥ b. Zinbā' proposed the succession of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam as Caliph, and their connexions with the Marwānids remained close until the fall of that dynasty.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

DJŪDĪ, Djabal Djūdī or Djūdī Dagh, a lofty mountain mass in the district of Bohtān, about 25 miles N.E. of Djazīrat Ibn 'Umar, in 37° 30′ N. Djūdī owes its fame to the Mesopotamian tradition, which identifies it, and not Mount Ararat, with the mountain on which Noah's ark rested. It is practically certain from a large number of Armenian and other writers that, down to the 10th century, Mt. Ararat was in

no way connected with the Flood. Ancient Armenian tradition certainly knows nothing of a mountain on which the ark rested; and when one is mentioned in later Armenian literature, this is clearly due to the gradually increasing influence of the Bible, which makes the ark rest on the mountains (or a mountain) of Ararat. The highest and best known mountain there is Masik (Masis), therefore Noah must have been stranded on it; the next stage in the growth of the Armenian tradition is due to Europeans, who transferred Ararat (Armen. Ayrarat), the name of a district, to Masik, through an incorrect interpretation of Genesis, viii, 4.

The tradition that Masik was the mountain on which the ark rested only begins to find a place in Armenian literature in the 11th and 12th centuries. Older exegesis identified the mountain now called Djabal Djūdī, or according to Christian authorities, the mountains of Gordyene (Syr. *Ḳardū*, Armen. *Kordukh*) as the apobaterion of Noah. This localization of the ark's resting-place, which is found even in the Targums, is certainly based on Babylonian tradition, and arose out of the Babylonian Berossus. Besides, the mountain Niṣir which appears in the Flood-legend in the cuneiform inscriptions might well be located in Gordyene (in the widest application of the name). The ancient Jewish-Babylonian tradition was adopted by the Christians and the Arabs learned it from them, when their conquests carried them into Bohtān in 20/640. "They simply transferred the name Djūdī, which the Ḳur'ān (Sūra XI, 46) mentions as the landing-place of Noah, to Mount Ḳardū which had, from the remotest times, been regarded as the apobaterion". Thus writes Nöldeke in the *Festschr. für Kiepert* (1898), 77, and he is clearly right. But the Ḳur'ān meant Djūdī in Arabia (Ḥamāsa, 564 = Yāḳūt, ii, 270, 11 = *Mushtarik*, 111), which was probably considered the highest mountain of all. It is also possible that the Ḳur'ān in its localization of the mount on which the ark rested had taken over some older tradition current in Arabia. For this view we might quote a remark of the apologist Theophylus (*ad Autolycum*, lib. iii, c. 19) who mentions that, even in his time, the remains of the ark were to be seen on the mountains of Arabia. The transference of the name Djūdī from Arabia to Mesopotamia by the Arabs must have taken place fairly early, as has been mentioned, probably as early as the time of the Arab invasion; even in the older poets, for example, Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt (ed. Rhodokanakis, cf. Nöldeke, *WZKM*, xvii, 91) and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (ed. Schulthess, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, viii, no. 3, 5) Djabal Djūdī is no longer the Arabian, but the Mesopotamian mountain. The transference of the name Djūdī to the Ḳardū chain and the rapid acceptance of the new name may probably have been favoured by the circumstance that the land south of Bohtān, towards Assyria, had often in the Assyrian period formed part of the district of Gutium, the land of the Gutī (Ḳutū) nomads, and this, the name of a people and district, had not quite disappeared in the early years of Islam. On the geographical term Gutium, which is known to have existed even in the early Babylonian period, see Scheil, *Compt.-rendus de l'Académie des Inscript. et Bell. Lettres*, 1911, 378 ff., 606 ff.

If we assume, as is obvious, that the term Ararat (Assyr. Urarṭu) at one time also included an area to the south of Lake Van (cf. the mountain name Ararṭi in the Gordyene cuneiform inscription; see also Šanda, in the bibliography) then Masik (Great Ararat) and Djebel Djūdī, both traditional resting-places of the Ark, might each be called Mount Ararat in conformity to the Biblical account.

Like the whole country round Ararat, the neighbourhood of Djabal Djūdī is to this day full of memorials and legends which refer to the Flood and the life of Noah after leaving the ark. Thus for example at the foot of the mountain is the village of Ḳaryat Thamānīn = "the village of the 80 (Syr. *Thᵉmānīn*; Armen. *Tʿmān* = 8; now: Bētmānīn)" where legend says the people saved in the ark first settled; cf. Hübschmann, xvi, 333-4. The Arab geographers also mention a monastery on Djūdī in their time, Dayr al-Djūdī; on this cf. Shābushtī, *Kitāb al-Diyārāt* (J. Heer, *Quellen*, 1898, 96; Sachau, *Vom Klosterbuch*, Berlin 1919, 20, no. 49) = Yāḳūt, ii, 653. The ruined sanctuary (known today as *Safīnat Nabī Nūḥ*) is venerated by Muslims, Jews and Christians (G. L. Bell, *Amurath*², 293).

We might further mention that Layard and subsequently (1904) L. W. King discovered rock-sculptures and inscriptions of Sennacherib in the Djabal Djūdī; King therefore proposes to identify this mountain with the Nipur of the Sanherib texts. Cf. Layard, *Niniveh u. Babylon*, 621; King in the *Journ. of Hellenic Stud.*, 1911, xxx, 328².

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(M. STRECK*)

DJŪDĪ AL-MAWRŪRĪ, eminent Andalusian grammarian. His complete name is Djūdī b. ʿUthmān al-ʿAbsī al-Mawrūrī (of Morón). Born in Toledo, he later went to Granada where he specialized in grammatical studies. He made a long voyage to the East where he studied with leading representatives of the school of Kūfa, such as al-Ru'āsī, al-Farrā' and al-Kisā'ī. Returning to Spain he brought with him the book of al-Kisā'ī and set up to teach it. This is considered a marked event in the history of grammatical studies in Spain, because all such studies in that part of the Muslim world had hitherto been based on the principles of the school of Baṣra, particularly the book of Sībawayh. In spite of the

predominance of the Baṣrans, the Kūfans found their way and gained disciples. The two schools were later on reconciled in Spain, thanks to the work of the most active of the grammarians of Muslim Spain, al-Rabāḥī [*q.v.*]. Djūdī was successful in his work. His *ḥalaḳa* in the Mosque of Cordova was famous. Umayyad amīrs chose him to teach their sons. Ibn al-Abbār attributes to him a book called *Munbih al-ḥidjāra*, a title which suggests an agreeable sense of humour. He died in 198/813.

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AL-**DJUFRA**, a depression in the Libyan desert situated on the 29th parallel, between the district of Sirte and the Fezzān. The word denotes the three oases of Waddān, Hōn and Sokna, and also the depression (170-280 m.) in which they are situated between the Dj. Waddān and the gloomy volcanic massif of the Dj. al-Sōdā (803 m.). The historical significance of Djufra is explained by the abundance of the underground water-supply throughout the depression, and also by its position at the meeting-point of three traditional routes which were once much frequented and which lead respectively from Tripoli via Bū-Nedjem, from the Sudan via the Fezzān, and from Egypt via Djalo and Awdjīla.

When the Arab conqueror ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ imposed his authority in 47/667 upon the local prince, the latter was called the Waddān, after the name of his principal oasis. It was inhabited by Mazāta Berbers. It was for a time Ibāḍite and belonged to the district of Surt. In the 5th/11th century the settlement at Waddān consisted of two hostile quarters inhabited, according to al-Bakrī (29-30), by Sehmids and natives of the Ḥaḍramawt; but there was only one large mosque, and there a number of scholars. Most authors speak highly of the quality of the local dates. This remote oasis served as a hiding-place for the Armenian adventurer Karakouch who was traced there, captured and put to death by the Almoravid Ibn Ghāniya (1195). We know almost nothing about the region during the centuries that followed, either in respect of its trade, or at what period Sokna took the place of Waddān as leading town of the district, or when the district took the name of Djufra. It was comparatively independent, being partly isolated by the powerful and dreaded tribe the Ūlād-Slīmān (of the Debbāb), nomads who were partly exterminated by the Turks after the revolt of their chieftain ʿAbd al-Djalil in 1842; at that the Djufra was a *ḳaḍā'* dependent upon the *sandjaḳ* of the Fezzān. Of the 19th century European travellers, only Rohlfs has left us detailed information (chapters VI and VII). The district was occupied by the Italians in February 1928 and abandoned by them in 1943.

The population consists of about 5,000 inhabitants, most of them settled. A copious supply of water not far below the surface enables date-palms to bear crops, provided that they are cross-fertilized; there are known to be about 90,000 date-palms of which 15 to 20,000 are infertile. The best crops of dates are produced in gardens irrigated from wells worked by animals; the cultivation of other crops is of secondary importance, and this is true also of the breeding of camels and sheep which for grazing go as far as the ravines of the Dj. al-Sūda.

Waddān, the most easterly and no doubt the oldest of the settlements, still stands on its mound, encircling the ruins of its old castle; but the greater part of the population lives in an ancient town which lies to the north. In 1936 there were 1,700 inhabitants; half of them claim to be *shurfa*, and a quarter of the rest are semi-nomadic. To the west, the houses of Sokna huddle round the old castle, within crumbling ramparts pierced by eight gates: the Turks made this the leading town of the district, and their garrison occupied a small fort to the north. Half of the 1,200 inhabitants still speak Berber and live in a separate quarter, and from two to three hundred are semi-nomadic Riyāḥ. Hōn, in the centre, is a settlement of recent date, 4 km. to the north of a ruined village. The Italians made it the leading town. The 1,800 inhabitants, several groups of whom are said to be Berber, live in a compact and crowded rectangular area of houses; the market-place and the Italian buildings lie to the south.

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DJUGHRĀFIYĀ, Geography.

(I) The term *djughrāfiyā* and the Arabs' conception of geography

The term *djughrāfiyā* (or *djighrāfiyā*, *djāōghrāfiyā*, etc.), the title of the works of Marinos of Tyre (c. 70-130) and Claudius Ptolemy (c.A.D. 90-168) was translated into Arabic as *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* which was used by some Arab geographers as the title of their works. Al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) explained the term as *ḳaṭʿ al-arḍ*, 'survey of the Earth'. However, it was used for the first time in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* in the sense of 'map of the world and the climes'. The Arabs did not conceive of geography as a well-defined and delimited science with a specific connotation and subject-matter in the modern sense. The Arabic geographical literature was distributed over a number of disciplines, and separate monographs on various aspects of geography were produced under such headings as *Kitāb al-Buldān*, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, *ʿIlm al-ṭuruḳ*, etc. Al-Bīrūnī considered *al-Masālik* as the science which dealt with fixing the geographical position of places. Al-Muḳaddasī came nearest to dealing with most aspects of geography in his work *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aḳālīm*. The present use of the term *djughrāfiya* for geography in Arabic is a comparatively modern practice.

(II) Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Periods

In pre-Islamic times the Arabs' knowledge of geography was confined to certain traditional and ancient geographical notions or to place-names of Arabia and the adjacent lands. The three main sources where these are preserved are: the Ḳur'ān,

the Prophetic Tradition (*ḥadīth*) and ancient Arabic poetry. Many of these notions must have originated from Babylonia in ancient times or were based on Jewish and Christian traditions and indigenous Arab sources.

The geographical concepts or information contained in ancient Arabic poetry reflect the level of understanding of the pre-Islamic Arabs of geographical phenomena and the limits of their knowledge. The Ḳur'ān preserves traces of some geographical and cosmographical ideas which resemble ancient Babylonian, Iranian and Greek concepts and the Jewish and Christian Biblical traditions. Verses like 'the heavens and the earth were joined together before we clove them asunder' (XXI, 30); 'God is He Who created seven Firmaments and of the earth a similar number' (LXV, 12); 'God is He who raised the heavens without any pillars' (XIII, 2); 'And we have made the heavens as a canopy well guarded' (XXI, 32); 'He withholds the sky from falling on the earth except by His leave' (XXII, 65); and verses that describe the earth as being spread out and the mountains set thereon firm so that it may not shake, all form a picture which resembles the ancient Babylonian concept of the universe in which the Earth was a disc-shaped body surrounded by water and then by another belt of mountains upon which the Firmament rested. There was water under the Earth as well as above it. Again, concepts like that of 'the Sun setting in a spring of murky water' (XVIII, 86) referring to the Atlantic, and of the earth's being flat must have had their origin in Greek geography. The concept of the two seas, one of sweet water and the other saline (XXV, 53), referring to the Mediterranean and the Arabian Sea, and that of *al-barzakh*, 'the barrier' between them (a by-form of *farsakh* 'parasang', from Pahlavi *frasang*) were most probably of Iranian origin. Besides, certain terms in the Ḳur'ān, *e.g.*, *burūdj* (= Gr. Πύργος, Latin *burgus*), *baladun* or *baladatun* (a Semitic borrowing from the Latin *palatium*: Gr. Παλάτιον), *ḳarya* (> Syriac *ḳritha'*, a town or village), indicate the non-Arab origin of the concepts with which these terms are associated in the Ḳur'ān.

There are some traditions attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/660), Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 66-9/686-8), ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and others, which deal with cosmogony, geography and other related questions, but it seems that these traditions which reflect the ancient geographical notions of the Arabs were concocted in a later period to counteract the scientific geographical knowledge that was becoming popular among the Arabs of the period, although they were presented as authentic knowledge by some geographers in their works. Though scientific knowledge advanced, some of the traditions exercised deep influence on Arab geographical thought and cartography, *e.g.*, the tradition according to which the shape of the land-mass was compared to a big bird whose head was China, right wing India, left wing al-Khazar, chest Mecca, Ḥidjāz, Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Egypt and tail North Africa (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 3-4) became the basis of the geographical writings of the Balkhī School. It is not unlikely that this concept had its origin in some ancient Iranian maps observed by the Arabs.

The political expansion of the Arabs, after the rise of Islam, into Africa and Asia, afforded them opportunities to collect information and to observe and record their experiences of the various countries that had come under their sway or were adjacent to the Arab Empire. Whether such information was gathered for military expeditions or for other purposes, it is very likely that it was also utilized in the topographical works that were produced during the early ʿAbbāsid period.

(III) The Transmission of Indian, Iranian and Greek Geographical Knowledge to the Arabs

It was not until the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid rule and the establishment of Baghdād as the capital of the empire that the Arabs began acquainting themselves with scientific geography in the true sense. The conquest of Īrān, Egypt and Sind gave the Arabs the opportunity to gain first hand knowledge of the scientific and cultural achievements of the peoples of these ancient cradles of civilization, as well as giving them ownership of, or easy access to their centres of learning, laboratories and observatories. But the process of acquiring and assimilating foreign knowledge did not begin until the time of the Caliph Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr (135-58/753-75), the founder of Baghdād. He took a keen interest in the translation of scientific works into Arabic, which activity lasted for nearly two hundred years in the Islamic world. The Barmakid [*q.v.*] *wazīrs* also played an important role in the promotion of scientific activity at the court. Quite often the translators were themselves eminent scientists whose efforts enriched the Arabic language with Indian, Iranian and Greek geographical, astronomical and philosophical knowledge.

Indian Influences. Indian geographical and astronomical knowledge passed on to the Arabs through the first translation into Arabic of the Sanskrit treatise *Sūrya-siddhānta* (not *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* as believed by some scholars) during the reign of al-Manṣūr. The work showed some earlier Greek influences (see A. B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit literature*, 517-21), but once translated into Arabic it became the main source of the Arabs' knowledge of Indian astronomy and geography, and formed the basis of many works that were produced during this period, *e.g.*, *Kitāb al-Zīdj* by Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb al-Fazārī (wrote after 170/786), *al-Sind Hind al-saghīr* by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khʷārizmī (d. after 232/847), *al-Sind Hind* by Ḥabash b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Marwazī al-Baghdādī (second half of the 3rd/9th century) and others.

Among other Sanskrit works translated into Arabic during this period were: *Āryabhaṭīya* (Ar.: *Ardjabhad*) by Āryabhaṭa of Kusumapura (b.A.D. 476) who wrote in A.D. 499; then, *Khanḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta son of Djishnu of Bhillamāla (near Multān). He was born in A.D. 598 and wrote this work in A.D. 665. It was a practical treatise giving material in a convenient form for astronomical calculations, but this was based on a lost work of Āryabhaṭa, who again agreed with the *Sūrya-siddhānta*. The Sanskrit literature translated into Arabic belonged mainly to the Gupta period.

The influence of Indian astronomy on Arab thought was much deeper than that of Indian geography, and although Greek and Iranian ideas had a deeper and more lasting effect, Indian geographical concepts and methods were well known. Indians were compared to the Greeks in their talent and achievements in the field of geography, but the Greeks were considered more accomplished in this field (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳānūn*, 536).

Among the various geographical concepts with which the Arab scientists became acquainted were: the view of Āryabhaṭa that the daily rotation of the

heavens is only apparent, being caused by the rotation of the earth on its own axis; that the proportion of water and land on the surface of the Earth was half and half; that the land-mass, which was compared to a tortoise, was surrounded by water on all sides, and was shaped like a dome whose highest point had Mount Meru (an imaginary mountain) on it directly under the North Pole; the northern hemisphere was the inhabited part of the Earth and its four limits were Djamakūt in the East, Rūm in the West, Lankā (Ceylon) which is the Cupola and Sīdpūr, and the division of the inhabited part of the Earth into nine parts. The Indians calculated their longitudes from Ceylon and believed that this prime meridian passed through Udjdjayn [*q.v.*] (Ujjain). The Arabs took over the idea of Ceylon's being the Cupola of the Earth, but later believed that Udjdjayn was the Cupola, mistakenly thinking that the Indians calculated longitudes from that point.

Iranian Influences. There is sufficient evidence in Arabic geographical literature to point to Iranian influences on Arab geography and cartography, but the actual process of the transmission of Īrān's knowledge to the Arabs has not been worked out in detail. J. H. Kramers correctly points out that during the 9th century Greek influence was supreme in Arab geography, but from the end of the 9th century the influence was more from the east than from the west, and it was from Īrān that these influences mainly came, for most of the authors came from the Iranian provinces (*Analecta Orientalia*, i, 147-8). Djundaysābūr was still a great centre of learning and research and there is little doubt that the Arabs were acquainted with some of the Pahlavi works on astronomy, geography, history and other subjects which were extant in some parts of Īrān during this period. Some of these works were translated into Arabic and formed the basis of the Arabic works on the subject. Al-Masʿūdī ascribes to Ḥabash b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Marwazī al-Baghdādī an astronomical treatise *Zīdj al-Shāh* which was based on the Persian style. He also recorded a Persian work entitled *Kāh-nāma* which dealt with the various grades of kings and formed a part of the larger work entitled *Āʾīn-nāma, 'Book of Customs'*. Again, he mentions having seen at Iṣṭakhr in 302/915 a work that dealt with the various sciences of the Iranians, their histories, monuments, etc. and other information that was not found either in *Khudāʾī-nāma*, *Āʾīn-nāma* or *Kāh-nāma*. This work was discovered among the treasures of the Persian kings and was translated from Persian into Arabic for Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (105-25/724-43). It is not unlikely that works of this nature formed part of the sources of the Arabs' knowledge on the geography and topography of Īrān and on the limits of the Sāsānian Empire, its administrative divisions and other details.

Among the various Iranian geographical concepts and traditions followed by Arab geographers, the concept of the Seven *Kishwar*s (*Haft Iḳlīm*) was the most important. In this system the world was divided into seven equal geometric circles, each representing a *kishwar*, in such a manner that the fourth circle was drawn in the centre with the remaining six around it, and included Īrānshahr of which the most central district was al-Sawād. The Arab geographers continued to be influenced by this system for a long time, and in spite of the view of al-Bīrūnī that it had no scientific or physical basis and that the Greek division of the Climes was more scientific, the Greek division of the world into three or four continents never appealed to them. The concept of the two main seas, namely, the Baḥr al-Rūm and the Baḥr Fārs (the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean) which entered the land from the Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ (the Encircling Ocean), one from the north-west, *i.e.*, the Atlantic and the other from the east, *i.e.*, the Pacific, but were separated by al-Barzakh ('the Barrier', *i.e.*, the Isthmus of Suez), also dominated Arab geography and cartography for several centuries. As pointed out by J. H. Kramers, although it is very probable that the notion rests in the last resort on Ptolemy, the fact that the Indian Ocean is most often called Baḥr Fārs, seems to prove that this sea, at least, formed part of the original geographic sketch of the Persians. As to the origin of this sketch itself we find ourselves in uncertainty (*Analecta Orientalia*, i, 153).

Persian traditions deeply influenced Arab maritime literature and navigation also, as is evident from the use of words of Persian origin in the nautical vocabulary of the Arabs, *e.g.*, *bandar* (port), *nākhudā* (shipmaster), *rahmānī* (book of nautical instructions), *daftar* (sailing instructions), etc. Certain Persian names like *khann* (rhumb), *ḳuṭb al-djāh* (pole), etc., also indicate Persian influences on the Arab windrose. Such examples can be multiplied. Persian influences are apparent in Arab cartography as well, an indication of which is found in the use of terms of Persian origin, *e.g.*, *ṭaylasān*, *shābūra*, *ḳuwāra*, etc., to describe certain formations of coasts. These terms, originally indicating certain garments, were used right down to the 7th/13th century. They also point to the existence of maps in ancient Īrān (J. H. Kramers, *op. cit.* 148-9). As for the 'Indian map which is at al-Ḳawādhiyān' (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 2) Kramers pointed out that al-Ḳawādhiyān must contain here an allusion to more primitive maps of the Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī series, because the maps of Ibn Ḥawḳal are partly in conformity with this series and partly different (Kramers, *op. cit.*, 155). A correct identification of these maps or their discovery would certainly help to solve the problem of the origin of the maps of the Balkhī school. Here it may be pointed out that if we read Ibn Ḥawḳal's text as 'the geometrical map at al-Ḳawādhiyān' (a town near Tirmidh in Central Asia), then he must have been referring to some map that was there and was used by geographers as a basis for cartography. It is quite likely that it was based on the Persian *kishwar* system, for al-Bīrūnī remarks that the term *kishwar* was derived from 'the line' (*al-khaṭṭ*) which really indicated that these divisions were as distinct from each other as anything that was drawn in lines would be (*Ṣifat*, ed. Togan, 61).

Greek Influences. More positive data are available on how Greek geographical and astronomical knowledge passed on to the Arabs in the mediaeval period. The process began with the translations of the works of Claudius Ptolemy and other Greek astronomers and philosophers into Arabic either directly or through the medium of Syriac.

Ptolemy's *Geography* was translated several times during the ʿAbbāsid period, but what we possess is the adaptation of Ptolemy's work by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (d. after 232/847) with contemporary data and knowledge acquired by the Arabs incorporated into it. Ibn Khurradādhbih mentions having consulted and translated Ptolemy's work (perhaps it was in the original Greek or in Syriac translation) and al-Masʿūdī also consulted a copy of

the *Geography* and also the world map by Ptolemy. It seems that some of these translations had become corrupt, and foreign material was interpolated into them which did not belong to the original work, *e.g.*, the copy consulted by Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. Kramers, 13). Among other works of Ptolemy translated into Arabic and utilized by Arab geographers were: *Almagest* (Ar.: *Almadjisṭī*); *Tetrabiblon* (Ar.: *al-Maḳālāt al-arbaʿa*); *Apparitions of fixed stars*, etc. (Ar.: *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ*).

Among other works translated into Arabic were: the *Geography* of Marinos of Tyre (c. A.D. 70-130) consulted by al-Masʿūdī who also consulted the world map by Marinos; the *Timaeus* (Ar.: *Ṭaymāʾūs*) of Plato; the *Meteorology* (Ar.: *al-Āthār al-ʿulwiyya*), *De caelo* (Ar.: *al-Samāʾ wa ʾl-ʿālam*) and *Metaphysics* (Ar.: *Mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*) of Aristotle.

The works of these writers and of several other Greek astronomers and philosophers, when rendered into Arabic, provided material in the form of concepts, theories and results of astronomical observations which ultimately helped Arab geography to evolve on a scientific basis. Persian influences were no doubt marked in regional and descriptive geography as well as in cartography, but Greek influence dominated practically the whole canvas of Arab geography. Even in fields where it may be said that there was a kind of competition between Persian and Greek ideas or methodology, *e.g.*, between the Persian *kishwar* system and the Greek system of Climes, the Greek were more acceptable and remained popular. The Greek basis of Arab geography was most prominent in mathematical, physical, human and bio-geography. The Greek impact had a very lasting influence, for it remained the basis of Arab geography as late as the 19th century (traces found in 19th century Persian and even Urdū works on geography written in India), even though on European minds Ptolemaic influence had decreased much earlier. It cannot, however, be denied that throughout this period there was an undercurrent of conflict between the theoretical concepts of the Greek masters on the one hand and the practice and observation of the merchants and sailors of this period on the other. Al-Masʿūdī refers to it in the case of the Ptolemaic theory of the existence of an unknown land in the southern hemisphere. On the other hand Ibn Ḥawḳal considered Ptolemy almost infallible. The fact was that Greek information when transmitted to the Arabs was already outdated by about five centuries, and so difficulty arose when Arab geographers tried to incorporate fresh and contemporary information acquired by them into the Ptolemaic frame-work and to corroborate it with Greek data. The result was confusion and often misrepresentation of facts in geographical literature and cartography, as is evident from the works of geographers like al-Idrīsī.

(IV) The Classical Period (3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries)

(a) The Period of al-Maʾmūn (197-218/813-33):

Over half a century of Arab familiarity with, and study of Indian, Iranian and Greek geographical science, from the time of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (136-57/754-74) up to the time of al-Maʾmūn, resulted in completely revolutionizing Arab geographical thought. Such concepts as that the Earth was round and not flat, and that it occupied the central position in the Universe, were introduced to them for the first time properly and systematically. Henceforth, the Ḳurʾānic verses dealing with cosmogony, geography, etc. and the Traditions were utilized only to give religious sanction to geographical works or to exhort the believers to study geography and astronomy. Thus, by the beginning of the 3rd/9th century the real basis was laid for the production of geographical literature in Arabic and the first positive step in this regard was taken by the Caliph al-Maʾmūn, who successfully surrounded himself with a band of scientists and scholars and patronized their academic activities. Whether al-Maʾmūn's interest in astronomy and geography was genuine and academic, or whether it was political is not certain. During his reign, however, some very important contributions were made towards the advancement of geography: the measurement of an arc of a meridian was carried out (the mean result gave $56^{2}/_{3}$ Arabic miles as the length of a degree of longitude, a remarkably accurate value); the astronomical tables called *al-Zīdj al-mumtaḥan* (*The verified tables*) were prepared by the collective efforts of the astronomers; lastly, a World Map called *al-Ṣūra al-Maʾmūniyya* was prepared, which was considered superior to the maps of Ptolemy and Marinos of Tyre by al-Masʿūdī who had consulted and compared all three (*Tanbīh*, ed. De Goeje, 33). It was most probably based on the Greek system of climes.

(b) The Astronomers and Philosophers:

The Arab astronomers and philosophers made equally important contributions to mathematical and physical geography through their observations and theoretical discussions. From the time of the introduction of Greek philosophy and astronomy in the second half of the 2nd/8th century up to the first half of the 5th/11th century a galaxy of philosophers and astronomers worked on various problems of mathematical, astronomical and physical geography. The works of the Greek scientists had already provided enough basis and material for this. Thus the results of the experiments, observations and theoretical discussions of the Arab scientists were recorded in their more general works on astronomy and philosophy or in monographs on special subjects like tides, mountains, etc. The contemporary and later writers on general geography in Arabic often, though not always, reproduced these results in their works and sometimes discussed them. Some of these writers reproduced various current theories, Greek or otherwise, about a problem in the introductory parts of their works. Thus a tradition was established of writing on mathematical, physical and human geography in the beginning of any work dealing with geography. This is noticeable, for example, in the works of Ibn Rusta, al-Yaʿḳūbī, al-Masʿūdī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, etc.

Among the outstanding Arab philosophers and astronomers whose works were utilized and theories discussed by Arab geographers were: Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (d. 260/874), to whom two works on geography are attributed, (1) *Rasm al-maʿmūr min al-arḍ* and (2) *Risāla fi ʾl-biḥār wa ʾl-madd wa ʾl-djazr*. One of al-Kindī's pupils, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/899), is also said to have written two works, (1) *al-Masālik wa ʾl-mamālik* and (2) *Risāla fi ʾl-biḥār wa ʾl-miyāh wa ʾl-djibāl*. Neither the works of al-Kindī nor those of al-Sarakhsī are extant, and what we know of their geographical views are from other sources which used them. It seems that the two authors utilized the works of Ptolemy and other Greek writers, as

we find in al-Masʿūdī that their works did contain Ptolemaic information on physical and mathematical geography and on oceanography. Al-Kindī's work *Rasm al-maʿmūr min al-arḍ* may have been a version of Ptolemy's *Geography* as the title of the work itself suggests; al-Masʿūdī consulted a work of Ptolemy's entitled *Maskūn al-arḍ* and a world map called *Ṣūrat maʿmūr al-arḍ* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 275-7; *Tanbīh*, 25, 30, 51).

Among other philosophers and astronomers whose writings served as a source of information on mathematical and physical geography were: al-Fazārī (second half of the 2nd/8th century); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Farghānī (d. after 247/861) author of *al-Fuṣūl al-thalāthīn* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 443; *Tanbīh*, 199) and *al-Mudkhil ilā ʿilm hayʾat al-aflāk*; Abū Maʿshar Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Balkhī (d. 273/886), author of *al-Mudkhil al-kabīr ilā ʿilm al-nudjūm*; al-Masʿūdī consulted another work by him entitled *Kitāb al-ulūf fiʾl-hayākil wa ʾl-bunyān al-ʿaẓīm*; then Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Djābir al-Battānī (d. 317/929) and others. The fourth *Risāla* of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* deals with *Djughrāfiyā*. Written in about 370/980, it simply deals with elementary knowledge about mathematical and physical geography based on Greek geography, since the main purpose of the writers was to guide the reader to achieve union with God through wisdom.

(c) General Geographical Literature:

By the 3rd/9th century a considerable amount of geographical literature had been produced in various forms in the Arabic language, and it appears that the Arabs had at their disposal some Pahlavi works, or translations thereof, dealing with the Sāsānian Empire, its geography, topography, postal routes and details essential for administrative purposes. These works must have become available to those interested in geography and topography. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that early writers like Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ḳudāma and others were heads of postal departments or government secretaries, besides being men of learning. During the 3rd/9th century, therefore, a number of works were produced that were given the generic title *al-Masālik wa ʾl-mamālik*. In all probability the first work bearing this title was that of Ibn Khurradādhbih. The first draft of his work was prepared in 231/846 and the second in 272/885; it became the basis and model for writers on general geography and was highly praised by almost all geographers who utilized it. He was the Director of the Post and Intelligence Department and was a man of learning and erudition. What prompted him to write a geographical treatise may be explained from his own statement that it was in fulfilment of the desire of the Caliph, for whom he also translated the work of Ptolemy (from Greek or Syriac) into Arabic (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 3). However, the desire of the Caliph may itself have arisen from the practical needs of the government. We find that Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar al-Kātib considered the 'science of roads' (*ʿilm al-ṭuruḳ*) not only useful for general guidance in the *Dīwān*, but also essential for the Caliph who might need it for his travels or for despatching his armies (185).

The geographical works produced during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries may be divided into two broad categories: (1) works dealing with the world as a whole but treating the ʿAbbāsid Empire (*Mamlakat al-Islām*) in greater detail. They attempted to give all such secular information as could not find a place in the general Islamic literature, and hence this category is called 'the secular geographical literature of the period'. The writers described the topography and the road-system of the ʿAbbāsid Empire and covered mathematical, astronomical, physical, human and economic geography. Among the representatives of this class of geographers were: Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ḳudāma and al-Masʿūdī. Since ʿIrāḳ was the most important centre of geographical learning at this time and many of the geographers belonged to it, we may for the sake of convenience use the term ʿIrāḳī School for them. Within this School, however, two groups of writers may be discerned: those who present the material following the four directions, *viz.*, north, south, east and west, and tend to consider Baghdād as the centre of the world, and those who arrange it according to various *Iḳlīm*s (regions) and for the most part treat Mecca as the centre. (2) To the second category of works belong the writings of al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī, for whom the term Balkhī School has been used, as they followed Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (see below). They confined their accounts to the world of Islam, describing each province as a separate *Iḳlīm*, and hardly touching upon non-Islamic lands except the frontier regions.

(i) The ʿIrāḳī School. The works of Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Yaʿḳūbī and al-Masʿūdī are distinguished from the writings of other geographers of this School by two special features: first, they follow the Iranian *kishwar* system, and second, they equate ʿIrāḳ with Īrānshahr and begin their descriptions with it, thus placing ʿIrāḳ in a central position in Arab regional and descriptive geography. According to al-Bīrūnī the Seven *kishwar*s were represented by seven equal circles. The central *kishwar* was Īrānshahr which included Khurāsān, Fārs, Djibāl and ʿIrāḳ. He considered that these divisions were arbitrary and had been made primarily for political and administrative reasons. In ancient times the great kings lived in Īrānshahr, and it was necessary for them to live in the central zone so that they would be equidistant from other kingdoms and therefore find it easy to deal with matters. Such a division had no relation either to the physical systems or to astronomical laws, but was based on political changes or ethnological differences (*Ṣifa*, ed. Togan, 5, 60-62). With the foundation of Baghdād as the capital of the ʿAbbāsid Empire, ʿIrāḳ naturally occupied a central and politically important position in the world of Islam. Ibn Khurradādhbih equated ʿIrāḳ with Īrānshahr and the district of al-Sawād which was called *dil-i Īrānshahr* in ancient times occupied the central position in his system of geography, and he begins his account with its description. Similarly, al-Yaʿḳūbī considered ʿIrāḳ as the centre of the world and 'the navel of the earth' (*surrat al-arḍ*), but for him Baghdād was the centre of ʿIrāḳ, for it was not only the greatest city of the world unparalleled in its glory, but it was also the seat of government of the Banū Hāshim. Because it occupied a central position in the world, ʿIrāḳ had a moderate climate, its inhabitants were handsome and intelligent and possessed high morals. But in his system of geography Baghdād is grouped with Sāmarrā, and the description begins with these two towns. A similar note of the superiority of ʿIrāḳ is struck by the historian and geographer al-Masʿūdī, who thought of Baghdād as the best city in the world (*Tanbīh*, 34; cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 195 ff.).

As against these writers, Ḳudāma, Ibn Rusta and

Ibn al-Faḳīh display no enthusiasm for ʿIrāḳ or Īrānshahr. In their system Mecca and Arabia are given precedence. In Ḳudāma Mecca is given absolute precedence and all roads leading to Mecca are described before an account of roads leading out of Baghdād is given. He did give importance to ʿIrāḳ, but as the capital province of the *Mamlakat al-Islām*. Thus he considered it important, but only from a political and administrative point of view. In his system of geography, therefore, there is a slight shift of emphasis from the Iranian concept to what might be termed an 'Islamic approach' to geography. A similar tendency is also noticeable in Ibn Rusta (beginning of 4th/10th century) who departed completely from the Iranian traditions and assigned to Mecca and Medina the foremost place in his arrangement of geographical material. In his description of the Seven *Iḳlīms* he prefers to describe them according to the Greek pattern and not according to the *kishwar* system. In the geographical work of Ibn al-Faḳīh also, the description of Mecca takes precedence, but a considerable portion of the work is devoted to Fārs, Khurāsān, etc. and the *Iḳlīms* are described according to the *kishwar* system.

An important feature of the works of Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Yaʿḳūbī and Ḳudāma is that the material in them is arranged and described following the four directions, namely, east, west, north and south according to the division of the world into four quarters. Such a method of description must have had its origin in some Iranian geographical tradition, and the Arab geographers must have had some pattern before them to copy. According to al-Masʿūdī the Persians and the Nabataeans divided the inhabited part of the world into four parts, *viz.*, Khurāsān (east), Bākhtar (north), Khurbarān (west) and Nīmrūz (south) (*Tanbīh*, 31; cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, 268). However, Ḳudāma points out the arbitrariness of such a division. For him the terms east, west, north and south had only a relative value. In Ibn Rusta and Ibn al-Faḳīh, the arrangement is by regions.

Ibn Khurradādhbih, who may be called the father of geography, laid down the pattern and style for writing geography in the Arabic language. But, as J. H. Kramers pointed out, he was not an inventor of this style or pattern. He must have had some pattern or sample of an earlier work on the subject before him. There is a great likelihood that an Arabic translation of some earlier Pahlavi work on ancient Īrān was accessible to him. His work covers not only the *Mamlakat al-Islām*, but describes its frontiers and kingdoms and the peoples bordering on them. He was well acquainted with Ptolemy's work as is evident from his description of the limits of inhabited parts of the world and from the description of the Greek conception of the continents, namely, *Arūfā*, *Lūbya*, *Ityūfiyā* and *Isḳūtiyā*.

Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿḳūb b. Wāḍiḥ al-Kātib al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 284/897) claims to have travelled a great deal. He emphasized the fact of having obtained information from the inhabitants of the regions concerned, and of having verified it from trustworthy persons (232-3). His object in writing the book was to describe the routes leading to the frontiers of the Empire and the territories adjacent to them. It is for this reason that he dealt in a separate monograph with the history and geography of Rūm (the Byzantine Empire), and devoted another work to the conquest of Ifrīḳiya (North Africa). Al-Yaʿḳūbī's work deals mainly with topography and itineraries, and his arrangement of the material is similar to that of Ibn Khurradādhbih.

Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar al-Kātib (4th/10th century) devoted the eleventh chapter of his work *Kitāb al-kharādj wa ṣanʿat al-kitāb* to a description of the postal stations and routes of the ʿAbbāsid Empire. The main objective of his work was to describe the *Mamlakat al-Islām* and its frontiers, especially the frontiers with the Byzantine empire (Rūm) which he considered the greatest enemy of Islam (252). In his geography the 'Islamic approach' is perceptible, but a political attitude like the defence of the frontiers is also discernible. His work also covers descriptions of peoples and kingdoms surrounding the *Mamlaka*. He deals with general and physical geography and seems to have borrowed information on regional and descriptive geography from the Greek sources.

Ibn Rusta's work (beginning of 4th/10th century) entitled *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa* resembles that of Ḳudāma in that it describes Mecca and Medina in the very beginning of the portion dealing with regional geography. The main purpose of the work, however, seems to have been to provide general information about the world as a whole, and hence one finds in it, besides a description of the Islamic lands, descriptions on a regional basis of several countries lying outside the limits of Islam. He dealt with mathematical geography in a systematic and exhaustive way and collected varied theories and opinions about various problems (23-4). He presents material on general and physical geography and describes the *Iḳlīms* after the Greeks. Considering the variety of information accumulated in it, his work may be described as a 'small encyclopaedia of historical and geographical knowledge'.

Like Ibn Rusta, Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī also arranged his geographical material on a regional basis in his *Kitāb al-Buldān* (written c. 290/903). The description of Mecca takes precedence over other places, and the general arrangement of the subject-matter resembles that of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal. He incorporated the account of the merchant Sulaymān on India and China, but the special feature of his work is that, along with trustworthy and authentic information, it records long pieces of verse, various traditions and information of a legendary character. The work is poor in the treatment of general and mathematical geography.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), the celebrated historian, combined the qualities of an experienced traveller with those of a geographer of high distinction. Unfortunately his own account of his travels (*Kitāb al-Ḳaḍāyā wa 'l-tadjārib*) is not extant, but an approximate idea of his travels can be formed from his extant works, namely, *Murūdj al-dhahab wa maʿādin al-djawhar* and *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf* (the work entitled *Akhbār al-zamān*, etc. ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣāwī, Cairo 1938, and a MS of the Maulana Azad Library, Muslim University, ʿAlīgaṙh (Qutbuddin Collection, MS No. 36/1) entitled *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-dunyā* (in the colophon *Kitāb al-ʿAdjāʾib*) are both wrongly attributed to al-Masʿūdī and have nothing to do with his great work *Kitāb Akhbār al-zamān* which is lost). Al-Masʿūdī regarded geography as a part of history, which explains the fact that his works deal with geography as an introduction to history. He drew upon the earlier geographical writings in Arabic as well as upon contemporary travel accounts and maritime literature. This he reinforced by the information collected by himself during his travels or from people whom he met. He does not give any systematic topographical account

of the ʿAbbāsid Empire or deal with routes of the kingdom or postal stations, but he presents an excellent survey of contemporary Arab knowledge on mathematical and physical geography. However, al-Masʿūdī's main contribution was in the field of human and general geography. He advanced geographical science by challenging certain theories and concepts of Arab geographers which he found baseless in the light of his own experience and observation. He did not hesitate even to question the age-old theories of the Greek masters like Ptolemy, *e.g.*, the existence of land in the southern hemisphere. In the field of human and physical geography he emphasized the influence of the environment and other geographical factors on the physique and character of animals, plants and human beings. Al-Masʿūdī was also influenced by Iranian geographical traditions, *e.g.*, the Seven *kishwar* system, considering ʿIrāḳ as the central and the best *iḳlīm* in the world and Baghdād as the best city, etc.

An outstanding geographer of this period whose influence on the development of Arab geography was as varied and deep as that of Ibn Khurradādhbih was the Sāmānid *wazīr* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Djayhānī (earlier part of the 4th/10th century). Unfortunately, his work *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* (the Kābul MS has nothing to do with the great work of Djayhānī, see V. Minorsky, *A false Jayhānī*, in *BSOAS*, xiii, 1949-50, 89-96) has not come down to us; but it is quite likely that al-Djayhānī used the original text of Ibn Khurradādhbih's *Kitāb al-Masālik*. Being in the privileged position of a *wazīr* and writing in Bukhārā he 'could extend the field of his investigation much deeper into central Asia and the Far East than was possible for his Arab contemporaries' (Minorsky, *Marvazī*, etc. 6-7, London 1942). He collected first-hand information from different sources, hence the importance of his work. A large number of later Arab geographers utilized al-Djayhānī's work which, in the opinion of al-Masʿūdī, was 'interesting because of its novel information and interesting stories'.

The anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, written in Persian in 372/982 is one of the earliest works in Persian on world geography. The author utilized numerous earlier Arabic authorities on the subject and he had undoubtedly a copy of the work of al-Iṣṭakhrī before him. There is a tendency in the work towards completeness and numerical exactitude. Besides, the author is independent of other geographers in his geographical generalizations and terminology. The originality of the author lies in his conception of the division of the inhabited world into 'parts of the world' and separate 'countries' (see Barthold, Preface to *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 21-33). The work appeared in an English translation with an excellent commentary by V. Minorsky (London 1937), one of the most exhaustive ever written on any Persian or Arabic geographical work in modern times.

(ii) The Balkhī School. To the second main category of writers on general geography belonged al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī as well as Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī (d. 322/934) after whom this School is named. Al-Balkhī wrote his geographical work *Ṣuwar al-aḳālīm* (primarily a commentary on maps) in 308/920 or a little later. He spent some eight years in ʿIrāḳ and had studied under al-Kindī. He had travelled widely before his return to his native place and had acquired a high reputation for knowledge and erudition. However, probably in the later part of his life he held orthodox views and wrote several treatises which were highly appreciated in orthodox circles. Although the text of al-Balkhī's geographical work has not yet been separately established, and the MSS, at one time attributed to al-Balkhī, have now been proved to be of al-Iṣṭakhrī, the view of De Goeje still seems to hold good that the work of al-Iṣṭakhrī represents a second and greatly enlarged edition of al-Balkhī's work, compiled between 318/930 and 321/933, in al-Balkhī's lifetime.

The geographers of the Balkhī School gave a positive Islamic colouring to Arab geography. In addition to restricting themselves mainly to Islamic lands, they laid emphasis on such geographical concepts as found concurrence in the Ḳurʾān or were based on the traditions and sayings of the Companions of the Prophet and others, *e.g.*, they compared the land-mass with a big bird (see above). This was in conformity with a tradition attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 3-4). Again, the land-mass, round in shape, was encompassed by the 'Encircling Ocean' like a neck-ring, and from this Ocean the two 'gulfs' (the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean) flowed inwards without joining each other, being separated by al-Barzakh [*q.v.*], the 'barrier' at al-Ḳulzum, a concept found in the Ḳurʾān (see above). Again, unlike some geographers of the ʿIrāḳī School, the geographers of the Balkhī School assigned to Arabia the central place in the world, for it had Mecca and the Kaʿba in it. These new trends in the methodology and treatment of the subject-matter became the dominant feature of the geographers of this School, and must in all probability have been a culmination of the early process wherein Mecca was given precedence over ʿIrāḳ by one group of geographers. The prime object of these later geographers was to describe exclusively the *bilād al-Islām* which they divided into twenty *iḳlīm*s, except that they discussed the non-Islamic lands in general in their introductory notes. The basis of the division of these 'provinces' was neither the Iranian *kishwar* system nor the Greek system of Climes. It was territorial and purely physical. This was a positive advancement on previous methods and in a way 'modern'. As pointed out by Ibn Ḥawḳal (2-3) he did not follow the pattern of the 'seven *iḳlīm*s' (of the map at al-Ḳawādhiyān, see above), for although it was correct, it was full of confusion, with some overlapping of the boundaries of the 'provinces'. Hence he drew a separate map for each section describing the position of each 'province', its boundaries and other geographical information. An important contribution made by these geographers was that they systematized and enlarged the scope of geography by including in it new topics with a view to making it more useful and interesting, for they believed that a much wider range of people were interested in it, like the kings, the people of *muruwwa* and the leading sections of all classes (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 3). In cartography, besides drawing the regional maps on a more scientific basis, they may be said to have introduced the element of perspective. They drew a round map of the world showing the various 'regions' of the *bilād al-Islām* and other non-Islamic 'regions' of the world. The aim was to bring them in proper perspective and to show the relative position and size of each. But since it did not represent the true size and shape (round, square or triangular) of the respective *iḳlīm*s, they mapped each in a magnified form. Their drawing these on a purely physical basis was

probably the first experiment of its kind in Arab cartography. The maps of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal are, in this respect, superior to those of al-Idrīsī, who divided the seven latitudinal Climes into ten longitudinal sections each and drew a map for each section separately with the result that these sectional maps do not represent geographical units but geometrical divisions. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī present for the first time the concept of a country as defined in geographical terms, and even go so far as to delimit the boundaries of each, just as they define the boundaries of the four main kingdoms of the world.

Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhrī (first half of the 4th/10th century) seems to have been mainly responsible for spreading the ideas of the Balkhī School. Little is known of his life, but he travelled a good deal and incorporated the experiences of his travels in his work *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* (a new edition of this work has appeared recently, ed. by M. Djābir ʿAbd al-ʿĀl al-Ḥīnī, Cairo 1961). There is little doubt that the work was based on that of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī. Al-Iṣṭakhrī's work served as an authentic source of information for the geographers of this School. It was translated into Persian and became the basis of many Persian works on geography.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. Ḥawḳal, a native of Baghdād, completed his geography entitled *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (2nd ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938) in c. 366/977. From his childhood, Ibn Ḥawḳal was interested in geography and had travelled widely between 331/943 and 357/968. He was so devoted to geography that the works of al-Djayhānī, Ibn Khurradādhbih and Ḳudāma never parted from him during his travels. About the first two he says that they so engaged him that he was unable to devote any attention either to the other useful sciences or to the Traditions. However, what prompted him to write his work was that he found none of the existing works on the subject satisfactory. He claims to have improved the work of al-Iṣṭakhrī whom he had met. However, the claims of Ibn Ḥawḳal may not be accepted unequivocally, for the similarity between the works of the two geographers itself suggests that Ibn Ḥawḳal must have been considerably indebted to al-Iṣṭakhrī. There is little doubt, however, that he ranks among the most outstanding geographers of the period, for in cartography he shows independence and individuality and does not follow others slavishly. Besides, he incorporated new information based on his travels or acquired from hearsay. He remained an authentic source of information for the succeeding geographers for several centuries to come.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḳaddasī (d. 390/1000), the author of *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aḳālīm* was a very original and scientific geographer of his time. He rightly claims to have put Arab geography on a new foundation and given it a new meaning and wider scope. Since he considered the subject useful to many sections of society, as also to the followers of various vocations, he widened its scope, including in it a variety of subjects ranging from physical features of the *iḳlīm* (region) under discussion to mines, languages and races of the peoples, customs and habits, religions and sects, character, weights and measures and the territorial divisions, routes and distances. He believed that it was not a science that was acquired through conjecture (*ḳiyās*), but through direct observation and first-hand information. Hence he laid his main emphasis on what was actually observed and was reasonable. From the earlier writers he borrowed what was most essential 'without stealing from them'. Thus, according to the nature of the sources of information, his work may be divided into three parts: what he observed himself; what he heard from trustworthy people; and what he found in written works on the subject. Al-Muḳaddasī is one of the few Arab geographers who discusses geographical terminology and specific connotations of certain phrases and words used, besides giving a synopsis and an index of the *iḳlīms*, districts, etc., in the introduction of his work for the benefit of those who want to get an idea of the contents quickly or wish to use it as a traveller's guide. Unlike Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī divided the *Mamlakat al-Islām* into fourteen *iḳlīms* (seven *ʿarab* and seven *ʿadjam*) perhaps to conform to the belief that there were seven climes north of the Equator and seven others to its south, an idea attributed to Hermes, the legendary figure known to the Arabs as an ancient philosopher of Egypt. In this respect he differed from Abū Zayd al-Balkhī and al-Djayhānī, whom he however considered *Imāms* (here authorities). An important feature of his work is that like a *mufassir* he discusses at length certain questions relating to general geography, *e.g.*, the number of the seas, etc., in order to bring them into conformity with the Ḳur'ānic verses relating to them.

(d) Trade and exploration: the maritime literature:

An important aspect of the development of Arabic geographical literature of this period was the production of the maritime literature and travel accounts, which enriched the Arabs' knowledge of regional and descriptive geography. This became possible firstly, because of the political expansion of the Muslims and the religious affinity felt by them towards one another irrespective of nationality or race, and secondly, because of the phenomenal increase in the commercial activities of the Arab merchants. Incentive to travel and exploration was provided by several factors, *viz.*, pilgrimage to Mecca, missionary zeal, deputation as envoys, official expeditions, trade and commerce, and, last but not least, the mariners' profession.

From very ancient times the Arabs played the rôle of intermediaries in trade between the East (India, China, etc.) on the one hand and the West (Egypt, Syria, Rome, etc.) on the other. But with the foundation of Baghdād as the capital of the ʿAbbāsid Empire and the development of the ports of Baṣra and Sīrāf, the actual and personal participation of the Arabs now extended as far as China in the east and Sofala on the east coast of Africa. They had learned and mastered the art of navigation from the Persians, and by the 3rd/9th century Arab navigators had become quite familiar with the monsoon and trade winds, and their boats sailed not only along the coasts but direct to India from Arabia. They had become intimate with the various stretches of the sea between the Persian Gulf and the Sea of China, which they divided into the Seven Seas giving each a specific name. Again, they sailed from Aden to East Africa as far south as Sofala and freely sailed on the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Caspian and also on a number of navigable rivers including the Nile and the Indus. Although their boats were small as compared to those of the Chinese, and the Indian Ocean was infested with whales, they performed long and

hazardous voyages with courage and fortitude. They used sea-charts (*rahmānīs* and *dafātir*). Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 233-4) records names of certain captains of boats whom he knew and expert sailors of the Indian Ocean; similarly, al-Muḳaddasī (10-11) gives the name of an expert merchant-sailor whom he consulted on the question of the shape of the Indian Ocean. Aḥmad b. Mādjid ([*q.v.*], see also below) speaks of an old *rahmānī* composed by Muḥammad b. Shādān, Sahl b. Abbān and Layth b. Kahlān (lived in the later part of the 3rd/9th century), but he considered them much below the standard (see Hourani, *Arab seafaring*, 107-8). Since none of these charts is extant, it is not possible to make a correct assessment of the contribution made by these early Arab navigators to nautical geography.

With the development of Arab navigation, Arab trade also expanded. With a strong political power in the Middle East and a developing economy at home, the Arabs acquired considerable importance as traders in the East. The sphere of their trade not only widened, but became more intensive. They even traded by barter with the primitive tribes of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, whose languages they did not understand. Arab trade with China declined from about the end of the 3rd/9th century, for it is said that in the peasant rebellion under Huang Ch'ao (A.D. 878) large numbers of foreigners were massacred in China. From this time onwards Arab boats went only as far as Kala, a port on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, no longer existing.

The Arabs' urge to explore new lands was mainly prompted by a desire for trade and rarely for the sake of exploration. Although some instances of early Arab adventures and exploration are recorded, many of these seem to have been 'wonder tales' (*e.g.*, the interpreter Sallām's account of his trip to the wall of Gog and Magog under the orders of the Caliph Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 225). The story of a certain young man of Cordova (Spain) who sailed with a group of young friends on the Atlantic Ocean and then returned after some time, laden with booty, may have had some historical truth in it (al-Mas'ūdī, i, 258-9). On the whole the Arabs of this period did not make any substantial contribution to or improve upon the knowledge acquired from the Greeks. There is no doubt however that in regard to certain regions, *viz.*, North and East Africa, West Asia, Middle Asia, India and a few other countries, their information was much more authentic and intimate.

The fact that the Arabs did not explore the regions unknown to them, even those of which they had a theoretical knowledge, may be explained by several factors: wherever the trade incentive was satisfied, they did not proceed beyond that point; secondly, certain notions or preconceived ideas continuously dominated their thought and dissuaded them from taking a bold step, *e.g.*, the Atlantic was a Sea of Darkness and a Muddy Spring (*al-'ayn al-ḥami'a*). For the same reason they did not sail further south along the east coast of Africa, for they believed that there were high tidal waves and sea commotion there, although al-Bīrūnī, on the basis of certain evidence discovered in the 3rd/9th century, namely, the discovery in the Mediterranean of planks from boats of the Indian Ocean (see above), had conceived that the Indian Ocean was connected with the Atlantic by means of narrow passages south of the sources of the Nile (*Ṣifa*, 3-4). Lastly, the fear of encountering aboriginal tribes and cannibals of the East Indies must have prevented the Arabs from sailing further east.

Among the travel accounts of this period that have survived, one of the earliest is that attributed to the merchant Sulaymān, who performed several voyages to India and China and described his impressions of the lands and the peoples in the travelogue *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* (235/850). The work is a testimony of the keen but academic interest taken by Arab merchants in conveying to the Arabic-reading peoples of the time unique and interesting information about the distant lands of the East. This account was first published in 302/916 by Abū Zayd al-Ḥasan of Sīrāf along with other accounts collected and verified by him in a work entitled *Silsilat al-tawārīkh*. Abū Zayd was apparently a well-to-do person, and although he had not himself travelled, he was keenly interested in gathering information from travellers and merchants and in recording it. He met al-Mas'ūdī at least twice and exchanged much information with him. Al-Mas'ūdī, who represented the finest spirit of exploration of his time, had travelled very widely and sailed on many seas including the Caspian and the Mediterranean. He must have discussed with Abū Zayd the discovery near Crete of the planks of a boat belonging to the Arabian Sea. This was a unique phenomenon for it was believed that the Arabian Sea had no connexion with the Mediterranean. Al-Mas'ūdī came to the conclusion that the only possibility was that these planks may have flowed towards the East into the Eastern Sea (the Pacific) and then northwards and finally, through the *khalīdj* (an imaginary channel flowing down from the northern Encircling Ocean into the Black Sea) into the Mediterranean (*Murūdj*, i, 365-6). The fact that they both recorded this unique discovery is evidence of their concern about geographical problems. It also shows that interest in geography was dynamic during this period, and had not become static as in the later period.

An interesting writer of this period was Buzurg b. Shahriyār, the captain of Rāmhurmuz (299-399/912-1009) who compiled a book of maritime tales, entitled *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-Hind* in about 342/953. The book relates a number of very amusing and very strange stories concerning the adventures of the sailors in the Islands of the East Indies and other parts of the Indian Ocean. These were apparently composed for the general reader, and though mostly fantastic, they cannot be completely brushed aside as untrue and ignored in any serious study of Arab geography and exploration. It seems that during this period there was a great demand for wonderful and amusing tales, which fact is borne out by the existence of several MSS in Arabic dealing with *'adjā'ib* literature.

This period was on the whole marked by a spirit of enquiry and investigation and exploration among the Arabs. But the maritime literature, most of which seems to have perished, posed itself against the theoretical knowledge derived from the Greek and other sources. Hence at times there was a contradiction between theory and practice, and this was the fundamental problem with which the Arab geographers and travellers were faced. It was this conflict between theory and practice that finally determined the course of the development of Arab geography in the later period. When the 'practicalists' gave way to the theoreticians, the decline of Arab geography became certain. Why the word of the sailor, the traveller and the merchant was not

given due credence is difficult to explain, but a large amount of maritime literature must have perished through either neglect or animosity.

(e) Al-Bīrūnī and his contemporaries:

The 5th/11th century may be taken as the apogee of the progress of Arab geography. The geographical knowledge of the Arabs, both as derived from the Greeks and others and as advanced by themselves through research, observation and travel, had, by this period, reached a very high level of development. Besides, geographical literature had acquired a special place in Arabic literature, and various forms and methods of presenting geographical material had been standardized and adopted. The importance of al-Bīrūnī's contribution to Arab geography is two-fold: firstly, he presented a critical summary of the total geographical knowledge up to his own time, and since he was as well-versed in Greek, Indian and Iranian contributions to geography and in that of the Arabs, he made a comparative study of the subject. He pointed out that the Greeks were more accomplished than the Indians, thereby implying that the methods and techniques of the former should be adopted. But he was not dogmatic, and held some important views that were not in conformity with Greek ideas. Secondly, as an astronomer he not only calculated the geographical positions of several towns, but measured the length of a degree of latitude, thus performing one of the three important geodetic operations in the history of Arab astronomy. He made some remarkable theoretical advances in general, physical and human geography. On the basis of the above-mentioned discovery in the Mediterranean of the planks of an Arabian Sea boat a hundred years earlier, he conceived the theoretical possibility of the existence of channels connecting the Indian Ocean with the Atlantic, south of the Mountains of the Moon and the Sources of the Nile. But these were difficult to cross because of high tides and strong winds. He argued that just as towards the east, the Indian Ocean had penetrated the northern continent (Asia) and had opened up channels, similarly, to balance them, the continent has penetrated the Indian Ocean towards the west; the sea there is connected through channels with the Atlantic. Thus, although theoretically he laid down the possibility of circumnavigating the South African coast, in practice it was never accomplished by the Muslims. The idea, however, persisted until the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, when it was hinted by al-Nahrwālī that the Portuguese might have taken this route. Al-Bīrūnī conceived that the land-mass was surrounded by water, that the centre of 'Earth's weight' shifted and caused physical changes on its surface, *e.g.*, fertile lands turned barren, water turned into land and *vice versa*. He described very clearly various concepts and the limits of the inhabited parts of the earth of his time, for which he seems to have had recourse to some contemporary sources which were not available to the earlier geographers. He made an original contribution to regional geography by describing India in detail.

Among the astronomers of the 5th/11th century one who deserves mention was Ibn Yūnus, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 399/1009). While al-Bīrūnī was working in India and other places, Ibn Yūnus made valuable observations in the observatory on the Mt. al-Muḳaṭṭam in Egypt under the patronage of the Fāṭimid caliphs al-ʿAzīz and al-Ḥakīm. The results of his observations recorded in the *al-Zīdj al-kabīr al-Ḥākimī* became an important source of up-to-date astronomical and geographical knowledge for the scientists of the Islamic East.

Among the geographers and travellers contemporary to al-Bīrūnī there was the Ismāʿīlī poet-traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. 452/1060 or 453/1061) whose travel account entitled *Safar-nāma* written in Persian covers the author's personal experiences in and descriptions of Mecca and Egypt.

Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Azīz al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) was the best representative of lexicography of the period in as far as place-names were concerned. His geographical dictionary *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam min asmāʾ al-bilād wa 'l-mawāḍiʿ* is an excellent literary-cum-geographical work. It discusses the orthography of place-names of the Arabian peninsula mainly, furnishing literary evidence from Arabic literature, ancient Arabian poetry, *Ḥadīth*, ancient traditions, etc. His second geographical treatise *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* has not survived in its entirety. Al-Bakrī was, however, more a litterateur than a geographer [see ABŪ ʿUBAYD AL-BAKRĪ].

(V) The period of consolidation (6th/12th-10th/16th centuries)

From the 6th/12th to the 10th/16th century Arab geography displayed continuous signs of decline. The process was chequered and with some exceptions like the works of al-Idrīsī and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ the general standard of works produced was low compared to those of the earlier period. The scientific and critical attitude towards the subject and emphasis on authenticity of information that was the mark of the earlier writers gave place to mere recapitulations and *résumés* of the traditional and theoretical knowledge found in the works of earlier writers. This was, in a way, the period of consolidation of geographical knowledge, and the literature may be divided into eight broad categories:

(a) world geographical accounts;
(b) cosmological works;
(c) the *ziyārāt* literature;
(d) *muʿdjam* literature or geographical dictionaries;
(e) travel accounts;
(f) maritime literature;
(g) astronomical literature;
(h) regional geographical literature.

(a) World geographical accounts:

The tradition of describing the world as a whole as practised by the geographers of the classical period continued to be followed by some geographers of this period, but works dealing exclusively with the world of Islam had become rare, for the ʿAbbāsid Empire had itself disintegrated. The pattern of description and arrangement was also different from the earlier works. There was a tendency towards rapprochement between astronomical and descriptive geography in these works, and Greek influence was still prominent in some works, while Persian influence had comparatively diminished probably because of the production of geographical literature in Persian as well. But geographical activity had expanded and places like Syria, Sicily and Spain had become important centres of geographical learning, and some very important works were produced there.

Among the important works on world geography and astronomy produced during this period we may mention *Muntahā al-idrāk fī taḳsīm al-aflāk* by

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kharaḳī (d. 533/1138-9); *Kitāb al-Djughrāfiyā* by Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Zuhrī of Granada (lived towards 531/1137); *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fi 'khtirāḳ al-āfāḳ* by al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī (d. 56/1166); *Kitāb al-Djughrāfiyā fi 'l-aḳālīm al-sab'a* by Ibn Sa'īd (d. 672/1274); and *Taḳwīm al-buldān* by Abu 'l-Fidā (d. 731/1331).

Al-Zuhrī's work was based on the Greek system of *iḳlīm*s and represented the trend of rapprochement between astronomical and descriptive geography. The work of al-Idrīsī, which also represents this tendency, is a fine example of Arab-Norman co-operation in geographical activities. It was produced at Palermo under the patronage of the Norman king Roger II. Al-Idrīsī, who was a prince, and belonged to the Ḥammūdid dynasty, was neither a renowned traveller nor a trained geographer before he joined the court of Roger. The aim of Roger in calling him to his court seems to have been to utilize his personality for his own political objectives. There is little doubt, however, that Roger was interested in geography and he was able to collect a team of astronomers and geographers in his court. As a result of their efforts, for the first time in the history of Arab cartography, seventy regional maps based on the Ptolemaic system of climes were drawn, and a large silver map of the world constructed. The total geographical information acquired from contemporary as well as earlier Greek or Arab sources was classified according to the relevant sections each of which formed a description of one of these maps. The work was an important contribution to physical and descriptive geography. The work of Ibn Sa'īd was based on the clime-system. It also gives the latitudes and longitudes of many places which facilitates their reconstruction into a map. By this time Syria had become an important centre of geographical activities. Abu 'l-Fidā', the Syrian prince, historian and geographer, completed his important compendium on world geography in 721/1321. The work gives latitudes and longitudes of places and treats the subject-mattei on a regional basis. It is arranged in a systematic way and covers descriptive, astronomical and human geography. The author seems to have utilized some contemporary sources, for we find some new information which is not available in earlier works.

(b) Cosmological works:

During this period several works were produced which dealt not only with geography but also with cosmology, cosmogony, astrology and such other topics. The main purpose of these works seems to have been to present in a consolidated and systematic form world knowledge for the benefit of the average reader. No doubt the authors utilized earlier Arabic sources, but on the whole the material is presented uncritically, and there is hardly any question of investigation or research, and the zeal of enquiry is totally lacking. The tendency to produce such works was mainly due to the decline in education and learning which affected the progress of geographical knowledge.

The following are some of the works that belong to this category: *Tuḥfat al-albāb* (or *al-aḥbāb*) *wa nukhbat al-'adjā'ib* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (d. 565/1169-70); *'Adjā'ib al-buldān* and *Āthār al-bilād* by al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283); *Nukhbat al-dahr fī 'adjā'ib al-barr wa 'l-baḥr* by al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327); *Kharīdat al-'adjā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib* by Ibn al-Wardī (d. 861/1457).

(c) The *ziyārāt* literature:

A special feature of this period was that a number of works dealing with the towns and places of religious significance or places of pilgrimage were produced. These were not purely descriptive or topographical works. They dealt with the holy spots of Islam, tombs of saints, the *takya*s of the ṣūfīs and *ribāṭ*s along with educational institutions (*madrasa*s) specializing in various schools of the Sharī'a and other such topics. One finds in them detailed accounts of place-names in various towns like Mecca, Damascus, etc. On the whole such works were meant to be religious guides for pilgrims and devotees, and represent the period of religious reaction in Islam. Among the representative works of this type of literature are: *Ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt* by al-Harawī (d. 611/1214); *al-Dāris fī ta'rīkh al-madāris* by 'Abd al-Ḳādir Muḥammad al-Nu'aymī (d. 648/1520); in the Maulana Azad Library, 'Alīgaṛh Muslim University, there exists a MS (Shērwānī Collection, MS No. 27/34) which, in all probability, is an abridgment of al-Nu'aymī's original work, written 50 years after his death.

(d) *Mu'djam* literature or Geographical dictionaries:

The traditions of geographical studies developed in Syria bore many fruitful results. Besides the Compendium of Abu 'l-Fidā' and the *ziyārāt* literature, Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229) produced one of the most useful works in Arabic geographical literature, namely, *Mu'djam al-buldān*. Completed in 621/1224, this geographical dictionary of place-names, which includes other historical and sociological data, was in keeping with the literary and scientific traditions of the earlier period, and represents the consummation of geographical knowledge of the time. As a reference book it is indispensible even to-day for the student of Arab historical geography. The fact that Yāḳūt crowned the work with an introduction on Arab geographical theories and concepts and physical and mathematical geography shows the depth of knowledge of the author. The work also represents that period of Arab geographical development when scholars thought in terms of compiling geographical dictionaries, which would not have been possible without the vast amount of geographical literature that had already come into existence by this time and without the geographical tradition that was present in Syria. Another important work of Yāḳūt is the *Kitāb al-Mushtarik waḍ'an wa'l-mukhtalif ṣaḳ'an*, composed in 623/1226.

(e) Travel accounts:

During this period the Arabs' knowledge of regional and descriptive geography was considerably enriched by the production of travel literature in Arabic on a large scale. Besides the usual incentives for travel like the pilgrimage to Mecca or missionary zeal, the extension of Muslim political and religious influences, especially in the East, had opened up for Muslims new vistas of travel and more opportunities for earning a livelihood.

Among the outstanding travel accounts may be included the work of al-Māzinī (d. 564/1169); the *Riḥla* of Ibn Djubayr (d. 614/1217); *Ta'rīkh al-Mustanṣir* (written in c. 627/1230) by Ibn Mudjāwir; then the *Riḥla*s of al-Nabātī (d. 636/1239), al-'Abdārī (d. 688/1289), al-Ṭayyibī (698/1299) and al-Tīdjānī (708/1308) and others. Whereas these accounts are of great importance for the Middle East,

North Africa and parts of Europe, for they furnish contemporary and often important information, the work of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] (d. 779/1377) entitled *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār* remains the most important mediaeval travel account in Arabic for the lands of India, South-East Asia and other countries of Asia and North Africa.

(f) Maritime literature:

During the period under consideration Arab maritime activities were confined to the Mediterranean and the Arabian Seas. In the Mediterranean the Arab navies, using the term in a broader sense, could never really become all-powerful. They were always busy in sea-wars with the Christian navies and sometimes as many as a hundred men-of-war were employed in the forays. Again, although the Arab navigators were quite familiar with the Mediterranean, sailing on the Atlantic was still dreaded, and there is only one instance of Arab adventure, namely, that of Ibn Fāṭima (648/1250). From the account of his voyage preserved in Ibn Saʿīd it appears that he had reached as far as White mountain (identified with Cape Branco) along the West African coast. On the whole it is difficult to assess the amount of the contribution made by the Arabs of this Sea to nautical geography, for very little is known of their accounts. But with the rise of the Ottoman power in Asia Minor, the Ottoman Navy ultimately became very powerful in the Mediterranean (see VI below).

In the Indian Ocean, however, the Arab navigators maintained their importance until the arrival of the Portuguese. It was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mādjid (the date of his birth or death is not known) who piloted the boat of Vasco da Gama from Malindi on the east coast of Africa to Calicut in India in 1498. This incident indeed marks the turning point in the history of Arab navigation and trade in the East. The advent of the Portuguese had an adverse effect on the trade and commerce of the Arabs. Their maritime strength was destroyed and their trade systematically ruined by the Portuguese.

Ibn Mādjid, who spent more than fifty years of his life on the high seas, may be considered as one of the greatest Arab navigators of all times. He wrote thirty nautical texts and was one of the most important Arab writers on oceanography, navigation, etc. His contributions bring him in line with the leading scientists of the period. His most important contribution is the work *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid fī uṣūl ılm al-baḥr wa 'l-ḳawāʿid*.

Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Mahrī, a younger contemporary of Ibn Mādjid, was another important navigator of this period. He was also author of five nautical works written in the first half of the 10th/16th century. Among these may be mentioned of special importance: *al-ʿUmda al-mahriyya fī ḍabṭ al-ʿulūm al-baḥriyya* compiled in 917/1511-2 and *Kitāb Sharḥ tuḥfat al-fuḥūl fī tamhīd al-uṣūl*.

The works of Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī represent the height of the Arabs' knowledge of nautical geography. These navigators used excellent sea-charts, which are supposed to have had the lines of the meridian and parallels drawn on them. They also used many fine instruments and made full use of astronomical knowledge for navigation. There is little doubt that their knowledge of the seas was considerably advanced, especially of the Indian Ocean, for in their works they describe in details the coastlines, routes, etc. of the countries they visited. They were familiar with the numerous islands of the East Indies.

(g) Astronomical literature:

During this period some very important works were produced on astronomy, and one of the most outstanding astronomers of this period was the Tīmūrid prince-mathematician Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449). But with the death of Ulugh Beg Muslim astronomical literature may be said to have come to an end, for this was the last scientific effort on the part of a Muslim prince, before the period of decline in Islamic society set in, to revise the data of Ptolemy and to perform independent astronomical observations. The results of Ulugh Beg's observations in which his collaborators also participated were included in the *Zīdj-i djadīd-i Sulṭānī*.

(h) Regional geographical literature:

Between the 7th/13th and the 10th/16th centuries a large amount of geographical literature, both in Arabic and Persian, came into existence on a regional or 'national' basis. Although no outstanding contributions were made by the geographers of this period, regional geographical knowledge was enriched by the efforts of several historians and geographers. Geographical traditions of the classical period were kept up, but there was no originality in thought or practice. In astronomical, physical or human geography no substantial advances were made. The production of literature on regional geography during this period was closely connected with the extension of Islam and Muslim political power in the East, and due to the attention paid by Muslim potentates to historiography and geography mainly for political purposes.

In ʿIrāḳ and Mesopotamia, the old centre of geographical activity, little was produced in geographical literature; *Meārath Ḳudshē* by Bar Hebraeus (d. 685/1286) showed much influence of Islamic tradition and has a semi-circular world map. In Egypt and Syria the *khiṭaṭ*-literature was produced under the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks. Interest in the *ʿadjāʾib* literature and ancient Egypt from the time of the Ayyūbids resulted in the production of and collection of some fantastic accounts and stories about ancient Egyptian kings (!) and other tales of common interest. However, some new and fresh information on the Muslim states of the East, India and other countries, was also incorporated in these accounts. Authors who wrote on such subjects were Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf Shāh (wrote in 605/1209); Nuwayrī (d. 629/1332); Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1441-2); Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1348); al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) and others. In North Africa, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Marrākushī wrote *Djāmiʿ al-mabādī wa 'l-ghāyāt* which gives latitudes and longitudes partly compiled by the author. Ibn Khaldūn's *Muḳaddima* contains a chapter on geography, representing the tradition of some Arab historians of describing the world as a prelude to history.

In Īrān, Central Asia and India some historical works in Persian dealt with regional and descriptive geography, and some monographs on world geography were also produced. The geographical works were mainly based on earlier Arabic authorities; additional contemporary information was included in general histories and accounts of conquests. Among the important works we may mention: Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, written in the beginning of the 6th/12th century; Ḥamdallāh al-Mustawfī (d. 740/1340), *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*; Muḥammad b. Nadjīb Bakrān

(wrote for the Khwārizm-shāh Muḥammad, 596-617/1200-20), *Djihān-nāma*, which contains some 'interesting information on the geography of Transoxania'; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Samarḳandī (d. 887/1482), *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, written in 1002/1594, a biographical work, but contains much valuable geographical information.

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(S. Maqbul Ahmad)

VI. The Ottoman geographers

The Ottoman Turks do not seem to have begun to write geographical works until the middle of the 9th/14th century. The first of these were small cosmographies in the style of *Books of Marvels*, which treat of the wonders of Creation. The best known of these works is probably the "Well-preserved Pearl" (*Dürr-i meknūn*) by Yazïdjï-oghlu Aḥmed Bīdjān (d. ca. 860/1456) [*q.v.*], the brother of the early Ottoman poet Yazïdjï-oghlu Meḥemmed (died 855/1451. The same Aḥmed Bīdjān was also the first to make a translation of extracts from an Arabic cosmographical work, the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* of Ḳazwīnī (1203-1283), under the same title, in which the stress likewise is less upon scientific knowledge than upon the wonders of Creation (see Rieu, *Catal. of Turkish Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, 106 ff.).

Ḳazwīnī's *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* was translated several times into Turkish (Brockelmann, S I, 882, indicates four Turkish translations of the work). Likewise under the same title there were in circulation Turkish translations of Ibn al-Wardī's (d. 1457) *Kharīdat al-ʿadjāʾib* (indicated in *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie .... vornehmlich des Orients*, ed. Hans Mžik, *Festband Eugen Oberhummer*, Leipzig and Vienna 1929, 86 ff.), among them one with some contemporary additions by a man of the early Ottoman period called ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (see my articles *Der Bericht des arabischen Geographen Ibn al-Wardī über Konstantinopel* in *Festband Eugen Oberhummer*, 84-91, and *Ein altosmanischer Bericht über das vorosmanische Konstantinopel* in *AION*, N.S., i, 1940, 181-9). Further, after Sipāhīzāde Meḥemmed b. ʿAlī (d. 997/1588) had produced a new Arabic edition of Abu 'l-Fidā's *Taḳwīm al-buldān* under the title *Awḍaḥ al-masālik ilā maʿrifat al-buldān wa'l-mamālik* with the material arranged in alphabetical order and supplemented (Brockelmann, II, 46), he translated extracts of the work into Turkish under the same title (Brockelmann, S II, 44).

One of the last of the translations from earlier geographical works is the "Views of the Worlds" (*Menāẓir al-ʿawālim*) by Meḥmed b. ʿÖmer (not ʿOthmān), b. Bāyezīd al-ʿĀshıḳ (b. 964/1555, date of death unknown; the book was completed 1006/1598). It consists of two parts, of which the first treats the "world above", that is, heaven, its inhabitants and the celestial bodies, and, in appendix, a part of the "world below", that is, hell and its inhabitants. Apart from astronomy, which indeed is only summarily included, this section consists almost exclusively of theology and mythology. But this first part is actually only an introduction. The bulk of the work is contained in the second part, which describes the "world below", that is, the earth and its inhabitants. It contains first a universal geography, that is, a little general knowledge of the earth, followed by separate descriptions arranged in the mediaeval manner according to natural objects: oceans, islands, swamps and lakes, rivers, springs, warm springs, mountains and finally, comprising the main section of the descriptive geography, cities. In this section all of the geographical material is arranged according to the seven climates of Ptolemy, the "actual climates" (*aḳālīm-i ḥaḳīḳiyye*). Within this framework the localities represented are arranged according to the 28 "traditional climates" (*aḳālīm-i ʿurfiyye*) or regions, a principle which ʿĀshıḳ had borrowed from the work of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, with result that some of the cities treated, according to their location, appear in more than one of the *aḳālīm-i ḥaḳīḳiyye*, the applications of the two principles thus overlapping. Under each heading ʿĀshıḳ indicates in order the reports of his authorities translated into Turkish, of the mediaeval Arabic and Persian writers such as Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn al-Djawzī, Yāḳūt, Ḳazwīnī, Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī and Ibn al-Wardī, each with a precise indication of the source. ʿĀshıḳ supplements these with his own reports, especially for Anatolia, Rumelia and Hungary, also with precise indication that this particular information derived from the "writer" (*rāḳim al-ḥurūf*), with the date of his visit to the city in question, thus affording a chronological sequence of his travels.

The geography is followed by a universal descriptive natural science, that is, the solid, liquid and gaseous minerals, scents, metals, plants, animals and man. The work in its totality is a broadly sketched compendium of traditional geography and natural science.

Belonging in a wider sense to the translations of geographical literature is the manual of astronomy and mathematics written in Persian by ʿAlī Ḳushdji (d. 879/1474), formerly director of Ulugh Beg's observatory in Samarḳand and later the court astronomer of Meḥemmed II, which was several times translated into Turkish (see *ZDMG*, lxxvii, 1923, 40 note 2). To this category also belongs the "China Book" (*Khitāy-nāma*) written originally in Persian by Sayyid ʿAlī Akbar Khitāʾī in 1516, in which the author describes his journey to China in 912-4/1506-8 and his stay of three years there, and which he dedicated to Selīm I. Under Murād III, probably in 990/1582, it was translated into Turkish (see P. Kahle in *AO*, xii, 91 ff, and *Opera Minora* 322-3).

In the fields of marine geography and navigation the Ottoman Turks produced original works. In this respect special mention should to made of the work of Pīrī Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Reʾīs (d. 962/1554), a nephew of the famous naval hero Kemāl Reʾīs who knew every corner of the Mediterranean. In 919/1513 he produced a map of the world in two parts, of which only the western part has been preserved, which he presented to Sultan Selīm I in Cairo (923/1517). For that portion of his work treating the west Pīrī Reʾīs used as sources maps containing the Portuguese discoveries up to 1508, as well as a map, since lost, containing the discoveries made by Christopher Columbus during his third voyage (1498). He had got the latter from a Spanish sailor who had gone with Columbus to America three times and who in 1501 at Valencia had been made a Turkish prisoner by Pīrī Reʾīs's uncle Kemāl Reʾīs (see P. Kahle, *Die verschollene Columbus-Karte vom Jahre 1498 in einer türkischen Weltkarte von 1513*, Berlin-Leipzig 1933; idem, *A lost map of Columbus*, in *Opera Minora*, Leiden 1956, 247-65; Ibrahim Hakkı, *Eski Haritalar*, Istanbul 1936; Afet, *Un Amiral Géographe turc du XVIe siècle, Piri Reïs, auteur de la plus ancienne carte de l'Amérique* in *Belleten*, i (1937), 333-49; Sadi Selen, *Die Nord-Amerika-Karte des Piri Reïs (1528)*, ibid. 519-23).

Pīrī Reʾīs then wrote a nautical handbook of the Mediterranean, the *Baḥriyye*, containing 129 chapters each provided with a map in which he gives an exact description of the Mediterranean and all its parts. His models are Italian portulans and other navigational handbooks, the major part of which have disappeared. He first dedicated the work to Sultan Selīm I in 927/1521. After the latter's death he prepared a second edition with many additional maps, a modified text, and a poetical introduction of some 1200 verses in Turkish on the lore of the sea and the sailor, which he presented in 932/1525-26 to Sultan Süleymān by means of the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha (see P. Kahle, *Piri Reʾīs und seine Baḥrīye* in *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie ..., Festband E. Oberhummer*, Leipzig-Vienna 1929, 60-76; idem, *Baḥriyya, das türkische Segelhandbuch für das Mittelländische Meer vom Jahre 1521*, the first part of an unfinished edition, Berlin-Leipzig 1926; the complete work in facsimile, *Kitabi Bahriye*, Istanbul 1935).

A similar work of marine geography and navigation on the Indian Ocean was written in 961/1554 by Seyyidī ʿAlī Reʾīs b. Ḥüseyn, known as Kātib-i Rūmī (died 970/1562), entitled "The Ocean" (*al-Muḥīṭ*). ʿAlī Reʾīs made use of the experience of South Arabian sailors who had served as guides for Vasco de Gama on his voyage to Calicut, and also translated parts of Suleymān al-Mahrī's *al-ʿUmda al-Mahriyya* into Turkish in his work (see W. Tomaschek and M. Bittner, *Die topographischen Kapitel des indischen Seespiegels Mohit*, Vienna 1897; for the Arabic precursors see Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages et textes géographiques ...*, ii, Paris 1914).

Yet another work of marine geography from a later period is the "Book of the Black and White Seas" (*Kitāb Baḥr al-aswad wa 'l-abyaḍ*) written by Seyyid Nūḥ during the reign of Meḥemmed IV (see F. Babinger, *Seyyid Nūḥ and his Turkish sailing handbook* in *Imago Mundi*, xii (1955), 180-2).

A kind of terrestrial counterpart to these works of marine geography is the "Collection of Stations" (*Medjmūʿ-i menāzil*), an illustrated book by Naṣūḥ al-Maṭrāḳī (dates unknown) in which he describes briefly and depicts separately the stages of Sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnī's first Persian expedition (940-2/1534-5). It exists only in a single manuscript, in all probability the dedication copy for the sultan, in the University Library in Istanbul, and constitutes an important source for the military routes used by the sultans for their eastern expeditions (see Albert

Gabriel, *Les étapes d'une campagne dans les deux Irak d'après un manuscrit turc du XVIe siècle* in *Syria* (1928), 328-41; Franz Taeschner, *The itinerary of the first Persian campaign of Sultan Suleyman 1534-36, according to Naṣūḥ al-Maṭrāḳī* in *Imago Mundi* xiii (1956), 53-5; idem, *Das Itinerar des ersten Persienfeldzuges des Sultans Süleyman Kanuni nach Matrakçi Nasuh*, in *ZMDG*, 1961).

The campaign itineraries of sultans Selīm I and Süleymān I, as well as those of Murād IV are contained, moreover, in the collection of documents called *Münshe'āt al-Selāṭīn* of Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg (d. 991/1583), or his continuator (only the two volume second edition of the *Münshe'āt* contains the itineraries, Istanbul 1274-75/1857-59; the itineraries there are enumerated in F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, i, Leipzig 1924, 20).

The most important comprehensive geographical work, constituting at the same time the transition in Turkey from the mediaeval oriental to the modern European point of view, is the "View of the World" (*Djihānnümā*) of the famous scholar Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbdallāh, known as Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*] or Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa (1017-67/1609-57). The work has a complicated history. Kâtib Čelebi began it twice and twice it remained uncompleted. In 1058/1648 he had begun it as cosmography in the medieval style of such works as the one mentioned above of Meḥmed ʿĀshīḳ, which he used and acknowledged. After he had described oceans, rivers and lakes, he started on lands, of which the western came first, Muslim Spain and North Africa. The lands of the Ottoman Empire were to follow as the main section, which he began with the three imperial capitals, Bursa, Edirne and Constantinople, followed by the provinces of the European half of the empire, Rumelia, Bosnia and Hungary (from a manuscript of this version in Vienna, J. von Hammer translated *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812; see F. Taeschner, *Die Vorlage von Hammers "Rumeli und Bosna"* in *MOG*, i (1923-25), 308-10).

When Kātib Čelebī had reached the heading Hatván in writing the description of Hungary he came across a copy of the *Atlas Minor* of Gerhard Mercator, edited by Jodocus Hondius in 1621 at Arnheim. He abandoned the *Djihānnümā* and from 1064/1654 on, with the help of a French renegade, Meḥmed Efendi Ikhlāṣī, he worked at a translation of the atlas, to which he gave the title *Lewāmiʿ al-nūr fī ẓulumāt-i Aṭlās Minūr*.

When this work was two-thirds finished Kâtib Čelebi began again to write his *Djihānnümā*, according to a new plan based on the western model. This time however he began in east Asia for which he used, in addition to European, Oriental sources as well, such as the *Khitāy-nāme* of ʿAlī Akbar; these preponderated the further west he moved. When he had progressed in his description from east to west as far as Armenia (Eyālet of Vān), death hastened on by an accident stayed his hand (1067/1657). Thus the second version of his work also remained unfinished.

Yet another European work was to provide the impulse for the continuation of the *Djihānnümā* and eventually its completion. On 14 August 1668 the Dutch envoy Colier presented to Sultan Meḥemmed IV in Edirne on behalf of his government a copy of the Latin edition in eleven volumes of Blaeu's *Atlas Maior sive Cosmographia Blaviana* (1662). A few years later, in 1086/1675, the Sultan had this work translated into Turkish by Abū Bakr b. Bahrām al-Dimashḳī (d. 1102/1691). Abū Bakr published his translation under the title *Nuṣrat al-Islām wa 'l-surūr fī taḳrīr-i Aṭlas Māyūr*, and based on it, with the further use of other, especially, Oriental sources, produced a "Major Geography" (*Djughrāfiyā-yi kebīr*) (see P. Kahle, *The Geography of Abu Bekr Ibn Behram ad-Dimashki*: Ms. A.S. 575 of the Chester Beatty Collection).

When later, in 1140/1728, the Hungarian renegade Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa established the first printing-press in Istanbul, the *Djihānnümā* of Kātib Čelebi became the eleventh product (in 1145/1732) in the new Turkish art of printing. As a basis for this edition Ibrāhīm used the second version of the work, that is, the description of Asia begun by Kātib Čelebi, and supplemented this with the corresponding portions ("insertions", *lāḥiḳa*) from the work of Abū Bakr, so that the printed edition included the complete description of Asia. In the introductory chapters containing astronomical, mathematical and geographical data, he brought the work up to date by means of series of "printer's addenda" (*tadhyīl al-ṭābiʿ*) (see F. Taeschner, *Zur Geschichte des Djihānnumā* in *MSOS* ii, 29 (1926), 99-111; idem., *Das Hauptwerk der geographischen Literatur der Osmanen, Kâtib Çelebis Gihannüma* in *Imago Mundi* 1935, 44-7; *Kâtip Čelebi, Hayatı ve eserleri hakkında incelemeler*, Ankara 1957: on the *Djihānnümā* the essay by Hamit Sadi Selen, 121-36).

In 1153/1740 one Shehrīzāde Aḥmed b. Müdhehhib Saʿīd (d. 1178/1764-5) undertook a further continuation of Kātib Čelebi's *Djihānnümā* with the title *Rawḍat al-anfus*. But the work was never printed owing on the one hand to the death of Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa (1157/1744) after which the press was silenced and, on the other hand, to the influx of original European literature in the face of which Turkish productions in the geographical field lost in originality and thereby in interest.

Concerning travel descriptions those of ʿAlī Akbar from China and his sojourn there have been mentioned. Worthy also of indication is the brief description by Seyyidī ʿAlī Reʾīs of his journey to India and, after the unsuccessful Ottoman naval expedition against the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, his fortunate return to the sultan's court in Edirne. These are contained in the tiny book *Mirʾāt al-mamālik* (completed 964/1557 and printed Istanbul 1313; Eng. tr., A. Vambéry, *Travels and adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reïs .... during the years 1553-1556*, London 1899).

The major work, however, in the field of travel description is the great, ten-volume "Travel Book" (*Seyāḥatnāme*) or "History of the Traveller" (*Taʾrīkh-i seyyāḥ*) of Ewliyā b. Derwīsh Meḥemmed Ẓillī, usually known as Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*]. It is a unique work in the entire literature of the Islamic peoples. For forty years (1631-1670) Ewliyā Čelebi travelled in every direction throughout the Ottoman Empire and its neighbouring lands, largely as field chaplain in the retinues of dignitaries, governors and ambassadors, as well as with divisions of the army. His work is thus a kind of memoir and contains in addition to a knowledge of the lands which he visited many insights into the higher politics of his period. Besides his own experiences he has mingled the results of his reading and the manifold products of his lively imagination in the work. Through his contacts with political personalities and his participation in their destinies, Ewliyā Čelebi's book has become an important record for the history of his times.

A stimulation to travel description was provided by the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. There are indeed, especially from the 18th century, a series of texts which describe the journey from Üsküdar, the point of departure on the Asiatic coast of the Bosphorus for pilgrims to Mecca, and the ceremonies accomplished in Mecca. Most of the pilgrims limited their descriptions to the latter and touched only in passing the voyage itself. Some, however, did describe the journey and for that reason are of importance from the point of view of geography. The most detailed of these is "The ceremonies of the pilgrimage" (*Manāsik al-ḥadjdj*) by Meḥemmed Edīb (1193/1779) (printed in Istanbul 1232/1816-17; Fr. tr. by M. Bianchi, *Itinéraire de Constantinople à la Mecque* in *Recueil des Voyages et des Mémoires publiés par la Société de Géographie*, ii, Paris 1825, in which the work is wrongly dated 1093/1682 instead of 1193/1779).

To travel literature in a certain sense belong also the reports from the ambassadors of the Porte to European courts (*Sefāretnāme*). These belong at the same time to the category of historical literature, for which reason they are generally included by the historiographers of the Empire in their works (enumerated by me in *ZDMG*, lxxvii (1923), 75-8; more completely by Faik Reşit Unat in *Tarih Vesikaları*, reprinted in *Resimli Tarih Mecmuası*, 8 August 1950) (see further ELČI).

A brief word may also be said concerning cartography. Pīrī Reʾīs's world map of 1513, originally in two parts, has already been described above. In his sailing manual for the Mediterranean (the *Baḥriyye*), Pīrī Reʾīs included in each chapter, after the fashion of the Italian portulans and probably based on them, a map representing the region of the Mediterranean treated in the respective chapter. The late editor of the periodical *Imago Mundi*, Leo Bagrov, had in his possession such a map of the entire Mediterranean with parallel meridians, based on a mistaken planispheric concept.

The manuscripts of the first version of Kātib Čelebi's *Djihānnümā* have in the margins finely sketched maps of the *Liwā* (*Sandjaḳ*) in question. The 1145/1732 printing of the *Djihānnümā* is provided with full-page maps, obviously in the style of contemporary European cartography, but with inverse orientation (north at the bottom). From the workshop of the printer Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa came as well a manuscript map of the Near and Middle East, now preserved in the Austrian Military Archives, dated either 1139/1726-7 or 1141/1728-9 (see F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, ii, Leipzig 1926, 62 ff.).

In conclusion brief reference may be made to the world map known as that of Ḥadjdjī Aḥmed of Tunis, dated 967/1559, in the Marciana in Venice. At one time believed to be of Muslim origin, this has now been shown to be of European manufacture, prepared for the Muslim market (V. L. Ménage, '*The Map of Hajji Ahmed' and its makers*, in *BSOAS*, xxi, 1958, 271-314; see also George Kish, *The suppressed Turkish map of 1560*, Ann Arbor (William L. Clements library, 1957 [includes facsimile]).

Bibliography: in the article, and general: F. Taeschner, *Die geographische Literatur der Osmanen*, in *ZDMG*, lxxvii (1923), 31-80; F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, in which the geographical writers are also discussed; Abdülhak Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Ilim*, Istanbul 1943; idem, *La science chez les Turcs Ottomans*, Paris 1939.

(FR. TAESCHNER)

DJUḤĀ (جحا or جحى), the nickname of a personage whom popular imagination made the hero of a few hundred jests, anecdotes and amusing stories. The oldest literary instance of this name goes back to the first half of the 3rd/9th century, in al-Djāḥiẓ, who numbers Djuḥā among others renowned for their follies (*Risāla fi 'l-Ḥakamayn*, ed. Pellat, in *Machriq*, 1958, 431), and attributes to him futile schemes and an extraordinary tendency to make mistakes and blunders; the same author also quotes (*K. al-Bighāl*, ed. Pellat, Cairo 1955, 36) a story borrowed from Abu 'l-Ḥasan [al-Madāʾinī?] in which Djuḥā gives an unexpected but witty retort to a Ḥimṣī (the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ were considered particularly dull-witted; see R. Basset, *1001 Contes*, i, 427-8, 451-2). Already a by-word by the time of al-Djāḥiẓ, Djuḥā soon became the central figure in a number of stories which were to form the anonymous miscellany called *K. Nawādir Djuḥā*, mentioned by the *Fihrist* (written in 377/987-8) in the following century (i, 313; Cairo ed., 435), from which later writers, notably al-Ābī (d. 422/1030) in *Nathr al-durar* (*MS* Dār al-kutub) and al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124) were to borrow material. In recording the term *aḥmaḳ min Djuḥā*, the latter quotes three anecdotes and adds that Djuḥā was a member of the Banū Fazāra bearing the *kunya* of Abu 'l-Ghuṣn; this is also mentioned in other works: the *Nathr al-durar*, the *Ṣaḥāḥ* (s.v.) by al-Djawharī (d. ca. 400/1009), the *Akhbār al-ḥamḳā wa -'l-mughaffalīn* (Damascus [1926]) by Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), the *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh* (Paris *MS*. 1588, s.a. 160) by Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363), the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* (s.v. *dādjin*) by al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405), the *Ḳāmūs* (sub *D.DJ.N.*, *DJ.Ḥ.W.*, *GH.Ṣ.N.*), the *Lisān* (sub *GH.Ṣ.N.*), the *Mudḥik al-ʿabūs* (anonymous *MS*. Dār al-kutub, 5102 *adab*.). As for his name, it varies according to the source: Nūḥ, Dudjayn/al-Dudjayn b. Thābit (or b. al-Ḥārith), finally ʿAbd Allāh. None of them calls into question his historical existence: the *Nathr al-durar* makes him live more than a hundred years, and die at Kūfa in the reign of Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75), and refers to a text, now lost, by al-Djāḥiẓ in which moreover was quoted a poem by ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (d. 93/712?) containing an allusion to Djuḥā (but this poem does not appear in the *Dīwān* of the poet); for his part, Ibn al-Djawzī, who undertakes the defence, asserts that he was simply scatter-brained (*mughaffal*) and that it was his neighbours, at whom he jested, who made up at his expense the stories which we know; he quotes among his contemporaries Makkī b. Ibrāhīm (116-214 or 215/734-830 or 831; see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, s.v.; the passage from Ibn al-Djawzī was taken up by the author of the *Nuzhat al-udabāʾ*; but the translation given in *Fourberies* [see Bibliography], 4-5, should be corrected), and some anecdotes actually connecting him with certain personnages of the first half of the 2nd/8th century, particularly Abū Muslim and al-Mahdī.

The biographers make mention of a traditionist of weak reputation, Abu 'l-Ghuṣn Dudjayn b. Thābit al-Yarbūʿī al-Baṣrī, whose mother was a slave of the mother of Anas b. Mālik [*q.v.*]; this *tābiʿī*, who collected traditions from Anas, Aslam (*mawlā* of ʿUmar), Hishām b. ʿUrwa, and handed them down to Ibn al-Mubārak, Wakīʿ, and even al-Aṣmaʿī, is said to have been called Djuḥā, so that he is sometimes confused with our hero. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1449) rejects such an identification (*Lisān*

al-mīzān, s.v. Dudjayn), but an earlier and clearer passage from al-Kutubī (*op. cit.*) hints at the solution to this problem: it says in effect that Dudjayn, surnamed Djuḥā, died in 160/777 but adds, according to Ibn Ḥibbān, that two men, one the traditionist [of Baṣra] Dudjayn, and the other Nūḥ = Djuḥā [established at Kūfa], have been confused because both died in 160. This coincidence is, to say the least, strange, and it is not impossible that the traditionist of Baṣra was a victim of the spite of the inhabitants of Kūfa, but, until we are better informed, there is no reason to doubt the historic existence of Djuḥā, who might, moreover, have been called Abu 'l-Ghuṣn Nūḥ al-Fazārī. Some Shīʿī authors regard Djuḥā as a Shīʿī and consider him as a traditionist together with Abū Nuwās and Buhlūl [*qq.v.*]; as a matter of fact, al-Astarābādhī, *Minhādj al-maḳāl*, Tehran 1888, 258, mentions a *Musnad Abī Nuwās wa-Djuḥā wa-Buhlūl* ... *wa-mā rawaw min al-ḥadīth*, which was in the hand of Abū Fāris Shudjāʿ al-Arradjānī, d. 320/932 (cf. J. M. Abd-El-Jalil, *Brève histoire de la litt. ar.*, Paris 1943, 169).

Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who must have had at his disposal sources inaccessible to us, saw in Djuḥā (in *Ḳāmūs*) an open-hearted *tābiʿī* and declared that most of the stories of which he is the hero are without foundation; this proves that the character was well known in Egypt, but throws no light at all on the problem which now presents itself; which is, that at an undetermined date towards the end of the Middle Ages there appeared among the Turks another symbolic figure who, under the name of Naṣr al-Dīn Khōdja [*q.v.*], partially and at least locally took the place of Djuḥā. Indeed the first Arabic edition of the collection of anecdotes published in lithograph about 1880 at Būlāḳ bore the unexpected title of *Nawādir al-Khūdjā Naṣr al-Dīn al-mulaḳḳab bi-Djuḥā al-Rūmī*, and the Egyptians again turned Naṣr al-Dīn and Djuḥā into one and the same person.

For R. Basset (in *Fourberies*, see *Bibliography*), this confusion arises from the fact that the primitive *K. Nawādir Djuḥā* was translated into Turkish in the 9th/15th or 10th/16th century, and that this Turkish version, adapted and amplified, was in turn translated into Arabic in the 11th/17th century; if this latter assertion corresponds with reality, the first is not entirely accepted, and there is every reason for believing, with Christensen (see below), that the "follies" of Naṣr al-Dīn were an independent collection into which were incorporated the stories of Djuḥā which had been handed down orally. This problem, already complex enough, will be examined in the article NAṢR AL-DĪN. We should however note here that the introduction of the figure of Djuḥā among the Turks may have been accomplished through the intermediary of Persia, where A. Christensen (*Júḥí in the Persian Literature*, in *A Volume ... presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 129-36) discovered some early evidence of Djuḥā (Djuḥī/ Djūḥī), notably in the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) and the *Bihāristān* of Djāmī (d. 898/1492).

The method advocated by Christensen, consisting in the search for stories about Djuḥā in literature prior to the presumed appearance of Naṣr al-Dīn, was recently applied independently and successfully by ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrādj, in his *Akhbār Djuḥā* (Cairo n.d. [1954]). Taking advantage of the article NAṢR AL-DĪN in the *EI*¹ (by F. Bajraktarevič), he took as his starting point R. Basset's thesis, without, however, referring to the works of that distinguished orientalist, and attempted partially to restore the original *K. Nawādir Djuḥā*, by a searching analysis of early literary works in Arabic; he thus discovered about 166 anecdotes of which two-thirds (107) appeared in the edition of the collection of *Nawādir Djuḥā*; of the other 241 anecdotes of this latter collection (which he had not immediately eliminated on account of their manifestly recent insertion), he counted 217 for which he could discover no early evidence, 17 in which Tīmūr Lang (8th/14th century) appeared, and finally 7 which contained Turkish words. From these figures, which are by no means final, two provisional conclusions may be drawn: the first, that the proportion of anecdotes attested at an early date is comparatively considerable (40%), and the second, that the additions of undoubted Turkish origin are rather few (6%). These proportions are given here only as an indication, for the published collection which served as a basis for the calculation is very far from containing all the stories in circulation under the name of Djuḥā which in fact belong largely to the world's folk-lore. Farrādj moreover has not examined all the works, as a matter of fact the more recent, which contain further stories about Djuḥā, whether or not the name appears therein, in particular Ibn Ḥidjdja (d. 837/1434), *Thamarāt al-awrāḳ*, Būlāḳ 1300; al-Ibshīhī (d. after 805/1446), *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo n.d.; al-Ḳalyūbī, *Nawādir*, Cairo 1302 (see O. Rescher, *Die Geschichten und Anekdoten aus Qaljûbi's Nawādir*, Stuttgart 1920); al-Balawī, *K. Alif bā'*, Cairo 1287; *Nuzhat al-udabā'*, B.N. Paris MSS 6008, 6710.

The jests of Djuḥā are known outside the Muslim world (see NAṢR AL-DĪN), and on the east coast of Africa they are attributed to Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] but the character is popular in Nubia (Djawha), in Malta (Djahan), in Sicily and in Italy (Giufà or Giucca) and, with greater reason, in North Africa, where he was certainly introduced at an early period (al-Ḥuṣrī [d. 413/1022], *Djamʿ al-Djawāhir*, Cairo 1953, 82, knows that a wit of the 3rd/9th century, Abu 'l-ʿAbar, wore a ring on which was engraved "Djuḥā died on [a] Wednesday"; in the 11th/17th century Yūsuf b. al-Wakīl al-Mīlawī wrote an *Irshād man naḥā ilā nawādir Djuḥā*, see L. Nemoy, *Ar. MSS in the Yale Univ. Lib.*, New Haven 1956, no. 1203). Some vestiges certainly remain, in Arabic or Berber, of the primitive Arabic version, amplified doubtless by folk-lore elements from other sources. A. Mouliéras (see *Bibliography*) has succeeded in mustering 60 "fourberies" in Kabyle, and some of them can be found in several studies of Berber dialectology (H. Stumme, *Märchen der Berbern von Tamazratt*, Leipzig 1900, 39-40; R. Basset, *Zenatia du Mzab*, Paris 1892, 102, 109; idem, *Recueil de textes* .... Algiers 1887, 38; idem, *Manuel Kabyle*, Paris 1887, 37*; B. Ben Sedira, *Cours de langue kabyle*, Algiers 1887, *passim*; S. Biarnay, *Dial. berbère des Bet't'ioua du Vieil Arzeu*, Algiers 1911, 130; E. Laoust, *Dial. berbère du Chenoua*, Paris 1912, 185, 190). The personality of the Berber Djuḥā formed the subject of a rather detailed analysis by H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 170 ff., which for the greater part holds good for the Arab Djuḥā. In dialectal Arabic, most manuals reproduce some anecdotes (see especially F. Mornand, *La vie arabe*, Paris 1856, 115-24; F. Pharaon, *Spahis et Turcos*, Paris 1864, 174-210; Abderrahman Mohammed, *Enseignement de l'arabe parlé*..., Algiers ²1913, 1-28; Allaoua ben Yahia, *Recueil de thèmes et versions*, Mostaganem 1890, 1-66, *passim*; L. Machuel, *Méthode pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé*, Algiers ⁵1900, 210 ff;.

references in H. Pérès, *L'arabe dialectal algérien et saharien, bibliographie ...*, Algiers 1958, 111). For Morocco, there is a series in G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, Paris² 1955, 87-114, and *Recueil de textes en arabe marocain*, Paris 1937, 15-26. The Moroccans claim that the authentic Djuḥā (Žḥa) was originally from Fās, where a road bears his name (L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1931, 118); as opposed to this Žḥa 'l-Fāsi, malicious and humorous, there are some secondary characters, also called Žḥa, but who symbolize the gullible provincial. The Moroccans make a sharp distinction between their national and multiform Žḥa and the "Egyptian" Djuḥā (Goḥa), confused in the printed collection with Naṣr al-Dīn. The Goḥa who was the hero of a tale by A. Adès and A. Josipovici, *Le livre de Goha le simple*, Paris n.d. [ca. 1916] has just (1959) made his appearance in the cinema in a film in two versions, Arabic and French, based on the above-mentioned novel and entitled *Goha* (although pronounced Žḥa by the Tunisian actors).

There the popular figure of Djuḥā can hardly be rediscovered. Of him al-Suyūṭī (in *Ḳāmūs*) said: "No-one should laugh at him on hearing of the amusing stories told against him; on the contrary it is fitting that everyone should ask God to allow him to profit from the *barakāt* of Djuḥā [as a *tābiʿī*]"; he was a little ingenuous, simple and sometimes clumsy, but at times singularly clever, later on, he appeared in many different aspects: rarely completely stupid, he was more often, under a foolish exterior, supremely cunning; he sometimes assumed the demeanour of a simpleton only to hoax his fellows or to gull them and live at their expense, for parasitism was his life; his sham silliness was prompted by interest and his intentions were rarely honest. Fertile in expedients, capable, through his knack of doing the right thing, of extricating himself from the most delicate situations, he reminds us less of Gribouille than of Panurge and, by his "espiègleries", of Eulenspiegel.

It is indeed strange that folklore has retained the name of Djuḥā from among so many figures who were at an early period proverbial among the Arabs and who are now forgotten; that it has gathered round his name a great part of the little stories of which they were the heroes, and that it has preferred him to all the professional humorists (see F. Rosenthal, *Humour in early Islam*, Leiden 1956) who flourished in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries and vied with each other in inventing droll stories [see NĀDIRA].

Bibliography: The first Arab edition of the *Nawādir* was followed in 1299/1883 by the *Nawādir Djuḥā*, then by the *Ḳiṣṣat Djuḥā*, Beirut 1890, and by a series of popular editions in booklet form. A translation of the Turkish collection was elaborated by Ḥikmat Sharīf al-Ṭarābulusī who published it under the title *Nawādir Djuḥā al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d.; also to be noted are Ḥasan Ḥusnī Aḥmad, *Djuḥā, ta'rīkhuh, nawādiruh, ḥikāyātuh, ʿilmuh, khawāṭiruh, falsafatuh*, Cairo 1950; ʿAṭā' Allāh Tarzī Pasha, *Djuḥā al-ḳāḍī*, in *al-Risāla*, no. 993 (4 July, 1952). R. Basset has explained his thesis in an introduction to A. Mouliéras, *Les fourberies de Si Djeh'a*, Paris 1892, 1-79 and 183-7, which comprises a comparative and abundantly annotated table of the three versions, Turkish, Arabic and Berber; there are also some studies by the same author, published in the *Revue des traditions populaires*, as well as *1001 Contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1924, i, *passim*, where some stories are translated. For translations, see Galland, *Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots et les maximes des Orientaux*, Paris 1694, the works cited by R. Basset, in *Fourberies*, 12, and especially A. Wesselski, *Der Hodscha Nasreddin*, Weimar 1911, 2 vols. and T. Garcia-Figueras, *Cuentos de Ŷeha ...*, Jerez 1934. —see also the Bibliography of the article NAṢR AL-DĪN. (CH. PELLAT)

DJUHAYNA [see Supplement].

DJULAMARG [see ÇÖLEMERIK].

AL-**DJULANDĀ** (also AL-DJULUNDĀ, according to *TA* and *al-Iṣāba*) B. **MASʿŪD** B. **DJAʿFAR** B. AL-**DJULANDĀ** was the chief of the Ibāḍī Azd in ʿUmān. During the caliphate of the Umayyad Marwān II al-Djulandā supported the claims of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, known as Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ, who was defeated and killed in 129/747. When the ʿAbbāsids came to power the Ibāḍīs tried to assert their independence in ʿUmān and elected al-Djulandā as their first imām, but in the year 134/752 al-Saffāḥ sent an expedition under Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī against the Khāridjīs in the ʿUmān region. He first drove the Sufrīs out of Djazīrat Ibn Kāwān (Ḳishm [*q.v.*]); they took refuge in ʿUmān where they were routed by al-Djulandā, so that when Khāzim crossed to ʿUmān he had only the Ibāḍīs to subdue. They refused to pay homage to al-Saffāḥ and resisted successfully until Khāzim adopted the stratagem of setting fire to their hutments, thus causing them to abandon their positions and rush to save their women and children. In their panic they were cut down with an estimated loss of 10,000 men, including al-Djulandā.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1, 77-8; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 346-7; Masʿūdī, vi, 66-7; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 405 (ed. Beirut 1960, ii, 339); Ibn Kathīr, x, 57; al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān* (1332), i, 66-72; Salīl Ibn Razīḳ, *Imams and Sayyids of 'Oman* (tr. G. P. Badger), 7-8; Sirḥān b. Saʿīd b. Sirḥān, *Kashf al-ghumma* (tr. E. C. Ross as *Annals of Oman*), Calcutta 1874, 12. (W. ʿARAFAT)

DJULFA (i) [see Supplement]. (ii) [see IṢFAHĀN].

DJULŪS [see KHILĀFA, SULṬĀN, TAḲLĪD-I SAYF, TA'RĪKH].

DJUMʿA (Yawm al-), the weekly day of communal worship in Islam. The only reference to it in the Ḳur'ān, LXII, 9-11, clearly indicates that the term is pre-Islamic, for v. 9 says: "When you are called to prayer *on the day of* the assembly", and not "to the Prayer of the Assembly". The decisive proof for the correctness of this interpretation is the fact that Ibn Ubayy read *yawm al-ʿarūba al-kubrā* for *yawm al-djumʿa*, the former being another pre-Islamic name for Friday, meaning eve of the Sabbath, cf. A. Jeffery, *Text of the Qur'ān*, 1937, 170; R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, 1950, 825.

The expression *yawm al-djumʿa*, "the day when people come together", an exact equivalent of Hebrew (and Aramaic) *yōm hak-kenīsa*, designated the market day, which was held in the oasis of al-Madīna on Friday, "when the Jews bought their provisions for the Sabbath", cf. Kāshānī, *Badā'iʿ al-ṣanā'iʿ*, Cairo 1327/8, i, 268 and Ibn Saʿd iii, 1, 83, where *tdjhz* (*tadjahhazu*) is to be read for *ydjhr*, as in Kāshānī. It is natural that the day preceding the weekly holiday of the Jews should have been chosen as the market day in a place like Medina, which had a large Jewish population. Similarly, in Islam, Thursday served as a weekly market day all over Arabia, cf. H.St. J. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, 1952, 36, 130, 233, 274-5, 387, 485-7, 597. Friday as market day is well attested in pre-Islamic Jewish literature,

cf. S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archaeologie*, Leipzig 1911, ii, 690, note 340.

According to the unanimous testimony of the ancient Muslim sources, no Friday service was held in Mecca, cf., *e.g.*, al-Ṭabarī, i, 1256. However, even before Muḥammad arrived in Medina, the Muslims convened there for public worship, but it was Muḥammad who ordered that it should be observed regularly on "the day when the Jews prepared for their Sabbath", cf. Ibn Saʿd, quoted above, and parallel sources. The Jewish and Christian institutions of a weekly day of public worship might have served as an example in general, as suggested by al-Ḳasṭallānī, ii, 176. However, the reference to the Jews in the ancient account of the inauguration of the Friday service betrays no particular dependence on Judaism, nor a polemical tendency against the older religions —two assumptions in vogue in modern research on the subject, cf. D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, 1905, 248-9, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet* 1957, 522, and the works of Wensinck, Buhl and Watt quoted in the bibliography. It was Muḥammad's practical wisdom, which decided for Friday, as in any case on that day the people of the widely dispersed oasis dwellings of Medina gathered regularly for their weekly market.

This origin of the Friday service explains one of its most puzzling aspects: It is held at noon, a very inconvenient time in a hot climate. The market is dissolved early in the afternoon, see, for Arabia, *e.g.*, Philby, *Arabian Highlands* 234. In classical times, ἀγορῆς διάλυσις, the breaking up of the market, was a term designating the early afternoon, Liddell and Scott s.v. Thus noon was the reasonable time for the public prayer.

The admonition of the Ḳurʾān, not to leave the prayer and to run after business and amusement, LXII, 11, is to be understood against this background. The people of Medina were farmers, not business men; but Friday was their market day, on which also, as everywhere at fairs, amusements were provided.

The main feature of the Friday service is the *k͟huṭba* [*q.v.*], a sermon, the preacher of which holds in his hand a rod or sword or lance. These were originally, as C. H. Becker has pointed out, the insignia of the pre-Islamic judges. Market days provide a natural opportunity for people gathered there to settle their law suits. Philby describes the sitting of the judges on the weekly markets and the same custom prevailed in the Greek world and on the *yōm hak-kenīsa* of the ancient Jews. The ancient epithet *yawm al-ḥarba* "the Day of the Lance", see *TA*, i, 206, s.v. *ḥrb*, may have had its origin in this aspect of the *yawm al-d͟jumʿa*. However, the biographies of the Prophet do not seem to stress that he preferred Friday over other days for sitting as a judge.

From its very inception the Friday service had a political connotation. In early Islam it was a proof that the participants had joined the Muslim community; later on, it implied a manifestation of allegiance to the caliph or governor who conducted the service, or whose name was mentioned in the sermon. This religio-political background explains why attendance at the Friday service—as opposed to the daily prayer—is a duty incumbent on all male, adult, free, resident Muslims; why, according to the S͟hāfiʿīs and many others, it should, if feasible, be held only in one mosque (the *d͟jāmiʿ*) in each town; and why it required a minimum attendance of 40 according to the S͟hāfiʿīs, or at least a sizeable number according to others.

The fully developed Friday ceremonial consists of an *ad͟hān*, which is proclaimed inside the mosque, a *k͟huṭba*, which is said in two sections, during which the preacher is standing up, interrupted by an interval, during which he is required to sit down, and a *ṣalāt*, consisting of two *rakʿa*s, which follows the sermon. Usually, a *ṣalāt* of two *rakʿa*s is performed also before the *k͟huṭba*. According to C. H. Becker, some of these features follow the pattern of the mass in the ancient Oriental churches.

The *yawm al-d͟jumʿa* is not a day of rest. According to Mālik, the *aṣḥāb* disapproved of the practice of some Muslims who refrained from doing work on Friday in imitation of the Jewish and Christian weekly holidays (al-Ṭarṭūs͟hī, *K. al-Ḥawādit͟h*, Tunis 1959, 133). In general, the Sabbath institution is foreign to Islam (for a socio-economic explanation of this difference between Islam and the older religions cf. S. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, New York 1955, 39-40). Still we have reports about government offices and schools being closed on Fridays in ʿAbbāsid times, and a query addressed to Maimonides around 1200 speaks about Jewish and Muslim partners in a jewellery workshop, who replaced one another on Fridays and Saturdays (cf. Mos͟he ben Maimon, *Responsa*, Jerusalem 1934, 62). In modern times most Muslim states have made Friday an official day of rest. Turkey has chosen Sunday, while in Pakistān Friday is a half-holiday, Sunday a full day of rest.

As a holiday, Friday is honoured by special food —already referred to in the *Ḥadīt͟h*—and better clothing. The night preceding it is set aside for the fulfilment of matrimonial duties, to be followed on Friday morning by a bath, as well as perfuming.

The Sabbath should be a foretaste of the world to come, where the righteous are granted the beatific vision of God. This idea, prevailing in ancient Judaism, was enormously expanded—or perhaps developed independently—by Islamic mysticism and religious folklore. In Heaven, Friday is called *yawm al-mazīd*, the day of Allāh's special bounty (cf. Sūra L, 35). On it, Allāh sends to each of the pious Muslims in Paradise an apple. When they take the apple in their hands, it splits in two, and out steps a beautiful maid with a sealed letter containing a personal invitation from Allāh. Soon the general move of those who are thus invited begins. The men on horseback, the women in litters, the men led by Muḥammad, who is accompanied by Adam, Moses and Jesus, the women led by Fāṭima and other women saints, all move towards the Holy Enclosure, where a gorgeous meal, described with glowing details, awaits them. At its conclusion the pious call on Allāh asking Him to show them His face. Allāh lifts His veil and reveals Himself to them (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 1326, xxvi, 108; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, i, 72; Abu 'l-Layt͟h al-Samarḳandī, *Ḳurrat al-ʿuyūn*, 130-1 and the extensive literature quoted in S. D. Goitein, *Beholding God on Friday*, in *IC*, xxxiv, 1960, pp. 63-8).

Bibliography: in addition to that indicated in the article: The chapters on *D͟jumʿa* in the collections of *Ḥadīt͟h* and *Fiḳh*; Dimis͟hḳī, *Raḥmat al-umma fī-'k͟htilāf al-aʾimma*, Būlāḳ 1300, 29 ff.; C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus* in *Isl.*, iii, 1912: now in *Islamstudien*, Leipzig 1923, i, 472-500); idem, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam* in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, 1906, i, 331-51: now in *Islamstudien*, i, 450-71); I.

Goldziher, *Die Sabbath-institution im Islam* (*Gedenkbuch für David Kaufmann*, 86-105); Fr. tr. Bousquet, in *Arabica*, vii (1960), 237-40; idem, *Islamisme et Parsisme* (*RHR*, xliii, 1901, 27 ff.); idem, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 40-4; idem, *ZDMG*, xlix, 1895, 315; E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, chap. iii; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 1908, 110 ff. (Fr. tr. in *RAfr.*, 1954); Frants Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 214-5; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 198; Muhammad Hamidullah, *Le prophète de l'Islam*, Paris 1959, 115, 681; S. D. Goitein, *Le culte du Vendredi musulman; son arrière-plan social et économique*, in *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 1958, 488-500; idem, *The origin and nature of the Muslim Friday worship*, in *MW* 1959, 183-95. (S. D. Goitein)

DJUMĀDĀ [see ta'rīkh].

al-**DJUMAḤĪ** [see ibn sallām].

DJUMBLĀṬ [see djanbulāṭ].

DJUMHŪRIYYA, in Turkish *djümhūriyyet*, republic, also republicanism, a term coined in Turkey in the late 18th century from the Arabic *djumhūr*, meaning the crowd, mass, or generality of the people, and first used in connexion with the first French Republic. In classical Arabic, as for example in Arabic versions and discussions of Greek political writings, the usual equivalent of the Greek πολιτεία or Latin *res publica, i.e.*, polity or commonweal, was *madīna*; thus, the 'democratic polity' of Plato's classification is called, by Fārābī and others, *madīna djamāʿiyya* (Fārābī, *Arā' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, ed. Dieterici, Leiden 1895, 62; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in medieval Islam*, Cambridge 1938, 136, 278; F. Rosenthal, *The Muslim concept of freedom*, Leiden 1960, 100-1). According to the law as stated by the Sunnī jurists, the Islamic polity itself was to be headed by a non-hereditary, elective sovereign, subject to and not above the law (see khilāfa). This principle has led some 19th and 20th century writers to describe the Islamic doctrine of the Caliphate as republican (*e.g.*, Nāmīk Kemāl in *Ḥürriyyet*, 14 September 1868, cited by Şerif Mardin, *The genesis of Young Ottoman political thought*, Princeton 1962, 296-7; Agaoghlu Aḥmed, in *Khilāfet we millī ḥākimiyyet*, Ankara 1339 [= 1923], 22 ff.; Rashīd Riḍā, *Al-Khilāfa*, Cairo 1341, 5, tr. in H. Z. Nuseibeh, *The ideas of Arab nationalism*, Cornell 1956, 125). Others, perhaps under the influence of recent developments in the use of the term, have gone further, and described the government of the patriarchal caliphs as a republic. In the more technical sense of a state in which the head holds his place by the choice of a defined electorate exercised through prescribed legal processes, the term republic seems to have no precise equivalent in classical Islamic usage. Such states existed and were encountered in Europe, in Ragusa, Venice and other Italian city republics. Arabic seems to have used no special term for them; thus Ḳalḳashandī, speaking of the government of Genoa, calls them a *djamāʿa mutafāwitū 'l-marātib*; for Venice he speaks only of the Doge (*Ṣubḥ*, viii, 46-8). Turkish used *djumhūr*. Perhaps this was the word chosen by the dragomans of the Porte as equivalent, for official usage, to the Latin *res publica*. Thus, Venedik Djumhūru was the formal translation of 'Republic of Venice'. Even so, the word *djumhūr* was comparatively rare in the sense of republic; more commonly the Turks, in their letters to Venice and their discussions of Venetian affairs, preferred to speak of the Doge (Venedik Dozhu) or Signoria (Venedik Beyleri) rather than of the Republic.

The word *djumhūr* took on new life after the French Revolution, when it was used in Turkish to denote the French Republic as well as other republics —some of them on the borders of Turkey—that were formed on the French model. In Egypt, some of the translators attached to General Bonaparte's expedition, groping for an Arabic equivalent for republic, chose *mashyakha* (cf. J. F. Ruphy, *Dictionnaire abrégé français-arabe*, Paris, an X [1802], 185). This term is recorded by some subsequent Arabic lexicographers, and was used of the French Republic by Ḥaydar al-Shihābī (d. 1835: *Lubnān fī ʿahd al-umarā' al-Shihābiyyīn* Beirut 1933, ii, 218-9 etc.) and others. It was not, however, confirmed by subsequent usage. The documents of the French occupation of Egypt, as cited by Ḥaydar himself (ii, 222-4) and by Niḳūlā al-Turk (cited *op. cit.* 213 n. 1) and al-Djabartī (*ʿAdjā'ib*, iii, 5, etc.; *Maẓhar al-taḳdīs*, ed. Cairo n.d. i, 37) prefer the Ottoman term *djumhūr*, and speak of *al-Djumhūr al-Faransāwī*.

The modern word *djumhūriyya*—which is simply *djumhūr* with an abstract ending—was coined, like many other Islamic neologisms, in Turkey, the first Islamic state to encounter the ideas, institutions, and problems of the modern world, and to seek and find new terms to denote them. It was at first used as an abstract noun denoting a principle or form of government. and meaning republicanism rather than republic, the usual term for which was still *djumhūr* (see for example ʿĀṭif Efendi's memorandum of 1798, in Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*², vi, 395, speaking of 'equality and republicanism'—*müsāwāt we-djümhūriyyet*; the documents on the Septinsular republic (*Djezā'ir-i Sebʿa-i Müdjtemiʿa Djümhūru*) of 1799 published by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı in *Belleten*, i, 1937, 633,—*djümhūriyyet wedjhile idjtimāʿ*; the despatches of Ḥālet Efendi from Paris in E. Z. Karal, *Halet Efendinin Paris Büyük Elçiliği* (*1802-06*), Istanbul 1940, 35; cf. ʿĀṣim, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 61-2, 78-9, and the Turkish translation of Botta's *Storia d'Italia*, Cairo 1249/1834, repr. Istanbul 1293/1876, passim. Shaykh Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Tahtāwī (*Talkhīṣ al-ibrīz*), Būlāḳ 1834, Ch. 5 = Cairo ed. 1958, 252-3) uses *djumhūriyya* in both senses). From Turkey the term spread to the Arabs, Persians, Indians, and other peoples, and was used in the new political literature inspired by western liberal and constitutional ideas. In the 19th century republic and democracy were still regarded as broadly synonymous terms, and the same words were often used for both. It is instructive to trace the renderings of the terms democracy and republic in the 19th century dictionaries from English or French into Arabic, Turkish etc. Bocthor (1828) translates the two terms by *Ḳiyām al-djumhūr bi 'l-ḥukm* and *djumhūr* or *mashyakha*; Handjeri (1840) by *ḥukūmat al-djumhūr al-nās* [*sic*] and *djumhūr*; Redhouse (1860) translates democracy as *djümhūr* or *djümhūriyyet uṣūlu*, republic as *djümhūr*, and republicanism as *djümhūriyyet*. Zenker (1866) and Sami Frasheri (1883) already identify *djümhūriyyet* with republic. In Urdū the same word, with a minor variation, has served both for democracy (*djumhūriyyat*) and republic (*djumhūriyya*).

Republican ideas are rarely expressed in the writings of the 19th century Muslim liberals, even the most radical of whom seem to have thought in terms of a constitutional monarchy rather than a republic. Even where the terms *djumhūrī* and *djumhūriyya* do occur, they often connote popular and representative rather than republican govern-

ment (see for example the instructive comments of ʿAlī Suʿāwī in 1876 on the 'true meaning' of *djumhūr*, cited in M. C. Kuntay, *Ali Suavi*, Istanbul 1946, 95, tr. in Ş. Mardin, *op. cit.*, 382-3. It is probably in this sense that the term is used of the Lebanese peasant rebels led by Ṭanyūs Shāhīn: see Yūsuf Ibrāhīm Yazkak, *Thawra wa-fitna fī Lubnān*, Damascus 1938, 87; Eng. trans. M. H. Kerr, *Lebanon in the last years of feudalism..*, Beirut 1959, 53; cf. Raʾīf al-Khūrī, *Al-fikr al-ʿarabī al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1943, 94). During the 20th century, however, republicanism developed rapidly. The first republics to be established were in the Muslim territories of the Russian Empire, when the temporary relaxation of pressure from the centre after the revolutions of 1917 allowed an interval of local experimentation. In May 1918, after the dissolution of the short-lived Transcaucasian Federation, the Ādharbāydjānī members of the former Transcaucasian parliament, together with the Muslim National Council, declared Ādharbāydjān an independent republic—the first Muslim republic in modern times. In April 1920 it was conquered by the Red Army, and a Soviet Republic formed. The same pattern was followed by the Bashkirs and other Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire, who set up their own national republics, all of which were in due course taken over and reconstituted by the Communists, and incorporated, in one form or another, in the U.S.S.R.

The first Muslim republic to be established outside the Russian Empire seems to have been the Tripolitanian Republic, proclaimed in November 1918 by Sulaymān Pasha al-Bārūnī [*q.v.*] (documents in ʿA. K. Gharāʾiba, *Dirāsāt fī taʾrīkh Ifrīḳiya al-ʿArabiyya*, Damascus 1960, 105 ff.), and later incorporated in the Italian colony of Libya. The first independent republic to remain both independent and a republic was that of Turkey, proclaimed on 29 October 1923 (for texts and debates see A. S. Gözübüyük and S. Kili, *Türk Anayasa metinleri*, Ankara 1957, 95 f.; K. Arıburnu, *Millî Mücadele ve inkılâplarla ilgili kanunlar*, i, Ankara 1957, 32 ff.; cf. E. Smith, *Debates on the Turkish constitution of 1924*, in *Ankara Üniv. Siyasat Bilg. Fak. Derg.*, xiii (1958), 82-105). In Syria-Lebanon republican ideas were current in some circles at an earlier date, and the forms of government set up by the French as mandatory power were generally republican in tendency. The republics were not, however, formally constituted until some years later; Greater Lebanon was proclaimed a republic on 23 May 1926, Syria on 22 May 1930.

The ending of West European colonial rule in Islamic lands after the second World War brought several new republics into being. The republic of Indonesia was proclaimed in August 1945; Pakistan, independent since 1947, introduced a new theme by declaring an 'Islamic Republic' in November 1953. In Africa, the Sudan became a republic on attaining independence in January 1956; Tunisia, already independent, abolished the monarchy and proclaimed a republic in May 1959. Among the older Arab states in the Middle East two new republics were established after the revolutionary overthrow of the existing monarchical régimes—in Egypt in June 1953, in ʿIrāḳ in July 1958. A union of Egypt and Syria, called the United Arab Republic (*al-Djumhūriyya al-ʿArabiyya al-Muttaḥida*) was formed in February 1958 and dissolved in September 1961. The name United Arab Republic has been retained by Egypt. An anti-monarchist revolution began in the Yemen in September 1962. At the present time the majority of Muslim states are called republics, though the common designation covers a wide variety of political realities.

Bibliography: given in the article. On the idea of freedom see ḤURRIYYA; on political thought in general, see SIYĀSA; on constitutions see DUSTŪR; on parliamentary government, see MADJLIS; on revolutionary and insurrectionary movements, see INḲILĀB and THAWRA; on military rule, see NIẒĀM ʿASKARĪ; on socialism, see ISHTIRĀKIYYA; on the case-histories, see the articles on the individual countries. (B. LEWIS)

DJÜMHŪRIYYET KHALḲ FİRḲASİ (modern Turkish *Cümhuriyet Halk Partisi*, Republican People's Party), the oldest political party in the Turkish Republic, was organized by Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] in Ankara on 11 September 1339/1923. It was successor to the Society for the Defence of Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia (*Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdâfaʿa-i Ḥuḳūḳ Djemʿiyyeti*) the organization formed by Kemal in 1919 as the political instrument to fight the War of Independence. The party's original name was *Khalḳ Fîrḳasi.* On 10 November 1340/1924 the name was changed to *Djümhūriyyet Khalḳ Fîrḳasi*, and at the 4th National Congress in 1935, in connexion with the language modernization programme, became the *Cümhuriyet Halk Partisi* (*CHP*).

Few exact membership figures for the party are available. Membership in 1948 was estimated at 1,898,000, or about 10% of the population.

The party is organized vertically beginning with the branch (*ocak*) in villages, localities and sub-divisions of towns and cities. The number of these local branches was estimated in 1950 to be about 23,000. The organization continues at the county (*nahiye*), district (*kaza*), and province (*vilâyet*) levels, and culminates in the national organization with head-quarters in Ankara. The party is headed by a General Chairman (*Genel Başkan*), a post occupied from 1923 to 1938 by Atatürk, and since that time by İsmet İnönü. In 1927 Atatürk was made "unchanging" (*değişmez*) General Chairman, and after his death the Special National Congress of 1939 proclaimed him "eternal" (*ebedi*) General Chairman. Most of the actual work of the party, however, is directed by the General Secretary. General Secretaries have included Recep Peker (1923-5 and 1931-6); Şükrü Kaya (1936-8); Refik Saydam (1938-9); Dr. Fikri Tuzer (1939-42); Memduh Şevket Esendal (1942-5); Nafi Atuf Kansu (1945-7); Tevfik Fikret Sılay (1947-50); Kasım Gülek (1950-9); Ismail Rüştü Aksal (1959-62); and Kemal Satir (1962 —). The National Congress meets periodically to make general policy and elect a 40-member Executive Committee. Fifteen regular Congresses were held between 1919 and 1961. The Sivas Congress of the Defence of Rights Society in 1919 is generally called the first Congress of the party. In addition there were special Congresses in 1939 and 1946. The 2nd National Congress in 1927 was the occasion of Atatürk's Six-Day Speech (*Büyük Nutuk*).

Party organization has vacillated from time to time between tendencies toward more or less centralization. In the 1920's the national organization controlled its branches tightly through a network of Inspectors and sub-Inspectors. In 1930 maximum authority and responsibility were given to local and provincial party officials. The period of greatest centralization was between 1936 and 1939 when the Interior Minister was concurrently CHP General Secretary, and governors of the provinces were also

CHP chairmen in their provinces. Since 1950 law as well as political expediency has resulted in considerable decentralization, though policy and party discipline remain in the hands of the national organization.

From 1923 to 1946 the CHP was the sole party in the Grand National Assembly, except for two occasions when opposition was permitted but then eliminated after short periods. The oppositions were the Republican Progressive Party (*Teraḳḳiperver Djümhüriyyet Firḳasi*) of 1924, composed of a group of prominent conservatives who split off from the CHP when Atatürk began his personal direction and domination. The Progressive Party was closed by the government in 1925 in reaction to a resurgence of conservative sentiment in the country. In 1930 another attempt at opposition took place when Atatürk persuaded several close friends to form the Free Party (*Serbest Fırka*), but this party also was dissolved after three months when it became the rallying ground for counter-revolutionary groups. Neither of these parties contested a general election. After the failure of the Free Party Atatürk introduced several "independent deputies" into the 1931 and 1935 Assemblies. They were to criticize and to be free of party discipline, but not to organize as an opposition or oppose basic aspects of the CHP program. By 1939, these independents were limited to a token representation of non-Muslim minorities. In addition the 1939 party Congress decided on the formation of an Independent Group of 21 members selected from among the already-elected CHP deputies. In the 7th Assembly in 1943 the size of the Independent Group was increased to 25. The Independent Group was abolished by the Special National Congress of 1946 when it was decided to permit opposition parties. Following the 1946 election a group of 35 young CHP deputies (the *Otuzbeşler*) rebelled against the policies of the Prime Minister Recep Peker, but did not leave the party.

In 1945 opposition parties were again allowed, and four CHP deputies, Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Refik Koraltan and Fuat Köprülü formed the *Demokrat Parti* [*q.v.*]. In 1946 an election was held before the Democrats had time to organize in more than a few provinces, and the CHP retained a heavy majority. In 1950, however, the Democratic Party won a majority, and the CHP went into opposition. In the 1954 election the CHP strength was reduced to 21, but in 1957 it again increased to 178. Following the overthrow of the Menderes government by the army in 1960, three opposition parties arose to compete with the CHP in the 1961 election, in which the CHP received 36.7% of the vote and returned 173 members to the 450-man Assembly, and 36 to the newly-created 150-man Senate of the Republic. The CHP leader Ismet Inönü was appointed to head a coalition cabinet. The CHP's Assembly strength after each election since 1923 has been as follows:

Assembly 2 (1923): all CHP.
Assembly 3 (1927): all CHP.
Assembly 4 (1931): CHP 290, Independents 8.
Assembly 5 (1935): CHP 390, Independents 9.
Assembly 6 (1939): CHP 404, Indep. Group 21, Independents 4.
Assembly 7 (1943): CHP 416, Indep. Group 25, Independents 4.
Assembly 8 (1946): CHP 397, others 68.
Assembly 9 (1950): CHP 67, others 420.
Assembly 10 (1954): CHP 31, others 510.
Assembly 11 (1957): CHP 178, others 432.
Assembly 12 (1961): Assembly: CHP 173, others 277; Senate: CHP 36, others 114.

The Nine Principles (*Dokuz ʿUmde*) proclaimed by the Defence of Rights Society in April 1923 were adopted by the CHP that September as its first programme. Its points proclaimed that sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation, that full authority is granted to the Grand National Assembly, and outlined political, social, and economic reforms to be undertaken. When Atatürk brought into the open his plans for rapid and radical transformation of the Turkish nation, the programme was expanded to include the principles which in 1931 became the Six Arrows (*Altı Ok*), Republicanism, Nationalism, Secularism (*Lâiklık*), Populism (*Halkçılık*), Étatism (*Devletçilık*), and Revolutionism (*İnkilâpcılık*). In 1938 the Six Arrows were incorporated into Article 2 of the Constitution, and all except Étatism and Revolutionism were carried over into the Constitution of the 2nd Republic in 1961. Secularism has been one of the points of greatest emphasis in the CHP program, and was one of Atatürk's major interests. Its implications of rapid and radical change in the lives of the great majority of Turks have made specific policies for its application a major area of controversy among Turkish political parties, though all accept the secularization of political life as a principle. Revolutionism has been taken to mean various things from an acceptance of the Atatürk reforms to a spirit of continuous rapid and radical change until westernization is complete. Populism at the least means equality of all citizens before the law, and usually is taken to include the principle of majority democracy as well. One of the principles which most distinguishes the CHP from other parties is étatism, *i.e.*, a major rôle for the state in economic development. Most authorities agree that it was necessary in the 1920's and 1930's, but all of Turkey's other political parties contend that it is no longer needed today. The six principles remain at the head of the CHP programme, but since the beginning of the multiparty period in 1946 there have been tendencies to modify the more extreme policies for their implementation.

In 1931 the CHP abolished the *Türkocaği* national cultural organization and instead began creation of a series of People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) and People's Rooms (*Halkodaları*) throughout the nation to serve as centres of education and community activity. Their programmes included practical education in agricultural, home-making, and literacy skills; political education in the principles of secular, Republican politics; sports activities, cinemas, concerts, lectures, and libraries; and attempts to strengthen physical and social-psychological links between urban and village populations. In 1950 there existed 478 *Halkevleri* and 4,322 *Halkodaları*. Wholly owned by CHP, the *Halkevleri* became involved in political controversy during the multiparty period after 1946, and were closed by the Democratic Party régime.

The CHP has published the proceedings of most of its Congresses, as well as numerous reports of programmes and activities. In the 1930's the *Halkevleri* published a regular monthly magazine *Ülkü*, and local *Halkevi* publications abounded. The CHP central office today includes a Research Bureau which publishes analyses of political, social and economic problems. The party has published

its own daily newspaper in Ankara since 1920 under the name *Ḥākimiyyet-i Milliyye* ("National Sovereignty"), and later as *Ulus* ("The Nation").

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DJUMLA [see NAḤW]

DJŪNĀGAŔH, a city and (formerly) a princely State in India lying between 22° 44′ and 21° 53′ N. and 70° and 72° E., with an area of 3,337 sq. miles and a population of 670,719 in 1941, of whom some 20% were Muslims. While otherwise contiguous with the Indian mainland, it is bounded on the west and south-west by the Arabian sea with the flourishing port of Vērāval, 300 nautical miles from Karachi (Pakistan). It is dotted with a group of the sacred Girnār hills, housing a number of Djayn and Hindū temples of great antiquity. The edicts of Aśoka are found inscribed on a rock in the gorge between the town of Djūnāgaŕh and the Girnār hills, pointing out unmistakably to the area being in ancient times thriving centre of Buddhism and forming a part of the Mawryan empire. The dense Gir forests are the only abodes of lions outside Africa; hence a favourite hunting ground for the nobility and native chiefs. The State also enshines within its boundaries the temple of Sōmnāth, sacked and destroyed by Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*].

The Mawryas were followed by the Bactrians and the Greeks with their seat of government at Djūnāgaŕh (< Yavanagaḋha or Yavananagara, as is proved by the discovery of some Greek coins of Apollodotus at Bhadardaw). These foreigners in their turn were subjugated and expelled by the local Rādjpūt chiefs who were still ruling the territory when Maḥmūd of Ghazna invaded Sōmnāth Paṫan in 416/1025, conquered the place, ruined the temple and destroyed the idol of Sōmnāth. The victorious Sultan retreated to Ghazna leaving the place in the charge of a Muslim *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*], who was thereafter turned out by the Wādjā Rādjpūts of the area. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*] marched on Sōraṫh (Skt. Sawrāshṭra = Kāṫhiyāwāŕ including Djūnāgaŕh) after conquering Anhilwāŕā [*q.v.*] in 593/1194, but it was no more than a plundering raid. Although during the next hundred years no Muslim ruler invaded the territory, it continued to be visited by Muslims from the North some of whom settled in the area. The Māʾī Gaḋīčī inscription dated 685/1284, discovered at Djūnāgaŕh, reveals that the place was the headquarters of a Muslim *ṣadr* (agent?), who supervised the departure of Muslim pilgrims to Mecca via the port of Balāwal. In 697/1297 Almās Bēg Ulugh Khān, a brother of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, invaded Sōraṫh, wrested Sōmnāth from the Rādjpūts, and in a fit of fanaticism razed the already ruined temple to the ground. He, however, did not interfere with the Čawdāsamā Rādjpūts who were in control of Djūnāgaŕh. The historic temple seems to have been soon rebuilt, as it attracted the attention of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] who in 751/1350 invaded the territory and captured the fort of Djūnāgaŕh which then became a dependency of the *ṣūba* of Gudjarāt. During the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (752-89/1351-88), Shams al-Dīn Abū Ridjāʾ, *nāʾib* of the *nāẓim* of Gudjarāt, established a *thāna* (post) in Djūnāgaŕh. It, however, appears that the local chiefs were not completely reconciled to the change as Ẓafar Khān, the *nāẓim* of Gudjarāt, who later proclaimed his independence in 810/1407, twice marched on Sōmnāth in 797/1394 and 804/1401 in order to punish the refractory Rādjpūts, who continued to chafe under foreign rule until 871/1467 when the last ruler of the Čawdāsamā dynasty was defeated and ousted by Maḥmūd Bēgaŕā (863-917/1459-1511) of Gudjarāt, who annexed Djūnāgaŕh to his territory. Maḥmūd Bēgaŕā had to mount another two punitive expeditions in 872/1468 and 874/1469-70 to suppress the revolt of the deposed Rādjpūt ruler who regained much of his lost possessions. After a year of bitter fighting the Sultan was able to recover the fort of Djūnāgaŕh, terminating Hindū rule once and for all. The city was renamed Muṣṭafābād and Sayyids, *ʿulamāʾ*, *ḳāḍīs* and other notables mainly from Aḥmadābād were invited to settle in the town. The ancient citadel called Ūparkōṫ was repaired and well-to-do people were persuaded to build large houses, mosques, public buildings, etc., thus adding to the glory of the town. The citadel-town of Ūparkōṫ continued to be called Djūnāgaŕh while the new town lower down was named Muṣṭafābād, although this name was never popularly adopted.

The *sarkār* of Djūnāgaŕh remained in the possession of the Sultans of Gudjarāt till 999/1590 when it was conquered and annexed to the Mughal empire by the victorious armies of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān [*q.v.*]. As a part of the *ṣūba* of Gudjarāt it was controlled by *fawdjdārs* appointed by the *nāẓim*. One such *nāʾib fawdjdār* Shīr Khān Bābī, a man of Afghan stock, whose ancestors had migrated from the Ḳalāt-Ḳandahār region to the plains of Hindustān in search of employment during the beginning of Mughal rule, taking advantage of the enfeeblement of the central authority, expelled the local *fawdjdār* Mīr Dūst ʿAlī and founded his independent dynasty in 1150/1737-8. A shrewd military commander, he successfully kept at bay the marauding bands of the Marāṫhās, who in the glow of easy victories wanted to overrun the whole of Kāṫhiyāwāŕ. During his rule of 20 years, marred by minor clashes with the Marāṫhās, he consolidated his position and firmly established his rule. On his death in 1172/1758 he was succeeded by his son, Muḥammad Mahābat Khān I, whose very first year of rule was marred by an abortive dynastic conspiracy to depose him. After a brief rule of 12 years he died in 1184/1770 and was succeeded by his minor son, Muḥammad Ḥāmid Khān, all other rival claimants having fully recognized the title of the Shīr Khān family to the rulership of the new principality.

After an otherwise inconspicuous rule of 27 years, which witnessed the murder of the Dīwān Amar-djī father of Rančōŕ-djī (see *Bibl.*), he died in 1226/1811. The East India Company entered into an engagement with the ruler of Djūnāgaŕh for the first time in 1222/1807. A year earlier, a settlement had been arrived at between Djūnāgaŕh and the vassal states of Manāwādār and Mangrōl and other *taʿlukas*, recognizing the overlordship of Djūnāgaŕh, regarding the amounts of *zortalbī* (tribute exacted by force), a relic of Muslim supremacy, due from the feudatory states etc., with the active intervention of the British Resident at Baroda. This incident, small in itself, throws ample light on the growing influence of the British in the internal affairs of even as

remote a part of the country as Kāṭhiyāwāṛ, long before the final eclipse of the Mughal rule in 1857. In 1821 the ruler of Djūnāgaṛh recognized the paramountcy of the East India Company, who undertook to collect *zōrṭalbī* on behalf of the ruler and pay it into his treasury. He died in 1840 and was succeeded by a minor son.

Among the later rulers, Muḥammad Rasūl Khān (1892-1911) deserves special mention as a progressive and enlightened chief. It was during his rule that a colege, a library and museum, a modern hospital a water-works and an orphanage were established. Steps were also taken for the protection and preservation of the historic edicts of Aśoka and the temple of Sōmnāth was repaired at considerable expense to the State. On his death in 1911, his son Muḥammad Mahābat Khān being a minor, the administration of the State was taken over by the Government of India. On his attaining the age of maturity the prince, the ninth in succession and the last *de facto* ruler of Djūnāgaṛh, was invested with full powers in 1920. According to the Attachment Scheme, introduced by the Government of India in 1943, the feudatory estates of Sardārgaṛh and Bānṭwah and many other *taʿlukas* were attached to Djūnāgarh with a view to ensuring better administration. On the lapse of British paramountcy in August 1947 the State acceded to Pakistan. This was, however, disputed by the Government of India, and on the refusal of the ruler to retract his decision the State was occupied in November of the same year by Indian troops. The ruler, along with his family, took refuge in Pakistan (Karachi) where he died in 1960. The accession and possession of Djūnāgaṛh are still (1962) the subject-matter of a dispute between India and Pakistan, which figures on the agenda of the Security Council of the United Nations.

The chief city of the State, Djūnāgaṛh, is one of the most picturesque towns in India. Its ancient citadel, the Ūparkōṭ, is one of the strongest mountain fastnesses in the sub-continent. It has two large-size cannon dating back to the times of the Turkish Sultan Suleymān the Magnificent, brought to Djūnāgaṛh by gunners of foreign origin who were in the employ of the ruler. The town has a number of stately buildings, including the mausolea of the former rulers, their wives and the Minister Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn, which are fine specimens of a style of architecture similar to that of the Deccan, the dominant feature of which, however, is the flanking minaret with an exterior winding stair-case, after the style of the minaret of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, found nowhere else in the subcontinent.

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DJUNAYD, shaykh, the 4th Ṣafawid *shaykh* in line of descent from Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Isḥāḳ, the founder of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa*, succeeded his father Ibrāhīm as head of the Ṣafawid order at Ardabīl in 851/1447-8; the date of his birth is not known. Djunayd for the first time organized the Ṣafawid *murīds* on a military footing and, unlike his predecessors, clearly aimed at temporal power as well as religious authority. His political ambitions at once brought him into conflict with Djahānshāh [*q.v.*], the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu ruler of Ādharbāydjān, who ordered him to disband his forces and leave Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu territory; if he failed to comply, Ardabīl would be destroyed. Djunayd fled to Asia Minor, but the Grand Vizier Khalīl Pasha dissuaded Sultan Murād II from granting him asylum in Ottoman territory. After staying successively in Ḳaramān, with the Warsāḳ tribe in Cilicia, and at Djabal Arsūs in Syria, Djunayd was forced to flee northwards (Sultan Čaḳmaḳ [*q.v.*] had ordered the governor of Aleppo to seize him; this must have occurred before 857/1453, the year of Čaḳmaḳ's death), and went to Djānīḳ [*q.v.*] on the Black Sea. After an unsuccessful attempt to capture Trebizond (860-1/1456), Djunayd went to Ḥiṣn Kayfā in Diyār Bakr and thence to Āmid, where he spent three years (861-3/end of 1456 to 1459) with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. In 862-3/1458, or early 1459, Djunayd married Uzun Ḥasan's sister Khadīdja Begam. The advantages of a political alliance outweighed the religious antipathy between the Shīʿī Ṣafawiyya and the Sunnī Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu; each saw the other as a useful ally against the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu who, doctrinally, were much closer to the Ṣafawiyya.

In 863/1459 Djunayd left Diyār Bakr and attempted to recover Ardabīl; threatened by superior Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu forces, he decided on an expedition against the Circassians (autumn 1459). While crossing the territory of the Shīrwānshāh Khalīl Allāh b. Shaykh Ibrāhīm, he was attacked and killed near Ṭabarsarān on the banks of the river Kur on 11 Djumādā I 864/4 March 1460.

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DJUNAYD, last of the *amīrs* of the family of the Aydîn-oghlu [*q.v.*]. Djunayd who is given in the Ottoman sources the surname of Izmir-oghlu, succeeded for nearly a quarter of a century in prolonging the existence of the Aydîn amirate through intrigues as clever as they were bold and by turning to account the dynastic wars between the sons of Bāyezīd I. The recent researches by Himmet Akın, whose efforts were directed mainly towards documents in Turkish archives, have helped to enrich the insufficient information from sources, and to shed light on the origins of this figure who has been unjustly called an adventurer. The son of Ibrāhīm Bahādur, Amīr of Bodemya, and grandson of Meḥmed Beg, founder of the Aydîn amirate, Djunayd appears in history after the departure from Anatolia of Tīmūr-Lang. In 804/1402 Tīmūr had restored the Aydîn amīrate annexed in 792/1390 by Bāyezīd I, and returned it to the sons of ʿĪsā b. Meḥmed, Mūsā, then Umūr II. Djunayd and his brother Ḥasan Agha, who had been the *ḳara-ṣubashî* of the upper fortress of Izmir (the fortress of the port, occupied since 744/1344 by the Knights of Rhodes, had been retaken in 804/1402 by Tīmūr) during Ottoman rule, contended for power with their cousins and obtained respectively Izmir and Ayasoluḳ. But upon the death of Mūsā in 805/1403, Umūr II sought the aid of his kinsman Menteshe-oghlu Ilyās Beg, who helped him to reconquer Ayasoluḳ and imprisoned Ḥasan Agha in Marmaris. Djunayd succeeded in arranging the escape of his brother who was brought to Izmir by boat, and then, thanks to the intervention of the former governor of the province of Aydîn, Süleymān Čelebī, who was proclaimed Sultan at Edirne he regained Ayasoluḳ and made peace with Umūr II whose daughter he married. On the death of his father-in-law in 807/1405, he alone governed the amīrate to which he had added Alashehir, Ṣāliḥli and Nif. In the same year ʿĪsā Čelebī, whom Süleymān supported, came to Izmir to seek the help of Djunayd against his brother Meḥmed; Djunayd brought into the war his neighbours, the amīrs of Ṣarukhan, Menteshe, Teke and Germiyān, but in spite of their greater numbers, the allies were defeated by Meḥmed; ʿĪsā fled, while Djunayd asked for pardon and safeguarded his authority by submitting to the victor. The following year Süleymān led a campaign in Anatolia; Djunayd, allied with the Amīrs of Ḳaraman and of Germiyān, made preparations for resistance; but, fearing betrayal by this allies, he deserted their side to ask pardon of the sultan; Süleymān, who now mistrusted him, took him into Rumelia and made him governor of Ochrida. In 814/1411, however, Süleymān was killed in fighting his brother Mūsā, and Djunayd profited from the troubles of the interregnum and returned to Izmir, expelled the governor of Ayasoluḳ, appointed by Süleymān and reconquered his former amīrate. But when Meḥemmed I had triumphed over Mūsā and consolidated his power in Rumelia, he turned against Djunayd and took the fortresses of Kyma, Ḳayadjîk and Nif; then he besieged Izmir which had to surrender after ten days. Once more Djunayd asked pardon and won it; according to Turkish sources, the sultan granted him the region of Izmir after making him renounce the right to pronounce the *khuṭba* and to mint money. The Sultan, however, had to alter his decision for, according to Dukas' testimony, towards 818/1415 Djunayd was sent to Rumelia and made governor of Nicopolis, while the province of Aydîn was given to Alexander, son of Shishman, of the royal family of Bulgaria, who was killed in 819/1416 during the revolt of Börklüdje Muṣṭafā. Djunayd, meanwhile, in his Danubian province, did not hesitate to get into contact with the pretender whom the Turkish historians call Muṣṭafā Düzme [*q.v.*] and who was, according to Neshrī and the Byzantine historians, the son of Bāyezīd I who had disappeared in the battle of Ankara. After seeking the aid of Byzantium and Venice, Muṣṭafā had taken refuge with the prince of Wallachia, with the support of some Begs of Rumelia; he made Djunayd his vizier. In 819/1416, profiting from the troubles aroused in Anatolia by the religious propaganda of Shaykh Bedreddin (Badr al-Dīn) and Börklüdje Muṣṭafā, and supported in part by Byzantium and Venice, Muṣṭafā laid claim to the throne. But Meḥemmed I, returning from Anatolia, concluded a treaty with Venice; Muṣṭafā and Djunayd took refuge in Salonika where the Byzantine governor refused to deliver the fugitives to the Sultan who blockaded the town. Meḥemmed I undertook to pay an annual allowance for the custody of the prisoners; Muṣṭafā was interned on the isle of Lemnos, and Djunayd in the monastery of Pammakaristos, at Constantinople. But in 824/1421, on the death of Meḥemmed, the emperor restored the prisoners to liberty. With the support of Byzantium, Muṣṭafā had himself proclaimed sultan at Edirne and won to his cause all the Begs of Rumelia. In spite, however, of his promise to the Emperor, he refused to restore to him Gelibolu, taken with his assistance, and Byzantium turned against him. The meeting with Murād II took place at Ulubād (Lopadion) in 825/1422; by trickery, Murād induced the defection of the Rumelian Begs and promised to Djunayd the restitution of his former territory, if he abandoned the pretender's cause; Djunayd fled in the night and returned to Izmir where the population welcomed him with open arms. But not content with the region of Izmir, he expelled from Ayasoluḳ the son of Umūr II, Muṣṭafā, who was subject to the Ottomans, and gradually reconquered the former amīrate of Aydîn. In 827/1424 Murād II turned against Djunayd; meaning to limit the possessions of the latter to the region of Izmir, he named as governor of the province of Aydîn a renegade Greek, Khalīl Yakhshî, who recaptured the towns of Ayasoluḳ and of Tire. But Djunayd did not stop raiding the Ottoman territories, and seized the sister of the new governor. Murād II sent against him a new army under the command of the son of Timurtash, Orudj, *beğler-beği* of Anatolia; the region of Izmir was conquered, and Djunayd had to take refuge in the fortress of Ipsili, situated on the coast opposite Samos; he put to death his prisoner, the sister of Yakhshî. From Ipsili, Djunayd sent a petition to Venice, asking help for himself and for the son of Muṣṭafā, brother of the Sultan Meḥemmed, who was with him; but Venice did not respond to this appeal. Meanwhile, Orudj having died, his post was given to Ḥamza, a forceful man. In 828/1425 there was a new appeal from Djunayd to Venice and a request for assistance to the amīr of Ḳaraman, who did not reply. Djunayd's army, under the command of his son Ḳurt Ḥasan, was defeated in the plain of Aḳ Ḥiṣār (Thyatira), and Ḳurt Ḥasan was taken prisoner. On the other side, with the help of some Genoese from Phocea, Ipsili was attacked from the sea. Blockaded on two sides, Djunayd had to surrender; but although he had obtained a safeguard for his life, Yakhshî, to avenge his sister, put him to death, as well as Ḳurt Ḥasan

and all the other members of his family. Such was the end of the Aydîn-og̲h̲ullarî.

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(I. MÉLIKOFF)

AL-D̲J̲UNAYD, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-D̲J̲UNAYD AL-K̲H̲AZZĀZ AL-ḲAWĀRĪRĪ AL-NIHĀWANDĪ, the celebrated Ṣūfī, nephew and disciple of Sarī al-Saḳaṭī, a native of Bag̲h̲dād, studied law under Abū T̲h̲awr, and associated with Ḥārit̲h̲ al-Muḥāsibī [*q.v.*], with whom indeed he is said to have discussed during walks all kinds of questions relating to mysticism, Muḥāsibī giving his replies *extempore* and later writing them up in the form of books (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā*ʾ, Leyden MS, fol. 284a). He died in 298/910. With Muḥāsibī he is to be accounted the greatest orthodox exponent of the "Sober" type of Ṣūfism, and the titles which later writers bestowed on him—*sayyid al-ṭāʾifa* ("Lord of the Sect"), *ṭāʾūs al-fuḳarā*ʾ ("Peacock of the Dervishes"), *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲* ("Director of the Directors")—indicate in what esteem he was held. The *Fihrist* (186) mentions his *Rasāʾil*, which have in large measure survived, in a unique but fragmentary MS (see Brockelmann, S I, 354-5). These consist of letters to private persons (examples are quoted by Sarrād̲j̲, *Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, 239-43), and short tractates on mystical themes: some of the latter are cast in the form of commentaries on Ḳurʾānic passages. His style is involved to the point of obscurity, and his influence on Ḥallād̲j̲ [*q.v.*] is manifest. He mentions in one of his letters that a former communication of his had been opened and read in the course of transit: doubtless by some zealot desirous of finding cause for impugning his orthodoxy; and to this ever-present danger must in part be attributed the deliberate preciosity which marks the writings of all the mystics of D̲j̲unayd's period. D̲j̲unayd reiterates the theme, first clearly reasoned by him, that since all things have their origin in God they must finally return, after their dispersion (*tafriḳ*), to live again in Him (*d̲j̲amʿ*): and this the mystic achieves in the state of passing-away (*fanā*ʾ). Of the mystic union he writes "For at that time thou wilt be addressed, thyself addressing; questioned concerning thy tidings, thyself questioning; with abundant flow of benefits, and interchange of attestations; with constant increase of faith, and uninterrupted favours" (*Rasāʾil*, fol. 3a-b). Of his own mystical experience he says "This that I say comes from the continuance of calamity and the consequence of misery, from a heart that is stirred from its foundations, and is tormented with its ceaseless conflagrations, by itself within itself: admitting no perception, no speech, no sense, no feeling, no repose, no effort, no familiar image; but constant in the calamity of its ceaseless torment, unimaginable, indescribable, unlimited, unbearable in its fierce onslaughts" (fol. 1a). Eschewing those extravagances of language which on the lips of such inebriates as Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī and Ḥallād̲j̲ alarmed and alienated the orthodox, D̲j̲unayd by his clear perception and absolute self-control laid the foundations on which the later systems of Ṣūfism were built.

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(A. J. ARBERRY)

AL-D̲J̲UNAYD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, AL-MURRĪ, one of the governors and generals of the Umayyad caliph His̲h̲ām who in 105/724 appointed him governor of the Muslim possessions in India (Sind, and Multān in the south Pand̲j̲āb), conquered some years earlier in 92-4/711-3 by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim. ʿUmar II had recognized D̲j̲ūs̲h̲aba b. D̲h̲ābir, the Indian king who had embraced Islam, as sovereign of these territories. Al-D̲j̲unayd evidently had doubts about this man's loyalty for he attacked him, took him prisoner and put him to death; by subterfuge he also contrived the assassination of Ibn D̲h̲ābir's brother who was anxious to go to ʿIrāḳ to protest against what he considered to be perfidious behaviour. Al-D̲j̲unayd remained governor of Sind until 110/728-9, and during his tenure of office made several expeditions (*e.g.*, against the king of al-Kīrād̲j̲ who was compelled to flee) and occupied various towns whose names are recorded in Arabic sources. Since the Muslim conquest of territories outside Sind only took place from the second half of the 4th/10th century, it should be noted here that from the time of al-D̲j̲unayd the Muslim invasions in the south penetrated into Gud̲j̲arāt, and in the east as far as the plateau of Mālwā in central India. Other expeditions in the north, according to Arabic sources, enabled al-D̲j̲unayd to reach the country of the G̲h̲uzz, and also a dependency of China where he captured a town and a castle.

In 110/729 al-D̲j̲unayd was dismissed from his post, and after his fall a revolt compelled his successor to give up Sind. However, he had not forfeited the caliph's esteem for he was appointed governor of K̲h̲urāsān by him in 111/729-30 (according to al-Balād̲h̲urī, in 112); his military skill was relied on to restore the situation in Transoxiana which had become precarious through attacks by the Turks, and As̲h̲ras b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sulamī, the former governor of the K̲h̲urāsān, was at war with them. Al-D̲j̲unayd hastened to give help, joined forces with As̲h̲ras at al-Buk̲h̲ārā and fought a number of battles with the Turks, finally crushing them at Zarmān, not far from Samarḳand. On his return to K̲h̲urāsān (where he selected his lieutenants from among the Muḍar), he invaded Ṭuk̲h̲āristān, but was soon forced to return to Transoxiana, summoned to the aid of the prefect of Samarḳand, Sawra b. Ḥurr al-Tamīmī, in face of the threats of the Turkish *k̲h̲āḳān*. Al-D̲j̲unayd hurriedly crossed the Oxus. From Kiss he had a choice of routes to Samarḳand, either through the steppes or across the mountains; he decided to take the latter, but when he reached al-S̲h̲iʿb (= the Gorge) he was attacked by the people of Ṣug̲h̲d, S̲h̲ās̲h̲ and Farg̲h̲āna. The battle, in which a great number of Muslims perished, has remained famous in the history of Islam under the name Waḳʿat al-S̲h̲iʿb. However, it was not a complete disaster: al-D̲j̲unayd sent a message to Sawra ordering him to leave Samarḳand and come to his aid, and Sawra obeyed, although he realized the full extent of the danger to which he was exposing

himself. As was foreseen, he was attacked by the Turks and fell in the mêlée; his troops were wiped out. But al-Djunayd succeeded in disengaging from the enemy and entering Samarḳand. For the next four months he stayed in Ṣughd, and as Bukhārā, defended by Ḳaṭan b. Ḳutayba, was being besieged by the Turks and was in great danger he organized an expedition to free it. He defeated the Turks near al-Ṭawāwīs (Ramaḍān 112/730 or 113/731), and afterwards made his entry into Bukhārā. Transoxiana had been occupied only about twenty years earlier by Ḳutayba b. Muslim, and the conquest was far from being final; the instability of the situation can be gathered from the fact that Hishām had to send from al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa 20,000 men who rejoined al-Djunayd on the way and were later left at Samarḳand. At the beginning of the year 116/734 al-Djunayd was recalled, having incurred the caliph's displeasure by his marriage to al-Fāḍila, a daughter of the rebel Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. He died at Marw from a severe attack of dropsy even before his successor ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hilālī arrived in Khurāsān. The latter could persecute only al-Djunayd's relatives and employees.

The report according to which al-Djunayd, after being dismissed from the office of governor of Sind, supported the anti-Umayyad movement fostered by Bukayr b. Māhān in Sind, seems to be absurd in view of the fact that he was almost immediately appointed governor of Khurāsān, and that he even had the leaders of this movement arrested there. The information which al-Dīnawarī (387 ff.) gives in this respect is suspect for it is wrong chronologically, as is also the information about the deposition of Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh (337).

Al-Djunayd must have been a general of exceptional qualities, and it was probably to his merits that the Muslims were indebted for the stability of their authority in Transoxiana during a very strong Turkish counter-movement. It is more difficult to judge his qualities as an administrator since on this point we have only one detail at our disposal: al-Djunayd left in the *Bayt al-māl* of Sind 18 million *ṭaṭarī* dirhams (1 *ṭaṭarī* dirham = $1^1/_2$ dirhams of fine silver; see the glossary to al-Balādhurī and Dozy, *Suppl.*), and his successor sent the whole sum to the caliph.

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(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

DJUND, a Ḳurʾānic word of Iranian origin denoting an armed troop. In the Umayyad period the term applies especially to military settlements and districts in which were quartered Arab soldiers who could be mobilized for seasonal campaigns or for more protracted expeditions. Quite naturally it also denotes the corresponding army corps. According to the chroniclers, the caliph Abū Bakr is said to have set up four *djunds* in Syria, of Ḥims, Damascus, Jordan (al-Urdunn, around Tiberias) and Palestine (around Jerusalem and ʿAsḳalān and, afterwards, al-Ramla). Later, the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn is said to have been detached from this organization by the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I, and the fortified towns known as *al-ʿAwāṣim* [*q.v.*] by the ʿAbbāsid caliph Harūn al-Rashīd. The term *djund*, in practice restricted to the military areas in Syria which were to correspond approximately to the old Byzantine divisions, did not apply to the military settlements in ʿIrāḳ or Egypt. The army corps thus established consisted exclusively of Arabs drawing regular pay (*ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*]), the sum required for this purpose being normally provided by the proceeds of the land-tax on the corresponding district, but the troops seem to have benefited also in the majority of cases from grants of property, though we still do not know the exact conditions under which such grants were made and enjoyed. These regular troops were generally accompanied by detachments of retainers or *shākiriyya*, and in addition there were often volunteers (*mutaṭawwiʿa* [*q.v.*]), who received no pay (Ṭabarī, i, 2090, 2807; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 166).

In the ʿAbbāsid period the term *djund* continued to apply to Syrian administrative districts (Ṭabarī, iii, 1134) which survived until the time of the Mamlūks, but the *dīwān al-djund*, which can be proved to have been still in existence under al-Mutawakkil (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 267, and Yaʿḳūbī-Wiet, 61), administered the non-Arab contingents. (Ṭabari, iii, 1507, 1685). The word *djund* in fact little by little took on a wider meaning, namely the armed forces (Ṭabarī, iii, 654, 815, 1369, 1479, 1736) while for the geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries the *adjnād*, the equivalents of *amṣār*, denoted the large towns.

The Umayyad organization of the *djund* seems to have been partly imitated in the province of al-Andalus. From 125/742 Arab, Syrian and Egyptian contingents received grants of land in nine districts (*kūras*), called *mudjannada*, in the Iberian peninsula [see AL-ANDALUS, iii]. To the members of these *djunds* there were added, as in the East, enlisted volunteers (*ḥushūd*) who were all grouped together under the same denomination in the 4th/10th century and were distinct from the foreign mercenaries (*ḥasham*) who gradually eliminated the old army. In Aghlabid Ifrīḳiya the word *djund*, which at first denoted Arab contingents brought by the conquerors and successive governors, came ultimately to signify the personal guard, the nucleus of the new permanent army. Under the various dynasties connected with the Maghrib, the term *djund* kept a restricted sense which is often difficult to define, rarely applying to the whole army. Similarly, with the Mamlūks the word *djund* is sometimes applied to a category of soldiers in the sultan's service, but distinct from the personal guard [see ḤALḲA].

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 131-2, 144, 166; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 324-9 (Yaʿḳūbī-Wiet, 169-83); Ibn al-Faḳīh, 109; Ibn Rusta, 107-8 (Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 119-20); Ḳudāma, *K. al-Kharādj*, *BGA*, vi, 246,247, 251; Yāḳūt, i, 136; Muḳaddasī, 415, 416; Ṭabarī, i, 2090; iii, 1134; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, ii/2, 2-3; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 24-30; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, XXXIII, CIV, 29-31; E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg 1949, 98, 99 n. 1 (on the origin of the word *djund*); R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 407-27; A. Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale sous la dynastie des Banu 'l-Arlab*, Paris 1927, 69, 80-6; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, ii, Paris 1947, 82, 88; J. F. P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government*

in Barbary, London 1958, 71-84; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 66-72; D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 448-59. On military organization in general, see DJAYSH. (D. SOURDEL)

DJUNDAYSĀBŪR [see GONDĒSHĀPŪR].

DJUNDĪ [see ḤALḲA].

DJUNNAR, town in the Indian State of Bombay, 56 m. north of Poona. Its proximity to the Nānā Pass made it an important trade centre linking the Deccan with the west coast. The fort of Djunnar was built by Malik al-Tudjdjār in 840/1436. The district around Djunnar was one of the *ṭaraf*s or provinces of the Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan during the administration of Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*]. It later formed part of the Sultanate of Aḥmadnagar. In 1067/1657 the town was plundered by Shiwadjī, the Marāthā leader, who was born in the neighbouring hill-fort of Shiwnēr. The surrounding hills are famous for their Buddhist caves. These are described in great detail in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, xviii (Part iii), 140-231.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

DJŪR [see FĪRŪZĀBĀD].

DJUR'AT, *takhalluṣ* of Ḳalandar Bakhsh, an Urdū poet of Indian origin, whose real name was Yaḥyā Amān, son of Ḥāfiẓ Amān, one of whose ancestors Rāy Amān, after whom a street in Old Dihlī is still known, suffered at the hands of Nādir Shāh's troops during the sack of Dihlī in 1152/1739. The title of Amān or Mān was conferred on the ancestors of Djur'at, according to Mīrzā ʿAlī Luṭf (*Gulshan-i Hind*, 73), by the Emperor Akbar. Born at Dihlī, Djur'at was brought up at Fayḍābād and later joined the service of Nawwāb Muḥabbat Khān of Bareilly, a son of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān Rohilla [*q.v.*] at an early age. In 1215/1800 he went to Lucknow and ingratiated himself with prince Sulaymān Shukōh, a son of Shāh ʿĀlam II [*q.v.*], titular emperor of Dihlī. The 'court' of Sulaymān Shukōh had become the refuge, after the sack of Imperial Dihlī, of great poets and writers like Muṣḥafī and Inshā' Allāh Khān [*qq.v.*], included among his stipendiaries. Ten years later Djur'at died in that city in 1225/1810.

A pupil of Djaʿfar ʿAlī Khān Ḥasrat, a poet of some note, he was a skilled musician and played on the guitar with dexterity. He was also a good astrologer and well-groomed in social etiquette, qualities which made him extremely popular with people of high rank. On account of cataract, which afflicted him in the prime of life, he lost his eyesight; others say he feigned blindness in order to further his amours. Essentially a *bon viveur*, Djur'at was a lyrical and especially an erotic poet. Author of more than 100,000 lines (Aḥad ʿAlī Yakta: *Dastūr al-faṣāḥāt*, Rampur 1943, 98 ff.), mostly passionate *ghazal*s, he wrote some voluptuous *mathnawī*s also, of which one, entitled *Ḥusn wa ʿishḳ*, deserves mention. The well-known Urdū poet Mīr [*q.v.*] spoke slightingly of Djur'at whose compositions he described as mere *bon mots*, of the 'kissing and hugging type'. Mīr's verdict has been characterized as wholly unjustified as he failed to appreciate the social and political conditions of Djur'at's times and the Lucknow of his days, where Mīr was comparatively a stranger. It was Djur'at, who for the first time in Urdū poetry, addressed his *ghazal*s to women, contrary to the time-dishonoured practice of showering praises on young, handsome boys and *amrads*. His *dīwān* was published in the now defunct *Urdū-i Muʿallā* (ed. Ḥasrat Mohāhī), Kanpur, October-December, 1927.

Bibliography: All the relevant *tadhkira*s of Urdu poets (enumerated in *Dastūr al-faṣāḥat*, 99 n.); Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i ḥayāt*, s.v. Djur'at; Ram Babu Saksena, *History of Urdu literature*, Allāhābād 1940, 88-90; T. Grahame Bailey, *History of Urdu literature*, London 1932, 55-6; Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, *Djur'at unkā ʿahad awr ʿishḳiyya shāʿirī*, Karachi 1952 (the first critical study of Djur'at).

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

DJURAYDJ, a saint whose story is said to have been related by the Prophet himself and has therefore found a place in the *ḥadīth*. The various versions differ in details one from another, but one motif is common to them all, that the saint is accused by a woman, who had had a child by another man, of being its father; but the child itself, on being asked by the saint, declares the real father's name and thus clears the saint from suspicion. "Djuraydj" is the Arabic reproduction of Gregorius, and one version rightly states that he lived in the prophetless period (*fatra* [*q.v.*]) between Jesus and Muḥammad. There is a similar episode in the biographies of Gregorius Thaumaturgus, and it may be assumed as probable that the story became known among Muslims through the Christian tradition until finally it was accepted in the *ḥadīth*.

Bibliography: Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-ʿamal fi 'l-ṣalāt*, Bāb 7, *Maẓālim*, Bāb 35; Muslim (Cairo 1283), v, 277; Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. Huart, Ar. text 135; Samarḳandī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Cairo 1309, 221; Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, xlvi, 901 ff.; *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, ed. Bedjan, vi, 101 ff.; Horovitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen*, 78-83. (J. HOROVITZ)

DJURBADHĀḲĀN [see GULPĀYAGĀN].

DJURDJĀN [see GURGĀN].

AL-**DJURDJĀNĪ**, ʿABD AL-ḲĀHIR [see Supplement].

AL-**DJURDJĀNĪ**, ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, called al-Sayyid al-Sharīf, was born in 740/1339 at Tādjū near Astarābādh; in 766/1365 he went to Harāt to study under Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥtānī, but the old man advised him to go to his pupil Mubārakshāh in Egypt; however he stayed in Harāt and went in 770/1368 to Ḳaramān to hear Muḥammad al-Aḳsarā'ī who died before his arrival (al-Aḳsarā'ī died in 773/1371: *al-Durar al-kāmina* iv, 207). He studied under Muḥammad al-Fanārī and went with him to Egypt where he heard Mubārakshāh and Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, staying four years in Saʿīd al-Suʿadā'; he visited Constantinople in 776/1374 and then went to Shīrāz where he was appointed teacher by Shāh Shudjāʿ 779/1377. When Tīmūr captured the town, he took him to Samarḳand where he had discussions with Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī [*q.v.*]; opinions differed as to who was the victor. On Tīmūr's death he went back to Shīrāz where he died 816/1413. The usual tales are told of his brilliance as a student. He wrote on many subjects, on grammar and logic in Persian. He belonged to an age which wrote commentaries on earlier works; as a theologian he allowed a large place to philosophy, thus half his commentary on al-*Mawāḳif* of al-Īdjī [*q.v.*], is given up to it. On law, he wrote a commentary on al-*Farā'iḍ al-sirādjiyya* of al-Sadjāwandī; on language, glosses on al-*Muṭawwal* a commentary by al-Taftazānī on *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* by al-Sakkākī; on logic, glosses on a commentary by al-Rāzī al-Taḥtānī on *al-Risāla*

al-shamsiyya fi 'l-kawāʿid al-manṭikiyya by al-Kātibī. In his *Taʿrīfāt* he was not afraid to be simple.

His son, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, translated his father's Persian logic into Arabic, wrote on logic, also a commentary on his father's book on tradition and a *Risāla fi 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-rawāfiḍ*. Nothing is known of his biography except the date of his death in 838/1434.

Bibliography: al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, v, 328; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, i, 488; Muḥammad Bāḳir, *Rawḍat al-djannāt*, 497; al-Lakhnawī al-Hindī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya*, 125; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii/3, 89, 147; Brockelmann, II, 216, S II, 305; Browne, iii, 355; Storey, i, 36. (A. S. TRITTON)

DJURDJĀNĪ, FAKHR AL-DĪN [see GURGĀNĪ].

AL-DJURDJĀNĪ, ISMĀʿĪL B. AL-ḤUSAYN ZAYN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌĀʾIL AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, often called al-Sayyid Ismāʿīl, a noble and celebrated physician who wrote in Persian and in Arabic. He went to live in Khwārizm in 504/1110 and became attached to the Khwārizmshāhs Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (490/1097-521/1127), to whom he dedicated his *Dhakhīra*, and Atsïz b. Muḥammad (521/1127-551/1156), who commissioned him to write a shorter compendium, *al-Khuffī al-ʿAlāʾī*, so called because its two volumes were small enough to be taken by the prince on his journeys in his boots (*khuff*). He later moved to Marw, the capital of the rival sultan Sandjar b. Malikshāh, and died there in 531/1136. His *Dhakhīra-i Khwārizmshāhī*, probably the first medical Encyclopaedia written in Persian and containing about 450,000 words, is one of the most important works of its kind; it also exists in an Arabic version, and was translated into Turkish and (in an abbreviated form) into Hebrew. Apart from the *Dhakhīra* and the *Khuffī*, al-Djurdjānī wrote about a dozen other works, some of them substantial, mainly on medicine and philosophy. Most of his literary output, which was highly regarded already by his contemporaries, has been preserved in manuscripts. A short treatise on the vanity of this world, *al-Risāla al-munabbiha* (in Arabic), was incorporated by Bayhaḳī in his biography.

Bibliography: Ẓahīr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ al-Islām*, Damascus 1946, 172 ff.; idem, *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1935, i, 172 ff. (text), 216 ff. (bibliographical notes); M. Meyerhof, in *Osiris*, viii, 1948, 203 f. (digest of the preceding, with additional bibliography); Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad, 1910, 70 f. (text), 233, 236 ff. (notes); transl. E. G. Browne, 1921, 78 ff. (transl.), 158 f. (notes); Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ii, 31; A. Fonahn, *Zur Quellenkunde der persischen Medizin*, 1910, 13 ff.; E. G. Browne, *Arabian medicine*, 98 ff.; Abbas Naficy, *La Médecine en Perse*, 1933, 41-48 (biography), 65-124 (summary of the first four "books", on the theoretical foundations of medicine, of the *Dhakhīra*); G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, 1931, 234 f.; C. Elgood, *A medical history of Persia*, 1951, 214 ff. and index; Brockelmann I, 641; S I, 889 f. (J. SCHACHT)

AL-DJURDJĀNĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN [see AL-DJURDJĀNĪ, ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD].

AL-DJURDJĀNIYYA [see GURGANDJ].

DJURDJURA, a scarped chain of mountains 60 km. long in the Tellian Atlas of Algeria, enclosing and dominating the wide depression of the *wādī* Sahel-Soummam, and the principal Kabyle massif in the West, known as Greater Kabylia or Kabylia of Djurdjura. It consists of four ridges running roughly E.-W., almost everywhere exceeding 1,500 m. (4,921 ft.) in altitude and with the Dj. Haïzer reaching 2,133 m. (6,998 ft.), the Akouker 2,305 m. (7,562 ft.) and the Tamgout (Berber for summit) of Lalla Khadīdja 2,308 m. (7,572 ft.). Massive limestone deposits of the Lias and, in the West, of the Eocene, sharply inclined and faulted, give the appearance of Sierras, with such characteristic features as eroded rocky plateaux, vertical shafts leading to caverns, and swallow-holes (the one at Boussouil is over 360 m. [1181 ft.] deep).

Standing 50 km. from the Mediterranean, the Djurdjura has a very heavy rainfall (1200 to 1800 mm. [47.24 to 70.86 ins.]) and is under snow for from one to three months. For this reason it is the source of vigorous springs which are utilized by numerous villages on both sides of the range, as well as by various hydro-electric power-stations. The white mountain-tops tower above ancient but decayed forests of cedars and the remnants of groves of evergreen oaks, the home of colonies of Barbary apes. Grasslands provide summer pasturage for the small flocks from nearby villages. The altitude, the picturesque scenery and in addition the snow attract summer visitors and skiers in winter.

The villages, in which only the Kabyles speak Berber, are situated not higher than 1150 m. (3,772 ft.) on the north side and 1,350 m. (4,429 ft.) on the south side. The mountain range is thus inhabited. The altitude of the passes (*tizi*), 1,636 m. (5,367 ft.) at the Tizi n-Kouilal and 1,760 m. (5,774 ft.) at Tizi n-Tighourda, proves an effective barrier as regards both weather and inhabitants. Together with the wide belt of forest stretching eastward from the high ground of Sebaou and reaching as far as the sea, the range cuts off and isolates a Kabylia of irregular form, at the centre of which is Tizi Ouzou, and also a long depression, the *wādī* Sahel-Soummam, which again is Kabyle but exposed to the direct influence of Algiers and Bougie.

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DJURHUM or **DJURHAM,** an ancient Arab tribe reckoned to the *ʿArab al-ʿĀriba* (see art. ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT AL-, vi). According to later standard Arab tradition, Djurhum was descended from Yaḳṭān (Ḳaḥṭān). The tribe migrated from the Yaman to Mecca. After a protracted struggle with another tribe Ḳatūra (also referred to as ʿAmālīḳ), led by al-Sumaydiʿ, Djurhum under their chief (called Muḍāḍ b. ʿAmr, al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ, etc.) gained control of the Kaʿba. This they retained till driven out by Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt of Khuzāʿa. The above is doubtless the pre-Islamic form of the tradition, and it presumably has some historical basis. This older account, however, has been transformed by the introduction of Ḳurʾānic material about Ismāʿīl (Ishmael), who is said to have been given protection along with his mother by Djurhum and to have married a woman of the tribe. The Ḳurʾānic material, and the need for sufficient generations back to Ismāʿīl (by Biblical chronology) has encouraged the suggestion that Djurhum flourished in the distant past and was extinct by Islamic times. Careful study of references, however, especially those in early poems, shows that Djurhum had been at

Mecca in the comparatively recent past (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Fünf Moʿallaqāt*, iii, 26 f.; S. Krauss, in *ZDMG*, xli, 717; also *ZDMG*, lxx, 352; al-Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. Hirschfeld, 43 f. [= Ibn Hishām, 251]). This is further confirmed by the mention of Γόραμα and Γοραμῆνοι by the Greek writer Stephanus Byzantinus (London 1688, 276), and by the occurrence of an ʿAbd al-Masīḥ among the chiefs of Djurhum (cf. E. Pococke, *Specimen*, 79 f.). Al-Azraḳī (ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 54) speaks of a remnant in his day, and the *nisba* Djurhumī occurs. Al-Ṭabarī (i, 749) states that Banū Liḥyān are descended from Djurhum, but the basis of this is unknown.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 71-74; Ṭabarī, i, 219, 283, 749, 768, 904, 1088, 1131-4; al-Azraḳī (*Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i), 44-56; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 95-103; idem, *Tanbīh* (*BGA*, viii), 80, 82, 184 f., 202; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 311, 314, 395; Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, i, 33 f., 168, 177, 194-201, 218; Buhl, *Muhammed*, 106 n.; al-Aʿshā, *Dīwān*, 15, 44.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

DJURM (fine) (in the Ottoman Empire).

Though fines are unknown to the criminal law of the *sharīʿa*, some *fuḳahāʾ* admitted of monetary penalties in certain cases (see *e.g.*, Dede Efendi, *Siyāsetnāme*, at end). The Ottoman *ḳānūnnāmes* ([*q.v.*]; see also DJAZAʾ), while pretending merely to apply and complete the *sharīʿa*, prescribed fines (*djürm*, *djerime* or *djereme*, *ḳinliḳ*, *gharāmet*) for a large number of offences. These even included crimes liable to *ḥudūd* [*q.v.*] penalties, such as adultery, theft, the drinking of wine, etc. Generally fines were imposed in addition to corporal chastisement (*taʿzīr*, [*q.v.*]) and sometimes in addition to to blood-money (*diyet*) or damages (*taẓmīn*).

The fines were of three kinds: (*a*) a certain amount (one aḳče, more rarely half an aḳče or less) for each stroke inflicted on the offender; (*b*) a certain number of aḳče for each dirhem lacking in the weight of a price-controlled commodity; or (*c*) as usual in the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr codes (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 120-9) and many Ottoman provincial *ḳānūnnāmes* where no *taʿzīr* is mentioned, a fixed amount of money. The fines of the third group were, similarly to the poll-tax (*djizya*), mostly graduated in accordance with the financial circumstances of the offender—rich, medium, poor (and very poor), the ratio being 4 : 3 : 2, 8 (6) : 4 : 2 : 1, etc. They varied between 10 and 400 aḳče, but a fifteenth century *fermān* (Anhegger-Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī*, 58) and *ḳānūnnāme* (*TOEM*, 1330, Suppl., 28) prescribed higher fines. In many cases non-Muslims were to pay only half the fine imposed on Muslims (*MOG*, i, 29; Barkan, 81), but this privilege was partly cancelled out by discrimination in the way they were graduated. For certain offences slaves paid half the fine of a free Muslim, while in Egypt fellahs were subject to double the fine collected in the old Ottoman dominions (Barkan, 362). No fines were to be exacted from criminals sentenced to retaliation (*ḳiṣāṣ*) or to capital or severe corporal punishment (*siyāset*).

Fiscally the fines formed part of the *rüsūm-i ʿurfiyye* and were sometimes included in the *bād-i hawā* [*q.v*]. After the offender had been duly convicted by a *ḳāḍī*, the fine was exacted by the organs of the executive power (*ehl-i ʿurf*). Peasants on most of the "free" (*serbest*) lands had to pay fines to their "landowners" (*ṣāḥib-i arḍ*), *i.e.*, the Sultan, members of his family, *beylerbeyis*, *sandjaḳbeyis*, *zaʿīms* and other high officers, or to their agents, (*ʿāmils*, *emīns*, *voyvodas*, *mütesellims*, etc.). On lands that were not "free", *i.e.*, most of the smaller *tīmārs*, half the fines usually went to the fief-holder and the other half to the local governor and/or his subordinate (*subashi*). Fines from people on *waḳf* lands were due to the *waḳf* or, as in the case of offenders on privately owned land, to the Sultan's Treasury. In towns they generally belonged to the *subashi*, *ʿasesbashi* or *muḥtasib* [*q.v.*]. Egyptian fellahs paid to their *kāshifs*, Kurds to their *beys*. Special regulations also applied to soldiers, nomads, gypsies, foreigners and others who were subject to separate jurisdiction. No fines were imposed on fief-holders and holders of a *berāt* [*q.v.*].

In the cadastral registers the annual revenue from the fines of a certain district (*niyābet*, [*resm-i*] *djürm we djināyet*) was often entered as a fixed sum and those entitled to it used to lease out its collection. Many *fermāns* and *ʿadāletnāmes* contain strict orders to prevent illegal or excessive fining. From the 10th/16th century, however, such abuses greatly increased. The officials more and more ignored the prescribed amounts of fines which, despite the considerable depreciation of the Ottoman currency, had remained unchanged. On the other hand, many offenders punishable with fines (and *taʿzīr*) were henceforth sent to the galleys or forced labour. In the early 12th/18th century several provincial *ḳānūnnāmes* (Barkan, 333, 338, 354) abolished the fines, together with all other *rüsūm-i ʿurfiyye*, as impositions contrary to the *sharīʿa*. In the first two modern Ottoman penal codes (1840, 1851) no mention is made of fines; in the latter (iii, 10) they are even expressly forbidden. The last Ottoman criminal code (1858) prescribes a great many fines (*djezā-yi naḳdī*), now however in accordance with the French legal conception.

Bibliography: *Ḳānūn-i Pādishāhī-i Sulṭān Meḥemmed bin Murād* in *MOG*, i, Vienna 1921, 19-48; *Ḳānūnnāme-i āl-i ʿOthmān* in *TOEM*, 1329, Suppl., 1-10, 38, 45, 47, 49, 62-8; 1330, Suppl., 28; Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Mirʾāt-i ʿadālet*, Istanbul 1304, 47-57, 78-89, 127-76; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 143-52 (incomplete and often faulty transl. of criminal code); Ö. L. Barkan, *Osm. imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin . . . esasları*, i, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, index; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *Medjelle-i umūr-i belediyye*, Istanbul 1338/1922, 409-18; M. Ç. Uluçay, *XVII. Asırda Saruhan'da eşkiyalık*, Istanbul 1944, 164; H. İnalcık, *Sûret-i defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, XXVII-XXVIII, XXXII; J. Schacht, in *Isl.*, xx, 211-2; G. Üçok, in *Ankara Üniv. Hukuk Fak. Dergisi*, iv (1947), 48-73; U. Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law* (in preparation). (U. HEYD)

DJURZ, DJURZĀN [see GURDJISTĀN].

DJUSTĀNIDS, DJASTĀNIDS [see DAYLAM].

DJUWAYN, name of several localities in Īrān.

1. A village in Ardashīr Khurra, five *farsakh* from Shīrāz on the road to Arradjān, usually called Djuwaym, the modern Goyum, cf. Le Strange, 253; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 44, 173, 179 (not to be confused with Djuwaym Abī Aḥmad in the province of Dārābdjird, the modern Djuyum, see Le Strange, 254; Schwarz, 102, 201).

2. Djuwayn (also written Gūyān), a district in the Nīshāpūr country, on the caravan route from Bisṭām, between Djādjarm and Bayhaḳ (Sabzewār). The district, whose capital is given as Āzādhwār, later Fariyūmad (see *JRAS*, 1902, 735) contained 189 villages according to Yāḳūt, ii, 164-6, whose

information is taken from Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Bayhaḳī; they were all in the northern half, while the southern half was unsettled; cf. Le Strange, 391 ff. The plain of Djuwayn, enclosed on the north and south by ranges of hills, still forms a district of Sabzewār with about 65 townships, which lie along the river Djuwayn in a long series. In the middle of the valley, near the village of Āzādhwār, lie the ruins of the ancient capital. The modern centre is Djugatay (Čaghatāy) which is situated to the south-east of it, at the foot of the hills on the south; cf. McGregor, *Khorasan*, ii, 145, 225; C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, 389 ff.

3. Djuwayn or Guwayn, a fortified place in Sidjistān, 3 to 5 km. north-east of Lāsh on the Farāhrūd, appears under its modern name in ancient (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 198: Γαβηνὴ πόλις, emendation on Isidorus of Charax) and mediaeval itineraries (Iṣṭakhrī, 248; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 304). The importance of the sister towns of Lāsh and Djuwayn still rests on the fact that the roads from Ḳandahār and Harāt from the Afghān side, and those from Mashhad, Yazd and Nāṣirābād on the Persian side, meet here. The Arab geographers say that Djuwayn on the road from Harāt to Zarandj was a Khāridjī stronghold (Muḳaddasī, 306; Ibn Rusta, 174). It was sacked by Yaḳūtī, the Ghuzz leader, in 447/1055-6 (*Ta'rīkh-i Sistān*, ed. Bahār, 376-7).

Djuwayn, built on a slight elevation in the centre of a fertile plain covered with ruins, and surrounded by a quadrangular wall of clay, forms a striking contrast to the rocky stronghold of Lāsh; it appears to have considerably declined in the second half of the 19th century. Cf. Le Strange, 341 ff.; Euan Smith in *Eastern Persia*, i, 319 ff.; A. C. Yate, *England and Russia face to face in Asia*, 99 ff.

(R. Hartmann)

AL-**DJUWAYNĪ**, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf Abu Muḥammad, a Shāfiʿī scholar, father of ʿAbd al-Malik [see the following art.], lived for most of his life in Nīsābūr, and died there in 438/1047. As an author, he was mainly concerned with the literary form of *furūḳ*, on which see Schacht, in *Islamica*, ii/4, 1927, 505 ff.

Bibliography: al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 208-19; W. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imâm el-Schâfiʿi*, etc., no. 365 (a), 248 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 482; S I, 667.

(J. Schacht)

AL-**DJUWAYNĪ**, Abu 'l-Maʿālī ʿAbd al-Malik, son of the preceding, celebrated under his title of Imām al-Ḥaramayn, born 18 Muḥarram 419/17 February 1028 at Bushtanikān, a village on the outskirts of Nīsābūr; after his father's death, he continued the latter's teaching even before he was twenty years old. He was connected with the school of *ʿilm al-kalām* inaugurated by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. But ʿAmīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī, vizier of the Saldjūḳ Tughrul Beg, declared himself against this "innovation", and had the Ashʿarīs, as well as the Rawāfiḍ, denounced from the pulpits. Al-Djuwaynī, like Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī, immediately left his country and went to Baghdād; then, in 450/1058, he reached the Ḥidjāz where he taught at Mecca and at Medina for four years: hence his honorary name of "Imām of the two holy Cities". But when the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk came to power in the Saldjūḳ empire, he favoured the Ashʿarīs and invited the emigrants to return home. Al-Djuwaynī was among those who returned to Nīsābūr (the information in *ZDMG*, xli, 63 is not quite exact), and Niẓām al-Mulk actually founded in this town a special *madrasa* for him, which was called Niẓāmiyya like the similar establishment in Baghdād. Al-Djuwaynī taught there to the end of his days (we know that al-Ghazālī held a chair there for some time towards the end of his life, from 499/1105 onwards). Al-Djuwaynī died in the village of his birth—where he had gone in the hope of recovering from an illness—on 25 Rabīʿ II 478/20 August 1085. In his *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, al-Subkī devoted to him a long laudatory study, and declared (*Tab.*, ii, 77, 20) that the abundance of his literary production could be explained only by a miracle.

Al-Djuwaynī's researches were divided between the *fiḳh* (more precisely the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*) and the *ʿilm al-kalām*.—Fiḳh: His principal treatise, *K. al-Waraḳāt fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, continued being commented upon until the 11th/17th century. His methodology is best expressed in the *K. al-Burhān fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, where he was probably the first to wish to establish a juridical method on an Ashʿarī basis. In his *Ṭabaḳāt* (iii, 264), al-Subkī remarked the difficulty of the work and called it *laghz al-umma* ("the enigma of the Community"). He also drew attention to the reservations entered by al-Djuwaynī with regard to al-Ashʿarī and Mālik, reservations which would have prevented this juridical work from becoming very popular, espe cially among the Mālikīs.

ʿIlm al-Kalām: it is in the rôle of doctor in *kalām* that al-Djuwaynī made his deepest impression on Muslim thought; and to him goes the glory of being the teacher of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī in this discipline. Unfortunately, his great work, the *Shāmil*, has not been published. One manuscript (incomplete) is to be found in the National Library in Cairo (*ʿilm al-kalām*, no. 1290), copied from a manuscript in the Köprülü library; another copy, with extracts from al-Nasafī added, belonged to Dr. al-Khuḍayri in Cairo. These manuscripts have been studied by G. C. Anawati (cf. *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 181-5). On the other hand, the compendium *K. al-Irshād ilā ḳawāṭiʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-iʿtiḳād* has been edited, and often studied and quoted. There are two modern editions: (1) by J.-D. Luciani, Paris 1938, with a French tr. (left unfinished by the death of the editor-translator); (2) by M. Y. Mūsā and A. ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1950, which is the best critical edition.

Al-Djuwaynī is important because he wrote in the intermediate period between the old Ashʿarism and the school which Ibn Khaldūn was to call "modern". This is marked by (1) a systematical enquiry, influenced—not without the introduction of new schemes—by that of the Muʿtazila (whose theories are rejected); (2) the emphasis laid, in the theory of knowledge, and with regard to the divine attributes, on the idea of "modes" (*aḥwāl*), thus taken over from the semi-conceptualist line initiated by the Muʿtazilī Abū Hāshim; (3) the importance attributed to rational methods, and the use of "reasoning by three terms" in the Aristotelian way: *e.g.*, the proof of the existence of God, which is nevertheless *a novitate* (rather than *a contingentia*) *mundi*. The Aristotelian syllogisms moreover remain affected by the inference "from two terms" (*istidlāl*), cf. Gardet-Anawati, *Intr. à la théol. musulmane*, 360-1.—The solutions to the principal problems are for the most part faithful to the Ashʿarī tradition. Methodological trends proper to al-Djuwaynī exist, but they show themselves mainly in the presentation of the problems, the conduct of the discussions, and

the importance accorded to the channels (*asbāb*) by which conclusions are reached. In *kalām* as in *fiḳh*, it was above all the question of the *uṣūl* that interested the Imām al-Ḥaramayn.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the article: Ibn Khallikān, Cairo no. 351; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 7071; iii, 249-82; Ibn al-Athīr, (ed. Tornberg), x, 77 (ann. 485); Ibn Taghribirdī, 771; Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber*, no. 38; idem, *Shāfiʿiten*, no. 365; Schreiner, in *Grätz' Monatsschrift*, xxv, 314 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 388.

(C. Brockelmann-[L. Gardet])

DJUWAYNĪ, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā-Malik b. Muḥammad (623/1226-681/1283), a Persian governor and historian, author of the *Taʾrīkh-i djahān-gushāy*, a work which is almost our only source on the details of his life. His family belonged to Āzādwār, then the chief town of Djuwayn ([*q.v.*], No. 2). According to Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā (*al-Fakhrī*, ed. Ahlwardt, 209) they claimed descent from Faḍl b. Rabīʿ, the vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's great-grandfather, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, had waited on the Khʷārazm-Shāh Tekish [*q.v.*] when in 588/1192 he passed through Āzādwār on his way to attack Toghril II [*q.v.*], the last Saldjuḳ ruler of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam. His grandfather, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, was in the service of Sultan Muḥammad Khʷārazm-Shāh [*q.v.*], whom he accompanied on his flight from Balkh to Nīshāpūr. At the end of his life the Sulṭān appointed him *Ṣāḥib Dīwān*, a post which he continued to hold under Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn: he died during the latter's siege of Akhlāṭ, *i.e.*, at some time between Shawwāl 626/August 1229 and Djumādā I 627/April 1230. His son, Bahāʾ al-Dīn, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's father, is first heard of *ca.* 630/1232-3 in Nīshāpūr. Two of Djalāl al-Dīn's officers, Yaghan-Sonḳur and Ḳarača, had been active in this area, and Čīn-Temür, the Mongol governor of Khurāsān and Māzandarān, sent an army to dislodge them. Upon the approach of the Mongol forces Bahāʾ al-Dīn together with some of the chief notables of the town fled to Ṭūs, where they sought refuge in a castle amidst the ruins of the city. The governor of the castle handed them over to the Mongols, by whom, however, they were kindly received: Bahāʾ al-Dīn was admitted into the conquerors' service and held the office of *Ṣāḥib Dīwān* not only under Čīn-Temür but under his successors Körgüz and Arghun Aḳa. In 633/1235-6 he accompanied Körgüz upon a mission to the Great Khan Ögedey, from whom he received a *payza* or "tablet of authority" and a *yarlīgh* or rescript confirming his appointment as *Ṣāḥib Dīwān*. On several occasions he was left in absolute control of the occupied territories in Western Asia while the governor was absent in Mongolia. In 651/1253, being then in his 60th year, it was his wish to retire from the public service, but to this the Mongols would not agree, and he died during the same year in the Iṣfahān region, whither he had been sent to carry out fiscal reforms.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn tells of himself that while still a youth he chose, against his father's wishes, to take a position in the *dīwān*. He twice visited Mongolia in the suite of Arghun Aḳa, first in 647-9/1249-51 and then in 649-51/1251-3: upon the arrival of Hülegü in Khurāsān early in 654/1256, he was attached to his service and accompanied him on his campaigns against the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt and the Baghdād Caliphate. It was ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn who drew up the terms of surrender of the last Ismāʿīlī Grand Master Rukn al-Dīn Khur-Shāh, and it was through his initiative that the famous library of Alamūt was saved from destruction. In 657/1259, a year after the capture of Baghdād, he was appointed governor of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab and Khūzistān, a post which he continued to hold for more than 20 years, though under Abaḳa, Hülegü's son and successor, he was nominally subordinate to the Mongol Sughunčaḳ. During his tenure of office he did much to improve the lot of the peasantry and it was said, with some exaggeration, that he restored these provinces to greater prosperity than they had enjoyed under the Caliphate: at the expense of 10,000 dīnārs of gold he caused a canal to be dug from Anbār on the Euphrates to Kūfa and Nadjaf and founded 150 villages along its banks.

During the reign of Abaḳa both ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and his brother Shams al-Dīn [see below] the *Ṣāḥib Dīwān* were much exposed to hostile attacks, of which the consequences were more serious for the former than the latter. In the late autumn of 680/1281 he was arrested, at the instigation of a personal enemy, on the charge of embezzling from the Treasury the enormous sum of 2,500,000 dīnārs. On 4 Ramaḍān 680/17 December 1281, thanks to the intervention of certain members of the Il-Khān's family, he was released from custody, only to be almost immediately re-arrested on a charge of maintaining a correspondence with the Mamlūk rulers of Egypt. His arrival in Hamadān to answer this charge coincided with the Il-Khān's death and he was retained in custody until the election of Abaḳa's successor Tegüder or Aḥmad (1282-4), a convert to Islam, who at once gave orders for ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's release and reinstatement as governor. He did not long survive his rehabilitation. Tegüder's nephew, the future Il-Khān Arghun (1284-91), arrived in Baghdād in the winter of 681/1282-3 and reviving the old charge of embezzlement began to arrest the governor's agents and put them to the torture. News of these proceedings reaching ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in Arrān, where he then was, he had an apoplectic stroke and died on 4 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 681/5 March 1283.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's references to the defects in his literary education must certainly be put down to conventional modesty; he is praised by his contemporaries as a highly cultured man and a patron of poets and scholars; and his history was held up as an unrivalled model of style. The work is divided into three main sections: I. History of the Mongols and their conquests down to the events following the death of the Great Khan Güyük, including the history of the descendants of Djoči and Čaghatay; II. History of the dynasty of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs, based in part on previous works such as the *Mashārib al-tadjārib* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Bayhaḳī and the *Djawāmiʿ al-ʿulūm* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and a history of the Mongol governors of Khurāsān down to the year 656/1258; III. Continuation of the history of the Mongols to the overthrow of the Ismāʿīlīs, with an account of the sect, based chiefly on works found in Alamūt such as the *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā*; other works now lost are also quoted such as the *Taʾrīkh-i Djīl wa Daylam* and the *Taʾrīkh-i Sallāmī* (written for the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla). The *Taʾrīkh-i djahān-gushāy*, which has considerably influenced historical tradition in the East, is for us also a historical authority of the first rank. The author was the only Persian historian to travel to Mongolia and describe the countries of Eastern Asia at first hand; it is to his work and the *Journal* of William of Rubruck that we owe practically all we know of the buildings in the Mongol capital of Ḳara-Ḳorum. The

accounts of Čingiz-K͟hān's conquests are given nowhere else in such detail; many episodes, such as the battles on the Sīr-Daryā above and below Otrar and the celebrated siege of K͟hudjand are known to us only from the *Taʾrīk͟h-i djahān-gus͟hāy*. Unfortunately Djuwaynī gives us in these cases not the first-hand impressions of a contemporary, but the opinions of the next generation, so that the details of his narrative, particularly the statements on the numbers of the combatants and the slain have to be taken with great caution; *cf.* for example, the fact, pointed out long ago by d'Ohsson (i, 232 ff.), that the citadel of Buk͟hārā according to Djuwaynī was defended by 30,000 men, all of whom were slain upon its capture, while Ibn al-At͟hīr (xii, 239), on the authority of an eye-witness, says the garrison consisted only of 400 horse. Again we find in Djuwaynī two versions of the struggle between the Ḳara-K͟hitay and Muḥammad K͟hwārazm-S͟hāh, based apparently on different sources (written or oral). It was only by later compilers like Mīrk͟hwānd that these contradictory accounts were woven into a uniform narrative, not, of course, in accordance with the standards of modern criticism; European scholars, to whom such compilations were much more accessible than the original authorities, have been frequently led astray by them.

Djuwaynī began work on his history during his residence in Mongolia in 650/1252-3; he was still working on it in 658/1260, for he refers to the state of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr in 658/1259-60 (Ḳazwīnī's text, i, 75, tr. Boyle, i, 96) and also to a Georgian rising that took place in the autumn of that year (text, ii, 261; tr., ii, 525); but there are no references to subsequent events, nor indeed to the operations against the Caliphate 655-6/1257-8), and there are many indications that the history was left in a state of incompletion.

Towards the end of his life he composed in Persian (not in Arabic as stated by Quatremère and repeated by Barthold in *EI*[1]) two treatises describing the misfortunes which had befallen him under Abaḳa, the first named *Tasliyat al-ik͟hwān* and the second bearing no special title: extracts from these short works have been published in the Persian introduction to Ḳazwīnī's edition of the *Taʾrīk͟h-i djahān-gus͟hāy*.

Bibliography: The text of Djuwaynī's history is available in the edition of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī: *The Taʾrikh-i-jahán-gushá* of *ʿAláʾu ʾd-Dín ʿAtá-Malik-i-Juwayni*, 3 vols., (*GMS*, Old Series, xvi/1, 2, 3), London 1912, 1916 and 1937; and in the translation of J. A. Boyle, *The history of the world-conqueror*, 2 vols., Manchester 1958. On Djuwaynī as a stylist see Bahār, *Sabk-S͟hināsī* iii, 51-100. (W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

DJUWAYNĪ, S͟hams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, Persian statesman known as "*Ṣāḥib Dīwān*", brother of the historian ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Djuwaynī (difference in their respective ages unknown), was made Chief Minister in 661/1262-3 by the Ilk͟hān Hülegü [*q.v.*], according to Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, i, 302 ff., 402. Nothing is known about his youth, and his brother does not mention him in his historical work. He became *Ṣāḥib* (*-i*) *Dīwān* (approximately equivalent to Finance Minister), and also held this post under Abaḳa (664-81/1265-82); with the help of devoted officials he extended his influence throughout the whole state of the Ilk͟hāns. His reputation grew steadily, especially among his fellow-Muslims, whom he protected from many a despotic act on the part of their heathen overlords. His fortune grew simultaneously, especially with regard to landed property, from which, it is reckoned, he finally had a daily income of one *tūmān* (Waṣṣāf, ed. Bombay, i, 56; although Ras͟hīd al-Dīn speaks of only one-tenth of this sum). Thus in 676/1277 Djuwaynī emerged as the fitting personality to strengthen the weakened position of the Mongols in Anatolia. He also succeeded in establishing himself with the Ḳaraman Og͟hullarï, installing his son S͟haraf al-Dīn Hārūn as governor there (transferred to Bag͟hdād 682/1283 and put to death there 685/1286), and then returned home to Īrān. In the meantime one of his opponents, Madjd al-Mulk Yazdī, had come to the fore and was created State Controller (*Mus͟hrif al-mamālik*); all decrees had to bear his signature alongside Djuwaynī's (Waṣṣāf, ed. Bombay, i, 95). From now on Abaḳa withdrew his favour more and more from Djuwaynī; it has been supposed (Köprülü in *IA*) that the contrast between the anti-Islamic ruler with his policy of western alliance and the strictly Muslim Djuwaynī may have contributed to this. In this difficult situation Djuwaynī also met with a stroke of fate in the death of his (eldest?) son, the admittedly very harsh governor of Iṣfahān, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, in S͟haʿbān 678/December 1279 (cf. Waṣṣāf, i, 60-6). Only Abaḳa's death (Muḥarram 681/April 1282) gave Djuwaynī the chance of ridding himself of Yazdī (put to death Djumādā I 681/ August 1282). Djuwaynī was once again the sole leading minister and stood in high favour with the new Ilk͟hān Aḥmad, who was the first Muslim in this position—the more so since he had helped him towards a temporary victory over the pretender to the throne, Arg͟hun, son of Abaḳa. He made use of this time to bring about an agreement with Egypt (682/1283), and thus to terminate for the time being the struggles which, hitherto, had been religious in nature. When Arg͟hun finally succeeded in establishing himself (683/1284) Djuwaynī at first attempted to flee to India, but later decided to ask the new Ilk͟hān for pardon. He offered a ransom for himself and his family but, as he was able to raise only 400,000 *dirham* out of the 2000 *tūmān* demanded, he was cruelly put to death on 4 S͟haʿbān 683/16 October 1284 near the village of Ah(a)r between Ḳazwīn and Zandjān. Several of his sons also met with the same fate, although information about this is self-contradictory in detail.

Like his brother, Djuwaynī patronized theology, science and art to the best of his ability, and gave a large proportion of his income to this end (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i guzīda*, i, 584). A number of learned men such as Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], and theologians have dedicated their works to him or to one of his sons, and poets have composed *ḳaṣīdas* to him (*e.g.*, Saʿdī, Ṣaḥibiyya). Djuwaynī himself wrote Arabic and Persian poetry with great command of language which (with reservations about Arabic: Waṣṣāf, i, 58) was also recognized by his contemporaries (several published in the Tehrān periodical *Armag͟hān*, v, 284 ff.; xiii, 379 ff.). Besides these some of his writings from government offices have been preserved in collections (*muns͟haʾāt*).

Bibliography: M. Fuat Köprülü in *İA*, iii, 255-9; Spuler, *Mongolen*[2], Berlin 1955, index (here references to the original sources are also to be found). (B. Spuler)

DJUZʾ, pl. adjzāʾ, (i) a "foot" in prosody [see ʿarūḍ]. (ii) a division of the Ḳurʾān for purposes of recitation [see ḳurʾān].

DJUZʾ (pl. *adjzāʾ*), part, particle, term used in the technical language of *kalām* and of *falsafa*

to describe the (philosophical) atom in the sense of the ultimate (substantial) part, that cannot be divided further, *al-djuz' alladhī lā yatadjazza'* (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 78); *al-djuz' al-wāḥid* is sometimes used. Synonym: "elementary and indivisible matter": *djawhar fard*; *al-djawhar al-wāḥid alladhī lā yanḳasim*.—For other definitions of vocabulary see DHARRA.

Atomistic conceptions of the world (philosophical atomism) existed very early in Islam, sometimes along heterodox lines, sometimes fully accepted by official teaching. Thus we have the atomism of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], and of numerous trends from the *'ilm al-kalām*. One of the first elaborations, as Horten has shown, was that of the Mu'tazilī Abu 'l-Hudhayl (contested by al-Naẓẓām and the Ismā'īlī Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī).—Al-Bāḳillāni and his school inherited this atomism, modified it along Ash'arī principles, formed from it a strict occasionalism, and organized it into a natural philosophy which has become famous. Many Ash'arīs were faithful to it, in a rigid form in various manuals and later commentaries (al-Laḳānī, al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen, al-Bādjūrī, etc.)—sometimes in a mitigated form, *e.g.*, al-Īdjī and his commentator al-Djurdjānī (there is a similar tendency in the Māturīdī al-Nasafī, and in al-Taftāzānī). It may be said on the other hand that the atomism of the old *kalām*, hardly mentioned and made much more flexible by al-Ghazālī, was practically abandoned by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, whilst al-Shahrastānī attempted an intermediate solution (see below). It would therefore be inaccurate to join together, as has sometimes happened, occasionalist atomism and Ash'arī solutions.

This atomism of the *kalām* certainly derives from Greek sources, Democritus and Epicurus, but transforming them; and still more perhaps from Indian sources (see S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, 102-23). It was known to Maimonides, explained and refuted in the "Guide to the Perplexed", but in a somewhat more rigid form. Thomas Aquinas made a similar refutation in the *Summa contra Gentiles*, and made it familiar to the Latin Middle Ages. A detailed statement of the atomist theses of Abu 'l-Hudhayl, and especially the Ash'arī theses, would take a long time and belongs rather to the history of *kalām* [*q.v.*]. There is a suggestive summary in L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1922, 550-3. In brief: only the atom is substance, and material substance, tangible or tenuous; all the rest is of the order of "accidental" (*'araḍ*); no accidental lasts longer than an instant (*ān, waḳt*); no accidental can be superadded to another, it can only reside in the substance-atom and cannot pass from one subject to another; each accidental is thus created directly by God; in consequence, all transitive action between two bodies is impossible; therefore, there can be no effective secondary causes (*asbāb*). We can see the link between atomism and the Ash'arī negation of secondary causes.

To conclude, here is an enumeration that al-Djurdjānī gives, following al-Īdjī, in the chapter where he treats of the nature of simple bodies (*Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, Cairo ed. 1325/1907, vii, 5 ff.). He notes five possible theories, and centres them all on atoms, *al-adjza'*: (1) atoms exist *in esse* (*bi 'l-fi'l*), are determined and indivisible: these are atoms in al-Bāḳillānī's sense; (2) al-Naẓẓām's thesis (corrected by S. Pines, id., v. Index): atoms exist *in esse* but are not determined—a thesis that al-Djurdjānī compares to Galen and Xenocrates (?); (3) contrary thesis of al-Shahrastānī (this time closer to Plato (?): atoms are determined, which rules out hylomorphism, but they only exist *in posse* (*bi 'l-ḳuwwa*); (4) thesis of the *falāsifa*: atoms are not determined and exist only *in posse*, extent is absolutely continuous,—hylomorphism is thus the principle of explanation; (5) to these four theses collected by al-Īdjī, al-Djurdjānī adds a fifth which he attributes to Democritus; the simple body is composed of "little bodies" which cannot be divided in fact, but can in spirit, by hypothesis. From an historical point of view, need it be said, this summary requires revision. It is nevertheless an indication of the efforts of al-Īdjī and al-Djurdjani to give an account of all the theories—including the hylomorphism of the *falsafa*—in terms of atoms.

Bibliography: in the article. The fundamental work remains that of S. Pines, where essential references to Arabic texts and works in European languages are given. See in particular the article by O. Pretzl, *Die frühislamische Atomenlehre*, in *Isl.*, 1931, 117-30. Also Gardet-Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, see index I, "Atomisme". (L. GARDET)

DJŪZDJĀN, Persian GŪZGĀN, the older name of a district in Afghān Turkestan between Murghāb and the Āmū Daryā. Its boundaries were not well defined, particularly in the west, but it certainly included the country containing the modern towns of Maymana, Andkhūy, Shibargān and Sar-i Pul. Lying on the boundary between the outskirts of the Iranian highlands and the steppes of the north, Djūzdjān probably always supported nomad tribes as it does at the present day in addition to the permanent settlements in its fertile valleys (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 322 ff.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, ed. 1145 A.H., 316). The principal wealth of the land lay in its flocks (camels: Ibn Ḥawḳal, *loc. cit.*; Vámbéry, *Reise in Mittelasien*², 213; horses: Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 138, 147; Vámbéry, 222; sheep: Vámbéry, 213; Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, 344; cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 271; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 322). Although the way from the highlands of Īrān to Mā warā' al-Nahr lay through Djūzdjān, it was used not so much for friendly intercourse as as a military road for armies passing through it.

The district, which in the beginning of the 1st/7th century was attached to Ṭukhāristān (see Marquart, *op. cit.*, 67), was conquered on the occasion of the campaign of al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays in 33/653-4 by his lieutenant al-Aḳra'. The marches suffered not only from the wars with the Turks but also from domestic differences within Islam. In the year 119/737 the Khāḳān was defeated by Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī near the capital of Djūzdjān (Shubūrḳān). In 125/743 the 'Alid Yaḥyā b. Zayd, whose tomb was revered long afterward (cf. Wellhausen, *Arab. Reich*, 311), fell in battle here against the Umayyads. During the 'Abbāsid period the governor's residence was in Anbār (probably the Djūzdjānān of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 2, possibly the modern Sar-i Pul); the native ruling house of Gūzgān-Khudhā, the Afrīghūn dynasty, continued however to survive, and had its capital in Kundurm (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 270; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 321 ff.; Ya'ḳūbī, 287). Shubūrḳān occasionally appears as the political centre of Djūzdjān, while Muḳaddasī (297) and Yāḳūt (ii, 149 ff.) mention al-Yahūdiyya (= Maymana [*q.v.*]) as the capital. The ancient name Djūzdjān appears gradually to have fallen into disuse, to survive in literature only for some time longer. The various towns in it continue to be repeatedly mentioned as the scenes of hostile

attacks; only the invasions of Čingiz Khān and Tīmūr can be mentioned here. Nothing shows the importance of the district more clearly than the fact that a number of towns have survived all these vicissitudes until the present day.

In modern times a number of petty Uzbeg Khānates (Akče, Andkhūy, Shibargān, Sar-i Pul, Maymana) have been established in the ancient Djūzdjān, but they were much harassed by raids of their more powerful neighbours such as the invasions of the Turkoman nomads. Since the time of Dūst Muḥammad these Khānates have gradually been incorporated in Afghān Turkestān; Maymana alone retains a vestige of independence under Afghān suzerainty.

Bibliography: Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 78, 80 ff., 86 ff.; S. de Sacy in *Annales et voyages*, xx (1813), 172 ff.; Le Strange, 423 ff.; Vambéry, *Reise in Mittelasien*[2], 211 ff.; C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, 334-52. (R. Hartmann)

AL-DJŪZDJĀNĪ, Abū ʿAmr (not ʿUmar as stated by Storey, i, 68) Minhādj al-Dīn ʿUthmān b. Sirādj al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Djūzdjānī, commonly known as Minhādj-i Sirādj, the premier historian of the Slave dynasty of India, was born at Fīrūzkūh [*q.v.*] in the royal palace in 589/1193, as, on his own showing, he was 18 years of age in 607/1210-1 when Malik Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd was slain at Fīrūzkūh. His father, Sirādj al-Dīn, a leading scholar and jurist of his day, and a courtier of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn, ruler of Fīrūzkūh, was appointed *ḳāḍī* of the army stationed in India by the Ghūrī sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām, also known as Shihāb al-Dīn, in c. 582/1186. He seems to have returned to Ghazna and was subsequently summoned from Fīrūzkūh to Bāmiyān by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Sām b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who appointed him the *ḳāḍī* and *khaṭīb* of his kingdom. Being a state dignitary his father was held in great esteem by the members of the royal family. Minhādj al-Dīn consequently passed his childhood in the *harīm* of the princess Māh-i Mulk, a daughter of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām, sultan of Ghūr and Fīrūzkūh (558-99/1162-1202). In 622/1225 at the age of 33 he was sent as an envoy to the court of Malik Tādj al-Dīn Yināltigīn (incorrect form: Niyāltigīn, see V. Minorsky in *BSOS*, viii/1 (1935), 257), at Nīmrūz. He was sent on a similar mission again in the following year.

The same year, *i.e.*, 623-4/1226-7, he left for India, most probably at the invitation of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča, ruler of Učh, where he was appointed, in view of his erudition and vast learning, principal of the Madrasa-i Fīrūzī, one of the earliest educational institutions in India established by the Muslims. On the overthrow of Ḳabāča by the Slave sultan of Dihlī, Shams al-Dīn Iletmish, in 625/1228, Minhādj changed his loyalty and accompanied the conqueror to Dihlī, where he held, under him, high legal and judicial offices, including that of the Chief Justice of the realm. A great orator and an accomplished scholar, his discourses and lectures were attended even by the highest nobles and the grandees of the Sultanate. In 639/1241-2 he was made *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* by the Slave king Muʿizz al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh (reigned: 637-9/1239-41). Disturbed by the prevailing political instability and confusion at Dihlī, al-Djūzdjānī decided to try his luck at the court of Lakhnawtī, the stronghold of Muslim occupation in Bengal. However, he did not find conditions very congenial there, and after a stay of two years returned to Dihlī in 642/1244-5.

He was once more the recipient of royal favours and held the double appointment of the *ḳāḍī* of Gwāliyar and the principal of the Madrasa-i Nāṣiriyya, a college named after the sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Iletmish, who reigned from 644-64/1246-65.

The same Sultan, greatly impressed with his vast and varied knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence and the dispensation of justice, appointed him once again the Chief Judge of the realm. He, however, fell a prey to the machinations of a court clique, headed by ʿImād al-Dīn Rīhān, Wakīl-i Dar, who compassed his ruin, and he fell from grace in 651/1253, after having been in office for two years only. He was reinstated in 652/1254 and soon afterwards the title of *Ṣadr-i Djahān* was conferred on him. The next year he was re-appointed Chief Judge of the realm, through the good offices of his patron Ulugh Khān-i Aʿẓam, the powerful minister of Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn. He was alive uutil at least 658/1259-60 when he completed *ṭabaḳa* 22 of his work. He seems to have died some time during the reign of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664/1265-686/1287), full of years and honours, and was, in all probability, buried at Dihlī.

His fame chiefly rests on his *magnum opus*, the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, written mainly during the years 657-8/1259-60, after his retirement from active life, and dedicated to Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. It is the main source of information for the early Sultanate period, the author having utilized some of the works which are now no more extant. Among its notable omissions is the total lack of mention of the embassy of Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī [*q.v.*], who was sent by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh as a special envoy to the court of Iletmish in 616/1219-20 (see *TA* under the root *K.N.DJ* and the Urdū monthly *Maʿārif*, Aʿẓamgaṛh, June 1959). A Ṣūfī and a poet given to *wadjd* and *samāʿ*, he has been mentioned by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith in his *Akhbār al-akhyār* (see Bibliography), where one *rubāʿī* of Minhādj has been quoted. Some other *tadhkiras* of Indian Persian poets (see Ḥabībī in the Bibl.) also mention him, but his poetry and other achievements have been overshadowed by his historical talents.

Bibliography: H. G. Raverty, Eng. trans. of *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, London 1881, ii, xix-xxxi (mainly gleaned from the *Ṭabaḳāt* itself); *Ṭabaqāt-e-Nāṣirī* (ed. Āqā-ye ʿAbd-ul-Ḥayy Ḥabībī Afghānī), Lahore 1954, ii, 724-72 (mostly based on the *Ṭabaḳāt*, but contains numerous other references); ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Meerut 1278/1861, 80; H. G. Raverty in *JASB*, li, 1882, 76; Rieu, i, 72; *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bankipur Library*, vi, 451; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, ii, 259 ff.; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Taʾrīkh-i istīlāʾ-yi Mughūl*, Tehran, 483; Ḥakīm ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād 1366/1947, i, 174-8; *Aligarh Magazine* (in Urdū) vol. xiii/1 (Jan. 1934), article by Zakariyya Fayyāḍī; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith, *Tadhkira-i muṣannifīn-i Dihlī*, 7; Storey, i, 68-70; there are also casual references in *Fawāʾid al- fuʾād* by Amir Hasan Sidjzī; Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 38 and index. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

DOʾĀB, (Pers.) 'two-waters', corresponding to the Greek μεσοποταμία, is in the Indo-Pākistān subcontinent generally applied to the land lying between two confluent rivers, and more particularly to the fertile plain between the Djamnā and the Ganges in Uttar Pradesh. The long tongues of land between the five rivers of the Pandjāb are also known as *doʾāb*s. Between the Satladj and the

Be'ās lies the Bist *do'āb*; between the Be'ās and the Rāwī, the Bārī *do'āb*; between the Rāwī and the Čenāb, the Rečnā *do'āb*; between the Čenāb and the Djhelam, the Čadj or Dječ *do'āb*; and between the Djhelam and the Indus, the Sind Sāgar *do'āb*. The names for these *do'ābs* are said to have been invented by the emperor Akbar (*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, trs. H. S. Jarrett, ii, 311 ff.). The most famous *do'āb* in Southern India is the Rāyčūr *do'āb* between the Kistna (Krishna) and the Tungabhadra rivers which formed a fluctuating frontier between the Hindū kingdom of Vidjayanagara and the Muslim states of the Deccan. (C. Collin Davies)

DŌ'ĀN [see daw'ān].

DOBRUDJA, the plateau between the Danube and the Lom river in the North, the Black Sea in the East and the Prowadijska river or the Balkan range in the South. Deli Orman in this area is distinguished from the steppe region, Dobrudja-Kîrî, in the East which is considered as the Dobrudja proper. Called Scythia Minor in the Graeco-Roman period, it was included in the Byzantine province of Paristrion (Bardjān in Idrīsī's world map) in 361/972. In Bulgarian Karvunska Chora, it was 'the land of Karbona' in the mediaeval Italian maps. Its modern name came from Dobrudja-eli (as Aydîn from Aydîn-eli) which in Turkish meant the land of Dobrudja, Dobrotič (as Karlofdja from Karlowitz) (cf. *Susmanos-eli* in Neshrī, *Ǧihānnümā*, ed. Fr. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, 66). Yanko or Ivanko, son of Dobrotič, was mentioned as Dobrudja-oghlu in Neshrī (66, 68).

From the early 5th century A.D. until the 13th/19th century Dobrudja became, primarily for the peoples of Turkic origin coming from the Eurasian steppes, a natural route leading to the invasion of the Balkans or a refuge for those pushed by their rivals beyond the Danube. Thus in the footsteps of the Huns (408 A.D.) came Avars (in 534 and especially in 587 A.D.), Bulghars (especially in 59/679) with their capital in Preslav, southern Dobrudja, Pečeneks (440/1048), Uz (456/1064) and Ḳîpčaḳs (Cumans) (484/1091). Among those the Ḳîpčaḳs appeared to play politically and ethnically the most important part in the history of Dobrudja until the advent of the Ottoman Turks. T. Kowalski finds (*Les Turcs et la langue turque de la Bulgarie du Nord-Est*, in *Ac. Pol. Mém. de la commission orientaliste*, xvi, Cracow 1933, 28) linguistic remains of these early Turkish invasions from the North in the Gagauz Turkish (cf. gagauz). The name Deli Orman comes from the Cuman Teli Orman (cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, ii, Berlin 1958, 305-6). The Cumans in the Balkans were mostly Christianized, and, mingled with the native Wallachs and Slavs, they continued to play the rôle of a ruling military class among them (cf. L. Rásonyi-Nagy, *Valacho-turcica*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, 68-96; P. Nikov, *The Second Bulgarian Kingdom*, Sofia 1937, in Bulgarian). Furthermore the Mongol invasion of the Dasht-i Ḳîpčaḳ in 620/1223 and the foundation of the Khānate of the Golden Horde in 635/1238 caused large groups of Cumans to flee to the West (cf. B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1945, 19-20). As to the bulk of the Ḳîpçaḳs who remained in the Dasht under Mongol rule, they mostly adopted Islam and were to play a significant part under the name of Tatar in Dobrudja's history in the following periods. With their support Noghay [*q.v.*] established his overlordship on the Bulgarian kingdom by 681/1282, where the king and many of his boyars were of Cuman origin. The lower Danube with Sakdjî (Isaccea) was reported in the Arabic sources (Baybars, *Zubdat al-fikra*, in W. de Tiesenhausen, *Altinordu devleti tarihine ait metinler*, Turkish trans. I. H. Izmirli, Istanbul 1941, 221; Nuwayrī, *ibid.*, 282) as one of the headquarters of Noghay. He was, Z. V. Togan thinks (*Umumî Türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 256, 325), acting against the Byzantines under the influence of the *ghazā* preachings of Şaru Şaltuḳ, who was active in Sakdjî and the Crimea during this period. After the suppression of Noghay by Tokhtu, Khān of the Golden Horde (autumn 698/1299), Tukal Bogha, his son, was placed in the lower Danube and Sakdjî and Noghay's son Čeke came into Bulgaria to seize the throne for a short time (cf. Baybars and Nuwayrī, *ibid.*).

As for the Anatolian Turks who were said to come with Şaru Şaltuḳ in Dobrudja in this period, we are now in a position to assert after P. Wittek's comparative study of the original Turkish account of Yazîdjîoghlu 'Alī with the Byzantine sources (*Yazîjîoghlu 'Ali on the Christian Turks of Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 639-68) that these came actually to settle in Dobrudja after 662/1263-4 with Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāūs who was then a refugee in Byzantium. Michael VIII Palaeologus gave permission to Kaykāūs's followers in Anatolia to come to settle in Dobrudja, then a no-man's-land between the Golden Horde, Bulgaria and the Byzantine empire (the arguments of P. Mutafčiev, *Die angebliche Einwanderung von Seldschuk-Türken in die Dobrudscha im XIII. Jahrh.*, in *Bulg. Acad. Sci. Lett.*, lxvi/1, 2, are not valid after Wittek's study; cf. also H. von Duda, *Zeitgenössische islamische Quellen und das Oguznāme des Jazygyoglu 'Ali...*, *ibid.* 131-45; see also Adnan S. Erzi, in *İA*, v/2, 716). These Muslim Turks from Anatolia, mostly nomads, formed there "two or three towns and 30-40 *oba*, clans" (Yazîdjîoghlu in Wittek, 648; von Duda, 144). Abu 'l-Fidā''s note about the majority of the population of 'Şakdjī' being Muslims (*Géographie*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 34) apparently referred to them rather than the Tatars settled under Noghay. With his headquarters in Sakdjî Noghay, then converted to Islam, must have become after Berke Khān's death (665/1267, cf. Spuler, 51) the protector of the Anatolian Turks in Dobrudja (cf. Z. V. Togan, *ibid.*). It is interesting to note that the emigration of them back to Anatolia about 706/1307 followed the death of Noghay and the arrival of Tukal Bogha, apparently a pagan like his father Tokhtu Khān. In 699/1300 Noghay's son Čeke too was killed by Svetoslav in Bulgaria. Yazîdjîoghlu noted (Wittek, 651) that these Turks decided to emigrate because the Bulgarian princes had risen up and occupied the larger part of Rumeli. Those who remained, he added, became Christians. These people of Kaykāūs were, as Wittek demonstrated after Balasčev, named *Ghaghauz* after their lord Kaykāūs (cf. Wittek, *ibid.*, 668). But in 732/1332 Baba Şaltuḳ (later Baba-dagh) was, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reported (*Voyages*, ii, 416; English trans. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1959, 499), an important town possessed by the 'Turks'.

By 766/1365 an independent despotate under a Christianized Turkish family rose in the part of Dobrudja where the Gagauz always lived (in the Ottoman *defter* of 1006/1598, Tapu Kadastro Um. Md, Ankara, no. 399, some Christians in the area still bore Turkish names such as Arslan, Ḳaragöz). Balîk (758/1357) (also Balica; the name is a Cuman name, cf. Rásonyi, *ibid.*; Iorga identified it with Rumanian Baliţa; *Notes d'un historien*, in *Acad.*

Roum. Bull. Sec. His. ii-iv (1913), 97. Čolpan, an important man under the son of Dobrotič, bore an Anatolian Turkish name) and especially his energetic brother Dobrotič (the name is undoubtedly of Slav origin) founded in the area from the delta of the Danube down to the Emine promontory south of Varna a despotate independent of Byzantium and Bulgaria. Its capital was at Kalliakra by 767/1366 (Iorga, *Dobrotisch*, in *Ac. Roum. Bull. de la Sec. His.* ii-iv, 1914, 295) and Varna by 790/1388 (Neshrī, 68). Apparently he profited from the Ottoman onslaught in Byzantine Thrace and Shishman's Bulgaria between 762-73/1361-71. From 763/1362 to 767/1366 his and the Ottomans' enemies were the same (cf. Iorga, *Dobrotisch*, 295). Allied with Venice, Dobrotič challenged the Genoese in the Black Sea. For Venice the wheat export of Dobrudja was then vitally important (cf. F. Thiriet, *Régestes des déliberations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, i, 1958, documents nos. 545, 575, 576, 653, 671, 689). The land over which he ruled was named after him 'the Land of Dobrotič', *terra Dobroticii* (in 758/1357, *Acta Patr. Const.*, i, 367) or Dobrudja-eli in Turkish (Yazîdjîoghlu in Wittek, 649). His son Ivanko or rather Yanko (*Ioanchos*) was an Ottoman vassal by 790/1388 (Neshrī, 66, 68). It is most likely that Dobrotič too had accepted Ottoman suzerainty as had Shishman since 773/1371. Under Yanko Dobrudja experienced the first Ottoman conquest.

In the winter of 790/1388 Murād I hastily sent an army under ʿAlī Pasha against Shishman and Yanko who had refused to join as his vassals the Ottoman army against Serbia. ʿAlī passed the Balkan range through the pass of Nadir, captured Provadija (Pravadi), Shumla (Shumnu), Eski-Istanbulluk (ancient Preslav), Madera, and proceeded toward Trnovo (see BULGARIA). Then Yakhshi, son of Timurtash, was ordered to subdue the land of Dobrudja. According to a Turkish source (Neshrī, 66-70, reproduces an old and detailed account of this expedition. Rūḥī gives the same account with omissions. Fr. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien*, München 1944, 30, confused the expeditions of 790/1388 and 795/1393) two men from Varna came and said that the notables of the city had decided to seize the Tekvur, son of Dobrudja, and surrender the fortress to the Pasha. But the fortress did not surrender when Yakhshi came (Neshrī, 68). The Ottomans, busy elsewhere, left Bulgaria to come back only in 795/1393. In the meantime Dobrudja and Silistre (Durostor) were occupied by Mirčea, a Wallachian prince. In his treaty with Poland in 791/1389 and in its renewal in 793/1391 he called himself 'the Lord of Silistre and Despot of the Land of Dobrotič' (*despotus terrarum Dobrodicii*) (N. Iorga, *Hist. des Roumains*, iii, Bucarest 1937, 339). The 'Turkish Towns' mentioned among his possessions (Iorga, *Dobrotisch*, 298) might be Sakdjî and other towns founded by the 'people of Kaykāūs'. From there Mirčea attacked the aķîndjîs at the Ottoman *udj* of Karîn-ovasî (Karnobad) who were a constant threat to his new possessions (cf. A. Decei, *L'expédition de Mirčea I contre les akindji de Karinovasi*, in *Rev. des Ét. Roumaines*, Paris 1953, 130-51). It was this bold attack that made Bāyezīd I come to consolidate Ottoman rule in Bulgaria (see BĀYAZĪD I). Dobrudja and Silistre were taken under direct Ottoman rule during the operations in 795/1393. Then Dobrudja was made an important *udj* [*q.v.*] for aķîndjîs, and preserved this character throughout its history, attracting warlike elements as well as dissidents and sectarians. Mirčea profited from the Ottoman disaster at Ankara in 805/1402 to take back Silistre and the northern Dobrudja (Iorga, *Hist. des Roumains*, iii, 385). Süleymān, Bāyezīd's successor in Rumeli, appears then to have recognized the fact. But soon the aķîndjîs renewed their raids against Mirčea (Neshrī, 130; P. Ş. Năstrul, *Une victoire de Voyvode Mirčea*, in *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, i, Bucarest 1958, 242). To free himself of them Mirčea invited and gave his support to Mūsā Čelebī, Süleymān's brother and rival (Neshrī, 130; P. P. Panaitescu, *Mirčea čel Bătran*, Bucarest 1943, 214). The aķîndjîs joined Mūsā [*q.v.*] against Süleymān, and left Mirčea alone. In 819/1416 he supported Muṣṭafā, another pretender, and Shaykh Badr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] against Meḥemmed I [*q.v.*] in Dobrudja and Deli Orman. The *ṭovidjas*, aķîndjî leaders, Ṣūfī dervishes who were in this *udj* area in great numbers joined them (cf. Ş. Yaltkaya, *Şeyh Bedreddin'e dair bir kitap*, in *TM*, iii, 251; Orudj, ed. Fr. Babinger, 45, 111). Though in their official titles Mirčea and Mihai, his successor, always mentioned 'the two sides of the Danube' among their possessions it was apparent that Dobrudja and Silistre were then actually in the hands of the akîndjîs, who in their antipathy toward Meḥemmed I must have continued their friendly relations with the Wallachian voyvodas. Mirčea's death (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 820/ January 1418) and the ensuing confusion provided the Sultan with the opportunity to establish his control in Dobrudja in 822/1419. After he subdued his rivals in Anatolia, the Djāndārids and then the Ķaramānids (see ĶARAMĀN OGHLU), Meḥemmed I organized a large-scale expedition against Wallachia in which both Anatolian principalities sent auxiliary forces. An Ottoman fleet participated in the operations. In the summer of 822/1419 he crossed the Danube, captured and fortified Yergögü (Giurgiu) and attempted to take Kilia while the raiders devastated the enemy's country. Mihai first took refuge in Argesh and then perished in an skirmish. Before his return the Sultan strengthened Sakdjî and Yeni-Sale against future attacks of the Wallachians. No mention is made of Silistre during this expedition. Dan I, the new Voyvoda, recognized Ottoman suzerainty, though the Emperor Sigismond had started southwards with the intention of invading the Dobrudja. He was delayed by the Ottoman action against Severin (autumn 822/1419). (Iorga, *GOR*, i, 375, and *Hist. des Roumains*, iii, 401-2, dates this expedition 820/1417. In this year Meḥemmed I was at war against the Ķaramān oghlu in Anatolia, cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, text in Ş. Inalcık, *Ibn Hacer'de Osmanlılara dair haberler*, *AÜDTCF Dergisi*, vi/5, 525. Following Neshrī's confused chronology, Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, i, new ed. Ankara 1961, 356; and A. Decei, *IA*, iii, 635, adopted 819/1416 as the date of the expedition against Wallachia. For our dating see further O. Turan, *Tarihi takvimler*, Ankara 1954, 20, 56; Atsız, *Osmanlı tarihine ait takvimler*, Istanbul 1961, 20; Ibn Ḥadjar, *ibid.*, the years 821/1418 and 822/1419; and a letter of Meḥemmed I to the Mamlūk Sultan in Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*, i, 164-5). The Wallachians under Dan attempted to take Silistre during the period of the renewed civil war in the Ottoman empire in 825/1422 (Iorga, *Hist. des Roumains*, iv, 20; Neshrī, 154; ʿĀshîķpashazāde, ed. ʿĀlī, 105). Against him Fīrūz (Feriz) Beg was appointed in this *udj* to organize counter-raids.

Firmly established in Dobrudja since Meḥemmed I's expedition in 822/1419, the Ottomans used it as

a base to extend their control on the other side of the Danube. The imperial army under Meḥemmed II invaded Boghdan [*q.v.*] in 881/1476, passing through Dobrudja (see MEḤEMMED II), Bāyezīd II using the same route took Kilia and Aḳkermān in 889/1484. During this expedition he built the great mosque and the *zāwiya* of Ṣaru Ṣaltuḳ in Baba Ḳaṣabasî (Baba-dagh) and endowed them with all the tax revenues of the town and surrounding villages (for these endowments a *waḳf defteri* exists in the *Tapu ve Kadastro Um. Md.*, Ankara, no. 397). In his expedition against Boghdan in 945/1538 Süleymān I too showed the same interest in this pre-Ottoman Islamic centre (cf. Ferīdūn, i, 602-3).

According to the *defter*s (see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ) of the 10th/16th century (in the *Başvekâlet* Archives Istanbul, Tapu nos. 65, 542, 688, 304, 483, 732, and, in *Tapu ve Kadastro Um. Md.* Ankara, nos. 397, 398, 399) the sandjaḳ of Silistre and Aḳkermān comprised the *ḳaḍā*s of Aḳkermān, Djankermān, Kili, Bender, Ibrail, Silistre, Ḥîrsova, Tekfurgölü and the nāḥiyes of Varna, Pravadi, Yanbolu, Ahyolu, Rusi-Ḳaṣrî, Karin-ābād and Aydos. Balčık, Kavarna and Kaligra were included in the nāḥiye of Varna. The Ottomans applied in Dobrudja typical Ottoman laws and regulations with special provisions for such groups as *eshkündji*s, *müsellem*s, *Djebelü-Tatar*s, *Matrak-Tatarlarî*, *djānbāz* (cf. the *ḳānūnnāme*s in Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 272-89).

The following is a table drawn up according to the defters of 1006/1597 (*Tapu ve Kadastro Um. Md.*, Ankara, nos. 397, 398, 399).

Town	Number of Muslim districts	Number of non-Muslim districts	Tax revenue
Silistre	16	8 1 Jewish 1 Gypsy	215,429
Isaḳdjî (Isaḳča, Saḳdjî)	1	6	187,995
Mačin	—	4	83,113
Baba (Baba-dagh)	16	2	107,350 (Waḳf)
Ḥîrsova	2	—	50,000
Tekfur-gölü	1	1 56 families of tuzdju	34,477
Balčîḳ	12	3	—
Ḳavarna	—	4	32,606
Pazardjîḳ	16	1	20,000
Kaligra (Kalliakra)	1 (dervishes in the zāwiya)	1	12,110

Dasht-i Ḳîpčaḳ in autumn 797/1395. Their leader Aḳtaw was a general of Tokhtamîsh Khān (cf. Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafarnāma*, Turkish trans. N. Lugal, Ankara 1949, 194). Bāyezīd I took them into his own service with the same status as the *Yürük* [*q.v.*] (Ö. L. Barkan, in *Iktisad Fak. Mec.*, xv, 211-3). From Budjaḳ [*q.v.*] and the Crimea Tatar refugees continued to come into Dobrudja in later periods (especially in 918/1512 and 920/1514, cf. Müstecib H. Fazıl, *Dobruca ve Türkler*, Köstence 1940, 36). In 1007/1599 Baldasarius Waltheri reported that in the plain of Dobrudja lived 6000 Tatar families, Dobrudja Tatarlarî, who provided an auxiliary force to the Ottoman army under a Crimean prince (Müstecib H. Fazıl, *ibid.*, 37).

In the regions of Tekfur-gölü, Ḥîrsova, Silistre and Varna also lived the *Yürük* [*q.v.*] groups: those of *Ḳodjadjîḳ* 44 odjaḳ, each odjaḳ being regularly 30 men, *Nal-döken* 34 odjaḳ, *Tañrî-dagh* about 95 odjaḳ by 1009/1600 (cf. T. Gökbilgin, *ibid.*, 56, 70, 76, 212-30). Each odjaḳ furnished five fighters for the army.

Turkish Muslims made up, in the countryside too, the majority of the population. The study of personal names and village names (the above mentioned defters are *mufaṣṣal defter*s in which the names of the heads of the households are recorded) shows that an overwhelming majority of the villages were the new ones founded by the Turkish Muslim immigrants from Anatolia. We know that the Ottoman state made from the early conquest onwards forced settlements of Anatolian Turks in this important *udj* area (cf. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 273, 274,

As separate small communities gypsies lived in all these towns. They were mostly Christians. Only in Silistre 21 Jewish families were recorded. Here is a table of the ports in Dobrudja with their revenues from the dues on fish, salt, mills and the customs dues:

Silistre: 566,666, Tulča, Isaḳdjî and Mačin together: 561, 675. Varna, Balčîk, Kaligra, Mangalya, Köstendje, Ḳara-Ḥarmanlîḳ, Ḳamčî-suyu, Galata, Baba-gölü and Yeni-Sale together: 281,004.

In 32 villages of the *ḳaḍā* of Ḥîrsova and in 9 villages of that of Tekfur-gölü lived *Tatarān-i Djebelüyān* (*Djebelü Tatarlar*) with the obligation to equip at their own expense 360 *djebelü*s for the army, and in return they were exempted from the *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] taxes. The Tatars of Aḳtaw who were settled around Tekfur-gölü, Pravadi, Varna, Yanbolu and Filibe (T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, Istanbul 1957, 26, 87, 88) had immigrated into Rumeli when Tīmūr invaded the

and *Iktisad Fak. Mec.*, xv, 227). A great number of the villages bore a personal name ending with the word *ḳuyu*, well (Aḳîndjî Ḳuyusu, Ḳara Bali Ḳuyusu, Avunduḳ Ḳuyusu etc.). A large number of them revealed a tribal origin with the word *djemāʿat* (for example Ḳarye-i Eyerdji Khayr al-Dīn Pînarî, djemāʿat-i Seyyid Khîzîr, Ḳarye-i Ḳartallu Muṣṭafā ʿan djemāʿat-i Ṣaliḥ Ṭovidja etc.). Apparently few villages with a mixed population of Muslims and Christians were pre-Ottoman. In the northern Dobrudja there existed large villages of exclusively Christian population (Mačin, Ḳara-Ḥarmanlîḳ, Esterbend etc.). Some names indicated their Romanian origin (Radul, Yanko, Mihne etc.). Most of the Christian villages enjoyed exemption from *ʿawāriḍ* taxes in return for their services to repair the bridges and roads, or for their work in the salt production.

The repopulation and prosperity of Dobrudja under the Ottomans were primarily due to the fact

that they considered it as an important *udj* area, and the Anatolian immigrants were encouraged to engage in agriculture by the increasing demand for and easy transportation of the wheat production of Dobrudja for Istanbul. From Ḳara-Ḥarmanlïḳ, Köstendje, Mangalya, Balčïk and Kaligra a large quantity of wheat and fish was exported regularly to the Ottoman metropolis. At these ports the state had built special storehouses for wheat. Muslims paid two per cent and *dhimmī*s four per cent as customs due on their export. The ports of Silistre, Tulča, Isakdjï, Mačin, Ḥïrsova exported, in addition, Wallachian timber, salt, felt of Brashow and slaves for Istanbul and Rumeli (The *ḳānūnnāme*s of the ports of Dobrudja in the above-mentioned defters are not yet published; also see ʿOthmān Nūrī, *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, Istanbul 1338, 781, and *Tarih Vesikaları*, v, 333). The towns of Ḥadjïoghlu Pazardjïk, Mangalya and Baba with their weekly fairs were important trade centres for the whole region (cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, Istanbul 1314, 329-71).

From 983/1575 onwards Cossack attacks became a constant threat to Dobrudja. In 995/1587 they burned down Baba (Babadagh). In 1003/1595 Mihai, the rebellious Voyvoda of Wallachia, supported by the Cossacks, renewed Mirčea's attacks on the Ottoman cities and fortresses in Dobrudja and caused a mass emigration (cf. A. Decei, in *İA*, iii, 637). The continuing Cossack threat made the Ottoman government decide to create a new *eyālet* including the sandjaḳs of the Eastern Black Sea with Silistre and Özü as its capitals (cf. ʿAynī ʿAlī, *Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* . . ., Istanbul 1280, 13).

The Dobrudja was invaded by the Russian armies for the first time in 1185/1771. Babadagh, general headquarters of the Ottoman armies, fell in 1185/1771, and, when in 1188/1774 Ḥadjioghlu Pazardjïḳ, the new headquarters, also fell the Ottomans demanded a cease-fire. The Dobrudja became again a battlefield between the Ottoman and Russian armies in 1224/1809, 1244/1829 and 1271/1855. The Russian invasion of 1244/1829 proved especially ruinous for the Dobrudja, causing a mass emigration of the Turkish-Tatar population. Whole towns and villages were deserted. The population of the Dobrudja after this war was estimated at only 40,000 (Müstecib H. Fazıl, *op. cit.*, 75; E. Z. Karal, *Os. Imp. ilk nüfus sayımı*, Ankara 1943). Appreciating its strategical importance the Ottoman government took special measures to repopulate the Dobrudja by improving agriculture and bringing in settlers. In Muḥarram 1253/April 1837 Maḥmūd II (cf. H. Inalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*, Ankara 1943, 27-8) and in spring 1262/1846 Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd (*Seyāḥatnāme-i Hümāyūn*, 11-5) visited the area. In 1266/1850 an expert was sent to explore the agricultural possibilities there (I. I. de la Brad, *Excursion agricole dans la plaine de la Dobroudja*, Const. 1850). At this date in the *ḳaḍā*s of Tulča, Isaḳča, Mačin, Ḥïrsova, Babadagh, Köstendje, Mangalya, Pazardjïk, Balčïk and Silistre were 4800 Turkish, 3656 Romanian, 2225 Tatar, 2214 Bulgarian, 1092 Cossack, 747 Lipovani, 300 Greek, 212 Gypsy, 145 Arab, 126 Armenian, 119 Jewish and 59 German families. After the Crimean war in the period between 1270/1854 and 1283/1866 the Tatar immigrants from the Crimea who were settled in the Dobrudja were estimated at dabout 100,000 (F. Bianconi quoted in M. H. Fazıl, 90-1). When in 1281/1864 the *wilāyet* of Tuna was created the *sandjaḳ*s or *liwā*s of Tulča and Varna with a total population of 173,250 made a part of it. The former included the *ḳaḍā*s of Balčïk, Pazardjïk, Pravadi, and Mangalya, the latter those of Baba, Ḥïrsova, Sünne, Köstendje, Mačin and Medjidiye (Karasu) (*Sālnāme*, 1294; cf. N. V. Michoff, *La population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie au XVIII*ᵉ *et au XIX*ᵉ *siècles*, i, Sofia 1929).

The Turco-Russian war of 1877-8 caused about 90,000 Turks and Tatars to emigrate from the Dobrudja to Turkey and Bulgaria and most of them never returned. By the treaty of Berlin signed on 13 July 1878 (Art. 46), the sandjaḳ of Tulča and the Southern Dobrudja from the east of Silistre to the south of Mangalya were annexed to Romania. The rest of the Dobrudja made the part of the Prin cipality' of Bulgaria under Ottoman suzerainty (Art. 1-2). Under the Romanian administration emigrations of Muslim population into Turkey continued especially in 1300/1883 when these were subjected to compulsory military service and in 1317/1899 during the famine in the Dobrudja (M. H. Fazıl, 109-10). In 1328/1910 in the Romanian Dobrudja only thirty per cent of a population of 210,000 and in the Bulgarian Dobrudja forty per cent of a population of 257,000 were Muslim Turks and Tatars.

Bibliography: The *Başvekalet* Archives, Istanbul, *Tapu Defterleri*, nos. 304, 483, 732; *Tapu ve Kadastro Um. Md.*, Ankara, *Ḳuyūd-i Ḳadīme*, nos. 397, 398, 399; I. Bromberg, *Toponymical and historical miscellanies on mediaeval Dobrudja, Bessarabia and Moldo-Wallachia*, in *Byzantion*, xii, 151-207, 459-475; xiii, 9-72; N. Bănescu, *La question du Paristrion*, in *Byzantion*, viii (1933); P. Mutafčiev, *Dobrudja*, Sofia 1947 (in Bulgarian); *La Dobrudja*, ed. Acad. Roumaine, Bucarest 1938; Müstecib H. Fazıl (Ülküsal), *Dobruca ve Türkler*, Köstence 1940; C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876; N. Iorga, *Hist. des Roumains*, i-x, Bucarest 1936-9; P. Wittek, *Yazïjïoghlu ʿAli on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 639-68; A. I. Manof, *Gagauzlar*, Turkish trans. by T. Acaroğlu, Ankara 1940; N. Iorga, *La politique vénitienne dans les eaux de la mer noire*, in *Acad. Roumaine, Bull. sect. hist.*, ii-iv (1914), 289-307; idem, *Dobrotich, Dobrotič, Dobrotici*, in *Rev. hist. du Sud-Est Européen*, v (1928); *Documente privind Istoria Romîniei, A. Moldova*, i, Bucarest 1954 (the text of the treaty between Ivanco and the Genoese, 296-301); G. I. Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetâtea Alba*, Bucarest 1935; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, Istanbul 1314 H., 335-75; *Analele Dobrogei*, publ. in Constanta since 1920; *İA*, art. Dobruca (Aurel Decei). See also BABADAGHĪ, DELI ORMAN, GAGAUZ, ṢARÏ ṢALTÏḲ (Ṣaru Ṣaltuḳ). (HALIL INALCIK)

ḌOFĀR [see ẒAFĀR].

DOG [see KALB].

DÖGER, name of an Oghuz tribe (*boy*). They are mentioned in the *Oghuz-nāme* (the account of the life of the Oghuz people before they embraced Islam, see F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar'a ait destanî mahiyette eserler*, in *Ank. Ün. DTCFD*, xvii/3-4), where it is said that some prominent beys of the Oghuz rulers belonged to this tribe. According to the Syrian historian Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Djazarī (658/1260-739/1338), the Artuk [*q.v.*] dynasty, ruling the Mardin-Diyārbekir region, belonged to the Döger tribe (F. Sümer, *op. cit.*, 405, n. 171), which must therefore have taken part in the conquests of the Selčuks. In the second half of the 8th/13th century an important branch of the Döger was living south of Urfa (Edessa) and

around Dja'bar; their leader was, in 773/1371-2, a bey named Sālim.

Sālim played a part in the events of North Syrian history and died towards the end of the century. Three sons of his are known. Dimashḳ Khodja, probably the eldest, was in 801/1398 appointed *nā'ib* of Dja'bar by the Mamlūk Sultan; profiting from the anarchy left by Tīmūr's invasion, he brought under his control also Raḳḳa, Sarūdj, Ḥarrān, Urfa and Siverek, but was killed in battle with the famous Arab *amīr* Nu'ayr (Muḥammad b. Muhannā) and his head was sent to Cairo (806/1404). He was succeeded by his brother Gökče Mūsā, who, like Dimashḳ, was hostile to the Aḳ-ḳoyunlu and friendly with the Ḳara-ḳoyunlu: in 807/1405 he entertained at Dja'bar the Ḳara-ḳoyunlu ruler Ḳara Yūsuf, who was travelling home from Syria; he assisted the Ḳara-ḳoyunlu in various campaigns, helping Ḳara Yūsuf's son Iskender to defeat Ḳara Yülük 'Othmān Beg in the battle fought at Sheykh-kendi (between Mardin and Naṣībīn) in 824/1421. In 840/1436 he defeated Ḳara Yülük's grandson, 'Alī Beg-oghlu Djihāngīr, and sent him prisoner to Cairo, but died in the same year. Thereafter, under pressure from the Aḳ-ḳoyunlu, the Döger lost even Dja'bar. In Gökče Mūsā's lifetime his younger brother Ḥasan Beg had entered the service of the Mamlūk Sultan and became *nā'ib* of 'Adjlūn; Ḥasan's son Amīrza was *nā'ib* of Karak in 890/1485.

Apart from Sālim's family, other beys of the Döger—Yār 'Alī, Muḥammad and Katī—are found in Syria as leaders of Döger clans among the Turkmens of Ḥaleb; Katī was in 857/1453 *nā'ib* of Buḥayra for the Mamlūks. In the time of Süleymān I, the Döger of Syria were divided in three clans (*oymak*) in the regions of Ḥaleb, Ḥamā and Dimashḳ. The *tapu* registers show two small groups in Jerusalem residing in the Bāb al-'Āmūd and Banū Zayd quarters (cf. B. Lewis in *BSOAS*, xvi/3 (1954), 479). Other clans were found around Diyārbekir, among the Boz-Ulus (one remnant of the Aḳ-ḳoyunlu confederacy), at Karkūk, and even among the Turkish tribes in Persia. In the 10th/16th century the name Döger was found in many toponyms, few of which have survived.

Bibliography: F. Sümer, *Dögerlere dâir*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, x, 1953, 139-158; Cl. Cahen, *Contribution à l'histoire du Diyâr Bakr au quatorzième siècle*, in *JA*, ccxliii, 1955, 81; Abū Bakr-i Ṭihrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, ed. N. Lugal and F. Sümer, Ankara (TTK) 1962, 53, nn. 5-7; 123, n. 1.

(F. Sümer)

DOGHANDJÎ, Turkish term for falconer, from *doghan*, falcon (*toghan* in Kîpčak Turkish, cf. *al-Tuḥfa al-zakiyya fi 'l-lugha al-Turkiyya*, ed. B. Atalay, Istanbul 1945, 260), and in general use any kind of bird of prey. *Bāzdār*, from Persian, was also frequently used for the *doghandjî*.

In the Ottoman empire the term *doghandjî* in the same sense as in later periods was found as early as the 8th/14th century (cf. P. Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden*, in *WZKM*, liv (1957), 240; lvii (1961), 103; for *doghandjî čiftligi* see H. Inalcık, *Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, 106).

Hawking, a favourite traditional sport at the Ottoman court, gave rise to a vast organization in the empire. There were *doghandjî*s at the Enderūn and the Bīrūn [*qq.v.*], and in the provinces. The *doghandjî*s at the Enderūn, under a *doghandjî-bashî*, were found in the different *odas* (chambers). They accompanied the Sultan in his hawking parties. Their number varied according to the reigning Sultan's care for the sport (nine in 883/1478, forty in the early 17th century, cf. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 421-2).

At the Bīrūn the *doghandjî*s, generally called *shikâr khalkî*, made three different *djemā'at*, groups, divided into *bölüks*, *čaḳîrdjîyān*, *shāhîndjiyān* and *atmadjadjîyān*, those taking care of *čaḳîr*s, merlins and falcons, of *shāhîn*, peregrine falcons, and of *atmadja*, sparrow-hawks. They were under a *čaḳîrdjî-bashî*, a *shāhîndji-bashî* and an *atmadjadjî-bashî* respectively. The *čakîrdjî-bashî* [*q.v.*] was the head of the whole organization, and in this capacity was usually called *mîr-i shikâr*. In the hierarchy of aghas at the Bīrūn he stood in the fourth grade, the first being *yeničeri-aghasî* (cf. *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, ed. M. 'Ārif, in *TOEM*, 1330 H., appendix, 12). When promoted, the *čaḳîrdjî-bashî* was made *sandjaḳ-begi* under Meḥemmed II (*ibid.*, 15), and beglerbegi in the 11th/17th century. The *shāhîndji-bashî* was then made *čaḳîrdjî-bashî*, and the *doghandjî-bashî* from the Enderūn *shāhîndji-bashî*. The *doghandjî*s at the court all received *'ulūfe*, salary (cf. Ö. L. Barkan, *H. 933-934 malî yılına ait bir bütçe örneği*, in *İst. Üniv. Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (1953-4), 300; 'Aynī 'Alī, *Ḳawānîn-i Āl-i 'Othmān* . . ., Istanbul 1280, 95).

In the provinces there existed a similar organization. In the sandjaḳs [*q.v.*] where birds of prey were found, there were *doghandjî*s or *bāzdārān*, *čaḳîrdjî*s, *shāhîndji*s and *atmadjadjî*s under a *doghandjî-bashî*. Their number with their dependents reached 2171 persons in Anatolia and 1520 in Rumeli in 972/1564 (*Defter-i bāzdārān-i wilāyet-i Rumeli we Anadolu we ghayruh*, in Belediye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Cevdet Kitapları, O 60. This important source gives in *idjmāl*, summary, the number of *doghandjî*s and the copies of the *ḥükm*s, decrees, on them). They formed large groups especially in the sandjaḳs of Gallipoli (642), Vidin (706), Menteshe (503), Mar'ash (770) and Ḳars (537). The local *doghandjî-bashî*s were appointed by the *čaḳîrdjî-bashî* and were given *tîmār*s [*q.v.*]. Under each *doghandjî-bashî* there were two *khāṣṣa ḳushbāz*, *gürenčdji* (apparently from *güre*, wild) and *götürüdjü*, who also held *tîmār*s and were in charge of training and taking to the court the birds of prey caught in their areas.

Under the *doghandjî-bashî*s there were a group of *doghandjî*s living in the villages who were originally *re'āyā* [*q.v.*], Christian and Muslim, to provide birds of prey. They were assigned to this service by the Sultan's diploma, *doghandjî berātî*, which granted the possession for cultivation of a piece of land called *doghandjî čiftligi* or *doghandjî bashtinasî* (see Čiftlik) with the exemption from *'ushr*, *čift-resmi* [*q.v.*] and *'awāriḍ* [*q.v.*] taxes. They paid the *bād-i hawā* [*q.v.*] taxes to their *doghandjî-bashî* or to the Sultan's collectors directly. If they cultivated any land outside their *čiftliks* they had to pay in addition the regular *re'āyā* taxes for it to the land-holder. Their sons had the right of inheritance on the *čiftliks* and, in their turn, became *doghandjî*s (for all these cf. Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 20, 272, 274, 280, 331). But in the 10th/16th century the *re'āyā* who were made *doghandjî*s only one generation before were not granted these exemptions.

The *doghandjî*s of *re'āyā* origin were divided into different groups according to the kind of bird of prey they were to catch or train as *bāzdār*s, *čaḳîrdjî*s, *shāhîndji*s or *atmadjadjî*s. Also according to their functions they were divided into *ṣayyād*s, hunters, and *yuwadjî*s, nest-tenders. The latter were in their

turn divided into *ḳayadjîs* and *dîdebâns*, *i.e.*, those who discovered the nests in the mountains and guarded them, and *tülekdjis*, those taking care of the nestlings. When the *ṣayyāds* or *yuwādjîs* delivered the birds to the local *doghandjî-bashî* they were given a *mühürlü tedhkire*, certificate of delivery. Then at a certain time of the year the *doghandjî-bashî* and *khāṣṣa doghandjîs* took the birds to Istanbul to deliver to the *čakîrdjî-bashî*. Anybody who took a bird of prey from the guarded places or through a *ṣayyād* had to pay a fine of 500 *akče* to the treasury. The ordinary *reʿāyā* and *ʿaskerî* were forbidden to hunt birds of prey.

From the 11th/17th century onward, the *doghandjî* organization in the provinces was neglected, and, in most places, abolished. The *doghandjîs* were returned to the status of simple *reʿāyā* with the abolition of their exemptions. But the organization in general survived until Rabīʿ II 1246/September-October 1830 when Maḥmūd II abolished it altogether.

(Halil İnalcik)

DOLMA BAGHČE [see istanbul].

DONANMA, 'a decking-out, an adorning', Turkish verbal noun derived ultimately from *ton*, 'clothes'. The word is used in Ottoman Turkish in two restricted meanings:

(1) 'fleet of ships, navy' (presumably a calque of Ital. 'armata'), for which see art. baḥriyya, iii (adding to bibliography H. and R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant*, Urbana 1958, 1-45).

(2) 'decoration of the streets of a city' (synonyms: *shenlik*, *shehr-āyîn*) for a Muslim festival or on a secular occasion of public rejoicing such as a victory, an accession, a royal birth, circumcision or wedding; and, more particularly, the illumination of the city by night (*ḳandîl donanmasî*) and the firework-displays which formed part of these celebrations. The most elaborate of these public feasts was that given by Murād III in 990/1582 for the circumcision of his son, the future Meḥemmed III.

Bibliography: For full descriptions, with extensive quotations from Turkish and European sources, see Metin And, *Kırk gün kırk gece*, Istanbul 1959. (V. L. Ménage)

DONBOLÎ [see kurds].

DONGOLA (Arabic, Dunḳula, Dunḳulā; obsolete forms, Dumḳula, Damḳala), the name of two towns in Nubia; more generally, the riverain territory dependent on these towns. All lie within the present Republic of the Sudan. The arabized Nubians of Dongola are called Danāḳla, a regional, not a tribal, designation.

(1) Old Dongola (Dunḳula al-ʿadjūz), on the right bank of the Nile, is on the site of a pre-Islamic town, the capital of the Christian kingdom of al-Maḳurra. It was besieged by an army under ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ [*q.v.*] in 31/652, but the Muslims withdrew after concluding a convention (*baḳt*, [*q.v.*]) which regulated relations between Nubia and Egypt for some six centuries. Mediaeval Dongola is described as a walled city with many churches, large houses and wide streets. The royal palace with domes of red brick was constructed in 392/1002. With the collapse of Christian Nubia, Dongola became a Muslim town; the mosque, formerly a church, has an Arabic inscription dated 16 Rabīʿ I 717/29 May 1317. With the establishment of Fundj [*q.v.*] hegemony over Nubia in the 10th/16th century, Dongola reappears as the seat of a vassal king (*makk*). His authority extended as far north as the Third Cataract, the border between the Fundj dominions and the Barābra [*q.v.*], who recognized Ottoman suzerainty. After the rise of the Shayḳiyya confederacy in the late 11th/17th century, the principal north-south trade-routes tended to avoid the Dongola region. In its last days, the territory was the prey of both the Shayḳiyya and of the Mamlūk refugees in New Dongola. The petty rulers therefore welcomed the Turco-Egyptian forces of Ismāʿīl Kāmil Pasha, who suppressed both these predatory military aristocracies (1236/1820).

(2) New Dongola (al-ʿUrdī, *i.e.*, Ordu, "The Camp"), now the principal town of the region, arose on the site of the settlement of the Mamlūks who escaped from the proscription by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha in 1226/1811. After their expulsion, New Dongola became the seat of a *kāshif* (later *mudîr*, governor) and the capital of the province of Dongola. Between 1886 and 1896 the province was ruled by Mahdist military governors (*ʿummāl*, sing. *ʿāmil*). Kitchener's Dongola campaign of 1896 effected the reconquest of the province. It has now lost its separate identity as, during the Condominium, it was fused with Wādī Ḥalfā and Berber [*q.v.*] to form the Northern Province.

Bibliography: The scattered and rather slight references in mediaeval sources are listed in Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 94. To these may be added O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, especially 33-6. Old Dongola in 1698 was described by Ch. J. Poncet, *A voyage to Ethiopia*, London 1709; reprinted by Sir William Foster (ed.), *The Red Sea and adjacent countries at the close of the seventeenth century*, (Hakluyt Society, Second Series, no. C); London 1949, 99-100. It was described in 1821 by L. M. A. Linant de Bellefonds, *Journal d'un voyage à Méroé*, (ed. M. Shinnie), Khartoum 1958, 32-4. The official correspondence of the Mahdist period is preserved in the Sudan Government Archives in Khartoum. (P. M. Holt)

DÖNME (Turkish: convert) name of a sect in Turkey formed by Jews upon their conversion to Islam late in the 11th/17th century in emulation of Shabbetai Ṣebi whom they considered the Messiah.

The sect emerged out of mystic speculations justifying the conversion of Jews to Islam as a link in the chain of Messianic events, and served as a means to consolidate those who wished to emulate and remain faithful to the converted Messiah, even after his death. It attempted, in the spirit of the Messiah, to maintain secretly within Islam as much as possible of Judaism, its lore and rites, with sabbatian-messianic modifications. In the course of time the original concepts of the stormy period of messianism and conversion were largely blurred and forgotten, and the life of the group expressed itself in ritual pecularities, social welfare activity, and basic devotion to the memory of the Messiah in expectation of his reincarnation or second advent, with subsequent dissensions concerning rightful succession to leadership.

Thus, intermarriage with Muslims was avoided; the fast-day commemoration of the destruction of the Temple (9th of Āb) became a day of rejoicing as the birthday of the Messiah; some knowledge of Hebrew was maintained; outward conformity with Islamic rites was encouraged while, in secret, Hebrew names were preserved and separate marriage and funeral rites were held.

The group conversion took place, it seems, in Salonika in 1094/1683. Salonika became the the centre

but there were branches in Edirne, İzmir, later Istanbul, and in Albania.

Inner squabbles, mostly engendered by various pretenders to Messianic succession and leadership, brought about the split into three sub-sects (the names vary: the recent being *Hamdibeyler*, *Karakaş*, *Kapancılar*) all refusing intermarriage. This division may have been not unrelated to social divisions, and expressed itself in peculiarities of hairstyle and garb. The *Dönme* lived in separate quarters.

The sect considered itself the community of the believers (*ma'amīnīm*). It maintained strict secrecy. After the initial period, its literary output appears to have shrunk to poems and prayers in Hebrew, Aramaic, Judaeo-Spanish, and Turkish. Paucity of sources and secretiveness combine to make the study of the sect difficult, and its history obscure.

Around 1700, there were a few hundred families belonging to the central Salonika group. About 1900, the number of that group was estimated at 10,000. They were represented in trade, crafts, and the civil service.

Toward the end of the 19th century, a growing new layer of westernized young people came to the fore as teachers, doctors, lawyers, journalists, and these took part in Turkish public life, sometimes with considerable success. Most spectacular was the rise of Djāwid Bey [*q.v.*] in the Young Turkish régime following the revolution of 1908.

On the whole the Muslims were indifferent to the sect's existence, but from time to time there was a spurt of inquiry or persecution (*e.g.*, in 1720, 1859, and 1875). Imputing *Dönme* origin to undesirables was not unknown.

A new phase began for the *Dönme* when, with the Graeco-Turkish exchange of population, the Salonika *Dönme* were forced to quit their ancestral town and to move into the Turkish Republic (1923-24). They settled mostly in Istanbul, smaller groups settling also in other cities. This change of domicile, the dispersal that followed, the loss of contact with the solid Jewish atmospere of Salonika, the influence of the secular Turkish national school—all contributed to a growing loss of cohesion and indifference among the younger generation of the *Dönme* although group existence, especially in the area of social welfare, continued. The arrival in Istanbul of several thousand *Dönme* stimulated a discussion of sectarian segregation *versus* national assimilation in the Turkish press in 1924-5. Intermarriage with Muslims is slowly spreading and complete integration into modern Turkish society, despite setbacks, is on the increase.

Bibliography: Accounts will be found in the general works on Jewish history by H. Graetz, S. Dubnow, S. W. Baron. G. Scholem's capital researches on Jewish mysticism are summarized in the sketch included in *The Jewish people*, i, New York 1948; idem, *Main trends in Jewish mysticism*, New York 1941, esp. 287-236; idem, *Shabbetai Ṣebī* (Hebrew), 2 vols., Tel Aviv 1957; idem, articles in *Zion* vi, *Kiryat Sepher* xviii-xix; idem, *Die kryptojüdische Sekte der Dönme* (*Sabbatianer*) *in der Türkei*, in *Numen*, vii (1960), 93-122; Cf. s.v. in *Encyclopaedia Hebraica* (xi, 1959, I. Ben Zvi), and *İA* iii, 646 ff.; I. Ben Zvi, *The exiled and the redeemed*, Philadelphia 1957; A. Danon, in *REJ* 1897; L. Sciaky, *Farewell to Salonica*, New York 1946, Ch. 9; A. Struck, in *Globus* 1902; A. Galante, *Nouveaux documents sur Sabbetai Sevi*, Istanbul 1935; E. E. Ramsaur Jr., *The Young Turks*, Princeton 1957, 96 ff., 108 n. Turkish reactions are reflected in A. Gövsa, *Sabatay Sevi*, Istanbul, n.d., and W. Gordlevsky's paper in *Islamica*, ii, 1926. *Dönme* texts have been published by M. Atias, I. Ben Zvi, R. Molho, G. Scholem; cf. *Sefunot*, iii, Jerusalem 1960.

(M. PERLMANN)

DÖNÜM [see MIṢĀḤA].

DŌST MUḤAMMAD [see DŪST MUḤAMMAD].

DOUAR [see DAWĀR].

DOWRY [see MAHR].

DRAA [see DARʿA].

DRAČ (DİRAČ, DURAČ), Slavonic and hence Ottoman name for the classical Dyrrhachium (med. Latin Duracium, Ital. Durazzo, Alb. Durrës), the principal port of modern Albania (41° 18′ N., 19° 26′ E.). The classical town was founded (c. 625 B.C.) under the name Epidamnus at the southern end of a narrow rocky peninsula (once an island) running parallel to the mainland coast, to which it was connected in antiquity at the North by a sand-spit and at the South by a bridge; the lagoon so enclosed has progressively contracted over the centuries. In Roman times, now known (perhaps after the Illyrian name of the peninsula) as Dyrrhachium, to its commercial prosperity was added immense strategic importance as the starting-point of the Via Egnatia, the continuation, after the short and easy sea-crossing from Brundisium, of the Via Appia, and the principal military road between Italy and the East. Hence in Byzantine times too Dyrrhachium was strongly fortified as the Western gateway to the Empire.

After falling to Venice at the partition of 1205, Dyrrhachium changed masters repeatedly, to be ceded to Venice in 1392 by the native Thopia dynasty, who were no longer able to protect it against the Ottomans. The Venetians rebuilt the walls on a narrower circuit and made vigorous but fruitless attempts to scour the lagoon, in order to arrest the silting of the harbour and the spread of malaria. During Meḥemmed II's Albanian campaign of 1467, Durazzo, practically deserted by its terrified inhabitants, escaped a determined assault (see F. Babinger, *Mahomet II le Conquérant et son temps*, Paris 1954, 311-3); the end came only in 1501 (17 August), when, the governor being temporarily absent, Durazzo fell to a night-attack by ʿĪsā Beg-oghlu Meḥemmed Beg, sandjak-bey of the nearby Elbasan (Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 113-4, following the contemporary account of Idrīs Bidlīsī). Thereafter Durazzo was administered as a *ḳaḍā* of Elbasan [*q.v.*]; its walls were reconstructed to enclose a still smaller area (600 m. × 250 m.) in the South-East corner of the antique city, leaving the ancient acropolis outside the enceinte.

Under the Ottomans practically nothing of Durazzo's old importance remained. Ewliyā (1670) describes a small town of 150 houses with only one mosque; it had still (as in mediaeval times) a considerable salt industry and a not insignificant trade, and was administered as a *voyvodalıḳ* under an *emīn* (who, with the *ḳāḍī*, resided at the more salubrious Kavaya, 20 kms. to, the South-East).

Durazzo's modern prosperity began shortly before the Second World War, with the construction by Italy of a first-class harbour; now linked by rail with Tirana and Elbasan, it has developed considerably both as a port and as a holiday-resort (pop. 30,000).

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Dyrrhachion (Philippson); K. Jireček, *Die Lage und Vergangenheit der Stadt Durazzo in Albanien*, in L. von Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*, i, 1916, 152-7; L. Heuzey, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, Paris 1876, 349-92 and

plan; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, 710-2 = F. Babinger's abridged trans. and comm., *MSOS*, xxxiii (1930) 166 (with further references); H. Hecquard, *Histoire et description de la Haute Albanie ou Guégarie*, Paris 1858, 258-63; Baedeker's *Dalmatien und die Adria*, 1929, 235-6 (F. Babinger); *Enc. It.*, s.v. Durazzo; S. Skendi (ed.), *Albania*, London 1957; *Guide d'Albanie* (Albturist), Tirana 1958, 166-73; art. ARNAWUTLUḲ above.

(V. L. MÉNAGE)

DRAGUT [see TURGHUD ʿALĪ PASHA].

DRAMA [see MASRAḤIYYA].

DREAMS [see TAʿBĪR AL-RUʾYĀ].

DRESS [see LIBĀS].

DRUZES [see DURŪZ].

DUʿĀʾ, appeal, invocation (addressed to God) either on behalf of another or for oneself (*li*...), or else against someone (*ʿalā*...); hence: prayer of invocation, calling either for blessing, or for imprecation and cursing, connected with the Semitic idea of the effective value of the spoken word. Cf. Ḳurʾān XVII, 11: "Man prays for evil as he prays for good".—*Duʿāʾ* therefore will have the general sense of personal prayer addressed to God, and can often be translated as "prayer of request".

I.—The scope and practice of *duʿāʾ*.

1. In the Ḳurʾān, *duʿāʾ* always keeps its original meaning of invocation, appeal. Man "appeals" for good fortune (XLI, 49), and "when misfortune visits him, he is filled with unceasing prayer (*duʿāʾ*)" (ibid., 51). To practise *duʿāʾ* is to raise one's supplications to God; *duʿāʾ* here assumes the general meaning of "prayer", of two categories in particular: (a) prayer (and especially prayer of request) made by the pre-Islamic worthy men and prophets; (b) the vain prayer of the infidels. In the first case, God is He who hears, who answers the *duʿāʾ*: it was so for Abraham (XIV, 39-40; XIX, 48) and for Zachariah (III, 38). In the second case, "the prayer of the infidels is but vanity" (XIII, 14; cf. XLVI, 5); and the false gods hear no part of the prayer addressed to them (XXXV, 14), etc.—Some shades of meaning should be distinguished: thus, in verse XXV, 77 (addressed to the opponents), *duʿāʾ* evokes any relationship of man to God; "Say: my Lord will not become anxious save through your prayer"; whilst XIX, 40, repeating a saying of Abraham, distinguishes between *ṣalāt*, a ritual and liturgical prayer to be "performed", and *duʿāʾ*, prayer, personal invocation: "Lord, make of me one who performs the *ṣalāt* (and let it be so) for my posterity, O Lord, and accept my prayer (*duʿāʾ*)".

2. There are numerous *ḥadīth*s which speak of *duʿāʾ*. Traditionists and jurists define its significance, the principal ones being reproduced by al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (Cairo 1352), i, 274-8.— Tradition attributed to ʿAlī: "my followers are those who have taken the earth as their carpet, water as their perfume, prayer (*duʿāʾ*) as their adornment".

Duʿāʾ must be clearly distinguished from *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*], ritual or liturgical prayer. But it would be inaccurate to express it as a contrast between *ṣalāt*, vocal fixed prayer, and *duʿāʾ*, mental prayer or orison. Ibn Taymiyya (*Fatāwā*, Cairo 1326, i, 197) proposes this scale of values: "the *ṣalāt* constitutes a form (*djins*) which is superior to Ḳurʾānic recitation (*ḳirāʾa*); recitation in itself is superior to *dhikr*, and *dhikr* to individual invocation (*duʿāʾ*)" (from the trans. of Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 328-9). A critical enumeration frequently mentions *ṣalāt*, *dhikr* [*q.v.*] (incessant repetition, ejaculatory prayer), *ḥizb* and *wird* (supererogatory "liturgies"), *duʿāʾ*. Inward prayer would be suggested rather by *dhikr* and *fikr* (meditation), *duʿāʾ* always connoting the idea of a formulated request, of an invocation either beneficent or imprecatory.

3. The request addressed to God in the *duʿāʾ* can be greatly varied according to the circumstances. It is in this sense that it is legitimate to translate it (cf. translation from Laoust above) as "personal invocation"; it can also assume a communal value and aspect. The choice of words is free, but Ḳurʾānic texts or traditional prayers already in existence will often be used.

Treatises which recommend *duʿāʾ*, and especially the Ṣūfī treatises, like to define the conditions which must accompany it and the rules of its *adab*. Both of these seek to provide a maximum guarantee of its being received by God. A brief summary (al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya* ... *ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1353/1934, 90-1) gives them as follows. (a) *Conditions*: to eat only food that is legally permitted; to pray, feeling convinced that the prayer will be answered; not to be distracted during prayer; that the object of the request should not lead to any sinful act, or give rise to enmity between those of the same blood, or harm Muslims' rights; and finally, not to ask for anything impossible, for that would be a lack of respect towards God. (b) *Adab* (how to pray): to choose the best times, and al-Bādjūrī suggests during the *sudjūd*, when one is prostrate, or while standing upright (*iḳāma*), or during the summons to prayer (*adhān*); to precede the *duʿāʾ* with ablutions and the *ṣalāt* on the one hand, and on the other with a confession of faults and an act of repentence; to turn towards the *ḳibla*; to raise the hands towards heaven (*rafʿ al-yadayn*); to pronounce the "divine praise" (*al-ḥamdu li'llāh*) and the "blessing on the Prophet" at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the *duʿāʾ*.

These detailed recommendations are in some measure "advisory". In some cases, however, when the object of the *duʿāʾ* concerns the common good of the Community, it assumes a ritual, set form recognized by all; in these circumstances it makes use of the procedure for *ṣalāt*. The most notable example is that of the *istisḳāʾ* ("prayer for rain"): for this, the *duʿāʾ* must be preceded by a ritual prayer of two *rakʿas* [*q.v.*], two *khuṭbas* ("sermons"), and the rite (sympathetic magic) of the "turning of the cloak". The "prayer for the dead" made communally (frequently during the "sessions" of the brotherhoods) also obeys various regulations.

These conditions and rules for the *duʿāʾ* are intended to surround it with guarantees of efficacy. And we see that to the power of the word there are added the effective forces of legal purity and of gesture. This last point provides matter for discussion. Texts which widely recommend the practice of *duʿāʾ* speak constantly of ablution and the *rafʿ al-yadayn*; in doing so they rely on *ḥadīth*: before raising his hands in the *duʿāʾ* the Prophet had performed the ablution of *wuḍūʾ* (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, ii, 55). But al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Ḥanbal (ii, 243) only accept the raising of the hands in the *duʿāʾ* of the "prayer for rain".

4. Islamic devotional trends insist on the *duʿāʾ* being regarded as a prayer of request for well-being, especially the public weal of the Muslim community, and the personal spiritual well-being of oneself and others. Beautiful *duʿāʾ* texts are not rare in Shīʿī works of piety. The popular pietism of the

Ḥanbalīs often mentions it. It is to be seen mingled with the liturgies of *ḥizb* and *wird* in the handbooks of the religious brotherhoods. It is, then, much less an appeal of invocation (and of imprecation, especially) than an appeal trusting in divine Mercy. It is in this way that the utterance of the divine Names can turn either to the metrical repetition of the *dhikr* or to a form of *duʿāʾ* which links its request with the evocation of each Name and each attribute, and thereby defines it; in this connexion, see the monograph written in the last century by Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb minḥat al-sarrāʾ fī sharḥ al-duʿāʾ* (ed. Ḥaydarābād, 1337). The *duʿāʾ* becomes an equivalent of the spiritual impulse towards God.

II.—Questions raised in *kalām* and *falsafa.*

The incantation value and the effectiveness of word and gesture was no doubt the first consideration in the idea of *duʿāʾ*, and derived from a Semitic understanding of the relation of man to what is holy. But the Hellenistic influence which moulded Muslim thought encouraged *falsafa* on one hand, and the *ʿilm al-kalām* ("theology" or, more accurately defensive apology) on the other, to raise the question of the prayer of request and of its efficacity before the Almighty and the Decree of God.

The reply varies according to the school and the writer. Here are three typical examples. (A summary of the principles of *kalām* is given by al-Bādjūrī, *loc. cit.*, among others).

(a). The Muʿtazila deny the usefulness of the prayer of request; in their eyes it would be derogatory to the pure divine transcendence. Man, in fact, being the "creator of his own actions" has no need to ask God to make his enterprises favourable. Human actions themselves bear the weight of their own consequences. Thus when God, in the Ḳurʾān, tells His servants to invoke Him, it is the attitude of adoration that He is demanding; and when He promises to hear their prayers, it is the just reward for a rationally good action that He is guaranteeing.

(b). On the other hand the Ashʿarī *kalām*, centred upon the absolute and free will of God, was to restore its traditional value to *duʿāʾ*. The "prayer for the dead" (*al-ṣalāt ʿalā 'l-mayyit*, or *al-djināza*) has the value of a *duʿāʾ* asking God for mercy, if such be His will. Moreover, the imprecatory aspect of *duʿāʾ* is not forgotten. The invocation is harmful to those one curses, if the cause is just. "The *duʿāʾ* of one suffering an injustice is answered (says a *ḥadīth* of Anas), even if it be an infidel". Sometimes the prayer will be answered exactly as it has been formulated and at once, sometimes after a delay for a reason known to God; and sometimes God will grant something different from what was asked, in view of a greater benefit.

The acknowledged virtue of *duʿāʾ* clearly proves that the Ashʿarī denial of free human choice and secondary causes, and the total surrender required with regard to the divine will, in no way constitutes, strictly speaking, a "fatalistic" attitude. Incidentally the Ashʿarī manuals pose very clearly the problem of reconciling effective *duʿāʾ* with absolute divine predetermination (*ḳaḍāʾ*) or immutable decree (*ḳadar*).

The usual reply makes a distinction between "fixed" predetermination (*ḳaḍāʾ*) and "suspended" (conditional) predetermination. In the latter case, whether some event will happen or not is decided by God considering the actual fact of the *duʿāʾ* which thus, in its turn, enters into the conditions determined by divine decree. In the case of "fixed" predetermination, the prayer of request can change nothing in God's will—He will, however, grant His favour to one who implores Him. And this favour will indeed bear on the actual objectof the request, the circumstances of granting the prayer then being taken in a "suspended decree".

(c). Following quite different principles but a similar approach, the *falāsifa* logically include the *duʿāʾ* in their universal determinism. The subject is treated on several occasions by Ibn Sīnā (*e.g.*, *Nadjāt*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1357/1938, 299-303; *Maʿnā al-ziyāra* and *Risāla fī māhiyyat al-ṣalāt*, ed. A. F. Mehren, Leiden 1894). The effective prayer of request is a result of the co-operation of terrestrial dispositions and celestial causes. The invocation by the *duʿāʾ* comes as a psychical influx which acts physically upon the phantasms of the celestial Spheres according to all the laws of the macrocosm, as inevitably as man's imagination acts upon his own body. Furthermore, it is these celestial Spheres which in reality gave men the suggestion to pray, this suggestion in turn taking its place in the universal chain of causes. And it can then be said, as a result in fact of the interplay of causes, that the prayer is answered. The *duʿāʾ*, according to Avicenna, puts man into direct relationship with the celestial Spheres alone. That is why "those prayers particularly which beg for rain and other such things" are found to possess "very great usefulness" (*Nadjāt*, 301; cf. L. Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, Paris 1951, 135-7).

These various attempts to provide a rational justification of *duʿāʾ* testify to its importance in the religious life of Islam. But we must observe that the cosmological interpretation of an Ibn Sīnā does not in any way spring from the most current vision of the world. For the pious Muslim by and large, *duʿāʾ* effects a relationship between the man at prayer and not the celestial spheres, but God, integrating and often sublimating the familiar conception of the power of the name (*ism*) over the one named (*musammā*).

Bibliography: in the article. (L. Gardet)

DUALISM [see KHURRAMIYYA, THANAWIYYA, ZINDĪḲ].

DUBAYS [see MAZYADĪS].

DUBAYTĪ [see RUBĀʿĪ].

DUBAYY (commonly spelled Dubai), a port (25° 16′ N., 55° 18′ E.) and shaykhdom on the Trucial Coast of Arabia. The town lies at the head of a winding creek (*khawr*) extending some eight miles inland; ferries ply between Dayra, the market quarter on the north-east bank, and al-Shandagha and Dubayy proper, quarters on the south-west bank. The population of the town, about 47,000, is predominantly Arab with some Iranians, Indians, and Balūčīs (Hay, 114). The Arab inhabitants of the principality comprise members of al-Sūdān, al-Marar, al-Mazārīʿ, Āl Bū Muhayr, al-Hawāmil, al-Ḳumzān, al-Maḥāriba, al-Sabāyis, and Āl Bū Falāḥ, tribal groups considered components of Banī Yās in the Persian Gulf area, as well as members of al-Manāṣīr, primarily a Bedouin tribe. The ruling family, Āl Bū Falāsā, are members of al-Rawāshid and, like the majority of the inhabitants, are Mālikīs.

The frontiers of the shaykhdom are not completely defined. The land boundary between the shaykhdoms of Dubayy and Abū Ẓaby has a coastal terminus between al-Djabal al-ʿĀlī (sometimes called al-Djubayl) and Khawr Ghanāḍa; the land boundary

between the shaykhdoms of Dubayy and al-Shārika terminates just north-east of Dayra. Two small coastal villages, Umm al-Sukaym and Djumayra, and the larger village of Hadjarayn, about 50 miles inland in Wādī Hattā and separated from the rest of the principality's territory, acknowledge the overlordship of the Ruler of Dubayy. Some date cultivation is practised, but water is scarce.

Little is known about Dubayy before 1213-4/1799 when it is first mentioned in available sources (Lorimer). Dubayy was considered a dependency of Abū Ẓaby during the first third of the 19th century, with the exception of a period of several years after 1241/1825 when Shaykh Sulṭān b. Ṣakr of al-Kawāsim, Ruler of al-Shārika, increased his influence over Dubayy by marrying a sister of its governor, Muḥammad b. Hazzāʿ b. Zaʿal (India, *Selections*, xxiv, 317).

Dubayy became an independent principality in 1249/1833 when about 800 members of Āl Bū Falāsā, under the leadership of Maktūm b. Baṭī b. Suhayl, left Abū Ẓaby and took control of the settlement of Dubayy (al-Sālimī, 31). Rivalry between al-Kawāsim and Banī Yās for control of the shaykhdom continued throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, but Dubayy preserved its independence by aligning itself sometimes with al-Shārika, sometimes with Abū Ẓaby, and on occasion with the smaller shaykhdoms of ʿAdjmān and Umm al-Kaywayn. Dubayy increased in population and wealth, derived primarily from pearl fishing and entrepôt trade.

Like other Trucial States, Dubayy signed the General Treaty of Peace with Britain in 1235/1820 and the temporary Maritime Truce (later made perpetual) in 1251/1835 (see ABŪ ẒABY). In 1309/1892 the Ruler of Dubayy agreed not to establish relations with any foreign country except Britain without British consent, and in 1340/1922 he agreed not to grant rights to any oil found in his territory except to a person appointed by the British Government. The British Petroleum Exploration Company, Limited (formerly D'Arcy Exploration Company, Limited) holds a two-thirds interest, and Compagnie Française des Pétroles holds one-third interest in an offshore oil concession, while Petroleum Development (Trucial Coast), Limited, an Iraq Petroleum Company affiliate, holds an onshore concession. Until 1381/1961, no oil had been discovered.

The silting up of al-Shārika creek and the decline of Linga [*q.v.*] have contributed to the recent prosperity of Dubayy. It exports pearls (a declining industry) and dried fish; it imports foodstuffs, textiles, and light machinery. A coastal route connects Dubayy with al-Shārika, nine miles to the north, and with Abū Ẓaby town, about 80 miles to the south; desert tracks lead inland to al-Buraymī and to Muscat.

The administrative agencies of the shaykhdom have recently expanded and now include a Municipal Council, a Customs Administration, Courts, and Departments of Education, Health, Land Registration, and Water Supply. The town has a hospital, four schools for boys and two for girls, telegraph and telephone communications, regular mail service, and a small airport. The headquarters of the British Political Agent for all of the Trucial States except Abū Ẓaby was transferred from al-Shārika to Dubayy in 1374/1954. The present (1962) Ruler of Dubayy is Shaykh Rāshid b. Saʿīd b. Maktūm.

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AL-**DUBB** [see NUDJŪM].

DUBDŪ (modern spelling Debdou; usual pron.: Dəbdu, ethn. *dəbdūbī*, pl. *dbādba*), a small town in eastern Morocco, at an altitude of 1,100 m., "at the foot of the right flank of the valley" of the Oued Dubdū "which rises in a perpendicular cliff to a height of 80 m. above the valley"; on a plateau nearby stands the fortress (*ḳaṣba* [*ḳaṣaba*]) protected by a fosse on the side facing the mountain; on the left side of the valley lies a suburb named Mṣəllā. A dependency of the *ʿamāla* (under the administration of the French Protectorate in the region) of Oujda, it is the centre of the tribe of the Ahl Dubdū (numbering 6,599 in 1936), but its own population consists of Arabized Berbers, of Arabs and of Jews who, though becoming less and less numerous, still form the majority (in 1936, 917 out of 1,751 inhabitants); the Jews, who live in the central quarter (*məllāḥ*) of the township, are in some cases of Berber origin, and in others are the descendants of Andalusian Jews who emigrated at the time of the Reconquest. This Jewish community of traders and artisans, not to mention agricultural workers, has been reduced since the establishment of the French Protectorate as many of its members have swarmed away to newly created centres in eastern Morocco (Missour in particular), though not without preserving firm links with their native town.

Situated on the route to Taza taken by Saharan tribes, Debdou (where a market is held on Thursdays) has always been a commercial centre of some importance; the fertility of the surrounding districts (vines, fruit trees, wheat, barley, etc.) also make it an agricultural centre.

It is certain that Debdou is a very ancient foundation; and since the 7th/13th century it has never ceased to play a part in the history of Morocco, as it occupies a strategic position between Fās and Tlemcen and was consequently a perpetual source of strife in dynastic struggles. At the time of the partition carried out by ʿAbd al-Hakk (592-614/1197-1218) between the Marīnid tribes, it fell to the lot of the Berber Banū Urtajjən who, given the task of protecting Fās from the designs of the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*] of Tlemcen, made it the capital of their fief; it was rewarded by being sacked, in 766/1364-5, by the king of Tlemcen. However in about 833/1430 a chieftain of the Banū Urtajjən succeeded in setting up a small principality at Debdou; its rulers remained independent of the Waṭṭāsids and even conceived the project, in 904/1499, of capturing Taza; the little state of Debdou only disappeared in the reign of the second Saʿdid sovereign, al-Ghālib bi'llāh, who in 970/1563 placed his territory under the authority of a pasha. From this point the history of the town, which is somewhat obscure, was reduced to the level of local conflicts between Arabs and

Berbers. Nevertheless, in the 19th century Debdou still possessed an autonomous administration; the Muslim population were dependents of the *ʿāmil* of Taza who every year sent his *khalīfa* to receive taxes, while the Jews sent their tribute to the pasha of Fās al-Djadīd. At the end of the century after the coming of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1894) and during the revolt of the pretender Bū Ḥmāra [*q.v.*], a Berber named Bū Ḥaṣīra tried to make himself independent, but in 1904 the town and district gave their support to Bū Ḥmāra at the instigation of a Jew named Dūdū b. Ḥayda who was appointed *ḳāʾid* of Debdou, and took advantage of his position to inflict reprisals on his enemies, the Jews of Andalusian origin. Peace was restored by the French occupation which was decided upon in 1911 as a result of the murder of a Frenchman.

Throughout the last centuries, Arab influence and the Arabic language have been dominant to such a degree that Berber is no longer used except in the surrounding mountains. The dialect of the Jews presents some interesting features (see Ch. Pellat, *Nemrod et Abraham, dans le parler arabe des Juifs de Debdou*, in *Hespéris*, 1952, 1-25).

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DUBROVNIK [see RAGUSA].

DŪD AL-ḲAZZ [see ḤARĪR].

DUDJAYL [see KĀRŪN].

DUFF (Daff, the modern pronunciation, may be traced back to Abū ʿUbayda [d. ca. 210/825]) generic name for any instrument of the tambourine family, although sometimes it is the name for a special type. Islamic tradition says that it was invented by Tubal b. Lamak Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 88) whilst other gossip avers that it was first played on the nuptial night of Sulaymān and Bilḳīs (Ewliyā Čelebi, i/2, 226). Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (d. 307-8/920) says that it was of Arab origin (fol. 20) and Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524) says in his *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* that it was the *duff* that was played by the Israelites before the Golden Calf. Certainly the name can be equated with the Hebrew *toph* and perhaps with the Assyrian *adapa*. Saʿadya the Jew (d. 312/924) translates *toph* by *duff*. We see both the round and the rectangular instrument in ancient Semitic art (Rawlinson, *Five great monarchies*, i, 535; Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art*, iii, 451; Heuzey, *Figurines antiques*, pl. vi, 4), and in ancient Egypt (Wilkinson, *Manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians*, i, 443, fig. 220).

The tambourine of Islamic peoples may be divided into seven distinct types: 1. The rectangular form; 2. The simple round form; 3. The round form with snares; 4. The round form with jingling plates; 5. The round form with jingling rings; 6. The round form with small bells; 7. The round form with both snares and jingling implements.

1. The rectangular tambourine of modern times has two heads or skins with "snares" (*awtār*) stretched across the inside of the head or heads. We know from al-Muṭarrizī (d. 610/1213) that the name *duff* was given both to a rectangular and to a round tambourine. As early as the 6th century A.D. we read of the *duff* in the poet Djābir b. Ḥuyayy and this was probably the rectangular instrument. The author of the *Kashf al-humūm* says that the pre-Islamic tambourine (*ṭār djāhilī*) was different from the round Egyptian tambourine (*duff miṣrī*) of his day (fol. 193). Tuways, the first great musician in the days of Islam, played the *duff murabbaʿ* or square tambourine (*Aghānī*, iv, 170). He belonged to the *mukhannathūn* and it was perhaps on that account that the rectangular tambourine was forbidden whilst the round form was allowed (al-Muṭarrizī). At the same time the rectangular instrument was favoured by the *élite* of Medina in the first century of Islam (al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, fol. 11). We know also that the Syrians used this type of instrument since it is called *rᵉbhīʿa* (rectangular) in the Syriac version of the O.T. (*Exodus*, xv, 20; *Judith*, iii, 7). To-day this form has fallen into desuetude in Arabia, Syria, Egypt and Persia, but may be found in the Maghrib. For designs see Christianowitsch, 32, pl. 11 where it is called a *daff*, and Höst, 262, Tab., xxxi, 11, where it is called a *bandayr*. Actual specimens are to be found at Brussels, Nrs. 339, 340 (Mahillon, i, 400) and at New York, Nrs. 392, 1316 (*Catalogue*, ii, 82; iv, 50).

2. The simple round form. This was also called the *duff* (al-Muṭarrizī) and it is said that this type, without jingling plates or bells, was considered "lawful" (Ewliyā Čelebi, i/2, 226). Probably, this was the *mazhar* or *mizhar* of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. It is true that Arabic lexicographers say that the *mizhar* was a lute (*ʿūd*), a definition borne out by Arabic writers on music (*ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iii, 186; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, fol. 27; *Kitāb al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-intifāʿ*, fol. 13ᵛ; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 93), but it is extremely doubtful that the *mizhar* or *mazhar* was a lute. The mistake probably arose with an early lexicographer saying that "the *mizhar* was a musical instrument (see the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Fayyūmī) like the *ʿūd* (lute)" meaning "like the *ʿūd* is a musical instrument". In the 11th century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* the *mazhar* (562) or *mizhar* (508) equates with *tinfanum* (= *tympanum*). The type is still to be found under this name in Turkey (Lavignac, 3023) and in Palestine (*ZDPV*, 1, 64, plate 8). The *mazhar* of Egypt has jingling rings attached to it.

3. The round form with "snares". This is similar to the preceding but with the addition of "snares" stretched across the inside of the head. We cannot be sure of its name in the early days of Islam but probably it was the *ghirbāl*, so-called because it was round like a sieve. Al-Ṣaghānī (d. ca. 660/1261-2) says that this was the tambourine which was referred to by Muḥammad when he said: "Publish ye the marriage, and beat for it the tambourine (*ghirbāl*)". Other accounts of this *ḥadīth* call this instrument the *duff*. In Algeria of modern times this type of instrument is known as the *bandayr* or *bandīr*, a name borrowed, seemingly, from the Gothic *pandero*, one of the instruments of pre-Moorish Spain mentioned by Isidore of Seville. The *bandayr* is

generally larger than the other types such as the *duff*, *mazhar* and *ṭār*, although in the *Kas̲h̲f al-humūm* we read that tambourines were made in various sizes 'from the large *ṭār* (*ṭār kabīr*) to the small *g̲h̲irbāl* (*g̲h̲irbāl daḳīḳ*)". For the Egyptian instrument see Villoteau (988), and for the Algerian see Christianowitsch (31, pl. 9), Delphin et Guin (37) and Lavignac (2931). In Morocco, according to Höst (261, pl. xxxi, 6), it was called the *ḍīf* (ضيف). Actual specimens may be found at Brussels, Nrs. 308, 309 (Mahillon, i, 393, 400) and at New York, Nr. 452 (*Catalogue*, iii, 50).

4. The round form with jingling plates. This is similar to No. 2 but with the addition of several pairs of jingling plates (*ṣunūd̲j̲*) fixed in openings in the shell or body of the instrument. This is the *ṭār*. Although the author of the *Kas̲h̲f al-humūm* makes the name older than that of the *duff*, yet we have no substantial proof of this. We find the *ṭār* in the Yemen in the 6th/12th century (Kay, *Yaman*, 54) and in the 7th/13th century *Vocabulista in Arabico* it is given as *ṭarr* (= *tinpanum*). The Persian instrument is depicted by Kaempfer under the name of *daf* (741, fig. 7) and Niebuhr shows an Arabian example which he calls the *duff* (i, pl. 26). Höst (261, pl. xxxi) gives a design of a Moroccan instrument in the 12th/18th century under *tirr* (ترّ). In Algeria it is called the *ṭār* (Delphin et Guin, 42; cf. *Tad̲h̲kirat al-nisyān*, 93; Lavignac, 2844), and a design is given by Christianowitsch (pl. 10). The Egyptian *ṭār* is described and delineated by Villoteau (i, 988) and Lane (chap. xviii), whilst actual examples may be seen at Brussels, Nrs. 312-5 (Mahillon, i, 394-5) and New York, Nrs. 455, 1319, 1359 (*Catalogue*, iii, 51). In Egypt the smaller types were given the name of *riḳḳ* (Villoteau, i, 989), by no means a modern name (*Kas̲h̲f al-humūm*, fol. 193). There are examples at Brussels, Nrs. 316, 317 (Mahillon, i, 395).

5. The round form with jingling rings. This is a similar instrument to the preceding but with jingling rings (*d̲j̲alād̲j̲il*) fixed in the shell or body instead of jingling plates. In Egypt, in the time of Villoteau (i, 988), it was known as the *mazhar*, but in Persia, a century earlier, Kaempfer calls it the *dāʾira* (741, 8).

6. The round form with small bells. This is the same instrument as the preceding in regard to shape but the jingling apparatus, instead of being fixed in spaces in the shell or body, is attached to the inside of the shell or body. These small bells (*ad̲j̲irās*), often globular in shape like sonnettes, are sometimes attached to a metal or wooden rod fixed across the inside of the head. This instrument is popular in Persia and Central Asia where it is generally known as the *dāʾira*. An 11th/17th century instrument is shown by Kaempfer (742, 8). For a modern instrument see Lavignac (3076). Apparently *dāʾira* and *duff* became generic names for all types of the tambourine although the former must have been reserved for a round type.

7. The round form with both snares and jingling implements. In the Mag̲h̲rib this instrument is called the *s̲h̲aks̲h̲āk* (Delphin and Guin, 38, 65; Lavignac, 2932, 2944). In some parts, however, this type is called the *ṭabīla*. In Egypt, according to Villoteau, it was the *bandayr*.

If the drum (*ṭabl*) sounds the martial note of Islam, as Doughty once said, the tambourine sounds the social note. It is true that in the *d̲j̲āhiliyya* the tambourine was in the hands of the matrons and singing-girls (*ḳaynāt*) during the battle, sometimes in company with the reed-pipe (*mizmār*) as with the Jewish tribes (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, ii, 172), but it was also the one outstanding instrument of social life (al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 236) as many a *ḥadīt̲h̲* testifies. In artistic music the tambourine has ever been the most important instrument for maintaining the rhythm (*īḳāʿāt*, *uṣūl*, *ḍurūb*).

The *duff* became the Persian *daff* or *dap*, the Kurdish *dafik*, the Albanian and Bosnian *def*, and the Spanish and Portuguese *adufe*. The *dāʾira* is the Caucasian *dahare*, the Serbian and Albanian *daire*, and the *dārā* of India. The *ṭār* survives in the Polish *tur* and the Swahili *atari*. The tambourine was popularized in Europe by the Moors of Spain and was, for a long time, known as the *tambour de Basque*, the latter region being one of the gateways for the infiltration of Moorish civilization. It fell into desuetude in Europe about the 15th century but was revived again in the 17th century when Europe adopted it as part of the Turkish or Janissary music craze.

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(H. G. Farmer)

DŪG̲H̲LĀT, occasionally Dūḳlāt, a Mongol tribe whose name, according to Abu 'l-G̲h̲āzī (ed. Desmaisons, St. Petersburg 1871, i, 65), derives from the plural of the Mongol word dog̲h̲olong (-lang) "lame". The tribe appears to have played no part in the early period of the Mongol Empire, though it is supposed always to have supported Čingiz K̲h̲ān (Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin in *Trudī vost. otd. Imp. Russk. Arḳheol. obshčestva*, vii, 275, xiii/text 47, 52; tr. L. A. Khetagurov, Moscow-Leningrad 1952, i/1, 193). At that time the tribe apparently emigrated in its entirety out of Mongolia; there is at least no Mongol tribe of that name today.

The Dūg̲h̲lāt did not attain political significance until after the disintegration of the Ilk̲h̲ān Empire [*q.v.*], from which time Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūg̲h̲lāt (Ḥaydar Mīrzā, [*q.v.*]), a member of the tribe, provides information about them in his *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i*

Rashīdī (ed. N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, London 1895). But his information is not everywhere reliable and, in the few places where the tribe is mentioned in other sources, contradicts these. According to Ḥaydar a member of the Dūghlāt, Tūlik or perhaps his younger brother Būlādjī (the form Pūlādčī printed in the edition of Abu 'l-Ghāzī, 56 ff., does not appear in the manuscripts), is supposed in 748/1347-8 to have placed Khān Tughluķ Temür on the throne at Aķsū in the Tarim Basin. The latter in turn is supposed to have expressed his gratitude to the Dūghlāt by granting them "nine powers" and thus to have stabilized their power in the Tarim Basin. Ḥaydar Dūghlāt claims to have seen this document "in the Mongol language and script" in his childhood, but says that it was lost during the reign of Shaybānī Khān, d. 916/1510 [*q.v.*] (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, 54 f., 305). But the inaccurate chronology of this historian in the pertinent notices tends to provoke strong doubt as to the genuineness of the document. Between 769/1368 and 794/1392 (?) power in Mogholistān (as eastern interior Asia starting at about Semiryeč'e was at that time called) was wielded by Ķamar al-Dīn Dūghlāt (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1887-8, i, 78 ff.), a brother of Būlādjī according to the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*. After an early period of co-operation with Tīmūr [*q.v.*], he was forced by the latter, after a long struggle, to flee across the Irtīsh into the Altai (Yazdī, i, 494 ff.). Two of his brothers remained in the service of Tīmūr (Yazdī, i, 104 ff., 650), whose sister was married to a member of the Dūghlāt.

After 1392 Ķamar al-Dīn's nephew (?) Khudāydād, nominally major domo, was in fact the ruler of Mogholistān. The Čingizid [*q.v.*] khāns whom he put on the throne were nothing but puppets. Khudāydād demonstrated his readiness to reach a settlement with the Tīmūrids [*q.v.*], ostensibly owing to their common Islamic faith, and met in 828/1425 Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] without battle in Semiryeč'e (ʿAbd al-Razzāķ Samarķandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, Ms. Leningrad, 157, fol. 230). In view of this agreement the khāns of Mogholistān had to accept the division of their land among the brothers and sons of Khudāydād (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* 100). His eldest son Muḥammad Shāh was appointed tribal chief (Ulus Begi) by Khān Wa'īs (ca. 1418-29) and took up residence in Semiryeč'e (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* 78). His younger son was driven out of the western Tarim Basin by the Tīmūrids (1416? Samarķandī in *Notices et extraits* xiv, i, 296) and died even before his father did. His son Sayyid ʿAlī finally retook Kāshghar and ruled there for 24 years (died 862/1457-8, according to his tomb in Kāshghar; see *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* 87, 99). He was succeeded by his two sons Sāniz Mīrzā (until 869/1464-5) and Muḥammad Ḥaydar (until 885/1480), both of whom performed great services in the development of the region. Then Abū Bakr Mīrzā, the son of Sāniz, drove his uncle and Khān Yūnus of Mogholistān out of the western Tarim Basin, after which he took up residence in Yarkend and defended himself in 904-5/1499 against an attack by the khāns of Mogholistān. Not until 920/1514 was he eliminated by Saʿīd Khān (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* 293).

In addition to the principal line other branches of the Dūghlāt repeatedly established small principalities, occasionally at war with the former. Muḥammad Ḥaydar for example, the grandfather of the historian Muḥammad Ḥaydar, fought in alliance with the Čingizid Yūnus and with the Tīmūrid Aḥmad Mīrzā against Abū Bakr Mīrzā (see above). His sons Muḥammad Ḥusain and Sayyid Muḥammad Mīrzā vacillated continuously between the two dynasties and were even from time to time in the service of the Uzbeks. The former was finally killed in Herāt at the command of Shaybānī [*q v.*] in 914/1508-9. His brother fell victim in 1533 to the hatred of Khān ʿAbd al-Rashīd of Mogholistān, who had come to power in the same year (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* 106 ff., 305, 450). Muḥammad Ḥusayn's son, the historian Muḥammad Ḥaydar Mīrzā, left in 1541 his position as governor of Ladakh in the service of the ruler of the Tarim Basin to proclaim his independence in Kashmīr (see ḤAYDAR MĪRZĀ).

With the elimination of this line and the end of Abū Bakr's (see above) rule in 920/1514, the independence of the Dūghlāt in the Tarim Basin came to an end. They continued to support the Čingizids there and wielded considerable power into the 17th century.

A tributary of the "Great Horde" of Ķazakhs between the Ili and the Jaxartes bore the name Dulat into the 20th century, obviously derived from Dūghlāt. At the end of the 19th century, they included almost 40,000 tents (see N. Aristov, *Zamětki ob ėtničeskom sostavě Tyurkskikh plemën i narodnostey*, St. Petersburg 1897, 77).

Bibliography: the sources are mentioned above. Studies include W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 209-14 (French tr. Paris 1945); idem, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. Minorsky, i, 1956, 54; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, Paris 1939, index; P. P. Ivanov, *Očerki po istorii Sredney Azii* (Outlines of the history of Central Asia), Moscow 1958, i and ii; B. Spuler, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, volume v, 5, index. The last two works named contain further detailed bibliography.

(W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

ḌUḤĀ (AR.), "forenoon", the hour of one of the prayers [see ṢALĀT].

DUKAYN AL-RĀDJIZ, the name of two poets who were confused by Ibn Ķutayba (*Shiʿr*, Shākir ed. 592-95) and the authors who copied or utilized him: Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIķd*, 1346/1928 ed., 202-3; *Aghānī*, viii, 155—Beirut ed., ix, 252-3; C. A. Nallino, *Litt.*, (with a note of correction by M. Nallino).

1. — Dukayn b. Radjā' al-Fuķaymī (d. 105/723-24); a panegyric in *radjaz* composed by him on Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, and an *urdjūza* upon his horse who won a race organized by al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (see Yāķūt, xi, 113-17; Ibn ʿAsākir, v, 274-9), have been preserved.

2. — Dukayn b. Saʿīd al-Dārimī (d. 109/727-28) to whom Ibn Ķutayba actually dedicated his article entitled Dukayn al-Rādjiz; see also Ibn ʿAsākir, *ibid.*; Yāķūt, xi, 117-19. He wrote a panegyric on ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz when the latter was made governor of Medina (87/706), which brought him a rich present, formal promises and perhaps the intimacy of ʿUmar. After the latter had risen to the Caliphate (99/717), Dukayn went to visit him, reminded him of their covenant and received a new gift. This Dukayn is said to have written the line: "When a man has not sullied his honour with vile deeds, whatever garment he wears is fine", which appears, however, at the beginning of the famous *Lāmiyya* by al-Samaw'al (F. Bustānī, *al-Madjānī al-ḥadītha*, i, 345).

This poet should not be confused with Dukayn

b. Saʿīd (Saʿd) al-Khathʿamī (al-Muzanī), Companion of the Prophet (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 2401).

Bibliography: in the text. (CH. PELLAT)

DUKHĀN [see TÜTÜN].

DUKKĀLA, a confederation of Moroccan tribes which constituted an autonomous administrative region during the French Protectorate. When Morocco attained independence, it was attached to the province of Casablanca, and now forms no more than the al-Djadīda circle (Mazagan). Some sections of the Gharb tribe also have this name.

Al-Bakrī does not mention the Dukkāla, but al-Idrīsī, together with Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*) and Leo Africanus later, attribute an extensive area to the confederation, comprising roughly the triangle within the rivers Umm al-rabīʿ and Tensift, and the Atlantic coast. The name Dukkāla, moreover, was given to one of the gates of Marrakesh from the early 12th century onwards. Tradition has it that there were 6 tribes in the confederation, the Ragrāga, Hazmīra, Banū Dghūgh, Banū Māgir, Mushtarayya, and Ṣinhādja tribes. The above list explains a contradiction already pointed out by Ibn Khaldūn, whereby the Dukkāla are sometimes considered part of the Maṣāmida [*q.v.*] (the first five tribes certainly were), and at other times part of the Ṣinhādja [*q.v.*]. Both were of Berber descent. Their relationship with another Berber group which is now extinct, the Tāmasnā, is difficult to define. The confederation was not spared the serious events which, under the Almohads, followed the introduction of Arab tribes into Morocco, and later the Ḥāḥa and the Banū Maʿḳil tribes were driven back onto their territory. In the south only the Ragrāga tribe remained intact, after having played an important role historically. The legend of its seven saints found a place in all religious chronicles; on receiving news of the Islamic revelation, all seven went to Mecca and spoke, in Berber, with the Prophet. Their tombs in the Djabal al-Ḥadīd are objects of veneration to the present day. The name Dukkāla no longer has any ethnic significance today; it denotes Arab tribes, or tribes completely under Arab influence. The tribes are sedentary, and although some of them still inhabit tents, it is for practical reasons and not in order to pursue a nomadic existence. The wind blows fair for the economic future of the region if developments based on the Imfout dam, completed in 1950, go according to plan. On relations between the Dukkāla and the Portuguese, see the articles ASFĪ, AZAMMŪR and above all AL-DJADĪDA.

Bibliography: The essential information is given by M. Michaux-Bellaire, *Reg. des Dukkala*, I, in *Villes et Tribus du Maroc*, x, Paris 1932; see also P. Lancre, *Rep. alph. des Conf. de tribus, des tribus de la zone franç. de l'emp. chér.*, Casablanca 1939; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*; Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās* (5 vols. published 1929-33) and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kanūnī, *Āsafī* ...., Cairo 1353/1934. (G. DEVERDUN)

DŪLĀB [see NĀʿŪRA].

DULAFIDS, an important tribe in the 3rd/9th century whose holdings formed a special district of their own known as al-Īghārayn (the two fiefs) in al-Djibāl, east of Nihāwand between Hamadān and Iṣfahān. ʿĪsā b. Idrīs laid the basis for the Dulafid fortune by engaging in highway robbery to such an extent that he was able to retire and erect a stronghold at al-Karadj, which his son and successor, al-Ḳāsim b. ʿĪsā al-Idjlī, known as Abū Dulaf, employed as the foundation for the Dulafid dynasty.

Abū Dulaf was a Shīʿī, a highly educated man, a lauded poet, a great general and a competent leader whose integrity was such that although he was a fervent pro-ʿAlid and had led troops against al-Maʾmūn, the latter pardoned him and accepted him at court. (Cf. AL-ḲĀSIM). With his troops he played an active rôle in subduing the revolt of Bābak al-Khurramī (222/836-7) [*q.v.*], and his descendants, known as the Dulafids, served under and on the side of the reigning Caliphs, taking part as loyal supporters in many military enterprises of the Caliphate. Abū Dulaf and his grandson, Aḥmad, especially distinguished themselves as generals under the Caliphs al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Muʿtaḍid respectively. Theirs was an almost completely independent dynasty which existed for some seventy years; their fief was given in perpetuity and the Dulafids paid a fixed yearly tribute to the Caliphs with no other taxes levied. They also coined their own money.

The Dulafid capital, al-Karadj, was a long town built on a height, an important site in the midst of fertile lands which averaged an annual yield amounting to 3,100,000 dirhams. Abū Dulaf had extended the town to an area covering about two leagues with well-built houses of clay brick, two markets and numerous baths.

Upon the death of Abū Dulaf in 225/839-40 the principality was governed in turn by his direct descendants commencing with his son, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who, in 252/866 under the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, was also governor of al-Rayy (d. 260/873-4), and followed successively by his grandsons, Dulaf (d. 265/878-9), Aḥmad (d. 280/893-4), ʿUmar (d. 283/896-7), and al-Ḥārith, known as Abū Layla, all of whom were loyal to the existing Caliphate.

Al-Ḥārith was accidentally killed in battle in 284/897-8 when, according to Masʿūdī, his horse was felled under him causing the unsheathed sword he was carrying on his shoulder to plunge into him and mortally wound him. With his death the power of the Dulafids and their dynasty came to an end and their lands reverted to the control of the central government.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, indexes, s.v.; Schwarz, *Iran*, v, 573 ff.; Le Strange, 197-8; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, ii, 502-7; Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 478-9; Yāḳūt, ii, 832; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 244; Zambaur, 199, 44; Ritter, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst* (*Asrār al-Balāgha*) *des Abdalqāhir al-Curcānī*, Bibl. Isl., xix, 1959, note on p. 34. (E. MARIN)

DULAYM, a large Sunnī tribe in ʿIrāḳ, living on the Euphrates from a point just below Fallūdja to al-Ḳāʾim. They claim origins at Dulaymiyyāt in Nadjd five centuries ago, but these are doubtless mythical and in fact the tribe represents a wide variety of mixed tribal fragments and tribeless peasantry. A few sections are nomadic in the Djazīra, moving to the river only from April to September; but the great majority live, at the humble level of ʿIrāḳī peasantry, by cultivating by water-lift or flow-canal (notably the Ṣaḳlāwiyya) from the Euphrates, and entrust their sheep and camels to specialized grazing parties or sections of their own sub-tribes. The populations of ʿĀna, Rāwa, Ḥadītha and Fallūdja contain certain elements of settled Dulaym. The tribe itself is divided into many sub-tribes and sections, cohesion among which depends upon the personality and inter-relations of the leading shaykhs. Numbers work for the oil company whose pipelines from Kirkūk cross their territory in the Ḥadītha neighbourhood, and others at the Hīt

bitumen deposits. The tribe has a record of bad relations with the Shammar of the Djazīra, and of friendliness with the ʿAnaza in the Syrian desert; but tribal disorder has been slight and rare since 1340/1921, and the Dulaym, thanks largely to leadership by two or more outstanding shaykhs (notably ʿAlī Sulaymān) are among the better behaved major tribes of ʿIrāḳ. In Turkish times their frequent aggressions against travellers on the Baghdād-Aleppo trunk road called for punitive action by Government, notably by Nāẓim Pasha in 1910, and for the building of a line of military posts and khāns in the 12th/19th century. The tribal area was occupied by the British in 1917, and insurgent action in the turbulent year 1920 was limited to one section of the tribe. Since then, settlement and prosperity have increased.

The tribe has given its name to the Dulaym *liwāʾ* (province) of ʿIrāḳ (population in 1947, 193,000) which, with headquarters at Ramādī, contains the *ḳaḍāʾ*s of ʿĀna, Fallūdja and Ramādī.

(S. H. LONGRIGG)

DULDUL, the name of the grey mule of the Prophet, which had been given to him by the Muḳawḳis [*q.v.*], at the same time as the ass called Yaʿfūr/ʿUfayr. After serving as his mount during his campaigns, she survived him and died at Yanbuʿ so old and toothless that in order to feed her the barley had to be put into her mouth. According to the Shīʿī tradition, ʿAlī rode upon her at the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] and at Ṣiffīn. As *Duldul* in Arabic means a porcupine, it is possible that she derived her name from her gait, but this is far from certain. For the names of the horses of the Prophet, see G. Levi Della Vida, *Les "livres des chevaux"*, Leiden 1928, 8, 51; for his she-camels al-ʿAḍbāʾ and al-Ḳaṣwāʾ, see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bighāl*, ed. Pellat, Cairo 1955, 21; Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 76; Ṭabarī, i, 1783; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 317, 356, 369; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 238; Nawawī, 46; Damīrī, s.v.: *TA* s.v.; *LA*, s.v. (CL. HUART-[CH. PELLAT])

AL-**DULFĪN** [see NUDJŪM].

DULŪK, the name given by the Arab authors to a locality situated, on the borders of Anatolia and Syria, in the upper valley of the Nahr Karzīn, at the foot of the Anti-Taurus (Kurd Dagh), north-west of ʿAyntāb. It was the ancient Doliche, famous for the cult of a Semitic divinity who in the Graeco-Roman period received the name of Zeus Dolichenos. Being at the intersection of the routes from Germanicia, Nicopolis and Zeugma, it had been conquered by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghānim and became one of the fortresses which since the earliest days of Islam had defended the frontier against the Byzantines (cf. the verse of ʿAdī b. al-Rikāʿ in Yāḳūt, ii, 583, and Nöldeke's remark in *ZDMG*, xliv, 700); it belonged to the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn before being incorporated in the district of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*] organized by Hārūn al-Rashīd. Dulūk also played a part in the Ḥamdānid-Byzantine wars at the time of Sayf al-Dawla and Abū Firās, and was conquered by the Byzantines in 351/962 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 404), the year in which Abū Firās [*q.v.*] was captured. The citadel at this time was supplied with water by an important aqueduct, and it was surrounded by rich orchards. Having become during the Crusades the seat of a bishop of the province of Edessa (under the name of Tulupe), it was the theatre for numerous engagements, and when, in 549/1155, the troops of Nūr al-Dīn regained possession of it, shortly after ʿAyntāb [*q.v.*], Dulūk had much declined; its fortress was ruined and there remained no more than a mediocre village.

The old name is preserved in that of the village of Dülük köy, a Turkish village near the Syrian border, and in that of Tell Dülük situated to the south of this locality where there is now a monument erected for a *wālī*.

Bibliography: Fr. Cumont, *Études syriennes*, Paris 1917 173-7; idem, *Syria*, i (1920), 189; P. Merlat, *Jupiter Dolichenus*, Paris 1960, 1-5; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 472; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, i, Algiers 1951, 232; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, index, esp. 115, 320; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 3 vols. Paris 1934-6, index; Le Strange, *Palestine* 36, 386-7, 438; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 132; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 75, 97; Ḳudāma, 254; Yaʿḳūbī-Wiet 230; Yāḳūt, iii, 742, 759; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab*, 224; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahan, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, ed. Shayyāl, i, 125; Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo, i, 76, (= ed. Hilmy Ahmad, i/l, Cairo 1956, 192-3). (D. SOURDEL)

DŪMAT AL-DJANDAL, an oasis at the head of the Wādī Sirḥān which runs from south-east to north-west, linking central Arabia on one side and the mountains of Ḥawrān and Syria on the other; it is thus situated on the most direct route between Medina and Damascus, being about 15 days' journey on foot from the former and about 7 days or rather more from the latter. The oasis is in a *ghāʾiṭ* "depression" or *khabt* "vast low-lying area", the length of which, according to Yāḳūt, is 5 parasangs or, in modern terms, according to Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, 3 miles, the width half a mile and the depth 500 feet below the level of the desert surrounding it. The morphology of the region has brought about a change in the name of the oasis which, at least since the last century, has become al-Djawf (el-Djōf), "vast depression", "round basin", "flat, spongy floor of a valley or region in which water collects". Yāḳūt, who describes the locality at some length, is unaware of this change in the name.

Dūma (the spelling Dawma is not acceptable) is perhaps an Aramaic word; according to the ancient Arab scholars Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Zadjdjādjī, this term derives from the name of one of the sons of Ismāʿīl (Dūm or Dūmān or Dūmāʾ): incidentally the name Dūmāh also occurs in the Bible (*Genesis*, xxv, 14; *Chronicles*, i, 30) as the name of an Ishmaelite tribe. The Arab writers say that, as the Tihāma no longer provided sufficient grazing for the too numerous Ismāʿīl clan, the son mentioned above emigrated to this region which took its name Dūma from him, and there he built a fortress. In fact, a fortress was already in existence before Islam at Dūmat al-Djandal, and its name Mārid is mentioned in an ancient proverb deriving from a phrase said to have been uttered by al-Zabbāʾ (*tamarrada Mārid wa ʿazza al-Ablaḳ*). The remains of an ancient fortress still survived in the last century, and Euting made a sketch of them in 1883. The fortress was built of stone and in addition there stood around it a wall also of stone; it was on account of these constructions that Dūma was given the additional epithet al-Djandal, a common noun signifying "stone". In the pre-Islamic period the idol Wadd was worshipped there.

Yāḳūt and other Arab geographers tell us that three places bore the name Dūma, one near Damascus (where there is still a Dūma), another near al-Ḥīra,

and the one with which we are concerned, in northern Arabia. This identity of names has given rise to confusion in certain Arab historical sources; and there has been a tendency to ascribe to Dūmat al-Djandal events which took place in the other localities.

The inhabitants of Dūmat al-Djandal were the Banū Kināna, for the greater part of this sub-tribe of the Banū Kalb had, before Islam, spread into the desert of al-Samāwa in northern Arabia, from the plain of Dūmat al-Djandal in the north as far as the two mountains of the Ṭayy (Adja' and Salmā) in the south. This territory had been allotted to them as their pasturages at a general assembly of the Kalb, held in order to put an end to a civil war between two groups (F. Wüstenfeld, *Register*, *s.v.* Kalb b. Wabara; cf. al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, 33 ff.). But in the oasis itself a certain number of the ʿIbād of al-Ḥīra had settled (in Balādhurī, the name appears as "ʿIbād al-Kūfa", but De Goeje corrected it to ʿIbād al-Ḥīra), that is to say a certain number of Christians who lived in that town and who were distinct from the Tanūkh, nomads from the surrounding districts. It may be conjectured that these ʿIbād in the oasis practised trade as well as agriculture, for Dūmat al-Djandal was one of the principal markets of northern Arabia.

Dūmat al-Djandal enjoys a certain fame in the annals of ancient Islam, particularly on account of the three expeditions undertaken by Muḥammad to conquer it; the first, in 5/626, led by the Prophet himself, achieved no results since the inhabitants of the oasis scattered before he arrived; the second, in 6/627-8, commanded by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, brought about the conversion to Islam of the chief al-Aṣbagh (in some sources al-Aṣya, probably an error) b. ʿAmr al-Kalbī; the third was organized by Muḥammad at Tabūk and entrusted to Khālid b. al-Walīd. The latter took possession of the town in the oasis, levied a heavy war indemnity on the population and compelled the chief Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Kindī al-Sakūnī [*q.v.*] to go to Medina to conclude a treaty with the Prophet; the text of the treaty still survives, possibly with interpolations (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 61 ff.; Ibn Saʿd, i, 2, 36 ff.; Yāḳūt, ii, 627; see also M. Ḥamīdallāh, *Wathāʾiḳ*, Nr. 191; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, 133, n. 3, 404 n. 1; Caetani, *Annali*, 9 A.H. and 45, note 3). The difference in the names of the chiefs with whom the Muslims had to deal in 6 and 9, the difference in origin of these chiefs, one Kalbī the other Kindī, the diversity of certain details in traditions relating to Ukaydir, led De Goeje to raise questions and Caetani to express doubts which appear to be excessive. In reality, various difficulties can be overcome if one distinguishes the Kalb, nomads inhabiting a vast area and having their own chiefs, from the population of the oasis which was sedentary and composed of agricultural workers, merchants and artisans, and had immigrated even before Muḥammad's expeditions, as moreover al-Masʿūdī confirms (*Tanbīh*, 248). In the account relating to Ukaydir it should be noted that, according to al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 62) and Yāḳūt (ii, 626 ff.), Ukaydir is said to have called his dwelling in ʿIrāḳ Dūma, in remembrance of Dūmat al-Djandal, after leaving the oasis; another tradition also preserved by al-Balādhurī (*ibid.*, 63) and Yāḳūt (ii, 627) relates on the contrary that Ukaydir called the Arabian oasis Dūmat al-Djandal in order to distinguish it from the Dūma near al-Ḥīra from which he came, but the first tradition appears to be the more probable, since there are grounds for maintaining that the name Dūma borne by the oasis is an ancient one.

References to Dūmat al-Djandal occur in certain sources in connexion with the celebrated crossing of the desert made by Khālid b. al-Walīd in 12/633. Having been asked to rejoin the Muslim forces in Syria as soon as possible since they were in danger, Khālid set out, and is said to have attacked Dūmat al-Djandal and killed Ukaydir. De Goeje (*op. cit.*, 15 ff.) considers al-Djandal here to be an interpolation, and supposes that the Dūma referred to by the sources is Dūma of al-Ḥīra; it seems impossible that Khālid could have made such a detour which would have taken him so far out of his way while delaying the accomplishment of his mission. De Goeje's argument is very logical, and it has been accepted by Mednikov (*Palestina*, i, 435 ff.) and Caetani, so that the murder of Ukaydir, if murder it was, would have taken place in ʿIrāḳ. Let us also add that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ was ordered during the *ridda* to fight the Kalbī Wadīʿa who had revolted with some of the Kalb and entrenched himself at Dūmat al-Djandal, whilst al-Aṣbagh's son had remained faithful to Islam (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1872, 1880); it was perhaps ʿAmr who conquered Dūmat al-Djandal, but it is also possible to attribute this feat to ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm; in fact, the story goes that an expedition under his command set out from Medina with this objective but ran into difficulties, but it is also related that ʿIyāḍ was governing the oasis in 13/634 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2136). In the same way, it was at neither Dūmat al-Djandal nor Dūma near al-Ḥīra, but at Dūma near Damascus that, according to De Goeje (*ibid.*, 16 ff.), the fair Laylā, the daughter of al-Djūdī al-Ghassānī and loved by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, fell into the hands of the Muslims.

On another occasion in the history of Islam, at the time of an incident of great importance, the mention of Dūmat al-Djandal has given rise to argument: the oasis was said to have been chosen at Siffin as the meeting-place for the arbitrators Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] after their investigation of the dispute between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, and it was there that they were to announce their verdict; but some sources place the meeting at Adhruḥ [*q.v.*], and it has been explained *supra*, s.v. ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, that in fact there were two meetings, on different dates, one at Dūmat al-Djandal and the other some months later and in very different circumstances, at Adhruḥ (this point being established, the sequence of events becomes clear and the highly complicated question of their chronology becomes soluble). One of the actions which Muʿāwiya took to harass ʿAlī was to dispatch a force to Dūmat al-Djandal in 39/660; ʿAlī succeeded in driving it out, but the inhabitants of the oasis refused to recognize either his authority or Muʿāwiya's. When the centre of the Muslim empire was set up in Syria, under the Umayyads, and in ʿIrāḳ, under the ʿAbbāsids, Dūmat al-Djandal lost all its importance; from then onwards it was no more than an oasis in Arabia inhabited by a poor sparse population of agricultural workers, since trade henceforth followed other routes; the Arab geographers in fact do no more than relate the historical events described above and quote from the verses of ancient poets.

We know that during the last centuries of Ottoman domination in northern Arabia anarchy was general and the situation only improved when the Wahhābis imposed their authority over the country. They also

took possession of Dūmat al-Djandal which belonged to them until the time of Ṭalāl, *amīr* of Shammar, of the Āl Rashīd, for in 1855 it became a dependency of Ḥāyil. In 1909 it was occupied by Nūrī Ibn Shaʿlān, chief of the Ruwalā tribes, in 1920 the *amīr* of Shammar recovered possession of it, and finally ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd, when he overthrew the amīrate of Shammar, added it to his domains (1921). Immediately afterwards, Transjordania attempted to move her frontier southwards to Nafūd, but Ibn Saʿūd held firm and at the Congress of al-Kuwayt (1923-4) the question was not resolved. Ibn Saʿūd also made incursions into Transjordania, within the framework of his much wider activities against the Ḥidjāz and ʿIrāḳ. The frontier was established by the Ḥadda Agreement between Ibn Saʿūd and Sir G. Clayton (2 November 1925), and the Wādī Sirḥān along with al-Djawf [*q.v.*] and Ḳurayyāt al-Milḥ thenceforward became part of Nadjd (*OM*, i-viii (1922-8), index).

The nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes who inhabit the region between Taymāʾ in the south as far as Kerak in the north, Nafūd and Wādī Sirḥān in the east are grouped under the collective name of al-Ḥuwayṭāt [*q.v.*]. During the last century several European travellers visited the oasis; an account of their explorations will be found in Hogarth.

Bibliography: Wāḳidī, ed. Wellhausen, 174 ff., 236 ff., 391, 403 ff.; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 668, 903 (and ii, 205), 991; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 36 ff., ii/1, 119 ff.; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 61-3, 111; Ṭabarī, i, 1462 ff., 1556, 1702 ff., 1872, 1880, 2065, 2077, 2136 and index *s.v.* Dūmat al-Djandal and Ukaydir; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*; *BGA*, vol. viii, 248, 253, 272, 296; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 135 ff., 160, 214 ff., 303 and index; Yāḳūt, i, 152, 825; ii, 625-9, 852; iii, 106; iv, 76, 389, 913; idem, *Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 186 ff., 338; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 352 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, *s.v.* Ukaydir; Caetani, *Annali*, 4 a.H., § I, Nr 7, 5 a.H., §§ 4, 77-8, 6 a.H., § 16, 9 a.H., §§ 24, 36, 45-8, 12 a.H., §§ 170, 180-2, 219-20, 232-4, 38 a.H., §§ 28, 38; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibāḍite*, in *AIUON*, 1952, 49-50, 52, 53, 82-7; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, 133 note 3, 404 note I; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie* (in his *Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales*), 2nd ed., 10-5; D. G. Hogarth, *The penetration of Arabia*, London 1904, index. (L. Veccia Vaglieri)

DUNAYSIR, mediaeval ruined town of Upper Mesopotamia (within the borders of modern Turkey), situated 20 km. south-west of Mārdīn on a tributary of the Khābūr, the site of which is today marked by the Kurdish village of Koč Ḥiṣār, the *Kosar* of the western chroniclers. A fortress of former times, generally identified with the *Adenystrai* of Dio Cassius, Dunaysir is not noted as an important place in the early years of Islam, and was subsequently never a fortress. Not until the 4th/10th century does its name appear, in a ms. of Ibn Ḥawḳal, as the site of a market. Later, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the town of Dunaysir had become a caravan, agricultural and intellectual centre, whose prosperity is reflected in the monuments erected at this time by order of the Artuḳid princes: mosques and *madrasa*, traces of which still remain. Spread over a wide plain, without a wall, beside a watercourse crossed by a stone bridge, it was, says Ibn Djubayr, "surrounded by flower and vegetable gardens", and was a centre of attraction for all inhabitants of the neighbouring regions. A popular fair was held there from Friday to Sunday. Later, Dunaysir declined and became a direct dependency of Mārdīn.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Adenystrai; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 493; Le Strange, 96; A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, Paris 1940, 45-53; Ibn Ḥawḳal, in *BGA* ii, 151 n. b; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. De Goeje, 240-2, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 277-8; Yaḳut, ii, 612. On the dictionary of the literati of Dunaysir, see Brockelmann, I, 406 (333), S I, 569. (D. Sourdel)

DUNBĀWAND [see DAMĀWAND].

DUNGHUZLUM [see DEÑIZLI].

DUNḲULA [see DONGOLA].

DUNYĀ (Ar.), the feminine of the elative adjective meaning 'nearer, nearest', is used in the Ḳurʾān, often combined with 'life' to mean this world. It had more or less this sense before Islam (Noeldeke, *Muʿallaḳāt des ʿAmr und des Ḥārith*, 49). The heaven of the *dunyā* is the lowest of the seven; *dunyā* is what is contained in the succession of night and day, is overshadowed by the sky and upheld by the earth, is all that the eye can see, the world of the seen (*shahāda*). In the realm of the spirit it includes all that Christians mean by the world and the flesh and it denotes the lot of man, whatever befalls him before death and does not continue with him afterwards. The interests of this world may oppose those of the next so a man may have to deny himself or use temperately part of his *dunyā*, money, food, drink, clothing, houseroom and, some say, life itself. One authority says that love of women is not love of the *dunyā*. Another definition is: every pleasure or desire, even speech with friends, so long as they are not aimed at the service of God. Denial of the *dunyā* means putting less trust in what is in your own power than in what is in the hand of God. All this is only a development of what is said in the Ḳurʾān: Those who buy this world at the price of the hereafter (*sūra* II, 80/86) and, The hereafter is better (*sūra* LXXXVII, 16). The truly religious man will have no desires (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra*, 130), and an extreme statement is ascribed to the prophet: Grant to one who loves me and obeys me little wealth and few children and to one who hates me and does not obey me much wealth and many children. At the judgement the *dunyā* will appear as a horrid old hag and will be cast into the fire (Ghazzālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-Dīn* (1312 A.H.), 3, 54, 148) an idea which contradicts the fundamental thought of Islam.

Without going into legal details, the *dunyā* consists of things allowed and things forbidden. Good Muslims avoided what was forbidden but many carried scruple to excess, *e.g.*, by refusing to eat the food of one who might have made some money by sharp practice in trade or by acting as a government servant. Asceticism was often considered good in itself and some went so far as to say: Entrust your affairs to God and take your rest.

Bibliography: see ĀKHIRA, and in addition: Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, last chapter. (A. S. Tritton)

DURAYD B. AL-ṢIMMA, ancient Arabic poet and leader of the Banū Djusham b. Muʿāwiya, one of the most powerful Bedouin opponents of Muḥammad, born ca. 530. He is a prominent figure of Arabic pre-Islamic antiquity; to later generations,

he was the embodiment of ancient paganism which fought stubbornly against Islam.

His father was Muʿāwiya b. al-Ḥārith, called al-Ṣimma, leader of the Banū Djusham b. Muʿāwiya, who belonged to the group of the Hawāzin tribes, and lived between Mecca and Ṭāʾif. Despite the similarity in their religion, and their economic, political and social ties, there was an ancient rivalry between these two places, which also concerned the Bedouin tribes who lived between Mecca and Ṭāʾif. This antagonism was caused by the contrast between the urban Ḳuraysh, and the predominantly nomadic Hawāzin, the difference of their cultural standing, and their different economic and political conditions. This period of the Ḥidjāz was characterized by the resultant battles. These disturbances are known as the battles of al-Fidjār.

Durayd b. al-Ṣimma did not take part in these battles for personal reasons arising from his links with the Kināna tribes, although he himself had fought earlier on against the Kināna, and although his father had played an important part in the Fidjār war.

He did, on the other hand, play an important part in the battles between Hawāzin and Ghaṭafān, where he lost his two brothers ʿAbd al-Yaghūth and ʿAbd Allāh. It was particularly the death of ʿAbd Allāh which resulted in the renewed enmity and battles, in which the tribe of the Banū Djusham again played a prominent part. It was the duty of Durayd b. al-Ṣimma to avenge his brother's death, and he fulfilled this duty in numerous raids against the Ghaṭafān.

Friendly ties linked him with Banū Sulaym. He also asked for the hand of the young poetess al-Khansāʾ in marriage, but she refused him because of his advanced years, although her relatives would have wished to retain the favour of this influential chief. The al-Khansāʾ episode did not, however, endanger his friendship with her brothers Muʿāwiya and Ṣakhr.

Even in the time when Muḥammad began to spread his teaching among the Bedouin, the old Durayd b. al-Ṣimma played a prominent part. It would even appear that he was responsible for the opposition which the Hawāzin tribes offered the new faith, and that he was also the tool of the intentions of the Thaḳīf tribe from Ṭāʾif. Perhaps he was the instigator of the alliance—which never materialized—between the Hawāzin and the Ḳuraysh.

After Muḥammad had left for his last battle against Mecca, the Hawāzin, the Thaḳīf, and his *khalīfa*s under Mālik b. ʿAwf of the tribe of Naṣr in Ḥunayn, rose in opposition to Muḥammad. The aged Durayd b. al-Ṣimma was brought on a litter, to give the benefit of his experience of battle to the tribes. Just before the battle he had an argument with Mālik b. ʿAwf, concerning the accomodation of women, children, and the cattle of the tribe, all of whom he wanted to get away from the battle-field.

After the defeat of Mecca, Muḥammad went against the Hawāzin. The armies met in Ḥunayn. After an initial success, the Bedouin were beaten and scattered. The faithful gained great booty. Durayd b. al-Ṣimma met with a tragic death in this battle, at the hand of Rabīʿa b. Rufayʿ, of the formerly allied tribe of Sulaym. He died at a great age, about 100 years old.

Al-Aghānī, ix, 2 summarizes the significance of Durayd b. al-Ṣimma by stating that he was a brave *fāris*, a *shāʿir faḥl*. Muḥammad b. Sallām placed him first among those who were considered *shuʿarāʾ* and *fuḥalāʾ*. According to the Arabs, he was the greatest *fāris* poet. Al-Aṣmaʿī in *Fuḥūlat al-shuʿarāʾ*, in *ZDMG* 65, 498, line 20, also regards him highly. In his poems, which may be regarded as typically Bedouin, battle descriptions, expressions of love and friendship, lament, and praise can be found. He has all the advantages and shortcomings of an embodiment of all that is typical of the Arab.

The metres he used most frequently are *wāfir* and *ṭawīl*, and also *basīṭ*, *mutaḳārib*, *radjaz*, *kāmil* and *ramal*.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, ix, 2-20, and also see Tables 332; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Shiʿr*, 197, 219, 470-3; *Khizānat*, i, 125, ii, 121, 324, iii, 166, iv, 148, 444-7, 513, 516; There are also verses in: Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, *Sīrat ʿAntar*, *ʿIḳd*, *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, *Kāmil*, *Ḥamāsa* of *Buḥturī* and *Abū Tammām*, *LA*, *TA* and others.

Editions: R. Růžička, *Duraid ben aṣ-Ṣimma, obraz středniho Hidžázu na úsvitě islamu*, Prague 1925-1930, part 3, vol. 2 in *Rozpravy České akademie věd a umění*, Kl. III, no. 61, 67. Contents cf. *ArO*, xix, 1951, nos. 1-2, 99-100.

(K. PETRÁČEK)

DURAZZO. [see DRAČ].

DŪRBĀSH (Persian, lit. "be distant"), the mace or club used as an emblem of military dignity; in Persian and Turkish usage the *dūrbāsh* can also be the functionary who carries the mace [see ČAʾŪSH, SARHANG]. The *čūbdār*s described by Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāme*, ch. xxxix, who seem to have been similar functionaries, carried gold and silver staffs; ʿAwfī, *Djāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (passage cited by M. Fuad Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri hakkında bazı mülâhazalar*, in *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, Istanbul 1931, 213; Ital. tr., *Alcune osservazioni . . . .*, Rome 1953, 57) describes the *dūrbāsh* as wearing silver belts and carrying maces encrusted with gems; Köprülü, *loc. cit.*, attributes the use of the jewelled mace, found also with the Ghaznawids and indeed with the Sāmānids, to an inheritance from the Sāsānid court.

In Muslim India the word is applied to the mace rather than to the functionary. The earliest mention of it appears to be in Amīr Khusraw, *Nuh sipihr*, ii, where the author speaks of the rādjā of Warangal delivering the *dūrbāsh* he had received from the former sultan to Khusraw Khān, general of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, for its replacement by a *dūrbāsh* from the reigning sultan in ca. 718/1318 (the word here is mistranslated "canopy" in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India . . . .*, iii, 561); cf. Amīr Khusraw, *Ḳirān al-saʿdayn*, lith. ʿAlīgaṛh, 78-9. According to Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 136, men would run "before the stirrups of kings" with the *dūrbāsh* on their shoulders. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, speaks of it as a two-branched ornamented baton (cf. *Ghiyāth al-lughāt*, s.v.; *Farhang-i andjuman ārā-i Nāṣirī*, s.v.), and the *Muʾayyad al-fuḍalāʾ* as spears (*nīzahā*) which are borne before emperors and kings (ms Mullā Fīrūz Library, s.v.). Its use in Mughal times is confirmed by the European travellers; Manucci, *Storia di Mogor*, i, 220, describes the use of the *dūrbāsh* in the escort of Shāhdjahan's daughter Djahānārā, in which 'menservants held sticks of gold or silver in their hands and called out "Out of the way!" '. These menservants are called *gurzbardār*s by the travellers Tavernier and Bernier.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text: Redhouse, Brit. Mus. MS Or. 2965,

vii, 778-9 (detailed notice with several quotations). For rods, staffs, etc., see ʿANAZA, i; ʿAṢĀʾ; ḲAḌĪB; ṢAWLAḎJĀN. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

AL-**DURR**, the pearl. The ancient legend of its origin is found at great length in the Arabic authors, first in the *Petrology* (*Steinbuch*, ed. Ruska) of Aristotle, then with variants in the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* and the later cosmographers. According to it, the *aṣṭūrūs* (ʾοστρεῖον) rises from the depths of the sea frequented by ships and goes out to the ocean. The winds there set up a shower of spray and the shells open to receive drops from this; when it has collected a few drops it goes to a secluded spot and exposes the drops morning and evening to the breeze and the gentle heat of the sun until they ripen. It then returns to the depths of the sea where it takes root on the sea-bed and becomes a plant. If the sun or the air reach it at midday or in the night the pearls are destroyed; they are also ruined if they stay too long at the bottom of the sea, just as over-ripe dates lose their beauty and flavour.

Scattered among these fables we find a few real facts and critical observations, for example the statement that the shells, though rough and unclean outside, are smooth and brilliant within, or that the substance composing the pearl is identical with that which lines the interior of the shell, which points to its being produced from the latter. We also find a comparison with the hen's egg or with the child in its mother's womb. Of particular interest is the statement that there is a worm in the pearl, since it is now established that pearls are formed by the oyster when parasitic worms are present.

Masʿūdī gives us the earliest account of the provenance of pearls in various parts of the Indian Ocean and of the pearl-fisheries in the Persian Gulf; in the *Murūdj* he refers to an earlier work of his in which he appears to have drawn upon Yaḥyā b. Māsawayh's book on stones, which was extracted from Tīfās̲h̲ī. According to him the only pearl-fisheries are on the coast of the sea of Ḥabas̲h̲ at K̲h̲ārak in the Persian Gulf, at Ḳaṭar, ʿUmān and Sarandīb. The divers live on fish and dates; a slit is made in their necks below the ear through which they can breathe, for they close the nostrils by clasping a piece of tortoiseshell on the nose (or, according to Yaḥyā b. Māsawayh, they place a long reed in the nose and breathe through this). They can remain half an hour below the water. They put cotton-wool steeped in oil in their ears; when under the water they squeeze some of it out so that it becomes quite bright. They paint their legs with a black substance lest they should be devoured by underwater monsters. While under the water they communicate with each other by a kind of barking sound. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also relates some of these fables, but on the whole his account of the pearl-fisheries is based on his personal observations at Sīrāf. There the Banū Siʾāf dive for pearls in a calm bay. In the months of April and May many boats assemble here with divers and Persian merchants. The diver places the clamp on his nose, ties a rope round himself, and remains one to two hours (!) under water. He finds shells firmly attached between small stones, pulls them off by hand or cuts them off with a special knife, and puts them in a leather bag which he carries hanging round his neck. When he can remain below no longer he shakes the rope; the man in the boat on seeing this pulls him up, takes the shells, opens them, and collects the pearls. The sultan receives five of each haul and the merchants sell the others, but the divers themselves have little profit as they are always in debt to the merchants for advances made to them.

The pearl is the jewel par excellence and is distinguished above other jewels by the fact that it is *ḥaywānī* and not *turābī*. Tīfās̲h̲ī gives a very full account of the perfections and defects of pearls, etc., while al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī explains how mother-of-pearl (*ʿirḳ al-luʾluʾ* [*q.v.*]) is obtained from the layers composing the pearl shell. Valuable medicinal qualities are of course ascribed to the pearl. They are believed to be particularly effective in cases of palpitation of the heart or in melancholia, they strengthen the nerves, cure headaches, and, if dissolved in water and rubbed on the affected part, mitigate leprosy. They are dissolved with citron juice and vinegar.

The pearl has been prized by Muslim rulers for its value (a brief note on the classification and values of pearls in the Mug̲h̲al emperor Akbar's treasury in *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, Āʾīn 3) and as a symbol of purity. The name "pearl mosque" (*motī masdjid*) is frequently given in Muslim India to pure white mosques of marble or polished stucco. The ancient Hindū legend of the origin of pearls, that when the sun is in Arcturus (Skt. *svāti*), in October, the rain then falling drops into the open shells and so forms pearls, appears in several Indian Muslim works.

For the rôle of the pearl in book-titles, in poetry and in rhetoric see futher LUʾLUʾ.

Bibliography: *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, ed. Ruska, 64, 96, 130; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* ed. Bombay, ii, 75; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 328; Idrīsī-Jaubert, i, 157, 377; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 244 ff.; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 115, 223; al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 77 etc.; Tīfās̲h̲ī, *Azhār al-afkār*, tr. Raineri Biscia, 6; Ibn al-Bayṭār, in Leclerc, *Notices et extr.*, xxvi/1, 248; Clément-Mullet, *Essai sur la min. arabe*, in *JA*, VIth ser. xi (1868), 16; M. Mokri, *La pêche des perles dans le golfe Persique*, in *JA*, ccxlviii/3 (1960), 381-97, with bibliography; idem, *Le symbole de la perle dans le folklore persan*, ibid. fasc. 4, 463-81. On trade see TIDJĀRA. (J. RUSKA*)

DURRĀNĪ, an Afg̲h̲ān tribe known as Abdālī until their name was changed by Aḥmed S̲h̲āh Durrānī. (See ABDĀLĪ, AḤMAD S̲H̲ĀH, AFG̲H̲ĀNISTĀN). The tribe was moved from Harāt and granted lands in the region of Ḳandahār by Nādir S̲h̲āh. At this time they were pastoral nomads but in the later 12th/18th century they began to take up agriculture. Their large financial and economic privileges were continued and extended in the reigns of Aḥmad S̲h̲āh and Tīmūr S̲h̲āh, when the Durrānī tribe formed the main political and military support of the monarchy. During this period they extended their landholdings in the districts more distant from the town of Ḳandahār, *e.g.*, Zamīndāwar, Nīs̲h̲, Tirīn, forcing the original cultivators (Tadjiks, Hazāras, Pārsīwāns, Balōčīs, Kākaṙs, etc.) to work as tenants or labourers, as they continued to do in the regions nearer Ḳandahār. Towards the end of the 18th century, however, and particularly after the transfer of the capital from Ḳandahār to Kābul and the cessation of Afg̲h̲ān expansion, the central government began to reduce the power of the Durrānī chiefs and to increase its revenue by preventing the evasion of liabilities by the Durrānīs. Durrānī resistance to this policy was a contributory cause of the civil wars of the later 18th and early 19th centuries, in which the Durrānīs suffered considerably. Under the Bārakzay Sardārs of Ḳandahār 1233-4/1818 to 1255/1839 and 1259/1843 to 1272/1855

the power of the Durrānī chiefs was further eroded by their virtual exclusion from administration and military employment, and by steadily increasing taxation and the government control of water distribution. This policy was continued after the incorporation of Ḳandahār into the Kabul dominions. Its success always varied inversely to the distance from Ḳandahār.

There is no recent information available about Durrānī clan divisions and it is supposed that these have tended to be obliterated with settlement. There is information about the important period down to the mid-19th century. According to Elphinstone the tribe was nominally divided into two branches (Zīrak and Pandjpāw), although from an early period this division had lost all importance except to indicate the descent of the clans. The clans of the Zīrak branch were the more powerful and wealthy. The Zīrak branch included three important clans, those of Popalzāy, ʿAlīkozāy and Bārakzāy. The Ačakzāys of the northern slopes of the Khʷādja Amrān range in the Quetta-Pishīn district of West Pakistan are a branch of the Bārakzāys, supposedly separated by Aḥmad Shāh. According to Elphinstone the Pandjpāw clans were those of Nūrzāy, ʿAlīzāy, Isḥākzāy, Khugānī, and Makū. There is little information about the last two although they still appeared as distinct entities on the Ḳandahār tax returns as late as 1857. The other Pandjpāw clans lived principally in the more westerly areas—the ʿAlīzāys in the fertile province of Zamīndāwar, where they settled in the early 19th century, the Isḥāḳzāys in Garmsīr on the lower Halmand and the Nūrzāys, who continued to live as nomads later than other clans, in various areas north of Ḳandahār (Nīsh, Tirīn), in Garmsīr and westwards towards Farāh and Harāt. The Zīrak clans lived nearer Ḳandahār, although they tended to spread out to other areas as well, *e.g.*, the Bārakzāys who originally settled in the Arghasān valley, south of Ḳandahār, also were found on the Halmand, and the Popalzāys of the lower Tarnak and Arghasān valleys also moved into Tirīn and the other districts in the hills north of Ḳandahār. The ʿAlīkozāys lived in the Tarnak valley as far as Djaldak on the borders of the Ghilzāy country and also were found westwards as far as the Halmand. The various clans were divided into sub-groups, *e.g.*, the Popalzāys included the royal family of the Sadōzāys and possibly also the Bāmazāys. These sub-groups, like some of the clans themselves, sometimes decayed or amalgamated to form new groups.

Bibliography: See AFGHĀNISTĀN. Also *Wāḳiʿāt-i Durrānī*, Kānpur 1292; M. Elphinstone, *Caubool*, London 1839; B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, London 1836; C. M. Macgregor, *Central Asia*, ii, *Afghanistan*, Calcutta 1871, esp. Appendix III; H. Rawlinson, *Report on the Dooranees*...; Yu. V. Gankovski, *Imperiya Durrani*, Moscow 1958.

(M. E. YAPP)

DÜRRĪZĀDE, the patronymic of a famous family of Ottoman *ʿulemāʾ* of the 18th-19th centuries, five members of which attained the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*] on no less than nine different occasions between the years 1734 and 1815. Only these latter can be dealt with here, and details must be confined to the periods of their *meshīkhat* which, unless otherwise stated, was reached by the normal progress through the offices of *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker* of Anadolu and *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker* of Rūmeli.

1. DÜRRĪ MEḤMED EFENDI. The son of a certain Ilyās, his date and place of birth are unknown. (The statement in the *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī* that he was a native of Ankara probably derives from a misreading of the *Dewḥa*). While *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker* of Rūmeli for the second time, he was appointed *Shaykh al-Islām* on 3 Djumādā II 1147/31 October 1734 on the death of the incumbent Isḥāḳ Efendi. In Shawwāl 1148/February-March 1736 he was stricken with apoplexy, which in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/April-May of the same year compelled him to retire from office. He died at his home in Üsküdar in 1149/1736-7 and was buried in the cemetery of Ḳaradja Aḥmed. (Ṣubḥī, 63b, 71b).

2. DÜRRĪZĀDE MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI. The son of the above by the daughter of the former *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Efendi, he was born in 1114/1702-3. After having been *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker* of Rūmeli twice, he was appointed *Shaykh al-Islām* on 21 Shawwāl 1169/19 July 1756, but on 28 Djumādā I of the following year (18 February 1757) he was dismissed from office and exiled to Gallipoli. His second occupancy of this office came on 5 Shawwāl 1175/29 April 1762 and lasted until 24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1180/23 April 1767; and on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1187/27 February 1774 he was appointed for a third time. Infirm with old age, he retired on 22 Radjab 1188/28 September 1774 and died the same year on 7 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/8 February 1775. He was married to the daughter of the former *Shaykh al-Islām* Pashmaḳčīzāde ʿAbd Allāh Efendi of a family claiming descent from the Prophet, and his sons by her all enjoy the title of *seyyid*. In 1179/1765-6 he restored the mosque at Yeñi Ḳapl (*Ḥadīḳat ül-djewāmiʿ*, i, 237), and would also appear to have founded a family burial ground outside Edirne Ḳapîsî in the vicinity of the fountain of Laʿlīzāde. A work on *fiḳh* entitled *Dürre-i beyḍā* is ascribed to him (*ʿOthmānlî müellifleri*, i, 308), and his translation of a short Arabic tract is to be found in a manuscript *medjmūʿa* in Topkapı, Emanet Hazinesi, no. 1308. (Wāṣîf, i, 83a, 91a, 210b, 290a; ii, 285a; Djewdet, i, 72, 78).

3. DÜRRĪZĀDE SEYYID MEḤMED ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH EFENDI. The second son of the above, he was born in 1142/1729-30. After having twice occupied the post of *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker* of Rūmeli, on 17 Djumādā II 1197/20 May 1783 he was appointed *Shaykh al-Islām* and he retained this office until 20 Djumādā I 1199/31 March 1785 when, suspected of complicity with the Grand Vizier Khalīl Ḥāmid Pasha in a conspiracy to depose Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, he was dismissed and sent to Gallipoli with orders to go on the pilgrimage. However, he died here of some dropsical affliction soon after his arrival, and the news of his death reached Istanbul on 6 Radjab 1199/15 May 1785. (Djewdet, ii, 71, 309, 317; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, in *TM*, v (1935), 251, refers to a rumour that he was poisoned).

4. DÜRRĪZĀDE SEYYID MEḤMED ʿĀRIF EFENDI. The younger brother of the above, he was born in 1153/1740-1 and reached the post of *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker* of Rūmeli on 26 Ramaḍān 1198/13 August 1784. On 17 Shawwāl 1199/23 August 1785 he was appointed *Shaykh al-Islām*, but was dismissed from office on 10 Rabīʿ II 1200/10 February 1786 because of his political activities, and after being ordered to go on pilgrimage, he was forced to live in exile in Kütahya. He was permitted to return to Istanbul in 1205/1790-1 when his enemy the *Shaykh al-Islām* Ḥamīdīzāde Muṣṭafā Efendi was discharged from office, and on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1206/12 July 1792 he was again appointed to the *meshīkhat*. Being held in some way responsible for the state of unpreparedness of Egypt when Napoleon launched his invasion, he was replaced in office on 18 Rabīʿ I 1213/30 August 1798,

and after a few months' exile in Bursa, he returned to Istanbul where he died on 20 Djumādā I 1215/9 October 1800 and was buried at Eğri Kapı. A collection of his *fetwā*s exists in Topkapı Sarayı, Yeniler, no. 4403; and no. 4783 in the same library is a notebook he kept of appointments and dismissals of the *ʿulemāʾ* for the years 1209-13 (Djewdet, ii, 292, 331, 347; iv, 456; v, 181; vii, 57, 68, 174).

5. DÜRRĪZĀDE SEYYID ʿABD ALLĀH EFENDI. The son of the latter, the date of his birth is not recorded. While *naḳīb ül-eshrāf* and a nominee (*pāyeli*) for the post of *ḳādi 'l-ʿasker* of Rūmeli, on 3 Shawwāl 1223/ 22 November 1808 he was appointed *Shaykh al-Islām*, remaining in office until 22 Shaʿban 1225/ 22 September 1810. His second term in the *meshīkhat* began on 30 Djumādā I 1227/12 June 1812 and lasted until 10 Rabīʿ II 1230/22 March 1815. He died on 3 Djumādā I 1244/11 November 1828 and was buried near his great-grandfather in the cemetery of Ḳaradja Aḥmed (Shānīzāde, i, 146, 399; ii, 114, 239; Luṭfī Efendi, ii, 153; Khiḍr Ilyās, 8).

Bibliography: Details of about forty members of this family who attained positions of varying importance in the learned profession can be traced through the following references to the *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, though the caution must be given that no detail, and in particular dates, can be accepted without verification from another source: i, 336, 399; ii, 338, 396; iii, 146, 242, 267, 363, 396, 476; iv, 75, 444, 586 (Nūr Allāh Efendi), 627. Müstaḳīmzāde Süleymān Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi (with the continuations of Münīb Efendi and Rifʿat Efendi), *Dewḥat ül-meshāʾikh*, litho., Istanbul n.d., 91 (text corrupt), 100, 108, 109, 122. Specimens of the *fetwā*s issued by all the individuals mentioned in the article can be found in the *ʿIlmiyye Sālnāmesi*, Istanbul 1334, 515, 529, 551, 553, 575; I. H. Danişmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, iv, Istanbul 1961, *index*; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, Ankara 1959, 472, 484, 501, 502; F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1961. The works mentioned in the article are: Meḥmed Ṣubḥī Efendi, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1198; Aḥmed Wāṣif Efendi, *Taʾrīkh*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1219; Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, 12 vols., Istanbul 1270-1301; Ayvansarāyī Ḥāfiẓ Ḥüseyn Efendi, *Ḥadīḳat ül-djewāmiʿ*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1281; Meḥmed ʿAṭāʾ Allāh Shānīzāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 4 vols., Istanbul 1290-1; Aḥmed Luṭfī Efendi, *Taʾrīkh*, 8 vols., Istanbul 1290-1306; Khiḍr Ilyās Efendi, *Waḳāʾiʿ-i leṭāʾif-i Enderūn*, Istanbul 1276.

(J. R. WALSH)

DÜRRĪZĀDE ʿABD ALLĀH BEY or EFENDI (1869-1923), one of the last *Shaykh al-Islām*s of the Ottoman Empire, known for his *fetwā*s condemning the Turkish nationalist movement under Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk). He was born into a wealthy family claiming the title of *seyyid*, most of whose male members belonged to the *ʿilmiyye* class, and five of whom had previously served as *Shaykh al-Islām* [see preceding article]. The son of the last there mentioned, ʿAbd Allāh, was Dürrīzāde Meḥmed Efendi, who rose to the rank of Ḳadīʿasker of Rumeli, and was the father of the ʿAbd Allāh with whom this article is concerned.

ʿAbd Allāh attended secular elementary and intermediate schools, then studied at the Fātiḥ *medrese*, receiving his *idjāzet* from Eginli Khodja Ibrāhīm Haḳḳī Efendi (d. 1894), at the time under-secretary (*müsteshār*) of the Meshīkhat. He received his first appoinment as *müderris* (*ibtidāʾ-i khāridj*) in 1883, and joined the Meshīkhat in 1886, where by 1893 he rose to the rank of *müderris* of the Süleymāniyye. In 1897 he left the *ʿilmiyye* service to rejoin it in 1901 as member of the council for Sharʿī studies (*Medjlis-i Tedḳīḳat-i Sherʿiyye*), and later as ḳāḍīʿasker of Anatolia. Dismissed after the 1908 revolution, he became an opponent of the Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī [*q.v.*] movement and devoted himself to civilian pursuits (from which period he became known as «Bey»). After the armistice of 1918 he was placed in charge of a comittee examining religious publications, became under-secretary at the Meshīkhat on 1 February 1920, and *Shaykh al-Islām* in the third cabinet of Dāmād Ferīd [*q.v.*] on 3 April, less than three weeks after the reinforced Allied occupation of Istanbul. In this office he signed on 11 April 1920 four *fetwās*, of which the main one referred to the Kemālists as «certain civil persons [who] have allied and united and chosen for themselves leaders ..., with fraud ... are deceiving ... the loyal Imperial subjects and without authority are rising up to enlist soldiers from the populace; and to this end are imposing, in contravention of the sacred law and against high orders, certain dues and taxes ostensibly on the pretext of feeding and equipping these soldiers but really by reason of [their own] greed for worldly goods ...». Among many other specific accusations it charged these same persons with «treason» and with being «rebels» (*büghāt, bāghīler*), who in accordance with religious law were to be killed (*ḳatl ü ḳitālleri meshrūʿ we farḍ olur*) one at a time or in groups. The briefer subsidiary *fetwā*s obliged Muslims to heed the sultan's call to arms against the rebels and threatened eternal punishment for deserters from any such army and earthly penalties for those disobeying orders in this fight against the rebels.

For a brief period ʿAbd Allāh also became acting Minister of Education and, during Dāmād Ferīd's attendance at the Paris Peace Conference, acting Grand Vizier (*ṣadr aʿẓam wekīli*). He was dropped from the cabinet upon its reorganization on 30 July 1920. At the time of the final nationalist victory in September 1922 he left Turkey for Rhodes and then Italy. On 23 March 1923 he left for Mecca where he died on 30 April in the act of performing the pilgrim's prayers at the Kaʿba. Although he died before the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne he was placed on the list of 150 persons (*Yüzellilikler*) excluded from its amnesty provisions.

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 691; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın in *İslam Türk ansiklopedisi*, ii, 246-7, and in *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī dheyli* (in the ms collection of Türk Tarih Kurumu); Ismail Hâmi Danişment, *İzahlı Osmanlı kronolojisi*, iv (1955), 536 ff.; Galip Kemali Söylemezoğlu, *Başımıza gelenler*, Istanbul 1939, 219 ff. For the original text of the *fetwā*s see *Taḳwīm-i Weḳāyiʿ* no. 3834 of 11 April 1336.

(FAİK REŞİT UNAT and DANKWART A. RUSTOW)

AL-**DURŪʿ** (Dirʿī), a large Ghāfirī tribe, mainly nomadic and Ibāḍī, of the foothills and steppes of ʿUmān in south-eastern Arabia. From Wādī al-Ṣafā and areas of the Ghāfirī Āl Bū Shāmis (of Nuʿaym) and Banī Ḳitab in al-Ẓāhira, their *dīra* extends south-east across the plain (Sayḥ al-Durūʿ) to Wādī Ḥalfīn and the territory of the Hināwī tribe of Āl Wahība. From Ḥamrāʾ al-Durūʿ and other outliers of the mountains of Inner ʿUmān (among which, centering around ʿIzz and Adam, is found the north-west enclave of the Ghāfirī al-Djanaba), it extends south to the broken district of al-Ḥuḳuf

(al-Ḥiḳf?) and the barren area of Djiddat al-Ḥarāsīs, and south-west to the sands of the Rubʿ al-Khālī [*q.v.*], the low borderland of which (al-Waṭāʾ) includes the *sabkhas* and quicksands of Umm al-Samīm [*q.v.*].

The main tribal centre, *ca.* 15 km. south of ʿIbrī, is the village of Tanʿam. This is the summering place (*maḳīẓ*, pl. *maḳāyiẓ*) of the shaykhly clan, al-Maḥāmīd, and of al-Maḳārida, of whom about 100 settled men care for the date gardens. Al-Maḥāmīd and al-Dabābina have gardens also in al-Sulayf, north-east of Tanʿam and south-east of ʿIbrī, and al-Maḥāmīd also at ʿIbrī. Other groups summer around their gardens at al-Maʿmūr (Maʿmūr of al-Durūʿ), al-Ḥabbī, Fill, Madrī, Bisāh, Yabrīn, Ṭaymisa, and Adam.

Although ʿIbrī is their main trading centre, al-Durūʿ also visit other inland markets including those at Nazwā, Bahlāʾ, and Adam, and occasionally travel as far as Dubayy on the Persian Gulf and al-Khābūra and Muscat on the Gulf of ʿUmān. Their chief vendibles are the following: animals—camels, goats, and sheep; handicrafts—ropes and cordage, mats (*simma*, pl. *samīm*), baskets, etc., made from fibre of the palmetto-like *saʿf* (in ʿUmān called *ghaḍaf*), and sheep's wool rugs, over the quality of which al-Durūʿ vie with Āl Ḥikmān; wood products—charcoal (*ṣakhkhām*), burned mainly of *samr* and *ghāf* from thickets growing along the numerous *wādīs* which traverse the steppe south-westward and southward; minerals—sulphur, from Ḳārat al-Kibrīt, for treating animal mange and for making gunpowder, and salt, from Ḳārat al-Kibrīt, Ḳārat al-Milḥ, and two *mamlaḥas* which lie in *sabkhas* on the eastern margin of Umm al-Samīm.

Of famous ʿUmānī camels al-Durūʿ raise three prize breeds: Banāt ʿUṣayfir, Banāt Khabār, and Banāt Ḥumra. The salt mines are exploited under general supervision of the *shaykhs*, but are not their property. The best salt comes from Ḳārat al-Kibrīt, which is also called Ḳārat al-ʿUraysha. At the sources of the coarser and less pure salt bordering Umm al-Samīm, (where the mining is safer and without the fatalities which occur at the two *ḳāras*), the salt is cut out in blocks, four to a camel-load, the gain from which ranges from one to four Maria Theresa dollars. The price is highest in summer, when mining is very difficult because of the heat and the distance from water, the nearest perennial sources—Muwayh al-Rāka and al-ʿUbayla,—being over a day away by camel.

Because al-Durūʿ ordinarily shun the vast sand desert of the Rubʿ al-Khālī, they have little reason for risking travel across Umm al-Samīm, in the quicksands of which, according to popular accounts, unwary travellers, shepherds, and raiders, and their animals, have been swallowed up. Members of the section of ʿIyāl Kharaṣ of al-Maḥāmīd are said to know safe paths leading north and south of the inner morass, but they themselves rarely cross.

Despite their commercial exploitation of what nature affords them, al-Durūʿ have no professional merchants and are a truly nomadic tribe. They have a reputation for bold and wide raiding, and active participation in tribal wars.

The majority of al-Durūʿ are Ibāḍīs, but the large division of al-Maḳārida and most of the small but ruling clan of al-Maḥāmīd are said to be Sunnīs.

The origin of the tribe is unknown. The similarity in name with Āl Dirʿ, relatives of Āl Saʿūd who formerly lived in Wādī Ḥanīfa and gave their name to the first Saʿūdī capital of al-Dirʿiyya, is probably without significance. A popular tradition of the south says that al-Durūʿ have the same origin as the tribe of al-Manāhīl—from Banī (or Ahl) al-Ẓanna. The frequency of naming from the mother—*fulān b. fulāna*—may be an indication of southern origin.

Of other groups living in the territory of al-Durūʿ the most interesting is that composed of some 40 men of al-ʿIfār [*q.v.*], a tribe originally from the area of Ḥabarūt in western Ẓufār, where the majority still live. Al-ʿIfār are Sunnīs and Hināwīs, but have the privilege of giving safe escort to strangers in Dirʿī and other Ghāfirī areas. Their leaders are accorded considerable respect. Āl (or ʿIyāl) Khumayyis, ranging in Wādī Sayfam and neighbouring valleys between Ḥamrāʾ al-Durūʿ and al-Djabal al-Akhḍar and numbering several hundred males, are said to be of Dirʿī origin, but are now regarded as a separate tribe. Other groups stemming from al-Durūʿ live in al-Sharḳiyya and al-Bāṭina.

The paramount shaykh is called *al-tamīma*. Chiefs of divisions or sections other than those of al-Maḥāmīd may be given the title of *shaykh*, but the usual title is *rashīd* (pl. *rushadāʾ*).

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(C. D. Matthews)

DURŪZ (Druzes), sing. *Durzī*, a Syrian people professing an initiatory faith derived from the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*]. They call themselves *Muwaḥḥidūn*, "unitarians", and number (in the mid-twentieth century) almost 200,000, living in various parts of Syria, especially in the mountains of the Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and Ḥawrān, chiefly as cultivators and landlords.

The faith originated in the closing years of the reign of al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*], Fāṭimid Caliph of Egypt (386-411/996-1021). According to the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī faith then officially received in Egypt, al-Ḥākim, as *imām*, was the divinely appointed and authoritative guardian of Islam, holding a position among men which answered to that of the cosmic principle *al-ʿaḳl al-faʿʿāl*, the active intellect, and unquestionable head of the Ismāʿīlī religious hierarchy. Al-Ḥākim proved an eccentric ruler both in his personal life and in his religious policy, which flouted alternately the feelings of Ismāʿīlīs and Sunnīs alike. In his last years he seems to have wished to be regarded as a divine figure, above any rank which official Ismāʿīlism could accord him. A number of Ismāʿīlīs were in fact inclined so to regard him and, evidently with his private permission, set about organizing a following in the expectation of a public acknowledgement of the position.

The first of these men to catch the public eye was al-Darazī [*q.v.*], a non-Arab (like several of the leaders); the whole movement was called al-Daraziyya (or al-Durziyya) on his account. He seems to have interpreted the mood of the Ḥākim-cult circles in terms of a recurrent Ismāʿīlī heterodox attitude which exalted the *taʾwīl* (inner truth) and its representative, the *imām*, over the *tanzīl* (outward revelation) and its representative, the Prophet; so

giving the current *imām*, al-Ḥākim, a supernatural status as embodiment of *al-ʿaḳl al-kullī*, the highest cosmic intellect. But his public activity (408/1017-8) caused disturbances and forced al-Ḥākim to be more cautious. In 410, however, al-Ḥākim gave his support to another leader, Ḥamza b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Sūzan in Īrān, who gave to the Ḥākim cult its definitive Druze form.

Ḥamza had begun his mission in 408/1017 (the first year of the Druze era—the second being 410, when the public mission was renewed) and claimed to have been the only authorized spokesman for al-Ḥākim from the first. In 410, after al-Darazī's death, he tried to rally the whole movement under himself. His doctrine was evidently more original than al-Darazī's. It was, like Ismāʿīlī doctrine generally, a doctrine of cosmic emanation from the One and of return to the One through human gnosis. But it was unique in its special emphasis on the immediate presence of the cosmic One and made correspondingly rather less of the subordinate emanations. Hence Ḥamza called his own followers "unitarians" par excellence.

For Ḥamza, al-Ḥākim was no longer merely *imām*, however highly exalted. Ḥamza himself was the *imām*, the human guide, and therefore *al-ʿaḳl al-kullī*, the first cosmic principle; while al-Ḥākim was the embodiment of the ultimate One, the Godhead who created the Intellect itself and was accordingly Himself beyond name or office, beyond even good or evil. Compared to Him, ʿAlī and the Ismāʿīlī *imāms* as such were secondary figures (though, since the One is ever present even when unrevealed, some of the latter, together with several obscure figures from earlier times, had also been embodiments of the One in their time). In al-Ḥākim, the One was uniquely present openly in history. The contrasting extravagances of his life expressed the workings of the ultimately Powerful, Whose acts could not be called to account, though they always revealed a meaning to His *imām*, the *ʿaḳl*, the cosmic intellect, Ḥamza. Al-Ḥākim was the present *maḳām*, locus, of the Creator; only in knowledge of Him could men purify themselves. Accordingly, Ḥamza's teaching was no longer strictly an extremist Ismāʿīlism, though it made use of extremist Ismāʿīlī conceptions and language; it claimed to be an independent religion superseding both the Sunnī *tanzīl* and the Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl*.

Ḥamza evidently looked to al-Ḥākim to introduce, by his caliphal power, the messianic culmination of history, forcing all men to discard the various symbolisms of the old revealed religions, including Ismāʿīlism, and to worship the One alone, revealed clearly in al-Ḥākim. In preparation for al-Ḥākim's decisive move, Ḥamza, as *imām*, built up his own organization within the Ḥākim-cult circles to spread the true doctrine. Like al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza himself, the members of this organization embodied cosmic principles. There were five great *ḥudūd*, cosmic ranks, adopted in a modified form from Ismāʿīlī lore: the *ʿAḳl* (Ḥamza—identical with S͟hatnīl, the "true Adam" during the current historical cycle, during which the One is also known as al-Bār); the *Nafs al-Kulliyya*, Universal Soul (Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī); the *Kalima*, the Word (Muḥammad b. Wahb al-Ḳuras͟hī); the Right Wing or the *Sābiḳ*, the Preceder, in Ismāʿīlism identified with the *ʿaḳl* but here demoted (Salāma b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb); and the Left Wing or the *Tālī*, the Follower, in Ismāʿīlism identified with the *nafs* (Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Samūḳī, called Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Muḳtanā). Below these five ranks were a number of *dāʿīs*, missionaries; *maʾd͟hūns*, licensed to preach; and *mukāsirs*, persuaders—embodying respectively the cosmic *d̲j̲idd*, effort; *fatḥ*, opening; and *k͟hayāl*, fantasy. Subordinated to these were the common believers. (In all these ranks what was regarded was not the individual person, the embodiment, but the undying principle of which the embodiment was merely the current veil; in the ordinary person this implied an eternally reincarnated soul). To one or another of these ranks were attributed most of the titles or concepts that figured in the complex Ismāʿīlī system. Despite this hierarchy, however, the immediate presence of the One was kept primary and remained so in later Druzism.

Ranged in opposition to these true *ḥudūd*, and equally the creatures of al-Ḥākim as the ultimate One, were a series of false *ḥudūd*, accounting for the dark side of the cosmos, and embodied likewise in men of al-Ḥākim's time—for instance, in al-Ḥākim's Ismāʿīlī officials, teachers of the misleading doctrines of the old faiths. The eschatological drama was seen as the conflict between Ḥamza as *Ḳāʾim al-zamān*, Master of the Time, with his true *ḥudūd*, who would at last be openly supported by al-Ḥākim, and these false teachers whom al-Ḥākim would openly abandon. The followers of the Ḥākim-cult, whether under al-Darazī or under Ḥamza, seem to have been eager to precipitate events by proclaiming abroad the abolition of all the old faiths, including the *s͟harīʿa* law of Islam and its Ismāʿīlī *bāṭin* interpretation. Despite Ḥamza's relative cautiousness, insults to the established faith were offered publicly, with al-Ḥākim's tacit support, and riots ensued. The innovators, who regarded themselves as emancipated from the *s͟harīʿa*, were accused of every sort of gross immorality. The Ḥākim cult seems to have contributed heavily to the growing political crisis of al-Ḥākim's last years.

When al-Ḥākim disappeared, late in 411/1021, Ḥamza announced that he had withdrawn to test his adherents and would soon return to manifest his full power, placing the sword of victory in Ḥamza's own hands. Soon after, at the end of 411, Ḥamza himself withdrew, to return with al-Ḥākim. The faith then entered into a period corresponding to the little *g͟hayba* of the Twelver S͟hīʿis, with the *Tālī*, Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Muḳtanā [*q.v.*], as link between the absent Ḥamza and the faithful.

After al-Ḥākim's disappearance, the Ḥākim cult seems to have gradually ceased activity in Egypt, but to have afforded the ideology for a wave of peasant revolts in Syria. There proselytizing was pursued actively by a number of missionaries, some of whose names have been preserved; the movement gained control of some mountainous areas, where they are said to have torn down the mosques and established their own new system of law. Presumably they dispossessed the old landlords in favour of a free peasantry. In 423/1032 the *amīr* of Antioch, aided by the *amīr* of Aleppo, suppressed a group in the D̲j̲abal al-Summāḳ which included peasants who had gathered there from the vicinity of Aleppo.

In the midst of the turmoil, al-Muḳtanā at Alexandria (who had been appointed *Tālī* only at the last minute, in 411) tried to maintain Ḥamza's authority and his own. He was evidently in touch with the absent Ḥamza and was preparing for his momentary advent from the Yemen. He encouraged the rebels in the D̲j̲abal al-Summāḳ after their defeat. His many pastoral letters—some directed not only to Syria but to contacts and converts in all

Ismāʿīlī communities, as far away as Sind—served meanwhile to lay down Druze orthodoxy. He had to struggle against more than one claimant to leadership, of whom Ibn al-Kurdī, aided by one Sikkīn, seems to have been the most prominent; some of these seem to have encouraged a wide moral licence which he condemned. But with the years the general movement faded away and the Syrian peasant revolt seemed hopelessly torn by dissension; at last al-Muḳtanā discharged all his *dāʿīs* and, sometime after 425/1034, himself withdrew from the faithful, as had Ḥamza; though he continued to send out letters as late as 434/1042-3.

Despite al-Muḳtanā's discouragement, his work became the basis of such of the movement as did survive. Later Druzes have supposed it was al-Muḳtanā himself who compiled one hundred and eleven letters, many of them his own, some of them by Ḥamza and by Ismāʿīl al-Tamīmī, and certain pieces by al-Ḥākim, into a canon which has since served as Druze scripture, called *Rasāʾil al-Ḥikma*, the Book of Wisdom. From the time of al-Muḳtana's withdrawal began a period, lasting to the present among the Syrian Druzes, of passive expectation of Ḥamza's and al-Ḥākim's return, which has corresponded to the greater *g͟hayba* of the Twelver S͟hīʿīs. Ḥamza's hierarchical organization, including the *dāʿīs* and lesser ranks, fell into disuse and the scriptural canon has served as guide in place of the absent *ḥudūd*. Though al-Muḳtanā had insisted on continuing proselytizing as long as possible, on his withdrawal it ceased and it was taught that thenceforth no further conversion to the unitarian truth could be accepted. (To this ban there have been a few exceptions). The Druzes became a closed community, keeping their doctrines secret, frowning on intermarriage and permitting neither conversion nor apostasy, and governing themselves as far as possible in such mountain fastnesses as they had seized, notably in the Wādī Taym Allāh by Mount Hermon. These converts from the Syrian peasantry, led—according to tradition—by certain families from old Arabian tribes, formed in time a homogeneous people with distinctive physical features and social customs, dominated by their own aristocracy of ruling families. The aristocratic families have been noted equally for their habits of lawless raiding, for their uncompromising hospitality, and for their strict moral discipline which spared, for instance, the women of those they plundered and which was merciless toward unchastity in Druze women. (There is little foundation for the long series of Western speculations which assigned to the Druzes one or another exotic racial source, such as Persia or France).

During this long period of autonomous closed group life there appeared a new system of religious practice strongly contrasting to the hierarchism which had disappeared. We know of a number of writers on the gnostic cosmology and cyclical sacred history implied already by Ḥamza, and commentators on the scriptural canon, but it is not known just when the new system took full form, though this was presumably at least by the time of the great Druze moralist (whose tomb is revered by both Druzes and Christians), ʿAbd Allāh al-Tanūk͟hī [see AL-TANŪK͟HĪ, ʿABD ALLĀH], d. 885/1480. By this system the Druze community has been divided into *ʿuḳḳāl* (sing. *ʿāḳil*), "sages" initiated into the truths of the faith, and *d͟juhhāl* (sing. *d͟jāhil*), "ignorant", not initiated and yet members of the community. (Those aristocratic notables who are not initiated may be distinguished from the ordinary *d͟juhhāl* in their character of *amīr*). Any adult Druze (man or woman) can be initiated if found worthy after considerable trial, but must thereafter lead a soberly religious life, uttering regular daily prayers, abstaining from all stimulants, from lying, from stealing, from revenge (including raiding in feuds), and so on. The *ʿuḳḳāl* are distinguished by a special dress with white turbans. As long as one is still a *d͟jāhil*, he is permitted more personal indulgences, within the code of honour of the Druze community, but he cannot look to spiritual growth; however, if he fails to be initiated in a given lifetime he can expect a renewed opportunity in a future birth.

The more pious or learned of the *ʿuḳḳāl* are accorded special authority in the community as *s͟hayk͟h*s. In addition to what is required of the ordinary *ʿuḳḳāl*, they must be very circumspect morally, not making use of goods of a dubious source, avoiding any excess in their daily behaviour, keeping themselves on good terms with all, and ready to make peace wherever there is a quarrel. In each Druze district some one of these *s͟hayk͟h*s, normally chosen from a given family, is recognized as holding the highest religious authority, as *raʾīs*. The *s͟hayk͟h*s are trained in a special school; they spend much time in copying religious works and especially the scriptural canon, and the more zealous commonly have gone on spiritual retreats in *k͟halwa*s, houses of religious retirement, built in unfrequented spots; some have even devoted their whole lives to such retirement. Preferably any *ʿāḳil* should support himself with his hands, but the *s͟hayk͟h*s are a fit object of alms by the *d͟juhhāl*, nevertheless. They are expected to offer spiritual guidance to their *d͟jāhil* neighbours, presiding at such occasions as weddings and funerals.

All the *ʿuḳḳāl* attend at least some of the *mad͟jlis* services, held on the eve of Friday in starkly simple houses of worship, though *d͟juhhāl* have been admitted to the least secret of these, when moral homilies are read in classical Arabic. The *ʿuḳḳāl* alone are permitted to read the more secret books of the faith and to participate in, or even know about, its secret ritual—which the Druzes have allowed the outside world to suppose involves a metallic figure of a calf in some way, whether as representing the human aspect of al-Ḥākim or possibly the animality of Ḥamza's enemies. (The neighbours of the Druzes have not been slow to accuse them of licentious orgies at their secret services).

Ḥamza and al-Muḳtanā prescribed a sevenfold set of commandments, replacing the Muslim "pillars of the faith", which have become the basis of the moral discipline of the *ʿuḳḳāl* and to some degree of all Druzes. They must above all speak truth among the faithful (or at least keep silent, but never misrepresent), a commandment which includes truth in the theological sense; but lying to unbelievers is permitted in defence of themselves or of the faith. This first commandment covers also any act, such as stealing, which must entail lying. The second commandment is to defend and help one another, and seems to imply carrying arms for the purpose. The other commandments are to renounce all former religions; to dissociate themselves from unbelievers; to recognize the unity of Our Lord (Mawlānā, the general title given al-Ḥākim as the One) in all ages; to be content with whatever he does; and to submit to His orders, particularly as transmitted through his *ḥudūd*. Ḥamza prescribed, in addition, special rules of justice and of personal status to replace the

sharīʿa, notably insisting on equality of treatment between husband and wife in marriage; thus divorce was penalized in either partner unless for good cause.

The faith of the djuhhāl is placed under the general guidance of the ʿukkāl, but it is strongly affected by the principle of religious dissimulation—that to protect the secrecy of his faith, a Druze must affect to accept the faith of those in power about him; that is, normally, Sunnī Islām. Druzes have accepted the Ḥanafī legal system, though with modifications such as permission of more unlimited bequests and placing of limitations on divorce. They celebrate the ʿīd—though not the Ḥadjdj nor the Ramaḍān fast; many families use circumcision (or baptism), but attach no religious meaning thereto; at funerals they may use Islamic formulas but the key feature is the blessing of the shaykhs. Like Syrians of other faiths, they visit the shrines of Khiḍr [*q.v.*] and the tombs of the prophets and saints. Nevertheless, even the djuhhāl know, and may freely speak of, the principle of their unitarianism. They possess a developed doctrine of creation and eschatology, which is founded in the teachings of the ʿukkāl. The number of souls in existence is fixed, all souls being reincarnated immediately upon death (unless, having reached perfection, they ascend to the stars); those which believed in Ḥamza's time are always reincarnated as Druzes, either in Syria or in a supposed Druze community in China. The variety of incarnations each soul passes through gives a thorough moral testing. (Some of the djuhhāl believe in reincarnation of the wicked in lower animals). In the end, when al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza reappear to conquer and establish justice in the whole world, those Druzes who have shown up well will be the rulers of all mankind. The best will then dwell nearest to God—a notion which the ʿukkāl understand, like much else, in a spiritual sense.

Bibliography: The Druze canon is available in numerous manuscripts in European, American, and Syrian libraries, as are many other Druze writings. A description and some translation of the canon is included in the fundamental work of Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, 2 vols., Paris 1838 (partial translation, Philipp Wolff, *Die Drusen und ihre Vorläufer*, Leipzig 1845); see also his *Mémoire sur l'origine du culte que les Druzes rendent à la figure d'un veau* in *Mémoires de l'institut royal, classe d'histoire*, iii, 1818, 74 ff. Some Druze pieces are printed and annotated in Silvestre de Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, ii, Paris 1826. Other Druze writings are printed in Christian Seybold, *Die Drusenschrift*: *Kitāb Alnoqaṭ Waldawāir* (and N.-L. Kirchhain, *Das Buch der Punkte und Kreise*), Leipzig 1902; in Henri Guys, *Théogonie des Druzes*, Paris 1863; in Martin Sprengling, *The Berlin Druze lexicon* in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, lvi (1939), 388-414, and lvii (1940), 75 ff. (which includes an excellent study of Druze cosmology); in Rudolph Strothmann, *Drusen-Antwort auf Nuṣairī Angriff*, in *Isl.*, xxv (1939), 269-81; in Ernst von Döbeln, *Ein Traktat aus den Schriften der Drusen*, in *Monde Oriental*, iii (1909), 89-126; in J. Khalil and L. Ronzevalle, *al-Risalāt al-Quṣṭanṭīniyya*, *MFOB*, iii, Beirut, 1909, 493-534. A common Druze "catechism" has been variously published and translated; see Eichhorn, *Repertorium für morgenländische und biblische Literatur*, xii (1783), or Regnault, *Catéchisme à l'usage des Druses djahels*, in *Bull. de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), vii (1827), 22-30. The most important general study, apart from those mentioned above, is Narcisse Bouron, *Les Druzes, histoire du Liban et de la Montagne haouranaise*, Paris 1930. Useful is Ḥannā Abū-Rāshid, *Djabal al-Durūz*, Cairo 1925. Henri Guys, *La Nation druze, son histoire, sa religion, ses mœurs, et son état politique*, Paris 1863, is often incautious. Of the many travellers who have written of them, the best is Max von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1899, i, 110 ff. Also interesting is W. B. Seabrook, *Adventures in Arabia*, New York 1927, chap. ix. On modern Druze legal status see F. van den Steen de Jehay, *De la situation légale des sujets ottomans non-musulmans*, Brussels 1906, and J. N. D. Anderson, *Personal law of the Druze community* in *WI* (1952), 1 ff., 83 ff. Especially for listings of manuscripts, see Hans Wehr, *Zu den Schriften Ḥamzas im Drusenkanon* in *ZDMG*, xcvi (1942), 187-207; also A. F. L. Beeston, *An ancient Druze manuscript* in *Bodleian Library Record*, v/6 (October 1956). For further references, especially to travellers' writings, see bibliography in Bouron, and footnotes in Philip K. Hitti, *The origins of the Druze people and religion*, New York 1928 (includes also some translated fragments); omitted from these two are F. Tournebize, *Les Druzes* in *Etudes des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 5 October 1897; B. J. Taylor, *La Syrie, la Palestine, et la Judée*, Paris 1855, 35-40, 76-83; Henri Aucapitaine, *Etude sur les Druzes* in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, VIme série, February 1862; *Magasin pittoresque*, 1841, 367, and 1861, 226. For chroniclers on the earliest period, see Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé* (Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*; Md. Djaʿfarī, *Anhadj al-ṭarāʾik*; Severus of Ushmūnayn, *Life of Patriarch Zechariah*; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira* [based on Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*]; and Djurdjus al-Makīn, *Taʾrīkh al-Muslimīn*). The latter is based on Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, continuation of Eutychius, *Scriptores Arabici*, text, ser. III, vii/2, ed. L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux, H. Zayyat, Beirut 1909, 220 ff.; see also Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, s.a. 423; M. G. S. Hodgson, *Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the origin of the Druze religion*, in *JAOS*, lxxxii (1962), 5-20. (M. G. S. Hodgson)

(ii) — Ottoman Period

When the Ottoman and the Mamlūk armies met in battle at Mardj Dābiḳ in 922/1516, the Druzes fought on both sides. The Buḥturids from the west of the country fought on the side of the Mamlūks, while the Maʿnids of Shūf supported the Ottomans by allying themselves to Ghazālī, the *nāʾib* of Damascus. Under the Ottomans, the Druzes were governed by local dynasties, of which the Āl Tanūkh, the Maʿnids and the Shihābids, and particularly the last two (for whose genealogy see Zambaur, i, 108 ff.) were the most important. At the battle of Mardj Dābiḳ the Maʿnids were led by the Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn I, who at the crucial point changed sides, abandoning the Mamlūk Ḳānsūh al-Ghūrī and going over to Sultan Selīm I in Damascus. The Sultan rewarded him with overlordship over the amīrs of Mount Lebanon, the Āl Tanūkh dynasty being confined to Ṣaydā and Ṣūr (Blau, *Zur Geschichte Syriens*, in *ZDMG*, viii (1854), 480 ff.). In 951/1544 Maʿnid rule passed to Fakhr al-Dīn's son Ḳorḳmaz. Druze attacks against the Ottomans led in 992/1584 to a punitive expedition by Ibrāhīm Pasha, the *wālī* of Egypt. The son of Ḳorḳmaz, the Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn

II [*q.v.*] challenged the *wālī* of Tripoli, Sayf-oghlu Yūsuf Pasha. He had some initial successes, but was eventually forced to withdraw to the Mountain, after the defeat of the rebels in 1016/1607 in the battle between Kuyudju Murād Pasha and Djānbulāt-oghlu, the importance of whose family among the Druzes dates from this time. The Druze alliance dissolved as a result of the expeditions led by land by the *wālī* of Damascus, Ḥāfiẓ Pasha, and by sea by the Ḳapudan Pasha Öküz ("The Bull") Meḥmed Pasha between 1018/1609 and 1022/1613. Fakhr al-Dīn allied himself to Florence in 1017/1608 and on 30 Radjab 1022/15 September 1613 he went to Italy to seek help under the alliance, returning to the Djabal in 1027/1618. Maʿnid rule was preserved during his absence, particularly as his spies in Istanbul and Damascus gave preliminary warning of any Ottoman military measures. Although the Ottoman Sultan, by a *fermān* issued in 1034/1625, recognized Fakhr al-Dīn as *Amīr* of the Druzes from Aleppo to Jerusalem (Ḥaydar, i, 715), the latter was subjected to constant pressure from Küčük Aḥmed Pasha, who had been appointed *wālī* of Damascus by Murād IV. In 1044/1634 the Druzes were decisively defeated at Magharat Djarzīn, the Amīr and three of his children being carried off prisoner to Istanbul, where all but Ḥusayn Bey were executed.

The death of Fakhr al-Dīn marked the end of Maʿnid ascendancy. It was followed by Ḳaysī-Yamanī dissension. Fakhr al-Dīn, like the ruling branch of the Āl Tanūkh before the Maʿnid ascendancy, belonged to the Yamanī clan (known as *aḳlī*, "white" by the Ottomans, the Ḳaysīs being known as "red", *ḳizīlī*, cf. Fīndīḳlīlī Meḥmed Āghā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 215; C.-F. Volney, i, 414, note 1). Amīr Malḥam, who succeeded him in 1045/1635, represented the Ḳaysī clan and was opposed by the Amīr ʿAlī ʿAlam al-Dīn on behalf of the Yamanīs. Dissension gave openings for Ottoman intervention, as in 1061/1651 by the *wālī* of Tripoli, Ḥasan Pasha. In 1064/1654 Amīr Malḥam extended his rule to Ṣafad, by agreement with the *wālī* of Damascus. Malḥam died in 1069/1659 and was succeeded in the Djabal by his son Amīr Aḥmad, the last Maʿnid ruler, who died in 1108/1697 and was succeeded by Shihābids of the Ḳaysī clan. The latter had been protected by Amīr Aḥmad, who had refused to give them up to the *wālī* of Damascus, Köprülü Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha, in 1070/1660. The *wālī* of Damascus, helped by the *wālī* of Tripoli, thereupon defeated the joint Maʿnid-Shihābid forces at Kasrawān. The two dynasties later fell out, however, with the Maʿnids winning a short-lived victory at al-Fulful in 1076/1666 (Ibn Sabāṭa, Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, appendix, 237). After the death of Amīr Aḥmad, however, it was the Shihābid *amīr* of Rāsheyā, Bashīr b. Ḥusayn, who was chosen overlord of the Djabal with the agreement of the Ottomans. The Yamanīs tried unsuccessfully to undo Ḳaysī ascendancy: from the court in Istanbul Ḥusayn, the son of Fakhr al-Dīn II, managed, for example, to relegate Bashīr to the position of regent to the 12-year old Ḥaydar, of the family of the *amīrs* of Ḥaṣbeyā, whose local supporters later poisoned Bashīr. But when Ḥaydar became Amīr in his own right he crushed the Yamanīs at the battle of ʿAyn-Dārā which changed the whole feudal picture of the Djabal. Thereafter under the overlordship of the Shihābīs, who tried to prevent Druze-Maronite struggles, the Djānbulāts reigned over Shūf, Abu 'l-Lamaʿ held Matn, while at Shuwayfāt the Arslan family of the Yamanī clan had to share their rule with Talmūḳ Yamanīs. In holding together the Djabal, the Shihābīs had to rely on the support of Ottoman *wālīs*, whose intervention led to the increase in the number of local *shaykhs*, who in turn exterted pressure on the *amīr*. Thus, while the *shaykhs* paid tribute to the *amīr*, it was they who decided in council whether to keep the peace or wage war. Amīr Ḥaydar died in 1144/1732 in the Shihābī capital at Dayr al-Ḳamar, having in 1141/1729 abdicated in favour of his son Malḥam. Under the latter's rule which lasted until 1167/1754, the port of Bayrūt regained the importance which it had enjoyed under Fakhr al-Dīn and became the second Shihābī centre after Dayr al-Ḳamar. Many of Malḥam's children were converted to Roman Catholicism, Christianity in general gaining ground in the Djabal. Malḥam and his successors generally tried to maintain a balance between local Muslims and Christians. Thus, when in 1171/1758 Greek pirates flying the Russian flag attacked Bayrūt and when local Muslims retaliated by attacking the Franciscan monastery in the town, two of the Muslim leaders were hanged at the Amīr's orders.

Malḥam was succeeded by his brothers Aḥmad (the father of the historian Aḥmad al-Shihābī) and Manṣūr, although Nuʿmān Pasha, the Ottoman *wālī* of Ṣaydā, appointed to the amīrate Ḳāsim b. ʿUmar, who, however, had to content himself with the area round Ḥazīr. Ḳāsim died a Christian in 1182/1768, his son Bashīr II also making no secret of his Christian beliefs (Blau, *op. cit.*, 496; Lammens, *La Syrie*, Beirut 1921, ii, 100 ff.). These conversions did not, of course, prevent the majority of Druzes from retaining their faith, a fact which sowed the seed of future trouble. Manṣūr was dismissed in 1184/1770 by Derwīsh Pasha, the *wālī* of Ṣaydā, and replaced by Amīr Yūsuf. In 1185/1771 when the Russian fleet commanded by Alexei Orlov was encouraged by Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, the rebel ruler of Ṣafad and Acre, to bombard Bayrūt, Mansūr sued for peace against payment of 25,000 piastres, while Amīr Yūsuf asked for Ottoman reinforcements, whereupon ʿUthmān Pasha, the *wālī* of Damascus, despatched Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha who occupied Bayrūt in the name of Amīr Yūsuf. The latter succeeded, however, in ejecting this unwelcome deputy from Bayrūt in 1187/1773 after a four-month siege, in which he was helped by the Russian fleet which he summoned from Cyprus. Nevertheless, Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha continued to exert pressure from Acre and Ṣaydā on the Shihābīs of the Djabal. Payment of a tribute and loyalty to the Ottoman cause in the face of the Napoleonic expedition from Egypt, did not shield Bashīr II from this pressure. Even although Yūsuf Ḍiyā Pasha, the commander of the Ottoman forces against Napoleon, confirmed Bashīr as ruler of the Djabal, Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha had him expelled by forces commanded by Ḥusayn and Saʿd al-Dīn, the sons of the Amīr Yūsuf, whom he wanted to appoint in his place. Bashīr sought refuge with the British admiral Sidney Smith, who took him in his flagship to al-ʿArīsh, returning later to the Djabal, Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha contenting himself this time with keeping one of Bashīr's sons as a hostage. Pressure on the Druzes decreased in 1804 with the death of Djazzār Pasha. In 1810 when the Wahhābīs threatened Damascus, the *wālī* Yūsuf Pasha asked the help of Süleymān Pasha, the *sandjaḳ-beyi* of Acre, who in turn summoned the Druzes to Damascus. The Druzes forced the departure of Yūsuf Pasha and were only with difficulty compelled to retire into the

Ḥawrān by Süleymān Pasha's successor, ʿAbd Allāh Pasha. Bashīr's absence from the Djabal had, however, caused so much resentment that the *wālī* of Damascus and ʿAbd Allāh Pasha were forced to allow the *shaykhs* to summon him back to the Lebanon. Bashīr thereafter sided with ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, in his revolt against the Ottomans in Acre, whereupon his rival Shaykh Djānbulāṭ had ʿAbbās al-Shihābī proclaimed *amīr*, while Bashīr and his sons had to seek refuge with Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt. Before long, however, Bashīr was back, defeated Djānbulāṭ at the battle of Mukhtāra in 1825 and had him executed. In the following year, an attack on Bayrūt by the fleet of the Greek insurgents led once again to a *pogrom* of local Christians, many of whom emigrated to the Djabal. Muslim feeling against Bashīr was also inflamed by the permission given to Melkite Christians to settle in the Djabal. In 1830 Bashīr once again helped ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, this time to suppress a revolt in Nablūs. He then sided with Muḥammad ʿAlī against the Ottomans and helped the conquests of Ibrāhīm Pasha.

(M. C. Şihabeddin Tekindağ)

After the Kütahya agreement of 1833 Bashīr did his best to help the Egyptians, securing in return a wide autonomy for the Lebanon. Egyptian rule was at first welcomed, particularly as certain impositions on non-Muslims were abolished, but difficulties arose when Ibrāhīm Pasha tried to confiscate firearms and to call up Druzes. In 1835 Ibrāhīm Pasha introduced troops into Dayr al-Ḳamar and tried to collect the arms of local Christians but preferred later to suspend his measures in so far as they affected the Druzes. Nevertheless a Druze revolt broke out in 1837 when an attempt was made to call up Druzes in the Ḥawran, who retaliated by assassinating Ibrāhīm Pasha's emissaries. The Ottoman Government tried to stir up the Druzes and to supply arms to them, Ibrāhīm Pasha retaliating by stirring up the Kurds and by closing Syrian ports to Ottoman shipping. A Druze revolt broke out in Ladjā, but from his palace in Bayt al-Dīn, from where he exercised wide influence over the Maronites, Bashīr succeeded in preventing its spreading from the Ḥawrān to the Lebanon, believing as he did that thanks to French support the Egyptians would be finally victorious. A general revolt in the Lebanon, including this time the Maronites, broke out again, however, when Ibrāhīm Pasha made another attempt to call in arms and Egyptian forces in Bayrūt found their communications cut. On 14 August 1840 the British naval commander Sir Charles Napier established contact with the rebels, who were supplied with arms after the joint bombardment of Bayrūt the following month by British, Austrian and Ottoman ships. After vainly waiting for help from Ibrāhīm Pasha in Dayr al-Ḳamar, Bashīr submitted to the Sultan, whose troops were in the process of reconquering Syria as a result of the London agreement. Bashīr's personal security was guaranteed, but he was nevertheless deposed in favour of a relative, Bashīr Ḳāsim Malḥam. The Egyptian occupation on the one hand disorganized the feudal structure of the Djabal and, on the other, sharpened antagonism between the Druzes and the Maronites. Bashīr Ḳāsim's rule lasted for approximately one year and was underpinned by the *Mushīr* of Ṣaydā, Selīm Pasha, whose seat of government was transferred to Bayrūt and who formed a mixed council of the various communities to advise the *amīr*. Taxation reform (the Egyptians had raised the taxation of the Djabal from 3,650 to 6,500 purses and this was then reduced to 3,500 purses) and the question of compensation led to communal friction, which erupted at Baʿaklīn, after which many houses and shops were set on fire at Dayr al-Ḳamar. Relative peace was restored after the Druze adventurer Shibāl al-ʿUryān, who was in the service of the *wālī* of Damascus, was forced to return to that city from Zaḥla. These events caused much stir abroad and led to foreign complaints against the Ottoman administration. The Ottomans thereupon deposed Bashīr Ḳāsim, and entrusted the administration of the Djabal directly to the *serʿasker* Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, who in turn appointed to the amīrate one of his infantry commanders, the *mīrliwā* ʿÖmer Pasha. Continued foreign displeasure led to the despatch to Bayrūt of Selīm Bey as an investigator in 1842, but the latter's report that the situation was satisfactory and that the appointment of either a Druze or a Maronite *amīr* was impossible, was disbelieved by foreign ambassadors at the Porte. Meanwhile new incidents were reported, whereupon Esʿad Mukhliṣ Pasha was appointed *mushīr* of Ṣaydā, and after his arrival at Bayrūt the *serʿasker*'s mission was declared completed. Esʿad Pasha appointed two *ḳāʾim-maḳāms*, the Maronite Ḥaydar from Bayt Abi 'l-Lāmiʿ and the Druze Mīr Aḥmad from Bayt Arslān, and detached the northern districts of Djubayl from the Djabal, placing them under Tripoli. More serious troubles broke out in 1845, when Esʿad Pasha was succeeded by the *wālī* of Aleppo, Wedjīhī Pasha. Bloody incidents included an attack by the Maronites on the Druzes of Matn as well as Druze attacks on the monasteries of Ābī and Sulīmā which were set on fire. Accusations and counter-accusations followed, the French accusing Wedjīhī Pasha of being pro-Druze, while the French themselves were being accused of stirring up the Maronites. Another mission was then undertaken by the Foreign Minister Shekīb Efendi, who started by demanding that all arms should be handed in, an order which led to resistance and further complications. A further emissary, the *ferīḳ* (divisional general) Emīn Pasha was sent to Bayrūt in January 1846. He helped Shekīb Efendī in his work of reorganization, returning with him in June 1846. Shekīb Efendi's reforms provided for the retention of the two *ḳāʾim-maḳāms*, advised by mixed councils, special deputies (*wekīl*) being elected in villages having a mixed population. The two *ḳāʾim-maḳāms* were to receive a salary of 12,500 piastres a month each, and to be appointed and dismissed directly by the Sultan on the advice of the *mushīr* of Ṣaydā. The councils were given judicial as well as administrative and financial powers. Stability was thus established at the beginning of 1847, even although the failure to expel some trouble-making Druze leaders created difficulties. Taxes were apportioned between the two communities, the Maronites being asked to pay 1994 and the Druzes 1506 purses.

Peace was preserved until the *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* of 1856, which by its promise of concessions to non-Muslim subjects led to a more generalized Christian-Muslim rivalry. The first signs of trouble appeared in 1859. In the following year the Druzes and the Maronites clashed openly, whereupon Khurshīd Pasha sent troops to the border between the two *ḳaḍās*. This did not prevent the major outbreak of 1860: in May the Druzes attacked and set fire to villages in Matn; in June they were joined by Druzes from the Ḥawrān, led by Ismāʿīl Aṭrash (the Djabal Druzes being led mainly by Saʿīd Djān-

bulāṭ and Khaṭṭār Aḥmad). While the General Council of the province (*Medjlis-i ʿUmūmi*) rejected the *wālī*'s suggestion to send troops, the Druzes overpowered the defenders of Government House at Ḥāṣbēyā, massacring the local Christians: similar outrages were perpetrated at Rāshēyā, Baʿalbak (where local government was overthrown by the Ḥarkūbīn family), Zaḥla and Dayr al-Ḳamar. To crush the insurrection the Ottoman Government dispatched the Foreign Minister Fuʾād Pasha, arming him with emergency powers. His arrival coincided with a massacre of Christians in Damascus by the local mob, reinforced by Druzes and Bedouins. In the meantime Khurshīd Pasha had secured an armistice between Druzes and Maronites, of which Fuʾād Pasha did not approve, on the grounds that it compromised future judicial proceedings, but which he feared to denounce as bloodshed might then be renewed. France intervened directly by landing 5,000 troops and by suggesting the total expulsion of the Druzes from the Djabal. This Fuʾād Pasha succeeded in avoiding by taking firm action against guilty Druze leaders, pursuing and apprehending them, and finally putting them on trial at a court-martial at Mukhtāra, where some of them were sentenced to death. He also took severe punitive action in Damascus and had the *wālī* Aḥmed Pasha sent under escort for trial in Istanbul, Khurshīd Pasha having also been dismissed from Bayrūt. These measures made possible the evacuation of French troops from the Djabal. Under the agreement signed on 9 June 1861, the Djabal was completely detached from the *wilāyet*s of Bayrūt and of Damascus and placed under a Christian *mutaṣarrif*, who was, however, to come from outside the district. The *mutaṣarrif* was to be advised by an agent (*wekīl*) from each community. Administrative councils were also formed at the centre and in seven newly formed *ḳaḍā*s; a mixed police force was also constituted. At the instance of foreign embassies, an Armenian Catholic, Dāwūd Pasha, was appointed *mutaṣarrif*, a post which he retained for five years and in which he was succeeded by a Christian Arab, Franko Pasha. Dāwūd Pasha had many schools opened in Druze as well as in Maronite villages, and the Druzes continued to prosper under his successor. Disorder continued to prevail, however, among the Druzes of the Ḥawrān who were joined by refugees from the Lebanon, so that Djabal Ḥawrān began to be known as Djabal Durūz. Here Druzes came under the ascendancy of the Aṭrash family, as a result of the leading role played by Ismāʿīl al-Aṭrash in the events of 1860. Ismāʿīl's son Ibrāhīm raided Suwayda, the capital of the Djabal Ḥawrān, in 1879. When the *wālī* of Damascus led a punitive expedition against him, the Druzes put up a stiff resistance until an armistice was concluded in 1880. There was more trouble when Ibrāhīm's son Shiblī was imprisoned at Darʿa by the Ottoman authorities, as a result of incidents which were largely economic and social in origin. The Druzes rose up again and Shiblī had to be freed. Shiblī was once again arrested and once again freed by a Druze insurrection in 1893, when in alliance with the Banī Fadjr he led his followers against the Ruwāla tribe. During these troubles many Druze families were banished to Anatolia, but they were later allowed to return, while, at the same time, projects to call up the Druzes for military service were dropped.

In the meantime the Druzes in the Lebanon remained peaceful until 1897 when they complained that Maronite pressure was constantly increasing and when they demanded the formation of a separate *ḳaḍā* for the 10,000 Druzes of Matn, in case the Maronites succeeded in detaching four communes (*nāḥiya*) from the only one existing Muslim *ḳaḍā* at Shūf. After the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908 operations against the Druzes were entrusted to Sāmī Pasha, who proclaimed martial law and then summoned the Druze leaders to Damascus where he had many of them executed. Druze resistance continued, nevertheless, until 1911. Druze demands became irrelevant when, after the beginning of the First World War, the capitulations, and with them Lebanese autonomy, were abolished and Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Bey was appointed independent mutaṣarrif. During the war, Djemāl Pasha kept some Druze leaders as "guests" in Jerusalem. Also during the war, the Druze leader, Yaḥyā al-Aṭrash, whom Djemāl Pasha accused of complicity with the French (*Khāṭirāt*, Istanbul 1339, 179), died and was succeeded by his son Selīm. Djemāl Pasha praised the services of two members of the Aṭrash family, Nasīb and ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, but a third member, Sulṭān, whose father had been executed by Sāmī Pasha, was opposed to the Ottomans and was the first Druze leader to enter Damascus with the Allied troops on 2 October 1918.

(M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN)

DUSHMANZIYĀR [see KĀKAWAYHIDS].

DŪST MUḤAMMAD, the real founder of Bārakzāy rule in Afghānistān, was the 20th son of Pāyinda Khān, chief of the Bārakzāy clan under Tīmūr Shāh. After the execution of Pāyinda Khān in the reign of Zamān Shāh, Dūst Muḥammad was brought up by his Ḳizilbash mother's relatives until he came under the care of the eldest brother, Fatḥ Khān, who held considerable influence under Maḥmūd Shāh. In the second reign of Maḥmūd, Dūst Muḥammad held prominent offices including that of governor of Kūhistān, and he led successful expeditions to suppress rebellions in Kashmīr and Harāt (1816). Following the Harāt expedition Dūst Muḥammad fell into disgrace (allegedly for insulting the wife of a Sadōzāy prince) and he fled to Kashmīr. Whether in revenge for this action or through jealousy of his power, Maḥmūd Shāh and his son Kāmrān then blinded and killed Fatḥ Khān. Dūst Muḥammad raised a force in Kashmīr and captured Kābul, putting up Shāhzāda Sulṭān ʿAlī as nominal ruler. He foiled an attempt by Maḥmūd to dispossess him but he was forced to surrender Kābul to his eldest surviving brother, Muḥammad Aʿẓam Khān, formerly governor of Kashmīr, and he himself became ruler of Ghazna. However, he continued to aspire to power in Kābul, and after the death of Aʿẓam in 1238-9/1823 he defeated his son and successor Ḥabīb Allāh Khān, but Kābul fell to another brother, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān of Peshāwar. But Dūst Muḥammad retained the support of the Ḳizilbash element in Kābul and eventually Sulṭān Muḥammad gave up the attempt to maintain himself there and in 1241-2/1826 Dūst Muḥammad became ruler. He took the title of Amīr in 1250/1834.

Once established in Kābul Dūst Muḥammad began to extend his power over other areas of Afghānistān, replacing the existing rulers with his own sons. He failed to recover Peshāwar from the Sikhs in 1250/1835 and 1253/1837 and failed to hold it in 1265/1848-9 after it was made over to him as the price of his support for the Sikhs in the second Anglo-Sikh war. Elsewhere he was markedly successful. Before his expulsion from Kābul in 1255/

1839 by the forces of Shāh Shudjā' and the English East India Campany he had extended his power over Djalālābād and Ghazna and by his defeat of Murād Beg of Kunduz in 1254/1838-9 into the area north of the Hindū-kush. Within his dominions he consolidated his authority in Kūhistān, Kunar and among the Hazāra tribes. After his restoration in 1259/1843 he continued this policy. In the north he extended his power over Balkh and Khulm (1266-7/1850), Shibarghān (1271/1854), Maymana and Andkhuy (1271/1855) and Kunduz (1276/1859), although his authority was not entirely unquestioned. In the West he took Ḳandahār (1272/1855) and Harāt (1279/1863). At the same time he increased his power at the expense of the tribal chiefs, principally by developing a regular army to replace the feudal militia, which had been the basis of the Durrānī [*q.v.*] monarchy, and diverting to the support of this army the revenues which had formerly been appropriated by the tribal chiefs. He destroyed the power of the Ghalzāys, murdered, imprisoned or exiled certain prominent tribal chiefs, and held both the Ḳizilbash and the Sunnī elements, who had formerly made Kābul governments so unstable, under firm control. The weakness of his system was that it depended on the continuing co-operation of his sons, whom he employed as governors, a condition which was not met after his death. None the less he established the geographical outlines of modern Afghānistān and laid the foundations of its internal consolidation. More than anyone else he deserves the title of the founder of Afghānistān.

Dūst Muḥammad died in 1279/9 June 1863. He had numerous sons, the most important of whom were the following: Muḥammad Afḍal Khān, Muḥammad A'ẓam Khān and Walī Muḥammad Khān, who were all sons of a Bangash wife from Kurram, and Muḥammad Akbar Khān, (d. 1848, *wazīr* 1843-8, and the leading figure in the disturbances of 1841-2), Ghulām Ḥaydar Khān (d. 1274/1858), Shīr 'Alī Khān (the future *amīr*), Muḥammad Amīn Khān and Muḥammad Sharīf Khān, who were all sons of a Popalzāy wife. It is noteworthy that in choosing a successor Dūst Muḥammad ignored his older sons and chose Akbar, Ghulām Ḥaydar and Shīr 'Alī in that order, they being the sons of a nobler born wife.

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DUSTŪR, in modern Arabic constitution. A word of Persian origin, it seems originally to have meant a person exercising authority, whether religious or political, and was later specialized to designate members of the Zoroastrian priesthood. It occurs in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* in the sense of "counsellor", and recurs with the same sense, at a much later date, in the phrase *Dustūr-i mükerrem*, one of the honorific titles of the Grand Vizier in the Ottoman Empire. More commonly, *dustūr* was used in the sense of "rule" or "regulation", and in particular the code of rules and conduct of the guilds and corporations (see FUTUWWA and ṢINF). Borrowed at an early date by Arabic, it acquired in that language a variety of meanings, notably "army pay-list", "model or formulary", "leave", and also, addressed to a human being or to invisible *djinn* [*q.v.*], "permission" (see further Dozy s.v.).

In modern Arabic, by a development from the general meaning of "rule", it has come to mean constitution or constitutional charter, and is now used in this sense in the Arab countries, though not elsewhere, to the exclusion of all other terms. The following articles deal with the development of constitutional law and government in various parts of the Islamic world.

i. — TUNISIA

Until the middle of the 19th century, the despotism of the Bey (*bāy* [*q.v.*]) was tempered only by the momentary power of some members of his entourage who governed as they pleased. The foreign consuls, alarmed by the dangers of the situation, accordingly advised Muḥammad Bey [*q.v.*] to be guided by the provisions of the *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*] which had been promulgated in Turkey on 18 February 1856, granting certain guarantees to non-Muslim subjects of the Empire; but the Bey turned a deaf ear, and a grave incident was needed to precipitate the course of events. It was in fact the summary execution in 1857 of a Jewish carter who, after knocking down a Muslim child, was said to have hurled insults and blasphemies at the crowd that was threatening him with violence, that aroused the anxiety of the European Powers and made them decide to instruct their consuls to make representations to the Tunisian Government. It was in this way that Muḥammad Bey was led to make a formal announcement, on 9 September 1857, of the principles of the Fundamental Pact (*'Ahd al-amān*; see L. Bercher, *En marge du pacte fondamental*, in *RT*, 1939, 67-86) which repeated in part the *khaṭṭ-i sharīf* of Gülkhāne (26 Sha'bān 1255/3 November 1839; see B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 104-5 and bibl. cited there) and guaranteed complete security to all inhabitants of whatever religion, nationality and race; the equality of all before the law and taxation, as well as freedom to trade and work, were recognized. At the same date the Bey announced his intention of granting the country a constitution. Some partial reforms were actually introduced (notably the setting up of a municipal council [see BALADIYYA]), and preparatory work was in fact started on a draft constitution in which the French Consul, Léon Roches, took part. On 17th September 1860 Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*], who had succeeded his brother Muḥammad on 24 September 1859, himself gave a copy of the constitution drafted in French to Napoleon III in Algiers, and received the Emperor's approval. The constitution, consisting of 13 headings and 114 articles, was promulgated in January 1861 and put into force on 26 April of the same year.

By the terms of this constitution, the hereditary Bey was supreme head of the State and of religion, but he no longer controlled the revenues of the State and was allotted a civil list; moreover he was responsible, as were the ministers whom he had to have at his side, to the Grand Council which consisted of 60 councillors nominated for five years and chosen by the Tunisian Government from the ministers, high officials, senior officers and notables. "The agreement of the Grand Council is indispensable for all the procedures listed below: making new laws; changing a law . . . .; increasing or cutting down . . . expenditure . . .; enlarging the army, its equipment or that of the navy; . . . . interpreting

the law". Thus the Grand Council participated in the preparation of laws which were made valid by the Bey and his ministers. The executive power reverted to the Bey and his ministers, whilst the independence of the judicial power in respect of the legislature and the executives was recognized. The *ḳāʾids* continued to preside over police courts for the trial of minor offences, courts of first instance were set up and the court of the *sharʿ* [*q.v.*] continued to function for all questions within its competence. A court of appeal was to sit in Tunis and the Grand Council was to act as Supreme Court of Appeal. Finally, the provisions of the Fundamental Pact with regard to the rights of Tunisian and foreign subjects were confirmed and completed.

The establishment of the French Protectorate suspended the operation of the Constitution of 1861. From the earliest years of the 20th century a number of Young Tunisians, the spiritual heirs of the general Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], endeavoured to raise the material, moral and intellectual level of their compatriots, and founded various associations [see DJAMʿIYYA, iv] of a more or less political character. In 1907 was created a Consultative Conference, considered inadequate, and from that time the idea of demanding the grant of a Constitution was in germination. After the war, on 4 June 1920, the Tunisian Liberal Constitutional Party (*al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr al-Dustūrī al-Tūnusī*) was founded, more commonly known as the Destour Party. The *vade-mecum* of Tunisian nationalism at that time was a collective work, *La Tunisie martyre*, which called for: the election of a deliberative assembly composed of Tunisian and French members elected by universal suffrage; the formation of a government responsible to this assembly; the absolute separation of powers; the access of Tunisians to all administrative posts; the election of municipal councils by universal suffrage; the respect of public liberties. In 1922 the authorities of the Protectorate set up the Great Council, an arbitral commission, councils of caïdat and regional councils [see TUNISIA]; but the conservative class of the nation, who would have been satisfied with gradual reforms, lost ground to a new petty bourgeoisie, on the whole of French and Arab culture, which tried to reach the public in greater depth; a split, the beginnings of which had been apparent in the Destour Party since 1932, came about on 1 March 1934 with the creation of the Neo-Destour (as opposed to the Archaeo-Destour) Party, which called for full and complete independence and organized mass demonstrations to achieve it. The leaders of this movement were exiled, and the second world war silenced the demands for independence. They were renewed immediately after the restoration of peace, and independence was granted to Tunisia by France on 20 March 1956; this was a triumph for the president of the Neo-Destour Party, M. Habib Bourguiba (al-Ḥabīb Abū Ruḳayba), the future President of the Tunisian Republic. (Bibliography on the nationalist movements is copious but scattered among many papers, periodicals, bulletins, etc.; in particular *REI, passim*; *OM, passim*; also Ch. Khairallah, *Essai d'histoire et de synthèse des mouvements nationalistes tunisiens*, Tunis n.d.; H. Bourguiba, *La Tunisie et la France*, Paris 1954; F. Garas, *Bourguiba et la naissance d'une nation*, Paris 1956; P. E. A. Romeril, *Tunisian nationalism, a bibliographical outline*, in *MEJ*, xiv (1960), 206-15; N. A. Ziadeh, *Origins of nationalism in Tunisia*, Beirut 1962). As early as 29 December 1955 the Bey promulgated a decree permitting the establishment of a National Constituent Assembly, which was elected on 25 March 1956 and drafted a new constitution, promulgated on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1378/1 June 1959, with 10 headings and 64 articles.

It is laid down in the preamble to this Constitution that the Tunisian peoples, who "have freed themselves from foreign domination thanks to their powerful cohesion and to the struggle they have sustained against tyranny, exploitation and reaction", proclaim that "the republican régime represents the best guarantee of human rights ... and the most efficacious means of ensuring the prosperity of the nation". Part I provides that Tunisia is a Republic whose religion is Islam, that it forms a part of the Greater Maghrib, that its motto is "Liberty, Order, Justice", and that sovereignty belongs to the people. The Tunisian Republic guarantees the dignity of the individual and freedom of conscience, and protects freedom of worship provided that public order is not disturbed (art. 5). All citizens are equal before the law and for purposes of taxation, and enjoy full rights which can be limited only by law (arts. 6-7). Freedom of opinion, of expression, of the press, of publication, of assembly and of association are guaranteed, as well as trade union rights (art. 8). Inviolability of domicile, secrecy of the mails and freedom of movement are assured (arts. 9-10); right of property is guaranteed (art. 14). Part II treats of the legislative power exercised by the National Assembly which is elected for 5 years by universal suffrage, at the same time as the President of the Republic. The right to initiate legislature belongs to the President or to the President and the members of the Assembly (art. 28); the President may enact, in the interval between two ordinary annual sessions of the Assembly, decrees, which must be submitted for ratification by the deputies in the course of the following session (art. 31); in addition, in the case of imminent danger the President may enforce exceptional measures and report them to the Assembly (art. 32). The State budget is voted by the Assembly (art. 35).

Part III is devoted to the executive power exercised by the President of the Republic, who must be a Muslim, aged at least 40 years, of Tunisian father and grandfather and in possession of full civic rights (arts. 37-9). He is elected for 5 years by direct and secret universal suffrage, and is not eligible for re-election for more than three consecutive terms (art. 40). He promulgates the laws and ensures their publication within 15 days in the official newspaper, during which time he has the power of referring a bill back for a second reading before the Assembly; if the bill then receives a two-thirds majority the law is promulgated within a fresh period of 15 days (art. 44). The President decides government policy, and selects the members of the government who are to be responsible to him (art. 43). He nominates holders of civil and military office and is the supreme chief of the armed forces (arts. 45-6). The rest of the chapter deals with foreign relations, the making of treaties, the granting of pardons, and the vacancy of the Presidency.

Part IV, very short, relates to the judicial power. The Constitution assures the independence of the judiciary (art. 53) and sets up a Higher Judicial Council which supervises the application of the guarantees granted to judges (art. 55). Part V institutes a Supreme Court which is to meet to try a charge of high treason brought against a member of the government. Parts VI, VII and VIII treat of the Council of State, which is at once an administrative jurisdiction and an Audit Office, the Economic and Social Council, and municipal and regional

councils. Finally Parts IX and X provide for the conditions for amending the Constitution, initiative for which belongs to the President or to one-third of the members of the Assembly, as well as of interim provisions.

Bibliography: The 1861 Constitution is analysed and studied in E. Fitoussi and A. Benazet, *L'État tunisien et le protectorat français*, Paris 1931, i, 52-117; see also J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-81)*, Paris 1959, 69 ff. (with bibl.); the Journal of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf who took part in drafting the Constitution is at present being edited and translated. Constitution of 1959: *ʿAmal*, 29 May 1959; *ʿAlam*, 1 June 1959; *OM*, 1959, 411-5; *MEJ*, xiii (1959), 443-8. (Ed.)

ii. — Turkey

The word *düstūr* (modern Turkish form *düstur*) is used in Turkish in the general senses of principle, precedent, code or register of rules. It was applied in particular to the great series of volumes, containing the texts of new laws, published in Istanbul (and later Ankara) from 1279/1863 onwards. (An earlier volume of new laws, not under this name, had already been issued in 1267/1851.) Three series (*tertīb*) of the *Düstūr* were published, the first covering the years 1839-1908, the second 1908-22, and the third containing the laws of the nationalist régime in Ankara and, after it, of the Turkish Republic, from 1920 onwards (see G. Jäschke, *Türkische Gesetzsammlungen*, in *WI*, N.S. iii (1954) 225-34).

Düstūr has not been used in Turkish with its modern Arabic meaning of constitution, for which the normal terms are *ḳānūn-i esāsī* (basic law) and *meshrūṭiyyet* (conditionality, conditionedness). The former term is applied to the constitution itself, and was replaced during the linguistic reforms in the Republic by *Anayasa*; the latter denotes constitutional government. In what follows a brief sketch is given of constitutional development in Turkey during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The *Sened-i Ittifāḳ*

The modern constitutional history of Turkey is usually dated from the year 1808 when, shortly after the accession of Maḥmūd II, the Grand Vizier Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*] convened a meeting in Istanbul, to which he invited a number of the local rulers and dynasts (see aʿyān and derebey) who at that time enjoyed virtual autonomy in most of the provinces of the Empire. A number of the leading *aʿyān* and *derebeys*, from both Rumelia and Anatolia, came with large retinues and military forces (Ismāʿīl Bey of Serez is said to have come with 12,000 men, Ḳalyondju Muṣṭafā, of Biledjik, with 5000, and others with considerable but unspecified numbers), and camped at various places outside the city; others, though not attending in person, sent agents to represent them. After an interval of discussions and negotiations to prepare the ground, a general consultative meeting (*endjümen-i meshweret-i ʿumūmiyye*) was held, at which the Grand Vizier presided; also present were the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the aghas of the Janissaries and of the sipāhīs, and other dignitaries of the central government, as well as the invited *aʿyān*. The Grand Vizier made a speech in which he described the weaknesses of the Ottoman state and army and set forth a programme of reform. His proposals were unanimously approved, and the meeting resolved that a "deed of agreement" (*sened-i ittifāḳ*) should be drafted, signed and sealed, expressing the points of agreement reached between the parties. Contacts between officials, *aʿyān* and the Sultan followed, and on 17 Shaʿbān 1223/7 October 1807 the final draft of the *sened-i ittifāḳ*, bearing the signatures and seals of the Grand Vizier, the *Shaykh al-Islām*, and other dignitaries, and of the leading *aʿyān*, was sent to the Sultan for ratification. Maḥmūd II, despite his strong objections to the document, found himself obliged to ratify and authenticate it with his imperial signature.

The *sened-i ittifāḳ* consists of a preamble, seven articles, and a conclusion. The preamble, after describing the decline of Ottoman power and the weakness of the Ottoman state, explains that the following articles represent the unanimous agreement of the signatories, reached after several meetings, on the need to strengthen the empire and the faith and on the means of accomplishing this.

Article one begins with what might be called a pledge of homage to the Sultan by the *aʿyān*, who together with the officers of the central government, undertake not to oppose or resist the Sultan, and to come to his help if others oppose him. The signatories pledge themselves collectively to enforce this against offenders, including other parties who have not signed the document. They accept these obligations for themselves during their lifetimes, and for their sons and heirs after them.

Article two is concerned with military matters. Since the main purpose of the meeting and agreements was to restore the military power of the Empire, the signatories undertake to cooperate in the recruitment of troops, and to come to the Sultan's help when required, against both foreign and domestic enemies. They accept joint responsibility for dealing with offenders.

Article three is financial, and records the promise of the signatories to respect and observe the rules and regulations laid down by the government in financial matters. They undertake to show solicitude in collecting and remitting sums due to the government, and to refrain from abuses, for the punishment of which they accept joint responsibility.

Article four establishes the authority and responsibility of the Grand Vizier. The signatories recognize the Grand Vizier as absolute representative (*wekālet-i muṭlaḳa*) of the Sultan, and promise to obey his orders in all matters, as if they came from the Sultan. Other functionaries are to keep within the limits of their own offices and jurisdictions. If they exceed them, the signatories collectively will stand forth as accusers. Similarly, if the Grand Vizier himself acts against the laws of the Empire (*khilāf-i ḳānūn*) or violates this agreement, takes bribes, practises extortion, or commits acts harmful or likely to be harmful to the state (*dewlet-i ʿaliyyeye .. muḍirr*), then all the signatories conjointly will stand forth as accusers, and secure the removal of such abuses.

Article five regulates the relations of the *aʿyān* with one another and with the officials of the central government, on a basis of mutual guarantees. If any of the signatories violates the agreement, the rest will be collectively responsible for his punishment. The article guarantees the *aʿyān* in possession of their lands, and confirms the rights of succession of their heirs, who are also to be bound by the agreement. The same guarantees are extended by the *aʿyān* to the lesser *aʿyān* under their jurisdiction; this appears to involve a kind of sub-infeudation. The *aʿyān* undertake not to attack each other's lands, not to oppress their subjects, and in general to deal

justly with the government, the people, and with one another.

Article six deals with the contingency of a further outbreak of disorder in the capital, whether due to a Janissary meeting or other causes. In such an event, the *aʿyān* promise to come at once to Istanbul with their forces, to restore order and the authority of the central government.

Article seven is concerned with the protection of the subjects from extortion and oppression. The *aʿyān* undertake to deal justly with their subjects, and to observe and report on one another.

The significance of the *sened-i ittifāḳ* has been variously assessed. Turkish constitutional historians have seen in it a kind of Magna Carta, an attempt by a baronage and gentry to exact from the Sultan a recognition of their rights and privileges, and thus to limit the authority of the sovereign power. Şerif Mardin takes a diametrically opposite view; according to him, the agreement was planned by officials of central government, for whom the Grand Vizier was no more than a "military figurehead"; it "was aimed at curbing the powers of the local dynasties .. and .. was one of the first steps towards the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into a modern centralized state". The recognition of the independence of the *aʿyān* was merely "a temporary compromise due to the weakness of the central powers" (Mardin, 146-8).

From the historical evidence it would seem clear that the pact was freely negotiated between the Grand Vizier and other dignitaries of the central government on the one hand, and the leading *aʿyān* on the other. Neither side imposed its will on the other, and indeed it is difficult to see how the *aʿyān* could have been compelled, in view of the impressive armed forces that they had brought with them. Dj̲ewdet remarks that the meeting and agreement were made possible because the *aʿyān* trusted Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a—though apparently not far enough to come to Istanbul without armies, or to move into the city when they had got there.

One party to the agreement is known to have objected to it—the Sultan, who saw in it a derogation of his sovereignty. According to Dj̲ewdet he signed it unwillingly, and with the intention of annulling it at the first opportunity. He nourished resentment against the *aʿyān* and even against the drafter of the document, the *Beylikdj̲i* ʿIzzet Bey, whom he later found occasion to condemn to death (Dj̲ewdet, ix, 7-8).

Whatever the historical balance of forces that produced it, the constitutional significance of the *sened-i ittifāḳ* lies in its character as a negotiated contract—an agreement between the Sultan and groups of his servants and subjects, in which the latter appear as independent contracting parties, receiving as well as conceding certain rights and privileges (cf. the comments of Dj̲ewdet, ix, 6 on the infringement of the Sultan's absolute prerogative). The effective agreement is between the Grand Vizierate and the *aʿyān*; the Sultan merely ratifies it, and is clearly expected to reign rather than to rule.

(The text of the *sened-i ittifāḳ* will be found in S̲h̲ānīzāde, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, i, 66-78, and Dj̲ewdet, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*², ix, 278-83. For accounts of the events leading to it, see S̲h̲ānīzāde, i, 61 ff.; Dj̲ewdet, ix, 2 ff.; A. de Juchereau de Saint-Denys, *Révolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808*, ii, Paris 1819, 200 ff.; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches in Europa*, vii, Gotha 1863, 564 ff.; O. von Schlechta Wssehrd, *Die Revolutionen in Constantinopel in den Jahren 1807 und 1808*, in *SBAk. Wien* (1882), 184-8. For studies and views of the pact see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, ... *Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1942, 138-44; A. F. Miller, *Mustafa Pasha Bayraktar*, Moscow 1947, 283-91; A. Selçuk Özçelik, *Sened-i Ittifak*, in *Istanbul Üniv. Hukuk Fak. Mec.*, xxiv (1959), 1-12; T. Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyenin siyasî hayatında batılılaşma hareketleri*, Istanbul 1960, 25-6; Ş. Mardin, *The genesis of Young Ottoman thought*, Princeton, 145-8, as well as the general works on constitutional history and law listed below.)

The approach to constitutional government

The 'Deed of Agreement' was short-lived. Almost immediately after its signature the Grand Vizier Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a was overthrown and killed, and in the years that followed Sultan Maḥmūd II subjugated the *aʿyān* and brought what remained of the Empire under the effective countrol of the central government. The great reforming edicts of 1839 and 1856 have sometimes been described as 'constitutional charters', in that they lay down such general principles as the security of life, honour and property of the subject, fair and public trial of persons accused of crimes, and equality before the law of all Ottoman subjects irrespective of religion. Some of the other reforms of this period may also be said to have a quasi-constitutional character, such as the councils set up by Maḥmūd II and his successors (see MADJ̲LIS and TANẒĪMĀT) and especially the Council of State (*S̲h̲ūrā-yi Dewlet*), founded in 1868. Modelled on the French *Conseil d'État*, this was a court of review in administrative cases; it also had certain consultative functions, and was supposed to prepare the drafts of new laws. Though its members were all appointed and not elected, it has been described as "a kind of rudimentary chamber of deputies". In 1845 the government actually experimented—unsuccessfully—with an assembly of provincial notables in the capital (Luṭfī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, viii, 15-17; Ed. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, i, Paris 1882, 76; Lewis, *Emergence*, 110-1); the provincial reorganization law of 1864 provides for elected councils in the provinces.

Despite these developments, the general effect of the Westernization of the apparatus of government was to increase, rather than to limit, the autocratic authority of the central power. The old and well-tried checks on the Sultan's despotism—the entrenched intermediate powers of the army, the *ʿulemāʾ* and the notables—were one by one abrogated or enfeebled, leaving the reinforced sovereign power with nothing but the paper shackles of its own edicts to restrain it; the new laws were too little understood, too feebly supported, too ineptly applied, to have much effect.

The growing autocracy of the state—at times of the Sultan, at others of the ministers acting in his name—did not pass unnoticed. Towards the middle of the 19th century a libertarian movement of political thought began to gain ground (see ḤURRIYYA, ii), deriving its inspiration from European liberal and constitutional ideas, which Muslim writers tried to identify with the older Islamic doctrine of consultation (by the ruler of his counsellors—see MAS̲H̲WARA). In 1839 a Turkish translation appeared of the account by the Egyptian S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Rāfiʿ Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] of his stay in Paris; this included an annotated translation of the French constitution, with an explanation of the merits of constitutional government. Constitutionalism did not, however, become a political force in Turkey until the eighteen-sixties, when its development was

stimulated by a series of external events. The Tunisian constitution of 1861 (see above) brought the first precedent of a constitution in a Muslim state; the Egyptian legislative assembly of 1866 and the Rumanian constitution of the same year provided examples nearer home. Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], the brother of the Khedive Ismāʿīl of Egypt, and later the Khedive Ismāʿīl himself, gave encouragement to members of the group of liberal patriots known as the Young Ottomans (see YEÑI ʿOT̲H̲MĀNLÏLAR), some of whom campaigned actively for the introduction of a constitutional régime in Turkey. At first they were strongly opposed by the government, and driven into exile; the Grand Vizier ʿĀlī Pas̲h̲a himself wrote refuting the arguments in favour of such a change (Mardin, 19-20). The death of ʿĀlī Pasha in September 1871, however, and the growing influence of Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] brought a change in attitude at the centre, while the mounting pressure of external events made a concession to liberal opinion seem desirable. In May 1876 the British Ambassador Sir Henry Elliott reported that "the word 'constitution' was in every mouth". As early as the winter of 1875, Midḥat Pasha told Sir Henry that the object of his group was to install a constitutional regime, with ministers responsible to "a national popular assembly" (Sir Henry Elliott, *Some revolutions and other diplomatic experiences*, London 1922, 228, 231-2). The stages by which the constitution was prepared are still imperfectly known. The first steps seem to have been taken soon after the accession of Murād V, when exploratory discussions were held. The sickness and deposition of Murād delayed matters, but work was resumed after the accession of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, who had promised Midḥat his support for the constitutional cause. A new constitutional commission, this time led by Midḥat himself, was appointed on 19 Ramaḍān 1293/ 8 October 1876 N.S. It consisted initially of the chairman and 22 members, including a number of civil and military pas̲h̲as, a contingent of *ʿulemāʾ*, most if not all of them in government service, and some high officials, several of them Christian. Other persons, including some of the Young Ottomans, were later added to the commission or to its drafting subcommittee. After some delays, and disagreements between the members and with the Sultan, a compromise text was finally adopted, and promulgated by the Sultan. Midḥat Pas̲h̲a, as president of the Council of State, as chairman of the commission, and, since 20 December 1876, as Grand Vizier, had played a predominant rôle in securing this result. (On the preparation and adoption of the constitution, see Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, *93 Meşrutiyeti*, in *Belleten*, vi/21-2 (1942), 45-83; documents in idem, *Birinci Meşrutiyete dair belgeler*, in *Belleten*, xxiv/96 (1960), 601-36; Mithat Cemal Kuntay, *Namık Kemal*, ii/2, Istanbul 1956, 55 ff.; Y̲u. A. Petrosian, "*Novîe Osmanî*" *i borba za Konstitutsiyu 1876 g. v Turtsii*, Moscow 1958; Ş. Mardin, *The genesis* . ., 70-8.)

The Constitution of 1876

The first Ottoman constitution (*ḳānūn-i esāsī*) was promulgated by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd on 7 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1293/23 December 1876 N.S. In form rather more than in content it was a constitutional enactment in the Western style, consisting of twelve sections with 119 articles, and accompanied by an Imperial Rescript (*K̲h̲aṭṭ-i humāyūn*) of promulgation serving as a preamble. In framing their text, the Ottoman draftsmen seem to have been greatly influenced by the Belgian constitution of 1831, both directly and through the Prussian constitutional edict of 1850 which, while owing much to its Belgian model, adapted it in a number of respects to the more authoritarian traditions of Prussia. While the Belgian constitution was promulgated by a constituent assembly representing the sovereign people, the Prussian derived from the goodwill of the king, whose ultimate sovereignty was in no way thereby diminished. The Ottoman constitution also derives from the will of the sovereign who voluntarily renounces the exclusive exercise of some—though by no means all—of his prerogatives, and retains all residual powers. Again like the Prussian constitution, the Ottoman constitution gives perfunctory recognition to the principle of the separation of powers, but unlike the Belgian constitution does not apply it very rigorously.

The first section (articles 1-7) is headed "The Ottoman Empire" (*Memālik-i Dewlet-i ʿOt̲h̲māniyye*); it defines the Empire, names its capital, and lays down the rights and privileges of the Sultan and the imperial dynasty. The Ottoman Sultanate, with which is united the supreme Islamic Caliphate (*k̲h̲ilāfet-i kubrā-yi islāmiyye*) belongs in accordance with ancient custom to the eldest member of the Ottoman dynasty (art. 3). The Sultan, as Caliph, is protector of the Islamic religion (*dīn-i islāmiñ ḥāmīsi*) (art. 4. On the Ottoman claim to the Caliphate see KHILĀFA). The Sultan's person is sacrosanct (*muḳaddes*) and he is not responsible (*g̲h̲ayr-i mesʾūl*) (art. 5). Article 7 enumerates some of the Sultan's prerogatives, in a form of words clearly indicating that the list is not intended as a complete definition, and that there is no renunciation of residual powers (. . *ḥuḳūḳ-i muḳaddese-i Pādis̲h̲āhī d̲j̲ümlesindendir*; in the official French translation "S.M. le Sultan compte au nombre de ses droits souverains les prérogatives suivantes . ."). These include, together with such traditional Islamic rights as the striking of coins and mention in the Friday prayer, the appointment and dismissal of ministers, the making of war and peace, the execution (*id̲j̲rā*) of *s̲h̲arīʿa* and state law (*aḥkām-i s̲h̲erʿiyye we ḳānūniyye*), the regulation (*niẓāmnāmeleriñ tanẓīmi*) of public administration, the convocation and prorogation of parliament and, if he thinks it necessary (*lada 'l-iḳtiḍāʾ*—in the official French version "s'il le juge nécessaire") the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, on condition that new elections be held (*aʿḍāsī yeñiden intik̲h̲āb olunmak s̲h̲arṭīle*).

The second section (articles 8-26) deals with the public rights (*ḥuḳūḳ-i ʿumūmiyye*) of Ottoman subjects (*tebaʿa*). It defines Ottoman nationality, and affirms the equality of all Ottomans, irrespective of religion, before the law. Though Islam is the state religion, the free exercise of other religions is protected. Article 10 lays down that personal freedom is inviolable (*ḥürriyyet-i s̲h̲ak̲h̲ṣiyye her türlü taʿarruḍdan maṣūndur*), and subsequent articles deal with freedom of worship, the press, association, education etc., together with freedom from arbitrary intrusion, extortion, arrest, or other unlawful violations of person, residence, or property.

The remaining sections deal with the ministers (articles 27-38), officials (39-41), parliament (42-59), the Senate (60-64), the Chamber of Deputies (65-80), the judiciary (81-91), the high courts (92-95), finance (96-107), and provincial administration (108-112). A final section of "miscellaneous provisions" (*mewādd-i s̲h̲ettā*) includes the notorious article 113, giving the imperial government the right to proclaim martial law on the occurrence or expectation of disorders, and giving the Sultan the exclusive right,

after reliable police investigations, to deport persons harmful to the state from Ottoman territory.

The executive power belongs to the Sultan, and is exercised in part through a council of ministers (*medjlis-i wükelā*), presided over by the Grand Vizier, and including the *Shaykh al-Islām*. These two dignitaries are chosen and appointed by the Sultan; the appointment of other ministers is effected by imperial order (*irāde-i shāhāne*). The ministers are individually but not collectively responsible—and to the Sultan. If a government bill is rejected by the Chamber of Deputies, the Sultan can, at his discretion, either change the cabinet or dissolve the Chamber and order new elections.

The legislative power also belongs to the Sultan, but its exercise is shared, on a rather restricted basis, with a Parliament (*medjlis-i ʿumūmī*). This consists of a Senate (*hey'et-i aʿyān*), nominated directly for life by the Sultan, and of a Chamber of Deputies (*hey'et-i mebʿūthān*), elected for four years on the ratio of one deputy for every 50,000 male Ottoman subjects. The Senate must not exceed one third of the numbers of the elected Deputies. The manner of election was fixed by an *irāde* of 28 October 1876, on a basis of restricted franchise and indirect elections. The power to initiate legislation in Parliament belongs to the government; proposals from either chamber must first be submitted through the Grand Vizier to the Sultan, who may, if he thinks fit, instruct the Council of State to draft a bill. To become law, a bill must be passed by both Chambers, and receive the Sultan's assent. Bills rejected by either chamber cannot be reconsidered in the same session.

The judicial power is exercised through two systems of judiciary, the first (*sherʿī*) concerned with the Holy Law of Islam, the second (*niẓāmī*; in the official French translation rendered "civil") with the new laws made by the state. Judges are appointed by *berāt*; they are irremovable (*lā yaʿtazil*) but can resign, or be revoked after a judicial conviction. Article 86 guarantees the freedom of the courts from "any kind of interference".

The effective life of the 1876 constitution was of short duration. The first Ottoman parliament met on 4 Rabīʿ I 1294/19 March 1877 N.S. [= 7 March O.S.], with a Senate of 25 and a Chamber of 120 deputies. Its fifty-sixth and last meeting was held on 16 Djumādā II 1294/28 June 1877 N.S. [= 16 June O.S.]. After further elections, a second Parliament assembled on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1294/13 December 1877 N.S. [= 1 December O.S.], and soon showed unexpected vigour. On 13 February 1878 the deputies went so far as to demand that three ministers, against whom specific charges had been brought, should appear in the chamber to defend themselves (cf. article 38 of the constitution). The next day the Sultan dissolved the Chamber, and ordered the Deputies to return to their constituencies. In the words of the Proclamation "Since present circumstances are unfavourable to the full discharge of the duties of parliament, and since, according to the constitution, the limitation or curtailment of the period of session of the said parliament in accordance with the needs of the time form part of the sacred Imperial prerogatives, therefore, in accordance with the said law, a high Imperial order has been issued ... that the present sessions of the Senate and Chamber, due to end at the beginning of March ... be closed as from today". Parliament had sat for two sessions, of about five months in all. It did not meet again for thirty years.

The Young Turk period

The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 ushered in what is known to Turkish historians as the 'second constitutional régime' (*ikinci meşrutiyet*). The Constitution had never actually been abrogated—it was indeed regularly reprinted in the imperial year books (*sālnāme*) right through the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II; it was, however, tacitly suspended. On 21 July 1908 the Young Turk leaders in Rumelia sent a telegram to the Sultan demanding the immediate restoration of the constitution, and after a brief interlude of hesitation the Sultan gave way. A Rescript (*khaṭṭ-i humāyūn*), dated 4 Radjab 1326/ 19 July 1908 O.S. [= 1 August N.S.], and addressed to the Grand Vizier Saʿīd Pasha, declared that the country was ready for constitutional government, and that all the provisions of the constitution were effective and in force (. . *kāffe-i aḥkāmī merʿī ül-idjrā* . .). In addition, the Rescript added a number of new provisions, extending the personal liberty of the subject. These prohibit arrest and search except by proper legal procedures, abolish all special and extraordinary courts, and guarantee the security of the mails and the freedom of the press. Article 113, giving the Sultan the right to deport persons dangerous to the state, was unaffected by the Rescript, but was abolished in the following year. Another important change gave the Grand Vizier the right to appoint all ministers other than the Ministers of War and of the Navy who, like the *Shaykh al-Islām*, were to be appointed by the Sultan. The acceptance of these restrictions led to the fall of Saʿīd Pasha; his successor, Kāmil Pasha, secured a new Rescript reserving the nomination of *all* ministers, other than the *Shaykh al-Islām*, to the Grand Vizier.

After the opening of Parliament on 17 December 1908 further constitutional reforms were considered, and a constitutional commission formed to draft proposals. These consisted of a series of amendments to the existing text, modifying some articles, remaking or replacing others. The amendments became law on 21 August 1909, and amounted to a major constitutional reform. Their general effect was to strengthen Parliament and weaken the Throne. Both the Sultan and his nominee, the Grand Vizier, were shorn of much of their authority; and for the first time, the collective responsibility of the cabinet was clearly laid down. The sovereignty of parliament was vigorously affirmed.

These changes were adopted when the Committee of Union and Progress (see ITTIḤĀD WE-TERAḲḲI) were firmly in control of both houses of parliament, but still feared the palace. The weakness of the executive resulting from the reforms soon, however, proved inconvenient for the Unionists themselves, once they were in control of it. In 1911 the government submitted proposals for constitutional changes, increasing the Sultan's authority over parliament. These were vigorously challenged by the opposition in parliament, on the ground that their purpose was to strengthen, not the Sultan, but the Committee of Union and Progress; and in the parliamentary and constitutional crisis that followed parliament was dissolved. It was not until 28 May 1914, when the country was in effect ruled by a Unionist dictatorship, that a new set of constitutional amendments finally became law. Later amendments, in January 1915, March 1916 and April 1918, further increased the power of the Sultan, who was now able to convene, prorogue, prolong or dismiss parliament almost at discretion.

The electoral law, the preparation of which was envisaged in the constitution, was drafted and debated in 1877, but did not become law until after the 1908 revolution. It improved and extended the framework of the *irāde* of 1876, but retained the limited franchise and the system of indirect elections through electoral colleges. Elections under this law were held in 1908, 1912, 1914 and 1919. All but that of 1914 were contested by more than one party; none resulted in a transfer of power. In January 1920 the last Ottoman parliament, elected in the sixth and last general election in the Ottoman Empire, assembled in Istanbul. On 18 March the Chamber prorogued itself; on 11 April it was dissolved by the Sultan. Twelve days later the Grand National Assembly of Turkey held its opening session in Ankara.

(The Turkish text of the 1876 constitution was printed in the *Düstūr*, 1st series, iv, 2-20, and reprinted in the *sālnāmes* of the Empire; later amendments in *Düstūr*, 2nd series, i, 11 ff., 638 ff.; vi, 749; vii, 224 etc.; modern Turkish transcriptions in Gözübüyük and Kili (work cited in bibliography), 23 ff.; official French translation in G. Aristarchi, *Legislation ottomane*, v (*Appendice* .. by D. Nicolaides), Constantinople 1878, 1-25; cf. A. Ubicini, *La constitution ottomane du 7 zilhidjé 1293*, Constantinople 1877; an annotated German version of the constitution, amendments and electoral law in F. von Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *Die Verfassungsgesetze des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vienna 1919; an English translation of the constitution in E. Hertslet, *The map of Europe* .., iv, London 1891, 2531-40; amendments in H. F. Wright, *The Constitutions of the states at war 1914-1918*, Washington 1919, 589-605. For studies of the constitution and its application see G. Jäschke, *Die Entwicklung des osmanischen Verfassungstaates von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, in *WI*, v (1917), 5-56; idem, *Die rechtliche Bedeutung der in den Jahren 1909-1916 vollzogenen Abänderungen des türkischen Staatsgrundgesetzes*, in *WI*, v (1918), 97-152. See also W. Albrecht, *Grundriss des osmanischen Staatsrechts*, Berlin 1905.

The Republic and its antecedents

Almost from the beginning, the Grand National Assembly (*Büyük Millet Medjlisi*) convened in Ankara by the nationalists was concerned with constitutional problems. Its first formally constitutional enactment was the "Law of Fundamental Organizations" (*Teshkīlāt-i esāsiyye ḳānūnu*) of 20 January 1921—in effect the provisional constitution of the new Turkish state that was emerging (*Düstūr*, 3rd series, i, 196; Gözübüyük and Kili, 85-7). The first article proclaims the revolutionary principle that "sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation" (*ḥākimiyyet bilā ḳaydü sharṭ milletiñdir*), and that "the system of administration rests on the principle that the nation personally and effectively (*bi 'l-dhāt we bi 'l-fiʿl*) directs its own destinies". The second article declares that "executive power and legislative authority are vested and expressed in the Grand National Assembly, which is the only and real representative of the nation". The third article lays down that "the state of Turkey (*Türkiye dewleti*) is administered by the Grand National Assembly, and its government bears the name of 'the government of the Grand National Assembly'." The remaining articles are concerned with the holding of elections and the conduct of government business (text in *Düstūr*, 3rd series, i, 196; Gözübüyük and Kili, 85-7; English version in D. E. Webster, *The Turkey of Atatürk*, Philadelphia 1939, 97-8). This enactment, with its equally revolutionary references to "the sovereignty of the nation" and "the state of Turkey", marked the first decisive step in the series of legal and constitutional changes that regulated the transformation of Turkey from an Islamic Empire to a secular national state. The next was a resolution adopted by the Assembly on 1 November 1922, after the final victory of the nationalists. It contained only two articles: the first declared that "the Turkish people consider that the form of government in Istanbul resting on the sovereignty of an individual [the Sultanate] had ceased to exist on 16 March 1920 [*i.e.*, two and a half years previously, the day of the British military occupation of Istanbul] and had passed forever into history." The second recognized that the Caliphate belonged to the Ottoman house, but reserved to the Assembly the right to choose and appoint the most suitable Ottoman prince. This attempt to separate the Caliphate from the Sultanate proved a failure, and on 3 March 1924 the Caliphate was abolished and the last Caliph sent into exile.

Meanwhile, however, another radical change had been accomplished. On 29 October 1923, after hours of debate, the Assembly passed a group of six amendments to the constitutional enactment of 1921. Their purpose, said Muṣṭafā Kemāl, was to remove ambiguities and inconsistencies in the political system of the country. The amendments, prepared the previous night, declared that "the form of government of the state of Turkey is a Republic . . the President (*reʾis-i djumhūr*) is elected by the Grand National Assembly in plenary session from among its own members . . . the President is head of the state . . . and appoints the Prime Minister . .". The new order was confirmed in the republican constitution, adopted by the Assembly on 20 April 1924 (on republican ideas in Islam see DJUMHŪRIYYA).

The republican constitution retains elements of the enactment of 1921 and even of the reformed Ottoman constitution, but introduces a great deal that is new. The constitution is promulgated by the Assembly, which can amend it by a two-thirds majority (art. 102). The only entrenched clause is article 1, stating that "the Turkish state is a Republic". "No amendment or modification" of this article "can be proposed in any form whatsoever". No article of the constitution can be disregarded or suspended for any reason or under any pretext, and no law may contain provisions contrary to the constitution (Art. 103; the constitution, however, provides no special machinery for testing the constitutionality of laws).

Both the legislative authority and the executive power are vested in the Assembly, representing the sovereign people. The Assembly exercises its legislative power directly, its executive authority through the person of the President, whom it elects, and through a Council of Ministers (articles 4-7). Article 7 also gives the Assembly the right—which it never exercised—to dismiss the Council of Ministers. Judicial authority is exercised by independent courts (art. 8). The Assembly consists of a single chamber, elected once every four years. The Assembly can, however, by a majority vote, decide to hold new elections before the expiration of its term (articles 13, 25). The President of the Republic is elected by the Assembly, by secret ballot and absolute majority, for the duration of one parliament. He is to promulgate laws passed by the Assembly within ten days but may refer them back, within the same period, with a statement of his reasons for doing so.

This right does not extend to the constitutional law or to budgetary laws. If the Assembly again passes a law which has been referred back, the President is obliged to promulgate it. He is responsible to the Assembly in case of high treason, but responsibility arising from decrees promulgated by the President devolves on the Prime Minister and the minister signing the decree (article 41). The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible for the general policy of the government, but each minister is individually responsible for executive matters falling within his jurisdiction, and for the acts of his subordinates (article 46). The Prime Minister is chosen by the President, the other ministers by the Prime Minister. The remaining sections deal with the judiciary, which is free and independent, with "the public rights of the Turks", and with "miscellaneous matters", including provincial administration, officials, finance, and rules relating to the constitution.

The constitution was twice amended in matters of substance before its final abrogation. The first was in April 1928, when article 2 was amended by the deletion of the words "The religion of the Turkish state is Islam", with consequential changes in some other articles, to remove references to religion or holy law. The second was in February 1937, when article 2 was again amended, by the inclusion of the six principles of the Republican People's Party, declaring that the Turkish state is "republican, nationalist, populist, étatist, secular and reformist". Some other small changes were made at the same time. The replacement of the text of the constitution by a 'pure' Turkish version in 1945, and the abandonment of the latter in 1952, are of purely linguistic interest.

General elections under the Law of Fundamental Organizations and the republican constitution were held in 1923, 1927, 1931, 1935, 1939, 1943, 1946, 1950, 1954 and 1957. Of these, only the last four were contested by more than one party; only one, that of 1950, resulted in an opposition victory and a transfer of power, bringing the Democrat Party to power. The political development of Turkey after 1945 gave reality to much that had previously been theoretical in the constitution. While the constitution itself was not touched, changes in the law of associations, the penal code, and the electoral law, accompanied by changes in administrative practice, made possible the creation and functioning of an effective constitutional opposition, which in 1950 became the government. The second electoral victory of the Democrat Party in 1954 was followed by a deterioration. Already before the election, on 7 May 1954, a new Press law was passed, providing heavy penalties for libel against official persons, and for the publication of "false news or information or documents of such a nature as adversely to affect the political or financial prestige of the State or cause a disturbance of the public order". It was no defence to a charge brought under this law to prove the statements were true. After the election two new laws, of 21 June and 5 July, gave the government powers to retire judges after twenty five years' service, and to retire all officials other than judges and members of the armed forces after a period of suspension. At the same time, on 30 June, the electoral law was amended. On 27 June 1956 an amendment to the law of meetings and associations was carried against vigorous opposition in the chamber, placing severe restrictions on the holding of public meetings and demonstrations. In April 1960, during a period of mounting political tension, a parliamentary committee of the government party was formed to investigate the opposition, with legal authority. On 27 May the government was overthrown by a military *coup d'état*.

(On the period of transition from the Ottoman to the Turkish constitutions, see G. Jäschke, *Die ersten Verfassungsentwürfe der Ankara-Türkei*, in *MSOS*, xlii/II (1939), 57-80; idem, *Wie lange galt die osmanische Verfassung?*, in *WI*, N.S. v (1957), 118-9; idem, *Auf dem Wege zur türkischen Republik*, in *WI*, N.S. v (1958), 206-18; idem, *Die Entwicklung der türkischen Verfassung 1924 bis 1937*, in *Orient-Nachrichten*, iii/9-10 (1937), 122-3; T. Z. Tunaya, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğundan Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi hükûmeti rejimine geçiş*, in *Prof. M. R. Sevig'e Armağan*, Istanbul 1956; idem, *Türkiye Büyük [Millet] Meclisi hükûmeti'nin kuruluşu ve siyasî karakteri*, in *Istanbul Üniv. Huk. Fak. Mec.*, xxiv (1958). For the text of the 1924 constitution, see *Düstūr*, 3rd series, v, 576-85, amendments of 1928, *Düstūr*, ix, 142, of 1937, xviii, 307 ff. and xix, 37 ff., of 1945, xxvi, 170 ff.; transcription in Gözübüyük and Kili, 101-23 (with amendments); English translation, with amendments to 1937, in D. E. Webster, *The Turkey of Atatürk*, 297-306, also in Helen M. Davis, *Constitutions, Electoral laws ... of the states in the Near and Middle East*[2], Durham N.C. 1953, and, with useful notes, in G. L. Lewis, *Turkey*, London 1955, 197-210. The reports of the parliamentary debates on the constitution were published by A. Ş. Gözübüyük and Z. Sezgin, *1924 anayasası hakkındaki meclis görüşmeleri*, Ankara 1957; documents and debates will also be found in K. Arıburnu, *Millî mücadele ve inkılâplarla ilgili kanunlar*, i, Ankara 1957; cf. E. C. Smith, *Debates on the Turkish Constitution of 1924*, in *Ankara Üniv. Siyasal Bilgiler Fak. Derg.*, xiii (1958), 82-105. On the constitution and its antecedents see further E. Pritsch, *Die türkische Verfassung vom 20 April 1924*, in *MSOS*, xxvi-xxvii/II (1924), 164-251; for a lexical study of the 'pure' Turkish text of 1945, M. Colombe, *Le nouveau texte de la constitution turque*, in *COC*, iv (1946), 771-808; on the two main parties operating in this period see DEMOKRAT PARTİ and DJÜMHŪRIYYET KHALḲ FİRḲASİ).

The second Republic

At the beginning of June 1960 the National Unity Committee which had taken over the government of the country a few days previously resolved, as a matter of urgency, to set up a provisional constitution for the transitional period until a new constitution was established. The new law, prepared with the help of a small group of jurists, was published on 12 June, and entitled "Provisional law for the abolition and amendment of certain articles of constitutional law no. 491 of 20 April 1924" (translation in *COC*, xliii (1960), 266-70). The law begins with a general statement giving the legal and constitutional justification for the army's action in overthrowing the previous régime, which had "violated the constitution ... suppressed individual rights and liberties ... made it impossible for the opposition to function ... and established the dictatorship of a single party". The Turkish army, in conformity with its duty to "safeguard and protect the Turkish homeland and the Turkish Republic established by the constitution", as entrusted to it by article 34 of the army internal service code, took action, in the name of the Turkish nation, to carry out this sacred lawful duty against the former administration ... and to reestablish a state of legality. The army therefore dissolved the Assembly and entrusted

power, provisionally, to the National Unity Comittee.

The law itself consists of 4 sections, with 27 articles. The first of these lays down that the committee "exercises sovereignty in the name of the Turkish nation until the day when it shall transfer power to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, resulting from general elections to be held as soon as possible after the approval of the new constitution and the new electoral law in conformity with democratic rules". When this happens, the Committee will "lose its juridical existence and be automatically dissolved" (article 8). Until then all the rights and powers given by the constitution to the Assembly will be exercised by the Committee. The Committee will exercise the legislative power directly, the executive power through a council of ministers appointed by the head of state and approved by the Committee (article 3). Article 6 establishes a high court of justice to try the men of the old régime. Article 9 defines the membership of the Committee; article 17 lays down that the chairman of the Committee is at the same time head of state and Prime Minister. The provisional laws adopted by the Committee will remain in force as long as they are not repealed by the Assembly created in accordance with the new constitution (article 17).

The first step towards the new, permanent constitution envisaged in this law was taken immediately after the *coup d'état*. On 28th May Gen. Gürsel, chairman of the Committee, announced in his first press conference that he had appointed a commission of constitutional lawyers to prepare a new constitution. It would provide for a bi-cameral legislature and a constitutional court. On 18 October the commission, after some differences and the dismissal and replacement of two of its members, presented a draft constitution to the National Unity Committee. It was decided not to publish the text, but to refer it to a Constituent Assembly (*Kurucu Meclis*). A committee headed by Prof. Turhan Feyzioğlu was given the task of drafting a constitution for such an Assembly. Their draft was completed on 21 November and finally adopted by the National Unity Committee, after some emendation, on 14 December. It provided for a constituent assembly of two chambers, one of them the National Unity Committee, the other a chamber of representatives (*temsilciler meclisi*) "which will represent the Turkish people in the broadest sense of the word" (article 1). It was to consist of 272 members, some nominated and some elected by various interests and bodies. Elections and nominations took place in December and early January, and the Constituent Assembly met on 6 January 1961. Its members included persons nominated by the head of state and the National Unity Committee, representatives of the provinces, of the Republican People's Party and the Republican National Peasant Party, as well as of such bodies and professions as the universities, the bar, the press, secondary school teachers, trade-unions, trade associations, chambers of commerce and industry, ex-servicemen's organizations, and youth. The ministers in the provisional government were members *ex officio*.

On 9 January the Constituent Assembly elected two committees, one, of 20 members, to deal with the constitution, the other with the electoral law. On 9 March the constitutional commission presented its draft, which was then considered by both the Chamber of Representatives and the National Unity Committee. The latter proposed some changes, and a mixed committee was set up to reconcile their views. It completed its work on 26 May, and on the following day, the first anniversary of the revolution, Gen. Gürsel announced that the draft had been accepted by an overwhelming majority of the Assembly. The text was published in the official gazette of 31 May. On 28 March, the Assembly had already passed a law requiring that the draft constitution be submitted to the nation by a referendum, conducted along lines specified in the law. The referendum was held on 9 July, and resulted in the acceptance of the new constitution; 61% of the voters voted yes, 39% voted no, and some $2^1/_2$ million, out of a total qualified electorate of $12^3/_4$ million, abstained.

The constitution provides for a Grand National Assembly of two chambers, the Senate and National Assembly. The former consists of 15 members nominated by the President, and 150 members elected for a term of six years, one third every two years, by a straight majority vote. The National Assembly, of 450 members, is to be elected every four years by a system of proportional representation. The President is elected by the Grand National Assembly in plenary session from among its own members, by a two-thirds majority, for a term of seven years. He appoints the Prime Minister, who chooses the other ministers. The government is responsible to the Grand National Assembly. A noteworthy innovation is the establishment of a constitutional court (articles 145-52), to review the legality of legislation, with power also to act as a high council for the impeachment of Presidents, ministers and certain high officials "for offences connected with their duties". The constitution contains explicit guarantees of freedom of thought, expression, association and publication, immunity of domicile, and other democratic liberties (section 2, articles 14-34). In addition, it contains a section on social and economic rights, with provision both for the right of the State to plan economic development so as to achieve social justice, and the right of the individual to the ownership and inheritance of property, and to freedom of work and enterprise (section 3, articles 35-53). The right to strike is in principle recognized, within limits to be determined by subsequent legislation. Other clauses in the constitution seek to safeguard the secularist Kemalist reforms from reaction, and the democratic basis of government from a new dictatorship. The constitution was promulgated as law no. 334 of 9 July, in the official gazette of 20 July 1961, and entered into effect immediately. (An official English translation of the constitution was published in Ankara in 1962 and reprinted in *OM*, xliii/l (1963), 1-28, and in *MEJ*, xvi (1962), 215-38, with a commentary by K. K. Key; for an analysis of the constitution, see Ismet Giritli, *Some aspects of the new Turkish constitution*, ibid., 1-17; on the constituent assembly see R. Devereux, *Turkey and the corporative state*, in *SAIS Review*, (Spring 1962), 16-24. A useful summary of constitutional developments in 1960 will be found in *Middle East Record, i, 1960*, London [1962], 452-4. See also surveys of events in *COC*, *OM*, etc.

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(B. Lewis)

iii. — Egypt

Exposed to European influence earlier than other Arab lands, Egypt followed an independent course of constitutional development, although her constitutional experiments were by no means entirely unrelated to those of the Ottoman Empire. The first elaborate constitutional charter, it is true, was not promulgated until 1882, but a number of constitutional instruments, providing either for the establishment of representative assemblies or responsible cabinets, had been issued since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Bonaparte, after his capture of Cairo in 1798, issued several orders establishing *dīwāns* (councils), composed of Egyptian and French members. The significance of those *dīwāns*, though they were purely consultative in nature, lies in the recognition of the principle that the people's representatives should be consulted on public affairs. Muḥammad ʿAlī (1805-48) revived Bonaparte's *dīwān* in 1829 in the form of a *Madjlis al-Mashwara*, a consultative council which assisted him in the administration of the country. These councils, lacking the support of public opinion, were of brief duration.

It was not until the reign of the Khedive Ismāʿīl that further constitutional instruments were issued. One of them (1860) created a council of representatives, called *Madjlis Shūrā al-Nuwwāb*; another (1878) established a responsible Cabinet, called *Madjlis al-Nuẓẓār*. Ismāʿīl's immediate purpose in issuing such decrees was not necessarily to introduce constitutional reform, but to resolve financial difficulties, which could lead to foreign intervention and with it to the curbing of the Khedive's powers. On 22 October 1866 Ismāʿīl issued two decrees creating a representative assembly composed of 75 members, elected for a three-year term, called *Madjlis Shūrā al-Nuwwāb* (Chamber of Deputies). One of them embodied a fundamental law (*lāʾiḥa asāsiyya*) made up of 18 articles stating the functions of the Chamber and the procedure for electing it. The other, made up of 61 articles, called the law of internal regulations (*lāʾiḥa niẓāmiyya*, or *niẓāmnāme*), providing rules for the debates and internal procedure of the Chamber. The Khedive retained complete control over the Chamber by his final approval of its decisions. The meetings of the Chamber began on 25 November 1866, but it was suspended in 1879. It resumed its activities during the ʿUrābī Revolt and played a significant role in drawing up an elaborate constitutional instrument. The Chamber, however, proved ineffective and its functions merely consultative, since its resolutions were not binding on the Government.

On 28 August 1878 Ismāʿīl issued another decree dealing with the establishment of a Council of Ministers (*Madjlis al-Nuẓẓār*), by virtue of which he entrusted power in its hands. This executive body, the first in the history of modern Egypt, was responsible, relieving the Khedive of responsibility, with the consequential limitation of his absolute powers. However, the decree was revised by Tawfīḳ Pasha, who succeeded Ismāʿīl in 1879, making the Cabinet responsible to him. Tawfīḳ often held the meetings of the Cabinet under his chairmanship.

Before Tawfīḳ could bring the Cabinet under his full control and abolish the Chamber of Deputies, the latter took the drastic step of drawing up an elaborate constitutional charter. It was during the ʿUrābī revolt that this Chamber, meeting as a National Constituent Assembly in 1882, prepared and promulgated Egypt's first written constitution, called *al-Lāʾiḥa al-Asāsiyya*. The Chamber began to discuss the draft in January 1882; it was promulgated on 7 February 1882.

The Constitution of 1882 provided for the establishment of a parliamentary system and a responsible Cabinet, appointed by the Ḳhedive. The Chamber of Deputies was to be an elective body for a period of five years, its meetings open to the public, and its members inviolable. Its President was to be appointed by the Khedive, chosen from three candidates nominated by the Chamber. The Chamber was to have the right to interrogate the Ministers, ask questions of information, and supervise "the acts of all public functionaries during the session, and through the President of the Chamber they may report to the Ministers concerning all abuses, irregularities or negligences charged against a public official in the exercise of his functions" (Article 20). Legislation could be initiated either by the Cabinet or the Chamber and had to be confirmed and issued by the Khedive. No new taxes were to be imposed without the approval of the Chamber. The budget was to be presented to the Chamber for discussion and approval, except for matters relating to the annual tribute to the Porte and the Public Debt. No treaty or contract between the Government and a foreign country was to be binding until approved by the Chamber, save those relating to matters where sums of money had already been approved in the budget. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved after the collapse of the ʿUrābī Revolt and the constitution of 1882 was abrogated.

In 1883, a year after the British occupation, Tawfīḳ Pāsha issued an Organic Law reorganizing Egypt's constitutional framework which lasted from the British occupation to World War I. This law provided for the establishment of the following bodies:

First, a Provincial Council, composed of from 3 to 8 members, according to the size of the province, established in each province (*mudīriyya*), presided over by the *mudīr*. The functions of the Council were to deal with purely local matters. The total number of the Provincial Councillors was 70.

Secondly, the Legislative Council, composed of 30 members. Of these, 14 (including the President) were appointed by the Government and 16 elected by the provincial councils from among their members. No law or decree relating to general administrative matters was to be issued without prior submission to the Council, but the Government was under no obligation to carry out the resolutions of the Council. However, if the Council's resolutions were not carried out, the reasons for rejection had to be communicated to the Council. The budget was to be submitted to the Council for discussion, but the Government was not obliged to adopt the views of

the Council, nor could the Council discuss any financial matters touching on Egypt's obligations under an international agreement.

Thirdly, the Legislative Assembly, composed of 82 members, included the six Ministers, the 30 members of the Legislative Council, and 46 delegates elected by the people. Candidates eligible for election had to be not less than 30 years old, able to read and write, and paying direct taxes of not less than 30 Egyptian pounds a year. No new direct taxes could be imposed by the Government without the approval of the Assembly. Moreover, the Assembly was consulted on every public loan and on all public matters relating to canals, railways, lands and land taxes. It also expressed an opinion on other financial, economic and administrative matters. As in the case of the Legislative Council, the Government was under no obligation to adopt the Assembly's views on any question discussed, for the functions of the Legislative Assembly were purely consultative; but the reasons for not adopting them had to be stated. The Assembly met at least once in two years and its meetings were not open to the public. An electoral law was issued on 1 May 1883 and the first elections for the Legislative Assembly were held in November 1883. The Assembly continued to function until World War I.

In 1913, the Assembly's functions and powers were increased under a new law issued in 1913, revising the Organic Law of 1883. The new Legislative Assembly replaced both the Legislative Council and Assembly. This Assembly, composed of 17 nominated members and 66 elected by indirect suffrage, had the power to veto proposals for the increase of direct taxes, but in all other matters its functions remained consultative and deliberative. Its proceedings were open to the public, since criticism had been levelled at its predecessor for holding closed sessions. It could delay legislation, compel Ministers to justify their proposals, interrogate them and call for information. The Legislative Assembly was intended to represent more closely the mass of the Egyptian people, but it could hardly satisfy the political aspirations of the small educated class. It met for a short period during 1914 until its sessions were suspended in 1915, never to be resumed again.

After World War I, Egypt passed quickly from a dependent to an independent status, having achieved remarkable political and social progress. The British occupation was terminated and the country was declared independent on 28 February 1922, subject to four reserved points (relating to the defence of Egypt, security of British imperial communications, protection of foreigners, and the Sudan). The Sultan of Egypt assumed the title of King on 15 March 1922, and a constitutional committee, composed of 32 members, was appointed on 3 April 1922 to draw up a draft constitution. The constitution, though communicated by the Committee to the Government on 21 October 1922, was not promulgated until 19 April 1923. Based on Belgian and Ottoman models, it provided for a monarchy endowed with many powers, which reflected the traditional pattern of administration. The King not only enjoyed the right of selecting and appointing the Prime Minister (and upon the latter's recommendation, the ministers), but also the right to dismiss the Cabinet and dissolve Parliament. He also appointed the President of the Senate and half of the Senators, presumably upon the recommendation of the Cabinet. The Cabinet was fully responsible, for its members were derived from both houses of Parliament and were collectively responsible to the Lower House. Its life was formally dependent on a vote of confidence of the Lower House, but the King could dismiss it by a decree at any moment. Legislative power was vested in Parliament and the King. The Lower House was an elected body on the basis of universal manhood suffrage, but the Senate was half elected and half appointed. Legislation could be initiated in either House, but it had to be confirmed by the King. The latter had the power to return draft laws for reconsideration by Parliament.

From the establishment of the Sultanate (1914) to the Declaration of Independence (1922), Egypt had 8 cabinets; and from the Declaration of Independence to the end of the monarchy, Egypt had 32 cabinets. Thus the average life of a cabinet was less than one year. Parliament met on the whole regularly since the first general election of 1924, although in almost all cases the Lower House was dissolved before it completed its regular term of four years. There had been ten general elections held from 1924 to 1952. These were the elections of 1924, 1925, 1926, 1929, 1931, 1936, 1938, 1942, 1945 and 1950. Only the ninth Parliament completed its term of four years, while the second held only a single meeting.

The constitution of 1923 was partially suspended by a royal decree in 1928 and replaced by another on 22 October 1930. The new constitution made no important change in the structure of government, but restricted the powers of Parliament, especially its right to withdraw confidence in the cabinet, and increased the powers of the executive. It also provided for elections in two stages, regulated by a new Electoral Law issued in 1930. These restrictions prompted opposition parties to attack the new constitution and boycott elections. However, the Government firmly enforced the provisions of the new constitution until 1936.

In 1936 a national coalition government was formed and a treaty of alliance between Britain and Egypt was signed. The nationalists had already demanded the restoration of the constitution of 1923 as a condition for their participation in the treaty negotiation, and the King formally restored it on 22 December 1935. It remained in force until it was abolished by the Revolutionary Government on 10 December 1952. Before the intervention of the army in politics, the parliamentary system had deteriorated, because of the intense competition among political parties, the rise of rival ideological groups, and the failure of the ruling class to make concessions to the rapidly increasing oppressed masses. The inability of civil government to maintain public order invited the army to intervene and put an end to internal conflict and instability.

The Revolutionary Government appointed a constitutional committee, composed of fifty members of various shades of opinion, to draft a new constitution. The new draft constitution, reputed to have included a progressive and truly parliamentary system, was never officially promulgated. Instead a provisional constitutional charter was issued on 10 February 1953, entrusting virtually full power to a Revolutionary Council, to be exercised by its chief, who presided over the Council of Ministers. The monarchy was maintained, but owing to the minority of the deposed King Fārūḳ's successor, its powers were exercised by a Council of Regency. On 18 June 1953 the monarchy was abolished and a republic, headed by Muḥammad Nadjīb (Neguib), was proclaimed. It was not until 16 January 1956 that a

new constitutional charter, which proved to be of short duration, was issued, entrusting full executive powers to the hands of President Dj̲amāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. This constitution, embodying several innovations, declared Egypt to be an Arab nation, and introduced the presidential system, replacing the parliamentary form of government. The President was elected by a plebiscite. He possessed the power to appoint a Cabinet responsible to him and to nominate the members of Parliament, subject to the approval of the nation by a popular plebiscite. The constitution was confirmed by a plebiscite on 23 June 1956.

The union between Syria and Egypt in 1958 called for another change in the constitutional framework of the two countries. This union, regarded as the first step toward a more complete Arab unity, was called the United Arab Republic. A provisional constitution of 73 articles was issued on 5 March 1958, providing for a central executive and a central legislature; but all essential local affairs remained in the hands of local executive councils. Before agreement could be reached on its internal constitutional structure, the union was dissolved in October 1961, following Syria's secession.

The name of the United Arab Republic, though applied only to Egypt, was not changed; but Egypt's rulers began to concentrate on the internal social and economic reorganization of the country on a socialistic basis. A National Charter, embodying the principles of nationalism and socialism, became the subject of discussion in a National Convention held during the autumn of 1962; but no new constitutional instrument has yet been issued. After the dissolution of the Union with Syria President ʿAbd al-Nāṣir made several references to the constitution of 1956, which indicated that this constitution was still in force, pending the promulgation of a new constitution. Egypt's rulers are inclined to defer the formulation of a new constitution, pending the emergence of new patterns of government, hoping that the emerging constitutional structure will conform to Arab aspirations to unity. (For the United Arab States, see below, xviii).

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(M. Khadduri)

iv. — Īrān

The Persian constitutional movement of the early 20th century was the result of a process which had been going on in Persia, largely silently, throughout the 19th century. Up to this time the basic theories of the state and of life generally were set in the frame of Islam. The intrusion of the West into Persia in the 19th century perhaps more than any other single event led Persian thinkers to question the old theories and bases of the state and to seek some new or additional base for it. The disastrous wars with Russia in the early part of the century concluded by the Treaty of Turkomānčay in 1828 convinced Persians of the need for reform, military and otherwise. Further it was through the various military missions which came to Persia from 1807 onwards that Persians had first become acquainted with modern military and scientific techniques and with the political changes which were taking place in Europe. Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, the first Persian known to have written an account of British parliamentary institutions, was sent to England in 1815 in pursuance of plans for military reform. He also visited Turkey and Russia. Writing in his diary of the *tanẓīmāt* he castigates obscurantist mullas who opposed them. He gives in his diary what is probably the first account by a Persian of the French revolution. Diplomatic travel also played an important rôle in the dissemination of knowledge of western institutions. Abu 'l-Ḥasan S̲h̲īrāzī, who was sent on a mission to England by Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, wrote in his *Ḥayrat-nāma* an account of the justice and security which he found in England, comparing it with the tyranny which prevailed in his own country. Nāṣir al-Dīn himself made three journeys to Europe, the first in 1873. The Persian merchant communities, both inside and outside Persia, were another important channel through which modern ideas spread. The Persian press published by members of the Persian communities in Istanbul, Calcutta and elsewhere also did much in the latter part of the 19th century to encourage reform.

The first attempts at administrative, as distinct from military, reform were made by Mīrzā Taḳī K̲h̲ān Amīr Niẓām, the first prime minister of Nāṣir al-Dīn, but proved largely abortive. He, too, had visited Russia and Turkey and seen the *tanẓīmāt* in operation. The next minister to attempt fundamental reforms was Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Sipahsālār Mus̲h̲īr al-Dawla, who had studied in France, and served in Tiflis, Bombay, and Turkey, where he was Persian minister from 1859 to 1871. He subsequently held various offices in Persia, including that of prime minister. While in Turkey he wrote numerous letters, official and otherwise, in which he discussed, *inter alia*, European politics, civilization, education, the need for reform in Persia, the desirability of a popular assembly, freedom, the rights of the people, and equality before the law. He maintained that foreign intervention in a country was brought about by the backwardness of that country. The main object of both Amīr Niẓām and Mus̲h̲īr al-Dawla in their advocacy of reform and modernization was to prevent foreign intervention; and in this they were the precursors of the constitutional movement, which, though it was provoked in the first instance by the tyranny and injustice of the régime, was

directed also against the encroachment of foreign powers and the disposal of Persian assets to foreigners.

Pleas for reform were put forward by various writers in the latter half of the 19th century. The most important figure among them in the intellectual awakening of Persia was, perhaps, Malkam Khān Nāẓim al-Dawla, a Persian Armenian of Djulfā (Iṣfahān), educated in Paris, who became minister to the Court of St. James in 1872. He profoundly believed in the need for Persia to westernize and repeatedly emphasised the need for the supremacy of the law. In an essay entitled *Daftar-i tanẓīmāt*, apparently written between 1858 and 1860, he drew attention to the internal woes of Persia, the threat of encroachments upon Persia from St. Petersburg and Calcutta, and the technical advances being made in Europe. He pointed out that the progress which had been made in Europe and the orderly regulation of affairs which prevailed there were not contrary to the *sharīʿa*. After discussing various types of government and stating (perhaps in order not to frighten Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh) that constitutional government was in no way suitable to Persia, he examines how an orderly regulation of affairs could be established under an absolute monarchy, advocates the separation of the "executive" and the "legislature", and lays down a series of *tanẓīmāt* for the administration of the kingdom. In later essays written after 1882, and especially in the Persian paper *Ḳānūn*, which he founded in London in 1890, Malkam Khān advocates constitutional monarchy for Persia and a national consultative assembly.

Towards the end of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn, and under his successor, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, internal conditions in Persia and her position vis-à-vis foreign powers, rapidly deteriorated. The financial state of the government became ever more acute. The abortive Reuter concession was granted in 1872 and subsequently cancelled under pressure from Russia. A secret railway agreement was made in 1887 and followed by the Russo-Persian agreement of 1890, which placed a prohibition on railway construction in Persia for ten years. Popular discontent at misgovernment, the growth of foreign influence, and the squandering of Persia's assets grew; it received open expression in 1890. The occasion was the grant of a monopoly for the sale and export of Persian tobacco and control over its production by a British subject, Major Gerald Talbot. Russian opposition to the Tobacco Régie was immediate, and was soon followed by a movement of popular protest. This was a dual movement, directed on the one hand against internal corruption and misgovernment and on the other against foreign influence; it rapidly became nationalist and Islamic. It owed a good deal to the support of Mīrzā Malkam Khān, who at that time was in London, and Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī [*q.v.*] and was led by the religious classes. Although it was merely a movement of protest and had no positive programme of reform, nevertheless, it was important in that it showed the religious classes and the people their power once they united; and was, in some measure, a forerunner of the constitutional movement. It was successful in its object; and in January 1892 the tobacco monopoly was rescinded. This victory against the government was not, however, followed by any material lessening of the pressure to which the people were subjected or limitation on the arbitrary rule of the Shah. Those who advocated modernization had still to work cautiously.

The next phase in the struggle against the despotism was marked by the spread of secret or semi-secret societies, which began to be formed by those who were dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs (see DJAMʿIYYA. Persia). Their purpose was to spread the new learning and awaken the people to the evils of the despotism and the benefits of freedom. After the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn in 1896 they became more active. Discontent continued to be rife and was heightened by the growing intervention of Russia and the contraction of foreign loans, including one from the Imperial Bank of Persia in 1892 to pay the Tobacco Corporation compensation for the cancellation of their monopoly, and Russian loans in 1900 and 1902. In January 1904 ʿAyn al-Dawla became prime minister. By the end of 1905 conditions were felt to be intolerable. The Shah was in the hands of a corrupt ring of courtiers. He had had recourse to foreign loans, the proceeds of which he had spent on foreign travel and his court. The annual deficit grew. Oppression of every sort was carried out and countenanced by the Prime Minister. Finally discontent came to a head on 19 Ṣafar 1323/26 April 1905 when a group of merchants took *bast* in Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, the immediate cause being dissatisfaction with the Belgian Director of Customs Administration, M. Naus. Muḥammad ʿAlī, who was acting as regent during the absence of his father, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, in Europe, promised that Naus would be dismissed on the Shah's return; and the *bastī*s dispersed. Shortly afterwards, on 3 Rabīʿ I 1323/8 May 1905, an open address to the prime minister, ʿAyn al-Dawla, who was extremely unpopular, was published by one of the leading secret societies. The address, after calling his attention to the decay and disorder of the country's affairs and protesting at the lack of security and the corruption of officials, demanded (i) a code of justice and the creation of a ministry of justice, (ii) a land survey, the delimitation and registration of estates, (iii) a fair adjustment of taxation, (iv) a reform of the army, (v) the laying down of principles for the choice of governors and their rights and the rights of those they governed, (vi) the reform and encouragement of internal trade, (vii) a cleaning up of the customs administration, (viii) an improvement in the supply of foodstuffs and goods, (ix) the adoption of general principles for the foundation of technical schools and the setting up of factories and concerns for the exploitation of minerals, (x) a clarification of the duty of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (xi) a reform in the payment of salaries and pensions by the government, and (xii) a limitation of the powers of ministers, ministries, and *mullā*s according to the *sharīʿa*. Various events meanwhile fanned the growing discontent. Eventually a large number of *mullā*s, merchants, and members of the craft guilds took *bast* in Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm; and finally Muẓaffar al-Dīn acceded to their demands, which included the dismissal of the governor of Tehrān and M. Naus from the Customs, and the setting up of a Ministry of Justice. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, 1323/January, 1906, he issued an autograph letter (*dast khaṭṭ*), to ʿAyn al-Dawla, giving orders for the setting up of an *ʿadālat khāna-i dawlatī* for the execution of the decrees of the *sharīʿa* throughout Persia in such a way that all the subjects of the country should be regarded as equal before the law. With this in mind a code (*kitābča*) in accordance with the *sharīʿa* was to be drawn up and put into operation throughout the country. This temporarily satisfied the *bastī*s in

S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm; and they returned to the city. No steps, however, were taken to implement the promises given; these had in effect amounted to a promise of equality before the law for the different classes but had in no way limited the absolute power of the Shah. Towards the end of April a petition was presented to the Shah praying him to give effect to his promises. This proved fruitless as also did remonstrances to ʿAyn al-Dawla. Public opinion, stirred up by denunciations of the despotism and tyranny from the *minbars* of the mosques by Āḳā Sayyid D̲j̲amāl and others, and the efforts of secret and semi-secret societies, which attacked the despotism and endeavoured to spread modernist ideas, became increasingly roused. ʿAyn al-Dawla expelled Āḳā Sayyid D̲j̲amāl and another preacher, S͟hayk͟h Muḥammad, from the city. In the riots which attended the attempted removal of the latter on 28 Rabīʿ II 1324/21 June 1906 a *sayyid* was killed. Further riots ensued and after some days a large number of the religious classes, merchants, artisans and others took refuge in Ḳumm, this exodus being known as the *hid̲j̲rat-i kubrā*, 'the great exodus'. Meanwhile the *bāzārs* were closed and about 19 July a number of merchants, members of the guilds, and others took refuge in the British Legation. Their numbers rapidly increased and by the beginning of August had reached 12,000 or 14,000. They demanded the dismissal of ʿAyn al-Dawla, the promulgation of a code of laws, and the recall of the religious leaders from Ḳumm. The Shah did not yield to their demands until the end of the month, when he dismissed ʿAyn al-Dawla.

On 14 D̲j̲umādā II/5 August, an imperial rescript was issued to the new *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* ordering the setting up of a national consultative assembly (*mad̲j̲lis-i s͟hawrā-yi millī*), composed of representatives of the princes, *ʿulamā'*, members of the Ḳād̲j̲ār family, notables, landowners, merchants, and members of the guilds, to consult on matters of state, to give help to the council of ministers in the reforms "which would be made for the happiness of Persia", and, "in complete security and confidence, to submit through the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* to the Shah their views on the wellbeing of the state and nation, the public welfare, and the needs of all the people of the country, so that these might be embellished by the royal signature and duly put into operation". Regulations for the assembly were to be prepared and signed by the elected representatives and ratified by the Shah, and "by the help of God Most High, the aforesaid consultative assembly, which is the guardian of our justice, will be opened and begin the necessary reforms in the affairs of the kingdom and the execution of the laws of the holy *s͟harīʿa*". By this time, however, the popular party had been further provoked by the intransigence of the Shah and the court party. Profoundly mistrustful, they demanded a guarantee of the Shah's good faith. Accordingly a second rescript addressed to the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, supplementing the rescript of 14 D̲j̲umādā II, was issued. This stated: "In completion of our earlier autograph, dated 14 D̲j̲umādā II 1324, in which we explicitly ordered and commanded the founding of an assembly of elected representatives of the peoples, in order that the generality of people and [all] the individuals of the nation shall be aware of our full royal care, we again command and lay down that you should set up the aforesaid assembly in accordance with the description explicitly laid down in the former autograph, and, after the election of the members of the assembly, you should draw up the sections and provisions of the regulations of the Islamic consultative assembly in accordance with the approval and signature of the elected representatives, as is worthy of the nation and country and the laws of the holy *s͟harīʿa*, so that having been submitted to us and adorned by our auspicious signature and in accordance with the aforementioned regulations, this holy intention may take shape and be put into operation". On the issue of this rescript the *bastīs* returned from Ḳumm and the British Legation respectively.

After the official opening of "the House of Parliament" on 28 D̲j̲umādā II 1324/19 August 1906 disputes arose between the popular party and the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* over the ordinances for the assembly which the latter had drawn up. The *bāzārs* were again closed and the people once more prepared to take *bast*. The Shah gave way and on 17 September accepted the proposed ordinance as to the constitution of the assembly, which was to consist of 156 members, 60 from Tehrān and 96 from the provinces, elections to take place every two years and the deputies to be inviolable. The immunity of the deputies was subsequently affirmed in article 12 of the Fundamental Law. The voting in Tehrān was to be direct, in the provinces by colleges of electors. Elections began and on 18 S͟haʿbān 1324/7 October 1906 the assembly was opened by Muẓaffar al-Dīn without waiting for the arrival of the provincial deputies. The assembly proceeded to elect the president of the assembly and other officers, and passed on 18 October rules of procedure. On 23 November a proposal for an Anglo-Russian loan was submitted to it by the Minister of Finance; this was rejected and an alternative plan for an internal loan approved a week later. A committee was meanwhile set up to draft the Fundamental Law of the constitution (*ḳānūn-i asāsī*). This was ready by the end of October; but the Shah procrastinated and did not sign it until 14 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1324/30 December 1906. Subsequently a supplementary Fundamental Law (*Mutammim-i Ḳānūn-i Asāsī*) was passed by the Assembly and ratified on 29 S͟haʿbān 1325/7 October 1907 by Muḥammad ʿAlī S͟hāh, who had meanwhile succeeded Muẓaffar al-Dīn. The Fundamental Law consists of fifty-one articles relating to the constitution and duties of the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate. The Supplementary Fundamental Law contains 107 articles concerning the rights of the Persian people, the powers of the realm, the rights of members of the assembly, the rights of the Persian throne, the powers of ministers, tribunals of justice, public finance, and the army.

Muẓaffar al-Dīn died in January 1907, and with his death the first phase of the constitutional revolution came to an end. The movement, which had begun as a popular demonstration against the deplorable state of the administration and country, foreign loans and concessions which were thought to be leading or contributing to national bankruptcy and foreign control, had thus ended in the grant of a constitution and the setting up of a National Consultative Assembly, a result which had been achieved virtually without bloodshed. It had been a sense of intolerable injustice or tyranny (*ẓulm*) which had eventually provoked the nationalists to action and the aims of the movement had never been clearly formulated. The general aim was simply the establishment of the rule of justice (*ʿadālat*), which, in the tradition of mediaeval Islam, they saw to be the basis of good government, rather than the establishment of constitutional government and

representative institutions. The second phase of the constitutional revolution began with the accession on 8 January 1907 of Muḥammad ʿAlī, who, with his ministers, was from the first bitterly opposed to the constitution. Neither the Assembly nor the ministers had had any experience of constitutional government; they were, moreover, hampered in their conduct of affairs by lack of money and military forces and by the Shah's intrigues against the constitution. The Assembly was determined to prevent fresh foreign loans, and to get rid of the Belgians from the Customs. In these aims it was successful. It also passed various measures of financial reform; and a law for the resumption by the state of all land held as *tiyūl* [*q.v.*]. Numerous political societies or *andjumans* had meanwhile been formed in Tehrān and the provinces to defend the constitution. On 2 May 1907 Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣghar Khān Amīn al-Sulṭān was appointed Prime Minister and with his appointment the struggle between the Shah and the nationalists was intensified. Disorders, in many cases instigated and fomented by the Shah and the court party, broke out in the provinces. Turkey invaded north-west Persia in August. Russia was suspected, not without reason, of aiding and abetting the Shah against the National Assembly. The belief grew that there was secret collusion between the Shah, Amīn al-Sulṭān, and the Russians to sell the country to Russia. This second phase of the constitutional revolution was to a greater extent than the first phase anti-foreign in the sense that it was primarily concerned to check the growth of foreign control in Persia, especially Russian. On 31 August Amīn al-Sulṭān was murdered by a member of one of the popular *andjumans*. On the same day the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed, which, when it was communicated to the Assembly a month later, aroused profound misgiving. Meanwhile the authority of the central government in the provinces had been reduced to almost nothing. Provincial councils (*andjumanhā-yi ayālatī wa wilāyatī*) had sprung up in many parts of the country; these had destroyed the moral authority of the old régime, and the framework of such elementary administration as had once existed had virtually disappeared. On 7 October 1907 the Shah promulgated the Supplementary Fundamental Law (see below); and on 12 November he visited the Assembly and swore loyalty to the constitution for the fourth time. Nevertheless on 15 December he attempted a *coup d'état*, arresting the prime minister Nāṣir al-Mulk and other ministers. The popular *andjumans* both in the capital and in the provinces rallied to the defence of the Assembly. The Shah was momentarily worsted, but the truce was temporary and hope of reconciliation between the Shah and the nationalists was finally dashed by an attempt made on the Shah's life in February 1908. In the following months tension increased and eventually on 23 June fighting broke out between the royalist forces and the nationalists. The assembly and the neighbourhood were cleared by the Shah's forces. Thirty of the most prominent nationalist leaders were arrested and two of them strangled without trial the following day, 24 June 1908; on 27 June the Shah declared the Assembly dissolved and the constitution abolished as being contrary to Islamic law. Thus ended the second phase of the constitutional revolution, with the temporary closure of the Assembly.

Fighting broke out simultaneously in Tabrīz which, after Tehrān, had been the main centre of the nationalist movement, and the Shah's forces were expelled. Resistance lasted until April 1909 when the siege was raised by the entry of Russian troops to protect foreign life and property. The action of Tabrīz gave the nationalists time to reorganize their forces; and eventually in 1909 a Bakhtiyārī force under Sardār Asʿad and another force from Rasht under the Sipahdār-i Aʿẓam, Muḥammad Wālī Khān, advanced on Tehrān which they entered in July. The Shah fled and took refuge in the Russian Legation. A council was then held which voted his deposition and the succession of his son, Sulṭān Aḥmad, a minor, with a regency. On 9 September the ex-Shah left for Kiev. Elections were subsequently held and on 2 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1327/5 December 1909 the second legislative session of the National Assembly was opened. The tasks facing the new assembly were such as might have daunted a more experienced body than they. The treasury was empty; the provincial administration was in a state of chaos; and Russian intervention threatened. Cabinet crises were frequent and the Assembly, divided into numerous small groups, was split by dissension. Russian troops, which had been introduced into Northern Persia ostensibly for a temporary occupation to defend foreign life and property, were not withdrawn. The anti-Russian feeling engendered among the nationalists by this and other actions produced a state of friction with Russia which culminated in 1911. In 1910 a proposal for a joint Russo-British loan to Persia was rejected on the grounds that its terms were incompatible with Persian independence. The possibility of the engagement of foreign advisers to reorganize the administration was meanwhile under consideration by Persia; and in 1911 Americans were engaged for the finances and Swedes for the police and gendarmerie. Russia was from the outset displeased at the invitation to the Americans. In May 1911 Mr. Morgan Shuster, an American citizen, engaged on a private contract with Persia as Treasurer-General, reached Tehrān, with a small staff. On 13 June the Assembly passed a law giving him very wide powers. On 17 June the ex-Shah suddenly landed on Persian soil in an abortive attempt to regain the throne. Simultaneously his brother, Sālār al-Dawla, raised the standard of revolt in Kurdistān. Friction meanwhile increased with Russia over the Treasurer-General's independent attitude in working for Persian financial reform and refusal to consult Russian wishes. Finally Russia seized on an incident arising from the confiscation of the estates of Shuʿāʿ al-Salṭana, a younger brother of the ex-Shah, as a punishment for the part he had taken in the latter's rebellion, to demand an apology from the Persian Government; this was followed by a 48 hours' ultimatum on 25 November to dismiss Shuster and Lecoffre, an Englishman of French extraction serving in the Ministry of Finance, from Persian government service, to engage no foreigners without the consent of Russia and Great Britain, and to defray the cost of the military expedition which Russia had sent to Enzelī to enforce this ultimatum. In the event of non-compliance Persia was threatened with an advance of Russian troops from Rasht and an increase in the indemnity. British diplomatic protests at St. Petersburg were overridden and Russia persisted in her demands. The Assembly refused to comply. Russian troops advanced to Ḳazwīn. Skirmishes took place between Persians and Russian troops in Rasht, Enzelī and Tabrīz. Anti-Russian feeling ran high in Tehrān; and finally to avoid disasters by impotent resistance to Russia, the regent, Nāṣir al-

Mulk, and the cabinet forcibly dissolved the obdurate assembly on 3 Muḥarram 1330/24 December 1911. On the following day Shuster was dismissed. The third and final phase of the constitutional revolution thus ended leaving Persia once more in a state of virtual chaos. The constitution remained suspended until 7 July 1914, when the third legislative session was opened.

The later history of the National Consultative Assembly was not dominated, as it had been during the period of the revolution, by the struggle between the despotism and the nationalists. It became accepted as part of the institutions of the country, even if in the Pahlawī period its power was restricted. During the Great War of 1914-8 Persia was a cockpit for the intrigues and operations of the belligerent powers. The resentment entertained by the Persians against Russia and Great Britain as her ally was fanned by German intrigue and the majority of the deputies of the assembly were either neutral or pro-Central Powers. On 15 November 1915 when Russian troops advanced from Ḳazwīn the Assembly broke up, and most of the members evacuated Tehrān with the Turks and Germans and left for Ḳumm. The constitution was, thus, again suspended; the fourth legislative assembly was not convened until 1921; since when, apart from a brief period in 1953 when Dr. Muṣaddiḳ dissolved the assembly, successive assemblies have sat until 1961, when the reigning Shah, Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlawī, dissolved the Assembly and Senate by decree.

The nationalist movement had been supported by many of the leading members of the religious classes; and in the writing of many of those who had advocated reform, and 'the rule of law', the 'law' had been equated with Islam. Deference to this point of view is found in the preamble to the Fundamental Law, which states that the purpose of the National Council to be set up under the *farmān* of 14 Djumādā II 1324/5 August 1906 was "to promote the progress and happiness of our kingdom and people, strengthen the foundations of our government, and give effect to the enactments of the sacred law of His Holiness the Prophet". Article 1 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law further lays down that the official religion of Persia is Islam of the Ithnā ʿasharī sect, which faith the Shah must profess. Article 2 states that "At no time must any legal enactment of the sacred National Consultative Assembly, established by the favour and assistance of His Holiness the Imām of the Age (may God hasten His glad advent), the favour of His Majesty the Shahinshah of Islam (may God immortalize his reign), the care of the Proofs of Islam (may God multiply the likes of them), and the whole people of the Persian nation, be at variance with the sacred principles of Islam, or the laws established by His Holiness the Best of Mankind (on Whom and on Whose household be the blessings of God and His peace)". The same article lays down that a committee of not less than five *mudjtahids* shall be set up "so that they may carefully discuss and consider all matters proposed in the Assembly, and reject and repudiate, wholly or in part, any such proposal which is at variance with the sacred laws of Islam, so that it shall not obtain the title of legality. In such matters the decision of this committee of *ʿulamāʾ* shall be followed and obeyed, and this article shall continue unchanged until the appearance of His Holiness the Proof of the Age (may God hasten His glad advent)". This article became inoperative during the reign of Riḍā Shāh, and up to the time of writing has not been revived. Article 27 of the Supplementary Fundamental Laws states that the judicial power "belongs to the *sharʿī* courts in matters pertaining to the *sharīʿa* (*sharʿiyyāt*) and to civil courts (*maḥākim-i ʿadliyya*) in matters pertaining to customary law (*ʿurfiyyāt*)". This, while contrary to the conception of Islam, was a recognition of existing practice.

The drafters of the constitution, although they made concessions to Islam, were also considerably influenced by the example of Belgian Constitutional Law and French law; and the conceptions underlying the constitution were in many respects fundamentally new to Persia. Thus, Article 26 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law states "that the powers of the realm are all derived from the people"; and the Fundamental Law regulates the employment of those powers. Similarly Article 35 states "sovereignty is a trust, as a divine gift, confided by the people to the Shah" which implies a radical change in the conception of the ruler. The main concern of the drafters was probably to limit the arbitrary nature of the Shah's rule and to give the people some defence against the arbitrary actions of government officials. A number of the articles of the Fundamental Law clearly derive from the unhappy experiences of Persia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when the reigning Shah recklessly contracted foreign loans and gave concessions to foreign concerns. Article 24 states "the conclusion of treaties and covenants, the granting of commercial, industrial, agricultural and other concessions, irrespective of whether they be to Persian or foreign subjects, shall be subject to the approval of the National Consultative Assembly, with the exception of treaties, which for reasons of state and the public advantage, must be kept secret". Similarly Article 22 lays down that "any proposal to transfer or sell any portion of the [national] resources, or of the control exercised by the Government or the Throne, or to effect any change in the boundaries and frontiers of the kingdom, shall be subject to the approval of the National Consultative Assembly". Further Article 23 states that "without the approval of the National Consultative Assembly, no concession for the formation of any public company of any sort shall, under any plea soever, be granted by the state". The Assembly has shown itself jealous of the rights accorded to it under these articles, as is shown by its refusal to ratify the oil agreement concluded by Prime Minister Ḳawām and the Russian government in 1949. Articles 25 and 26 respectively lay down that state loans under whatever title, internal or external, and the construction of railroads and roads depend upon the approval of the Assembly. The latter of these two articles was included, presumably because of the experience of the Russo-Persian railway agreement of 12 November 1890, by which the Persian Government engaged for the space of ten years "neither itself to construct a railway in Persian territory, nor to permit nor grant a concession for the construction of railways to a company or other persons". Article 27 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law states that the legislative power is derived from the Shah, the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate, each of which has the right to introduce laws "provided that the continuance thereof be dependent on their not being at variance with the standards of the *sharīʿa*, and on their approval by the two Assemblies (*i.e.*, the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate), and the royal ratification; but the enactment and approval of laws concerning the revenue and

expenditure of the kingdom are among the special functions of the National Consultative Assembly". The executive power, which belongs to the Shah, "is carried out by the ministers and officials of the state in the name of His Imperial Majesty in such manner as the law defines". Article 28, reflecting the influence of Montesquieu, lays down that these three powers shall always be separate from one another, a principle which has been much cherished by Persian constitutionalists. Article 39 states that no Shah can ascend the throne unless, before his coronation, he appeared before the Assembly in the presence of its members and those of the Senate and the Council of Ministers and undertook by oath to defend the independence of Persia, the frontiers of the kingdom, and the rights of the people, to observe the Fundamental Law and promote Shīʿism of the Djaʿfarī rite. Similarly, by Article 40, a regent cannot enter upon his functions unless he repeats the above oath. Article 44 lays down that "the person of the Shah is exempted from responsibility and in all matters the ministers are responsible to the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate". The appointment and dismissal of ministers, however, lies with the Shah (Art. 46); but not of other officials save where this is explicitly provided by the law (Art. 48). Article 49 states that the issue of decrees and orders for giving effect to the laws is the Shah's right, provided that he shall under no circumstances postpone or suspend the carrying out of such laws. The supreme command of all military forces is vested in the Shah (Art. 50); as also is the declaration of war and conclusion of peace (Art. 51). Article 27 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law and Articles 15, 17 and 47 of the Fundamental Law mention the ratification of laws by the Shah, but he is not explicitly given the right of veto by the constitution. At a joint meeting of the National Consultative Assembly and Senate convened under the additional Article of 1949 (see below) to emend the constitution, Article 49 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law was supplemented to the effect that the Shah, should he consider it necessary that any financial bill having been passed by the National Consultative Assembly should be revised, can refer it back to that body for revision; but if it confirms its former decision by a majority of at least three-quarters of those present in the capital, he must grant his assent. Judges and the public prosecutor are appointed by royal decree (Arts. 80 and 83 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law); but by Article 81 judges are declared irremovable save with their own consent. The Shah was also given certain rights with regard to the Senate, which was to consist of sixty members, to "be chosen from amongst well-informed, discerning, pious, and respected persons of the realm". Thirty were to be nominated by the Shah, fifteen from Tehrān and fifteen from the provinces; and fifteen were to be elected from Tehrān and fifteen from the provinces (Art. 45). Its sessions were to be "complementary to the sessions of the National Consultative Assembly" (Art. 43 of the Fundamental Law). Partly, perhaps, because it was felt that the principle of nomination was undemocratic the Senate was, in fact, never convened until 1950.

In 1921 Riḍā Khān (later Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī) became Minister of War and shortly afterwards the *de facto* ruler of the country. In 1925 a constituent assembly (*madjlis-i muʾassisān*) was convened. On 31 October it declared the rule of the Ḳādjār dynasty terminated and that another Constituent Assembly was to be convened, to make the necessary changes in the laws; and on December 12 a single act suppressed Articles 36 (which had vested the monarchy in Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh and his heirs), 37, and 38 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law, substituting for these three others. The new Article 36 entrusted the sovereignty of Persia to Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī and his male descendants. Article 37 states "the heir apparent shall be the eldest son of the Shah whose mother shall be of Persian origin. If the Shah has no male issue the heir apparent shall be proposed by him and approved by the National Consultative Assembly provided the said heir shall not belong to the Ḳādjār family. But whenever a son is born to the Shah he will become heir apparent by right". Meanwhile a marriage was about to be arranged between the heir apparent and Princess Fawziyya of Egypt. Presumably with a view to the possibility of issue by this marriage the law of 14 Ābān 1317 defined the expression "of Persian origin" to include a child born of a mother who before the marriage contract with the Shah or the heir apparent should, in accordance with the high interests of the country, on the proposal of the government and the approval by the National Consultative Assembly, have been given, by a *farmān* of the reigning Shah, the quality (*ṣifat*) of a Persian". Princess Fawziyya was in due course declared an honorary Persian. The new Article 38 provided for a regency but excluded members of the Ḳādjār family from holding this office.

No further changes were made in the Constitution by Riḍā Shāh, who kept the National Consultative Assembly in being but reduced it to a mere cypher. In the early years after the Second World War Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh, who had succeeded to the throne in 1941, and his advisers apparently believed that the National Consultative Assembly had become too powerful *vis-à-vis* the executive. In any case, it was decided to convene, for the first time, the Senate and to make certain changes in the Constitution. A Constituent Assembly was duly convened on 21 April 1949. An additional article (*aṣl-i ilḥāḳī*) made provision in certain cases for revision of the Fundamental Law. The drafters of the Fundamental Law and Supplementary Fundamental Law had presumably included no provision of this sort in the Law (except Article 21 of the Fundamental Law, which permits the modification or abrogation of any article regulating the functions of the ministries with the approval of the Assembly), not because they were unaware of the fact that most western constitutions contained such provisions, but because they did not wish to give any opportunity to the court party to alter the constitution. Article 48 of the Fundamental Law, which gave the Senate the right in certain circumstances to dissolve the National Consultative Assembly, as emended by the Constituent Assembly of April 1949 enables the Shah to dissolve the two chambers separately or together, subject to his stating the reason and simultaneously ordering new elections so that the new chamber or chambers may convene within a period of three months; dissolution may not be ordered twice for the same reason. On 9 May 1961 the Shah used the powers thus granted to him and dissolved the National Consultative Assembly.

On 8 May 1957 a joint meeting of the National Assembly and Senate was convened under the additional Article of 1949 to emend the constitution, and in due course Article 4 of the Fundamental Law was revised, raising the number of deputies to the

maximum figure of 200; Article 5 was emended, *inter alia,* to extend the legislative term of the National Consultative Assembly from two years to four. Article 7 concerning the quorum for debates and voting was also emended. Lastly Article 49 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law was supplemented as stated above.

Article 46 of the Fundamental Law lays down that after the constitution of the Senate all proposals must be approved by both Assemblies. Article 34 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law, however, states that "the deliberations of the Senate are ineffective when the National Consultative Assembly is not in session". Proposals may originate in either assembly, except that financial matters "belonged exclusively to the National Consultative Assembly. The decision of the Assembly in respect to the aforesaid proposals, shall be made known to the Senate, so that it in turn may communicate its observations to the National Consultative Assembly, but the latter, after due discussion, is free to accept or reject these observations of the Senate". The responsibility of the National Consultative Assembly for financial matters is reaffirmed by Article 27 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law, which, as stated above, lays down that the enactment and approval of laws concerning the revenue and expenditure of the kingdom are among the special functions of the National Consultative Assembly. Article 27 also lays down that "the explanation and interpretation of the laws is among the special duties of the National Consultative Assembly". The debates of the Assembly are normally public (Art. 13 of the Fundamental Law); though Article 34 makes provision for secret sessions. Bills other than those on financial matters, which originate with the government, must first be laid before the Senate by the responsible ministers or the Prime Minister, and after acceptance there by a majority of votes must then be approved by the National Consultative Assembly; when any measure is proposed by a member of the Assembly it can only be discussed when at least fifteen members shall approve the discussion (Art. 39 of the Fundamental Law); Article 13 of the Rules of Procedure of the National Consultative Assembly and Article 82 of the Rules of Procedure of the Senate lay down that Bills which originate in the Senate or the National Consultative Assembly must be signed by at least fifteen members, except that in certain cases a bill signed by less than fifteen Senators may be voted on after reference to a committee. By Articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Civil Code bills passed by the two houses are published within three days of receiving the royal assent in the Official Gazette and become law ten days thereafter in Tehrān and ten days plus one day for every six *farsakhs* in the provinces, unless special arrangements are laid down in the law itself.

One of the most important functions of the National Consultative Assembly is the fixing and approving of the budget, which power it is accorded by Articles 18 of the Fundamental Law and 96 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law. The Minister of Finance according to Articles 12-17 of the Law for the General Finances (*Ḳānūn-i muḥāsabāt-i ʿumūmī*) of 10 Isfand 1312/1 March 1934 must submit this to the Assembly annually by 1 Day (23-4 December) and they must pass the budget by 15 Isfand (6-7 March). During and after the Second World War this provision was often contravened in that the Assembly refused to pass the budget as a whole and merely authorized the payment of a proportion of the budget at intervals throughout the financial year. Under Articles 101 and 102 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law the National Consultative Assembly is given power to appoint a Financial Commission which shall be "appointed to inspect and analyse the accounts of the Department of Finance and to liquidate the accounts of all debtors and creditors of the Treasury. It is especially deputed to see that no item of expenditure fixed in the Budget exceeds the amount specified, or is changed or altered, and that each item is expended in the proper manner. It shall likewise inspect and analyse the different accounts of all the departments of state, collect the documentary proofs of the expenditure indicated in such accounts, and submit to the National Consultative Assembly a complete statement of the accounts of the kingdom, accompanied by its own observations". Article 94 further states that "no tax shall be established save in accordance with the law;" and Article 99 that "Save in such cases as are explicitly excepted by the law, nothing can on any pretext be demanded from the people save under the categories of state, provincial and municipal taxes". These provisions reflect the anxiety of the drafters of the Constitution to bring order into the financial affairs of the country and to relieve the population of the burden of extraordinary and irregular levies to which they had formerly been subject.

Article 33 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law gives both Assemblies the right to investigate and examine every affair of state. Ministers may be questioned by members of both houses, provided that the speaker gives the responsible minister prior information of the question; an answer must be given within one week. The government and individual ministers may be interpellated by members of both houses, provided a written request is made to the speaker. Article 67 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law states "If the National Consultative Assembly or the Senate shall, by an absolute majority, declare itself dissatisfied with the cabinet, or with one particular minister, that cabinet or minister shall resign their or his ministerial functions".

Ministers may not accept a salaried office other than their own (Art. 68 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law). Their number is to be laid down by law according to the requirement of the time (Art. 62). No one may become a minister unless he is a Muslim by religion, a Persian by birth, and a Persian subject (Art. 58). Sons, brothers, and uncles of the Shah may not become ministers (Art. 59). Ministers are responsible, individually and collectively, to the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate (Article 61) and may be called to account or brought to trial by them (Art. 29 of the Fundamental Law and Arts. 65 and 69 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law). Article 64 states that Ministers cannot divest themselves of their responsibility by pleading verbal or written orders from the Shah. A tendency to do so nevertheless emerged during the reign of Riḍā S̲h̲āh and has again appeared in recent years. The internal organization of the Assembly is not based on political parties; the deputies are divided into groups or "fractions". Moreover, since the government is not composed of members of the Assembly there is no clear-cut division into a pro-government party and an opposition. In the second and third legislative sessions the majority of deputies belonged either to the Iʿtidāliyyūn Party or the Democrat Party. An attempt was made in the abortive elections of 1960 to conduct them on a two-party basis, two parties

having been formed under the inspiration of the court, the *Millī* and the *Mardum* parties, whose functions were to be respectively that of His Majesty's Government and His Majesty's Opposition. The experiment was not successful.

The regulations governing the election to the first National Assembly were laid down in the Electoral Law of 20 Radjab 1324/9 September 1906. The electors were divided into six classes: (i) princes and the Ḳādjār tribe, (ii) notables (*aʿyān wa ashrāf*), (iii) *ʿulamāʾ* and students of the religious schools, (iv) merchants, (v) landowners and peasants, and (vi) members of the trade-guilds. Each elector had one vote and could vote in one class only, but the classes were not compelled to elect a deputy from their own class or guild. The persons so elected then assembled in the chief town of the province and elected members for the National Consultative Assembly according to the number specified in the law for each province. In Tehrān elections were direct, the number of deputies to be as follows: Princes and members of the Ḳādjār family, four; *ʿulamāʾ* and students of religious schools, four; merchants, ten; landowners and peasants, ten; and trade-guilds, thirty-two. Women were debarred from being elected and from voting. The minimum age of an elector, who had to be a Persian subject, was to be twenty-five years; and certain minimum property qualifications were also laid down. Deputies were to be elected for two years. Those elected had, *inter alia*, also to be Persian subjects of Persian extraction; be able to read and write Persian; be locally known; not be in government employ; and their age not less than thirty or more than seventy. The law also set up temporary councils to supervise the elections, and laid down regulations for the conduct of the elections, which were to be carried out in each locality on a date specified by the local governor.

This law was superseded by the Electoral Law of 12 Djumādā II 1327/1 July 1909. This fixed the number of deputies at 120; and provided for one representative each of the Shāhsavan, Ḳashḳāʾī, Khamsa (of Fārs), Turkomān, and Bakhtiyārī tribes, and the Armenians, Chaldeans (Nestorian Christians), Zoroastrians, and Jews. The minimum age of electors was reduced to twenty but a property qualification was introduced. Voting was to be secret. Elections were to be in two stages. A necessary qualification for election, except in the case of deputies representing the Christian, Zoroastrian or Jewish communities, was profession of Islam. Princes, *i.e.*, the sons, brothers and uncles of the reigning Shah, were debarred from being deputies. This law was in due course superseded by the Law of 28 Shawwāl 1329/21 November 1911, which fixed the number of deputies at 136, to be elected from eighty-two electoral districts, some of which were, therefore, plural constituencies. This law abolished the property qualification for electors but laid down that they must be local persons or have lived for at least the six months preceding the election in the district in which they would vote. All elections were to be direct. This law forms the basis of later electoral laws, one of which, that of 10 Mihr 1313/2 October 1934, abolished the special tribal constituencies. Further an amendment to Article 4 of the Constitution made in 1957 raised the number of deputies to two hundred (see above). Five months before the legislative period of the National Consultative Assembly comes to an end a *farmān* is issued by the Shah for new elections, after which preliminary measures for the holding of elections including the setting up of supervisory councils in the electoral districts are taken.

The law for the execution of the regulations for the election of the Senate passed by the National Consultative Assembly on 14 Urdībihisht 1328/4 May 1949 laid down *inter alia* that senators were to be elected "by two degrees" by male suffrage. The term of the Senate was fixed by this law at six years (whereas Article 50 of the Fundamental Law had fixed it at two years). The Senate is opened by the Shah as soon as two thirds of the members have assembled in Tehrān. On 23 October 1952 a bill was passed limiting the Senate's term to two years. According to this bill electors must be at least twenty-five years old and have lived in or have dwelt for at least the preceding six months in the constituency where they vote. Members of the armed forces may not vote. Senators must be at least forty years old; they must be Muslims, and live in or be known in the district for which they are elected. They must be chosen from (i) the religious classes of the first rank; (ii) persons who have been deputies for at least three legislative sessions; (iii) persons who have the position of minister, ambassador, governor-general, public prosecutor, head of a tribunal of the Court of Cassation, or had at least twenty years' service in the Ministry of Justice; (iv) retired officers of the rank of field-marshal (*sipahbud*), general (*sarlashkar*), or major-general (*sartīp*); (v) university professors who have held such office for at least ten years; (vi) landowners and merchants who pay at least 500,000 rs. in direct taxes; and (vii) certain classes of attorneys. Senators are precluded from accepting government appointments and must resign if they accept such offices.

The Supplementary Fundamental Law in Articles 90-93 makes provision for the establishment of provincial councils (*andjuman-i ayālatī wa wilāyatī*) to be elected by the people to "exercise complete supervision over all reforms connected with the public interest, always provided that they observe the limitations prescribed by the law". In the early period of the constitution provincial councils were set up in many areas but the practice fell into abeyance after the restoration of the constitution in 1909. Since the Second World War there has been from time to time talk of the setting up of some form of provincial councils.

Those who had prepared the way for constitutional reform in their published works and in the discussions of the secret societies which preceded the constitutional revolution had emphasized the need for equality before the law. This was provided for in the section of the Supplementary Fundamental Law which concerns the rights of the people (Arts. 8-25). Article 8 lays down that the people shall enjoy equal rights before the law. Article 9 that "All individuals are protected and safeguarded in respect to their lives, property, homes, and honour, from every kind of interference, and none shall molest them save in such way as the laws of the land shall determine". Article 10 lays down that "No one can be summarily arrested, save *flagrante delicto* in the commission of some crime or misdemeanour, except on the written authority of the president of a tribunal of justice given in conformity with the law. Even in such case the accused must immediately, or at latest in the course of the next twenty-four hours, be informed and notified of the nature of his offence". Further, Article 14 provides that "No Persian can be exiled from the country, or prevented from residing in any part thereof, save in such cases as the law may

explicitly determine". It was, perhaps, a major advance that such principles should be clearly formulated and written into the constitution, even though, like various other provisions of the constitution, they should be from time to time ignored.

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(A. K. S. Lambton)

v. — Afghānistān

The independence of Afghānistān having been recognized by the Treaty of Rāwalpindi (8 August 1919), Amān Allāh concluded agreements with his neighbours and other powers confirming the international status of his country, in the intention of endowing the state with stable and modern institutions, in the first place a Constitution. The first step in this direction was, in 1921, the Law of Fundamental Organizations (*niẓām-nāma-i tashkīlāt-i asāsiyya-i Afghānistān*), which established the general organization of the State (see L. Bouvat, *apud* J. Castagné, *Notes sur la politique extérieure de l'Afghanistan*, in *RMM*, lviii (1921), 26 ff.) and was to serve as the basis of the Fundamental Law which, drawn up under the inspiration of the Turk Ḳadrī Bey, former chief of police in Istanbul who had settled in Kābul in 1921 and died there in 1924, was unanimously approved by the members of a *Lōya Djirga* (Popular Assembly) of the eastern provinces and by the ministers in April 1923; articles 2, 9 and 24 were revised in June-July 1924 by another *Lōya Djirga* including representatives of the entire country.

Drawn up no doubt in Pashto, but published in Persian, this Fundamental Law (*niẓām-nāma-i asāsī-yi dawlat-i ʿaliyya-i Afghānistān*) comprises 73 articles divided as follows: general principles (arts. 1-7), rights of citizens (arts. 8-24), provisions relating to ministers (arts. 25-35) and officials (arts. 36-8), to councils (arts. 39-49), tribunals (arts. 50-5), to the Supreme Court (arts. 56-7), to finance (arts. 58-62), to provincial administration (arts. 63-7), and miscellaneous (arts. 68-73).

Article 1 affirms the independence and unity of the national territory, whose capital is Kābul, according to art. 3 which also provides that all the inhabitants of the country are equal before the government without distinction of religion and sect (art. 8); art. 2 specifies, however, that the religion of Afghānistān is Islam, and that only "the other religions of Hindus and of Jews" living within the territory are protected on condition that public order be not disturbed; it is interesting to note that the *Lōya Djirga*, composed of *ʿulamāʾ*, *sayyid*s and *shaykh*s and convened in June-July 1924, brought in an amendment to this article providing that the official system should be that of the Ḥanafī school, and, moreover, that Hindus and Jews were compelled to pay the *djizya* [*q.v.*] and to wear the distinguishing emblems (*ʿalāmāt-i mumayyiza*) of *dhimmī*s. Slavery was abolished and individual liberty guaranteed to all citizens (arts. 9-10), the amendment of 1924 adding, however, that they were restricted concerning religious matters. All Afghāns are equal before the *sharīʿa* and the laws of the State (arts. 16-8); torture and similar punishments were abolished, and none could be subjected to a punishment not provided for in the *sharīʿa* or in laws enacted in conformity with the provisions of the latter (art. 24, modified). Freedom of the press (art. 11) is subject to regulation and limited for the foreign press, while freedom of association (art. 12) is recognized only for business, industrial and agricultural concerns. Freedom of education is guaranteed to Afghāns (arts. 14-5), and compulsory elementary education is provided for (art. 68), but foreigners are not authorized to open schools, although systems of instruction connected with the beliefs and rites of the non-Muslim subjects (*dhimmī*s) or protected foreigners (*mustaʾmin*) may be tolerated. Right of ownership (art. 19) and the inviolability of domicile (art. 20) are guaranteed, as well as the secrecy of the mails (art. 73), but the wording of this article could be interpreted restrictively. Citizens may make a complaint against any infringement of the *sharīʿa* or of the laws committed by an official or another person, and may in this case even appeal to the sovereign (art. 13).

H.M. the *Pādshāh* (also called *amīr*, etc.) is the servant and protector of Islam and the sovereign of all subjects of Afghānistān (art. 5); in consideration of his services, a hereditary monarchy is created, the nation agreeing to raise to the sultanate his male heirs in the male line (art. 4). The sovereign's prerogatives are as follows: his name is mentioned in the Friday *khuṭba*, the coinage bears his portrait, he confers decorations, approves laws and announces their effective date, nominates and dismisses ministers, nominates to public office, is responsible for the exercise of the laws, commands the armed forces, declares war and concludes peace, and signs all treaties; he possesses the right of amnesty and pardon (art. 7).

The ministers are responsible to the sovereign (art. 31) and may be arraigned before the Supreme Court (arts. 33-4). They give a public account, at the audience which takes place before the independence festival, of work accomplished during the year (arts. 25-7).

For the details of ministerial organization the Fundamental Law refers to the Law of Fundamental Organizations, which provided for ten ministries including a Council of State and two autonomous administrations (Posts and Telegraphs, and Public Health); the Council of State is in charge of reform, services to the state, and tribunals.

The Fundamental Law makes no provisions for a parliament, but for a Consultative Council of State (*hayʾat-i shūrā-i dawlat*) at Kābul and Councils of Consultation (*madjlis-i mashwara* or *mushāwara*) with representatives of the government in the provinces, at all stages up to district level (art. 39); these latter Councils consist of officials set up by the Law of Fundamental Organizations and elected members in equal number, while the Council with its headquarters at Kābul is composed half of members nominated by the sovereign, the other half being also elected by the people (arts. 40-1). Art. 42 stipulates the functions of these councils: matters submitted to the government representatives are examined and, if necessary, transmitted to the ministry concerned; if the government representatives do not reply, the Councils of Consultation may apply to the Consultative Council who examine the matters and transmit them, with their comments, to the competent ministry.

Laws, in the drafting of which it is necessary to take into consideration the practices, needs and provisions of the *sharīʿa*, are examined by the Consultative Council, sent to the Council of Ministers, and put in operation after they have received the approval of the ministers and the sovereign (art. 46). The Consultative Council studies the budget prepared by the Finance Ministry, as well as foreign contracts and obligations (arts. 48-9).

As regards the judiciary power, the Fundamental Law confines itself to establishing certain guarantees (publicity of proceedings, the rights of the defence, the independence of the judges who are not to allow proceedings to be delayed, arts. 50-3), the competence of tribunals (art. 54) being established by the Law of Fundamental Organizations, which provides for: justices of the peace, tribunals of first instance, courts of appeal and a Court of Cassation. Extraordinary jurisdictions are forbidden (art. 55), but a Supreme Court is instituted for the trial of ministers (arts. 56-7).

Provisions relating to finance (arts. 58-62) and the institution of an Audit Office (art. 61) are followed by details on the administration of the provinces (arts. 63-7). The following articles treat of the revision of the Fundamental Law, which must receive two-thirds of the votes in the National Consultative Council (art. 70), and of the interpretation and drafting of laws (art. 71).

It is obvious that the constitutional work undertaken under the reign of Amān Allāh represented a considerable progress towards the modernization and democratization of the country. The people began to participate modestly in political life by the election of representatives to various councils, whose role was, it is true, merely consultative; on the legislative and executive sides the government and the sovereign exercised a preponderant power, and the judiciary itself, although more independent, was not free from governmental authority, since the Court of Appeal was presided over by the minister of justice and the chief *ḳāḍī* was an *ex officio* member of it. One may notice that this Constitution is not exactly a slavish imitation of western models, and has a certain originality; there is, indeed, no provision for assuring the Islamic nature of the laws, but the duty of conforming to the *sharīʿa* is underlined at several places, and the provisions concerning the Ḥanafī practice are striking; even more striking is the xenophobia and the sort of rigorism which appear in the retention of the *djizya* and the wearing of the *zunnār* imposed on some non-Muslims resident on Afghān territory.

To what extent this Constitution was applied is not exactly known, since many incidents followed in the country's internal affairs. In the summer of 1928 after Amān Allāh's return from a visit to Europe Afghānistān was troubled by a serious movement of revolt on the part of tribes instigated by *mullās* hostile to certain forms of westernization, though not, indeed, to the provisions of the Constitution. The revolt soon spread to the eastern and northern provinces, and Kābul fell into the hands of Baččа-i Saḳaw who proclaimed himself *amīr* and took the name of Ḥabīb Allāh. Amān Allāh having given up resistance and his throne, Nādir Khān, who was related to the royal family, continued the struggle against the usurper and succeeded in recapturing Kābul in October 1929; proclaimed sovereign under the title of Nādir Shāh, he made great efforts to govern the country with wisdom and prudence and, two years later, on 31 October 1931, promulgated a new Constitution (in Pashtō and in Persian: *uṣūl-i asāsī-yi dawlat-i ʿaliyya-i Afghānistān*), which reiterated the greater part of the provisions of the Fundamental Law of 1923, but differed substantially from it by the creation of a Senate (*madjlis-i aʿyān*) and the definitive institution of a National Consultative Assembly (*madjlis-i shūrā-yi millī*), already created by a *Djirga* in August-September 1928, confirmed by another *Djirga* in 1930, and inaugurated by the Shāh in October 1930.

The new Constitution comprises 110 articles (instead of 73) arranged in the following way: general provisions (arts. 1-4), rights and duties of the sovereign (arts. 5-8), rights of citizens (arts. 9-26), organization of the National Consultative Assembly (arts. 27-66), of the Senate (arts. 67-70), of the Councils of Consultation in the provinces (arts. 71-2), rights and duties of ministers (arts. 73-83), and of officials (arts. 84-6), tribunals (arts. 87-94), the Supreme Court (arts. 95-6), finance (arts. 97-101), provincial administration (arts. 102-5), the army (arts. 106-8), and miscellaneous provisions (arts. 109-10).

On the whole the Constitutional matters are

better arranged than in the Fundamental Law of 1923, but many articles are retained almost entirely. The general provisions differ little; however, art. 1 (old art. 2) imposes the obligation on the sovereign to follow the Ḥanafī school, and no longer speaks of *d̲j̲izya* and the distinguishing emblems of *d̲h̲immīs*. The wording of art. 5 (old art. 4) is slightly modified: the monarchy is hereditary in the family of Nādir S̲h̲āh, and it is he who nominates his successor; he must now take the oath (art. 6) according to a solemn formula, and a civil list is allotted to him (art. 8). Art. 23 (old art. 11) is more liberal towards the foreign press, although art. 21 (old art. 14) provides that the teaching only of Islamic sciences is free.

The National Consultative Assembly is composed of 106 deputies elected for three years; they must take an oath and enjoy parliamentary immunity. The Assembly is charged with approving laws and regulations, financial laws, grants and concessions of all kinds, the construction of railways, etc. Members of the Senate (arts. 67-70) are nominated by the sovereign; they are a counterbalance to the Assembly in the approval of laws either before or after that body; this Senate was inaugurated in November 1931. The Councils of Consultation persist in the provinces, but they are now elected (art. 71). Provisions regarding ministers are slightly different (arts. 73-83) in that they are chosen by the prime minister with the sovereign's approval, and are responsible to the Assembly and not to the S̲h̲āh; in addition, they no longer have to give public reports on their work. On the judicial side a distinction is made between civil tribunals (*maḥākim-i ʿadliyya*) and religious tribunals (*maḥākim-i s̲h̲arʿiyya*). The Audit Office (art. 100, old art. 61) is not expressly provided for; on the other hand three articles (106-8) are devoted to the army; it is there laid down that foreigners are not admitted to it except in the capacities of surgeons or instructors.

In general the second Afg̲h̲ān Constitution marks a noticeable progress from the former; it appears not only more liberal but also more democratic in that the people have their elected representatives in the assemblies which, indeed, have especially a consultative part to play but participate more intimately in the political life of the nation.

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vi. — ʿIRĀḲ

Next to Egypt, ʿIrāḳ may be regarded as the first Arab state to be organized along modern constitutional lines after World War I. Her parliamentary system was consciously modelled, at least in form, after the British system. The draft constitution was prepared (1922-3) by a mixed committee of ʿIrāḳī and British members, drawing its provisions from the constitutions of the Ottoman Empire, Australia, New Zealand and others. The draft was submitted to a Constituent Assembly for approval and, with some minor modifications, was passed and promulgated on 21 March 1925. It was formally called the Organic Law (*al-Ḳānūn al-Asāsī*) of ʿIrāḳ.

The constitution provided for a monarchical system, although the monarchy was instituted before the constitution was drafted. The King was not responsible. He enjoyed wide powers, such as the selection and dismissal of the Prime Minister (the latter power was given to him in the amendment of 1943), he confirmed laws, ordered their promulgation, and supervised their execution. He could also proclaim martial law, order general elections, appoint senators and diplomatic representatives, and convoke Parliament, presumably upon the recommendation of the Cabinet. When Parliament was not in session the King issued decrees with the concurrence of the Cabinet for the maintenance of public order and the expenditure of public money not provided by the budget. These decrees had the force of laws, provided they were not contrary to the provisions of the constitution, and were laid before Parliament at its first session

The Cabinet was made up of the Prime Minister and a number of other ministers (the number was not to exceed seven before the amendment of 1943). All members of the Cabinet were members of Parliament (if a person appointed minister was not already a member of Parliament, he either had to become a member of Parliament within six months or resign). The Cabinet was responsible to the Lower House; if that House passed a vote of no confidence in it, it had to resign.

Legislative power was vested in Parliament and the King. Parliament was composed of two houses—an appointed Senate (*Mad̲j̲lis al-Aʿyān*) whose membership should not exceed one-fourth of the total number of the Lower House, and an elected Chamber of Deputies (*Mad̲j̲lis al-Nuwwāb*). The term of the Lower House was four years, including four ordinary sessions, the duration of each session being six months. Legislation was initiated in Parliament or proposed by the Government (in the case of the annual budget, it was always proposed by the Government). Draft laws, when passed by both Houses, became laws only after being confirmed by the King. The King could confirm or reject legislation, stating reasons for so doing, within a period of three months. Members of Parliament were immune and had the right to interrogate Ministers and ask for information. The meetings of Parliament were open to the public, unless sessions in camera were decided upon by the Government or the members of Parliament (on a request by four senators or ten deputies).

From the establishment of the ʿIrāḳī government in 1921 to the abolition of the monarchy in 1958, ʿIrāḳ had 62 cabinets, including a provisional government in 1920 and the present (April 1963) cabinet. Parliament has met regularly since the general election of 1925. There had been some

fifteen general elections held till the abolition of the Parliamentary system.

The revolution of 14 July 1958, produced by a growing dissatisfaction with the monarchy and the Parliamentary system, abrogated the Constitution of 1925. The newly established Council of Sovereignty, composed of three members, issued a decree establishing a republican regime for ʿIrāḳ and promising the calling of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution for the country. In the meantime there is no parliament. Decrees, having the force of laws, are issued by the Cabinet and approved by the Council of Sovereignty. (On the Arab Union, see below, xviii).

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(M. Khadduri)

vii. — Saʿūdī Arabia

As early as 31 August 1926 the kingdom of the Ḥidjāz provided itself with a "Constitution" comprising 9 sections and 79 articles, but this has few points in common with the constitutions of Arab countries studied in this article. By virtue of this text the Arab State of the Ḥidjāz was "a constitutional Muslim monarchy" (art. 2) in which "all the administration is in the hands of H.M. King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz I", but the latter is "bound by the laws of the *sharīʿa*" (art. 5). The judicial norms must conform to the Book of God, to the *Sunna* of His Prophet, and the conduct of the Companions and of the early pious generations (art. 6). The king employs at his own expense a viceroy (*nāʾib ʿāmm*) and as many directors and service chiefs as he judges necessary (art. 7). The viceroy represents the supreme authority and is responsible to the king (art. 8). Section III deals with the affairs of the kingdom, which are divided into 6 groups: *sharīʿa* affairs, internal affairs, foreign affairs, financial affairs, public instruction, military affairs (art. 9). *Sharīʿa* affairs include everything which pertains to religious jurisdiction (*al-ḳaḍāʾ al-sharʿī*), the two Holy Cities, *waḳf*s, mosques and all religious establishments (art. 10). As regards internal affairs, art. 14 provides for a commission for the control of the pilgrimage. Arts. 17 ff., on foreign affairs, were modified on 19 December 1930 when the directorate of foreign affairs was transformed into a ministry. Section IV institutes a consultative council (*madjlis shūrā*) nominated by the king (arts. 28 ff.), the administrative councils of Djudda and Medina (art. 32 ff.) which comprise officials and notables nominated by the king, village and tribal councils (art. 41 ff.). A department of audit is provided for (art. 43) as well as a general inspectorate of officials (art. 46 ff.). Section VII deals with employees of the State, section VIII with municipal councils, and the last section with administrative committees of municipalities.

A royal decree of 29 January 1927 raised Nadjd to the status of a kingdom and unified it with the Ḥidjāz. A further royal decree of 18 September 1932 created the kingdom of Saʿūdī Arabia, changing nothing in the previous administration, although art. 6 of this decree provides that the council of ministers shall immediately draft a new constitution; it seems, however, that this provision has remained a dead letter.

In practice the king retained direct control over religious, military and diplomatic affairs, and partially delegated some of his powers to members of his family or his entourage. The consultative council remained purely theoretical, although the assembly of tribal chiefs met yearly at al-Riyāḍ. On 9 October 1953 king ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd instituted for the first time a true council of ministers presided over by the *amīr* Saʿūd, who ascended the throne on 9 November, after the death of his father. At the time of the first meeting of the council of ministers, 8 March 1954, the king expressed the wish that "the government would manage the affairs of the country taking account of the Ḳurʾānic teachings", and on the following 17 March two royal edicts established the status of this council of ministers and of connected offices; no movement developed towards the drafting of a constitution of a modern type. However, on 30 December 1960, prince Ṭalāl declared that the government of Saʿūdī Arabia had the intention of providing the country with a Constitution and of creating a National Assembly, and two days later Mecca Radio announced that King Saʿūd had promulgated a constitution comprising a preamble and 200 articles; a text was put out by wireless and the press, but on 28 December a communiqué categorically denied this information.

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viii. — Yemen

The Imamate of the Yemen produced no written constitution; there exist, however, a number of texts regulating the powers of the *Imām* and the succession to the throne. The *imām* was to be elected by the *ʿulamāʾ* summoned to a consultative assembly, the *Madjlis*, before whom the sovereign was to take the oath. The latter, as spiritual head of the country, was to hold absolute power, but with the aid of a prime minister and other ministers belonging to his family. After the revolution of September 1962, a constitutional document was issued by the revolutionary council (*madjlis al-thawra*) setting forth the aims of the revolution and laying down general principles of government. The former begin with the restoration of the 'true *Sharīʿa*', the abolition of communal discrimination and the equality of all Yemenites before the law, the removal of conflicts between Zaydīs and Shāfiʿīs, followed by a series of national, political and social objectives. The principles, in addition to the usual constitutional assurances, include the statements that the Yemenite people is the source of all authority (art. 3) and that all laws derive their validity from the *Sharīʿa* of Islam, which is the official religion of the state (art. 6). The text of the document was published in *Fatāt al-Djazīra*, Aden, issue of 8 November 1962. (Ed.)

ix. — Syria and Lebanon

Like ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Lebanon began their constitutional life after their separation from the Ottoman Empire after World War I, although some of their leaders had taken an active part in Ottoman constitutional experiments. The first constitutional step undertaken by Syria took place after the capture of Damascus by Amīr Fayṣal in 1918 with the avowed intention of establishing an Arab constitutional state. Fayṣal called a Syrian Congress in 1920, representing the whole of geographical Syria (later known as Greater Syria), including Lebanon and Palestine, on the basis of the Ottoman Electoral Law. This Congress, functioning as a legislative and a constituent assembly, laid down a draft constitution of 148 articles which, though no formal vote was taken, had been accepted in principle. The Congress was still considering the draft when the French army entered Damascus and it adjourned on 19 July 1920, never to meet again.

The constitution provided for a limited monarchy, a bi-cameral legislature, and a responsible Cabinet. Syria (*i.e.*, Greater Syria) was to be an indivisible political entity, but its boundaries were left undefined. The Syrian Government was to be an Arab Government, its capital Damascus, and its religion Islam. The constitution included a Bill of Rights guaranteeing civil liberties and freedom of thought and of religion. Both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies were to be elected bodies: the deputies by secret ballot in two degrees, and the Senators by the Chamber of Deputies of each province. The administration of the country was to be on a decentralized basis; each province was to have its own local administration with a single legislative body called the Chamber of Deputies. The judiciary was to be independent, with a High Court appointed by the King as the supreme judicial organ.

Syria remained under direct French control from 1920 to 1930 before another constitutional step was taken. While Syria was still in the midst of the revolt of 1925-7, the French came to an understanding with Lebanon and promulgated a constitution in 1926, thus providing a constitutional model for Syria.

Lebanon

The Lebanese constitution provided for a republican régime—the first to be proclaimed in the Arab East in modern times—and a bi-cameral Parliament, to be elected by a two-stage universal manhood suffrage. The Cabinet was to be individually and collectively responsible to Parliament. The President, elected by the two Houses of Parliament in a joint session, was given the right to appoint the Prime Minister and, with a vote of three-quarters of the Senate, to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. This elaborate structure for a small state called for a revision in 1927, which increased the powers of the President, especially in expediting financial bills; it abolished the Senate and established a unicameral Parliament. The Chamber of Deputies, whose membership was 30, was increased by 15, appointed by the President. The members of the Cabinet were chosen from Parliament, and the members remained individually and collectively responsible to Parliament.

This constitution, continuing to function during the Mandate period, was suspended when war broke out in 1939. It was restored in 1943, when the independence of the country was formally declared, and was purged of the Mandate clauses by an act of Parliament on 8 November 1943. This precipitated a crisis with the French authorities, who maintained that the amendment of the constitution had been carried out before the Mandate was formally terminated, but France finally agreed to the amendment and the Mandate system itself was formally terminated in 1946 at a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva.

Syria

The successful step taken in drawing up a constitutional framework for Lebanon prompted the Syrians to come to an understanding with the French on the need for establishing a constitutional government. Elections for a Constituent Assembly were held in 1928. A drafting committee of 27 members was appointed and a draft constitution was ready in August before the Assembly. The draft stipulated that Syria within its "natural boundaries" (*i.e.*, Greater Syria) would be an indivisible political unit and an independent sovereign state, its form of government republican, and the religion of its head Islam. The constitution also provided for a Bill of Rights, in which the principles of liberty, equality, private property, etc. were guaranteed. The head of the executive power was the President of the Republic, elected by Parliament for a period of five years, but he was not eligible for re-election until the lapse of five years from the expiration of his term. The President selected the Prime Minister and appointed the Ministers upon the latter's recommendation. The President was not responsible, since his decisions were countersigned by the Prime Minister and the Ministers concerned. The Cabinet was composed of not more than seven members responsible to Parliament. The Ministers were not all members of Parliament, but they could attend and take part in discussion. Parliament was made up of one House (*Madjlis*, or Chamber of Deputies), which was freely elected every four years. Every male Syrian who had attained his twentieth year was eligible to vote. The constitution provided also for a High Court composed of 15 members chosen from Parliament and from the judges of the courts. The constitution was ordinarily amended by two-thirds of Parliament upon the request of either the Government or Parliament. The draft constitution, ignoring the terms of the Mandate, promted France to inform the Constituent Assembly that certain articles, such as the one dealing with the "natural boundaries" of Syria, which included Lebanon, and others which contradicted France's international obligations, must be revised. Upon the Assembly's refusal, the French dissolved the Assembly in 1928 and promulgated the Constitution in 1930, having revised the articles to which they had objected The Syrians, tacitly accepting the situation, participated in the elections for Parliament in 1932. The first President of the Republic was elected in 1933. However, the Syrians and the French could not agree on a treaty regulating the relations between France and Syria after independence. Thus, when the war broke out in 1939, the French suspended the Constitution and governed the country through a "Council of Directors".

The circumstances of World War II gave Syria an opportunity to achieve independence and resume constitutional life. In 1941, Syria and Lebanon were declared independent and elections for the resumption of parliamentary life were held in 1943, although the legal termination of the Mandate did not take place until 1946. The constitution of 1930, revised by deleting the articles referring to the Mandate, was

restored and a new President was elected. This constitution remained in force until 1948, when a military coup d'état was led by Ḥusnī al-Zaʿīm, who overthrew the Government and suspended the constitution. A new draft constitution, reputed to embody progressive principles, was not promulgated, since Zaʿīm himself was overthrown by the army in August 1949. Elections for a Constituent Assembly were held in a relatively free atmosphere, although the army remained in control of authority. The assembly issued a new draft constitution, prepared by a committee of 33 members under the chairmanship of Nāẓim al-Ḳudsī, on 5 September 1950, and promulgated on the same day by the President of the Republic.

The Constitution of 1950 made no fundamental changes in the form or structure of the government as it existed in the constitution of 1930. Its innovations were to be found in the general articles expressing the hopes of the Syrian people. Syria was declared to be "an indivisible political unity" and to form "a part of the Arab nation". The Bill of Rights, composed of 28 articles, defined in detail the fundamental principles of freedom and the social and economic rights of the citizens. The articles relating to land stated that "a maximum limit for land ownership shall be prescribed by law", but no such law was ever issued until Syria was united with Egypt in 1958. The constitution also provided that "the state shall distribute state lands to peasants to whom land is not available sufficient for their support, against small rents to be repaid in instalments" (Article 22). Labour was regarded as "the most basic factor in social life" and "the right of all citizens". "The state shall provide work to citizens and shall guarantee it by directing and promoting the national economy" (Article 26). Education was also declared a right of every citizen. Elementary education was compulsory and free in all government schools. Secondary and professional education, though not compulsory, was also free in all government schools. Military service was compulsory, and the family, regarded as the basis of society, was to be protected by the state. The state was also to encourage marriage and endeavour to remove the material and social obstacles which hinder it. These principles, then regarded as the most progressive in Arab lands, were overshadowed by Egypt's more radical socialistic measures when Syria joined Egypt in a union in 1958. However, before Syria joined that union, she had yet to experiment with a new constitutional charter, issued under the S̲h̲is̲h̲aklī regime in 1954, by virtue of which the presidential system of government was introduced for the first time in Arab lands. This short-lived constitution was abrogated soon after the collapse of the S̲h̲is̲h̲aklī regime and the Constitution of 1950 was restored. The latter constitution may well be regarded as still (1963) in force after Syria's secession from the United Arab Republic, as Syria's rulers seem to have implied in several public declarations, pending the promulgation of a revised version or perhaps a completely new constitutional charter. (See below, xviii).

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x. — Jordan

Even before his country became independent, Amīr ʿAbd Allāh of Transjordan promulgated a constitution (*ḳānūn asāsī*) on 16 April 1928, providing for a Legislative Assembly (*Mad̲j̲lis Tas̲h̲rīʿī*) and an Executive Council responsible to him. This constitutional charter, though giving the Amīr extensive powers, became the basis of the new constitutional framework when Transjordan became independent. On 15 May 1946 Amīr ʿAbd Allāh was proclaimed King of the Hās̲h̲imite Kingdom of Transjordan, and the constitution of 1928, revised to fit the new independent life of the country in 1946, was replaced by a new constitution on 1 February 1947. This constitution provided for a bi-cameral Parliament and a responsible Cabinet, but the King retained extensive powers, including a veto over legislation. The incorporation of Arab Palestine with Transjordan called for another constitutional change, first in the formal act of incorporation, creating the Hās̲h̲imite Kingdom of Jordan, on 24 April 1950; and then the revision of the constitution, following King ʿAbd Allāh's assassination in 1952. The new constitution provided clearly for the responsibility of the Cabinet to the Chamber of Deputies, the establishment of a Supreme Court, the responsibility of the State for the protection of the right of workers, and compulsory education in primary schools. This constitution was revised several times later, liberalizing its provisions; but in practice the King continued to exercise effective control over the Cabinet and Parliament.

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xi. — Indonesia

Little progress towards self-government had been made in Indonesia (or the Netherlands East Indies as it then was) before the Japanese invasion in 1942. In 1918 an advisory *Volksraad* (People's Council) had its first meeting, having been mooted in 1916. It was intended as a safety valve for Indonesian nationalism which had been gaining strength rapidly, especially in view of the special circumstances of the war in Europe, which tied down so much Dutch military power. However, the existence of appointed as well as elected members, the extremely limited franchise and the indirectness of the elections guaranteed that the Europeans formed a majority. In any case, its powers were restricted to the giving to the Govern-

ment, in the person of the Governor-General, of advice which he could ignore.

Reforms in the composition and powers of the *Volksraad* in 1920, 1922, 1925 and 1927 did little to transform the body into an effective legislature. After 1927 it had co-legislative powers with the Governor-General, but he retained a veto. The system of election remained indirect, and the franchise narrow.

When the Japanese sensed that their defeat was inevitable they acted to hasten Indonesian independence. On 1 March 1945 they appointed a joint committee, the majority on which was Indonesian, to discuss plans for independence. Meetings held from 28 May to 1 June and from 10 to 17 July reached general agreement on the basic political principles which should guide the future Indonesian nation. Sukarno, a prominent nationalist leader since the 1920s, and subsequently Indonesia's first President, played a major part in the discussions. It was his speech on 1 June, expounding his *Panča šila* ("five foundations", five basic principles) which made possible a workable measure of compromise between those who wanted a theocratic Islamic state (the Indonesian population is 90% Muslim) and those who, though nominally Muslim themselves, feared extreme Muslim orthodoxy. It is significant that over 90% of the *élite* from whom the leaders of the national movement were drawn had had western as opposed to strictly Islamic educations (Soelaeman Soemardi, *Some aspects of the social origins of the Indonesian political decision-makers*, in *Trans. 3rd World Congr. Sociology*, London 1956).

Sukarno's *panča šila* were: nationalism (*kebangsaan*); internationalism, or humanitarianism (*perikemanusiaan*); democracy, or representation (*kerakjatan*); social justice (*keadilan sosial*); and faith in one God (*ke-Tuhanan*, or *pengakuan ke-Tuhanan Jang Maha-Esa*). His exposition of the principles was subtle and persuasive, reassuring, for example, the strongest supporters of the concept of an Islamic state that their best guarantee of influence was by working through the elective and democratic institutions which were going to be formed. (The text of the speech is to be found in Kemenkerian Penerangan, *Lahirnya Pantjasila*, 2nd Engl. edn. Djakarta 1952). The Djakarta Charter, signed by nine leading nationalists on 22 June 1945, is identical in wording with the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, with the exception of the words italicized in the following extract: "The Republic is founded upon the belief in God, *with the obligation for those professing the Islamic faith to abide by the laws of Islam, in accordance with the principle of* a righteous and moral humanity . . .". Even this gesture towards Islam had dropped out when the 1945 Constitution appeared.

On 7 August 1945, the Japanese authorized the establishment of an all-Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee (*Panitya Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia—PPKI*), with Sukarno as Chairman and Hatta as Vice-Chairman, and entrusted with the task of arranging to take over government. When the Japanese surrendered a week later, Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed independence within three days, on 17 August 1945.

At the first meeting of the *PPKI*, on 18 August, Sukarno was elected President and Hatta Vice-President, in accordance with Article III of the Transitional Provisions appended to the 1945 Constitution, and they, with five others, completed work, begun during the last weeks of the Japanese occupation, on this document. Although considered at the time as provisional, it in fact remained in force until the end of 1949, though not without modification, and was restored in the middle of 1959.

The Preamble paraphrases the *panča šila*, the concluding part reading: "We believe in an all-embracing God; in righteous and moral humanity; in the unity of Indonesia. We believe in democracy, wisely guided and led by close contact with the people through consultation, so that there shall result social justice for the whole Indonesian people".

Art. 1 lays down that Indonesia is a unitary state with a republican form of government. Sovereignty lies with the people, and is exercised through a People's Consultative Assembly (*Madjelis Permusjawaratan Rakjat*). Art. 2 stipulates that the Consultative Assembly is to consist of the members of the Chamber of Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat*), together with representatives of regions and groups. It is to meet at least once every five years, and to take its decisions by simple majority vote. Art. 3 entrusts it with the responsibility for enacting the permanent constitution and the main guiding lines of state policy. Art. 4 gives the President the power of Government, to be exercised in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, and a Vice-President to assist him, and art. 5 empowers him to enact laws in agreement with (*persetudjuan dengan*) the Chamber of Representatives, and to issue ordinances for the proper execution of laws. Art. 6 stipulates that the President is to be an autochthonous Indonesian, and that he and the Vice-President should be elected by the People's Consultative Assembly by a majority vote; art. 7 lays down his term of office at five years, with the possibility of re-election; art. 10 gives him supreme command of the armed forces; art. 11 empowers him to declare war, conclude peace, and to make treaties with foreign powers, all with the sanction of the Chamber of Representatives, while art. 12 gives him the right of proclaiming a state of emergency, the conditions and consequences of which are to be regulated by law.

Art. 16 provides for a Supreme Advisory Council (*Dewan Pertimbangan Agung*), which is obliged to answer questions submitted by the President, and has the right to make proposals to the Government. Art. 17 provides for Ministers of State, whose function it is to take charge of Government Departments, and who are appointed and dismissed by the President.

Arts. 19-22 govern the Chamber of Representatives. It is to assemble at least once a year, and its sanction is required for all laws. If a bill fails to receive this sanction, it is not to be submitted again during the same session. Members of the Chamber have the right to initiate laws; if the President does not ratify these, they are not to be submitted again during the same session of the Chamber. Presidential ordinances during states of emergency require the sanction of the Chamber of Representatives in its next session, and if this is not obtained, the ordinances lapse. Art. 23 governs the financial arrangements. The annual budget is regulated by law. Arts. 24-8 govern the judicature, and guarantee the basic human rights—freedom of speech, equality before the law, and the right to work. The remaining arts. deal with religion, national defence, social welfare, the flag and language, and amendments to the Constitution. The last is effected by a two-thirds majority of the People's Consultative Assembly

when at least two-thirds of its members are in attendance (art. 37).

Four transitional and two additional provisions complete the document. Of these, nos. 2 and 4 of the transitional provisions provide for the perpetuation of arrangements existing at the time the Constitution was drafted until the new ones proposed in it could be brought into being, and arrange for the President, assisted by a National Committee (*Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat—KNIP*), to exercise the powers of the People's Consultative Assembly, the Chamber of Representatives, and the Supreme Advisory Council until such time as they can be established.

The Constitution reflects a variety of influences. The American Presidential system has obviously been more attractive than the western European parliamentary system, even though the former operates in a federal nation and the latter mainly in unitary ones. Despite the determination of the nationalists to owe as little as possible to the Dutch, several features of the 1945 Constitution are reminiscent of the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Supreme Advisory Council, for example, is not unlike the Dutch Council of State. The President and the Chamber of Representatives exercise legislative power under the Indonesian Constitution, the King and the States-General under the Dutch. Other influences suggested by commentators include that of the draft Chinese Constitution of 1936 (M. Yamin, *Proklamasi dan Konstitusi Republik Indonesia*, Djakarta and Amsterdam 1952, 139), the constitution of the former Netherlands Indies (J. H. A. Logemann, *Het Staatsrecht van Indonesië*, 's-Gravenhage and Bandung 1954, 34), and the Chinese Organic Law of 1931 (H. Feith, *The decline of constitutional democracy in Indonesia*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1962, 43).

The first Cabinet under the Constitution was appointed by President Sukarno on 31 August 1945. The chosen ministers were responsible to the President and not to the *KNIP*, which had been formed on 29 August. It consisted of the members of the dissolved *PPKI*, plus a further selection of outstanding nationalist leaders, and representatives of the main economic, ethnic, religious and social groups in Indonesia. Its functions were advisory, not legislative.

However, following a meeting of the *KNIP* on 16 October 1945, the Vice-President, Hatta, announced that, pending the formation of the Consultative Assembly and the Chamber of Representatives, the *KNIP* itself was to be vested with legislative powers, and was to participate in the working out of the general orientation of state policy. The functions of the *KNIP* were normally to be assumed by a smaller component of it, known as the Working Committee, whose size permitted of more rapid decision taking. The term "Working Committee" seems to have been taken from the Indian National Congress (G. McT. Kahin (ed.), *Major governments of Asia*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1958, 504 n. 6).

At the instigation of the Working Committee, the President decreed on 14 November 1945 that Ministers should in future be responsible to the *KNIP*. Since the Working Committee met a good deal more frequently than the parent body, in effect Ministers were now responsible to it. The old Cabinet was dismissed, and a new one, under Sjahrir as Premier, formed.

The change was the result of unease, in the first months of the new state, on the part of those nationalists who had served with the anti-Japanese underground, at the power and influence of nationalists who had worked with the Japanese during the war. Sjahrir was a spokesman for this group of ex-resistance nationalists. The consequence of the change was to substitute for a Presidential system a western European type parliamentary one. It is noteworthy that 94% of the cabinet ministers in Indonesia from 1945 to 1955 had been educated in Western schools and universities (Soemardi, *op. cit.*).

In the following four years the President assumed emergency powers on three occasions (29 June to 2 October 1946; 27 June to 3 July 1947; 15 September to 15 December 1948), for the terms of which he exercised full personal control. On the third occasion, however, he did so, not on his own decree, but after an Act passed with the concurrence of the Working Committee and countersigned by the Ministers of Defence, Internal Affairs, and Justice.

Apart from the period before the modification of the Constitution in November 1945, there were two other Presidential Cabinets (29 January 1948 to 4 August 1949; and 4 August to 20 December 1949). In these, the Vice-President was premier, composition was not based on party political bargaining, and "... it was generally considered that a Cabinet so established could not be forced to resign by the Working Committee" (A. K. Pringgodigdo, *The office of President in Indonesia as defined in the three constitutions in theory and practice*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1957, 17).

At the time the *KNIP* was formed, the *PPKI* also decided on the formation of an Indonesian National Party (*Partai National Indonesia*), which was to be the sole Indonesian political organization. However, government announcements of 3 and 14 November 1945 made it clear that all trends of democratic opinion were entitled to political existence and organized expression. Once again the defeat and discrediting of the former Axis powers was probably a consideration.

There were two abortive agreements with the Dutch before Indonesia's independence was finally recognized. The Linggadjati Agreement (signed 25 March 1947) granted the Republic of Indonesia *de facto* recognition in Java, Madura and Sumatra, and provided for a "United States of Indonesia" to be formed with Dutch co-operation. The Renville Agreement (17 January 1948), which was concluded at the instigation of the United Nations, gave the Dutch the temporary right to hold the territory they had seized in the interim, on condition that they would hold plebiscites in these areas to determine the wishes of the inhabitants. The Dutch realized that the overwhelming majority of the people under them would opt for the Republic of Indonesia, so they ignored this condition, and instead set about fostering local states like the ones they had created and sustained in Borneo and the eastern islands. Throughout this period the Dutch worked unceasingly to create a viable federal structure in the areas they controlled, in contrast with their pre-war policy of maintaining a unitary structure in their colony, and rejecting federal proposals (see A. A. Schiller, *The formation of federal Indonesia, 1945-49*, The Hague-Bandung 1955, 14-25 *et passim*).

In mid-1949 delegates of the Dutch-fostered federal states and of the Republic of Indonesia met at an Inter-Indonesia Conference (*Konperensi Inter-Indonesia*), to begin planning the institutions of the state which would take over from the Dutch. In general the proposals which emerged from this, and

from the work of a technical committee set up to complete a draft constitution, were embodied in the 1949 draft Constitution of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (*RUSI*). This was issued as an Annex to the agreements reached during the Round Table Conference at the Hague (23 August to 2 November 1949), granting Indonesia "unconditionally and irrevocably" sovereignty over the whole territory of the former Netherlands East Indies. The Constitution was entirely the work of the two Indonesian factions, republican and federalist, but the Dutch expressed their approval. It was an unbalanced, and, as it was to transpire almost at once, an unworkable structure that the new Constitution envisaged. Since Indonesia had won unconditional independence, it was not of course in any way binding on her.

The main provisions were as follows. There was to be a President, who would act as Head of State, and had to be "an Indonesian" (art. 69). The President was "inviolable" and his Ministers responsible, jointly for the entire Government policy, and each individually for his part of it (art. 118). The Government consisted of the President and his Ministers by the provisions of art. 68. All Presidential decrees, with the exception of those nominating three cabinet formateurs, required the countersignature of the relevant Minister or Ministers or formateurs (arts. 74 and 119). The President remained in supreme command of the armed forces, but if necessary these were to be placed under the command of a Commander-in-Chief (art. 182). There was no provision for a Vice-President, but the Cabinet had to include a Prime Minister (art. 74).

There was to be a bicameral legislature. The Senate was to have two representatives, appointed by their respective governments, from each of the 16 component states, while there were to be 150 members of the House of Representatives (or more if that number did not include at least the minimum numbers of representatives of minority ethnic groups stipulated) (arts. 80, 81, 100). The first House of Representatives was to be appointed (arts. 109-10), but elections were to be held within a year for an elected House (art. 111). The first House had no power to force the resignation of the Cabinet or individual Ministers (art. 122).

Legislation could originate from the Government, the Senate, or the House of Representatives (art. 128). Provision was made for amendment, delay, questioning, and Ministerial intervention (arts. 105, 120, 128, 129, 132, 134, 136, 138). Emergency laws with the same force as normal legislation could be enacted by the President alone (art. 139), but these had to be submitted to the Chamber within one month of enactment, and if rejected automatically lapsed (art. 140). The Constitution could be amended by two-thirds majorities in both chambers (art. 190).

This Constitution was in operation only from 27 December 1949 to 17 August 1950. Its defects were obvious. The state of Riau, with about 100,000 inhabitants, had the same Senate representation as the Republic of Indonesia, with 300 times the population. In the House of Representatives the Republic had fewer seats than she would have been entitled to if members had been allocated in proportion to population. Nationalists, especially from the Republic, saw it as an attempt by the Dutch to perpetuate their hegemony by tactics of divide and rule.

Sukarno was elected President by the delegates of the 16 component states, in accordance with art. 69, on 16 December 1949, and on 20 December the new Cabinet was sworn in, with Hatta as Prime Minister. In the following months the federal system rapidly fell into decay as member state after member state opted to merge with the Republic of Indonesia. The momentum of the movement was sustained by the known unitary preferences of the President, the Prime Minister, the majority of the Cabinet, and many leaders even of the "federalist" states.

On 19 May 1950, leaders of the Federal Government (acting for the only two remaining Dutch-sponsored states) and leaders of the Republic of Indonesia agreed on the essentials of a new unitary state to replace the existing structure. It was also agreed that Sukarno should be President of the new state. The House of Representatives of *RUSI* and the Working Committee of *KNIP* were to draw up a new Constitution, on the basis of the 1949 document, but incorporating the basic provisions of the Constitution of 1945. For the following two months delegates worked on the detail of a new provisional Constitution, a task completed by 20 July 1950. Once ratified by the respective legislatures, this document was signed for the two parties on 15 August, and came into operation on the fifth anniversary of the proclamation of independence in 1945, 17 August.

It differed in important respects from the federal Constitution which had preceded it. It was unicameral, sovereignty being exercised by the Government and the Chamber of Representatives (art. 1). There was to be a Vice-President, appointed on the first occasion by the President on the recommendation of the Chamber of Representatives (art. 45). The President was specifically given the power to dissolve the Chamber of Representatives (art. 84), which he had lacked under the 1949 dispensations, but this power was circumscribed by the additional provision that his decree of dissolution had also to order the holding of elections for a new Chamber within 30 days. The Presidential supreme authority over the armed forces, reiterated in art. 127, was limited by art. 85 which made it imperative for military decrees to be counter-signed by the responsible Minister.

The Chamber of Representatives in the first place was to be made up of the *RUSI* House and Senate, plus the members of the Working Comittee of *KNIP* and the Supreme Advisory Council (art. 77). Subsequently, at general elections, there was to be one representative for each 300,000 Indonesians (arts. 56-7), and the provisions allowing for a minimum representation of minority ethnic groups (nine Chinese, six Europeans, three Arabs) were retained from the 1949 document.

Generally speaking, the provisions governing the legislative procedure were very much as in the Constitution of 1949, with the necessary modifications to allow for the disappearance of the Senate (arts. 64, 89-92, 94-5). The Chamber of Representatives was not specifically barred from forcing the Cabinet or any member of it to resign. This was generally taken as tacit under-writing of full Cabinet responsibility in the western European manner. The usual guarantees of individual liberties and welfare were incorporated. The Preamble, as with that of 1949, echoed Sukarno's *panča śila*.

The 1950 Constitution was, as originally envisaged, intended to be simply provisional, like its predecessors, pending the election of a Constituent Assembly to devise the permanent Constitution. But in fact it remained in operation until suspended in 1959.

An important source of operational friction lay in the disproportion between the duties of the President according to the Constitution and the personality, calibre and standing of its holder. As Head of State, Sukarno was theoretically confined to the kinds of activities open to a constitutional monarch in western Europe. But he was also undisputed leader of a long and arduous national revolution, invested thereby with tremendous prestige and capable of quite unique command of the loyalty of the mass of the people. It was impossible to keep him out of the political process to the extent that the Constitution assumed. His frequent policy speeches, critical of other parts of the state machine, were often taken as governmental pronouncements, and could seriously embarrass the Cabinet, who need not have been apprised in advance of their contents. If conflict developed between Cabinet and President it was the Cabinet that had to go. The President was in permanent occupation, inviolable by the terms of the Constitution (art. 83), had the power to dissolve the Chamber of Representatives, and was secure in the knowledge that nowhere in the Constitution (unlike that of 1949) was there any definition of "government".

Another serious impediment to the smooth working of the institutions devised was the increasing development of personal strains among the *dramatis personae.* The 1945-9 Government had functioned as well as it had done partly because of the intense pressure to which it was unremittingly subjected. Personal differences were secondary to the overall objective of independence. With the unifying factor of Dutch persecution gone, divergences of viewpoint and incompatibilities revealed themselves.

Another weakness lay in the great number and frequent irresponsibility of the political parties. Before the elections of 1955, of the 236 seats in the Chamber of Representatives, no party ever held more than 52. Party discipline was almost completely lacking. The views of party members in a Cabinet and their colleagues in the national organization often diverged. Parties not represented in the Cabinet did not function as a restrained, constructive, responsibie opposition, but in their actions suggested that habits of obstruction acquired in the long and bitter fight against the Dutch had become ingrained. The Cabinet time and again found itself under the necessity of acting by emergency decree in order to clear arrears of legislation over the heads of the Chamber (which had, of course, to ratify in its next session, but this it usually did).

In this kind of situation, a great deal depended on personalities, their mutual compatibility, and in particular their relations with the one permanent feature of the political landscape—President Sukarno. No cabinet lasted longer than two years, and most a good deal less than that.

It is noteworthy that in his speeches and writings over many years Sukarno had made plain that his view of democracy did not coincide with western parliamentary, or even with American presidential, democracy. In 1949, Sukarno was talking about "Eastern democracy . . . Indonesian democracy . . . a democracy with leadership" (cited in Feith, *op. cit.*, 38-9). On 10 November 1956, when he saw that not even the elections of the previous year had produced a stable Chamber of Representatives, he first broached his concept of "guided democracy". Early the following year, on 21 February 1957, he made public in greater detail his proposals for radically reforming Indonesian political institutions.

However, Sukarno's major concern in mooting guided democracy was that western democracy, with its counting of heads and statistical majorities, was not in accordance with traditional Indonesian patterns of decision making, expressed in the terms *musjawarah* (deliberation, discussion), *mufakat* (agreement, deliberation), and *gotong rojong* (mutual aid, co-operation). The first implies that the leader should act only after consultation with those led, and that his leadership should consist of guidance rather than dictation. The second has the connotation of decision reached not through majority, but by final arrival at the general will, the greatest attainable degree of consensus. The third emphasizes the co-operative aspects of economic and social life, and is implicitly critical of arrangements which encourage or condone the clash of vested interests, the spirit of competition, and the thrust of individualism.

Sukarno's political role, so circumscribed by the *letter* of the 1950 Constitution, as compared with that of 1945, grew progressively more significant and direct. The essence of his proposals was that the Cabinet should represent a broad cross-section of the parties, including the communists, and that it should work with a National Council, which would include key ministers, and representatives of different interest groups in Indonesian society—trade unions, youth movements, religions, artists, farmers and peasants, journalists, women, veterans of the revolution, foreign-born citizens, Indonesian business circles, the armed forces, and the outer islands. It would be the task of the National Council to advise the President and the Cabinet and to make recommendations.

His suggestions met with resistance, and regional rebellions, which had since Independence fitfully erupted and subsided, now flared. A state of War and Siege was declared, giving recognition to the exercise of civil authority by regional military commanders. As Sukarno was unable to find a politician who could form a Cabinet on his principles, he himself stepped in and established a "National Caretaker Cabinet" under a respected non-party man, Dr. Djuanda Kartawidjaja. Two of the members of the Cabinet were reputed to be sympathetic to the Indonesian Communist Party (*PKI*). The National Council, nominated by the President, further strengthened his hand. Although Djuanda told the Chamber of Representatives that the Cabinet, as before, would continue to be responsible to it, clearly a major change in the role and power of the Presidency had taken place.

In 1958 a revolt in Sumatra offered the most serious challenge yet to Sukarno, and an alternative Cabinet and Government were formed. The legitimate Government succeeded in crushing this revolt, and in the process effectively cleared its path of the individuals and parties hostile to it who had been unwise enough to become implicated. The Army, under the leadership of General Nasution, confirmed its growing authority and influence. The *PKI*, on the other hand, had shown in regional elections in Java that its strength, too, was increasing.

Sukarno now favoured a return to the Constitution of 1945, with its basically presidential pattern. After considerable discussion and pressure, the Cabinet accepted his demand in December 1958. When the elected Consultative Assembly, whose function was the enactment of a permanent Constitution to replace that of 1950, failed to endorse the return to that of 1945, it was dissolved. The President

re-introduced the 1945 Constitution by decree on 5 July 1959.

In March 1960 the elected Chamber of Representatives was dissolved, and an appointed *gotong rojong* (mutual co-operation) one took its place. President Sukarno formed a new Cabinet, with a Chief Minister, Dr. Djuanda, but he himself added the Premiership to his other roles as President, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, Chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council (the name by which the National Council came to be styled), and Chairman of the National Planning Council. Parties which could not accept the new circumstances were banned. Civil servants were forbidden to join political parties. The formation of a National Front was announced.

The present (February 1963) Indonesian Constitution is, therefore, the one with which Indonesia embarked in August 1945. The personal primacy of Sukarno has been recognized and endorsed by making of the Presidency the key political institution, wielding executive and legislative power, the former with the assistance of Ministers appointed by and responsible to the President, the latter with the consent of the Chamber of Representatives. The President and Vice-President are responsible to the Consultative Assembly, which elects them, and in which resides the sovereignty of the people. Functional group elements are included in the Chamber of Representatives, the Consultative Assembly, and the Supreme Advisory Council. Ten political parties, including the *PKI*, have been accorded recognition. General elections, due to be held in 1962, were postponed until "after the return of Irian Barat". These would be the first elections under the 1945 Constitution.

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xii. — LIBYA

Libya proved to be the first North African country west of Egypt to be emancipated from foreign control and organized, despite her relative backwardness, as a modern constitutional state following World War II.

On 21 November 1949, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution declaring Libya, comprising the three provinces of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Fazzan, to be established as a united and independent state. The resolution provided likewise that Libya should have a constitution to be laid down by her people's representatives, meeting in a national assembly. The General Assembly appointed a United Nations Commissioner, Adrian Pelt, to advise Libya's national assembly in the drawing up of her constitution.

The national assembly met on 25 November 1950 and appointed a constitutional committee composed of 18 members (each province was represented by six members). The actual drafting was entrusted to a working group of six. The national assembly began its debate over the draft as soon as the constitutional committee had completed the first chapter. The assembly formally completed its work on 7 October 1951 and the constitution was promulgated on that day. A draft electoral law, based on several Arab electoral laws, was submitted to the assembly on 21 October and was adopted on 6 November 1951.

The Libyan Constitution provided the innovation of a federal system by virtue of which the three provinces of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Fazzan agreed to join in a union under a single monarchy entrusted to King Idrīs I. This union proved to be a happy compromise, capable of development into a more intimate unity, as the amendment of 1962 demonstrated. Under the federal system, Libya possessed one national (federal) government and three state (provincial) governments. The powers of the national government, such as foreign affairs, defence, and matters relating jointly to the three provinces, were specifically stated; the residuary powers remained in the provinces. The national government is composed of a bi-cameral parliament, a Cabinet responsible to the Lower House, a supreme court to decide the constitutionality of laws, and a federal administrative system. Each state (provincial) government was composed of a *wālī* (governor), an executive council, a legislative assembly, provincial courts, and a provincial administrative system. The *wālī* was responsible to the King and the chief of the executive council was responsible to the provincial legislative assembly. The first amendment to the constitution, enacted in 1962, simplified this elaborate system of government by making the *wālī* responsible to the federal government and abolishing the head of the provincial executive council, making the council responsible to the *wālī*. The progress achieved under the Libyan federal system justified the steps undertaken by the national assembly to provide such an elaborate constitutional framework, without which the three provinces would, perhaps, have been unable to unite into one state, governed by one monarchical system. This system has proved to be fairly stable, for Libya has had only one sovereign since 1951, six Cabinets, and three Parliaments (1952, 1956, 1960). The Lower House proved to be quite vocal in its criticism of governmental measures and was capable of withdrawing confidence in one of the governments (1960), although Libya's parliamentary system, in the absence of a party system, was on the whole subservient to the executive.

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(M. KHADDURI)

xiii. — SŪDĀN

The convention of 19 January 1899 between Great Britain and Egypt, confirmed by the treaty of 26 August 1936, made the Sudan an Anglo-Egyptian condominium, but the British authorities tended, after the second world war, to lead the country towards autonomy and independence. Negotiations between Britain and Egypt were broken off on 27 January 1947, the Egyptian government making known its desire to submit "the cause of the Nile Valley in its entirety" to the Security Council.

From 1944, however, a Consultative Council of the Northern Sudan comprising 8 members nominated by the governor-general and 18 elected by the provincial councils established in the same year had been instituted. On 9 March 1948 the Consultative Council of the Northern Sudan had adopted an organic law providing for the creation of an Executive Council and a Legislative Assembly; this text, promulgated on 19 June by the governor-general, aroused protests from Egypt and the Sudanese protagonists of the unity of the Nile Valley, who refused to take part, on 15 November 1948, in the elections to the Legislative Assembly; the latter was to have included 52 elected members (for the North), 13 appointed by the provincial councils of the South, and 10 nominated by the governor-general.

In March 1951, at the request of the Assembly which had been constituted, the governor-general charged a commission of 13 members, all Sudanese, with the drafting of a Constitution, which was adopted by the Assembly on 23 April 1952 under the name of "Ordinance on Autonomy". This text was composed of a preamble and 11 chapters containing 103 articles. Chapter III deals with the governor-general and the executive, Chapter V institutes a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies; legislation is dealt with in Chap. VI, finance in Chap. VII; the following deals with the Controller-general, Chap. IX with the judicial power; a judicature administering the *sharīʿa* (art. 79) is maintained under the presidency of the Chief *ḳāḍī*; conflicts of jurisdiction are decided by a court of jurisdiction of which the Chief *ḳāḍī* and a judge of the High Court of the *sharīʿa* are members (art. 80). Chap. X creates a commission of public administration, while the last section deals with interim provisions.

This text should have become effective on 9 November 1952, but the Egyptian revolution had broken out in the meantime; on 29 October the Egyptian government had, however, published a memorandum recognizing the right of the Sudanese to self-determination, and finally the ordinance on autonomy was promulgated on 21 March 1953 after the signature of the Anglo-Egyptian agreements of 12 February envisaging amendments to be added. The Chamber of Deputies was to consist of 97 elected members, and the Senate of 30 elected and 20 appointed members; elections were therefore arranged for November-December 1953, and on 6 January 1954 the Chamber elected the president of the council who formed the first government.

After a period of transition, independence was officially proclaimed before the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies in joint plenary session on 1 January 1956. On the same date a provisional Constitution was brought into operation comprising 11 chapters and 121 articles; it largely repeats the Ordinance on Autonomy, but Chap. III is completely modified, since it now provides for the election by parliament of a supreme commission of 5 persons which is to be the highest authority in the State (art. 10-1). Chap. IV deals with the executive power of the Prime Minister, appointed by the supreme commission, which also appoints ministers. The Council of Ministers is responsible to parliament (art. 27). The legislative body (Chap. V) continues to consist of the Senate (20 members appointed by the supreme commission, 30 elected) and the Chamber of Representatives. Chap. VI deals with legislative procedure, the following chapter with finance, property, contracts and lawsuits. Chap. VIII provides for the appointment of a Controller-general of accounts by the supreme commission. Chap. IX deals with the judicial power, comprising a civil division and a *sharīʿa* division presided over by the chief *ḳāḍī* (art. 93). Art. 95 provides that the *sharīʿa* division shall consist of tribunals and shall exercise the powers provided by the ordinance of 1902 on tribunals of Sudanese Muslim law, and by modificatory laws. Chap. X treats of public offices, and the last chapter contains interim provisions.

On 22 May 1958 both chambers of parliament joined in a Constituent Assembly to examine the definitive form of the Constitution, and in spite of the opposition of the Southerners, appointed 40 members charged with preparing a new draft. The text presented did not obtain the approval of the Southerners since it provided for a unitary and not a federal State, and also because it provided that Islam should be the state religion and Arabic the official language. Finally the Constituent Assembly voted for a motion recommending that the constitutional committee should take note of the demands of the Southerners. It had however, no time to bring its deliberations to a satisfactory conclusion, since on 17 November 1958 a *coup d'état* put the government of the country in the hands of the army. The following day the high command of the armed forces published decrees by the terms of which the Sudan was a democratic republic whose supreme constitutional organ was the high command which delegated its legislative, executive and judiciary powers to General ʿAbbūd. The constitution is suspended.

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(ED.)

xiv. — PĀKISTĀN

Pakistan, on coming into existence on 15 August 1947, was governed by the Government of India Act 1935, as amended by the Indian Independence Act 1947, which repealed all provisions of the former statute authorizing control from England and the reserved powers of the Governors and Governor-General. The Constituent Assembly, summoned in July 1947, was not only to make new constitutional laws but also to exercise the powers of the Federal Legislature under the Act of 1935. Pakistan com-

menced as a federal state; in addition to the former British Indian territory, within the territory of Pakistan were the princely states of Bahawalpur and Khairpur (Bahāwalpūr, Khayrpūr [*qq.v.*]), the Balūčistān states, and the N.W. Frontier states. The Independence Act had broken the link between these states and the Crown but they executed instruments of accession to Pakistan, surrendering powers over defence, foreign affairs and communications.

Legislative subject-matter was distributed between the centre and the Governor's provinces by three lists, one enumerating matters within the exclusive competence of the Constituent Assembly, another matters exclusively assigned to the provincial legislatures, and a third matters over which power was concurrent, though central legislation would prevail in case of repugnancy, unless assented to by the Governor-General. Administrative power generally covered the same field as legislative power, though most matters on the concurrent list were within the provincial power and the centre could direct a province to act as the instrumentality for execution of its laws and to take prescribed steps for the construction and maintenance of communications. Distribution of powers between the centre and the states was determined by their instruments of accession.

At the centre the Governor-General, though appointed by the Crown, was nominated by the Government. The Governor-General appointed the Provincial Governors. Ministers were appointed by the Governor-General aud Governors; they could hold office for 10 months without being members of the appropriate Assembly. The Governor-General and the Governors could legislate by Ordinance when the appropriate legislature was not in session. The Governor-General could proclaim an emergency, if faced with a threat of war, rebellion, or mass-movement of population, which would have the effect of extending the federal power to all provincial matters; he could also, if he thought the security of Pakistan in danger or the provincial constitution could not be worked, direct the Governor to assume, as his deputy, all the executive and legislative powers of the Province.

The High Court at Lahore, the Chief Court at Karachi and the Judicial Commissioner in N. W. Frontier and Balūčistān were, when Pakistan became independent, the highest tribunals in the provinces in which they were situated. A High Court at Dacca (Dhākā) for East Bengal and a new Federal Court were created. To the powers of the latter under the Government of India Act 1935 were transferred the appellate jurisdiction of the Privy Council by statutes passed in 1949 and 1950.

In 1952 a draft constitution was presented to the Constituent Assembly but discussion was postponed until September 1953 in the hope of reconciling conflicting views regarding it.

Before this constitution could be finalized, the Governor-General dismissed the Constituent Assembly on 25 October 1954 and litigation followed, resulting in this action being upheld. A fresh Constituent Assembly was summoned and first met on 5 July 1955. On 30 September it enacted the Establishment of West Pakistan Act which came into force on 14 October, integrating the territories of the west wing into a single province and amalgamating the High Court of Lahore, the Chief Court of Sind and the judicial commissioners in N. W. Frontier and Balūčistān into a single High Court.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan came into force on 2 March 1956. It was federal, in so far as relations between the centre and the two provinces were concerned. Legislative and administrative powers were distributed as before, save that the provincial power was to some degree enhanced by the transfer of some powers to the provincial list and by giving the provinces power over matters not enumerated in any list. The centre had exclusive power to impose certain taxes. All other taxing powers were assigned to the provinces, which were also entitled to a share in the proceeds of income tax, purchase tax and some export and excise duties, all imposed by the centre. Grants to provinces were also contemplated. These and the provincial shares in distributable taxes were appropriated on the advice of a National Finance Commission, consisting of the finance ministers of the Federation and the Provinces sitting with other members appointed by the President in consultation with the Governors.

The head of the state was styled "President"; he was to be elected by the members of the central and provincial legislatures; it was necessary that he should be a Muslim and not less than 40 years of age. His term of office was five years and he could not be elected more than twice. He was liable to impeachment by a resolution supported by three-quarters of the members of the National Assembly. The Constitution contemplated that he would generally act on the advice of his ministers. He was obliged to appoint as Prime Minister the person most likely to command the confidence of a majority of the members of the National Assembly. Though he held office at the pleasure of the President, he could not be dismissed unless the President was satisfied that he had lost that confidence. Other ministers were appointed and removed by the President, but any minister who for six consecutive months was not a member of the National Assembly ceased to be a minister. The Prime Minister was obliged to communicate to the President all administrative decisions of the minister, all proposals for legislation and any further information called for by the President, who could insist on a decision by an individual minister being reviewed by the whole cabinet. The purpose was to ensure collective responsibility of the ministers to the National Assembly.

All legislatures were unicameral. The National Assembly was composed of 150 members from each wing and, for the first ten years, five seats in each wing were to be reserved for women. A candidate for election had to be 25 or older and qualified for the franchise, *i.e.*, he had to be a citizen of Pakistan, of sound mind, not subject to any disqualification and resident in the constituency for which he was enrolled. The National Assembly had a maximum life of five years; it was summoned, prorogued and dismissed by the President; two sessions in each year with a maximum of six months between sessions were obligatory. The Assembly elected a speaker and deputy speaker and was empowered to make its own rules of procedure. Ordinary legislation was passed by a simple majority, bills being presented to the President, who could assent, veto or return a bill for reconsideration. The veto could be overruled by a two-thirds majority and the President was obliged to assent to a reconsidered bill, passed by a simple majority, with or without amendment. The initiative in all financial matters was vested in the Executive. No bill or amendment dealing with taxation or appropriation or involving expenditure

from the revenues of the Federation could be moved except on the President's recommendation.

The President could legislate by Ordinance in emergencies, if the National Assembly was not in session; such legislation was subject to the same constitutional limitations as Acts of the National Assembly but would expire six weeks after the commencement of the next session of the National Assembly or earlier if disapproved by the National Assembly.

The powers to declare a national emergency and suspend a provincial constitution were retained but proclamations for that purpose had to be approved by the National Assembly. A new emergency power was created, to proclaim a financial emergency if the President was satisfied that financial stability was endangered; this also required the approval of the National Assembly. The effect of the first two powers was the same as before. The effect of the third was to empower the centre to control financial business in the Provinces.

The pattern of the central executive and legislature was reproduced in the Provinces with slight differences. The Governor occupied a position comparable to the President but was appointed by the President, holding office at his pleasure but normally continuing for five years. It was essential that he should have attained the age of 40 but not that he should be a Muslim. Corresponding to the Prime Minister was a Chief Minister. Each Provincial Assembly had 300 members with 10 extra seats for women for the first 10 years. Nobody could be a member of the National Assembly and a Provincial Assembly.

There was no distribution of judicial power. The Federal Court became the Supreme Court. It had original jurisdiction in disputes between Provinces and between the Federation and a Province. Appeals lay from the High Courts on constitutional matters, in civil cases involving property worth Rs. 15,000 or certified to involve an important legal point and in criminal cases where a sentence of death or transportation for life had been passed in appeal from an acquittal to a High Court or by a High Court in the exercise of its extraordinary original jurisdiction, or when a High Court certified it fit for appeal, or from commitments for contempt. The Supreme Court could also grant special leave to appeal from any order of any judicial or quasi-judicial tribunal other than a court martial. It also had an advisory jurisdiction to give an opinion on any point of law referred to it by the President. The High Courts' previous powers and jurisdiction were continued and they were empowered to issue writs for the protection of a Fundamental Right and "for any other purpose", which, as interpreted, meant in any matter where justice called for action and the petitioner had no adequate alternative remedy. The Supreme Court was also empowered to issue writs but only to protect a Fundamental Right. A Supreme Court Judge was only removable on an address supported by two-thirds of the members voting in the National Assembly; a High Court Judge could be removed on a report of the Supreme Court after enquiry.

A feature of the 1956 Constitution was its chapter on Fundamental Rights, which included a guaranteed legal remedy against any law infringing a Fundamental Right. This chapter demanded equality before the law and prohibited discrimination in respect of access to places of public resort and in appointment to government service on grounds of religion, caste, sex, place of birth or residence. No person could be deprived of life or liberty save by authority of law, and punishment under a retroactive law was forbidden. A person arrested on a criminal charge had a right to be informed of the grounds of his arrest, a right to production before a magistrate within 24 hours and a right to consult and be defended by a pleader of his own choice. A person preventively detained had a right to the grounds of detention, a right to make a representation and, in case of prolonged detention, a right of recourse to an advisory board. Citizens were, subject to conditions, entitled to freedom of speech, assembly, association, movement, residence, religion and freedom to follow a profession and deal with property. Expropriation of agricultural land or any interest in a commercial undertaking, except for public purposes, under a statute providing fair compensation, was forbidden. Religious denominations could maintain religious institutions and provide religious instruction in their educational institutions. No person could be denied admission to an educational institution on grounds of race, religion, caste or place of birth but no student could be obliged to participate in activities connected with any religion but his own.

There was also a chapter of Directive Principles, not enforceable in the courts, but intended to be followed by the executives and legislatures. They enjoined the promotion of social uplift and the promotion of economic well-being. Steps were to be taken to strengthen the bonds between Muslim countries, to promote international peace, to enable Muslims to lead their lives in accordance with Islamic principles, to see that Islamic institutions were properly managed, and to provide facilities for instruction in the religion of Islam.

Another chapter forbade the enactment of any law repugnant to the injuctions of Islam and the revision of the existing law to bring it into conformity with those injunctions. To effect these purposes a Commission was to be appointed to define the injunctions of Islam and to recommend measures for their enforcement, but an Act of the National Assembly would be necessary to implement any recommendation made. Nothing effective appears to have been accomplished in the exercise of these functions.

On 7 October 1958 the Constitution of 1956 was abrogated by the President, who placed the country under martial law. All legislatures were dismissed and political parties dissolved. The President exercised the federal executive and legislative functions, assisted by ministers appointed by him and responsible to him alone. Provincial Governors exercised the powers they would have had under the Constitution of 1956 on the suspension of a provincial constitution, but subject to control by the Martial Law Authorities. At first the distribution of powers was continued but in 1959 all matters on the provincial list were transferred to the concurrent list. The statute law previously in force was continued and protected from attack as repugnant to a Fundamental Right. The acts of the Martial Law Authorities were protected from review by the courts, whose powers, except to the extent indicated, remained intact.

It was not intended that the Martial Law experience was to continue indefinitely. In 1959 the Basic Democracies Order was promulgated, creating a hierarchy of local government boards, town and union committees, district committees and divisional councils. In the lowest tier at least two-thirds of the members were elected by persons formerly entitled to vote at elections to the legislatures, but

the Sub-divisional Officer was chairman of the *thānā* or *taḥṣīl* committee, and in the higher tiers the elected element would be diluted.

In January 1960 the members of local councils elected under the Basic Democracies Order were required to declare by secret ballot whether or not they had confidence in the President. If the majority showed confidence, the President would take steps for the promulgation of a new constitution under which he would be deemed to have been elected President for the first term.

The election having gone in the President's favour, he appointed a commission to make recommendations for the new Constitution. It was promulgated on 1 March 1962. There are at the centre the President, Ministers and a National Assembly and a Governor, Ministers and a Provincial Assembly in each province but it would be difficult to maintain that the Constitution is federal in fact. There is a list of central subjects. All other matters are within the provincial power, but the National Assembly may encroach on the provincial field on the grounds that the security of Pakistan demands it or that uniformity is necessary throughout Pakistan. It is no longer possible to impugn a law as *ultra vires* the enacting legislature, and the rule that, in case of conflict, a central law prevails over a provincial law is of universal application.

After the expiry of Field-Marshal Ayyūb Khān's term of office, the President, who must be a Muslim and have attained 35 years, will be elected by an Electoral College, composed of one Elector chosen by each electoral unit, of which there are 40,000 in each Province. The President's term is five years; he is liable to be impeached for violation of the Constitution or gross misconduct, or removed for incapacity, by a resolution supported by three-quarters of all members of the National Assembly. But any such motion is discouraged by the threat that, if half the members do not support the resolution, those who gave notice of the motion will cease to be members of the Assembly.

The executive capital is Islāmābād and the legislative capital Dacca (Dhākā). Presidential government replaces parliamentary government, for the President appoints the Ministers, and may remove them without assigning reasons; they cease to hold office on a change of President. The original intention was that they should not be members of the National Assembly, but this is no longer compulsory.

The National Assembly, elected by members of the Electoral College, will consist of 156 members, half from each wing, from which three seats will be reserved for women. It has a maximum life of 5 years. It can be summoned not only by the President but also by the Speaker at the request of one-third of all the members. If summoned by the President, it is prorogued by the President; if the Speaker summons it, he prorogues.

The President dismisses the National Assembly, but he may not do so if the unexpired portion of its term is less than 120 days or before a vote on a motion to impeach or remove him. The President ceases to hold office 126 days after the dissolution of the Assembly, unless his successor has earlier entered on his office. In case of disagreement between the President and the National Assembly, the President may refer the matter to the Electoral College. As under the 1956 Constitution, the President may assent to or veto a Bill or return it for reconsideration; if he takes either the second or third course and the Bill is again passed by a two-thirds majority of all members, he may refer the matter to the Electoral College, where he may be overruled by a simple majority of the total membership.

The President retains the power to legislate by Ordinance when the National Assembly is not in session. If the Ordinance is approved by the National Assembly, it is deemed to become an Act of the Assembly; in any other case it expires 180 days after promulgation or 42 days after the Assembly next meets, whichever is less. The President is also empowered to issue a proclamation of general emergency in the same circumstance as previously and it must be laid before the Assembly, which has no power to disapprove. While this proclamation is in force, the President may legislate by Ordinance, whether the Assembly is sitting or not. The Ordinance, must be laid before the Assembly, which has no power to disapprove. If it approves, the Ordinance is deemed to be an Act of the Assembly; in any other case it ceases to have affect when the President withdraws the proclamation.

Under the 1956 Constitution the power of the National Assembly to refuse demands for grants, except to meet expenditure charged on the revenues of Pakistan, was a powerful instrument whereby the legislature could control the executive, but under the 1962 Constitution the Assembly cannot refuse a demand for recurring expenditure, including an increase up to 10% of the expenditure incurred in the previous year.

As before, the pattern of the executive and legislature in a province is similar to that at the centre, but the Governor is appointed by the President and is subject to his directions; he may be removed at any time without reasons being assigned. Provincial ministers hold office at the Governor's pleasure but cannot be removed without the President's concurrence.

Each Provincial Assembly, elected by members of the Electoral College, consists of 150 members, five seats being reserved for women. Its maximum term is five years. In case of conflict with the Governor, he or the Speaker may request a reference to the National Assembly; if the National Assembly decides in favour of the Governor, then and only then can the Governor dismiss the Provincial Assembly. The Governor's powers to legislate by Ordinance can only be exercised when the Provincial Assembly is not in session and, *mutatis mutandis*, resemble the powers of the President.

The Supreme Court no longer has powers to issue writs, and its appellate jurisdiction is limited to appeals from a High Court; while it still may grant special leave to appeal, an appeal only lies as of right against a sentence of death or transportation for life imposed by a High Court, a committal for contempt by such court, or on its certificate that a substantial question of constitutional law is involved. The High Courts have also lost their writ jurisdiction, but, where there is no adequate remedy, they may declare an act of a public authority illegal and direct such authority to act in conformity with law. A High Court may also satisfy itself as to the legality of the custody in which any person is held and the right of an incumbent to hold public office.

The old Fundamental Rights, revised and restated, appear in the guise of Principles of Law Making and the Directive Principles as Principles of Policy, but they are only binding on the consciences of legislators and public officials; no law can be impugned as violative of the Principles of

Law Making and no official act can be declared invalid as violating a Principle of Policy.

One Principle of Law Making is that no law shall be repugnant to Islam, and it is provided that any legislature, the President or a Governor may refer a proposed law to the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology for opinion as to whether it violates any of the Principles. The members of this Council are appointed by the President, having regard to their understanding and appreciation of Islam and the economic, legal and administrative problems of Pakistan; they hold office for three years. Apart from the function indicated above, they may make recommendations to the Governments on means of encouraging Muslims to live in accordance with Islamic principles. When a question of repugnancy of a proposed law to a Principle of Law Making is referred to the Council by the President or a Governor, he must inform the Assembly of the date on which the advice is expected, but, if the Assembly, the President or the Governor thinks immediate action necessary in the public interest, the law may be enacted before the advice is furnished.

Bibliography: K. Callard, *Pakistan, a political study*, London 1957; *Report of the Constitution Commission, Pakistan*, Karachi 1962; A. K. Brohi, *Fundamental Law of Pakistan*, Karachi 1958; A. Gledhill, *Pakistan : the development of its laws and constitution*, London 1957; K. J. Newman, *Essays on the Constitution of Pakistan*, Dacca [1956], gives a survey of the constitutional movement, the text of the draft and the text adopted in 1956, with authoritative comments and an extensive bibliography; see also A. Chapy, *L'Islam dans la Constitution du Pakistan*, in *Orient*, iii (July 1957), 120-7. On the Constitution of 1962, see A. Guimbretière, *La nouvelle Constitution du Pakistan*, in *Orient*, xxiv (1962/4), 29-47 and the bibl. there given. Text of the new Constitution: *The Constitution of the Republic of Pakistan*, Karachi 1962, 134 pp.

(A. Gledhill)

xv. — Mauretania

On 28 September 1958 the Mauretanian people approved the French draft Constitution submitted to referendum, and chose adherence to the *Communauté*; on 28 November of the same year the Territorial Assembly opted for the status of Member State of the *Communauté*, proclaimed the Islamic Republic of Mauretania, and transformed itself into a Constituent Assembly. A committee prepared a draft which was adopted by the Assembly on 22 March 1959. This first Constitution comprised a preamble and 9 chapters, containing 53 articles. In the preamble the Mauretanian people proclaims its attachment to its religion, its traditions, to the rights of man and the principles of democracy. Art. 2 declares that Islam is the religion of the Mauretanian people, but guarantees to everyone freedom of conscience. National sovereignty belongs to the people, who exercise it through their representatives and by way of referendum. Chap. II treats of the government, which is composed of the Prime Minister and other ministers. The Prime Minister decides and carries out the policy of the State, exercises the power of making regulations, ensures the execution of the laws, appoints to offices of the state, negotiates and concludes agreements with the *Communauté* (art. 12), appoints the members of the government and dismisses them (art. 13). Before entering into office members of the government must take an oath according to a formula designed only for Muslims. Chap. III relates to the National Assembly, which holds the legislative power (art. 17) and is elected for five years (art. 18). The deputies enjoy parliamentary immunity (art. 19) and take the oath in a prescribed form, although the text only defines these forms in the case of Muslim deputies (art. 21). Chapter IV deals with the relations between the government and the Assembly; chap. V treats of the constitutional commission, chap. VI with justice: provisionally, the control of justice is in the domain of the competence of the *Communauté* (art. 43), but the civil courts of Muslim law are to conduct enquiries and dispense justice according to this law in all civil and commercial matters. The organization of these courts is to be determined by law. Laws shall be introduced to codify the rules of Muslim law applicable in the Islamic Republic of Mauretania (art. 44). A High Court is provided for by art. 45. Chap. VII deals with territorial entities, which are the district and the parish; chap. VIII provides for the procedure to be followed for the revision of the Constitution, and chap. IX contains interim provisions.

The National Assembly elected on 17 May 1959 took office and prepared a new constitutional text necessitated by the accession of Mauretania to independence. This text was promulgated on 20 May 1961. It consists of a preamble and nine chapters including 61 articles. In comparison with the Constitution of 22 March 1959 it presents noticeable differences especially in the new provisions which relate to the President of the Republic, who is endowed with very extensive powers. He must be of the Muslim religion (art. 10); elected for five years by direct universal suffrage (art. 13), he takes the oath before the National Assembly in a prescribed form (art. 16). As holder of the executive power (art. 12) he decides the general policies of the nation and selects the ministers, who are responsible to him (art. 17); he possesses, moreover, the power of enacting regulations (art. 18), commands the armed forces (art. 20), signs and ratifies treaties (art. 22), and exercises the right of pardon (art. 23). In case of imminent danger he takes the exceptional steps required by the circumstances (art. 25). It is he also who declares a state of war or a state of emergency (art. 42).

Chap. III is devoted to the National Assembly, elected for five years and invested with the legislative power (arts. 26-7). Deputies enjoy parliamentary immunity (art. 29). Chap. IV deals with the relations between the President of the Republic and the Assembly, especially on matters which fall within the orbit of the law (art. 33) and those which refer to the power of regulation (art. 35). The President of the Republic may, with the authority of the Assembly, take measures by decree which are normally within the purview of the law (art. 36). The initiation of laws belongs to the President of the Republic and the members of the Assembly (art. 37). The President promulgates the laws and arranges for their publication in the Official Gazette within 15 days, during which time he has the power to refer back the draft or the proposal to the Assembly for a second reading. According to chap. V, international treaties and agreements can only be ratified by virtue of a law (art. 44). Chap. VI establishes the independence of the judiciary (art. 47), which dispenses justice in the name of the people. The superior council of the magistracy assists the president of the Republic (art. 50). The Supreme Court receives the

declarations of candidates for the presidency of the Republic (art. 13), declares when the Presidency is vacant (art. 24), and decides in case of dispute on the regularity of the election of deputies (art. 28), and scrutinizes the constitutionality of laws (arts. 41, 45); it also scrutinizes the correct functioning of the referendum and publishes its results. Its other powers, its composition, its rules of procedure and the procedure which are applicable before it are fixed by law (art. 51). In the case of high treason the President of the Republic and the ministers may be impeached by the National Assembly and sent before the High Court. Chapter VII concerns parishes, administered by elected councils. The following chapter provides for the procedure of revising the Constitution, and the last contains interim provisions.

Bibliography: Documentation française, *Notes et études documentaires*, no. 2687 of 29 July 1960. (Ch. Pellat)

xvi. — Kuwayt

On 16 November 1962 the *amīr* of Kuwayt published the first Constitution of the amīrate, voted by a Constituent Assembly who had spent the previous two months examining a draft prepared by specialists. Discussion had been lively, and many articles had been accepted only after long discussion. The discussion which holds most interest for Islamic scholars is that which arose on art. 2, which provides that "the State religion is Islam, and the *sharīʿa* an essential source of legislation"; some members wished to say *the* essential source, and their opponents had to struggle to make them admit the impossibility of applying Islamic law to the letter (which for example provides that the thief is to have his hands cut off) and its incompatability with the needs of a modern State as regards banks, insurance and other financial institutions.

This Constitution thus declares in its first articles that Kuwayt is an independent and sovereign Arab State, that its people are part of the Arab nation, that Islam is the State religion and that the *sharīʿa* is an essential source of legislation, but that all religions are protected provided that they do not disturb public order and morals. Art. 6, which declared that "property, capital and labour are fundamental elements of the social structure of the State" also gave rise to an acrimonious discussion, and the individual right of ownership was finally guaranteed. The nation is the source of all power, and the head of the State is a prince descended from the *amīr* Mubārak Āl Ṣabbāḥ. Freedom of opinion and expression is recognized completely. Art. 31, which stipulates that "no one may be arrested, imprisoned, subjected to search or to house arrest, deprived of his right to choose his residence or to move about freely, except in conformity with the law, and no one may be subjected to torture or any treatment contrary to human dignity", was also fiercely debated, some wishing to allow torture in order to protect society. Art. 43 recognizes the right of citizens to join parties and allows the formation of trade unions. The State aids aged and sick citizens and those incapable of work.

Arts. 54-8, dealing with the head of State, provide for an intermediate stage between presidential rule and parliamentary rule. The *amīr* exercises executive power through the intermediacy of his ministers; with the approval of a third of its members he may dissolve the National Assembly, which is invested with the legislative power. (Ed.)

xvii. — Morocco

The latest of the Constitutions of Muslim countries to come into being is that of Morocco, made public by the king on 18 November 1962 and approved by referendum on 7 December of the same year. It represented the fruition of the "Charter of Public Liberties" which, promulgated on 8 May 1958 by king Muḥammad V, announced the setting up of a constitutional monarchy, and of the "Fundamental Law" issued on 2 June 1961 by his son and successor Ḥasan II, which prepared the way for the promulgation of a Constitution. This consists of a preamble and twelve sections divided into 110 articles.

The preamble declares that the Kingdom of Morocco is a Muslim State the language of which is Arabic, that it constitutes a part of the Great Maghrib, and is an African State.

Section I defines Morocco as "a constitutional, democratic and social monarchy" in which "sovereignty belongs to the nation, which exercises it directly by referendum and indirectly through the medium of constitutional institutions", *i.e.*, the King, Parliament and the government. Article 3 envisages the existence of political parties and declares that "there cannot be a sole party in Morocco". The equality of all Moroccans before the law is assured (art. 5), as well as freedom of worship for all, Islam being, however, the State religion (art. 6). The Constitution accords equal political rights to men and women (art. 8), and guarantees to all citizens freedom of movement, opinion, expression, association, meeting, membership of a trade union and a political party (art. 9) as well as the basic rights, including the right to strike and the right to own property (arts. 14-5).

Section II, devoted to the King, accords him a preponderant place and lays down that his person is inviolable and sacrosanct (art. 23); as the "symbol of the unity of the nation" he bears the title of *amīr al-muʾminīn* and is the guardian of Islam and of the Constitution (art. 19). Succession to the crown is assured to "male descendents in the direct line and by primogeniture" (art. 20); the King presides over all councils of State (arts. 25, 32, 33, 86, 96), appoints to civil and military offices, commands the armed forces (art. 30), accredits ambassadors and ratifies treaties (art. 31), has the right to pardon (art. 34) and possesses four essential prerogatives: he appoints and dismisses the Prime Minister and members of the government (art. 24), has the right to submit to a referendum any bill or draft law after discussion in parliament (arts. 26, 72-4), can dissolve the chamber of representatives (arts. 27, 77, 79), and finally, in case of grave danger, has the right to proclaim a state of emergency (art. 35).

Section III deals with Parliament, which consists of the Chamber of Representatives, elected for four years by direct universal suffrage (art. 44), and the Chamber of Councillors, elected for six years and renewable by halves every three years; two-thirds of this chamber consist of members elected, in each prefecture and province, by a college composed of members of the prefectoral and provincial assemblies and of communal councils, the remaining third being elected by the chambers of agriculture, commerce, industry and handicrafts, and by the trade unions (art. 45). The list of matters reserved for parliamentary legislation is relatively restricted (art. 48), while the range of administrative regulation is extensive (art. 49). The right to initiate laws belongs to the prime minister and to members of parliament (art. 55).

Section IV deals with the government, which is responsible to the King and to the Chamber of Representatives (art. 65); it is responsible for the execution of laws, controls the administration (art. 66), and exercises a regulatory power over matters which are not the concern of the law (art. 68).

Section V regulates the relations between King and Parliament and between the latter and the government. The Chamber of Representatives can overthrow the government either by a motion of no confidence (art. 80) or by a vote of censure (art. 81).

Section VI lays down the principle of the independence of the judicial power and sets up a High Council of Judiciary. According to the provisions of Section VII members of the government can be impeached by the Chamber of Representatives and sent before the High Court of Justice. Section VIII deals with provincial and local government, and Section IX with the Higher Council for national development and planning. Section X treats of the constitutional chamber and the Supreme Court. Section XI provides for the possibility of revising the Constitution, but art. 108 declares that "the monarchic form of the State and the provisions relating to the Muslim religion cannot be the object of any constitutional revision". Finally, Section XII contains transitional provisions.

Bibliography: *La Pensée*, Rabat, i/2 (1962); Italian version in *OM*, xlii/12 (1962), 909-16.

(Ch. Pellat)

xviii. — Federal constitutions

The year 1958 was marked by three attempts to create unions or federations of Arab states: on 1 February, the United Arab Republic (*al-Djumhūriyya al-ʿarabiyya al-muttaḥida*) of Egypt and Syria; on 8 March, the United Arab States (*al-Duwal al-ʿarabiyya al-muttaḥida*), of the United Arab Republic (but more particularly the former Egypt) and the Yemen; on 14 February, the Arab Union (*al-Ittiḥād al-ʿarabī*), of ʿIrāḳ and Jordan. All three were ephemeral, but they lasted a sufficiently long time for them to provide themselves with federal constitutions, drafted within a remarkably short time.

Reference has already been made (*supra*, iii, Egypt) to the constitution of the UAR, to which a little must be added here. As early as 5 February 1958 detailed provisions on the future status of the new republic were presented to the Syrian Chamber of Deputies and the National Assembly of Egypt by the heads of the two states; on 21 February the populations of both countries were asked to approve by referendum the creation of the UAR and the choice of Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir as President of this republic: about 99.99% of the voters replied in the affirmative to both questions; on 5 March the provisional Constitution of the UAR was promulgated, providing for an executive council in each of the two provinces and a central government, in addition to the already elected President. This Constitution reproduced almost verbatim in its 73 articles the essential provisions of the Egyptian Constitution of 16 January 1956. It differed from the latter, however, by not declaring that Islam was the State religion and that Arabic was the official language, and moreover did not specify whether sovereignty belonged to the nation. Certain articles also were modified in a sense generally favourable to the executive power; thus, the representatives to the legislative assembly were not elected by universal suffrage, but nominated by the president of the republic; the rights of the latter concerning the dissolution of the assembly were more extensive than in the Egyptian constitution; the Chief of State not only retained the right of direct government 'in case of necessity' by decrees 'having the force of law', but all the restrictive conditions imposed on him in this respect in the Egyptian constitution disappeared in this provisional constitution; the President was not even obliged, when proclaiming a state of emergency, to refer this to the Assembly. The remaining provisions were in general similar at all points to those of the Egyptian constitution. The Syrian coup d'état of 28 September 1961 made an end of the Union and abolished the federal constitution on 29 September.

The very day after the proclamation of the UAR at Cairo, delegates of Egypt and the Yemen began talks which culminated, on 8 March, in the signature at Damascus of the charter of the United Arab States by the president of the UAR and the crown prince of the Yemen, the *amīr* Sayf al-Islām Badr. By the terms of this charter, which consisted of 32 articles divided into three chapters, each State was to preserve its international personality and its own government; no reference was made to the religion or language of the union. All citizens were to be equal and have equal right of work; they were guaranteed freedom of movement. The unification and co-ordination of external policies, of diplomatic representation, of the armed forces, of economic activities, of the currency and of education were treated in chapter I. A supreme council, composed of the heads of member States, was to be assisted by a Council of the Union composed of an equal number of representatives of the member States. Presidency of this Council of the Union was to be assumed for a year at a time by the member States in turn. The supreme Council was charged with establishing the higher policy of the Union in matters of defence, economy and culture; it was to promulgate the laws, appoint the commander in chief of the armed forces, and draw up the budget of the union; the Council of the Union was to be its permanent organ; it would establish the annual programme, which it would submit for ratification to the Supreme Council. A council of defence, an economic council and a cultural council were also instituted. Chapter III contained general and provisional regulations on the seat of the Council of the Union, the entry into force of the laws, the suppression of diplomatic representation between the member States, and customs regulations. The federation having been broken on 26 December 1961, the constitution lapsed on that date.

As an answer to these regroupings within the Arab world the Hāshimite sovereigns Fayṣal of ʿIrāḳ and Ḥusayn of Jordan announced, on 14 February 1958, the creation of a union between their kingdoms, and on 19 March following, the Constitution of the Arab Union, drawn up by a mixed ʿIrāḳī-Jordanian commission, was promulgated simultaneously at Baghdād and ʿAmmān. It comprised 80 articles in 8 chapters. "Membership of the Union is open to any Arab State desirous of joining", but each State would retain its independent identity and its own system of government; any treaties previously concluded would affect only the States which had signed them. Here again there is no provision on the religion or language of the Union. The seat of government was to be at Baghdād and ʿAmmān alternately; a common emblem was envisaged, but each state was to retain its own flag. Legislative power would belong to the president of the Union (the king of

ʿIrāḳ) and to an Assembly of forty members (20 from each State), who were to be elected for four years by the Chambers of Deputies of ʿIrāḳ and Jordan. Chapter II dealt in some detail with the prerogatives of the President and the role of the Assembly; the following chapter with the executive power, which belonged to the President of the Union assisted by a council of ministers. The President would nominate, dismiss and accept the resignation of the Prime Minister and conclude treaties, and would be the Supreme chief of the army. The ministers were to be collectively and individually responsible to the Assembly of the Union; each ministry had, within a month of its formation, to define its policy in a declaration made to the assembly. In case of urgency, during the interval between sessions of the assembly, the president could promulgate federal decrees having the force of law, provided that he submitted them to the next meeting of the Council of the Union. Chapter IV, which deals with the judicial power, is almost exclusively concerned with the institution of a Supreme Court charged with the task of judging the members of the Assembly and the ministers, of settling any disputes which might arise, of giving its advice on legal questions submitted to it by the Prime Minister, of interpreting the constitution, of determining the constitutionality of laws, and of hearing appeals on sentences of the federal courts. Chapter V deals with the powers of the Union as regards foreign affairs, security, customs, economic questions, and education. The finances of the union (chapter 6) were to be furnished by the member states in defined proportions. The Assembly would discuss the budget, and a Court of Audit was to be instituted. Chapter VII envisages the conditions under which the Constitution could be amended. Finally chapter VIII contains various provisions on the state of emergency, the first assembly, the first budget, the necessity of member States revising their own constitutions to bring them into line with that of the Union.

On 26 March the Jordanian and ʿIrāḳī parliaments ratified the Constitution of the Union. At Baghdād the Chamber of Deputies decided to amend the ʿIrāḳī Constitution of 1925, and was then dissolved to allow the vote on the amendment to be taken by a new assembly; on 10 May the latter voted the amendment, and on 12 May approved the text of the Constitution of the Union. On 18 May the first federal government was formed. On 14 July 1958 the ʿIrāḳī Revolution put an end to the Union and in consequence to the federal Constitution.

Bibliography: *Institutions de la République Arabe Unie*, in *Orient*, v (1958), 181-95; *Constitution des "États Arabes Unis"*, *ibid.*, vi (1958), 183-6; *Formation et institution de l'Union Arabe*, *ibid.*, vi (1958), 167-82; *COC*, xxxvii-xxxviii (1958); Documentation française, *Notes et études documentaires*, no. 2420 of 4 June 1958; relevant dates in *MEA*, *MEJ*, *OM*, etc. (Ch. Pellat)

Amīrates of southern Arabia. In the course of the year 1958 discussions were undertaken with a view to drafting a constitution of federation of a certain number of Arab principalities of the Aden Protectorate. On 20 June 1958 the general secretariat of the Arab League sent to all member countries a memoir drawing their attention to the British intention to create a federal union of all the southern protectorates, allegedly in order to bring the amīrates and sultanates under the British governor of Aden. The federation was not, however, constituted before 3 February 1959, receiving the allegiance of the following six small states: the amīrate of Bayḥān [see bayḥān al-ḳaṣab], the sultanates of ʿAwdhalī [*q.v.*], Faḍlī [*q.v.*] and Ḍāliʿ ([*q.v.*] in Supplement), the Shaykhdom of Upper ʿAwlaḳī [*q.v.*] and the sultanate of Lower Yāfaʿ [*q.v.*]; at the beginning of April 1959 the sultanate of Lāḥidj [*q.v.*], the amīrate of Lower ʿAwlaḳī and the republic of Dathīna [*q.v.*] asked in their turn to participate. On 29 September 1959 the foundation stone of the capital of the Federation (*al-Ittiḥād*) was even laid, erected at Biʾr Aḥmad by the sultan of Lāḥidj, who began to take an important part; other states also demanded admission, and on 29 October 1961 the British government even transferred to the Federation its powers over the forces of public order.

From 11 February 1959 this Islamic Arab Federation provided itself with an elaborate Constitution consisting of a preamble and ten chapters divided into 47 articles. Chap. III (arts. 5-11) institutes a Supreme Council of the Federal Government which wields the executive power; it is composed of six ministers at the maximum, elected for five years by a Federal Council endowed with legislative power (Chap. IV, arts. 12-9); this Council is composed of six representatives of each member State and legislates by regulation (Chap. V, 20-2). Legislation may be carried out by provisional orders of the Supreme Council when the Federal Council is not in session (arts. 23-6) or by decrees of the Supreme Council when a state of emergency has been declared (arts. 27-8). The following chapters deal with the finances of the Federation (arts. 29-35), federal officials (arts. 36-7), responsibilities and powers of the Federation and of the member States (arts. 38-42), the procedure for revision of the Constitution (art. 43), and end with interim provisions (arts. 44-7).

Bibliography: See the account of the events in *OM*, *COC*, *MEJ*, *MEA*, on the dates noted, especially *COC*, xxxix (1959), 127-38. (Ed.)

xix. — Conclusion

The authors who have shared in the composition of the article dustūr have made it their chief endeavour to trace the history of the constitutional movement in the countries concerned and to analyse more or less briefly the promulgated texts. This has the advantage of presenting the reader with a fairly complete synthesis, but also the occasional drawback of obscuring to some extent those points which must be of primary interest to students of Islam, namely the place accorded to Islam in the constitutions of the Muslim countries. We shall therefore set ourselves here to group together the common elements and to note the points of divergence, taking into account only those texts at present (beginning of 1963) in force (or suspended without being replaced), and disregarding constitutions that are too archaic (Saʿūdī Arabia), rigorously secular (Turkey), Soviet, or of a special local character (Lebanon, Indonesia). Thus we shall confine our attention to the constitutions of eight Arabic-speaking states (Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Mauretania, Syria and Tunisia) and three non-Arab Muslim countries (Afghānistān, Īrān and Pākistān).

The chronological order in which these eleven constitutions were promulgated is of no more than secondary interest, for all of them (except that of Afghānistān) can be regarded as recent and on the modern pattern, the oldest (Īrān) having been revised and, so to speak, brought up to date. Both in the monarchies: Afghānistān (with qualifications), Īrān, Jordan, Libya and Morocco, and in the repu-

blics, the uni- or bi-cameral parliamentary system has been universally adopted, though the sovereign or head of state enjoys powers that are generally very extensive and participates actively in the country's political life (we cannot fail to notice, moreover, that at the present moment (January 1963) three out of seven republics—not counting the Sudan—are headed by officers brought to power by the army in order to put an end to the abuses of a misconstrued liberal régime).

To the parliamentarianism of democratic tendency is added the solemn proclamation of the Rights of Man and the principles of liberty and equality, painstakingly included in the texts; the functioning of the institutions is minutely regulated, with the result that these constitutions, while far from being identical, are absolutely comparable to those of the Western countries which have more or less served as their models. The difference lies, on the one hand in the fact that the Eastern Arab countries declare themselves to be "an integral part of the Arab nation" and that Tunisia and Morocco proclaim that they belong to the "Greater Maghrib", on the other hand, and above all, in the provisions relating to Islam which they all contain.

To begin with, Islam is expressly declared to be the state religion in all the constitutions enumerated below, with the exception of that of Syria. Morocco takes the precaution (art. 108) of excluding from any future revision the provisions relating to the Muslim religion, *i.e.*, the second half of art. 6 (which additionally guarantees to all the freedom of worship). It goes without saying that in these countries the head of state could not belong to any religion but Islam; four constitutions make express provision to this effect: those of Syria (art. 3), of Pākistān (art. 10[a]), of Tunisia (art. 37) and of Mauretania (art. 10). Art. 120 of the Egyptian Constitution of 1956 is silent about the religion of the head of state, but there can be no doubt as to the will of the framers of the constitution; in the monarchies it is evident that the sovereign must be a Muslim; in Īrān (art. 1) the state religion is Twelver Shīʿism to which the sovereign must necessarily belong; in Afghānistān (art. 1) the King must belong to the Ḥanafī school; in Morocco the King is Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-muʾminīn*); in Libya (art. 51) the representative of the throne, regent or member of the regency council, must be a Muslim.

Syria (but see also the Sudan) is thus the only Muslim country not to have declared that Islam is the state religion, but in this regard art. 3 of the constitution voted on 5 September 1950 (retained in that of 22 September 1953) is instructive; in effect, the original draft, which actually made Islam the state religion, has been modified by the Constituent Assembly in the following manner:

1. the religion of the President of the Republic is Islam;
2. Islamic *fiḳh* is the principal source of legislation;
3. freedom of belief is guaranteed. The State respects all revealed religions and assures them complete freedom of worship on condition that they do not disturb the public order;
4. the personal status of the religious communities is safeguarded and respected.

This notion of respect for revealed religions only is unique in the constitutional system of the Muslim countries and has no parallel except in the clause of the Afghān constitution on the protection of Hindus and Jews alone, happily replacing the obligation of the *dhimmīs* to pay the *djizya* and wear distinguishing emblems (see above v). The Syrian constitution has sought to take account of the peculiar conditions prevailing in a country where Christians of every sect and Jews live side by side with Muslims; it shows itself liberal in reserving to the religious communities their personal status, but in a sense less tolerant than the other constitutions which guarantee (theoretically at least) to all religions the freedom of worship, on condition that they do not disturb public order. In restricting this freedom to the revealed religions only, the framers of the Syrian constitution have evidently sought to make a concession to the tenets of the *sharīʿa* [*q.v.*], without perhaps devoting any great attention to the problem posed by the definition of *ahl al-kitāb*; they have made another such concession in manifesting the desire, expressed in the text, of deriving all legislation from Islamic *fiḳh*, without however specifying the *madhhab* followed, and perhaps with the ulterior motive of neglecting this provision, for they must certainly have realized how difficult it is to reconcile the rules of the *sharīʿa* with the exigencies of a modern state.

This harmonization of Islamic law and modern legislation was, in fact, one of the major concerns of the first constitution-makers. The constitution of Afghānistān lays down that the laws must be in accordance with the *sharīʿa*, and the Iranian Fundamental Law goes even further, since art. 2 lays down that a committee of *mudjtahids* shall be named to watch over the "Islamicity" of the laws; in practice this provision does not seem to have been punctiliously applied (see above, Īrān). Indeed, in nearly all the countries which had not been subject to foreign domination and which had been able fairly early to enjoy a constitutional life of their own, the elaboration and promulgation of a constitution represented a victory for the partisans of progress over the conservatives entrenched behind the *sharīʿa*; in the other countries, which have gained their independent status more or less recently, the constitution-makers tried to fight against the *ʿulamāʾ*, who were too much attached to legal rules felt to be out-of-date and incompatible with the harmonious development of a modern State, and have elaborated texts that show a progress in the direction of de-Islamization, despite some concessions of principle to the conservatives. The sole, and logically necessary, exception to this rule is Pākistān, whose very *raison d'être* is precisely to allow Muslims to lead a life in total conformity with the teachings of Islam in a State built on a purely Islamic basis. The experiment was interesting, but we know that it has run up against countless difficulties. The preparation of the first constitution bristled with difficulties, although each successive draft of the project marked a set-back for the claims of the *ʿulamāʾ* and a victory for the modernists (see K. J. Newman, *Essays on the Constitution of Pakistan*, Dacca 1956; A. Chapy, *L'Islam dans la Constitution du Pakistan*, in *Orient*, iii (1957), 120-7). The committee for the scrutiny of laws, on which the *ʿulamāʾ* were to be represented, was finally replaced by a kind of manual which the members of the Assembly were supposed to follow, so as to promulgate only such laws as are in conformity with the prescriptions of Islam. The constitution of 1962 has returned to a consultative council on Islamic ideology; but the members of this council, named by the President, must not only know Islam, but also be aware of the economic, legal and administrative problems which Pākistān has to solve; in other words, the *ʿulamāʾ* are virtually excluded from it. Moreover, this

council is charged with giving its opinion on the "Islamicity" of the laws at the request of the President of the Republic or of a governor; and the Head of State, though he may respect the *ʿulamāʾ*, knows that he can hardly count on them, and does not fail to invite them to become better informed of the requirements of the modern world. Their incapacity has been shown up clearly by the so-called Munīr report, presented by the commission of enquiry into the disturbances in the Pandjāb in 1953 (*Report of the Court of Inquiry constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to enquire into Punjab disturbances of 1953*, Lahore 1954, 200-32, especially 218-9), of which W. C. Smith (*Islam in Modern History*, 233) says that it "publicized further the fact that the *ʿulamāʾ*, the traditional leaders of traditional Islam, were not only unfitted to run a modern state, but were deplorably unable under cross-questioning even to give realistic guidance on elementary matters of Islam. The court of inquiry, and subsequently the world, was presented with the sorry spectacle of Muslim divines no two of whom agreed on the definition of a Muslim, and who were yet practically unanimous that all who disagreed should be put to death".

The application of Islamic law may be studied in the article SHARĪʿA (see meanwhile G.-H. Bousquet, *Du droit musulman et de son application effective dans le monde*, Algiers 1949; J. N. D. Anderson, *Islamic law in the modern world*, London 1959), but we must notice here that the general tendency of the constitutions, even in Pākistān, is to institute civil courts charged with giving judgement, in matters of personal status and succession, on the basis of codes established according to the requirements of Islamic law. It is worth emphasizing, then, that of all the modern constitutions that of Jordan is unique, in the judicial sphere, in providing expressly for the maintenance of religious jurisdictions (art. 104) consisting in *sharʿī* courts and in councils for the other religious communities. The competence of these latter councils in matters of personal status and mortmain property is fixed by the law (art. 109), while the *sharʿī* courts are constitutionally declared competent (art. 105) in the following matters: personal status of Muslims; claims for payment of *diya* [*q.v.*] between Muslims or parties consenting to this mode of settlement; questions concerning *wakf* [*q.v.*] property. In other countries the *ḳāḍīs* have been retained, but their existence is more or less precarious.

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DUYŪN-I ʿUMŪMIYYE, the Ottoman public debt, more particularly the debt administration set up in 1881. The Ottoman government had made its first attempts to raise money by internal loans in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (see ASHĀM and ḲĀʾIME). The needs and opportunities of the Crimean War brought a new type of loan, floated on the money markets of Europe. The first such foreign loan was raised in London in 1854, the second in the following year. They were for £ 3,000,000 at 6% and £ 5,000,000 at 4% respectively. Between 1854 and 1874 foreign loans were raised almost every year, reaching a nominal total of about £ 200 million. Usually, since Turkey was regarded as a poor risk, the loans were granted on very disadvantageous terms; the money received was for the most part used to cover regular budgetary expenditure, or else spent on projects unconnected with economic development. The end came on 6 October 1875, when the Ottoman government defaulted on its payments of interest and amortization. A period of negotiations followed, and agreement was finally reached between the government and representatives of the European bondholders. This agreement was given legal effect in the so-called Muḥarram Decree, issued on 28 Muḥarram 1299/20 December 1881, setting up an "Administration of the Public Debt" (*Duyūn-i ʿumūmiyye*—in French *Administration de la dette publique ottomane*), directly controlled by and answerable to the foreign creditors. Its primary duty was to ensure the service of the Ottoman public debt, which was consolidated at a total of £ 106,409,920, or £T. 117,050,912, at the prevailing rate of 110 piastres to the pound sterling. For this purpose, the Ottoman government ceded certain revenues to the Council "absolutely and irrevocably . . . until the complete liquidation of the debt". These consisted of the revenues from the salt and tobacco monopolies, stamp-duties, and the taxes on spirits, silk, and fisheries, together known as the *rusūm-i sitte*, six taxes. In addition to these taxes, which it collected directly through its own agents, the Council was to receive tribute from the Balkan principalities, and, if necessary, a share of customs receipts. The executive committee, or Council, consisted of six delegates, representing British and Dutch, French, German, Italian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman bondholders, together with a seventh representing a group of priority bonds, most of which were held by the Imperial Ottoman Bank. Already in 1881 the Council had over 3000 revenue collectors at its disposal. By 1911 its total staff stood at 8,931—more than that of the Ottoman Ministry of Finance. The Council of the Debt had become a very powerful body, with far-reaching influence on the financial and economic life of the Ottoman Empire, and even, to an extent that has been variously assessed, on its politics.

The Debt Administration continued to function during the First World War and under the Allied occupation, in spite of the withdrawal of the British, French and Italian delegates during the war and of the German and Austrian delegates after the armistice. The work was carried on under the authority of the remaining delegates, and amounts due to enemy creditors deposited for future payment. It came to an end with the victory of the nationalists under Muṣṭafā Kemāl, and the creation of the republic. The treaty of Lausanne determined the share of the new Turkey in the debt of the defunct Empire. Negotiations followed, and agreements regarding liability and payment were signed in 1928 and 1933. The debt was finally liquidated in 1944.

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DŪZAKH [see DJAHANNAM].

DÜZME MUṢṬAFĀ [see MUṢṬAFĀ DÜZME].

DWĀRKĀ, a town in the Okhāmanḍal district in the north-west of the Kāṭhiāwāḍ peninsula of Gudjarāt, India, associated in Hindū legend with the god Krishna and hence considered to be of special sanctity by Hindūs. It is known also by the names of Dwārawatī and Djagat, and was notorious for its pirates until the 19th century. Under the name Bāruwī (< *dwārawati*) it is referred to by al-Bīrūnī (*K. Taʾrīkh al-Hind*, tr. E. Sachau, London 1888, ii, 105 ff.).

It was sacked by the Gudjarāt sultan Maḥmūd I "Begdā" in 877/1473 as a reprisal for an attack by pirates on the scholar-merchant Mawlānā Maḥmūd Samarḳandī: the city was plundered, its temples destroyed, and its idols broken (*Firishta*, tr. Briggs, iv, 59-60, and note). It figures again in the Muslim history of Gudjarāt at the time of the pursuit of the deposed sultan, Muẓaffar III, by Mughal imperial troops in 1000-1/1592-3, although the various accounts differ considerably among themselves.

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(J. Burton-Page)

DWIN (pronounced Dvin) was formerly an important town in Armenia and was the capital at the time of the Arab domination. The name of the town, to which Asoghik, ii, ch. I, trans. Gelzer and Burckhardt, 47, gives the meaning "hill", is probably, as was shown by Minorsky, *Le nom de Dvin*, in *Rev. des ét. arm.*, x (1930), 119 ff. and *Transcaucasica*, in *JA*, ccxvii/1 (1930), 41 ff., of pre-Iranian origin and said to have been imported by the Armenian Arsacids from their original dwelling-place, the present Turkoman steppe. In the Arab authors it occurs in the forms Dawīn or Duwīn (Yāḳūt, ii, 632; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ ed., i, 105) and Dabīl (Yāḳūt, ii, 548) which is the most usual form. Neither Yāḳūt nor Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (ii, 2, 150-1), nor the author of the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn Ḥawḳal (240; 2nd ed., 337), seems to realise that Dabīl and Dawīn denote one and the same town. The Greek name is sometimes Δούβιος (Procopius), sometimes τὸ Τίβιον, τὸ Τιβή, τὸ Τιβί (Constantine Porphyrogenitus). The forms Dovin or Tovin, Duin, Douin are found in many European authors.

The town was founded by the Armenian Arsacid king Khusraw II the Young (330-8 A.D.) in a plain, near the river Azat (Garni Čay), a tributary on the left bank of the Araxes, to replace the ancient Artashat (Artaxata), which was situated in the same region of Ararat but a little further south. After the partition of Armenia between the Persians and the Romans in about 387 or 390, Dwin was included in the Persian sector (Persarmenia) and was the capital of Persarmenia after the deposition in 426 of the last Armenian Arsacid.

Besides being the capital and administrative centre, and the residence of the Persian *marzpan* (*marzubān*), Dwin was also, from the 5th century, the seat of the Catholicos: several synods were held there, notably the one in 554 which made a final break with the Greek Church and established the Armenian era, beginning on 1 July 552. But its importance also came from the fact that it was a centre of transit trade between Byzantine Anatolia, Persia and the countries of the Caucasus. Together with Nisibis and Callinicos (Raḳḳa) it was one of the customs-posts where a tithe was levied on the Romans' and Persians' merchandise (Menander in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor, i, 180 and Güterbock, *Byzanz und Persien*, 75, in W. Heffening, *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, 109-10).

Dwin was destroyed, Asoghik tells us (ii, ch. III, trans. 84-5), by Heraclius during his famous campaign against Persia. The Arabs, advancing from Mesopotamia which they had already conquered, captured the town on 6 October 640 (the date fixed in Manandean's work); it was pillaged, 12,000 Armenians were massacred and 35,000 were carried off as prisoners. Other invasions followed but did not reach Dwin; on the other hand, the invasion by Ḥabīb b. Maslama, which Arab sources place either in 24-5/645-6 or in 31/651-2, and the historian Sebeos in 652-3, ended in the surrender and capture of Dwin and a treaty, the text of which has been preserved by al-Balādhurī, and in which Ḥabīb granted "the Christians, Zoroastrians and Jews" of Dwin the *amān* and security for their persons, goods, synagogues and churches, in return for payment of *djizya* and *kharādj*. The Armenian authors do not seem to have preserved any recollection of the agreement concluded with Dwin and the other towns (Nakhčawān, Tiflis, Shamkūr) and only mention the general treaty concluded between Theodore Reshtuni and Muʿāwiya. The capture of Dwin did not signify a lasting occupation of the town by the Arabs; for some time it was subjected alternately to Byzantine and Arab domination. The emperor Constans II was able to have a synod held in Dwin in 645 (or 648-9), and even after the agreement between Muʿāwiya and Theodore Reshtuni, this same Constans II penetrated as far as Dwin where he summoned another synod. After this, the town was reoccupied by the Arabs, and then once again by the Byzantine general Maurianos; in 657-8, it was with the help of a new and temporary Byzantine domination that the Catholicos Nerses, who had left Dwin, returned there. Arab sovereignty was only finally established in Dwin and in Armenia when the authority of the new caliph Muʿāwiya was fully affirmed by the Arabs (41/661). Nevertheless, it is from the time of Ḥabīb b. Maslama's expedition that Arab sources mark the start of the administration of Armenia by Muslim governors. Dwin became the residence of these governors, and when, in addition to Armenia, they also had to rule the Djazīra and Ādharbaydjān and were not residing in Dwin, they had a deputy there. Thanks to the establishment of an Arab administration whose main task was the collection of taxes, and of a garrison, an Arab population settled in the town and grew constantly bigger. In fact, according to an observation of Markwart (*Südarmenien*, 115), the Arabs, unlike the Persians, caused whole quarters of the towns to be evacuated for their own use,

transforming them little by little into Arab towns. Dwin was given a governmental palace (*dār al-imāra*), a mosque, a State prison and a mint. The operation of the mint at Dwin is attested from the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, and it was one of the first to function in the caliph's territories. The place of origin, given on the coins as Armīniyya, is Dwin (see Minorsky, *Studies on Caucasian History*, 117 and Kh. Mushegian, *Contribution to the history of monetary circulation in Dwin, according to finds of coins*, in *Bull. Ac. Sc. Armenian S.S.R.*, xi (1956), 84 (in Russian)).

Dwin was the scene of various events of greater or lesser importance during the Arab domination; it seems to have been a period of decadence for the town which was abandoned by part of its Christian population, especially the nobility, until the end of the 3rd/9th century and the establishment of the monarchy. In the Umayyad period, under the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥātim b. al-Nuʿmān al-Bāhilī caused the martyrdom at Dwin of a holy man named David and exiled several Armenian princes to Damascus (Asoghik, ii, ch. II, tr., 73; see other references in Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 309 ff.). His brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who was governor from 86-97/705-15, in the reign of al-Walīd, restored Dwin, fortified it and surrounded it with a ditch, and enlarged the mosque (al-Balādhurī, 204; cf. Asoghik, ii, ch. IV, tr. 92; Ghevond, vi, 34-5; Grousset, 314). During the Umayyad period, the Mamikonians were pre-eminent among the great families of the country; with the ʿAbbāsid period the Bagratunis took the lead. However, the rise of the Bagratunis did not affect the position of Dwin which, with Bardhaʿa, remained one of the two bulwarks of Arab power in Armenia and Arrān, and where the governors and their deputies remained firmly established. In the reign of al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) and the rule of Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba a revolt of Armenian nobles broke out. It began with an attack on a tax-collector by Artavazd Mamikonian who had taken up arms in Dwin under the very eyes of the governor; it was carried further by Mushegh Mamikonian who, after seizing Dwin, was defeated and killed in the battle of Bagrevand in 775 (see Grousset, 324 ff.).

During the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, the Arab *amīr* in command at Manazgerd, al-Djaḥḥāf, of the family of the Kaisikkʿ (Ḳaysites), and who was married to an Armenian princess, took possession of Dwin for himself, and his son ʿAbd al-Malik remained there until he was killed by the actual inhabitants of Dwin in 823-4 (Grousset, 345 ff.; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, 322). In the time of the caliph al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, governor of Armenia, died, possibly by assassination, during an expedition against the rebellious governor of Georgia; his body was brought back and buried in Dwin in 230/844-5 (Laurent, 345). After the assassination of the governor of Armenia Yūsuf b. Abī Saʿīd Muḥammad in Mūsh in 237/852, the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) sent into Armenia Bughā al-Sharābī who wintered at Dwin and there, as elsewhere, indulged in numerous massacres (Grousset, 355 ff.; Laurent, 120, n. 5 345-6).

After the recognition of Bagratuni Ashot (Ashūṭ) as prince of princes (*baṭrīḳ al-baṭāriḳa*) in 862, and then as king in 886 (or 887: Asoghik, iii, ch. II, tr. 115; cf. Laurent, 267, 287 ff.; Grousset, 372, 394), Dwin was in theory included in his possession for which he regarded himself as the caliph's vassal; but in fact it was independent of him, and he did not establish his capital there. At the beginning of the reign of Ashot's son Sembat (Sanbāṭ) the Martyr (890-914), two Muslim amīrs, Mahmat (Muḥammad) and Umay (Umayya), brothers of unknown origin, took up position in Dwin, and Sembat had to struggle for two years to subdue them; he captured them and sent them to the emperor Leo VI. But this situation disturbed the ambitious *amīr* of Ādharbaydjān, Afshīn Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Sādj, who was in theory still governor of Armenia. In spite of the agreement he had concluded with Sembat, he intervened in Armenia. This was after the terrible earthquake which ravaged Dwin in 280/893 and destroyed the Catholicos's palace (the latter consequently decided to move to Ečmiadzin). Afshīn came and occupied Dwin. War with Sembat followed, in the course of which the wives of both Sembat and his son Mushegh were sent as prisoners to Dwin, only being released in 898-9 (see Grousset, 402 ff., 413 ff.). Afshīn was succeeded by his brother Yūsuf who captured Sembat, tortured him to death and exposed his crucified body in Dwin, where many Armenians were martyred. The Catholicos Ter Yohannes fled to Greek territory (Asoghik, iii, ch. V, tr. 123); for these events, see Grousset, 435 ff.). In opposition to Sembat's lawful successor Ashot II, Yūsuf gave his support to his cousin Ashot son of Shapuh whom he established in Dwin and recognized as king. In addition, in the canton of Goghthn, situated on the left bank of the Araxa below Dwin, he set up an Arab *amīr* whose successors were subsequently to play a part in the history of Dwin.

Yūsuf revolted against the caliph and was taken prisoner in 307/919. During his captivity one of his officers, Sbuk (Subuk), governed Ādharbaydjān and Armenia; he re-established good relations with Ashot II, whose rival was compelled to give up Dwin, though it did not, however, return to Ashot's possession. In 921 the emperor Romanus Lecapenus sent an expedition against Dwin under the command of the Domesticos (Demeslikos). According to Asoghik (iii, ch. VI, 124), Subuk (Spkhi) drove him back with the aid of Ashot whom he had called upon for assistance. When Yūsuf returned to Ādharbaydjān in 310/922, Dwin was at first governed by Naṣr Subukī, *ghulām* to Subuk who had just died, and then, after Naṣr's recall, by Bishr (or Bashīr) who started hostilities with Ashot but was defeated by him. In 314/926 Yūsuf left Ādharbaydjān, the caliph having entrusted him with the conduct of the war against the Ḳarmaṭians, in the course of which he met his death in the following year. It was at this point, in 315/927-8, that a new Byzantine expedition took place, commanded by the Domesticos John Corcuas, against Dwin which was defended by Naṣr Subukī. It fell: the Greeks, with the help of siege-engines, breached the walls and succeeded in making their way into the town, but were driven out as a result of the assistance given to the defenders by the inhabitants. This is what Ibn al-Athīr relates (viii, 129-30). It may be questioned whether, in spite of the differences of names and dates, the two expeditions under discussion were not in fact one and the same.

The dynasty of the Sādjids in Ādharbaydjān came to an end in 317/929, though for a time it was continued by Sādjid officers. We then enter a confused period in the history of Dwin. We do not know which *amīr* was in command of Dwin when king Abas (929-53) secured from him the release of the Christian prisoners, nor who was the Muslim personage who,

in about 937, came as far as Dwin and inflicted a defeat on Abas, but was then defeated by king Gagik of Vaspurakan, who compelled the Muslim population of Dwin to pay tribute and give hostages. It is possible that at this time Dwin was more or less subject to the authority of Daysam b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī, a temporary ruler of Ādharbaydjān who was thus successor to the Sādjids and heir to their rights over Armenia; we possess a coin of his, struck at Dwin in 330/941-2. But at about that date, Daysam was driven out by Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir, of the family of the Kangarids of Ṭarom, who founded the dynasty of the Sallārids or Musāfirids [*q.v.*]. Then, Marzubān having been captured by the Buwayhid Rukn al-Dawla in 337/948-9, Daysam succeeded in reconquering Ādharbaydjān and made himself master of Dwin, expelling two adventurers, Faḍl b. Dja'far al-Ḥamdānī and Ibrāhīm al-Ḍabbī, who had seized the town. But already a new power had appeared at Dwin, that of Muḥammad b. Shaddād, founder of the Kurdish dynasty of the Shaddādids which was to rule over the territory between the Kūr and the Araxes. Muḥammad gained control of Dwin in about 340/951, by what means we do not know. Ibrāhīm b. al-Marzubān, acting in the name of his father who was still held prisoner, tried to drive him out of Dwin; the first attempt failed, and Muḥammad built a fortress at the gates of Dwin. A second attempt by Ibrāhīm compelled Muḥammad to flee, and a Daylamite garrison was installed in Dwin itself. But soon the townspeople recalled Muḥammad who triumphantly resisted an attack by king Ashot III the Charitable of Ani. Marzubān, however, had managed to escape from prison in 341 or 342/952 or 953-4 (for the date, see M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, i, 533). He disposed of Daysam in Ādharbaydjān and came to attack Dwin. Muḥammad b. Shaddād, caught between Marzubān's army and the Daylamite garrison still in the town, and deserted by the inhabitants, took refuge in Vaspurakan and then in Byzantine territory where he tried in vain to enlist help to reconquer Dwin. He died in 344/955, leaving three sons, one of whom we shall see again later at Dwin.

From the time of Marzubān's reconquest, Dwin seems to have remained in the hands of the Sallārids, although it does not occur in the list of regions paying tribute to the Sallārid, given by Ibn Ḥawḳal for the year 344, perhaps because it was administered directly by a deputy. Ibrāhīm b. al-Marzubān was deprived of Ādharbaydjān in about 368/979 and died four years later. It is no doubt his son Abu 'l-Haydjā', the Aplhač of Delmastan in Asoghik, iii, ch. xii, whom we find still in possession of Dwin in 982-3, but shortly afterwards the town was taken by the *amīr* of Goghthn, Abū Dulaf al-Shaybānī (Aputluph in Asoghik). In 377/987, Abu 'l-Haydjā' al-Rawwādī al-Kurdī, the Arabo-Kurdish *amīr* of Ādharbaydjān and successor to the Sallārids, took it from him, but Abū Dulaf reconquered the town from Mamlān, successor to Abu 'l-Haydjā'. The Bagratuni king Gagik I (990-1020) overcame the *amīr* of Goghthn, and no doubt took Dwin from him.

However, the sons of Muḥammad b. Shaddād after many adventures had set up an amīrate at Gandja (Djanza), north-west of Bardha'a, in 360/971, the territory having been taken from the Sallārids, and they extended their rule between the Kūr and the Araxes. One of them, Faḍl I (375-422/985-1031), also captured Dwin and took tribute from the Armenians. The date of the capture of Dwin is without doubt 413/1022, for it was then that Faḍl's youngest son Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwur became governor, after which he ruled over the whole block of Shaddādid possessions, with his residence at Gandja, from 440/1049 until 459/1067. For the relations between Abu 'l-Aswār and his Armenian neighbours, see Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 51 ff. It was Abu 'l-Aswār, *amīr* of Dwin, the 'Απλησφάρης of the Byzantines, whom the emperor Constantine Monomachos (1042-54) engaged to attack Gagik II of Ani in order to compel him to give his kingdom to the empire, promising to allow him to have the territories he conquered from Gagik. When Gagik finally abdicated (1045), the emperor wanted Abu 'l-Aswār to restore to him the regions taken from Gagik. He sent an army against Dwin, but it was defeated. Another expedition followed in 1046-7, commanded by the eunuch Constantine and a general of Armenian origin, Kekaumenos, grandfather of the historian Kekaumenos and, according to that writer, formerly "toparch" of Dwin (for the difficulties raised by this point, see Markwart, *Südarmenien*. 562 ff.). A further expedition was dispatched against Abu 'l-Aswār in 1048 or 1049 (rather than in 1055-6, see Minorsky, 55, 59 ff., as opposed to Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 182). In both expeditions alike, the Byzantines failed to lay siege to Dwin. However, by this time the Turks were already invading Armenia. When, in 446/1054, Ṭughril Beg arrived in Ādharbaydjān and Arrān, Abu 'l-Aswār submitted to him and, in agreement with the Turks, made a raid on Ani, returning laden with booty. He died in 1067.

Dwin then passed into the hands of a branch of the Shaddādids which settled at Ani, after the capture of that town by Alp Arslān (1064) in 1072. This situation lasted until 552/1105, when a Turkish *amīr* seized the town. It then fell to Tughān Arslān, lord of Bitlis and Arzan and vassal of an Artuḳid. As a result of the struggle between Maḥmūd and Ṭughril, it was recovered by the Shaddādid Faḍlūn III, who died in 1130, but was recaptured at that date by a son of Tughān Arslān. According to Minorsky (*op. cit.*, 131), it was at that moment that Saladin's grandfather Shādī, a Kurd born in a village near Dwin, is said to have left the country and gone to Takrīt. (We know, as Ibn Khallikān relates, i, 105, that Saladin's family were natives of Dwin).

In 557/1162 the Georgians sacked the town and destroyed the mosque. But despite repeated attacks they were not able to gain possession, since the town was taken by the atabeks of Ādharbaydjān who were descended from Eldigüz (Ildegiz, vizier of Sultan Maḥmūd). In 1203 Dwin was captured by the Georgians, from whom it was taken by the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn in 1225. Then came the Mongols, who destroyed the town between 1236 and 1239.

It will be seen from this sketch that, from the end of the 9th century, Dwin suffered ceaselessly from all the repercussions to the upheavals that took place in Ādharbaydjān, that all the powers which had been built up in the neighbouring countries tried to get possession of it on account of its position and commercial importance, and that it was only in the hands of the Armenians in exceptional circumstances, despite the large Armenian population which no doubt formed the majority. However, several of the Muslim overlords were related by marriage to Armenian princely families, for example, even Abu 'l-Aswār, as son-in-law of king Ashot.

The Arab geographers have left us certain descriptions of Dwin. It was, Ibn Ḥawḳal tells us, a larger town than Ardabīl, surrounded by walls,

inhabited by many Christians, and its cathedral mosque stood beside the church, as was the case at Ḥimṣ. Fabrics of goats-hair, called *mirʿizzā*, and wool were woven there; carpets, hangings, cushions, coverlets, mattresses, etc., of what were known as "Armenian" (*armanī*) textiles, dyed vermilion with *kermes* (*ḳirmiz*), patterned silk materials called *buzyūn* comparable and even superior to those from the Byzantine countries. One speciality much prized in Muslim countries was the trouser-lacings (*tikka*, pl. *tikak*). All these products formed the basis of a flourishing export trade. Ibn Ḥawḳal's *Epitome* boasts of the gardens, fruit, and the cultivation of cereals, rice and cotton in the locality of Dwin, the springs and flowing waters; and his account also mentions the destruction of the town by the Georgians. Al-Muḳaddasī says that Dwin is a very cold region, and speaks of its textile products, its gardens, the citadel built of stone and clay, and the markets "in the shape of a cross"; he gives the names of the gates of the town, specifies that the mosque stands high up on an eminence and that in his day the fortress was falling into ruin. According to him, the number of inhabitants, the majority of whom were Christian, was declining. He mentions the rite which was used by the Muslims, that of Abū Ḥanīfa, and says that there was a convent of Ṣūfīs in Dwin.

Excavations have been carried out on the site of Dwin, now occupied by villages. The results will be found in a work of K. Kafadarian, *La ville de Dwin et ses fouilles*, Erevan 1952, in Armenian with a résumé in Russian (see also *BSE*, xiii (1952), 467). In the upper part of the town remains have been found of the governors' palace, built after the earthquake of 893 and, below the ruins, traces of a palace of the same sort but dating from an earlier period. In the centre of the town have been found the remains of the palace of the Catholicos, built in 461 or 485, and also of a church of basilican design with a single nave, dating from the 6th century A.D. But the most important building discovered at Dwin is the cathedral whose complicated history can be retraced: originally a pagan temple with three aisles, built in the 3rd century, converted into a church at the beginning of the 4th century when an apse was added, and in the middle of the 5th century refashioned as a basilica with three aisles, and also possessing an external gallery; then, in the 7th century, with the building of lateral apses and a central cupola resting on four large pillars, it became a cruciform church with a cupola. This great church was destroyed in the earthquake of 893. Remains have also been found of dwellings, workshops for weaving, jewellery etc., cellars, warehouses, tools (ploughshares, iron shovels, etc.), gold and silver articles, pottery, china, architectural fragments decorated with sculptures of secular subjects (grape-gathering) etc. The discoveries have shown that the economic life of Dwin was active particularly from the end of the 3rd/9th century until the 5th/11th century inclusive, that is to say until the rise of the Armenian kingdom.

Bibliography: The history of Dwin is described in detail in Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, see index and in particular 562 ff. (cf. also, by the same author, *Streifzüge*, 404-5), but the outstanding work is V. Minorsky, *Studies on Caucasian history*, London 1952, in which for the first time a study is made of the important historical source of Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im Bas̲h̲ī, collated with the Armenian sources: see particularly 116 ff., *Vicissitudes of Dwin*; it is upon Minorsky's work that the present article has been based; it has been used in two studies of Ter Łevondian entitled *Dvin under the Sallarids* and *Chronology of Dwin in the 9th and 10th centuries* published in Armenian in the *Bull. Ac. Sc. Armenian S.S.R.* of 1956 and 1957 and of which H. Berberian is now preparing a French translation. For the capture of Dwin by the Arabs, see H. Manandean, *Les invasions arabes en Arménie*, in Armenian, Fr. tr. H. Berberian in *Byzantion*, xviii (1948); the Arab historians for the dates indicated above, the chapter of Balād̲h̲urī entitled *Futūḥ Armīniyya*, ed. Cairo, 202 ff. For the description of Dwin, see Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 191 ff.; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 337, 342-3; Muḳaddasī, 257, 379; Le Strange, 182-4. In addition to their accounts of the conquest, the Arab historians also mention Dwin in connexion with events in Armenia, revolts, etc.: see e.g. Ṭabarī, iii, 1409, 1410, 1414. Details concerning Dwin will be found in Tournebize, *Hist. pol. et rel. de l'Arménie* (index s.v. Tovin); Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arab. Herrschaft*, reprinted from *Z. für arm. Philologie*, 21 ff., 71; Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände von Armenien unter Aschot I*, in *MSOS*, vii/2 (1904), and *Politische und Kirchengeschichte Armeniens unter Aschot I und Sembat I*, in *MSOS*, viii/2 (1905), *passim*; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam ... jusqu'en 886*, Paris 1919, index; idem, *Byzance et les Turcs Seljoucides*, Paris 1913-4, index; R. Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter in Armenien (750-887)*, Vienna 1931 and *Zur Chronologie der Ğastaniden und Sallariden*, in *Islamica*, iii, 170 ff.; Vasiliev, *Byz. et les Arabes. Dynastie macédonienne*, Russian ed., 219, 230, 231; idem, *Justin the First*, Cambridge, Mass. 1950, 357-8; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byz. Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, 19, 29, 158, 174, 167-7, 182; see also De Morgan, *Hist. du peuple arménien* (1919), 105, 116, 118, 123, 134, 135-6, 138, 244. References to the Armenian historians will be found in Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, Paris 1947, *passim*, and also in the works of Laurent and Minorsky given above. See also G. H. Sarkisian, *Tigranakert (Tigranocerta), Hist. of the urban communities of ancient Armenia*, Erevan 1960, in Russian, 19, 106, 135. Further to the articles of Ter Łevondian cited above, see idem, *The emirate of Dvin in Armenia in the 9th-10th centuries*, (dissertation of the University of Leningrad, 1958), and *On the question of the origin of the emirate of Dvin in Armenia*, in the volume in honour of I. A. Orbeli, *Researches on the history of the culture of the peoples of the Orient*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960 (in Russian). (M. Canard)

DYEING [see sabbāg̲h̲].

DŽABIĆ, Ali Fehmi, b. Mostar 1853, d. Istanbul 1918, from 1884 *muftī* in Mostar (Herzegovina). The Austro-Hungarian provincial government of Bosnia and Herzegovina re-organized Muslim religious institutions in order to keep them under its control. As early as 1886 the Muslims of Sarajevo aspired to religious autonomy, and the dissatisfaction of the Muslims in Herzegovina, under Džabić's leadership, steadily increased. Džabić sought religious autonomy at the conference of Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslim leaders in Sarajevo in 1893, but he remained in the minority. From the year 1899 onwards, the movement for the religious autonomy of the Muslims in Herzegovina, under Džabić's leadership, entered an acute phase. The movement had linked up with the struggle of the orthodox Serbs for religious autonomy. The Austro-Hungarian authorities persecuted

Džabić's group so that Džabić was removed from his position of *muftī* (1900). In the meantime the movement had also begun to spread in Bosnia, so that the Austro-Hungarian authorities were compelled to enter into negotiations. No agreement was reached, because the Austro-Hungarian authorities were unwilling to accept certain paragraphs in the draft statute which related to the choice of organs of religious administration and to the attestation of the *re'is al-ʿulemā'* on behalf of the *shaykh al-Islām* in Istanbul. In 1902, when Džabić with five of his friends went to Istanbul for consultations, he was forbidden to return to his country, and stayed in Istanbul until his death. He lectured on Arabic language and literature at the university, and contributed to many journals. On the occasion of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908) he wrote a pamphlet in Arabic to the parliamentary deputies of the Arab countries, in which he attacked Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Turkish government because of its indulgence. As a result, he was removed from the university. He made an anthology of poems by the Companions of Muḥammad, which he wanted to publish in three volumes with his commentary, but he published only one of them: *Ḥusn al-ṣaḥāba fī sharḥ ashʿār al-ṣaḥāba*; he also wrote a commentary on Abū Ṭālib's poem in defence of Muḥammad (printed in Istanbul 1327 A.H.).

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(BRANISLAV DJURDJEV)

DŽAMBUL DŽABAEV [see DJAMBUL DJABAEV].

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EAST AFRICA [see BAḤR AL-HIND, BAḤR AL-ZANDJ, DAR-ES-SALAAM, ERITREA, GEDI, ḤABASH, KILWA, MALINDI, MOGADISHU, MOMBASA, SOMALI, SWAHILI, TANGANYIKA, ZANDJIBĀR, etc.].

EBÜZZİYA TEVFİK (Ebu 'l-Ḍiyā' Tewfīḳ) (1848-1913), a well-known Ottoman journalist. Born in Istanbul, he had only a sketchy education, and was largely self taught. At the age of sixteen or seventeen he met Nāmiḳ Kemāl, and, through him, Shināsī, and became a frequent caller at the offices of the newspaper *Taṣwīr-i Efkār*, where the literary *avant-garde* used to meet; he claimed to have been the sixth to register as a member of the Society of New Ottomans (*Yeñi ʿOthmanlılar Djemʿiyyeti*), founded in 1865, but this claim is questionable.

Tewfīḳ started his journalistic career in 1868-9 by writing articles in *Teraḳḳī*. When Shināsī died, Tewfīḳ and Kemāl (who soon gave up his rights in the venture) bought the printing presses on behalf of the Egyptian prince Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pasha [*q.v.*]. The first three products of the newly-acquired press were a collection of the political writings of Reshīd Pasha, Nāmiḳ Kemāl's *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn-i Eyyūbī*, and Tewfīḳ's own first work, the play *Edjel-i Ḳaḍā*. In his preface to this play, which was well received, Tewfiḳ defends the realist thesis that a writer must describe the morals and customs of his age without projecting his own personality. Tewfīḳ was also a regular contributor to Kemāl's *ʿIbret*, which appeared in 1872. He then took over the editorship of *Ḥadīḳa*, as from its issue dated 9 November 1872. When the latter was suspended for two months following its 56th issue, he issued the *Sirādj*, for which he had earlier taken out a licence as a precaution. 25 issues of *Sirādj* were published, the venture finally collapsing when Tewfīḳ was exiled to Rhodes in April 1873. It was in Rhodes that Tewfīḳ composed his anthology, *Nümūne-i Edebiyāt-ı ʿOthmāniyye*, and a collection of encyclopaedic articles, entitled *Māhiyāt*, of which the historical portions were later printed in the magazine *Muḥarrir* (vii-viii; 1295/1878). After the accession of Murād on 31 May 1876, Tewfīḳ returned to Istanbul and resumed his journalistic activity which continued under the new reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. When the latter had Kemāl exiled to Midilli and Ḍiyā' Pasha to Adana, Tewfīḳ sought release from official pressure by making a journey to Vienna in 1877 on publishing business. In 1880 he obtained from the Minister of Education Münīf Pasha the licence to publish the magazine *Medjmūʿa-i Ebu 'l-Ḍiyā'*, which soon became an organ of the *Tanẓīmāt* "progressives". His annual calendars, called first *Rebīʿ-i Maʿrifet*, then *Newsāl-i Maʿrifet*, had a brisk sale. In 1882 he regained control of his printing-press and named it *Maṭbaʿa-i Ebu 'l-Ḍiyā'*. A flood of publications followed, the printing-press producing on an average one fascicule every five days. There included a series of short biographies, entitled *Kütübkhāne-i meshāhīr* and modelled on the French *La vie des hommes illustres*, the hundred or so thicker volumes of the *Kütübkhāne-i Ebu 'l-Ḍiyā'*, modelled this time on the German *Universal Bibliothek* and written either by Tewfīḳ himself or by other *Tanẓīmāt* intellectuals, as well as various magazines. Before long, however, the authorities began to interfere: in 1888 the publication of Nāmiḳ Kemāl's *ʿOthmanlı ta'rīkhi* was stopped after the first fascicule had sold 6,000 copies. When the authorities demanded that pamphlets and magazines should be submitted for censorship before publicaton, Tewfīḳ closed down his *Medjmūʿa-i Ebu 'l-Ḍiyā'*. He was arrested twice, in 1891 when he was Director of the School of Arts and Crafts, and in 1893 when he was a member of the Court of First Instance of the Council of State, each time on trumped-up charges. Book censorship was relaxed in 1897 when Zühdī Pasha became Minister of Education, and Tewfīḳ once again brought out his *Medjmūʿa*, which survived until 1900 when Tewfīḳ was arrested and exiled to Ḳonya, where he stayed for almost nine years, returning only after the Young Turk Revolution as parliamentary deputy for Antalya. In 1909 he brought out the new *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* in which he described himself as an "independent and moderate progressive". He spent the remaining four years of his life in political discussions and polemics both in that newspaper and in the *Medjmūʿa-i Ebu 'l-Ḍiyā'*, which he also republished. The *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* was closed down for a time, but allowed to re-appear on 25 January 1913 when Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha

succeeded Kāmil Pasha as Grand Vizier. Tewfīḳ died two days later having just delivered to his newspaper office an article entitled "New Arrests" on the Government's latest measures.

The importance of Ebu 'l-Ḍiyā Tewfīḳ lies not so much in the literary quality of his writings (although he was a good stylist and helped in the development of simple and clear Turkish prose) and not so much in his ideas, which were often confused and contradictory, as in his tireless work as a popularizer, journalist and above all publisher and printer. He himself was proud of having produced the first illustrated printed texts in Turkey. He was also the first to use Kūfic type face. His memoirs about his famous contemporaries are also important and there is much of interest in his *Shināsī ile mülāḳāt, Zamānimiz ta'rikhine ʿā'id khāṭirāt, Ridjāl-i mensiye, Yeñi ʿOthmanlilar ta'rikhi* and *Kemāl Beyiñ terdjüme-i ḥāli*, Istanbul 1326/1908), as well as in his autobiographical articles *Rūznāme-i ḥayātimdan baʿḍī ṣaḥā'if* and *Maḳāme-i tewḳīfiyye* (in *Medjmūʿa-i Ebu 'l-Ḍiyā'*, Nos. 109-27).

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(FEVZIYE ABDULLAH)

ECIJA [see ISTIDJA'].

ECONOMY [see TADBĪR AL-MANZIL]

ECSTASY [see SHAṬḤ, also DARWĪSH, DHIKR].

EDEBIYYÂT-I DJEDÎDE, "new literature", the name given to a Turkish literary movement associated with the review *Therwet-i Funūn* [*q.v.*] during the years 1895-1901—that is, during the editorship of Tewfīḳ Fikret [*q.v.*]. See further TURKS, literature, and the articles on the individual authors.

(ED.)

EDESSA [see AL-RUHĀ].

EDHEM, ČERKES [see ČERKES, EDHEM].

EDHEM, KHALÎL [see ELDEM, KHALĪL EDHEM].

EDIRNE, ADRIANOPLE—a city lying at the confluence of the Tundja and Arda with the Merič (Maritsa); the capital of the Ottomans after Bursa (Brusa), and now the administrative centre of the *vilâyet* (province) of the same name and, traditionally, the centre of Turkish (now Eastern) Thrace (Trakya or Pasha-eli). Its historical importance derives from the fact that it lies on the main road from Asia Minor to the Balkans, where it is the first important staging point after Istanbul. It guards the eastern entrance to the natural corridor between the Rhodope mountains to the south-west and the Istrandja mountains to the north-east. It also dominates traffic down the valleys of the Tundja and the Merič and used to be the starting point of important river traffic down the Merič to the Aegean. In later times the main weight of traffic was transferred to the railway passing through Edirne on its way to Istanbul. Edirne is particularly rich in Ottoman architectural monuments. Its importance, diminished by the transfer of the Ottoman capital to Istanbul, received a great blow when the city was captured by the Russians in 1829. Since the Balkan Wars it has been a Turkish frontier city, which fell briefly under Bulgarian occupation in 1913 and was occupied by the Greeks between 1920 and 1922. The population of Edirne, which exceeded 100,000 in the middle of the 19th century, fell to 87,000 at the beginning of the present century (of whom 47,000 are Turks, some 20,000 Greeks, some 15,000 Jews, 4,000 Armenians and 2,000 Bulgarians), then again to 34,528 at the census of 1927 and, finally, to 29,400 in 1945, since when it has been rising. The population is now largely Turkish, with a small Jewish community.

The city is built inside a bend of the Tundja, just before its junction with the Merič, on gently rising ground reaching a height of 75 metres on the hillock on which the great Selīmiyye mosque is built, and some 100 metres further to the east. The part of the city built on the lower slopes has often been flooded, sometimes catastrophically. The city consists of two main parts, Ḳalʿe-iči, in the western part of the river curve, the district surrounded by the walls, which have now almost completely disappeared, and rebuilt on a geometric pattern after being devastated by fire at the end of the last century, and Ḳalʿe-dīshī to the east. It is the latter which is the centre of the modern city.

The name of the city is given in old Ottoman sources as Edrinus, Edrune, Edrinaboli, Endriye, as well as Edirne or Edrine, the latter form being used in the *fethnāme* sent by Murād I to the Ilkhānid sultan Uways Khān. Historical documents also use honorific names, such as Dār al-Naṣr wa 'l-Maymana (Abode of Divinely-Aided Victory and of Felicity), Dār al-Salṭana (Abode of the Sultanate) etc.

The city is believed to have been first settled by Thracian tribes, from whom it was captured by the Macedonians and named Oresteia (or Orestias). It was rebuilt by the Emperor Hadrian in the 2nd century and named after him Hadrianopolis, Adrianople. Adrianople witnessed the victory of Constantine over Licinius in 323, the defeat of Valens by the Goths in 378; it was besieged by the Avars in 586, captured by the Bulgars in 914, besieged again by the Pečenegs in 1049 and 1078. At the battle of Adrianople in 1205 the Latin Emperor of Byzantium Baldwin was defeated and captured by the Bulgars who joined with the Greeks in resisting Catholic encroachment. The Byzantine Greeks then held the city against the Bulgarians. Turks from Asia Minor appeared on the scene in 1342-3 when Aydīn-oghlu Umūr Bey fought as an ally of Cantacuzenus against John Palaeologus, defended Dimetoka [*q.v.*] against the "prince" (*tekfūr*) of Edirne and is said to have killed the latter (see Mükrimin Halil, *Dustūrnāme-i Enverī*, Istanbul 1929, introduction 43-6). In 754/1353 the Ottoman prince Süleymān Pasha joined the forces of Cantacuzenus in Edirne after defeating an army of Bulgars and Serbians. Three years before the final conquest of Edirne, the Ottoman Orkhān Bey advised Süleymān Pasha to keep a close eye on the castle of Edirne. The conquest was accomplished under Murād I by Lālā Shāhīn Pasha, who defeated the *tekfūr* of Edirne at Sāzlī-Dere, to the south-east of the city. The latter then fled secretly by boat from his palace on the banks of the Tundja and in Ramaḍān 763/July 1362 the inhabitants of the town surrendered on condition of being allowed to live there freely. Although Murād I left the administration of Edirne to Lālā Shāhīn Pasha, preferring for a time to hold his court at Bursa or Dimetoka, the city of Edirne became almost immediately the forward base of

Ottoman expansion in Europe. It was from Edirne, furthermore that Yïldïrïm Bāyezīd set out to besiege Constantinople. After Bāyezīd's later defeat in the battle of Ankara, the elder prince Süleymān transferred the treasury from Bursa to Edirne where he ascended the throne. He later lost the city to Mūsā Čelebi, who also ruled from Edirne and minted money there in his name. After his defeat and death, Sultan Meḥemmed I spent most of his eight-year rule in Edirne and died there, being buried like his predecessors in Bursa. It was in Edirne in 825/1422 that the Pretender Muṣṭafā was executed after his defeat by Murād II. The latter's reign saw an increase in the prosperity of Edirne and its environs and the building of the town of Uzun-Köprü (Djisr-i Ergene).

It was at Edirne that Murād II received foreign ambassadors, it is from there that he directed his conquests, and it was also on the island on the Tundja that the circumcision-feasts of his sons ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and Meḥemmed were celebrated with magnificent pomp. His reign witnessed also a mutiny of the Janissaries at Edirne on the pretext of the fire in the city, a mutiny which was pacified by an increase in the soldiers' pay. Murād II died in Edirne and was succeeded by Meḥemmed II who, however, did not return to the city until he decided to lay siege to Constantinople. The plans of the siege were worked out in Edirne and the siege guns tested in its environs. After the conquest Meḥemmed II again held court in Edirne where he organized in the spring of 861/1457 magnificent circumcision celebrations, lasting two months, for the princes Bāyezīd and Muṣṭafā. Selīm I also held court in Edirne, the city being left to the care of princes when the Sultan campaigned. The prosperity of Edirne continued to grow in the 10th/16th century: Süleymān the Magnificent often stayed there, while the city's greatest mosque was built under his successor. The tranquillity of the city was, however, disturbed by mutinies in 994/1586 and 1003/1595. From the time of Aḥmed I, Edirne became famous for its royal hunting parties, royal celebrations and entertainments in and around the city, attaining particular brilliance under Meḥemmed IV (*Avdjï* = the Hunter). Later the life of the city began to be affected by the successive defeats suffered by Ottoman arms. In 1115/1703, at the famous "Edirne incident", Muṣṭafā II who held his court in Edirne was deposed in favour of Aḥmed III by malcontents coming from Istanbul. The subsequent decline of the city was hastened by the fire of 1158/1745 in which some 60 quarters were burnt down and by the earthquake of 1164/1751. In 1801 Edirne witnessed a mutiny of Albanian troops against Selīm III's reforms. A second "Edirne incident" occurred in 1806 for the same reasons. On the other hands the abolition of the Janissaries occasioned only minor difficulties in Edirne. In the Russian-Ottoman war of 1828-9 Edirne was occupied by the Russians and this occupation deeply affected the local Muslim population. Muslims started emigrating from Edirne, their place being taken by Christians coming in from the surrounding villages. To raise the Muslims' morale Maḥmūd II visited Edirne for some ten days, ordered a large bridge to be built on the Merič (this, however, was only completed in 1842 in the reign of ʿAbd al-Medjīd) and had commemorative coins struck. More devastations were caused by the Russian occupation of Edirne in 1878-9, and by the hostilities in the Balkan wars and following the First World War.

Monuments: Of the castle of Edirne, four of whose towers and nine of whose gates we know by name, only one tower, the Sāʿat Ḳulesi (Clock Tower), originally Büyük Ḳule (the Great Tower), remains in existence, the clock itself being a late 19th century addition. Greek inscriptions in the names of John V and Michael Palaeologus have disappeared.

Palaces: 1. Eski Sarāy (the Old Palace). After the conquest of Edirne, Murād I found the *Tekfūr*'s palace in the castle inadequate, and built a new palace outside the castle, where he moved in 767/1365-6. Ewliyā Čelebi says that this was near the Sultan Selīm mosque in the quarter of Ḳavaḳ Meydan(ï) and that it was later used as a barracks for *ʿadjemī-oghlans*. During the Hungarian expeditions of Süleymān the Magnificent the old palace could accommodate 6,000 pages, while accommodation for 40,000 Janissaries was provided near by. Ewliyā Čelebi (iii, 456) says that the palace did not have its own gardens, that it was surrounded by high walls, measuring some 5,000 paces in circumference, that it was rectangular in shape and that it had a gate known as *bāb-ï humāyūn*. Although the importance of the old palace diminished after the building of the Sultan Selīm mosque, it was still used for the education of *ič-oghlans*, the palace organization remaining unchanged from before the conquest of Istanbul. In 1086/1675 Sultan Meḥemmed IV allocated the old palace to his daughter Khadīdja who married Muṣāḥib Muṣṭafā Pasha, hence the later name of Palace of Khadīdja Sulṭān. In the later 19th century a military lycée was built on the site of the old palace.

2. Sarāy-ï Djedīd-i ʿĀmire (the New Imperial Palace), built on an island on the Tundja and on adjoining meadows by Murād II in 854/1450, partly with marble brought from some ruins near Salonica. Construction of the palace was continued the following year by Meḥemmed II who also had thousands of trees planted on the island, which he joined by a bridge to the main palace buildings to the west. Another bridge, this time between the palace and the main city, was built by Süleymān the Magnificent, under whose direction important additions were made to the palace. More pavilions were added in subsequent reigns until the palace grew to twice its size under Meḥemmed II. At the end of the 11th/17th century it contained 18 pavilions, 8 *mesdjids*, 17 large gates, 14 baths and 5 courts. Some six to ten thousand people lived within the confines of the palace. Dissolution was gradual: there were many attempts at restoration in the 18th century, but in 1827 an official survey said that most buildings were either completely in ruins or half-ruined. Much damage was caused to the palace by the Russian occupation of 1829, Russian troops camping in the palace gardens. More attempts at restoration followed, but the second Russian occupation sounded the death knell of the palace. The Ottomans themselves set fire to ammunition dumps in the palace before evacuating the city, and after returning they quarried the remaining buildings for stone.

Mosques: The first Friday prayers were said in Edirne in a converted church inside the castle, known afterwards as the Ḥalabiye, after its first *müderris*, Sirādj al-Dīn Muḥammed b. ʿUmar Ḥalabī, a teacher of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, and also as Čelebi Djāmiʿi. Ruined in an earthquake in the 18th century and later repaired, it survived until the end of the 19th century. Another church in the castle was converted into a mosque under the name of Kilise Djāmiʿi, but this was pulled down by Meḥemmed II and replaced by one with six

domes which disappeared in the second half of the 18th century. The oldest surviving mosque is that of Yıldırım, built in 801/1399, on the foundations of a church ruined in the Fourth Crusade, so that the *miḥrāb* is built into a side wall. During their occupation of 1878 the Russians stripped the inside of the mosque of its tiles and of the two linked marble rings which had given the mosque the name of Küpeli Djāmiʿ (Ear-ring mosque). Another old mosque, the Eski Djāmiʿ (or Old Mosque *par excellence*) was started in 804/1402 by Emīr Süleymān (hence the name of Süleymāniye given it by Meḥemmed I, a name which was later changed into Ulu Djāmiʿ, or Great Mosque, before the present one of Eski Djāmiʿ or Djāmiʿi ʿAtīḳ was finally adopted) and completed in 816/1413 under Meḥemmed I (Pl. X). The interior is square, 9 domes being supported by four columns. An inscription on the western gate, gives the name of the architect as Ḥādjdjī ʿAlaʾ al-Dīn of Ḳonya. A stone from a corner of the Kaʿba was placed at the time of building in the window to the right of the *miḥrāb*, and has been venerated ever since. In the 18th century the mosque suffered in a fire and an earthquake and was restored by Maḥmud I. Another mosque, the Murādiye, was built by Murād II first as a house of Mewlewī dervishes, a smaller *mewlewī-khāne* being built next to it when the main building was turned into a mosque. This mosque is distinguished by the excellent tiles which cover the *miḥrāb* and part of the walls. In the 10th/16th century this mosque, with its almshouse and other adjuncts, was in receipt of very large revenues. Another formerly rich mosque, the Dār al-Ḥadīth (which had at the beginning of the 11th/17th century a revenue of over half a million aspers), was originally a *medrese*, completed in 839/1435. The minaret of this mosque was destroyed in the siege of 1912. Several princes and princesses are buried in a nearby *türbe*.

Another building going back to Murād II is the Üč-sherefeli Djāmiʿ (Three-Balconied Mosque) started in 841/1437-8 and finished in 851/1447-8 (Pl. X). Ewliyā Čelebi says that it was built at the cost of 7,000 purses, being the proceeds of the booty captured at the conquest of Izmir. This mosque has also been known as the Murādiye, Yeni Djāmiʿ (New Mosque) and Djāmiʿ-i Kebīr (Great Mosque). The building is rectangular, a great dome being held up by six columns, there being four medium-sized and four other small domes at the sides of the main one. Four of the columns (at either side of the main gate and the *miḥrāb*) are built into the walls. The *ḥarem* (sacred enclosure, *i.e.*, court-yard), paved with marble, is regarded as the first *ḥarem* of a mosque built by the Ottomans. The cloisters on the four sides of the *ḥarem* are made up of 21 domed vaults, supported by 18 columns. The three-balconied minaret is known as the first Ottoman minaret of this kind. There is also one minaret with two balconies and others with one balcony. Murād II first allocated for the upkeep of this mosque the revenues of the silver mines at Karatova in Serbia. Later Rüstem Pasha transferred these mines to the Treasury, allowing the mosque to draw money instead from the *waḳf* of Bāyezīd II. An important event in the history of the mosque was the public condemnation in it by Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAdjemī of the *ḥurūfī* followers of Faḍl Allāh Tabrīzī, who were believed to enjoy the sympathy of Sultan Meḥemmed the Conqueror. Bāyezīd II built on the banks of the Tundja a mosque, baths, a hospital, a *medrese* and an almshouse (Pl. XI). A chronogram on the mosque gate yields the date 893/1488. The building was financed with the booty captured at Aḳ-Kermān.

The mosque is a simple structure, without arches or pillars, the dome being supported by the four walls. Baths (*tāb-khāne*), surmounted by nine domes and consisting of four rooms each, adjoin on either side and lead onto the two slender minarets. The marble *minbar* of the mosque is particularly elegant. The mosque contains also the first private gallery (*maḥfil*) built in an Edirne mosque; this is supported by porphyry columns, brought probably from the ruins of some temple. The hospital (*dār al-shifāʾ*) built to the west of the mosque is a hexagonal building, six further rooms for the isolation and treatment of patients standing in the hospital gardens (where, Ewliyā Čelebi tells us, the patients were regularly made to listen to music). The *medrese* stands in front of the hospital, while the almshouse and a bakery lie to the east of the mosque. Bāyezīd II had a quay made on the bank of the Tundja, in front of the *miḥrab* of the mosque, and also widened the course of the river. The most beautiful monuments built in Edirne in the 10th/16th century are the work of the architect Sinān. One of these mosques (the Tashlıḳ Djāmiʿi, converted by Sinān from the *zāwiya* of Maḥmūd Pasha) is no longer in existence. Three still stand: the Defterdār Djāmiʿi, the mosque of Shaykhī Čelebi, and finally the mosque of Sultan Selīm (Selīmiye Djāmiʿi), which is the glory of Edirne and the last royal mosque in the city (Pl. XI). Built between 972/1564-5 and 982/1574-5 according to the chronogram on the gate of the *ḥarem*, it cost, Ewliyā Čelebi tells us, 27,760 purses obtained from the booty captured in Cyprus. The great dome of the mosque, which rests on 8 columns, is 6 cubits (*dhirāʿ*) higher than that of Saint Sophia in Istanbul. The *muʾadhdhin*'s gallery under the great dome is supported by 12 marble columns, two metres high; under it there is a small fountain. The mosque library is on the right, and the royal gallery on the left. This *maḥfil*, which rests on four marble pillars, used to be decorated by tiles, which were taken away by the Russians in 1878. The *ḥarem* court-yard is surrounded by cloisters, in which 18 domes are supported by 16 large pillars brought from the Ḳapī-Dagh peninsula and from ruins in Syria (according to Ewliyā Čelebi, also from Athens). Four three-balconied minarets stand at the four corners of the mosque, which have often been repaired. As for the mosque itself, it was repaired after the earthquake of 1752 and also in 1808, 1884 and in recent years. The Sultan Selīm mosque forms an architectural whole with the adjacent *medrese*, *dār al-ḳurrāʾ* (*Ḳurʾān* reciters' quarters), school and clock-house. The *müderris* of the Selīmiye *medrese* was considered the chief *müderris* of the city. The *medrese* was subsequently used as a military detention centre and is now a museum of antiquities, while the *dār al-ḳurrāʾ* houses an ethnographic museum. The library was later enriched by many *waḳf* books, but some valuable books were lost during the Bulgarian occupation.

Edirne was an important centre of Islamic learning, which was allowed an independent course, as in Istanbul and Bursa. Apart from those already mentioned, there were important *medreses* in the court-yard of the Üč-sherefeli Djāmiʿ (founded by Murād II) and the Peykler Medresesi, founded in the same place by Meḥemmed II. These *medreses*, built in the classical Ottoman style, are

today ruined, but could still be restored. Many markets were also built in Edirne, largely as a source of revenue for the upkeep of the pious foundations in the city. The first of these is the covered market of Meḥemmed I (14 domes, 4 gates), which was a *waḳf* of the Eski Djāmiʿ. The covered market built by Murād II, known as the Old Market, fell into ruin in the second half of the 11th/17th century. Murād III had a market built by Sinān, and known as Ārasta (73 arches, 124 shops), to provide revenue for the Selīmiye mosque. Sinān also built a market with six gates for Semiz ʿAlī Pasha. The city contained also a large number of *khāns*. Of these Sinān built the Large and the Small *khāns* of Rüstem Pasha and also the Tash-khān built for Sokollu. Another *khān* which is still in existence is that built in the beginning of the 11th/17th century by Ekmekči-zāde Aḥmed Pasha. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century there were in all 16 *khans* and markets in Edirne. Later the number increased, French and English merchants also having their places of work. The trades practised in Edirne included dyeing, tanning, soap-making, distillation of attar of roses, carriage-building etc. Edirne was also famous for its own style of book-binding. The city's water supply was ensured by the Khāṣṣeki Sulṭān aqueduct built in 937/1530. There were also some 300 public fountains, most of which have now disappeared. Apart from the palace bridges, there were in Edirne four bridges over the Tundja and one over the Merič, the oldest being the bridge of Ghāzī Mīkhāl, built in 823/1420.

At first the administration of Edirne was in the hands of a *ḳāḍī* and of a *su-bashi* (who was probably the same person as the *āghā* of Janissaries mentioned by Pococke). After the conquest of Istanbul the *bostāndji-bashi* was made responsible for the administration. The *ḳāḍī* of Edirne, who had a daily allowance of 300 aspers at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, could expect promotion to Istanbul, and had, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, 45 deputies (*nāʾib*). He was appointed and dismissed by the central government. One interesting local official was the Chief Gardener (*ketkhudā-yi bāghbāniyān*), responsible for the care of private gardens and orchards on the banks of the three rivers (Ḥibrī gives their number as 450, suggesting that it had been larger before, *Enīs al-müsāmirīn*, f. 26). The city of Edirne was a crown domain (*khāṣṣ*) of the Sultans, producing a revenue of nearly two million aspers at the beginning of the 10th/16th century. Money was sometimes sent from the Edirne Treasury to help meet the requirements of Istanbul. Edirne used also to be the seat of a Greek Orthodox Metropolitan and of a Chief Rabbi.

With more than 50 *zāwiyas* and *tekkes*, Edirne bred many famous dervish *sheykhs*. Among the most famous were the Mewlewīs Djelāl al-Dīn and Djemāl al-Dīn in the reign of Murād II, and Sezāʾī Ḥasan Dede (d. 1151/1738), considered the second *pīr* of the Gulshenī *ṭariḳa*. The beauties of Edirne have been described in many poems, including the *Humāyūn-nāme* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī and the *Ṭabaḳāt al-mamālik* of Ḳodja Nishāndjī. A local poet, Khayālī, wrote a poem ending in the refrain *Edrine*, and this has often been imitated. Finally, Edirne is graphically described in Nefʿī's *ḳaṣīda* to the Sultan.

Bibliography: A detailed monograph on Edirne, with a history of the years 760-1043/1359-1633, was written by Ḥibrī [*q.v.*] of Edirne in 1046/1636 under the title *Enīs al-müsāmirīn*; it is still unpublished, but is extracted in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's *Rumeli und Bosna*, tr. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812, 1-15, and in the so-called *Chronicle* of Djewrī (Istanbul 1291-2), cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, x, 691 ff., and Babinger, 213; there is a continuation, called *Riyāḍ-i belde-i Edirne*, by Bādī Aḥmed Efendi (1255-1326/1839-1908). Besides the long section in Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, there are descriptions by European travellers in the 17th and 18th centuries (John Covel, in Th. Bent, *Early voyages and travels in the Levant*, London 1893; Antoine Galland, *Journal*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881; E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey*, London 1747; *Letters of Lady Wortley Montague*, letters 25-34). The decay of the city in the beginning of the 19th century is described by George Keppel, *Narrative of a journey across the Balcans*, London 1831, i, and by Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*[6], 150 ff.; Nicolas de Nicolay, *Navigations* . . ., gives types of the inhabitants in the 10th/16th century. Views and plans of the mosques and other buildings are given by C. Sayger and A. Desarnod, *Album d'un voyage en Turquie en 1829-1830*, Paris n.d., fol., Thomas Allom and Robert Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii, 73, 77, and notably by C. Gurlitt, *Die Bauten Adrianopels*, in *Orientalisches Archiv*, i, p. i and ii (cf. G. Jacob in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 358-68). Works in Turkish include: the *Sālnāmes* of the vilâyet of Edirne; Rifʿat ʿOthmān, *Edirne Rehnümâsî*, Edirne 1335/1920; Oktay Aslanapa, *Edirnede Osmanlı devri abideleri*, Istanbul 1949; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, Istanbul 1952; idem, "Edirne" in *IA*.

(M. Tayyib Gökbilgin)

EDREMIT, town of western Turkey, situated 8 km. from the head of the Gulf of Edremit (on the site of Homer's Thebe) on the lower slopes of Pasha-dagh (a spur of Mt. Ida) overlooking the fertile alluvial plain to the south (39° 35′ N., 27° 02′ E.). The ancient Adramyttion was on the coast at Karatash (4 km. west of Burhaniye [formerly Kemer] and 13 km. south-west of Edremit), where remains of quays, etc., are to be found. The evidence of coins indicates that the city was transferred to its present site not (as Kiepert suggested) under the Comnenes but much earlier, perhaps in the 2nd century A.D. (W. Ruge, in Pauly-Wissowa, art. Thebe, col. 1597). Turkish attacks began at the end of the 11th century: in 1093 Adramyttion was entirely destroyed by Tzachas (Čaka), operating from his base at Smyrna, and re-built by Alexius' general Philokales (*Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib, iii, 143); and towards 1160 Manuel I strengthened its fortifications against the Turkish danger (Nicetas Choniates, Bonn ed., 194). When in 1261 Michael Palaeologus ceded Smyrna to the Genoese, he granted them also extensive privileges in Adramyttion (W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, i, 429), and early in the next century a Genoese garrison was defending the city against the Turks (Pachymeres, Bonn ed., ii, 558). Soon afterwards Edremit fell into the hands of the Karasi [*q.v.*] dynasty, to be occupied, along with their other territories, by the Ottomans in the reign of Orkhān (ʿĀshıḳpashazāde, ed. Giese, 41; ʿĀshıḳpashazāde's date, 735/1334-5, is too early, by ten years or more). For five centuries Edremit was administered as a *ḳaḍā* of the *sandjaḳ* of Karasi (for administrative changes 1841-1923 see *IA*, vi, 334). Now the centre of a *kaza* of the *vilâyet* of Balıkesir, it has a thriving olive-oil industry (population [1950] 12,700).

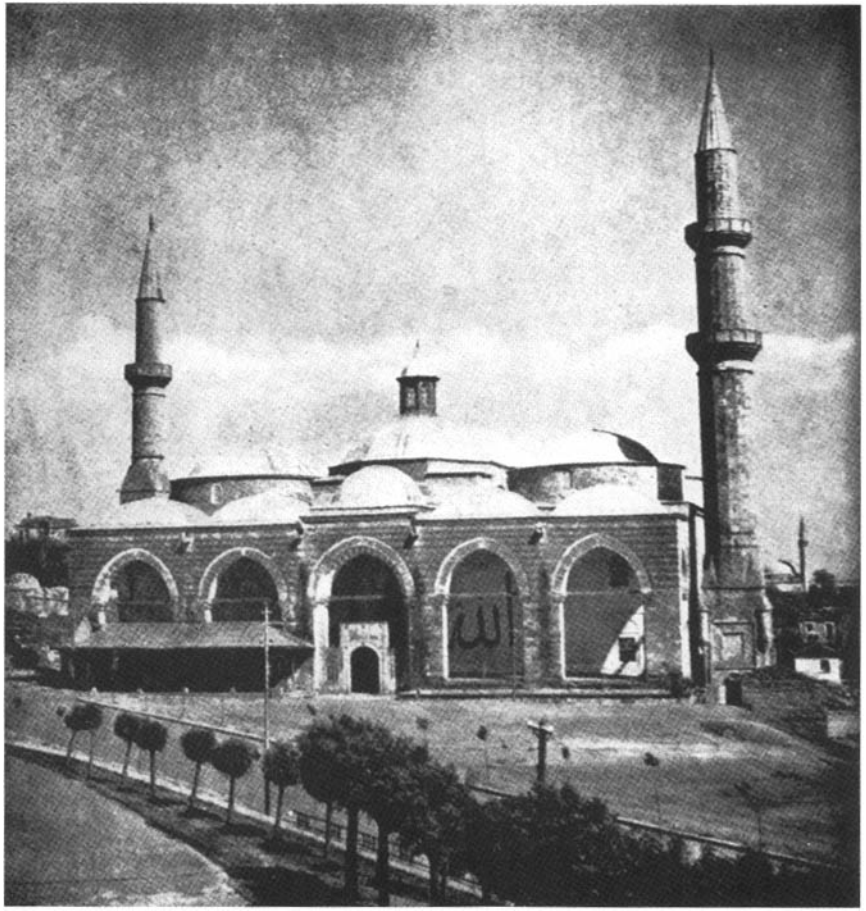

Eski Djāmiʿ.

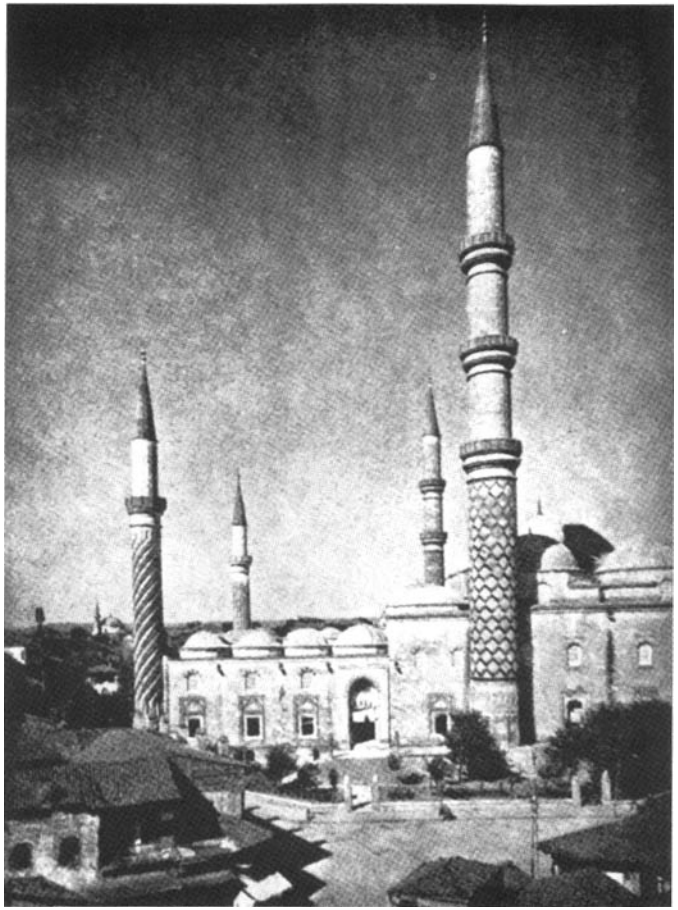

Üč-sherefeli Djāmiʿ, entrée et cour.

(B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture*, Londres 1959.)

Mosquée de Bāyezīd II et hôpital.

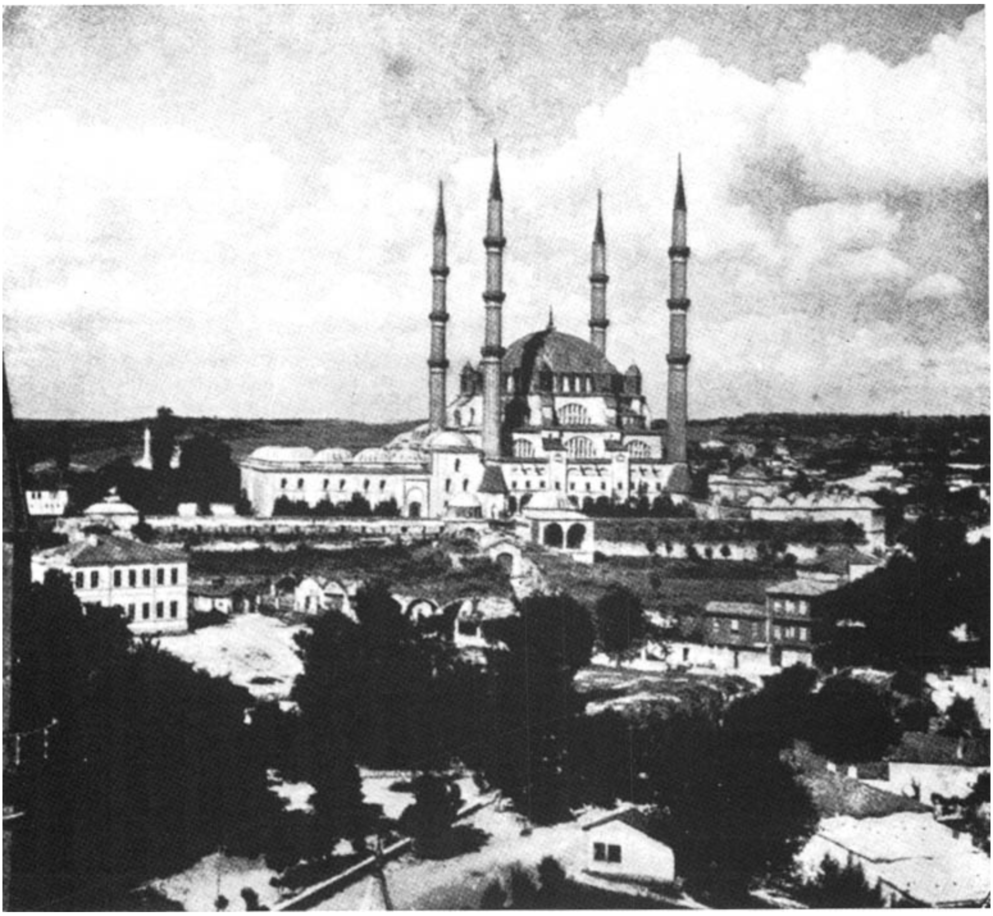

Selīmiyye Djāmiʿi.
(B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture*, Londres 1959).

1. Selimiye câmii
2. Üç şerefeli câmi
3. Eski câmi
4. Bedestan
5. Ali Paşa çarşısı
6. Rüstem Paşa hanı
7. Sarıca Paşa câmii
8. Kale-İçi
9. Tahtelkale hamamı
10. Gâzî Mihal köprüsü
11. Orta-İmâret
12. Dârülhadis câmii
13. Süleymaniye câmii
14. Kirişhâne
15. Kasım Paşa câmii
16. Ekmekçi-oğlu kervansarayı (Ayşe Kadın hanı)
17. Şeyh Çelebî câmii
18. Kıyık semti
19. Muradiye câmii
20. Beylerbeyi câmii
21. At-Pazarı
22. Eski-Saray
23. Bayezid II. câmii
24. Yeni-İmâret mahallesi
25. Yalnız-Göz köprüsü
26. Yıldırım mahallesi

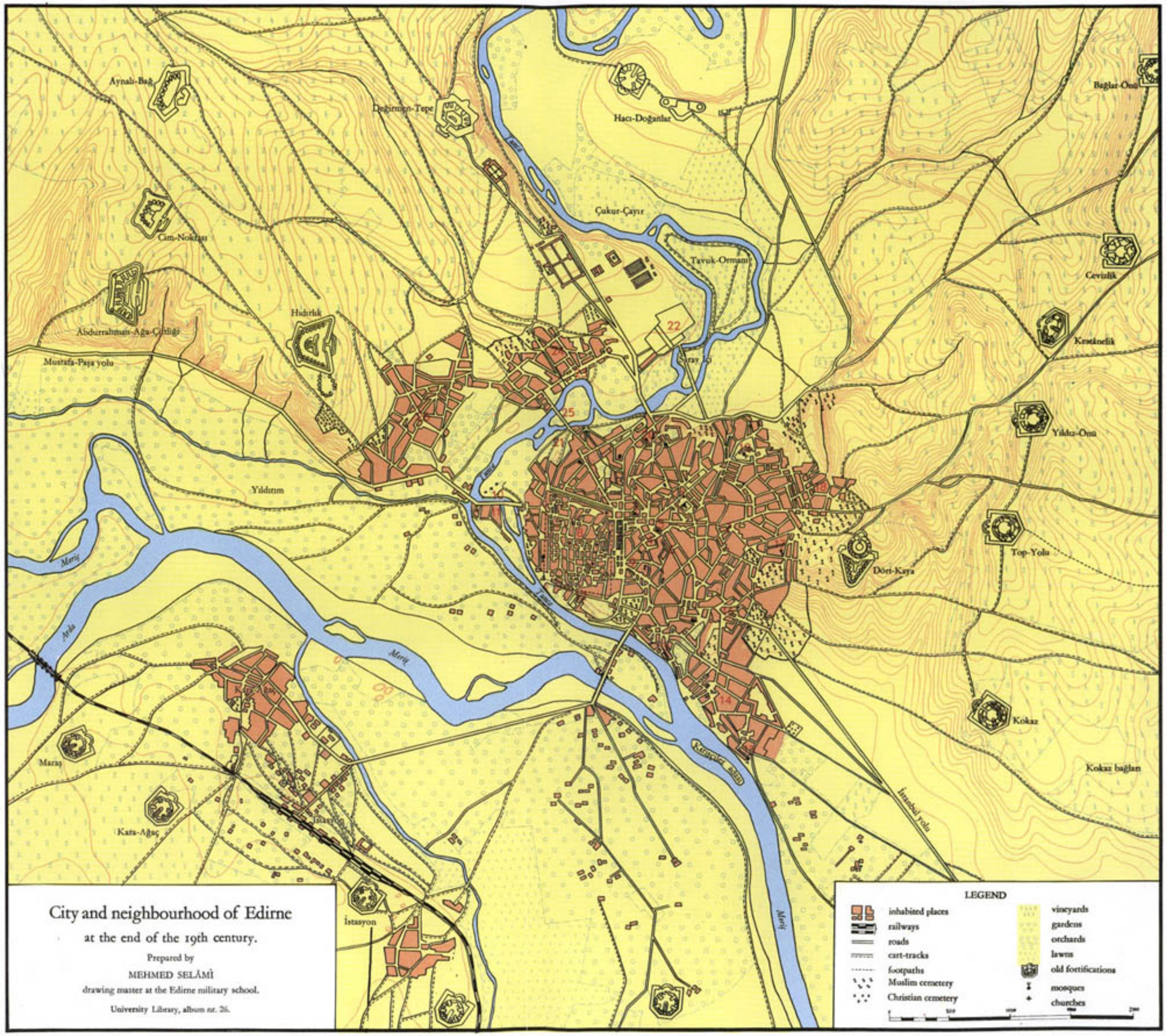

City and neighbourhood of Edirne
at the end of the 19th century.
Prepared by
MEHMED SELÂMÎ
drawing master at the Edirne military school.
University Library, album nr. 26.

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(J. H. Mordtmann-[V. L. Ménage])

EDUCATION [see tadrīs, also djāmiʿa, maʿārif, madrasa and tarbiya].

EFE (see zeybek).

EFENDI, an Ottoman title of Greek origin, from αὐθέντης, Lord, Master, (cf. authentic), probably via a Byzantine colloquial vocative form, *afendi* (G. Meyer, *Türkische Studien*, i, in *SBAk. Wien* (1893), 37; K. Foy in *MSOS*, i/2 (1898), 44 n. 3; Psichari, 408). The term was already in use in Turkish Anatolia in the 13th and 14th centuries. Eflākī indicates that the daughter of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī was known as Efendipoulo—the master's daughter (Cl. Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1922, ii, 429; on the later Karaite family name Afendopoulo or Efendipoulo see Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, New York-Jerusalem 1959, 199-200). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found that the brother of the ruler of Kastamonu was called Efendi (*Voyages*, ii, 345; Eng. trans. Sir Hamilton Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Battuta*, ii, Cambridge 1962, 463). This title was also used under the Ottomans (see, for example, ʿĀshïḳpashazāde, chapter 46, where Ḳara Rüstem addresses the Ḳāḍīʿasker Djandarlï Khalīl as Efendi), and in a number of fermāns issued in Greek from the chancery of Meḥemmed the Conqueror the Sultan himself is called ὁ μέγας αὐθέντης—perhaps the original of Grand Signor (Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, ii, 523; F. Babinger-F. Dölger, *Mehmed's II. frühester Staatsvertrag (1446)*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, xv (1949), 234; A. Bombaci, *Nuovi firmani greci di Maometto II*, in *BZ*, xlvii (1954), 298-319; cf. Deny, *Sommaire*, 561). From the late 15th century onwards the title Efendi was used of various dignitaries, in Turkish as well as in Greek. In the 16th century there still seem to have been doubts of its propriety. A *fatwā* of Abu 'l-Suʿūd [*q.v.*], cited by Pakalın, considers the origin and meaning of the word, and the propriety of applying it to Muslims or to God. The word, he says, is common to Turkish and Greek (*kefere lughatï*), and means the owner of slaves and slave-girls. It is wrong to call God Efendi; whether one may call a Muslim Efendi is an open question. In fact, the word became increasingly common in Ottoman usage, as a designation of members of the scribal and religious, as opposed to the military classes (cf. čelebi). It was in particular used of certain important functionaries. Thus, the *Reʾīs al-küttāb* [*q.v.*] was known as the Reis Efendi, the ḳāḍī of Istanbul as Istanbul Efendisi, and the chief secretary of the janissaries as Yeñi Čeri [*q.v.*] Efendisi; the latter's department was called Efendi Kapïsï or Efendi Dāʾiresi. The chief secretaries of the *dīwān* in Istanbul or of provincial governors-general were known as *dīwān efendisi* (in Egypt *dīwān efendi*—Deny, 111-2. For other efendis in Ottoman Egypt see Gibb-Bowen, i/2, 46-7, 65-6; S. J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt 1517-1798*, Princeton 1962, index). At the same time, it remained the practice to speak of the Sultan as *Efendimiz*—our master; in the 19th century an Arabicized form of the same expression—*Efendīnā*—was used in Egypt of Muḥammad ʿAlī and his successors. It was not uncommon for Muslims to speak of the Prophet as *Efendimiz*—our lord, or for Turkish-speaking Christians to use the same expression of Jesus Christ.

During the 19th century the Ottoman government made attempts to regulate the use of *Efendi*, as of other titles and designations, by law. It was given, for example, to princes of the ruling house; to the wives of the Sultans (*kadïn* [*q.v.*] *efendi*); to the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the *ʿUlemāʾ*, and other, non-Muslim, religious heads; to functionaries up to the rank of *Bālā* [*q.v.*] or, in the armed forces, of *biñbashï* [*q.v.*]. In fact, however, it was used, following the personal name, as a form of address or reference for persons possessing a certain standard of literacy, and not styled Bey (see beg) or Pasha; it thus came to be an approximate equivalent of the English Mister or French Monsieur. In the records of the first Ottoman parliament of 1877, the deputies are nearly all designated as Efendi or Bey, and the speaker addresses the house as *Efendiler*—gentlemen. The distinction between *efendi* and *bey* in Turkey finally came to be one between religious and secular, the former term being used primarily for men of religion or of religious education, the latter for military and then also for civilian laymen. The title *efendi* was finally abolished in Turkey, together with other Ottoman ranks and titles, in 1934. In the form *efendim* (also *Beyefendim* and *Hanımefendim*)—sir, madam—it remains in common use as a form of address for both men and women.

In the Arab countries formerly under Ottoman rule, where the title Efendi came into general use in the 19th century, it followed a somewhat different line of development, and came to designate the secular, literate townspeople, usually dressed in European style, as against the lower classes on the one hand, and the men of religion on the other. This was in contrast with the Turkish practice, which tended to apply the title more especially to men of religion. After becoming a rough equivalent of Mr. or Esquire, the title Efendi is now disappearing in the Arab lands, being replaced for the most part by Sayyid.

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(B. Lewis)

EFLĀḲ, the Turkish form of the word Wallach, originally applied by Germanic tribes to Latin populations. The Slavs, the Byzantines and, later, the Ottomans used it to denote the Balkan Rumanians and those north of the Danube. It is probable that it lost its ethnic meaning in certain parts of

the peninsula, and was applied simply to a pastoral population. Under the Turks, the Wallachians who were incorporated in the organization of the *voynuḳ* [*q.v.*] provided light cavalry units.

The first mention of Rumanian political institutions south of the Carpathians occurs in the diploma granted by the king of Hungary to the Knights Hospitallers (1247). In 1330, Basarab reigned over the whole territory lying between the Danube and the Carpathians (Ţara Românească) as an independent sovereign, after the victory over the Hungarian king Charles Robert. The dynasty founded by Basarab bore his name, which is of Kuman origin. Under his son Nicolaë Alexandru, the orthodox Rumanian Church was raised to metropolitan status. The first contact of Wallachia with the Ottomans took place in 1368 in the reign of Vladislav (1364-74 or 5). The reign of Mircea the Old (1388-1418) is memorable for a long series of struggles against Bāyezīd I. In 1391 Fīrūz Beg attacked Vidin and crossed the Danube into Wallachia. Enough booty was taken to provide endowments for charitable institutions in Bursa. In 1393 Mircea the Old lost Silistria. In the years that followed, war was waged between Wallachia and the Ottomans, and the monarch was temporarily replaced by a certain Vlad who recognized Ottoman suzerainty and, in 1394, paid tribute for the first time. After the battle of Ankara, Mircea intervened in the struggle between the sons of Bāyezīd I over the succession to the throne. The entry of Wallachia into the Turkish orbit gave rise to two political currents. In the struggle against Islam, some of the Boyars sought aid from the Magyar kingdom, and later from the royal houses of Austria or Russia; but rather than endure the wars which this policy provoked, the others preferred to recognize Ottoman suzerainty. The whole course of Rumanian history was profoundly influenced by this conflict. In the 15th century Vlad the Devil (1436-46) struggled against the Turks, but in the end accepted their authority, thereby provoking a Hungarian campaign in the course of which he met his death. His son Vlad the Impaler (1456-62, 1476) fought against Meḥemmed II without success. In the 16th century Radu dela Afumaţi (1522-9) resisted the Turks but was compelled to recognize their suzerainty and in the end was assassinated by the Boyars. It was only in the closing years of the 16th century that Rumanian resistance became at all effective. Michael the Brave (1593-1601), in alliance with the Christian League, started a campaign against the Ottoman Empire and defied its armies. By making forays south of the Danube he harassed the Turks who were at that time fighting against Austria. Attacked by Sinān Pas̲h̲a (1595), he saved his country with the help of Transylvania and Moldavia. The necessities of war and the hesitant policies of the two countries finally led Michael the Brave to conquer them (1599, 1600). His reign over the three principalities was of short duration. He came into conflict with the interests of the throne of Austria, and also those of Poland and the Ottomans. Michael finally lost his conquests and his life as well, being assassinated on the order of general Basta, Commander in Chief of the Imperial forces. In the 17th century the princes Matei Basarab (1633-54) and Şerban Cantacuzino (1678-88) succeeded in limiting Turkish interventions in the country's affairs. Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714) continued Şerban's policy of keeping a balance between Austria and the Ottomans, but the appearance of Russia did not make his task easier. His relations with Peter the Great made him an object of suspicion to the Turks. Lured to Constantinople, he was there executed. The new prince Stefan Cantacuzino (1714-15) perished in similar circumstances. The Ottomans, no longer having confidence in the Rumanian princes who were so ready to take up arms against them, preferred to choose their rulers from the Greek families of the Phanar who had distinguished themselves in the sultan's service. During this period, the wars waged by the House of Austria, and even more by Russia, against Turkey brought constant bloodshed. Wallachia was occupied by the Austrians and Russians in turn. By the treaty of Küčük Ḳaynard̲j̲a, Russia confirmed her right to intervene with the Porte on behalf of Wallachia and Moldavia. The Phanariot regime came to an end in 1821 as a result of the revolt of Tudor Vladimirescu. Acting at first in agreement with the *Hetaira*, he later turned against the Greeks, the instruments of Ottoman domination. In 1829 the Treaty of Andrianople marked a new stage in the Russian penetration into the Balkans, but it also brought Wallachia complete freedom of trade, the beginning of a period of vigorous economic growth. The country received its first constitution in 1834; and this was replaced by a more liberal fundamental law in the anti-Russian revolutionary outburst of 1848. The Porte, urged on by St. Petersburg, quenched the revolution in blood. The Treaty of Paris (1856) was the origin of the union of Wallachia and Moldavia in a single state under prince Alexandru Ion Cuza (1859). As a result of the Peace of Berlin (1878), Rumania was recognized as an independent state.

The entry of Wallachia into the Ottoman system brought profound changes in its social and economic structure. The country lost the right to maintain commercial relations with other countries, and was compelled to provide Constantinople with a part of its supplies of cereals and live-stock. It must be emphasized that, despite the bonds of suzerainty, the Turks never had the right to establish themselves in Wallachia. This country played an important part in upholding eastern Christianity by large donations to the Orthodox monasteries in the Ottoman empire, as well as by printing religious books. It was at Bucharest that one of the oldest books in the Turkish language was printed in 1701.

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EGER [see eğri].

EGERDIR [see eğridir].

EĞIN, now known as Kemāliye, a town in E. Anatolia on the right (west) bank of the Euphrates (Ķara-Su), 40 kms. from ʿArapkīr [*q.v.*], 130 kms. from El-ʿAzīz and Malaṭya via ʿArapkīr, and 150 kms. from Erzindjān [*q.v.*] (under which it comes administratively as the centre of a *ķaḍā*) via the station of Ilič on the Sivas [*q.v.*]—Erzurum [*q.v.*] railway. It is near Eğin that the valley of the Euphrates narrows, pressed in by the outposts of the Monzur mountains of Dersim to the east and the Sarî-Čiček mountains to the west. The valley which is situated here, at an altitude of 825 m. above sea level, is overlooked on the eastern side by a precipitous slope rising above it like a wall. The western slope is more gradual, rising like an amphitheatre round a small valley. It is here that Eğin is built at an altitude of from 900 to 1000 metres. A spring higher up, known as Ķāḍī Gölü, waters the town's gardens, feeds its fountains and turns its mills. It is said that the name Eğin is derived from the Armenian word *agn* (*akn*), meaning "spring", and that the town was founded in the 11th century by a group of Vaspurakan Armenians (see J. Saint Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, Paris 1818, i, 189). In ancient times this district was ruled by local lords or changed hands in the wars between Rome and Persia (remains of Roman roads can still be seen). In Islamic times it was for short periods of time autonomous, before the foundation of the Saldjūķid State and also after that State had become weaker. After the invasion of Tīmūr [*q.v.*], Eğin was annexed to the Ottoman Empire in the reign of Sulṭān Meḥemmed I [*q.v.*]. It was for a long time attached to the *liwā* of ʿArapkīr in the *eyālet* of Sivas [*q.v.*]. In the 19th century it passed into the vilayet of Kharpūt [*q.v.*] and then into that of Maʿmūret ül-ʿAzīz. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic the name of Eğin was changed into Kemāliye after Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (Atatürk). The *ķaḍā* of Kemāliye formed part successively of the vilayets of El-ʿAzīz, Malaṭya and Erzindjān.

The *Djihān-nümā*, the *Seyāḥatnāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] and other 17th century sources mention Eğin as a place of gardens and orchards producing an abundance of fruit. Ewliyā Čelebi says that although Eğin formed a *ķaḍā* of the *eyālat* of Sivas, its taxes were collected by the *muḥaṣṣil* of Malaṭya. He adds that the castle of Eğin had been surrendered to Sulṭān Meḥemmed I under a treaty and that the 300 Christians living there were immune from taxation. According to him, there were in Eğin some 10,000 well-built houses with earth roofs. Sources in the first half of the 19th century praise the beauty of the town, whose houses were surrounded by greenery. Moltke, who visited Eğin in April 1839, describes it as one of the most beautiful towns in Asia which he had seen, comparable to Amasya [*q.v.*]. Although he found Amasya a more pleasant and original place, he thought Eğin more impressive and beautiful and its river more important. Although Moltke mentions Eğin as a largely Armenian centre, Texier, as well as sources belonging to the second half of the 19th century, state that the Armenians were never in the majority there. According to Texier there were 2,000 Muslim households and only some 700 Armenian households in the town. Towards the end of the 19th century Yorke estimated the population of Eğin at 15,000 and Cuinet at 19,000, of whom some 12,000 were Turks and 7,000 Armenians.

The Muslims of Eğin were engaged in agriculture and particularly in cattle-breeding, as is the case today, while the Armenians were engaged in commerce and crafts. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, the town was famous for its bows, bow-makers occupying most of the bazaar. In more recent times the town produced fine cotton goods, embroidered silks, embroidered head-cloths, handkerchiefs and towels. Moltke mentions that many citizens of Eğin settled in Istanbul, where they found employment as butchers, porters, grocers, builders, merchants and money-changers, returning to their birth-place in their old age and building fine houses there. Some citizens of Eğin reached high rank in the service of the State, including that of Minister. This custom of seeking employment outside their birth-place was also shared by the citizens of ʿArapkīr, as well as by people from neighbouring villages. Some Armenians from Eğin emigrated to America, returning occasionally to their town in their old age. Cuinet writing in 1890 says that while some such Armenians returned rich and made fine houses for themselves their descendants wasted the money they inherited. Local industry declined as a result of European competition and the town lost its prosperity. Eğin was badly affected by the First World War. According to the first results of the 1945 census the population of Eğin amounted to 3,300 while the whole *ķaḍā*, which covered an area of 1333 sq. kms. and included 34 villages, numbered 16,900 people.

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EĞRI (Turk., Eğri; Hung., Eger; Ger., Erlau; Lat. and Ital., Agria), an old Hungarian town, 110 km. to the north-east of Buda, situated close to the massif of Bükk, *i.e.*, to the eastern foot-hills of the Matrá mountains, and on the river Eger, which flows into the Tisza (Theiss). Eğri was subject to Ottoman rule from 1005/1596 to 1099/1687.

The Ottomans, in 959/1552, captured Temesvár and Szolnok (important in the future as a base for

the concentration of the men and supplies needed for the conquest and thereafter for the retention of Eğri) and then laid siege to Eğri itself, but in vain, all their assaults failing before the desperate resistance of the Christian garrison under Stephen Dobó (Ramaḍān-Shawwāl 959/September-October 1552).

Eğri was not in fact to come into Muslim hands until the long war of 1001-15/1593-1606 between the Austrian Habsburgs and the Ottomans. The first years of this war brought such disaster to the Ottoman cause that Sultan Meḥemmed III (1003-12/1595-1603) was induced to take the field in person for the campaign of 1004-5/1596. Near Szalánkemen the Sultan held a council of war, at which the decision was reached to make the capture of Eğri the main objective of the campaign (one of the Christian sources—Decsi, *Commentarii*, 252—notes that the "Begus Szolnokiensis", *i.e.*, the Sandjak Beg of Szolnok, in the spring of 1004/1596 ("sub idem ferme veris initium"), had reconnoitred and raided in force the lands around Eğri—a foretoken of the fate soon to befall the town). The decision of the Sultan and of the council of war rested on two considerations: that possession of Eğri would enable the Ottomans to threaten the narrow corridor of land through which ran the lines of communication between Austria and Transylvania, then in alliance with the Emperor against the Sultan, and that control of Eğri might bring under Ottoman domination the mines located in the mountainous region to the north of the town (cf. Pečewī, ii, 191; Naʿīmā, i, 146; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 71; Decsi, *Commentarii*, 267; Hurmuzaki, iii/2, 216. Marsigli, *Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus*, iii/2, Amsterdam 1726, 19 ff. contains a "Mappa Mineralogica", which shows the mines existing in his own time to the north of Eğri). Eğri fell to the Ottomans after a siege of three weeks (28 Muḥarram-19 Ṣafar 1005/21 September-12 October 1596). Once the fortress was in their hands, the Ottomans began to repair forthwith the damage that it had suffered in the course of the siege, but their continued possession of Eğri was in fact ensured to them only by their defeat of the Imperialists in the great battle of Ḥāč Ovasī (Mező-Keresztes) fought not far from Eğri in Rabīʿ I 1005/October 1596. Eğri, at first a sandjak in the eyālet of Budin (Buda), was later raised to the status of a beglerbeglik comprising (with Eğri itself) six sandjaks, amongst them Szegedin and Szolnok (cf. Tischendorf, 69 and also Gökbilgin in *IA*).

The Christians recaptured Eğri in 1099/1687 during the course of the war waged between Austria and the Ottoman Empire from 1094/1683 to 1110/1699. As a result of the campaigns of 1096/1685 and 1097/1686 the Imperialists won Budin and a number of additional fortresses, including Szolnok and Szegedin on the Tisza. Eğri was now more or less isolated. The Ottomans, in order to retain it, would have had to undertake a major—and highly successful— counter-offensive. All prospect of such an offensive ended with the defeat of the Ottoman forces under the command of Süleymān Pasha at the second battle of Mohács in Shawwāl 1098/August 1687. The fall of Eğri had been foreshadowed in the summer of 1097/1686, when the Imperialists, eager to deprive the fortress even of local sources of men and food, compelled the inhabitants of the villages in the region to leave their homes and to settle elsewhere. Eğri withstood the ensuing blockade until Ṣafar 1099/December 1687, the garrison capitulating in that month to the Imperialist general Antonio Caraffa.

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EĞRIBOZ (also IGHRIBOS/Z, ĀGHRIBOS/Z, EGRIBOS), Turkish name for the island of Euboea and its chief town, the classical Chalkis. Originally the name of the narrow strait separating Chalkis from the mainland, Εὔριπος (vulg. Ἔγριπος) was already by the 12th century currently used for the town; a supposed connexion with the bridge over the strait produced from the acc. [εἰς τὸ]ν Ἔγριπον 'Negroponte', the regular Western name for both town and island. In Byzantine times Euboea formed part of the theme of Hellas. At the partition of the Empire in 1204 it fell to a triarchy of Veronese, but the Venetians, reserving trading rights and appointing a bailo to supervise their settlements, gradually made themselves the effective masters of the island; the town of Negroponte, strongly fortified in 1304, became their principal naval base in the Aegean.

The Turkish danger first appeared with the raids of Umur Pasha of Aydin (see P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin*, 1957), and by the beginning of the Ottoman-Venetian war of 867-83/1463-79 practically all mainland Greece was in Ottoman hands. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 874/June 1470 the fleet under Maḥmūd Pasha [*q.v.*], then Ḳapudan, cast anchor in Vurko Bay, south of the town, while Meḥemmed II with the army advanced overland via Thebes to the mainland shore; the army crossed by a bridge of boats made south of the heavily defended Euripos bridge, and ships were dragged overland to prevent relief approaching from the north. The walls, defended on three sides by the sea and on the fourth by a deep fosse, were finally carried on Thursday 13 Muḥarram 875/12 July 1470, the garrison was massacred and 15,000 prisoners (so Kemālpashazāde) were taken (Western sources on the siege are listed by Miller [see Bibl.], 478; the fullest Turkish account is that of Kemālpashazāde, ed. Ş. Turan, facs. 301-11 = transcription 284-92, with refs. to the other sources; a *fetḥnāme* was published by A. S. Erzi in *Fatih ve Istanbul*, i/3-6 (1954), 300 ff.).

Thereafter until its cession to Greece in 1833 Euboea, with parts of the mainland, was a sandjaḳ belonging to the jurisdiction of the Ḳapudan Pasha, who frequently resided in the town. Ewliyā Čelebi, visiting Euboea in 1081/1670 (*Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, 236-48) describes the strongly-fortified town—it was to resist a siege of over three months during Morosini's campaign of 1688—with 11 Muslim, 1 Jewish and 5 Christian wards, the drawbridge linking it to the Venetian fortress (destroyed when the present swing-bridge was built in 1896) in mid-strait and the second bridge to the mainland, with watermills worked by the freakish currents.

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EĞRI DAGH [see AGHRĪ DAGH].

EĞRIDIR, earlier spellings Egirdir or Egerdir in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 267, and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, report on Anatolia, ed. Taeschner, Leipzig 1929, 39 l. 5, (middle of the 14th century), Akridūr, Greek Akrotiri, possibly—though there is no proof for this—from the name Ἀκρωτήριον; a small town in south-western Anatolia on a penin sula at the southern end of the Eğridir lake, which has no visible outlet but which may have a subterranean outlet to the Mediterranean, thus keeping its water fresh. This is the Limnai of antiquity (924 m. (= 3034 ft.) above sea-level, concerning which cf. F. Loewe, *Beobachtungen während einer Durchquerung Zentralanatoliens im Jahre 1927*, in *Geografiska Annaler* 1935); its geographical position is 37° 50′ north, 30° 53′ east, and it is the capital of a *kaza* of the *vilâyet* of Isparta. It has 5,766 inhabitants, the *kaza* has 26,820 (1950), and it is the terminus of the branch line from Dinar (opened 1912). There are two islands, Çan-adası and Yeşil-ada, facing the peninsula on which Eğridir is built. On the second of these (formerly called Nīs [Νησί] Adasī), there was a monastery with some 1000 Turkish-speaking Greeks up to the end of the First World War.

According to W. M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 407 and 417, the episcopal see of Prostanna was located in or near Eğridir. It is assumed that the town, together with the region of Isparta, which was conquered by Ḳilīdj-Arslan III (600-1/1204, see Houtsma, *Recueil* etc., iii, 62; iv, 24; H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, Copenhagen 1959, 30),

fell into the hands of the Saldjūḳs. After the dissolution of the Rūm Saldjūḳ Empire, Eğridir became the capital of the Turkish principality of the Ḥamīd-oghlu. One of the first rulers of this dynasty, Falak al-Dīn Dündār (at the end of the 13th century), gave the town the name Felekbār or Felekābād (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 379; translation ii, 2, 134). In 783 or 784/towards 1381 A.D., the last Ḥamīd-oghlu, Ḥüseyn Beg, sold his rights to the Ottoman Murād I. Tīmūr conquered both the town and the fortified island Nīs-Adasī on his march through Anatolia (according to Saʿd al-Dīn on 17 Shaʿbān 805/11 March 1403, according to Sharaf al-Dīn on 17 Radjab/10 February). He left them to the Ḳaramānids, whom he had restored, but they, in turn, had to cede them, together with the region of Ḥamīd-eli, to the Ottomans in 1425. It now became a *liwāʾ* in the *eyālet* of Anadolu. Later on, in the 19th century, Ḥamīd-eli, or Isbarta, as it was temporarily known, became a *sandjaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Konya.

The most notable building is the citadel, probably built by Keyḳubād I, at the tip of the peninsula of Eğridir. It is separated from the town itself by a wall, and there is an inner wall protecting the innermost part of the citadel, which lies on the tip of the peninsula (where there are further fortifications, including two towers which lean against the rocks). These fortifications, which are now destroyed, were still intact in the 18th century (see *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas fait en 1714 ....*, Amsterdam 1720).

There is a mosque, the Ulu Djāmiʿ, with wooden buttresses, near the gate of the citadel in the outer town; its minaret stands on the actual gate of the citadel. Opposite the mosque, there is the Tash Madrasa, a court *madrasa* with an *aywān* and a beautiful Saldjūḳ doorway dated Shawwāl 635/May-June 1238 (*RCEA*, xi, 96, no. 4148); the *aywān* is dated 701/1301-2 (*ibid.*, xiii, 227, no. 5138).

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(J. H. Mordtmann-[Fr. Taeschner])

EGYPT [see misr].

EKREM BEY, Redjāʾīzāde Maḥmūd (1847-1914), Turkish writer, poet and critic, one of the leading personalities in the victory of the modern school of poetry over traditional *dīwān*-poetry. Born in Vaniköy, a suburb of Istanbul on the Bosphorus, he was the son of Redjāʾī Efendi, director of the Government Press, a poet and scholar of some distinction. He attended various schools until the age of fifteen and, like most of his contemporaries, continued his education as an apprentice clerk in the chancellery of the Foreign Ministry (where he met Nāmıḳ Kemāl) and various other government offices. Subsequently he became a senior official of the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi Dewlet*) and taught literature at the Galatasaray Lycée and the Imperial School of Political Science (*Mülkiye*), two of the few leading institutions where the Turkish intelligentsia and ruling classes were educated, and exercised immense influence on the formation of the literary taste of the young generation. After the restoration of the Constitution in 1908 he became, for a short time, Minister of *Waḳf*s and later Minister of Education in the Kāmil Pasha cabinet, but soon resigned as he disagreed with the policy of massive purges in the civil service. He was made a senator in December 1908 and remained so until his death.

Ekrem Bey began by writing poems in the *dīwān* tradition until he came under the influence of the modernist Tanẓīmāt school, particularly of Nāmıḳ Kemāl and ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid. Then gradually he developed a personality of his own and influenced even Ḥāmid's later work. His poetry is romantic, often over-sentimental and melancholy bordering sometimes on the *funèbre*, constantly elaborating one of the three themes: nature, love and particularly death, helped in this by tragic circumstances in his life (he lost three children at a young age).

Although himself a poet of limited inspiration and not a very skilful versifier, he sincerely believed in a thorough revolution in the form and content of the Turkish *ars poetica*, and became the pioneer fighter of modern Turkish poetry against the traditionalists headed by Muʿallim Nādjī. He was thus a link between the early modernists (Shināsī, Ziya (Ḍiyāʾ) Pasha, Nāmıḳ Kemāl, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid) and radical reformists of the Fikret school. The long and often bitter struggle, continued by the generation of Tewfīḳ Fikret (in the literary magazine *Therwet-i Fünūn* where many young talents gathered first round Ekrem Bey), ended with the triumph of modernism during his lifetime, and Ekrem Bey's rôle in this, perhaps more as a critic and movement-leader than as a poet, is decisive. Hence the name Ustād-ı Ekrem given to him by his students and admirers. The individualism and Art for Art's sake tendency of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* school are also partly to be traced to Ekrem who was not as social- or history-conscious as his predecessors.

Apart from articles and poems published in various reviews of the period and some booklets of minor importance, he is the author of: Verse: (I) *Naghme-i seḥer* (1871) and (II) *Yadghār-ı shebāb* (1873); (III) *Zemzeme* in three parts (1885), the third of which contains his celebrated poem *Yaḳadjıḳda bir mezārlıḳ ʿālemi*, considered his masterpiece; (IV) *Nāčīz* (1886) a collection of verse translations from the French romantics and La Fontaine; (V) *Pejmürde* (1894). Prose: (I) *Müntekhabāt medjmūʿasī* (1873) a collection of his early writings, articles and translations, in the tradition of the old flowery style; (II) *Mes Prisons Terdjümesi* (1874), translation from the French of Silvio Pellico's *Le mie prigioni*, equally in the old fashioned ornate prose which was severely criticized by Nāmıḳ Kemāl; (III) *Nidjād Ekrem* (1900), in two volumes, interspersed with verse, some in syllabic metre. Into this book dedicated to his beloved son Nidjād, who died very young, the unhappy father put, in all detail, everything he remembered about him. It is on the whole written in a spontaneous and unadorned style and contains some of his best prose; (IV) *Tefekkür* (1888) contains his later, simpler and more personal prose; (V) *Atala* (1872), a translation, in bombastic and old fashioned style, of Chateaubriand's novel; (VI) *Muḥsin Bey* (1889), a rather mediocre sentimental novel; (VII) *ʿAraba sevdāsī* (1889, published 1896 and 1940), a much appreciated novel of social satire, in the manner of Turkish novels which attack and ridicule the aping of Western customs by snobs (cf. Aḥmed Midḥat's *Felāṭūn Bey ile Rāḳim Efendi* (1875), Ḥüseyn Raḥmī's *Shıḳ* (1897) and *Shıpsevdi* (1900)); (VIII) *Shemsā* (1896), a short narrative about the life and sudden death of a four year old peasant girl, adopted by the poet's family; (IX) *Taʿlīm-i Edebiyyāt* (1882), a book of *ars poetica* with examples, composed of his lectures at the Mülkiye and first mimeographed in 1879, is his most important work, which revolutionized taste and literary theories and standards of the time. Contrary to tradition he gave in this book

many examples from contemporary writers and poets and made the new school popular among the majority of the educated youth; (X) *Taḳdīr-i elḥān* (1886), literary criticism. Drama: (I) *ʿAfīfe Anjelik* (1870), (II) *Atala* (1872), a theatrical adaptation of the Chateaubriand novel he had already translated; (III) *Wuṣlat* (1874) inspired by Nāmīḳ Kemāl's *Zavālli Čodjuk*, (IV) *Čok bilen čok yañïlïr*, a comedy adapted from a tale of the *Alf nahār wa-nahār*, published posthumously (1914 and 1941).

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ELAZIĞ [see maʿmūrat al-ʿazīz].

ELBASAN (T. *él-basan* '[fortress] which subdues the land'), town of central Albania (41° 06′ N., 20° 06′ E.) on the site of the ancient Scampis on the Via Egnatia, a strategic position controlling the fertile valley of the Shkumbî (anc. Genysos), which here emerges from the mountains. The fortress, round which the town grew up, was built with great speed at the command of Meḥemmed II while Krujë (Kroya [*q.v.*]) was being unsuccessfully besieged in the summer of 1466, as a base for future operations against Iskandar Beg [*q.v.*]; it resisted a siege in the following spring. At first administered as part of the sandjaḳ of Okhri (Tursun, *TOEM ʿilāwe*, 135), within a few years Elbasan was made the chef-lieu of a separate sandjaḳ of Rumili, having (ca. 926/1520) four ḳaḍās: Elbasan, Čermenika, Is͟hbat and Drač (Durazzo). In the later years of the Empire it formed part of the *wilāyet* of Yanya, and finally of Is͟hkodra.

With the consolidation of the Ottoman hold on N. Albania and the Adriatic coast, the fortress rapidly lost its military importance (it was dismantled in 1832 by Res͟hīd Pas͟ha and further damaged by earthquake in 1920, so that now only the south side survives); but the town, always and still predominantly Muslim, remained a flourishing trade-centre: Ewliyā describes a prosperous and attractive town (the fortress ungarrisoned), with 18 Muslim and 10 Christian *maḥalle*s, 46 mosques, 11 *tekkes*, 11 *khān*s, and a very frequented market. Now linked by rail with Durazzo and Tirana, it is, after Tirana, the chief town of central Albania, with some 15,000 inhabitants.

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ELBISTAN, Abulustayn or Ablistayn in the ancient Arabic writers, Āblistān in the Persian, Ablasta in the Armenian, Plasta in the Byzantine, and Albistān or Elbistān in more recent times: a town in south-eastern Anatolia, 38° 15′ N., 37° 11′ E., at an altitude of 1150 m., on the Sögütlü Dere, one of the sources of the Ceyhan, the Pyramos of antiquity. It is situated in a wide plain which is rich in water and enclosed by high mountains of the eastern Taurus, at the foot of the S͟har Dag͟hī (1300 m. = 4265 ft.). It is the capital of a *kaza* in the *vilâyet* of Maras͟h. In 1950, it had 7,477 inhabitants, and the *kaza* had 55,668.

In antiquity, Arabissos (whence the Arabic ʿArabsūs, Afsūs, the early Turkish Yarpuz—later Efsus—and, as capital of the *ḳaḍāʾ*, Afs͟hin) was the capital of the Elbistan plain, which belonged to the Syrian Marches (T͟hug͟hūr al-S͟hām), much fought over by the Muslims and Byzantines. Around 333/944 or 340/951, Arabissos was destroyed by the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla, but as the supposed place of rest of the Seven Sleepers (*aṣḥāb al-kahf*) it was also revered as a place of pilgrimage by the Muslims (see F. Babinger, *Die Örtlichkeit der Siebenschläferlegende in muslimischer Schau*, in *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Kl. der Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Year 1957, no. 6, 1-9). Elbistan, however, developed as the political centre.

In the years between 1097 and 1105, Elbistan (Plastantia) was in the hand of the Crusaders. Subsequently it changed hands several times, belonging in turn to the Crusaders of Antioch, the Dānis͟hmandids of Sīwās and the Saldjūḳids of Konya, finally remaining in the hands of these last in 1201. During the Anatolian (Kayseri) campaign in 675/1277, the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Baybars gained a great victory near Elbistan over the Mongol army of the Ilkhān Abāḳā on 10 or 13 D͟hu ʾl-Ḳaʿda/15 or 18 April. From 740/1339 onwards, Elbistan became the capital of the Turcoman principality of D͟hulḳadīr, but in 1400 it was destroyed by Tīmūr, and in 1507 by the Ṣafawid S͟hāh Ismāʿīl; in 921/1515 Selīm I brought it under Ottoman suzerainty, but it was not incorporated into the Ottoman Empire as an independent (*müsellem*) *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *liwāʾ* and *eyālet* of D͟hu ʾl-ḳadriyye (capital Marʿas͟h) until the time of Sulṭān Süleymān. In 1264/1847, it was assigned to the *sandjaḳ* of Marʿas͟h in the *wilāyet* of Aleppo as an ordinary *ḳaḍāʾ*.

The most notable monument in Elbistan is the Ulu D̲jāmiʿ, which, according to an inscription over the gateway, was built in 639/1241 (*RCEA*, xi, 132, no. 4199) by the *amīr* Mubāriz al-Dīn Čawlī, but was later restored in the Ottoman style. On the way to Hurman, the same *amīr* built a k͟hān, later destroyed, on whose site now stands the village of Çavlı-Han. On the way to Behisni, there is the ruin of a large k͟hān of the Saldjūḳ *amīr* Ḳamar al-Dīn; there is also a mosque, known as the Himmet-Baba-D̲jāmiʿ, a small building with one cupola, dating from Ottoman times. It is of special interest because one enters the octagonal *türbe* on the *ḳibla* wall through a door in the *miḥrāb* (reported by K. Erdmann).

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 240; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 599; Yāḳūt, i, 93; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii, 480, 488; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, 293-311; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 657; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xix, 15 f.; Ziya Güner, *Elbistan*, Istanbul 1936; *IA*, article *Elbistan* (Mükrimin Halil Yınanç), where further bibliography can be found.

(Fr. Taeschner)

ELBURZ [see alburz].

ELCHE [see als͟h].

ELČI, a Turkish word meaning envoy, from *el* or *il*, country, people, or state, with the occupational suffix *či* (= *dji*). In some eastern Turkish texts the word appears to denote the ruler of a land or people; its normal meaning, however, since early times, has been that of envoy or messenger, usually in a diplomatic, sometimes, in mystical literature, in a figurative religious sense. In Ottoman Turkish it became the normal word for an ambassador, together with the more formal Arabic term *sefīr*. From an early date the Ottoman sultans exchanged occasional diplomatic missions, for courtesy or negotiation, with other Muslim rulers (in Anatolia, Egypt, Morocco, Persia, India, Central Asia, etc.) and also sent a number of missions to various European capitals. From the 16th century, in accordance with the growing European practice of continuous diplomacy through resident embassies, European states established permanent missions in Istanbul. The Ottoman government, however, made no attempt to respond to this practice until the end of the 18th century, preferring to rely, for contact with the European powers, on the foreign missions in Istanbul, and on occasional special embassies despatched to one or another European capital for some immediate and limited purpose. It was the custom for such envoys, in addition to their official reports, to write a general account, known as *sefāretnāme*, of their travels and experiences. A number of these accounts have survived in part or in full, and some of them have been published. In 1792 Selīm III decided to establish permanent resident embassies in Europe. The first was opened in London in 1793 (on the reasons for this choice see Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*², vi, 257-60), and was followed by others in Vienna, Berlin, and Paris. This first experiment gradually petered out, the embassies, left in charge of Greek officials, being finally closed on the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821. A new start was made in the eighteen-thirties with the opening of permanent embassies in London, Paris and Vienna and a legation in Berlin, and the despatch of envoys extraordinary (*fawḳ al-ʿāda*) to Tehran and St. Petersburg. These were followed by further resident missions in Europe, Asia (Tehran embassy 1849) and America (Washington legation 1867), and the organization of a foreign ministry. In earlier times envoys were usually chosen from the palace corps of pursuivants (see ČAUSH); later from among the bureaucratic and *ʿulemā'* classes. At first there was some uncertainty about grades and ranks; in the 19th century the European terminology of ambassador, minister plenipotentiary, and *chargé d'affaires* for heads of missions, was adopted. The first was rendered *büyük elči* or *sefīr-i kebīr*, the second *orta elči* or simply *sefīr*, the third *maṣlaḥatgüzār*.

Bibliography: Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*², vi, 85-9, 128-30, 231-2; *IA*, article Elçi (Mecdud Mansuroğlu); J. C. Hurewitz, *Ottoman diplomacy and the European state system*, in *MEJ*, (1961), 141-52 (reprinted in *Belleten*, xxv (1961), 455-66). On European diplomats in Istanbul see B. Spuler, *Die europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Beograd (1739)*, in *Jahrb. f. Kultur u. Gesch. d. Slaven*, n.s. xi (1935) and *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, i (1936), and Zarif Orgun, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda nâme ve hediye getiren elçilere yapılan merasim*, in *Tarih vesikaları*, i/6 (1942), 407-13. For lists of envoys sent to and from Istanbul until 1774, see Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, ix, 303-34 (*Histoire*, xvii, 134-68); Ottoman ambassadors from 1250/1834 onwards are listed in the Ottoman Foreign Office yearbooks (*Sālnāme-i neẓāret-i khāridjiyye*, 1302 A.H., 178-95, and later editions). On the *sefāretnāmes* see Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī mü'ellifleri*, iii, 189-90; F. Taeschner in *ZDMG*, lxxvii (1923), 75-8; Babinger, *GOW*, 323-32; B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, in preparation. See further ḲĀṢID, TERDJÜMĀN, VALAVAČ, and, for a general survey of Muslim diplomacy and diplomatic practice, SAFĪR.

(B. LEWIS)

ELDEM, KHALĪL EDHEM, Turkish archeologist and historian, was born on 24 (?) June 1861 in Istanbul. He was the youngest son of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Edhem Pasha [*q.v.*]. After completing his primary school course in Istanbul, he continued, from 1876, his secondary education in Berlin, and later studied chemistry and natural sciences in the University of Zurich and at the Polytechnic School of Vienna. In 1885 he received the Ph. D. degree from the University of Berne. Back in Istanbul he was appointed to an office in the Ministry of War and transferred later to the General Staff Administration of the Ottoman Empire. He found his vocation when he was nominated in 1892 as deputy administrator of the Imperial Museum, where his eldest brother ʿOthmān Ḥamdī Bey [*q.v.*] occupied the post of administrator-general. Upon the death of his brother, he was charged on 28 February 1910 with the administration of the Imperial Museum, an important post which he held until his retirement, on 28 February 1931. His ability as administrator and scholar is shown in the organization of the Imperial Museum. He enlarged and classified the collections of the main Archeological Museum and founded in 1918, in a separate building, the Ancient Near Eastern Section of the Museum. He also organized the Topkapı Sarayı [*q.v.*] upon the opening of this palace as a museum under his administration. His publications cover the fields of archaeology, numismatics, sigillography, epigraphy and history (for his bibliography see *Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kitabı*, i, 299-302). His works on sigillography and epigraphy are the first studies in these ancillary disciplines of history published in Turkey. The book entitled *Düwel-i Islāmiyye*, Istanbul 1927, a revised and enlarged translation of S. Lane-Poole's *Mohammedan dynasties*, attests his wide knowledge of Islamic history. His scholarship won him a world-wide reputation: he was a member of national and foreign academies, honorary doctor of the Universities of Basle and Leipzig, and honorary professor of the University of Istanbul. He died 16 November 1938 in Istanbul, being a member of the Turkish Parliament.

Bibliography: *Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kitabı*, ii, Ankara 1948; Arif Müfit Mansel, *Halil Edhem Eldem*, in *Ülkü*, xii, 383-6; Aziz Ogan, *Bay Halil Ethem*, in *Yeni Türk*, no. 73, 4-8; Ibrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1946, 163-4. (E. KURAN)

ELEGY [see MARTHIYA].

ELEPHANT [see FĪL].

ELIČPUR [see GĀWILGAŔH].

ELIJAH [see ILYĀS],

ELISHA [see ALĪSAʿ].

ELITE [see AL-KHĀṢṢA WA'L-ʿĀMMA].

ELIXIR [see AL-IKSĪR].

ELKASS MIRZA [see ALKĀṢ MĪRZĀ].

ELMA DAGHĪ, name of several ranges of mountains in Anatolia: 1) south-east of Ankara, 2) north-west of Elmalī (2505 m. [= 8,218 ft.]).

(FR. TAESCHNER)

ELMALİ, earlier spelling Elmalu (Turkish = "Appletown"), a small town in south-western Anatolia, 36° 45′ N., 29° 55′ E., altitude 1150 m. (= 3,772 ft.), on a small plain, surrounded by high mountains (Elma Daghî 2505 m. (= 8,218 ft.) in the north, Bey Daghlarî 3086 m. (= 10,124 ft.) in the south-east), in the vicinity of the small lake Kara-Göl. This lake flows into a cave, Elmalî Düdeni. Elmalî is capital of a *kaza* in the *vilâyet* of Antalya, and has 4,967 inhabitants (1950); the *kaza* has 23,993 inhabitants.

Elmalî, in the ancient region of Lycia, is a pretty and neat town with a healthy climate. It has a fairly new bazaar, and a classical Ottoman mosque (the ʿÖmer-Pasha Djāmiʿi) of the year 1016/1607. The mosque itself has one cupola and the entrance-hall has five. Outside, there is a minaret on the right face, and at the back, to the left, a *türbe*. There are fourteen tympana of tiles of quite good quality within the mosque itself, and five more in the entrance hall (reported by K. Erdmann).

Elmalî was the capital of the Turcoman principality of Tekke [*q.v.*], which was acquired in 830/1426-7 by Murād II, and henceforth became a *liwāʾ* of the *eyālet* of Anadolu. The main centre of the *liwāʾ* of Tekke shifted to Anṭālya, and Elmalî became a *ḳaḍāʾ*. In the 19th century, it was a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjaḳ* of Anṭālya (Adalia) in the *wilāyet* of Konya.

The so-called *Takhtadjî*, woodcutters suspected of being Shīʿīs, have settled in the wooded surroundings of Elmalî and they sell their wood in the town. Some 60 km. (37 m.) south of Elmalî is the harbour of Finike (earlier spelling Fineka, 1,382 inhabitants) which once formed part of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Elmalî, but today forms a *kaza* of its own. Nearby there are the Lycian graves and one Phoenician inscription.

There are three other villages in Anatolia called Elmalî: one is in the *kaza* of Ordu, in the *vilâyet* of the same name; the second is on the shores of lake Van; and the third in the *kaza* Besni (Behesni) in the *vilâyet* of Malatya.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 277 ff.; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, ix, 649, 660; E. Banse, *Die Türkei*, 156; Sāmī Bey Fraschery, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, ii, 1025; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 864; ii, 377; Cemal Arif Alagöz, *Türkiye Karst olayları*, 47; *IA*, s.v. (Besim Darkot).

(Fr. Taeschner)

ELOQUENCE [see BALĀGHA, BAYĀN and FAṢĀḤA].

ELURĀ. The Elurā (Ellora) caves, near Dawlatābād [*q.v.*], appear in the history of Muslim India only as the scene of the capture of the Gudjarāt princess Deval Devī, the future bride of Khiḍr Khān [*q.v.*], for ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī by Alp Khān, who had given his forces leave to visit the cave temples (Firishta, Lucknow lith., i, 117). These caves were justly famous and were described by some early travellers, *e.g.*, Masʿūdī, iv, 95, copied with much distortion of names by Ḳazwīnī, cf. Gildemeister, *Scriptorum Arabum de rebus Indicis*, text 79, trans. 221; Muslim descriptions of more recent times in Rafīʿ al-Dīn Shīrāzī, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ms. Bombay 196a-198b, and in Muḥammad Sāḳī Mustaʿidd Khān, *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, 238; tr. Sarkar, Calcutta 1947, 145. The technique of scarping the solid rock here is strikingly similar to that of the great scarp on which the citadel of Dawlatābād stands. (J. Burton-Page)

ELVIRA [see ILBĪRA].

ELWEND [see ALWAND].

EMĀNET [see EMĪN].

EMĀNET-I MUḲADDESE, a Turkicized Arabic expression meaning sacred trust or deposit, the name given to a collection of relics preserved in the treasury of the Topkapı palace in Istanbul. The most important are a group of objects said to have belonged to the Prophet; they included his cloak (*khirḳa-i sherīf* [*q.v.*]), a prayer-rug, a flag, a bow, a staff, a pair of horseshoes, as well as a tooth, some hairs (see LIḤYA), and a stone bearing the Prophet's footprint. In addition there are weapons, utensils and garments said to have belonged to the ancient prophets, to the early Caliphs, and to various Companions, a key of the Kaʿba, and Ḳurʾāns said to have been written by the Caliphs ʿUthmān and ʿAlī. Under the Sultans these relics were honoured in the annual ceremony of the *Khirḳa-i saʿādet*, held on 15 Ramaḍān.

Bibliography: For a detailed description, with illustrations, see Tahsin Öz, *Hırka-i Saadet dairesi ve Emanet-i Mukaddese*, Istanbul 1953; on the Muslim attitude to relics in general, see I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 356-68, and the article ATHAR. (Ed.)

EMBALMING [see ḤINĀṬA].

EMBLEM [see SHIʿĀR].

EMESA [see ḤIMS].

EMIGRATION [see DJĀLIYA, HIDJRA and MUHĀDJIRŪN].

EMĪN, from Arabic *amīn* [*q.v.*], faithful, trustworthy, an Ottoman administrative title usually translated intendant or commissioner. His function or office was called *emānet*. The primary meaning of *emīn*, in Ottoman official usage, was a salaried officer appointed by or in the name of the Sultan, usually by *berāt*, to administer, supervise or control a department, function or source of revenue. There were thus *emīn*s of various kinds of stores and supplies, of mints, of mines, of customs, customs-houses and other revenues, and of the *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*], the preparation of the registers of land, tenure, population and revenue of the provinces and the distribution of fiefs (see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ and TĪMĀR). In the words of Prof. Inalcık, "the *emānet* of *taḥrīr* required great experience and knowledge, carried great responsibility, and at the same time was susceptible to corruption and abuse; usually influential beys and *ḳāḍī*s were appointed to it". In principle, the *emīn* was a salaried government commissioner, and not a tax-farmer, grantee, or lessee of any kind. His duty might be to represent the government in dealings with such persons, or himself to arrange for the collection of the revenues in question. When concerned with revenues, he was to have no financial interest in the proceeds, which he was required to remit in full to the treasury. The term *emīn* is also used of agents and commissioners appointed by authorities other than the Sultan—by the *ḳāḍī*s, for example, and even by the tax-farmers themselves, who appointed their own agents to look after their interests. At times, by abuse, the *emīn*s themselves appear as tax-farmers.

In the capital, the title *emīn* was borne by a number of high-ranking officers, in charge of certain departments and services. Such for example were the commissioners of the powder magazines (*bārūt-khāne emīni*), of the arsenal (*tersāne* [*q.v.*] *emīni*), and of the *daftar-i khāḳānī* (*defter emīni* or *defter-i khāḳānī emīni*). The highest ranking holders of this title were the four *emīn*s attached to the external services (*bīrūn* [*q.v.*]) of the palace: the city commissioner (*Shehr emīni* [*q.v.*]), concerned with palace

finances and supplies and with the maintenance of palaces and other royal and governmental buildings in the city; the kitchen commissioner (*Maṭbakh emīni*) and barley commissioner (*Arpa emīni*), concerned respectively with food and fodder for the imperial kitchens (see MAṬBAKH) and stables (see IṢṬABL; the commissioner of the mint (*Ḍarbkhāne emīni*), in charge of the mint in the palace grounds (see DĀR AL-ḌARB, ii).

Bibliography: Halil Inalcık, *Hicri 835 tarihli sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, XIX; R. Anhegger, *Beitraege zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im osmanischen Reich*, i/I, Istanbul 1943, 22-3, 32-5, 104-7; R. Anhegger and Halil Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, Ankara 1956, index; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers Sultans*, Paris-The Hague 1960, index; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, index; L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, i, Budapest 1955, 86, and index; U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, 59-60, 93, and index; S. J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt 1517-1798*, Princeton 1962, 26-7, 31, and index; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālīf ḳawāʿidi*, i, Istanbul 1328, 176-84; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin Saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 375-87; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, index; Gibb-Bowen, i/1 84-5, 132-3, 150, i/2 21; Pakalın, i, 525-6.

(B. LEWIS)

EMIN, MEHMED, [see YURDAKUL, MEHMED EMIN].

EMĪN PASHA (Eduard Carl Oscar Theodor Schnitzer) was born on 28 March 1840 at Oppeln in Prussian Silesia. He graduated in medicine at Berlin in 1864. He entered the Ottoman service as a medical officer in Albania in 1865, and assumed the name of Khayr Allāh; later, in the Sudan, he became known as Meḥmed Emīn (Muḥammad Amīn, not al-A.). He went to Egypt in October 1875, whence he proceeded to Khartoum, and (in May 1876) to Lado, the capital of the Equatorial Provinces, where he was appointed medical officer by C. G. Gordon Pasha, the then governor. He was entrusted with political missions to Uganda and Unyoro. In June 1878, Gordon, now governor-general of the Egyptian Sudan, appointed him governor of the Equatorial Provinces, henceforward amalgamated as the Equatorial Province (*Mudīriyyat Khaṭṭ al-Istiwāʾ*). During the first years of his governorship, Emīn continued Gordon's task of extending and pacifying the Egyptian territories in the southern Sudan, and of exploiting their natural resources, the chief of which was ivory. The administrative problems confronting him were enormous, arising from the vast extent and poor communications of his province, the disaffection of the tribes, and his enforced dependence on unreliable and incompetent troops and officials. Many of these were northern Sudanese (Danāḳla) who had originally entered the region in the retinues of predatory traders in ivory and slaves, others were exiles from Egypt. Emīn was indefatigable in touring the province, and made important studies in its natural history. By 1881 he had attained a fair measure of success in establishing administrative order. Reviving prosperity was reflected in increasing revenue; at the start of his governorship, the province had a deficit of £ 30,000; three years later it showed a surplus of £ 1,200. After the outbreak of the Mahdist revolt in 1881, Emīn's position deteriorated. His communications with Khartoum were cut after April 1883. The defeat of an Egyptian expeditionary force at Shaykān (5 November 1883) was followed by the Mahdist conquest of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*], the neighbouring province to Emīn's. In May 1884, Emīn received a letter from Karam Allāh Kurḳusāwī, the Mahdist military governor of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl, demanding the surrender of his province. Emīn's officers advised capitulation, and to gain time he sent a delegation to Karam Allāh, and moved his headquarters to Wadelai (Walad Lāy) in April 1885. However, the Mahdist forces withdrew from the Equatorial Province. For over two years, Emīn remained undisturbed, although with diminished and precarious authority. In March 1886, he received a despatch from Nūbār Pasha, the Egyptian prime minister, dated 13 Shaʿbān 1302/27 May 1885, informing him of the abandonment of the Sudan, and authorizing him to withdraw with his men to Zanzibar. Meanwhile projects for relieving Emīn were being mooted in Europe. An expedition was organized and partly financed by a British committee including persons interested in East African commerce. The Egyptian government also subsidized the project. The expedition was headed by H. M. Stanley, who was an agent of Leopold II of the Belgians. Taking the Congo route, Stanley met Emīn by Lake Albert on 29 April 1888. Emīn was most unwilling to leave his post, and Stanley put before him alternative proposals: that he should continue to administer the Equatorial Province on behalf of the Congo Free State, or that he should establish a station by Lake Victoria for the British East Africa Company. Emīn rejected these proposals, and Stanley left to bring up the rest of his expedition. During his absence, mutiny broke out among some of Emīn's troops, who were suspicious of recent developments, and unwilling to go to Egypt. Emīn was held by the mutineers at Dufile. Meanwhile, on 11 June 1888, a Mahdist expeditionary force under ʿUmar Ṣāliḥ had left Omdurman in steamers. This reached Lado on 11 October, and summoned Emīn to surrender. The mutineers resisted the Mahdist forces, and on 16 November Emīn was released. He withdrew to Lake Albert, where he was rejoined in January 1889 by Stanley. In April, Stanley began his march to the coast, unwillingly accompanied by Emīn. Emīn then entered the German service in East Africa. He led an expedition in what is now Tanganyika. Thence he entered the fringes of his old province, to try to attract some of his former followers. With his expedition reduced to desperate straits by smallpox, he endeavoured to reach the Congo, but was murdered by a tribal chief on or shortly after 23 October 1892.

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Government archives (Cairint 3/14, 236); photostat in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. (P. M. Holt)

EMIR [see AMĪR].

EMÎR SULṬĀN, Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Meḥemmed b. ʿAlī al-Ḥüseynī al-Bukhārī, popularly known as Emīr Seyyid, or Emīr Sulṭān, the patron saint of Bursa (Brusa). He is supposed to have been a descendant of the 12th Imam, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, and hence a Sayyid. His father, Sayyid ʿAlī, known under the name of Emīr Külāl, was a Ṣūfī in Bukhārā. He himself, born in Bukhārā (in 770/1368), joined the Nūrbakhshiyya branch of the Kubrawiyya in his early youth. Some *menāḳib-nāme*s assert that he was a follower of the Imāmiyya.

After his *ḥadjdj*, Emīr Sulṭān spent some time in Medina, and then went to Anatolia via Ḳaramān, Ḥamīd-eli, Kütāhya and Ine-Göl. Finally he reached Bursa, where he dwelt in a cell (*ṣawmaʿa*) and led a life of good works. Within a short time, he gained great fame, gathered disciples around him, and entered into contact with the *ʿulemāʾ* and *shaykh*s of Bursa. He was highly esteemed by Sulṭān Bayazīd I Yîldîrîm, and married his daughter, Khundī Sulṭān, by whom he had three children (a son and two daughters). He was asked to invest the sultan with his sword when the latter went into battle, and his admonitions decided the sultan to refrain from excessive drinking (cf. the anecdote in Ewliyā Čelebi, *Narrative of Travels*, ii, 25 = *Taʾrīkh-i Ṣāf*, i, 32 f.; missing in the edition of *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 48); it is also said that Emīr Sulṭān successfully restrained Bāyezīd from the illegal execution of Tīmūr's ambassadors (ʿĀlī, *Künh*, v, 83 f.). Emīr Sulṭān was captured when Bursa was taken by one of Tīmūr's scouting parties in 805/1402, and brought before Tīmūr, who gave him the choice of accompanying him to Samarkand, but Emīr Sulṭān preferred to return to Bursa (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 188 f.). Legend does not mention this incident; it does, on the other hand, report that the departure of Tīmūr's troops from Bursa was a miracle worked by the saint (Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 427). When Murād II began his reign in 824/1421, he asked Emīr Sulṭān to invest him with his sword, and the saint is also said to have accelerated the defeat of the 'False Muṣṭafā' (Muṣṭafā Düzme [*q.v.*]), who contested Murād II's right to the throne, by the force of his prayers (ʿĀlī, 195 f.; Leunclavius, *Hist. Mus.*, 493 f.). In the next year, he, and a following of 500 dervishes, took part in the siege of Constantinople. The fall of the city, which he prophesied, did not, however, occur. Kananos, a Byzantine who took part in the siege, gives a detailed and vivid description of the appearance of the Mīr-Sayyid (Μηρσαίτης Βεχαρ), the 'Patriarch of the Turks', as he calls Emīr Sulṭān (ed. Bonn, 466 ff., 477 f.); the Ottoman historians, on the other hand, do not mention this lack of success. Emīr Sulṭān died in 833/1429 in Bursa, as a result of the plague. Soon afterwards legends told of miracles (*menāḳib*) wrought by the saint.

A splendid mausoleum (which became one of the most visited places of pilgrimage in Turkey) was erected over the grave of Emīr Sulṭān at the eastern end of the town. The mosque attached to it was built in its present form by Selīm III (inscription of 1219/1804).

Bibliography: Tashköprüzāde, i, 76 f. (transl. O. Rescher, 30 f.); Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 425-7; ʿĀlī, *Künh*, v, 112; *Güldeste-i riyāḍ-i ʿirfān*, 69-79; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 47 ff.; Le Beau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, Paris 1836, xxi, 104 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, i, 234 f., 431, 643 (references of the last two chiefly concern the role played by Emīr Sulṭān in the siege of Constantinople); further bibliography, especially hagiographic, from the *Menāḳibnāme*s, see *IA*, iv, 261-3 (M. Cavid Baysun).

(J. H. Mordtmann-[Fr. Taeschner])

EMPEDOCLES [see ANBĀDUḲLĪS].

EMRELI (ʿEmrālī, Imrʿālī or Imrālī), a semi-sedentary Turkmen tribe which since the 10th/16th century has dwelt in Khurāsān, in the region of Gürgen. Driven back at the end of the 12th/18th century by the Tekkes (Tekins), the tribe emigrated northwards and, in two successive waves, settled down in Khwārizm (region of Hudjaylī on the Amān Ḳūlī canal), the first in 1803-4 and the second in 1827 when they submitted to the Khāns of Khiva. In 1873 (I. Ibragimov, *Nekotorie zametki o Khivinskikh Turkmenakh i Kirgizakh*, in *Voenniy Sbornik*, xcviii (1874), no. 9, 133-63), they owned nearly 10,000 tents. At the present time the Emrelis inhabit the Ilyalî region, west of Tashawz, between the Yomuds in the south and the Goklens and Čowdors in the north. An isolated settlement exists in the Ashḳābād region (district of Kaakhka).

Since the Russian conquest the Emrelis have been sedentary, and are engaged in agriculture and sheep-rearing.

Detailed information on the history of the tribe in the 19th century is contained in the recent work by Yu. E. Bregel, *Khorezmskie Turkmeni v XIX veke*, Moscow (Acad. of Sc., Institute of Asian Peoples) 1961. (A. Bennigsen)

ENAMEL [see MĪNĀ].

ENDERŪN (pers. Andarūn, "inside"; turk. Enderūn). The term Enderūn (or Enderūn-i Humāyūn) was used to designate the "Inside" Service (as opposed to Bīrūn [*q.v.*], the "Outside" Service) of the Imperial Household of the Ottoman Sulṭān: *i.e.*, to denote the complex of officials engaged in the personal and private service of the Sulṭān—included therein was the system of Palace Schools—and placed under the control of the Chief of the White Eunuchs, the Bāb al-Saʿādet Aghasî (the Agha of the Gate of Felicity—*i.e.*, the gate leading from the second into the third court, proceeding inward, of the Imperial Palace—the Topkapı Sarayı) or, more simply, the Kapî Aghasî (the Agha of the Gate). Further information will be found in the article SARĀY.

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larindan, viii Seri, no. 15), Ankara 1945, 297 ff., *passim*; I. H. Baykal, *Enderun Mektebi Tarihi* (Istanbul Fethi Derneği Neşriyatı: no. 20), Istanbul 1953; B. Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New York 1931, 47 ff., *passim* and 205 ff., *passim*; idem, *The Curriculum of the Palace School of the Turkish Sultans*, in *The Macdonald Presentation Volume*, Princeton, New Jersey 1933, 303 ff.; idem, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror* (Harvard Historical Monographs, no. 17), Cambridge, Mass., 1941; N. M. Penzer, *The Harem*, London 1936, 27 ff. (listing various European accounts of the Seraglio); Gibb-Bowen, i/I, 72, 77 ff., 331 ff.; B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman 1963, 65 ff. (V. J. Parry)

ENDJÜMEN [see ANDJUMAN, DJAMʿIYYA].

ENGÜRÜ [see ANKARA].

ENGÜRÜS [see MADJĀRISTĀN and UNGURUS].

ENIF [see NUDJŪM].

ENNAYER [see INNĀYĒR].

ENOCH [see IDRĪS].

ENOS (also Inos/z), Ottoman name for the classical Ainos, now Enez, town on the Aegean coast of Thrace (40° 43′ N., 26° 03′ E.) on the east bank of the estuary of the Merič ([*q.v.*], anc. Hebros). From classical times until the last century it was a prosperous harbour, on an important trade route from the upper Merič valley and across the isthmus from the Black Sea, with valuable and much-coveted saltpans. With Lesbos (T. Midilli, [*q.v.*]) it passed in 1355 to Francesco Gattilusio, as the dowry of Maria, the sister of John V Palaeologus. On the death of Palamede Gattilusio in 1455, family quarrels and the complaints of neighbouring Muslims that the citizens sheltered runaway slaves (ʿĀshîḳpashazāde, ed. Giese, § 125; Tursun, *TOEM ʿilāwe*, 68) provided Meḥemmed II with the pretext to intervene: at his approach in Ṣafar 860/January 1456 the citizens submitted, and the region was thenceforth a ḳaḍā of the sandjaḳ of Gallipoli. The silting of the river (now barely navigable), the construction of the railway to Dede-aghač [*q.v.*] and the re-drawing of the frontier in 1913 have reduced Enos to a small fishing-village, now 4 km. from the sea among marshy lagoons.

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ENWER PASHA, Young Turk soldier and statesman (1881-1922). Enwer was born in the Dīwānyolu quarter of Istanbul, on 22 November 1881, the eldest of six children of Aḥmed bey, then a minor civil servant, and his wife ʿĀʾishe. The family was from Manastir (Bitolj) in Macedonia, and moved there again when Enwer was a boy. After completing his secondary schooling there, Enwer entered the military academy (Mekteb-i Ḥarbiyye) in Istanbul, completing both the regular officers' training course and the advanced general staff course. He graduated second in his class on 5 December 1902 (the first was his close friend and life-long associate Ḥāfiẓ Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī Pasha, 1879-1915; see Muharrem Mazlum [Iskora], *Erkânıharbiye mektebi . . . tarihi*, Istanbul 1930, 246) as a general staff captain and was posted to the Third Army in Macedonia. He spent the next three years in military operations against Macedonian guerrillas. In September 1906, he was assigned with the rank of major to Third Army headquarters in Manastır. There he joined, as member no. 12, the ʿOthmānlî Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti, the conspiratorial nucleus of the Young Turk movement, and in the following years helped to spread its organization. When the Istanbul authorities launched an investigation into these secret activities, Enwer, who with a group of soldiers had ambushed one of the investigating officers, deemed it wise to refuse a call for promotion and reassignment to Istanbul; instead, in late June, 1908, he escaped with a group of followers into the Macedonian hills, an example soon followed by *kolaghasî* (senior captain) Aḥmed Niyāzī of Resne and Eyyūb Ṣabrī [Akgöl] of Ohri. Their action proved to be the prelude to the Young Turk revolution of 24 July, 1908. At only 26 years of age, Enwer was widely acclaimed as the foremost hero of revolution and liberty.

While on liaison service with Austrian officers in Macedonia Enwer had studied German and military tactics. In 1909 he was posted as military attaché to Berlin where he deepened his lifelong admiration for German military power and efficiency. In 1909 he briefly returned to Turkey to participate in the action of the Ḥareket Ordusu in suppressing the Istanbul mutiny of 13 April 1909 (the so-called *Otuzbir Mart waḳʿasî*). In the autumn of 1911, he resigned his post in Berlin to volunteer for service in the Libyan war, where he fought with distinction. On 5 June 1912 he earned a double promotion to lieutenant-colonel. In September he also was appointed *mutaṣarrîf* of the sandjaḳ of Benghāzī. Back in Istanbul, he participated actively in the politics of the Society for Union and Progress (Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti [*q.v.*]) and at its 1912 congress helped secure the post of secretary general for his friend Ṭalʿat [*q.v.*]. On 23 January 1913 he led a raid on the Sublime Porte by a group of Unionist officers and soldiers who forced at gun point the resignation of the aging Grand Wezīr Kāmil Pasha (through the excessive zeal of one of the group, Muṣṭafā Nedjīb, the war minister Nāẓim Pasha and two other persons were killed). The major aim of the participants in this «Sublime Porte Incident» (*Bāb-i ʿĀlī waḳʿasî*) was the energetic resumption of the First Balkan War after the truce at Čataldja (3 December 1912 to 30 January 1913), but instead the campaign of the late winter of 1913 resulted in the complete evacuation of Macedonia and most of Thrace. The *coup* brought to power a Unionist party cabinet under Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha and its long-range effect was the conversion of the constitutional monarchy of 1908 into a partisan and military dictatorship, with only a semblance of parliamentary institutions, which was to last until the defeat of 1918. In the Second Balkan War Enwer was the chief of staff of the left wing, and as such was in the vanguard of the troops re-entering Edirne on 22 July 1913.

On 4 January 1914 Enwer was promoted two more ranks to brigadier-general and appointed minister of war in the Unionist cabinet of Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha, and with the impending outbreak of war on 21 October 1914, deputy commander-in-chief

(under the Sultan's nominal authority). He became a lieutenant-general in 1915 and a general (*birindji ferīk*) in 1917. After the accession of Meḥmed VI Waḥīd al-Dīn his title was changed, on 8 August 1918, from deputy commander-in-chief to chief of the General Staff (*erkān-i ḥarbiyye reʾīsi*). His nearly five years in the War Office and at General Headquarters were characterized by intensive efforts to increase the efficiency of the armed forces. In his first few months in office, he presided over a purge in which the aging generals of the ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd period, who were held responsible for the disastrous Balkan War defeat, were put on the inactive list and replaced by energetic younger officers. Enwer is credited with introducing the practice of appointing officers to temporary higher rank so as to test their ability. He also personally designed a new military cap (known as the *Enweriyye*) and invented a simplified Arabic script, based on disconnected letters, which, however, found no wide acceptance. On 5 March 1914, Enwer married Emīne Nādjiye Sulṭān, a niece of the reigning monarch.

In the Ottoman diplomatic moves of the spring and summer of 1914, Enwer was the most consistent advocate of a close alliance with Germany and the Central Powers. After fruitless negotiations by Djemāl Pasha in Paris and Ṭalʿat in Bucharest, Enwer on 22 July approached the German Ambassador, Baron von Wangenheim, with the proposal of a secret offensive and defensive alliance. On the Ottoman side the ensuing negotiations were conducted mainly by Enwer himself and the Grand Vizier Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha with the knowledge of only a few of their colleagues; they were kept secret from the other ministers and also from the francophile Ottoman Ambassador to Berlin, Maḥmūd Mukhtār Pasha. The result was a defensive alliance against Russia dated 2 August 1914. In the following weeks, Enwer assiduously worked for early Ottoman entry into the World War, although others in the cabinet and General Staff urged caution in view of the German setback on the Marne. The German admiral Souchon, who in mid-August had entered Ottoman waters and service with his ships Goeben and Breslau, received Enwer's authorization on 14 September to sail into the Black Sea with freedom of action against Russia; but Enwer was promptly forced by his cabinet colleagues to countermand these instructions. A compromise solution on 20 September authorized Souchon's sailing but disclaimed Ottoman responsibility for any belligerent acts. By October several cabinet members had been won over to the war faction and on 22 October Enwer once more instructed Souchon: "The Turkish fleet must win maritime supremacy in the Black Sea. Seek out the Russian fleet and attack it without declaration of war" (Mühlmann, *Deutschland und die Türkei*, 102). On 29 October Souchon's Ottoman fleet attacked Russian ports and ships and the Empire was at war with the Allied powers.

Enwer's conduct of the Ottoman War effort was characterized by close co-operation with German strategy and German officers, by a readiness to attack so as to produce, if possible, early and decisive results, and by extensive use of ideological propaganda and of secret guerrilla operations to reinforce the efforts of the field armies. As many as two or three of the six to nine Ottoman armies and army groups were commanded by German generals; most of the rest had Ottoman commanders with German chiefs of staff—this binational command structure being carried through consistently from General Headquarters down to division and even regiment level. Enwer's own chief of staff throughout most of the war was General Walter Bronsart von Schellendorf, replaced in 1918 by General Hans von Seeckt. By late 1916, as many as seven Turkish divisions were assigned to reinforce the fronts in Galicia, in Rumania, and in Macedonia.

Shortly before the Empire's entry into the World War, on 5 August 1914, Enwer ordered the creation of a Special Organization (*Teshkīlāt-i Makhṣūṣa*) under Süleymān ʿAskerī, "a combination ... of secret service and guerrilla organization" (Rustow in *World Politics*, xi, 518), which engaged in irredentist struggles in Macedonia, Libya, the Caucasus, and Iran. Prominent members of the Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī inner circle, such as Dr. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Shākir and Midḥat Shükrü [Bleda], formed part of the Organization's political bureau. The proclamations from Enwer's headquarters relied at first mainly on Islamic or Pan-Islamic themes, later increasingly on Pan-Turkish ones. The 1915 offensive against the Suez Canal was known as the "Islamic" strategy. Even when the Arab Revolt in 1916 cut off the Ḥidjāz railroad, Enwer refused to withdraw the army corps stationed in the Holy City of Medīna. (The commander ʿÖmer Fakhr al-Dīn [Türkkan] Pasha was so thoroughly isolated by the end of the war that he did not learn of the armistice until two and a half months later; he surrendered with 12 battalions on 10 January 1919.) The offensives in Transcaucasia in the wake of the crumbling Czarist armies in 1918 were known as the "Turanic" strategy, although a guerrilla force created there by the Special Organization was called the "Army of Islam".

In December 1914 Enwer took personal command of the Third Army on the Russian front in the Armenian mountains since the previous commander, Ḥasan ʿIzzet Pasha, had proved reluctant to carry out an encirclement manœuvre against the advancing Russians in the Sarīḳamīsh region, which had been planned in advance. As a result of local reconnaissance under Ḥāfiẓ Ḥaḳḳī it was decided to enlarge the pincer movement further—a plan that did not take into account terrain and weather conditions in the steep, icy, and windswept mountains. Hunger and cold destroyed most of the Third Army before it could reach, let alone encircle, the Russian forces; of a total strength of 90,000, casualties have been estimated at 80,000. In mid-January Enwer turned the command of the remaining Third Army units over to Ḥāfiẓ Ḥaḳḳī Pasha and returned to G.H.Q. in Istanbul. Enwer did not again take personal command of battlefield units.

The following years brought some striking Ottoman military successes, notably the defeat of the Allied landing expedition at Gallipoli (April 1915-January 1916) which prevented the loss of the capital, Istanbul, and the opening of communications between the Western Allies and the retreating Russian fronts; the victory at Ḳūt (see below); and the advance against the Russians in 1917-18. Beginning in the spring of 1917, however, vastly outnumbered Ottoman armies retreated steadily before the British offensives in Palestine, Iraq, and Syria. By the autumn of 1918, the military situation had become untenable, and on 14 October, the Grand Vizier Ṭalʿat Pasha resigned with his Unionist cabinet so as to facilitate the impending armistice negotiations. On 2 November 1918, Enwer, Ṭalʿat, Djemāl [*qq.v.*], Dr. Nāẓīm and other prominent Unionists assembled at night in the house of Enwer's aide-de-camp Kāẓīm [Orbay] in Arnavutköy on the

Bosphorus, and boarded a German naval vessel that brought them to Odessa. Although Enwer had plans to go to the Caucasus (Ziya Şakir, 156 f.), he later joined the others in Berlin, where they arrived in December. In Istanbul, court martial proceedings against the fugitive Unionists began 26 November 1918, and on 5 July 1919 resulted in death sentences in absentia for Enwer, Ṭalʿat, Djemāl, and Dr. Nāẓim.

Enwer spent the winter of 1918-9 in Berlin. Since the Entente powers were demanding the extradition of the Young Turks, they lived semi-legally; Enwer himself adopted the name "(Professor) ʿAlī Bey", which he later also used in Russia. Whereas Ṭalʿat and other civilian leaders centered their political activities on Berlin and Munich, Enwer and Djemāl proceeded at different times to Russia and then Central Asia, where they were joined by Enwer's uncle Khalīl (see below) and other former associates in a complex web of political manœuvres. In April 1919, Enwer secured the services of a pilot and airplane and with false Russian identity papers set out for Moscow. When mechanical trouble forced the plane to land in Lithuania, Enwer was detained for several weeks until his friends in Berlin established his identity and secured his release. After several months in Berlin, where he visited the Bolshevik leader Karl Radek in his jail in August 1919, Enwer on second try did make his way to Moscow where he arrived early in 1920. He took up contact with the Soviet Foreign Office, with Lenin, with a Turkish nationalist delegation under Bekir Sāmī which was then in Moscow, and, by correspondence, with Muṣṭafā Kemāl. With the encouragement of the Soviet authorities, he proclaimed the formation of a "Union of Islamic Revolutionary Societies" (Islām Ikhtilāl Djemʿiyyetleri Ittiḥādī) and of an affiliated People's Councils Party (Khalḳ Shūrālar Fïrḳasï), the former intended as a Muslim revolutionary international, the latter as its Turkish affiliate. On 1-9 September 1920 he attended the Soviet-sponsored Congress of the Peoples of the East at Baku with the title of Delegate of the Revolutionaries of Libya, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco (chosen perhaps because of his war record in Cyrenaica in 1911-2); a Kemālist Turkish delegation under Ibrāhīm Ṭāliʿ [Öngören] also was present.

In October 1920, Enwer was back in Berlin where he lived in a villa in the fashionable Grunewald section. He was confident that the Soviets would support nationalist movements in Turkey and other border states. To this end he asked Khalīl to secure approval from the Soviet Foreign Office for a plan whereby two cavalry divisions, to be formed among Ottoman war prisoners and Muslim residents of the Caucasian region, would, under Enwer's command, join the Anatolian resistance movement. Enwer himself, meanwhile, was trying to purchase arms in Berlin. That he had hopes of taking over the supreme command in Anatolia is indicated by Khalīl's statement to Karakhan, Soviet Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, that "Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha would not be in favour of creating divisiveness and is accustomed to obeying you [*i.e.*, Enwer]"—an interpretation rather strikingly at variance with Kemāl's record of near-insubordination to Enwer during the World War. (From Khalīl's letter to Enwer, 4 November 1920, quoted by Cebesoy, 165). Enwer's plans, however, were rejected by Karakhan.

After Ṭalʿat Pasha's assassination (15 March 1921), Enwer was the most prominent surviving Union and Progress leader in exile. At its 1921 annual meetings held in Berlin and Rome, the Union of Islamic Revolutionary Societies adopted a set of resolutions according to which the affiliated People's Councils Party was to be the legatee of the Union and Progress Society in Turkey; the Revolutionary Union itself was to work in close conjunction with the Third International and to secure further Soviet aid for the Nationalist struggle in Anatolia. (See Cebesoy, 224 f., who does not, however, give any exact date for the meetings). In Moscow, Enwer had several conversations with ʿAli Fuʾād [Cebesoy], the newly appointed Kemālist ambassador (their first meeting occurred on 26 February 1921) and with Čičerin, both of whom tried to dissuade him from interfering with the Anatolian movement; a protocol to this effect was drawn up by ʿAlī Fuʾād, Enwer, and Dr. Nāẓīm at one of these meetings. On 16 July 1921 Enwer sent a lengthy letter to Muṣṭafā Kemāl complaining of groundless suspicions and assuring Kemāl that he (Enwer) was content to support the Anatolian movement from outside. But the moves of Major Naʿīm Djewād, whom Enwer sent from Russia to Anatolia with quantities of propaganda material for the People's Councils Party and who was arrested by the Kemalists at the Black Sea town of Amasra, indicated that he was pursuing his former plans.

On 30 July, at a time when the Greek offensive toward Ankara was in full progress, Enwer proceeded from Moscow to Batumi where he gathered with other Unionists awaiting an opportunity to enter Anatolia. Close by, the Trabzon Defence of Rights Society was openly supporting Enwer, and in the Ankara Assembly a group of about forty ex-Unionists are said to have been working secretly to replace Kemāl with Enwer. On 5 September, a congress of the "Union and Progress (People's Councils) Party" was held at Batumi which issued an appeal to the Ankara Assembly to abandon its hostility toward the Union and Progress exiles. Meanwhile, however, Kemāl's victory at the Sakarya (2-13 September) consolidated his political position and by November his authority was restored in Trabzon.

Abandoning his Anatolian plans, Enwer left Batumi by way of Tbilisi, Baku, ʿAshḳābād, and Merv, and arrived in Bukhāra in October 1921 accompanied by Kushdjubashīzāde Ḥādjdjī Sāmī of the former Special Organization and others. He seems to have given the impression to Soviet authorities that he would rally Muslims of various parts of Central Asia in a struggle against the British; yet he soon was engaged in efforts to mobilize various Özbek factions into common resistance against Soviet rule and penetration of Türkistān. The major political groupings that he encountered in Özbekistān were (1) the Young Bukhara party under ʿOthmān Khodja, which in a revolution with Soviet support in September 1920 had deposed the Emīr of Bukhārā, ʿAbd al-Saʿīd Mīr ʿĀlim forcing him into exile in Kābul and (2) the tribesmen of the area who were generally loyal to the Emīr, formed armed bands known as Basmadjīs, (*i.e.*, Raiders), and fought both the Republicans and the Soviets. Enwer was welcomed in Bukhārā by ʿOthmān Khodja's representatives, and took up close contact with Aḥmed Zekī Welīdī [Togan], the exiled Bashkir leader, who was then trying to rally various Özbek factions against the Soviets. On 8 November Enwer left Bukhārā with thirty armed followers on the pretext of a hunting trip but actually so as to join the Basmadjīs. He proceeded to Shīrābād and thence eastward

along the Afghān frontier, being joined by local armed groups along the way. In the vicinity of Korgantepe, south-west of Düshenbe (later Stalinābād) he made contact with Ibrāhīm Lakay, known as the Basmadjï leader most staunchly loyal to the Emīr. Lakay, who disapproved of Young Turk revolutionaries as much as he did of Young Bukhārans, interned Enwer and his men for six weeks (1 December 1921 to 15 January 1922). Released through the intervention of another Basmadjï group under Ishan Sulṭān, Enwer assembled more than 200 armed Tadjik tribesmen and invested the Russian garrison at Düshenbe, which evacuated the town on 14 February. On 19 February Enwer was wounded in his arm in an engagement fought in pursuit. Enwer's proclamations of this period were signed "Deputy of the Emīr of Bukhārā, Son-in-Law of the Caliph of the Muslims, *Seyyid* Enwer" (Togan, 449) and his initial success rallied other armed men to his headquarters, while some of his associates went to Afghānistān in quest of further reinforcements. On 15 May he sent an ultimatum to the Russians which he signed as "Commander-in-Chief of the National Armies of Türkistān, Khīwa and Bukhārā" and in which he demanded prompt Russian evacuation of those areas (Togan, 451). But Enwer's forces lost a major engagement at Kāfirān on 28 June. As his troops melted away, he was obliged to join forces with the Basmadjï leader, Dewletmand Bek, at Beldjuwān south-east of Düshenbe.

Enwer was killed on 4 August 1922 (Togan, 452 f.; Baysun, 109-11, gives the date as Friday, 5 August, but that day was a Saturday), by a machine-gun bullet while leading a cavalry counter-charge against a superior Russian force at the near-by village of Čeken. Dewletmand also was killed while coming to his rescue, and both were buried at Čeken by their men on the following day.

Enwer was short of stature and slender of waist, with wide-set fiery eyes and an up-pointed, well-groomed moustache. He had great personal courage, boundless energy, and a keen sense of drama—at times melodrama (cf. C. R. Buxton, *Turkey in Revolution*, London 1909, 16 ff.). Soldiers of an older generation such as Liman or ʿIzzet Pasha [*q.v.*] were likely to see in him a brusque, restless upstart. But among his friends and close associates he instilled profound and lasting loyalty, and the masses idolized him. His financial integrity and sincere patriotism are attested even by his rivals and enemies. Despite the Sarïkamïsh disaster, his popularity remained unimpaired throughout the World War. In judging his total performance as supreme commander, it should be recalled that only in 1912 the Ottoman Empire had been roundly beaten by four small Balkan states. The transformation of its armies into a fighting instrument that through four fateful years withstood the combined onslaught of Russia, Britain, and their Allies must be regarded above all as the achievement of Enwer and of the German officers with whom he so closely and consistently co-operated.

Enwer's flight in November 1918 was a turning point that did severe and lasting damage to his reputation. His subsequent efforts to redeem himself by resuming a military role in Anatolia—or failing that, in Central Asia—remain the most obscure and controversial part of his career. A full and balanced account of this period must await more complete publication of his correspondance of those years with Khalīl, Djemāl, Ṭalʿat, Muṣṭafā Kemāl, and others.

Several of Enwer's close relatives also attained prominence in Ottoman-Turkish military and political affairs. His father, Aḥmed Bey (1864-1947), rose in the civil service to the position of *sürre emīni* (*i.e.*, official in charge of delivering the Sultān's annual gift to Mecca) with the (civilian) rank of pasha.

Khalīl Pasha (Halil Kut) (1881-1957), the son by another marriage of Enwer's paternal grandmother, was a career officer who graduated from the military academy as "distinguished captain" (mümtāz yüzbashï) in 1904. He fought in the Libyan, Balkan and World Wars becoming a Lieutenant-Colonel of the general staff in 1913. In April 1916, with the rank of Brigadier General (mīrliwā) and later Lieutenant General he assumed command of the Sixth Army in ʿIrāq, and in one of the more spectacular Ottoman victories, at Ctesiphon (or Ḳūt al-ʿAmāra), captured General Townshend with an entire British army of 13,000 men. But he had to retreat before a renewed British offensive, abandoning Baghdād in March 1917. In June 1918 he became commander of the Eastern Army Group which undertook the Turkish advance into the Caucasus area and occupied Baku in September.

Following the armistice, he was interned at Batumi but escaped early in 1919 (see *Taṣwīr-i Efkār*, Istanbul, 4 February 1919). After only a few weeks in Istanbul he was again arrested and jailed in the Bekiragha prison on charges of matreatment of Armenians and others during the war. Once again he escaped (8 August 1919) making his way to Anatolia. Tentative plans to have him take a part in military operation in Anatolia (*e.g.*, command of the Izmir front) were abandoned because of the political strain they would have placed on relations between Anatolia and Istanbul. He saw Muṣṭafā Kemāl in Sivas in mid-September 1919 and accepted from him the assignment to try to secure military and financial aid for Anatolia from the Bolsheviki. He made his way to Russia by slow stages, arriving in Baku in December and in Moscow before 24 May 1920. On 1 June he delivered a letter from Kemāl to Čičerin, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs. In negotiations with Čičerin and Karakhan he obtained arms, ammunition, and the equivalent of 100,000 Turkish pounds in gold bullion. (The latter he later delivered in person to Colonel Djāwīd [Erdelhun], division commander in Karaköse). In the winter of 1920-1 he was back in Moscow, where he participated intensively in the political negotiations between Enwer and the Bolsheviks. In February 1921 he was in Trabzon to try to build up the Peoples' Councils Party, Enwer's political organization in Anatolia. In 1922 he was expelled from Trabzon by the Kemalists and went to Berlin. After the nationalist victory he returned to Istanbul. His expulsion from the army, decreed by the Istanbul authorities on 18 February 1920, was set aside; instead he was retired in 1923 and took no further part in political and military affairs. Under the law of 1934 he took the family name of Kut after his victory at Ctesiphon.

Enwer's surviving brothers and sisters after 1934 took the family name Killigil. Nuri Killigil (1890-1949), the second son of Aḥmed Pasha and ʿĀʾishe, also was a career officer. In 1914, with the rank of major, he was assigned to the Special Organization. From 1915 to 1918, with the honorary rank of major general, he served in Libya "where he was organizing a rather successful resistance to Italian penetration of the hinterland" (Allen and Muratoff, 468, who state erroneously, however, that he was Enwer's

half-brother). Toward the end of the World War he was in charge of guerrilla operations of the "Army of Islam" in the Caucasus. He hesitated to heed the Istanbul authorities' call for his return and instead stopped in Erzurūm early in 1919. By January 1920 he was organizing guerrilla forces in Daghestān. Like Khalīl, he returned eventually to private life in Istanbul. He was killed in an explosion of his munitions factory in Sütlüdje on 2 March 1949.

Enwer's younger sister Mediha Killigil (b. 1899) was married (1919-1963) to Colonel (later General) Kâzim [Orbay], Enwer's aide-de-camp in 1914-18, who in 1961 was the presiding officer of the Turkish Constituent Assembly and subsequently became an appointed senator under the Second Republic. His younger brother Kâmil Killigil (-1962) married Enwer's widow, Nādjiye Sultan, (1898-1957) on 30 October 1923. Enwer was survived by two daughters, of whom the younger, Türkân, was married to Hüveyda Mayatepek, a Turkish career diplomat and currently (May 1963) Ambassador to Copenhagen; and one son, Ali Enver.

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I have supplemented the above sources with information obtained in personal interviews kindly granted by General Kâzım Orbay (Ankara, 30 and 31 January 1963) and Bay Ali Enver (Istanbul, 4 February 1963); additional data have been generously supplied by Bay Faik Reşit Unat, Ankara. (D. A. Rustow)

ENWERĪ, Ḥādjdjī Saʿd Allāh Efendi (1733?-1794), minor Ottoman historian. He was born at Trebizond (Trabzon), going to Istanbul as a young man. After completing his studies he found employment with the Sublime Porte.

Enwerī was appointed official historian in 1182/1769 and retained that function, except for four short intervals, under three Sultans, Muṣṭafā III, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I and Selīm III. He also undertook additional duties.

From 1184/1771 onwards he was *Teshrīfātdjī*, *Djebedjiler Kātibi*, *Mewḳūfātdjī*, *Büyük Tedhkiredji* and, four times, *Anadolu Muḥāsebedjisi*. Four times he either replaced or was replaced by Wāṣif as official historian.

His history, known as *Taʾrīkh-i Enwerī*, has never been published. It consists of three volumes, of which the first deals with the military and political events concerning the war against Russia which started in 1182/1769. In his introduction the author explains that "he has avoided an elaborate style, endeavouring not to omit any important events and trying to relate them in a clear and precise language" (MS Istanbul University Library, no. T.Y. 2437, fol. 2[a]). Wāṣif altered this volume in some important particulars and then called it the first of his history. Djewdet Pasha made considerable use of Enwerī's second volume, which deals with the period 1167-97/1754-83.

Enwerī also wrote poetry, although his work in this field does not deserve much attention. He could write Arabic and Persian, made the pilgrimage to Mecca and was known as a man of excellent character (v. Djemāl al-Dīn, *Āʾīna-i Ẓurafā*, Istanbul 1314, 57—the author's manuscript is at the Istanbul University Library, no. T.Y. 372, Fatīn, *Tedhkira*, 20).

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(Abdülkadir Karahan)

ENZELĪ [see bandar ʿabbās].

EPHESUS [see aya soluḳ].

EPIC [see ḤAMĀSA].
EPIGONI [see AL-SALAF WA 'L-KHALAF].
EPIGRAM [see HIDJĀ'].
EPIGRAPHY [see KITĀBĀT, also KHAṬṬ, NAKSH].
EQUATOR [see AL-ISTIWĀ', KHAṬṬ].
EQUITY [see INṢĀF].
ERBÎL [see IRBĪL].

ERDEL, ERDĪL or ERDELISTĀN, from the Hungarian Erdély (*erdö elve* = beyond the forest); Ardeal in Rumanian; Siebenbürgen in German; the Latin name Terra Ultrasilvas and later Transsilvania being a translation of the Hungarian—the province of Transylvania which now constitutes the western portion of Rumania. In Ottoman sources the name of Erdel occurs first in the *Rūznāme-i Süleymānī* in the course of a description of the reception into the Ottoman army of King Yanosh of the *wilāyet* of Engurūs (*i.e.*, of the Hungarians), who is described as having been formerly the Bey of Erdel (cf. Ferīdūn Bey, *Munshā'āt*, 2nd ed., Istanbul 1275, ii, 275). The variant Erdelistān occurs also in later sources (Naʿīmā, i, loc. var.; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 181; Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Natā'idj al-wuḳūʿāt*, ii, 72). Geographically speaking, Erdel borders on Boghdān (Moldavia) in the east, Eflāḳ (Wallachia) in the south, the Banat (from which it is separated by the Iron Gates—Demir [Temir, etc.]-Ḳapî) in the south-west, and the province of Marmarosh (Maramureș) in the north. Thus delimited, Erdel is a basin surrounded by the Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps on three sides, and separated from the Hungarian plain by the Érchegység (Rom. Muntii Apuseni) mountains. Ottoman Erdel often exceeded, however, these geographical limits at the expense of neighbouring countries. Erdel can be subdivided into three main areas: the Erdel plain, higher and more broken than the Hungarian plain and crossed by the river Muresh and its tributaries; the country of the Sekels in the east, and, finally, the area of the southern Carpathians.

The first contact of the Ottomans with Erdel occurred in the middle of the 8th/14th century. In 769/1367, Dénes (Dennis), who had become *voyvoda* (prince) of Erdel after being *ban* (lord) of Vidin, fought the Bulgarians supported by Murād I. The first Ottoman campaign against Hungary and, therefore, Erdel is put by ʿĀshîḳpasha-zāde (ed. Giese, 60) in 793/1391. The large raid which occurred in 823/1420 under Meḥemmed I must have been the work of the frontier guards from Vidin. The following year the frontier *bey* of the Danube, encouraged by the *voyvoda* of Eflāḳ, captured and burnt down the city of Brashov. There were other raids in 829/1426 and 836/1432, the latter being led by Evrenos-zāde ʿAlī Bey, acting in conjunction with the *Bey* of Eflāḳ. Turkish historians speak of another raid by ʿAlī Bey (sent by Murād II) in 841/1437 (ʿĀshîḳpasha-zāde, *op. cit.*, 110; Neshrī, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Welī al-Dīn Efendī MS, no. 2351, f. 177). The following year, the Sultan himself entered the territory of Erdel for the first time, accompanied by Vlad Dracul, the *Bey* of Eflāḳ, and advanced as far as Sibin (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 321). An interesting account of Ottoman customs and organization has been left by one of the Saxon prisoners taken during this campaign (*Cronica Abconterfayung der Türkei* ..., Augsburg 1531). Resistance against the Ottomans stiffened with the appearance on the scene of Yanku Hunyades (in Hung. Hunyadi János), "the White Knight of Wallachia", who after engaging the Ottomans at Semendere in 841/1437 and near Belgrade in 845/1441, defeated and killed the Ottoman commander Mezīd Bey in 846/1442. The same year Hunyadi, supported this time by Vlad Dracul, defeated in Wallachia Khādim Shihāb al-Dīn Pasha, the *Beylerbeyi* of Rūm-ili (Rumeli) and thus seized the initiative in the Balkans, preserving it until the fateful battle of Varna. Ottoman raids were resumed under Meḥemmed II: there was a raid in 879/1474 against Hunyadi's son, Matthias; a force of 30,000 troops entered Erdel in 884/1479, but was defeated; and there was yet another raid in 898/1493. During the temporary cessation of Ottoman raids which then followed, the Hungarian and Wallachian peasants of Erdel revolted (in 920/1514), but were suppressed by the feudal lords, an important part being played by the *voyvoda* of Erdel, John Zápolyai ("Sapolyayi Yanosh" in Pečewī, i, 108), who, after the battle of Mohácz, proclaimed himself King of Hungary at Istolni Belgrad [*q.v.*] (Hung. Székesfehérvár, Ger. Stuhlweissenburg) in 1526. Challenged, however, by the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, Zápolyai fled to Poland, sending an ambassador to Istanbul to obtain the Sultan's support. This was granted in change for a recognition of Ottoman suzerainty, Zápolyai swearing allegiance to the Sultan in person during the Vienna campaign (Ferīdūn Bey, ii, 570; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, Ist. Univ. Lib., no. 5959/32, f. 293). In 936/1530, Meḥmed Pasha, the *sandjaḳ-beyi* of Silistre (Silistria), supported by Vlad, *voyvoda* of Eflāḳ, captured Brashov and handed it over to Zápolyai, who appointed Stephen Báthory *voyvoda* of Erdel.

Ottoman supremacy in Erdel (948/1541-1110/1699): a few days before his death in 1540, Zápolyai secured the Sultan's agreement to the succession of his son John Sigismund (Pečewī, "Simon Yanosh" and "Yanosh Jigmon", i, 228 and 434 *passim*; but in other Ottoman sources he is generally called Istefan), this time against payment of a tribute (*kharādj*). During the Budin campaign, the boy was shown to Süleymān the Magnificent who granted him a *sandjaḳ* in the *wilāyet* of Erdel, with the promise of a kingdom later (cf. ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, f. 277). Ottoman supremacy was confirmed in the treaty of 948/1541, which provides for Ottoman protection against payment of a tribute, which was first fixed at 10,000 ducats, was raised to 15,000 between 983/1575 and 1010/1601, was then remitted for ten years and later still fixed again at 10,000. In the second half of the 11th/17th century it was again raised first to 15,000 and then to 40,000 gold coins (*altîn, altun*). It was also customary to give an annual present (*pīshkesh*) of 10,000 to 60,000 coins. The prince of Erdel was nominated by the local Diet, the Sultan confirming the choice by sending him a caparisoned horse, a standard, a sword and a robe of honour (for the order of precedence as between the prince of Erdel and the *voyvodas* of Eflāḳ and Boghdān, see *Natā'idj al-wuḳūʿāt*, i, 137). There were also cases of the Porte rejecting a nomination or dismissing a prince, as in 1022/1613 with Gábor Báthory and in 1067/1657 with George Rákóczi II. The princes' foreign policy had to conform to the Porte's wishes, but they were free in their internal affairs. They were represented at the Porte first by special envoys, the first permanent agent (*ḳapu kakhyasî* = *kedkhudāsî* (in Erdel documents *kapitiha*), being appointed in 967/1560. This agent represented both the *Bey* of Erdel and the three local *millets* (Hungarians, Germans and Sekels, the Wallachians being denied legal existence). His residence was in the Balat quarter of Istanbul, in a street known today as Macarlar Yokușu ("Hunga-

tians' Rise") near the residences of the agents of Boghdān and Eflāḳ.

During John Sigismund's minority, the Diet appointed as regent the Croatian Catholic friar George Martinuzzi-Utyeszenicz (Uteśenić) (in ʿĀlī, f. 287 "brata", *i.e.*, "brother"), who, however, handed over Erdel to the Habsburgs in 1551. The *beylerbeyi* of Rūm-ili Meḥmed Pasha Sokollu thereupon led an army into Erdel (ʿĀlī, f. 287). Martinuzzi made his peace with the Ottomans, but was then attacked by the Austrian General Castaldo and killed in 1552. A second army was sent to the Banat under Ḳara Aḥmed Pasha who captured Temesvár (Timişoara). Castaldo withdrew from Erdel in 1553, the country being for a time ruled by *voyvodas* on behalf of the Habsburgs, until in 1556 the Diet invited back the Queen Mother Isabella and John Sigismund, who, coming from Poland, established their seat of government in the Belgrade of Erdel (Erdel Belgradī, Rum. Alba Julia, Hung. Gyulafehérvár, Ger. Karlsburg). John Sigismund ruled alone from 1559 to 1571 both over Erdel and over the northern districts of Hungary in constant competition with the Habsburgs. Although by the agreement of Satmar in 1564 he recognized Emperor Ferdinand as King of Hungary, peace was not long preserved, John appealing to the Sultan for help (cf. Pečewī, i, 412), and the latter responding by undertaking the Szigetvár expedition in 1566. John's reign witnessed also the revolt of the Sekels and the suppression of their traditional privileges in 1562 and the proclamation of religious toleration in Erdel by the Diet's decisions of 1564 and 1571. His successor Stephen Báthory (1571-6) managed to preserve a precarious balance between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, by recognizing the Emperor Maximilian as King of Hungary and thus becoming his vassal by the treaty of Speyer in 1571, while continuing payment of tribute to the Porte. In 1576 he was elected King of Poland by the efforts of the Porte and of the Grand Vizier Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha (see Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha ve Lehistān intikhābātī*, in *TOEM*, 6th year, 664 ff.), Erdel being governed until 1581 by his brother Christopher Báthory and then until 1602 (although with intervals) by his son Sigismund Báthory. The latter wavered in his loyalty to the Porte, entering the Holy League in 1593 and executing the leaders of the pro-Turkish party in 1594 at a time when he pretended to be getting ready to join the Ottoman army under Ḳodja Sinān Pasha. He incited the *voyvodas* of Boghdān and Eflāḳ against the Ottomans and defeated in 1003/1595 the Ottoman army sent to suppress their rebellion. After the severe defeat suffered by the Imperialist forces at the battle of Mező-Keresztes in the following year, he withdrew from Erdel, relinquishing the rule to his cousin Cardinal Andreas Báthory, who had been brought up at the Polish court and was, therefore, pro-Ottoman. The latter was, however, defeated by the rebellious *voyvoda* of Eflāḳ, Mikhal (Michael), who was in turn killed by the Austrians. The latter then occupied the country, foiling an attempt by Sigismund Báthory to re-establish his rule. In 1603 a Sekel nobleman, Székely Mózes, made an unsuccessful attempt to oust the Austrians with Ottoman support. An Erdel nobleman, Stephen Bocskay, who had fled to the Ottomans (see Naʿīmā, i, 386) was more successful, and by the treaty of Vienna in 1606, the Emperor Rudolf recognized him as prince of Erdel. His death was followed by a period of instability which included the tyrannical rule of Gábor Báthory (1608-13), known in Ottoman sources as "the mad king". The *beylerbeyi* of Kanije, Iskender Pasha, succeeded in deposing him and in getting the diet at Kolojvár to elect in his place Gábor Bethlen, whose rule marks the golden age of the principality of Erdel. His death in 1629 was followed by a short interregnum, his policy of safeguarding local autonomy through co-operation with the Ottomans being re-established by George Rákoczi I (1630-48). In 1046/1636 the Ottomans made an unsuccessful attempt to unseat him in favour of Gábor Bethlen's brother, Stephen Bethlen. George Rákoczi I was succeeded by his son George II (1648-57, 1658, 1659-60), whose unsuccessful attempt to gain the crown of Poland against the wishes of the Porte led eventually to his death, Erdel being occupied by Ottoman troops. One of the prisoners taken by the Ottomans in Kolojvar was the young Hungarian who later embraced Islam and became known as Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.*]. Ottoman supremacy in Erdel was re-established in the Köprülü period, the principality being governed from 1072-3/1662 to 1101/1690 by the Ottoman nominee Michael Apafiy. The fate of Erdel autonomy was, however, sealed when Austria gained the upper hand in her wars with the Ottomans, Michael Apafiy himself allowing Habsburg troops to enter his country. In 1102/1691 the famous *Diploma Leopoldinum* fixed the status of Erdel as a Habsburg crown land, the local Diet being, however, kept in existence. Austrian sovereignty was legally recognized by the treaty of Karlowitz (Karlofča) in 1110/1699. Francis Rákoczi II tried in 1703 to put the clock back: after a local revolution he was chosen prince in 1704, but was defeated in 1710 and fled to France the following year. An attempt was made by the Ottomans to make use of him in their war with Austria in 1127/1715, but, after the treaty of Passarowitz he and his Hungarian companions had to withdraw and were settled at Tekirdagh (Rodosto in Thrace) (cf. Rāshid, iv, v, *passim*; Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Memālik-i ʿOthmāniyyede Rakoczi ve tewābiʿi*, Istanbul 1338; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rakoczi Ferenc II ve tevâbiine dair yeni vesikalar*, in *Belleten*, v/20, 1941). A similarly unsuccessful attempt was made by the Ottomans to make use of the latter's son Jozsef, all Ottoman designs on Erdel being finally abandoned with the peace of Belgrade in 1152/1739.

The main events in the post-Ottoman history of Erdel are the submission of a large number of local Rumanian Orthodox to the Pope (the Union of 1700), the Rumanian peasant rising of 1784, the decision of the Diet in 1848 to merge with Hungary and finally the accession of Erdel to Rumania under the treaty of Trianon in 1920.

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menta Hungariae historica. Diplomataria, vols. xxxiv and xxxvii], Budapest 1909-14; ed. idem, *Fontes rerum Transylvanicarum*, i-iii, Budapest 1913; idem, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei şi Tării Românesti*, Bucharest 1929-38, i-xii; R. Goos, *Österreichische Staatsverträge. Fürstentum Siebenbürgen (1526-1690)*, Vienna 1911; G. E. Müller, *Die Türkenherrschaft in Siebenbürgen* [Südosteuropäisches Forschungs-Institut, Sekt. Hermannstadt, Deutsche Abteilung ii], Hermannstadt 1923; G. Bascapè, *Le relazioni fra l'Italia e la Transilvania nel secolo XVI*, Rome 1931. Other sources have been cited in the course of the article. For further studies see bibliography in *İA*, s.v.

(A. Decei and M. Tayyib Gökbilgin)

ERDJÎSH [see ARDJÎSH].

ERDJIYAS (or ERDJIYES) **DAGHÎ** (modern spelling Erciyas), the Argaeus Mons of antiquity, referred to by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzha*, 98, 181) as Ardjāst-kūh, the highest mountain in Central Anatolia. It is an extinct volcano, with a height of 3,916 m. (= 12,847 ft.), which rises rather suddenly from the surrounding plain of an average height of 1000 m. (= 3,280 ft.). It is some 20 km. (12½ m.) to the south of the town of Kayseri, almost precisely 38° 30′ N., 35° 30′ E., and covers an area of roughly 45 km. (28 m.) from east to west and 35 km. (21½ m.) from north to south. Certain early sources say it was still active in antiquity. Today, the Erciyas-Dağ is completely bare and permanently covered with snow. In it there rises the Deli-Su, which flows into the Kara-Su, a tributary of the Kızıl-Irmak.

A route, in use since antiquity, leads from Kayseri to Everek and Develi in the south, over the pastures of Tekir Yaylası (at a height of 2000 m. (6,561 ft.)) between the eastern slope of the Erciyas Dağ and its eastern neighbour Koç-Dağı (2500 m. (= 8,202 ft.)). The main route to the south, however (also since antiquity), skirts round Erciyas towards the west, leading via Incesu to Niğde and Bor, the ancient Tyana.

Erciyas Dağ was first climbed by W. J. Hamilton (1837), and then again by Tchihatcheff (1848), Tozer (1879), and Cooper (1879). After these, the most important ascent was that of Penther and his group in 1902. There were several ascents after 1905 (those up to 1928 are listed by E. J. Ritter, *Erdjias Dag*, Innsbruck 1931, 135 ff.). The area has recently been used for ski-ing.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, ii, 684 (Hirschfeld); Le Strange, 146; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, Istanbul 1314, 176 ff.; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 620; H. v. Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, Berlin 1911, especially 330; more recent bibliography of works concerning Erciyas Dağ (since Hamilton), compiled by Besim Darkot in his article *Erciyas-Dağı* in *IA*, iv, 286-8, to which must be added a most important contribution, Gerhart Bartsch, *Das Gebiet des Erciyes Daği und die Stadt Kayseri in Mittel-Anatolien*, in *Jahrbuch der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Hannover für 1934 und 1935*, Hanover 1935, 87-202.

(Fr. Taeschner)

EREĞLI, Turkish adaptation of the place-name Heraclea, given to a number of places in Turkey, of which the most important are:

1) Karadeniz Ereğlisi (Ereğli on the Black Sea), Heraclea Pontica, hence formerly (as in *Djihānnümā*, 653) known as Bendereğli: a small town on the coast of the Black Sea, 41° 17′ N., 31° 25′ E., in the region of the coalfields formerly named after it, but now called after Zonguldak. The *kaza*, now in the *vilâyet* of Zonguldak, was once in the *sandjak* (or *liwā'*) of Bolu. This used to belong to the *eyālet* of Anadolu, and in the 19th century to the *wilāyet* of Kastamonu. The place has 8,815 inhabitants (1960) and the district 67,661.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, 8, 433; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 512.

2) Konya (formerly Ḳaramān) Ereğlisi, τὸ Ἡρακλέως Κάστρον in Theophanes, i, 482 (ed. de Boor), ἡ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος Κωμόπολις of Michael Attaliata, 136 (ed. Bonn), the Hiraḳla of the Arabs, Erāklīya of Ibn Bībī (transl. Duda, 19, 238 f.), in Turkish occasionally in the more archaic form Hirāḳla or Hiraḳlīya, Reclei or Reachia to the Crusaders (Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien*, 84, 88, 92), Araclie in Bertrandon de la Broquière (ed. Ch. Schefer, 104 f.): a town in south-western Anatolia, near the central chain of the Taurus, from which rivers flow in a northerly direction into the Ereğli plain. These rivers make the town an oasis of vegetation, but disappear further on into marshy ground. The position of the town is 37° 30′ N., 34° 5′ E. It is the capital of a *kaza* in the *vilâyet* of Konya and has 32,057 inhabitants; the district has 46,324 (1960).

South of Ereğli, where the river emerges from a ravine in the Taurus, near Ivriz, there is a famous late Hittite rock carving, depicting the river-god dispensing corn and grapes, and being worshipped by the king of Tyana (Assyr. Urballa, Hitt. Varpallawa, ca. 730 B. C.), the modern Bor.

In Byzantine times, Ereğli was a frontier fortification on the way from Iconium to Cilicia. It was conquered several times by the Arabs, most notably by Hārūn al-Rashīd in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 190/Sept.-Oct. 806 (Ṭabarī, iii, 709 ff. = Theophanes, *loc. cit.*), but remained Byzantine until the Saldjūḳ Turks conquered it (supposedly in 484/1091, see Ewliyā Čelebi, iii, 28). After the collapse of the Rūm-Saldjūḳ empire, the town came under the rule of the Ḳaramānids, and finally, together with the other Ḳaramān regions, it came under Ottoman rule in 871/1466.

The Ulu Djāmiʿ is a rather remarkable mosque with a flat roof. The *Djihānnümā* claims that it was founded by the Ḳaramān-oghlu Ibrāhīm (but the *Menāsik al-ḥadjdj* attributes its foundation to the Saldjūḳ Ḳilīdj-Arslan). The Türbe Djāmiʿi (a small mosque with an estrade built onto it, containing the grave of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī Maḳtūl which is also mentioned in the *Djihānnümā*) is also worthy of note. There is also a large *khān* in the town, supposed to have been built by Sinān for Rüstem Pasha in the 15th century.

Ereğli was a halt on the pilgrim route, and since 1908 it has become an important station on the Baghdād Railway from Konya.

Bibliography: Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 616 f.; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 28 f.; Meḥmed Edīb, *Menāsik al-ḥadjdj*, 37 f.; Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii, 268; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 818; *IA*, iv, 307-9 (Besim Darkot). Concerning Ivriz, cf. H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Berlin 1942, plate 796; Gelb, *Hittite Hiergl. Monum.*, 1939, 15; Maurice Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, London 1955, plate 70, 76.

(J. H. Mordtmann-[Fr. Taeschner])

ERETNA (Ärätnä, Ärdäni ?), name of a chief of Uyghur origin, who made his fortune in Asia Minor as an heir of the Ilkhānid régime. The name is perhaps to be explained by Sanskrit *ratna* 'jewel',

common among the Oyghur after the spread of Buddhism (communication from L. Bazin); this was of course no bar to the family becoming Muslim, like all the Mongols and Turks in the Ilkhānid state. Eretna, who was probably an officer in the service of Čūbān/Čoban [see ČŪBĀNIDS], settled in Asia Minor as a follower of the latter's son, Tīmūrtāsh, was appointed governor by the Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd, and went into hiding during his master's revolt; after Tīmūrtāsh had been compelled to flee to Egypt, where he was to meet his death (727/1326), Eretna was invested with the succession to the rebel, under the general suzerainty of Ḥasan the Elder, the master of Ādharbāydjān. When, after the disorders which followed the death of Abū Saʿīd, this Ḥasan was defeated by Ḥasan the Younger, son of Tīmūrtāsh, Eretna sought and obtained the protection of the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (738/1337), and in 744/1343 defeated Ḥasan the Younger who had become master of Ādharbāydjān, which certainly helped his prestige. After this he appears as an independent sovereign over all those territories of central Asia Minor which the Turkoman principalities that arose after the breakdown of the Saldjūḳid-Mongol régime had not divided among themselves; that is, in a more or less stable form, the provinces of Nigde, Aḳsarāy, Ankara, Develi Ḳaraḥiṣār, Derende, Amāsya, Toḳāt, Merzifūn, Samsūn, Erzindjān, Sharḳī Ḳaraḥiṣār, with first Sīwās and later Ḳayseri as capital. He called himself sultan, with the *laḳab* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, and struck coins in his own name. He knew Arabic, scholars call him a scholar, and his people, appreciative of an administration which maintained some order in a troubled world, called him, it is said, *Köse Peyghamber*, "the Prophet with the Scanty Beard". He died in 753/1352, leaving his principality to his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (Meḥmed) who, maintaining the Mamlūk alliance, successfully withstood the revolt of his brother Djaʿfar.

The *beg*s, however, were here as everywhere undisciplined, and in 766/1365 Meḥmed fell victim to an attack fomented by them; under his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Beg, who is said to have cared only for pleasure, the *beg*s of Amāsya, Toḳāt, Sharḳī Ḳaraḥiṣār, even Sīwās, and especially Tahartan the *beg* of Erzindjān, acted like autonomous or rebel lords, while the Ḳaramānids and the Ottomans stripped the Eretnid principality of its western possessions, and the Aḳ-ḳoyunlu of some of its eastern dependencies. In effect, government was now exercised by the *ḳāḍī* Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*], son and grandson of the *ḳāḍī*s of Ḳayseri, who had already been influential under the previous princes. ʿAlī was killed in 782/1380 in a campaign against the rebel *beg*s; Burhān al-Dīn, during a struggle by rival claimants, eliminated the young heir Muḥammad (Meḥmed) II, and proclaimed himself sultan directly, thus putting an end to the dynasty.

It is unfortunate that the state of the documentation allows us to form no precise idea of the Eretnid régime. At the most some inferences can be drawn from comparisons between descriptions (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, al-ʿUmarī) dating from the dawn of the dynasty, and a chronicle (the *Bezm u Rezm*) and travellers' accounts (Schiltberger, Clavijo) of ten or twenty years after its end. The originality of the system of government, the effective reality of which requires examination, lies in the fact that here, from the Mongol régime to the Ottoman conquest, there was no interlude of government by Turkoman dynasties as in all the surrounding territories. The Turkoman element in the central provinces was apparently less strong than the surviving Mongol tribes, and the towns seem to have enjoyed a certain prosperity. The culture of the aristocracy, and commerce also, were perhaps directed more than in the previous period towards the Arabic-speaking Syro-Egyptian domain, without however destroying the interest in Persian culture. The contrasts must not, however, be made too much of; in the Eretnid domain, as in the neighbouring small states, there developed the institution and power of the urban *akhī*s, the influence of the aristocratic (Mewlewī) and popular religious orders, literature in Turkish in the form of translations from Persian (Yūsuf Meddāḥ of Sīwās), learned poetry (that of Burhān al-Dīn, with which in part the Eretnid period must be credited), and popular heroic romances (the second *Dānishmendnāma*, at Toḳāt, an adaptation of a Saldjūḳid original); the few extant specimens of art in the Eretnid regions call for no particular remark. It does not appear that the reign of Burhān al-Dīn, who was himself of Turkish birth, broke with the Eretnid traditions.

Bibliography: The only mediaeval author to give a general résumé of the history of the Eretnid dynasty is Ibn Khaldūn, v, 558 ff., whose information on their relations with the Mamlūks is confirmed by the Mamlūk historians down to al-ʿAynī. On the beginnings of the régime, valuable details are given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 286 ff. (Gibb, ii, 433 ff.), and by Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, ed. Taeschner, 28 *et passim*, and Eflākī, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1959-61, ii, 978, = tr. Huart, ii, 415 (last chapter), and by the Shāfiʿī *Ṭabaḳāt* of al-Subkī. For the end of the régime, from the point of view of Burhān al-Dīn, see the history of the latter, under the title *Bezm u rezm*, by ʿAzīz b. Ardashīr Astarābādī, [ed. Kilisli Rifat], Istanbul 1928 (analysis and commentary by H. H. Giesecke, *Das Werk des* ..., 1940), and, for the eastern frontier, the history of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu expansion composed under the title of *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* by Abū Bakr Tihrānī (2nd half of the 9th/15th century) and recently published by Faruk Sümer (i, Ankara 1962); see also the Persian (Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, etc.) and Ottoman (Münedjdjim Bashī, in the Arabic manuscript text) general histories; there are many mentions of the Eretnids in the historical romance of Shikārī (ed. M. Mes'ud Koman, 1946), devoted to the Ḳaramānids; the Trebizond, Genoese and Armenian sources should also be examined.—A good inventory of the coins appears in the catalogue of the numismatic collections of the Istanbul Museum by Aḥmed Tewḥīd, iv, 346 ff.; the epigraphic material of the Eretnid regions is collected in vol. xv of *RCEA*, based especially on the researches of Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī [Uzunçarşılı] (*Sīwās Shehri*, *Ḳayseri Shehri*, etc.), and Max van Berchem and Khalīl Edhem, *CIA*, iii, 40 ff. For the archaeology see also A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, 2 vols.—Here as elsewhere there is the possibility of extracting further information from later Ottoman texts, where traces of earlier institutions may be preserved; there are also *waḳfiyye*s which might be published and exploited. Besides the tables of Khalīl Edhem, *Düwel-i Islāmiyye*, and Zambaur, 155, the only modern general exposé is that of I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri*, chap. xv, based largely on Aḥmed Tewḥīd, *Benī Eretna*, in *TOEM*, v (1330), 13-22, and reappearing in the same author's résumés in *İA* and in *Osmanlı*

tarihi, i; see also Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî ve içtimaî tarihi*, i, 1959, index; Z. Velidi Togan, *Umumi Türk tarihine giriş*, i, 232-6, 448; Spuler, *Mongolen*, esp. 355, and the works cited above of van Berchem, Khalīl Edhem, Giesecke and Gabriel, and also the histories of literature, to be completed by the recent book of I. Mélikoff, *La geste de Melik Dāniṣmend*, 2 vols. 1960, Preface.

(Cl. Cahen)

ERGANI (Arghanī, sometimes Argani, in European sources Arghana until recent times), centre of a *kaza* in the *vilâyet* of Diyār-Bakr [*q.v.*], called for a time ʿOthmâniyya (Osmaniye), situated on the highroad from Diyār-Bakr to Harput. 18 kms. to the north-west, on the river Tigris, lies the mining town of Erghani-Maʿden(i), which is the centre of a *kaza* of the *vilâyet* of Elazîgh (El-ʿAzīz) called after Erghani. Although the two towns lie apart, they are confused in some sources.

The name ʿOthmāniyya given to Erghani had to be abandoned because it gave rise to confusion with the town of ʿOthmâniyya (Osmaniye) in Djebel Bereket to the east of Adana [*q.v.*]. The town of Erghani is situated at an altitude of 1000 metres on the steep south-east slope, overlooking a deep gully (Hushut Deresi), in a limestone mountain rising to a height of 1526 metres, 10 kilometres from the right bank of the Tigris. Below the town lie fields and gardens, while above on the slope overlooking Erghani lies the old town. A near-by hill is called after Nabī Dhu 'l-Kifl [*q.v.*], who is reported to be buried there. The station of Erghani on the Diyār-Bakr—Malatya railway line lies in a valley, 6.5 kms. south of the present town of Erghani.

The town of Erghani, called Argani in Armenian sources, may have inherited the site of Arkania mentioned in cuneiform writings. It is also not impossible that this was also the site of one of the cities of Arsinia mentioned in the Peutinger Table. In Islamic times the fate of Erghani was linked with that of Diyār-Bakr (for history, see diyār-bakr). After the victory of Čaldiran [*q.v.*] won by Selīm I in 920/1514, and through the services of Idrīs Bidlīsī, Erghani became a *sandjaḳ* attached to the *eyālet* of Diyār-Bakr, the district of Diyār-Bakr having been conquered for the Ottomans by Bîyîklî Meḥmed Pasha. Cuinet, writing towards the end of the 19th century, gives the population of the town of Erghani as more than 6,000. It was at that time that the centre of the *sandjaḳ* of Erghani was transferred to the township of Maʿden, in view of the importance of the copper mines there. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the *ḳaḍā* of Maʿden was attached to the *wilāyet* of El-ʿAzīz, and that of Erghani (Osmaniye) was left in the *wilāyet* of Diyār-Bakr. The *kaza* of Erghani covers an area of 1595 sq. kms. and includes 68 villages. According to the results of the 1960 census, the population of the district amounted to 28,095 and that of the town of Erghani to 8,542.

The township of Erghani-Maʿden (known now usually simply as Maʿden) is situated on the lower slopes of Miḥrab Daghî overlooking the right bank of the Tigris (Didjla, known here as Erghani-Suyu). Its fortunes have always depended on that of the rich copper vein situated in the vicinity. The existence of the mine was known in ancient times, but it cannot be stated with certainty when it was first exploited. It seems to have been worked in the beginning of the 12th century, since when it was exploited at irregular intervals. Considering that there is no mention of the mine either in Ewliyā Čelebi's *Seyāḥat-nāme* or in the *Djihān-nümā*, exploitation seems to have been interrupted in the middle of the 17th century. At the beginning of the 19th century, the traveller Olivier mentions that part of the ore mined in a place called Hapur was sent to Baghdād. In 1837 Brant states that the local population, which was engaged largely in mining, amounted to 3,500 people. According to Cuinet, at the end of the century the mine was worked by the State, the ore being smelted locally with firewood and refined into black copper and then sent by camel or mule to Tokat where it was further refined into red copper, or exported via Iskenderūn. At the beginning of the 20th century, the fall in the world price of copper, the absence of roads between the mining area and ports of export and the destruction of local forests led to the abandonment of the mine. A resumption of exploitation became possible only after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, when after the completion of the Diyār-Bakr railway in 1935 it became practicable to send coal to the mining area and to export the copper easily. 8,103 tons of copper were produced in 1941. Exploitation has also started of the rich chromium deposits at Ghulemān, north-east of the Erghani copper mine. The *kaza* of (Erghani) Maʿden covers an area of 1,040 sq. kms. and includes 54 villages. According to the results of the 1960 census, there were 19,399 inhabitants of the district and 8,011 of the township.

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(Besim Darkot)

ERGENEKON, the name of a plain surrounded by mountains, mentioned in the legend of the origin of the Mongols.

An associated legend in the Chinese Chronicle of Pei-shih (ed. in about 629) explains the origins of the T'u-chüeh as follows. This people lived on the shores of the Western Sea, Hsi-hai. They were massacred by a neighbouring people. Only a young boy survived,

although wounded. A she-wolf who protected and fed him became pregnant by him. She led him through a grotto to a plain surrounded by mountains. There she gave birth to ten boys who were the ancestors of the ten clans. The founder of the A-shih-na clan, who was the most intelligent, became the sovereign of the T'u-chüeh After some generations, under A-hsien-shih, the T'u-chüeh left the interior of the mountains and submitted to the Juan-juan.

Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, and after him Abu 'l-G͟hāzī Bahādur K͟hān, relate the same legend, with certain variations, and attribute it to the Mongols; the Tatars conquered and wiped out the Mongols. Two princes and their wives were the only survivors of the massacre and, following a narrow track, they took refuge in a plain surrounded by mountains, called Ergenekon. There they multiplied and when, four hundred years later, Ergenekon became too small for them, they contrived to make their way out by causing part of a mountain-side to crumble away by means of a huge fire, on the advice of a blacksmith.

The day consequently became a festival and its anniversary was celebrated by the Mongol sovereigns.

Bibliography: *Pei-shih*, chap. 99; Abu 'l-G͟hāzī Bahādur K͟hān, *S͟hed͟jere-i Türk*, ed. Riḍā Nūr, Istanbul 1925, 34-8; Fuad Köprülü, *Türk edebiyâtî ta'rīk͟hi*, Istanbul 1926, 65-7. (P. N. Boratav)

ERGİN, OSMAN (ʿOt͟hmān Nūrī) Turkish scholar and publicist, was born in 1883 in Imrin, a village (now a district centre) in the *wilāyet* of Malatya. His father Ḥād͟jd͟jī ʿAlī, of a family of humble farmers, tried his fortune in trade and after many journeys, including one in Rumania, settled in Istanbul, where he opened a coffee-house. The little Osman, who had memorized the Ḳur'ān in the village, was brought to Istanbul in 1892 where, after attending various modern schools, he entered the Dār ül-S͟hafaḳa, a leading private school of high standard, and graduated second of his class in 1901. The same year he was appointed an official in the Municipality of Istanbul. Spurred by a love of learning, for three years he attended, in his spare time, the courses of traditional sciences of a *k͟hod͟ja* at the S͟hehzāde mosque. This type of training, which he was later bitterly to criticize, did not satisfy him, and he registered at the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul University whence he graduated in 1907 with a first class degree. Osman Ergin continued as a municipal official until his retirement in 1947, rising in his career from a simple clerk to be a *mektūbd͟ju*, the office he held for twenty-two years. He was also a successful teacher and taught until 1956 in various secondary and professional schools of Istanbul, including his own Dār ül-S͟hafaḳa and the American College for Girls. He died in 1961 in Istanbul.

Osman Ergin had a lively and inquisitive mind and was very erudite. His life-long research in the archives and libraries of Istanbul soon made him a leading authority on the history of municipal and educational institutions of Istanbul. Unbending in his principles, loyal in his friendships, "the *Mektūbd͟ju* Osman Bey" was one of the most remarkable characters among scholars of his generation, liked and respected by everyone.

Apart from his very numerous books on various subjects and his biographical and bibliographical monographs, some still unpublished, he was the author of the following major works:

1) *Med͟jelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, 5 volumes, Istanbul 1330-8, the first of which is a richly documented historical introduction to municipal institutions in Islam and in Turkey, particularly the city of Istanbul, a standard reference book on the subject; the other volumes contain a collection of laws, bye-laws, regulations, Council of State decisions, etc. concerning municipal administration.

2) *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, 5 volumes, Istanbul 1939-43 (a promised sixth volume did not appear). Originally planned as a "History of schools and other educational and scholarly institutions of Istanbul", it was developed later into a history of education in Turkey. This pioneer work, which is a mine of information, remains, in spite of some technical shortcomings, the only comprehensive work of reference on the subject. The history and development of all types of schools in Turkey are elaborately discussed: *medreses*, the palace school, military schools, old and new style technical and professional schools, semi-educational institutions and their auxiliaries in the Ottoman Empire, European types of schools of all grades, private, foreign and minority schools, universities and various institutions of higher education, etc., are amply treated. Special emphasis is given to the detailed and comparative analysis of the evolution of syllabuses in the many types of school. Many of the controversial educational problems arising from social change in Turkey are discussed at length and the book abounds in anecdotes and personal notes which make it extremely interesting reading.

3) *Istanbul şehri rehberi*, Istanbul 1934, is the outcome of his long research preparatory to the first modern census of the city of Istanbul in 1927 (as part of the first general census in Turkey). This is the best detailed topographical study of Istanbul with street names and thirty-eight maps.

4) *Türkiye'de şehirciliğin tarihî inkişafı*, Istanbul 1936, a survey of most of the problems discussed in the *Med͟jelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*.

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ERGIRI (Argiri, Ergeri), Ottoman name of Argyrokastro, Alb. Gjinokastër, principal town of Albanian Epirus (40° 13′ N., 20° 13′ E.) near the foot of the eastern slopes of the Mali Gjerë; overlooking the wide and fertile valley of the Drin, a tributary of the Voyutsa (Vijosë), it controls the route from Valona into Northern Greece. The town, near the site of the ancient Hadrianopolis, probably takes its name from that of an Illyrian tribe. The district came under Ottoman control in the reign of Bāyezīd I. In the *defter* of 835/1431 'Argiri-ḳaṣrī' (its district being called *wilāyet-i Zenebis͟h*, *i.e.*, of the Zenebissi family) appears as the chef-lieu of the sand͟jaḳ of 'Arvānya'; later (certainly by 912/1506) it formed part of the sand͟jaḳ of Avlonya; in the last years of the Empire it was again a sand͟jak, belonging to the *wilāyet* of Yanya. Ewliyā (1670) describes a thriving, solidly-built town, with a predominantly Muslim population. Gjinokastër, now extending into the valley (present pop. ca. 12,000), is dominated by the mediaeval (Venetian?) castle, reconstructed by ʿAlī Pas͟ha of Tepedelen [*q.v.*]; many of its old houses

survive, built in the characteristic fortress-like style which impressed Ewliyā.

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(V. L. Ménage)

ERITREA, a territory with a sizeable Muslim population in North-East Africa, bordering on the Red Sea, since 1952 federated with Ethiopia, since 1962 fully integrated in the Ethiopian Empire.

(*i*) Geographically, historically, and ethnically Eritrea has generally formed part of a larger unit which will be treated under AL-ḤABASH. In the following, special emphasis will be placed on such features and Islamic manifestations as are peculiar to Eritrea in the narrow sense. 'Eritrea' (from *Mare Erythraeum*) was so named by the Italians in 1890 to describe their growing possessions (initiated in 1869 by the purchase of the port of Assab [*q.v.*]) on the Red Sea coast, the *Baḥrmeder* ('sea country') or *Mareb Mellash* ('beyond the river Mareb') of the Abyssinians.

In the north and west Eritrea's triangular shape (enclosing nearly 50,000 square miles of extremely variegated country) borders upon the Sudan, in the east on the Red Sea, in the south-east corner upon French Somaliland whence the old frontier with Ethiopia proceeds in a north-westerly direction along the Danḳali [*q.v.*] depression and then following the Mareb-Belesa line. The physical configuration of the country is marked by the vast central mountain massif (6500-8000 feet above sea-level) extending southwards into Ethiopia and surrounded by the torrid plains in the east, west, and north.

(ii) Population: With the exception of the Djabart [*q.v.*], the vast majority of Muslim Eritreans live in those hot regions of the east, west, and north. Their number reaches about half a million in a total population of approx. 1,100,000, among whom the monophysite Christian element wields most of the political power. While the Christians and Djabart, concentrated in the densely populated central highlands, speak Tigrinya (see below), the vast majority of the Muslims, sedentary or nomadic in the sparsely inhabited lowlands, use Tigre (see below) and, to a very limited extent, Arabic. They are the descendants of Bedja [*q.v.*] or other Cushitic tribes and early South-Arabian immigrants. The Banū ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] or Beni Amer are the largest tribal federation, numbering about 60,000 (with an additional 30,000 in the Sudan) and occupying a considerable portion of Western Eritrea. They owe allegiance to a paramount chief, the Diglāl [*q.v.*], and acknowledge the religious leadership of the Mirghani family. In the northern hills the Habab, Ad Tekles, and Ad Temariam form the tribal federation of Bet Asgede. The Ad Shaykh have their encampments between the Habab and the Ad Tekles; they claim descent from a Meccan family, but most of these tribal memories are incapable of proof. The Bilen (or Bogos) in the Keren area consist of two large tribes (Bet Tarke and Bet Takwe). The Saho live along the eastern escarpment and the foothills leading to the tribal confederacy of the Danāḳil who inhabit the vast arid depression behind the Red Sea coast, one of the hottest and most barren regions in the world. The population of the port of Massawa (and to a much lesser extent of Arkiko and Assab) is cosmopolitan and includes tribesmen from the hills, Danāḳil, Sudanese, Arabs, Indians and groups of Turkish descent. The unifying factor is Islam. The people of the barren Dahlak [*q.v.*] islands off the Massawa coast were among the first in East Africa to be converted to Islam, and many tombstones in Kūfic characters bear witness to this early Muslim connexion.

(iii) Eritrea's history is so entwined with that of Ethiopia and South Arabia, on the one hand, and the Sudan, on the other, that it is difficult to disentangle the few independent facets of its past. South Arabian immigrants settled along that part of the western Red Sea coast which is now Eritrea. From here they subsequently penetrated into the interior and established the Aksumite Kingdom which has left so many traces within the soil of Eritrea. Later, Eritrea became the base from which the Aksumite hegemony over a large strip of the coast of south-west Arabia was launched. Here also was the avenue through which contacts, hostile as well as cultural, with Meroe and its civilization flowed. As Ethiopia's traditional maritime province and only outlet to the sea, Eritrea became the spring-board of both Muslim assault, leading to centuries of struggle, and Portuguese rescue from that domination. In the 10th/16th century Massawa and Arkiko were the base from which the Turks attempted their invasion of the Christian plateau (an event perpetuated in the title of the *nāʾib* of Arkiko, the representative of the Ottoman power), and in the nineteenth the Egyptians repeatedly fought to gain a permanent foothold in Eritrea until they were decisively defeated by the Emperor John near Gura (1876). Sir Robert Napier launched his successful campaign against Theodore (1867-8) from the Bay of Zula, and the Italians carved out their Eritrean colony from those parts of the maritime province for which the Shoan Emperor Menelik II (in contrast to his Tigrean predecessor John) was either unable or unwilling to fight. Twice within 40 years the Italians despatched their armies from Eritrea into Ethiopia until they were finally dislodged during the Second World War. From 1941 to 1952 a British Military Administration had charge of Eritrea, a period during which both Muslim and Christian political ambitions first asserted themselves. A plan to do away with Eritrea as an artificial political entity (by incorporating the Muslim West with the Sudan and the Christian centre with Ethiopia) finally came to grief when the United Nations decided (1950) to constitute Eritrea as an autonomous federal unit under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian crown. This uneasy arrangement gradually led to Eritrea's full absorption, for no constitutional safeguards could make the territory economically or politically viable. The large Muslim minority enjoys reasonable religious and political expression in the Christian Empire.

(iv) Languages: Tigrinya and Tigre are both successor languages of Semitic Ethiopic (Geʿez); the former is spoken by the Djabart of the highlands, while the latter is the principal tongue of the Muslims in the western and eastern lowlands and the northern hills. In the Kassala province of the Sudan Tigre is called *al-Khaṣṣiya*. Dialectal distinctions within Tigre have not yet been fully worked out. Tigre cannot boast any written literature and it is

losing some ground in favour of Arabic, which among Muslims and traders enjoys a cachet which Tigre does not possess. The decision of the Eritrean government, in 1952, declaring Tigrinya and Arabic the official languages of Eritrea (although most Tigre-speakers know little or no Arabic) was a political and prestige resolution—not a linguistic judgement. The two main non-Semitic languages spoken by the Muslims of Eritrea are Bedawiye and Bilin.

(v) Religion: Islam has been a force in Eritrea-Abyssinia ever since Muḥammad sent some of his earliest followers to seek refuge with the Negus. Throughout the Middle Ages Muslim pressure from the Red Sea compelled Abyssinians to fight for their own form of Christianity. But in Eritrea as well as Ethiopia, though nearly half the population are Muslims, Islam has not succeeded in piercing the defensive armour of monophysitism and in transforming its essential fabric. On the contrary, the D̲j̲abart have been so completely assimilated to the cultural, linguistic, and national pattern of traditional Abyssinia that their religion seems strangely disembodied. Islam is, however, still making progress among the Cushitic and Nilotic peoples in the lowland areas, but none among the highland population. The universal call of Islam has a special attraction in all those regions where the particularistic and national message of monophysite Christianity has no genuine application.

The Ḳādiriyya became firmly entrenched in the coastal areas of Eritrea, especially at Massawa and its hinterland. But the most influential order in Eritrea is undoubtedly the Mīrg̲h̲aniyya or K̲h̲atmiyya, based on Kassala, which is predominant in the western regions, especially among the Beni Amer, Habab, and other Muslim tribes. According to the last Italian census (1931) the relative strength of the *mad̲h̲āhib* in Eritrea is as follows: Mālikites: 65%; Ḥanafites: 26%; S̲h̲āfiʿites: 9%. While the *s̲h̲arīʿa* is generally subordinate to customary law among many of the tribes, it still prevails in urban areas. The secular government, both European and Ethiopian, has encouraged the development of Muslim civil law and the establishment of *Ḳāḍī*'s courts.

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ERIWAN [see rewān].

ERMENAK or **ERMENEK**, the ancient Germanikopolis in Isauria (see Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 1258), a small town in southern Anatolia, 36° 35′ N., 32° 50′ E., in the western Taurus mountains, at an altitude of ca. 1200 m. (3937 ft.), above the confluence of two of the source-rivers of the Göksu, the Kalykadnos of antiquity. It is the capital of a *kaza* in the *vilâyet* of Konya, formerly in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Ičel in the *wilāyet* of Adana. In 1960, it had 7,536 inhabitants and the district 36,380. Mediaeval Oriental writers put Ermenāk two days' journey south of Lārende (the modern Karaman), and three days' journey east of ʿAlāʾiyya (the modern Alanya). Its grotto with a spring was particularly famous.

Ermenāk originally belonged to the kingdom of Lesser Armenia. It was conquered by the Rūm-Sald̲j̲ūḳ Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Keyḳubād I in 625/1228. Later it became the seat of the Turcoman dynasty of Ḳaramān. After the collapse of the Rūm-Sald̲j̲ūḳ empire, the Ḳaramānids set out from there to take possession of the southern part, with Lārende (subsequently Ḳaramān) and Konya. Under Meḥemmed II, Ermenāk and the principality of Ḳaramān came under Ottoman rule.

There are some remarkable buildings in Ermenāk, dating from Ḳaramānid times. Of these, the most important is the Ulu D̲j̲āmiʿ, which was built by Maḥmūd Beg b. Ḳaramān in 702/1302-3 (cf. *RCEA*, xiii, Cairo 1944, 239, no. 5154). It is a simple building with three parallel naves, thus built on the plan of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus.

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ERSOY [see mehmet akif ersoy].

ERTOG̲H̲RUL (T. *er* 'male', *tog̲h̲rïl* 'kite').—1. According to tradition, the name of the father of ʿOt̲h̲mān I [*q.v.*], the founder of the Ottoman dynasty; but it appears in no source, Byzantine or Islamic, before the end of the 14th century, when it is mentioned in a letter (authentic?) of Bāyazīd I to Timur (Ferīdūn, *Muns̲h̲aʾāt*², i, 127) and in the *D̲h̲āt al-s̲h̲ifāʾ* (sub anno 699) of al-D̲j̲azarī [*q.v.*]. The traditions presented in the 9th/15th century Ottoman works, largely legendary in tone, fall into two main groups: (a) Ertog̲h̲rul, together with Gündüz Alp and Gök Alp, accompanied Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn of Konya to Sulṭān Öyüğü (near Eskis̲h̲ehir), performed great feats of arms thereabouts and, after ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn had returned to deal with a Tatar attack, conquered the district around Söğüd [*q.v.*] (Aḥmedī, *Iskender-nāme*, ed. N. S. Banarlı, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vi (1936-9), 113 f. and cf. 75-7): echoes of this tradition are given by Yazïd̲j̲ï-og̲h̲lu ʿAlī (M. T. Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii, 217-8), with the addition of the claim that Ertog̲h̲rul and his associates belonged to the clan of the Ḳayï [*q.v.*]. The related fuller version in S̲h̲ükrüllāh's *Bahd̲j̲at al-tawārīk̲h̲* (ed. Th. Seif, in *MOG*, ii (1923-6), 76-8) adds that Ertog̲h̲rul had come into Rūm from the east with 340 followers after the Mongol invasions and settled first at Ḳarad̲j̲a-dag̲h̲ (south of Ankara), that he captured Ḳarad̲j̲a-ḥiṣār (10 km. south-west of Eskis̲h̲ehir), and died at the age of 93; Ḳaramānī Meḥemmed Pas̲h̲a gives a similar account (tr. M. K̲h̲alīl [Yınanç], *TOEM*, no. 79, 87 f.). In one version of this tradition Gündüz is said to be not the asso-

ciate but the father of Ertoghrul (Ḳ. Meḥemmed Pasha, and cf. Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 21-2, and Enwerī, ed. M. Khalīl, 81). (b) Ertoghrul, Sonkurtegin and Gün-doghdī, the three sons of Süleymānshāh, came to Pasin-ovasī (east of Erzurum) after their father was drowned in the Euphrates near Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar; his brothers returned to the east, but Ertoghrul, remaining with 400 households, was granted by Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn the region around Söğüd as winter pastures and the hills of Domanič and Ermeni-beli (to the west) as summer pastures. He died in 687/1288, after ruling his folk for 52 years (Anonymous chronicles, ed. Giese, 5 f. [recension of MS W_3 etc.] = Leunclavius, *Annales*; cf. Urudj, ed. Babinger, 6-7, ʿĀshīḳpashazāde, ed. Giese, § 2). Neshrī succeeds in harmonizing these traditions, adding, on the authority of Mewlānā Ayās (for whom see Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, tr. Medjdī, 189 f.), the story that Ertoghrul and his followers had rescued ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in a skirmish with a Mongol force. A *türbe* just outside Söğüd on the Biledjik road (much restored, no early inscription) is revered as that of Ertoghrul (R. Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, Leipzig 1928, 50, and Tafel 14).

In the later years of the Ottoman Empire, Ertoghrul was the name given to a sandjaḳ of the *wilāyet* of Bursa (V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 160 ff.).

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2. The eldest son of Bāyazīd I, born, according to Ismāʿīl Belīgh (*Güldeste*, 40), in 778/1376-7. Appointed governor of a district of Western Anatolia (Sarukhan and Karasī, according to ʿĀshīḳpashazāde, § 59, and hence Neshrī; Aydīn, according to Idrīs, and hence Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 128) after his father's campaign of 792/1389-90, he was killed in 794/1392 in the battle of Kīrk-Dilim near Čorum (for which see ʿAzīz b. Ardashīr, *Bezm ü rezm*, Istanbul 1928, 403-5) and buried by the mosque which he had founded at Bursa (Kâzım Baykal, *Bursa ve anıtları*, Bursa 1950, 107). (V. L. Ménage)

ERTOGHRUL, ii [see BILEDJIK].

ERZEN [see ARZAN].

ERZERUM [see ERZURUM].

ERZINDJAN, modern spelling Erzincan, older forms Arzingan, Arzandjān, a town in eastern Anatolia, 39° 45′ N., 39° 30′ E., on the northern bank of the Karasu (the northern tributary of the Euphrates). It is situated in a fertile plain which is surrounded by high mountain ranges (the Keşiş Dağı, 3,537 m. (11,604 ft.), in the north-east, the Sipikör Dağı, 3,010 m. (9,875 ft.), in the north, and the Mercan Dağı, 3,449 m. (11,315 ft.), which is part of the Monzur range, in the south). It has an altitude of 1200 m. (3,937 ft.), and was once the capital of a *sandjaḳ* in the *wilāyet* of Erzurum. Today it is the capital of the *vilâyet* itself, with the *kaza*s Erzincan, Ilice, Kemah, Kemaliye (Eğin), Refahiye, and Tercan. In 1960, the town had 36,465 inhabitants, the district had 51,721, and the *vilâyet* 243,837. According to Cuinet, Erzincan had 23,000 inhabitants towards the end of the last century. Of these, 15,000 were Muslims. Erzincan has always been an important meeting point for the caravan routes between Sivas and Erzurum. Since 1938, it has been the main station on the railway line between these two towns; it is 337 km. (248 m.) from Sivas, and 245 km. (133 m.) from Erzurum.

According to Armenian sources, Erzincan dates back to before the Christian era, though detailed information does not appear before Saldjūḳ times. The town was in the region over which Muslims and Byzantines fought, and had changed hands several times prior to the battle of Malazkirt (1071). After this, it came under the rule of the Saldjūḳ amīr Mengüdjek, and remained in the hands of his successors until 625/1228, when the Rūm-Saldjūḳ Sulṭan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Keyḳubād I forced the last of the Mengüdjekids ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Dāwūdshāh, to hand it over. Keyḳubād rebuilt the town and its walls (Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 95, top). On 28 Ramaḍān 627/10 August 1230 the Khʷārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn suffered a defeat at the hands of the Rūm-Saldjūḳ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Keyḳubād I, an ally of the Ayyūbid al-Ashraf, near Yası-Čimen in the vicinity of Erzincan (*Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, transl. H. W. Duda, Copenhagen 1959, 166 ff., in particular 171). In 640/1243, Erzincan was taken by the Mongols, who broke into Anatolia from the direction of Erzurum. Thenceforth it belonged to that part of Anatolia which was administered by the Ilkhānid governors. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 293 f.; Eng. tr. H.A.R. Gibb, ii, 436 f.), the town was largely populated by Armenians in his day, though there were also some Turkish-speaking Muslims. He also mentions the industriousness of the inhabitants of the town (engaged in textiles and copperwork). There was also a branch of the Akhī [*q.v.*] order.

After the collapse of the Mongol Empire of the Ilkhans, Erzincan first belonged to the *amīr* Eretnā [*q.v.*], then to the ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn; subsequently, Bāyazīd I incorporated it into the Ottoman Empire for a short time. After his defeat by Tīmūr near Ankara in 804/1402, the town passed to the Ḳaraḳoyunlu and the Aḳ-ḳoyunlu. There are two funerary monuments in the shape of rams (as they are frequently found in cemeteries of eastern Anatolia) which bear witness to their rule. These have been erected in an attractive way near the main road (concerning this, cf. Strzygowski's work on Armenia, and also Hamit Koşay, *Les statues de béliers et de moutons dans les cimetières historiques de l'Anatolie orientale*, Ier Congrès international des arts turcs, Ankara 1959, 58-60). After the victory of Meḥemmed II over Uzun Ḥasan near Tercan (Otluk Beli), the town belonged to local rulers for a time. During Selīm I's campaign against Shāh Ismāʿīl in 920/1514, Erzincan and its district were finally incorporated in the Ottoman Empire as a *liwāʾ* (*sandjaḳ*) of the *eyālet* (later *wilāyet*) of Erzurum. In the 17th century, Erzincan played a part in the Djalālī [*q.v.* in Supplement] rising. During the 19th century it was the seat of a lodge of the reformed Naḳshbandī order, headed by Fehmī Efendi [*q.v.*]. In the First World War, Erzincan was occupied by Russian forces on 24 July 1916, but evacuated again after 18 months, on 26 February 1918.

Erzincan has frequently suffered destruction by earthquakes; the last of these was in 1939. Consequently, nothing remains of its historical buildings. The Ulu Djāmiʿ, which dated from Saldjūḳ times, and the Ḳurshunlu Djāmiʿ and the Tash Khān, which dated from the time of Sultan Süleymān, used to be noteworthy. Thanks to the fertility of the surrounding country, the town has always been able to recover. Today its main exports are horticultural. From a military point of view, it is

a main centre of the defence of Turkey's eastern frontier.

Bibliography: in addition to references in the text: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 205; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 392 f.; Dimashḳī, 228; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 379 (*Travels*, ii, 202); Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 423 f.; Le Strange, 118; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 770-4; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 210 f.; Samy Bey Fraschery, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, ii, 827; Ali Kemâlî, *Erzincan*, Istanbul 1932; *IA*, s.v. (Besim Darkot).

(R. Hartmann-[Fr. Taeschner])

ERZURUM, one of the principal cities in eastern Turkey, today the chief town of the province of Erzurum with a population of 91,196 (1960 census).

Situated between the Karasu and Aras valleys which formed the main thoroughfare between Turkey and Īrān for caravans and armies, Erzurum has been an important commercial and military centre in the area since antiquity. It was the ancient Ḳarin, also called Ḳarnoi Ḳal(gh)aḳ in Armenian, from which Ḳālīḳalā or Ḳālī in the Arabic sources (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 343; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Akhbār al-buldān*, Leiden 1885, 295) must have been derived. Under the Romans it was fortified and called Theodosiopolis in 415 A.D. The name of Erzurum comes from *Arzan al-Rūm*, *Arzan-i Rūm* or *Arz-i Rūm* (see the Saldjūḳid coins in I. Ghālib, *Taḳwīm-i meskūkāt-i Seldjūḳiyye*, Istanbul 1309H., nos. 10, 147, 152). Arzan (Erzen) was a nearby commercial centre, the population of which took refuge in Ḳālīḳalā upon its destruction by the Saldjūḳids in 440/1048 or 441/1049 (see arzan).

First taken by the Arabs under Caliph ʿUthmān after 33/653, its possession fluctuated between Byzantines and Arabs (Byzantine in 66/686, Arab in 81/700, Byzantine again in 137/754 for a short time and then Arab again until 338/949 when the Byzantines took it, to hold it until the Saldjūḳid conquest). The native Armenian princes in the area played an important part in all these changes. With its strong walls, Ḳālī made a base for the Arabs from which to control the area and organize *ghazā* raids into Byzantine Anatolia. In 153-5/770-2 the local Armenian dynasts organized a large-scale insurrection against the Arabs and came to lay siege to Ḳālī (Ghévond, *Hist. des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie*, trans. Chahnazaryan, Paris 1856, 136-43; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 447).

Under the Byzantines the chief city of the 'theme' of Theodosiopolis, it withstood the Saldjūḳid onslaught until 473/1080 when Amīr Aḥmad took it, and it was then made the capital of the Turkish principality of the Saltuḳids (see saltuḳ-oghlu). In 597/1201 it came under the Saldjūḳids of Anatolia and was made the seat of a *malik*, prince, possessing the province as his appanage. The city under its new name of Arzan-i Rūm became one of the most prosperous commercial centres in Anatolia (cf. Yaḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, s.v. Arzan) and its important monuments belong to this period: the Ulu-djāmiʿ built in 575/1179, the Medrese of Khūndī Khātūn (Čifte-mināre) built in 651/1253, and the mausoleums of the Saltuḳids.

In 639/1242 the Mongols under Baydju took it. Remaining a part of Seldjūḳid territory under Mongol suzerainty, the province of Arzan-i Rūm paid a large annual tribute to the Mongol treasury, 222,000 dīnār in 736/1335 (Z. V. Togan, *Mogollar devrinde Anadolu'nun iktisadî vaziyeti*, in *THITM*, i (1931), 22). After the dissolution of the Ilkhānid empire in Īrān, Erzurum was occupied by the rival Mongol amīrs successively, the Čobanid Shaykh Ḥasan in 741/1340, Muḥammad b. Eretna about 761/1360. Then the city became part of the rising Türkmen states in eastern Anatolia, first of the Ḳara-ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] from 787/1385, and then of the Aḳ-ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] from 869/1465. Taken by Shāh Ismāʿīl from the latter in 908/1502, it was conquered by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I following his victory at Čāldīrān in 920/1514. It was made in 941/1534 the chief city of a new *Beglerbegilik* comprising the sandjaḳs of Erzurum, Shebīn Ḳara-ḥiṣār, Kīghi, Khīnīs, Yukarī-Pasin, Malazgird, Tekman, Kīzučan, Ispir, Tortum, Nāmervān and Medjinkerd.

The tax regulations of the time of Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*], preserved after the Ottoman conquest, were later in 926/1520 and in 947/1540 modified and replaced by the typical Ottoman *ḳānūn* (cf. Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 63; W. Hinz, *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, c (1950), 177-201).

Under the Ottomans the city benefited from the active caravan trade between Īrān and Bursa (for a description of it in 1050/1640 see Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, Istanbul 1314/1896, 203-19). Erzurum became also the chief Ottoman military base during the wars against Īrān and Georgia in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. In 1031/1622, upon the murder of ʿOthmān II, Abaza Meḥmed Pasha, *beglerbegi* of Erzurum, supported by the population and the Djalālī [*q.v.* in Supplement] groups, rose up against the central government then under Janissary control. Entrenched in Erzurum, Meḥmed defied imperial armies sent against him until Muḥarram 1038/September 1628.

During the Ottoman-Russian wars the Russians occupied Erzurum temporarily in September 1829, in 1878 and in February 1916. On 23 July 1919 the first national congress under Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) was held in Erzurum. Today it is the most important city in eastern Turkey with the headquarters of the Third Army and the Atatürk University which was opened on 17 November 1958. The city was linked with the country's railway system in 1939.

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ESʿAD EFENDI, AḤMED (1153/1740-1230/1814), Ottoman *Shaykh al-Islām*, son of the *Shaykh al-Islām* Meḥemmed Ṣāliḥ Efendi [*q.v.*]. After being *ḳāḍī* successively of Izmir (from 1184/1770), Bursa (from 1192/1778) and Istanbul (1201/1787), he held office for a short time (1204/1790-1206/1791) as *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Anadolu. One of the prominent personalities consulted by Selīm III (*q.v.*) on the reforms necessary in state affairs, he made proposals particularly for the

improvement of military efficiency. As a known advocate of reform, he twice held office as *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rūmeli (from Radjab 1208/February 1794 and Radjab 1213/December 1798), and on 29 Muḥarram 1218/21 May 1803 was made *Shaykh al-Islām*. When in 1221/1806 the attempt was made to apply the *Niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*] in Rūmeli, Esʿad Efendi issued a *fatwā* condemning those who resisted it, but upon the Sultan's abandoning the attempt to enforce reform he was relieved of office at his own request (1 Radjab 1221/14 September 1806). The influence of the *Shaykh al-Islām* ʿAṭāʾullāh Efendi and the *ʿulemāʾ* saved his life during the rebellion of Kabakčî Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*]. When Muṣṭafā Pasha Bayraḳdār [*q.v.*] came to power, Esʿad Efendi was again appointed *Shaykh al-Islām* (22 Djumādā II 1223/15 August 1808) and took part in the discussions which bore fruit in the *Sened-i ittifāḳ* (see art. DUSTŪR, ii). When Muṣṭafā Pasha fell, Esʿad Efendi was again saved by the *ʿulemāʾ*; dismissed on 3 Shawwāl 1223/22 November 1808, he was sent for his own protection to his *arpalîḳ* at Maʿnīsā. He was later permitted to return to Istanbul and died, on 10 Muḥarram 1230/23 December 1814, in his *yalî* at Kanlîdja.

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(M. MÜNİR AKTEPE)

ESʿAD EFENDI, MEḤMED (978/1570-1034/1625), Ottoman *Shaykh al-Islām*, was the second son of the celebrated Saʿd al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Thanks to the influence of his father, he advanced rapidly in the theological career, to become in Muḥarram 1007/August 1598 *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul. During his elder brother Meḥemmed's first period in office as *Shaykh al-Islām* (1010/1601-1011/1603) he was for a time *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Anadolu; and after two short periods as *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rūmeli he was himself appointed *Shaykh al-Islām* on 5 Djumādā II 1024/2 July 1615 in succession to his brother. During his seven years in office he played a prominent part in the turbulent events of the time, but incurred the enmity of ʿOthmān II ([*q.v.*], ruled 1027/1618-1031/1622) for having procured the accession of Muṣṭafā I upon the death of Aḥmed I in 1026/1617. This enmity, increased by Esʿad Efendi's refusal to issue a *fatwā* sanctioning the execution of ʿOthmān's brother Meḥemmed, was not allayed by the Sultan's marrying Esʿad Efendi's daughter; ʿOthmān took the disposition of theological appointments from the *Shaykh al-Islām* and gave it to his *khodja* ʿÖmer Efendi. When in 1031/1622 ʿOthmān proposed to make the Pilgrimage, Esʿad Efendi declared that it was not obligatory on the Sultan to do so; and on the outbreak of the Janissary mutiny that culminated in the Sultan's murder issued a *fatwā* condemning the Palace-favourites against whom the mutineers had risen. He protested, however, against the recognition of Muṣṭafā I as sultan while ʿOthmān was still alive, and by abstaining from attending ʿOthmān's funeral was deemed to have resigned office. He was re-appointed *Shaykh al-Islām* in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1032/October 1623, but soon fell out with his supporter Kemānkesh ʿAlī Pasha, the Grand Vizier. He died in office, on 14 Shaʿbān 1034/22 May 1625, and was buried at Eyyūb beside his father.

Esʿad Efendi is the author of a translation of the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī, entitled *Gül-i khandān* (printed Istanbul, n.d.), a Persian *dīwān* (Bağdatlı Ismail Paşa, *Keşf-el-zunun zeyli*, Istanbul 1945, i, 489, and other works (for details see *IA*).

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(M. MÜNİR AKTEPE)

ESʿAD EFENDI, MEḤMED (1096/1685-1166/1753), Ottoman *Shaykh al-Islām*, son of the *Shaykh al-Islām* Abū Isḥāḳ Ismāʿīl Efendi and brother of the *Shaykh al-Islām* Isḥāḳ Efendi, after holding various posts as *müderris* was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Selānik and later (Muḥarram 1147/June 1734) of Mecca. As *ḳāḍī* of the army from 1150/1737 he distinguished himself in the operations against Austria and was one of the Ottoman negotiators of the Treaty of Belgrade. Appointed *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rūmeli for two short periods from Muḥarram 1157/March 1744 and Shawwāl 1159/October 1746, on 24 Radjab 1161/20 July 1748 he became *Shaykh al-Islām*, but was dismissed little more than a year later and banished, first to Sinop and then to Gelibolu. Pardoned in Rabīʿ II 1165/March 1752, he returned to Istanbul but died the next year (10 Shawwāl 1166/9 August 1753).

Esʿad Efendi's son Sherīf Efendi twice held office as *Shaykh al-Islām*, and the poetess Fiṭnat [*q.v.*) was his daughter. He himself was a minor poet and a distinguished musician. His best-known works are (1) *Lahdjat al-lughāt*, a dictionary of Turkish (printed Istanbul 1216), and (2) *Aṭrab al-āthār fī tadhkirat ʿurafāʾ al-adwār* (also called *Tedhkire-i khᵛānendegān*), containing the biographies of 100 musicians (poor edition in *Mekteb*, 3rd year, Istanbul 1311, nos. 1-7 and 10). For details of his other works (poems, *tafsīr*) see *IA*.

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(M. CAVİD BAYSUN)

ESʿAD EFENDI, MEḤMED (1119/1707-1192/1778), Ottoman *Shaykh al-Islām*, was the son of the *Shaykh al-Islām* Waṣṣāf ʿAbd Allāh Efendi (in office 1168/1755). After rising to be *ḳāḍī* of Galata (1163/1749-50), he was long out of office because of the influence of his father's opponents. He became *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Anadolu in 1182/1768 and of Rūmeli in 1186/1773. Appointed *Shaykh al-Islām* in Shawwāl 1190/December 1776, ill-health brought about his dismissal in Djumādā II 1192/July 1778, and he died a few days later.

Bibliography: Wāṣif, *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-akhbār*, Istanbul 1219, i, 199; Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, ii, 48, 100; Müstaḳīm-zāde, *Dawḥa-i mashāʾikh-i kibār* (MS); idem, *Tuḥfe-i khaṭṭāṭīn*, Istanbul 1928, 711; Aḥmed Rifʿat, *Dawḥat al-mashāʾikh*, Istanbul (lith., n.d.), 98, 106; *ʿIlmiyye sālnāmesi*, Istanbul 1334, 545-7; *IA*, s.v. (of which the above is an abridgement). (M. Münir Aktepe)

ESʿAD EFENDI, Ṣaḥḥāflar-sheykhi-zāde seyyid **MEḤMED** (1204/1789-1264/1848), Ottoman official historiographer (*waḳʿa-nüwis*) and scholar, was left in straitened circumstances by his father's accidental death (December 1804) while on his way to take up the duties of *ḳāḍī* of Medina. After holding various clerical posts, in Ṣafar 1241/October 1825 he succeeded Shānī-zāde ʿAtāʾullāh Efendi [*q.v.*] as *waḳʿa-nüwis*, a post he held until his death. His work *Üss-i ẓafer* attracted the favour of Maḥmūd II: he was *ḳāḍī* of the army in 1828, then *ḳāḍī* of Üsküdar, and was appointed editor of the official gazette *Taḳwīm al-waḳāʾiʿ* (see art. djarīda, col. 465b) when it first appeared in 1247/1831. In September 1834 he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, and in 1835-6 went as special envoy to Persia, to congratulate Muḥammad Shāh on his accession. A long illness interrupted his career, but after the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] he was for two years a member of the *Medjlis-i aḥkām-i ʿadliyye* (Council for Judicial Ordinances), on 6 August 1841 he was appointed *Naḳīb al-ashrāf*, and from 30 May 1843 to 13 October 1844 he was *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rūmeli. In 1845 he was a member of the commission set up to reform primary education, and in 1846 became a member of the Council for Education (*Medjlis-i maʿārif-i ʿumūmiyye*); appointed its president on 1st January 1848, he died almost immediately afterwards (3 Ṣafar 1264/10 January 1848) and was buried in the garden of the library he had founded in the Yerebatan quarter of Istanbul.

His collection of books, over 4000 in number (3719 of them manuscripts), he deposited in a library which he endowed in 1262/1846: now housed in the Süleymaniye Public Library, they remain one of the most important collections in Turkey. His principal works are: (1) his official history (unpublished) in two volumes, covering the events of the years 1237-41/1821-6: it begins as a continuation of the work of his predecessor as *waḳʿa-nüwis*, and his drafts for later years were used by his successor, Luṭfī Efendi [*q.v.*] (for the MSS see Babinger, 355; *Istanbul kütüpaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, i/2, Istanbul 1944, 174-6; *IA*, iv, 364b); (2) *Üss-i ẓafer* (chronogram for 1241), an account of the suppression of the Janissaries (the so-called *Waḳʿa-i khayriyye*, see art. yeni čeri) in 1241/1826; MS Esad Ef. 2071 is said to be the autograph; twice printed in Turkish (Istanbul 1243, 1293), it was translated into French (A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Précis historique de la destruction . . .*, Paris 1833), Greek, and in part into Russian; (3) *Teshrīfāt-i ḳadīme*, on the court-ceremonial and protocol of the Empire (edition: Istanbul [1287]); (4) *Zībā-i tawārīkh*, an uncompleted translation of the *Mirʾāt al-adwār*, in Persian, of Lārī [*q.v.*] (autograph draft: MS Esad Ef. 2410); (5) *Sefer-nāme-i khayr* (chronogram for 1247), an account of Maḥmūd II's tour of Eastern Thrace (autograph: Istanbul, Eski Eserler Müzesi library, MS Recaizade Ekrem 157); (6) *Āyāt al-khayr*, on Maḥmūd II's tour of the Danube province in 1253; (7) *Bahče-i ṣafā-endūz* (chronogram for 1351), a *tedhkire* of poets living between 1135/1723 and 1251/1836 (autograph draft: MS Esad Ef./Esad Arif Bey 4040); (8) *Munshaʾāt*: two autograph notebooks (MSS Esad Ef. 3847, 3851) contain letters etc. written on various occasions; (9) *Shāhid al-muʾarrikhīn* (chronogram for 1247), a *tedhkire* of writers of chronograms (autograph: Fatih-Millet library, MSS Ali Emiri, tarih, 362-3). Esʿad Efendi left also a large number of poems and various *risāle*s (for details see *IA*, and Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, iii, 24-6).

Bibliography: Shānī-zāde ʿAṭāʾullāh, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1292, iv; Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, i and xii; Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1290-1306, i-vii; *Taʾrīkh-i Luṭfī*, viii, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, Istanbul 1328, Rifʿat, *Dawḥat al-nuḳabāʾ*, Istanbul 1283, 57 ff.; Faṭīn, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1271, 13; Djemāl al-Dīn, *Āyīne-i ẓurefā*, Istanbul 1314, 79 ff.; Ibnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl, *Son ʿaṣīr türk shāʿirleri*, Istanbul 1314, ii, 321 ff.; Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1944, iii, 1335; *Taḳwīm-i waḳāʾiʿ*, years 1247-64; Babinger, 354-5; U. Heyd, *The Ottoman ʿulemā and westernization in the time of Selīm III and Maḥmūd II*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix, *Studies in Islamic history and civilization*, Jerusalem 1961, 63 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (of which the above is an abridgement). (M. Münir Aktepe)

ESĀME [see yeni čeri].

ESCHATOLOGY [see ḳiyāma].

ESHĀM [see ashām].

ESHKİNDJI, also *eshkündji*, means in Turkish 'one who rushes, goes on an expedition' (*eshkin* is defined by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī [*Dīwān lughāt al-Türk*, i, 100; = Besim Atalay's T. tr., i, 109] as 'long journey', and *eshkindji* as 'galloping courier'; cf. also *Tanıklariyle tarama sözlüğü*, ed. Türk Dil Kurumu, i-iv, s.v.; the verb *eshmek*, to go on an expedition, was later replaced in Ottoman Turkish by *mülāzemet*, Ar. *mulāzama*).

As a term in the Ottoman army *eshkindji* meant in general a soldier who joined the army on an expedition. Thus *eshkindji* timariots (see tīmār) who joined the army were distinguished from *ḳalʿa-eri* or *mustaḥfiẓ*, those who stayed in the fortresses as garrison (cf. *Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, ed. H. Inalcık, Ankara 1954, 108, 109).

As a special term *eshkindji* designated auxiliary soldiers whose expenses were provided by the people of *reʿāyā* [*q.v.*] status as against *djebelü* equipped by the *ʿaskarī* [*q.v.*]. The obligation was in return for the tax exemptions made on agricultural lands which were considered in principle as under state proprietorship (cf. H. Inalcık, *Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı imparatorluğuna*, in *Fuat Köprülü Armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 134, note 121). In the organizations of *yürük*, *djānbāz*, *yaya*, *müsellem*, *Tatar* and the like, each group of 10, 24, 25, or 30 persons was to furnish the expenses of an *eshkindji* each year. Three or five among them were appointed *eshkindji*s, and the rest *yamaḳ*s, assistants. Each year an *eshkindji* collected in turn, *be-newbet*, a certain sum called *khardjlıḳ* (usually 50 akče per person)from the *yamaḳ*s and joined the Sultan's army on an expedition (under Bāyezīd II *khardjlıḳ* was collected only when an expedition occurred). In return the *eshkindji*s and the *yamaḳ*s were exempted from taxes and dues on their *čiftlik*s [*q.v.*] entirely or partly (cf. *Ḳānūn-nāme Sultan Meḥmeds des Eroberers*, ed. Fr. Kraelitz, in *MOG*, i (1921-2), 25, 28; T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, Istanbul 1957, 244-6). The *voynuḳ*s and *Eflaḳ*s can be considered also as *eshkindji* organizations (cf. H. Inalcık, *ibid.* 241). Even the *doghandjı*s [*q.v.*] in some areas, who were organized in the same manner, were to furnish *eshkindji*s.

Another category of *eshkindjis* was provided by the possessors of *wakfs* and *mulks*. Increasingly in need of new troops, Meḥemmed the Conqueror ordered in Ramaḍān 881/December 1476 that the *wakfs* and *mulks* of certain types were to furnish *eshkindjis* for the army (cf. *Fatih devrinde Karaman Eyâleti vakıfları fihristi*, ed. F. N. Uzluk, Ankara 1958, facsimile 3). The measure was applied extensively in the empire, especially in central and northern Anatolia, and resulted in the widespread discontent in the last years of his reign (cf. *IA*, s.v. Mehmed II; Ö. L. Barkan, *Malikâne-Divanî sistemi*, in *THITM*, ii (1932-9), 119-84). It was assumed that such *wakfs* and *mulks*, mostly of pre-Ottoman times, were valid only by the approval of the Ottoman Sultan. In most cases he did not confirm them, on the grounds that they did not meet the conditions required; he then made most of them state-owned lands granted as *tīmār* [*q.v.*] or else required their possessors, in return for the taxes and dues, to equip *eshkindjis* for the army. Such *wakfs* and *mulks* were known as *eshkindjilü*. Under Bāyezīd II, who followed a more tolerant policy, *tīmārs* of this kind too were made *eshkindjilü mulk*. But later records in the defters [see DAFTAR-I KHĀKĀNĪ] show that these were again made *tīmārs*.

An *eshkindji* of the Yürük organization was equipped with a lance, bow and arrows, a sword and a shield, and every ten *eshkindjis* had one horse for joint use and a tent (cf. *Ḳānūnnāme Sultan Mehmeds des Eroberers*, 28).

Eshkindjis from the different groups made up a large part of the Ottoman army in the 9th/15th century, especially under Meḥemmed II. But from the mid 10th/16th century, when the Ottoman army had to consist mainly of infantry with fire-arms, the *eshkindjis* and the various organizations to which they belonged lost their importance and gradually disappeared. (HALİL İNALCIK)

ESHREFOGHLU RŪMĪ [see SUPPLEMENT].

ESKI BABA [see BABA ESKI].

ESKI SARĀY [see SARĀY].

ESKISHEHIR (modern spelling Eskişehir), a town in the western part of Central Anatolia, 39° 47′ N., 30° 33′ E., altitude 792 m. (= 2,597ft.) (railway station) to 810 m. (= 2,657 ft.), on the river Porsuk, a tributary of the Sakarya; it is the capital of a *vilâyet* of 389,129 inhabitants, the district has 56,077, and the town itself 153,190 (all figures for 1960). Eskişehir is famous for its hot springs, and for the meerschaum found nearby (see Reinhardt, in *Pet. Mitt.* 1911, ii, 251 ff.); it is also important as a junction of the Istanbul—Ankara and Istanbul—Konya railways.

Eskişehir has replaced the ancient Dorylaion (Darūliyya of the Arabs), which was situated near the modern Shar-Üyük, 3 km. to the north. In Byzantine times, the wide plain of Dorylaion was the place where the emperor's armies assembled for their eastern campaigns against the Arabs and the Saldjūk Turks cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 109). In the year 89/708, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd conquered Dorylaion (Ṭabarī, ii, 1197; cf. Theophanes, i, 376, ed. de Boer), and Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba advanced as far as this point in 162/778 (Ṭabarī, iii, 493; Theophanes, i, 452). Near Dorylaion, on 1 July 1097, the Crusaders won the battle enabling them to pass through the Rūm Saldjūk Empire (Konya), but the crusaders under Conrad III suffered such a defeat on 26 October 1147 that further passage through this territory was barred. In 1175 the emperor Manuel Comnenos fortified the town again, after it had been laid waste by the Saldjūkids, and he drove away the nomadic Yürüks (Kinnamos, 294, 297; Niketas, 236 ff., 246); but only one year later (after the unsuccessful war against Ḳılıdj Arslan II) he had to undertake to pull down the fortifications, and it was probably shortly after this that the town finally passed into Saldjūk possession.

In the 13th century, Ertoghrul settled in the area of Söğüt near Eskişehir, in the region of Sulṭān Üyügi (Sulṭān Önü) (Neshrī, ed. Unat and Köymen, i, 72). In the apocryphal document (*menshūr*) of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Farāmarz, of early Shawwāl 688/October 1289, in favour of his son ʿOthmān (Ferīdūn², i, 56), the region of Eskişehir was given to ʿOthmān as a *sandjak* (cf. Leunclavius, *Hist. Mus.*, 125, 126 f.). The fortress of Ḳaradja-Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*] south-west of Eskişehir is considered the first Ottoman conquest (cf. Neshrī, 64).

Later on, Eskişehir became the chef-lieu of the *sandjak* (*liwāʾ*) of Inönü in the *eyālet* of Anadolu, and a halt on the pilgrim route. In the 19th century, it became the capital of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sandjak* of Kütahya, *wilāyet* of Bursa, and according to Cuinet it had 19,023 inhabitants at the turn of this century. During the Greco-Turkish war of 1922, the town was almost completely destroyed, but it was rebuilt as an industrial centre after the war. It has the most important railway repair workshops in Turkey.

The Kurshunlu Djāmiʿ (921/1515) was erected by a certain Muṣṭafā Pasha, and is the most notable building of the town. Beside it there is an extensive *khān*, laid out in two parts (*khān* and *bedestan*). The ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque, which dates from Saldjūk times, has been completely renovated; but on the base of its minaret there is an inscription by Djadja Beg of the year 666(?)/1268 (*RCEA*, xii, Cairo 1943, 131, no. 4596) which refers to its erection. In 1927 there was still a small bridge, which apparently dated from Saldjūk times, over the Sarı Su, which flows into the Porsuk. This bridge could, however, no longer be found in 1955. It is probable that it was removed when the industrial buildings were extended.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1577 f. (concerning Dorylaion); Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 12; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 641 f.; Meḥemmed Edīb, *Menāsik al-ḥadjdj*, 28 f.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 408 ff.; Sāmī Bey Fraschery, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, ii, 938; *IA*, s.v. (Besim Darkot), where further bibliography can be found.

J. H. MORDTMANN-[FR. TAESCHNER])

ESNE [see ISNĀ].

ESOTERICS [see ẒĀHIR].

ESPIONAGE [see DJĀSŪS].

ESSENCE [see DHĀT and DJAWHAR].

ESZÉK (ESSEG), until 1919 a town in Hungary (Slavonia) on the right bank of the Drave, not far from its junction with the Danube, and since 1919 in Yugoslavia. The name of the town is in Serbo-Croat Osijek, in Hungarian Eszék and in German Esseg; in Turkish it was written as اوسك (Ösek).

During the first decisive phase of the Turkish-Hungarian wars the town is mentioned for the first time in connexion with events relating to Turkish history. After the Turks had overrun Sirmium (Hung. Szerémség), the then commander of the Hungarian army, Paul Tomori, wanted to bring the Turks to a halt on the Drave. The forces of Sultan Süleymān, however, gained possession of Eszék easily, built a bridge over the Drave, crossed the river and advanced on Mohács (932/1526).

The passage over the Drave near Eszék was, for

a century and a half, an important halting-place for Turkish armies on the march into Hungary.

In the course of his later campaigns (1529, 1532, 1541, 1543) Sultan Süleymān, time and again, caused a bridge of boats to be built nearby (cf. J. Thúry, *Török Történetirók* [Turkish historians], i, 329, 331, 351 and ii, 103, 107). He had a permanent bridge erected over the Drave only on the occasion of his last campaign against Sigeth (Szigetvár) in 974/1566.

As we know from later accounts in particular, the permanent bridge over the Drave itself rested on boats, while its prolongation on the left bank of the Drave spanned a marshland some 8000 paces broad and was laid on piles (Ewliyā Čelebi, vi, 187). On both sides of the bridge there were parapets (*ḳorḳuluḳ*); in the middle, 'lay-bys', *i.e.* towers (*ḳaṣr*), had been constructed, so that here the pedestrian might rest without impeding the flow of traffic. There was room for two waggons side by side on the main road of the bridge. A horseman needed one and a half hours to cross the bridge. In western sources, too, the bridge at Eszék is mentioned as a remarkable piece of construction work. H. Ottendorff (Vienna, Heeres-archiv, Kartenabteilung K. VII, K. I) offers a description similar to the one given above. A portion of his travel narrative *From Buda to Belgrade in the year 1663* has been published in Hungarian translation (*Budáról Belgrádba 1663*, Pécs 1943). There is available a comprehensive study of the bridge: P. Z. Szabó, *Az eszéki hid* [The bridge of Eszék], Majorossy Imre-Múzeum értesítője, Pécs 1941.

Bridgeheads were built on both banks of the river to protect the bridge, on the northern bank beyond the marshland near Dárda and on the southern bank not far from the Drave near Eszék. The defences at Dárda consisted only of palisades; the defences near Eszék were constructed of brick, but were, however, only weakly fortified. The Turks feared no attack on these defences, for they lay 200-300 km. inside the Ottoman frontiers. All the greater, therefore, was their surprise at the onslaught of Nicholas Zrínyi, the poet, who in the winter of 1664, avoiding the Turkish frontier fortresses, pushed forward as far as Eszék and on 1 February set the bridge in flames. It was, however, rebuilt by the Turks. The bridge at Eszék was once more burnt down in 1685 by General Lesley and in 1687 was seized definitively from the Turks by the Imperialists.

From the diffuse information of Ewliyā Čelebi (vi, 178 ff.) the following data can be gathered: Ösek, a voyvodalïḳ in the sandjaḳ of Požega, a *ḳaḍā* with a stipend of 150 akče. The defences consist of an inner and an outer fortress (*ič ḳalʿa* and *orta ḥiṣār*); outside the outer fortifications lies the town (*varosh*). Ewliyā Čelebi does not mention the fortress as being an especially strong one; on the other hand he writes appreciatively of the religious buildings (above all the *djāmiʿ*s of Ḳāsim Pasha and Muṣṭafā Pasha) and of the *tekke* and the other *khayrāt* (*medrese*, *sebīl*, and *ḥamām*). He draws particular attention to the much frequented trade fair (*panayir*) held once a year and to the covered market built by Ibrāhīm Pasha of Kanizsa. The speech of the inhabitants, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, was Hungarian, but according to Ottendorff it was Turkish. (L. Fekete)

ESZTERGOM (Gran), a fortress town in Hungary situated on the right bank of the Danube about 80 km. to the north-east of Budapest, in the Turkish period the name and chief town of a sandjaḳ.

The place-name Esztergom is said to be of Frankish origin (osterringun = eastern fortress). The site, named Gran in German, is called Strigonium in Latin, Ostrihom in Slovenian and Esztergom or Esztergon in Hungarian, while in Turkish such forms as استرغون , اوسترغون , اوسترغوم etc. are known.

Gran, in the time of the Arpad dynasty, was on a number of occasions the royal residence—here the founder of the Hungarian Kingdom, Stephen I (St. Stephen), was born—and it was at the same time the seat of the Archbishop of Hungary (the head of the ten bishoprics established by Stephen I) and from about 1200 A.D. his own exclusive possession.

After the conquest of Buda (948/1541) Gran entered the pages of Turkish history. In order to safeguard Buda, now a frontier fortress, Sultan Süleymān ordered his forces to conquer Gran, which fell into Turkish hands after a siege lasting barely two weeks (950/1543). Detailed Turkish sources on this siege are Djalālzāde Muṣṭafā (translated, from the Vienna Ms., by J. Thúry in *Török Történetirók* [Turkish Historians], Budapest 1896, ii, 244 ff.) and Sinān Čawush (*ibid.*, ii, 325 ff.).

A fruitless attempt was made in 1002/1594 to wrest Gran from the Turks (in this fighting there fell, on the Hungarian side, the distinguished Hungarian lyric poet B. Balassi). The assault on Gran in 1003/1595 was, however, successful; after the food and water of the defenders of the fortress had become exhausted, the Turkish garrison mutinied and the commander of the besieging troops, Nicholas Pálffy (called Miḳlōsh [Hung. Miklós] in Ewliyā Čelebi, vi, 258) was able to gain possession of the fortress by capitulation. The Turks tried on several occasions to win back the fortress; eventually the Grand Vizier Lālā Meḥemmed Pasha, who ten years before "had given over the fortress into the keeping of Miḳlōsh" (Ewliyā Čelebi, vi, 259), recovered it in 1605, likewise by capitulation. The history of these sieges is recorded, on the Turkish side, in Pečewī (ii, 175 ff. and 301 ff.), who was present on both occasions at the negotiations over the two-fold surrender of the fortress, and—leaving out of account some statements of little value—in Ewliyā Čelebi (vi, 257 ff.); and on the Hungarian side, in M. Istvánffy (*Historiarum de Rebus Ungaricis libri xxxiv*, Cologne 1622). More modern studies by J. Thúry and G. Gömöry are in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* [Communications on Military History], 1891 and 1892.

Thereafter the Turks remained until 1094/1683 undisturbed in their possession of the fortress. Gran, in the autumn of 1683, passed without serious fighting and by agreement into the hands of the Imperialists; Turkish attempts to reconquer it were unsuccessful. Gran, *i.e.* Esztergom, has in Turkish a proverbial fame (the newspaper *Yeni Sabah*, on 19 April 1956, carried on the front page a picture of a fortress with the superscription "Estergon kalesi" and near it, in a caption, the words referring to the still firmly established Menderes régime: Menderes Estergon kalesidir—"Menderes is [strong as] the fortress of Estergon"), but it is difficult to state on what events connected with Gran this fame is based.

The *muḳāṭaʿa* defters of Gran for some ten years between the dates 973/1565 and 991/1582 are extant (Vienna, Flügel Catalogue, no. 1359); in them are recorded the following topographical names relating to the town of Gran: Ḳalʿa-i Bālā, Ḳalʿa-i Zīr, Iskele-i Bālā, Iskele-i Zīr, Ïlīdja, Varosh-i Kebīr and Varosh-i Ṣaghīr (or Varosh-i Buzurg and Varosh-i Küček); these defters, moreover, record the personnel of three Muslim mosques in the upper fortress, in the main town and in the suburb Djiger-

delen as receiving salaries from the state. Ewliyā Čelebi (vi, 271-2), in connexion with his visit to Gran in 1074/1663, offers information about several Muslim places of worship and also tells us in some cases who founded them.

To the fortress of Gran belonged, on the left bank of the Danube, the bridge-head of Djigerdelen, Djigerdelen Parkani ("Liver-piercer", "Liver-piercing Fort"—whence the later Hungarian name of the place: Párkány), the point of departure for the subsequent geographical extension of this sandjak.

According to Ewliyā Čelebi (vi, 273) it was Lālā Meḥemmed Pasha who ordered the building of the outer defence work of Gran on the right bank of the Danube, *i.e.*, of the mountain fort of Szenttamás; he is also said to have given to it the name of Tepedelen, "Head-piercer" (a locality of this name existed in Albania: cf. Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pasha).

There is extant also a Turkish survey of the houses in Gran, dating from about 1570 (Vienna, Krafft Catalogue, ccxc). In this survey Muslims and, in lesser number, Orthodox (Pravoslav) are shown as house-holders; there are no Hungarians amongst them. It seems that Hungarians, at that time, cannot have been living in Gran.

The sandjak of Estergom was established after the conquest of the fortress in 950/1543. At first it consisted essentially of some 30 villages on the right bank of the Danube, but, growing outward from the bridge-head of Djigerdelen on the left bank of the river, it became extended later, thanks to the unwearying expansionist activities of the Sandjak Begs, far to the west and north, so that the chief town of the sandjak, Gran, came to be situated on the inner border of the actual administrative area (other examples exist in Hungary of such an expansion, as, for example, the sandjaks of Szolnok (Ṣolnoḳ), Istulni Belghrad and Szigetvár (Sigeth), in each of which the chief place, after which the sandjak was named, found itself eventually on the inner border of the actual area administered from it). The "financial frontier" and territorial administration thus brought into being did not receive recognition from the Austrians, now growing stronger, or from the Hungarian kingdom, with the result that numerous villages paid taxes to two masters—a situation which, from the end of the 16th century, gave occasion for countless disputes.

Several tax registers (*taḥrīr*) of the sandjak are preserved at Istanbul and one also, dating from 1570, at Berlin (Berlin, Prussian State Library, Pet. II, Nachtr. I). The tax register preserved at Berlin is available in Hungarian (L. Fekete, *Az Esztergomi szandzsák 1570. évi adóösszeirása* [The tax register of the sandjak of Gran for 1570], Budapest 1943). According to this register there belonged to the sandjak 12 "varosh", *i.e.*, towns, 365 villages (*ḳarye*) and 93 abandoned farms, *i.e.*, puszta (*mezraʿa*) with a total of 4206 households (*khāne*). A number of the villages paid taxes to two masters and so it came about that Nikolaus Oláh, the Archbishop of Gran, caused to be built, around 1580 and near the locality known as Nyárhid, with a view to the hindering of the further advance of the Turks, a fortress (Újvár, later Érsekújvár, Germ. Neuhäusel), the site of which lay more or less in the centre of the Turkish sandjak. After the capture of Neuhäusel by the Turks in 1074/1663 most of the villages of the sandjak of Gran were incorporated in the then established Beglerbeglik of Neuhäusel/Újvár. With the definitive reconquest of Gran by the Imperialists in 1093/1683 the sandjak of Gran fell into dissolution.

(L. Fekete)

ETAWAH [see ITĀWA].

ETERNITY [see ABAD].

ETERNITY OF THE WORLD [see ABAD, ḲIDAM].

ETHICS [see AKHLĀḲ].

ETHIOPIA [see AL-ḤABASH].

ET-MEYDANI [see ISTANBUL].

EUCLID [see UḲLĪDISH].

EULOGY [see MADĪḤ].

EUNUCH [see KHĀDIM, KHAṢĪ, ḲIZLAR AGHASI].

EUPHRATES [see AL-FURĀT].

EUTYCHIUS [see SAʿĪD B. BIṬRĪḲ].

EVE [see ḤAWWĀʾ].

EVIDENCE [see BAYYINA].

EVORA [see YĀBURA].

EWLIYĀ ČELEBI B. DERWĪSH MEḤMED ẒILLĪ, b. 10 Muḥarram 1020/25 March 1611 in the Unkapan quarter of Istanbul, seems to have died not before the last third of 1095/1684 (cf. *WZKM*, li (1948-52), 226, Anm. 137, and *TM*, xii (1955), 261). For a period of almost forty years (from 1050/1640, perhaps even earlier, to 1087/1676), after he had already started his wanderings in Istanbul in the year 1040/1630-1, he described a series of long journeys within the Ottoman Empire and in the neighbouring lands, undertaken (or allegedly undertaken) sometimes as a private individual, sometimes in an official capacity, either when taken along in the retinue of the Ottoman dignitaries or on his own responsibility, in his work of ten parts generally known as the *Seyāḥatnāme* ("Travels") or according to the Vienna Ms (Flügel, no. 1281) as the *Taʾrīkh-i Seyyāḥ* ("Traveller's chronicle"). For his life and experiences we are dependent solely on his own accounts in the *Seyāḥatnāme*, which are not always trustworthy (see below). His personal name is unknown; Ewliyā is his pen-name, which he adopted in veneration of his teacher the court-*imām* Ewliyā Meḥmed Efendi. His father was the chief jeweller to the court (*Sarāy-i ʿāmire bashḳuyumdjusu, sar-zargarān*), Derwīsh Meḥmed Ẓillī (cf. i, 218 [here and below the Istanbul edition is referred to; see below]), who died Djumādā II 1058/June-July 1648 (cf. ii, 458), according to Ewliyā's assertion aged 117 (lunar) years; he is said to have taken part in the (last) campaigns of the sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnī and to have served and undertaken works of craftsmanship for the later sultans also (cf. i, 218; iv, 102; vi, 267; x, 298). Ewliyā's father must have been a merry and also a poetically talented man, since on this account he was allowed to enjoy the favour of the court. The family tree which Ewliyā claims on his father's side is contradictory and improbable (cf. i, 424-5; iii, 444; vi, 226; x, 915). His paternal ancestors probably came from Kütahya; the family seems to have removed to Istanbul after the conquest of Constantinople in 857/1453, but to have retained the house in Kütahya and to have had also a house in Bursa, in the Ine Bey quarter, and at Manisa, an estate in Sandıklı, four shops in the Unkapan quarter of Istanbul as well as two houses there, and a vineyard in Kadıköy near Istanbul (cf. i, 471; vi, 146; ix, 81). This gives some idea of Ewliyā's economic circumstances, which—in addition to his shrewdness in making himself useful to the dignitaries—made it possible for him to follow his Wanderlust. Ewliyā's mother was from the Caucasus; she came to the *sarāy* in the time of Sultan Aḥmed I (1012-26/1603-17), and was there married to the court jeweller, Ewliyā's father. Ewliyā says that his

mother was related to Melek Aḥmed Pasha (cf. Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 509), who was indeed himself of Caucasian origin. Ewliyā's accounts of the degree of this relationship are, however, contradictory; either Ewliyā's and Melek Aḥmed Pasha's mothers were sisters, or Ewliyā's mother was the daughter of Melek Aḥmed Pasha's mother's sister. Ewliyā was also related on his mother's side, according to his story, to Defterdārzāde Meḥmed Pasha (cf. *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 168) and to Ibshīr Muṣṭafā Pasha (cf. ibid., i, 166; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1947 ff., iii/2, 408; cf. *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 370, 453; v, 168). Ewliyā declares that he had also one brother and one sister (cf. ix, 81).—After the end of his elementary schooling Ewliyā was for seven years a pupil at the *medrese* of the *Shaykh al-Islām* Ḥāmid Efendi in Istanbul, and attended a Ḳurʾān school for eleven years where he was trained as a Ḳurʾān reciter (cf. i, 360); he also learnt many manual skills from his father (cf. i, 243, 404; ii, 467; vi, 381). In the *laylat al-ḳadr* of the year 1045/1636 Ewliyā distinguished himself by an especially good recitation of the Ḳurʾān, and through this fortunate circumstance he was presented by the then *silāḥdār* Melek Aḥmed Agha to Sultan Murād IV, on whose command he was admitted to the palace, where he received a more extensive training in calligraphy, music, Arabic grammar, and *tadjwīd*. He was often summoned to the Sultan's presence on account of his lively disposition, his common-sense, and his skill as a narrator. Shortly before Murād IV's expedition to Baghdād (1048/1638) Ewliyā was appointed a *sipāhī* of the Porte (cf. i, 258).

In his ten-volume *Seyāḥatnāme* Ewliyā describes in vol. i: the capital city of Istanbul and its environs; in ii: Bursa, İzmid, Batum, Trabzon, Abkhāzia, Crete, Erzurum, Ādharbāydjān, Georgia, etc.; in iii: Damascus, Syria, Palestine, Urūmiyya, Sivas, Kurdistān, Armenia, Rumelia (Bulgaria, Dobrudja), etc.; in iv: Van, Tabriz, Baghdad, Baṣra, etc.; in v: Van, Baṣra, Oczakov, Hungary, Russia, Anatolia, Bursa, the Dardanelles, Adrianople, Moldavia, Transylvania, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Sofia; in vi: Transylvania, Albania, Hungary, Ujvár (Neuhäusel. Here is interpolated the expedition, which is unquestionably only fantasy on Ewliyā's part, of 10,000 Tatars through Austria, Germany and Holland, to the North Sea), Belgrade, Herzegovina, Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Montenegro, Kanizsa, Croatia; in vii: Hungary, Buda, Erlau (here is also described the journey to Vienna, which he undertook in the retinue of the embassy of Ḳara Meḥmed Pasha in 1075/1665, and his alleged residence in Vienna; here also a fictitious journey of Ewliyā's in the regions of the "country of the seven kings"—perhaps the seven electorates are meant here—which, however, is not described in greater detail: blank passage in text), Temesvár (Banat, Rum. Timişoara), Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, the Crimea, Ḳazaḳ, South Russia, the Caucasus, Dāghestān, Azaḳ; in viii: Azaḳ, Kafa, Bāghčesarāy (Crimea), Istanbul, Crete, Macedonia, Greece, Athens, the Dodecanese, Peloponnesus, Albania, Valona, Elbaşan, Ochrida, Adrianople, Istanbul; in ix: (Pilgrimage to Mecca) south-west Anatolia, Smyrna, Ephesus, Rhodes, south Anatolia, Syria, Aleppo, Damascus, Medina, Mecca, Suez; in x: Egypt (with historical excursus), Cairo, Upper Egypt, Sudan, Abyssinia.

Ewliyā seems to have stayed for eight or nine years in Egypt, where he perhaps also completed the last, tenth, part of the *Seyāḥatnāme*. The last date he mentions is 1 Djumādā I 1087/12 July 1676, although he knows of events which took place in 1093/1682 (cf. x, 1048) and later (cf. biographical details discussed above). He seems to have spent the last year of his life in Istanbul editing his book, which had probably been written down piecemeal at various times and required a final redaction which Ewliyā, as the mss show, never fully accomplished.

Ewliyā Čelebi is an imaginative writer with a marked penchant for the wonderful and the adventurous. He prefers legend to bare historical fact, indulges freely in exaggeration, and at times does not eschew bragging or anecdotes designed for comic effect. His *Seyāḥatnāme* thus appears in the first place as a work of 17th century light literature, which satisfied the need of the Turkish intellectuals of his time for entertainment and instruction, and which, thanks to the use at times of a traditional Turkish narrative technique and of the colloquial Turkish of the 17th century, with occasional borrowings of phrases and turns of expression from the ornate style, was intelligible to a wide circle; this obvious purpose of the work explains Ewliyā's lack of concern for historical truth. He also occasionally describes journeys which he himself manifestly cannot have undertaken. His literary ambition often drives him to record things and occurrences as though he had seen or experienced them himself, whereas a close examination reveals that he knows of them only from hearsay or that he is indebted to literary sources which he does not cite.

In spite of these reservations, the *Seyāḥatnāme* offers a wealth of information on cultural history, folklore and geography, which will be especially valuable once the philological groundwork is done and the necessary criticism of content applied. The charm of the work lies not least in the fact that it reflects the mental approach of the 17th century Ottoman Turkish intellectuals in their attitudes to the non-Muslim Occident, and throws some light on the administration and internal organization of the Ottoman empire of that time.

Cavid Baysun, to whom we owe the most comprehensive study to date of Ewliyā Čelebi's life and work (see below), has declared that one of the most pressing needs is the preparation of a new critical edition of the *Seyāḥatnāme*, and that only this would make possible the effective use of the information that it contains. Baysun's suggestions have been in part taken up in the admirable detailed researches of Meşkûre Eren (see below), limited to the first book of the *Seyāḥatnāme*. On the basis of her findings from the mss, Dr. Eren demonstrates Ewliyā's method of working, and points to the many blank and unfinished passages in the *Seyāḥatnāme*, which suggest that the author intended to expand the work further and to give it a final redaction which he did not however complete; she also proves that Ewliyā made abundant use of literary sources for his descriptions and even for the chronograms which he quotes. Dr. Eren classifies these literary sources (all with reference to book i of the *Seyāḥatnāme*) as: (1) those named and used by Ewliyā; (2) those which Ewliyā has used but not cited. In this group fall: ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār* (cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 126 ff.); Ibrāhīm Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh* (cf. Babinger, 192 ff.); Newʿīzāde ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī takmilat al-Shaḳāʾiḳ* (cf. Babinger, 171 ff.); Sāʿī, *Tadhkirat al-bunyān* (cf. Babinger, 137 ff.); ʿAwfī, *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, in the Turkish translation of Djelālzāde Ṣāliḥ (cf. Ms Istanbul

Topkapısaray, Revan Köşkü no. 1085, 693a); Başīrī, *Laṭāʾif* (quoted in the *Tedhkire* of Ḳinalīzāde Ḥasan Čelebi, Ms Istanbul, Üniversite Kütüphanesi, T.Y. 2525, 74a); and chronogram verses from various poets cited by Eren (100-14); (3) those which Ewliyā has cited, but not used.

Mss of the *Seyāḥatnāme*.

Istanbul: Pertev Paşa collection nos. 458-62; Topkapısaray, Bağdat Köşkü nos. 300-4; Beşir Ağa nos. 448-52 (copy of 1158 [= 1745]). These mss include all ten books of the work. Also Topkapısaray, Bağdat Köşkü nos. 304 (i, ii), 305 (iii, iv), 306 (ix), 307 (v), 308 (vii, viii); Topkapısaray, Revan Köşkü nos. 366/1457-369/1460 (vi, vii, viii, ix); Hamidiye no. 963 (x); Halis Efendi no. 2750 (i), ibid. 2750 mükerrer (iii, iv); Üniversite Kütüphanesi no. 2371 (i, copy of 1170 [= 1756-7]), 5939 (i, ii, copy of 1155 [= 1742-3]); Yıldız, Tarih Kısmı, no. 48 (x). Vienna: Nationalbibliothek H.O. 193 (iv), cf. G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna 1865-7, ii, 433, no. 1281; Cod. mixt 1382 (i). London: Royal Asiatic Society nos. 22-3 (i, ii, iii, iv). Manchester: Univ. Libr., Lindsay collection no. 142 (iii, iv). Basle: R. Tschudi collection (i, ii, iii). Munich: Bayr. Staatsbibliothek (?), Th. Menzel collection (i, ii, iii, iv, v).

Printed versions of the *Seyāḥatnāme*.

Poor edition of extracts from Bk. i, with foreword, under the title of *Müntekhabāt-i Ewliyā Čelebi*, Istanbul 1258 (150 pp.), 1262 (143 pp.); Būlāḳ 1264 (140 pp.); Istanbul, ca. 1890 (104 pp., quarto). Integral edition: i-vi, Istanbul 1314-8 (Iḳdām Press); i-vi under the editorship of Aḥmed Djewdet and Nedjīb ʿĀṣim, vi with Karácson also. The value of this edition is much diminished by misprints, omissions and censored passages. Books vii and viii appeared as a publication of the Türk Taʾrīkh Endjümeni, utilizing several mss, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bilge, Istanbul 1928 (Dewlet and Orkhāniyye Presses). Books ix, Istanbul 1935 (Devlet Matbaası), and x, Istanbul 1938 (Devlet Matbaası) were published by the Turkish Ministry of Education, but unfortunately are in the new official Turkish orthography and are hence of limited use. A critical scholarly edition of the complete *Seyāḥatnāme*, in the original Arabic script, of course, is an urgent necessity.

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EWRENOS, (GHĀZĪ EVRENOS) makes his appearance in history after the emirate of Ḳarasî had been occupied by the Ottomans (after 735/1334-5), and given by sultan Orkhān as *tīmār* to his eldest son Süleymān Pasha, into whose service came the begs of the *amīrs* of Ḳarasî, Ḥādjdjī İl-Begi, Edje Beg, Ghāzī Fāḍil and Evrenos. According to the genealogical tree of the family, confirmed by a deed of *waḳf* (published by Ö. L. Barkan, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, Ankara 1942, 342-3), the father of Evrenos is said to have been ʿĪsā Beg, later called *Prangi* because he died in the village of that name; his son had a mausoleum built there and established a *waḳf*. The name of Evrenos can be found listed among the reinforcements sent by Orkhān under the command of his son to Cantacuzenus, to support him in his struggle against John V Palaeologus. But it is particularly from the moment when Süleymān Pasha (d. 759/1359) crossed the Dardanelles that one can follow continuously the history of Ghāzī Evrenos in the accounts of the Ottoman historians. Installed in the fortress of Ḳoñur Ḥiṣārî, near Gallipoli, beside Ḥādjdjī İl-Begi, Evrenos took part with the latter in raids on the region of Dimetoka [*q.v.*] and distinguished himself personally by occupying Keshān and laying waste Ipsala. Henceforward his name was to be associated with the history of the conquest of Rūmeli, where he made himself famous by his raids. After Orkhān's death Evrenos took part, with Ḥādjdjī Il-Begi, in the capture of Edirne by Murād I (763/1362), who next sent him to occupy the towns of Ipsala and Gümüldjina (Komotini) in Thrace, and appointed him *udj-begi* of the conquered territories. He was present at the battle of Sîrp-Ṣîndîghî, and later, in 772/1371, at that of Tchernomen (Čirmen) or of the Maritza, which brought disaster to the Serbs and their allies and opened the gates of Macedonia to the Turks. As a result, Evrenos was sent to conquer Feredjik (Pherrai) in 1372, and then, while the Turks took Kavala, Drama, Zichna, Serres and Karaferya (Yenidje-i Vardar), he himself occupied the regions of Porî (Peritheorion), Iskedje (Xanthi), Maronea (ʿAwret Ḥiṣārî) from which he levied *kharādj* (1373). As a reward, the sultan gave him the region of Serres which he had subjected and of which he became *udj-begi* (in 784/1382 or 787/1385). He then took part in the occupation of Greater Macedonia, capturing Yenidje-i Vardar and Monastir and, under the command of the vizier Čandarlî Khayr al-Dīn Pasha, assisted in the campaign against king Balsha II of Albania, which came to an end with the death of that prince (1385). Evrenos next went on the Pilgrimage, and on his return was granted an important fief by the sultan; the *fermān* bestowed on him by Murād I on this occasion was for a long time erroneously considered to be apocryphal; it has been the subject of various publications (Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, ii, Berlin 1815, 101-32; cf. Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*², i, 87-8). During the last campaign of Murād I, Evrenos was the sultan's adviser. He distinguished himself by occupying Üsküb (Skoplje), and then, before the Kossovo campaign, by crushing the enemy in a pass, thereby allowing the Turkish army to cross the Morava. On his accession Bāyezīd I (1389-1402), by a *berāt* dated Muḥarram 793/December 1390, confirmed Evrenos in the possession of the fief previously granted him by his father. On behalf of the new sultan, Evrenos occupied Vodena and Kitros and led several incursions into Albania. In 1391 he took part in the Morea campaign. In 1396 he was present at the battle of Nicopolis (Niğbolu), where he was head of the *aḳîndjîs*. Afterwards, as a result of the victory of Nicopolis, he made further raids into Albania and took part in the invasions of Hungary and Wallachia, where Bāyezīd sent him to parley with the enemy; next, with Yaʿḳūb Beg, he made his way into the Morea and captured Corinth and the fortress of Argos (1397). He was present at the battle of Ankara and then, during the interregnum, went into the service of Süleymān Čelebi, assisting him in his campaign against the Ḳaramān-oghlu, whom he besieged in Aḳsaray. On Süleymān's death, fearing reprisals from Mūsā Čelebi, he retired to Yenidje-i Vardar and feigned blindness. In the fratricidal struggle between Mūsā and Meḥemmed, Evrenos and the begs of Rūmeli who were discontented with the former took sides with Meḥemmed and helped him to overcome his brother. Evrenos died in 820/1417 at a very great age at Yenidje-i Vardar, which had become his family's residence (Yenidje-i Vardar was called "*Evrenos Beg yöresi*": cf. Ewliyā Čelebī, ix, 47). In the time of Murād I, Evrenos had already become one of the greatest feudatories of the Ottoman empire. The extent of the lands belonging to him had become legendary (ʿĀlī, *Künh*, v, 75; Beauséjour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce*, i, 111 ff.). The Ottoman historians also refer to his great generosity; he devoted a large part of his wealth to charitable foundations. Together with the Mīkhāl-oghullarî, the Malḳodj-oghullarî and the Tūrākhān-oghullarî, [*qq.v.*], the descendants of Evrenos constitute the four ancient families of the Ottoman warrior nobility.

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EWRENOS OGHULLARÎ. Ghāzī Evrenos had seven sons, whose names are given by the chronicles and the *waḳf* deeds, and several daughters, one of

whom married the Grand Vizier Čandarlî Khalīl Pasha and became the mother of Bāyezīd II's Grand Vizier, Čandarlî Ibrāhīm Pasha. Two of his sons became famous in history, ʿAlī and ʿĪsā. ʿAlī was at first head of the *akîndjîs* under the command of his father, then *sandjak begi*. During the interregnum he adopted the cause of Mūsā Čelebī, and was sent by him to join his father who was living in retirement at Yenidje-i Vardar; but on the advice of Evrenos he went into the service of Meḥemmed Čelebī. When Meḥemmed died, the sons of Evrenos, like the other begs of Rūmeli, joined the cause of the pretender known as Muṣṭafā Düzme [*q.v.*]; but at Ulubād they forsook him and went over to Murād II. They were pardoned, and the sultan confirmed their possession of the fief granted to Evrenos by Murād I. In 833/1430, when Murād II was storming Salonika, ʿAlī Beg won distinction by inciting the assailants with promises of booty. In 838/1434-5 he headed a raid into Albania and returned laden with booty. In 1437 he was sent with the *akîndjîs* to make a reconnaissance raid in Hungary; he came back after a month, loaded with spoils, and advised the sultan to invade the country. In 845/1441 he laid siege to Belgrade, but the *akîndjîs* were defeated by the Hungarians and the Turks had to withdraw. During the revolt of the Albanians under the leadership of George Castriotes Iskender Beg (1443-68) [*q.v.*], he several times commanded the Turkish forces sent against the rebel. In 866/1462 he took part with his two sons Aḥmed and Evrenos in the campaign in Wallachia, in which he was leader of the *akîndjîs*. He died after this date; his tomb is at Yenidje-i Vardar.

His brother ʿĪsā Beg was, like him, leader of the *akîndjîs*. In 826/1423 he was sent on a reconnaissance raid into Albania by Murād II, who was just about to undertake his campaign in Albania and the Morea; he headed several other raids into Albania, one in 841/1438 and another in 846/1442. In 847/1443 he was at the battle of Jalovats which saw the defeat of the Turks by John Hunyadi. During the reign of Meḥemmed II, he took part in the Serbian campaign in 858/1454 and occupied the small fort of Tirebdje. In the following year he was sent into Albania and won a victory over Iskender Beg at Berat. In 867/1463 he was involved in the incidents in the Morea which led to the Turco-Venetian war. In 884/1479, together with ʿAlī and Iskender Mīkhāl-oghlu and Bali Malḳodj-oghlu, he led the raid into Transylvania which ended in the massacre of the Turks who, too avid for loot, allowed themselves to be taken unawares and were crushed by the voïvode Stephen Bathori. He died after this date; his tomb is at Yenidje-i Vardar, and also a mosque and an *ʿimāret* founded by him.

The two sons of ʿAlī Evrenos-oghlu, Shems al-Dīn Aḥmed and Evrenos, were present with their father on the campaign in Wallachia in 866/1462; Evrenos was sent on a raid to the frontier of Moldavia; the former, whose name occurs in numerous archive-documents, was in 870/1466 beg of the *sandjaḳ* of Trikkala, and then of Semendria; in 883/1478 he took part in the siege of Shkodra in Albania and was afterwards appointed head of the garrison left in the fort. A year before his death (903/1498), he established a *waḳf* of which his son Mūsā was put in trust; his other two sons, ʿĪsā and Süleymān, had died in 893/1488 at the battle of Agha-Čayîrî, against the Mamlūks.

Other descendants of Evrenos are recorded at the beginning of the 9th/16th century, notably Meḥemmed, son of ʿĪsā b. Evrenos, *sandjaḳ-begi* of Elbasan, who captured Durazzo in 907/1502; and Yūsuf, grandson of Khîḍr-Shāh b. Evrenos, who was present on Selīm I's Egyptian campaign. The Evrenos family, who won their fame by their raids in Rūmeli, lost their importance as military leaders after the middle of the 10th/16th century. This family, which played a great part in the rise of the Ottoman empire, remained, throughout the course of history, one of the most prominent by reason both of its territorial possessions and also of the statesmen to which it gave birth.

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(I. Mélikoff)

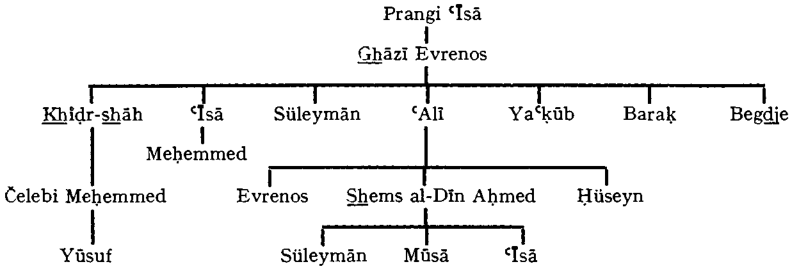

EXEGESIS [see tafsīr].

EXISTENCE [see wudjūd].

EXORCISM [see ruḳya].

EXPENDITURE [see nafaḳa].

EXPIATION [see kaffāra].

EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY [see imtiyāzāt].

EYĀLET, from the Arabic *iyāla*, "management, administration, exercise of power" (cf. Turkish translation of Fīrūzābādī's *Ḳāmūs* by ʿĀṣim, Istanbul 1250/1834, iii, 135); in the Ottoman empire the largest administrative division under a *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*], governor-general. In this sense it was officially used after

1000/1591. The assumption that under Murād III the empire was divided up into *eyālet*s (M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, vii, 277) must be an error since the term does not occur in the documents of the period. Instead we always find *beglerbegilik* and *wilāyet* (*wilāya*). *Beglerbegilik* was then the proper term for this administrative division, while *wilāyet* designated any governorship, large or small (cf. *Sûret-i Defter-i Sancâk-i Arvanid*, ed. H. Inalcık, Ankara 1954, index; U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine*, Oxford 1960, 50). As a term designating the territory of a *beglerbegilik*, *eyālet* must have been adopted by 1000/1591, while *beglerbegilik* continued to be used rather for the office of a *beglerbegi*.

In early Ottoman history the *beglerbegi* was the commander-in-chief of the provincial forces, in particular timariots, and as such the institution was directly connected with that of the *beglerbegi*, commander-in-chief, found with the Seldjūḳids and Ilkhānids (cf. F. Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri*, in *THITM*, i (1931), 190-5 [Ital. tr. *Alcune osservazioni*..., Rome 1944]; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 59-60, 108). Orkhan during his father's reign, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pasha his brother and Süleymān Pasha his son during Orkhan's reign, were considered as *beglerbegi* (cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, i, Istanbul 1279/1862, 69). But Murād I [*q.v.*] made Shāhīn, his *lālā* [*q.v.*], *beglerbegi* (under the Seldjūḳids some *beglerbegi*s bore the title of *lālā*, or the synonymous *atabeg*. In a passage in Rūḥī's chronicle *lālā etmek* means to appoint *beglerbegi*), and set out for his historic conquests in Thrace. The conquered lands there were put under Lālā Shāhīn's military responsibility while Ewrenos [*q.v.*] was made *udj* [*q.v.*] *begi* over the irregular *ghāzī* forces on the marches (Neshrī, *Ğihānnümā*, i, ed. Fr. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, 54; Orūdj, *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Fr. Babinger, Hanover 1925, 20, 92). Thus the Ottoman *beglerbegi* became *beglerbegi* of Rumeli, and the rivalry between him and the *udj-begi*s became an important factor of Ottoman history down to Meḥemmed II's time (cf. H. Inalcık, *Fatih Devri*, i, Ankara 1954, 57-8). But the *beglerbegi* of Rumeli was still the only *beglerbegi*, the actual commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army. In the period between 787/1385 and 789/1387 the vizier Čandarlı Khayr al-Dīn was made at the same time the commander-in-chief, with the title of *pasha*, of all the forces in Rumeli [*q.v.*] while the Sultan himself had to stay in Anatolia. Thus the growing responsibilities in Rumeli and Anatolia, the two parts of the empire divided by the Straits (of which the Ottomans were not in complete control until the time of Meḥemmed II), led to the creation of the two *beglerbegilik*s of Rumeli and Anadolu (Anatolia), which thereafter formed the backbone of the empire. In 795/1393 when Bāyazīd I had to leave Anatolia for Rumeli he appointed Ḳara Timurtash *beglerbegi* of Anadolu in Ankara (Neshrī, 86). In his father's time Bāyazīd himself had been a governor on this *udj* area in Kütahya. But the *beglerbegi* of Rumeli preserved his position of primacy in the state by being always considered as the first among the *beglerbegi*s, having the exclusive right to sit with the viziers at Dīwān [*q.v.*] meetings etc. (cf. *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Meḥemmed the Conqueror's code of laws, ed. M. ʿĀrif, suppl. of *TOEM*, 1330/1912, 13; Süleymān I confirmed these prerogatives in Muḥarram 942/July 1535, see Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt al-Salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274, 595; cf. also *Ḳānūn-i Mīr-i Mīrān*, in *MTM*, i (1331), 527). Maḥmūd Pasha under Meḥemmed II and Ibrahīm Pasha under Süleymān I both held the offices of Grand Vizier and *beglerbegi* of Rumeli at the same time.

It appears that further *beglerbegilik*s in Anatolia were founded subsequently according to the traditional pattern.

The farthest *udj wilāyet*s in Anatolia, which became the nuclei of the new *beglerbegilik*s, continued to be assigned to the Ottoman royal princes. The third *beglerbegilik*, that of Rūm in the Amasya-Tokat region, developed from an *udj* under the royal princes whose *lālā*s, responsible for the actual administration, bore the title of *pasha* and *beglerbegi* from Bāyazīd I's time (cf. Ḥ. Ḥüsām el-Dīn, *Amasya taʾrīkhi*, iii, Istanbul 1927, 157-91). Timur's invasion and later on Shāhrukh's threats (cf. article Murad II, in *IA*) made this region vitally important for the Ottomans, and the new conquests in Djanik and Trebizond were incorporated into it. Also put under a royal prince with his *lālā*s after its conquest in 873/1468 (cf. article Mehmed II in *IA*) the '*wilāyet* of Ḳaraman' (cf. *Fatih devrinde Karaman eyâleti vakıfları fihristi*, ed. F. N. Uzluk, Ankara 1958, fac. 2) developed into a *beglerbegilik* later on (in 922/1516 Khüsrew Pasha was the *beglerbegi*). The development of the *udj wilāyet* of Bosna into a *beglerbegilik* in Rumeli took more than a century from 867/1463 to 988/1580 (the process is examined in detail in the monograph by H. Šabanović, *Bosanski Pašaluk*, Sarajevo 1959). With some variation dependent on the particular conditions of the *udj* sandjaḳs and further conquests (cf. L. Fekete, *Osmanlı Türkleri ve Macarlar*, in *Belleten*, xiii/52 (1949), 679-85), the Ottomans maintained the pre-conquest boundaries, especially in the first '*wilāyet*' stage (cf. H. Šabanović, *op. cit.*, 1-95; H. Inalcık, *Sûret-i Defter* ..., 33, 55, 75). Later on in reorganizing them as *sandjaḳ*s [*q.v.*] and *beglerbegilik*s they acted more freely and fixed the boundaries according to the situation.

The conquests under Selīm I were organized first as the *wilāyet* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla (conquered in 921/1515), the *wilāyet* of ʿArab which included Syria, Palestine, Egypt and the Ḥidjāz, and the *wilāyet* of Diyār-Bakr (conquered in 923/1517, first survey in 924/1518, cf. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 145 and article Diyarbekir in *IA*). In an Ottoman record of 926/1520 (cf. Ö. L. Barkan, *H. 933-934 malî yılına ait bir bütçe örneği*, in *Ist. Üniv. Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv/1-4 (1953-4), 303-7) we then find the *wilāyet*s of Rumeli with 30 sandjaḳs, Anadolu with 20 sandjaḳs, Ḳaraman with 8 sandjaḳs, Rūm (Amasya-Tokat) with 5 sandjaḳs, ʿArab with 15 sandjaḳs, Diyār-Bakr with 9 sandjaḳs (the names of the sandjaḳs are given). In addition 28 Kurdish *djemāʿat*s in south-eastern Anatolia were mentioned as *liwā*s (sandjaḳs).

In the first years of the reign of Süleymān I events forced him to reorganize the *wilāyet* of ʿArab into the *beglerbegilik*s of Ḥaleb (Aleppo), Shām (Damascus) and Egypt (cf. Gibb-Bowen, i/1, 200-34; B. Lewis, *Notes and documents from the Turkish Archives*, Jerusalem 1952; S. J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt*, Princeton 1962, 1-19). The *wilāyet* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla too was put under an Ottoman beglerbegi in 928/1522 (cf. article Dulkadırlılar, in *IA*). In 940/1533 Süleymān I also created the *beglerbegilik* of Djezāʾir (Algeria) with the appointment of Khayr al-Dīn Ḳapudān Pasha [*q.v.*]. The development of the sea *udj* into a *beglerbegilik* was

precipitated by Andrea Doria's capture of Koron and the crusading activities of Charles V in the Mediterranean. In the western reports of about 941/1534 (Ramberti, A. Gritti in A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass., 1913, 255-61, 270-4) the *beglerbegilik*s in the Ottoman empire are listed as follows: Djezā'ir under the name of the *beglerbegilik* of the sea, Rumeli, Anadolu, Ḳaraman, Amasya-Tokat, ʿAlā' al-Dawla, Diyār Bakr, Shām and Egypt.

Further conquests under Süleymān I gave rise to the new *beglerbegilik*s: Ādharbāydjān and Baghdād in 941/1534, Van in Radjab 955/August 1548, Erzurum in 941/1534, Aḳča-ḳalʿa in Georgia in Shaʿbān 956/September 1549 (cf. Ferīdūn, *op. cit.*, i, 586, 604, 606) in Asia; Budīn in Djumādā II 948/August 1541, Temeshvar in 959/1552 in Europe (cf. Fekete, *op. cit.*). Thus in appointing *beglerbegis* on the spot immediately after the conquest Süleymān I made an innovation.

In 976/1568 when a large scale expedition was planned in the Volga basin the sandjaḳ of Kefe (Caffa) in the *beglerbegilik* of Rumeli was raised to a *beglerbegilik* (cf. H. Inalcık, *Osmanlı-Rus rekabetinin menşei*, in *Belleten*, xii/46 (1948), 375 = *The origin of the Ottoman-Russian rivalry...*, in *Ann. de l'Un. d'Ankara*, i (1946-7), 75). As, after its conquest, Cyprus had to be protected by large forces, Lefḳosha (Nicosia) was made the centre of a *beglerbegilik* in 979/1571, and, the sandjaḳs of ʿAlā'iyye, Ṭarsūs, Ičel, Sis and Ṭarābulus-Shām (Syrian Tripoli) were attached to it.

Of many *beglerbegilik*s created during the occupation of the Caucasian lands between 986/1578 and 999/1590 (cf. B. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-Iran siyâsî münâsebetleri*, Istanbul 1962) only those of Čīldīr and Ḳarṣ (created in 988/1580) remained after the Persian reaction under ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*].

In the list of ʿAyn-i ʿAlī of 1018/1609 (*Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1280) are mentioned thirty-two *eyālet*s in the empire. Twenty-three of them were regular Ottoman *eyālet*s subjected to the tīmār system. These were: Rumeli, Anadolu, Ḳaraman, Budīn, Temeshvar, Bosna, Djezā'ir-i Baḥr-i Sefīd [*q.v.*], Ḳibrīs, Dhūlḳadriyye (formerly ʿAlā' al-Dawla or Marʿash), Diyārbakr, Rūm (Amasya-Tokat or Sivas), Erzurum, Shām, Ṭarābulus-Shām, Ḥaleb, Raḳḳa, Ḳarṣ, Čīldīr, Ṭrabzon, Kefe, Mosul, Van, Shehrizūr. Nine *eyālet*s were with *sālyāne* [*q.v.*], that is to say the tax revenues were not distributed as tīmārs but collected directly for the Sultan's treasury; the *beglerbegi*, soldiers and all the other functionaries were assigned salaries from the annual tax collection of the *eyālet*. The *eyālet*s with *sālyāne* were: Miṣr (Egypt), Baghdād, Yemen, Ḥabesh (Eritrea), Baṣra, Laḥsā, Djezā'ir-i Gharb (Algeria), Ṭarābulus-Gharb (Tripolitania), Tūnus (Tunis). (See further MÜSTETHNĀ EYĀLETLER).

In the list given by Koči Beg about 1640 (*Risâle*, ed. A. K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 99-103) the only difference is the addition of the *eyālet* of Özü which had been created by then primarily with the purpose of stopping the continuing Cossack attacks on the Black Sea coasts. It included the sandjaḳs on the western coasts of the Black Sea and the Danube. In both lists the *eyālet*s of Ḳanizha (Kanizsa) and Egri (Eger) are missing though these were created after their conquest in 1004/1596 (cf. Fekete, *op. cit.*, 681). In Kātib Čelebi's *Djihānnümā* (ed. Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa, Istanbul 1145/1732, and trans. J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812) we find the same *eyālet*s with the differences that Marʿash for Dhulḳadriyye, Sivas for Rūm, Ḳonya for Ḳaraman are mentioned, and the *eyālet* of Adana is added.

The term of *eyālet* for *beglerbegilik* appeared by the end of the 10th/16th century. We find it in the previous documents in its general meaning (cf. Ferīdūn, i, 614). Also in the new period the important *eyālet*s were assigned to *beglerbegis* of the rank of vizier, with three *tugh*s (cf. Gibb-Bowen, i/1, 139-41), who had some authority over the neighbouring *beglerbegis* of two *tugh*s. Also now the general tendency was to create smaller *beglerbegilik*s which were required to cope with certain military situations. Such was the case with the small *beglerbegilik*s set up in Georgia and Ādharbāydjān after 986/1578. In Syria a fourth *eyālet*, that of Ṣaydā', was created in 1023/1614 for the better control of the area (cf. U. Heyd, *op. cit.*, 45-8).

An *eyālet* was composed of sandjaḳs (*liwā*s) under sandjaḳ-begis and, as a sandjaḳ was always the basic administrative unit, the *beglerbegi* himself was at the head of a sandjaḳ called *pasha sandjaghī*. It included certain centrally located towns and districts in each sandjaḳ as his *khāṣṣ* (see TĪMĀR).

The main responsibilities of a *beglerbegi* were summarized in *berāt*s (diplomas) of assignment (see for example the *berāt* of ʿĪsā Beg in Ferīdūn, i, 269; for its date cf. H. Inalcık, *Fatih devri*, Ankara 1954, 77; also see *Ḳānūn-i mīr-i mīrān*, in *MTM*, i, 527-8). Representing the executive power of the sultan on all matters (*umūr-i siyāset*) in the *eyālet* and called in this capacity *wālī* of it, he enforced the *ḳāḍī*'s decisions and the Sultan's orders. He was also entitled to give decisions in the dīwān under him (*beglerbegilik dīwānī*) on matters concerning the persons of *ʿaskerī* [see ʿASKARĪ] status. But the *beglerbegis* with the rank of vizier had larger and more absolute powers (cf. *MTM*, i, 528). The *beglerbegi*'s main administrative responsibility was to maintain public security, and pursue those who broke the law and opposed the Sultan's orders (for their ceremonial privileges see *MTM*, i, 527-8). It should be emphasized that the *ḳāḍī* and *māl defterdārī* [see DAFTARDĀR] in an *eyālet* were independent of the *beglerbegis* in their decisions, and, could apply directly to the central government. Also the *agha*s of the Janissary garrisons in the main cities were independent of the *beglerbegis*, who could never enter the fortresses under the Janissaries' guardianship. These restrictions and frequent changes of their posts were obviously designed to prevent *beglerbegis* from becoming too independent.

The *Beglerbegilik-eyālet* was essentially based on the *tīmār* system and a *beglerbegi* was responsible primarily for the army of timariot *sipāhīs* in his *eyālet*. Under his command it was the largest military unit in the imperial army. It was the *beglerbegi*'s responsibility to bring it to the Sultan's army in perfect condition. The appointment and promotions of the *sipāhīs* depended on him. He was entitled to grant *tīmār*s up to a certain amount (cf. ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *op. cit.*, 61-81). Two high officials, the *defter-ketkhüdāsî* and *tīmār-defterdārı* under him, were responsible for these affairs. The copies of the *idjmāl* and *mufaṣṣal defter*s, basic record-books of *tīmār*s drawn up for each sandjaḳ, were sent by the Sultan to the *eyālet*s (H. Inalcık, *Sûret-i Defter*, xxi; Heyd, *op. cit.*, 48).

But in the period of decline when the central authority weakened the whole system deteriorated. In some distant *eyālet*s the Janissaries obtained effective control and constituted ruling castes, as was the case in the North African provinces and Baghdād. In Egypt, however, it was the Mamlūk begs who

finally seized the actual control (cf. Shaw, *op. cit.*, 184-5,316). In the *eyālet*s of Eastern Anatolia the Janissaries' attempt to seize power failed before the violent reaction of the provincial forces and the *Djalālīs* (see Supplement, *s.v.*) under Abaza Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]. But it was the disorganization of the *tīmār* system that brought about fundamental changes in the *eyālet*s. Now an important part of the tax revenues was not distributed as *tīmār*s, but reserved directly for the Sultan's treasury, and farmed out to the tax-farmers; it then became a widespread practice to assign governorships with the governor himself farming the taxes, a practice applied previously in some distant *eyālet*s like Egypt. Thus on his appointment the governor guaranteed to deliver to the treasury a certain amount of money as the province's tax revenue. Also governors in general were encouraged by the Sultan to maintain forces at their own expense. It was principally these developments that prepared the way for the emergence of autonomous *eyālet*s in the 12th/18th century. In the same period local magnates called *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] acquired power in the *eyālet*s, since the governors were actually powerless without their cooperation. Despite the Sultan's efforts to reserve the rank of pasha for his own men, some of these *aʿyān* managed to obtain governorships and even to found real provincial dynasties not only in the remoter provinces but also in Anatolia and Rumeli [see DEREBEY].

In 1227/1812 Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] opened war against the pashas and *aʿyān* of this type to re-establish the authority of the central government in the provinces, and after 1241/1826 reorganized them as *müshīriyyet* (*mushīriyya*) giving the *müshīr*s large powers in military as well as financial affairs with a view to organizing the new army (cf. Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, v, 107, 172). With the proclamation of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] in 1255/1839 financial affairs in the *eyālet*s were made the exclusive responsibility of the *muḥaṣṣil*s, and later on important changes under Western influence were introduced in the provincial administration: administrative councils were set up in the provinces sharing the governors' responsibilities, and most of the *eyālet*s were reduced in size (see especially the *sālnāme*s (state year books) published since 1263/1847). The *eyālet* system was finally replaced by that of *wilāyet* [*q.v.*] in 1281/1864.

(HALİL İNALCIK)

EYLŪL [see TAʾRĪKH].

EYMIR (EYMÜR), name of an Oghuz tribe (*boy*). They are mentioned in a legendary account of the pagan Oghuz as being the only tribe of the Üč-ok group from whom sprang rulers, but the historical references to them so far known go back only to the 10th/16th century, when they formed part of Türkmen confederations in the Ottoman Empire, in Persia, and south-east of the Caspian Sea.

(1) The Eymir of the Ottoman domains were in two main branches, the one living among the Türkmen of Aleppo, the other with the Dulkadîrlî confederation (*ulus*). The former consisted, in the reign of Süleymān I, of four clans (*oymak*); later in the 10th/16th century their numbers increased, to form 11 clans. At this period another clan of this branch was found among the Yeni-il tribesfolk south of Sivas. After the second siege of Vienna (1683), the Eymir, like other Türkmen groups, were required to serve in the war with Austria. A little later an unsuccessful attempt was made to settle a large group of the Türkmen of Aleppo, the Eymir among them, in the Ḥamā-Ḥims region; their population is recorded in the 12th/18th century as 500 tents.

The Eymir living among the Dulkadîrlî were much more numerous, those of the Marʿash region alone comprising, in the third decade of the 10th/16th century, 49 clans. Like the other groups constituting the Dulkadîrlî confederation, these Eymir were half-settled, engaging in agriculture in their winter camping-grounds and growing rice. During the 11th/17th century they became completely settled in the Marʿash-ʿAyntāb region. Some scattered clans of this group were then living in other areas occupied by the Dulkadîrlî confederation—in the sandjaks of Kars (Kadirli) and Bozok, among the Boz-ulus, and in Persia.

Small communities named Eymürlü and Eymürler were found in the regions of Söğüt, Aydîn and Adana, but they took their name probably not from the tribe but from individuals (Eymir/Imir was a common personal name in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries). 'Eymir' or 'Eymür' is a common village-name in central and western Turkey, particularly around Sivas, whence it appears that this tribe formed an important element among the Turkish immigrants into Anatolia.

(2) The Eymir of Persia belonged to the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr confederation, dwelling in Fars, which was one of the seven great Ḳîzîl-bash tribes upon which depended the power of the Ṣafawid dynasty. The Dhu 'l-Ḳadr tribe was a branch of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr/Dulkadîrlî confederation of Anatolia, from whence it had migrated to Persia.

(3) Eymir were found in the 10th/16th century also among the Sayîn Khānlu Türkmen dwelling along the rivers Atrak and Djurdjān north of Astarābād. Upon their submission to Shāh ʿAbbās, their chief ʿAlī Yār was appointed governor of Astarābād, with the title of Khān; after his death in about 1005/1596, his son Muḥammad Yār succeeded him. A remnant of these Eymir, numbering some 200 households, is still living in this region.

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(FARUK SÜMER)

EYYŪB [see ISTANBUL].

EZEKIEL [see ḤIZḲĪL].

EZELI [see AZALĪ].

EZRA [see IDRĪS, ʿUZAYR].

F

FĀ', 20th letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *f*; numerical value 80, as in the Syriac (and Canaanite) alphabet [see ABDJAD].

Definition: fricative, labio-dental, unvoiced; according to the Arabic grammatical tradition: *rikhwa*, *shafawiyya* (or *shafahiyya*), *mahmūsa*; *f* is a continuation of a *p* in ancient Semitic and common Semitic. For the phonological oppositions of the phoneme *f*, see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse*, in *BSL* (no. 126), 94, 1°; for the incompatibilities, *ibid.*, 134.

Modifications: some examples exist of the passage of *f* to *th*, as in the doublet: *nukāf* and *nukāth* "tumour on a camel's jaw" (a less frequent passage than the reverse: *th* > *f*); see al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*², ii, 34-5, Ibn Djinnī's critique, *Sirr ṣināʿa*, i, 250-1. This passage probably explains the existence of *thumm* "mouth" (nomad) > *təmm* (sedentary), in modern Syro-Lebanese dialects, side by side with *fumm* (the expected form) in central Syria (see A. Barthélemy, *Dict. Ar.-Fr.*, 93 and 622).

(H. FLEISCH)

FABLE [see ḤIKĀYA, ḲIṢṢA, MATHAL].

FAḌĀ'IL [see FAḌĪLA]

FADAK, an ancient small town in the northern Ḥidjāz, near Khaybar and, according to Yāḳūt, two or three days' journey from Medina. This place-name having disappeared, Ḥāfiẓ Wahba in his *Djazīrat al-ʿArab* (Cairo 1956, 15) identified the ancient Fadak with the modern village of al-Ḥuwayyiṭ (pron. Ḥowēyaṭ), situated on the edge of the *ḥarra* of Khaybar. Inhabited, like Khaybar, by a colony of Jewish agriculturists, Fadak produced dates and cereals; handicrafts also flourished, with the weaving of blankets with palm-leaf borders.

Fadak owes its fame in the history of Islam to the fact that it was the object of an agreement and a particular decision by the Prophet, and that it gave rise to a disagreement between Fāṭima [*q.v.*] and the caliph Abū Bakr, the consequences of which were to last more than two centuries. When, in 5/627, Muḥammad took his well-known measures against the Banū Ḳurayẓa [*q.v.*], the Jews of Khaybar and the neighbourhood became alarmed and secretly attempted to form a league in the expectation of an attack; a *ḥayy* of the Banū Saʿd living in the vicinity then offered them help, but Muḥammad sent about a hundred men commanded by ʿAlī against this *ḥayy* in Shaʿbān 6/December 627-January 628; the expedition was reduced to a raid. In the following year, Muḥammad marched against Khaybar, and the Jews of Fadak, frightened by the news of his victories, agreed to hold discussions with a view to concluding an agreement with the Prophet's envoy, Muḥayyiṣa b. Masʿūd al-Anṣārī, even going so far as to propose giving up all their possessions provided that Muḥammad allowed them to depart. An initial agreement was followed by a second pact granted by Muḥammad, sometimes overlooked by the sources (*e.g.* the *K. al-Kharādj*): they were to remain in Fadak while giving up half their lands and half the produce of the oasis; on this point al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 29) is explicit: *ʿalā niṣf al-arḍ bi-turbatihā* (the emendation suggested in the Glossary, *bi-thamaratihā*, should be rejected). On the subject of the agreement with the Jews of Khaybar, the same author (*Futūḥ*, 23) uses a quite different expression: "*ʿāmalahum* [*Muḥammad*] *ʿalā 'l-shaṭr min al-thamar wa 'l-ḥabb*", that is to say that he concluded an agreement with them for share-cropping, and subsequently confirms this condition in other *khabars* (*ibid.*, 24, 25, 27; cf. 29; on the difference between the two agreements see also al-Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, iii, 74; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1959, i, 58; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1825; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, Cairo 1959, vi, 46; al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, Alexandria 1280, iii, 172). Unlike the decision reached for Khaybar, where the produce, assigned to the Muslims, was shared annually, Fadak was allocated to Muḥammad (*khāliṣa lahu*), who devoted the revenues from it to needy travellers (*abnā' al-sabīl*) and also for the maintenance of the least rich (*ṣaghīr*) of the Banū Hāshim; the reason invoked to justify this measure was that Fadak had been acquired by treaty (*ṣulḥ*ᵃⁿ). Two other expeditions of limited importance, in Shaʿbān 7/end of 628-beginning of 629, took place against the tribe of the Banū Murra who in summer lived near Fadak.

It was after the Prophet's death that the disagreement between Fāṭima and Abū Bakr started. Fāṭima maintained that Fadak, like Muḥammad's share of the produce from Khaybar, should come to her as her father's heiress; Abū Bakr, on the other hand, maintained that their attribution should remain exactly as Muhammad had settled it, since it was a question of *ṣadaḳa*s (that is to say public property used for benevolent purposes, like the *zakāt*). The Prophet, he said, had stated that he would have no heirs (*lā nūrathu*); what he left would be *ṣadaḳa* (*mā taraknā, ṣadaḳat*ᵘⁿ). ʿAlī supported his wife, and this question of inheritance aggravated his opposition to Abū Bakr. The caliph used a fatherly tone in his conversation with Fāṭima, but remained firm; he invited her to produce witnesses to testify to the donation which she claimed to have been made by her father; but, as she could only produce her husband and a woman named Umm Ayman, he considered their evidence inadequate [see SHAHĀDA], nevertheless admitting that an appropriate income must be guaranteed for the Prophet's family. The rejection of Fāṭima's claim appeared to be an injustice in the eyes of the Shīʿa (see *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, iii, 607-9 for their grounds for this belief and for a criticism of their arguments). After the failure of her claim, Fāṭima was unwilling to meet Abū Bakr again, and it was only after her death, some months after that of the Prophet, that ʿAlī consented to recognise the election of Abū Bakr and renounced the claims to Fadak.

In the time of ʿUmar, the Jews living in the northern Ḥidjāz suffered a very severe blow: the caliph decided to expel them, since by this time the great number of slaves at the disposal of the Muslims allowed them to exploit all the fertile land in Arabia. While the Jews of Khaybar had to leave the oasis and emigrate to Syria without receiving any indemnity, those from Fadak were granted one,

based on the valuation of their property. This fact confirms that the former were regarded simply as usufructuaries, so that the share-cropping agreement with them could thus be broken without compensation, whereas the rights of ownership of the latter to one half of the oasis were recognised. Even after the expulsion of the Jews, ʿUmar used different methods for Khaybar and for Fadak: to the Muslims who had received from Muḥammad a share in the produce from Khaybar (or to their heirs), he gave ownership of the land (*raḳabat al-arḍ*, says al-Balādhurī, *ibid.*, 26) in proportion; as regards Fadak, he did not change the system, and his immediate successors followed his example. However, this assertion by the majority of the sources is explained by a note which Yāḳūt has preserved for us and Ibn Kathīr has clarified with some details: when the Muslims, thanks to their conquests, had attained widespread prosperity, ʿUmar, guided by his *idjtihād*, assigned Fadak to al-ʿAbbās and ʿAlī; these two men quarrelled bitterly, each maintaining his own right of possession, and ʿUmar left them to sort out the matter themselves; it seems that they partitioned the oasis—subsequently, however, there is no further mention of the rights of al-ʿAbbās and his descendants to Fadak—and that one condition had been imposed by ʿUmar, namely that Fadak had to remain a *ṣadaḳa*; consequently, in the caliph's view, ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās had merely been the administrators of a charitable foundation. It is to be assumed, however, that since the Prophet had used the revenues of Fadak also to meet the needs of his family, ʿAlī, and the ʿAlids after him, put the same interpretation upon the way in which the *ṣadaḳa* should be administered; thus is to be explained their persistence in claiming possession of the oasis, and the promptness with which the caliphs dispossessed them of it as soon as they went into opposition (see below). In later times it was not clearly understood what had happened; the uncertainty of the information is well explained by Yāḳūt, according to whom the disagreement over the question of Fadak sprang from political passions; and further evidence of this is to be found in the *Kitāb al-ʿAbbāsiyya* of al-Djāḥiẓ (see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, iv, 98; *Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, 300). Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāya*, iv, 203) confirms and explains the above account. According to some *ḥadīths* (e.g. al-Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, ii, 271 f.), ʿUmar assigned to ʿAlī and to al-ʿAbbās the *ṣadaḳa* which the Prophet possessed at Medina, but retained Fadak and Khaybar. In any case, the change in the situation at Fadak took place after the expulsion of the Jews, for the government then had to look for the most convenient means of exploiting the land thus vacated. It was Muʿāwiya who brought the oasis under private ownership by giving it as an *iḳṭāʿ* to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam; however, he took it away from him during the years when he was in disgrace (from about 48/668 to 54/674), and then others vainly coveted it, since it produced an annual revenue of approximately 10,000 dinars (Ibn Saʿd, v, 286). Marwān, in his turn, gave it to his sons ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and ʿAbd al-Malik. When ʿUmar II came to the throne, the whole property of Fadak was in his possession, since a share of it had been given him by his father ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and he had gained possession of the shares belonging to al-Walīd and Sulaymān, ʿAbd al-Malik's heirs. He was thus able to proclaim in a speech in the mosque that he had restored Fadak to its original purpose, and he also told his hearers that the Prophet had refused to make a gift of Fadak to Fāṭima when she had asked him for it (this shows that he was acquainted with a *ḥadīth* which described this incident). But he entrusted Fadak to Fāṭima's descendants, and it was they who administered it (Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 173, states this positively: *fa-waliyahā awlād Fāṭima*; Ibn Saʿd (v, 287) leaves matters vague; the other writers, perhaps being afraid to venture onto dangerous ground, say nothing about it). It is probable that ʿUmar II had re-imposed the solution adopted by ʿUmar I for the Fadak question. It might be supposed that information on this point had been confused and that, instead of two decisions taken by the two ʿUmars, there was in fact only one single decision, taken by one or other of them; but the sources are too specific with regard to the first decision, while the second fits well into the general picture of the measures adopted by ʿUmar II for the purpose of ending the injustices inflicted on the ʿAlids.

This decision did not put an end to the vicissitudes of Fadak. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik took possession of the oasis, and it was the first of the ʿAbbāsids, al-Saffāḥ, who restored Fadak to Fāṭima's descendants. The change was short-lived, for al-Manṣūr confiscated Fadak after the rebellion of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*] and Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*]; the oasis reverted to the ʿAlids in the caliphate of al-Mahdī, only to be once again seized by al-Hādī after the revolt of the ʿAlids with its tragic conclusion at al-Fakhkh [*q.v.*]. Finally, in 210/826, al-Maʾmūn consented that it should be granted to Fāṭima's descendants who had come to make this request in the name of the family; he even caused his decree to be recorded in his *dīwān*s. The long letter which he sent to his *ʿāmil* in Medina, preserved by al-Balādhurī, shows us that the caliph imposed his decision while at the same time he attempted to support it by arguments for which, we can see clearly, he brought pressure to bear on the *faḳīh*s (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 573); however, he was so fully cognisant of the weakness of these arguments that, at the beginning of the letter, he boasted of his position in regard to the religion of Allāh, his responsibility as the Prophet's representative, his relationship with him, his fitness for applying the *sunna*, etc. But al-Maʾmūn's third successor, al-Mutawakkil, did not respect his decree and once again devoted Fadak to its original purpose which Abū Bakr had sanctioned; we must conclude that, under the influence of the *ʿulamāʾ*, he renounced the arguments put forward by al-Maʾmūn. Finally, al-Masʿūdī (viii, 303) and Ibn al-Athīr (vii, 75) add a further point about the fate of Fadak: they tell us that the caliph al-Muntaṣir, son of al-Mutawakkil, once again restored Fadak to the ʿAlids.

To conclude, the question of Fadak is interesting from the legal point of view (it proves that, from the earliest times of Islam, there was a very precise conception regarding the difference between private and collective property and an awareness of the duties and rights relating to each); it is moreover an example of the difficulties encountered by the rulers who respected the *sharīʿa* when, for political motives, they proposed to modify a situation established by the Prophet and his immediate successors.

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FAḌĀLA, town and port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, 25 km. to the north-east of Casablanca, in the lands of the Zanāta tribe. The origin of the name is unknown; the etymology given by Graberg de Hemsö and by Godard (*fayḍ Allāh* = "bounty of God") is obviously fanciful. The name is perhaps to be compared with that of a section of the neighbouring Ziyāyda tribe, the Faḍḍāla. The toponym appears as early as al-Idrīsī and the Genoese and Venetian portulans. It appears that Christian merchants visited the anchorage in the 14th and 15th centuries. —Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh in 1186-7/1773, wishing to make Faḍāla a grain depot for the province of Tamasna, granted export privileges to the European merchants, but withdrew them the following year. He then accorded them to the Spanish company of "los cinco gremios mayores", who also held the monopoly of the trade of al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ. The port was again abandoned in the 19th century. It had only one *ḳaṣaba* which, like the neighbouring *ḳaṣaba* of al-Manṣūriyya, was used as a staging-post on the route from Rabat to Casablanca.

The concession to build a small port was granted in 1914 to the French company Hersent frères. Today the port of Faḍāla, as an auxiliary to that of Casablanca, is principally a petrol port. The tonnage loaded was 90,000 tons in 1955, 36,000 in 1958; the tonnage unloaded was 331,000 tons in 1955, 233,000 in 1958.

The proximity of Casablanca has encouraged the introduction of a fair number of industries, and the population, mostly composed of workers who have migrated from the neighbouring countryside, has increased rapidly: in 1952 it was 25,189, of which 20,880 were Muslim Moroccans, 449 Jewish Moroccans, and 3,860 were foreigners. In 1960 (provisional census reports) it was 35,000, with 31,750 Muslims, 150 Jews and 3,100 foreigners. The town has the status of a municipality. In 1379/1959 its name was changed by decree to al-Muḥammadiyya, in honour of the reigning sovereign, Muḥammad V.

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AL-FAḌĀLĪ, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī, a writer on Islamic dogmatics and teacher of al-Bādjūrī [*q.v.*], d. 1236/1821. Both of his works, *Kifāyat al-ʿAwāmm fīmā yadjib ʿalayhim min ʿilm al-kalām*, and a commentary on the profession of monotheism, *Risāla ʿalā lā ilāha illa 'llāh*, have been commented upon by al-Bādjūrī and have been often printed together with the commentaries.

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FADDĀN [see misāḥa].

FADHLAKA, sum, total, from the Arabic *fa dhālika*, "and that [is]", placed at the bottom of an addition to introduce the result. Besides its arithmetical use, the term was also employed for the summing up of a petition, report, or other document, as for example for the summarized statements of complaints presented at the *Dīwān-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*]. By extension it acquired the meaning of compendium and is used, in this sense, in the titles of two well-known works on Ottoman history, written in the 17th century by Kātib Čelebi and in the 19th by Aḥmad Wefīḳ Pasha [*qq.v.*]. (Ed.)

FĀḌIL BEY, Ḥüseyn (ca. 1170/1757-1225/1810) also known as Fāḍil-i Enderūnī, Ottoman poet celebrated for his erotic works, was a grandson of Ẓāhir Āl ʿUmar [*q.v.*] of ʿAkkā, who rebelled against the Porte in the seventies of the 18th century. Taken to Istanbul in 1190/1776 by the *ḳapudān pasha* Ghāzī Ḥasan after his grandfather and father had been slain in battle, he was brought up in the Palace. An amatory intrigue led to his expulsion in 1198/1783-4, and for twelve years he led a vagabond life in poverty in Istanbul. *Ḳaṣīdes* addressed to Selīm III and the statesmen of the day imploring their patronage eventually won him employment, but in 1214/1799 he was banished to Rhodes. There he lost his sight, and was permitted to return to Istanbul, where he died in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1225/December 1810. His works are (1) a *dīwān*, printed at Būlāḳ 1258/1842 together with (2) *Defter-i ʿashḳ* ('Journal of love'), a long *methnewī* mainly recounting his love-affairs but with some interesting descriptions of life in the Palace School (see sarāy); (3) *Khūbān-nāme* ('Book of beautiful youths'), a *methnewī* describing the attractions of young men of various nationalities (both from within the Empire and from Europe and the 'New World'!) and (4) *Zenān-nāme* ('Book of women'), a similar work on girls (these two were lithographed at Istanbul in 1838, but the Minister of the Exterior Muṣṭafā Rashīd had the edition confiscated for its indecent subject-matter; new edition 1286/1870; Fazil Bey, *Le livre des femmes* (*Zenan-nameh*), trad. du turc par J. Decourdemanche, Paris 1879); (5) *Čengi-nāme*, a series of stanzas in the tradition of the *Shehr-engīz* [*q.v.*], on the dancing-boys of Istanbul.

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Muṣṭafā **FĀḌIL PAS̲H̲A**, Miṣirli, Ottoman statesman, was born 2 February 1830 in Cairo, the youngest son of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a and grandson of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, wālī of Egypt. After his education in Cairo, he went in 1262/1846 to Istanbul, where he was attached to the office of the Grand Vizier. He advanced in government service and was nominated vizier in S̲h̲aʿbān 1274/March-April 1858. On 19 November 1862 he became Minister of Education and was transferred on 12 January 1863 to the ministry of Finance, a post he held until March 1864, when he resigned. On 5 November 1865 he was appointed president of the *Med̲j̲lis-i k̲h̲azāʾin*, from which he was dismissed on 16 February 1866. Being exiled from the Ottoman Empire, he left Istanbul, 4 April 1866, and went to Paris. His exile was probably due to his criticism of the policy of Fuʾād Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who favoured Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a, the wālī of Egypt. Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a sought to restrict the succession to the hereditary governorship to his own descendants, thus depriving his brother Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pas̲h̲a of his right to succeed. Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pas̲h̲a took the leadership of Ottoman liberalism by publishing on 24 March 1867 in the French newspaper *Liberté* a letter addressed to the Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in which he advised the Sultan to accept a Constitution for the Empire (for the text of this letter see *Orient*, no. 5 [1er Trimestre 1958], 29-38). He invited the Young Ottomans [see yeñi ʿot̲h̲mānlilar] to join him in Europe and helped them in their press campaign against the autocratic government in Turkey. But he profited from the official visit of the Sultan to Western capitals to regain favour and returned on 20 September 1867 to Istanbul. He was nominated, on 25 July 1869, a member of the *Med̲j̲lis-i Wālā* and became for the second time, in Muḥārram 1287/April 1870, Minister of Finance. He was dismissed from this post on 18 December. He occupied from October 1871 to January 1872 the ministry of Justice. He died on 2 December 1875 in Istanbul and was buried at Eyyūb, the holy quarter of the city. His remains were moved to Egypt on 25 June 1929. He was an intelligent and able statesman and succeeded in negotiating the sixth foreign loan of the Ottoman Empire in 1863 during his first term as Minister of Finance. The conditions of this loan were reasonable. His ambition caused him to behave in an opportunist way: he used the Young Ottomans as a tool in his intrigues to become wālī of Egypt. He spent unsuccessfully extraordinary sums in this aim. Nevertheless he patronized such writers as S̲h̲ināsī [*q.v.*] and artists as Zekāʾī Dede [*q.v.*]. He founded in 1870 the first club in Istanbul: this *End̲j̲ümen-i Ülfet* lasted just over a year.

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FAḌĪLA (Arab., pl. *faḍāʾil*) an excellence or excellent quality, a high degree in (or of) excellence. The plural *faḍāʾil* indicates a definite category of literature, related to but distinct from the so-called "disputes for precedence". *Faḍāʾil* literature exposes the excellences of things, individuals, groups, places, regions and such for the purpose of a *laudatio*. The polemical comparison or dialogue, characteristic of the "disputes for precedence", is lacking.

Faḍāʾil literature, the opposite to which is *mat̲h̲ālib* literature, may be divided into various branches:

Ḳurʾān. *Faḍāʾil* literature takes its point of departure from the Ḳurʾān. The praise of the Ḳurʾān preserves, modified for the conditions of Islam, the custom of the pre-islamic Arabs to boast (*mufāk̲h̲ara*) of the nobility and exalted rank of their tribes (see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* i, 51, 54 ff.). A comparison of its *faḍāʾil* with others, despite the Arab fondness for comparison, was impossible, for the Ḳurʾān, as the direct and unadulterated word of God, was immeasurable, even in polemic against the *Ahl al-Kitāb* (see Goldziher, *ZDMG*, xxxii (1878), 344 ff.; M. Schreiner, *ZDMG*, xlii (1888), 593 f.). An enumeration of its excellences was furthermore to win back to the study of the incomparable holy book those Muslims who had occupied themselves all too exclusively with profane science, such as that of the *mag̲h̲āzī* and the *amt̲h̲āl* (see Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 155; Abū ʿUbayd, *K. al-Amt̲h̲āl*, beginning). The nucleus of the *faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān* consists of sayings derived from the Prophet, his Companions and their descendents (*ṣaḥāba, tābiʿūn* etc.) concerning the excellences of the individual suras and verses and the reward for those who occupy themselves with them. There are also accounts providing information as to when separate revelations were granted to Muḥammad. Questions of Ḳurʾānic readings are treated in special chapters. The oldest preserved *K. Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān* is very likely that of Abū ʿUbayd (died 224/837; see Brockelmann, I, 106, and S I, 166 ff.), see Ahlwardt no. 451; A. Spitaler, in *Documenta Islamica Inedita* (*Festschrift R. Hartmann*), Berlin 1952, 1-24. The list in Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa (under *ʿIlm Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān*) is incomplete (see Yāḳūt, *Irs̲h̲ād*, indexes; Ibn K̲h̲ayr, *Fihrist*, index; Brockelmann, index). The large collections of traditions, such as Buk̲h̲ārī's (died 256/870) *Ṣaḥīḥ* (book 66), have a separate chapter on the *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān*.

Companions of the Prophet. Among others Wahb b. Wahb (d. 200/815) had already written a *K. Faḍāʾil al-Anṣār* (*Irs̲h̲ād*, vii, 233, 7), al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 204/820) a *K. Faḍāʾil Ḳurays̲h̲ wa 'l-Anṣār* (*Irs̲h̲ād*, vi, 397, 17), and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's (d. 241/855) *K. Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥāba* has been preserved (Brockelmann, S I, 310, 312). The 62nd chapter of Buk̲h̲ārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* contains *faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-nabī*. The "excellences" of the Companions of the Prophet are for the most part concerned with the experiences which they shared with the Prophet. Historically confirmed traditions, such as that concerning Muḥammad's *hid̲j̲ra* in the company of Abū Bakr, stand beside fantastic prophecies by Muḥammad about the destiny and future of his Companions, and so forth.

Individuals. Al-Madāʾinī (d. 225/840) wrote a book about the *faḍāʾil* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, Dj̲aʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib and al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (*Irs̲h̲ād*, v, 313, 9 ff.), and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) one about those of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, al-ʿAbbās

and ʿAlī (*Irs̲h̲ād*, vi, 452, 18f,, 16). Ibn al-ʿUs̲h̲ārī's (d. 441/1029) *K. Faḍāʾil Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ* has been preserved (Brockelmann, S I, 601); Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) dreamed of the *faḍāʾil* of Abū Bakr (for this and others of his various *faḍāʾil* books, see *Irs̲h̲ād*, v, 143 ff.), etc. A work such as that of Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī (d. 597/1200) about the *faḍāʾil* of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Brockelmann, S I, 917) belongs properly to *manāḳib* [*q.v.*] literature (see also al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 219; Brockelmann, S III, 1228; Storey, index).

Cities and provinces. Among *faḍāʾil* works those concerning the *faḍāʾil* of particular cities and provinces occupy a special place. H. Ritter (*Über die Bildersprache Niẓāmīs*, Berlin 1927, 20) has already pointed out certain similarities to the *genos epideiktikon*. But the yield of a genuine panegyric of the city, such as G. E. von Grunebaum has sketched (*Zum Lob der Stadt in der arabischen Prosa*, in *Kritik und Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1955, 80-6), is comparatively small, apart from the Islamic West (see below). For these *faḍāʾil* books too consist largely of sayings put into the mouths of Muḥammad and his Companions in which political and regional aims are primarily pursued (see Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 128 ff.; *al-Ag̲h̲ānī*[1], v, 157, [3]vi, 54 ff.; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muḳtabas*, Ms. Nur. Osm. 3391, fol. 22b ff., 90b). These *ḥadīt̲h̲*s may be divided into three groups: 1) *Isrāʾīliyyāt*, traditions about the pre-islamic period, in particular about the holy places of prophets, etc., 2) invented *ḥadīt̲h̲*s which originated in the rivalries between Umayyads, S̲h̲īʿīs, ʿAbbāsids etc., or between the Ḥid̲j̲āz, Syria and ʿIrāḳ, etc., 3) a few genuine *ḥadīt̲h̲*s able to withstand even an internal criticism (see Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id's preface to his edition of al-Rabaʿī's (d. 444/1052) *K. Faḍāʾil al-S̲h̲ām wa-Dimas̲h̲ḳ*, Damascus 1950). The *faḍāʾil* of Baṣra were collected by ʿUmar b. S̲h̲abba (d. 264/878) (Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa), those of Kūfa by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (d. 283/896; *Irs̲h̲ād*, i, 295, 13), those of Bag̲h̲dād by al-Saraḵ̲h̲sī (d. 286/899; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa). Probably the oldest surviving work of this nature is the *K. Faḍāʾil Miṣr* of ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Kindī (d. after 350/961; Brockelmann I, 155; S I, 230; ed. and tr. by J. Østrup, Copenhagen 1896). For a manuscript of an early book about the *Faḍāʾil al-Kūfa* in the Ẓāhiriyya Library, see H. Ritter in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 82 (for the *Faḍāʾil-i Balk̲h̲*, see Storey, i, 1296 ff.; also *Irs̲h̲ād*, ii, 143, 9). Quite different is al-S̲h̲aḳundī's (d. 629/1231; Brockelmann, S I, 483) *R. fī Faḍl al-Andalus* (tr. E. G. Gómez according to al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 126-50: *Elogio del Islam Español*, Madrid-Granada 1934, 123). This small *Risāla* represents indeed an *encomium* of Andalusia, freed of the fetters of eastern *ḥadīt̲h̲* science: the praise of the power of the state (Umayyad caliphs), of knowledge (famous Andalusian scholars), of poetry, of cities such as Seville, Cordova, etc.

Peoples and Tribes. Abū ʿUbayda's (d. ca. 210/825) *K. Faḍāʾil al-Furs* (*Fihrist*, 54, 10; *Irs̲h̲ād*, vii, 170, 5; *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿs̲h̲ā*, iv, 92, 8: read Abū ʿUbayda instead of Abū ʿUbayd; Brockelmann, S I, 167 also to be corrected thus) might owe its origin to the author's inclinations towards the S̲h̲uʿūbīyya. For D̲j̲āḥiẓ's *K. Faḍāʾil al-Atrāk*, see Ch. Pellat (*Arabica*, iii (1956), 177), and F. Gabrieli (*RSO*, xxxii (1957), 477-483), for his *K. Faḍl al-Furs*, see *Irs̲h̲ād* (vi, 77, 19). D̲j̲āḥiẓ's *K. Faḍīlat al-kalām* and *Faḍīlat al-Muʿtazila* (see Pellat in *Arabica*, iii (1956), 163 and 168) do not actually belong to the *faḍāʾil* literature, but rather are similar to the apologetic nature of the *K. Faḍāʾil al-Imām al-S̲h̲āfiʿī* by Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209; see Brockelmann, S I, 921). Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940) devoted a special chapter of his *ʿIḳd al-Farīd* (vol. iii, Cairo 1372/1952, 312-418) to the *faḍāʾil al-ʿArab*. Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819) collected the *faḍāʾil* of Ḳays ʿAylān (*Irs̲h̲ād*, vii, 251, 1), and al-S̲h̲uʿūbī (ca. 200/815) those of Kināna and Rabīʿa (*Fihrist* 105, 15 ff.; *Irs̲h̲ād*, v, 66, 16 ff.), etc. To what extent anti-S̲h̲uʿūbī tendencies play a part in these works, as seems to have been the case with Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfur's (d. 280/893) *K. Faḍl al-ʿArab ʿala ʾl-ʿAd̲j̲am* (*Irs̲h̲ād*, i, 155, 6), has not been clarified.

Various. The *faḍāʾil* of the holy months (Ibn Abī Dunyā, d. 281/894, Brockelmann, I, 160, S I, 247, and others) have been the subject of treatises, as have been those of prayers (Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaḳī, d. 458/1066, Brockelmann I, 446 f., S I, 619, and others), of the *basmala* (al-Būnī, d. 622/1225, Brockelmann I, 655, and others), of the *d̲j̲ihād* (Ibn S̲h̲addād, d. 632/1234, Brockelmann, S I, 550, and others), as well as the "excellences" of quite profane things which have been particularly collected: for example, shaving of the head (al-Ṣaymarī, d. 275/888; *Irs̲h̲ād*, vi, 402 and 403), the days of the week (al-Sīrāfī, d. 368/979; poem, *Irs̲h̲ād*, iii, 89, 5-11), the herb basil (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nūḳātī, d. 382/992; *Irs̲h̲ād*, vi, 324, 16), archery (al-Ḳarrāb, d. 429/1037; Brockelmann, S I, 619; *IC*, xxxiv (1960), 195-218) and coffee (al-Ud̲j̲hūrī, d. 967/1559; Brockelmann II, 414 no. 9).

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FAD̲J̲ĪD̲J̲ [see figuig].

FAD̲J̲R [see ṣalāt].

FAD̲J̲R-I ĀTĪ [see fed̲j̲r-i ātī].

FAḌL, BĀ, a family of *mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲* of Tarīm in Ḥaḍramawt claiming descent from the Saʿd al-ʿas̲h̲ira clan of Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲. The name Bā Faḍl seems to derive from an ancestor called *al-faḳīh* Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad, whose genealogy cannot be traced beyond that. They seem to have had supreme authority in religious matters in

Tarīm until superseded by the Bā ʿAlawī *sayyids* around the 9th/15th century. They have long been prominent as *ṣūfīs* and *faḳīhs*, jurists. In the 10-11th/16th-17th centuries one branch existed in Aden. The most famous of this branch, and probably the founder, was Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, born in Tarīm, who attained prominence in Aden as teacher and *muftī* and was favoured by Sulṭān ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the Ṭāhirid ruler of al-Yaman. He died in Aden in 903/1498.

Another branch, known as Bal Ḥādjdj, existed in al-Shiḥr, of which the probable founder was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr (d. 918/1513), the author of a number of manuals on *fiḳh* and ṣūfism some of which gained circulation beyond his land and were commented upon by other authors (cf. Brockelmann II 389 and S II 528). He also acted as arbitrator between the rulers of the region and excercised some public authority. He was succeded by his son Aḥmad, known as *al-shahīd*, the martyr, because he was killed in al-Shiḥr in a battle with the Portuguese in 929/1523. The family might then have moved back to Tarīm, for a brother of Aḥmad *al-shahīd*, Ḥusayn (d. 979/1572), was a prominent *ṣūfī* in Tarīm and had inclinations towards the Shādhilī *ṭarīḳa*. A son of this Ḥusayn, called Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1026/1617), was also a *ṣūfī* and jurist in Tarīm. Another Ḥusayn, a descendent of Aḥmad *al-shahīd*, was born in al-Shiḥr in 1019/1610, travelled as a student to Aden, Zabīd, Mecca and Medina and back to al-Shiḥr and then to India and then back to Mecca, where he settled and traded in coffee and cloth between al-Mukhā and Mecca. He became a prominent and rather controversial *ṣūfī* and wrote some *ṣūfī* poetry. He died in Mecca in 1087/1677.

Of the Tarīm branch Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl (d. 1006/1597) was a prominent teacher, and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim, called al-Sūdī (d. 1044/1634) was a linguist and grammarian of some merit.

Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAwaḍ Bā Faḍl (d. ca. 1953) is the author of a book of biographies called *Ṣilat al-ahl fī tarādjim Āl Bā Faḍl*, still in manuscript.

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AL-FAḌL B. AḤMAD AL-ISFARĀʾINĪ Abu'l-ʿAbbās, the first *wazīr* of Sulṭan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, was formerly the *ṣāḥib-i barīd* (see barīd) of Marw under the Sāmānids. At the request of Subuktigīn, Amīr Nuḥ b. Manṣūr the Sāmānid sent Faḍl to Nīshāpūr in 385/995 as the *wazīr* of Maḥmūd, who had been appointed to the command of the troops in Khurāsān the previous year. Faḍl managed the affairs of the expanding empire of Sulṭān Maḥmūd with great tact and ability until 404/1013, when he was accused of extorting money from the subjects of the Sultan. Instead of answering the charge when he was called upon to do so, he voluntarily placed himself in the custody of the commander of the fort of Ghazna. The Sultan was annoyed at his conduct and allowed him to remain there. Faḍl died in 404/1013-4, during the absence of Sultan Maḥmūd on one of his Indian expeditions.

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AL-FAḌL B. MARWĀN, vizier to the ʿAbbāsid al-Muʿtaṣim, and an ʿIrāḳi of Christian origin. He began his career modestly as a retainer of Harthama, the commander of Hārūn al-Rashīd's guard. Later, as a result of his particular talents, he became a secretary in the Land Tax office under the same caliph and subsequently he retired to ʿIrāḳ to the estates he had acquired during the civil war. It was there, in the region of al-Baradān, that he had an opportunity, during the reign of al-Maʾmūn, to gain the attention of the future al-Muʿtaṣim, who admitted him into his service, took him to Egypt in 212-3/827-8, and then had him put in charge of the Land Tax office. It was he who, acting as the caliph's deputy in Baghdād, had the oath of loyalty to al-Muʿtaṣim administered. Appointed vizier in Ramaḍān 218/September 833, he enjoyed wide powers, maintained a firm control over the treasury and attempted to restrict the sovereign's expenditure. This policy was the main cause of his disgrace, which occurred in Ṣafar 211/February 836, at the moment when the caliph decided to move his residence to Sāmarrā.

Al-Faḍl b. Marwān was the first example of the ʿIrāḳi secretaries of Christian origin who, during the 3rd/9th century, were to become numerous. He was held to have little education in religious knowledge, but to be highly competent in the exploitation of landed property. As an expert in land taxes, he also played a part under the succeeding caliphs, particularly al-Wāthiḳ and al-Mustaʿīn. He died in 250/864, about 90 years old.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 246-53 and index. (D. Sourdel)

AL-FAḌL B. AL-RABĪʿ, vizier to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Rashīd and al-Amīn, was the son of al-Manṣūr's chamberlain al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus [*q.v.*]. Born in 138/757-8, he very soon won the esteem of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who in 173/789-90 placed him in charge of the Expenditure Office and then in 179/795-6 made him chamberlain. After the disgrace of the Barāmika [*q.v.*] in 187/803, he succeeded Yaḥyā as vizier, though without being granted such wide powers; his part was confined to keeping check on public expenditure and in presenting letters and petitions (*ʿarḍ*), while another secretary directed the financial administration. On the death of al-Rashīd, which took place at Ṭūs in 193/809, it was al-Faḍl who caused the oath of loyalty to al-Amīn to be taken and who led back to Baghdād the whole of the expeditionary force which had been gathered together by the caliph to fight against the rebel Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth. The second heir al-Maʾmūn, who, under the terms of al-Rashīd's testament, was to govern the province of Khurāsān, held al-Faḍl responsible for this withdrawal of the army and tried in vain to make him reverse his decision. Shortly afterwards, it was the advice given by al-Faḍl which encouraged al-Amīn to deprive his brother of his rights to the succession and to confer them on his own son. This tense situation gave rise to a civil war and ended in the siege of Baghdād and the final triumph of al-Maʾmūn.

During the short reign of al-Amīn (193-8/809-14), al-Faḍl remained as before the caliph's most intimate adviser, playing a particularly important part in the episodes of the struggle with al-Maʾmūn. But he did not exercise any general control over the administration, nor was he responsible for the jurisdiction of the *maẓālim*.

On the arrival of al-Maʾmūn's troops he went into hiding, reappearing when the inhabitants of Baghdād, in revolt against the rule of the caliph in Marw who had chosen an ʿAlid as his heir, brought Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (201/816-7) to power. He subsequently gained al-Maʾmūn's pardon when the latter returned to Baghdād, and died in 207/822-3 or 208/823-4.

Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ thus seems to have been an intriguer of mediocre personality and limited ability. As chamberlain he succeeded by means of adroit manoeuvres in replacing the Barāmika and, in exalting himself to the highest government office, the vizierate. He then adopted the cause of al-Amīn, a weak character over whom he planned to exert great influence, but he was unsuccessful in meeting the situation created by the forceful opposition of al-Maʾmūn.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, index; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 183-94 and index.

(D. Sourdel)

AL-**FAḌL** B. **SAHL** B. **ZADHĀNFARŪKH**, vizier to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn, had originally been in the service of the Barāmika [*q.v.*]. His father, of Iranian origin and Zoroastrian by religion, had been converted to Islam and had entrusted the Barāmika with his two sons, al-Faḍl and al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. Al-Faḍl, who immediately attracted attention on account of his intelligence, was taken into the service of Djaʿfar al-Barmakī, then tutor to prince al-Maʾmūn, and took over this position from him after the fall of the Barāmika; it was in the presence of al-Maʾmūn that he is said to have been converted, in 190/806, at a time when the prince was holding power, deputising for his father who had gone to Anatolia.

From the end of the reign of al-Rashīd, al-Faḍl was to demonstrate the influence that he held over al-Maʾmūn's mind and to give his pupil certain advice of great political significance, namely that he should accompany the caliph on the expedition which he had launched in 192/808 in the eastern provinces. On the death of al-Rashīd, which took place at Ṭūs in 193/809, al-Maʾmūn thus found himself in the centre of the province of which, under the terms of his father's will, he became autonomous governor. While his brother on being proclaimed caliph in Baghdād had the whole of the expeditionary force brought back, he himself stayed on in Khurāsān, though not without being exasperated by al-Amīn's decision, which he held to be contrary to the last wishes of the dead sovereign. His adviser al-Faḍl, urging patience, restored his equanimity.

Relations between the two brothers thus being strained and the situation having deteriorated to the point of civil war, al-Faḍl, who had at his command a well-organized intelligence service in ʿIrāḳ, continued to give al-Maʾmūn helpful advice, promising to secure him the caliphate in the near future. In fact al-Maʾmūn was soon to overcome his brother after the siege of Baghdād and to succeed him, without being the first to infringe the will of al-Rashīd, which al-Amīn had violated by putting forward his own son as heir. As soon as the first victory had been gained by al-Maʾmūn's forces over those of al-Amīn, al-Maʾmūn was proclaimed caliph in the eastern provinces (196/812) and al-Faḍl was made officially responsible for civil and military administration in the occupied territories from Hamadhān to Tibet, while at the same time the honorific title of *Dhu 'l-riʾāsatayn* "the man with two commands" was conferred on him, a title which appeared on the coinage either together with or in place of the name al-Faḍl, which was already linked with the sovereign's name. Being both *wazīr* and *amīr*, al-Faḍl directed military expeditions in the countries lying beyond the Oxus and secured the conversion of the king of Kābul whose throne and crown were sent to the caliph and then put on view at the Kaʿba, where al-Rashīd's will and the declarations of the two heirs apparent had been affixed.

Al-Faḍl did not let matters rest with this manoeuvre, which was intended to enhance the prestige of the new caliph. In addition, he defined the main outlines of the new policy of fidelity to the Book and the Sunna, an attitude of pietist reformism such as would rally not only the former adherents of the fallen caliph, who was accused in particular of having violated the most sacred pacts, but also the men of religion who had at that time been won over by Shīʿite propaganda based on the same themes. Al-Faḍl probably came to terms with Muʿtazilite circles, who were influential in al-Maʾmūn's entourage, to encourage the new caliph to act as *imām*, a title which appeared on the coinage. On the other hand, there is nothing to prove that he took part in elaborating the plan conceived by al-Maʾmūn to bequeath the caliphate to an ʿAlid, ʿAlī al-Riḍā, but he was nevertheless associated with this reckless attempt which eventually was to compromise him.

Meanwhile al-Faḍl exercised a dictatorial control which, especially in ʿIrāḳ where the nomination of ʿAlī al-Riḍā provoked an actual revolt, aroused violent opposition, even among elements favourable to the caliph. In certain cases he did not hesitate to dispose of his enemies by violence.

Learning by chance of the situation in ʿIrāḳ, al-Maʾmūn decided to return to Baghdād, and it was in the course of this long journey that his vizier was assassinated, at Sarakhs, in Shaʿbān 202/February 818, by members of the caliphal guard. The caliph had the murderers put to death at once, but persistent rumours, which are echoed by the chroniclers, alleged that al-Maʾmūn himself had been the instigator of the murder.

After the death of al-Faḍl, al-Maʾmūn apparently entrusted the vizierate to his brother al-Ḥasan, who was already governor of ʿIrāḳ. While continuing to be a prominent member of the court, since al-Maʾmūn had married his daughter Burān [*q.v.*], al-Ḥasan did not in fact exercise his position, and withdrew from political life. Incidentally, it was at this time that the caliph gave up granting too extensive powers to his officials.

In the course of his brief career, al-Faḍl appears to have been a person of unusual energy, highly dictatorial, often violent, but devoid of ambition and as severe to others as he was to himself. He exercised a dominating influence over the mind of al-Maʾmūn, who nevertheless succeeded in releasing himself from his control. It was certainly unjustly that he was accused of wishing to restore the former Iranian rule and of having had ʿAlī al-Riḍā nominated as heir with this intention, but it is unquestionable that he was the most Iranian of the viziers of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs: imbued with very ancient traditions which he set out to promote in

the cultural field, he was particularly in favour of an orientation of policy by the caliph which would have pleased many of the Iranian *mawālī*, and it was no doubt for that reason that he was soon stopped by the Arab and ʿIrāḳī aristocracy.

Bibliography: Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, index; Ṭabarī, index; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 195-217 and index; idem, *La politique religieuse du calife ʿabbāside al-Maʾmūn*, in *REI*, 1962, 27-48. (D. Sourdel)

al-**FAḌL** b. **YAḤYĀ** al-**BARMAKĪ**, the eldest son of Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, played an important part during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in the first years of the domination of the Barāmika [*q.v.*]. As tutor to the crown prince al-Amīn, on whose behalf he caused the customary oath of loyalty to be sworn by the notables, he was particularly distinguished by the benevolence he showed towards the inhabitants of the eastern provinces and by his policy of conciliation with regard to the ʿAlids, perhaps going so far as to support the establishment of an independent Zaydī State in Daylam. His ambiguous attitude won him public execration by the caliph in 183/799 and partly explains the disgrace of the family. Imprisoned at the same time as his father in 187/803, he died at al-Raḳḳa in 193/808, at the age of 45.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, index; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 134-81 and index; idem, *Le politique religieuse du calife ʿabbāside al-Maʾmūn*, in *REI*, 1962, 27-48. (D. Sourdel)

FAḌL ALLĀH, a family of Mamlūk state officials who traced their descent from the Caliph ʿUmar I, hence their *nisba* al-ʿUmarī, al-ʿAdawī al-Ḳurashī. The family received its name from its founder Faḍl Allāh b. Mudjallī b. Daʿdjān, who was living in al-Karak (Transjordan) in 645/1247. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, a son of Faḍl Allāh, held office as *kātib al-sirr* (head of the chancery) in Damascus, and was transferred to the same office in Cairo by the Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl in 692/1293. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb continued to head the central chancery of the Mamlūk state until 711/1311, when he was transferred back to Damascus. There he died in office in 717/1317.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Faḍl Allāh was the first member of his family to hold a high position in the Mamlūk civil service. During his lifetime, and for nearly a century after his death, other members of his family distinguished themselves as Mamlūk state officials. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad I, a younger brother of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who died in 706/1306, was a chancery official in Damascus. A still younger brother, Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā (645-738/1247-1337), began his career in the Damascus chancery under his brother ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, served for a time in Ḥimṣ, then returned to Damascus. Summoned to Cairo in 697/1298 to act for his brother who had fallen ill, he returned to Damascus as *kātib al-sirr*, and remained in that office until he was replaced by his brother in 711/1311. After staying out of office for some years, he re-entered the public service in Damascus as a court clerk (*muwaḳḳiʿ fi 'l-dast*) and rose again to be *kātib al-sirr* in 727/1327 or 728/1328. In 729/1329 he was appointed to head the central chancery in Cairo, and he died in this office.

Nothing is known about the progeny of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad I, if he had any. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's son Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 719/1319) served as a Mamlūk *djundī* (soldier), and his grandson Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (704-64/1304-63) also entered the Mamlūk military service in Damascus and rose to be an *amīr* of 40 (*amīr ṭablakhānā*). Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad sired the undistinguished Abū Bakr. It was the progeny of Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā which maintained a position of distinction for the family for two more generations.

Of Yaḥyā's three known sons, the most distinguished by far was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad I (700-49/1301-49) [*q.v.*], author of *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* and *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, and perhaps the most outstanding of all the Faḍl Allāh. Aḥmad assisted his father in the Cairo chancery, and was later *kātib al-sirr* in Damascus. His brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī (712-69/1312-68), who also assisted his father in the Cairo chancery, succeeded his father as *kātib al-sirr* of Cairo (738-42, 743-69/1337-42, 1342-68) and died in that office, to be succeeded in turn by his son Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad III (d. 796/1394). Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad II (710-46/1310-45), a third son of Yaḥyā and brother of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, also served as *kātib al-sirr* in Cairo (where he replaced his brother ʿAlī for a few months in 1342) and in Damascus (743-6/1342-5).

Apart from Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad III, ʿAlaʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī had three sons. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad II (d. 777/1375) acted as deputy *kātib al-sirr* for his father in Cairo, and died a young man. His brother Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 821/1418) was an impoverished *djundī*. Equally undistinguished was his brother Ḥamza (d. 796/1394), of whose career nothing is known.

The family of Faḍl Allāh had a family home in Cairo; but they regarded Damascus as their home town, and there had a family cemetery in which most of them were buried.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 141; al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, Ḥaydarābād Deccan,

Banū Faḍl-Allāh al-ʿUmarī

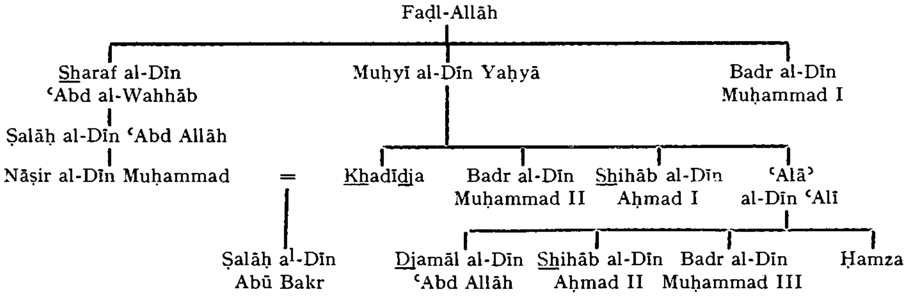

1364; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina fi aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina*, Ḥaydarābād Deccan, 1348-50; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt*; Ibn Iyās, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr* ..., Būlāḳ 1311; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fi 'l-taʾrīkh*, Cairo 1348-58; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, A.U.B. MS 920.02: 1131; Ibn Taghrībirdī; al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya fi tarādjim al-Ḥanafiyya*, Cairo 1324; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1324-6; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk li maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, Cairo 1934-58; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, Cairo 1913-9; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1321; Gaston Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Safi*, Cairo 1932; D. S. Rice, *A miniature in an autograph of Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Fadlallāh al-ʿUmari*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1951), 856-67; R. Hartmann, *Die politische Geographie des Mamlukenreiches*, in *ZDMG*, lxx (1916), 1 ff.

(K. S. Salibi)

FAḌL ALLĀH [see rashīd al-dīn].

FAḌL ALLĀH DJAMĀLĪ [see djamālī].

FAḌL ALLĀH ḤURŪFĪ, the founder of the sect, or more properly, the religion of the Ḥurūfīyya [*q.v.*]. The information given about Faḍl Allāh in the histories closest to his period in no way conforms to the information about him given by those who belonged to his sect and were contemporary with him and those who were inspired by his teachings. While the sources are agreed that he lived in the 8th/14th century, the reports that his name was Djalāl al-Dīn, that he was put to death in 804/1401-2, and especially the statement of later sources like the *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn* of Riḍā Kulikhān Hidāyat (d. 1288/1872) that he was a native of Meshhed are totally erroneous. A study of the life of Faḍl Allāh should thus be based on the books of those personally connected with him.

One of the most important of these is the *Istiwā-nāma* of Amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī, one of the disciples (*khalīfe* [*q.v.*]) of Faḍl Allāh, according to which Faḍl Allāh was born in 740/1339-40, began to spread his doctrines in 788/1386, and was put to death in 796/1394 (Istanbul, Millet Library, MS Ali Emiri farsça 269, f. 1a). These dates are confirmed in one of the Ḥurūfī books. Both these sources, in addition, call Mīrān Shāh, the man who ordered Faḍl Allāh's execution, "Dadjdjāl", record his name as "Mārān Shāh", and give the date of his death as 803/1400 (same library, MS 1052, f. 7a). Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the foremost disciple of Faḍl Allāh and the one who turned his *Djāwidān* into verse in 802/1400, states that Faḍl Allāh was put to death in 796/1393-4 and that Mīrān Shāh was slain seven years later, that is, in 803/1400-1 (Ṣādiḳ Kiyā, *Wāzha-nāme-i Gurgānī*, Tehran 1330, 26. In this source the date of the death of Mīrān Shāh is given as 810/1407-8; cf. the genealogy in Khalīl Edhem, *Düwel-i Islāmiyye*, Istanbul 1345/1927, 429). The *Khāb-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāḳ (frequently mentioned in the *Istiwā-nāma* as one of the intimates of Faḍl Allāh) states that in 772/1370-1 Faḍl Allāh entered into a period of retirement (*čile*) in Iṣfahān, being then thirty-two years of age (MS Ali Emiri, Farsça 1042, 25a-b). According to this reckoning the date of his birth is 740/1339-40. Sayyid Sharīf, a contemporary of Faḍl Allāh (as one understands from the eulogies in his *Dīwān*, cf. Istanbul University Library, MS Farsça 152, 16a-18b) mentions in his *Risāla-i maʿādiyya* that Faḍl Allāh was a Sayyid and also records his genealogy, according to which there is a line of twenty persons between Faḍl Allāh and ʿAlī (Ist. Univ. Lib., MS Farsça 1043, 51a). The fact that the ninth ancestor in one list, the eight in the other, is Muḥammad al-Yamānī deserves attention in view of the fact that the Yemen is known to have been one of the most important centres of the Bāṭinīs from the latter part of the 3rd/9th century onwards (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī, *Ḳawāʿid ʿaḳāʾid āl Muḥammad*, ed. R. Strothmann: *Die Geheimlehre der Batiniten: Dogmatik des Hauses Muhammad*, Bibliotheca Islamica II, Istanbul 1938, Introduction vi-ix, 24-5, 95, 96).

One also finds scattered throughout both the *Istiwā-nāma* and the *Khāb-nāma* information relating to the life of Faḍl Allāh and the places which he visited. According to the *Istiwā-nāma* (82b), being at one point—the date is not known—in Iṣfahān, he rejected the notion that the human soul becomes non-existent after death and the assertions of the Ḥurūfīs who denied the existence of the after-life. In the *Khāb-nāma* also (10b) he is said to have rejected such a claim in Iṣfahān. Again according to this latter book Faḍl Allāh embraced Ṣūfism at the age of eighteen. He was inspired with the ability to interpret dreams in 756/1355 (19a), in which year he was in a place named Tokdji in Iṣfahān; later he went to Tabrīz, where the Djalāʾirid Sultan Uways b. Ḥasan (d. 776/1374-5), Wazīr Zakariyyā, and Ṣāḥib Ṣadr Shaykh Khwādja accepted his teachings (19a-b). In Tabrīz he married a girl from Astarābād on the recommendation of his disciple Kamāl al-Dīn Hāshimī. He wrote a book on *fiḳh* for ʿIzz al-Dīn Shāh Shudjāʿ (d. 786/1384) (24a). He was again in Iṣfahān in 772/1370-1, at the age of thirty-two, and there went into retreat (35a-b). He also spent some time in Dāmghān (38b) and Bākūye (47a). While in Shamākhī interpreting a dream of Ḳāḍī Bāyazīd, he foretold his own martyrdom (49b). When he left the house of this *ḳāḍī* and was returning to his cell (*hüdjre*), he was arrested on the strength of a decree from Astarābād and taken to the fortress of Alīndjak (50a). He was imprisoned on the order of Mīrān Shāh (55a). Among those believing in him were important men; he even sent a dervish cap (*dervish külāhī*), conveying his blessing, to Sultan Uways (55b-56a). His followers are known as *Darwishān-i ḥalāl-khor ve rāst-gūy* (48a). A *bayt* in the *Tawḥīd-nāma* of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, called by the Ḥurūfīs "Khalīfat Allāh" and "Waṣī Allāh", states that Faḍl Allāh was born in Astarābād (Ist. Univ. Lib., MS Farsça 1158, 5b.

There exist three chronograms giving the date of the death of Faḍl Allāh-i Ḥurūfī. In one of these his name is recorded as Shihāb al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh and his death as having occurred on a Friday in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 796/October-November 1394, when he was fifty-six years of age (Millet Library, MS Ali Emiri, Farsça 1043, at the beginning). The second chronogram is in a 16th cent. *madjmūʿa* belonging to the book-dealer Raif Yelkenci. Though the chronogrammatic *miṣrāʿ* is known to all Ḥurūfīs and to all those connected in any way with the Ḥurūfīs (see, for example, Aḥmad Rifʿat, *Mirʾāt al-maḳāṣid fī dafʿ al-mafāsid*, Istanbul 1293, lithograph, 133, where there is also the genealogy of Faḍl Allāh, taken from a *risāla*), I have seen the whole of the chronogram only in this *madjmūʿa*. The author of this chronogram is unknown, as is that of the first chronogram. In the first *bayt* Timur is mocked, in the fourth *bayt* the name of Mīrān Shāh is mentioned, and in the fifth *bayt* it is stated that Faḍl Allāh was put to death on "Thursday, the eve of Friday" the sixth of Dhu

'l-Ḳaʿda. In the first poem, which contains seven *bayt*s, it is also stated that he died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, but on a Friday. It is clear, however, form the specific method of recording the date in the second chronogram, that he was put to death after the afternoon prayer on Thursday, since, according to the custom of the holy law, Friday begins after that time. The year is stated in the sixth and last *bayt* in the form *dhāl u ṣād u wāw*, that is, 796 (according to the conversion-tables, the first day of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 796 corresponds to Friday, 28 August 1394. But the new moon of the month must have been confirmed the day before by observation, in which case the sixth day of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda would coincide with Thursday, 3 September 1394). The third chronogram is in a *madjmūʿa* containing the poems of Faḍl Allāh, along with those of Sharīf and ʿAlī al-Aʿlā. In the fourth of the seven *bayt*s in this chronogram it is stated that Faḍl Allāh was fifty-six (*Bīst u čār u si u du*) when he was put to death. The place of his martyrdom is specified in the last *bayt* as "Alīndja" while the date is conveyed by the phrase *Shahīd-i ʿishḳ-i ū* (Millet Library, MS Kenan Bey, Farsça 186, f. 194b). In a *risāla* of Mīr Fāḍilī is found the note: "The honoured resting-place of that most excellent Prophet (*Ṣāḥib bayān*) is at a town called Alīndja, by Astarābād on the far side of Tabrīz. ʿAlī al-Aʿlā is also buried there, and there is yet another grave. The covering of (Faḍl Allāh's) tomb is black, that of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā's green, and of the other's red" (MS Ali Emiri, Farsça 1039, f. 92b). In his *risāla* entitled *Ṣalāt-nāma* Shaykh Muḥammad, who is known by the name Ishḳurt Dede and who is known to have met some of the disciples of Faḍl Allāh, writes while discussing the rules governing the *ḥadjdj* that during the days of the *Tashrīḳ* sixty-three stones are thrown, twenty-one each day, at the Tower of Mīrān Shāh, opposite the Alīndjak fortress, which is also called Sandjariyye, and that the *Ṭawāf* procession occurs in a place called "*Maḳtal-gāh*"; during the course of this discussion he states that Faḍl Allāh was put to death in Alīndjak and that his grave is there (Millet Library, MS Kenan Bey, Farsça 1043, 35b-36a).

To regard certain numbers as sacred and to assign various meanings to certain letters are ancient, magical practices; examples occur in both the Old and the New Testaments. Similarly various meanings have been assigned from time to time to the letters occurring at the beginning of twenty-nine *sūra*s of the Ḳur'ān. In both the *Dīwān* of Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallādj (d. 309/922) (see L. Massignon, *Le Dīwān d'al-Hallaj*, *JA* (1931), 63, 83, 94) and his *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn* (ed. L. Massignon, Paris 1913, 13-4, 29, 31, 56-60, 63, 65-67) there are frequent references to letters and numbers and to the correspondence of letters to numbers. His statements relative to points, lines, and letters are transmitted in the *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj* (ed. L. Massignon, Paris 1936, 16, 25-6, 59-60, 71, 95-6); and one finds that he even discusses the equator (*khaṭṭ-i istiwā'*) (*ibid.*, 53), which is one of the basic elements in the system of Faḍl Allāh. The Bāṭinī belief in these matters is well-known (see for example Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Khān al-Ikhwān*, ed. Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb, Cairo 1359/1940, 66-7; and also his *Wadjh-i Dīn*, Berlin 1343, 76-7). Even in the *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn ʿArabī (d. 635/1240) great importance is given to letters, and particular emphasis is laid upon this idea (Būlāḳ 1272, i, 56-92; section 2, 92-101; ch. 5, 112-30; ii, ch. 79, 135-7. For the sections which explain the Bāṭinī ideas in connection with the *Khatm al-awliyā'* together with the complete Bāṭinī system, see iv, ch. 557, 215).

Faḍl Allāh was certainly acquainted with the Bāṭinī methods. The *ṭarīḳa* which he joined while young was one which had adopted the Bāṭinī beliefs. He occupied himself with the meanings given to letters and with numerical relationships. Perhaps he also studied Ibn ʿArabī. Conclusions drawn from the Old and New-Testaments in appropriate places in the *Djāwidān* make it clear that he had read these books (Ali Emiri, MS Kenan Bey 920, 144b). From his *Dīwān* it is evident that he knew Arabic, Persian, and his native language, the Gurgān dialect, that he was well-versed in Persian literaure, and that he was capable of composing poetry in the classical style.

That an *ʿIlm al-ḥurūf* was among those branches of knowledge known as *ʿUlūm ghariba* or *ʿUlūm khāfiya* and that it was used for the most part for divination of the occult is well-known (see, for example, *Manāḳib al-ʿarifīn*, begun in 718/1318; ed. Tahsin Yazici, Ankara 1959, 421). Faḍl Allāh thus took over, among other features of Bāṭinī *ta'wīl*, in particular the importance given to letters, and, wherever necessary, the relationships of letters and numbers. He adopted the method of referring all religious commands to the twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet and the thirty-two of the Persian. To the *ʿIlm al-ḥurūf*, which was old and not completely systematized, he gave a form truly original for his period; and, by proclaiming himself Messiah, *Mahdī*, and Manifestation (*maẓhar*) of God, he founded the Ḥurūfī religion. His disciples and those who came later adapted the obligations of ablution, prayer, and the pilgrimage completely to this religion. Although it is reported that Faḍl Allāh rejected the claims of those who denied the existence of the after-life and the continued existence of the soul, it is known that Ḥurūfīs in a number of places like Iṣfahān, Tabrīz, and Geylān considered life to be merely material and denied the continued existence of the soul. In view of this, it seems likely that the rejection of such claims by him and some of his disciples was no more than an instance of *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], a concealment of their true views, so as not to put off new converts to the religion.

His disciples (*khalīfa*). Sayyid Sharīf, in his *Risāla-i maʿādiyya* (properly entitled *Bayān al-wāḳiʿ*) lists the disciples of Faḍl Allāh, with the note "whom I remember", as follows: Amīr Sayyid ʿAlī, Ḥusayn Kiyā b. Thāḳib. Madjd al-Dīn, Maḥmūd, Kamāl al-Dīn Hāshimī, Khʷādja Ḥāfiẓ Ḥasan, Shaykh ʿAlī Maghzāyish, Bāyazīd, Tawakkul b. Dārā, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, Sayyid Isḥāḳ, Sayyid Nasīmī, Ḥasan b. Ḥaydar, Ḥusayn Ghāzī, Sulaymān.

Later he records that all of them, four hundred in number, were Sayyids, that they were in Faḍl Allāh's company day and night, and that they went with him wherever he went (51b-52a). 'Sayyid ʿAlī' is the ʿAlī al-Aʿlā who, in the *Istiwā-nāma*, is called *Khalīfat Allāh* and *Waṣī Allāh*, and who is known to have been Faḍl Allāh's favourite disciple (2a, 11a, 29b, 37a). The names of Madjd al-Dīn, Isḥāḳ, and Nasīmī occur in the same book (29a, 37a). One meets in the same *risāla* such names as Darwīsh Bahā' al-Dīn, Darwīsh ʿAlī, Muḥammad Nāyinī, ʿĪsā Bitlīsī, Muḥammad Tīr-ger, Tādj al-Dīn, Sayyid Muẓaffar, and Ḥusām al-Dīn Yazddjurdī (12a-b, 37a, 40a-b, 43a-b, 80a). Of these, the names of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, Nasīmī, and Isḥāḳ are found in the *Ṣalāt-nāma* of Ishḳurt Dede, as are those of the author of the *Maʿādiyya*, Sayyid Sharīf, and Djāwidī. Besides these, the name of Mīr Fāḍilī is mentioned, and he

is reported to have been the disciple (*khalīfa*) of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā. It is also reported that Amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn was the son of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā's sister, and that, in addition to the *Istiwā-nāma*, he was the author of a *risāla* named *Turāb-nāma* (5a). Djāwidī, in a *risāla* which he wrote in Shawwāl 1000/July-August 1592, reveals that his personal name was ʿAlī (Millet Library, MS Farisi 437). In view of the date in which he wrote his *risāla*, this person must have been connected with one of the disciples of Faḍl Allāh. In the *Muḥarram-nāma* of Sayyid Isḥāḳ one finds the following names: Sayyid Tādj al-Dīn Kehnā-yi Bayhaḳī, one of the intimates of Faḍl Allāh and known to the Ḥurūfīs as *Ṣāḥib Taʾwīl* (see C. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs a la secte des Houroufis*, Leiden and London 1909, Gibb Memorial Series, 42); Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Hāshimī; ʿAlī Dāmghānī, who, it is reported, had formerly been one of the intimates of Sultan Uways and had been Wālī of Khurāsān; and Pīr Ḥasan Dāmghānī (*ibid.*, 43). Both in this book and in the *Nawm-nāma*, which is attributed to Faḍl Allāh, other names are mentioned in a section devoted to statesmen; but it is impossible to determine definitely the degree of their relationships with Faḍl Allāh (*Wāzha-nāma-i Gurgānī*, 36; examples from the text and translations into Persian, 236-46). Mīr Fāḍilī writes in a *risāla* the names of the disciples ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan, Kamāl al-Dīn Hāshimī Rūmī (*i.e.*, from Anatolia) and Kamāl al-Dīn Hāshimī Iṣfahānī, and says that they are "the four friends of the felicitous one" ("*Ṣāḥib Devletün čār yārīdur*"), thus testifying to a belief that Faḍl Allāh had "four friends" corresponding to the "four friends" of the Prophet Muḥammad (Millet Library, MS Farsça 990, last folio).

The names of the sons, daughters, and grandchildren of Faḍl Allāh are written in a different hand on the last folio of the *Risāla-i maʿādiyya* (61b). Among these is the name of Amīr Nūr Allāh, who was arrested and put to the question along with the author of the *Istiwā-nāma*, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, after the attempt on the life of Shāh Rukh. Among his sons there is one Salām Allāh, who is not to be confused with his elder sister who was appointed by Faḍl Allāh in the last will and testament which he wrote before his arrest as the trustee and guardian for all his children. (Abdülbâki Gölpinarlı, *Fazl-Allāh-ı Hurūfī'nin Waṣiyya-Nāma'sı veya Waṣāyā'sı*, in *Şarkiyat mecmuası*, ii (1958), 54-62. There is a copy of this will also in Millet Library, MS Farsça 1009, 1b-9a, as well as an incomplete copy in the same section of the library, MS 933, 104a-b).

Works. Faḍl Allāh's most famous work is the *Djāwidān-nāma*. From the *Khāb-nāma* one learns that this work became famous after Faḍl Allāh's death (43a). The *Istiwā-nāma* reveals that the *Djāwidān-nāma* begins with the word "*ibtidāʾ*" repeated six times (29b). There is a copy beginning with this word and written in the Gurgān dialect in Millet Library, Farsça, MS Kenan Bey 920. The *Djāwidān-nāma* written in normal Persian and common in both public and private libraries must be a new redaction, separated into sections, and arranged by Faḍl Allāh personally or by one of his disciples, made on the basis of this text. For a copy belonging to the period of Faḍl Allāh but without a colophon see MS Fatih (Süleymaniye) 3728; another copy, written by Darwīsh ʿAlī Sarkhanī in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 845/1442, Millet Library, MS Kenan Bey 1000. MS Ist. Univ. Lib., Farsça 869 (written n 1049/1639) is in the hand of Darwīsh Murtaḍā Baktāshī who translated the second version of the *Djāwidān-Nāma* under the title *Durr-i yatīm*. Among the manuscripts which I gave to the Mevlānā Museum Library in Konya is one written by this same man in the previous year (a rather free and expanded translation). In the *Khāb-nāma* two other works by Faḍl Allāh are mentioned: the *Maḥabbat-nāma* and the *ʿArsh-nāma*. ʿAlī al-Aʿlā also mentions these two works in his *Tawḥīd-nāma* (34b).

Faḍl Allāh also composed poetry, mostly in Persian but some in Arabic, under the *makhlaṣ* Naʿīmī. His poems form a small *dīwān*. In the *medjmūʿa* which contains the chronogram relative to the death of Faḍl Allāh there are thirty-three *ghazals*, seven *ḳitʿas*, nine *rubāʿīs*, four *bayts*, and two *tardjīʿs*. In the *dīwān* in Millet Library, MS Kenan Bey 989, there are seventy-two poems: thirty-six *ghazals*, two *ḳitʿas*, twenty-four *rubāʿīs*, eight *bayts*, and the two *tardjīʿs* in the *madjmūʿa* previously mentioned.

Bibliography: in the article.

(ABDÜLBÂKI GÖLPINARLI)

FAḌL-I ḤAḲḲ AL-ʿUMARĪ, AL-ḤANAFĪ, AL-MĀTURĪDĪ, AL-ČISHTĪ (not al-Ḥabashī as misread by Brockelmann, S II, 458), AL-KHAYRĀBĀDĪ B. FAḌL-I IMĀM [*q.v.*] was born at Khayrābād [*q.v.*] in 1211/1796-7. Having studied first at home with his father, he later studied *ḥadīth* with Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*] and at the age of thirteen completed his studies. He entered service as a *pishkār* to the Commissioner of Delhi under the East India Company and later served with the Chiefs of Djhadjdjar, Alwar, Tonk and Rāmpur. He was a leading scholar of his day, well-versed in logic, philosophy, belles-lettres, *kalām*, *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and poetics, and a great teacher and logician who attracted students from far and near. He was often seen teaching *al-Ufḳ al-mubīn* of al-Dāmād [*q.v.*], a rather involved text on logic, while engaged in playing chess. On the doctrine of *imtināʿ al-naẓīr* he entered into a lengthy controversy with Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Shahīd [*q.v.*] in refutation of whose teachings he composed a number of treatises. This controversy greatly agitated the people of Dihlī, and even the reigning monarch Bahādur Shāh Ẓafar and the egalitarian poet Ghālib were involved in it. The controversy later took an ugly turn, and he misused his official position by persuading the *kōtwāl* of Delhi, Mīrzā Khānī, a bigoted Shīʿī, to take preventive measures against Ismāʿīl Shahīd, who was prohibited from delivering public sermons in the congregational mosque. He took a leading part in the military uprising of 1857, was charged with high treason, arrested, tried and sentenced to transportation for life. He died in exile in the Andamans (*Kālā Pānī*), where he was interred, in 1862.

Among his works are: (i) *al-Djins al-ghālī fī sharḥ al-Djawhar al-ʿālī* (a treatise on theology); (ii) *al-Hadiyya al-saʿīdiyya fi 'l-ḥikma al-ṭabīʿiyya*, a treatise on physics begun by Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ but completed by his son ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Kānpur 1283/1866; (iii) *al-Rawḍ al-mudjūd fī taḥḳīḳ ḥaḳīḳat al-wudjūd*; (iv) *al-Ḥāshiya ʿalā Talkhīs al-Shifāʾ*; (v) *al-Ḥāshiya ʿalā al-Ufḳ al-mubīn*; (vi) *al-Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ Sullam al-ʿulūm* by Ḳāḍī Mubārak Gōpāmawī (Delhi 1899); (vii) *Risāla fi 'l-tashkīk wa fi 'l-māhiyyāt*; (viii) *al-Risāla al-ghadriyya* (or *al-Thawra al-Hindiyya*), a doleful and moving account of the untold sufferings that he underwent in the Andamans as a dangerous political prisoner; published with Urdu transl. and notes as *Bāghī Hindustān* (see Biblio-

graphy); (ix) *al-Risāla fī taḥḳīḳ al-ʿilm wa 'l-maʿlūm*; and (x) *al-Risāla fī taḥḳīḳ al-adjsām*.

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FAḌL-I IMĀM b. Muḥammad Arshad al-ʿUmarī al-Hargāmī, b. Muḥ. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wādjid b. ʿAbd al-Mādjid b. Ḳāḍī Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, was a contemporary of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī, and the first Indian Muslim scholar to have accepted the post of *muftī* and *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* of Delhi under the East India Company, the highest office, equivalent to the modern sub-judge in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, which the Company could confer on its native employees. His duties, as *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*, included examining candidates for the posts of *ḳāḍīs*, scrutiny of requests for financial aid or the grant of *amlāk* (fiefs), *aʾimma* lands or *madad maʿāsh* from scholars, divines and needy and learned persons. Born at Khayrābād [*q.v.*], a flourishing centre of learning in the *Purb* (Eastern districts) which Shāhdjahān described as "the Shīrāz of India", in the last quarter of the 12th/18th century he completed his studies with ʿAbd al-Wādjid Kirmānī, a learned scholar of Khayrābād (cf. Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-i ʿulamā-i Hind*, Lucknow 1914, 136). One of his maternal uncles Mullā Abu 'l-Wāʿiẓ Hargāmī was one of the compilers of *al-Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya* [*q.v.*]. Specially interested in rational sciences, he devoted his leisure hours to the teaching of logic and philosophy. He was so fond of his pupils that once he strongly upbraided his son Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ for misbehaving towards a dull student. He seems to have been relieved of his post at Delhi in ca. 1827 when he was succeeded by Ṣadr al-Dīn Āzurda [*q.v.*], one of his pupils. He then entered the service of the chief of Paṭiālā as a minister but soon retired to his hometown where he died in 1244/1829. He left behind three sons of whom Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] gained great distinction.

His works are: (i) *al-Mirḳāt al-mīzāniyya* (ed. Dihlī 1886, 1888), a text-book on logic based mainly on *al-Shamsiyya* by Nadjm al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 613/1216) and *Tahdhīb al-manṭiḳ* of al-Taftāzānī (d. 729/1389). It was commented upon by his grandson ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ and has since been translated into Urdu; (ii) *Tashḥīdh al-adhhān fī Sharḥ al-Mīzān* (MSS I.O.; Delhi-Arabic no. 1529; Āṣafiyya, ii, 1566); (iii) *Ḥāshiya ʿalā al-Ḥāshiya al-zāhidiyya al-ḳuṭbiyya* (MS Bankipore no. 2273); (iv) *Ḥāshiya ʿalā al-Ḥāshiya al-zāhidiyya al-djalāliyya* (MS I.O. Delhi-Arabic no. 1513); (v) *Talkhīs al-Shifāʾ* (MSS Aligarh Subḥān-Allāh Collection, no. 80, Rampur, no. 381); (vi) *Āmad-nāma*, a very useful booklet on Persian infinitives for beginners of which chapter v, comprising short biographical notices of some of the leading *ʿulamāʾ* and scholars of Awadh, has been published at Karachi under the title *Tarādjim al-fuḍalāʾ* (1956), with English translation and notes by me; (vii) *Tardjama-i Taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī* (MS Aumer 241).

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

FAḌLAWAYH, Banū, a Kurdish dynasty which ruled in Shabānkāra [*q.v.*] from 448/1056 to 718/1318-9. Very little is known about them except for the founder of the dynasty Faḍlawayh (in Ibn al-Athīr, x, 48: Faḍlūn) and for members of the family during the Ilkhān period [*q.v.*].

Faḍlawayh, son of the chief ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb of the Kurdish tribe Rāmānī in Shabānkāra, was originally a general (Sipāh-Sālār) under the Buwayhids [*q.v.*] and closely connected with their vizier Ṣāḥib ʿĀdil. When the latter was executed after a change of government, Faḍlawayh eliminated the last Buwayhid in 447/1055 and placed himself under the authority of the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*]. Later, however, he fell out with Alp Arslan [*q.v.*], was defeated by Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] and finally taken prisoner and executed in 464/1071.

Reports of the Banū Faḍlawayh until the beginning of the 7th/13th century are vague. After 626/1227-8 Muẓaffar al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Mubāriz expanded his rule in the direction of Fārs and the coast opposite Hormuz. He asserted himself against the *atabeg* of Fārs, but fell during a siege of his own capital Īdj by Hulagu [*q.v.*] in 658/1260. Until 664/1266 three rulers followed one another in rapid succession: Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, the brother (according to Zambaur the son) of Muẓaffar al-Dīn (murdered 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 659/5 November 1261); Niẓām al-Dīn II Ḥasanwayh who fell in Rabīʿ II 662/February 1264; Nuṣrat al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the brother of the latter, deposed Rabīʿ II 664/Jan.-Feb. 1266,

after which more peaceful conditions obtained. The brother of the last named, Djalāl al-Dīn Ṭayyibshāh, ruled for sixteen years under Mongol suzerainty until his execution on 10 Djumādā I 681/16 August 1282. His brother Bahā' al-Dīn Ismā'īl died a natural death in 688/1289-90. The cousins who succeeded, Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Djalāl al-Dīn and Niẓām al-Dīn III b. Bahā' al-Dīn, were quite powerless. In the year following the suppression of a revolt in 712/1312-3 a certain Ardashīr, whose lineage is uncertain, succeeded to power. As early as Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da/February-March 1314 he was eliminated by the founder of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, and thus the dynasty of the Banū Faḍlawayh came to an end.

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(B. SPULER)

FAḌLĪ (commonly written FADHLĪ), a tribal territory now one of the states of the Federation of South Arabia, area about 1600 square miles with an estimated population of 55,000. Its western bounds touch on the Aden Colony and then run northwest bordering on Laḥdj ('Abdalī), Ḥawshabī and Lower Yāfi' territories; in the northeast it is bounded by 'Awdhalī and Dathīna, in the east by the Lower 'Awlaḳī, and on the south by the Arabian Sea. The country consists of two main parts: the lowlands of Abyan in the west, partly desert but containing the only fertile soil, with a mainly settled population; and the steppes and hilly parts in the east, with a mainly tribal population.

The territory was originally a confederation of tribes whose chieftain, a *sulṭān* by title, of the Faḍlī tribe, lived in Shuḳra, the capital and a seaport. After the British occupied Aden the Faḍlī remained hostile to them until in 1865, after the Faḍlīs had attacked a caravan near Aden, the British attacked them by land and sea. In 1888 the Faḍlī *sulṭān* Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn signed a treaty accepting British protection; and in 1944 the Faḍlī *sulṭān* 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān signed a treaty with the British whereby he accepted advice on the administration of his country and the expenditure of his revenue. An executive acted for him in all matters in close cooperation with the British Political Officer in Abyan, and Zandjibār (also written Zandjubār) in Abyan became the administrative seat. In December 1962 Sulṭān 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān was replaced as ruler by his *nā'ib* in Abyan the *de facto* ruler, Sulṭān Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh. The *sulṭān* is aided by a State Council, recently constituted, made up of thirteen members representing the tribes, the fishermen, the farmers and the traders. In June 1963 the State Council passed an ordinance providing for the election of 12 members, four from the settled areas in the west and eight from the tribal areas in the east, who, with five *ex officio* members and the members of the existing State Council will make a legislative body. In 1959 the Faḍlī sultanate or state was among the first territories of the Western Aden Protectorate to join in forming the Federation of Arab Amirates of the South, later called the Federation of South Arabia when Aden Colony joined it in 1962. The present Faḍlī Sulṭān is a member of the Federal Supreme Council and holds a Federal ministerial post.

The economy depends chiefly on agriculture, which is centred in the Abyan delta formed by Wādī Banā and Wādī Ḥasan whose irrigation waters are shared by Faḍlī and Lower Yāfi' growers under the control of the joint Abyan Board. The formation of the Board marked the settlement of the long standing dispute between the two territories over the leading channel, *nāzi'a*, which the Faḍlīs had constructed in the last century to divert water to their land from Wādī Banā in Lower Yāfi' territory. Cotton is the main cash crop, with the Faḍlī production in 1963 nearing 5,000 tons. Other products are fruit and vegetables, to supply nearby Aden Colony, crops other than cotton, especially sorghum, and animal husbandry. There is also a fishing industry with good potential. The revenue of the state has reached £ 250,000 a year.

The state has two systems of courts, *sharī'a* and Customary Law (*'urf*); a Justice of the Peace system has also been introduced. There is also a State High Court with powers of appeal and with jurisdiction over some constitutional matters.

Education has progressed recently and there are 20 primary schools including two for girls, the first in the Federation outside Aden Colony.

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(M. A. GHŪL)

FAḌLI, MEḤMED, better known as ḲARA FAḌLĪ (? -971/1563-4), Turkish poet, born in Istanbul, son of a saddler. Little is known of his early life. He does not seem to have had a regular education, but acquired knowledge in the company of learned people, particularly the poet Dhātī [*q.v.*], whose shop of geomancy had become a sort of a literary club for men of letters, where the old poet helped and encouraged young talents. On Dhātī's suggestion he composed a *ḳaṣīda* on the occasion of the circumcision festivities of prince Meḥmed. When Dhātī had finished reading his poem on the same subject, he introduced to the Sultan, Süleymān the Magnificent, his young disciple who then recited his, which won him the favour of the court. Faḍlī was made *dīwān* secretary to prince Meḥmed and, upon his death, to prince Muṣṭafā. On the latter's tragic end (960/1552) he wrote a long remembered elegy. He then entered the service of the crown prince Selīm who, upon succeeding to the throne, made him his chief secretary with a high fief. The poet died in Kütahya the following year.

Faḍlī was a master of classical formal prose (*inshā'*), but he is better known as a poet. Unlike most poets of the classical age, he does not seem to have collected his poems into a *dīwān* and his known poems are scattered in various *medjmū'as*. Some of his works, mentioned and praised in *tedhkires* (the *mathnawīs Humā we Humāyūn* and *Lehdjet ul-*

esrār, and a collection of stories in prose, *Nakhlistān*) have not come down to us. Apart from his *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *muṣammaṭs* and *rubāʿīs*, Faḍlī owes his fame, among minor poets of the 10th/16th century, to his *mathnawī Gül we Bülbül* written in 960/1552-3 and dedicated to prince Muṣṭafā. This is an allegorical romance of the love of the Nightingale for the Rose which, unlike most of its contemporaries, does not follow any particular Persian model. In spite of the fluent and simple style of some passages, the work is on the whole written in an over-elaborated style laden with the conventional *ṣūfī* vocabulary which was in vogue during the period. Hammer's edition and translation of this work (see Bibl.) revived, for a time, the fading interest in this romance.

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FAGHFŪR or Baghbūr, title of the Emperor of China in the Muslim sources. The Sanskrit **bhagaputra* and the Old Iranian **baghaputhra*, with which attempts have been made to connect this compound, are not attested, but a form *bghpwhr* (= **baghpuhr*), signifying etymologically "son of God", is attested in Parthian Pahlavī to designate Jesus, whence Sogdian *baghpūr*, Arabicized as *baghbūr* and *faghfūr*; these forms were felt by the Arab authors as the translation of the Chinese *T'ien tzŭ* "son of heaven" (cf. *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948, 20; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 306 (tr. Pellat, § 334); *Fihrist*, 350 (Cairo ed., 491): *baghbūr* = son of heaven, that is to say descended from the heavens; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 221). The form *faghfūr* (*facfur* in Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, ii, 145, ed. L. Hambis, Paris 1955, 194, to refer to the last emperor of the Sung dynasty), which has been borrowed by Persian (cf. Ferrand, in *JA*, 1924/1, 243; idem, in *BSOS*, vi (1931), 329-39; S. Lévi, in *JA*, 1934/1, 19), seems to be a more eastern form, although it is attested in al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 200, = tr. Pellat § 622); it appears notably in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 84, and in an Arabic inscription in the cemetery of Zaytūn (Ts'iuan-cheou) dated 723/1323 (cf. G. Arnáiz and M. van Berchem, *Mémoire sur les antiquités musulmanes de Ts'iuan-cheou*, in *T'oung-Pao*, xii, 724). In the Arabic texts it appears less frequently than *baghbūr* (the Arabic dictionaries give the vocalization *bughbūr*), the earliest attestations of which go back at least to the 3rd/9th century (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 16; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vii, 180); later authors use it frequently (al-Masʿūdī, *Fihrist*, Ibn al-Athīr, see above; al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ*, Cairo 1342, 71, 73; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 109; *Abrégé des merveilles*, 118; etc.). According to the author of the *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde* (20), a form *maghbūr* was used, perhaps punningly, by navigators. Al-Masʿūdī, *loc. cit.*, also indicates the title which one gave to the emperor of China when addressing him, and it seems that the reading *Ṭamghāč khān*, "Khān of the Ṭamghāč", must be adopted; this refers to the Chinese (cf. Abu 'l-Fidā', ii/2, 123), *Ṭamghāč* (*Tabghač*) designating the Chinese and China (see P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 274).

The derived forms *faghfūrī* (Persian) and *faghfur* (Turkish) have become synonyms of *čīnī* "Chinese [porcelain]", but later authors who try to explain this word make *faghfūr* a region of China (cf. P. Pelliot, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1931, 458). This term has entered Modern Greek (φάρφουρι) in the sense of "porcelain", and also Slav languages, through the Russian *farfor* (see Berneker, *Slav. etymol. Wörterbuch*, i, 279; Laufer, *Beginnings of porcelain*, 126).

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FAGHFŪR, in the sense of 'porcelain' [see ṢĪNĪ].

FAHD (Ar.), (fem. *fahda*, pl. *fuhūd*, *afhād*, *afhud*, *fuhūda*), is the name of the Cheetah (Urdū *čītā* < Sanskrit *čitraka*, "spotted"), *Acinonyx jubatus*, also called "Hunting-leopard and Hunting-cat", (French: "*guépard*", Persian: "*yūz*"), the subspecies *Acin. jub. venaticus* being found from Balūčistān to ʿIrāḳ and Jordan and the subspecies *Acin. jub. hecki* or *guttatus* in northern Africa, from the borders of the Sahara. The noun *fahd*, the form to be preferred to *fahid* which was recommended by al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, 39 ff.), is connected with the root *FHD* which contains the idea of being "soporific by nature and with a tendency to negligence" in speaking of a man who could thus be compared with the cheetah; it is, however, difficult to know if the animal has taken its name from the earlier root bearing this sense, the cheetah being well-known for its natural sleepiness, or if, on the contrary, the root is derived from the word *fahd* which can equally well be supposed to be an Arabic corruption of the Greco-Latin term πάρδος/*pardus*, "panther".

From remotest antiquity travellers in regions inhabited by cheetahs have not failed to observe this slender wild beast, asleep all day in the shade of a bush, hunting only at dawn or dusk, and, though with the tabby coat of a feline, claiming relationship with the canine family. Modern mammalogists in fact recognize it as a greyhound with the fur of a big cat from the form of the cranium, teeth like those of the canidae, non-retractile claws, its habit of running in strides, each step being a leap of five to six yards, and its peaceful nature; the cheetah does not experience the blind atavistic ferocity shown by the big felines at the sight of blood. It is not therefore surprising that the Mongols, Persians and Hindūs who hunted because they needed food and consequently were close observers of wild animals should at a very early time have had the idea of taming the yards, and making use of its predatory instinct for catching hares and various ungulates with edible flesh; by so doing they gained the services of the swiftest of all quadrupeds, the cheetah having a speed of about eighty miles an hour for a distance of five or six hundred yards. It is probable that the Lakhmid princes, vassals of the Sāsānids, tamed the cheetah in east Syria and ʿIrāḳ, the animal being fairly widespread in those countries; the strain from the Samāwa had the reputation, according to al-Manglī, of being superior to any other in the 14th century.

Although Arab tradition attributes to Kulayb Wā'il of the Nadjd (second half of the 5th century A.D.) the distinction of first hunting with the cheetah, the animal does not appear to have been commonly

employed in hunting by the Arabs before the Islamic conquests. Pre-Islamic poets, to judge by such of their writings as survive, make no mention of them; instead, it must have been regarded, like the panther, as a dangerous wild animal best avoided. Although extant in the Ḥidjāz and the Yemen, the cheetah was never very numerous in Arabia, its elective biotope hardly going beyond the tropic of Cancer and being pre-eminently the dry Mediterranean steppe of grass- and bush-land found between the 25th and 35th parallels. The absence in ancient Arabic of any "collective noun" in *mafʿala* among derivatives from the root *FHD* may to some measure corroborate, if not the ignorance of the Bedouins of pre-Islamic Arabia in respect of the cheetah, at least their confusion of this animal with the panther Leopard, *Panthera pardus*, (*namir, nimr, arḳaṭ*). This confusion, incidentally, has been perpetuated unfailingly even up to our own time in the works of many western writers since the introduction by the Crusaders in the 14th century of the cheetah to the courts of Sicily and Italy, and subsequently from there to the courts of France, Germany and England. The French name "guépard", after the names "gapard" and "chat-pard" derived from the Italian "gatto-pardo", has only lately, and correctly, been substituted for the incorrect mediaeval old-French appellations "lyépard", "leupart", "léopard", "léopard-chasseur", just as the anglicized term "cheetah" has taken the place of the archaic Middle-English forms of "leopart", "leparde", "lebarde", "libbard", and "hunting-leopard". Many also continue to make a serious error in confusing the cheetah with the Ounce or "Mountain Panther", also called "Snow-leopard", *Felis uncia*, a species of panther confined to the high mountains of central Asia, which only certain Mongolo-Altaic clans ventured to tame for hunting cervidae, and without any great success. The word Ounce, used for "Lonce" (from the Low Latin *lyncea*, lynx), applied to the "Snow-Leopard" revealed the confusion existing between the panther and the lynx which is called in French "Loup-cervier", *i.e.*, Stag-eating wolf, and was in fact trained. Moreover it is an actual fact that the orthodox Muslim has never included a panther of any species, any more than the tiger (*babr* pl. *bubūr*) or lion, in the list of "beasts of prey" (*al-djawāriḥ*) recognised as "lawful instruments" of hunting (*ālāt al-ṣayd*); justifying this position of the Islamic law, Usāma b. Munḳidh, the illustrious Syrian hunter-knight of the 6th/12th century, was certainly the first to expound with precision the well-known anatomical distinctions between the cheetah and the panther, especially in the structure of the cranium, and to insist upon the ineradicable brutality of the second (see *K. al-Iʿtibār*, 111-2). In this connexion, it is to be regretted that L. Mercier (74-5), misled by erroneous sources of later date, failed to realize that the *yūz* of the Persians was actually the cheetah, and not an "unidentified" panther.

However that may be, it was not until the Muslim expansion towards the north-east took place in the 1st/7th century that the Arabs could be seen to have familiarized themselves with this new auxiliary in their hunting expeditions, afterwards taking to it with passionate enthusiasm. Their interest in the cheetah was to be revealed by their concise aphorisms in which the animal served as an example for some of its characteristic features; they said, among other things, "sleepier than a cheetah" (*anwamᵘ min fahd*), "heavier-headed than the cheetah" (*athḳalᵘ ra'sᵃⁿ min al-fahd*), "a better purveyor than a cheetah" (*aksabᵘ min fahd*), "quicker off the mark than a cheetah" (*athwabᵘ min fahd*), "angrier than a cheetah" (*aghdabᵘ min fahd*); all these axioms are to be found in collections devoted to this literary genre, such as that of al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124).

To be of service in hare and gazelle hunting, the cheetah has to receive a certain training and, for this reason, the Muslims ranked it, like the greyhound and the sporting-bird [see BAYZARA] as one of the "credited carnivora" (*al-ḍawārī*) the use of which in hunting was recognized as lawful on the strength of the Ḳur'ānic ruling (V, 6/4): ". . Reply [to them]: lawful for you are foodstuffs good to eat and any [game] that, at your wish, is captured by beasts of prey which you have trained as you do dogs, according to the method which Allāh has taught you, after you have spoken the name of Allāh over it . . .". It is in imposing this necessary condition of training, (*idjāba, ḍarāwa/ḍarā'a, taʿlīm, ta'dīb*), and in considering the "bleeding bite" (*ʿaḳr*) made by the beast of prey at the take as a ritual slaughter (*dhabḥ, tadhkiya*) of the victim, that the doctors of the Law also admit certain other carnivora (*kāsib*, pl. *kawāsib*) whose training for hunting is identical with that of the cheetah.

First comes the Lynx Caracal (*ʿanāḳ al-arḍ, ʿunfuṭ, ghundjul, ʿundjul, ḳundjul, fundjul, ḥundjul, ḥandjal, furānik al-asad, shīb, bawwāḳ*; Ḥidjāz: *tumayla*; Sudan: *umm rīshāt*; Maghrib: (*a*)*bū sbūla, ūdān/awdān* for *ādhān*; Persian *siyāh-gūsh*; Turkish *ḳaraḳulaḳ* whence "caracal"); the number of its names is proof that the Caracal was well-known in the countries of Islam, all the more since this large russet-coloured cat, with "ears tufted with black", less heavy to carry than the cheetah and less exacting in its requirements, in addition to its aptitude for "fur hunting" (*ṣayd li 'l-wabar*) was equally adept with feathered creatures (*ṣayd li 'l-rīsh*), partridges, wild geese, bustards and cranes. After the cheetah and the caracal, they trained, with equal success, the Jungle Cat (Fr. *Lynx des marais*, *i.e.*, Marsh lynx), *Felis chaus* (*tuffa, tufah, tifā, tifāwa*) as well as the Serval or Tiger-Cat, *Leptailurus serval* (*washaḳ, wishḳ, wishk, kiṭṭ-namir*); as for the Ferret, *Mustela putorius furo* (*ibn ʿirs, nims*), it was used on rare occasions to flush game from dense coverts and for digging out fox, badger (*zabzab*) and porcupine (*ḍirbān*) (Kushādjim, 227-8; Ibn Munḳidh, 213).

Under the Umayyad dynasty, the cheetah became an indispensable element in the caliphs' diversions; in Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (680-3) the passion for "hunting with cheetahs" was quite as fervent as his love of hawking, so much so that he was traditionally the first (of the Muslims) to carry on his crupper the noble animal which the ordinary people, with their grey-hounds, looked upon as impossible to tame (*dhū shakīma*). To name all the caliphs and distinguished personages in Islam who kept packs of cheetahs would be lengthy and of little value, since very few of them failed to respond to the powerful fascination exerted by the swift and inexorable hunt to the death as seen in the cheetah's headlong attack. The ʿAbbāsids, following the example of their illustrious general Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī (718-55), and later the Fāṭimids and the Mamlūks, took such a great interest in this proud beast, forcibly tamed by man, that they delighted in making it take part in their official processions; it may even be thought that they looked upon it as an external mark of their prestige and opulence. The vast expense entailed by the upkeep of a hunt with cheetahs, for which

a paid staff of experts was essential, precluded all but the rich from the privilege of this luxurious diversion; the less affluent contented themselves with flying and coursing sports. It is however surprising to note that the Maghrib and Muslim Spain took no interest in the cheetah and never trained it; no reference to it occurs in any of the great number of documents, both Arabic and European, from which we draw our knowledge of Western Islam. The cheetah is known throughout the pre-Saharan zone of the Maghrib, from Tunisia to the Moroccan borders, although it is becoming rare there, and the nomads of the region have always regarded it simply as a permanent danger to their flocks (see L. Lavauden, *Les vertébrés du Sahara*, Tunis 1926, 39-40; idem, *Les grands animaux de chasse de l'Afrique française*, in *Faune des Colonies françaises*, Paris 1934, no. 30, 366-7; idem, *La chasse et la faune cynégétique en Tunisie*, Tunis 1920, 9-10). The Touaregs for their part are pleased, when they capture the beast, either to sell it to Europeans or else to make beautiful saddle-cloths and food-bags (*mizwad*, pl. *mazāwid*) from its skin, but they have never thought of training it; they are, however, aware of its elegance and power, often giving its name (in Tamashaḳ *amayas*) to their children as a first-name (H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951, 129-30).

In contrast to the indifference shown by the Muslim West towards hunting with cheetahs, the East for its part has until our own time kept this ancient practice very much alive in ʿIrāḳ, Īrān and India; Persian tradition ascribes it to Chosroes Anūshirwān (531-79 A.D.), but in fact it goes back to remotest antiquity. The renowned poet Firdawsī is somewhat nearer the truth when, in his *Shāh Nāma* he names Tahmūras, prince of the legendary dynasty of the Pishdādians, as the inventor of the training of beasts of prey, in these lines: *Siyāh-gūsh o yūz dar miyān bargozīd / Bā čāra biāwūrdash az dasht o kūh* ("He [Tahmūras] chooses from them [the wild beasts] the Caracal and the Cheetah. By artifice he took them from the desert and the mountains").

Muslim writers in the Middle Ages, naturalists like al-Ḳazwīnī (599-682/1203-83) in his *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* and al-Damīrī (742-807/1341-1405) in his *K. Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, encyclopaedists like al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) in his *K. al-Ḥayawān* and al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418, *op. cit. supra*), philologists like the Andalusian Ibn Sīda in his *K. al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, all spoke of the cheetah, not as connoisseurs but as recorders of the sayings of the Ancients; in this way they perpetuated certain naive and fabulous beliefs which originated in part in the imagination of the Greeks. From the beginning of the Umayyad dynasty a team of anonymous translators, possibly bilingual Ghassānids, had put into Arabic some of Aristotle's writings, in particular his "History of the animals". Al-Djāḥiẓ made use of this work, and tried to complete it; on occasion he in his turn repeated the old fallacies which had been accepted without verification; people will never cease to believe, for example, that the cheetah is a hybrid from the union of a female panther and a lion. Still more typical is the case of the variety of Aconite (*Doronicum pardalianches*) which Greek hunters ground to a paste and used as a poison for wild animals (see Aristotle, *History of Animals*, new Fr. trans. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, ii, 600 [Eng. tr. of *Works*, edd. J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross, iv, 612a]; Xenophon, *Cynegeticus*, Fr. trans. E. Talbot, Paris 1873, i, chap. VI, 338 [Loeb ed. of *Scripta minora*, 1956, 440-1]) and which, from a literal translation of its Greek name "pardalianches" *i.e.*, "that chokes the panther" (which is the actual "Wolf's-bane", with the same meaning; cf. Old-French: "étrangle-loup", "tue-loup"), is called in Arabic *khāniḳ al-fuhūd* or *khāniḳ al-namir*; then, by metonymy, this name has been extended, in al-Djāḥiẓ and those who repeated what he wrote (see *K. al-Ḥayawān*, iv, 228), to mean the effects of poisoning induced by this plant and considered as a malady peculiar to wild carnivores.

In the last resort we have to turn to writers on hunting to find more realistic information about the cheetah's nature, capture and training. Of the numerous Arabic treatises on venery and falconry recorded by lexicographers, very few have survived [see BAYZARA]; the oldest which has come down to us seems, at present, to be the *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid*, attributed to the poet Kushādjim (d. 961 or 971): in reality, this is no more than a work at second-hand which, thanks to the compiler, contains long fragments from a much earlier, possibly Umayyad, work; and the treatises in Old-French of "Moamin and Ghatrif" (see the excellent critical edition by H. Tjerneld, Stockholm-Paris 1945) are a complete translation. However that may be, the *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid* (very careless edition by A. Ṭalas, Baghdād 1954) contains in the *Bāb al-fahd* (183-201) a useful documentation on the animal's treatment. This chapter is reproduced word for word in the *K. al-Bayzara* (ed. Kurd ʿAlī, Damascus 1953), the work of the hawker (al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn?) of the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh (975-96); however, the anonymous author, in the *Bāb ṣayd al-fahd* (118 ff.), puts forward his own personal remarks which are not lacking in interest. As for Usāma b. Munḳidh (d. 1188), he recalls his childhood days when at his father's house there was a she-cheetah of unusual docility, living in freedom (*musayyaba*) and on perfectly good terms with the fowls and the numerous tame gazelles belonging to the house, although when hunting she displayed a relentless ferocity towards her quarry. From his "Hunting memories" it emerges that he himself took almost no interest in this method of hunting. It was a very different matter with al-Manglī, a famous Mamlūk hunter, who in his treatise dated 773/1371 gives us the fruit of his great experience in the matter of cheetahs; it is certainly the most thorough study on this subject in Arabic that we possess. The works of al-Ashʿari (848/1444) and al-Fākihī (d. 948/1541) of which L. Mercier made use (mss. Paris, B.N., no. 2831 and 2834) are merely repetitions of the earlier writings.

In the light of these texts it is easy to formulate an exact idea of the difficulties which mediaeval Islamic huntsmen had to overcome before being able to experience to the full the excitement engendered by the cheetah's "career" (*ṭalḳ*, pl. *aṭlāḳ*). First it was necessary to find an animal in the prime of life (*musinn*), for the cheetah does not breed in captivity and the cheetah's whelp (*ʿawbar, hawbar*), if deprived of the tutelage of its wild parents, never acquires by itself the instinct of rapine. In fact, the master of a hunt with cheetahs was no more than a spectator on the spot, watching the exploits of the beasts in his menagerie, all the work and the results being the responsibility of the "cheetah-keeper" (*fahhād*, Fr. *guépardier*), a difficult and very restricted occupation for which the rewards had to be lavish. The cheetah-keeper had, in fact, to be "trailer" (*dhānib*), tamer (*rāʾiḍ*, pl. *ruwwāḍ*) and trainer (*mudarr^in^, mudr^in^*).

Certain tribes had specialized in this activity, like the Banū Ḳurra and the Banū Sulaym in Egypt, and made a profit from selling the animals they captured. The tactics most usually employed in catching the animal that was required, a female for preference, were "to recognize it by its footprints" (*ḥifẓ al-āthār*), to "stalk its lair" (*taḳrīb al-ʿarīn*) with two or three men on horseback, in the heat of the day, to "start it" and to "trail its slot" (*nadjāsha*) slowly, without pressing it too hard; soon the indolent creature lies down to resume its interrupted nap, but is started once again. This manoeuvre is repeated three or four times until the animal is forced by fatigue to "wait steady" (*muḳāwama*) and to "face" (*muʿāraḍa*) its pursuers, if it is not falling asleep from exhaustion. One of the trackers (*nadjdjāshūn*) then dismounts, throws his burnous over it with a rapid and deft movement to blind it by covering it, and immobilizes the animal by holding down its flank with the whole weight of his body. It is at this moment that the cheetah-keeper has to employ all his skill to slip a halter (*maras*) under the garment round the animal's neck and to bind its jaws with a solid "muzzle" (*kimāma, sayr*) while an assistant securely ties together its forelegs and hindlegs two by two, above the pasterns in order not to bruise the muscles, wrapping its feet in pieces of cloth to avoid any injury from the claws; for greater safety its forequarters and hindquarters are made fast to two posts. The animal is left for some time in this painful position; and so fatigue, grief, terror and hunger soon get the better of its savagery. In addition to these natural aids to taming the cheetah-keeper also makes use of the human eye's mastery over the beast's, staring at it at frequent intervals and for longer and longer periods; when the animal closes its eyes or turns away its head, it is humbled and no further reaction of ferocity is to be feared from it. The hobbles from the posts are gradually loosened until the cheetah can raise itself on its fore quarters and can accept from the tamer's hand some pieces of cheese and then meat. With each morsel that is offered the cheetah-keeper utters a cry, as it were inviting his pupil to respond; this is the real start of the "reclaiming" (*idjāba, istidjāba*). In this connexion, Muslim authors have not failed to stress the similarity of the procedures for reclaiming the goshawk and training the cheetah, as well as the technical terminology relating to both; incidentally al-Manglī states: "... *idjābat al-fahd ka-idjābat al-bāzī* ...", "the cheetah's reclamation is like that of the goshawk ...". After about ten days the prisoner's fetters (*withāḳ*, pl. *wuthuḳ*) are replaced by hobbles (*ʿiḳāl*, pl. *ʿuḳul*) binding together the four feet in pairs, following the method used for camels and beasts of burden. Henceforward the cheetah can stand upright and stretch itself; everyone speaks to it, its keeper watches over it ceaselessly and feeds it, but only sparingly so that it still remains hungry (*tadjwīʿ*); at this point it is possible to think about transporting it to its future domicile.

The Indians use a different technique for catching cheetahs; they spread nets round the edges of trees on whose trunks can be seen marks of scratching, where the animal has abraded its claws; sooner or later it is caught in the nets. On the other hand it is difficult to believe the statement, taken from the Greeks, that the cheetah allows itself to be approached without difficulty when it is made to hear a "beautiful voice" (*ṣawt ḥasan*); but it is possible, in spite of everything, that like many wild animals it is responsive to music and singing.

To convey the cheetah to the room set aside for it by its owner is a delicate operation to which the cheetah-keeper devotes particular care: he has to avoid any accident which might impair the animal's fine condition. To do this, he puts it into a "strait-jacket" (*wiʿāʾ, ghirāra, kays*), a large bag, allowing it to pass its head through the opening and, to prevent it being frightened by anything nearby, he accustoms it to wear on its head a hood (*kumma*), a leather visor shaped like a baby's bonnet and tying under the chin; two porters then suffice to carry it safely to its destination when thus "hooded" (*mughaṭṭā 'l-wadjh*).

On reaching its new home the cheetah, like sporting-birds, has to receive some "manning" (*uns, ilf*), training that will make it lose its savageness (*tadjrīd*) completely. For this purpose the cheetah-keeper, leaving the hobbles on its feet, tethers it outside a house facing on to a busy street; the din, the constant movement and the teasing by the children soon result in making it absolutely harmless. They even go so far as to make it walk through the markets, held firmly on a lead and carefully surrounded. In the evening it is taken to its room, a dark stable where it is fastened to a long chain (*midjarr*) which leaves its movements entirely free. For the first nights an ostler (*sāʾis*) watches it by the light of a lamp and prevents it from sleeping in order not to interrupt the process of training; it is only later that it is given a thick carpet (*ṭinfisa*) to sleep on.

All this time and for the rest of its life it receives food only from the hand of its keeper, for it is by means of the daily feed (*ṭuʿm*) that he begins the education (*tahdīʾ*) of his pupil. The art is not in teaching it to hunt, for it already has the instinct to do so, but instead in accustoming it to jump and ride pillion (*irtidāf*) on its trainer's horse at any speed. The Indians avoid this difficult initiation by conveying their cheetahs to the hunting-grounds in small, individual vehicles, shaped like cages and drawn by horses or oxen.

To train it to ride pillion the cheetah-master installs in his pupil's room a wooden vaulting-horse (*mithāl al-dābba*) or a small platform (*dakka, markab*) on trestles of adjustable height, and then having fastened a solid leather collar (*ḳilāda*), fitted with a ring with swivel-pin (*midwar*), round the cheetah's neck, he releases it from the chain and holds it by the leash with one hand; with the other he shakes the bowl with rings (*ḳasʿa*) from which the animal feeds and places it on the raised platform, to start with a cubit and a half above the ground. Repeating this manœuvre several times, he ends by ostentatiously throwing a piece of raw meat into the bowl standing on the platform, at the same time inviting the animal to jump up by pulling lightly at the leash. Egged on by hunger, the cheetah quickly understands that the rattle of rings on the bowl is the announcement of something good for it to eat and that it has to go up onto the platform to get it. In this way the copper or bronze bowl, with rings attached, now continually plays the part of the cheetah's "reclaim", like the sporting-bird's lure. For this same purpose the Indians use a large iron ladle which is easier to handle on horseback than a bowl. By repeating this routine several times a day, each time increasing the height by several centimetres, the keeper accustoms the animal, in less than ten days, to come and look for its food at a height of more than three cubits above the ground, the average height of the crupper on a saddled

horse; he does not fail, each time, to give it confidence by patting its flanks. Finally he replaces the platform by a table suspended from the ceiling, like the old breadshelf of former times, and puts on it not only the bowl but also the cheetah's carpet, thereby compelling it to balance itself on an unsteady seat where it is rocked about in exactly the same way as on its trainer's crupper.

Again, it is by using the bowl that the keeper starts teaching the cheetah to mount. He selects a calm, good-natured horse and gets an ostler to hold the bridle; he then goes to fetch the cheetah and brings it on a leash close to the horse; to begin with, he is careful to hood the cheetah before taking it outside, to prevent it being at all alarmed by the sight of the horse. As soon as he is in the saddle he pulls the leash with one hand and with the other makes a clinking sound with the bowl which is placed behind him on the pillion (*rifāda*) or "crupper-seat", fixed to the cantle of the saddle. The animal is attracted and nimbly jumps up to eat the meat in the bowl; intent on its food, it pays no attention to the movement of the seat, the rider having meanwhile made his mount start to move. Patient and frequent repetitions of this manoeuvre quite soon allow the cheetah-keeper to ride at a trot, and then at a gallop, without disturbing his passenger which, being "well-credited" (*rabīb*), sits firmly on its pillion, untied except for its slip which is knotted to the saddle-bow.

The "slipping on live" (*irsāl ʿalā 'l-ṣayd*) of the cheetah is fairly rapid: some train-deer (*kasīra*, pl. *kasāʾir*), hares or gazelle fawns (*k͟his͟hf*, pl. *k͟hus͟hūf*) which are easy to catch and are slaughtered under the cheetah's feet so that it may lap the blood, quickly bring out its hunting instincts. The skilful cheetah-keeper can even ensure that his beast only "sets upon" the gazelle bucks (*faḥl*, pl. *fuḥūl*), the does (*ʿanz*, pl. *ʿunūz*) in venery in East and West alike being always left free for breeding; whenever a doe is seized, the cheetah is deprived of its "right" by being immediately removed from its take, whilst it is allowed to "take its pleasure" (*is͟hbāʿ*) on the bucks it has caught.

When a cheetah is judged to be "well-tried" (*muḥkam*), three ways of hunting are possible. The first, a princely prerogative, is "hunting at force" (*al-mukābara, al-muwād͟jaha*): the huntsmen, having reconnoitred the herd (*sirb*) from a distance, dislodge a buck and run it down until the "finish"; at the same time the cheetah is cast on the exhausted quarry and lays it low without difficulty or fatigue. These tactics entail long rides at random and require great endurance from riders and mounts alike. The second way is greatly relished for the thrilling spectacle that it offers, for it depends on the action of the cheetah alone: it is "stalking" (*al-dasīs*); the cheetah which has been unhooded (*maks͟hūf al-wad͟jh*) "reconnoitres" (*tas͟hawwuf*) from a distance the gazelle as it is browsing and, at a sign from its keeper who has put it down on the ground, it sets off to try to take its quarry by surprise without being betrayed by its scent. The huntsmen take cover in order to see without being seen, and tremble with delight at the cheetah's manoeuvres as, having made its way upwind (*mustaḳbil al-rīḥ*), it steals on and creeps up (*daʾalān, tasallul*) to the quarry, crouches down, remaining stock-still at the first alarm, and starts off again, one foot after another, taking advantage of every undulation of the ground, and so comes up quite close to the gazelle without having put it on its guard; the final charge is a matter of only a few seconds. As for the third way, it is by far the most commonly used by cheetah-keepers and gentlemen farmers (*dihḳān*, pl. *dahāḳīn*) for the small amount of difficulty and fatigue that it entails: it is "trailing" (*al-mud͟hānaba, al-id͟hnāb*); the huntsmen recognize a herd by its footprints and trail it upwind as far as its cover without alerting it. The cheetah, unhooded and "cast on the fur" unawares, is able to lay low several beasts before they have time to escape.

Whichever method of attack is adopted in the course of hunting, the cheetah-keeper cannot call for more than five or six "careers" (*ṭalḳ*, pl. *aṭlāḳ*) from his cheetah since it makes the maximum effort in each career and thus rapidly becomes exhausted; for the same reason, it is only allowed to hunt on alternate days. Furthermore the cheetah-keeper must always cut the quarry's throat while the cheetah is still lying on it (*tamahhud*), biting it hard in the nape of the neck or the throat, and must let it lap the blood caught in the bowl in order to remove it from its quarry and to take away the body. Nor will he neglect to hood the cheetah again as soon as it has remounted the pillion, so that it is not tempted to dash off after some game not intended for it, since it is only lawful to eat the flesh of a wild beast caught in this manner if the cheetah-keeper has pronounced the formula invoking the name of Allāh (*tasmiya*) at the moment when the beast of prey is deliberately let slip (*irsāl bi 'l-niyya*). The cheetah, being subject to laws of nature, becomes vexed and angry when it misses its quarry and turns a deaf ear when its master calls it in; only the clinking of its bowl makes it decide to go back. Although sensitive to reprimands, it is doubtful if this animal goes so far as to learn a lesson, as the legend has it, from a rebuke addressed in its presence but vicariously, to a dog that is in fact blameless.

The excitement of watching coursing with the cheetah has not escaped the inspiration of those Muslim poets who were responsive to subjects provided by the chase (*ṭaradiyyāt*). Some accomplished masters of the *urd͟jūza* have left superb descriptions of the animal and its lightning charges, stressing the beauty of its tabby coat (*mudannar*), the terrifying aspect given by its "tear-streaks" (*al-madmaʿānⁱ*) or "moustaches" (*al-sufʿatānⁱ*, *al-s͟hāhidānⁱ*), the two dark stripes like two *alif*s, stretching from the eyes to the corners of the mouth, its suppleness when creeping, its unparalleled speed and irresistible assault. Of the writings devoted to the cheetah, which are rarer than those describing hounds and sporting-birds, only those by poets of the ʿAbbāsid period have survived; we need note only such famous names as Abū Nuwās, al-Faḍl al-Raḳās͟hī the rival of Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, al-Nās͟hiʾ, Ibn Abī Karīma the contemporary of al-D͟jāḥiẓ, Ibn al-Muʿad͟hd͟hal and Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāfiẓ. The sport of hunting with cheetahs having remained a diversion for the rich in Islam, it is not surprising to find that only the court poets of caliphs and wealthy patrons have celebrated it in verse; popular poetry and Bedouin songs have scarcely touched on the subject.

Sāsānid Persia gave the cheetah a certain place in its works of art; miniaturists represented it either realistically or else symbolically, by pair affronted or addorsed, on either side of the "tree of life" (*hōm*). The West eagerly borrowed this last motif in the illuminations of the main Middle Ages, as we see in a frontispiece of the IXth century Evangeliary of Lothair (Latin ms. Paris, B.N., no. 226, f° 75v°,

according to A. Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, Paris 1905, I, 1st part, 400-4). The cheetah is also to be seen as an element of animal decoration in ceramics, tapestries, drawings, carving and jewellery; in the Bucharest Museum there are two openwork cloisonné vessels which were discovered in ancient Petrossa and are therefore known as the "Petrossa treasure"; each handle on these vases is made in the form of a cheetah supporting the vessel, the body made of gold and studded with garnets and turquoises (see A. Michel, *op. cit.*, 413-4). Throughout Islam, the dominating influence of Sāsānid inspiration in the minor arts swept through all the Muslim territories and remained effective for several centuries; thus one frequently finds the "cheetah motif" in the works of art in metal or stone left by the artists of Fāṭimid Egypt and Muslim Spain. In this connexion one may wonder if the historians of Muslim art have occasionally been mistaken in regard to some of these decorations with animal figures, and have identified as lions what the artist intended as cheetahs. Finally, we may note that despite the renown it enjoyed among the great in the East, the cheetah never attained the heraldic eminence in Mamlūk heraldry that it reached in the Christian West during the Middle Ages.

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FAḤL or Fiḥl, an ancient town in Transjordania situated 12 km. south-east of Baysān [*q.v.*], was known in earliest antiquity, at the time of el-Amarna, under the name *Bikhil*, corresponding to a semitic *p ḥ l.* Macedonian colonists settled there in about 310 B.C., giving it the name of the Macedonian town of Pella, which resembled the native name. After the Roman conquest, Pella was one of the towns of the Decapolis, and the Christians took refuge there during the disturbances which followed the destruction of Jerusalem. Later it belonged to the Second Palestine and was the seat of a bishopric. About six months after the battle of Adjnādayn [*q.v.*], in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 13/January 635, it was near Faḥl that the Muslim armies attacked the Byzantines who had mustered to the east of the Jordan and cut the dikes at Baysān in order to turn the district into a marsh; during the battle, known as the "battle of Faḥl" or "battle of the marsh (*yawm al-radagha*)", the Arab invaders succeeded in crossing the Jordan and taking the town.

In the 3rd/9th century the population of Faḥl, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, was still half Greek and the town, which formed part of the province of al-Urdunn, seems then to have declined rapidly, for the writers of the 4th/10th century do not mention it. Today the name Faḥl merely denotes a collection of ruins, mostly Roman and Byzantine.

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FAHRASA, the name given in Muslim Spain to kinds of catalogues in which scholars enumerated, in one form or another, their masters and the subjects or works studied under their direction. The word *fahrasa* is an Arabicization of the Persian *fihrist* by means of a double vocalization *-a-* and the closing of the final *tāʾ*, a fairly frequent modification. In al-Andalus, it is completely synonymous with *barnāmadj*, which is also Persian, while in the east it corresponds with *thabat, mashīkha* (*mashyakha*) or *muʿdjam* (this last word is also used in the west). In the east, the best known of these works is *al-Muʿdjam al-mufahras* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1449), still in manuscript (see Brockelmann, S II, 73), who adopts the same classification as Ibn Khayr (see *infra*). In the west, the *fahrasa*s appear to be more numerous (Ibn Khayr and al-Ruʿaynī [see below] give quite a long list) and some still survive; three of them have already been published: a. Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (502-70/1108-76 [*q.v.*]), *Fahrasat mā rawāh ʿan shuyūkhih min al-dawāwīn al-muṣannaf fī ḍurūb al-ʿilm wa-anwāʿ al-maʿārif*: *Index librorum de diversis scientiarum ordinibus quos a magistris didicit*, ed. J. Ribera Tarragó, *BAH*, ix-x, Saragossa 1894-5. — b. Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ (599-688/1203-89; see Brockelmann, S I, 547), *Barnāmadj*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, in *RIMA*, i/2 (1955), 252-71. — c. al-Ruʿaynī al-Ishbīlī (592-666/1195-1268), *Barnāmadj* or *K. al-Īrād li-nubdhat al-mustafād min al-riwāya wa'l-isnād bi-liḳāʾ ḥamalat al-ʿilm fi 'l-bilād ʿalā ṭarīḳ al-iḳtiṣār wa'l-iḳtiṣād*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ, Damascus 1361/1962.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī has examined the mss. still extant and incorporated the results of his research in an extremely well documented article, *Kutub barāmidj al-ʿulamāʾ fi 'l-Andalus*, in *RIMA*, i/I (1955), 91-120. According to this writer, it is possible to distinguish four categories of *fahrasa* or *barnāmadj*: — I. Catalogue of writings, classified according to the branch of study to which they belong. Ibn Khayr observes the following order: Ḳurʾānic studies, *ḥadīth*, *siyar* and genealogy, *fiḳh*, grammar, lexicography, *adab*, poetry; he does no more than give the names of his masters, without any further observations. To this category belongs the *Barnāmadj* of Ibn Masʿūd al-Khushanī (d. 544/1149) of which only a few pages survive (al-Ahwānī, 99). — 2. A list of masters, with a note of the works studied under their direction. The *Ghunya* of *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (476-544/1083-1149 [*q.v.*]) who adopts an alphabetical classification, belongs to this category,

as does the *Fahrasa* of Ibn ʿAṭiyya al-Muḥāribī (d. 541/1146; see Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898, 207; Brockelmann, S I, 732; ms. Escorial 1733; he recounts the biography of his father and his other masters; al-Ahwānī, 101-2), and the *Barnāmadj* of al-Ruʿaynī who classifies his masters according to the subjects in which they specialized: Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, grammar, *adab*, poetry. — 3. A combination of the two classifications, as in the *Barnāmadj* of Ibn Abi ʾl-Rabīʿ (see *supra*) and that of Muḥammad b. Djābir al-Wādiyāshī (d. 749/1348; see Brockelmann, S II, 371, and correct the date and place [Tunis instead of Granada] of his death; ms. Escorial 1726), who first gives the names and biographies of his masters, then the list of subjects and works studied under their direction. — 4. The addition of personal observations, narratives etc. by the author to the above lists.

This genre, which appears to be a particular speciality of the Andalusians, should be associated with the transmission of *ḥadīth*, and indeed it was the traditionists and *fuḳahāʾ* who considered it helpful to leave for posterity a list of their masters (or to entrust it to one of their disciples, as in the case of Ibn Abi ʾl-Rabīʿ), sometimes not without indicating the *isnād* of the *ḥadīth* learnt under their direction. But a well composed *fahrasa* such as that of Ibn Khayr possesses an interest of quite a different sort by revealing what studies could be undertaken by a young scholar at some given period, and by providing an inventory of the works favoured by cultivated circles (cf. H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 28 ff.).

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(Ch. Pellat)

FAḤṢ al-BALLŪṬ, "Plain of the oaktrees" or, more accurately, "of the acorns" (*ballūṭ*) whose present name Los Pedroches is applied to the wide valley situated to the south-west of Oreto, three days' journey north of Cordova. It stretches as far as the mountains of Almadén and has always been characterized by the great mass of evergreen oaks covering the mountains and the high plateau. *Pedroche* is synonymous with *pedregal*, the designation of the whole region, and the Latin name *petra*, transcribed into Arabic as *biṭra*, has, with the suffix *che*, given Biṭrawsh. In common with al-Idrīsī, the Muslim geographers praised the quality of the acorns which, according to al-Rāzī, were sweeter than *quantas ha en Espanya*, and added that the local inhabitants cultivated these trees with great care and that in years of poor harvest and famine they lived on the crop, for with this species the acorns can be eaten by human beings, not merely by animals. It was a high, mountainous region, inhabited mostly by Berbers, and the principal town Ghāfiḳ was so called from the name of the Maghribī tribe which had settled there. The castle, strongly fortified and well situated on the road leading from Dār al-baḳār to Toledo via Pedroche, was remarkable for the vigour with which its occupants repulsed the Castilians during the raids they made in the time of Alfonso VII and Alfonso VIII. The old fortress of Ghāfiḳ, towering above a little peninsula like an island, was put to new use in the 15th century and transformed into a barbican, on which was built the castle of Belalcázar; its identification with Ghāfiḳ has been finally established and there are no longer any grounds for uncertainty.

The Kūra of al-Balāliṭa, the plural of ballūṭ, included among its castles, in addition to Ghāfiḳ, Pedroche —Biṭrawsh [*q.v.*]—Sadfura on the Djabal ʿAfūr, Ḥiṣn Hārūn, identified with the castle of Aznaron and the castle of Cuzna, alongside the river which bears its name and the port, later called Puerto Calatraveño. Al-Ghāfiḳī and al-Ballūṭī are the ethnic names of important personages of the district, among them the great *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, Abu ʾl-Ḥakam Mundhir b. Saʿīd, famous for his rectitude and learning in the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Ballūṭī, leader of the émigrés from the outskirts of Cordova who had occupied Alexandria, seized Crete and founded a dynasty which remained there until 309/921.

During the Almoravid period, in 528/1134, the Castilians crossed through the region of the Pedroches and reached the castle of al-Baḳār, where they were routed by Tāshfīn b. ʿAlī and compelled to retreat along the valley of the Guadiato. In the summer of 549/1155 Alfonso VII took Pedroche and Santa Euphemia, but Pedroche was immediately recaptured by the new Almohad governor of Cordova, ʿIbn Igīt who defeated the count left in command of Pedroche by Alfonso VII, took him prisoner when capturing the castle by storm, and sent him to Marrākush. For a considerable time Ghāfiḳ-Belalcázar remained in the hands of the Almohads for, although we do not know the date when the Faḥṣ al-ballūṭ passed completely into the power of Castile, it is certain that in 580/1184 the caliph Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, on his arrival at Seville to start the Santarem campaign, sent his general Muḥammad b. Wānūdīn into exile at Ghāfiḳ, his conduct in action against the Castilians and Portuguese having been somewhat discreditable.

The counts of Sotomayor, when building their castle on the site of the abandoned fortress of Ghāfiḳ, erected a grand tower of extremely picturesque appearance which, standing out prominently in the restricted setting that it commanded, merited the name of Belalcázar; the old name of Ghāfiḳ fell into oblivion, although later it was felt desirable to give it a more Arabic etymology with the tortuous invention of Belalcázar.

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(A. Huici Miranda)

FĀʿIL [see ʿilla].

FĀʿIL [see naḥw].

FAIR [see panāyir, sūḳ].

FAITH [see īmān].

FAKHDH, FAKHIDH [see ʿashīra, ḳabīla].

FAKHKH, a locality near Mecca which is now called al-Shuhadaʾ "the Martyrs". A very ancient tradition relates that certain Companions of the Prophet, in particular ʿAbd Allāh the son of the caliph ʿUmar, were buried there. It is in honour of this famous person, regarded as the local saint, that on 14 Ṣafar a ceremony is held there every year, and not because about a hundred ʿAlids and their partisans met their deaths at Fakhkh in a battle (*yawm Fakhkh*) on 8 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 169/11 June 786.

The latter were, however, the "Martyrs". The battle, which in the time of Snouck Hurgronje was known only to cultivated Meccans but of which the Shīʿa have preserved vivid recollections, was the dramatic conclusion of an ʿAlid revolt which began in Medina and which, though lasting less than forty days, was regarded, because of the final massacre, as the most serious of the revolts after that which culminated in Karbalāʾ. This revolt sprang from more or less long-standing causes in addition to its immediate cause. Al-Yaʿḳūbī tells us that, after the elevation of al-Hādī to the caliphate, there was a renewal of hostilities against the Shīʿa, some of whom went to Medina to complain to the ʿAlids in the town of the persecutions which had been suffered. But so short a time elapsed between that event and the revolt that, even if the information given by this author can be accepted, it is necessary to go further back to find the real causes of the occurrence. The revolt had connexions with that of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*] and his brother Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] in 145/762-3, for the ʿAlids who revolted in 169 were closely related to the victims of 145; on the other hand, if we examine word by word the speech which the leader made to his followers, we see that it must have been the culmination of one of those movements of a social character to which the Ṭālibids so often gave their support. For the leader of the movement, the cause and the course of the insurrection, see AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ ṢĀḤIB FAKHKH; here we mention only that after resisting for eleven days at Medina Ḥusayn set out with his followers for Mecca, and the clash with the ʿAbbāsid forces took place on the day of the *tarwiya* (8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 169/11 June 786) at the foot of the mountain of al-Burūd at Fakhkh. Al-Ḥusayn, the *Ṣāḥib Fakhkh* as he is often called, having refused to accept a safe-conduct, fell in battle along with other ʿAlids. For three days their bodies were left unburied, an incident which provided the poets with a moving theme for their elegies. The ʿAlid Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan succeeded in escaping; he took refuge in Egypt, and from there went to the far Maghrib where he founded the state and dynasty of the Idrīsids [*q.v.*].

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(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

FAKHKHĀR, earthenware vase, pottery, ceramics. Pottery is one of the glories of Islamic art and is produced by practically every country in the Islamic world. Ceramic wares have a place in architecture as inlays or as faïence tiles, and they hold an important place in the field of the applied arts. In order to make a necessarily brief study of this vast subject clear, it would seem appropriate to give some idea of the different techniques employed, before proceeding to the naming of the principal centres of manufacture and the periods of their activity.

The basic material for ceramic wares is baked clay, which is termed silicious or plastic according to the element predominant in its composition. The clay may be left bare, thus retaining a brick-like appearance, or be covered with slip (a much paler and thinner clay), which conceals the true colour. Various kinds of decoration may be applied to a vessel while the clay is still soft. A vase thrown on the wheel may be incised with grooves while still being turned on the wheel, ornamented with reliefs luted on with slip (a thin watery clay), impressed with motives laid side by side in a mould, or stamped with independent dies. A pot dried and fired in the kiln may be glazed by covering it with a glaze fluxed with lead, which gives it a glossy appearance and renders it impermeable; this glaze may be coloured or uncoloured. There are various means available to the potter for enriching his work with polychrome effects. A great number of different coloured glazes may be obtained by combining metallic oxides with a colourless fusible material. Apart from tin oxide which gives white, the palette includes cobalt oxide for blue, copper oxide for green and turquoise blue, and manganese oxide for brown and aubergine purple. The decoration may be painted with a brush on a slip-dressed body and appear under the glaze; this is the method used with silicious wares; or the decoration may be painted on a glaze made opaque with tin oxide; this is the method used with tin-glazed wares (*i.e.*, Majolica and Delft).

Western Asia was the birth place of Islamic pottery. Its ultimate ancestors were undoubtedly the glazed bricks of the Achaemenid palaces, and its more recent forerunners the Parthian and Sāsānid wares. Islamic pottery, however, is not known to us until the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period (3rd/9th century). It is to the excavations at Sāmarrā, the residence of the caliphs from 223 to 269/838-83, that we owe our earliest and in any way precise knowledge of the wares. They seem already very varied and skilfully executed, so that we are led to believe that there had been earlier developments of which we know nothing. In addition to pottery with or without glaze, incised or stamped, there are three main types of wares represented at Sāmarrā; there is a white earthenware decorated with spots or pseudo-calligraphic motives in cobalt blue, an earthenware decorated in polychrome, obviously inspired by Chinese stonewares of the T'ang period (7th-8th centuries); and finally there is an earthenware known as lustre, characterized by its metallic lights. The decoration of this last type is achieved by means of an ochre mixed with powdered silver, or copper, which separates out in the firing and is deposited as a thin film on the surface of the tin glaze; the colour varies from pale gold to ruby red and the iridescence of these tones varies according to the fall of light. Other analogous and doubtless contemporary pieces have been found at Susa. At Baghdād, or at other centres in the ʿAbbāsid empire, this ware, which in appearance rivalled the vessels in precious metals but was never hit by the same interdiction on the part of strict Muslims, seems to have been an item in the lively export trade across the Islamic world. Thus is it that a number of fragments have been dug up at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, the royal city of the caliph of Cordova, thus also that the finest collection to come down to us (nearly 150 tiles sent from

Baghdād or manufactured there) appear in the surround of the *miḥrāb* in the Great Mosque at Ḳayrawān. In Egypt the workshops of Fusṭāṭ were initiated into the technique of lustre decoration, where we shall meet this ware again.

Persia played a remarkable part in the development of ceramic wares at a very early date. She seems to have profited from foreign as well as from pre-Islamic traditions, as is evidenced by the ware called *gabrī*, after the name of "Guebres", adherents of Zoroastrianism, which Islam had not completely stamped out. The ornamentation of this ware, produced by means of larger or smaller scratches in the slip that covers the body under the transparent partly coloured glaze, consists of schematic representations, recalling the ancient culture of Persia, notably of fire altars, as well as figures of men and beasts, birds, lions and dragons depicted in a curiously stylized manner.

Of all the centres of ceramic production in Īrān, the now ruined city of Rayy, in the vicinity of Tehran, seems the most ancient. It was extremely active until the 7th/13th century and, under the name of Rhages, is the best known to collectors. The wares show great diversity of both form and technique. Lustre wares, often of a greenish gold tone, are frequently represented. Apart from tiles, for facing wall surfaces, cut in eight-pointed stars and in crosses with arms of equal length, Rayy also produced bottles and vases in the form of animals, or ornamented with wild beasts modelled in relief. The predilection displayed by the potters for the representation of living beings, and even their interpretation in the round, is a pronounced characteristic of Persian taste. Inside and on the rims of plates, on the swelling walls of bottles, as well as on wall tiles, mounted soldiers and hunters ride along, rulers and stumpy, doll-faced musicians sit, all bringing to mind the figures depicted in the miniatures of the period. These little figures, standing out against a white or pale blue ground, are dressed in delicately coloured cloths heightened with gold. Inscriptions in golden letters tell of the Iranian legends illustrated in this type of decoration.

Rayy was sacked by Čingiz Khān's Mongols in 624/1227; yet although appallingly impoverished, her potters continued production, using the techniques with which they were familiar. Attributed to them, and regarded as of this period, are a number of pieces decorated in black silhouette against a green ground.

The arrival of the Mongols appears to have some connexion with the establishment of stores that were found in the ruins of Gurgān. The pieces, which were found intact, had been packed in large jars, or had been buried at the time of the invasion. The wares are dateable to the end of the 5th-6th/11th-12th century; some of them might be earlier. They include copper lustre wares with a cream or turquoise ground; there are some, too, that may have been imported from Sava.

Under Mongol domination, the ceramic industry remained vigorous, especially in the Persian area, at Āmul and even more so at Sava and Kashān, as well as in the north-east at Samarḳand. Wares with geometric, floral and highly stylized animal decoration, cut through a slip dressing and tinged with green and manganese purple are believed to have been made at Āmul in the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries.

In the Mongol period we find new centres of production, such as that at Sulṭānābād, springing up. Chinese influence asserts itself and is favoured by the new rulers of Īrān, who brought in Chinese potters, just as they had introduced miniature painters into the occupied territory. Chinese fashions were to persist into the Ṣafawid period, which followed that of the Mongols. The fabulous beasts of the Far East enliven the wares attributed to Kirmān in the time of Shāh ʿAbbās 995-1037/1587-1628.

The excavations carried out by the Americans before and during the second World War have brought to light the existence of ceramic activity in Nīshāpūr in Transoxiana, which must have achieved its apogee in the 2nd-5th/8th-11th centuries under the Sāmānids. The wares produced seem to be the earliest ones covered with a very thin dull glaze stained lemon yellow, green or brick red; they display a disorderly grouping of geometric motives, pseudo-calligraphic elements, florets, animals and figures, perhaps derived from ancient Persia, enclosed by black lines.

In the wares of Dāghistān to the south-west of the Caspian, and in the dishes, somewhat arbitrarily attributed to the small town of Ḳubāča, we find not only late survivals of Chinese influence, but also characteristics that foreshadow the Turkish pottery of Asia Minor. The painted decoration under the glaze, which is colourless or stained green or blue and is often crackled, consists of stylized flowers, animals, usually in silhouette, or turbaned personages against a floral ground.

Apart from pieces of such forms as vases and dishes, Persia produced an abundance of ceramics for architectural purposes, which make a glittering and colourful addition of great charm to the elegantly proportioned buildings. Combinations of brick and glazed tile, and ceramic insets, formed by setting mosaics in monochrome surfaces, make up geometric, calligraphic and floral decorations that have a place both on the inside and on the outside of architectural structures. On the outside these ceramics encase domes, tall minarets and porches, the colours most frequently occurring being dark and light blue; on the inside one is struck by the faïence *miḥrāb*s, especially those made at Kāshān, with their flat central panels flanked by pilasters and crowned with a Persian arch with straight members.

The settlement of the Saldjūḳ Turks in Asia Minor at first resulted in a considerable spread of Persian art. Ḳonya, which became the capital of the Turkish kingdom of Rūm, and where the sultans established many foundations, had an influx of craftsmen, particularly of potters, from Khurāsān as the consequence of the Mongol invasion of their country. Dating from the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries are some fine wall facings for interiors made from bricks glazed on one side, or of tile mosaics, besides polychrome tiles.

The collapse of the sultanate of Ḳonya at the beginning of the 8th/14th century brought the ceramic production of Anatolia to a standstill. But it was to have brilliant revival, thanks to the Ottoman Turks, who in 726/1326 made Bursa their capital. They endowed the city with fine buildings of which ceramic ornament is the most prominent feature, and of which the mosque and the *turba* are the most justly celebrated. Nevertheless Bursa was not the real centre of the industry; this was at Iznik, a town not far from the capital. It was to remain a flourishing centre for two centuries (from the end of the 8th/14th to the end of the 10th/16th century), in the course of which different stages in style and techni-

que are distinguishable. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century Persian influence was still very marked, but at the end of this century, which saw the polychrome wares of Iznik reach their apogee, the potters freed themselves from Iranian tradition and the wares began to acquire specifically Turkish characteristics. The decoration is painted on slip, and to the colours already in use (cobalt blue, turquoise and green from copper), are added a black to outline the coloured areas, and a splendid tomato red in low relief. The composition of the panels, made up from rectangular tiles, is almost entirely based on floral motives. Four flowers traditionally appearing on them are the rose, jasmine, poppy and tulip.

During the 11th/17th century Iznik ceased production and was replaced by Kütahya, which copied the techniques and styles of Iznik but without equalling them in mastery. The posthumous glory of Iznik reached even Istanbul, where the kilns known as Tekfūr came into operation at the beginning of the 12th/18th century.

Attributed to Damascus are some very fine dishes, related to the Anatolian wares, but distinguished from them as much by the colours (lacking tomato red and using manganese purple and a green from chromium oxide), as by the drawing of the designs, which are less naturalistic, less sensitive and which give greater weight to the background.

The skills of the kiln and the crucible are very ancient in Egypt and it is known that making of glass was first practised there. In the lands of the Pharaohs the people also made pottery and understood the use of glaze. If lustre ware was not first invented there, as some people believe, at least it was made there at a very early date in imitation of that of ʿIrāḳ. There are some pieces of lustre very similar to those from Sāmarrā, dated to the 3rd/9th century, that is the period of the Ṭūlūnids, or even earlier. The decoration, drawn very boldly, introduces somewhat uncouth human figures and pseudo-calligraphic elements. These wares underwent a remarkable development in the course of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries under the Fāṭimids. The diversity of the pieces, dishes, lamps and figurines, attests, alongside a very free attitude to the orthodox prescriptions concerning images, a striving after that elegance which imbues all the arts of the Fāṭimid era. The surfaces, covered with a fine gold lustre, are enriched by the details within the field of the lustre itself being delicately traced out with a fine point. The repertory of ornament includes four-footed beasts, birds or fish, and also the human figure, the men wearing turbans and the women with their hair hanging down. The crucifix and representations of Christ with a halo lead one to believe in the existence of Coptic craftsmen.

The same period saw the flowering of a ware with carved decoration under a monochrome glaze, especially a greyish green Chinese celadon colour. The quantity of sherds thrown on the refuse heaps by the potters reveals the extent of activity at the kilns at Fusṭāṭ. In the 7th/13th century a new technique appears of painting decoration on the body under the glaze. The glaze, often crackled, is thick and glossy; the decoration, neatly painted with a brush, frequently consists of animals in silhouette in a good tone of black.

In order to complete this short survey of the ceramic art of Egypt, it is fitting to say something of the pottery with *sgraffiato* decoration under a yellowish or green lead glaze. This was primarily a ware for domestic use, bearing inscriptions and blazons of dignitaries at the Mamlūk court for whom it was made. Syria and Palestine produced the same type of ware during the same period.

North Africa, and particularly eastern Barbary, at least until the 6th/12th century, appears to have been an artistic off-shoot of the Near East and Egypt. We have seen that Ḳayrawān got lustre tiles in the 3rd/9th century from Baghdād; ceramic craftsmen recruited locally may have completed the collection. In the 5th/11th century palace in the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād (see ḤAMMĀDIDS), a pavement has been found made from lustre tiles, in the forms of stars and crosses, which conform to Persian type, but were very probably of local manufacture. Yet the very large amount of pottery of the Ḥammādids of the Ḳalʿa and that of the Zīrids of Ḳayrawān present characteristics that are highly individual. Apart from architectural elements such as inlays for wall surfaces, *claustra*, and stalactite pendentive elements, and in addition to green glazed wares with incised or stamped decoration, excavations have revealed lead glazed polychromes of wares with painting on slip. The decorations are very diverse and summary in treatment with silhouettes and fillers; there are such motives as triangles, ellipses, strap-work, trellis patterns used as fillers, and figures of men and beasts, which are clearly distinguishable from the more easterly examples. The palette comprises only manganese brown, copper green and, more rarely, a yellow from chromium oxide. Cobalt blue appears rather later, in the 6th/12th century, when it occurs in the polychromes produced at Bougie (Bidjāya), to which city the craftsmen of Ḳayrawān and the Ḳalʿa had to retire as the result of the nomadic Arab invasions. Bougie, a maritime city, benefited in other respects from imports from Andalusia.

Moorish Spain was, indeed, a producer of fine ceramic wares. The excavations at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, the caliphate city near Cordova, have yielded a great quantity of pottery with decoration consisting of manganese brown painted lines and copper green for the coloured surfaces. These wares, dating like the city from the 4th/10th century, have parallels among the eastern Barbary examples of an appreciably later date. The Islamic ceramics of Sicily (6th/12th century) suggest further parallels of a similar kind. This appearance of family grouping and the relative homogeneity of the wares of Western Islam raises a problem that warrants some attention.

The excavations of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ show that Spain was aware in the 4th/10th century of the lustre wares imported from the east; yet the Iberian peninsula had its own centres of production also. Malaga from the 7th/13th to 9th/15th century was just such a centre, at which were produced gold lustre dishes and large jars of the type of which the one known as the "Alhambra Jar" is the most famous.

The noble grace of form of these great pottery jars is echoed in the large vases, with impressed decoration, that seem to have the same origin and may perhaps be attributed to the same period. The paste is left unglazed, or is covered with a green enamel-glaze; the decoration, arranged in registers one above another, comprises blind arcading, calligraphic forms, interlacing elements and sometimes animal forms. The same technique and a similar décor is found in the linings for wells and tanks such as those preserved in Andalusia and also in the Maghrib. A fine collection of these stoutly-made ceramic shafts, by which to draw water, has been

found at Sīdī Bū ʿUthmān to the north of Marrākush and perhaps dating from the 6th/12th century.

At the beginning of the 6th/12th century Moorish Spain and the Maghrib gave ceramics an important rôle in architectural ornament. Glazed earthenware tiles, which we first encountered in Persia and then in eastern Barbary, are associated with the adornment of minarets and make up panels in rooms. The facility of the craftsmen, specialists in *zallīdj* [*q.v.*], in cutting out shapes in monochrome tiles and assembling them to make geometric, calligraphic and floral decorations, is astonishing. They are equally skilled in a kind of ceramic *champlevé*, which consists of chiselling out the glaze with a graving tool, thus leaving the elements of decoration in reserve. Finally there is recourse to a *cloisonné* treatment, called in Spanish *cuerda seca*, which, using similar interlacing geometrical motives, gives from a distance an impression as of inlay work. It is a very ancient technique, not without analogy with the glazed bricks of the Achaemenid palace at Susa. Each surface is enclosed by a black line, which has an important place in the composition and which serves to prevent contiguous colours spilling over into each other. Neither the potters of Sāmarrā nor those of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ passed over this technique; and it was practised in North Africa in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. The *cuerda seca* and the technique termed *cuenca*, in which the black line is replaced by a thin line incised in the paste to separate the colours, was to become a special skill of the Spanish centres of production, notably of Seville. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century (1019/1610) the Spanish Moors took the technique with them when they were expelled to Tunisia.

Just as the *azulejos* method of wall revetment prolonged the tradition of ceramic inlay, so the *mudejar* period saw the manufactories of Manises take over the making of lustre ware from Malaga. In the same way the green and brown decorated wares of Paterna, in the region of Valencia, seem, in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, a late legacy of the Andalusian Caliphate.

Ceramic art was still to survive, not without renown, in North Africa. Morocco still has her cutters and assemblers of tile mosaics (*zallīdj*), and the potters of Fez knew, until quite recent times, how to produce vessels with blue or polychrome decoration as well as dishes of an original kind.

Turkish Algeria used to have a remarkable quantity of earthernware tiles, but they were almost entirely imports from Europe.

Tunisia, and especially Tunis, has not wholly forgotten the mediaeval ceramic arts. It is indeed likely that tin-glazed wares have never ceased to be made while there has been a use for them. The last few centuries have seen the production of vases which preserve quite well the older colours, and panels decorated with blind arcading, vases and covers, in which local traditions merge with contributions from the Levant.

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FAKHR [see mufākhara]

FAKHR AL-DAWLA, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, born in about 341/952, third son of the Buwayhid Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*] and of a daughter of the Daylamī chief al-Ḥasan b. Fayzurān, a cousin of Mākān b. Kākī [*q.v.*], received his *laḳab* in 364/975 and was summoned in 365/976, with his brothers ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], the eldest, and Muʾayyid al-Dawla, to his father's sick-bed, in order to agree what share each would receive of their father's possessions, under the suzerainty of ʿAḍud al-Dawla; as his portion, Fakhr al-Dawla received the provinces of Hamadhān and Dīnawar, that is to say the Kurdish Djabal, partly under the autonomous domination of the Kurd Ḥasanwayh, situated around the Iran-Baghdād route. When Rukn al-Dawla died (366/977), Fakhr al-Dawla was not content with these territories and, with the object of depriving Muʾayyid al-Dawla, who remained faithful to ʿAḍud al-Dawla, of his share, consisting of the provinces of Rayy and Iṣfahān, he negotiated with ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*], the opponent of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, with Ḥasanwayh, and finally and most important with Ḳābūs b. Washmagīr [*q.v.*], of the Ziyārid dynasty of Djurdjān, the original rivals of the Buwayhids. After first defeating Bakhtiyār in 366, and then the Ḥamdānids of Moṣul, and after Ḥasanwayh's death, ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 369/979 drove out Fakhr al-Dawla, who finally took refuge with Ḳābūs in Khurāsān, under the protection of the Sāmānid governor Ḥusām al-Dawla Tāsh, while Muʾayyid was invested with his territories. From then onwards, Fakhr al-Dawla's attempts to regain his principality are merely one aspect of the long struggle between the Sāmānids and the Buwayhids; in 371/981 the allied army was defeated by Muʾayyid al-Dawla, and the following campaigns, although more successful, achieved no better results [see ʿaḍud al-dawla].

On the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla (372/982), Muʾayyid al-Dawla tried unsuccessfully to initiate a reconciliation with his brother, and died in his turn in 373. His vizier Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] seems to have calculated that no adequate opposition would be put up against Fak͟hr al-Dawla, now the eldest member of the family, or that the sons of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the masters of ʿIrāḳ and Fārs, already had viziers of their own and would not retain him (Ibn ʿAbbād) in his present position; he appealed boldly to Fak͟hr al-Dawla, the very man whom hitherto he had always opposed and who, travelling to Rayy with all haste, assumed power without difficulty, while the son of Muʾayyid al-Dawla, the governor of Iṣfahān, submitted to him; naturally enough he retained the all-powerful Ibn ʿAbbād as vizier. Despite the difference in temperament of these princes, this fact ensured a certain continuity in policy, and in particular Fak͟hr al-Dawla, despite the debt he owed to Ḳābūs, retained D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān which Muʾayyid al-Dawla had annexed; in K͟hurāsān, the struggles between Tās͟h, whom he supported and welcomed, and Ibn Simd̲j̲ūr, his successor, allowed him on the other hand to combine gratitude with the continuation of an anti-Sāmānid course of action. However, Muʾayyid al-Dawla had become a vassal, and Fak͟hr al-Dawla, the head of the family, was an independent prince. Within his dominions and on the frontiers he seems to have had a more aggressive policy than his brother, to the cost of the local lords, annexing Kurdish or Daylamī fortresses such as S͟hamīrān (Yāḳūt, iii, 150, according to a letter of Ibn ʿAbbād), but also provoking revolts (Ḥasanwayhid Kurds from the district of Ḳumm in 373/983, Ṭabaristān and Ḳazwīn in 377/987, the prince's maternal cousin Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan b. Fayzurān at Dāmg͟hān in 378). Whether from greed or as a matter of policy, with the object of confiscating his possessions he arrested the commander of Muʾayyid al-Dawla's army, ʿAlī b. Kāma, who died as a result. With Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, his nephew in Bag͟hdād, he maintained good relations but, when this prince had been driven out by another son of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, Bahāʾ al-Dawla, with the help of Badr b. Ḥasanwayh Fak͟hr al-Dawla tried to attack the victor through K͟hūzistān; the inadequacy of the rewards he offered to the troops and unexpected floods disorganized his army, whereupon he withdrew (379/989); and in 384/994 he allied himself with Bahāʾ al-Dawla against Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, the latter in the meanwhile having become master of Fārs and now appearing to him to be the more dangerous. Towards the vizier Ibn ʿAbbād, who had shown some irresolution during the K͟hūzistān campaign, Fak͟hr al-Dawla had become somewhat cold, although there was no positive action against him; but when death finally removed him (385) he confiscated his possessions and, as ʿAḍud al-Dawla had done, divided the vizierate between two candidates, selling it to the highest bidder.

From our sources, the personality of Fak͟hr al-Dawla appears less clearly than that of other members of his family. Naturally he maintained his poets, certain of whose works are named in the *Yatīma* of al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, but intellectually he did not have the reputation of certain other Buwayhids or of his own vizier. In his administration he was considered avaricious, and at his death left behind a considerable fortune, augmented by his confiscations; his refusal to increase the pay and *iḳṭāʿ*s of his forces may have been based on sound reasons, but in fact this decision was not consistent with his over-ruling ambition. In general, his internal administration must have resembled his predecessor's, since it was directed by the same man, Ibn ʿAbbād; but we do not possess any documents from his period comparable with those which we have for the preceding reign. We know that the methods of adjudication of fiscal districts, in use at Rayy, helped to make Ibn ʿAbbād unpopular when he tried to introduce them in K͟hūzistān; there can be no doubt as to the general vigilance and regularity of the administration under this vizier, and certain minor innovations made by him are recorded in the *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, written in the days of Fak͟hr al-Dawla, and later the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk, chap. 41. The geographer al-Muḳaddasī, who also wrote during this reign (see especially 399-400), gives an impression of the prosperity of the country; apart from a mosque, Rayy is also indebted to him for a new citadel (perhaps Tabarak) (Yāḳūt, iii, 855).

Fak͟hr al-Dawla died in S͟haʿbān 387/August 997 and, it is said, the Treasury key being in the possession of his son who was absent, there were no funds available to provide for a decent burial. Some weeks after his death Ḳābūs returned to D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān.

Bibliography: for the sources, see BUWAYHIDS, ḲĀBŪS, SĀMĀNIDS; and in particular for the whole subject Miskawayh-Rud̲h̲rawārī, completed by Ibn al-At̲h̲īr viii-ix and (especially the years 376, 385, 387) Sibṭ Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī (MS.); and then, for the period of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the three collections of correspondence referred to in BUWAYHIDS, and, for relations with the Sāmānids, the sources for their history, Gardīzī, ʿUtbī, and also Ibn Isfandiyār for Ḳābūs; and the sources given in the article *supra*.—Modern works, see BUWAYHIDS, in particular B. Spuler and G. Wiet. (CL. CAHEN)

FAK͟HR AL-DĪN, name of two Lebanese amīrs of the Druze house of Maʿn [*q.v.*]. Fak͟hr al-Dīn I, amīr of the S͟hūf (north-east of Sidon) at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Syria, was among the chieftains who offered submission to the conquering Sultan Selīm I in Damascus in 922/1516. The Sultan, impressed by his eloquence, is said to have sent him back with the title *amīr al-barr* (lord of the land), recognizing him as overlord of the chieftains of the Druze Mountain (the G͟harb, the D̲j̲urd, and the S͟hūf). Fak͟hr al-Dīn I was assassinated in c. 951/1544 under obscure circumstances on the orders of the Pas͟ha of Damascus, and was succeeded by his son Ḳorḳmaz.

Fak͟hr al-Dīn II, son and successor of Ḳorḳmaz, was born in c. 980/1572, and was only a boy when his father died in 993/1585. In the previous year a convoy bearing the annual tribute from Egypt was ambushed and robbed at the bay of ʿAkkār, to the north of Tripoli; and the enemies of the Maʿns in Lebanon, jealous of their rising power, accused Ḳorḳmaz of responsibility for the misdeed before the Ottomans. Consequently, Ottoman troops attacked and ravaged the S͟hūf, and Ḳorḳmaz died in flight. His fall was followed by civil war in the Druze Mountain between the Ḳaysī faction who supported the Maʿns, and the opposing Yamanīs led by the house of ʿAlam al-Dīn. By 1000/1591 the Ḳaysīs had clearly gained the upper hand, and Fak͟hr al-Dīn II could effectively take over his father's position.

The first aim of the young amīr was vengeance against Yūsuf Sayfā, the powerful Kurdish chieftain of the Tripoli region in northern Lebanon who had been the chief instigator of the Ottoman attack on the S͟hūf in 1585. Shortly after Fak͟hr al-Dīn's

accession, in 1593, Yūsuf Sayfā had considerably expanded his domain by absorbing the Maronite districts of Bsharrī, Batrūn, Djubayl and Kisrawān, and extending his hold southwards to include Beirut. Master of the whole of northern Lebanon and of ʿAkkār, Yūsuf Sayfā became the most powerful figure of the time in Syria, and his territory extended northwards to Lattakia and Ḥamā. However, in his struggle against the Sayfā, Fakhr al-Dīn had for allies the Maronites who, smarting under Sayfā oppression, looked towards the young Druze amīr as a possible deliverer. Fakhr al-Dīn encouraged the Maronites in this attitude, surrounded himself with Maronite advisers, and was soon dreaming of uniting the Druzes and the Maronites of Lebanon under his own dynasty.

Fakhr al-Dīn's first step was to make friends with Murād Pasha of Damascus, paying him a formal visit and obtaining from him possession of the port of Sidon, which he made his capital. While in Damascus Fakhr al-Dīn also started an intrigue against his enemies ʿAlī Ḥarfūsh of Baalbek and Djabal ʿĀmil and Manṣūr Furaykh of the Biḳāʿ, both potential allies of Yūsuf Sayfā. As a result both chieftains were seized and executed by Murād in the following year. Fakhr al-Dīn thereupon invaded and seized the Biḳāʿ, making peace with Mūsā Ḥarfūsh, ʿAlī's successor, who became the Druze amīr's virtual vassal in Baalbek and Djabal ʿĀmil.

Beirut and the coastal plain as far north as Nahr al-Kalb had traditionally been under the control of the Druze Amīrs, and in 1007/1598 Fakhr al-Dīn secured from Damascus the permission to occupy them. He then proceeded to expel Yūsuf Ṣayfā from the territory and to chase him beyond the Nahr al-Kalb. Next he turned his attention to the south, and with the additional wealth accruing from the trade of Sidon and Beirut he purchased the tenure of the Sandjaḳ of Ṣafad which bordered on the Shūf. The fortresses of Arnūn (Beaufort) and Ṣubayba, which belonged to the sandjaḳ, were occupied and restored, securing the Druze Mountain against Beduin attack from the south. Fakhr al-Dīn then crossed Nahr al-Kalb again in 1014/1605, defeated Yūsuf Ṣayfā at Djūniya, and permanently occupied Kisrawān.

Meanwhile, in northern Syria, a Kurdish adventurer called ʿAlī Djānbūlād had made himself master of the Sandjaks of Aleppo, Aʿzāz, and Killīs. His southern boundaries touched the northern boundaries of Yūsuf Ṣayfā; and in 1015/1606 Djānbūlād marched into Sayfā's territory, defeated him near Ḥamā, and advanced towards Tripoli. Anxious to stake a claim to Sayfā's southern territories, Fakhr al-Dīn quickly allied himself with Djānbūlād, and hurried forces to Baalbek to prevent reinforcements sent by Kurd Ḥamza, the commander of the Janissaries in Damascus, from reaching Tripoli. Unable to resist Djānbūlād, Yūsuf Sayfā fled by sea to Palestine, then joined Kurd Ḥamza in Damascus. Djānbūlād meanwhile entered and sacked Tripoli, then advanced with Fakhr al-Dīn against Damascus.

Fakhr al-Dīn's earlier friendship with Murād Pasha, now Grand Vizier, saved him from the fate of Djānbūlād. Defeated in battle by the resolute Naṣūḥ Pāsha of Aleppo, Djānbūlād was executed in 1016/1607. But in that same year Murād Pasha arrived in Aleppo to settle the affairs of Syria in person, and Fakhr al-Dīn managed to effect a quick return to Ottoman grace by sending a delegation to greet the Grand Vizier with a large present of gold. Murād Pasha, accordingly, confirmed Fakhr al-Dīn in the possession of Beirut, Sidon, and Kisrawān, and as a further mark of favour exempted the Shūf from the *ḳishlaḳ*—the forced quartering of Ottoman troops.

Fakhr al-Dīn, however, realized that Murād Pasha would not remain Grand Vizier for ever, and that some other form of support was needed in case of another clash with the Porte. The Tuscans, who had dreams of establishing a Medici kingdom in the Levant, had as early as 1012/1603 approached Fakhr al-Dīn and tried to arouse his interest in the plan. A second approach after 1016/1607 found Fakhr al-Dīn willing to listen; and in 1017/1608 a treaty was concluded whereby, in return for his help in an eventual Tuscan attempt to conquer Damascus and Jerusalem, Fakhr al-Dīn was to receive Tuscan military aid, and the Medici were to use their influence with the Pope so that the Maronite patriarch would support Fakhr al-Dīn against the Sayfā. Indeed, Pope Paul V in 1610 wrote to the Maronite patriarch commending him and his flock to the protection of Fakhr al-Dīn; and in the following year a Maronite bishop was sent to Italy to represent the Druze amīr at the court of Tuscany and at the Holy See.

Murād Pasha died in 1020/1611 and was succeeded by Fakhr al-Dīn's bitter enemy Naṣūḥ Pasha. Meanwhile, the growing relations between Fakhr al-Dīn and Tuscany had greatly increased the suspicions of the Porte. Naṣūḥ Pasha's suspicions were particularly aroused when Fakhr al-Dīn began to employ a standing army of mercenaries (the *sukman*—see SEGBĀN) instead of depending on the usual peasant levies, and when he began to show a keen interest in the sandjaḳs of Nāblus and ʿAdjlūn, in Palestine and Transjordan, which controlled the road to Jerusalem. Attempts to appease the Grand Vizier with gifts proved useless. When Fakhr al-Dīn clashed with Aḥmad Ḥāfiẓ Pasha of Damascus over the two sandjaḳs, Naṣūḥ Pasha mobilized a powerful army for the command of Ḥāfiẓ. Expecting defeat, Fakhr al-Dīn handed over affairs to his brother Yūnus with instructions to move the capital to Dayr al-Ḳamar in the Shūf, and himself took ship from Sidon and fled to Tuscany.

The self-imposed exile of Fakhr al-Dīn was a temporary retreat after a temporary reverse. In 1023/1614 Naṣūḥ Pasha died. Ḥāfiẓ Pasha was shortly after recalled from Damascus, and Yūnus Maʿn made peace with his successor on the payment on a large sum of money and a promise to dismantle the fortresses of Arnūn and Ṣubayba. Fakhr al-Dīn could now return to Lebanon, arriving back at Acre in 1027/1618.

In 1024/1615, during Fakhr al-Dīn's absence, Yūsuf Sayfā had sacked Dayr al-Ḳamar. This gave Fakhr al-Dīn an excuse, upon his return, to ally himself with ʿUmar Pasha of Tripoli, who wanted Sayfā to pay arrears of tribute. Fakhr al-Dīn successfully intervened against Sayfā on behalf of the Pasha, and in return received the districts of Djubayl and Batrūn. A formal peace between the two chieftains was arranged in 1028/1619, Fakhr al-Dīn taking Sayfā's daughter in marriage. In the same year Fakhr al-Dīn procured the tenure of the sandjaḳs of Djabala and Lattakia, which had previously belonged to Sayfā. During the next five years fighting between the amīr and his father-in-law continued, Fakhr al-Dīn meanwhile seizing the districts of Bsharrī and ʿAkkār, until Yūsuf Sayfā died in 1033/1624. Three years later Fakhr al-Dīn completed his triumph by obtaining the governorship of Tripoli for his infant son Ḥusayn, a Sayfā on his mother's side.

In the meantime, Fak͟hr al-Dīn had also obtained the titles to the sand͟jaḳs of Nāblus and ʿAd͟jlūn, and it was left to him to evict the occupants of these sand͟jaḳs. As he campaigned in Palestine for the purpose, Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha of Damascus, incited by Kurd Ḥamza, formed a coalition against the amīr and advanced into the Biḳāʿ in 1032/1623. Fak͟hr al-Dīn rushed back and met him at ʿAnd͟jar, where Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha was defeated in battle and taken prisoner, then honourably released. During the years that followed this victory Fak͟hr al-Dīn reached the height of his power; and by 1040/1631 his territory had come to extend westwards to Palmyra, and northwards almost to the borders of Anatolia.

Following 1040/1631, however, troubles began to come upon Fak͟hr al-Dīn thick and fast. While he campaigned in northern Syria Beduin chieftains revolted against him in Palestine and Transjordan; while in the S͟hūf the Yamanī ʿAlam al-Dīns, in alliance with the sons of Yūsuf Sayfā, were creating unrest. By 1042/1633 civil war broke out in the Druze Mountain, and Fak͟hr al-Dīn's firm allies the Ḳaysī Tanūk͟hs [*q.v.*] were massacred to a man by the ʿAlam al-Dīns. Meanwhile the Ottoman Government, under the vigorous Sultan Murād IV, was becoming concerned about Fak͟hr al-Dīn's activities in northern Syria and the fortresses that were going up near the Anatolian border. Accordingly, the Grand Vizier K͟halīl Pas͟ha instructed Küčük Aḥmad Pas͟ha of Damascus in 1042/1633 to proceed against Fak͟hr al-Dīn with full support from Istanbul. The amīr's troops, commanded by his son ʿAlī, were defeated at Ṣubayba, and ʿAlī himself was killed. Before the resolute Ottoman attack Fak͟hr al-Dīn's precariously balanced power collapsed within a few weeks. The amīr himself fled to a cave in the cliffs of D͟jazzīn, where he was discovered and captured by Küčük Aḥmad, then sent in chains to Istanbul. There Fak͟hr al-Dīn was executed by strangling in 1045/1635, along with his sons. Only his youngest son, Ḥusayn, was spared, to become a prominent Ottoman courtier and an ambassador of the sultan to India. He was a friend of the historian S͟hāriḥ al-Manārzāde [*q.v.*], and is cited frequently as a source in those parts of Naʿīmā's history that are based on S͟hāriḥ al-Manārzāde's lost work. In Lebanon Fak͟hr al-Dīn was succeeded by his nephew Mulḥim, son of Yūnus.

Fak͟hr al-Dīn was a rapacious tyrant who weighed his subjects down with taxes, but he was enlightened enough to realize that the better the condition of a people the more they can pay. His policy revolved around the collection of enough revenue to satisfy the rapacity of the Ottoman government and buy the friendship of influential Pas͟has. Accordingly, to raise the revenue of Lebanon, he introduced a number of innovations to the country, particularly improved agricultural methods, and encouraged commerce. His religious tolerance made him highly popular with his Christian subjects, and was an important factor in promoting the political union between the Maronites and Druzes which was to be of great importance in the subsequent history of Lebanon. Fak͟hr al-Dīn II, indeed, is regarded by the Lebanese today as the father of modern Lebanon, for it was under his rule that the Druze and Maronite districts of the Mountain became united for the first time, with the adjacent coastlands and the Biḳāʿ, under a single authority.

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FAK͟HR AL-DĪN MUBĀRAKS͟HĀH, originally known by the short name of Fak͟hrā and posted at Sonārgāwn in East Bengal as a *Silāḥdār* of Bahrām K͟hān, the local governor in the time of the Dihlī Sultan Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ. After the governor's death Fak͟hrā revolted, assumed sovereignty at Sonārgāwn and maintained his position by defeating the imperial forces led by the eastern governors of the Tug͟hluḳ Sulṭān. He established the first independent dynasty in Bengal in 739/1338, conquered up to Čāṭgāwn in the south and made a bid for Lakhnawtī in the north-west, but failed in the latter venture. From 739/1338 to 750/1349 he ruled undisputedly at Sonārgāwn, issued silver currency and assumed the titles of *Yamīn-i K͟halīfat-Allāh* and *Nāṣir-i Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. In 751/1350 he was succeeded at Sonārgāwn by his son Ik͟htiyār al-Dīn G͟hāzī S͟hāh, who in 753/1352 lost his kingdom to S͟hams al-Dīn Ilyās S͟hāh, the ruler of Lakhnawtī; the latter united the whole of Bengal under his authority. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Sonārgāwn when Fak͟hr al-Dīn was the ruler. He pays tribute to the king's generosity towards *pīrs*, and speaks of the cheapness of commodities within the kingdom.

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FAK͟HR AL-DĪN AL-RĀZĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥusayn, one of the most celebrated theologians and exegetists of Islam, born in 543/1149 (or perhaps 544) at Rayy. His father, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, was a preacher (*k͟haṭīb*) in his native town, from whose name comes his son's appellation, Ibn al-K͟haṭīb. He was also conversant with *kalām* and, among other works, wrote the *G͟hāyat al-marām*, in which he showed himself a warm partisan of al-As͟hʿarī. Al-Subkī who gives him a brief review (*Ṭabaḳāt al-S͟hāfiʿiyya*, iv, 285-6) names among the list of his masters, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ansārī, pupil of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn, as well as the author of the *Tahd͟hīb*. In addition to his father, the young Fak͟hr al-Dīn had al-Mad͟jd al-D͟jīlī (al-D͟jabalī?), whom he followed to Marāg͟ha, as his master in philosophy, and al-Kamāl al-Sumnānī for *fiḳh*.

After finishing studies both literary and religious in Rayy, and, according to al-Ḳifṭī, after having failed in some researches into alchemy, Fak͟hr al-Dīn went to K͟hʷārizm where he was engaged in relentless controversies with the Muʿtazilīs who forced him to leave the country. In Transoxania (*Mā warāʾ al-Nahr*), he encountered the same opposition. Return-

ing to Rayy, he entered into relations with Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghūrī, Sultan of Ghazna, who heaped money and honours upon him. The same thing occurred later with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad b. Takash, with whom he lived for some time in Khurāsān. This prince showed him the greatest consideration and caused a *madrasa* to be built for him.

In 580/1184, while on his way to Transoxania in order to reach Bukhārā, he stopped for some time at Sarakhs where he was received with honour by the doctor ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sarakhsī. As a mark of his gratitude he dedicated to him his commentary on the *Kulliyyāt* of Avicenna's *Canon*. As he did not find the protection on which he had counted in Bukhārā, he went on to Herāt, where the Ghūrid Sultan of Ghazna, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, allowed him to open a school for the general public within the royal palace.

After a certain number of journeys which took him to Samarkand and as far as India (where perhaps he was sent on a mission), he settled down finally in Herāt where he passed the greater part of his life. He was known there by the title of *shaykh al-Islām*. It is said that at this period, at the height of his glory, more than three hundred of his disciples or followers accompanied him when he moved from one place to another.

He was so poor at the outset of his career that his compatriots in Bukhārā were obliged to make a collection in order to help him when he fell ill there; but later on he came into a vast fortune. He married his two sons to the two daughters of an immensely rich doctor from Rayy and, on this man's death, inherited part of his money.

His lively and penetrating intelligence, his prodigious memory (he is said to have learned the *Shāmil* of al-Djuwaynī by heart in his youth), his methodical and clear mind, caused him to become a teacher celebrated throughout the whole region of Central Asia, from all parts of which people came to consult him on the most diverse questions. He was, moreover, an excellent preacher. Of medium height, well-built, heavy-bearded, endowed with a voice both powerful and warm, he inspired and enflamed his listeners to the point of tears and was himself deeply moved by emotion when he was preaching. His preaching converted many Karrāmīs to Sunnism. Despite his strong grounding in philosophy and numerous controversies he was extremely pious (*kāna min ahl al-dīn wa 'l-taṣawwuf*). In many of his treatises, he ended on a religious note, emphasizing the practical applications that could be made of the subject with which he had dealt. Towards the end of his life, he often meditated upon death and, according to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, he reproached himself for having devoted himself so much to the abstract sciences (philosophy and *kalām*) which, as he thought, were not capable of leading to certain truth. He was to write in his "Testament": "I have had experience of all the methods of *kalām* and of all the paths of philosophy, but I have not found in them either satisfaction or comfort to equal that which I have found in reading the Ḳurʾān" (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 27).

Al-Rāzī's zeal in the defence of Sunnism was always ardent and caused him to make many bitter enemies. Apart from the Muʿtazilīs, he had to strive with the Karrāmīs, adherents of an anthropomorphic type of exegesis [see KARRĀMIYYA], who did not hesitate to use any calumny to discredit their adversary. In 599/1202, while he was staying at Ferūkūh, an actual riot was set off against him by these last, who accused him of corrupting Islam by preferring to its teaching that of Aristotle, Fārābī and Avicenna. He was also reproached for reporting so much of the arguments of the adversaries of Islam, without being capable of refuting them convincingly.

In 606/1209, seriously ill and feeling the approach of death, he dictated his "Testament" to his disciple, Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Iṣfahānī, on Sunday, 21 Muḥarram/26 July. The text of this has been preserved by, among others, al-Subkī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. It is a true profession of Sunnī faith and a beautiful example of total resignation to the will of God. He commends his children to the Sultan and asks him, as well as his disciples, to bury him according to all the ordinances of Muslim law on the mountain of Mazdakhan near Herāt. Certain biographers of al-Rāzī have held that he was poisoned by the Karrāmīs. In addition, Ibn al-ʿIbrī (Barhebraeus) and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa pass on a rumour according to which he was buried secretly within his house to prevent the crowd from ill-treating his remains. It is unlikely that either of these reports is true: al-Rāzī's tomb is still venerated at Herāt.

Although he was a convinced follower of al-Ashʿarī, al-Rāzī showed himself, at least in his youthful works, to be an opponent of atomism (cf. *K. al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya*, ii, 11). It is true that later on (cf. *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, 2, i, 5 and *K. Lawāmiʿ al-bayyināt*, 229; *K. al-Arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*) he seems to have changed his views or at any rate to have shown less severity in his criticism of atomism. He dedicated his *K. al-Djawhar al-fard* (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 30) to this subject and al-Ṭūsī gives a short analysis of it in his *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (ed. of Istanbul, 4). According to Khwānsārī (*Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, 730), he also criticized Ashʿarī's doctrine of the divine attributes.

His profound knowledge of *falsafa* (he had studied al-Fārābī and composed a commentary on the *Ishārāt* and the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of Ibn Sīnā), allowed him to make use of considerable portions of it in his dogmatic synthesis (cf., for example, the greater part of the *Mabāḥith*). But in doing this, he preserved his freedom of mind, criticizing Avicenna strongly, where he did not wish to follow his opinions. Kraus, who was clearly much impressed by the originality of al-Rāzī, thinks that "the reconciliation of philosophy with theology is achieved, in his view, at the level of a Platonistic system which in the last resort derives from the interpretation of the Timaeus" (*Les "Controverses" de Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī*, in *BIÉ*, xix (1937), 190). He points out Rāzī's frequent references to the *K. al-Muʿtabar* of Abu 'l-Barakāt b. Malka al-Baghdādī (cf., for example, *al-Mabāḥith*, ii, 286, 392, 398, 475, etc.; *Lawāmiʿ al-bayyināt*, 71-3, where a long fragment of al-Baghdādī on *al-ism al-aʿẓam* is quoted; cf. also Khwānsārī, 730).

Finally, Goldziher has shown that while al-Rāzī was an opponent of the Muʿtazilīs, he was nevertheless influenced by them in certain respects, for example concerning the problem of the *ʿiṣma* of the Prophet, and the validity of *āḥād* traditions in theological argument (cf. *Aus der Theologie des Fachr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 213-47).

For the influence of al-Rāzī's ideas on a mind as uncompromising as that of Ibn Taymiyya, see the remarkable thesis of H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳi-d-dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939 (cf. index s.v. Rāzī). Ibn Taymiyya made use of al-Rāzī's principal works, the *Muḥaṣṣal*, the *Maʿālim uṣūl al-dīn*, and the *K. al-Arbaʿīn*, and "on

many points he was led to make some concessions to his doctrine of the Prophets. Furthermore, his political sociology remains incomprehensible enough unless we see in it, to some degree, a reaction against the conception of sovereignty and the theory of the Caliphate defended by al-Rāzī. In short, it cannot be denied that Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī led Ibn Taymiyya on towards a deeper personal understanding of philosophy and heresiography" (85). Ibn Taymiyya himself passed a severe enough judgment on al-Rāzī (cf. *Bug͟hyat al-murtād,* Cairo 1329, 107-8).

Works. — The works of Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī are huge in number; they are encyclopaedic but the great majority of them are concerned with *kalām,* philosophy or exegesis. A list of those works whose manuscripts have come down to us is to be found in Brockelmann (S I, 920-4; I², 666-9) who has subdivided them under thirteen headings: I. History; II. *Fiḳh*; III. Ḳur'ān; IV. Dogmatics; V. Philosophy; VI. Astrology; VII. Cheiromancy; VIII. Rhetoric; IX. Encyclopaedia; X. Medicine; XI. Physiognomy; XII. Alchemy; XIII. Mineralogy. ʿAlī Sāmī al-Nas͟hs͟hār has endeavoured to collect all the information provided by his biographers with regard to his literary output and has classed his works in the following manner: Ḳur'ān (exegesis) (5 works), *Kalām* (40), *Ḥikma* and Philosophy (26), Arabic language and literature (7), *Fiḳh* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (5), Medicine (7), Talismans and Geometry (5), History (2) (see the introduction to his edition of al-Rāzī's little treatise, *Iʿtiḳādāt firaḳ al-Muslimīn wa 'l-mus͟hrikīn,* Cairo 1356/1938, 26-34). But this list is by no means a critical one. A profound study of al-Rāzī's work still remains to be achieved.

There follows here a list of the main Arabic works of al-Rāzī which exist in print, with a brief glimpse of the contents of each book:

1. — *Asās al-taḳdīs fi ʿilm al-kalām* (Cairo 1354/1935, 197 pp.). This work, dedicated to the Sultan Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb, sets out to study the *via remotionis* applied to the knowledge of God. It consists of four parts: the first studies the proofs that God is incorporeal and does not exist in space; the second shows how to apply the *ta'wīl* (interpretation) of ambiguous terms (*mutas͟hābih*) mentioned in the Ḳur'ān; the third part establishes the doctrine of the Ancients (*mad͟hhab al-salaf*), especially in matters concerning both the clear verses of the Ḳur'ān and the obscure ones; finally the fourth part follows up this account, dealing chiefly with those verses which are ambiguous.

2. — *Lawāmiʿ al-bayyināt fi 'l-asmā' wa 'l-ṣifāt* (ed. Amīn al-K͟hānd͟jī, Cairo 1323/1905, 270 pp.), a treatise on the Divine Names, one of the most substantial in Muslim theology. It consists of three parts: the prolegomena (3-73), under the title *mabādi' wa-muḳaddimāt.* In ten chapters, al-Rāzī studies the problems posed by the subject of the name in general, and in the cases where it is applied to God, the nature of name and appellation, the distinction between the name and the attribute, the origin of the Divine Names, their subdivision, etc. Here are to be found excellent developments on the *d͟hikr* (ch. 6) and on prayers of request (ch. 9). The second and longest part (73-259) studies systematically the ninety-nine Divine Names. Al-Rāzī mentions and discusses the various applications of each of them. The chapter dealing with the name of Allāh consists of more than thirty pages. Generally al-Rāzī finishes his exposition with practical spiritual advice. Finally, the third part, entitled *al-lawāḥiḳ wa 'l-mutammimāt* (256-67), gives some precise details on a number of names other than those previously studied.

3. — *S͟harḥ al-Is͟hārāt* (Constantinople 1290/1873, with commentary by al-Ṭūsī). It is a commentary on the physics and metaphysics in the *Kitāb al-Is͟hārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt* of Ibn Sīnā, that is to say from the beginning of the first *namaṭ* (ed. Froget, 90). Firstly, al-Rāzī reproduces in full a paragraph of Avicenna's text, then comments on it, pointing out carefully the plan which the author follows as well as its several component parts.

4. — *Lubāb al-Is͟hārāt* (Cairo 1326/1908; 2nd ed. Cairo 1355/1936, 136 pp.). A summary of Avicenna's celebrated work, written after the commentary referred to last. It is concerned not with extracts from the work, but with a true digest of Avicenna's thought. Al-Rāzī follows thus each *nahd͟j* of the logic and each *namaṭ* of the physics and metaphysics.

5. — *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaḳaddimīn wa 'l-muta'ak͟hk͟hirīn min al-ʿulamā' wa 'l-ḥukamā' wa 'l-mutakallimīn* (a précis of ideas, scholars, philosophers and *mutakallimūn,* ancient and modern). Although at the beginning al-Rāzī indicates the plan which he intends to follow, in the course of the book's development this design is almost lost. *Kalām,* he says, is divided into four parts which he calls "cornerstones" (*arkān*). He begins immediately with the first, the preliminaries, without mentioning the others which are as follows: 2) being and its several modes; 3) rational theology (*ilāhiyyāt*); 4) the traditional questions (*al-samʿiyyāt*). The preliminaries (1-32) go far beyond those of al-D͟juwaynī (in the *Irs͟hād*) and of al-G͟hazālī (in the *Iḳtiṣād*). Three important questions are: a) the first ideas, where al-Rāzī speaks of perception, of judgment, and where he examines the divers theories concerning the innate or acquired character of the judgments; b) the characters of reasoning (*aḥkām al-naẓar*), including the setting out and proving of a dozen "theses"; c) apodeictic proof (*al-dalīl*). It is in the second part that the sections are distinguished with less clarity. Al-Rāzī begins by speaking of the *maʿlūmāt* (things known) where we can distinguish with some difficulty three divisions: 1) characters of existing beings; 2) the non-being (*fi 'l-maʿdūm*); 3) the negation of modes (*aḥwāl*) which are intermediary between being and non-being. Al-Rāzī next divides created beings into necessary and possible and goes on to examine the various arguments concerning these two categories, expounding and discussing in turn the theory of the *mutakallimūn* and that of the *falāsifa.* There follow thirty or so paragraphs whose contents are oddly enough assorted (on cold, softness, weight, movement, death, science, the senses, etc.), badly arranged paragraphs which are meant to link up probably with what immediately follows concerning the kinds and properties of accidents. Next the author studies bodies (*ad͟jsām*), their constitution, properties and kinds. Finally, the last section of this part is dedicated to the general characteristics of being, the One and the Many, cause and effect, etc. The two last *rukn*s deal directly with *kalām.* The third study, the *Ilāhiyyāt,* is a demonstration of the existence of the Necessary Being, of its attributes both positive and negative, of its acts, and of the relationship between divine and created acts. Then come some brief lines on the Divine Names. The fourth part, which is exclusively based on "Scripture", comprises four sections: doctrine of the Prophets, eschatology, the "Statutes and Names" (the problem of faith), and finally, the imāmate.

The Cairo edition (the only one in existence; printed at al-Ḥusayniyya, n.d.) has at the bottom of the pages the *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, in which criticism of al-Rāzī is not spared. This commentator remarks that in his time it was the only famous work on dogmatics, but according to him without justification (3). The Cairo edition also contains on the margins the *Maʿālim uṣūl al-dīn* of al-Rāzī. The *Muḥaṣṣal* has been commentated often (see Brockelmann). Horten has made an abridged edition in two volumes (*Die Philosophischen Ansichten von Rāzī und Ṭūsī*, Bonn 1910, and *Die spekulative und positive Theologie des Islams nach Razi und ihre Kritik nach Tusi*, Leipzig 1912), but "their value is diminished, if not indeed made doubtful, by the great number of errors in translation and arbitrary interpretations" (P. Kraus).

6. — *al-Maʿālim fī uṣūl al-dīn*. In his introduction to this work, al-Rāzī writes: "This is a compendium which deals with five kinds of sciences: dogmatics (*ʿilm uṣūl al-dīn*), the methodology of law (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), *fiḳh*, the principles on which differences of opinion are based (*al-uṣūl al-muʿtabara fi 'l-khilāfiyyāt*), the rules of controversy and of dialectics". Only the first of these five parts has been printed (on the margin of the *Muḥaṣṣal*, see above, no. 5).

7. — *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* or *K. al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* (ed. Būlāḳ 1279-89, 6 vols.; Cairo 1310, 8 vols. (reprinted in 1924-27); 1327, 8 vols., with the *Irshād al-ʿaḳl* of Abu 'l-Suʿūd al-ʿImādī on the margin. The most recent and careful edition is that of Muḥammad Muḥyi 'l-Dīn, Cairo 1352/1933, in 32 *djuz'*, each comprising on the average 225 pp.). This is certainly al-Rāzī's most important work. It belongs to the class of commentaries at the same time philosophical and *bi 'l-ra'y*, and al-Rāzī put into this all his knowledge both of philosophy and of religion. Whenever the opportunity presents itself, he takes the opportunity of expounding what he wishes to say in the form of a "question" (*mas'ala*). He often tries to link the verses logically one to anotner, and, according to his habit, sets forth in answer to each question asked the various opinions with their arguments. The work consists of no less than eight volumes in-quarto, each containing about 600 pages of closely printed text. The commentary opens with a great dissertation (forming the whole of the first volume in the new edition) on the *istiʿādha* and then on the *basmala*. Appreciation of this commentary has varied from author to author. Certain detractors of philosophy and of *kalām*, such as Ibn Taymiyya for example, speak with disdain of this commentary on the Ḳur'ān where everything is to be found except a commentary. To this, admirers of al-Rāzī reply that in addition to the commentary on the Ḳur'ān everything else is to be found there (cf. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi 'l-wafayāt*, iv, 254). The influence of al-Rāzī's commentary has made itself felt amongst those who would like to modernize certain aspects of traditional exegesis. Thus a modern author, who helped to introduce the concept of "literary style" into the study of the Ḳur'ān, has remarked: "As far as the ideas contained in the Ḳur'ān are concerned, Rāzī is unique ... attitudes which are considered new and daring in the commentary of the *Manār* or in modern works have already been mentioned by Rāzī" (cf. J. Jomier, *Quelques positions actuelles de l'exégèse coranique en Égypte révélées par une polémique récente*, in *MIDEO*, i (1954), 51).

8. — *al-Munāẓarāt* (the controversies) (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1354/1935). This is a kind of autobiography in which the author reports in detail sixteen controversies which occurred at different places during his travels. Al-Rāzī disputes with Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī, Ashʿarī and Māturīdī scholars who cannot always be identified by name. The contents of the *Munāẓarāt* are varied. Almost half of the chapters are given up to subtle questions of canon law. Al-Rāzī makes fun here of the juridical work of al-Ghazālī. The rest deals with matters of philosophy and theology, such as the problem of the Divine Attributes, the origin of our perceptions, a refutation of astrology (ninth controversy), etc. In the tenth controversy, he gives interesting details on the sources of the *Milal wa 'l-niḥal* of al-Shahrastānī. This short work has been analysed by Kraus (who seems to have believed that it had never been published): *Les controverses de Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī*, in *BIÉ*, xix (1937), 187-214. The full title, added by a later hand, is: "The controversies of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī which took place during his journey to Samarḳand and then to India".

9. — *Iʿtiḳād firaḳ al-Muslimīn wa 'l-Mushrikīn*. In this little treatise, edited in 1938 by ʿAlī Sāmī al-Nashshār, al-Rāzī refers, in a manner very concise but at the same time precise and objective, to the majority of Muslim sects and to a number of the "sects" of the Zoroastrians, Jews and Christians. A special chapter is reserved to the philosophers. Al-Rāzī points out that he is the only one to regard the Ṣūfīs as a sect.

10. — *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya* (Ḥaydarābād 1342, 2 vols. of 726 and 550 pp. respectively). This is a work on "metaphysics and physics" (*fī ʿilm al-ilāhiyyāt wa 'l-ṭabīʿiyyāt*) which, however, does not refer at all to the *samʿiyyāt*. The author does not fail to point out that he is the first to have conceived a work of this sort. At the beginning, he explains clearly the plan which he intends to follow in this work which consists of three "books". Knowledge being the more perfect as its object is more general, the author will dedicate the first book to the study of being and its properties, then to its correlative, non-being, then to essence, unity, and multiplicity. Having defined these general principles (*al-umūr al-ʿāmma*), the author studies a certain number of problems connected with them, such as division of being into necessary and possible (12 chapters), eternity and beginning in being (5 chapters). The second book is dedicated to the great divisions of the possible, substance and accident. An introduction studies them in a general manner (15 chapters), then a first *djumla* consisting of five *funūn* is concerned with accident as follows: 1) quantity; 2) quality; 3) relative categories (*al-maḳūlāt al-nisbiyya*); 4) causes and effects; 5) movement and time (72 chapters). The second *djumla* is concerned with substance as follows: 1) bodies; 2) soul (*ʿilm al-nafs*); 3) intelligence. Finally, the third book (ii, 448-524) deals with "pure metaphysics" (*fi 'l-ilāhiyyāt al-maḥḍa*) and comprises four sections: 1) proof of the existence of the Necessary Being and of its transcendence; 2) its attributes; 3) its acts; 4) prophecy. This work is divided carefully into *funūn*, *abwāb* and *fuṣūl*, which call to mind Avicenna's *Shifā'*. From him, whom he calls simply *al-ra'īs*, and to whom he refers very frequently and sometimes quotes verbally, he borrows much important material, above all drawn from the *Shifā'* (physics, metaphysics, *de Coelo et Mundo*), the *Nadjāt*, and occasionally the *Ishārāt* (cf. ii, 342). He often accepts his data, but he does not hesitate to dispute freely certain of his principles, pointing out, sometimes with astonishment, what he calls contradictions in him. On the

subject of necessary emanation ("from one can come forth only one") and the theory of the active intellect (cf. ii), he disagrees completely with Avicenna. He reports many opinions, usually unfortunately not naming their authors, and discusses them; nevertheless he does refer by name to Aristotle, Plato, al-Fārābī, Empedocles, Galen, and Thābit b. Ḳurra.

11. — *Kitāb al-Firāsa.* This book on physiognomy has been edited (from the three manuscripts of Cambridge, the British Museum, and the Aya Sofya) by Youssouf Mourad (*La physiognomonie arabe et le* Kitāb al-firāsa *de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, Paris 1939), with a long introduction and a French translation, notes and commentary. The work consists of three dissertations (*maḳālāt*). The first deals with the general principles of this science, the second is made up of four sections as follows: 1) the signs of the temperaments; 2) the conditions special to the four ages; 3) the conditions special to the several states; 4) differences of character arising from the differences of countries, hot and cold climates, etc. Finally, the third dissertation is given up to the significance of numbers.

12. — *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn* (Ḥaydarābād 1353/1934, 500 pp.). This treatise on theology was written by al-Rāzī for his eldest son Muḥammad. The plan of the questions with which it deals is not indicated by the author. It is nevertheless possible to classify the forty questions as follows: A. Beginning of the world in time (q. 1); the non-being is not a thing (q. 2). B. Existence of God (q. 3). C. Attributes of God (q. 4-40): God is eternal (q. 4), unlike everything which exists (q. 5), His essence is identical with His existence (q. 6), He does not exist in space (q. 7 and 8), it is impossible for His essence to enter anything (q. 9), it is impossible that He should be subject to accident (q. 10); He is all-powerful (q. 11), all-knowing (q. 12), possessed of will (q. 13), living (q. 14), He has knowledge and will (q. 15), He is hearing and seeing (q. 16), speaking (q. 17), everlasting (q. 18), visible (q. 19); His essence can be known by man (q. 20); He is one (q. 21), creator of the acts of man (q. 22), and of all which exists (q. 23), He wills all things (q. 24); good and evil are determined by religious Law (q. 25); the actions of God are not caused (q. 26); the existence of atoms (q. 27), reality of the soul (q. 28), existence of the void (q. 29), resurrection (q. 30), prophecy of Muḥammad (q. 31), impeccability of the Prophets (q. 32), comparison of angels and messengers (q. 33), the miracles of the saints (q. 34); reward and punishment (q. 35), non-eternal nature of the punishment of Muslim sinners (q. 36), the intercession of the Prophet (q. 37); whether proofs based on tradition produce certainty (q. 38), the imāmate (q. 39), methodology concerning rational proofs (q. 40). What is so striking in this treatise is the attitude of al-Rāzī towards atomism which here he seems to approve, whereas in the *Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya* he refutes it.

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FAKHR AL-MULK [see ʿAMMĀR, BANŪ].

FAKHR AL-MULK B. NIẒĀM AL-MULK [see NIẒĀMIDS].

FAKHRĪ (d. *ca.* 1027/1618), a native of Bursa, the most celebrated silhouette-cutter in Turkey. This art (*ṣanʿat-i ḳaṭʿ*) was brought from Persia to Turkey in the 10th/16th century, and to the west in the 11th/17th century, where at first, as in the east, light paper on a dark ground was always used. There are specimens of Fakhrī's work—he cut principally examples of calligraphy, flowers and gardens—in the album prepared for Murād III, now in the Vienna Hofbibliothek; for Aḥmed I he cut out a Gulistān, which did not, however, survive his criticism; Murād IV on the other hand thought very highly of the artist. He is buried in Istanbul near the Edirne gate.

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FAKHRĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-Dīn Saʿīd Iṣfahānī, an Iranian philologist, author of the *Miʿyār-i Djamālī va-miftāḥ-i Bū Isḥāḳī* ("The bird-trap offered to Djamāl and the key entrusted to Abū Isḥāḳ"), written in Iṣfāhān, after residing in Shīrāz, and dedicated in 745/1344 to Djamāl al-Dīn Abū Isḥāḳ Muḥammad, the last prince of the Indjū dynasty [*q.v.*]. The work consists of four sections: prosody (*ʿarūḍ*), knowledge of rhyme (*ḳawāfī*), rhetorical devices (*badāʾiʿ al-sanāʾiʿ*), a lexicon intermingled with verses in praise of the prince (Persian words arranged according to their final letter: they will be found in recent western dictionaries). Salemann, the editor of this lexicon, also adds a poem of 150 lines of verse, *Marghūb al-ḳulūb* ("Hearts' desire"), moral and mystical in content, its attribution to Fakhrī being questionable (the manuscript of the B.N., Paris, Cat. Blochet no. 158, 3°, used by Salemann, puts it only under the name Shams). In the preface to the *Miʿyār*, writing in a very careful and elaborate style, the author states that in 713/1313, while still a youth, he lived

in Lūristān in the company of writers and scholars and there composed a manual on versification which he dedicated to Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad, the seventh and last *atabek* of the Lūr-i Buzurg (cf. Gantin, 581); he adds that he was intending to revise this manual and to transform it into a basic work—which he intended to achieve by writing the *Miʿyār* (additional details in Blochet, *Catalogue*, nos. 971 and 2423; Pajūh, *Fihrist*, 432-3).

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FAĶĪH (a.), plur. *fuḳahāʾ*, in its non-technical meaning denotes anyone possessing knowledge (*fiḳh*) of a thing (syn. *ʿālim*, plur. *ʿulamāʾ* [*q.v.*]). Then, as *fiḳh* passed from denoting any branch of knowledge and became a technical term for the science of religious law (*sharīʿa* [*q.v.*]) and in particular for the science of its derivative details (*furūʿ*), *faḳih* became the technical term for a specialist in religious law and in particular its *furūʿ*. This development is parallel to that of the term (*iuris*) *prudens* in Roman law. In older terminology, however, *faḳīh* as opposed to *ʿālim* denotes the speculative, systematic lawyer as opposed to the specialist in the traditional elements of religious law. (See on all this the art. fiḳh). A more modest synonym of *faḳīh* is *mutafaḳḳih* "a student of *fiḳh*", whereas a person possessing the highest degree of competence in *fiḳh* is called *mud̲j̲tahid* [see id̲j̲tihād]. In several Arabic dialects the word, in forms like *fiḳī* etc., has come to mean a schoolmaster in a *kuttāb* [*q.v.*] or a professional reciter of the Ḳurʾān.

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FAĶĪH, BĀ, a family of Bā ʿAlawī *sayyids* of Tarīm in Ḥaḍramawt descended from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 862/1458), called *mawlā ʿAydīd* or *ṣāḥib ʿAydīd*, after ʿAydīd, now a suburb of Tarīm, to which he moved from Tarīm. His father, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (d. 838/1434) was called *ṣāḥib al-ḥawṭa*, after an estate he had near Tarīm which he developed as a plantation and which became a sacrosanct enclosure (*ḥawṭa*). The name Bā Faḳīh apparently refers to *ṣāḥib al-ḥawṭa*'s great-grandfather, al-Faḳīh Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (d. 726/1326), whose great-grandfather was Muḥammad *ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ* (d. 556/1162), after the town of Mirbāṭ, then a prosperous town on the coast of Ẓufār, where he moved from Tarīm and where he later died and was buried. From *ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ* are descended all the Bā ʿAlawī *sayyids* of Ḥaḍramawt.

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, *mawlā ʿAydīd*, the ancestor of the Bā Faḳīh, is described in *sayyid* literature as a great saint, a description, however, which is lavishly used by *sayyid* writers about their ancestors. His descendants known to us were mainly *ṣūfī*s, teachers and jurists. They are descended through his sons (a) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, (b) ʿAbd Allāh, (c) ʿAlī, (d) ʿAlawī and (e) Zayn.

Through (a) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān were descended his son Zayn (died in al-S̲h̲iḥr) and the latter's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 950/1543). Through (b) ʿAbd Allāh were descended, from his great-grandson Muḥammad, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad (d. 1005/1596), a prominent teacher and jurist, called *ṣāḥib Ḳaydūn*, after the town near Dawʿan to which he moved and where he died, and his brother Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad (d. 1040/1630) who was *ḳāḍī* in Tarīm and got involved in disputes between members of the influential ʿAydarūs [*q.v.*] family. Ḥusayn had two sons: Aḥmad (d. 1052/1642 in Mecca) and ʿAbd Allāh, who travelled to India in his youth and settled in Kunūr, where he married the daughter of its governor ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and gained public importance, although he mainly occupied himself with teaching. He seems to have studied mathematics while there and to have applied himself to the pursuit of alchemy. He died in Kunūr. A nephew of Abū Bakr and Ḥusayn, called Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad, settled in Kunūr where he married the daughter of its governor ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd and acquired some prominence, which he retained in the days of ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd's brother and successor ʿAbd al-Wahhāb; but he fell upon bad days after the latter's death and moved to Ḥaydarābād, where he died.

From (c) ʿAlī was descended his great-grandson Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī (d. 11th/17th century), whose studies took him to Mecca, Medina and Cairo; then he went back to Tarīm where towards the end of his life he was twice *ḳāḍī*. From (d) ʿAlawī were descended his son Muḥammad b. ʿAlawī (d. 924/1519 in Aden) and his great-grandson ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlawī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlawī (d. 1047/1637), a prominent *ṣūfī*, jurist and teacher. From (e) Zayn was descended ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayn, a teacher of al-S̲h̲illī, author of *al-Mas̲h̲raʿ al-rawī*, who later moved to India, studying and teaching, until he settled in Bīd̲j̲āpūr, where he died.

A chronicler called Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Ṭayyib Bā Faḳīh Bā ʿAlawī al-S̲h̲iḥrī, about whom no biographical details can be traced, was the author of a chronicle commonly referred to as *Tārīk̲h̲ Bā Faḳīh al-S̲h̲iḥrī* (covering the 10th/16th century); cf. R. B. Serjeant in *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 292-5; xxv (1962), 245 f.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿAydarūs, *al-Nūr al-sāfir min ak̲h̲bār al-ḳarn al-ʿās̲h̲ir*, Bag̲h̲dād 1934; Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-S̲h̲illī, *al-Mas̲h̲raʿ al-rawī fī manāḳib al-sāda al-kirām āl Abī ʿAlawī*, Cairo 1319/1901; al-Muḥibbī, *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-at̲h̲ar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿas̲h̲ar*, Cairo 1869, 4 vols.; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Çufiten in Süd-Arabien im XI (XVII) Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1883, 57-64; R. B. Serjeant, *Materials for South Arabian history*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 292-5, and xxv (1962), 245 f.; idem, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford 1963, *passim*. (M. A. Ghūl)

FAĶĪH, BAL, a family of Bā ʿAlawī *sayyids* of Tarīm in Ḥaḍramawt descended from al-Faḳīh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, called *al-asḳaʿ*, a prominent scholar who, after studying in his native Tarīm, Aden, Zabīd, Mecca and Medina, settled in Tarīm, where he died in 917/1512. A kind of historical work by him was used as a source of the *Taʾrīk̲h̲* of Bā Faḳīh al-S̲h̲iḥrī, where it is referred to as *K̲h̲aṭṭ*; cf. R. B. Serjeant in *BSOAS*, xxv (1962), 246. His great ancestor was Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad

ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ, commonly called *al-ustādh al-aʿẓam wa 'l-faḳīh al-muḳaddam* (d. 653/1255).

The Bal Faḳīh *sayyid*s of whom we know were mainly *ṣūfī*s, and in some cases teachers and jurists as well. They were descended from al-Faḳīh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *al-asḳaʿ* through his three sons (a) ʿAbd Allāh, (b) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and (c) Aḥmad.

The first son ʿAbd Allāh is also called al-ʿAydarūs and is known as *ṣāḥib al-Shubayka*, after the cemetery in Mecca where he was buried. He was born in Tarīm, which he left for Shiḥr, Aden, Mecca, Medina and Zabīd in search of learning, and then went back to it where he became a prominent teacher. He left it later for Mecca, where he lived the last 14 years of his life and where he died in 974/1567. His son ʿAlī, a *ṣūfī*, died in Mecca in 1021/1612. The latter had two sons, Muḥammad, who attained wealth and public importance in Mecca, where he died in 1066/1656, and ʿAbd Allāh, a *ṣūfī*, who died in Mecca in 1050/1640.

From (b) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān were descended his son Muḥammad (d. 1007/1598) and his two grandsons by his son Ḥusayn, Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 1048/1638), who was twice *ḳāḍī* of Tarīm and got involved together with Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Bā Faḳīh in disputes between members of the influential ʿAydarūs [*q.v.*] family; and Abū Bakr b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who travelled to India where he finally settled in Bādjāpūr enjoying the patronage of its ruler Maḥmūd ʿĀdil Shāh until his death there in 1074/1663.

Of (c) Aḥmad's descendants we know of a grandson called Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad who was born in Tarīm, where he studied and then became a teacher and jurist. He was a contemporary and friend of al-Shillī, author of *al-Mashraʿ al-Rawī*.

Bibliography: as for FAḲĪH, BĀ; add R. B. Serjeant, *The Saiyids of Ḥadramawt*, London 1957, 14, 19 and 25. (M. A. Ghūl)

AL-**FĀKIHĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. al-ʿAbbās, 3rd/9th-century historian of Mecca. No information on him was available to later Muslim scholars, or is to us, except what can be learned from his *History of Mecca*, of which the second half is preserved in a single manuscript in Leiden (cod. or. 463). A small portion of the work has been edited by F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1857-61, ii, 3-51. Al-Fākihī was alive and, it seems, quite young during the judgeship of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanẓala b. Muḥammad which came to an end in or shortly before 238/852-3 (Wüstenfeld, ii, 43 f.; Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-Ḳuḍāt*, i, 268 f.); his birth may thus be placed around 225/839, and this agrees with the fact that some of his authorities died in the early 240 s. He was in contact with the leading scholars of Mecca. He completed his work between 272/885-86, a date he himself mentions, and the end of 275/April-May 889 when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hāshimī, who is referred to as being still alive, died (Wüstenfeld, ii, 12; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 451 f.; or, if the passages cited refer to different men, at the latest 279/892). He left a son, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, who is briefly noticed in al-Fāsī, *ʿIḳd*.

His work is referred to as *Akhbār Makka* or (in the Leiden ms.) *Taʾrīkh Makka*, but *Fihrist* 159 calls it *Kitāb Makka wa-akhbārihā fi 'l-Djāhiliyya wa 'l-Islām*. Its size was more than twice that of the earlier *History of Mecca* by al-Azraḳī [*q.v.*]. It shares with the latter the arrangement and, to a large degree, the material but must be considered an independent scholarly achievement. The *isnād*s prove that al-Fākihī collected his material on his own; certain historical statements and descriptions of architectural features and the like not introduced by *isnād*s agree literally with al-Azraḳī and, therefore, may have been taken over from his work without acknowledgement. The fact that al-Fākihī makes no mention of al-Azraḳī and even appears to suppress references to his family may have its reason in some personal enmity between him and the Azraḳīs and their circle, or the latter may have refused him permission to make use of the material in their possession; at any rate, it does not mean that al-Fākihī was out to conceal an alleged improper use of al-Azraḳī's work, which would, anyhow, have been impossible.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, i, xxiv-xxix; Brockelmann, I, 143. (F. Rosenthal)

FAḲĪR. The word *faḳīr* has four different connotations—etymological, Ḳurʾānic, mystical and popular. Etymologically it means (*a*) one whose backbone is broken (see Ḳurʾān, lxxvii, 25); (*b*) poor or destitute; (*c*) canal, aqueduct or mouth of a canal; (*d*) hollow dug for planting or watering palm-trees. When used in the sense of a pauper its plural form is *fuḳarāʾ*, but when used in the sense of an aqueduct, *fuḳur* is its plural form.

The word *faḳīr* (or *fuḳarāʾ*) occurs 12 times in the Ḳurʾān. It is sometimes used as opposed to *ghanī* (one who is self-sufficient and independent, see xxxv, 16) and is sometimes conjoined with the term *miskīn* to indicate two distinct types of needy persons (ix, 60). According to Imām al-Shāfiʿī, a *faḳīr* is one who neither owns anything nor engages himself in any avocation; a *miskīn*, on the contrary, is one who owns something though it is barely sufficient for his immediate needs. He cites in support of his view the parable of Khiḍr and Moses in which the sailor of a boat is called a *miskīn* (xviii, 79). Imām Abū Ḥanīfa held the other view. According to him a *faḳīr* is one who owns something while a *miskīn* is one who owns nothing. The supporters of this view say that the sailor in the parable was not the owner of the boat but had it on hire. Reconciling all these differences Ibn al-ʿArabī says that these terms are interchangeable and synonymous. According to some commentators the word *fuḳarāʾ* in ii, 273 refers to the *ahl al-ṣuffa* [*q.v.*] who lived in the mosque of the Prophet and devoted all their time to prayers and meditation.

In mystic terminology *faḳīr* means a person who 'lives for the Lord alone'. As Shiblī says: *Al-faḳīr man lā yastaghnī bi-shayʾⁱⁿ dūn Allāh* (a *faḳīr* does not rest content with anything except God.) Total rejection of private property (*ʿadam tamalluk*) and resignation to the will of God (*tawakkul*) were considered essential for a *faḳīr* who aspired for gnosis (*maʿrifa*).

In popular parlance the term *faḳīr* is used for a poor man, a pauper or a beggar. Its use in the English language dates from 1608; see *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. Fakir, and H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*², London 1903, s.v. Fakeer.

Bibliography: Zamakhsharī, *Kitāb al-Fāʾiḳ*, Ḥaydarābād, ii, 143-4; *LA*, vi, 366: *TA*, iii, 473-5; Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Iṣṭilāḥāt-i Ṣūfiyya*, Lucknow 1904, 32-3; ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, *Al-Minaḥ al-Madaniyya fi mukhtārāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, Madīna 1330, 37-8; ʿIzz al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa miftāḥ al-kifāya*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī, 1365, 375-9; Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*,

1292, 105-6; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, ʿUthmāniya Press 1304, 159-64; al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, tr. Nicholson, 19-29, 60; Turāb ʿAlī Ḳalandar, *Maṭālib-i Rashīdī*, Nawal Kishore edn., 302.

(K. A. Nizami)

FAKĪR MUHAMMAD KHĀN, an Urdu writer (Faḳīr is a *takhalluṣ*, nom de plume). He is chiefly known as the author of a translation of the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* of Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī [*q.v.*], an adaptation in elaborate Persian prose of the stories from *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*]. The title of the Urdu translation by Faḳīr Muḥammad Khān, for which he appears to have been helped by the celebrated Urdu poet Mīr Ḥasan (d. 1200/1786), is *Bustān-i ḥikmat* (Garden of wisdom). The first edition is a lithograph, Lucknow 1845. As a lyric poet, Faḳīr belongs to the Lucknow school and to the *silsila* (poetic school) of the famous Nāsikh (d. 1254/1838).

Bibliography: Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la litt. Hindoue et Hindoustanie*[2], Paris 1870, i, 443.

(A. Bausani)

FAKĪRĪ, Kalkandelenli, Turkish poet of the mid-10th/16th century. Very little is known about his life. From the scanty information provided by *tedhkire*-writers, we learn only that he was from Ḳalḳandelen (Tatova) near Üsküb (Skopje); of a modest family, cheerful and easy-going, he was unambitious and died young, while still a student.

Faḳīrī is the author of a *shehrengīz*, a *sāḳī-nāme* and a number of *ghazels* scattered in *medjmūʿas* and *naẓīre* collections, all of which are of rather mediocre quality. He owes his reputation to his original *Risāle-i taʿrīfāt* (Book of Definitions) written in 941/1534 in the tradition and style of *shehrengīz*. This is a collection of short descriptions (in 159 *faṣls*) of various officials, artisans and types of the Ottoman Empire, and one of the rare examples of social satire in Turkish literature. In every "definition" of three couplets, the characteristics of the type are given in a concise, often colourful description, a vivid and informative parade of the famous and infamous.

After the customary introduction in praise of God, the Prophet and the first four Caliphs and homage to the reigning Sultan, Süleymān the Magnificent, Faḳīrī begins his definitions with the highest ranking official, the vizier, and proceeds to other ranks and classes. The vizier is "the aid of religion and the State, he is the orderer of the country". The *ḳāḍīʿaskers* are not liked by the *ḳāḍīs* as "they give life to some by distributing largesse and take the life of others", the *defterdārs* turn some people's business into gold, and dismiss and deceive others, the *beys* and *aghas* "lead always a pleasant life, they stage stately *dīwāns* where notables foregather; some, by their justice, make the country prosperous, some, by their tyranny, destroy the world".

Further he describes in short but accurate terms the functions of the *solaḳ*, *silihdār*, *čāwūsh*, *ulaḳ*, *yeñičeri*, *mewālī*, etc., and passes critical judgment on members of various professions: *müderris* "the heirs to the science of the Prophet", the "insatiable" *muʿīd*, the "corrupt" *nāʾib*, etc. The joy of the *manṣūb* (the newly-appointed official) and the sorrow of the *maʿzūl* (the dismissed one), the pangs of expectation of the *mülāzim* (the probationary), the difference between the true devout *shaykh* and the hypocritical false one, the insincere preacher, *wāʿiẓ*, with an eye to profit are concisely portrayed. The parade continues with the *imām*, *müʾedhdhin*, *ḥāfiẓ*, *kātib*, the poet, the lover, the gentleman, the beauty, the lady's man, the rival, etc. The arts, crafts and professions are represented by the porter, physician, barber, acrobat, musician, dancer, merchant, tailor, town-crier, cobbler, saddler, butcher, blacksmith, etc. Then come characters: the hypocrite, intriguer, liar, idiot, etc. Further come definitions of some national types: Persian, Arab, Fellāḥ. Faḳīrī's uncomplimentary definition of "Turk" (faṣl 80) "with a fur on his shoulder and a *börk* on his head, ignorant of religion and sect" confirms the fact that in the period of the Empire this term meant "uneducated peasant, country boor" as opposed to the town-dwelling Ottomans (Rūmī), who are "refined and educated, but some think of themselves as writers, some as poets, yet when they gather to talk they do nothing but backbite one another".

Faḳīrī is strongly critical in his definition of *sipāhī*, *ʿazab*, *subashi*, *ʿases*, *muḥtesib*, *ketkhudā*, *ʿummāl*, *mütewelli*, etc., and popular complaints about bribery, abuses, tyranny, cruelty, injustices of the times are reflected in these definitions. An edition of the *Risāle-i taʿrīfāt* is in preparation.

Bibliography: The *tedhkires* of Laṭīfī, Ḳinalīzāde Ḥasan Čelebi, ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, Beyānī and the biographical section in ʿĀlī's *Künh al-Akhbār*, s.v.; Köprülü-zāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Millī edebiyyāt djereyānīnin ilk mübeshshirleri*, Istanbul 1928, 62-3; idem, *Onundju ʿaṣir ḥayātina ʿāʾid wethīḳalar*, in *Ḥayāt*, i, 22-3; I. Ulçugür, *Fakiri ve Risale-i Tarifat'ı*, (unpublished thesis in Türkiyat Library no. 220): M. Izzet, *Şehrengizler* (unpublished thesis in Türkiyat Library no. 76). (Fahir İz)

FAʾL, *ṭīra* and *zadjr* are terms which merge into one another and together correspond to and express adequately the concept of "omen" and of οἰωνός. *Faʾl*, a term peculiar to Arabic and equivalent to the Hebrew *neḥashīm* and the Syriac *neḥshē*, originally meant natural omen, cledonism. It appears in very varied forms, ranging from simple sneezing (al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, trans. Rat, ii 182), certain peculiarities of persons and things that one encounters (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, 133 ff., trans. in *Arabica*, viii/1 (1961), 34-7), to the interpretation of the names of persons and things which present themselves spontaneously to the sight, hearing and mind of man. On this last point, the *sīra*, tradition (*ḥadīth*) and Muslim chronicles give ample evidence depicting this tendency of the Arab mind to draw omens from all kinds of physical movement, all kinds of chance happenings, from all kinds of words heard and all attitudes observed. "After all, the whole of good manners has grown out of *faʾl*" (Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 364). To this must be added the predominant rôle among all Semites, and the Arabs in particular, of euphemism and antiphrasis (see *infra*).

This tendency of the Arab mind reveals itself clearly in the conduct, practice and recommendations of the Prophet. The *sīra* is full of incidents where the Prophet "drew omens from the names of the regions and tribes through which he travelled on his raids" (Ibn Hishām, 434). Furthermore, he made a considerable number of changes in proper names, with the double design of effacing all traces of Arab paganism from Muslim terminology (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 8 f.), and even more of removing from any shocking or unsuitable names of followers which he must hear around him, all baleful influences which might emanate from their meanings. It was for this reason that he changed Ḳalīl into Kathīr, ʿĀṣī into Muṭīʿ (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 232); and thus also that he gave the future Medina the name of Ṭayyiba in place of Yathrib, whose root

contained the idea of "calumny" (*Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, i, 2). He changed the name of Zayd al-Khayl into Zayd al-Khayr (*Aghānī*[1], xvii, 49). "In the Djāhiliyya, Sulaymān b. Ṣurad was called Yasār (as a euphemism for 'left'); the Prophet called him Sulaymān" (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, ii, 351); "Sahl used to be called Ḥazn but the Prophet renamed him Sahl" (*ibid.* 380; cf. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, i, 226), and so on (cf. *ibid.* ii, 301; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 313, 559; Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, li (1897), 256 ff.). "Für Muḥammad wurde ja jedes Nomen, besonders aber jedes Nomen proprium, zum omen" (Fischer in *ZDMG*, lxi (1907), 753, cf. 427). The Prophet was imitated in this respect by his Companions, especially ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ed. Brockelmann, ii, 148 f.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, i, 225; al-Ṭabarī, xv, 2609, etc.). On the other hand, omens were not only drawn from the individual's name but also from his appearance. The Prophet wrote to his officials: "When you send me a courier, see that he has a beautiful name and a handsome face" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *l.c.*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *l.c.*; cf. *Aghānī*[1], ii, 20; xviii, 35). In North Africa, even a man's social position could become a factor from which omens could be drawn; thus to encounter a *sharīf* was a matter of happy omen, while to meet a Jew or a blacksmith was unlucky (Doutté, *op. cit.*, 361). A whole family might be considered as having a baleful influence (cf. the family of Baṣbaṣ, who gave bad advice to the Taghlib, *Ḥamāsa*, 254, l. 5, in Freytag, *Einleitung*, 162). Certain individuals are referred to as *mashʾūm* (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vii, 150 f.); their company augured ill.

Because of this, choice of names was important to parents for their children and to masters for their slaves. With regard to this, the Arabs followed a definite ruling. "Someone asked a Bedouin: 'Why do you give your children the worst of names such as Kalb and Dhiʾb, and to your slaves the best such as Marzūḳ and Rabāḥ?' He replied: 'It is because the names of our children are destined for our enemies, and those of our slaves for ourselves'. He meant to say that the children are a shield against the enemy and arrows in their bosoms; it is for this reason that they give them this kind of name" (al-Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, ii, 153; cf. Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 4 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 247; cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 65 and i, 158 f., where the author sets out the various motives underlying the choice of names among Arabs).

This process of interpretation was expanded from personal names to the names of precious stones, of fruits and flowers, and even to the words of songs. Thus gold (*dhahab*) means 'departure', onyx (*djazʿ*) sadness and melancholy (al-Tīfāshī, in Reinaud, *Monumens*, i, 14); a lemon (*utrudj*) presages hypocrisy because of the fact that the exterior of the fruit does not resemble the interior (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 142; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, i, 226); the quince (*safardjal*) signifies a journey because its name contains the word *safar* (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *loc. cit.*; cf. *ZDMG*, lxvii (1913), 273 ff., and lxviii (1914), 275 ff.). Lilac (*sūsan*) brings misfortune because its name contains the word *sūʾ* (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *loc. cit.*), and misfortune which will last for a year because its name is made up of *sūʾ* and *sana* (cf. Flügel, *Loosbücher*, 27); basil (*rīḥān*) is at the same time of good and evil omen because on the one hand its name includes the word *rūḥ*, and on the other hand it has a bitter taste, even though it pleases the eye and the nose (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 142). As for the evil presentiments aroused by the contents of a phrase or a song, there are many examples of these in the Arab chronicles (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.*, 139; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 426 ff.; vii, 269 ff.; al-Ibshīhī, ii, 154). These facts are generally classified under the name of *ṭīra*.

According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Flügel, iv, 646 f., *faʾl* is an approval of a man's intentions and thence an encouragement to his carrying them out, while *ṭīra* (or *ṭayara* or *ṭūra*, cf. *Ḳāmūs*, i, 93) is a disapproval and in consequence an obstruction, a postponement until later. This opposition which in the end established itself between two concepts which were originally complementary, seems to have developed from the attitude which Tradition ascribed to the Prophet concerning this predominant variety of *faʾl*. *Ṭīra* (ὄρνις) is in effect a technique whose origin is pastoral and nomadic; Arabia was therefore a very propitious region for its development, as Cicero had already commented: "Arabes (et Phryges et Cilices), quod pastu pecudum maxime utuntur, campos et montes hieme et aestate peragrantes, propterea facilius cantus avium et volatus notaverunt" (*De divinatione*, i, 41; cf. i, 1 and ii, 93-5). Its technical character made it the prerogative of a privileged class of men, which in an organized and developed society enjoyed the status of priesthood. In the short-lived and nomadic civilizations of Bedouin Arabia, the existence of a priestly class which specialized in the interpretation of the flight and cries of birds was as yet hardly perceptible (see KIHĀNA: *ʿāʾif, ḥāzī, zādjir*). It is only by means of comparison between the brief and obscure data of Islamic literature and those of Semitic antiquity, that it is possible to affirm the religious character of *ṭīra* as it was practised in the Djāhiliyya.

It is from this, it would seem, that the hostility displayed by the Prophet towards *ṭīra* arose, even while he was practising and recommending *faʾl*. This also explains the baleful character which was assigned to it later. In fact, certain examples demonstrate that *ṭīra* could be a good omen. "ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād painted a dog, a ram and a lion in the entrance-hall of his house. He said of them: 'a barking dog, a fighting ram and an angry lion'. He drew a good omen (*fataṭayyara*) from these and this was repeated after him" (*Ḥayawān*, i, 158). And from the same author (*ibid.* 159): "When 'ass', 'dog', 'bull' were names borne by honourable men, the Arabs did not hesitate after this to use them, seeing a good omen in them (*taṭayyur*[an])". One *ḥadīth* even seems to give *ṭīra* a wider meaning, including *faʾl* itself which is regarded as that part of it which comes true: "*asdaḳ*[u] *'l-ṭīrat*[i] *al-faʾl*[u]" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 146). Another *ḥadīth* includes the subject-matter of *ṭīra* in *faʾl*: "There is nothing in the *hām* (the owl regarded as the spirit of a dead man), but the evil eye is true and birds give true omens (*wa-aṣdaḳa 'l-ṭayr*[u] *al-faʾl*[a])" (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, i, 314 and ii, 78). In the same way, there are examples which give *faʾl* the meaning of evil omen (cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iii, 138; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 4).

This confusion reveals the existence of a primitive foundation which was not entirely submerged by the powerful wave of puritanism which swept over Arabia in the first two centuries of the Hidjra.

It appears from all this that *ṭīra*, which was originally no more than the observation and interpretation of the flight, cries and perching activities of certain birds used in divination, became the equivalent of the *male ominari* of the Latins and the βλασφημεῖν and δυσφημεῖν of the Greeks.

From this was derived a whole literature, essen-

tially of poetry and proverbs, created to dissuade man from following the ideas inspired in him by *ṭīra*, and to which all men are subject. The Prophet is reported to have said: "There are three dangers which no-one escapes: *ṭīra*, suspicion and jealousy". When asked what remedy there is for this, he replied: "If (on your way) you think you have seen an evil omen (*taṭayyarta*), do not turn back; if you suspect, do not execute; if you are envious, do not commit an injustice" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 8; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, i, 226). Quotations from poetry on this subject are very numerous (cf. especially al-Buhturī, *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Cheikho, nos. 599, 860-7, 1132; al-Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 368 and Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin*, 68 f.; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 138, 139, 160; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ed. Cairo, ii, 145 f.).

It is worth remarking that when it means presaging evil, *ṭīra* does not strictly apply only to *signa ex avibus* but also to all other kinds of evil omen (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 147; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 140; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 426 ff., 433 f., vii, 269 ff.; *Aghānī*, i, 184; al-Ṭabarī, i/3, 1089; etc.).

But the primitive meaning of *ṭīra* seems to be better preserved in *zadjr*, which is often used as its equivalent, although originally this term designated a technique belonging to *ṭīra*. Indeed, if *ṭīra* is the observation and interpretation of the spontaneous flight and cries of birds, *zadjr* consists on the contrary of the deliberate instigation of these flights and cries; it belongs to the category of *auspicia impetrita*, in contrast to *auspicia oblativa*. Apart from the meaning of *zadjara* (to arouse, chase someone with cries, make fly, draw omens, practise divination), Arab tradition still preserves some accounts of the existence of this practice (cf. *Arabica*, viii/1 (1961), 50 f.).

But in the same way as *fa'l* and *ṭīra*, *zadjr* soon began to lose its primitive meaning and specific character and came to stand for evil omen or divination in general. Indeed sometimes there is a kind of *zadjr* which is confused with *kihāna* (cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iii, 135-9). This leads us to believe that *zadjr* was, as in Assyria and Babylonia, the prerogative of the soothsayer who, especially in Arabia, combined various functions and acted as a guardian of institutions in a nomadic society which lacked the focal points necessary to fix and safeguard them.

Thus in a passage from Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, Arab *zadjr* includes the interpretation of the cooing of doves, the cries of birds, the sudden appearance of an animal crossing from right to left or from left to right, the rustling of leaves, the sigh of the wind and other similar portents (*ʿIrāfa*, ed. Inostrantseff, 23).

Zadjr is also referred to a *ʿiyāfa* [*q.v.*] which applies to various procedures of divination. As for the birds whose flight and cries form the object of *fa'l*, *ṭīra* and *zadjr*, they are of many kinds, but the bird of divination most regarded by the Arabs is the crow (Corvus capensis Lichtenst., Corvus umbrinus Rüppell, and perhaps also Corvus agricola Tristram which exists in Palestine). Nevertheless, these three procedures do not limit themselves to birds, for any animal is capable of furnishing an omen (on the crow and other birds, animals and insects of divination, cf. *Arabica*, viii/1 (1961), 30-58).

The direction of a bird's flight, or an animal's steps, plays a very important part in the application of the three procedures. Technical terms designate the various directions: *sāniḥ* (that which travels from right to left), *bāriḥ* (that which travels from left to right), *djābih* (that which comes from in front), *ḳaʿīd* or *khafīf* (that which comes from behind). As a general rule, the left is of evil omen (al-Tibrīzī, in Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, i, 165), therefore "*al-sāniḥ* is desired by the Arabs and *al-bāriḥ* is dreaded" (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 340). Thus it is by way of euphemism that Arabs call the left side *al-yasār* and the left hand *al-yusrā* (comp. the Greek εὐώνυμος), whereas in fact they signify "difficulty" to them, whence comes the name of *al-ʿusrā*, also used for the left hand (cf. al-Djaḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 150).

In other respects too, euphemism and antiphrasis play an important part in *fa'l*. "The desire to hear from the mouth of others a word of happy omen, the fear of hearing some unlucky expression, is moreover found in Islam in all ages and all countries" (W. Marçais, *Euphémisme*, 431). A whole vocabulary has been created in order to avoid certain expressions whose meanings suggest evil omens. Hence the blind is called "seeing", *baṣīr* (cf. other euphemisms for blind and ref. in Fischer, in *ZDMG*, lxi (1907), 425 sqq.), smallpox is described as "blessed", *mubārak*, as also are syphilis, plague and insanity (cf. Greek ἱέρα, the Italian *il benedetto*). It is because of *ṭīra*, al-Djāḥiẓ tells us (*Ḥayawān*, iii, 136), that the Arabs call someone who has been bitten by a snake "safe and sound" (*salīm*), call the desert the "refuge" (*mafāza*); it is for the same reason that they name the blind, for *kunya*, Abū Baṣīr and the negro Abu 'l-Bayḍā' (white). Such examples are innumerable (cf. W. Marçais and Fischer, *op. cit.*, Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 200 ff.).

For astrological *fa'l*, see NUDJŪM, and for the *fa'l* by drawing lots, see ḲURʿA. For books of divination, see FĀL-NĀMA.

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(T. FAHD)

FĀL-NĀMA, book of divination. In the Muslim East (especially in Iranian and Turkish countries), in order to know if not the future, at least the signs or circumstances that are auspicious for some decision, recourse is still sometimes made to certain procedures (cf. Massé, *Croyances*, ch. XI: divination), among others to two kinds of books: 1. collections of poems (*dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ); 2. special works (*fāl-nāma*). Consulting the *dīwān*, an act within the reach of everyone, consists in opening the book at random and interpreting the text which first strikes the eye (for details, see Massé, *op. cit.*, 244-5; and in particular E. G. Browne, iii, 315-9; also Binning, i, 220). As for the *fāl-nāma*, some are tables of divination, used in the manner of the above-named *dīwān* (cf. the *sortes Virgilianae*; and for the *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, the description of this table in Browne, iii, 312-5); others are booklets containing quadrangular or circular tables (*dā'ira*), preceded by an explanatory text, in which the divisions of the page (*burdj*) contain letters and words arranged in eastern *abdjad* [*q.v.*] order. The *fāl-nāma* which has always been the most authoritative (taking prece-

dence even over the one attributed to ʿAlī) is that of Djaʿfar which is attributed to the imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ ([*q.v.*], see also DJAFR) (cf. D. M. Donaldson, *The Shiʾite religion*, ch. XII). The essence of this booklet is as follows (according to the manuscript in the B.N., Paris, Suppl. persan, no. 77): "*Fāl-nāma* of his holiness the imām Djaʿfar Ṣādiḳ. If anyone wishes to consult the omens, he must make his ablutions, recite the *fātiḥa* once, the sūra of the *Ikhlāṣ* three times, the Ḳuʾrānic Throne verse once, and then place his finger inside the table ..." (fol. 40), while keeping his eyes closed, on one of the page divisions containing the letters (for example, the letter *nūn*); each division of the second table contains one of these letters accompanied by a word (*e.g.*, *nūn — al-kayl*); then follows a list of these words, each incorporated in a phrase linking it to a sign of the zodiac (*e.g.*, "*Al-kayl*: your *fāl* is fortunate; but refer to the Ram (*ḥamal*) which will elucidate it", etc.); next comes a list of these signs with reference to the planets (*e.g.*, "Sun: good tidings, O ye who seek *fāl*! God has opened the gates of his clemency for you; He will give you your daily bread, multiply your powers, watch over your concerns; your children shall repay you; it will be propitious for you to build, to buy horses and arms, to marry and to travel; in the event of a parent or friend being absent, imprisoned or ill, you must be patient and perform your almsgiving; then God will certainly provide"; these replies, which are all of the same order, justify the Persian proverb "It is the *fāl* of the imām Djaʿfar which cannot do harm" (Dehkhodā, *Amthāl u-ḥikam*, s.v. *Fāl*, and the following proverbs). Sometimes the first table of the *fāl-nāma* is composed not of letters of the alphabet but of figures; in this case the procedure is as follows (beginning of the *Fāl-nāma* manuscript in the B.N., Paris, Suppl. persan 1872, fol. 62 v°): "Hear ye, this is the *fāl-nāma* which his holiness Djaʿfar Ṣādiḳ has learnt from the august divine Word. Whoever has a transaction, dispute or a certain desire and wishes to know what is good, what is evil and what the outcome, must stand face to face with a partner who must act exactly as he does, and place his hand under his arm; then, bringing out their hands, both must show what number of fingers each has chosen; the man concerned must add up the total, and then consult whichever page division contains this number; he must read the sacred verse of the Ḳuʾrān inscribed in the circular table of the *fāl-nāma*; having thus recognized the good and evil features of his plan, let him not deviate from it" (after which he will proceed as above). Another *fāl-nāma*, less well-known and more literary, the versified answers of which are often of a disturbing precision, is that of Shaykh Bahāʾī (d. 1030/1621; see AL-ʿĀMILĪ); it is composed of 48 tables (12 lines each containing 18 letters selected for their numerical values); at the head of the table is the question set (*e.g.*, "Is this news true or false?"; "what will happen to our invalid?"; etc.), paraphrased in two lines of verse; a letter is selected at random; the letters are counted in sixes from the chosen letter; on reaching the foot of the table the six is made up by adding letters from the first line of the table, then continuing in sixes to the chosen letter; two lists of letters are drawn up (one of even letters, the other of odd) starting with those of the first line of the table; thus one obtains the two hemistichs of a verse whose sense then has to be interpreted (example of a precise answer: "Will this association be favourable for me?—This bond will bring you troubles; flee it as one flees an arrow" (table 27).

In addition to these methods, Chardin and other travellers (cf. Massé, *op. cit.*, 247) noted three others based on dice (this practice has not entirely disappeared): in these cases, recourse is made to a specialist known as *fāl-bīn* or *fāl-gīr* (augur) who shakes and then throws the dice (in Persian, *raml*, divination by dice, practised by the *rammāl*; Arabic words distorted from their original meaning); this *raml* is related to the *sortes* of classical antiquity (cf. Fontenelle, *Histoire des oracles*, ch. XVIII).

The *fāl-nāma* of Djaʿfar was translated into Turkish; also there exists in this language (and in Persian) a series of minor works dealing with divination by the lines of the hand, coffee-grounds, beans and chick-peas, stars, molten lead, omoplatoscopy, omens drawn from the quivering of parts of the body, bruises and wounds.

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(H. MASSÉ)

FALAK, Sphere, in particular the Celestial Sphere.

a. Etymology and semantic evolution. The word *falak* (pl. *aflāk*) occurs already in the *Ḳurʾān* with the specific significance "celestial sphere" (xxi, 34 "it is He who has created night and day, the Sun and the Moon, each of which moves in its own sphere"; similarly xxxvi, 40). Etymologically and semantically it has a long history: it can be traced back to Sumerian origins, where the stem *bala* (≷ **pilak*) already has the meaning "to be round" or also "to turn around". In Akk. it appears as *pilakku*, which denotes the whorl of the spindle as well as the double-edged axe (to be distinguished from the single-edged axe, Akk. *pāšu*, *paštu* > Syr. *pustā*, Aram. *passā* > probably Ar. *faʾs*; cf. H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss*, Leipzig 1914, 12). The double significance is readily explained by the resemblance of the whorl with the head of the double-axe, both being round and pierced so as to be mounted on the spindle, or else on the handle. The Akk. word is found again in Syr. *pelḳā*, "(double-) axe" and, with its other meaning, in Heb. פֶּלֶךְ, "spindle". The original Sumero-Akk. form is best preserved in the Talmudic פילכה, "whorl" (also "spindle") used apparently indiscriminately with פלך and פלכה = Ar. *falaka*, of which the abstract technical term *falak*, "(celestial) sphere" is of course a later derivative. The question may be left open whether also Ar. *falaḳa* and *faladja*, which have both

the meaning "to cleave", are derived from the same stem.

On the other hand, the occurrence of the stem **pl-ek* (≷ **pl-et*, cf. E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*[2], Heidelberg and Paris, 1923, 793, s.v. πλέκω) in a great many (Eastern and Western) Indo-European languages, in all cases with the meaning "to plait", "to pleat", "to coil", "to twist", "to fold", etc., strongly supports the assumption of a common origin of the Sumero-Akk. and the Indo-Europ. words, but seems to exclude (with the exception of Gr. πέλεκυς and Skr. *paraçú-ḥ*, see below) the possibility of a direct loan. Thus we have the various genuine Greek words for (hair-) curl, coil and similar round objects: πλεκτή, πλεκτάνη, πλόκος, πλόκαμος, πλέγμα etc., while the representative of the second significance: πέλεκυς, "double-axe", alone clearly betrays its Akk. origin. (Against this, cf. Walther Wüst, *Idg. *p'é'leku—"Axt, Beil". Eine paläographische Studie*, in *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia*, Helsinki 1956).

In Greek texts dealing with astronomical subjects, derivatives of πλέκω are not too common, though they do occur occasionally, *e.g.*, *Timaeus* 36 D: ἡ δὲ [ψυχὴ] ἐκ μέσου πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον οὐρανὸν πάντῃ διαπλακεῖσα κύκλῳ τε αὐτὸν ἔξωθεν περικαλύψουσα, αὐτὴ ἐν αὐτῇ στρεφομένη, though here the idea of roundness inheres in the word στρεφομένη rather than in διαπλακεῖσα ("twisted" or "plaited through"). In the *Myth of Er*, however, (*Republic* X, 616 B-617 D), which adumbrates the later elaborate theory of material spheres revolving inside one another, the word used for the (hollow) whorls, σφόνδυλος (= σπόνδυλος, "vertebra") is of course not derived from the stem **pl-ek*, but clearly betrays its kinship with mod. Engl. "spindle", "to spin", etc. Its original meaning, though, is the same: the whorl as the "spinning object" giving momentum to the turning axis (now called "spindle") is evidently primary, and the application of the term to human and animal anatomy, secondary. A glance at the two first cervical vertebrae (σπόνδυλοι) of larger mammals suffices to show that they are the ideal prototype of the pierced whorl. Lat. *vertebra*, Engl. *whorl* (or *whirl*), Ger. *Wirtel* and *Wirbel*, all stress the idea of turning or whirling round (*vertere*, *wirbeln*, etc.); conversely, the Arabic word for the vertebra, *fiḳra*, emphasizes the other characteristic of the object, viz., its being pierced (*mafḳūr* or *mufaḳḳar*).

The Gr. word σφαῖρα, finally, which later (Eudoxus, Aristotle, Ptolemy, etc.) became the generally accepted technical term, equally reflects the idea of "turning round", since it is obviously akin to σπεῖρα (*σπερ-ἰα), "coiling", "spiral". It is this word which we find generally rendered by the Ar. *falak*.

b. Definitions. *falak* thus corresponds with Gr. σφαῖρα and Lat. *sphaera* or *orbis*, while *dā'ira* can be equated with Gr. κύκλος and Lat. *circulus*. Authors writing in any one of the three languages, however, seldom aim at a perfect consistency in the use of these terms. According to al-Bīrūnī (*Al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, i, Hyderabad-Dn. 1954, 54-5), "*dā'ira* and *falak* are two terms that denote the same thing and are interchangeable; but sometimes *falak* refers to the globe (*kura*), in particular when it is moveable (*mutaḥarrik*); *falak*, thus, does not apply to the motionless [globe]; and it is called "*falak*" only on account of its similarity with the whorl of the rotating spindle (*'alā wadjh al-tashbīh bi-falakat al-mighzal al-dā'ir*)". According to Ibn al-Haytham's *Fī hay'at al-'ālam* (Ms. Kastamonu no. 2298, fol. 6r 11 ff.), the term *falak* "applies to any round quantity of a globular body or surface or of the surface (area) or the circumference of a circle; the body surrounding the world, which turns about the centre (viz., of the Earth), is called in particular *falak*, and this *falak* is divided into many parts, but first and foremost into seven parts, which are spherical bodies (*i.e.*, shells) contiguous with one another in such a way that each one of them surrounds the next one, the concave surface of the surrounding [spherical shell] touching the convex surface of the one surrounded by it. The centre of all of these spheres is the centre of the world, and each one of them individually is also called *falak*".

Of the manifold applications of the term *falak* in Arabic astronomical literature, the following may be mentioned with their Greek and Latin equivalents (cf. C. A. Nallino in *Al-Battānī Op. Astr.*, ii, Milan 1907, 348): *f. al-burūdj* = *minṭaḳat al-b.*, ὁ λοξὸς κύκλος, ὁ διὰ μέσων τῶν ζωδίων κύκλος, *ecliptica*; *f. al-tadwīr* (pl. *aflāk al-tadāwīr*) = ἐπίκυκλος, *epicyclus*; *al-f. al-ḥāmil* (pl. *al-ḥawāmil*) = ὁ φέρων τὸν ἐπίκυκλον ἔκκεντρος, *deferens* (= "*levador*" = mod. Span. *llevador* in the Alphonsine *Libros del Saber*); *al-f. al-khāridj al-markaz* = *f. al-awdj* = ἔκκεντρος, *excentricus*; *al-f. al-mā'il* = ὁ λοξὸς κύκλος (τῆς σελήνης), ὁ ἐγκεκλιμένος (τῶν πλανωμένων), *circulus obliquus* (or *deflectens*); *al-f. al-mumaththal li-f. al-burūdj* = ὁ ὁμόκεντρος τῷ ζωδιακῷ κύκλος, *circulus parecliptícus*; moreover, in spherical astronomy: *f. mu'addil al-nahār* = ὁ ἰσημερινός, *circulus aequinoctialis* (the *celestial* equator, not the *terrestrial*, which is called *khaṭṭ al-istiwā'*); *al-aflāk al-mā'ila 'an f. mu'addil al-nahār* = οἱ παράλληλοι (the circles parallel to the equator); *al-f. al-mustaḳīm* = ἡ ὀρθὴ σφαῖρα. *sphaera recta* (the celestial sphere as appearing to the inhabitants of the equatorial region, where the celestial equator passes through the zenith).

c. History. There can hardly be a doubt that the conception of a universe consisting of concentric spheres, in which the celestial bodies are carried around at various distances from the Earth, is very old. The earliest document susceptible of such an interpretation is a tablet in the Hilprecht Collection at Jena. dating from the Cassite period, but copied probably from a much older original (1st Babylonian Dynasty), see F. Thureau-Dangin, *La tablette astronomique de Nippur*, in *Revue d'Ass.*, xxvüi, 85-8. According to O. Neugebauer, *The exact sciences in antiquity*[2], Copenhagen 1957, 100, "This text and a few similar fragments seem to indicate something like a universe of 8 different spheres, beginning with the sphere of the moon. This model obviously belongs to a rather early stage of development of which no traces have been found preserved in the later mathematical astronomy, which seems to operate without any underlying physical model. It must be emphasized, however, that the interpretation of this Nippur text and its parallels is far from secure".

While later Babylonian (Seleucid) astronomy thus no longer shows any trace of such a conception, it reappears, in Greece, in the astronomical and cosmological speculations of Plato (*Myth of Er*, see above, and *Tim.* 36 C-D) and of the late Pythagoreans (Philolaos). The former of these two "models" (the Platonic "whorls") leaves out of account the planets' standstills and retrogradations; the latter, which places the hypothetical "central fire" in the centre of circular motion, is capable of explaining them at least in part, owing to the fact that the Earth, too, is

regarded as a planet revolving about the central fire. The first elaborate geometrical model, operating, for each one of the planets, with a set of homocentric (geocentric) spheres revolving about different poles inside one another, was devised by Eudoxus. His model, improved by Callippus, was wrought into a comprehensive (physical) system by Aristotle (*Methaph.* 8, 1073 b 38-1074 a 17), whose aim was to represent and to explain the celestial motions as a whole, from the fixed stars down to the Moon, by the combination of acting and reacting ("unrolling") spheres. This physical model, because of its incapability to account for the varying brilliancy of the planets (above all Venus and Mars, see Simplicius, *Comm. on De caelo*, ed. Heiberg (Berlin, 1894), 504) was later replaced by a new purely geometrical model, based mainly on two theorems of Apollonius (ca. 200 B.C.), in which an eccentric deferent carries around the centre of an epicycle in the circumference of which the planet revolves. This device, which is the governing principle of planetary motion in Ptolemy's *Almagest*, takes into account only the planes (inclined to one another as well as to the ecliptic) of the deferent and of the epicycle, expressly renouncing any attempt at a physical interpretation. In the *Hypotheses*, however, composed after the completion of the *Almagest*, Ptolemy interprets the circles mentioned as sections through solid globes or spherical shells contiguous with one another in such a way that the outer limit of one planetary sphere coincides, without leaving any void, with the inner limit of the next one, counting from the Earth outwards (see *Hypotheses*, Book II, 6, in *Cl. Ptolemaei Opera* II, *Opera astron. minora*, ed. Heiberg, Leipzig 1907; the text of Book II, preserved only in Arabic, is not complete and contains errors). In II, 4, Ptolemy states that it is not necessary to assume *complete* spheres since it suffices (in accordance with the Creator's principle of economy) to postulate, for each one of the planets, the existence of "sawn pieces" or "disks" (Ar. *man<u>sh</u>ūrāt*, prob. = Gr. πρίσματα) comprised between two circles parallel to and equidistant from the equator of a sphere, in which the whole complicated mechanism of planetary motion is contained. For this reason, Ptolemy's *Hypotheses*, otherwise called *K. al-Iḳtiṣāṣ*, are often quoted by Islamic authors under the title *K. al-Man<u>sh</u>ūrāt* (see W. Hartner, *Mediaeval views on cosmic dimensions and Ptolemy's Kitāb al-Man<u>sh</u>ūrāt*, in *Mélanges Alexandre Koyré*, Paris, to appear in 1963 or 1964).

It is, however, the complete, contiguous, spheres, not the spherical prisms (*man<u>sh</u>ūrāt*) that prevail in Islamic astronomy, starting at the latest by the time of, and with, al-Far<u>gh</u>ānī (fl. ca. 830 A.D.), whose *Elements of Astrology* were among the first works translated into Latin and served to transmit the late Greek and Islamic views on the structure and the dimensions of the universe to the Latin Middle Ages (Dante, Regiomontanus, etc.). It was not before the end of the 16th century that Tycho Brahe, on the basis of new observations, demonstrated the untenability of the system of contiguous solid spheres (see W. Hartner, *Tycho Brahe et Albumasar*, in *La science au seizième siècle*, Paris 1960, 135-67).

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FALAḲA (Ar.), Turkish: *falaḳa, falāḳa, falaḳ*; Persian: *falaka, falak*; Byzantine Greek: φάλαγγας; Moroccan: *ḳarma, arma.*

One of the favourite punishments of the masters in the Ḳurʾānic schools (see KUTTĀB) was to give the pupil a bastinado on the soles of the feet, more or less severe according to the offence. (There exist detailed scales; see Ibn Saḥnūn, *op. cit. infra*). One or more assistants (*ʿarīf*) immobilized the victim's feet with the help of an apparatus sometimes called *miḳṭara*, but more often *falaḳa*. It existed in three different forms: 1) a plank with two holes in it, of the pillory type; 2) two poles joined at one end; it was possible to confine the ankles by holding the other end tightly; 3) a single, fairly stout pole with a cord fixed at the two ends; the feet were inserted between the pole and the cord and the pole then turned.

Evidence of the existence of the *falaḳa* in the Arab world dates back to the 4th/10th century, but it is quite possible that it was already in use in the eastern half of the Mediterranean area, perhaps under other names, in times of remote antiquity. While in the East, especially among the Turks, it appears that the *falaḳa* was used as an instrument of torture by all kinds of different authorities, in North Africa its use was confined to the schoolmaster. This usage is still very much alive in the Ma<u>gh</u>rib, not only among Muslims but also in the Talmudic schools.

It is interesting to record that the Byzantines possessed an identical apparatus known by the name of φάλαγγας, the use of which was only forbidden in 1829. It seems to have been in common use in Greek elementary schools, whose methods, curricula and customs in other respects also curiously resemble those of the *kuttāb*.

The etymology of the word clearly poses a problem. An Arabic derivation from the root FLḲ, which means to cleave or split, suggests itself at first. The classical Arabic dictionaries (*LA*, *TA*, etc,) all give *falaḳ/falaḳa* as meaning *<u>kh</u>a<u>sh</u>aba*, a piece of squared wood (*i.e.*, not unworked wood).

Certain Greek scholars have also considered a Greek etymology (Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία, Athens 1933, s.v.). This etymology seems to be ruled out by the fact that there is no evidence either of the object or the word before the time of the Turkish conquest.

On the other hand, the form φάλαγγας, despite its close resemblance to φάλαγξ, as much in form as in meaning, is not the only one in existence. The dialect forms φάλακας, φιάλακας, φάλακα, φέλεκας (gender and number uncertain), which are difficult to connect with φάλαγξ, are also to be found.

It seems then more probable to regard it as a Greek borrowing of a Turco-Arabic word which remained almost unaltered in certain Greek dialects, but which, in the written language, was contaminated by φάλαγξ to give φάλαγγας.

If the word appears, pending further information, well and truly of Arabic origin, it still remains possible to regard it as part of a stock common to divers linguistic communities of the Near East. This possibility should be examined not only from

the Semitic, but also from the Turkish and Iranian angles.

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See especially in *Arabica*, 1954, 324-36, *Sur la vie scolaire à Byzance et dans l'Islam*: I.—G. Lecomte, *L'enseignement primaire à Byzance et le Kuttāb*; II.—M. Canard, *Falaqa* = φάλαγγας, where the notes give the complete bibliography of this question. (G. Lecomte)

al-**FALAKĪ**, Maḥmūd Pasha, was born in 1230/1815 at al-Ḥiṣṣa (province of al-Gharbiyya), and received his early schooling in Alexandria. He subsequently attended, firstly as a pupil, and then as an officer-instructor, the polytechnic school at Būlāḳ (Muhandiskhāne) founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī. In 1850-1 he was sent to Paris, to specialize in astronomy under Arago. He returned to Cairo in 1859. Afterwards he directed the team which, on the orders of the Khedive Saʿīd, mapped Egypt. He lived long enough to see the whole work almost completed, and the section on Lower Egypt in print. He left many writings in Arabic and French, which are enumerated by his biographers. He represented the Egyptian government at the Geographical Congresses in Paris (1875) and Venice (1881). A high dignitary of Freemasonry, and a member of the Egyptian Institute, he was also a member, and later president, of the Geographical Society in Cairo. For two months Minister of Public Works, but removed from this post as a result of the events of 1882, he was subsequently *Wakīl*, and then Minister of Education (*al-Maʿārif al-ʿumūmiyya*). He died in 1303/November 1885.

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FALAKĪ SHIRWĀNĪ. Muḥammad Falakī, poet-astronomer of Shirwān and pupil of Khāḳānī, is the author of a lost *dīwān* of Persian poetry, of which 1512 verses have been recovered and published. Falakī lived 49 years, ca. 501/1108 - ca. 550/1155 and like Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ and Khāḳānī was a court-poet of the Shirwānshāh Abu 'l-Haydjā Fakhr al-Dīn Minūčihr II, who succeeded his father Farīdūn I on the throne of Shirwān in 514/1120 and ruled for 37 years until *c.* 551/1156. The statement of his contemporary Khāḳānī, that Falakī's life was short-lived and that Manūčihr II ruled for 30 years is not precise, for one of Falakī's odes can be dated 521/1127, and in another Falakī offers condolences to Manūčihr II when his brother-in-law, ex-king Dimitri of Georgia, died between 549 and 551/ 1154-1156. Nowhere does Falakī mention the death of Manūčihr II; he would have done so, if he had survived Manūčihr II; but he describes how Manūčihr II defeated the Alāns and 'Khazars' (in fact Ḳipčāḳs); how with the help of Mīr Ṭughān Arslān (ruler of Arzan and Bidlīs, d. 532/1138) Manūčihr II took (some part of) Arrān from (Nuṣrat al-Dīn) Arslān Abihī (ruler of Marāgha 530-570/1136-1175); how Manūčihr II built the cities of Kardmān and Saʿdūn; and how Manūčihr II rebuilt (in 532/1138) the flood-destroyed Bāḳilānī dam (Band-i-Bāḳilānī) by removing *lān*, leaving *band bāḳī* = "the dam remained". And as for the flood it "went into what remained" (*dar bāḳī shud*), *i.e.*, went into the chains which remained, for *band* also means chains. Such being Falakī's poetry, "how can I reply to his ode?" confesses the well-known poet ʿIṣmat of Bukhārā. Falakī once suffered imprisonment; otherwise he spent a quiet life with astronomy as his hobby; "because of his proficiency in ten sciences, he knew the mystery of the nine heavens", says Khāḳānī.

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FALĀSIFA, pl. of *faylasūf*, formed from the Greek φιλόσοφος. By its origin this word primarily denotes the Greek thinkers. Al-Shahrastānī gives a list of them: the seven Sages who are "the fount of philosophy (*falsafa*) and the beginning of wisdom (*ḥikma*)", then Thales, Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Plutarch, Xenophanes, Zeno the elder, Democritus, the philosophers of the Academy, Heraclitus, Epicurus, Homer (the poet whose wisdom inspired Greece for, with the Greeks, poetry preceded philosophy), Hippocrates, Euclid, Ptolemy, Chrysippus and Zeno, Aristotle (whose philosophy is described according to Themistius), Porphyry, Plotinus (*al-shaykh al-yūnānī*), Theophrastus, Proclus and Alexander of Aphrodisias. The doctrines attributed to these thinkers are often incorrect or anachronistic, perhaps under the influence of the systemization of Aristotle and the Eclectics. Then the *falāsifat al-Islām* are named. The list is somewhat long; we may mention al-Kindī, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Mufassir, Thābit b. Ḳurra, al-Nisābūrī, Ibn Miskawayh, al-Fārābī, etc. But, he writes, the true representative of the *falāsifa* (*ʿalāmat al-ḳawm*) is Ibn Sīnā, and it is his philosophy alone that he expounds. From this point of view the Muslim *falāsifa* appeared merely as the successors of the Greeks: "They followed Aristotle in all he thought ... except for unimportant expressions on which they adopted the views of Plato and the earlier philosophers". This judgment needs to be radically revised.

a). The word *falāsifa* has retained in Arabic the general sense of the Greek equivalent. It is thus synonymous with *ḥukamāʾ* or *ʿulamāʾ*. This is the meaning it has in al-Djāḥiẓ (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, introd.) where *falāsifat ʿulamāʾ al-bashar* is compared with *ḥudhdhāḳ ridjāl al-raʾy*, in a passage in which human reason and skill, which in the signs of nature discern the wisdom of God, are compared with animals' instinct, the immediate expression of this wisdom.

b). If the general idea of wisdom (which occurs both in the Ḳurʾān and in the Greek philosophical tradition) remains attached to the term *falsafa*, there is justification for describing as *falāsifa* those Muslim theologians who gave a place to human reason and *raʾy*. Indeed, from the very start of Muʿtazilī thinking there can be discerned, in the

exposition of problems and in methods of reasoning, a Greek influence, transmitted indirectly by the Christian philosophers of Syria (John of Damascus, Theodore Abū Ḳurra). Later, when the logic of Aristotle (the pre-eminent Master and organizer of this branch of learning in the Arabs' eyes) was known directly, it was utilized by the ***mutakallimūn***, but less as an instrument of constructive analysis than as a means of exposition and refutation. In this form it quite soon became general throughout Islam, despite the opposition of the strictly orthodox. An instance of this purely dialectical use of logic can be found in the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (5th/11th century) at the beginning of his *Fiṣal*, to refute certain philosophically inspired ideas about the eternity of the world. In the thinking of such As͟hʿarīs as al-Bāḳillānī and al-D̲j̲uwaynī, and especially in al-G̲h̲azālī, despite his opposition to the *falāsifa*, the influence of Greece is even more positive. Al-Bāḳillānī's theory of simple substances (atoms) and accidents, the Muʿtazilī doctrines concerning essence and existence or the knowledge that God has of created things before and after their creation, derive among other things from pure philosophy. Moreover the *falāsifa* properly speaking are acquainted with these theological schools and sometimes refer to them in order to determine their own situation. An absolute distinction between them cannot be made.

c). As for the *falāsifa* in the restricted sense of the word, it is not possible to give a clear-cut, exclusive definition. In general, they are the successors of Neo-Platonism, which is itself an eclecticism in which are combined Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, Pythagorean and many other kinds of ideas. This Neo-Platonism had been sufficiently flexible to integrate Alexandrian learning, as P. Duhem has shown. In this multiplicity of influences, that of Aristotle is distinguished by the part played by his logic. Seen from this point of view, *falsafa* was a consequence of the translation of Greek writings, and certain translators were themselves the first *falāsifa*. Orientalists, following Renan, have regarded *falsafa* as a sect, and this is the opinion of Muslims in general. But if there is a common body of doctrine and strong resemblances, the originality of each thinker and the existence of different tendencies must not be denied.

The sources of the *falāsifa* are no doubt essentially Greek—Plato, Aristotle and the commentators, especially Alexander and Themistius. But we must also observe the influence of scientific thought, particularly of Galen, the scholar and philosopher, and also that of an intellectualist mysticism deriving from Plotinus, and combining theological and cosmological ideas of gnostic type, the theology and angelology of Proclus, the *Theology* of the pseudo-Aristotle, doctrines of Hermetic origin. All the gnoses of the Alexandrian period, which even then were tinged with Iranism, find an echo in Arabo-Muslim thought. The Sabaeans, with their astrology that was at once scientific and religious, and with their conception of an intermediate world of spirits (cf. the exposé of al-S̲h̲ahrastānī), played a large part. In this situation, Persian-inspired dualism was able to infiltrate without difficulty, either directly or through the S̲h̲īʿī sects, especially Ismāʿīlism. From the theoretical aspect, it is difficult entirely to isolate from *falsafa* esoteric mystics such as Suhrawardī whose speculative thinking is Peripatetic and who speaks of light as Aristotle speaks of substance. The thinking of the *falāsifa* is thus very complex; Ibn Sīnā, a scholar and the disciple of Galen, a logician and follower of Aristotle, a Neo-Platonist, exponent of a mysticism that gave rise to that of Suhrawardī, illustrates in a single harmonious entity the complexity of *falsafa*.

But this description is only entirely true of the first *falāsifa*, al-Kindī and, in particular, al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. What characterizes them is their belief, deriving from Greek electicism, in the harmony between the "two sages", Plato and Aristotle (cf. the treatise of al-Fārābī on this subject). Reason, the instrument of truth, can produce only a single system. Insofar as the *falāsifa* concentrated on defining and developing this single system which came to them from Greece, they do indeed form a single school or sect. But al-G̲h̲azālī, under the inspiration of al-D̲j̲uwaynī, denounces this mistake: reason is not the supreme arbiter (*ḥakam*); there are as many divergencies (*ik̲h̲tilāf*) between philosophers as between theologians. He thus marks the beginning of a second period which is characterized by a better knowledge of Aristotle's works and exemplified in the West by Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a and, more particularly, by Ibn Rus̲h̲d upon whom al-G̲h̲azālī was not without influence in spite of their obvious differences, and who reacted against Arab Neo-Platonism. In the East, Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī returned to Ibn Sīnā's doctrine on various important points, while also integrating elements of As͟hʿarī theology with it, in the case of the former, or of mystical esoterism in the case of the latter.

Finally, side by side with this main stream (Ibn Sīnā, al-G̲h̲azālī, and then Ibn Rus̲h̲d in the West, al-Rāzī in the East), a further, and Neo-Pythagorean, stream must be pointed out, represented by the Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ whose esoteric and mystical character is more clearly marked. They accuse other philosophers or theologians of having only partially observed the rhythms of the universe. It is not consonant with Wisdom that beings should go only in multiples of two (matter and form, substance and accident, etc.), or of three (the three dimensions, the three modes of existence—necessary, possible and impossible, etc.), or of four, five, six, seven (doctrine of the septimanians), etc. The Pythagoreans (*al-ḥukamāʾ al-fīt̲h̲āg̲h̲ūriyyūn*) "accept the right of everything which has a right"; since the number includes everything, measures and balances everything, so their thought takes everthing exactly into account. In their eyes, Pythagoras was a sage adoring the single God; they connected him with the philosophers of Ḥarrān.

How are the *falāsifa* as a whole to be characterized?

a). By their vocabulary. It is composed of *iṣṭilāḥāt*, words that are Arabic or calques from the Greek which have assumed a technical meaning. For the expression of the truth, strictly orthodox theology only allows words of divine origin (texts from the Ḳurʾān and from Tradition). However, a large proportion of this vocabulary has been accepted by the ***mutakillimūn***. The distinguishing feature of the *falāsifa* is therefore merely the more systematic and independent use which they make of this conventional vocabulary.

b). By logic. As with Aristotle, logic became a true organon (*āla*). It shows from what known starting-point one can reach a certain unknown point, and by what course. It is based on the study of concepts and categories, judgment, syllogism and induction. This analytical and constructive use of logic to discover the structure of truth is not accepted by strict theologians. Al-G̲h̲azālī, however, recognizes that it has a certain value, although not

absolute. On the other hand the *falāsifa*, indirectly following Aristotle, have taken account, in their studies of concept and judgment, of principles enunciated by the Arab grammarians. With logic can be connected the division of the sciences, inspired by the Greeks but varying according to the authors (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'; al-Fārābī: *Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*; Ibn Sīnā: *Aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya*). Its basis is the tripartite division into sciences theoretical, practical and creative.

c). By their study of natural science. The *falāsifa* were all scholars, sometimes of originality. They integrated astronomy, physics, chemistry and medicine with their general metaphysics which was the source of their fundamental concepts. Nevertheless a spirit of experiment, not unrelated to the Muslim tendency to attach value to the experience of the senses, is clearly revealed.

d). By metaphysics. Here the divergences between authors are more marked. But for all of them, metaphysics is a theory of being, built up on the distinction between the necessary and the possible (being necessary in itself, being necessary through another or possible) or the eternal and the contingent. The pure being of all matter is at once the intellect, the agent which intellectualizes, and intelligible. The interplay of these ideas explains the constitution of the world. For the Neo-Platonists and Arab Pythagoreans, from the One only one can emerge, that is to say the first intellect. Ibn Rushd does not accept this postulate. The first intellect on the one hand intellectualizes the being necessary in itself, thus producing a second intellect; on the other hand, it intellectualizes its own essence, either as being necessary through another and thereby producing the form or soul of the sphere, or else as being possible in itself and so producing the body of the sphere (*djirm al-falak*). Upon this general principle of emanation, many variations are to be found in the expositions by the different authors. This process continues up to the last intellect, that is to say the active intellect. Beneath it are placed the sentient beings of the sublunary world. The active intellect plays an important part in human knowledge, but upon this point the *falāsifa* differ considerably. Emanation is of a different character for the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. From the Creator (*al-Bāri'*) is emanated Intellect, which is the immediate expression of his powers and virtues (cf. Philo of Alexandria). From the intellect is emanated the universal Soul which at once receives the forms of all beings. From this emanates universal matter, a simple intelligible substance like the foregoing, which eventually receives the forms. The first form received is the corporeal form in the three dimensions which constitute a sort of intelligible scale, and in this way the absolute body (*al-djism al-muṭlaḳ*) is attained, where emanation is halted. After this comes the diversity of sentient objects, the universal bodies of the spheres and the elements, the individual and composite bodies of our world.

e). By theology. The *falāsifa* here are in agreement with the *mutakallimūn* and the problem of the attributes of God. They are close to the Muʿtazila in that they seek not to multiply the divine essence. But they differ in that, for them, God is at once the source of existences and essences. Their central problem is that of divine knowledge. God, knowing Himself sufficiently, knows Himself as the cause of everything that is; of all kinds, of all species, of all possibilities that enter into existence, that is to say possibilities which are necessary by their cause, and finally of all individual beings, not by a knowledge which would vary with them, but through a universal species (*bi-nawʿ kullī*). Providence leads to the necessary universal order. The *falāsifa* have a theory as to the Prophet: in general, he is a man so gifted that the active intellect acts on his imagination (while it acts on the intelligence of the wise man).

f). By psychology and morality. Morality is a practical science: moral natures, virtues and characters exist, whose value one can learn by reason in order to gain from it a system of life that conforms with the good. These values are in relation to the human soul. In regard to the metaphysical nature of the soul, theories are diverse and reflect the uncertainties of Plato and Aristotle. But gnostic beliefs are intermixed with them: in the cosmos, the soul has an itinerary to follow, stages of purification to traverse, to regain its place of origin (cf. *Theology* of Pseudo-Aristotle). The Aristotelians such as Ibn Rushd do not accept these ideas. Moreover, in all the *falāsifa* we find a morality based on the Greek psychology of the three souls or powers (rational, irascible and concupiscible) and on the doctrine of virtue as the golden mean. Thus, in *falsafa* we meet two moralities, juxtaposed and co-existent for some (Ibn Sīnā), the one a humanist morality (Ibn Rushd), the other mystical (Suhrawardī). Both are at variance with strict orthodoxy which regards the revelation of the Law as the single source of knowledge of both ethical and religious values. But, in their classification of the virtues within the Greek philosophical systems, the *falāsifa* introduced a considerable number of Islamized Arab virtues, for example *ḥilm* (cf. Ibn Sīnā, *Risālat al-akhlāḳ*).

Thus the *falāsifa* often break away from orthodox Islam, but thanks to *ta'wīl* they could still believe that they were in harmony with the Ḳur'ān, from which they quoted unfailingly. But they quoted it purely as evidence, without incorporating it in the body of their argumentation. Thus the theologians, so far as they depart from the revealed texts, are opposed to them. This is how Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī speaks of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (*K. al-Imtāʿ*, 17th Night). According to them, the Law has been profaned by foolish ignorance and confounded by error. It must be purified by philosophy. By harmonizing Greek philosophy and Arab law, perfection is reached. But their *Epistles* are no more than "ramblings" consisting of "scraps strung together in a kind of patch-work". They have "woven a philosophy in secret" out of the science of the stars and spheres, the *Almagest*, the knowledge of the greatness and works of nature, music, logic. Now there is no question of these sciences in the Revelation. The Muslim community is divided into sects, but none of them has had recourse to the *falāsifa*. "What is the relation between religion and philosophy? (*ayna 'l-dīn min al-falsafa*?)", between what is derived from a heavenborn revelation and what is derived from fallible personal opinion? The prophet is superior to the philosopher. As for reason, it does not pertain in its entirety to any one man, but to mankind as a whole. And al-Tawḥīdī proclaims the ambition of philosophers: their wish is, not to cure men of their maladies, the task to which the prophets confine themselves, but rather to preserve the health of those who possess it. They aspire to the most exalted happiness and to a dignity, thanks to which man becomes worthy of the divine life. But in that case what purpose would the Revelation serve?

For al-Ghazālī (*Munḳidh*; *Maḳāṣid*), certain parts

of philosophy are without danger to the faith, provided that good is made of them: these are mathematics and logic. Physics is also admissible, on condition that it is never forgotten that the only causality is that of God. The useful sciences such as medicine are the *ʿulūm al-dunyā*, and ought to be studied, at least by some (*farḍ kifāya*) for the general good, since life in this world contains the germ of the future life and it must not be neglected (cf. *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, ch. on Science). Certain sciences are harmful, like magic and the science of talismans (which still come into Ibn Sīnā's classification); they must be rejected. As for the theology of the *falāsifa*, this is frankly bad, since it teaches that bodies are not resurrected, that it is disembodied spirits that are rewarded or punished, and that penalties are spiritual, not bodily. Moreover, the theories of the eternity of the world and of the knowledge of God who knows only the universals are complete heresies (*kufr*). On the other hand, the doctrine which reduces the divine attributes to essence is not *kufr* in the eyes of al-G̲h̲azālī since the Muʿtazila, who cannot be charged with infidelity, adhered to it. Finally, the political theory of the *falāsifa* is taken from the ancient prophets (*salaf al-anbiyāʾ*), a very ancient idea which Philo of Alexandria had already rejected; and their moral philosophy is inspired by the mystics. From the end of the period of antiquity the opinion was widespread that Plato was an initiate and inspired.

For al-S̲h̲ahrastānī (6th/12th century), philosophers are men of passions (*ahl al-ahwāʾ*), that is to say men who follow their own judgment and who must be distinguished from those who follow a revelation (*arbāb al-diyāna*), to whom they are diametrically opposed (*taḳābul al-taḍādd*). Later, Ibn Taymiyya (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries), in the *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-manṭiḳiyyīn*, denounces the uselessness and inconsequence of the logic of the *falāsifa*. Finally we may mention Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (8th/14th century) who attacked philosophy in his *Muḳaddima* (*Ibṭāl al-falsafa*). Philosophers think that it is reason, not tradition, which confirms the truth of the foundations of the faith. They proceed by successive abstractions, reach the first intelligibles and then integrate them to establish sciences in the manner of second intelligibles. The soul which, in purifying itself, comes to the sciences, experiences joy and has no need of the illumination of the Law. The soul that is ignorant is in affliction. Such is the meaning of the rewards and punishments of the other world. But this opinion is false: when they relate all beings to the first intellect and find this a satisfactory means of reaching the necessary, they reveal a lack of vision in regard to the actual organization of the divine Creation, which surpasses any representations of it that they give. Existence is too vast for man to be able to embrace it in its entirety.

These criticisms make it possible to place the *falāsifa* in relation to orthodox Muslim ideals. But they give too sharp a definition of outline to *falsafa*. In reality, the philosophers of Islam remain truly Muslim, in touch with the theologians and with the mystical elements which have not tried to break away from the teaching of the Ḳurʾān. As for the legacy of Greece, this was first acquired by the Muslim world as a whole, in spite of the opposition raised by strict orthodoxy. If it appears to be systematized in their doctrines, its influence is far from being limited to the *falāsifa* alone. It is therefore impossible to regard *falsafa* as a sect sharply differentiated from the general cultural and spiritual movement which is the pride of Muslim civilization.

(R. Arnaldez)

FALCONRY [see bayzara, čakirdji-bas̲h̲i, doghandji]

FALLĀḤ [see filāḥa]

FALLĀḤIYA [see dawraḳ]

FALLĀḲ, an Arabic word used particularly in the Beduin dialect form *fəllāg*, pl. *fəllāga* (in the western press principally in the pl., with the spelling: *fellaga, fellagah, fellagha*), and denoting in the first place the brigands and subsequently the rebels who appeared in Tunisia and Algeria.

A connexion with *falaḳa* [*q.v.*] "instrument of torture", of which the etymology is, in any case, obscure (see *Arabica*, 1954/3, 325-36), is certainly to be ruled out. On the other hand, the Arabic root FLḲ (comp. FLDJ, FLḤ, etc.) seems worthy of retention; Tunisian rural and nomadic dialects make use of *fləg* "deflower, violate", *fəlləg* "split, cleave (wood), split in two (skull)", etc. (M. Beaussier, who gives *felleg* "split" as well as the 5th and 7th forms and other derivatives of the root, is acquainted with a *fellāg* in the Algerian South meaning "of which the stone is easily detached (peach)", while G. Boris, *Lexique du parler arabe des Marazig*, Paris 1958, has only recorded the 7th form, and it is to this root that the Tunisians (who have coined a 10th form *stəfləg* "to take to the hills") generally relate the intensifying adjective *fəllāg*). Originally the term was applied to individuals who wished to escape punishment, to deserters, and to fugitive offenders, who eventually formed bands supporting themselves by brigandage. The first lexicographer to have noted *fallāḳ* is E. Bocthor, who may well have created it himself in order to translate the French word *pourfendeur*; H. Wehr, *Wörterbuch*, on the other hand, lists it with the sense of "bandit, highwayman", but this is obviously a recent usage of the Arabic press, which, moreover, finds the term too pejorative to use it as freely as does the European press.

The real popularity of the word, however, dates from the beginning of the first world war, and the uprising brought about by K̲h̲alīfa b. ʿAskar [*q.v.*] in southern Tunisia; these rebels were in fact designated by the name of *fellāga*, less perhaps by the Tunisians themselves, than by the French troops. Somewhat forgotten between the wars, the term was resurrected on the occasion of the incidents which occurred in Tunisia between 1952 and 1954: the whole of the western press used it to describe the rebels who, for political reasons, formed armed groups fighting against the French army. When the Algerian rebellion broke out in 1954, the term was quite naturally applied to the outlaws, and then to the combatants of the rebel army. It is thus that a Tunisian colloquialism was borrowed by the French army and then by the French press, subsequently spread into western newspapers and the Algerian dialect of Arabic, and made its appearance in the Arabic press in the classicizing form *fallāḳ*.

(Ch. Pellat)

FALLĀTA, although strictly signifying the Fulānī [*q.v.*], is used in the Nilotic Sudan generally for Muslim immigrants from the western *Bilād al-Sūdān*, and in particular for those from northern Nigeria. The term has largely superseded the older *Takārīr* or *Takārna* (which had a similarly loose application), presumably after the Fulānī conquests under ʿUt̲h̲mān dan Fodio. The Takārīr/Fallāta immigrants are primarily pilgrims *en route* to Mecca: their first appearance in the Nilotic Sudan can hardly have been before the establishment of

Muslim sultanates in Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] and Waddāī during the 11th/17th century. Many have become domiciled in the territories which now compose the Republic of the Sudan. Takārīr founded a border state in the Ḳallābāt (Sudanese-Abyssinian marches) in the 18th century; its ruler, Shaykh Mīrī, submitted to the Turco-Egyptian governor of Sinnār in 1245/1829-30. A Fallāta settlement exists at the southern end of Djabal Marra in Dār Fūr. Some Fallāta/Takārīr settlers in Dār Fūr and Kurdufān have intermarried with local Baḳḳāra, become arabized, and now constitute tribal sections. More recent immigrants form an important element in the labour-force of the Republic of the Sudan, as domestic servants, and as labourers employed by the tenants of the Gezira (cotton-growing) Scheme; see Saad Ed Din Fawzi, *The Labour Movement in the Sudan*, London 1957, 5-8.

Bibliography: An important account of the Takārīr pilgrims in the early 19th century is given by J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, 406-14; more generally, see under Felláta (and also Takárír) in the Indexes of H. A. MacMichael, *The Tribes of northern and central Kordofan*, Cambridge 1912; and idem, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922. (P. M. Holt)

FALLŪDJA, name of two districts (*ṭassūdj*) of ʿIrāḳ, Upper and Lower Fallūdja, which occupied the angle formed by the two arms of the lower Euphrates which flow finally into the Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*], the Euphrates proper to the west (this arm is given various names by the geographers and is now called Shaṭṭ al-Hindiyya) and the nahr Sūrā (now Shaṭṭ al-Ḥilla) to the east.

Bibliography: Suhrāb, *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-aḳālīm al-sabʿa*, ed. H. von Mžik, Leipzig 1930, 124-5; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 245, 254, 265, 457; Bakrī, index; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Yaʿḳūbī-Wiet, 140; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 337; A. Musil, *The middle Euphrates*, 125; Le Strange, 74; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 942-3, iii, 259-60; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 148. (Ed.)

al-**FALLŪDJA**, name of an ancient locality, still existing, of ʿIrāḳ; it is situated on the Euphrates down-stream from al-Anbār [*q.v.*] and near Dimmimā, from where the nahr ʿĪsā branched off towards Baghdād. At al-Fallūdja nowadays the main road from Baghdād crosses the Euphrates.

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī, 115; Suhrāb, 123; Iṣṭakhrī, 84; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 165; Musil, *The middle Euphrates*, 269-71; Le Strange, 66, 68 (distinguishing two villages of the same name, the second at the point where the nahr al-Malik branches off; but there seems to be some confusion here); M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 147. (Ed.)

FALS (pl. *fulūs*), the designation of the copper or bronze coin current in the early centuries of the Islamic era. The term *fals* for copper coinage, like those of *dīnār* and *dirham* for gold and silver, is of Greek origin, deriving from φόλλις, the name of the Byzantine copper coin. *Fals* denotes any and all copper or bronze coins, regardless of size or weight. The system of varying denominations in which Byzantine copper coinage was originally issued seems already to have disintegrated prior to the Arab conquests. By the time the Arabs arrived in Syria, there was little, if anything, left of the graduated monetary system of copper coinage (cf. Ph. Grierson, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire*, in *Settimane di studio de centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, viii, *Moneta e Scambi nell'alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 1961, 437). This point deserves special emphasis, because it explains why the Arabs issued only one standard copper coin without any denominational differentiations. They imitated the system they found prevalent in the former Byzantine territories, and the pattern established in the early years of their rule continued throughout the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid Caliphates. The glass *fals* weights issued in Egypt during most of the eighth century in denominations of from nine to thirty-six *kharrūba*s may indicate a possible exception. However, the exact use of these glass coin weights is a problem that remains yet to be solved (cf. G. C. Miles, *On the varieties and accuracy of eighth century coin weights*, in the forthcoming memorial volume for Leo A. Mayer).

The copper coins previous to the monetary reform of ʿAbd al-Malik (ca. 77/696) fall into three broad categories.

Arab-Byzantine: Immediately following the conquests the Arabs continued to strike copper coins almost exactly as they found them—religious formulae, obsolete dates and all. These imitations, frequently barbarized, are probably the earliest extant Islamic coins. While the basic Byzantine types were maintained until ʿAbd al-Malik's reform, various modifications of an Arabicizing nature were introduced before that date. Among the most important of these are the addition in the margin of short religious formulae, indication of the mint in Arabic characters, the addition of words such as *baraka*, *ṭayyib*, etc., as well as the occasional mention of the governor or local *ʿāmil* under whose authority the coin was issued. The most interesting departure from the Byzantine style is to be found in the "Standing Caliph" type, on the obverse of which the sword-girt figure of the Caliph dressed in typical Bedouin garb displaces the likeness of the Emperor with his cross, crown and orb, while maintaining a modified form of the reverse Byzantine type. The stance of the Caliph appears to be an attempt to portray him in the posture of leading the prayer service. The fact that all five extant *dīnār*s of this type, as well as most of the *fulūs*, date from the early part of ʿAbd al-Malik's reign, and immediately precede his monetary reforms, is an indication that these coins are to be considered as a transitional type through which the emerging Islamic state was attempting to find an appropriate iconographic form for its coinage (cf. John Walker, *A Catalogue of Muhammadan coins in the British Museum*, ii, London 1956, pp. xxviii-xxxii, 22-43).

Arab-Sāsānian: These copper coins are very rare. They have the regular Sāsānian bust on the obverse, and some modification of the fire altar and attendants on the reverse. (For examples cf. Walker, *Catalogue*, i, 73, 125, 161, 170-2, and G. C. Miles, *Excavation coins from the Persepolis region*, New York 1959).

Byzantine-Pahlavi: This type exists only in copper. These coins represent a unique combination of Byzantine and Sāsānian elements, with the obverse usually following the Byzantine model, and the reverse the Sāsānian one (cf. Walker, *Catalogue*, ii, pp. li-liii, 81-3).

The purely epigraphic, non-pictorial coin which resulted from ʿAbd al-Malik's reforms appeared in copper somewhat later than in gold and silver. The earliest preserved dated epigraphic *fals* is of the year 87/705-6 struck at Damascus. The effect of the reform on the copper coinage was purely epigraphic with no metrological aspects as in the case of gold and silver (cf. Ph. Grierson, *The monetary reforms of*

ʿ*Abd al-Malik*, in *JESHO*, iii, 246-7). Neither the size, weight or epigraphic content of the copper coins was uniform. They all contained some religious formula, and sometimes the mint, date and names of the issuing official or officials.

Unlike the centralized system of copper minting in Byzantium, its emission in Islam was highly proliferated and decentralized. In the period immediately preceding the conquests there were twelve known copper mints in the entire Byzantine Empire, only three of which were in Syria, Egypt and Africa. Under the Umayyads there were fifty-three known copper mints, thirty-three of them in the former Byzantine provinces. The number of mints increases to eighty-three under the ʿAbbāsids, with most of the new mints in the eastern part of the Empire.

Copper coinage was a token currency issued to fill the need for petty commercial transactions, and passed by tale and not by weight. Its emission was left to the discretion of governors and local authorities, without any centralized control. As a result, the *fals* varied greatly in weight, size, and probably value from one district to another. The weight variation was sometimes as much as five grams between contemporary *fulūs* from different mints (*e.g.*, a *fals* from al-Mawṣil dated 157 weighs 10.63 grams, while one of Baghdād from the same year weighs 5.42 grams). It is for these reasons that the circulation of the *fals*, unlike that of the *dīnār* or *dirham*, was limited to the near vicinity of its emission.

This may help to explain why small sums of money are so infrequently expressed in the written sources in terms of *fulūs*, but rather in terms of minute weights of gold and silver. Such small sums as 1/144th or 1/288th of a *dīnār* mentioned in the Arabic papyri, or the fractional division of the *dirham* into *ḳīrāṭ*, *dānik* and *ḥabba* have no counterpart in actual gold or silver coins. These are rather monies of account pegged to the fluctuating and diversified value of the *fals*, and were the only standard way to express small sums of money.

The simultaneous circulation of coins in gold, silver and copper implies a fixed and known rate of exchange between them. We possess occasional references to the established ratio between *dīnār*s and *dirham*s and its periodic modifications, but our knowledge of the ratio between these denominations and *fulūs* is poorly documented. That such a ratio existed in Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid times is known from various anecdotes (*e.g.*, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ʿ*Uyūn*, i, 185; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, tr. de Slane, ii, 125), from legal discussions related to the problems of converting *dirham*s into *fulūs* and *vice versa* (cf. material collected by H. Sauvaire, in *JA*, vii/15, 262-6), and from al-Ṭabarī's rendering of the amount in *dirham*s spent on the construction of Baghdād into its equivalent in *fulūs* (*Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, iii, 326). For Mamlūk Egypt al-Maḳrīzī (*Traité des Famines*, in *JESHO*, v, 68-9), and others (cf. references in Grohmann, *Einführung*, 218) provide us with some information on the *dirham*: *fals* ratio. All these sources indicate a ratio fluctuating between twenty-four and forty-eight *fulūs* to the *dirham*.

During the first half of the 3rd/9th century there was a sudden cessation of copper minting throughout the Islamic world. This scarcity of copper coinage lasted for several centuries. That the absence in our collections of *fulūs* for this period is not a mere coincidence is confirmed by the results of excavations at such important Islamic sites as Rayy, Persepolis (Iṣṭakhr) and Antioch. From among the large number of copper coins found at these sites only one dates after 207/822. The only exception to this general pattern are the mints of Transoxania. The mints of Bukhārā and Samarḳand have a continuous series of copper coins throughout the late ninth and tenth centuries. The absence of copper coinage in western Europe during most of the Middle Ages is ascribed to the self-sufficient nature of the feudal system and to the negligible volume of petty trade, an explanation which is eminently unsuitable for the Islamic world of the 3rd/9th to 6th/12th centuries. An explanation of this phenomenon may be connected with the inflationary trend created by the greatly increased production of silver and gold which occurred at this period, and which would have made the production of copper coins more expensive and less necessary.

The plural form *fulūs* persisted in use as the designation of the autonomous copper coins of Persian localities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (*e.g.*, R. S. Poole, *The coins of the Shāhs of Persia*, London 1887, 212-61). To the present day *fils* designates the petty coin of ʿIrāḳ and Jordan, and the plural *fulūs* (*flūs*) is a general term for money in colloquial Arabic in Egypt, Morocco and elsewhere.

Bibliography: For the coins see the standard catalogues of various collections, especially: Berlin (H. Nützel), British Museum (S. Lane-Poole, J. Walker), Istanbul (Ismāʿīl Ghālib), Paris (H. Lavoix) and St. Petersburg (W. Tiesenhausen). See also A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, Prague 1955, 214-9; al-Maḳrīzī, *Traité des monnaies musulmanes*, tr. de Sacy, Paris 1797, 44-8; G. C. Miles, *The early Islamic bronze coinage of Egypt*, in *Centennial Volume of the American Numismatic Society*, New York 1958, 471-502; H. Sauvaire, in *JA*, vii/15 (1880), 257-70. See also SIKKA.

(A. L. UDOVITCH)

FALSAFA, 1. — Origins. — The origins of *falsafa* are purely Greek; the activity of the *falāsifa* [*q.v.*] begins with Arabic translations of the Greek philosophical texts (whether direct or through a Syriac intermediary). Thus *falsafa* appears first as the continuation of φιλοσοφία in Muslim surroundings. But this definition leads at once to a more precise formulation: since strictly orthodox Sunnī Islam has never welcomed philosophic thought, *falsafa* developed from the first especially among thinkers influenced by the sects, and particularly by the Shīʿa; and this arose from a certain prior sympathy, such sects having absorbed gnostic ideas, some related to Hellenistic types of gnosis, others to Iranian types—for Persia is known in any case to have been an influence on religious and philosophical speculation throughout the Eastern Mediterranean since the Alexandrian epoch.

But it is more difficult to give precise significance to the concept of a Greek legacy; Greek thought is far from unified. Though *falsafa* may be called a continuation of Greek thought there is no perfect continuity, since the Arabic-speaking Muslims were not part of the movement in which φιλοσοφία was developing. They were forced to integrate themselves into it as if foreign bodies: they could not simply follow on; they had to learn everything, from the pre-Socratic teachings to the writings and commentaries of Proclus and John Philoponus. They started therefore from an acquired knowledge of a con-

spectus of Greek thought, comprehensive and abstract, which they envisaged as a separate culture lacking any historical dimension. They were not unaware that thought had a history but this knowledge came almost exclusively from their reading of Aristotle, and in practice, for them, he seems the culmination of this movement; after him, they only see commentators or works written under his direct inspiration. Even Neoplatonism itself is not viewed as an original system but in the light of a generalized Aristotelian influence.

It would be an easy solution of this difficulty to describe *falsafa* as having assumed one particular form of post-classical Greek thought: eclecticism, which had already appeared in the middle period of Stoicism and exercised considerable influence in the development of Neoplatonism. Certainly this school, in spite of its internal diversity, favoured the development of *falsafa* and contributed to the spread of the belief that Greek philosophy was unified. A text such as the *Theology* of the pseudo-Aristotle would confirm this belief. Nevertheless it is difficult to suppose that the *falāsifa* failed to notice the differences, not only between Aristotle and Plato, but also between the commentators, or that they passively took over eclecticism, which is itself a synthesis and in any case necessarily varies from one writer to another. Primitive *falsafa* could not establish itself as a "sect" (to use the term employed by Renan) except insofar as it borrowed from Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic philosophy a common form, a general concept of the world, a comprehensive theory of the spirit, the soul, man and human knowledge, with a technical vocabulary to become the familiar jargon of the schools. In detail, beyond the structural uniformity, each *faylasūf* made his own choice, and the first *falsafa* is much more original than one would suppose if it were described as nothing but Arab Neoplatonism.

2. — Utilization of Greek sources. — Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (568-646/1172-1248), though remote from the beginnings and later than al-G̲h̲azālī, provides some interesting information. He enumerates seven sects of Greek philosophy, adding that the two principal ones are that of Pythagoras and that of Plato and Aristotle. He considers in fact two great sections of Greek philosophy: natural philosophy, which is that of the ancients, exemplified by Pythagoras, Thales of Miletus, the Sabaeans and the Egyptians; and "political" philosophy, which characterizes the moderns, with Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. He explains that this division comes from Aristotle. But he does not separate them absolutely, since he goes so far as to say that Plato achieved the level of Pythagoras in the study of intelligible realities (*fī 'l-umūr al-ʿaḳliyya*) and the level of Socrates in the questions of the constitution of the perfect city (*fī siyāsat al-madīna al-fāḍila*). Thus in the eyes of the Muslims philosophy, culminating in Aristotle, the disciple of Plato, is a synthesis which studies the universe in relation to human life, which views man in the whole and which conceives of the whole as the medium in which man by knowledge and virtue realises his ultimate goal in re-discovering the principle of his being. The philosophy of nature opens out into a mystical cosmology in which the central concept is the Stoic *cosmopolis*. It is comprehensible that in this light Neoplatonism, which embodies all these viewpoints in one system, should have appeared to them as the final formulation of a philosophic ideal in harmony with the religious ideal put forward by a more or less heterodox form of Islam. It is clear that the primary motive for the choice of *falsafa* is religious by nature, since the *falāsifa* always rejected with horror that type of thought also offered by ancient Greece, known as that of the *dahriyya* [*q.v.*], of whom Ibn al-Ḳifṭī also says: "This is a sect of ancient philosophers who deny the Creator, the director of the Universe. They assert that the world has not ceased to be what it is in itself, that it has no creator who made it and freely chose to do so; that the circling motion has no beginning, that man comes from a drop of sperm, and the sperm from man, the plant from the seed and the seed from the plant. The most famous philosopher of this sect is Thales of Miletus; those who follow him are called *zanādiḳa*".

Since Thales was classed among the "physicists" (*ṭabīʿiyyūn*), it is clear that there are in fact two kinds of physicists: those who are purely materialist and rejected, and those who may be taken over by the "metaphysicists" (*ilāhiyyūn*) as Pythagoras is by Plato. It may be argued that Aristotle, in spite of his metaphysics, does not lend himself to use by religious thought: God, νόησις νοήσεως, is not the efficient cause of the world; He is the end, but not the principle. In reply it could be said that the *Uth̲ūlūg̲h̲iyā* intervened here most aptly, "since it seemed to present the theodicy absent from the *Metaphysics*, though itself brief on the divine attributes and silent on the creation" (A. M. Goichon, *La Philosophie d'Avicenne et son influence en Europe médiévale*, Paris 1951, 12). But it should not be forgotten that Porphyry, the disciple of Plotinus, had steeped himself in Aristotelian thought and saw no opposition in it to that of Plato. Equally, the Neoplatonic commentator Simplicius (6th century), educated both in Alexandria and Athens, had already attempted to harmonize the systems of Plato and Aristotle (as al-Fārābī was to do). Now Simplicius, who had emigrated to Persia upon the closure of the School of Athens by Justinian in 529, was well known to the Muslims (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī: art. *Samlis*). Syrianus also (*ibid.*, art. *Sūryānūs*) was as frequently quoted by the specialists; and he, though he did not believe that the two sages of antiquity were in agreement, at least saw the study of Aristotle as a preliminary to the understanding of Plato. The Muslims therefore did not lack precedents authorizing them not to make too great a gulf between the two great masters of Greek thought.

Nevertheless it would appear that the 'Plotinus source', as F. Rosenthal calls it (*Aš-Šayḫ al-Yūnānī and the Arabic Plotinus source*, in *Orientalia*, xxi (1952), xxii (1953), xxiv (1955), played very much a major rôle, together with the *Uth̲ūlūg̲h̲iyā* which is related to it. On this point P. Kraus, *Plotin chez les Arabes, Remarques sur un nouveau fragment de la paraphrase des Ennéades*, in *BIÉ*, xxiii (1940), 41, may also be consulted.

Thus everything combined to give a Neoplatonic form to the meeting of Plato and Aristotle in Muslim thought. P. Duhem (*Le système du monde*, iv, 322) observes that Neoplatonism permitted the conservation in a single harmonious whole of what could be saved of the Aristotelian theory of the universe together with what theology claimed.

At the same time certain elements of the Greek inheritance could not be absorbed with comfort in this synthesis. On the one hand, the whole Gnostic, or, rather, theurgic tradition as it developed from Iamblichus to Proclus, becoming burdened with Egyptian and Hermetic ideas, preoccupied with every religion and every god, developing a fantastic

angelology, was ready to fuse with the mystic concepts of Persia and India and revivify that esoteric cult which is still alive. These tendencies, subjugated to the discipline of *falsafa* by Avicenna, were to flourish freely in the philosophy of *Ishrāḳ*. On the other hand, an Aristotelianism which had remained more faithful to Aristotle, confining itself to the correction of those points where he displayed weaknesses, difficulties, obscurities or incoherence, had never ceased to be represented in the post-Hellenistic period up to the 6th century. Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd century) tries to explain Aristotle and defend him against the doctrines of other schools. In doing so, he insists on the naturalist aspect of his teaching and professes a nominalism. The universal exists only in human thought; "separated from the intellect which thinks it, it is destroyed." Thus it neither preexists particular things nor is drawn from them; it appears only as a consequence of the experience which thought has of these things: thus the soul is a form of the body and cannot subsist without it. As for the doctrine of the intellect, a distinction must be drawn between the νοῦς φυσικός or ὑλικός (natural or material, which is potential), the νοῦς ἐπίκτητος or καθ' ἕξιν (acquired and possessing the habitus of intelligible thought), and the νοῦς ποιητικός which makes the transition from the potentiality of the former to the habitus of the latter but which does not belong to the human soul, coming to it from outside (θύραθεν). This theory of the intellect was to be the constant subject of consideration in the *falsafa* of every age. But the Aristotelianism of Alexander was especially to characterize the Western philosophers: Ibn Bādjdja (Avempace) and particularly Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and to exercise some influence in the East on the thought of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. It is thus associated with a transformation of primitive *falsafa* which takes place in consequence of al-Ghazālī's criticism of the *falāsifa*. We should also refer to Themistius (4th century), a late Peripatetic: he uses Plato, believing him in agreement with Aristotle, but "prefers to the novelties of Neoplatonism that more ancient Platonic-Aristotelian philosophy" (W. Stegemann, *Real Encyclopädie*, art. *Themistios*). He was above all interested in ethics, to which he regarded logic and physics as merely ancillary. This idea passed into *falsafa*. His aim was practical; he wished to render Aristotle more easily accessible, in "paraphrases" in which he gathered together the ideas of the master clearly and concisely. This is why the Muslims turned frequently to him; some indeed adopted his method of exposition by means of paraphrase.

Falsafa, as an encyclopaedic system of knowledge, also owes much to the physician Galen (2nd century). He again is the author of an original and very wide electicism. He made explicit the idea that medicine is founded on a philosophical basis, an idea which was to dominate the activity of the *falāsifa*, who were nearly all savants and physicians. In logic, physics, and metaphysics Galen bases himself on Aristotle, but his eclecticism is touched with Stoic ideas and it is in part through him that Islam made the acquaintance of the Stoa. In psychology, he follows the Platonic teaching of the tripartite division of the soul. Though concentrating on the study of positive reality as accessible to experience, he believes in the existence of God and in Providence, which is manifested in the harmony of the parts of the universe and the bodily organs. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī depends on him, at the beginning of his commentary on the Ḳur'ān, in order to demonstrate the sympathy of all beings in the universe, from which it follows that the slightest search is linked with every other. Nevertheless, though Galen integrated philosophy with science and thus laid the foundations for a system to be found in every Muslim philosopher, he did not distract *falsafa* from its Neoplatonic preference, for he nourished a philosophical literature "which, starting from the Timaeus of Plato and passing through the commentary of Posidonius on the Timaeus, ended in Neoplatonism" (Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie des Altertums*, Berlin 1920, 576). At the same time Galen represents above all to the Muslims, if we may believe Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, a physical philosopher (*favlasūf ṭabīʿī*) who understood the method of demonstrative proof (*ʿālim bi-ṭarīḳ al-burhān*) and applied it to all sciences. He concerned himself with the problem of distinguishing causes (the question of the *asbāb al-māsika* to which Ibn al-Ḳifṭī draws attention), an important problem which is equally central in Proclus and over which *falsafa* and *kalām* were to divide.

Another commentator of Aristotle familiar to the Muslims is John Philoponus (Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī). He was a Christian, who contested with Proclus the doctrine of the eternity of the world, basing himself primarily on considerations of physics. In this manner he demonstrated that the scientific spirit, freed from the extremist metaphysics of the Athenian Neoplatonists, could have room for the fundamental dogma of revealed monotheism.

The Greek heritage is therefore a very varied body of doctrines and trends of whose multiplicity the Muslims were not unaware. Thus *falsafa* had to make a choice, and this explains the varied forms it assumed from time to time, reflecting no doubt different philosophical temperaments but also religious attitudes to dogma and theology and to the history of the sects and of *kalām*.

3. — The establishment of *falsafa*. — The influence of translations is of prime importance. But that *falsafa* was born at all is due to the fact that most of the translators were also original thinkers. Original work was often linked to the translation by the intermediary of commentary. Thus Ḳustā b. Lūḳā made use of technical language gleaned from translations to produce individual work, as shown in the *Book of characters* (ed. P. Sbath, in *BIÉ*, xxiii (1940-1)). Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 386/996) appreciated his value as a philosopher. Ḳustā reveals great subtlety in analysis, and a spirit of synthesis which enables him to borrow from the different sciences whatever material he needs to deal with his subject. It is important to note that a thinker like al-Kindī, who is revered by posterity as a philosopher and savant, is also a translator. Moreover, all the great *falāsifa* applied themselves to commentaries on Greek texts. Thus, *falsafa* does not follow from works of translation and commentary; it is born amongst them and continues them; its lexicon (*iṣṭilāḥāt*) was not written as a purely philological exercise unrelated to it; *falsafa* gained definition by an undertaking which combined translations, commentaries, personal reflections and practical examples.

4. — The first period of *falsafa*. — This could be called Avicennan. It takes shape in the East between the 3rd/9th and the 5th/11th centuries, with al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna). It is a synthesis of Neoplatonic metaphysics, natural science and mysticism: Plotinus enriched by Galen and Proclus.

This first *falsafa* is quite distinct from the *kalām* which preceded it (Muʿtazilī *kalām*); although it takes pleasure in the rediscovery of Ḳurʾānic texts or ideas, it does not make them a starting point, but is presented as a method of research independent of dogma, without, however, rejecting the dogma or ignoring it in its sources. Nevertheless, its problems are not unrelated to those of theology. The Muʿtazila, in order to preserve the absolute transcendence of the divine unity, had distinguished essence from existence in created beings. For them, there was in God no paradigm (*mat̲h̲al*) for the essence of the creature, and creation consisted simply in bestowing existence on essences which were in "a state of nothingness". The creative act was conceived in a positive sense as what causes essences to pass from non-existence to existence (*lam yakun fayakūnu*). God, Whom nothing resembles, was therefore beyond the essence and the existence of creatures here below. The first *falsafa* is based on an ontology which also makes a distinction between essence and existence. But it did not find the idea of creation *ex nihilo* in the Greeks. It preserved the absolute transcendence and unity of God by introducing precisely this distinction between essence and existence in all beings other than the Godhead. For God alone, existence is identical with essence. But for this reason He is the unifying and unique mainspring of the two orders of being. Thus this *falsafa* unites seemingly contradictory concepts of the universe; on the one hand there is a First Principle in whose unity are rooted both the essences and the existences of all beings, and in consequence a continuity is postulated between the Being and beings, which is not interrupted by any creative act; on the other hand, there is an absolute discontinuity between the modes of being of the Principle and of that which proceeds from the Principle. Thus it is possible to speak of a cosmological continuity between the universe and its source (theory of emanation), tending to a form of monism, and of an ontological discontinuity between the necessary and the possible, tending to re-establish the absolute transcendence of God. Furthermore, the possible beings, in whom essence is distinct from existence, are only possible if considered in themselves. But they are necessary if considered in relation to the Principle: granted a Being necessary *on its own account*, everything else is necessary *because of it*. As was to be the case with Spinoza and Hegel, the possible is always real. Hence we return to monism. Is that a reason for considering that this *falsafa* is incoherent? Up to now we have considered only the cosmology and the ontology of the first *falsafa*, which means that this *falsafa* needed to be completed by a third attitude to Being: the mystical. *Falsafa* of the Avicennan type may be analysed as regards its system in the following manner: a first upward movement going from beings to the Being, which seeks an ontological foundation for given reality; this is human intelligence in search of a principle of intelligibility in the universe; then a second, downward movement, an attempt to explain the universe on the basis of a declared principle, which should provide a total explanation of it; these two movements involve only human thought; but in the first, the principle is attained so to speak in perspective, as the limit where conditions of intelligibility converge; thus there may well be some lack of continuity of thought, since it is logically impossible for thought to reach this limit; whilst in the second movement, thought starts from the idea which corresponds in it to this Principle, and tries to produce from it the world from which it came itself; this is a difficult task, since it is beyond the scope of logical deduction, and recourse must be made to images (metaphors of light) through which the continuity which is postulated but not demonstrated can be re-established. Then comes the third movement, which is a second ascent, but this time no longer a simple discursive procedure, since it is by intelligible intuitions of the spiritual realities themselves, already identified, that progress is made. Man first sees himself in his contingency, separated from his Principle, endowed with a precarious existence. But ontology has taught him that his whole being is rooted in God, and cosmology supplies him with a spiritual itinerary, whose postulated continuity will be verified by mystical experience. The last word therefore is with this experience.

A second theme which Greek philosophy had touched on, and which Muʿtazilī *kalām* had studied very closely, is that of the knowledge God has of particular things. The first *falsafa*, in its theory of the possible, considerably simplified the problem posed by the theologians who believed that contingent things could be or not be. However, there still remained the difficulty of the knowledge of the particular as such: God could not make contact with this in itself in its materiality, but only in His universal knowledge of that which is. *Falsafa* was thus obliged to interpret the verses of the Ḳurʾān where God declares that nothing, not even a grain of mustard seed (Ḳurʾān, xxi, 47), escapes Him. This question is, moreover, closely linked with the concept of creation held by the first *falsafa*. There is no doubt that it rejects the dogmatic idea of creation *ex nihilo*, but it aggravates its case by adopting the principle that from the One only the one can proceed, which led it into complicated theories on the successive procession of the Intellects and of their spheres, from the first Intellect onward; this procession plays a part not only in cosmology, but in the theory of knowledge, of prophetic revelation and of mystical experience. In this context must be placed the doctrine of the intellect as agent and its rôle in man's intellection. On this point explanations vary slightly from one philosopher to another. In conclusion we may note that the problem of the immortality of the soul is closely related to this doctrine.

Such are the fundamental themes of the first *falsafa*. Each philosopher of this school, and above all Avicenna, has been the object of varying interpretations, according to whether emphasis was laid on his scientific works, on the relationship of his metaphysics with Western scholasticism, on his fidelity to Greek thought, or on his mystical ideas. In fact, all these points of view must be considered together, not forgetting moreover that *falsafa* penetrates into the Muslim environment and that even if it was rejected by strict orthodoxy it was none the less steeped in Islamic thought considered as a whole; we have seen that it was not ignorant of *kalām*; even in its logic, where the Aristotelian inspiration is clearest (for example in the *S̲h̲ifāʾ* of Avicenna), allusions to the concepts of the Arab grammarians are easily discernible. Finally, *falsafa* interested itself in political problems, not only by preserving Greek works on *politeia*, but in relation to the political, and therefore religious, problems of the Muslim world of that time. The temporal organization of a city has the double purpose of achieving the well-being of men and of preparing them for the

future life. The union of members of the earthly community foreshadows the union of souls with souls, and of souls with God, in the after life. Political theory thus itself embraces mysticism; these ideas are so strong that they will be respected by al-Ghazālī and will reappear in another context as late as Ibn Khaldūn. It may be said that *falsafa* wished to support *sharīʿa*, *fiḳh*, and *aḥkām sulṭāniyya*, and that it is thus opposed to the spirit of the Ḳurʾān. This is true as far as rigorously orthodox Islam is concerned. But *falsafa* developed in more liberal surroundings, where there was a desire for a less legalistic view of religion and for an Islam which would be cultural and universal in character.

5. — The reaction of al-Ghazālī. — If Avicenna is a much discussed figure, al-Ghazālī is discussed much more. Some see him as a reactionary who brought to an end the blossoming of the rational thought of the philosophers, and made supreme a theology which was itself the slave of dogma. For others he clipped the wings of mystical thought by fighting the Bāṭiniyya, whose teachings were in harmony with the great spiritual constructions of *falsafa*. Whatever value one may place on the thought of al-Ghazālī, the historical significance of his work demands recognition. Even if he conceived his religious system only for political ends associated with the passing circumstances of the disturbed period in which he was living, yet he introduced Greek philosophy into the realm of Sunnī thought, through the way he developed Ashʿarism and criticized the *falāsifa*. In *falsafa*, as in esoteric mysticism, he denounced Gnostic trends opposed to the Ḳurʾānic spirit. No doubt he remained a *mutakallim*; it would be an abuse of language to say that he created a Sunnī *falsafa*. He simply allowed *falsafa*, and mysticism too, to detach itself from Shīʿī heterodoxy and to become acclimatized in an orthodox environment.

The principal points of his criticism (which were to be taken up again by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī) may be brought together under three headings: against *falsafa* he maintains (a) the resurrection of the body and the materiality of the rewards and punishments of the after life; (b) the creation of the world in the proper sense and its real contingency; (c) God's knowledge of particular things. As for the other philosophical sciences—mathematics, logic, physics—they are harmless provided that their methods are not generalized rashly and that they are not allowed to exceed their proper limits. The metaphysics of the Greeks and their imitators is on the other hand a privileged place for innovations and impieties since in this field logical reasoning is not infallibly applied. Al-Ghazālī, like his master al-Djuwaynī, was struck by the differences which rule between metaphysicians in spite of their common appeal to reason. There is a level of reality where human reason cannot grasp truth by its own efforts; it needs the help of revelation which alone provides certitude in these questions. These ideas, put forward by Ghazālī in a dogmatic and theological context, reappear in a philosophical context in his successors.

6. — The second period of *falsafa*. — This may be called post-Ghazālī. It is distinguished geographically by having one centre in the East with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and another in the West with Avempace (Ibn Bādjdja), Ibn Ṭufayl and Averroes (Ibn Rushd). The period is characterized in part by its diversity, the teachings no longer displaying that unity of approach which the preceding period showed; and in part by the fact that this *falsafa* is much more integrated in the whole intellectual and spiritual culture acquired by Islam over the formative centuries: theology, law, *tafsīr*, mysticism, constitute disciplines which from now on are established and rich in content and influence, whereas the first *falsafa* found itself taking shape at a time when all mental activities were seeking an appropriate way for themselves, and only Muʿtazilism so far had taken up fixed positions.

Of the three who most adorned Western *falsafa*, Avempace displayed the least religious spirit. His *Rule of the solitary* (*Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid*) has as its ideal isolation from the mass of mankind in a purely intellectual contemplation of the intelligible. In his *Risālat al-Ittiṣāl* he shows how it is possible to unite with the agent Intellect, by studying the development of the human individual from his embryonic life to the speculative life. This is a philosophical psychology of knowledge.

This "evolutive" aspect of Avempace's thought recurs in Ibn Ṭufayl, where some influence of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ may also be discerned. The mysticism of Ibn Ṭufayl tries to go further than the purely speculative mysticism of Avempace, being inspired both by Avicenna and al-Ghazālī.

Averroes, in his refutation of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, was led to take up again the problems with which Avicenna's philosophy had faced Sunnī orthodoxy. He replies to al-Ghazālī, not in order to defend Ibn Sīnā but in order to set out his own teaching, more directly inspired by Aristotle and the Peripatetic commentators than the first *falsafa* had been. The meaning of Averroism has been much discussed. Some, with Renan, view him as a pure rationalist. According to L. Gauthier, Ibn Rushd only rejects the kind of theology which encloses itself in the revealed texts and desires to comprehend them dialectically; but he allows literal belief to the uneducated, who react to the rhetoric of images, while philosophers should submit everything to apodictic proof. It appears that this explanation by means of the theory of the three classes of spirit (apodictic, dialectic, rhetorical) does not entirely cover the thought of Averroes. In fact, he was responsive to the warning of al-Ghazālī: rigorous proof is only superior where the object is accessible to human intelligence. When this is not so and obscurities remain, as in the questions of creation, the attributes of God, and the nature of the after life, philosophy has no real privilege, and risks indeed encouraging doubt, while revealed knowledge, though in itself inferior, gains the advantage since it brings assurance. To the fundamental problems of the first *falsafa* as criticised by al-Ghazālī, Averroes replies like a *mutakallim*: he gives up the postulate that from the One nothing but the one can emerge; God moves the world by His *amr* which permits Him to act while remaining unmoved (cf. the unmoved prime mover of Aristotle); God has no will resembling the human will, since He has nothing to desire, having all; but the idea of a voluntary act better represents what creation is than the idea of an involuntary emanation (a viewpoint to be found in al-Rāzī in his commentaries on the divine attribute of life, *ḥayāt*); God does not know particular things in a sentient manner; but the knowledge He has of them resembles the sentient knowledge by which man grasps them rather than our abstract and general knowledge. These few observations suffice to show that Averroes took note of the theological criticisms of al-Ghazālī.

In the East, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī is an Ashʿarī

like al-Ghazālī, whom he takes for guide, while remaining attached to the thought of Avicenna. He criticizes the Muʿtazila but he borrows from them what he can use. He attacks the extremist sects but without breaking down the bridges to them. Irenic in outlook, in spite of his polemical vigour, he is endowed with great powers of synthesis and it is perhaps in him that the richest, widest and most open system is to be found. He explains Avicenna while correcting him. He achieves a profound union of *kalām* and *falsafa*. Thus, like his adversary al-Ṭūsī, he studies the Muʿtazilī notion of mode (*ḥāl*) in relation to the problem of the divine attributes. For him, philosophical reason may well collect ideas into coherent systems, but it is for revelation to pronounce upon their truth. Finally, the sacred text is a stimulus for philosophical thought. Al-Rāzī therefore clearly differs from Averroes in his approach; he does not limit recourse to dogma and *kalām* to certain difficult cases: with him philosophy and theology are co-extensive and interpenetrating.

7. — The tradition of Avicenna in the philosophy of *ishrāḳ*. — The work of al-Ghazālī was not accepted by the whole of Islam; in particular those circles, of Shīʿī tendencies, who resisted his criticism developed the most mystical aspects of Avicenna's thought in order to produce a union of Avicennian type *falsafa* with a mystical *kalām* of Gnostic inspiration.

Here we must mention the philosophical *corpus* of Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (d. 550/1155), which develops into an angelology. But the great representative of *Ishrāḳ* is al-Suhrawardī (d. 578/1191), who was influenced philosophically by Avicenna but gives an important position to Aristotelian concepts in the exposition of his mystical ideas. On the philosophical plane, it was Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273) who was to undertake the Shīʿī defence of Avicenna's thought against al-Rāzī, a defence which is not, however, accompanied by absolute fidelity: the *real* distinction between essence and existence is denied, and one finds in the end an explicit monism in al-Suhrawardī, al-Ṭūsī and Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640). This monist philosophy developed above all in the Iranian areas and is often expressed in Persian. It remained alive and flourishing for a long period.

8. — *Falsafa* as scholasticism. — In spite of the great names which adorn even the last period of *falsafa*, it must be recognized that from now on thinkers are in possession of received ideas and that they develop them in variations which offer interest but without real invention. The union of *falsafa* and *kalām* was completed: the stages of this process are marked by Tustarī, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 765/1364) and al-Īdjī (d. 756/1355), for whom *kalām* includes metaphysical questions and logical procedures while offering the greater security of reason founded on tradition. Al-Īdjī appears in this period as the leader of a school whose disciples were to diverge in different directions, some attaching themselves to Ashʿarī orthodoxy, such as al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413), others remaining more faithful to Avicenna, like Sayf al-Dīn al-Abharī (8th/14th century), al-Fanārī (d. 886/1481), al-Siyālakūtī (d. 1069/1659). Thus the earlier discussions over the opposition of Avicenna and Ghazālī are taken up again: in these the partisans and continuers of Avicenna are Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1326), a leading theologian of the imāmiyya, and Ḳushdjī (d. 749/1348); while those who attacked Avicenna's school in the spirit of Ashʿarī *kalām* and in the tradition of al-Ghazālī included al-Iṣfahānī (d. 749/1348) and al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1389). The "scholastic" character of this *falsafa* is basically what unites it in spite of the diversity of trends. It is clearly indicated by the flourishing of commentaries, no longer on Greek, but on Arabic and Persian works. Thus, al-Djurdjānī writes a commentary on the *Mawāḳif* of al-Īdjī; al-Dawwānī on Suhrawardī and on the *ʿAḳāʾid*, also of al-Īdjī; while al-Fanārī comments on al-Fārābī.

This *falsafa* is also scholastic in its method of exposition, which multiplies divisions and subdivisions. This method was not, of course, new, but it becomes more and more formal.

9. — Supplementary and conclusion. — To enumerate here all the theological philosophers of the last period would be tedious. We ought rather to mention those works of previous centuries which, though philosophical, do not exactly fit into the categories we have outlined. We should first recall that theologians like the Ashʿarīs al-Bāḳillānī and al-Djuwaynī or the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm, wrote of purely philosophical questions from a point of view which was properly that of *kalām* (*e.g.*, al-Bāḳillānī's theory of causality and atomism). On the other hand, the *Rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ deserve mention; these develop Pythagorean ideas, frequently with remarkable originality, on the fringes of the school of Avicenna but in an analogous spirit, in spite of the popularizing character of these writings. Ibn Masarra, who has been studied by Asín Palacios, was influenced by the philosophy of Empedocles and Bāṭinī mysticism (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, art. *Abidhaḳlīs*).

Further, it should be noted that in order to study not *falsafa* as such but the philosophical ideas current in Islam one should also consider the use of Greek concepts by sages such as ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī and above all Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyya al-Rāzī and many others. The corpus of Djābir also, in the analysis of it by P. Kraus, should not be neglected by those seeking to establish the function of Pythagoreanism in the alchemical concepts of Islamic scholars. In another field, the examination of the theories of the grammarians, particularly Ibn Djinnī, would supply very interesting information on the influence of Greek ideas in Arabic grammar. In special philosophical disciplines such as ethics, Ibn Miskawayh should be mentioned, whose thought extensively overlaps pure questions of morals and reflects the life of his age. The literary circle of Baghdād made known to us by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, is very representative of philosophical culture in the Muslim East of the 4th/10th century.

To sum up, *falsafa* was a focus of reflection on the legacy of Greek thought. It was not at the beginning a matter of Muslim apologetics utilizing Hellenic philosophy to explain and justify the faith. *Falsafa* began as a search by Muslims with Shīʿī leanings for a coherence in their intellectual and spiritual life, that is, the quest for a religious humanism, with all that humanism implies in freedom of spirit. Later it evolved, grew closer to orthodox *kalām* and ended by fusing with it. Only then did *falsafa* begin to burden itself with apologetic elements: *fides quaerens intellectum* or, conversely, faith illuminating and fortifying knowledge. Only the mysticism of *ishrāḳ* retained the primitive humanism of Avicenna (cf. *al-Insān al-kāmil*). In the course of its development, *falsafa* spread Greek ideas in every realm of thought. But it concluded by becoming a school activity. It is perhaps this decline which inspired the disillusioned observations of Ibn Khaldūn on the pernicious effects of education in the Muslim world.

This great thinker of the 8th/14th century, who spared nothing and no-one in his scientific criticism of societies, appears at least in his *Muḳaddima* as the most profoundly rationalist of all Muslim philosophers. The interest in political philosophy which animates the first *falāsifa* reappears in him, but purged of all Neoplatonic metaphysics. Ibn Khaldūn indeed saw in these great systems concepts inspired by the characteristics of social life. In this sense one can say that he destroyed *falsafa* in accomplishing his ideal. For the universality which it assumed for itself, because it claimed to achieve a self-sufficing intelligible, he substituted the actual universality of a positive all-embracing science, the science of human societies.

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FAMAGUSTA [see maghosha].

FAMILY [see ʿāʾila].

FAN [see mirwāḥa].

FANĀʾ [see baḳāʾ].

FANAK (pl. *afnāk*; from Pers. *fanak*/*fanadj*) may refer, at different times and with different authors, to various animals of different orders or families. In the Muslim west *fanak* is commonly applied to the fennec-fox, *Fennecus zerda*, a small wild member of the genus *Vulpes* of the Canidae with very large ears, a pale dun coat, and a spreading bushy tail. The nocturnal habits of this puny carnivore, and its essentially desert distribution from the Sahara to Arabia, have caused it to be practically ignored by Arabic writers, naturalists, encyclopaedists and poets; al-Djāḥiẓ, for example, frankly confesses his ignorance of the real *fanak* (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 32). For a better knowledge of the fennec it is necessary to turn to the desert tribes; one finds, for example, six terms at least in the various dialects of Tamahaḳ which refer to this animal (see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire Touareg-Français*, Paris 1952, ii, 962, s.v. *akhōrhi*; H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951, 133). In the eastern countries which do not know the fennec proper of the Sahara fauna, *fanak* is used for the Corsac or Karagan Fox, *Vulpes corsac* (from Turk. *ḳūrsāḳ*), found from Turkestan to Mongolia; this little animal when domesticated enjoyed a great vogue as a lady's pet in Europe in the 16th century, when it was known as "adive".

However, neither of these two foxes is meant by the term *fanak* in the imagination of all the authors who have used the word; all mean a member of the Mustelidae whose pelt was greatly esteemed in the luxury fur-trade and which ranked with such fur-bearing animals (*dhawāt al-wabr wa 'l-firāʾ*) as the ermine (*ḳāḳum*), sable (*sammūr*), Siberian squirrel (*sindjāb*) and otter (*kalb al-māʾ*). The skins of the *fanak* were imported, at great expense, from central Europe and Asia (*min arḍ Khʷārizm, min bilād al-Ṣaḳāliba*). Although the identification of this animal has troubled many translators, there is no doubt that it must be the mink, *Mustela lutreola*; sufficient proof of this is given by Ibn al-Bayṭār (tr. L. Leclerc, *Traité des simples*, Paris 1877-83, iii, no. 1708), who says of the *fanak* "... this is a species of marten, and its fur is brought from the land of the Slavonians, or from the lands of the Turks and Russians". It is difficult to understand how the *fanak*, worn in cloaks (*farwa*) by the young Andalusian dandies and poets of the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, could have been identified with the weasel (see H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse ... au XIème siècle*², Paris 1953, 320 and notes) which, common in Spain, has never been used by furriers, its pelt being too small and of mediocre quality; moreover the weasel, *Mustela nivalis*, has never been known in Arabic by any name other than *ibn ʿirs*. Finally, it is of interest to note that the flesh of the *fanak* is recognized, according to al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, ii, 225), as legitimate for human consumption among Muslims, which indicates that in the eyes of the legists the *fanak* cannot belong to the Canidae, the canine species, domestic or wild, being absolutely impure, on the authority of many traditions of the Prophet.

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FANĀR [see fener and manār].

al-**FANĀRĪ** [see fenārī-zāde].

FANN, the (modern) Arabic name for art. Individual treatment of aspects of the art of Islam will be found in articles under the following headings;

the examples are given as a guide and are not intended to be exhaustive.

1. Techniques, *e.g.*, ARCHITECTURE, BINĀʾ (building), FAK̲H̲K̲H̲ĀR (the potter's craft), FUSAYFISĀʾ (mosaic), ḲĀLĪ (carpets), K̲H̲AṬṬ (calligraphy), ḲUMĀS̲H̲ (textiles), METALWORK, TAṢWĪR (painting), etc.

2. Materials, *e.g.*, ʿĀD̲J̲ (ivory), BILLAWR (crystal), D̲J̲IṢṢ (plaster), K̲H̲AZAF (pottery and ceramics), ʿIRḲ AL-LUʾLUʾ (mother-of-pearl), LIBĀS (costume), etc., as well as description of materials in the articles on techniques.

3. Objects, types of buildings, artistic features, *e.g.*, ḲALAMDĀN (pencases); BĀB (gates), BĀʾOLĪ (step-wells), BURD̲J̲ (towers), BUSTĀN (gardens), ḤAMMĀM (baths), ḤIṢN (fortification), ḲANṬARA (bridges), MAḲBARA (tombs), MANĀRA (minarets), MASD̲J̲ID (mosques), SABĪL (fountains), etc.; ʿAMŪD (capitals), ARABESQUE, ĪWĀN (arcades), MUḲARNAS (stalactites), etc.

4. Artists, *e.g.*, BIHZĀD, MANṢŪR, SINĀN, etc.

5. Music, theatre, etc., *e.g.*, MŪSĪḲĪ; articles on individual musical instruments, *e.g.*, DUFF, ṬANBŪR; CINEMA; MAṢRAḤIYYA (drama); LAʿB (games).

6. Countries and cities, *passim*.

7. Dynasties, and in some cases individual rulers *passim*. (ED.)

The idea of a specifically Islamic art can hardly be conceived without preliminary reference to the idea of an Islamic civilization which allows the bringing together, across the apparent contradictions of form, style and material, of monuments widely separated in time and space and objects produced according to widely different techniques. If it be indeed commonly admitted that a new faith and a new spirit may invoke a similar renaissance in the domain of aesthetics, it must as readily be conceded that the perpetuation of certain modes of life and thought, in a society dominated by a rigid legalism of a religious character and faithful until the dawn of the modern era to the principles established in the Middle Ages, has produced a similar fixedness of artistic traditions, as seen in the most diverse natural surroundings from the moment when they were first incorporated in the world of Islam; thus we may group under a common heading, in spite of all the exterior reasons for differentiation, works which derive, over more than thirteen centuries of history, from the most diverse countries and peoples.

In this sense one can speak of the unity of Islamic art, the principal factor of which was without doubt the constitution, in the first centuries of Islam, of that immense empire of the Caliphate, Umayyad and later ʿAbbāsid, which brought together under a single authority many regions formerly independent of one another; it thus provided an environment favouring the elaboration of a primitive "classicism" which was to serve as a point of reference for the later developments, and to bring into being, according to clearly discernible lines of affiliation, local or national flowerings which could not fail to develop individually in the years that followed.

Sprung therefore from the conjunction of several inheritances, in the first rank of which were a Hellenistic heritage from the southern provinces of the Byzantine empire and an Iranian heritage which shortly before had been crystallized under the aegis of the powerful Sāsānid dynasty, this first Islamic art deserves primarily to be described as profoundly eclectic, through its having gathered and mingled without restraint, while the conquerors were willingly susceptible to the atmosphere of the arts around them, structural or decorative elements borrowed from the practices of the conquered countries, with the one proviso that these elements be adapted, in conformity with the observance of certain rules, to the needs of the new Muslim society.

This practice was to be perpetuated in the ensuing periods, and although the first phenomena of absorption and transformation, particularly noticeable in the Near Eastern regions which might be called the heart of the empire, marked Islamic art as such with Syro-Mesopotamian features, it must not be forgotten that other influences, sometimes transmitted throughout the Muslim world, more often integrated in lands on the periphery whence they could have but a weak diffusion—this is exemplified in North Africa or Spain just as in K̲h̲urāsān or in India—, continually influenced here and there the traditional modes which had gradually spread from the active capitals of Damascus or Bag̲h̲dād. The receptivity, demonstrated very early, to trends coming from the East, which brought into ʿIrāḳī sculpture the characteristic rhythms and scrolls of that Asian art known as "Steppic", was thus soon to be surpassed by the facility with which, from the Sald̲j̲ūḳ era onwards, modifications of taste and feeling directly attributable to the Turkish invaders were to be imposed. Similarly the reception by Persia of a decorative repertoire of Chinese origin, which had been carried across the Mongol empire and was to stimulate the imagination of its miniaturists, was to have as a counterpart that extraordinary perfection of architectural techniques accomplished in 10th/16th century Ottoman Turkey by artists who applied themselves to the school of the Byzantine masters and who were to succeed in equalling, if not surpassing, Byzantine chefs-d'œuvre by erecting the great series of imperial mosques in Istanbul.

One may also understand in this perspective the multiplication of regional styles [see articles on the relevant countries or dynasties] within an art whose faculty of assimilation remains its dominant characteristic and whose various stages develop within varying ethnic groups and as a result of borrowings which are undisguised; these borrowings have, however, in the course of their transmission undergone a subtle transformation which makes it impossible—even in a creative milieu as clearly individualized as that of Īrān, for example—to confuse works anterior to Islam and those which belong, after the lasting triumph of the new religion, to a differently orientated cycle of aesthetic experience.

Indeed, whatever be the type of monuments or objects under consideration, it would appear that the artistic production of Muslim countries has always conformed to a double set of requirements; the one imposed by the material organization of a society in which artistic patronage was bestowed principally by princes and sovereigns, impressing on the art an aulic, sumptuary and dynastic character whereby the taste for richness and brilliant ornament was necessarily developed; the other, and more important, inspired by the particular form of intellectual and religious outlook which came into being in the 7th century with the preaching of Muḥammad and which, far from becoming more tractable, became more and more rigid in its claims to model the life of the Muslim community according to the dictates of the holy law and the opinions of its practitioners, providing the dominant themes of architecture and encouraging the increasingly systematic employment of decoration in accordance with stereotyped formulas, remote from all realism and spontaneity.

Indeed, it is this deliberate impoverishment of plastic imagination, with its aniconic tendency, which most frequently comes to mind when one attempts to define the basic originality of Islamic art, whether the emphasis is put only on the abstract character of the surface ornamentation which it uses in such profusion, or whether this characteristic is more precisely related with the religious prohibitions peculiar to Islamic doctrine or with a system of theologico-philosophic opinions which dwells on the illusory and precarious character of the visible world as contrasted with God Who alone endures. This may be a somewhat simplified view of a very complex problem, all the more since the exclusion of images was not observed with the same rigour in every region or period; to deny this would be to ignore some of the most beautiful Muslim achievements, starting with those of the schools of illuminators who were well able to portray or transpose with delicate touch the scenes which surrounded them. Yet one should not disregard the large share of truth which such an axiom contains.

As a general rule, indeed, artists working in the Muslim milieu have remained unaffected by a concern to reproduce faithfully the forms of the living world, forms which certainly served them as sources of inspiration, but which became relegated to second place through the treatment to which they were subjected: either they were reduced to filling an accessory rôle in larger compositions — an effort is necessary to discover, for example, the medallions with human or animal representations which are on so many objects enmeshed by networks of arabesques, and the miniatures themselves were conceived solely as an appendage to the manuscript page which they were to enrich — or else recourse was had to them merely for the guiding lines of stylizations which were to be repeated, divorced from all direct contact with nature. This is not unrelated to the lack of favour with which work in high relief was regarded, a technique which more than any other was likely to disturb the rigorists by producing from its medium an inanimate copy too close to its original; it is connected also with the growing disregard, which visibly asserts itself, for the feeling for the third dimension: it disappears in the interplay of flat colours with which the surfaces of monuments were covered, as in the productions of the artistic workshops or in the *grisaille* of moulded interlacing work which filled the previously compartmented borders and panels.

Thus it is justifiable to define Islamic art as a whole as an art of decorators and ornamenters, concerned to decorate every surface with a multiplicity of figures springing from their own imagination in accordance with a repertoire of motifs which had long passed to the stage of studio prescriptions, motifs often executed in relief or in shallow patterns which were vibrant with light and shade effects, but to which was frequently added the refinement of notes of colour, obtained from very different media according to the period or the region. This art of the ornamenters thus corresponded to a peculiar regard for agreements and harmonies, founded, not without some aridity, on the observation of rules such as the horror of the void and the continuation of the line, in a climate which produced also the melodic line of Arab music and the cadences of its poetry.

It is also true to say, however, that this precious art was first and foremost a scholarly and intellectual art, which grew from a continual recourse to geometrical design and to complicated calculations, permitting decorative forms which were sometimes of a rudimentary nature to be used effectively. This is admirably illustrated by the use of stalactite corbelling, with straightlined or curvilinear cells [see MUḲARNAS], which were ultimately used in the adornment of domes or semi-domes (for example in the coping of portals) according to extremely complex constructional schemes, and which demanded a very specialized technique from the artisans who carried them out, empirical though this may have been. This is revealed also by the study of the basic lines of so many opulent arabesques [*q.v.*], whose value lies in the convolutions of their stylized vegetal stems which are in other respects rather poor; or by analysis of the innumerable combinations of star-shaped polygons on which are based systems of interlacing which often serve as the starting-point for further stylizations. This is also expressed by the variations developed from the angular or cursive letters of the Arabic script, letters which had the double advantage of offering continually fresh themes to the invention of artists, and of being in themselves shapes with an inherent meaning and embodying the results of a long development [see KH̲AṬṬ]. The growing development of ornamental compositions of this genre, apparently without regard for calligraphic exactitude or legibility, is certainly to be included among the most typical aspects of art in Islamic countries.

It goes without saying, however, that such considerations alone do not suffice to characterize the creative vigour of an art which was not content merely to impress its sign manual on certain modes of aesthetic expression, notably in the field of ornament, but was also able to demonstrate, in the field of architecture, its ability to respond, with new programmes, to the situation resulting from the development of Islam and its establishment in regions where there was an older civilization—regions already so enriched with past monumental glory as to prevent the conquerors from being content with the primitive constructions of Mecca or Medina. In this connexion it is necessary to emphasize once more the importance as a model of what was always the Muslim building *par excellence*—the great mosque or *d̲j̲āmiʿ* [see MASD̲J̲ID], created as a whole to meet the needs of the *k̲h̲uṭba* ceremonial in the Umayyad period, and later reflecting, in a progressive conversion of its various parts to more purely religious purposes, the transformations which the corresponding institutions had similarly undergone. To these transformations of a functional order are to be added also the effects of different architectural fashions, inducing new steps in an evolution which one often underrates by taking account, in archaeological definitions, only of monuments which can truly be called Mediterranean, but which in fact reveals, for anyone who attempts to view Muslim art as a whole, successive adaptations of a structure which was, above all, living.

This is only one example among many, for the origin and the conditions of evolution of other Muslim buildings of a more or less religious character can be viewed in the same light, *e.g.*, the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] with its variants in the *dār al-ḥadīt̲h̲* and the *zāwiya*; the convent illustrated by the forms of the *ribāṭ*, the *k̲h̲ānḳāh* and the *tekke* [*qq.v.*]; and finally the *mas̲h̲had* [*q.v.*] and the *ḳubba* [*q.v.*] or *turba* [*q.v.*], whose particular characteristics, linked with the development of certain hardly orthodox ways of worship, were also influenced by regional funerary customs and by the growing extravagance of gover-

nors or other rich persons in building tombs designed to glorify their memory.

It is no less significant to notice, on a different level, the various interpretations taken, from the beginning of Islam to the present day, by royal palaces [see ḲAṢR], for which there has been a continuous need since the early conquests, and the building of which has been the principal care of each Muslim dynast. Nor are the less grandiose aspects of civil and military architecture to be overlooked, as illustrated by, for example, works of public utility such as waterworks, fountains [see SABĪL], baths [see ḤAMMĀM], warehouses [see ḲAYṢARIYYA] and covered markets [see SŪḲ], simple private houses, or the various types of fortification [see BURDJ, ḤIṢN] represented as much by town walls as by the defence systems of isolated strongholds. Here also one may see the preservation of constant traditions, which it is difficult to separate from the strictly mediaeval historical conditions within which they have been perpetuated, but which nevertheless deserve to be described as Islamic inasmuch as the limits of the geographical region in which they appear correspond exactly with those of the territories characterized by adhesion to Islam.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

FĀO [see AL-FĀʾŪ].

FĀRĀB, a small district on both sides of the middle Jaxartes at the mouth of its tributary, the Aris, which flows from Isfīdjāb. It is also the name of the principal settlement in this district. The older Persian form Pārāb occurs in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, (72, 118 ff., 122), the form Bārāb in Iṣṭakhrī (346) and Muḳaddasī (273; but also Fārāb) as well as in the later Persian sources. The extent of the district in both length and breadth was less than a day's journey (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 390 ff.). According to Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 366) the region was flooded annually at the end of January, and traffic between the settlements was possible only by boat. (In fact the Jaxartes is usually frozen at that season.)

The principal settlement of the district was originally apparently Kadar (Kadir?), with a Friday mosque and lying about half a parasang east of the Jaxartes (Iṣṭakhrī, 346). Near there but of later origin (according to Barthold) was a new centre, called after the district Fārāb, and first mentioned by Muḳaddasī (262, 273). According to the latter it was an extensive fortified city of 70,000 (?) inhabitants (mostly Shāfiʿīs, according to Samʿānī, *GMS*, xx, fol. 415b), with a Friday mosque, a citadel and a marketplace. Kadar and Fārāb fought for pre-eminence in the area. Also worthy of mention in the district of Fārāb is Wasīdj, a small village on the left bank of the river somewhat below the mouth of the Aris and, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, the birthplace of the philosopher al-Fārābī [*q.v.*], who got his name from the district where he was born.

Fārāb is rarely mentioned in historical sources. In 121/738 for example the prince of Čāč (Tashkent), owing to the pressure of the Arabic provincial government, had to banish to Fārāb an Arab who had taken refuge with him (Ṭabarī, ii, 1694: the only mention of Fārāb by this historian). Islam did not penetrate Fārāb apparently until the Sāmānid period [*q.v.*], after the conquest of Isfīdjāb [*q.v.*] in 225/839-40 (see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 422; Samʿānī, fol. 286b, lines 11-13, s.v. Sāmānī). Wasīdj was mentioned as late as the 12th century as a fortress. For a long time Fārāb lay on the north-east border of Islamic territory, until 349/960 when the neighbouring Turks were also converted to Islam. One of the overland routes which led to the land of the Kimäk Turks had its point of departure in Fārāb (Gardīzī, 83).

According to the common view of the Islamic sources the city of Fārāb corresponds to the later Otrār (for evidence see that article) which, according to Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (*Ẓafarnāma*, Calcutta edition, ii, 668), lay two parasangs from the right bank of the Jaxartes. For the further development of the town see OTRĀR. (The ruins of Otrār are in fact about 10 km. from the river).

Bibliography: Le Strange, 484 ff.; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 176-9; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, index, and 358. See also the bibliography to OTRĀR.

(W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

AL FĀRĀBĪ, ABŪ NAṢR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. TARKHĀN B. AWZALAGH (UZLUGH?), referred to as Alfarabius or Avennasar in medieval Latin texts. One of the most outstanding and renowned Muslim philosophers, he became known as the "second teacher", the first being Aristotle.

i. — LIFE

Very little is known of al-Fārābī's life. There neither exists an autobiography nor do we have any report by contemporaries. Al-Fārābī was of Turkish origin. He was born in Turkestan at Wasīdj in the district of the city of Fārāb [*q.v.*] and is said to have died at the age of eighty or more in 339/950 in Damascus. His father, described as an officer (*ḳāʾid djaysh*), may have belonged to the Turkish bodyguard of the Caliph, and al-Fārābī may have come to Baghdād with him early in life. He settled down there for many years as a private individual; he did not belong to the society of the court nor was he a member of the secretarial class. For reasons unknown he accepted in 330/942 an invitation of the Shīʿī Ḥamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] and lived in his entourage, mainly in Aleppo, together with other men of letters, until his death.

His teacher in philosophy was a Christian, the Nestorian Yuḥannā b. Haylān. Al-Fārābī himself

(Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 135, 8 ff.) and al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 122 ff.) connect him ultimately with a branch of the Greek philosophical school of Alexandria, which somehow continued to exist after the Arab conquest; some of its representatives are supposed to have come to Antioch, and the school subsequently spread to Marw and Ḥarrān and from there to Baghdād. Yuḥannā is reported to have come from Marw to Baghdād after 295/908. The possibility that he had taught al-Fārābī in Marw cannot be ruled out. Apart from this, we learn that al-Fārābī was somehow in touch with the great translator and commentator Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 329/940), a prominent figure in the Baghdād school of Christian Aristotelians, and that he had a great influence on Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 362/972), its main representative in the next generation. Al-Fārābī's extant philosophical works bear out his dependence on the 10th century syllabus of Christian Aristotelian teaching in Baghdād and the impact of the late Alexandrian interpretation of Greek philosophy on his thought (cf. M. Meyerhof, *Von Alexandrien nach Baghdad*, in *Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akd.*, Phil. hist. Klasse, 1930, xxiii).

ii. — THOUGHT

Al-Fārābī was convinced that philosophy had come to an end everywhere else and that it had found a new home and a new life within the world of Islam. He believed that human reason is superior to religious faith, and hence assigned only a secondary place to the different revealed religions which provide, in his view, an approach to truth for non-philosophers through symbols. Philosophical truth is universally valid whereas these symbols vary from nation to nation; they are the work of philosopher-prophets, of whom Muḥammad was one. Al-Fārābī thus went beyond al-Kindī [*q.v.*], who naturalized philosophy as a kind of appropriate handmaiden of revealed truth; on the other hand, he differs from al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] by not condemning the prophets as impostors but allotting, like his master Plato, an important and indispensable function to organized religion. There is some evidence to suggest that al-Fārābī reached this view gradually.

Al-Fārābī set out to explain how Greek philosophy—which had reached him as an almost closed system of truth and an established method of reaching felicity—could provide valid explanations of all the important issues raised in contemporary Islamic discussion. Greek natural theology shows the truth about God as the first cause of emanation, about divine inspiration (*waḥy*) as the outcome of the supreme perfection of the human mind, about the true nature of creation and divine providence as it manifests itself in the hierarchic order of the universe and about immortality, which is by no means granted to every human being. As *magistra vitae*, philosophy gives the right views about the freedom of moral choice and of the good life altogether. The perfect man, the philosopher, ought also to be the sovereign ruler; philosophy alone shows the right path to the urgent reform of the caliphate. Al-Fārābī envisages a perfect city state as well as a perfect nation (*umma*) and a perfect world state.

Apart from building up a philosophical syllabus for different levels of study, al-Fārābī had to rethink the existing Islamic sciences and to give them a new meaning and a new function in his novel theistic philosophy: a grammar adaptable to every language (cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir et la science grecque*, Cairo 1942, 251, n. 2); a dialectical theology (*kalām*) and a jurisprudence (*fiḳh*) restricted to the service of a particular religion, its "legal theology", and using the forms explained in Aristotle's *Topics* and *Sophistici Elenchi* (cf. Gardet-Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 102 ff.); the metaphysician is also the true lawgiver, as Plato has shown in his *Laws*, which were translated into Arabic a second time by al-Fārābī's contemporary Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī [see AFLĀṬŪN]. Rhetoric and Poetic provide the best method for bringing home the truth to non-philosophers, *i.e.*, the majority of men, by working on their imagination; no Greek philosopher would ever have envisaged that Rhetoric and Poetic could be applied to Muslim scripture, and to the Muslim creed (cf. R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 129 ff.).

Only a few characteristic tenets of al-Fārābī can be mentioned here. Like many later Greek thinkers, he believed in the ultimate identity of Plato's and Aristotle's views. He based himself on Aristotle, as understood by the Greek commentators of late antiquity, in logic, natural science, psychology, metaphysics (these metaphysics however understood and developed on moderate Neoplatonic lines). In political science he preferred to follow Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, as understood by middle Platonic thinkers, convinced that Plato's theoretical philosophy had been superseded by Aristotle and the Neoplatonists, but that his analysis of the imperfect states and his solution of the problems of politics remained valid and compatible with the changed political conditions. The Greek antecedents of this particular branch of later Platonism—which also appealed strongly to Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*]—are lost and can be reconstructed only from al-Fārābī and other Arabic writers (cf. R. Walzer, *Aspects of Islamic political thought*, in *Oriens*, 1963).

According to al-Fārābī, the first cause is at the same time the Plotinian one, the eternal creator of an eternal world, and the Aristotelian Divine Mind, a conception which is probably of middle-Platonic origin. Aristotle's νοῦς ποιητικός is for al-Fārābī neither identical with the first cause nor situated within the human soul but has become a transcendental entity mediating between the higher and the sublunar world and the human mind—probably another later Greek interpretation of the difficult Aristotelian chapter *De an.*, III 5. Very remarkable is the theory of imagination and prophecy adopted by al-Fārābī; it may also derive from some otherwise lost Greek original (cf. R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, 206 ff.). Prophecy, though being an indispensable ingredient in man's perfection, is auxiliary to his rational faculty, being confined to the inferior faculty of representation. It is neither described as a state of possession by supernatural powers nor understood as a mystic 'state'. Divine inspiration may be granted to the perfect man who has reached the highest philosophical level together with the highest form of prophecy.

The Christian-Arabic Aristotelian teaching in 4th/10th century Baghdād is the immediate background of al-Fārābī's thought. His proximate ancient sources are within the orbit of the Greek philosophical schools in 6th century Alexandria. To a large extent, he appears to continue a tradition which became extinct during the later centuries of Byzantine civilization and whose original form may now be reconstructed from Arabic versions and imitations only. His particular variation of Neoplatonic metaphysics and his full acknowledgment of the

political aspects of Plato's thought distinguish him from Proclus and his followers. Much more of Porphyry's thought may be preserved in al-Fārābī's work than is apparent to us today. His ultimate roots seem to lie in a pre-Plotinian platonizing tradition.

Al Fārābī's importance for subsequent Islamic philosophers is considerable, and would well deserve to be described in detail. His impact on the writings of 4th/10th century authors such as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', al-Mas'ūdī, Miskawayh, and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Āmirī is undeniable. Ibn Sīnā seems to have known his works intimately and Ibn Rushd follows him in the essentials of his thought. Maimonides appreciated him highly. His political ideas had a belated and lasting success from the 13th century onwards (cf. T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford 1924, 125 ff.). A few of his treatises became known to the Latin Schoolmen; more were translated into mediaeval Hebrew.

iii. — Works

More than one hundred works of varying size are attributed by the Arab bibliographers to al-Fārābī, not all of them genuine. One, the *Risālā* known as *al-Fuṣūṣ fi 'l-ḥikma*, is most probably by Ibn Sīnā (cf. S. Pines, in *REI*, 1951, 121 ff.), and its wrong attribution to al-Fārābī has made it unnecessarily difficult to realise how fundamental the differences between these two most influential Islamic philosophers are, in spite of many obvious similarities.

a. First to be mentioned among the genuine works are the great scholarly commentaries on a number of Aristotle's lecture courses; they continue the tradition of the late Greek schools without a gap (cf. the twenty-two volumes of the *Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca* published by the Berlin Academy); they seem to have been used by Ibn Bādjdja [*q.v.*] and especially by Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*] and have to a large extent been superseded by their commentaries. One of them, on the Περὶ ἑρμηνείας, has just been edited for the first time, with valuable and copious indexes, by W. Kutsch and S. Marrow (Beirut 1960); it is based on a Greek original different both from the 6th century A.D. commentary by Ammonius (*Comm. in Arist. graeca*, iv, 5) and the Greek work used by his Latin contemporary Boethius; all three seem somehow to depend on a lost commentary by Porphyry. We learn about similar commentaries on all the remaining parts of the *Organon*, including the *Rhetorics* (widely, I think, used by Ibn Rushd), on the *Physics* (which al-Fārābī read more than forty times), the *De caelo*, the *Meteorology* and parts of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (depending probably on a lost commentary by Porphyry). There may well have been more. A commentary on Alexander of Aphrodisias' *De anima* is mentioned. A commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* attributed to al-Fārābī is in fact by Abu 'l Faradj b. al-Ṭayyib (cf. S. M. Stern, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 119 ff.). I assume that Ibn Rushd's *Commentary on Plato's Republic* (ed. E. I. J. Rosenthal, Cambridge 1956) depends on a similar work by al-Fārābī.

b. A number of relatively small introductory monographs 'τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις'.

A. Logic. *Al-tawṭi'a fi 'l manṭiḳ*, ed. M. Türker, with Turkish translation, Ankara 1958; *Introductory sections on logic*, ed. D. M. Dunlop, with English translation, in *IQ*, 1955; ed. M. Türker, with Turkish translation, Ankara 1958; *Paraphrase of Porphyry's Isagoge*, ed. D. M. Dunlop, with English translation, in *I Q*, 1956; *Paraphrase of Aristotle's Categories*, ed. D. M. Dunlop, with English translation, in *I Q*, 1958; *Paraphrase of Aristotle's Prior Analytics*, ed. M. Türker, with Turkish translation, Ankara 1958, with a very interesting opening chapter; English translation prepared by N. Rescher; *Treatise on the canons of the art of poetry*, ed. A. J. Arberry, with English translation, in *RSO*, 1938 (Arabic text reprinted by A. Badawi, Cairo 1953).

B. Physics. *On vacuum*, ed. Necati Lugal and Aydın Sayılı with Turkish and English trans., Ankara 1951 (see further A. Sayılı in *Belleten*, xv/57 (1951), 151-74); *Against Astrology*, ed. F. Dieterici, *Alfarabi's Philosophische Abhandlungen*, Leiden 1890, with German translation, 1892; cf. C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti*, vi, 1944, 23 ff.; *De Intellectu* (*fi 'l 'aḳl*), critical edition by M. Bouyges, Beirut 1938; medieval Latin translation ed. E. Gilson (with translation by himself), in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, iv (1929), 113 ff.

C. Metaphysics. *About the scope of Aristotle's Metaphysics*, ed. F. Dieterici, *op. cit.*, with German translation; *On the One* (*fi 'l-Wāḥid wa 'l-waḥda*), critical edition and English translation by H. Mushtaq (in preparation).

D. Ethics and Politics. *Reminder of the Way of Happiness* (*al-tanbīh 'alā sabīl al-sa'āda*), ed. Hyderabad 1326/1908; mediaeval Latin translation ed. H. Salman, in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, xii (1940), 33 ff.; *Aphorisms of the statesman* (*Fuṣūl al-madanī*), ed. D. M. Dunlop, with English translation and notes, Cambridge 1961; *Compendium Legum Platonis*, ed. F. Gabrieli, with Latin translation and notes, *Plato Arabus III*, London 1952; *On the best religion* (*fi 'l-milla al-fāḍila*), an important but still unedited treatise.

E. Miscellanea. *Harmony between the views of Plato and Aristotle* (*al-djam' bayna ra'yay al-Ḥakīm Aflāṭūn al-ilāhī wa-Arisṭuṭalis*), ed. F. Dieterici, *op. cit.*, with German translation; ed. Nader, Beyrouth 1960. *Answers to questions* (*Djawāb masā'il su'ila 'anhā*), ed. F. Dieterici, *op. cit.*, with German translation; ed. Hyderabad 1344/1925. *Main questions* (*'Uyūn al-masā'il*), ed. F. Dieterici, *op. cit.*, with German translation.

The very titles of three not yet traced refutations of philosophical adversaries help to circumscribe Al-Fārābī's position among the philosophers of his time. One is against Galen (Djālīnūs)—known to the Arabs not only as a physician but as a philosopher as well—and rejects Galen's attacks against Aristotle's first cause, most probably in the wake of Alexander of Aphrodisias' refutation of Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS]. Another is against John Philoponus (again in defence of Aristotle) and, by implication, al-Kindī [*q.v.*], who both adhere to the creation of the world from nothing (cf. R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, 193 ff.). In a third treatise al-Fārābī set out to refute Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], presumably because of his belief in atoms and the creation of the world in time. A treatise against Ibn al-Rawandī may have been concerned with his radical rejection of prophecy altogether (cf. P. Kraus, *Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte*, in *RSO*, 1932).

d. There is finally a group of important major works which sum up the results of philosophical research and al-Fārābī's further reaching intentions. They all are concerned with the sovereign position to be given to philosophy within the realm of thinking and with the organization of the perfect society and the philosopher-king. Their right understanding provides, in my view, the key to al-Fārābī's

thought; this, however, is made particularly difficult for us, since he is, from the very outset, determined to let the reader find out the application for himself (cf. the first page of *Plato Arabus III*).

I. *Survey of the Sciences* (*K. Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*). Best edition by ʿUthmān Amīn, Cairo 1931-48. Mediaeval Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona, printed by A. Gonzáles Palencia, Madrid 1932 (together with an edition of the Arabic text and a Spanish translation).

II. A work in three books, in contents very similar to III and IV, but perhaps earlier. (1) *On attaining felicity* (*fī taḥṣīl al-saʿāda*), ed. Hyderabad 1345/1926. Critical edition and English translation prepared by M. Mahdi. (2) *On the philosophy of Plato*, ed. with Latin translation and notes by F. Rosenthal and R. Walzer, *Plato Arabus II*, London 1943. New ed. and Eng. trans. prepared by M. Mahdi. (3) *On the philosophy of Aristotle*, ed. M. Mahdi, Beirut 1961. English translation prepared by the same author.

III. *On the principles of the views of the inhabitants of the excellent state* (*fī mabādi' arā' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*). Editions by F. Dieterici, Leiden 1895, and A. Nader, Beirut 1959. Ger. trans. (*Der Musterstaat*) F. Dieterici, Leiden 1900; Fr. trans. R. P. Jaussen and others, Cairo 1949; Span. trans. M. Alonso Alonso, in *al-And.*, xxvi-xxvii (1961-62). A critical edition, with English translation and commentary, is being prepared by R. Walzer.

IV. *On political government* (*al-siyāsa al-madaniyya*), a similar survey of the whole of philosophy, written with the same definite political purpose in mind. Edited Hyderabad 1346/1927. Ger. trans. (*Die Staatsleitung*), by F. Dieterici, Leiden 1904. A critical edition and an English translation are being prepared in Chicago.

Bibliography: C. Brockelmann, I², 232 ff.; S I, 375 ff., 957 ff.; Pearson, nos. 4713-50 and Supplement, 1342-58; A. Ateş, *Farabinin eserlerinin bibliyografyası*, in *Belleten*, xv/57 (1951), 175-92; N. Rescher, *Al-Farabi. An annotated bibliography*, Pittsburg 1962; M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher*, reprint, Graz 1956, 158 ff.; idem, *Al-Farabi*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg*, 1869; Ibrahim Madkour, *La place d'Al-Fārābī dans l'école philosophique musulmane*, Paris 1934; P. Kraus, *Plotin chez les Arabes*, in *BIÉ*, xxiii (1940), 263 ff.; idem, *Jābir et la science grecque*, Cairo 1942, *passim*; Leo Strauss, *Farabi's Plato*, in *Ginsberg Jubilee Volume*, New York 1945; idem, *How Farabi read Plato's Laws*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in medieval Islam*², Cambridge 1962, 122 ff.; Saʿīd Zāyid, *al-Fārābī* (Nawābigh al-fikr al-ʿarabī, 31), Cairo 1962; *İA* (art. Fârâbî by Abdülhak Adnan [Adıvar]).

(R. WALZER)

FARADJ, AL-MALIK AL-NĀṢIR ZAYN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-SAʿĀDĀT, 26th Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt and second of the Circassians [see ČERKES ii and BURDJIYYA]. The son of Sultan Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*] and a Greek mother, Shīrīn, Faradj was born in Cairo in 791/1389 and succeeded to the Sultanate upon the death of his father on 15 Shawwāl 801/20 June 1399. Owing to his youth Faradj began his reign under the guardianship of two of his father's *amīrs*: Taghrī Birdī al-Bashbughāwī (father of the historian) and Aytimish al-Badjasī, but disagreements among the *amīrs* and their factions soon led to an early proclamation of his majority, in Rabīʿ I 802/November 1399. The first reign of Faradj lasted six years, until he was deposed at Cairo in favour of his younger brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who took the regnal name al-Malik al-Manṣūr, on 25 Rabīʿ I 808/20 September 1405. Seventy days later, on 5 Djumādā II 808/28 November 1405, Faradj was restored to power for a second reign, which lasted until his deposition at Damascus on 25 Muḥarram 815/7 May 1412. A few weeks later, on 16 Ṣafar 815/28 May 1412, after having been succeeded unwillingly by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mustaʿīn bi'llāh [*q.v.*], Faradj was publicly humiliated and killed in Damascus.

Neither of the reigns of Faradj represents a particularly constructive period in Mamlūk history, a result of the continual strife of high-ranking *amīrs*, aggravated by the consequences of Barḳūḳ's policy of introducing large numbers of Circassians into Egypt and Syria and of favouring them over the hitherto predominant Turkish mamlūks. Both factions found leaders among the anyway quarrelsome *amīrs*, and the resulting clashes, usually based on rival headquarters in Egypt and Syria, account for most of Faradj's movements in both his reigns, during which he made no less than seven expeditions to Syria. The major protagonists in these internal Mamlūk struggles included the *amīrs* Yashbak al-Shaʿbānī, favoured at first by Faradj and supported by Circassians, and Aytimish al-Badjasī, who led the Turkish faction and was supported by Tanam, viceroy (*nā'ib*) of Damascus. After the defeat and execution of Aytimish by Faradj at Gaza and Damascus (3 Shaʿbān 802/30 March 1400), a fresh conflict broke out between Yashbak and Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī at Cairo, in which the former fell from power and favour. The struggle was further confused by the complicity of the *amīrs* Djakam, Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī, now viceroy of Damascus, Baybars (later atabeg [see ATĀBAK AL-ʿASĀKIR]), and Taghrī Birdī al-Bashbughāwī. On 25 Rabīʿ I 808/20 September 1405, upon report that Faradj had fled in the company of Taghrī Birdī to Syria, it was Yashbak and Baybars who arranged the accession of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. After the restoration of Faradj, Djakam and Nawrūz revolted in Syria, the former proclaiming himself Sultan, with the regnal name al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (11 Shawwāl 809/21 March 1407), but was killed soon after in his siege of Āmid. Syria, however, remained in the hands of Nawrūz, who succeeded in winning over Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī, the *amīr* sent by Faradj to replace him. Despite three expeditions against them Faradj was unable to break the power of these two *amīrs*, who defeated him finally at Ladjdjun (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 814/March-April 1412), and forced his deposition at Damascus whither he had fled. After a brief reign of six months by his puppet, the Caliph al-Mustaʿīn, Shaykh himself became Sultan, taking the regnal name al-Mu'ayyad [*q.v.*].

The only exception to the bleak rule of *amīrs*' rivalries in this period is provided by the appearance in Syria of Tīmūr [*q.v.*]. Although Faradj, after some hesitation and refusals of aid to the Djalā'irid and Ottoman rulers against the threat from the East, did make a stand at Damascus against Tīmūr, it would not be true to assert either that the external challenge provoked any real degree of internal consolidation within the Mamlūk Sultanate, or that fear of defeat at the hands of Faradj made Tīmūr turn north to Anatolia and Bāyazīd I rather than south to Egypt, after plundering Damascus (Radjab 803/March 1401). The chronicler Abu 'l-Maḥāsin b. Taghrī Birdī [*q.v.*] does, however, report Tīmūr's respect for the Egyptian army, whose effectiveness he considered reduced

only owing to the youth of the Sultan and the lack of unity among its commanders (*Nudjūm*, vi, 46). The brief encounter between the two rulers at Damascus also provided the occasion for an interesting if inconclusive meeting between Tīmūr and Ibn Khaldūn who, though out of office, had been prevailed upon to accompany Faradj to Syria.

With regard to the rôle of Faradj in Mamlūk history the two Egyptian chroniclers al-Maḳrīzī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī represent diametrically opposed opinions. Whereas the former ascribes to him the ruin of Egypt and Syria because of poor administration, debased coinage, corrupt officials, and oppressive taxation (*Khiṭaṭ*, cited *Nudjūm*, vi, 271-3), the latter gives Faradj a most favourable obituary despite his observation that the Sultan had brought about the financial ruin of his family and indirectly the death of his father (*Nudjūm*, vi, 270-4). In fact the remarks of Ibn Taghrī Birdī must be considered with the greatest care, owing to the involvement of his family's affairs with those of Faradj, who had married a sister of his and, during an acute crisis, appointed his father atabeg (810/1407-8). His son's portrait of Taghrī Birdī as a loyal and self-sacrificing subject of the Sultan may not be inaccurate, but it is bound to have affected the chronicler's view of the recipient of such loyalty and sacrifice. Such observations as are found among the commercial records of Western powers then active in Egypt and Syria would suggest that al-Maḳrīzī's evaluation of Faradj as one addicted to arbitrary fiscal policies and indifferent to the importance of a sound and consistent administration, is not unfounded.

Bibliography: Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nudjūm*, vi, 1-300; idem, *Manhal ṣāfī*, fol. 507 (no. 1789; see Wiet, in *Mém. Inst. Égypte*, xix, 265, for further bibliography, including inscriptions); Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, i, index; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 439; vii, 305-25, 407-11; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v, 72-105, 108-25; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 471-2; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, xxiv-xxvii, cvii; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, *passim*; Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, index. (J. Wansbrough)

al-FARADJ BAʿD al-SHIDDA [see NĀDIRA].

al-FARĀFRA, an oasis in the eastern Libyan desert, in Egypt, situated approximately on lat. 27° N. and long. 28° E., equidistant from the Nile and the Libyan frontier. It is a halting stage between the oases of al-Dākhla 170 km. to the south-west and those of al-Baḥriyya 160 km. to the north-north-east; the routes are motorable only with difficulty. Al-Farāfra is a single village of about 1,000 inhabitants. Its mud huts surround a slightly raised fortification. Village and oasis are situated in a vast plain 70 to 90 m. high, partially covered with sand and surrounded by an immense barren plateau of Lower Eocene limestone extending all round, some 300 m. in height; the depression includes a score of wells and springs, the most abundant of which are ʿAyn al-Bellad and ʿAyn Ebsay. They provide the irrigation for a plantation of palms with a few olive-trees, pomegranates, and some barley, wheat, sorghum and onions. Groups of wild palms mark other areas with water. The inhabitants sell dates and a few olives, and buy in particular grain.

Al-Farāfra is said to be the *Tꜣ-iḥw* (land of oxen) of Pharaonic times and the *Trinytheos* of Graeco-Roman antiquity. Al-Bakrī (37) describes the alum and vitriol mines (the latter including iron or copper sulphate) in the vicinity; he extols its importance, and attributes to it a Coptic population. It is now Muslim. It appears to have suffered much in the course of time from the razzias of the nomads of Egypt and Cyrenaica (Barka), and more recently, since 1860, from the seizure of its estates by the Sanūsiyya.

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FARĀH, town in south-western Afghānistān, capital of the district (*ʿalā-ḥukūmat*) of the same name. The town is located on the Farāh river 62° 5′ E. 32° 23′ N., alt. 1738 m.

Farāh is located where trade routes from Harāt, Ḳandahār and Seistān join and the site has been occupied from ancient times. The name of the river is probably found in Avestan Fradaθā (*Yasht*, xix, 67). The town is mentioned by many classical authors under various names; Prophthasia, Propasta, and Phrada (see Bibliography).

Farāh is not mentioned in Arabic works dealing with the conquests, but it is mentioned (as Farah) by the geographers Iṣṭakhrī (247), Ibn Ḥawḳal (420), and al-Muḳaddasī (306). The bridge over the river, and Khāridjīs in the town are both noted. Although the town is mentioned by later geographies (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Yāḳūt, etc.) it never had any historical importance. It was abandoned in the time of the Mongols, rebuilt, and sacked by Nādir Shāh, and today has ca. 15,000 inhabitants.

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FARAḤ ANṬŪN, (Anṭūn being the family name; 1874-1922), Arab author and journalist. Trained in a Greek-Orthodox school near Tripoli (now in Lebanon), he migrated to Egypt, and published a journal in Alexandria. He then migrated to the U.S.A. but, following the Turkish revolution of 1908, went back to Egypt and became active in the national movement.

Well versed in French literature (and translations) he was attracted mostly by social-political-ethical and philosophical-religious themes, but he lacked method, system, and consistency. His adherence to Westernism in the spirit of the French Revolution, as well as his lucid exposition, felicity of expression and a ceaseless search for new ideas and the 'latest word' marked him as a representative of enlightenment. He was essentially a gifted eclectic, translator and excerpter, exponent of Western ideas and of their conflicts in his mind. Thus he brought to the Arab reader Renan's ideas on the origins of Christianity and on Ibn Rushd; discussions of Nietzsche and Tolstoy, of socialist theories. A proclivity for polemics caused him to clash with literary and public figures (notably with Muḥ. ʿAbduh, on Ibn Rushd).

His *New Jerusalem* (1904) is a novel set in the time of the Arab conquest, and, though it suffers from lengthy ideological monologues, has a place in the history of the novel in Arabic. He was also a playwright.

His influence was considerable and he used to be studied in schools as a classical author, mainly on account of scope and style.

Bibliography: Brockelmann S III, 192-4;

Y. Dāgher, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabiyya*, ii, Beirut 1956, 147-52; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Izbr. Soč.*, iii, 40-2. (M. Perlmann)

FARAḤĀBĀD, the name of a place in Māzandarān, situated 36° 50′ N., 53° 2′ 38″ E., 17 m. north of Sārī and 26 m. north-west of As̲h̲raf [*q.v.*], near the mouth of the Tid̲j̲in (or Tīd̲j̲ān, or Tid̲j̲īna) river. Formerly known as Ṭāhān, the site was renamed Faraḥābād by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I, who in 1020/1611-2 or 1021/1612-3 ordered the construction of a royal palace there. Around the palace were built residences, gardens, baths, bazaars, mosques and caravanserais. The new town, according to Pietro della Valle, was peopled by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās with colonies of different nationalities—including many Christians from Georgia—transplanted from territories overrun by Ṣafawid forces. Faraḥābād was linked to Sārī by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās's famous causeway (completed in 1031/1621), and until his death in 1038/1629 S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās regularly spent the winter either at Faraḥābād or As̲h̲raf, usually not returning to his capital Iṣfahān until after Naw-rūz. The *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* uses the terms *dār al-salṭana* and *dār al-mulk* with reference to Faraḥābād; this suggests that it had become virtually a second capital (cf. also *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 282).

Pietro della Valle, who visited Faraḥābād in 1618, declared that the circuit of the walls was equal to, if not greater than, that of Rome or Constantinople, and that the town contained streets of more than a league in length, and Chardin, who saw it forty years later, stated that the palace housed a vast treasure ot dishes and basins of porcelain or china, cornaline, agate, coral, amber, cups of rock-crystal, and other varieties without number. In 1668, however, Faraḥābād was sacked by the Cossacks under Stenka Razin, and it suffered further destruction during the period of anarchy which followed the collapse of the Ṣafawid dynasty in the 18th century. Hanway, who passed through Faraḥābād in 1744, stated that the place had been abandoned, only a few Persian and Armenian inhabitants remaining there, and Fraser, who was there in 1822, described the ruins as "vastly inferior to those of Ashraf".

At the present day Faraḥābād is only a small village; it gives its name to a district (*bulūk*) of Māzandarān (see Rabino, 119-20).

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FARĀʾIḌ (A.), plural of *fariḍa* [see FARḌ], literally "appointed or obligatory portions", is the technical term for the fixed shares in an estate (1/2, 1/4, 1/8, 1/3, 2/3 and 1/16) which are given to certain heirs, who are called *d̲h̲awu 'l-farāʾiḍ* or *aṣḥāb al-farāʾiḍ*, on the basis of Ḳurʾān, IV, 11-2 and 176. These Ḳurʾānic enactments aim at modifying a system of purely agnatic succession, under which only men can inherit, in favour of the nearest female relatives (including half-brothers on the mother's side), the spouse, and also the father (who is protected against being excluded by existing male descendants). It is rare that the concurrence of several shares leads to the exclusion of near male relatives; this can never happen to the descendants and ascendants. Islamic law, by some consequential extensions and distinctions, has systematically completed the rules given in the Ḳurʾān; it has also provided solutions for those exceptional cases in which the aggregate of the shares amounts to more than one unit, or the mechanical application of the rules would lead to a solution which is considered unjust. For the details of all this see MĪRĀT̲H̲, ʿAWL and AKDARIYYA.

The rules concerning *farāʾiḍ* are the most typical feature of the Islamic law of inheritance, and are rather complicated in detail; because of their importance the whole of the Islamic law of inheritance is called *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ*, and it has often been treated in separate works. A person skilled in the science of *farāʾiḍ* is called *fāriḍ* or *faraḍī*.

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FARĀʾIḌIYYA, a Muslim sect in Bengal established at the beginning of the 19th century by Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī S̲h̲arīʿat Allāh. The setting in which the sect was born and developed was eastern Bengal in the period immediately following the British conquest. Peasant life in that State, perhaps more than in other parts of India, was influenced by Hindu customs and practices. At that time the virtual loss of political supremacy by a section of the governing Muslim class, the support which the British sometimes gave to the Hindu elements, the unbridled power of the *zamīndārs* [*q.v.*], rich landed proprietors both Hindu and Muslim, over the peasant masses the majority of whom were Muslim, British "liberalism" which in the end actually increased this power, all these factors helped to form a religio-social reaction which found particular expression in the *farāʾiḍiyya* (local Indo-Persian pronunciation *farāʾiẓiyya*). Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī S̲h̲arīʿat Allāh was born at an uncertain date in a humble family in the *pargana* of Bandarkhola, a district of Farīdpūr (eastern Bengal); when hardly 18 years old he went to Mecca, where he remained for a long time (about twenty years apparently) and is said to have been the pupil of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ṭāhir al-Sunbul al-Makkī, a S̲h̲āfiʿī scholar. The date of his return to Bengal varies in the different sources, which give it as 1807, 1822 or 1828, while certain writers affirm that he made two journeys to Mecca, returning home to his country in the interval. If we accept the latest date, it is unquestionable that S̲h̲arīʿat Allāh was in touch with the Wahhābī reformers in Mecca. A specific Wahhābī influence is in no sense indispensable for an understanding of the orientation of Sharīʿat Allāh's activities in Bengal, which are to be explained above all by the contrast he so vehemently resented between a certain type of Islam in his own country and the "Arab" Islam of the Prophet's native land; *mutatis mutandis*, other Muslim reformers in India (beginning with S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh of Delhi himself) had had the same experience. On returning to his native country,

S͟harīʿat Allāh launched a reform movement which mainly attracted the lower classes of Muslims in Bengal, and in substance of a legal rather than mystical nature, aiming at the widespread application of the *s͟harīʿa* so often spoken of in Islam, but so laxly applied. The very name of the movement (from *farāʾiḍ* "religious duties") underlines this aspect. To Western observers today, some of the reforms envisaged by S͟harīʿat Allāh might seem to be of little interest; thus, besides various para-Hindu customs, he rejected the celebration, with funerary lamentations and special ceremonies, of the martyrdom of Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ, the pomp and ceremonial that had been introduced into the very simple, austere rites of Muslim marriage and burial, the offering of fruit and flowers at tombs, etc.; moreover, he prohibited the use of the mystical terms *pīr* and *murīd* ("master" and "disciple"), which at that time conveyed an almost Brahmin-like implication of total devotion of the disciple to his spiritual master, out of keeping with the sturdy Islamic tradition, and instead proposing the two terms *ustād͟h* and *s͟hāgird* (also Persian, but more "secular"); the initiation ceremony common to the various Muslim confraternities, the *bayʿa*, was also prohibited and replaced by a simple statement of repentance (*tawba*) and a changed life made by the *murīd* (or *s͟hāgird*). Another significant precept of S͟harīʿat Allāh was the prohibition of communal prayers on Fridays or feastdays, based on the exclusion of British India from the *dār al-Islām*. But S͟harīʿat Allāh does not seem to have gone so far as to preach the *d͟jihād*, the holy war. His preoccupations, more concretely, were with the wretched condition of the oppressed Bengal peasants (especially as their lack of financial means prevented them from turning to the courts, which in certain cases could have given them justice). He tried to alleviate their miserable state by living among poor peasants as one of them and by making efforts to organize them to escape from the unjust demands of the land-owners, whom he revealed as transgressors of the pure holy law of Islam.

S͟harīʿat Allāh's son Muḥammad Muḥsin, known as Dūdhū Miyān (1819-60), had a more vigorous temperament, a talent for organizing and a natural authority; under his direction the Farāʾiḍiyya became a homogeneous and disciplined organization with Dūdhū Miyān himself at its head; by a curious violation of the founder's precept he was called *pīr*. The territory of eastern Bengal (especially the region of Bākargand͟j, Dacca, Farīdpūr and Pabna where the sect was most active) was divided into districts entrusted to special agents whose duty it was to make converts and to organize resistance to the rich proprietors. An especially effective and important measure was the prohibition made by Dūdhū Miyān of recourse to the ordinary courts; disputes between the Farāʾiḍiyya themselves had to be settled by him personally. Since in many cases the impossibility of the poor peasants securing justice sprang from their individual lack of resources, as has been said, "collections" were organized in order to indict the *zamīndārs* in the courts in cases of injustice to peasants unable to defend themselves without help. In other words, the Farāʾiḍiyya did not restrict themselves to upholding the beauty of the theoretical principles of "ancient" Islam, like "The earth is God's" (as Dūdhū Miyān in fact used to proclaim), but they had found quite effective ways of putting them into practice. Since the taxes and forced labour imposed by landlords on peasants were illegal from the point of view of the *s͟harīʿa*, Dūdhū Miyān advised landless peasants to leave the privately-owned estates and settle on the *k͟hāṣṣ maḥall*, that is, State property, thus avoiding all taxes other than those owed to the government. It is certain that, faced by a movement so efficiently organized, the rich *zamīndārs* and indigo planters united and tried to destroy it. As in similar cases, two methods were used; firstly, they tried violence, both privately and officially (Dūdhū Miyān was even prosecuted on charges, which were more or less proved, of rapine, etc. Numerous disturbances broke out in the areas controlled by the Farāʾiḍiyya and the landowners resorted to barbarous tortures); secondly, on the strength of certain religious juridical statements by the Farāʾiḍiyya, they tried to demonstrate their "heterodoxy" and at the same time, placing the discussions on a theoretical-religious basis, they tried to turn the Farāʾiḍiyya aside from practical action. To a certain extent this second method became effective, while the Farāʾiḍiyya lost the sympathy of some neutral Muslims of the neighbourhood (easily persuaded by the Muslim landowners) on account of the mistakes made by them and by Dūdhū Miyān who, from Bahādurpūr where he generally lived, "excommunicated" by declaring "non-Muslim" those who were not willing to accept all the doctrines of the sect. Disturbances became more and more serious and frequent and, in 1836, the enemies of the Farāʾiḍiyya succeeded in having Dūdhū Miyān sent to prison in ʿAlīpūr. The movement continued to vegetate under the direction of Dūdhū Miyān's sons, who were lacking in energy and whose qualities of organization were very inferior to those of their father. Dūdhū Miyān died in 1860 and was buried in Bahādurpūr, but a subsequent flood has left no trace of his tomb. The sect dwindled, to become one of the very many purely religious communities in India, while its social effectiveness was lost.

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(A. Bausani)

FARAS (a.) (pl. *afrās, furūs, fursān*) denotes the Horse (*Equus caballus*), in the sense of saddle-horse; philologists further restrict the meaning of the word to "saddle-horse of the Arabian breed". This original name is applied to both sexes without distinction, and serves as a noun of unity for the collective of the species *k͟hayl* (*Equidae*); hence this term is found in agreement with either gender, the feminine, however, seeming the more usual, in ancient Arabic (see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, viii, 95-9). The word *faras*, pronounced *fras*, pl. *frāsāt*, with the meaning "thoroughbred horse", has survived in the Bedouin dialects on the borders of the Sahara, whereas the Mag͟hrib dialects only really recognise *ḥiṣān* (Tunisia) and *ʿawd* (Algeria, Morocco) to denote the horse (for the etymology of *ʿawd*, see Ph. Marçais, *Document de dialectologie maghrébine*, in *AIEO-Alger*, vi (1947), 206-7). The immense interest taken by the Arabs in their breed of horses, both before and after Islam, and the considerable part which this animal played in Muslim expansion have endowed the language with a great number of terms, many of them qualifying words, to complete all that *faras* left unspecified as to sex, age, origin, external peculiarities and temperament; from it sprang the philology of the

horse which, in amplitude, is in no way inferior to that of the camel. For example, to distinguish the sex, the pure-bred stallion (*faḥl*) will be called *ḥiṣān*, that is to say "one who reserves his seed jealously", and the pedigree brood-mare (*farasa*) will be *ḥidjr*, that is "forbidden to all comers", while the mare of mixed breed will be merely *ramaka*, that is "the offspring of misalliance". The age of an animal is determined by the stage of development of the teeth, as is the present practice; at birth the foal is called *muhr*, then, up to one year of age *filw* (= weaned), up to two years *ḥawlī*, to three *thanī*, to four *rabāʿin*, to five *ḳāriḥ*, after which it becomes *mudhakkin* for the rest of its life.

The origin of the so-called "Arabian" breed of horses has been the subject, in the written documentation of the Arabs, of a multitude of traditions, from which we must exclude those of a purely religious character as well as works of natural history strongly influenced by Greek thought. Pre-islamic poetry alone can provide some information on this subject, for it represents the least distorting medium for the oldest Arab traditions. Without hoping to find in these archaic poems any precise expositions on the subject, we can nevertheless glean from them the names of celebrated horses and great horsemen which can be tolerably well placed in history, and so reconstruct a chronology in the genealogy of ancient families of Arabian horses. The first of these is said to have sprung up among the Azd in the Yemen and the Taghlib in Baḥrayn, descended from Zād al-Rākib (= "the horseman's viaticum"), a famous stallion given by king Solomon to the Azdī delegation on the occasion of their visit to that illustrious monarch and his celebrated stud (*ḥimā*). Of the same descent was the sire al-Aʿwadj, owned by Ḥudjr, king of Kinda who had emigrated from the Ḥaḍramawt in the 5th century B.C. to the borders of the Syrian desert. The son of this Ḥudjr is none other than the great poet Imruʾ al-Ḳays whose lines giving a description of his steed "with its fine-haired coat" (*mundjarid*) in his classic *Muʿallaḳa* (lines 51 ff.) have remained unequalled, though very often subsequently imitated. Of the seven other families of horses known to tradition, four are also connected with Zād al-Rākib. To one of these strains was attributed the stallion Dāḥis, the fruit of an accidental mating of the noble pure-bred Dhu 'l-ʿuḳḳāl. This degrading origin caused Dāḥis, as the outcome of a race, to become the cause of the famous war of Ghaṭafān which lasted for forty years; consequently his strain soon became extinct since it was thought to bring bad luck. Of the three remaining strains, one is purely Persian and the other two of forgotten origin. The story of Dāḥis demonstrates the importance which the Arabs originally used to attach in the pedigree to the stallion, whilst after Islam the genealogy was traced through the mares; there is here a curious contradiction.

With Islam, a new version of the facts comes to light; we now go back to Ismāʿīl, to whom is attributed the domestication of the horse, the special gift of Allāh, though without omitting the episode of Solomon's stallion. Then we leap over the centuries of the *Djāhiliyya* and start again with an authentic historical event, the breaching of the dam of Maʾrib, in the Yemen, which occurred in the middle of the 6th century A.D., to explain the origin of the Arabian breed. The flooding of the country is said to have driven the horse population into the desert where they became wild; five mares from these wandering herds were seen by the people of Nadjd and captured in a curious manner. Five lines of descent sprang from these five mares and one of their descendants, taken to Syria, in her turn began five thoroughbred strains. From one of these the celebrated mare Kuḥaylat al-ʿAdjūz became the eponym for every pure-blooded creature; the term *kuḥaylān*, with its variations *kaḥlānī*, *kaḥayl*, and *kaḥīl*, even now still denotes the thoroughbred Arab.

In reality, the greatest confusion reigns among the horse-breeders of Arabia and Syria on the matter of these "five strains" (*al-kaḥāʾil al-khams*), in which they take such pride and to which they claim that their own stock is related. Inquiries undertaken in the interests of historical and scientific truth by trustworthy travellers like Niebuhr (1779), Burkhardt (1836), Blunt (1882), von Oppenheim (1900) and in particular Major Upton (1881) (see *Bibl.*) have not succeeded in establishing logical connexions between the statements of the various parties consulted; nor could it be otherwise, as the Bedouins have never kept any written pedigrees and entrust the recollection of their prized lines of descent to memory alone.

After the Ḳurʾānic revelation, the victorious Muslims created a corpus of mythical traditions making the horse the chosen mount of Allāh, of supernatural origin; this was justified by the fact that they owed their victorious expansion to that animal. Together with the angels' winged horses and those of king Solomon, and al-Burāḳ, the Prophet's celestial steed, the charger (*djawād*) of the warrior for the Faith (*al-mudjāhid*) became, on earth, a powerful agent for ensuring the final reward in the hereafter; that explains what solicitude and care the Muslim rider had to devote to his beast, which in times of shortage was often given precedence over his wife and family. Among certain tribes in Morocco, popular superstition even went so far as to make the horse a mascot and bringer of luck. On the other hand, the time has now long passed when the horse received so much attention from its master in Arabia; the indignant testimony of all the investigators (see above) bears this out.

In the countries of the Near East we can still today find pedigrees (*ḥudjdja*) drawn up when there is a sale of horses, in the form of official deeds and attesting the animal's highly aristocratic origins: these are merely the inventions of horse-copers. But, like the mediaeval treatises on hippology, they betray a preoccupation with the classification of horses, according to the purity of their breeding, in four degrees; thus we have—(a) *al-ʿarabī* or *al-ʿatīḳ*, the "thoroughbred", well-proportioned, of moderate size, and with a flat forehead; its parents are noble, and the belief is that the devil will not approach its owner; (b) *al-hadjīn* or *al-shihrī*, the "mixed breed", whose sire is better bred than the dam; (c) *al-muḳrif*, the "approacher", whose dam is of better breeding than the sire; (d) *al-birdhawn*, of common parentage: this is the draught-horse or pack-horse. According to the etymologists, it is from this term that the French have derived the words "*bardot*" or "*bardeau*" to describe the offspring of the union of the she-ass and the horse. The horse, other than the saddle-horse, is still called *kadīsh* (in Persian *ikdīsh*), or *khardjī*, "bastard". A gelding (*khaṣī*) can be a thoroughbred, but its sterility deprives it of all estimation in the eyes of the Muslims, the Prophet having disapproved of castration.

Leaving aside those Arab traditions which do not stand up to historical criticism, the origin of the

Arabian breed of horses has been the subject of extensive research by such discerning historians and mammalogists as Piétrement, Ridgeway, von Oppenheim and S. Reinach (see *Bibl.*), whose conclusions prove irrefutably the very recent character of this breed. Assyria and the Caspian region, long before Arabia, possessed horses very closely resembling the Egyptian and the Barb, and very clearly distinguished from the type of the steppes of central Asia and the Przewalski. Syria first of all became acquainted with this source, which must have been crossed with certain Libyan horses imported during the reigns of David and Solomon, while northern and central Arabia for many centuries remained unaware of the existence of this noble beast. Strabo, writing at the start of the Christian era, testified (*Geography*, XVI, 768, 784) to the absence of the horse from Arabia in his day. It was only later, in the 4th century, that the large migrations of tribes from southern Arabia towards Syria and ʿIrāḳ brought a new reinforcement to the horse population of those countries with the Dongola breed; the Yemen had for some centuries had the benefit of Ethiopian exports from this Egypto-Libyan source. From the contact of the two existing stocks, that of Syria-Palestine in the north and that of Nad̲j̲d-Yemen in the south, both of them of Libyan origin, the Arabian type began to become fixed; the nomadic element, and in particular the tribe of ʿAnaza, by their seasonal migrations for pasturage in effect created a permanent link between the two centres. The great Islamic conquests in the 1st and 2nd/7th-8th centuries further increased the infusion of new blood, first Assyrian, later Caspian, into Arab breeding, horses being one of the forms of booty most highly prized by the Muslim warriors. Furthermore, their rapid advance in the west, with the occupation of the Mag̲h̲rib, made them appreciate the excellence of the Barb horse and Berber cavalry, the inheritors of the reputation of the ancient Numidian cavalry; in them they found an inexhaustible source of supply for remounting their squadrons; in fact, in the view of Ibn K̲h̲allikān (*Wafāyāt*, trans. M. G. de Slane, Paris-London 1843-71, iii, 476), we know that, in the twelve thousand Berber cavalry who disembarked in Spain under the command of Ṭāriḳ, there were only twelve Arab horses. The theory of the introduction of the Arab horse into the West by Islam is therefore no longer tenable since, on the contrary, it was on the Barb stock, of Libyan breed and perfectly unified, that the Muslims drew so constantly; they hastened to introduce a number of fine stallions to Arabian studs, and these newcomers succeeded in giving the Arabian type its perfect form. From the 7th/13th century Arabia ceased to be at the head of the Islamic world and became isolated; consequently she no longer received any regenerating assistance from abroad in the matter of breeding, which, for good or ill, took place in enclosed conditions, among the Bedouins of the Nufūd. The important nomadic ʿAnazī breeders, for their part, left the Nad̲j̲d for Syria, so condemning the stocks of horses in Arabia to a decline which has inevitably become more and more marked until the present time. Today, only the very largest fortunes derived from oil can bid for the extremely rare pure-bred Arab stallions, and it has to be admitted that this noble race is on the way to extinction.

Having been one of the principal factors in securing the victories of Islam, the horse was the inspiration of many literary works in Arabic in both verse and prose, especially during the first five Muslim centuries. In poetry, there were scarcely any poets who did not try to describe the horse, but always in an occasional way, the *waṣf al-faras* never having constituted a true theme. It is among the great masters of verse that we must seek the most beautiful expressions of this kind, although none of them, not even Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, al-Mutanabbī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz and others, abstained from using ready-made metaphors collected together in the pre-islamic *ḳaṣīda*s or from resorting pedantically to rare archaic terms (*g̲h̲arīb*); in Muslim Spain, the Andalusian poets revealed no greater originality and, like their masters in the East, merely applied themselves to an external description of the animal with all the conventionalism imposed by their concern with philological erudition (see H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse, en arabe classique, au XIe siècle*,[2] Paris 1953, 235-6). In prose, the number of works dealing with the horse would be well over a hundred had they all survived; there are frequent mentions of titles such as *K. al-Faras*, *K. al-K̲h̲ayl*, *K. K̲h̲alḳ al-faras*, and *K. Ṣifāt al-k̲h̲ayl* in the lexicographers and encyclopaedists devoted to *adab*; Ibn al-Nadīm, in his *Fihrist*, gives quite a long list of them. Of the various manuscripts of this sort preserved in the libraries, very few have been published, in view of their striking similarity in form and substance. In all periods, the chief preoccupation of the writers of these treatises was to reproduce the terminology relating to the horse, very often at the cost of scientific reality. Moreover, the large place given in these works to superstitious interpretations of the physiognomy of the *faras* deprives them of what technical value one might wish to find in them; every anatomical detail, when considered from this angle, implies consequences either good or ill for the animal's owner; in this attitude we can see the mark of the nomad, with his excessive credulity, and similarly in the curious nomenclature of the horse borrowed from the names of desert birds. It is sufficient to consult the classic *K. Ḥilyat al-fursān wa-s̲h̲iʿār al-s̲h̲ud̲j̲ʿān* of the Andalusian Ibn Hud̲h̲ayl, of the 8th/14th century (see Brockelmann, S II, 379 and the excellent translation, with full comments, by L. Mercier under the title *La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux*, Paris 1924) to establish that the Arabs have always relied solely on the external features of the horse to determine its qualities of temperament. Thus their criterion of appreciation was founded on the interpretation of the particular features of the colour of the coat (*lawn*) and the "signs" (*s̲h̲iyāt*) constituted by the "blaze" (*g̲h̲urar*), light patches on the head, the "stockings" (*taḥd̲j̲īl*), white markings at the foot of the legs, and the *dawāʾir*, tufts of hairs growing in different directions; other points to be considered are the shape of the "upper parts" (*al-aʿālī, al-samāʾ*), and the "under side" (*al-asāfil, al-arḍ*), and of the "forehand" (*al-maḳādim*) and "hindquarters" (*al-maʾāk̲h̲ir*), the animal's attitude in repose, its walk and trot, its bad habits both natural and acquired, its speed and staying-power. In their writings, these authors have never made a distinction between equitation, hippology and the veterinary art, and these three ideas are fused, in their works, in the synonyms *farāsa*, *furūsa* and *furūsiyya* [*q.v.*]. It is interesting to note that *firāsa*, from the same root, means "physiognomy".

The principles of rearing, teaching and training (*taḍmīr, iḍmār*) specified in these writings and in general use among the Muslims are very often

completely contrary to the nature of the horse and differ sharply from modern scientific methods; the same is true of veterinary treatment, when not taken directly from ancient Greek practice. For equitation, see FURŪSIYYA.

There is another category of works which are fairly numerous, mostly written by non-Arab Muslims, on subjects concerning the horse regarded from the viewpoint of military usefulness; they served as "manuals of instruction" for the use of the warriors of the Caliph's cavalry squadrons [see FURŪSIYYA]. Arabia gradually lost the passion for the race-course, in proportion as the number of horses declined. The other Muslim countries have remained quite interested in racing, but the sport is at present governed by rules imported from the west, and the Anglo-Arab thoroughbred is everywhere supplanting its illustrious ancestor.

To sum up, we may say that the horse reached its apogee, in the Near East, between the 5th and 15th centuries A.D., and that Arab horsemanship was in no respect inferior to that of European chivalry. But the lack of rational methods in breeding, on the one hand, and the replacement of steel by fire-arms on the other, condemned the Arab cavalry to an inevitable decline. Those Bedouins who still ride horses today use only violent and cruel methods to break in an animal that by nature is good-tempered and gifted with rare qualities of intelligence; it must be realised that these horsemen are not and never will be as close to the *faras* as were their mediaeval ancestors. We may add that, but for the judicious and praiseworthy intervention of English horse-lovers and breeders, the breed of the pure-bred Arabian would long since have been extinct.

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(F. VIRÉ)

FARASĀN (FARSĀN), a group of islands in the Red Sea opposite Abū ʿArīsh. They are not mentioned in the *Periplus*. In the *Martyrdom of St Arethas* the Φαρσὰν islands are said to have contributed seven

hips to the Christian expedition against the Yaman. The name is tribal. According to Hamdānī, the Banū Farasān, though claimed as Ḥimyarī by the Ḥimyarī genealogists, belonged to Taghlib and had once been Christian; there were ruined churches on the islands. They were at war with the Banū Madjid and traded with Abyssinia. They were also found in the Tihāma. The islands had some strategic value in the naval wars of the 16th century. The Egyptians landed there in 912/1506. Albuquerque considered occupying them. The Sharīf Abū Numayy II seized them but was ejected by the Turks. According to Ovington 'Fersham' exported corn to Arabia and the inhabitants were employed by Banians in pearling. Despite Yamanī claims the islands became part of Idrīsī, and later, Saʿūdī territory. Philby found a few troops there. They were visited by Ehrenberg and Hemprich (1825), by Bové (1830-1), and later by oil geologists.

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AL-**FARAZDAḲ**, "the lump of dough", properly Tammām b. Ghālib (Abū Firās), famous Arab satirist and panegyrist, died at Baṣra about 110/728 or 112/730.

Born in Yamāma (Eastern Arabia) on a date which is uncertain (probably after 20/640), this poet was descended from the sub-tribe of Mudjāshiʿ, of the Dārim group of the Tamīm. His father, Ghālib [*q.v.*], is said to have played some part, in the Baṣra area, in the conflict between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya; to this fact must be attributed the later idea that al-Farazdaḳ entertained pro-ʿAlid sympathies which, however, are not very apparent in his works. The talent for verse does not seem to have been widespread in his family; however al-Farazdaḳ, endowed with a prodigious memory and precocious talent, seems very soon to have made himself known in his tribe by laudatory and epigrammatic compositions in the Bedouin style. The accession of the Umayyad dynasty must have been a decisive factor in the career of the young poet, because of the choices to which it limited him. By the bonds of affinity as much as by obligation, al-Farazdaḳ was first led to choose himself protectors in Yamāma, then at Baṣra, amongst people more or less bound to the fortunes of the family ruling in Syria. This attitude is particularly noticeable in the relations he maintained, for example, with the Banū Bakra, who were secretly flirting with the ʿAlids, though supporting the Umayyads.

The satire attributed to al-Farazdaḳ against the caliph Muʿāwiya, contrary to what Nallino maintains, is far from being definitely authentic.

Nevertheless circumstances, fortuitous or contrived, must have affected his behaviour occasionally: it is known, for example, that al-Farazdaḳ, as a result of some rather obscure proceedings, had to flee from ʿIrāḳ and seek refuge in Medina to escape the threat that Ziyād, the governor of Baṣra, laid upon his life (in 49/669). At Medina the poet was welcomed most warmly by the local authorities, and he remained in this town till 56/675-6; he then returned to ʿIrāḳ immediately after the death of Ziyād to attach himself to the latter's son, ʿUbayd Allāh. In 67/686, the panegyrist confirmed his attachment to the Umayyad branch of the Marwānids which was in power, by celebrating prince Bishr, who had come to ʿIrāḳ, and his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, whose praises he sang in a threnody in 85/704 (*Dīwān*, ed. Ṣāwī, 225 ff.). There is no doubt that under the governorship of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], probably because of the intrigues of his enemy Djarīr, who was in the good graces of this powerful personage, al-Farazdaḳ was more or less in disgrace. Nevertheless he dedicated a number of laudatory poems to al-Ḥadjdjādj and to some members of his family. Perhaps his delicate position in relation to the governor of ʿIrāḳ prevented al-Farazdaḳ from obtaining the protection of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik and it is to be noted that no ode was addressed by him to this ruler. On the other hand, under Walīd I, al-Farazdaḳ became the official poet of the caliph, as witness numerous panegyrics dedicated to him and to his two sons. Under Sulaymān he enjoyed the same favour. It was otherwise on the accession of ʿUmar II in 99/717, when al-Farazdaḳ was rather in the shade. However, the insurrection of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab gave the poet the chance to recover favour and, under the caliph Yazīd II, he violently attacked the rebel whom he had celebrated several years before, at the time of his power (see the panegyrics to Yazīd II and to Maslama, dated 101/720 and 102/720-1 in *Dīwān*, 262-7 and 201). At this time, al-Farazdaḳ, who was eighty years old, hardly ever left Baṣra. Caught up in the whirlwind of conflicts between the "Yemenī" and Ḳaysī factions, he experienced many difficulties with governors of ʿIrāḳ belonging to one or other of them. Twice he was thrown into prison because of this, but succeeded in getting out thanks to local support.

In his career, struggles against rivals occupied a prominent place. Political attitudes, notably attachment to the "Yemenī" or the Ḳaysī faction, provoked or aggravated these enmities. In the background one can also sense some tribal partisanship. This is the reason for the implacable hostility nursed by al-Farazdaḳ for Djarīr, also a Tamīmī, but of another branch. There is no doubt that the contentions between these two rivals have been a fruitful source for anecdotal literature (as one can ascertain from *Kitāb al-Aghānī*[3], viii, 32-7). Moreover, it is certain that this opposition inspired al-Farazdaḳ—and his enemy likewise—with the poems which most clearly characterize their work. These diatribes should not however, allow us to forget those other relationships, of a different kind, maintained with al-Aḥwaṣ [*q.v.*] at Medina, with the "reader"-grammarian Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*], or with al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (cf. *Aghānī*[1], xix, 14).

Al-Farazdaḳ seems to have been too unusual a figure not to have stimulated the imagination of the "logographers" who interested themselves in him. In the biographical facts we have, there often comes to light a tendency to exaggerate the eccentricities of his personality, to accentuate his cowardice, bawdiness, drunkenness, and venality. This harsh approach is in fact of little concern because it does not touch on the essentials. What is important in reality is to discover in al-Farazdaḳ the traits which are of relevance for the panegyrist, the satirist, and the representative of a generation torn between bedouin culture and the new ethics. On these lines might be explained certain traits of his character, his recantations and his final impenitence, all to be found echoed in his poetry.

The greater part of his poetry has survived, because of Tamīmī particularism on the one hand, and also because of the favour al-Farazdaḳ still retained in learned circles in Baṣra. After an oral transmission about which we have few facts, his poetry was equally well received at Kūfa (see *Aghānī*[1], xix, 2, 11 f.) There is no doubt that it is from this time that al-

Farazdaḳ, along with Djarīr and al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*], becomes one of a trio who for several centuries furnished a theme for discussion among the cultivated. In his own lifetime, al-Farazdaḳ did not hesitate to appropriate the verses of his contemporaries (cf. Ibn Sallām, 126 and *Aghānī*³, ii, 266-7, viii, 96); there is also reason to doubt the authenticity of many of the poems which appear in al-Sukkarī's recension in the 3th/9th century. The *Dīwān*, in Ṣāwī's edition, numbers about 7,630 verses, which is the largest total that is known in the whole of Arabic poetry. His work is presented in the form of fragments or of complete poems of 20 to 30 verses, rarely more. Many poems are in *ḳasīda* form. With al-Farazdaḳ this form had a tripartite structure with a short *nasīb* (*e.g.*, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṣāwī, 7, 8, 74-6, etc.), but usually—and this is remarkable—this elegiac prelude is omitted (so *ibid.*, 84-7, 99 f., 228-33 etc.), and very frequently the *ḳaṣīda* is reduced to the laudatory elements alone (so *ibid.*, 57-9, 63-7, 70-1, 99-101, 309-14, etc.). The thematic sequence in the *ḳaṣīda* with *nasīb* often anticipates the sequence which imposed itself on the "classical" theoreticians (so *ibid.*, 219-24, 302-8 etc.). Too often the threnodic form is difficult to find in this poet, but we have a good specimen in the threnody composed on Bishr (*ibid.*, 268-70). The various types of poem are unequally represented in al-Farazdaḳ. First and foremost come the laudatory themes made up of the traditional sterotypes, among which should be pointed out the traditional theme of the greatness as caliph and the religious value of the Caliph-Imām (so *ibid.*, 63-7, 89-92 lines 12 ff., 219-24 lines 18 ff. etc.). Naturally enough, tribal and personal *fakhr* is frequent in this poet. Like his contemporaries, al-Farazdaḳ treated the epigram in short impromptus or developed it as a thematic element in a *ḳaṣīda*. In this latter case he obtains an effect of contrast with the laudatory elements (so *ibid.*, 115-23 where the glories of the Dārim are contrasted with the "shames" of the Kulayb, Djarīr's tribe). In al-Farazdaḳ, more than in his contemporaries, the satirical genre has a rare vigour and obscenity (*e.g.*, the piece directed against al-Tirimmāḥ, in *Dīwān*, 135-7). The traditional wisdom, poorly represented in the work of this panegyrist and satirist, is of a distressing banality, and the Islamic ethic has in no way enriched in depth a spirit completely impregnated with Bedouin culture. Sometimes, however, the poet seems to have been able to strike a moving tone, in lamenting, for example, the death of a child (so *Dīwān*, 764 and *Aghānī*¹, xix, 12-3). It is worth noting that, dissolute as al-Farazdaḳ is supposed to have been, he did not to all intents and purposes write in the Bacchic genre (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, 294). Likewise this epicurean hardly felt the need to celebrate his loves, and the ode composed on a gallant adventure confirms this deficiency in his sensibility (*ibid.*, 255-62). Similarly in the fragments, in any case suspect, on his separation from his wife Nawār, the poet is without deep emotion and reduced to repeating banal formulas (see *Aghhānī*¹, xix, 9).

The language and style of the works ascribed to al-Farazdaḳ are of a remarkable homogeneity: very rarely does one find a laboured effect due to the use of rare terms or *hapax legomena*. In this poet as in his contemporaries of the ʿIrāḳī circle, only the five current metres are employed; *radjaz* is employed only sporadically. From this point of view, his work is well worth attention, in the sense that it enables us to assess the prosodic resources available in this epoch to a poet dependent on the Tamīmī tradition. Put beside the poetry of Djarīr, it is thoroughly representative of the poetry of the great nomads of Eastern Arabia at its height, at the very moment when, in contact with the big ʿIrāḳī cities, it was to yield before new influences.

Bibliography: Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, index; *Aghānī*³, i, 116, 148-9, viii, index and especially 33-8, 44-5, xv, 441-7, and *Aghānī*¹, xix, 1-61; Āmidī, 166 and index; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Krenkow, 272, 477, 486-7; idem, *Muwashshah*, index; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii, 196-202; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Cairo 1347, i, 202-7 (summarizes or quotes Ibn Ḳutayba and *Aghānī*). The ʿIrāḳī anthologists and others have frequently quoted or mentioned al-Farazdaḳ, see esp.: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, index; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1359/1940, index (72 mentions and quotations); Ḳurashī, *Djamhara*, 336-44. Edition of the *Dīwān* by Sukkarī (see *Fihrist*, 158, l. 27-8); for the manuscripts of the *Dīwān*, see Brockelmann, I, 56, S I, 85; Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, *passim*; editions of the *Dīwān* by R. Boucher, *Divan de Ferazdaq, récit de Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb*, Paris 1870 (1st part, 270 nos.) and by J. Hell, photolithographic ed., Munich-Leipzig 1900-1 (2nd part); note also other editions, Beirut (n.d. and 1937), Cairo (1293, very defective); another edition by Ṣāwī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Farazdaḳ*, Cairo 1354/1936 (782 poems and fragments, amounting to about 7630 verses; besides the fragments and short pieces, it includes about 80 long satires, 94 panegyrics, 24 threnodies, often brief; it is an uncritical and mediocre edition, with glosses often of slight importance; there is no indication how the known mss. were utilised; it seems to reproduce Boucher and Hell, but it has the advantage that it adds the text of the *Naḳāʾiḍ*); a partial French translation by Boucher (Paris 1870-5); and by Hell (Leipzig 1902: trans. of the panegyric to Walīd II), also idem, in *ZDMG*, lix (1905), 595-600 and lx, 1-35; on the Muhallabids, cf. Rosen in *Zapiski*, xvii (1906), 931-48; Schwarz in *ZDMG*, lxxiii (1919), 80-5 and Krenkow in *Islamica*, ii, 344-54. Notes and studies: Caussin de Perceval, *Notice sur ... al-Farazdaq*, in *JA*, xiii (1834), 507-52; Hell, *Einleitung über das Leben des Farazdaḳ*, Leipzig 1902; Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne du Calife omaiyade Mo'awia Ier*, in *MFOB*, iii (1908), 145 ff. (= 281-448 of the offprint); Nallino, *Littérature arabe*, index; Blachère, *Litt.*, III, 3rd part, chap. I, section C.

(R. Blachère)

FARD (adj., can be taken as a subst.), pl. *afrād*, used of the individual, and so with the meanings of *only*, *solitary*, *unique*, *incomparable*; the *half*, that is to say *one* of a pair or couple (pl. *firād*, *Ḳāmūs* root *f.r.d*); and other derivative meanings. The word has been used to denote Allāh, as the single Being who has no parallel: *al-fard fī ṣifāt Allāh* (al-Layth, *Lisān*, iv, 327/iii, 331a), but it does not occur in the Ḳurʾān or in *ḥadīths* as an epithet of Allāh. It is for that reason that al-Azharī (*ibid.*) found fault with this usage. There is every reason for believing that *al-fard* was at that time simply used as an equivalent of *aḥad*, in accordance with the verse *huwa'llāhu aḥad* (Ḳurʾān, CXII, 1) "où se résume le dogme de l'unicité divine", as R. Blachère said (*Le Coran*, Paris 1949, ii, 123). In addition, *al-fard* serves as a technical term in different sciences: (a) in poetry it denotes a line of verse taken in *isolation*

(intact or reduced to a single hemistich); (b) in lexicography, the *afrād* are the words handed down by *one single* lexicographer (see al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*[3], i, ch. 5), distinct from *āḥād* (*ibid.*, i, 114, lines 8-12) and *mafārīd* (*ibid.*, ch. 15); (c) in grammar, *al-fard* has been said to signify "the singular" by de Sacy (*Gr. Ar.*[2], i, 149), Fleischer (*Kleinere Schriften*, i, 97), Wright (*Ar. Gr.*[3], i, 52B). This can only be a recent or exceptional meaning of the word, which should be dropped and replaced by the traditional terms *al-wāḥid* or (more often used today) *al-mufrad*; (d) in the science of *ḥadīth*, *fard* is synonymous with *gharīb muṭlaḳ*: a tradition in which the second link of the chain of those who have transmitted it is only represented by a *single tābiʿī*; (e) in astronomy, *al-fard* denotes the star *alpha* in Hydra (*al-shudjāʿ*), and hence the most brilliant (idea of isolation); (f) in arithmetic, *al-ʿadad al-fard* is "the odd number" (from 3 upwards, inclusive), as opposed to *al-ʿadad al-zawdj* "even number" (al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 184), other uses of *fard* in the divisibility of numbers, *ibid.*, 184-5; (g) for theologians and philosophers, *al-fard* denotes the species, as restricted by the bond of individuation.

Bibliography: in the text; see also Tahānawī, *Dictionary of technical terms*, ii, 1087, 1107, 1178 foot and 1179; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

(H. Fleisch)

al-**FARD** [see nudjūm]

FARḌ (a.), also *farīḍa*, literally "something which has been apportioned, or made obligatory", and as a technical term, a religious duty or obligation, the omission of which will be punished and the performance of which will be rewarded. It is one of the so-called *al-aḥkām al-khamsa*, the "five qualifications" by which every act of man is qualified in religious law [see aḥkām]. A synonym is *wādjib*. The Ḥanafī school makes a distinction between *farḍ* and *wādjib*, applying the first term to those religious duties which are explicitly mentioned in the proof texts (Ḳur'ān and *sunna*) as such, or based on *idjmāʿ*, and the second to those the obligatory character of which has been deduced by reasoning. This distinction is not made by the other schools, and as a norm for action *farḍ* and *wādjib* are equally binding. Islamic law distinguishes the individual duty (*farḍ ʿayn*), such as ritual prayer, fasting, etc., and the collective duty (*farḍ kifāya*), the fulfilment of which by a sufficient number of individuals excuses the other individuals from fulfilling it, such as funeral prayer, holy war, etc.

Bibliography: Tahānawī, *Dictionary of technical terms*, 1124-6, 1444-8; N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, New York 1916, 112 ff.; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 57 ff. See also furḍa. (Th. W. Juynboll*)

FARGHĀNĀ, Ferghānā, a valley on the middle Jaxartes (Sīr-Daryā), approximately 300 km. long and 70 km. wide, surrounded by parts of the Tian-shan mountains: the Čatkal range (Ar. Djadghal, up to 3,000 m. high) on the north, the Ferghānā mountains (up to 4,000 m.) on the east, and the Alai mountains (up to 6,000 m.) on the south. The only approach (7 km. wide) accessible in all seasons is in the west, at the point where the Jaxartes leaves the valley and where the trade-route (and since 1899 the railway from Samarḳand to Ōsh) enters it. The Farghānā valley covers approximately 23,000 km.^{2}; the irrigated land (9,000 km.^{2}) has increased during the last decades, owing to the constant extension of irrigation. The interior of the area consists of a desert.

The Farghānā valley has always been fairly densely populated since the earliest irruption of Islam, and even in pre-Islamic times, according to Chinese sources. As a consequence, the indigenous population has been able to withstand the Turks, who have pressed in repeatedly ever since early Islamic times; thus the Turks have only settled in one part of the district (cf. the present political distribution below). Since the end of the nineteenth century the Russians have also settled almost exclusively in the towns, leaving the agricultural areas in the hands of the indigenous population.

Evidently Farghānā became known to the Chinese in 128 B.C., from the description of an envoy who had travelled through it. But the connexion of the Chinese accounts with individual areas or persons cannot be established with any certainty. After the spread of the second (western) Kök-Turkish kingdom Farghānā was exposed to Turkish attacks and, after continued fighting between 627 and 649 A.D., came under Turkish dominion. A Turkish prince took up residence in Kāsān (Chinese Kʿo-sai), the capital of that time. After the overthrow of the first west-Turkish kingdom by the Chinese, in 657, the whole district was governed from Kāsān by a Chinese governor. The indigenous Iranian dynasty, whose influence had for some time been weakened by a succession of local princes (as reported by the Chinese envoy Hüan-tsang in 630), was evidently supplanted by a Turkish ruling family, after the elimination of Chinese rule in about 680. In 739 Arslan Khān is mentioned as ruler of Farghānā.

An Arab-Muslim advance into Farghānā, alleged to have taken place in the time of the Caliph ʿUthmān under the leadership of Muḥammad b. Djarīr, who is said to have fallen at Safīd Bulān at the head of 2700 warriors (according to Djamāl Ḳarshī apud Barthold, *Turkestan*, 160), certainly belongs to the realm of legend. The legend formed the basis for a Persian folk-tale (said to have been translated from Arabic) which later spread throughout Central Asia, and was finally translated into Turkish (cf. *Protokolī Turkest. Kružka Lyubiteley Arkheologii*, iv, 149 f.).

In fact the Muslim invasion of Farghānā is connected with the occupation of Transoxania by Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*]. He first advanced into the country in 94/712-3 and attempted a revolt from there against the Caliph in 96/715, but was killed by his own soldiers (Ṭabarī, ii, 1256 f., 1275-81; S. G. Klyashtornīy, *Iz istorii bor'bī narodov Sredney Azii protiv arabov* [*Remarks on the history of the struggle of the peoples of Central Asia against the Arabs*], in *Épigrafika Vostoka*, ix (1954), 55-64: this treats mainly of the events of 712). Ḳutayba's grave is still pointed out today close to the village of Djalāl Ḳuduḳ, near Andīdjān (*Protokolī*, iii, 4). This revolt and the battles which followed in Persia in the next decades, finally leading to the downfall of the Umayyads in 749-50, prevented for some time the consolidation of Arab-Islamic rule over Farghānā. The Muslims apparently had to leave the country again and in 103/721-2 the indigenous Sogdian prince was able to recall and resettle in part of his country those Sogdians who had migrated further eastwards to avoid the summons to adopt Islam (Spuler, *Iran*, 37, 254 f.). At that time the local nobility (gentry: *Dihḳāns* [*q.v.*]) played the leading rôle in Farghānā, as in the rest of Transoxania. The local prince also bore this title beside that of Ikhshēdh (cf. ikhshīdids, and Ol'ga I. Smirnova, *Sogdiyskie monetī kak novīy istočnik dlya istorii Sredney Azii* [*Sogdian coins as a*

new source for the history of Central Asia], in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, vi (1949), 356-67; further, A. Yu Yakubovskiy [ed.]: *Trudi sogdiysko-tadžikskoy ékspeditsii* ... [*Works of the Sogdian-Tādjīk expedition* ...], i, Moscow-Leningrad 1950, 224-31; further as sources: al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 420; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1442, 2142; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, ed. Minorsky, 115-17, 355; idem in *BSOAS*, xvii/2 (1955), 265).—In the year 121/739 the Arabs were once more able to send a governor to Farghānā (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1694), but there was still continued opposition to Islam, especially as the permanence of Arab rule had again been put in doubt by the advance of Chinese armies into Western Central Asia as far as Transoxania, between 745 and 751 (cf. Spuler, *Iran*, 302 and the sources and studies given there). An envoy sent to the Caliph al-Manṣūr by the local prince, who had evidently fled to Kāshghar, was held prisoner for a long time owing to his refusal to adopt Islam (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 645). The Caliphs al-Mahdī, Hārūn al-Rashīd (175-6/791-3) and al-Maʾmūn were also forced to send troops to Farghānā to overcome the opposition to Islam and Arab rule (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 465 f., 478; Gardēzī, 19; further Spuler, *Iran*, 51 f.). Only the inclusion of Farghānā in the dominions of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*] in approximately 205/820-1, under the administration of the governor Nūḥ b. Asad (d. 227/841-2), opened the last doors to Islam, both in Kāsān (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Geogr.*, 294, al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 478; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1257), the centre of administration, and Ūrast. The indigenous dynasty had in the meantime disappeared. From then on, the inhabitants of Farghānā supplied soldiers for the guards of the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42: al-Balādhurī, 431; Spuler, *Iran*, 137, 185, fn. 8). They thereby strengthened the influence of the Iranian element in Mesopotamia, which moreover increased continually under the Sāmānids.

Farghānā in the time of the Sāmānids has been amply described by Arab geographers. At that time a change in the economic importance of the several parts of the country appears to have taken place. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih, 30, the road leading into the country from the west crossed the Jaxartes at Khodjand ([*q.v.*]; now Leninābād), and continued to Akhsīkāth [*q.v.*], along the right bank, then to Ḳubā, Ōsh and Özkänd (Ūzgand) along the left bank. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 335, on the other hand considers the road running south of the river to be the main one and lists several populated places along it; only a secondary road led to Akhsīkath at that time. The Farghānā valley then formed the frontier district against the (still unconverted) Turks, who had recently been driven back north-eastwards in several places. There were strong garrisons in Ōsh and some neighbouring forts, used as observation posts against them. Akhsīkath (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 333) was the capital at that time, a position it held as early as the middle of the seventh century, according to Chinese reports and al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, 420). On the other hand Ḳubā is designated as larger, and as the actual capital of the country by al-Muḳaddasī, 272, though its period of prosperity was certainly short.—In the tenth century Farghānā was divided into three provinces and many administrative districts, which are listed by the geographers. They stress the fact that the villages of the country were bigger than elsewhere in Transoxania and occasionally extended as much as a day's journey. Islam (of the Ḥanafī school of law) had asserted itself successfully in the meantime, and convents (*Khānḳāh*) of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] are also mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī, 323. Nothing else is reported about adherents of other religions, such as Christians, Manichaeans and Zoroastrians. Nevertheless an Arabic inscription dating from 433/1041-2 was discovered in the gorge at Wārūkh (in the south), showing a Sassanian and Christian (*rūmī*) date beside the Muslim one (*Protokoli*, viii, 46 f.). A further Arabic inscription (without this peculiarity in the dating) from the year 329/940-1 was found in Ōsh in 1885 (*Otčet Imp. Arkheol. Kommissii za 1882-1888 godi*, p. LXXIII). Buildings from Sāmānid times, on the other hand, have evidently not been preserved.

The mountain ranges surrounding the valley supplied gold, silver and coal (already then used for heating, al-Iṣṭakhrī, 334), and furthermore petroleum, iron, copper, lead, turquoises, sal ammoniac and a medicament called Kū/ïlkān (cf. *BGA*, iv, 344; particulars in Spuler, *Iran*, 387, 389, 399, with sources, especially al-Muḳaddasī, 326; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 384). Turkish slaves, iron and copper, swords and armour as well as textiles were exported from Farghānā and Isfīdjāb (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 116; Spuler, *Iran*, 407 f.). Judging by the growth in revenue the country's prosperity increased greatly in Sāmānid times. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih, 38, it amounted to 280,000 dirhems; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 470, writing about 130 years later, in 977, puts it already at one million (Spuler, *Iran*, 476).

After the collapse of the Sāmānid state in 389/999, Farghānā came under the dominion of the Ḳarluḳs [*q.v.*] and thus of the ruling dynasty of the Ilig-Khāns or Ḳarakhānids [*q.v.*]. Özkänd [*q.v.*], where twelfth-century buildings and tomb-stones are still preserved, now became the centre of administration. It was there that most coins were minted (often bearing the province name Farghānā as the place of coinage), but other minting-places also occur. The whole of Transoxania was originally administered from Özkänd. After the divisions which soon took place within the Ḳarakhānid dynasty (cf. O. Pritsak, in *Isl.*, xxxi/1 (1953), 17-68), the princes of Farghānā settled in Özkänd, where they withstood a Saldjūḳ advance in the years 482-3/1089-90. In 536/1141 Farghānā came under the dominion of the Gürkhāns [*q.v.*] of the Ḳarakhitāy [*q.v.*], but the indigenous dynasty was still tolerated, as elsewhere within this state. Until 560-74/1165-79, this dynasty seems also to have ruled over Samarḳand, which later again came under the rule of a separate branch of the Ḳarakhānids. From 1212 to 1218 Farghānā was disputed between the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad II [*q.v.*] and first the Nayman prince Küčlüg, who had fled westwards, then the Mongols; with the subjection of the prince of Akhsīkath and Kāsān, the province subsequently fell to the Mongols (Ulus of Čaghatāy; cf. the article ČINGIZIDS, above) for whom it was long administered by Maḥmūd and his son Masʿūd Yalavač in the thirteenth century. Local princes in Farghānā were tolerated for a long time; the sheltered position of the valley induced Baraḳ Khān, the Mongol governor, and the Ḳarakhitāy before him, to keep the treasury there (Waṣṣāf, Bombay ed., 67 bottom; Djuwaynī, i, 48). The newly founded town of Andīdjān [*q.v.*] (known to the Arab geographers only as the village Anduḳān) was the capital of the Farghānā valley at the end of the thirteenth century. Marghinān now also gained in importance.

After the Ulus of Čaghatāy split into two opposing sections in the fourteenth century, both the western kingdom (Transoxania) and the eastern kingdom (then called Mogholistān) contended for Farghānā

at different times, up to the time of Tīmūr. As Farghānā belonged to Mogholistān during the greater part of this struggle, its administration shared certain aspects of the administration of the Tarim valley: the tax districts in both countries were called Určin, not Tūmān (Mongolian *tümen*: unit of ten thousand) as in the rest of Transoxania.

Under the Tīmūrids [*q.v.*] Farghānā mostly belonged to Khurāsān (*i.e.*, to the dominion of Shāhrukh [*q.v.*] and his son Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*]) and from 873-99/1469-94 had its own ruler in ʿUmar Shaykh [*q.v.*], a great-great-grandson of Tīmūr. He was succeeded by his son Bābur, who from Farghānā moved against the intruding Shaybānids [*q.v.*] and advanced as far as Samarkand; but in 909/1504, after eventful battles he saw himself forced to surrender Farghānā, and finally fled altogether to India (for details see BĀBUR). It is to him that we owe a more exact description of Farghānā at a time when power-relationships in Central Asia were undergoing a decisive change, through the fall of the Tīmūrids, the advance of the Shaybānids at the head of the Özbegs [*q.v.*], as well as the establishment of the Shīʿī Ṣafavids [*q.v.*] in Persia. At that time there were nine larger towns in Farghānā, to which Bābur also adds Khodjand. Khokand, the later capital, was only a village at the time. The capital was Andīdjān, which was already completely turkicized. (According to Bābur, it was here that Čaghatay, raised to a literary language by ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, was spoken). Marghinān was then still Iranian.—At the time of Bābur there were numerous orchards and gardens in Farghānā and various kinds of wood used for making quivers, bird-cages and similar articles; also a reddish-white stone, discovered in about 1492 and used for making knife-handles and articles of that kind. Iron and turquoise were obtained from the mines; but Bābur makes no mention of coal-mining or the manufacture of weapons, two formerly important branches of the economy. According to his estimate the country was only sufficiently rich to support an army of 3-4000 men.

After the final expulsion of the Tīmūrids, Farghānā belonged to the Özbeg state of the Shaybānids; Andīdjān was then the seat of a local dynasty and gave its name to the whole valley (cf. Maḥmūd ibn Walī, *Baḥr al-asrār*, MS India Office 575, fol. 102b). After the collapse of the Shaybānid state in 1598-9, several Khodja families divided the country up among themselves. They lived under the nominal dependency of Bukhārā, in Čadak, north of the Jaxartes, and had to submit to a number of arrangements with the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, who repeatedly pressed into the valleys of the mountains surrounding Farghānā. In 1121/1709-10 the Farghānā valley became a separate Özbeg Khānate under Shāhrukh Bī (Mullā Niyāz Muḥammad, *Taʾrīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, ed. N. N. Pantusov, Kazan 1885, 21; cf. Ivanov, 178-214). From then until 1876 the Farghānā valley was the centre of the Khānate of Khokand (*q.v.* for details about the name and history of the town).

In 1876 the Khānate was annexed by the Russians and became the centre of the "Farghānā district" (Ferganskaya Oblastʾ), an area of 160,141 km.² (according to Brockhaus-Efron) with 1,560,411 inhabitants (in 1897). The seat of the military government was the town New Margelan, founded by the Russians, called Skobelev from 1907-24, and subsequently Farghānā (pop., 1951, approx. 50,000) and still today the centre of administration of the "Farghānā district" in Uzbekistan (8029 km.² with approximately 720,000 inhabitants [in 1951]). The towns of Khokand and Namangān were, however, considerably larger and of greater economic importance (Khokand had approximately 113,000 inhabitants in 1912, and Namangān 70,000; in 1951, in contrast, approximately 93,000 and 115,000 respectively).

The Russians forthwith raised Farghānā's cotton-production considerably, introduced new American kinds of cotton and made Farghānā (as Central Asia generally) one of their main providers of cotton and silk. The most important source of uranium of the Soviet Union is also situated in the Farghānā valley (especially near Tuya-Muyun); petroleum and coal are also extracted.—The ancient system of irrigation has been expanded and improved and, as the "Farghānā system", it has gained significance for the entire irrigation economy of the USSR: construction of the great Farghānā canal in 1939; Farhat dam on the Jaxartes.—The sudden economic advance caused an inflation which led to a revolt in 1898. From 1916 to 1922 Farghānā was involved in the fighting between the indigenous Turkish Basmači associations and the Russians, and later the Bolsheviks. After the October revolution the Farghānā valley was no longer a single administrative unit. Instead the central and eastern areas—essentially according to the nature of the majority of the population—were handed over to the Uzbekistan republic, and the west to Tādjikistān. The mountains surrounding the Farghānā valley belong for the most part, however, to Kirgizistān: this division demonstrates the result of the gradual advance of Turkish tribes into this area and, since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, into the mountains, as well as the retreat of the Iranians. This political organization has had no significance for the development of the valley's economy or system of communication. The knowledge of Russian has increased greatly in the last decades among the indigenous population, but without supplanting the indigenous languages.

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*klopediya*², xliv, facing p. 618 (with illus.); Diercke, *Weltatlas*, 91st ed., 1957, p. 93; Leimbach, 340; Shabad, 395. (W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

AL-**FARGHĀNĪ**, the mediaeval astronomer *Alfraganus*. His full name is Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Farghānī, that is to say, a native of Farghāna in Transoxania; not everyone, however, is agreed upon his name: the *Fihrist* only speaks of Muḥammad b. Kathīr, and Abu 'l-Faradj of Aḥmad b. Kathīr, while Ibn al-Ḳifṭī distinguishes between two persons, Muḥammad and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, in other words father and son; however it is very probable that all the references are to the same personage, an astronomer who lived in the time of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn (d. 833) and until the death of al-Mutawakkil (861), for Abu 'l-Maḥāsin and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa refer to a certain Aḥmad b. Kathīr al-Farghānī who, in 247/861, is said to have been sent by al-Mutawakkil to Fusṭāṭ to supervise the construction of a Nilometer.

His principal work, which still survives in Arabic at Oxford, Paris, Cairo and the library of Princeton University, bears different titles: *Djawāmiʿ ʿilm al-nudjūm wa 'l-ḥarakāt al-samāwiyya*, *Uṣūl ʿilm al-nudjūm*, *al-Madkhal ila ʿilm hayʾat al-aflāk*, and *Kitāb al-fuṣūl al-thalāthīn*. It was translated into Latin by John of Seville and Gerard of Cremona. According to Steinschneider, a translation into Hebrew by Jacob Anatoli also exists at Berlin, Munich, Vienna, Oxford, etc. The Latin translation by John of Seville was printed at Farrara in 1493, Nuremberg in 1537, Paris in 1546, Berkeley (F. J. Carmody) in 1943; the translation by Gerard of Cremona was published by R. Campani (Città di Castello, 1910). From Jacob Anatoli's translation into Hebrew Jacob Christmann made a Latin translation which appeared in 1590 at Frankfurt-am-Main. In 1669, at Amsterdam, Jacob Golius edited the Arabic text with a translation and a copious commentary, under the title: *Muhammedis fil. Ketiri Ferganensis, qui vulgo Alfraganus dicitur, Elementa astronomica, Arabice et Latine.* Apart from this work which, before Regiomontanus, was more widely circulated in the west than that of any other Arabic astronomer, since it was fairly short and easily understood, al-Farghānī also wrote two books on the astrolabe, *al-Kāmil fi 'l-asṭurlāb* and *Fī ṣanʿat al-asṭurlāb* (the Arabic text of which is extant in Berlin and Paris) and certain other works, references to which are given in Brockelmann and Carmody.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, i, 279; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Lippert, 78 and 286; Abu 'l-Faradj (ed. Ṣālḥānī), 236; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 207; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 742; M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des XVII Jahr., SBAk. Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse*, cxlix, 22 and 44; Brockelmann, I, 221 S I, 392-3; Suter, *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der mathem. Wissensch.*, x, 18 and xiv, 160; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 567; P. Duhem, *Système du monde*, ii, 204-14; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation*, Berkeley 1956, 113-6. (H. SUTER-[J. VERNET])

AL-**FARGHĀNĪ**, the name of two tenth-century historians, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar (b. 282/895-6, d. 362/972-3) and his son, Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (327/939-398/1007). ʿAbd Allāh's great-grandfather had been brought to the ʿIrāḳ from Farghāna and had become a Muslim under al-Muʿtaṣim. ʿAbd Allāh himself was a student of the great Ṭabarī, whose works he transmitted, and he achieved high rank in the army. He went to Egypt where his son, it seems, was born, and he and his family remained there. He wrote a continuation of al-Ṭabarī's historical work, entitled *al-Ṣila* or *al-Mudhayyal*, and his son wrote a further continuation, entitled *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*. Both works are known only from quotations in the works of other historians, though it has been suggested that a papyrus leaf containing the account of a battle from the reign of al-Muḳtadir may derive from the *Ṣila*; they were probably much more widely used than citations under their names indicate. The younger Farghānī also wrote biographies of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī and the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz, both of which, unfortunately, have been lost along with most of the historical literature written under the Fāṭimids.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 389; *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, vii, 277; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 161 f.; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, under Aḥmad (who follows Yāḳūt); intro. to Ṭabarī, xx; R. Guest, in *A volume of Oriental studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 173; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 73; N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, i, Chicago 1957, 109 ff. (F. ROSENTHAL)

FARHĀD PASHA [see FERHĀD PASHA].

FARHĀD WA-**SHĪRĪN**. A. Christensen (*Sassanides*, 469 and index) has collected together the information relating to Shīrīn (Pehlavi *Shīrēn* "the sweet"; cf. Γλυκέρα, Glycera), a Christian favourite of the Sāsānid king of Īrān, Khusraw II Parvīz (Pehlavi *Abharvēz* "the victorious", 590-628). According to Sebeos, she was a native of Khuzistān; Khusraw married her at the beginning of his reign and she maintained her influence over him although inferior in status to Maria the Byzantine whom he had married mainly for reasons of policy; she protected the Christian clergy, probably lived for a time in the palace, the ruins of which still survive at Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn [*q.v.*], and she did not forsake the king in the last hours immediately before his assassination; their son, Mardānshāh, was put to death when Shēroē, Maria's son, overthrew him and ascended the throne. Legends concerning the love of the king and Shīrīn soon came into being, and some of the details were collected by al-Thaʿālibī (691) and Firdawsī (*Shāh-nāma*, trans. Mohl, vii), in particular Shīrīn's suicide over the body of Khusraw; this romantic episode, together with that of Shīrīn and Farhād (Pehlavi *Frahādh*), became the subject of a series of romances in verse, in Persian, Turkish (see below) and Kurdish (Duda, 3, n. 7 and 8). Moreover Christensen (*Gestes*, 116-9) has noted certain features in the *Persica* of Ctesias in which he sees elements which helped to form the legend of Farhād and Shīrīn—Semiramis creating a garden near Mount Bagistanon (Bīsutūn), having a way cut through the Zagros mountains to allow for the passage of a canal, and having a royal castle built for her own use.

After the occupation of Īrān by the Arabs, the first text in their language to mention Shīrīn and her lovers is the Chronicle of al-Ṭabarī; in its Persian adaptation by Balʿamī, we read: "Shīrīn was loved by Farhād whom Parvīz punished by sending him to the quarries of Bīsutūn" (trans. Zotenberg, ii, 304 and index, s.v. Ferhād, Schīrīn). The Arab geographers mention them; thus Yāḳūt claims to see Shīrīn's image among the sculptures of Ṭāḳ-i Bustān, according to poems which he quotes (*Buldān*, iii, 252-3) and records a narrative (iv, 112; and Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 347-8 and 448-9) explaining how the king had a castle

built for her, named Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn [*q.v.*]. In the Persian language Firdawsī, when writing the history in verse of the reign of Khusraw, tells briefly at the appropriate place of his relations with Shīrīn, though without giving them in his epic the importance which they were later to assume in the eyes of other poets: Parvīz had parted from this childhood friend; meeting her again while hunting, he took her to the palace and decided to marry her, in spite of powerful opposition; then Shīrīn poisoned her rival Maryam whose son Shīrūya was cast into prison; some time afterwards, the troops mutinied, released him and proclaimed him king, while Parvīz was held prisoner in his palace, only accepting food prepared by Shīrīn; the leaders had him stabbed to death. Later, Firdawsī gave reign to his imagination: Shīrīn, on Shīrūya's orders, consented to appear before an assembly of the nobility; she justified herself in respect of all the accusations brought against her, returned to her palace, made her final dispositions, asked Shīrūya for permission to see Khusraw once more, in his tomb, and there she took a violent poison and died at his side.

It was Niẓāmī who, in his *Khusraw wa-Shīrīn* (completed in 576/1180), created the romance of Farhād and Shīrīn, a notable part of this vast poem, from which it can be detached to form a complete work in itself. It would be superfluous to analyse the contents of this and the following poems, which have been studied by H. W. Duda; but a brief analysis of this romance, from which all the others are derived, is indispensable (leaving aside the first part): Shīrīn wishes to construct a canal; Farhād is assigned to her for this purpose and begins work; Shīrīn comes to inspect the project, and they fall in love with each other; Khusraw, being apprised of this, has Farhād brought before him and, finding his passion unshaken, gives him orders to cut a way through Mount Bīsutūn and to renounce his association with Shīrīn; but she comes back to see him; the king has false news of Shīrīn's death given to Farhād who hurls himself from the mountain top and kills himself; the king has been left a widower by the death of Maryam and is on the point of marrying again; Shīrīn lives alone, in despair; but one day, visiting Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn on the pretext of hunting, the king meets Shīrīn again; after a long discussion, reminiscent of that between Wīs and Rāmīn [see GURGĀNĪ], they are reconciled and marry; the end of the reign and Khusraw's assassination correspond, in essentials, with the records of the historians; after his death Shīrīn, scorning Shīrūya's attentions, kills herself in Khusraw's tomb.

The poet Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī is the author of a *Shīrīn and Khusraw* in which the narration is more lively and the style simpler than in Niẓāmī's romance; his account of the reign and the amorous exploits of Khusraw (apart from the romance with Shīrīn) is different from Niẓāmī's; Farhād is no longer a simple engineer but is a son of the emperor of China, an exile who has become an artist; after his tragic death, Shīrīn takes revenge by having her rival, a favourite of the king, poisoned (just as she poisoned Maryam in the *Shāh-nāma*). ʿĀrifī (who lived in Ādharbāydjān in about 770/1368-9: not to be confused with the author of *Gūy u-čūgān*, d. 853/1449), desiring to use the same theme once again, succeeded merely in producing an involved work with a complicated and protracted plot, even to analyse which would be tedious; in brief, prince Farhād became a sculptor and architect in order to win the hand of a girl named Gulistān; later, when a widower, he met Shīrīn and fell in love with her; then ʿĀrifī follows his predecessors quite closely, until Farhād dies, poisoned by the mother of a young man whom Gulistān had spurned. Hātifī (about 1520) for the most part kept to the traditional account, but he added various episodes: for example, Khusraw had Farhād imprisoned in a pit in the mountains to keep him away from Shīrīn; but when digging a tunnel, Farhād came across a vein of precious stones; he managed to escape and was then recaptured. The inspiration of Waḥshī, in his *Farhād and Shīrīn* (966/1558-9, completed by Wiṣāl, 1265/1848-9), some details of which were taken from Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, is lyrical rather than narrative: the sentimental incidents are in some respects reminiscent of the inspirations of Western poets of love and chivalry. In the short *Farhād and Shīrīn* (about 400 lines of verse) of ʿUrfī (d. about 1590), which is even more lyrical than the work of Waḥshī, the hymn to the beauty of nature and the meditation on the diverse emotions of love form the essential parts of this poem in which sentiment is personified by Shīrīn, the author refraining from repeating the legend itself which he assumes will already be familiar to the reader. Finally, in 1920 Dhabīḥ Behrūz published the script of a film "The king of Iran and the Armenian princess".

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(H. MASSÉ)

This theme penetrates very early into Turkish literatures. There exist two very old versions of the poem *Khusraw and Shīrīn*, dating back to the first half of the 8th/14th century : one adapted by Ḳuṭb (ca. 741/1341) in the territories of the Golden Horde (ed. A. Zajączkowski, *Najstarsza wersja Turecka Ḫusräv u Šīrīn Quṭba*, Warsaw 1958), another written by Fakhr al-Dīn Yaʿḳūb in Western Anatolia, in the principality of the Aydîn Oghullarî (ca. 767/1366; Ms: Marburg, Westdeutsche Bibl., Or. Qu. 1069). There is also a fairly close Turkish translation of Niẓāmī's poem by Sheykhī [*q.v.*], made early in the 9th/15th century.

In Eastern Turkish literature the theme was first treated by Nawāʾī, who gave first place to the person of Farhād; Farhād, possessed with love for Shīrīn, pierces a mountain and dies on hearing the false news of Shīrīn's death. Many subsequent Turkish poets elaborated this topic, for example: *Khusraw and Shīrīn*: Aḥmed Riḍwān, Ṣadrī, Ḥayātī, Āhī, Djelīlī; *Farhād and Shīrīn* or *Farhād-nāme*: Ḥarīmī (Prince

Ḳorḳud), Lāmiʿī, Shānī, Nākām, etc. (see Faruk K. Timurtaş, *Türk edebiyatında Husrev ü Şirin ve Ferhad ü Şirin hikâyesi*, in *Ist. Ün. Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, ix (1959), 65-88).

There exist also some versions presenting the story in the form of a dramatic play, *e.g.*, the *Farhād wa Shīrīn* by the Azerbaydjan poet Samed Vurgun (d. 1956) and that by the modern Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet Ran (d. 1963), translated into Russian as "A Legend of Love".

Bibliography: (further to that given above) Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 321 ff. and index ii, s.vv. *Ferhád-Náme, Khusrev u Shirín*; G. Aliyev, *Iz istorii voznikoveniya obraza Farhada v literaturakh narodov Vostoka*, in *Kratkiya soobshčeniya Inst. vostok.*, xxvii (1958), 50-7; idem, *Legenda o Khosrove i Shirin v literaturakh narodov Vostoka*, Moscow 1960; A. Zajączkowski, *La traduction turque-osmanlie du Ḫusräv u Širin de Šeykhī*, Warsaw 1963; Fevziye Abdullah, in *İA*, s.v. Ferhad ile Şirin; Muharrem Ergin, in *Türkoloji bölümü çalışmaları*, Istanbul 1962, 113-39.

(A. Zajączkowski)

FARHANG [see ḳāmūs and maʿārif].

FARHANGISTĀN [see madjmaʿ].

FARḤĀT, Djarmānūs, Arabic philologist and poet, forerunner of the nineteenth century literary renaissance in the Arab countries, born at Aleppo 20 November 1670, and died there 10 June 1732. He was Maronite archbishop of his native town from 1725 to 1732, but we are not concerned here with his activity as an organizer, which was of the greatest importance to the Maronite church, nor with the majority of his dogmatic and polemic writings and his works of edification and history; he must however be mentioned in the history of Arabic literature as a lexicographer, grammarian and poet.

Aleppo was one of the few Arab towns which after the Ottoman conquest had retained and to a certain extent developed a literary tradition. This tradition had been fortified by certain European influences, particularly among the Arabic-speaking Christians. The establishment of the Maronite college at Rome in 1584 and the presence at Aleppo of a large colony of European merchants played an important part in this; it must not be forgotten that J. Golius (1625-6) and E. Pococke (1630-6) both spent some time there. Some literary activity flourished in all the Christian communities, and the Orthodox patriarch Makāriūs b. al-Zaʿīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 1672) is only one example out of many.

Born of a prosperous Maronite family, the Maṭar, Farḥāt received an excellent education from the Christian and Muslim scholars of Aleppo: Buṭrus al-Tūlawī, a pupil of the Maronite college of Rome (d. 1745; cf Manash in *Machriq*, vi (1903), 769-77; idem, *Mustaṭrafāt*, 7; Cheikho, *Catalogue*, 76-8, no. 270; Masʿad, *Dhikrā*, 9-11), Yaʿḳūb al-Dibsī, a great authority on rhetoric (cf. Cheikho, *op. cit.*, 97, no. 344), and the famous Muslim scholar Shaykh Sulaymān al-Naḥwī al-Ḥalabī. Besides his native languages, Syriac and Arabic, he learnt in his youth Latin and Italian. After having taken monastic vows in 1693, with the name of Djibrāʾīl, he undertook a journey to Jerusalem (cf. *Dīwān*, 131) and then settled in Lebanon where he sat at the feet of the famous Maronite patriarch Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī (1630-1704). Ordained priest in 1697, he became in 1698 abbot of the monastery of Mart Mūra at Ihdin; in 1711-2, as a result of certain complications (see *Dīwān*, 403, 469), he went on a journey to Rome, which made a deep impression on him (see *Dīwān*, 87, 131, 146, 294, 434, 438, 448), to Spain, Sicily (*op. cit.*, 220, 404) and Malta (*op. cit.*, 229). As archbishop of Aleppo (from 1725) he formed an important collection of manuscripts which still exists (cf. Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*, iv, Cairo 1914, 135) and he gathered round him a circle of poets and scholars. Among the friends whom he names in his *Dīwān* the following especially deserve mention: Niḳūlā al-Ṣāʾigh (1692-1756), of Greek descent, who shares with him the glory of being the most popular poet (*Dīwān*, 150; Cheikho in *Machriq*, vi (1903), 97-111, with portrait; idem, *Catalogue*, 131, no. 484; idem, *Shuʿarāʾ*, 503-11); Mikirdīdj al-Kasīḥ, an Armenian by birth (*Dīwān*, 239, 466; Cheikho, *Catalogue*, 195-6, no. 751; idem, *Shuʿarāʾ*, 498-501); the poet Niʿmat Allāh al-Ḥalabī (d. c. 1700; see *Dīwān*, 64; Manash in *Machriq*, v (1902), 396-405; Cheikho, *Catalogue*, 205-6, no. 796; idem, *Shuʿarāʾ*, 396-405); ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir (1680-1748), who applied himself with enthusiasm and success to printing (*Dīwān*, 158; Cheikho, *Catalogue*, 108-9, no. 386; idem, *Shuʿarāʾ*, 501-3; Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh*, iv, 45); the theologian Ilyās b. al-Fakhr (d. c. 1740; see *Dīwān*, 214; Cheikho, *Catalogue*, 39-40, no. 122), etc.

As a philologist, Farḥāt understood above all the need to make available to his fellow countrymen textbooks which would facilitate for them the study of Arabic. In almost all fields—lexicography, grammar, rhetoric—he wrote such textbooks, some of which have remained until recently in common use among Syrian Christians. Although they are based mainly on Arabic tradition, here and there, particularly in grammar, can be detected traces of European influence, especially of the Roman Maronites and of the school of Erpenius. Among his works of lexicography we have *al-Muthallathāt al-durriya* (Ṭāmīsh (Lebanon) 1867, and *Dīwān*, 92-106), an imitation in verse, composed in 1705, of the famous *Muthallathāt* of Ḳuṭrub [*q.v.*], and provided later with a commentary (manuscripts of it are not uncommon: one, of 1712, is in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad; see v. Rosen, *Les manuscrits ar. de l'Inst. des Langues Or.*, St. Petersburg 1877, 71, no. 156). His dictionary, *Iḥkām bāb al-iʿrāb min lughat al-Aʿrāb*, completed in 1718, is of greater importance; it is based for the most part on the *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī [*q.v.*], but contains many modern words and terms used by Christian Arabs; the Maronite patron of learning, the emigré Rushayd al-Daḥdāḥ (1813-89), collated five manuscripts of it with the *Ḳāmūs* and published the resulting dictionary under the title *Dictionnaire arabe par Germanos Farhat, maronite, éveque d'Alep. Revu, corrigé et considérablement augmenté sur le manuscrit de l'auteur par Rochaid de Dahdah, scheick maronite*, Marseilles 1849, with portrait of the author (Arabic title: *Iḥkām bāb al-iʿrāb*); as an appendix to the dictionary is printed the treatise *al-Faṣl al-maʿḳūd fī ʿawāmil al-iʿrāb*. Among Farḥāt's grammatical works, the *Baḥth al-maṭālib* (cf. Manash in *Machriq*, iii (1900), 1077-83; Masʿad, *Dhikrā*, 111-2) was particularly successful; written on a very large scale, in 1705, and provided the following year with notes, it was abridged in 1707 by the author himself, and it is this abridged form which has been published in many editions with commentaries by Fāris al-Shidyāḳ [*q.v.*], Malta 1836; by Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Beirut 1854; by Saʿīd al-Shartūnī, Beirut, 1865, 1883, 1891, 1896, 1899, 1913 etc.). As the zealous pupil of Yaʿḳūb al-Dibsī, Farḥāt compiled also a manual of rhetoric and poetics under the title: *Bulūgh al-arab fī ʿilm al-adab* (only in manuscript; see P. Sbath, "*L'arrivée au but*

dans l'art de la littérature": *Ouvrage sur la rhétorique par Germanos Farhat*, in *BIÉ*, xiv (1932) 275-9 with portrait; cf. *Dīwān*, 89; Cheikho, *Catalogue*, 151, no. 6). In the field of prosody two small treatises of his are known: *al-Tadhkira fi 'l-kawāfī* (printed with the *Dīwān*, 13-22) and a *Risālat al-fawāʾid fi 'l-ʿarūḍ* (cf. Cheikho, *Catalogue*, 161, no. 7).

Farḥāt is famous not only as a scholar but also as a poet. He himself collected the poems of his *Dīwān* under the title of *al-Tadhkira*, and it is in this form that the *Dīwān* has been published three times (Beirut 1850—lithogr. 1866, 1894—with the commentary of Saʿīd al-Shartūnī, based on three manuscripts; on the last edition cf. C. F. S[eybold], in *Litterarisches Zentralblatt*, 1895, col. 1447). This collection does not contain all his poetic works, many of which were later printed separately (cf. for example Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ*, 463-8, and also in *Machriq*, vii (1904), 288, xxiv (1926), 397 and *passim*). His work is interesting from the point of view of literary history as representing a systematic effort to apply the forms of Arabic poetry to specifically Christian themes: the form of the *ghazal* to hymns to the Virgin, the *khamriyyāt* to the Eucharist, etc. Farḥāt was of course not the first to do this: as early as the 8th/14th century we have the *Dīwān* of a certain Sulaymān al-Ghazzī (cf. Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ*, 404-24) devoted to the same religious themes, but his name and his works are almost forgotten, and he did not found a school. The Christian element is largely predominant in the *Dīwān* of Farḥāt, although it cannot be denied that he possessed a fairly deep knowledge of Arabic poetry in general; we find in it vigorous polemics directed against Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (248, 420, 439), many traces of the influence of Ibn al-Rūmī (257), Ibn al-Fāriḍ (295), al-Suhrawardī (310), an imitation of Avicenna's famous *kaṣīda* on the soul (274-7) etc. The form of his poems is in general classical, but he used also different types of *muwashshah*, *takhmīs* and *tasmīṭ*. His language is not always faultless and he has been rightly accused of too free recourse to poetic licence.

The bicentenary of Djarmānūs Farḥāt was celebrated at Aleppo in 1932, and in 1934 a monument was erected to him in the palace of the Maronite archbishop (*Machriq*, xxix (1931), 949; xxxii (1934), 300; cf. also the article by F. A. al-Bustānī in *Machriq*, xxx (1932), 49-53; on the volume published in his honour, cf. *ibid.*, xxxi (1933), 789-90).

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(I. Kratschkowsky-[A. G. Karam])

FARĪD PASHA [see dāmād ferīd pasha].

FARĪD AL-DĪN [see ʿaṭṭār].

FARĪD AL-DĪN MASʿŪD "GANDJ-I-SHAKAR", one of the most distinguished of Indian Muslim mystics, was born some time in 571/1175 at Kahtwāl, a town near Multān, in a family which traced its descent from the caliph ʿUmar. His grandfather, Ḳāḍī Shuʿayb, who belonged to a ruling house of Kābul, migrated to India under the stress of the Ghuzz invasions. Shaykh Farīd's first teacher, who exerted a lasting influence on him, was his mother, who kindled that spark of Divine Love in him which later dominated his entire being, and moulded his thought and action. Shaykh Farīd received his education in a *madrasa* attached to the mosque of one Mawlānā Minhādj al-Dīn Tirmidhī at Multān where, later, he met Shaykh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī [*q.v.*], *khalīfa* of Shaykh Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī [*q.v.*], and got himself admitted into the Čishtī order. According to Ghawthī Shaṭṭārī, Shaykh Farīd excelled all other saints in his devotions and penitences. At Uččh he performed the *ṣalāt-i maʿkūs* by hanging head downwards in a well, suspended from the boughs of a tree. He observed fasts of all types, the most difficult of them being *Ṣawm-i Dāʾūdī* and *Ṭayy*. He had committed to memory the entire text of the Ḳurʾān and used to recite it once in twenty-four hours. Accounts of his visits to foreign lands by later writers are hardly reliable because no early authority refers to them. Besides Shaykh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, he received spiritual benedictions from Shaykh Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī also. For nearly 20 years he lived and worked at Ḥānsī, in the Ḥiṣār district. Later on he moved to Adjodhan (now called Pāk Pattan on his account) from where his fame spread far and wide. He died at Adjodhan on 5 Muḥarram 664/17 October 1265. During the last 700 years his tomb has been one of the most venerated centres of pilgrimage for the people of the sub-continent. Hindūs, Muslims and Sikhs alike hold him in high esteem. Numerous rulers, including Tīmūr and Akbar, have visited his grave for spiritual blessings. The town of Farīdkōṭ was named after him. He left a big family which spread in the country and many of his descendants (e.g. Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn of Radjabpur, near Amroha, and Shaykh Salīm Čishti of Fateḥpur Siḳri) set up important mystic centres.

To Shaykh Farīd belongs the credit of giving an all-India status to the Čishtī *silsila* and training a number of eminent disciples—like Shaykh Djamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ of Dihlī and Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ṣābir of Kalyar—who disseminated its teachings far and wide. By establishing close personal contact with people, he transformed the Čishtī order—which was, till then, limited in its sphere of influence—into a powerful movement for the spiritual culture of the masses. He attracted towards Islam many of the Hindū tribes of the Pandjāb. The impact of his teachings is discernible in the sacred book of the Sikhs, the *Guru Granth*, where his sayings are respectfully quoted. His knowledge of *tafsīr*, *ḳirāʾāt* and *fiḳh*, besides his mastery of Arabic grammar, impressed even the specialists. He introduced the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* into the mystic syllabus of those days, taught it to his disciples and himself prepared a summary of it.

Since all sorts of people—*djogīs* and *kāfirān-i siyāh posh*, Hindūs and Muslims, villagers and townsfolk—came to him, his *djamāʿat khāna* grew into a veritable centre for cultural intercourse between different social groups. Some of the earliest sentences of *Hinduwī* (the earliest form of Urdū) were uttered in his dwelling. He also helped in the development of some local dialects of the Pandjāb by recommending religious exercises in the Pandjābī language (Shāh Kalīm Allāh, *Kashkōl-i Kalīmī*, Dihlī 1308, 25).

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(K. A. Nizami)

FARĪḌA [see FARĀʾIḌ, FARḌ].

FARĪDKŌṬ, formerly a small feudatory princely state in the Pandjāb, now merged with the Fīrūzpur Division of the Indian Pandjāb, and lying between 30° 13′ and 30° 50′ N. and 74° 31′ and 75° 5′ E. with an area of 642 sq. miles. Both the State and the principal town of the same name are unimportant. The town, lying in 30° 40′ N. and 74° 49′ E., 20 miles south of Fīrūzpur [*q.v.*], has a fort built by Rādja Mokulsī, a native Rādjpūt chief, in the time of Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-Shakar [*q.v.*], popularly known as Bāwā (Bābā) Farīd, after whom the fort was named Farīdkōṭ (*kōṭ* = fort). The founder was apparently an admirer and devotee of the saint, who was equally popular with the Muslims and the non-Muslims. The former ruling family belonging to the Siddhū-Brār clan of the Djāṭs [*q.v.*], who later embraced Sikhism, occupied the town and the neighbouring territory during the time of Akbar [*q.v.*]. They were, however, involved in several petty quarrels with the surrounding Sikh states belonging to their kinsmen. Offended at the hostility of their neighbours, the ruling family sided with the British during the Sikh Wars, being rewarded with the restoration of certain lost territory. Again during the military uprising of 1857 the ruler, Wazīr Singh, remained loyal and actively assisted the British, receiving a further handsome reward. Farīdkōṭ, along with the other Phulkian States ruled by the Sikh Rādjas of the same common family, was badly disturbed during the communal riots of 1947 which followed in the wake of Partition, and is now without any Muslims, who have all migrated to Pakistan.

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FARĪDPUR, head-quarters of a district bearing the same name in East Pakistan. The district was created in 1807 out of the older division of Dacca-Djalālpur. It embraces an area of 2,371 square miles and has a population of 2,709,711 (1951 census). The city (pop. 25,287), which is named after that of the local *pīr* Shaykh Farīd, is situated on an old channel of the Padmā, called the *Marā* (dead) *Padmā*. It is generally identified with the Fatḥābād of the Muslim period. The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* mentions Sarkār Fatḥābād, and this name is believed to originate from that of Djalāl al-Dīn Fatḥ Shāh, the Bengal Sultan (886-92/1481-6). But Fatḥābād as a mint town is known to have been first started by Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (818-31/1415-35) after his conquest of the Hindū Rādjā of south Bengal. Since then Fatḥābād maintained its integrity, rising to an almost independent status in the time of the Dihlī emperor Akbar under the local *zamīndār* Madjlis Ḳuṭub, who was finally subjugated in about 1013/1609 by Islām Khān, the Mughal *ṣubadār* of Bengal. It is in this district that the Farāʾiḍiyya [*q.v.*] movement was started by Ḥādjdjī Sharīʿat Allāh in the early 19th century, which was of a rural character and hence spread far and wide in the riparian districts of lower Bengal.

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FARĪDŪN (Pahlavi, Frēdun; ancient Iranian, Thraētaona), the son of Abtiyān or Abtīn, one of the early kings of Īrān. The most complete text on the subject is the account of his reign by Firdawsī, in verse; some of the sources for it will be found in pre-Islamic texts. §§ 130-8 of the *Yasht*s of the Avesta reveal the names of the first kings of Īrān in their original order (the first being Yima [see djamshīd]), whose conqueror and murderer, Azhī-Dahāka, was overthrown in his turn and put to death by Thraētaona; the latter was rewarded by a share of the aureole of glory (*hvareno*) which, from the throne of Ahura-Mazda, descends upon the heads of saints and heroes, and which as the result of a grave transgression had forsaken Yima (*Yasht* 19); Thraētona the son of Athwya, the priest responsible for preparing the sacred potion known as *haoma*, saved the world from the domination of the monstrous demon Azhī-Dahāka, liberated Arnavāk and Sahavāk (Firdawsī: Arnawāz and Shahrnāz), the daughters of the dead Yima, became king of Īrān and then, in old age, divided his empire between his three sons, one of whom, Iradj, was assassinated by the other two, leaving a daughter; Thraētona married her, with the object of procreating an avenger for his son (J. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, i, 131, n. 15, sees in this consanguineous union, subsequently transformed by national tradition, an early instance of *khetuk-das*; cf. the same author, *Études iraniennes*, ii, 217 ff., and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 145). According to religious tradition, Thraētaona fought against the demons of Māzandarān (national tradition describes him as an expert in magic). In the national tradition, handed down by the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī, Azhī-Dahāka (Persian: Zahhāk) retains only one feature of his monstrous appearance —two serpents which sprang from his shoulders at the kiss of the devil, and which he has to feed by demanding the daily sacrifice of a group of his subjects; one night, in a dream, he sees the young warrior who overthrows him; he consults his soothsayers and learns that Farīdūn will be born and will overthrow him; he orders the execution of the father of Farīdūn, for whom he has a vigorous search made from the time of his birth, though in vain; aided by partisans led by the blacksmith Kāvah, Farīdūn defeats Zahhāk's troops and imprisons him, in a cave on Mount Damāwand [*q.v.*]; being proclaimed king of Īrān, he established justice and peace in the land; three sons were born to him and, in due time, he divided his empire between them; the two eldest, jealous of their younger brother, put him to death—a murder which gave rise to interminable wars; from the union of Iradj and a slave-girl married to a nephew of Farīdūn was born Manučihr who succeeded his father on the throne of Īrān, overthrew and put to death his two uncles whose heads he sent to Farīdūn; the latter ended his life in solitude, mourning his sons, his eyes fixed on their three skulls.—To this narrative, Arab and Iranian authors add little. According to Ibn Isfandyār, (*History of Tabaristan*, trans. E. G. Browne, 15; ed. Iḳbāl, Tehrān, index), Farīdūn was born in the village of Warka, a dependency of Lāridjān; Ibn al-Balkhī (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, index) credits him with a fantastic genealogy (12), the stature and corpulence of a giant, a very wide field of knowledge, the inauguration of the autumn feast of *mihrgān* [*q.v.*], the re-establishment of justice, the use of simples and magic practices to cure illnesses of both humans and animals, the creation of the mule(36); Balʿamī (*Chronique*, trans. Zotenberg, index s.v. Afrīdūn) speaks of Farīdūn's knowledge of astronomy and fancifully attributes the Khwārizmian Tables to him; al-Thaʿālibī (*Histoire des rois des Perses*, ed.-trans. Zotenberg) relates, according to the Pahlavi *Āyīn-nāmagh* (Book of institutions) that, in his reign, men were classed according to merit and to services performed (15); furthermore, he records sentences and proverbs ascribed to Farīdūn (40); al-Shahrastānī (*Milal*, trans. Haarbrucker, i, 298) credits him with the construction of a pyraeus; al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, trans. Sachau, 213 and index s.v. Frēdūn) indirectly attributes to him the introduction of the Sada, a periodic bonfire, whilst Firdawsī connects him with the invention of fire by king Hūshang (*Shāh-nāma*, trans. Mohl, i, 26) and attributes the custom of the *mihrgān* fire to Farīdūn (i, 85).

Bibliography: in addition to the sources quoted above, see also: Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Thraētaona); Ṭabarī, index, s.v. Afrīdūn; Schwarz, *Irān* (index, s.v. Afrīdūn); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; idem, *Avertissement*, trans. Carra de Vaux, index (in particular 126, n. 1, quotation from Abū Tammām); Ḥamza Isfāhānī (ed. Gottwald, i, 13, brief mention); Yāḳūt, index, s.v. Afrīdūn (his enthronement, his sons) and Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 5, n. 2; Maḳdisī, *Création et histoire*, ed.-trans. Cl. Huart, iii, 8, 149; *Mudjmil al-tawārīkh*, in *JA*, xi (1841), 157 (short résumé of the reign, following Firdawsī); *ʿUlamā-i Islām*, trans. Blochet, in *RHR*, xxxvii (1898), 45 (mention only); A. Christensen, *Heltedigtning og Fortaellingslitteratur hos Iranerne i Oldtiden*, Copenhagen 1935; M. Molé, *Le partage du monde dans la tradition iranienne*, in *JA*, ccxl (1952), 455 ff. (H. Massé)

FARĪDŪN [see ferīdūn beg].

FARĪGHŪNIDS (Āl-i Farīghūn, Banū Farīghūn), ruling dynasty of Gūzgān (Gūzgānān, Gūzgānyān, Arabic al-Djūzdjān [*q.v.*]) in east Khurāsān, now in north-west Afghānistān. In the 4th/10th century they appear among the principal vassals of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*]. The name is perhaps to be connected with that of the legendary Afrīdhūn (Farīdūn), cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 23, 46, or somewhat more probably with that of Afrīgh (Farīgh), who is said to have ruled in Khwārizm in pre-Islamic times (see al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 35, transl. 41). There is no evidence, though this remains a possibility, that the Farīghūnids were descended from the pre-Islamic rulers of Gūzgān, the Gūzgān Khudāhs, on whom Ṭabarī has some details (ii, 1206, 1569, 1609-11, 1694, cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 40, trans. 29).

The names and number of the Farīghūnid rulers have never been determined with certainty, owing principally to contradictory statements in the text of the *Taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī* of ʿUtbī [*q.v.*], a contemporary authority, who has been followed by the later historians (Ibn al-Athīr, Rashīd al-Dīn, Ibn Khaldūn, etc.). The list as usually given includes:

(a) Aḥmad b. Farīghūn, *amīr* of Gūzgān about 287/900. He was a prince of importance, who according to Narshakhī refused the friendship of the *amīr* of Marw, whereupon the latter turned to Ismāʿīl, the Sāmānid ruler of Transoxiana. Aḥmad b. Farīghūn subsequently did homage to ʿAmr b. Layth, the

Ṣaffārid (Narshakhī, ed. Schefer, 85, transl. R. N. Frye, *History of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, 87).

(b) Abu 'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Farīghūn. He is first mentioned apparently as Abu 'l-Ḥārith b. Farīghūn (in connexion with his secretary Dja'far b. Sahl b. al-Marzubān, who was famous for his hospitality and the most popular man in Khurāsān) by al-Iṣṭakhrī (148), and later by Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. De Goeje, 208, ed. Kramers, 292). Al-Iṣṭakhrī wrote according to De Goeje not later than 933 (Barthold, Preface to *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 6, 19), but the date 951 is often given (cf. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 176). Abu 'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Farīghūn evidently gave his daughter in marriage to the young Sāmānid sovereign Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, some time after the latter's accession in 365/976 (Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāẓim, 48), and in 372/982 he received the dedication of the geographical work *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, possibly written by another Ibn Farīghūn (see Minorsky in *A Locust's Leg*, 189-96).

After 380/990 Abu 'l-Ḥārith as Sāmānid *amīr* of Gūzgān was ordered to oppose Fā'iḳ, the *amīr* of Harāt, who was then in rebellion. He assembled a large force and advanced from Gūzgān against Fā'iḳ, last heard of at al-Tirmidh across the Oxus. Fā'iḳ sent a cavalry force of 500 men, Turks and Arabs, who routed the army of the Farīghūnid and returned thereafter to Balkh (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, i, 166, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 383). In 383/993 Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, on the way to chastise rebellious subjects in Khurāsān, crossed the Oxus into Gūzgān and met its governor, the *amīr* Abu 'l-Ḥārith al-Farīghūnī, remaining there till all his forces arrived (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, i, 184). Sabuktakīn [*q.v.*] was at this time in command of the Sāmānid forces, and in 385/995 he and his son Maḥmūd requested Abu 'l-Ḥārith al-Farīghūnī to join them in Harāt, which he did (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, i, 209; Gardīzī, 56). At some time a double marriage alliance united the two families, Maḥmūd marrying a daughter of Abu 'l-Ḥārith and Maḥmūd's sister being given to the son of Abu 'l-Ḥārith, Abū Naṣr (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 101, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 401, Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Lebanon 1958, iv, 790). Later, when Sabuktakīn died (387/997) Abu 'l-Ḥārith al-Farīghūnī attempted to mediate between his sons Maḥmūd and Ismāʿīl (ʿUtbī Manīnī, i, 275), and Maḥmūd, when about to march on Ghazna, wrote a letter to inform him (*ibid.*, i, 277). Eventually, towards 389/999, Maḥmūd committed Ismāʿīl to the safe keeping of the governor of Gūzgān, Abu 'l-Ḥārith (*ibid.*, i, 316).

It is somewhat striking that Abu 'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Farīghūn is apparently never named by ʿUtbī. In his formal account of the Farīghūnids (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 101-5) he states that Abu 'l-Ḥārith Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was the father of Abū Naṣr, who in the sequel appears as the head of the family (below, (*c*)). It seems feasible that some time after 372/982 Abu 'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad, who had already enjoyed a career of perhaps as long as 50 years, was succeeded by a son with the same *kunya*, Abu 'l-Ḥārith Aḥmad, who would then be the Farīghūnid who engaged in the various campaigns mentioned by ʿUtbī between 990 and 995. But the texts of the passage vary: Minorsky has already pointed out that in ʿUtbī-Manīnī (ii, 101) Abu 'l-Ḥārith Aḥmad b. Muḥammad is succeeded by his son Abū Naṣr Aḥmad *b. Muḥammad*, which is impossible, from which he concludes that Abu 'l-Ḥārith Aḥmad b. Muḥammad never existed (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 176), and although in the same passage the Delhi (1847, p. 283) and Lahore (1300/1882, p. 227) editions of ʿUtbī give, as the son of Abu 'l-Ḥārith Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, no positive conclusion is afforded. Elsewhere ʿUtbī names Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Farīghūnī (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 84, also Delhi, 271, Lahore, 218). The successor of b. Abu 'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad is usually said to be

(c) Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Farīghūn. In 389/999, when Maḥmūd destroyed the Sāmānid power in Khurāsān and established himself at Balkh, the local rulers who had previously acknowledged the Sāmānids, submitted to him, including Āl-i Farīghūn, rulers of Gūzgān (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, i, 316, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 389). Thus when the Īlek Khān crossed the Oxus to attack Maḥmūd, Abū Naṣr al-Farīghūnī the governor of Gūzgān fought in the centre with the Sultan's brother Naṣr against the Ḳara-Khānids at the battle of Čarkhiyān in 398/January 1008 (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 84, cf. Ibn Khaldūn, iv, 788). Later in the same year, or in the following year, Maḥmūd invaded India. His brother-in-law Abū Naṣr al-Farīghūnī accompanied him, and played a prominent part (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 98, cf. Ibn Khaldūn, iv, 789). Abū Naṣr had been confirmed in the possession of Gūzgān at his father's death, and continued to enjoy all his rights there till his own death in 401/1010-1 (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 102, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno*, Ibn Khaldūn, iv, 790).

(*d*) Ḥasan b. Farīghūn, once mentioned by Bayhaḳī (*Ta'rīkh*, ed. Morley, 125, cited Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 177), apparently did not succeed to, or did not retain, the governorship of Gūzgān, which was ruled from 408/1017-8 as a Ghaznawid fief by Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (married to a daughter of Abū Naṣr al-Farīghūnī) (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 236).

Nothing can be gleaned concerning the Farīghūnids from the portion of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* of al-Djūzdjānī translated by H. G. Raverty, who in his notes mentions a Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad Farīghūnī, *i.e.*, Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] of Khwārizm. This man is called Farīghūnī also by the late (16th century) writer Ghaffārī (Giffārī) (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 174; *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, GMS, 1910, 243), and this is usually reckoned a mistake. It is possible, however, that Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad (whose genealogy is still unknown) belonged to a collateral branch of the family of the Khwārizm Shāhs whom he dispossessed in 386/996, in which case he might claim descent from the Afrīgh or Farīgh of Khwārizm mentioned earlier in this article.

In the 10th century under the Farīghūnids Gūzgān appears to have possessed greater importance than at other times in its history. Apart from their political activity, the Farīghūnids were also patrons of learned men and poets, including Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī and Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Bustī (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 102-5, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 401; Ibn Khaldūn, iv, 790) and of course the author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*.

Bibliography: V. V. Barthold, Preface to *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 4-7; V. Minorsky, *ibid.*, 173-8 (the best and most complete account); idem, *Ibn Farīghūn and the Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, in *A Locust's Leg, Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 189-96; E. Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis muhammedanischer Dynastien*, in *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1923, i/5, p. 5 (based on the 17th century author Münedjdjim-Bashī); D. M. Dunlop, *The Jawāmiʿ al-ʿUlūm of Ibn Farīghūn*, in *Z. V. Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1955, 348-53; Muḥam-

mad Nāẓim, *Life and times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, Appendix C, The Farighunids, 179-80; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*..., Edinburgh 1963, index; Zambaur, 205.

(D. M. Dunlop)

FĀRIS (A., pl. *fursān* and also *fawāris*, probably for the sake of expressiveness) denotes the rider on horseback, and in principle cannot be applied to the man riding a donkey or mule. The horse was considered in the article FARAS, equitation will be discussed in FURŪSIYYA, and in the present article we shall not dwell on subjects relating to the horse, but rather concentrate on the rider. It will be noticed immediately that, in Arabic, to 'ride a horse' is rendered by *rakiba*, with the result that the active participle *rākib* has the general sense "horseman", while *fāris* has the form of an active participle of *farusa* "to be an expert on horses" and, with the root *f. r. s.* implying an idea of capacity for judging at a single glance and guessing hidden qualities by external inspection [see FIRĀSA], there is a curious semantic convergence which has not received any satisfactory explanation. D. J. Wiseman, consulted on Semitic parallels, writes as follows: "The Hebrew פרש (probably *parraš*) is used of a '(warrior) rider' in 44 passages. I do not agree with S. Mowinckel, *Vetus Testamentum* XII/3 (July 1962), p. 290, that the meaning 'horse' (which is considered probable in 7 passages) should apply in all these passages. The word does not occur in Akkadian (the verb *parāšu* means 'to fly along') where *rākib* (as also in Hebrew) is used of the horseman".

However that may be, during the Djāhiliyya and the first centuries of Islam *fāris* appears in texts with the sense of simple horseman, which in itself indicated membership of a well-to-do class, but also, though the nuance is not always apparent, to denote, in conjunction with the more explicit *baṭal* and *faḥl*, the valiant, the champion, the intrepid warrior, to such an extent that one is sometimes tempted to translate this term by "cavalier", "knight", though not without the risk of leading the reader into error, for during the period in question no social institution existed among the Arabs comparable with the chivalry of mediaeval Europe.

Nevertheless the fact remains that the translation of *fāris* by "knight" is not in itself an error, for chivalry was nascent even in the pre-Islamic period and the first centuries of Islam, and the practices, customs and sentiments of "chivalry" were widely disseminated in at least one section of Arab society; by force of arms, the *fāris* defended first his "country" in the shape of the tribal patrimony, and then his religion; he protected the weak, the widows and orphans either in an entirely disinterested way or to increase his prestige; he addressed verses somewhat in the "courtly" tradition [see NASĪB] to his Lady, eschewed force in dealing with a conquered enemy, was to the highest possible degree conscious of his dignity [see ḤILM], despised riches and was content with provision merely for subsistence, occasionally making use of practices which morality would condemn. In the more or less idealized portrait of the *fursān* we can thus discern the noble features of chivalry, but in this case it is a personal chivalry, so to speak, without any precise code, initiation ceremonies, investiture or accolade.

To be a *fāris*, all that was in fact needed was to own a horse, an attribute which secured for the mounted warrior a rate of pay and share of the booty twice as large as those of the plain foot-soldier [see ʿAṬĀʾ, GHANĪMA], but to rank among the true *fursān* it was necessary to have performed deeds of prowess on the battle-field and, in single combat, to have shown courage above the ordinary. When warring armies came face to face, the *fāris* stepped forward from the ranks and, after certain preliminaries, issued a challenge to the foe: "Is there a champion (*mubāriz*) [ready to prove himself against me]?". In the wars waged by the Arabs, single combats often formed the first phase of the battle; historians give the names of the *fursān* and describe with satisfaction the deeds that they accomplished, a notable feature being that they did not always belong to the military aristocracy and often held only a very subordinate rank; their feats of arms nevertheless won them generous rewards. In battle, the *fāris* remained composed, encouraged his comrades in arms, hastened to the rescue of those who were hard pressed, was ready to give up his mount for an unhorsed officer and to continue the combat on foot, etc. When the army was put to flight, he stayed on until the end to fight a delaying action, once again brought solace to his companions, gave aid to the footsore, and finally sacrificed himself to minimize the results of the defeat. The *fāris* wore a light coat of mail and carried a sabre, a javelin and also a lasso (*wahaḳ*) which, in single combat, was used to unhorse his adversary and make him bite the dust (for later developments, see DJAYSH and ḤARB).

Works of *adab* and history enumerate the *fursān* of the various tribes, some of whom have become proverbial; in particular, there is the saying *afras min Summ al-fursān* "a better *fāris* than Summ al-fursān" [= ʿUtayba b. al-Ḥārith of the Tamīm], *afras min Mulāʿib al-asinna* [= ʿĀmir b. Mālik of the Ḳays], *afras min ʿĀmir* [*b. al-Ṭufayl*], *afras min Bisṭām* [*b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī*], etc. Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is regarded as the *fāris* par excellence of Ḳuraysh, ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī as the *fāris* of Islam; ʿAntara is called ʿAntarat *al-fawāris*, etc. Some of these *fursān* have become the heroes of "romances of chivalry" which in Arabic bear the name *Sīra* [see ʿANTAR, BAṬṬĀL, DHU 'L-HIMMA, SĪRA].

Bibliography: Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1352, ii, 32 ff.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1346/1928, i, 60 ff.; Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, bābs 40-1; Wacyf Boutros Ghali, *La tradition chevaleresque des Arabes*, Paris 1919, *passim*; Bichr Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 22 ff.; see also FUTUWWA, SIPĀHĪ, SUVĀR.

(Ed.)

FĀRIS B. MUḤAMMAD, alias ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN ABU 'L-SHAWḲ [see ʿANNAZIDS].

FĀRIS AL-SHIDYĀḲ, Lebanese writer, lexicographer, journalist and poet, born at ʿAshḳūt in 1804 (B. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾira*, x, 428; Ṭ. al-Shidyāḳ, *Akhbār al-aʿyān*, 194; Zaydān, *Mashāhīr*, ii, 74; al-Dibs, *al-Djāmiʿ al-mufaṣṣal*, 534; Ṭarrāzī, *Taʾrīkh al-ṣiḥāfa*, i, 96), and not at Beirut (as Brockelmann, II, 505), nor in 1805 (as Masʿad, *Fāris al-Shidyāḳ*, 16; Y. Yazbik, in *al-Makshūf*, no. 172, 8). In 1809 his parents moved to Hadath (15 km. from Beirut, Ḥārat al-Buṭm), where Fāris received his early education, later going on to the seminary of ʿAyn Waraḳa (Kisrwān, Lebanon: see *al-Sāḳ*, 14-7; *Dāʾira*, x, 428; Masʿad, *op. cit.*, 17). As the result of a political clash and the death of his father (in 1820: Masʿad, 17; *al-Sāḳ*, 31-2), he embarked on the profession of his brother Ṭannūs (1791-1861), the copying of manuscripts (*Akhbār*, 193, 197; *al-Sāḳ*, 31-2, 45-8, 68), finding the necessary materials in his father's library. It is in 1830 that there occurred the dramatic event which profoundly affected his life, his character and the direction of

his talents—the passion and martyrdom of his brother Asʿad (1798-1830), who, because of his conversion to Protestantism, was arbitrarily imprisoned and tortured to death by the Maronite Patriarch Yūsuf Ḥubaysh (d. 1845, see *Khabariyyat Asʿad al-Shidyāḳ*, in B. al-Bustānī, *Ḳiṣṣat Asʿad al-Shidyāḳ*, 31-59, 93-104, 106, 109, 120-1). Fāris's conversion to Protestantism is to be dated towards the end of 1825 (Cheikho, *Ādāb*, ii, 79, Ṭarrāzī, *Ṣiḥāfa*, i, 96, and Masʿad, 18, who allege that he was converted in Malta, *i.e.*, between 1834 and 1848, are to be rejected: see *al-Sāḳ*[1], 377-8 and the dispute between Khardjī and Sūḳī; pages 130-2 confirm that he attached himself to the Protestant Evangelical Mission before his departure for Egypt).

His stay in Egypt (1825-34) was marked by his first marriage (his wife, a Maronite born at al-Ṣūlī, was the mother of his two sons Salīm, 1826-1906, and Fāyiz, 1828-56), and by his coming under the influence of men of learning and of letters such as Naṣr Allāh al-Ṭarābulusī (1770-1840) and Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Mālikī (1803-57). He found there an environment conducive to the study of Arabic, of logic, of theology, of *kalām* and of prosody. Winning the favour of Muḥammad ʿAlī, he was appointed Arabic editor of the official gazette, *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*, in place of Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] (see *al-Aʿyān*, 198; *Dāʾira*, x, 428; Masʿad, 18; *Makshūf*, no. 170, 1938, 12; ʿAbbūd, *Ṣaḳr*, 135-6; Dāghir, *Maṣādir*, ii, 472-3).

At the request of the head of the Protestant Evangelical Mission, he moved to Malta, where he spent several years (1834-48: see *Wāsiṭa*, 3) teaching Arabic, writing text-books and correcting manuscripts; he interrupted this austere existence only twice (*al-Sāḳ*, 436, 474-7, 478-82; *Wāsiṭa*, 14; ʿAbbūd, 171), to return secretly to Lebanon in 1837 and to visit England in 1845 (see Najm, *Thesis*, 61).

In 1848 he was invited to London (*Kashf al-mukhabbā*, 67) to assist in the translation of the Bible (*Kanz al-raghāʾib*, i, 168-70); there, divorcing his first wife, he married an Englishwoman, obtained British protection (*Kashf*, 280, on the oath) and lost his third child (*al-Sāḳ*, 613-7). When the translation of the Bible was completed (in less than 20 months), he took up residence in Paris (*ibid.*, 633-41). Two panegyrics, the one addressed to Aḥmad Pasha, Bey of Tunis (*zārat Suʿād*, 1851: see *ZDMG*, v, 249 ff.; H. Pérès, in *al-Makshūf*, no. 314, 2), the other to Sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd in 1854 (see *al-Sāḳ*, 665-72), were to change the course of his life. He received a warm welcome at Tunis (1857), where he embraced Islam, adopting the personal name Aḥmad and abandoning the patronymic al-Shidyāḳ (see Cheikho, *Ādāb*, ii, 80; *Dāʾira*, x, 429, § 1); his wife and son did likewise (*Dāʾira*, *loc. cit.*). According to Ṭarrāzī he had no part, as has been claimed, in the establishment of *al-Rāʾid al-Tūnisī* (*Ṣiḥāfa*, i, 66).

But it was in Istanbul (end of 1857) that Fāris was to reach the summit of his fame. In favour with the Sultan, who had summoned him officially, and loaded with honours, he established (yet only after many reverses: see *Dīwān*, 24-6, 28-9) the weekly paper *al-Djawāʾib* (2 July 1861 until 1884: the statement of Cheikho, *Ādāb*, ii, 80, Ṭarrāzī, *Ṣiḥāfa*, i, 61, *Dāʾira*, x, 429, § 2, that publication began in 1860 is to be rejected: see *Kanz al-raghāʾib*, vii, 110-1, Masʿad, 21, Najm, *Thesis*, 247-75), thus inaugurating a new era in Arab journalism (ʿAbbūd, *Ṣaḳr*, 157-62 and DJARĪDA).

After a cordial welcome and a brief stay in Cairo (1886), Fāris al-Shidyāḳ returned to Istanbul (26 May 1887: *al-Ahrām*, issue of that day), where he died a few months later, on 20 September 1887, in his summer residence at Kadıköy. The assertion that he finally returned to Catholicism is completely baseless (the hypothesis of Cheikho, *Catal.*, 123, no. 447 and of Yazbik, in *al-Djumhūr*, no. 99 (1938), 8, 104, is to be rejected: see ʿAbbūd, *ibid.*, no. 102, 15, Najm, *Thesis*, 69-73). On Wednesday 5 October 1887 his body was received at Beirut (see Masʿad, 25-42; *Lisān al-ḥāl*, no. 997 (6 October 1887); Āṣaf, *Huwa 'l-Bāḳī*, Cairo 1888) and buried at Ḥāzmiyya (a suburb of Beirut).

Of his numerous works (*Dāʾira*, x, 430, §§ 1-2; Sarkis, §§ 1104-8; Dāghir, *Maṣādir*, ii, 474-6), only the most characteristic will be mentioned here. *K. al-Sāḳ ʿala 'l-Sāḳ fīmā huwa 'l-Fāryāḳ ʿan ayyām wa shuhūr wa aʿwām fī ʿudjm al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam* (1st edition Paris 1855, for details see *Kashf al-mukhabbā*, 285, 289; 2nd and 3rd editions Cairo 1919 and 1920) is certainly the most basic, and one of the most distinguished Arabic works of the 19th century. The noun Fāryāḳ is made up from the first syllable of his personal name (Fāris) and the second syllable of his family name (al-Shidyāḳ). In this autobiographical miscellany, packed with memories of childhood and youth, are combined narrative skill, observation, and social, moral and religious criticism.

Al-Wāsiṭa fī maʿrifat aḥwāl Mālṭa (1st ed. Malta 1836, 2nd ed., together with *al-Kashf*, in *al-Djawāʾib*, 1299/1881) is written in the style of the mediaeval Arab travellers; the author recounts the observations made during his stay in Malta, dealing with its physical geography (6-11), demography and climate (11-8, 27), ethnology and sociology (21, 29, 30, 31-44, 55), politics (44-50), philology (23-5, 56-66), art, and notably music, singing (50-4) and architecture (25, churches), illustrated sometimes by statistics and sometimes by comparative analyses.

According to the author, the *Kashf al-mukhabbā ʿan funūn Urubbā* (1st ed. Tunis 1866, 2nd ed. Istanbul 1881) forms the second part of *al-Wāsiṭa*, consisting of his travel-notes in Europe. In it are found recorded historical facts (Napoleon, 260; Joan of Arc, 262; other famous figures, 258), thoughts on civilizations (London: 290-306, 313-36; Paris: 238, 247, specially 271, 276-7) and different systems of government (279 ff.), reflections on religion (189, 256), and some tales in the manner of the *Gūlistān* (285, 289). The digressions and the tales are recounted in a precise and direct style. Apart from a few extravagances, the two works are not without order and clarity.

As a linguist, al-Shidyāḳ is to be remembered for his debates with his chief followers; Y. al-Asīr (1815-90) and I. al-Aḥdab (1826-91) on the one hand, and then N. al-Yāzidjī, his son Ibrāhīm (1847-1906), Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-83), Adīb Isḥāḳ (1856-86) on the other (see *al-Djinān*, 1871; *al-Ḍiyāʾ*, iv, 190; Shiblī, *passim* and texts, 62-349; ʿAbbūd, *Ṣaḳr*, 74-84, 162-7). In *al-Djāsūs ʿala 'l-Ḳāmūs* (Istanbul 1299/1881) he points out, in the course of a long introduction (2-90), the shortcomings of the Arabic dictionaries, establishes the reason for this (3-5), and demonstrates the principal errors committed by their various authors (10-45, with biographical notes 22-4, 71-2, 77-9). He then draws up an extended and passionate criticism of al-Fīrūzābādī, and probably al-Bustānī, his imitator, analysing the 24 weaknesses which he finds in al-Fīrūzābādī's *Ḳāmūs* (90-519). In spite of its importance, this work occupies only a secondary position in comparison with *Sirr al-layāl fi 'l-ḳalb wa 'l-ibdāl* (i, Istanbul

1884; vol. ii appears to exist in MS in private hands, see Najm, *Thesis*, 196), in which the author undertakes the study of the verbs and nouns in current use, which he arranges according to their pronunciation in order to demonstrate the links connecting them, their origin and the nuances distinguishing them, as well as of permutation, inversion and synonyms; he also supplies some of the omissions of al-Fīrūzābādī (*Sirr*, 6).

The author of a text-book of grammar (*Ghunyat al-ṭālib*, 1288/1871), he laughed at the extravagant exponents of the subject (*Fāryāḳ*, 68-9, 238) and wrote two text-books of Arabic grammar, in French (with G. Dugat, Paris 1854) and in English (*Practical Arabic grammar*, 2nd ed. London 1866). Drawing on the old lexicons, he undertook the translation of a work on the nature of animals (Malta 1841), assisted in the translation of the Bible, borrowed extensively from Western journals, and composed a trilingual (Persian-Turkish-Arabic) dictionary (Beirut 1876).

Extensive though it is, al-Shidyāḳ's poetical production (*Dīwān* of 22,000 lines: *Mashāhīr*, ii, 82; *Dā'ira*, x, 430; selections published Istanbul 1291/1874; various poems in *al-Sāḳ*, *al-Wāsiṭa*, *Kashf*; see especially *Kanz al-raghā'ib*, iii and introduction to the *Dīwān*) remains on the whole linked with the classical tradition. Besides the quatrains in which he expresses his misfortunes, there are some satirical effusions and some lyrical outbursts (*Kanz*, iii, e.g. 8, 11, 56-7, 80, 85, 87 and *passim*; *Dīwān*, 11, 12, 15, 16, 22, 30, 33, 43, 80, 84, 88, 89). The rest is a more or less servile imitation of the older writers, most of it occasional verse.

The *Kanz al-raghā'ib* (7 vols.), selections from *al-Djawā'ib*, reflects the results of his reading, his travels, his translations and his personal contacts. It is a mixture of ethics, sociology, politics (i and ii), history (v-vii), literature and linguistic discussions, composed of numerous diverse elements and assorted pieces of information which have aroused interest in both Oriental and European circles (*al-Muḳtabas*, vi).

In the religious sphere no faith satisfied him, and he remained a sceptic, a cynic, a realist, a materialist in search of honours and pleasures. Yet he rebelled, and, though joining the pan-Islamic movement, extolled the principles of the French Revolution. In revolt against feudalism and all forms of slavery, a supporter of the equality of man and the emancipation of women, a political and a social critic (*Kanz*, i, 101-3, 226-8; *Kashf*, 128 ff.), yet he lived and wrote in accordance with the behests of the Sultan or the Khedive.

Despite this ambivalence of culture and outlook we can discern in his works some of the features which characterize the writings of his contemporaries, and the seeds of a literature of innovation which blossomed after him. Concerned with the everyday problems of the century, he is the creator of the genre of the Maḳāla, the newspaper article [see MAḲĀLA], and the forerunner, if not actually the first, of the progressive reformers. Conservative and radical, traveller, linguist, man of learning and journalist, this humanist is undoubtedly one of the chief representatives of 19th century Arabic literature.

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(A. G. KARAM)

AL-FĀRISĪ, ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ, one of the outstanding grammarians of the 4th/10th century. Born 288/900 at Fasā [*q.v.*], he studied at Baghdād under Ibn al-Sarrādj, al-Zadjdjādj, and others. In 341/952 he joined the court of Sayf al-Dawla at Aleppo, where he consorted with Mutanabbī. He transferred himself to the service of the Būyid Aḍud al-Dawla sometime before the latter's conquest of Baghdād in 319/979 (cf. the story in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii, 11). He died at Baghdād in 377/987. Amongst his numerous pupils were Ibn Djinnī (who attended him for 40 years and became his successor) and his nephew Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī, who became the teacher of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī. Fārisī was suspected of Muʿtazilism, and indeed commented upon the exegesis of the Muʿtazilī Muḥammad al-Djubbā'ī in a (lost) work called *al-Tatabbuʿ*. Among his other works the chief one s *al-Īḍāḥ fi 'l-naḥw*, an advanced grammar, with a more difficult appendix, *al-Takmila*. The popularity of this work in his time is proved by the numerous MSS preserved and by the five extant commentaries and two *shawāhid* commentaries. A large part is printed in Girgas-Rosen, *Arabskaya Khrestom.*, 378-434. Further works (extant items marked *): *al-Īḍāḥ al-shiʿrī*, perhaps identical with **K. al-shiʿr* or *al-ʿAḍudī*, MS. Berl. 6465 (a part printed in Io. Roediger, *De nominibus verborum arabicis commentatio*, Halle 1870), and with *Sharḥ abyāt al-Īḍāḥ* mentioned *Fihrist* 646; a commentary on al-Zadjdjādj's *Maʿānī al-Ḳur'ān* called **al-Ighfāl* (confused in *Fihrist*); perhaps on the same work (or identical) *Abyāt al-Maʿānī*; a commentary on Ibn Mudjāhid's *al-Ḳirā'āt al-sabʿa* called **al-Ḥudjdja* (*wa 'l-ighfāl*?); *al-Tadhkira*, on difficult verses; **Djawāhir al-naḥw*; *Mukhtaṣar ʿawāmil al-iʿrāb* (called by Ibn Khallikān *al-ʿAwāmil al-mi'a*); *al-Maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd*; *Abyāt al-iʿrāb*; a comm. on Ḳur'ān, V, 8; and a number of collections of **Masā'il*, named after various localities (where Fārisī taught?); it is not clear what was the nature of his *Naḳḍ al-hādhūr* ("The Babbler Confounded").

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 116; S. I, 175; Flügel, 110; *Fihrist*, 64; Ibn Khallikān, no. 155; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iii, 9-22; al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 387-9; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, vii, 275; Ibn al-

Athīr, ix, 36; Ibn Taghrībirdī, 533-4; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 88-9; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 216.

(C. RABIN)

FĀRISIYYA [see ĪRĀN].

AL-**FĀRISIYYA**, DJAZĪRAT, island in the Persian Gulf in Lat. 27° 59′ N., Long. 50° 10′ E., about midway between the shores of Saudi Arabia and Iran. Like Djazīrat al-ʿArabiyya, 14 statute miles to the south, al-Fārisiyya is low and less than one square mile in area. The island is administered by Iran which maintains a meteorological station there (although Kuwayt and Saudi Arabia have also advanced claims on it), and the Persian Gulf Lighting Service maintains a navigation light.

(W. E. MULLIGAN)

FARḲ [see FAṢL].

AL-**FARḲADĀNī** [see NUDJŪM].

FARMĀN, basic meanings: 1. Command, 2. (preparation in writing of a command) Edict, Document.

Ancient Persian *framānā* (*fra* = "fore", Greek πρό), modern Persian *farmān* through dropping the ending ā and insertion of a vowel owing to the initial double consonant (still *fra-* in Pahlavi). In the derived verb *farmūdan* the ā of the stem became ū (after the third century: *far-mūdan*, analogous to *āz-mūdan* "to try", *pay-mūdan* "to measure", *nu-mūdan* "to show", etc.).

In Firdawsī *farmān* is found with the following meanings: command, authority, will, wish, permission; and *farmūdan* accordingly: to command, to regulate, to have something done, to say, to announce, as well as "to permit"; in those meanings mentioned first it is construed with (1) the content of the command as direct object, (2) a following infinitive, (3) with *tā* "that", or (4) *ki* "that", and (5) with *ki* introducing direct address. In addition the forms *farmān dādan* (or *kardan*) "to command" and *farmān burdan* "to obey" are also found in Firdawsī. Among composite forms Firdawsī has *farmāndih* "commander", "master", *farmānrawā* "one whose commands are accepted", "commanding", "powerful", and *farmānbar* "servant", "slave", as well as *farmānpadhīr* "submissive", "yielding". In the *Farhang-i Nafīsī* on the other hand nine composite forms occur, which are to a degree identical with those mentioned above and which may be divided into the same two groups according to meaning: *f.-dih*, *f.-rawā*, *f.-farmā*, *f.-godhār* (to command), and *f.-bar*, *f.-bardār*, *f.-padhīr*, *f.-shenū*, *f.-niyūsh* (to obey). There are in Firdawsī isolated examples of the Arabic equivalents of *farmān*: *ḥukm* (sentence, decision, command) and *amr* (command), although the "Command of God" is called *farmān-i yazdān*.

Farmān in the sense of "document" does not, however, occur in Firdawsī, who uses only the three Arabic (!) expressions *raḳam* (sign, script, writing, decree), *manshūr* (diploma, decree, investiture) and *barāt* (diploma, assignment). Firdawsī also uses the word *nishān* only in the sense of "sign", "emblem", "trace", "target", etc., though in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba* (mid 12th century) *nishān* is already a common term for edicts and diplomas in the broadest sense of the word. But *farmān* as a designation for the writing itself came only very slowly into usage and became part of the official language of administration at a very late date. Thus we find in the earlier period *farmān* in the sense of "document" in examples of language which is not quite official, such as the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk, where *farmān* is employed occasionally as a parallel to *mithāl* (ed. Hubert Darke, Tehrān 1962, 90), clearly designating two different kinds of document, one of which (*farmān*) was issued by the ruler himself, and the other (*mithāl*) by authorities of lower rank (cf. *Isl.*, xxxviii (1962), 195-8). A diploma, which would later be called officially *farmān* or *nishān*, is designated by Niẓām al-Mulk (ed. Darke, 191), still dependent upon Arabic usage, *ʿahd-nāma*, a term which more accurately applies to treaties in a narrower sense. In religious matters of course a treaty is (now) called *ʿaḳd-nāma*. *Farmān* in the strict sense of "document" cannot be unquestionably established before the 15th century, when it occurs as "... *dar farāmīn* (here in the Arabic broken plural) *masṭūr ast*", "... (as is) written in the documents" (Busse, *Untersuchungen*, Document No. 3). Until well into modern times expressions such as *ḥukm*, *manshūr*, *nishān*, etc. are used beside *farmān* with very little difference, occasionally in the combination *ḥukm-i farmān* or *ḥukm-i mithāl*, and it is not always possible to establish without reservation whether by *farmān* the actual command or the writing of it is meant. In this double application of the term *farmān* an echo of an older juridical concept is perceptible, according to which the document was only the writing down of an originally oral (which alone was authoritative) decree. During the Ṣafawid period the edicts of subordinate authorities were called *mithāl* or *raḳam* (pl. *arḳām*), and in the Ḳādjār period the terminology had become consolidated to the extent that *farmān* was reserved for the ruler's edicts, while those of governors were called according to their rank either *raḳam* or *ḥukm* (cf. DIPLOMATIC, iii, Persian, 309).

Like rulers' titles the various designations for edict and document are distinguished by epithets: *nishān* (*farmān*, *ḥukm*)-*i humāyūn* "royal edict" (Firdawsī: *dirafsh-i humāyūn* "felicitous, glorious, royal banner"); *aḥkām-i muṭāʿ-i humāyūn* "royal edicts, which are obeyed"; *arḳām wa-aḥkām-i muṭāʿāt*; *farāmīn-i muṭāʿāt lāzim al-iṭāʿat-i humāyūn* "royal edicts which are and must be obeyed"; *ḥukm djahānmuṭāʿ wa-āftāb-shuʿā* "edict, obeyed by the world and shining (like) the sun's rays"; *farmān-i aʿlā khudāʾigani-yi aʿẓamī-yi shāhinshāhī* "most high, lordly, most noble, imperial edict"; *raḳam-i mubārak-i ashraf* "blessed and most honoured edict". In comparison to the elatives are the basic forms *ʿālī* and *sharīf*, which were employed for edicts not originating from the ruler himself in the highly developed nomenclature of the Ḳādjār period, and to some extent even earlier. A formula of benediction likewise follows mention of the edict or command: *aʿlāhu'llāh taʿālā wa-khallada nifādhahu* "May God elevate it and make abiding its effect"; *lā zāla munfadh^an fi 'l-aḳṭāʿ wa 'l-arbāʿ* "may it be always effective in the regions and quarters of the earth", and other formulae of the kind.

In the *Dispositio*, that part of the document containing the resolution of the ruler, firmly established formulae are employed: (1) Substantive plus *farmūdan*: *ḥukm f.*, *mithāl f.*, *manshūr f.*, *ḥawālat f.* (to make an assignment), *maḥmadat f.* (to proclaim praise); (2) Arabic verbal noun II plus *farmūdan*: *taḳrīr f.*, *tafwīḍ f.*, etc.; (3) Arabic passive participle II plus *farmūdan*: *muḳarrar f.*, etc. In the first group of formulae *farmūdan* can be replaced by *dādan*, in those of the second and third groups by *kardan* or *dāshtan* and *gardānīdan*. Very frequently two formulae are combined: *maḥramat farmūdīm wa-arzānī dāshtīm* "we have shown and conceded favour" (in Firdawsī *arzānī* means "worthy" or "poor"; in Vullers *arzānī dāshtan* is 'dignum putare, tanquam

digno largiri, concedere, conferre'; thus also in Steingass). In the *Dispositio* impersonal formulae are also favoured: *ḥukm ... ba-nafādh andjāmīd* "a ... command has been issued"; *ḥukm ... samt-i iṣdār yaft* "a ... command has found the path of issue"; *ḥukm ... ʿizz-i iṣdār wa-sharaf-i nafādh yaft* "a ... command has found the honour of issue and the esteem of promulgation". Out of these and the equally current formulae with *shud* (*ḥukm shud, muḳarrar shud*) the introductory formulae (*tughra*) developed, which predominated in the early Ṣafawid period for particular kinds of documents: *farmān-i humāyūn shud, farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yaft,* and *ḥukm-i djahānmuṭāʿ shud,* with the later distinction also here between *aʿlā* and *ʿālī* as adjectives for *farmān* and *ḥukm.* The issuing authorities and the rank of the originator can be determined by the various introductory formulae, which to some extent, however, depend upon the content of the document or the addressee. Directly related to the introductory formulae are the seals affixed and parts of the protocol (invocation) sometimes used.

The designations for edict and command can in addition be made more precise for various purposes by a following substantive or adjective, thus: according to content (*nishān-i ṣadārat,* diploma for a *ṣadr, manshūr-i taḳlīd* (or *tafwīḍ*), diploma of investiture; *ḥukm-i mudjammalī,* a general edict addressed to everyone); according to the promulgating authority (*mithāl-i dīwān al-ṣadāra*); for an original document or a confirmation (*raḳam-i muthannā, mudjaddad, ḥukm-i imdā* or *tadjdīd-i nishān*); and for further processing of the document by the authorities (*raḳam-i daftarī* and *bayāḍī,* that is, documents which were registered and those which were not). For seals, script, registration, etc., cf. DIPLOMATIC, iii, Persia.

We also find *Farmān* as the pen-name (*takhalluṣ*) of a poet (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch,* s.v.), and in the form *Farmān-farmā* as the nick-name of the Ḳādjār prince Ḥusayn ʿĀlī, the son of Fatḥ ʿĀlī Shāh (d. 1834).

Bibliography: in addition to that given in the article DIPLOMATIC, iii, Persia: Fritz Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname,* Berlin 1935. To be added to the bibliography in Diplomatic iii. — Persia: M. R. Arunova, *Firman Nadir-Shakha,* in *SO,* ii (1958), 116-20; P. I. Petrov, *Ferman Shakha Sultan Huseyna Vakhtangu VI,* in *SO,* iv (1957), 127-8 (both with facsimile reproductions). A. D. Papazyan, *Dva novootkrytykh ilʾkhanskikh yarlyka,* in *Banber Matenadarani,* vi (1962), 379-401; idem, *K voprosu o tekhničeskom značenii nalogovogo termina "malodžakhat",* in *Izvestiy Akademii nauk Armyanskoy SSR,* 1961, No. 2, 61-82 (both with facsimile reproductions).

(H. BUSSE)

ii.—Ottoman Empire

Fermān, in Turkish, denotes any order or edict of the Ottoman sultan. In a more limited sense it means a decree of the sultan headed by his cypher (*tughra*) and composed in a certain form which generally differs from that of the *berāt* (*nishān, yasaḳnāme*) and *nāme* [*qq.v.*]. Synonymous terms are, particularly in the early Ottoman Empire, *biti, yarlīgh, mithāl, ḥüdjdjet* (for a certain type), *menshūr, tewḳīʿ* and, in most periods, *emr, ḥükm* (and, in Arabic, *marsūm*). All these terms are usually followed by epithets, such as *sherīf, humāyūn, refīʿ, ʿālī*[*-shān*], *djihān-muṭāʿ,* etc. Imperial princes serving as provincial governors sometimes issued *fermāns* under their own *tughras* (so far one has been published: *Belleten,* v (1941), 108-9, 126-7). In late Ottoman Egypt an edict of the wālī also used to be called *faramān.*

Preparation. Most *fermāns* were not issued by order of the sultan himself. According to the *ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II (*TOEM,* 1330, suppl., 16), three high officials were authorized to give orders (*buyuruldi*) to issue a *fermān* in the sultan's name and under his *tughra* : the Grand Vizier on general subjects, the *defterdārs* on fiscal matters and the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskers* on questions of *sharīʿa* law. In many cases they did so after the affair had been discussed and decided upon in the imperial council (*dīwān-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*]) or the Grand Vizier's council (*ikindi dīwānī*), with or without the sultan's subsequent express approval. Later *ḳānūnnāmes* (*e.g., MTM,* i (1331), 500, 523) extended this authority to the Deputy Grand Vizier (*ḳāʾim-maḳām*) during the Grand Vizier's absence from the capital and to viziers appointed commanders-in-chief (*serdār*).

Most *fermāns* were prepared in the imperial chancery (*dīwān-i humāyūn ḳalemi*). A draft made by a junior clerk (see Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*[1], i, 20) was corrected and approved by the *mümeyyiz,* the *beylikdji,* the *reʾīs al-küttāb* [*q.v.*] (for his *resīd* see *MTM,* i, 516-7) and, exceptionally, the sultan himself. *Fermāns* on fiscal matters, which were prepared in the Finance Department (*māliyye*), passed through other stages (see L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift,* Budapest 1955, i, 68, n. 2). On the fair copy the *tughra* [*q.v.*] was drawn by the *nishāndjī* [*q.v.*] (or the *tughra-kesh*), or by one of the viziers in the dīwān or, in certain cases, the Grand Vizier himself (see *MTM,* i, 499, 509, 515). The right of governors of vizier rank in frontier provinces to affix the sultan's *tughra* to *fermāns* drawn up by them was abolished by the Grand Vizier Kemānkesh Muṣṭafā Pasha (1638-44) (*Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā,* 1147, ii, 11). The Grand Vizier and certain other viziers when away from the capital and the Deputy Grand Vizier in Istanbul were often provided with blank papers on which the *tughra* had been drawn beforehand to enable them to issue *fermāns* on the spot.

The completed *fermān* was put in a small bag (*kīse, kese*) and used to be conveyed to its destination either by government couriers (*ulaḳ* [*q.v.*]) or by the permanent representative of the addressee (provincial governors, etc.) in Istanbul (*ḳapī ketkhudāsī*) or the person who had submitted a petition and asked for the decree. The latter is frequently referred to in the document as its 'bearer' (*dārende, ḥāmil, rāfiʿ,* etc.). The persons in whose favour a *fermān* was issued were often explicitly allowed to keep it after it had been shown to its addressee (and copied into the local *ḳāḍī*'s register), so that they could present it in case of a violation of their rights in future.

Internal structure. In its composition, which changed surprisingly little over the centuries, the *fermān* bears much similarity to certain occidental documents. It opens with an *invocatio* (*daʿwet, taḥmīd*) of God, the shortest form of which is *huwa.* Beneath a considerable blank space, a sign of respect, there follows the *tughra,* which, particularly in later periods, is sometimes richly decorated. The text begins with the address (*inscriptio*) which mentions the office, and often also the name and rank, of the addressee preceded by his honorific titles (*elḳāb*) and followed by a short benediction (*duʿā*) (see *TOEM,* 1330, suppl., 30-2; Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*[1], i, 2-13). The addressee is not a private citizen but mostly a

government official in the capital or the provinces, a dependent Christian ruler, and the like. Many *fermāns* are addressed jointly to two or more such persons, others to a class of officials in a certain province, along a given road or in the whole Empire.

Following an introductory formula, such as *tewḳīʿ-i refīʿ-i humāyūn wāṣil olidjaḳ maʿlūm ola ki* ('when the exalted imperial cipher arrives, be it known that . . .'), most *fermāns* then relate the facts that caused the order to be issued (*narratio*, *iblāgh*). Usually this section is a summary, partly verbatim, of an incoming report or petition.

Thereupon follows the main part of the *fermān*, the *dispositio* (*ḥükm*, *emr*), which may open with the words *öyle olsa*, *imdi* (*gerekdir ki*), etc. In many *fermāns* it consists of two parts. The first, ending in *emr ėdüb*, *fermānīm* (*ṣādir*) *olmushdir*, and the like, states the sultan's decision in the form of a short, impersonal order. This clause seems to be the 'documentary commission' which, as mentioned above, was generally written by a high official or the sultan himself in the upper margin of the incoming communication or on a separate piece of paper and was sometimes reproduced verbatim in the *fermān*. The second (or only) part of the *dispositio*, which sets forth the sultan's command to the addressee in greater detail, mostly begins *buyurdum ki*. The space left empty after these words in many *fermāns* was originally reserved for the name of the official who was to convey the document to its destination. In some *fermāns* this space is filled with the much elongated words *ḥükm-i sherīfimle* (*vardiḳda*).

Numerous *fermāns* add a *sanctio* or *comminatio* (*teʾkīd*), which emphasizes the importance of the order, exhorts the addressee to carry it out without delay and threatens him with punishment for any disobedience. The subsequent *corroboratio* refers to the *tughra* (*ʿalāmet-i sherīf*) as attestation to the authenticity of the document. Neither a signature nor, with few exceptions (*e.g.*, in certain fiscal *fermāns*), a seal is affixed. At the end, the (*Hidjra*) date and, mostly in the lower left corner, the place of issue are given. In *fermāns* issued by the Finance Department these were generally added by a special bureau in smaller letters and a different handwriting.

On the back, various annotations may be found, such as *ṣaḥḥ* denoting that the document has been examined and approved, the peculiar signature (*ḳuyruḳlī imḍā*) of the *defterdār*, registration comments, the address, a short reference to the contents, etc.

To give a *fermān* greater weight or confer distinction upon its recipient, the sultan often added a few words in his own hand near the *tughra*. The later standard formula is *mūdjebindje ʿamel oluna*, but sometimes the note is more elaborate (cf. Babinger, *Archiv*, 50; *TM*, vi (1936-9), 228, 234). Such documents are called *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* or *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* [*q.v.*], a term also used in other meanings (see *IA*, s.v. *Hatt-i Hümâyûn*).

Contents and external form. *Fermāns* deal with a wide range of subjects—administration, military affairs, finance, judicial decisions, etc. Some are communiqués on Ottoman victories, travel permits, safe-conducts, permits for foreign ships to pass through the Straits, courier orders, etc. Many *fermāns* which contained rules of general applicability became 'regulations' (*ḳānūn*) and were incorporated in *ḳānūnnāmes* [*q.v.*], the codes of Ottoman secular law.

Generally, *fermāns* are written in Ottoman Turkish. Exceptions are some early Ottoman *yarlighs* written, in a different form, in Central Asian Turkish and Uyghūr characters (with interlinear text in Arabic letters) (see R. Rahmeti Arat in *TM*, vi, 285-322 and *Ann. del R. Ist. Sup. Orient. di Napoli*, N.S., i (1940), 25-68). Until the 16th century *fermāns* were also issued in other languages (Greek, Slavonic, Arabic, etc.).

The script used in *fermāns* is some kind of *tewḳīʿ* or *dīwānī*. Frequently gold dust (*altin rig*) was sprinkled on the writing before it had dried. Like other Ottoman documents, *fermāns* are usually written on long and relatively narrow sheets of paper with the lines slightly rising towards the left. While a margin is left on the right, the last word in a line is often lengthened to prevent interpolations. Forgers of *fermāns* incurred capital punishment (see Hammer, *GOR*¹, vii, 375; Stephan Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, Frankfurt a.M. 1674, 376).

The composition and form of the Ottoman *fermān* were certainly influenced by oriental (Saldjūḳ, Mamlūk, etc.) and, possibly, occidental models, but this question has not yet been adequately studied.

Originals and copies. Original *fermāns* are preserved in the archives and libraries of Turkey, other parts of the former Ottoman Empire and many European countries. A number of them have been published (see *Bibl.*). Other *fermāns* have survived in the form of individual copies, often legalized by a *ḳāḍī* (see *MOG*, ii, 138 ff.). Innumerable *fermān* texts, generally without the 'protocol' at the beginning and the end, are found in various registers, such as the *Mühimme Defteri* [*q.v.*], *Shikāyet Defteri*, *Aḥkām Defteri* and a few others, most of which are kept today in the *Başvekâlet Arşivi* [*q.v.*] in Istanbul. Collections of such copies have been published by Aḥmed Refīḳ (especially for Istanbul), H. T. Dağlıoğlu (for Bursa), D. Šopova (for Macedonia), U. Heyd (for Palestine), İ. H. Uzunçarşılı (for Ottoman history and institutions in general), and others. The registers (*sidjill* [*q.v.*]) of the *sharīʿa* courts also contain a large number of *fermān* copies (see publications by J. Grzegorzewski, H. İnalcık, M. Ç. Uluçay, H. Ongan, J. Kabrda, H. W. Duda-G. D. Galabov, etc.). Finally, many copies of *fermāns*, including early ones, are found in *inshā* works by Ferīdūn and others, collectanea (*medjmūʿa*) and chronicles.

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iii.—India.

The authentic texts of many formal written royal orders have survived from the Mug̲h̲al period, in originals located in the archives of former princely states, of the descendents of great merchants or of religious communities. From the references collected in I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the sultanate of Dehli*, Lahore 1942, 86, it would seem that the procedures of Mug̲h̲al times designed to ensure that *farmāns* were intentional, authentic and effective were founded on long-established Indo-Muslim precedent, though in the absence of extant texts from the sultanate period, many details are lacking.

The formalizing of the discourse of the Mug̲h̲al *pādshāh* into a state document could, the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* suggests, be stately and elaborate. First, the speech and actions of the *pādshāh* were recorded daily by two *wāḳiʿ-nawīs*, the record being confirmed by the *pādshāh* before a *yād-dāsht* or memorandum of actual orders was prepared therefrom and countersigned by the *mīr ʿarḍ*, the *parwānčī* and the officer who had placed it before the *pādshāh* for a second approval. *Farmāns*, which were distinguished from *parwānčas* in point of force and generality of application by the attachment of a royal seal, were often, but not always, prepared from a *taʿlīḳa* or abridgment of the *yād-dāsht*, particularly in the granting of money or of an office entailing the grant of money. Although the *pādshāh* was bound by no invariable rule, *farmāns* were usually issued for appointments as *wakīl*, *wazīr*, *ṣadr*, *mīr bakhshī* or *nāẓim* or for the grant of a *manṣab*, *djāgīr* or *sayūrghāl*. They were also sent to tributary princes, to foreign rulers and used to grant privileges to religious communities and trading organisations.

The procedure for a *farmān* appointing to a *djāgīr* or *manṣab* involved many checks against inaccuracy, fraud and caprice. The *farmān* was drafted both on the basis of a *sarkhaṭ* or certificate specifying the salary being granted (the details of which were copied in the *bakhshī*'s department from the *taʿlīḳa*), and on the basis of a *taʿlīḳa-yi tan* or certificate of salary which went to the *dīwān* or finance minister. These preliminary documents went before the *pādshāh* for continuing approval at various stages and were signed and sealed by such officials as the *mīr bakhshī*, the *mustawfī-i dīwān* and the *ṣāḥib-i tawdjīh* (accountant in the *bakhshī*'s department). The *farmān* of grant or appointment called *farmān-i thabtī* received the seals of the *bakhshīs*, the *dīwān* and the *wakīl* before receiving a royal seal. Confidential and important *farmāns*, not involving sums of money, received only a royal seal and were folded and dispatched in such a way that their contents remained private to the recipient. They were called *farmān-i bayāḍī*.

The two most important royal seals were the *uzuk* seal (a 'privy' seal), kept often either by one of the royal ladies or by a trusted official, and a large linear seal (a 'great' seal), the *muhr-i muḳaddas-i kalān*, on which was engraved the name of the *pādshāh* and of his ruling ancestors from Tīmūr. This was particularly but not exclusively used for *farmāns* to foreign rulers and to tributary princes. Besides the seal, a *tughra* or 'sign manual', giving the full name and titles of the *pādshāh* himself, written in *naskh*, was superscribed.

The *pādshāh* might favour the addressee of a *farmān* by adding his own signature to the seal, or by writing a few lines in his own hand, or by impressing the mark of the royal hand (*pandja-yi mubārak*) upon the *farmān*. Shāh Djahān sometimes wrote out the entire *farmān* himself.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, Calcutta 1872, 192-6; Muḥammad Kāẓim, *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*, Calcutta 1868, 1101; Fr. Felix, *Mughal farmāns, parwānahs and sanads issued in favour of the Jesuit missionaries*, in *JPHS*, v/1 (1916), 1-53; idem, *The Mughal Seals*, in *JPHS*, v/2 (1916), 100-25; M. S. Commissariat, *Imperial Mughal farmans in Gujarat*, in *Journal of the University of Bombay*, ix/1 (July 1940), 1-56; S. M. Jaffar, *Mughal farmans in Peshawar*, in *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, xviii (1942), 236-45; idem, *An important farman of Aurangzeb*, in *Proc. IHRC*, xxii (1945); A. Halim, *A farman of Emperor Shah Jahan*, in *Proc. IHRC*, xix (1943), 56-60; idem, *A farman of Emperor Akbar*, in *Proc. IHRC*, xxii (1945), 33-5; B. N. Reu, *Some imperial farmans addressed to Ratho and Durgadas*, in *Proc. IHRC*, xxv/2 (1945), 186-9; idem, *Some Imperial Farmans addressed to the rulers of Jodhpur*, in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1947, 350-7; M. L. Roy Chaudhuri, *Jahangir's farman of 1613 A.D.*, in *Proc. IHRC*, xix (1943), 56-60; P. Saran, *A farman of Farrukhsiyar*, in *Proc. IHRC*, xix (1943), 74-9; Jadunath Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal Administration*, Calcutta 1924, 230-5; Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal empire*, London 1936, 93-106. (P. Hardy)

FĀRMĀSŪN [see māsūniyya].

FARMING [see filāḥa].

FARMING OF TAXES [see bayt al-māl, ḍarība, iltizām, muḳāṭaʿa].

FARMŪL (also Farmul). A town east of G̲h̲azna in Afghanistan near Gardēz. It is mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī (296), and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (251). The exact location of the town is unknown and it no longer exists. (R. N. Frye)

al-FARRĀʾ, the sobriquet of the grammarian of al-Kūfa, Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Ziyād, who died in 207/822; according to al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, f° 420a (quoted by Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ii, 229, l. 34), al-Farrāʾ appears to signify, not "the Furrier" but "one who skins, *i.e.*, scrutinises language". He was born at al-Kūfa in about 144/761, of a family that were natives of Daylam (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xx, 9), and he remained as a dependent of an Arab clan, either the Asad or the Minḳār (see *Fihrist*, 66 and *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 149); he received an education in *ḥadīth* that went back to the well-known traditionists (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, al-Samʿānī, *loc. cit.*); naturally, it is on the subject of his grammatical education that we possess the fullest particulars, but these must, however, be used with discretion; on the authority of the "Kūfan" T̲h̲aʿlab (d. 291/904) [*q.v.*], it has been customary to regard al-Farrāʾ as one of the masters and indeed one of the founders of the "grammatical school of al-Kūfa"; the fact is that al-Farrāʾ holds a place in the list of Kūfans who were influenced by al-Ruʾāsī [*q.v.*] and al-Kisāʾī [*q.v.*] (see anecdotal material in *Fihrist*, 64, l. 16, repeated by al-Anbārī, 65, in which *amyazu* must be read, not *asannu*); in any event, al-Farrāʾ would only have met al-Kisāʾī in Bag̲h̲dād when in his years of maturity, and what is more, it is not admissable to accept that at that time the division between the "School of al-Kūfa" and that of al-Baṣra had already assumed the intensity which it later attained during the grammarians' polemics at the end of the 3rd/9th century and in the following century (cf. Fleisch, 14 and al-Mak̲h̲zūmī, who refer to Weil, *Inṣāf*, Introduction); like his contemporaries,

al-Farrāʾ seems in fact to have made wide use of direct inquiry among Bedouin informants; to some degree he was influenced by Baṣran scholars such as Yūnus al-Thaḳafī, perhaps also al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and Abū ʿUbayda (cf. Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Lughawi (?) *apud* al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 403); like most if not all the Kūfans, al-Farrāʾ had an intimate knowledge of the *Book* of Sībawayh (cf. the information going back to al-Djāḥiẓ, in Ibn Khallikān, i, 385, l. 21, where the polygraph says a gift was made to the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt of a copy of this work, originating from the library of al-Farrāʾ and executed by the latter himself); in fact the problem of the Baṣran influences on al-Farrāʾ remains partly obscure since the evidence is contradictory (cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xx, 10 and al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 411 and also the summary by al-Makhzūmī, 146 ff.); in any case, he does not seem to have undergone direct influences of master on disciple. By his personality, the austerity of his habits, his disinterestedness, and also as a result of his position in relation to the caliph al-Rashīd (see Zubaydī, 143; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 228, l. 12) and especially al-Maʾmūn who appointed him tutor to his two sons (see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 150, repeated by al-Anbārī, 130-1), al-Farrāʾ appears to have largely deserved the renown which his erudition had won. His knowledge was encyclopaedic and derived simulnaneously from *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, astrology, medicine, the "Days of the Arabs", and, naturally, from grammar (see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 151, condensed in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xx, 11 and al-Anbārī, 132-3); his Muʿtazilī leanings are certain but, according to al-Djāḥiẓ, al-Farrāʾ had no real gift for *kalām* (see Ibn Khallikān, ii, 229, l. 13; cf. Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*). It is above all as a grammarian of the "School of al-Kūfa" that the reputation of al-Farrāʾ has been perpetuated; his immediate disciples like Salama b. ʿĀṣim, Abū ʿUbayd Ibn Sallām, Muḥammad b. Djahm al-Simmarī were of importance in that respect (cf. *Fihrist*, 67, 71; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 149; Yāḳūt, xx, 10; Zubaydī, 150); but it is mainly due to Thaʿlab that he came to be recognised as the leader of the "School of al-Kūfa" (cf. *Fihrist*, 74 and *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, *loc. cit.*); it is worth noting that his authority extended as far as Spain (see Zubaydī, 163 and the statement by his uncle; see also *ibid.*, 278 and al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 213 ff. on what Djūdī of Toledo owes to al-Farrāʾ and the Kūfans).

The writings of al-Farrāʾ are known to us from the list of works given in the *Fihrist*, 67, enumerating 13 titles (cf. *Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*, Introd. by the editors, 10-1, who include 17 titles; this initial list serves as the basis for those given by Yāḳūt, Ibn Khallikān, and al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, which includes only 11 titles); a number of these works appear to be lost; note also that certain titles appear to apply to chapters of the *Ḥudūd*. His work consists of: (*a*) writings on grammar such as — 1. *K. Mulāzim* (?) (see Yāḳūt, xx, 14; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 229, l. 30; the *Fihrist*, 67, gives a *Ḥadd mulāzamat radjul* (sic) among the chapters of the *Ḥudūd*); — 2. *K. al-Ḥudūd*, "Definitiones grammaticae", thought by some to have been dictated at the instance of al-Maʾmūn, after 204/819 (cf. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 149) or, more probably, before that date (see Cairo ed., i; cf. al-Makhzūmī, 151); according to the *Fihrist*, 67, we possess the list of 45 chap., but al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, gave it as 46 and al-Zubaydī, 150, speaks of 60; the work was imitated by the Kūfan Ibn Saʿdān (d. 231/845; cf. *Fihrist*, 70, l. 5); — 3. *K. Faʿala* (?) *wa-afʿala* (see *Fihrist*, 67); the *K. al-Ḥudūd* contains a chapter with the same title; a small work possibly quoted by al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 95; — 4. *K. al-Maḳṣūr wa ʾl-mamdūd* (*Fihrist*, 67); quoted by al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 255 ff. and by Ibn al-Sikkīt, *ibid.*, ii, 106; for the MSS, see Brockelmann, S I, 179; — 5. *K. al-Mudhakkar wa ʾl-muʾannath* (*Fihrist*, 67); the *K. al-Ḥudūd* contains a chapter with the same title; ed. Muṣṭafā Zaraʿī, Beirut/Aleppo 1345 in *Madjmūʿa lughawiyya*; — 6. *K. al-Wāw* (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xx, 14 and Ibn Khallikān, ii, 229). — (*b*) writings on lexicography such as 7. *K. al-Ayyām wa ʾl-layālī* [*wa ʾl-shuhūr*] (al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, i, 219 and ii, 76-7, 158 l. 3, 248: 3 quotations); ed. Ibr. al-Ibyāri, Cairo 1956, 1 vol. in 8°, 64 pp.; perhaps composed on the basis of "current dictations" going back to al-Farrāʾ and certain other Kūfans; — 8. *K. al-Fākhir* (*Fihrist*, 67 and Yāḳūt, xx, 14;not *al-mafākhir* as in Ibn Khallikān, ii, 229, l. 29); for the MSS, see Brockelmann, S I, 179; deals with proverbs; it should be noted that Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, son of al-Farrāʾ's disciple, in his turn also later wrote a work on proverbial sayings with the same title; — 9. *K. al-Nawādir* (*Fihrist*, 67), handed down by Salama and two other disciples of the author (*ibid.*, 88, l. 8; cf. Yāḳūt, xx, 14); note that the Kūfan al-Kisāʾī had himself composed a work on this subject in three versions (*Fihrist*, *loc. cit.*); — 10. *K. Ālāt al-kuttāb* (*Fihrist*, 67); — 11. *K. Mushkil al-lugha* (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 150; Yāḳūt, xx, 14 and Ibn Khallikān, ii, 229, l. 24, in two editions, the one *major*, the other *minor*); — 12. *K. Yāfiʿ wa-yafaʿa* (?) (Yāḳūt, xx, 14, giving the variant *wa-yāfiʿa*; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 229, l. 31), which comprised 50 f^os^ with the *K. Mulāzim*); — 13. *K. al-Bahāʾ* (so given in Ibn Khallikān, ii, 229; not *al-bahī*, as in *Fihrist*, 67 and in Yāḳūt, xx, 13; the full title in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 411, is *K. al-Bahāʾ fī mā talḥanu fī-hi ʾl-ʿāmma*); written for ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (*Fihrist*, *loc. cit.*); repeated with certain additions by Thaʿlab in his *K. al-Faṣīḥ* (Ibn Khallikān, *loc. cit.*). — (*c*) works on the *Ḳurʾān* such as — 14. *K. al-Maṣādir fi ʾl-Ḳurʾān* (*Fihrist*, 67); — 15. *K. al-Djamʿ waʾl-tathniya fi ʾl-Ḳurʾān* (*ibid.*); — 16. *K. Lughāt al-Ḳurʾān* (*ibid.*, 35, l. 10 and 67); — 17. *K. al-Waḳf wa ʾl-ibtidāʾ fi ʾl-Ḳurʾān* (*ibid.*, 36, l. 2 and 67); — 18. *K. Ikhtilāf ahl al-Kūfa wa ʾl-Baṣra wa ʾl-Shaʾm fi ʾl-maṣāḥif* (Yāḳūt, xx, 13); — 19. *K. Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*, written in about 204/819, whether before or after the *K. al-Ḥudūd* (see above), at the request of ʿUmar b. Bukayr the "logograph" and genealogist in the entourage of the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl (*Fihrist*, 67, l. 5 and 107); the well-known copy belonging to Ibn al-Nadīm consisted of four volumes; the work is in process of being edited (i, Cairo 1374/1955) by Aḥmad Nadjatī and Muḥ. Nadjdjār (for the MSS see Introd., 3-6 and Brockelmann, S I, 173); other Kūfans had written works bearing the same title, among them al-Ruʾāsī, al-Kisāʾī and Ḳuṭrub (see *Fihrist*, 34); in the same way, the Baṣran al-Ḥasan al-Akhfash had written a *K. Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān* which had served as a model for al-Kisāʾī and al-Farrāʾ (see Zubaydī, 71); a refutation by Ibn Durustawayh mentioned in *Fihrist*, 63, l. 16; an abridgement of it was made by al-Dīnawāri (see Zubaydī, 234). The Cairo ed. reproduces the version of Muḥ. b. al-Djahm al-Simmarī, probably following the "current dictations" of al-Farrāʾ (cf. i/1); in places, however, al-Farrāʾ seems to be quoted textually (i, 21, l. 10 and 351, l. 11).

At present we can really only judge al-Farrāʾ by the published part of the *K. Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*. The work is highly disappointing and without any general theme, being confined for the most part to argumentation on casual syntax; if here and there certain

interpretations of a Muʿtazilī character are to be observed (as in i, 353: *nūr-īmān*) or lexicographical remarks which are not devoid of subtlety (i, 385 on *fataḥa* "to judge"), on the other hand the comments on the "lectures" are curious rather than convincing (i, 455). Bearing in mind that this work has not come down to us in the form which the master gave to it, we reach the conclusion that al-Farrāʾ mainly owes his importance to the influence which he exerted over his pupils, either through writings received from him or through his personal authority. In general his followers have, without exception, been distinguished by the same grammatical anomalism, of which so many instances are to be found in the *K. Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*, based upon respect for usage particularly when aberrant (see the discussions on certain "readings", *op. cit.*, i, 353, 355, 357-8, 363, 375, 460).

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(R. Blachère)

FARRUKHĀBĀD, name of a town and district in the Uttar Pradesh state of India; situated between the Ganges and the Yamuna (Djamnā) between 26° 46′ and 27° 43′ N. and 78° 8′ and 80° 1′ E., with an area of 1,685 sq. miles. Before the establishment of Pakistan the Muslims were in a majority but many of them later migrated to Pakistan.

While the district can boast of an ancient past, the town itself is of comparatively recent growth, having been founded in 1126/1714 by Muḥammad Khān Bangash (b. *c.* 1076/1665), an Afghan military adventurer belonging to Maʾū-Rashīdābād (now a mere name), a village near Ḳāʾimgandj, where his father ʿAyn Khān was employed as a trooper by one ʿAyn Khān Sarwānī. A dashing soldier, Muḥammad Khān had collected about him a band of Afghan mercenaries. When Farrukh-Siyar [*q.v.*] contested the title to the throne of Dihlī, he joined him and helped him to win the throne by providing a force of 12,000 men on the battle-field of Samūgaṛh (1124/1713), nine miles east of Āgra [*q.v.*]. Soon afterwards Ḳāsim Khān Bangash, father-in-law of Muḥammad Khān, was killed in a clash with the local Rādjpūts, and the king, as a token of gratitude, granted his daughter (Muḥammad Khān's wife) five *maḥālls* by way of blood-money. He also ordered the building of a town, named after him, in memory of the slain Bangash chieftain. Thus was founded the town of Farrukhābād, which soon grew in prosperity: and an Imperial mint was established there at which coins (mostly silver rupees) continued to be minted even for the later Mughal emperors. The coins of ʿĀlamgīr II, Shāh Djahān III and Shāh ʿĀlam II also carry the second name of the town—Aḥmadnagar—derived from Nawwāb Aḥmad Khān, younger son of Muḥammad Khān, who had defeated the forces of Ṣafdar-Djang, the Nawwāb-Wazīr of Awadh, in 1163/1750 and recovered from him his lost patrimony, Farrukhābād, which had been captured by the Awadh forces in 1161/1748. This second name appears for the first time on coins minted at Farrukhābād in 1170/1756. Even after the British occupation of the town in 1191/1777 the Farrukhābād mint continued to function for the East India Company, who used it up to 1835, minting silver rupees in the name of Shāh ʿĀlam II, although he had died years earlier in 1221/1806. These rupees bore the legend (*sikka*) of Shāh ʿĀlam II in Persian and were known as the *Farrukhabadi Sicca* rupee.

The earliest account of the district is that of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, who mentions some of its ancient sites including that of Sankīsā. The historic Kanawdj, capital of the empire of Harsha Vardhana in the 7th century A.D., which was plundered and sacked by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 409/1018, captured by the Ghūrī Sulṭān Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām in 580/1193, and gave shelter to the fugitive Delhi monarch Maḥmūd Tughluḳ in 805/1402, is also situated in this district. However, the real history of Farrukhābād begins with its foundation early in the 12th/18th century by the first of the Bangash Nawwābs, Muḥammad Khān Karlānī. In addition to being the chief (*raʾīs*) of Farrukhābād and several other *parganas* granted to him by Farrukh-Siyar, Muḥammad Khān was also the governor of the province of Allāhābād for a time and later of that of Mālwa. On his death in 1156/1743 he was succeeded by his eldest son Ḳāʾim Khān, who as a result of the machinations of Ṣafdar-Djang of Awadh, the old enemy of his house, got embroiled with the Rohillas and consequently lost his life in a clash with them in 1161/1748-9 near Badāʾūn. After his death Farrukhābād was annexed to the kingdom of Awadh and ceased to exist as an independent territory. However, the very next year Aḥmad Khān, younger brother of Ḳāʾim Khān, defeated and slew the Awadh governor and recovered his lost patrimony. Ṣafdar-Djang appealed for help to the Marāṭhas, who besieged Aḥmad Khān in the fort of Fatḥgaṛh near Farrukhābād, and successfully beat off his confederates, the Rohillas. Aḥmad Khān suffered a virtual defeat, escaped to the Himalayan jungles and was allowed to return only on ceding a large portion of his territory. He bided his time, however, and by rendering good service to the invaders when Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī fought the Marāṭhas in 1175/1761 on the battle-field of Pānīpat, was able to regain, through Imperial favour, much of his lost possessions. The fortunes of Farrukhābād, however, still hung in the balance and in 1185/1771 the Marāṭhas again made good their loss. Before the dispossessed ailing Nawwāb (Aḥmad Khān) could do anything he died. At this time the state virtually became a vassal of the Awadh *durbār*. In 1191/1777, in response to an appeal by the ruler of Awadh, with whom the Marāṭhas had fallen out, British troops were stationed at Fatḥgaṛh (3 miles from Farrukhābād) to guard against Marāṭha inroads, and in 1194/1780 a British Resident was posted there. In 1802, Imdād Ḥusayn Khān Nāṣir Djang (1796-1813), the fifth Nawwāb of Farrukhhābād, virtually ceded the

territory to the British, although he continued to be recognised as a "native prince". His grandson Tadjammul Ḥusayn Khān Ẓafar Djang was addicted to a life of luxury and ease; the Persian-Urdu poet Mīrzā Ghālib makes a very delightful reference to it in one of his Urdu *ghazals*. The last of the line, Tafaḍḍul Ḥusayn Khān, who had succeeded to the title in December 1846, considering the Mutiny an opportune moment to proclaim independence, sided with the mutinous Bengal Army with his 30,000 troops and recovered Farrukhābād, which he held till January 1858. During these seven months the Nawwāb enjoyed the active support of the great rebel leader Bakht Khān [*q.v.*] of the Bareilly Brigade and the Mughal fugitive prince Fīrūz Shāh. After the disturbances had been quelled, the Nawwāb was secured, his territory confiscated and for his complicity in the Mutiny he was exiled to Mecca in 1859.

There are numerous sites of historical importance in the district, but they all belong to the pre-Muslim era. The tombs of the Nawwābs to the west of the town are the only buildings of note of the later Muslim period. These are, however, in a sad state of disrepair and neglect. The tomb of Muḥammad Khān was used as late as 1940 as a godown for storing tobacco (cf. *al-ʿIlm* (Urdū quarterly), Karachi, xii/2 (Jan.-March 1963), 12-3). For a description of the city see *JASB*, xlvii (1878), 276-80.

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FARRUKHĀN Gīlān-shāh, *ispahbad* of Ṭabaristān, known as the Great (*buzurg*) and the Virtuous (*dhu 'l-manāḳib*), son of Dābūya, conquered Māzandarān and restored peace to the frontiers. When defeated by the Daylamīs in their revolt, he fled to Āmul and entrenched himself in the castle of Fīrūzābād; he saved himself by the ruse of making his besiegers believe that he had enormous stocks of bread. He gave asylum to the Khāridjīs when they were being pursued by al-Ḥadjdjādj, but fought against them and put their chiefs to death on the approach of an army commanded by Ṣufyān b. Abi 'l-Abrad al-Kalbī. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, governor of Khurāsān under Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, tried in vain to conquer the country and could count himself fortunate to be able to withdraw in return for a sum of money, as compensation for the depredations that had been committed. Farrukhān died a year or two later, after reigning for seventy years. He was the maternal grandfather of al-Manṣūr, the son of the caliph al-Mahdī. His capital was Sārī, which he had rebuilt and embellished. His son Dādh-Mihr succeeded him.

Bibliography: Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān* (tr. Browne), 99 ff.; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh Ṭabaristān*, ed. Dorn, 45 ff.; J. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzanderān and Astarābād*, 1928, index. See also ispahbad and māzandarān. (Cl. Huart)

FARRUKHĪ Sīstānī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Djūlūgh, the celebrated Iranian poet, a native of the town of Sīstān (cf. Yāḳūt, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzhat*, s.v.), as he says in a hemistich: "I place (other towns) after Sīstān, because it is my (native) town". The *takhalluṣ* Farrukhī unites the ideas of happiness and physical beauty. His father, Djūlūgh (according to ʿAwfī and Dawlatshāh) or Kūlūgh (according to Adhar and Hidāyat) was in the service of the governor of the province of Sīstān. According to Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī, who gives the most reliable information, Farrukhī very soon revealed his talents for poetry and music; being in the service of a *dihḳān* [*q.v.*] and wishing to marry, he asked for an increase in salary which was refused; Niẓāmī relates in detail how two of his most beautiful poems (*Dīwān*, 177 and 331) which he recited in the presence of the *amīr* governor of Ṣāghāniyān (Barthold, *Turkestan*, index s.v.) won him the favour of that prince, Fakhr al-Dawla Abu 'l-Muẓaffar, the last of his line (cf. Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍi, *Čahār maḳāla*, trans. E. G. Browne, 122-3; ed. Muʿīn, Tehrān, 178-88), and then after 377/987-8, the date of his predecessor's tragic death, he took the place of the poet Daḳīḳī, as he states at the end of the poem (181). In 389/999 Maḥmūd, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar's suzerain, ascended the throne of Ghazna; some time later, Farrukhī became one of the poets attached to his court; singing his poems to his own accompaniment on the lute (*rūd*), he lived in Ghazna for the rest of his life, loaded with honours by sultan Maḥmūd, his brothers and the sultan's first two successors, whose praises he celebrated without fulsomeness, mentioning their bounty in several of his *ḳaṣīdas*; he also wrote poems in honour of leading court dignitaries. On several occasions he accompanied the sultan on his expeditions against India (witness these lines: "Three times was I with you on the immense sea ...", "the trials and fatigues of the journey from Kanawdj have broken me"). The collected edition of his poems (*dīwān*) contains more than 9,500 lines of verse; while the treatise on rhetoric *Tardjumān al-balāgha*, often attributed to him, is in reality the work of Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Radūyānī (end of 5th/11th and beginning of 6th/12th centuries; ed. Ahmed Ateş, Istanbul 1949—important introduction). He died probably in 429/1037-8, while still young, according to the lines of his contemporary Labībī (quoted by Radūyānī): "If Farrukhī died, why did not ʿUnṣurī die? The old man lingered on; the young man went so soon" (*Tardjumān*, 32). His *ḳaṣīdas*, which are panegyrics, are characterized by the ease and vigour of their style; uncomplicated ideas and sentiments are expressed in sober, clear and fluent language which gives his poetry a particular charm. According to Rashīd-i Waṭwāṭ (*Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr*), his talent is reminiscent of that of the Arab poet Abū Firās. His shorter poems (a small number only: *ḳiṭʿa*, *ghazal*, *rubāʿī*) are remarkable for their freshness and spontaneity of feeling, and for the occasionally ironical and pungent subtlety of thought which sometimes transforms a *ḳiṭʿa* into an excellent epigram; in short, the delicacy he shows in the *ghazal* is just as great as the rhetorical force in the *ḳaṣīda*. His mastery was universally acclaimed, and numerous poets imitated his manner.

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, ed. ʿAli ʿAbd al-

Rasūlī, Tehrān 1331/1953; Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, tr. E. G. Browne and ed. Muʿīn (index); Muḥammad ʿAwfī, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarā*ʾ, ed. Browne, ii, 47; Djāmī, *Bahāristān*, trans. H. Massé, 168 (short notice and *ḳiṭʿa*, the text of which is in *Dīwān*, 435); Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarā*ʾ, ed. Browne, 55;. Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā*ʾ, i, 439 ff.; Ṣafā (Dhabīh Allāh), *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyāt dar Īrān*, i, 534 ff.; H. Massé, *Anthologie persane*, 38 ff.; *IA* (art. Ferruhi, by H. Ritter).

(Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

FARRUKH-SIYAR, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Muʿīn al-Dīn, the second son of Muḥammad ʿAẓīm (ʿAẓīm al-Shān), the third son of Bahādur Shāh [*q.v.*], reigned as Mughal Emperor from 13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1124/10 January 1713 to 7 Rabīʿ II 1131/27 February 1719. Born at Awrangābād in the Deccan, apparently in 1094/1683, in his tenth year he accompanied his father to Āgra, and in 1108/1697 to Bengal, when that province was added to his charge. In 1119/1707, when ʿAẓīm al-Shān was summoned to the court from Bengal by Awrangzīb, Farrukh-Siyar was nominated his father's deputy there, which post he held till his recall by ʿAẓīm al-Shān in 1123/1711. However, during this period he exercised no real power, the affairs of the province being dominated by the *dīwān*, Murshid Ḳulī Khān [*q.v.*].

When Bahādur Shāh died at Lahore on 19 Muḥarram 1124/27 February 1712, Farrukh-Siyar was at Paṭna, having tarried there since the previous rainy season. Following the defeat and death of his father in the contest at Lahore, Farrukh-Siyar proclaimed himself king at Paṭna on 29 Ṣafar 1124/6 March 1712 (the official beginning of the reign), having won over to his side the deputy-governor, Sayyid Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān Bārha [*q.v.*], with whom he had had many differences earlier. Farrukh-Siyar now marched on Delhi, being joined on the way by the elder Sayyid brother, ʿAbd Allāh Khān, who was the deputy-governor of *ṣūba* Ilāhābād, and by many nobles from the eastern parts. He defeated Djahāndār Shāh [*q.v.*] on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1124/10 January 1713 after a hard-fought battle at Sāmūgaṛh near Āgra. Farrukh-Siyar's part in the victory was, however, slight, the chief credit undoubtedly belonging to the two Sayyid brothers, who were aided by division and demoralisation in Djahāndār Shāh's camp. ʿAbd Allāh Khān was now appointed the *wazīr*, and Ḥusayn ʿAlī the chief *bakhshī*. Djahāndār Shāh and his *wazīr*, Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Khān were executed by Farrukh-Siyar's order, and many others suffered confiscation of property and imprisonment.

The internal history of Farrukh-Siyar's reign consists of a series of contests between Farrukh-Siyar and his two leading ministers, the Sayyid brothers. The Sayyid brothers were clearly determined not to relinquish voluntarily their offices, which they considered theirs by right, and to dominate the affairs of the state as far as possible. Their claims were resented by the youthful monarch, and even more by his personal favourites who had been accorded important posts at the court. The Sayyids were also accused, not without some justification, of being negligent in matters of administration and of leaving it in the hands of corrupt underlings. Farrukh-Siyar and his favourites gave little proof of capacity to rule, and, moreover, they lacked the courage and resources to challenge the Sayyids openly, and dared not apply to any of the old nobles for fear of exchanging one set of masters for a worse. Farrukh-Siyar, therefore, had recourse to hatching plots against his ministers, and inciting the nobles and elements outside the court against them. As a result, the court became divided into two opposing factions, the administration suffered, and the prestige of the central government was undermined. However, it does not seem correct to identify the court factions as "Mughals" and "Hindustānīs", with the Sayyids acting as the leaders of the latter. A close study shows that the factions were not based on any religious or ethnic groups in the Mughal nobility, personal and family attachments and considerations being the main factor. Taking advantage of dissatisfaction at Farrukh-Siyar's patronage of unworthy favourites, the Sayyids gradually succeeded in winning over to their side or in neutralizing most of the important nobles—Radja Djay Singh Kaččwāhā of Āmber remaining a notable exception. Matters rapidly came to a head. In February 1719, Ḥusayn ʿAlī, who had assumed personal charge of the Deccan in May 1715, re-entered Delhi at the head of a large army, which included a force of 15,000 Marāthā horsemen under the command of the Peshwa, Bālādjī Wishwanāth. After a proffered compromise had been rejected by Farrukh-Siyar, he was deposed and blinded on 9 Rabīʿ II 1131/28 February 1719, and a new prince, Rafīʿ al-Dardjāt, was proclaimed. Soon afterwards, in the night of 9 Djumādā II 1131/27-28 April 1719, Farrukh-Siyar was strangled.

The chief importance of Farrukh-Siyar's reign lies in a clear breach with Awrangzīb's policies in a number of spheres. The *djizya* was abolished even while Farrukh-Siyar was in Bihār. After his victory, an effort was made to conciliate the leading Rādjpūt Rādjahs by granting them high *manṣab*s and appointing them to important posts. The marriage of Farrukh-Siyar to the daughter of Mahārādja Adjīt Singh of Djodhpur, which was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony in December 1715, was intended as a symbol of the reconciliation. Under the stress of the factional struggle at the court, the Sayyids also befriended the Djaṭ Rādja, Čūrāman, acquiescing in his usurpation of many areas in the neighbourhood of Āgra, and made far-reaching concessions to the Marāthās, recognising Rādja Shāhū's right to levy *cauth* and *sardeshmukhī*—contributions amounting to 35% of the revenue, in the six *ṣūba*s of the Deccan. Farrukh-Siyar actively opposed the concessions to the Djāṭs and the Marāthās. He also sought, belatedly, to rally the othodox elements to his side by reviving *djizya* in 1129/1717. The impost was again abolished by the Sayyids after his deposition.

Another development, which marked an important phase in the growth of the English East India Company, was the grant to it in 1129/1717 of *farmān*s securing the right to carry on trade free of duties in Bengal, Bihār and Orissa, and at Sūrat and Madras, besides sundry other privileges. There is, however, little justification for the view that these grants were made by Farrukh-Siyar out of gratitude to the English surgeon, Dr. William Hamilton, who had successfully treated him. Dr. Hamilton's services were rewarded by the grant of a robe, a horse, five thousand rupees and other costly gifts. But it was not within the power of Farrukh-Siyar to make grants of the nature desired by the English without the agreement of ʿAbd Allāh Khān, the *wazīr*, whose domination over the affairs of the state was almost complete at this time. The English realized this only when two successive applications made by them through the King's favourite, Khān-i-Dawrān, proved fruitless. Finally, they approached ʿAbd Allāh Khān, and he sanctioned their petition, over-

ruling the objections advanced by the officials of the revenue ministry (*Early annals of the English in Bengal*, ed. C. R. Wilson, ii/1, 235, ii/2, p. xxiv-xxvii, 48-173). ʿAbd Allāh Khān accepted no personal gratification, and his motives in approving the grants can only be guessed at.

Though Farrukh-Siyar possessed none of the qualities of greatness, his deposition and death made him a martyr in popular eyes, and contributed to the subsequent downfall of the Sayyid brothers. He was apparently survived by only one daughter who married the emperor Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*] in 1131/1720-1.

Bibliography: Documents as well as contemporary and secondary works for the reign of Farrukh-Siyar are very numerous. For details, see *Later Mughals*, by W. Irvine, ed. J. Sarkar, Calcutta and London 1921; Satish Chandra, *Parties and politics at the Mughal court, 1707-1740*, Aligarh 1959; from detailed personal enquiries I have learnt that no ms. of the type described in the *Oriental College Magazine*, ii/4 (Aug. 1926), p. 58, no. 70, and referred to by Storey (sec. II, no. 767) exists in the Punjab Univ. Lib. See also M. Muʾmin b. Muḥammad Ḳāsim al-Djazāʾirī al-Shīrāzī, *Khizānat al-khayāl*, J.R. Lib., ff. 182a-197a (summarized by A. Mingana, in *Bull. J.R.Lib.*, viii (1924), 150-65); *Miḥakk al-sulūk wa miṣḳat al-nafūs*, I.O. no. 1012, ff. 520a-542b, 647-8; Iʿtimād Khān, *Mirʾāt al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Bod. Lib., Fraser no. 124, ff. 129a-148b (contents summarized by R. Sinh, in *Procs. IHRC*, xvii (1941) 356-62); *Early annals of the English in Bengal*, ed. C. R. Wilson, 3 vols., London 1895-1917; *Home Misc. Series*, lxix; Satish Chandra, *Jizyah in the post-Aurangzib period*, in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1946, 320-6; idem, *Early relations of Farrukh Siyar and the Saiyid brothers*, in *Med. Ind. Quart.*, Aligarh 1957, 135-46; B. N. Reu, *Letter of Maharaja Ajit Singh relating to the death of Farrukh Siyar*, in *Proc. 9th A.I. Or. Conf.*, 1937, 839-42; A. G. Pawar, *Some documents bearing on imperial Mughal grants to Raja Shahu*, in *Procs. IHRC*, xvii (1941), 204-15; S. H. Askari, *Bihar in the first quarter of the 18th century*, in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1941, 394-405; Balkrishna, *The Magna Carta and after*, in *Procs. IHRC*, vii (1925), 79-87. For works dealing with the revenue and administrative history of the period, see N. A. Siddiqi, *Mughal land revenue system in Northern India in the first half of the eighteenth century*, (unpublished thesis, Aligarh University).

(Satish Chandra)

FĀRS, the arabicized form of Pārs, which itself was derived from Parsa, the Persis of the Greeks. The province of Fārs, which has now become the seventh *Ustān*, extends from long. 50° to 55° E. (Greenwich) and from lat. 27° to 31° 45′ N. Its greatest length, from Linga in the south to Yazdi-khwāst in the north, is 680 km. while its maximum breadth, from Bandar Dilam in the west to Abādeh in the east is 520 km. The total area of the province, including the islands off the coast, is approximately 200,000 sq. km. In 1951 the estimated population was 1,290,000 (Razmārā and Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, vii, 120). Fārs is bounded on the north-west by the sixth *Ustān* (Khūzistān), on the north-east by the tenth *Ustān* (Iṣfahān, formerly known successively as al-Djibāl [*q.v.*] and ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī), on the east by the eighth *Ustān* (Kirmān) and on the west and south-west by the Persian Gulf. The province is divided into 8 *shahristān*s (districts), namely, Shīrāz [*q.v.*], Būshahr [*q.v.*], Lār, Fasā [*q.v.*], Kāzarūn, Djahram, Fīrūzābād [*q.v.*] and Abādah. Much of the province is mountainous, and there are some difficult passes, particularly on the route connecting Shīrāz with Būshahr. Fārs is watered by a number of rivers most of which flow into the Persian Gulf; some, such as the Kurr, flow into lakes on the further side of the watershed.

In the 7th century B. C., Teispes, the son of Achaemenes and king of Anshan, threw off the yoke of the Medes and added Parsa to his realm. In the oldest Achaemenian tablet known, in cuneiform Old Persian, Ariaramnes states: 'This land of the Persians which I possess, provided with good horses and good men, it is the great god Ahuramazda who has given it to me. I am lord of this land' (R. Ghirshman, *Iran*, 1954, 120). It was from Pārs, Herodotus's 'scant and rugged land', that Cyrus the Great (559-530 B.C.) started on his phenomenal career of conquest which culminated in the establishment of the greatest empire of the ancient world. Two centuries later, Pārs, together with the rest of Persia, was overrun by Alexander the Great. Little is known of the province in Seleucid and Parthian times save that it was ruled by a series of *fratarakas* or *fratadaras* (governors). Ardashīr, the son of Pāpak and grandson of Sāsān, was, like Cyrus the Great, a native of Pārs of which he became king in 228 A.D. His grandfather and father had both been tenders of the sacred fire in the temple of Anāhit (Venus) at Iṣṭakhr (A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], Copenhagen 1944, 86). In 224 A.D. Ardashīr revolted, killed Artavan, the last Arsacid, in battle, and thus threw off the Parthian yoke. In this way the Sasanian dynasty and empire were founded. Not without reason did E. C. Browne (ii, 92) describe Pārs as the 'cradle of Persian greatness'.

In Sāsānian times Pārs was divided into 5 districts, namely, Ardashīr-Khurra, Shāpūr-Khurra, Arradjān, Iṣṭakhr and Dārābgird.

It was during the caliphate of ʿUmar that the Muslim Arabs made their first attempt to conquer Pārs (or Fārs, as they called it), when al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, the governor of Baḥrayn, sent ʿArfadja b. Harthama al-Bārikī to attack it from the sea, but the enterprise proved unsuccessful. When ʿUthmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ succeeded ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī as governor of Baḥrayn, he sent his brother al-Ḥakam to effect the conquest of the province. Al-Ḥakam, after seizing some islands off the coast, landed on the mainland, but was unable to penetrate far into the interior. During the caliphate of ʿUthmān [*q.v.*] the Arabs made a further attempt to overrun Fārs. At Tawwadj (or Tawwaz), near Rīshahr, ʿUthmān b. Abi 'l-Aṣ and his men fought a desperate battle with the Sāsānian forces under the command of the *marzbān* Shahrak; victory at length went to the Arabs after Shahrak and many of his men had fallen (Balādhurī, 386). Simultaneously, another Arab army, under the command of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿari, set out from Baṣra and invaded Fārs from the west. The two generals, having joined forces, penetrated deeply into Fārs, capturing Shīrāz; in the north the town of Sīnīz (the ruins of which are near Ganāfa (Djannāba)) also fell into their hands. ʿUthmān then detached his forces and captured Dārābgird (which then became arabicized as Dārābdjird), Pasā (Fasā [*q.v.*]) and Shāpūr (Sābūr). In 28/648-9 the army under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir besieged and captured the city of Iṣṭakhr; he then marched southwards and took Fīrūzābād [*q.v.*], thus completing the subjugation of Fārs. The land-tax (*kharādj*) was fixed first at 33 million *dirhams*; later, in the reign of al-Mutawak-

kil, it was raised to 35 million. The poll-tax (*d̲j̲izya*) brought in a revenue of 18 million *dirhams*.

Under the Caliphate Fārs was appreciably larger than it had been before, as the district of Iṣṭak̲h̲r was extended north-eastwards to include Yazd and other towns in proximity to the great desert; moreover, in the north the boundary lay between Ḳumīsha and Iṣfahān. After the Mongol conquest, however, these additional territories were detached (Le Strange, 248, 249, 275).

With the decline in the temporal authority of the Caliphate in the 3rd/9th century, Fārs came under the sway of Yaʿḳūb b. Layt̲h̲, the founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty. He made S̲h̲īrāz his capital city, where his brother ʿAmr b. Layt̲h̲ built the great cathedral mosque on the site of which the present Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲āmiʿ stands. The Buwayhids later obtained possession of Fārs, one of whom, ʿAḍud al-Dawla, extended his power over most of Persia and part of Mesopotamia; one of his notable achievements was the construction of the great barrage over the river Kurr which was called the Band-i Amīr or the Band-i ʿAḍudī after him. The Buwayhids were succeeded as rulers of Fārs by the Sald̲j̲ūḳs [*q.v.*]; when the power of the latter was on the wane, Sunḳur, the first of the Salg̲h̲urid Atabegs, gained possession of the province in 543/1148-9 and refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs. The Salg̲h̲urid Atabegs maintained themselves as rulers of Fārs until that remarkable woman Ābis̲h̲ K̲h̲ātūn, after ruling for a year, married Mangū Tīmūr, a son of the Il-K̲h̲ān Hūlāgū K̲h̲ān, in 667/1268 (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Guzīda*, 509); thenceforward her authority was only nominal.

Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, the founder of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, added Fārs to his dominions in 754/1353. The Muẓaffarids ruled over Fārs until Mubāriz al-Dīn's grandson S̲h̲āh Manṣūr was defeated and killed outside S̲h̲īrāz in a fierce encounter with the forces of Tīmūr in 795/1393.

Shah Ismāʿīl I, the first of the Ṣafawid line of rulers, who was enthroned at Tabrīz in Muḥarram 907/July 1501, established his authority in Fārs two years later. Under him and his successors both Fārs and its capital S̲h̲īrāz prospered. During the reign of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] Imām Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, the great Governor-General of Fārs, maintained almost regal state in S̲h̲īrāz where, in March 1628, he sumptuously entertained the English envoy, Sir Dodmore Cotton, and his suite (see Sir Thomas Herbert, *Travels in Persia, 1627-1629*, edited by E. Denison Ross, London 1928, 74-83).

S̲h̲īrāz, in common with many other places in Fārs, suffered severely in the fighting between the Persian forces under Nadr Ḳulī Beg (Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, the future Nādir S̲h̲āh) and the G̲h̲alzay Afg̲h̲āns under As̲h̲raf. This fighting ended with the complete defeat and virtual annihilation of the Afg̲h̲āns in 1730 (see L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafavi Dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 336-9). Fārs suffered again in the disturbances which occurred after the assassination of Nādir S̲h̲āh in 1160/1747, but the accession to power of the beneficent Karīm K̲h̲ān Zand [*q.v.*] who made S̲h̲īrāz his capital, soon resulted in a return of peace and prosperity. After Karīm K̲h̲ān's death in 1193/1779 Fārs suffered once more during the struggle for supremacy between various members of the Zand family and, subsequently, between the gallant Luṭf ʿAlī K̲h̲ān Zand and his relentless foe Ag̲h̲a Muḥammad Khān Ḳād̲j̲ār.

In more recent times the history of Fārs has been comparatively uneventful except on the following occasions: In 1250/1834, following upon the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, his brother Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā, the Governor-General of Fārs, had himself enthroned in S̲h̲īrāz, but was soon after defeated and forced to relinquish his claims by his nephew Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (for details of the battle, which was fought near Ḳumīs̲h̲a, see Baron de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, i, 61-2; see also Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mīrzā Ḥasan 'Fasāʾī', *Fars-Nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehrān 1313/1895-6, 288). Four years later, in consequence of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh's insistence on maintaining the siege of Herāt despite protests by Great Britain, that power occupied the island of K̲h̲arg, 35 miles north-west of Būs̲h̲ahr, and threatened to declare war on Persia. The S̲h̲āh thereupon gave way, and the troops were subsequently withdrawn from K̲h̲arg. On 5 D̲j̲umādā I 1260/23 May 1844 Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad announced in S̲h̲īrāz that he was the *Bāb* or 'Gateway' (to the divine Truth), a development which led to very serious disturbances not only in Fārs but throughout the country (see BĀB, BĀBĪS). In 1273-4/1856, when the seizure by Persia of Herāt involved her in war with Great Britain, the latter power again occupied K̲h̲arg and then landed a force on the coast of Fārs. This force, after taking Būs̲h̲ahr, advanced some distance inland; the conclusion of peace prevented any further military operations. An interesting event at the present time (1960) is the inauguration of the crude oil loading terminal on K̲h̲arg island, where oil-tankers of even the largest size can berth. The crude oil is brought by a pipe-line 99 miles (160 km.) long from the Gač Sarān oilfield on the mainland; for 23 miles (37 km.) of its length this pipe-line is beneath the waters of the Persian Gulf.

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FARSAK̲H̲, Persian measure of distance on a time basis, from the Parthian word **frasak̲h̲*, which came into Armenian as *hrasak̲h̲*, into Syrian as *parsʿḥā*, to continue in both Arabic and modern Persian as *farsak̲h̲*. Beside this, there is also the modern Persian *farsang*, derived from the Middle Persian *frasang*, the Old Persian **parāt̲h̲anga*, to be found in Herodotus and Xenophon as παρασάγγης. Originally the distance which could be covered on foot in an hour, or 'marching mile', this developed (presumably as early as Sāsānid times) into a standard measure of distance. Herodotus takes the *parasang* to be 30 stadia, though it must be borne in mind that he refers not to the Attic, but to the Babylonian-Persian stadium of 198 m. Thus the Old Persian *parasang* would be a distance of 5.94 km.; this, however, only for the cavalry. The foot-soldiers' *parasang* (or hour's march) was—as Xenophon's data prove—only about 4 km. In Islam, the *farsak̲h̲-i s̲h̲arʿī* was officially fixed at 3 Arab

mīl ('miles'), each of 1000 *bāʿ* ('fathoms'), each of 4 canonical ells (cf. *al-dhirāʿ al-sharʿiyya*), each of 49.875 cm., = 5.985 km. Both terms, *farsakh* and *farsang*, continue to be used in Iran today, but *farsakh* is the more usual. It has now been fixed at precisely 6 km.

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(W. Hinz)

FARSH [see ḲĀLĪ].

FĀRSĪ [see ĪRĀN].

AL-**FĀRŪḲ** [see ʿUMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB].

AL-**FĀRŪḲĪ**, ʿABD AL-BĀḲĪ, an ʿIrāḳī poet and official, born in Mosul in 1204/1790, who traced back his ancestry to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, whence his *nisba* of al-Fārūḳī or al-ʿUmarī. While still very young, he became an assistant of the *wālī* of Mosul and was later appointed governor of the town by Dāwūd Pasha [*q.v.*]; when the Porte decided to restrict the independence which Dāwūd had until then enjoyed in Baghdād, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī at first accompanied his uncle Ḳāsim Pasha, who failed in his mission, and then ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha who made him his deputy; he remained in office in Baghdād until his death, which took place in 1278/1862.

ʿAbd al-Bāḳī composed an *adab* work, *Ahillat al-afkār fī maghānī al-ibtikār* which appears to be lost; a biographical collection, *Nuzhat al-dahr fī tarādjim fuḍalāʾ al-ʿaṣr* (unpublished); a short *dīwān*, religious in character, *al-Bāḳiyyāt al-Ṣāliḥāt* which he published in 1270; another *dīwān*, which also includes pieces not written by himself, published in Cairo in 1316 under the title *al-Tiryāḳ al-fārūḳī min munshaʾāt al-Fārūḳī*.

His secular poetry returns to the classical themes of wine, music, etc., but it also contains certain descriptions of nature or curiosities (*e.g.*, the telegraph) and a number of allusions to contemporary political events. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī's religious poetry is copious but devoid of originality; in particular it includes panegyrics and elegies of the great figures of Islam (the Prophet, ʿAlī, the Ahl al-Bayt, Ibn ʿArabī, etc.).

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AL-**FĀRŪḲĪ**, MULLĀ MAḤMŪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. SHĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-DJAWNPŪRĪ, one of the greatest scholars and logicians of India, was born at Djawnpūr [*q.v.*] in 993/1585. This date is, however, doubtful as the Mullā died in 1062/1652 when he was, according to his family tradition, less than forty years of age (cf. *Mullah* [sic] *Mahmood's Determinism and Freewill* (ed. Ali Mahdi Khan), Allahabad 1934, 19-22). He received his early education from his grandfather and later from Ustādh al-Mulk Muḥammad Afḍal b. Ḥamza al-ʿUthmānī al-Djawnpūrī. A brilliant student, he completed his education at the comparatively early age of 17, specializing in logic and philosophy, and then became a teacher in his home-town. His fame soon spread and even reached the Emperor Shāhdjahān, who summoned him to Āgra and ordered his chief minister Saʿd Allāh Khān ʿAllāmī to receive him with full honours on arrival in the city. His name was subsequently included in the list of the Court *ʿulamāʾ* and he was given the *manṣab* of *sih ṣadī* (commander of three-hundred). He invariably accompanied the emperor on his journeys as a member of his *entourage*. On one Imperial visit to Lahore he was severely reprimanded by Mullā Shāh Mīr Badakhshī, the spiritual guide of Shāhdjahān, for having become too much engrossed in worldly affairs, and advised to give up the service of the emperor. Deeply affected, the Mullā resigned and went back to teach in his home-town. His project for an observatory at Āgra with financial help from the state failed to win the support of the chief minister Āṣaf Khān [*q.v.*] and was consequently turned down by the emperor on the ground that money was urgently required for the Balkh campaigns (1055-8/1645-8), which ultimately proved disastrous. Disappointed, he returned to Djawnpūr and engaged himself in academic activities. In the meantime he was invited to Dacca by Shāh Shudjāʿ, second son of Shāhdjahān and the then governor of Bengal, who read with him books on philosophy and logic. This must have happened before 1052/1642, when Mullā Maḥmūd contracted his *bayʿa* with Niʿmat Allāh b. ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Fīrūzpūrī and compiled a tract containing the *obiter dicta* and the esoteric prayers of his *shaykh* (cf. Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Amīn al-ʿAbbāsī al-Allāhābādī, *Wafayāt al-aʿlām*). A great authority on philosophy and rhetoric, he is rated very high as a scholar. He is said to have never uttered a word which he had to withdraw later or contradicted a statement once solemnly made. Contrary to the views of the majority of Sunnī scholars and writers, Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*], counts him among the veteran Shīʿī theologians (cf. *Tuḥfa Ithnāʿasharī*, Lucknow 1295/1878, ch. iii, 166). His death in 1062/1652 was deeply mourned by his teacher Ustādh al-Mulk Muḥammad Afḍal, who followed his pupil to the grave within forty days. His tomb outside the town still exists and is well known to the inhabitants.

He is the author of: (i) *Al-Shams al-bāzigha*, his *magnum opus*, a commentary on his own philosophical text entitled *al-Ḥikma al-bāligha* (litho. Delhi 1278/1861, Ludhiana 1280/1863, Lucknow 1288/1871). Unlike other works on philosophy, it follows the pattern '*ḳultu aḳūlu*', *i.e.*, 'I said and now I say'. Equally famous glosses on this work are by (a) Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn Sihālī, (b) Ḥamd Allāh Sandīlī, (c) Mullā Ḥasan Lakhnawī, and (d) ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Anṣārī Farangī = Maḥallī, all being prescribed as final courses of study in religious institutions in India and Pakistan; (ii) *al-Farāʾid fī sharḥ al-Fawāʾid* (ed. Cawnpore 1331/1913), a commentary on ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī's *al-Fawāʾid al-Ghiyāthiyya*, a work on rhetoric; (iii) *al-Farāʾid al-Maḥmūdiyya*, his glosses on (ii) above (most probably prepared for Nawwāb Shāʾistah Khān, governor of Bengal, who read them with the author during his stay at Āgra); (iv) *Ḥāshiya ʿala 'l-Ādāb al-Bāḳiyya*, a super-commentary on ʿAbd al-Bāḳī b. Ghawth al-Islām al-Ṣiddīḳī's commentary on Sayyid Sharīf al-Djurdjānī's *al-Risāla al-Sharīfiyya fī ʿilm al-munāẓara* (MS Farangī Maḥall Lib.); (v) *Risāla fī Ithbāt al-hayūlā*, as the name indicates a treatise on *hayūla* (matter), a popular subject with Muslim logicians in India; same as no. (vii) below; (vi) *Risālat Ḥirz al-īmān* (or *Ḥirz al-amānī*) in refutation of *al-Taswiya* by Muḥibb Allāh Allāhābādī; (vii) *Al-Dawḥa al-mayyāda fī taḥḳīḳ al-ṣūra wa 'l-mādda* (litho. 1308/1890); and (viii) *Risāla Djabr u ikhtiyār* (Deter-

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

FĀRŪĶIDS, the Fārūķī dynasty (so-called because of claimed descent from the *khalīfa* ʿUmar al-Fārūķ) established and ruled the semi-independent Muslim principality of Khāndēsh between the rivers Tāptī and Narbadā for two centuries, until, in 1009/1600-1, Akbar captured most of the surviving members of the Fārūķid family, forced them to become Mughal pensioners, and converted Khāndēsh into the Mughal *ṣūba* of Dāndēsh. The founder of the dynasty, Malik Rādjā (or Rādjā Aḥmad) was probably a younger son of Khʷādja Djahān, *wazīr* to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahman Shāh the first Bahmanī sultan and his successor Muḥammad I. Becoming *wazīr* in succession to his father, Rādjā Aḥmad was involved (c. 767/1365-6) in a rebellion against Muḥammad I led by the latter's nephew Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī, and fled to Dawlatābād. Thence he made his way to the court of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluķ of Dihlī, possibly as a member of the embassy from Bahrām Khān which waited on Fīrūz, in an effort to persuade him to intervene, when the latter was engaged in the expedition against Ṭhaṭṭha in the period 767-8/1366-7 (ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1890, 224). (Haig, *The Fārūqī dynasty of Khāndesh* (see *Bibl.*), 114-5, has wrongly placed the Ṭhaṭṭha expedition in 765/1363 and spoken of two embassies from Bahrām Khān to Fīrūz Shāh; the alleged second embassy was in fact from Maʿbar, see ʿAfīf, 261). For services on the hunting field Rādjā Aḥmad was rewarded at his own request with the village of Karwand near Thālnēr by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluķ. He proceeded there in 772/1370, enlarging his hold locally and increasing the surrounding area under cultivation. (Tradition recorded in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* and *Gulzār-i abrār* speaks of an earlier association of the Fārūķids with the district). Forcing the neighbouring Rāthor Rādjā of Baglāna to submit and raiding Gondwāna, Rādjā Aḥmad acquired resources sufficient to act independently of Dihlī after c. 784/1382. He died in Shaʿbān 801/April 1399. (The above account of the origins of the Fārūķids has been deduced from Firishta, *Ẓafar al-Wālih* and the *Āʾīn*, sources which are considered to offer different but not wholly contradictory or wholly independent accounts of the same events). The maintenance of the independence of the Fārūķids depended until Akbar's time upon adroit management of relations with the rulers of the more powerful neighbouring Muslim successor kingdoms to the Dihlī sultanate, namely Mālwa, Gudjarāt, the Bahmanī sultanate and its contiguous heir, Aḥmadnagar. These rulers did not recognize the Fārūķids as equals; the Gudjarāt, Bahmanī and Aḥmadnagar sources usually refer to the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpur [*q.v.*] as *ḥākim* or *wālī*. Rādjā Aḥmad married a daughter to Hūshang, son of the founder of the Mālwa sultanate, Dilāwar Khān, but Rādjā Aḥmad's successor in eastern Khāndēsh, Naṣīr Khān, was forced to abandon this alliance for the overlordship of Gudjarāt after Hūshang Shāh of Mālwa had proved (820/1417) incapable of protecting him from the Gudjarāt sultan Aḥmad I who had intervened in Khāndēsh to support Naṣīr's brother Ḥasan against the former's attempts to prevent Ḥasan from exercising any authority at Thālnēr. Unreconciled, however, to the supremacy of Gudjarāt, in 833/1429 Naṣīr concluded a marriage alliance between his daughter and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad, son of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī, but this move did not save Khāndesh from being overrun in the following year by Gudjarāt troops, replying to an attack by the Bahmanī and Khāndēsh forces on the Gudjarāt border district of Nandurbār. In 839/1435, disillusioned with the connexion with the Bahmanīs, Naṣīr Khān attacked Berār with the approval of Aḥmad Shāh of Gudjarāt but was twice severely defeated by the Bahmanī general Malik al-Tudjdjār, suffering the plunder of his capital Burhānpur before the threatened intervention of Aḥmad Shāh's forces persuaded Malik al-Tudjdjār to withdraw. Naṣīr Khān died in Rabīʿ I 841/August-September 1437. Naṣīr Khān's immediate successors, ʿĀdil Khān (died Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 844/April 1441) and Mubārak Khān (died Djumādā II or Radjab 861/May or June 1457) accepted Gudjarāt's overlordship without apparent stir, but ʿĀdil Khān II (died Rabīʿ I 907/September 1501), successful in forays against the *rādjās* of Gondwāna and Djhārkand and against the predatory Kolīs and Bhīls, delayed paying the customary tribute until, in 904/1498, Maḥmūd Bāyķarā, advancing to the Tāptī, obliged him to make amends. The story, unlikely as it stands, in the *Burhān-i maʾāthir* (220-5) of the intervention at this time of Aḥmadnagar in Khāndēsh in support of a mythical Maḥmūd Shāh Fārūķī against Maḥmūd Bāyķarā, is probably a garbled version of efforts by ʿĀdil Khān II to loosen the ties with Gudjarāt, garbled, as Haig (*op. cit.*, 120) suggests, to disguise the discomfiture of Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh.

Following the death of ʿĀdil Khān II, the political life of Khāndēsh was torn by dynastic rivalries which invited the intervention of the stronger neighbouring powers. First, a struggle occurred between Dāwūd Khān, brother of ʿĀdil Khān, who had succeeded to the throne (though not without first having to overcome opposition by some of the *amīrs*), and an unspecified relation, ʿĀlam Khān Fārūķī, a *protégé* of the ruler of Aḥmadnagar, Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh. Dāwūd successfully sought aid from Mālwa rather than provide Mahmud Bāyķarā with further oppurtunity for intervention in Khāndēsh, and the Aḥmadnagar forces were forced to withdraw (910/1504). Then, the death of Dāwūd Khān (Djumādā I 914/August 1508) precipitated a further open clash between Gudjarāt and Aḥmadnagar over Khāndēsh, with Maḥmūd Bāyķarā supporting another ʿĀlam

Khān, a descendant of Ḥasan Khān the brother of Naṣīr Khān (see above), against the Niẓām Shāh's Fārūḳī client, the previously-named ʿĀlam Khān. Invading Khāndēsh in Shaʿbān 914/November-December 1508, Maḥmūd captured Thālnēr and Burhānpur from the forces of the Niẓām Shāh and his supporters and in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 914/April 1509 installed the Gudjarāt candidate as ʿĀdil Khān III of Khāndēsh. The latter married the daughter of the later Muẓaffar II of Gudjarāt. ʿĀdil Khān III's son Muḥammad I (*regnabat* Ramaḍān 926/August 1520 to Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 943/April 1537 [following the *Mirʾāt-i Sikandarī*]) remained faithful to Gudjarāt, acting in concert with his uncle Bahādur Shāh Gudjarātī [*q.v.*] against Aḥmadnagar in 935-6/1528-9 and 939/1533, and against Māndū and Čitor in 938-9/1532-3. Bahādur Shāh rewarded him by granting him the title of *shāh* and by designating him heir-presumptive to the sultanate of Gudjarāt. Muḥammad I died, however, before he could consolidate the Fārūḳid claim to succeed Bahādur Shāh in Gudjarāt.

The reign of Muḥammad I's successor in Khāndēsh, Mubārak Shāh II (died Djumādā II 974/December 1566) witnessed the first encounter of the Fārūḳids with the Mughals. In 962/1562, Akbar's general Pīr Muḥammad followed Bāz Bahādur [*q.v.*] into Khāndēsh burning and killing before being defeated by a combination of the forces of Mubārak, Bāz Bahādur and Tufāl Khān of Berār and drowned in the Narbadā. In 972/1564, Akbar himself marched to Mālwa and compelled Mubārak to accept Mughal overlordship and a marriage alliance. At first Mughal overlordship did not prove any more restrictive than that of Gudjarāt and the Fārūḳids remained free to pursue their rivalries with their neighbours, subject to the obligation to give military and other support to the Mughals in their enterprises. In 975-6/1568-9 Mīrān Muḥammad II (died 984/1576) invaded Gudjarāt to take advantage of the dissensions of its *amīrs* under the puppet Muẓaffar III, but after some initial success was obliged to retire rebuffed. In 982/1574 Muḥammad II in collusion with the sultans of Bīdjāpur and Golkonda attempted to win Berār, newly annexed by Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh I, but the forces of the Niẓām Shāh overmatched those of the Fārūḳid ruler and the latter was obliged to buy off a siege of Asīr for 900,000 or 1,000,000 *muẓaffarīs*.

From c. 993/1585, however, with Akbar rounding out his empire in the north, Mughal pressure to the south began seriously to be felt and in 994/early 1586, Rādjā ʿAlī Khān (or ʿĀdil Shāh IV, killed Djumādā II 1005/February 1597), the last Fārūḳid with any ability for successful diplomatic manœuvre, was desired to give passage and aid to a Mughal army appointed to intervene in Aḥmadnagar. Overtly complaisant, Rādjā ʿAlī Khān covertly engaged the support of the Berār forces against which the Mughals wished to move, and Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōka, Khān-i Aʿẓam, Mughal governor of Mālwa, retired from the Deccan discomfited. In 999/1591, however, Rādjā ʿAlī Khān actively furthered Akbar's policy of aiding Burhān Niẓām Shāh (II) to become ruler of Aḥmadnagar, being mainly responsible for the victory of Rohankhed, Djumādā II or Radjab 999/April or May, 1591. Rādjā ʿAlī Khān now probably assisted indirect Mughal intervention in the Deccan in hope of staving off direct Mughal intervention, but the death (Shaʿbān 1003/April 1595) of Burhān Niẓām Shāh II, followed by appeals from one of the Aḥmadnagar factions for Mughal aid, precipitated the direct Mughal military interference which Rādjā ʿAlī had tried to head off. Rādjā ʿAlī, bending with good grace before the wind, joined Akbar's forces in the siege of Aḥmadnagar (Rabīʿ II to Radjab 1004/December 1595 to March 1596) which ended in the negotiation of the cession of Berār to Akbar. An uneasy peace was soon broken by disputes over the limits of the ceded area and in Djumādā II 1005/February 1597 Rādjā ʿAlī Khān, supporting the Mughals against the forces of Aḥmadnagar, Bīdjāpur and Golkonda, was killed at the battle of Āshtī. Unfortunately for friendship between his son and successor Bahādur Shāh and Akbar, Mughal troops, in ignorance of his death but from his absence suspecting Rādjā ʿAlī Khān's loyalty, plundered his camp, an action which appears to have embittered Bahādur Shāh's attitude towards the Mughals and to have led him into a maladroitly-managed opposition to them which Akbar, inbued by contemporary ideas of the duties of locally autonomous princes towards their overlord, was so strongly to resent that he encompassed the fall of the Fārūḳid dynasty by actions which for Vincent Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul 1542-1605*¹, Oxford 1917, constituted 'perfidy' (281) and 'base personal treachery' (285).

At the beginning of his reign, Bahādur accepted the proposal of Sultan Murād, who was commanding the Mughal forces in Berār, for a marriage alliance. But in Djumādā II-Radjab 1008/January 1600, Bahādur slighted Sultan Dāniyāl, Akbar's youngest son, while on his way to replace Sultan Murād in Berār. Akbar sent Abu 'l-Faḍl to persuade Bahādur to make amends by presenting himself at Akbar's court, but to no avail, and in Ramaḍān 1008/April 1600 Akbar himself arrived at Burhānpur and ordered the siege of Asīr where Bahādur had taken refuge. The fact that Akbar did not have a siege train ready suggests that he had expected Bahādur to submit on terms tantamount to a restoration of the previous Mughal-Fārūḳid relationship; Bahādur too, once the Mughals began the siege in earnest, thought he could and should still obtain similar terms, while being prepared to use the threat of continued resistance by the fortress if Akbar appeared unwilling. That Akbar cut the diplomatic knot by inveigling Bahādur out of Asīr by a promise to maintain him in his possession of Khāndēsh, provided that Asīr was surrendered, and then detaining him by force, may, it is argued, be explained by Akbar's knowledge that Bahādur intended to prolong the siege as a diplomatic bargaining counter and had instructed the garrison commander accordingly (knowledge gained from the defecting Khāndēsh *amīr*, Sādāt Khān). Moreover, Akbar desired to deal a further blow at the already waning morale of the garrison by forcing Bahādur Shāh to order it to capitulate, whereupon refusal to obey, despite his secret instructions to ignore such an order, could be interpreted as rebellion against Bahādur Shāh and treated as such. It is possible that Akbar decided not to restore Khāndēsh to Bahādur after the fall of Asīr (22 Radjab 1009/27 January 1601 N.S.) because he may have thought the continued resistance of the garrison after Bahādur's detention (in Djumādā II/December 1600) was further evidence that Bahādur was both false and irreconcilable and because he needed the warlike stores of Asīr (and Asīr itself) under immediate Mughal control for further unhampered operations in the Dekkan. Furthermore the Fārūḳid practice of imprisoning the other male members of the ruler's family under Ḥabshī guard enabled Akbar, following their capture in Asīr, easily to send the entire dynasty into exile, without

fear of subsequent local opposition finding a focus in a Fārūḳid claimant. (According to *Firishta*, ii, 568, Bahādur died at Āgra in 1033/1623-4).

The extant evidence for the history of the Fārūḳids mainly displays them in their dealings with outside powers and not with their own servants and subjects. From the references given in hagiological literature (*e.g.*, *Gulzār-i abrār*, available to me only in the Urdū translation *Adhkār-i abrār*) it appears that Burhānpur [*q.v.*], the Fārūḳid capital, was a favourite burial place for *ṣūfīs*, and that the Fārūḳids provided *madad-i maʿāsh* lands for the disciples of Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, said to have foretold the foundation of the later Burhānpur and the rule of the Fārūḳids there. The details and the significance of this apparent association between the Fārūḳids and the *mashāʾikh* have yet to be critically established. C. F. Beckingham, *Amba Gešen and Asirgarh*, in *JSS*, ii (1957), 182-8, has noted the parallels between Ethiopian and Khāndēsh custom in keeping imprisoned the male members of the ruling dynasty in an attempt to avoid dynastic quarrels. Ḥabshīs became prominent in Gudjarāt under Bahādur Shāh and his successors and it may be suggested that Ḥabshī prominence in Khāndēsh as *amīr*s and as guardians of imprisoned relatives of the ruler also dates from this period of close association between Bahādur Shāh Gudjarātī and Muḥammad I and of the involvement of Mubārak Shāh II of Khāndēsh in the domestic politics of Gudjarāt under Sultan Aḥmad Shāh III (961-8/1554-61).

The survival of the Fārūḳids as autonomous rulers of a principality weak, compared with its neighbours, in men and resources, may be attributed in part to the geographical situation of Khāndēsh as a marchland occupying the area between the Tāptī and the Narbadā and protected by the difficult terrain of Gondwāna to the east. So long as a balance of power was maintained between Mālwa, Gudjarāt and the Bahmanī sultanate and later Aḥmadnagar, Khāndēsh was free of all but a loose tie with Gudjarāt; but chaos in Gudjarāt after the death of Bahādur Shāh Gudjarātī, the Mughal take-over in Mālwa in the time of Bāz Bahādur, and the growing involvement of Aḥmadnagar in hostilities with Bīdjāpur and Golkonda destroyed the power equilibrium on which Fārūḳid autonomy depended, while a bungling diplomacy made it impossible for the dynasty to lay claim to that honourable mediatized status within the Mughal system which Akbar had been prepared to concede to the Rādjpūt chiefs.

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(P. HARDY)

FARW (A.) or FARWA (pl. *firāʾ*), 'a fur; a garment made of, or trimmed with, fur.' Although *farwa* can mean also a cloak of camel-hair, it is likely that when this term is encountered in ancient poetry it refers to sheepskins with the wool left on (what in Morocco are called *haydūra*), used as carpets, to cover seats, or for protection against the cold; the *farwa* which Abū Bakr had with him and which he spread on the ground in the cave for the Prophet to rest on (al-Bukhārī, v, 82) was presumably a sheepskin. The wearing of costly furs was introduced only after the Arabs had reached a fairly advanced stage of civilization, at which time the name *farrāʾ*

('furrier'), borne by certain individuals well-known in other connexions, was applied no longer only to the maker of sheepskin cloaks but also to the dealer in costly furs.

The furs most often mentioned are grey squirrel (*sindjāb*), sable (*sammūr*), ermine (*ḳāḳum*), fox (*thaʿlab*), beaver (*ḳunduz* or *ḳundus*, *khazz*), mink [? see FANAK], lynx (*washaḳ*) and weasel (*ibn ʿirs*). The geographers and travellers provide information on the origins of these furs: they came chiefly from the lands of the Bulghar [*q.v.*] of the Volga (Ibn Faḍlān; al-Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 324-5; Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 159), and of the Burtās [*q.v.*] (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 14-5), but also from other regions, including the Slav lands, the Turkish lands in Central and Eastern Asia, and Tibet (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 92, 94 ff.). Ḳabāla in Adharbāydjān supplied many beaver skins (*Ḥudūd*, 144); Tudela in Spain was famous for its sables (al-Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 239-40 = *Desc. de l'Occ. Mus.*, Algiers 1950, 51; *Ḥudūd*, 155, cf. ibid., 417). The Bulghars and their neighbours obtained furs from remoter peoples by tribute, trade, and dumb barter (Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Dahān, 129, 135, 145, tr. Canard in *AIÉO Alger*, 1958, 101, 106-7, 115; Marwazī, ed. Minorsky, 20, tr. 32-4; Abū Ḥāmid-Dubler 14, tr. 56-7, comm. 300-3; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm*, ed. Reinaud, i, 284; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 400-2 = Gibb, ii, 491-2 etc.). Furs were sent from Bulghar to Khwārizm (al-Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 324-5), where there were establishments for their manufacture (Yaʿḳūbī-Wiet, 83). Ibn Khurradādhbih (*BGA*, vi, 92, tr. 67, and 151-3, tr. 114 = *Descr. du Maghreb et de l'Europe*, Algiers 1949, 21-3) gives some information on the routes followed by the European Jewish merchants called Rādhāniyya [*q.v.*] and the Russian merchants, who carried their wares, including furs, to Egypt and the lands of the eastern Caliphate. Furs were sent to Spain across Europe, both by sea from the Baltic ports (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 392 on the export of beaver-skins from the Baltic; cf. T. Lewicki in *Isl.*, xxxv, 33) and across the lands of the Slavs and Franks (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 63; French tr., 94). The travellers occasionally mention fur garments which they wore in cold countries: Ibn Faḍlān (tr. M. Canard, in *AIÉO Alger*, 1958, 63-4) wrapped himself in a sheepskin cloak and other furs; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 445; tr. Gibb, ii, 514) had with him three fur coats when he left Constantinople; etc.

Al-Masʿūdī (*loc. cit.*) esteemed highly the pelts of black and red foxes which the Burṭās exported to all countries, and particularly to the 'Arab kings', who preferred them to sable, *fanak* and other furs. The Ps.-Djāḥiẓ (in *Arabica*, 1954/2, 157), expressing the view of the dealers, places highest the back of the ermine, together with the squirrel of the Caspian and of Khwārizm; he notes that the black fox of the Caspian is more highly prized than the red and the grey, and considers the sable of China superior to that of the Caspian. This passage indicates that trade in furs must have been fairly brisk, and that the wealthy could acquire them without difficulty; it shows also that rabbit-fur was already being used by dishonest furriers to hide defects in a pelt and that dye was used to increase the value of light-coloured furs. Andalusian authors of works of *ḥisba* battled against the frauds and malpractices engaged in by dealers in furs and pelts who used the skins of sheep and rabbits (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947, 131; R. Arié, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, 1960/3, 352-3.

In the legal field, furs seem to have occasioned hardly any special regulations; and they posed no legal problem except in connexion with the validity of prayer: indeed both Sunnīs (see, *e.g.*, al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed. and tr. Bercher, 297) and Shīʿīs (see, *e.g.*, the Ismāʿīlī *ḳāḍī* al-Nuʿmān, *K. al-Iḳtiṣār*, ed. Muḥ. Waḥīd Mīrzā, Damascus 1376/1957, 100) permit the wearing of garments made from the skin of prohibited animals or animals not ritually slaughtered, except during the prayer.

On the use of fur in robes of honour and other garments see KHILʿA, LIBĀS. On furs in the Ottoman Empire see SAMMŪR.

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(ED.)

FARWĀN (also PARWĀN), ancient town in the Hindū-Kush mountains and a modern administrative district of Afghānistān, the capital of which is Charikar.

The modern town of Djabal al-Sirādj (alt. 3751 m.) is located near the site of the ancient Farwān, *ca.* 69° 15′ E., 35° 7′ N. by the Pandjshīr river near its junction with the Ghūrband river.

Farwān may have occupied the ancient site of Alexander's Alexandria of the Caucasus or Alexandria-Kapisa. It was conquered by the Arabs ca. 176/792 (Ibn Rusta, 289) and included in the province of Bamiyān. Coins were struck in Farwān by the Ghaznawid rulers, and it was the centre for silver mining of the Pandjshīr valley. Many geographers mention the town, but it achieved prominence only under Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh when he defeated the Mongols there in 618/1221. The site of the battle, however, may be another Farwān (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 348). The site was the scene of a battle in the first British-Afghān war in 1840, but there is no indication of a settlement. In 1937, with the construction of a textile factory in the new town of Djabal al-Sirādj, the area began a new history.

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(R. N. FRYE)

FARWARDĪN [see TAʾRĪKH].

FARYĀB (also FĀRIYĀB and PARYĀB), name of several towns in Iran:

1. A town in northern Afghānistān, now called Dawlatābād, formerly in the province of Djūzdjān.

It was conquered by al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays in 65/685 (al-Balādhurī, 407). Many geographers mention the town as large and flourishing until the Mongol conquest when it was destroyed. It never regained its former importance.

2. A small town in southern Fārs province (Le Strange, 257, 296).

3. A village in Kirmān (Le Strange, 317).

4. A village in Sughd (Barthold, 138; Frye, *The History of Bukhara*, 1954, 152).

Bibliography: Barthold, *Turkestan*, 79; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 335; Le Strange, 425.

(R. N. FRYE)

FĀS (FÈS, FEZ), a town of Northern Morocco situated at 4° 54′ W., 34° 6′ N. It stands at the north-east extremity of the plain of the Sāʾis, at the exact place where the waters of the eastern side of this plain go down into the valley of Sebou via the valley of the Wādī Fās. It is therefore on the easiest route between the Atlantic coast of Morocco and the central Maghrib. Furthermore, one of the least difficult roads across the Middle Atlas to the south passes by way of Sefrou, 30 kms. south of Fās, and the communications between this last town whether with the Mediterranean coast (Bādis or Vélez) or with the Straits of Gibraltar (Tangier) are relatively easy, too. It might be said that Fās is clearly situated at the point of intersection of two great axes of communication, indicated by the general contours of the country: one axis north-south between the Mediterranean or the Straits of Gibraltar and the Tāfīlālt and so beyond to the negro countries; the other west-east between the Atlantic coast and central Maghrib.

Moreover, the site of Fās is rich in water; apart from the river itself and its tributaries, which it has been easy to canalize and turn to urban use, numerous springs rise from the steep banks of the water-courses, especially from the left bank, which is actually inside the town. In the immediate vicinity there are quarries which provide building stone, sand and lime, while the cedar and oak forests of the Middle Atlas are not far away and offer wood of very good quality. Finally, for considerable distances around, the neighbouring country is favourable to all types of farming. Cereals, vines, olives and various kinds or fruit-trees grow here, while not only sheep and goats but cows also can be raised here.

Nevertheless it seems that no urban centre existed on this privileged site before the Muslim town came into being. Archaeology has not confirmed the vague legendary tradition of the *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, according to which a very ancient town existed long ago on the site of Fās. It can therefore be regarded as likely that Fās came into being at the end of the 2nd/8th century at the desire of the Idrīsids [*q.v.*]. It has even long been believed, on the strength of the *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, supported by numerous other authors, that Fās was founded by Idrīs b. Idrīs on I Rabīʿ I, 192/4 January 808. The young king was thought to have then founded his town on the right bank of the Wādī Fās, and a lunar year later to the day, that is to say on 22 December 808, to have founded a second town on the left bank. Intrigued by this double foundation for which no explanation has been given, E. Lévi-Provençal studied the question very thoroughly and showed (*La Fondation de Fès*, in *AIEO Algers*, iv (1938), 23-52), that there existed another tradition less well-known but older on the founding of Fās; this took it back to Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh, father of Idrīs b. Idrīs. He is said to have founded the town on the right bank in 172/789 under the name of Madīnat Fās. Death intervened before he had time to develop it and twenty years later his son is believed to have founded a town for himself on the left bank, which was given the name of al-ʿĀliya. This tradition seems much more likely.

In any case, it is certain that for several centuries two cities, barely separated by the trickle of water in the Wādī Fās but frequently ranged against each other in bitter rivalry, co-existed and developed with difficulty, each hindering the other. During the whole time of the Idrīsids, that is to say until the beginning of the 4th/10th century, dynastic quarrels disturbed the life of the double city; then, during the first third of that century, it became one of the stakes in the struggle between the Umayyads of Spain and the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya, which was frequently staged in the north of Morocco. During the thirty years between 980 and 1012, it lived under the protection of the Umayyads and seems then to have enjoyed a certain prosperity. When the Caliphate of Cordova began to be in jeopardy, it came under the authority of the Zenāta Berbers who, far from always agreeing among themselves, revived the ancient rivalries between the twin towns up to the time of the coming of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

The traditional date of the conquest of Fās by the Almoravid, Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, is 461/1069, but in a posthumous article (*La fondation de Marrakech*, in *Mél. d'Hist. et d'Archéol. de l'Occ. Mus.*, Algiers 1957, ii, 117-120) E. Lévi-Provençal, following al-Bakrī, showed that the traditional chronology should be treated with caution and that the foundation of Marrākush and consequently the conquest of Fās, which occurred after this, ought probably to be dated a few years later. Whatever the case, the Almoravid conquest marks a very important date in the history of Fās, since Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn combined the two towns into one and made it his essential military base in northern Morocco. There is therefore good right to consider the Almoravid conqueror as the second founder of Fās: it was he who did away with the duality which had for so long prejudiced the city's development; it was he also who marked out for it the direction in which it was to develop in the future by building to the west of the two original towns and on the very edge of the plain of the Sāʾis, an important fortress, now disappeared, which stimulated the growth of more new quarters between it and the original ones. The Almoravids were also responsible for the growth in importance of the principal sanctuary of the left bank area, the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque (Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*]). This sanctuary had been built of modest size, it seems, in the 4th/10th century. The Almoravid, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, had it destroyed with the exception of the minaret which still stands (Pl. XV) and in its place built a mosque of vast dimensions, sumptuously ornamented by Andalusian artisans. It is also probable that the principal works in the Wādī Fās, thanks to which the city has possessed a system of running water from a very early date, go back to the Almoravid epoch. Fās lived thus under the Almoravids for almost three-quarters of a century (467?-540/1075?-1145), one of the most prosperous periods of its existence, but a period about which unfortunately we have all too little detailed information.

The Almohad conquest [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN] marks a brief pause in the history of Fās. When ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*] attacked it in 540/1145, the city, which had every good reason for remaining faithful to the Almoravids, put up a violent resistance. The Almohad only conquered it after a hard siege, and punished the town by razing the Almoravid *ḳaṣaba* and the city ramparts. But like the Almoravids, the Almohads had need of Fās and the town grew afresh in proportions of which al-Idrīsī's account gives a fair idea. It is a city in full development and at the height of economic progress that he describes

in his work, The fourth Almohad Caliph, al-Nāṣir, even ordered on the very day after the defeat of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), that the ramparts of Fās should be reconstructed. The general outline of these and a good part of their masonry date from this period (Pl. XIII). Thus the old city of Fās attained the proportions that we now know. Its surrounding wall is pierced by eight huge gates, four on each bank, and it seems certain that empty spaces, gardens and orchards, once existed within this enclosure.

A century later, Fās changed masters anew and came under the authority of the Marīnids [*q.v.*]. Though badly received at first, the new masters succeeded in raising the city's prosperity to a height as yet unknown. Unlike the Almoravids and the Almohads, they did not come from the south but from the east, and Fās was the first large town which they had succeeded in conquering; hence they made it their capital and relegated Marrākush to second place. Because of this the fortunes of Fās were assured for several centuries. The new court lived at first in the *ḳaṣaba* which the Almohads had reconstructed on the site of the ancient Almoravid *ḳaṣaba*, in the district now called Bū Djulūd (probably a popular corruption of Abu 'l-Djunūd). They soon found themselves cramped for space here; hence the Marīnid sovereign Abū Yūsuf (1258-1286) decided to found a royal and administrative town to the west of the ancient one, on the extreme borders of the plain of the Sā'is, and the foundations were laid out on 3 Shawwāl 674/21 March 1276. This new urban centre was at first named *al-Madīnat al-Bayḍā'* (the white city), but has been known for a very long time and still is known as Fās al-Djadīd (New Fās). It consisted essentially of the palace, various administrative buildings, a great mosque to which were added little by little various other sanctuaries, barracks, the homes of various important Marīnid dignitaries, and later, in the 9th/15th century, a special quarter in which the Jews were compelled to live. From the beginning, this town was surrounded by a double city wall, broken by only a few gates. In the 10th/16th century, these were reinforced by a number of bastions capable of supporting cannon.

Thus Fās became again a double urban centre, with a middle-class and commercial town, Fās al-Bālī (Ancient Fās), known locally as 'al-Madīna' (i.e. the 'town' proper) and an administrative and military centre which complemented rather than entered into competition with the first. The description which Leo Africanus gives of Fās at the beginning of the 16th century gives the impression of an active and heavily populated city, so heavily populated indeed that several areas of lightly constructed buildings had been established outside the ramparts, especially to the north-west of the ancient city. It was a commercial and industrial city (notable for its textiles and leather-goods), but also a city of religion and learning, where around the Ḳarawiyyīn Mosque flourished what J. Berque has called 'the School of Fās' (*Ville et Université. Aperçu sur l'histoire de l'École de Fās*, in *Rev. hist. de Droit fr. et étr.*, 1949), and finally a centre of art, thanks to the country palaces built by the Marīnids on the hills which dominate Fās to the north, thanks above all to the colleges (*madrasas*) built mainly in the 8th/14th century by various Marīnid princes around the Ḳarawiyyīn Mosque, the Mosque of the Andalusians in the upper part of the old town, and in Fās al-Djadīd. These colleges are almost all ornamented with good taste and variety and form one of the greatest adornments of Fās. This favourable situation lasted for three centuries during which Fās enjoyed political, economic and intellectual priority throughout Morocco as well as in the western regions of what is now Algeria, and was in economic and cultural relations with the western Sahara as far as the loop of the Niger. In 870-1/1465, the city was the scene of an attempt to restore the Idrīsids, which hung fire; the Waṭṭāsids, successors of the Marīnids, do not seem to have been very hard in their treatment of those concerned, as is shown by the description of Leo Africanus who describes an active and flourishing city.

Nevertheless the Saʿdī [*q.v.*] sharīfs, masters of Marrākush since 931/1524 (R. Le Tourneau, *Les débuts de la dynastie saʿdienne*, Algiers 1954) gradually extended their influence over the rest of Morocco, threatened Fās from 954/1547 on, and thanks to inside intrigues, managed to get hold of it on 28 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 955/28 January 1549. This change of dynasty was not a good thing for the city, for the Saʿdīs, a southern people, had already made Marrākush their capital. Fās became once again the second city of the Sharīfian empire. At first it accepted this situation very unwillingly and welcomed the Waṭṭāsid pretender, Abū Ḥassūn, when he put the Saʿdīs to flight on 2 Ṣafar 961/7th January 1554 with the help of a small Turkish force which had accompanied him from Algiers. But this venture was not to be successful for long; the Saʿdīs returned in force in Shawwāl 968/September 1554. Abū Ḥassūn, who had been forced to discharge his over-enterprising Turkish allies, was killed in battle beneath the walls of Fās, and the city came back into the possession of the conquerors. These did not long continue to treat the opposition harshly, reinforced its defences, perhaps in order to hold it more strongly, and put in hand works of improvement and embellishment at the Ḳarawiyyīn Mosque. A diminished but still prosperous situation was the lot of Fās in the second half of the 10th/16th century.

When the Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] died at Fās on 16 Rabīʿ I 1012/25 August 1603, his sons fought savagely over the succession and brought about a state of anarchy in Morocco which lasted more than sixty years (R. Le Tourneau, *La décadence saʿdienne et l'anarchie marocaine au XVII*e *siècle*, in *Ann. de la Fac. des Lettres d'Aix*, xxxii (1958), 187-225). Fās was caught up in this whirlwind of violence, conquered by naked force, and despoiled in various reconquests; very grave internal disputes added to its misfortunes and for more than fifty years it suffered the darkest period of its history. It was an exhausted city of which the ʿAlawid pretender, Mawlāy al-Rashīd, took possession in 1076/1666.

Under the power of this energetic prince, the wounds of Fās began to heal and it began to come to life again with the help of a sovereign who was putting in hand great works of public utility (construction of a bridge over the neighbouring Sebou, of two fortresses to the west of the ancient town, restoration of a bridge over the Wādī Fās, creation of a new *madrasa* in addition to those built by the Marīnids) when he was killed accidentally in 1082/1672. His brother, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], who replaced him, was also a remarkable man but he detested Fās; he had a new capital constructed at Meknès and continued to insult and offend the people of Fās throughout his long reign of fifty-five years, to such a degree that the city was becoming depopulated. On the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1139/1727) matters became even worse; several of his sons

fought over the succession and, just as in the preceding century, Morocco fell back into a grave state of anarchy. Once again, for a period of thirty years, Fās was delivered up to the caprices of ephemeral rulers, among them Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh who detested its people, and to the pillaging of the soldiery, especially that of the military tribe of Ūdāya. At last, when Sayyidī Muḥammad (1171-1204/1757-1790) succeeded his father, ʿAbd Allāh, Fās was granted a long period of respite, which was disturbed only briefly by the disorders which darkened the end of Mawlāy Sulaymān's reign (1207-1230/1792-1824). Its position as capital was restored and it shared this with Marrākush up to the beginning of the 20th century. Then Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], freed from the tutelage of his Vizier, Bā Aḥmad, adopted a policy of modernization which raised a large part of the Moroccan population against him.

In the course of the second half of the 19th century, many Fās merchants had entered into contact with various European or African countries (England, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, French West Africa) and the city was gradually being drawn into international trade. Moreover a number of Europeans and Americans (soldiers, diplomats, clergy, doctors, businessmen) came and settled in the city of Idrīs. The destiny of Fās, like that of the rest of Morocco, was beginning to take a new turn. Furthermore the Sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1290-1311/1873-1894) [*q.v.*] had undertaken important public works in this city where he normally lived when he was not travelling around the country at the head of his army: he set up a small-arms factory near his palace, the Makīna; he connected by long walls the two urban areas of Fās al-Djadīd and the Madīna, which had remained separated so far, and had a new palace built at Bū Djulūd, on the edge of the Madīna.

From 1901 on, Fās once again faced disturbed conditions; it was threatened in 1903 by the pretender, Bū Ḥmāra [*q.v.*]; then when Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was forced to abdicate in 1908, Fās put into power a descendant of its founder Idrīs, the Sharīf Muḥammad al-Kattānī; but he did not succeed in raising an army and could not prevent the Sultan proclaimed in Marrākush, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ, from installing himself in the city. Unrest continued, however, and the new sovereign, threatened in his capital by Berber tribes from the Middle Atlas, finally appealed to the French army for help in 1911. A column commanded by General Moinier came and encamped under the walls of Fās, the first time that a European army had been in contact with the city; the troops established themselves south of Fās al-Djadīd, at Dār al-Dubaybagh (colloquial pronunciation: Dār ad-Dbībagh), a country house built by Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh in the 18th century. On 30 March 1912, in the following year, the Protectorate treaty between France and Morocco was signed in a room of the palace of Bū Djulūd. A few days later (16 and 17 April 1912), Moroccan troops revolted and massacred a number of Europeans, while at the same time others were rescued by the people of Fās. A little later, General Lyautey, the first French Resident-General of Morocco, was besieged in Fās by revolting Berber tribes; the town was set free by a column under General Gouraud (end of May - beginning of June, 1912). From that time on Fās was able to live in peace and organize itself for a new type of life.

A European town soon began to rise on a vast flat area in the region of Dār ad-Dbībagh; it was called Dār ad-Dbībagh in Arabic and the 'Ville Nouvelle' in French. The palace of Bū Djulūd became the seat of the Resident-General, and the Bū Djulūd district began to fill up with many Europeans. Behind the city walls of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, there arose administrative buildings adapted to their mediaeval style. The merchants of Fās quickly accommodated themselves to the new economic conditions of the country. Very early on, some of them went and established themselves at Casablanca, without however breaking off all contact with their ancestral city. A system of modern education was organized alongside the traditional religious teaching.

Perhaps startled by so many novelties, the city of Fās retired into its shell for a few years, but soon began to take an attitude of discreet opposition to the new régime. The Rif war and the first successes of ʿAbd al-Karīm (1925) raised fear of pillage and hopes of liberation. Little by little, a young people's party turned towards political action hostile to the Protectorate, and led the opposition against the *ẓahīr* on the organization of justice in Berber regions (16 May 1930). In 1937 and 1944, at the time of political crises which ended finally in the demand for independence of 11 January 1944, Fās was the scene of important demonstrations. Nevertheless the political centre of gravity of Morocco was shifting towards Rabat and Casablanca, and Fās played no more than a secondary part in the events which, between 1953 and 1956, led to the proclamation of Morocco's independence. At present, Fās is the capital of a province and ranks as the third city of Morocco after Casablanca and Marrākush.

The city, whose population is 179,400 (census of 1952) of whom 15,800 are Europeans, is made up of four main centres: (1) the Madīna, in which empty spaces have almost disappeared, but where certain areas on the outskirts have been opened to motor traffic; (2) Fās al-Djadīd, itself composed of three elements: a little Muslim town of rather humble people which is called Fās al-Djadīd; the palace and its dependencies; the Jewish quarter or Mellāḥ; (3) the New City (Ville Nouvelle), where many Jews and some Muslim families live; (4) a new Muslim town situated to the north-west of the palace and created since 1950 according to modern standards. Around these urban areas, general areas of lightly constructed buildings have sprung up, inhabited by poor people recently come from the country, and these are generally nicknamed 'bidonvilles'.

Fās is connected with the outer world by excellent roads and by a railway which connects the Atlantic coast and Tangier with Oujda on the Algerian frontier. It has also an aerodrome of moderate importance.

Its economic life is founded above all, just as in the past, on its relations with the neighbouring countryside. Its industry has to a great extent remained traditional (textiles, leather-goods, industries connected with food) and has been only partly modernized; the adaptation of its artisans to modern economic conditions is one of its principal problems. By contrast, its agricultural hinterland has grown considerably into a wide belt around the city. The main business city of Morocco at the beginning of the century, it has been dethroned by Casablanca where, however, a good number of its inhabitants have settled.

Not less than as the economic metropolis, Fās has

long been the intellectual metropolis of Morocco, thanks to its great centre of traditional learning, the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn. In modern Morocco it seems to be having some difficulty in keeping this priority, since the modern Moroccan University created after independence is situated in Rabat. Fās continues nevertheless to be an important centre both of traditional and modern learning and of intellectual life.

All in all, it seems questionable whether Fās, despite remaining one of the principal cities of Morocco, has succeeded in taking up again the rôle of outstanding importance which it has played so many times in its long history. At the moment, the population seems stationary or has perhaps even slightly diminished since independence, following the departure of many French and Jews. In the political arena it seems to have been overtaken by Rabat, the capital, as well as Casablanca. In brief, events in Morocco since the beginning of the 20th century do not appear to have been favourable to Fās.

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Monuments

Under the Idrīsids. — We know of the two places of prayer which formed the origins of the two great sanctuaries of the city only from brief accounts. The mosque of Fāṭima in the quarter of the Ḳarawiyyīn (242/857) and the mosque of the Andalusians in the quarter of the same name (245/859-60) were buildings of medium size, with naves parallel to the *ḳibla* wall, with *ṣaḥn*s planted with trees, and minarets of very modest height.

Some rubble remains of the surrounding wall exist in the quarter of the Karawiyyīn but, in the absence of all traces of doors or towers, these are not sufficient to allow us to plot the main lines of this first rampart.

The settlements founded by the two Idrīs attained urban status only very gradually, and there can have been few monuments built during this period.

Under the Zenāta Emirs. — After a troubled period, the city began to develop a certain amount of artistic activity under the Zenāta Emirs, who were allies and vassals of the Umayyads of Cordova. After a Fāṭimid incursion, the mosque of Fāṭima, from that time on called the Ḳarawiyyīn, and that of the Andalusians became the cathedral-mosques of the two quarters (321/933). The two structures were rebuilt and enlarged under the Maghrāwa Emirs: their naves, still parallel to the wall of the *ḳibla*, were made of rows of horseshoe brick arches; the axial naves were bordered with bastions of stone with a four-leaved plan. The two minarets, built in 349/956, still exist. That of the Ḳarawiyyīn (Pl. XV) was built on the orders and at the expense of Sultan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III of Cordova. In their proportions and their square plan with staircases surrounding a central newel, the two stone towers resemble the Andalusian type of minaret, but their copings of projecting string-courses and cupolas belong to the Ifrīḳiya type. Andalusian influences were only beginning to be added to the African and oriental elements which had come from Aghlabid Tunisia.

The actions of the Umayyads in the Maghrib were hardly ever concerned with the spread of artistic influence: the ancient *minbar* of the mosque of the Andalusians, detached from a more recent one in the course of a restoration of the sanctuary, bears witness to the persistence of oriental influences. Made in 369/980 at the time of the occupation of Fās by the Zīrid, Bulukkīn, this pulpit of turned and carved wood is of a completely Fāṭimid style. When in 375/986 an Umayyad expedition retook the town, they began by destroying this Shīʿī pulpit; but once this pious fury had passed, they saw that the ancient *minbar*, repaired and provided with a new seat-back to the greater glory of orthodoxy, could very well continue to be used, and an artist was found to make the repairs and additions in the original style. This pulpit, after that of Ḳayrawān the oldest of all the *minbar*s which have come down to us, is the only monument which remains as a witness of the struggles between the Fāṭimids and the Umayyads in Morocco.

Thus Fās awakened little by little to artistic life under the prevailing influence of Ḳayrawān, and in the middle of the 4th/10th century had also received some influences from Andalusian sources.

Under the Almoravids. — The period of the Almoravids was a decisive one in the architectural history of Fās. Although the Ṣanhādjī Emirs took Marrākush, the city which they had founded, as their capital, they nevertheless did not forget the great city of the north. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn united the two quarters of the Ḳarawiyyīn and the Andalusians and at their highest point built the Ḳaṣba (*ḳaṣaba*) of Bū Jlūd (Abu 'l-Djulūd). He was soon to become master of Muslim Spain, the whole of whose artistic resources were put at the service of the African emirs. Hispano-Moorish art, which became the dominant factor in Fās as in Marrākush, eliminated the Ifrīḳiyan influences under which the city had lived up to this time. In becoming attached to the artistic tradition under which it was to continue up to our own times, Fās became an artistic metropolis.

The second Almoravid sultan, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, gave the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque its present dimensions and form by enlarging it on the *ḳibla* side and on the side of the *ṣaḥn*, and by working over all the earlier parts. The work was executed between 529/1135 and 536/1142. The arrangement of naves parallel to the wall of the chevet was retained, but a higher axial nave leading to the *miḥrāb* was inserted between the ancient

and new naves of the hall of prayer. A row of rich cupolas—above all domes with stalactites—covered it. The Almoravid enlargements were made of glazed or bonded brick, which on the outer wall of the *miḥrāb* formed a very beautiful interlacing design. Inside the building, in the great axial nave, rich sculptured decorations, heightened with colour, had been covered with plaster by the Almohads in the period of their rigorous puritanism. These magnificent ornaments, mainly epigraphic and floral, were uncovered in the course of a restoration of the whole of the building directed by the author of this article. The whole art of Muslim Spain, as it had been elaborated in the 5th/11th century, with its profuse richness, its erudite composition and its nervous elegance, is revealed in this Moroccan mosque.

The al-Ḳarawiyyīn mosque preserves the *minbar* of carved wood and marquetry which was given to it by ʿAlī b. Yūsuf. Second in Morocco only to the one at present in the Kutubiyya at Marrākush, the work of the same ruler, it is one of the most beautiful in all Islam. The great mosque of Fās, long unknown in detail, has become once again the greatest witness to Hispano-Moorish art in the time of the Almoravids.

Under the Almohads. — The Almohads, who kept Marrākush as their capital, were slower to interest themselves in Fās. They gave a cathedral-mosque to the Ḳaṣba of Bū Jlūd. Under Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, the mosque of the Andalusians was reconstructed, with the exception of its minaret. The ancient Zīrid and Amīrid *minbar* was covered, except for its seat-back, with a new sculptured decoration. At the Ḳarawiyyīn, which was given a great ornamental chandelier and a room for ritual ablutions, some works of detail were carried out. But the greatest work of the Almohads was the reconstruction of the great city wall (Pl. XIII) which still to-day surrounds Fās al-Bālī. Bāb Gīsa (Djīsa) and Bāb Maḥrūk, more or less repaired or altered, date for the main part from this period.

During the whole time of the Almohads, Fās was very prosperous, and Andalusian influences continued to prevail there without rival.

Under the Marīnids. — Under the Marīnids, Fās became the capital of Morocco. In 674/1276, a little while after his victory over the last of the Almohads, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb founded, at a short distance to the west of the old town, a new administrative city, Fās al-Djadīd. Here he built his palaces, which he endowed with a great mosque (Pls. XIV, XVII) and here he installed his guard and the administrative services of the state. Fās al-Djadīd was surrounded by a mighty rampart with inner and outer walls and furnished with monumental gates. Three of these gates, Bāb al-Sammārīn, Bāb al-Bākākīn, and Bāb al-Makhzan still exist to-day, very little altered. The palaces of the Marīnids have been replaced by more modern buildings, but some of their vaulted store-houses are still to be seen there.

Other sanctuaries were built later on at Fās al-Djadīd: the al-Ḥamrāʾ mosque, doubtless in the reign of Abū Saʿīd (710-31/1310-31), the little sanctuary of Lāllā Zhar (Zahr, 759/1357) built by Abū ʿInān, and finally the mosque of Lāllā Gharība (810/1408), whose minaret alone has been preserved. The great mosque of al-Ḥamrāʾ and Lāllā Zhar are beautiful buildings of harmonious proportions and quiet luxury. In 720/1320, Abū Saʿīd had a *madrasa* constructed, which to-day is in a very damaged condition.

The Marīnids did not forget Fās al-Bālī. There they built several small mosques such as the Sharābliyyīn and Abu 'l-Ḥasan, whose sanctuaries have been rebuilt but which still preserve some carved wood from this period and, even more important, their graceful minarets. All the Marīnid minarets of Fās al-Djadīd and Fās al-Bālī consist of square towers with turrets. Their façades are decorated with interlaced designs in brick enclosing backgrounds of mosaic faïence. Other *azulejos* in the form of polygonal stars cover the wide string-course at the top of the tower. They are perfect examples of the classic type of Hispano-Moorish minaret.

But the old town was indebted above all to the Marīnids for the glorious beauty of the *madrasas* of this period. These are students' colleges arranged around luxurious court-yards at the back of which are situated halls of prayer. As early as 670/1271, the founder of the dynasty, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, built the *madrasa* of the Ṣaffārīn. The Ṣahrīdj (720/1321), (Pl. XVIII), Ṣbaʿiyyīn (723/1323) and ʿAṭṭārīn (743/1346) *madrasas* were built in the time of Abū Saʿīd. Abu 'l-Ḥasan founded the Miṣbāḥiyya (743/1346), and Abū ʿInān the one which bears his name, the Bū-ʿInāniyya (Pls. XII, XVI). Outwardly each of different appearance, all the *madrasas* built in this last great epoch of Hispano-Moorish art are extremely beautiful. The decorations which cover them are admirably arranged and the detail of the ornament is worthy of the harmony of the whole. The latest in date and the largest, the Bū ʿInāniyya, which is the only one to possess a *minbar* and a minaret, is the last great masterpiece of the classic period of Hispano-Moorish art to be found in Morocco.

The Almoravid and Almohad monuments were planned and decorated by artists who came from Spain, but towards the end of the 7th/13th century Fās had its own workshops, closely linked with those of Granada. From the beginning of the 8th/14th century on, beautiful houses were erected both in Fās al-Djadīd and Fās al-Bālī, which, like the *madrasas*, were adorned with floors and facings of faïence mosaic, plaster and carved wood. The same decorative style prevailed in sanctuaries, palaces and rich homes.

The masonry, also very homogeneous in style, is less beautiful but almost as delicate as the ornament. In the walls, stone gives place to bonded or glazed brick, and often also to cobwork. Cedar wood plays a large part in all the architecture of Fās. Whether in beams, lintels, corbelling, ceilings or *artesonados* domes, it provides both roof beams and cover for all types of buildings. In the framework of doors and openings and in joinery, it is moulded, decorated with pieces of applied ornament, or carved. At the tops of walls and court-yards, it is worked into friezes and projecting porches resting upon carved and painted corbels. This wide use of wood, the frequency of pillars and the rarety of columns, are the only characteristics which distinguish the Marīnid monuments from contemporary Naṣrid buildings.

Vaulted architecture is to be found only in the great store-houses of Fās al-Djadīd and in the *ḥammāms* which follow the very simple plans of the Andalusian baths.

Thus under the Marīnids Fās received not only its shape as two distinct agglomerations, but also its architectural appearance. From then on it was, second only to Granada, the most active centre of Hispano-Moorish art. Once Muslim Spain had disappeared, all the processes of masonry, techniques and ornamental forms inherited from the 14th century continued to be used in Fās up to our own

times, in a slow decline and with a touching fidelity.

Under the Saʿdīs. — The end of the Marīnid dynasty and the reign of the Banū Waṭṭās produced no great monuments in Fās. Nevertheless, its buildings maintained the same architectural and decorative traditions as those of the art which preceded this period. Relations with Granada had become more rare, and from the end of the 8th/14th century onwards, the latest innovations in ornament of the Alhambra of Muḥammad V had not been passed on to Fās. And in 896/1492, Granada was reconquered. In the victorious thrust of Renaissance art in Spain, Hispano-Moorish art became confined by the 10th/16th century to its African domain.

Under the Saʿdīs, who struggled for a long time against the Banū Waṭṭās for the possession of Fās, the city went through difficult times. Marrākush once again became the capital of Morocco and the sultans distrusted the metropolis of the North. They reinforced the ramparts of Fās al-Djadīd, which remained the headquarters of government, with bastions for the use of cannon. Two works of the same kind but even more powerful, the northern *burdj* and the southern *burdj*, dominated and overlooked Fās al-Bālī. The Ḳarawiyyīn was enriched with two fountain kiosks, jutting out of the shorter sides of the *ṣaḥn* (Pl. XV). In the anarchy in which the Saʿdī dynasty went down, Fās passed through terrible times and in such a troubled period no monuments could be constructed

Under the ʿAlawīs. — The founder of the dynasty, Mawlāy al-Rashīd, hastened to give Fās al-Bālī a new *madrasa*, that of the Sharrāṭīn (1081/1670). His successor, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, transferred his capital to Miknās. Nevertheless, he had the mausoleum and sanctuary of Mawlāy Idrīs rebuilt.

At the beginning of the 18th century, Fās once again became the customary residence of the sultan and the central government. Almost all the sovereigns, from Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Allāh on, had work done on the palaces of Fās al-Djadīd. The most important groups of buildings which still exist to-day date mainly from Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1237-75/1822-59) and Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1289-1311/1873-94). The ramparts were repaired many times and one of the great gates, Bāb al-Futūḥ, was entirely rebuilt by Mawlāy Sulaymān.

Numerous sanctuaries, whether cathedral-mosques or simple places of prayer, were built in Fās under the ʿAlawī sovereigns and very often through their initiative. The most important of these were the mosques of Bāb Gīsa (Djīsa), of al-Raṣīf and of al-Siyādj at Fās al-Bālī, and the mosque of Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh at Fās al-Djadīd. Local mosques, places of prayer dedicated to saints, headquarters of brotherhoods, were built in great numbers. Sanctuaries of reasonably large dimensions consisted according to local tradition of naves parallel to the wall of the *ḳibla*. The minarets were square towers surmounted by turrets but the decoration of a network of interlacing and faïence was almost always omitted and the walls of brick, glazed or not, were ornamented with simple blind arcades. Some little sanctuaries still keep their 'platform' minarets of a very archaic type. An occasional *madrasa* was built: those of Bāb Gīsa and al-Wād preserve very nearly the traditional arrangement.

Most of the houses of Fās date from the ʿAlawī period but continue the Marīnid tradition. The walls are made either of cobwork or more commonly of brick, and sometimes of coated rubble. In the old town, the houses rise vertically, mostly on two floors around narrow court-yards. These houses, though poor in light and ventilation, are nevertheless sometimes sumptuous; the pillars of the court-yard and the bases of the walls are panelled in faïence mosaics; carved plaster often ornaments the door and window frames and the tympanums of the openings, and sometimes even the walls themselves. A cornice of moulded or even carved cedar-wood crowns the whole. The ceilings and the joinery—also of cedar-wood—are worked with care. In the less dense outlying districts, there are lower houses around vast court-yards and even gardens.

The *funduḳs*, with several storeys and galleries, follow the same arrangement as that of the Marīnid hostelries, and are, in this city of commerce, very often beautiful buildings.

Thus in the work of these last centuries there is nothing new, but a remarkable fidelity to a great architectural and decorative tradition. Despite the baldness of the ornamental detail, both the civil and the religious architecture of Fās preserves, sometimes not without grandeur, a sense of balance which does not exclude the picturesque. Above all, a perfect unity of style, maintained by guilds of artisans, knowing and loving their work, has given Fās al-Bālī and even more, Fās al-Djadīd, an astonishing harmony. Regulations concerning matters of art have succeeded in preserving in Fās, as in other ancient cities in Morocco, their originality and beauty. In Fās, more than elsewhere, there has been preserved the architectural and decorative climate of Muslim Andalusia.

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(H. TERRASSE)

FASĀ (formerly Pasā), is situated in 28° 56′ N. Lat. and 53° 39′ E. Long. (Greenwich); it is 1,561 metres above sea level. Fasā is 164 km. from Shīrāz, 55 from Dārābdjird and 70 from Djahrum. The district (*shahristān*) of which Fasā is the capital forms part of the seventh *Ustān* (Fārs). The Muslim Arabs under ʿUthmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ captured Fasā in 23/644. According to Ḥamd Allah Mustawfī (*Nuzha*, 124), it was originally called Sāsān and was triangular in shape. Ibn al-Balkhī (*Fārs-nāma*, 130) stated that Fasā was as large as Iṣfahān; it had been destroyed by the Shabānkāra tribes, but was rebuilt by the Atabeg Čawlī. The climate was temperate and the surrounding district produced the fruits of both the cold and hot regions. The abundant water supply was entirely from *ḳanāts*, there being no wells. The cathedral mosque was of burnt brick and rivalled that of Madīna for splendour (Muḳaddasī, 431). Fasā was famous for its carpets and brocades and also (according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 127) for its rose-water. In 1951 the population was 8,300. 4 km. to the south of the town is the ancient mound known as the Tell-i Ḍaḥāk.

Bibliography: in the text, and: Yāḳūt, iii, 891; J. Karabacek, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird*, Leipzig 1881, 107; Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 228 ff.; Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, vol. i (text), 28-30, vols. i and ii (plates), 30; Oliver St. John, *Narrative of a journey through Baluchistan and*

Fās Bālī — *Madrasa* of Abū ʿInān: court, and façade of the prayer-hall.
(*Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc*, photograph by Jean Latour)

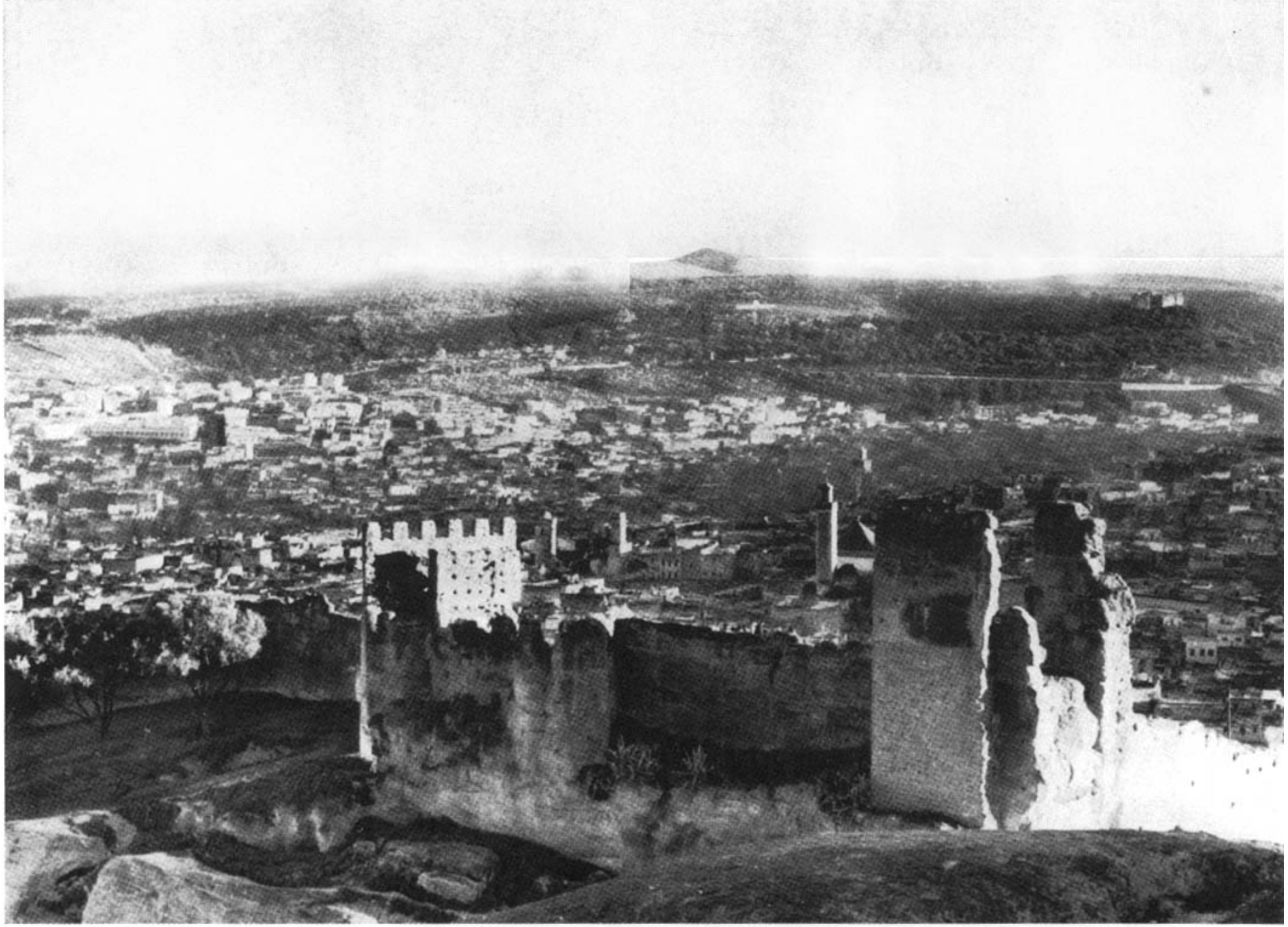

Fās Bālī — General view from the north, with the Almohad walls in the foreground.
(*Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc*, photograph by Jean Latour)

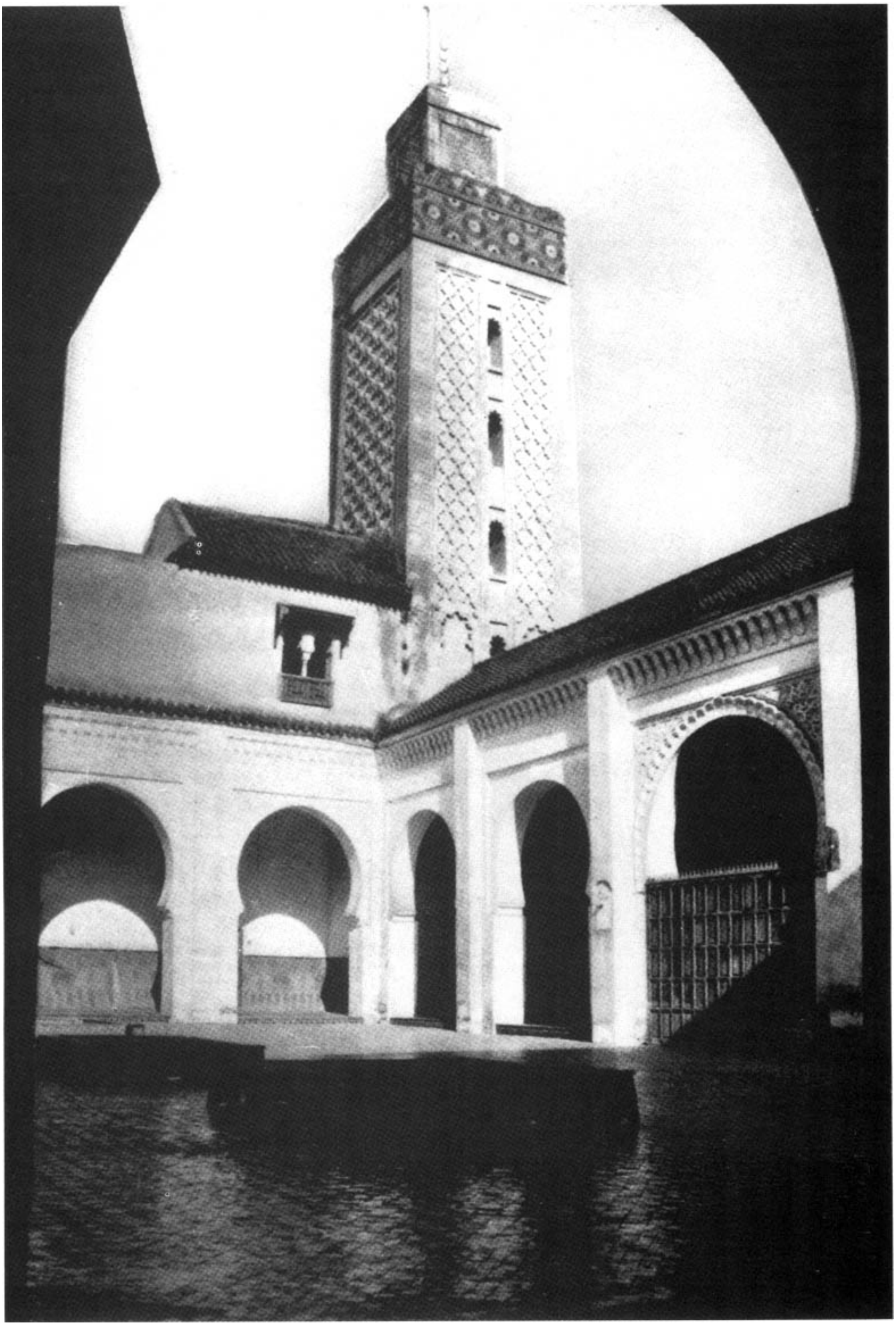

Fās Djadīd — The Great Mosque: *ṣaḥn* and minaret.
(*Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc*, photograph by Jean Latour)

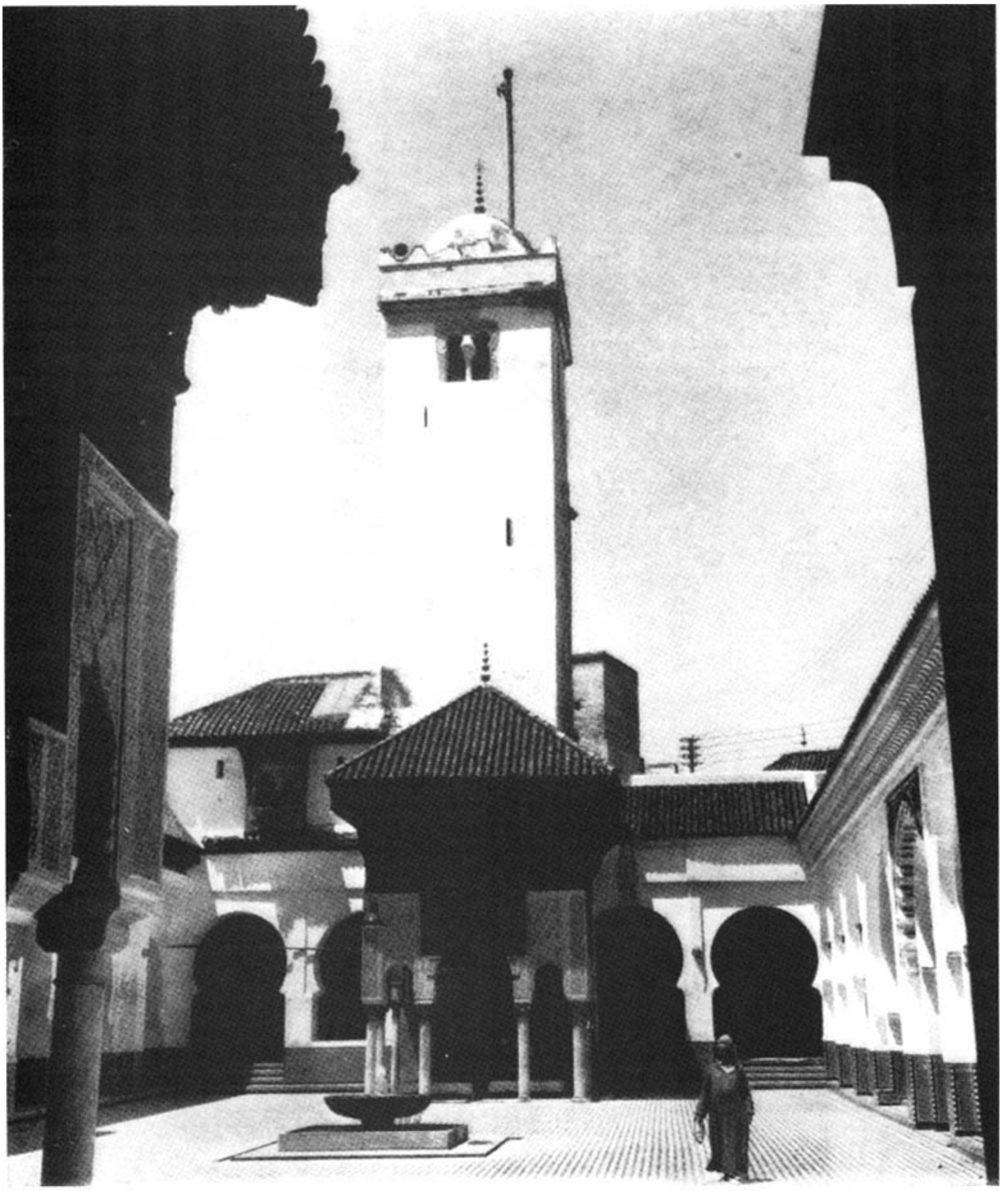

Fās Bālī — *Ṣaḥn* of the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque: Zenāta minaret and Saʿdid pavilion.
(*Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc*, photograph by Jean Latour)

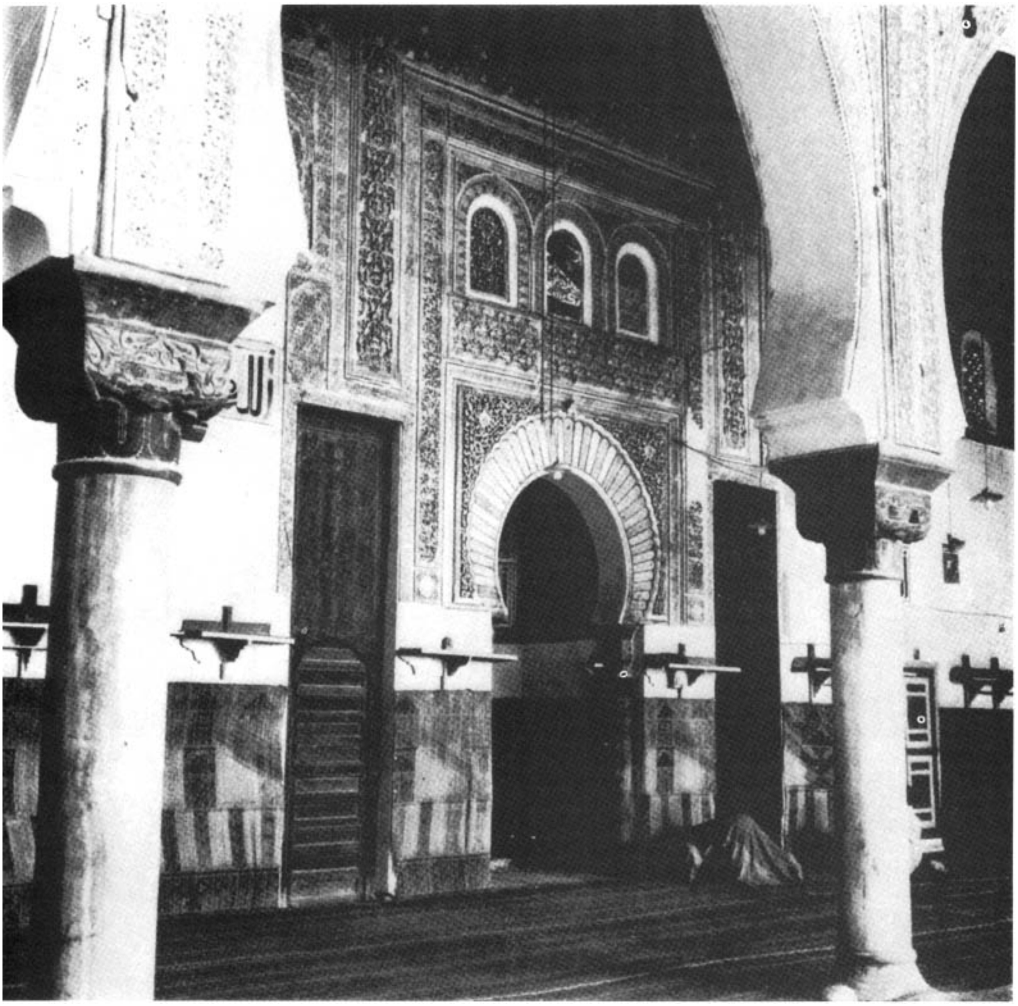

Fās Bālī — *Madrasa* of Abū ʿInān: *miḥrāb* of the prayer-hall.
(*Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc*, photograph by Jean Latour)

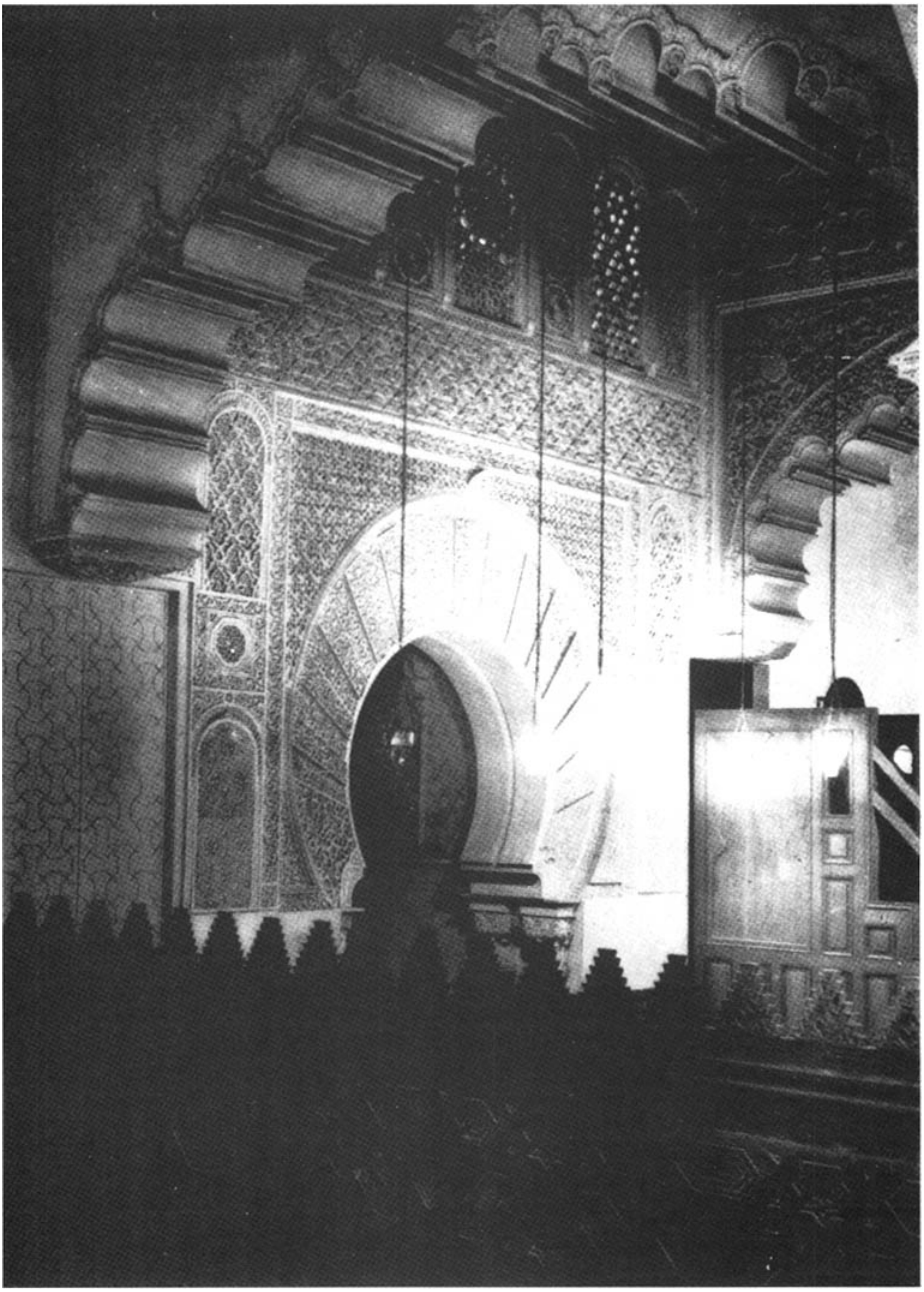

Fās Djadīd — The Great Mosque: *mihrāb.*
(*Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc,* photograph by Jean Latour)

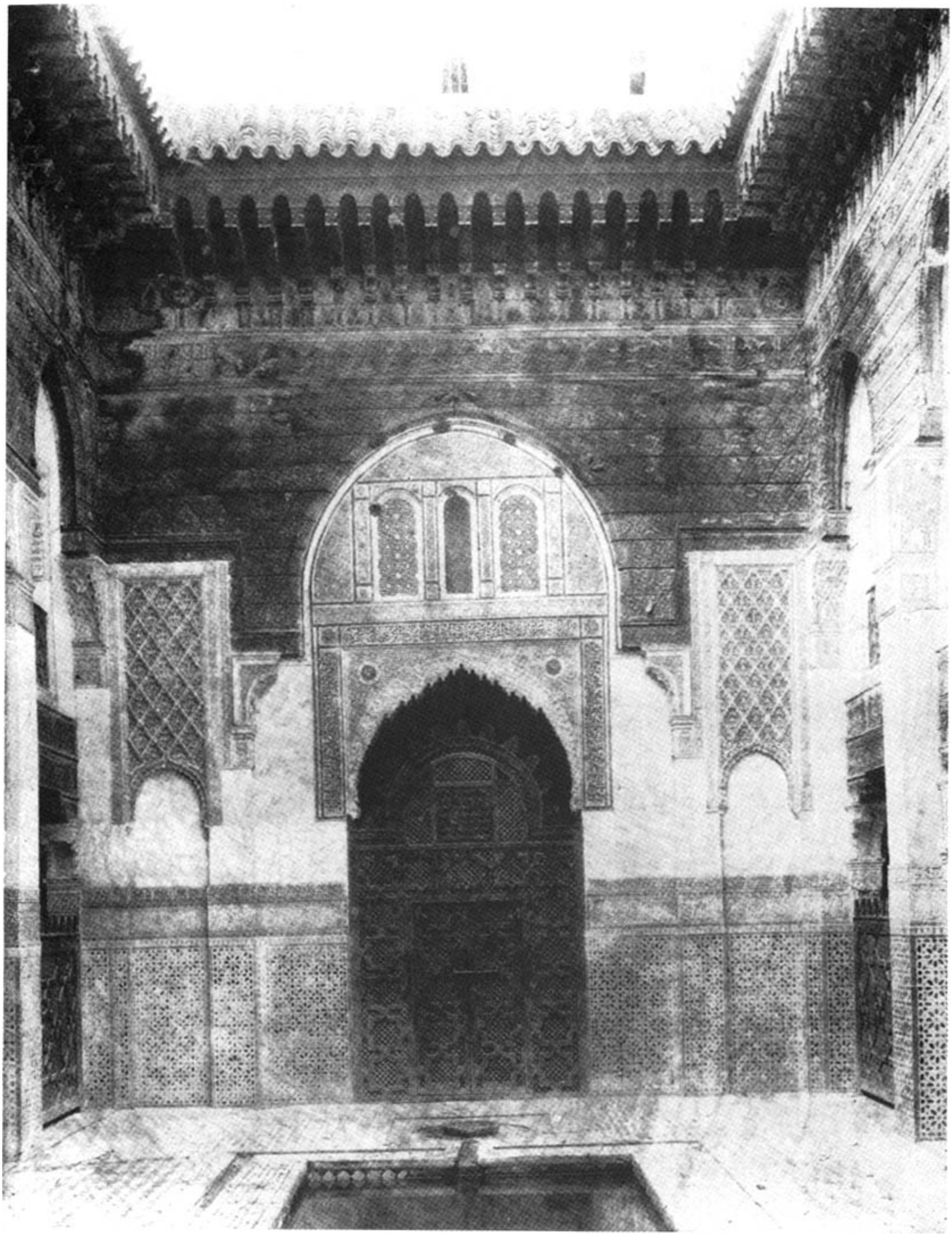

Fās Bālī — The Ṣahri<u>dj</u> *madrasa*: north-west façade of the courtyard.
(*Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc*, photograph by Jean Latour)

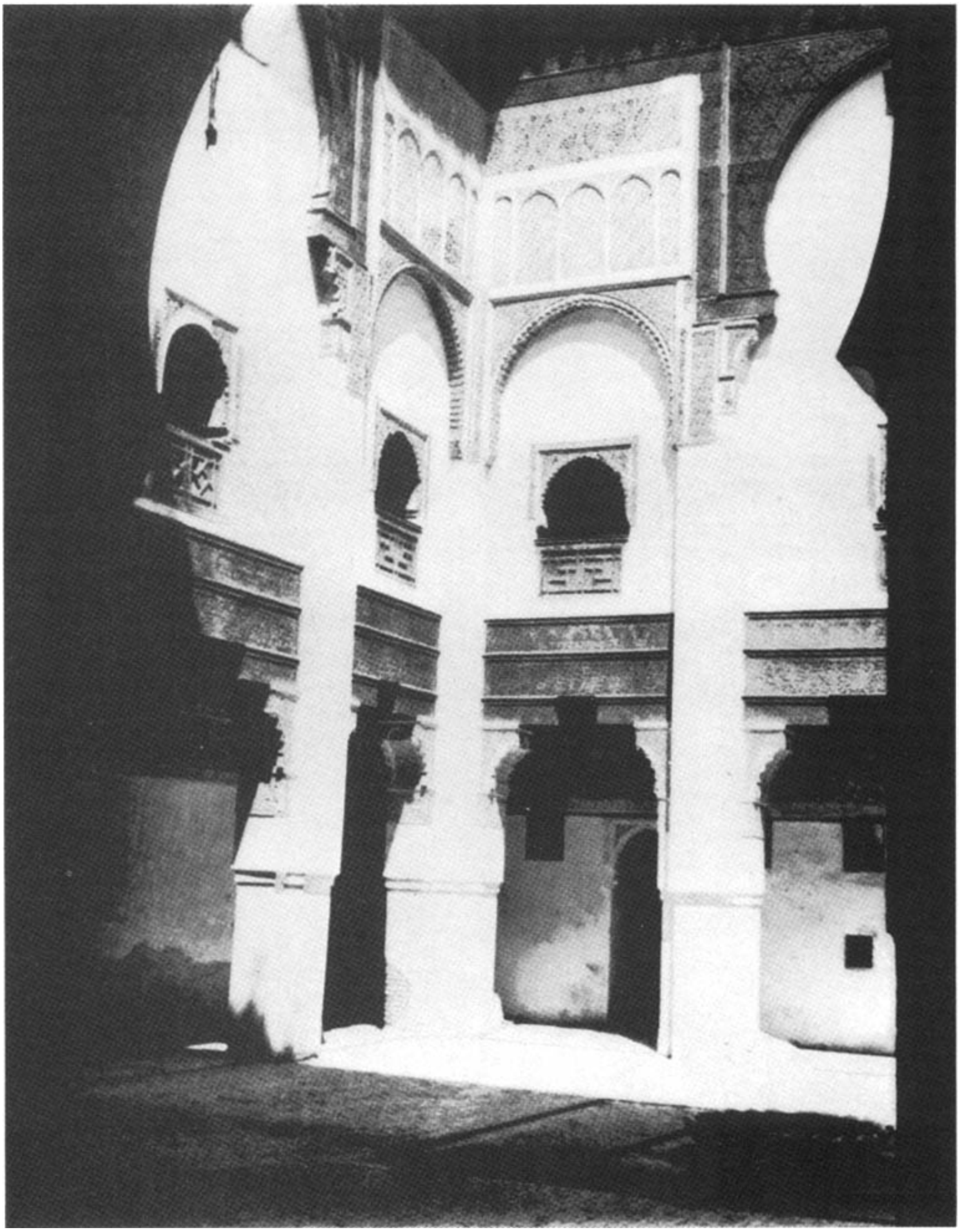

Fās Bālī — *Madrasa* of the S̲h̲arrāṭīn: courtyard.
(*Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc*, photograph by Jean Latour)

Southern Persia, in *Eastern Persia*, i, 109; Le Strange, 290, 293, 294; *Rāhnamā-yi Īrān*, 176 (with plan on 177). (L. Lockhart)

FASĀD [see fāsid, kawn].

FAṢĀḤA, an Arabic word, properly "clarity, purity", abstract noun from *faṣīḥ*, "clear, pure". To summarize the definitive analysis of the concept as it was achieved in the work of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī, the Khaṭīb Dimashḳ (666-739/1267-1338), and his commentator, Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (722-91/1322-89), in Arabic rhetoric *faṣīḥ* is applied to: (1) a single word when it is not difficult to pronounce, is not a foreign or rare word and its form is not an exception to the usual; (2) a whole sentence, when it does not contain an objectionable construction, a discord, an obscurity (through a confusion in the arrangement of the words) or a metaphor too far-fetched and therefore incomprehensible. The first kind of *faṣāḥa* is called *faṣāḥat al-mufrad*, the latter *faṣāḥat al-kalām*. There is also (3) a *faṣāḥat al-mutakallim*. This is peculiar to a person whose style conforms to the above conditions (Ḳazwīnī, *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, Cairo 1342/1923, i, 70-6, with Taftazānī's *Mukhtaṣar*). The adjective *faṣīḥ* denotes a word or a sentence only when free from objection in itself; it is distinguished from *balīgh*, which also implies that the expression is relevant in its context.

From its inception Arabic theory gravitated towards a strict separation between the stylistic areas where the ideal accomplishment is represented by *faṣāḥa* and *balāgha* respectively; in practice, the dividing line between the two concepts was not always clearly drawn. A number of critics tended to enlarge the scope of *faṣāḥa* at the expense, as it were, of *balāgha*, and the general public, as Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332), *Nihāya*, vii, 7, observes, was inclined to use the two terms indiscriminately. (Similarly, Ḳazwīnī, *Īḍāḥ*, i, 136-7. Cf. Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350), *Fawāʾid*, Cairo 1327/1909, 9, where the opinion of some authorities is noted that *faṣāḥa* and *balāgha* are alternative terms for the same concept).

Without attempting to develop an integrated concept, al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) collects a great deal of the materials and states a number of the value judgments that later theorists were to work into a system. Every language has certain sounds that are characteristic for it, such as the 's' in Greek. Among its sounds there will be some that do not agreeably fit together; in Arabic, *e.g.*, the *ḥarf* 'dj' cannot stand side by side with ẓ, ḳ, ṭ, gh; and the 'z' with ẓ, s, ḍ and dh (*Bayān*, Cairo 1932, i, 69-72). The best *kalām* in all the world is the mode of speech, or narrative, of the *faṣīḥ* among the *ʿArab*; but the common people, too, sometimes achieve pertinence in their speech (i, 133). Solecism, *laḥn*, endangers *faṣāḥa* but does not necessarily destroy it. For in the view of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. c. 153/770), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 95/714) were *afṣaḥ* of all, yet not entirely free from *laḥn* (i, 146; a list of the most disturbing *alḥān* is given, i, 134; the worst is the manner of speaking of Bedouins whose speech has been affected by that of the town mob; cf. also i, 146 on the deteriorating influence of the language of the city on that of the Bedouin. In the 5th/11th century Khafādjī, *Sirr*, 53, was to note that the Bedouin had become dependent on the townsman for linguistic perfection). Altogether *kalām* must be graded in various *ṭabaḳāt* (*djazl, sakhīf, malīḥ, ḥasan, ḳabīḥ, khafīf* and *thaḳīf*) precisely as the people themselves. Since the speaker, *khaṭīb*, should adapt his speech to both his ideas and his audience he must ordinarily refrain from using the vocabulary of the *mutakallimīn* (here: scholars in the technical sense) even if he should himself be one of them. In scientific discussion, on the other hand, the employment of the terminology of the *mutakallimīn* is indicated. It is they who developed (*takhayyarū, ishtaḳḳū, iṣṭalaḥū*) a scientific language in regard to which they are *salafan li-kull khalaf*, (authoritative) ancestors to all posterity. While the *khaṭīb* must use their terms only when common expressions fail to convey his thoughts, their insertion into poems is allowable as a piece of witticism, *ʿalā djihat al-taẓarruf wa 'l-tamalluḥ* (i, 128-31).

The clever though disjointed remarks of Djāḥiẓ are interesting in themselves but significant mainly as a foil to the rapid consolidation of the theorists' ideas on *faṣāḥa*, spurred as it was by the need to document the uniqueness, *iʿdjāz*, of the Ḳurʾān from the formal point of view. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 395/1005) makes the (often repeated) statement that after theology the science most worthy to engage our study is *ʿilm al-balāgha wa-maʿrifat al-faṣāḥa*, by means of which the *iʿdjāz* is recognised (*Kitāb al-ṣināʿatayn*, Constantinople 1320, 2). To ʿAskarī *faṣāḥa* is the perfect tool, *āla*, of clear exposition, *bayān*; the scope is confined to the wording because the idea of tool bears only on the wording and not on the idea, *maʿnā*. Hence a parrot could be called *faṣīḥ*, but never *balīgh*. An isolated *kalām*, however, may be described as *faṣīḥ balīgh* provided it is clear in concept and smoothly fluent, *sahl*, in style (*ibid.*, 7; some authorities require in addition a certain stateliness, *fakhāma*, without which a discourse may qualify as *balīgh* but not *faṣīḥ*; this reversal of the usual terminology deserves to be noted).

ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 1078 or 1081; cf. Ritter, *Asrār*, German translation, Wiesbaden 1959, 5*) clearly felt dissatisfied with the treatment accorded *faṣāḥa*. The more he studied what scholars had to say about it the more did he realise that their statements failed because of their all too general character. After all, nothing much is gained from explanations where *faṣāḥa* is merely described as a peculiar trait in the putting together of words, *khuṣūṣiyya fī naẓm al-kalim* (*Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1331/1913, 30). Specifically, he is critical of those who maintain that *faṣāḥa* has no meaning beyond the "harmony within the words and the adjustment of the sequence of the letters so the meeting in pronunciation of letters that are difficult for the tongue will be avoided", *al-talāʾum al-lafẓī wa-taʿdīl mizādj al-ḥurūf ḥattā lā yatalāḳā fī 'l-nuṭḳ ḥurūf tathḳulu ʿala 'l-lisān*. This view would lead to separating *faṣāḥa* from *balāgha* (as a separate science or approach) and would constitute euphony the only criterion of rhetorical perfection and the *iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, or at least lend it too much importance against such virtues as *ḥusn al-tartīb*, good organization. The reason why the ancients, *al-ḳudamāʾ*, maintained the strict division between *lafẓ* and *maʿnā* and stressed the function and merits of the *lafẓ* is that the *maʿānī* are manifested by words only. Hence the custom of attributing to the word what in fact belongs to the *maʿnā* and to speak, *e.g.*, of *lafẓ mutamakkin*, solid wording, when actually the ideas expressed are intended by this characterization (*ibid.*, 45-51).

From these remarks one is led to conclude that Djurdjānī did not know al-Khafādjī's (d. 465/1073) *Sirr al-faṣāḥa* (completed 2 Shaʿbān 454/11 August

1062; cf. *Sirr*, Cairo 1932, 276), perhaps the most thorough examination of the concept. Khafādjī, too, was, ostensibly at least, motivated by a desire to investigate the *iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān* whose *faṣāḥa* "broke the custom", in other words, was miraculous, *ibid.*, 4. The special excellence which Khafādjī claims for his work consists in its comprehensiveness—the *mutakallimūn* neglect the study of phonetics; the grammarians that of the principles, *al-aṣl wa 'l-uss*; the critics, *ahl naḳd al-kalām*, do not rise above the *aperçu*, *ibid.*, 5. Khafādjī is deeply concerned with the phonetic aspect. He observes that Arabic disposes of 29 (or according to al-Mubarrad, who does not count the *hamza*, 28) *ḥurūf*; actually, the language has 14 more for which there does not exist any graphic representation. Of these, six add to the *faṣīḥ* (*e.g.*, the *imāla*, the *z* for *ṣ* in the pronunciation '*mazdar*' in lieu of *maṣdar*), whereas eight detract from it (*e.g.*, the *sh* for *dj* in the pronunciation '*kharashat*' for *kharadjat*; 19, 21-2). Other languages have in part different *ḥurūf*; thus Armenian has 36 against the Arabs' 29 (53). The putting together of *ḥurūf* into words is guided by aesthetic principles; three consonants of the same phonetic category are avoided in the formation of any given word. The best procedure is to combine sounds with distant bases of articulation (53-4).

Faṣāḥa then, as a property confined to individual words (55), can be attributed to the *alfāẓ* if certain requirements, *shurūṭ*, are met. (A) Some of these are manifest in the isolated word, (B) others when the words are connected one with the other (60). The *shurūṭ* of the first type (A) are the following: (1) the words must be composed of sounds whose bases of articulation are varied; (2) over and above this condition their sequence must be acoustically pleasing; (3) the words must be neither 'raw' nor barbarous, *mutawaʿʿir* and *waḥshī* (Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, Cairo 1282, i, 114-15, offers a definition of the *waḥshī* and a listing of [near-]synonyms of this term); (4) nor must they be low and vulgar, *sāḳiṭ* and *ʿāmmī* (both these requirements are to be found in Djāḥiẓ, Khafādjī observes); (5) the words must conform to correct Arabic usage, *ʿurf*; here objections may arise from fourteen causes, such as (a) the un-Arabic origin of a word; (b) the wrong use of an Arabic word; (c) the unwarranted shortening or (d) lengthening of a word; (e) the extreme rarity of a word or the particular form of a common word as, *e.g.*, an unusual plural; etc. Trespasses of this kind do not impair *faṣāḥa* very badly yet had better be avoided. (6) The word must not have a second meaning which brings to mind something one does not wish the hearer to think of; (7) the word should be "well-balanced" and not composed of (too) many *ḥurūf*; (8) if the word is a diminutive it should be used only where a diminutive is directly appropriate: Khafādjī dislikes the *taṣghīr bi-maʿnā al-taʿẓīm*.

Of these *shurūṭ*, nos. 1 to 6 apply also to (B) *al-alfāẓ al-muʾallafa*, *i.e.*, they constitute requirements for a sequence of words exactly as for a sequence of *ḥurūf* within the individual word; in fact, nos. 2 to 4 depend in *taʾlīf* entirely on their occurrence in the *lafẓa mufrada*. A7 and A8 do not bear on B. To be *faṣīḥ*, *taʾlīf* must instead fulfil these additional *shurūṭ*: (1) the words must be placed exactly where they belong; no unjustified changes of the customary word order are allowable (thus *taḳdīm* and *taʾkhīr* as well as the *ḳalb al-kalām* are to be avoided); (2) they must exhibit *ḥusn al-istiʿāra*, appropriate metaphors; (3) be free from *ḥashw*, padding; in opposition, however, to both the Muʿtazilī al-Djubbāʾī (d. 303/915) and his orthodox critic al-Rummānī (d. 387/994), Khafādjī admits (140-1) that some *ḥashw* enriches the meaning and adds lustre to the discourse; (4) there must not be any unnecessary repetitions; (5) the words must be properly selected according to the purpose; this includes the use of *kināya*, metonymy, where *taṣrīḥ*, plain speech, would be out of place; (6) technical terms are inadmissible (60-161).

There is another set of properties of *faṣāḥa* which Khafādjī treats separately (162 ff.) even though they could be subsumed under the requirements of (B). These are: (1) *munāsaba* or *tanāsub*, correspondence between words in regard either (i) to their pattern or (ii) to their meaning. It is under (i) that Khafādjī deals with *sadjʿ* and *izdiwādj*, *ḳawāfī*, *luzūm mā lam yalzam* and *taṣrīʿ* (internal rhyme), *tarṣīʿ*, *ḥaml al-lafẓ ʿala 'l-lafẓ fi'l-tartīb* (an unusual name for *al-laff wa 'l-nashr*; *ploké*), *al-tanāsub fi 'l-miḳdār* (requirements concerning the relative length of the various *cola* in a *sadjʿ* passage), *al-mudjānas* (covering both *figura etymologica* and paronomasia) and, as the lowest form of *tanāsub*, *al-taṣḥīf* (paronomasia based on modifications of the graphic representations of two words and not on sound).

By introducing category (ii) of *tanāsub*, which is concerned with closeness and contrast of the meaning of two *lafẓa*, Khafādjī leaves definitely the area which Arabic theory is generally willing to assign to *faṣāḥa*. Considering that *ṭibāḳ*, antithesis, for instance, clearly derives from meaning and not from the word pattern or its *ḥurūf*, it can hardly be viewed as a component of *faṣāḥa* which, after all, Khafādjī himself had explicitly tied to the word while leaving the meaning to *balāgha*. Khafādjī goes on to consider *īdjāz*, concision, as a *sharṭ* of both *faṣāḥa* and *balāgha*. The same applies to clarity, *an yakūna maʿnā al-kalām wāḍiḥ^an^ ẓāhir^an^ djaliyy^an^*. Khafādjī justifies its connexion with *faṣāḥa* by pointing to six reasons for obscurity of discourse (210), two each inherent in (a) the isolated word: the unusual expression; the use of homonyms; (b) the composition of words, *taʾlīf al-alfāẓ baʿḍa-hā maʿa baʿḍ*: excessive concision; confusion; and (c) the *maʿnā* as such: over-subtlety; too much advance knowledge required for understanding. In this context Khafādjī (212-5) takes sides in a controversial issue by asserting that some parts of the Ḳurʾān are more *afṣaḥ* than others. Since everybody agrees that Torah, Gospels and Psalms although *kalām Allāh* are less *faṣīḥ* than the Ḳurʾān there is no reason why all of the Book should be on the same level of *faṣāḥa*. Additional characteristics, *nuʿūt*, of *balāgha* and *faṣāḥa* (not integrated in any classification by Khafādjī) are (1) the designation of an idea not by its usual name but by an expression implying it, and (2) the rendering of an idea through a simile, *tamthīl*. Only at this point does Khafādjī definitely turn to the examination of the *maʿānī* and their properties such as (224 ff.) soundness, *ṣiḥḥa* (eight sub-categories), completeness, or emphatic presentation.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) motivation in discussing *faṣāḥa* is the same as Khafādjī's: its *faṣāḥa* makes the Ḳurʾān *muʿdjiz* (*Nihāyat al-īdjāz*, Cairo 1317, 5). This fact makes its investigation research into the noblest of all religious subjects, *viz.* the manner in which the Holy Book indicates the veracity of Muḥammad (7). But although Rāzī follows his predecessor in overextending the content of *faṣāḥa* his presentation is much more orderly

and shows the progress of scholastic disciplining of scientific thinking in the intervening century.

Faṣāḥa is defined (9) as *khulūṣ al-kalām min al-taʿḳīd*, the freedom of the discourse from obscurity, or confusion, from anything that "ties" tongue and mind. (This definition recurs, *e.g.*, in Ibn Ḳayyim, *Fawāʾid*, 9; the concept of *taʿḳīd* is discussed by Ḳazwīnī and Taftazānī, *Talkhīṣ*, i, 102-108). The purpose of *kalām*, the conveying of meaning, is achieved on the verbal and the intellectual level. Neither *faṣāḥa* nor *balāgha* can be predicated of the connexion, established θέσει, between word and meaning, the signifier and the signified. Were it otherwise, *faṣāḥa* would have to inhere in the individual *ḥurūf* or in their agglomeration which, however, could not possess any *ṣifa* lacking in the individual *ḥarf*. Also in this case, a person ignorant of the Arabic tongue would have to be able to recognize *al-kalām al-ʿarabī al-faṣīḥ*. Besides, *faṣāḥa* is a "plus" achieved by the free choice of the speaker; the qualities of the individual words, on the other hands, are due to the *waḍʿ al-wāḍiʿ*, not to the speaker. Furthermore, a word will be *faṣīḥ* in one, *rakīk*, "weak", in another context. The Prophet challenged the Arabs to match the *faṣāḥa* of the Book; had this *faṣāḥa* rested on the individual words the challenge could easily have been met. Metaphor, metonymy and simile are for Rāzī as for Khafādjī *abwāb al-faṣāḥa*; since these figures of speech have reference to the *maʿnā*, not to the *lafẓ*, *faṣāḥa* cannot, in its entirety, be word-bound (12-4). The objection (15-6) that everybody speaks of *lafẓ faṣīḥ* and nobody of *maʿnā faṣīḥ* is countered by the observation that the attribution of *faṣāḥa* to the *lafẓ* refers to its *dalāla maʿnawiyya* (not its *dalāla lafẓiyya*). In disposing of the criticism that since the same *maʿnā* may often be expressed by two *lafẓ*, one *faṣīḥ*, the other *rakīk*, *faṣāḥa* cannot refer to the *maʿnā*—nor would if it did the *tafsīr al-mufassir* be inferior in beauty to the poetic passage which it explains—, Rāzī gropes for the concept of the emotive etc. associations surrounding the different words and phrases without quite piercing through to an adequate terminology. Rāzī insists correctly that the *faṣāḥa* of a *kināya* (against *ifṣāḥ*, Rāzī's term for *taṣrīḥ*; 18) has to do with the intellectual rather than the phonetic and lexicographical structure of the phrase, an insight which, incidentally, al-Djurdjānī had acquired before him without tying it so closely to the concept of *faṣāḥa*.

Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 631/1234), who veers away sharply from the blurring between the areas of *faṣāḥa* and *balāgha* which is characteristic of Khafādjī's and Rāzī's position, is concerned with reducing the subjective element in ascribing *faṣāḥa* to a given expression. The frequently proposed definition of the *faṣīḥ* as *al-ẓāhir al-bayyin* is inadequate. For it is open to three objections: (1) a *lafẓ* would be judged *faṣīḥ* when clearly understood and non-*faṣīḥ* when not clearly understood by the hearer; thereby a subjective element would become decisive; (2) consequently an expression would become *faṣīḥ* to Zayd and *ghayr faṣīḥ* to ʿAmr, whereas the *faṣīḥ* is uncontrovertibly so for everybody; (3) an ugly word would be *faṣīḥ* as long as it was *ẓāhir* and *bayyin*, evident and clear; yet *faṣāḥa* is *waṣf ḥusn al-lafẓ lā waṣf ḳubḥ*, *i.e.*, it indicates the properties which make a word beautiful, not those that make it ugly. Unfortunately, Ibn al-Athīr's amendment to the definition fails of its objective when it explains understandability by familiarity in prose and poetry and accounts for this familiarity by the beauty of the particular expressions which induces the writers to seek them out. The criterion is phonetic attraction, which proves that *faṣāḥa* is not connected with the *maʿnā* but merely with the acoustics of the expression (26)—a position which Ibn al-Ḥadīd (d. 655/1257), *al-Falak al-dāʾir ʿala 'l-mathal al-sāʾir*, Bombay 1308, 39-40, was seriously to question. If it is argued that to equate the *faṣīḥ* with the *mafhūm* would raise the problem that many Ḳurʾānic verses even though necessarily *faṣīḥ* require a commentary, the answer (which applies to many a poem and other literary document as well) is that the individual words are all clear and *faṣīḥ*; a *tafsīr* is needed because of the profundity of the *maʿnā* (*al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, Cairo 1312, 27). Ibn al-Athīr notes that every language has its own *faṣāḥa* (and *balāgha*) but Arabic is superior to all other tongues because of its amplitude, *tawassuʿāt* (28). (On 73 Ibn al-Athīr reports the opinion of an unidentified Jew that Arabic is the most beautiful language because it was the last to be created and the *Wāḍiʿ* improved on the defects of those created earlier. Nuwayrī, vii, 6, was to reserve *faṣāḥa*, defined as freedom from *al-lukna al-aʿdjamiyya*, exclusively for the Arabs; by contrast, Ibn Ḳayyim, *Fawāʾid*, 9, states expressly that neither *faṣāḥa* nor *balāgha* are peculiar to *al-alfāẓ al-ʿarabiyya*; the concepts apply to any phrase whose wording is unusual and which is yet easily understood, *lafẓu-hu gharīb wa-fahmu-hu ḳarīb*). It is foolish to maintain as some do that every word is *ḥasan* because the *Wāḍiʿ* has not coined any ugly word. In (unstated) agreement with the principles of legal *idjmāʿ*, Ibn al-Athīr considers *ḥasan* and *ḳabīḥ* what has always been so considered by the Arabs. In doing so personal preferences are eliminated (59-60). It must be realised that the class of beautiful words comprises such words as have always been in use and others that were in use formerly but are no longer (*e.g.*, many expressions occurring in Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*)—this fact restricts the use of *ʿurf* as a criterion of beauty (62, 61). On the whole, Ibn al-Athīr makes his own the criteria for the beauty of a *lafẓa* which Khafādjī had developed. (Ibn al-Athīr's eight requirements correspond to Khafādjī's A 1, 5, 8, 4, 3, 6, 7, 2; in 2 the agreement is slightest; in regard to 7 he differs, 72-3, with Khafādjī on detail and is, in turn, attacked by Ibn al-Ḥadīd, 85-6, who (83-4) also finds fault with his position on 1. Ibn al-Athīr's description of the effect of phonetic *tanāfur*, 60-1, is deservedly referred to by Taftazānī, *Mukhtaṣar*, i, 80).

Ibn al-Athīr's treatment of "composition", *ṣināʿat taʾlīf al-alfāẓ*, is superior to Khafādjī's in clarity. He lists eight "parts" (74), the first five of which are traceable in Khafādjī: *musadjdjaʿ* (= *sadjʿ* and *izdiwādj*), *taṣrīʿ*, *tadjnīs* (= *mudjānas*), *tarṣīʿ* and *luzūm mā lam yalzam*; a sixth, *muwāzana*, corresponds to Khafādjī's *tanāsub fi 'l-miḳdār*; for the seventh, *ikhtilāf ṣiyagh al-alfāẓ*, the variation of the aesthetic effect when the same root appears in different moulds, Ibn al-Athīr claims originality (110); the eighth, *takrīr al-ḥurūf*, is in the actual discussion replaced by two: *al-muʿāẓala al-lafẓiyya*, the "crowding of one part of *kalām* upon another" (cf. Lane, 2086a), and, again presented as an original contribution, *al-munāfara bayn al-alfāẓ fi 'l-sabk* (118-9), the juxtaposition of words that do not fit together in the particular context.

To carry the presentation to the conventional limits of the Middle Ages reference may be made to al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) who, *Muzhir*, i, 91-2, adopts Ḳazwīnī's concept except for the tacit omission of

the *faṣāḥa* pertaining to a whole sentence. Usage would appear to be for Suyūṭī the decisive factor constituting an expression *faṣīḥ*. *Faṣāḥa* allows of gradation. Some words are more *afṣaḥ* than others; thus *burr* in relation to *ḳamḥ* and *ḥinṭa* (i, 105; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 26-7 and 59-60 with Ibn al-Ḥadīd, 40, on *muzna* and *dīma* as *afṣaḥ* than *buʿāḳ*); so of course are some speakers, and the Prophet is *afṣaḥ* of all (103).

To be fully understood, the distinction between *faṣāḥa* and *balāgha* must be seen, on the one hand, in the context of the dualism of form and content that dominates the critical thought of the Arab-Muslim theorist and, on the other, in the context of the dualism which the Muslim philosophy of language predicates of its subject. When the activity which results in language is analysed into its two components, *faṣāḥa* emerges as the "virtue" co-ordinated with man's physiological, phonetic effort and *balāgha* as the "virtue" registering the realization of his mental endeavour (for the Ikhwān al-Safāʾ as representatives of this "dualism of language" cf. J. Lecerf, *Stud. Isl.*, xii (1960), 22-3).

Bibliography: In the article; in addition: F. A. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen and Vienna, 1853, 15-8.

(G. E. von Grunebaum)

FASANDJUS (Banū), the name of one of the families which hereditarily shared among themselves the high administrative offices under the Buwayhid régime. The founder of this family's fortune was Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Fasandjus, a rich notable of Shīrāz who, after being fined 600,000 dirhams by ʿAlī b. Buwayh (ʿImād al-Dawla), had taken a part in the farming of taxes for that prince (322/934), and then, in 338/949, had entered the service of Muʿizz al-Dawla, for whom he administered the finances of Baṣra. It was there that he died in 342/953, at the age of 77, leaving his son Abu 'l-Faradj Muḥammad to inherit his position; the latter, on the death of the vizier al-Muhallabī, succeeded him, though without the title, at the head of the administration of ʿIrāḳ (352/963). In 355/966 Muʿizz al-Dawla sent him to conquer ʿUmān (a letter from al-Ṣābī has been preserved, replying to his report of the victory, Paris MS arabe 6195, 167 v°); he returned on the death of that ruler in the following year. Under ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār he shared the vizierate and then came into conflict with Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās al-Shīrāzī, and finally lived in retirement from 360 until 370 (971-81) when he died. However, his death did not bring about the ruin of his family, which apparently remained strongly established in Fars. Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī, brother of Abu 'l-Faradj, was vizier to Sharaf al-Dawla in 373-4/984-5, and Abu 'l-Faradj's son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Djaʿfar (355-419/966-1029) also vizier to Sulṭān al-Dawla, in Fārs and then for a time in Baghdād (408-9/1017-8). The son of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, named like his grandfather Abu 'l-Faradj Muḥammad, with the additional name Dhu 'l-Saʿādāt, was vizier to Djalāl al-Dawla in ʿIrāḳ from 421/1030 at the latest until that ruler's death in 435/1044; he was retained in the same office by Abū Kālīdjār, who however had him arrested in 439/1047 and put to death in the following year, at the age of 51 (Ibn al-Athīr gives the name of Djalāl al-Dawla's vizier in 428/1037 as Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan b. Djaʿfar, another member of this family, who in any case cannot have held this office for any length of time). Abu 'l-Faradj's son, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim Saʿd, seems to have been vizier to the last Buwayhid in Baghdād, al-Malik al-Raḥīm, at the time of Tughrıl-Beg's entry into the city; the Saldjūḳid vizier al-Kundurī had him made governor of Wāsiṭ, perhaps because in his father's lifetime he had successfully fought against the lord of Baṭīḥa there; but, feeling his position to be insecure, he had the town fortified, an action which resulted in making him suspect. Attacked by a Saldjūḳ force, he openly allied himself with al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] and proclaimed the Fāṭimid *khuṭba* in Wāsiṭ (the Fāṭimid envoy al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī who alludes to this event in his *Sīra*, 136-7, gives the governor's name as Ibn Ḳāʾid b. Raḥma). Defeated and taken prisoner at the beginning of 449/March-April 1057 with his brother, he was crucified and dismembered, and from that time nothing further is heard of the family.

Bibliography: The chronicles of Miskawayh, Abū Shudjāʿ Rudhrawārī, al-Hamadhānī, and then of Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Athīr and Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī referred to in buwayhids, and also the two texts mentioned in the article. The genealogical table of Zambaur is entirely invalidated as a result of the division of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim into two homonyms, and the untenable identification of Abu 'l-Faradj II with al-Maḥalbān of Takrīt (because each had a son named Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim).

(Cl. Cahen)

al-**FĀSHIR** (El Fasher), the capital of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*], formerly a sultanate, now a province of the Republic of the Sudan. The term *fāshir*, meaning a royal residence, more precisely signified an open space, serving for public audience by a sultan, or as a market-place, and was also used in Sinnār under the Fundj [*q.v.*], and in Waddāī, where *wara* appears as a synonym (see J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, 486). The *fāshir* of the Fūrāwī sultan was established in 1206/1791-2 at Wādī Tandaltī, on a sandy ridge, overlooking a seasonal lake. Around this royal residence, the town developed. It was visited between 1793-6 by W. G. Browne, who has left a plan and description of the palace area, but says nothing of the town. Fuller information, and an elaborate but schematized plan of the palace area, were given by al-Tūnusī, who spent eight years in Dār Fūr from 1218/1803. Outside the palace area, which was surrounded by a triple thorn-fence (*zarība*), were the houses of royal officials, holy men (*fuḳarāʾ*) and others. The inhabitants were divided into two groups, the people of *Warradayā* (the Men's Gate of the palace), and those of *Warrabayā* (the *Ḥarīm* Gate). The houses of the poor were built of millet straw, those of the ruler and notables of mud. Al-Fāshir remained the capital of the sultanate until the annexation of Dār Fūr to the Egyptian Sudan in 1291/1874. Sporadic Fūrāwī resistance continued, and on one occasion al-Fāshir nearly fell to the troops of the shadow-sultan Hārūn. In January 1884, the khedivial garrison surrendered to Muḥammad Khālid Zuḳal, the first Mahdist governor of Dār Fūr. When the Mahdist state was overthrown in 1898, al-Fāshir became the capital of the revived Fūrāwī sultanate of ʿAlī Dīnār. In 1916 Dār Fūr was annexed to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and al-Fāshir became again a provincial capital. Although al-Fāshir has long superseded Kubbayh (Cobbé), which in Browne's time was the trade-centre of Dār Fūr, its difficulty of access from the east has led in recent years to a shift of road-traffic southwards to Nyala, to which town a railway-line was opened in 1959. The population of al-Fāshir, of varied origins, was estimated at c. 2,650 in 1875, and c. 10,000 in 1905. In 1959 it was 26,161.

Bibliography: for the following principal sources, see under DĀR FŪR: Browne, al-Tūnusī, Nachtigal, Slatin, Shukayr. Also K. M. Barbour, *The republic of the Sudan*, London [1961], 155-6.

(R. CAPOT-REY and P. M. HOLT)

FĀSHŌDA proper, the royal village of the Shilluk, lies near the west bank of the White Nile at 9° 50′ N., 31° 58′ E. It is the principal site of the elaborate ceremonies by which a *Reth* of the Shilluk is invested with his 'divine' attributes.

An Egyptian expedition under the *Ḥukmdār* ʿAlī Khūrshīd reached Fāshōda in 1830. In 1855 a government post was founded on the river some 18 kms. downstream, at 9° 53′ N., 32° 07′ E., and was named after Fāshōda as the nearest place of importance. In 1863 this post became the headquarters of the newly-created *mudīriyya* of the White Nile. Its garrison contributed to the suppression of the riverain slave-trade, but Fāshōda acquired an evil reputation as an unhealthy 'punishment station' for criminal and political exiles. Heavy taxation and forced recruiting led to conflict with the Shilluk. Although the Egyptians were sometimes able to procure the election of friendly *Reths*, in 1866 and again in 1875 the post was almost overwhelmed by Shilluk risings.

On 9 December 1881, near Djabal Ḳadīr in south-eastern Kordofān, Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] annihilated a force from Fāshōda under the *mudīr* Rāshid Aymān. The rout of this strong, but ill-planned and unauthorized, expedition greatly increased the Mahdī's prestige and influence. Further Mahdist successes in Kordofān, culminating in the total defeat of Hicks at Shaykān (5 November 1883), threatened communications with Fāshōda and enforced its evacuation early in 1884.

In 1891, the Shilluk having refused to pay *zakāt*, Fāshōda was occupied and the Shilluk country harried by a Mahdist force under al-Zākī Ṭamal. Late in 1892 the Mahdists withdrew, leaving the *Reth*ship in the hands of their nominee, Kūr Galdwan *alias* ʿAbd al-Fāḍil. *Reth* Kūr maintained Fāshōda as a staging-post in the Mahdist communications with Equatoria and paid occasional tribute in grain; the Mahdists supported him against rival claimants and disaffected Shilluk sections.

On 10 July 1898 J.-B. Marchand, with about 100 men, occupied the former Egyptian fort at Fāshōda. On 25 August he repelled an attack by a Mahdist flotilla under Saʿīd al-Ṣughayyar. On 3 September, by treaty with *Reth* Kūr, he placed the Shilluk country under French protection. On 19 September Kitchener arrived from Omdurmān with five steamers and a mainly Egyptian force of over 1,000 men. Marchand's presence and status were referred to Europe for diplomatic solution; but Kitchener hoisted the Egyptian flag and installed H. W. Jackson as Egyptian *mudīr* of Fāshōda. The ensuing Anglo-French crisis was resolved on 3 November, when the French Cabinet, under an implicit British threat of war, agreed to withdraw Marchand from Fāshōda unconditionally. This news, unnecessarily delayed by Cromer, did not however reach Fāshōda until 4 December; meanwhile, relations between the rival commanders had deteriorated almost to the point of armed conflict. Marchand evacuated Fāshōda on 11 December 1898.

From 1898 until 1902, when Baḥr al-Ghazāl was constituted as a separate province, the entire southern Sudan was administered from Fāshōda. In 1903 the 'administrative' Fāshōda was re-named Kodok (after the nearest Shilluk hamlet), and the Fāshōda Province was henceforth termed Upper Nile Province. Its equatorial regions became a separate province (Mongalla) in 1906. In 1914 the headquarters of the truncated Upper Nile Province were transferred to Malakāl: Kodok has since been merely the headquarters of Shilluk District.

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(G. N. SANDERSON)

AL-FĀSĪ, TAḲĪ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-MAKKĪ AL-ḤASANĪ AL-MĀLIKĪ (775-832/1373-1429), historian of Mecca, was, through family connexions and upbringing, eminently qualified for his lifework as the outstanding historian of his native city. His father Aḥmad (754-819/1353-1416) had received an excellent scholarly education and was married to a daughter of the Meccan chief judge Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz al-Nuwayrī; a daughter of his, and half-sister of the historian, was, in her first marriage, married briefly to the amīr of Mecca, Ḥasan b. ʿAdjlān. Among al-Fāsī's teachers we find the author of Mālikī biographies, Ibn Farḥūn, with whom he studied al-Maṭarī's *History of Medina* in Medina (where he had already lived for a few years as a young boy) in 796/1393-4. In Damascus, he studied with Abū Hurayra, the son of al-Dhahabī, and of Ibn Khaldūn, whom he may have met in Egypt, he speaks as "our shaykh". Thus, the interest in historical studies, which was characteristic of his times, came to him naturally.

His professional life followed the usual pattern. He travelled much as a student and in later life. His first visit to Egypt took place in 797/1394-5, followed by a trip to Damascus and the scholarly centres of Palestine in the next year and, in 805/1402-3, by a first trip to South Arabia, where he spent much time later on; his remarks on the history of the composition of his works, which he conscientiously appended to them, permit us to follow his travels in some detail. He was appointed Mālikī judge of Mecca in 807/1405 and remained in this position, with brief interruptions in 817/December 1414-January 1415 and 819-20/January-May 1417, until he became blind four years before his death. He managed to obtain a *fatwā* from Mālikī authorities in Cairo permitting him to remain in office for a while, but soon he had to retire permanently; during his blindness, he continued his scholarly work. His learning, character, and social bearing were highly praised, but there must have been some latent discontent stored up in him since

the *wakf* deed for his works contained the stipulation that they be not lent to a Meccan.

His numerous works included an abridgment of the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* of his teacher, al-Damīrī, and a number of writings on *ḥadīth* and other religious subjects, of which two are preserved, *Djawāhir al-uṣūl fi 'l-ḥadīth* and *al-Arbaʿūn al-ḥadīth al-mutabāyināt al-isnād*. Biographical works on religious scholars included his Supplement to Ibn Nuḳṭa's *Taḳyīd* (which also contained an autobiography of his) and a negative appreciation of Ibn ʿArabī. Of general historical titles, we may mention the *Muntakhab al-Mukhtār*, an abridgment of Ibn Rāfiʿ's supplement to Ibn al-Nadjdjār's supplement to the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (Baghdād 1357/1938; another old ms. in Mecca, cf. *Shifāʾ*, ii, 432, n. 2); a partly preserved supplement to al-Dhahabī's *Nubalāʾ* (Berlin 9873); a supplement to the same author's *Ishāra* and a History of the Rasūlids (not preserved).

Al-Fāsī's fame, however, rests upon his works on the history of Mecca, a subject which had been strangely neglected practically since the times of al-Azraḳī and al-Fākihī [*q.v.*]. His basic works are *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām* (Mecca-Cairo 1956; some chapters in Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1857-61, ii, 55 ff.) and *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn fī taʾrīkh al-balad al-amīn* (Cairo 1289-90; Mecca 1314; additional mss. Cairo Taymūr, *taʾrīkh* 849; Yale L-305 [Cat. Nemoy 1179]; Kattānī, cf. *Revue Inst. Mss. ar.*, v [1959], 184; Istanbul Feyzullah [*not* Fatih] 1482; al-Azhar, cf. *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, ii/1, 181 f., ii/2, 106, etc.). The *Shifāʾ* contains (1) the description and history of the physical features, both natural and man-made, of Mecca and environs, including a discussion of the holy places and the rituals connected with them; (2) the ancient pre-Islamic history of the city; (3) a chronological list of its governors and rulers; and (4) a selection of historical events connected with it. The *ʿIḳd*, on the other hand, although it starts out with the holy topography of the city (abridged from the *Shifāʾ* and entitled *al-Zuhūr al-muḳtaṭafa min taʾrīkh Makka al-musharrafa*), is a collection of biographies of persons connected in some way with the city, beginning with a biography of the Prophet (entitled *al-Djawāhir al-saniyya fi 'l-sīra al-nabawiyya*) and biographies of the other Muḥammads and Aḥmads, including a lengthy autobiography of the author in the third person, and then using an alphabetic arrangement. Of the *Shifāʾ*, al-Fāsī produced five or six successive abridgments, among them *Tuḥfat al-kirām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām* and, as an abridgment of the *Tuḥfa*, *Taḥṣīl al-marām min taʾrīkh al-balad al-ḥarām* (additional mss. in Princeton 594 [393B]; Bursa, Hüseyin Çelebi 794). An abridged edition of the *ʿIḳd* is preserved in *ʿUdjālat al-ḳirā li 'l-ghārib fī taʾrīkh Umm al-Ḳurā*. A work entitled *al-Muḳniʿ fī akhbār al-mulūk wa 'l-khulafāʾ wa-wulāt Makka al-musharrafa* was published by F. Erdmann (Kazan 1822), and a work on Medina, *al-Riḍā wa 'l-ḳabūl fī faḍāʾil al-Madīna wa-ziyārat al-Rasūl*, appears in the margin of the Meccan edition of the *ʿIḳd* (neither of them seen by this writer).

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, ii, vi-xvi; Brockelmann, II, 221 f., S II, 221 f. In addition to the autobiography in the *ʿIḳd*, cf., for instance, Muḥammad Ibn Fahd, *Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ*, Damascus 1347, 291-7; Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, vii, 18-20; idem, *Iʿlān*, in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 404, 408, 414 f. (and *ibid.*, 524, for al-Sakhāwī, *al-Djawāhir wa 'l-durar*); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 199. According to *Ḍawʾ*, al-Fāsī also has biographies in works of younger contemporaries such as Ibn Ḥadjar, *Inbāʾ* and *Muʿdjam*; al-Maḳrīzī, *ʿUḳūd*; ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Ibn Fahd (who also wrote monographs on the Meccan families of the Fāsīs and Nuwayrīs [*Ḍawʾ*, vi, 128 f.] as well as a continuation of the *ʿIḳd*), *Muʿdjam* of his father.

(F. Rosenthal)

FĀSID WA BĀṬIL, In the terminology of the Ḥanafī jurists, *bāṭil* denotes the act which lacks one of the elements essential for the existence of any legal activity. *Buṭlān* embodies the notion of non-existence, and the act which lacks one of these elements which are considered fundamental is, in effect, deemed non-existent.

If, while fulfilling the necessary conditions for its formation, a legal act does not observe the conditions of validity *stricto sensu* required for its perfection (*awṣāf*, sing. *waṣf*, quality), it is then said to be *fāsid*, or vitiated and therefore null. But this nullity (*fasād*) is of a fundamental nature, and therefore has nothing in common with the relative nullity familiar to the Western jurist, who sees only in this latter concept a means of protecting those of defective legal capacity and all those whose agreement has been tainted by duress, error or deceit. Although it sometimes happens—by negligence or inadvertence—that *fāsid* and *bāṭil* are used interchangeably, even by Ḥanafī authors who have a reputation for the scientific rigidity of their definitions, it is none the less true that the distinction between *bāṭil* and *fāsid* is the principal characteristic of the Ḥanafī theory of nullity.

The three other orthodox schools, as well as the former Ẓāhiri school, reject this distinction. According to their writers, there cannot be two degrees of invalidity based upon the nature of the rules whose non-observance is the subject of legal sanction. Thus they use the terms *fāsid* or *bāṭil* indifferently to describe the legal act which is not valid in the eyes of the law. In the doctrine of these schools, the two terms are synonymous, the synonymity reflecting their notion of a single sanction. However, we must state at the outset that for the Shāfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs this uniform nullity corresponds to the *bāṭil* form of nullity in Ḥanafī law, while for the Mālikīs its incidents coincide almost exactly with those of the *fāsid* type of nullity as expounded by Ḥanafī law.

If the practical application of the principles we have just expounded does not present serious difficulties, even in Ḥanafī law, when it is only a question of dealings with property (sale, hire, pledge, etc.), it appears, on the contrary, singularly complicated in relation to the contract of marriage. In this sphere, the fluctuations of the classical doctrine, as it grappled with a contract arbitrarily classified in the same category as sale or hire (*tamlīkāt*), but which, in fact, is radically distinct from them, have reverberated down the course of the centuries in the works of authors and have reappeared at the present time—always on the same point—in the codes and laws of personal status recently promulgated in numerous Arab countries. It is therefore necessary to study the theory of nullity in the sphere of marriage separately in a third section.

I. Ḥanafī doctrine. (A). Non-existence, *al-buṭlān*. This, as has just been explained, is the sanction for the lack of any of the essential elements of a legal act, *e.g.*, free will of the two parties (in

contracts), which, furthermore, must be expressed by the use of a verb in the past tense and which must be declared in those conditions of time and place which together constitute what is called the session of the contract or the *madjlis*. Free will is presumed impossible (thence occasioning the non-existence of the act) in the case of a mentally defective person, a minor of tender years, and even in the case of a minor who has reached the age of discretion, when this latter performs an act, such as gift, which must necessarily cause him a material loss. Further elements considered fundamental are the actual existence of the object, its quality of legal property and the possibility of its delivery (the sale of fish in the sea and birds in the air is *bāṭil*).

The *bāṭil* act, since it is considered non-existent, cannot have any legal effect, whether there has been delivery or not. Reasoning on the classical hypothesis of sale—the same rules applying *mutatis mutandis* to all legal acts—it follows that the purchaser, who has not become the owner, cannot constrain the vendor to deliver to him the sale object, no more than the vendor can require the purchaser to pay him the agreed price. If, in fact, there has been a performance of the agreement reached between them (which is no more than the semblance of a sale) the *status quo* must be restored, *i.e.*, the vendor must return the price received and the purchaser the object delivered, without any need of recourse to law, at least to establish the non-existence of the act. Suppose, now, that after a *bāṭil* sale followed by delivery the transferee in turn alienates the object, either for a consideration or gratuitously, or that he subjects it to some kind of lien, or that he hires it out or constitutes it as a *waḳf*. In either event, the original vendor will not be deprived of the right to regain his property from the hands of a third party, whether this latter be a purchaser for value, a lessee, or the beneficiary of a *waḳf*. The property, in fact, has never left his ownership because the sale concluded by him was legally non-existent—so much so, the Ḥanafī authors state, that his heirs will succeed to his right and will be able, after his death, to reclaim from the third party the object of which they are now the owners.

There is one case where the application of the principles outlined above may possibly result in injustice. This is where the object sold has perished when in the possession of the transferee.

Strict logic would require that the risks should lie with the vendor: he has remained the owner, since, by reason of the *bāṭil* character of the sale, transfer of ownership has not been effected. The transferee, after having taken possession of the object, can only be considered, at most, as a trustee; and risks, in the case of a trust, lie with the owner. There exists on this point some uncertainty in the doctrine. In general, authors confine themselves—without taking one side or the other—to expounding two applicable arguments: (a) the transferee is simply a trustee (*amīn*), and the loss of the object releases him; (b) the transferee is a guarantor of the object, for this has been delivered to him not in the interests of the owner, but in his own interests. His taking of possession more closely resembles *ghaṣb* (usurpation) than a trust (*amāna*).

It would seem that this latter argument prevailed. In the *bāṭil* sale, therefore, the risks will lie with the purchaser, when this latter has taken possession of the sale object which has then perished in his possession. He becomes liable for its value if it is a specific object, and where it is a fungible commodity, he will be bound to restore its equivalent (*mithl*).

(B). Fundamental nullity, *fasād*, is the sanction for the infringement of conditions of validity which do not have the character of constituent elements of a legal act. Such are held to be the precise determination of the object, as regards both its nature and its value, the absence of any illicit gain (*ribā*) and of the majority of accompanying conditions, and the exclusion of any prejudice which would be occasioned by the delivery of possession. As for the act obtained by duress, this also is regarded as *fāsid* in Ḥanafī law; but this kind of *fāsid* nullity is regulated in a particular fashion which distinguishes it from the *fāsid* nullity of common law.

As a general proposition, we may say that the great majority of *fāsid* acts derive their character, in Ḥanafī law, from the fact that they contain accompanying conditions: an uncertain term or a suspensive condition (in the majority of the *tamlīkāt*), immoral or illegal stipulations, or simply conditions which are not in harmony with the nature of the act to which they are attached. This extends considerably the sphere of *fāsid* nullity, which can thus be regarded as parallel with the nullity of common law, as opposed to the *bāṭil* nullity whose rôle is most often confined to those theoretical arguments of a school which have no real practical interest.

The effects of *fāsid* nullity are less extreme than those attached to *bāṭil* nullity. This is easily explained inasmuch as the *fāsid* act, although void, is nevertheless constituted; juridically speaking, it exists, although it is vitiated and therefore needs to be negated. The difference between the two kinds of nullity is especially apparent after the delivery of possession or voluntary performance. (a) *Before* delivery of possession (or, for certain contracts, voluntary performance) the *fāsid* act is not greatly distinct from the *bāṭil* act. As is the case with the latter it does not give any of the parties the power to compel performance from the other. Each of them has the right, and the duty, to avail himself of the nullity. A judicial decree is not at all necessary, and the nullity will be established by the declaration of one of the parties or even by the simple act, of the vendor, for example, in alienating the object for the benefit of a third party. The judge who has knowledge of such an act, must, by virtue of his office, pronounce its nullity. It is self-evident that *fāsid* nullity cannot be removed by confirmation. The act must be performed again in its entirety. However, if the nullity does not stem from a defect in the sale object, but results from the presence of a prohibited condition, the elimination of the offending condition will validate the act, which, thenceforth, will produce its normal effects. A usurious sale, from which the parties, by common agreement, have eliminated the clauses which gave it this character, will transfer ownership from the moment that the forbidden clause disappeared. (b) *After* the taking of possession authorized by the vendor (reasoning always on the basis of a sale), the *fāsid* act will produce certain effects which the *bāṭil* act can never have. It is not that the taking of possession transforms it into a valid act (*ṣaḥīḥ*): this is certainly not so. It continues to be tainted with an absolute nullity, although the vendor has authorized the purchaser to take possession; and this latter is bound to restore the object received and to take back the price he has paid. Delivery of possession, then, following upon a *fāsid* sale, does not transfer ownership in Ḥanafī law, although such an assertion is often made without the necessary reservations.

According to the opinion which prevails in the school, delivery of possession does not in reality transfer ownership, or at least ownership in the normal sense, since the vendor can always reclaim his property as long as it is in the possession of the transferee. Furthermore, this transferee cannot enjoy or use the thing which he has received (with the agreement of the vendor). "He cannot eat it, nor wear it (if it is a garment), nor ride it (if it is a beast of burden), nor live in the house (which he has bought), nor avail himself of the services of the slave girl that he has acquired" (al-Kāsānī). What does result from delivery of possession following a *fāsid* sale is solely the transferee's power validly to dispose of the object delivered to him, either gratuitously or for a consideration—*e.g.*, he may sell it, give it away, constitute it as a *waḳf*, or, if it is a slave, set him free. This fiction of ownership, albeit an odd ownership (*k͟habīt͟ha*, bad, defective) in that it confers upon the one in whom it vests the *abusus*, but not the *usus* or the *fructus*, is quite obviously designed to protect subsequent transferees against a claim for restitution by the original vendor, in so far as their title cannot be impugned on the ground that they acquired the property from one who was not the owner. It is this Ḥanafī system, perhaps, which appears the least complicated.

Apart from this result, vital for the protection of future transferees, delivery of possession or performance following a *fāsid* contract operates to produce two other effects, less important but not altogether devoid of interest. In the first place, where *fāsid* nullity is solely the result of the incorporation of a prohibited term within the transaction (an uncertain period, for example), the party in whose interests the term was stipulated has the option of relying upon the nullity or, on the other hand, validating the transaction by renouncing the benefit of the term; whereas, prior to delivery of possession, confirmation of the transaction by repudiation of the offending term could only have been effected by the mutual agreement of the two parties. The second result of the *fāsid* character of a legal transaction comes into play where the transferee has in fact utilised the property delivered to him, or, in case of a contract for services, these services have been performed, or, of course, where the first transferee has alienated the property sold. In this case, in order that nullity may not result in unjust enrichment, the price, rent or wages which become due will not be the agreed price, rent or wages (since the contract is null), but will be the market value of the property, or the rent customarily payable, or the usual wages.

II. The doctrine of the other schools. The three other schools refuse to admit degrees of invalidity. To fail to observe the conditions required by the S͟harīʿa for the validity of an act is equally serious whether it is a question of a fundamental condition or of an attribute (*waṣf*), which, although it does not have an essential character, is nevertheless imposed by the law. In both cases there is "disobedience" to the rules of the S͟harīʿa which must be sanctioned by the same nullity.

For the S͟hāfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs, this single nullity corresponds with the *bāṭil* nullity of Ḥanafī law, at least as far as concerns the invalidity of acts of disposition effected by the transferee in a void sale: subsequent transferees are not protected against the claim of the original vendor. On this point the texts are explicit. However, outside contracts which operate to transfer ownership, the S͟hāfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs sometimes accept the distinction between *bāṭil* and *fāsid* in order to avoid, as far as possible, the injustice which would be entailed by the voluntary performance of a void contract if the *status quo ante* was purely and simply restored as the principle of *buṭlān* would require. Finally, the possibility, admitted by both these schools, of the partial annulment of a composite contract concluded by a single legal transaction (*ṣafḳa*), which contains both valid and invalid components (the sale, at the same time, of a free man and a slave), fortunately serves to relax, to some degree, the rigidity of their principles.

The Mālikīs, on their part, regulate the single nullity which sanctions invalid acts (termed *fāsid* or *bāṭil*) in a different way, with the result that their system is closely parallel to the system of *fāsid* nullity in Ḥanafī law, at least as far as concerns sale, the prototype contract of Islamic law. Recovery by the original vendor in a void sale is impossible, state the Mālikī authors, when the purchaser has disposed of the property to the profit of a third party, whether by way of sale for a consideration or by gift, or when he has set free a slave, or even when he has merely made the property a pledge or has transferred it to a bailee. In these last two cases the original vendor is bound by the pledge or the bailment for their full duration. Equally, recovery by the original vendor is inadmissible when the form (*ṣūra*) of the sale-object has been changed, by "increase or decrease", while in the possession of the first transferee. In this case the vendor will have to be satisfied with monetary compensation.

III. Nullity of marriage. Certain Ḥanafī authors of authority assert that the distinction between *bāṭil* and *fāsid* which, for reasons readily understandable, does not apply to ritual obligations (*ʿibādāt*), is equally alien to the contract of marriage, where all defects, whether they attach to the essence of the contract or to its external conditions of validity, are sanctioned by the same single nullity which is neither exactly a *fāsid* nullity nor exactly a *bāṭil* nullity. In point of fact, the thought of the classical authors is difficult to follow on this matter, and the question of nullity in marriage presents one of the most difficult problems of Ḥanafī law. For the other schools the problem is hardly more simple, and the solutions which appear to have prevailed with them seem, paradoxically enough, to establish the distinction between *bāṭil* and *fāsid* which they rejected in other spheres of the law.

Difficulties and uncertainties stem from the fact that the question is bound up with a problem peculiar to Islamic penal law—that of *s͟hubha*, or semblance, which is one of the grounds for avoidance of the fixed penalties. The doctrine of each school —and, in the Ḥanafī school, the two doctrines there adopted concerning nullity in marriage—are directly influenced by the position taken by the jurists in regard to this theory of *s͟hubha*. Indeed, it must not be forgotten that the annulment of a marriage, with its retrospective effect, results in the assumption that the spouses have never in fact been married; if, therefore, there has been consummation, this will, in principle, be held to be fornication, punishable by the severe fixed penalty (*ḥadd*) prescribed in cases of *zinā*. This penalty, like all the other fixed penalties (*ḥudūd*), is avoided whenever there exists a *s͟hubha*, or semblance, between the deed with which the accused is charged and another deed of the same nature which is indisputably not criminal. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, such a semblance is found in three

sets of circumstances: firstly, when the action with which the accused is charged resembles an action which is normally permissible (*shubha fi 'l-fiʿl*), although here the accused must have acted in good faith and in ignorance of the criminal character of the act—a husband, for example, has had sexual relations with his wife, believing them to be permissible, during the period of retirement which follows an irrevocable repudiation; secondly, when the illegality founded upon a proof text may appear dubious because of the existence of another, ambiguous text (*shubha fi 'l-maḥall*) which precludes any unanimity of juristic opinion on the point concerned,—a Ḥanafī, for example, could believe that the presence of witnesses at the moment of the conclusion of a marriage is not indispensible since they are not required, at that moment, by the Mālikīs; finally, when the act has been done as the result of a contract which observed merely the conditions of formation (*shubhat al-ʿaḳd*). This third category of *shubha* is admitted by Abū Ḥanīfa alone, and is rejected by his two pupils (Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī) and by the three other Imāms: its result is the avoidance of the *ḥadd* for fornication in every case where the dissolution of a marriage has taken place for any reason whatsoever, even where it is a case of a contract vitiated in its essence. Accordingly, in the opinion of Abu Ḥanīfa—and in his opinion alone—if the contract of marriage is ostensibly valid because it fulfills all the necessary conditions of formation, but its nullity is nevertheless manifest because there exists an impediment to marriage between these two spouses (too close a blood-relationship, foster relationship, the husband already having four wives, the wife already being married to another man who has not repudiated her, etc.) then, in these cases, the penalty for fornication will not be applied after the separation of the couple; and this will be so whether or not the spouses acted in good faith, *i.e.*, whether they knew, or did not know, of the prohibition they were infringing. The two pupils of Abū Ḥanīfa, and all the jurists of the three other schools, did not admit the *shubhat al-ʿaḳd*, and accordingly decided that in such a case the penalty for fornication would lapse only if one, at least, of the two spouses believed that the law was not being broken by their contract of marriage—this, by applying the *shubha fi 'l-fiʿl*. In other words, the dissolution of a marriage on the ground that there existed a legal impediment between the spouses will entail the application of the *ḥadd* only where the two spouses acted in bad faith, knowing that they were being married in contravention of a legal prohibition.

In seeking to reconcile the preceding solutions, which are of a penal nature and are strictly concerned only with the offence of fornication, with the rules relating to the conditions of formation and validity of a marriage, the authors arrived at two systems of nullity. The Ḥanafī school always hesitated between the two, while the three other schools adopted the second. It is necessary, at the beginning, to stress that if the ground for nullity is established before consummation, the marriage is deemed, purely and simply, never to have existed: there is no dower, no maintenance and no rights of succession should one of the spouses die before the declaration of nullity. Any Muslim has the right to invoke such a declaration by the court, if the spouses themselves have not made it: this, in fact, they are obliged to do and, moreover, no formalities are required. On this point there is a consensus of opinion. When nullity is established after consummation, Abū Ḥanīfa distinguishes between the fact that it results from the absence of a condition of the existence of marriage (legal capacity of the spouses, mutual agreement in the course of the same contractual session) and the fact that it results from any other cause external to the formation of the contract. In the first case the marriage does not exist. It is *bāṭil* and it produces no effect, neither entitlement to succession, nor legitimacy of children, nor the obligation of the wife to observe the 'waiting period' (*ʿidda*). However, because of the *shubhat al-ʿaḳd* which results from the semblance of a contract the spouses are not liable for the *ḥadd* penalty, and, because there is no *ḥadd*, the wife is entitled to the dower, by virtue of the maxim: 'Sexual relations with a woman entail either a payment (*ʿuḳr*) or a penalty (*ʿaḳr*). In the second case, there exists a marriage which, as a matter of form, is ostensibly valid although the violation of a legal prohibition renders it null (*fāsid*): Abū Ḥanīfa accordingly ascribes to the union certain of the effects which flow from a valid marriage, even though the two spouses should be aware of the illicit nature of their union: (a) firstly, there is no longer any question of the *ḥadd*, the spouses being relieved therefrom by *shubhat al-ʿaḳd*: (b) because the penalty is avoided, the woman has the right to a dower—the proper (customary) or stipulated dower, whichever is less; (c) the woman will be bound to observe the period of retirement, which will last until the completion of three menstrual periods (*ḳurūʾ*); (d) the issue born of this sexual relationship will be the legitimate children of their father; (e) finally, the *fāsid* marriage will raise a bar to marriage between the relatives of the spouses whose union has been terminated.

According to the two pupils of Abū Ḥanīfa and the three other Imāms (al-Shāfiʿī, Mālik and Ibn Ḥanbal), when nullity is incurred on the ground that the marriage has been concluded in defiance of some prohibition concerning blood relationship, affinity, fosterage, religion, or the fact that the woman was already married or in her period of retirement, or that the husband already had four wives etc., in all cases enquiry must first be made as to whether the ground of nullity is or is not disputed. Where there is no unanimity of the jurists that an impediment in fact exists, the spouses will benefit from the *shubha* which arises from such disagreement. And even when it is admitted that the *idjmāʿ* condemns the union, still enquiry must be made as to whether the spouses were acting, at the moment of the conclusion of the marriage, in good or in bad faith. Where they acted in good faith, the marriage, although naturally null or *fāsid*, will nevertheless give rise to the limited effects which, in Abū Ḥanīfa's view, follow the dissolution of a *fāsid* marriage—although certain schools hold that the wife is necessarily entitled to the proper dower, even if this exceeds the agreed dower.

Where the two spouses acted in bad faith, they are liable to the *ḥadd* for fornication, and none of the normal effects of marriage follows the dissolution of their union (except the *istibrāʾ* of one menstrual period in Mālikī law).

One cannot help drawing a parallel between this system and the institution of putative marriage in Christian canon law. In any event, those who adopt it are returning, without acknowledging it and, indeed, without mentioning it, to the distinction between *fāsid* and *bāṭil*.

The contemporary Codes of Personal Status or laws on the status of the family, which have been recently promulgated (Ottoman Law of 1917, arts. 52-8 and 75-6; Jordanian Law of 1951, arts. 28-9, 37-8; Syrian Code ot 1953, arts. 47-51; Tunisian Code of 1956, arts. 21-2; Moroccan Code of 1958, art. 37), although freed from the concern of having to avoid the *ḥadd* for fornication, which is no longer anywhere applied, have adopted the thesis of Abū Ḥanīfa in its broad outlines. However, the Ottoman Law and the Syrian Code consider as *bāṭil* the marriage of a Muslim woman with a non-Muslim, and the Jordanian Law attributes the same character to a marriage between persons within the prohibited degrees, neither of which rules agrees with the principles of Abū Ḥanīfa. The criterion of good faith appears only in a single Code—the Moroccan Code, where art. 37, sec. 5, provides that "where good faith is established, a void marriage will result in a legal connexion between the children born of such a union and their parents".

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II. Shāfiʿī law: Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī, *Sharḥ al-bahdja ʿala 'l-minhādj*, ii, 435; Suyūṭī, *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, Cairo 1359, 233. Mālikī law: Dasūḳī-Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, iii, 70 ff.; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, ed. *al-Istiḳāma*, ii, 191 ff. Ḥanbalī law: Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*³, iv, 231, 232.

III. Ibn Nudjaym, *op. cit.*, iii, 184, v, 16 ff.; Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Radd al-Muḥtār*³, Būlāḳ, ii, 835; Ibn al-Ḥumām, *op. cit.*, ii, 382, 468 ff.; Ibn Ḳudāma, *op. cit.*, vi, 455 ff. Among contemporary writers: Abū Zahra, *al-Zawādj*², Cairo 1950, 142 ff.; ʿUmar ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Aḥwāl al-shakhṣiyya*², Cairo 1958, 103 ff.; J. N. D. Anderson, *Invalid and void marriages in Hanafi Law*, in *BSOAS*, xiii/2 (1950), 357 ff. (Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

FAṢĪḤ [see faṣāḥa].

FAṢĪḤ DEDE, Aḥmed (d. 1111/1699), Turkish poet of the Mewlewī order, born in Istanbul. He was the son of Meḥmed, of the Dūḳakīnzāde family. After a thorough grounding in oriental literatures he entered the service of the grand vizier Köprülüzāde Aḥmed Pasha, but soon abandoned this easy life to enter the order of the Mewlewīs, and became a disciple of Ghawthī Dede, the sheykh of the famous Galata convent.

Apart from a *dīwān* he is the author of many poems in Persian and Arabic and several *mathnawīs*, strongly mystic in nature and terminology.

Bibliography: The *tedhkires* of Sālim, Ṣafāʾī, Beligh, Esrār Dede, s.v.; Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevilik*, Istanbul 1953, index; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 21; Bursalī Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmanlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 366; *Istanbul kütüphaneleri türkçe yazma divanlar kataloğu*, ii, 494.

(Fahir İz)

FĀSIḲ, unjust man, guilty of *fisḳ*,—that is to say, one who has committed one or several "great sins" (*kabāʾir*). Most of the authors of *ʿilm al-kalām* avoid extending the term *fāsiḳ* to the believer who is guilty only of "lesser sins" (*ṣaghāʾir*).

The "name and status" (*al-ism wa 'l-ḥukm*) of the *fāsiḳ* is one of the cardinal points discussed by the *kalām*. Its origin goes back to the battle of Ṣiffīn and to the question which believers then raised, as to the destiny on earth and the future destiny of the Muslim leader, and hence of all Muslims who sinned.

Two initial trains of thought: a) the Khāridjīs purely and simply condemned the unrepentant *fāsiḳ* to eternal hell and, on earth, denied his right to stand at the head of the Community. To commit an act of *fisḳ* rendered the *imām* unable to hold his office. (N.B.: for the Shīʿa, the lawful *imām* is inherently sinless). b) The Murdjiʾīs made the unjust man subject, on earth, to the fixed legal penalties (*ḥudūd*); but once this debt to the Community was paid, he remained in full exercise of his status as a believer, and, for the life to come, every believer is saved in hope.

These extreme solutions were to undergo certain modifications in the course of scholastic controversies, but were also to be a source of inspiration for them. It was on this theme that the Muʿtazila elaborated the thesis of the so-called "intermediary status", one of their particular characteristics which is attributed to Wāṣil ibn ʿAṭāʾ. The *fāsiḳ* is not entirely a believer (*muʾmin*) nor entirely an infidel (*kāfir*), but "in a position between the two", *fī manzilat*ⁱⁿ *bayna 'l-manzilatayn*. On earth, he is answerable to the laws of the Muslim Community; but if he does not repent, he will be punished with eternal hell (e.g. *Ḳurʾān*, XXXII, 20)—though his punishment, it is true, will be less severe than that of the *kāfir*. This reply is entirely dependent on the conception of faith (*īmān*) which is involved. In the eyes of the Muʿtazila indeed, to be a believer signifies at once adhering in one's heart, professing with the tongue, and witnessing "with the limbs" by performing the actions prescribed by the Law. Whoever does not fulfil the third condition cannot truly be a believer, and so cannot be saved.

In the *Ibāna* (Cairo 1348, ii) and the *Maḳālāt* (ed. Ritter, i, 293) Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī defines the faith as "words and deeds", *ḳawl* and *aʿmāl*, thereby appearing to integrate the "witness of the limbs" with it, like the Muʿtazila. But his *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* (ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1953, 75/104) states: "faith in God is *taṣdīḳ* (adherence) to God". And he taught clearly that it was impossible for a *fāsiḳ* to be neither a believer nor an unbeliever; if he was a believer before becoming a sinner, he said, the "great sin" committed will not invalidate his standing as a believer (*Lumaʿ*, 75-6/104-6). And al-Ashʿarī upholds this opinion with the tradition of the *ahl al-istiḳāma* ("people of Rectitude", in R. J. McCarthy's translation). The later Ashʿarites were to maintain the same principle even more forcibly since, for them, faith came to be identified solely with *taṣdīḳ*, adherence, inner judgement.—The same solution appears in the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī line of thought which defines faith as *taṣdīḳ* and its avowal in the spoken word (thus *Fiḳh Akbar I*, 1; *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, 4; *Fiḳh Akbar II*, 14). The *fāsiḳ* is a sinner, but a believer.

In its apparent sense, verse XXXII, 18 of the Ḳurʾān certainly seemed to open the way to the Muʿtazila solution: "Is then the man who is a believer like him who is *fāsiḳ*? (No), they are in no way the same". But from the 4th/10th century, the dominant tendencies of *ʿilm al-kalām* taught that the *fāsiḳ* would be saved in the Hereafter. He *can* be punished by a certain time in the (eternal) hell:

Ash'arīs; or he will *certainly* be punished in that way: Māturīdīs (*Fiķh Akbar II*, 14). But finally God will make him enter Paradise. "Those whose heart contains only an atom of faith", says the *ḥadīth*, "will leave hell" (al-Bukhārī, *Īmān*, 33). According to the opinion which became generally accepted, good deeds enhance faith, but cease to form an integral part of its expression; to fail in a prescribed duty does not therefore render faith invalid.—Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī, who accepted as equally legitimate both the definition which identifies faith with internal adherence alone, and also that which adds verbal profession and bodily actions (cf. *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1352/1933, i, 104-5), defended the same thesis. He defines the *fāsiķ* as the Muslim who adhered to the faith in his heart, professed it in his words, performed *certain* prescribed actions, but who committed "great sins".

The Ash'arī solution is, in short, that of the *ahl al-sunna* taken as a whole, including the Ḥanbalīs, the opponents of *kalām*. It will be found for example in Ibn Taymiyya, and subsequently it became one of the articles of the Wahhābī profession of faith (cf. H. Laoust, *Doctrines sociales et politiques de Taķī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 621).

Two problems. — 1) Can a prophet be said to be *fāsiķ*? Literalists (called *ḥashwiyya* by their adversaries) have admitted this; but it is a question of purely material or unintentional sins, some will point out. The majority of Sunnīs will consider it blasphemous to attribute the name of *fāsiķ* to a prophet. In his case they will admit, at most, only "minor sins", and that only insofar as neither the transmission of the message received from God (cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ... 'alā Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1352/1934, 71-3), nor even the personal observance of the Law by the prophet is concerned. Moreover, certain acts which appear to be sins have been performed by prophets merely "by way of teaching". The Shī'a (*e.g.*, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Ḥillī) were to teach the absolute sinlessness (*'iṣma*) of the prophet, and their doctrine was to influence their adversaries themselves. Thus the "modern" Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī [*q.v.*], who nevertheless maintains the possibility of trifling errors arising from involuntary forgetfulness or from obscurities in the regulations; but still more the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya who adopts the Shī'a thesis in its entirety, though making the *'iṣma* a gratuitous (and no longer "obligatory") favour of God (cf. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 191).

2) Is it lawful to rise against an *imām* who is *fāsiķ*? Yes, answered the Khāridjīs and Mu'tazila, who even regarded insurrection as a duty in that event. The same attitude is found with the Zaydīs (moderate Shī'a) and various Shī'a trends, but the dogma of the *imām*'s sinlessness widely prevailed among the Shī'a.—Certain jurists make a distinction: no revolt against the *imām* who is *fāsiķ*, but refusal to obey the agents who are enforcing the injustice. Common Sunnī doctrine calls for obedience to the *imām* (and his agents), even if he be *fāsiķ* in his private life, so long as he orders nothing contrary to Ķur'ānic law. But if a command of his runs counter to a precise Ķur'ānic or traditional precept, disobedience is permitted and even obligatory; if there is a guarantee of success, he must be deposed, if necessary by force.

In legal terminology, *fāsiķ* is the opposite of *'adl* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: in the article; and all the treatises on *'ilm al-kalām* under the heading *al-aḥkām wa 'l-asmā'* (e.g. Baķillānī, Djuwaynī, Djurdjānī, Bādjūrī, etc.); A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, index s.v.; L. Gardet, *Les noms et les statuts*, in *Stud. Isl.*, iii, Paris 1956. (L. GARDET)

FĀṢILA in its original usage indicates a separative: "a pearl (*kharaza*) which effects a separation between two other pearls in the stringing of the latter" when a necklace or piece of jewellery is being made (see Lane s.v.); *fāṣila*, with this sense of separative, has received two technical usages, one in Arabic prosody, the other in Ķur'ānic terminology.

In Arabic prosody (*'arūḍ* [*q.v.*]), *fāṣila* denotes a division in the primitive feet, meaning three *ḥurūf mutaḥarrika* followed by one *ḥarf sākin*, *e.g.*: *ķatalat* (*al-fāṣila al-ṣughrā*), or else four *ḥurūf mutaḥarrika* followed by one *ḥarf sākin*, *e.g.*: *ķatala-hum* (*al-fāṣila al-kubrā*). Al-Khalīl (according to *LA*, xiv, 38, l. 21-2/xi, 523b, l. 27 ff.) used *fāṣila* for the first group and *fāḍila* for the second. The first denotes the series two short syllables + one long syllable, the *anapaest* of Graeco-Latin prosody; the second denotes the series three short syllables + one long syllable, the *fourth paeon* in the said prosody. But there is an important difference: the anapaest and the fourth paeon denote rhythmic units, whilst *fāṣila ṣughrā* or *kubrā* relate to divisions, groups, within primary rhythmic units (the *tafā'īl*), in order to explain the composition of the latter.

The Ķur'ānic text carries rhymes. The question was raised in the Muslim world, by what technical term are these rhymes to be designated? There was no hesitation in rejecting the *ķāfiya* of *shi'r*, for the Ķur'ān is not a work of *shi'r* (poetry). Was the Ķur'ān *sadj'* [*q.v.*]? Many of those who did not profess Ash'arism (this must refer to the Mu'tazila) adopted and defended this point of view. But after al-Ash'arī and al-Bāķillānī it was abandoned: in fact, on the one hand the verses of the Ķur'ān, in general, are not balanced according to the rules of *sadj'* and the rhymes are given a freedom not permitted by the latter (see Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*², i, 37-41); on the other hand, Muslim religious sentiment was reluctant to apply to the Ķur'ān, *kalām Allāh*, a designation not derived from Him, and which was moreover taken from a human source, namely the *sadj'* of the soothsayers, whom Muḥammad disliked. The solution was to consider the Ķur'ānic text as prose of a particular kind and to designate its rhymes by a special term, *fāṣila*, pl. *fawāṣil*, which could be compared with the Ķur'ānic expression *faṣṣalnā 'l-āyāt* (VI, 97, 98, 126). Ibn Khaldūn repeats the opinion which for long had been common, when he writes on the subject of the Ķur'ān: *wa-in kāna min al-manthūr illā annahū ... laysa yusammā mursal*ᵃⁿ *iṭlāķ*ᵃⁿ *wa-lā musadjdja'*ᵃⁿ, "although it is prose, it is however not free prose, nor rhymed prose (*sadj'*)" and he expounds its particular character (*Muķaddima*, iii, 322; Eng. tr., Rosenthal, iii, 368).

The technical designation of rhyme is thus established according to a triple division: *ķāfiya* for *shi'r* (poetry), *fāṣila* for Ķur'ānic prose, and *ķarīna* for *sadj'*, and the Ķur'ānic *fāṣila* was explained by comparison with its partners: *al-fāṣila kalimat ākhir al-āya ka-ķāfiyat al-shi'r wa-ķarīnat al-sadj'*, "*al-fāṣila* is the word at the end of the verse, like the *ķāfiya* in poetry and the *ķarīna* in *sadj'*" (al-Suyūṭī, *Itķān*, beginning of Ch. 59); see also *Ķāmūs*, root *f ṣ l*.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text, for *fāṣila* of *'arūḍ*, *LA*, xiv, 38/xi, 523b; writers on Arabic prosody, D. Vernier,

Gr. Ar., ii, 515; S. de Sacy, *Gr. Ar.*[2], ii, 619, etc. For the Ḳur'ānic *fāṣila*, see particularly ch. 59 of the *Itḳān* of Suyūṭī; for both, the *Dict. of techn. terms*, ed. A. Sprenger, ii, 1140-1 (cf. i, 672-3). (H. Fleisch)

FAṢĪLA, verbal adjective of the *faʿīl* type in the passive sense, as the Arab lexicographers record, denoting an object which is "separated", like the young animal when weaned (young camel or calf), in the feminine *faṣīla*; and the same feminine form is used for a palmtree sucker when transplanted. It is no doubt the same semantic derivation which explains the meaning of the smallest "section" of a tribe, the closest relatives: thus ʿAbbās, according to the *LA*, is called *faṣīlat al-Nabī* "close kinship with the Prophet". However, Arabic philological doctrine advances one meaning of *faṣīla* "fragment of the flesh of the thigh" by virtue of the principle which makes every term of this tribal nomenclature correspond with the name of one part of the body. Robertson Smith has, not without probability, claimed to discern in the origin of this series various allusions to the female organs such as *baṭn* "belly" (starting with *ḥayy* which seems to be connected), upon which the denominations of male organs would be superimposed when the patriarchal organization was substituted for the matriarchy. (J. Lecerf)

al-**FĀSIYYŪN** or ahl Fās, a name given to the inhabitants of Fās. In the local dialect this name does not apply to all those who live in Fās, but to those who were born there and have right of citizenship through having adopted the ways and customs of the city and its code of good manners.

The population of Fās was formed little by little of many diverse elements. The original basis was certainly made up of Berbers and some Arab companions of the Idrīsids. From the beginning of the 3rd/9th century on, the population grew through the coming of political refugees from Cordova and Ḳayrawān, who brought the traditions and techniques of long-rooted urban peoples to the new town. Even though the people of Ḳayrawān did not continue to swarm into Fās, the Muslims of Andalusia came time after time to establish themselves there, at any rate up to the conquest of Granada by the Catholic Kings (1492).

In addition, various groups were added to the original kernel of the population through the circumstances of Morocco's dynastic history: Berbers from South Morocco under the Almoravids and the Almohads; Berbers from East Morocco and members of Arab tribes under the Marīnids; Berbers from the oases of the Sahara and negroes under the Saʿdīs; Filālīs and negroes under the ʿAlawids. At different periods, the Muslim population of the town was augmented by a number of families of Jewish converts to Islam of whom several, the Cohens for example, have preserved their original names. It must also not be forgotten that, at any rate in the 19th century, groups of Muslims came to Fās from outside for the purpose of practising various specialized trades, Berbers of the High Guir, for instance, who are porters, the people of Tuwāt who handle fatty substances, those from the Draʿ who are gardeners, those of Sūs who are dealers in fatty substances, and those of the Rīf who take part in the pressing of the olives. It is interesting that the Middle Atlas, although so near, has provided Fās with very few immigrants.

Since the French conquest of Algeria, Fās has formed a refuge for a number of families from the Oran area, notably Tlemcen, who preferred emigration to foreign domination. This was the case especially first in 1835 and then in 1911.

Before the 20th century the population scarcely ever seems to have passed the 100,000 mark, if it was as high, but no reliable document exists on this subject. Since the Protectorate, the number of Muslim inhabitants has grown, but in modest proportions compared with many other Moroccan towns: 163,000 in the 1952 census. This relative stagnation means that the traditional citizens have not been swamped in an enormous mass of new arrivals but preserve their personality and pre-eminence. This personality is characterized by a happy balance between economic activity, intellectual activity, and the religious life of the city, and by the existence of an etiquette (*ḳāʿida*) which rules most stringently the relationships of the people of Fās amongst themselves. Only those whose roots are truly in the city follow this etiquette, and they alone have a right to the name of Fāsiyyūn. They can be divided into several social strata which complement rather than compete with each other: at the top of the social ladder are the big merchants, the high functionaries and the religious leaders who form the middle-classes; then come the small tradesmen and the artisans; finally there are the workmen settled in the city or about to become a part of it. The mass of labourers originally from the country who live miserably in their 'bidonvilles', form a quite separate society entirely different from the people of Fās. The strong personality of these people has caused them to preserve almost up to the present time a great number of legal and social customs inherited from their ancestors; the rules and ceremonies of marriage are an example. This state of things is in the course of being modified owing to European influence, which was most marked during the Protectorate. The behaviour of the Europeans living in Fās, and even more the ideas which they spread, the contact which they helped to establish between the society of Fās and the outside world, introduced the seeds of transformation into the city, not only in matters to do with the habits of daily life but also in matters concerning family and social structure and behaviour. It is still too early to judge how far this evolution will go.

There is every right to consider the Jews as Fāsiyyūn because they were to be found in Fās from the time of its foundation and for centuries lived in the Madīna side by side with the Muslims. It was only in the 9th/15th century that they were compelled to live in a special quarter, the Mellāḥ. Apart from those Jews installed there since the city's beginnings, whose exact origin it is impossible to discover, it is well known that the Jewish community has been enriched on a number of occasions by families or individuals emigrating from Spain; in the 19th century Spanish was still the daily language of more than a few families. In general, the relationship between the Jews and the Muslim middle classes has been correct and sometimes cordial. On the other hand, it has happened that the people of Fās al-Djadīd have broken out against the Mellāḥ, as was the case in April 1912, at the time of the revolt of the Moroccan troops. More rarely, the government has persecuted the Jewish community, notably during the short reign of Mawlāy al-Yazīd (1790-1792). Even more than the Muslims, the Jews of Fās have been affected by European influences since the beginning of the 20th century; many have left the Mellāḥ for the New Town (Ville Nouvelle).

Bibliography: Leo Africanus, *Descr. de*

l'Afrique, trans. A. Épaulard, i, 179-232; J. and J. Tharaud, *Fez ou les bourgeois de l'Islam*, Paris 1930; F. Bonjean, *Les confidences d'une fi'le de la nuit*, Paris 1939; R. Le Tourneau. *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, Books iii and viii. See also the bibliography to the art. FĀS.

(R. Le Tourneau)

FASKH—The term *faskh*, in the language of the Islamic jurists, has a very wide meaning. It serves in a general way to designate the dissolution of any contractual bond whatever (Ibn Nudjaym, *al-Ashbāh*, ii, 114). Whether or not the contract was validly formed, the intervention of *faskh* will reduce it to nought. But *faskh* presupposes a contract which at least fulfils all the conditions necessary to its formation, *i.e.*, a *mun'aḳid* contract. A non-existent contract cannot be the object of *faskh*. On the other hand, a formed contract which happens to be vitiated by some irregularity (*fāsid*) can be dissolved only by means of *faskh*, even though in the meantime it does not produce any of its legal effects. *Faskh*, in this case, is equivalent to annulment. In cases of error or injurious misrepresentation Islamic doctrine does not regard the contract as *fāsid*. It is nevertheless subject to *faskh*, under certain conditions. *Faskh* in this case constitutes the sanction of an express or implied condition included in the contract. Generally speaking, *faskh* is admitted whenever one of the contracting parties fails to fulfil one of the express or implied conditions stipulated in the contract. It is by the application of this principle that a sale is annulled in cases of redhibitory defect or eviction. In this sense *faskh* can be identified with rescission. But the domain of rescission is singularly restricted in Islamic law. In effect, in the absence of an express or implied rescissory clause, it is impossible in Islamic law to obtain the rescission of a contract by reason of the failure of the other party to discharge his obligation. The only remedy available is compulsory performance (Chafik Chehata, *Théorie de l'obligation en droit musulman*, 147, 204).

Faskh is not only annulment or rescission. The revocation of a gift, or of any other contract revocable by its nature, takes place equally by way of *faskh*. Likewise, a contract by nature irrevocable becomes susceptible of *faskh*, or revocable, whenever it includes a right of option (*khiyār*).

Finally, an irrevocable contract can be dissolved by *mutuus dissensus* (*iḳāla*). This dissolution effected by a mutual agreement is equally termed *faskh* by the jurists—at least with regard to relations *inter partes*.

Thus the term *faskh* comes to embrace also the cases of revocation and cancellation.

In every case *faskh* is effected, as a rule, by means of a declaration of intention pronounced in the presence of the other contracting party. This is why *faskh* is regarded by the jurists as a juridical act in its own right. However, in certain cases *faskh* must be obtained by judicial process. This is so in the case of redhibitory defects discovered after the delivery of the object sold. Likewise, the revocation of a gift must, as a rule, be pronounced by the judge. It should be mentioned here that the judge can pronounce officially the *faskh* of a vitiated contract when one or other of the parties has not requested it.

Moreover, *faskh* is clearly distinguished in the texts from *infisākh*, which comes about without the need of any declaration or judicial decree. An example is provided by the case of impossibility of performance. If the object sold perishes before delivery to the buyer, the contract is dissolved by the normal operation of the law. Here the authors are fond of the term nullity or *buṭlān* (Sarakhsī, xii, *Mabsūṭ*, xii, 174). Likewise in the case where proof of the contract is held impossible by reason of the conflicting oaths sworn by either side, the contract is dissolved by the normal operation of the law: *infisākh* (Kāsānī, *Badā'i'*, v, 238).

Once *faskh* is effected the contract stands dissolved, and things must be restored to their former condition: the *status quo ante*. This is why *faskh* becomes impossible if the thing representing the object of a contract has happened to perish in the meantime. As a rule, *faskh* has a retro-active effect (Kāsānī, v, 239): the contract is held never to have existed. The effects of the contract disappear as from the day it was formed. However, with a view to protecting the rights of third parties, the *mutuus dissensus* (*iḳāla*) is considered a new alienation with respect to third parties. As far as they are concerned it does not have a retroactive effect. Likewise the alienation of a thing to the profit of a third party prevents the operation of *faskh*. Thus the right to dissolve the contract is destroyed, and the thing is established in the ownership of the third party who has acquired it.

We must notice, finally, that in family law *faskh* is distinguished from *ṭalāḳ*. *Ṭalāḳ*, which is the exclusive right of the man, brings about the dissolution of the marriage by a simple unilateral declaration. It always presupposes a validly formed contract. Dissolution of marriage by way of *faskh* takes place at the instance of the wife or her relatives. It generally comes about by judicial process. Like any other *faskh*, this dissolution embraces cases of failure to fulfil an express or implied condition, as well as those cases where the contract is vitiated by some irregularity. The grounds for dissolution of marriage by way of *faskh* are defined by the law, and *faskh* constitutes the legal means open to the wife of dissolving the conjugal tie in case of serious cruelty (Egyptian laws, no. 25 of 1920, no. 25 of 1929).

Bibliography: Chafik Chehata, *Théorie générale de l'obligation en droit musulman*, Cairo 1936; Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ẓanūn, *al-Naẓariyya al-'āmma li 'l-faskh fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī wa 'l-ḳānūn al-muḳāran*, Cairo 1946; 'Alī al-Khafīf, *Furaḳ al-zawādj fi 'l-madhāhib al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1958; M. Morand, *Quelques particularités du droit musulman des obligations*, in *Bulletin de Législation Comparée*, 1929, 305-69; al-Sanhūrī, *Maṣādir al-ḥaḳḳ fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, vi, Cairo 1959.

(Chafik Chehata)

FAṢL etymologically, like *farḳ*, expresses the general meaning of separation or disjunction (for the various meanings, see *LA*, xiv, 35-9 for *faṣl*; xii, 174-82 for *farḳ*; Abu 'l-Baḳā', *K. al-Kulliyyāt*, 275). In logic, *faṣl* signifies "difference" and especially "specific difference", the διαφορά of the five predicables of Porphyry (1. γενός, *djins*, genus; 2. εἶδος, *naw'*, species; 3. διαφορά, *faṣl*, difference; 4. ἴδιον, *khāṣṣa*, property; 5. συμβεβηκός, *'araḍ*, accident. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' add, in the tenth *risāla*, *shakhṣ*, person). For the logicians, *faṣl* has two meanings: the first covers every attribute by which one thing is distinguished from another, whether it be individual or universal, the second, in transposition (*'alā naḳl*), covering that by which a thing is essentially distinguished. In transposition in this way, *faṣl* is used, *per prius et posterius* (*bi-ḥasab al-taḳdīm wa 'l-ta'khīr*) to designate three ideas; common dif erence (*al-faṣl al-'āmm*), particular difference (*al-*

faṣl al-khāṣṣ), and the particular of the particular (*khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*). Common difference (*al-faṣl al-ʿāmm*) is what allows a thing to differ from another and that other to differ from the former; equally it is what allows a thing to differ from itself at another time. This is the case of separable accidents. Particular difference (*al-faṣl al-khāṣṣ*) is the predicate which is necessarily associated (*lāzim, comitans*) with accidents, *e.g.*, the difference between a horse and a man constituted by the whiteness of the latter's skin Finally, specific difference or the particular of the particular (*khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*) is what constitutes the species. It is the simple universal attributed to the species in reply to the question: what is it (*in quale quid*) in its essence in relation to its genus (*fī djawāb ayyu shayʾ huwa fī dhātihi min djinsihi*), *e.g.*, rationality for man.

The Platonic method of analysis or division (διαίρεσις) is distinguished by the name of *ṭarīḳ al-ḳisma* from the Aristotelian *ṭarīḳ al-ḳiyās* (συλλογισμός) (al-Fārābī, *Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, 2). For the metaphysical difference between the incorporeal and the body, *farḳ* (χωρισμός) is used. God is *mufāraḳ*, that is, separated, free of all that is material or corporeal. In the essence of God, there is neither *farḳ* nor *faṣl* (*Theology of Aristotle*, ed. Dieterici, 40). Purely spiritual beings (*ʿuḳūl*), the intelligences of the spheres and the heavenly bodies are *mufāraḳāt* (syn. *mudjarradāt*).

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(TJ. DE BOER-[G. C. ANAWATI])

FAṢL [see FILĀḤA, MAFṢŪL].

FASTS [see ṢAWM].

FATĀ, pl. *fityān*, strictly "young man", has assumed a certain number of meanings in Arabic [see FUTUWWA]: here we confine ourselves to one exclusively Andalusian usage. In Muslim Spain the slaves, whether eunuchs or not, employed in the service of the prince and his household, and then of the *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*] at the time when the latter was in practice taking over the reins of power, were in fact called *ghilmān* (sing. *ghulām* [*q.v.*]), whilst those who held an elevated rank in the palace hierarchy bore the title *fatā*, the entire management of the household being placed under the control of two majordomos or "high officers", *al-fatayān^i al-kabīrān^i*. In the course of the history of al-Andalus a certain number of these slaves, generally of European origin [see ṢAḲĀLIBA], after obtaining the status of free men, were promoted to the highest positions in the social hierarchy and played an outstanding political part, even succeeding in creating independent principalities for themselves, like the ʿĀmirid *fatā* Mudjāhid [*q.v.*] of Denia. Their elevation inevitably gave rise to disputes with the aristocratic Arab families, with whom they came to blows, not without sometimes resorting to arguments of a Shuʿūbī character (see I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, 1898).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Xe siècle*, index; idem, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index. (ED.)

FATALISM [see AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA'L-ḲADAR].

AL-**FATĀWĀ** AL-ʿ**ĀLAMGĪRIYYA**, a compendium of Ḥanafī law, in India ranking second only to al-Marghīnānī's *Hidāya*, compiled by order of Awrangzīb during the years 1075/1664-1083/1672. The intention was to arrange in systematic order the most authoritative decisions by earlier legists which were scattered in a number of *fiḳh* books, and thus provide a convenient work of reference. The board in charge of the compilation was presided over by Shaykh Niẓām of Burhānpur (d. 1090/1679), who had four superintendents under him: Shaykh Wadjīh al-Dīn of Gopāmaw, Shaykh Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad of Mačhlīshahr; Ḳāḍī Muḥammad Ḥusayn and Mullā Ḥāmid, both of Djawnpur; each of them was assisted by a team of ten or more *ʿulamāʾ*. The book has repeatedly been printed (see Brockelmann).

Bibliography: Muḥammad Kāẓim, *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma* (Bibl. Ind.), 1072; Muḥammad Sāḳī Mustaʿidd Khān, *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (Bibl. Ind.), 529; *Mirʾāt al-ʿālam*, in *Oriental College Magazine* (*Supplement*), Lahore Aug.-Nov. 1953; Khʷāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* (Bibl. Ind.), ii, 251; Nūr al-Dīn Zaydī Ẓafarābādī, *Tadjallī-i nūr*, Djawnpur 1900, ii, 77-89, 93, 119-20; Shāh Walī Allāh, *Anfās al-ʿārifīn*, 24; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād 1375, v, 18, 34, 149, 281, 364, 420, 430; *Maʿārif* (Urdū monthly), Aʿẓamgaṙh, Dec. 1946, Jan., Feb., Oct. 1947, Jan. 1948; Faḍl-i Imām Khayrābādī, *Tarādjim al-fuḍalāʾ* (trans. Bazmee Ansari), Karachi 1956, 12-3, 27-8; Khūb Allāh Allāhābādī, *Wafayāt al-aʿlām* (Ms.); *Āthār-i sharaf* (Ms.), fol. 94; Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥaydar, *Tadhkira mashāhīr-i kākawrī*, Lucknow 1927, 354-6; A. S. Bazmee Ansari in *al-Islām*, Karachi July-Dec. 1953, Jan. 1954; Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Bazm-i Tīmūriyya*, Aʿẓamgaṙh 1948, 236-43; Brockelmann, II, 549, S II, 604.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

FATḤ [see ḤARAKA].

AL-**FATḤ** B. **KHĀḲĀN** was the son of Khāḳān b. ʿUrṭūdj (or Ghurṭūdj) of the Turkish ruling family at Farghānā and chief of the Turkish soldiers from Central Asia who formed part of the troops of the guard of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim. Biographical information concerning him is scarce: he must have been born ca. 200/817-8, because he was probably the same age as al-Mutawakkil, son of al-Muʿtaṣim, with whom he was educated since infancy at the court of the caliph, who had adopted him at the age of seven. Hardly had al-Mutawakkil been elected caliph in 232/846-7 when he made him his secretary (*kātib*, and not *wazīr* as incorrectly stated in some sources), and later, in 235/848-9 or 236/849-50, appointed him superintendent of works at Sāmarrā; in 242/855-6 governor of Egypt for a short time in place of his son al-Muntaṣir; and in 244/857-8 as his lieutenant at Damascus. He was a member of the caliph's literary circle, and was a great patron of young and little-known authors, a friend of many writers and poets such as al-Djāḥiẓ and al-Buḥturī, of historians like al-Thaʿlabī, etc. He was himself a writer and poet, but of his works (*K. Akhlāḳ al-mulūk*, *K. al-Ṣayd wa 'l-djawāriḥ*, *K. al-Rawḍa wa 'l-zuhr*) none has come down to us, and only 13 verses of his poetry are known (cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 118). In his palace at Sāmarrā he had collected a very valuable library (consisting in particular of philosophical works), which was much visited by many students of Baṣra and Kūfa. On the night of 4 Shawwāl 247/11 December 861, at the caliph's palace in the new capital al-Mutawakkiliyya (or al-Djaʿfariyya) he was murdered with his caliph and friend defending him with his own bodv against the hired assassins sent by al-Muntaṣir, son of al-Mutawakkil.

Bibliography: O. Pinto, *al-Fatḥ b. Ḫāqān, favorito di al-Mutawakkil*, in *RSO*, xiii (1932), 133-49; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside de 749 à 936 ...*, Damascus 1959, i, 282-3; *Fihrist*, 116-7; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 116-24.

(O. Pinto)

AL-FATḤ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH B. **KH̲ĀḲĀN**, ABŪ NAṢR AL-ḲAYSĪ AL-IS̲H̲BĪLĪ, an Andalusian anthologist whose history is somewhat obscure. We do, however, know that he studied seriously under well-known teachers and that he led an adventurous life, travelling through much of Muslim Spain and enjoying to the full pleasures strictly forbidden by the laws of Islam. Despite this, he obtained a position as secretary to the governor of Granada, Abū Yūsuf Tās̲h̲fīn b. ʿAlī, but did not keep it and went to Marrākus̲h̲ where, at the instigation of an Almoravid prince or even perhaps of Sultan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲fīn, he was assassinated in a *funduḳ* at a date which, in various sources, varies between 528/1134 and 555/1160, the year 529/1134 being the most probable.

When he decided to compile the first of his anthologies, dedicated to the brother of the above-mentioned sultan, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲fīn, he wrote to a certain number of prominent personalities who were reputed to be also men of letters, informing them of his project and asking them to send him some of their own documents; those who accepted and included gifts as well as documents were made the subject of panegyrics, while the others were passed over in silence or criticised adversely. This was the treatment accorded to Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a [*q.v.*] in particular, except that it was his privilege to have two notices, one of blame, the other of praise (text in Yāḳūt). For the earlier writers, Ibn K̲h̲āḳān had no hesitation in ransacking the anthologies and, it is said, even involved himself in a lawsuit with his contemporary Ibn Bassām [*q.v.*].

He is the author of two anthologies. The first, entitled *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān fī* (var. *wa-*) *maḥāsin al-aʿyān*, was published in Marseilles-Paris in 1277/1860 in the journal *al-Bard̲j̲īs* and as an independent volume, later at Būlāḳ in 1283-1284; R. Dozy included some chapters from it in his history of the ʿAbbādids, and H. Pérès published extracts from it in Algiers in 1946; it is divided into four parts: princes, viziers, *ḳāḍīs* and jurists, poets and men of letters. A commentary, *Farāʾid al-tibyān alā Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān*, was written by Muḥ. b. Ḳāsim Ibn Zākūr al-Fāsī (d. 1120/1708); H. Pérès (see *Poésie andalouse*[2], xxxii) has a manuscript of it in his possession; but the French translation announced by E. Bourgade has still to appear.—The second anthology, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus wa-masraḥ al-taʾannus fī mulaḥ ahl al-Andalus*, seems to have been made in three versions, large, medium and small, but only the last of the three has survived (published in Istanbul in 1302 at the *al-D̲j̲awāʾib* press [see D̲J̲ARĪDA] and in Cairo in 1325; cf. also Dozy, *Abbadides*); it is in some way complementary to the preceding work, in three parts: viziers, *ḳāḍīs* and jurists, men of letters.—To these anthologies we should add a biography of one of the author's teachers, al-Baṭalyawsī [*q.v.*], followed by a short anthology (see Derenbourg, *Mss. ar. de l'Escurial*, 448), and a *maḳāma* on his teacher (Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, 538), as well as a *Bidāyat al-maḥāsin wa-g̲h̲āyat al-muḥāsin* and a collection of his letters which is lost.

In the two published anthologies, the articles contain biographical and historical information (cf. A. Cour, *De l'opinion d'Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb sur les ouvrages d'Ibn Ḫāqân considérés comme source historique*, in *Mél. R. Basset*, ii, Paris 1925, 17-32), but it requires the application and long experience of H. Pérès (see *Bibl.*) to understand and interpret them, for the rhyming prose, which is made up of short clauses and used exclusively, holds the reader spell-bound and prevents him from paying attention to the meaning, in the opinion even of a modern critic, Aḥmad Ḍayf. This prose, which can be regarded as *vers libres*, eventually becomes wearisome, but it is acknowledged to possess a rare elegance, and anthologists show unconcealed pleasure in reproducing long extracts from it (see especially al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index). The principal interest of the *Ḳalāʾid* and the *Maṭmaḥ* rests, however, in the poetical works which Ibn K̲h̲āḳān has saved from oblivion and which form fundamental sources for the study of Arabic literature in Spain, principally in the 5th/11th century.

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(M. Ben Cheneb-[Ch. Pellat])

FATḤ ʿALĪ ĀK̲H̲UND-ZĀDA [see ĀK̲H̲UND ZĀDA, MĪRZĀ FATḤ ʿALĪ].

FATḤ-ʿALĪ S̲H̲ĀH, the second ruler of the Ḳād̲j̲ār [*q.v.*] dynasty, was born in 1185/1771 and bore the name Bābā K̲h̲ān. He was made governor of Fārs, Kirmān, and Yazd by his uncle, Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, and heir apparent in 1211/1796-7. He succeeded to the throne in 1212/1797. He died in 1250/1834 and was buried at Ḳumm. Much of his reign of 38 years and 5 months was spent in military expeditions against internal rebels and external foes. On the assassination of Aḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān in 1212/1797 Bābā K̲h̲ān hastened from S̲h̲īrāz to Tehrān, where Mīrzā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Ḳād̲j̲ār had closed the gates pending his arrival. On reaching Tehrān he ascended the throne as Fatḥ ʿAlī on 4 Ṣafar 1212/30 July 1797, but was not crowned until 1 S̲h̲awwāl 1212/21 March 1798. Ṣādiḳ K̲h̲ān S̲h̲akākī, who opposed his succession, was defeated near Ḳazwīn. Various attempts at rebellion by Fatḥ ʿAlī's brother, Ḥusayn Ḳulī Mīrzā, Ṣādiḳ K̲h̲ān S̲h̲akākī, and Muḥammad K̲h̲ān b. Zakī K̲h̲ān were defeated; and in a series of expeditions to K̲h̲urāsān Fatḥ ʿAlī succeeded in establishing his nominal authority over most of that province. Relations with Europe were actively joined. In 1798 Lord Wellesley, the Governor General of India, sent Mihdī ʿAlī K̲h̲ān, the East India Company's resident at Bushire, to the Persian Court to induce it to take measures to keep the Afg̲h̲ān ruler, Zamān K̲h̲ān Durrānī, in check. A subsequent mission sent under Captain (later Sir) John Malcolm resulted in a political and commercial treaty concluded in 1801. In 1802 France made unsuccessful overtures to

Persia for a Franco-Persian alliance against Russia. In 1804 the Perso-Russian war was resumed. Fatḥ ʿAlī sent an envoy to India to seek aid under the British alliance but his request was coldly received. In 1805 a French envoy, Romieux, reached Tehrān and urged Persia to repudiate the British alliance. Disappointed of British help, Fatḥ ʿAlī sent Mīrzā Muḥammad Riḍā to treat with Napoleon. A treaty was signed at Finkenstein (1807), but was nullified almost immediately by the Franco-Russian treaty of Tilsit. Renewed French activities and the possibility of Franco-Russian activities in Persia induced the British Government to send a mission under Sir Harford Jones to the court of Fatḥ ʿAlī. In March 1809 a Preliminary Treaty was concluded. This was followed by a Definitive Treaty in March 1812, which was superseded in 1814 by the Treaty of Tehrān. Under this treaty Persia undertook not to allow any European army to advance on India through Persia and Britain undertook in the case of a European nation invading Persia to send a military force or in lieu thereof to pay an annual subsidy. The subsidy articles were abrogated in 1828. The long war with Russia was concluded by the peace of Gulistān [*q.v.*] (1813), by which Georgia and a number of other districts were acknowledged as belonging to Russia, Russian vessels of war were given the exclusive right of navigation of the Caspian Sea, and a 5% *ad valorem* duty on Russian imports into Persia was fixed. A rebellion in K͟hurāsān fomented by Maḥmūd S͟hāh of Afg͟hānistān gave Fatḥ ʿAlī an opportunity to seize Herāt (1813), but he failed to keep it. A war with the Porte (1821-3) was concluded by the Treaty of Erzurum (1813). In 1826 war broke out again with Russia and ended disastrously for Persia. In addition to the territory going to Russia under the Treaty of Gulistān, Persia lost Erīvān and Nak͟hd͟jivān; and the exclusive right of Russian vessels of war to navigate the Caspian was reaffirmed. A commercial treaty signed on the same day gave Russian subjects extra-territorial privileges and established the pattern of the capitulations enjoyed by Europeans in Persia under the Ḳād͟jār dynasty. Fatḥ ʿAlī died in 1834. He was survived by fifty-seven sons and forty-six daughters. His favourite son ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*], who had been declared *walī ʿahd*, died in 1833. ʿAbbās Mīrzā's son, Muḥammad Mīrzā, was proclaimed *walī ʿahd* and succeeded to the throne on Fatḥ ʿAlī's death.

The rule of Fatḥ ʿAlī was arbitrary and autocratic. Pomp and ceremony distinguished his public audiences, but much of his time was spent in camp on military expeditions. Military reform was begun during his reign, first under French officers accompanying General Gardane, who came to Persia as envoy in 1806, and later under British officers, when an attempt was made to introduce European methods and discipline into the army in Ād͟harbāyd͟jān commanded by ʿAbbās Mīrzā. Fatḥ ʿAlī is described by some European travellers as being intelligent and having a lively and curious mind, by others as being ignorant and vain. Like many of the Ḳād͟jār princes he had a great love of hunting. His besetting sin was avarice. He made, or repaired, a number of buildings in Tehrān, Ḳumm, Kāẓimayn, Karbalāʾ and elsewhere.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Nad͟jaf-ḳulī, *Maʾāt͟hir-i sulṭāniyya*, Tabrīz 1241/1826 (translated by H. T. Brydges, *The Dynasty of the Kajars*, London 1833); Mīrzā Taḳī Sipihr, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ḳād͟jāriyya* (being the ninth volume of the *Nāsik͟h al-tawārīk͟h*), Tabrīz 1319/1901-2; Ḥād͟jd͟jī Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣirī*; Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i id͟jtimāʿī wa siyāsī-i Īrān*, Tehrān 1335 (solar); R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866; Amédée Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse*, Paris 1821; J. B. Fraser, *Narrative of a journey into Khorasan*, London 1825; Fonton, *La Russie dans l'Asie Mineure*, 231 f.; L. Dubeux, *Perse*, 376 f. (portrait, pl. 58 and pl. 84); *Grundr. d Iran. Phil.*, ii, 596 f.; M. E. Yapp, *The control of the Persian Mission, 1822-1836*, in *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, vii (1960), 162-79.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

FATḤNĀME, an official announcement of a victory. This definition excludes large numbers of '*fatḥnāmes*' written by private persons as literary exercises, such as the *Maḥrūse-i Istanbul Fatḥnāmesi* of Tād͟jīzāde D͟jaʿfar Čelebi [*q.v.*], which was composed at least a generation after the conquest (*TOEM*, nos. 20-1) and works such as Murādī's *Fatḥnāme-i K͟hayr al-Dīn Pas͟ha* (A. S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler*, Ankara 1956, 70-3), a versified narrative of the exploits of Barbarossa and his brother Oruč. According to Uzunçarşılı (*Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 288), a *fatḥnāme* consists of 15 elements: (1) praise to God, (2) encomia on the Prophet, (3) the sovereign's duty to relieve oppression, (4) reasons for ending the wrong-doing of the tyrant in question, (5) the Sulṭān's departure, (6) the multitude of his troops, (7) the position of the enemy, (8) the boldness of the enemy, (9) description of the battle, (10) the Sulṭān's victory, (11) thanks to God, (12) occupation of the enemy's territory, (13) this success to be proclaimed by land and sea (only in *fatḥnāmes* addressed to the Sulṭān's own dominions), (14) the names of the place to which the *fatḥnāme* is sent and of the bearer, (15) the Sulṭān's joy at the victory, his communication of the good tidings to the recipient and his request for prayers. Although this scheme may well have served as a model to literary men, there is some reason to suppose that it was not closely followed by the official (usually the *nis͟hānd͟jï*?) entrusted with composing the *fatḥnāme* after a battle. It is difficult to be precise on this subject because of the dearth of original *fatḥnāmes* available for study. Of the dozens of examples in Ferīdūn there is none of whose genuineness we can be sure, nor do they seem to bear out Pakalın's statement (s.v. *Fetihname*) that *fatḥnāmes* are of great historical importance as being short histories of battles. What Ferīdūn describes as the *fatḥnāme* on the conquest of Eger in 1005/1596, for instance (*Mad͟jmūʿa-i muns͟haʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1265, ii, 2-3), contains no mention of the massacre of the garrison (see G. L. Lewis, *The Utility of Ottoman Fethnames*, in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, *Historians of the Middle East*, Oxford 1962, and cf. Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1281, i, 151). Nor does Ferīdūn's text bear any relation to Naʿīmā's statement (*ibid.*, 173) that the Nis͟hānd͟jï Lām ʿAlī Čelebi was dismissed for exaggerating, in this same *fatḥnāme*, the part played in the conquest by D͟jig͟halazāde Sinān Pas͟ha. On the other hand, we do have one published *fatḥnāme* which appears to be the genuine article and not a literary exercise: the Uygur account of Meḥemmed II's victory in 878/1473 over Uzun Ḥasan (R. Rahmeti Arat, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in yarlığı*, in *TM*, vi (1939), 285-322; cf. idem, *Un yarlık de Mehmed II, le Conquérant*, in *Annali del R. Ist. Sup. Orientale di Napoli*, n.s. i (1940), 25-68). It is laconic in style and full of information, including a complete order of battle with the names of the principal

commanders on both sides. There is none of the verbosity and sanctimonious self-justification which we see in the literary *fatḥnāmes*; the occasion for the campaign is refreshingly stated thus: 'Uzun Ḥasan having burned the city of Tokat, we came to fight him'. The most suggestive feature of the document is its conclusion: the Sulṭān is coming to winter in Istanbul and adjures various officials there to be steadfast in their work and not to neglect the business of the *dīwān*; the chief men of all towns are to keep the mosques in a flourishing state, to perform the five daily prayers in congregation and to fulfil the ordinances of the *sharīʿa* and the commandments of God. Yet the fact that the document is in Uygur shows that it was intended only for the eastern territories. The inference is that for this victory, at any rate, there was only one *fatḥnāme*, of which copies and, in this special case, a translation were sent to all parts of the Sulṭān's dominions. Ferīdūn (*op. cit.*, i, 283-6) gives the texts of three accounts of the victory: a *ḥukm-i sherīf* to Prince Djem, a letter (*nāme-i humāyūn*) to Ḥusayn Bayḳarā and a *fatḥnāme* 'to the Guarded Dominions'. None contains any useful details of the campaign; compared with the Uygur *yarlïḳ* their historical value is negligible. For the victory of Čaldirān, 41 years later, Ferīdūn gives no fewer than ten different *fatḥnāmes*, none of them giving a full account of the battle (for a partial analysis see Lewis's article cited above). A working hypothesis is that there was only one true *fatḥnāme* for each victory, which would add greatly to our knowledge of Ottoman military history if only we could lay hands on it. Other so-called *fatḥnāmes* are merely elegant variations on a theme, their value being mainly literary, though they may be of some interest as early specimens of war-propaganda. The last word cannot be said on this subject until more work has been done in the Ottoman archives, particularly perhaps on the *ordu mühimmesi* registers (see Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine*, Oxford 1960, 5).

Bibliography: Works cited in text. Pakalın's article consists mainly in a lengthy quotation from M. F. Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin ... tesiri*, in *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, i (1931) [Italian translation, *Alcune osservazioni ....*, Pubblicazioni dell'Inst. per l'Oriente di Roma, 1944], rejecting the theory of a connexion between the *fatḥnāme* and the Roman *litterae laureatae*. For some examples see G. Vajda, *Un bulletin de victoire de Bajazet II*, in *JA*, 236 (1948), 87-102; L. Fekete, *A fetḥnāméről*, in *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv — és Irodalomtudományi Osztályának Közleményei*, xix/1-4 (1963), 65-101 (a *fatḥnāme* of Uzun Ḥasan); Adnan Sadık Erzi, *Türkiye Kütüphanelerinden notlar ve vesikalar*, ii, in *Belleten*, xiv/56 (1950), 612 ff.

(G. L. Lewis)

FATḤPŪR-SĪKRĪ, a deserted city, 23 miles from Agra, situated in 27° 5′ N. and 77° 40′ E., on a ridge of sandstone rocks near the ancient village of Sīkrī. In 1569 when Akbar visited Shaykh Salīm Čishtī, who was living in a cave on the Sīkrī ridge, the saint foretold the birth of a son to the childless monarch, and in 1570 Sultan Salīm, afterwards known as the Emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] was born there. Akbar then commenced building a city, covering an area of about 1¾ sq. m. and enclosed by a wall (still standing) 3¾ m. long. On his return from his campaign in Gudjarāt in 1574, he found his new capital ready for occupation and named it Fatḥpūr (the City of Victory); he resided here until 1586, when he abandoned it as a capital, probably on account of the brackish nature of the water obtainable there, and shortly after his death it began to fall into ruin. Many of the buildings, however, still remain in an excellent state of preservation; among these may be mentioned the official buildings, such as the mint, the treasury, the record office, and the hall of public audience, and the royal palace, including the private apartments of the Emperor and the residences of several of his wives. The house of the Turkī Sulṭāna is remarkable for the elaborate carving with which it is covered, both within and without; the interior is decorated with a dado, 4 ft. high, divided into eight oblong panels, richly decorated with carvings representing forest and garden scenes. The two-storeyed building, known as Bīrbal's house (though it was undoubtedly the palace of one of Akbar's queens), is similarly covered with carving exhibiting a profuse variety of patterns executed in minute detail. In close proximity to the royal apartments are some curious buildings, of a unique design, *e.g.*, the Pānč Maḥall, a five-storeyed pavilion, each storey of which is smaller than the one on which it rests, and the so-called Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ (or private audience hall), a building consisting of one room only, in the centre of which rises an octagonal column surmounted by an enormous circular capital, from the top of which radiate four narrow causeways, each about 10 ft. long, to the corners of the building; the top of this capital is thus connected with a gallery, running round the upper part of the room and communicating by staircases (made in the thickness of the wall) both with the roof and the courtyard below. It is not possible to enumerate here the many other buildings connected with the emperor and his court, but special mention must be made of the great mosque, which is one of the finest monuments of Mughal architecture. It covers an area of 438 ft. by 542 ft., having a central court (360 ft. by 439 ft.) enclosed by cloisters, except at the three gateways, of which the Buland Darwāza (facing the south), erected by Akbar in 1602 to commemorate his victories in the Dakkan, ranks as one of the noblest gateways in India. In the court of the mosque stands the tomb of Shaykh Salīm Čishtī, a single-storeyed building, encased in white marble and surmounted by a dome; the marble lattice screens which enclose the veranda of this building are of extraordinary delicacy and intricacy of geometrical pattern; over the cenotaph is a wooden canopy inlaid with mother-of-pearl arranged in beautiful geometrical designs.

Among the noteworthy features of the buildings at Fatḥpūr-Sīkrī are the evidences of the influence of Hindu architecture, in construction and decoration, and the frescoes painted on the walls of the Khʷābgāh and the Sōnahrā Makān, and the colour decoration of the Ḥammām and other buildings.

Bibliography: *Tūzuk-i-Djahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1864, 2; E. W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*, in *Archaeological Survey of India*, Allahabad 1894-8; *Keene's Handbook for visitors to Agra and its neighbourhood*, re-written by E. A. Duncan, 7th ed. Calcutta 1909, 222-57; E. W. Smith, *Wall paintings recently found in the khwabgah, Fathpur Sikri, near Agra*, in *Journal of Indian Art*, vi (1894); Muhammad Ashraf Husain, *A guide to Fatehpur Sikri*, Delhi 1937; P. Brown, *Indian architecture (the Islamic period)*, Bombay 1942; Pearson, nos. 6734-5, 6737-8, 6788, and *Supplement (1956-60)*, nos. 1779, 1796. See further HIND—Architecture.

FĀTIḤA, "the opening (Sūra)", or, more exactly, *Fātiḥat al-Kitāb* "(the Sūra) which opens the scripture (of revelation)", designation of the first Sūra of the Ḳur'ān. Occasionally the terms *umm al-kitāb* (according to Sūra III, 7; XIII, 39; XLIII, 4) and *al-sab' al-mat͟hānī* (according to Sūra XV, 87) are also found. With reference to the last-named term one must count the Basmala which comes before the Sūra as a verse on its own, to make up the total of seven verses (= *mat͟hānī*).

While the other Sūras are arranged fairly accurately according to length (that is to say, the longer they are the nearer the beginning they are to be found, the shorter they are, the nearer the end) the Fātiḥa, despite its shortness, is prefaced to the Ḳur'ān as a sort of introductory prayer. Like the last two Sūrās (*al-mu'awwid͟hatān*), it is said not to have been preserved originally in the Codex of Ibn Mas'ūd. It is markedly liturgical in character, as is also shown by the use of the first person plural (verses 5 and 6). Its chronological position (within the Mecca period) cannot be established more precisely.

The Fātiḥa is an indispensible component of the prayer-ritual. It must be recited at the beginning of every *rak'a*, that is to say at least seventeen times a day (twice at the morning *ṣalāt*, three times at the sunset *ṣalāt*, and four times at each of the other three hours of prayer). It is often said at other times too. "With this recitation a seal is put on almost all important resolutions, almost all prayer formulae at the holy places are closed, and all joyful news is welcomed: while tradesmen who cannot come to terms over the price of goods seek in the united recitation of the fâtihah new strength for a decision" (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 1931, 29). On many tombs there is an inscription asking the traveller visiting the spot to pray a *fātiḥa* for the soul of the dead man (H. Ritter, *Meer der Seele*, 1955, 317). In some respects, therefore, the *fātiḥa* may be compared with the Lord's Prayer in Christian practice. However, H. Winkler's attempt to show that the one is derived from the other must be said to have failed (*ZS*, vi, 1928, 238-46). M. Gaster's guess that the Fātiḥa is an imitation of the Samaritan Enṣira (*EI*[1], iv, art. Samaritans) is equally unconvincing. Buk͟hārī and Muslim tell of a sick man who was cured by exorcism with the *umm al-kitāb*. There are numerous examples of the *fātiḥa* being used as a powerful prayer in the making of amulets. The *sawāḳiṭ al-fātiḥa*, that is, the seven letters which are significant by their absence from the *fātiḥa*, play an important part in this. Al-Būnī gives the requisite instructions in his book of magic *S͟hams al-ma'ārif*.

In certain Arab countries, particularly in North Africa, the term *fātiḥa* (or *fatḥa*) is used to mean a prayer ceremony in which the arms are stretched out with the palms upwards, but without any recitation of the first Sūra (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 1931, 29, note; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, 1926, i, 186, note). Philipp Vassel gives as a translation "prayer with open hands" (*MSOS*, v, 1902, ii, 188). But it seems probable that even this prayer-ceremony is called after the first Sūra, and that originally it involved a recitation of the *fātiḥa* which only subsequently and as a result of much repetition disappeared to be replaced by a silent prayer.

Bibliography: Buk͟hārī, *Id͟jāra*, 16; *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, 1; *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, 9; *Ṭibb*, 33 f.; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, 34-44; *Salām*, 65 f.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 1321, i, 35-66; Zamak͟hs͟harī, *Kas͟hs͟hāf*, Cairo 1373/1953, i, 1-15; Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, Cairo 1317, i, 54 f.; ii, 152; *Gesch. des Qor.*, i², 1909, 110-7; Blachère, *Le Coran*, i, 1949, 125-7; A. Jeffery, *A variant text of the Fātiḥa*, in *MW*, xxix (1939), 158-62; al-Būnī, *S͟hams al-ma'ārif*, Cairo 1319, 68 f., 71, 95-9; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 159, 211 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, 1931, *passim*; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, i and ii, 1926, *passim*; J. Jomier, *La place du Coran dans la vie quotidienne en Égypte*, in *IBLA*, xv (1952), 131-65, 149; H. Winkler, *Fātiḥa und Vaterunser*, in *ZS*, vi (1928), 238-46.

(R. Paret)

AL-**FĀTIK** [see NAD͟JĀḤ, BANŪ].

FĀṬIMA, daughter of Muḥammad and K͟hadīd͟ja, wife of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, mother of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, was the only one of the Prophet's daughters to enjoy great renown. She became the object of great veneration by all Muslims. This may be because she lived closest to her father, lived longest, and gave him numerous descendants, who spread throughout the Muslim world (the other sons and daughters of Muḥammad either died young or, if they had descendants, these soon died out); or it may be because there was reflected upon her, besides the greatness of her father, the historical importance of her husband and her sons; or because, as time went on, the Muslims attributed to her extraordinary qualities. Throughout the Muslim world, as is well known, it is customary to add to her name the honorific title al-Zahrā', "the Shining One", and she is always spoken of with the greatest respect; but it was above all the S͟hī'īs who surrounded her with a halo of beliefs and glorified her some centuries after her death. That Fāṭima—a woman who, unlike other women associated with the Prophet, remained on the fringe of the great events of the early years of Islam and hence receives little attention in the historical sources—should be exalted to the level of legend, presents no problem to the believer: Western scholars, on the other hand, have set themselves to recover the real Fāṭima from the haze which envelops her. Did she really possess merits so special as to explain her posthumous fame, or is this fame to be attributed to a complex of circumstances which includes the human tendency to render extreme veneration to Woman? Two eminent European orientalists, Father Henri Lammens and Louis Massignon, have presented diametrically opposed judgements of Fāṭima.

The former, in *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, has sketched, in sparkling and lively style, ingeniously but not without malice, a thoroughly gloomy portrait of the daughter of the Prophet: as he describes her, Fāṭima becomes a woman devoid of attraction, of mediocre intelligence, completely insignificant, little esteemed by her father, ill-treated by her husband, "caractère chagrin et perpétuellement voilé de deuil", "ombre gémissante de femme", anaemic, often ill, prone to tears, who died perhaps of consumption. It is profitable to read the criticism of this thesis by G. Levi Della Vida, in *RSO*, vi (1913), 536-47 and C. H. Becker, *Grundsätzliches zur Leben-Muhammed-Forschung*, in *Islamstudien*, i, 520-7 = *Prinzipielles zu Lammens' Sirastudien*, in *Isl.*, iv (1913), 263-9.

Massignon, on the other hand, has made Fāṭima sublime, elevating her to a position often reminiscent of that which the Virgin Mary holds among Christians. He accuses Lammens of having contented himself with putting together isolated fragments of anecdotes without attempting to arrange them in plausible patterns so as to bring them to life. "Yet it

is only this method", he says, "which allows us to understand how Fāṭima's intuitive actions (hardly consciously performed) have, throughout the collective history of Islam, penetrated the tangle of deceptions, accommodations and theories". Fāṭima, as he conceives her, is the Woman whose soul was unappreciated during her lifetime, who enjoyed privileges (*k̲h̲aṣā'iṣ*) accorded her by her father; she is Mistress of the Tent of hospitality, the Hostess of the Prophet's freedmen and of the non-Arab converts, and, as such, she represents the beginnings of universal Islam (*La notion*, 118 f.). To avoid any misrepresentation of Massignon's conception, we reproduce verbatim some of the concluding sentences of his *Mubāhala*. According to him, Fāṭima had a "vie secrète ... voilée bien au delà de la jalousie de ʿAyisha, par une autre Jalousie, celle de Dieu. Vie de compassion intérieure, de larmes, prières pour les morts (à Uḥud) et dans les cimetières, voeux de jeûne, choses de peu de poids pour des théologiens philosophes ou canonistes. Vie qui les survole et les surplombe en Islam, comme une menace, de plus en plus imminente, de la Grâce de Dieu: du Voeu secret de la Femme, Vierge ou Mère qui transcende tous les axiomes et serments des hommes. L'hyperdulie des âmes en douleur, en Islam, pour Fāṭima, n'est selon le Coran lui-même qu'une figure de l'hyperdulie mariale ...". This interpretation of the figure of Fāṭima will doubtless satisfy the mystic who lives in a world of extraordinary religious experiences and, perhaps, the scholar concerned with religious problems, because it gives a psychologico-religious explanation for the origin and development of the legend of the daughter of the Prophet and bridges the gap between legend and reality, as Lammens's book fails to do; but it cannot escape the objections of the historian, who will consider that the author subordinates the facts to beliefs about Fāṭima which appeared only later.

In the following survey will be found, placed in chronological order, arranged schematically, and accompanied sometimes by a commentary, the references to Fāṭima which can be collected from the sources belonging to the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries and the first half of the 4th/10th century (particularly al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, Ibn Saʿd and collections of *ḥadīt̲h̲s* regarded as canonical by the Sunnīs, for Ibn His̲h̲ām and the historians had little occasion to concern themselves with Fāṭima, so obscure was the life that she led; later sources such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's *Istīʿāb*, Ibn al-At̲h̲īr's *Usd al-g̲h̲āba*, Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar's *Iṣāba*, the *Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya* and the *Ta'rīk̲h̲ al-k̲h̲amīs*, have purposely been ignored, the aim being to get as near as possible, if not to the reality, at least to the time when Fāṭima lived). In the survey some apparently trivial facts have been mentioned: this is because they had, particularly among the S̲h̲īʿīs, unforeseen developments; Fāṭima's trousseau, for example, became the subject of Persian religious dramas, the famous *taʿziyas*.

The Historical Fāṭima

Birth and childhood. The date of Fāṭima's birth is uncertain; however that indicated as most probable is the year of the re-building of the Kaʿba, *i.e.*, five years before the beginning of the Prophet's mission. This implies, as will appear, that the girl was married when she was over 18, a rather unusual age for an Arab bride. But if we take her birth as being a few years later (see al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 19) we encounter another difficulty—that when she was born her mother K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a would have been over fifty. The question of Fāṭima's age is treated at some length in Lammens's book (8-14). There is also some uncertainty as to Fāṭima's place in the sequence of Muḥammad's daughters, who are generally listed in the order: Zaynab, Ruḳayya, Umm Kult̲h̲ūm, Fāṭima. Of her childhood and her life at Mecca two episodes only are related: (1) she was overcome by grief at her mother's death, and the Prophet consoled her by saying that D̲j̲ibrīl had come down to tell him that God had built for K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a in Paradise a pavilion of brilliant pearls (*ḳaṣab*; see Lane, s.v., 2529 f.), free of weariness and noise (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 35); (2) she removed the refuse which ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ, one of the Ḳurays̲h̲ most hostile to Islam, had flung over the Prophet while he was at prayer, and her indignation led her to curse the offender (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, ed. Krehl, ii, 300).

Journey from Mecca to Medina and betrothal. After the Hid̲j̲ra, Muḥammad moved his daughters Fāṭima and Umm Kult̲h̲ūm and his wife Sawda bint Zamaʿa from Mecca to Medina, charging his adopted son Zayd b. Ḥārit̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and Abū Rāfiʿ to go and fetch them, giving them two camels and a sum of money. There is however a completely different version of this: al-ʿAbbās escorted these women to Medina and the departure was not a peaceful one, for al-Ḥuwayrit̲h̲ b. Nuḳayẓ b. Wahb prodded their camels, causing them to be thrown to the ground, for which act, it is said, he was killed after the occupation of Mecca. On the betrothal of Fāṭima and ʿAlī the sources give much information, but, as usual, they do not completely agree. Both Abū Bakr and ʿUmar had asked for Fāṭima's hand, but Muḥammad had refused, saying that he was waiting for the moment fixed by destiny (*ḳaḍā'*: Ibn Saʿd, viii, 11). ʿAlī did not dare to put forward his proposal because of his poverty, and it was Muḥammad who made his task easier; he reminded him that he owned a breast-plate which, if sold, would provide him with enough money for the bridal gift (*mahr*). ʿAlī, adding to the breast-plate some other objects and a camel or a ewe, raised the very modest sum of 480 dirhams or thereabouts. Of this money he spent, on Muḥammad's advice, one-third or two-thirds on perfumes, and the rest on objects necessary for the household. When Muḥammad informed his daughter of the promise which he had made to ʿAlī, Fāṭima (according to Ibn Saʿd) said nothing, and her silence was interpreted by the Prophet as consent (according to other sources, she protested and her father had to console her by saying that he had married her to that member of the family who was the most learned and wise, and who had been the first to embrace Islam).

Marriage. The accounts are at variance concerning the year and the month of the marriage and its consummation: the first or second year of the Hid̲j̲ra, more likely the latter. According to some sources the consummation was postponed for a few days or for a few months, and some say that it did not take place until ʿAlī's return from the expedition of Badr. To celebrate their marriage, the bridegroom prepared a feast, Muḥammad having told him that this was necessary; the Anṣār gave their contributions in *d̲h̲ura*, and ʿAlī killed a sheep. Two wives of the Prophet, ʿĀ'is̲h̲a and Umm Salama, arranged the house and prepared the wedding-feast. It is said that at this time ʿAlī was 25 and Fāṭima between 15 and 21. The sources give a rather long account of a rite inaugurated by the Prophet: having warned the bridal pair to expect him, Muḥammad went to their

house on the wedding-night, asked for water in a jar, washed his hands in it (or spat in it, or spat back into it the water he had used to rinse his mouth) and sprinkled with it the breast (the shoulders and the forearms) of ʿAlī and of Fāṭima; finally he invoked God's blessing on them.

Poverty of the household. At night the newly-married pair lay on the fleece of an untanned sheepskin, which contained camel fodder during the day; for a covering they used an old piece of striped Yemenī cloth, which was not large enough to cover both feet and head. The pillow was of leather stuffed with *līf* (palm fibres); the trousseau was indeed meagre: a goatskin bottle, a sieve, a duster, a cup. Muḥammad had made some wedding-gifts: a velvet garment (*k͟hamla* or *k͟hamīl*), two pitchers, a leather bottle, a pillow and some bunches of fragrant herbs. Fāṭima, having no maid-servants, ground the corn herself, which gave her blisters; ʿAlī, to earn a little money, drew water from the wells and watered other people's land; because of this hard work he complained of pains in the chest. One day, the Prophet having received some slaves, ʿAlī sent Fāṭima to ask for one, and, as his wife lacked the courage to make this request, he went with her himself but met with a refusal. "I cannot allow the *ahl al-ṣuffa* [*q.v.*] to be tormented with hunger", exclaimed the Prophet, "I shall sell the slaves and spend the money to help them". To console his daughter and son-in-law, Muḥammad went later to their house and taught them some litanies (so many repetitions of *Allāh akbar*, so many of *al-ḥamdu li'llāh*, so many of *subḥān Allāh*), and ʿAlī did not fail to repeat them every night before going to sleep.

There seems no reason to reject the *ḥadīt͟h*s which speak of the poverty of the household of ʿAlī and Fāṭima; only its duration must be limited to the first years of their marriage; many members of the community were just as poor and it was only after the occupation of K͟haybar that the situation improved for ʿAlī and Fāṭima, as for a good number of Muslims, for they then received shares in the produce of the rich oasis and ʿĀʾis͟ha could exclaim: "Now we shall eat our fill of dates".

Fāṭima's house after the marriage. ʿAlī built a dwelling not far from that of the Prophet but, as Fāṭima wanted to live nearer to her father, the Medinan al-Ḥārit͟ha b. al-Nuʿmān gave up his own house to them.

Sons of ʿAlī and Fāṭima. Al-Ḥasan was born in 2/624 (but in this case the consummation of the marriage cannot have taken place after Badr!) or in 3/625, in Ramaḍān; al-Ḥusayn was conceived 50 days after the birth of al-Ḥasan and born in 4/626, in the first days of S͟haʿbān. Besides these two sons and a third, Muḥassin (or Muḥsin), still-born, Fāṭima had two daughters, who were called by the names of two of their aunts: Umm Kult͟hūm and Zaynab [see further ʿALIDS].

Disputes between ʿAlī and Fāṭima, and Muḥammad's intervention. ʿAlī and Fāṭima did not always live in harmony. ʿAlī treated his wife with too much harshness (*s͟hidda*, *g͟hilāẓ*), and Fāṭima went to complain to her father. There are some *ḥadīt͟h*s which are real vignettes of family life, describing in a vivid and fresh manner how the Prophet intervened and how his face shone with satisfaction after the reconciliation of those dear to him. The most serious disputes between the pair arose when the Banū His͟hām b. al-Mug͟hīra of the Ḳurays͟h suggested to ʿAlī that he should marry one of their women. ʿAlī did not reject the proposal, but Muḥammad, when some of the tribe came to sound him on the matter, came to the defence of his daughter. "Fāṭima", he said, "is a part of me" (*baḍʿa minnī*) and whoever offends her offends me" (al-Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, i, 403; al-Tirmid͟hī, ii, 319, etc.) or "what angers her angers me also" (this *ḥadīt͟h* has many variants which, however, do not much change the meaning). It seems that at the same time ʿAlī was asking in marriage a daughter of Abū D͟jahl nicknamed al-ʿAwrāʾ (the One-eyed). Muḥammad protested from the *minbar* against ʿAlī, who proposed to shelter under one roof the daughter of the Apostle of God and the daughter of the enemy of God (*i.e.*, Abū D͟jahl). On this occasion also the Prophet pronounced the phrase: *Innahā baḍʿa minnī* ("she is indeed a part of me"), and added that if ʿAlī wanted to accomplish his project he must first divorce Fāṭima (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, iv, 326; al-Buk͟hārī, ed. Krehl, ii, 440, etc.). Some authors have deduced from this that monogamy was one of the *k͟haṣāʾiṣ* of the daughter of the Prophet.

The name Abū Turāb, "the man of dust", given to ʿAlī has, among other explanations, one connecting it with the disputes between ʿAlī and Fāṭima: instead of answering his wife in anger, ʿAlī would go out of the house and put dust on his head; Muḥammad, seeing him do this, gave him the famous nickname.

Historical events in which Fāṭima was involved during the life of Muḥammad. The following is all that can be collected: (1) After the battle of Uḥud Fāṭima tended Muḥammad's wounds and was charged by him and by ʿAlī to clean their bloodstained swords; after this it became her custom to go to pray on the graves of those killed in this battle; (2) Abū Sufyān, foreseeing the occupation of Mecca, sought her and ʿAlī's intercession with Muḥammad (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1623); (3) she received a share of the products of K͟haybar and ʿAlī another, separate, share; (4) she went to Mecca while the town was being occupied, and on this occasion Abū Sufyān begged her to give him her protection, but she refused and refused also to allow her child to do so, the Prophet having prohibited this (al-Wāḳidī, 324); in 10/632 she performed the *ʿumra*; (5) with her husband and her sons, Fāṭima played an important part in the *mubāhala*, an episode which had strong repercussions among the S͟hīʿa [see MUBĀHALA].

Fāṭima as one of the five members of the *Ahl al-bayt*. A verse of the Ḳurʾān (XXXIII, 33) says: "God wishes only to remove from you the uncleanness, O People of the House" (*Ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*]). The preceding verses contain instructions to the wives of the Prophet, and there the verbs and pronouns are in the feminine plural; but in this verse, addressed to the People of the House, the pronouns are in the masculine plural. Thus, it has been said, it is no longer a question of the Prophet's wives, or of them alone. To whom then does it refer? The expression *Ahl al-bayt* can only mean "Family of the Prophet". The privilege accorded by God to the latter (originally entirely spiritual, but later not merely so) naturally led all the relatives of Muḥammad—those nearest to him, those belonging to the collateral branches of the family, and beyond this such groups of the community as the Anṣār, or indeed the whole of the community—to claim a place in the *Ahl al-bayt*. But there is a story given in many traditions according to which Muḥammad sheltered under his cloak (or under a covering or under a sort of tent), in varying circumstances

(including the occasion when he was preparing for the *mubāhala*), his grandchildren al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, his daughter Fāṭima and his son-in-law ʿAlī; and so it is these five who are given the title *Ahl al-kisāʾ* [*q.v.*] or "People of the Mantle". Efforts have been made to include among the latter Muḥammad's wives; in general however the number of the privileged is limited to these five. Now according to the Shīʿa, without exception, but also according to the pro-ʿAlid Sunnīs, the *Ahl al-bayt* are identical with the *Ahl al-kisāʾ*. The verse quoted above (XXXIII, 33) is associated with Fāṭima and ʿAlī on one other occasion: it is related that Muḥammad, rising early in the morning to perform the *ṣubḥ*, was in the habit of knocking on their door and using this verse to remind them of the duty of prayer.

During the Prophet's illness. Fāṭima, who loved her father greatly, was much grieved by his illness and wept and lamented. During this period she received a confidence from Muḥammad. It is ʿĀʾisha who relates the episode in many *ḥadīth*s: she saw Fāṭima weep when her father spoke to her in secret and then smile. After the Prophet's death, she asked her what her father had said to her on that occasion; Fāṭima replied that Muḥammad had told her that Djibrīl came down once a year to bring him the Ḳurʾān, but that, as he had recently come down twice, he deduced that the end of his life was near, then he had added that she, Fāṭima, would be the first member of the family to join him in the next world. Then Fāṭima had wept. But Muḥammad had said to her: "Are you not pleased to be the *sayyida* of the women of this people?" (or "of the women of the Believers", or "of the women of the world", or "of the women of Paradise"—all these variants are found in the *ḥadīth*s). Then Fāṭima had smiled. As will be seen, this story is interesting because of the developments it underwent among the Shīʿa.

After the death of the Prophet. Fāṭima, a timid woman who had never taken part in political matters, found herself indirectly involved in some of the events which followed the death of the Prophet. After his election, Abū Bakr made his way with some companions towards Fāṭima's house, where a number of Anṣār and of ʿAlī's supporters had assembled. The newly-elected Khalīfa wanted to obtain the homage of these dissidents also, but ʿAlī went forward to meet him with sword drawn, and Fāṭima, when her husband had been disarmed by ʿUmar and the party was preparing to enter the house, raised such cries and threatened so boldly to uncover her hair that Abū Bakr preferred to withdraw (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 141). There are other accounts of the same episode: Fāṭima saw in ʿUmar's hand a brand, and asked him if he intended to set fire to her door because of his hostility to her (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 586). In one book, *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa* (which is certainly very early, even though the attribution to Ibn Ḳutayba is wrong), the episode is related with more serious details: ʿUmar really had evil intentions; he had wood brought and threatened to burn the house with everything in it. When he was asked, "Even if Fāṭima is there?", he replied in the affirmative. Then those who were in the house came out and rendered the homage demanded—except for ʿAlī. Fāṭima, appearing at the door, reproached them: "You have left the body of the Apostle of God with us and you have decided among yourselves without consulting us, without respecting our rights!" When Abū Bakr and ʿUmar repeated their attempts to make ʿAlī comply, she is said to have cried out, "O father! O Apostle of God! What evils we have suffered at the hands of ʿUmar and Abū Bakr after your death!" When they came back to her house and asked permission to enter, she again refused, and it was ʿAlī who let them in. Fāṭima turned her face to the wall. If one is to believe another account preserved in the same book (12), Fāṭima played an active part at the time when the decision was being made on the choice of a successor to the Prophet in the capacity of head of the community: she went on horseback with ʿAlī to the meeting-places of the Anṣār to ask them to support her husband; but the Anṣār replied that ʿAlī had come to them too late, when they were already committed to Abū Bakr. We have spent some time on these episodes because (1) even if they have been expanded by invented details, they are based on fact; (2) they represent Fāṭima's only political action; (3) to the motives for the hatred felt by the Shīʿa for ʿUmar they add one more, true or false: his treatment of the daughter of the Prophet.

Fāṭima's claim to Muḥammad's estate. After the death of her father, Fāṭima asked Abū Bakr to hand over the possessions of Muḥammad which he was holding. It is not clear whether these possessions included the property which Mukhayriḳ, the Jew converted to Islam, had given to the Prophet at Medina on the land of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr; probably there was no dispute about this. It was over the land of Fadak [*q.v.*] and over the share of Khaybar [*q.v.*] that Abū Bakr met Fāṭima's claims with a flat refusal, asserting that he had heard the Prophet say that he had no heirs and that everything that he left would be *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*]. Nor is it known whether the claim to the inheritance was put forward by Fāṭima alone or together with al-ʿAbbās; the examination of many *ḥadīth*s leads us to believe that the attempt to gain possession of this property was made twice and with different arguments, on the first occasion probably by both of them, on the second by Fāṭima alone. This dispute between such a prominent person as Abū Bakr and the daughter of the Prophet has always been disagreeable to Muslims; consequently they have tried to minimize its gravity by maintaining, for example, that Fāṭima claimed Fadak intending to give the rents of it to the poor (Shīʿī sources add: to the *mawālī*); they like to depict Abū Bakr as grieved by the duty of refusing a request of the daughter of the Prophet, but forced to act thus by the conduct of Muḥammad himself. The Shīʿa naturally do not forgive the Caliph for having disbelieved Fāṭima, who maintained that she had received Fadak as a gift from her father, and have continued for centuries to argue about this question.

Illness and death of Fāṭima. Fāṭima fell ill soon after her father's death. According to some sources she was reconciled during her illness with Abū Bakr, who had asked to visit her, but, according to the majority she remained angry to the end. There is an oft-repeated story about the last moments of her life: she prepared for death by washing herself, putting on coarse garments and rubbing herself with balm, and she charged her sister-in-law, Asmāʾ b. ʿUmays, the widow of Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, who was helping her with these tasks, that no-one should uncover her after her death; then she lay down on a clean bed in the middle of the room and awaited the end. As she had complained about the custom of covering the dead with a material which revealed their forms, Asmāʾ prepared for her a bier made, in the manner of the Abyssinians, of wood and fresh palm-leaves.

Fāṭima was content with this. Unfortunately these accounts which would allow us to assume that Fāṭima was gentle, modest, and calm in the face of death are contradicted by others: according to al-Yaʿḳūbī (ii, 128-30), she rebuked severely the Prophet's wives and the women of the Ḳuraysh who came to visit her during her illness; through Asmāʾ she prevented ʿĀʾisha from entering; her anxiety to hide her form from people's gaze was prompted by shame at her extreme thinness (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2436); it was ʿAlī who washed the body, or it was she herself who begged her husband to perform this task. It is difficult, if not impossible, to choose among these different accounts.

There is the same uncertainty over the date of her death as surrounds other events of her private life: it was certainly the year 11, but the month is doubtful; the commonest report is that she died six months after the Prophet. Her death was kept secret and her burial took place by night. According to most versions, neither Abū Bakr nor ʿUmar was informed; but there are accounts which relate that Abū Bakr recited the ritual prayers over Fāṭima's grave. Nearly all the sources agree that Fāṭima was buried in the Baḳīʿ, and some specify the place of her grave: near the mosque called, from the name of the woman who built it, Masdjid Ruḳayya, at the corner of the *dār* of ʿAḳīl (ʿAlī's brother), seven cubits from the road etc., but according to other sources, either immediately after the burial or some time later, the exact position of the grave was no longer known. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 165) asserts that there was a tomb which bore an inscription giving as the names of those buried there Fāṭima and three ʿAlids (he is however the only one to give this detail), but al-Muḳaddasī (*BGA*, iii, 46) includes the tomb of the daughter of the Prophet in the list of places on which there is disagreement, for it was also possible that Fāṭima had been buried "in the room" (*fi 'l-ḥudjra*). Nowadays Shīʿī pilgrims, to pay homage to the *sayyidat al-nisāʾ*, visit three places: her house, the Baḳīʿ and the space in the Great Mosque between the *rawḍa* and the tomb of the Prophet. For a small *maḳṣūra* which may mark her place of burial and "Fāṭima's Garden", also in the Great Mosque, see *EI*[1], art. al-Madīna, 90 f.

Physical and moral attributes. Fāṭima had a very strange *kunya*: Umm Abīhā, "mother of her father". The explanations given for this name make us suspect that it originated among the Shīʿa, all the more so that it is apparently mentioned only in the more recent sources, *e.g.*, the *Usd al-ghāba*. An Imāmī source says that she was called "mother of her father" because she learned through a revelation that the name of her very last descendant would be Muḥammad, like that of her father. There are other explanations, for which see below, sections on The celestial apple and Fāṭima's names. Given the connexions between the cult of Mary among Christians and that of Fāṭima among Muslims (to which Massignon has drawn attention), it is possible that the title arose as a counterpart to that of "Mother of God".

Fāṭima was certainly not a beautiful woman, for the sources are silent about her appearance, whereas they mention the beauty of her sister Ruḳayya; they confine themselves to reporting that she resembled the Prophet in her gait. In any case she cannot have appeared the weak and sickly woman which Lammens took her to be on the strength of two *ḥadīths*, which may refer to purely temporary situations, for there are other facts (her bearing five children; her discharge of arduous household tasks, her two journeys to Mecca) which prove that Fatima enjoyed fairly good health.

In attempting to form a judgement on the moral qualities of Fāṭima we encounter many obstacles. When some accounts permit us to attribute to her a certain characteristic, there are others which contradict it. It seems certain that she was hard-working, content to perform her domestic work diligently and patiently. She appears to have taken pleasure in helping others, and the Prophet's wives used her as a spokesman to express their resentment over the preference which he showed for ʿĀʾisha; we can easily imagine, however, that she performed this service willingly, for she herself had no great fondness for ʿĀʾisha. On this occasion she proved incapable of defending the case for which she had approached her father, for when he asked her: "Do you not love what I love?" (meaning ʿĀʾisha), she quickly agreed that she too loved her; so the Prophet's wives had to choose a less timorous advocate from among their number to maintain their rights. Are we then to conclude from this and other accounts that Fāṭima was timid? On the day of her marriage she stumbled on the hem of her garment, but we see her support her husband so boldly against Abū Bakr that there is no question of timidity, and she appears as a woman of quite different calibre. There is no doubt that she was meek and submissive towards the Prophet, but what was her attitude to her husband? It was really she who prevented ʿAlī from taking a second wife, and in the affair of the inheritance, when it was a question of defending the interests of the family, although she was obliged to yield to the wishes of the head of the State, she did it unwillingly, refusing to acknowledge the validity of Abū Bakr's decision.

The Fāṭima of Legend

As no systematic study of this subject exists, we have limited ourselves to selecting the main themes of the Fāṭima legend from three early Shīʿī works (see *Bibl.*) in which some chapters are devoted to the daughter of the Prophet. The authors are: (1) Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī who, according to the editor of his *Dalāʾil al-imāma*, lived in the 4th/10th century (siglum: IRṬ); (2) Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who began to write in 448/1056-7 the work which we have used and which was one of the sources of al-Madjlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār* and of al-Baḥrānī's *Madīnat al-maʿādjiz*; he presents some stories about Fāṭima which differ strikingly from those of the other sources (siglum: ḤʿAW); (3) Ibn Shahrāshūb, who died in 588/1192. Of the three works, his *Manāḳib Āl Abī Ṭālib* yields the most information and quotes form the largest number of sources (siglum: ISh).

Khadīdja's pregnancy and accouchement. Khadīdja was despised by the Ḳuraysh because of her marriage with a poor man from a social class lower than her own (IRṬ, 8). On going in to her, Muḥammad told her that Djibrīl had informed him that she would bear a daughter, a pure and blessed soul, and that from this daughter would spring his posterity and the *imāms* destined to be the rulers on earth when his own inspiration ended (IRṬ, 8). Fāṭima, while still in her mother's womb, conversed with her (IRṬ, 8; ḤʿAW, 48, 51; ISh, 119). Because of their contempt for Khadīdja, the women of the Ḳuraysh refused to help her during her confinement. So four women came down from Paradise to assist her: Sāra, Āsiya, Mary and Ṣafūrāʾ, daughter of Shuʿayb and wife of Mūsā. Ten houris came with a bowl and a jug filled with water from the Kawthar, and the first of

them washed the new-born child, wrapped her in perfumed fine linen, and handed her, pure, purified, fortunate, blessed also in her posterity, to Khadīdja, who suckled her (IRṬ, 9; Ḥ'AW, 48; ISh, 119). Fāṭima grew as much in a month as other children in a year (IRṬ, 9; ISh, 119). The women who had come to assist her mother departed as soon as they had completed their task, but before they went the new-born child greeted them by their names (Ḥ'AW, 48). At the moment of Fāṭima's birth, light spread over the sky and the earth, to the West and to the East (hence her title al-Zahrā') (IRṬ, 9; ISh, 119). Immediately after her birth Fāṭima uttered the profession of faith, praised God, recognized the imamate of 'Alī, recited the Ḳur'ān and predicted future events (IRṬ, 9; Ḥ'AW, 48, 51; ISh, 119).

Betrothal. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf wished to marry Fāṭima and offered an enormous *mahr* (100 camels loaded with Coptic cloth, and 10,000 *dīnārs*). 'Uthmān then offered the same *mahr*, and advanced the argument that he had embraced Islam earlier than 'Abd al-Raḥmān. This flaunting of wealth angered Muḥammad, who threw at 'Abd al-Raḥmān (or placed on the hem of his garment) pebbles which turned into pearls (a single one of them worth all the riches of 'Abd al-Raḥmān). Djibrīl descended from heaven to announce that 'Alī was to be the husband of Fāṭima, for God had already commanded the angel Riḍwān to adorn the four Paradises and another angel to built a *minbar* of light (IRṬ, 12; ISh, 123).

Marriage of Fāṭima and 'Alī. The Ḳuraysh women criticized Fāṭima's marrying 'Alī, a poor man, but Muḥammad had destined her for him because he had learned through Djibrīl (or through an angel named Maḥmūd) not only that this was the will of God but that the marriage had already taken place in heaven, with God as *walī*, Djibrīl as *khaṭīb* and the angels as witnesses. The *mahr* had been half of the earth (or a fifth, or a quarter) and, in addition, Paradise and Hell (hence Fāṭima enables her supporters to enter the one and consigns her enemies to the other). The *mahr* on earth was only about 500 *dirhams* because it was to serve as *sunna* for the community. Perhaps in order to leave the *mahr* at this low figure, there are some references to a *niḥla* from 'Alī, consisting of a fifth of the earth, two-thirds of Paradise, and four rivers: the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Nile and the Oxus. The tree *Ṭūbā* or the *Sidrat al-muntahā*, at God's command, covered itself with robes, pearls and precious stones, and scattered them in vast quantities; the houris gathered these jewels and will keep them until the Day of Resurrection, for they are Fāṭima's *nithār*. The same tree, according to some accounts, let fall also missives written in light, which the angels gathered up because they are the safe-conducts of the supporters of the 'Alids (IRṬ, 12 f., cf. also 14, 18, 19 f., 23 f.; Ḥ'AW, 48 f.; ISh, 109, 123, 128, 134 f.). When Muḥammad learned this, he called to him 'Ammār b. Yāsir, Salmān, and al-'Abbās and in their presence told 'Alī what God's will was; on his advice, 'Alī sold his breast-plate to Diḥya [*q.v.*], who then made him a present of it (Diḥya = Djibrīl: IRṬ, 14). The marriage in heaven, according to two of our sources, took place forty days before the marriage on earth (or on the night of the *isrā'*). The angel Maḥmūd revealed also the reason for the union: light must be joined to light (*ibid.*).

Trousseau. Muḥammad charged Asmā' bint 'Umays, Umm Salama and a freedwoman, 'Ammār, Abū Bakr and Bilāl to make the purchases necessary for the household of Fāṭima and 'Alī. The list of their purchases is recorded, in some cases with the prices (ISh, 123). Umm Salama bought the mattress-cover of Egyptian cloth which was to be filled with *līf*; Bilāl or 'Ammār saw to the perfumes (IRṬ, 14 f., 26).

The marriage ceremony. During the marriage ceremony on earth, Djibrīl cried from heaven "*Allāhu akbar*"; Muḥammad heard him, and he too, with his Companions, cried "*Allāhu akbar*". This was the first *takbīr* to be called during a wedding procession (*zifāf*) and from that day onwards it became *sunna* (Ḥ'AW, 51). But there is another and stranger story concerning this *takbīr*: Muḥammad mounted Fāṭima on his mule and pushed the animal, while Salmān led it; suddenly there was great confusion in the street: Djibrīl and Mīkhā'īl, each at the head of 70,000 angels, had come down for the ceremony and raised with Muḥammad the cry "*Allāhu akbar!*" (IRṬ, 23, 25).

Gifts from heaven. Djibrīl brought to Muḥammad a clove and an ear of corn from Paradise, announcing that God had commanded him to adorn Paradise for the marriage of Fāṭima and 'Alī (IRṬ, 14, 20). 'Alī, told by Muḥammad to look up into the sky, saw richly-clad maidens bringing presents: these were his own and Fāṭima's future servants in Paradise (IRṬ, 26). When 'Ammār brought to Fāṭima the perfume which Muḥammad had sent him to buy for her, Fāṭima announced that the angel Riḍwān had sent her some from heaven, brought by houris each of whom had in her right hand a fruit and in her left some basil; these gifts were intended for the people of her House and for her supporters (IRṬ, 26). Like Mary who, according to the Ḳur'ān (III, 32/37), received a necessary provision (*rizḳ*), Fāṭima received pomegranates, grapes, apples, quinces, etc., and ate besides things which other creatures had never tasted since the fall of Adam and Eve (ISh, 135). One day Muḥammad entered Fāṭima's house while she was at prayer, and saw behind her a steaming cauldron; he asked what this was and she replied: "Divine Providence" (ISh, 135). Another day 'Alī invited Salmān to the house because Fāṭima had received a gift from heaven and wished to share it with him. Three houris had brought it to her, with a message of sympathy from God while she was weeping for the death of her father. These three houris were called Dharra, Miḳdāda and Salmā, because they had been created for Abū Dharr [*q.v.*], Miḳdād [*q.v.*] and Salmān [*q.v.*] respectively. The gift was a dish of white dates, cooled and so fragrant that Salmān was asked, as he was taking five of them home, whether he had perfumed himself with musk. The dates had no stones; God had created them for Fāṭima beneath His throne from the prayers which Muḥammad had taught her (IRṬ, 29). Fāṭima wished for a ring, and asked it of God during the night-prayer, Muḥammad having taught her that she should make her requests at those times. A mysterious voice informed her that the ring was under the prayer-rug. In a dream Fāṭima saw castles destined for her in Paradise and noticed that the ring had been made from the foot of a bed which was in one of these castles and which had only three feet; but next day Muḥammad told her that the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib should set their attention on the next world and not on earthly things, and ordered her to put the ring back under the rug. In a dream Fāṭima saw the bed, which now again had four feet (ISh, 118). After the death of her father, Fāṭima

received from heaven a book with covers of red chrysolite and pages of white pearl, which contained nothing from the Ḳurʾān, but instruction on all that had been and would be until the Day of Resurrection (in IRṬ, 27, the source which speaks of this book, there is a summary of the information contained in it: it ranged from the numbers of the angels, the Prophets, etc. to the names of places on the earth, statistics of the believers, the events which would take place during 50,000 years, etc.). This book was brought to Fāṭima while she was at prayer, and the angels waited until she had completed her devotions before giving it to her and returning to heaven. Fāṭima read the book, and all—men, *d̲j̲inn*s, birds, beasts, prophets and angels—are bound to obey her. Later the book was handed on to ʿAlī, and after that to the *imām*s (IRṬ, 227 f.).

Physical privileges. Having been born pure and purified (she was a houri from heaven: ḤʿAW, 50), Fāṭima was exempt from the physiological troubles of women: she did not menstruate, and lost no blood during her confinements. She gave birth through the left thigh, while Mary gave birth through the right thigh (ḤʿAW, 48, 51). Her pregnancies lasted only nine hours.

Miracles. Several miracles were worked by Fāṭima: the stone for grinding corn turned without anyone moving it, an angel (Ḳūḳabīl or D̲j̲ibrīl) rocked her baby's cradle. One of her garments, given as a pledge to a Jew by the wife of Zayd b. Ḥārit̲h̲a, gave forth light, and the Jew and eighty other people, astonished at this miracle, embraced Islam (IS̲h̲, 16 f.). When, after the election of Abū Bakr, those who wanted to compel ʿAlī to offer the *bayʿa* made him leave the house, Fāṭima went to the mosque and, standing near her father's tomb, threatened to uncover her head; at that moment Salmān saw the walls of the mosque rise up: "My mistress and my patroness", he cried, "God sent your father in His mercy: you should not bring us misfortune!" The walls then returned to their place (IS̲h̲, 118). When Fāṭima was weeping for her father's death, it was D̲j̲ibrīl himself who consoled her. The miracles continued even after Fāṭima's death, benefiting one of her servants and the descendant of one of her servants (IS̲h̲, 16 f.).

Fāṭima in Paradise. Fāṭima will be the first person to enter Paradise after the Resurrection (IS̲h̲, 110). All will have to lower their gaze when she crosses the Bridge (*ṣirāṭ*) which leads across Hell to Paradise. She will be escorted by seventy houris. In Paradise she will proceed, mounted on a wondrous camel with legs of emerald, eyes of ruby, etc., under a dome of light. It will be D̲j̲ibrīl who leads the camel up to the throne of God. There she will descend and ask God to mete out justice to those who were guilty of the deaths of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. Then God will say to her, "My beloved, daughter of my beloved, ask of me what you will and I will grant it to you". Fāṭima will procure entry into Paradise for all her own people and all her supporters (IS̲h̲, 107-9). She is called al-Zahrāʾ because of the dome of rubies which hangs over her in Paradise—a wonderful dome of immense height (a whole year's journey), upheld in the sky neither suspended from above nor supported from below, with 10,000 doors and 100 angels at each one (IS̲h̲, 111). In Paradise Fāṭima will have a privilege: she will be the sole wife of ʿAlī, while other men will have as many houris as they please (IS̲h̲, 106); it was the houris who told her this (IRṬ, 26; IS̲h̲, 106), and it is out of respect for Fāṭima that there is no mention of houris in Sūra LXXVI, where Paradise is described (IS̲h̲, 106).

The celestial apple. An early story, which goes back at least as far as al-G̲h̲ullābī (d. 298/910) runs as follows: Muḥammad, on being reproached for embracing Fāṭima but not his other daughters, told how D̲j̲ibrīl had presented him with an apple of Paradise, which he had eaten and which had become water in his loins; he then placed it within K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a, who conceived Fāṭima. He finished by saying that he smelled in Fāṭima the fragrance of Paradise. Other similar accounts are given in the same source (ḤʿAW, 49 f.), with slight variants: Muḥammad ate the apple and a date in Paradise during the *miʿrād̲j̲* [*q.v.*]; both were transformed into water in his loins, etc. In IS̲h̲ (135) D̲j̲ibrīl gives Muḥammad a celestial date instead of an apple; the story then continues as above. A notable difference appears when there is introduced into the story the Light which forms the central point of other accounts; the themes then become interwoven: God created the light of Fāṭima and Fāṭima uttered His praises; then He placed the light of Fāṭima in a tree of Paradise, which shone with the splendour of it; Muḥammad, ascending to Paradise, was advised by God to pick the fruit of this tree. God caused its juice to pass into the throat of ʿAlī, and then placed Fāṭima in the loins of Muḥammad, who deposited her in K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a; the latter bore Fāṭima, who was of that light: she knew what was, what would be and what was not (ḤʿAW, 47). This last account (the Light of Fāṭima lodged in the loins of Muḥammad) would explain her *kunya* Umm Abīhā.

The Light and Fāṭima. Muḥammad explained thus the reason for the preference accorded to the People of the House: God, he said, created me and ʿAlī as light, and separated off from our light that of my descendants; then He separated from our light the light of the Throne, and from that of my descendants the light of the sun and of the moon. We teach the angels the *tasbīḥ*, the *tahlīl* and the *taḥmīd* (*i.e.*, the formulas for the praise of God). God then said to the angels: "By My power, My majesty, My generosity, My eminence, I will act", and He created the light of Fāṭima like a lamp, and it is through her that the heavens were illuminated. Fāṭima was called al-Zahrāʾ because the horizon took its light from her (ḤʿAW, 46). This story is of particular interest because, with its description of successive divine emanations, it contains some features characteristic of Ismāʿīlī beliefs. Another story collected by IS̲h̲ (106) also speaks of light, but in a different way: God created Paradise from the light of His countenance; He took this light, and threw it; with a third of it He struck Muḥammad, with another third Fāṭima, and with the remaining third ʿAlī and the People of the House. Whoever is thus struck recognizes the *walāya* [*q.v.*] of the family of Muḥammad.

Fāṭima's names. Attempts have been made to see a significance in the name Fāṭima. As the root has the meaning of "weaning a child", "breaking someone of a habit", she has been said to be so called because she, and her descendants and supporters, will be spared from Hell, or because she was exempt from evil (IS̲h̲, 110, cf. 107), or because she was removed from polytheism (IRṬ, 10). The list of her names in IRṬ (10 f.) consists of nine: Fāṭima, al-Ṣiddīḳa, al-Mubāraka, al-Ṭāhira, al-Zakiyya, al-Raḍiyya, al-Rāḍiya, al-Muḥaddat̲h̲a, al-Zahrāʾ. She was called al-Muḥaddat̲h̲a because the angels spoke to her as to Mary, and she to them; they told her "God has chosen you and purified you; He

has chosen you from among the women of the world". According to Ḥ'AW (46), her names on earth are: Fāṭim (*sic*, in the masculine), Fāṭir, al-Zahrā', al-Batūl, al-Ḥaṣān, al-Ḥawrā', al-Sayyida, al-Ṣiddīḳa, and Maryam al-Kubrā. Ibn Bābūya (d. 381/991) knew of 16 names for Fāṭima on earth and three in heaven, and Ibn Shahrāshūb (133) who records them appends a list of 69 names and attributes which must have served as a litany, for they are linked by the rhymes in groups, usually of three. Among the names listed by Ḥ'AW should be noted Fāṭir, *i.e.*, Creator, for not only is it masculine, but it carried with it a glorification of Fāṭima which seems to be characteristic of the extreme Ismā'īlīs and of aberrant sects such as the Nuṣayrīs (Bausani, 189) rather than of the Imāmīs. Have we here a borrowing by the latter from the former? The belief that Fāṭima is Fāṭir, Creator, would also explain her *kunya* Umm Abīhā.

References to Fāṭima in the Ḳur'ān; her other merits. The Ḳur'ān too is made to contribute to the glorification of Fāṭima, thanks to the exegesis of Shī'ī writers, who maintain that many verses allude to 'Alī and his wife. When the Book speaks of women in general, a hidden reference to Fāṭima is intended: thus in III, 193/195, "I shall not permit to be lost the work of one who works [well] among you, male or female", the "male" is 'Alī and the "female" Fāṭima at the time of the *hidjra*. Similarly they identify with 'Alī and Fāṭima the reference to the creation of man and woman in XCII, 3.

Twelve women are alluded to in the Ḳur'ān without their names being mentioned (*e.g.*, Eve, Sarah, Pharaoh's wife, etc.). There is such an allusion to Fāṭima in LV, 19, which speaks of two seas which God has caused to flow together: this confluence is the reconciliation of 'Alī and Fāṭima after a dispute, for he is the sea of knowledge and Fāṭima the sea of prophecy; the barrier between them, mentioned in the following verse, is the Apostle of God, who prevents 'Alī from distressing himself over the life of this world and Fāṭima from quarrelling with her husband over earthly things; the pearls and the coral of verse 22 are, since they come from these seas, allusions to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (ISh, 101, 102 f.). Each of the women of the Ḳur'ān has a particular quality which is apparent from a phrase in the Book, *e.g.*, Eve has repentance (cf. Ḳur'ān, VII, 22/23), Pharaoh's wife desire (LXVI, 11), Fāṭima *'iṣma* (because of the *mubāhala*, III, 54/61). Ten of these women received a gift from God, Fāṭima's being knowledge. Support for all these, and other, assertions is found in verses of the Ḳur'ān (ISh, 102-4). The best women of Paradise are Fāṭima, Khadīdja, Āsiya bint Muzāḥim, Pharaoh's wife, and Maryam bint 'Imrān (= Mary), but Fāṭima is the *sayyida* par excellence (an angel had announced this to Muḥammad: Ḥ'AW, 51; ISh, 104 f.). Fāṭima is often compared with Mary. On one occasion she asked the angels, "Is not Mary the chosen one?", to which the reply was "Mary is the *sayyida* of her world; God has made you the *sayyida* of the women of this world and the next" (IRṬ, 10); further, Fāṭima had the privilege of being married to a great man in this life and the next (ISh, 105), and thus is superior. And although Mary preserved her virginity, so did Fāṭima, whence her title al-Batūl (also explained, however, as meaning that no woman comparable with her ever existed) (ISh, 134 f.). Fāṭima is numbered among the four best known "returners to God" (*tawwāb* [*q.v.*]): Ādam, Yūnus, Dāwūd and Fāṭima, and it is to her that the Ḳur'ān refers in III, 188/191; the best known "weepers" (*bakkā'* [*q.v.*]) number seven: Ādam, Nūḥ, Ya'ḳūb, Yūsuf, Shu'ayb, Dāwūd, Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and she is the eighth; she had become so accustomed to weep at all times for the death of her father that the people of Medina urged her to devote herself to weeping either by night or by day (ISh, 104).

Fāṭima in the *ta'ziyas*. The rich collection of *ta'ziyas* presented by Enrico Cerulli to the Vatican Library (of which E. Rossi and A. Bombaci have published the Index, and the latter proposes to publish resumés) presents several texts based on episodes of the Fāṭima legend, *e.g.*, her trousseau (Salmān and Abū Dharr are commissioned to make the purchases); her invitation to the wedding of a woman of the Ḳuraysh, which led to the conversion of those present; her hard work to support herself; the misappropriation of Fadak and the violence shown by 'Umar to her and 'Alī; the visit of Abū Bakr and 'Umar during her last illness; her will; her death (a pomegranate is brought to her from heaven); her arrival at the camp of al-Ḥusayn on the 10th Muḥarram to visit the People of the Tent, and on the day following the massacre to see her son's body; various of her miracles, etc. In the introduction to the work mentioned above will be found references to other collections of these Persian sacred dramas, where too, very probably, Fāṭima plays the principal or a leading role.

The cult of Fāṭima today. Popular sympathy for Fāṭima among the Shī'a has caused several feasts to be dedicated to her: that of the *mubāhala* (21, 24 or 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja) is the only canonical one; others, held in private, celebrate her birth (20 Ramaḍān) or her death (3 Djumādā II and 2 Ramaḍān) or an episode of her life: the marriage to which she was invited and for which, she having no suitable garments, Djibrīl clad her in a sumptuous robe and put on her two ear-rings, the one green, foreshowing the poisoning of al-Ḥasan, the other red, a symbol of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn; on seeing her so beautiful the bride died of jealousy, but was at once restored to life by Fāṭima (on these feasts see Massignon, *La notion*, 107-11; on prayers to her, *ibid.*, 102-6). In his book *The wild rue*, Donaldson has introduced some popular tales which do not differ substantially from the accounts preserved in the Arabic and Persian texts. Only that on page 77 seems to offer some new details: after the Resurrection the earth will become a desert; Muḥammad, Fāṭima and the *Imāms* will appear, and Fāṭima will tell the women that all those who have wept for al-Ḥusayn and preserved their tears, thus acquiring great merit, will go to Paradise. Fāṭima will be clad in a garment with a magnificent fringe, the women will cling to it and pass over the Bridge with her in the twinkling of an eye. One further belief may be noted: the Shī'a believe that the "Five" are present at difficult moments of their lives and hear their prayers.

Fāṭima in the beliefs of the Ismā'īlīs. The study of the development of the Fāṭima legend among the Ismā'īlīs and the deviant sects of Islam is more difficult than among the Imāmīs because of their esotericism and because they are split up into numerous groups, each holding varying beliefs; and what is known of these beliefs has not yet been systematically assembled in any one study embracing all the material. Some information on Fāṭima can be drawn from the works of Massignon, and some more

from the writings of Ivanow and of Corbin. Here some general observations may be made: Among the Imāmīs the Fāṭima of legend preserves almost always links with the Fāṭima of history, even in the more fantastic accounts (whose texts, furthermore, contain an admixture of *ḥadīth*s having nothing of the fantastic about them, whether they are from Sunnī or from other collections). In the more extravagant exaltation accorded to Fāṭima by the Ismāʿīlīs these links are often preserved; but in their systems of cosmogony she becomes a secondary element among a host of other gnostic or semi-gnostic elements, and she is then to some extent overshadowed by these and all links with her historical self are generally lost. Among the Ismāʿīlīs and the deviant sects there appear other beliefs, of which we have found no trace in the Imāmī sources, *e.g.*, the identification of Fāṭima with al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā in Jerusalem, with the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, with the rock of Moses which gushed forth miraculous water (the ancestral motif of Water), and the idea that she conceived through the ear and gave birth through the navel, etc. Among the Ismāʿīlīs and the deviant sects there has been a more extensive assimilation of the themes of the Christian devotion to Mary, the Mother of God. There is also, according to Massignon (*La notion* ..., 113 f.), a tendency to identify the figures of Mary and Fāṭima in the style of depicting them in icons (Fāṭima enthroned in heaven, with a diadem, a sword, and ear-pendants).

Although the *Umm al-kitāb*, the curious holy book of groups of Ismāʿīlīs of Central Asia (published and analysed by Ivanow, *REI*, 1932, 419-82; *Isl.*, xxiii (1936), 1-132), is of limited importance—it is almost unknown to the other Ismāʿīlīs—we may summarize here its account of the Creation, noting that it bears a certain resemblance to that of Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb summarized above. God, a being of light (*shakhṣ nūrānī*) before the Creation, with five limbs: hearing, sight, the senses of smell and taste, and speech (which on earth were to become Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn), manifested Himself when the world began in ʿAlī, and then in successive theophanies; that of Fāṭima took place in Paradise after the creation of primordial men as a figure adorned with thousands of colours and seated on a throne with a crown on her head (Muḥammad), two ear-rings in her ears (al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn), and a sword carried in a shoulder-belt (ʿAlī); all the garden of Paradise shone upon the appearance of this radiant figure.

Conclusion. In preparing this article we have taken note of the gaps left unfilled, and therefore indicate here the course that should be followed by future students of the legend of Fāṭima. It would be advisable to collect all the references to the daughter of the Prophet in the Shīʿī *ḥadīth*-collections (*e.g.*, that of al-Kulaynī) and in the *akhbār Fāṭima*, which Āghā Buzurg has listed in his *Dharīʿa* (i, 243 f., 331) and, if they no longer survive, to reconstruct them, at least in part, from the numerous quotations from them in later texts; it will be necessary to establish, from al-Madjlisī, the beliefs accepted by the Ṣafawids, to collect together the ideas of the Ismāʿīlīs, and finally, with the help of al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān or other authors, to establish the esoteric beliefs of the Fāṭimids. Use should be made of the Persian lithographs (excluded from this study as being confused and difficult to consult) as a source for other legendary themes, for it is very probable that the themes developed as time went on. Parallels in Ṣūfī anecdotes should also be studied. Finally, the investigator will have also to interpret the themes, and to trace what connexion they have either with beliefs which existed long before Islam, of which they could be a recrudescence, or with ideas which, although incompatible with Islam, survived in the countries conquered by the Muslims, or with details preserved in *ḥadīth*s and with genuinely Islamic ideas. In our view the last is likely in most cases to prove to be the real connexion, even when the themes have expanded into stories which are completely fantastic.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 121, 776 (Cairo ed. 1937, i, 206; iii, 407); Wāḳidī, ed. Wellhausen, 118 f., 143, 287, 324, 421, and index; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 11-20; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, 125, 269, 324, 390, 400, 402, 403, 404, 405, 414, 415, 559, 583, 586; idem, *Futūḥ*, 30-2; Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 18 (Fāṭima's female ancestors) and index; Ṭabarī, i, 1128, 1140 1272, 1273, 1367, 1426, 1431, 1623, 1624, 1751, 1825, 1869, 3470, iii, 2302 f., 2423, 2434-6, 2440, 2463; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 19, 35, 42, 91, 128 f., 141, 142; Ibn Ḳutayba (attrib.), *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, ed. Rāfiʿī, Cairo 1322/1904, 20-4 (2nd ed., Cairo 1377/ 1957, 12, 13 f.); idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1343-9/1925-30, iv, 70; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1293, ii, 3 f. For *ḥadīth*s, numerous citations in A. J. Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, Leiden 1927, s.v. Fāṭima and also s.v. ʿAlī (the collections with the richest notices on Fāṭima are those of al-Tirmidhī and of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; the former devotes a chapter to *Faḍl Fāṭima bint al-nabī*: *Djāmiʿ*, [Cairo] 1292, ii, 319-21; in Bukhārī the following references are to be consulted: 56, 85, 163, *57*, 1, *62*, 12, 16, 29, *64*, 24, 38, 83, *67*, 123, *69*, 6, 7, *76*, 27, *79*, 43, *80*, 11, *85*, 3); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 146, 156, 157, 161, vi, 55, 56, 165; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Kitāb al-Istīʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318-9, 770-3 = no. 3406; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, s.v. *Fāṭima bint Rasūl Allāh* = v, 519-25, for al-ʿAwrāʾ v, 419; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 724-31 = no. 823, for al-ʿAwrāʾ iv, 715 = no. 791; Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, [Cairo] 1302, i, 313-5, 407 f., 462-4; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, Alexandria 1280, iii, 529, 607-9.

For the *mubāhala*: Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1958- , vi, 478-82; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, Cairo 1308, i, 308 f., and the other *tafsīr*s; a short modern work: ʿUmar Abu 'l-Naṣr, *Fāṭima bint Muḥammad umm al-shuhadāʾ wa Sayyidat al-nisāʾ*, Cairo 1366/1947 (*al-shīʿa al-ūlā fi 'l-Islām*), 22-70; other citations in Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, v, 329. Shīʿī imāmī works: Kulaynī (Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb), *al-Kāfī fī ʿilm al-dīn*, Tehrān 1313/1895-6, 185-7; Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī, *Dalāʾil al-imāma*, Nadjaf 1369/1949, 1-58; Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *ʿUyūn al-muʿdjizāt*, Nadjaf 1369/1950, 46-51; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāḳib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, Nadjaf 1956, iii, 101-40; Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, x-xiii, lith. Tehrān 1305 (the notices on Fāṭima collected officially by the Ṣafawids are in vol. x, *bāb*s 1-6, pp. 2-65: (1) birth, (2) virtues and miracles, (3) habits, including domestic habits, (4) marriage, and relations with ʿAlī, (5) end of her life, (6) revenge and eschatological events. The popular version in Persian of these notices, regarded as canonical, is in: idem, *Djilāʾ al-ʿuyūn*, Tehrān 1332/1953, *bāb* 2, 82-166—birth, virtues, life and miracles, habits, marriage, relations with ʿAlī, death, revenge); Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Ḳāshānī, (= al-Kāshī), *al-Wāfī*, Tehrān 1376/1957, 172 f. For the cano-

nical prayers of the Imāmīs in honour of Fāṭima: Shaykh ʿAbbās Ḳummī, *Kulliyyāt-i mafātīḥ al-djinān*, Tehrān 1316(s.)/1937-8, 41 f., 57, 301, 318, 322-4 (commentary: 244, 428, 429, 488). An Ismāʿīlī work: al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, ed. A. A. A. Fyzee, i, Cairo 1370/1951, 203 (*tasbīḥ* of Fāṭima), 285, and index). Modern authors: Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Marandī, *Madjmaʿ al-nūrayn wa multaḳā al-baḥrayn fī aḥwāl badʿat Sayyid al-thaḳalayn wa umm al-sibṭayn al-ṣiddīḳa al-kubrā al-batūl al-ʿadhrāʾ al-Sayyida Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ*, Tehrān 1328/1907, chaps. 1-23, 26-30, 35-7, 43-59 (cited by Massignon); ʿImād al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī, *Madjmūʿa-i zindigānī-i čahārdah maʿṣūm*, Tehrān 1330 (solar), i, 221-358; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, ii, 535-639; *Nāma-i Fāṭimī*, MS (Rieu, ii, 708: 'a Shīʿite poem on the life of Fāṭimah'); A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, i, 199, 203, ii, 462; L. Caetani, *Annali*, Intr. 160, 1 A.H., § 53, 2 A.H., §§ 17, 102, 3 A.H., § 11, 7 A.H., §§ 42, 47 no. 3, 8 A.H., §§ 80, 203, 11 A.H., §§ 19 n. 1, 37 n. 3, 59, 202-3, 203 n. 1, 205-8, 238; H. Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet. Notes critiques pour l'étude de la Sira*, Rome 1912 (Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici); L. Massignon, *Der gnostische Kultus der Fatima im schiitischen Islam*, in *Eranos Jahrbücher*, 1938, 167 ff.; idem, *La Mubâhala de Médine et l'hyperdulie de Fatima*, Paris 1955; idem, *La notion du voeu et la dévotion musulmane à Fāṭima*, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, ii, 102-26; B. A. Donaldson, *The wild rue: a study of Muhammadan magic and folklore in Iran*, London 1938, 39, 55, 69, 109, 119; A. Bausani, *Persia religiosa*, Milan 1959, 188, 384-6, 390. For the *taʿziyas*: E. Rossi and A. Bombaci, *Elenco di drammi religiosi persiani (fondo Mss. Vaticani Cerulli)*, Vatican 1961 (Studi e testi 209), index s.v. Fāṭima.

(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

FĀṬIMIDS, dynasty which reigned in North Africa, and later in Egypt, from 297/909 until 567/1171.

ʿUbayd Allāh (al-Mahdī), 297-322/909-34.
Al-Ḳāʾim, 322-34/934-46.
Al-Manṣūr, 334-41/946-53.
Al-Muʿizz, 341-65/953-75.
Al-ʿAzīz, 365-86/975-96.
Al-Ḥākim, 386-411/996-1021.
Al-Ẓāhir, 411-27/1021-36.
Al-Mustanṣir, 427-87/1036-94.
Al-Mustaʿlī, 487-95/1094-1101.
Al-Āmir, 495-525/1101-30.
Al-Ḥāfiẓ, 525-44/1130-49.
Al-Ẓāfir, 544-9/1149-54.
Al-Fāʾiz, 549-55/1154-60.
Al-ʿĀḍid, 555-67/1160-71.

The dynasty takes its name from Fāṭima, for the Fāṭimid caliphs traced their origin to ʿAlī and Fāṭima. It is also possible that another Fāṭima, the daughter of Ḥusayn, who transmitted some *ḥadīths* of her grandmother and had foreknowledge of the Mahdī, played a part in the attribution of this name (see L. Massignon, *Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn et l'origine du nom dynastique "Fāṭimites"*, in *Akten des XXIV. intern. Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Munich 1957, 368). It should also be mentioned that the mother of ʿAlī was a Hāshimite called Fāṭima bint Asad (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1328, iv, 380) and that among the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ she is connected with the legend of Salmān (see al-Mokri, *Le "secret indicible..."*, in *JA*, ccl (1962), 375), who plays an important part in Fāṭimid tradition.

According to W. Ivanow (*Ismaili traditions concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1942, Isl. Res. Ass. Series, no. 10, 80), the name Fāṭimiyyūn, which, according to al-Ṭabarī (iii, 2219, *sub anno* 289), had been adopted by the Bedouin Banu ʾl-Aṣbagh of the Syrian desert whose leader was the Ḳarmaṭo-Ismāʿīlī Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh, was the first name of the Ismāʿīlīs. But Massignon (*op. cit.*) reminds us that the name is already found in Bashshār b. Burd, used in a pejorative sense. The origin of the Fāṭimid movement, which in North Africa brought the Fāṭimids to power in the person of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī, must be sought in Ismāʿīlism [see ismāʿīliyya], a Shīʿī doctrine which was at the same time political and religious, philosophical and social, and whose adherents expected the appearance of a Mahdī descended from the Prophet through ʿAlī and Fāṭima, in the line of Ismāʿīl, son of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ.

Genealogy of the Fāṭimids

The Fāṭimids trace their origin to Ismāʿīl, but as they did not announce their genealogy publicly and officially for some time, and as, during the period of the Hidden Imāms, the *satr* [*q.v.*], the names of the imāms between Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī were intentionally left in the dark, several different genealogies became current; with the result that, even today, the origin of the Fāṭimids is still wrapped in obscurity. The enemies of the Fāṭimids denied their descent from ʿAlī and declared that they were impostors. Following the ancient Arab habit of giving a Jewish origin to people they hate (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 204), ʿUbayd Allāh has even been presented as the son of a Jew.

According to the traditional Fāṭimid genealogy, ʿUbayd Allāh was the son of Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. The general anti-Fāṭimid tradition has it that he was the son of Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ, that he was really called Saʿīd, and that it was only in North Africa that he took the name of ʿUbayd Allāh (or ʿAbd Allāh) and claimed to be of ʿAlid descent and to be the Mahdī (on Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ and his son ʿAbd Allāh and their relations with Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ and his grandson Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, see ʿabd allāh b. maymūn).

On the genealogy of the Fāṭimids, the different forms, both anti-Fāṭimid and Ismāʿīlī, in which it has been presented, and the complex problems which it raises and which seem to defy a satisfactory solution, information is to be found in various works: S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, Göttingen 1881; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, Strasbourg 1902-3; De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes*, Leiden 1886; P. H. Mamour, *Polemics on the origin of the Fatimi Caliphs*, London 1924. The question has been studied afresh in more recent works: W. Ivanow, *Ismaili traditions concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, 1942, 154 f., 223 f.; idem, *Ismailis and Qarmatians*, in *JBRAS*, 1940, 70 f.; idem, *The alleged founder of Ismailism*, Bombay 1946, 169 f. (Ism. Soc. Series, no. 1); B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismāʿīlism*, Cambridge 1940 (Arabic translation, Baghdad 1947). Still more recently have appeared: Husayn F. al-Hamdani, *On the genealogy of Fatimid Caliphs*, Cairo 1958, and W. Madelung,

Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), an article which is a continuation of *Fatimiden und Bahrainqarmaten*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959).

We can do no more here than glance at the questions which are discussed in these works and the difficulties which are encountered in studying the origin of the Fāṭimids, considering the many divergences which are found in the sources and the very different standpoints taken by the authors who concern themselves with these questions—even by the Ismāʿīlī writers, in considering whose works we must take into account the very different treatment they give to a question according to whether the work is exoteric or esoteric.

Here are a few of the difficulties which arise: In the Ismāʿīlī sources the series of imāms preceding ʿUbayd Allāh is not everywhere the same and the names do not always agree (see Ivanow, *Rise*, 46 f.). Even the name of the father of ʿUbayd Allāh varies; there is one tradition which presents him as the son not of Ḥusayn but of one Aḥmad. ʿUbayd Allāh appears sometimes as ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, but on the other hand an ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn is considered as a fourth Hidden Imām, not found in the list given above. Was Ḥusayn, the father of ʿUbayd Allāh, the regular imām or was the imām not rather Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, uncle of ʿUbayd Allāh? In that case the uncle would not have been able to hand down the imāmate to ʿUbayd Allāh, since the doctrine decrees that, apart from the case of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, it is transmitted only from father to son. This Muḥammad b. Aḥmad bears also the name of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥākim with the *kunya* Abu ʾl-Shalaʿlaʿ (or Shalaghlagh) and the surname Saʿīd al-Khayr. He is also presented as the father of ʿUbayd Allāh. As ʿUbayd Allāh is also Saʿīd, it can be seen what a source of confusion these different names must have been (see *Rise*, 31, Madelung, *Imamat*, 56, 71, 75, and similarly S. de Sacy and De Goeje).

ʿUbayd Allāh himself gave other versions of his origin than that of the Fāṭimid tradition mentioned above. In a letter to the Ismāʿīlī community of the Yemen (see Madelung, 70), he claims to be descended not from Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar, but from another son of Djaʿfar, ʿAbd Allāh. In the interview which he had with ʿAbdān, the emissary of Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ, as it is reported by Akhū Muḥsin (admittedly a strongly anti-Fāṭimid sharīf), ʿUbayd Allāh claimed a Ḳaddāḥī descent (Madelung, 60).

A further uncertainty lies in the relationship between ʿUbayd Allāh and the second Fāṭimid caliph, Muḥammad Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh. The latter bears the name attributed by tradition to the expected Mahdī who must have the same name as the Prophet; the Ḳāʾim is strictly the Mahdī (the two names are used interchangeably). ʿUbayd Allāh took the title of al-Mahdī, but did he really in his heart consider himself as the expected Mahdī, given that he did not have the necessary characteristics? Al-Ḳāʾim may not have been the son of ʿUbayd Allāh, although the latter always considered him officially as his son. According to the *Ghāyat al-mawālīd* of al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥasan (6th/12th century), he was the son of that fourth Hidden Imām ʿAlī mentioned above (see Ivanow, *Rise*, texts, 37, and Madelung, 77). ʿUbayd Allāh's attitude to Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Ḳāʾim in conferring on him when he entered Raḳḳāda a rank apparently superior to his own (see the facts in Madelung, 66, and see also 72) seems to imply that he considered Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim as the awaited Mahdī. Similar doubts are raised by various other details concerning al-Ḳāʾim (see Ivanow, *Rise*, 50, 204 and the *Sīrat Djaʿfar al-Ḥādjib*, 304, tr. in *Hespéris*, 1952, 120). However it is difficult to be definite on this subject.

Another difficulty is that arising from the contradiction between the official genealogy and that which links the Fāṭimids with Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ. Even in the reign of al-Muʿizz, the fourth Fāṭimid caliph, an attempt was made in certain heterodox Ismāʿīlī circles to reconcile the two genealogies by identifying ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ with the ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar of the Fāṭimid genealogy and thus introducing a non-ʿAlid into the family (see Ivanow, *Rise*, 140; S. M. Stern, *Heterodox Ismāʿīlism at the time of al-Muʿizz*, in *BSOAS*, xvii/i (1955), 12 f.). B. Lewis resolves the contradiction by showing, on the evidence of Ismāʿīlī and Druze works, how it was possible to consider the Ḳaddāḥīs as Fāṭimid imāms, as the result of a spiritual adoption. Among the Ismāʿīlīs spiritual paternity holds an important place beside physical paternity. (It may be recalled that in his letter to the community of the Yemen, ʿUbayd Allāh, who included in the list of the imāms his uncle Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, stated that he himself was called ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad because he was *fiʾl-bāṭin* the son of this Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who transmitted the imāmate to him: see Husayn F. Hamdani, in Madelung, 71-2).

Apart from the real, true imāms, descended from ʿAlī and Fāṭima, and called *mustaḳarr* (literally 'permanent'), there were, says B. Lewis, imāms called *mustawdaʿ*, trustees or guardians of the imāmate (on these two terms see Stern, *op. cit.*, 16), whose function was to "veil" the true imām in order to protect him, and who acted by right of an assignment (*tafwīḍ*) which so to speak allowed them to enter the family of the true imāms. Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ, who had received from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ the charge of his grandson Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, said that his own son ʿAbd Allāh was the spiritual son of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and his heir, and it is by virtue of this that he proclaimed him imām. Thus a series of Ḳaddāḥī imāms is found side by side with a series of ʿAlid imāms. The last Ḳaddāḥī of the series was ʿUbayd Allāh Saʿīd, the *mustawdaʿ* imām of al-Ḳāʾim, the ʿAlid and *mustaḳarr* imām. Thus, in the person of al-Ḳāʾim, the imāmate returned to the ʿAlid family.

For all the questions which arise and which cannot be dealt with here, reference should be made to the very detailed and fully documented article of Madelung on the imāmate in early Ismāʿīlī doctrine, to which we shall return when discussing the religious policy of the Fāṭimids.

From the historical point of view, that which concerns us directly in this question of the genealogy is the attitude of the ʿAbbāsids, who naturally contested the ʿAlid origin of their rivals the Fāṭimids, to whom it gave great prestige. ʿArīb (*sub anno* 302, 51 f.), following al-Ṣūlī, reveals that at Baghdād at this time it was said that the master of the Maghrib was descended from a freedman of Ziyād b. Abīhi's [*q.v.*] chief of police. All the same, it was not until later that official documents appeared, signed by jurists and ʿAlids, one of 402/1011 and the other of 444/1052, which denied that they were of ʿAlid origin (see Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 255; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub annis* 402, 444; Ibn Khaldūn, *Proleg.*, tr. de Slane, i, 39, tr. Rosenthal, i, 45, and *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. ii, 55; al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, Cairo ed., 58 f.; Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin, Cairo ed., iv, 229, v, 53; cf. Goldziher,

Die Streitschrift des Ġazâlî gegen die Bâṭinijja-Sekte, Leiden 1915, 15).

The Sunnī historians are in general not well disposed towards the Fāṭimids. Hardly any of them except al-Maḳrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn pronounce their ʿAlid descent to be authentic. Moreover, the argument advanced by these two writers that ʿUbayd Allāh would not have been persecuted by the ʿAbbāsids if they had not been convinced of the ʿAlid descent of the Fāṭimids is not very convincing, for, ʿAlid or not, he represented ideas which were dangerous to those in power and it was natural that the authorities should harry him. While the supporters of the Fāṭimids refer to their dynasty as ʿAlid (*al-dawla al-ʿalawiyya*: see e.g. al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn, *Sīra*, passim), several Sunnī historians speak of them only as ʿUbaydids and as the ʿUbaydid dynasty. Ibn Ḥamādo (Ḥammād [*q.v.*]) calls them *mulūk Banī ʿUbayd*. Similarly Abu 'l-Maḥāsin speaks of al-Muʿizz al-ʿUbaydī, al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUbaydī.

Foundation of the Dynasty

Whoever ʿUbayd Allāh-Saʿīd may have been, he laid the foundations of the dynasty in North Africa. He lived at Salamiyya in Syria, a centre of Ismāʿīlī propaganda. The way had been prepared for him by the *dāʿīs* [*q.v.*], the Ismāʿīlī missionaries. Ibn Ḥawshab Manṣūr al-Yaman, the *dāʿī* of the Yemen, where he was firmly established, had sent missionaries into North Africa, the last and most important of whom was Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*]. When ʿUbayd Allāh decided to leave Salamiyya, either to escape ʿAbbāsid investigations, or as the result of the obscure affair of a conspiracy against him within the Ismāʿīlī movement (that of the "three Ḳarmaṭī brothers" as Ivanow puts it in *Rise*, 75 f.), he could have gone either to the Yemen, or to North Africa, where the missionary Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī had been working successfully among the Kutāma Berbers since 280/893. He went first to Ramla in Palestine, thence to Egypt, probably in 291/903; then when he was harassed by the ʿAbbāsid governor, and when his followers expected him to set off for the Yemen, he decided to go to North Africa where Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī was occupied in undermining the Aghlabī domination. Being unable to join the missionary at once, he went to Sidjilmāsa where he was put under house arrest, if not actually imprisoned, by the *amīr* of the country. It was there that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, after having made himself master of the Aghlabī capital Raḳḳāda and expelling Ziyādat Allāh in Radjab 296/March 909, came to seek him to lead him in triumph, on 29 Rabīʿ II 297/15 January 910, to Raḳḳāda where he publicly took the titles of Mahdī and of Amīr al-Muʾminīn (on all this, see, besides the historians, the *Sīrat Djaʿfar al-Ḥādjib*, one of the faithful companions of ʿUbayd Allāh, mentioned above).

The African period of the Fāṭimid Caliphate

The first four Fāṭimid caliphs, ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī, al-Ḳāʾim, al-Manṣūr and al-Muʿizz, lived in North Africa, the last until, in 362/973, he left for Egypt, which had been conquered by his general Djawhar [*q.v.*].

During the African period, the Fāṭimid caliphs encountered many difficulties. In North Africa, split between Sunnism, mainly in its Mālikī form, and Kharidjism, in its Ibāḍī and Ṣufrī forms, the new doctrine could not fail to bring trouble. The existence in the Maghrib of two rival Berber groups, the Zenāta in the west and the Ṣanhādja (who included the Kutāma) in the east, was a further disrupting factor. Settled in the centre and the west of the country were two dynasties of eastern origin, the Khāridjī Rustamids of Tāhert and the (ʿAlid) Idrīsids of Fez, which the new dynasty could not allow to remain independent. The Umayyads of Spain were in possession of a part of the Maghribī territory lying nearest to the Iberian peninsula. Finally, if we consider that, from the very beginning, the new masters of Ifrīḳiya had considered it only as a base from which to move on, that they intended one day to move to the East, to supplant the ʿAbbāsids there, that in order to do this they had to keep up a powerful and expensive army and a navy of some consequence, and that apart from this they were to come into a troubled inheritance in Sicily, the full scope of the difficulties with which they were faced becomes clear. To solve all the problems which the situation presented to them, Fāṭimid caliphs could rely only on a fairly restricted number of supporters, apart from the Kutāma, who were not always tractable, and on their own political skill and their energy. It is a wonder that they succeeded.

Within his own party, ʿUbayd Allāh was not long in coming into conflict with the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh, either because the latter had doubts of his really being the Mahdī, or because his master had limited his power. ʿUbayd Allāh had Abū ʿAbd Allāh and his brother assassinated, and this provoked a revolt of the Kutāma, who proclaimed a new Mahdī, a child. The revolt was suppressed with much bloodshed. Later, in the reigns of al-Manṣūr and al-Muʿizz, there were discords within the Fāṭimid family itself, hints of which are revealed in the *Sīrat al-ustādh Djawhar* (see the translation of this work by M. Canard, 19, 91 f., 147, 150, 174, 181); the revocation of the investiture of Tamīm, the son of al-Muʿizz, as *walī al-ʿahd* is compatible with this (*op. cit.*, 213 and n., 339 and 467). In addition, it was necessary to combat extremist opinions within the sect (see below).

In the religious and politico-religious field, the Fāṭimids had to struggle in North Africa against both Sunnī and Khāridjī opposition. The Mālikī Sunnī opposition has been well explained by G. Marçais in his work *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, Paris 1946, in the chapter *Les causes du divorce*, 136 f., which, although based on prejudiced Sunnī sources, gives a striking picture of the manifestations of this opposition, which was sometimes sternly quelled and at other times extinguished by bribery. In M. Bencheneb, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrikiya*, 288-304, is to be found the curious story of a doctrinal controversy between some jurists and the brother of the Dāʿī. This opposition, however, seriously troubled those in power only when Ḳayrawān, although very orthodox, made a temporary alliance with the Khāridjī Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*]. Indeed, on the Khāridjī side, the opposition took a very dangerous form with the revolt of this curious personality, who took possession of several important towns, laid siege for a year to Mahdiyya, and was not defeated until 336/947. The revolt, which began in 332/943-4, exhausted al-Ḳāʾim, who succumbed to the fatigues of war at Sūs, and it did not end until the reign of al-Manṣūr. Abū Yazīd, supported by the Umayyad ruler of Cordova, brought the Fāṭimid dynasty to the brink of ruin.

The Zenāta of the west were another source of difficulty. The Khāridjī Rustamids of Tāhert had been expelled in 296/909 by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, but a revolt broke out and the place had to be re-

taken in 299/911 by Maṭāla b. Ḥabūs who next, subjugating the Idrīsid, took possession of Fez in 308/920, then of Sidjilmāsa in 309/921. After the death of Maṣāla, his lieutenant and successor, Mūsā b. Abi 'l ʿĀfiya, effectively subdued the Maghrib, taking Fez from the Idrīsids, but he ended by defecting to the Umayyad ruler in 320/932. Also al-Ḳā'im, who had already conducted campaigns in the Maghrib during his father's lifetime and founded the fortress town of Masīla (Muḥammadiyya) in the Zāb, was obliged, after his accession, to send an expedition to reconquer Fez and all the western Maghrib from Ibn al-ʿĀfiya, as well as Tāhert. He re-established the Idrīsids in their domains, but under Fāṭimid authority. It was only al-Muʿizz who, through his wise and prudent behaviour and the military skill of his general Djawhar, subdued all the west and re-established peace there, as the result of a great campaign by Djawhar, extending as far as the Atlantic. The same caliph had also pacified the Aurès and defeated the maritime offensive of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 344/955.

In order to have a window open onto the East, ʿUbayd Allāh founded on the eastern coast of Ifrīḳiya the town of al-Mahdiyya, which he made his capital in 308/920. A few years after his accession he tried to establish himself in Egypt. But the two expeditions which his son al-Ḳā'im made in 301-2/913-5 and 307-9/919-21 were unsuccessful and, after initial successes which led him at one time as far as the gates of al-Fusṭāṭ and at another time to Fayyūm, they ended in heavy defeats. In the second expedition, the Fāṭimid fleet was destroyed. Barḳa, however, remained in Fāṭimid hands. After his accession, al-Ḳā'im tried a third time in 323/925 to conquer Egypt, but again without success.

In none of these operations does the Fāṭimid ruler seem to have been helped by any campaign undertaken on their side by the Ḳarmaṭīs of Bahrain; this is contrary to the opinion advanced by De Goeje (on this subject see W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Bahrainqarmaten*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959), 46 f., who denies that there was a collaboration between Fāṭimids and Ḳarmaṭīs and maintains that the letter of ʿUbayd Allāh to Abū Ṭāhir after the taking of the Black Stone—for which see the historians *sub anno* 317—is no proof of an alliance between Fāṭimids and Ḳarmaṭīs).

The new power, as successor of the Aghlabids, could not be indifferent to Sicily. But two successive governors sent to Sicily had to withdraw, and the inhabitants elected a governor of their own, Ibn Ḳurhub. He declared for the ʿAbbāsid caliph and twice sent a fleet against Ifrīḳiya, but the second time the fleet suffered a serious defeat; finally the Sicilians rid themselves of Ibn Ḳurhub by giving him up to ʿUbayd Allāh, who had him put to death in 304/916. It was only after this that a new Fāṭimid governor was able to take possession of the island. But Sicily was later to suffer disturbances. In 336/948 al-Manṣūr sent as governor al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Kalbī, and from then on it was from this family that the governors of Sicily were taken, tending more and more towards autonomy.

The Fāṭimid caliphs of North Africa were naturally driven to fight against the Byzantines who were settled in Sicily and to exchange embassies with them. Several times armies and fleets were sent from Ifrīḳiya against the Byzantines in Italy and in Sicily. During the time of ʿUbayd Allāh, at a date which is uncertain (between 914 and 918) the Byzantine emperor concluded a treaty with the governor of Sicily, by which he undertook to pay annually a tribute of 22,000 gold pieces; some years later the caliph reduced this to 11,000, to thank the emperor Romanus Lecapenus for having freed the African ambassadors whose ship had been captured when they were travelling to the court of the king of the Bulgars, in the company of Bulgar emissaries who had come to Africa to propose to the Fāṭimid ruler an alliance against Byzantium. Because of this the projected alliance between Fāṭimids and Bulgars fell through. At about the same time an expedition was sent from Africa against Genoa, Corsica and Sardinia. In the time of al-Ḳā'im, during the revolt of Girgenti (see DJIRDJENT and Amari, *Storia*, ii, 218 f.; Vasiliev, *Byz. et les Arabes*, ii, 261), the Emperor tried to support the rebels. Al-Manṣūr, at the height of his struggle against Abū Yazīd, received in 335/946 a Byzantine embassy, which had come to apprise itself of the situation. In the time of al-Muʿizz, during the hostilities with the Umayyads, the Umayyad caliph having in 344/955-6 asked and obtained from the Emperor help against the Fāṭimid caliph, the Emperor proposed to al-Muʿizz that he would withdraw his troops if he was willing to grant him a long-term truce. Al-Muʿizz refused, and sent in 345/956-7 a fleet under the command of ʿAmmār (of the Kalbī family) and Djawhar, which gained a great success over the Byzantines and disembarked troops in Italy, but was scattered by a storm on the return voyage. It was after this that in 346/957-8 a Byzantine ambassador came to bring tribute and obtained a truce of five years. This truce was broken by al-Muʿizz when the Cretans appealed to him for help against Byzantium. Al-Muʿizz's help to the Cretans, if it was sent, was of no use (see M. Canard, *Les sources arabes de l'histoire byzantine*, in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, xix (1961), 284 f., and on the embassy of 346 and related events, S. M. Stern, *An embassy of the Byzantine Emperor to the Fatimid Caliph al-Muʿizz*, in *Byzantion*, xx (1950), 239-58; on other Byzantine embassies, see Amari, *Storia*, ii, 314-22).

Some years later, in the time of Nicephorus Phocas, who had refused to continue to pay the tribute and had resumed hostilities in Sicily, the Fāṭimid army and fleet inflicted two defeats on the Byzantines (Battle of Rametta and Battle of the Straits) at the beginning of 965. The resulting negotiations ended in a peace treaty in 356/967, and this treaty was concluded all the more easily as al-Muʿizz was engaged at the time in preparing his Egyptian expedition.

The Conquest of Egypt

The success of al-Muʿizz in North Africa had allowed him to devote himself to the pursuit of an eastern policy, and to undertake the conquest of Egypt in which ʿUbayd Allāh and al-Ḳā'im had failed. The conquest, carefully planned in its practical aspects, and psychologically by skilful political propaganda (see G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, vol. iv of *Hist. de la Nat. Égypt.*, 147 f., and M. Canard, *L'impérialisme des Fāṭimides et leur propagande*, in *AIEO-Alger*, vi, 167 f.) in a country which was in a state of internal chaos and ravaged by famine, was achieved without much difficulty by Djawhar, who entered al-Fusṭāṭ on 12 Shaʿbān 358/1st July 969. Egypt then became for two centuries a Shīʿī country, at least superficially. Djawhar had the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph suppressed in the *khuṭba*, but introduced Shīʿī formulae only very gradually. He concentrated at first on taking measures against

the famine and on restoring order, and acted with considerable generosity. To house his troops he built a new town—Cairo—and laid the first stone of the al-Azhar mosque on 24 Djumādā I 359/4 April 970.

The Fāṭimids in Egypt

1. Territorial expansion: its vicissitudes. Djawhar made great efforts to extend Fāṭimid domination beyond the frontiers of Egypt over the countries which were dependencies of the Ikhshīdid emirate. The two holy cities of Mecca and Medina, where the gold liberally distributed by al-Muʿizz had achieved its propagandist purpose, surrendered readily in 359/970-1, and remained under Fāṭimid suzerainty, apart from a few interruptions over questions of money, until the reign of al-Mustanṣir. It was more difficult to establish a foothold in Syria, for there the Ikhshīdid governor had made a pact with the Ḳarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, who in turn had the support of the Buwayhid ruler of Baghdād. Djawhar's lieutenant, Djaʿfar al-Falāḥ, was able to seize Damascus, but he was killed in a battle against the leader of the Ḳarmaṭīs, al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam, at the end of 360/August 971 (on the attitude of the Ḳarmaṭīs to the Fāṭimids see al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 248 f.; De Goeje, *op. cit.*, 183 f.; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and Ṭaha Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz*, 115 f.; Madelung, *Fat. und Bahrainqarm.*, 62 f. and AL-ḤASAN AL-AʿṢAM). The Ḳarmaṭī intended to proceed without delay as far as Egypt, but he encountered a successful defence by Djawhar (end of 361/December 971) and fled. All the same Djawhar was able to re-occupy only a part of Palestine. Al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam returned to attack Cairo in 363/ beginning of 974, while al-Muʿizz, who had left Ifrīḳiya on 21 Shawwāl 361/ 5 August 972, entrusting the government of the Maghrib to the Ṣanhādjī Berber chief Bulukkīn, was already in Cairo, which he had entered on 7 Ramaḍān 362/11 June 973. But the Bedouin auxiliaries of al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam, won over by Fāṭimid gold, abandoned him and he was routed. Following this the Fāṭimid army was able to reoccupy Damascus, but shortly afterwards Damascus fell into the hands of a Turkish adventurer, Alptekīn, against whom al-Muʿizz, on the eve of his death in 365/975, was proposing to march.

The new caliph al-ʿAzīz succeeded in re-taking Damascus in 368/978, but in order to procure the withdrawal of the Ḳarmaṭīs, who supported Alptekīn, he was obliged to pay them tribute. Possession of Palestine and Syria was necessary to al-ʿAzīz, whose ultimate plans also required the seizure of Aleppo, but there was continued trouble in Palestine and Syria, fomented either by rebels like the powerful Ṭayyī family of Palestine, the Djarrāḥids [*q.v.*], or by dissident governors or generals. The attempts of al-ʿAzīz failed in 373/983, 382/992-3 and 384/994-5, and his power barely extended as far as Tripoli. Nevertheless it was then that Fāṭimid sovereignty was recognized from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, in the Ḥidjāz, in the Yemen (by the Yaʿfurid ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳaḥṭān in 377/987 [see ṢANʿĀʾ]), in Syria and even for a time as far as Mosul, in the time of the ʿUḳaylid Abu ʾl-Dawādh b. al-Musayyib. But they were unable to reach any understanding with the Buwayhid of Baghdād, although he was a Shīʿī.

The troubles in Syria continued, and it is possible to say that this country was never a solidly Fāṭimid possession. In the time of al-Ḥākim the amirate of Aleppo fell under Fāṭimid rule in 406/1015, and in 408/1017 received a Fāṭimid governor; but he was sometimes in revolt. In Palestine the Djarrāḥid Mufarridj b. Daghfal was able to have an anti-caliph proclaimed in the person of a *sharīf* of Mecca, and it was only by buying Mufarridj off that al-Ḥākim could rid himself of the danger which he had stirred up. Under al-Ẓāhir, Fāṭimid domination in Syria was endangered by the alliance between the Djarrāḥids, the Kalbīs of central Syria and the Kilābīs of northern Syria. Aleppo fell into the hands of the Kilābī Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās [*q.v.*] in 415/1025. The fact that the Kalbīs changed sides allowed the Fāṭimid general Anushtekīn al-Duzbarī to win the battle of al-Uḳḥuwāna in Palestine, to re-occupy Damascus and to re-take Aleppo from the Mirdāsids in 429/1038 (in the reign of al-Mustanṣir). Thanks to Anushtekīn, Fāṭimid domination extended as far as Ḥarrān, Sarūdj and Raḳḳa, but he fell a victim to the intrigues of the vizier al-Djardjarāʾī; his successor was a descendant of the Ḥamdānids, Nāṣir al-Dawla [*q.v.*], and Aleppo fell again to a Mirdāsid in 433/1041. In spite of two attempts to re-take it in 440/1048 and 441/1049 and its surrender to the Fāṭimids in 449/1057-450/1058, it returned into Mirdāsid hands in 452 and was then irrevocably lost to the Fāṭimids, for it surrendered to the caliph of Baghdād and to the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslān in 462/1069-70, and had a Saldjūḳ governor from 479/1086-7.

Nor did Syria and Palestine remain for long under Fāṭimid domination in the 5th/11th century. There was continual unrest there. The Armenian general Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] tried vainly in 455/1063-456/1064 and again in 458/1066-460/1068 to maintain Fāṭimid sovereignty in Damascus. In 461/1069, in the course of fighting between Maghribī and Eastern elements of the army, the Umayyad mosque was burned. In 468/1076 Damascus was occupied by a former Fāṭimid officer, the Turcoman Atsïz, who threatened even Cairo in 469/1077, and Damascus had a Saldjūḳ *amīr* from 471/1079. In 463/1071 Atsïz had taken Jerusalem, which later passed into the hands of Suḳmān b. Artuḳ. In Palestine there remained in Fāṭimid hands only ʿAsḳalān, which was to be occupied by the Crusaders in 548/ 1153, and a few coastal towns—Beirut, Tyre, Sidon and Acre. None of the attempts of Badr al-Djamālī to recover Syria and Damascus was successful.

2. Relations with North Africa and Sicily. Already in the reign of al-ʿAzīz North Africa began to loosen its links with the Fāṭimid caliphate under the governorship of Manṣūr b. Bulukkīn (373/984-386/996). In the time of al-Ḥākim difficulties arose over Barḳa and Tripoli. With Muʿizz b. Bādīs (406/1016-454/1062), after he had taken several measures which were hostile to the Fāṭimid caliphate, there came about a complete rupture in 443/1051; the Ṣanhādjī *amīr* threw off Fāṭimid suzerainty and obtained investiture from the caliph of Baghdād. The invasion of Ifrīḳiya by the Banū Hilāl is attributed to the desire of the Fāṭimid vizier al-Yāzūrī for reprisals. Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz (454/1062-501/1108) returned temporarily to Fāṭimid allegiance in the first years of his reign. Similarly in 517/1123 we find the *amīr* Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (515/1121-543/1148) paying homage to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Āmir and asking him to intervene with Roger II of Sicily to stop him from attacking Ifrīḳiya. But it can be said that in fact the rupture lasted for more that half a century.

Sicily also became virtually independent of the Fāṭimid caliphate. The Kalbid governors limited themselves to accepting retrospective investiture from Cairo. They had far more contacts with the Zīrids of Ifrīḳiya, whose suzerainty the Sicilians recognized in about 427/1036 (see Amari, *Storia*,

ii, 435), than with Cairo. All the same, until the time of al-Ẓāhir and even under his successor, their coins still bore the name of the caliph (Amari, ii, 276-7). It is not impossible that the attacks which the Sicilians launched on the Byzantine coasts were supported by Cairo, for, in his negotiations with the Fāṭimid al-Ẓāhir in 1032, the emperor Romanus Argyrus expressly demanded that the Fāṭimid government should not aid *Ṣāḥib Siḳilliyya* in his campaigns against the Byzantines, and promised for his part to observe the same neutrality. In practice, Cairo had no longer any power over Sicily and seems to have lost interest in it. The Norman conquest was tacitly accepted, and contacts with Roger II were frequent and friendly (see above for the caliph al-Āmir). Al-Ḥāfiẓ also maintained excellent relations with him: there was correspondence in 531/1137 (see M. Canard, *Une lettre du caliphe fāṭimite al-Ḥāfiẓ .... à Roger II*, in *Atti del Convegno Intern. di Studi Ruggeriani*, Palermo 1955, 125-46); in 537/1142 he sent an embassy to Roger, and in about 537/1143 he concluded a commercial treaty with him. But later, in 1153, 1155, 1169 and 1174, there were Norman attacks by sea against Tinnīs, Damietta and Alexandria (see Amari, index).

3. Relations with the Byzantine Empire. In their propaganda already in their African period the Fāṭimids proclaimed aloud that universal sovereignty was given to them by divine decree and that they were called to displace the Umayyads of Spain as well as the ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād and the Byzantine emperors (see M. Canard, *L'impérialisme ...., passim*). We have seen above what their relations with Byzantium had been during the African period. Al-Muʿizz received several Byzantine embassies. In Egypt, in the very year of his death in 365/975, he received an embassy from John Tzimisces. Al-ʿAzīz, in this attempt to take Aleppo, clashed with the Greeks as protectors of the Ḥamdānid amīrate of Aleppo, who each time prevented him from achieving his object. Although al-ʿAzīz did not succeed in his attempts, he nevertheless obtained in 377/987-8 from the emperor Basil II, who was threatened by the renewal of the revolt of Bardas Skleros, an advantageous treaty stipulating that the Byzantine commercial prohibitions should be lifted and that the prayer should be said in his name in the mosque of Constantinople (Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, Cairo ed., iv, 151-2). Immediately before his death, this caliph was preparing a great expedition against Byzantine territory, and he died while setting off on this campaign.

Hostilities continued in northern Syria during the reign of al-Ḥākim, for his aim, like his predecessor's, was to seize Aleppo, and rebels in Syria against Fāṭimid authority often appealed to the Emperor. The Byzantines helped al-ʿAllāḳa at Tyre, whereas in 387/997 they had refused to help the Fāṭimid general Mangūtekīn. They were defeated at sea off Tyre and again in the same year when they were besieging Apamea, a Fāṭimid enclave in northern Syria (388/998), and the emperor Basil then made proposals for peace. But it was not until 391/1001 that a ten-year truce was signed, and in the interval Basil had conducted a victorious campaign in northern Syria, though he had failed to take Tripoli. The destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the orders of al-Ḥākim was probably one of the causes of the breaking off of commercial relations ordered by Basil in 406/1015-6. Attempts at reconciliation were made in 412/1021, just before the death of al-Ḥākim.

At the beginning of the reign of al-Ẓāhir, in 414/1023, the regent Sitt al-Mulk ([*q.v.*], d. 415/1024-5) had re-opened negotiations but without success. They were not resumed until 423/1032, and were soon broken off because of the caliph's refusal to accept the return of Ḥassān b. al-Mufarriḏj [see ḎJARRĀḤIDS], when agreement had been reached on the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It was not until 429/1038 that a peace of thirty years could be signed, at the beginning of the reign of al-Mustanṣir: the Byzantines obtained permission to rebuild the church, and sent architects and money for this purpose.

From this time on begins a period of friendly relations between Fāṭimids and Byzantines. Although Byzantium had agreed to support a rebel Sicilian *amīr* and had given him the title of *magister* in 1035-6 (Amari, ii, 434), yet when in 443/1051-2 the Zīrid Muʿizz b. Bādīs had recognized ʿAbbāsid suzerainty, his ambassador returning from Baghdād was arrested in Byzantine territory and sent to al-Mustanṣir. In 439/1048 the treaty of 1038 had been renewed.

Constantine Monomachus (1042-54) maintained excellent relations with al-Mustanṣir, who asked him to supply Egypt with wheat after the famine of 446/1054. But the death of the Emperor and the demands of his successor, the empress Zoë, who wanted in return a treaty of military aid (against the Salḏjūḳs), led to a cooling of relations and even a resumption of hostilities. The rupture was aggravated when a Fāṭimid ambassador, al-Ḳuḍāʿī, noticed at Constantinople that the prayer was said in the mosque no longer in the name of the Fāṭimid, but for the Salḏjūḳ sultan Toghrīl Beg, for the Emperor had entered into relations with the latter in 441/1049 in gratitude for his having freed the king of the Abkhāz, and it seems, to judge from the *Sīra* of the Fāṭimid missionary al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn (p. 95), that there had been a project for an alliance between the two against the Fāṭimid ruler. Relations were resumed however and the Byzantine writer Psellus states that they were excellent in the reign of Constantine Monomachus (ed. Renault, ii, 64) and were still so between 1057 and 1059, during the reign of Isaac Comnenus (*op. cit.*, ii, 122).

The exchange of embassies continued, the more so because the same danger, the Salḏjūḳs, was threatening both Egypt and Byzantium. There was for example a Fāṭimid embassy during the reign of Romanus Diogenes in 461/1069, a letter from Alexis Comnenus to the vizier al-Afḍal in about 1098, after Antioch had been taken by the Crusaders, and an embassy from the same emperor to al-Afḍal in 1105 to negotiate the ransom of Frankish prisoners. Manuel Comnenus also maintained good relations with Egypt and in 553/1158 requested the help of a Fāṭimid fleet against Sicily. In the same year, the vizier Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk sent to Manuel the brother of the Count of Cyprus whom he had taken prisoner. Some years later however, in 1168, Manuel concluded a pact with king Amalric of Jerusalem for an attack against Egypt, which took place the following year, but failed.

4. Relations with the ʿAbbāsid East. Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī, the eulogist of al-Muʿizz, tempts his master with the prospect of a Fāṭimid entry into Baghdād, and shows him, wide open, the old imperial Persian highway, the road to Khurāsān. One tradition has it that al-Muʿizz declared to a Byzantine ambassador in Cairo that on his next visit he would find him in Baghdād. Al-ʿAzīz set himself to achieve this goal, but by means of negotiations, trying to

get himself recognized by the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla. An exchange of embassies took place in 369/979-80, but without result. Like the ʿAbbāsid caliph later, the Buwayhid contested the authenticity of the ʿAlid genealogy of the Fāṭimids. Al-Ḥākim was no more successful with the Ghaznawid ruler in 403/1012-3, nor was al-Ẓāhir in 415/1024. The *khilaʿ* sent were despatched to Baghdād and burnt. Al-Ẓahir did not give up, and in 425/1034 sent missionaries to the ʿAbbāsid capital to take advantage of the disturbances caused by the Turkish soldiery during the reign of the Buwayhid Djalāl al-Dawla [*q.v.*], and they made vigorous propaganda there. Al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] cemented relations with several governments in the East. The activities of his missionaries spread as far as Sind (see S. M. Stern, *Ismāʿīlī propaganda and Fāṭimid rule in Sind*, in *IC*, xxiii (1949), 298-307; B. Lewis, *The Fatimids and the route to India*, in *Rev. de la Fac. des Sc. économ. de l'Univ. d'Istanbul*, 1953). For a time al-Mustanṣir could believe that the Fāṭimid dream was about to become reality. In ʿIrāḳ the Turkish *amīr* al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] caused the sovereignty of the Fāṭimid ruler to be recognized in various places, at Mosul in 448/1057, then in Baghdād for a year in 451/1059. This extension of Fāṭimid sovereignty had been prepared in particular by the propaganda of the missionary al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn [*q.v.*], who had even converted the Buwayhid Abū Kālīdjār [*q.v.*] at Shīrāz to Ismāʿīlism. The Saldjūḳs, as Sunnīs, naturally had no sympathy for the Fāṭimids. In 447/1055, Toghrīl Beg had announced his intention of marching on Syria and Egypt and of putting an end to the reign of al-Mustanṣir. The affair of al-Basāsīrī strengthened the determination of the Saldjūḳs to direct their policy towards Syria and the Mediterranean, especially as the vizier al-Yāzūrī [*q.v.*], who decided to abandon his support of al-Basāsīrī, had entered into correspondence with Toghrīl Beg (so at least certain sources allege). The fact remains that from then on the Saldjūḳs did nothing but gain territory from the Fāṭimids: at Mecca the name of the Fāṭimid ruler was omitted from the *khuṭba*, temporarily in 462/1069-70 and finally in 473/1088. In his rebellion against al-Mustanṣir, the *amīr* Nāṣir al-Dawla appealed for help, in 462/1069-70, to the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslān, asking him to send an army to help him to re-establish the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba*. The Saldjūḳ sultan got as far as Aleppo the following year, and the Mirdāsid ruler abandoned the Fāṭimid *khuṭba*. Alp Arslān was unable to proceed further, because of the invasion of Armenia by the Byzantine emperor. Apart from this, we have already noticed the Saldjūḳ penetration into Syria and Palestine.

In the Yemen, the Fāṭimids found fervent supporters in the dynasty of the Ṣulayḥids of Ṣanʿāʾ, which ruled from 429/1038 to 534/1139. The founder was a *dāʿī* who established Fāṭimid domination in the Yemen. This dynasty included a remarkable ruler in the person of Sayyida Ḥurra, and maintained uninterrupted relations with Cairo: the letters from the chancery of al-Mustanṣir to the Ṣulayḥids have survived (*Al-Sidjillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*, ed. A. M. Magued, Cairo 1954).

5. The Fāṭimids and the Crusades. At the time when the Crusaders arrived in northern Syria the Fāṭimids no longer held any territory in Syria, and in Palestine they retained only ʿAsḳalān and a few coastal towns. They were less interested in the struggle against the Franks than were the Turkish *amīrs* of Syria. Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 491/1097-8, relates a tradition according to which the Fāṭimids, being uneasy over the plans of the Saldjūḳs and their intentions against Egypt (for the *amīr* Atsïz had already, in 469/1077, launched an unsuccessful attack against Cairo), requested the intervention of the Franks in the East. This does not seem very likely. Be that as it may, the Franks received a Fāṭimid embassy outside Antioch at the beginning of 1098 and sent delegates to Cairo, who set off with the Egyptian ambassadors. But the project for an alliance against the Turks, giving Syria to the Franks and Palestine to the Fāṭimids, did not come to anything, although the Fāṭimids were better disposed towards the Franks than towards the Turks, and in spite of the good intentions of the Franks, who were able to learn through Alexis Comnenus what was the Fāṭimid attitude to the Turks. In these circumstances the vizier al-Afḍal decided to take Jerusalem from Suḳmān, succeeded in 491/August 1098 after a siege of forty days, and continued his advance to beyond Beirut. It is difficult in these circumstances to see why—for presumably he re-took Jerusalem in order to hold it—he did nothing to prevent the Crusaders from seizing it on 15 July 1099, and allowed himself to be surprised and beaten in August outside ʿAsḳalān in a battle which had been preceded by the capture of several places, including Yāfā (Jaffa).

Following this, in 494/1100-1, the Crusaders took in Palestine Ḥayfa, Arsūf and Caesarea, and then Acre (ʿAkkā) in 497/1104. The Egyptians took part in the struggle against the Crusaders but were unable to prevent the fall of Tripoli, which had called on them for help at the end of 503/1109, nor the fall of Beirut and Sidon (Ṣaydā) in 504/1110, nor the fall of Tyre in 518/1124: it is true that the Fāṭimid governor of Tyre had signed an agreement with the *amīr* of Damascus. The Franks were even able, at the end of 517/1118, to advance as far as Faramā. Yet it was not until much later that they turned their attention to Egypt and actively prepared to attack ʿAskalān [*q.v.*]. The Egyptian vizier, Ibn al-Sallār, entered into negotiations with Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], master of Aleppo, in 545/1150, and the Egyptian fleet launched a great offensive against the Frankish ports. In 548/1153, the Franks seized ʿAskalān after bloody fighting.

Next the vizier Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk carried out some operations against the Crusaders and gained a victory near Ghazza, then at Hebron (al-Khalīl) in 553/1158; but this had little result because Nūr al-Dīn, master of Damascus since 549/1154, when he was approached again, was still not willing to become involved because of the internal unrest in Cairo.

Ṭalāʾiʿ was assassinated at the instigation of the caliph al-ʿĀḍid in 556/1161; his son succeeded him and met the same fate in 558/1163. From then on, the relations of Fāṭimid Egypt with the Crusaders on the one hand and with Nūr al-Dīn on the other were influenced by the rivalry between Shāwar, who succeeded Ṭalāʾiʿ's son, Ruzzīk, and Ḍirghām [*qq.v.*], and by the versatile and personal policy of Shāwar. The latter, when expelled by Ḍirghām, had taken refuge with Nūr al-Dīn and persuaded him to intervene in Egypt, particularly as the king of Jerusalem, Amalric I, had made a first incursion into Egypt in 1161 and exacted a payment of tribute from Ṭalāʾiʿ, had returned in 1162, but had had to retreat before the deliberate flooding of the Nile Delta. Nūr al-Dīn sent an army with Shīrkūh [*q.v.*] and his nephew, Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn). Ḍirghām was killed in Ramaḍān 559/August 1164, and

Shāwar resumed the vizierate. There is no room here to trace in detail the events which ensued, and the confused tangle of the successive interventions by Shīrkūh and Amalric. The main details will be found in the articles SHĀWAR and SHĪRKŪH. The result was that Shīrkūh, finally answering a joint appeal by the caliph and Shāwar, procured the evacuation of the country by the Franks in 564/1169, rid himself of Shāwar by assassination, and was granted the post of vizier to the Fāṭimid caliph. He died soon after; Saladin succeeded, and put an end to the Fāṭimid caliphate in 567/1171, re-establishing Sunnism and ʿAbbāsid sovereignty in Egypt.

Internal Policy of the Fāṭimids

1. Caliphs and viziers. In the Sunnī system, the appointment of the caliph is the result of an election or of a nomination by the predecessor ratified by a pseudo-election. In the Ismāʿīlī system, the caliph is the successor of him who, by virtue of a Divine decree and nomination, has been chosen to be the heir (*waṣī*) of the Prophet, namely ʿAlī, and the imāmate is transmitted from father to son (with the exception of the case of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn) within the family of ʿAlī. In these circumstances there could be no question of an election, nor of the conditions demanded by Sunnism for holding the office of imām. The imām is chosen by the personal nomination of his predecessor, by the *naṣṣ* [*q.v.*], a manifestation of the Divine will (on this subject see al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islam*, i, 48 f.; the *Tādj al-ʿaḳāʾid* of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, d. 612/1215, in Ivanow, *A creed of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1936, paras. 30-32).

The succession of the imāms was thus governed by the *naṣṣ*. This nomination could be hidden from the people and known only to certain trusted persons and revealed only when desired (see examples in the *Sīrat al-ustādh Djawdhar*). It was possible for the elder son not to be chosen. Already Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ had nominated Ismāʿīl, who was not the eldest of his sons. Similarly ʿAbd Allāh was preferred to Tamīm, the eldest son of al-Muʿizz, mainly for moral reasons (see the same *Sīra*). When ʿAbd Allāh died in 364/974-5, the successor nominated was his brother Nizār (al-ʿAzīz). So far everything had been quite regular. But, after the disappearance of al-Ḥākim, the nominated heir, the caliph's nephew ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ilyās, was arrested and imprisoned on the orders of Sitt al-Mulk, who had the young son of al-Ḥākim, ʿAlī, proclaimed imām under the name of al-Ẓāhir. He was only 16, but there was no stipulation regarding age: al-Ḥākim himself had mounted the throne at 11 years of age. The throne often fell to a child, as in the cases of al-Mustanṣir, aged 7, of al-Mustaʿlī, who was only 8, al-Āmir, who was 5, al-Ẓāfir, who was 17, al-Fāʾiz, who was 5, and al-ʿĀḍid, who was 9 years of age. The result was that power was often in the hands of a regent (or a female regent like Sitt al-Mulk, or of a queen-mother, like the mother of al-Mustanṣir), and that on various occasions it was generals or viziers who held the real authority, even after the new caliph had reached maturity, and that the caliphs were often powerless against their viziers and their generals.

The succession proceeded regularly without any serious objections until al-Mustaʿlī, the first caliph whose nomination was violently contested and gave rise to disturbances. The vizier al-Afḍal had caused the elder son of al-Mustanṣir, Nizār, who had been nominated in the regular manner, to be passed over in favour of the younger son, al-Mustaʿlī. As a result Nizār led a revolt, which ended in his death and produced a schism which still exists today in the Ismāʿīlī community [see NIZĀR]. After the death of al-Āmir, the victim of a Nizārī plot in 524/1130, the succession was assured by completely irregular means. No nomination had been made, and al-Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], the cousin of al-Āmir, was at first only regent before he proclaimed himself caliph, following the precedent of ʿAlī, who was the cousin of the Prophet. With his reign began a tremendous crisis, with bloody periods of revolution and treachery, and with struggles of rival factions in the midst of military and civil disturbances in the capital and in the provinces.

The weakness of the caliphs showed itself as early as the reign of al-Mustanṣir, who was reduced to penury and forced to sell his treasures to satisfy the demands of Nāṣir al-Dawla and of the Turkish guard which he commanded, and who only once showed a spark of energy. From the time of al-Mustaʿlī, the real masters were the "Viziers of the Sword". It could happen that the caliph was thrust aside by the vizier, and avenged himself by having the vizier assassinated when opportunity arose: it was thus that al-Āmir had al-Afḍal assassinated.

After a certain period, even the idea of the legitimacy of the Fāṭimids was less generally accepted. Already during the reign of al-Mustanṣir there had been an attempt to restore ʿAbbāsid suzerainty. In 462/1070, Nāṣir al-Dawla, at Alexandria, had the *khuṭba* said in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, and in 464/1072, when he was temporarily master of Cairo, he entered into relations with him. Al-Ḥāfiẓ had a vizier, Kutayfāt, who was openly Imāmī; then followed a Sunnī vizier, Ibn al-Sallār. We cannot give in detail here all the vicissitudes through which the Fāṭimid caliphate passed, but refer the reader to the articles on the individual caliphs. The Fāṭimid caliphate, beset by troubles, declined rapidly to its end, which was finally hastened by its inability to resist the Crusaders, and not only by internal disorder.

The evolution of the vizierate. In the history of the Fāṭimid dynasty, the viziers occupied a place of gradually increasing importance. During the North African period there had been no ministers bearing the title of vizier. In Egypt, the first to receive this title, from the caliph al-ʿAzīz, was Yaʿḳūb b. Killis [*q.v.*], the organizer of the administration and the finances for the first two Egyptian caliphs. Thereafter the caliphs sometimes governed without the help of a vizier; sometimes they had a minister to whom they gave neither the title nor the office of vizier, but only the duty of acting as intermediary between them and their officials and subjects (*safāra*, *wasāṭa*, the one who fulfilled this function bearing the title of *wāsiṭa*); sometimes they had a minister who did in fact bear the title of vizier. Up to a certain time these viziers, whatever their power and their influence over the caliphs may have been, were considered as agents for the execution of the sovereign's will (called by al-Māwardī *wazīr al-tanfīdh*), but from the second period of the reign of al-Mustanṣir, when, in order to restore order and remedy a catastrophic situation, he appealed for help to the commander of the troops of Syria, Badr al-Djamālī, the latter obtained from him full powers: that is to say he was the equivalent of what al-Māwardī calls *wazīr al-tafwīḍ*, vizier with delegated powers; and as he was of military status he was called "Vizier of the Pen and of the Sword", or simply "Vizier of the Sword". From this time on all the viziers who followed, whether they were nom-

inated by the caliph or whether they had seized the position for themselves by force, had full powers and were Viziers of the Sword. The Vizier of the Sword was not only head of the armies, with the title of *amīr al-djuyūsh*, but the head of all the civil, the judicial and even the religious administration, for among his titles were those of chief *ḳāḍī* and of chief missionary. We have seen that the vizier often left no power to the caliph and even thrust him aside; from the time of Riḍwān, the vizier of al-Ḥāfiẓ in 531/1171, it was made still clearer that the vizier had full powers by his taking the title of al-Malik, accompanied by a varying epithet, analogous to that which the last Buwayhid *amīr* of Baghdād had adopted in 440/1048. The importance of this event is that the title passed via Shīrkūh, who assumed the vizierate in 564/1169, to his nephew Saladin and hence to all the members of the Ayyūbid dynasty.

One remarkable fact concerning the Fāṭimid vizierate is that several viziers, whether they possessed the title or not, were Christians. An example is ʿĪsā b. Nasṭūrus, vizier of al-ʿAzīz, and similarly Zurʿa b. ʿĪsā b. Nasṭūrus, who succeeded yet another Christian, Manṣūr b. ʿAbdūn. We do not know whether the Armenian Yānis, who was for some months in 562/1132 the vizier of al-Ḥāfiẓ and who was a freedman of al-Afḍal, had remained Christian. But there is the very curious case of another vizier of al-Ḥāfiẓ, an Armenian who remained Christian, and nevertheless was Vizier of the Sword with full powers and surnamed Sayf al-Islām [see BAHRĀM]. On the other hand, it does not seem that Jews, although they often held important posts, ever became viziers without embracing Islam. Ibn Killis, the vizier of al-ʿAzīz, was a convert, as was Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Tustarī, vizier for a short time of al-Mustanṣir, and also Ibn al-Fallāḥī.

The career of a vizier in the Fāṭimid period was a dangerous one, as in fact was that of officials of every rank. Disgrace, confiscation of goods, imprisonment and the punishment of the bastinado were events of frequent occurrence. The execution or the assassination of a vizier on the orders of the caliph or by a rival became more and more common. As early as 390/1000 the *wāsiṭa* Bardjawān [*q.v.*] was assassinated by order of al-Ḥākim, and six of his successors suffered the same fate; al-Yāzūrī was executed in 450/1058 during the reign of al-Mustanṣir; then al-Afḍal was assassinated in 515/1121 by order of the caliph al-Āmir. The same caliph, in 519/1125, imprisoned al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī, who was hanged three years later. Al-Ḥāfiẓ in 526/1131 had Kutayfāt put to death, and then in the next year Yānis. Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk was assassinated in 556/1161 on the orders of one of the aunts of the young caliph al-ʿĀḍid.

Broadly speaking, the main characteristic of the vizierate of the Fāṭimids is the insecurity of the viziers. While al-ʿAzīz had eight viziers in a reign of twenty years, and al-Ḥākim eight in nineteen years, under al-Mustanṣir there were five viziers between 452/1060 and 454/1062, and between 454/1062 and 466/1074 there was a continual coming and going of viziers. Ibn Muyassar reckons that this caliph had twenty-four viziers, some of whom held office three times.

2. Disturbances, rebellions and revolutions. Given the progressive decline of the caliphs from power to impotence, the insecurity of the viziers, and the prevailing anarchy, it is not surprising that the Fāṭimid caliphate went through periods of serious disturbances, resulting from various causes —political, military, religious, economic and social.

Under al-Ḥākim there was the revolt of Abū Rakwa, who claimed to be related to the Umayyads of Spain and whose aim was to re-establish the Umayyad dynasty. At the beginning of the reign of al-Mustanṣir, an impostor, al-Sikkīn, claiming to be al-Ḥākim, gathered supporters and marched with them as far as the gates of the palace: they were all captured, brought to the gallows and riddled with arrows (434/1043). The revolt of Nizār, the heir nominated by al-Mustanṣir and ousted from the succession by the all-powerful vizier al-Afḍal in favour of al-Mustaʿlī, had tremendous consequences, for the famous Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*] had taken his side and started a movement which led to the foundation of the sect of the Assassins [see ḤASHĪSHIYYA, NIZĀRĪS]. In 524/1130, the caliph al-Āmir, assassinated by a follower of Nizār, died without male issue. But some declared that he had a son, al-Ṭayyib, and a new schism occurred (see Ivanow, *Rise*, 20, and S. M. Stern, *The succession of the Fāṭimid imām al-Āmir, the claims of the later Fāṭimids to the imāmate and the rise of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism*, in *Oriens*, 1951, 193 ff.). In 543/1148 yet another rebellion was stirred up, by one who claimed to be the son of Nizār.

There were numerous military disturbances, especially when the dynasty was declining, when factions of the army made and unmade ministers and fought continually among themselves. But long before this the very composition of the army provoked disturbances which sometimes took the form of racial rivalry. Berbers (*Maghāriba*), Turks (who had been enrolled since the reign of al-ʿAzīz), Daylamīs (*Mashāriḳa*), and also black Sudanese slaves bought for the army (*ʿabīd al-shirāʾ*) and numerous since the regency of the mother of al-Mustanṣir, herself a former black slave—all were jealous of and hated one another. These corps were generally undisciplined and they or their leaders either stirred up rebellions themselves or readily allowed themselves to become involved in them. Thus in the struggle between the Kutāmī Ibn ʿAmmār and Bardjawān at the beginning of the reign of al-Ḥākim, there were the Berbers on one side and on the other the Turks, the Daylamīs and the black slaves. The hatred between the Turks and the black slaves, stirred up by al-Mustanṣir's mother, provoked murderous battles in 454/1062 and 459/1067, in which the Berbers sided with the Turks. Nāṣir al-Dawla, the commander of the Turks and victor over the black slaves, wrested all power from the caliph al-Mustanṣir, who had to sell his treasures in order to pay the Turks with their ever-increasing demands. The disturbances provoked by the tyranny of Nāṣir al-Dawla and aggravated by the famine (see below) lasted until the dictatorship of Badr al-Djamālī. From the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ onwards, the various corps of the army distributed their loyalties among the various claimants to the vizierate, some of whom, to forward their cause, raised special corps (e.g. the Barḳiyya of Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk) or recruited Bedouins (as did Ibn Maṣāl and Shāwar [*qq.v.*]).

Disturbances of religious origin arose when a certain group of missionaries wanted to have the divinity of al-Ḥākim recognized: in 411/1020 the mob massacred the missionaries, and this resulted in uproar and the burning of al-Fusṭāṭ on the caliph's orders. In 531/1137, Riḍwān had no difficulty in rousing the Muslim mob against the vizier Bahrām, an Armenian Christian.

But it was the economic crises and famines (which Egypt has always suffered periodically when the Nile rises insufficiently) which in the Fāṭimid period

caused most disorders: shortage of food, looting, crimes, acts of cannibalism, and horrors of every description. In 414/1024-415/1025, under al-Ẓāhir, there was a famine which obliged the populace to eat all the domestic animals, so that the caliph had to forbid the slaughter of plough-oxen. This famine was accompanied by looting by the black troops, who carried off the dishes set out for the banquet of the Feast of Sacrifices in 415 (12 February 1025). But the worst crisis of all was the great famine in the reign of al-Mustanṣir. In 446/1054-5 the caliph was obliged to ask Constantine Monomachus to supply food for Egypt (see above). The dearth, followed by disease, was worse in the following year. For seven years from 457/1065 to 464/1072 there persisted a famine so terrible that people were reduced to eating dogs and cats, and even human flesh (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 337). Looting, and the kidnapping of men and women in order to kill and eat them, led to a general breakdown of order which was aggravated by the struggles between the Turkish and the Negro regiments of the army. The economic situation improved in the vizierate of Badr al-Djamālī and his son al-Afḍal.

3. Religious policy. The religious policy of the Fāṭimids, so far as it is concerned with Ismāʿīlī doctrine and its evolution, cannot be treated here in detail. For this subject the reader is referred to the article ISMĀʿĪLIYYA and to W. Madelung's work (cited above), in which are studied the 'reforms' introduced into the doctrine by ʿUbayd Allāh, and then al-Muʿizz, the theories of the Persian Ismāʿīlīs, the schism under al-Ḥākim, and the doctrine in the time of al-Mustanṣir. The first Fāṭimid caliphs had to justify themselves to the different Ismāʿīlī communities with their different emphases, and to combat heterodox or extremist opinions which might constitute a danger to them. They were confronted with the fact that the hopes which the Ismāʿīlī community has placed in the appearance of the Mahdī had not been realized: the law of Muḥammad had not been abrogated, the hidden meaning of the religious duties and of the Ḳurʾān had not been revealed, a more perfect law, in which there was no longer any distinction between the *bāṭin* and the *ẓāhir*, had not been promulgated, Fāṭimid rule had not spread throughout the world, but had, on the contrary, encountered unsurmountable obstacles. Policy and reason of state had obliged them to retain the fundamental duties of Islam, and the *ẓāhir* continued to exist beside the *bāṭin*. It had to be admitted that the complete reversal of positions and the victory over the Infidels which the Mahdī was expected to bring about had been postponed to the end of time, that the Mahdī had done no more than to restore fully the rights of the family of the Prophet, and that the mission would be continued by his successors until God should fulfil this promise through the Ḳāʾim. The system elaborated by the great Fāṭimī jurist al-Nuʿmān in his *Daʿāʾim al-islām* did not differ fundamentally, on numerous points, from Sunnism, and in his esoteric treatises he too postponed the awaited changes to the end of time. In general, the Fāṭimid caliphate showed itself opportunist and moderate, and it could not be otherwise in seeking to establish a state religion.

But this religion was not universally accepted, and it was necessary to embark on a struggle with the Sunnism to which a large part of the population of Egypt and Syria remained loyal. The observance of the Sunna continued, as is testified by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ* (275; cf. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ġazālī* ..., 7), and there were numerous reactions against Shīʿī practices (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 340; Kindī-Guest, 594). Propaganda [see DĀʿĪ and DAʿWA] and the teaching of Fāṭimī *fiḳh* were organized. The *ḳāḍī* al-Nuʿmān, later his sons, and also the vizier Ibn Killis exerted all their efforts to implant the new doctrine (see *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 341, 363; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, *P.O.*, xxiii/3, 434). The *Dār al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] of al-Ḥākim was also a centre of religious and legal teaching. At first Sunnī *shaykhs* were admitted, but al-Ḥākim soon had them executed (Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, iv, 178, 222-3). The establishment was closed in the time of al-Afḍal because it was attended by people holding heretical opinions and it was feared that it would become a centre of Nizārī propaganda. After al-Afḍal's death, it was re-opened by the vizier al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī, but at some distance from the palace and under the supervision of the *Dāʿī*.

Policy towards the Sunnīs fluctuated. Sunnī practices were in general forbidden, but there were some periods of tolerance and some of strictness. In 307/919-20, a *muʾadhdhin* of Ḳayrawān was executed for not having pronounced in the call to prayer "Come to the best of works" (on the differences between the Ismāʿīlī system and Sunnism, see the *Tādj al-ʿaḳāʾid* of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd in Ivanow, *A creed of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1936; al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-islām*; al-Muḳaddasī, 237-8; cf. R. Brunschvig, *Fiqh fatimide et histoire de l' Ifriqiya*, in *Mélanges d'hist. et d'arch. de l'Occident musulman*, Algiers 1957, ii, 13-20). The *tarāwīḥ* [*q.v.*] prayer in Ramaḍān had been forbidden in North Africa, as it was in Egypt in 372/982-3 by al-ʿAzīz, but it was allowed again in 399/1009 by al-Ḥākim (see al-Maḳrīzī's chapter, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 341 f., on the *Madhāhib ahl Miṣr*). Al-ʿAzīz was very strict towards the Mālikīs; al-Ḥākim sometimes tolerated them, sometimes persecuted them. Al-Ẓāhir expelled the Mālikī *faḳīhs* from Egypt in 416/1025-6. In 525/1131, on the other hand, the vizier Kutayfāt, an Imāmī, showed great tolerance: there were, besides an Ismāʿīlī and an Imāmī ḳāḍī, also a Mālikī ḳāḍī and a Shāfiʿī. Al-Ḳalḳashandī could say (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 524) that the Fāṭimids were tolerant to the Sunnīs, with the exception of Ḥanafīs.

As for the Christians and the Jews, they held a relatively favourable position throughout the Fāṭimid period. We have noticed that several caliphs had Christian viziers: al-ʿAzīz, al-Ḥākim, who had three (Fahd b. Ibrāhīm, Manṣūr b. ʿAbdūn and Zurʿa b. Nasṭūrus), al-Ḥāfiẓ, with Bahrām. In spite of the discontent, sometimes openly expressed, of the Muslim population, Christians could always hold the highest offices. Throughout the period of the dynasty, non-Muslims continued to occupy numerous posts in the administration, especially in the finance departments. In the time of al-ʿAzīz the Jews rose to hold important offices and were sometimes very powerful, as they were at the court of al-Mustanṣir during the regency of his mother. Tolerance to Christians and Jews is one of the characteristics of the dynasty. The Armenian Abū Ṣāliḥ testifies to the tolerance of the Fāṭimid caliphs in the matter of the building of churches and their benevolence towards Christian establishments (see *The Churches and monasteries of Egypt*, ed. and tr. Evetts, Oxford 1895). For the Jews, see J. Mann, *The Jews under the Fatimid Caliphs*, Oxford 1920-2; R. J. H. Gottheil, *A decree in favour of the Karaites of Cairo dated 1024*, in *Festschrift A. Harkavy*, St. Petersburg 1908, 115 ff.; S. D. Goitein, *A Caliph's decree in favour of the*

Rabbinite Jews of Palestine, in *Journ. of Jew. stud.*, 1954; id., *The Muslim government, as seen by its non-Muslim subjects*, in *J. Pak. Hist. Soc.*, 1964; id., *Evidence on the Muslim poll tax from non-Muslim sources*, in *JESHO*, 1964; see further Cl. Cahen, *Histoires coptes d'un cadi médieval*, in *BIFAO*, lix (1960), 133 ff.

4. Organization of the State. The Fāṭimid state in North Africa, although it already surrounded itself by some ceremonial, was not yet a complex organization. But from the very beginning of the Egyptian period the caliphs al-Muʿizz and al-ʿAzīz laid the solid foundations of the power of the dynasty. The strict organization which they introduced in the administration and the finances, and which Djawhar had prepared together with Ibn Killis and Uslūdj, was the basis for a complex system of institutions which progressively developed, became modified, or were transformed, and whose functions have been studied in various works: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḳānūn dīwān al-rasāʾil*, ed. Ali Bahgat, Cairo 1905, tr. Massé, in *BIFAO*, xi (1914); al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii (reproduced in *Les Institutions des Fatimides en Egypte*, Bibl. de l'Inst. d'Ét. Supér. Isl. d'Alger, xii (1957)); trans. by Wüstenfeld, *Calcaschandi's Geographie und Verwaltung von Aegypten*, *AKGWG*, xxv, Göttingen 1879. Some modern works also have been devoted to these questions: Dr. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mādjid (Magued), *Institutions et cérémonial des Fatimides en Egypte*, 2 vols., Cairo 1953-5; Dr. ʿAtiya Muṣṭafā Musharrafa, *Nuẓum al-ḥukm bi-Miṣr fī ʿaṣr al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Cairo, 2nd ed., no date. Again, one special chapter (ix) deals with the organs of the administration and another (xii) with ceremonial in Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan's *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1958 (revised version of *Al-Fāṭimiyyūn fī Miṣr*, 1932), 264-325, 628-73.

Fāṭimid administration was a strongly centralized system, having at its head the caliph and the vizier, either with executive or with delegated powers (from Badr al-Djamālī onwards, the vizier is a Vizier of the Sword). Everything was under the control of the central administration, the provincial organs of government having no real autonomy although some governors, such as the govenor of Ḳūṣ for example, were able at time to attain great power. Administration was carried on through the *dīwāns* (offices or ministries), which were assembled sometimes at the palace of the vizier (as for example under Ibn Killis and al-Afḍal), sometimes at the palace of the caliph [see DIWĀN ii].

Officials, both civil and military (*arbāb al-aḳlām* and *arbāb al-suyūf*), both in the personal service of the caliph (*khawāṣṣ al-khalīfa*) and in the public service (military, administrative, financial, judicial, religious), were strictly organized in a hierarchy, the degrees of which were marked not only by differences of pay but also by the insignia peculiar to each rank and the places occupied in receptions held at the palace and in public processions. Some of the military officers belonged to the public service, like the Vizier of the Sword, the Grand Chamberlain, the *Isfahsalār*, the Bearer of the Umbrella, the Sword-bearer, the Grooms, etc., others belonged to the private service: these were eunuchs, those most exalted in dignity being the *muḥannak* eunuchs, distinguished by a special style of turban, among whom were the Master of the Audience-chamber, the Message-Bearer, the Major-Domo, the eunuch responsible for arranging the caliph's headgear (*shādd al-tādj*) etc. The officers of the pen included the Vizier of the Pen (when there was no Vizier of the Sword), the heads of the chancellery and the various *dīwāns*, the Administrator of the Public Treasury, some religious officials like the Chief *Ḳāḍī*, the Chief Missionnary, the *Muḥtasib*, the Ḳurʾān-reciters and other court-officials, like the palace physicians and poets. All these officials resided in the capital, this list not including those of the provinces. See the article MIṢR, and for more details the descriptions of al-Maḳrīzī, al-Ḳalḳashandī, and the works cited above; also M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fâtimite et le cérémonial byzantin: essai de comparaison*, in *Byzantion*, xxi (1951) fasc. 2, 355-420. For Fāṭimid ceremonial, see TASHRĪFĀT; for the processions, see MAWĀKIB; for the insignia and emblems of sovereignty, see MARĀSIM.

5. Economic activity during the Fāṭimid period. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī had found North Africa in a flourishing condition, thanks to the development of town life. This prosperity permitted the first Fāṭimids to dispose of valuable resources and to set about the establishment of a powerful fleet and army.

In spite of disturbances, rebellions and disorders, Fāṭimid Egypt in general enjoyed great prosperity, thanks to the stability of its administrative and financial apparatus, its rich revenues arising from taxes and dues, the income from state-owned shops, trade and custom-dues, and the influx of gold from he mines of Nubia. The annual rise of the Nile enriched its soil and sustained its agriculture, so that numerous different crops were produced, and, except when the river failed to rise high enough or when the dams and canals were neglected, agricultural productivity was sufficient. The crops are listed in Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit.*, 576 f.: wheat, barley, various vegetables, sugar-cane, dye-plants, animal-fodder; yet wheat had to be imported. The chief industrial crops were flax, sugar-cane, and, to a lesser degree, cotton. Production of wood—and that only soft-wood (sycamore, acacia)—was inadequate. For this subject see the geographers, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *Al-Ifāda wa 'l-iʿtibār bi-mā fī Miṣr min al-āthār*, tr. S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte par Abd al-Latîf*; D. Müller-Wodarg, *Die Landwirtschaft Aegyptens in der frühen Abbasidenzeit*, in *Isl.*, xxxii (1955); Ali Bahgat, *Les forêts en Egypte et leur administration au Moyen Age*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Egypte*, 4e série, i (1901), 141-58.

Industry flourished. The first place was occupied by weaving, encouraged by the cultivation of flax and carried on in the region of Tinnis, Damietta, Dabīḳ [*q.v.*]. At Cairo also were manufactured silk-stuffs, with various names: it was into a '*ḳurḳubī tustarī*' silk, blue in colour, that al-Muʿizz had had the map of the various regions woven (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 417). For the textile industry in Egypt see Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, in *Ars Islamica*, xiii-xiv (1948), 110 ff.; Ali Bahgat, *Les manufactures d'étoffes en Egypte au Moyen Age*, in *Mém. de l'Inst. Egyptien*, 1903; Ḥ. Zayyāt, *Thiyāb al-sharb*, in *Machriq*, xli/1, 137-41. Among the other industries, should be noted the wood-industry (for ship-building: on the arsenals see *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 193 f.), glass and crystal at al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria, pottery, ceramics, mosaic; metalwork (iron and copper: making of knives and scissors at Tinnīs), work in ivory and leather, paper-making, sugar, oil. For further details see Ḥ. Ibrāhīm Ḥasan's chapter *al-Ṣināʿa*.

In general, industry benefited from the luxury and pomp of the court, the liberal distribution of gifts and garments by the caliphs, and by the extravagance of viziers like al-Yāzūrī and al-Afḍal.

Trade, both internal and external, thrived, and Egypt carried on commercial relations with many countries. An important role in trade was played by the Jews, for the Fāṭimids do not seem to have imposed discriminatory customs tariffs, varying according to whether the traders were Jewish, Christian or Muslim. Trade with India was carried on through Ḳūṣ and Ay<u>dh</u>āb on the Red Sea, from whence the merchant-ships embarked. Cairo was in commercial relations with Abyssinia, Nubia, Constantinople (reached in twenty days' sailing), Italy—Amalfi, trade with which was particularly brisk (see Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, *PO*, xxiii, 447; Rosen, *The Emperor Basil Bulgaroctonus* (in Russian), 293-6; Gay, *L'Italie méridionale* ..., 585-6; Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, i, 99, 104-6), Pisa, Genoa, Venice (which sent wood for ship-building, to the profound displeasure of the Byzantine Emperor)—, Sicily (twenty days' sailing), North Africa, Spain, and Europe, particularly via Sicily. These countries bought spices, clothes, etc., and sent in return the commodities which Egypt lacked or could not produce in sufficient quantities: wheat, iron, wood, silk (Fayyūm produced only a little), wool, and cheese (which the Jews consumed in large quantities).

Details on trade will be found in al-Idrīsī, in Nāṣir-i <u>Kh</u>usraw, in the articles by B. Lewis and S. M. Stern noted above for India, and in S. M. Stern, *An original document from the Fatimid Chancery concerning Italian merchants*, in *Mél. Levi Della Vida*, ii, Rome 1956, 529-38. The studies of S. D. Goitein are particularly important in this connexion: *Records from the Cairo Geniza*, in *Exhibition Amer. Or. Society*, April 1961; *From the Mediterranean to India: Documents on the trade to India, South Arabia and East Africa from the eleventh and twelfth centuries*, in *Speculum*, xxix; *The Jewish India merchants of the Middle Ages*, in *India and Israel*, 1953; *New light on the beginnings of the Karimi merchants*, in *JESHO*, i (1958); *The main industries of the Mediterranean area as reflected in the records of the Cairo Geniza, ibid.*, iv/2 (1961); *The Cairo Geniza as a source for the history of Moslem civilisation*, in *Studia Islamica*, iii (1955), 75-91; *The Documents of the Cairo Geniza as a source for Mediterranean social history*, in *JAOS*, lxxx/2 (1960), 91-100; *Petitions to Fatimid Caliphs from the Cairo Geniza*, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, xi (1954), 30 ff.; *L'état actuel de la recherche sur les documents de la Geniza du Caire*, in *REJ*, 3e série, 1959-60, i; *La Tunisie du XIe siècle à la lumière des documents de la Geniza du Caire*, in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, ii, 1962, 559 ff. This author has promised a comprehensive work on the whole question. See also his *Jews and Arabs, their contact through the ages*, New York 1955 (French edition, *Juifs et Arabes*, Paris 1957). For Fāṭimid trade see also Ḥ. Ibr. Ḥasan, *op. cit.*, 595 ff.; Rashīd Muḥ. al-Barrāwī, *Ḥālat Miṣr al-iḳtiṣādiyya fī ʿahd al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Cairo 1948; G. Wiet, *Hist. de la Nat. égypt.*, *L'Égypte arabe*, 303-8; idem, *Les communications en Égypte au Moyen Age*, in *Rev. de la Soc. Royale d'Economie politique, de statistique et de législation*, xxiv, Cairo 1933; R. Idris, *Commerce maritime et ḳirāḍ en Berbérie orientale*, in *JESHO*, 1961, 226-39.

Contemporary sources of the Fāṭimid period give a picture of the economic activity of Cairo and al-Fusṭāṭ, for example the Persian traveller, Nāṣir-i <u>Kh</u>usraw in his *Safar-nāma* (on whom see, besides Schefer, who edited and translated the work, Yahya el-Khachab, *Nâṣir e Ḫosraw*, Cairo 1940). Similarly it is after contemporary sources that al-Maḳrīzī described the extraordinary wealth of the treasuries (*<u>kh</u>azā'in*) of the caliphs, and thus indicates how flourishing were luxury industries (*<u>Kh</u>iṭaṭ*, i, 408 f.; cf. al-Ḳalḳa<u>sh</u>andī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 475 f.); following the *K. al-<u>Dh</u>a<u>kh</u>ā'ir wa 'l-tuḥaf* of the Ḳāḍī al-Ra<u>sh</u>īd b. al-Zubayr, he lists all the contents of al-Mustanṣir's treasury of garments and his treasury of jewels, perfumes and valuables (see the edition by M. Ḥamīdullāh, Kuwait 1959, 249 f. These treasuries, described also in Magued, *op. cit.*, ii, had earlier been studied by Quatremère, *Mém. géogr. et hist. sur l'Egypte*, ii, 366 ff., by Inostran<u>ts</u>ev, *Toržestvenniy vezd fatimidskikh <u>Kh</u>alifov*, St. Petersburg 1905, 92 ff. and by Kahle, *Die Schätze der Fâtimiden*, in *ZDMG*, xiv (1935), 329 ff. with trans. of *<u>Kh</u>iṭaṭ*, i, 414-6. The inventory of the treasures of the palace of al-Afḍal (Ibn Muyassar, 57 f.), which it took al-Āmir and his secretaries forty days to make, also testifies to the same luxury and economic prosperity.

6. Cultural activity in the Fāṭimid period. In the Fāṭimid period an intense intellectual, literary and artistic activity developed.

In North Africa court-poets flourished, one of whom, Ibn Hāni' [*q.v.*], was a fervent Ismāʿīlī. On al-Iyādī and other poets, see H. H. ʿAbdal-Wahhāb, *Al-muntaḵhab al-madrasī min al-adab al-tūnisī*, Tunis 1944. The caliphs themselves composed verses (see the *Sīrat <u>Dj</u>awdhar*). The *dīwān* of Tamīm, the son of al-Muʿizz, has been published. Verses by him, and by various Fāṭimid caliphs, will be found in Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Aʿẓamī, *ʿAbḳariyyat al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Cairo 1960, 133 f., 235 f. In North Africa too the *ḳāḍī* Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] composed his historical, juridical and esoteric works, as did <u>Dj</u>aʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman [*q.v.*], who left the Yemen for North Africa after the death of his father. The caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Muʿizz took part in these activities: some works of al-Nuʿmān, it is known, owe much to the collaboration of al-Muʿizz.

ʿUbayd Allāh was responsible for the foundation of the town of al-Mahdiyya, with its mosque, palace, and various public buildings; al-Manṣūr founded Ṣabra (al-Manṣūriyya) with its sumptuous palaces. On this subject see G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, 65-6, 69-70, 78-81, 89-92, 93-118; S. M. Zbiss, *Mahdia et Sabra-Mansoûriya, nouveaux documents d'art fâtimite d'Occident*, in *JA*, ccxliv (1956), 79-93; Ḥ. Ibr. Ḥasan, *op. cit.*, 524-6. On these two towns see also the *Sīrat <u>Dj</u>aw<u>dh</u>ar* (index).

In Egypt, cultural activity was still more vigorous. Poetry was cultivated by the caliphs themselves, and their court welcomed even non-Ismāʿīlī poets, such as ʿUmāra al-Yamanī [*q.v.*]. There was vigorous encouragement of works on religion, on the exposition of Ismāʿīlī doctrines, on the allegorical commentary of the Ḳur'ān, on philosophy, and on the popularization of scientific learning. The Fāṭimid period is characterized by a burst of intellectual curiosity analogous to that of the 18th century in Europe. See Ḥ. Ibr. Ḥasan, ch. xi; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950; Brockelmann, S I, 323 f., 714 f.; Ivanow, *Rise*; and the articles on the philosophers Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī, al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-Dīn al-<u>Sh</u>īrāzī, Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, etc., and on the Encyclopaedia of the I<u>kh</u>wān al-Ṣafā'.

The Fāṭimid period was also distinguished by men of learning: the mathematician Ibn Hay<u>th</u>am al-Baṣrī, invited to Egypt by al-Ḥākim; the astronomer

ʿAlī b. Yūnus al-Ṣadafī, author of *al-Zīdj al-Ḥākimī*; the physicians Ibn Saʿīd al-Tamīmī, in the entourage of Ibn Killis, Mūsā b. Alʿazār al-Isrāʾīlī and his sons Isḥāḳ and Ismāʿīl, in the reigns of al-Muʿizz and al-ʿAzīz, the famous Ibn Riḍwān, whose dispute with Ibn Buṭlān has been studied by J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The medical controversy between Ibn Buṭlān of Baghdad and Ibn Riḍwān of Cairo* (publication no. 13 of the Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University), Cairo 1937 (cf. J. Schacht, *Ueber den Hellenismus in Baghdad und Cairo*, in *ZDMG*, xc/xv (1936), 526 ff.), Manṣūr b. Sahlān b. Muḳashshir, al-Ḥākim's Christian physician (cf. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, *PO*, xxiii, 464).

The Fāṭimid period was also rich in authors on various subjects; the historians Ibn Zūlāḳ, al-Musabbiḥī, al-Kuḍāʿī, the author of *K. al-Diyārāt*, al-Shābushtī, the librarian of al-ʿAzīz, al-Muhallabī, the author of a geographical work composed for al-ʿAzīz, Ibn al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾihī, son of the vizier, an important source of al-Maḳrīzī, the *ḳāḍī* al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, author of the *K. al-Dhakhāʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf*, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, al-Ḳurṭī, who composed his history in the reign of the last Fāṭimid caliph, etc. [*qq.v.*].

The Fāṭimid period, as G. Wiet has also said, is "une des plus passionantes de l'histoire de l'Egypte musulmane". The dynasty, born of an original ideological movement within Shīʿism which developed to a degree hitherto unknown and aroused extraordinary devotion for the triumph of the cause, established itself by force of arms in North Africa and formed a powerful empire in Egypt. To them were turned the eyes and aspirations of the Ismāʿīlīs throughout the Muslim world and their sympathizers. The history of this dynasty dominates the history of the Mediterranean Near East for two centuries. Having suffered from the prejudices and hostility of the Sunnīs, it has not always been described by Sunnī writers with understanding; but for some years now it had enjoyed a renewal of interest.

The Fāṭimid dynasty had periods of greatness, thanks to its administrative and financial organization, its economic development, the flourishing intellectual and artistic activity, the pomp of court and palace, which was, as William of Tyre testifies, maintained up to the end, the ceremonial and ostentatious feasts, which immediately provoke comparison with Constantinople and far surpass what had previously been known at Baghdād. But it suffered also periods of misery and famine, bloody struggles between military factions, and a disastrous end, among the intrigues of rival viziers appealing for the intervention of foreign powers. Its history is full of contrasts. Both its greatness and its decadence offer attractive material to the historian and confer upon the dynasty a niche of its own in history.

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(M. CANARD)

FĀṬIMID ART. The political history of the Fāṭimids forms an indispensable background to an understanding of the development of their art. It allows us to distinguish two successive periods in it: one Ifrīḳiyan period, which extends from 308/908, the date of the installation of the Mahdī in Ḳayrawān and of the foundation of al-Mahdiyya, until 362/973, which saw the departure of al-Muʿizz and the establishment of Cairo as the city of the Caliphs; then an Egyptian period, which lasts from 362/973 up to the collapse of the Caliphate in 567/1171. To this division in time a geographical division must be added. The art which the Fāṭimids transplanted into Egypt continued to flourish in eastern 'Barbary', thanks to the Zīrids and the Ḥammādids, vassals of Cairo, and it extended its influence over both Muslim and Norman Sicily.

Al-Mahdiyya, the city of the Mahdī on the Tunisian coast, preserves, apart from the ruins of its Fāṭimid fortifications, a mosque and traces of the palace of al-Ḳaʾim. The mosque, very much altered, has a porch projecting in front whose central bay is framed on either side by two storeys of niches. This motif, which reminds us of Roman triumphal arches, was to pass into the Fāṭimid style of Egypt. The palace of al-Ḳāʾim (322-34/934-46) which stood opposite the palace of the Mahdī,

his father, still keeps its beautifully constructed walls, with an entrance jutting out from the façade, and a hall of state whose floor is covered with a stone mosaic, the last North African use of this kind of pavement. A palace of Ṣabra Manṣūriyya at the gates of Ḳayrawān seems to date from the time of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Manṣūr (334-41/946-53). Here we see a large hall, a kind of ante-room from which, side by side, open three deep rooms, the central one of which, having no front wall, appears in the shape of an *īwān*. A similar arrangement relates this palace of Ṣabra, which is presumed Fāṭimid, to the Ṭūlūnid houses of Fusṭāṭ. It reveals connexions between Egypt and Ifrīḳiya prior to the departure of the Caliph al-Muʿizz.

Even before this departure took place, the Fāṭimid general, al-Djawhar, had undertaken the construction in Cairo of the mosque of al-Azhar, which was to be considerably enlarged later on and to become the Muslim university which we know to-day. The original sanctuary shows by its plan and decorations the survival of the Ṭūlūnid tradition; but the influence of Ifrīḳiya, whence the new masters of the country came, is also to be found. The five transversal aisles which make up the hall of prayer, as in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, are interrupted in the middle by a perpendicular aisle which is wider, bordered with columns joined in pairs and having a cupola at each end, probably influenced by the Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān.

The mosque of al-Ḥākim (384-94/990-1003) combines in the same way elements imported from Ifrīḳiya and elements preserved from Ṭūlūnid architecture. The porch, projecting from the front of the building and covered by a vault giving entrance to the vast court-yard, seems Ifrīḳiyan, inspired by the mosque of Mahdiyya. The influence of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn shows itself in the hall of prayer with its five transversal aisles, whose *arcs brisés* rest on brick pillars cantoned with small false columns. The two minarets which rise at the front angles of the mosque have a cylindrical core enveloped in a solid mass of square design. Like that of the porch, the ornamentation of these towers in very low relief employing geometrical and vegetal designs marks a decisive step in the elaboration of Muslim decorative art. One hundred and twenty-two years later than the mosque of al-Ḥākim, the little al-Aḳmar mosque (519/1125) is worth notice also for the ornamentation on its façade. The entrance in the projecting forepart of the building is ornamented with a great high-relief flanked by two storeys of niches.

The mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ is the latest in date of the Fāṭimid mosques (555/1160). Built above shops, its façade is made up of two projecting foreparts joined by a portico. The sanctuary has three transversal aisles, the central passage which leads up to the *miḥrāb* being distinguished only by a wider separation of the pillars.

Apart from these mosques, the Fāṭimid period saw the construction of a great number of mausoleums such as those of al-Djaʿfarī, Sayyida ʿĀtika, al-Ḥaṣawātī and Shaykh Yūnus. They consist traditionally of a square chamber with a cupola. This cupola is supported by squinches at the four corners. In the 6th/12th century these squinches multiplied and were superimposed upon each other, producing corbels of *muḳarnas* (= stalactites), whose original model seems likely to have come from Persia.

A tomb constitutes at any rate the essential element of the *mashhad* of al-Djuyūshī, built in 478/1085 on the Muḳaṭṭam Hill by the *wazīr* Badr al-Djamālī to hold his sepulchre. This building consists of four parts: a front portion, surmounted by the minaret, where the door is situated; a middle portion with a court flanked by two chambers with wagons-vaulted roofs; at the back there is a sanctuary of three aisles covered with herring-bone vaulting and a great cupola in front of the *miḥrāb*; finally there is the chamber of the tomb itself which is joined laterally to the sanctuary. Certain peculiarities may be observed in this monument which were to perpetuate themselves in Egyptian art: the minaret formed of three towers one on top of the other, two square in design and one octagonal which surmounts a cornice of *muḳarnas* and is capped by a dome, a possible prototype of the future minarets of Cairo. Equally worth noticing is the importance given to the cupola in the sanctuary, the sharp-angled profile of this cupola, and the outline analogous with the so-called "Persian" arches whose two vertical sides are bent to form a right-angle at the summit.

Between 480/1087 and 484/1091, the same all-powerful *wazīr*, Badr al-Djamālī, gave Cairo a new city wall. Armenian by birth and surrounding himself with Armenian troops, he brought from his country architects to whom the Fāṭimid capital owes three of its most beautiful buildings, the three gates called Bāb Zuwayla, Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Futūḥ. Construction and ornamentation, the magnificence of the walls, the outline of the vaults and semi-circular arches, everything in these majestic entrances to the city springs from Hellenistic tradition.

Whereas the palaces known from manuscripts to have been built by Fāṭimid Caliphs in the centre of Cairo have disappeared, those of the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād preserve, perhaps, the record of their civil foundations. This Berber capital was built among the mountains of eastern Algeria at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, but it profited greatly by the ruin of Ḳayrawān, victim of the invasion of the Banū Hilāl, and at the end of this same century knew a brief period of splendour. A mosque whose minaret dominates the vast field of ruins, traces of palaces of which two, the keep of Ḳaṣr al-Manār (the Castle of the Lighthouse) and the Dār al-Baḥr (the Palace of the Lake), were excavated in 1908 and a third is now being excavated, give us knowledge of this North African architecture nourished by oriental influences, inspired not only by Egypt but also by ʿIrāḳ and Persia. It suffices to remember the long niches which decorate the front of the minaret and those of the palaces, a theme deeply imprinted in the architecture of the Sāsānids, the mirror of water in the court-yard of Dār al-Baḥr, the inlaid ceramic work paving and lining the great halls where faïence with metallic reflections is used, and finally the *muḳarnas* (stalactites), proved to be an Iranian invention, whose first use in the Islamic west is to be found at the Ḳalʿa.

The excavations of the Ḳalʿa have filled an important gap in our knowledge. Bougie, to which the Banū Ḥammād moved at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, does not provide a similar store of riches. Only some parts of the city wall and the great stone arch, which formed the entry to the harbour and its boats, have survived out of the buildings of the second Ḥammādid capital.

Nevertheless we are inclined to regard Bougie as an important step on the road taken by Fāṭimid art in its penetration of Sicily; many indications authorize this belief. It was from Bougie undoubtedly as well as from al-Mahdiyya, refuge of the last

Zīrids, or from the Tunis of the Banū Khurāsān, rather than from Cairo, that Palermo received the ground-plan of the pavilions on its outskirts. The Ḥammādid palaces help us to understand better the Ziza and Cuba of the Norman kings.

Within the Maghrib and as far as Andalusia, there is no place that has not to some extent been influenced by Fāṭimid art. To this distant influence can be attributed the adoption by the Islamic west of *muḳarnas* (stalactites) and inlays of enamelled clay in the Almohad period.

The propagation of these art forms can be explained by the journeys of artisans (the ruin of the cities of eastern 'Barbary' following on the invasion of the nomad Arabs must have provoked numerous departures among them) and also by the export of *objets d'art* from one place to another.

Fāṭimid Egypt produced indeed a remarkable amount of activity in the decorative arts and an amazing development of luxury. The opulence of the Caliphs and the high functionaries is vouched for by Arab authors such as al-Maḳrīzī who describes the treasure of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir, or Ibn Muyassar enumerating the riches of the *wazīr* al-Afḍal, son of Badr al-Djamālī. The artistic creations of the Fāṭimid epoch above all in Egypt but sometimes also in Spain (the kinship between the works of the two countries leaves us sometimes in doubt of their origin) are the glory of European museums and church treasures.

In the 11th and 12th centuries techniques concerned with bronze, faïence, glass and cut crystal, jewels and textiles were the most flourishing and show an extremely refined artistic taste. The same decorative elements were used as in monumental sculpture: lettering, interlacing, either star-shaped and geometrical or based on plant and occasionally animal motifs. Indeed, notwithstanding strict orthodoxy, there were many representations of living creatures both human and animal. Such in the Cairo Museum are the friezes in carved wood from a Fāṭimid palace displaying musicians, dancers and hunters, or the ewers and fountain motifs in bronze of which the most celebrated is the griffin in the Campo Santo at Pisa, or the gilded faïences with representations of persons, or the brocades decorated with animals confronting each other. The freedom of the Shīʿī masters with regard to the *sunna* undoubtedly explains the attitude of the artisans in the matter of iconography, but certainly another factor was the personality of these artisans and the traditions which they continued. Fāṭimid art is a cross-roads of influences, as will have been made clear by what has been said so far. To architectural elements from Ifrīḳiya, to the Ṭūlūnid and Mesopotamian heritage, to the Syrian contribution which shows itself in military construction, is added, above all in ornamentation and the decorative arts, the legacy of Persia which the common faith united with the masters of Egypt, and, no less important, the Hellenistic legacy handed down by the Copts. It is impossible to exaggerate the part played by the Christians of Egypt in the formation of the Fāṭimid style and of that which we designate by the rather vague but traditional name of arabesque.

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FAṬĪN, pseudonym of **DĀWŪD**, (1229-83/1814-67), Turkish biographer and poet, the last of the Ottoman *tedhkire*-writers. He was born in Drama, in Western Thrace, the son of the local notable Ḥādjdjī Khālid Bey. After spending several years in Egypt, where his uncle lived, he returned to Istanbul and occupied various minor posts in government offices.

His *dīwān*, published posthumously by his son, shows him as a mediocre poet. His main work, the *Khātimat al-ashʿār*, is the continuation of the *tedhkire* of Ṣafāʾī (completed in 1132/1720) and that of Sālim (completed 1134/1721) and contains the biographies of poets from 1135/1722 to his own day.

Completed in 1269/1852 and printed lithographically in Istanbul in 1271/1855, Faṭīn's *Tedhkire* is of particular use for the biographies of his own contemporaries.

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(Fahir İz)

FATRA (Ar.), which in general means a relaxing, and then an interval of time (*e.g.*, the modern *fatrat al-intiḳāl* "period of transition"), is applied more particularly to the period separating two prophets or two successive messengers (*rasūl*); al-Djāḥiẓ (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, Cairo 1352/1933, 133-4), in his exposition of prophetic history, uses the term *fatra* for the end of the period separating two prophets, making it clear that the "slackening" (of observance of the earlier prophet's teachings) is not a "break" (*ḳaṭʿa*). Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 85) for example uses this term to denote the lapse of time that intervened between Hūd [*q.v.*] and Ṣāliḥ [*q.v.*], but in its more current usage (see *LA*, s.v.) it is applied to the period without prophets from the time of Jesus Christ to Muḥammad. It seems that the Muslims who had heard of a considerable number of pre-Christian prophets did not take long to remark the gap of six centuries which was revealed between Jesus and Muḥammad; and so they attempted, if not to fill this gap, at least to discover personages who had rejected the worship of idols without necessarily adopting Judaism or Christianity, lived a more or less ascetic life and, in some instances, had announced the coming of the Prophet. Ibn Ḳutayba, probably on the basis of sources of the 2nd/8th century, is the first, it seems, to enumerate (*Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1960, 58) "the men who had a religion before the mission of the Prophet"; in this way he names Riʾāb al-Shannī, Waraḳa b. Nawfal, Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, Asʿad Abū Karib, Ḳuss b. Sāʿida, Ṣirma b. Abī Anas, Khālid b. Sinān. But he does not use the word *fatra*, whilst in the following century al-Masʿūdī, who clearly relies on the *Maʿārif*, describes as *ahl al-fatra* (*Murūdj*, i, 124-48) the personages named by Ibn Ḳutayba, to whom he adds some others who, he states, "have believed in a single God and in the resurrection". He even asserts that two of them, Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*] and Khālid b. Sinān, are regarded as prophets by part of the Muslim community.

In later times the term *fatra* was also applied, by analogy, to periods of political interregnum, as for example in Spain after the collapse of the Caliphate and in the Ottoman Empire after the capture and death of Bāyazīd I. (Ch. Pellat)

FATTĀḤĪ, Persian poet of the Tīmūrid period, born at Nīshāpūr at an unspecified date, died in 852 or 853/1448-9. His name was in fact Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. Sībak, and the *takhalluṣ* "Fattāḥī" is simply derived from the anagram of the Arabic translation of his Persian name Sībak ("little apple", Ar. *tuffāḥ* "apple"). His most famous work is the *mathnawī* of about 5,000 distichs in *hazadj* metre (⏑– – –/⏑– – –/⏑– – –), entitled *Dastūr-i ʿushshāḳ* (The rule of lovers) and known also by the title *Ḥusn u-Dil* (Beauty and Heart), from the names of its two allegorical protagonists. It was completed in 840/1436-7; as, towards the end, the author mentions the plague of 838/1434-5, its composition must have been spread over several years. It is impossible in a few lines to summarize the contents of this poem in which all the "concepts" of the unique but varied "drama of love" of the classical Persian *ghazal* appear in the form of persons: Heart (*dil*), son of King Intellect (*ʿaḳl*), Beauty (*ḥusn*), daughter of King Love (*ʿishḳ*), Glance (*naẓar*), Mouth (*dahān*), Eyelash (*muzha*), Body (*badan*), Tresses (*zulf*), Rival (*raḳīb*), etc., so much so that the poem has justly been called an "Index der Bildersprache der orientalischen Erotik". The style is overloaded with rhetorical embellishments (particularly in the letters exchanged between the two lovers), and, despite its undoubted interest from the point of view of knowledge of the metaphorical language of Persian lyrics, the general effect of the poem finally becomes somewhat tedious as a result of the perpetual use of allegory. However, it is not accurate to speak of "decadence", as certain contemporary Persian critics have done. It was a question of searching for new ways to excape from the "perfect" world of Ḥāfiẓian symbolism. The living symbol is here replaced by allegory by means of the personification of abstract concepts, a device also used by other poets of the period (*e.g.*, Kātibī), which became one of the basic elements of what is called the "Indian style". Another element of this style which was already in existence at that period and even occurs in Fattāḥī is the marked tendency to use hyperbole (in the description of a perfectly smooth castle wall, he writes "the stones of its wall were so limpid that they reflected a hair several *farsang*s away"); moreover, the sophistication of the psychological study of the characters (a matter in which Niẓāmī excelled, but here carried to extremes), the use of bookish terms in metaphors (the letters of the alphabet, for example) or of words denoting objects in current use, are all elements which appeared in the "Indian style", though functioning in a new way. More readable (and an excellent example of Persian prose intermingled with verse), but perhaps less interesting from the point of view of style, is the summary in prose of the same poem which Fattāḥī made under the title *Ḥusn u-dil*. In addition, the poet also wrote a *Shabistān-i khayāl* (Bedroom of Fantasy), again in verse and prose (completed in 843/1439-40), a short poem entitled *Taʿbīr-nāma* (Book of interpretation of dreams), a *Kitāb-i Asrārī wa-khumārī* (unpublished, and of which only very few mss. exist; perhaps a discussion between a wine drinker and a hashish smoker, with *taḍmīn* (insertion of lines from famous poets). The titles alone suffice to show the new orientations for widening the content of poetry in this period which, far from being decadent, lays the foundations for possible new stylistic developments. But these developments continued along these lines perhaps more in "outer Iran" (meaning India, Central Asia and Ottoman Turkey) than in Iran proper. In fact, if it is true that Fattāḥī's secluded life as a dervish left him comparatively little known in Iran, the success of his narrative, in which personified concepts took a dramatic part (this seems to be an invention and he himself was aware of its originality, as he was to state in his own poem) was very great: he was imitated in verse and prose in various Islamic literatures. For India, besides the *Sab-ras* of Wadjhī (1044/1635), in Deccan Urdu prose, we should mention Khʷādja Muḥammad Bīdil who, in 1094/1683, attempted an adaptation of it into elaborate Persian prose, while an unpublished *mathnawī*, also in Persian, is the work of a certain Dāwūd Elči (1054/1644) and is preserved in the Bombay University Library. In addition, Dhawḳī (1108/1697),

Mudjrimī (1086/1675), Sayyid Muḥammad Walī Allāh Ḳādirī (about 1180/1766) imitated him in Deccan Urdu, and Khʷādja (1264/1848) wrote on the same subject in northern Urdu. In Ottoman Turkish he was imitated by Lāmiʿī (d. 937/1531), Āhī (d. 923/1517) and Walī Ṣidḳī.

Bibliography: Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarā'*, 417-8; ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī, *Madjālis al-nafā'is*, 13, 135; Khʷāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii/3, 108, 133; Yār-i Shāṭir, *Shiʿr-i fārsī dar ʿahd-i Shāhrūkh*, Tehran 1334 ff., 180-4 and *passim*; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 275; A. Bausani, *Storia delle letterature del Pakistan*, Milan 1958, 111-7 (with a detailed résumé of the poem). The *Ḥusn u-dil* in prose has been translated into English (A. Browne, Dublin 1801; W. Price, 1828) and German (Dvořák, Vienna 1889, with the Persian text, an introduction and important notes). The *Dastūr-i ʿushshāḳ* has been published by Greenshields (Berlin 1926). Part of the *Shabistān-i khayāl* (ch. I) has been translated by Ethé (Leipzig 1865, 1868).

(A. Bausani)

FATWĀ, opinion on a point of law, the term "law" applying, in Islam, to all civil or religious matters. The act of giving a *fatwā* is a *futyā* or *iftā'*; —the same term is used to denote the profession of the adviser;—the person who gives a *fatwā*, or is engaged in that profession, is a *muftī*;—the person who asks for a *fatwā* is a *mustaftī*.

The institution of the *futyā* corresponds with the Roman institution of *jus respondendi* and is comparable with it in many respects.

The need for legal advice was soon felt in Islam. The ever-increasing number of the adherents of the new religion, which governed, through its totalitarian character, the temporal as well as the spiritual aspects of daily life, and the survival of the laws and customs of the conquered territories, which had to be harmonized, in some way or another, with novel precepts and integrated within the nascent Muslim *corpus juris*, necessitated a continual recourse to the opinions of competent persons.

Furthermore, the *muftīs*, like the *prudentes* of Roman law, played a considerable part in building up the structure of Islamic law. Compilations of "responsa" by *muftīs* of repute count among the most important legal manuals.

The conditions required by the classical doctrine for the exercise of the profession, or even for the delivery of a *fatwā*, are: Islam, integrity or *ʿadāla* [see ʿAdl], legal knowledge (*idjtihād*), or the ability to reach, by personal reasoning, the solution of a problem. Accordingly, authors observe that, in those times when there exist no jurists having this ability but only those who report the opinion of their predecessors, their opinions do not constitute *fatwās* properly so-called but simple 'reports of opinion'.

As opposed to a judge, a *muftī* can be a woman, a slave, a blind or dumb person (except in the case of a *muftī* who is a public official).

The afore-mentioned conditions are equally required whether it is a case of an individual and isolated *fatwā* being given or of *futyā* being exercised in a professional capacity.

Fatwās may be given to private individuals, to magistrates in the exercise of their profession, and to any other authorities. The law, indeed, particularly urges magistrates to seek opinions; and in those countries, like Muslim Spain, where the institution of the *shūrā* [*q.v.*] developed, permanent *muftīs* were attached to the courts of magistrates as advisers (*mushāwir*).

In principle *futyā* was an independent profession, but became associated with public authority in a variety of ways. The State controlled the exercise of the profession, such control normally being one of the functions of the magistrate, who could, in necessary cases, subject a *muftī* to "interdiction". From the 1st/7th century, the State itself undertook the designation of jurists qualified to act as *muftīs* in order to influence the choice made by private individuals. Later, official posts of *futyā* were created, and it thus became a public office, ranking, like the judicial magistracy, in the category of religious functions. Holders of these posts, however, remained at the service of private individuals; but they were more directly attached to the public service. Thus in the Mamlūk State, these *muftīs* formed part of the Council of Justice (*madjlis al-maẓālim*) of the Sultan and the provincial governors.

At certain periods and in certain areas, as in the Ottoman Empire, the function of *muftī* could be combined with that of magistrate; the holder of the office was merely forbidden to give *fatwās* in relation to a legal action which was brought in his court.

The public function of *futyā* is without prejudice to the private exercise of the profession. However, with the introduction of codes and their provisions borrowed from European systems in almost all the branches of law, the profession has fallen into disuse; even in those matters which, like personal status and *waḳfs*, are still generally governed by the principles of Islamic law, the practice of *fatwās* seems to be becoming obsolescent.

It remains only as a public office, rather in the manner of a historical survival, stamped with the Islamic character of the State. Furthermore, Islamic states with a modern political structure no longer have recourse to the holders of this office in order to establish the legitimacy of their legislative activities. In States where the Islamic community forms only a part of the total population—Lebanon, for example—the function of *futyā* has undergone a remarkable transformation: the "Mufti of the Republic" has become "the religious leader of the community and its representative, in this respect, with the authorities"; he is the head of all the officials of the Muslim cult and the service of *waḳfs*; he is elected for life by a college composed of qualified members of the community (Legislative Decree 18, of 13 January 1955). There remain, however, *muftīs* in the traditional sense, under the authority of the "Mufti of the Republic".

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Imprimerie Belles-Lettres, Beyrouth, 220 (Eng. tr., Rosenthal, i, 451 ff.); Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, in *Ann. Univer. de Lyon*, i, 1938, first ed., 323 ff. and the references there indicated; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910, 55 ff.; Ibn Nudjaym, *al-Baḥr al-rā'iḳ*, Cairo n.d., 265 ff.; Damas Efendi, *Madjmaʿ al-anhur*, Istanbul 1328/1910, 154 ff. (E. Tyan)

ii.—Ottoman Empire

Among the early Ottomans the function of *iftā'* appears to have been of the same casual nature it had hitherto exhibited in all other regions of Islamic domination: anyone prominent for his learning and piety could be asked to act as a mutually acceptable arbiter in a dispute involving a point of law and his opinion was allowed to be decisive. However, as the orderly administration of the rapidly expanding empire was seen to demand a more unified system of legal practice, such authority was gradually con-

fined to a few individuals of public position (the *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker*s, the preceptors of the Sultans, the *ḳāḍī*s of great cities like Bursa and Edirne, etc.) to whom appeal could be made against the decisions of lesser *müftī*s. But this, too, was unsatisfactory as it seemed to secularize the divine law and make it an instrument of the ruler's will; sometime, therefore, in the reign of Murād II (824-55/1421-51) the right to issue *fetwā*s was vested exclusively in an individual known as the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-islām* [*q.v.*], who, although appointed by the Sultan, had no part in the councils of the state, received no fees for the decisions he delivered, and was held to be above worldly considerations. He had no contact with the litigants or their advocates; every matter to be put before him was drafted in hypothetical terms by a clerk of the *fetwā odasï* known as the *müsweddedji* and examined as to correctness of presentation by another clerk of the same office, the *mümeyyiz*, so that ultimately it was only a pure question of law on which he had to decide. These decisions were recorded and preserved by the *fetwā emīni* in a special records office (*fetwāk̲h̲āne*) where they could be referred to did the occasion arise. It was these three individuals who shared the fee charged for a *fetwā*, which in the middle of the 17th century was eight *aḳče* (Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1670, 109). Although in the course of time the office of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-islām* expanded greatly to include numerous other departments and officials (cf. its organization under Muṣṭafā K̲h̲ayrī Ef. in 1914-6 as given in the *ʿIlmiyye sālnāmesi*, Istanbul 1334, 140 ff.), the section concerned with the *fetwā* remained substantially as described. Selections from the *fetwā*s of certain distinguished *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s were occasionally collected into book form, but neither these nor any of the decisions preserved in the *fetwāk̲h̲āne* were of value as legal precedents; case-law as such is unknown.

Individuals with the title of *müftī* are to be found acting along with the *ḳāḍī*s throughout all the provinces but they have no connexion with *fetwā* other than in etymology. While in theory the *müftī* should be a man deeply versed in the canonical works of his *madhhab* and of an unimpeachable character, in practice it was only the latter quality that was demanded in these provincials. For as the *ḳāḍī* was usually a transient and a stranger to the district to which he was appointed, and was felt, moreover, to be the agent and the voice of the secular power, his judgments only achieved the authority of religion when they had the implicit sanction of some elderly person locally respected for his piety and somewhat above the very low average level of education. Occasionally a *ḳāḍī* who had retired from office might serve in this capacity in his place of residence, as might a member of one of the local learned families in the larger cities, but otherwise the *müftī*s were not of the *ʿulemā* class and their presence in the provinces was only necessary to satisfy the legalistic distinction between *ḳaḍā'*, "case judgment", and *iftā'*, "interpretative judgment" (cf. Ö. N. Bilmen, *Hukukı Islâmiyye ve ıstılahatı fıkhiyye kamusu*, Istanbul 1948-52, i, 258; vi, 487) and to avoid the expense and delay of constantly having to refer to Istanbul for rulings from the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-islām*. Though these *müftī*s would hold a document of appointment from the latter, they were in no sense part of a centralized organization and their only income from the office was a share in the *ḳāḍī*'s fee for cases in which they participated. Such was the position in the "homelands" of the Ottoman Empire (Rūmili and Anatolia) where the Ḥanafī *madhhab* was followed exclusively. However, in the Arab provinces (Egypt, Syria, North Africa) where *ḳāḍī*s were appointed from Istanbul only to a few prominent cities (Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Mecca, Medina)—and these merely as sinecures on the road to higher office—earlier traditions and practices were allowed to remain in force; here the *müftī*s of the various other *madhhab*s were frequently the chief religious and judicial dignitaries and were recognized as such by the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-islām* who (for a price) issued their patents of office and by the civil authority who enforced their judgments.

The *fetwā* document was of a conventional form and varied little over the centuries. It was headed by a pious invocation in Arabic, often written in a very involved and stylized manner and varying from period to period according to the preferences of the drafting clerk; after the middle of the 12th/18th century, however, the formula *al-tawfīḳ minhu*, "guidance is from Him", became invariable. The remainder of the document was in Turkish and was introduced by the words: *bu mes'ele* (or *k̲h̲uṣūṣ*) *beyānïnda e'imme-i ḥanefiyyeden djewāb ne wedjhledir ki*..., "in what way is this problem answered by the Ḥanafī imāms...", and there followed an exposition of the matter in dispute couched in hypothetical terms with the identity of the parties involved concealed behind aliases (Zayd, ʿAmr; Hind, Zaynab). The exposition concluded, the single point at issue was presented as a direct interrogative, and this was followed by some variation of the formula of petition: *beyān buyurulup methāb ve me'djūr oluna*, "may this be explained, and may it (the explanation) be rewarded in the Hereafter", which later was always abbreviated to *beyān buyurula*. The decision was written on the same page in the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*'s own hand; introduced by the word *al-djawāb*, "answer", the characters of which were extended so as to mark a division between what preceded and what followed, the fallibility of all human judgement is immediately acknowledged by the phrase *Allāhu aʿlam*, "God knows best", written on the same line. The answer is always very brief, frequently a mere "yes" or "no" (*olur*, *olmaz*), never supported by reasons or citations from authority, and the document concludes with the signature of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* (the use of a seal was prohibited unless his physical condition made writing impossible).

The office of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islam was abolished in 1924, at the same time as the Ottoman Caliphate. It was replaced by a department for religious affairs, attached to the office of the Prime Minister, with a head appointed by him.

Bibliography: see S̲H̲AYK̲H̲ AL-ISLĀM.

(J. R. WALSH)

FĀ'W (ḲARYAT AL-, WĀDĪ AL-)—At approximately 45° 10′ E and 19° 15′ N, some 70 km. south of the Wādī al-Dawāsir gap, the bed of Wādī al-Fā'w cuts across the prominent Central Arabian escarpment of Djabal Ṭuwayḳ. At the widest point the banks of the gap are about 18 km. apart. The wādī is generally dry, and in the rare floods drains north-eastward to join Wādī al-Dawāsir. Near the southern edge of the Wādī al-Fā'w gap, approximately two km. from the scarp itself, are three wells and the extensive remains of the ancient settlement of Ḳaryat al-Fā'w. The wells are still being used, but permanent habitation ceased a number of centuries ago. The ruins of the large settlement consist of remains of a number of houses, tombs, and a few mounds of undetermined

nature. Construction is of brick and stone masonry with lavish use of the locally available gypsum. Present indications, based on pottery, are that this settlement was in existence during the 2nd century B.C., and from other surface remains as well as from inscriptions in the vicinity it seems likely that it was once a Sabaean outpost. Surface finds also indicate that the settlement was, at least during a part of its existence, contemporaneous with that of al-Ukhdūd in Wādī Nadjrān.

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FAWDJ [see ḤARB, vii—India].

FAWDJDĀR, as described by Abu' l-Faḍl (cf. *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Eng. transl. by Jarrett, Calcutta 1949, 41-2) was both an executive and military officer, the administrative head of a *sarkār* (district) under the Mughals. However, during the Sultanate period the *kōtwāls* [*q.v.*], who were stationed in newly-built fortresses at strategic points to police the roads, came later to be called *fawdjdārs*; but the *kōtwāls* also continued to exist and perform the duties of modern prefects of city police. While the responsibility for the general administration and civil affairs rested with the *shiḳḳdārs*, the *fawdjdārs* were charged with the maintenance of law and order within their respective jurisdictions. Baranī [*q.v.*] speaks of both *shiḳḳdārs* and *fawdjdārs* during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (752-90/1351-88). He speaks of their being jointly detailed to quell agrarian disturbances in the Doāb (cf. *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Calcutta 1862, 479). The *fawdjdārs* in the pre-Mughal period were akin to the modern zone-commanders under Martial Law, collaborating with the civil authorities but having different areas under their control. The *fawdjdārs* under Shēr Shāh Sūr (945-52/1538-45) performed two kinds of functions: they acted both as regular heads of the *sarkārs* and in cases of emergency or for military purposes acted as *ḳal'adārs* (commandants) of frontier forts or outposts. The back-bone of the central administration, they could be deputed to perform any kinds of duties throughout the empire. Normally one *fawdjdār* was appointed in every *sarkār* but two could also be appointed when necessary.

The *shiḳḳdārs* of the Sultanate were replaced by *fawdjdārs* under the Mughals. They combined in themselves the dual functions of both the executive and the military head of the district administration corresponding to the District Magistrate-*cum*-Superintendent of Police (but not the Collector) of British India. In importance and status the *fawdjdārs* ranked next to the *ṣūbadārs* (provincial governors). Their main function, apart from police duties, was to assist the *'amalguzār* (revenue-collector) or the *amīn* (revenue assessor) in the collection of land-revenue. It was the primary duty of a *fawdjdār* to ensure that the local *zamīndārs* paid the revenue regularly. The *fawdjdār* was required to guard the roads and should any merchant or traveller be robbed in daylight he was obliged to pay compensation to the victim. It was also his duty to protect the ryots, and to assist and provide armed escort to the *gumāshtas* (agents) of the *djāgīrdārs* and the assignees of Crown-lands in the collection of land-revenue. His other duties included the prevention of unauthorized arms manufacture, cutting of jungles, suppression of agrarian unrest and minor uprisings, forcible dispersal of robber-gangs and bandits, and taking cognizance of major crimes committed within his jurisdiction.

Although subordinate to the provincial governor, the *fawdjdār* was a very important official. In all probability he was appointed directly by the emperor through a *farmān-i thabatī*; the border (*nāḥiya*) *fawdjdār* or the commandant of a frontier outpost, consisting of several *thānās*, had direct dealings with the central government, and could call for help on the provincial government in cases of emergency. The duties of a border-*fawdjdār* were to keep watch over the frontiers falling within his jurisdiction, suppress turbulent and rebellious chiefs, punish aggressors, collect tribute from the local *rādjās* and when possible to conquer or subjugate enemy territory. A class of border *fawdjdārs* was known as *ghāṭwāls*; but their posts were semi-military in character. They existed as late as the later part of the 12th/18th century when they were replaced by the new police force organized by Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General of Fort William, Calcutta (1786-93). Although the district *fawdjdār* was a central official, yet the provincial governor had powers to appoint the *fawdjdār-i gird* (*i.e.*, the *fawdjdār* of the environs) for the protection of the suburbs of the city. This officer in his turn appointed the *fawdjdārs* of the *nākās* and the *thānā-dārs*. An echo of their official designation is heard in the former province of Sind in Pakistan where the city police-station is still known as the *fawdjdārī*.

Apart from his police and administrative duties the *fawdjdār* also exercized judicial powers under the Sultans. He could try petty offences and take "security" proceedings, *i.e.*, the binding over of potential or suspected criminals. In the early Mughal period he was frequently transferred from one place to another and was, like the modern Martial Law Administrators, sometimes deputed to conduct purely military operations (cf. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, i, 505). His judicial powers in criminal cases were enhanced by the later Mughals, who empowered him to try non-capital offences (cf. M. B. Ahmad, *The Administration of justice in medieval India*, Aligarh 1941, 165). The criminal courts in Pakistan and India are still known as *'Adālathā-yi Fawdjdārī* and criminal cases as *fawdjdārī muḳaddimāt*. Sometimes *fawdjdārs* were also appointed in certain *parganas*, as a purely temporary measure, and they enjoyed the same powers as the *fawdjdār-i sarkār*. In a few districts (*sarkārs*) there were no separate *fawdjdārs*; the same person performed the duties of the *amīn* (controller of expenses and revenue assessor) as well as of the *fawdjdār* in addition to his own duties (cf. Shāh-nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* (Bibl. Ind.), ii, 37, which mentions Diyānat Khān being appointed both as the *amīn* and the *fawdjdār* of Sirhind on the reversion of Ray Kāshī Dās); while in certain cases the duties of the *fawdjdār* were performed either by the local *shiḳḳdār* or the *kōtwāl*.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

FAWRĪ (Fevrī), Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, a 16th century Ottoman poet and scholar, was born a Christian. After his conversion to Islam he was called, in accordance with contemporary custom, ʿAbd Allāh-oghlu in the *tadhkiras* (v. Lāṭifī, Istanbul 1314, 269; Ḥasan Čelebī, Istanbul University Library, T.Y. 304, 253b).

Fawrī was deeply influenced by Naḳḳāsh ʿAlī Bey, the father of his master Lāmiʿī, and also by the *müderris* Dursun Efendi. Fawrī's profound knowledge of theology and of Arabic, a language in which he wrote poetry (*Mashāʿir al-shuʿarā'*, Ist. Univ. Lib., T.Y. 2406, 253 et seq.; *Ḥadā'iḳ al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, Istanbul 1268, 142 et seq.), are mentioned by his friends ʿĀshiḳ Čelebī and Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭā'ī.

A *müderris* himself, Fawrī Aḥmad Efendi was both a notable scholar and a teacher. He visited Mecca and later, in 960/1553, he took part in the expedition against Nakhčiwān under Sultan Süleymān, whose patronage he secured by means of numerous panegyrics. Fawrī died in Damascus where he had filled the post of Muftī, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 978/April 1571.

He is the author of the following works: *Dīwān*, which is preceded by the *Terdjeme-i Ḥadīth-i Arbaʿīn* (v. Abdülkadir Karahan, *Islâm-Türk edebiyatında Kırk Hadis*, Istanbul 1954, 320-1; MSS. Ist. Univ. Lib., T.Y. 2873; Topkapı-Revan 763, Murad Molla Lala Ismail, 473); a marginal commentary on the *Durar wa Ghurar*, a *risāla* on calligraphy, a Persian dictionary in Turkish and, finally, the *Akhlāḳ-i Süleymānī*.

Fawrī is the editor of the poems of Sultan Süleymān (1520-1566). According to Riyāḍī, Fawrī was the first Ottoman poet to compose *takhmīs* and *tasdīs* (*Riyāḍ al-shuʿarā'*, Ist. Univ. Lib , T.Y. 761, 108).

Bibliography: ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, unpublished part, Ist. Univ. Lib., T.Y. 5959, 492; Beyānī, *Tadhkira*, same lib., T.Y. 2568, 68^b-69^a; Fā'izī, *Zubdat al-ashʿār*, same lib., T.Y. 2472, 87^b; Mustaḳīm-zāde Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tuḥfat al-khaṭṭāṭīn*, Istanbul 1928, 98; Esrār Dede, *Tadhkira*, Ist. Univ. Lib., T.Y. 3894, 161; Sabri Kalkandelen, Catalogue of Istanbul University Library MSS.

(Abdülkadir Karahan)

FAWZĪ al-MAʿLŪF [see maʿlūf].

FAY', in pre-Islamic times used for chattels taken as booty, like *ghanīma* [*q.v.*], to be divided between victors, either in fifths (*e.g.*, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, 599, 1) or in fourths (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 458, 18, Cairo 1335, i, 428; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 215), the leader being entitled to one of the parts. This custom was upheld by the Prophet after the battle of Badr, and Sūra VIII, 42 mentions five employments for the Prophet's one fifth (*khums*), to figure in future budgets. The old use of the word *fay'* never became completely obliterated. But when territorial conquests began and political responsibility grew on the Prophet's mind, procedure had to be changed. So the conquests of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr, Khaybar, and Fadak led to a new precedent. The Banu 'l-Naḍīr surrendered after a siege, and Sūra LIX, 7-10 maintains that this result was not due to the assailants' having prevailed, but to God's interposition in favour of His Apostle, so that it was *fay'* to him exclusively to the ultimate benefit of Muslim society. In fact the same incumbents are mentioned as for the *khums*, but those actually held in view were the destitute *muhādjirūn* (Ibn Hishām, Cairo ed. 1937, iii, 193 ult.). Traditions about Khaybar and Fadak are at variance, but it is certain that Muḥammad also on these occasions followed his own equity (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 23-33).

The theocratic explanation based on the meaning of *afā'a*, "to bring back", as by right belonging to God and consequently to Muslim society (al-Bayḍāwī *ad* Sūra LIX, 7) cannot be supported by another Ḳur'ānic passage, Sūra XXXIII, 49. Ḳudāma derives the word in the same way, but understands it to connote annual return, namely of revenue. Otherwise, too, theorists found it difficult to define the content of *fay'*. The longevity of bedouin custom left the possibility that the four-fifths could be divided among the conquering troops instead of being kept as state land. Another opinion was that the revenue (*fay'*) of such lands should be subjected to the *khums* for the canonical purposes, while the rest went to state expenses for the army and to public services of different kinds (*maṣāliḥ*). It seems, however, that already ʿUmar I had made it one budget, and that *fay'* early began to be classed with *waḳf* or *ḥubs* (mortmain) for the benefit of all Muslims. Support for this is the identical employment of both categories mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. This cancelling of the freer disposal of the *khums* of the leader in fact made for centralized power.

According to theory *fay'* lands arise from unconditional surrender (conquests made *ʿanwatan*, *ḳasran*, or *ḳahran*), even if this does not wholly square with the Prophet's precedent, as negotiations had taken place then. The theoretical alternatives are division among Muslims, in which case it would become *ʿushr* land [*q.v.*], while its inhabitants became serfs, or that it should be left *in statu quo* for the exploitation of the Muslim community, the inhabitants remaining free, but liable to *kharādj* on the land, in which case the *kharādj* is regarded as a sort of tenure to the state. Thus it would seem that the *fay'* notion is intended to support the right of the state to heavy taxation, the inhabitants holding the usufruct, *manfaʿa*, while their ownership is held precarious. This, however, does not exclude the right of inheritance. On the other hand *ṣulḥ* lands, originally paying a stipulated tribute, *shay' musammā*, or other more favourable dues, increasingly came to pay *kharādj*, so, apart from the actual ownership, it became difficult in theory to uphold a strict division between the two, as the economic result tended to become identical. On the problems of *kharādj* lands, see kharādj.

From of old the leader of a foray had a right to reserve for himself—apart from the fifth—any special object of the booty which attracted him, the *ṣafiyya* (pl. *ṣafāyā*). Likely enough this right was very limited, or it could have been used by the Prophet

in the Banu 'l-Naḍīr case. The term, however, stuck to state domains as *ṣawāfī* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Būlāḳ 1885, 10 ff.; al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, 1853, 217 ff., 237 ff., 293 ff.; Ḳudāma, *Kitāb* [*al-Kharādj wa-*]*ṣanʿat al-kitāba*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. no. 5907, fols. 91 ff. (the section specially handled by Ibn al-Djawzī?); al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, 1879, 292 ff.; M. Hartmann, in *OLZ*, 1904, 413-25, 462-68; D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the poll tax in early Islam*, 1950, 20 ff.; H. A. R. Gibb, in *Arabica*, 1955, 1-16; Cl. Cahen, in *Arabica*, 1954, 136 ff.; and the references to authorities in F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, 1950, 38-72. (F. Løkkegaard)

FAYḌ [see Supplement].

AL-**FAYḌ** B. **ABĪ ṢĀLIḤ** Shīrawayh, Abū Djaʿfar, vizier (?) of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī. Born at Nīshāpūr of a Christian father, al-Fayḍ seems to have been one of the *ghilmān* of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*]; he attracted attention by his talent and culture and, according to al-Djahshiyārī (*Wuzarā'*, 164-6), followed by Ibn Khallikān (vi, 25; tr. de Slane, iv, 358) and *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg, 255-7; tr. Fagnan, 314-8; tr. C. E. J. Whitting, 183), he was appointed *wazīr* by al-Mahdī after the dismissal of Yaʿḳūb b. Dāwūd [*q.v.*] in 166/782; he remained in office until the caliphate of al-Hādī (169/785), but was then removed from the administration. However, al-Ṭabarī mentions him (ii, 841) only in the list of secretaries of al-Mahdī, and al-Yaʿḳūbī (ii, 483) makes Muḥammad b. al-Layth the successor of Yaʿḳūb. Al-Fayḍ appears again under al-Rashīd, where he acted as agent (*wakīl*) in a matter concerning some land and where the poet Abu 'l-Asad Nubāta praises his exceptional generosity. He was also famous for his pride and his arrogance. He died in 173/789-90.

Bibliography: Besides the sources quoted, see: Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, v, 116; Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, ii, 145; Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, i, 103; al-Makīn, Leiden 1625, 109; De Goeje and De Jong, *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, Leiden 1869, i, 281 (al-Fayḍ b. Sahl); *Aghānī*, xii, 176 (in the biog. of Abu 'l-Asad); Ibn al-Djawzī, in *JRAS*, 1907, 26; S. D. Goitein, *The vizierate*, 383; S. Moscati, *Nuovi studi storici sul califfato di al-Mahdī*, in *Orientalia*, xv/1-2 (1946), 167; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 111 and index. (L. Veccia Vaglieri)

FAYḌĀBĀD, (Fyzabad), a town in the district of the same name in India, situated in 26° 47′ N. and 82° 10′ E., 4 miles from the ancient town of Ayōdhyā, which gave its name to the province of Awadh (Oudh) and the Shīʿī kingdom founded by Saʿādat Khān Burhān al-Mulk [*q.v.*]. The town grew up around a wooden lodge (*bangla*), surrounded by a large and expansive compound, which Burhān al-Mulk had built for himself on his appointment in 1132/1719-20 as the *Nā'ib Nāẓim* of Awadh. Other buildings, mostly of mud, for the *ḥarem* and barracks for the troops sprang up all around converting the humble habitation into a respectable settlement. Even after his assumption of power as the Nawwāb-Wazīr, Burhān al-Mulk continued to stay in the same wooden lodge. On the accession of his nephew Abu 'l-Manṣūr Ṣafdar Djang [*q.v.*] to the *masnad* in 1152/1739 more buildings were added to the growing township which was given the name of Fayḍābād. (To the people of Awadh Fayḍābād is still known by its earlier name *Bangla*). Gardens were laid out and *bāzār*s sprang up all around, resulting in the decline of Ayōdhyā which suffered both in population and prosperity. Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, the third Nawwāb (1170-88/1756-75), stayed chiefly at Lucknow but after his defeat by the British at Buxar in 1764 he moved to Fayḍābād and made it his head-quarters. He added many new buildings, and in order to strengthen the defences of the town dug a moat around the citadel and also built two mud-forts. Before the end of 1189/1775 Āṣaf al-Dawla, the fourth Nawwāb, abandoned Fayḍābād and moved permanently to Lucknow, which thenceforward became the seat of government of the Nawwābs of Awadh. However, both the mother and the widow (Bahū Bēgum) of Shudjāʿ al-Dawla continued to live at Fayḍābād which soon declined in importance. It was his alleged maltreatment of these two Bēgums which led to the impeachment of Warren Hastings. After the death of Bahū Bēgum in 1232/1816 Fayḍābād lost further in importance and glory. It continued to decay till the British annexation of Awadh in 1847 when an era of development opened and the general deterioration was arrested. The Urdū poet Mīr Ḥasan in his *mathnawī*, *Gulzār-i Iram* praises Fayḍābād for its well-kept streets and wide roads.

Shudjāʿ al-Dawla was responsible for constructing many of the historic brick buildings and monuments of the city. He lies buried in a beautiful tall mausoleum, which he himself erected during his life-time in the centre of a charming rosegarden, the *Gulāb-bāṛī*, laid out by Ṣafdar Djang. The tomb of Bahū Bēgum, mother of Āṣaf al-Dawla, on the south of the town is a fine domed building which cost Rs. 300,000 to build. The entire amount was paid out of the queen mother's personal property. The fortress constructed by Shudjāʿ al-Dawla is now in ruins, and so are the palaces built by the Nawwābs and the nobles. The town was badly disturbed during the military uprising (Mutiny) of 1857 when Mawlawī Aḥmad Allāh gained prominence for the deeds of valour performed by him. He came to be known and dreaded as the 'Mawlawī of Fayḍābād'.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Fayḍ Bakhsh, *Faraḥ-bakhsh*, (Eng. transl., *Memoirs of Delhi and Faizābād, being a translation of the "Tārikh Farahbaksh"*..., by W. Hoey, 2 vols., Allahabad 1888-9); Ghulām Ḥusayn Naḳawī, *ʿImād al-Saʿādat*[2], Lucknow 1897; Nadjm al-Ghanī Rāmpurī, *Ta'rīkh-i Awadh*, Lucknow 1919, i, 36-8; B. Carnegie, *A History of Fyzabad*, (not seen); *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xii, 110-1, 117-8; Mīr Ḥasan, *Gulzār-i Iram* (Urdu *mathnawī* still in MS.); Munshī Lāl-djī, *Sulṭān al-Ḥikāyāt* (MS. in Persian); Storey, i/II, 706-8; S.N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-seven*, Calcutta 1958, 154, 186-7, 355, 402. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

FAYḌĪ (later Fayyāḍī), Abu 'l-Fayḍ b. Shaykh Mubārak al-Mahdawī, Persian poet, commentator of the Ḳur'ān, one of the nine jewels (*naw ratan*) of the court of Akbar, younger brother of the historian Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*], was of Yamanī extraction; one of his ancestors Shaykh Mūsā had migrated to Sind and settled at Rēl, a small place near Sīwastān (modern Sehwān). His grandfather Shaykh Khiḍr came down to Nāgor [*q.v.*], where Fayḍī's father Mubārak was born. In 950/1543-4 Shaykh Mubārak migrated to Āgra, where he married and his first child Fayḍī was born in 954/1547. He soon aroused the hostility of the *ʿulamā'* on account of his unorthodox ideas and heretical beliefs as a Mahdawī (see A. S. Bazmee Ansari, *Sayyid Muḥammad Jawnpūrī and his movement*, in *Islamic Studies*, ii/1 (1963), 68,

73, and AL-DJAWNPŪRĪ). The Shaykh along with his grown-up sons, Fayḍī and Abu 'l-Faḍl, had a very hard time for several years. Unable to bear any longer the rigours of an outlaw's life Fayḍī persuaded his father to surrender himself to the emperor. In 974/1566 Shaykh Mubārak was granted an audience at Āgra and Fayḍī, welcoming the opportunity, greatly impressed the emperor with his extraordinary ability and achievements (cf. Fayḍī's *Ḳaṣīda* in *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Eng. transl. by Blochmann, 620 ff.). This marked the beginning of a long and brilliant career as a court-poet, statesman and a *manṣabdār*, which brought him several honours and distinctions. In 984/1576 he was created *Malik al-Shuʿarā'* by Akbar. In order to vindicate his claim to this high-sounding title he planned to compose a *khamsa* in 987/1579, after the famous *khamsa* of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*]. The five poems to be included were: (i) *Markaz-i Adwār*, mostly composed in Fatḥpūr Sīkrī; (ii) *Sulaymān u Bilḳīs*, commenced in Lahore but never completed; (iii) *Nal-Daman*, his best known poem (ed. Calcutta 1831); (iv) *Haft kishwar* and (v) *Akbar-nāma* on the lines of the *Sikandar-nāma*. Of these only (i) and (iii) were completed several years later at the persistent urging of Akbar while the remaining three, in spite of Abu 'l-Faḍl's assertion to the contrary (cf. *Akbar-nāma*, *sub anno* 39 regnal) remained incomplete.

An accomplished scholar, physician, and poet, he was appointed in 987/1579 tutor to prince Dāniyāl; he also claims to have instructed Djahāngīr, and Murād (cf. *Akbar-nāma*, Bibl. Ind., ii, 311). Of these Dāniyāl was also a poet in Bradj-bhākā, suggesting that his tutor was a master of that dialect as well as of classical Arabic and Persian. In 993/1585 he was sent on an expedition against the Yūsufza'īs of Pēshāwar. Treated as a close companion, he was included in the royal *entourage* during Akbar's visit to Kashmīr in 997/1588. In 999/1590-1 he was sent as an envoy to the courts of Rādjā ʿAlī Khān, ruler of Khāndesh, and Burhān Niẓām Shāh, the king of Aḥmadnagar. After the completion of his mission he returned to Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, the capital, in 1001/1592.

Generous and hospitable by nature, he even helped his enemies. When his worst critic al-Badā'ūnī [*q.v.*] fell from imperial favour in 1000/1591, Fayḍī, who was then on a mission to Gudjarāt, wrote a letter to Akbar strongly pleading the case of the disgraced historian (see al-Badā'ūnī, iii, 303-5). Yet he received very harsh treatment at the hands of Badā'ūnī, who attributes to him every possible vice and depravity and even accuses him of open enmity towards the Muslims and making fun of Islam; he also holds him responsible for Akbar's anti-Islamic activities and practices. But most of these charges are ill-founded and seem to be the result of some personal grudge, as there are in Fayḍī's *dīwān* poems in praise of the Prophet and his Companions. He died of asthma at Āgra on 10 Ṣafar 1044/5 October 1595. He was buried at Āgra alongside his father, who had died in Lahore in 1001/1592. Al-Badā'ūnī quotes several uncomplimentary chronograms of his death composed by orthodox poets. On his own showing he had accepted the "Divine Faith", instituted by Akbar (cf. *Akbar-nāma*, Bibl. Ind., ii, 311), which was denounced by the *ʿulamā'* as an unwarranted innovation.

A great lover of books, he had in his library more than 4,600 volumes on such varied subjects as medicine, astrology, music, philosophy, *taṣawwuf*, trigonometry, arithmetic, exegesis, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* etc. On his death many of these books, mostly autographs or copied during the lifetimes of their authors, were transferred to the imperial library by order of Akbar, in all probability under the law of escheat.

He is said to be the author of 101 books (apparently an exaggeration), of which very few are now extant. In addition to the incomplete *khamsa*, he compiled a *dīwān* of poems in Persian (ed. Dihlī, 1261/1845). There are, however, conflicting opinions about his poetical achievements, on which his fame chiefly rests. Shiblī Nuʿmānī [*q.v.*] regards him as one of those non-Iranian poets "whose verse would pass as the work of a genuine Persian". E. J. W. Gibb believes that after Djāmī [*q.v.*], ʿUrfī and Fayḍī were the chief Persian poets to influence Turkish poetry (*Ottoman Poetry*, i, 5, 127, 129). Al-Badā'ūnī, on the other hand, says that he was not so popular in his day as were his contemporaries ʿUrfī and Thanā'ī [*q.v.*]. A master of the Arabic language, he composed two books in the *ṣanʿat ihmāl*, *i.e.*, employing no dotted letter, simply to display his lexicographical abilities. One of these, the *Mawārid al-kilam* on ethics (ed. Calcutta 1241/1825), which contains pithy and laconic sentences defining terms like *Islām*, *ʿilm al-Kalām*, *Ādam*, *Kalām Allāh*, *ahl Allāh* was intended to be a preliminary to the writing of the *Sawāṭiʿ al-ilhām*, a voluminous commentary on the Ḳur'ān without any dotted letter, characterised by critics to be almost a "useless piece of Arabic writing", finished in 1002/1593 (ed. Lucknow 1306/1889). Al-Badā'ūnī bitingly remarks that he composed this book in a state of drunkenness and ritual impurity (*al-djanāba*). In view of this the claim of the Mudjaddidīs that Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] collaborated in the composition of a part of this work seems wholly untenable (see Bibliography).

He also translated Līlāvatī, a Sanskrit work on arithmetic (ed. Calcutta 1826), and some portions of the epic poem *Mahābhārata* into Persian at the express command of Akbar, in collaboration with al-Badā'ūnī and Mullā Shīrī. *Laṭīfa-i Fayḍī*, a posthumous collection of his letters, was compiled by his nephew Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAyn al-Mulk (MSS, Rieu 792, 984). According to Shiblī these are couched in a simple unornate language, in contradistinction to the high-flown bombastic style then in vogue in Persian letter-writing (*inshā'*), of which his younger brother, the celebrated Abu 'l-Faḍl was a great master (cf. his letters to Fayḍī in the second *daftar* of his *Inshā'*).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Akbar-nāma*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1873-87, iii, index; idem, *Har sih daftar Abu 'l-Faḍl*, Lucknow 1292/1875, 138 ff., 202-14; idem, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*[2], Eng. trans. by Blochmann, Calcutta 1939, 490-1, 548-50, 618 ff., 112-3 (where several *rubāʿīs* of Fayḍī which were stamped on the royal coinage are quoted); Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Shāh-Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, Eng. transl. by H. Beveridge, Calcutta 1941, 513 ff.; al-Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Bibl. Ind., ii, 393-4, 405-6; iii, 299-310; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Subḥat al-mardjān*, Bombay 1303/1885, 45-6; idem, *Ma'āthir al-kirām*, Agra 1910, 198-200; idem, *Khizāna-i ʿāmira*, Cawnpore 1871, 318; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., ii, 486-8; Browne, iv, 242-5; Sh. Farīd Bhakkarī, *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, Karachi 1961, i, 64-7; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān Ḳannawdjī, *Abdjad al-ʿulūm*, Bhopal 1295/1878, 897-8; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, Hyderabad 1375/1955, v, 26-31; Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, Lahore 1924, iii, 28-72; Shīr Khān Lōdhī, *Mir'āt*

al-khayāl, Bombay 1324/1906, 79-81 (where his *kunya* is given as Abu 'l-Fayḍ and his title as Fayyāḍī, which are both erroneous); M. Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Tadhkira natā'idj al-afkār*, Bombay 1334 solar, 533-7; Muḥ. Ḥusayn Āzād, *Darbār-i Akbarī*[4] (in Urdu), Lahore 1927, 359-418; Storey, i/II, 540; Brockelmann, II, 417, S II 610; Sarkīs, col. 1472 (where his name is given as Fayḍ Allāh and his *kunya* as Abu 'l-Faḍl, obviously wrong); *JASB* (1869), 137, 142; Āghā Aḥmad ʿAlī, *Haft Āsmān*, Calcutta 1873; Taḳī Kāshī, *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār wa zubdat al-afkār* (MS); Khān-i Ārzū, *Madjmaʿ al-nafā'is* (MS Bankipur, viii, 695-16); Wālih Dāghistānī, *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarā'* (MS Bankipur, viii, 693); Rieu, 450; M. G. Zubaid Ahmad, *Contribution of India to Arabic literature*, Allahabad/Jullunder 1946, index; A. Sprenger, *Oudh Catalogue*, 401-2; Ibrāhīm Khān Khalīl, *Khulāṣat al-kalām* (MS Bankipur); Bindrāban Dās Khʷushgū, *Safīna-i Khʷushgū* (MS Bankipur); Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥ. Iḥsān, *Rawḍat al-Ḳayyūmiyya* (MS in Persian), Urdu transl., Lahore n.d., i, 60, 62-3; Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī, *Ḥaḍarāt al-Ḳuds* (MS in Persian), Urdu transl., Lahore 1341/1922, ii, 9-10; S. Muḥ. Ikrām, *Rūd-i Kawthar*, Karachi n.d., 87-98 (to be used with care); Z. A. Desai, *Life and works of Faidi*, in *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta, xvi/3 1963). (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

FAYḌJ [see FUYŪḌJ].

FAYLASŪF, philosopher: he who studies falsafa [*q.v.*], thence frequently used as an epithet for deep thinkers. The Arab philologists know the literal meaning of this word as *muḥibb al-ḥikma* (lover of wisdom). Al-Ḳindī [*q.v.*] was known for preference as the *faylasūf al-ʿArab* (philosopher of the Arabs), presumably because he was a philosopher of genuine Arab origin in contrast to most Muslim philosophers who belonged to non-Arab nations (cf. the correct explanation of this name given to al-Kindī by T. J. de Boer in the *Archiv für Gesch. der Philos.*, 1899, xiii, 154 ff.).

In popular language *faylasūf* is applied in an uncomplimentary sense to freethinkers or unbelievers. Even the Jewish king Jeroboam is called *faylasūf* in this sense (*Revue des Études Juives*, xxx, 23 ult.). An idea of contempt is associated with the forms *faylafūs*, *fulfūs* (also *falafsūn*, Syr.), plur. *falāfis*, current in the popular language; this is applied to frivolous, imprudent people, good-for-nothings and charlatans (examples in *ZDMG*, xxxviii, 681); Vollers, (*ibid.* li, 300, 4) gives *fulfūs*. The verbal form *yufalfis* (*Bāsim le forgeron*, ed. Landberg, 38, 5) is also connected with this: "he could not wriggle out". See FALĀSIFA and FALSAFA. (I. GOLDZIHER)

FAYṢAL [see SAʿŪD, ĀL].

FAYṢAL I, of ʿIrāḳ, was born at Ṭā'if in 1301/1883, third son of the Sharīf (later king) Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. After a boyhood of desert and oasis life, he accompanied his father to Istanbul in 1309/1891, there to pass 18 years. He married his cousin, Ḥazīma, in 1323/1905. Returning to Mecca with Sharīf Ḥusayn in 1327/1909, he took part in expeditions against the Idrīsī of ʿAsīr in 1331-2/1912-3, and was elected to the Turkish parliament. Resentful of Turkish severity against Arab dissidents in Syria in 1915, and admitted to knowledge of the Arab political secret societies, Fayṣal in 1916 joined, and was for two years to command with distinction, the armies of the Mecca-based Sharīfian "Arab Revolt". His two-year effort thereafter to consolidate an Arab monarchy in Syria (1337-9/1918-20) failed in the face of French opposition; he was expelled from Damascus in July 1339/1920. But British favour and ʿIrāḳī election secured him a throne in Baghdād (August 1340/1921), and he could for the twelve years following play a conspicuous, indeed indispensable, part in the foundation, consolidation and ultimate liberation from the British Mandate of the young and aspiring kingdom. Fayṣal, holding a balance between British requirements and local patriotism, showed admirable qualities of patient leadership. ʿIrāḳ was admitted to the League of Nations in 1351/1932. Fayṣal died suddenly in Switzerland in September 1352/1933, succeeded by his son, Ghāzī.

Bibliography: The Arabic and European literature of the 1914-8 war, the Mandates, and Arab and ʿIrāḳī affairs between 1914 and 1933 is very extensive. For British and Arab views of Fayṣal see T. E. Lawrence, *The seven pillars of wisdom*, London 1935; Amīn Rīḥānī, *Fayṣal al-Awwal*, Beirut 1353/1934; Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, *Yawm Maysalūn*, Beirut 1945. For German and Turkish views of his war-time role see Liman von Sanders, *Fünf Jahre Türkei*, Berlin 1920 (Eng. tr. *Five years in Turkey*, Annapolis 1927; Fr. tr. *Cinq ans de Turquie*, Paris 1923) and Ali Fuad Erden, *Birinci Dünya Harbinde Suriye Hatıraları*, i, Istanbul 1954. For French views, see L. Jovelet, *L'évolution sociale et politique des «pays arabes»*, in *REI*, vii (1933), 473-81; R. de Gontaut-Biron, *Comment la France s'est installée en Syrie*, Paris 1922, 232 sqq.; M. Pernot, *L'inquiétude de l'Orient: II, En Asie musulmane*, Paris 1927, 147. In general, see S. H. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate*, Oxford 1958; idem, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950*, Oxford 1953. (S. H. LONGRIGG)

FAYṢAL II, of ʿIrāḳ, son of King Ghāzī and grandson of Fayṣal I [*q.v.*], was born in Baghdād May 1354/1935, and, aged four, became King under the Regency of his uncle the Amīr ʿAbd al-Ilāh on the accidental death of his father in 1358/1939. Educated by an English governess and at Harrow, he passed an uneventful childhood, suffering intermittently from asthma. He assumed his royal functions in May 1953, and during his five-year effective reign showed excellent intentions, accepting guidance from his veteran statesman Nūrī al-Saʿīd [*q.v.*] and from his uncle. He appeared generally popular and travelled widely. Recently engaged to be married to a Turkish-Egyptian princess, Fayṣal was, with his uncle and most of his immediate family, shot by insurgent troops during the revolutionary *coup* of 14 July 1958. (S. H. LONGRIGG)

AL-**FAYYŪM**, a geographical region of Egypt, which today, as usually in the past, forms an administrative province. The Fayyūm, which derives its name from the Coptic, *Phiom* ("the Sea"), is a roughly triangular depression, about 35 miles from north to south, and about 49 miles from east to west. It is in Middle Egypt, lying in the Libyan Desert, east of the Nile valley. The cliffs separating it from the river valley are breached at one point, thereby admitting a stream which branches off from the Nile near Asyūṭ. Now known as Baḥr Yūsuf, this stream was called by medieval writers Khalīdj al-Manhā. Its entry into the depression of the Fayyūm has been controlled since Pharaonic times by sluices at Illahūn. On entering the Fayyūm, the waters are canalized for irrigation, the surplus escaping to

form a permanent lake, now known as Birkat Ḳārūn. The principal town and provincial capital is Madīnat al-Fayyūm. The Fayyūm plays an important part in the Judaeo-Islamic legend of Joseph, who is said to have constructed the canal of al-Manhā (hence the modern name), the sluices of Illahūn, and the canals which drained the great marsh (*al-dj̲awba*) formerly covering the region. Two variants of this legend are given by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, and it also appears in al-Maḳrīzī's *K̲h̲iṭaṭ* and other sources. With it is connected a folk-etymology of the name, al-Fayyūm: the Egyptian king, on seeing Joseph's achievements, said, "This is the work of a thousand days [*alf yawm*]". Abū Ṣāliḥ derives the name also from an eponym. The intimate association of the Fayyūm with the Joseph legend is perhaps due to the presence there of an ancient Jewish settlement, of which documentary evidence exists as early as the 3rd century B.C. Jewish influence may perhaps also be traced in the assertion, recorded by ʿAlī Mubārak, that S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Rūbī, the *walī* of Madīnat al-Fayyūm, was a descendant of Reuben; a possible indication of an islamized Jewish shrine. During the Arab invasion of Egypt, the Fayyūm was occupied without difficulty, although it lay off the main routes of the conquerors: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam gives three variant traditions of its discovery and capture. It continued for some centuries to be an important centre of Coptic Christianity: Abū Ṣāliḥ, writing in the opening years of the 7th/13th century, says that there were (by implication, before his time) 35 monasteries, and he devotes some space to those still surviving. At the opening of the Muslim period, the Fayyūm seems to have been a fertile and prosperous region, as is indicated by the legend of its 360 villages, each of which could provision the whole of Egypt for one day. Rice and flax were among its chief products. It suffered a gradual decline in the succeeding centuries. Its remoteness, and the difficulty of access to it during the Nile flood, laid it open to the raids of Arab and Berber tribes. The associated phenomenon of the sedentarization of nomads in the Fayyūm has been recurrent down to modern times. Like other parts of Egypt, the Fayyūm was affected by the administrative reorganization and economic development which took place under Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a and his successors of the Albanian dynasty. The establishment of a railway link with the Nile valley (1874) ended the isolation of the province, while the area under cultivation was extended, cotton being developed as a cash-crop.

Bibliography: For a general bibliography, see Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 142-3. Al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ edn.), i, 241-50; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-dj̲adīda*, xvi, 84-94; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr* (ed. Torrey), 14-6; B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler, *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, Oxford 1895, 49-56, 202-10; H. Lorin, *L'Egypte d'aujourd'hui*, Cairo 1926, 53-60.

(P. M. Holt)

FAZĀRA, a North Arabian tribe, reckoned part of D̲h̲ubyān, which was itself included in G̲h̲aṭafān [*q.v.*]. Its main pasture-grounds were in Wādī 'l-Rumma in Nadjd, and the names of many localities associated with it have been preserved (cf. Yāḳūt, index, s.v. Fazāra). In the Dj̲āhiliyya the famous war of Dāḥis between Abs and D̲h̲ubyān arose out of a wager between Ḳays b. Zuhayr, chief of Abs, and Ḥud̲h̲ayfa b. Badr of Fazāra about their respective horses Dāḥis and G̲h̲abrā. The latter won because of underhand acts by some men of Fazāra, and this led to the killing of a brother of Ḥud̲h̲ayfa. In the long war which followed D̲h̲ubyān was led by Ḥud̲h̲ayfa, and then by his son Ḥiṣn (A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847, ii, 424-43, etc.). After peace was made with Abs, Fazāra became involved in fighting with ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, Dj̲us̲h̲am and other tribes, the command being latterly in the hands of ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥud̲h̲ayfa. In Muḥammad's period at Medina ʿUyayna was the leader of Fazāra and joined in the siege of Medina (affair of the K̲h̲andaḳ) in 5/627 with 1000 men. Some months later part of Fazāra ambushed a Muslim trading expedition led by Zayd b. Ḥārit̲h̲a, and in 6/628 Zayd made severe reprisals on Fazāra. At the siege of Medina, Muḥammad had tried to bribe ʿUyayna to abandon his allies, and made similar offers during the expedition to K̲h̲aybar in 7/628, where ʿUyayna with a large force of G̲h̲aṭafān was supporting the Jews. Though furious at the eventual failure of these intrigues ʿUyayna came to terms with Muḥammad, joined the expeditions to Mecca and Ḥunayn (in 8/630), and received a hundred camels at al-Dj̲iʿrāna along with "those whose hearts are to be reconciled"; this seems to have been the share of the leader of a non-Muslim contingent, though ʿUyayna is not said to have had any following. Shortly afterwards he led a Muslim expedition against Tamīm, but he was not a member of the deputation (*wafd*) from Fazāra. After Muḥammad's death most of Fazāra joined the *ridda* under Ṭulayḥa, but eventually had to submit (cf. W. Hoenerbach, in *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur*, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, no. 4, 1951, 242-6. They are later heard of in North Africa (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1959, 392 f.).

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(W. Montgomery Watt)

FĀZĀZ, name borne in mediaeval times by the north-western extremity of the Moroccan Middle Atlas. This territory lay to the south of Fez and Meknès. It was bounded to the east by the upper course of the Wādī Subū (=Wādī Gīgū); westwards, it extended as far as the upper course of the Wādī Umm-Rabīʿ (=Wādī Wānsīfan); its southern boundary was the so-called Tīg̲h̲ānīmīn pass, where the Malwiyya rises. It coincided with the territory now occupied by the Berber-speaking tribes called in Arabic: Bnī Mtīr, Bnī Mgīld, Gerwān, Zemmūr and Ẓāyān. It is a high plateau, with an average altitude of 1500 m./5000 ft., from which some mountains rise. Geologically, it is of the 'causse' type (karst, limestone plateau), here and there volcanic, and cut by numerous canyons; it is covered by forests of oaks, thujas (arbor vitae) and cedars, where are found monkeys and panthers (and, as late as the end of the 19th century, lions).

Northwards and westwards this high plateau shades off into lower foothills (peneplains). The abundant rain and snow give rise to many copious springs: here rise the three most important rivers of Morocco, the Malwiyya, the Subū and the Umm Rabīʿ, and many left tributaries of the last two.

As in the rest of central Morocco, the oldest known population consisted of Ṣanhādj̲a [*q.v.*], or, more strictly, Ẓanāga, the Arabic adaptation of the Berber plural *Iẓnāgen*, sing. *Āẓnāg*. Some Arabic authors

call them also 'Banū Fāzāz', as though the second element were the name of an eponymous ancestor; but this name must arise from a careless translation of the Berber 'Ayt Fāzāz' = A. *ahl Fāzāz*, 'the people of the Fāzāz'.

The geographers describe them as pastoral mountain-folk, raising cattle, sheep, and also very sturdy horses. They practised transhumance: they spent the summers on the high plateaus, but the snows of winter obliged them to move to the valleys of the Lower Atlas: to the north, those of Tāgrāgrā (the *Guraigura* of Leo Africanus, modern Tīgrīgra) and Āsāis (between Fez and Meknès), to the west, that of Ādekhsān, on the upper Umm Rabīʿ.

In 173/789, Idrīs I took possession of the Fāzāz and applied himself to converting the population to Islam, for they had, for the most part, remained loyal to Judaism or Christianity. From the reign of his successor Idrīs II (188-213/804-28) there survive numerous *dirhams*, struck at Wazakkūr. This mint must have been located on the present Bū-Uzekkūr, a small tributary of the Umm Rabīʿ, some 3 km/2 miles south of Khnīfra. When in 213/828 the domains of Idrīs II were shared out between his sons, the Fāzāz was divided: the northern part was annexed to the principality of Fez whose *amīr*, the eldest son Muḥammad, struck *dirhams* at Tāgrāgrā; the southern part fell to ʿĪsā, whose principality included also the northern Tāmasnā with the city of Shālla. Shortly afterwards ʿĪsā rose in revolt against his elder brother Muḥammad, who entrusted to another brother, ʿUmar, the task of subduing the rebel. ʿĪsā was defeated and left the Fāzāz; he died in the Tādlā, where his tomb is still venerated among the Ayt ʿItāb as that of Mūlāy ʿĪsā ben Drīs.

During the second half of the 4th/10th century, the Zenāta of the central Maghrib were pushed westwards by the Ṣanhādja of Buluggīn, who was governing Ifrīkiya in the name of the Fāṭimids of Cairo; it is at this period that the Maghrāwa and the Banū Yafran settled in Morocco. The latter carved out for themselves a principality whose boundaries corresponded to those of the principality of ʿĪsā b. Idrīs, with its capital at Shālla. One clan, the Banū Yadjfash, occupied the Fāzāz; their chief, Tawālā, built there a *kalʿa*—the famous Kalʿat Mahdī b. Tawālā—which was inherited by his son Mahdī.

In 452/1060 the Almoravid *amīr* Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar conquered the mountain district of the Fāzāz, except for the Kalʿa, which his successor Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn was able to occupy, on terms, only after a nine-year investment (456-65/1063-72). For some months the luckless al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*] was held prisoner in the Kalʿa before being finally interned at Aghmāt.

Thereafter the Fāzāz was conquered in turn by the Almohads and the Marīnids. This district controlled the most direct route from Fez to Marrākush, that passing through the Tādlā; it had also two silver-mines, at ʿAwwām and Wārknās.

From the 9th/15th century onwards the name Fāzāz seems to have fallen out of use. Leo Africanus, who crossed the district in 1515, does not mention it. Indeed in the course of the 10th/16th century the land was overrun by new waves of Berbers (also belonging to the Ṣanhādja group) who had come from the upper valley of the Malwiyya, following in the wake of the Arab tribes, the Banū Ḥasan (= Bnī Ḥsen) and the Zuʿayr (= Zʿēr) as they migrated towards the north-west of Morocco.

Thenceforward the history of the Fāzāz is the history of the marabouts of the *zāwiya* of al-Dilāʾ and their Berber fellow-tribesmen the Ayt Īdrāsen (to the north) and the Ayt Ūmālū (to the west), and their struggles against the ʿAlawī sultans (especially al-Rashīd, Ismāʿīl and Sulaymān) and later against the troops of the French Protectorate.

Two Idrīsid mints in the Fāzāz, Wazakkūr and Tāgrāgrā, are (as has been noted) easily identified, but this is not true of the two other famous place-names of the district. As regards the silver-mine called Maʿdin ʿAwwām, there exists nowadays a Djabal ʿAwwām, some 10 km/6 miles west of Mrīrt, and thus 120 km/75 miles south-west of Fez, where there is a mine of silver-bearing lead; but Leo Africanus, who passed that way, speaks of an iron-mine on the Bū Ragrāg. Still more difficult is the case of the famous Kalʿa. Al-Bakrī does not mention it: indeed his route from Aghmāt to Fez via the Tādlā passed some way to the west of the Fāzāz; while al-Idrīsī locates it, on the same route, between Ṣufrūy [*q.v.*] and the town of Tādlā, two stages (some 100 km/60 miles) from each, on a very high mountain. The anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* notes that when Al-Muʿtamid was a prisoner there it was built of wood and the majority of its population consisted of Jewish merchants. But Leo Africanus, who saw it when it was ruined and calls it *Mahdiyya*, says that it was built almost on the plain. He might be referring to a township built below a mountain-fortress, but he locates it 'ten miles' (15 km) from ʿAyn al-Aṣnām (the present Anoceur), i.e. 35 km/22 miles (barely one stage) from Ṣufrūy. It seems that the site of the Kalʿa of Mahdī b. Tawālā is to be sought for in the area between Timahdit and Mrīrt, perhaps at Timahdit itself.

The Fāzāz has produced few famous men apart from the founder of the Kalʿa, but the following may be mentioned: (1) the secretary of state and religious poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yakhlaftan al-Fāzāzī, who died in 627/1230 (see Brockelmann, I, 273, where he is called in error *al-Fazārī*; S I, 482); (2) the great historian al-Ẓayānī, who died in 1230/1815 (see Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, 142).

Bibliography: See the indexes of al-Idrīsī, the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, the *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb* (tr. Fagnan), Ibn Khaldūn (*Histoire des Berbères*, tr. de Slane), and Leo Africanus (tr. Epaulard), under the toponyms mentioned in the article.

(G. S. Colin)

FĀZIL ḤUSAYN BEY [see FĀḌIL BEY].

FAZL [see FAḌL].

FAZLĪ [see FAḌLĪ].

FAZLULLĀH [see FAḌL ALLĀH].

FĀZŪGHLĪ, a region of the upper Blue Nile, within the modern Republic of the Sudan, and near to the Ethiopian border. Its historical importance is solely due to the presence of alluvial gold. The ruler (*makk*) of Fāzūghlī was a vassal of the Fundj [*q.v.*] sultan of Sinnār, and wore the horned cap (*takiyya umm karnayn*) as his insignia of office. This usage long survived the downfall of the Fundj sultanate (see A. W. M. Disney, *The coronation of the Fung king of Fazoghli*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxvi/1, Khartoum 1945, 37-42, describing the investiture of a *makk* in 1944). In 1237/1821-22 Fāzūghlī was conquered by Ismāʿīl Kāmil Pasha, *serʿasker* of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's invading forces, and a levy of gold was laid on its merchants. Muḥammad ʿAlī endeavoured, with the aid of European technicians, to exploit the gold of Fāzūghlī, but had little success. Under ʿAbbās I Fāzūghlī became a place of banishment. Thereafter it lost all importance.

Bibliography: Count Gleichen, *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, London 1905, i, 123-6; O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, 82-3; Richard Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan 1820-1881*, London 1959, Index.

(P. M. Holt)

FAZZĀN (Fezzān), one of the three provinces, with Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, of the United Kingdom of Libya which dates from 1951. An entirely desert region of 551,000 sq. km., it extends as far as 600 km. to the south of the Mediterranean, between latitudes 24° and 28°, at the longitude of Tripolitania and Chad. The most direct routes from the Sudan to the Mediterranean lie across Fezzan. The climate is very arid, and localities there have an average rainfall of only 5 to 12 mm.; frost is rare; the summers are very hot, but not among the most torrid.

Fezzan consists of a number of depressions enclosed by plateaux of an altitude of from 400 to 600 m., the surface of which is rocky (*ḥamāda*) or covered with gravel (*serīr*): calcareous and sandstone plateaux, cretaceous and tertiary, in the north and east (*Ḥamāda al-Ḥamrā'*, Gargāf and Ḥarūdj), sometimes covered with black basalt deposits (Djabal al-Sōda, Ḥarūdj al-Aswad); tertiary sandstone plateaux in the south, rising to the Djabal Ben Guenēma and the vast primary and volcanic massif of Tibesti. West of the primary sandstones lie the slopes of the Messak and Tadrart (1,000 to 1,200 m.), on the edge of the Tassili.

The two Fezzanese depressions, separated by the Ḥamāda of Murzuḳ and the Serīr al-Gaṭṭūsa, are made up of two *ramla*s (erg or edeien) encircled by depressions of 300 to 450 m. in depth, where underground water is present near the surface and which are inhabited: the *ramla* of Ubāri with the oases of Shāṭi, al-Bwānis and Wādi 'l-Adjal, the *ramla* of Murzuḳ, al-Ḥofra, al-Shergiyya and, in the south-east, Gatrun (Ghaṭrūm). The sparse rainwater which soaks through into the sandstone, limestone and sand supplies the underground water-table in the depressions, and sometimes the deeper artesian water-channels.

The word Fezzān which goes back to antiquity (*Phasania*) is applied to the oases as a whole, excluding those in the Ghāt and Ghadāmes regions. The Fezzanese (*Fazāzna*, sing. *Fazzānī*) are the cultivators of these oases. They have often been menaced and robbed by the nomadic shepherds of the neighbourhood, "Arabs" from the Gibla (plateaux in south Tripolitania), connected with Shāṭi, the Touareg Ajjer whose home is in Ghāt and south of Ghadāmes but who also live as nomads in west Fezzan, and the Tebou, who are few in number, in the south-east. The Fezzanese, who are strongly interbred with negroes, are, like the nomads in the north who have remained much whiter, all Arabic speakers: their dialects "are related to the general type of Maghribī Arabic. But with them the Maghribī type is already assuming an oriental tinge" (W. Marçais), as regards both the sedentary inhabitants and also the nomads whose dialects "differ phonetically, and often grammatically as well". The Touareg Ajjer, who are tall but often of mixed breeding, are Berber-speaking (but many are bilingual); the Tebou, who are few in number and also partly of mixed breeding, are somewhat tall and slender, black but of a non-negroid type, and speak a Sudanic dialect. All the inhabitants of Fezzan, both the settled population and the herdsmen, are Sunnī Muslims of the Mālikī rite; there are no Jews.

Fezzan has been inhabited, even in what are now the most desert regions such as the *ḥamāda*s, since the old palaeolithic age. Worked stones from the mid-palaeolithic age, which are much more numerous, are already concentrated in the depressions; this is even more the case with the plentiful and fine stone relics of the age of polished stone. Fezzan shared in the great Saharan civilization of the neolithic age, to which we must certainly attribute a notable part of the rock paintings, those of the "pre-camel" period which represent, in a naturalistic style, elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, bovines, and men armed with bows. The most recent and diagrammatic of the rock paintings, which depict camels (dromedaries), horses, various domestic animals and men armed with shields and lances, are thought to date from the end of the neolithic period and prehistory, perhaps even from the beginning of our own era. The Garamantes who are mentioned by Herodotus and with whom the Romans were in contact, were already a mixed race composed of white Berbers like the Touareg today, half-castes and negroes, as is shown in the great number of tombs that have been excavated, particularly by Italian scholars, and whose funerary furnishings include Roman ceramics and glassware from the 2nd to the 6th centuries A.D.

The Garamantes, living over 500 km. south of the Tripolitanian *limes* but often allied with the turbulent Getuli, had to endure several "punitive" expeditions by the Romans under Cornelius Balbus in 20-19 B.C. and Valerius Festus in 69-70. However, they collaborated with Roman troops in two expeditions against the "Ethiopians", their southern neighbours, and carried produce from their country and from Sudan to the Tripolitanian ports (Leptis Magna, Oea and Sabratha). Draught oxen, donkeys, horses, and carts drawn by two horses were the forerunners of camels, the use of which spread only slowly, over the desert tracks. But only dromedaries had the ability to carry to the coast sufficient quantities of dates, precious stones, ostrich feathers, ivory and, no doubt, some black slaves from the Sahara and Sudan. From the end of the 3rd century the Garamantes came on several occasions to plunder Tripolitania. The only Roman monument in Fezzan is a mausoleum at Djerma (Garama), surrounded by cremation tombs (probably of Roman or Romanized merchants). It is likely that the technique of *foggāra*s (underground conduits for collecting water), possibly of Iranian origin, spread towards the end of the Roman period.

Being independent and ignored by the Vandal and Byzantine Maghrib, Fezzan long remained outside the sphere of Arab expansion, though conquered by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ in 46/666-7. We know only that the town of Zawīla was founded in 306/918 in the Shergiyya by a Berber, Ibn Khaṭṭāb al-Hawwārī; it was a flourishing caravan centre, particularly for the slave trade, a small open city with a mosque and baths, and from it the Banū Khaṭṭāb ruled Fezzan. The country was then prosperous, irrigated by wells and numerous *foggāra*s; Djerma (Garama), Sebha, Tsāwa, and Tmessa were the principal centres. But as early as the 12th century "the Arabs spread through the countryside, doing as much damage as possible" (al-Idrīsī, trans. 158); Zawīla was surrounded by walls which are now falling into ruin. In 1190 the dynasty of the Banū Khaṭṭāb fell before the attacks of Ḳarāḳush al-Ghuzzī, a Turcoman adventurer from Armenia who had the support of the Arab tribes of Sulaym and was already master of Tripolitania.

Fezzan then passed under the domination of the

negro kings of Kanem (13th-15th centuries); they were represented by a governor (*mai*) who lived in the new capital, Trāghen (70 km. east of Zawīla); as a result there followed a widespread immigration of negroes (not slaves) and, no doubt, closer connexions with the Sudan; but the abandonment of the *foggāras* appears to date from this period.

The negro domination finally declined at the beginning of the 16th century as a result of the wars of Kanem against the Bornu and the long struggles with the Awlād Muḥammad dynasty, the founders of Murzuḳ and of Moroccan and Sharīfian origin. The Awlād Muḥammad, when finally they became masters of Fezzan, certainly contributed to its Islamization and Arabization; Murzuḳ was made the capital of the country, remaining so until the 20th century, while it was also a busy caravan centre and a stopping-place for pilgrims from the west on their way to Mecca.

The Turks, who occupied Tripoli in 1551, attempted to establish their authority in Fezzan only in 1577-8. At times they had governors there, several of whom were assassinated; they sent punitive expeditions such as that of 1679 during which Murzuḳ was completely sacked. But for the most part they were compelled to recognize Fezzan's *de facto* independence, in return for payment of tribute in gold and negro slaves by the Awlād Muḥammad.

The Ḳaramanlī dynasty which ruled over Tripoli from 1710 until 1835 was unable to keep control over Fezzan, in spite of armed intervention in 1716, 1718, 1731-2 and 1811. In the second half of the 18th century the country was, however, reasonably peaceful, under what was in practice a ruling family that paid tribute. But in 1831 Fezzan fell into the hands of the dreaded nomads, the Awlād Slēmān, under their chief ʿAbd al-Djalīl Sīf al-Naṣr.

The Turks, returning to Tripoli in 1835, made themselves masters of Fezzan in 1842, after killing Sīf al-Naṣr and driving back the Awlād Slēmān into Kanem. They remained there until 1911. The country became a *sandjaḳ* subordinate to the *wilāyet* of Tripoli and was divided into districts (*ḳaḍā*) and sub-districts (*nāḥiya*) with Ghāt in Touareg country. The Ottoman Government found Fezzan a convenient place of exile for the Young Turks, both civilians and military, whom it was anxious to keep at a distance; the tombs of several of them can be seen at Murzuḳ.

The principal halting place for trans-Saharan trade was Zawīla, Trāghen and then Murzuḳ. But the story was only known in detail long after, from the correspondence of the French Consuls in Tripoli and explorations at the end of the 18th and in the 19th centuries. On their way from Sudan to Tripoli came caravans, their chief merchandise being black slaves numbering from 500 to 2,000 a year, and also gold (either dust or in ingots); less important were ivory, ostrich feathers, copper (from Bornu) and hides. Fezzan exported only dates and natron (carbonate of soda). In the opposite direction the caravans carried various manufactured articles from Europe or the East; Venetian glassware, brocades and brass, coarse cloth from Naples and Marseilles, cottons from England and silks from Lyons (19th century), arms, ironmongery and pharmaceuticals from Italy and France, oriental fabrics, carpets and spices. The Fezzanese had some share in this traffic, which was mainly financed by the merchants from the oases in the north, in Tripoli and Ghadāmes, the Tebou of Bilma and the Bornu negroes; and the government of Murzuḳ levied duties on camel-loads and slaves. The suppression of slavery, progressively observed, and the occupation of the Guinea Coast by the European Powers brought about first the decline and then the almost total disappearance of trans-Saharan trade. In addition, the Fezzan suffered greatly from the banditry of nomads during the ten years of the Awlād Slēmān's domination and, much more recently, between the two Italian conquests.

The Italians actually disembarked in Tripoli on 5 October 1911—taking over from the Turks in Libya as a result of the Treaty of Ouchy (19 October 1912)—but were able to occupy Fezzan only between January and August 1914. The Miani force, coming from Syrte through Sokna, and outflanking Gibla which was occupied by hostile nomads, took Brak, Sebḥa, Murzuḳ, Ubāri and Ghāt in succession. But owing to the opposition of the nomads who were spurred on by the propaganda of the Sanūsiyya fraternity, and also to the outbreak of the first world war, into which Italy was to make her entry, the Italian troops were withdrawn, though not without difficulty, in December 1914 and January 1915, leaving the country unprotected against the brigandage of the nomads for fifteen years. In fact, the Italians only returned in December 1929; in a combined advance of three columns, under the command of General Graziani, they passed through Derdj, al-Gueriat and Hūn (Djofra) and had no great difficulty in reoccupying Fezzan, including Ghāt and the Gatrūn region (February 1930).

It was a ruined country which had to be organized and equipped. Fezzan became a military command dependent on the Governor General of Libya; later (1936) it was transferred to the South Libya Command, set up at Hūn. The Italians started to link up the different parts of the Fezzan and Ghāt with Tripoli and Miṣrāta by motor roads; they set up a number of schools and hospitals, and regularized and controlled the traditional administration of the *mudīrs*. Fezzan enjoyed a period of peace that was sorely needed.

The peaceful atmosphere was scarcely disturbed by the arrival of the Free French troops under the command of General Leclerc who, coming from the south in December 1942, easily occupied Murzuḳ on 7 January 1943, and then Sebḥa and the rest of the country before linking up with the British 8th Army in the advance on Tunisia. As a result of the Franco-British Agreement of January 1943, Fezzan and Ghadāmes formed a territory placed under the direct authority of the Direction des Territoires du Sud de l'Algérie, while Ghāt was annexed to the territory of Djanet (Fort-Charley). The French divided Fezzan into 3 subdivisions (Shāṭi, Sebḥa-Ubāri, Murzuḳ), maintained the administration by *mudīrs* and continued the educational, medical and economic work undertaken by the Italians; in addition, they dug several artesian wells.

Since 24 December 1951, the date of the creation of the United Kingdom of Libya under the sovereignty of Muḥammad Idrīsi al-Sanūsī, Fezzan has been one of the three autonomous provinces of this now independent country. The French forces provisionally maintained in Fezzan evacuated it, together with Ghāt and Ghadāmes, by the terms of the Franco-Libyan Treaty of 10 August 1955; Ghadāmes has subsequently been added to Tripolitania. The *wālī*, the governor who represents the king at Sebḥa, the chief town of Fezzan, is assisted by an executive council composed of minor ministers (*nāẓir*) and a legislative council, three-quarters of

whose members are elected and whose chairman shares authority with the *wālī*.

The census of 1954 recorded 54,400 inhabitants in Fezzan province, three-quarters of whom are sedentary. Agriculture is in fact the main source of livelihood, in particular the cultivation of date-palms of which there are between eight and nine hundred thousand. To be accurate, the date-palms are, for the most part, neither cultivated nor even irrigated, but merely fertilized. The underground water-table is sufficiently close to the surface for the palmtrees' roots to reach the level of moisture; but the annual production of dates is hardly more than 4 to 6 kg. per tree, whilst with irrigation it reaches from 30 to 50 kg., particularly in Shāṭi. Another characteristic: outside the palm-groves cultivation is for the most part practised by means of a balance-well (*kheṭṭāra*), especially in the south, and in particular by means of a well operated by an animal [see BI'R] in which the goatskin water-container (*dalw*) is drawn up by a donkey helped by a man. Cereals—wheat and barley in winter, millet (*gṣob*) and sorghum (*gāfūli*) in summer—are almost the only form of cultivation: they are grown in succession on the same piece of land which is then left fallow; the rotation of crops near the wells is thus carried out in from 2 to 5 successive crops. The cultivated strips are protected by temporary hedges of palm leaves. Trees (pomegranates, vines) are very rare and are always planted at the side of the wells (or springs). Fertilization of the date-palms, drawing of water and irrigation are undertaken by the proprietors themselves or by hired labourers, serfs by origin, former negro slaves or tribes of very mixed antecedents, the *Shwāshna* (sing. *Shūshāni*): these are the *Ḥarāṭin* of other parts of the Sahara. The sedentary inhabitants possess only a few sheep and goats; donkeys and dromedaries are used for wells and for transport. The workers are very poor. Emigration, both temporary and permanent, is by tradition made mainly to Tripolitania, but also to Tunisia.

The villages are generally of wretched appearance. The huddled buildings, partly or wholly in ruins, testify to a state of insecurity either formerly or recently. The houses, built of dry stone or baked bricks, with flat roofs and opening onto a court which is also sometimes covered (*kawdi*), are built close together in barely two-thirds of the villages. It is only in the chief centres like Brāk (Shāṭi), Murzuḳ or the oases of Sebḥa and al-Bwānis that they assume a somewhat more comfortable and urban aspect. There are numerous hamlets. In the poorest regions habitations are merely huts of palm leaves (*zarība*), and are widely spaced for fear of fire. The placing of houses, either adjoining one another or at a distance, is the result of the degree of social cohesion of the villagers and of the types of dwellings, not of economic differences. Stockbreeding is almost the sole activity of the more or less nomadic shepherds in the outlying regions of the Fezzan. The Tebou in the south-east wander in small scattered groups, from the Tibesti to the Djabal Ben Guenēma and the neighbourhood of Gatrūn; they have temporary oblong huts made of the ribs of palmleaves and matting (*būshi*). The Touareg Ajjer (Imanghassaten and Urāghen), from the neighbourhood of Ghadāmes and the Messāk, drive their flocks as far as the approaches to Shāṭi, on the edge of the Wādī 'l-Adjal, and the Murzuḳ region. They live in tents of hides or in little round temporary huts made of matting. The shepherds from the north, the "Arabs", are far more numerous. The Gdādfa, the Urfella, the Awlād Busīf and the Zintān from Gibla, and also part of the Megārha, come to Shāṭi at the end of the summer at the time of the date harvest. But most of the Megārha and the Ḥasāwna own date-palms and land which they have cultivated by the Shwāshna: they are semi-nomadic, living alternately in houses and tents: the Ḥotmān, Zwayd and Gwāyda, formerly semi-nomadic, are today almost completely settled in western Shāṭi. All the Arabs' tents are of the "black tent" type which is to be found from Afghanistan to the Atlantic.

Fezzan sells part of its dates to all the neighbouring shepherds, and part of its cereals to the Tebou and Touareg. The nomads in the north, who grow cereals in the Gibla depressions, are the largest purchasers of dates, consuming a good part of them themselves, while by tradition they take the rest to markets in Tripolitania, to be exchanged for manufactured goods landed at Tripoli; some caravans go to south Tunisia.

But the dates and cereals, and also the natron taken by the Dawāda from the small lakes south of the *ramla* of Ubāri, are now almost always carried by lorry along the roads linking Misrata and Tripoli. It is also by lorry that the manufactured goods that are increasingly needed are brought from Tripoli. New roads lead to the oil-drilling centres recently opened in west and north-west Fezzan; but they are on the fringe of the country. Sebḥa, the capital of Fezzan, which includes a certain number of administrative and modern business buildings, has on the other hand become an important aerodrome.

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FEDALA [see FAḌĀLA].

FEDJR-I ĀTĪ, the coming dawn, a Turkish literary group active in the period following the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, and associated with the review *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*], where its initial manifesto was published. See further TURKS,

literature, and the articles on the individual authors.

(Ed.)

FEHĪM, SÜLEYMĀN (1203-62/1789-1846), a minor Ottoman poet who wrote in the first half of the 19th century, during the declining decades of the classical school. A government official in Istanbul and in the Balkans, he soon retired and devoted his life to study and writing, teaching Persian occasionally.

His little *dīwān* (Istanbul 1262) contains poems inspired by the "Indian style" of Persian poetry. He is also the author of *Sefīnet al-shuʿarāʾ* (Istanbul 1259), an expanded translation of Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*.

Bibliography: Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*[2], xii, 184; Fatīn, *Tedhkire*, 336; İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, 379-81; A. C. Yöntem, in *IA*, s.v. (Fahir İz)

FEHĪM, UNDJUZĀDE MUṢṬAFĀ known as Fehīm-i Ḳadīm (? -1058/1648), Turkish poet, one of the most appreciated of the minor poets of the 17th century. According to scattered information found in various *tedhkire*s and in Ewliyā Čelebi, he was born in Istanbul, the son of an Egyptian pastrycook. Without a regular education or settled position, stricken by poverty he left Istanbul, joining the suite of Eyyūb Pasha, governor of Egypt. Because of a colleague's intrigue, he lost the favour of the Pasha and decided to leave Egypt, where he does not seem to have been very happy or prosperous. Thanks to the mediation of Newālī Bey, the commander of the Janissaries in Egypt, he was allowed to join the caravan conveying the yearly tribute from Egypt to the Capital, but he died on the way at Ilghīn in 1058/1648, apparently in his early twenties.

His *dīwān*, his only work, which according to *tedhkire*s he completed at the age of eighteen, shows that he was an unconventional poet of great promise and although fascinated by the work of the Persian poet ʿUrfī, in his lyrics he did not always follow the latter's precious and bombastic style, but succeeded in developing, at that early age, a personality of his own. Especially in his *ghazal*s, in the middle of hackneyed clichés, characteristic of the school, it is not rare to come across sincere personal notes and glimpses of his *ambiance*. During the attempt at a classical revival in the second half of the 19th century, many latter-day *dīwān* poets, headed by Leskofdjalī Ghālib, started a vogue of Fehīm and wrote many *naẓīra*s to his poems. Even the modernist Nāmīḳ Kemāl joined this admiration of Fehīm and rebuked Ziya (Ḍiyā) Pasha (*Takhrīb-i kharābāt*, Istanbul 1291, 76) for not having included him in the *Kharābāt*, his classical anthology of *dīwān* verse.

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FEHĪM PASHA, chief of the secret police under the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. He was born in Istanbul in 1873 (?). Being the eldest son of the *ethwābdjībashī* ʿIṣmet Bey, foster-brother of the sultan, he was educated in the special class of the *Mekteb-i Ḥarbiyye* from where he was gazetted captain in 1894. Two years later he became *yāver-i shehriyārī* and received the title of *pasha* in 1898. Fehīm Pasha was appointed director of the secret police of the sultan, a post he held for many years. He maintained the trust of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II by enlarging the network of *khafiye* (secret agents) throughout the capital. He was feared by the people, especially by the native and foreign merchants whom he taxed unlawfully. He was dismissed from his position and sent to Bursa on 17 February 1907; his banishment was due to the intervention of the German ambassador von Bieberstein, supporting the claims of a German merchant against Fehīm. He was lynched at Yenishehir, near Bursa, after the revolution of 1908.

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FEHMĪ, Sheykh, Naḳshbandī-Khālidī Sheykh of Erzindjān. Muṣṭafā Fehmī succeeded Pīr Meḥmed Wehbī Khayyāṭ after the latter's death in 1264/1848 (see Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 643) as Sheykh of the Khālidī order in Erzindjān; Pīr Wehbī had introduced the order in Erzindjān after making there the acquaintance of ʿAbd Allah Efendī, the pupil of Mewlānā Khālid in Damascus. Fehmī died on his third pilgrimage on 21 Muḥarram 1299/14 December 1881, in Mecca, and was buried at the foot of Khadīdja's grave.

His position as head of the order does not seem to have been always unopposed; close beside him was ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Efendi, the son-in-law of Pīr Wehbī, whom in the early days he often consulted when taking decisions, and who after a quarrel made it impossible for him to remain in his own convent for a considerable time. In spite of this, Fehmī was greatly esteemed. When he made his first two pilgrimages (winter 1276/1859-60 to 1277/1861, and Shawwāl 1282/February 1866 to Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1283/April 1867) the population of Erzindjān took a lively interest, saw him off, and gave him a musical welcome on his return with the band of the local garrison. Not only did he have connexions with the merchants and officials of the area, but he was on terms of particular trust with members of the military aristocracy, such as Čerkes Ismāʿīl Pasha (1805-61), the Turkish general in the wars with Croatia and Russia (see Ibrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, 1945, 193) and Derwīsh Pasha (1812-96, see *IA*, s.v.). The latter looked after him in his illness, and received "spiritual support" from him for the war against Russia (1877-8); in Djumādā II 1282/October-November 1865, he took him with him to Istanbul, where Fehmī made a speech before the General Assembly (*medjlis-i ʿumūmī*) of the Sublime Porte. The building of the Dergāh in Erzindjān (opened 12 Rabīʿ I 1284/14 July 1867, having taken two years to build) was financed by contributions from numerous important persons.

In his demeanour, Fehmī combined outward modesty with extreme self-confidence. He avoided ostentatious piety and asceticism; though never wearing European dress, he did not criticize its use by others; in his house the daily *dhikr* was combined with the forbidden playing of the flute. At the same time, he kept jealous watch over the loyalty of his followers and interfered in their private lives, and was not averse to being considered the *Sulṭān-i ʿulamāʾ bi'llāh*, that "spiritual *Khalīfa*" who manifests himself once in every generation, now in one *ṭarīḳa*,

now in another, and who was then believed to be appearing in the Naḳshbandiyya. His piety contains national elements, especially the belief in the *erenler*, the "men of God" (*mardān-i Khudā*; for meaning and etymology see Schaeder in *OLZ*, xxxi (1928), 734, n.); the "superstructure" of his thought is strongly influenced by Ibn ʿArabī.

Bibliography: The most important source for his life and thought is the three volume autobiography of Ashčī Dede Ibrāhīm Khalīl b. Meḥmed ʿAlī (preserved in the Istanbul manuscripts, Üniversite Kütüphanesi T 3222 and T 78-80) who was his pupil from 1273/1856 onwards; see also M. L. Bremer, *Die Memoiren des türkischen Derwischs Aşçı Dede Ibrāhīm*, Waldorf-Hessen 1959 (*Beiträge z. Sprach- u. Kulturgesch. des Or.*, Heft 12). (M. L. van Ess-Bremer)

FELLAGHA [see fallāķ].

FELLATA [see fallāta].

FELT [see keče, libād].

FEMALE CIRCUMCISION [see khifāḍ].

FENĀRĪ-ZĀDE, prominent family of Ottoman scholars and jurists, the founder of which, Shems al-Dīn Meḥemmed Fenārī, is regarded in native tradition as the first supreme *muftī* (*shaykh al-islām*) of the Empire. He was born in Bursa in 751/1350-1, the son of a certain Shaykh Ḥamza who, despite the impossibility of the dating, is said to have been a pupil of the famous *ṣūfī* scholar Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳōnewī (d. 672/1273-4; Brockelmann, I, 449). Having studied under some of the most distinguished scholars of his age in Anatolia and Egypt, in 770/1368-9 he was appointed teacher at the Manāstir *medrese* in Bursa and the following year made *ḳāḍī* of this capital city. What the political influence was which could manoeuvre a youth of twenty into such an important position remains unknown, but that there was a special connexion with the dynasty is to be inferred from the great wealth he was able to amass, the distinction he was accorded among the statesmen and the special privileges granted to his children and his grandchildren by Murād II and Meḥemmed II. The sources give no specific date for his appointment as *muftī*, but it would seem that he retained this office even after relinquishing the *ḳāḍī*-ship of Bursa to Mollā Yegān in 822/1419-20 in order to go on the pilgrimage, for we hear of no other individual with this title until after his death in Radjab 834/15 March-13 April 1431), when Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAdjemī was appointed. He was buried in the courtyard of the mosque which he built in Bursa. The most famous of his numerous works is the *Fuṣūl al-badāʾiʿ*, a compilation on the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (Brockelmann, II, 233, to whose biographical sources should be added Ismāʿīl Belīgh, *Güldeste-i riyāḍ-i ʿirfān*, Bursa 1302, 239-44; Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, 4th *rükn*, Istanbul 1285, 108-10; Ṭashköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya* (trans. Medjdī), Istanbul 1269, 47-53; *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, i, 390; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1949, 644; *ʿIlmiyye sālnāmesi*, Istanbul 1334, 322-6; Müstaḳīm-zāde Süleymān Efendi, *Dawḥat al-mashāʾikh*, litho., Istanbul n.d., 3).

Although Nishāndjī Meḥemmed Pasha (*Taʾrīkh-i Nishāndjī*, Istanbul 1290, 123) is probably in error in saying that he was also a *wazīr*, one of his sons, Aḥmed Čelebi (later Pasha), did follow a secular career, and after having been *defterdār* for a period and served in the campaign of 878/1473 against Uzun Ḥasan Aḳḳoyunlu (in which he was taken captive), in 884/1479 he was appointed *lālā* (mentor) to Prince Bāyezīd (later Bāyezīd II) in his governorship of Amasya; afterwards, he held the appointment of *nishāndjī* on two occasions (885/1480-81 and 887/1482-83; for a discussion of these dates, cf. İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, i, Istanbul 1947, 462-3). On being dismissed from office in 890/1485-6, he retired to Bursa where he died in 893/1487-8 (cf. Nishāndjī Meḥemmed Pasha, 163).

The next member of the family to achieve high office was Shems al-Dīn's grandson, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf Bālī, who, after having been *ḳāḍī* of Bursa from 872/1467-8 to 877/1472-3, was appointed *ḳāḍī ʾl-ʿasker* the following year, in which post he remained until 881/1476-7. Towards the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II this office was divided into two, and in 894/1488-9 he was appointed *ḳāḍī ʾl-ʿasker* of Rūmili, holding this charge until 900/1494-5, when he was made chief *ḳāḍī* of Anatolia. He died in 903/1497-8 and was buried in his grandfather's mosque in Bursa (Ṭashköprüzāde, 199; Belīgh, 245). His son, [Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn] Shāh Meḥemmed, also had a distinguished career. From the time of his birth (ca. 883/1478-9) he was the recipient of a stipend from the Sultan, and after having been *ḳāḍī* of Bursa (919/1513-4), Istanbul and Edirne (the dates in the sources are confused), in 925/1519 he was appointed *ḳāḍī ʾl-ʿasker* of Anatolia and in 926/1519-20 of Rūmili. He died in 929/1522-3 at the age of forty-six while in this latter office, and was buried in the family graveyard in Bursa (Ṭashköprüzāde, 386; Belīgh, 248; Sehī, *Hesht Bihisht*, Istanbul 1325, 28).

His younger brother (and not his son, as stated in Ṭashköprüzāde, 387, and the sources which derive therefrom), Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn Meḥemmed, attained even greater dignity. Having been *ḳāḍī* of Edirne (925/1519) and Istanbul, in 929/1522-3 he was made *ḳāḍī ʾl-ʿasker* of Anatolia and, in the following year, of Rūmili. Having held this post for fourteen or fifteen years, he was retired on pension in 944/1537-8, but in 949/1542-3 was recalled to office by appointment as *shaykh al-islām* in succession to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Efendi. Retiring at his own request in 952/1545, he died on 24 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 954/5 January 1548 and was buried in Eyyūb. He is mentioned (as Muḥyī) among the poets of his age, and is said to have built a mosque in the Topkhāne quarter of Galata. (The sources often confuse him with his brother and should be used with caution: Müstaḳīm-zāde, 22; *ʿIlm. sāl.*, 361; Danişmend, ii, 432; Sehī, 29; Laṭīfī, *Tedhkere-i shuʿarā*, Istanbul 1314, 307; Ḥuseyn Ayvānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-djewāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, ii, 66, 131). Although descendants of this line appear as teachers and *ḳāḍī*s down to the 12th/18th century, none achieved outstanding prominence. (Cf. for example, Ṭashköprüzāde, 400 (Zeyn al-Dīn Meḥemmed), 486 (Pīr Meḥmed); ʿAṭāʾī, *Dheyl-i Shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1268, 13 (Ḥasan b. Zeyn al-Dīn), 35 (ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Efendi and Yūsuf Efendi), 418 (Maḥmūd Efendi)). (J. R. Walsh)

FENER, the name of a quarter of Istanbul which, according to tradition, was allotted to the Greeks by Meḥemmed II after the conquest in 857/1453; for the topography, monuments, etc. see istanbul. After the conquest the seat of the Greek Patriarch was transferred from St. Sophia to the Church of the Holy Apostles, and three years later to the nearby Church of the Pammakaristos. In 994/1586, when this church was converted into a mosque (Fetḥiye Djāmiʿi), the Patriarch moved down into the Fener quarter, to establish himself finally in 1011/1603 at the Church of St. George

(re-built in 1720), still the seat of the Orthodox Patriarchate. At quite an early period there settled in the neighbourhood, in addition to the ecclesiastical and secular officials of the Patriarchate, the few old Byzantine families that had remained in Istanbul and other distinguished and wealthy members of the community; in the school of the Patriarchate, conducted by the clergy, the ancient classical studies were cultivated. The prominent Greek families resident around the Patriarchate were known collectively as the 'Phanariots' (T. *Fenerliler*). Thanks to their links with and knowledge of the Christian world (many of them were educated in Italy), the Porte, particularly in the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries, drew on them to fill various influential employments. Members of these families acted as dragomans of the Porte and of the Arsenal [see TARDJUMĀN], and as contractors for the supply of furs and meat to the Saray, etc.. Since they were regarded as more reliable than the native princes, for some of whom they had earlier acted as 'agents at the Porte' (*kapî ketkhüdāsî*), it was from the Phanariots that were appointed, for over a century, the *voyvoda*s (hospodars) of Moldavia (from 1123/1711, see BOGHDĀN) and Wallachia (from 1128/1716, see EFLĀĶ). The best-known names were Kantakouzenos, Skarlatos, Maurokordatos, Gkikas, Karatzas, Soutsos, Khantzeres (Handjeri), Maurogenes, Hypsilantes, Mourouzes, Kallimakhes, Mousouros, Aristarkhes, etc. In the second half of the 12th/18th century the Phanariot families began to move from Fener to the more salubrious villages along the Bosphorus—Ķuručeshme, Arnawutköy, Tarabya; after the Greek War of Independence many of them migrated to Greece. Descendants of Phanariot families are still found in modern Rumania.

Bibliography: M. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, Basle 1578, 91, 497; de la Croix, *État présent de la Nation et de l'Église grecque*, 3 ff.; W. Eton, *A survey ...*, London 1798, 331 ff.; J. Dallaway, *Constantinople ancient and modern*, London 1797, 98 ff.; *Le livre d'or de la noblesse phanariote ..., par un Phanariote* [= Eugène Rizo-Rhavgabê], Athens 1892; Epaminondas I. Stamatiadis, Βιογραφίαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Μεγάλων Διερμηνέων τοῦ Ὀθωμανικοῦ Κράτους, Athens 1865; *IA*, s.v. Fenerliler (by A. Decei), with numerous further references.

(J. H. MORDTMANN*)

FERDĪ, *makhlaṣ* (nom-de-plume) of some minor Ottoman poets, one of whom died young early in the reign of Süleymān I (Laṭīfī, 263; the *tedhkire*s [in MS] of ʿĀshiķ Čelebi and Ḥasan Čelebi; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, Ankara Un. DTCF Lib. MS, f. 210a); another, Arayîdjîzāde Ḥüseyn, died in 1121/1709 (Sālim, 525; for MSS of his works see F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı ... türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961, nos. 2449, 2697); a third, 'Derwīsh' Ferdī, died in 1125/1713 (Sālim, 527); a 'Kātib' Ferdī is also known (Babinger, 83, n.).

A detailed history in Turkish of the reign of Süleymān I from his accession in 926/1520 to 949/1542 was long attributed to a 'Ferdī' (Hammer-Purgstall, iii, intr. v, 710; Flügel, *Die ... Handschriften der Kais.-kön. Hofbibl. zu Wien*, ii, 222 f.; J. Thury, *Török történetirók*, ii, Budapest 1896, 39; cf. Babinger, 83), while von Karabacek, taking the name of the copyist of the Vienna MS, 'Muṣṭafā āl-i ʿOthmān' as that also of the author, attributed the work to Süleymān's son Prince Muṣṭafā (see J. von Karabacek, *Geschichte Suleimans des Grossen, verfasst und eigenhändig geschrieben von seinem Sohne Mustafa*, *Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde*, vii, Vienna 1917). These attributions are without foundation. The word '*ferdī*', appearing in a Persian poem in the work, is not a proper name but bears its ordinary lexicographical meaning, 'one person'; the author's *makhlaṣ* in fact appears, in a poem at the end of the work, as 'Būstān', and hence reveals him to be Muṣṭafā Būstān b. Meḥemmed, 'Būstān Efendi', a *ķāḍīʿasker* under Süleymān I, b. 904/1498, d. 977/1570 [see BOSTĀNZĀDE].

Bibliography: Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, *Ferdī'nin Süleymannâmesinin yeni bir nüshası*, in *Ank. Ün. DTCFD*, viii (1950), 201-23; idem, *Bostan'ın Süleymannâmesi* (*Ferdi'ye atfedilen eser*), in *Belleten*, xix (1955), 137-202.

(HÜSEYIN G. YURDAYDIN)

FERHĀD PASHA (? — 1004/1595), Ottoman Grand Vizier. One Venetian *relazione* of 1585 gives his then age as about 50 years, while other Venetian *relazioni* of 1590-4 describe him as a man of about 65 or 70 years. Ferhād Pasha was of Albanian origin (some of the Venetian accounts refer to him as "di nazion schiavone", "di nazione schiava") and, according to Lazaro Soranzo, a native of "Andronici Castello dell'Albania". After he had gone out from the *enderūn-i humāyūn* towards the end of the reign of Sultan Süleymān Ķānūnī (d. 974/1566), his career embraced the offices of Mīr Akhor-i Kebīr, *i.e.* Grand Master of the Imperial Horse (while holding this appointment he was sent in 986/1578 to Budin (Buda) with orders to execute the Beglerbeg of Budin, Muṣṭafā Pasha, the nephew of the then Grand Vizier Meḥemmed Ṣoķollu) and also of Yeñičeri Aghasî, *i.e.*, Agha of the Janissaries (an office that he lost in 990/1582). Ferhād Pasha became Beglerbeg of Rūmili late in 990/1582 and not long thereafter was raised, with the rank of vizier, to the eminence of *serdār*, *i.e.*, commander-in-chief, of the Ottoman forces engaged in the war which had broken out against Persia in 986/1578. During the campaigns of 991/1583-992/1584 he relieved with new supplies and reinforcements the Ottoman garrison at Tiflis in Georgia and in addition fortified Eriwān, together with a number of strong positions on the routes leading into Georgia. The supreme command on the eastern front was assigned, for the year 1585, to the famous ʿOthmān Pasha, then at the height of his renown as a soldier in view of the brilliant campaigns that he had waged in the Caucasus during the earlier phases of the war. After the death of ʿOthmān Pasha in Dhu 'l-Ķaʿda 993/October 1585 the appointment as *serdār* was given once more to Ferhād Pasha, who now retained it until the end of the long conflict with Persia in 998/1590. His solid achievement as a soldier was crowned in 996/1588, when he conquered Gandja and the region of Ķarabāgh in Persian Adharbaydjān. Ferhād Pasha became Grand Vizier in Shawwāl 999/August 1591, but a revolt amongst the Janissaries brought about his dismissal from office in Djumādā II 1000/March-April 1592. As second vizier, and during the first years of the long war of 1001/1593-1015/1606 between the Ottoman Empire and Austria, he was *ķāʾim-maķām* at Istanbul in the absence of the Grand Vizier Ķodja Sinān Pasha on the Hungarian front. Soon after the accession to the throne of Sultan Meḥemmed III in 1003/1595 Ferhād Pasha became Grand Vizier for the second time (Djumādā II 1003/February 1595). His renewed tenure of the office was destined, however, to be brief—as he was preparing for a campaign against Wallachia (at that time aligned on the side of Austria), the intrigues of his bitter rival Ķodja Sinān led to his dismissal in Shawwāl

1003/July 1595 and not long afterwards to his execution, on the order of the Sultan, in Ṣafer 1004/ October 1595. Some of the sources describe Ferhād Pas̲h̲a ("detto Charailam, cioe, nero serpente" (= Ḳara Yīlan), in the words of Lazaro Soranzo) as a rough and ignorant man, overbearing and avaricious in his conduct. None the less, on the evidence of a career not devoid of notable achievements, above all in the war against Persia, he has some claim to be regarded as one of the most able viziers of his time.

Bibliography: Selānīkī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲*, Istanbul A.H. 1281, 67, 169, 172, 202, 204, 212 ff., *passim*, 220 ff., *passim*, 232 ff., *passim*, 243 ff., *passim*, 259-60, 268, 285-6, 295, 302, 308, 310-2, 320; Pečewī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲*, Istanbul A.H. 1281-1283, i, 423 and ii, 19, 73, 86 ff., *passim*, 107 ff., *passim*, 122 ff., *passim*, 164 ff., *passim*; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Fed̲h̲leke*, Istanbul A.H. 1286-1287, i, 3, 46 ff., *passim*, 76; Naʿīmā, *Ta'rīk̲h̲*, Istanbul A.H. 1281-1283, i, 66 ff., *passim*, 110, 117 ff., *passim*; Ṣolāḳ-zāde, *Ta'rīk̲h̲*, Istanbul A.H. 1298, 605 ff., *passim*; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Ankara 1954, iii, Pt. 2, 347-9 and 608 (index); A. S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler*, Ankara 1956, 89 ff. (information on the Persian campaigns of Ferhād Pas̲h̲a can also be found in Iskandar Beg Muns̲h̲ī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehrān 1955, *passim*); G. T. Minadoi, *Historia della Guerra fra Turchi et Persiani*, Venice 1594, 216 ff., *passim*, 345 ff., *passim*; L. Soranzo, *L'Ottomanno*, Ferrara 1599, 82; E. Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ser. iii, Florence 1840-1855, ii, 283 ff., 353 ff. and iii, 290 ff., 371, 416 ff.; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, (*1581-1591*), 591 (index) and (*1592-1603*), 597 (index); Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, vii, 62, 107 ff., 123, 148, 209, 214 ff., 241, 296 ff. (V. J. Parry)

FERHĀD u-S̲H̲ĪRĪN [see farhād wa-s̲h̲īrīn].

FERĪDŪN BEG (d. 991/1583), private secretary of Meḥemmed Pas̲h̲a Sokollu [*q.v.*], head of the Ottoman chancery and compiler of the *Muns̲h̲a'āt al-salāṭīn*. Nothing is known of his origins; his personal name was Aḥmed, and his *waḳfiye* (see Bibl.) refers to him as 'ibn ʿAbd al-Ḳadīr'. Educated in the household of the *defterdār* Čiwi-zāde ʿAbdī Čelebi, in the year of the latter's death (960/1553) he entered the service of Meḥemmed Pas̲h̲a Sokollu, then *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli, as secretary. As Sokollu rose to supreme power, so Ferīdūn played an increasingly important part in state affairs, notably in the negotiations for the extradition of the fugitive prince Bāyezīd from Persia and in the crisis of Süleymān's death at Szigetvar (974/1566); his personal bravery during this siege was rewarded with a *ziʿāmet* and promotion to *mutafarriḳa*. On 8 Muḥarram 978/12 June 1570 he was appointed *Re'īs al-küttāb* (for his *berāt* see *Muns̲h̲a'āt*[2], ii, 572) and on 3 Ramaḍān 981/27 December 1573 promoted to *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī*. When, on the death of Selīm II, Murād III was hastening from Maʿnīsa to Istanbul, he had a stormy crossing from Mudanya in a small boat belonging to Ferīdūn which happened to be available (*Muns̲h̲a'āt*[2], i, 17, cf. Pečewī, i, 26-7). A month later, on 9 S̲h̲awwāl 982/ 22 January 1575, Ferīdūn presented his *Muns̲h̲a'āt al-salāṭīn* to the new Sultan, but received scant thanks for it (Selānikī, 137): as the protégé of Sokollu he was regarded coldly by Murād III, and his dismissal from the post of *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* and banishment from the capital on 11 Muḥarram 984/10 April 1576 (S. Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, 175-6) was the first of several measures aimed at weakening Sokollu's position (Pečewī, i, 26; ii, 7). In D̲j̲umādā II 985/ August 1577 he was appointed *sand̲j̲aḳ-begi* of Semendre (Smederevo), arriving at Belgrade, the chef-lieu of the *sand̲j̲aḳ*, four months later (Gerlach, 375; S. Schweigger, *Reyssbeschreibung*, 39); before long (by 988/1580, see Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 82, note *e*) he was transferred to Köstendil. In Muḥarram 989/February 1581 (a year after Sokollu's assassination) he was recalled to Istanbul and re-appointed *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī*; and on 12 Rabīʿ I 990/6 April 1582 he was given in marriage ʿĀys̲h̲e Sulṭān, the daughter of Rüstem Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and Süleymān's daughter Mihrimāh (Selānikī, 162-3; the tradition that he was married to Sokollu's widow is baseless, see Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 104, note *b*). He died in office, of a haemorrhage, on Wednesday 21 Ṣafar 991/16 March 1583 (Selānikī, 172), and is buried in a *türbe* at Eyyūb (Ewliyā, i, 405; cf. ʿ*OM*, ii, 363-4).

Ferīdūn's *Muns̲h̲a'āt al-salāṭīn* (chronogram for 982, the year of its completion) is a collection of state-papers—imperial letters, *fermāns*, *fetḥnāmes*, *berāts*, treaties, with some campaign-diaries. According to Selānikī (137), the presentation volume, of over 250 gatherings (*d̲j̲uz'*) and divided into eleven sections for the eleven Ottoman sultans to Selīm II, contained 1880 documents, but no known MS approaches this length. The work has been printed twice (1) Istanbul 1264-5/1848-9, containing 735 documents, of which 41 relate to the early period of Islam; and (2) Istanbul 1274-5/1858 (the standard edition), containing 840 documents, many of which, however, are later than the date of presentation. From the examination of MSS in European libraries (the Istanbul MSS remain to be investigated) K. Holter concludes that *Muns̲h̲a'āt*[2] i and ii, 1-100 (528 documents) and perhaps also ii, 536-74 (30 docs.) belong to Ferīdūn's original collection, while ii, 100-536 (282 docs. of the late 16th and the 17th centuries) reproduce a single separate collection, similar in scope to that represented in MS Göttingen Univ.-bibl. turc. 29. Mükrimīn K̲h̲alīl's demonstration that several of the documents purporting to belong to the reigns of ʿOt̲h̲mān G̲h̲āzī and Ork̲h̲ān are spurious, being modelled on documents in a collection of correspondence of the K̲h̲ʷārizm-s̲h̲āhs entitled *al-Tawassul ila 'l-tarassul* (Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 3730), prompted grave doubts on the authenticity of the whole collection (see J. H. Mordtmann in *Isl.*, xiv (1925), 362n.); but recent studies suggest that these were exaggerated: it is for the most part a highly reliable source.

The *Muns̲h̲a'āt* is introduced (i, 24-8) by a short treatise on ethics, *Miftāḥ al-D̲j̲annat* (chronogram for 982/1574) and followed (ii, 574-600) by an essay, written early in the reign of Murād III, on the measures needed to restore order in Egypt. Ferīdūn composed also *Nuzhat al-ak̲h̲bār dar safar-i Sigetwār*, a history of the Szigetvar campaign (974/1566) and the events of the two years following; MSS: Leiden, Univ.-bibl. Warn. 277; Istanbul, Millet-Ali Emiri 330; Istanbul, Hazine 1339 (this, dated 976 and containing 20 miniatures [Karatay, no. 692], is presumably the presentation-copy). In 980/1572, as *re'īs al-küttāb*, he caused to be translated, from French, a history of France down to the year 1563; MS: Dresden (H. O. Fleischer, *Catalogus*, no. 120).

Bibliography: Ferīdūn's introduction to his work, *Muns̲h̲a'āt*[2], i, 14-23; ʿAṭā'ī, *Ḥadā'iḳ al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, 336-7; J. H. Mordtmann, s.v., in *EI*[1] (= *IA*, s.v.), followed by Babinger, 106-8 (with further references); Mükrimīn K̲h̲alīl [Yınanç],

Ferīdūn Beg Münsheʾāti, in *TOEM*, no. 77, pp. 161-8, no. 78, pp. 37-46, no. 79, pp. 95-104, no. 81, pp. 216-26; J. Rypka, *Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Krimchanen* ..., in *Festschrift Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, 241-69; K. Holter, *Studien zu Aḥmed Ferīdûn's Münšeʾât es-selâṭîn*, in *Mitt. d. Österreichischen Inst. f. Geschichtsforschung*, Erg.-Bd. xiv, Innsbruck 1939, 429-51 (with further references). Two copies of his *waḳfiye* (providing for the support of a mosque in Istanbul, etc.) are recorded in *Ist. küt. tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, i/11, Istanbul 1962, 846 f. (J. H. Mordtmann-[V. L. Ménage])

FERMAN [see farmān].

FĒRŌZ [see fīrūz].

FĒRŌZKŌH [see fīrūzkūh].

FESTIVAL [see bayram, ʿīd].

FETWA [see fatwā].

FEUDALISM [see iḳṭāʿ].

FEZ [see fās, and (for the head-gear) libās].

FEZZĀN [see fazzān].

FIDĀʾ [(1) see ḥadjdj; (2) see ḥarb—i].

FIDĀʾĪ (or, more often, *fidāwī*), one who offers up his life for another, a name used of special devotees in several religious and political groups. Among the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs it was used of those members who risked their lives to assassinate the enemies of the sect. They acted also on behalf of political allies of the Nizārīs, sometimes at a price. At Alamūt they may have become, in later years, a special corps; but normally tasks of assassination seem to have been assigned to anyone who was fit. The mediaeval Western tradition developed an elaborate account of them as highly trained specialists, evidently based partly on Muslim tales, partly on imaginative deduction. Mediaeval Muslim legends gave rise later to the idea that *ḥashīsh* was used in motivating the *fidāʾīs*, but there is no evidence for this (see M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955).

In Algeria, *fidāwī* means a narrator of heroic deeds, and *fidāwiyya* a tale or song of heroic deeds. During the Persian revolution *fidāwī* was applied in the first place to the adherents of the republican party, later to the defenders of liberal ideas and the constitution.

Fidāʾī was also the pen-name of Shaykhzāda Lāhidjī, who was sent by the Ṣafawī Shāh Ismāʿīl as ambassador to Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī and afterwards retired to Shīrāz where he died (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ii, 27). It was also the pen-name of Sayyid Mīrzā Saʿīd of Ardistān, who lived at Iṣfahān and was the favourite poet of Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ii, 383).

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn-de Slane, i, 122, 5; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii, 147; H. d'Allemagne, *Du Khorassan au pays des Backtiaris*, Paris 1911, iv, 304 (photographs, 294, 299); Browne, ii, 206 ff.; idem, *Persian Revolution*, 127, 151; *RMM*, i, 49; iv, 176; v, 361; xii, 217. (Cl. Huart-[M. G. S. Hodgson])

FIDĀʾIYYĀN-I ISLĀM, a small politico-religious terrorist group based in Tehrān which during its twelve years of activity (1943-55) became notorious for its responsibility for numerous political murders. The Fidāʾiyyān were organized secretly, but held open rallies and announced their aims publicly. Their goals included strict enforcement of the *sharīʿa* and the ending of irreligiousness. They combined fundamentalism with violent xenophobia, and considered attacks on foreigners and politicians with foreign connexions a defence of the *Dār al-Islām*. The Fidāʾiyyān proclaimed the government of "xenophiles" illegitimate, and called such men enemy spies whose blood must be shed. They demanded the revocation of all laws which they considered inconsistent with Shīʿī law, and tried to re-establish the veiling of women and other traditional Islamic practices.

The notoriety of the Fidāʾiyyān began with the abortive attempt by their young founder, Sayyid Mudjtabā Mīrlawḥī, later called Nawāb-i Ṣafawī, on the life of the famous scholar and religious reformer, Aḥmad Kasrawī [see kasrawī], in March 1945. In February 1946 the Fidāʾiyyān assassinated Kasrawī during open court proceedings in the Palace of Justice in Tehrān. Ṣafawī and a few associates were arrested, but none of those who had been present would testify against them and they were acquitted. Āyat Allāh Kāshānī's protection of the Fidāʾiyyān and their influence in the Tehrān *bāzār* played a part in the acquittal, as did the fear of reprisals, which now grew. In October 1949 the Fidāʾiyyān assassinated the Minister of Court, ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Hazhīr, whom they accused of having foreign connexions and of interfering in elections to the Madjlis. This murder was a factor in the annulment of the Tehrān elections to the 16th session of the Madjlis, and in the new elections the National Front led by Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ made gains. The hostility of the Prime Minister, Gen. Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Razmārā, to the National Front's proposal to nationalize oil brought about his assassination in March 1951 by a fanatical Fidāʾī, Khalīl Ṭahmāsbī. Threats from the Fidāʾiyyān soon led to the resignation of the next prime minister, Ḥusayn ʿAlā, after which Muṣaddiḳ became prime minister. Nawāb-i Ṣafawī was arrested in June 1951 and Muṣaddiḳ and his government faced threats to their lives from the Fidāʾiyyān unless Ṭahmāsbī and Ṣafawī were released. Ḥusayn Fāṭimī, a member of the government, was shot and wounded by a Fidāʾī in February 1952. Influenced by fear and by the claim of Kāshānī and his followers that Razmārā's assassin was a hero, the Madjlis voted to pardon Ṭahmāsbī in August 1952. As threats from the Fidāʾiyyān continued, however, the Muṣaddiḳ government moved against them and banished some of their members to Bandar ʿAbbās, an insalubrious port on the Persian Gulf.

After the overthrow of Muṣaddiḳ the activity of the Fidāʾiyyān decreased, and for a time they restricted themselves to issuing occasional harsh statements against the new government. Then an abortive attempt on the life of the prime minister Ḥusayn ʿAlā in October 1955 gave the government a basis for prosecuting them. The arrested Fidāʾiyyān, among whom were Nawāb-i Ṣafawī, Wāḥidī and Ṭahmāsbī, were executed and no more was heard from the group.

The Fidāʾiyyān had ties with the Ikhwān al-Muslimīn [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāḳ and Egypt, and like the Ikhwān as well as many politico-religious groups of the past they called each other "brethren". In the Arab-Israeli dispute they gave vocal support to the Arab cause. Their members appear to have been primarily very young men with a limited and traditional education. They drew on traditional ideas of the sacredness of self-sacrifice and of using force in combating irreligion. Their programme was chimerical, but in appealing to real resentments and frustrations they had an influence beyond their small numbers, while the fear they instilled influenced the acts even of their opponents, particularly in the years 1951-3. Although defended and protected by

Kās͟hānī, they were not directly led by him and at least once differed with him publicly.

Bibliography: The Fidāʾiyyān issued their programme in a booklet, *al-Islām yaʿlū wa lā yuʿlā ʿalayh*, Tehran, 1951. There is as yet (1963) no published study of the group in either Persian or a Western language. Their activities are covered in newspapers like the *New York Times*, which carried an interview with Nawāb-i Ṣafawī on May 6, 1951. See also the remarks in Leonard Binder, *Iran*, California 1962, and D. N. Wilber, *Contemporary Iran*, New York 1963. More can be found in Persian newspapers and periodicals, including *Taraḳḳī*, *Dunyā*, *Waẓīfa*, and *Parčam-i Islām*, in the years 1949-55. Particularly interesting is a series of articles which appeared in *K͟hʷāndanīhā*, vols. 16-7, which was discontinued because of the arrest and execution of their author. See also *OM*, *COC*, etc.

(N. R. Keddie and A. H. Zarrinkub)

FIḌḌA, silver, because of the variety of its application was in great demand in Muslim society. Its abusive accumulation, however, was to be avoided, since, according to the Ḳurʾān, "those who treasure up gold and silver and do not expend them in the way of Allāh" would meet with a painful punishment (*Sūra* ix, 34). Functionally the significance of silver resembled that of gold (see d͟hahab). Its economic importance arose from the fact that silver, along with gold, constituted the basis for the official Muslim coinage (see dirham). Under normal economic circumstances the value of silver, as against gold, was established at 10 : 1, which ratio underlay the legal principle of the exchange rate between the silver and gold coinage (cf. C. Cahen, *Problèmes économiques de l'Iraq Buyide*, in *AIEO*, x (1952), 338). During the mediaeval period the needs of Near Eastern markets were adequately met by silver supplies of local provenance. Although mediaeval sources refer to many mining areas, the argentiferous districts of K͟hurāsān and Transoxania were particularly famous for an intensive exploitation of silver ore (cf. D. M. Dunlop, *Sources of gold and silver in Islam according to al-Hamdani, 10th Century A.D.*, in *Stud. Isl.*, viii (1957), 29-49; S. Bolin, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and Ruric*, in *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, i/1 (1953), 19-23). Near Eastern silver resources seem to have been rich enough to afford an export of this metal to Europe. This was particularly true in the course of the 4th/10th century, when large quantities of Near Eastern silver in the shape of Muslim dirhams were absorbed by trading regions of Eastern and Northern Europe. (For different viewpoints on the significance of the circulation of Near Eastern silver in the Middle Ages, see S. Bolin, *op. cit.*; R. P. Blake, *The circulation of silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol epoch*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, ii (1937), 291-328; F. J. Himly, *Y a-t-il emprise musulmane sur l'économie des états européens du VIIIᵉ au Xᵉ siècle?*, in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, v/3 (1955), 31-81).

As in the pre-Islamic period, silver was used in jewellery, metalwork and decorative incrustation (R. Harari, *Metalwork after the early Islamic period*, in *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 2476-529). Luxurious silver vessels were also in demand, particularly during the Buwayhid régime (cf. E. Kühnel, *Die Kunst Persiens unter den Buyiden*, *ZDMG*, cvi, 1 (N. F. xxxi) (1956), 83 ff.), although their use for eating purposes was condemned by Muslim tradition.

Silver attracted the attention of Muslim alchemists who referred to it by a number of different names, *e.g.*, the moon, mother, servant (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, xxiv, 82; A. Siggel, *Decknamen in der arabischen alchemistischen Literatur*, Berlin 1951). Albeit accepting the theory of transmutation of metals (cf. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, 2, 1045) Muslim alchemists were well acquainted with various chemical processes aiming at the extraction and refining of silver (E. J. Holmyard, *The makers of chemistry*, Oxford 1931, 77; D. M. Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 46-8; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Extracts from the technical manual on the Ayyubid mint in Cairo*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 429).

Finally, silver was used in Muslim medicine. It was applied in the form of filings which, when mixed with drugs, were effective against melancholy, palpitation of the heart, and similar afflictions (cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, ed. Leclerc, *Notices et extraits*, iii, 36). See also dār al-ḍarb; metalwork; sikka.

(A. S. Ehrenkreutz)

FID̲J̲ĀR "sacrilege"; *ḥarb al-fid̲j̲ār* "the sacrilegious war" is the name of a war waged towards the end of the 6th century A.D. during the holy months between the Ḳurays͟h and Kināna on the one side and the Ḳays-ʿAylān (without the G͟hatafān) on the other. Our sources mention eight days on which fighting took place. The first tbree of them—usually put together as the first war but sometimes counted as the first three wars—were mere brawls. Of real importance was only the second (or, according to the second reckoning, fourth) war which lasted four years. It started when during the holy season ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, whilst escorting a caravan of al-Nuʿmān III (reigned 580-602 A.D.) from al-Ḥīra to the fair of ʿUkāẓ, was treacherously murdered by al-Barrāḍ b. Ḳays al-Ḍamrī al-Kinānī. The patron of al-Barrāḍ, Ḥarb b. Umayya, was at that time together with other chieftains of the Ḳurays͟h at ʿUkāẓ. As soon as they heard of this misdeed, the Ḳurays͟h and Kināna started for Mecca; they were overtaken by the pursuing Hawāzin and attacked at Nak͟hla, but the night enabled them to reach the sacred territory. This *yawm Nak͟hla* is generally counted as the first battle-day of the second Fid̲j̲ār war, but sometimes added as the fourth day to the first war. A year later both parties—but without the Banū Kaʿb and Kilāb of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa—met again at S͟hamṭa (v.l. S͟hamẓa) near ʿUkāẓ and the Hawāzin were victorious (*yawm S͟hamṭa*). The same happened next year at ʿUkāẓ (*yawm al-ʿAblāʾ*). It was only in the following year that the Ḳurays͟h and Kināna carried the day (*yawm ʿUkāẓ* or *yawm S͟harab*). A fifth engagement on the Ḥarra near ʿUkāẓ (*yawm al-Ḥurayra*) resulted again in the victory of the Hawāzin. After this there were only some skirmishes and then peace was restored. Of the many poems which according to Wāḳidī (*apud* Ibn Saʿd i/1, 82, 1) were composed about this war only a few verses have come down to us.

Whilst it is admitted that the Prophet was present at the Fid̲j̲ār war, there is much controversy about the particulars. Some say that he took part in the fighting, and that at S͟hamṭa, where the Ḳurays͟h were defeated, he was praised for his courage (*Ag͟hānī*, xix, 78, 2). Others maintained that he only supplied his uncles with arrows (*e.g.*, Ibn His͟hām, 117 pu; 119,1); but experts on the *ayyām al-ʿArab* knew that none of his uncles except al-Zubayr took part (*Ag͟hānī*, xix, 81 f.). In support of these conflicting views alleged sayings of the Prophet are

adduced. Also the years given for his age range from 14 to 28 (*Aghānī*, xix, 75, 1-3).

The Fidjār war was waged for four years in the holy season, when in normal times trade was flourishing unhampered by tribal feuds; it involved two great confederations including townsfolk of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, and it even gave its name to an era. The real aim of it was the control of the trade routes in the Nadjd and consequently the benefit of the great gains which this trade offered. In this great contest the Ḳuraysh were leading; they procured the weapons for their confederates and defrayed all expenses. Amongst their opponents the Thaḳīf together with the Banū Naṣr b. Muʿāwiya offered the hardest resistance but had finally to give in and, worn out by years of war, left the victory to the Ḳuraysh.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 117-9; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 80-2; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd* (1316 H.), iii, 77-80; *Aghānī*[1], xix, 73-82; Yaʿḳūbī, i, 14-6; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 120-2, 125, 150 ff.; idem, *Tanbīh*, 208 f.; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam* s.v. ʿUkāẓ; Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, i, 120; Yāḳūt, iii, 579 s.v. Ẓallāl; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 439-45; Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs* (1302 H.), i, 288 f., 293; Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn* (1308 H.), i, 137 ff. (with Zaynī Daḥlān's *Sīra* on the margin p. 105); Bīrūnī, *Chronologie*, 34, 12; Sachau; Ch. Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ii, 302-5; H. Lammens, *La cité arabe de Ṭāʾif à la veille de l'Hégire* (= *MUB* viii, 4) 240/98; idem, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire* (= *MUB* ix, 3) 326/230; A. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 14 f. (J. W. Fück)

FIDYA, (which becomes, according to the area concerned, *fedu*, *fadu*, *fadwa* and even *fdīya*) is a general designation among Syro-Palestinians for a blood sacrifice made for purposes of atonement. From this point of view, its meaning is close to that of *ḍaḥiyya*. Indeed, in the Negeb and other parts of former Palestine, these two terms are sometimes used to designate one and the same thing. In fact, however, while the *ḍaḥiyya* is essentially an offering to the dead made on the occasion of *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*, the *fidya*, on the other hand, is practised in the interests of the living, without any limitation of time. It is offered up before Allāh for the delivery of a man, his family, his cattle and his goods, from some imminent misfortune, such as an epidemic. See also ḤADJDJ.

Bibliography: S. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic religion to-day*, ch. XVI, London 1902; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 361-2, 372; T. Canaan, *Mohammedan saints and sanctuaries in Palestine*, 164-6; H. Granqvist, *Child problems among the Arabs*, Helsingfors 1950, 131-2. ((J. Chelhod)

FIEF [see DJĀGĪR, IḲṬĀʿ, TĪMĀR].

FIGHĀNĪ (BĀBĀ), pseudonym of a celebrated Persian poet whose patronymic, like his first name, is unknown. He was a native of Shīrāz where he started by helping his brother, a cutler by trade, and it was on that account that he first took the pseudonym Sakkākī when he began to write poetry. In his youth, which was spent at Shīrāz, he lived a life of debauchery, and then made a journey to Herāt where he became acquainted with the great poet Djāmī, but his poetry was not appreciated by the poets of Khurāsān. From there he went to Ādharbaydjān, to the court of sultan Yaʿḳūb (884-96/1479-91), of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu dynasty, one of the greatest patrons of the age. At this prince's court in Tabrīz he received every favour, and his protector called him *Bābā-yi shuʿarā* (father of poets). There he continued with his life of debauchery, recklessly spending everything that he earned. While he was accompanying his patron on one of his campaigns, the manuscript of his *dīwān* together with his baggage was looted. He wrote to his brother and asked him for a copy of the poems which he had left in his native town, and made a new selection. On sultan Yaʿḳūb's death he left Tabrīz, after spending more than seventeen years there; he went to Shīrāz and then to Khurāsān, living in the towns of Nasā and Abīward and following the same life. At the end of his life he repented and went to live in Mashhad, where he took to a life of devotion and died in 925/1519. Fighānī is one of the best lyric poets of his time and his *ghazal*s were highly esteemed by poets, who continued to imitate him until the 17th century. His *dīwān* includes in particular some *ghazal*s and certain *ḳaṣīda*s specially dedicated to the Shīʿī *imām*s. Ten of his *ghazal*s have been published by Bland in his "Century" (34-37). The Iranian scholar Ḥusayn Āzād published a French translation of some of his poems under the title *Les perles de la couronne, choix de poésies de Baba Féghani, traduites pour la première fois du persan avec une introduction et des notes par Hocéyne-Azad*, Paris 1903. There are two editions of the Persian text of his *ghazal*s: (1) *Dīwān-i Fighānī* with an introduction in Urdū by Manmōhan Lāl Māthur of Dihlī, Lahore n.d.; (2) *Dīwān-i Bābā Fighānī-yi Shīrāzī* with emendations by Suhaylī Khunsārī, Tehran 1316 s.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Cat. Pers. man.*, 651; Ethé in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 307-10; Browne, iv, 164, 229-30, 342; *The Tuhfa i Sami of Sam Mirza Safawi*, edited ... by Mawlawi Iqbal Husain, Patna 1934, 36-8, 53, 95, 171; idem, Tehran edition 1314 s., 102-3, 130; Luṭf ʿAlī Ādhar, *Ātashkadeh*, Bombay edition 1299, 306; Said Naficy, *Taʾrīkhče-yi Adabiyyāt-i Īrān*, in *Sāl-Nāma-yi Pārs*, Tehran 1326 s., 18. (Said Naficy)

FIGHĀNĪ, pseudonym of **RAMAḌĀN** (?-938/1532), Ottoman poet. Very little is known of his early life, except that he was a native of Trabzon and that after a summary education he became a minor clerk in government offices in Istanbul, where together with his fellow-poets and boon-companions he frequented taverns and places of amusement, leading an irregular and dissolute life. He seems to have lived in near poverty and without proper patronage, in spite of the poems which he dedicated to the great. We are told of his extraordinary memory where he stored enormous amounts of Arabic and Persian verse and all his own compositions. At the start of a very promising poetic career he met a sudden and tragic end: a Persian epigram which he wrote (or which was attributed to him) subtly attacked the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha for the statues which he had brought from Budin and had erected in front of his palace in the Hippodrome: "Two Ibrāhīms came to this world: one destroyed idols (meaning the patriarch Abraham), and the other erected them", and the unfortunate poet was hanged after an ignominious parade.

His *ghazel*s and *ḳaṣīde*s are scattered in various *medjmūʿa*s and unmistakably show a great talent that was liberating itself from the influence of Persian models and his Ottoman predecessors. Most *tedhkire*-writers agree that his *ḳaṣīde*s in particular are outstanding.

Bibliography: The *tedhkire*s of Sehī, Laṭīfī, ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, Riyāḍī, Ḳınalızāde Ḥasan Čelebi, Ḳāf-zāde, s.v.; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 34 ff.;

M. Fuad Köprülü, in *IA*, s.v.; A. Karahan, *Figani ve şiirleri*, in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, iii/3-4 (1949), 389-410; *Istanbul Kitaplıkları Türkçe yazma divanlar kataloğu*, i, 100-1; *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1962, Index. (Fahir İz)

FIGUIG (Ar. Fadjīdj), a group of seven *ḳṣūr* isolated in the south-east of Morocco and surrounded on three sides by the Algerian frontier. It is situated to the east of the *djabal* Grūz at the meeting point of the Sahara Atlas and the Sahara plateau, in a broad hollow 850-900 metres in altitude (long. 1° 15′ W., lat. 32° 5′). The seven *ḳṣūr* fall into three groups: al-Ūdāghīr, al-ʿAbīd, Awlād Slīmān and al-Maïzz to the north-west, the two Ḥammām (Fūḳānī and Taḥtānī) to the north-east, and Zenāga, the most important, two kilometres to the south. Zenāga, which has 7,000 inhabitants out of a total population of 15,000, is situated at the foot of the high sinter plateau of al-Djorf, on which the other *ḳṣūr* stand; the new administrative centre is situated on the plateau half-way between these and Zenāga. The houses of the *ḳṣūr*, made of unfired brick (*ṭūb*) on a sub-foundation of dry stone, are almost always two or three storeys high and give a distinctly urban impression; at al-Maïzz, the rooms which give on to the terraces are open on the south side. The streets, partly covered, are relatively broad at al-Ūdāghīr and Zenāga. Each *ḳṣar* is surrounded by walls. Al-Ūdāghīr and Zenāga have a small *mellāḥ* inhabited by a few Jewish families, and Zenāga has many *ḥarāṭīn* among its population. The whole of the population, which is of very varied origin, is Berber-speaking, but the men know Arabic as well; the few families of Shorfa and the Marabouts, Awlād Sīdī Shaykh, are Arabic-speaking.

The *ḳṣūr* to the north and their gardens are supplied with water from thermal springs (31.5° C.) situated along a fault in the Jurassic limestone, and Zenāga gets its water from *foggāras*. The 200,000 palm-trees cultivated here suffer from the altitude and attacks of *bayūḍ* (a cryptogamic disease); other crops (apricots, peaches, pears, turnips, onions, red peppers or pimentos) are of secondary importance. The amount of time allowed for irrigation is measured by means of a floating copper container pierced with a small hole, which sinks when it is full. Some of the palm trees belong to the nomads who camp around them and deposit their stores there: Beni Guil, ʿAmūr of the west and Awlād Sīdī Shaykh Ghrāba. The artisan class (burnous, carpets, painted and embroidered leather goods, jewellery made by the Jews) is declining in number. A great many men emigrate to Algeria and other parts of Morocco as labourers or masons; smuggling is rife.

Although the region has certainly been inhabited for a long time, as is proved by the rock engravings, the name Fadjīdj appears only in the 8th/14th century. Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist.*, i, 240) speaks of its being active and ruled by the Banū Sīd al-Mulūk, a family of the Maṭghāra of the group of Banū Fāten: these used to form the greater part of the population of Sidjilmāsa, a caravaneers' market and capital of Tafilālet, then already waning in importance, and to whose position as a meeting-point of caravan tracks Figuig perhaps succeeded. In the 16th century, Leo Africanus (435) praises the fineness of the woollen stuffs woven by its women, the intelligence, commercial vigour and culture of its men; in the seventeenth century, al-ʿAyyāshī draws attention to the flourishing condition and richness of its libraries (*Voyage*, tr. Berbrugger, 159). Figuig seems always to have been an independent territory, thanks to its isolated position. The expedition which Mawlāy Sulaymān undertook in 1807, like that of the powerful Mawlāy Ismāʿīl at the end of the seventeenth century, was never followed up. Nevertheless, when the French began the conquest of Algeria, the Convention of Lālla-Maghnya (18 March 1845) left Figuig to Morocco. It was the refuge of the Awlād Sīdī Shaykh who rose against France from 1864 on, of the adventurer, Bū ʿAmāna, and the pillaging Zegdu. In 1883, the Sultan, Mawlāy Ḥasan, installed a representative there, who had, however, no authority. Even after the Franco-Moroccan agreement of 1902 the Sultan was unable to command obedience in this region, and a column of French soldiers accompanying Jonnart, the governor-general of Algeria, to Beni-Ounif was attacked on 30 May 1903; a military counter-action forced the *djemāʿa* of Zenāga to surrender the criminals and hostages. There were no more outbreaks and Figuig came with Morocco under the French Protectorate and was incorporated into the administration of the Makhzen.

The disappearance of the slave-trade aud of commerce across the Sahara and the arrival of the railway between Oran and Colomb-Béchar, which had reached Beni-Ounif by 1903, contributed to the economic decline of Figuig. Moreover the region was often weakened by internal quarrels, especially those which set the two principal *ḳṣūr*, al-Ūdāghīr and Zenāga, against each other over the possession of ʿAyn Thaddert, and also those which divided the two Ḥāmmām. The walls of the *ḳṣūr* were for protection against neighbours as much as nomads, and watch-towers still overlook the gardens. The Marabout families have continually done their utmost to keep or restore the peace.

Although so isolated and cut up into *ḳṣūr*, Figuig does not ever appear to have enjoyed political unity. Each *ḳṣar* has traditionally its *djemāʿas* of administrative subdivisions which bring together the heads of families, and also its own *djemāʿa* made up of elected notables which judges according to its *ḳānūns* (not very differently from one *ḳṣar* to another). In matters of civil law, the *ḳāḍī* judged according to the *sharʿ* and also the *ʿurf*. Since Figuig has been re-united with Morocco, the meetings of the *djemāʿa* of the *ḳṣar* are presided over by the representative of the king of Morocco and the *ḳāḍī* is nominated by the Makhzen. The people are at the same time pious and superstitious and are fervent adepts of brotherhoods (Ṭayyibiyya, Kerzāziyya, Zayyāniyya, Nāṣiriyya, etc.). Habous (*waḳf*) properties are numerous but their purpose is above all to deprive women of the right of succession. Sīdī ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Muḥammad, patron saint of Figuig, has his *ḳubba* to the north-east of al-Ḥammām.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, 2nd ed., Paris 1925-56; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Épaulard, Paris 1956; de Castries, *Notes sur Figuig*, in *Bull. de la Société de géogr.*, Paris 1882; de La Martinière and Lacroix, *Documents pour servir à l'étude du N.-O. africain*, ii, Algiers 1896; E. Doutté, *Figuig*, in *La Géogr.*, Paris 1903; E. F. Gautier, *La source de Thaddert à Figuig*, in *Annales de géogr.*, Paris 1917; M. Bonnefous, *La palmeraie de Figuig*, Rabat 1952.

(J. Despois)

FIḤL [see FAḤL].

AL-**FIHRĪ**, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, composed in 632/1234 an anthology of the works of Spanish stylists and poets of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries entitled *Kanz al-*

kuttāb wa-muntakhab al-ādāb (see H. Krafft, *Die ar., pers. und türk. Hdss. der k. k. orient. Akademie zu Wien*, Vienna 1824, no. 147). (C. BROCKELMANN)

FIHRIST [see BIBLIOGRAPHY, FAHRASA, IBN AL-NADĪM, ṬŪSĪ].

FIḲH (A.), originally "understanding, knowledge, intelligence", and applied to any branch of knowledge (as in *fiḳh al-lugha*, the science of lexicography), has become the technical term for jurisprudence, the science of religious law in Islam. It is, like the *iurisprudentia* of the Romans, *rerum divinarum atque humanarum notitia* and in its widest sense covers all aspects of religious, political and civil life. In addition to the laws regulating ritual and religious observances (*ʿibādāt*), containing orders and prohibitions, it includes the whole field of family law, the law of inheritance, of property and of contracts and obligations, in a word provisions for all the legal questions that arise in social life (*muʿāmalāt*); it also includes criminal law and procedure, and finally constitutional law and laws regulating the administration of the state and the conduct of war.

All aspects of public and private life and business should be regulated by laws based on religion; the science of these laws is *fiḳh*.

In older theological language the word did not have this comprehensive meaning; it was rather used in opposition to *ʿilm*. While the latter denotes, beside the Ḳurʾān and its interpretation, the accurate knowledge of the legal decisions handed down from the Prophet and his Companions (Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 127, [16]: *al-riwāyāt wa 'l-ʿilm*, as synonyms), the term *fiḳh* is applied to the independent exercise of the intelligence, the decision of legal points by one's own judgment in the absence or ignorance of a traditional ruling bearing on the case in question. The result of such independent consideration is *raʾy* (opinion, *opinio prudentium*), with which it is also sometimes used synonymously. In this sense *ʿilm* and *fiḳh* are regarded as distinct qualities of the theologian (Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 703, [4]); also *fiḳh wa-riwāya* (Ibn Saʿd, v, 327, [10]). The sum total of all wisdom is defined by Mudjāhid (in explanation of Sūra ii, 269: *man yuʾta 'l-ḥikma*) as composed of the following elements: *al-Ḳurʾān wa 'l-ʿilm wa 'l-fiḳh* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii, 56, [2]), and, similarly, the Jewish Karaitic expositor of the Bible, Jepheth b. ʿAlī (910-80 A.D.), translates *tiftāyē* in Daniel, iii, 2 (ed. D. S. Margoliouth, *Anecdota Oxoniensa*, 1889, 33, [7]) by *ahl al-ʿilm wa 'l-fiḳh*. Hārūn al-Rashīd instructs his governor Harthama to consult the *uli 'l-fiḳh fī dīn Allāh* and the *uli 'l-ʿilm bi-kitāb Allāh* in doubtful cases (Ṭabarī, iii, 717, [10]). Further passages are quoted in Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 176, n. 6.

In this sense, *ʿālim* (plur. *ʿulamāʾ*) is distinguished from *faḳīh* (plur. *fuḳahāʾ*), or the combination of both sciences in one individual is expressed by the combination of these two ephitets or their synonyms. Ibn ʿUmar was *djayyid al-ḥadīth* but not *djayyid al-fiḳh* (Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 125, [5]); on the other hand Ibn ʿAbbās was *aʿlam* with reference to decisions handed down by Tradition and at the same time *afḳah* (or *athḳafu raʾyin*) in new cases that arose, for which no precedent could be found in Tradition and in which it was necessary to use one's own judgment (*ibid.*, 122, 124); the same is true of Zayd b. Thābit (*ibid.*, 116); cf. *faḳīh fī 'l-dīn ʿālim fī 'l-sunna* (*ibid.*, iii/1, 110). Saʿīd b. al-Muṣayyib is *faḳīh al-fuḳahāʾ* on the one hand and *ʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* (*ibid.*, ii/2, 129, 130; v, 90) on the other. Among the *tābiʿūn* there were *fuḳahāʾ wa-ʿulamāʾ*, *i.e.*, those who were authorities on the transmission of *ḥadīth* and *āthār* as well as those who were authorities on *fiḳh* and competent to give (independent) decisions, *fatwā* (*ibid.*, ii/2, 128). Abū Thawr was *aḥad aʾimmat al-dunyā fiḳhan wa-ʿilman* (Dhahabī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, viii, 106).

In the earliest period of the development of Islam the authorities entrusted with the administration of justice and the control of religious life had in most cases to fall back on the exercise of their own *raʾy* owing to the scarcity of legislative material in the Ḳurʾān and the dearth of ancient precedents. This was regarded as a matter of course by everyone, although they were naturally very pleased if the verdict could as far as possible be based on *ʿilm*. When ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732) was giving a judgment, he was asked: "Is this *ʿilm* or *raʾy*?" If it was founded on a precedent (*athar*), he said it was *ʿilm* (Ibn Saʿd, v, 345). The *raʾy* was not, however, thereby discredited. It was considered an equally legitimate factor in the decision of a point of law and its results were destined in the near future to be regarded as the decisions of old authorities and in later times to be actually considered an element of *ʿilm*. From the very beginning one could have recourse to it as soon as *ʿilm* failed. According to an old story which certainly reflects the conditions of the Umayyad period, although it does not actually date from the time in which its scene is laid, Muʿāwiya finally applied to Zayd b. Thābit on a legal question, on which neither he nor other Companions to whom he propounded it could quote any ancient evidence (*falam yūdjad ʿindahū—or ʿindahum—fīhā ʿilm*); the latter gave a verdict based on this own independent *raʾy* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 250 *ult.*, on Sūra II, 228). The *ḳāḍī* of Egypt asked the advice of the Caliph ʿUmar II on a point not provided for in Tradition; the latter wrote to him: Nothing has reached me on this matter, therefore I leave the verdict to you to be given according to your opinion (*bi-raʾyik*) (Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, 334; ed. Gottheil, 29) [cf. IDJTIHĀD].

This recognition of *raʾy* [*q.v.*] as an approved source of law found expression in the instructions attributed to the Prophet and the early Caliphs, which they gave to the officials sent to administer justice in the conquered provinces, and in their alleged approval of the principles of their decisions which the judges whom they had sent out submitted to them (Goldziher, *Ẓâhiriten*, 8 ff.; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, i, 314; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 9 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, 87). In the more elaborate versions of these reports which were developed from their original, rudimentary forms we find already mentioned explicitly the principle of deduction from decisions of similar cases (*ashbāh, naẓāʾir*; cf. *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, 72), *i.e.*, the use of analogy (*ḳiyās*, [*q.v.*]) as a methodological regulator of *raʾy*. In the investigation of the *ʿillat al-sharʿ*, the motive of law (*ratio legis*), and the resulting reduction of doubtful cases to a rational point of view, we find this principle given systematic validity. At the same time—there is evidence of it at a very early period—a kind of popular element entered the number of constitutive sources for the deduction of laws: the conception of the general usage of the community (*sunna*, [*q.v.*]) which had been established by general agreement or consensus (*idjmāʿ*, [*q.v.*]) in wider circles of believers, independent of written (*i.e.*, Ḳurʾānic), traditional, or inferred law.

This usage contained an appreciable amount of foreign elements. It was only natural that the

legal, commercial, and administrative practices which prevailed in the conquered provinces should have survived under Islam, just as ancient Arab legal and commercial practices had survived, and should have been adopted by the Muslims as far as they were compatible with the demands of the new religious ideas. That the retention of pre-Islamic legal institutions was the normal procedure is shown by a passage in Balā̲dh̲urī: "Abū Yūsuf held that if there exists in a country an ancient, non-Arab *sunna* which Islam has neither changed nor abolished, and people complain to the Caliph that it causes them hardship, he is not entitled to change it; but Mālik and S̲h̲āfiʿī held that he may change it even if it be ancient, because he ought to prohibit (in similar circumstances) any valid *sunna* which has been introduced by a Muslim, let alone those introduced by unbelievers" (*Futūḥ*, 448). In this way, elements from Roman Byzantine (including Roman provincial) law, Talmudic law, the canon law of the Eastern churches, and Persian Sāsānian law entered Islamic law during its formative period. The influence of Talmudic law manifested itself above all in matters of ritual and worship. Influences of Persian Sāsānian law (and of the canon law of the Eastern churches) have been established in a few individual cases, but their full extent remains to be investigated. In the case of Roman and of Talmudic law, these influences extended not only to rules and institutions of positive law, but to legal concepts and maxims, to methods of reasoning (*ḳiyās*, and conclusions *a maiore ad minus* and *a minore ad maius*), and even to fundamental ideas of legal science; for instance, the highly organized concept of the consensus of the scholars as formulated by the ancient schools of Islamic law (see below), seems to have been modelled on the concept of the *opinio prudentium* of Roman law (cf. *Digest*, i, 3, 38: *In ambiguitatibus quae ex legibus proficiscunter, consuetudinem aut rerum perpetuo similiter iudicatarum auctoritatem vim legis obtinere debere*; *Institutes*, i, 2, 9: *Nam diuturni mores consensu utentium comprobati legem imitantur*). Goldziher has repeatedly drawn attention to this and to the fact that parallels between Roman and Islamic law in the field of legal science are usually doubled by parallels in Talmudic law. (Goldziher has even suggested that the terms *fiḳh* and *fuḳahāʾ*, in their special technical reference to the sacred law and its practitioners, as well as the corresponding Jewish terms *ḥok̲h̲mā* and *ḥᵃk̲h̲āmīm*, may have been influenced by the Latin terms (*iuris*)*prudentia* and (*iuris*)*prudentes*; in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*[2, 8], I/iii/1, 103). Some of the borrowings from Roman law may, in fact, have been made through the medium of the Jews, as was first suggested by von Kremer (*Culturgeschichte des Orients*, i, 535). This adoption of Roman (and other) legal concepts and maxims occurred not through direct influence of one legal system on another at the technical level, but through the medium of the cultured non-Arab converts to Islam, whose education in Hellenistic rhetoric had made them acquainted with the rudiments of law and who brought their familiar ideas with them into their new religion. When Islamic legal science came into being towards the end of the first century of Islam (early 8th century A.D.), the door of Islamic civilization had been opened wide to these potential transmitters. That the early jurists of Islam should consciously have adopted any principle of foreign law is out of the question. The subject remains, in the words of Goldziher, "one of the most attractive problems of this branch of Islamic studies".

With the gradual recognition of Ḳurʾān, *sunna*, *id̲j̲māʿ* and *ḳiyās* as the four official "roots" or sources of legal knowledge, methodological principles from which legal rules might be legitimately derived [see UṢŪL], the terms *fiḳh* and *fuḳahāʾ* gradually lost their original limitation to deductions not based on tradition. *Fiḳh* came to mean the science which co-ordinated and included all the branches of knowledge derived from the four roots; similarly those who were masters of this science were called *fuḳahāʾ*, *i.e.*, jurists. Or *fiḳh* was used for the result of deduction from the sources of positive law, the sum total of the deductions derived from them, *e.g.*, *wa-fi hād̲h̲a 'l-ḥadīt̲h̲ ḍurūb min al-fiḳh* (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 529, cf. *WZKM*, iii, 84). The Arabic sources contain numerous reports about scholars who arranged the *ʿilm* or *sunan* in chapters and thence deduced the *fiḳh* inferences (*Muh. Stud.*, ii, 211). Of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak it is said: *dawwan al-ʿilm fi 'l-abwāb wa 'l-fiḳh* (D̲h̲ahabī, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, i, 250); of Abū T̲h̲awr: *ṣannaf al-kutub wa-farraʿ ʿala 'l-sunan* (*ibid.*, ii, 95). Little value can be attached to the statement ascribed to His̲h̲ām b. ʿUrwa that many *kutub fiḳh* of his father's perished in the flames on the day of the battle of the Ḥarra (*Biographien*, ed. Fischer, 41). At that ancient period (ʿUrwa died in 94/712, the so-called "year of the *fuḳahāʾ*", when many *fuḳahāʾ* died; Ibn Saʿd, vi, 135) there could be no real *kutub* in existence; the report can therefore refer, at the utmost, to rough notes only. We might also mention the statement that Zuhrī's *fatwās* were collected in three, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's in seven books (*asfār*) arranged in the order of the *abwāb al-fiḳh* (Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya, *Iʿlām*, i, 26).

In a still wider meaning, *fiḳh* was used for religious science in general (*al-Ḳurʾān wa 'l-fiḳh* in opposition to the study of poetry: *Ag̲h̲ānī*, vii, 55, [22]; *laysa bihim rag̲h̲ba fi 'l-dīn wa-lā rag̲h̲ba fi 'l-fiḳh*: *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 155; cf. also the titles *al-Fiḳh al-Akbar* and *al-Fiḳh al-Absaṭ* and the text of these treatises, on which see ABŪ ḤANĪFA). *Fuḳahāʾ* was correspondingly applied to students of religion, theologians (not only students of law) *e.g.*, Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xii, 73, [13]; *fuḳahāʾunā wa-mas̲h̲āʾik̲h̲unā*; *ibid.*, 112, [8], where Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām says with reference to an explanation by Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar of a word in the Ḳurʾān contrary to the traditional explanation: *al-fuḳahāʾ aʿlam bi 'l-taʾwīl minhu*, "the *fuḳahāʾ* are more conversant with exegesis than he" (who is not a theologian but only a philologist); cf. also *Ẓāhiriten*, 19. (I. GOLDZIHER-[J. SCHACHT])

The traditional opinion of the Muslim scholars projects the origins of Islamic jurisprudence back into the generation of the Companions of the Prophet. According to it, the Caliphs of Medina and a few specialists in religious law among the Companions started to draw conclusions from the Ḳurʾān and the words and acts of the Prophet as they remembered them or as they had been reported to them, by independent reasoning; their conclusions were approved, explicitly or silently, by the other Companions and became thereby binding on the community; their Successors continued this activity and the generation following the Successors saw the foundation of the schools of religious law.

Recent historical research, however, has shown that Islamic jurisprudence came into being towards the end of the first century of the hid̲j̲ra (early 8th century A.D.). During the greater part of the 1st/7th century, Islamic law, in the technical meaning of the term, and therefore Islamic juris-

prudence, did not as yet exist. As had been the case in the time of the Prophet, law as such fell outside the sphere of religion, and so far as there were no religious or moral objections to specific transactions or modes of behaviour, the technical aspects of law were a matter of indifference to the Muslims. Not only did Arab customary law, as modified and completed by the Ḳur'ān, survive to a considerable extent, but the Muslims did not hesitate to adopt the legal, commercial and administrative institutions and practices of the conquered territories, and even legal concepts and maxims, as far as they were compatible with the demands of the new religious ideas (see above). As supreme rulers and administrators, the Caliphs of Medina acted to a great extent as the lawgivers of the community, and they were followed in this by the Umayyad Caliphs and their governors; during the whole of the first century of Islam, the administrative and legislative activities of the Islamic government cannot be separated. The Umayyad governors also appointed the first *ḳāḍīs* who by their decisions laid the foundations of what was to become Islamic law. They gave judgment according to their own discretion or "sound opinion" (*ra'y*), basing themselves on customary practice and on administrative regulations, and taking the letter and the spirit of the Ḳur'ān and other recognized Islamic religious norms into account. Subsequent developments brought it about that the part played by the earliest *ḳāḍīs* in laying the foundations of Islamic law was not recognized by Islamic jurisprudence.

Towards the end of the first century of the hid̲j̲ra (early 8th century A.D.) only we encounter the first specialists in religious law whose activity can be regarded as historical, such as Ibrāhīm al-Nak̲h̲aʿī in Kūfa, and Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib and his contemporaries in Medina. They were pious persons whose interest in religion caused them to survey, either individually or in discussion with like-minded friends, all fields of contemporary activities, including the field of law, from an Islamic angle, to impregnate the sphere of law with religious and ethical ideas, and to elaborate, by individual reasoning (*ra'y*, *istiḥsān*, *id̲j̲tihād* [*qq.v.*]), an Islamic way of life. Their reasoning represents the beginnings of an Islamic jurisprudence. Islamic jurisprudence did not grow out of an existing Islamic law; it created Islamic law by endorsing, modifying or rejecting the popular and administrative practice of the Umayyad period. Members of this group, such as Rad̲j̲ā' and Abū Ḳilāba, were among the familiars of the Umayyad Caliphs from the last decades of the 1st/7th century onwards, and the *ḳāḍīs* came increasingly to be recruited from them.

As the groups of pious specialists grew in numbers and in cohesion, they developed, in the first few decades of the 2nd/8th century, into the "ancient schools of law" of which those of Kūfa, of Medina and of Syria are known to us in some detail. The differences between them were caused in the first place by geographical factors, such as local variations in social conditions, customary law and practice, but they were not based on any noticeable disagreement on principles or methods. The great centre of nascent Islamic jurisprudence at the end of the 1st/7th and during the 2nd/8th century was ʿIrāḳ; influences of the doctrine of one school on that of another almost invariably proceeded from ʿIrāḳ to Ḥid̲j̲āz, and the doctrinal development of the school of Madīna often lagged behind that of the school of Kūfa. The ancient schools shared not only a considerable body of common doctrine but the essentials of a legal theory the central idea of which was that of the "living tradition of the school". This idea dominated the development of Islamic jurisprudence during the whole of the 2nd/8th century. Retrospectively, it appears as *sunna* or "practice" (*ʿamal*), *i.e.*, the ideal practice, the practice as it ought to be, or "well-established precedent" (*sunna māḍiya*) or "ancient practice" (*amr ḳadīm*). Synchronously, it is represented by the consensus (*id̲j̲māʿ*, *al-amr al-mud̲j̲tamaʿ ʿalayh*), the common doctrine of the majority of the representative religious scholars of each centre (cf. above). Originally, the living tradition of the ancient schools was anonymous; it was the average opinion of their representatives that counted, and not the individual doctrines of the most prominent scholars. From the first decades of the 2nd/8th century onwards, however, it began to be projected backwards and to be ascribed to some of the great figures of the past. The earliest specialists, such as Ibrāhīm al-Nak̲h̲aʿī, had not done more than give opinions on questions of ritual and perhaps on kindred problems of directly religious concern, cases of conscience concerning alms-tax, marriage, divorce, and the like, and technical points of law appeared only at the stage of doctrine represented by the teaching of Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān (d. 120/738). By a literary convention which found particular favour in ʿIrāḳ, scholars used to put their own doctrines under the aegis of their masters. In this way, the main contents of the *Kitāb al-Āt̲h̲ār* of Abū Yūsuf and of the *Kitāb al-Āt̲h̲ār* of S̲h̲aybānī represent themselves as having been derived from Abū Ḥanīfa, "from" (*ʿan*) Ḥammād, "from" Ibrāhīm. The Medinese followed suit and projected their own teaching back to a number of ancient authorities who had died in the last years of the first or in the very first years of the second century, seven of whom were later singled out to form the group of the so-called "seven lawyers of Medina" (*fuḳahā' al-Madīna al-sabʿa*: Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, K̲h̲ārid̲j̲a b. Zayd b. T̲h̲ābit, Sulaymān b. Yasār, and al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr). The transmission of legal doctrine in Ḥid̲j̲āz becomes ascertainable at about the same time as in ʿIrāḳ, with Zuhrī ([*q.v.*]; d. 124/742) and his younger contemporary Rabīʿa b. Abī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān for Medina, and with ʿAṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ for Mecca. At the same time at which the doctrine of the school of Kūfa was retrospectively attributed to Ibrāhīm al-Nak̲h̲aʿī, a similar body of doctrine was directly connected with the very beginnings of Islam in Kūfa by being attributed to Ibn Masʿūd [*q.v.*], a Companion of the Prophet who had come to live in that city, and Ibrāhīm al-Nak̲h̲aʿī became the main transmitter of that body of doctrine, too. In the same way, another Companion of the Prophet, Ibn ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], became the eponym of the school of Mecca, and the school of Medina claimed as its main authorities among the Companions of the Prophet the caliph ʿUmar [*q.v.*] and his son, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar. One further step in the search for a solid theoretical foundation of the doctrine of the ancient schools was taken in ʿIrāḳ, very early in the second century of Islam, by transferring the term "*sunna* of the Prophet" from its political and theological into a legal context and identifying it with the *sunna*, the ideal practice of the local community and the corresponding doctrine of its scholars. This term, which was taken over by the school of Syria,

expressed the axiom that the practice of the Muslims continued the practice of the Prophet, but did not yet imply the existence of positive information in the form of "traditions" (*ḥadīth*) that the Prophet by his words or acts had in fact originated or approved that practice.

It was not long before there arose movements of opposition to the opinions held by the majorities in the ancient schools. In Kūfa, where Ibn Masʿūd had become the eponym of the school, the doctrines which were put forward in opposition to it and which do not embody the coherent teaching of any one group were regularly attributed to the caliph ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who had made Kūfa his headquarters, not indeed on account of any Shīʿī bias, which is absent from them, but because the name of ʿAlī represented an authority equal to and possibly even higher than that of Ibn Masʿūd. These opinions generally did not prevail in the school of Kūfa, but in Medina the corresponding doctrines succeeded in gaining recognition to a considerable extent. In contrast with the opposition in Kūfa, the opposition in Medina already reflected the activity of the Traditionists. The movement of the Traditionists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*, [*q.v.*]) is the most important single event in the history of Islamic jurisprudence in the second century of the hidjra; it opposed to the "living tradition" of the ancient schools, which was to a great extent based on *ra*ʾ*y*, the authority of individual traditions (*ḥadīth*, [*q.v.*]) from the Prophet which its adherents put into circulation in ever increasing numbers. According to the traditionists, *fiḳh* had to be based exclusively on traditions from the Prophet, whom they reported as having said: "Luck to the man who hears my words, remembers them, guards them and hands them on; many a transmitter of *fiḳh* is no *faḳīh* himself, and many a one transmits *fiḳh* to a person who is a better *faḳīh* than he is" (Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, 55, 65). Traditionists existed in all great centres of Islam, where they formed groups in opposition to, but nevertheless in contact with, the local schools of law, and the polemics between them and the ancient schools occupied most of the second century. But the ancient schools had no real defence against the rising tide of traditions; they had to express their own doctrines in traditions which allegedly went back to the Prophet and to take increasing notice of the traditions produced by their opponents, and finally the outlines and many details of Islamic jurisprudence were cast into the form of traditions from the Prophet. Later Muslim scholars, who in the nature of things were unable to acknowledge such a fundamental change in the bases of Islamic legal thought, represented this struggle as a struggle between the *ahl al-ḥadīth* and the imaginary group of the *aṣḥāb al-ra*ʾ*y* [*q.v.*]. The Traditionists of the 3rd/9th century attacked the ʿIrāḳians and the school of Abū Ḥanīfa with particular venom, and castigated their use of the formula *ara*ʾ*ayta* "what do you think of . . ., supposing . . ." as typical of the casuistry of the *aṣḥāb al-ra*ʾ*y*.

The literary productions of Islamic jurisprudence begin soon after the middle of the 2nd/8th century (the *Madjmū*ʿ *al-fiḳh* attributed to the Shīʿī pretender Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who died in 122/740, though of an early date, is not authentic; cf. Bergsträsser, in *OLZ*, 1922, 114-24; Strothmann, in *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 27-40, 49), and from then onwards its development can be followed step by step from scholar to scholar. For ʿIrāḳ, and Kūfa in particular, successive stages are represented, after Ḥammād (d. 120/738; see above), by the doctrines of Ibn Abī Laylā ([*q.v.*] d. 148/765), of Abū Ḥanīfa ([*q.v.*]; d. 150/767), of Abū Yūsuf ([*q.v.*]; d. 182/798), and of Shaybānī ([*q.v.*]; d. 189/805) respectively. Outside the line of doctrine represented by the *isnād* Abū Ḥanīfa—Ḥammād—Ibrāhīm stands another scholar of Kūfa, Sufyān al-Thawrī ([*q.v.*]; d. 161/778); his doctrines are known to us through the *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā*ʾ of Ṭabarī ([*q.v.*]; d. 310/923), which also contains information on other early lawyers. The Syrian Awzāʿī ([*q.v.*]; d. 157/774) represents an archaic type of doctrine, which takes us very near to the beginnings of Islamic jurisprudence. Mālik b. Anas ([*q.v.*]; d. 179/795) in his *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ aimed at expounding the average doctrine of the school of Medina in his time. Much information on the opinions of Mālik himself, of his disciple Ibn al-Ḳāsim ([*q.v.*]; d. 191/806), and of the older authorities of Medina is contained in the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn ([*q.v.*]; d. 240/854).

Shāfiʿī ([*q.v.*]; d. 204/820) belonged originally to the school of Medina, but he accepted the thesis of the Traditionists on the overriding authority of the traditions from the Prophet, identifying their contents with the *sunna*, defended it in vigorous polemics with the followers of the ancient schools, elaborated on its basis a new body of doctrine by which he cut himself off from the continuity of doctrine in the ancient schools, and composed in his *Risāla* the first treatise on the method of legal reasoning, becoming thereby the founder of the science of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [see UṢŪL]. (In contrast with the *uṣūl*, the "roots" or sources of legal knowledge, the body of positive rules derived from them is called *furū*ʿ, plural of *far*ʿ, "branches"; the earliest existing work of pure *furū*ʿ, presented in a didactic manner, is Shaybānī's *Kitāb al-Aṣl*.) Shāfiʿī's writings, which to a great extent are cast in the form of dialogues with unnamed opponents and most of which were brought together by his disciples in a collection which received the name of *Kitāb al-Umm*, are an important source for the history of Islamic jurisprudence in the second century. Shāfiʿī was not a mere Traditionist; on the contrary, he deplored their faulty reasoning, and himself accompanied his reliance on traditions from the Prophet by systematic legal thought (ʿ*aḳl*, *ma*ʿ*ḳūl*) of exceptionally high quality, excluding *ra*ʾ*y* and *istiḥsān* and insisting on strict *ḳiyās*. It happened, however, that some of his disciples, and in particular Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal ([*q.v.*]; d. 241/855), emphasized the traditionist element in his doctrine and derived their legal teaching exclusively from traditions, avoiding human reasoning as far as possible. This avoidance of drawing conclusions was erected into a principle by Dāwūd b. Khalaf ([*q.v.*]; d. 270/884), called al-Ẓāhirī because he relied exclusively on the literal meaning (*ẓāhir*) of Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth* and rejected not only *ra*ʾ*y* and *istiḥsān* but reasoning by *ḳiyās* as well.

About the middle of the 2nd/8th century, groups or circles within the ancient schools of law began to form themselves round individual masters, such as the "followers of Abū Ḥanīfa" within the school of Kūfa, and the "followers of Mālik" within the school of Medina. Several factors favoured this process, and by the middle of the 3rd/9th century the ancient schools of law had transformed themselves into "personal" schools, which perpetuated not the living tradition of a city but the doctrine of a master and of his disciples. In this way, the bulk of the ancient school of Kūfa transformed itself

into the school of the Ḥanafīs, another group of scholars into the school of Sufyān al-Thawrī, the ancient school of Medina into the school of the Mālikīs, and the ancient school of Syria into that of Awzāʿī. Although Shāfiʿī had disclaimed any intention of founding a school, his disciples, being neither mere Traditionists nor members of another school, became his personal followers, and the doctrinal movement started by him has always been known as the Shāfiʿī school. The school of legal thought originated by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, too, became known as the school of the Ḥanbalīs; this school never absorbed its parent movement, that of the Traditionists, as completely as the Ḥanafī and Mālikī schools absorbed theirs. The followers of Dāwūd b. Khalaf al-Ẓāhirī formed the only school of law whose name, Ẓāhiriyya [*q.v.*], is derived from a principle of legal theory. These and some other later schools of law (such as a short-lived one founded by Ṭabarī) are called *madhāhib* (pl. of *madhhab*, "way of thinking, persuasion"). Since about 700/1300 four of them only have survived in orthodox Islam, the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbali schools (cf. ḤANĀBILA, ḤANAFIYYA, MĀLIKIYYA, SHĀFIʿIYYA); they are regarded, and regard one another, as alternative and equally valid interpretations of the religious law of Islam. Notwithstanding their divergent doctrinal roots, the orthodox schools of law share a common legal theory (cf. UṢŪL) which asserted itself in the 3rd/9th century, and which accepted Shāfiʿī's (and the Traditionists') principle of the overriding authority of the traditions from the Prophet as the only evidence of *sunna* but subordinated its practical application to the consensus of the scholars. The theory of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* is therefore of little direct importance for the positive doctrines of the schools of law. From the middle of the 3rd/9th century, too, the idea began to gain ground that only the great scholars of the past had the right to independent reasoning in law (*idjtihād* [*q.v.*]), and in the 4th/10th century a consensus gradually established itself in orthodox Islam to the effect that all future activity would have to be confined to the explanation, application, and, at the most, interpretation of the doctrine as it had been laid down once and for all (*taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]). This implied the obligation to join one of the existing schools. Even under the rule of *taḳlīd*, Islamic jurisprudence did not lack manifestations of original thought in which the several schools competed with and influenced one another. But this original thought could express itself freely in nothing more than abstract systematic constructions which affected neither the established doctrine of positive law nor the theory of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. New sets of facts, too, constantly arose in life, and they had to be decided by the specialists with the traditional tools of legal science; such a decision is called *fatwā* [*q.v.*], and the scholar who gives a *fatwā* is called *muftī*. Once recognized as correct by the common opinion of the scholars, the decisions of the *muftī*s became part of the doctrine of each school. The activity of the *muftī*s is essentially of the same kind, though carried out against a different background, as that of the first specialists in religious law.

The legal doctrines of the Khāridjīs [*q.v.*] and of the Shīʿa [*q.v.*], which split from the orthodox or Sunnī majority on political grounds about the middle of the first century of Islam (ca. 660 A.D.), differ from those of the Sunnīs on the question of the leadership of the community [see IMĀM] and consequential questions of *uṣūl*, but on other questions they do not differ from those of the orthodox schools of law more widely than these last differ from one another. From this, it must not be concluded that the features common to Khāridjī, Shīʿa, and Sunnī law are older than the schisms which split the Islamic community within its first century. For a considerable period, and during the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries in particular, these ancient sects remained in a sufficiently close contact with the Sunnīs for them to adopt the doctrines which were being developed in the orthodox schools of law, introducing only such superficial modifications as were required by their particular political and dogmatic tenets. Certain doctrines which in themselves were not necessarily either Shīʿī or Sunnī became adventitiously distinctive for Shīʿa as against Sunnī law.

When the Umayyads were overthrown by the ʿAbbāsids in 132/750, Islamic jurisprudence, though still in its formative period, had acquired its essential features. For reasons of dynastic policy, and in order to differentiate themselves from their predecessors, the ʿAbbāsids posed as the protagonists of Islam, recognized Islamic law as it was being taught by the pious specialists as the only legitimate norm in Islam, and set out to translate their doctrines into practice. They regularly attracted specialists in religious law to their court and made a point of consulting them on problems that might come within their competence. At the request of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, Abū Yūsuf wrote his *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, a long treatise on public finance, taxation, criminal justice, and connected subjects. The *ḳāḍī*s, who under the Umayyads had been appointed by the governors, were now appointed by the caliph, they had to be specialists in religious law, and they had to apply nothing but the sacred Law, without interference from the government [see ḲĀḌĪ]. But this effort to translate into practice the ideal doctrine which was being elaborated by the specialists, was short-lived. The early specialists who had formulated their doctrine not on the basis of but in a certain opposition to Umayyad popular and administrative practice had been ahead of realities, and now the early ʿAbbāsids and their religious advisers were unable to carry the whole of society with them. The *ḳāḍī*s, theoretically independent though they were, had to rely on the political authorities for the execution of their judgments, and, being bound by the formal rules of the Islamic law of evidence, their inability to deal with criminal cases became apparent, so that the administration of the greater part of criminal justice was taken over by the police (*shurṭa* [*q.v.*]). The administrative "investigation of complaints" [see MAẒĀLIM] very soon led to formal Courts of Complaints being set up, which by their very existence show the breakdown of a considerable part of the administration of civil justice by the *ḳāḍī*s as well. [See also SIYĀSA]. In this way, a double administration of justice came into being, and it has prevailed in most Islamic countries, the competence of the *ḳāḍī*s' tribunals being restricted to matters of family law, inheritance, and *waḳf*. [See MAḤKAMA].

This is one aspect of the tension between theory and practice (*ʿāda*, *ʿurf* [*qq.v.*]), between jurisprudence and customary law, which existed in Islamic law from its very beginnings. The most remarkable and, for a time, the most successful effort on the part of a state of high material civilization to bridge this gulf, was made in the Ottoman Empire [see ABU 'L-SUʿŪD, ḲĀNŪN-NĀME, SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM]. Islamic

jurisprudence, too, took notice of the practice which it could not overcome, and tried at least to control and regulate it in the works on *ʿamal*, on *ḥiyal*, and on *s̲h̲urūṭ* [*qq.v.*], which form an important branch of its literary productions.

Until the early ʿAbbāsid period, Islamic jurisprudence had been adaptable and growing, but from then onwards it became increasingly rigid and set in its final mould. This essential rigidity helped it to maintain its stability over the centuries which saw the decay of the political institutions of Islam. Taken as a whole, it reflects and fits the social and economic conditions of the early ʿAbbāsid period. If it grew more and more out of touch with later developments of state and society, in the long run it gained more in power over the minds than it lost in control over the bodies of the Muslims. The *fiḳh* is, in the words of Snouck Hurgronje, a "doctrine of duties", the interpretation of a religious ideal not by legislators but by scholars, and the recognized handbooks of the several schools are not "codes" in the Western meaning of the term. Islamic law is a "jurists' law" par excellence: Islamic jurisprudence did not grow out of an existing law, it itself created it. [See also S̲H̲ARĪʿA].

In British India and in French Algeria, Islamic jurisprudence, being fused with Western legal thought and affected by Western legislation, gave birth, respectively, to Anglo-Muhammadan law [see HIND] and to the *droit musulman algérien* [see AL-D̲J̲AZĀʾIR] both of which became independent legal systems. Only in the 20th century, Islamic Modernism, whilst accepting the postulate that Islam as a religion ought to regulate the sphere of law as well, has denied the validity of traditional Islamic jurisprudence. Under the influence of modern constitutional and social ideas, many institutions of Islamic law have been reshaped, and sometimes changed out of recognition, by secular legislation in a number of Islamic countries. Once again, jurists prepared, provoked, and guided a new legislation. On the other hand, the programme was formulated of deriving a new, modern law from the general formal principles which were elaborated by the early Islamic jurists. Both tendencies are inspired by the desire to put a new Islamic jurisprudence in the place of the old one. [See ḲĀNŪN].

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(J. SCHACHT)

FIKR, pl. *afkār*, thought, reflection. The Ḳurʾān employs the 2nd and 5th forms of the root *fkr*, to urge men "to reflect". In the vocabulary of *falsafa* and *ʿilm al-kalām*, the *maṣdar fikr* denotes the intellectual faculty in the act of thought, reflecting upon an object of intellection. It is distinguished from *idrāk*, the intellectual faculty of grasping, of perception. The result of the operation of *fikr* is expressed by the noun of unity *fikra*.

In *taṣawwuf*, *fikr* is used habitually in contrast to *d̲h̲ikr* [*q.v.*], recollection. *Fikr* can thus be translated by reflection or meditation. In the performance of *fikr* the Ṣūfī, concentrating upon a religious subject, meditates according to a certain progression of ideas or a series of evocations which he assimilates and experiences; in *d̲h̲ikr*, concentrating on the object recollected—generally a Divine Name—, he allows his field of consciousness to lose itself in this object: hence the importance granted to the technique of repetition, at first verbal, later unspoken. The "meditations" of al-Ḥallād̲j̲ on the "night-journey" and "ascension" (*miʿrād̲j̲*) of the Prophet, or on the meeting of Moses and Iblīs, can be taken as examples of *fikr*. Another instance of it will be found in the "scrutiny of conscience" (*ḥisāb*) advocated by al-Muḥāsibī.

The problem of the respective merits of *fikr* and *d̲h̲ikr* confronted the Ṣūfīs of the first centuries. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī insisted upon *fikr*. It is, he said, "the mirror which makes you see what good there is in you, and what evil". The Muʿtazila, the Karrāmiyya and the Imāmiyya taught that reflection must precede recourse to *samʿ*, scriptural or traditional authority; hence, in their view, the superiority of *fikr* to *d̲h̲ikr*. Al-Ḥallād̲j̲, notes L. Massignon, "does not make a decision": he considers both methods to be legitimate, since both must lead to the Goal, but only on the condition that the "initiate" (*ʿārif*) should not cling to his approach as an end in itself. In a celebrated passage of his meditation on the *miʿrād̲j̲*, he speaks of the "garden of *d̲h̲ikr*" which Muḥammad visited "without deviating", and of the "process of *fikr*" which he followed without "passing beyond".

However, al-Ḥallād̲j̲ also seems to have given his preference to *fikr* rather than *d̲h̲ikr*. Some of his texts follow this trend. But it is evident that in these texts *fikr* must not be rendered solely by "discursive meditation", the effort of the spirit following the human method of procedure, as distinct from the "passive" state of recollection in prayer. *Fikr* is clearly distinguished from *ḥads*, just as reflection is distinguished from an intellectual flash of illumination or intuition. But in the reply of Iblīs to Moses, the *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn* contrasts *al-fikra* ("pure thought", following Massignon's translation) with *d̲h̲ikr*: "O Moses, pure thought (*fikra*) has no need of recollection (*d̲h̲ikr*)". The fact is, al-Kalābād̲h̲ī explains in commenting on a phrase of Ḥallād̲j̲, the fruits of *d̲h̲ikr* are refreshment for the soul, while meditations (*afkār*) guide the initiate towards the single divine majesty, the reverential

fear of God, His favours and His gifts. *Dhikr* appeals to the organs of the senses (the tongue, the physical heart), *fikr* purely to intellectual concentration. By means of *dhikr* and its rhythmical use of oral prayers the Ṣūfī is almost certain to succeed in attaining subjective spiritual "states" (*aḥwāl*); *fikr* tends to put him within the possibility of experiencing transcendant truths.

But in the event, it was the superiority of *dhikr* to *fikr* which was to be most generally affirmed. There was distrust of the illusions which the practice of *fikr* could engender: as early as the 3rd/9th century, Khashīsh Nisaʾī said that, "some, by force of "meditation", claim to enjoy in this world the spiritual life of God, the angels and the prophets, and to feast with the ḥūris" (quoted and trans. Massignon); whilst *dhikr*, though appealing as it does to the organs of the senses, at least has the merit of depriving the spirit of everything other than the object recollected. Monographs were written on *dhikr*, its techniques and achievements, but not on *fikr* and its methods.

There remains the fact that the gnostic soarings of those who profess *waḥdat al-wudjūd* ("Unity of Being") can be regarded as deriving from a *fikr* in which the use of typified symbols replaced the "process" of discursive reasoning.

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(L. Gardet)

FIKRET, TEVFIK [see tewfīk fikret].

FIKRĪ, ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, an Egyptian statesman, poet and prose-writer, regarded as one of the authors who have helped to give a simpler, more modern character to Arabic literary style. Born in 1250/1834 in Mecca where his father, an Egyptian officer, was serving, and later brought up in Cairo, he studied at al-Azhar and consorted with the Ṣūfīs. From 1267/1851 he was an administrative official and attracted the attention of Khedive Ismāʿīl who, in 1284/1866, chose him to teach Arabic, Turkish and Persian to his sons Tawfīḳ, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. His biographers reveal him as a man of integrity, with sincere religious beliefs, and distinguished by his family's piety (his paternal grandfather ʿAbd Allāh taught at al-Azhar). He often visited Istanbul on official missions. In 1870 he took part in founding the Khedivial library, as the subordinate of ʿAli Pasha Mubārak [*q.v.*] with whom subsequently he often worked. In 1878 he was *wakīl* of the Minister of Public Instruction, at that time ʿAli Pasha Mubārak. In 1882, for four months, he was himself Minister of Public Instruction in the ministry of al-Bārūdī, a follower of the movement of ʿUrābī Pasha [*q.v.*]. Imprisoned for that reason and then released, he remained thenceforth in obscurity. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1302/1885, and attended the Stockholm Congress of Orientalists in 1889 as an official Egyptian delegate. He died on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1307/27 July 1890.

After his death, his son Amīn Pasha Fikrī published a collection of his father's poems, letters, etc. under the title *al-Āthār al-Fikriyya*, Cairo 1315, and a description of his father's travels under the title *Irshād al-alibbāʾ ilā maḥāsin Urubbā*, Cairo 1892. The list of his other writings is given in Brockelmann, II, 474 ff. and *Suppl.*, and also in his biographies.

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(J. Jomier)

FĪL (Ar.; from Persian *pīl*), elephant. The word appears in the title and first verse of *Sūra* CV, which alludes to the expedition of Abraha [*q.v.*], but the Arabs were barely acquainted with this animal which is a native of India and Africa; consequently when, towards the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 8th century, a troop of elephants arrived in Baṣra, it was a matter of curiosity for the population (see al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 738). The subject had already come up in the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (trans. A. Miquel, Paris 1957, 53), but the first Arab author truly to concern himself and to undertake a personal investigation was al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, in particular vii, *passim*) who, on the basis also of the poems of a certain Hārūn b. Mūsā who had lived in Mūltān, collected together most of the known facts and beliefs relating to this huge and curious creature, for which the name *zandabīl* was also used, although it was not really known whether that term denoted the male or the female.

The outcome of a metamorphosis, it is the father of the pig which has a vague resemblance to it. The points that attract most attention, apart from its size, are its trunk, which serves as both nose and hand and is used for work and as a weapon, and its tusks which, some say, are hollow at the base and attain a weight of from 2 to 300 *mann*s. Equally striking are its ugliness and its over-short neck, its huge ears and small eyes. The tongue is reversed, that is to say the tip points inwards, and were it not for this fault it would be able to learn to speak. In spite of its massive body it has a feeble cry; it runs swiftly and can move with agility and dexterity. As its only joints are in the shoulder and thigh, it is unable to lie down and has to sleep standing up, against a tree or wall; if it falls down on its side, its companions haul it up again by means of their trunks. It can swim, keeping its trunk above water in order to breathe. The thick secretion from its forehead is sweeter then musk, and is collected with the utmost care; the dung is a remedy to prevent conception, and various parts of the body are used in medicine.

Elephants do not breed in ʿIrāḳ, and the birth of an elephant calf at the court of a king of Persia is referred to as a curiosity. In its fifth year the animal, whose testicles are inside the body, near the kidneys, is capable of reproduction. In the rutting season the male is endowed with extraordinary strength and reverts to a state of savagery, while the female becomes intractable and bad-tempered; once she is pregnant she is no longer touched by the males; she calves every seven years, and to find the calf it is necessary to search in the jungle, near to a river, where the mother deposits it to save it from a dangerous fall. The elephant calf, which is born with teeth, is entrusted to the care of a *fayyāl* responsible for its training. In captivity, the elephant lives from 80 to 100 years, but in the wild state its longevity is much greater, and certain individuals live to the age of 400.

The elephant is very intelligent, patient and docile; it is able to recognize its master and understands orders given by its *fayyāl* who, seated on its back, touches its forehead with a curved stick and

talks to it in an Indian language. It possesses a curious gift for imitation and becomes very friendly; normally of a playful disposition, and in fact addicted to jokes, it is terribly vindictive and has the ability to choose the best moment to wreak its vengeance. It takes to flight at the approach of the rhinoceros, which is thought to be able to lift it up with its horn; similarly, the lion utterly terrifies it, and the cat profits from its resemblance to the king of beasts, so much so that one way of effectively dealing with a force containing war-elephants is, on their approach, to release a quantity of cats which have been kept in readiness in sacks. Its worst enemy is, however, a small creature called the *zabraḳ*, which kills it by spraying it with its urine.

The Arab authors are aware that the elephant lives in Africa also, but in the wild state, and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 5-7) relates how the Zandj set about killing it and taking its tusks. Al-Dimashḳī, for his part, gives details of the way in which a wild elephant is captured by trapping it in a pit; men wearing brightly coloured clothes maltreat it and strike it, but a trainer, dressed in white, drives them away and starts to tame the animal by giving it food; after a certain time the hunters return, and the same manoeuvre is repeated until the elephant has enough trust in the *fayyāl* to allow itself to be ridden away.

To judge by the tales of travellers, geographers and historians, the various Indian sovereigns used by tradition to keep a varying but very large number of elephants for ceremonial use and for war. With the body shielded by bands of iron and cork, and the trunk protected by a curved sabre (*ḳarṭal*), each war-elephant was accompanied by 500 men who in turn preceded 5,000 horsemen. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says that he had seen some trained for executions.

The existence of certain elephants in ʿIrāḳ is attested by the texts; thus, it was on a grey elephant offered by an Indian king to al-Maʾmūn that al-Muʿtaṣim in 223/838 had his prisoner Bābak [*q.v.*] carried to Sāmarrā, before handing him over to the executioner; similarly, at about the same period, al-Djāḥiẓ was able to see some for himself and to take part in conversations in which the respective merits of the camel and the elephant were debated. In general, however, this animal remained purely an object of curiosity throughout the Muslim world west of India, with the possible exception of East and West Africa. On the other hand, ivory was well known and was used in the making of various articles [see ʿĀDJ].

When seen in a dream, the elephant generally presages some important business, but it is capable of more varied and subtle interpretations.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥawayān*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 400; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 156; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii, 330, 354, iv, 45; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Traité des simples*, ed. Leclerc, iii, 51; M. Perron, *Nâcérî*, ii, 404-17, 465-74; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest africain au moyen âge*, Dakar 1961, 264-5.

(J. Ruska-[Ch. Pellat])

As beasts of war. The use in western Asia of elephants for war stems from India. They were used in the warfare described in the *Mahābhārata* and their tactical use is discussed in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. From this treatise we learn certain facts which remain valid in the Indo-Persian world of the Islamic period: that elephants were regarded as a royal monopoly and private possession of them was forbidden, and that they might be provided with armour plating and have mounted on their backs archers, swordsmen and mace-bearers (cf. B. P. Sinha, *The art of war in ancient India 600 B.C.-300 A.D.*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, iv, 1957, 132-6, and S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, Bombay 1939, 139-40). From India, their use passed to Achaemenid Persia. Alexander the Great first met Persian elephants when he defeated Darius III at Arbela in 331 B.C.; the Greek rulers in Bactria used them; Seleucus I introduced them to Syria, and the later Seleucids used them against Rome.

The Sāsānids regularly used war elephants (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 230; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², 208). At Ḳādisiyya in 14/635, the Persian general Rustum deployed thirty of them in his centre and on his wings, and their appearance spread terror amongst the Bedouins; the Arabs finally stopped them by cutting their girths and dislodging the troop-laden howdahs, and also by attacking vulnerable parts like the eyes and trunks (Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*⁴, Edinburgh 1915, 102 ff.). Despite new contacts with the Persian world, the military use of elephants did not spread during the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods. They were imported into the Caliphal lands from the fringes of the Indian world, *scil.* Kābul, Makrān and Sind (cf. Ṭabarī, i, 2708, and Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 89), but they were mainly used as stately mounts on ceremonial occasions; the Caliph al-Manṣūr is said to have favoured them for this (*Murūdj*, iii, 18-20). The Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla had a number of war elephants, *fuyūl muḳātila*, which he used in battle, but it is not recorded that they played any significant part in the fighting (Miskawayh, *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ii, 368, tr. v, 402).

It was the Ghaznavids, the first Islamic dynasty whose empire spanned both the Persian and northern Indian worlds, who first used elephants in large numbers for military purposes and who first assigned them a definite place in their tactical theory. The next two centuries, the 5th/11th and the 6th/12th, were the heyday of the elephant as a military weapon in the Islamic world. Sebüktigīn and Maḥmūd of Ghazna captured elephants in hundreds from the Indian princes. These beasts fell within the Sultan's fifth of plunder. Their use was jealously guarded by the Sultans and by their successors in northern India, the Ghūrids and the Slave Kings of Delhi, and only as an exceptional mark of favour were they bestowed on great men of state. Armour plating was often placed over their heads and faces. In battle, they were usually placed in the front line; their metal accoutrements and ornaments were jangled to make a terrifying din, and they were then stampeded towards the enemy. This tactic was used with demoralizing effect on the Ḳarakhānids in 398/1008 and 416/1025 (cf. C. E. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Der Islam*, xxxvi (1960), 61-4, and M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 139).

Influenced by Ghaznavid practice, the sporadic use of elephants is recorded in the empire of the Great Saldjūḳs from the time of Berk-yāruḳ onwards, especially in Khurāsān and the east. At the battle outside Ghazna in 510/1116-17, Sandjar's Saldjūḳ troops were initially thrown into confusion at the sight of the fifty elephants of the Ghaznavid Arslān Shāh, but they dealt with the beasts by ripping open the soft under-belly of the leading elephant and

stampeding it back into its own camp (Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 64). When Sandjar defeated his nephew Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad at Sāwa in 513/1119, he had in his forces forty elephants with troops mounted on them (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, ix, 205; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 387). The Ghūrids used elephants in their warfare with the Khwārizm Shāhs, and beasts captured from the Ghūrids were used by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad for the defence of Samarḳand against the Mongols in 617/1220 (Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 117, 322-3). Although the Ḳara Khiṭāy used elephants captured from the Khwārizm Shāh for their assault on Balāṣāghūn, the use in war of these slow-moving and cumbersome beasts did not commend itself to the swift-moving Mongol cavalrymen. After he had taken Samarḳand, Čingiz Khān refused to allot fodder for the elephants captured there, and they were turned out in the steppe to die of hunger (Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 120, 360).

Outside Muslim India, elephants never thereafter regained their popularity as tactical weapons of war, although they were still used in the Persian world for ceremonial occasions.

Bibliography (in addition to the references given above): B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 492-3; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 115-18. (C. E. Bosworth)

Iconography. The earliest known representation of an elephant in Islamic art is the so-called Elephant Silk, perhaps from Khurāsān, which was originally in the church at St. Josse-sur-Mer, Pas-de-Calais, and is now in the Louvre. In company with other decorative motifs, it shows elephants in yellow confronting each other which have been reproduced in terms of inlay. The colours are a deep purple for the ground, with clear blue and tan which may have once been red. Each elephant bears elaborate trappings and a saddle-cloth. Although the colours are sumptuous enough, the design of this piece of silk is rather crude. The Kufic inscription in yellow below the two elephants mentions the name of Abu 'l-Manṣūr Bakht-tegīn, an Amīr of Khurāsān whose death took place in 349/960. Part of a similar elephant pattern is found on a fragment of silk at Siegburg which is of uncertain date. The treatment is again very stylised, the elephant having an excessively thin trunk and jointed legs. Mez (*Renaissance*, 437; English trans., 465) mentions that elephant designs were used in the decoration of carpets made at Ḥīra. In this connexion some fragments of a carpet bearing an elephant's head are now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs at Paris.

Elephants appear only very rarely in Islamic metal work. Some bronze incense-burners, supported by small figures of elephants, are known. In the Pennsylvania Museum of Art is a panel from Rayy showing a king seated on a throne which rests on the backs of elephants. This may possibly represent Ṭoghrīl II (d. 590/1193-4).

Several early examples are known of the elephant in its role as one of the pieces in the game of chess. These ivory chessmen can be paralleled by a small black Sāsānid elephant which may have formed part of a set. According to Kühnel, one of these, in the Bargello Museum at Florence, is Mesopotamian work of the 3rd/9th century. Another, in which the elephant is shown picking up a smaller animal with its trunk, was in the possession of Dr. F. R. Martin, who states that it is Tīmūrid. Two ivory caskets from Cordova are in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A panel on one of these represents a person of rank travelling in state upon an elephant. This bears the date 359/969-70. Another, which is probably early 5th/11th century, has a number of circular panels each bearing a pair of different animals facing each other. One panel contains elephants with bushy tails upon the backs of which peacocks are resting.

In contrast to most of the elephants mentioned above, those depicted on Islamic pottery are more faithfully drawn. Examples are fairly numerous, the majority showing a king with two or more attendants riding in an elaborate howdah. This may represent Bahrām Gūr's return from Sind. One plate in the Possession Moussa is dated 616/1219-20. Others, with the same scene, are in the Freer Gallery at Washington, the Possession Rabenou and the Collection Allan Balch. These are mostly *mīnāʾī* ware from Rayy, belonging to the first half of the 7th/13th century. A spotted elephant with rich caparison appears on a star-shaped basin in a Kāshān lustre ware. Other ceramic objects of artistic merit with elephants are a basin from Āmul with some Chinese characteristics now in the Art Institute of Chicago, a bowl and a pitcher in the Louvre, and a plate in the Kelekian Collection which was formerly on exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Copies of the *Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān* of Ibn Bukhtīshūʿ with their wealth of animal paintings provide us with several pictures of elephants in which an attempt has been made to show every detail. The older copies were made and illustrated in the 7th/13th century. A bluish elephant with gilded saddle and a trunk composed of a series of loops (Pl. xx) appears in a British Museum manuscript of this work (OR. 2784, f. 136r°). Another, better known, is the famous Elefantenpaar in a manuscript illustrated towards the end of the 7th/13th century for Ghāzān Khān at Marāgha which is now in the Morgan Library at New York. The two elephants, each adorned with gold circlets bearing bells around foreheads and ankles, are embracing each other with their trunks against a background of foliage. The smaller elephant is blue with darker stripes; the larger is grey-brown with lighter stripes. Elephants' heads in gold occasionally appear among the very varied marginal decorations of some 9th/15th century manuscripts, notably the pocket encyclopaedia in the British Museum (ADD. 27261) which is dated 814/1410-11, an anthology of approximately the same date, and a *Shāh-nāma* in the Gulbenkian Foundation at Lisbon (Nos. 117 and 121 in *Arte do Oriente Islâmico*, Lisbon, 1963). These are very finely drawn and, for the first time, an accurate representation of an elephant is encountered.

The best sources of elephant miniatures are illustrated copies of the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. Scenes like Rustam killing the White Elephant or lassoing the Khāḳān of Čīn, the death of Ṭalḥand (Pl.xxii), and Iskandar's battle with Fūr have all provided much scope for the portrayal of elephants, ranging from exact drawings to figures of somewhat bizarre appearance, like those in mediaeval bestiaries (*e.g.* B.M. MS. Harl. 3244 f. 39r°). In some *Shāh-nāma* illustrations the heroes bear the device of an elephant on their banners. Other literary themes in which elephants appear—but rather less frequently—are the story in the *Mathnawī* of Rūmī of the elephant who trampled to death the travellers who had eaten her calf (Pl. xxi), the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* of Ḳazwīnī, and the Court of Solomon (Sulaymān) where an elephant sometimes appears among the animals grouped around the throne with angels and *djinn*.

The earliest appearance of an elephant in the Islamic art of India is probably an ivory chessman bearing an Arabic inscription on its base in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale. This piece was reputed to have been sent by Hārūn al-Rashīd to Charlemagne, and certainly formed part of the Treasure of St. Denis as early as 1505. The elephant is shown in battle, unhorsing an enemy rider. On its back a king sits in a howdah, the exterior of which is fashioned in the form of a wall, guarded by soldiers with swords and round bucklers. Although some authorities have dated it much earlier, the latest study suggests that it was made in Gudjarāt in the 8th/14th or 9th/15th century. Two stone elephants which were discovered in the Red Fort of Dihlī now flank one of the doorways. It is thought that they were made in the reign of Akbar.

With the flowering of Mughal painting which began during this period, elephants appear with increasing frequency. Several of the finest examples from the artistic point of view are in the *Akbar-nāma* at the Victoria and Albert Museum. One shows Akbar crossing a river mounted on an elephant. A painting of the reign of Djahāngīr depicts elephants fighting and is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Even though elephant heads are found in one of the Fātiḥ Albums at Istanbul, these have been proved by Ettinghausen to be Tīmūrid work of the 9th/15th century. One example is known of a very life-like elephant's head as a gold marginal ornament in a British Museum manuscript (OR. 2708) which was apparently painted during the third quarter of the 10th/16th century. Otherwise most of the relatively few Ottoman drawings of elephants resemble more or less that upon which Sitt Khātūn, the wife of Meḥemmed (Muḥammad) II, is seated in a Byzantine miniature now in the Bibliotheca Marciana at Venice. This elephant is closely akin to those depicted in mediaeval Western manuscripts. A very similar elephant is to be seen in the *Hümāyūn-nāme* of ʿAlī Čelebi (B.M. ADD. 15153, f. 388r°, dated 997/1589) illustrating the story of King Hīlār of India.

In the field of sculpture, there is a stone slab at Ḳonya showing an elephant being pursued by a griffin. This was built into the wall of the Saldjūḳid citadel, dating from the early part of the 7th/13th century.

Bibliography: *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 2002-3; pl. 186, 604a, 663, 671, 692a-b, 758b; G. Wiet, *L'exposition d'art persan*, Cairo 1935, pl. 28; E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, Berlin 1925, 194; J. Beckwith, *Caskets from Cordoba*, London, H.M.S.O., 1960, 29, pl. 19. See the article ʿĀDJ, pl. 2, fig. 2; B. Gray and D. Barrett, *The painting of India*, Lausanne 1963, pl. 91; Ajit Ghosh, *Some old Indian ivories*, in *Rupam*, No. 32 (Oct. 1927); *Oriental Art* (New Series) i/2 (1955), 51; T. Arnold and A. Guillaume (edd.), *The legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931, 134 and fig. 43.

(G. M. Meredith-Owens)

AL-FĪL, is the title of the early Meccan Sūra cv which deals with God's judgment on the "men of the Elephant". This is an allusion to a story which must have been very familiar to the Meccan contemporaries of the Prophet; the background of the allusion is explained by the commentators and historians as follows. The Yemenite king Abraha [*q.v.*], bent on a policy of destroying the power of the Meccan sanctuary, led an expedition against Mecca, hoping to destroy the Kaʿba, and the expeditionary troops were supported by an elephant (some versions say, more than one). But on arriving at the frontier of Meccan territory, the elephant kneeled down and refused to advance further towards Mecca, although when his head was turned in any other direction he moved. Flights of birds then came and dropped stones on the invading troops, who all died. The authority of ʿIkrima [*q.v.*] is given for the rationalizing explanation that they were in fact smitten by an epidemic of smallpox. Abraha himself is said to have been afflicted with a loathsome disease and carried back to Yemen to die. For the student of Islam, the main relevance of the episode is that the birth of the Prophet is said to have taken place at this time, in the "year of the Elephant". And according to the commonly accepted chronology of the Prophet's life, this event would have to be dated in or around 570 A.D.

Not unnaturally, the South Arabian inscriptions contain no direct reference to this disaster. The possibilities involved are, however, illustrated by an earlier occasion described in the Muraygh̲ān inscription, Ryckmans 506. This records that while Abraha was campaigning in central Arabia against Maʿadd, who were subject to the suzerainty of the kingdom of Ḥīra, another part of the South Arabian army was operating in the Ḥidjāz and inflicted a defeat on a tribal confederation of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*] at the oasis of Turaba (approximately 100 km. due east of Ṭāʾif). This is dated in 662 of the Sabaean era, *i.e.*, the late forties or early fifties of the sixth century A.D.; in any case it cannot be later than 554 A.D., since it mentions al-Mundhir (who was assassinated in that year) as king of Ḥīra. How much later than this we can reasonably date the "year of the Elephant" is problematical. But the fairly substantial cluster of texts from the decade or so preceding the Muraygh̲ān inscription, coupled with the complete cessation of South Arabian records from shortly thereafter (our latest being a private text of 665 of the Sabaean era), tend to suggest that it is somewhat unlikely that Abraha and his kingdom continued so to flourish as to be able to stage a full scale attack on Mecca, until so late as 570 A.D.

A striking proposal advanced by C. Conti Rossini (*JA*, xi sér., xviii, 30-2) deserves a passing mention, although it has not been endorsed by general approval. This is that the story as we know it is a contamination of two records of South Arabian attacks on Mecca: that by Abraha, and a much earlier one led by the Aksumite king Afilas, whom numismatic evidence assigns to around 300 A.D. It was at or shortly after this time that the kingdom of Aksūm did in fact exercise a short-lived hegemony over South Arabia, and a military enterprise further north is not impossible. Conti Rossini appeals to this event in order to suggest that a conflated story of this nature was the one known to the Prophet's contemporaries, and that *al-fīl* in this context is a later corruption of the name Afilas.

Bibliography: See the bibliography cited under ABRAHA. (A. F. L. Beeston)

FIʿL, "action", is regarded as a noun derived from the verb *faʿala yafʿal* inf. *faʿl*, "to do" (Lane, vi, 2420a, b). This noun is the technical term in Arabic grammar for denoting the verb. Where traditional English grammar distinguishes between eight "parts of speech", the grammar of the Arabs established only three principal divisions: *ism*, *fiʿl*, *ḥarf*. This tripartite division into *noun*, *verb* and *particle* came to the Arabs from Aristotelian *logic* and not from the *grammar* of the Greeks; this fact seems

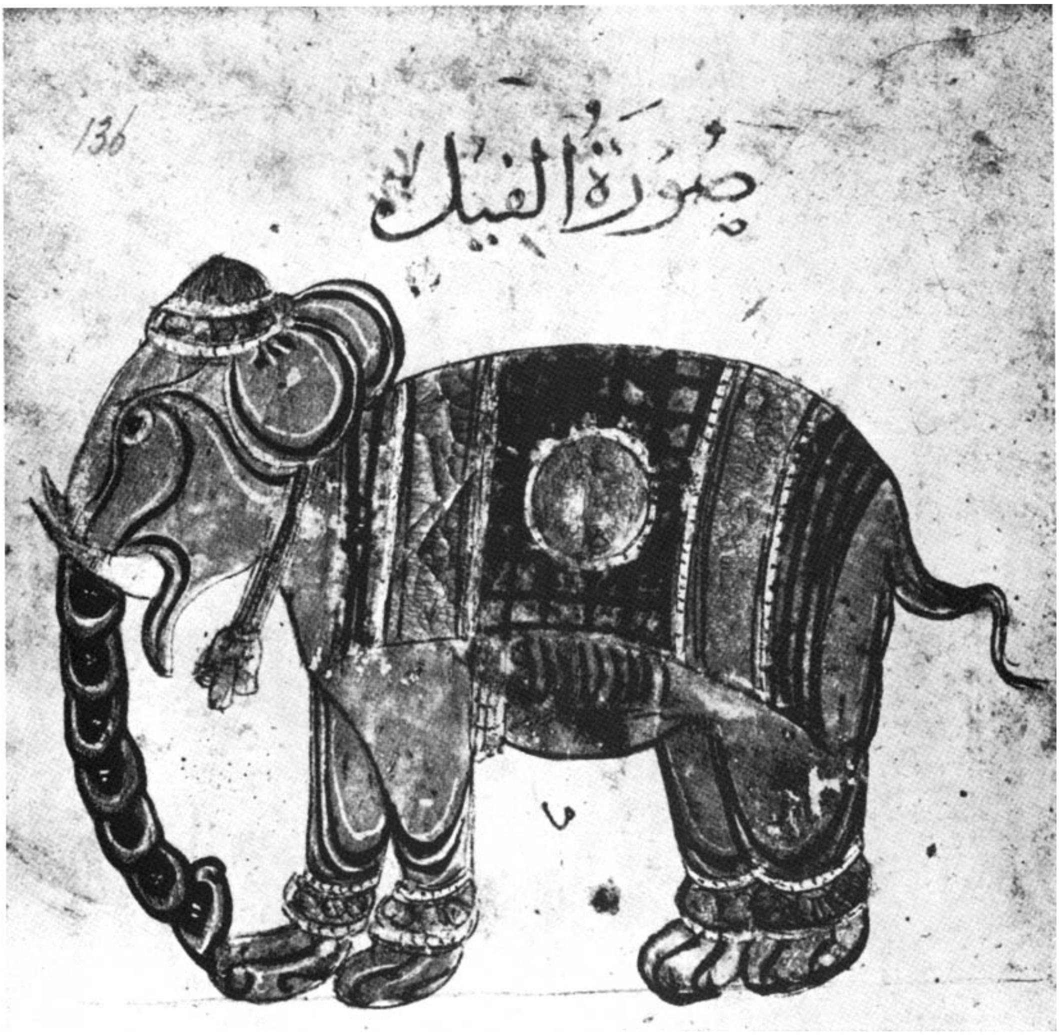

Elephant, 7th/13th century. British Museum, OR. 2784, fol. 136r°.

The elephant killing the travellers who had eaten her calf. Miniature in the *Mat͟hnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, written c. 937/1530.

British Museum, ADD. 27262, fol. 134r°.

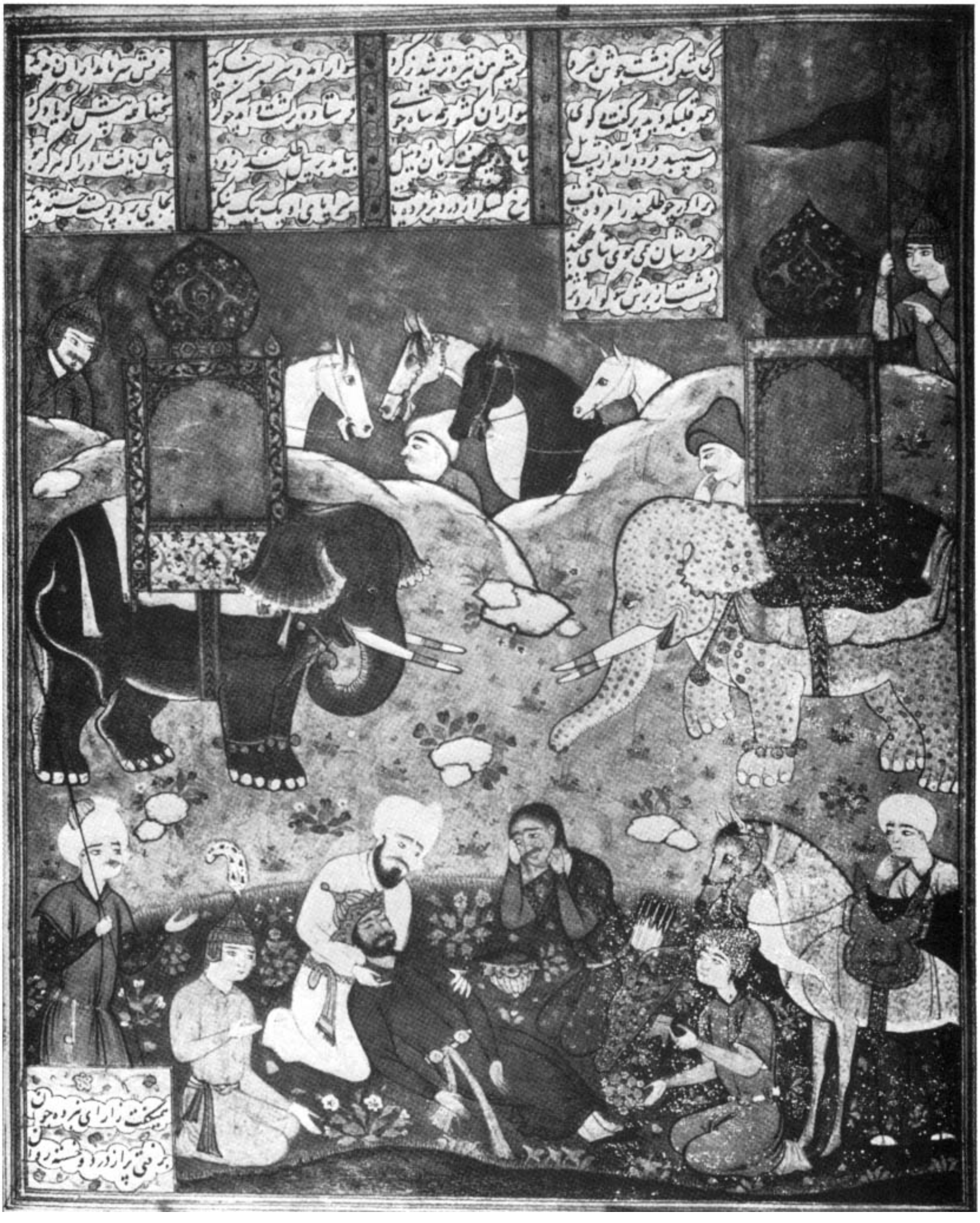

Gav being shown the body of Ṭalḥand. Miniature in a manuscript of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*, dated 994/1586.
British Museum, ADD. 27302, fol. 519v°.

Bābur hunting rhinoceros. Miniature from the Persian translation of the *Bābur-nāma* by ʿAbd Al-Raḥīm Khān, written about the close of the 10th/16th century. British Museum, OR. 3714, fol. 352.

sufficiently established (see *Arabica*, iv, 14-5 and *Traité*, 23-4). Acquaintance with the latter would have given Arabic grammar a different organization, something like the parts of speech referred to above, which in essence derive precisely from this Greek grammar through the intermediary of the Latin grammarians. Besides, a division which establishes the *noun* and the *verb* as the principal categories finds its justification in general linguistics (see *Traité*, § 53).

The *Kitāb* of Sībawayh (i, ch. I) starts with the enunciation of this main division: *ism, fiʿl, ḥarf.* Its definition of the verb (*a*) on the one hand stresses the origin of the personal forms of the verb: *amma 'l-fiʿl fa-amthilat ukhidhat min lafẓ aḥdāth al-asmā'*: these are the 'forms taken from the word expressing the "happenings" of nouns' [the infinitives]; this is already the Baṣrī theory of the *infinitive-maṣdar*, that is, the 'origin' of the verb; *ḥadath*, pl. *aḥdāth* (inf. of *ḥadatha* (*u*) "to happen, take place") can be well translated by "happening", a meaning very close to the idea of "process", used in modern general linguistics to define the verb; (*b*) on the other hand expresses the temporal value of the verb: *buniyat* (they have been constructed) *li-mā maḍā* (past), *wa-li-mā yakūn wa-lam yaḳaʿ* (future), *wa-mā huwa kā'in lam yanḳaṭiʿ* (present).

Thus, from the very start, so far as can be traced, a temporal value is attributed to the verb as something self-evident, requiring no justification. We have here the indication that this was an accepted doctrine, accepted as something established, and not the fruit of the personal investigations of the Arab grammarian; for the latter, always so ready to explain or legitimize everything, would have advanced reasons or reasonings in support of any basic definition which he had drawn up. The same holds good for the tripartite division, simply stated. Like the latter, in fact, the temporal values of the verb came to the Arabs from Aristotelian logic (as has been said above), but this fact does in no way impair the originality of their construction of grammar (see *Arabica*, iv, 16 and *Traité*, 25).

The theory of the *infinitive-maṣdar* has been challenged by grammarians of the Kūfa tradition (Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Inṣāf*, disputed question no. 28, ed. Weil). But the whole grammatical tradition teaches the temporal value of the verb, regarding this as the feature that distinguishes it from the noun (*ism*) (likewise Ibn Yaʿīsh, according to 26, l. 10-1, in spite of what is said later).

The definition given by the *Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī is clear: *al-fiʿl mā dalla ʿala 'ḳtirān ḥadath bi-zamān* [*muḥaṣṣal*] (§ 402) "the verb is that which indicates the connexion of an event with a [determined] time": for the noun (*ism*), the contrary (§ 2).

Ibn Yaʿīsh blames the vagueness of *mā*: for a strict definition by closest genus and specific difference, he requires a more precise word, *kalima* or *lafẓa* (912, l. 2). As for *muḥaṣṣal*, put by us in brackets as a reminder of the insistence of certain writers (according to 911, l. 6), on the need to distinguish the infinitive from the personal forms of the verb, Ibn Yaʿīsh states that this is needless: the *maṣdar* is clearly enough distinguished in itself; it too is verb but it expresses time in another way (*min khāridj, min lawāzimih*); see 911, l. 8-13.

He also finds fault, in the definition, with the predominance allowed to the connexion with time in regard to *ḥadath*. The verb in itself indicates both things, the *ḥadath* and the time of its existence (911, l. 9), but the verb was not established to indicate this very connexion: it indicates a *ḥadath* in connexion, the latter comes secondarily, *wa 'l-iḳtirān wudjida tabaʿan* (912, l. 5-6). However, Ibn al-Ḥādjib (*Kāfiya*, in the *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, ii, 207, l. 23) had said: *al-fiʿl mā dalla ʿalā maʿnā fī nafsih muḳtarin bi-aḥad al-azmina al-thalātha*, without mentioning *ḥadath*; and al-Astarābādhī repeats: *kull ism fa-huwa ghayr muḳtarin, kull fiʿl fa-huwa muḳtarin* (*ibid.*, l. 26 and 30), "a noun of any kind has no connexion [with time]"; "a verb of any kind connotes the connexion [with time]". *Remark*: al-Sīrāfī, in his *Sharḥ* of the *Kitāb* (ms. Cairo[2], II, 134) professes, for the definition of the verb, the doctrine of the *ḥadath muḳtarin bi-zamān muḥaṣṣal* (Part 1, p. 8).

As to the definition of the *Kitāb*, related in the beginning of this article, al-Sīrāfī explains *amthila* and *aḥdāth al-asmā'* as follows: *amthila*: *arāda abniya* because the *abniyat al-afʿāl* are various (*mukhtalifa*), *i.e. faʿala, faʿila faʿula*, etc. (p. 8 at the end). The *aḥdāth* are *al-maṣādir allatī tuḥdithuha 'l-asmā'* and the *asmā'* are the *aṣḥāb al-asmā' wa-hum al-fāʿilūn* (p. 9, lines 3-4). Afterwards he expresses the Baṣrī theory of the *maṣdar* origin of the verb, contained in *amthila ukhidhat min lafẓ aḥdāth al-asmā'*.

This shows clearly enough how essential the Arabs considered the temporal value to be, in the definition of the verb. They ignored the *aspect*. In ancient Greek, an important part devolved upon aspect in verbal value; at the same time the Greeks did not recognize it as such (it is an acquisition of modern linguistics). The Arabs' notions of grammatical tenses being derived from Aristotelian logic, they were led along a false trail, under conditions most unfavourable for considering their aspect-governed verb from the point of view of time: immediately came the difficulty of differentiating three tenses, past, present and future, under a system which only contrasts two forms. They called the one *māḍī*. Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (d. 367) said *mustaḳbal* "future" for the other (*K. al-Afʿāl*, 1 l. 18, 2 l. 18, 3 l. 3, etc., ed. Ign. Guidi). He was logically contrasting two terms of the same order, but the present was left aside. Grammatical tradition habitually uses *muḍāriʿ* "resembling (the agent noun)", but formally the term is no longer opposed to *māḍī*; it enters into the grammatical speculations on the system of *ḳiyās* (*Traité*, 6).

For better or worse, the Arab grammarians were only able to systematize the value of the verb in respect of time by incorporating with the verb certain external elements: *sa-*, *sawfa*, *ḳad*, which they call its *khaṣā'iṣ* "its properties" (*Muf.*, § 402). Now it is important to understand the true position: aspect characterizes the verb in classical Arabic; the latter makes a contrast between an *accomplished* (conjugated by suffixes), and an unaccomplished form (conjugated by prefixes and suffixes), which are thus designated by an important but not exclusive nuance of aspect. *The tense emerges from the phrase*, without any established system (for the past, see below).

With an unaccomplished form, the future requires a mark : the verbal indicators *sa-*, *sawfa*, for example: *kallā sa-yaʿlamūna thumma kallā sa-yaʿlamūna* (Ḳur'ān, LXXVIII, 4-5), "No! they will know [it]. No! No! they will know [it]!", or else a temporal adverb, a temporal adverbial complement, etc., or simply the situation. The present results spontaneously from the absence of this mark, *e.g.*: *li-ma tabkī* "Why are you weeping?"

For the past, a distinction must be made: the accomplished gives the tense of the narrative for historical accounts; the verb then expresses the past tense, corresponding to the French *passé simple*. But this *māḍī* is also the accomplished form, and the language possesses only this *one single form* for historic narrative and conversation, according to the distinction formulated by E. Benveniste (*Les relations de temps dans le verbe français*, in *BSL*, liv/1 (1959), 69-82). It often indicates something resulting, it may be merely a resultative or a simple accomplished form without any temporal value. It therefore cannot be called purely and simply a tense, a *māḍī* (see *Esquisse*, 85-8; *Études*, 3: *Temps et aspect*, 170-7). The examples quoted can be examined in the light of the above distinction (published only in 1959), and the part played by the phrase and the verbal indicators will be noted.

As to the division of the verb, Arab grammarians teach: *maʿlūm/madjhūl = known/unknown*; this referring to the agent. In fact, the Arabic verb falls into two divisions: the verb with agent (the subject being considered as the agent) and the verb of quality (the subject being simply the thing qualified). The verb with agent is subdivided:

a) agent pure and simple: *faʿala yafʿi/ulu*, like *ḍaraba* (*i*) "to strike", *ṭalaba* (*u*) "to ask".

b) agent with an interest: *faʿila yafʿalu*, like *rabiḥa* (*a*) "to gain", *sakira* (*a*) "to get drunk". This category includes part of *faʿila*.

c) agent unknown: *fuʿila yufʿalu*, like *ḍuriba*, *rubiḥa*.

Agentive is a good term for the first two as opposed to the third: the *madjhūl*, to turn to the Arabic designation for lack of an appropriate English term. When wishing to denote the second specifically, one can use the term "verb with interested agent".

The verb of quality (or qualitative verb) includes the whole form of *faʿula yafʿulu* (with two exceptions), *e.g.*: *karuma* (*u*) "to become generous" and the other part of *faʿila yafʿalu*, which is thus divided into two: the verb with interested agent, described above, and the verb of quality, *e.g.*: *kabira* (*a*) "to become old".

The verb of quality is not static. It signifies: "to acquire a quality", or "to become such and such" (according to the quality in question), *karuma* "to become *karīm* (generous)"; or else as a consequence of the acquisition: "to have a quality", or "to be such and such", it is a resultative, *karuma* "to be *karīm* (generous)".

The *madjhūl* is the verb whose agent is not known or, if known, remains unexpressed and *cannot be expressed*: it is the *fiʿl mā lam yusamma fāʿiluh*, according to the expression of *Muf.* (116, l. 5). If it is used with a person as the subject, *e.g.*, *ḍuriba Zayd*, from the fact that Zayd is the subject of the verb, attention is concentrated on him, the idea of enduring takes shape to some extent, it may predominate and in that case we are led to translate by a passive: "Zayd was beaten", instead of "One has beaten Zayd", which would have revealed that the agent was unknown. This is to be judged according to the context. But none the less the Arabic verb remains the *madjhūl*. It cannot be coupled with "a complement of a passive verb", contrarily to its morphological character. One sees how deceptive it is to call *fuʿila* "passive".

The impersonal verb exists in classical Arabic, although the Arab grammarians have not spoken of it; it exists, it can be constructed on any transitive indirect verb with agent (this being very widely interpreted, see the examples, *Esquisse*, 160), giving it the form of *madjhūl* which remains invariable in the 3rd person singular. This is the impersonal *madjhūl*, which provides the perfect example of the "verb whose agent is unknown". With the personal verb we can say: *kharadjtu min al-dār* "I left the house", *nazaltu ʿalā ʿAmr* "I went down to ʿAmr's"; in the impersonal, *khuridja min al-dār* , *nuzila ʿalā ʿAmr*: "they went out of the house", "they went down to ʿAmr". These verbs are often difficult to translate exactly, because for each of them we need to find the corresponding impersonal expression; in its absence "they" is used, as in the preceding examples.

Some verbs have come to the point of acquiring an impersonal usage without taking the form of the *madjhūl*: *kafā*, *badā*, *rāʿa*, *ḥabba* (see Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, ii, 124-5; A. Spitaler, mā rāʿa-hū illā bi- *und verwandtes*, in *Serta Monacensia*, Leiden 1952, 171-83); an example: *wa-kafā bi 'llāhi shahīdan* (Ḳurʾān, IV, 81/79), "it suffices with Allāh as witness".

Arab grammarians have recognized a *djāmid* or *ghayr mutaṣarrif* verb, like *ʿasā*, *niʿma*, *laysa*, as opposed to the *mutaṣarrif* verb which possesses all its verbal forms: *māḍī*, etc. or nomino-verbal forms: n. ag., etc. (*Dict. of T. T.*, 1143, l. 7-9). But they have not recognized the impersonal verb. They judged the impersonal *madjhūl* (*e.g.*: *nuzila ʿalā ʿAmr*), as if it were the *madjhūl* of a direct transitive, acting on the meaning of *mafʿūl bih* (see *Études*, 167-8; on their kind of conception of *al-fiʿl al-mutaʿaddī*, the transitive verb, *Muf.* §§ 432-3, Ibn Yaʿīsh 966-71, especially 970 l. 11-8). This lacuna is the logical consequence of their ignorance of the idea of subject and its rôle in grammar, for the impersonal verb is based throughout on this notion of the subject. The impersonal verb must, however, find a place in any accurate account of the morphology of the classical Arabic verb.

The Arabic verb presents contrasts: on the one side, great simplicity, on the other side complexity. Simplicity: in personal moods only two verbal forms, one acomplished, one unaccomplished, which are sufficient to give an opposition of aspect, and one imperative (2nd person); one conjugation, "the common conjugation" (*Esquisse*, 80-5), which employs *the same* prefixes or suffixes for verbs of all kinds, triliteral and derived forms, quadriliteral and derived forms, variations resulting from phonetic accidents arising from the combination of these prefixes or suffixes with the verbal root. The simplicity of the internal flexion of vowels which, by an interplay of contrasts between the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, characterizes the verb in its divisions *agentive/madjhūl*, not only in the simple triliteral or quadriliteral verb but in all derived forms for every agent verb; moreover, the simplicity of the *external* flexion of vowels which determines the moods: *yafʿul-u* (indicative), *yafʿul-a* (subjunctive), *yafʿul̥* (jussive). Complexity: the multitude of derived forms: 14 for the triliteral verb, 3 for the quadriliteral verb; the multitude of forms of the infinitive or noun of action for the simple triliteral verb: Wright (*Ar. Gr.*[3], 110-2) lists 44 of them, either rare or common.

But these numerous derived forms have one advantage: they allow one to express synthetically notions which, in French, must be enunciated separately in accordance with its analytical character, *e.g.*: *farasa* (*i*) "to devour" (a prey, wild beast), *farrasa* "*to cause* to be devoured" (a prey), *afrasa* "*to allow* his flock to be devoured" (shepherd), *taḍārabū* "they fought *each other*", etc. They con-

tribute considerably to the synthetic character of the Arabic language.

Affective language expresses itself through the Arabic verb. Briefly, we may mention the 2nd *faʿʿala* intensive form and the 5th *tafaʿʿala* which is correlative to it; the so-called "rare" forms, with gemination (14th form) or repetition (12th and 13th forms), a procedure that was abandoned; quadriliteral formations, especially by repetition of a biliteral element (type 1212) (*Esquisse*, 102-3). In addition, the *energetic*.

The energetic forms a part of the "common conjugation". It is formed by the suffix *-anna* or *-nna*, most often used, added to the unaccomplished in its jussive (or apocopated) form and to the imperative. It gives a vigorous expression to a personal feeling: *conviction* in an affirmation or negation, *astonishment* or *impatience* in interrogation. It is used especially to emphasize an expression of an act of will: an order, prohibition, threat, promise, wish. After an oath the energetic always occurs (if one uses the unaccomplished form), and in addition the corroborative *lam* (examples, Wright, ii, 42A).

Bibliography: Muḥ. Aʿlā, *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, (ed. A. Sprenger), i, 707 foot and 708, 711 l. 13-712 l. 3; ii, 1142-3; Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 2nd ed. J. P. Broch, §§ 1, 2, 402, 403; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ K. al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. G. Jahn, 20-9, 911-5; Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, Istanbul ed. 1275, i, 8 l. 14 ff., 5 l. 21 ff.; ii, 207 l. 23 ff.; M. S. Howell, *Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, ii, Allāhābād 1880, 1-3 (§ 402); i, Allāhābād 1883, 1-3 (§ 2); H. Fleisch, *L'arabe classique, Esquisse d'une structure linguistique*, Beirut 1956 (*Recherches*, vol. v), 80-104 (quoted as *Esquisse*); idem, *Études sur le verbe arabe*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, 1957, ii, 153-81 (quoted as *Études*): 1. *La Iʳᵉ forme du verbe et ses divisions*, 153-9; 2. *La question du madjhūl*, 160-1701; 3. *Temps et aspect*, 170-7; idem, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961 (quoted as *Traité*). Other references in the text.

(H. Fleisch)

FIʿL, pl. *afʿāl*, actuation, act, and sometimes the result of an act, that is to say effectuation, effect. From its current usage in Arabic, this word very quickly became a technical term (*iṣṭilāḥ*), not only in grammar but also in *falsafa* and in *ʿilm al-kalām*. If *ʿamal* [*q.v.*] designates the realms of 'doing' and 'acting' (whence 'work', human acts, and moral action), and thus has at least in its last meaning an ethical connotation, *fiʿl* refers above all to noetic and ontological values: the fact of actuating, of passing (or causing to pass) to the performance of an act. Hence the translation by R. Blachère of *Ḳurʾān*, xxi, 73: 'et Nous leur révélâmes la réalisation des bonnes œuvres' (*fiʿl al-khayrāt*). It should be noted that the distinction between *ʿamal* and *fiʿl* often becomes less marked: *akhlāḳ wa-afʿāl*, '(human) mores and actions', says Ibn Sīnā, for instance, (*Aḳsām*, 107), in order to define ethics.

Falsafa.

Fiʿl belongs to the language of logic and noetics. (a) In logic it is one of the ten categories, *actio* opposed to *passio*, *infiʿāl*. It is worth mentioning here that the suppleness of its verbal forms allows Arabic to emphasize the connexion, at the same time opposed and complementary, of the *muḳābal* pair, *actio* and *passio*, by using the same root, *fʿl*, in the first form active and in the seventh passive. In consequence, the active element is *al-fāʿil* and the passive element, *al-munfaʿil*. This use of *fʿl* and its derivations may be found over and over again in all treatises on logic, both in the philosophical introductions of the *ʿilm al-kalām* and also in *falsafa*.

(b). In noetics and metaphysics, the complementary opposition is no longer *fiʿl-infiʿāl*, but *fiʿl-ḳuwwa*, act-potentiality (faculty, *in posse*). Potentiality, in so far as it is the principle of change and becoming, may be in its turn either 'active' (*fiʿliyya*) if it resides in the agent (*fāʿil*), or passive (*infiʿāliyya*) if it resides in the passive element (*munfaʿil*). The expression *bi 'l-fiʿl*, 'actually', which is used for every faculty of the human spirit, is of especially wide and well-known usage in noetics, where it is used to designate one of the states of the intellect, *al-ʿaḳl bi 'l-fiʿl*, the intellect in action or the active intellect, as distinguished from *al-ʿaḳl bi 'l-ḳuwwa*, the intellect *in posse*, or potential intellect. Moreover, *al-ʿaḳl bi 'l-fiʿl* must be distinguished from *al-ʿaḳl al-faʿʿāl*, the acting intelligence, *i.e.*, continually in action, which is the last of the separate Intelligences and the same for all men. The *ʿaḳl bi 'l-fiʿl*, in becoming more and more actual, receives the illumination of the *ʿaḳl faʿʿāl* and becomes similar to it. The hierarchy of the intellects according to al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd, and the differences of meanings applied to these terms by the several authors, are well-known. For the *ʿaḳl bi 'l-fiʿl* according to al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, see ʿAḳl; contrary to what is suggested by the Latin translations referred to by F. Rahman in this last article, it does not seem necessary to translate differently the meaning of *al-ʿaḳl bi'l-fiʿl* according to al-Fārābī (*in effectu*) and Ibn Sīnā (*in actu*). The real differences of thought between the two philosophers can perhaps best be expressed, whether in translation or in Arabic, by the use of an identical terminology. The ancient Latin translations, in fact, often prefer *effectus* for *fiʿl*, while the modern ones (such as that of Mgr. N. Carame) are more in favour of *actus*. The difference which can be noted between act (or action) and effect diminishes when we go back to the more specifically appropriate technical terms 'actuation' and 'effectuation'.

ʿIlm al-kalām

The *mutakallimūn* use *fiʿl* and *bi 'l-fiʿl* in the same sense as the *falāsifa* when they in their turn speak of the subjects of logic, noetics and metaphysics. But the term, above all in its plural form, *afʿāl*, comes up frequently when they discuss 'questions concerning God' (*ilāhiyyāt*). *Fiʿl* then designates the action of God *ad extra*, 'what it is possible (not necessary) for God to do'. Thus al-Ashʿarī writes in his *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*: 'the fact that God wills a thing, signifies that He does it' *faʿalahu*; ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1953, 15-6; cf. English translation, 21).

Later on, the subject of the treatise concerning the effects of Divine Omnipotence *ad extra* is thus called *afʿāluhu taʿālā*, 'the Acts of God, the Most High'. It is essentially the problem of secondary causes (*asbāb*), the relations of God with mankind, the divine pre-determining decree (*ḳadar* and *ḳaḍāʾ*), and human free-will (*ikhtiyār*). For the details of the problems dealt with, and the solutions of the various schools, see Allāh, 412 ff.

The treatise on *afʿāluhu taʿālā* is preceded by a treatise on the divine attributes, *ṣifāt Allāh*. One of the subdivisions of this last is concerned with the *ṣifāt al-afʿāl*, which may be translated as the 'attributes of action' and which refer to what God

may or may not do: visibility, creation, commandment, decree (*loc. cit.*, 411).

These discussions of the 'actions of God' do not supersede the normal usage of *fiʿl* and *afʿāl* to designate the act or acts of man, sometimes almost as synonyms of *ʿamal* and *aʿmāl*, more often with the psychological and legal background meaning 'an act which must be performed', leaving to *ʿamal* the wider background meaning of 'human behaviour in general'. Thus *fiʿl* is distinguished from *tark*, lack of action, action to be avoided. It is thus also that at the beginning of the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (Cairo 1352/1933, i, 13-5), al-Ghazzālī teaches that man under Law is, in order to guide his conduct (*ʿamal*), under the obligation of knowing: the creed of the faith (*iʿtiḳād*), the act (*al-fiʿl*) which must be performed at a given moment (*e.g.*, the times of prayer), and what it is obligatory not to perform (*tark*). These terms, moreover, are reminiscent of the vocabulary of *ḥadīth*, since the text of a *ḥadīth* relates a saying or an action or the absence of an action on the part of the Prophet.

Bibliography: apart from the references given in this article, reference should be made to the well-known treatises and chapters of the great philosophers (a) on the categories, (b) on *ʿaḳl*; also the various treatises of *ʿilm al-kalām* (*e.g.*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, etc.), in the chapters *Ṣifāt Allāh* and *Afʿāluhu taʿālā*. (L. Gardet)

FILĀḤA, agriculture.

Falḥ, the act of cleaving and cutting, when applied to the soil has the meaning of "to break up in order to cultivate", or "to plough". *Fallāḥ* "ploughman", *filāḥa* "ploughing". But from pre-Islamic times the word *filāḥa* has assumed a wider meaning to denote the occupation of husbandry, agriculture. In this sense it is synonymous with *zirāʿa*, to which the ancients preferred *filāḥa* (all the earlier writers called their works on agriculture *Kitāb al-Filāḥa*). At the present time this latter word is very widely used in North Africa, both in official language and in everyday speech. Thus, in Morocco, the Ministry of Agriculture is called *wizārat al-filāḥa*, whilst in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and ʿIrāḳ it is called *wizārat al-zirāʿa*. It is only since the last century that the word *zirāʿa* has taken precedence in official and literary circles in the Arab East; but the word *filāḥa* is still very widely used in the language of agricultural workers. The following articles will deal primarily with agricultural methods and techniques. [See further, for settlement and sedentarization, ISKĀN; for irrigation, ḲANĀT, MĀʾ; for land-tenure, IḲṬĀʿ, TENURE OF LAND, and the articles listed under ARḌ].

i. — Middle East

1. — Technical and historical survey. — Agriculture in the Arab countries is under the influence of two different types of climate: in the south of the Arabian peninsula (Yemen, Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān), and also in the Sudan, the Indian monsoon brings abundant rainfall in summer which enables various tropical plants to be cultivated (coffee, datepalms, custard-apples, mangoes, pawpaws, bananas, *catha edulis*, tamarinds etc.). Throughout the rest of the Arab world the mediterranean climate prevails. This climate is characterized by a cold wet winter season, followed by a long summer period which is hot and without rain. The further one goes from the Mediterranean coast the more the rainfall diminishes, until it ceases entirely in certain hot deserts in Arabia and the African Sahara. This basic climatic system divides the zones of Arab countries into two distinct categories; in the first, the extent and distribution of the rainfall favour the economic cultivation of various crops. In the second category the winter rains, though not sufficient to allow of economic cultivation, nevertheless permit the natural growth of certain grasses and various succulent, bulbous and halophytic plants which constitute the pasturages of the desert steppes. In order to make use both of their agricultural land and of the steppes, the Arabs have at all times led two sorts of lives—as a rural or urban sedentary population, and as pastoral nomads.

Nomadism is a necessity in the desert steppes where the winter rainfall varies in extent between 50 and 150 mm., but the Bedouin tribes are not opposed to a sedentary existence. It is in this way that the Yemeni tribes, long before Islam, founded their civilization on irrigation and intensive cultivation of the land. After the Islamic conquests, the Arab tribes soon intermingled with Aramaeans from Syria and ʿIrāḳ, Copts from Egypt and Berbers from north Africa, and with the Ibero-Latins of the Spanish peninsula, in order to exploit together the vast territories of the present Arab countries and of former Muslim Andalusia.

The mediterranean climatic system being everywhere the same, we find throughout these territories three agricultural climates. Firstly, in most of the coastal plains (the coasts of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco), thanks to a mild winter temperature and an annual rainfall of from 500 to 1,000 mm., it is possible without irrigation to cultivate cereals, annual leguminous plants, various vegetables, tobacco, olives in particular, and even cotton. With the help of irrigation, a vast number of annual or perennial agricultural crops can be successfully grown—citrus fruits, bananas, pomegranates, loquats, early vegetables, aromatic or ornamental plants, etc.

Secondly, in the plains, hills and inland plateaus of Syria, Upper Mesopotamia and North Africa, where the density of rainfall varies between 250 and 500 mm., dry-farming is the dominant system of cultivation for vast areas of non-irrigated land. Of the chief annual plants cultivated in these regions we may mention wheat, barley, sorghum, lentils, chick-peas, vetch, gherkins, melons, watermelons and sesame, while the principal fruiting trees and shrubs are olives, vines, figs, hazelnuts and pistachios.

In these regions, irrigation is indispensable for the cultivation of most fruit trees, ornamental trees, vegetables, leguminous and industrial plants—apples, pears, apricots, peaches, eggplant, tomatoes, gumbo, artichokes, potatoes, lucerne, clover, cotton, hemp, groundnuts, poppies, roses, jasmine, etc.

Thirdly, in regions with a desert climate (Lower Mesopotamia, central Arabia, Egypt, inland regions of Libya and North Africa) where rain is rare and the average annual temperature reaches or exceeds 21° C. it is only by means of irrigation that such plants as date-palms, mangoes, orange trees, cotton, rice, sugar-cane and others can be successfully cultivated.

During the Middle Ages, the Arabs were familiar with and cultivated most of the agricultural plants now known to the Arab world. It was they who introduced Seville oranges and lemons from India to ʿUmān, and thence to Baṣra, Egypt and the coast of Syria and Palestine (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 438, viii, 336). From Andalusia and Sicily they disseminated throughout the Mediterranean basin

the cultivation of cotton, sugar-cane, apricots, peaches, rice, carobs, water melons, eggplant, etc. (cf. De Candolle, *L'Origine des plantes cultivées*[5], Paris 1912). Moreover, the European names of many cultivated plants are of Arabic origin, that is to say borrowed directly or indirectly from words either purely Arabic or long Arabicized.

2. — Works on agriculture. — The oldest Arabic work on agriculture which we know is *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (Nabataean agriculture) of Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*], written (or translated from the Nabataean!) in 291/904. A little later there appeared a work entitled *al-Filāḥa al-rūmiyya* (Greek or Byzantine agriculture). This book, published in Cairo in 1293/1876, bears the names of Ḳusṭūs al-Rūmī as author and of Sardjīs b. Hilyā al-Rūmī as translator from Greek into Arabic. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ii, 1447), the author's full name was Ḳusṭūs b. Askūrāskīna, and we think that this is the name of Cassianus Bassus to whom agronomic works collected from Greek and Latin authors are attributed. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa names three other translators of this book, one of them being said to be Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [*q.v.*]. From another source we know that the agronomic work of Anatolius of Berytos (4th century A.D.) had been translated into Syriac by Sardjīs Rāsaʿnī (d. 536 A.D.), and there is reason to believe that this text was also translated subsequently into Arabic and that no manuscripts of it have survived (cf. *BIE*, xiii, 47). In any case, in the two Arabic works that we know (*al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* and *al-Filāḥa al-rūmiyya*), we find a reasonable knowledge of agricultural practice, side by side with superstitious advice.

In Egypt, the best presentation of agricultural questions at the time of the Ayyūbids is to be found in a work of Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209), entitled *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, published in Cairo in 1943 by the Royal Agricultural Society (cf. *MMIA*, xxxiii, 556). In the following century Djamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318) wrote in Cairo the (unpublished) book entitled *Mabāhidj al-fikar wa-manāhidj al-ʿibar*, the fourth volume of which is devoted to plants and agriculture. In the 10th/16th century, a Damascene author named Riyaḍ al-Dīn al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī (935/1529) wrote a large book on agriculture which has not survived; but later ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731) gave a summary of it in a work entitled *ʿAlam al-milāḥa fī ʿilm al-filāḥa* published in Damascus in 1299/1882.

In general, the writers of ancient Arabic works on agriculture dealt with the following subjects: types of agricultural land and choice of land; manure and other fertilizers; tools and work of cultivation; wells, springs, and irrigation channels; plants and nurseries; planting, prunung and grafting of fruit trees; cultivation of cereals, legumes, vegetables, flowers, bulbs and tubers, and plants for perfume; noxious plants and animals; preserving of fruit; and sometimes zootechny.

It may be noted that the writers of these works used several non-classical agricultural terms (*muwallad*; cf. *MMIA*, ii, 193 and xxxiii, 560), and made a distinction between plants which fertilize (legumes) and those which exhaust the soil (cereals and others).

The chief principles of dry-farming were not unknown to them, and similarly the principles of variation and rotation of crops. Certain Arab agronomists in Andalusia had at their disposal botanical gardens and trial grounds where they experimented with native and exotic plants, practised methods of grafting and tried to create new varieties of fruit and flowers. We should also note that several ancient Arabic dictionaries, encyclopaedic works and Arabic treatises on agriculture and botany contain the names of numerous varieties of fruit, cereals, flowers and other cultivated plants. Thus al-Badrī (9th/15th century) in his *Nuzhat al-anām fī maḥāsin al-Shām* gives the names, in Syria, of 21 varieties of apricots, 50 varieties of grapes, 6 varieties of roses, etc.

All the early Arabic (or other) works on agriculture, being based on observation alone, are only of historical and terminological value. It was only in the 19th century that, in Egypt, there appeared the first Arabic agricultural work based on modern science; it was produced by Aḥmad Nadā who, after being sent to France on an educational mission, wrote the two-volume *Ḥusn al-ṣināʿa fī ʿilm al-zirāʿa*, published in Cairo in 1291/1874. At the present time, text books in the Arabic language exist in all branches of agriculture, written by the teachers of the faculties and practical schools of agriculture.

3. — Terminology and literature. — For the Arabic terminology of agronomic science there exists a dictionary compiled by the writer of this article (*Dictionnaire français-arabe des termes agricoles*, Damascus 1943, Cairo 1957), containing about ten thousand terms concisely defined in Arabic.

The Arabic language is rich in agricultural terms, particularly in relation to date-palms, vines, cereals and desert plants (cf. the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīda), and the imagination of the poets of antiquity has endowed it with a vast and original literature on the nature of plants and their connexions with human beings. Not only flowers (roses, narcissi, jasmine, violets, pinks, irises, anemones, etc.) and fruit (dates, apricots, apples, pears, pomegranates, jububes, Neapolitan medlars, quinces, Seville oranges, lemons, etc.) but also a great quantity of cereals, legumes, vegetables and wild plants of the fields , pasturages and prairies are mentioned or described in verse.

4. — Legislation relating to land. — The code on landed property (*Ḳānūn al-arāḍī*) and the civil code (*al-Madjalla*), which were in force in the Arab countries that were separated from the Ottoman Empire after the 1914-8 war, are based on Muslim law (*sharīʿa*) and Muslim jurisprudence (*fiḳh*). The *Madjalla* divides land into five categories: *arḍ mamlūka*, land to which there is a right of ownership; *arḍ amīriyya*, land to which the original title (*raḳaba*) belongs to the State, while its exploitation (*taṣarruf*) can be conceded to individuals (this is the case with most agricultural land); *arḍ mawḳūfa*, land set aside for the benefit of a religious endowment; *arḍ matrūka*, land placed at the disposal of corporate bodies; and lastly *arḍ mawāt*, waste land, defined as free land, situated away from inhabited areas and out of ear-shot of houses. For details see TENURE OF LAND.

The *Madjalla* also defines and codifies questions relating to metayage (*muzāraʿa*), leases for orchard-planting (*musāḳāt*), the repair and clearing of communal watercourses used for irrigation, reclamation of waste land (*iḥyāʾ al-mawāt*), the enclosure (*ḥarīm*) of wells and subterranean watercourses (*ḳanawāt*), etc.

At the present time, the land laws of most of the Arab States, while incorporating substantial improvements, still uphold the principles respecting either the distinction between categories (and sub-categories) of land, or else their legal status and the rights based on them.

According to Muslim jurisprudence, it is the duty

of the State to construct and maintain dams, and also to excavate and clear the main irrigation channels. In former times, this work was carried out either directly by the governors of provinces or by holders of fiefs. The history of the Umayyads and the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs provides examples of the execution of several large-scale irrigation schemes, and also of the repairing of several ancient dams on the Tigris, Euphrates, Khābūr, Orontes and Baradā.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources quoted above: J.-J. Clément-Mullet, *Le Livre de l'Agriculture d'Ibn al-ʿAwwām*, Fr. trans., Paris 1864-7, 2 vols. in 3; Don J. A. Banqueri, *Libro de Agricultura, su autor el doctor excellente A.Z.J.B.M.B. el-ʿAwām*, Ar. text and Span. trans. Madrid 1802, 2 vols.; B. Lewin, *The Book of plants of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī*, Part of the alphabetical section (ز — ا), Leiden 1953; A. Risso and A. Poiteau, *Histoire naturelle des orangers*, Paris 1819, 7-10; G. Schweinfurth, *Arabische Pflanzennamen aus Aegypten, Algerien und Iemen*, Berlin 1912; E. Sauvaigo, *Les cultures sur le littoral de la Méditerranée*, Paris 1913; Ch. Rivière and H. Lecq, *Culture du Midi, de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*, Paris 1915. (MUSTAFA AL-SHIHABI)

ii. — MUSLIM WEST

So far as we know at present, it was exclusively in the Iberian peninsula, the home of the celebrated Latin agronomist Junius Columella of Gades/Cádiz, that an agricultural literature in the Arabic language was created and developed, particularly during the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries , in the brilliant period of the satraps (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*) and the Almoravid governors who followed.

The principal centres of this literature were Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Granada and, to a lesser extent, Almeria. In Cordova the great doctor Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī, who died in 404/1010, known as Albucasis in the Middle Ages, is reputed to be the author of a Compendium on agronomy (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-filāḥa*) which Professor H. Pérès has recently discovered and intends to publish.

In Toledo, at the court of the renowned al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], the great "garden lover", lived the celebrated doctor Ibn Wāfid (d. 467/1075) known as Abenguefith in the Middle Ages. He was appointed by al-Maʾmūn to create his royal botanical garden (*Djannat al-sulṭān*). Among other works, he wrote a treatise (*madjmūʿ*) on agronomy which was translated into Castilian in the Middle Ages. Another inhabitant of Toledo, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Baṣṣāl, devoted himself exclusively to agronomy. He performed the regular pilgrimage, travelling via Sicily and Egypt, and brought back many botanical and agronomic notes from the East. He also was in the service of al-Maʾmūn, for whom he wrote a lengthy treatise on agronomy (*dīwān al-filāḥa*); this work was subsequently abridged into one volume with sixteen chapters (*bāb*), with the title *Kitāb al-Ḳaṣd wa 'l-bayān* "Concision and clarity". This work, which was translated into Castilian in the Middle Ages, was published in 1955 with a modern Castilian introduction. The treatise by Ibn Baṣṣāl is singular in that it contains no reference to earlier agronomists; it appears to be based exclusively on the personal experiences of the author, who is revealed as the most original and objective of all the Hispano-Arabic specialists.

The name of this writer's father has not been established conclusively. Writers who quote from him give the name with or without the definite article; the initial *bāʾ* is sometimes replaced by *fāʾ* (subpunctuated in Maghribī orthography), or the *ṣād* by *ṭāʾ*. Nevertheless the form Baṣāl/Baṣṣāl seems to be the most probable, but it is not certain that it is a name with any etymological connection with *baṣal* "onions". It might be a Romance diminutive in *-él* of the adjective *bāṣo/bāṣṣo* (Castilian *bazo*), "brown", a name borne by several Muslims in Spain; and *Baṣ(ṣ)él* would then be synonymous with the well-attested name of *Maurél*.

After the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI of Castile (478/1085), Ibn Baṣṣāl withdrew to Seville, to the court of al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*] for whom he created a new royal garden.

In Seville Ibn Baṣṣāl again met ʿAlī Ibn al-Lūnḳuh of Toledo, a doctor and disciple of Ibn Wāfid, and like him interested in botany and agronomy. He had left his native town shortly before its capture and settled in Seville in 487/1094. He died at Cordova in 499/1105.

He also encountered Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥadjdjādj al-Ishbīlī, the author of several works on agronomy, among them *al-Muḳniʿ*, written in 466/1073. This writer is distinguished from others by his scorn for "the inadmissible tales of stupid yokels" (*ahl al-ghabāwa min ahl al-barārī wa-aḳwāluhum al-sāḳiṭa*) and his almost exclusive use of ancient agronomists, especially Yūniyūs. However, he also recounts his personal experiences in al-Sharaf. There he became acquainted with the agronomist Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ishbīlī [*q.v.*] whose work, with title unknown, is often quoted by Ibn al-ʿAwwām. All that we know about him is that in 494/1100 he was studying with the Seville doctor Abu 'l-Ḥasan Shihāb al-Muʿayṭī.

In Seville, Ibn Baṣṣāl and Ibn al-Lūnḳuh were the masters of the mysterious "anonymous botanist of Seville", the author of the *ʿUmdat al-ṭabīb fī maʿrifat al-nabāt li-kull labīb*, a botanical dictionary of considerable merit and far superior to that by Ibn al-Bayṭār. He seems to have been a certain Ibn ʿAbdūn, to be distinguished from the doctor (Al-Djabalī) and the literary writer (al-Yāburī). The only fact about him in our possession is that he was a member of the diplomatic mission which went to the Almohad court of Marrākush in 542/1147 and that he wrote his *ʿUmda* after that date.

In Granada, the principal agricultural writer was Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Ṭighnarī (from the name of a village now known as Tignar, a few kilometres north of Granada). He worked in succession in the service of the Ṣanhādjī princeling ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn (466/83/1073-90) and then of the Almoravid prince Tamīm, son of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, at the time when that prince was governor of the province of Granada (501-12/1107-18). It was for the latter that he wrote a treatise on agronomy in twelve books (*maḳāla*) entitled *Zuhrat al-bustān wa-nuzhat al-adhhān*. Al-Ṭighnarī also went on pilgrimage to the East. Probably while staying in Seville he came into contact with Ibn Baṣṣāl and was able to profit from his experiences. It is probably with al-Ṭighnarī that we should identify the anonymous agronomist whom Ibn al-ʿAwwām frequently quotes under the name al-Ḥādjdj al-Gharnāṭī. It should be noted that several manuscripts of the *Zuhrat al-bustān* are attributed to a certain Ḥamdūn al-Ishbīlī, who is otherwise unknown.

Towards the end of the 6th/12th century or in the first half of the 7th/13th century (the capture of Seville by the Christians took place in 646/1248),

Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿAwwām of Seville wrote a lengthy *Kitab al-Filāḥa* in 35 books (*bāb*). We know nothing of his life. To orientalists, however, he is celebrated since he was the first to be published and also translated, into Spanish by J. A. Banqueri, Madrid 1802, then into French by Clément-Mullet, Paris 1864-7, and finally into Urdū. He is also the only agronomist whom Ibn Khaldūn (second half of the 8th/14th century) thought worthy of quoting in his *Muḳaddima* (tr. de Slane, iii, 166; he regards the *K. al-Filāḥa* as an abridged version of *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* [see IBN WAḤSHIYYA]. He is, however, far from being the most important of the Arabo-Hispanic agronomists. His work is essentially an extensive and useful compilation of quotations from ancient writers and from his Hispanic predecessors, Ibn Baṣṣāl, Ibn Ḥadjdjādj, Abu 'l-Khayr and al-Ḥādjdj al-Gharnāṭī. It is only occasionally at the end of a chapter that he records his own personal observations (introduced by the word *Lī* "this is my own"), made in the neighbourhood of Seville, especially in the district of al-Sharaf. For Ibn al-ʿAwwām, see C.C. Moncada in *Actes du 8e Congrès des Orient.*, Stockholm 1889, ii, 215-57; E. Meyer, *Gesch. der Botanik*, iii, 260-6; Brockelmann, S I, 903).

Finally, towards the middle of the 8th/14th century, a scholar of Almeria, Abū ʿUthmān Saʿd b. Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad Ibn Luyūn al-Tudjībī (d. 750/1349) wrote his *Kitāb Ibdā' al-malāḥa wa-inhā' al-radjāḥa fī uṣūl ṣināʿat al-filāḥa*. The work of an amateur, it is an abridgement in verse (*urdjūza*), based essentially on Ibn Baṣṣāl and al-Ṭighnarī; but it also contains certain valuable information which the author recorded in the words of local practitioners (*mimmā shāfahahu bih ahl al-tadjriba wa 'l-imtiḥān*).

These treatises on *filāḥa* contain far more than their titles would indicate; in fact, they are true encyclopaedias of rural economy, based on a plan closely in line with that followed by Columella in his *De re rustica*. Naturally, the essential feature is of course agronomy (*filāḥat al-araḍīn*): the study of types of soil, water, manure; field cultivation of cereals and legumes; but arboriculture is also dealt with at length (particularly vines, olives and figs), with additional matter on pruning, layering and grafting; and also horticulture and floriculture. Zootechny (*filāḥat al-ḥayawānāt*) also takes a leading place: the rearing of livestock, beasts of burden, fowls and bees; veterinary practice (*bayṭara*). All these fundamental questions are completed by chapters on domestic economy: farm management, the choice of agricultural workers, storage of produce after harvest, etc. Some writers also provide information on measurement of land (*taksīr*) and the seasonal agricultural calendar.

We may imagine that specialists of many sorts were led to contribute to such encyclopaedic works. To start with, there were practitioners and professional workers: farmers (*fallāḥūn*), fruit-growers (*shadjdjārūn*), horticulturists (*djannānūn*); but there were also "scientific workers"—herbalists (*ʿashshābūn*), botanists (*nabātiyyūn*), doctors interested in medicinal plants (*mufradāt*) and dietetics; and there were also pure theoreticians (*ḥukamā'*, *mutakallimūn*).

On the other hand, Hispano-Arab treatises on *filāḥa* were often the work of many-sided writers (*mushārikūn, mutafanninūn*). Beside Ibn Baṣṣāl who was essentially an agronomist, Ibn Wāfid was primarily a doctor. Ibn Ḥadjdjādj was described by Ibn al-ʿAwwām as *imām* and *khaṭīb*. Al-Ṭighnarī and Ibn Luyūn are well-known poets. Finally, the enigmatical Seville botanist Ibn ʿAbdūn could well be the same as his contemporary Ibn ʿAbdūn of Seville, the author of a treatise on *ḥisba* [*q.v.*], published and later translated by E. Lévi-Provençal.

In this connexion one is reminded of Aristotle, both philosopher and naturalist and creator of a botanical garden, and Virgil, author of the *Georgics*.

The Hispano-Arab agronomists were familiar with and made wide use of ancient writers. A list of them (in which the names are often inaccurate) will be found at the beginning of the translation edition of Ibn al-ʿAwwām by Banqueri. Among the Arab sources, they made use of *Kitāb al-Nabāt* of the polygraph al-Dīnawarī [*q.v.*] and, in particular, the *Filāḥa nabaṭiyya* of Ibn Waḥshīyya [*q.v.*], though for the most part leaving out his farrago of magic recipes. However, in this branch of instruction they have not confined themselves to repeating their precursors' writings. They made their own personal observations and experiments, in order to adapt their works to the realities of the Spanish soil and climate. They also introduced original chapters on the cultivation of new plants—rice, sugar-cane, date palms, citrus fruits, cotton, flax, madder, apricots, peaches, pears, watermelons, eggplant, pistachios, saffron, etc.

As we have seen, two Arabo-Hispanic treatises on agronomy were translated into Castilian. In this way, Ibn Wāfid's work was widely used by the Spanish agronomist Alonso de Herrera in his famous *Agricultura General* (1513).

Finally we should note that it was in Muslim Spain, during the 5th/11th century, in Toledo and later in Seville, that the first "royal botanical gardens" of Europe made their appearance, both pleasure gardens and also trial grounds for the acclimatization of plants brought back from the Near and Middle East. In the Christian world we have to wait until the middle of the 16th century to see the establishment of gardens of this sort, in the university towns of Italy.

Bibliography: The essentials will be found in the introduction to *Kitāb al-Filāḥa* of Ibn Baṣṣāl, edited with Spanish translation by Millás Vallicrosa and ʿAzīmān (Tetuán 1955). See also: García Gómez, *Sobre agricultura arabigoandaluza*, in *Andalus*, x (1945), 127; Millás Vallicrosa, *ʿIlm al-filāḥa ʿind al-mu'allifīn al-ʿArab bi'l-Andalus*, Ar. trans. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Khaṭīb, Tetuán 1957; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-Ḥidjāl*, ed. Allouche, Rabat 1936 (no. 1352 = biography of Ibn Luyūn); Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, *faṣl* vi, no. 20 = trans. de Slane, iii, 165 = tr. Rosenthal, iii, 151; S. M. Imamuddin, Al-Filāḥah (*Farming*) *in Muslim Spain*, in *Islamic Studies*, i/4 (1962), 51-89.

(G. S. COLIN)

iii.—PERSIA

Agriculture in Persia was from earliest times regarded as the fundamental basis of the prosperity of the country. From early times also there has been a dichotomy between the agricultural and the pastoral elements of the population. The Avesta was unequivocal in its approval of the settled life of the peasant and of the practice of agriculture. Agricultural prosperity, which was also in Islamic times traditionally regarded as the basis upon which stable government rested, was closely connected with irrigation [see MĀ'], security, and taxation.

Rulers were urged by mediaeval Islamic theorists to foster agriculture in order to ensure a full treasury and thus prevent the decay of the kingdom. To this end irrigation works were to be carried out, security established, and extortion against the peasantry prevented. The philosophers and encyclopaedists similarly regarded agriculture as the basic industry, upon which the good order of the world and the perpetuation of the human race depended (cf. Maḥmūd Āmulī, *Nafāʾis al-funūn*, Tehrān, ii, 159).

Invasion and dynastic struggles have been the cause of frequent interruption in, not to say decay of, agriculture. For example in Khūzistān, where there had been considerable development under the Sāsānians, the agricultural economy failed to return quickly to its previous level after the Arab invasion in the first half of the seventh century A.D. and there was until modern times a cumulative, though not uninterrupted, decline (R. A. Adams, *Agriculture and urban life in early south-western Iran*, in *Science*, vol. 136, no. 3511, 13 April 1962). The quartering of soldiers on the population in Būyid times appears to have materially contributed to agricultural decline (cf. Ibn Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, ii, 96, and Ibn al-Athīr *Taʾrīkh*, viii, 342). It has always been the practice of government officials, civil and military, to live upon the country, a custom highly detrimental to agriculture. At no time, perhaps, did the evils of the system reach greater heights than under the Īlkhāns (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Gesch. Ġāzān Ḫān's*, ed. K. Jahn, *passim*). In the Ḳādjār period the evil was also widespread. In times of war, continuous or intermittent, it was sometimes the practice deliberately to lay waste frontier areas. Thus the Turco-Persian frontier area in Ṣafawid times was reduced to a desert (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 140). Many examples at different periods of Persian history could be cited of local officials imposing such severe contributions on the cultivators of the soil as to cause their dispersal and thus lead to the ruin of their land.

Tribal warfare and raiding was another major cause of agricultural decay. Such raiding was common whenever the central government weakened; further, when the tribal population and its flocks rose above the level which could be maintained by the limited pasture available, either because of a period of drought or because of natural increase, there would be a movement, violent or otherwise, into the settled areas. The balance between the settled and semi-settled elements of the population was extremely precarious, and inevitably adversely affected agriculture on the borders of the tribal regions. Various tribal groups, notably in Fārs, during the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became settled and practised agriculture. Riḍā Shāh made an abortive attempt to settle the nomadic population of the country, notably in Fārs, the Bakhtiyārī, and parts of Kurdistān. Since about 1956 there has been a movement by Turkomans and others to reclaim the Gurgān steppe.

Another factor militating against agricultural development has been insecurity of tenure both as regards the peasant and the landowner [see TENURE OF LAND].

Agriculture is also subject to interruption by the capricious nature of the climate. Drought, due to insufficient spring or winter rain, causing partial or complete crop failures, and floods, with the accompanying destruction of irrigation channels and *ḳanāts*, are of common occurrence. Earthquakes have also been a contributory factor causing local and temporary dislocation. Ravages by pests, notably the *sunn* pest and locusts, not infrequently cause heavy losses. High winds in many areas and violent hailstorms are other detrimental factors. Deterioration of the soil because of a change in the water table due to over-lavish irrigation or inadequate drainage, or both, is a major problem in some parts of the country, especially Khūzistān and Sīstān; and in some places on the central plateau the soil is salty and the water too saline to be used for irrigation. On the south and south-east borders of the central desert there is a marked tendency for the desert to encroach upon the surrounding area (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat*, 142, *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Bahār, Tehrān 1936-8, 21). Soil erosion is widespread, notably in Ādharbāydjān. Its primary causes are climatic and geological, but uncontrolled grazing by goats and the destruction of forests for fuel have steadily increased the tendency towards erosion. Little attention has been given to its control or reduction by modifying existing practices of arable and animal husbandry, or by contour ploughing, which is made difficult by the relatively small size of the holdings. Terracing in mountain valleys, however, is often carried out with considerable skill.

Irrigated and dry farming are both practised, the latter in large areas of Ādharbāydjān and Kurdistān, and to a lesser extent in Khurāsān and Fārs, and on the Caspian littoral for crops other than rice. Everywhere with the exception of the Caspian littoral rainfall is the main limiting factor on agriculture. Gīlān and Māzandarān have a relatively heavy rainfall, well distributed throughout the year with a maximum in early autumn, varying from 50-60 inches in the west to 20 inches in the east and rising to over 100 inches on the northern slopes of the Elburz. The natural vegetation is thick deciduous forest, found up to a height of 7,000-8,000 ft.; where this is cleared fruit, rice, cotton, and other crops thrive. The eastern end of the Persian Gulf littoral comes under the influence of the south-west monsoon. The average rainfall in the coastal district of Persian Balūčistān is 3-4 inches; Bushire has an average rainfall of about 10 inches; and Khūzistān 12-15 inches, with a maximum in December. The plateau, the average elevation of which varies between 3,000-5,000 ft., is ringed by mountain ranges, the general trend of which is from north-west to south-east. The seasons on the plateau are regular but considerable variations of climate are found. Within the mountains the plateau lies in the rain shadow. In general the 10 inch rainfall line follows the inner foothills of the Zagros-Elburz-Kopet Dagh ring of mountains and marks the boundary between areas where cereals can be cultivated extensively without irrigation and areas dependent upon irrigation. The summer grazing of the nomadic tribes also lies in or near the 10 inch line. Rain begins in November and continues intermittently to the end of March and, in the south and north-east, to the end of April. Heavy snowfalls are common in winter. Vegetation is limited but some forest is found in Kurdistān and Luristān; and a narrow belt of oak forest in Fārs. Considerable areas, notably in Ādharbāydjān, Kurdistān, and northern Fārs consist of mountain pasture. South-east of Tehrān are two great salt deserts, the Dasht-i Kavīr and the Dasht-i Lūt, which together with Sīstān have a relatively low elevation. The climate of Sīstān is one of extremes and the average annual rainfall only 2½ inches. It is estimated that only 10-14 per cent of the total area of the whole country is under cultivation. Some 30

to 35 per cent is desert and waste. The remainder is grazing-land and forest.

Grain crops. Wheat and barley are the staple crops and are grown as irrigated (*ābī*) and unirrigated (*daymī*) crops up to an elevation of about 10,000 ft. Maize and millet have also been widely grown throughout the country since early times (cf. B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 387). Wheat is mainly grown as a winter crop; but in the high valleys of the Zagros and Elburz it is also grown as a spring crop. The regions with the greatest production of wheat are the neighbourhood of Mas̲h̲had in K̲h̲urāsān, western Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, Hamadān, Kirmāns̲h̲āh, and Iṣfahān. In south Persia wheat and barley are sown between the first week in November and the first week in January, and in central Persia between the end of October and the end of November; and spring wheat between the end of February and the end of April. Wheat is harvested in the south about the end of April or the beginning of May; in the upland areas of Fārs about a month later, and on the plateau some two to two and a half months later. Barley is harvested about three to four weeks earlier than wheat (cf. Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān, *D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. M. Sutūdeh, Tehrān 1953-4,55 ff.). The yield on wheat varies greatly in different parts of the country. In general it is low. The peasant normally saves part of his crop for the following year's seed.

Rice. The main rice-growing area is in the Caspian provinces. Some rice is also grown in the Lind̲j̲ān and Alind̲j̲ān districts of Iṣfahān (*D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, 55 ff.) and, on a small scale, in Fārs, K̲h̲ūzistān, Kurdistān and other districts (Spuler, *op. cit.*, 387, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat*, 162, 163, Sanīʿ al-Dawla, *Maʾāt̲h̲ir al-āt̲h̲ār*, Tehrān, lith. 1888-9, 115). According to tradition rice was originally imported from India (*Kitāb-i ʿIlm-i filāḥat wa zirāʿat dar ʿahd-i G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān*, ed. ʿAbd al-G̲h̲affār Nad̲j̲m al-Dawla, Tehrān 1905-6, 86). In some areas rice is sown broadcast, but in the main rice-growing areas such as Māzandarān and Iṣfahān it is sown in nurseries (*k̲h̲azāna*) and transplantation (*nis̲h̲āʾ*) takes place after a month. In Māzandarān the land is ploughed in April, flooded and then ploughed twice more. A fortnight after transplanting weeding (*vid̲j̲īn*) begins, the weeds being trampled into the mud. The rice fields are kept permanently under water for two to three months. Rice is reaped in September. The main varieties are known as *ṣadrī*, *girda*, *dum-i siyāh* and *ʿambarbū* (see also J. B. Fraser, *Travels and adventures in the Persian provinces*, London 1826, 119-20).

Sugar cane. This was mainly grown in K̲h̲ūzistān in early Islamic times and in the middle ages (cf. Spuler, *op. cit.*, 388, *Kitāb-i ʿIlm-i filāḥat wa zirāʿat*, 102); and to a minor extent in Māzandarān. In the later middle ages its cultivation in K̲h̲ūzistān died out. An attempt was made in Ḳād̲j̲ār times to revive it (*Waḳāyiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya*, Tehrān,no. 55), and also to cultivate sugar cane in Gīlān (*Maʾāt̲h̲ir al-āt̲h̲ār*, 118) and Iṣfahān (*D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, 58). In recent years the cultivation of sugar cane in K̲h̲ūzistān has begun on a more extensive scale as a result of new irrigation developments. Planting takes place in March or April and the cane is cut in November.

Sugar beet. An abortive attempt was made to introduce sugar beet by a Belgian company at Kahrīzak near Tehrān in 1886-7. Under Riḍā S̲h̲āh the cultivation of sugar beet was encouraged and it is widely cultivated at the present day especially in the Tehrān, Tabrīz, Kirmāns̲h̲āh, S̲h̲īrāz, Kirmān, and Mas̲h̲had areas.

Cotton. This appears to have been widely grown on the plateau in early Islamic times (Spuler, *op. cit.*, 389; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat*, 52, and *passim*). American sea island cotton was first introduced into the Urūmiyya region about the year 1852 from whence its cultivation spread (*Letters from Persia written by Charles and Edward Burgess 1828-1855*, ed. B. Schwarz, New York 1942, 117). During the reign of Riḍā S̲h̲āh a long stapled variety was introduced and came to be known locally as *filistānī* (from the village where it was first cultivated). This variety is grown in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, Kirmāns̲h̲āh, Fārs, and K̲h̲ūzistān. A shorter stapled American variety is grown in the Caspian provinces, including Gurgān, and a native short stapled variety of inferior quality but hardy growth is grown in marginal areas. Cotton is grown as an irrigated crop up to an elevation of about 5,000 ft. It is sown in April or May and reaped in the autumn. The land is normally watered once before sowing and the crop is irrigated several times during the period of vegetation. Cotton is the main cash crop of Persia. It is also grown extensively for its seed, which yields an edible oil (cf. *D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, 56).

Tobacco. This is grown in many districts for local use and especially in the north-west and south-east Zagros and in the Caspian provinces. It appears to have been first cultivated in Persia in the 11th/17th century, having been introduced by the Portuguese in the early part of that century. It began to be cultivated in Gīlān in 1875-6 (Taḳī Bahrāmī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i kis̲h̲āvarzī-i Īrān*, Tehrān 1951-2).

Opium. It is difficult to establish when the opium poppy was first cultivated in Persia. Muḥammad b. Zakariyā (Rhazes) refers to the wild and cultivated poppy. By the end of the 11th/17th century opium cultivation was well established (cf. Kaempfer, *Amoenitas Exoticae*). It spread in the nineteenth century as an alternative to the declining silk industry. It was first introduced into Fārs in 1868-9 (Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs nāma-i Nāṣirī*, Tehrān 1894-6, ii, 3). The main opium-growing areas, until the prohibition of the cultivation of the opium poppy, which was first made in 1953 and became effective in 1956, were Iṣfahān, Fārs, and K̲h̲urāsān; it was also grown in Hamadān and Kirmānshāh. The best opium came from Ābāda, Kirmān, Yazd, Burūd̲j̲ird, and Varāmīn. The seed is sown from October to December, or more rarely in spring. The crop is weeded and thinned in spring; and irrigated during May and June. The collection of the sap begins in May, or a month earlier in the hotter districts of the south, and continues until August. A vertical or diagonal incision is made in the seed capsule in the evening; the sap oozes from the incisions during the night, partially dries, and is scraped off with a blunt knife the next morning. This operation is performed twice or, if the crop is exceptionally good, three times at an interval of several days (A. R. Neligan, *The opium question with special reference to Persia*, London 1927).

Tea. An abortive attempt was made by Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla to introduce the cultivation of tea into Māzandarān in the late nineteenth century. Subsequently there was some cultivation on a small scale; in 1928-9 seed was imported from the Far East, since when there has been a great expansion in tea cultivation in western Māzandarān.

Silk. This is a traditional product of Persia. In the 7th/13th century the silk trade was important; the high water mark in the production of silk was reached in the 11th/17th century. In the nineteenth

century production declined because of a disease among the silk worms, which began in 1864. New strains were subsequently introduced (Taḳī Bahrāmī, *op. cit.*, 99 ff.). Mulberry trees, on the leaves of which the silk worms feed, are widespread throughout the country, especially in the north. In northern Persia a curious custom exists for the hatching of the eggs of the silk worm. These are attached to a piece of paper and exposed to the warmth of the human body by being worn next to the skin (Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, i, 189 ff.; Curzon, *Persia*, i, 369; see also ḤARĪR).

Minor crops. Pulses and oil seeds are widely cultivated; and some fodder crops, such as lucerne and clover. A great variety of vegetables is grown especially near urban centres. Potatoes were introduced into Persia by Sir John Malcolm during the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (*Maʾāthir al-āt̲h̲ār*, 112; Kaye, *Life and correspondence of Major-General Sir John Malcolm*, ii, 47-8). Dye-plants, mainly in the central Zagros region and Kirmān, and other plants used in industry such as saffron, hemp, flax and, in the Dizful and S̲h̲ustar areas, indigo (which was introduced by the Būyid, ʿAḍud al-Dawla, see Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, viii, 513), madder, and, round Yazd and Kirmān, henna, and, in Māzandarān, jute, have been cultivated since early times (cf. Spuler, *op. cit.*, 389). Vegetable gums, including gum tragacanth and asafoetida, are cropped mainly for export. The latter was known in early Islamic times (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 108-10). Oak-gall is produced mainly in Kurdistān. A variety of flowers and a kind of willow were cultivated for scent (Spuler, *op. cit.*, 389-90); the former also contributed to bee-keeping.

Fruit. Persia has been famous for fruit-growing since early times (cf. Spuler, *op. cit.*, 388). Many varieties of vine are cultivated and found up to an altitude of 4,500 ft. Vine cultivation is mainly by irrigation, except in some areas of Kurdistān. On the plateau the vines are covered with earth in the winter. Apricots, peaches, nectarines, figs, melons, pomegranates, plums, cherries, pears, and apples are widely grown. Citrus fruits are important in the Caspian provinces and south Persia, especially in K̲h̲ūzistān and southern Fārs. Recently citrus cultivation has been extended to Bam. Dates are widely cultivated in south Persia and on the coastal plains bordering the Persian Gulf. The female plant is impregnated by the male in March or April, some two males going to a plantation of fifty (cf. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, who was aware of this peculiarity of the date palm, *Ak̲h̲lāḳ-i Nāṣirī*, Tehrān n.d., 25-6). Nut trees, especially almonds and pistachios, are of importance. Olives were cultivated in early Islamic times in Nīs̲h̲āpūr, Gurgān, Daylam, and Fārs (Spuler, *op. cit.*, 387). The main area of cultivation at the present day is Rūdbār in Māzandarān, where cultivation increased after the decline of silk production in the middle of the nineteenth century (T. E. Gordon, *Persia revisited*, London 1896, 163; Curzon, *Persia*, i, 368). The grafting of vines and other fruit trees has long been practised (cf. Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Rāzī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, B.M., OR. 2972, ff. 132a-133b and *Čahārdah risāla*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Sabzawārī, Tehrān 1962, 146-51). At the present day in Kirmān and Fārs almonds and pistachios are grafted on to the wild almond tree (*bāna*).

Although large landownership has been the dominant form of land tenure, large-scale farming was not (and is not) practised, except exceptionally. The agricultural unit was the ploughland (*d̲j̲uft*, *k̲h̲is̲h̲*, *zawd̲j̲*) and agriculture was carried on mainly as subsistence agriculture; this is still predominantly the case. Broadly the ploughland consists of an area which a pair of oxen can cultivate annually; but it varies in size according to the nature of the soil, the type of agriculture practised (dry or irrigated), practices with regard to fallow, the kind of crops grown, the draught animals used, and the pressure or otherwise on the land. The average ploughland ranges from some 60 to 20 acres; but in some areas holdings are much smaller, as for example in Mārbīn, one of the districts of Iṣfahān, where cultivation is mainly carried on by spade. The relation between the peasant and the landowner was formerly usually regulated, and to some extent still is, by a crop-sharing agreement (*muzāraʿa* [*q.v.*]). The ploughland or peasant-holding is usually run as a family concern by the peasant and his sons or other members of the family; extra labour may be required at harvest time and at certain other seasons of the year. In some areas three or four ploughlands are run together as a unit (*buna*). Periodical redistribution of the ploughlands among the peasants of a village used to take place, usually by lot, in some districts.

The main draught animal used on the plateau is the ox. Donkeys and, especially in K̲h̲ūzistān, mules, and in the Persian Gulf littoral, Miyāndoāb (in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān), and Mahābād (in Kurdistān), buffaloes, and in Persian Balūčistān, the camel, are also used. In some areas, notably Sīstān, oxen are hired for ploughing to the cultivators by graziers. Where the soil is stiff more than one pair of draught animals may be required (cf. Morier, *Second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the year 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, 304). Donkeys and camels are the main pack-animals. Small bullock carts are found in western Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and some of the Armenian villages in Firaydan.

The plough (*k̲h̲īs̲h̲*) used is of the hook type having a large or small steel share. The plough beam is linked to the yoke by means of a rope sling. There is no mould board and the soil is ripped open leaving an open, coarse, cloddy tilth. There are slight differences between the plough used in (i) Fārs, Kirmān, and Sīstān, (ii) Iṣfahān, Hamadān, Tehrān, and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, and (iii) Gīlān and Māzandarān. Seed is sown broadcast.

In addition to the plough, a kind of harrow (*māla*) is used; it differs slightly in shape in south and central Persia on the one hand and north-west Persia on the other. Two kinds of levelling board are in use, a relatively large board drawn by a draught animal, and a smaller board (known in central Persia as *katar*), which is used for the preparation of irrigation check banks, and operated by two men, one pulling and the other pushing. Three types of spade are used, one in Fārs, which has a wooden cross bar, the second in central Persia, which has a turned footrest, and the third in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, which has a rolled edge.

Grain is cut with a sickle (*dās*) which has a plain cutting edge; scythes are used in northern Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, where they were introduced from Russia at the end of the nineteenth century. A small toothed sickle is used for cutting grass and lucerne, etc. Corn is tied into sheaves and left to dry or carried straight to the threshing floor (*k̲h̲armangāh*). Pod crops, such as peas, beans, linseed, and carraway seed, are mainly threshed by beating with rods; and in those parts of the country where draught animals are scarce, corn is also threshed in this way. A threshing board, the bottom surface of which is studded with sharp

pieces of flint stone held in position by wooden wedges, is used to thresh grain. It is attached by a rope to a yoke and drawn, while a man stands on it, in a circle by an ox or oxen or other animal over the threshing floor. A threshing wheel or wain (*čūn*, ?*čān*) is used, especially in north-eastern, central and south Persia. This is a sledge-like carriage, usually drawn by two oxen with two sets of rollers, which turn round as the sledge beams slide over the sheaves. The rollers carry sharp-edged steel discs, sometimes with fine saw teeth, or have steel knives or prongs with sharp edges, one roller having the edges parallel to the axis, and the other having them at right angles. In some parts of Ādharbāydjān the wain has wooden spokes. The third method of threshing is for the grain to be trodden out by strings of oxen, donkeys, or horses driven round the threshing floor. Winnowing is done by wooden forks, the grain being thrown six or seven feet into the air. The grain drops straight down while the chaff is carried by the wind and settles on a separate heap. A second winnowing done by wooden shovels is sometimes necessary. Finally the grain is sifted to separate it from the stones and earth with which it may have become mixed during threshing and winnowing. Two men can winnow and sift 20-25 cwt. of corn a day. Donkeys and other pack animals take the grain in sacks to the granaries. The chaff is removed in nets and used as fodder for horses, donkeys and oxen (H. E. Wulff, *Agricultural implements in Persia*, in *Power farming and better farming digest*, Sidney, Oct. 1958).

Sheep and goats are commonly grazed on stubble fields, which thus receive a slight benefit from their manure. For the most part, however, animal dung is used as fuel. In some dry farming areas there is insufficient rainfall to rot the manure even if it were used. Household sewage mixed with earth is used as fertilizer in some areas, especially round urban centres. Earth from old walls and ruined buildings is also broken down and spread on the fields (cf. J. B. Fraser, *Winter's journey*, London 1838, ii, 65). Gardens tend to be manured more regularly than fields and to be cultivated annually. Pigeon lime, collected in pigeon towers, is used in the Iṣfahān district for the cultivation of melons and pear trees (cf. Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1711, ii, 75). Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī mentions the use of bird lime and weed-killers (*Djāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, f. 132a). Fish manure is used in Kirmān for pistachio trees. Chemical fertilizers have been introduced in recent years but their use is comparatively rare.

Practices in fallow, during which the land may or may not be ploughed, and crop rotation vary very widely. Unirrigated land tends to be left fallow for long periods. Irrigation is usually by inundation. In vineyards, melon land, and market gardens the water is let into the land by irrigation trenches. In land watered by *ḳanāt*s the tendency is to cultivate more intensively the land nearest the mouth of the *ḳanāt* to avoid water loss while that at the end of the *ḳanāt* is less frequently cultivated.

In many parts of Persia the crops have to be guarded, especially at night, to prevent depredations by wild pig and other animals. Scarecrows (*matarsak*) are erected in some districts (cf. C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, London 1900, 168, 283).

In recent years there has been some development in mechanization. An increasing number of tractors and combine harvesters have been in use especially since 1952, but the numbers are still relatively small except in Dasht-i Gurgān, where cultivation in the grain-growing areas has been wholly, and in the cotton-growing areas, partially mechanized.

The state did not interest itself in the conduct of agriculture except so far as crown lands (*khāliṣa*) were concerned; though it was interested in the prosperity or otherwise of agriculture from the point of view of taxation. A Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Welfare, was first founded in 1879; at the same time an Agricultural Council was set up. In 1891-2 the department of agriculture and commerce was transferred to the Ministry of National Economy and Roads. The following year departments general of agriculture, commerce, and industry were set up. In 1893-4 agriculture and industry were once more united in one department, but were subsequently again divided. In 1897-8 the Ministry of Crown Lands (*wizārat-i khāliṣadjāt wa raḳabāt-i dār al-khilāfa*) became the Ministry of Crown Lands and Agriculture. Subsequently crown lands (*khāliṣa*) were transferred to the Ministry of Finance. During the constitutional period agriculture suffered various vicissitudes administratively. The first agricultural magazine to be published was a fortnightly journal of agriculture and commerce issued in 1880 by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

The first agricultural school in Persia was the Madrasa-i Muẓaffarī at Tehrān which was opened in 1901-2. It closed after six years. The next attempt to open an agricultural school was at Karadj near Tehrān in 1919. This became a high school in 1933-4 and a college in 1943-4. In 1948-9 it was transferred from the Ministry of Agriculture to Tehran University and in 1952-3 separated into two colleges, the college of agriculture and the college of veterinary science, which were fully incorporated into the university. Experimental work is done in government agricultural stations, notably at Karadj.

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iv. — Ottoman Empire

During the period between the 8th/14th and 11th/17th centuries, when the *tīmār* [*q.v.*] system prevailed in the Ottoman Empire, the *raḳabe*, *i.e.*, the freehold

ownership of agricultural lands was regarded as vested in the State. The tenure of lands held as *waḳf* and *mülk* in the pre-Ottoman Muslim states of Anatolia was in part confirmed, but Meḥemmed II converted some of them to *mīrī*-land (see *IA*, s.v. Mehmed II, 533), as he did the land belonging to Christian monasteries in the territories of Trebizond (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliye defter no. 828): generally speaking the central authority, when it was powerful, attempted to increase the extent of *mīrī*-land.

According to the typical *ʿörfī ḳānūns* promulgated in these centuries [see ḲĀNŪN], land was granted on lease to farmers in parcels usually termed *čift* or *čiftlik* [*q.v.*]. The peasant could not transfer these *raʿiyyetlik* lands as *mülk* or as *waḳf* or as a gift. If he wished to sell them or give them up he was obliged to obtain the permission of the *sipāhī* and pay a fixed charge, the *ḥaḳḳ-i ḳarār* (in the 11th/17th century, 3% of the selling price). Thus the peasant possessed merely the right of usufruct (*istighlāl*); and this right could pass directly only to his sons (for the later recognized rights of daughters and other relatives, see Ö. L. Barkan, *Türk toprak hukuku ...*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 358-421). The *čift* unit of land could not be divided: if more than one son inherited they enjoyed the usufruct jointly. In principle, the peasant could not leave this land: if he did, he was obliged to pay the *čift bozan resmi* (50 *aḳče* [*q.v.*] in the 9th/15th, 75 *aḳče* in the 10th/16th century; as the number of peasants leaving the land increased so the *čift bozan resmi* was increased, with the fall in the value of the *aḳče*, to 300 *aḳče*s). If the peasant left the land unworked for more than three years, the timariot could grant it to another. The use to which the land was put could not be changed: agricultural land, for example, could not be converted to pasture, vegetable-growing or fruit-growing. Agricultural land turned over to vine- or vegetable-growing without the *sipāhī*'s permission could, if less than ten years had passed, be restored to its former use. The State expected the peasant to sow a definite quantity of seed on land of a given area. Vineyards and vegetable-gardens near towns or around houses were exempt from these regulations, being subject to the *sharʿī* rules of ownership. The status of the land and the farmer was confirmed by the *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*] carried out at fixed intervals.

The problem in the Ottoman Empire was not shortage of land but shortage of labour; and it is probably for this reason that the peasant was bound to the soil. On the *tīmār*s there were several areas of untenanted land, known as *mezraʿa* and *ekinlik*. The State was concerned above all to prevent the peasants abandoning the land and moving away: the *sipāhī* who provoked this was severely punished, while those who could persuade farmers to settle on vacant land were rewarded. The *taḥrīr* registers of the time of Süleymān I, however, show that new land, referred to as *ifrâzāt*, had then been brought under cultivation, for at this period the population had increased considerably and the State encouraged the cultivation of *mawāt* lands, heretofore left unused; such lands were exempt from *tapu resmi* until the next *taḥrīr* was carried out.

A further degree in State control of the land and of agriculture is found in the active participation by the State, exemplified particularly in rice-growing. Under this system, applied with the object of ensuring supplies for the army, rice-growing was carried out under the supervision of *emīn*s, responsible for the administrative and financial organization, and of *čeltik reʾisleri*, responsible for the actual cultivation. Every *čeltikdji* was obliged to sow a definite amount of seed on a definite area, both prescribed by the State. The irrigation-canals were kept in repair under the supervision of the *reʾis*. From the harvested rice, after seed had been set aside, the State took one-half (in some areas two-thirds). As compensation for this, the *čeltikdjiler* so organized were exempt from certain taxes (mainly the *resm-i čift*, *resm-i ghanem*, *ʿawāriḍ*; for the *čeltikdjiler* see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 54, 202-3, 205; for a *čeltik ḳānūnu* see Ankara Un., DTCF library, Ismail Saip collection MS 5120, 130-9). The cultivation of rice was introduced into Rūmeli by the Ottomans, and extensive rice-fields under State control appeared in the valleys of the Merič (Maritsa), Karasu, Vardar and Salambria (see M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, Istanbul 1952, 125-50). A similar system of State participation prevailed in the villages which, in order to ensure the food-supply of Istanbul, were created in the vicinity of the city by the settlement of prisoners of war, '*ortaḳdjī ḳullar*' (see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 86-109, and idem, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda Osmanlı imperatorluğunda toprak işçiliğinin organizasyonu şekilleri*, in *Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, i (1939), 29-74, 198-245, 397-447. On the food supply of the capital see further W. Hahn, *Die verpflegung Konstantinopels durch staatliche Zwangswirtschaft*, Stuttgart 1926; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1962, 179-213).

Thus the principal characteristic of the classical Ottoman land-system was direct State control of the peasant and the soil, a system which had grown up to meet the military and financial needs of an absolutist administration, and in which the state's main concern was to ensure the revenues of the *tīmār*s. This *tīmār* organization and the Ottoman land-system broke up in the period of anarchy which began at the end of the 10th/16th century (see Ḳoči Beg, *Risāle*, ed. A. K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 24-56). Lack of settled conditions and heavy taxes caused the peasantry to abandon the soil in droves: in the first half of the 11th/17th century this movement from the land reached disastrous proportions and was called 'the great flight', '*büyük ḳačḳun*' (see M. Akdağ, *Türkiyenin iktisadî vaziyeti*, in *Belleten*, xiii/51 (1949), 537-64, xiv/55 (1950), 319-405). In many districts local dignitaries and Janissaries turned the abandoned agricultural land into pastures for their flocks of sheep (M. Akdağ, *Belleten*, xiv, 374, 394). The new *ḳānūn*s concerning the use of land and the *raʿāyā* which were promulgated in the early 11th/17th century (they are found together in *MTM*, i (1331), 49-112, 305-48) are the result of efforts to solve this problem.

In the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries the most important change in agricultural conditions was brought about by the spread of the systems of *muḳāṭaʿa* and *iltizām* [*qq.v.*]. There arose a new class of *aghas*, *aʿyān* and derebeys [*qq.v.*] in Rūmeli and Anatolia who, holding possession of the land for life, became in practice great land-owners (for Western Anatolia see Ç. Uluçay, *18.ve 19. yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da eşkiyalık ve halk hareketleri*, Istanbul 1955; see further A. F. Miller, *Mustafa Pasha Bayraktar*, Moscow 1947). Although Maḥmūd II succeeded, after 1227/1812, in putting down the great *aʿyān*s and derebeys, the village *agha*s and the lesser *aʿyān* maintained themselves as the ruling class in the social sphere. In many areas the peasant had now sunk to the position of tenant or share-cropper on the lands held as *muḳāṭaʿa* by the *agha*s: in this state of affairs is to be found the basic reason for the

peasant risings in the Balkans in the 19th century (see H. İnalcık, *Tanzimat nedir?*, in *Tarih araştırmaları*, Ankara 1941, 237-63).

Difficulties of communication meant that agricultural products were in general disposed of in local markets. Cereals were distributed further afield only in areas near the coasts or in the vicinity of cities or along the great military routes. In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries Venice bought large quantities of cereals from Western Anatolia, Thrace and Thessaly (see F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Senat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, i-iii, Paris 1958-60). In the same period cotton and dried fruits were exported from Western Anatolia to countries in the north (this appears particularly from the customs-registers of Akkerman and Kili, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliye no. 6). From the 9th/16th century onwards increased trade with Western Europe led to an increase in the export of the cotton and cotton goods of Western Anatolia (P. Masson, *Hist. du commerce français dans le Levant*, Paris 1896-1911, appendix VIII; E. Arup, *Studier i Engelsk og Tysk Handelshistorie*, Copenhagen 1907, 109 ff., 191 ff.). In the the 19th century, as was observed by P. de Tchichatchef (*Asie Mineure*, 3 vols., Paris 1867), G. Perrot (*Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mincure*, Paris 1867) and A. Ubicini (*Lettres sur la Turquie*, Paris 1851, 244-65), the agricultural methods of the peasantry were dictated entirely by tradition. In this field ethnographical observations (e.g. Hâmit Z. Koşay, *Türkiye halkının maddî kültürüne dair araştırmalar*, in *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, i (1956), 7-55; *Contribution à l'étude de la culture matérielle des Bulgares*, in *Bulletin du Musée Nat. d'Ethnographie à Sofia*, viii, 55-109, x-xi, 130-65, xii, 62-85) can be supplemented from the *ḳānūns* for sandjaḳs and notes in the registers concerning agriculture and irrigation (see, *e.g.*, Barkan, *Kanunlar*, and *Monumenta Turcica*, i, Sarajevo 1957). The *mufaṣṣal defterler* [see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ] contain much material—as yet unstudied—on the crops grown in various areas and their productivity; the various agricultural implements are to be found listed in the *ḳāḍīs*' registers of effects (*metrūkāt*). The Anatolian peasant divided his land into three or two sections, and followed the principle of leaving each fallow for two years or one year (*nadas*, see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, s.v.). Important details on the irrigation methods employed in the Ilkhānid period in Anatolia are found in the letters of Rashīd al-Dīn (see Z. V. Togan, *Reşideddin'in mektûplarında Andadolu'nun iktisadî ve medenî hayatına ait kayıtlar*, in *Ist. Ün. Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1953-4), 33-50; Khwādja Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Kitāb-i Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. M. Shafi, Lahore 1363/1935, 220-30, 234-6). In the Ottoman period, in arid districts like Central Anatolia and Diyārbakr there was a special régime for irrigation (for this *mīrāblīḳ* see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 42, 46; *Ḳānūnnāme* of Süleymān, *TOEM* Supplement, 65-6).

The Ottomans were naturally acquainted with Muslim works on *ʿilm al-filāḥa*. The *K. al-Filāḥa* of Shaykh Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. al-ʿAwwām was translated into Turkish in 998/1599 by Muṣṭafā b. Luṭf Allāh (MSS: Bayezid Lib., Veliyeddin 2534, Bursa müzesi E 32; Ist. Univ. Lib.). Two works by Ottoman authors were well-known: *Rawnaḳ-i būstān* by al-Ḥādjdj Ibrāhīm b. Meḥemmed (MS: Süleymaniye, Esad Ef. 1019; editions: Istanbul 1260; Konya 1285; and ed. Hadiye Tunçer [in modern script, unsatisfactory], Ankara 1961), and *Gharsnāme* by Kemānī, composed in 1047/1637 (see *Türk ziraat tarihine bir bakış* [I. Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi yayını], Istanbul 1938, 43). Both these works are concerned with the growing of fruit trees, and contain chapters on the soil, planting, pruning, grafting, the diseases of trees and their treatment. The author of the *Rawnaḳ-i būstān* discussed in a final section the gathering and keeping of fruit; he had himself, he says, made an orchard near Edirne and added to the data of books on *filāḥa* what he had learned from experience.

In the history of horticulture, the Ottomans hold an especial position as cultivators of flowers, particularly tulips, in the 12th/18th century (see Djewād Rüshdī, in *Edebiyyāt-i ʿUmūmiyye Medjmūʿasī*, nos. 29, 35, 36). At the Palace, there was a separate corps of flower-gardeners controlled by the *shükūfe-bashī* (*čičekči-bashī*) (see Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*², ii, 224-5). There was overt competition among great men to raise new varieties, a successful grower receiving the title *ṣāḥib-i tukhm*. In that century the Ottomans are said to have produced 839 types of tulip (A. Refīḳ, *Lāle devri*, 46-7). Ottoman authors wrote many works on flower-growing (the best-known being Meḥemmed Remzī's *Lālezār-i bāgh-i ḳadīm*, ʿAlī Čelebi's *Shükūfe-nāme*, Fetḥī Čelebi's *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān*, Lālezārī Meḥemmed's *Mīzān al-azhār*, ʿOthmān Efendi's *K. al-Nabāt*, ʿAbd Allāh Efendi's *Shükūfe-nāme*, Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed's *Natāʾidj al-azhār*, etc., see Djewād Rüshdī, *op. cit.*). The biographies of prominent growers were also collected in such works as ʿAbd Allāh Efendi's and Rüshdī-zāde Remzī's *Tedhkire-i shükūfedjiyān* (MSS: Halis Ef. and Ali Emiri collections).

In the period of the Tanẓīmāt [*q.v.*] attempts were made, under European influence, to improve agricultural methods. The issue of the *Taḳwīm al-waḳāʾiʿ* of 14 Rabīʿ II 1254/7 July 1838 reports the setting-up of a *Zirāʿat ve Ṣanāʾiʿ Medjlisi*; and in 1259/1843 a *Medjlis-i Zirāʿat* was founded, attached to the Ministry of Finance. Directors of Agriculture were sent to the provinces (13 Radjab 1260/29 July 1844) and on 23 Rabīʿ II 1261/1 May 1845 an Agricultural Congress of delegates from the provinces was held in Istanbul. The chief matters raised by the participants were the need to reduce the taxes on agriculture, to provide agricultural credits, to control rivers and to build roads (A. Ubicini, *Letters sur la Turquie*, 244-65, dwells on the same points). Finally in Ṣafar 1262/February 1846 there was constituted a Ministry of Agriculture, which was later united with the Ministry of Commerce, and in 1310/1892 reconstituted as the Ministry of Forests, Mines and Agriculture (*Orman, Maʿādin ve Zirāʿat Neẓāreti*). The first School of Agriculture and model farm was founded on the Aya-Mama estate near Istanbul, but did not last long. The promotion of scientific agriculture in Turkey is the work of the Halkalı College of Agriculture and Veterinary Science, founded in 1308/1890.

Various attempts were made in the Tanẓīmāt period to improve the lot of the peasant. In some regions proposals were made—but not put into effect—to transfer *muḳāṭaʿa*-land from the *aghas* to the peasants (see H. İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar meselesi*, Ankara 1943). Measures taken to promote the ownership of land with the right of inheritance were inadequate (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Türk toprak hukuku*, in *Tanzimat*, i, 399-341), and favoured rather the holders of large estates. The land law of 1274/1858 contains some new European ideas, but is basically merely a codification of the old Ottoman land-regulations. To protect the peasant from money-

lenders, the maximum interest was fixed by law at 15% (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme def. no. 253, 8-10), and the sum of 20 million *ḳurush̲* per annum was set aside to provide credits to peasants. The measures taken to improve agriculture in the Dobrud̲j̲a [*q.v.*] deserve particular mention. A French expert was called in to survey the agricultural situation and make recommendations (see A. Gaudry, *Recherches scientifiques en Orient*, Paris 1860). The distribution of good varieties of seed to the peasants, tax-exemption granted to promote the culture of olives and mulberries, encouragement to use modern implements—all these sprang from the adoption of the new outlook, whose effects are best exemplified in the activities of Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in the Danube province (northern Bulgaria): he was the first to import from Europe reaping- and threshing-machines, he founded a model farm, and set up '*Menāfiʿ sandiḳlarī*' to supply credit on easy terms to farmers (see ʿAlī Ḥaydar Midḥat, *Midḥat Pas̲h̲a, ḥayāt-i siyāsiyyesi...*, Istanbul 1325/1909, 29). In this period the export of agricultural products to Europe, especially to Great Britain, increased greatly (see F. E. Bailey, *British policy and the Turkish reform movement*, Cambridge, Mass. 1942, 76, and tables 8-14). Cotton-growing expanded considerably, with British encouragement, during the American Civil War (see *Türk ziraat tarihine bir bakış*, 127-36).

Bibliography: in the article. (H. İnalcık)

v. — India

This section offers a survey of agriculture in India during the mediaeval period, *i.e.*, from the time of the arrival of the Muslims to the British conquest.

1. Agriculture. The natural setting of agriculture in India, despite various important variations, displays a surprising degree of uniformity. The larger part of the country consists of plains: the great Indus and Gangetic Plains of the north and the broad river valleys of the south. Except for the extreme tip of the southern peninsula, where there is a significant winter monsoon as well, the rainfall received is mainly from the summer monsoons. These are so bountiful that nearly half of the area of the Union of India has an average annual rainfall of over 100 cm. Some mediaeval writers could, therefore, be excused for their exaggeration when they said, as Abu 'l-Faḍl (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., ii, 5-6), that the whole of the land of India was cultivable or, as Bābur (*Bāburnāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, ii, 488), that its crops needed no artificial irrigation. Nature has also made possible another phenomenon, regarded in mediaeval times as the special characteristic of Indian agriculture, *viz.*, the sowing and reaping of two harvests in the year—one (*k̲h̲arīf*) collected after the end of the rains, and the other (*rabīʿ*) at the end of the winter.

A comparison of 11th/17th century area statistics (preserved in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, c. 1595, and in certain documents from Awrangzeb's reign) with modern returns suggests that the cultivated area during the 11th/17th century was about half of the area cultivated at the beginning of this century in such large regions as Bihār, eastern and central Uttar Pradesh, Berār and Western Pākistān. In western Uttar Pradesh, eastern Pand̲j̲āb and Gud̲j̲arāt, the area cultivated was smaller by one-third to one-fifth. (See Irfan Habib, *Agrarian system of Mughal India*, 1-22; Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, 20-2, offers a still lower estimate of the extent of cultivation under Akbar). The great extent of forest in mediaeval times is also indicated by the information we possess about particular localities. We know, for example, from the chroniclers' accounts of campaigns in Kaṭehr (now Rohilkhand) that extensive forests existed in this region in the 13th and 14th centuries. While these were largely cleared during the following three or four centuries, the Tarāʾī forest still covered, further to the east, most of north-eastern Uttar Pradesh (now a densely populated area), down to the end of the 18th century (cf. Rennell's *Atlas of Bengal*, 1781, Map X).

All descriptions of mediaeval agricultural practice apply equally well to the traditional practice in Indian villages today. There existed the same combination of simple and crude tools with certain ingenious methods and devices. While the fitting of the "iron point" to the wooden plough is referred to in a work as old as the *Manusmriti* (x, 84), Fryer (1672-81) found that in fact the "coulters" of Indian ploughs were "unarmed mostly, Iron being scarce", and that hard wood was being used instead. Yet on the other hand, Amān Allāh Ḥusaynī (early 17th century) notices the use of dibbling in sowing cotton, and Thévenot in Gud̲j̲arāt observed the use of fish manure in planting sugar-cane.

Rainfall was generally supplemented by artificial irrigation, from wells, tanks and canals. Bābur has described for us the two most common methods of lifting water out of wells. One involves lifting water in a leathern bucket (*čaras*) pulled out of the well by yoked oxen drawing a rope passed over a wooden wheel, "a laborious and filthy method". The other (the *rahaṭ* or *arhaṭ*), which deeply interested Bābur, is called in English the Persian wheel (*Bāburnāma*, tr. Beveridge, i, 388; ii, 486). The *ḍhenklī*, based on the use of weights, has been described by Fryer. Large tanks for irrigation purposes were usually constructed by damming streams and rivulets. Fīrūz S̲h̲āh (752-90/1351-88) is said to have built several tanks by means of such dams (*bands*) (ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Fīrūz-s̲h̲āhī*, Bibl. Ind., 330). The Udaypūr lake, created by a massive dam in the 16th century, was originally about 40 miles in circumference (*Āʾīn*, i, 509). Abandoned channels of rivers, which became active during the inundations, served as natural canals and were important sources of irrigation in the Indus basin. Human effort was often needed to keep them in use by clearing silted sections. In addition there were some big man-made canals. The best known of these was Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's West Jamunā Canal, re-excavated and re-aligned by S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān. Among other important mediaeval works were the East Jamunā Canal (early 18th century), a long canal drawn from the Sutled̲j̲ by Fīrūz S̲h̲āh, a network of Mug̲h̲al canals drawn from the Rāvī near its entry into the plains, the Sidhnai (which the Rāvī took as its main bed in or before the 16th century), the Begārīwah in upper Sind (17th or 18th century) and the K̲h̲ānwah in the Indus delta (early 16th century).

Most of the major crops raised today were also raised in mediaeval times. A few new crops were introduced during the mediaeval period itself. Tobacco cultivation became well established throughout the country during the earlier part of the 17th century. Coffee cultivation had its beginnings late in the same century, while the cultivation of capsicum spread rapidly in the earlier part of the next. Among the purely modern crops may be counted maize, potatoes, tea and groundnuts.

The geographical distribution of the crops in the 17th century (and so presumably earlier) was different in some important respects from that

prevailing today. There was the same broad division into rice and wheat zones marked by the 40- or 50-inch isohyets. But the cultivation of cash crops, notably cotton and sugar-cane, was far more widespread in mediaeval times, the conditions of transport prohibiting concentration. Indigo claimed a large area, in mediaeval times as well as till late in the 19th century; but its cultivation has now practically disappeared. Similarly, opium and hemp were more widely cultivated than now. On the other hand, jute, though known to have been cultivated in certain localities in Bengal, was far from being an important cash crop during mediaeval times. Sericulture, which has undergone a great decline since, flourished mainly in Bengāl and Kas̲h̲mīr.

Among fruits the most prominent were the mango and the coco-nut. The pine-apple was introduced during the 16th century through the agency of the Portuguese, and was rapidly acclimatized. The practice of grafting seems to have been widely applied in Mug̲h̲al times. D̲j̲ahāngīr describes its application to cherries and apricots in Kas̲h̲mīr (*Tuzuk*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad, 299). Amān Allāh notices its use in planting mangoes, and a history of Shāhd̲j̲ahān's reign declares that great improvement in citrus fruits resulted from grafting (British Museum MS, Or. 174, f. 102a). The Emperors and their nobles were generally fond of laying out orchards. Fīrūz S̲h̲āh is said to have planted 1200 orchards around Delhi (ʿAfīf, 295). The Mug̲h̲als have given their name to a particular type of garden, laid out in squares and criss-crossed by channels of flowing water obtained by various devices (see BUSTĀN II).

2. Mediaeval Works on Agriculture. Very few works seem to have been written on agriculture in mediaeval India, to judge from their extreme paucity in modern collections. There exists in some MSS, *e.g.*, India Office Library I.O. 4702, Aligarh Lytton Fārsiya ʿUlūm 51, and Brit. Mus. Or. 1741, ff. 25a-48a, a tract on agriculture which is really Chapter XI of an encyclopaedic work, the *Gand̲j̲-i Bād-āward*, of Amān Allāh Ḥusaynī, K̲h̲ān Zamān, d. 1046/1637. This tract embodies, with acknowledgment, the whole of the *Kitāb S̲h̲ad̲j̲arat al-nihāl*, a work mainly concerned with horticulture and written in Persia or Central Asia in the 15th century (Brit. Mus. Add. 1771, ff. 157b-269b, etc.). But Amān Allāh has introduced considerable additions, including detailed descriptions of the cultivation of Indian fruits and notices of various crops grown in India. Yet, despite certain interesting statements, Amān Allah's work is much too superficial, and he follows the *Kitāb S̲h̲ad̲j̲arat al-nihāl* in recommending a number of quack-practices. Abu'l-Faḍl in his famous work on Akbar's administration, the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (ed. Blochmann, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta, 1867-77), gives much information relating to agriculture. In its detailed accounts of the provinces of Akbar's Empire, the book contains lists of prices of agricultural products, tables of revenue-rates on the various crops, and area statistics and sundry information on cultivation and irrigation.

Bibliography: Modern works only. Moreland's *India at the death of Akbar*, London 1920, also contains a description of the system of agriculture. On Mug̲h̲al gardens there is a charming book by C. M. Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, London 1913. Irfan Habib's *Agrarian system of Mughal India*, Bombay 1963, may be consulted for a fuller treatment of several points touched upon in this article. Watt's *Dictionary of economic products of India*, 6 vols., is a monumental work of reference, giving detailed historical, technical and other information on almost everything produced in India. For an examination of Indian agricultural practice see J. A. Voelcker, *Report on the improvement of Indian agriculture*, London 1893; see also the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, *Report*, London 1928. Modern agricultural statistics, given by districts, are available in the volumes of *The agricultural statistics of India*, issued by the Department of Revenue, etc., Government of India, at irregular intervals since 1884-5.

(IRFAN HABIB)

FILĀLĪ [see TAFILALT].

FILASṬĪN, colloquially also Falasṭīn, an Arabic adaptation of the classical Palestine (Greek Παλαιστίνη, Latin Palaestina), the land of the Philistines. The name was used by Herodotus (i, 105; ii, 106; iii, 91; iv, 39) and other Greek and Latin authors to designate the Philistine coastlands and sometimes also the territory east of it as far as the Arabian desert. After the suppression of the Jewish revolts in 70 and 132-5 A.D. and the consequent reduction in the Jewish population the name Syria Palaestina, later Palaestina, was adopted by the Romans in place of Judaea. The Roman province of Palestine was later extended by the annexation to it of other, adjoining territories. By the 5th century there were three provinces of Palestine, Palaestina Prima, with its capital at Caesarea, including Judaea, Idumaea, Samaria, and part of Peraea, Palaestina Secunda, with its capital at Scythopolis (Baysān), including the valley of Esdraelon, Galilee, and parts of the Decapolis and of Gaulanitis, and Palaestina Tertia or Salutaris, with its capital at Petra, including the Negev, Nabataea and part of the Sinai peninsula.

(ED.)

1.—PALESTINE UNDER ISLAMIC RULE.

The name of Filasṭīn was applied first to the administrative and military district (*d̲j̲und* [*q.v.*]) established by the Arab conquerors on the territory of the ancient Byzantine province known as *Palaestina prima*. The latter comprised roughly Samaria and Judaea with the coastal area stretching from Mt. Carmel in the north to G̲h̲azza in the south. This corresponded with a fairly varied region from the geographical point of view, the largest part of which was made up of a mountainous chain of medium height, with summits rarely exceeding 1,000 metres (mountains of Samaria in the north, with Mt. Gerizim, the mountains of Judaea in the centre, and the mountain of Hebron in the south), extending to the west in a series of hills bordering the coastal plain and to the east in expanses of steppe, of which the most important was the desert of Judah.

It is difficult to reconstruct with accuracy the story of the conquest of Palestine by the Arabs. The expedition sent out by Abū Bakr and commanded by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ invaded the region of G̲h̲azza in D̲h̲u'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 12 or Muḥarram 13/February or March 634. After the fall of G̲h̲azza, ʿAmr marched on Ḳaysariyya (Caesarea by the sea) and began to besiege it in D̲j̲umādā I 13/July 634, but he was forced to retreat on the approach of a new Byzantine army, which he was ready to confront only after uniting his troops with those brought by K̲h̲ālid from Syria. After the victory over the Byzantines of Ad̲j̲nādayn [*q.v.*] in D̲j̲umādā I or II/July-August 634, ʿAmr occupied most of the towns of Palestine: Sabasṭiya (Samaria), Nābulus, Ludd (Lydda), Yubnā,

ʿAmwās (Emmaus), Bayt Dji̲brīn and Yāfā (Jaffa). It was only after the battle of the Yarmūk [*q.v.*] that he was able to pursue the siege of Īliyā (Jerusalem, see AL-ḲUDS), whose inhabitants are said to have refused to submit to anyone but the Kh̲alīfa himself. ʿUmar b. al-Kh̲aṭṭāb then visited Syria for this purpose (16/637). As for the town of Ḳaysariyya, ʿAmr took up the siege again, but left it shortly afterwards to go to Egypt, leaving as his successor Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, who, soon dying, was succeeded by his brother Muʿāwiya. It was Muʿāwiya who obtained possession of the town by betrayal in 19 or 20/640 or 641 and completed the conquest of Palestine by occupying ʿAskalān (Ashkelon).

The Arab conquerors permitted the previous administrative organization to continue, transforming the former *Palaestina prima* into *dji̲und Filasṭīn*; they set up the capital first at Ludd, and then at al-Ramla, a new town which was founded by Sulayman b. ʿAbd al-Malik when he was governor of Palestine and in which he continued to reside after he had become caliph in 96/715. The *dji̲und Filasṭīn*, still mentioned as such by Ibn Sh̲addād, survived until the Mongol invasion as an administrative district, but its territory appears to have been extended from the 4th/10th century onwards, both towards the east, and to the south and south-east. The geographer al-Muḳaddasī in fact counts Arīḥa (Jericho) and ʿAmmān (the ancient Philadelphia) among the towns of this district, and is followed in this by Yāḳūt. Al-Iṣṭakh̲rī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, for their part, join to Palestine the south of the Gh̲awr [*q.v.*], al-Dji̲bāl [*q.v.*] and al-Sh̲arāt [*q.v.*], that is to say, on the one hand the lands situated to the north of the Dead Sea, and on the other those to the south of it on the other side of the rift-valley which extends as far as the gulf of al-ʿAḳaba. Further, the vast area called al-Tīh, covering the present day Negev and Mt. Sinai, was also in practice attached to Palestine. Under the Mamlūk sultans, Palestine received a new administrative organization. It was attached more or less directly to the *niyāba* of Damascus, and comprised six districts, those of Gh̲azza, Ludd and Ḳāḳūn on the one hand (these three districts being sometimes considered as forming a separate *mamlaka*) and those of al-Ḳuds (Jerusalem), al-Kh̲alīl (Hebron) and Nābulus on the other.

Palestine was particularly honoured in the Umayyad period. Muʿāwiya is reported to have had himself proclaimed caliph at Jerusalem and it was under one of his successors that the ancient court of the Temple, called the *ḥaram*, received its two principal monuments, *Ḳubbat al-Ṣakh̲ra* and *al-Masdji̲d al-Aḳṣā*, both built by ʿAbd al-Malik (65-86/684-705). This caliph had the interior of the Dome of the Rock decorated with mosaics evoking the superiority of Islam over Christianity and the domination of the world by the Muslim rulers. In the ʿAbbāsid period Palestine reverted, with Syria, to the rank of a mere province; its official capital continued to be al-Ramla, but the monuments of Jerusalem maintained sufficient renown for the caliph al-Maʾmūn, inspired by hostility for the Umayyads' memory, to feel the need to substitute his own name for that of ʿAbd al-Malik in all the inscriptions commemorating the latter's foundations.

Palestine was occupied by the Fāṭimids immediately after Egypt (359/969) and thus broke free for some time from the authority of the caliphs of Bagh̲dād, which had already become nominal under the Ṭūlūnids [*q.v.*] and then under the Ikh̲sh̲īdids [*q.v.*]. But Fāṭimid rule was never firmly established there, and brief revolts ensued, of which the most spectacular was the one which led to the installation of a new ʿAlid caliph at al-Ramla by a Bedouin *amīr* of the Banu ʾl-Dji̲arrāḥ [see DJI̲ARRĀḤIDS]. Jerusalem, on the other hand, was the victim of the violent measures adopted against the Christians by al-Ḥākim, and at his command the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed. In the late 5th/11th century, Palestine was briefly occupied by the Turcoman chief Atsïz b. Uvak [*q.v.*]; shortly afterwards a minor Turkish dynasty, founded by Artuḳ [see ARTUḲIDS], occupied Jerusalem, but it was soon expelled by a Fāṭimid counter-attack (479-90/1086-98). This Fāṭimid success was nullified by the arrival of the First Crusade, which achieved the foundation of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and led to the Crusaders' occupation of the Holy Places for nearly a century (492-587/1099-1187).

The Arab geographers provide some scattered information on conditions in Palestine during the period between the Arab conquest and the arrival of the Crusaders. In the 3rd/9th century Palestine was occupied by a numerous population of Arab origin (belonging to various tribes). There was, however, also a certain proportion of non-Muslims, Christians, Jews and Samaritans, the size of which we naturally cannot estimate; al-Yaʿḳūbi refers to the presence of "non-Arabs" in the town of al-Ramla. At this period the region was crossed by the pilgrimage route from Damascus; at Ayla, near the gulf of al-ʿAḳaba, this met the route followed by pilgrims from Egypt and the Magh̲rib; it was also a trade-route used long since for traffic with Egypt or Arabia. There was also a route connecting Jerusalem with ʿAmmān via Jericho. In the 4th/10th century Palestine was one of the most fertile regions of the province of al-Sh̲ām, since it was well watered with rain and, in the Nābulus region, boasted abundant streams. Al-Muḳaddasī informs us of its principal products, among which agricultural produce was particularly copious and prized: fruit of every kind (olives, figs, grapes, quinces, plums, apples, dates, walnuts, almonds, jujubes and bananas), some of which were exported, and crops for processing (sugar-cane, indigo and sumac). But the mineral resources were equally important: chalk earth (*al-ḥawwāra*), marble from Bayt Dji̲brīn, and sulphur mined in the Gh̲awr, not to mention the salt and bitumen of the Dead Sea. Stone, which was common in the country, was the most generally used building-material for towns of any importance. Al-Muḳaddasī also gives us brief indications of the main Muslim religious trends; there were some Sh̲īʿīs at Nābulus, no Muʿtazilīs openly confessing their beliefs, and some well organized Karrāmīs at Jerusalem; at the end of the 4th/10th century the juridical schools followed were the Sh̲āfiʿī and the Fāṭimī. The mediaeval geographers also notice briefly the places of pilgrimage, which were especially numerous in Jerusalem and Hebron (the town of Abraham *al-Kh̲alīl*).

During the period of the Crusades, Palestine was the scene of battles and ambushes, periodically interrupted by the truces which were from time to time established by treaties; such a treaty is that of 626/1229 by which the Ayyūbid al-Kāmil restored the demilitarized city of Jerusalem to the Franks of Acre for ten years. This situation, which in any case became more settled after the recapture of Jerusalem by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, did not, however, prevent the continuation of economic interchange between Egypt and Syria; the caravans were merely subject to "transit tolls" imposed by the Franks or, in certain

circumstances, were the victims of hostile raids. Nor did it prevent the establishment of fruitful commerce, particularly under the successors of Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn, between the European merchants (Italian, French or English), living mainly at Acre, and the Muslim towns of the interior. It was also at this time that Palestine was celebrated by certain Muslim writers as the especial land of Prophets, and the places of pilgrimage experienced their greatest popularity; whether at Jerusalem or at Nābulus or Hebron relics of the Biblical prophets venerated by the Muslims were not scarce, and to these were added the monument at ʿAsḳalān, reputed to contain the head of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], and the tomb at Ghazza of Hāshim, grandfather of the Prophet.

At the end of the 7th/13th century (690/1291), the Franks, from whom the Mamlūk sultan Baybars had already taken the stronghold of ʿAsḳalān in 668/1270, were expelled by al-Ashraf Khalīl from their last possessions, Caesarea and Acre; thus all Palestine and the neighbouring provinces were again under Muslim rule. The territories west of the Jordan continued thus during the Mamlūk period to play an important part as a trunk route, followed as much by the merchants as by the official couriers who linked Cairo with Damascus and Aleppo along a post-road adopted and improved to permit greater despatch.

In 922/1516, after the battle of Dābiḳ, the region fell under Ottoman rule, which was to last almost without interruption until 1917-18. During the 16th century Palestine consisted of the sandjaḳs of Ghazza, Jerusalem, Nābulus, Ladjdjūn and Ṣafad, all forming part of the *eyālet* of Damascus. The sandjaḳ of Ladjdjūn was not under an Ottoman governor but was held by the local Bedouin clan of Ṭurābāy, who revolted on more than one occasion. From the late 16th century there is a noticeable decline, due to falling standards in the administration, frequent changes of governors, attempts by local chieftains to gain independence, and the campaigns carried out on the soil of Palestine originating in neighbouring regions. As early as the end of the 10th/16th century, indeed, the little Druze state of Fakhr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], which controlled the districts stretching from Beirut to Mt. Carmel, attempted, between 1595 and 1634, to make itself independent of the Sublime Porte; following this episode, in about 1660 a new province distinct from that of Shām was created, named Ṣaydā and including the *liwās* of Ṣafad and al-Ladjdjūn. This measure did not prevent the continued activities of local chieftains the most notable of whom, Ẓāhir Āl ʿUmar [*q.v.*], a chief of bedouin origin, established himself round ʿAkkā between 1750 and 1775. Shortly thereafter it was the turn of Aḥmad al-Djazzār to attempt to emancipate himself from Ottoman tutelage in the same region, though not without vigorously resisting the attacks of Napoleon Bonaparte who, although he had captured Yāfā in 1213/1799, was unable to make himself master of ʿAkkā. In the 19th century, the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, Ibrāhīm Pāshā [*q.v.*], was another who desired to take Palestine and Syria from the Ottomans and thus assure his mastery over the lands of the Arabs. He captured ʿAkkā and Damascus in 1832, but in 1840 Palestine was returned to the sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd in consequence of the intervention of Britain and Austria.

During the later Ottoman period Palestine became a subject of increasing interest to the Great Powers of Europe, on economic as much as religious grounds. The custody of the Holy Places there had been acknowledged as in the hands of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem in the 16th century and was reaffirmed at the request of Russia by firmans of 1853; the Latin clergy there also had, since the 16th century, been under the protection of France. This situation was the occasion for frequent intervention by the European States in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire. But Palestine also had European commercial factories, mainly French, such as those of Acre and Ramla, and here, as well as at Jerusalem, there resided Consuls charged with protecting their nationals by virtue of the agreements known as Capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT].

From the 18th century onwards, European economic penetration increased in Palestine as elsewhere in the Arab East. European products were sold there either by European merchants themselves or by Christians or Jews native to the area who sometimes, by taking a European nationality, succeeded in enjoying the advantages conferred by the Capitulations, avoiding part of the '*avanias*' to which those merchants who were Ottoman subjects were exposed and thus obtaining practically a monopoly of important trade [see BERATLĪ]. In the 19th century, Christian missions, both Catholic and Protestant, contributed in Palestine as in the Lebanon to the raising of the general level of education, while with European help modern technology began to spread; thus a French company completed the building of the first railway line, that connecting Jaffa with Jerusalem, in 1892.

Palestine had some Jewish inhabitants throughout the period of Islamic rule, though their numbers were much reduced during the Crusades. They were from time to time reinforced by immigration from other countries, notably in the 16th century. A new type of immigration began in the late 19th century, with the establishment of the first Zionist agricultural settlements in the eighteen eighties. Despite attempts by the Ottoman government to restrain it, this movement gained force. It found its ideology in Zionism, whose official beginnings may be dated 1897, when the congress inspired by Th. Herzl was held at Basle; at the beginning of the 20th century it became ever more marked, so much so that the number of Jews resident in Palestine rose from 25,000 in 1880 to 80,000 in 1914.

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(D. Sourdel)

2. — The British Mandate

Turkish rule in Palestine ended with the First World War, which led to the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, ratified in 1920 by the abortive Treaty of Sèvres, and again in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923. Great Britain, who had occupied Palestine during the war (General Allenby entered Jerusalem on 9 December 1917), had asked the League of Nations as early as 1919 to entrust her with the administration of the territory under the form of an international Mandate. The British proposal, which was amended in 1920, was approved by the Council of the League in July 1922, and the Mandate entered into force in September 1923, after the conclusion (July 1923) but before the entry into force (August 1924) of the Treaty of Lausanne, which regulated the future of the territories split off from the Ottoman Empire. Although the Mandate covered the areas on both sides of the Jordan, direct British administration was established only in the region to the west of the river. That to the east formed the Amirate of Transjordan, with an autonomous government, whose powers were limited by a treaty with Britain.

The policy of the British mandatory government in Palestine was from the beginning influenced by the promises made by Britain to the Jews to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine. In August 1897 the Basle Congress had defined Zionism in the following formula: "the object of Zionism is the establishment for the Jewish people of a home in Palestine secured by public law". The execution of this programme was undertaken by a "Zionist Organization", which committed itself to political action, with especial encouragement from Great Britain, and which achieved a great success in 1917, when the latter declared officially that "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine" (Balfour Declaration, 2 November 1917); France, Italy and the U.S.A. subsequently accepted the policy set out in the British declaration.

Parallel with the obligations Great Britain had assumed towards the Zionist Organization, she was bound by the promises of independence she had made to the Sherif Ḥusayn to encourage him to revolt against the Turks (Ḥusayn-McMahon correspondence, 1915). The British Government subsequently declared that Palestine was excluded from the territories promised to the Arabs for their independent State; in the Churchill Memorandum of June 1922, accepted by the Zionist Organization, it further stated that "the terms of the Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded *in Palestine*", and gave the Arabs various assurances that an autonomous government would be established in Palestine. But the Arabs, disappointed in their hopes and disturbed by the massive immigration of Jews, who in 1939 already numbered 400,000, refused to cooperate with the Palestine administration and, under the inspiration of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine, directed by al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, *muftī* of Jerusalem, reacted with violence: in 1928, 1929, 1933, 1936 and 1939 bloody disturbances broke out in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa.

In spite of the Arab reaction, the Zionists pursued their efforts with success; they consolidated their international position by the creation (Zurich Congress 1929) of the "Jewish Agency", which included also representatives of non-Zionist Jews. The situation in Palestine disturbed the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission, which in 1930 severely condemned the British administration for failing to meet and reconcile Arab and Jewish needs. The British Government gave assurances that no more land would be put at the disposal of Jewish immigrants; this measure was, however, mitigated by an assurance given to the Zionists that there was no question of an absolute prohibition but rather of the imposition of controls on land purchase. Nevertheless, faced with unshakeable opposition from the Arabs, and obliged continually to reinforce the garrison in order to put down the disturbances, Britain was forced to give an ever more restricted interpretation to the Balfour Declaration. After a fruitless attempt to bring Arab and Jewish delegates together to settle their differences (the Round Table Conference, London, February-March 1939), the British Government published a White Paper (May 1939) which restricted Jewish land purchases and immigration and envisaged the establishment after ten years of a Palestinian State in which Arabs and Jews would share the government. The solution proposed by the British Government excluded the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and the publication of the White Paper was followed by an outburst of Jewish violence. The situation grew steadily worse during the Second World War. The Jews surviving the holocausts gazed with hope towards Palestine; the British authorities began to force the immigrants back; and the Jewish secret organizations entered on a campaign of terror against the British, who in 1946 proclaimed martial law.

Great Britain's efforts at conciliation had failed and she therefore referred the question to the United Nations Organisation. The U.N. General Assembly appointed a ten-member Special Committee in 1947. Its report was then considered by the Palestine Committee of the whole Assembly, which produced a partition plan, adopted by the Assembly on 29 November 1947, and envisaging the creation of two independent States, Arab and Jewish, and of an international zone covering the Jerusalem area under U.N. control.

The plan was accepted by the Jews but rejected by the Arabs. Arab volunteers attacked the Jewish forces, who were making efforts to occupy the areas assigned to them by the partition plan. Fighting broke out in the Jerusalem area, in which the Jewish forces gained some success; Arab opinion was moved by this to call for the intervention of the Arab regular armies; but divergencies of opinion arose in the Arab League and between the Arab governments.

On giving up the Mandate on 15 May 1948, Britain withdrew her troops from Palestine. The day before, David Ben Gurion had proclaimed the birth of the State of Israel. The Arab armies advanced, but the Jews confronted them everywhere. The Security Council imposed a truce, accepted by both Arabs and Jews, but the United Nations' efforts at conciliation ended in failure. In December 1948, the battle recommenced, but Egypt was the only Arab State fighting, for ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Transjordan withheld their troops from the operations. Despite their numerical superiority the Egyptian forces withdrew before the Jews, whom the ceasefire imposed by the Security Council halted 20 km. beyond their borders. The armistice between Israel and Egypt, signed at Rhodes on 24 February 1949, and those signed successively thereafter between Israel and Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria, put an end to the fighting between the Arabs and the Jews and established the partition of Palestine. (P. Minganti)

FILIBE, Ottoman name for the town of Plovdiv in Bulgaria, situated on and around six syenite hills in the Thracian plain along the Maritsa. Called Pulpudeva by the Thracians, Philippopolis by the Greeks, Trimontium by the Romans, and Pludin by the Slavs, it was an important fortress throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages, being held successively by Byzantines, Bulgarians and Latins between the 6th and 14th centuries A.D. At the time of the Ottoman invasion of the Balkans it was in the hands of the Bulgarians. The Ottoman chroniclers record the conquest of Filibe immediately after the fall of Edirne, i.e., in about 765/1363-4. According to Saʿd al-Dīn the governor of the town attempted to resist but, not risking an open battle, was obliged to retreat to the fortress; the besiegers made a fierce onslaught and the governor was compelled to cede the town to Lālā S͟hāhīn. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Filibe was besieged at seven points, bridges having been built across the Maritsa, and was taken by assault after heavy fighting. There is no doubt that the town offered stubborn resistance, but it was probably taken on terms (cf. Chalcocondyles, Bonn ed., 32). It was made the chef-lieu of the *eyālet* of Rūm-ili, with Lālā S͟hāhīn as the first *beglerbegi*. In registers dating from the end of the 9th/15th century, Filibe is referred to as the chef-lieu of a *wilāyet* and a *nāḥiye*, while during the first half of the 10th/16th century it figures among the nine *ḳāḍīlīḳ*s (*nāḥiye*s) of the *pas͟ha liwāsī*. In the early 10th/16th century the town belonged partly to the *k͟hāṣṣ* of the Sultan and partly to the *k͟hāṣṣ* of Ayās Pas͟ha. The large revenues arising from the rice-fields (*čeltik*) in the surrounding region were farmed out as *muḳāṭaʿa*s.

The colonization of Filibe and its district by Turks and Tatars was begun by Murād I. Bāyazīd I transported here nomads from Saruk͟hān, and Meḥemmed I Tatars from Anatolia; one of the sons of Isfendiyār was settled here by Meḥemmed II. According to de la Broquière, the population was predominantly Bulgarian in 1433. Turkish sources show that in the early 10th/16th century Filibe had 29 Muslim and 4 Christian *maḥalle*s, and a Jewish and a Gypsy community, while in the 11th/17th century it had 23 Muslim *maḥalle*s and 7 *maḥalle*s inhabited by Bulgarians, Serbians, Jews, Greeks, etc. The surrounding region was mainly inhabited by Bulgarians. The town was the seat of a Greek metropolitan.

Situated on a large river on the main road between Belgrade and Istanbul, Filibe became, during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, an important centre of trade and industry. Rice growing flourished in the district, and the town was famous for the fine wool of the neighbourhood and for the manufacture of fine woollen cloth (*aba*). The guild of clothmakers was active and influential: its code of regulations, of the 11th/17th century, has been preserved. Merchants from all over the Ottoman Empire came to the Filibe fair; hides were bought by the merchants of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), the cloth was sold as far away as Syria and Germany, and the raw wool was taken by Venice.

The appearance of Filibe changed greatly during the period of Ottoman domination. The old fortress on the Trimontium was used by the Turks until the beginning of the 9th/15th century, but thereafter fell into ruin. The centre of the town shifted towards the north-west. New mosques, public buildings and palaces were built, notably the Ulu D̲j̲āmiʿ, the ʿImāret D̲j̲āmiʿ (of 848/1444-5, founded by S͟hihāb al-Dīn Pas͟ha), the Kurs͟hun K͟hān, and an extensive bazaar (9th/15th century), and the K͟hunkār Ḥammāmī; a clock-tower was erected on one of the hills of the town (early 11th/17th century); a new wooden bridge spanned the Maritsa, and near the town extensive stabling was built for the Imperial camels. Besides Muslim buildings, Filibe possessed a number of old churches (St. Marina, St. Constantine, St. Demetrius) and a mansion for the Metropolitan. During the 18th and 19th centuries the town flourished and acquired its predominantly Bulgarian appearance.

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FILORI, Ottoman name for the standard gold coins of Europe (see H. Sahillioğlu, *Bir mültezim zimem defterine göre XV. yüzyıl sonunda Osmanlı*

darphane mukataaları, in *Ist. Ün. Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, xxiii (1962-3), 145-218); also a tax amounting to one *filori*, in which sense it is usually referred to as *resm-i filori*. The tax, paid especially by the Eflāḳ (i.e. the semi-nomadic Vlachs of the Balkans, and especially of Serbia), was, together with other supplementary imposts, also called *Eflāḳiyye ʿādeti*.

According to the oldest surviving Ottoman *Ḳānūn* for the Eflāḳ (see H. Inalcık, *Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı Imperatorluğuna*, in *Fuat Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 222), the Eflāḳ subject to the *resm-i filori* paid one *filori* per household or family per year. Each household also paid two sheep (one ram and one ewe). According to the same *Ḳānūn*, twenty households formed one *ḳatun* or *ḳatuna*, and each *ḳatuna* was obliged to supply annually one tent (*čerge*), one cheese, three ropes (*urghan*), six halters (*yular*), one skin-bag of butter and one sheep; but according to the *taḥrīr*-register of 873/1468 for Bosna (Istanbul Belediye Library, Cevdet collection, O 76), one *ḳatun* consisted of 50 households, and each *ḳatun* paid one tent, or 100 *aḳče* as its equivalent, and two rams, or 60 *aḳče* (for other later changes see *Kanun i Kanun-name* (Mon. Turc. Hist. Slav. Merid. Illust., i), Sarajevo 1957, 12-7; *Sulṭān Süleymān Ḳānūn-nāmesi*, *TOEM*, *ʿilāve*, 64; Ö.L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, Istanbul 1943, 324-5).

The *resm-i filori* was a local tax older than the Ottoman occupation. According to the code of Stefan Dushan, each household paid to the ruler one *hyperpyron* (*careva perpera*) (at Zeta one Venetian ducat; see G. Ostrogorskij, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, trans. H. Gregoire and P. Lemerle, Brussels 1954, 200, 240, 255). The Ottomans continued this taxation-system for the Eflāḳ, who had from of old been subject to a special ordinance (*jus valachicum*); but as rulers of a Muslim state they interpreted the *resm-i filori* as being equivalent to the *djizya* [*q.v.*] prescribed by the *sharīʿa* and to the *ʿurfī raʿiyyet rüsūmu*, from both of which the Eflāḳ were consequently exempt.

Similarly the tax of one *filori* per household which the Ottomans exacted in Hungary was nothing but the continuance of a tax formerly paid to the kings of Hungary (see the *Ḳānūn* for Lipve, of 961/1554, in Barkan, 322); this tax too was regarded as the equivalent of the *djizya* (ibid., 304, 316).

The *resm-i filori* was usually paid in *aḳče*s, so that the number of *aḳče*s which it represented increased with the increase in the relative value of gold (45 *aḳče*s in 873/1468, 50 under Süleymān I, 70 in 974/1566, 80 in 976/1568).

In view of the lightness of this tax the Ottomans imposed military service on the Eflāḳ (cf. in this connexion the Yürük [*q.v.*]), every five households supplying one *voynuḳ* (from Slavonic *voynik*, 'soldier').

The Ottomans imposed the *filori* tax, sometimes under the name of *Eflāḳ ʿādeti*, on other groups who rendered services to the state. Thus the *raʿāya* miners in the Rudnik district paid one *filori* per household instead of *kharādj* (*i.e.*, *djizya*) and *ispendje* [*q.v.*] (*Kanun i Kanun-name*, 15-6; for the Eflāḳ employed as guardians of passes (*derbenddji*), *ibid.*, 62); towards 936/1530 the Čingene in the sandjaḳ of Semendire (Smederevo) also paid 80 *aḳče* per household under the name of *resm-i filori* (Barkan, 250); but these groups may have some connexion with the Eflāḳ.

In general the *resm-i filori* was collected by an official called *filoridji* (*Kanun i Kanun-name*, 78, 130, 147), to be paid direct into the treasury of the Sultan, although sometimes it was allocated to the *sandjaḳ-begi*. In the 11th/17th century those subject to the *filori* tax were called *filoridji ṭāʾifesi*, or *filoridjiyān*; in *Ḳānūn*s of this period (*Ḳānūn-nāme*, Ankara Ün. DTC Fakültesi Library, I. Saip collection, MS 5120, 141) the *filoridji* is defined as a person who is exempt from the *ʿöshür* [see ʿUSHR] and the *raʿiyyet rüsūmu* [*q.v.*] and pays only a fixed sum annually. The *resm-i filori* was paid (in *aḳče*s) in two instalments, on the day of Khiḍr-Ilyās [*q.v.*] (23 April, O.S.) and on *Ḳāsim günü* [*q.v.*] (26 October, O.S.).

Bibliography: in the article.

(H. İNALCIK)

FILS [see FALS].

FINANCE [see BAYT AL-MĀL, DAFTARDĀR, MĀL, MĀLIYYA].

FINDIḲLI [see ISTANBUL, and SIKKA].

FINDIḲLILI MEḤMED [see SILĀḤDĀR].

FINE [see DJURM].

FINE ARTS [see FANN].

FINYĀNA, Sp. FIÑANA, a small town of some 5,000 inhabitants engaged in agriculture. It is situated in the province of Almería, about 30 km. from Guadix, in the *partido judicial* of Gérgal. It lies on the southern slope of the Sierra de Baza, which joins the Sierra Nevada on the west. It is overlooked by an ancient fortress of which only ruins remain. Within the town there was a mosque, now converted into a church where services are held. The Muslim inhabitants were *muladies* of Hispano-Roman origin and had nobody of Arab descent among them. They lived peacefully occupied in agriculture, preferably the cultivation of mulberry trees and the rearing of silkworms. An industry grew up of which the products were highly esteemed: the manufacture of *ṭuruz*—handkerchiefs and shawls of silk and brocade. These were exported even to Christian territory and were much sought after in León, where they were known as *alfiniane* from their mark of origin. But already in the 14th century this industry and the culture on which it was based had disappeared and today no trace of it remains. During the rebellion of Ibn Ḥafṣūn the inhabitants of Finyāna showed a disposition to join him but ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, when he occupied the *kūra* of Baza during his campaign of 300/913 against eastern Andalusia, made a diversion against Finyāna and there, on 4 Shawwāl 300/14 May 913, captured the emissaries whom Ibn Ḥafṣūn had sent to them. No more details of its mediaeval history until it was taken by the Catholic Monarchs when they won Baza are known.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Descr.*, text 201, tr. 246; Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, text 143-4, tr. 172; Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, ii, 10; iii, 311; Sánchez Albornoz, *Estampas de la vida en León durante el siglo X*, 11-4. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

FIRABR, early (*e.g.*, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 113) named also Firab (Farab), in Ḳudāma (BGA vi, 203) as well as Yāḳūt (iii, 867) also called Ḳaryat ʿAlī or Ribāṭ Ṭāhir ibn ʿAlī, is a town opposite Āmul [*q.v.*, 2]. It lay a parasang north of the Oxus (Āmū Daryā, [*q.v.*]) on the road to Bukhārā and was the centre of a fertile region with many villages as well as the seat of an inspector for water-control (*Mīr-i rūdh*: *Ḥudūd*, see above). The city was protected by a fortress and possessed a Friday-mosque and an open space for public worship (*muṣallā*) with a hostel for travellers who were also boarded there (Muḳaddasi, 291; Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Z. V. Togan, 1939, 4, § 4: written *Āf.rb.r*; cf. trans. Canard, in *AEIO Alger*, xvi (1958), 54). According to a presumably legendary account by

Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Raḥman ibn Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī (Nīshāpūrī) in his *Khazāʾin al-ʿulūm* (continuator and editor of Narshakhī's description of Bukhārā, ed. Ch. Schefer, 6, also in his *Chrestomathie persane*, 13; tr. R. N. Frye, 1954, 8 and 119, note 97) the founding of Firabr followed the conquest of Paykand by the Kök Turks towards the end of the 6th century (conjectures regarding this report in J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 145-8; and Franz Altheim-Ruth Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, Frankfurt 1957, 257-62, who object to an interpretation of Naysābūrī, unconfirmed by sources, in S. P. Tolstow, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 235 f., and other works of Tolstow mentioned there).

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 314; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 2nd ed., 489; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 25, 173; Yāḳūt, Beirut 1957, iv, 245 ff. (with the index of the scholars of this town); Le Strange, 403 ff., 443.

(B. Spuler)

FIRĀSA, a technique of inductive divination which permits the foretelling of moral conditions and psychological behaviour from external indications and physical states: *al-istidlāl bi'l-khalḳ al-ẓāhir ʿala'l-khulḳ al-bāṭin* (cf. al-Rāzī, *Firāsa*, ed. Mourad, 4; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, p. VIII; iv, 388 ff.; al-Ḳazwīnī, i, 318; cf. Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *ʿIrāfa*, ed. Inostrantsev, 17 ff.). These indications are provided by colours, forms and limbs; they reveal to experts the secrets of characters and minds. "Peculiarities of character cannot be concealed even if a man does his utmost to keep silence about them and to hide them; for nature unveils them and lets them show through. Sooner or later, God reveals them through the actions, movements and gestures of the man. Indeed the Ḳurʾān (XLVII, 30) says: 'And if We wish it, We shall make thee see them (= the false Muslims); thou shalt recognize them by their physiognomy (*sīmā-hum*); thou shalt recognize them by their *lapsus linguae* (*laḥn al-ḳawl*)" (Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.* 17). ʿAlī is related to have said: "No-one considers something within his conscience without its being revealed by the slips of his tongue or the expression of his face" (al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, tr. Rat, ii, 187). It has even been said that "the eyes of servants unveil the conscience of their masters" (al-Djināʿī, *al-Daradja al-ʿulyā fī tafsīr al-ruʾyā*, ms. ar. Strasbourg 4212, f° 97).

Firāsa is an Islamic science whose Arab ancestor is *ḳiyāfa* (sometimes confused with *ʿiyāfa* which is essentially concerned with portents drawn from the behaviour of birds).

The classification of the sciences which are included under the name of *firāsa* bears witness to the breadth of territory which this technique of divination covers. In fact, it includes (Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, i, 34; cf. al-Rāzī, *op. cit.* 10 ff.; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 93; Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *ʿIrāfa*, 16): birth-marks and beauty spots (*al-shāmāt* and *al-khayalān*), palmistry (*ʿilm al-asārīr* or *ʿilm al-kaff*), character as revealed from shoulder-blades (*ʿilm al-aktāf*), examination of foot-prints (*ʿilm ʿiyāfat al-athar*), examination of morphoscopic or genealogical lines (*ʿilm ḳiyāfat al-bashar*), finding one's bearings in deserts (*ʿilm al-ihtidāʾ fi 'l-barārī wa'l-ḳifār*), dowsing (*riyāfa*), detection of precious metals (*ʿilm istinbāṭ al-maʿādin*), signs foretelling rain (*ʿilm nuzūl al-ghayth*), the unravelling of secret analogies between present and future events (*ʿilm al-ʿirāfa*), divination by means of palm-trees (palmomancy) (*ʿilm al-ikhtilādj*).

To this divinatory meaning of *firāsa* regarded as a technique of observation of external signs betraying intentions, qualities, defects, courage, intelligence and thoughts (cf. Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.*, 12-14; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iii, 149 ff.; al-Ibshīhī, *op. cit.*, 188 ff.), must be added a psychological meaning which gives it an intuitive and almost prophetic character. This meaning is peculiar to religious and mystical literature. It is derived from verses of the Ḳurʾān (XV, 75; XLVII, 30; XLVIII, 29) in which the term *sīmāʾ* is equivalent to *firāsa*. There appears already in these texts the idea of a divine influx which assists certain privileged persons to an intuitive understanding of the secrets of men's consciences. Tradition only enriches and develops this idea while applying it to *firāsa*. This last is then defined as "a light which God causes to penetrate the heart" or "a thing which God causes to penetrate their hearts and their tongues"; and the Prophet is made to say: "Fear the intuitive eye of the true believer, for he sees with the light of God." These definitions of *firāsa* derived from the collections of *ḥadīths*, are widely commented on and developed in mystical writings (cf. al-Ḳushayrī, *al-Risāla al-Ḳushayriyya*, ed. Būlāḳ 1284/1867, *Bāb al-firāsa*, 137-43). "If you converse with truthful persons," recommends Aḥmad b. ʿĀṣim al-Anṭākī, "speak the truth to them, for such persons are spies (*djawāsīs*) of hearts; they penetrate into your heart and out again before you have realized it" (*ibid.*, 139). *Firāsa* becomes one of the distinguishing qualities (*khawāṣṣ*) of faith, to which a close bond unites it: "He who has the deepest faith has also the most penetrating *firāsa*" (*ibid.*, 137).

Ḥadīth has another term even more expressive which regards *firāsa* as the fruit of inspiration (*ilhām*). The Prophet is made to say: "The nations which came before you had their inspired ones (*muḥaddathūn*); if there is one to be found in my nation it can only be ʿUmar (b. al-Khaṭṭāb)" (Tashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda*, i, 272; see also Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, i, 240; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 200, tr. de Slane, i, 228, tr. Rosenthal, i, 223; Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. de Sacy, 601).

Finally, *firāsa* preserves the main meaning of Arab *ḳiyāfa*, the recognition of signs of paternity. The *Ḳāʾif* was called in to settle genealogical disputes (al-Rāzī, *Firāsa*, 12 ff.; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *al-Ṭuruḳ al-ḥukmiyya*, Cairo 1323, 195-213, 208; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 185). Speaking of physiognomy for the use of princes, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya proves that the law is not based only on objective criteria but also on subjective impressions such as the deductions drawn from *firāsa* (on the controversy concerning the legal value of *firāsa*, cf. Mourad, *La physiognomie arabe*, 135 ff.).

The far-reaching development which separates *firāsa* from *ḳiyāfa* is due on the one hand to the psychological and religious elements introduced by Ḳurʾān and Tradition, and on the other hand to the translation of Greek treatises on physiognomy whose characteristics strongly influenced *firāsa*. The most important of these were the treatise of Pseudo-Aristotle called *Sirr al-asrār*, used by al-Rāzī and al-Dimashḳī (cf. M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, Leipzig 1897, 79 ff.), that of Polemon (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 46, 83, 87 ff.; likewise Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 388 ff.; cf. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 107 ff.; a *Kitāb al-Firāsa* under the name of Filīmūn was edited at Aleppo in 1929; on this person and his work, see the excellent article by Willy Stegemann in Pauly-Wissowa, xxi, 2 (1952), col. 1320-57 (cf. col. 1345 ff.)) and that of Menas (Mīnas—Μήνας) al-Rūmī (?), *Kitāb al*

Khayalān and *Kitāb al-Shāmāt* (*Fihrist*, 314). In another connexion, Ps.-Djāḥiẓ (*ʿIrāfa*, 120) quotes Djawbar al-Hindī as the author of a treatise on *firāsa*.

Bibliography: A great number of treatises on physiognomy (in Arabic, Turkish and Persian) are to be found in the different catalogues of MSS. Among the best-known should be mentioned: *K. al-Firāsa* of Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibr. b. Abī Ṭālib al-Anṣārī al-Ṣūfī al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327) sometimes called *al-Siyāsa fī ʿilm al-firāsa* or *al-Firāsa li-adjl al-siyāsa* or again *Aḥkām al-firāsa* (cf. *ZDMG*, xxi, 384). Several copies of it are known, especially Bursa, Ḥusayn Čelebi 33, I (the second part of the manuscript contains the *Risāla fi'l-firāsa* of Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī; cf. O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxviii (1914), 53), Aya Sofya 3782, Paris 2759, 5928, etc. The work was edited in Cairo in 1300/1882. No less famous is the treatise of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), *Risāla fī ʿilm al-firāsa* or *Djumal aḥkām al-firāsa* (cf. MS. Aya Sofya 2457, 2, containing also the *K. al-Firāsa* of Filīmūn). The work was edited at Aleppo in 1929 by Muḥ. Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, then re-edited, translated and annotated, with an introduction and a bibliography, by Yousef Mourad in his complementary thesis, *La Physiognomonie arabe et le 'Kitāb al-firāsa' de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, Paris 1939. Cf. also the treatise attributed to Djāḥiẓ called *Bāb al-ʿIrāfa wa'l-zadjr wa'l-firāsa ʿalā madhhab al-Furs*, edited, translated into Russian and annotated by K. Inostrantsev, *Materyalī iz arabskikh istočnikov dlya kul'turnoy istorii Sasanidskoy Persii*, in *Zapiski Vostočnago Ot'deleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologičeskago Obshčestva*, xviii (1907-8), 113-232.

(T. Fahd)

FIRʿAWN (pl. Faraʿina), Pharaoh. The Arabic form of the name may derive from the Syriac or the Ethiopic. Commentators on the Ḳur'ān (II, 46-49) explain the word as the permanent title (*laḳab*) of the Amalekite kings [see ʿamālīḳ], on the analogy of Kisrā, title of the sovereigns of Persia, and Ḳayṣar of the emperors of Byzantium. As the designation of the typical haughty and insolent tyrant, the name Firʿawn gave rise to a verb *tafarʿana* "to behave like a hardened tyrant".—If one disregards certain verses of Umayya which are probably not authentic, it was in fact the Ḳur'ān which, at the time of the first Meccan period, introduced the figure of Pharaoh (only that of Exodus) into Arabic literature. Broadly speaking, the narrative in the Ḳur'ān, so far as one can synthesize it artificially by the help of texts extending almost from the beginning of the revelation to the third year of the Medina period, covers the first fourteen chapters of the book of Exodus: the oppression of the children of Israel, the birth of Moses [see mūsā], the mission of Moses and Aaron [see hārūn], the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, Moses' miracles, the plagues, the Exodus, the crossing of the Red Sea and the drowning of Pharaoh; like all narrative elements of this sort in the Ḳur'ān, the history of Pharaoh is seen in relation to Muḥammad's own mission—the determined rejection of the divine message by the unbelievers who in the end are severely punished, while the believers among them are saved. In the fragmentary accounts given in the Ḳur'ān, certain non-biblical elements may be detected, the chief ones being the following. Firʿawn is given the name (LXXXIX, 9/10 and XXXVIII, 11/12) *dhu 'l-awtād* "master of the stakes (posts)" perhaps on account of his buildings (cf. XXVIII, 38), but this interpretation (J. Horovitz) is scarcely less uncertain than those which have been put forward by Muslim commentators. The place of Pharaoh's daughter is taken by his wife, to whom commentators give the name of Āsiya [*q.v.*]. As Pharaoh's counsellor there appears a certain Hāmān who is responsible in particular for building a tower which will enable Pharaoh to reach the God of Moses (XXVIII, 38 and XL, 38/36): the narrative in Exodus is thus modified in two respects, by misplaced recollections of both the book of Esther and the story of the tower of Babel (Genesis, xi) to which no other reference occurs in the Ḳur'ān. The unnamed believer in Pharaoh's entourage who pleaded for Mūsā (XL, 29/28 ff.) cannot be connected with any known Jewish or Christian legend, unless it be related to a vague recollection of the Aggada which makes Jethro one of Pharaoh's advisers.—The conversion of the magicians who were in consequence threatened with cruel punishments by their master is an innovation of the Ḳur'ān (cf. however Exodus, viii, 15 and x, 7), whilst Firʿawn's aspiration to divinity (XXVIII, 38) is Aggadic, as is also his conversion *in extremis*, which God rejects (X, 90-2).

Muslim tradition (both exegesis and historiography) does not confine itself to commenting on and amplifying the Ḳur'ānic version, particularly with the aid of Aggada elements. Its field of interest extends beyond that of the inspired book, and it deals with the kings of Egypt both before and after the *Firʿawn* of Mūsā, connecting them with the "Amalekites" and also, later, drawing on the stock of local legends. Thus the Firʿawn of Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] and Yūsuf [*q.v.*] is discussed; he is given the name al-Rayyān b. al-Walīd (or al-Walīd or even Dārim b. al-Rayyān) and his successor Ḳābūs b. Muṣʿab (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 92, but written al-Walīd b. Muṣʿab). Isolated traditions, regarded with utter disdain by the author of *al-Badʾ wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, attribute an Iranian origin to Firʿawn and Hāmān (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xx, 28: Firʿawn was a native of Iṣṭakhr; *Badʾ*, iii, 81 ff./84: Firʿawn a native of Balkh and Hāmān of Sarakhs).

The New Testament theme of the massacre of the innocents is introduced into the account of the birth of Moses, and the Midrashic legend of the proving of Moses by the crown and burning coals came into the account of the education of the future liberator of Israel who was brought up at Pharaoh's court.

Similarly, it was with the Jewish Aggada (*Abōth of Rabbi Nathan*, recension A, ch. XXVII and *Pirkey Rabbi Eliʿezer*, ch. XLII) and through it possibly to an ancient Egyptian related form that is connected the legend of the mare ridden by Gabriel which led Firʿawn's army into the abyss, the vanguard of the army being commanded by Hāmān. After the drowning of Firʿawn, whom Gabriel prevented from making his profession of faith until the very end by cramming his mouth with sea slime, Mūsā sent to Egypt a military expedition commanded by Joshua and Caleb. The *Badʾ wa 'l-ta'rīkh* (iv, 37/36) is aware that the Jews celebrate the feast of unleavened bread in memory of their delivery from the hands of Firʿawn (cf. also al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, 281, *Chronology*, 275), but certain traditions also exist which give the same motive for the celebration of the fast of *ʿAshūrā* by the Jews (texts quoted from G. Vajda, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xii-xiii (1937-8), 374, but

whose authenticity is rejected by al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, 330 ff./327 ff.).

A later Firʿawn bears the name Aʿradj "the lame"; this, no doubt, is Necho (Nekō, II Chron. xxxv and xxxvi), whose name is thus interpreted by the Jewish Aggada (Targum, also Peshiṭṭa, *Leviticus-Rabba* xx/1, ed. M. Margulies, 442); al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 410, however, calls him Bilūnah. —The theological problem of the "hardening of heart" of Firʿawn did not fail to occupy the attention of the Muʿtazila (see *Badʾ*, i, 106/97 ff.). The Mystics and in particular al-Ḥallādj meditated in their fashion on the revolt and the conversion *in extremis* of Firʿawn (see L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallāj*, 357, 416, n. 1, 615, 935-9 and H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, 74 and 272), but with them also he remains one of the prototypes of pride, concupiscence and refusal to renounce self (see, *e.g.*, al-Muḥāsibī, *Riʿāya*, 236 ff. and H. Ritter, *ibid.*, 51, 98 ff., 114, 577; a more favourable view, 320).

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(A. J. Wensinck-[G. Vajda])

FIRDA [see furḍa].

FIRDAWS [see djanna].

FIRDAWSĪ (Ferdosi), Persian poet, one of the greatest writers of epic, author of the *Shāhnāma* (*Shāhnāmè*, the Book of Kings). His personal name and that of his father are variously reported (Manṣūr b. Ḥasan, according to al-Bundārī [*q.v.*]); it is agreed that his *kunya* [*q.v.*] and his pen-name were Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Firdawsī. According to Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, the oldest source (*Čahār maḳāla*, tr. E. G. Browne, 54), he was born at Bāzh, a village in the Tabaran quarter of Ṭūs [*q.v.*]. The date of his birth (ca. 329-30/940-1) is reliably deduced from his statement that in the year of the accession of Sultan Maḥmūd (387/997) he was 58 years old (*Shāhnāma*, ed. Mohl, iv, 8). Sprung from a family of *dihḳāns* [*q.v.*], he was, according to Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, a man of influence in his village, of independent means thanks to the revenues from his lands. Numerous passages of his work reveal his love for Iran. He was certainly acquainted with Arabic; and early in life had acquired a deep knowledge of the history and the legends concerning Iran, to which his family environment had predisposed him. Until he had exhausted his resources by devoting them to his work, he made no approach to the rulers of his day. The writing of the *Shāhnāma* was undertaken no doubt after the assassination of Daḳīḳī (ca. 370/980); before this he had tried out his talents in composing some epic passages and some lyric poems, of which a few have survived. At the beginning of his epic he speaks of how Daḳīḳī had begun to put into verse an ancient book, of how this work was prematurely interrupted by Daḳīḳī's death, and how a friend had procured the book for him (ed. Mohl, i, 16-20). For several episodes he had other sources, for the story of Bijen and Manīja, for example (for which he followed a manuscript which a woman-friend read to him, ed. Mohl, iii, 293-4), and for the death of the hero Rustam (following a redaction by Āzād Sarw, ed. Mohl, iv, 701). In spite of great political upheavals, recounted by the historians, his *Shāhnāma* was undertaken by 370-1/980-1 at the latest.

In the course of the 4th/10th century, the Iranians, reviving a pre-Islamic custom, had applied themselves to gathering the historical facts and the legends concerning their national history. Collections were made in imitation of the Pahlavi *Khʷatāy-nāmak* (Book of Rulers) composed towards the end of the Sāsānid period (Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 54), which is lost, as are Arabic translations of it. Ancient tales were assembled in other collections. The oldest and most famous of the prose works of the 4th/10th century is the *Shāhnāma* of Abu 'l-Muʾayyad Balkhī, a collection of heroic traditions which is echoed here and there in Firdawsī's epic and in some historical works (notably a fragment in the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, Tehrān ed., 35). Another *Shāhnāma* is that of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Balkhī, praised by al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, Leipzig ed., 99), which derives particularly from written sources, translated from Pahlavi into Arabic, but lost. The third important *Shāhnāma* known to us is that to which Firdawsī refers in his introduction (ed. Mohl, i, 17-8): the *pahlavān* of whom he there speaks was probably Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, governor of Ṭūs in about 335/946; he gathered together men who knew the history and the ancient legends and ordered them to compose a *Shāhnāma* under the supervision of his vizier, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad al-Maʿmarī (preface to Abū Manṣūr's *Shāhnāma*, dated 346/957, published by Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī in *Bīst maḳāla*, ii, Tehrān 1313/1935, 24-25); their work was used by Daḳīḳī (about a thousand of whose verses were incorporated by Firdawsī in his *Shāhnāma*), then by Firdawsī, then by al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038). Besides these, there existed other documents and traditions which were treated by epic poets who came after Firdawsī (notably on the heroes Garshāsp, Bārzū, Sām [see ḥamāsa]).

At Ṭūs, various persons whom Firdawsī names had supported him in his work, but he was looking for a more powerful protector to whom to dedicate his work. Finally he chose the greatest monarch of the age, Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna; this was probably when he was about 65 years old (ed. Mohl, iv, 8), in 394/1004, when he found himself in straitened circumstances (ed. Mohl, *loc. cit.*, and vii, 500).

The Arabic translation of the *Shāhnāma* by al-Bundārī and the *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-Furs* of al-Thaʿālibī (which uses sources identical with, or at least very close to, those of Firdawsī) omit several episodes found in Firdawsī's work; it may therefore be agreed that the final redaction of the *Shāhnāma* was preceded by a less complete redaction; furthermore, al-Bundārī's translation and some manuscripts

give on the last leaf the date 384/994, and not that of the final completion (400/1010).

Maḥmūd was a man of little erudition, but gathered at his court, even by force, men of learning and letters and particularly panegyrists. His attention was perhaps first drawn to Firdawsī by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Faḍl b. Aḥmad al-Isfarāyinī, who was his first vizier (from 384/994 until 401/1010) and whose kindness is praised in the *Shāhnāma* (ed. Mohl, iv, 7-8). No doubt Firdawsī had composed various sections of his work, not in a systematic order but as inspiration came to him and inclination prompted; afterwards he linked them together by passages of transition; he then, as his fame spread, set about revising and polishing his epic. At the end of his poem (ed. Mohl, vii, 500) he states: "When I had passed the age of 65 years, the care of my sufferings increased; I was occupied always with the history of the kings"; great men were having copies of his epic made, "but I received in return only praise". (He adds that three noble inhabitants of Ṭūs provided him with material help and encouragement). In the course of this revision, followed by the making of a fair-copy by a copyist, he probably inserted or amplified the passages in which Maḥmūd is praised (one of these eulogies, for example, was inserted after the composition of the account of the death of Rustam, for the poet speaks in it of his old age and his infirmities: ed. Mohl, iv, 702). At this point his protector, the vizier Faḍl b. Aḥmad al-Isfarāyinī, was dismissed; the poet was left without a supporter and his work was ill-received when he presented it to the sultan. Various stories have been handed down concerning his journey to Ghazna and the presentation of the poem, but they are not reliable: all that is to be accepted is that the journey took place, and that it resulted in a disappointment, expressed by Firdawsī in the words: "Such a monarch, so generous, shining among the sovereigns, did not cast a glance at my poem: the fault lies with slanderers and with ill-fortune" (ed. Mohl, vii, 294). According to a tradition frequently repeated (it is given by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī), Maḥmūd had promised one *dīnār* for each verse, but gave only a *dirham*. Firdawsī, offended at the contrast between this reward and those heaped on the panegyrists living at the court, divided the sum he received among three persons before abruptly leaving Ghazna. One of his biographers claims that he worked on his epic for some months at the court of Maḥmūd, who loaded him with honours; this report, like other similar ones, is not to be accepted: Firdawsī travelled to Ghazna simply to present his work. On reading the biographers, one is led to presume that the chief cause of Firdawsī's dissatisfaction was the inadequacy of his reward. But the causes of misunderstanding between the sultan and the poet were more serious. In the first place, Firdawsī was a Shīʿī and Maḥmūd a Sunnī—each enthusiastically; according to Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, the poet was accused of being a *Muʿtazilī* and a *Rāfiḍī* (a 'rejecter' of Sunnism), and he quotes in support some verses of Firdawsī (*op. cit.*, 56); as for his Shīʿism, Firdawsī does not announce it directly but allows it to be inferred in the introduction of his poem (ed. Mohl, i, 14-6). Futhermore, he had in his poem praised a vizier who had fallen out of favour, thus laying himself open to misrepresentation by his detractors. Finally, and most important, the poet could not tolerate the sultan's lack of interest ("Such a monarch ... did not cast a glance at my poem"): Maḥmūd appreciated only lyric poems, and particularly those devoted to his praise—slight and frivolous works in comparison with a vast and powerful epic.

According to Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī (p. 57), Firdawsī, on leaving Ghazna, spent six months at Herāt, returned to Ṭūs, and then went to Ṭabaristān to the court of the prince Shahriyār. It is impossible to confirm the truth of this. Moreover a legend gradually grew up on the relations between Maḥmūd and Firdawsī, but it is impossible to give credence to its account of how the poet, loaded with honours, stayed for a long time at the court of Maḥmūd, and of the sultan's belated change of heart. This very romantic legend, given authority by the preface to the *Shāhnāma* written by the Tīmūrid prince Baysunghur (829/1426), was used by Macan and Mohl in the prefaces to their editions. Firdawsī is said to have written a satire against Maḥmūd (published in the editions and translated by Mohl, i, introd.); it is said that Shahriyār pacified him and advised him to leave intact the passages of the *Shāhnāma* composed in praise of Maḥmūd, and that of his satire there remain only six authentic verses, quoted by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī; but the text of it as given in the manuscripts varies in length up to as many as a hundred verses, including some borrowed here and there from the *Shāhnāma*. These satirical verses, examined as a whole, show the same qualities of style and composition as the *Shāhnāma*, so that it would be rash to affirm that they are not authentic (cf. Nöldeke, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 155 ff.).

The date when he finally completed his epic is recorded on its last page: "When I was 71 years of age the heavens paid homage to my poem; for 35 years, in this transient world, I composed my work in the hope of a reward; as my efforts were spent for nothing, these 35 years were without result; now I am nearly 80 and all my hope has gone with the wind. The last episode of my epic was completed on the day of *ard* of the month of *isfendarmadh*, five times 80 years of the Hidjra having elapsed" (therefore in 400/25 February 1010). In other words, he had completed his poem at the age of 71 (in 400 A.H.), and when he was nearly 80 he added to it a note of the date of completion. He spent his last years at Ṭūs. According to Dawlatshāh, he died in 411/1020. Perhaps, as Nöldeke assumes (*loc. cit.*), the satire against Maḥmūd was found among his papers and communicated to various people who spread copies of it around. According to Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, he was refused burial in a Muslim cemetary because he was a *Rāfiḍī*; he was buried in a garden which belonged to him (on his grave and on his present mausoleum, see ṬŪS).

In a manuscript in the British Museum (text and tr. in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. and tr. Ch. Schefer; text reproduced with emendations in Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, Tehrān 1935, vii, 3019), it is related that Firdawsī made in 384/994 a journey to Iṣfahān and Baghdād, and that he offered to the *amīr* of ʿIrāḳ his poem *Yūsuf u-Zalīkhā* [*q.v.*]: Nöldeke (*Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 229 ff.) and S. H. Taḳīzāda (in the review *Kāveh*, 1921, no. 10) have praised this poem, whose attribution to Firdawsī is now questioned (Z. Safa, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 477) for several reasons, notably the presence of many more Arabic words than are found in the *Shāhnāma*, apart from peculiarities of style. In any case this journey to ʿIrāḳ seems doubtful. The death of a son at the age of 37 (the poet being then 65) inspired some sublime verses (ed. Mohl, vii, 190). Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī says that he had a devoted daughter, of whom however he makes no mention. Such are the generally accepted facts and dates of the life of Firdawsī.

It is impossible to give more than a brief outline of the vast *Shāhnāma* (amounting in several manuscripts to some 60,000 verses). It begins with the creation of the universe; some time later the first kings of Iran were reigning, benefactors of humanity for which they established the various elements of social life, at the same time struggling against the demons which infest the world. For more than a thousand years these good and evil powers confronted each other in an unremitting duel full of dramatic episodes. At last one of these mythical kings established a general peace for half a century; but after his death his three sons, among whom he had shared out the civilized world, could not agree, and one of them, who ruled over Iran, was treacherously assassinated by his brothers. This murder begins an endless cycle of revenge: a merciless war is waged for several centuries between the settled Iranians and the nomadic Turanians of Central Asia. Whether he is describing pitched battles, skirmishes or single combats, the poet exhibits an unequalled skill in varying the situations, and in maintaining a note of the most ardent patriotism, which does not however lead him to belittle the bravery of the enemy: throughout the poem the adversaries are worthy of each other. This cycle of wars is divided into several "gestes", corresponding to the exploits of the heroes who dominate the action—heroes of superhuman proportions and strength, among whom the famous Rustam stands out. This epic, while dealing mainly with war, contains some splendid love-stories, by which Firdawsī, the incomparable creator of the national epic, became at the same time the founder of the romantic narrative poem which was to have such a brilliant future in Persia. His sensibility, as lively as it is deep, shows itself in a series of sentimental episodes where paroxysms of passion alternate with those of despair. While two-thirds of the poem are essentially heroic and legendary, the last part is more historical and recounts poetically the reigns of the Sāsānid kings; this part is the product of the poet's old age, whence the numerous moral reflexions and the digressions on politics and metaphysics. Firdawsī's ideas would demand a lengthy study. His view of the universe is entirely pessimistic; an implacable fate, the sister of that which dominates Greek tragedy, hangs over the principal actors of the epic until the final catastrophe in which ancient Iran perishes. Yet man must ceaselessly struggle against fate: Firdawsī's moral philosophy (which corresponds, though not deliberately, with that of the Avesta) vehemently preaches action and the love of good, which uphold in man reason—his unique privilege and his true claim to superiority over all other beings. Reason must always guide us: it teaches us to accept the (sometimes only apparent) injustice of fate and enables man to retain that feeling of tender sympathy which Firdawsī himself so often shows for luckless heroes and for suffering animals; for the character of this poet as a man is in harmony with his exceptional gifts as an artist—nobility and purity of heart, family affection, complete self-sacrifice for the sake of his work, love of glory, kindness to the weak and the defeated, ardent patriotism, religious tolerance and a profound sense of the Divine. In short, he combines harmoniously what he drew from his sources with what he owed to personal inspiration and he made magnificent use of the gifts which he possessed. As for his style, whether in the fantastic elements demanded by the epic of the supernatural or in the gracefulness of descriptions of the countryside or in heroic episodes, he excels at describing and explaining the facts and at expressing sentiments and ideas in a clear and simple language, firm but eloquent, and remarkable for the aptness of the terms used and the nobility of the thoughts. The level of expression is always equal to that of the ideas, which does not preclude the generous use of images; he varies his expressions according to the type and rank of the characters; he sometimes uses the different rhetorical figures common in the East, but not to excess, and his style remains sober even among the exaggerations proper to the epic genre. There are very few Arabic words in the poem: he wanted to revive the ancient Iran, but to do it in the Iranian tongue, remaining faithful to his sources; it is in the story of Alexander the Great that most Arabic words are to be found (for he was using a non-Iranian source, translated into Pahlavi [see ISKANDAR NĀMA]). His influence on Persian literature and indeed on the spirit of the people of Iran has been as profound as it has been lasting, and in itself would merit a serious study; in particular it led to the writing of numerous epics which, though not the equal of his own, are of real (and still insufficiently recognized) interest from the points of view both of literature and of folklore [see ḤAMĀSA].

Bibliography: A full bibliography would itself constitute a detailed study. Complete editions of the *Shāhnāma*: Turner Macan, *The Shah-Nama* . . . , Calcutta 1829, 4 vols.; J. Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois* . . . , text and French translation, Paris 1838-78, 7 vols., and translation alone, Paris 1876-8, 7 vols.; J. A. Vullers and Landauer, *Liber Regum* . . . , Leyden 1877-84, 3 vols. (incomplete). These three editions were used for the Firdawsī Millenary edition (with notes and variants, Tehrān, Beroukhim, 1934-5, 9 vols.), which is now the most easily accessible (it gives the pagination of the Calcutta and Paris editions at the head of each page). Parts i and ii of a critical text prepared under the editorship of E. E. Bertels appeared in Moscow in 1960 and 1961. Besides Mohl's translation, it has been translated into Italian verse by Pizzi (Turin 1886-8), into German by F. Rückert (Berlin 1890-5), into Gudjarātī by J. J. Modi (Bombay 1897-1904), into English by A. G. and E. Warner (London 1905-12), into Danish (selections) by Arthur Christensen (Copenhagen 1931); many sections have been translated into various languages. An Arabic prose version was made by AL-BUNDĀRĪ [*q.v.*]. The essential study on the poet and his work (still of value although out of date on certain points) is Nöldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos*, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, Persian translation, *Ḥamāsa-i millī-i Irān*, Tehrān 1327), to which is to be added Êthé, *Firdausi als Lyriker*, in *München. Sitzungsberichte*, 1872, 275-304, and 1873, 623-53. In Persian there are the notable works of Z. A. Safa, *Ḥamāsa-sarāyī dar Īrān* and *Ta'rīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, ii. Finally, numerous articles and studies assembled in volumes or dispersed in periodicals, published in Iran and other countries. See further *IA* (Firdevsi, by H. Ritter), and Pearson 774-5. (CL. HUART-[H. MASSÉ])

There are three principal translations of the *Shāhnāma* in Ottoman Turkish: (1) a prose version, completed by an unidentified writer in 854/1450-1 (Flügel, *Die . . . Handschriften des Kais.-kön. Hofbibl. zu Wien*, i, 495; F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı . . . türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961, no. 2154; cf. Blochet, *Cat. des manuscrits turcs*, ii, 220); (2) a verse translation (in *hazadj* metre) made in Egypt

by a certain Sherīf or Sherīfī, a member of the entourage of Prince Djem, who spent ten years on the task before presenting his work to Sultan Ḳānṣūh Ghūrī (see Rieu, *CTM*, 152; W. D. Smirnow, *Manuscrits turcs* ..., St. Petersburg 1897, 78-82; the presentation-copy, completed in 916/1510, is in the Topkapı Sarayı at Istanbul, MS Hazine 1519, see Karatay, no. 2155); (3) another prose version made early in the 11th/17th century for ʿOthmān II by Derwīsh Ḥasan, Medḥī [*q.v.*] (see Blochet, i, 314; Smirnow, 82-7). There is a translation into modern Turkish (in the series '*Dünya edebiyatından tercümeler*') by N. Lûgal and K. Akyüz, 3 vols., Istanbul 1945. There are at least two translations into Özbek Turkish (see Blochet, ii, 129; *Firdausī Celebration* ..., ed. D. E. Smith, New York 1936, 93 f.). For the influence of the *Shāhnāma* upon Turkish popular literature see Irène Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim* ..., Paris 1962, ch. 1.

To compose '*Shāhnāmes*' in praise of the Ottoman sultan became the vogue under Meḥemmed II, and in the second half of the 10th/16th century the official historiographer-panegyrists of the court were known as '*shehnāme-khwān*' [see LOḲMĀN, SAYYID]. (V. L. MÉNAGE)

FIRDEWSĪ, called RŪMĪ also UZUN or ṬAWĪL (857/1453- ?). Turkish poet and polymath, author of the voluminous *Süleymānnāme* (the Book of Solomon). He was probably born in Aydïndjïk, where he spent his childhood, and educated at Bursa, where he had as master the poet Melīḥī, and lived for a while at Balïkesir. According to information in the introduction of a *Süleymānnāme* copy, seen by M. Fuad Köprülü (see Bibl.) but now unavailable, his ancestors were all illustrious men of arms who served the Empire from ʿOthmān I onwards, and his father Ḥādjdjī Genek Bey was given the fief of Aydïndjïk for his services at the conquest of Istanbul. He is the author and translator of many books of very diverse subjects of which only some have come down to us. But he is particularly known for his *Süleymānnāme*, an encyclopaedic work in verse and prose which includes all contemporary knowledge on history, genealogy, philosophy, geometry, medicine, etc., and all the tales and anecdotes, found in religious literature, concerning Solomon. In its 81st volume he himself tells how he came to write the book: in the year 876/1472 he translated a portion of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* into Turkish verse and presented it to Meḥemmed II through Maḥmūd Pasha, the Grand-Vizier. The Sultan, remarking that the *Shāhnāma* was widely known and that it was unnecessary to repeat it, encouraged the poet to write a book on Solomon. Firdewsī searched for sources in the Imperial Library and toured Anatolia. He based his first three volumes on the biblical David legend and the next three on a Persian book of Solomon which he had bought from an Arab at Niksar. He presented the first six volumes of his work to Meḥemmed II, who promised a reward when the work was completed. The Sultan however died while Firdewsī was writing the seventh volume. Eventually Bāyezīd II came to hear of this and asked for a copy. The first 82 volumes were submitted to the Imperial Library except for this 81st volume which somehow, owing to the copyist's error, was not. It was eventually submitted to Selīm I (*Süleymānnāme*, 81st volume, Millet Kütüphanesi, Tarih-Coğrafa Yazmaları no. 317, 3b-4a and 123a).

Firdewsī had planned his enormous work originally in 366 volumes divided into 1830 *medjlis*, as he states at the end of certain early volumes (see for instance Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine K. no. 1525, 287b), and asked God for health and long life to be able to complete the work. Upon completion each volume was duly presented to the Imperial Library. Uzun Firdewsī continued to write at Bāyezīd II's order (whom incidentally he refers to as *Ildirim*) and speaks of himself as an aged man (*pīr*). He says that he has devoted 40-50 years of his life to the compilation of the book, writing most of it at Balïkesir (Topkapı Sarayı, Koğuşlar K. 892, 83a). From these circumstances no doubt arises Laṭīfī's tradition, later repeated by most sources, that Bāyezīd II chose only 80 parts and had the rest destroyed.

At the end of the 79th volume Firdewsī reduces his plan to 99 volumes from the original 366 (Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine K., no. 1537, 387a). This revised plan is repeated at the end of volumes 80 and 81. There is also reference to intrigues and rivals. We have no indication whether he was able to write the remaining 17 volumes. No library possesses a complete set. The best set is at the Topkapı Sarayı Library. The style of the *Süleymānnāme* is very much like that of popular story books of the period though more repetitive and less vivid.

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(FAHİR İZ)

FIRE [see NĀR], GREEK FIRE [see BĀRŪD and NAFṬ].

FIREWORKS [see SHENLIK].

FIRISHTA [see MALʾAK].

FIRISHTA, by-name of MUḤAMMAD ḲĀSIM HINDŪ SHĀH ASTARĀBĀDĪ, Indo-Muslim historian, writer on Indian medicine and servant of the Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpūrī sultanates. As Storey (whose account of Firishta's biography is followed here) states, the date and place of his birth remain conjectural but the context of *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay ed., ii, 288, suggests that Firishta was probably born a few years before 980/1572. His father was one Ghulām ʿAlī Hindū-Shāh. That Firishta was to be found among the *gharībān* and *gharīb-zādahā* the 'foreigners' and their descendants who migrated for safety to Bīdjāpūr in 997/1589 (*Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, ii, 295) suggests that his family was of recent domicile in Aḥmadnagar. He was a Shīʿī (*Gulshan*, i, 27). Entering the service of Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh (972-96/1565-88) [*q.v.*] Firishta was employed as a member of the royal guard. Commissioned by Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh to discover why an army, gathered by the *wakīl* and *peshwa* Mīrzā Khān ostensibly to resist invasion by Bīdjāpūr, had remained immobile, Firishta discovered a plot between Mīrzā Khān and the Bīdjāpūrī 'regent' Dilāwar Khān to depose Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh in favour of his son Mīrān Ḥusayn. Firishta warned Murtaḍā but was unable to save him from assassination. Firishta himself only escaped death through Mīrān Ḥusayn recognizing his claims as a former school-fellow. A forced migration of *gharībān* from Aḥmadnagar to Bīdjāpūr in 997/1589 followed the murder of Mīrān Ḥusayn and on 19 Ṣafar 998/28 December 1589 Firishta was presented at the Bīdjāpūrī court and on 1 Rabīʿ I 998/8 January 1590 took service under Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh. Later that year Firishta acted as a go-between for Burhān

Niẓām Shāh who was seeking Bīdjāpūrī support for the deposition of his son Ismāʿīl. In the subsequent struggle between the forces of Bīdjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar, Firishta was wounded and captured, but escaped. In Radjab 998/May-June 1590 he accompanied Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh on his night excursion to remove the 'regent' Dilāwar Khān. In Ṣafar 1013/July 1604 Firishta accompanied Bēgam Sulṭān, daughter of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, upon her journey to marry Akbar's son Dāniyāl. At the beginning of Djahāngīr's reign, Firishta was sent upon some unspecified mission to Lahore. Unless the reference to the death of Bahādur Khān Fārūḳī at Āgra in 1033/1623-4 was inserted by a later hand, Firishta was still alive in that year.

Firishta's reputation rests upon his well-known history the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, extant in two recensions, the first dated 1015/1606-7 and the second, with a new title, *Taʾrīkh-i Nawras-nāma*, dated 1018/1609-10. The *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* sets out (i, 4) to narrate the annals of the *pādshāhān-i Islām* and the biographies of the *mashāʾikh* who have been connected with the ordering (*niẓām*) of the countries of Hindustān (*mamālik-i Hindūstān*) from Sebüktigīn of Ghazna onward. The annals (*wāḳiʿāt*) are prefaced by a *muḳaddima* giving an abstract of Hindū history and are followed with a *khātima* on the geography of Hindustān, on Hindū chronometry and on the great Hindū *rādjās* of Firishta's time who keep their territories, Firishta says (ii, 788), on payment of tribute.

The typical *genres* of Indo-Muslim historiography in Firishta's day were the general history of Muslim rulers from the time of the Prophet and the regional history of the significant behaviour of Muslim rulers and saints in Hindustān since the Ghaznavid invasions. 9th/15th century Persian models appear to have been important in the universal histories that were written under the Mughals and under the sultanate of Gudjarāt, with lines of influence running from the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā* through Khʷānd Amīr's *Khulāṣat al-akhbār* (905/1500) and *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (c. 930/1524) to the *Taʾrīkh-i alfī*, commissioned by Akbar in 993/1585, and from the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā* through ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Namīdīhī's (?) *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Maḥmūd Shāhiyya* (c. 905/1490-1500) and Fayḍ Allāh Banbānī's *Taʾrīkh-i Ṣadr-i Djahān* (c. 907/1501-2) (both authors being in the service of Maḥmūd Shāh Bēgṛā). Akbar had stimulated the production of regional histories both by sponsoring the writing of those which might serve to link his rule psychologically with that of pre-Mughal Muslim sultans in India, *e.g.*, ʿAbbās Khān Sarwānī's *Tuḥfa-yi Akbar-Shāhī* (c. 987/1579) and Abu 'l-Faḍl's *Akbar-nāma*, and by re-creating a great regional empire which needed to be matched by a great regional history—*e.g.*, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (1001/1592-3). Firishta himself, acquainted with both al-Namīdīhī's and Banbānī's work, states (ii, 153-4) that Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh gave him a copy of *Rawḍat al-ṣafā* and encouraged him to write the annals of the countries of Hind and to include more data on the sultans of the Deccan than Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad had done in his *Ṭabaḳāt*.

The *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* is an annalistic compilation from earlier histories, oral tradition and Firishta's own eyewitness, intended for the edification of Muslims. It is an adaptation and extension of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, an imitation rather than a copy. Thus Firishta's abstract of pre-Muslim Hindū history and his account of early Arab movements towards Hindustān, of the origin of the Afghāns and of their deeds between Arab penetration of the Kābul valley and the reign of Sebüktigīn of Ghazna, supplement Niẓām al-Dīn. In his use of data, Firishta follows no consistent principle. Thus (i, 104) he corrupts the late tradition in *Taʾrīkh-i Alfī* and in *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* by calling the assassins of Muḥammad b. Sām of Ghor at Damyak in 602/1206 (Hindū) 'Ghakkars' and does not assess the statements in the near-contemporary *Tādj al-maʾāthir* and the rather later *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* (listed by Firishta as among his sources) that they were *mulāḥida*. (See H. G. Raverty, trans. *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, i, London 1881, 485 n. 3). Firishta sometimes behaves as a mere copyist of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*; thus he copies (i, 122) Niẓām al-Dīn's misstatement, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, i, Calcutta 1927, 72, (probably derived from a faulty MS of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*) that in 642/4 Čingīz Khān invaded Lakhnawtī. (See Raverty, *op. cit.* 665 n. 8). In going behind Niẓām al-Dīn to their common sources Firishta is often arbitrary. He follows Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī's *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, Calcutta 1931, 92, in dating the accession of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ in 721/1321, in preference to Baranī's 720/1320 (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1862, 425), the date followed by the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (92) and which is supported by the numismatic evidence. Firishta appears to have seen the sources of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* independently. His account (i, 183) of the dialogue between the *koṭwāl* of Dihlī and Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (i, 183) is textually closer to that of Baranī (264-5) than to that of the *Ṭabaḳāt* (145). Firishta glosses his sources without explanation. Thus he speaks (i, 240) of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's intention to conquer the *wilāyat-i Čīn* when Baranī (477), and following him Niẓām al-Dīn (102), refer to an expedition to conquer the mountain of Ḳarāčīl between India and China. Occasionally, in handling his data, Firishta shows independence of mind. He imputes (i, 238) Baranī's silence about a reported invasion of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's territories by Tarmashīrīn of Transoxania to his position in the reign of Muḥammad's successor, Fīrūz Shāh (an imputation which, in the light of Baranī's strong criticism of Muḥammad, seems invalid). He attempts (i, 235) to assess the truth behind the conflicting accounts of the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ in 725/1325, before concluding that the real truth is with God. To supplement his written data, Firishta draws upon oral tradition personally ascertained. His account (i, 230-1) of the origin of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ is based on personal inquiries at Lahore during his visit there at the beginning of Djahāngīr's reign.

Firishta evinces the same characteristics as an annalist of the Muslim sultanates of the Deccan. The story of the Ottoman origin of Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjāpūr is given as 'the best of tales' (ii, 1) but without a personal affirmation of its authenticity. [See BĪDJĀPUR]. His report (ii, 6) that Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh assumed the title of ʿĀdil Shāh and had the *khuṭba* read in his name in 895/1489 is not consistent with the evidence of Rafīʿ al-Dīn Shīrāzī, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, B.M. Add. 23,883, fols. 32a-33b, a work contemporary with *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* or with such inscriptional evidence as is now extant (see *EIM*, 1939-40, 14-6). Firishta's evidence for the assumption of royal titles by Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk of Golkonda has similarly been shown to be doubtful testimony (see *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1918, 89-94). As a historian of the Bahmanī sultanate, Firishta is no less suspect.

He states (i, 575) that the fifth Bahmanī sultan was Maḥmūd and not Muḥammad as the coinage (O. Codrington, *Coins of the Bahmani dynasty*, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, xviii (1898), 259-73), and ʿAlī b. ʿAzīz Allāh Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir* (1003/1594), Ḥaydarābād 1355/1936, 36-8, and Shīrāzī's *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, fol. 16a-b, suggest. On the discrepancies between the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* and the *Burhān-i maʾāthir* in other respects see Sir Wolseley Haig, *The history of the Nizām Shāhī kings of Aḥmadnagar*, in *Indian Antiquary*, xlix-lii, 1920-3. The differences between the accounts of Deccan and Gudjarāt history by Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad and Firishta have been exhaustively noticed in the translation of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* by Brajendranath De, iii/1, *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta 1939.

Criticism of Firishta as a historian, often by anachronistic criteria (*e.g.*, S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, Bombay 1939, 594-5), has perhaps been the more severe by reason of the reputation and status of an 'authority' which he enjoyed among European writers on Indo-Muslim history from the middle of the 18th century. Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan*, 2 vols., London 1768, introduced the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, (*maḳālas* i and ii only), to a European public in the form of an interpretation in which there is little to distinguish a very free translation from Dow's own glosses. As a general annalist of Muslim rule in Hindustān Firishta provided a basis for that general history of India before the attainment of political authority by the East India Company for which Dow hoped his countrymen were, by reason of their growing involvement in India, ready. A translation of the eleventh *maḳāla* on Malībār in the *Asiatick miscellany*, ii, Calcutta 1786, and of the third *maḳāla* by Jonathan Scott, *Ferishta's history of Dekkan*, 2 vols., Shrewsbury 1794, further established Firishta as an 'authority' and Thomas Maurice, *History of Hindostan*, 2 vols. and 2 parts, London 1802-10, David Price, *Chronological retrospect*, 3 vols., London 1811-21, and James Mill, *History of British India*, 3 vols., London 1817, drew more or less heavily upon him. In 1829, Lt. Col. John Briggs published a translation of all the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* except the part containing the biographies of the *mashāʾikh* and, in 1831-2, the Bombay two-volume edition of the entire Persian text. Both translation and text are based upon a collation of unspecified MSS but without an indication of variant readings or other critical apparatus. Later editions of the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* (see Storey, 448) cannot be said to have established a definitive text. Mountstuart Elphinstone in his *History of India*, 2 vols., London 1841, gave a powerful impetus to the process of change from treating the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* as an historical 'authority' to treating it as historical data, when he went behind Firishta to many of Firishta's own sources. Sir Henry Elliot and John Dowson took the process further with (Elliot's) *Bibliographical index to the historians of Muhammedan India*, Calcutta 1849, and *The history of India as told by its own historians*, 10 vols., London 1867-77. Now that subsequent publication of literary, numismatic, inscriptional and other material on Indo-Muslim history and subsequent development of a more critical technique have destroyed dependence on Firishta (and the concept of dependence upon 'authorities'), the time is ripe for a new assessment of his character and achievement as a historical writer.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text; Storey, 442-50; Baini Prashad, Preface to vol. iii of Brajendranath De's translation of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1939, xxxii-xxxiii; S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 2 vols., Bombay 1939, 1957, in the course of his commentary on Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, gives incidentally an indispensable critique of Firishta's work; Jagtar Singh Grewal, *British historical writing (from Alexander Dow to Mountstuart Elphinstone) on Muslim India*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1963.

(P. Hardy)

FIRISHTE-OGHLU (Firishte-zāde, Ibn Firishte, also Ibn Malak), patronymic of two Turkish writers, brothers, who flourished in Anatolia in the 9th/15th century.

1. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Firishte ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Amīn al-Dīn, known particularly as Ibn Malak, lived at Tire first in the period of the Aydln-oghullarl and later under Ottoman rule (so that he is listed in biographical works among the *ʿulamāʾ* of the reign of Bāyezīd I), and won enduring fame as the author of works in the fields of *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*. The chronologically impossible statement in the *Shaḳāʾiḳ* that he was active in the reign of Meḥemmed b. Aydln (d. 733/1333) arises from a confusion of him with his father, the *ḳāḍī* of Birgi whom Ibn Baṭṭūta met in that year (Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii, 296, 300=Eng. tr. H. A. R. Gibb, ii, 438, 440). According to Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 74) he was educated at Maghnīsā. He taught for many years in Tire at the *medrese* founded by Meḥemmed Beg (to which later his own name was attached), and lies buried beside it. The date of his death is differently reported: the gravestone dated 797/1394-5, which Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir [see Bibl.] thought to be his, in fact commemorates someone else; the year 801/1398-9 is reported by Ismāʿīl Pasha, 820/1417 by Meḥmed Thüreyyā, and 821/1418 by Faik Tokluoğlu (*Tire*, n.p., 1957, 12); all these dates seem to be too early, since one of his works was composed in 824/1421.

Of his works (reported by Ewliyā to be 700 in number) the chief are (in Arabic): (1) *Mabāriḳ al-azhār fī sharḥ Mashāriḳ al-anwār*; (2) *Sharḥ Manār al-anwār* (autograph, dated 824, in Necip Paşa Kütüphanesi, Tire)—these two works, long regarded as classics, were printed in several editions in the 19th century; (3) *Sharḥ Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn*; (4) *Sharḥ al-Wiḳāya*; (5) *Manāfiʿ al-Ḳurʾān*; (6) *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*; (7) *Munyat al-ṣayyādīn fī taʿlīm al-iṣṭiyād wa-aḥkāmih* (on hunting); (in Persian): (8) *K. al-Maẓāhir*. His best-known work is his rhyming Arabic-Turkish dictionary of certain words found in the Ḳurʾān known as *Firishte-oghlu lughati*: this was the model for the later rhyming dictionaries of Ottoman literature. The *Badr al-wāʿiẓīn wa-ẓuhr al-ʿābidīn* and the *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, sometimes attributed to him, are in fact by his son Meḥemmed, and the *Lughat-i Ḳānūn-i ilāhī* by another son ʿAbd al-Madjīd.

Bibliography: Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, tr. Medjdī, 66-7; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, Ist. Un. Lib., MS T 5459, f. 36r.; Taḳī al-Dīn b. al-Tamīmī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-saniyya fī tarādjim al-ḥanafiyya*, Süleymaniye Lib., MS 829, f. 260v.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 29, 240=ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge, i, 231, 275; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 74, 166; Mustaḳīm-zāde, *Madjallat al-nisab*, Süleymaniye Lib., MS Halet Ef. 628, f. 53r.; Aḥmed Ḥasīb, *Silk al-laʾālī*, Ist. Un. Lib., MS T 104, f. 80; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 454; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *Aydin wilāyetine mensūb meshāʾikh, ʿulemāʾ, shuʿarāʾ, müwerrikhīn*

ve eṭibbânîñ terâdjim-i aḥwâli, Izmir 1324, 36-8; idem, *ʿOthmânlî mü'ellifleri*, i, 219-20; Sarkis, *Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1346, i, 252-3; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348, i, 374; Brockelmann, S II, 315-6; Ismail Paşa, *Asmā' al-mu'allifīn*, Istanbul 1951, i, 617; Faik Şişik, *Abdüllatif Ibn-i Melek*, in *Küçük Menderes Mecmuası*, nos. 10 and 11 (Izmir 1942); idem, *Ibn-i Melek-zâde Mehmet Efendi*, *ibid.*, no. 12 (1942).

2. ʿAbd al-Madjīd b. Firishte ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Amīn al-Dīn, known usually simply as Firishte-oghlu, was one of the chief disciples of Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*], founder of the Ḥurūfī sect [see ḤURŪFIYYA] in the line: Faḍl Allāh—Sayyid Shams al-Dīn—Mewlānā Bāyazīd—ʿAbd al-Madjīd. (Medjdī in his translation of the *Shaḳā'iḳ* denies his connexion with the Ḥurūfiyya, from the desire to avoid compromising his honoured and orthodox brother). Little is known of his life; he is reported to have died in 864/1469. His *ʿIshḳ-nāme* remained for centuries, with Faḍl Allāh's *Djāwidān-nāme*, one of the principal books of the sect. Works (all in Turkish): (1) *ʿIshḳ-nāme* (lith., Istanbul 1288/1871 and n.d.), begun in 833/1430, is partly an abridged translation of Faḍl Allāh's *Djāwidān-i kabīr*, partly original; it formed the basis for Isḥāḳ Efendi's refutation of the Ḥurūfiyya (*Kāshif al-asrār*, 31 ff.); (2) *Hidāyet-nāme*, composed 833/1434; (3) *Khʷāb-nāme*, translation from Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan Iṣfahānī; (4) *Ākhiret-nāme* (the last three are preserved in Ist. Un. Lib., MS T 9685). The dictionary to the Ḳur'ān sometimes attributed to him is the work of his nephew ʿAbd al-Madjīd,see above.

Bibliography: Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳā'iḳ*, tr. Medjdī, 67; Isḥāḳ Efendi, *Kāshif al-asrār*, Istanbul 1291, 157; J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London 1937, 152-4.

(ÖMER FARUK AKÜN)

FIRḲA [see ḤIZB (on political parties), AL-MILAL WA'L-NIḤAL, ṬARĪḲA].

FIRMAN [see FARMĀN].

FIRRĪSH (Sp. Castillo del Hierro), in the province of Seville, north of the Guadalquivir valley between Cazalla de la Sierra and Hornachuelos, in the neighbourhood of Constantina. The *kūra* (or region) of Firrīsh, adjacent to that of Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ [*q.v.*], lay two stages distant to the north-west of Cordova. There were and still are chestnuts and cork-oaks in its region, but its forests were composed then as now chiefly of evergreen oaks as in Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ. Its principal wealth lay in the exploitation of its iron, which gave it its names of Castillo del Hierro and Constantina del Hierro, and which was used throughout al-Andalus on account of its excellent quality. The deposits, however, must soon have been exhausted for no trace of this industry now remains. According to the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* Constantina was a great Roman town, and indeed ruins of Roman origin have been found there in the Cerro del Almendro, as also ruins of a Muslim fortress. Remains of another fortification, which might be Almoravid, have been encountered in the Cerro del Castillo. There are also prehistoric remains as yet unexplored.

In the listing of the regions of al-Andalus all the geographers place Firrīsh adjacent to Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ and in the levy of troops which Muḥammad I made in 249/863 for the expedition against Galicia Firrīsh appears with 342 horsemen alongside Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ which provides 400. Both Firrīsh and Constantina lie to the west of Cordova, not the north-west as stated in the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*. Between them and the district of Los Pedroches lies the wide band of uninhabited and uncultivated land constituted by the Sierra Morena which must be crossed before the descent of the deep valley of the Guadiato with its castle of al-Baḳār. In 230/844 the Normans, temporarily masters of Seville, launched raids in all directions and thus reached not only Morón and Cordova but also Firrīsh, which at that time was working, besides its iron mine, a quarry of highly esteemed pure white marble.

Bibliography: Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, text 143, tr. 171-2; Idrīsī, *Descr.*, text 207, tr. 256; Dozy, *Recherches*³, ii, 294; Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, i, 218; idem, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xᵉ siècle*, 117; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 889-90.

(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

FĪRŪZ SHĀH KHALDJĪ [see DIHLĪ, SULTANATE OF].

FĪRŪZ SHĀH TUGHLUḲ (b. 707/1307-8) was the son of *Sipahsālār* Radjab, younger brother of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ Shāh, and Bībī Nā'ila, daughter of a Hindū *zamīndār* of the Bhattī tribe of southern Pandjāb. (No contemporary or later Persian source uses 'Tughluḳ' with Fīrūz Shāh's name. The addition of 'Tughluḳ' after his name is a modern innovation, convenient but inaccurate.) During the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, Fīrūz occupied the high position of Nā'ib Amīr Ḥādjib and played an important part in the affairs of state. On the death of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ near Thaṭṭha in Sind in Muḥarram 752/March 1351, Fīrūz was elected to the throne by the nobles and notables (including several influential religious leaders) present in the imperial camp. He had no difficulty in overcoming the opposition of Khwādja Djahān Aḥmad Ayāz, the *wazīr* of the late Sultan, at Dehlī.

Despite his pacific temperament, Fīrūz Shāh was not without imperial ambitions. He had a keen desire to regain the provinces lost during the previous reign. The two successive campaigns he led to Bengāl (754-5/1353-4 and 760-2/1359-61) gained practically nothing. His prolonged and costly expedition against the Samma chiefs of Thaṭṭha (767-8/1366-7) resulted only in the extension of his suzerainty to the distant province, as did his invasion of Kāngṛa (764/1363). As a general Fīrūz Shāh was thoroughly incompetent: his conduct of war suffered from his professed desire to avoid all bloodshed and his vacillating judgment. It was therefore fortunate that he did not go ahead with a projected invasion of the Deccan (prob. 764/1363) and that sometime later, on the advice of his *wazīr*, Khān Djahān, he resolved not to undertake any further expeditions.

Fīrūz Shāh ordered a new revenue survey of the empire. He followed a liberal agrarian policy, levying only one-fifth of the produce as revenue. He issued orders to his revenue staff to deal leniently with the peasants. He dug several canals and numerous irrigation wells. The resulting extension of cultivation, apart from benefiting the peasantry, contributed to a cheaper and more plentiful supply of food-grains in the urban areas. Fīrūz Shāh abolished twenty-nine taxes, most of which were urban cesses: the measure benefited the small shop-keeper, the artisan and the craftsman.

Fīrūz Shāh humanized the government and softened the code of punishment. But his benevolence often bordered upon weakness. He granted big *iḳṭāʿ*s to his nobles, leaving them practically free to manage these estates as they chose. The measure enriched the nobles and impoverished the state. Fīrūz Shāh failed to check corruption in the admini-

stration. Indeed, some of his own measures contributed to corruption and inefficiency. The Sultan's weakness was to some extent balanced by the wisdom and firmness of his *wazīr*, Khān Djahān Maḳbūl (a convert, from Telingānā in South India), whom he trusted implicitly and who served him with rare loyalty. Another buttress which Fīrūz Shāh built up to offset his weakness was the large body of personal slaves he acquired and maintained. These slaves, known as the *bandagān-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, though loyal to their master, created much trouble towards the end of the Sultan's reign and after his death.

In religious matters Fīrūz Shāh was strongly orthodox. He suppressed extremist sectarian manifestations and outbreaks of what he considered heretical movements in his kingdom. On the advice of the *ʿulamāʾ* (whom he frequently consulted), he extended *djizya* to the Brahmans, who had so far been exempt from the tax, though he allowed them to pay it at the lowest rate. Fīrūz Shāh was the last Sultan of Dehlī to receive investiture from the ʿAbbāsid caliph, himself by now a powerless pensionary in Cairo.

Fīrūz Shāh was a prolific builder. He founded several towns, including a new city of Dehlī named Fīrūzābād, and Djawnpūr, named after his late imperial cousin Djawnā Khān alias Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. He built many mosques, *madrasas* and other royal and public edifices. Architecturally his buildings, though possessing a conspicuous style, were not of a high order. He also showed interest in preserving old monuments and repaired many of these, including the Ḳuṭb Mīnār. His transplanting of two Asokan pillars from their original sites to the city of Dehlī was a creditable feat of mediaeval engineering. The operation in all its phases—the uprooting of the pillars, transporting them across the river Djamunā and refixing them in the sites where they stand to this day—is described in elaborate detail in the *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (see *ASI Memoirs*, no. 52, cited in Bibl. below). The many gardens Fīrūz Shāh laid out around Dehlī substantially increased the supply of flowers and fruits to the city.

Fīrūz Shāh died in Ramaḍān 790/September 1388 and lies buried in a simple and dignified mausoleum at the Ḥawḍ Khāṣṣ outside Delhi. The ease and plenty of his reign, the widespread distribution of charity, the corruption in the civil as well as the military administration, and the very peace and tranquillity which made the people "forget the profession of arms" (ʿAfīf), sapped the vigour of the ruling community and thereby contributed to the rapid decline of the Sultanate after him. The invasion of Tīmūr a decade after the Sultan's death only hastened the process of decay which had already begun.

Bibliography: Among the Persian sources, ʿAfīf's *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* gives the fullest account of the reign. Though professedly favourable to Fīrūz Shāh, ʿAfīf seldom slurs over his faults. Fīrūz Shāh's own brochure, the *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (inscribed in a dome, no longer extant, in the Masdjid-i Fīrūz Shāhī in Fīrūzābād) is a revealing document. See Elliot and Dowson, iii, 265-388, for translations of excerpts from Persian accounts. For modern writings, see articles by Riazul Islam, B. N. Roy, K. K. Basu and others listed in Pearson, *Index Islamicus*, pp. 631-2, *Supplement*, p. 203. The more important articles are given below.

Original sources: Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (Bibl. Indica), Calcutta 1862; ʿAyn al-Mulk Māhrū Multānī, *Munshaʾāt-i Māhrū*, Asiatic Society of Bengal MS, Cat. No. 338, Ivanow, pp. 145-48; Anon., *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Catalogue, vii, 28-33, MS No. 547; Fīrūz Shāh, *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, (i) B.M. MS Or. 2039, see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss.*, iii, 920 (ii) text with translation and introduction by Sh. Abdur Rashid, Aligarh 1943; Shams Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (Bibl. Indica), Calcutta 1890; Muḥammad Bīhāmid Khānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī*, B.M. MS Or. 137.

Modern authorities: Riazul Islam, *The rise of the Sammas in Sind*, in *IC*, xxii (1948), 359-82; idem, *A review of the reign of Fīrūz Shah*, in *IC*, xxiii (1949), 281-97; idem, *The age of Firoz Shah*, in *Med. India Qly.*, Aligarh, i/1 (1950), 25-41; idem, *Fīrūz Shah Tughluq's relations with the Deccan*, in *IC*, xxvi/3 (1952), 8-12; idem, *Fīrūz Shah's invasion of Bengal*, in *JPak. H.S.*, iii (1955), 35-9; Sh. A. Rashid, *Fīrūz Shah's investiture by the Caliph*, in *Med. India Qly.*, Aligarh, i/1 (1950), 66-71; N. B. Roy, *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, in *JASB*, ser. iii, viii (1941), 61-89; Syed Hasan ʿAskari, *Side-lights on Firuz Shah and his times*, in *Ind. Hist. Cong. Proc.*, xxi (1958), 33-37; K. K. Basu, *Firuz Shah Tughluq as a Ruler*, in *IHQ*, xvii, 386-93; *Memoirs of the Archaeological survey of India*, no. 52: *A Memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, Delhi*, by J. A. Page, Delhi 1937. (RIAZUL ISLAM)

FĪRŪZĀBĀD (formerly Pīrūzābād, 'the town of victory', and originally known as Gūr or Čūr) is situated in 28° 50′ N. Lat. and 52° 34′ E. Long. (Greenwich); it is 1356 m. above sea level. The present town, which had 4,340 inhabitants in 1951, is 3 km. to the south-east of the ancient site. Fīrūzābād, besides being one of the chief centres of the Ḳash-ḳaʾī tribe [*q.v.*], is the chief administrative centre of the district (*shahristān*) of the same name in the seventh *Ustān* (Fārs). The surrounding country is very fertile and well-watered and the climate is temperate.

The ancient town is said to have been built by Ardashīr on the site of his great victory over Artabanus V. It was circular in shape and had four gates, one at each cardinal point; these gates were called Mithra (the Sun), Bahrām (Mars), Hormuz (Jupiter) and Ardashīr. In the centre of the town was a lofty tower (now in ruins) on the top of which was a fire-altar; near-by was a large fire-temple. North of the town are the remains of the palace which Ardashīr built shortly before his successful revolt; it is thus the oldest Sāsānid building in existence (see F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910, 128). Gūr became the capital of the province of Ardashīr-khurra ("Glory of Ardashīr"). According to al-Balādhurī (315 and 389), Gūr and Iṣṭakhr were the last two towns in Fārs to surrender to the Muslim Arabs. In the 3rd/9th century Gūr was as large as Iṣṭakhr, but was smaller than Shīrāz (Iṣṭakhrī, 97). The district produced excellent rose-water which was exported far and wide; it was also celebrated for its fruit. The Buwayhid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] used to frequent Gūr; his courtiers, disliking the name (which means 'grave' in Persian), persuaded him to change it to Pīrūzābād 'the town of victory'. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzha*, 137) stated that the inhabitants were noted for their piety and honesty.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text, see Muḳaddasī, 432; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma* (ed. Le Strange and Nicholson), 137-139; Yāḳūt, iii, 146; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire*

de la Perse, 174-176; T. Nöldeke, *Araber und Perser*, 11, note 3; Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, vol. i, 36-45 and plates xxxv to xliv; Oscar Reuther, *Sasanian Architecture*, in *A Survey of Persian Art*, vol. i, 493; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 87, 93, 94, 114 and 168; R. Ghirshman, *Iran from the earliest times to the Islamic Conquest*, 320-21, 323-24, 328; *Rāhnamā-yi Īrān*, 180 (with town plan on 181); Razmārā and Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, vol. vii, 168. (L. LOCKHART)

AL-FĪRŪZĀBĀDĪ, ABU 'L-ṬĀHIR MUḤAMMAD B. YAʿḲŪB B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM MADJD AL-DĪN AL-SHĀFIʿĪ AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, from his father's town Fīrūzābād, was born at Kāzarūn, a town near Shīrāz (Īrān) in Rabīʿ II or Djumādā II 729/February or April 1329. From the age of eight he was educated in Shīrāz, then in Wāsiṭ and, in 745/1344, in Baghdād. In 750/1349 he was attending the classes of Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī in Damascus (Brockelmann, II, 106).

His long life can be divided into three main periods, spent in Jerusalem, Mecca and in the Yemen.

In the same year 750 he accompanied al-Subkī to Jerusalem where he stayed for ten years as a teacher and then, while still a young man, became a master. Subsequent travels took him to Cairo and Asia Minor.

The information to be found in his biographers in regard to his journeys varies very greatly (see Brockelmann, II, 232 n.). We have here followed, like Brockelmann, *ibid.*, the account given in the *K. al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir* of al-Nuʿmānī, which seems to be the most trustworthy. According to al-Sakhāwī's account (*Ḍaw*, x, 85 foot), a long biography of al-Fīrūzābādī is given in the *ʿUḳūd* of al-Maḳrīzī; this must be the *Durar al-ʿuḳūd al-farīda fī tarādjim al-aʿyān al-mufīda*; the MS Gotha 1771 cannot include it, but perhaps it is contained in MS Mawṣil 1264, no. 5 (Brockelmann, S II, 37), which should correctly be 264, no. 5. From al-Maḳrīzī interesting details might be expected. The ms. is at the present time in Baghdād, in the possession of the al-Djalīlī family who do not allow it to be consulted.

In 770/1368 he went to live in Mecca, breaking his stay there to travel to India and spending five years in Dihlī; after that came more travelling.

In 794/1392 he went to Baghdād at the invitation of Sultan Aḥmad b. Uways, and afterwards to Persia. Tīmūr Lang, after taking Shīrāz (795/1393), greeted him with the greatest respect. But his native land, ravaged by the Mongol invasion, could no longer keep him: from Hormuz he set sail for southern Arabia.

In Rabīʿ I 796/January 1394 he reached the Yemen and lived in Taʿizz for 14 months in the house of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbās, who appointed him chief ḳāḍī of the Yemen on 6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 797/22 September 1395 (with residence in Zabīd) and gave him his daughter in marriage. In 802/1400 he once again made the pilgrimage and in his house in Mecca set up a modest Mālikī *madrasa* with three teachers. He was in Medina in 803/1401 when he heard of the death of his father-in-law al-Malik al-Ashraf. In Ramaḍān 805/April 1403 he made another journey to Mecca, but returned to Zabīd without delay. He died there on 20 Shawwāl 817/3 January 1415.

An active man with a thirst for knowledge, he is said when travelling to have taken with him quantities of books which he used to read at the halts. He bought many books, the necessary equipment for the work of compilation, as practised in his time. A spendthrift (but see *Ḍaw*, x, 81 l. 23), he used to sell during a famine and buy back when times of plenty returned. His works were concerned with *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and history, but lexicography remained the branch in which he excelled.

He had certain pretensions: born near Shīrāz, he claimed to be a descendant of the celebrated Shāfiʿī Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (Brockelmann, I, 484) who had, however, died without issue. After achieving his brilliant position in the Yemen, he called himself and wrote by the name of Muḥammad al-Ṣiddīḳī, as though a descendant of the caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ (*Ḍaw*, x, 85 l. 12-3; al-Nuʿmānī, *Rawḍ*, 218r.), no doubt the eccentricity of a man who enjoyed great renown. He had more serious ambitions: he wished to compile a dictionary in 60 (*Ḳāmūs*, Preface, 3 l. 13) or, it is even said, in 100 volumes: *al-Lāmiʿ al-muʿallam al-ʿudjāb al-djāmiʿ bayn al-Muḥkam wa 'l-ʿUbāb*, which only reached the 5th volume (Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 128; *TA*, *Preface*, 14, l. 10). He made a summary of it, his *Ḳāmūs*, its full title being *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ wa 'l-ḳābūs al-wasīṭ al-djāmiʿ li-mā dhahaba min al-ʿarab shamaṭīṭ*. But then he set himself up as the rival, to use no stronger a term, of al-Djawharī in his *Ṣiḥāḥ*. The often unjustified criticism that he made of the latter (*e.g.*, *Ḳāmūs*, *Preface*, 3 l. 20-1, 4 l. 18-20) will come as no surprise.

Of his numerous works the following are printed: 1. the *Taḥbīr al-muwashshīn fī-mā yuḳāl bi 'l-sīn wa 'l-shīn*, vocabulary of Arabic words written indiscriminately with either *s* or *sh*, Algiers 1909 (also published Beirut 1330/1912); 2. narratives derived from the life of the Prophet, *Sufar al-saʿāda* or else *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm*, written in Persian, translated into Arabic by Abu 'l-Djūd Muḥ. b. Maḥmūd al-Makhzūmī in the margin of *al-Fawz al-kabīr maʿa fatḥ al-khabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr* of Walī Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (Cairo or Jerusalem 1307, 1346), and in the margin of *Kashf al-ghumma* (Cairo 1317, 1332) of al-Shaʿrānī; see Brockelmann, S II, 235, no. 10; 3. the *Tanwīr al-miḳbās min* (*Tanwīr al-miḳyās fī*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, no. 3706) *tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās*, Cairo 1290, 1316 (in the margin of *al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh* of Ibn Ḥazm), 1345/1926. 18 works are extant in manuscript, see Brockelmann, II, 233-4 and S II, 235-6; of these, we may single out *al-Bulgha fī taʾrīkh aʾimmat al-lugha* (*Suppl. ibid.*, no. 7), perhaps the most important; and, a unique manuscript, *al-Mirḳāt al-wafiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, Medina, Library of Shaykh al-Islām ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Bey, register *Sulayman Nadwī*, no. 128, see O. Spies, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 99 and 117; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *op. cit.*, no. 7895, 11830; the work derives from the *Ṭabaḳāt* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ḥanafī (*Ḍaw*, x, 82).

The *Preface* to the *TA* (i, 13-4) provides a biography of al-Fīrūzābādī and a list (incomplete) of 45 works; Brockelmann (S II, 236) must have referred to it, for the *Preface* to the *Ḳāmūs* does not include a comparable list. 49 works, according to *Ḍaw* (x, 81-3): *tafsīr* 6, *ḥadīth* and history 27, lexicography *et alia* 16, but 61 in the *ʿUḳūd al-djawhar* of Djamīl Bey al-ʿAẓm (i, 302-6), lists, however, that are open to criticism.

Al-Fīrūzābādī is "the author of the *Ḳāmūs*", his name remains connected with this famous book. The work is preeminently a compilation of the *Muḥkam* of Ibn Sīda and of the *ʿUbāb* of al-Ṣaghānī.

He venerated al-Saghānī as a model (*Ḍaw*, x, 83). But from whom did he take the *ziyādāt*? It

would be helpful to discover if he is indebted for certain elements to the *Shams al-ʿulūm* of Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī (a first vol. published by K. V. Zetterstein, Leiden 1951). The *Ḳāmūs* was completed in Mecca in his house *ʿala ʾl-ṣafā* (end of *Ḳ.*, iv, 415) during the second main period described above (cf. *Ḍaw*, x, 83 and 85), before his stay in the Yemen. But it is hardly likely that such an expert lexicographer as he was would have been unacquainted with this dictionary which incidentally devotes so much space to matters concerning the Yemen.

Very brief definitions or explanations allowed him to present an extremely rich vocabulary in a volume of modest size. This brevity has given rise to innumerable misapprehensions (see Lane, *Lexicon, Preface*, XVII l. 14-6 and *ZDMG*, iii (1849), 95 ff.). It was the subject of numerous glosses and criticisms, and commentaries of every sort, both by admirers, in particular the *Tādj al-ʿarūs* of al-Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), 10 vols., Būlāḳ 1306-7, who in this commentary incorporates the work of his master Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Fāsī, the *Iḍāʾat al-rāmūs*, and by detractors, defending the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī; see I. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachgelehrsamkeit bei den Arabern*, Vienna 1872, ii, 602 ff. and the judgement of al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*[3], i, 101 and 103. In the last century we may also quote the criticisms of Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāḳ (d. 1305/1887), *al-Djāsūs ʿala ʾl-Ḳāmūs*, Istanbul 1299 and, more recently, the *Taṣḥīḥ al-Ḳāmūs* (Cairo 1343/1925) of Aḥmad Taymur Pasha.

The *Ḳāmūs* was published for the first time in Calcutta (1230-2) and Üsküdār (1230), and on very many occasions subsequently. The 4th edition (Cairo 1357/1938) in 4 vols., of the Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Maʾmūn (cited in this article), is well presented typographically.

The *Ḳāmūs* has been translated into Persian (see Brockelmann, S II, 234), and also into Turkish by ʿĀṣim Efendi (d. 1235/1819 or 1248/1832): *al-Ūḳiyānūs al-basīṭ fī tardjamat al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, published in Būlāḳ 1250, Istanbul 1305, etc. This Turkish edition was favoured by nineteenth century orientalists and is often quoted, *e.g.*, by Fleischer and Goldziher.

In the West the *Thesaurus linguae Arabicae* of A. Giggeius (Milan 1632, 4 vols.) was based on the *Ḳāmūs*. For his *Lexicon* (Leiden 1653), J. Golius added to it the *Ṣiḥāḥ*. Freytag (Kazimirski) and Belot did the same. The two rivals were associated together to provide a dictionary for European orientalism; and Lane took as the basis of his great *Lexicon* the *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, the commentary on the *Ḳāmūs* referred to above.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 181-3; II[2] (*angepasst*) 231-4; S II, 234-6; J. Kraemer, in *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 232-4, particularly on the subject of the *Ḳāmūs*, and also Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, *al-Muʿdjam al-ʿarabī*, ii (Cairo 1956), 540-603. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke* (Göttingen 1882), no. 464, made use of the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya* of Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, MS Gotha 1763; Sharaf al-Dīn b. Ayyūb al-Nuʿmānī, *al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir*, MS Wetzstein II 289 (Ahlwardt 9886), fols. 217v-219v (cited as *Rawḍ*). Shams al-Dīn Muḥ. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ*, x, 79-86 (Cairo 1355), detailed information but with confused chronology (cited as *Ḍaw*); Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, 117-8 (Cairo 1326); ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khazradjī, *al-ʿUḳūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, trans. Redhouse, GMS, III/2, 248-9 and note 1557 (III/3, 212); ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vii, 126-31 (Cairo 1351); Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira* (ed. Popper), vi, 446-8; Ṭāshköprüzāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, in the margin of *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* of Ibn Khallikān (Būlāḳ 1299), i, 92-3. Other references, Brockelmann, S II, 234.

(H. Fleisch)

FĪRŪZADJ, the turquoise, a well-known precious stone of a bright green or "mountain green" to sky-blue colour with a gloss like wax; in composition it is a hydrated clay phosphate with a small but essential proportion of copper and iron. The colour is not permanent in all stones, and is said to be particularly affected by perspiration. It is almost always cut as an ornament *en cabochon*, *i.e.*, with a convex upper surface; only stones with an inscription are given a flat upper surface. The provenance of serviceable stones is limited to a few places whose history may be traced back for thousands of years. Turquoise mines were worked by the kings of Egypt in the peninsula of Sinai. Major Macdonald discovered them again in 1845 in the Wādī Maghāra and its neighbourhood and worked them again for a number of years. No mention of the stone or the mines has survived from the Hellenistic period; on the other hand in addition to marvellous details of the method of procuring the pale green *callais* in Carmania (east of Persis), Pliny knows a good deal about its properties, and his description can only refer to our turquoise; for the statement that the *callais* loses its colour when affected by oil or ointment is found in al-Kindī on the *fīrūzadj* and in all later mineralogical works. It can hardly be doubted that the turquoise was obtained in the Sāsānid period and even earlier in the mines around Nīshāpūr. Al-Tīfāshī (d. 651/1253) says of the kings of Persia that they adorned their hands and necks with turquoises, because they averted danger of death by land or water; but we often meet with the assertion that the turquoise detracts from the majesty of kings. It was considered to contain copper and to be formed in the vicinity of copper mines. Different kinds are distinguished according to the different colours (sky-blue, milk-blue, green, spotted); the best kind is considered to be the *būsḥāḳī* (*i.e.*, *Abū Isḥāḳī*) and the finest variety of this is the sky-blue *azharī*. Large pieces are very rare and are correspondingly costly, small pieces on the other hand are very common. The best specimens retain their colour, apart from the influences detailed below; after 10-12 years many lose their colour entirely and the stone is then said to be dead. All stones, however, show a certain variation in colour. They are brilliant in a clear sky and dim when the sky is clouded; they alter their colour with the state of health of the wearer, and when affected by sweat, oil or musk; fat is believed to restore the colour again.

Taken internally it is a poison, but in collyrium it is useful for clearing the sight, also if it is stared at for some time. Gold takes away its beauty (unlike lapis lazuli), *i.e.*, probably, the greenish blue colour does not harmonize as well with the yellow of the gold as the dark blue of the lapis lazuli.

Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348) explains the name *fīrūzadj* as "stone of victory"; whence it is also called *ḥadjar al-ghalaba*. The word *fīrūzadj* is found in many corrupt forms in the Latin translations of the middle ages (*farasquin*, *febrognug*, *peruzegi* etc.), but none of these can be considered the original of

the word turquoise; for as early as the 13th century we find the form *turcoys, turquesa* and *turquesia*, and it may safely be assumed that this was a new name given to the stone from the land of its origin, the ancient home of the Turks.

The edition of al-Bīrūnī's *al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir* (1355/1937) has revealed that almost all particulars mentioned above are already to be found there and that the essential contents of his short article (169-71) were practically quoted in full.

The use of the turquoise for magical purposes is remarkably limited. Ibn al-Akfānī quotes on the authority of Hermes a talisman made of it. In the great magical work *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* the turquoise appears in the list of stones among those belonging to Saturn; but only one single talisman engraved on turquoise is mentioned.

General Sir A. Houtum-Schindler who was governor of the mining area and director of operations at the mines in the "eighties" of last century has given a detailed account of the Persian turquoise mines at Mashhad in Khurāsān, which is quoted in Bauer's *Edelsteinkunde* (2nd ed., 490 *et seq.*).

Bibliography: *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles* (ed. Ruska), 151; al-Kindī, in E. Wiedemann, *Zur Mineralogie bei den Arabern*, in *Arch. f. d. Gesch. d. Naturw.*, i (1909), 210; al-Tīfāshī, *Azhār al-afkār*, trans. Reineri Biscia, 2nd ed., 70 f.; Ibn al-Akfānī, *Nukhab al-dhakhā'ir*, ed. P. Anastase-Marie, 1939, 55-62 (Wiedemann's trans. in *Beiträge*, xxx (1912), 225 f. is to be corrected accordingly); Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld), i, 232; Dimishḳī (ed. Mehren), 68; Ibn al-Bayṭār, trans. by Leclerc in *Notices et extr.*, xxvi, 50; Clément-Mullet, *Essai sur la min. arabe*, in *JA*, ser. vi, vol. xi, 150 f.; *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, ed. H. Ritter, 1933, 106, 120 = trans. H. Ritter and M. Plessner, 1962, 113, 127; H. Brugsch, *Wanderung nach den Türkis-Minen und der Sinai-Halbinsel*, 1866, 66 f.; W. Flinders Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, 1906, 41, etc.; Bauer, *Edelsteinkunde*², 386-495; H. Fühner, *Lithotherapie*, 1902, 138-40.

(J. RUSKA-[M. PLESSNER])

FĪRŪZĀNIDS, BANŪ FĪRŪZĀN (Pērōzān), a Persian tribe which in the 4th/10th century had considerable influence in the district of Shukūr (Ṭabaristān). The only member of the tribe of real significance was Mākān b. Kālī (Kākī ?) who started as an officer in the service of the ʿAlids of Ṭabaristān, and later held various official positions; in 329/940 he died in battle (for details see MĀKĀN). After his death one of his relatives (his cousin, according to Ibn Miskawayh, ii, 3-7; his uncle, according to Zambaur), al-Ḥasan b. Fīrūzān, succeeded in gaining control of the neighbourhood of Ḳūmis for a short time. One of his daughters (name unknown) married the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. The last member of the family to be mentioned was Ḥasan's grandson, Kanār b. Fīrūzān, in 388/998.

Bibliography: B. Spuler, *Iran*, 91-4 (with references to sources); Zambaur, 216 (with genealogical table). See also bibl. to MĀKĀN.

(B. SPULER)

FĪRŪZKŪH (Fērōzkōh). The name of several localities.

1. The capital of the Ghūrid [*q.v.*] kings, in the mountains east of Herat on the upper Harī-rūd *ca.* 64° 22′ E. Long. (Green.) and *ca.* 34° 23′ N. Lat. The site has been identified with the present Djām [*q.v.*] where a large minaret still exists.

The town of Fīrūzkūh was built by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad as the capital of the district of Warshāda in Ghūr which he ruled. When Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was poisoned in Ghazna, his brother Bahā al-Dīn moved from his appanage, Mandesh in the east, to Fīrūzkūh. Bahā al-Dīn became ruler of Ghūr in 544/1149 and thus founded the Ghūrid kingdom. For more than sixty years Fīrūzkūh was the capital of the Ghūrid state and to it were brought the spoils of the conquests of the Ghūrids. It was a cultural centre where writers and poets flourished. After the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 599/1202 the empire fell to pieces and Fīrūzkūh lost its importance. Ghiyāth al-Dīn built the minaret which still stands.

The town was conquered by ʿAlā al-Dīn Khʷārizm Shāh in 607/1210, and it was finally destroyed by Ögödei son of Čingiz Khān in 619/1222. The Fīrūzkūh nomads probably derived their name from this site.

2. The name of a castle in Ṭabaristān near Mt. Damāwand in a district called Wīmah. We do not know when the castle or town of Fīrūzkūh was built and Casanova's attempt to identify it with Firīm, capital of a dynasty of Ispāhbads in the 4th/10th century, was refuted by Ḳazwīnī (Djuwaynī, iii, 381). Fīrūzkūh is mentioned as an important stronghold under the Khʷārizmshāhs and especially under the Mongols. It was taken by the Mongols in 624/1227 (Djuwaynī, ii, 210). Afterwards the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamut obtained possession of it. It fell again to the Mongols under Hülegü in 654/1256. The area was a summer resort for the Il-Khāns, and the name appears in accounts of Tīmūr's conquests. The town is now linked to Tehrān by rail (202 km.); it has over 5,000 inhabitants and is the centre of a district of the same name.

Bibliography: 1. A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le Minaret de Djam*, Paris 1959, with references to all Islamic sources; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, *passim*, for literary references; on the Fīrūzkūhī tribe see H. F. Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan*, The Hague 1962, 54-6.

2. Le Strange, 371-2; P. Casanova, *Les Ispehbeds de Firīm*, in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, ed. T. W. Arnold, Cambridge 1922, 117-9; *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, i, Teheran 1950, 153; *IA*, *s.v.*, by M. Fuad Köprülü.

(R. N. FRYE)

FĪRŪZPŪR (FĒRŌZPŪR). A district in the Pandjāb which takes its name from the principal town. It forms part of the Djalandhar division, lying between 29° 55″ and 31° 9′ N. and 73° 52′ and 75° 26′ E. Area 3202 sq. m. Until 1947, the principal Muslim tribes of the district were Rādjpūts, Arains, Dogars and Wattus, and also an ascetic tribe known as Bodla, believed to possess powers of incantation. The ancient site of Djanēr, supposed to be the Hadjnīr of Bayhaḳī, was the capital of the Punwar Rādjpūts. Soon after the Muslim invasion the Bhaṭṭi Rādjpūts adopted Islām and invaded the district from the south. The Gil, Dhālīwāl and other Djaṭ tribes entered it later. The Dogars, a wild and predatory tribe, were more recent immigrants. The town of Fīrūzpūr was reputedly founded in the time of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh III of Dihlī and named after him. In Akbar's time it was part of the Sūba of Multān and not of Sirhind, and probably lay on the right bank of the river Satladj, and not on the left as at present. The Sidhū Djaṭs appear towards the end of Akbar's reign and soon adopted the Sikh religion. It was in this tract that Guru Govind was defeated after a three days fight by Awrangzīb's army; the site was held sacred and the tank (Mukat-sar = Tank of Salvation) became a place

of pilgrimage, where a 3 days' festival was held in January. Round it the important town of Mukatsar has grown up. The Sikhs got possession of the country after the retirement of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī: the Bhangī Misl under Gūdjar Singh took the principal part in the conquest. Randjīt Singh threatened this country with the minor Sikh states, and this move (1808) led to British intervention. Fīrūzpūr was occupied, and annexed in 1835, thus interposing between Randjīt Singh's kingdom and the minor states. The Muslim Nawwābs of Ḳaṣūr also found a refuge at their estate of Mamdot near Fīrūzpūr in 1807, and were recognized as ruling chiefs. Their territory was annexed in 1855, but was afterwards restored to the Nawwābs, who held it until 1947. It was a large and wealthy estate.

The first Sikh war between the British and the Khālsa army was fought in this tract. The Sikh army crossed the Satladj in December 1845. The battles of Mudkī and Phērū-shahr (often wrongly called Fīrūz-shahr or Fīrūz-shāh) were fought soon after. The Sikh army was repulsed but not crushed, and recrossed the Satladj, only to invade British territory again higher up the river near Ludhiāna. The decisive battle of Alīwāl was fought outside the district of Fīrūzpūr, but the desperate struggle of Subrāwāṅ (Sobraon) which ended the war, was fought within its limits.

In more recent times the district was enlarged by the addition of the Taḥsīl of Fazilka in the south from the former district of Sirsa (1884). The sandy tracts to the east and south of the district have been rendered fertile by irrigation from the Sirhind canal, and the inundation-canals constructed by Col. Grey in the riverain tract also added greatly to its productiveness. The Sikh Djaṫs are excellent farmers and take full advantage of these conditions. There is a large export of wheat from the Fīrūzpūr district. The Muslim population of the city, and of the district, emigrated to Pākistān during the Partition Riots of 1947.

Bibliography: Various provincial and district Gazetteers and settlement reports issued by Pandjab Govt. Press Lahore; Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, London 1849; Ibbetson, *Outlines of Punjab Ethnography*, Calcutta 1883.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

FISCAL SYSTEMS [see BAYT AL-MĀL, ḌARĪBA, etc.].

FISH [see SAMAK].

FISHEK [see SHENLIK].

FISḲ [see FĀSIḲ].

FĪTHĀGHŪRAS, or FŪTHĀGHŪRAS (rarely Būthāghūras or other individual transliterations), Pythagoras, the Greek philosopher of the sixth century B.C., as celebrated and as elusive a figure in Islam as in the West. The distinction between the man and the school, or schools, bearing his name was occasionally sensed but, of course, not really understood, and no true distinction was made between the two.

The partly historical and mostly legendary circumstances of his life were known in considerable detail through a lengthy summary of his biography from Porphyry's *Philosophos Historia*, preserved in al-Mubashshir 52 ff. and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 38 ff. (cf. F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, *N.S.* vi (1937), 43 ff.). His lifetime was assumed, on the basis of various synchronisms, to have spanned the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses (Mubashshir, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa), to have been fixed by his position as the second in a chain of five philosophers (between Empedocles [who, in fact, lived later than Pythagoras] and Socrates) (see ANBADUḲLĪS), or to have fallen in the reign of an Artaxerxes (Saʿīd [Eutychios], *Annals*, i, 77). The customary dating "in the time of Sulaymān" used for men and events of great antiquity is occasionally mentioned (Shahrastānī), as he was also supposed to have been in touch in Egypt with followers (*aṣḥāb*) of Sulaymān. His claim to being the founder of philosophy was recognized as disputed by other theories concerning the history of philosophy (*Fihrist*, 245; Sidjistānī, *Ṣiwān*, according to Ms. Murad Molla 1408, 2a), but, following *Flwṭrkhs* (Plutarch ?), it was constantly repeated that he had coined the word "philosophy", and, following the introductions to the Aristotelian Logic, that he had given his name to the philosophical school of the Pythagoreans. He was sometimes believed to have elaborated on the doctrines of Empedocles (Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, trans. Blachère, 60; Ḳifṭī, 258 f.), or to have been a forerunner of the Platonic theory of ideas (*Picatrix*, trans. Ritter and Plessner, 154). In addition to his role in the history of philosophy, his main achievements were the invention of the science of music and the propagation among the Greeks of arithmetic and geometry (Yaʿḳūbī, i, 134; or the introduction of geometry, physics, and metaphysics from the East: Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī, *Amad*, Ms. Servili 179, 80b; Ṣāʿid; Ḳifṭī; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa). The Ḥarrānian Ṣābians are said to have adopted him as one of their prophets (Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 205; Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir*, Cairo 1942-3, ii, 223 n. 1), and his mystico-religious character was noted (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 348; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa). In addition to his own contacts with the East, we hear about students of his who went east and influenced Zoroastrianism and Indian religious philosophy (from the doxographical work of Ammonios, Ms. Aya Sofya 2450, cited by Bīrūnī, *Chronology* [cf. H. S. Taqizadeh, in *BSOS*, viii (1935-7), 947 ff.], and Shahrastānī, 277 f. and 455 ff.).

Of the works ascribed to him, the *Golden Words* (*Chrysâ epê*) enjoyed extraordinary fame and a wide circulation in their Arabic translation, which, in the course of transmission, underwent slight but at times meaningful variations. They are usually referred to as *al-Risāla* (*al-Rasāʾil*) *al-dhahabiyya* or *Waṣāyā* (*Waṣiyya*); once they are also referred to as the "Golden Epistle and Exhortation for Diogenes" (*Ras. Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Cairo 1347/1928, iv, 100 to be connected with i, 92 f.). The appellation "golden" is said to go back to Galen who read the poem daily and copied it with gold letters, a statement for which the Greek authority remains to be found. Separate editions by J. Elichmann, *Tabula Cebetis* (1640, from Miskawayh); L. Cheikho, *Traités inédits*, 2nd ed. (1911); M. Ullmann (Diss. Munich 1959, not yet published); cf. also F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, *N.S.*, x (1941), 104 ff., and M. Plessner, in *Eshkōlōt*, iv (1962), 68. The Muslims knew of various commentaries on the work. One is ascribed to Proclus (*Fihrist*, 252; Ḳifṭī, 89) and listed as extant in a summary made by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043) in Ms. Escurial 888 (8); its relationship, if any, to the commentary of Hierocles has not yet been investigated. A recension of Sidjistānī, *Ṣiwān* (Murad Molla 1408, 13a) introduces its (uncommented) quotation of the work as being "a summary of the book of Iamblichus in explanation of the 'Golden' Exhortations". A manuscript of this commentary appears to be preserved in Princeton (J. Kritzek, in *MIDEO*, iii (1956), 380). The existence of a commentary by Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (p. 55, Rosenthal) is poorly attested (a confusion with the

afore-mentioned ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṭayyib ?). ʿAlī b. Riḍwān's *Commentary on Pythagoras on Virtue* (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 104) may have dealt with the *Golden Words*.

The famous Pythagorean *symbola* were known and often cited (cf. B. R. Sanguinetti, in *JA*, v/8 (1856), 188; G. Levi Della Vida, in *RSO*, iii (1910), 595 ff.; *Picatrix*, trans. Ritter and Plessner, 422). A good deal of doxographical material was available in the translations of philosophical texts, *e.g.*, that of Ps.-Plutarch's *Placita Philosophorum*. Excerpts on the intellect and emanation ascribed to Pythagoras appear in al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws*, 70 f., 72 f. Siddiqi, a passage on the connexion between the soul and physical perfection in al-Tawḥīdī, *Ris. al-Ḥayāt*, 68 f. (*Trois Épîtres*, ed. Keilani). A valuable exposition of Pythagorean cosmology has been preserved by al-Shahrastānī, 265 ff. (cf. D. Kövendi, in F. Altheim, *Gesch. der Hunnen*, v,32-71). A large number of wise sayings was ascribed to Pythagoras; Ḥunayn's chapter on Pythagoras in the *Nawādir* is restricted to the *Golden Words*, but extensive collections are found in the *Ṣiwān*, Ibn Hindū, Mubashshir, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, aud Anon. Ms. Aya Sofya 2469. Although of Greek origin, they can rarely be traced to sayings connected with the name of Pythagoras in Greek tradition (cf., *e.g.*, F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia, N.S.* xxvii (1958), 29 ff.). We cannot, however, be certain in all cases as to whether their attribution to Pythagoras was effected in the Greek or, rather, the Oriental tradition.

Many other Pythagorean writings are mentioned by the sources. It was known that Plato had asked Dion to buy three books by Pythagoras (Ḳifṭī, 20, as in Iamblichus). According to another statement of Greek origin quoted in the name of Porphyry but not contained in Porphyry's Greek text (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 42), Archytas collected eighty works by himself and 200 more from other members of the Pythagorean school; thus, there once existed 280 genuine works (Mubashshir, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa), and, in addition, a number of works on a great variety of subjects, mentioned by title, that were not genuine. The Muslims knew three treatises with a commentary by Iamblichus (*On Spiritual Polity, To the Tyrant of Sicily*, and *To Sifan.s on the Discovery of Ideas*) (*Fihrist*). The general references to "works on arithmetic and music" do not seem to aim at any specific work, but Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa attributes to Pythagoras a *Book on Arithmetic* and five further titles. *A Treatise on the Natural Numbers* (*al-aʿdād al-ṭabīʿiyya*) is cited by a writer on alchemy (Kraus, *Jābir*, ii, 45 n. 5; *ibid.* ii, 289 n. 9, on the *Miftāḥ al-ḥikma known as Nuzhat al-nufūs*). Some surviving works may be described as Neo-Pythagorean products, such as the *Oikonomikos* of Bryson (ed. M. Plessner, Heidelberg 1928), the excerpts on domestic life by a certain female philosopher named Pythagoras (?) (Abu 'l-Ḥasan [al-ʿĀmirī], *al-Saʿāda wa 'l-isʿād*, 389 ff. Minovi), or a brief treatise on the *Education of the Young* ascribed to Plato (F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia, N.S.* x (1941), 383 ff.).

Like other great names of Antiquity, that of Pythagoras served to give greater prestige to alchemical teachings, and the Djābir-Corpus contained a *Muṣaḥḥaḥāt F.* (Kraus, *Jābir*, i, 94; ii, 45 n. 5). There also existed a *Kitāb al-Ḳurʿa* on divination in his name (*Fihrist*, 314) (= P. Tannery, in *Notices et Extraits*, xxxi/2 (1886), 231 ff. ?).

An authority on *materia medica* named Badīghūras is cited numerous times in al-Rāzī's *Ḥāwī* and other authors on the subject. The form of the name is not easily reconciled with Pythagoras, and such an identification went probably unnoticed by al-Rāzī; it is not impossible, but other Greek names may be involved (such as Diagoras). The pre-Hippocratic physician Pythagoras (Būthāghūras), in the sketch of the ancient history of medicine going back to Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī, appears to be a figment of the imagination inspired by the figure of Pythagoras (*Ṣiwān*, 8b, where he is distinguished from the contemporary philosopher Fūthāghūras; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 23).

The influence of Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism on Muslim civilization must be rated rather high. Greco-Arabic theories of music and numbers go back ultimately to them (Nicomachus of Gerasa, the author of the *Arithmêtikê Eisagôgê*, was even thought to have been identical with the father of Aristotle). The Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ may not have been entirely unaware of the organizational precedent of Pythagoreanism, and al-Rāzī, among others, is stated to have been inspired by the Pythagoreans and to have written in their defence (Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 162; Ṣāʿid, trans. Blachère, 75). However, the name of Pythagoras must often be considered a mere label, as in his alleged appearance, together with Plato and Aristotle, in Ismāʿīlism (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, i, 394).

Bibliography: In the article, supplementary to M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen* (1889), repr. Graz 1960, 4-8. (F. Rosenthal)

FITNA, the primary meaning is "putting to the proof, discriminatory test", as gold, al-Djurdjānī says in his *Taʿrīfāt* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 171), is tested by fire. Hence the idea of a temptation permitted or sent by God to test the believer's faith, which, for the man wedded to his desires, would have the appearance of an invitation to abandon the faith. "Your goods and children are *fitna*" (Ḳurʾān, VIII, 28; LXIV, 15). The term *fitna* occurs many times in the Ḳurʾān with the sense of temptation or trial of faith ("tentation d'abjurer", according to R. Blachère's translation); and most frequently as a test which is in itself a punishment inflicted by God upon the sinful, the unrighteous. "Taste your *fitna*" (LI, 14); this saying is addressed to those who are "tried by the Fire" (of Gehenna)". It is not a matter of an inner, secret temptation, but of external circumstances in which faith succumbs or may succumb. "O Lord, do not place us in *fitna* before those who are unfaithful!" (Ḳurʾān, LX, 5). The idea of scandal is associated with it (VII, 3), to such an extent that to take a part in this putting to the test is for man a very grave fault: "the *fitna* of believers is worse than murder" (*ibid.*, II, 191; cf. II, 217).

On the one hand, *fitna* will thus be employed in the sense of the "trial of the grave", or even the torments of hell; but on the other hand *fitna* will be essentially a state of rebellion against the divine Law in which the weak always run the risk of being trapped. The idea which is to become dominant is that of "revolt", "disturbances", "civil war", but a civil war that breeds schism and in which the believers' purity of faith is in grave danger. There are numerous *ḥadīths* which proclaim the troubles to come, which will destroy the Community and from which the believer must flee. For example: "after me there shall break forth such troubles (*fitna*) that the believer of one morning shall, by evening, be an infidel, while the believer of the evening shall, next day, be an infidel—save only for those whom God will strengthen through knowledge" (quoted in the "Profession of Faith" of Ibn Baṭṭa,

in H. Laoust's translation).—In view of the fusion of spiritual and temporal characteristic of Islam, the great struggles of the early period of Muslim history are *fitna* (pl. *fitan*), inasmuch as the questions contested regarding the legitimacy of the *Imāms* or caliphs and the armed conflicts that they aroused have a direct bearing on the values of faith.

The series of events which includes the murder of ʿUthmān, the designation of ʿAlī as *Imām*, the battle of Ṣiffīn and the development of both the *shīʿat ʿAlī* [*q.v.*] and the *khawāridj* [*q.v.*] schisms, and the seizing of power by Muʿāwiya, is often called "the first *fitna*", and also "the *fitna*" *par excellence* or "the great *fitna*". On account of the struggles that marked Muʿāwiya's advent, the term *fitna* was later applied to any period of disturbances inspired by schools or sects that broke away from the majority of believers (*al-djumla*). We read of the *fitna* of the Murdji'a, which Ibn al-Nakhaʿī apparently described as "graver" than that of the Azāriḳa Khāridjīs. And every "innovator", every man guilty of *bidʿa*, is potentially an instigator of *fitna*. Reversing the terms, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī gives this definition: "all those who foment disturbances (*fitna*) are innovators (*muḥdith*)". The "men of Tradition and the Community", *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa* have the strict duty to obey the legitimate sovereign so long as his orders do not run counter to the Ḳur'ān, and to shun all *fitna*. It is in this spirit that the first Sunnī professions of faith (*e.g.*, *Fiḳh Akbar*, i, 5) "rely upon God" in the dispute between ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, and regard the successive proclamation to the *Imāma* of both of them as equally valid.

Although the struggle between ʿAlī and Muʿawiya and its consequences institutes the era of *fitna* par excellence, during which schisms came into being which were never to be resolved, the term *fitna* was none the less applied, in the course of history, to other and more localized disturbances. It is in this way, for example, that some chronicles, denouncing the struggles and seditions which more than once pitted Ashʿarīs and Ḥanbalīs against each other, are apt to speak of *fitna*, as is the case at Baghdād, shortly after the death of al-Ashʿarī, when his gravestone was overturned, or at Damascus in 835/1432, when the majority of the *ʿulama'* anathematized Ibn Taymiyya.—On the other hand, to denote the persecution of the followers of the "righteous Ancients", which also affected Ibn Ḥanbal under al-Ma'mūn, at the time of the triumph of the Muʿtazila, the annalists are more inclined to speak of *miḥna* [*q.v.*]. The chroniclers concerned are those who came after al-Mutawakkil's reaction and were opposed to *muʿtazilī* tendencies; according to this point of view, there was no element of "rebellion" under al-Ma'mūn, since it was the central power which protected the *bidʿa*. The *ahl al-djamāʿa* thus underwent a "testing" (*miḥna*) for the sake of their faith, there was no *fitna* (that is to say armed revolt led by "innovators" and "agitators") whatsoever.

It is in the chapter on the *imāma* that the treatises of *ʿilm al-kalām* raise the question of *fitna*. It is taught that the nomination of an *imām* is "obligatory" (*wādjib*) for the Community, an obligation justified 'rationally" (*ʿaḳlan*) according to the Muʿtazilīs, "'legally" (*sharʿan*) or "traditionally" (*samʿan*) according to the Ashʿarīs. And one of the arguments most readily put forward is that only an *imām* can prevent the disturbances of *fitna*, or restore peace if they have already broken out. Indeed, certain schools with Khāridjī tendencies teach that it is obligatory to nominate an *imām* in the event of *fitna*, but not if peace is prevailing; others, on the contrary, hold that he should only be nominated in a period of peace, never in a time of unrest, for fear that the nomination should give rise to fresh revolts. The Ashʿarīs, for their part, require the *imām* to lead the Community during *fitna* and in times of peace alike, and consider as the authority in favour of their opinion the history of the early years of Islam.

All these discussions relate implicitly to a notion of *fitna* defined as disturbances, or even civil war, involving the adoption of doctrinal attitudes which endanger the purity of the Muslim faith; and every mention of *fitna* evokes "the great *fitna* of Islam" which culminated at Ṣiffīn. We may say in fact that somewhat later summaries of the question—or more accurately, the nomenclatures of the schools in which they result—are closer or more distant echoes of the attitudes and opinions which the "great *fitna*" had caused to be adopted. At that time (early 2nd/7th cent.), certain traditionists of Baṣra and the first Muʿtazilīs declared that "the era of the *fitna*" having opened, every *mudjtahid*, every man capable of "making an effort", was entitled to seek for the solution; the Karrāmiyya, for their part, upheld the concomitant legitimacy of the two *imāms* in dispute; the Shīʿa maintained the sole legitimacy of ʿAlī; while the majority of the Sunnīs maintained that it was better to obey the established power and refrain from taking sides, in order to have no part in civil war, and thereby to hasten the return to peace. It is on this last attitude that the Ashʿarīs and Māturīdīs were later to base their views. For the *fitna* in Muslim Spain, see AL-ANDALUS, vi, 5.

Bibliography: the various treatises of *ʿilm al-kalām*, *e.g.*, Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 344 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 104, 109-10; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, index, s.v.; idem, *La Profession de Foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, index, *s.v.*

((L. GARDET)

FIṬNAT, pseudonym of ZÜBEYDE (?-1194/1780), a Turkish poetess. Little is known of her early life. She was the daughter of the Shaykh al-Islām Meḥmed Esʿad Efendi (d. 1166/1753) the well known scholar of the reign of Meḥemmed IV, whose father Abū Isḥāḳ Ismāʿīl had also been a Shaykh al-Islām. She was married to Derwīsh Meḥmed Efendi who became ḳāḍīʿasker of Rumeli under Selīm III.

Her short *dīwān* contains all the usual conventional poems written for various occasions and *ghazals* which do not vary in style or content from those of her contemporary male poets. She tends on the whole to follow the Nābī—Ḳodja Rāghib Pasha school of "wisdom-poetry", full of aphorisms and fatalistic statements. But occasionally she is inspired by the carefree and joyful style of Nedīm (see her *musaddas* in Gibb, vi, 395). She writes with great ease in a polished and fluent style.

Bibliography: Faṭīn, *Tedhkire*, s.v.; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 150 ff.; A. C. Yöntem, in *İA*, s.v. (FAHİR İZ)

FIṬR [see ʿĪD AL-FIṬR].

FIṬRA is a "noun of kind" (Wright, *Grammar*,[3] i, 123[d]) to the infinitive *faṭr* and means (an Ethiopic loan-meaning, see Schwally, in *ZDMG*, liii, 199 f.; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 49), "a kind or way of creating or of being created". It occurs in Ḳur'ān, XXX, 29 (*khilḳa*, Bayḍāwī) and other forms of its verb in the same meaning occur 14 times. But though

Muḥammad uses derived forms freely, it was obscure to his hearers. Ibn ʿAbbās did not understand it until he heard a Bedouin use it of digging a well, and then the Bedouin probably meant the genuinely Arab sense of *shaḳḳ* (*Lisān*, vi, 362, l. 20). Its theologically important usage is in the saying of Muḥammad, "Every infant is born according to the *fiṭra* (*ʿala 'l-fiṭra*; *i.e.*, Allāh's kind or way of creating; "on God's plan", cf. Macdonald, *Religious attitude in Islam*, 243); then his parents make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian". This is one of several contradictory traditions on the salvability of the infants of unbelievers. On the whole question the theologians were uncertain and in disagreement. This text evidently means that every child is born naturally a Muslim; but is perverted after birth by his environment. But in this interpretation—that of the Muʿtazilīs (cf. *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, ii, 1094)—there were found serious theological and legal difficulties. (i.) It interferes with the sovereign will (*mashīʾa*) and guidance (*hidāya*) of Allāh. Orthodox Islam, therefore, holds that the parents could be only a secondary cause (*sabab*) and that the guiding aright and leading astray must come from Allāh himself. (ii.) This view, and indeed almost any view of the tradition, would involve that such an infant, if his parents died before he reached years of discretion, could not inherit from them, and that if he died before years of discretion, his parents could not inherit from him. For this presupposes that he is a Muslim up to years of discretion, and canon law lays down that a Muslim cannot inherit from a non-Muslim or vice versa (*Ḥāshiya* of al-Bādjūrī on the *sharḥ* of Ibn Ḳāsim on the *matn* of Abū Shudjāʿ, ed. Cairo 1307, ii, 74 f. and Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, 186, 204, 206—a favourite subject for hair-splitting). Two attempts have been made to escape this. (i.) This statement of Muḥammad is to be regarded as a decision (*ḥukm*) and was abrogated by the later decision as to inheritance. But it is pointed out that it is not really a decision, but a narrative (*khabar*) and that narratives are not abrogated. (ii). The being made a Jew, Christian or Magian is to be regarded as not actual, but figurative, and takes place in this figurative sense from the point of birth; the legal religion of the infant is automatically that of his parents, although he comes actually to embrace that religion only with maturity of mind. Another view was that being created according to the *fiṭra* meant only being created in a healthy condition, like a sound animal, with a capacity of either belief or unbelief when the time should come. Another was that *fiṭra* meant only "beginning" (*badʾa*). Still another was that it referred to Allāh's creating man with a capacity of either belief or unbelief and then laying on them the covenant of the "Day of *Alastu*" (Ḳurʾān, VII, 171). Finally that it was that to which Allāh turns round the hearts of men.

Bibliography: Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭa* (ed. Cairo 1279-80 with Zurḳānī), ii, 35; *Dict. of tech. terms*, 1117 f.; *Lisān*, vi, 362 f.; *Risāla* on *Īmān* by Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad al-Samarḳandī prefixed to the Ḥaydarābād ed. of the *Fiḳh al-akbar* of Abū Ḥanīfa, 25 f.; *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Fayyūmī s.v.; Krehl, *Beiträge z. muh. Dogm.*, 235; Hughes, *Dict. of Islam* under *Infants*; Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, iv, 16; vi, 480 of ed. of Cairo 1308; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxi, 24.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

FIṬRAT (FIṬRA), ʿABD AL-RAʾŪF, inspirer and theorist of the reform movement in Turkestan. Very little is known of his life: born at the end of the 19th century into a family of small traders in Bukhārā, he was at first a teacher, and then devoted all his time to his activities as a writer, poet and journalist. Fiṭrat was active from 1908-9 in the reform movement of Bukhārā (the *Djadīds*, who were originally concerned with educational reform, but from 1917 were to form themselves into a political party, the 'Young Bukhārians'), of which he soon became the ideological leader. From 1910 to 1914 he took part in the creation of a reformed system of teaching in Bukhārā and in Turkestan, and actively promoted the sending of students to Turkey. In 1920, after the inauguration of the People's Republic, he held office in the government at first as Minister of Education, then as Minister of Foreign Affairs. After the suppression of the republic in 1924, he took no part in the government of the Uzbekistan Republic (unlike some of his comrades in arms, such as Fayḍ Allāh Hožaev [see KHODJAEV]), and taught at the University of Samarḳand until his arrest in 1937. His fate after that is unknown.

Like Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, with whom he has much in common (though he himself does not claim it), ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat studies in all his works the causes of the spiritual and temporal decay of the Muslim world, examines the external signs of it, and seeks a means of salvation from it. Fiṭrat studied this crisis as seen in the example of Bukhārā, which, perhaps more than any other Muslim country, showed the full extent of it: one of the chief centres of Islam delivered over to the Russian conqueror, the *madrasas* deserted, the formerly powerful state sunk into anarchy, the Muslim faith reduced on the one hand to a fossilized religion, fettered by all the weight of an obsolete legalism, on the other, to the superstition and the fetishism of the masses (*Munāẓara*).

Fiṭrat saw for it only one possible salvation: the return to a dynamic religion freed from a rigorism which was completely foreign to the fundamental rules of Islam, and freed first of all from servile respect for *taḳlīd*.

But although criticism forms a considerable part of Fiṭrat's work, it is not merely critical and destructive. He gave much thought to the means by which his country and all the Islamic community could overcome this crisis. In this search for its salvation, Fiṭrat seems to represent the two fundamental aspects of Muslim renewal. He was a reformer, an educator and a politician whose thought was mainly revolutionary. He considered that all reform must start with assiduous work among the people. True to his first vocation as an educator, he held that no regeneration of the Muslim community was possible without the preparation and education of individuals, and a consequent rebirth in each of an understanding and grasp of the meaning of Islam. Fiṭrat stressed continually the importance of the individual and the part which he must play, maintaining that personal reform was an absolute condition of the whole of Islam. He gives a considerable place in his works to the problem of reformed methods of teaching (*Munāẓara*, 26, 35-6, 43, 48, 52; *Bayānāt*, 29). Traditional education having proved incapable of developing, even of recognizing the necessity for change, he regarded the reformation of the *maktabs* as the only road to salvation. An important feature of Fiṭrat's thought is his pragmatic conception of knowledge. He considers that the only learning which is worthy of human effort is learning which is of value not only to man's ultimate salvation but also to his earthly existence; it is also a learning

which can be acquired within a reasonable period, leaving man time to put it to use for the good of humanity. Thus he opposed the preservation of scholasticism, which 'is of no help to man in the modern world' (*Munāẓara*, 28), and insisted that all knowledge should be submitted to the criticism of the intellect and not accepted blindly.

In this field Fiṭrat, while recognizing that 'one must seek knowledge where it is to be found', denied that Islam needed to borrow anything from the West or to seek inspiration from it or to imitate it, for, he maintained, everything that has contributed to the temporal greatness of the West derives from Islam (*Bayānāt*, 32-3). But Fiṭrat did not consider that the salvation of the Muslim community would come only from below, through a regeneration of all Muslims; he held that there was another task to be accomplished, the transformation of Muslim society from above, and it is here that we see in him the political thinker. No institution is spared in Fiṭrat's political programme; he insists throughout his works on the importance of the individual and of individual initiative, and on man's ability to dominate everything around him, from Nature to his own destiny. Analysing the economic and social bases of power, he clearly distinguishes spiritual demands from physical, considering that men's conduct is ruled primarily by natural conditions. Without arriving at any definite separation of the spiritual and the temporal, Fiṭrat indicated that the solutions to the problems of the adaption of Islam to the modern world were to be sought along these lines. Similarly, he considered that a complete revision of social relations, leading to a more equitable distribution of wealth, was indispensable and in no way contrary to the teaching of Islam. In his view, one of the causes of the decadence of Islam was that it had become the ideology of the wealthy classes, and thus its salvation lay in the destruction of this ideology. Another equally important course to be followed was the introduction of a new kind of relationship within society. *ʿĀʾile* ('The Family') is devoted to a study of the reform necessary in family relationships. And the reform enunciated by Fiṭrat was not a compromise between the structure of Islamic society and that of Western society, but a radical choice, a break with the past, the complete re-making of family relationships, in which Fiṭrat gave a very important place to the raising of the status of women. For Fiṭrat, the internal renewal of the Muslim community could be brought about only by a double process: a spiritual renewal, involving the education of each individual, and a political and social revolution which would leave remaining nothing of the ideas, the institutions and the human relations of the period of stagnation, and which would give birth to a modern society and a modern state. This internal regeneration was indispensable in order to achieve external liberation. The salvation of Islam would imply the end of foreign domination, which was a consequence of the degradation of Islam: and the struggle for liberty does not come after the work of internal regeneration, but is one of the aspects of it. Fiṭrat constantly reminds his readers that 'the *d̲j̲ihād* is an obligation for every Muslim'. For Fiṭrat, this internal regeneration and the resultant progress would contribute to the Holy War, and in a very direct fashion: 'Learn at the same time the traditional learning and the new learning, and thus you will be able to prepare the material means which are indispensable for the defence of Islam, the *d̲j̲ihād*, which is obligatory for all' (*Munāẓara*, 48). Thus Fiṭrat's thought develops into the ideas of the unity of Islam and of Pan-Islamism.

Like D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Afg̲h̲ānī, Fiṭrat thought that the renaissance of Islam had to come from the Muslims themselves. The incitement to action, the rejection of passivity, of quietism and of reluctance to accept responsibility, which are such noticeable features of the works of D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn, are similarly prominent in those of Fiṭrat. Fiṭrat followed D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn along the path which he had opened up by stressing the temporal history of Islam, and it is probably for this reason that his works are more concerned with defining the means of achieving a new vitality than with re-defining the content, or more simply the methods, of the Faith. The originality of Fiṭrat's work lies in the fact that to reformism and Pan-Islamism there is added a call to social justice and to a revolt against the rich and those in power.

His principal works are (1) *Munāẓara*, first published in Istanbul in 1908, and re-published in Persian at Tashkent in 1913; Russian trans. by Col. Yagello, Tashkent 1911, under the title *Spor Buk̲h̲arskogo mudarrisa s evropeyt̲s̲em v Indii o novometodnik̲h̲ s̲h̲kolak̲h̲*. (*Istinniy resultat obmena misley*) pervoye izdanie sočineniy Buk̲h̲ara, Fiṭrat; (2) *Bayānāt-i sayyāḥ-i hindī*, first publ. at Istanbul (n.d.), then by Behbūdī in a Russian trans. at Tashkent in 1913 as: Abd ur Rauf, *Rasskazi indiyskogo puteshestvennika* (*Buk̲h̲ara kak ona 'est'*); (3) *Sāʾiḥa*, Istanbul 1910; (4) *Rahbar-i nad̲j̲āt*, n.p. 1915; (5) *ʿĀʾile*, n.p., n.d.

He published also various novels (notably *Ḳiyāmat*, Tashkent 1961) and poems in *Millî Edebiyat*, Berlin, i (1943).

Bibliography: Veli Kajum K̲h̲an, introductory article to the review *Millî Edebiyat*, i (1943), 4-5; A. Zavqi and I. Tolqun, *Şair Colpan*, in *Millî Turkestan*, lxxvi (1952), 17-23; Erturk, *Abdur Rauf Fitrat*, in *Millî Turkestan*, lxxx-lxxxi (1952), 9-16; F. K̲h̲od̲j̲aev, *O mlado Buhart̲s̲ah*, in *Istorik Marksist*, i (1926), 123-41; idem, *K istorii revolyut̲s̲ii v Buk̲h̲are*, Tashkent 1926; S. Aini, *Buhoro inqilobi ta'rihi učun materiallar*, Moscow 1926. (H. Carrère d'Encausse)

FLAG [see liwāʾ].

FLOOD [see ṭūfān].

FLORI [see filori].

FLOWER [see nawriyya].

FOGGARA [see ḳanāt].

FOLKLORE [see ḥikāya, taḳālīd].

FOOD [see g̲h̲id̲h̲āʾ].

FOREIGN AFFAIRS [see k̲h̲ārid̲j̲iyya].

FORESTS [see g̲h̲āba].

FORNICATION [see zināʾ].

FORTIFICATION [see burd̲j̲, ḥiṣār, ḥiṣn, ḳalʿa, sūr].

FOUNTAIN [see sabīl].

FRAGA [see ifrag̲h̲a].

FRANKS [see al-ifrand̲j̲].

FRAXINETUM was in the middle ages the name of the village now called La-Garde-Freinet, lying in a gap in the Mt. des Maures (département of Var, France). This locality only finds a place in this Encyclopaedia because it was occupied for 80 years by Muslim pirates who had come from Spain between 278-81/891-4. Having gained a footing in the gulf of Saint-Tropez, they occupied a natural fortress (Fraxinet, Freinet) near the modern village of La-Garde-Freinet; "soon reinforced by new groups from the Iberian peninsula, the invaders visited the county of Fréjus with fire and the sword,

and sacked the chief town". They then infiltrated westwards, ascended the Rhône, and extended their influence as far as the Alps and Piedmont. About 321/933 "light columns, very mobile, held—at least during the summer—all the country under a reign of terror, while the bulk of the Muslim forces was entrenched in the mountainous canton of Fraxinetum, in the immediate vicinity of the sea". The States concerned reacted slowly, and only in 361 or 362/972 or 973, after several unsuccessful attempts, did the vassals of Otto the Great "arrive to free Provence and the transalpine regions from the Muslim peril and to drive away for ever these pirates from their lair in the gulf of Saint-Tropez". Thus ended this "strange Islamic State encapsulated within a wholly Christian land" (J. Calmette, *L'effondrement d'un empire et la naissance d'une Europe*, 117).

Bibliography: No Arabic chronicle refers to these events, for which the *Antapodosis* of Liutprand, ed. Becker, Hanover-Leipzig 1915, is the principal source; J. T. Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France*, Paris 1836 (Eng. tr., Lahore 1956), gives the history of these corsairs in detail, for which see also: R. Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens*, Paris 1901, 243-73; idem, *Le royaume de Bourgogne*, Paris 1907, 87-107; G. Pinet deManteyer, *La Provence du Ier au XIIe siècle*, Paris 1908, 238 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 154-60 (which has been taken as the basis of this entry) supplies a more detailed bibliography. (Ed.)

FREE WILL [see ikhtiyār, ḳadar].

FREEMASONRY [see māsūniyya].

FRONTIER [see ʿawāṣim, ghāzī, murābiṭ, ribāṭ, thughūr].

FRUNZE [see pičpek].

FU'ĀD al-AWWAL, king of Egypt. Aḥmad Fu'ād was born in the Gizeh palace on 26 March 1868, of a Circassian mother. In 1879 his father, the Khedive Ismāʿīl, who had been deposed by the Sublime Porte, took him with him into exile. He studied in Geneva and Turin, and in 1885 entered the Italian military academy. At Rome in 1887, as a second-lieutenant in the artillery, he frequently visited the Italian royal family. Having been Ottoman military attaché at Vienna, he finally returned (1892) to Egypt after a stay at Istanbul. As prince he accepted the first Rectorship of the Free University of Cairo (1908-13). On the death of his brother Ḥusayn (9 October 1917) he succeeded him as sultan of Egypt. The British considered him as not at all Anglophobe, though regretting that he enjoyed neither great popularity nor much influence among the Egyptians (Lord Lloyd). He assumed the title of king of Egypt from 15 March 1922, and d. 28 April 1936. He had a respect for decorum and tradition, and during his lifetime the queen and the princesses, excepting his own daughters, remained veiled.

The age in which he reigned is significant in the history of the Egyptian awakening. The nationalist movement, then embodied in the person of Saʿd Zaghlūl and the *Wafd*, launched the open struggle against the British occupation immediately after the armistice of 11 November 1918. A campaign of signed petitions, demonstrations in Cairo, and strikes (1919, again in 1921) forced Great Britain to recognize Egypt as a "sovereign and independent state" (1922). While profiting by the action of the *Wafd*, which helped him to counteract British influence, king Fu'ād dreamed of an authority too absolute for him not to fear the nationalist leaders. A constitution envisaging two chambers was promulgated on 19 April 1923. The 1924 elections were a triumph for the *Wafd*. But the assassination of the *Sirdār* (November 1924), the difficulties in the negotiations, several times broken off and then resumed, with the British with a view to drawing up a treaty, the intervention of the British in Egypt and their Sudanese policy, all added to the crises. Parliament was dissolved four times, and the elections always returned a Wafdist majority (1925, 1926, 1929), except that of 1931 which the *Wafd* boycotted. In spite of this, there were only three rather brief periods of Wafdist ministry (Saʿd Zaghlūl in 1924, Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās in 1928 and 1930). That is to say, the king did as he pleased with the constitution, which was abrogated in 1930, immediately superseded, then re-established in 1935. He relied on minority parties or on unattached politicians; he appealed to, among others, Aḥmad Ziwar (1924-6), Muḥammad Maḥmūd (1928-9), and Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī (1930-3). At the end of his reign the Italian menace (Abyssinian war) demonstrated the urgency of an agreement with Britain. The treaty was signed in London on 26 August 1936, four months after his death.

From the economic point of view, the foundation of the Miṣr bank marked the first step in his reign towards economic independence. He had no share in it, nor did he deposit his private fortune there, which, however, he did not neglect. On the other hand, he took a lively interest in the intellectual development of the country. He founded schools, encouraged the new university at Gizeh (Fu'ād al-Awwal University, 1925) and the reform of al-Azhar [*q.v.*], an establishment on which his internal policies greatly relied. He promoted the creation and rejuvenation of numerous cultural institutions (Royal Society of Political Economy, of Geography, etc.). He insisted that Cairo should be the venue of great international congresses. He was however accused of mistrusting Egyptians and confiding in foreigners. He always patronized, without any fanaticism, all those who, outside politics, could contribute to the development of modern Egypt, especially in the cultural sphere. He was a true Maecenas, visiting schools and institutions. The personal prestige which he enjoyed abroad and the historical studies which he patronized enlarged the world reputation of Egypt.

Bibliography: G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, vii, specially pp. iii-xxxii (by Henri Dehérain); M. Colombe, *L'évolution de l'Égypte (1924-1950)*, Paris 1951, with detailed bibliography; Karīm Thābit, *al-Malik Fu'ād, malik al-Nahḍa*, Cairo 1944. (J. Jomier)

FU'ĀD PASHA, Kečedji-zāde Meḥmed, five times Ottoman Foreign Minister and twice Grand Vizier, was born in Istanbul in 1815, the son of the poet ʿIzzet Molla [*q.v.*]. Upon his father's exile to Sivas in 1829 Fu'ād switched from the usual theological curriculum to the new medical school, where he learned French, the key to his future career. From 1834-5 he spent three years as an army doctor in Tripoli in Africa; but since the Porte's diplomatic business was rapidly increasing, his French gained Fu'ād appointment to the Translation Bureau in November 1837. Like his life-long colleague Meḥmed Emīn ʿĀlī [see ʿālī pasha muḥammad amīn] he became a protégé of Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*].

During the next decade Fu'ād advanced rapidly as interpreter and diplomat through the ranks of the Ottoman bureaucracy and gained firsthand expe-

rience of Europe. In 1839 he became dragoman of the Porte; in 1840 he was dragoman, and from 1841 to 1844 first secretary, of the Ottoman embassy in London; in 1844 he went on special mission to Spain when Isabella II was declared of age to rule. In March 1845 Fu'ād was appointed member of an ad hoc commission on education whose report of August 1846 recommended a new state school system. He became dragoman of the imperial Dīwān in June-July 1845, and on 18 February 1847 *āmeddji* [*q.v.*]. Late in 1848 Fu'ād was sent to Bucharest to ensure smooth relations with the Russian forces which had entered the Principalities to suppress the revolution. When in 1849 Magyar and Polish refugees sought asylum in Ottoman territory Fu'ād was dispatched to St. Petersburg to uphold Reshīd's policy of no extraditions. Nicholas I received Fu'ād on 16 October. Fu'ād's mission was successful. In reward he was advanced to *ṣadāret müsteshārī*, in effect Minister of the Interior. After returning via Jassy and Bucharest to Istanbul on 11 April 1850 he sat on a special commission of the *medjlis-i wālā* to deal with Christian complaints from Vidin.

Fu'ād went to Bursa in mid-September 1850 to take baths for his rheumatism. There he wrote with Aḥmad Djewdet [*q.v.*] the first modern Ottoman grammar published in the empire, *Ḳawāʿid-i ʿOthmāniyye*, 1851. In that year, on the founding of the Endjümen-i Dānish [see ANDJUMAN], Fu'ād was appointed a member. In Bursa Fu'ād and Djewdet also drafted a proposal for the Bosporus ferry-boat company, which became the first joint-stock company in the empire. From April to July 1852 Fu'ād was in Egypt on a special mission to see to the application of Tanẓīmāt [*q.v.*] decrees and solve questions of railway building, inheritance, and the Egyptian tribute. That year Fu'ād advocated a European loan to help the finances of the empire, but Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd refused.

On 9 August 1852 Fu'ād was appointed Foreign Minister, three days after ʿĀlī succeeded Reshīd as Grand Vizier. This marks the first time Reshīd's two disciples had worked together in the highest offices, and the beginning of their involuntary estrangement from their master. This turbulent period brought the Leiningen mission with Austria's ultimatum on Montenegro. Fu'ād was also involved in the pro-Latin decision on the Holy Places. Prince Menshikov, Russia's special envoy, consequently deliberately snubbed Fu'ād, causing his resignation in early March 1853. For a year from March 1854 Fu'ād was special commissioner with military authority in Epirus and Thessaly, successfully repressing Greek insurgents who sought to profit from the Crimean War situation. Thereafter he was appointed to the new Tanẓīmāt Council, and in early May 1855, when ʿĀlī again succeeded Reshīd as Grand Vizier, again became Foreign Minister, with the rank of *vezīr* and *müshīr*. Fu'ād had a major share in elaborating the *Khaṭṭ-i Hümāyūn* [*q.v.*] of 18 February 1856. He did not, however, attend the Paris peace congress; ʿĀlī was the Ottoman plenipotentiary. Owing to Stratford's pressure concerning the Principalities Fu'ād resigned in early November 1856. In early August 1857 he was again President of the Tanẓīmāt Council.

Fu'ād again became Foreign Minister, and ʿĀlī Grand Vizier, on 11 January 1858, four days after Reshīd's death. As Foreign Minister he represented the empire at the Paris conference on the Principalities, 22 May to 19 August 1858; Couza's double election the next year, however, sabotaged the plan adopted for separate administrations. When Druze attacks on Maronites provoked intervention by the great powers, Fu'ād was sent on 12 July 1860 to Beirut with full civil and military powers. News of massacres in Syria took him to Damascus, where he had over 700 persons tried and 167 executed, including the *wālī* Aḥmed Pasha. This severity, earning Fu'ād the local nickname "father of the cord", successfully forestalled further penetration by French troops. Back in the Lebanon, Fu'ād punished some guilty Druze, though the French claimed he let most escape. He was chairman of the international commission that sat there from 5 October 1860 to 4 May 1861, although missing the first five sessions. The new Lebanese administrative statute of 9 June 1861 resulted.

On 6 August 1861, while still in Syria, Fu'ād was appointed Foreign Minister for the fourth time, and on 22 November Grand Vizier, which post he took up on arriving in Istanbul on 21 December. His first job was to deal vigorously with a financial crisis of panic proportions; he withdrew the *ḳā'ime* [*q.v.*], drew up a budget, and negotiated the successful loan of 1862. A Montenegrin campaign was successfully concluded, but the Belgrade incident of 1862 forced Turkish evacuation of two Serbian fortresses. Fu'ād helped secure new *millet* constitutions for the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. He resigned on 2 January 1863. His famous letter of resignation to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz pointed out financial difficulties and the danger of Balkan nationalisms; it was evidently also an effort, though vain, to present a united ministerial front. On 13 January Fu'ād was president of the *medjlis-i wālā*, and on 14 February *serʿasker*. In this capacity he accompanied ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to Egypt in April, and regained the imperial favour. On 1 June 1863 he was again appointed Grand Vizier, keeping the war ministry also.

Fu'ād's three-year term was marked by the *wilāyet* law, prepared by Fu'ād and Midḥat [*q.v.*] in 1864 for the new provincial administration experiment in Bulgaria; by the final authorization of the construction of the Suez Canal; by the necessity of recognizing Karl of Hohenzollern as the new prince of Roumania; by the firman of 27 May 1866 granting Khedive Ismāʿīl's heirs direct succession from father to eldest son; and by Fu'ād's growing feud with Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pasha [*q.v.*] over finances. Fu'ād was dismissed on 5 June 1866 because he opposed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's taking a daughter of Ismāʿīl as wife.

When ʿĀlī once more became Grand Vizier, on 11 February 1867, Fu'ād became Foreign Minister again. His masterly memorandum of 15 May for the Powers delineated Ottoman progress under the Tanẓīmāt, but, with ʿĀlī, Fu'ād was subject to increasing attacks from New Ottoman writers, especially over the Cretan rebellion and the final Turkish military evacuation of Serbia. From 21 June to 7 August 1867 Fu'ād accompanied ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz on his trip to Paris, London, and Vienna; Fu'ād kept the sultan from blunders, and the trip succeeded in diminishing the likelihood of serious foreign intervention in Crete, as well as interesting the sultan in western material progress. Fu'ād returned exhausted. Nevertheless he also was acting Grand Vizier in the autumn of 1867 when ʿĀlī went to Crete. He helped develop plans for the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi Dewlet* [*q.v.*]) and the Galatasaray lycée, both inaugurated in 1868. On medical advice, for his heart condition, Fu'ād travelled via Italy to Nice for a rest in the winter of 1868-69. There he died on 12 February 1869. His body was brought to Istanbul by the French dispatch-boat Renard.

Fu'ād was a convinced westernizer. He worked on many of the reforms of the later Tanẓīmāt period. He may have favoured representative government, though he was in no hurry to achieve it. His main objective was preservation of the Ottoman Empire through diplomacy and reform. He loved high office, but was not so jealous and grudging as ʿĀlī, and rather bolder in innovation. His honesty has been impugned, especially as regards gifts from Ismāʿīl, but his objectives remained constant. Fu'ād was a brilliant conversationalist. He was completely at home in French. His witticisms are famous; some imputed to him are apocryphal. He also wrote well, although sometimes carelessly, and helped to clarify Ottoman Turkish by having vowel marks put in the 1858/59 *sālnāme* and in his grammar. His so-called political testament is not proven genuine; it does, however, reflect his known views.

Bibliography: Contemporary accounts and documents include Djewdet, *Tezâkir*, i (1-12), ii (13-20), iii (21-39), ed. C. Baysun, Ankara 1953, 1960, 1963; Challemel-Lacour, *Les hommes d'état de la Turquie*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, 73 (15 Feb. 1868), 917-23; Fāṭima ʿAliyye, *Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha wezamānī*, Istanbul 1332, 85-90, 109; Meḥmed Memdūḥ, *Mir'āt-i Shu'ūnāt*, Izmir 1328, 127-33; Melek-Hanum, *Six years in Europe*, London 1873, 199-203; ʿAlī Ḥaydar Midḥat, *Tabṣire-i ʿibret*, Istanbul 1325, 23-4; Frederick Millingen, *La Turquie sous le règne d'Abdul Aziz*, Paris 1868, 272-84, 324-6; Charles Mismer, *Souvenirs du monde musulman*, Paris 1892, 13-6, 110; [A. D. Mordtmann], *Stambul und das moderne Türkenthum*, Leipzig 1877-8, i, 25-6, and ii, 143-50, 175-6; J. F. Scheltema, ed., *The Lebanon in turmoil*, New Haven 1920, 38, 143-58; I. de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane*, Paris 1884-1911, vi, 90-285, and vii, *passim*; J. H. Abdolonyme Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle*, Paris 1855, 177-84; Franz von Werner (Murad Efendi), *Türkische Skizzen*, Leipzig 1877, 166-71.

Of later studies, Orhan Köprülü's in *IA*, iv, 672-81, is the best, with many references, often to unpublished materials. See also ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Ta'rīkh muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1339, 98-104, 108; ʿAlī Fu'ād, *Ridjāl-i mühimme-i siyāsiye*, Istanbul 1928, 59, 141-74; I. H. Danişmend, *Izahlı osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, iv, Istanbul 1955, index; R. H. Davison, *The question of Fuad Paşa's 'Political Testament'*, in *Belleten*, xxiii/89 (1959), 119-36; R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*, Princeton 1963, chap. 3 and index; A. Du Velay, *Essai sur l'histoire financière de la Turquie*, Paris 1903, 174-96, 260-75; Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*, Istanbul 1940-53, 149-95; M. Jouplain, *La question du Liban*, Paris 1908, 414-82; Adel Ismail, *Histoire du Liban du XVIIe siècle à nos jours*, iv, *Redressement et déclin du féodalisme libanais*, Beirut 1958, 352-75; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, vi and vii, Ankara 1954-6, index; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*², London 1962, 115-21, index; T. W. Riker, *The making of Roumania*, London 1931, 55-9, 75, 155-80, index; Harold Temperley, *England and the Near East*, London 1936, 262, 267-8, 306-10; idem, *The Last Phase of Stratford de Redcliffe, 1855-1858*, in *English Historical Review*, xlvii (1932), 237-55. See also the biographical dictionaries: Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 3440; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 26.

(R. H. Davison)

AL-FUḌAYL B. ʿIYĀḌ, Abū ʿAlī al-Tālaḳānī, of the tribe of Tamīmī, an early Ṣūfī, disciple of Sufyān al-Thawrī, was born in Samarḳand, grew up in Abiward, and in his youth was a highway robber. After his conversion, he betook himself to the study of *Ḥadīth* at Kūfa. He was summoned to give ascetic addresses to Hārūn al-Rashīd, who called him "The chief of the Muslims". He settled in Mecca and died there 187/803.

Mentioned frequently as a transmitter of Traditions, he was also a noted ascetic and advocate of other-worldliness, known as one who lived with God. "The servant's fear of God", he said, "is in proportion to his knowledge of Him and his renunciation of this world is in proportion to his desire for the next", and again, "Satisfaction (*riḍā*) with God is the stage of those who are close to Him, who find in Him joy and happiness". Asked what he thought of the condition of mankind, Fuḍayl replied, "Forgiven, but for my presence among them". It was said that when Fuḍayl left the world, sadness disappeared.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 366; al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1953, 6-14; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, viii, 84-139; al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, (tr. Nicholson), 97 ff.; ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirāt al-awliyā'*, (ed. Nicholson), i, 74 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, No. 542; Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 58, 59.

(M. Smith)

AL-FUDJAYRA, (officially, al-Fujairah), one of the seven Trucial Shaykhdoms in Arabia and the only one lying in its entirety on the eastern side of the peninsula separating the Gulf of ʿUmān from the Persian Gulf. The tiny state is wedged between the Sultan of Muscat's territory of Rūs al-Djibāl, to the north, and the once independent territory of Kalbā (Kalba in Yāḳūt, *TA*, and the *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī), to the south. Kalbā, since 1371/1952 a part of the Trucial Shaykhdom of al-Shāriḳa (Sharjah), lies between al-Fudjayra and the central part of the Sultan of Muscat's domains. From Kalbā north to Rūs al-Djibāl, the narrow littoral and steep eastern watershed of the mountains of al-Ḥadjar behind the coast constitute the region known as al-Shamāliyya.

The little town of al-Fudjayra is at the mouth of Wādī Ḥām and about two miles from the sea. Most of the inhabitants of the town and wādī are members of the tribe of al-Sharḳiyyūn. Strung along the coast to the north are other villages of the state: Sakamkam, al-Ḳurayya, Murbiḥ, Ḍadna and a part of Dabā. Between Murbiḥ and Ḍadna is the enclave of Khawr Fakkān (Fukkān in Yāḳūt, *TA*, and the *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī) belonging to al-Shāriḳa.

Al-Fudjayra has long been under the influence of al-Ḳawāsim of Ra's al-Khayma and al-Shāriḳa, who were occupying Khawr Fakkān as early as 1188/1775. Al-Fudjayra, however, became virtually independent in 1321/1902 and was recognized as such by Great Britain in 1371/1952, when the Ruler, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ḥamad al-Sharḳī, subscribed to the agreements in force between Britain and the Trucial Shaykhdoms.

Bibliography: Admiralty, *A Handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; C. Aitchison, ed., *A Collection of Treaties*⁵, xi, Calcutta 1933; *al-ʿArabī*, Nov. 1960 (Kuwait periodical); Aḥmad al-Būrīnī, *al-Imārāt al-Sabʿ*, Beirut 1957; *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, n.s., xxiv, Bombay 1856; R. Hay, *The Persian Gulf states*, Washington 1959; J. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Omān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta

1908-15; Reference Division, Central Office of Information, *The Arab states of the Persian Gulf and South-East Arabia*, London 1959.

(ʿAbd al-Hafez Kamal)

FUḌŪLĪ, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (885?-963/1480?-1556), (in Turkish Fuzūlī) one of the most illustrious authors of Classical Turkish literature. He was born in ʿIrāḳ at the time of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu (White Sheep Dynasty) domination, probably at Karbalā, although Baghdād, Ḥilla, Nadjaf, Kirkūk, Manzil and Hīt are also mentioned as his birthplace. It is reported on uncertain authority that his father was *muftī* of Ḥilla, that he was taught by one Raḥmat Allāh, that he first took to poetry when he fell in love with this teacher's daughter and that his literary taste was formed by the Ādharī poet Ḥabībī. It can, however, be said with certainty that Fuḍūlī came from an educated family and was himself fully trained in all the learning of the age. His learning is also attested by the titles of *Mollā* and, later, *Mawlānā* which are given to him. It appears that his education commenced at Karbalā and was continued at Ḥilla and Baghdād.

Meḥmed b. Sulaymān (v. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 255, 645, 805, 914, 1075, 1571, 1719) invariably used the *makhlaṣ* (pen-name) Fuḍūlī in all his verse and prose works and is, therefore, mentioned among poets known by their *takhalluṣ* (Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa*, Tehran 1314, 136). He explained the choice of this original pseudonym, meaning both "inappropriate" and even "improper" and also, if taken as the plural of *faḍl*, "of great value", in the preface to his Persian *Dīwān* (Br. Mus. Or. 4911; Fāʾiḳ Reshād, *Fuḍūlī'nin ghayr-i maṭbūʿ eshʿārī*, Istanbul 1314, 43; Suleymān Naẓīf, *Fuḍūlī* (1925), 13-14). In the preface to his Turkish *Dīwān* he speaks of his innate artistic temperament and mentions that he started writing poetry at a very early age (*Türkçe Divan*, Ankara 1958, 4 ff.). His first known poem is a *kaṣīda* in praise of Elvend Bey (904-8/1498-1502), a grandson of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan (*Madjmūʿa-i nafīsa*, in the author's possession, 178a-b). When the Ṣafawī Shāh Ismāʿīl captured Baghdād in 914/1508, Fuḍūlī was already quite well known as a young man of literary and religious learning. He dedicated to this Shīʿī Shāh (Fuḍūlī being himself a Shīʿī) his first *mathnawī*, *Beng-ü-Bāde*. He enjoyed the patronage of the Ṣafawid Wālī of Baghdād, Ibrāhīm Khān Mawṣillü, and dedicated *ḳaṣīdas* to him (*Türkçe Divan*, 87, 89; *Beng-ü-Bâde*, Istanbul 1956, 3-4; Ṣādiḳī, *Madjmaʿ al-khawāṣṣ*, İst. Üniv. Kütüph. T.Y. 408, 533b, 34b —for a Persian translation of this see Khayyāmpūr, Tabrīz 1327).

When Sultan Suleymān the Magnificent conquered ʿIrāḳ in 941/1534, Fuḍūlī addressed *ḳaṣīdas* to him too, feeling no embarrassment at the change of administration and hastening to sing the praises in *madḥiyyas* of members of the entourage of the new conqueror. These included the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, the *Ḳāḍīʿasker* Ḳādir Čelebi, the *Nishāndjī* Djalāl-zāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi (cf. *Turkçe Divan*, 85, 98, 101; see also ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, unpublished part, İst. Üniv. T.Y. 5959, 385a-b; ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, *Mashāʿir al-shuʿarāʾ*, Istanbul Ali Emirī Lib. No. 772, 528; Ḥasan Čelebī, *Tadhkira*, same lib. No. 761, 221a-222a). Fuḍūlī met also two poets who participated in the campaign, Khayālī (d. 964/1557) and Tashlīdjalī Yaḥyā (d. 990/1582). While the Sultan was in Baghdād, Fuḍūlī was promised a pension payable from *waḳf* funds. Difficulties arose, however, when a later *berāt* stipulated the payment of nine aspers a day from *zewāʾid* funds. These difficulties are the subject of the letter known as the *Shikāyet-nāme* (Abdülkadir Karahan, *Fuzûlî'nin mektupları*, Istanbul 1948, 31-8). Fuḍūlī entered also into correspondence with Aḥmed Bey, the *Mīr-i liwā* of Mawṣil, Āyās Pasha, the *Ḳāḍī* ʿAlā al-Dīn (cf. Karahan, op. cit., 38-41, 42-4, 44-6) and the *Shehzāde* Bāyezīd (Hasibe Çatbaş, *Fuzûlî'nin bir mektubu*, in *AÜDTCFD*, iv (1948), 139-46.

Fuḍūlī composed *ḳaṣīdas* praising the Pashas Uways, Djaʿfar, Āyās and Meḥmed, when they were *Wālīs* of Baghdād, and also the *Ḳāḍī* of Baghdād Fuḍayl Efendi. He also wrote some of his most important works, including *Ḥadīḳat al-suʿadāʾ* and *Laylī wa Madjnūn*, under the Ottomans. Although he spoke with longing of travel in his poems, and although in his youth he hoped to visit Tabrīz and in his mature age to go to India and Asia Minor, Fuḍūlī never left the confines of ʿIrāḳ. He seems to have spent a large portion of his long life in employment at the *ʿAtabāt-i ʿĀliya* in Nadjaf (cf. the Persian *ḳaṣīdas* in praise of the *Imām* ʿAlī in the *Madjmūʿa*, in the author's possession, fols. 166 ff.). He died and was buried at Karbalā in 963/1556 during a plague (*ṭāʿūn*) epidemic (ʿAhdī, *Gulshen-i shuʿarāʾ*; Ali Emirī Lib. No. 774, 155a; Riyāḍī, *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ*, İst. Üniv. T.Y. 3250, 46 etc.). The year 970/1562 is sometimes given in error as the date of his death (Ḥasan Čelebi, loc. cit.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, loc. cit., gives both dates).

The only known member of Fuḍūlī's family is the poet's son Faḍlī Čelebi. In his religion the poet can be described as a moderate *Ithnā ʿasharī* Shīʿī. In spite of traditions to the contrary, it was unlikely that he was a Bektāshī (ʿAlī Suʿād, *Seyāḥatlerim*, Istanbul 1330, 100-7), a Ḥurūfī (ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzawī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ*, Baghdād 1939, iii, 246) or a Bāṭinī (A. Gölpınarlı, *Fuzûlî'nin Bâtınîliğe temayül* ..., in *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi Mecmuası*, no. 8-9, 265 ff.; for objections cf. Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk musikisi antolojisi*, ii, 640). Nevertheless it is right to consider Fuḍūlī as standing above sects and schools in his *ṣūfī* approach (cf. Karahan, *Fuzûlî-Muhiti, hayatı ve şahsiyeti*, Istanbul 1949, 144 ff.).

Fuḍūlī wrote some fifteen works in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, as follows: (*a*) Arabic: (1) *Dīwān*; (2) *Maṭlaʿ al-iʿtiḳād*; (*b*) Persian; (3) *Dīwān*; (4) *Haft-djām* (or *Sāḳī-nāma*); (5) *Anīs al-ḳalb*; (6) *Risāla-yi muʿammayāt* (he also wrote riddles in Turkish); (7) *Rind wa zāhid*; (8) *Ḥusn wa ʿishḳ* (or *Ṣiḥḥat wa maraḍ*); (*c*) Turkish: (9) *Dīwān*; (10) *Beng-ü-bāde*; (11) *Leylī vü Medjnūn*; (12) *Ḳırḳ ḥadīth terdjemesi*; (13) *Shāh-ü-gedā*; (14) *Ḥadīḳat al-suʿadāʾ*; (15) Letters.

Four other works are attributed to him on doubtful grounds. These are: *Suḥbat al-athmār*, *Djumdjume-nāme*, a Turkish-Persian rhyming dictionary and the *Konya Risālesi* (Müze Ktph. 2617).

The known manuscript of Fuḍūlī's Arabic poems and of the tract entitled *Maṭlaʿ al-iʿtiḳād* is to be found in a *Kulliyāt-i Fuḍūlī*, preserved in the Asian Museum in Leningrad (see E. Bertels, *Arabskie stikhi Fuzulī*, in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, v, Leningrad 1930; idem, *Novaya rukopis 'Kulliyata Fuzuli'*, in *Izvestya Ak. Nauk*, iv, 1935). *Maṭlaʿ al-iʿtiḳād*, together with the Arabic *ḳaṣīdas*, was published in Baku in 1958. Another edition is being printed in Turkey. There are many manuscripts in existence of the poet's works in Persian, many of which have also been printed (for details see Abdülkadir Karahan, *Fuzûlî*; Müjgân Cunbur, *Fuzûlî hakkında bir bibliografya denemesi*, Istanbul 1956)

There is a Turkish translation of the Persian *Dīwān* (which is also about to be published), with the exception of the *ḳaṣīda*s (Ali Nihad Tarlan, *Fuzûlî'nin Farsça divanı*, Istanbul 1950). *Haft-djām* has been printed several times under the title of *Sāḳī-nāma* as part of Fuḍūlī's collected works (a Turkish translation was added at the end of the translation of the Persian *Dīwān*). Other published works are as follows; *Anīs al-ḳalb*, ed. Süleyman Cafer Erkılıç, Istanbul 1944; *Risāle-i mu'ammayāt*, ed. Kemal Edib Kürkçüoğlu, Ankara 1949; *Rind wa zāhid*, same ed., Ankara 1956; *Ḥusn wa 'ishḳ* as *Safar-nāma-i Rūḥ*, ed. Muḥ. 'Alī Nāṣiḥ, in *Armaghān* (Tehrān), xi, 418-24, 505-17);the same work as *Ṣiḥḥat wa maraḍ*, ed. Necati Hüsnü Lugal and O. Reşer, Istanbul 1943—for the latest Turkish translation and a summary in French, see Fuzuli, *Sihhat ve maraz*, Istanbul 1940.

Critical editions of most of Fuḍūlī's Turkish works have appeared recently. Of the *Dīwān* 26 printed editions and more than a hundred MSS are known to exist (cf. op. cit., by Karahan and Cunbur, also *Istanbul kitaplıkları Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1947, 124-37; a MS copied during the poet's lifetime is in the author's possession). The latest edition of the *Beng ü bāde* is that by K. E. Kürkçüoğlu, Istanbul 1956. An interleaved edition of *Leylī vü Medjnūn* by Necmettin Halil Onan has been published by the Turkish Ministry of Education (Istanbul 1950) (for a German translation of this famous work see N. Lugal and O. Reşer, *Des Türkischen Dichters Fuzûlîs Poëm "Laylâ-Meğnûn" und die Gereimte Erzählung "Benk u Bâde" (Haşiş und Wein)*, Istanbul 1943; Engl. tr. by Sofi Huri, *Leyla and Mejnun*, in *Fuzûlî ve Leylâ ve Mecnun*, published by the Turkish National UNESCO Committee, Istanbul 1959). The author has edited the first published version of the *Ḳırḳ ḥadīth terdjemesi* (A. Karahan, *Fuzûlî'nin tetkik edilmemiş bir eseri*: *Kırk hadîs tercemesi*, in *Selâmet Mecmuası*, Istanbul 1948, nos. 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 66). It was later published by Kürkçüoğlu, Istanbul 1951. *Shāh ü gedā* is known only through a reference in Ṣādiḳī, op. cit. A critical edition of the *Ḥadīḳat al-su'adā'* is in preparation; MSS of this work are numerous (in addition to the works cited above, cf. catalogues by Rieu, Flügel, Pertsch, Blochet and Rossi). Five letters by Fuḍūlī are known: the author of this article has published four (*Fuzûlî'nin mektupları*, Istanbul 1948), while the fifth was published by Hasibe Çatbaş (*Fuzûlî'nin bir mektubu*, Ankara 1948).

Both Fuḍūlī's artistry and his wide learning are reflected in almost every one of his works. The penetrating quality of his thought and his scholarship in many fields are made clear in many passages, chief amongst them being the *tawḥīd* (praise of Divine unity) in the form of a *ḳaṣīda* at the beginning of his Turkish *Dīwān*. Fuḍūlī's notions on medicine, material and spiritual welfare, love and beauty can be gathered from his tract *Ḥusn wa 'ishḳ*; his *ṣūfī* philosophy and the advice which he had to give are made clear in *Rind wa zāhid*; *Haft-djām* is full of the *ṣūfī* symbolism in which mystic love and wine are equated; mystic love and ṣūfism inspire also *Leylī vü Medjnūn* and the *ghazal*s; stories about the prophets and the poet's feelings about the tragedy at Karbalā can be found in the *Ḥadīḳat al-su'adā'*; the *Dīwān*s (especially in the brief *ḳiṭ'a*s) and *Anīs al-ḳalb* reflect the poet's philosophy of life in general.

Fuḍūlī was a brilliant linguist. No fault can be found with the language and technique of his Arabic poetry. Nevertheless in feeling they are overshadowed by his work in Persian and Turkish. It is true that in spite of their technical brilliance and richness of content his poems in Persian cannot compete with the great masters of Persian literature, in which Fuḍūlī is ranked as a better than average second class writer. In Turkish literature, however, he ranks with the greatest. Fuḍūlī does not owe this reputation to the originality of his subject-matter, which he drew from earlier Persian writers. Thus, the subject of the *Ḥadīḳat al-su'adā'*, which can be classed as a *maḳtal* (a description of the tragedy at Karbalā) is drawn from the *Rawḍat al-shuhadā'* of Ḥusayn Wā'iẓ Kāshifī; the desert story narrated in *Leylī vü Medjnūn* had been told many times before, particularly in the poems of the same name by Niẓāmī and Hātifī; the forty traditions of the Prophet in *Ḳırḳ ḥadīth terdjemesi* are drawn from Djāmī's *Tardjama-i arba'īn ḥadīth* (cf. A. Karahan, *Islâm-Türk edebiyatında kırk hadîs*, Istanbul 1954, 100-6, 167-72). Fuḍūlī succeeded, however, in impressing the particular stamp of his personality on his treatment of this common subject-matter. His treatment of the themes of love, suffering, the impermanence of this world, the emptiness of worldly favours and riches and of the theme of death attain to a lyricism and directness which no other Turkish poet has reached. He is the Turkish poet who has expressed with the greatest effect a feeling of pity for the unfortunate, of patience in the face of adversity and of separation.

Fuḍūlī's Turkish has the characteristics of literary Ādharī. This is true both of his grammar and of his vocabulary. The works of his age of maturity reflect, however, some Ottoman influences which followed naturally the Ottoman conquest of 'Irāḳ in 941/1534. Fuḍūlī's fame and influence, marked already in his lifetime, have not ceased to grow in the Muslim Turkish world. He has always been the most popular poet in all the countries inhabited by Turks. He has influenced many classical Turkish writers, such as Rūḥī, New'ī-zāde 'Aṭā'ī, Nā'ilī, Nābī, Sheykh Ghālib and Nigārī. Such writers wrote imitations (*naẓīra*s) of his poems, or *takhmīs* and *tasdīs* to his *ghazal*s.

Traces of Fūdulī's influence occur also in post-*Tanẓīmāt* modern Turkish literature, as well as in poems written specially for musical settings (*sāz*). Many of his own poems have also been set to music, starting from the 17th century. Even today, some of his *ghazal*s are sung by *khʷānende*s and are occasionally recorded.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article see: Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira*, Istanbul 1314, 265-6; Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa*, Tehrān 1314, 136; Beyānī, *Tadhkira* (Ali Emirî Lib. no. 757), 148; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, Calcutta 1358, 122-3; Fā'iḍī, *Zubdat al-ash'ār* (Ist. Univ. Lib. no. 1646), 84a-86a; Mīrzā Muḥ. Ṭāhir, *Tadhkira-i Naṣrābādī*, Tehrān 1317, 519; Khoshgū, *Safīna* (*Daftar-i thānī*) (Bodleian, Elliot 395), 316b-17a; Gibb, *Ottoman poetry*, iii, 70-107; Ibrāhīm 'Ashḳī, *Fuḍūlī*, Istanbul 1338; Muḥ. 'Alī Tarbiyat, *Danishmandān-i Ādharbaydjān*, Tehrān 1314, 300; Kevork Terzibashyan, *Nimush Arewelyan mistik panasdeghdzutyan gam Fuzulî megnapanvadz*, i-ii, Istanbul 1928-9; Tâhir Olgun, *Fuzûlîye dâir*, Istanbul 1936; Mehmed Mihrī, *Fuzûlî'nin şerh ve tefsirli divanı*, Istanbul 1937; Muḥ. 'Alī Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tehrān 1328, iii, 222-3; Celil Özulus, *Fuzulî*, Niğde 1948; Ahmed Ateş, *Fuzulî'nin el yazısı*, in *Türk Dili*, v (1956), 545-63; Hasibe Mazioğlu, *Fuzûlî-Hâfız*, Ankara 1956;

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(Abdülkadir Karahan)

FULANI [see FULBE].

FULBE, pl. of *Pullo* (called Fula(s) in Gambia and Sierra Leone; usual French name: Peuls; usual English name: Fulani; their language is variously called Fula, Fulani, Peul (French usage), Ful (German usage), their own name for it being variously *Pular*, in Senegal, Gambia and Sierra Leone, and *Fulfulde*, in Mali and territories further east), a pastoral people—the only people of white (or red) stock in negro Africa—the 'cattle-men' who for more than a thousand years have been moving in groups across Africa at its greatest width. Wearing their would-be white rags with unfailing pride, they look at you with a glance of aristocratic nonchalance. They are one of the few nomadic societies of negro Africa, and G. Vieillard, who professed a brotherly affection for them, spoke of the Fulani as "parasites on the bovine species". Living amongst groups of stalwart negro farmers, the Fulani seem relatively frail, their frailty offset, according to Gautier (*Afrique noire occidentale*, 167) by a certain intellectual superiority.

According to Barth, Peul means "light-brown, red", in contrast to *Olof* (black), while according to Gaden the term *Fulbe* means "the scattered ones". Peul being the Wolof name which was adopted by the French, coming from the coast of Senegal, it is more correct to speak of *Pul* or *Ful*, or in the plural *Fulbe*, the name by which the Fulani call themselves.

Al-Maḳrīzī (765-845/1364-1442) was probably the first to speak of the Fūlāniyya, a term which was used again by al-Saʿdī in the *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* (1667). João de Barros speaks of them at length in his *Asia*, as do the various explorers who travelled through Africa from the 18th century onwards (Moore, René Caillé, d'Avezac (1829), Clapperton (1825), the Lander brothers (1830), d'Eichtal (1842), Barth (1850-55). Substantial studies have been devoted to them by De Crozals (1883), Gaden, Delafosse (1912), Mischlich (1931), and finally Tauxier (1937) who during his official career was for more than ten years in charge of districts containing many Fulani groups, and who produced an excellent comprehensive study. Vieillard (1938), Lhote (1951) and de Lavergne de Tressan must also be mentioned, as must Colonel Figaret, who settled at Bamako on his retirement, and died there in 1943.

Reference must also be made to the monographs by the British writers, East (on Adamawa), Stenning and Hopen, by the Germans Passarge and Strümpell, and by the Frenchmen Lacroix, Richet and Froelich, and also the works of Wolf and Ahmadou Hampaté Ba on Macina and Senegambia.

Origin of the Fulani. The problem of the origin of the Fulani is one that is the subject of hot dispute among Africanists. In fact it seems vital to know whence came these pastoralists, often turned warriors, who have played such an important part in the establishment of various African kingdoms, from Senegal to central Cameroon. Racial resemblances, or reminders of some passage in the Bible or the Ḳurʾān, have often led well-meaning authors along innumerable false trails which it is pointless to follow, now that considerable light has been shed on the existence in neolithic times of a humid Sahara, which for several millennia sheltered cattle-owning pastoralists who came from the east of Africa and are most probably the ancestors of the Fulani. Until quite recently, ignorance of the Sahara's climatic changes obliged authors to search, far or near, for peoples bearing a physical resemblance to the Fulani, and to conjure out of nothing a migration route which would have led them to Futa Toro in Senegal, the place where they are first mentioned in history. The various theories, many of which read like pure fiction, can be grouped under two headings; non-African origins, and African origins.

It has been maintained in all seriousness that the Fulani were descended from the Tziganes, from the Pelasgians, primitive inhabitants of Greece and Italy, or from Gauls or Romans who vanished in the sands of the desert. In support of the Judaeo-Syrian theory, supported as early as the end of the 18th century by Winterbottom and Matthews, the explorers of Sierra Leone, M. Delafosse in his *Haut-Sénégal-Niger* put forward plausible arguments which for long were generally accepted. On this view the Fulani would have been the descendants of Jews from Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, a party of whom are known to have fled into the desert after the great Roman persecution of 115 A.D. Travelling by way of Fezzan, Aïr and Macina they would have reached the region between upper Senegal and the Niger, occupied by the ancient kingdom of Ghāna. Tauxier, writing with merciless accuracy, has disproved this theory.

The supposed Indian origin of the Fulani has been upheld by many writers, including Faidherbe and Binger. It has been reinforced by the linguistic theories of which Mlle. Homburger has made herself the ardent propagandist, arguing as she does a relationship between the Dravidian languages and certain African languages such as "Serer-Peul", a relationship rejected by most writers. Finally Etienne Richet, in a lengthy study entitled *Peuls de l'Adamaoua*, has adduced evidence of anthropological and sociological similarities between the Fulani and the ancient Iranians.

Two original African stocks have been invoked as representing the ancestors of the Fulani. The closest, geographically speaking, is the most difficult to defend. It seems clear that the Fulani are not Arabo-Berbers, as Cortambert, F. Dubois and C. Monteil have maintained—Monteil claiming that the Fulani are the descendants of the Honainen, mentioned by al-Bakrī as the grandchildren of the soldiers sent in 734 by the Umayyads against the kingdom of Ghāna. The Nubian-Ethiopian origin seems much more worthy of consideration. It has moreover been supported by the greatest number of authors. Mollien, the first of these, in his *Voyage dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique aux sources du Sénégal et de la Gambie*, 1818, sees a resemblance between the features, character and customs of the Fulani and those of the Barabra of Nubia; he makes them a race of red Ethiopians. Barth (1855) is inclined to admit that the Fulani occupied western Africa prior to the expansion of the Berber people; he likens the Fulani to the *Pyrrhi Aethiopes* of Ptolemy, Ethiopians burnt to a copper-red colour. Coming from the east of Africa, the Fulani would have passed by southern Morocco (approximately 150 B.C.) and then, under pressure from the Arabs (from about 132/750), would have reached Senegal, occupying the region

of Futa Toro. This theory was supported (1868) by F. Müller, who connects Fulfulde, the language of the Fulani, with Nuba in Kordofan, relates the Fulani to the Nuba or Nuba-Fula people, and supposes that the Fulani occupied North Africa, displacing the Berbers. Two years later Schweinfurth associated the Mangbutu (Mombutu) with the *Pyrrhi Aethiopes*, and found in them a resemblance to the Fulani, whose origin he too placed in eastern Africa. This theory was to be revived some years later (1881) by O. Lenz in his book on Timbuctoo; he makes the Fula and Nuba halfway between negroes and Mediterranean Hamites. About the same time E. H. Haeckel (1868-75), in his *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte*, takes the hair as a fundamental criterion, and this leads him to group together the Nubians and Fulani who are euplocomes (soft curly hair) like the Dravidians and Mediterranean peoples. He states: "the Nubians, properly so-called, inhabit the regions of the Upper Nile (Dongola, Changalla, Barabra, Kordofan), from there the Fula or Fellata migrated towards the west and at present occupy a large zone in the western Sahara between the Sudan in the north and the negro peoples in the south". Haeckel, then, makes the Nubians and Fulani a race half-way between whites and negroes. He includes in these groups some lower Hamites or Cushites (Beja, Galla, Somali, Danakil), some elements of which have more negro features than the Fulani, who resemble rather the upper Hamites (Egyptians and Berbers) and Semites (Jews, Arabs, Indo-Europeans). Topinard (1879) says that the Fulani are a red people; he connects them with the Barabra and with the Aḥmar described by Caillaud in the course of his explorations in Upper Egypt (1823).

Hartmann (1876) makes the Fulani some kind of sub-Ethiopians, a kind of cross between Berbers and Nigritians. Quatrefages and Hamy, in their *Crania Ethnica*, indicate a close connexion between Fulani and Egyptians, at the same time suggesting that there are fairly clear signs of admixture with negro peoples. Machat, in 1906, revives the theory of Dr. Tautain (1895) and of Dr. Verneau showing the relationship of the Fulani to the peoples of Upper Egypt and Nubia, which was supported by the Fulani traditions collected by Olivier de Sanderval and Hecquard. Verneau's view was confirmed by Dr. Lasnet, who however connects the Fulani with the 240,000 soldiers of Psammetichus who in the 6th century B.C. left Egypt for Nubia; reaching the south of Morocco they would have become the leuco-Ethiopians and would then have moved down towards the Senegal. Deniker, in *Les races et les peuples de la terre*, after studying the Ethiopians or Cushito-Hamites, points to a Fula-Sande group derived from a mixture of Ethiopian and Nigritian stock. He makes the Fulani essentially Ethiopians with Berber or negro admixture. Montandon, in his *Ologonèse humaine*, places the Fulani among the pan-Ethiopian races (which include also Barabra-Danakil-Somali, Abyssinians-Galla-Masai, Badima), while Chantre, in his contribution to the study of the human races in western Sudan, connects the Fulani with the Beja in view of the following common features: colour of skin, which is not black but reddish; texture of hair, which is not woolly; the principal indices, which often differ only by a few millimetres; numerous common ethnographic features. Seligman, in his book *The races of Africa* (1936), attempts to show that the Fulani are really Hamites and not Semites or Judaeo-Syrians, that the Fula language is an ancient Hamitic language, sister of the language whose impact on the previously Sudanic-like negro languages produced the Bantu languages.

On the other hand it can now be said that the Fulani are not the very tall men which the statistics of Verneau (1.74 m./5 ft. 8½ ins.) and Deniker (1.75 m.) seem to suggest. Although they are taller than the average of negro peoples, they are shorter than the Wolofs. The height of the Fulani varies according to the region, and the samples taken give from 1.67 to 1.71 m. (5 ft. 5¾-7¼ ins.) for men and 1.54 to 1.62 m. (5 ft. 0½-3¾ ins.) for women.

The Fulani are distinctly dolichocephalic (average horizontal cephalic index 74) and platyrrhine (average nasal index 96). These anthropological data enabled Dr. Verneau (1897-99), Deniker (1926) and Seligman to confirm the theory according to which the Fulani would be lower Hamites, Ethiopians. Tauxier, to whom we are indebted for the most complete study of the Fulani which has so far appeared, notes in this connection that they have always given the name *Phouta* or *Fouta* (*Futa*) to the countries where they have settled—Futa Toro, Futa Djallon, Futa Damga (west of Nioro Circle)—and he underlines the similarity of these names to the country of Phout (Fuṭ) in Nubia. A. Berthelot accepts that the Fulani are Ethiopians, and 'red'-skinned, and relates them to the Barabra and the Baḳḳāra, and makes their language a negro language. Recently Sheykh Anta Diop has supported this Nilotic origin by identifying the only two typical totemic proper names of the Fulani with two equally typical concepts in Egyptian metaphysical beliefs, *Ka* and *Ba*. On the other hand he supports the close connexion existing between the Fula language, Wolof and Serer.

The Fulani have no firm national tradition about their origin. They regard themselves sometimes as Arabs, sometimes as a cross between Jews and Arabs, sometimes as a cross between Arabs and negroes, or between Moors and negroes. In actual fact the legends most often date from the time of islamization, and on that account lack any kind of validity.

Saharan route of the Fulani. Although a number of authors have found little difficulty in demonstrating the relationship of the Fulani to the Nubians and the Masai, the difficulty of crossing the Sahara seems to have caused a diversion of the Fulanis' supposed migration routes, so that almost all are made to pass by the northern fringe of the desert, in fact all over the Maghrib. It is only quite recently that the explorer H. Lhote has thrown light on a probable travel route across the present desert, a route possible in the climatological conditions of the 3rd millenium B.C. when the terrain of the Sahara resembled the present-day Sudan zone. More than a thousand rock engravings and paintings are found at intervals across the desert from Egypt to the Atlantic, depicting cattle and their herdsmen. The cattle portrayed belong to two types—longhorns, and the short-horned cattle, long ago domesticated in Egypt, which are indigenous to Africa. The style recalls that of Egypt—in the way the animal is depicted in profile and full face, and in the presence of a spherical object or appendage between the horns, suggestive of a cult identical with or related to the cults of Egypt; the human figures, with the hair fashioned into a crest, are identical with those of present-day Fulani women.

The tools (polished axes, grinding stones) which

have been recovered near these engravings, particularly at Mertutek (Hoggar) date from the neolithic period (perhaps the 3rd millennium B.C.). It was probably around this period that these pastoralists left the Upper Nile and moved into a pastoral zone covering the presentday Sahara. They reached the Djebel Wenat, where some very beautiful paintings of cattle have been found, then reached the Fezzan, travelled along the high plateaus of Tassili, passed by way of the deep canyons to the Hoggar uplands, and then followed the valleys of the Hoggar and of Wādī Tamanrasset. They passed to the north of Adrar of the Ifoghas, and were unknown in Mauretania until quite recently (their art, probably learnt in Egypt, had been lost). These movements are explained by the search for new pastures and the need for continual change of habitat that is typical of nomadic peoples, and also no doubt by the gradual encroachment of desert conditions through changes of climate; a contributory factor may also have been the importance which the Fulani attach to their cattle.

The vexed question of the origin of the Fulani is as hotly disputed by Africanists today as it has been in the past. Various branches of science—anthropology, ethnology, linguistics and prehistory—have made their contribution towards the solution of the problem. The type of the hair (Haeckel, Chantre), cranial indices (Tautain, Verneau, Deniker, Chantre), linguistic relationships (Mlle. Homburger, F. Müller, Seligman), and the ethnographic context (Lhote, Tauxier) constitute a body of important presumptions concerning the common origin of these light-skinned peoples who set out from the vicinity of Ethiopia with their cattle, one group going west, the other south, peacefully driving their cattle before them. Often superior to the tribes they encountered, they became their advisers and their suppliers of meat—a luxury commodity—and then, when circumstances were favourable, they seized power, assisted by the fact that they were also skilled horsemen, and that in the open country of the savannah regions cavalry is always at an advantage, especially when the opposing infantry is equipped only with bows and featherless arrows, which make it impossible to shoot any distance.

Spread of the Fulani. Futa Toro plays an important role as the centre of the dispersal of the Fulani élite. It is nevertheless probable that where these élite have succeeded in establishing their authority, it is to a large extent due to the presence on the spot of other Fulani elements. It was probably in the 11th century that the Fulani established themselves at Futa Toro, and from there, at the time of the fall of the empire of Ghāna, they spread towards the east by way of Dhombogo and Kaarta, where several clans remained. Others mingled with the settled Mandinka population to produce the *Fulanke*. A fairly large group remained up to the end of the 14th century at Kaniagan (south of Bagana), whence Maga Djallo and his companions were to set out at the beginning of the 15th century in the direction of Macina. Another section was to settle at Bakunu. Another contingent from Futa Toro was to reach the northern shore of Lake Debo and then, after crossing the Niger at Say, was to settle first in the Sokoto area and then in Adamawa. From Macina were to come the Fulani of the Dogon country and of Liptako, as well as those of Futa Djallon. By intermarriage with the local negro population the Fulani were to produce six groups which were to be of considerable importance in the evolution of the African continent. The alliance of Fulani with Serer was to produce the *Tukulors*, the *Futanke* and the *Toronke*, important groups in the valley of the Senegal. Crossed with the Mandinkas they formed the groups of Fulanke who number more than 100,000 in the vicinity of Bafoulabe, Kita, Bougouni and Sikasso. The *Khassonke* and *Wassulonke*, who evolved during the 18th century at Wassulu, were to distinguish themselves during the struggle against the Fulani of Futa Djallon (1760).

The supremacy of the Fulani. The Fulani are normally regarded as fierce Muslims. Although this is true in general, nevertheless numerous pagan customs still persist, and their influence made itself felt at first in a pagan reaction against Islam.

The details of the spread of the Fulani have often been described. At first, as guardians of the cattle which farmers entrusted to them, they played an important economic role, and were fully conscious of their intellectual superiority. As a second step, the owner was reduced to slavery and his land and cattle appropriated. The extraordinary spate of Fulani conquests of the 18th and 19th centuries is then readily understandable. The extent of the Fulani dispersion from Chad to Senegal made it possible for them to rely on the support of one or other of the various Fulani communities. Moreover their herds constituted a reserve of food which gave them great mobility. Richard Mollard has rightly observed that the two most important Fulani empires, Adamawa and Futa Djallon [*qq.v.*], were also two mountain massifs—"two well-watered castles, the two Fulani bastions; it was certainly the mountains which provided this race with the ideal base for establishing a solid empire, thanks to the nature of the terrain, the climate, the suitability of its soil for pasture as well as for agriculture, and the miserable standard of living of the pagans, who were powerless to resist, having nothing to offer in opposition, and who were often quite ready to admire, to submit and to serve". From Futa Toro the Fulani, or at least their ruling classes, set out towards the east, establishing kingdoms as they went, first Macina, then Futa Djallon, and the Fulani empires of Nigeria and of Adamawa.

The Fulani empire of Macina was created by one Maga Djallo at the end of the 14th century. The Ardos resisted the assaults of the Songhai of the Sonni Ali Ber, and then came under the control of the Moroccans of Gao before finding themselves, at the end of the 18th century, caught between the Bambara invasions and the Tuareg expansion. It was left to Sēku (Sheku) Hamadu (1810-44) to carry the Fulani empire of Macina to the peak of its power, thanks to the rise of Usman (ʿUthmān) dan Fodio. He established his capital at Hamdallahi ("Praise to God") in 1815, and organized his states into provinces, with governors, judges, and fiscal and military systems. Sēku Hamadu succeeded in converting to Islam almost all the Fulani and a considerable number of Bambara. After Hamadu Sēku (1844-52), who established his suzerainty over Timbuctoo, his son Hamadu Hamadu (1852-62) saw his army of 50,000 warriors defeated at Sayewal at the hands of Al-Ḥadjdj ʿUmar's 30,000 Tukulors. Hamdallahi was conquered and Hamadu Hamadu put to death. Two years later his brother Ba Lobbo was to succeed in defeating the Tukulor army while Al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar was to escape into the cave at Degembere with his reserves of ammunition. But Tīdjānī, nephew of Al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar, soon took his revenge. From that time on, the Tukulors were to be in control of Macina.

The Fulani (Fulas) of Futa Djallon came from Macina around 1694, led by a certain Saʿīdī. As soon as the Fulani felt themselves strong enough, they were to seize power and wage a succession of holy wars against the pagans. The position of Almamy was to be held alternately by the Sorya and Alfaya families; the most famous of the Almamys was Ibrahim Sori Maudo (1751-84).

The Fulani of Nigeria are among the best known of the Fulani groups, owing to the many written documents which have survived. Here, as elsewhere, a distinction is made between the *Fulanin Gida*, who took up a sedentary life and often intermarried with the local inhabitants, and the *Bororo*, who still faithfully tend their herds of cattle. In contrast to many of the Filanin Gida, the Bororo are tall and slim, with a proud carriage, light skin, aquiline nose and thin lips. According to the Kano Chronicle, it was in the 18th century that the Fulani came from Futa Toro to establish themselves in the kingdom of Gobir, one of the Seven Hausa States.

Usman dan Fodio (born 1754) set himself up in opposition to the Emir of Gobir, declared a holy war, defeated the Emir's troops (21 June 1804), and had himself proclaimed Sarkin Musulmi ("Commander of the Faithful"). Thereafter he extended his authority over Kano, where he established his base while his armies overthrew the Hausa states of Katsina, Kebbi, Nupe, Zaria and Liptako. Usman attacked Bornu (1808), although its people too were Muslims, but was repulsed by El-Kanemi (1810) and died some time afterwards in a fit of religious frenzy. Abdullahi, brother of Usman, received the western provinces (with their capital at Gwandu) while Muhammadu Bello, son of Usman, was given the recently-conquered eastern provinces and established himself at Sokoto. Under Muhammadu Bello the Fulani empire of Nigeria reached its zenith, and included the emirates of Katsina, Kano, Zaria, Hadejia, Adamawa, Gombe, Katagum, Nupe, Ilorin, Daura, and Bauchi. In spite of his many campaigns, Muhammadu Bello found time to write works of history, geography and theology. Unfortunately, he had the papers and documents of the Hausa kingdoms destroyed. In 1824 and 1826 he received the British explorer, Lieutenant Clapperton, and sent a friendly letter to the King of England.

Usman dan Fodio and Muhammadu Bello established an administration based on the Ḳur'ānic law. The nature and value of a person's property determined the tax (*zakāt*) he was to pay. The ruler was assisted by a *Waziri* (chief minister), a *Ma'aji* or *Ajiya* (treasurer) and a *Sarkin Dogarai* (chief of police). The corruption in this administration at the end of the 19th century was to be a factor favourable to the establishment of British rule.

The Fulani empire of Usman dan Fodio was to give rise to two important chiefdoms, those of Liptako and of Adamawa.

The Fulani influence at Liptako had started with the Ferobe ("those who have abandoned their land"), who came from Macina under the leadership of Birmali Sala Pate. The latter established himself at a place called Bayel near Wendu, and began to win over to Islam the Fulani who had been in the country for a long time. The success of Usman dan Fodio enabled the Fulani to rise against the Gurma chiefs. The battle of Dori (April 1810), which resulted in seven deaths among the Gurmas, established the authority of Brahima bi Saidu, grandson of Birmali. Salifu bi Hama, who succeeded him in 1817, founded Dori. He overcame the Gurmas in the south, but had to abandon the north (Udalam) under pressure from the Tuaregs. The reign of Sori (1832-61) was to be a glorious one, but was marred in 1840 by the bloody battle of Kassirga (1900 dead). After Lieutenant Monteil had passed through Liptako (1891), and the Tukulor troops of Ali Bori had been wiped out by Capt. Blachère at Duentza (1894), Bubakar Sori signed a protectorate treaty with Capt. Destenave (4 October 1895).

The Fulani of Adamawa entered the plateau areas during the 18th century in search of pasture. They settled peacefully among the Bata, Fali, Mundang, and Masa tribes in the neighbourhood of the Mandara mountains and the Benue, Mayo Kebbi and Logone rivers.

At the call of Usman dan Fodio the Fulani seized power. Summoning the influential *malams* (those learned in the Ḳur'ān) to Kano, Usman dan Fodio appointed Adama of the Ba clan to carry his standard. Adama installed himself at Yola and conducted a campaign against the pagans of the north "for the faith, not to capture slaves and fill his harem". Meanwhile he attacked the chief of Mandara before carrying the war against the hill tribes of the Fali, Mufu and Daba. He overcame the Mundang of Mayo Kebbi, and to the south he fought the Vere, Chamba, Namchi and Doni. After the wars of liberation were to come the wars of domination. The captives made a plentiful labour force for tilling the soil. The Fulani themselves settled in the best-situated villages abandoned by the pagans.

On the death of Adama (1847) the conquest was practically complete. The country which had up to then been called Fombina ("the South") in the Fula language became Adamawa ("country of Adama"), subdivided into several chiefdoms (such as Banyo, Garua, Ngaundere, Rai and Tibati), whose incumbents received their appointments from Yola. After the death of Adama the chiefdoms of Ngaundere, Tibati and Bindere became independent, while the southern areas remained vassals of Yola.

The half-century between the death of Adama and the arrival of the Germans saw the gradual attrition of Yola's authority. The emirs were much more preoccupied with possible profitable raids and the sale of slaves to the Kanuri, the Arabs and the Hausas, than with converting the infidels.

Society and language. Fulani society is marked by a caste system consisting of nobles (*rimbe*, plural of *dimo*), serfs (*rimaibe*), traders and herdsmen (*jawambe*), singers and weavers (*mābube*), leatherworkers (*sakēbe* or *gargassābe*), woodworkers (*laōbe* or *sakaēbe*) and smiths (*wailbe*).

The language of the Fulani (Fula, Fulani, Pular, or Fulfulde) has been the subject of a great many studies. Once considered a Hamitic language related to the Berber dialects, Fula is generally grouped with the languages of Senegal and Guinea. It is a language with characteristic noun classes, marked by sets of suffixes and a pronominal system of an alliterative type. The roots are mainly monosyllabic roots consisting of closed syllables (consonant + vowel + consonant) like those of the other languages in the area. The verbal system is very rich, and includes three voices—active, middle and passive—and various moods and aspects.

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(R. Cornevin)

FŪMAN (Fūmin), the centre of a region (*ḳaṣaba*) in Gīlān [*q.v.*], with (in 1914) about 27,000 inhabitants (mostly Shīʿī Persians: Gīlak) whose main crops are rice and some cereals, and who also produce silk. The town of Fūman is 21 km. W.S.W. of Rasht [*q.v.*] on the right bank of the Gāzrūdbār and it contains some four hundred houses. Before the advent of Islam in the 7th-8th century it was the seat of the Dābūya dynasty [*q.v.*] and for part of the middle ages it was considered the most important town in Gīlān. After the country's surrender to the Mongols in 1307, the prince of Fūman, said to be a descendant of the Sāsānids and the only Shāfiʿī of the country, was, after the ruler of Lāhīdjān [*q.v.*], the Ilkhān's confidant in Gīlān. Fūman was then the centre of a fertile agricultural area and an important market for trading, and was considered the focal point of the Daylam [*q.v.*] district. (The assertions of al-ʿUmarī, in *Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, ed. M. E. Quatremère, xiii, Paris 1838, 298, and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, i (text), 162 = ii (trans.), 159, contradict each other in many respects). Thereafter, until 980/1572-3, Fūman remained the capital of the Bīya-pas ("beyond the river") region (see gīlān) which was then transferred to Rasht. After that Fūman was the centre for two important clans, one of which migrated to Rasht in the nineteenth century. Today Fūman is a small country town of little significance.

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(B. Spuler)

FŪMANĪ [see ʿabd al-fattāḥ fūmanī].

FUNDJ Origins: The Fundj appear in the early 10th/16th century as a nomadic cattle-herding people, gradually extending their range down the Blue Nile from Lūl (or Lūlū), an unidentified district, to Sinnār. The foundation of Sinnār, subsequently the dynastic capital, is ascribed to ʿAmāra Dūnḳas in 910/1504-5. Hypotheses of remoter Fundj origins among the Shilluk, in Abyssinia, or among the Bulala, are unsubstantiated, while the Sudanese tradition of their Umayyad descent is a typical device for the legitimation of a parvenu Muslim dynasty.

Fundj kings to the establishment of the Regency. (Dates from the list obtained by James Bruce at Sinnār in 1772: Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bruce 18(2), ff. 54b-57a).

1. ʿAmāra I (Dūnḳas) b. ʿAdlān, d. 940/1533-4.
2. Nāyil b. ʿAmāra, d. 957/1550-1.
3. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir I b. ʿAmāra, d. 965/1557-8.
4. ʿAmāra II (Abū Sikaykīn) b. Nāyil, deposed 976/1568-9.
5. Dakīn b. Nāyil, d. 994/1585-6.
6. Dūra b. Dakīn, deposed 996/1587-8.
7. Ṭayyib b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, d. 1000/1591-2.
8. Ūnsa I b. ?, deposed 1012/1603-4.

9. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir II b. Ūnsa, deposed Radjab 1015/ November 1606.
10. ʿAdlān b. Ūnsa, deposed 1020/1611-2.
11. Bādī I (Sīd al-Ḳawm) b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, d. 1025/ 1616-7.
12. Rubāṭ b. Bādī, d. 1054/1644-5.
13. Bādī II (Abū Diḳan) b. Rubāṭ, d. 6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1091/28 December 1680.
14. Ūnsa II b. Nāṣir b. Rubāṭ, d. 21 Ramaḍān 1103/ 6 June 1692*.
15. Bādī III (al-Aḥmar) b. Ūnsa, d. 20 Rabīʿ II 1128/ 13 April 1716*.
16. Ūnsa III b. Bādī, deposed 1 Shaʿbān 1132/8 June 1720*.
17. Nūl, d. 16 Shawwāl 1136/8 July 1724*.
18. Bādī IV (Abū Shulūkh) b. Nūl, deposed 2 Ramaḍān 1175/27 March 1762.

* Date of accession of the next king.

The early monarchy: The northward expansion of the Fundj coincided with a southward Arab expansion under the hegemony of the ʿAbdallāb dynasty, connected with the overthrow of the Christian Nubian metropolis of Sūba. The two migrations clashed near Arbadjī, the southernmost ʿAbdallābī town, on the Blue Nile, in the Gezira (Djazīrat Sinnār, Dj. al-Hōī, Dj. al-Fundj). The victorious Fundj chief became the high-king in a partnership with the ʿAbdallābī *shaykh*, whose own authority extended over the nomads and sedentaries northwards as far as the Third Cataract. The tradition that ʿAmāra Dūnḳas and the ʿAbdallābī eponym, ʿAbd Allāh Djammāʿ, combined to overthrow Sūba is probably a face-saving legend. The Fundj rulers were early converted to Islam. ʿAmāra had Muslims in his retinue, and his second successor, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir I, bore a Muslim name, and one which furthermore indicates the predominant role of the Ḳādiriyya *ṭarīḳa* in the Fundj territories. Our principal source of information on the islamization of the region, the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Wad Ḍayf Allāh, says little about the true Fundj lands, but is almost wholly concerned with the ʿAbdallābī districts further north. The dual hegemony was subjected to severe strain, when the ʿAbdallābī chief, ʿAdjīb al-Māndjilak (*i.e.*, "the Viceroy"), revolted against ʿAdblān b. Ūnsa, and was killed in the battle of Karkūdj (1016/1607-8). Peace was restored, and the ʿAbdallābī dynasty re-established, through the mediation of an influential Ḳādirī shaykh, Idrīs b. Muḥammad al-Arbāb (d. 1060/1650).

The heyday of the monarchy: Fundj power expanded across the southern Gezira into Kordofān, west of the White Nile. The first stages were the conquest of the isolated hills of Saḳadī and Mūya, ascribed to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir I, c. 1554, and the securing of the crossing of the White Nile, at this time dominated by the Shilluk, a pagan tribe, celebrated for their canoe raids. Bādī II defeated the Shilluk, and raided the Muslim hill-state of Taḳalī, south of Kordofān, which he laid under tribute. The command of al-Ays, the Fundj bridge-head on the White Nile, was always held by a member of the royal clan. The plains of Kordofān proper, ruled by the Musabbaʿāt, kinsmen of the Kayra dynasty of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*], were not conquered until the reign of Bādī IV. Fundj expansion eastwards was barred by Abyssinia. Two Fundj-Abyssinian wars are recorded: the first (known only from Abyssinian sources) in 1618-9, and the second in the reign of Bādī IV, culminating in a Fundj victory (Ṣafar 1157/March-April 1744). The auriferous district of Fāzūghlī [*q.v.*] on the upper Blue Nile, under a tributary chief, formed the southern limit of the Fundj dominions.

The monarchy in decline: On several occasions the dynasty showed signs of internal weakness, as indicated by the deposition of monarchs. Bruce's statement that there was a custom of regicide (*Travels*, vi, 372) seems, however, to be a gratuitous generalization. A development of great importance was the creation of a slave-army by Bādī II, as a consequence of his successful raid in the west. These slaves, augmented by natural increase, purchase and further raiding, were settled in villages around Sinnār. Their existence created tensions between the dynasty and the Fundj warrior aristocrary. Bādī III overcame a revolt of the Fundj of Sinnār and al-Ays, who were supported by the ʿAbdallāb, but his son, Ūnsa III, was deposed after the "troops of Lūlū" had marched northwards on the capital. This marked the end of the direct male line. The next king, Nūl, was connected through his mother with the former royal clan, the Ūnsāb; there are other traces of matrilineal customs. Under Nūl and his son, Bādī IV, the monarchy temporarily regained strength. Bādī was, however, overthrown by his victorious commander and viceroy in Kordofān, Muḥammad Abū Likaylik, who profited from the renewal of dissensions between the king and the Fundj aristocracy to march on Sinnār and depose Bādī. Although the succession of Fundj monarchs continued, power now passed to Abū Likaylik and his clan as hereditary regents. This indicated the revival of a submerged element in the population, which had been overwhelmed by the Arab and Fundj migrations: Abū Likaylik is described as belonging to the Hamadj (*i.e.*, autochthons), or as a Djaʿalī (*i.e.*, an arabized Nubian; see DJAʿALIYYŪN). After his death, the Hamadj wasted their power in struggles over the regency. Simultaneously with the Fundj, the ʿAbdallāb were in decline. Their old capital, Ḳarrī, was abandoned for Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk in the eighteenth century, while Arbadjī was devastated in 1198/1783-4. The arabized Nubians along the main Nile revived, notably the Saʿadāb Djaʿaliyyūn, whose capital, Shandī, was the commercial metropolis of the Nilotic Sudan in the early nineteenth century. A dynasty of religious teachers, the Madjādhīb, made al-Dāmir into a centre of learning and devotion. The Shāyḳiyya, who had revolted against the ʿAbdallāb in the reign of Bādī I, formed an independent and predatory confederacy. At the time of the Turco-Egyptian invasion of 1821, neither the ʿAbdallābī chief, Shaykh Nāṣir, nor the last Fundj king, Bādī VI, offered any resistance to the forces of Muḥammad ʿAlī.

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(P. M. Holt)

FUNDUḲ, a term of Greek origin (πανδοχεῖον) used, particularly in North Africa, to denote hostelries at which animals and humans can lodge, on the lines of the caravanserais or *khān*s of the Muslim East. These hostelries consist of a court-yard surrounded by buildings on all four sides. The ground floors are generally used to house animals from caravans or owned by passing country-dwellers and also, when necessary, any merchandise stored there until such time as the consignee takes delivery of it. On the upper floor (usually there is only one), small rooms give onto a gallery which encircles the entire building; it is here that people are housed. The gate to the street is large enough to allow fully laden animals to pass through. In the Middle Ages it often happened that in towns open to international trade *funduḳ*s were placed at the disposal of European traders on a "national" basis. Thus in Tunis there was a *funduḳ* for the French, in Cairo a *funduḳ* for the Venetians, etc. These hostelries were patronized almost exclusively by the poor; others went out of their way to avoid the discomfort, the contiguity with the animals, and in many cases the presence of prostitutes who often occupied several rooms where they entertained travellers.

In Morocco the same type of building is often used by a group of merchants to store their goods. The court-yard is shared, and each participant hires one or more rooms; in this type of *funduḳ* there is no stabling for animals. It also happens that groups of artisans, often of the same trade, hire the various rooms in a *funduḳ* and use them as a collective workshop, each member remaining fully independent.

In general, *funduḳ*s belong to the administration of religious estates (*ḥubūs* or *awḳāf*) which let them out to the various occupants, in the case of traders or artisans, or to a concessionaire in the case of a hostelry.

Some of these buildings are of artistic merit, such as the *funduḳ al-nadjdjārīn* and the *funduḳ al-Tiṭṭawniyyīn* in Fez. *Funduḳ*s for storage or workshops are found in the industrial or trading quart rs, while *funduḳ*s in the sense of hostelries are usu lly situated near the main gates of the town.

Bibliography: No work exists dealing sp cifically with *funduḳ*s. Information relating to F z will be found in R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca-Paris 1949, in particular 190-1 and 317-8. See also KHĀN.

(R. Le Tourneau)

FÜNFKIRCHEN [see PÉCS].

FUNG [see FUNDJ].

FUR [see FARW].

AL-**FURĀT** is the Arabic name of the Euphrates, called in Sumerian BU-RA-NU-NU, Assyr. *Purātu*, Hebrew פְּרָת, Syriac ܦܪܬ; in Old Persian it was called *Ufrātu*, whence Middle Persian *Frat*, modern Turkish *Fırat*. On the name and the notices by authors in antiquity see Pauly-Wissowa, art. *Euphrates* (by Weissbach). The main stream of the Euphrates is formed by the junction of two principal arms, now called the Karasu (length 450 km./280 miles) and the Murad-suyu (650 km./400 miles). The former, though the shorter, long bore (and in its lower course still bears) the name Furāt/Fırat, and is regarded by all the sources as the true Euphrates. Its headwaters are the numerous streams flowing down from the high mountains (Gavur-dağı [see GAWUR DAGHLARİ], Dumlu-dağı, Karga-Pazarı-dağı) north of the plain of Erzurum. According to the Arab geographers, it rises in the district of Ḳālīḳalā [see ERZURUM] in a mountain called ʾFRDKHS or some such name, in which we may probably recognise the Παρυάδρης ὄρος of Ptolemy, and the *Mons Paruerdes* of the Tabula Peutingeriana. For the upper course of the river we have the very important description by Ibn Serapion, whose text has been published with translation by G. Le Strange in *JRAS*, 1895; his statements were discussed by Tomaschek in a valuable paper in the *Festschrift für H. Kiepert*, 1898, 137-49.

After leaving the marshy plain of Erzurum, the river flows westward through narrow gorges, accompanied by the line of the Erzurum-Erzincan-Sıvas railway; the Erzurum-Trabzon road turns off north-west at Aşkale. Twisting south, between the ranges of the Cemal and Keşiş dağları, it is joined by the Tuzla çayı flowing from Tercan [see TERDJĀN], and then turns west again to emerge into the plain of Erzincan [see ERZINDJĀN] (altitude 1200 m./4000 ft.). From there it proceeds through very steep and narrow gorges along the foot of the northern slopes of the Monzor range. Turning sharply south-east, it receives the Çaltısuyu (the Nahr Abrīḳ of Ibn Serapion), which flows from Divriği [see DIWRĪĞI] to meet it, passes by Eğin [*q.v.*] /Kemaliye, receives the Arabkir-suyu (the Nahr Andjā of Ibn Serapion), and some 12 km./8 miles north of Keban, at an altitude of 680 m./2230 ft., is joined by the other main arm, the Murad-suyu.

The Murad-suyu rises in the volcanic Aladağ and Tendürük mountains north of Lake Van, and flows westwards to traverse the Kara-köse plain. Alternately passing through steep gorges and across broad plains [see MALĀZGERD, TUTAK], it enters from the north the extensive plain of Muş [see MŪSH], where it is joined by the Kara-su, flowing westward across the plain from the Nemrut-dağı. Now accompanied by the recently constructed railway to Elâzığ, it again flows westward, receiving from the left the Harinket-deresi, which drains the plain of Elâzığ, and from the right the Peri-suyu, before uniting with the Kara-su.

The name of the Murad-su in antiquity was Arsanias, whence the Nahr Arsanās of the Arab geographers, who describe it as rising in Ṭarūn (Taraunitis) and being joined near Shimshāṭ (Arsamosata) by the Nahr al-Dhiʾb and the Nahr Salḳiṭ (identified by Tomaschek with the Peri-suyu and the Sungut-suyu respectively). The origin of the name Murad is not clear; the hypotheses of Belck (*Beiträge zu alten Geographie*, i, 45), that it may be a popular etymology for Purāt, and of Tomaschek (*Sasūn*, 17), that it rises in a mountain region once called Murad, should be mentioned. Although some European maps and text-books refer to the Murad-su as the 'Eastern' and the Kara-su as the 'Western' Euphrates, such a distinction is not known in the

region itself (and indeed the 'Western' Euphrates is in fact the northern arm).

The united stream flows, first south-west and then south, past Ḥiṣn al-Minshār (the modern Muṣar; Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, 52: Mūshār), receives on the west bank the Kuru-çay or Hekimhan suyu (probably the Nahr Djardjāriyya of the mediaeval geographers, reported as flowing from the neighbourhood of Kharshana) and the Tohma-çayı. The latter (the mediaeval Nahr Ḳubāḳib), into which flow the Nahr Ḳurāḳis = Sultan-su and the Nahr al-Zarnūḳ, which irrigates by a branch Malaṭya, is crossed by the celebrated Ḳanṭarat Ḳubāḳib, the modern Kırkgözköprü (see Yorke in the *Geogr. Journ.*, viii (1896), 328 f.; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i, 486). On the east bank the Euphrates receives the Nahr Henzīṭ (Büyük çay) which still preserves the name of the capital of the old district of Anzitene and then, breaking through the south-east Taurus, enters the cataract district, which it does not leave till it reaches Gerger (see von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände ..... in der Türkei*[6], 305-10; E. Huntington in *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 1901, 183-204; idem, in *Geog. Journ.*, xx (1902), 175-200).

Leaving the mountainous country the Euphrates divides the flat tableland into two, and forms the boundary between Syria and al-Djazīra below Samsat (Ṣumayṣāṭ [*q.v.*]). At first the river continues as before to receive important tributaries from the west only. Of these the most important is the Nahr Sandja or Nahr al-Azraḳ crossed by the famous Ḳanṭarat Sandja, which, like the Singas of the ancients (cf. R. Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, text to sheet 5, p. 1[b]), is certainly to be identified with the Göksu. Below the rocky citadel of Ḳalʿat al-Rūm and the crossing of al-Bīra, of particular importance since the Crusading period [see BĪREDJIK], there is still the Nahr Sādjūr (modern Turkish Sacur) to be mentioned. Immediately after being crossed by the bridge of the Aleppo-Baghdād railway, the river crosses the frontier into Syria.

In the early middle ages Djisr Manbidj (the later Ḳalʿat al-Nadjm) and al-Raḳḳa [*q.v.*] were the main places where the Euphrates could be crossed. After Meskene [see BĀLIS], where it swings eastwards, the river is navigable. It passes the battlefield of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], near which is the ruined citadel of Djaʿbar [*q.v.*] with the reputed tomb of Süleymān-shāh [*q.v.*]. Below al-Raḳḳa the al-Balīkh, rising in the neighbourhood of Ḥarrān, joins the mainstream at al-Raḳḳa al-Ṣawdāʾ, the modern ruins of al-Samrāʾ (see Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, i, 160). The now very important crossing at Dayr al-Zōr has only become of any considerable importance in modern times. The place held by Dayr al-Zōr at the present day was held in ancient times by Circesium, the Ḳarḳīsiyā of the Arabs, at the mouth of the Khābūr; this river flowing from Raʾs al-ʿAyn formed, according to the repeated statements of the Arab authors, with its tributary the Hirmās from Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, a navigable connection between the Euphrates and the Tigris in the Nahr al-Tharthār, but, according to the investigations of Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, i, 193, this must be regarded as more than doubtful. The rôle of the ancient Circesium and of the modern Dayr al-Zōr was filled, particularly in the later middle ages, by the double village of Raḥba, or the Dāliya of Mālik b. Ṭawḳ, a little south of the former, the lands of which were watered by the Nahr Saʿīd canal, which began before Ḳarḳīsiyā, and was called after Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (see Peters, *Nippur*, i, 127, 129-30; A. Musil, *In Nordwestarabien und Südmesopotamien*, p. 10 of the reprint from the *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Kl. der Wiener Akad.*, 1913, I).

While modern geographers make Southern Mesopotamia begin at ʿĀna [*q.v.*], already celebrated in the Middle Ages for its palms, where the cultivation of the datepalm in the Euphrates valley begins, the writers of the Middle Ages as a rule place the boundary between al-Djazīra and al-ʿIrāḳ much farther south on the Euphrates. The Čerī Saʿde, which was led out of the Euphrates downwards from Hīt, the course of which can be traced almost as far as Nadjaf (see Peters, *Nippur*, i, 166 and 313; ii, 327; Meissner, *Von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Ḥīra und Ḫuarnaq*, 15), has unfortunately not been sufficiently explored to establish its real importance and relation to Khandaḳ Sābūr (see Nöldeke, *Sasaniden*, 57; Le Strange, 65) and to the Wādī ʿAyn al-Tamr (see Musil, *op. cit.*, 11), which, according to Ibn Serapion, flowed into the Euphrates at Hīt. According to Ibn Serapion a canal, called Nahr Dudjayl, flowed from the Euphrates at al-Rabb (7 *farsakh* from al-Anbār, 12 from Hīt; possibly the Umm al-Ruʾūs in Peters, *Nippur*, ii, 45) to the Tigris near ʿUkbarā (see Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, 24), but it seems soon to have been silted up, as the later geographers give this name only to a Tigris-canal perhaps originally connected with the ancient Dudjayl (see Streck, *op. cit.*, 33 and 220 f.).

Only a little farther down, at al-Anbār [*q.v.*] begins the great network of the Babylonian canal system, which dates back into remote antiquity, although only the remains survive today. The usual identification of the four main canals, Nahr ʿĪsā, Nahr Ṣarṣar, Nahr al-Malik and Nahr Kūthā, led from the Euphrates, is given in the article DIDJLA (for details see Streck, *op. cit.*, 25 f.), but in the present state of our knowledge of the country it can only be regarded as highly hypothetical. Shortly after they branch off, the Euphrates divides into two arms. The western arm, according to the Arabs the river proper, which flows past Kūfa and is finally lost in the Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*] west of Wāsiṭ, is also called al-ʿAlḳamī, which Musil (*op. cit.*, 13) has found east-north-east of Karbalāʾ as the name of an ancient canal, perhaps forming the northern continuation of the modern Hindiyya arm. The eastern arm of the Euphrates, which even in Ibn Serapion's time held a greater stream of water, for the first part of it corresponded to the bed of the modern Euphrates proper until, since about 1889, the river began to pour the greater part of its waters into the Hindiyya arm (see Peters, *Nippur*, ii, 335; Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, 38 and 57), again divides near Bābil. Its eastern arm, which flows to the Tigris under the names Nahr Sūrā al-Aʿlā, Sarāt al-Kabīra, Nahr al-Nīl, or Nahr Sābūs via the town of al-Nīl (the modern Nīliyya), has been thoroughly explored by Sarre and Herzfeld (*Arch. Reise*, i, 234-47) except for its eastern extremity. How far the western branch, the Nahr Sūrā al-Asfal, corresponds to the modern course of the Euphrates or the canals Shaṭṭ al-Nīl, Shaṭṭ al-Kār, which flow to the southeast, cannot yet be exactly determined. This arm likewise ends in the great swampy area of the Baṭīḥa, the outflow from which, Nahr Abi 'l-Asad, which runs into the Didjlat al-ʿAwrāʾ, may in a way be described as the lower course of the Euphrates.

This is in its main outlines the picture drawn by the Arab geographers, particularly Ibn Serapion.

That the details which they give us are not always intelligible is not remarkable, considering the deficiencies in our knowledge of the country; that contradictions seem to be found in them need not cause surprise, when we consider how much the river has changed its course, of which the shifting to the south in quite recent times of its confluence with the Tigris is a striking example (see *Geogr. Journ.*, xxxv, 11 with map). The Arabs themselves knew of considerable changes in the course of the Euphrates; for example, Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 216) says that in the period of Ḥīra's prosperity sea-going ships came up as far as Nadjaf in the old riverbed (*al-ʿatīḳ*). A detailed account has been given above (s.v.) of the Arabs' knowledge of the history of the Baṭīḥa, which is at the same time the history of the Lower Euphrates. It is perhaps evidence of the gradual alteration in this area of swamps that, according to certain authors (see *BGA*, iii, 20, note 1; cf. also Yāḳūt, iii, 860 f.), an arm of the Euphrates—it can only be the Nahr Sūrā al-Asfal—entered the Tigris at Wāsiṭ. Not only is the history of the Euphrates in antiquity and the middle ages still very obscure, but we have only very meagre information regarding the changes in its course in recent times.

Bibliography: The Arab geographers and the more important western works are given under DIDJLA; we may here mention as a cartographical aid R. Kiepert's excellent *Karte von Kleinasien* (1: 400,000). For further details see the separate articles. For the course, tributaries, etc. of the Euphrates in the modern Turkish Republic, see *IA*, s.v. Fırat (by Besim Darkot) and Naval Intelligence Handbook, *Turkey*, 2 vols., 1942-3, index. (R. HARTMANN*)

The Euphrates measures 2333 km./1480 miles from the confluence of the Karasu and the Murad-suyu to Baṣra. It drains an enormous basin, which is made up as follows: Karasu, 21,500 sq. km./8400 sq. miles; Murad-suyu, 39,700 sq. km./15,500 sq. miles; the Euphrates as far as Djarablus (where it enters Syria), 96,000 sq. km./37,500 sq. miles; as far as ʿĀna (where it enters ʿIrāḳ), 229,000 sq. km./89,300 sq. miles; to the point where it enters the Gulf, 444,000 sq. km./173,000 sq. miles. It must however be realized that the greater part of this area is complete desert and contributes no water at all to the river.

The area from which the Euphrates is fed is virtually confined to the mountainous area to the North, which consists of 82,330 sq. km./32,110 sq. miles, only some 20% of the total area of the basin, 80% of which is made up of steppe and desert. After it has left the mountains the Euphrates is nothing more than an artery for carrying away the rains and snows which have fallen in Eastern Turkey. Consequently, very soon—from Djarablus, on the Turco-Syrian frontier, 1980 km./1230 miles from the Persian Gulf—the river begins to dwindle. At Hīt, its average annual flow is 838 cubic metres/29,595 cubic feet per second; at Hindiyya, 629 cu. m./22,213 cu. ft.; at Shināfiyya, 573 cu. m./20,236 cu. ft.; at Nāṣiriyya, 458 cu. m./16,174 cu. ft. (for comparison, the figure for the Rhine is 2200 cu. m./77,696 cu. ft. per sec.; for the Loire, 935 cu. m./33,020 cu. ft.; for the Oder, 510 cu. m./18,011 cu. ft.; for the Seine, 485 cu. m./17,127 cu. ft.). Between Hīt and Nāṣiriyya (680 km./420 miles) the Euphrates loses 46% of its water.

Similarly wide variations are found between different years. Although the average annual flow at Hīt is 838 cu m./29,595 cu. ft. per sec., in 1941, a very high year, it rose there to 1140 cu. m./40,260 cu. ft., while in 1930, a very low year, it fell to 382 cu. m./13,489 cu. ft.

There are also fairly wide variations between the different months of the year. During the hot season the flow decreases: (at Hīt), August, 354 cu. m./12,501 cu. ft.; September, 293 cu. m./10,347 cu. ft. In the autumn it begins to rise again with the first rains: November, 433 cu. m./15,291 cu. ft.; December, 547 cu. m./19,317 cu. ft.; January, 587 cu. m./20,730 cu. ft., and rises still further during the winter: February, 668 cu. m./23,590 cu. ft.; March, 962 cu. m./33,973 cu. ft.; April, 1880 cu. m./66,394 cu. ft.; May, 2230 cu. m./78,755 cu. ft.; June, 1210 cu. m./42,732 cu. ft. Thus 63% of the water carried by the Euphrates flows during March, April, May and June only, and in May there flows $7^1/_2$ times as much water (2230 cu. m./78,755 cu. ft.) as in September (293 cu. m./10,347 cu. ft.).

Especially striking is the rapidity with which the average flow declines in the space of two months—June and July—and also how late the annual maximum flow is reached (in May), whereas in the Tigris it appears a month earlier (in April). This is explained by the fact that the Euphrates is supplied to a large extent by snow which, on the high plateaus, does not melt until very late spring.

In addition to its extreme seasonal variations in rate of flow, the floods of the Euphrates are also extreme, though much less so that those of the Tigris. At Hīt on 6 September 1938 a flow of 5200 cu. m./183,645 cu. ft. per sec. was recorded. On such occasions the Euphrates would burst its banks and spread eastwards as far as the eye could see, reaching as far as the suburbs of Baghdād.

The countries through which the Euphrates flows are very varied: the mountains of Turkey, where the river is more or less torrential; the Syrian steppes of al-Djazīra, where it is slightly sunk below the level of the surrounding plateau and where the slope averages 30 cm. per km. between Djarablus and Hīt; Mesopotamia proper, where the slope falls to 10 cm. per km. between Hīt and Shināfiyya. After Shināfiyya and Nāṣiriyya the slope practically disappears: 3 cm. per km.

A very important feature of the geography of Mesopotamia is the fact that the Euphrates between Hīt and Shināfiyya flows at a slightly higher level than the section of the Tigris between Baghdād and Kūt. The northern part of Mesopotamia is thus irrigated by canals which lead off from the Euphrates to the east and the south-east, and this has been so since remotest antiquity (no canal can lead off to the west because of the edge of the Syrian plateau), while the southern part on the other hand is irrigated by canals leading off from the Tigris, the main one—practically the only one—being the Gharrāf, in whose bed the Tigris itself at one time flowed.

From Samāwa to the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, the Euphrates clings to the desert plateau, the slope is very slight, and the area was formerly filled by the great marsh which, according to some sources, appeared in the 5th century A.D., while others say that it appeared at the time of the great flood of 629 A.D. The last traces of it are now represented by the 110 km./70 miles of lake Hammar.

At all periods embankments have been built to combat the floods. Since the building of the Ramādī barrage in 1955-6, it has been possible when the water level is very high to divert 2800 cu. m./98,900 cu. ft. per sec. in the direction of Lake Habbāniyya along a canal 8.5 km./5 miles long and 210 metres/230 yards wide. In the same year there

was completed on the Tigris at Sāmarrā a similar barrage, which is capable of diverting 9000 cu. m./318,000 cu. ft. per sec. towards the depression of the Wādī Tharthār along a canal 65 km./40 miles long. Now, and for the first time in history, Mesopotamia is protected from the catastrophe of floods.

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(E. DE VAUMAS)

AL-FURĀT, BANŪ [see IBN AL-FURĀT].

FURḌA, a term used interchangeably in Ottoman documents and Arabic texts with *firda*, in reference to personal taxes. Attested in Ottoman Egypt after about 1775 as one of the many illegal charges imposed on peasants by soldiers of the provincial governors, in 1792 this tax was legalized under the name *Firdat al-taḥrīr*, as a comprehensive levy to replace all the previous illegal charges. It was not a regular imposition, nor was it applied everywhere at the same time, but only where and when local authorities needed money for special purposes. The total amount levied on each village and individual varied according to ability to pay and the amount of money needed. It was one of the *mukhridjāt* revenues of the Treasury, *i.e.*, those collected and spent locally, without being sent to Cairo, although they were included in the accounts of revenues and expenditures of the central treasury. It was also considered to be one of the *Kushūfiyye-i djedīd* taxes. In 1798, 7,096,194 *paras* were collected in this way, approximately five per cent of the total Treasury revenues. In March 1801 it was abolished by the French, along with most of the other taxes inherited from Ottoman times.

After the departure of the French, Muḥammad ʿAlī restored the *firda* and changed it into a general personal tax, theoretically an income tax (called *Firdat al-ruʾūs*). This was levied annually on Muslim and non-Muslim males alike, with only European subjects and natives in the employ of foreign consulates being exempted. In the large cities, it was levied on individuals at a rate of about eight per cent of their incomes or salaries, but no one had to pay more than five hundred piastres. The tax was deducted directly from the salaries of government employees and was a major cause of their discontent. In the villages and smaller towns, it was levied on households, which were divided into three classes according to ability to pay. It provided about one-sixth of the Treasury's revenues, and was used principally to pay for the expenses of the rapidly expanding armed forces. The *firda* was also collected in Syria during the period of Egyptian occupation.

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(S. J. SHAW)

FURFŪRIYŪS, *i.e.*, Πορφύριος, Porphyry (A.D 234-about 305) of Tyre, amanuensis, biographer and editor of Plotinus, and outstanding as the founder of Neoplatonism as a scholastic tradition. The philosophical syllabus common in Arabic philosophy is ultimately due to him: since his days it became customary to use the lecture courses of Aristotle as set-books in the Neoplatonic schools of late antiquity and to start with the *Categories*. He himself wrote commentaries on Aristotle and Plotinus, which seem to have reached the Arabs either in their original or in some diluted form. It is not impossible that his conviction that Plato's and Aristotle's views were basically identical—he wrote a lost work, in seven parts, Περὶ τοῦ μίαν εἶναι τὴν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους αἵρεσιν (Suda, s.v. Πορφύριος)—became of some importance for Muslim philosophers like Al-Fārābī [*q.v.*] or Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*]. Most of his very numerous Greek works are not preserved. A long and careful survey of his life and his huge literary output, by R. Beutler, is to be found in Pauly-Wissowa, Kroll, xliii, 1953, cols. 275-313; it is, however, still indispensable to consult in addition J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre le philosophe néoplatonicien*, Gand-Leipzig 1914, reprinted Hildesheim 1964, and E. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, iii/2[4], 693 ff. For a brilliant sketch of the man cf. R. Harder, *Kleine Schriften*, Munich 1960, 260 ff.

A very sketchy Arabic account of Porphyry's works is to be found in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 253 (= Cairo ed., 354), cf. Ibn al-Kifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 256 (ed. Lippert); cf. Bidez, *op. cit.*, 54 ff.; also F. Rosenthal, *Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's Taʾrīkh al-aṭibbāʾ*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 69-79, and F. Gabrieli, *Plotino e Porfirio in un eresiografo musulmano*, in *La parola del Passato*, i, 1946, 338 ff.

(1) Only one of Porphyry's surviving Greek works is preserved in a complete Arabic version as well, the *Isagoge* (cf. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, IV, 1), a rather elementary treatise on logic, which had become the first philosophical book to be studied in the schools. It became as popular in the Islamic world as it had been in Greek and Latin (cf. W. and M. Kneale, *The Development of Logic*, Oxford 1962, 187 ff.). The translator is Abū ʿUthmān al-Dimashḳī (flor. A.D. 900); it can be read in two Egyptian editions, both published 1952, by Aḥmad Fuʾād al-Aḥwānī, and by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī (*Manṭiḳ Arisṭū*, 1021-68), together with the corrections given in S. M. Stern's article on Ibn al-Ṭayyib's commentary on the *Isagoge*, *BSOAS*, xix (1957) 419 ff. The *Isagoge* was well known to all the Arabic philosophers. from the days of Al-Kindī's [*q.v.*] *First Philosophy*. Ibn Sīnā's [*q.v.*] treatment of its subject matter is now available in a critical edition by Dr. Ibrahim Madkour and others: *Al-Shifāʾ, La Logique. I. L'Isagoge*, Cairo 1952. The commentary of Porphyry's work by Ibn Sīnā's contemporary Ibn al-

Ṭayyib (434/1043) is preserved in the Bodleian MS Marsh 28. The 7th/13th century commentary by Al-Abharī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 609, S I, 841) became most popular in later centuries, was in its turn frequently commented upon and eventually completely replaced the original work.

(2) Commentaries on Aristotle. (a) The *Fihrist*, 252, 2 (= Cairo ed. 351, 21), refers to a lost commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, in twelve books (translated by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn), which is not mentioned in the Greek tradition but was obviously used by Arabic writers. Al-Fārābī [*q.v.*], for example, mentions it in the essay on the identity of Plato's and Aristotle's views, *al-Djamʿ bayna raʾyay al-ḥakīmayn Aflāṭūn wa-Arisṭū* (ed. Dieterici, 17; ed. Nader, 95, 17): "As Porphyry and many commentators after him say". We are not in a position to decide whether he made much use of it in his other writings but it is obviously likely. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-ʿĀmirī (d. 382/992) refers to Porphyry four times by name in his very interesting ethical work *Fi'l-saʿāda wa'l-isʿād* (ed. M. Minovi, Wiesbaden 1957-8); once, p. 53, he mentions the commentary expressly while discussing Aristotle's treatment of pleasure. The definition of felicity (p. 5) is given according to Porphyry; the other references occur on pp. 192 and 353, but much more in that book may ultimately be derived from this commentary or from other ethical works by Porphyry. Porphyry as an interpreter of Aristotle's ethical doctrines is again referred to in the beginning of the third chapter of Miskawayh's *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ*; moreover, chapters 3-5 of the treatise reproduce selections from a Neoplatonic commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and it is an obvious guess to think of Porphyry as its author (cf. R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 224 ff.). The possibility that the late Greek ethical treatise tentatively attributed to Nicolaus of Laodicea and discussed in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1960-1), 34 ff. by M. C. Lyons may be connected with Porphyry's commentary deserves certainly to be considered. (b) A reference to the second book of Porphyry's *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* I-IV (translated by Basīl) occurs in Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], *Opera philosophica*, i, 121 (ed. P. Kraus, Cairo 1939). (c) It is very likely that Al-Fārābī used Porphyry's commentary on the Περὶ ἑρμηνείας; a comparison of his commentary (ed. W. Kutsch-Stanley Marrow, Beyrouth 1960) with the commentaries by Boethius and Ammonius and Stephanus may yield interesting results.

(3) Porphyry's *History of Philosophy* in four books (Greek remnants of it were edited by A. Nauck, *Porphyrii Opuscula*, Leipzig 1886, 3-52) was known in Syriac (*Fihrist*, 245, 12 = Cairo ed., 355) and in Arabic (the *Fihrist* (i, 245) mentions a translation of two books by Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār). The Arabic text of the *Life of Pythagoras* (Nauck, 11-52) is accessible in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. A. Mueller, 38, 18-41, 4, and is discussed by F. Rosenthal, *Arabische Nachrichten ueber Zeno den Eleaten*, in *Orientalia*, vi (1937), 43 ff.; F. Rosenthal edited from al-Mubashshir a section of Porphyry's life of Solon (*ibid.*, 40 f.), and an unknown biography of Zeno of Elea (*ibid.*, 30 ff.), which is most likely derived from Porphyry's work. Al-Bīrūnī, *Hind* (Sachau, 21-43), seems to refer to this book. R. Beutler (*op. cit.*, 287) does not mention the Arabic tradition at all.

(4) The so-called *Theology of Aristotle* [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS and AL-SHAYKH AL-YŪNĀNĪ], a running paraphrase of Plotinus, IV 3, IV 4, IV 7, IV 8, V 1, V 2, V 8, VI 7, arranged in a systematic order, is introduced in its Arabic text as 'the interpretation (*tafsīr*) of Porphyry of Tyre'. There is, in my view, every likelihood that it must ultimately somehow be connected with Porphyry's explanations of the *Enneads* (ὑπομνήματα and κεφάλαια) which he mentions in § 26 (l. 29 ff.) of his biography of Plotinus. An English translation of the work by G. Lewis, arranged in the order of Plotinus' *Enneads*, is to be found in the second volume of P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer's monumental critical edition of Plotinus, Paris-Bruxelles 1959, cf. particularly p. XXVI ff. Whether the *Epistula de Scientia Divina* (cf. P. Kraus, *Plotin chez les Arabes*, in *BIE*, xxiii (1941), 263 ff.) which contains similar extracts from *Enneads* V 3, V 4, V 5, V 9 (also translated by G. Lewis in the same volume) goes back to the same source, is uncertain but it is quite probable.

(5) A fragment from a treatise *On soul* was published and translated into German by W. Kutsch S.J.; *Ein arabisches Bruchstueck aus Porphyrios (?)* Περὶ ψυχῆς *und die Frage des Verfassers der Theologie des Aristoteles*, in *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, xxxi (1954), 265 ff.; cf. S. M. Stern, *Ibn Ḥasday's Neoplatonist*, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1960-1), 92 and n. 1; P. Merlan, *Monopsychism, mysticism, metaconsciousness*, The Hague 1963, 25 f. It looks as if Ibn Sīnā, *Shifāʾ* v, 6 (ed. Raḥmān, 240, 3 ff.; ed. Bakoš, 236) and *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, 180) has either this treatise in mind or the Ἀφορμαὶ πρὸς τὰ νοητά (which he seems to quote as the treatise *Fi 'l-ʿaḳl wa'l-maʿḳūl* in the *Ishārāt*) while voicing his dissatisfaction with Porphyry's view of the *unio mystica* (cf. F. Rahman, *Prophecy in Islam*, London 1958, 15 ff.). As one 'who is not among the most subtle of philosophers' Porphyry is blamed by Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges 250, 10 ff. (cf. van den Bergh, *Incoherence* ..., i, 154, ii, 100) for his explanation of the cause of plurality. Porphyry's view on matter is rejected in the *Epitome of Aristotle's Metaphysics* (Amīn, 73), cf. S. van den Bergh, *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, Leiden 1924, 63 and 201.

(6) The *Letter to Anebo* (recent edition of the Greek and Latin fragments by A. R. Sodano, Naples 1958) is referred to by al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf*, 162, 6 (p. 222 of Carra de Vaux's French translation). A rather long fragment of it is quoted by al-Shahrastānī *K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. Cureton, 345, 8-347; German translation by Th. Haarbruecker, *Religionspartheien*, Halle 1850-1, ii, 208 ff.; Italian translation by F. Gabrieli, *La parola del passato*, i, 1946, 344 ff. Muḥ. b. Zak. al-Rāzī wrote a refutation of the book. Cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān II*, in *MIE*, xlv (1942), 128, n. 5. These passages are not mentioned by Sodano.

(7) The great corpus of Alchemy attributed to Djābir ibn Ḥayyān refers to a most probably spurious work of Porphyry entitled 'The book of Generation', a book in which the creation of artificial human beings was discussed at some length. It is mentioned neither in Greek nor in Arabic lists of Porphyry's works. It is described by P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 114 ff., 122 n. 3; cf. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the irrational*, Los Angeles 1951, 295. (R. WALZER)

FURGAČ [see ʿIZZET PASHA, AḤMED].

FURḲĀN, soteriological expression used in the Ḳurʾān. The word occurs in various connexions in the Ḳurʾān and is usually translated as "discrimination", "criterion", "separation", "deliverance", or "salvation", where it is translated at all. The Aramaic word *purḳān* on which it is modelled,

means "deliverance", "redemption", and (in the Christian sense) "salvation". The Arabic root *faraḳa*, which must be considered as another element in the *furḳān* of the Ḳur'ān, means "to separate", "to divide", "to distinguish".

Sūra VIII, 29 runs: "O believers, if you fear God, He will assign you a *furḳān* and acquit you of your evil deeds, and forgive you". In *Sūra* VIII, 41 "the day on which the two hosts met" (which must refer to the battle at Badr) is described as "the day of the *furḳān*". At the same time it is said that on that day something which must be believed in was "sent down" to the Prophet. On the five other occasions where the word is used it is always in connexion with the giving of divine revelation; twice Moses, or Moses and Aaron, are named as those who receive the revelation (II, 53; XXI, 48); on three occasions it is mentioned in connexion with Muḥammad and the Ḳur'ān (II, 185; III, 4; XXV, 1).

The difficulty of interpreting these passages springs chiefly from the fact that the relationship between revelation-writings and *furḳān* is not always defined in the same way. In *Sūra* XXV, 1 the *furḳān* seems to be identified with the Ḳur'ān (*tabāraka 'lladhī nazzala 'l-furḳāna alā ʿabdihī li-yakūna li'l-ʿālamīna nadhīr^an^*). Again, *furḳān* may perhaps be identified with the Ḳur'ān in III, 4. The phrase *wa-anzala 'l-furḳāna* must then be a repetition, since the "sending-down" of the Ḳur'ān (and the Torah and the Indjīl) have already been mentioned in the previous verse (*nazzala ʿalayka 'l-kitāba bi 'l-ḥaḳḳi muṣaddiḳ^an^ li-mā bayna yadayhi wa-anzala 'l-tawrāta wa 'l-indjīla min ḳablu hudan li'l-nāsi*). In XXI, 48 *furḳān* could mean the Torah (*wa-la-ḳad ātaynā Mūsā wa-Hārūna 'l-furḳāna wa-ḍiyā'^an^ wa-dhikr^an^ li'l-muttaḳīna*). But in II, 53 this is hardly possible, for here "the scriptures" are named first and then afterwards, in the same connexion, the *furḳān* (*wa-idh ātaynā Mūsā 'l-kitāba wa 'l-furḳāna laʿallakum tahtadūna*). The terms used in *Sūra* II, 185 are noteworthy (*shahru Ramaḍāna 'lladhī unzila fīhi 'l-ḳur'ānu hudan li'l-nāsi wa-bayyināt^in^ mina 'l-hudā wa 'l-furḳāni*). This means that the giving of the Ḳur'ān (especially in Ramaḍān) should serve man as moral guidance and as "proof of moral guidance and the *furḳān*".

Even the early commentators made some effort to interpret the term satisfactorily. Since the time of Abraham Geiger western orientalists have made renewed attempts at interpretation but without ever reaching any certain conclusions. See the review of the whole question in A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 225-9. W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 1956, 16, is in general agreement with the conclusion first reached by Richard Bell in *The origin of Islam in its Christian environment*, 1926, 118-25, and adds: "In VIII, 41 'the day of the *furqān*, the day the two parties met' must be the day of Badr; and *furqān*, in virtue of its connexion with the Syriac word *purqānā*, 'salvation', must mean something like 'deliverance from the judgement'. This being so the *furqān* which was given to Moses (II, 53; XXI, 48) is doubtless his deliverance when he led his people out of Egypt, and Pharaoh and his hosts were overwhelmed. Similarly, Muḥammad's *furqān* will be the deliverance given at Badr when the Calamity came upon the Meccans. That was the 'sign' which confirmed his prophethood. Perhaps there is also a reference to the experience, analogous to the receiving of revelation, which Muḥammad apparently had during the heat of the battle, and as a result of which he became assured that the Muslims had invincible Divine assistance".

In his *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 1953, published posthumously, Richard Bell again tackled the question (136 ff., *Note on al-Furqān*), and put forward an interpretation of the whole subject which is both well-considered and complete in itself. According to Bell, "it was from Christian sources that the word was derived, but Muhammad must have associated it with the Arabic root *faraqa* to separate, and taken it to imply the separation of an accepted religious community from the unbelievers". To explain the places where the *furḳān* is said to have been given to Moses (and Aaron) he adduces *Sūra* V, 25, in which Moses, referring to his people's hesitation to enter the Holy Land, prays to God: "I control no one but myself and my brother: make a separation (*fa-'fruḳ*) between us and the reprobate people". And he accounts for the passages referring to Muḥammad's own period by reference to the situation at (and before) the battle of Badr. "The victory at Badr was not only a "deliverance" of the small band of Moslems who had gone out with Muḥammad expecting to intercept a caravan and had found themselves face to face with an army. It was a final separation between Muḥammad's followers and the unbelieving Meccans". "Here [in the Ḳur'ān passages referred to] then, we have the appearance of the Qur'ān as the distinctive Scripture of an independent Moslem religious community, linked with the *furqān*, the separation of believers from unbelievers, and the assurance of forgiveness and acceptance with God; and both linked with the day of Badr".

Bibliography: A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen*, 1902, 55 f.; H. Hirschfeld, *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, 1902, 68; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 1910, 23 f.; *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 34, note; A. J. Wensinck, *Furḳān* in *EI*¹; M. Lidzbarski, in *ZS*, i (1922), 90-2; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, 76 f.; idem, *Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii (1925), 145-227, 216-8; R. Bell, *The origin of Islam in its Christian environment*, 1926, 118-25; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'an*, Baroda 1938, 225-9; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 1956, 16; R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 1953, 136-8. (R. Paret)

AL-FURS, one of the two terms used by the Arabs to denote the Persians, the other being al-ʿAdjam [*q.v.*]. In the following lines we shall attempt to show in precisely what way the Arabs were acquainted with the Persians and their civilization; for other aspects, see Īrān.

From remotest antiquity, the Arabian peninsula had maintained relations with Persia; shortly before Islam, these connexions were established, in the north-east, through the Lakhmids [*q.v.*] of al-Ḥīra, and, in the south, through the medium of the Yemen, a vassal of Persia, and the *Abnā'* [*q.v.*] who were settled in the country. The word *Furs* does not appear in the Ḳur'ān, which, however, contains a certain number of words of Persian origin, but among the Prophet's entourage there was in particular one Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*], whom legend has made a figure of outstanding importance. Already in the 1st/7th century, relations between Arabs and Persians were strengthened as a result of the Islamic conquests, and some elements of Iranian civilization penetrated to Mecca and Medina through prizoners

who became *mawālī* [*q.v.*] and played an essential part in the history of the first centuries of Islam. However, it was only in the 2nd/8th century, and especially through the efforts of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], that there first began to circulate Arabic translations of Pahlavi works such as the *Khʷatāy-nāmak* (*K. Siyar mulūk al-ʿAdjam* or *al-Furs*), the *Āʾīn-nāmak*, the *Tādj-nāma*, etc., which helped to nourish the growing *adab* [*q.v.*] and Arabic historiography, and later served as a source for Firdawsī (see F. Gabrieli, *L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, in *RSO*, xiii/3 (1932), 197-247).

The dissemination of these translations and of the works they inspired coincided with the accession and rise of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, which drew closer to Persia and, through its officials, increased Iranian influence to the point when it sometimes gives the impression of being heir to the Sāsānids (cf. D. Sourdel, *Vizirat, passim*). It is unnecessary to dwell here on the considerable importance of the *kuttāb* who, while attempting to acquire Arab culture, perceptibly followed the Iranian tradition, nor upon the rôle played by the *Shuʿūbiyya* [*q.v.*] in the shaping of Islamic civilization.

What must be noted is the introduction into Arabic historiography, from the end of the 2nd/8th century or beginning of the 3rd/9th, of the history of Persia in the form of monographs (al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, Abū ʿUbayda, etc.) which, together with the translated sources, were to serve as the basis for "universal" history. From then onwards historians writing in Arabic, among whom Iranians are not uncommon, were able to plan and write universal history, to include first the Biblical data and the legends transmitted by non-Muslims, representing a kind of scriptural history from Adam to Jesus Christ and then to Muḥammad; then a summary of the actual or legendary events that had occurred since the earliest times in non-Arab countries now under Muslim rule; and finally the history of Islam up to the writer's own period. Muslim Spain and the Maghrib are somewhat neglected by the eastern historians, who on the other hand are better informed on the subject of Egypt, and in particular Persia. Basing themselves in this way on translations from Pahlavi, on previously published monographs and occasionally on traditional accounts transmitted orally, authors such as al-Ṭabarī, al-Dīnawarī, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Ḳutayba, al-Masʿūdī, al-Thaʿālibī and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī devoted one or several chapters of their works to the ancient history of Persia, from Kayūmarth to the last Sāsānid sovereigns who were conquered by the Arabs, though not without falling into various errors which derive from the state of the sources used, or from accepting legends and myths handed down by tradition as authentic historical facts. Thus al-Masʿūdī, for example (*Murūdj*, trans. Pellat, i, 197 ff.), enumerates the mythical Kayānids, and then passes immediately to Alexander and Darius (Dārā [*q.v.*]), ignoring the Achaemenids who preceded him or, rather, confusing them with the "kings of Babylon", deals cursorily with the Arsacids (*Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*]), but is happier to dwell on the Sāsānids, with whom he is obviously more at his ease.

It is very natural that the Sāsānids should be the most familiar to the Arabs, and Arab sources have provided the historian of the dynasty, A. Christensen, with a large part of his documentation (see *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen 1944, 59-74); this work deals partly with the historical facts properly speaking, and partly with Persian society, especially with the religions of Persia, which seem to have been fairly well known. While the glories of the Sāsānids provided the *Shuʿūbiyya* with something to boast about without fear of contradiction, those who upheld the supremacy of the Arab element found in Mazdaism and Manicheism arguments against this same *Shuʿūbiyya*. In fact, the Persian religions were known only rather superficially, but we do know that the system of the *kishwār*s which inspired the division of the world made by the Arab geographers [see DJUGHRĀFIYĀ] was familiar to al-Djāḥiẓ (see *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, index) who, what is more, was acquainted with certain other details of Mazdaism and Manicheism. Incidentally, for him there were only four civilized nations on earth—the Arabs, the Indians, the Byzantines and the Furs (*al-Akhbār*, in *Lughat al-ʿArab*, ix, 174 ff.) and it is a matter of surprise to him that these last, so brilliant in other respects, should have accepted certain religious practices, allowed incestuous unions, worshipped fire, etc. We may feel sure that, in private conversations, these questions must have given rise to passionate discussions. A little later Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, who acknowledged that eight nations "were distinguished for their taste for things of the mind", the Indians, Persians, Chaldeans, Greeks, *Rūm*, Egyptians, Arabs and Israelites, attributed to the Persians "a marked taste for the art of medicine and a profound knowledge of astrology and the influence of the stars on the sublunary world" (*K. Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, tr. R. Blachère, Paris 1935, 49-52). Ibn al-Nadīm, in the *Fihrist*, gives some particulars concerning the religions of Persia, but the Arabic author best acquainted with these questions certainly seems to be al-Shahrastānī, who drew upon the early sources and gave a comparatively objective account.

It must not be forgotten that the Arabic translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] can be regarded as one of the first monuments—if not the first—of simple prose, and that *adab*, which is the core of secular prose literature, is a product of Iranian influence. The early authors who sought to achieve a balance between the component elements of Arabic culture took pains to restrict borrowings from Iranian civilization, but they were unable to prevent the Arabs from adopting and handing down with marked pleasure those traditions that had most impressed them. The names of emperors like Ardashīr or Anūshirwān, even though obscured in the mists of legend, were well known to the authors who delighted in reproducing passages from the testaments (*ʿahd*) of Persian sovereigns, and, thanks to the *adab* which popularized the figure of Buzurgmihr [*q.v.*], gave the whole nation a reputation for wisdom and political adroitness, at least at a time when the Shuʿūbī threat had been removed.

Bibliography: it is hardly feasible to give a restricted bibliography of the subject dealt with in the above article, since it would mean listing all ancient works which mentioned the Persians. We confine ourselves therefore to referring to the articles ʿADJAM, ĪRĀN and SHUʿŪBIYYA, and also to the works of M. Inostranzev, *Iranian influence on Moslem Literature*, i, trans. G. K. Nariman, Bombay 1918 and R. N. Frye, *The heritage of Persia*, London 1962, 234 ff. (CH. PELLAT)

FÜRSTENSPIEGEL [see SIYĀSA].

FURŪʿ [see FIḲH, UṢŪL].

FURŪGH, the pseudonym of two Persian poets: (1) Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān, younger son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Ṣabā, poet laureate at the court of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Ḳādjār, was regarded as one of the scholars of

his time and had been well educated. He spent some time in Mas͟hhad in the civil service and, after the crown prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā had visited the region, he entered his service, principally as a poet. Later he returned to Tehrān where he retired from public life and lived until the end of the 19th century. (2) Muḥammad Mahdī ibn Muḥammad Bāg͟hir Iṣfahānī lived until the time of Muḥammad S͟hāh Ḳād͟jār (1250-64/1834-48) and wrote a most interesting work on the *Siyāḳ* numerals, mathematics, calligraphy, weights and measures, contemporary currencies and accountancy, entitled *Furūg͟histān*, dedicated to the Grand Vizier Ḥād͟jd͟jī Mīrzā Āḳāsī. The author of the *Mad͟jmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* (ii, 396-9), who included some of his poems, referred to him incorrectly as Furūg͟h al-Dīn, and said that he was born in Tabrīz in 1223/1808, had a good education from the age of seven, entered the service of the crown prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā and his eldest son Farīdūn Mīrzā, travelled in Ād͟harbayd͟jān and Fārs, finally settled in Tehrān where he entered the finance department, and wrote various works including the *Ṣaḥāʾif al-ʿālam* and the *Tad͟hkirat al-s͟habāb* ("Recollections of youth"), a kind of autobiography in which he included poems in Arabic and Persian. He also must have lived until the end of the 19th century.

Bibliography: Riḍā-Ḳulī K͟hān, *Mad͟jmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ii, 370-82 and 396-9; *Furūg͟histān*, contemporary manuscript dating from the month of Rabīʿ II 1259/May 1843, in the author's possession. (SAID NAFICY)

FURŪG͟H AL-DĪN [see FURŪGH 2].

FURŪG͟HĪ, the pseudonym of three Persian poets: 1) Mīrzā Muḥammad Iṣfahānī, a scholar and native of that town. During his travels in the middle of his life he attached himself to Tīmūr S͟hāh, amīr of Afghanistan (1187-1207/1773-93) and became his court poet. 2) Mīrzā ʿAbbās, son of Āḳā Mūsā Bisṭāmī, born in 1213/1798 in ʿIrāḳ, where his father was travelling. As a youth he travelled in Māzanderān and Karmān where he started his career as a poet, at first using the pseudonym "Miskīn". After taking the name "Furūg͟hī" he came and settled in Tehrān, living under the protection of his paternal uncle Dūst ʿAlī K͟hān, the court treasurer. After joining the circle of the Čis͟htī Ṣūfīs, he led a retiring life of devotion and died in 1274/1858. Furūg͟hī ranks among the best modern lyric poets and his *g͟hazal*s are very popular, seven editions of them having been published in Tehrān. He is regarded as one of the best followers of the school of Saʿdī. 3) Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn, son of Āḳā Muḥammad Mahdī Arbāb-i Iṣfahānī, born in 1255/1839 in Iṣfahān where he was educated. As a youth he went with his father to India where he was engaged in trade. Later he lived in ʿIrāḳ, and finally went to Tehrān where he later served in the Ministry of the Press, under the direction of the celebrated publicist Muḥammad Ḥasan K͟hān Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, later Iʿtimād al-Salṭana. He collaborated in the publication of both official and unofficial newspapers of the time, as well as in some of his director's publications. At the end of his life he received the honorary title of D͟hakāʾ al-Mulk, a title which was granted to his eldest son Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī K͟hān who chose the family name Furūg͟hī. The father was later appointed head of the translation department at court and director of the School of Political Science. He died in Tehrān in 1908. He was very active as poet, writer, translator, publicist and journalist. On 11 Rad͟jab 1314/16 December 1896 he started publication in Tehrān of the weekly *Tarbiyat* which was influential in introducing modern ideas into Īrān and which appeared until his death. His chief activity was the editing of works which his eldest son translated from European languages, including *La Chaumière Indienne* by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Le Tour du Monde en 80 Jours* by Jules Verne, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy* by George Rawlinson, etc. His eldest son started his career by teaching in secondary schools in Tehrān, was then elected Deputy and Leader of the Chamber of Deputies during the second legislature. He was nominated several times as ambassador, president of the Court of Cassation, Minister and Prime Minister. He died in Tehrān on 5 Ad͟har 1321 s/27 November 1943. From the time of the founding of the Iranian Academy (*Farhangistān-i Īrān*) he was elected a member, and ranked among the best writers and translators of his day. He translated other works into Persian without his father's collaboration, in particular Plato's Dialogues, the *Discours sur la Méthode* of Descartes and the *Kitāb al-S͟hifāʾ* of Ibn Sīnā.

Bibliography: Riḍā-Ḳulī K͟hān, *Mad͟jmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ii, 383, 394-6; *Dīwān-i D͟hakāʾ al-Mulk Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn K͟hān mutak͟halliṣ bi-Furūg͟hī*, Tehrān 1325. (SAID NAFICY)

FURŪSIYYA, (A.), the whole field of equestrian knowledge, both theoretical and practical, including the principles of hippology (*k͟halḳ al-k͟hayl*), the care of horses and farriery (*bayṭara*), and *siyāsat al-k͟hayl*, a more exact rendering of the concept of "equitation" in European languages, which can be defined as the art of training and using correctly a saddle-horse. The words *farāsa* and *furūsa*, more rarely used, embrace the same group of ideas. If we consult the indexes of the classical catalogues, such as the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm or the exhaustive bibliographies on this subject compiled in the 19th century by Hammer-Purgstall, we gain the quite erroneous impression that a great number of works still exist from which a detailed study of riding could be made. However, this excess of material must not deceive us, and a critical study of these works reveals little material of any use. The Arabic sources can be divided according to the following principle of classification: works of lexicography and *adab*, and treatises on *furūsiyya*.

The lexicographical works do not present any great interest for those who wish to study riding under the Arabs, since they are the work of philologists, not horsemen. The earliest, the *Kitāb al-K͟hayl* of al-Aṣmaʿī (ed. Haffner, Vienna 1875), has been widely used and drawn upon by later authors; we may also mention His͟hām al-Kalbī and Ibn al-Aʿrābī, whose works have been partly edited by G. Levi Della Vida (Leiden 1928) and Abū ʿUbayda, said to be the author of three works entitled *Kitāb al-Sard͟j*, *K. al-K͟hayl* and *K. al-Lid͟jām*, mentioned in the *Fihrist*, the only parts of which to have survived are certain fragments incorporated by al-Dimyāṭī in his *K. Faḍl al-k͟hayl*. The *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* of al-D͟jāḥiẓ quotes from works no longer extant. It is mainly in texts not dealing specifically with horses, like the *Risāla fī manāḳib al-Atrāk* of al-D͟jāḥiẓ, that valuable information about riding is to be found.

Treatises on *furūsiyya* appeared at a late stage in Arabic literature. The writers of these treatises were horsemen, veterinary surgeons or riders who in their writings rehashed or quoted passages wholly or in part from works of lexicography, as proof of their

erudition. Very fortunately, they also added some pages on riding, in which they describe various methods of schooling or the principles to be inculcated in the young rider.

It is essential to make a fundamental distinction between two types of riding which co-existed in the Muslim world, that practised by the Arabs in the desert, and, at a later stage, high school riding. With regard to the former, we possess few documents which allow us to build up a detailed picture of it. It occurred in two basic forms, for war and for racing. The tribal warriors, basing their riding on the tactics of *al-karr wa 'l-farr* (attack and flight), practised it in small bands of combatants (*katība*) using the sabre and lance in preference to the bow, their handling of the latter being decidedly clumsy in the eyes of al-Djāḥiẓ, according to whom "the Khāridjī when fighting at close quarters relies solely on his lance. Neither the Khāridjīs nor the Bedouins are renowned for their skill as archers when mounted". The problem of harness is also difficult to solve for this period. The poems do not help us to decide what sort of saddle was used by the tribal horsemen.

The question of the bit also arises. From the accounts of 19th century travellers we know that the curb bit was very seldom used by Arab horsemen in the East, their preference being for the bozal (*rasan*). We may question whether the word *lidjām*, in passages of ancient poetry, in fact represents the curb bit. Perhaps bits were used for horses only at the time of an action, to make it possible to perform sudden halts and swift half-turns. We possess fuller documentation on the subject of horse-racing (*sabḳ, sibāḳ*). Though with certain discrepancies in points of detail, writers have described the conditions of training (*taḍmīr, iḍmār*). This lasted from 40 to 60 days and had the effect of bringing the horses into good condition by a suitable system of feeding, while excessive weight was sweated off under blankets. Horses thinned down in this way were called *ḥināḍ*, and the sweat they lost *sirāḥ*. In pre-Islamic Arabia, races covering very great distances and over varied terrain were organized between the horses of the different tribes; they were often the source of long and bloody wars [see FARAS], although even at that time they were governed by rules. The field (*ḥalba*) consisted of 10 horses; seven tokens were placed on lances, in an enclosure into which the first eight horses of the field made their way; seven received a prize proportionate with their placing, and only the eighth received no prize, its admission being purely a matter of honour. Each horse was given a name, according to the order of finishing, but the list of these names varies in the different authors. According to al-Masʿūdī, they were: 1st - *sābiḳ*, 2nd - *mutabarriz*, 3rd - *mudjallī*, 4th - *muṣallī*, 5th - *musallī*, 6th - *tālī*, 7th - *murtāḥ*; al-Thaʿālibī, following al-Djāḥiẓ, gives a slightly different list, in which the 3rd is called *muḳaffī* and the 5th *ʿāṭif*; the 9th and 10th have the same names in the two traditions, *laṭīm* (knocked out of the enclosure by a blow) and *sukkayt* (silenced by shame at finishing last).

The Prophet did not forbid racing, which fostered rivalry between breeders and encouraged the preservation and increase of the stock of horses so much reduced by the wars. During his lifetime he made regulations for them, and by his advice tried to establish what were for the most part open competitions by making the size of the field uniform and fixing the distance to be covered according to the age of the horses taking part. The traditionists relate that he organized races at Medina, from Ḥafya to Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ (60 *ghalwa*) for mature horses and from Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ to Banū Zurayḳ (10 *ghalwa*) for young horses. He himself presented substantial prizes for these competitions and entered his own horses. A ruling on the subject of betting (*rihān*) had been made earlier by the *ḥukamā'* of the large tribes. As Islam forbade the *maysir*, the ancient custom was slightly modified to include the entry, among the other runners, of a horse called *muḥallil* or *dākhil*, whose owner made no wager and gained the whole amount staked by all the other entrants if his horse won.

The wars of conquest waged by the Arabs under the first caliphs brought them into contact with foreign equestrian traditions and led them to organize new tactics for warfare on horseback. Three foreign traditions contributed, Iranian, Turkish and Greek. The arabized names of the Iranian or Turkish riders referred to by the writers of treatises on riding are an indication of the part placed by foreigners in the elaboration of the new equestrian art. This influence made itself felt at a very early period; even in the 1st/7th century the *fatā* Ḳanbar, a freedman of ʿAlī, had, according to the traditionists, tamed an unridable horse belonging to that caliph (see *TA*, iii, 507). To make a chronological study would be of little interest; indeed, in riding, two series of factors alone can determine any radical evolution—the type of horse used, and the use of new arms. The first of these factors cannot enter into it, even though the Arab stock was very largely interbred with the stock owned by the conquered peoples [see FARAS]; the resulting progeny was still of the eastern type. The second of these factors, which is closely concerned with the art of war, had a decisive influence on the Islamic equestrian art which sprang up in the 2nd/8th century, and whose apogee can be placed in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries in Spain and Egypt.

Principles of schooling.—Treatises on the first steps of dressage for the young colt, started at about the age of three, might bear the signature of modern riders, but the principles of the more elaborate schooling are somewhat obscure. The terminology is often Turkish or Iranian: the term *maydān* must represent the "track" and the *nāward ḳazan* the circular show-ring where the horse is made supple (*istikhradj al-khayl fi 'l-nāward*). The expression *tartīb al-maydān* can no doubt be interpreted in the sense of organized movements of groups of horsemen; they doubtless served the same purpose as our show-ring movements. The riders also alluded to the balance between front-quarters and hind-quarters (*taʿdīl*) and to the flexibility of the jaw (*ʿalk al-lidjām, lawk al-lidjām*). The advice given to aspiring riders is very simple: the secret of riding rests in the firmness of the seat (*thabāt*) and the evenness of the reins (*taswiyat al-ʿinān*). This firmness is acquired by riding bare-back (*ʿala 'l-ʿārī*), the rider being held in position by the grip of his thighs. As soon as he has some measure of experience, the young rider uses a saddle and fork seat. It will be seen how different such methods of riding are from that practised today in North Africa and Andalusia under the name *a la jinete*. This style is difficult to date and no doubt corresponds to the appearance of the cross-bow and gun. Writers have drawn up long lists of vices both natural and acquired, from which we can give a typical list: *ḥarūn*, a horse that refuses to walk forward; *rawwāgh*, a horse that shies; *djamūḥ*, that checks its head to escape from control by the hands; *munāziʿ*, that takes the bit in its teeth and jerks the hands; *ramūḥ*, a horse that kicks; *khabūṭ*, that

stamps its fore-feet; s̲h̲abūb, that rears; s̲h̲amūs, difficult to mount; ḳalūḳ, a horse of uncertain temper; nafūr, that swerves and shies; finally, the ṭamūḥ is regarded as impossible to ride. In this list the writers have classed faults in carriage of the head and withers; the horse with bad head carriage is called munakkis. The remedies suggested for dealing with these defects are often brutal and sometimes fantastic.

Harness.—The treatises define with considerable precision the nomenclature of the harness (lid̲j̲ām) which includes the reins (ʿinān), the cheek straps (id̲h̲ār) and the browband (ʿiṣāb). Three types of bits were used—the īwān, a light bit, the fakk a snaffle bit (?) and the nāzikī, which must be the equivalent of the modern bit used by the Spahis. The bit is composed of branches (s̲h̲ākima), mouth-piece and port (faʾs) and curb-chain (ḥakma); in other cases, this term also denotes the bozal or martingale. The saddle used, the so-called saddle of K̲h̲ʷārizm, was flat and wide, the pommel (ḳarbūs) and cantle (muʾak̲h̲k̲h̲ara) being only slightly raised. It rested on a pad (mirs̲h̲aḥa), held in position by one or two girths (ḥizām) and a breast-strap (labab). The horse was provided with collars (ḳilāda) and cloths (kabūs̲h̲ and s̲h̲alīl, the terms tas̲h̲āhīr and d̲j̲ulla being confined to stable-cloths). The war-horse wore barāsim (carapaces) and barāḳiʿ (helmets).

Throughout the whole of this period (6th-7th/12th-13th centuries) equestrian sports were regularly practised. Horsemen took part in d̲j̲erīd [q.v.] or burd̲j̲ās, a chivalrous duel with lances, in polo [see Čawgān], venery (ṭard) and hunting by means of a closed drive (ḥalḳa), a favourite sport of the Mamlūks. All these sports provided men and horses alike with excellent training for the d̲j̲ihād. Various works, with abundant illustrations, deal with the technique of fighting with the sabre and lance, giving detailed descriptions of lunges and parries (al-bunūd wa 'l-tabṭīl); they also describe training in archery with a small target (ḳabaḳ) or with the long bow (niḍāl). All these activities were abandoned in turn, and in the modern Muslim world where racing is governed by western rules, only the "fantasia" (laʿb al-bārūd, laʿb al-k̲h̲ayl) remains as a last vestige of the equestrian displays of bygone ages.

Bibliography: see faras. (G. Douillet)

In the Mamlūk State

Mamlūk historical sources contain exceptionally ample data on furūsiyya exercises. By far the most important of these sources is Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. Tag̲h̲rībirdī [q.v.], who was the son of a high-ranking Mamlūk amīr and had close links with some of the great furūsiyya masters of his time. It should, however, be stressed that full use of the data furnished by the historical sources will only be possible after a very much more extensive study of Muslim military technical literature.

According to Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, "Furūsiyya is something different from bravery and intrepidity (al-s̲h̲ad̲j̲āʿa wa 'l-iḳdām), for the brave man overthrows his adversary by sheer courage, while the horseman (fāris al-k̲h̲ayl) is one who handles his horse well in the charge (karr) and the retreat (farr), and who knows all that he needs to know about his horse and his weapons and about how to handle them in accordance with the rules known and established among the masters of this art" (Nud̲j̲ūm, ed. Popper, vi, 445). This is undoubtedly an excellent definition of the strict technical meaning of the term furūsiyya. In everyday use, however, the distinction between furūsiyya and s̲h̲ad̲j̲āʿa (or iḳdām) had become blurred, and Mamlūk historians confuse them frequently. Sometimes, though very rarely, furūsiyya was even used in the meaning of 'high moral character' or 'chivalry'.

In most cases the term furūsiyya does not appear independently, but in conjunction with another word. The most common combinations are funūn al-furūsiyya and anwāʿ al-furūsiyya, i.e., the 'branches' or 'kinds' or 'arts' of the military exercises. Sometimes the word funūn appears alone in the sense of funūn al-furūsiyya. The expression funūn al-Atrāk in the same sense is rather rare. The expression fann al-furūsiyya (in the singular) is not very common. The term ʿilm ('science') al-furūsiyya is rare in Mamlūk historical sources, but frequently found in some of the technical military treatises. The combination anwāʿ al-malāʿīb or anwāʿ al-malāʿib (the 'branches of games') in the meaning of anwāʿ al-furūsiyya is quite common. Mastery of the furūsiyya exercises constituted a prerequisite for the Mamlūk horseman. These exercises (or high proficiency in them) were sometimes called kamālāt ('perfections', 'accomplishments') or faḍāʾil ('excellent qualities' or 'virtues').

In any study of the furūsiyya training, special attention must be paid to the condition of the 'hippodromes' (mayādīn, sing. maydān). No intensive cavalry training is possible for any length of time in dilapidated hippodromes. Their number and state of repair are, therefore, useful indications of the level of training reached. During the Baḥrī period (648/1250-784/1382) there was a considerable number of hippodromes in Cairo and its immediate vicinity, where furūsiyya exercises were carried out systematically and intensively, especially under Sultan Baybars (658/1260-676/1277) and to a lesser degree under Sultans Ḳalāūn (678/1279-689/1290) and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (693/1293-741/1340, with interruptions). After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death the disintegration of the Ḳalāūnid dynasty set in; and it seems that the accompanying disturbances also had an adverse effect on Mamlūk training. Sultan al-As̲h̲raf S̲h̲aʿbān (764/1363-778/1376) attempted to arrest the deterioration of furūsiyya training, but in vain. The decline continued at an accelerated pace during the Circassian period (784/1382-923/1517), with a short interruption during the reign of Sultan Ḳanṣūh al-G̲h̲awrī (905/1500-922/1516).

The standard of the furūsiyya training is clearly reflected in the state of the hippodromes. In the Baḥrī period there were the following hippodromes, most of which did not remain in use throughout that period: a) al-Maydān al-Ṣāliḥī, built in 641/1243 by Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Ayyūb, the founder of the Baḥriyya regiment; b) al-Maydān al-Ẓāhirī, built by Sultan Baybars; c) Maydān al-Ḳabaḳ, built by the same sultan in 665/1267; d) Maydān Birkat al-Fīl built by Sultan al-ʿĀdil Kitbug̲h̲ā (694/1294-696/1296); e) al-Maydān al-Nāṣirī or al-Maydān al-Kabīr al-Nāṣirī, built by Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 712/1312-3; f) Maydān Siryāḳus, built by the same sultan in 724-5/1323-5; g) Maydān al-Mahāri, built by the same sultan in 720/1320.

From the end of the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and up to that of Ḳanṣūh al-G̲h̲awrī no sultan is reported to have built a hippodrome. The remaining Baḥrī hippodromes were abandoned in the first years of Circassian rule. Towards the middle of the 9th/15th century, exercises were performed on a limited scale in the Royal Courtyard (al-Ḥaws̲h̲ al-Sulṭānī) in the Citadel. The performance of such

exercises near Birkat al-Ḥaba**sh** is also mentioned in the sources from time to time, but no source refers to the existence of a hippodrome there.

Ḳanṣūh al-Ghawrī was the only Circassian sultan who constructed (in 909/1503) a hippodrome in Egypt. But his attempt to revive *furūsiyya* training came too late, for the decline of traditional military training in the Mamlūk Sultanate coincided with the slow but steady rise of fire-arms, which revolutionized the whole art of war and, necessarily, of training for it (for a discussion of this aspect of *furūsiyya* see my *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom*, London 1956, 46-140, and art. BĀRŪD above).

Furūsiyya included the following 'branches': a) the lance game (*laʿb al-rumḥ, thaḳafat al-rumḥ, thaḳāfa* or *thiḳāf*); b) the polo game (*laʿb al-kura, al-ḍarb bi 'l-kura, laʿb al-ṣawladjān*); c) the *ḳabaḳ* (or 'gourd' game); d) archery (*ramy al-nushshāb, al-ramy bi 'l-nushshāb*); e) fencing (*al-ḍarb bi 'l-sayf* or *ḍarb al-sayf*); f) the *birdjās* game (*sawḳ al-birdjās*); g) the mace game (*fann al-dabbūs*); h) wrestling (*ṣirāʿ*); i) the games accompanying the *maḥmil* procession (*sawḳ al-maḥmil*); j) hunting (*ṣayd*); k) shooting with the crossbow (*al-ramy bi 'l-bunduḳ*); l) horse racing (*sibāḳ al-khayl*).

The information furnished by the sources on the first three 'branches', as well as on the games accompanying the *maḥmil* procession, is considerably richer than that supplied on the other 'branches'. The mace game is mentioned rarely in the sources. Fencing is mentioned quite frequently in the enumeration of *funūn al-furūsiyya*, but is rarely referred to independently. The *birdjās* game is often mentioned; but without any details. Though the sources frequently speak of the games of archery, they furnish no details regarding them. This is particularly disappointing, seeing that the bow was the main weapon of the Mamlūks and was far more important in battle than the lance. The game of chess (*shiṭrandj*) was very popular among the Mamlūks. Though it cannot be included among the *furūsiyya* games in the strict sense of the word, the mastery of chess was considered an accomplishment deserving of mention side by side with the Mamlūk's accomplishments in the field of *furūsiyya*.

The *furūsiyya* master (or expert or instructor) was called *muʿallim*. If he was an expert in the handling of the lance, he was called *muʿallim al-rumḥ* (or *rammāḥ*). If he was an expert in the handling of the bow and arrows he was called *muʿallim al-nushshāb*, and so on. The name *ustādh* in the same sense is also mentioned from time to time in the Mamlūk sources, but it is much more frequent in technical military literature. We know the names of a considerable number of such masters, especially from the Circassian period.

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(D. AYALON)

FUSAYFISĀʾ mosaic. The fact that the Arabic word for the mosaic itself is ultimately derived from the Greek ψῆφος, perhaps through Aramaic פסיפס, and the word *faṣṣ*, used for the little coloured cubes which are arranged according to a pre-designed cartoon, derives from the Greek πεσσός, leads us to consider this form of architectural decoration as a borrowing by Muslim art from Byzantine art. This borrowing is undeniable and we shall examine it later. All the same, apart from this importation from abroad, Muslim art of the early centuries seems to have included a form of mosaic which was rather different from any whose technique could have been learned from Constantinople and which the Islamic peoples must have found still flourishing in the countries which they conquered. The Byzantine mosaic is characterized by the use made in it of cubes of glass, called *smalts*, and by its use to cover walls, arches and domes. The pavement mosaic which derives from the Roman tradition is quite different, being composed almost exclusively of cubes of stone of various colours, mostly cut from pieces of marble. Being limited to these mineral components, the colouring of these pavements is usually confined to a few warm tones: creamy white, black, red, bistre and grey-green; the cartoons are often composed of large areas of geometrical motifs, chequered designs and polygonal figures, interlaced plant forms, and plaits, which, in state rooms, frame a central picture (*emblema*).

This type of decoration, appearing first in the Greek lands of the Near East, spread across the Mediterranean world with the Roman conquest. Not only in Italy, but in Syria and in North Africa and southern Gaul it enjoyed great popularity. The triumph of Christianity extended its domain and increased the uses to which it was put. The mosaics which had covered the floors of villas and baths now, in a rougher style and with a less elaborate technique, adorned the apses and naves of churches. Pagan forms now represented Christian symbols. Nevertheless, these survivals from antiquity became suspect to the strict: fear of profanation caused these pictures to be banished from the chancels, while long inscriptions and geometrical patterns, often of improverished invention, covered vast areas. Paving mosaic underwent a great decadence, yet it did not disappear completely from Christian buildings: in the form of ornamented pavements it is still found in basilicas of the 8th and 9th centuries A.D.

Fairly recent discoveries allow us to state that at about the same period, and even later, Islam preserved the taste for mosaics and the technique for making them.

North of Jericho, excavation has revealed the ruins of an Umayyad palace, called *Khirbat al-Mafdjar* [*q.v.*]. To this princely residence is attached a magnificent bath. A vast columned hall, 30 metres long, with a central dome and with walls containing scooped-out apses, has a pavement consisting of thirty-eight mosaic panels, all different. The geometrical decoration consists of rectilinear and curvilinear interlacing patterns, chevrons and imbrications, splendidly executed and with a harmonious colouring produced solely by cubes of stone. In one corner of this monumental *frigidarium* is a small apsidal hall whose floor is adorned with a particularly elaborate decoration. A leafy tree rears itself along the axis, separating two groups of animals very realistically drawn: on one side two gazelles, on the other a third gazelle attacked by a lion. The very recent excavations of Khirbat al-Miniya [*q.v.*], another Umayyad building, have revealed halls and courtyards paved with mosaic. The exclusively geometrical ornament consists of strapwork, lattice work, Greek key patterns and other related themes.

Although less well represented in the West, the tradition inherited from pagan and Christian mosaic-artists is attested by remains found in eastern Barbary. Five miles from al-Ḳayrawān there has been identified the site of al-Raḳḳāda which was,

at the end of the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th centuries, the seat of the Aghlabid *amīrs*, vassals of the Baghdād caliph. Cubes of mosaic are found there, either at ground level or buried in the masonry. Beside an enormous pool there had been erected palaces, of which very little remains. All the same, some rooms paved with mosaic are still to be found. The very simple decoration, of black on a white background, consisted of scatterings of geometrical figures, square, lozenge-shaped and hexagonal, and of compartments adorned with knots and of spirals arranged in crosses. These pavements of Ifrīḳiya, executed in about 290/900 and so similar to Christian mosaics, betray themselves as being the work of local craftsmen who put at the disposal of Arab *amīrs* a technique and a style of decoration which had been entirely inherited from their Romanized Berber ancestors.

Some forty years later was executed a mosaic revealed by the excavations of Mr. Sliman Zbiss at Mahdiyya (in Tunisia), among the ruins of the palace of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḳāʾim (322/934-334/946). This fine pavement covered the floor of a room of state 13 yards long and 4 yards wide. It consisted of a central panel adorned with quatrefoils interlaced like the rings of a coat of mail and a wide border containing pelta-ornaments, quatrefoil squares and circles. The colours represented are black and white, with ochre and bistre. Neither the colours nor the polygonal shapes are foreign to what is attested in Roman work. Yet the theme of interlacing patterns gives the decorative scheme an oriental character (for interlacing polygonals are hardly ever found in Roman pavements); the compact plant themes enclosed by these polygons belong still more obviously to the flora of ʿAbbāsid ʿIrāḳ or Ṭūlūnid Egypt. The craftsmen working at Mahdiyya would seem to have been using cartoons imported from the East; just as the contemporary architecture of Ifrīḳiya bears the stamp of the same foreign influences.

This pavement mosaic, whose survival in the first centuries of Islam is attested only by excavation, is to be distinguished from mural mosaic, of which East and West alike have preserved magnificent examples. In the East, they are to be found at the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem, built in 72/691 by ʿAbd al-Malik, and at the Great Mosque of Damascus, built in 86/705 by al-Walīd; in the West, at the Great Mosque of Cordova, in the superb *ḳibla* of the caliph al-Ḥakam I [*q.v.*], of 350/961. As is evident, these are the three most important religious buildings of the Umayyads owing their adornment to mosaics. The interior of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra is largely covered with mosaic, which adorns the peripheral arcades, the drum surmounting them, and the dome. As for the Great Mosque of Damascus, only fragments survive of the pictures representing a great gilded vine and whole towns, the most striking of them adorning some surfaces of the arcade surrounding the courtyard. As for the Great Mosque of Cordova, in it are preserved, more or less worked over, the frame of the *miḥrāb* and of the doors flanking it, and also the dome in front of the *miḥrāb*. These three examples, from East and West, have many features in common, but are distinguished one from another by more than one characteristic. The materials used show clearly their interrelation. White and black cubes of marble and red or pink stones are to be found, as in the mosaic pavements; but much more numerous (85% at Damascus) are the cubes of glass paste coloured throughout, and particularly such cubes consisting of a brown base of glass paste upon which is applied gold leaf, which in turn is covered with a protecting layer of glass. It is the use of gold which creates the richness and the harmony of the Byzantine mosaic. The varied positions of the cubes, stuck in either vertically or slightly inclined towards the spectator, diversify the tones and, in particular, relieve the monotony of the areas of gold and bring life to these shining surfaces.

The subjects of the decorations vary from one monument to another. That of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra is the richest, and in it floral designs predominate. The most frequent theme is that of acanthus leaves or vine leaves with grapes, the main stem emerging from a cluster of leaves, a bowl or a cornucopia. Narrow panels are provided with vertical supports reminiscent of the antique candelabras on which are placed trays, foliage or fruit. The plant themes, arranged in bands placed side by side, alternate with motifs of jewellery, ribbons, bandeaus, and pendants inspired by necklaces and diadems; plaques cut from mother-of-pearl add their lustre to these themes of adornment. This ornamentation derives almost entirely from Hellenistic tradition; the jewellery motifs seem to be inspired by the imperial decoration of Byzantium; some palm-branches in the form of wings and some flowers derived from the lotus are probable borrowings from the Sāsānid flora and were familiar also to Syrian sculpture of the same period.

Quite different are the very beautiful mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus, at any rate those which the removal of the layer of plaster has revealed in the courtyard. They contain large green trees rising up among groups of buildings: fortresses whose walls border on the terraces alternate with balconied houses with pitched roofs and wide cornices, pavilions with colonnades and conical roofs, and exedras; lower down, more modest houses overlook the shore lapped by lively waves. The Pompeian character of the architecture has been remarked. The waters which form the foreground of the decoration have been thought to be the Barada, the river which flows through the oasis of Damascus. This realistic interpretation, which associates a familiar and not very highly esteemed landscape with the adornment of a great mosque, does not seem compatible with Muslim aesthetic. Perhaps we should rather consider this decoration of the courtyard as the complement of the geographical pictures which spread across the walls of the prayer hall, and identify the tumultuous waters on the shore with those of the surrounding Ocean (*al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*) which, according to the Arab geographers, encircles all the inhabited lands of the world.

According to the traditions which Ibn Idhārī has transmitted and which we shall examine, the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II, following the example set by his ancestor al-Walīd, the builder of the mosque of Damascus, obtained from the emperor of Constantinople the despatch of a mosaicist and the necessary materials to decorate the Great Mosque of Cordova, which he was providing with a new *ḳibla*. In fact the mosaics of the *miḥrāb* of Cordova and the parts which frame it or lead to it scarcely recall the picturesque decoration of Damascus. This is not surprising, for two and a half centuries separate the Syrian from the Andalusian work. The latter presents a simplified and schematic flora with its central stems rigid or slightly curving, regularly bent into foliated scroll-patterns or doubled and forming wide symmetrical interlacings. These stems bear palm leaves with two or three incurved fronds, flowers, or

bunches of grapes, each separate. The inscriptions play an important part here and their Kūfic script is sober and elegant. One seeks in vain Christian mosaics of the same period analagous to these Muslim mosaics; on the contrary, analysis reveals the relation between this flat and coloured decoration and the sculptured decoration which surrounds it. We find the same floral themes portrayed by the two techniques, sculpture and mosaic, but both belong to the same Islamic art.

Nevertheless the historical conditions make it probable that mosaics were sent from Byzantium to Cordova. Relations between the two powers, interrupted for over a century, had been resumed since 346/958, and at the end of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III they were active and cordial. The sending of gifts—notably of Byzantine mosaics—served for the embellishment of the Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. The continuation of these relations between al-Ḥakam II and Nicephorus Phocas is therefore not surprising and we have no difficulty in accepting the tradition, albeit three hundred years old, related by Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, ii, 253, tr. ii, 392). At the request of al-Ḥakam, a mosaicist came from Constantinople with 320 quintals of mosaic cubes. The caliph assigned to him a certain number of slaves (some of whom had already begun to learn the craft at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ). They worked under the direction of the Greek and were not long in surpassing their master in skill. When the latter left Cordova, where he had been lodged magnificently, he received from the caliph gifts and robes of honour; his pupils continued the work alone and completed it. The story seems to be historically possible.

However, we have seen that (according to Ibn ʿIdhārī) al-Ḥakam, in requesting the Byzantine emperor to send a mosaicist, was following the example of al-Walīd, the founder of the Damascus mosque. Now it seems that this is a legend which was unknown to the earliest sources and which does not appear until the 6th/12th century. According to Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) al-Walīd accompanied his request with the threat to overrun the territory of Byzantium and destroy the churches on his own lands if the Basileus refused; and the Basileus complied. The attribution of such an attitude to the two rulers is doubtful. But although the story cannot be applied to the Damascus mosque it may be possible to associate it with the mosque of Medina. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī, al-Wāḳidī and al-Ṭabarī, for the re-building of this mosque, a request for a mosaicist was made to the emperor of Byzantium and was granted. This is nevertheless rather surprising. Al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), speaking of the work on the mosque of Medina, gives a more likely report. Al-Walīd, he says, wishing to embellish the Mosque of the Prophet, obtained the collaboration of mosaicists and other craftsmen of Rūm recruited in Syria and in Egypt. This supposes the existence in these countries of ateliers or individual artists, presumably of Greek origin, continuing in the 2nd/8th century the technique of Byzantine mosaic. The tradition of this fine craft, which had formed the glory of Antioch, could have survived in Syria from Christian times, which saw the building of the Church of the Ascension in Jerusalem, the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the churches of Edessa and of Lydda. It seems very possible that for the first religious foundations of Islam local mosaicists as well as builders were recruited, and probably they were still available during the following centuries to complete and restore the decorations of the sanctuaries of Syria. In Jerusalem there are the mosaics of the Fāṭimid al-Ẓāhir (411-27/1021-36), of the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (570-89/1174-93), and of the Mamlūk Tanḳiz (729/1329), and at Damascus those of Baybars. The date of the mosaics of the Kaʿba of Mecca described by Ibn Djubayr is not known.

In Egypt, which, as we have seen, had possessed, like Syria, artists from 'Rūm', who practised the art of Byzantine mosaic, only a few and late examples of this work remain. In Cairo, the tomb of Shadjar al-Durr (648/1250) retains a *miḥrāb* the lower part of which is decorated with cubes of blue, green, red and gilded glass with the addition of mother-of pearl. Of the same type are the decoration of the *miḥrāb* which the sultan Lādjīn gave to the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in 696/1296, and the *miḥrāb*s of the *madrasas* of Ṭaybars (709/1309) and of Aḳbughā (740/1339), dependencies of the Al-Azhar mosque.

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(G. Marçais)

AL-**FUSṬĀṬ**, the first city to be founded in Egypt by the Muslim conquerors and the first place of residence of the Arab governors. It was built on the east bank of the Nile, alongside the Greco-Coptic township of Babylon or Bābalyūn [*q.v.*], traces of which are still preserved in the ramparts of the Ḳaṣr al-Shamʿ. A bridge of boats, interrupted by the island of al-Rawḍa [*q.v.*], linked the Ḳaṣr with the city of Giza (al-Djīza) on the other bank of the Nile. Al-Fusṭāṭ was partly built beside the river, which at that time followed a more easterly course, and partly on high desert ground, shaped in the form of a saddle and extending for more than four km. from north to south. The hills to the south of Sharaf were called al-Raṣad after 513/1119; those to the north were called Djabal Yashkur. It was not far from Djabal Yashkur that the Khalīdj started, the Pharaohs' canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea, which was restored on the orders of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ.

In former times the name al-Fusṭāṭ was written in various ways, enumerated by the Arab authors, which betray uncertainty as to the true origin of the word. One of the meanings suggested is that of "tent"; for the town was founded on the spot where ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ had pitched his tent (*fusṭāṭ*) during the siege of Babylon. It seems likely that this name was merely the arabization of the word

Φοσσάτον, camp, encampment, used by the bilingual papyri to denote the town. The chroniclers also use the expression Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr or even simply Miṣr, colloquially pronounced Maṣr. The quarter of modern Cairo, which contains the remains of al-Fusṭāṭ and Babylon, is called Maṣr al-ʿAtīḳa, Old Cairo.

When ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ returned from the first siege of Alexandria, probably early in 22/643, he established the foundations of a permanent encampment at al-Fusṭāṭ which was gradually transformed into a town. The proximity of Babylon made it easy for the Arabs to employ and control Coptic officials. Later came the distribution of the land and the building of the mosque (Dj̲āmiʿ ʿAmr or al-Dj̲āmiʿ al-ʿAtīḳ). This mosque, the first to be built in Egypt, originally measured 50 by 30 cubits. It is possible that it had a *minbar* from the start; but the *miḥrāb*, in the form of a niche, seems to have been built only in 92/711. Reconstructed and enlarged several times, it attained its present dimensions in 212/827. It served simultaneously as a place of prayer, council chamber, court room, post (office) and as lodgings for travellers. It was there that the main grants of leases of land were made. Not far away was ʿAmr's house and the army stores. There was also a *muṣallā*, an immense place of prayer in the open air, where, on the *ʿīd al-Fiṭr* 43/January 664, prayers were offered over the body of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who had died the previous night. Each tribe was allotted a certain fixed zone (*k̲h̲iṭṭa* which, in Fusṭāṭ, is the equivalent of the *ḥāra* in Cairo, that is to say quarter or ward). Certain *k̲h̲iṭaṭ* included inhabitants belonging to different tribes, for example, the *k̲h̲iṭṭat ahl al-rāya* surrounding ʿAmr's mosque, the *k̲h̲iṭaṭ al-Lafīf* just to the north of it, and the *k̲h̲iṭaṭ ahl al-Ẓāhir*, the last-named being reserved for new arrivals who had been unable to settle with their own respective tribes (cf. Guest, in *JRAS*, 1907, 63 f.). Each *k̲h̲iṭṭa* had its own mosque. In 53/673, for the first time, minarets were built for ʿAmr's mosque and for those in the *k̲h̲iṭaṭ*, with two exceptions. The Arab army of conquest included a very large proportion of Yamanīs. Christians and Jews from Syria with political affiliations with the Muslims had accompanied the invading armies; they were settled in three different quarters near the river, named respectively, going north from ʿAmr's mosque, *al-Ḥamrāʾ al-dunyā*, *al-Ḥamrāʾ al-wusṭā*, and *al-Ḥamrāʾ al-ḳuṣwā*. Other *d̲h̲immī*s settled with them.

The original encampment was gradually transformed. The different quarters were separated by open spaces. Whole zones, particularly to the north in the desert, were then abandoned, only to be reoccupied later. Permanent structures multiplied. The treasury, *bayt al-māl*, was built (Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, ii, 162). Al-Fusṭāṭ was not fortified and, in 64-5/684, the K̲h̲āridjīs of Egypt who had seized power had a ditch built on the east side to defend the town against the caliph Marwān and his forces. The governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, who founded or developed Ḥulwān, where he had taken refuge from the plague (70/689-90), also built houses, covered markets and baths in Fusṭāṭ. The Copts imperceptibly became intermingled with the conquerors. Coptic was spoken in Fusṭāṭ in the 2nd/8th century. Some churches also were built, and are occasionally mentioned by the chroniclers. Warehouses were set up along the Nile for water-borne merchandise. When the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II, in flight before the ʿAbbāsids, went through Fusṭāṭ (132/750) he caused the stores of grain, cotton, chopped straw and barley, and indeed the whole town, to be set on fire, according to Severus of As̲h̲munayn (*Patr. Orient.*, v, 168). Further east, between Fusṭāṭ and the cliffs of Muḳaṭṭam was the cemetery of al-Ḳarāfa [*q.v.*]. The ʿAbbāsid governors did not reside in the centre of Fusṭāṭ; they chose instead the old *al-Ḥamrāʾ al-ḳuṣwā*, in the open spaces of the original encampment, to found the suburb of al-ʿAskar. Al-Maḳrīzī explains in this connexion that the actual town of Fusṭāṭ was divided into two districts—the *ʿamal fūḳ* or upper district with its western section (the high ground in the south as far as the Nile) and eastern section (the rest of the desert as far as al-ʿAskar), and the *ʿamal asfal* or lower district, including the remainder. The ʿAbbāsids tried a new and short-lived settlement on the Dj̲abal Yas̲h̲kur, as a refuge from an epidemic, in 133/751. Later they settled at al-ʿAskar where a "Palace of the Amirate" (*dār al-Imāra*) was built and then in 169/785-6, just beside it, a large mosque (*dj̲āmiʿ al-ʿAskar*, also called *dj̲āmiʿ Sāḥil al-G̲h̲alla*). All around there grew up a real town, with shops, markets and fine houses. Nothing now remains of it.

In the 3rd/9th century Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn also created his own capital called al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ, between the north-east tip of the Dj̲abal Yas̲h̲kur (where he had a large and striking mosque built) and the *mas̲h̲had* of Sayyida Nafīsa and the future Rumayla square. The mosque (*dj̲āmiʿ Ibn Ṭūlūn*), the oldest in Greater Cairo still existing in its original form, was completed in 265/879. The architect, a Christian and probably of Mesopotamian origin, took his inspiration from the buildings of Sāmarrā. He had previously built an aqueduct, the ruins of which still stand to the north-west of Basātīn, leading towards ʿAyn al-Ṣīra. Besides the mosque and a number of houses, al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ also included a palace, a *dār al-Imāra* and some magnificent gardens. It was all to vanish very swiftly. On the fall of the Ṭūlūnids (292/905), the ʿAbbāsids demolished the palace. They did not touch the mosque, which was later restored by sultan Lādjīn (696/1297) (cf. Salmon, *Études sur la topographie du Caire*, in *MIFAO*, 1902, where also all necessary details on the later history of the district are given).

The founding of al-Ḳāhira (358/969) did not put an end to the prosperity of Fusṭāṭ which, in the Fāṭimid period, was one of the wealthiest towns of the Muslim world, with its lofty houses of from five to seven stories (Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw, in the *Safar Nāma*, trans. Schefer, 146, even speaks of fourteen stories), the crowded souks round ʿAmr's mosque and the network of narrow streets recently excavated on the desert plateau. Al-Ḳāhira, where the houses were lower and furnished with gardens, was then the city of the caliphs and the military aristocracy; Fusṭāṭ, more populous, remained the home of commerce and industry, as is testified by very fine ceramics and pieces of glassware discovered during excavations, as will as texts on papyrus and paper. In the 7th/13th century the town still manufactured steel, copper, soap, glass and paper (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv, 108), not to mention its production of sugar and textiles. In 513/1119 the town was able to produce a massive ring of polished copper, graduated, and measuring more than ten cubits in diameter, weighing several tons and intended to act as a support for an apparatus for astronomic observations. However, during the anarchic reign of the caliph al-Mustanṣir, over a period of eighteen years (from 446/1054 to 464/1072) the town suffered sixteen years of severe famine,

accompanied by epidemics. Al-ʿAskar, al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ and whole zones of the desert quarters of Fusṭāṭ were consequently abandoned. The vizier Badr al-Djamālī then caused the materials of the ruined buildings to be removed for re-use in Cairo. A second operation of this kind took place between 495/1101 and 524/1130; it was concerned with those buildings which the owners, despite a general warning, had failed to put into a state of repair. The year 564/1168-9 was catastrophic. The Frankish armies of Amalric were encamped just to the south of al-Raṣad, at Birkat al-Ḥabash; Shāwar, their former ally, had summoned them four years earlier, and he himself was now attacked by them. Fearing that they would occupy Fusṭāṭ, which had no ramparts to defend it and which might be used by them as a base against Cairo, he had the town evacuated and his men systematically set it on fire. The conflagration lasted for fifty-four days. After all these cataclysms life began once again; the place was rebuilt. All the same, to prevent the recurrence of such incidents Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built a city wall enclosing Cairo, the citadel and Fusṭāṭ. The remains of this wall can be seen to the south of the citadel, and also 900 metres to the east as well as to the south-east of ʿAmr's mosque. New quarters were built on the abandoned land by the Nile, while the notables erected pleasure pavilions alongside the water. The eastern districts were increasingly neglected, while ʿAmr's mosque remained a flourishing centre of religious instruction until the great plague of 749/1348. Under the Mamlūk sultans, however, Cairo attracted great commerce; it was the souks of Cairo, not of Miṣr, that the astonished European travellers described. Fusṭāṭ (which name disappears, being replaced by Miṣr) fell into obscurity. It remained merely the administrative capital of Upper Egypt whose produce was constantly brought by ship to its river banks. At the time of Napoleon's expedition, Old Cairo contained 10,000 inhabitants, 600 of whom were Copts.

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FŪTA DJALLON (accepted French spelling Fouta), principal massif of tropical West Africa, situated at the north-east of the Republic of Guinea. This group of mountains has been thoroughly studied by J. Richard Molard (1913-51). It is twice the size of Switzerland and of very varied character. Its eastern section has a crystalline base which rises to about 700 m./3000 ft., with some peaks of over 1000 m./3,300 ft. The Tinkisso, a tributary of the Niger, rises there. The central Fouta is an internal "Tassili" divided into three masses: in the north the massif of Mali (with its highest point at Mount Tennsira, 1515 m./4,970 ft), in the centre the plateau of Timbi, Labé and Popodara, with an average height of 1000 m./3,300 ft., which is divided by numerous canyons with impressive waterfalls (Ditinu, Kinkon, Kambadaga, the Sala, etc.), and finally in the south the massif of Dalaba (1425 m./4,675 ft. at Mount Tinka). From these massifs with their sheer cliffs (those of Massi reach 800 m./2,600 ft.) rise the Bafing, the principal feature of Senegal, the Upper Gambia, the Rio Grande of Portuguese Guinea and many mountain rivers, which together form the water tower of the western region of Africa. Because of its altitude the Fouta enjoys a favourable climate. It has a high rainfall in summer and its winter is a healthy dry season, the effect of which is further increased from December to February by the 'harmattan'; the rainy season is from July to September. The scorching heat of the Sahara attracts the Atlantic clouds and each year Dalaba has a rainfall of 2035 mm./80 ins., Pita 1882 mm./73 ins., Labé 1764 mm./70 ins. and Mali 1893 mm./76 ins. Three types of vegetation are found in the Fouta: (a) bush, either brushwood (*bururhe*) or trees (*fitare*); (b) sparse grassland, sometimes on the shores of a small lake (*dunkere*) on the clay covering a plateau (*hollande*), sometimes on sand which fills a depression (*dantari*); (c) the *bowal*, which covers three quarters of the surface of the Fouta and which is "in the dry season a vast and torrid surface of desert, marked at intervals by mushroom-shaped white-ant-heaps" (Richard Molard).

Population. The Fouta is a mountain district suitable for the rearing of livestock. As Vieillard says: "half-way between the Sahelian steppe and the dense forest: the former stretches over the endless barren plains of the high plateaus, the latter clothes the sides of the mountains in the form of tall riverside forests. This hybrid environment has favoured the formation of a composite society, a mixture of settled forest-dwellers and of shepherds and cowherds". The Baga and Landuman, probably autochthonous, were driven out in the 13th century by the Susu-Dialonke expelled by the Mandinkas of Sundjata. In 1534, the Fulakunda of Koli Tenguela came from the Fouta Toro to settle to the west of this group of mountains. Finally, in 1694, Fulani who had come from Macina formed an empire which was to last for two centuries. Apart from these great movements, there were small migrations from the plains of the north. The Fulani replaced the hump-backed cattle by the *ndama* which was more or less immunized against trypanosomiasis. They enslaved or drove out the former negro inhabitants of the forests, borrowing features of their material civilization. According to Vieillard they "brought with them their language, their faith which permitted the foundation of a Muslim fraternity, and a harsh exploitation mitigated by intermarriage.

Of the 750,000 inhabitants of the Fouta, two-thirds are Fulani and the others are former slaves who have adopted the Fulani language and belonged to the feudal system of the Fouta. These vassals, *rimaibe* (singular *dimadio*), cultivate the ground for their Fulani masters. They live in *rundes* near the country house of the master (*marga*).

The administrative organization consists of the *missidi* (village mosque) at the bottom, then the

teku, a group of *missidis* with the *lamdo-teku* at the head. When the system of alternative government came into operation the chief of a *diwal* (province) was changed every second year, at the same time as the *almamy*.

The fiscal laws were very carefully worked out. The tax on inheritance consisted of the *homidia* (assigning to the marabout a quarter of the possessions of the deceased) and the *kombabete*, collected by the chief of the *diwal* or the *lamdo-teku* five months after the death. The *assaka* (or *saka* or *fariba*) was due to the chief of the *missidi* for the poor. The *ussuru* was a tithe on manufactured goods. In addition the ruler of the Fouta received a fifth of the booty of war and the tributes (*sakkale*) paid by the vassal peoples of the coast.

History. A large contingent of the Fulani of the Fouta came from Macina at the end of the 17th century, led by Seri or Sidi. After Muhammadu Saïdi, elected chief in 1700, they chose the pious Kikala, then his son Sambigu, whose two sons disputed the succession (1720-26). So the Fulani called on Ibrahima Mussu, called also Karamoko Alfa, a man of immense piety, who was invited to wage war against the pagans. Karamoko Alfa inaugurated that permanent state of Holy War which was to become one of the characteristic political features of the Fouta. In the Fouta D̲jallon Islam served as a justification for the seizure of power. A committee of insurrection consisting of Karamoko Alfa and six other members was formed and the movement was supported by young Islamized Dialonkes and Malinkes. The fetishist Dialonke were conquered and Timbo and Fukumba occupied. But some years later, Puli Garme, chief of the pagan Dialonke, re-took Timbo. Karamoko Alfa died insane in 1751, Ibrahima Sori (= early-rising) took his place; he was given the by-name of Mawdo (= the great) and his reign was marked by military campaigns against the Wassulonke and the Sulima. Tradition has it that he exterminated 174 kings (who were probably nothing more than village chiefs), he subdued the Fulani chief of Labe, seized the Mandingo province of Niokolo (Upper Gambia) and forced Maka, the king of the Bundu, to become a Muslim. But these military successes disturbed the council of the elders, and particularly its president Modi Maka, who caused Abdulay Ba Demba, son of Karamoko Alfa, to be appointed in place of Ibrahima Sori Mawdo. But the latter was soon recalled because of dangers which threatened from outside. Ibrahima Sori then transferred his capital from Fukumba to Timbo. On the death of Ibrahima Sori Mawdo (1784) the principle was adopted of rule alternating every two years between the Alfaya and Sorya families; but it was put into practice only with difficulty. The 19th century was dominated by the reign of the Almani Omar (1837-72) who had to suppress the rising of the fanatical Hubbus. These, won over by the Modi Mamadu D̲joue, took the name of *Hubbu rasul Allai* (one who loves the Messenger of God). These Hubbu, fighting in the name of an intransigeant Islam, took Timbo (1859) before being beaten at Kuni and Kusogogya. Mamadu D̲joue died after taking refuge in the mountains between Bafing and Tinkisso. His son, Mamadu Abal (= the wild), was to be defeated. Umaw died during the campaign undertaken in the Rio Grande. In 1887-8, an extraordinary nobleman, Aimé Olivier, Count (?) of Sanderval, got himself recognized by the Almami as a citizen of the Fouta D̲jallon, and obtained the grant of the uplands of Kahel and the right to mint coins. He played an important part in helping the chief of Labe to fight Bokar Biro. The latter, put on to the throne by French authority, signed the treaty of the protectorate with *Bissimilahi* (*bi-'smi 'llāh*) instead of his own name. Then Captain Müller marched on Timbo and Bokar Biro and his 1500 warriors were defeated at Poredaka. This was the end of the independence of the Fouta, which was divided by the French administration into districts.

The Fulani chiefdoms, which had been retained throughout the colonial period, were suppressed by the Council of Government set up during the summer of 1957. But by then they were already of very little significance. The Fouta D̲jallon had ceased to be an independent fortress and had become fully integrated into the political and economic life of Guinea.

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(R. Cornevin)

FŪTHĀGHŪRAS [see fīthāghūras].

FUTŪḤĀT [see ṭarābulus (al-sha'm)].

FUTUWWA, a term invented in about the 2nd/8th century as the counterpart of *muruwwa* [*q.v.*], the qualities of the mature man, to signify that which is regarded as characteristic of the *fatā*, pl. *fityān*, literally "young man"; by this term it has become customary to denote various movements and organizations which until the beginning of the modern era were wide-spread throughout all the urban communities of the Muslim East. The study of these movements is made difficult by the fact that, in the course of history, they have assumed very diverse forms, corresponding with which are two fundamental categories of documentation, the information from which often appears for that reason to be irreconcilable. Thus, from the time when, over a century ago, Hammer-Purgstall drew attention to them, many representations of them have been given and, despite the advance that has been made in our knowledge of them, it cannot be said that even now we really know exactly what they were. Hammer-Purgstall for his part regarded the *futuwwa* as a form of chivalry, and one finds this interpretation repeated up to our own time; but, for the past fifty years, particular attention has been given to the connexions maintained by the *futuwwa* at a late period on the one hand with Ṣūfism, and on the other with the professional groupings; however, even in the latter case the nature of the treatises specifically devoted to it has resulted in its being approached from the doctrinal or psychological angle rather than being integrated within the social structure, of which nevertheless it constitutes an important element. It is to this last aspect that I wish to give especial emphasis.

In the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods, the Arabic language does not use the term *futuwwa*, but only *fatā*, itself used in the singular rather than in the plural, in that the word denoted individuals, not groups. At that time the *fatā* was a man still young and vigorous, valiant in warfare, noble and chivalrous: an essentially personal attitude and, though obviously linked with tribal society and its combats, one not dependent on any collective activity or explicit religious belief; and indeed it so happens that a modern work will still extol this type of character under the name *futuwwa*. The semi-legendary model for it in ancient Arabian society was prince Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī [*q.v.*]; but, in Islam, the gradual growth of the figure of ʿAlī has resulted in his being regarded as the *fatā* par excellence, as is expressed in the old saying *lā fatā illā ʿAlī*.

Quite soon, however, in the complex society of the Arabo-Islamic Empire new *fityān* (now in the plural) made their appearance; it is however impossible to trace their origin back exclusively to the ancient Arab tradition. Indeed, these new *fityān* themselves are presented to us in two categories of portraits which are at first sight incompatible.

A first group of texts, consisting for the most part of relatively late accounts of mystics, but also of earlier narrations of the lives of poets, presents the *fityān* as young adults living in small communities, coming from varied social, ethnic (and, to start with, religious?) circles and, free from any sort of attachment to family (they were frequently bachelors), profession (even if they had one) or tribe, associating together to lead in common the most comfortable possible life in an atmosphere of solidarity, mutual devotion and comradeship (with joint ownership of goods), without which such an aim could obviously not be achieved. The setting was more extensive than that of a single town, in the sense that a fraternity existed between the *fityān* of each town and others elsewhere by whom they were received when travelling, like the old "companions" in Europe. It seems that they wore a special costume. It was still largely under this aspect that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the famous traveller of the 8th/14th century, was to see them when he encountered them among the common people in Turkish Asia Minor; but among the Persian aristocracy also, where *futuwwa* was translated by *djavānmardī*, the life of the *fityān* appeared to a prince such as the author of the *Ḳābūsnāma* (5th/11th century) to be a desirable vocation, indeed an ideal.

In contrast, however, to these peaceful impressions the ancient chroniclers record many others which are far less so. In this connexion the name *fityān* is not in fact the one that occurs most frequently; since they were discussing elements of disorder, the writers, who belonged to the official classes, gave them names suggestive of the mob or rabble; the most general term, which the recipients adopted with just as much pride as did other men of the people in revolutionary France the term *sans-culotte*, is *ʿayyār*(*ūn*) "vagrant, outlaw"; other quite common terms were *awbāsh* "riff-raff", *shāṭir*, pl. *shuṭṭār* "artful [ones]" and, from the time of the Saldjūḳids, *rind* [*q.v.*], pl. *runūd* "scamp". It is with their condition in Baghdād that we are through the documentation most familiar, but it must not be forgotten that the special character of that town may mean that they did not occur there in their widely-spread form, and it is important to study them also in any other place where it is possible to do so.

In Baghdād, we see the *ʿayyārūn* emerging from obscurity in the periods when authority was relaxed. Well-known pages of al-Ṭabarī and al-Masʿūdī evoke them for us, armed with stones and staves and with no protection other than helmets made of palm-leaves, standing together in defence of the caliph al-Amīn against the attacks of the Khurāsānīs who supported his brother al-Ma'mūn, or, half a century later, in the cause of al-Mustaʿīn against the troops of al-Muʿtazz. The three centuries from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th are full of tales of disturbances fomented by them or in which they took part, their exploits only ceasing at exceptional times under strong rulers (the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the three great Saldjūḳids). During the civil wars of the last years of the independent caliphate, numerous leaders sought their help and enrolled them in their police forces. In 361-2/972, when arms had been distributed

to those who had declared themselves ready to set off for the Holy War against the Byzantine invaders, disorders ensued which were ended only by burning down a quarter of the town. In about 420-5/1028-33 two of their leaders, Ibn al-Mawṣilī and al-Burdjamī, were the real masters of the capital and forced the appointment as head of police of Muḥammad al-Nasawī who was regarded as one of their friends and who in any case treated them with consideration and relied on them. If we are to believe later traditions, it is possible that the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār was in league with them. In the following century the head of the *fityān* in Baghdād in about 530/1135 and the succeeding years included the governor and members of the vizier's and the sultan's families among his followers. These are only a few instances out of a multitude of other less striking ones. When they were strong, they succeeded in plundering, but the chief complaint of the merchants in the *sūḳ*s was in general less of their "thefts" than of the "protection" *khifāra*, *ḥimāya* [*qq.v.*] which, following the example of certain great men, they extended over the *sūḳ*s for the sake of the spoils that fell to them. They were particularly powerful in the outlying districts, but also in certain quarters of Karkh, inhabited by artisans, on the left bank of the Tigris and, later, at Bāb al-Azadj on the right bank, at the gates of the capital which provided their livelihood.

Who were they, what were their aims? In the first place they were clearly humble people, often without any established or definite profession; but more exalted persons readily mingled with them, either being attracted by them or, from ambition, desiring to have followers. They certainly had no 'programme' in the sense that a modern popular party would have, and often an inclination towards plunder and the rewards derived from it seem to have been their sole motivation; however, at the same time they had a more specific ambition, which may cause some surprise: they wanted to be enrolled in the police (*shurṭa*), partly of course for the sake of the regular pay, but also and primarily because to join the police is the surest way of avoiding trouble with them. This is also the reason why one sometimes comes across reformed *ʿayyārūn* who, acting as volunteers (*muṭṭawiʿūn*), helped the government against their former companions. Among the masses, the true *ʿayyārūn* enjoyed the popularity of thieves who attack the rich, an elementary form of class repossession to which no moral stigma was attached. Their leaders claimed official recognition for the title of *ḳāʾid* which they assumed and which, besides gratifying their self-esteem, gave them a secure place in the social hierarchy. Finally, as regards religion, they included Shīʿīs and Sunnīs; the Ismāʿīlīs may have attempted to penetrate their groupings in order to organize political activities there (as in the case of the "plot" which a pious organization denounced in 473/1080 to the government of the Caliph under the Saldjūḳid protectorate); and the Ḥanbalīs certainly had their social "base" among some of them: but these diverse movements co-existed, and the *futuwwa*, in its general character common to all, owes nothing to them and is not more specifically affected by any one of them than by any other.

What we have just said applies, we repeat, more particularly to Baghdād, where the importance of the forces of the government and the aristocracy in general thrust back *ʿiyāra* (*i.e.*, the quality and posture of the *ʿayyārūn*) into a role of extra-legal opposition. But the picture suggested by the documentation relating to other towns is, despite its deficiencies, somewhat different. There was not a single town in the Iranian and peri-Iranian world, from Central Asia to Mesopotamia, which did not have its *ʿayyārūn*, and although they appear to be somewhat similar to what we have just seen in the capital of the Caliphate they nevertheless seem to be more closely linked with the local bourgeoisie, even in the functioning of official political institutions. Sometimes they joined forces with the bourgeoisie in support of a native prince, as in the Sāmānid territory; sometimes the bourgeoisie relied on them in resisting the authorities whom it resented as foreigners, particularly during the Turkish period. Their greatest success, in Sīstān, was the elevation to princely authority of a dynasty that had sprung up from themselves, that of the Ṣaffārids, which had started out by superseding the inadequate forces of the Caliph during the struggle against the bedouin Khāridjīs; and without going as far as that, there were many occasions when they made and unmade princes. More usually, in the majority of towns which had no *shurṭa*, they formed an indispensable local militia, whose quality was enhanced by their active traditions of sporting and military training and upon whom the *raʾīs* of the city relied, whether or not he was their actual leader (see the case of Bukhārā, where the *K. al-Dhakhāʾir* clearly shows the official standing of their battalions alongside the army and the *ghāzīs*).

It will naturally be asked what connexion there is between the *fityān* whom we described at the beginning of this article and the *ʿayyārūn* of whom we are now speaking. The texts, however, make it clear beyond question that many of the *fityān* of the first sort called themselves or were called *ʿayyārūn* or some equivalent name, while many of the *ʿayyārūn* on the other hand called themselves *fityān* or followers of the *futuwwa*. An at least partial equivalence is therefore indisputable, and the only question is to know if this is or is not absolute and, insofar as it is confirmed, to understand its significance. To find the answer, we have to remember the existence of the urban *ʿaṣabiyyāt*. In eastern towns certain kinds of factions existed almost everywhere under this name, feuding in the name of some particular doctrine or eponym; but they are more profoundly characteristic of a certain type of urban society. Now the texts also leave no doubt that the concepts of *ʿaṣabiyya* and *futuwwa* were, at least in part, inter-related. In the moral sense, *ʿaṣabiyya* is the principle of solidarity of a group, *futuwwa* the individual qualities by which it can be achieved. This being said, it is evidently as impossible to attribute any great numerical strength to the sodalities of *fityān* of the mystico-literary texts as it is to deny it to the *ʿayyārūn* belonging to the *ʿaṣabiyyāt* who inspired the accounts in the historical and related works; but we see very clearly that, in a sense that is materially elastic but morally no less strong, the members of the *ʿaṣabiyyāt* could have regarded themselves as true adherents of the *futuwwa* and that, among the *fityān* in the apparent idyllic sense, many individuals or groups may in fact have been steeped in the *ʿaṣabiyyāt* and the disturbances that they engendered. Consequently the *futuwwa* must apparently be considered neither as an interesting but marginal socio-ideological institution, as most of the ancient descriptions imply, nor even solely or precisely as a form of reaction by the destitute classes, but as a general and fundamental

structural element of urban society in the mediaeval East.

Within which frontiers, in the East? Though attested throughout the whole Irano-Mesopotamian territory, the *ʿiyāra-futuwwa* is not recorded, at least under those names, in Syria or Egypt. There were militias there, it is true, the *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*], a name which, like *fityān*, evokes "youth"; they are found first in the 4th/10th century, ranged against the authorities while simultaneously entrusted with the functions of the *shurṭa*; later, towards the end of the following century, they became an officially accepted institution, their *raʾīs* then being *raʾīs* for the town, sometimes almost by inheritance; however, they progressively declined in face of the organization of new powers relying on military garrisons. The resemblance to the *fityān*, both in the facts and the meaning of the name, is evident; and yet the analogy is not absolute. The status of the *aḥdāth* became more systematically official than that of the *fityān*, their recruitment was perhaps more bourgeois, and above all there is no indication that their organization was in any way concerned with the communal life, the rites of initiation and the ideological elaboration which, as we shall see, characterize the *futuwwa*; if we add to this that the latter's domain was that of Sāsānid tradition, while the *aḥdāth* only existed in the former Syro-Byzantine territories, we shall concede that, in spite of a certain parallelism in conditioning and evolution, there may be differences in their historical origins. But in Damascus the ordinary *aḥdāth* were sometimes opposed by more popular *aḥdāth* who were accused of *ʿiyāra*; in Egypt, at Tinnīs, there was in the 4th/10th century a large organization of *shabāb shudjʿān* "young heroes", who combined communal life with violent anti-aristocratic activities; though Muslims, they were denounced by the Christian notables to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz who had them exterminated, like others in Damascus (*Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, ed. Soc. d'Arch. Copte, ii/2, 88-9); and later, in Cairo, there were popular groups then called *ḥarāfīsh* who reveal an undeniable relationship with the *ʿayyārūn*, if not explicitly with the *futuwwa* in the strict sense of the term, with whom they do not appear to have claimed kinship (see W. Brinner, *The significance of the ḥarāfīsh and their Sultan*, in *JESHO*, vi/2 (1963)). Nothing comparable seems to have been recorded in western Islam.

The *futuwwa* is often represented as being linked with the guild organizations, and it has even been suggested that, through the initiation rites to which we shall return later, both of these were influenced by the Ismāʿīlīs, who were credited with particular interest in the world of labour. We have already said what we think about this last point. More generally, it is important to make a careful chronological distinction. In the later Middle Ages (*v. infra*) a certain kind of interpenetration between the trade guilds in the Irano-Turkish territories and the *futuwwa* is undeniable; but until the 7th/13th century, when guild life remained very much under State control, the most that could be said is that the *futuwwa* clientèle was evidently recruited for the most part at a popular level. On the one hand, it was apparently not the well-established masters of regular trades who constituted the chief recruits; on the other hand there is in any case nothing to indicate that the corporate groups of *futuwwa* were set up and marked off from one other on an occupational basis. No doubt relationships in respect of their work can be traced; but if a European parallel may be cited, it is that of the inter-professional Companies and not the trade guilds, and the term 'corporation' must not be taken implicitly as the equivalent of 'profession'.

The point remains that the *futuwwa*, as we have noted, is strictly speaking an urban phenomenon. Naturally it happened that, in the course of their activities, the *fityān* went beyond urban boundaries and mingled with other social categories, and the diversity of the groups and the uncertainties of terminology in the various writers perhaps permit us to admit the existence of some intermediate cases between the true *futuwwa* and other corporate organizations. But it seems necessary to make a distinction in principle between the urban *fatā* and the *ṣuʿlūk* [*q.v.*], the knight-errant of the desert (even if he derives from the proto-Arab *fatā* or the *djavānmard* of Persian tradition); and although, in the frontier zone, the *fatā* may be replaced by the *ghāzī*, for the rest he is a phenomenon of wider occurrence, and even there generally coexisted with the other without confusion.

These remarks on the *ʿayyārūn* apply particularly to the period up to the 5th/11th century; at that time there occurred an evolution, both among them and in the surrounding society, which in itself is of great historical importance, but which furthermore, as we shall see, is at the origin of the appearance of that form of literature on *futuwwa* which, when compared with the reality, is at first sight so misleading. The growing importance of the *fityān-ʿayyārūn*, attracting persons of high social rank and an increasing number of men of erudition, provoked a tendency among them to clarify and scrutinize the values that the *futuwwa* in fact implied; in the second place, and simultaneously with this process, another movement came into being within Ṣūfism which, for long restricted to individual forms of asceticism and mysticism, became organized into communities where, very naturally, the problems of collective life brought them into touch with the experience of *futuwwa*; it was perhaps the extra-legal aspect of the *futuwwa* which formed the attraction for some Ṣūfīs like the Malāmatiyya. It was in these circles, from the 5th/11th century, that a specific literature on *futuwwa* made its appearance, the characteristic feature of which is that it provides us with a spiritual elaboration of the subject, with the addition of certain pseudo-historical traditions and a selective and idealized portrayal of the ancient *fityān* (such as we described earlier, partly from this source), without any other allusion being made to the real organizations of *fityān* and the use of violence, of which nevertheless the chroniclers continue to provide such irrefutable evidence—to such an extent that we might well wonder if we really are dealing with the same people, were it not that we know that at least from the 7th/13th century some of the writers of the treatises of this type were well-known as leaders of authentic groups of real *fityān*.

The attitude of the governments and aristocracy towards the *futuwwa* was consequently modified. It is true that they continued their struggle against those who fomented disturbances or who were suspected of heterodoxy, but, far from being opposed to the concept of the *futuwwa*, they were hostile only to what they called distortions, or deviations from what it should in fact be. Niẓām al-Mulk, the great Saldjūḳid vizier, in whose lifetime a vizier of the Caliph persecuted the group of *fityān* suspected of Ismāʿīlism to whom we have already referred, was at the same time the man to whom one of the first treatises of *muruwwa* and *futuwwa* was dedicated.

Again, during the following century, in the well-known pages where the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Djawzī attacked the *fityān* of his day and their conception of sexual honour, their acts of violence, etc., what he preaches is not so much their destruction as the taking over of the *futuwwa*, in its anarchic condition, by a superior authority capable of guiding it towards its true aims.

It was this reform that the caliph al-Nāṣir (577/1181-620/1223) was to accomplish. The dominating preoccupation of this remarkable man was his attempt to regroup under the aegis of the Caliphate all spiritual families and all organizations claiming kinship with Islam. At a very early date (578/1182 according to Ibn Abi 'l-Damm and al-Sakhāwī quoted in Muṣṭ. Djawād, see *Bibl.*) he had himself initiated into the Baghdād *futuwwa* by its grand master, *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Djabbār. As we have seen, the *futuwwa* was to a greater or lesser degree diversified, and in the time of al-Nāṣir in Baghdād there were five branches of it, one of which, the *Nabawiyya*, whose existence is attested as early as the 4th/10th century and which was also known elsewhere in the 6th/12th century by Ibn Djubayr, devoted itself to fighting against the heretic and the infidel, while another was the *Raḥḥāṣiyya*, ʿAbd al-Djabbār's branch. Al-Nāṣir cannot have been a simple, ordinary devotee of the *futuwwa*. Legislating in this domain as in others, he tried to unify, discipline and co-ordinate the *futuwwa* of Baghdād while at the same time encouraging the ruling circles of religious, military and administrative society to belong to it, with the aim of converting into an instrument of social education and general solidarity what had previously been a source of disturbance and discord, and also to reconcile the Ṣūfī-influenced *sharīʿa* of his conception with a corpus of regulations and customs that had grown up independently of it. Afterwards he exhorted the princes of the whole Muslim East to adhere to this new *futuwwa*, to develop its organization in their respective States, to associate themselves generally with him in the establishment, under his aegis, of a pan-Islamic *futuwwa*. For the aristocratic clientèle, privileges had to be found; hence the emphasis placed on the monopoly of performance of certain sports to which the *fityān* had long devoted themselves with enthusiasm. Indeed in Syria and Egypt the *futuwwa*, in this form, remained aristocratic. But it so happens that it was with this form that Hammer-Purgstall was acquainted, with the result that he looked upon it as an order of chivalry; we can see to what extent this view is, if not misdirected, at least restricted in fact to a single tardy excrescence, destined not to last and in no way representative of the real *futuwwa*. In Baghdād society the caliph's efforts were nullified, after his death, by the Mongol conquest. Strangely enough, it was in Anatolian-Turkish society, during its first phase of organization, that the great caliph's initiative was to rouse the strongest echoes; the *futuwwa* that developed there in the original form of the *akhī*s [*q.v.*] never ceased to be ascribed to the patronage of al-Nāṣir (see below).

It is through the writings on *futuwwa* that resulted from al-Nāṣir's policy that we are best acquainted with the organization of the *fityān*, without of course being able always to specify exactly which elements of the description given would also have been valid in the preceding centuries, and which were al-Nāṣir's innovations. The treatises of Ibn al-Miʿmār, who is the most factual, al-Khartaburtī who is more imbued with the spirit of Ṣūfism, and al-Suhrawardī, the first of a series of writers in Persian, inaugurated a literary category which, in Irano-Turkish territories (and also in Egypt during the Ottoman period), was to continue until the beginning of modern times. The rôle of communal initiatory groups which they ascribed to the *futuwwa* organizations is certainly applicable, though not uniformly, in the "classical" periods of Islam. Membership, preceded by a period of probation, was accompanied by a ceremonial which entailed in particular the drinking of a cup of salt water during a communal meeting at which a belt was buckled round the new devotee; he also adopted the distinctive clothing of the *futuwwa*, the trousers being especially significant. He was introduced by a sponsor to whom he was bound as by the inflexible duty of the son (*ibn*) or junior, inferior man (*ṣaghīr*) to the father (*abū*) or senior (*kabīr*). In al-Nāṣir's *futuwwa*, an interval of time separated the first ceremony of adoption of the novice (*murīd*) from the presentation of the trousers, the action which alone conferred the rank of full member, comrade (*rafīḳ*). The *Futuwwatnāma* of Suhrawardī adds a hierarchy between the simple adepts by the spoken word only (*ḳawlī*) and those who had girded on the sword (*sayfī*), but we do not know how far this corresponded to reality; at the end of the century an intermediate stage was still spoken of, that of those who had drunk the cup (*shurbī*). Solidarity between comrades had to be absolute. The general organization, in which the Grand Master was the caliph assisted by a *naḳīb*, was divided into a certain number of sub-groups (*aḥzāb*, pl. of *ḥizb*), each of which consisted of several *buyūt*; and a kind of autonomous internal jurisdiction settled their disputes by a procedure in which the oath of honour of the *futuwwa* played a great part. The books on *futuwwa* do not mention any sporting privileges; but we know that these did apply to the rearing and flying of homing pigeons, an ancient occupation of the *fityān* but despised by the aristocracy, and the sport of the *bunduḳ* [see ḳaws] (accompanied by the shooting of birds), the rules for which were then officially promulgated, and which seems to have been a favourite diversion of the Turkish military caste; we may suppose that this aspect of the *futuwwa* did not interest the writers who were considering the *futuwwa* in its moral and religious aspects.

There is no doubt, however, that from then onwards there was a certain convergence between the popular *futuwwa* and the *futuwwa* of the Ṣūfīs. One of the most ardent disseminators of the reformed institution was the same Suhrawardī, general theological adviser to al-Nāṣir and founder of an order of Ṣūfīs, and one who commanded extraordinary respect, especially in Asia Minor. A certain reciprocal penetration took place between the combative spirit of the *fityān* and the spiritual ideal of the Ṣūfīs. One manifestation of this was the adoption for the *futuwwa* of *isnād*s inspired by Ṣūfī models, by means of which each group claimed attachment to ancestors, whether true or suppositious, whose patronage was morally significant: generally, in the end, to ʿAlī, on account of the ambivalence of the word *fatā*, and very often after him to Salmān, the patron of the Irano-Mesopotamian artisans. In more general terms, we thus see the *futuwwa* demonstrating in its own particular way the method of absorption of popular movements by Ṣūfī organizations which from the end of the Middle Ages to our own time has characterized such large sectors of social evolution in Muslim countries. It is merely necessary to repeat that the literature that resulted from this evolution cannot

be taken as a guarantee of what the classical *futuwwa* had been in earlier times.

Bibliography: It is impossible to enumerate here all the historical, literary, religious etc. works which provide occasional and sometimes valuable documentation on *futuwwa*; references will be found in the articles listed below, particularly those of Fr. Taeschner and Cl. Cahen; we shall confine ourselves to adding two works which have more recently become known, the *K. al-Dhakhā'ir wa 'l-tuḥaf* of al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, ed. Ḥamīdullah, Kuwait 1959 (on Bukhārā, 153), and the *Ta'rīkh* of Ibn Abi 'l-Damm, unpublished, passage quoted by Muṣṭafā Djawād in the work listed *infra*, 52. In the section following we shall consider only those treatises which, either wholly or in part, are devoted specifically and explicitly to the *futuwwa*, with the reservations noted in the article. The earliest is that of Sulamī (about 400/1010), ed. Fr. Taeschner, *As-Sulamī's Kitab al-Futuwwa*, in *Studia Orientalia Joanni Pedersen ... dicata*, Copenhagen 1953, which is followed by some special sections on the *futuwwa* in the larger works of mysticism or *muruwwa* of Thaʿālibī (Brockelmann, I, 286), of ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī (Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *op. cit.*, *infra*, 10), of Ibn Djadawayh (ed. Taeschner in *Documenta Islamica Inedita* [*Festschrift R. Hartmann*], 1952) and of Ḳushayrī (*Risāla*, see R. Hartmann, *al-Kuschairis Darstellung des Sufitums*, Türk. Bibl. XVIII, Berlin 1914). In the following century appeared the critical chapter of Ibn al-Djawzī in his *Talbīs Iblīs*, ed. Cairo 1340, 421-2. But it was naturally around the caliph al-Nāṣir that works on *futuwwa* especially developed. The most notable of these is the *Basṭ madad al-tawfīḳ* of the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Miʿmār (and not ʿAmmār, as has been read until recently), which was studied by Thorning (see *infra*) as early as 1913, though its attribution to al-Nāṣir's circle was only established by P. Kahle in his article *Die Futuwwa-Bündnisse des Kalifen al-Nasir*, in *Festschrift Georg Jacob*, 1932; the last-named writer has now, under the same title, produced a German translation of the work in his *Opera Minora*, 1956; the same text has been published with a scholarly introduction, under the title *K. al-Futuwwa*, by Muṣṭafā Djawād and Muḥammad al-Hilālī (with two other collaborators), Baghdād 1958, who have established the true name of the author. To the writings of al-Nāṣir's circle belong also the *Tuḥfat al-Waṣāyā* of Ilyās al-Khartaburtī analysed by Taeschner in *Islamica*, v (1932), and published in facsimile with Turkish translation by Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı in his *Islam ve Türk illerinde fütüvvet teşkilatı ve kaynakları*, in *Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xi (1952) (the French edition of the same review, *Revue d'Histoire Economique*, reproduces the introduction), and a treatise, the precursor of a series in Persian, by al-Nāṣir's spiritual adviser, Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar Suhrawardī, analysed by Fr. Taeschner in *Oriens*, xv (1962), in which he refers to another treatise by the same author. Moreover, P. Kahle has extracted from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Sāʿī, ed. Muṣṭ. Djawād, 227 ff., and translated and studied the text of the caliph's decree of 604/1207 on the reorganization of the *futuwwa*, *Der Futuwwa-Erlass des Kalifen al-Nasir*, in *Festschrift Oppenheim* (=Beiheft I zum Archiv f. Orientforschung, 1932). For subsequent works after al-Nāṣir's time, see the second part of this article.

As has been said, the first European writer to have noted—in however fortuitous and digressive a manner—the existence of the *futuwwa* was J. v. Hammer-Purgstall, in his article *Sur la chevalerie des Arabes*, in *JA*, 1849 (mainly following Ibn al-Furāt). After him, however, it was in fact H. Thorning who, from an entirely different approach, inaugurated the study of the *futuwwa*, to which P. Kahle in the articles enumerated above made decisive contributions; but the principal specialist, to whom we are indebted for a mass of information and ideas, has for over thirty years been Franz Taeschner. This scholar has from time to time undertaken various restatements of the problem, the last general one being his *Futuwwa, eine gemeinschaftbildende Idee im mittelalterlichen Orient und ihre verschiedene Erscheinungsformen*, in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, lii (1956), 122-58; nevertheless, although in this article the author has on certain points completed and modified his earlier expositions, the latter should still be consulted for detailed information, particularly his principal works: *Die islamischen Futuwwabünde, das Problem ihrer Entstehung und die Grundlinien ihrer Geschichte*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxvii (1933); *Futuwwa-studien*, in *Islamica*, v (1932); *Der Anteil des Sufismus an der Formung des Futuwwaideals*, in *Isl.*, xxiv (1937); *Islamisches Ordensrittertum zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, in *Die Welt als Geschichte*, iv (1938); *Das Futuwwarittertum des islamischen Mittelalters*, in *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Leipzig 1944 (not to mention his contributions on the later Turkish *futuwwa* and the *akhīs*, for which see below). More recently, critical views of varying validity have been expressed by G. Salinger, *Was the Futuwwa an oriental form of Chivalry?*, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xciv (1950). A valuable and illuminating study of social psychology has been made by L. Massignon, *La futuwwa ou pacte d'honneur entre les travailleurs musulmans au Moyen Age*, in *La Nouvelle Clio*, 1952. After bringing to light certain details concerning *Les Débuts de la futuwwa d'al-Nasir*, in *Oriens*, 1953, Cl. Cahen has attempted, by a more complete use of historical information, to further our knowledge of the *futuwwa* organizations as an organic part of oriental urban society, in his *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie Musulmane du Moyen Age*, in *Arabica*, 1958-9 (also printed separately, 1959; abridged German version: *Zur Geschichte der städtischen Gesellschaft im islamischen Orient des Mittelalters*, in *Saeculum*, ix (1958), 59-76), and quite recently the *fityān* of Khurāsān have attracted the attention of C. E. Bosworth in *The Ghaznevids*, Edinburgh 1963, chap. VI. Of the Arab scholars, besides the contributions of Muṣṭafā Djawād reproduced in the introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Miʿmār, we should add S. ʿAfīfī, *al-Malāmatiyya wa 'l-Ṣūfiyya wa ahl al-futuwwa*, Cairo 1364/1945. For the Turkish scholars, who for the most part have concerned themselves with the Turkish period of the *futuwwa*, see below.

The *fatā*, in its ancient Arab form, has been the subject of expositions, for example in Bishr Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, ʿUmar al-Dasūḳī, *al-Futuwwa ʿind al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1953, and M. Bravmann, *On the spiritual background of Early Islam*, in *Muséon*, lxiv (1951).

(Cl. Cahen)

Post-Mongol Period

(i) Survival of the courtly *futuwwa* after the Mongol Invasion.

When Hülegü, the grandson of Čingiz Khān, conquered Baghdād in 1258, putting a bloody end to the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, he also dealt a blow to the *futuwwa* organization, which the Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh had reformed and brought to new greatness by introducing it into courtly life. *Futuwwa* writings, which had come into being under al-Nāṣir, survived for a time to the extent of entries in the great encyclopaedias (here I would mention the Persian encyclopaedia *Nafāʾis al-funūn fī masāʾil al-ʿuyūn* of Āmulī, and the *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kāshānī), which have a chapter on *futuwwa*, giving extracts from the *Kitāb al-Futuwwa* of the Ḥanbalī *faḳīh* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Shārim (?), known as Ibn al-Miʿmār, which was written for the *futuwwa* circles of the caliph al-Nāṣir. But it is doubtful whether this literary survival was matched by any actual survival of the organizational *futuwwa* in its courtly form.

For some time, however, the courtly *futuwwa* did in fact persist in Egypt. This was connected with the move of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate to that country under the Mamlūk sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars (658-676/1260-1277). Before he left for Damascus on 19 Ramaḍān 659/18 August 1261, the ʿAbbāsid prince who had fled to him, and whom he recognized as Caliph al-Mustanṣir II, clothed him with the "garment of the *futuwwa*" (*libās al-futuwwa*). After Mustanṣir II had been killed on his unsuccessful campaign against the Mongols, a second supposed ʿAbbāsid descendant arrived in Cairo, and was in turn recognized by Baybars as the Caliph al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh, and Baybars in his turn now bestowed on him the "garment of the *futuwwa*". Baybars's successors maintained the investiture with the "garment of the *futuwwa*" for some time. They invested Mamlūk *amīrs* and foreign princes with it, issuing the relevant documents, *e.g.*, that made out for the Mamlūk sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl in 691/1292 in respect of the Kurdish prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Hakkārī. Mamlūk *amīrs* who had received the *futuwwa* showed this in their coat of arms. As time went on, however, interest in the *futuwwa* seems to have waned. During the 8th/14th century, or at the latest during the 9th/15th, courtly *futuwwa* appears to have become extinct even in Egypt—at least, no more is heard of it. Only Ḳalḳashandī, in his work *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, makes brief mention of the ceremony of admission, the girding (*shadd*). There are also a few documents opposing the *futuwwa*, written by members of the *ʿulamāʾ*, such as the one by the famous Ḥanbalī reformer Ibn Taymiyya (died 728/1328), but otherwise no further evidence has come to light.

Bibliography: Concerning the Egyptian *futuwwa*: E. Blochet, *Moufazzal ibn Abilfazaïl, Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks* (*Patrologia Orientalis*, xii, treatise iii), Paris 1919, 426 [84]; *Chronicle of Aḥmed ibn ʿAlī al-Maḳrīzī, entitled Kitāb al-Sulūk fī maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. by M. Muṣṭafā Ziada, vol. I, Part 2, Cairo 1936, 459, note 5 (reproduction of Mufaḍḍal's report); Fr. Taeschner, *Eine Futuwwa-Urkunde des Mamlukensultans al-Aschraf Chalīl von 1292*, in *Aus der Geschichte des islamischen Orients* (*Philosophie und Geschichte* 69), Tübingen 1949, 1-15; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, Cairo 1336/1918, 274-9 (reproduction of the above-mentioned *futuwwa* document, and a further one with an introduction); I. Goldziher, *Eine Fetwā gegen die Futuwwa*, in *ZDMG*, lxxiii (1919), 127 f.; J. Schacht, *Zwei neue Quellen zur Kenntnis der Futuwwa*, in *Festschrift Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, 276-87.

(ii) Popular *futuwwa*. The Turkish *Akhīlīk*.

Wherever *futuwwa* once existed, it continued in a different form, by becoming linked with the crafts, and thus, in time, it became the rule of the guilds. This process, occurring in all the countries of the Islamic Orient, is by no means clear, but we know more about its history in Turkey than in most other places. This is due to the fact that here (*i.e.*, in Saldjūḳ Anatolia), it took on a rather interesting form among the urban craftsmen, noticeable because the bearer of the *futuwwa* (Turkish *fütüwwet*), the *fütüwwetdār*, was referred to as *Akhī*; hence the Turkish name *Akhīlīk* (see AKHĪ) for this particular Anatolian form of *futuwwa*.

We know from the historian Ibn Bībī that courtly *futuwwa* did exist in Anatolia. He reports that the Rūm-Saldjūḳ Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I had requested and received the "garment of the *futuwwa*" from the Caliph al-Nāṣir (c. 611/1214). In the time of his successor ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I (616-634/1219-1236), the great Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī—al-Nāṣir's theological adviser—came to Konya as ambassador and, amongst other duties, performed the *futuwwa* rituals. One might be justified in assuming that this contributed to the spread of *futuwwa* in Anatolia, yet this impetus from courtly *futuwwa* does not seem to be solely resonsible for the development of *Akhīlīk*.

The existence of this form of *futuwwa* in Iran can be proved even before that in Anatolia, and everything points to the fact that it must have reached Anatolia from there. This theory is also supported by the cult of Abū Muslim [*q.v.*]—the propagator of the ʿAbbāsid revolt against the Umayyads—who (rather like Sayyid Baṭṭāl [*q.v.*]) became a sort of national hero, first for the Persians and later also for the Turks. However, whilst Sayyid Baṭṭāl was regarded as the model of fighters for the faith—the Ghāzīs—Abū Muslim was the model for the artisans and the lesser people, who formed a corporate body under the name of *Akhī*. According to a widespread tale which was responsible for shaping the picture of Abū Muslim in the imagination of the people, the *Akhīs* led by him—especially those of Marw and Khurāsān—were the ones chiefly concerned with the ʿAbbāsid rising. Even if one regards this as a mythical elaboration of the figure of Abū Muslim, one may still assume that the institution as a popular element in the social structure of Iran dates quite a long way back.

Although there is clearly a connexion between the *futuwwa* and the *Akhīlīk*, there is some question about the earlier Islamic and Iranian antecedents of the *futuwwa* (see above). *Akhī* Faradj Zindjānī (died 457/1065), one of the most famous saints in Iran, is the earliest personality on Iranian soil who is mentioned as an *Akhī*, and he is also revered by the Anatolian *Akhīs* (whose adherence to the *futuwwa* is beyond doubt) as one of their own shaykhs, appearing in their rolls of honour (*silsila*). *Akhī* Faradj Zindjānī is held to be the master of the great Persian poet Niẓāmī, but as the latter was born only in 535/1141 (that is to say 80 years after Zindjānī's death), one can only regard Niẓāmī as a spiritual disciple of the great master.

In the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, when *Akhīlīk* flourished in Anatolia (as is borne out by

numerous documents) it also flourished in Iran. There were a number of *Akhīs* in the time of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī (1252-1334), the ancestor of the Ṣafawid Shāhs, and some of them must be numbered among his own companions and followers. Notable amongst these is *Akhī* Sulaymān of Gilkhʷārān, the father-in-law of the Shaykh. In connexion with these, one should probably also mention a certain *Akhī* Aḥmad al-Muḥibb ..... al-Ardabīlī, by whom we have a *Kitāb al-Futuwwa* in Arabic (which contains, however, only quotations from the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, and sayings concerning generosity). The Ṣafawid *Akhī* tradition may also be the basis of the fact that we find the word *Akhī* (with reduced significance) several times in the *Dīwān* of Khaṭāʾī (*i.e.*, Shāh Ismāʿīl), as a name for followers of the Ṣafawiyya.

Further evidence for the existence of the Iranian institution is to be found in the work of the great Persian Ṣūfī Shaykh and saint Amīr Sayyid ʿAlī b. Shihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī, called ʿAlī II (714-786/1313-1384), entitled *Risāla-i Futuwwatiyya*, in which he not only equates *futuwwa* and *taṣawwuf* (and where the 'possessor of the *futuwwa*', the *futuwwatdār*, is referred to by the name of *Akhī*), but where there is also clear reference to the institution as such.

Like the Anatolian *Akhīs*, the Iranian ones occasionally intervened in politics. This can be seen from the example of Akhīdjūḳ [*q.v.*] who gained power in Tabrīz and Ādharbāydjān for three years (758-760/1357-59), until the Djalāʾirid Shaykh Uways conquered Tabrīz.

Bibliography: Concerning *Akhī* writing see [besides the works mentioned in the article AKHĪ (Nāṣirī, Gülshehrī)] the following: *Gülşehrī, Manṭiḳuʾṭ-ṭayr*, a facsimile edition with an introduction by Agâh Sırrı Levend, Ankara 1957 (the relevant *fütüwwet* chapter at 180 ff.); Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Burgâzî vé "Fütüvvet-Nâme" si*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (1953), 76-153, transliterated edition with an introduction. Concerning Abū Muslim: I. Mélikoff-Sayar, *Abu Muslim, patron des Akhis* (in *Akten des xxiv. intern. Orientalisten-Kongresses, München*, Munich 1957, 419-21). Concerning the institution in Iran: Fr. Taeschner, *Spuren für das Vorkommen des Achitums ausserhalb von Anatolien*, in *Proceedings of the Twenty-second Congress of Orientalists, held in Istanbul Sept. 15th to 22nd 1951*, vol. II, Leiden 1957, 273-77; H. W. Duda, *ʿImāduddīn Faqīh und die Futuwwa*, in *ArO*, vi (1933), 112-24; B. Nikitine, *Essai d'Analyse du Ṣafvat-uṣ-Ṣafā* [of Ibn Bazzāz, died 773/1371-72], in *JA*, 1957, 385-94 (particularly 393, *Akhīs* in the entourage of Shaykh Ṣafī); concerning *Akhī* Aḥmad al-Muḥibb al-Ardabīlī cf. *Islamica*, v (1932), 314, under no. 5; A. K. Borovkov, *K istorii bratstva "Achi" v Sredney Azii* (Concerning the history of the *Akhī* constitution in Central Asia), in *Akademiku V. A. Gordlevskomu ... sbornik statey*, Moscow 1953, 87 ff.; Fr. Taeschner, *Der Achidschuk von Tebriz und seine Erwähnung im Iskendernāme des Aḥmedī*, in *Charisteria Orientalia* (Festschrift Jan Rypka), Prague 1956, 338-44.

(iii) *Futuwwa* as a system of guilds.

There have probably always been guilds (*ṣinf*, [*q.v.*], pl. *aṣnāf*, Turkish *esnaf*) in the towns of the Islamic Orient. This is also indicated by the fact that whereas individual trades are scattered all over the town in the Occident, those in the Orient are grouped around the market area in streets bearing their name. In the absence of clear evidence, one cannot state with any certainty what the organization of the guilds was like in the Middle Ages, and whether there has always been a link with the *futuwwa*. The few guild documents which we do possess are of a relatively more recent date (at the earliest of the 9th/15th century): that is to say, dating from the era of the great Ottoman expansion which grew until its rule extended over three continents. In the documents of the guild records, there is a corresponding prominence of Turkish writings with evidence of their having influenced the Arabic.

These guild documents, now generally referred to as *Fütüwwet-nāmes*, primarily—not to say exclusively—deal with the organization of the guilds. The numerous catechisms which survive, collections of questions put to the apprentice who was being examined and their answers, are exclusively concerned with matters of organization and ritual and not with questions of training in the trades. From these, it appears that it is not only the *Akhīlik*, as we know it from its writings, which is responsible for the organization of guilds as a *futuwwa* union; the documents differ in several respects, so that it appears probable that other *futuwwa* groups also exerted their influence over the guilds.

The so-called "Great *fütüwwetnāma*" (*fütüwwetnāme-i kebīr*) of Sayyid Meḥmed b. Sayyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ḥüseynī al-Raḍawī, dated 931/1524, the full title of which is *Miftāḥ al-daḳāʾiḳ*, is the most important of these documents. It describes the *fütüwwet* customs of the guilds in full detail, and from this it appears that the *fütüwwet* of the guilds had nine grades (whereas that of the *Akhīlik* had three). The first three of these, *nāzil*, *nīm-ṭarīḳ*, and *meyān-beste*, may be taken to correspond to the three grades of a trade: apprentice (*terbiye*, or *čıraḳ*), journeyman (*ḳalfa*), and master (*usta*), which do not, however, appear under these names in the *fütüwwetnāme*. The next three grades (that is to say, 4 to 6), are those of the master of ceremonies, the *naḳīb*: *bīshrewīsh* (*i.e.*, the assistant of the *naḳīb*), *naḳīb*, and head *naḳīb* (*naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ*); the three top grades (7 to 9), are those of the Shaykh: the representative (*khalīfe*) of the shaykh, also known as *Akhī*, the *Shaykh*, and the Supreme Shaykh (*shaykh al-shuyūkh*). The *Akhī*, therefore, is the seventh grade in the hierarchy of this particular guild *fütüwwet*.

There is a further difference: whereas the *Akhīlik* shows a division into two classes, the *fütüwwetnāmes* of the guilds give evidence of a division into three: *Ḳawlī*, *Shürbī* and *Seyfī*. Thus there is an intermediate class between the lowest members—those who are committed by their word only—and the full members—those who have received the accolade; this is the class of those who have partaken of the ritual cup.

A further interesting custom of the guild-*fütüwwet* is the one by which the novice, or apprentice—the *nāzil*—chooses not only a master as "Patron of the Journey" (*yol atasī*), but at the same time he has to chose two "Brothers of the Journey" (*yol kardeshleri*)—apparently from among the older apprentices—who are to assist him along the path of the *fütüwwet*.

A further thing which emerges clearly from almost every page of the "Great *fütüwwetnāme*" of Sayyid Meḥmed b. Sayyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, is its decidedly Shīʿī (and more specifically "Twelver" Shīʿī, Imāmī) character. Doubtless this is because at the time when it was written, at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the "Twelver" Shīʿa enjoyed a

time of expansion because of the Ṣafawiyya, and this led to the foundation of the new Persian Empire. It threatened to spread also to Ottoman territory, until Sultan Selīm I put an end to the threat of the new Shīʿī Persians by his campaign against Shāh Ismāʿīl, over whom he won the victory of Čāldirān [*q.v.*] in 1514. This was also the time when the Shīʿī order of the Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*] was organized by Bālim Sulṭān. There are, in fact, some points of contact between the "Great *fütüwwetnāme*" of Sayyid Meḥmed, and the Bektāshiyya: a number of the *terdjümān*—the short verses mentioned there which were recited or sung at the celebrations of the guilds —can also be found in the book *Mirʾāt al-maḳāṣid fī dafʿ al-mafāsid* of Sayyid Aḥmad Rifʿat, which describes the Bektāshī ceremonies.

There appear to be only a few complete manuscripts of the "Great *fütüwwetnāme*" of Sayyid Meḥmed. There are, however, shorter guild extracts in all libraries, and these are usually also called "*fütüwwetnāme*". They are generally excerpts from the "Great *fütüwwetnāme*". One may therefore assume that every guild compiled its own little *fütüwwetnāme* from that source. It is worth noting that the Shīʿī character of the original no longer emerges in these. This fact reflects a trend in the history of religion of the Ottoman Empire where—after earlier indecision between Sunnī and Shīʿī—the Sunnī creed progressively gained ground from the days of Selīm I onwards. Arabic *futuwwa* writings (discussed by Thorning in a study which has become an indispensable basis for all work on *futuwwa*) also seem to be based on the Turkish "Great *fütüwwetnāme*" of Sayyid Meḥmed, and to represent Arabic translations of excerpts from this work.

Whilst there were other *futuwwa* traditions besides *Akhīlik* in most of the guilds whose rule was Sayyid Meḥmed's "Great *fütüwwetnāme*", there was also a group of guilds which must be regarded as the direct continuation of *Akhīlik*, namely the tanners and all trades concerned with the treatment of leather, such as saddlers and cobblers. All these paid homage to their *pīr* Akhī Ewrān [*q.v.*], properly Evren, an *Akhī* saint of Kïrshehir in Central Anatolia (south-east of Ankara), who is himself said to have been a tanner. They did not use Sayyid Meḥmed's "Great *fütüwwetnāme*" as their rule, but the original *fütüwwetnāme* of the *Akhīs*, which is that of Yaḥyā b. Khalīl al-Burghāzī. There is, however, in most of these manuscripts which come from tanner circles, an appendix informing the reader of the more modern terms, and these are the terms familiar to us from Sayyid Meḥmed's "Great *fütüwwetnāme*". Thus there is evidence that influence was exerted by the *fütüwwet* tradition represented by the latter over the *Akhī* tradition kept up by the tanners.

For their part, the tanners, thanks to their *Akhī* tradition, could exert their own influence over the other guilds, particularly as they had a firm and centralized organisation which had its centre at the grave of their patron saint Akhī Evren in Ḳïrshehir. At this place there was a *tekye* whose guardian, called Akhī Baba [*q.v.*], was taken to be a descendant of Akhī Evren, and regarded (admittedly only in the Turkish provinces of the Ottoman Empire, Anatolia, Rumelia, Bosnia and even the Crimea, but not in the Arab provinces) as the head of all the tanners in the Ottoman Empire. This Akhī Baba, or his representative, travelled through the provinces every year, receiving the apprentices into the guild. The main part of this ceremony was their girding with the belt (*ḳushaḳ ḳushatmasï*). Naturally, such ceremonies brought a certain income, and this formed the financial basis of the organization. The Akhī Babas succeeded in gaining the privilege of girding the apprentices of other guilds as well, and thus they gained a position of considerable power among the craftsmen of the ancient Ottoman Empire. Akhī Evren thus became *pīr* not only of the tanners but of the whole of the Turkish guilds. This position of the Akhī Babas of Ḳïrshehir was repeatedly confirmed by edict and, on the whole, the Ottoman sultans protected the guilds and their organizations. These were useful to them on several counts: firstly, they supplied not only the general populace, but in particular the armies on their campaigns, and secondly they were a reserve of men—some of the guilds were bound to do military service; in the earliest days, the guilds were also the only means of reaching the whole population of the Empire. This was the purpose of the occasional processions of the guilds. Ewliyā Čelebi describes one which took place under Murād IV in 1048/1638. Such gatherings gave the ruler a picture of the military and economic strength of his country.

There were, however, some protests from *ʿulemāʾ* circles, both against the Shīʿī leanings of the "Great *fütüwwetnāme*" by Sayyid Meḥmed, and against the Akhī Evren cult of the tanners. A learned man by name of Münīrī (Ibrāhīm b. Iskandar) Belghrādī wrote a book entitled *Niṣāb al-intisāb wa-ādāb al-iktisāb*, attacking these things and presenting the crafts from the strictly Sunnī point of view. The book was of no avail; probably it never even reached the hands of those for whom it was intended.

There is a great amount of important documentation concerning the guilds (including their rules and regulations) in Turkish archives, the major part of which has not been studied.

The European provinces, including those inhabited by other races, like Bosnia, took part in the general development of the Turkish guilds; they also relied on the same writings.

As has already been mentioned, the "Great *fütüwwetnāme*" of Sayyid Meḥmed b. Sayyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was also the accepted authority in the Arabic provinces of the Ottoman Empire. There, the guilds used extracts, written in Arabic, and adapted them to their special needs. This is the material on which H. Thorning based his epoch-making work. There is a description of the guilds in Damascus in 1883 by Elia Qoudsî, from which it becomes clear that the organization at that time was still essentially the same as that which we know to have existed among the Turkish guilds.

A valuable document concerning the *fütüwwet* as an organization of the guilds comes from Persia. This is the *Fütüwwetnāme-i sulṭānī* of the well known writer Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (died 910/1505), a nephew of the famous poet Djāmī. Unfortunately only one manuscript has so far come to light; it is in the British Museum, but is incomplete and still awaits an editor. One may hope, though, that further manuscripts of this important work, and of others concerning the *futuwwa* and the guild organizations, will emerge from the still largely unexplored libraries of Iran.

In Turkestan also it can be shown that *futuwwa* is at the basis of the guild organizations. The eastern Turkish guild treatises (of which there was quite a number in the collection of the Berlin orientalist Martin Hartmann), are generally called *risāla*. It has recently been shown that there is even a reference to the Anatolian saint of the guild,

Akhī Evren. Thus the effects of his cult stretched as far as Turkestan.

In the course of the 19th century, with the influx of European goods and the expansion of the European type of commerce, the guild-organizations fell into decay in all states of the Islamic Orient. For this reason it has been gradually abolished in all countries of the Islamic world. In Turkey, it was discontinued in Young Turk times, and replaced by chambers of commerce (by a law of 13 February 1325 *mālī*/26 Feb. 1910; chambers of commerce were instituted in 1943). A few surviving features were abolished in the time of the Turkish Republic. With this, therefore, the organization of the *futuwwa* also came to an end.

In the Arabic dialect of Egypt, *futuwwa* means "ruffian"; cf. the *Mudhakkirāt futuwwa*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1927, written in colloquial Arabic.

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al-**FUWAṬĪ** [see ibn al-fuwaṭī].

FUYŪDJ, pl. of faydj, (from Persian *payk*), is the name not only of the couriers of the government *Barīd* [*q.v.*], but also of the commercial mail serving the population at large. This term was common all over North Africa and Egypt during the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, while on the Egypt-Syria route the word *kutubī*, letter-bearer, was used. Occasionally, *rasūl* appears in the same sense, although the latter is more regularly applied to special messengers (see below).

Since only a few letters written in Arabic script on paper have been published, for the time being our information about the *fuyūdj* is derived exclusively from the letters of the Geniza [*q.v.*], which are written in the Arabic language but in Hebrew script.

In addition to carrying letters between the cities of a country, the *fuyūdj* provided the international mail services during the winter, when the sea was closed, and in midsummer, since the ships used to sail in convoys in spring time and in the autumn. As with the *Barīd*, one and the same man would carry the dispatches entrusted to him from the starting point to the final destination, *e.g.*, from al-Ḳayrawān to Cairo, or even from Almeria, Spain, to Alexandria. For the task of the *fuyūdj* was of a confidential nature. The names of the *fuyūdj* (mostly Muslim, some Jewish) are often referred to in a way which indicates that they must have been personally known to the addressee, albeit coming from a distant country.

No traces of any guild organization of the *fuyūdj* have been found thus far, but the times for their departures and arrivals must have been more or less fixed. The Geniza letters suppose that there was a weekly service between Cairo and Tyre (and presumably also other Syro-Lebanese-Palestinian cities, see below), while that between Cairo and al-Ḳayrawān also was regular, but dependent on the caravans, which, in normal years, seem to have made the double journey three times during one winter.

As to the speed of this service, the way between Cairo and Alexandria required four days approximately. A letter from the Egyptian capital to Ascalon, Palestine, took twelve days, while those carried between Tunisia and Egypt required from one to

two and a half months, depending on the length of the stay of the caravans in each of the localities visited by them (which stay was used by the *fuyūdj* for collecting additional mail).

The cost of the forwarding of a letter from Jerusalem to Ramle was half a *dirham*, that from Alexandria to Cairo one *dirham* exactly, that from Almeria to Alexandria, referred to above, one and a half *dirhams*, four letters being sent to the same address. These prices are indicated in the letters preserved because payment was to be made after delivery. The prices were certainly not fixed, but probably customary.

The payments to special messengers, called *rasūl*, of which three cases have been traced thus far, were up to fifty times as high as those made to *fuyūdj*. A service midway between the latter, who moved too slowly, and the special messengers, who were too expensive, was provided by the *faydj ṭayyār*, or express courier. The request *tuṭayyir lī kitābak*, "fly your letter to me", most probably refers not to carrier pigeons, but to this express service. Carrier pigeons might have been intended in another letter, in which the addressee is asked to send a *barā'*, or release, *ma'a'l-ṭayr*, "with the birds", possibly a technical term, parallel to the usual request to send a letter either *bi 'l-marākib*, "by boat" or *ma'a 'l-fuyūdj*, "with the mail couriers".

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FUẒŪLĪ [see FUḌŪLĪ].

FYZABAD [see FAYḌĀBĀD].

G

GABAN, properly Gabnopert (cf. Abu 'l-Faradj, *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bruns, 329 and Καπνίσκερτι φρουρίον, Cinnamus, i, 8), an Armenian mountain stronghold on the Tekir-Su, a tributary of the Djayhān, now called Geben and belonging to the *ilçe* of Enderin in the *il* of Maraş. Here the kings of Armenia kept their treasures and retired in case of need; the last king Leon VI de Lusignan entrenched himself here in 776/1374, for example, but had to surrender after a siege of nine months to the Mamlūk Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān.

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GABÈS [see ḲĀBIS].

GABON, one of the few African countries into which Islam was introduced in the colonizer's baggage-train. It was in 1843 that the first Senegalese soldiers (Wolofs or Tukulors) were stationed with the garrison of Fort d'Aumale and then in the camp on the plateau at Libreville; some of these soldiers, on the completion of their service, chose to settle in Gabon where for the most part they went into trade along the Ogoué, the Ngounié or the Fernan Vaz lagoon. They married Gabon women who remained Christian, and their children generally attended the Catholic school of the St. Mary mission.

A garrison of colonial infantry mainly composed of riflemen who were natives of Senegal and French Sudan meant the constant introduction of new Muslim contingents, but they stayed two or three years and then returned to their country. Hausa and Dyula pedlars and shopkeepers had to replace these soldiers. Some of these Muslims acted as professional fortune-tellers or witch-doctors, taking advantage of the credulity of the peasants in the bush.

It is not possible to speak of autochthonous Islam; the total number of converts in Gabon does not exceed a few dozen.

The statistics for 1959, given in the year-book of missions in the apostolic prefecture of Dakar, arrived at a total (probably an under-estimate) of 2,000 Muslims (1090 in the prefecture of the estuary, 266 in the Woleu Ntem, 175 in maritime Ogoué, 80 in Ogoué Ivindo, 31 in the Ngounié, 21 in the Ogoué-Lolo, 10 in the Nyanga and 4 in Upper Ogoué).

The paucity of Muslims is matched by the small number of mosques, one at Port Gentil, one at Lambaréné, two at Libreville, the biggest of which was built at the expense of the French Government.

The Muslims in Gabon, representing 0.4% of the population, were of importance only during the colonial period in the capacity of subordinates in the administration. They still play a certain part as a commercial bourgeoisie.

Bibliography: Some lines in the various works relating to Gabon. The Abbé Raponda-Walker has very kindly furnished the essential features of the information contained in the above article. (R. Cornevin)

GABR, term generally used in Persian literature—with rather depreciative implications—to indicate Zoroastrians. Philologists have not yet reached agreement on its etymology. Several suggestions have been made, *e.g.*, (a) from Hebrew *ḥabher* ("companion") in the sense of *Ḳiddūshīn* 72a; (b) from Aramaeo-Pahlavi *gabrā* (read *mart*), especially in the compounds *mōğ-martān* ("the Magi") (written *mōğ-gabrā-ān*); (c) from a Persian corruption of Arabic *kāfir* ("unbeliever"). The first two etymologies are very improbable, so that the derivation from A. *kāfir* seems the most acceptable. In Persian literature the word takes often the depreciative suffix *-ak* (*gabrak*, pl. *gabrakān*). Persian knows also the form *gawr/gaur*, Kurdish the forms *gebīr* (applied to Armenians), *gawr* (Zoroastrians), *gāvir* (applied to Europeans, especially Russians), Turkish the well-known word *gâvur* (unbeliever). In Persian literature the word is applied only secondarily to "unbelievers" in general, the oldest texts using it especially and technically for Zoroastrians. This, together with the iranization of the Arabic word which probably lies behind it, points to a very old origin—purely "oral"—of the loan, certainly at a period preceding that when Arabic words were introduced in abundance into new-Persian, at the birth of new-Persian *written* literature.

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ed. in 2 vols., Tehrān 1338); A. Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, fasc. 30, Tehrān 1335s./1956, 94-100.

(A. Bausani)

GABRIEL [see djabrā'īl].

GAFSA [see kafṣa].

GAFURI [see ghafūrī, madjīd].

GAGAUZ, a small Turkic tribe speaking a Turkic language but Orthodox Christian in religion. At the present time they are settled in the south of the Moldavian S.S.R. (Bessarabia) in the district of Komrat, Čadîr-Lunga, Kangaz, Tarakliya, Vulkanešti; in the south of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in the district of Zaporože and Odessa (Izmail) and in the district of Rostov in the Russian S.S.R. There are also small Gagauz settlements in Central Asia—in the districts of Kokpektî, Žarma, Čarskiy, Aksuat and Urdžar in the region of Semipalatinsk and in the eastern Kazakh and Pavlodar region of the Kazakh S.S.R. The Gagauz also live in the region of Frunze in the Kirghiz S.S.R. and in the district of Tashkent in the Uzbek S.S.R. The total number of Gagauz in the U.S.S.R. is 124,000 (1959). In Bulgaria the Gagauz occupy the villages in the district of Varna, near Provadya, in the Dobrudja near Kavarna and in the south of Bulgaria in the district of Yambol and Topolovgrad. In Rumania there are only a few Gagauz villages left—and those in the Dobrudja.

The ancestry and origin of the Gagauz are not clear. According to one hypothesis the Gagauz originate from the Kumans or Polovtsians who played an active role in the history of the south Russian steppes until 1237. According to another theory the Gagauz are possibly the descendants of the Torks or Uzes who were related to the Kumans and who are well known to the old Russian chronicles under the name of Black Caps (*čornîye klobuki*) (11th century). These Karakalpaks seem to have been a very mixed tribe; with Russian rule they also adopted the Russian religion (Greek Orthodoxy). Since the Gagauz too are Christian and Orthodox, it is possible to equate them with the Karakalpaks.

Bulgarian scholars, however, consider the Gagauz to be descendants of the Bulgars who were turkicized in the 15th-19th centuries but who retained Orthodox belief.

The most probable hypothesis seems to be the one which regards the Gagauz as descendants of the Turkish-Oghuz tribes (and of the Seldjūķs). The area which was later named the Dobrudja was inhabited in the first half of the 13th century by Turkish tribes and bore the name of Karvuna-land after its capital Karvuna (later Balčîķ). The Byzantines obtained their troops from among the population of that area, especially from among the Uzes. The Oghuz tribes often threatened the security of the Byzantine empire as they joined forces with other tribes during their raids. Byzantium, therefore, had always to beware of them and strove to subject them in order to utilize their forces for itself. In 1261 there appeared at the court of Michael VIII Palaeologus the Seldjūķ Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kā'ūs, who had fled before the Mongols from Anatolia. The Byzantine Emperor enfeoffed him with the possession of land in the Dobrudja, where he established an independent Oghuz state with the capital Karvuna (Balčîķ). The ethnic appelation Gagauz seems to stem from the name Kay Kā'ūs. Greek Orthodoxy was recognized as the dominant religion. Ecclesiastical authority was exercised by the Patriarch of Constantinople through the agency of the exarch in Karvuna. The newly founded state was strengthened by the incorporation of Seldjūķ Turks and created its own army and fleet. As a result of the struggles between the tribes, Balîķ came to the fore and, at the head of the Oghuz tribes, was chosen to be ruler of the state. In 1346 Balîķ took part in the disorders in Constantinople where he sent 1,000 horsemen to the aid of the Regent Anne of Savoy. After the death of Balîķ, Dobrotič came to the throne (1357). In his reign the state was strengthened considerably. Dobrotič increased his fleet. The name Karvuna-land was changed to Dobrotič-land. The form 'Dobrudja' became current at a later date. Dobrotič was followed by Yanko (1386)—according to other sources Ivanko—the last Oghuz ruler. In 1398 he was obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Ottoman Turks. After the fall of the Oghuz state some of the population accepted Islam but the rest remained true to Christianity. With the conquest of Constantinople the Ottoman Sultan recognized the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople as head of all the Christians without reference to their nationality. Although the sources are silent for many years concerning the Gagauz, it must be assumed that they too came under the authority of the Patriarch. There is evidence relevant to this from the year 1652 concerning the decision of the Patriarch to give authority over all towns and villages to the local bishop instead of to the exarch in Karvyna.

From 1750 until 1846 there occurred a migration of the Gagauz of the Balkan peninsula—in connexion with a similar movement by the Bulgars—over the Danube to Russia (until 1769 into the province of New Russia; between 1787 and 1791 and most strongly between 1801 and 1812 to Bessarabia). Initially this went on without any apparent interference from the Russian government, which only later introduced order into the management of the land and the administration. This migration was apparently caused by the oppression of the robber bands (the Daghlî and Ķîrdjalî) of Pasvand-oghlu ʿOthmān [*q.v.*], the notorious Pasha of Vidin, and of Ķara Feyḍī).

Since 1940 the territory of the Bessarabian Gagauz has belonged to the U.S.S.R. In 1949 all the Gagauz villages in the Moldavian and Ukranian S.S.R. were collectivized together with those in Bulgaria and Rumania. The Gagauz work mainly in agriculture, cattle-raising, wine growing and, on the coast, fishing. As a result of being the long-standing neighbours of the Bulgarians, the Gagauz have borrowed much from their way of life, their customs and their domestic activity. The most salient characteristics of the Gagauz are diligence, hospitality, cheerfulness and contentment.

The language of the Gagauz belongs to the southern group of Turkic languages, *i.e.*, it is closest to the Turkish of Turkey, of Ādharbaydjān and of Turkmenistān. Several phonetic features, almost the whole syntax and phraseology as well as most of the morphology and vocabulary of the Gagauz are not Turkish. The following points may be enumerated here:

(1) the softening of consonants before front vowels;
(2) the appearance of the gender suffixes *-ka, -yka*;
(4) syntactically the Gagauz language is completely Slavicized and un-Turkish;
(4) the strong foreign element in the vocabulary (Greek, Rumanian and Slavonic).

For a long time the Gagauz possessed no literature of their own. For ecclesiastical purposes the Greek Church used 'Ķaramanlî' books written in the Turkish language and in the Greek alphabet. These books contain lives of the saints and prayers. By contrast a rich folk poetry has developed, together

with riddles (*bilmeydžä*), proverbs (*söleiš*), folk-songs (*türkü, mani*), stories (*masal*), anecdotes (*fıḳra*) etc. The Gagauz alphabet, based on the Russian with additional letters, was created in the Moldavian S.S.R. in 1957. Since 1958 elementary education in the Gagauz language has been introduced. For this purpose text books are being compiled. Work is gradually going on towards the development of a Gagauz literary language. In Kishinev a Gagauz newspaper is published twice a month as a supplement to the *Moldova Socialistă*.

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(Włodzimierz Zajączkowski.)

GAKKHAŔ, a war-like Muslim tribe, inhabiting mostly the Hazāra district and parts of the districts of Rāwalpindī, Attock and Djehlam (Jhelum) of West Pakistan and that part of the Indian-held territory of Djammū which lies to the west of the Čināb; it is of indigenous origin. Agriculturists by profession, the Gakkhars are considered socially high and stand apart from the local tribes of Rādjpūt descent who resent their arrogance and racial pride. Many of the religious and social ceremonies observed by them reflect Hindu influences. They do not permit remarriage of widows and observe very strict *pardah*. According to their own legends they are descended from Anūshirwān and Yezdegird and claim the title of Kayānī; their eponym is said to have been one Sultan Kaygawhar (later corrupted into Gakkhaŕ), a native of Kayān in Iṣfahān. Cunningham's opinion that they are Kushāns seems nearer the truth, as the territory inhabited by them up to this day (described by Djahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, tr. Rogers, i, 99, ending at the Mārghala pass between Rāwalpindī and Ḥasan Abdāl) was once the stronghold of Buddhism. Buddhism flourished in northern India during the rule of the Kushān dynasty, who were mostly Buddhists. The claim of the Gakkhaŕs that they entered India in the train of Maḥmūd of Ghazna (*reg.* 388-421/998-1030) and that they once ruled Tibet as vassals of the Chinese, is evidently fictitious. According to Firishta (Lucknow ed., 26), it was the Gakkhaŕs (and not the orthographically similar Khokhars) who joined the confederacy of the local Hindū *rādjās* against Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 399/1008. No less than 30,000 Gakkhaŕs "with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons" stormed the camp of the Sultan at Peshāwar but had to suffer badly for their audacity as did the Mēds and the Djāṫs [*q.v.*] of Sind who had harrassed and attacked Maḥmūd's rear on his return from Somnāth in 417/1026.

In 601/1204-5 they rose in revolt against the rule of the Ghūrid Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām, who took strong measures against them and quelled the rebellion with an iron hand. After this crushing defeat they were so thoroughly demoralized that their chief, simply because a Muslim captive had initiated him into the tenets of Islam, willingly became a convert, followed *en masse* by the whole of the tribe soon afterwards. However, this mass conversion was a mere act of expediency as these very Gakkhaŕs, only the next year (602/1205), treacherously fell upon the retreating Sultan *en route* to Ghazna, while he was encamped at Damyak, a small place on the bank of the Djehlam, three-quarters of a mile from modern Sohāwa, and murdered him. The place where he was murdered is still known to the local population as "*Ghūrāṅ dā phaŕ*", *i.e.*, passage of the Ghūrids. Raverty's lengthy discussion (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. i, 485 *n*) on the identification of the tribe to which the Sultan's assassins belonged leaves the question open as Ibn al-Athīr (*sub anno* 602 A.H.) and the *Tādj al-maʾāthir* of Ḥasan Niẓāmī, a contemporary source, describe them as *malāḥida* and *fidāʾīs* (*i.e.*, agents of the Alamūt Ismāʿīlīs), which is somewhat curious in view of the recent conversion of the Gakkhaŕs to Islam. There is, therefore, reason to suppose that the assassins of Muḥammad Ghūrī were most probably Khokhars, who might have turned Ismāʿīlī under the influence of the Carmathians of Multān, their close neighbours. On the other hand since the murder took place in the territory of the Gakkhaŕs there is equally strong reason to suspect them of the crime or of complicity in it, for no strangers to the place could be bold enough to break into the royal camp and murder a powerful Sultan who had not only ravaged their territory and inflicted a crushing defeat on them but was also instrumental in their conversion to Islam. It is also possible that some disgruntled members of the tribe, who had unwillingly abandoned the faith of their forefathers, might have nurtured a grudge against the Sultan and, finding a suitable opportunity, wreaked their vengeance. Here again we are confronted with a difficulty in that history does not record any large-scale defections on the part of the Gakkhaŕs. The *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* (Raverty, i, 485) also says that the Sultan "attained martyrdom at the hand of a disciple of the Mulahidah (*sic*)", who was apparently a Muslim, and not a Hindū as stated by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, i, 412), and al-Djuwaynī (tr. Boyle, i, 326; where 'Hindu' has been wrongly translated as 'Indian'), as he was

found on capture to have been circumcised. He could not, therefore, have been a Khokhar as there is no evidence to prove that the Khokhars had embraced Islam long before the assassination of Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī. Piecing all the recorded evidence together one is led to believe that the assassin was a Gakkhaŕ, smarting under the insult and humility suffered by his tribe. It was the result of a personal vendetta and had no political or religious implications as has been suggested by Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Smirnova, i, 58) and Ibn al-Athīr (*sub anno* 602 A.H.) involving even Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] in the conspiracy.

The Gakkhaŕs continued to harry the Delhi Sultans and in 645/1247 even a peace-loving prince like Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd had to take measures against them. He appointed Balban, who reduced their country, took revenge on them for their continued incursions, chastised them for having allowed passage to the Mongols through their territory and made thousands of them captives. Malik Alṭūniya, who had forcibly married Raḍiyya Sulṭāna, most probably had pressed these very Gakkhaŕs, along with the Djāṫs and other tribes, into an army with which he opposed the forces of the slave king Muʿizz al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh but was defeated. Almost a century later they invaded the Pandjāb in 743/1342, during the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, killed Tatār Khān, the viceroy of Lahore and "completed the ruin of the province". Taking advantage of the disturbed conditions in the wake of Tīmūr's invasion of India (802/1399), they tried to harrass the great conqueror but had to pay dearly for their audacity. They again gave trouble to Bābur [*q.v.*] during his victorious march (932/1525) against the Delhi Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodī. Bābur seized their fort Paŕhālah (now called Phaŕwāla, but mostly in ruins, about 12 miles east of Rāwalpindī), ruled by Hātī Khān, their chief, who had to flee before the onslaught of the Mughals. At the end of 933/1526 Hātī Khān waited on the emperor during his return to the Pandjāb and assisted greatly in procuring supplies for the Mughal army. Bābur fully recognized his services, made him a handsome present and conferred on him the title of Sulṭān (proudly retained by the Gakkhaŕs till the middle of the 18th century when they were subjugated and reduced by the Sikh generals Gudjdjar Singh Bhangī and Ṣāḥib Singh). During the reign of Humāyūn, the Gakkhaŕ chief Sulṭān Sārang gained much prominence. He became so powerful that he struck his own money, included his name in the *khuṭba* and refused to recognise Shēr Shāh Sūr, on the defeat of Humāyūn, as the new sovereign of India. He even obstructed by all the means at his disposal the construction in 948/1541 of the historic Rohtās fort by Shēr Shāh. This act of open hostility coupled with his contumacious behaviour enraged Shēr Shāh who personally led an expedition against him resulting in the rout of the Gakkhaŕs, the capture of Sulṭān Sārang and his subsequent execution. His tomb still exists at Rawāt, near Rāwalpindī. He was succeeded by his brother Sulṭān Ādam, who had several skirmishes with the troops of Islām Shāh Sūr. Ādam was so powerful that in 959/1552 prince Kamrān, the rebel brother of Humāyūn, who had been refused shelter by Islām Shāh, sought refuge with him. He was, however, betrayed and given up to Humāyūn who had him blinded, Ādam receiving robes of honour, kettle-drums and other insignia of nobility as a reward for his treachery (cf. Djawhar Āftābačī, *Tadhkirat al-wāḳiʿāt*, Urdu transl., Karachi 1955, 151-7). Following a family scandal, Sulṭān Ādam had to suffer disgrace at the hands of his own nephew Kamāl Khān, a son of Sulṭān Sārang, who confined him in the fort of Phaŕwāla, where he subsequently died, and hanged his son Lashkar Khān, who had been guilty of an illicit love-affair with the wife of Kamāl Khān's brother. Abu 'l-Faḍl gives a different version omitting all reference to the love-affair and asserting that on a petition from Kamāl Khān, Akbar ordered the division of the Gakkhaŕ territory between him and his uncle Ādam; this resulted in a dispute which culminated in a pitched battle in which Ādam was utterly defeated and captured. This was clearly a stratagem which Akbar employed in order to punish the refractory chief by pitting his own kinsmen against him and to implant his suzerainty firmly in the territory of the Gakkhaŕs (cf. *Akbarnāma*, Bibl. Indica, iii, 560 ff.). In order further to cement his relations with the Gakkhaŕs and to use them as an ally against the turbulent Afghans, Akbar, in accordance with his well-known policy, contracted matrimonial alliances with them. Prince Salīm (sc. Djahāngīr) was married to a daughter of Sayd (Sayyid ?) Khān, a brother of Kamāl Khān. Sayd Khān had fought under the Mughal general Zayn Khān Kōkah against the Afghans in Swāt and Bādjawŕ [*qq.v.*]. Later Awrangzīb also honoured the Gakkhaŕ chief, Allāh Ḳulī Khān (1093-1117/1681-1705), by marrying one of his daughters to his son, Prince Muḥammad Akbar. Thus two Gakkhaŕ ladies, apart from several Rādjpūt princesses, found their way into the Imperial *ḥarem*. Akbar's policy of pacification and reconciliation had its desired effects and we find the Gakkhaŕs leading a peaceful, uneventful life during the major part of the Mughal rule. They seem, however, to have reluctantly accepted the Tīmūrids as their overlords, inasmuch as a celebrated Gakkhaŕ warrior-chief, Muḳarrab Khān, sided with Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*] and took part in the battle of Karnāl (1152/1739), which showed up the cracks in the crumbling fabric of the Mughal empire. As a reward for his services he was confirmed in his possession of the fort of Phaŕwāla and on return to Kābul, Nādir Shāh conferred upon him, as a mark of further favour, the title of Nawwāb. (This seems to have been a personal title as no later Gakkhaŕ chief ever used it). He was defeated by the Sikhs at Gudjrāt [*q.v.*] in 1179/1765 and had to surrender the whole of his possessions up to the Djehlam to the victors. Four years later he was treacherously captured and put to death by a rival chief, Himmat Khān. The Sikhs, finding it a suitable opportunity, annexed the entire Gakkhaŕ territory to the Sikh kingdom of the Pandjāb. Muḳarrab Khān's two elder sons were, however, allowed to retain the Phaŕwāla fort as a *djāgīr*; this too was confiscated in 1234/1818 by the Sikh governor of the area. Chafing under successive insults and acts of expropriation, the Gakkhaŕs revolted in 1835 but were crushed by the Sikhs who put their chieftains—Shādmān Khān and Muddū Khān—along with their families in confinement, where both of them died. On the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849, the British conferred a pension of Rs. 1200 per annum on Ḥayāt Allāh Khān, a son of Shādmān Khān, he and the other members of his family having been released from captivity by the British two years earlier. In 1853 Nādir Khān, the Gakkhaŕ chief of Māndla, joined a Sikh conspiracy against the British. The rising, which might have been serious, was promptly quelled and Nādir Khān was captured and hanged. Apart from this incident

the Gakkhaŕs remained loyal and peaceful; they joined the army and served the British well, who honoured one of their chiefs, Rād̲j̲a D̲j̲ahāndād K̲h̲ān (d. 1906) of Hazāra (K̲h̲ānpur), by conferring upon him the order of C.I.E. The present chief of the tribe is Sulṭān Īrad̲j̲ Zamān K̲h̲ān, an 18-year old youth, who succeeded to the title in October 1963 after the accidental death of his father, a grandson of D̲j̲ahāndād K̲h̲ān.

The Gakkhaŕs are divided into several clans, the leading being: the Būgīyāl, Iskandarāl, Fīrūzāl, Sārangāl and Ādamāl. Of these the last two are more influential and powerful; they are the descendants of Sārang and Ādam respectively, the two chiefs who gained prominence during the reigns of Humāyūn and Akbar. While the Sārangāls are found in Hazāra and Attock, the Ādamāls inhabit the districts of Rāwalpindī and D̲j̲ehlam. As compared with the Gakkhaŕs of Hazāra and D̲j̲ehlam those of the Rāwalpindī district are generally considered the senior and most important branch of the tribe (for details see *Rawalpindi District Gazetteer*, 63 ff.).

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GALATA [see istanbul].

GALATA-SARAY [see g̲h̲alaṭa-sarāyī].

GALEN [see d̲j̲ālīnūs].

GALICIA [see d̲j̲illīḳiya].

GALLA (own name *Oromo*, 'the people'). A people widespread in the modern state of Ethiopia, speaking a language belonging to the Eastern (or Low) Kushitic group which includes ʿAfar-Saho and Somali). They irrupted from the region south of the Webi during the first half of the 16th century, almost contemporaneously with the campaigns of Aḥmad Grāñ [*q.v.*] and spread fanwise, penetrating deeply into the Abyssinian highlands. For long they were a menace to the existence of the Ethiopian state but were finally subjected by Menelik II between 1872 and 1888.

When their expansion began they were all nomadic herdsmen with an elaborate political system based on a cycle of generation-sets (*gada*), but in consequence of their tribal movements and settlement in different environments many groups underwent profound changes. When they first expanded they came into contact first with Islam and then with Ethiopian Christianity. Their gradual and qualified adoption of the one or the other religion was slow, piecemeal, and tribal or regional. Although all the other Hamitic nomads of north-east Africa (Bed̲j̲a, Saho, ʿAfar and Somali) had long been Muslim, and although the important Muslim city of Harar [*q.v.*] and the southern Muslim states of Bali and Dawaro lay in their path, the Galla remained impervious to religious change so long as they remained nomads and their *gada* system intact. But when they settled in contact with Amhara and Sidama they became either Christian or Muslim.

The vast number of tribes forbids any formal classification here, whilst the syncretistic character of their religion, whatever they call themselves, also prevents any clear-cut religious classification. The southernmost Galla, small groups of Warday or Orma of Tanaland in Kenya, detached from the rest by Somali expansion, have adopted Islam in this century. So have many Bōran of northern Kenya. But the nomadic Bōran of southern Ethiopia, occupying a vast territory between the Lake Stephanie region and the River D̲j̲uba, and those Arsi (Arūsi in Amharic), living to the north of the Bōran between the Somali of Ogaden and the Sidama, who continue to maintain a pastoral nomadic life, remain pagan. Some Arsi are Muslim and in their territory lies the famous Muslim-pagan pilgrimage sanctuary of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥusayn. Muslims are the northernmost Galla of the highlands (Yed̲j̲u and Raya or Azebo), who inhabit a region once occupied by a Muslim population known as Dobʿa, and the Wallo, covering a wide area of the eastern highlands north of the Tulama, who played an important part in the history of the empire in the 18th and 19th centuries, during which many embraced Christianity. Among the Shoan Galla (collectively known as Tulama) Christianity prevails. The Galla who penetrated the Gibē region of south-west Ethiopia, where they mingled with Sidama, were transformed in form of government, forming a group of five monarchical-type states (D̲j̲imma, Limmu, Gera, Gomma and Guma), and became Muslim between 1820 and 1870. Many of the Macha tribes (*e.g.*, Nonno) to the north of these states have Muslim minorities. In the west the Leqa Galla of the Waleqa region are pagan, very few being influenced by Islam, whilst the chiefs are generally Christian. In the south-east the sections who live in the Harar region became Muslim during the last century: Nolē and D̲j̲aso north of Harar, Ala around the city, Itu to the west, and Ania (Ennia) to the south.

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GALLIPOLI [see gelibolu].

GAMBIA, British Colony and Protectorate, West Africa, 13° 25′ N., 16° W.; 4,000 square miles in extent with a population of about 260,000. It forms a narrow enclave in the surrounding territory of Senegal, occupying both banks of the Gambia river to a distance of 200 miles from the coast and being nowhere more than 39 miles broad. The principal tribal groups are Mandingo, Fula and Wollof.

The country is entirely agricultural, millet and rice providing the staple food of the people. The main economic crop is groundnuts, which accounts for nine-tenths of the revenue in an average year. There is no mining and apparently no mineral wealth. The only town is the capital Bathurst (population, 20,000). Under the constitution introduced in May 1962, the country has attained full internal self-government, the prime minister being Mr. D. Jawara the leader of the People's Progressive Party. A measure of union with Senegal is under active consideration (1964).

The British trading interest in the Gambia dates from early in the seventeenth century, and from 1662, when the fort on James Island was seized from the Duke of Courland, the succession of British African Companies maintained permanent occupation of one or more trading posts. The eighteenth century was a period of intense commercial rivalry with the French, who had established a factory at Albreda on the north bank and were not finally excluded from the river until 1857. Bathurst was founded in 1816 to provide an additional base for the campaign against the slave trade.

At least four-fifths of the indigenous population are Muslim. Islam was first introduced in the period from the 5th/11th to the 8th/14th century but conversion remained very superficial until towards the close of the eighteenth century, and the present strength of orthodoxy dates only from the period of the "marabout" wars, about a hundred years ago. All Gambia Muslims follow the Mālikī school of law and most of them are attached to one of two Ṣūfī orders, the Ḳādiriyya or the Tid̲j̲āniyya, the latter being dominant, at least on the lower river. In some areas literacy in Arabic is not uncommon. Protestant and Catholic missions have been at work for more than a century, but there are very few Christians outside Bathurst.

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(D. H. Jones)

GAMES [see LAʿB].

GANĀFA [see D̲J̲ANNĀBA].

GANDĀPUR, the name of a Pathan tribe which lives in the Dāmān area of the Dēra Ismāʿīl K̲h̲ān district of Pakistan. The tribe is now, for the most part, absorbed in the population of the area.

The tribe descended from the Afghan highlands to the plains of Dāmān during the 17th century. The centre of their winter quarters developed into a town in the 19th century, probably because of the trading activities of the tribesmen between K̲h̲urāsān and India. This town is at present called Kulāčī.

The Gandapūr tribe took part in Pathan tribal wars during the 18th century but under British rule the tribe became settled and peaceful, mixing with other Pashto-speaking settlers. The origin of the name is unknown, as is the history of the people.

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GAND̲J̲A, Arab. D̲J̲ANZA, the former ELIZAVETPOL, now KIROVABAD, the second largest town in the Azerbaijan S.S.R.

The town was first founded under Arab rule, in 245/859 according to the *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bāb al-abwāb* (V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, 25 and 57). It is not mentioned by the oldest Arabic geographers like Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih and Yaʿḳūbī; it seems to have taken its name from the pre-Muslim capital of Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān (now the ruins of Tak̲h̲t-i-Sulaymān). Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 187 and 193, mentions Gand̲j̲a only as a small town on the road from Bard̲h̲aʿa [*q.v.*] to Tiflīs; according to him the distance between Bard̲h̲aʿa and Gand̲j̲a was 9 *farsak̲h̲*, according to Yāḳūt (ii, 132) 16 *farsak̲h̲*. After the decline of Bard̲h̲aʿa Gand̲j̲a became the capital of Arrān; the S̲h̲addādid dynasty ruled here from *ca.* 340/951-2; after it had been overthrown by Sultan Malik S̲h̲āh, the latter's son Muḥammad was granted Gand̲j̲a in fief. In 533/1138-9 the town was destroyed by an earthquake in which, according to ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, there perished some 300,000 persons (130,000 according to Ibn al-At̲h̲īr), including the wife and children of Ḳara-Sonḳur, *amīr* of Ādharbayd̲j̲ān and Arrān, who was absent at the time; Demetrius, king of Georgia, sacked the ruined town and carried off one of its gates. ʿImād al-Dīn says that the Georgians built a new town in their country, gave it the name D̲j̲anza and set up the gate they had carried off there; soon afterwards Ḳara-Sonḳur destroyed the new town and brought the gate back to Gand̲j̲a. The latter statement does not agree with the facts; the gate that was carried off still exists in the Gelathi monastery in Kutais; a Georgian inscription gives an account of its removal; and there has also survived on the gate itself an Arabic inscription of the year 455/1063 (the year of its erection) which has been deciphered by Frähn (Mém. de l'Acad., 6th Ser., *Sciences politiques*, iii, 531 ff.).

Ḳara-Sonḳur died in 535/1140-1, his successor Čavlī in D̲j̲umādā I 541/9 October-7 November 1146; Rawādī is next mentioned as ruler of Arrān; but a few years later we find Arrān reunited with Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān under the rule of the Ildegizids. The town of Gand̲j̲a is said to have been rebuilt by Ḳara-Sonḳur "in all its splendour"; in the 7th/13th century it was considered one of the most beautiful cities of Western Asia (cf. the verses in the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, *GMS*, 91); the poet Niẓāmī Gand̲j̲awī [*q.v.*] belongs to this period; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr (xii, 251) calls Gand̲j̲a "mother of the cities of Arrān". When the Mongols appeared before Gand̲j̲a in 618/1221, they did not dare to attack the strongly fortified town, the inhabitants of which had proved their courage in frequent battles with the Georgians; but the retreat of the enemy had to be purchased with money and clothstuffs. In 622/1225 Gand̲j̲a, whither the last Ildegizid, Öz-Beg [*q.v.*], had fled from Tabrīz, was taken by Sultan D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn K̲h̲ʷārizms̲h̲āh [*q.v.*]; a few years later all the K̲h̲ʷārizmīs were massacred in a rebellion of the inhabitants; nevertheless, after suppressing this rising D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn refused to allow his troops to sack the town and only had the ringleaders, 30 in all, executed (618/1231). Four years later (1235) the town was captured and burned by the Mongols. On this occasion also it was soon rebuilt but does not seem to have attained great importance again. Under the Il-K̲h̲āns Arrān with Gand̲j̲a as its capital was one of their provinces; the land afterwards usually shared the lot of Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān and from the reign of Ismāʿīl S̲h̲āh Ṣafawī [*q.v.*] onwards formed part of the Persian kingdom; under Persian rule the governor of Gand̲j̲a bore the title of K̲h̲ān. In 991/1583 K̲h̲ān Imām Ḳulī was defeated by

the Turks, who in 996/1588 captured the town itself; invested in Shawwāl 1014/February-March 1606 by Shāh ʿAbbās I it was recovered for the Persians after a six months' siege. Shāh ʿAbbās transferred the town to another site about 1 *farsakh* "higher", *i.e.*, to the south-west. The new Gandja was captured by the Turks in 1135/1723; regained by Nādir Shāh in 1148/1735 it remained after his death under the rule of Khāns who were practically independent, passed at the end of the 18th century into the power of the Ḳādjārs and was stormed on the 3rd (15th) January 1804 by the Russians under Prince Tsitsianov to be definitely ceded to Russia by the treaty of Gulistān [*q.v.*]. On the 13th (25th) September 1826 Paskevič defeated a Persian army under ʿAbbās Mīrzā in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. Called Elizavetpol by the Russians, Gandja resumed its old name in 1924, to change it again in 1935 to Kirovabad in honour of the Soviet statesman S. M. Kirov.

The modern town with a population (1959) of 116,000 inhabitants, lies on both banks of the Gandja Čay, a tributary of the Kura. In the older western half of the town, fortifications and the so-called "Tatar" mosque have survived from the time of Shāh ʿAbbās; the "Persian" mosque belongs to a later period. The climate is unhealthy and malarial but favourable to the growth of vegetation. Vines, fruit trees, vegetables and tobacco are cultivated in the surrounding countryside; it is also a centre of sericulture.

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(W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

GANDO [see FULBE].

GANGĀ, the Ganges (also Gang گنگ, گنگ in the Muslim historians of India), the principal river of Upper India [see HIND] which rises in the snows of the Himālaya in the district of Gaṙhwāl at an altitude of some 3100 m., flows through the present provinces of Uttar Pradesh, Bihār and Bengal, and falls in the Bay of Bengal after a course of about 2500 km., the last 500 km. through the Bengal delta. Above the delta it receives successively the waters of the Rāmgangā, Yamunā (Djamnā, [*q.v.*]), Gōmatī, Gōgrā, Sōn, Gandak and Kōsī; above the Djamnā confluence at Prayāg (Allāhābād, [*q.v.*]) it is fordable. The delta commences south of the ruins of Gawṙ [see LAKHNĀWTĪ], the westernmost channel which passes close to Murshīdābād [*q.v.*] being known in its upper reaches as the Bhāgīrathī and in its lower as the Hūglī [*q.v.*]. The main (eastern) channel, known also as the Padmā, runs south-east to Goālanda where it joins the (Bengal) Djamnā, *i.e.*, the lower reaches of the Brahmaputra. The confluence forms a broad estuary, now called the Meghnā, which enters the Bay of Bengal near Noākhālī as the most easternly of a number of channels. The delta is fertile in the north, and the swampy Sundarbans (salt, timber for boat-building) form its southern base; the Hūglī is its main commercial channel. Until the construction of the railways the Ganges formed, with its tributaries, a most important traffic artery (J. Rennell, *Memoir of a map of Hindoostan* ...[3], London 1793, 335 ff.), its major towns (*e.g.*, Kanawdj, Allāhābād, Fayḍābād, Banāras, Paṭnā, Munger, Rādjmaḥall [*qq.v.*]) having in many cases stone or brick landing stages. Its irrigation waters are extended by the Upper and Lower Ganges canals, with headworks at Hardwār.

In its lower reaches the fall is no more than from 1 to 3 cm. per kilometre, and hence its course is very liable to change under the weight of monsoon rainfall; for example, before the Muslim conquest of Bengal the main stream instead of turning south at its present point ran eastwards to Mālda and then turned south along the present course of the Mahānadā, running east of Gawṙ (cf. E. V. Westmacott in *JASB*, 1875, 7 ff.); the transfer of the Bengal capital from Gawṙ to Pānḍuā in 739/1338-9 was evidently occasioned by such a change, as was a subsequent removal of the court from Gawṙ to Tānḍā about 850/1446. The differences between the present courses of the Ganges and its deltaic tributaries and those shown on Rennell's map (*op. cit.*, facing p. 364; cf. *ibid.*, 345 ff.) are striking. For further details of change of course see HŪGLĪ.

To the Hindūs the Ganges is a sacred river, having its source in paradise whence it is precipitated on to the earth as the centre of seven streams; this legend, represented in Sanskrit sources in the *Matsyapurāṇa*, *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, etc., is recounted in al-Bīrūnī's *K. al-Hind*, Eng. tr. E. Sachau, London 1888, i, 261. Its water has a special ritual purity, either for bathing at the confluences, especially at Allāhābād when the sun is in Aquarius, or for drinking (for the express courier which took Ganges water to Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's court in Dawlatābād see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 96, tr. Gibb, 184; for Akbar's use of Ganges water see Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 55; and cf. Tavernier's observation (*Voyages*, Eng. tr. ed. W. Crooke, London 1925, i, 95) that the emperor (Shāhdjahān) and his court drink no other). For the Hindū practice of self-immolation in its waters, and casting the ashes of the dead therein, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 79, iii, 141 f., tr. v. Mžik, 57; tr. Gibb, 193; V. Minorsky, *Gardīzī on India*, in *BSOAS*, xii (1947-8), 639 f.

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(J. Burton-Page)

GANZA [see GANDJA].

GAO, a town in the republic of Mali, situated on the left bank of the Niger (10,000 inhabitants), is one of the oldest commercial centres in West Africa, standing at the point where the caravan route from Tilemsi reaches the Niger. In older writers, Gao is referred to under the names Kaukau, Kawkaw, Kookou, Kankou and Kounkou. Two etymologies are suggested: according to al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique*, 399), the name Kaukau derives from the sound of tom-toms; Houdas (*Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, 6, n. 3) suggests that it is an abbreviation of *kokoy Korya* (the king's town).

Probably founded in about 690 A.D. by the Sorko Faran fishermen expelled from Kukia by the Songhai Gao became an important commercial centre. It is probably the town referred to by al-Khwārizmī (before 218/833) and, in about 258/872, by al-Yaʿḳūbī as "Kawkaw, the greatest and most power-

ful of the kingdoms of the Sudan", which would anticipate by some twenty years the date 890 given by Barth as marking the extension of the authority of the Songhai rulers of Kukia over Gao.

Gao was then very much frequented by traders from the Maghrib. Hence it happened that, according to Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, trans. de Slane, iii, 201), it was at Gao, during one of his father's business journeys, in about 271/885, that Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], "the man on the donkey", was born.

Al-Muhallabī tells us: "The king of this people sets his subjects the example of the faith of Islam, and the majority of them follow his example. It has a town on the east bank of the Nile (Niger) named Sarna; this town contains markets and merchandise and is regularly frequented by people from all countries. The king also has a town on the west of the Nile where he lives with his nobles and intimates. He has a mosque where he prays, while the people have their own *muṣallā* between the two *madrasas*. In his town the king has a palace which no-one lives in except himself and which now harbours only a single eunuch. They are all Muslims. The king and his principal companions wear tunics and turbans and ride horses bareback". These lines, quoted by Y.- Kamal (*Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti*, iii/2, 683), were written in about 385/996, that is to say 15 years before the date given for the conversion to Islam and the settling at Gao of Dia Kossoï (1009-10).

Al-Bakrī (459/1067) describes the division of the town into two quarters: "(Kawkaw) consists of two towns, one is the residence of the king and the other is inhabited by the Muslims. Their king bears the title of *Kanda*. Like other negroes, they wear a loin-cloth and a jacket of skins or other material, the quality of which varies according to the wealth of the individual. Like the negroes, they worship idols... When a new king mounts the throne, he is given a seal, a sword and a Ḳur'ān . . . Their king professes the faith of Islam, they never entrust the supreme authority to anyone other than a Muslim" (*Descr. de l'Afr. sept.*, trans. de Slane 1859, Algiers 1913, 342-3).

In 1939, royal steles of the 12th century were discovered at Sane (9 km. east of Gao). Al-Zuhrī (before 545/1150) noted a greater volume of trade came from Egypt and Wargla than through the Tafilelt.

Gao was captured by Sagamandia, one of the generals of Kango Mūsā (Mansa Musa), at the time of the return from pilgrimage of the emperor of Mali (724/1324) who had a mosque with *miḥrāb* built, perhaps on the plans of the poet al-Sāḥilī. Dia Assibaï, a vassal of Mali, had to surrender his two sons as hostages. One of them, ʿAlī Kolen (the cricket), managed to escape and restored the Songhai empire by deposing the *dia* Bada who was governing Gao on behalf of the Mali. He was called *Sonni* (the liberator) and founded the second dynasty which ruled from 739/1339 until 898/1493.

Gao, however, remained a highly prosperous capital and, after his visit in 753/1352, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa stated that it was one of the most beautiful and extensive cities in the Negroes' country, and most abundantly supplied with foodstuffs. But during the 8th/14th century the Songhai were driven back to the former capital of Kukia. It was only in 802/1400 that the Sonni Ma Daou (or Ma Dogo, that is, the Giant) passed to the attack and sacked the town of Mali. The last ruler Sonni ʿAlī (868/1464-898/1493) or ʿAlī Ber (the Great) brought the Songhai empire to its apogee when he captured Timbuctoo (872/1468) and Djenne (877/1473). But it was a period of pagan resurgence and of persecution of the Muslims.

When nominated chief of the Songhai on 21 January 1493, the Sonni Barou refused to adopt Islam; he was compelled to fight against ʿAlī Ber's best commander, the Sarakole (Soninke) Muḥammad Toure who won a victory (12 April 1493) and took the name *Askia* (signifying *usurper* or *it is not he*). Muḥammad Askia (898/1493-934/1528) made the pilgrimage to Mecca (1497-8), and then extended and organized his conquests. He received a visit (907/1502-909/1504) from the reformer al-Maghīlī who had just had the Jewish colonies at Touat (Tuat) massacred.

The 16th century represents the great period of the empire of Gao. The *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* enumerates 7626 houses, which represents a large town. Leo Africanus, who probably visited Gao at the beginning of the 16th century, related: "Gao is a very large city without walls . . ., the greater part of the houses are ugly in appearance; however, there are some quite handsome and commodious buildings in which the king lives with his court". In 999/1591, the army of the pasha Djawdhar captured Gao. But, accustomed to the splendours of Morocco, Djawdhar was disappointed: "the head donkey-driver's house in Marrākush is better than the Askia's palace" (*Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān*, 221).

But dependence on Morocco was soon no more than nominal. In any case, it merely took the form of plundering the educated and bourgeois classes, which explains the utter collapse of Islamic culture. After 1021/1612, the pashas commanding the Moroccan army no longer came from Morocco, but were appointed on the spot by the soldiers. The *Arma*, half-breed descendants of Moroccans, had difficulty in fighting against the Tuareg who occupied Gao for the first time in 1091/1680, but were driven from it in 1099/1688 by the pasha Manṣūr Seneber, who however left no further garrisons there.

Thereafter, decline set in, and in 1184/1770 Gao, following Timbuctoo, was under Tuareg control.

At the time of Barth's visit in 1854, Gao was no more than a wretched village with from three to four hundred huts, where only a single partly ruined monument was to be seen, the tomb of the great Askia Muḥammad. Although they reached Timbuctoo in 1893, the French military authorities established a base there only in 1899 (Lt.-Col. Klobb). On their arrival, the French found merely a small group of *sharīfs* called *Sherifikalo* in the neighbourhood of the Askia tomb.

The peace brought by French rule permitted the intermingling of the various races which nevertheless retained some degree of specialization, with Songhai farmers, Arma artisans, Moorish shopkeepers, Hausa traders and Bambara fishermen and tailors.

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GARDEN [see bustān].

GARDĪZ, town of modern Afghanistan, headquarters of Paktiya Province (originally called 'The Southern Province'), situated 65 km. east of Ghaznī in the direct line, though further by road, in 69° 6′ E. 33° 36′ N. Gardīz stands on the route from Ghaznī towards the Kurram Valley, which there joins the route passing south-eastwards from Kābul through the Logar Valley. The town stands at an altitude of 2289 metres amid extensive orchards in the Zurmatt plain, surrounded except to the south-west by substantial mountains. It is dominated by an artificial fortress-mound, the Bālā Ḥiṣār, which is crowned by an elegant fortress apparently dating from the 19th century. Within these fortifications are contained a barracks, and a *ziyārat* which occupies the remains of an ancient mud-brick bastion. Local tradition attributes the foundation of the city to a certain Zamar, who is apparently not otherwise documented. None the less, the discovery in 1947 at Mir Zakah, 53 km. east-north-east of the town, of a sacred spring containing an important treasure of Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins, suggests that Gardīz was a place of consequence already in the second century B.C. Preserved at Kābul is an image of the elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa, bearing a Sanskrit inscription of the eighth year of the Hūna king Khingāla (Khingila). The image is reputed to have been brought to Kābul from Gardīz, and this if true would attest the importance of the place in the 6th century A.D. According to the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* (p. 24) Gardīz was founded (or re-founded) by the Khāridjī leader Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh in about 181/797. The connexion of the Kharidjīs with this town is confirmed in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, but the later history of its Khāridjī *amīrs* is little known. A bilingual Arabic-Sanskrit inscription from the Tochi Valley now in the Peshawar Museum dated 243/857 contains the words *fī barr[i] ʿUmān* 'in the land of ʿUmān', which appears to refer to the well-known Khāridjī connexions beyond the Persian Gulf. The ruler's name has not been read, but the early date suggests that he must have been one of the princes of Gardīz. The historian Gardīzī [*q.v.*] (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nazim, 11) reports an attack by the Ṣaffārid Yaʿkūb b. al-Layth on the *amīr* of Gardīz, Abū Manṣūr Aflaḥ b. Muḥammad b. Khākān in 256/869. In 364/974 Bilgetegin, one of the predecessors of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, died whilst he was undertaking a siege of Gardīz. However, the town soon fell into the hands of the Ghaznawids, for during the reign of Sebüktigīn, in 385/995 according to Barthold, the former was housing political prisoners in the fortress of Gardīz. With the loss of its independence, the historical importance of the town began to diminish. During the Mongol invasion it was the scene of a counter-attack by the Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn upon the Mongol vanguard. The Emperor Bābur, in his Memoirs, mentions it as a strong fortress, and the scene of a skirmish with the "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Afghans'. Modern research has devoted little attention to Gardīz, and it is remarkable that its earlier rulers are apparently unknown to numismatics.

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GARDĪZĪ, Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Maḥmūd, Persian historian who flourished in the middle of the 5th/11th century. Nothing is known of his life. His *nisba* shows that he came from Gardīz [*q.v.*]; since he says that he received information about Indian festivals from al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*], he may have been his pupil. His work, entitled *Zayn al-akhbār*, was written in the reign of the Ghaznawid Sultan ʿAbd al-Rashīd (440/1049-443/1052). It contains a history of the pre-Islamic kings of Persia, of Muḥammad and the Caliphs to the year 423/1032, and a detailed history of Khurāsān from the Arab conquest to 432/1041: no sources are named, but for the history of Khurāsān Gardīzī must have been mainly following al-Sallāmī [*q.v.*]; the work includes also a valuable chapter on the Turks, based on the works of Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Djayhānī and Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ [*qq.v.*] (ed. with Russian tr. by W. Barthold, in *Otčet o poezdke v Srednuyu Aziyu* (Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk po Ist.-Phil. Otd., i, no. 4), St Petersburg 1897, 78 ff., and with Hungarian tr. by G. Kuun in *Keleti Kútfök*, 1898, 5 ff. and *KS*, 1903, 17 ff.), a chapter on India (see E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, London 1888, ii, 360, 397 and V. Minorsky, *Gardīzī on India*, in *BSOAS*, xii (1948), 625-40), and essays on Greek sciences, chronology, the religious festivals of various peoples, and genealogy. Only two incomplete manuscripts are known: Bodleian, Ouseley 240, dated 1196/1782, which is a transcript of Cambridge, King's College 213, dated (?)930/1524. The contents, so far as they survive, are listed by E. Sachau and H. Ethé (*Catalogue .... Bodleian Library*, i, 9 ff.). Historical sections on the Ṭāhirids, Ṣaffārids, Sāmānids and Ghaznawids have been edited by Muhammad Nazim, *Kitab Zainu 'l-akhbar*, Berlin-London 1928 (E. G. Browne Memorial Series, i).

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GARĔBĔG [see ʿīd and indonesia—v].

GARMSĪR [see ḳīshlaḳ].

GARSĪF (in the Marīnid period *Agarsīf* occurs quite as frequently; the occlusive Berber *g* is some times transcribed in Arabic characters as *djīm*, sometimes as *kāf*, each distinguished by three diacritical points), the Guercif of French maps, a small place in eastern Morocco 60 km. east of Taza, in the middle of the immense Tāfrāṭa steppe. It is situated on the spit of land between the Mulullū and Moulouya rivers at their confluence; hence its name (Berber *ger-* "between" and *āsīf* "river").

Marmol wished to identify Guercif with Ptolemy's *Galapha*; but this is scarcely likely, since the Greek geographer clearly put the latter place east of Molo-

chat (= Moulouya): Tāwrīrt seems a more probable identification.

Guercif was founded towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century by the Banū Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya, one of the tribes of the Miknāsa, a Berber people who led a nomadic life in the Moulouya valley. It became the centre of the lands of Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya (d. 327/938) and then of his sons who were renowned for their wars with the Idrīsids and Fāṭimids.

Its commercial and strategic importance was due to its situation at the intersection of two important routes, one from Fez to Tlemcen, the other from Sidjilmāsa to Melilla. In the middle of the 5th/11th century al-Bakrī described it as an important village with a considerable population (*ḳarya ʿāmira*). But after being captured and destroyed by the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in 473/1080 it lost its former importance; and al-Idrīsī (middle of the 5th/11th century) did not know it.

At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the site of Guercif was frequented by the Banū Marīn, nomadic Berber tribes belonging to the Zanāta group. In summer they came down from the high plateaus of the pre-Saharan zone and spent the summer in the lower Moulouya valley. It was at Guercif that they stored their stocks of grain; it was also there that, at the approach of autumn, their tribes met before returning to their grazing-lands in the Sahara. In 610/1213, taking advantage of the enfeebled state into which the Almohad empire had fallen as a result of the disaster at al-ʿUḳāb, the Banū Marīn settled down along the lower Moulouya and occupied Guercif. It was there that, in 646/1248, they lay in wait for the Almohad army in its retreat from Tlemcen to Fez, and then defeated and routed it. In about 1275 the Marīnids became masters of the whole of Morocco. However, on the eastern borders of their empire the Zayyānid kings of Tlemcen constituted a dangerous enemy. Along with the neighbouring localities of Tāwrīrt and Dubdū [*q.v.*] Guercif formed a march (*thaghr*), barring access to the interior of Morocco. In 721/1321 the Marīnid Abū Saʿīd had the walls rebuilt. Later, after a revolt by the inhabitants, Guercif was sacked and part of the fortifications were destroyed by Abū ʿInān.

After his death (759/1358) Guercif, together with the fortified castle of Murāda (15 km. to the north-west, on the Moulouya) became a fief of the celebrated Wanzammār b. ʿArīf, chief of the Suwayd Arabs, who was in command of all the Bedouin tribes supporting the Marīnids, and the mentor of the kings of that dynasty. Numerous attacks were made against it by Abū Ḥammū, king of Tlemcen, and the two fortified places were on several occasions captured and sacked.

Later, Guercif lost its military importance when the boundary between Morocco and Turkish Algeria was moved east of Oujda; the Saʿdids and ʿAlawids preferred Tāwrīrt.

From 1912 Guercif was occupied by France and acquired a measure of importance through being at the head of the railway from Oujda. After the line had been extended, first to Taza, then to Fez, the village declined rapidly. With Msoun, it is one of the two centres of the Hawwāra, an important tribe who move with their flocks to summer pasturages and who devote themselves to sheep-rearing.

Bibliography: Bakrī, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, index; Leo Africanus, ed. Schefer, ii, 329, tr. Epaulard, 299. (G. S. Colin)

GASPRALI (GASPRINSKI), ISMĀʿĪL, prominent ideological writer of the Turks, more particularly of the Russian Turks, was born in 1851 in the village of Avčī, near Baghčesarāy. His father, Muṣṭafā Agha, was one of the notables of the village of Gaspra, between Yalta and Alupḳa (whence their family name Gasprali, later Gasprinski), and a graduate of the Military Lycée in Odessa. At the time of the Battle of Sevastopol in 1854 Muṣṭafā Agha settled in Baghčesarāy and sent his son Ismāʿīl first to the Zindjirli Medrese in Baghčesarāy and later, at the age of ten, to the Simferopol Gymnasium. Two years later Ismāʿīl went to the Voronezh Military Lycée and was then transferred to the Moscow Military Lycée. Together with Muṣṭafā Mīrzā Davidovič, a Lithuanian Tatar in origin, he attracted the attention of their principal teacher, Ivan Katkov, the famous Pan-Slavist and editor of the newspaper *Moskovskiya Vedomosti*, who invited them every week to his house. At the time of the rebellion in Crete in 1867 the hostility which Katkov showed toward Turkey produced a reaction in these two youths, and they went to Odessa with the intention of serving in Crete as volunteers on the Turkish side. As they had no passports, however, they were arrested and sent back to their homes in the Crimea. Ismāʿīl Bey was appointed a teacher in Russian, the study of which was compulsory, in the Zindjirli Medrese in Baghčesarāy. He constantly thought of going to Turkey and becoming an officer; and when he discovered that it was necessary to learn French to do this, he learned French during his four-year appointment at Baghčesarāy. He had, in fact, acquired some knowledge of this language while at the Military Lycée in Moscow. In 1871 he resolved to go to Istanbul; but, seeking to perfect his French, went by way of Vienna to Paris. The results of his observations in Paris were reflected in works which he later published in Russia—especially in his work named *Rūsyā Islāmlïghï* (*'The Muslim Community in Russia'*)—and also in a work named *Avrūpā medeniyetine bir naẓar-ï müvāzene* (*'A balanced view of European civilization'*) which he wrote while still in Paris.

While in Paris he earned his living by working as at ranslator in an advertizing agency. Since his aim was to go to Turkey, he did not mix much with the Young Ottoman circles in Paris. Finally in 1874 he went to Istanbul and stayed with his paternal uncle, Süleymān Efendi, who had settled there earlier. He made great efforts to enter the Turkish War College, but when the Russian Ambassador Ignatiev learned of this he brought influence to bear on the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha and prevented it. After vainly waiting a year, Ismāʿīl returned to the Crimea. While in Istanbul he published non-political articles describing Eastern life for some Russian newspapers appearing in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

Between the years 1874 and 1878 he became familiar with the village life of the Crimean Turks, and described this period of his life in his story *Gün Doghdu*, published in 1906. In this he refers to himself under the name "Dāniyāl Bey". While becoming familiar with the needs of his nation, with education and village life, this Dāniyāl Bey sees the vital need of bringing out a newspaper and making his nation aware of the world. In 1878 Ismāʿīl Bey was elected mayor of Baghčesarāy, and in 1879 he applied to the Czar's government for permission to bring out a newspaper, but was refused. He thereupon wrote in the Russian-language newspaper *Tavrida*, published in Simferopol, serious political articles pertaining to the Muslims of the Russia Empire. He also published

occasional collections of articles: *Tunguč* (lithograph, Simferopol); *Shefeḳ* and *Laṭāʾif* (Ünsizādeler Press, Tiflis); and, later, *Ay*, *Yildiz* and *Günesh*. These writings were mostly in the Crimean dialect. In the next year (1882) Ismāʿīl Bey expanded a little the articles he had published in Russian in the newspaper *Tavrida* and published them in the form of a fifty-four page work with the title *Russkoye Musulmanstvo* (*'Russian Islam'*). This work was a pioneer work relative to the political and cultural problems of the Muslim subject-peoples of the Russian Empire. Although Ismāʿīl Bey presented himself in this work as a loyal Russian subject, even speaking approvingly of the salvation of the Russians from Tatar domintion, Russian circles believed this to be a device and regarded this work with suspicion. In it he considered the "Turco-Tatars" under Russian rule as a single Russian Muslim community and showed the road by which they might join Western civilization. In the pamphlets which he published in Turkish he pointed out that if the Turco-Tatar group were to remain dispersed the result would be calamitous: he tried to explain that the sole road of salvation for them was to work together to join the new Western civilization by means of their own languages. In the year 1883 he received permission to publish a newspaper named *Terdjümān*. The Russian title of the newspaper was *Perevodčik*; and in the first issues the Russian-language section was more important. It explained that it was to perform the role of translator in the matter of spreading Western civilization among the Russian Muslim community. The Turkish-language section gradually expanded and became more serious and later, in 1890, *Terdjümān* became "the national newspaper concerning politics, education, and literature". After 1905, it took the name *Terdjümān-i Aḥwāl-i Zamān*, and at the head of the newspaper was the slogan: "Unity in language, work, and thought". Finally the part in Russian was abandoned altogether, and the newspaper became the interpreter of the thoughts and aims of the Muslim community in the Russian Empire. All the Turks living in the regions of Kazan, the Caucasus, Turkistan, and Siberia recognized this newspaper as being the disseminator of their national ideas. The deep influence of this newspaper on Turkish intellectuals may be judged from the first novel in the Tatar language, entitled *Molla Ḥusām al-Dīn* by Mūsā Aḳyegitzāde, published in 1886, from the speeches and gifts of the delegates who came from every part of the Russian Empire on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the appearance of *Terdjümān* in 1908, and from the increased numbers of newspapers that year.

Ismāʿīl Bey married Zehrā Khanim, a member of the Aḳčura (Akčurin) manufacturing family, one of the noble Kazan families. Through this marriage his ties with the Kazan Tatars became close. He was in constant touch with Azerbaijan Turkish writers, Ḥasan bek Melikov, Ünsizāde, Topčibashi and others. Muṣṭafā Davidovič, the Lithuanian Muslim who had studied with him at the Moscow Military Lycée, settled in Baghčesarāy, where he was mayor for twenty years, helping Ismāʿīl Bey in all his enterprises. The work with which Ismāʿīl Bey was most occupied was to create modern primary schools for Russian Muslims and to publish textbooks for these. He also wanted to ensure modern methods of instruction by opening teachers' courses in Baghčesarāy and other places, and to assure the opening of this type of school throughout the Muslim community of Russia. He himself visited every part of that community, including Tashkent, Bukhārā, and Siberia. He set up and printed personally on his own press *Khʷādje-i ṣibyān*, *Maʿlūmāt-i nāfiʿa* and other works which he brought out for the primary schools. Together with his wife, Zehrā Khanim, and the mayor, Muṣṭafā Davidovič, he opened a handicrafts institute for girls on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the appearance of *Terdjümān*, an idea which spread to other provinces as well. He brought out the first magazine for women, entitled *ʿĀlem-i niswān*, and placed his daughter Shefīḳa at the head of it. He also published a work concerning women's rights, entitled *Ḳadinlar ülkesi*. Inspired by Shams al-Dīn Sāmī's *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, he began to publish an encyclopaedia for Russian Muslims, but was unable to complete it. He became occupied with problems of language and literature. After the 1905 Revolution he planned a programme especially designed to deal with the problems of instruction and "literary language". It envisaged that in the first three years of primary school instruction would be carried out in the local Turkish dialects; afterwards, the "common literary language" would become the general language of instruction. His original idea of the "common literary language" was some addition of Ottoman to a language which was mainly Tatar; but the Ottoman influence increased under the influence of those who were working with him, and the result was a simple Ottoman which could be understood by the Muslims of Russia. National Turkish literature, according to Ismāʿīl Bey, would consist of novels which would reflect the life of the regions in which the Turks lived and which would inculcate in them new thoughts and ideals. The supplements named *Ḍamīme-i Terdjümān*, which he published as additions to *Terdjümān* in the years 1892-4, and his novel *Dār al-Rāḥat Müslümānlari* are important in this respect. In language, Ismāʿīl Bey earnestly opposed the domination of Arabic and Persian in Ottoman and also the tendency among the Kazan Tatars to take words from Russian, and he put forward the idea of drawing on popular literature for the literary language. His stories *Arslan Ḳiẓ* and *Güldjemāl Bikeč* telling of the 18th century Chinese occupation of Kāshghar, and his writings entitled *Baghčesarāydan Tashkende*, which included the memoirs of his travels, were serialized in many issues of the *Ḍamīme*. In 1893 he published stories about Baghdād Khātūn [*q.v.*], who played an important role in the history of the Ilkhānids. He also published an expanded version of the treatise *Türklerde ʿilim ve funūn* of Bursali Ṭāhir, publishing some of it—the discussions of Saʿd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, for example—in the *Ḍamīme*.

At first Ismāʿīl Bey valued Islam as being useful in preserving for the Turks their national identities but, aside from the "pocket Ḳurʾān", he did not devote much space to religious publications. After the 1905 Revolution he saw the adverse results of Socialism and Communism, which were beginning to appear in those years in Kazan and Baku, and became frightened of those movements, especially in the face of publications which, opposing the separate political institutions of the Russian Muslims, claimed allegiance solely to the Russian socialist parties, and which made haphazard efforts to impose Russian as the literary language. In the series of articles which he published in *Terdjümān* under the title "*Ishtirākiyyūn*", he moved noticeably to the right and began to think of bringing about a cultural unity among Islamic nations. With this aim in mind he wanted to convene a general Muslim

congress in Egypt in 1907, and, having gone there himself, even began to publish an Arabic newspaper named *Al-Nahḍa* with ʿAbd Allāh Taymas. He also made a journey to India to further this endeavour; but when these efforts did not give the results he had hoped for, he resumed his old activities in Baghčesarāy.

Among the other publications of Ismāʿīl Bey are the *Mebādiʾ-i temeddün-i Islāmiyyān-i Rūs*, published in 1901, and the twenty-page work *Rūs ve Sharḳ anlashmasī*, published in Russian (*Russko-vostočnoye soglashenye*) in 1896. Ismāʿīl Bey, having seen the positive results of his efforts, fought in the last years of his life against the excessive bias which viewed Westernization as a form of spiritual suicide for Turks and other Muslims in Russia. Ismāʿīl Bey, carried away with new hopes at the time of the beginning of the First World War, died on 11 September 1914, in his house in Baghčesarāy and was buried there. His son and daughters carried on for a period after his death the publication of the newspaper *Terdjümān* which had continued for thirty-one years.

Bibliography: The biography of Ismāʿīl Bey has been written by Yusuf Akçura in *Türk Yılı*, 1928, 338-46. Cafer Seydahmet also published a fairly large work entitled *Gaspralı Ismail Bey* in 1934. A complete set of *Terdjümān* is preserved in the Leningrad Public Library; outside Russia, some copies of this newspaper may be found in the Helsinki University Library, the Inkilap Library in Istanbul, the British Museum, the Ankara National Library, and in various private libraries. The Centre Russe de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études in the Sorbonne is now collecting microfilms of all the years of publication of this newspaper. (Z. V. Togan)

GATE, GATEWAY [see bāb].

GAUR [see lakhnāwtī].

GÂVUR [see kāfir].

GĀWĀN, MAḤMŪD [see maḥmūd gāwān].

GĀWILGAŔH, in the histories also Gāwīl, Gāwīlgaŕh, a fortress "of almost matchless strength" (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. Jarrett, ii, 237) in Berār, Central India, lat. 21° 20′ N., long. 77° 18′ E., seven *kos* (about 25 km.) north-west of Eličpur (Iličpur [*q.v.*]). According to Firishta the fortress was built by Aḥmad Shāh Walī [see bahmanīs] in 829/1425-6; but from its name it appears to have been a former stronghold of the Gāwalī chiefs, and it is more likely that Aḥmad Shāh merely strengthened the fortifications during the year he spent at Eličpur in the consolidation of his northern frontiers before proceeding to his attacks on the Vidjayanagar kingdom on his south. A Brāhman captured in an earlier Vidjayanagar campaign who was received into Islam under the name Fatḥ Allāh was sent for service under the governor of Berār; later, under the Bahmanī minister Maḥmūd Gāwān, this Fatḥ Allāh, with the title ʿImād al-Mulk, was himself made governor in 876/1471. The increasing loss of power by the Bahmanī sultans to their Barīdī ministers in the capital, Bīdar, had led Fatḥ Allāh to prepare against possible opposition by strengthening the defences of Gāwilgaŕh in 893/1488 (inscription on Fatḥ Darwāza), from which time also dates the rebuilding of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid "with the old stones" and Fatḥ Allāh's use of the Vidjayanagar emblems on the gates (see below, Monuments). Two years later Fatḥ Allāh assumed independence [see ʿimād shāhī] with headquarters at Eličpur and the fortresses of Gāwilgaŕh and Narnālā as his strongholds, and these remained ʿImād Shāhī possessions until the extinction of the dynasty in 982/1574 when Berār became a province of the Niẓām Shāhī [*q.v.*] dynasty of Aḥmadnagar. After the cession of Berār to the Mughals in 1004/1596 Gāwilgaŕh was still held by *amīr*s of Aḥmadnagar, and Akbar's son Prince Murād, reluctant to besiege it, made Bālāpur his principal stronghold; two years later, however, it fell to Abu 'l-Faḍl. The description of the *sūba* of Berār was added to the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* immediately after the cession of Berār, obviously before the Mughals had had time to reorganize the province, and thus the place given to Gāwīl as the largest and richest of the thirteen *sarkār*s must reflect the pre-Mughal administrative division. This division was substantially unchanged in the great scheme of reorganization of the Deccan provinces under Awrangzīb as viceroy in 1046/1636. In the Marāṫhā troubles in the Deccan in the early 12th/18th century the province was held together by Āṣaf Djāh Niẓām al-Mulk, but on his absence in Dihlī in 1151/1738 Berār with its great fortresses of Gāwilgaŕh and Narnālā was taken by the Bhonsla Marāṫhās. In 1803 Gāwilgaŕh fell to Wellesley, but was retained by the Bhonsla in the treaty which followed; in 1822, however, it was restored to the Niẓām. In 1853 it was assigned to the East India Company, and the fortifications were dismantled five years later.

Monuments. Much of the walling of the fort still remains, with gates and bastions. One fine tall bastion on the west wall, the Burdj-i Bahrām, gives its date of repair (985/1577 by chronogram) by Bahrām Khān, governor of Gāwilgaŕh under the Niẓām Shāhīs at a time when it was expected that Akbar's forces would advance. The Dihlī Darwāza is most interesting for its sculptured symbols: the lions with elephants beneath their paws, level with the top of the arch, are devices of the Gond kings, but the two-headed eagles holding elephants in each beak, which lie over the lions, are the *gandabherunda* symbols of the Vidjayanagar empire; this is the northern gate, which leads to the outer fort built in the 12th/18th century by the Marāṫhā Bhonslas of Nāgpur. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid stands on the highest point within the fort, and in its present form doubtless represents the rebuilding by Fatḥ Allāh recorded in the inscription on the Fatḥ (south-west) Darwāza; the western *līwān* was three bays deep behind the seven-arched façade, on which was some blue tile decoration in addition to fine stonework, and bore a rich *čhadjdjā* on carved brackets; the *miḥrāb* wall has fallen. The most interesting feature, characteristic of the local style, is the pylon standing at each end of the *līwān* façade, which bears not a *mīnār* as in the other Deccan styles but a square *čhatrī* with projecting eaves, rich brackets, and *djālī* screens in each side. A large walled *ṣaḥn* stands in front of the *līwān*, with a great eastern gateway. To the north-east of the great mosque stands a smaller unnamed mosque, similar but supported on octagonal columns. Few other buildings remain.

Bibliography: Almost the sole source for the history of Berār is Muḥammad Ḳāsim b. Hindū Shāh Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī, passim*. See also T. W. Haig, *Inscriptions of Berar*, in *EIM*, 1907-8, 10-21; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1920-1*, Plate VIIIa; *ibid., Report 1922-3*, 56-8 and Plate XXIc; *ibid., Report 1926-7*, 36-8; *Dispatches of . . . the Duke of Wellington . . .*, London 1838, ii, 560 ff. (J. Burton-Page)

GAWR [see lakhnāwtī].

GAWUR [see kāfir].

GĀWUR DAGHLARİ, literally "the mountains of the unbelievers", the name given by the Turks to several mountainous massifs, notably to (1) that where the Euphrates has its source to the north of Erzurum, and especially to (2) the Amanos, an arc of mountains which forms the south-western extremity of the eastern Taurus. It consists of a vast anticline rising to 7,411 ft./2,262 metres, orientated north-north-east/south-south-west, changing to north-east/south-west in its southern section after the col of Belen, with a structure of palaeozoic strata, accompanied by chalk and greenstone, which forms a fragment of the north-western edge of the Syrian plateau, rising, then descending below the level of it along the great fracture of the lower Orontes. The Amanos is very well watered and on it at a high level is found an isolated region of humid forest, where *Fagus orientalis* mingles with evergreen oaks and *Pinus nigra*, with peaty soils. The population consists of Turks and ʿAlawīs. Apart from the permanent villages (which are found up to a height of about 3,000 ft./900 metres) there are *yaylas* (Belen, Sorkun) which in summer are occupied especially by the inhabitants of the coastal towns and villages. The official Turkish name is now Amanos. For the other names, which are very varied, see Streck, art. ALMA DAGH, in *EI*[1]. The most important is the Arabic: Djabal al-Ukkām = Turkish Kara dağ, "the black mountain", very probably the origin of the name Akma daghî used by several European travellers, owing to a confusion with Alma (or Elma) daghî.

Bibliography: see in general *İA*, s.v. Gâvur dağları (B. Darkot); on (2) for structure: E. de Vaumas, *Structure et morphologie du Proche-Orient*, in *Revue de Géographie Alpine*, 1961, 469-72; idem, *L'Amanus et le Dj. Ansarieh, étude morphométrique*, in *Revue de Géographie Alpine*, 1954, 633-64; for vegetation: H. Louis, *Das natürliche Pflanzenkleid Anatoliens*, Stuttgart 1939, 98; among the travel accounts see also Th. Kotschy, *Reise in den Amanus*, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1863, 340 ff. (X. DE PLANHOL)

GAYKHĀTŪ, Īlkhān [*q.v.*] from 1291 until 1295, the younger son of Abaḳa, was raised to power by the leaders of his country after the death of his brother Arghūn [*q.v.*]. He ascended the throne on 23 Radjab 690/22 July 1291, when he also adopted the Buddhist (Tibetan) names Rin-čhen rDo-rje "precious jewel"; he was, however, in no way hostile to the Muslims, and he was the only Īlkhān who did not carry out any executions. Earlier, as an official in Asia Minor, he had been renowned for his unbounded liberality; now he squandered the State Treasury within a short space of time, devoted himself to drunkenness and pederasty and—apart from an attack against Asia Minor in 1292—paid no attention to State affairs. In order to prevent financial disaster, Ṣadr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Khālidī (also called Zandjānī), his Finance Minister (*Ṣāḥib dīwān*) since 1292, advised him to introduce paper money on the Chinese pattern; the name *čāw* (from Chinese *tṣʿau*) was retained in Persia [see ČAO]. Since the population was not familiar with this type of currency and since it was not covered by treasury resources, the State finances collapsed in the autumn of 1294 (under circumstances described most dramatically by Rashīd al-Dīn). Gaykhātū was consequently deserted by his *amīrs* and troops when Prince Bāydū of Baghdād advanced against him. Three days after his defeat at Hamadān (3 Djumādā I 694/21 March 1295) he was taken prisoner and executed. The paper money was again withdrawn.—After six months of civil war, his nephew Ghāzān [*q.v.*] succeeded him.

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Geschichte der Īlḫāne Abāġā bis Gaiḫātū*, ed. K. Jahn, Prague 1941 ([2]The Hague 1957), 81-90; Waṣṣāf, lith. Bombay 1852, iii, 259-84; K. Jahn, *Das iranische Papiergeld*, in *ArO*, x (1938), 308-40; B. Spuler, *Mongolen*[2], 86-9, 541 (with further data on sources and bibliography). (B. SPULER)

GAYOS [see ATJEH].

GAZA [see GHAZZA].

GAZELLE [see GHAZĀL].

GAZI ANTEP [see ʿAYNṬĀB].

GAZŪLA [see DJAZŪLA].

GAZŪLĪ [see DJAZŪLĪ].

GEBER [see GABR and MADJŪS].

GEBER [see DJĀBIR].

GEBZE (formerly *Geğbize, Geğibüze*), the ancient Dakibyza, a small town in north-west Anatolia, 40° 48′ N., 29° 26′ E., situated in undulating country not far from the mouth of the Gulf of Izmit in the Sea of Marmara; at one time a *ḳaḍā* in the *liwā* (*sandjaḳ*) of Ḳodja Eli (chief town Iznikmid/Izmit, *Eyālet* of Djezāʾir [islands]), later (in the 19th century) in the *vilâyet* of Istanbul, today in the *vilâyet* of Kocaeli; population, in 1960, of the town 8,018, and of the *ḳaḍā* 30,442.

At the time of Orkhan Geğibüze seems to have been already occupied by the Ottomans; in any case, the town was from the time of Meḥemmed I certainly Ottoman. The *ḳāḍī* of the town, by name Faḍl Allāh, who played a certain part under Meḥemmed I, was a descendant of Aḳča Ḳodja, the conqueror of this region under Orkhan.

Buildings in the town that are worthy of note are the Orkhan-Djāmiʿ, a simple construction with a single cupola and an entrance hall, and, in particular, the mosque of Čoban Muṣṭafā Pasha with *türbe*, *ʿimāret* and *medrese*. The builder was an official from Egypt who had the decoration of his mosque carried out in the Egyptian Mamlūk style (925/1519, but according to Ewliyā Čelebi 930/1525-6). The *türbe* is in the high Ottoman style.

The plain near Gebze bears the name Tekfūr Čayrî or Khunkar Čayrî in ancient sources. It was a halting-place on the route followed by the imperial armies on their campaigns in the east and south-east. It was here that sultan Meḥemmed II died on 4 Rabīʿ I 886/3 May 1481. Not far from Gebze can be seen the grave of Hannibal who met his death nearby, at Libyssa, when his protector king Prusias of Bithynia was planning to hand him over to the Romans.—Beyond Gebze, on the shores of the Gulf of Izmit, stand the picturesque ruins of a castle, Eskiḥiṣār.

Gebze is situated on the great military and caravan routes that lead across Anatolia from Istanbul to the east and south-east. The imperial armies followed these along the north shore of the gulf as far as Izmit, where they curve southwards towards Iznik; the pilgrim caravans, on the other hand, continued south-eastwards from Gebze for about 10 km. to Dil Iskelesi, a port situated at the narrowest point of the gulf, where they crossed to Hersek in order to go on to Iznik. Since 1873 Gebze has been connected with Ḥaydarpasha by a railway.

Bibliography: Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnumā*, Istanbul 1145, 662; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, Istanbul 1314, 168-70; Ch. Samy Bey Fraschery, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1314, v, 3870; V. Cuinet,

La Turquie d'Asie, iv, 687; C. Frh. v. d. Goltz, *Anatolische Ausflüge*, Berlin 1896, 74 ff.

(Fr. Taeschner)

GEDI or **GEDE,** a late mediaeval Arab-African town, built on a coral ridge four miles from the sea and ten miles south of Malindi on the Kenya Coast of East Africa. It is shown on sixteenth century Portuguese maps as Quelman, a rendering for the Swahili Kilimani, meaning "on the hill". Gedi is a Galla word meaning "precious", the name which the site acquired in the seventeenth century.

The ruins, excavated during the years 1948-58 and maintained as a National Park, cover an area of forty-five acres, and are surrounded by a town wall. They include a *djāmiʿ*, seven other mosques, a palace, a number of private houses and three pillar tombs. The excavations have produced large quantities of Chinese porcelain and Islamic faïence, and also glass beads.

The single dated monument is a tomb with date 802/1399-1400. The original settlement may go back to the 7th/13th century, but the majority of the structures remaining are unlikely to be older than the 9th/15th century. It may have been destroyed in the early 10th/16th century, but was re-occupied at the end of the century. In the early 17th century it was abandoned as a result of the southern advance of the Galla from Somalia.

Bibliography: J. S. Kirkman, *Gedi the Great Mosque: Architecture and Finds*, Oxford 1954; idem, *Historical Archaeology in Kenya 1948-1956*, in *Ant. J.*, xxxvii (1957); idem, *The Tomb of the Dated Inscription at Gedi*, Roy. Anthropological Inst. Occ. Paper 14, 1959; idem, *Gedi, the Palace*, The Hague 1963. (J. S. Kirkman)

GEDIK [see ṣinf].

GEDIZ ČAYÏ, a river in west Anatolia, the former Hermos; it takes its modern name from Gediz, a place (39° 3′ N., 29° 29′ E.) near its source. It rises on Murat Dağı (2312 m.) and in its upper reaches flows through the Lydian mountains.

In its central section the Gediz Čay traverses the broad plain which is bounded on the south by Mount Sipylos (Manisa Daği), at the foot of which lies the town of Manisa [*q.v.*] (formerly Maghnisa, the ancient Magnesia). Further along on the southern extremity of this plain lie the towns of Turgutlu (Kasaba) and Salıhlı which have been connected with Izmir by a railway since 1863. In this plain are also to be found the remains of the ancient Sardes, near Sartköy.

After forcing its way through a ridge of mountains the Gediz Čay flows past Menemen in the plain near to its mouth in the Gulf of Smyrna (Izmir). And indeed in ancient times and in the Middle Ages the river-mouth was dangerously near to the old port of Smyrna. Since the land round the river-mouth was continually being enlarged by deposits from the river and Izmir was in danger of being cut off from the sea, in 1886 the mouth was removed above Menemen, so that it now flows into the more open part of the Gulf. (Fr. Taeschner)

GEG [see arnawutluḳ].

GELIBOLU, in English Gallipoli, town on the European coast and at the Marmara end of the Dardanelles (Turkish: Čanaḳ-ḳalʿe Boghazï [*q.v.*]), in the Ottoman period a naval base and the seat of the ḳapudan-pasha [*q.v.*], now an *ilçe* belonging to the *il* of Çanakkale; the name derives from the Greek Kalliopolis, Kallioupolis, also Kallipolis (for the various forms see E. Oberhummer, in Pauly-Wissowa, x, 1659-60).

When, towards 700/1300, the Turks of Anatolia first concerned themselves with the town, it was one of the greatest and strongest Byzantine fortresses in Thrace (P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident*, Paris 1957, 69-70), the base, towards 720/1320, for all the crews of the Byzantine fleet. In the winter of 704/1304-5, the Catalans in the service of Byzantium were stationed there, and when their leader Roger de Flor was killed in the following year they seized and fortified this strategic position (L. Nicolau d'Olwer, *L'expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrània oriental*, Barcelona 1926, *passim*). Some 500 Turks, led by Edje Khalīl, came from Ḳarasï [*q.v.*] to join them. When these Turks, returning from the raids they had made with the Catalans in Thrace, wished to cross back from the Gallipoli peninsula into Anatolia, they were attacked by the Byzantines (709/1309) and obliged to stay there two years longer (P. Wittek, *Yazïjïoghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 639-68, at 662-7). In 731/1331 or 732/1332 Umur Beg [*q.v.*] of Aydïn made an unsuccessful attack on Gelibolu with his fleet, but was able to seize and sack the fortress of 'Lazgöl' (Lazu ?) (Lemerle, *op. cit.*, 70). Enwerī (*Düstūrnāme*, ed. M. Khalīl [Yınanç], Istanbul 1928, 25-6; ed. and tr. I. Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha*, Paris 1954, 62) states explicitly that this fortress was on the harbour, but Lemerle thinks it might be a small fort in the neighbourhood.

The Ottomans, under the command of Süleymān Pasha [*q.v.*] and as allies of John Cantacuzenus, in 753/1352 occupied the fortress of Tzympe (in the Ottoman registers and in the *waḳfiye* of Süleymān Pasha, 'Djinbi'), north of Gelibolu, and, occupying the whole of the hinterland, cut Gelibolu off from Thrace. In order to maintain pressure on the strong fortress, the Ottomans made an *udj* here, under the command of Yaʿḳūb Edje and Ghāzī Fāḍil (ʿAshiḳpashazāde, ed. Giese, 45; tr. R. Kreutel, 77). While the Byzantines were trying to buy them off (Cantacuzenus, Bonn ed., iii, 278-81; Fr. tr. Cousin, *Hist. de Constantinople*, viii, Paris 1774, 230-1), a violent earthquake, on 7 Ṣafar 755/2 March 1354, destroyed the walls of Gelibolu (*Düstūrnāme*, 82; P. Wittek, in *Byzantion*, xii (1937), 320; P. Charanis, in *Byzantion*, xiii (1938), 347-9; idem in *Byzantinoslavica*, xvi (1955), 113-7). The Ottomans immediately occupied Gelibolu, and other neighbouring fortresses whose walls had been thrown down. Süleymān Pasha crossed from Anatolia, repaired the citadel, and settled there Turks brought over from Anatolia (Cantacuzenus, *loc. cit.*). This occupation of Gelibolu made it possible for the Ottomans to install themselves in Europe: Süleymān Pasha made Gelibolu the base for the conquests in Thrace (ʿAshiḳpashazāde, ed. Giese, 47; tr. Kreutel, 80), and Gelibolu became the first centre of the *Pasha sandjaghï* in Rumeli. After Süleymān's death (758/1357), he was succeeded at Gelibolu by Prince Murād (later Murād I): the *taḥrīr*-registers mention his palace at Gelibolu (Tapu def. no. 67 [see *Bibl.*], 428). On 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 767/23 August 1366, the Duke of Savoy, Amadeo VI, attacked Gelibolu with a Crusader fleet and captured it. The Crusaders handed it over to the Byzantines on 15 Shawwāl 768/14 June 1367 (N. Jorga, *GOR*, i, 226; idem, *Philippe de Mézières*, Paris 1896, 334-5). In a speech made in the summer of 773/1371, N. Cydones was urging that Gelibolu must not be returned to the Turks (*Oratio de reddenda Gallipoli*, in Migne, *PG*, cliv, 1009; R. J. Loenertz, *Les recueils de lettres de Demetrius Cydones*, Vatican 1947, 112), but finally

Andronicus IV yielded to the Sultan's insistence and returned the fortress to the Ottomans on 14 Rabīʿ II 778/3 September 1376 (G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, tr. J. Hussey, Oxford 1956, 483).

During the reign of Murād I Gelibolu was the regular crossing-point for Ottoman armies, and became also the principal base for the Ottoman fleet. In 791/1389 Murād I transported the army to Rumeli under the protection of the fleet stationed here, and left Yanīdj̲ Beg at Gelibolu to protect his line of communications with Anatolia (Nes̲h̲rī, ed. Taeschner, i, 68). In 790/1388 Venice had sent her fleet to make a threatening demonstration off Gelibolu (N. Iorga, *La politique vénitienne dans les eaux de la Mer Noire*, in *Bull. de la sec. d'histoire de l'Acad. Roumaine*, no. 2-4 (1914), 14-5). Indeed, during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, to blockade the Strait and destroy the Ottoman fleet at Gelibolu were always two main objectives in the plans of the Crusaders (such a plan had been mooted even before 767/1366: O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*, Warsaw 1930, 63-144; for the plan of 798/1396 see M. Silberschmidt, *Das orientalische Problem zur Zeit der Entstehung des türkischen Reiches*, Berlin 1923, 145; for the plan of 848/1444 see H. Inalcık, *Fatih devri*. . ., i, Ankara 1954, 12, 30); G. de Lannoy wrote in 825/1422: "Et qui auroit dit chastel et port les Turcs n'auroient nul sçeur passage plus de l'un à l'autre et seroit leur pays qu'ilz ont en Grèce comme perdu et deffect" (*Voyages et ambassades de Messire G. de Lannoy 1399-1450*, Mons 1840, 117-8).

Bāyezīd I well understood the vital importance of Gelibolu for his imperial policy. He rebuilt completely the ruined citadel and fortified with a strong tower the harbour, which was capable of accommodating large galleys. His aim was to control the Strait (Ducas, ed. Grecu, 41 = Turkish tr. by V. Mirmiroğlu, Istanbul 1956, 9; Silberschmidt, 115). In 806/1403, Clavijo saw a great arsenal and docks at Gelibolu and reported that the fortress was full of troops and that there were about 40 ships in the harbour; between the inner and the outer basins there was a bridge with a three-storey tower (presumably that which Ducas mentions) at one end of it to protect the inner harbour. G. de Lannoy, who visited Gelibolu in 825/1422, speaks of a "ville très grande" outside the wall; there was a citadel with eight towers, and a fine large square tower to protect the harbour. The harbour was protected on the seaward side by a wall (for a 16th century engraving see F. Kurtoğlu, *Gelibolu ve yöresi tarihi*, Istanbul 1938, 17), with a small gateway in it by which galleys entered the harbour; there was no chain. In the Gelibolu *defter* of 879/1475 (Cevdet O. 79 [see *Bibl.*], 154-62) this tower, 'Birg̲h̲oz-i Gelibolu' (Greek πύργος, reproduced with various spellings in Turkish), is mentioned separately from 'Ḳalʿe-i Gelibolu': it had a garrison of 42, 9 of them *tīmār*-holders and 33 on stipend (*ʿulūfeli*). The upper part of this tower was destroyed in 1920 (Kurtoğlu, *op. cit.*, pl. 32). In 1069/1659 Ewliyā Čelebi described Gelibolu as a strong fortress, hexagonal in shape, with 70 (?) towers of hewn stone (*Seyāḥatnāme*, v, 315).

By thus making Gelibolu into a powerful fortress and naval base and by strengthening the fleet (Silberschmidt, 159), Bāyezīd I hoped to establish complete control over the Strait, and compel foreign ships to halt off Gelibolu, undergo inspection and pay a due for the right of passage. But Venice decided to fight for the right of free passage through the Strait. In alliance with Hungary she planned to destroy both the naval base and the Ottoman fleet (Silberschmidt, *op. cit.*, 111-2, 145; F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, i, Paris 1958, docs. 881, 896). The Ottoman fleet was not in fact very powerful (Bāyezīd had 17 galleys); it would emerge from the shelter of the strong base at Gelibolu and attack Venetian territory and merchant ships in the Aegean, but only when the Venetian fleet was not at sea; and it could not prevent Marshal Boucicaut from sailing past Gelibolu in 1399, although it seriously hindered Venetian attempts to bring relief to Constantinople, then under investment by Bāyezīd (see Thiriet, *op. cit.*, ii, Paris 1959, doc. 1023). After the Ottoman defeat at Ankara (804/1402), the Venetian fleet was ordered to seize Gelibolu (Thiriet, *op. cit.*, ii, docs. 1070, 1078), but the plan was not carried out, and the Ottoman threat continued in the reign of Emīr Süleymān, so that Venice was obliged to send warships to protect her merchant ships in their passage through the Strait (Thiriet, *op. cit.*, ii, docs. 1283, 1431). In 812/1409 Emīr Süleymān built another fortress (the so-called 'Emīr Süleymān Burḳozī') at Lapseki on the Anatolian coast, primarily as a protection against his rivals in Anatolia. While the struggle among the Ottoman princes continued, Venice encouraged the Byzantines in their hopes of recovering Gelibolu (Thiriet, *op. cit.*, ii, doc. 1415) and came to an agreement with Mūsā Čelebi by which he granted her free passage through the Strait. In 817/1414 she was unable to renew this agreement with Meḥemmed I (Thiriet, *op. cit.*, ii, doc. 1538), so that Gelibolu became the main object of dispute in Venetian-Ottoman relations. When, in 818/1415, an Ottoman fleet based on Gelibolu attacked Venetian territory in the Aegean, the Venetian fleet, under Pietro Loredano, appeared off Gelibolu and, when the Ottoman fleet rashly emerged from the well-protected harbour, destroyed it (1 Rabīʿ II 819/29 May 1416; see Jorga, *GOR*, i, 372). Maḳrīzī (*al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, MS. Istanbul, Fatih 4380, fol. 66a) mentions that the Venetians captured 12 ships (Venetian sources say 14, Ducas says 27) and killed 4000 Muslims. In spite of this victory, Venice was unable to achieve complete control of the Strait and remained obliged to convoy her merchant ships (see Thiriet, *op. cit.*, ii, docs. 1667, 1708, 1749, 1783, 1896). During the peace negotiations of 822/1419 Venice endeavoured above all to obtain freedom of passage past Gelibolu and exemption from tolls (Thiriet, ii, doc. 1750). In the Venetian-Ottoman war of 826/1423-834/1430 (for possession of Salonica/Selānik [*q.v.*]), Venetian attacks were mainly aimed at Gelibolu (see Thiriet, ii, docs. 1931, 1949; Jorga, *GOR*, i, 401; idem, *Notes et extraits* . . ., 2nd series, i, Paris 1899, 374). When her merchant ships were seized, the Venetian fleet under Silvestro Mocenigo launched an attack on the inner harbour: Mocenigo broke through the 'palissade' of the bridge and penetrated the inner harbour, but was obliged to retire (Iorga, *Notes et extraits* . . ., i, 505-6; *Tarihî takvimler*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1954, 26); the aim of the Venetians was to destroy once more the Ottoman fleet (Thiriet, ii, docs. 2189, 2212; Jorga, *GOR*, i, 409). At about this time the Emīr Süleymān Burḳozī at Lapseki was destroyed on the orders of Murād II, for fear that it should be occupied by the enemy (*Tarihî takvimler*, 26; according to Ducas, 149 = Turkish tr., 67, this occurred in 1417).

In 824/1421 the authorities at Constantinople hoped that the struggle for the throne between Murād II and his uncle Muṣṭāfā would enable them

to recover Gelibolu by negotiation, but neither of the rivals was willing to relinquish control of this important base (see *IA*, art. Murad II, 599-601). In the reign of Meḥemmed II, when the long war with Venice broke out (winter of 868/1463-4), two strong fortresses, named Kilīd al-baḥr and Ḳalʿe-i sulṭāniyye, were built on opposite sides of the Strait towards the Aegean end, and an arsenal and harbour were constructed in Istanbul at Ḳadirgha Limanî (see *IA*, art. Mehmed II, 523); nevertheless Gelibolu remained the principal harbour and naval base of the Empire (Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, iv, Bucharest 1915, 339) until superseded by the great arsenal and base constructed on the Golden Horn in 921/1515 (F. Kurtoğlu, *op. cit.*, 57-8). When the Venetian fleet attempted to gain control of the Strait during the war for Crete, two more fortresses were built at the Aegean entrance to the Strait, Seddü 'l-baḥr (Sadd al-baḥr) and Ḳum-ḳalʿesi, also called Khāḳāniyye and Sulṭāniyye (Naʿīmā, iv, 420; Silāḥdār, i, 168). By this time, according to Ewliyā (v, 317), Gelibolu had lost its former military importance and counted as '*ič-el*'.

When the Ottomans first occupied Gelibolu, the upper class of the Greek population fled by ship to Constantinople (*Düstūrnāme*, 83). Those that remained settled in the area known as Eski Gelibolu and the nearby village of Ḳozlu-Dere. The *taḥrīr*-register of 879/1474 (Cevdet O 79, see *Bibl.*) shows the Greeks of Gelibolu organized into two principal *djemāʿat*, the *kürekčiyān* (rowers) and the *zenberekčiyān* (arbalesters); of the latter, a group of 35 served in the citadel and a group of 22 in the 'tower'. A further 95 Greeks were organized into various *djemāʿat*s for ship-building and repair, and for the maintenance of the base. Some of these were paid a daily wage, others were recompensed by exemption from *kharādj*, *ispendje* and *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye*. The register of 925/1519, however, shows that all the members of these *djemāʿat*s were by then Muslims. It shows the Greeks living in six *maḥalle*s, and records also 80 Greeks as '*khaymāne*', organized in five *djemāʿat*s: these are presumably migrants who had come to settle at Gelibolu.

After the occupation, Gelibolu developed as a typical Ottoman city. The population at various dates, as revealed by the *taḥrīr*-registers, was:

879/1474	39 *maḥalle*s comprising 1095 households (*khāne*)
924/1518	55 *maḥalle*s comprising 1305 households
1009/1600	58 *maḥalle*s (four of them Christian and one Jewish).

Each *maḥalle* was usually named after the founder of the mosque which served it: most of these founders belonged to the military or to the theological class (*e.g.*, Ḥasan Pasha, Ṣarudja Pasha, Aḥmed Beg, Ḳapudan, Ḥādjdjī Dizdār, Shaykh Meḥmed, ʿAlī Faḳīh, Mütewellī Khoshḳadem, etc.); some were merchants (Kečedji Ḥādjdjī, Weled-i Ḳîlabdandjî, Khʷādja Ḥamza); the founder of the Ḥādjdjī Khîḍr mosque (Tapu def. 67, 509) was presumably the Ḥādjdjī Khîḍr who had accompanied Süleymān Pasha into Rumeli. According to Ewliyā Čelebi there were in his day some 300 two-storeyed houses in the fortress; outside the walls the city, with most of the principal buildings to the west, contained seven or eight hundred fine two-storeyed houses. The population in the middle years of the 19th century was 12-17,000 (N. V. Michoff, *La population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie*, iv, Sofia 1935, 58, 94, 112, 128).

According to a register (Tapu def. 12), at the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II the principal buildings were: (1) the mosque of Ghāzī Khudāwendgār (Murād I), also known as Eski Djāmiʿ, with a bath (*ḥammām*) and a shop (*dükkān*) among its *waḳf*-properties; (2) the *zāwiye* and mosque of Ḳaradja Beg, built by the close associate of Emīr Süleymān, who was killed with him (Hammer-Purgstall, i, 349; on his grave-stone at Gelibolu he is called Ghāzī Ḳaradja b. ʿAbd Allāh and the date of his death is given as first decade of Shawwāl 813/end of February 1411); (3) the *ʿimāret* (with inscription dated 840/1436) and *medrese* of Ṣarudja Pasha, who was *beglerbegi* of Rumeli until 840/1436, when he was dismissed and banished to Gelibolu (see H. Inalcık, *Fatih devri ...*, i, 86; Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 374): he appears as *sandjaḳ-begi* of Gelibolu until the winter of 847/1443; the *waḳf*-properties of his foundations were, at Gelibolu, a *bezzāzistān*, a *kārbānsarāy*, 96 shops, a bath and two abattoirs (see M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, Istanbul 1952, 248); (4) the *zāwiye* and mosque of Khāṣṣ Aḥmed Beg (b. ʿAbd Allāh), an officer of Murād II; his *waḳfiye* (reproduced in M. T. Gölkbilgin, *op. cit.*, 257-61) is dated Shawwāl 863/August 1459; among the endowments he made are several shops and fields and a *kārbānsarāy* beside the quay at Gelibolu; for the property-grants (*temlīk*) made by Murād II there are deeds of confirmation (*muḳarrer-nāme*) issued by Meḥemmed II in 856/1452 and by Bāyezīd II in 886/1481; (5) the *medrese* of Balaban Pasha; the *waḳfiye* (Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, 223), dated 846/1442, endows the *medrese* with a bath and some shops; (6) the *zāwiye* and *türbe* of Güyegü (Güvey = Dāmād) Sinān Pasha, the husband of Bāyezīd II's daughter ʿAyshe (ʿĀʾisha) Khatun; as *beglerbegi* of Anatolia he played a part in bringing Bāyezīd II to the throne; in 907/1501 he was *beglerbegi* of Rumeli, and from then until his death in 909/1503 was governor of Gelibolu and *Ḳapudan* (Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 220-1); the *zāwiye*, of which the ruins survive, was built in 896/1491; the *türbe* was, in Ewliyā's day, a place of pilgrimage.

These and several other similar religious foundations, and the khans, markets, baths and shops, whose revenues supported them, promoted the development of Gelibolu as one of the chief cities of the Ottoman Empire. This development was most pronounced during the reign of Murād II, but important buildings were added in later years, such as the mosques of Mesīḥ Pasha [*q.v.*] and of Aḥmed Pasha (941/1534). Ewliyā Čelebi credits Gelibolu with 164 mosques, *zāwiye*s and *tekke*s, 14 *ʿimāret*s, 900 shops and 8 baths. The *tekke*s of Yazîdjîzāde Meḥmed [*q.v.*] and of the Mewlewī order (detailed description in Ewliyā, v, 318) were especially famous.

Gelibolu, known as 'Dar al-mudjāhidīn', remained the principal naval base and arsenal of the Empire until the 10th/16th century, so that a high proportion of its population consisted of fighting men. The register of 879/1474 shows the sailors organized in 4 *djemāʿat*s: captains (*reʾīs*) and *ʿazeb*s of (1) the galleys (*ḳadirgha*), (2) the galleots (*galyata*), (3) the '*ḳayîḳs*' (at this period a *ḳayîḳ* was a transport big enough to take 14 horses), and (4) the horse-transports (*at gemileri*). Each *djemāʿat* was divided (like the *djemāʿats* of the Janissaries [see YENI ČERI]) into a number of *bölük*s [*q.v.*]. The *djemāʿat* of the galleys comprised 92 *bölük*s: the first, that of the *Ḳapudan*, contained also, in two separate *djemāʿat*, 7 *mehter* [see MIHTER] and 5 non-Muslim '*kümi*' (from Latin *comes*, Greek κόμης, officer in charge of the galley-slaves, see Tietze and Kahane, *The Lingua Franca in the*

Levant, Urbana 1958, no. 789; these were mostly non-Muslims, Greeks or Genoese); it was headed by the *ḳapudan* and a *ser-oda*, the rest being *ʿazebs*, *i.e.*, seamen. Each of the other *bölüks* was similarly composed of a *reʾīs* (captain), a *ser-oda*, a *kümi*, and a number of *ʿazebs*. The captains and *ʿazebs* were all Muslims (a captain named 'Frenk Ilyās' is presumably a convert). The *djemāʿat* of the galleys comprised 1112 men, and the division into 92 *bölüks* shows that the strength of the fleet at that time was 92 galleys. There were 5 *bölüks* in the *djemāʿat* of the galleots (hence 5 in number) and 11 in that of the *ḳayïḳs*. In the register of 925/1519 we find 93 *bölüks* in the *djemāʿat* of the galleys, and very little change in the organization. At the time of the Malta campaign of 973/1565, the construction of a new arsenal was begun (*Mühimme* register no. 5, p. 183; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâti*, Ankara 1948, 395, n. 3).

Of the 59 captains making up the *djemāʿat* of horse-transports, nine were holders of *čiftliks* [*q.v.*] in the neighbourhood, the rest drew stipends (*ʿulūfe*); they served only on campaigns. In 925/1519 they were all stipendiary, *i.e.*, more closely bound to the service of the state. 181 *khāne* (households) of *ʿazebs* were registered as living in various *maḥalles* of the town, liable to be called to serve when necessary. In the town and in the nearby Greek villages of Maydos and Kirte there were living Christian *kürekčis* (rowers) who served in the fleet in return for exemption from taxes.

Besides these naval crews, there were the garrisons of the citadel (*ḳalʿe*), consisting in 879/1474 of 56 men (27 with *tīmārs*, 29 with *ʿulūfe*), and of the 'tower', consisting of 42 men (9 with *tīmārs*, 33 with *ʿulūfe*). The *djemāʿats* of Christians who rendered service as arbalesters or in the upkeep of these fortresses numbered 60-65 men.

The first *odjaḳ* of *ʿadjamī oghlans* [*q.v.*] was established at Gelibolu. In the 10th/16th century they numbered between four and five hundred, and served on the transports plying between Gelibolu and Čardaḳ.

Particularly in the 9th/15th century, Gelibolu was the most important point on the great trade-route between Bursa (via Mikhālič—Bighā—Lapseki or Čardaḳ) and Rumeli (see H. Inalcık, in *Belleten*, xxiv/93 (1960), 55). From Gelibolu the Florentines carried the silk which they had bought in Bursa overland, via Edirne, Foča and Ragusa; at Gelibolu, Italian ships took on cotton and nut-gall (W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, ii, Leipzig 1936, 300, 337, 665). The register of 879/1474 records five families of 'Franks' at Gelibolu, that of 925/1519, eight. At about this time 15 Jewish families had come from Istanbul to settle here as merchants. In the reign of Meḥemmed II there were also Venetian trading-houses (Heyd, *op. cit.*, ii, 328).

Before the capture of Constantinople, Gelibolu was one of the principal customs-houses of the Ottoman Empire. Under Meḥemmed II the *muḳāṭaʿa* ([*q.v.*] tax-farm) of the Gelibolu customs was included in that of the customs of Istanbul. The customs levied at all harbours from Edje-ovasī to Tekfur-daghī (Rodosto) were farmed out as a separate *muḳāṭaʿa*; in about 880/1475 the 'Gelibolu customs' brought in some 9000 gold ducats (about 400,000 *aḳčas*) a year (F. Babinger, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis* ..., Munich 1957 (*SBBayr.Ak.*, 1956/8), 63); in 1009/1600 it brought in 766,663 *aḳčas* (*Mufaṣṣal* register 141 [see *Bibl.*]); Ewliyā Čelebi (v, 316) gives a similar figure—700,000 *aḳčas*—for 1069/1658-9. But by this time the port was declining, and the French consulate there was closed in 1100/1689. Customs dues (for the rates see MAKS) were levied at Istanbul or Gelibolu on all cargoes, and it was also the practice that a 'gift' (*armaghan*) should be given to the *sandjaḳ-begi* and the *emīn* ([*q.v.*], 'intendant') (R. Anhegger and H. Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, Ankara 1956, 48, 63, 79; cf. N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans* ..., Paris-The Hague 1960, 112 ff, 133 ff., 151-2). Every foreign ship, after being inspected at Istanbul, was inspected again at Gelibolu before passing out into the Mediterranean and issued with an *idjāzet tedhkiresi* ('clearance'); in about 1091/1680 the charge for this *ʿidhn-i sefīne*' was about 100 *ḳurush*; the revenue from these charges amounted in 1009/1600 to 610,000 *aḳčas*. By article 27 of the French capitulation of 1153/1740, ships inspected at Istanbul were relieved from the obligation to be inspected again at Gelibolu.

Gelibolu served also as the principal control-point for traffic between Rumeli and Anatolia. A traveller going in either direction was obliged to obtain from the *ḳāḍī* of his starting-point a 'chit' (*tedhkire*) attesting the purpose of his journey and produce it to the authorities at Gelibolu. The '*pendjik resmi*' [see PENDJIK], levied on enslaved prisoners-of-war being transported from Rumeli to Anatolia, was collected at Gelibolu by the '*pendjik emīni*'. Gelibolu was also a centre for the slave-trade. Here too a tax of four *aḳčas* a head was levied on sheep and goats being taken from Rumeli to Anatolia; this tax brought in 66,499 *aḳčas* in 1009/1600. There was an additional levy of 80 *aḳčas* per thousand sheep, which was assigned to the *khāṣṣ* of the *sandjaḳ begi*.

The chief exports from Gelibolu were wheat (see A. Refik, *Onaltıncı asırda Istanbul hayatı*, Istanbul 1935, 82), cotton, fish, wine and arrack (idem, *Hicri onikinci asırda Istanbul hayatı*, Istanbul 1930, 119), bows and arrows, and naval stores such as cables and sails. In 1009/1600 the 'municipal' taxes, which were assigned to the *khāṣṣ* of the *sandjaḳ-begi*, amounted to 15,000 *aḳčas* from *iḥtisāb* [see ḤISBA] dues, 12,000 *aḳčas* from *niyābet* [*q.v.*] dues, and 3,500 *aḳčas* from the *shemʿkhāne* [see SHAMʿ].

Until 940/1533 Gelibolu was the chef-lieu of a *sandjaḳ* belonging to the *beglerbegilik* of Rumeli (see M. T. Gökbilgin, in *Belleten*, xx/78 (1956), 252). As commander of the fleet, the *sandjaḳ-begi* of Gelibolu held a position of especial eminence among the other *sandjaḳ-begis*: his *khāṣṣ* approached in value the *khāṣṣ* of a *beglerbegi* (500,000 *aḳčas* early in the reign of Süleymān I, 605,000 later in that reign). The post of *sandjaḳ-begi* was often given to prominent statesmen—dismissed viziers or *beglerbegis*, or pashas with the rank of *beglerbegi*. When in 940/1533 Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] ('Barbarossa') was appointed both *beglerbegi* of Algiers and Ḳapudan Pasha [*q.v.*], Gelibolu was incorporated in this *beglerbegilik*; later it became the chef-lieu of the *eyālet* of *Djazāʾir-i Baḥr-i Safīd* [*q.v.*], *i.e.*, the '*Pasha-sandjaghī*' of the Ḳapudan Pasha [see EYĀLET, SANDJAḲ]. According to the register of 1009/1600, the *nāḥiyes* of the *sandjaḳ* were: Gelibolu and Evreshe (together), Lemnos, Tashoz (Thasos), Mighalḳara (Malkara) and Harala (together), Abri, Keshan, Ipsala, Gümüldjine. In the time of ʿAyn-i ʿAlī (*Ḳawānīn*, Istanbul 1280, 20 = German tr. by P. A. von Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen* ..., Leipzig 1872, 70 f.) it contained 14 *zeʿāmets* and 85 *tīmārs*, in the time of Ewliyā Čelebi (v, 316), 6 *zeʿāmets* and 122 *tīmārs*.

During the confinement there of the pseudo-Messiah Shabbetay Ṣebi [*q.v.*] in 1666, Gelibolu briefly became a place of pilgrimage for his Jewish disciples.

By the new provincial law of 1281/1864, Gelibolu became a *sandjaḳ* (*liwā'*) of the *wilāyet* of Edirne, containing in 1287/1870 six *ḳaḍās*: Gelibolu, Sharköy, Firedjik, Keshan, Malḳara and Enoz (*Edirne sālnāmesi*, 1271). The *sandjaḳ* was later reduced in size, to comprise only the three *ḳaḍās* of Keshan, Mürefte and Sharköy (*Edirne sālnāmesi*, 1309). The town is now the centre of an *ilçe*, population (1960) 12,945.

Bibliography: I. Archive material: (1) *Defter-i esāmī-i sandjaḳ-i Gelibolu* (awā'il Shawwāl 879/February 1475), Istanbul, Belediye Library, Cevdet collection no. 79 (a *mufaṣṣal* register, lacking at the end the section on Malḳara); (2) *Gelibolu sandjaghī müsellemān ve piyādegān defteri* (the *taḥrīr* of 879/1475), Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 12; (3) *Gelibolu sandjaghī müsellemān ve piyādegān defteri* (Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 925/November 1519), Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 67 (the *ḳānūn-nāme* at the beginning of this register has been published by Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 240-2); (4) *Gelibolu sandjaghī mufaṣṣal taḥrīr defteri* (Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 925/November 1519), Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 75 (its *ḳānūn-nāme* published by Barkan, *op. cit.*, 235-6); (5) *Gelibolu sandjaghī mufaṣṣal taḥrīr defteri*, Ankara, Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü, Eski Kayıtlar dairesi, mufassal def. no. 141 (with a *ḳānūn-nāme* at the beginning); (6) *Defter-i idjmāl-i Gelibolu*, as (5), no. 293 (defective at the end).

II. Travellers: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, 320-9 (description used by A. D. Mordtmann, *Ein Ausflug nach Gallipoli*, in *Das Ausland*, xxxii (1859), 166, and J. H. Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jh.*, Wiesbaden 1956, 49-53); Kātib Čelebi (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), *Djihānnümā*, tr. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, 59 ff. (the *Djihānnümā-i Avrūpā* attributed to Sheykh Meḥmed [Istanbul, Süleymaniye Lib., MS Hamidiye 932, fols. 11-12] is more detailed); Samuel Yemshel, in B. Lewis, *A Karaite itinerary through Turkey in 1641-2*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, iii (1957), 317-8; G. de Lannoy, *Voyages et ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy, 1399-1450*, Mons 1840, 117-8; Pierre Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitéz . . .*, Paris 1553, 76 v.; F. de la Boullaye-le-Gouz, *Les voyages et observations*, Paris 1653, 24-5; V. Stochove, *Voyage du Levant*, Rouen 1687, 25.

III. Studies: Fevzi Kurtoğlu, *Gelibolu ve yöresi tarihi*, Istanbul 1938; idem, *XVI ıncı asrın ilk yarımında Gelibolu*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v (1935), 291-306; H. Högg, *Türkenburgen an Bosporus und Hellespont*, Dresden 1932; 'Alī Riḍā Seyfī, *Čannakkal'e Boghazī ve djiwārī*, Istanbul 1327. (HALIL INALCIK)

GEMLIK, the ancient Kios, a small port in north-west Anatolia, 40° 25′ N., 29° 9′ E., on the Gulf of Gemlik, an inlet on the Sea of Marmara, at the end of a depression through which flows a stream (Gardak Su, formerly the Askanios) and which after 15 km. leads to the Iznik Gölü, the Lake of Iznik/Nikaia (formerly Askaniē limnē, 80 m. above sea-level), between the mountains of the Samanlī Daghī in the north and the Ḳaṭīrlī Daghī in the south, and situated on the road leading from Bursa to the port of Yalova; a *ḳaḍā* in the *vilāyet* of Bursa, at one time in the *liwā* of Khudāwendkār (Bursa) of the *eyālet* of Anadolu. Population in 1960: the town, 12,640, the *ilçe* 30,673, before the first world war mostly Greeks (the modern Greek name of the town is Kio).

By the time of 'Othmān, probably towards the end of his life, Gemlik had apparently already come under his sway, being the last of his conquests.

Bibliography: Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, Istanbul 1145, 658; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 141; Ch. Samy Fraschery, *Ḳāmūs al-a'lām*, v, Istanbul 1314, 3888 f. (FR. TAESCHNER)

GENEALOGY [see NASAB].

GENEROSITY [see KARAM].

GENIE [see DJINN].

GENIL [see SHANĪL].

GENIZA, a Hebrew word of the same Persian origin as Arabic *djanāza*, designates a place where Hebrew writings were deposited in order to prevent the desecration of the name of God which might be found in them. As a term of scholarship, Geniza, or Cairo Geniza, refers to writings coming from the store-room of the "Synagogue of the Palestinians" in Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*] and, to a small extent, from the cemetery al-Basātīn near that ancient city. When the synagogue was pulled down and rebuilt in 1889-90, a good deal of the manuscripts preserved in its Geniza were dispersed and acquired by various libraries in Europe and the United States, until, in 1897, Solomon Schechter brought the bulk of what remained to the University Library, Cambridge, England, where it forms the famous Taylor-Schechter Collection.

Naturally, it was mostly Hebrew literature which gained from these treasures. Paul E. Kahle's book with the somewhat misleading title *The Cairo Geniza* (second edition, New York 1960) deals exclusively with this aspect. For Islamic studies, it is mainly the documentary material, such as letters, accounts, court records, contracts etc., which is of immediate interest. Most of these documents come from Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid times; there is little from the Mamlūk period; but from the 10th/16th century onwards, the Geniza was again used somewhat more frequently, albeit in a sporadic way. This article is concerned with "the classical Geniza", the three hundred years between 354/965 and 663/1265 approximately.

The major part of the documentary material of the Cairo Geniza is written in Arabic language, though in Hebrew characters. Business letters were invariably and family letters generally written in Arabic, and the same applies to court records and other legal documents with the exception of writs of divorce, deeds of manumission and the formal—but not the substantial—parts of marriage contracts. Only subjects related to religion or the life of the Jewish community were largely, but by no means exclusively, transacted in Hebrew. As to the number of the Geniza documents preserved, if we disregard mere scraps and confine ourselves to complete pieces and fragments which are self-contained, meaningful units, we arrive at a total of about ten thousand items.

In addition to Egypt itself, Tunisia and Sicily are conspicuously represented in the Geniza. This has its reason in their prominence in Mediterranean trade during the first half of the 5th/11th century and the migration of many Maghribīs to Egypt in the second half (see S. D. Goitein, *La Tunisie du XIe siècle à la lumière des documents de la Geniza du Caire*, in *Études d'Orientalisme . . . Lévi Provençal*, 1962, 559-79). Most of the Geniza letters dealing with the India trade come from the 6th/12th century, but here

again we find that the majority of the Mediterranean merchants active in South Arabia and India were Maghribīs (see idem, *Letters and documents on the India trade in medieval times*, in *IC*, xxvii (1963), 188-205). Spain is only sparsely represented during the 5th/11th century (see E. Ashtor, *Documentos españoles de la Genizah*, in *Sefarad*, xxiv (1964), 41-80), and somewhat more generously during the 6th/12th, but Spanish products loom large in the Geniza papers and so do persons called 'Andalusī', although many of these seem to have originated in countries other than Spain. There is much correspondence from Palestine and the cities on the coast of Lebanon and Syria, but very little from Damascus and other Syrian and Mesopotamian cities and next to nothing from Baghdād. On the other hand, thousands of responsa (*fatwā*s) and a number of letters of the heads of the two Jewish academies of Baghdād have been found in the Geniza. Most of them were addressed to places in Tunisia and Morocco, but were preserved in Fusṭaṭ, partly because they were copied there before being sent on to the West and partly because they were brought back by immigrants from the Maghrib. Still, the discrepancy between the abundance of official correspondence with Baghdād and the almost complete absence of business and private letters is not easily explained. A few Persian items (see D. S. Margoliouth, *A Jewish Persian law-report*, in *JQR* xi (1898-9), 671-5 (there are more)), and one or two beautifully written Arabic letters from Iran have also been found.

Material in Arabic characters also made its way into the Geniza, either because blank reverse sides of Arabic documents were used for Hebrew writings, or because the persons concerned were Jewish, or for no apparent reason. Much of this material is dispersed all over the various Geniza collections. In the Cambridge University Library some of it was put aside in boxes labelled 'Mohammedan', which is, however, somewhat inaccurate, since most of the documents contained in them concerned Jews. There are a number of pieces from the Fāṭimid chanceries (see *Bibl.*) as well as a variety of material on widely different topics: thus, two Christians lease from a Muslim two-thirds of his vegetable garden (the vegetables to be grown are specified) on the outskirts of Alexandria; an archer (*aḥad al-rumāt*) in prison requests his commander to work for his release; a *fundukānī*, or proprietor of a caravanserai, undertakes to transport to the *ṣināʿa*, the customs station on the Nile at Fusṭāṭ, all consignments for which no customs had been paid, whether brought to his own *funduk* or to any other in the city; a tax-farmer makes a contract with a representative of the caliph al-Mustanṣir; the *al-sāda al-fukahāʾ* are requested to give a *fatwā* in a disputed case of inheritance, etc. Jews also corresponded sometimes with each other in Arabic characters. When a schoolmaster writes a complaint to a father about his son in this way, he certainly did so because he did not want the boy, who thus far had learned only the Hebrew letters, to read it. When a scholar boasting of his Jewish learning asks a notable for financial help in a letter written in Arabic characters, he followed that course because he knew that the addressee was more fluent in Arabic than in Hebrew (there is an express statement to this effect). However, even a letter addressed to the Gaon, or head of the Jewish academy of Jerusalem, and dealing exclusively with communal affairs, is written in Arabic characters.

Research on the Geniza documents began immediately after their discovery in the eighteen-nineties. A survey of the widely scattered publications is contained in S. Shaked (see *Bibl.*). Jacob Mann's work, although intended to serve Jewish history, is important for Islamic studies as well, and so are the publications of S. Assaf and D. H. Baneth, which are, however, all in Hebrew. The importance of the Geniza documents for the economic, social and cultural history of mediaeval Islam, as well as for the history of the Arabic language, is being more and more recognized. Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic*, Jerusalem 1961, is a mine of linguistic information, and, albeit in Hebrew, can be used with profit also by scholars not familiar with that language, since each paragraph has also a name in English and consists mainly of examples culled from the Geniza and similar sources. E. Ashtor is completing a book on prices in mediaeval Islam, based largely on the Geniza. N. Golb has prepared an edition of the magnificent series 18 J of the Taylor-Schechter Collection with an English translation and commentary. S. D. Goitein has written two volumes containing a general survey of the Geniza material under the title *A Mediterranean society: The Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the Cairo Geniza*, accompanied by a volume of selected translations in English, called *Readings in Mediterranean social history*. His collection of Geniza papers dealing with the India trade amounts now to 315 items. M. Michael is preparing an edition of letters emanating from or addressed to Nahray ben Nissim, a prominent Ḳayrawānī merchant scholar and public figure who was active in Egypt in the second half of the 5th/11th century. Muhammad El-Garh of Cairo University is preparing a selection in Arabic characters of Geniza documents written in Hebrew script.

The Geniza contains also a considerable number of fragments of Judaeo-Arabic literature (see, *e.g.*, the series of articles *The Arabic portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge*, in *JQR*, xv-xvi (1902-4), by H. Hirschfeld), and some items from Islamic Arabic literature, which might not have been preserved otherwise, *e.g.*, a manual of correspondence prepared for Muhadhdhab al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Naṣr (cf. D. S. Margoliouth, *Eclipse*, Index 93), publ. by Richard Gottheil in *BIFAO*, xxxiv (1933), 103-28, under the title *Fragments from an Arabic Commonplace book*, or *A Muhammedan book of augury in Hebrew characters*, publ. I. Friedlaender, in *JQR*, xix (1907-8), 84-102. Cf. also H. Hirschfeld, *A Hebraeo-Sufic poem*, in *JAOS*, xlix (1929), 168-73, and the literature on the subject noted by S. M. Stern, in *JQR*, l (1960), 356, n. 21.

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GEOGRAPHY [see djughrāfiyā].

GEOMANCY [see raml].

GEOMETRY [see handasa].

GEORGIA [see kurdj].

GERDEK RESMI [see ʿarūs resmi].

GERMIYĀN-OGHULLARÎ. Germiyān, at first the name of a Turkoman tribe, was afterwards applied to a family, then to an amīrate. Mentioned from the 6th/12th century in the history of the Anatolian Turks, the Germiyān appeared for the first time in 636-7/1239 in the reign of the Saldjūḳid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II; at this time the Germiyān Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. ʿAlī Shīr, installed in the region of Malaṭya, was sent at the head of a troop of Kurds and Germiyān against the Turkoman rebel Baba Isḥāḳ (cf. Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma, 229, 232). It was, however, in western Anatolia, in the region of Kütāhya, that the Germiyān were in 675-6/1277 when, under the leadership of Ḥusām al-Dīn b. ʿAlī Shīr, they took part in the punitive expedition against Djimrī and his ally Meḥmed the Ḳaramānid (cf. Ibn Bībī, 326-7, 332). After the execution of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III by the Mongols in 682/1283, and the accession of Masʿūd II, it seems that the Germiyān sought to break their bonds of vassalage towards the Saldjūḳids and to proclaim their independence. The downfall of Masʿūd, however, put an end to the hostilities between the Germiyān and the Saldjūḳids, as is revealed by an inscription in the mosque of Ḳîzîl Beg at Ankara, dated 699/1299, according to which Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAlī Shīr, whose possessions at that time extended up to this town, declared himself a vassal of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳobād III. This Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAlī Shīr was the founder of the amīrate of Germiyān, under the nominal suzerainty of the Saldjūḳ sultan and the Mongol Ilkhān; the breakdown of the central power was progressively to give him complete independence. According to al-ʿUmarī he was the most powerful of the Turkish amīrs; he led a princely life and exercised a suzerain's authority over the neighbouring amīrs, many of whom, such as his former *ṣubashî* Meḥmed Beg Aydîn-oghlu, had at first waged war in his name before becoming independent; the Byzantine emperor paid him an annual tribute of 100,000 pieces of gold. The amīr of Germiyān, whose capital was Kütāhya, occupied the greater part of the ancient Phrygia, according to Gregoras (i, 214); his sovereignty extended to the region of Ṭoñuzlu-Lādīḳ, which was governed by a member of his family, and to that of Ḳaraḥiṣār, where his son-in-law was amīr; Pachymeres (ii, 426, 433, 435) attributes to him possession of Tripoli on the Menderes, and al-ʿUmarī that of Gümüsh-Shār (not to be confused with the town of the same name in northern Cappadocia) where there were important silver and alum mines, and of Sivri-Köy, a rice-producing region; the conquest of the regions of Sīmav and Kula, regained by the Catalans and then reconquered by his son Meḥmed, is attested by the inscription of the *madrasa* of Yaʿḳūb II at Kütāhya; Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAlī Shīr also coveted Philadelphia (Alashehir), to which he laid siege but which was liberated by the Catalans in the spring of 703/1304 (cf. Pachymeres, ii, 421, 427-8); we learn, however, from an inscription in the Wādjidiyya *madrasa* in Kütāhya that in 714/1314 the town of Alashehir, the only Byzantine possession in Turkish territory, had been forced by him to pay the *djizya*. In the reign of Yaʿḳūb I the amīrate of Germiyān was prosperous; it was famous for its breeding of horses, the best in all Anatolia, and for its cloths and brocades; thanks to the Menderes it maintained an active commerce, transporting goods by this waterway as far as the Aegean Sea ports. The date of the death of Yaʿḳūb I is not known; it took place after 720/1320. His successor was his son Meḥmed Beg, on whom there is little information; a court romance composed for his elder son, Süleymān Shāh, relates that Meḥmed Beg was surnamed Čakhshadān (cf. *Khurshīdnāme*, B.M. ms. Or. 11408, fol. 14 v°). We also know, from the inscription of his grandson mentioned above, that he reconquered the regions of Sīmav and Kula which the Catalans had retaken from his father. The date of his death is not known; but, from the inscriptions of his son Süleymān Shāh, it is known that the latter was reigning by 764/1363. In Süleymān's time the Germiyān amīrate was no longer the prosperous state described by al-ʿUmarī: separated from the sea by the coastal principalities founded by his former vassals, Aydîn-oghlu, Ṣarukhan, Ḳaresi, the Germiyān amīrate was reduced to the situation of an inland state confined by the states of two rival powers, the Ḳaramān-oghlu and the ʿOthmānlî. Before the increasing threats towards him by the amīr of Ḳaramān, Süleymān Shāh decided, forgetting the hostilities which had opposed his family to that of the ʿOthmānlî, to align himself with the latter and to consolidate their friendly relations by matrimonial ties: in 783/1381 he gave his daughter Dewlet Khātūn in marriage to the prince Yîldîrîm Bāyazīd, with the towns of Kütāhya, Sīmav, Egrigöz (Emed) and Ṭawshanlî as dowry, and himself withdrew to Kula (cf. ʿĀshîḳpashazāde in *Osmanlı tarihleri*, i, 129-31; Neshrī, Türk Tarih Kurumu ed., i, 203-9). Süleymān Shāh was a generous and benevolent prince and a patron of men of letters; many works were written for him: at his request Baba ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn translated the *Ḳābūs-nāme* and the *Marzbān-nāme* from Persian; Shaykh-oghlu Muṣṭafā, who filled the offices of *nishāndji*, *defterdār* and treasurer at his court, composed for him a work in prose entitled *Kanz al-kubarāʾ* and, in particular, the *Khurshīdnāme*, a verse romance

manuscripts of which exist in Istanbul, London and Paris, and which is a valuable source of information; from this work we learn that Süleymān died in 789/1387. His son Yaʿḳūb II, called Yaʿḳūb Čelebi in his inscriptions, succeeded him. In 791/1389, on the death of Murād I, Yaʿḳūb Čelebi, in connivance with the Anatolian amīrs, turned against the sultan Bāyazīd I, and tried to regain the towns given to his sister as dowry; but Bāyazīd I, free from the affairs of Rumeli, chastised the Anatolian begs in 792/1390, imprisoned Yaʿḳūb in the fortress of Ipsala, and annexed the whole of the Germiyān amīrate (cf. ʿĀshiḳpashazāde, 139-40; Neshrī, i, 315). After nine years in captivity Yaʿḳūb succeeded in making his escape and, in disguise, reached Syria by sea, where he joined Tīmūrleng. During the battle of Ankara he contributed to the capture of Bāyazīd I by pointing him out to Tīmūrleng on the battlefield (cf. ʿĀshiḳpashazāde, 142-4; Neshrī, i, 343, 353). After his victory Tīmūr restored the Germiyān amīrate to Yaʿḳūb, together with the towns which had been given to his sister as dowry (804/1402). In the dynastic struggle which involved the sons of Bāyazīd I, Yaʿḳūb aligned himself with his sister's son Meḥmed Čelebi. Robbed once more of his principality in 814/1411 by the amīr of Ḳaramān, who took the opportunity in this troubled period to enlarge his territories, he had his amīrate restored to him, after two and a half years of exile, by Meḥemmed I, who had triumphed first over his brothers and then over the amīr of Ḳaramān. Yaʿḳūb II was thereafter able to reign under the protection of the ʿOthmānlīs. In 824/1421, however, on the death of Meḥemmed I, he upheld, with the amīr of Ḳaramān, the claim to the throne of the young brother of Murād II, Küčük Muṣṭafā (cf. ʿĀshiḳpashazāde, 160-1; Neshrī, ii, 567-71). After the tragic end of this unfortunate prince relations between Yaʿḳūb II and Murād II became more and more friendly. In 831/1428 the amīr of Germiyān, at the end of his life and without male heirs, decided to bequeath by will his principality to Murād II; on this occasion the sultan offered him a sumptuous reception at Edirne. Yaʿḳūb II was to die a year after this event, at Kütāhya, and, in accordance with his last wishes, Murād II annexed the principality of Germiyān (cf. ʿĀshiḳpashazāde, 171-2; Neshrī, ii, 605-7). Like his father, Yaʿḳūb II had been a learned prince, renowned for his generosity, and a great patron of men of letters; his court was adorned with scholars like Isḥāḳ Faḳīh, and with poets like Aḥmedī, his brother Ḥamzawī, Aḥmed-i Dāʿī, and above all Shaykhī, known as *Shaykh al-shuʿarā'*, who in his *ḳaṣīda*s celebrated the virtues of his patron. All these poets and scholars were to move on to the court of the ʿOthmānlī sultans and there contribute to the development of classical poetry.

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(I. MÉLIKOFF)

GERONA [see DJARUNDA].

GEVHERĪ, MEḤMED, Turkish folk poet, a contemporary of ʿĀshiḳ ʿÖmer with whom he shared a wide-spread and lasting popularity among both the educated classes and the ordinary people. He flourished during the second half of the 11th/17th and the first half of the 12th/18th century. Very little is known about his life. From scanty and scattered information in available sources and in his own works, we learn that he probably came from the Crimea or had some connection with that area, he travelled in Syria, Arabia and the Balkans, was at one time secretary to Meḥmed Baḥrī Pasha (d. 1112/1700), wrote at Eger an elegy on the death of Aḥmed Agha, an officer of the Fort and grandfather of Ibrāhīm Naʿīm al-Dīn of Temeshvar, author of the *Ḥadīḳat al-shühedā*, who gives us this information, and wrote a poem in honour of Selīm Giray I, Khān of the Crimea, on the occasion of his visit to Istanbul in 1100/1689.

Apart from his *koshma*s, *türkü*s, *türkmani*s, etc., in the popular tradition, Gevherī also wrote, like most folk poets, many poems in the classical style. He was better educated than most folk-poets. This made him a better imitator of the classical form and style, but at the same time adversely influenced the language of his more spontaneous folk-poems, where the use of the vocabulary and mannerisms of "upper class literature" is sometimes overdone. In his poems in the *dīwān* tradition he is repetitive and achieves nothing but an awkward and uninspired imitation of classical poets, particularly of Fuḍūlī. In his poems in the folk tradition, which revolve on themes of love, separation, nostalgia and epic exploits, he proves to be a most original and spontaneous poet, one of the strongest representatives of the ʿĀshiḳ [*q.v.*] literature. Some of his poems have been set to music and are still sung.

Gevherī seems to have died after 1150/1737 (see H. Dizdaroğlu in *Fikirler*, no. 262 and 263, Izmir 1944).

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(FAHIR İZ)

AL-GHĀB, name of the foundered trough, about 200 m./650 ft. above sea-level, crossed by the Orontes half-way along its course, between the plain of Ḥamāt and the narrow valley of Djisr al-Shughr [*q.v.*], characterized by unhealthy swampland. The faulted rock ledges of the Djabal Anṣāriyya in the west and the Djabal Zāwiya in the east stand out in sharp relief against the absolute flatness of the sedimentary levels where the river stretches out and receives yet more waters rising from many springs. Thus is presented the strange landscape which continues into northern Syria the series of tectonic rift-valleys marking the western edge of the Arabian plateau and which is situated exactly on the axis of the plains of al-Buḳayʿa [*q.v.*] and al-Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*].

This region, today semi-desert, was remarkably prosperous in antiquity, when the Seleucids raised here their horses and elephants near the city of Apamea which they had founded, an important town and the centre of their military power. There is no doubt that at that time a drainage system was in existence, about which we have little information but which continued to function well into the Middle Ages. Arabic geographers of the time of the Crusades did in fact know about the two lakes of Afāmiya [*q.v.*], which must have collected the overflow of stagnant water, and a certain amount of activity seems to have continued in this valley, which the Franks occupied until its reconquest by Nūr al-Dīn in 544/1149, at the time of the victory of Inab. It is known also that up to the Ottoman

period a north-south traffic was carried on, as is borne out by the ruins of Ottoman caravanserais, one of them that of Ḳalʿat al-Muḍīḳ, near the site of the ancient Apamea/Afāmiya. The gradual spread of reed-covered lagoons and the ravages of malaria explain the increasing abandonment of this area, where there soon remained no more than some few poor villages, almost surrounded by lakes, living by buffalo-breeding and chiefly by fishing for catfish, carried on every winter on a very big scale. However, important modern land improvement works have already been started; besides the control of the course of the Orontes by damming, they provide for the drainage of the swamps and the installation of a new system of irrigation.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

GHĀBA, forest. The territory of Islam, lying for the most part within the arid and semi-arid districts of the Old World, includes comparatively few areas of dense and continuous forest. The monsoonal forests of parts of East Pakistan, Malaysia and Indonesia are of course exceptional. The hazel woods of the coastal mountains of north-east Turkey and the adjacent parts of the Caucasus, the forests of plane and alder which overlook the Caspian shores of Iran, and the stands of deodar and pine in the district of Chitral in north-west Pakistan all occupy those limited areas of the Middle East where the rainfall is copious and virtually perennial. But there is abundant evidence that forests were much more extensive in south-west Asia during the Ice Ages, when conditions were both cooler and wetter than at present, and these regions formed a refuge for the flora of the glaciated parts of Central and Northern Europe. After the retreat of the ice, this flora recolonized Europe and within the Middle East, which was becoming progressively drier, withdrew to those mountains and seaward slopes where the drought of summer was less extreme. The rich variety of species which can still be found even in small and isolated areas of woodland, such as those on the slopes of Mount Erciyas [see ERDJIYAS DAGHĪ], bears witness to the more extensive nature of the forests of earlier Quaternary times, of which these are the few remaining outliers.

In view of the anxiety of many modern Islamic states to replant their forests, it is of practical as well as academic interest to know when and why the natural vegetation deteriorated, and in particular to understand how far this degeneration has been due to natural causes and how far to human intervention. The Chicago expedition to Kurdistan, for example, has made abundantly clear the degree to which the vegetation has declined since neolithic times. But from the accounts of classical authors, notably Strabo, it would seem that the forests of the Eastern Mediterranean lands and the Middle East were as recently as 2000 years ago much more abundant and widespread than at present. There is evidence from the study of mountain moraines that there has been no significant decline in rainfall in this region since that time, and the main cause of the devastation of the forests would appear to have been their reckless exploitation during Hellenistic times for ships' timbers, resin, and fuel for smelting metals. The rapid rate of silting of many harbours of the Levant between the third century B.C. and the third century A.D. was a direct result of the widespread destruction of forests and loosening of topsoil at this time. By comparison with the devastation wrought during this period, the injury done to the natural vegetation by the nomadic incursions of the Middle Ages was much less serious. Yürük, Kurdish and Arab tribes have been guilty of tapping pines for turpentine, cutting wood for charcoal, lopping branches for fodder, digging up roots for tannin, and allowing their animals to crop the seedlings. The general effect of their economy, however, has been not so much to destroy trees as to prevent their regeneration. But there are signs of serious encroachment on the few remaining forests of the Middle East during the twentieth century. Timber has often been cut for railway fuel, and the woods about Shaubak in Jordan, for example, were felled to feed the engines of the Hejaz line. The soil scientist, John Nowland, has remarked the recession of the forests of Pamphylia since Tchihatcheff described them in the last century, and Professor Orhan Yamanlar has lately studied in detail the encroachment of farmers and herdsmen on woodland in various parts of Turkey, a consequence, doubtless, of growing numbers and pressure on the means of subsistence. Replanting has as yet been only local and experimental, and may in turn give rise to new problems, as when the afforestation of high valleys in Cyprus led to the desiccation of wells downstream.

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(W. C. Brice)

GHADAMÈS (Ghdāms), a little oasis in the Lybian Sahara, situated approximately on the 30th parallel and the 10th meridian east of Greenwich (at almost the same longitude as Ghāt, Gabès and Tunis). It lies at an altitude of 350 m. between the great oriental erg and the arid plateaus of al-Ḥamāda al-Ḥamrāʾ, almost at the meeting-place of the Libyan, Algerian and Tunisian frontiers. It owes its very ancient existence and its continuance to the artesian spring called ʿAyn al-Fres (*faras*) (temperature 30° C., 2-3 grammes per litre of sodium and magnesium chloride), and also to its situation, almost equidistant from Gabès, Tripoli, Ouargla, the heart of the Fezzān and Ghāt. Far more than its very limited agriculture, it was trans-Sahara trade which made its fortune over the course of the centuries and it is the disappearance of this trade which explains its decline.

Paleolithic and Neolithic implements have been discovered in the neighbourhood. In 19 B.C. Cornelius Balbus camped in this Libyan centre, which was to become Cydamus, and, under Septimus Severus,

an advance post with a garrison of the 3rd Augusta legion, 200 km. to the south-west of the *limes*. In Byzantine times, it had a church and a bishop; the "idols" (*al-aṣnām*) which stand nearby are ancient ruins, Byzantine mausolea or perhaps even more ancient remains. The Arab conqueror, ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, occupied it with a detachment of cavalry between his conquest of Fezzān and his march on Gafsa in 47/667. It was Ibāḍī between the 2nd/8th and the 4th/10th centuries. Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, iii, 303), far more than al-Bakrī (340), dwells on the prosperity and importance of this "port" of the desert, both for traders and pilgrims. In the 10th/16th century again, Ghadamès seems to have consisted of several *ḳṣūr*. Then it seems to have become concentrated into a single village which has preserved its appearance and its sharply graded society. Ghadamès, on the boundaries of Ifrīḳiya, was able to safeguard, both for its trade and for itself, an independence which was, however, always limited by its obligatory association with the Touareg Ajjer, and the no less compulsory good relations with Tunis and Tripoli. It suffered several attacks by Ḥafṣid and Turkish troops but always managed to free itself rapidly from the taxes imposed by Tunis. It was nevertheless obliged to recognize the authority of the Turks of Tripoli in 1860. It then became a seat of a *ḳāʾimmaḳām* and after 1874 was given a little garrison; it continued none the less to administer itself with a *shaykh* and a *djamāʿa* formed from the heads of noble families.

The Italians, who disembarked at Tripoli in 1911, did not at first occupy Ghadamès, but did so later from April 1913 to November 1914, then from February to July 1915, and finally and more permanently from 15 February 1924 on. They left it before the arrival of General Leclerc's troops on 27 January 1943. First of all attached to the Territory of Fezzān [*q.v.*], it was provisionally administered by the Tunisian Protectorate from January 1948 until 1 July 1951; but following the proclamation of independence of the United Kingdom of Libya on 24 December 1951, and then of the Franco-Libyan treaty of 10 August 1955, Ghadamès was evacuated by the French authorities. It was attached to the province of Tripoli in the spring of 1957.

All the texts are in agreement to show that trans-Sahara trade was the essential activity of Ghadamès. They dwell on the comings and goings of the caravans, on the remarkable aptitude of its traders who were to be encountered in the Sudan as far away as Timbuktu, as well as at Tunis and Tripoli, and who made large profits under the protection, for which they paid tribute, assured to their caravans by the Touareg Ajjer, at the extreme limit of whose territory Ghadamès was situated. Caravans coming from the south brought above all slaves, as well as gold, leather and hides, ostrich feathers, ivory and incense. On the return journey, they carried cotton goods and cloth, sugar, and various products manufactured in Europe. The extreme points of their journeys were Tunis and Tripoli in the north, Agadès, Kano and, more rarely, Timbuktu (for which Ghāt was the first halt) in the south.

Trade profited above all the nobles (*aḥrār*), who also possessed gardens and sometimes herds; they had many black slaves (*agnaw*) whom they sometimes allowed to become free men (*atāra*); the *ḥumrān* formed a small and not very numerous middle class of artisans and shopkeepers; mostly, no doubt, of foreign origin, they formed the retainers of the principal noble families.

In the middle of the 19th century, Duveyrier notes the beginning of the decline in trade, following the abolition of the slave trade, for the most part still little enough respected. In 1910, Pervinquière, the geologist, described the stagnation of a much diminished cross-Sahara trade which had turned away from Ghadamès. To-day it is practically dead, the towns of the Mediterranean coast no longer needing the produce of the Sudan region, which in its turn is provisioned by sea. At the same time, the artisans, once extremely prosperous, many-sided, and since the 5th/11th century famous for their hides, have almost ceased to exist, lacking raw materials.

The people of modern Ghadamès are almost all reduced to cultivating their little oasis, and the Touareg to the raising of camels, sheep and goats. The palm-grove has barely 20,000 palms and the whole area of the gardens is only 75 hectares. It seems that the flow of ʿAyn al-Fres has become less since 1872-7. The Italians opened an artesian well in 1932 and another was sunk by the French but their flow also tends to diminish. The departure of a great number of *atāra* and former slaves, now become free men, provoked a man-power crisis which brought about the ruin of most of the nobles, only a few of whom were willing to apply themselves to agriculture.

The population of Ghadamès, estimated at 7,000 by Duveyrier round about 1850, had fallen to 1,900 by 1952. Most of the people have emigrated to Tripolitania or Tunisia; nearly 2,000 live in Tunis, the town to which the young people used to go in former times to get their initiation into the business world, which led to a local proverb saying: 'Ghadamès gives birth and Tunis brings up'.

Ghadamès is a pretty little oasis which attracted some tourists in Italian times. The palm-grove and gardens are surrounded by crumbling mud walls, and the village, all of unfired brick, is in the interior, a little to the south-east, beside the attractive pool of ʿAyn al-Fres. Most of the houses are very unusual with their urban appearance, rooms placed in uneven storeys or spanning the streets, often transforming them into dark tunnels. The inhabitants, Berbers of the Beni Wazit and Beni Ulīd, and the Awlād Bellīl who consider themselves of Arab origin, used to live as enemies, one group against another, shut up in seven districts isolated from one another by walls whose gates were shut at night. Despite these divisions, hard to understand for people travelling between the Mediterranean and the Sudan, the little urban centre of Ghadamès has been able to maintain across the centuries its personality as a city of caravaneers, its own Berber dialect (a little different from that of the Touareg), its social castes, its original houses and, for a long time, its independence.

Three kms. west of Ghadamès, Tounin is no more than a hamlet with a few palm-trees. The poor oases of Derdj and Sināwan are situated on the trail which goes via Nalout to Tripoli. Oil research has been going on in this area since 1956.

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L. Pervinquière, *La Tripolitaine interdite, Ghadamès*, Paris 1912; A. Piccioli, *La porta magica del Sahara*, Tripoli 1931; J. Aymo, *Notes de sociologie et de linguistique sur Ghadamès*, in *Bull. de liaison saharienne*, Algiers 1959, n° 34; idem, *La maison Ghadamsie*, in *Trav. de l'Inst. de Rech. sahariennes*, Algiers 1958. (J. Despois)

AL-**GHAḌANFAR** [see ḤAMDĀNIDS].

GHAḌANFER AGHA [see ḲAPÎ AGHASÎ].

GHADĀR [see KHAZAF].

GHADĪR KHUMM, name of a pool (or a marsh) situated in an area called Khumm, between Mecca and Medina, about 3 miles from al-Djuḥfa. The waters from which it was formed came from a spring which rises in a *wādī*, and from it they flowed to the sea about six miles away, along a valley which was also called Khumm; the name is no longer in use. As the place was frequently watered by rain, there were there bushes and thorn trees which provided large shady areas around the pool and the mosque built in honour of the Prophet between the pond and the spring. The climate there was very hot and unhealthy, and the inhabitants, belonging to the Khuzāʿa and Kināna tribes, who in any case were not numerous, finally abandoned the region because of the fevers which afflicted them and the lack of pasturage.

Ghadīr Khumm is famous in the history of Islam because of a sentence (or some sentences) in favour of ʿAlī which the Prophet uttered there during a discourse, the circumstances of which, according to the most detailed accounts which are preserved in some *ḥadīth*s, were as follows. On his return from the Farewell Pilgrimage, Muḥammad stopped at Ghadīr Khumm on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 10/16 March 632. As he wanted to make an announcement to the pilgrims who accompanied him before they dispersed, and as it was very hot, they constructed for him a dais shaded with branches. Taking ʿAlī by the hand, he asked of his faithful followers whether he, Muḥammad, was not closer (*awlā*) to the Believers than they were to themselves; the crowd cried out: "It is so, O Apostle of God!"; he then declared: "He of whom I am the *mawlā* (the patron?), of him ʿAlī is also the *mawlā* (*man kuntu mawlāhu fa-ʿAlī mawlāhu*)". Nothing which can explain the inner meaning of the main sentence is added either by the additions supplied by several *ḥadīth*s, *e.g.*, "O God, be the friend of him who is his friend, and be the enemy of him who is his enemy (*Allāhumma wāli man wālāhu wa-ʿādi man ʿādāhu*)", or by the variants (the most interesting of which is the substitution of the word *walī* for *mawlā*, which proves that the meaning of the latter word, at least in its metaphorical sense, was not very precise). Most of those sources which form the basis of our knowledge of the life of the Prophet (Ibn Hishām, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Saʿd, etc.) pass in silence over Muḥammad's stop at Ghadīr Khumm, or, if they mention it, say nothing of his discourse (the writers evidently feared to attract the hostility of the Sunnīs, who were in power, by providing material for the polemic of the Shīʿīs who used these words to support their thesis of ʿAlī's right to the caliphate). Consequently, the western biographers of Muḥammad, whose work is based on these sources, equally make no reference to what happened at Ghadīr Khumm. It is, however, certain that Muḥammad did speak in this place and utter the famous sentence, for the account of this event has been preserved, either in a concise form or in detail, not only by al-Yaʿḳūbī, whose sympathy for the ʿAlid cause is well known, but also in the collections of traditions which are considered as canonical, especially in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal; and the *ḥadīth*s are so numerous and so well attested by the different *isnād*s that it does not seem possible to reject them. Several of these *ḥadīth*s are cited in the bibliography, but it does not include the *ḥadīth*s which, although reporting the sentence, omit to name Ghadīr Khumm, or those which state that the sentence was pronounced at al-Ḥudaybiya. The complete documentation will be facilitated when the *Concordances* of Wensinck have been completely published. In order to have an idea of how numerous these *ḥadīth*s are, it is enough to glance at the pages in which Ibn Kathīr has collected a great number of them with their *isnād*s. This author informs us that al-Ṭabarī, in a two-volume work (probably the unfinished work mentioned by Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 452, the title of which was *K. al-Faḍāʾil*) in which he reported the Prophet's discourse at Ghadīr Khumm, had collected, he says, "the fat and the thin, the strong and the weak". Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) also reproduces many *ḥadīth*s on the same subject and it is from his collection that Ibn Kathīr has chosen the principal traditions, which however, he adds, supply no basis for the Shīʿī claims.

The beliefs of the latter concerning the affair of Ghadīr Khumm are as follows: Muḥammad had already known through divine inspiration (or by revelation on the night of the *Miʿrādj*) that ʿAlī was to become his successor as leader of the Muslim community, but he had kept this divine decision secret, waiting for the moment when there should be no more opposition to ʿAlī among the Muslims. At Ghadīr Khumm he received the revelation: "O Apostle, communicate that which was revealed to you by your Lord" (Ḳurʾān, V, 71/67). Then, in the presence of the Companions, taking ʿAlī's hand in his own, he pronounced the sentence *man kuntu mawlāhu* etc., which is thus a *naṣṣ* [*q.v.*] nominating ʿAlī as *imām* of the Muslims after the death of their Prophet. On the same occasion, Muḥammad announced his impending death and charged the Believers to remain attached to the Book of God and to his family. After the communal prayer he went into his tent and, on his orders, ʿAlī received, in his tent, the congratulations of the Muslim men and women, who greeted him with the title of *amīr al-muʾminīn*. Among them was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Ḥassān b. Thābit recited, with Muḥammad's approbation, some verses in honour of ʿAlī (some verses by him, affirming that ʿAlī was named as the successor of the Prophet on the day of Ghadīr Khumm, are quoted by Ibn Shahrāshūb (ii, 230) and, if they are authentic, they are, apart from the *ḥadīth*s, the earliest attestation of the event at Ghadīr Khumm, and not, as Goldziher has suggested, the verse of al-Kumayt). It is said that the same day Muḥammad received at Ghadīr Khumm the revelation of Ḳurʾān, V, 5/3 ("Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed my blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam for your religion"), which is generally accepted to have been revealed at ʿArafāt a few days earlier.

The Sunnīs do not deny that Muḥammad may have expressed himself in the above manner concerning ʿAlī, but they consider that in the sentence in question he was simply exhorting his hearers to hold his cousin and son-in-law in high esteem and affection. On this point, Ibn Kathīr shows himself yet again to be a percipient historian: he connects the affair of Ghadīr Khumm with episodes which took place

during the expedition to the Yemen, which was led by ʿAlī in 10/631-2, and which had returned to Mecca just in time to meet the Prophet there during his Farewell Pilgrimage. ʿAlī had been very strict in the sharing out of the booty and his behaviour had aroused protests; doubt was cast on his rectitude, he was reproached with avarice and accused of misuse of authority. Thus it is quite possible that, in order to put an end to all these accusations, Muḥammad wished to demonstrate publicly his esteem and love for ʿAlī. Ibn Kat͟hīr must have arrived at the same conclusion, for he does not forget to add that the Prophet's words put an end to the murmurings against ʿAlī.

Because of the importance in their eyes of Muḥammad's discourse at G͟hadīr K͟humm, the S͟hīʿīs have considered 18 D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja as an anniversary to be celebrated with solemnity. In ʿIrāḳ, the *īd G͟hadīr K͟humm* was introduced by Muʿizz al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Būya in 352/964 and in Egypt by al-Muʿizz in 362/973; under the Fāṭimids, with the exception of some years of the reign of al-Ḥākim, it was one of the most important religious feasts. In Persia today it is celebrated by making for the occasion three pastry figures filled with honey, which represent the caliphs Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUt͟hmān, and by stabbing them with knives: the honey which comes out symbolizes the blood of the three hated usurpers. This feast also holds an important place among the Nuṣayrīs.

Bibliography: Description of the place: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, *BGA*, vii, 314; Bakrī, 232, 311, 318; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd͟jam*, ii, 35f., 471; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, 1 a.H., §§ 76 n. 4, 78 n. 3; Mosque erected in the place: F. Wüstenfeld, *Die von Medina auslaufenden Hauptstrassen*, 37 f. *Ḥadīt͟h*s where Muḥammad's sentence concerning ʿAlī is linked with G͟hadīr K͟humm: Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 84, 118, 119, 152, iv, 281, 370, 372, v, 419 (cited by Wensinck, *Handbook*, 15), Cairo ed. in progress, ii, 641, 670, 950, 951, 952, 961, 964, 1310, etc.; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl fī sunan al-aḳwāl wa 'l-afʿāl*, Ḥaydarābād 1312-14, vi, 152 nos. 2522-3, 153 no. 2534, 154 nos. 2563, 2567-9, 390 nos. 5967, 5969-70, 397 nos. 6054, 6057, 398 no. 6067, 399 no. 6074, 403-4 nos. 6121-3, 406 no. 4146, 407 no. 6149 (cf. C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919, 19 n. 2; Fr. tr., Leiden 1960, 19 n. 2). According to Ibn Kat͟hīr, Muḥammad's discourse is reported also by al-Nasāʾī in his *Sunan* and in his book on the *k͟haṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, by Ibn Mād͟ja, Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmid͟hī. On the Prophet's discourse, see also Ibn al-Kalbī, *D͟jamhara*, MS British Museum, fol. 256 v.; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, ii, 125; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, *BGA*, viii, 234; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 473; Ibn al-At͟hīr, *Usd*, iv, 28; Ibn K͟hallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 699, Cairo 1950 iv, 318 f., tr. de Slane, iii, 383 (Ibn K͟hallikān mentions the discourse in favour of ʿAlī, but without reporting the famous sentence. A partial variant is found in some *ḥadīt͟h*s: Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo ed., i, nos. 950, 964 and 1310); Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-nāḍira*, Cairo 1327, ii, 169; D͟hahabī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, MS Paris, fols. 188-9; Ibn Kat͟hīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, 1348-55, v, 208-14.—A discussion by a Muʿtazilī: al-D͟jāḥiẓ, *ʿUt͟hmāniyya*, Cairo 1374/1955, index.—On the beliefs of the S͟hīʿīs: Ibn S͟hahrās͟hūb, *Manāḳib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, Nad͟jaf 1376/1956, ii, 224-56 (unsystematic in treatment, but interesting because it mentions the authors who have dealt with the subject and many verses by early poets, including some attributed to Ḥassān b. T͟hābit); Mad͟jlisī, *Ḥayāt al-ḳulūb*, Tehrān 1374, iii, 39-46; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-s͟hīʿa*, iii/1, 524-32 (a lucid modern treatment); I. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šīʿâ und der sunnitischen Polemik*, in *Sitzungsb. der phil.-hist. Classe der K. Ak. der Wissenschaften*, lxxviii (1874), 496 f.; idem, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 115 f.; idem, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*¹, Heidelberg 1910, 239, cf. 274 (Fr. tr., *Dogme*, Paris 1920, 192, cf. 292). On the work of Ṭabarī, idem, *Die liter. Thätigkeit des Ṭabarī nach Ibn ʿAsākir*, in *WZKM*, ix, 366; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, 40 A.H., § 293; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shīʿite Religion*, London 1933, 1-3. On ʿAlī's behaviour during the expedition to the Yemen: Ibn His͟hām, 947 f.; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 418; Ṭabarī, i, 1752 f.; Ibn al-At͟hīr, *Usd*, 27 f.; Caetani, *Annali*, 10 A.H., § 17 (p. 322). On the festival: Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, i, 388 f.; R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairîs*, Paris 1900, 137-41; Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, 138. Certain practices of the ʿAlawīs of Syria inspired Jehan Cendrieux with a novel entitled *Al-Ghâder* (sic) *ou le sexe-Dieu*, Paris 1926.

(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

al-**G͟HĀḌIRĪ**, hero of a series of anecdotes collected, probably in the 3rd/9th century, under the title *Kitāb al-G͟hāḍirī* (*Fihrist*, 435). He is said to have been a foundling, who became a humourist of Medina and rival of As͟hʿab [*q.v.*]; the name of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd [*q.v.*], governor of Medina from 150 to 155/767-72, which appears in one anecdote, would seem to give some grounds for thinking him a historical personality. However, as the Banū G͟hāḍira have a reputation as wits, it is possible that the anonymous collection referred to by Ibn al-Nadīm is made up of anecdotes attributed to various members of this group, among whom they had existed as a common heritage.

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(Ch. Pellat)

G͟HAFFĀRĪ, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Persian historian, descendant of a family originating from Sāwa, later established at Ḳazwīn, and descended from the S͟hāfiʿī *imām* Nad͟jm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-G͟haffār (d. 665/1266), author of the work *Ḥāwī al-ṣag͟hīr*, whence the patronymic "G͟haffārī". Five of his ancestors had held the office of *ḳāḍī*. His father (d. 932/1526), who composed poetry under the pseudonym of Wiṣālī, as well as his brother, had held the same office at Rayy. Since he lived at Ḳazwīn and bore the title of *ḳāḍī*, it would seem that he had held the same post in his native town. It is said that at the end of his life he had resigned the official functions he performed for the princes. He made a journey from Ḳazwīn to Kās͟hān in the company of the *amīr* Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad, the grandson of the *amīr* D͟jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣadr, and of the poet Nit͟hārī of Tabrīz. During this journey he met the great poet Muḥtas͟ham of Kās͟hān. At the end of his life he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return he died at Daybūl (Sind) in 957/1567. Although a poet, he composed two considerable works of history: *Negārestān*, a collection of historical anecdotes collected from the best known works and arranged in chronological order, completed in 959/

1552 and dedicated to the Ṣafawid Shāh Tahmāsb; *Nusakh-i djahān-ārā*, a history of the dynasties from the beginning up to 972/1564, dedicated to the same sovereign.

Bibliography: Sām Mirzā Ṣafawī, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, Tehrān 1314/1936, 72-4 (six members of the family, with printing errors in the names); *The Muntakhab al-tawārīkh of Abd al-qādir bini-Malūk shāh al-Badaoni*, iii, Calcutta 1860, 185-6; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, Tehrān, iii, 178; Luṭf ʿAlī Beyk Āzar, *Āteshkadeh*, Bombay 1299, 228; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-yi ʿulamā-yi Hind*, Lucknow 1914, 18; Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ Khān, *Sham'i andjuman*, Delhi 1293, 57; ʿAlī Shīr Ḳāniʿ Tatawī, *Maḳālāt al-shuʿarā'*, Karachi 1957, 17-18; Storey, section II, 114-6; Saïd Naficy, *Ta'rīkh-i naẓm o nathr dar Īrān wa dar zabān-i Fārsī*, Tehrān 1342/1963, 354, 508. (S. Naficy)

AL-GHĀFIḲĪ, Muḥammad b. Ḳassūm b. Aslam, Spanish-Arab scholar and oculist, probably of the 6th/12th century. The Arabic chroniclers are silent with regard to his biography and we know almost nothing of his life. It has been no more than supposed that he was born in Cordova and that he practised for a long time in this city. According to Wüstenfeld, he was the father of Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghāfiḳī [*q.v.* in Supplement], the famous doctor and pharmacologist, author of the *Kitāb al-Adwiya al-mufrada*.

Of Muḥammad al-Ghāfiḳī, there remains only the *Kitāb al-Murshid fi 'l-kuḥl*, "The Oculist's Guide", of which a single copy exists in the Escorial (N. 835). This book is regarded as a summary of all the knowledge of ophthalmology possessed by the Arabs of both the Islamic east and west, in its author's time. It is divided into six sections of which, in fact, only the fifth (partially) and the sixth (entirely) treat of the medicine and the hygiene of the eyes.

Although the *K. al-Murshid* is considered to be the most remarkable ophthalmological text of the Islamic west, it has been said of it that it is no more than a vast compilation without original contributions, that the part which concerns the oculist in reality only occupies a limited space in relation to that dedicated to general medicine, and that it lacks a sense of proportion (Hirschberg). But in judging it from the point of view of present-day knowledge, it is precisely in the plan of the work and the arrangement of its material that it is possible to catch a glimpse of a kind of anticipation of the modern conception of the pathology of the eye, necessarily linked to and following as a corollary on that of the entire organism.

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GHAFŪRĪ, MEDJĪD, one of the best-known national poets of the Bashḳurts and Tatars. He was born in 1881 in the village of Djilim Ḳaran, a village inhabited by both Tatars and Bashḳurts belonging to the Isterlitamak administrative district of Bashḳurdistan. He died in 1934, a Soviet poet. His father, Nurgani, was the village teacher, and Medjīd (ʿAbd al-Madjīd) received his primary education from him. For his intermediate schooling he went to the *medrese* in the neighbouring village of Ötesh, and from 1898 to 1904 he studied in the *Resūliye Medresesi* in the city of Troysk. Through teaching among the Ḳazaḳs he became attracted to their style of literature. He published his first poetry in *Terdjümān* in 1902, and later, in 1904, in the form of a collection with the title *Sibir Temiryolu yaki Aḥwāl-i millet*. He subsequently published small collections of poems with titles like *Yash ʿömrüm* (1906), *Millet Maḥabbeti* (1907), *Zamāne shiʿirleri* and *Medjīd Ghafūrī shiʿirleri* (1909), *Te'eththürātīm* (1910), *Muñ-Zar* (1911), *Millī shiʿirler we emthāl* (1913), and *Yangan Yürek* (1915). As he knew little Russian, he did not derive much inspiration from Russian literature, being influenced only by Krylov's *Fables* and some of the works of Gorky. His first poems, written under the influence of Ḳazaḳ literature and especially of the Ḳazaḳ poet Aḳmolla, were beautiful, and bring a fresh style to Bashḳurt and Tatar literature. After 1907 he wrote his poems wholly in Tatar, in the classical metres (*ʿarūḍ*). Because of lack of variety in his thoughts and carelessness in metre and style, however, he was considered to be in the second rank of poets, compared with men like Shams al-Dīn Izek and Sheykhzāde Babič among the Bashḳurts, and ʿAbd Allāh Toḳay among the Tatars. In *Zamāne shiʿirleri*, in which he imitated Ṣūfī Allāhyārī, he made it clear that he had read Čaghatāy literature first by way of poetry. In his collected works, which appeared in 1904, he complained of the backwardness of the Bashḳurts and Tatars, of the ignorance of the Mollas and so on. He manifested his belief that the Siberian railway, which was completed in 1902, "the longest railway in the world", would bring about some changes in the life of the eastern Turks. In his works generally, he reflected the early twentieth-century life of the Tatars and Bashḳurts and also their complaints and desires. Before the 1917 Revolution, the works which he had written under the influence of the popular literature of the Ḳazaḳs and the Bashḳurts, not attempting to rival the Tatar poets, had made him very popular in his own land. One of his finest works is the *ḳaṣīde Aḳ-Edil*, published at Ufa in 1911. After 1923 he was drawn into propaganda work by the Soviets, and he was much used for this purpose. In the Soviet period his collected works were published in five volumes, which included the greater part of his early writings, as well as later works of an entirely different character and outlook.

(Z. V. Togan)

GHĀ'IB, absent, usually means in law the person who at a given moment is not present at the place where he should be. But, in certain special cases (see below), the term is applied also to the person who is at a distance from the court before which he was to bring an action or who does not appear at the court after being summoned.

If to this first notion is added that of uncertainty concerning the person's existence, the term used is not *ghā'ib* but *mafḳūd*, although sometimes the state of the *mafḳūd* is called also *ghayba*, to which is added the epithet *munḳaṭiʿa* (absence not interrupted by information on the person's existence). This state of affairs may give rise to juridical consequences of greater or less importance according to circumstances. If such an absence extends to a period when persons of the same generation as the missing person are dead, the judge declares him dead: his estate goes to his heirs, and his marriage or marriages are dissolved. Up to this time, the estate of the *mafḳūd* continues to be administered by his agent, if he had appointed one, or, failing such an appointment, by

a trustee nominated by the judge; inheritances which are due to him remain in suspense; his marriage or marriages continue to subsist.

Ghayba, in its normal and general sense, gives rise to various juridical consequences, particularly the following:

As regards marriage, the absence of a husband which extends beyond a certain term—four years, four months and ten days, according to the majority opinion—permits the wife to apply for judicial divorce if she is not regularly receiving alimony.

Ghayba is also a reason for suspending the prescription of an action at law. In this connexion, it lies in the plaintiff's being three days' journey (on foot) away from the place where he should have brought his action. But this absence must be continuous (in this case too called *ghayba munkaṭiʿa*), so that if during the period when prescription is suspended the plaintiff once more comes to the place where he could bring his action, the period of his absence is no longer of any affect.

The non-appearance of a litigant at a hearing does not permit the judge to decide the case by default, a procedure which, in principle, is not recognized, although various means may be employed to compel the litigant to appear, provided that he is not too far away. Nevertheless in the most recent stage of Muslim law, as it is represented by the Ottoman codification of the second half of the 19th century, judgement by default is admitted.

In public law, in certain states (for example the Mamlūk Empire) the Sultan, when himself absent from the capital, often appointed a *locum tenens*, who was called *nāʾib al-ghayba* (literally, 'substitute of absence').

In public worship, *ṣalāt al-ghāʾib* ('prayer of the absent') is the name given to the prayer said for a dead person whose body cannot be produced.

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GHALĀFIḲA (or Ghulāfiḳ(a), Ghulayfiḳa; pl. of *ghalfaḳ* = *ṭuḥlub* "sea-moss"), a coast town in the Tihāma of Yaman, situated half-way between Ḥudayda and Zabīd, at the southern end of a bay (Khor Ghalāfika). Here was in earlier times the main port of Zabīd, whose west gate is called "Bāb Ghulāfiḳa". The geographer Muḳaddasī, who visited this place, mentions its famous mosque, its date- and cocoapalms, and several wells—Ghalāfiḳa is said to be the only place in this part of the coast with a supply of fresh water—but says that the climate is pestilential and mortal to strangers. According to Ibn al-Mudjāwir (7th/13th century) Persians from Sīrāf, *viz.* fugitives from Djidda, restored the town after a period of decay. Towards the end of the Middle Ages the place lost its importance in favour of the "lower" port of Zabīd, al-Ahwāb, and Mokhā, the great harbour for the export of coffee. In 1763, Niebuhr found Ghalāfiḳa a miserable village, difficult to reach even with small boats, owing to the coral reefs. In our days, according to the *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden pilot*, the harbour can still afford anchorage for small craft, its depth being 3-4 fathoms, but it is gradually silting up.

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GHALAṬA [see ISTANBUL].

GHALAṬA-SARĀYÎ, Palace School and later modern lycée at Pera (Beyoğlu) across the Golden Horn from Istanbul. It was founded during the first years of the Ottoman Sultan Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512), as one of the palace schools in Istanbul and Edirne for the education of the *ʿadjamī oghlān*s [*q.v.*]. It covered a large area on which numerous buildings, dormitories, a hospital, a kitchen, baths, mosques and a *ḳaṣr* (small palace) for the sultan, were built. The administration of the school was entrusted to an *agha* (or *bashagha*) who had under him the teaching staff and a large body of servants. The students were divided into three *oda*s (rooms) called *küčük*, *orta* and *büyük*, each comprising at the beginning 200 boys. Their number varied with time. They were recruited at first mainly through the *devshirme* [*q.v.*], but from Süleymān the Magnificent's reign on, Muslim boys too were accepted. The students were educated in Islamic sciences and liberal arts, instructed in the palace ceremonial and trained in military exercises. After completing their education, which lasted from seven to fourteen years, the most able were chosen for the imperial palace, the Topḳapî sarāyî [*q.v.*] where they continued their studies at the *Enderūn*. Other joined the permanent cavalry regiments (*sipāhī*s).

Ghalaṭa-sarāyî was changed many times into a *medrese* but from its restoration in 1127/1715 under Aḥmed III it remained a palace school, up to its closing in 1251/1835-6. During this period Maḥmūd I had added a library to the school in 1167/1753. Burnt in the first years of Maḥmūd II's reign, the school was rebuilt in 1235/1819-20. Ghalaṭa-sarāyî became a medical school under the name of Ṭîbbiyye-i ʿadliyye-i shāhāne [*q.v.*] in 1254/1838. European and Turkish doctors taught there modern medicine for ten years: a fire in August 1848 obliged the Ṭîbbiyye to move into Khalîdjîoghlu on the Golden Horn.

Ghalaṭa-sarāyî was later reconstructed in stone and was opened as a preparatory school to the military academies in 1862. But this did not last for long. On 1 September 1868 the Imperial lycée or Mekteb-i sulṭānī was opened there. Thanks to the initiative of the Grand Vizier ʿĀlī Pasha and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Fuʾād Pasha, the new institution was supported by the French government. It was modelled after the French lycées, had to be administered by a French director and the teaching was to be mainly in French. The school aimed at producing Western-educated officials for the Ottoman administration. 341 boys from all nationalities of the empire were accepted at the opening. When the French director, M. de Salve, left in 1872, a Christian Ottoman was appointed to this post. Later only Turkish directors

were nominated to the administration of the school. Except for two short intervals, the Impérial lycée remained on the same site. In September 1873 it moved into Gülkhāne, to provide accommodation for the Faculty of Medicine. But three years later, in 1876, it returned to its old premises. On 6 March 1907 a fire burnt the school, and courses continued in a pavilion in the courtyard. The construction of the new building ended the next year, offering more space to the school.

The programmes were revised after the proclamation of the Turkish republic in 1923. Meanwhile the main courses continued to be given in French, mostly by French teachers. Able directors and distinguished professors, many of them famous Turkish poets, scholars and scientists, served in the lycée of Ghalaṭa-sarāyî (now Galatasaray). Graduates of the school contributed much in all fields of activities in Turkey, the Balkans and the Arab countries. The share of the lycée of Ghalaṭa-sarāyî in the modernization of Turkey is important. It still continues to educate Western-minded young men.

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GHALAṬĀT-I MESHHŪRE, Ottoman term meaning literally 'well-known errors' and hence 'solecisms sanctioned by usage'. Arabic and Persian loan-words in Ottoman Turkish generally retained the spelling current in the parent languages and were modified in pronunciation only so far as was essential to accommodate them to the Turkish repertory of consonants and vowels. Occasionally, however, phonetic changes characteristic of Turkish produced more drastic modifications in the loan-words; when the modified forms supplanted the original forms in the literary language they were branded by the purists as '*ghalaṭāt-i meshhūre*'. Some of these 'solecisms' consist only of the change of a single vowel: *djenāze* for *djināze*, *terdjüme* for *terdjeme*, *ḳandīl* for *ḳindīl*, *ḳumāsh* for *ḳimāsh*, etc. But sometimes the modification was more drastic: *merdiven* < *nerdubān*, *mushamba* < *mushammaʿ*, *sehpā* < *sepā*, *pabuč* < *pāpūsh*, *čamashîr* < *djāmashūy*, *čarshaf* < *čādir-i sheb*, *bedāwā* < *bād-i hawā*, etc.; many Arabic broken plurals are used in Turkish as singulars: *ṭalebe*, *elbise*, *khademe*, *ʿamele*, *eshḳiyā*, *eshyā*, *aʿdā* (*aza*); some abstract nouns, unknown to Arabic and Persian, were invented by analogy with Arabic 'measures': *nezāket* ('refinement' < P. *nāzik*), *felāket* ('disaster'), *ṭabābet* ('medicine'), *ṣalāḥiyet* ('authority'), etc.; new words were formed by the addition of an Arabic or a Persian suffix to a Turkish word: *variyet* ('wealth' < T. *var*), *gidishāt* ('goings-on', pseudo-A. pl. of *gidish*), *oyunbāz* ('trickster'), *emekdār* ('veteran'), *sandjaḳdār* ('standard-bearer'), *ishgüzār* ('officious'), etc.

From the 10th/16th century onwards Ottoman scholars and pedants compiled treatises of *ghalaṭat-i meshhūre*, among them Kemāl Pashazāde (*al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-djāhil wa 'l-nabīh*, see Brockelmann, II 452, S II 671 (no. 106); tr. and printed, Istanbul 1289, as *Terdjüme-i Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*), Abu 'l-Suʿūd and Khusrew-zāde Meḥmed; many such treatises were written in the period of the Tanẓīmāt [*q.v.*] and after, when there was increased controversy over the rules of correct usage. A number of these Ottoman 'well-known errors' have been accepted in modern Arabic usage.

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GHALČA, an imprecise designation of those mountain peoples of the Pamirs who speak Iranian lamguages. The term has been used in English scholarly literature for the Iranian Pamir languages. In New Persian the word means 'peasant' or 'ruffian', while in Tādjikī it means 'squat, stupid'. In old Yaghnābi *ghalča* meant 'slave'. The origin of the word is uncertain, for one might compare Sogdian γδ 'to steal', (Pashto γəl 'thief') or Sogdian γr 'mountain', hence 'mountaineer'. Usually the term Ghalča has been used in modern literature to cover the speakers of the following languages and dialects (from north to south): Wandjī, Yazgulāmī, Orošorī, Bartangī, Sarikolī, Rošānī, Shughnī, Wakhī, Ishkāshmī, Mundjī, Sanglēčī, Yidgha. A wider use of the term would include such tongues as Yaghnābī in the north and Parāčī near Kābul.

The earliest attested use of the word by an European is found in the travel account of Benedict de Goès *circa* 1603 (Lentz 12). The term Ghalča was brought into prominence by Shaw, who early investigated some of the languages.

Little is known of the history of the Pamir region. Although much of the area paid tribute to Muslim rulers in Balkh in the first three centuries A. H., it is probable that the majority of the population of Islam remained non-Muslim until the Ismāʿīlī missionary activity of the 5th/11th century. The most famous missionary in neighbouring Badakhshān was the author Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Various forms of the Shīʿa creed remained among the populace down to the present. Today the area is divided between Afghanistan, the USSR and China.

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GHĀLIB [see wahhābiyya].

GHĀLIB b. ʿABD al-RAḤMĀN, al-Ṣiḳlabī, freedman (*mawlā*) of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, in whose time and those of his son al-Ḥakam and grandson

Hishām he was one of the great generals. He led expeditions against the Christians of the Peninsula and also against the Idrīsids and Fāṭimids in Morocco and Ifrīḳiya. In 335/946 he was appointed chief of the Upper Frontier and rebuilt Medinaceli, which he made the base for operations against the Christian positions of the middle and upper Duero valley. His expeditions against Castile in 342/953 were very successful as concerns prisoners and booty but achieved no territorial gains. In 344/955 his fleet attacked the coast of Ifrīḳiya in order to avenge the sack of Almería by the Sicilian fleet of al-Muʿizz the Fāṭimid. This first attack failed but in the following year, 345/956, he returned with another squadron of 70 ships, took and set fire to Marsā al-Kharaz (La Calle) and laid waste the districts of Susa and Ṭabarḳa. In 357/968 he attacked Calahorra and was sent in 361/972 to Morocco to subdue the Idrīsids. After a long and victorious campaign he brought them back in subjection to Cordova. In 364/974 he undertook a carefully prepared expedition against the Castile-Navarre-Leon coalition in which he beat firstly the Christian allies under the walls of Gormaz, then count García Fernández at Langa, south of the Duero, on 25 Shawwāl 364/8 July 975. At this time he took the title of Dhu 'l-Sayfayn and established himself at Medinaceli where he had Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, the famous Almanzor, as his intendant general. When Hishām succeeded to the throne Ibn Abī ʿĀmir joined with Ghālib in his campaigns as commander of the forces of the capital and married his daughter in 367/978. But discord soon broke out between father-in-law and son-in-law when the old general, devoted to the Umayyads, saw the affront suffered by the dynasty at the hands of the parvenu Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, who restricted the activities of the young caliph to pious exercises. The conflict now open, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir seized Medinaceli, Ghālib's fief, at the head of big Berber contingents. Ghālib, to spite him, allied himself with his old enemies the count of Castile and the king of Navarre. The first encounters went in his favour, but Almanzor decided to wager all and provoked a decisive engagement on 4 Muḥarram 371/10 July 981. The battle took place near the castle of San Vicente, probably the modern Torre Vicente about half way between Atienza and Gormaz. In spite of his 80 years Ghālib gave, as always, proof of his courage and boldness, but in a furious attack his horse stumbled and, pierced in the breast by his saddle-bow, he fell dead. The field was thus left free to the unbridled ambition of his lucky rival.

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GHĀLIB b. **ṢAʿṢAʿA** b. Nādjiya b. ʿIḳāl b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān b. Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim, an eminent Tamīmī, famous for his generosity, the father of the poet al-Farazdaḳ.

The tradition that Ghālib was a contemporary of the Prophet (*lahū idrāk*) seems to be valid; the tradition that he visited the Prophet and asked him about the reward of the deeds of his father in the time of the Djāhiliyya (*Aghānī*, xix, 4) seems however to be spurious. Ghālib belonged to the generation after the Prophet; his name is connected with the names of Ṭalba b. Ḳays b. ʿĀṣim and ʿUmayr b. al-Sulayl al-Shaybānī, tribal leaders in the time of Muʿāwiya, in the story of the men of Kalb who tried to find the most generous man (*Aghānī*, xix, 5; in Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ*, iii, 426, ed. 1329 A.H., Ghālib is mentioned with Aktham b. Ṣayfī and ʿUtayba b. al-Ḥārith, which is an obvious anachronism). The most generous man among the three sayyids was indeed Ghālib. (Ghālib was a neighbour of Ṭalba in al-Sīdān, in the vicinity of Kāẓima). He is said to have visited ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and introduced to him his son al-Farazdaḳ; ʿAlī recommended him to teach his son the Ḳurʾān. (According to the tradition of *Aghānī*, xix, 6 he visited him in Baṣra after the battle of the Camel. According to the story quoted in Baghdādī's *Khizāna*, i, 108, Ghālib was then an old man; al-Farazdaḳ was in his early youth).

Ghālib earned his fame by his generosity. Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb counts him in his list of the generous men of the Djāhiliyya (*al-Muḥabbar*, 142); al-Djāḥiẓ stresses that he was one of the generous men of the Islamic period, not inferior to the generous men of the Djāhiliyya, although public opinion prefers the latter (*al-Ḥayawān*, ii, 108, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn). Ghālib is said to have granted bounteous gifts to people, not asking them even about their names. The story of his contest with Suḥaym b. Wathīl al-Riyāḥī in slaughtering camels in the time of ʿUthmān is quoted in many versions. Al-Farazdaḳ mentions this deed of his father boastfully in his poems; Djarīr refers to it disdainfully; the competition was censured in Islam as a custom of the Djāhiliyya (Goldziher, *Muh.St.*, i, 60). A peculiar story in *Naḳāʾiḍ* 417 tells how he threw to the populace in Mecca (*anhaba*) 40,000 dirhams.

Ghālib was assaulted by Dhakwān b. ʿAmr al-Fuḳaymī in consequence of a quarrel between Fuḳaymī men and a servant of Ghālib, who tried to prevent them from drinking water from a reservoir belonging to Ghālib in al-Ḳubaybāt. Mudjāshiʿī tradition denies the Fuḳaymī claim that Ghālib died in consequence of this assault. He died in the early years of the reign of Muʿāwiya and was buried at Kāẓima.

Al-Farazdaḳ mourned his father in a number of elegies (cf. *Dīwān al-Farazdaḳ*, 163, 210, 611, 676, ed. al-Ṣāwī). His tomb became a refuge for the needy and the oppressed who asked help, which had indeed always been granted to them by al-Farazdaḳ (cf. *Dīwān al-Farazdaḳ*, 94, 191, 757, 893 and *Naḳāʾiḍ* 380). Al-Farazdaḳ often mentions him in his poems as "Dhu 'l-Ḳabr" or "Ṣāḥib al-Djadath" (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 237).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources quoted in the article: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. 971a-b, 972a, 974a, 978b, 992a, 1043b; al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 486; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 129, 280; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-ʿArab* (*Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, 350; idem, *Shiʿr*, ed. de Goeje, index; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Hārūn, 239-40; Al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, ed. al-Sandūbī, ii, 187, 225, iii, 139. 195; *Aghānī*², index; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, index; al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Shākir, 261; al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii, 120; idem, *Dhayl al-Amālī*, 52, 77; Yāḳūt s.v. Ṣawʾar, Miḳarr; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, s.v. Ghālib (N. 6925), Suḥaym (N. 3660), al-Farazdaḳ (N. 7029), Hunayda (N. 1115-women);

al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 462; al-ʿAynī, *al-Maḳāṣid*, i, 112 [on margin of *Khizāna*]; al-Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣāwī; Ṭabarī, ed. Cairo 1939, iv, 179.

(M. J. Kister)

GHĀLIB dede, Meḥmed Esʿad, also Shaykh Ghālib (1171/1757-1213/1799), Turkish poet, the last of the five great representatives of the *dīwān* literature (the others being Bāḳī, Fuḍūlī, Nefʿī and Nedīm [*qq.v.*]). He was born in Istanbul at the Yenikapı Mewlewīkhāne, in 1171/1757, as is recorded in two famous chronograms: *ether-i ʿishḳ* and *djezbet-ullāh*. His father Muṣṭafa Reshīd, poet and scholar, belonged to a Mewlewī family, and exercised a decisive influence on Ghālib's life and his choice of career. Of his mother we only know, from a chronogram by Ghālib himself, that her name was Emīne and that she died in 1209/1794. Ghālib does not seem to have had a regular *madrasa* training, but to have been thoroughly educated in Islamic classics in the family circle and in the Mewlewī convent. After his father, his main teacher and guide seems to have been Ashdjī-bashī Ḥüsayn Dede who became the Shaykh of the Ghalaṭa convent in 1194/1790. Ghālib began to write poetry at a very early age and was able to arrange a *dīwān* at the age of twenty-four, while at the same time serving as an official at the Beylikdji Odasī of the Dīwān-ı Hümāyūn. At the suggestion of the poet Nesh'et he adopted as pen-name (*makhlaṣ*) Esʿad, which he later changed to Ghālib. Ghālib became increasingly interested in the works of Djelāl al-Din Rūmī and the Mewlewīs. He suddenly decided in 1198/1783 to join the order and went to Ḳonya accompanied by his young friend Ibrāhīm Khān-zāde Yūnus Bey to perform the necessary rites in the headquarters of the order, under the guidance of the head of the Mewlewīs, Seyyid Ebū Bekir Čelebi. On his return he completed his *čille* at the famous Ghalaṭa convent of the order and then retired to his house in Sütlüdje on the Golden Horn where he wrote a commentary to Yūsuf Sīnečāk's *Djezīre-i Methnewī*.

His appointment by the Čelebi of Ḳonya as the *shaykh* of the Ghalaṭa convent is a turning point in Ghālib's life. He soon attracted the attention of the Sultan Selīm III, himself a poet and musician, an admirer of Djelāl al-Dīn Rūmī and a member of the Mewlewī order. The Sultan became a great personal friend of Ghālib and used to pay him frequent visits in the convent, and the poet was always welcome in the Imperial Palace. With the Sultan's help Ghālib succeeded in restoring the convent and its annexes completely and then in making it the most important literary centre of the capital; he himself moved to the living quarters of the convent. Princess Beyhan, the sister of Selīm III, a cultured and intelligent woman, had great sympathy for the poet, which seems later to have developed into an attachment. She helped and protected him in many ways until his death. Ghālib reveals his great respect and admiration for her in many of his poems. It is not impossible that he was in love with her, judging from the many passages where feeling and affection are couched in expressions of reverence.

In the circle of the Mewlewīs Ghālib's best friend was Esrār Dede, poet and biographer, on whose death he wrote his famous elegy. Ghālib himself died in 1209/1799, at the age of forty-two. The sources are not in agreement as to the causes of his early death. It seems likely that he fell victim to tuberculosis. He is buried at the Ghalaṭa convent cemetery by the side of Ismāʿīl Rüsūkhī Dede, the famous 11th/17th century *Mathnawī* commentator.

Ghālib owes his great fame mainly to his *mathnawī Ḥüsn u ʿAshḳ*. His *dīwān*, which contains the richest variety of forms and metrical patterns of the classical school and contains many poems of high standard, has often been qualified by most critics as second rate, for his brilliant and unusual *mathnawī* eclipsed for them everything else he wrote. *Ḥüsn u ʿAshḳ* is an allegorical romance of mystic love. One night a boy Ḥüsn (Beauty) and a girl ʿAshḳ (Love) are born in the Benī Maḥabbat (Sons of Love) tribe. They are at once betrothed by the elders of the tribe. They go to the same school where their teacher is Mollā-yi Djünūn (The Master of Folly). The two are devoted to each other. In the garden Nüzhet-geh-i Maʿnā (The Promenade of Meaning) where they go, they meet an old man Sukhan (Word), the owner of the garden who becomes their go-between. Ḥayret (Astonishment), the local judge, tries to prevent their meeting. But ʿIṣmet (Chastity), the guardian of Ḥüsn, and Ghayret (Zeal), the nurse of ʿAshḳ, try to console and help them in their difficulties. ʿAshḳ asks for Ḥüsn from the tribe, but they make fun of her. She must first go to the Kingdom of the Ḳalb (Heart) and on the way overcome many trials. But ʿAshḳ is prepared to face all things and sets out with Ghayret. At the first step they fall into the bottomless well of a giant who wishes to fatten and eat them. Sukhan rescues them by a rope he lets down. Then freezing Winter detains them on their way and they fall into the power of a wizard. Again Sukhan comes with a horse (Ashḳar) and a sword (*Tīgh-i āh* 'Sword of Sighs') from Ḥüsn, and they set out on their journey reaching the Deryā-yi Ātesh (the Sea of Fire) where there are ships of wax. They have no choice but to fly over, which Ghayret does by opening his wings. ʿAshḳ mounts on Ashḳar who goes without hesitation into the fire. Thus they reach the borders of China. The Emperor's daughter Hūsh-Rübā (Reason-captivating) assumes the shape of Ḥüsn and deceives ʿAshḳ, shutting her up in the Dhāt al-Ṣuwer (painted) fortress. Again Sukhan comes in the shape of a nightingale and tells ʿAshḳ that there is a treasure in the castle and it is necessary to burn the castle to get the treasure. So the castle and all its paintings are burnt. ʿAshḳ becomes thin and ill and can no longer stand even the weight of her clothes made of cloth of moon silk. But a more auspicious day dawns. Sukhan comes as a healing doctor and orders ʿAshḳ to go the castle of the *Ḳalb* (Heart) where Ḥüsn is King. ʿAshḳ sees that the castle of the *Ḳalb* (Heart) is like the fortress Dhāt al-Ṣuwer, but it is truly real. There she sees all her old teachers and nurses. Sukhan tells her that there are no perils or dangers, that it had been he who slew the monsters, and had been the nightingale and the doctor, and now he invites her to come to union with her beloved. Love is Beauty and Beauty is Love and no evil tongue can separate them.

Ghālib, as the last great exponent of *dīwān* poetry, occupies a unique place in the history of Ottoman Turkish literature. From the late 7th/13th until the 11th/17th century, Ottoman Turkish *dīwān* poets were mainly inspired by the great Persian classics the last of whom was Djāmī [*q.v.*]. But in the Indian courts of Babur's descendants there developed a new style of Persian poetry (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]) in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, which, abandoning the tradition of the great classics, made fashionable the exaggerated use of conceits, allegory and ornate expressions, and laid emphasis on symbolic and obscure style and unusual words with over-elaborate and far-fetched colour-imagery. This 'Indian School'

of poetry began to influence 11th/17th century Ottoman poets like Nefʿī and more particularly Nāʾilī and a host of other minor writers.

The appearance of a poet of genius like Nedīm in the early 12th/18th century seemed to announce a radical change in the Persian-inspired tradition of Ottoman poetry. Nedīm, although not daring to do away with traditional themes, forms and clichés, made great efforts to "depersianize" Ottoman poetry, introducing many themes and motives from his time and surroundings and using unconventional and often colloquial language. G͟hālib, with his poetical genius, unusual power of imagination and mastery of form, might have achieved what Nedīm had started: to create a thoroughly Turkish *dīwān* poetry in the classical tradition, had he chosen to follow his example. Instead, although he admired Nedīm and owes much to him in some of his poems, he decided to turn the clock back and picked up again the "Indian School" tradition where Nāʾilī had left off. But as he was a greater poet with more vision and imagination, and imbued with mysticism, he created, at the close of the classical period, his original blend of both sources.

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(Fahir İz)

G͟HĀLIB, Ismāʿīl [see ismāʿīl g͟hālib].

G͟HĀLIB, Mīrzā Asad Allāh K͟hān, one of the greatest Muslim poets of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent. He was born in 1797 at Āgra in an aristocratic Muslim family; his childhood and early boyhood were passed at Āgra where he received the classical Mug͟hal education (Persian being one of its chief subjects). He moved to Delhi when he was about 15 years of age and lived in the Mug͟hal capital till his death on 15 February 1869, except for a brief sojourn in Lucknow and Benares on his way to Calcutta where he remained two years (1830-32) in connexion with an unsuccessful attempt to have his pension increased. Returning to Delhi, he lived on pensions granted him in recognition of his talents first by the nawab of Oudh, then by the court of Delhi. Thus G͟hālib lived a major part of his life near the degenerate Mug͟hal court of his times and witnessed the hard days of the famous "Mutiny" of 1857. Only with great difficulty and after painful humiliations did he succeed in freeing himself of suspicion of having taken part in the Mutiny and get his pension restored to him by the British Government. Apart from domestic unhappiness (he lost his father at the age of five years, all his seven sons died in infancy, etc.) G͟hālib's life was rather quiet and colourless. Hardly any hints at the grave political events of his time can be found in his poetry. He was not even passionately concerned with the Muslim religion, and his broad and tolerant attitude in this respect is shown in a letter to Muns͟hī Hargopāl Tâfta, to whom he writes: "I hold all human beings, Muslim, Hindu or Christian, dear to me, and regard them as my brothers"; the mystical imagery present in his lyrics is due rather to his following the traditional style than to genuine Ṣūfī feeling. The real protagonist of all his poetry is his own mind, which creates extremely refined intellectual images; his poetry, chiefly of a very melancholic trend, is therefore extremely fragmentary, but those "fragments" (he himself defines his *Dīwān* as a "selection") are amongst the most perfect specimens of Urdu literature.

G͟hālib's more important works are: (1) His Urdu *Dīwān* first published in 1841 and then, with additions, four times again during his life (last edition in G͟hālib's life in 1863 with 1795 *bayts*), and numerous times after his death (*Dīwān-i G͟hālib*, ed. D͟hākir Ḥusayn, Berlin 1925 is an attractive pocket edition without notes; the last good edition is: *Dīwān-i Urdū*, ed. and annotated by Imtiyāz ʿAlī ʿArs͟hī, ʿAlīgaṙh 1958); (2) His Persian *Kulliyyāt*, consisting of *ḳaṣīda*s, *g͟hazal*s, short *mat͟hnawī*s, *ḳiṭʿa*s etc., first published in 1845 and then repeatedly, especially by Nawalkishore in Lucknow (1862, 1924 etc.); (3) Various works in Persian prose included in his *Kulliyyāt-i nat͟hr* first published together by Nawalkishore in Lucknow in 1868. They are: *Pand͟j gand͟j-i āhang* (a treatise on Persian grammar and stylistics), *Mihr-i nīm-rōz* (first part of a *Partavistān*, which was a history of the Mug͟hals and the Mug͟hal Empire, the second part of which never came out), and *Dastānbū* (an account of the Indian Mutiny as seen by G͟hālib); (4) *Ḳāṭiʿ-i Burhān*, a critical work on the famous Persian Dictionary *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, first published in Lucknow in 1861-62, and then, with additions, in 1865-66 as *Dirafs͟h-i Kāviyānī*; (5) The two famous collections of letters in Urdu, the *ʿŪd-i Hindī* first published in 1868 (162 letters) in Meerut, and *Urdū-e Muʿallā* (472 letters) published only 19 days after his death, in March 1869 in Delhi; further letters, fragments in Persian and Urdu etc. were repeatedly published afterwards.

G͟hālib expressly stated that he entrusted his fame and renown not to his Urdu, but to his Persian works, and his letters reveal his keen interest in Persian grammar, lexicography and stylistics. He declares that at first he was fascinated by Bīdil [*q.v.*] and his difficult style, but afterwards he preferred a sounder and simpler, more classical Persian. Actually the most mature part of his Persian work is far superior to that of many Indo-Persian writers, but historically speaking its value is rather reduced by the fact that Persian had, already in G͟hālib's time, been superseded in the Indian administration by Urdu and had practically no future in India. Therefore a more durable trace was left by G͟hālib's Urdu productions. In spite of the difficulty, the wealth of conceits and the extreme over-persianization of its style, his small Urdu *Dīwān* shows what has been called by some of his commentators a "passionate intensity of thought", partly at least derived from his former master Bīdil. In some of his fragments he tries even the supremely refined experiment of simplicity. Simplicity—in contrast to his rather complicated Persian prose—is the chief and revolutionary aspect of his Urdu letters, an unsurpassed model of direct, unaffected expression. G͟hālib can therefore be considered the father of modern Urdu prose; for what concerns poetry, he is the father of only one aspect of modern Urdu

poetry, the intellectual and psychological deepening of the old imagery; his complete aloofness from outward reality (no more than 15-20 lines out of the nearly 1800 verses of his Urdu *Dīwān* have Nature as the main theme!) renders him a not very suitable source of inspiration for modern realistic writers of poetry, who may rather look to Urdu poets of the *gīt* type (*e.g.*, Naẓīr Akbarābādī). Attempts at translations of Ghālib into European languages are therefore very scanty, though some of his poems well deserve a modern European re-interpretation.

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GHĀLIB, Sharīf [see hāshimids and makka].

GHĀLIB PASHA [see mehmed saʿīd ghālib pasha].

GHALZAY (Ghaldjī, Ghilzay), a large western Afghān (Pashto speaking) tribe with many subdivisions, mainly located between Ḳandahār and Ghazna.

Much has been written about the origins of the Ghalzay and one may assume they are a mixture, including Hephthalite and Turkish elements. The name in Pashto would mean 'the son of Ghal,' which in turn means 'thief'. This is the popular explanation of the name Ghalzay. According to legends in the *Makhzan-i Afghānī*, the Ghalzays are descended from Mato, a daughter of Bitan (or Batnī) who was a son of Ḳays, the eponymous ancestor of all Pathans. Mato had an affair with Shāh Ḥusayn, a refugee prince of Ghūr, and Ghalzay was born of this union, the progenitor of the tribe.

It is probable that the name Ghalzay is derived from Khaladj, a Turkic (or Hephthalite?) tribe, which lived in the Ghazna area in the 4th/10th century (cf. Minorsky). The Khaldji (Khildji) dynasty of India was founded by leaders of this tribe, and a mixture of 'Turks and Afghāns' is indicated by the *Djahān-nāma*, a geographical text of the early 7th/13th century. Bābur campaigned against the Ghaldjī near Ghazna, and we may assume this is the earliest mention of the name of the Ghalzays. The Ghalzays came into prominence in the 11th/17th century when they moved into the region of Ḳandahār, occupying territory vacated by Abdālī tribesmen who had been moved to Harāt by Shāh ʿAbbās I. In 1707 Mīr Ways, leader of the Ghalzays of Ḳandahār, revolted against the Persians, slew the governor and declared his independence. Mīr Ways died in 1715 and was succeeded, after some conflict, by his son Maḥmūd. The latter captured Kirmān in 1720 and the Ṣafawī capital Iṣfahān in 1722. The Ghalzays ruled Persia under Maḥmūd and Ashraf until 1730. With the victories of Nādir Shāh the power of the Ghalzays melted away. In place of the Ghalzays, the Abdalīs or Durrānīs became the principal tribe of Afghānistān, led by Aḥmad Shāh.

The Ghalzays aided Shāh Shudjāʿ to take Kābul in 1218/1803, and ties of marriage joined the Ghalzay chiefs to the ruling Durrānī tribe. In more recent times a Ghalzay force was defeated at Aḥmad Khēl in 1880 by a British detachment under Stewart marching from Ḳandahār to Kābul. The Ghalzays revolted against the ruler of Afghānistān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in 1886, and have participated in many local uprisings and raids since that time.

At present the Ghalzays are mainly found east and south-east of Ghazna, although groups of them are settled in northern Afghānistān near Maymāna and in Badakhshān. They are divided into two main groups, the Turān (Tōkhī and Hōtakī sub-tribes) and the Burhān (Sulayman-khēl, ʿAlī-khēl, Tarakkī and Isḥākzay). There may be almost two million Ghalzays, of whom three-quarters live in Afghanistān, and the rest in Pakistān.

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GHĀMID, tribe and district in western Saudi Arabia. The tribe is said to descend from Ghāmid b. ʿAbd Allāh of al-Azd of Ḳaḥtān, who moved northward from the Yaman and settled in the area now called Bilād Ghāmid in the highlands of southern al-Ḥidjāz, centred around approximately 20° N. and 41° 45′ E.

The tribe is now subdivided into a large number of sections, most of which are sedentary. The few nomadic sections, called Āl Ṣayyāḥ, roam along the northern and eastern edges of the settled district and own a few gardens in al-ʿAḳīḳ and along Wādī Ranyā.

The district of Ghāmid is relatively thickly settled, fertile, and prosperous. Rainfall allows dry farming, and fruits, wheat, barley, beans, and tobacco are grown. The villages consist for the most part of stone houses, made from locally quarried granite blocks. The fertility of the area, the extreme fragmentation of tribal splinter groups, and the raids by the Bedouin, formerly always at odds with the farming population, led to the construction of innumerable defensive towers, also made of granite blocks, which are characteristic of the area. Many of these towers have been allowed to decay.

Before the First World War Ghāmid owed allegiance to either the Turks or the Sharīf of Mecca, and its administrative centre was in the village of al-Ẓafīr (from Āl al-Ẓafīr section of Ghāmid). Since the establishment of the Saudi government, the district of Ghāmid and that of Zahrān [*q.v.*] to the north have been administered as a unit. The seat of local government is now some 15 miles south of al-Ẓafīr at Baldjurshī (or Baldjurashī), a name designating twenty-four small settlements scattered over a wide plain (altitude 1,960 meters). Four of these settlements: al-ʿAwadha, al-Ṣilmiyya, al-Rukba, and al-Ghāzī, collectively referred to as Dār al-Sūḳ, are close together and form the administrative and marketing centre.

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GHĀNA, a town in the Nigerian Sudan in the

Middle Ages, now vanished, the site of which should apparently be identified with Kumbi Ṣāliḥ (15° 40′ N., 8° W.), some 330 km./200 miles north of Bamako, 95 km./60 miles west-north-west of Nara and 70 km./44 miles south-south-east of Timbedra. Kumbi Ṣāliḥ belongs to the administrative district of Aïoun el Atrous (*ʿUyun al-ʿatrūs*) (subdivision of Timbedra) in the Islamic republic of Mauritania.

The term *ghāna* signified sovereign in the Awkār. By extension, it denoted the capital city of the first negro kingdom of Nigerian Sudan. Al-Fazārī (before 184/800) is the first to speak of "Ghāna, the land of gold", which is mentioned also by al-Yaʿḳūbī (256/870) and, in particular, by Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī who died probably in 290/903 and who, in his *Kitāb al-Buldān* (*BGA*, vi, 87), provides some amusing details (ed. and trans. M. Hadj-Sadok, Algiers 1949, 51): "from Ṭarḳala to Ghāna it is three months journey on foot through the desert; in the country of Ghāna, gold grows in the sand like carrots (*djazar*); it is dug up at sunrise; the natives live on millet (*dhura*) and beans (*lūbiyā*); their name for millet is *dukhn*; they clothe themselves in panther skins since these animals are abundant in their country".

The first eyewitness account by a traveller is that of Ibn Ḥawḳal, who in 366/977 wrote the *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* in which he says "The king of Ghāna is the richest in the land on account of the gold mines he governs", but gives almost no other information about his visit to the Sudan.

Al-Saʿdī (d. *ca.* 1065/1655), inthe *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* (ed.-tr. O. Houdas, Paris 1900, 2nd ed. Paris 1964) mentions 44 princes of white stock of unknown origin, 22 of whom are said to have ruled before the *hidjra* and 22 afterwards, but Delafosse thinks (*Haut Sénégal-Niger*, iii, 1912, 23) that the tradition mentioned 44 sovereigns, a number of whom were before the *hidjra*, and that the writer of the *Taʾrikh* translated *a number* by *half*. In fact nothing is known about this period, except that the Soninke, a negro race, co-existed with these princes of white stock; R. Mauny, however, disputes that there was in this period a race of white princes, whom al-Idrīsī (549/1154) is the first writer to mention. In about 174/790, Kaya Maghan Cissé, the first negro *tounka* (king) of Ghāna, drove back the Whites towards Tagant, Gorgol and Fūta. This kingdom included Awkār, Bagana, Diaga, Kaniaga, northern Beledugu, Kaarta, Kuigui, Diafunu and Wagadu. Almost nothing is known about this kingdom until the first Berber attacks in the 3rd/9th century which have been described for us by Ibn Abī Zarʿ (*Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*) and Ibn Khaldūn. This Berber invasion led to the kingdom of Awdaghost [*q.v.*] which became a vassal of Ghāna. In 380/990 the town of Awdaghost was taken by the king of Ghāna, who appointed a negro governor to ensure that the dues on their caravans were paid by his Berber vassals. For half a century Ghāna was the most powerful kingdom of the Sudan; thanks to al-Bakrī (460/1067-8) we have a good deal of information about it. The capital consisted of two towns, one of which was inhabited by Muslims among whom were several jurists and other scholars; it had twelve mosques to which *imāms*, *muʾadhdhins* and readers (*rātibūn*) are attached; the Friday prayer is observed in one of them. The other, situated six miles away, was the royal town. Here the sovereign had a palace comprising a castle and a number of huts with round roofs, the whole being surrounded by a wall. Not far from the king's court stood a mosque for the use of Muslims visiting the Prince on special missions. The houses were made of stone, a unique feature in the Sudan, or of wood of the gum-tree. Nearby were extensive woods, from which the royal town took its name of *ghāba* (forest). In huts in this forest lived the sorcerers and priests who guarded the idols; it was there also that the kings' tombs and the prisons were located. The people were fetish-worshippers, as was their sovereign, though in fact he treated the Muslims with great respect, and thus chose his interpreters, his treasurer and most of his ministers from among them; according to al-Bakrī, they had also special privileges of dress. Since Delafosse, many descriptions have been given of the royal audiences. They began with the beating of drums (*daba*). The king's subjects prostrated themselves and threw earth over their heads, but the Muslims showed respect by clapping their hands.

The commercial rôle of Ghāna was very important. The Maghribī traders arrived from Tafilalet with stocks of merchandise, in particular salt bought at Teghāza and aromatic wood which was used to sweeten the water-skins and to make the water kept in them for a long time fit to drink. The wares brought from the north included copper earrings and rings. From the Sahara came caravans laden with salt. But the principal commodity was gold from the mines of Wangara (Upper Senegal and Faleme basin) which the traders fetched from Gadiaro, 18 days' journey from Ghāna and probably near Kayes, and which they exchanged by silent barter. The figures given by al-Bakrī relating to the strength of the Ghāna army (200,000 warriors, 40,000 of them archers) are obviously an exaggeration.

Awdaghost was captured by the Almoravids of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar (446/1054). After checking the revolt of the Berber Maṣṣūfa, Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar decided to put their bellicose instincts to good use and sent them to attack Bassi, the king of Ghāna (1061) who was renowned for his justice and for his friendship towards the Muslims; he was succeeded the next year by his nephew Tounka Menin. After 15 years of warfare, Abū Bakr took possession of Ghāna (1076). The inhabitants were massacred or compelled to accept conversion. The death of Abū Bakr ibn ʿUmar (480/1087) must have allowed Ghāna to regain its independence. But the various provinces had broken away, with the result that in the 6th/12th century the authority of the ruler of Ghāna hardly extended beyond Bassikūnū and Awkār. In 1203 Sumangūrū Kante, the ruler of the Sosso, took Ghāna and established in it a pagan garrison from which the Muslim Sorinke had to flee to Walata (1224), which replaced Ghāna as the centre of trading caravans and of Muslim education, and to Dienné (1250). In 1240 Soundjata Keita captured Ghāna, which was entirely destroyed.

Nevertheless, al-ʿUmarī, writing before 750/1349, stated: "In the length and breadth of the lands of the lord of this kingdom (of Mali), there is no-one who bears the title of king save the lord of Ghāna, who is, however, his deputy, despite his title of king". Incidentally, Ibn Khaldūn speaks of his meeting in 796/1393 with Shaykh ʿUthmān, *muftī* of the inhabitants of Ghāna. These two passages seem to indicate the persistence, after the expeditions of the 7th/13th century, of an important community perhaps residing at Walata and including a king and *muftī*.

It was the extraordinary renown of this negro kingdom that induced Dr. Nkrumah, the political leader of the Gold Coast, to name his country Ghana when it attained independence in 1957.

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GHANA. Islam first spread into the area comprised in the modern Republic of Ghana, the former British colony of the Gold Coast, probably in the late 8th/14th or early 9th/15th century, when the Muslim Dyula—specialized trading groups of Malinke and Soninke affiliations—extended their activities from the metropolitan districts of Mali outwards to various centres of primary economic production far beyond the imperial frontiers. Attracted into the Voltaic region to the south mainly by its abundant resources of gold, the Dyula established themselves in small colonies distributed along the trade-paths leading from the goldfields northwards to the greater markets on the Niger, termini of the trans-Saharan caravan trails. A Dyula centre of early importance, from which many later Muslim communities in both the Ivory Coast and Ghana stemmed, was at Begho, on the western border of Ghana near the modern Nsorkor; before its collapse probably in the early 18th century it had become one of the main focuses of Muslim activity within the Voltaic region. Another early centre was that of Wa, in northern Ghana, where the present *amīr al-muʾminīn*, the Dyula-mansa or Shehu Wangara, claims to be forty-second in office.

A second course of Muslim influence was that from the north-east. Muslim merchants from the Hausa states, active in the kola trade, may, on the evidence of the *Kano Chronicle*, have extended their activities into Ghana as early as the mid-9th/15th century. With the expansion of the trade in the 18th century, Hausa immigration into Ghana was greatly stimulated, and important settlements grew up in such northern market centres as Salaga and Yendi.

On the available evidence, it was not until the later 10th/16th century that Islam began to spread beyond the confines of the Dyula and Hausa trading communities. At that time the Begho *shaykh* Ismāʿīl, and his son Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ, converted to the faith the Malinke-Bambara ruling aristocracy of Gonja, then the rising power in northern Ghana. This was the period when, according to the *Taʾrīkh Kunta*, the disciples of ʿUmar al-Shaykh (d. ca. 949/1552-3) were planting the Ḳādiriyya order throughout the Western Sudan, and it may be that the Begho movement is to be seen against this background.

Not until a century and a half after the Gonja conversions does Islam appear to have made further significant gains in Ghana. In the early years of the 18th century the Dagomba ruler Muḥammad Zanjina became a convert to Islam, as did, at much the same time, Atabia (d. 1154/1741-2), king of the sister state of Mamprusi. Thus by the early 18th century the three major states of northern Ghana, Gonja, Dagomba, and Mamprusi, each had a Muslim ruler. None developed, however, into an Islamic state on the model of the 18th century imāmates of Futa Toro and Futa Jalon: since their political and socio-legal systems had become rigid in earlier times, they preserved, beneath an Islamic super-structure, an essentially pre-Islamic sub-structure.

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries Muslim communities established themselves further to the south. In Kumasi, capital of the Ashanti empire, Muslims served on the king's council, staffed the chancery, and, with the concurrence of the king who was apprehensive of the growth of a revolutionary native Ashanti merchant class, established their control over important sectors of the Ashanti economy.

The early 19th century Muslim reform movement initiated by ʿUthmān dan Fodio, which led to the establishment of the Fulani amīrates of northern Nigeria, made some impact upon north-eastern Ghana Muslim communities such as that of Yendi, the Dagomba capital, but by its doctrinal emphasis upon non-cooperation with pagan rulers perhaps tended in general to retard the spread of Islam further south. In the second half of the same century a wave of Islamization in the north-west, affecting in particular sections of the Sisala, appears to have resulted from the *djihād* of al-Ḥādjdj Maḥmūd Karantao of Wahabu (Republic of Volta), whose forces included Dagari-Dyula contingents from Wa. Later in the century the Wa area, and western Gonja, were for a brief time brought under the dominion of the Mandinka empire of Samori Ture, while in the central districts of northern Ghana the Zabarima and locally-recruited forces of Alfa Kazare, Babatu and Hamaria were creating the nucleus of a Muslim state in the midst of the pagan 'Grunshi'. An alliance between the Muslim forces of Samori, Babatu and Mukhtār ibn al-Ḥādjdj Maḥmūd Karantao, and even the non-Muslim Ashanti, directed against the British and French, failed to consolidate in time and by the beginning of the present century the strength of each had been broken by the colonial powers.

Muslim immigration increased in volume throughout the 19th and into the 20th century, Zabarima, Hausa and Yoruba constituting the bulk of the settlers. Today no town in Ghana is without its Muslim section. The recent spread of Islam has been largely a result of this process, though in the extreme south Islam gained new ground among the Fante as a result of the proselytizing activities from c. 1885 of Abū Bakr, a northern *malam*, and his two Fante disciples Benjamin Sam and Madhi Appah.

No census of the Muslim population of Ghana has been made. Over the country as a whole the proportion of Muslims is unlikely to be less than 10%, and may be significantly higher. The largest concentrations are found in the capital, Accra, which probably has about 75,000 Muslims (total popu-

lation: 388,000), and in Kumasi with probably about 60,000 (total population: 221,000). Estimates of the extent of Islamization in northern Ghana vary widely from 15% to 50%; much depends upon the view taken of the many marginally Muslim groups there.

No detailed study of Muslim organization in Ghana has yet been made. The Ḳādirī and Tid̲j̲ānī orders are both established. The history of the former in Ghana, as already suggested, may date back to c. 960/1550, though its main growth took place in the early 19th century, largely through Hausa intermediaries. The Tid̲j̲āniyya spread widely, often at the expense of the Ḳādiriyya, in the second half of the 19th century and is still ascendent. The Tid̲j̲ānī *wird* in Ghana is probably partly of ʿUmarī origin (al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUmar of Segu, d. 1864), but has certainly also been received immediately from the Senegambia, and, through pilgrims, from Meccan contacts. There are no reliable estimates of the numerical strength of either order. In addition, since 1921 Aḥmadī missionaries have been active especially in Saltpond in the extreme south, in Kumasi, and in Wa. In 1963 they claimed a following of between thirty and forty thousand. In the political life of Ghana Muslims are represented by the Moslem Council, a wing of the ruling Convention Peoples Party. The Moslem Association, founded in 1932 as an eductional and cultural organization, as the Moslem Association Party joined the opposition to the C.P.P. in 1956, but was disbanded in late 1957.

The development of Islamic learning in Ghana was one result of the spread of the faith. A tradition of local authorship was certainly well established by the early 18th century; it is exemplified in the extant *Kitāb G̲h̲und̲j̲ā*, an important historical work of Gonja authorship compiled in the middle of that century. The tradition is still a thriving one, and is excellently represented in the works of al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr of Salaga and Kete Krachi (b. Kano, c. 1850; d. Kete Krachi, 1934), of which over a hundred are known. They are characterized by their lively treatment of topical events,—the coming of the Christians; the Salaga civil war; the influenza epidemic; the claims of a 'alse Mahdī; etc. Al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUmar's pupils are now widely dispersed throughout Ghana and the surrounding territories. The Institute of African Studies in the University of Ghana has a growing collection of works in Arabic script from Ghana; these are mainly in the Arabic language but also include items in Hausa, Dagbane, Mamprule and Guan.

The ancient Western Sudanese tradition of mosque architecture, best known from the Niger Bend, is represented in about thirty surviving buildings in northern Ghana, of which the Friday mosques at Larabanga and Bole (Gonja) are particularly worthy of note. In general, however, the old mosques are rapidly being replaced by undistinguished (though more commodious) structures of concrete and corrugated iron. Much of the domestic architecture of north-western Ghana is also heavily Sudano-Islamic in style. (I. Wilks)

G̲H̲ANAM [see badw (ii,a), yürük, zakāt].

G̲H̲ANĪ, *tak̲h̲alluṣ* of the Persian poet Mullā Muḥammad Ṭāhir As̲h̲aʾī of Kas̲h̲mīr, who flourished during the reign of the Mug̲h̲al emperors, S̲h̲āh-d̲j̲ahān and Awrangzīb [*qq.v.*]. Nothing is known with certainty either about the date of his birth or the origins of the clan—the As̲h̲aʾīs—to which he belonged. It is, however, certain that he was the son of an obscure poor *s̲h̲ālbāf* (a weaver of woollen shawls). A pupil of Muḥsin Fānī, assumed by some scholars to be the author of *Dabistān-i mad̲h̲āhib*, G̲h̲anī began writing poetry at the early age of twenty. The numerical value of his pen-name G̲h̲anī (*i.e.*, 1060/1650) supplies the date. True to the literal meaning of his poetical name, he hated and detested meeting and attending on princes, potentates or men of power and riches. When his fame as a great poet reached the emperor Awrangzīb, he wanted to see him and ordered the governor of Kas̲h̲mīr, Sayf K̲h̲ān, to send G̲h̲anī to Delhi. Learning of the governor's intention the poet refused to comply with his wishes and asked Sayf K̲h̲ān to inform the emperor that G̲h̲anī had gone mad. Finding the governor adamant, the poet all of a sudden tore his collar and rolled in the dust. Three days later he died (1079/1688). Gifted with an extraordinarily fertile imagination and a high-soaring intellect he composed fine poetry rich in *īhām* [*q.v.*].

His *dīwān*, comprising *g̲h̲azal*s, *rubāʿī*s and *ḳaṣīda*s, was arranged and edited posthumously by Muḥammad ʿAlī Māhir, a Hindu convert to Islam and an adopted son of Mīr D̲j̲aʿfar Muʿammāʾī. It contains over 2,000 select verses and was printed in Lucknow in 1261/1845. Given to composing verses which admitted of more than one interpretation, G̲h̲anī has few rivals in this field of *sanʿat-i īhām-gūʾī*. Piqued and offended, he gave up attending on ʿInāyat K̲h̲ān, son of Ẓafar K̲h̲ān Aḥsan, the Mug̲h̲al governor of Kas̲h̲mīr and a great patron of art and culture, as the former had once remarked that a couplet which could not be properly understood on the first hearing or reading was absurd and meaningless. G̲h̲anī lies buried in the Gurgārī Maḥalla (formerly known as Ḳuṭb al-Dīnpūr), Zayna Kadal, Srinagar where his grave is still extant. His cottage in Rād̲j̲wer Kadal, a quarter of the same city, is also pointed out to visitors although the simple brick-built structure does not show any signs of age.

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G̲H̲ANĪ b. Aʿṣur b. Saʿd b. Ḳays (b.) ʿAylān, an Arab tribe. They were, according to the genealogists, the brothers of Bāhila [*q.v.*]. Their grazing-grounds lay between Bīs̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and the later *ḥimā* Dariyya [*q.v.*]. Being small in number they were never prominent. In pre-Islamic times one of them, Riyāḥ b. As̲h̲all, killed towards the middle of the 6th century A.D. S̲h̲aʾs, the son of Zuhayr b.

Djadhīma, the powerful chieftain of the ʿAbs (*Aghānī*[1], x, 9 ff., 16). Riyāḥ's daughter Khabiyya was married to Djaʿfar b. Kilāb b. Rabiʿa (*Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa ʾl-Farazdaḳ*, 106, 10; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 353, 1 and 710, 17; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 482, 16), the ancestor of the leading "house" of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Since then the Ghanī were in subordinate alliance with them, though not considered their equals (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 533, 17; cf. also *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, no. 105, 19). The Ghanī fought about 580 A.D. on the side of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa at Shiʿb Djabala (*Aghānī*[1], x, 37, 20; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, 659, 18). Men of the Ghanī took part in the fight on the Day of al-Raḳam (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 31, 18) towards the end of the 6th century and on other occasions (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 227, 1; 1060, 12; 1061, 9; 1063, 6). Some time afterwards they suffered heavily on the Day of Muḥadjdjar, when Zayd al-Khayl al-Ṭāʾī (d. 10/632) fell upon the Banū Kilāb and Banū Kaʿb; but they soon took revenge on him (*Aghānī*[1], xvi, 52 and vii, 147; Ṭufayl b. ʿAwf, nos. I and III).

It seems that the Ghanī were indifferent towards the rising power of Muḥammad; there was, to be sure, amongst his earlier companions Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī, but he was a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (Ibn Hishām, 322, 3 etc.). After the battle of Ḥunayn (8/630) the Ghanī accepted Islam without resistance, nor did they take part in the revolt (*ridda*) after Muḥammad's death (11/632). During the conquests many of them went to Syria. In the wars that ensued after the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ (64/684) between the Kays and the Yemenīs and later the Taghlib, the Ghanī with the Banū ʿĀmir, Bāhila and Sulaym fought against the Taghlib (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 256, 259 ff.).

The best known poet among the Ghanī is Ṭufayl b. ʿAwf, nicknamed Ṭufayl al-Khayl for his skill in describing horses (the Ghanī were renowned horse-breeders, see Ṭufayl no. I, 22). Then there is one Kaʿb b. Saʿd al-Ghanawī of the early Islamic period, whose *Bāʾiyya* is considered to be one of the finest elegies (*Ḳālī, Amālī*[1], ii, 150 ff., etc.). The otherwise unknown Abū Khālid al-Ghanawī (*Fihrist*, 105, 10) wrote a *Kitāb Akhbār Ghanī wa-ansābihim* which is lost.

Bibliography: in the article. Consult also the indexes to Hamdānī and Yāḳūt. For their religious customs in the *djāhiliyya* see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, 27, 12; 42, 4 and ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, no. 8. For Ṭufayl al-Ghanawī see F. Krenkow's introduction to his edition *The poems of Ṭufail ibn ʿAwf* etc., *GMS*, xxv. (J. W. Fück)

GHANĪMA, or *ghunm*: booty. The term *maghnam* denotes either the mass of the booty or that part of it which goes to the central government (al-Balādhurī, 145, 11). In Bedouin tribal society, where the basic problem is the provision of the bare necessities of life, plunder has always been a salient feature. Notwithstanding the risk of initiating blood-feuds, the Arabs were proud to have the reputation of being indomitable raiders, even, when hard-pressed, upon related tribes (cf. al-Ḳuṭāmī, ed. Barth, 58 ff.). Far from being considered criminal the *ghazws* [*q.v.*] were regarded as normal practice, and no doubt served to suppress other criminal activities, appealing as they did to collective responsibility and small-scale co-operation. Customary rules for the sharing of moveable booty existed in pre-Islamic times. The leader was entitled to one fourth or one fifth in addition to the *ṣafī*, or items that especially attracted him. Furthermore he had the right to dispose of, firstly the *nashīṭa*, or casual plunder obtained while journeying to meet the enemy—no doubt because such plunder was taken in less dangerous circumstances and was therefore handed over to the one who controlled the whole group—, and secondly the *fuḍūl*, or surplus items, the strict division of which would be wasteful, such as a horse or a camel (*LA*, s.v. *nashīṭa*; *Ḥamāsa* (Abū Tammām), 458). It is known that the deputy (*ridf*) of the king of al-Ḥīra obtained one fourth of the booty (*Mafātīḥ*, ed. v. Vloten, 128), probably not because he and the king together claimed half of it, but rather in his capacity as a leader in warfare. It would thus seem that the *ghanīma* was not regarded as the concern of the State.

Under Islam it was difficult to maintain the simple Bedouin method of division, for the amount of the booty was vast and complicated strategic situations preceded its acquisition. Moreover there was the need for an enhanced State authority and the responsibility for upholding the existing administrative and economic regime. All this opened the door to foreign influence.

While the neglect of any rules for the division of immovables or landed property did not trouble the Bedouins, who dealt with them under the heading of communal reserves, *ḥimā*, it would have posed a serious problem for the urban societies of the Arabian peninsula. But apart from this the Prophet's deviations from ancient custom as to the division of moveables were, in principle, few and insignificant. Nevertheless he was forced on several occasions as a matter of policy to make considerable adaptations, lest, in view of the vital interest taken in this question by his followers, discontent should become serious.

Most later theorists regard it as a settled rule that the spoils (*salab*), comprising the clothes, weapons and occasionally the mount of an adversary killed in battle, are the property of the victor and are not to be included in the rest of the booty. But after Badr the Prophet, according to one tradition, hesitated to comply with this custom in one case (al-Bayḍāwī, *Tafsīr*, on VIII, 1).

Certain scholars hold that the *anfāl*, or bonus shares given to those warriors who have distinguished themselves, should be provided for out of the leader's portion of the *khums* (see fayʾ); but Sūra VIII, 1, seems best interpreted as deciding a major problem, and the fact that the Prophet was free to dispose of his personal share of four per cent of the booty (*khums al-khums*) as he wished could scarcely have given rise to discontent. There is some authority for the view that *nafal* should be promised before the battle as a fixed share of the expected booty (*Ikhtilāf*, 118 ff.), but this view was not generally regarded as valid. Criticism was especially severe after Ḥunayn, when the political insight of the Prophet led him to reconcile former opponents with Islam (*taʾalluf al-ḳulūb ʿala ʾl-islām*) by bestowing upon them large shares of the booty to the detriment of his old supporters (cf. Sūra IX, 60). There is hardly any reason for posterity to attempt to exculpate the Prophet for this manœuvre on the ground that the booty in fact went to persons who had already embraced Islam. Since the obvious political aim of Muḥammad was to secure a stable centre among the wavering Bedouin tribes it was essential for him to establish his position in Mecca. The *ridda* after Muḥammad's death demonstrated, in its extreme form, a situation which he had successfully kept in check during his lifetime—rival prophetic movements in certain tribes which detested

a centralized government and aversion to the poor-tax. Subsequent opponents of the Umayyads, using in their invectives against the dynasty the term *al-mu'allafatu ḳulūbuhum* (al-Dīnawarī, 175, 1), failed to appreciate that the Prophet had won over the ablest politicians of the day, who were destined to provide an effective government at a time of crisis. Once triumphant, however, Islam could afford to abandon this line of approach and was not loth to do so. But, of course, even in later Islam the way to political influence was occasionally paved by economic means, although other names were used. When al-Māwardī (239) calls transferred property (*amwāl manḳūla*, cf. *Mafātīḥ*, 64, 11) by the term *ghanā'im ma'lūfa*, it shows that he was not unaware of the fact that such property was taken from the shares of the militia [see further TA'LĪF AL-ḲULŪB].

A highly interesting example of the vast amount of booty and the unpreparedness of the government for sweeping successes in the field appears in the tradition of Djarīr and his tribe Badjīla. After the latter's exploits in ʿIrāḳ the laxity of the rules for division left them in possession of some of the richest areas known at that time. According to one tradition they had previously been promised a third of the booty as *nafal* over and above the *khums* (al-Balādhurī, 253). The most widespread tradition, however, maintains that they formed one fourth of the conquering force, and that they got one fourth of the Sawād, the conquered territory. In fact the tradition seems to concern the leader's customary one fourth. One cannot doubt that there is a basis of historical fact to these traditions; nor can other traditions be doubted that relate how ʿUmar I realized, on second thoughts, how dangerous this precedent would be. Having appealed to their honour they were faced with the alternative of accepting his proposals or acknowledging that their share of the booty was a payment of the category of *ta'alluf* (al-Balādhurī, 268). Perhaps there were more powerful arguments in reserve, but at any rate such a blot on his honour could not be borne lightly by any good Muslim.

The traditions are undoubtedly right in maintaining that it was ʿUmar I who first settled fixed annual pensions or incomes on the most influential and deserving of the inner circle of conquerors and on the Prophet's widows. The transfer of the militia to a *dīwān* of fixed stipends also took place under his leadership, a process which undoubtedly continued to develop under ʿUthmān. A Muslim could choose the state of *hidjra*, or military service, and so become entitled under the law governing the *dār al-hidjra* to *fay'* contributions (Abū Yūsuf, 85; al-Dīnawarī, 131, 141; al-Balādhurī, 275).

In the systematized rules enunciated by the jurists for the division of the booty it is possible to trace the growth of Islam from its small beginnings and the development of skirmishes into large scale operations. The booty was divided on the basis of military potential. As with regular pay a distinction was drawn between foot soldiers and mounted troopers. The precedent may have been set by the Prophet but the aim behind it was well suited to the armament of the times. Every man was given one share, but the mounted soldier got one or two extra shares for his mount. Some jurists would go even further and give to the horseman one share for each of his mounts. This no doubt marks the trend of development. An illustration is provided by a case in the 4th/10th century of an increase in pay in the ratio 10 : 1 (al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaḳī*, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne, 1935, 226).

Where large armies were engaged it was naturally not only upon those in the front ranks or those who actually came to grips with the enemy that victory depended. Tradition in fact represents ʿUmar I as faced with the situation of the appearance of certain troops after the battle had been won (al-Balādhurī, 256). He is said to have decided that they were entitled to booty if they had arrived before the dead had been buried. Some jurists claim that even if the army is returning to the *dār al-islām* and is then met by other troops or auxiliaries, these latter can claim part of the booty. Furthermore the next of kin of fallen soldiers may inherit their shares. On the other hand, since only free Muslims are entitled to booty, bondmen, women and *dhimmīs* who may in some way have contributed to victory may take only a bonus share, *raḍkh*, to be given at the discretion of the Imām. Such shares may even be given to those who are temporarily absent. It is not clear whether this also applies to those who are represented by a hired substitute (*badīl*). Such shares are usually small, and ought not in any case to exceed the normal share of one person.

As regards ransom money there was a precedent from Badr, where the captor received it for his own captive. With Ḳur'ānic support this was later regularly added to the booty to be distributed by the Imām. In general the majority of jurists emphasize the free discretion of the latter, and in so doing undoubtedly reflect what was growing practice. Here also precedents from the Prophet might be adduced. Irregular warfare is curbed and the necessary condition that the troops have been officially dispatched is underlined. Of course such rules could never be invariably applied in practice, since situations varied and hired troops occasionally got out of control. Plundering and rioting soldiery mark the decline of the ʿAbbāsid power, although this naturally falls outside normal conditions. See also BARANTA, GHAZW, YAGHMĀ.

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(F. LØKKEGAARD)

GHANĪMAT, MUḤAMMAD AKRAM, Indian poet who wrote in Persian, a descendant of a family of *muftīs* who originated from the village of Kandjāh five miles from Gudjrāt (Pandjāb). Nothing is known about his life and it is not proved that he was governor of Lahore from 1106 to 1108/1695-7, as is asserted by Éthé (*Gr.Ir.Ph.*, ii, 251). He was in the service of Mukarram Khān at Gudjrāt and we do not even know the exact date of his death, which occurred, it is said, at the end of the 9th century A.H. (about 1690). He is best known for a *mathnawī*, highly esteemed in India, entitled *Neyrang-i ʿIshḳ*, which tells of the love of the young prince ʿAzīz (who seems to have been the son of his patron) for a gipsy dancer named Shāhid; Éthé gives the date 1096/1685 for the composition of this poem. He left also a small collection of *ghazals* which have recently been published (Lahore, 1337).

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(S. Naficy)

GHĀNIYA, Banū, family of Ṣanhādja Berbers who, in the Almohad epoch (6th/12th century), attempted to restore the Almoravids in North Africa. The feminine name Ghāniya which designates them is that of an Almoravid princess who was given in marriage by the Almoravid sultan Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn to ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, head of the family. He had two sons by her, Yaḥyā and Muḥammad. Yaḥyā fought victoriously against Alfonso the Battler, king of Aragon (528/1133), and was governor of Murcia and Valencia. Thirteen years he successfully defended Cordova against Alfonso, but following fresh attacks by the Christian king was forced to submit.

Meanwhile, the Almohads had just landed in Spain (541/1146). Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya was one of the last defenders of the peninsular part of the Almoravid domains. He died at Granada in 543/1148.

Muḥammad, Yaḥyā's brother, had been nominated governor of the Balearic islands by ʿAlī b. Yūsuf in 520/1126. At the time of the Almoravid collapse many members of the fallen clan came to join him there. The governor was declared an independent sovereign and this was the beginning of a new dynasty. Following a palace revolution authority passed to Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad (560/1156). Under his rule the small Almoravid kingdom enriched itself by piracy at the expense of the Christians; the islands were peopled by refugees and prisoners. Isḥāḳ himself died in 579/1183 during a piratical expedition. The eldest of his many children, Muḥammad, succeeded him, but he was compelled to submit to the threats of the Almohad Abū Yaʿḳūb, who forced him to recognize his sovereignty. Majorca was given a representative of Almohad authority. The Majorcans, having revolted, gave the power to ʿAlī, Muḥammad's brother. ʿAlī, pressed by the Almoravid refugees who surrounded him, decided to carry on the battle against the Almohads in Barbary. Thirty-two ships disembarked the Majorcan troops near Bougie. This town had once been the capital of the Ṣanhādja Banū Ḥammād, but had become the capital of an outlying province dependent on Marrākush. It cannot easily have tolerated this loss of status and no doubt sheltered partisans of the overseas Ṣanhādja, so it was easily taken while the Almohad garrison was absent and the inhabitants were at the mosque (6 Shaʿbān 580/12 November 1184).

ʿAlī Ibn Ghāniya, having conquered the Almohad troops who returned towards Bougie, gained the support of numerous nomad Arabs of the Hilālī tribes of Riyāḥ, Athbadj, and Djudhām. Leaving the government of Bougie to his brother Yaḥyā, he marched westwards, seized Algiers, Muzāya, and Miliana, then, returning eastwards and recruiting numerous allies on the way, occupied Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād and laid siege to Constantine. However, the Almohad caliph Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, informed of the Almoravid success, had sent an army which retook the lost cities and expelled Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya from Bougie. ʿAlī was forced to raise the blockade of Constantine. Fleeing to the desert, he passed to the south of the Aurès and reached the Djarīd (S. Tunisia), which became his base of operations from then on.

Helped by Arabs of the region, he took Tozeur and Gafsa. Setting himself up as sovereign, he paid homage to the ʿAbbāsid caliph, who promised him his support. From Gafsa he went to Tripoli, where he met the Armenian Ḳarāḳūsh, the freedman of a nephew of the Ayyūbid Saladin, who ruled the country with a troop of Turkomans (Ghuzz). An understanding between the two chiefs was effected. The Almoravid troops, reinforced by Ghuzz contingents who had been joined by Arabs from the Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaym, entered the country, leaving a trail of ruin in Ifrīḳiya. The taking of Mahdiyya and Tunis were the aims of the expedition. Not having been able to seize them, and learning of the arrival of the caliph al-Manṣūr with an Almohad army, ʿAlī Ibn Ghāniya retired to the Djarīd. Six thousand Almohad horsemen followed him there, and he inflicted a bloody defeat on them on the plain of al-ʿUmra (583/1187). Al-Manṣūr then went at the head of his troops and gained a victory at al-Ḥamma near Gabès, and reoccupied Tozeur and Gafsa, whose ramparts were razed. ʿAlī Ibn Ghāniya and Ḳarāḳūsh fled to the desert. Scarcely had al-Manṣūr retaken the road to the Maghrib than the two allies reformed, rallied their followers, and began their campaign afresh. In the midst of all this ʿAlī Ibn Ghāniya died (584/1188). Power passed to his brother Yaḥyā, who for nearly fifty years was to deal the heaviest blows against the Almohad might.

His action began with two fruitless attempts against Constantine. He retired to the desert, the traditional refuge of the vanquished, and rejoined Ḳarāḳūsh there. Not that his relations with the Armenian condottiere were unclouded. They had broken off their alliance many times. The dubious attitude of Ḳarāḳūsh with respect to the Almohads and his severity towards the Arabs caused opposition, and conflict broke out in 591/1195. Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya, helped by the Sulaym Arabs, seized Tripoli and Gabès and then proceeded north, where he took Mahdiyya from Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ragrāgī, a curious character who had declared himself its independent sovereign. Two years' campaigning had made him master of Béja, Biskra, Tébessa, Kairouan, and Bône; then, on 7 Rabīʿ II 600/14 December 1203, the Almohad governor of Tunis, the Sīd Abū Zayd, surrendered to him. Learning that the Khāridjīs of Djabal Nafūsa were profiting by his absence to stage an uprising, he mounted a rapid expedition against them, defeated them, and extorted a crushing indemnity from them. Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya, master of eastern Barbary, was then at the height of his power. He was at Tunis when he learnt that the Almohad caliph al-Nāṣir was on the way to attack him. He did not wait for him but withdrew towards the Djarīd. He was overtaken on the Tādjura plain, where he suffered a heavy defeat. Al-Nāṣir re-took possession of Mahdiyya and Tunis, where he appointed Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥafṣ governor, with orders to continue the reconquest of the country. Knowing the danger which hung over him in Ifrīḳiya, the Almoravid chief transferred his efforts to the central Maghrib. With his Arab allies he wished to halt al-Nāṣir on his return but was overwhelmingly defeated on the Chélif plain. Passing along the edge of the desert

he rallied fresh nomad allies, met Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥafṣ on the river Shabrū near Tébessa, and suffered a fresh defeat. He returned westwards as far as Tāfilālt and took Sidjilmāsa, which he gave up to pillage. Loaded with booty, he encountered the Almohad governor of Tlemcen and beat him, and passed through Tiaret, which he devastated along with many small towns of the central Maghrib of which Ibn Khaldūn, in the 8th/14th century, was to say "there no more will you find a lighted hearth, nor hear any more the crowing of the cock". On his return from this campaign of destruction a meeting with Abū Muḥammad proved disastrous for him; a second battle fought in the Djabal Nafūsa was still more catastrophic (606/1209).

Thus decisively driven out of Ifrīḳiya, Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya sought refuge in Waddān in the south of Tripolitania. Ḳarāḳūsh the Armenian was installed there but capitulated, unable to resist his old rival. Yaḥyā had him executed and took his place.

Abū Muḥammad ibn Ḥafṣ had been replaced in the governorship by the Muʾminid prince Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, who resumed the struggle against the Almoravid. The latter, taking the field again, took possession of Biskra; he even conceived a bold plan of marching anew on Tunis. At Madjdūl, not far from Tunis, a bloody battle decimated the Almoravid force and put Yaḥyā to flight (620/1223).

Having lost all hope of action in Ifrīḳiya the indefatigable rebel, having got himself new allies in the south, again took the road to the central Maghrib and once more sowed ruin there. He went on to Bougie, laid siege to Dellys, Mitīdja, and Algiers, and stirred up a revolt at Tlemcen which came almost to the point of recognizing Almoravid sovereignty. He fled before an army from Tunis which was marching on his heels and took refuge at Sidjilmāsa (624/1226). The eleven years of life left to him saw a hopeless prolongation of his activity. He gave up hope of returning to a too well defended Ifrīḳiya but he pursued to the end of his career the harrying and pillaging along the border of the central Maghrib and perished on the banks of the Chélif, not far from Miliana, in 633/1237. He left three daughters whom he entrusted to the generosity of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyāʾ who was governor of Tunis. They were treated considerately and housed in a palace called Ḳaṣr al-Banāt (Palace of the Daughters) which a Tunis boulevard (Bāb Banāt) still commemorates.

As a conclusion to this account of a turbulent enterprise which lasted more than 50 years some observations may be made to fix its place in history and underline its importance.

The attempt to restore the Almoravids failed completely and could scarcely have succeeded. But although apparently a mere episode in the past of Barbary it was one of the gravest crises which befell the country and its consequences were long-lasting. Four may be indicated.

1. By stirring up the nomad Arabs and feeding their passion for loot, the exploits of the Banū Ghāniya appears as a prolongation of the invasion begun by the Banū Hilāl and continued by the Banū Sulaym. It was an aggravation—after some 130 years—of the catastrophe from which eastern Barbary was never fully to recover.

2. The Banū Ghāniya extended the Arab scourge to the central Maghrib. In this region, which had remained relatively flourishing, urban centres disappeared which we can hardly locate on the maps. Only Tlemcen, which resisted, profited by the surrounding devastation and began to assume its rôle as capital of a kingdom.

3. If the Almoravid enterprise ended in failure at least it hastened the downfall of the Almohad state. Engaged elsewhere in resisting the Christian reconquest, torn between Spain and eastern Barbary, the empire of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's successors could not fend off the double danger and began to decine.

4. More evident than the rise of Tlemcen in central Barbary is that of Tunis in Ifrīḳiya, where a strong rule was established which delivered the province from the danger of the Almoravids. The handing over of the government by the Almohads to the Ḥafṣids, who soon assumed autonomy, seems to be one of the only happy consequences of the epic of the Banū Ghāniya.

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GHARB, part of the Moroccan coast situated approximately between the Wādī Lukkus, the Wādī Subū and the mountains which border the coastal plain to the east. This territory has never been precisely defined, but its limits have varied according to the tribes which occupied it and were or were not considered as tribes of the Gharb. It is an alluvial plain, humid and marshy, along the coast and bordered to the east by rolling hills.

The Gharb, thus roughly defined, was at first inhabited by Berbers and probably formed part of the territory of the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*]. These were exterminated by the Almoravids and the Almohads, leaving an uninhabited area so that the Almohad Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr could establish there at the end of the 6th/12th century levies of the Hilāl Arabs which he intended to use in his battles against the Christians of Spain. The Marīnid rulers Abū Yūsuf and Abū Thābit similarly used the Maʿḳil Arabs in the 7th and 8th/13th and 14th centuries. Hence the population of the Gharb is almost entirely of Arab origin (Banū Mālik, Sufyān, Khluṭ and Ṭlīḳ) and, until the 19th century, the tribes inhabiting this territory were fighting tribes and nomadic rather than settled, pastoral rather than agricultural, which have been of some importance, particularly during the period of Saʿdid anarchy (first half of the 17th century).

With the French colonization, heavy in this region, the Gharb became a prosperous agricultural district, where the growing of rice particularly has flourished.

With the possible exception of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr and the large market of Sūḳ al-Arbaʿ, no thriving urban centre has so far flourished in this area.

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G͟HARB AL-ANDALUS, Algarve, the West of Andalusia. This name, now that of the southernmost province of Portugal, was applied by the Muslim historians and geographers to the territory lying to the south-east of Lisbon, reaching as far as both banks of the Guadiana estuary. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] took Mérida in 94/713 and his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz made himself master of Niebla, Beja, and Ocsónoba, but the G͟harb soon began to show itself a focus of rebellion with the revolt of the Berbers, who were beaten in the Mérida region by the governor T͟haʿlaba in 124/742. The Syrian *d͟jund* of Ḥimṣ settled in Niebla and a part of that of Egypt in Beja and Ocsónoba. Niebla was the scene of a revolt of Yemenites against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, whose son Sulaymān also revolted against his nephew al-Ḥakam I. In 213/828, Mérida was the centre of a prolonged Berber rebellion under Muḥammad b. al-D͟jabbār. Hemmed in by the forces of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, he withdrew to a fortified position on Monte-Sacro, not far from the present-day town of Faro in the Ocsónoba district, but soon emigrated to Galicia, where he was killed by Alfonso II in 225/840. During the reign of the amīr Muḥammad I one ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān b. Yūnus, known as Ibn al-D͟jillīḳī (son of the Galician) as being a member of a *muwallad* family originally from the north of Portugal but long settled in Mérida, proclaimed himself champion of independence in the west of Andalusia and in alliance with Alfonso III kept up a struggle in Badajoz, Esparraguera (between the Guadiana and Almadén), and Antaniya (*Idanha a Velha*, about 140 km. from Mérida and 30 km. north-west of Castelo-Branco). His dynasty, the B. Marwān, survived till 318/930, in which year ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III recovered Badajoz. Soon afterwards he also recovered the little principalities of their vassals in Beja, Santa María del Algarve, and Silves. On the fall of the caliphate of Cordova, during the first period of 'party kings', the petty kingdom of the B. Muzayyin was formed at Silves and lasted from 420/1028 to 445/1053. In 433/1041 Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Hārūn made himself independent at Santa María del Algarve but had to submit to al-Muʿtaḍid the emir of Seville. At Huelva and Saltes there reigned ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bakrī, the father of the famous geographer Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, from 403/1012 to 443/1051 when he surrendered to al-Muʿtaḍid. Niebla suffered the same fate. Tād͟j al-Dawla came to power there in 414/1023 and was recognized by Huelva and Gibraleón. On his death in 433/1041 he was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad al-Yaḥṣubī, who retired to Cordova in 443/1051 leaving the power to his nephew Nāṣir al-Dawla who handed it over to al-Muʿtamid and took refuge in Cordova in 450/1058. When the Almoravid power declined a party kingdom re-formed in Algarve under Ibn Ḳasī at Mértola, who was acknowledged by Sidrāy b. Wazīr at Évora and Beja, Muḥammad al-Mund͟hir at Silves, and Yūsuf al-Biṭrūd͟jī at Niebla. However, finding himself soon betrayed and attacked, he summoned the Almohads, and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, after taking Marrākus͟h, sent an army to the Peninsula under the command of Barrāz al-Massūfī who subdued all the petty kings of Algarve. They gave in easily but equally easily rose again when they saw the speed and scope of Ibn Hūd al-Māssī's rebellion and his initial victory. Yūsuf al-Biṭrūd͟jī ejected the African garrison from Niebla as did Ibn Ḳasī at Silves and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥad͟jd͟jām at Badajoz. But when ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was as victorious in Andalusia against Ibn G͟hāniya and Alfonso VII as he had been in Morocco against the followers of al-Māssī and the Barag͟hwāṭa they asked for *amān*. They were summoned to Salé and attached to the Caliph's court except for Ibn Ḳasī who did not accede to the summons and allied himself with the king of Portugal. He was killed by his own followers in 546/1151. In 560/1165 the Portuguese under Giraldo Sem Pavor seized Jurumeña, besieged Badajoz, and took Évora, Beja, and Serpa. In 564/1169 the Almohads took Tavira, which still preserved its independence under al-Wuhaybī; and though Sancho I of Portugal besieged and took Silves in 585/1189 Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr retook it in 587/1191, along with Alcaçer do Sal. The great Almohad incursions into Portugal end with this campaign. Castile had still to endure the rout of Alarcos, be victorious at Las Navas de Tolosa, and put an end to the danger of the B. Marīn at El Salado. Little by little the Portuguese retrieved their cities and fortresses, which had fallen again into Muslim hands from Alcaçer do Sal to Silves, and met no more than the sporadic resistance put up by each locality as it found itself encircled. The lack of definite information makes the chronology uncertain. Herculano fixes it thus: 1232 Mora and Serpa taken; 1234 Aljustrel; 1238 Mértola; 1239 Tavira and Cacella. But according to the *Cronicas dos sete primeiros reis* Mértola and Aljustrel were not conquered till 1243. The battle in the neighbourhood of Tavira took place in 1244. It may be deduced from the new edition of the *Crónica de Alfonso II* that Maestro Payo Correa took Tavira, Silves, Estombar, and Alvor between 1243 and 1246 and that in 1249-50 Alfonso III took Faro and in 1250, finally, Loulé and Aljazur.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 25, 30, 142-9, 297-9; Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almorávides*, 33-52; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, 199, 202, 239, 242; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, s.vv. Beja, Silves, Santa María del Algarve, Niebla, Mértola, Badajoz, Saltes, Oscónoba; Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, 285 ff.; A. Pietro y Vives, *Los reyes de Taifas*, 72-3; Ibn ʿId͟hārī, *Bayān*, iii, 240 ff.; A. Huici, *Historia politica del imperio almohade*, i, 145, 156, 266-71, 277, 347, 358, 478; Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, iii, 211-2, iv, 239-87; da Silva Tarouca, *Cronicas dos sete primeiros reis*, i, 171, 254, 262-7. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

AL-G͟HARBIYYA, a province of Lower Egypt, lying within the Nile Delta, now composed of nine districts. An administrative unit of this name has existed since the early Muslim period (cf. Becker art. EGYPT in *EI*[1]). In the time of Abū Ṣāliḥ (7th/13th century) it comprised 165 villages; it was described by al-Ḳalḳas͟handī (d. 821/1418) as fertile and prosperous. Cotton is now extensively grown, while al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā (until 1836 the provincial capital), which has an old tradition of spinning and weaving, is now the centre of the most modernized textile manufacture in Egypt. Ṭanṭā, now the capital of the province, has the tomb of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī [*q.v.*], where the annual feasts attract thou-

sands of devotees. The population of the province in 1960 was 1,815,000 persons.

Bibliography: Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 102, 132, 164; Abū Ṣāliḥ, tr. and ed. B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler, *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, Oxford 1895, 17; al-Ḳalḳashandi, tr. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Aegypten*, 114; J. Lozach, *Le Delta du Nil, étude de géographie humaine*, Cairo 1935; Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1958, 3-153. (R. Herzog)

GHARDĀYA (current spelling: Ghardaïa), the chief town of the Mzab, situated 635 km. by road south of Algiers on the parallel 32° 30′. Between 500 and 560 metres in altitude, it is built over a rounded hillock on the right bank of the Wādī Mzab, which cuts a hundred metres into the completely desert-like and deeply channeled limestone plateau of the *shebka* ("net") of the Mzab.

Ghardaïa was founded in 445/1053, after al-Ateuf (al-ʿAṭf, 407/1011), Bou Noura (Bū Nūra), Beni Isguen (Isgen) and Melīka, its lower neighbours, by the Ibāḍīs who, little by little, abandoned Sedrata (south of the oasis of Ouargla), their first refuge in the Sahara, after the ruin of their capital, Tiaret (Tāhart), in 296/909 by the Fāṭimids. It was families from Ghardaïa who later founded Guerara (Grāra) in 1631 and Berriān in 1679, 100 km. to the north-east and 50 km. to the north respectively. Ghardaïa, like all the other towns of the Mzab, gives the impression that it has always lived by trading across the Sahara, and, above all since the 10th/16th century, by its dealings with Algiers, far more than by an agriculture seriously limited by shortage of water.

The Mzabis have remained fiercely Ibāḍī and attached to their Berber speech. Ghardaïa has grown over the centuries owing to Ibāḍī immigration. To the Awlād ʿAmmī ʿĪsā and Awlād Bā Slīmān, the groups which founded the city, have later been added Ibāḍī groups from Tafilalet, from the Wādī Rīgh, Djerba and Djabal Nafūsa. It has grown equally through the Mdābīḥ, Mālikī Arabs from the *ḳṣar* of al-Māya, on the foot-hills of the Djabal ʿAmūr, and little by little, through some Benī Merzūg families from the old *ḳṣar* of the Shaʿanba of Metlili; Mdābīḥ and Benī Merzūg are Arabic speaking and belong to the Mālikī school. Ghardaïa also shelters a community of Jews, of whom the earliest are supposed to have come from Djerba from the 14th century on, and others from Morocco, Tripolitania and Algeria.

Ghardaïa surrendered to France with the rest of the Mzab in 1853 and was peacefully occupied in 1882. To-day it has a population of 16,000 (1957), of whom about 1,000 are Arabs and about 1,500 Jews, and there is a small number of Europeans. Both in its appearance and in the way it functions, even more than from the size of its population, Ghardaïa is a true city and not a simple Sahara *ḳṣar*.

Originally, its shape was oval and its plan concentric and radiating. Its single mosque, focal point of the city, place of worship, refuge and storehouse in the troubled times of the past, dominates the whole town with its annexes (schools, *takerbust* for the ablutions of the scholars) and its great truncated cone of a minaret (*ʿassās*), twenty metres high, which overlooks the whole surrounding countryside. The circular streets, with others radiating from them, narrow but rarely covered, and lined with houses side by side, are the main thoroughfares of the district which surrounds the mosque. To the south-west there is a way down to the edge of the town through a place where the ancient ramparts have been demolished to form a rectangular market place, 75 by 44 metres in extent, lined with porticos of irregular arches and shops—the souk. Eight streets coming from three directions of the compass, lead into this and here are to be found the shopkeepers and artisans. This is the economic centre of the town as well as the political and administrative one, where the *ḳāʾid* has his office and the *djamāʿa* meets. To the south-east, the little Jewish quarter leads into the new business district; the Mdābīḥ live together to the north-west. Several vast cemeteries enclosed by walls cover the land immediately surrounding the town.

Ghardaïa is primarily a town of merchants and business men. Little by little, the trade across the Sahara has disappeared, but its population lives mainly on the profits of its approximately 2,000 shopkeepers, grocers and textile merchants in the towns of the Tell. Ghardaïa is also the principal market of the Mzab and a transit post for food supplies for the stations further south. Arabs and Jews share the transport business with the Ibāḍīs. Since 1920, lorry traffic has little by little replaced the traditional caravan. Tourists visiting the Mzab usually stay in Ghardaïa. It is also the chief town of the administrative district (*cercle*) of the Mzab. Some of the traditional artisans (the women make carpets and woollen textiles, the men are coppersmiths) are encouraged by the schools and workshops of the White Sisters and find some exterior outlets. Blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, work for the local population as do the Jewish jewellers; the building industry has always been active.

Agriculture, on the contrary, shows a debit balance. The 60,000 palm trees and the gardens in the lower part of the valley, watered with difficulty by deep wells, which are worked by animal traction, or flooded by the rare spates of the Wādī Mzab, are used more as pleasure gardens where, for the last threequarters of a century, the people of Ghardaïa have built houses of an urban type in which they live during the summer. The profits of trade pay for the upkeep of these gardens.

In many features of its activities, in its type of housing, in its particular form of administration, and even more in its social and religious life, Ghardaïa is inseparable from the other cities of the Mzab [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: see MZAB. (J. Despois)

GHARDJISTĀN, Gharshistān, a territory in the mountains of Afghānistān east of Harāt on the upper valley of the Murghāb River and north of the upper Harī Rūd. Al-Muḳaddasī (309) was probably right in explaining the word as "mountain", hence "country of the mountaineers".

Little is known of this land before the time of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], but we may assume that it was ruled by petty Hephthalite princes. Ghardjistān was raided by Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, governor of Khurāsān in 107/725-6. The local ruler Namrūn (?) made peace and accepted Islam (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1488-9). The title of the ruler of Ghardjistān was *shār*, derived from an Old Iranian word for "king" (Marquart). The Muslim geographers knew that *shār* meant "king" (al-Muḳaddasī, 309; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 105), but Ibn Khurradādhbih (39) says that the king of Ghardjistān was called Barāz bandah, which is probably a confusion with the ruler of neighbouring Mānshān.

The geographers (al-Muḳaddasī, 50; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 443; Yāḳūt, s.v. *Gharshistān*) speak briefly of two

principal towns in the country, Bas͟hīn and S͟hūrmīn, which cannot be located.

Muḥammad b. Karām (d. 255/869) converted many people in G͟hardjistān to his heretical doctrines (al-Bag͟hdādī, 202), and centres of this heresy remained in the mountains (al-Muḳaddasī 323). The rulers of G͟hardjistān acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sāmānids but Maḥmūd of G͟hazna had to conquer the territory in 403/1012 after it had previously submitted. The S͟hār, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad, a man of learning well versed in Arabic, was taken to G͟hazna where he died in 406/1015 (ʿUtbī, 146). The kingdom of G͟hardjistān was placed under the governor of Marw al-Rūd͟h, but apparently local princes resumed control of the country for we hear of several S͟hārs again in the time of the G͟hūrids (Djūzdjānī, 49). The founder of the dynasty of K͟hʷārizms͟hāhs, Nus͟h Tegīn, was a Turkish slave from G͟hardjistān (Djuwaynī, ii, 1).

The name of G͟hardjistān appears in many annals of the G͟hūrīd and Mongol periods, while the "kings" of G͟hardjistān are mentioned as late as 715/1315 (*Taʾrīk͟h-nāma-i Harāt*, ed. M. Z. Siddiqi, 626). Thereafter the name does not appear in relevant sources.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 415; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 327; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 79; ʿUtbī, *Taʾrīk͟h al-Yamīnī*, ed. A. Manīnī, ii, Cairo 1386/1869, 133-46; M. Nazim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd of G͟hazna*, Cambridge 1931, 60-2; Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Raverty, Calcutta 1864, passim; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids . . .*, Edinburgh 1963, index. (R. N. Frye)

G͟HARĪB, literally: "strange", "uncommon", a technical term in philology and in the science of tradition. As a term in philology it means: "rare, unfamiliar (and consequently obscure) expressions" (in which sense the terms *waḥs͟hī* and *ḥūs͟hī* are also used), and frequently occurs in the titles of books, mostly such as deal with unfamiliar expressions in the Ḳurʾān and in the Tradition (books carrying the titles *G͟harīb al-Ḳurʾān* and *G͟harīb al-Ḥadīt͟h* seem to have existed as early as the second century). The term also occurs in works on literary theory (where it may also have the non-technical, laudatory sense of "uncommon", "original"). More or less anecdotal reports purport to show that some Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid critics rejected the use of unfamiliar language by certain contemporary poets such as Ṭirimmāḥ, Kumayt, and Ibn Munād͟hir, because this unfamiliar language was not part of the native vocabulary of these poets, but resulted from an archaizing tendency. Most classical scholars of literary theory follow the same line with regard to the poet's vocabulary, allowing only expressions that are known in the poet's own time, and likewise condemn the use of the *g͟harīb* in prose and oratory. Ibn al-At͟hīr, however, who deals with the subject at great length, holds that unfamiliar expressions may be used in poetry as long as they are not unpleasant to the ear.

For the technical meaning of the term *g͟harīb* in the science of tradition see ḤADĪT͟H.

Bibliography: al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1948, i, 144, 378-80; Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, *Naḳd al-S͟hiʿr*, Leiden 1956, 100-3; al-Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, Istanbul 1287, 120-1, 190-1; al-Marzubānī, *Muwas͟hs͟haḥ*, 191-2, 208-9, 295-6, 310-1, 369-70, 376; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1952, 3, 61; Ibn Ras͟hīḳ, *ʿUmda*, Cairo 1325, ii, 205-6; al-K͟hafādjī, *Sirr al-faṣāḥa*, Cairo 1953, 69-77; Ibn al-At͟hīr, *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr*, Bag͟hdād 1956, 41-9; idem, *Mat͟hal*, Cairo 1939, i, 155-78; J. Fück, *ʿArabīya*, Berlin 1950 (Fr. tr., Paris 1955), index; von Grunebaum, *Kritik und Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1955, index; Amjad Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1956, 167-70. (S. A. Bonebakker)

AL-**G͟HARĪḌ** ('the fresh [voice]') was the nickname given to Abū Zayd (? Yazīd) or Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Mālik, a renowned singer of the Umayyad era. He was a half-breed of a Berber slave and a *mawlā* of the famous ʿAbalāt sisters of Mecca who were noted for their elegies. It was one of these—T͟hurayya, of whom ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa sang in praise—who placed al-G͟harīḍ under the tutelage of the famous singer Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*], but the former soon outshone his teacher as an elegiast (*nāʾiḥ*), so much so that the latter abandoned that career for that of an ordinary singer (*mug͟hannī*), although as late as 105/724 he performed as an elegiast at the obsequies of Ḥabāba [*q.v.*] the beloved of Yazīd II. Even as a *mug͟hannī* al-G͟harīḍ challenged Ibn Suraydj. Having passed into the household of Sukayna bint al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*] greater fame was to come his way, and he sang at the court of al-Walīd I. On one occasion when these two musicians appeared before Sukayna, both were singing to the verses of the Meccan poet ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿArdjī [*q.v.*]. Sukayna confessed that she could not say which of these two musicians was the better, simply likening them to two exquisite necklaces, one of pearls and the other of rubies. When Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlḳama became governor of Mecca he made an edict against wine and music, which compelled Al-G͟harīḍ to seek refuge in the Yaman, where he is said to have died about 98/716-17, although another account shows him at the court of Yazīd II (101/720-105/724). According to the legend, he died at the hands of the *djinns* at a festive gathering in the bosom of his family. Like others of his profession—Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and Ziryāb—he is said to have been inspired by the *djinns*. It was the success of Al-G͟harīḍ in the *ramal* and *hazadj* rhythms which led Ibn Suraydj to follow in that path. Perhaps it was the tenderness (*g͟harīḍ*) in his voice—due to his training as a *nāʾiḥ*—that brought him fame, especially with the womenfolk of Mecca, and pilgrims to the Holy City clamoured for him. He participated in the concerts of Djamīla [*q.v.*] so elaborately described in the *Kitāb al-Ag͟hānī*, and also excelled as a performer on the lute (*ʿūd*), tambourine (*duff*) and rhythmic wand (*ḳaḍīb*). Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] placed al-G͟harīḍ as the fourth in eminence among the great musicians of Islam, and even compiled a *Kitāb Ak͟hbār al-G͟harīḍ*, whilst Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī also wrote a *Kitāb al-G͟harīḍ*, both of which would seem to prove the high esteem in which this singer was held in the early days of Islam.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 302, vi, 208; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 327; *Ag͟hānī*[1], ii, 359; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *Al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, Cairo 1887-8, iii, 187; *Fihrist*, 141, 148; *JA*, Nov.-Dec. 1873, 457; Kosegarten, *Liber Cantilenarum*, Griefswald 1840, 44; H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, London 1929, 80 (translated into Arabic by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Cairo 1956); Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥadjdjādj, *al-Mūsīḳā al-s͟harḳiyya*, Alexandria 1924, 20; Julian Ribera, *Music in ancient Arabia and Spain*, Stanford University, U.S.A., 1929, 34-8, 40, 44; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 231-3. (H. G. Farmer)

G͟HĀRIM (*g͟harīm*, according to the lexicographers, is a synonym): debtor or creditor. By analogy with other legal terms this semantic distinction was

favoured by the jurists. In Islam the *gh̲ārim* was entitled to a share of the *zakāt* (Sūra IX, 60) to pay his debt, provided he was destitute and the debt did not arise from any disreputable cause or, if it had so arisen, the debtor had duly repented. Other debtors had this claim although they were not destitute, if the debt had been incurred "for God's sake", *i.e.*, for Islam or for an unselfish purpose. The *zakāt* of relatives might be employed to this end as an exception. This latter case reflects pre-Islamic standards, where it was praiseworthy for a man of standing to take upon himself the burden (*ḥamāla*) of blood money (*diya*) in order to prevent or stop a blood feud (Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī, ed. Schulthess, 1897, lii, 40 (ar.) ff.; *Ḥamāsa*, Cairo 1335, i, 145; *The* Naḳāʾiḍ *of Dj̲arīr and al-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, i, 345, 8; 382, 14; ii, 789, 17; 1046). The Prophet also paid *diya* on several occasions (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, 87, 22; 93, 38).

Bibliography: Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣaḥīḥ sunan*, Cairo 1280, i, 165; al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger 1853, 212; al-S̲h̲īrāzī, *al-Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll 1897, 62, 113, 288.

(F. Løkkegaard)

GH̲ARNĀṬA, Granada, the capital of the province and ancient kingdom of that name, does not come into prominence in Spanish history until the early 5th/11th century when a collateral branch of the Ṣanhād̲j̲a Zīrids (ruling in the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād, and later in Bougie) realized that its power was waning and offered its services to the first minister of His̲h̲ām II, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, son and successor of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir. The reply was satisfactory, so they embarked with a considerable band of fellow-tribesmen and retainers, with Zāwī b. Zīrī at its head, soon to become one of the most important and turbulent sections of the Berber army recruited by the ʿĀmirids. On the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchol they espoused the cause of the leader of the Berber party in Spain, Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn, and contributed largely to his succession to the Caliphate. When Sulaymān rewarded his chief followers by the grant of fiefs, to these he allotted the district of Elvira, *i.e.*, the rich lands of the high valley of the Genil and the surrounding rocky heights, so called because its capital was the ancient city of Illiberis-Elvira; but before long it was to be supplanted by its neighbour Granada, a more recent foundation hitherto inhabited mainly by Jews.

Historians and geographers of Muslim Spain are at one in stressing the beauty of Granada and the fertility of its plains. The admiration inspired in the Zīrids by this fine prospect is best expressed by the last amīr ʿAbd Allāh, who says in his *Memoirs* that "they gazed astonished on that lovely plain, furrowed by streams and clothed in trees. They admired the mountain where the city of Granada now stands, entranced by its situation ... and they were persuaded that if an enemy were to lay siege to it, he would be unable to prevent them from entering or leaving to provision it. So they decided to found a city there, and everyone, Andalusian or Berber, set about building a house, and soon Elvira fell in ruins".

During the Roman period, certainly by the reign of Augustus, there was a township of Elvira, nestling on the slopes of the range of this name, in whose neighbourhood archaeological remains have been found, of Roman, Early Christian and Arab origin. We have no details of the Barbarian invasion of the 5th century, nor of the devastation caused in the Illiberis-Granada country when Leovigildo subsequently broke in by way of Baza with his army to pacify the whole of the south of the Peninsula. With the coming of the Muslims, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr left to his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz the task of subduing eastern Andalusia and Levante. On his way to overcome the princedom of Orihuela-Murcia, he occupied Málaga and Elvira-Granada. Abu 'l-K̲h̲aṭṭār al-Ḥusām b. al-Ḍirār became governor in 125/743 and allotted the district of Elvira-Granada to the men of the Syrian *d̲j̲und* of Damascus, whose pro-Umayyad *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s supported the landing of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. Under the rule of amīr ʿAbd Allāh the *kūra* of Elvira witnessed many a bloody struggle between the *muwallad*s loyal to the central power, and the Arabs under Sawwār b. Ḥamdūn. While besieged in the palace of the Alhambra, the latter made a bold sortie and put the Andalusians to flight in the Battle of the City (*waḳʿat al-madīna*), as it was to be called. The beaten troops entered the service of Ibn Ḥafṣūn who proceeded to Elvira to continue the struggle in the Genil plain, taking and losing Elvira by turns, until he lost it finally during the rule of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III.

There is now no disputing the once doubtful identification Illiberis-Granada-Elvira: the administrative and military territory of the *kūra* of Elvira corresponded roughly during the Middle Ages to the present province of Granada. There was indeed a diocese of Illiberis before the time of the Muslims, where a council was held between 309 and 312, and the first Muslim governors lived in Illiberis (which they Arabicized into Ilbira) until the provincial *wālī*s preferred, as they often did, to move to a new foundation near the ancient capital. Thus, not long before the Umayyad restoration, the new capital, Castilia or Castella, was built not far from Illiberis; nevertheless, the district continued to be called the *kūra* of Elvira, and this name prevailed, displacing that of Castella, just as the name Illiberis was later replaced by Granada, which itself in the 3rd/9th century was no more than a large walled village on the right bank of the Darro, near its confluence with the Genil. Few Muslims lived there; there were more Christians, while Jews were so numerous that it was sometimes known as "Granada of the Jews". Opposite on a rocky escarpment dominating the left bank of the Darro arose an old citadel which got its name of "the Red" (*al-Ḥamrāʾ*) from its reddish colour. The Alhambra was to be the seat of the Naṣrid kings, and famous in history.

In the story of the Zīrid dynasty (treated at length in the article zīrī (banū)) the principal events directly affecting the city of Granada are: the siege by the caliph al-Murtaḍā, who incited and betrayed by the ʿĀmirid *fatā*s al-Mund̲h̲ir and K̲h̲ayrān sought to drive out the Zīrids, only to flee and perish in Guadix, after a shameful defeat. After this unexpected victory and the consolidation of the dynasty during the amīrates of Ḥabūs and of Bādīs, and with the effective support of the Jewish viziers Samuel and his son Yūsuf b. Nagralla (Negrello), Granada was the scene of a notorious pogrom, whose victims included the vizier Yūsuf as well as a large number of his co-religionists. Just after this the amīr Bādīs, old and conscious of the threat to his rule, spent large sums on making the old *alcazaba* of Granada strategically impregnable, judging that if the nearby states, or his enemies, or his own rebellious subjects should drive him to a last resort, he might shut himself up in it with the possibility of embarking at need for Ifrīḳiya, as his grandfather Zāwī had done before him. Of the last

Zīrid amīr, ʿAbd Allāh, Bādis's grandson, who began his reign when little more than a child, we have only to mention that after a chequered career of plots, risings and wars with his Muslim and Christian neigbours, he finally incurred the enmity of the Almoravids, and prepared for armed resistance against them by provisioning and fortifying his castles, and building walls adjoining the *alcazaba*. However, when Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn appeared before Granada, his innate cowardice and the advice of his ministers and his mother decided him to go out to welcome the Almoravid amīr, to open the gates of Granada to him, and give him all the treasures of his palace.

After this, Granada was administered by Almoravid governors from 483/1090 to 551/1166, when it passed into the hands of the Almohads. Its first Almoravid governor was Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, himself followed by the amīr Yaḥyā b. Wasīnū, related to Yūsuf. The latter returned to the Peninsula for the last time in 496/1102 to safeguard the position of his son ʿAlī as heir apparent (he had been proclaimed the year before in Marrākus͟h), proceeded via Granada, whose governor at the time was Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥad͟jd͟j, and went first to Levante. Attacked by Alfonso VI at Medinaceli, he counter-attacked through Toledo and Talavera, but was defeated and died on the field of battle. The next governor was Abu 'l-Ḥasan's brother Muḥammad b. al-Ḥād͟jd͟j; he, with the Granada forces, came to the help of the amīr Sīr, governor of Seville, whose territory was threatened by Alphonso VI, but at al-Mukāṭiʿ, close to Seville, he was forced to retire with heavy losses. The following year (499/1105) we find as governor Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Lamtūnī who, on the death of Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn (500/1106), attempted some opposition to the proclamation of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf; the citizens of Granada, however, gave him no support, and he was captured and sent to Marrākus͟h. ʿAlī, accompanied by his faithful but incompetent elder brother Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ṭamīm, went straight to Andalusia to stifle this attempt at revolt and another which had broken out in Cordova, and appointed Ṭamīm governor of Granada. The latter organized the expedition against Uclés, during which Alphonso VI's son the Infante Sancho met his death. However, he was dismissed in that same year, and after a brief period under the governor of Valencia, ʿAbd Allāh b. Fāṭima, the governorship of Granada was taken over by ʿAli b. Yūsuf's cousin the amīr Mazdalī b. Sulankān. Though his attack at Guadalajara (506/1112-3) had no success, in the year following (507/1113) he took Oreja, and in July 1114 attacked the Sagra of Toledo, pillaged Peginas, Cabañas and Magán, and defeated the alcaide Rodrigo Aznárez. His success was short-lived, for during S͟hawwāl 508/March 1115 this great ally of Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn and his successor ʿAlī was defeated and killed. His son ʿAbd Allāh b. Mazdalī, who succeeded him as governor of Granada, went with his forces to the assistance of Abū Bakr b. Yaḥyā b. Tās͟hfīn, amīr of Cordova; he was engaged by the Castilians around Baeza, and was defeated with heavy losses. In 519/1125, while Ṭamīm was once again in Granada, Alphonso I (the Battler) undertook his great expedition across Andalusia, in the course of which he twice camped before Granada but did not manage to lay siege to it; he defeated Ṭamīm at Aranzuel. Dismissed at last for his inefficiency, Ṭamīm was succeeded by Abū ʿUmar Īnālū, grandson of Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn and a former governor of Fez, who had engaged Alphonso during the retreat before Guadix. When Ibn Rus͟hd told ʿAlī b. Yūsuf what had been happening in Andalusia and advised him to complete the fortifications of Marrākus͟h, he felt bound to offer the same advice about Andalusia. Orders were therefore sent to the governors of Seville, Granada, Cordova and Almería to mend and reinforce the walls and defences of their cities. In Granada the new governor Īnālū made great efforts to get this done even though while the work was in progress the Genil rose and swept away his building materials around Bāb al-Ramla and Bāb Ilbīra, and many lives were lost. ʿAlī dismissed Īnālū on D͟jumādā 522/May 1128 and ordered him to Marrākus͟h to face serious charges preferred by the Mozarabs of Granada. These were proved at a court of inquiry, and he was imprisoned and sentenced to make good the wrongs he had committed. This unpublished episode from the Almoravid *Bayān* shows clearly that by no means all the Mozarabs were deported to Morocco, no more were they all accomplices and collaborators of Alphonso the Battler, for the majority of them suffered no punishment or reprisals, and even after the great damage caused by him, their rights were respected and justice was done to them. The new governor Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, a son of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, campaigned in Levante and seized an unnamed castle, only to be deposed after four months (May-September 1128) and replaced by another of ʿAlī's sons, the famous and unfortunate Tās͟hfīn, who for ten years struggled with vigour but without success against the Castilians. In 526/1132 he had to take on as well the governorship of Cordova, and therefore delegated that of Granada to Abū Muḥammad al-Zubayr b. ʿUmar, the Azuel of the Christian chronicles, whose valorous exploits came to a tragic end in 538/1143, when he was beaten and slain by the heroic Toledan *alcaide* Muño Alfonso.

The last of the governors answerable to Marrākus͟h was ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr, son of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf's sister Fannū; he died during the revolt of Ibn Ad͟hā who gave up Granada to Sayf al-Dawla (Zafadola) the last descendant of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa, who had made his submission to Alphonso VII. The Almoravids, shut up in the old *alcazaba*, firmly resisted the assaults of Sayf al-Dawla and forced him to retire after killing his son ʿImād al-Dawla during a sortie. After the Granadan populace had expelled ʿAlī b. Ad͟hā who retired to Almuñecar, they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Almoravids of the *alcazaba*. Commanded by Ibn G͟hāniya's lieutenant Maymūn b. Yiddar, they stood their ground until 551/1156, but the achievements of the Almohad governors of Cordova and Seville, added to their sense of isolation and dwindling numbers, moved them to write to Marrākus͟h and sue for peace. Their offer to surrender the city was accepted, and orders went to ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān, admiral of the Ceuta fleet, and to the new governor of the two coasts of the Straits, the *sayyid* Abū Saʿīd ʿUt͟hmān, to set sail for Algeciras and take the road to Granada. Maymūn b. Yiddar gave up the city, and he and all the Almoravids of Granada were removed to Marrākus͟h, where they were suitably accommodated.

The new governor of Granada made thorough preparations for a land attack on Almería, in the hands of the Castilians, while the Ceuta fleet was blockading it by sea, and he succeeded in reconquering it. Alphonso VII and his ally Ibn Mardanīs͟h hastened to its support, but could not hinder its encirclement. So they tried to surprise Granada,

whose garrison was absent in Almería, but the vizier Abū Dja'far Aḥmad b. 'Aṭiyya and the *sayyid* Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, having expedited the surrender of Almería, were able to outpace him, and assured the defence of Granada. Meanwhile Ubeda and Baeza were relieved, and Alphonso VII died at the foot of the Despeñaperros, in Fresneda, on 21 August 1157. Granada now enjoyed five years of peace, broken in 577/1162 by Ibn Hamushk who, enraged at the loss of Carmona, made an assault on Granada with the connivance of the Jewish and Mozarab population. The Almohad garrison entrenched itself in the old *alcazaba*, which Ibn Hamushk attacked with battering-rams from the Alhambra in the Sabīka. He appealed for reinforcements to Ibn Mardanīsh, who arrived with his soldiers and the Christian mercenaries commanded by Alvar Rodríguez the Bald, grandson of Alvar Fáñez. The governor of Granada, the *sayyid* Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān, was absent in Marrākush, so he set off and crossed the Straits to bring help to the beleaguered city, and from Málaga he reached the plain of Granada, picking up reinforcements from Seville; but at a place called Mardj al-rukad ("sleepy meadow") some four miles from the city he suffered defeat and fled to Málaga. 'Abd al-Mu'min, in Rabat at the time, sent picked forces over the Straits, commanded nominally by his son and heir Yūsuf but in reality by the veteran Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, who scaled by night the rocky cliffs above the Genil, near to the Sabīka and the Alhambra, surprised the enemy encampment at dawn, and achieved total victory. He freed the beleaguered garrison and received the submission of all the dwellers of the plain (who had already submitted to Ibn Hamushk), and provisioned and restored the liberated Alcazaba. In 563/1168, at the very moment when Granada had recognized Yūsuf I as *amīr al-mu'minīn*, its governor defeated between Granada and Guadix a detachment of Christian mercenaries in the service of Ibn Mardanīsh which had got as far as Ronda. Returning from his abortive expedition against Huete (autumn 568/1172) Yūsuf I came by Granada where he left as governor his brother Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān, who had been with him on this campaign. Nothing of importance occurred in Granada during the reign of the subsequent Almohad caliphs until al-Ma'mūn, who, proclaimed in Seville, before he left for Morocco had to tackle Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Hūd al-Djudhāmī, the personification of general insurrection of the Spanish Muslims. During al-Ma'mūn's absence, Ibn Hūd quickly mastered the whole of Andalusia. He had recognized the sovereignty of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mustanṣir, and in 630/1232 the caliph's ambassador was received with due solemnity when he came to invest Ibn Hūd with the title of amīr of all Andalusia. But Ibd Hūd was assassinated in Almería in 535/1237, and his enemy Ibn al-Aḥmar rose in Arjona and took possession of Granada in 536/1238 and founded the Naṣrid dynasty.

One of his first tasks was to make a thorough inspection of the Alhambra. He traced the foundations of the Alcázar, appointed the excavators, and before the year was out many defensive works had been built. He brought water from the river, set up an *azūd* and dug a dike to feed it. When this work was just beginning he put to death in the Alhambra itself the tax-gatherer of Almería, Abū Muḥammad b. 'Arūs, and later other collectors of revenue, demanding from them the sums needed for his building programme. When the Almohad caliph al-Rashīd died in 640/1242 he transferred his allegiance to the Ḥafṣid amīr of Tunis, Abū Zakariyyā', from whom he received considerable sums intended to be used by the Spanish Muslims in the holy war; but Ibn al-Aḥmar spent them on the works he had undertaken and on the extension of the mosques of the city, and made the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. 'Ayyāsh swear that this money from the Tunisian sovereign was not intended for any definite purpose, but could be spent at will. For the rest of the long and eventful story of the Naṣrid dynasty up to the capture of Granada by the Catholic Kings, see the article NAṢRIDS.

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MONUMENTS

A. — The town

The Roman and Visigothic town. — Granada originated in a small Roman town, Illiberis, built on the site where, in the 5th/11th century, the palace of the Zīrids, *al-Ḳasaba al-ḳadīma*, arose, and on the hillside sloping down towards the Darro. Ancient tombs have been discovered on the other side of the river, at the foot of the Alhambra hill. The remains found in the ground at Granada are inadequate for a reconstruction of the topography of the town, or for assessing the value of its monuments. A Visigothic inscription preserved at Granada, but which may have come from somewhere else, mentions the founding of three churches in an unspecified place. Hence the history of the monuments of Granada can only be written from the Muslim period onwards.

Granada in the 4th/10th century. — Up till the 5th/11th century Granada was not the most important town in the region. The chief town in the district was Madina Elvira, at the foot of the ridge of mountains of that name, where excavations have unearthed remains of the period of the caliphs with painted or carved decorations. However, from the 4th/10th century onwards Granada had monuments of a certain importance, built according to the techniques current in Spain under the caliphate. The minaret which served as the base for the bell-tower of the church of San José is similar in its plan and arrangement of stretchers and bondstones to all the minarets of that date. As early as that period the town had a fortified wall, some remains of which are still in existence: the wall was of concrete: the towers and the remains of a gateway are chained with free-stone. Old drawings show that the façades of the gates of Elvira and of Hernán Román had

kept their 4th/10th century work up to modern times. The bridge over the Genil, several times altered and replastered, seems to go back to this same century as far as its original construction is concerned. So Hispano-Moorish art, which had its source and principal home in Cordova, was flourishing already in 4th/10th century Granada, which proves that the town had acquired importance and wealth.

Zīrid Granada. — It was in the century of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if* that Granada came into its own. The *amīrs* Ḥabūs (409-29/1019-38) and Bādīs (429-65/1038-73) gave their capital a strong surrounding wall which still exists, inside the present town, from the gate of Elvira to the Puerta Nueva. It is a high concrete rampart with irregular quadrilateral or semicircular towers. There are two gates in this part of the wall : the Puerta Monaita and the Puerta Nueva or Arco de los Pesos. They have arches made of stone or brick, surmounted by brick lintels and relieving arches. They are the oldest known examples in Spain of gateways with crooked entry made of vaulted halls, interrupted, at the Puerta Monaita, by an open bay. The gates of Bibarambla and of the Mauror, now vanished, belonged to this enclosing wall.

This rampart was prolonged on the left bank of the Darro by a stone archway between two towers, allowing the curtain to cross the river without interrupting the route of the patrol. What remains of this beautiful work is commonly known as the Bridge of the Ḳādī. The wall reached right up to the summit of the Alhambra plateau, where it was supported by two small fortresses. It enclosed a fairly extensive suburb in the quarter of the Mauror, where wealthy houses were erected. What is left of this Zīrid enclosure remains one of the finest fortifications of the Andalusian 5th/11th century.

The palace of the Zīrids occupied the upper part of *al-Ḳaṣaba al-ḳadīma*. Nothing of it remains beyond a cistern with four cradle-vaulted bays, and several pieces of wall utilized in later buildings.

Of the buildings of the town itself only a *ḥammām* called the Bañuelo remains. After a room for undressing and resting—with a basin in its centre and which doubtless comprised galleries on the first floor—come three parallel vaulted rooms: the *tepidarium* had columns along three sides; the *frigidarium* and the *caldarium* were prolonged by little loggias reached through twin arches. The columns, with neither base nor astragal, are surmounted by re-used antique capitals. The walls are made of a very hard concrete; the arches and vaults of brick. The Bañuelo with its row of three parallel rooms is the perfect example of a Hispano-Moorish bath, which persisted in Spain during the following centuries and is often found in Morocco.

Few remains of decoration have been found in Granada, apart from a few capitals. A curious piece of sculptured marble, divided into several sections and decorated with a Kufic inscription, preserved at Madrid in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, seems to have been a spice tray.

Granada under the Almoravids and the Almohads. — Under the African dynasties Granada apparently did not undergo great changes. It is possible that the fortification to the west of the Alhambra, now known as Torres Bermejas, goes back in the main to the 6th/11th century.

Some carved woodwork and fragments of moulded plasterwork of the Mauror, all of which have been collected in the Archaeological Museum, seem to be of the Almoravid period. They are of excellent quality. This continuity of the Granada workshops played its part in assuring the rise of Naṣrid art.

Naṣrid Granada. — With the dynasty of the Naṣrids, the founder of which, Muḥammad Ibn al-Aḥmar, settled in Granada in 635/1238, Granada became, and remained till its conquest by the Catholic monarchs in 897/1492, the capital of the last Muslim state in Spain (see NAṢRIDS).

Naṣrid Granada, while maintaining profitable economic relations with Castile and Aragon, was closed to all spiritual and artistic influence from the Christian world. It shut itself up within its Muslim traditions, which it preserved, without renewing them, with pious faithfulness. Naṣrid art was thus the final outcome and the supreme flowering of Muslim art in Spain.

The end of the 7th/13th century and the 8th/14th century were the periods of active construction: architecture and decoration, within formulas now become classical, continued to evolve slowly. But in the 9th/15th century in this increasingly threatened kingdom, often shaken by internal strife, buildings of importance seem to have been very rare, while the decoration of monuments lost its spontaneity and fine quality.

The surrounding wall. — From the moment that it became the capital of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmar, Granada was transformed, especially by the influx of refugees. The wall was extended to the north in order to take in the Albaycín quarter; a concrete rampart with oblong quadrilateral towers, a part of which still exists, enclosed this extension. The rest of the city wall was underpinned and reinforced. In engravings made shortly after the reconquest, the wall appears with *albarranas* towers in many places. But all this fine array of fortifications was demolished when the modern enlargement of the city took place.

Religious buildings. — Granada has kept hardly any of its religious buildings. The church of the Salvador retains some remains of the *ṣaḥn* of the great mosque of the Albaycín, the site of which it occupies. From an old description we know that this Naṣrid sanctuary was a beautiful building with nine naves, the arcade of which rested on eighty-six marble columns. A 7th/13th century minaret serves as the belfry of the church of San Juan de los Reyes. It is a square tower, with a cradle-vaulted staircase rising round a square central newel. The outside walls are decorated with a pattern of interlaced links in brick. The top band of the tower's decoration is in the form of a frieze of star-shaped polygons. This minaret, which belonged to a small 7th/13th century mosque, has neither the size nor the sumptuousness of the great Marīnid minarets of Fez which belong to the same architectural style: it lacks ceramic decoration.

Of the *madrasa* which was built in 750/1349 only the hall of prayer remains, and now much restored. Some remains of the façade have been assembled in the Museum. Finally, outside the old city, the *ermita* of San Sebastián is a small Muslim sanctuary of the 9th/15th century, probably a funerary building, of square form, covered by a sixteen-sided cupola with fine and numerous ribs.

Secular buildings. — Naṣrid Granada had many public baths: only one has been preserved, that of the Calle Real. It is of thoroughly classical type: its three vaulted rooms, on parallel axes, are preceded by a room for undressing and resting, with a gallery on the first floor.

The hospital—the *Māristān*—has been destroyed; but its plan has been preserved. Its central court

was bordered by porches with pointed arches on the ground floor, and wooden lintels on the first floor. The rooms opened through twin bays onto galleries. Its façade was symmetrically disposed. Above the entrance archway, richly decorated, and above its lintel, an arcade contained the foundation inscription: on the first floor there were windows, single or geminated.

Of the many *funduḳs* which Granada boasted, only one has been preserved: the Corral del Carbón. The court, the arrangement of which is similar to that of the *Māristān*, is surrounded by a two-storied colonnade on lintels. Of purer lines and better proportions, it has the same plan that one finds in Marīnid hostelries of the same period in Fez. This utilitarian building, the interior of which remains very sober, had a monumental doorway which was richly decorated. Its approach reveals a short vestibule with a horse-shoe arch, surmounted by a false lintel and a geminated window framed in two arcades. All this arrangement is decorated with moulded plaster. The ceiling of this type of portico is made of stalactites. One enters the court by a door with a lintel surmounted by a geminated arcade. The *funduḳs* of Fez retained, up till the modern period, the tradition of monumental doors, decorated to a greater or lesser extent.

Although the public buildings of Granada have nearly all disappeared, five beautiful dwelling-houses, more or less restored, still remain in part.

The convent of Santa Isabel la Real retains the remains of the Daralhorra: a court whose shorter sides consist of three arches on the ground floor and first floor, and whose big halls have an alcove at each end.

In the convent of Santa Catalina de Zafra can be seen the remains of a house with a court which had, in its original form, the same arrangement as that of Santa Isabel la Real, and the decoration of which was mainly painted. These two fairly simple houses, the disposition of which is often to be found in the Morisco houses of the 16th century, seem to date back to the middle of the 9th/15th century.

The Casa de los Girones has been much restored. It too had porticoes along the shorter sides of its court. Its beautiful staircase had groined vaulting. Its richly moulded plaster-work on a coloured background dates it as late 7th/13th century.

Outside the city wall the Naṣrid sovereigns and persons of high rank in the kingdom had, *extra muros*, beautiful country houses.

At the Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo a tower which formed part of the city wall contains a beautiful square room, entered by a portico. The walls are decorated with moulded plaster and with very lovely faïence mosaic panels, which, in the older parts, belong to the end of the 7th/13th century.

The buildings of the Alcazar Genil have been even more restored than those of the Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo. There remains a tower with a square room flanked by two alcoves with two interior basins. The moulded plaster-work belongs to the 8th/14th century.

These only too rare remains show us the same intention, the same structure, the same decoration in the houses of Granada as in the palace of the Alhambra, and frequently of an equally good quality. Luxury and refinement in their dwellings was not the prerogative of the sovereigns. These private houses testify to the perfect architectural and decorative unity of the art of Granada.

B. — The Alhambra

The Alhambra before the 7th/13th century. — The name of al-Ḥamrā᾽ appears at the end of the 3rd/9th century: it was applied to a small fortress where the Arabs who were being pursued by the rebel peasants took refuge during the revolts that took place under the Umayyad *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh. This fortress must have been built on the westernmost point of the plateau of the Sabīka. The Naṣrid Alhambra was later to cover the whole of this plateau. This castle, built at the end of the 3rd/9th century, was doubtless abandoned during the latter years of the caliphate and during the first half of the 5th/11th century. It was rebuilt and without doubt enlarged by the Jewish vizier Samuel Ibn Nagrello between 443/1052 and 447/1056. The Zīrid *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh improved it, inspired by the arrangement of the Christian castle of Belillos which he had just captured.

This castle is mentioned several times in the struggle of the Spanish *amīrs* against the Almoravids and the Almohads. It was of small dimensions, for the Christian contingents of Ibn Hamūs͟hk had to camp outside its walls. Some stretches of wall of very hard rubble and some remains of towers with corners chained with flat stones and bricks, in the neighbourhood of the present Alhambra wall, show that the fortress previous to that of the Naṣrids was very plainly built.

The Alhambra, seat of the Naṣrid government. — When Muḥammad Ibn al-Aḥmar entered Granada in Ramaḍān 635/May 1238 he took up residence in the Zīrid Alcazaba, in the town itself. But he lost no time in ordering the construction of the present Alhambra, work on which began after a few months. The new foundation was something quite different in its intention and size from the original fortress. The Alhambra is more than a fortress and a palace: it is a royal city, a seat of government, as had been Madīnat al-Zahrā᾽, al-Madīna al-Zāhira and the Almohad Ḳaṣaba of Marrākus͟h.

Opposite the commercial part of the town there was a *ḳaṣaba* which had been enlarged for the governmental needs of the Naṣrids. It contained, in addition to the royal palaces, the State administration: offices, mints, barracks for the guards, accommodation for the palace servants and some high dignitaries; in short, all the organs necessary to the administrative city's ordinary life: workshops, shops, a great mosque, baths.

Never was the separation of town and palace more happily reflected in the landscape: above the Darro and its confluence with the Genil, the hill of the Sabīka is the last platform of a spur that comes down from the Sierra Nevada. It is a narrow plateau, rising almost sheer above the Darro, easy to defend in all other respects, and separated by a ravine from the slopes which overlook it from the direction of the mountain. This "enormous boat anchored between the mountain and the plain", as L. Torres-Balbás has described it, has a maximum length of 740 metres and width of 220.

Work began with the construction of an aqueduct which brought in the water coming from the mountains: there was water flowing everywhere in the town and in the palaces of the Naṣrids. The enclosure and the first palaces were probably not completed till the time of the second *amīr* Muḥammad II (671-701/1273-1302). The Naṣrids never gave up their residence there.

The Alhambra is first of all a powerful fortress. The high rampart flanked by strong towers which surrounds it is not one of the least of its beauties. The interior of the enclosure, sloping at either end, was divided into three parts: to the west a compact block of fortifications: the Alcazaba; on the highest part, the main body of these palaces; on the gentle slopes which stretch to the east, the town itself.

The fortress. — At the end of the hill, facing the Vega, the Alcazaba formed a sort of fortified keep, completely independent of the rest of the Alhambra. A large parade-ground, then occupied by small houses, is surrounded by a strong triangular wall made up of high curtains, flanked by towers, reinforced by three powerful vaulted bastions, and with an outer wall to the east. This fortress had its own gateway opening into the exterior.

The wall which surrounded the whole of the Alhambra and which the Alcazaba completed to the west consisted of a single rampart made of concrete. This wall is exceptionally high and is strengthened by twenty-three high, wide towers, in the upper storeys of some of which there are halls or small houses belonging to the palaces. The whole of the surrounding wall was built by Muḥammad I and Muḥammad II. In the 8th/14th century, during the reign of Yūsuf I (733-55/1333-54), were built the towers of Comares, of Machuca, of the Candil, and the three great monumental gateways of la Justicia, of Siete Suelas, and of las Armas. The tower of the Peinador was completed under the following sultan, Muḥammad V. So the surrounding wall acquired its present appearance as far back as the middle of the 8th/14th century. The last sultans, in the face of the Christian threat, contented themselves with building platforms for cannon at the foot of the three great gateways.

Three of the Alhambra gates, those of la Justicia, of Siete Suelos and of los Picos, opened onto the exterior. Only the gate of las Armas which flanked the Alcazaba linked the Alhambra to the town.

The Alhambra gates, of huge proportions, form deep masses of masonry enclosing vaulted passages with two or even three bends, often cut across by an open bay. They were made of concrete with façades and arches of brick, sometimes set off by ceramic decorations. Quite apart from their military value, they are beautiful examples of architecture. The gate of la Justicia, which is not flanked by towers, but which forms part of a raised bastion, is pierced by an arch with high piers and has a vigorous elegance all its own. The others do not differ from the great gates of the Almohads or Marīnids in Morocco, especially when they are flanked by two towers.

The curtains, which are very high, had a sentry-walk edged by a parapet crowned by merlons with pyramidions. The lay-out of the ramparts, closely following the contours of the terrain, often makes use of re-entrant angles. The spacing of the towers, which is fairly irregular, reaches and sometimes exceeds fifty metres.

The high bastions of the surrounding wall are often big enough to contain, at the top, one of the halls of the palace, or a small house with a courtyard. The Hall of the Throne, or Hall of the Ambassadors, occupies the top floor of a huge square bastion. All these halls and dwelling-houses overlooked, through numerous windows, the beautiful view of the town and of the Vega.

The magnificent group of fortifications built by the Naṣrid Sultans was never attacked. The numerous Christian incursions to reach Granada stopped before the walls of the town, which never underwent a formal siege, till the last campaign of the Catholic Monarchs, in 896-7/1491-2. The town capitulated and the surrender of the keep took place on 1 Rabīʿ I 897/2 January 1492. Ferdinand and Isabella made their entry into the Alhambra on 6 January. Thus the ramparts of the Alhambra and the palaces they enclosed suffered no damage during the progressive collapse of the kingdom and the fall of the dynasty.

The palaces. — The palaces of the Alhambra, like all Hispano-Moorish palaces, are arranged in groups of buildings round courtyards. The main element is not the body of the building, but the court, more or less spacious, with or without porticoes surrounding it, onto which open the state and living rooms. These groups of buildings often have different axes: they are linked together by corridors or by connecting chambers. The palaces of the 7th/13th century were demolished in the following century to make room for the present palaces. A first group of buildings to the west, long since ruined, and recently uncovered by excavations, comprised a square court onto which opened some small rooms and a small mosque. This fairly simple dwelling-house was followed by a huge court, the patio of Machuca, bordered to the north by a portico which gave access to a hall in the top of one of the towers of the enclosing wall.

The present palaces form two groups built round two courts with perpendicular major axes. The first group, the Cuarto de Comares, preceded by a vestibule, by the Mechouar, and by a small patio, was built by Yūsuf I (733-55/1333-54); the second, the Cuarto de los Leones, by Muḥammad V (755-9/1354-8 and 769-94/1368-92). Some older baths and a mosque link these two 8th/14th century groups.

To the south of the Cuarto de los Leones was the burial-ground of the dynasty, the *Rawḍa*, the plan of which has been rediscovered through excavations. The Partal, a pavilion bordering a pond, the rich houses which complete the towers of the Peinador de la Reina and of the Captive, form separate groups.

The two big patios are surrounded by porticoes or buildings on all four sides. The reception halls are always on the ground floor: the living rooms, of much smaller proportions, occupied the first floor. Thus each of the quarters of this palace forms a small enclosed world round its patio. But, with happy inconsistency, the higher parts are pierced with bays and open galleries surmounted by belvederes.

The architectural composition. — It is in the patio of Comares, known also as the patio of la Alberca or of the Myrtles, the work of Yūsuf I, that we can grasp the methods of composition of the Granada architects. The centre of the court, a very elongated oblong, is occupied by a large pond, emphasized by two borders of myrtles. The buildings which surround this vast patio are disposed in three different styles. The long sides have walls pierced by doors on the ground floor, and by twin windows on the first floor. A mezzanine with single or double windows is inserted along the south front between two colonnades of slender pillars. To the north there is a portico of equally graceful elegance, dominated, above a tile roof, by the huge mass of the bastion that contains the Hall of the Ambassadors, the throne room of the Naṣrid palace. This paradoxical composition which contrasts occupied spaces with empty ones, smooth walls with airy colonnades, which aims at picturesqueness and variety rather than unity, for all its apparent and intentional lack

of balance, yet remains a work of the most consummate skill.

Classical traditions govern the arrangement of the state rooms, which open onto the south of the court. The gallery gives access to a very long ante-room, the hall of la Barea. From this sumptuous antechamber one enters the Hall of the Ambassadors: of huge proportions and square in form, it has no middle support: its vast dome rests directly on its walls. It is lit only by nine bays, three to a side, at ground floor level. From these windows one can gaze at the Generalife and the mountain side, the town rising in tiers on its double hill beyond the gully of the Darro, the Vega edged by the distant *sierras*. The bright light in the lower part of the room shades off little by little on the moulded plaster-work. The decoration forms a faint grisaille network: the delicacy of this facing does not detract from the dimensions of the room. The architect who worked for Yūsuf I had, to a rare extent, a taste for architectural contrast and decorative paradoxes.

It is round the famous Court of the Lions that are grouped the majority of the buildings which Sultan Muḥammad V built in the second half of the 8th/14th century. On a plan, the disposition of the four rooms which flank the patio, different in size and in shape, seems to lack severity. But seen from above, the masses of the roofs combine a happy equilibrium with a picturesque variety. The architect has voluntarily deprived himself of the facile resources of symmetry of detail. When one goes through these halls, where perspectives of arches and bays have been skilfully contrived to form axes of light, one cannot help admiring the vital and yet subtle discipline of the architectural arrangement. In spite of the great variety of the decoration the rows of arches re-establish the unity of the composition through the spacing of their lacework of light and shade.

The Court of the Lions itself is of a very classical style: it is divided by two paths which intersect at right angles: their intersection is marked by a fountain whose basin rests on stone lions doubtless belonging originally to a 5th/11th century palace. Four projecting pavilions occupy the middle of the sides. The porticoes and pavilions are made of rich arcades of moulded plaster resting on high and slender marble columns. On the ground floor the portico makes use of one motif only—the ringed column with palm-leaf capitals: here the architecture seems to melt into music. However, the vigorous masses of the tile roofs and pavilions which dominate this ethereal portico save the composition from insipidity. The very placing of the columns shows a rare subtlety: sometimes isolated, sometimes paired, the little columns form symmetrical groupings which link up on successive axes and sometimes overlap. Thus, in the Court of the Lions, the architecture itself becomes a symphony of decoration, through the play of association and repetition of motifs.

At the Partal there is a pool along whose edge runs a long pavilion with a five-arched portico surmounted by tile roofs. This colonnade faces the interior of the palace; but the great hall which opens onto this portico and its central pool have, like the Hall of the Ambassadors, windows at ground level which unite the whole of the landscape with this pleasure pavilion. The left hand side of the patio has a belvedere above it, also pierced by windows which allow one to enjoy the whole panorama of the palace, the mountain, and the town.

Thus the arrangement and classical themes of the Muslim palace have been treated here with true originality. The Naṣrid architects have not been seeking what is grand and massive, but have made use of contrast and nuance with incomparable virtuosity and variety.

The interior decoration. — The Alhambra is famous all over the world for the beauty and opulence of the decorations which overspread its halls. Throughout the palace the tradition of covering everything with decoration dominates. Examples of walls left bare or covered by a fairly large and simply engraved geometrical net-work are rare. The decoration is distributed on three levels. On the floor and on the panels at the base of the walls are to be found ceramic facings. On the floors there are usually geometrical motifs with juxtaposed elements, sometimes star-shaped. But on the panels there are polygonal stars ceaselessly sending out a whole complex of lines, and, through a subtle interweaving, rejoining and forming themselves into frames. In the less important rooms the faïence mosaics are sometimes replaced by glazed paintings, composed of geometrical networks in which are set epigraphic and floral motifs. The middle part of the walls is covered by moulded plasterwork. As a rule it is divided into panels, which, especially in the first half of the 8th/14th century, are arranged with as much skill as variety, thanks to the subtle play of axes and levels. The frames, made up of interlacing bands of inscriptions of varying width and content, allow for both precision and nuance in the grouping of these panels. But in the second half of this century, long high friezes tend to cover, with their uniform distribution, a large proportion of these walls.

In this moulded plasterwork one often finds geometrical networks which make up the general plan. But it is in the epigraphs and floral design that we seek the essentials of the decoration. Kufic script expresses eulogies and spreads out into complex arcatures, but it is the *nas<u>kh</u>ī* which dominates nearly everywhere: thanks to the balance of its movement it has acquired monumental dignity. Some of the Alhambra inscriptions are perhaps the finest examples of cursive epigraphy. The abundant floral design, usually disposed in foliated scrolls, unites the palm leaf, single or double, ribbed or smooth, to the pine cone and the palmette. Under Muḥammad V an effort was made to renew the forms of the palm and the palmette. But it is not so much a case of innovation as of inspiration rooted in the past, sometimes even in the art of the Cordovan caliphate. But this attempt was short-lived, and apparently limited to the Alhambra.

The quality of the detailed forms is still excellent in the work produced under Yūsuf I. But at the end of the 8th/14th century a certain stiffness appears in the moulding and even in the forms. This incipient decadence became more pronounced in the 9th/15th century, in the moulded plasterwork of the Tower of the Infantes, one of the few buildings of the last Naṣrid rulers in the palace of this dynasty.

This moulded plaster-work composes delicate symphonies in grey, each panel with a shade of its own, because of the distribution of light and shade. The movement of the lines also counts. The double play of light and line prevents any banality or monotony, and gives personality to each panel.

Colour was often used to enhance the moulding, particularly in the background, but sometimes covered the floral or epigraphic forms themselves. The shades—mainly blues and reds—were usually

fairly dark, but gold was not lacking. This polychromy, in spite of its sobriety, sometimes impaired the delicate play of light and shade.

All this ornamentation, though no longer renewing either its methods of composition or the forms of its details, yet shows great artistry and real beauty. Its worth lies in its exquisite sense of nuance: but it has lost the vigour of the art of the 6th/12th century.

Above all, it no longer troubles to produce an original composition for each panel. Indefinitely repeated motifs—the background decoration—overrun the whole of the *décor*. This decorative art of the 8th/14th century, in its delicate classicism and its artistry, is already imprisoned in the past: it lacks the boldness of the architecture which it covers. The main motifs—apart from the quadrangular panels—are the arched doorway, its palm-leaf spandrels, its bold rectangular setting, and its arcading, isolated or in tiers.

The ceilings are always most luxurious. Roofs with an interlacing framework, or *artesanados*, are still used. They are nearly always painted. But the biggest and most beautiful halls are covered by domes with stalactites. The *muḳarnas* are small in size, and some of their sides are moulded and painted. These small stalactites are created with great variety, and provide a play of line and shadow both rigorous and hallucinating. The cupolas of the halls of the Kings, of the Two Sisters, and of the Abencerrajes boast a richness and complexity which have never been surpassed.

The human figure is found in some of the famous paintings which cover some of the vaults of the Hall of the Kings: but these have been painted by artists of Christian upbringing. However at the Partal small paintings have been found which in their subjects—scenes of hunting and war and domestic reunions—belong to the Muslim tradition. The costumes and arms are those of the Muslims of Granada.

The Alhambra is the supreme example of monumental decoration in Muslim Spain in its final stage: an art which is still wonderful, but imprisoned in a tradition which it no longer attempts to renew, and already in its decline.

The gardens. — The largest of the patios of the Alhambra must have been laid out as gardens. But the most beautiful were to be found beside the pleasure pavillions, such as the Partal, and above all in the country houses which the sovereigns and wealthy citizens owned in the Vega and on the lower slopes of the mountain. These gardens hardly ever include vast prospects and distant views: they are contained within walls, in a network of alleys intersecting at right angles. More often than not there were just four hollowed-out beds between two raised walks, with a basin at their intersection. Throughout the Alhambra beautiful gardens have been laid out following this tradition, bringing back the gardens of the 8th/14th century, if not in their exact form, at least in their spirit.

It was the Christians who supplied the abundant foliage which today provides so magnificent a screen of greenery to the Alhambra. Although there was running water in the town and palaces of the Naṣrids, the walls and their towers overlooked bare slopes.

The town. — Hardly anything remains, apart from the remains of two houses, of the town enclosed by the walls of the Alhambra, to the south and to the east of the palace. The great Mosque was on the site of the church of Santa Maria de la Alhambra. The *madrasa*, the baths, and the richest houses have disappeared. Excavations have revealed the foundations of houses similar to those still to be found in the business part of the town. To the east was the artisan quarter. The ordinary life of the Muslim city was reproduced at the foot of the palaces, which, in themselves, aimed rather at elegance than at majesty. And this moderation which is expressed by a concern for maintaining the human scale remains one of the great values and charms of the Alhambra.

The Generalife. — On the spur which dominates the Alhambra the Naṣrids had a series of country houses: only the nearest of the palaces, the Generalife, remains. Its water comes from the same aqueduct as supplies the Alhambra.

The gardens are much more extensive than the buildings. After two or three entrance patios one emerges into a long rectangular walled garden. Contrary to the general rule, this *Patio de la Acequia* is not entirely closed in: one of its sides is pierced by arches through which the landscape can be seen; a belvedere marks the centre of this line of arches. The main axis of the garden is formed by a canal with water gushing up along its sides, flanked by two long flower-beds. At both ends of the gardens there are pavilions, the one to the north having three floors. The most sumptuous of the halls, which overlooks both the garden and the vast landscape of Granada, is on the top storey. The halls are richly decorated. The whole of this pleasure pavilion, built for height, dates from the beginning of the 8th/14th century. The style of its plaster mouldings is excellent.

A slightly higher garden stretched out to the east: but it has been greatly altered. Nevertheless, the lay-out of its walks may date back to the Muslim era. With its constantly renewed trees and flowers and the flowing and bubbling of its water, the Generalife evokes, even better than the Alhambra, the private life of the Naṣrid princes. And the architects of Granada have never surpassed this perfect alliance of gardens, water, landscape and architecture, which was their supreme aim, and sets the seal upon their art.

The Alhambra in modern times. — The Alhambra is the only palace of the Muslim Middle Ages to come down to us whole and well preserved. We owe this unique good fortune to the Christian conquerors, who were able to love the Alhambra and defend it against the incurable fragility of its buildings. The Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, had the palaces they had conquered strengthened and restored. Their successors, the kings and emperors of the house of Habsburg, continued this pious work of preservation. The palace of Charles V was not built after the demolition of part of the Naṣrid residences, but beside them. It was not till the 18th century, under the Bourbon dynasty, that the Alhambra ceased to be looked after: it was partly abandoned to the poor and to the gipsies, who set up their homes within its walls.

In the 19th century the great task of restoration was begun: by clearing the ground, excavating and laying out new gardens, the total of Naṣrid remains has been increased and assured an admirable presentation.

Historic value of the Alhambra. — It is mainly the art of the 8th/14th century that is revealed by the Alhambra. In the following century the sovereigns of Granada were too poor to rebuild the palaces of their predecessors. Otherwise work of less value—such as the few alterations to the Tower of the Infantes then made—would have replaced the masterpieces of Yūsuf I and Muḥammad V. And so

Naṣrid art has left us the *chef d'œuvre* of its classical age, the greatest testimony of its architecture and art of decoration. And the Alhambra has naturally become nothing less than a place of pilgrimage for all who wish to know, and for all who love, the arts of Spanish Islam in their final flowering.

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GHAṢB, usurpation, *i.e.*, "highhanded appropriation", is neither robbery as it is often translated, nor larceny (*sariḳa*), both of which pertain to the field of criminal law, but the illegal appropriation of something belonging to another or the unlawful use of the rights of another. *Ghaṣb* is thus restricted to civil law, so that it is dealt with by the Islamic jurists in the *Kitāb al-Buyūʿ*. While contractual, legal possession by the non-owner (*e.g.*, tenants, depositaries) is regarded as trusteeship (*amāna*), illegal possession not based on a contract is regarded as *ghaṣb*. The Islamic jurists consider *ghaṣb* from the point of view of an obligation arising from a tort. Hence the question is primarily whether the *ghāṣib* has to return the object obtained by unlawful interference (*maghṣūb*) to the deprived person (*maghṣūb minhu*) or to pay compensation. If the return of the object is no longer possible on account of loss (*halāk*) or as a result of specification, commixtion and confusion, he has to repay the value. As the *ghāṣib* has illegally taken possession of another's property, a high degree of liability is incurred: in all cases of loss, even through *force majeure*, he is liable, *e.g.*, if a usurped child dies from lightning or snake-bite. In the case of *ghaṣb* of *res immobilis* (*ʿaḳār*) jurists disagree over the question of liability.

As far as the consequences, under the law of property, of specification and confusion are concerned, two schools exist in Islam, just as in Roman and Jewish law: the Shāfiʿīs, like the Sabinians or the school of Shammay, direct their attention to the substance of the resulting article, the Ḥanafīs, like the Proculians or the school of Hillel, to the work performed. The Mālikīs represent a *media sententia*, which, however, diverges materially from the Code of Justinian, while the Jewish *media sententia* coincides with the Roman and certainly goes back to it.

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GHĀSHIYA, (A.), "the covering", particularly, a "covering for a saddle". Among the Saldjūḳs, Mamlūks etc., the *ghāshiya* was one of the insignia of royal rank and carried before the ruler in public processions (see C. H. Becker, *La Ghâshiya comme emblême de la royauté*, in *Centenario M. Amari*, ii, 148 ff.). *Ghāshiya* is also used metaphorically of a great misfortune that overwhelms someone; in this sense it is found in Sūra LXXXVIII, 1, for the day of the last judgement or for the fires of hell, and from this the Sūra has received the name *al-Ghāshiya*.

GHASĪL AL-MALĀʾIKA, nickname by which Ḥanẓala b. Abī ʿĀmir (= ʿAbd ʿAmr) b. Ṣayfī al-Awsī, a Companion of the Prophet, is known. Son of a Christian monk counted among the "People of the Interval" [see FATRA], he embraced Islam and took part in the battle of Uḥud; he was about to kill Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*], when he was mortally wounded by one of the enemy (some think that he fell at the hand of Abū Sufyān who, by killing a Ḥanẓala, would thus have avenged his own son Ḥanẓala who had fallen at Badr). On hearing of his death, the Prophet exclaimed: "The angels will prepare his body for burial", and this earned him posthumously the name of Ghasīl al-Malāʾika. He was buried at Uḥud with the many other Muslims killed in this battle.

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GHASSĀN, a division of the great tribal group al-Azd who migrated from South Arabia, wandered in the Peninsula, and finally settled within the Roman *limes* ca. A.D. 490, having accepted Christianity and agreed to pay tribute.

After a short period of co-existence with Salīḥ [*q.v.*] as tributaries, ὑπόφοροι, they overpowered the latter group and superseded them as the new Arab allies, σύμμαχοι, of Byzantium in A.D. 502-3. Their relations with the Empire were regulated by a treaty, *foedus*, according to which they received annual subsidies, *annonae foederaticae*, and in return they contributed mounted contingents to the Byzantine army. Their leaders in the various provinces were technically called phylarchs, φύλαρχοι, and were generally endowed with the rank *clarissimus*, λαμπρότατος. The chief Ghassānid phylarch whose seat was Djābiya in the province of Arabia was accorded the highest honours and titles; he was *patricius*, *biṭriḳ* [*q.v.*], and *gloriosissimus*, ἐνδοξότατος, and was allowed to wear the crown of a client king. Although Romanized in many respects and passionately attached to Monophysitism, the Ghassānids remained Arabs at heart. Poets from the Peninsula, like Nābigha and Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*], visited their courts and composed on them panegyrics which give intimate glimpses into their inner life and document their history for three decades.

As allies, σύμμαχοι, politically and militarily, the Ghassānids performed for Byzantium their most important function: (*a*) they supplied the Army of the Orient with an efficient, mobile contingent in the war against the Persians. Their most notable political and military contribution was during the reign of al-Ḥārith b. Djabala [*q.v.*], A.D. 529-69, and before disagreements with the Roman Emperors Justin II, Tiberius, and Maurice limited and frustrated their military efforts. Ḥārith participated regularly in the two Persian Wars of Justinian's reign (A.D. 527-65) and fought with distinction at Callinicum (A.D. 531) and in Belisarius' Assyrian

1 — Granada: Zirid wall

2 — Granada: the Alhambra. General view

3 — Granada: the Alhambra. Patio of Comares

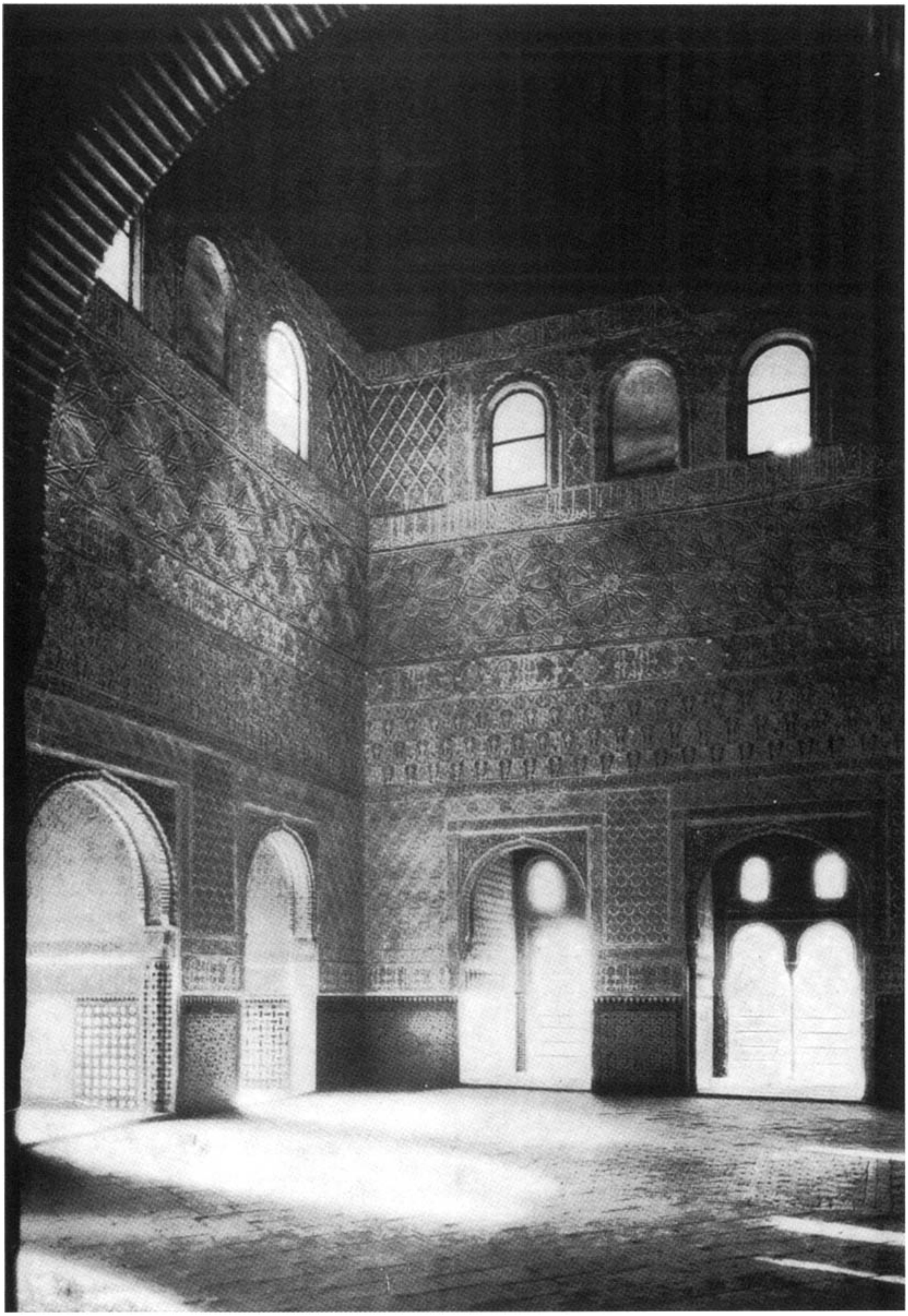

4 — Granada: the Alhambra. Hall of the Ambassadors

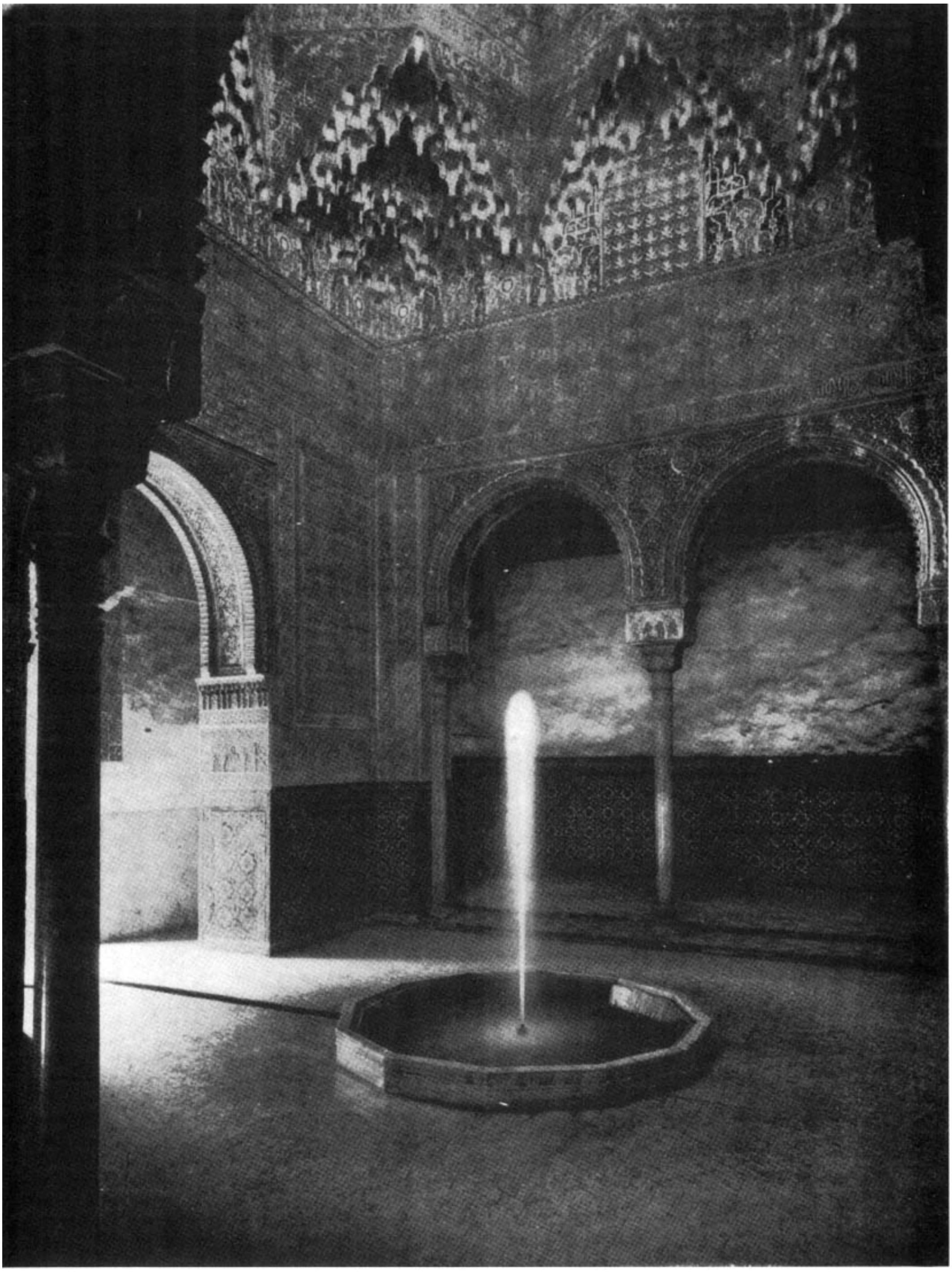

5 — Granada: the Alhambra. Hall of the Abencerages

6 — Granada: the Alhambra. The Partal

7 — Granada: the Generalife

Campaign (A.D. 541); (*b*) the war against the Lakhmids was successfully prosecuted. Ḥārith triumphed signally over the Lakhmid Mundhir at *Yawm* Ḥalīma [*q.v.*] in A.D. 554 near Ḳinnasrīn, and his son Mundhir triumphed over Ḳābūs, possibly at ʿAyn Ubāgh [*q.v.*], in A.D. 570, captured Ḥīra, and burnt it. Ghassānid military superiority over the Lakhmids solved for Byzantium its most serious Arab problem; (*c*) from their main base in Arabia and Palaestina Tertia, the Ghassānids kept the nomads in check and conducted military operations against the Jews of Ḥidjāz. The Arabian aspect of their function included, also, the protection of Byzantine commercial and political interests along the spice-route, and their importance in this sector is reflected by their participation in the diplomatic mission to Abraha [*q.v.*], the Abyssinian ruler of *Arabia Felix*.

In the history of Syrian Monophysitism the Ghassānids were a determining factor. It was mainly through the efforts of their king Ḥārith b. Djabala that the Monophysite Church in Syria was resuscitated after its disestablishment during the reign of the Chalcedonian Emperor Justin I, A.D. 518-27. Around A.D. 540, and with the help of the Empress Theodora, Ḥārith secured the ordination of two Monophysite bishops, Theodorus and the famous Jacob Baradaeus, after whom the Syrian Monophysite Church was called Jacobite. The indefatigable efforts of these two bishops put the Monophysite Church in Syria on its feet again. The Ghassānid kings, Ḥārith and his son Mundhir, continued to protect the Monophysite Church not only against the hostility of the Chalcedonians but also against divisive movements from within: *e.g.*, the Tritheistic heresy of Eugenius and Conon; the discord which broke out between Jacob Baradaeus and Paul the Black; and the patriarchal strife between the sees of Antioch and Alexandria. But they did not neglect the Arabian Peninsula. Their missionary activities, particularly in Nadjrān, were important contributions towards the propagation of Christianity in those southern parts. Although their staunch support of the Monophysite movement ruffled their relations with the Orthodox Emperors and brought about the downfall of their king Mundhir [*q.v.*], A.D. 569-82, and his son Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], it was through Monophysitism that the history of these war lords underwent that spiritual refinement which made of it the maturest expression of a Christian Arab culture.

The Ghassānids made important contributions to the urbanization of Syria and to its architectural life in the sixth century: (*a*) they were credited with the building of a number of towns, *e.g.*, Djilliḳ, and of public works, *e.g.*, the cisterns, *ṣahāridj*, of Sergiopolis (Ruṣāfa); (*b*) genuinely pious, and living in an age which witnessed a great building activity, they erected churches and monasteries for the resurgent Monophysite Church, *e.g.*, the *Ecclesia extra muros* (possibly a *praetorium*) at Sergiopolis; (*c*) anticipating later Umayyad practice they built, in and near the desert, palatial residences which were sometimes also military establishments, *maṣāniʿ*. [In addition to the dated monument in Sergiopolis there are at least three more, arranged here in chronological order: (i) the tower of the monastery in Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, of 559 A.D., by Ḥārith b. Djabala (D. Schlumberger, *Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi*, in *Syria*, xx (1939), 366-72); (ii) a house in al-Hayāt (Ḥawrān) built by Flavios Seos in 578 (H. C. Butler, *Syria, Princeton Expedition, division II*: *Archtecture, section A*: *Southern Syria*, Leiden 1919, 362-3); (iii) the castle in Ḍumayr, built by al-Mundhir (569-82) (described in Brünnow-Domaszeski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, Strassburg 1909, iii, 200; at that time the foundation inscription (Wetzstein, no. 173, Waddington, 2562c) was lost, but in the summer of 1963 I was able to rediscover it on the site, and the Syrian Service of Antiquities is going to exhibit it in the Damascus Museum).— note communicated by K. Brisch]. The prosperity of the province of Arabia in the sixth century, archaeologically attested, can to a great extent be made explicable by the activities of this energetic dynasty whose main base was Arabia, and who, consequently, animated the region and relieved it of its technically insignificant and provincal status.

Relations between Byzantium and the Ghassānids were not uniformly smooth. Their independent spirit, but more, their unflinching support of Monophysitism crossed the will of Orthodox Byzantium. Around A.D. 580, the Emperor Tiberius had Mundhir arrested and brought to Constantinople, and in A.D. 582-3 ?, Maurice gave the same treatment to his son Nuʿmān. This considerably weakened the Ghassānid Phylarchate. But it was the Persian invasion of A.D. 613-14 that dealt the crushing blow to the Ghassānids who, however, re-emerge, serving in the army of Heraclius and represented by the Djabala b. al-Ayham [*q.v.*] at the decisive battle of Yarmūk, A.D. 536.

The Muslim Conquest of Syria swept away the Ghassānids beyond recall. Some of them went over to Byzantium and settled in Anatolia; others adopted Islam and were assimilated in the new Arab Muslim community; the rest remained Christian and stayed on in Syria. To these, some of the Arab Christian families of the contemporary Near East trace their descent.

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AL-GHASSĀNĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD

(Ḥammū) B. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, descendant of an Andalusian family which emigrated to Morocco towards the end of the Middle Ages, was secretary to Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1082/1672-1139/1727), who entrusted him with various diplomatic missions: one to Spain (1101/1690-1102/1691) for the ransoming of Muslim captives and another to Algiers (1103/1692) as a member of the suite of Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Fāsī. He wrote the story of his journey in Spain under the title *Riḥlat al-wazīr fī iftikāk al-asīr* (ed. and Spanish tr. by A. Bustani, Larache 1940; partial French tr. by H. Sauvaire, Paris 1884). In it he shows himself to be an acute observer and uses the chronicle entitled *Fatḥ al-Andalus* as a source of his historical information. He gives only a few details of the way in which he accomplished the mission with which he was charged, namely to obtain 5,000 books and 500 captives in exchange for the Spanish garrison of Larache imprisoned by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl; if he should not obtain all the books the number of captives was to be increased to 1,000. The Spanish archives complete the information which he gives: he arrived at Madrid on 4 Rabīʿ I 1102/6 Dec. 1690 and after he had presented himself to Charles II the king ordered Cardinal Portocarrero to conduct the negotiations which terminated to the satisfaction of all before 27 S̲h̲aʿbān 1102/27 May 1691, the date on which al-G̲h̲assānī set out again for Morocco. The ransomed captives were assembled at Barcelona, Cartagena, and Alicante, whence they were sent to Cadiz and must have crossed to Morocco some time after March 1692.

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(J. Vernet)

G̲H̲ASSĀNIYYA, name given by later Sunnīs to the Murdjiʾī position associated with Abū Ḥanīfa. In As̲h̲ʿarī (*Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Ritter, i, 138 f.), Abū Ḥanīfa appears as head of a section of the Murdjiʾa asserting that *īmān* is the affirmation of God and the Prophet, however poorly these are understood; some of his followers, including G̲h̲assān, differ from him in including reverence within *īmān* and allowing that it may increase. Al-Bag̲h̲dādī (*Al-farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Badr, 191) cites this latter difference as proof that G̲h̲assān did not follow Abū Ḥanīfa at all, and then ascribes the whole position to G̲h̲assān under the name of G̲h̲assāniyya, omitting Abū Ḥanīfa from the Murdjiʾa. Going still further, S̲h̲ahrastānī (*Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. Cureton, 263-5) transfers As̲h̲ʿarī's quotations of Abū Ḥanīfa to G̲h̲assān al-Kūfī himself. (M. G. S. Hodgson)

G̲H̲ĀT, a *ḳṣar* of the Sahara among the Touareg Ajjer on the frontier between the Fezzān (Libya) and the Algerian Sahara, in the neighbourhood of the 25th parallel and the 10th meridian. It stands at an altitude of 780 metres, 3 km. to the west of the Wādi Tanezzouft, whose valley lies in a north-south direction between the bank of primary sandstone on the side of the Tadrart in the east and the similar plateaus of the Tassili of the Ajjer in the west. It owes its existence to the richness and shallowness of the phreatic underground water-level and to its situation on the route of the ancient trans-Sahara track which, coming from Kano, Zinder and Agadès, leads towards southern Tunisia by way of Ghadamès, and to Tripoli either via Ghadamès or via the Fezzān, thus avoiding the mountains of the Tassili and the ergs of the Fezzān.

The region was inhabited in ancient times, as is proved by the numerous rock engravings and more than one necropolis such as those of al-Barkat and of Tin Alkoun, but it has never been proved that the *oppidum* of Rapsa mentioned by Pliny was situated there. G̲h̲āt itself does not go back for longer than 700 years and is mentioned for the first time by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the 8th/14th century. Its prosperity depended upon the vicissitudes of trade across the Sahara, about which our only exact information comes from some 19th century travellers, in particular Muḥammad al-Otsman al-Hachaïchi (al-Ḥas̲h̲āʾis̲h̲ī); he remarks, at the end of the century, that if for the Touareg Ajjer "G̲h̲āt is their Paris", most of the traders of G̲h̲āt "which is the Marseilles of the Sahara" are people of Ghadamès and people from Tripoli; the Touareg hired their camels to the traders, but the essential part of the cross-Sahara traffic already went via the Fezzān. This trade disappeared little by little in the early years of the twentieth century.

For a long time G̲h̲āt remained independent, governed by an hereditary *amg̲h̲ar* [*q.v.*] and an elected municipality, but nevertheless under the somewhat heavy protection of the Touaregs. In 1875, the Turks of Tripoli installed a garrison there and a *ḳāʾimmaḳām*, and remained its masters until 1914. G̲h̲āt was occupied for the first time by the Italians, conquerors of Libya, from April to December, 1914, and a second time from February 1930 until January 1943. It was then taken by the French troops of southern Algeria at the same time as the expedition of General Leclerc made itself master of the Fezzān; it was annexed to the region of D̲j̲anet (Fort Charley). French forces left G̲h̲āt after the Franco-Libyan treaty of 10th August, 1955, and G̲h̲āt was attached once more to the Fezzān, a province of the United Kingdom of Libya.

G̲h̲āt is a picturesque *ḳṣar*, fortified in an irregular rectangle 700 by 500 metres in area, surrounded by a crenellated wall with five gates; part of it also are the suburbs of Tadramt and Tounin. Al-Fewet, 10 km. away to the west, and the fortified *ḳṣar* of al-Barkat, 8 km. to the south, as well as some hamlets scattered within modest palm groves, are under its control. The whole area has more than 2,000 inhabitants. The Kel G̲h̲āt fall into five groups: the Tel Talaḳ and the Tel Makammazan who are the oldest, the Iadhenan, the Tel Inan Tamalgat and the Tel K̲h̲absa; some Arabicized families, Ghadamesians, Touaregs who have become sedentary (especially at Fewet and al-Barkat) and many negro share-croppers of Sudanese origin, called here *atāra*, complete the population. All speak Tamāhaḳḳ but many understand Arabic and even Hausa which is spoken by the negroes.

G̲h̲āt is the centre for about 1,000 Imanan and Orag̲h̲en nomads and for some Imang̲h̲assaten families. Some springs and shallow wells (both the type worked by animal traction and those worked by balancing poles) make possible the irrigation of 21,000 palm trees, some fruit trees, winter cereals (corn and barley) and summer cereals (sorghum and Indian millet). The nomads raise dromedaries, goats and a few sheep. The artisan class (skins and woodwork) is declining rapidly. Trade to-day is reduced to modest exchanges between the nomads and the sedentary population and the importation of some

manufactured goods from the Fezzān. But if oil research to the north and the east comes to anything, it may perhaps change very rapidly the modest economy of Ghāt.

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(J. Despois)

GHAṬAFĀN, name of a group of Northern Arabian tribes, belonging to the Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*] and represented in the genealogical system as the descendants of Ghaṭafān b. Saʿd b. Ḳays b. ʿAylān. Their lands lay between the Ḥidjāz and the Shammar mountains in that part of the Nadjd which is drained by the Wādī al-Rumma. Here lived from West to East their principal tribes: the Banū Ashdjaʿ, the Dhubyān (with the sub-tribes Fazāra, Murra, and Thaʿlaba), the ʿAbs, and—in the region al-Ḳasīm—the Anmār. Of these tribes the Banū ʿAbs (b. Baghīḍ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān) rose to prominence c. 550 A.D., when their chief, Zuhayr b. Djadhīma, gained power not only over all Ghaṭafān, but also over the Hawāzin, the other important group of the Ḳays-ʿAylān. After Zuhayr was slain by Khālid b. Djaʿfar of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, the power of the ʿAbs declined. A quarrel between Ḳays b. Zuhayr b. Djadhīma und Ḥudhayfa b. Badr, chief of the Banū Fazāra (b. Dhubyān b. Baghīḍ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān), led to the so-called war of Dāḥis between the ʿAbs and Dhubyān; during it nearly all Ghaṭafān took up arms against the ʿAbs and forced them to leave their pasture grounds. After many wanderings they found shelter with the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and c. 580 A.D. both groups defeated in the battle of Shiʿb Djabala [*q.v.*] the coalition of Tamīm, Dhubyān, Asad, and other tribes (see the poem of Khurāsha b. ʿAmr al-ʿAbsī in *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, no. 121). Later on peace was restored between the ʿAbs and Dhubyān through the good offices of two chiefs of the Banū Murra (b. ʿAwf b. Saʿd b. Dhubyān) named al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf and Harim b. Sinān, both of whom were praised by Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā [*q.v.*] in his *muʿallaḳa*. After this reconciliation the ʿAbs and Dhubyān stood together against the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (see Bakrī, *Muʿdjam* s.v. al-Bathāʾa) and were often joined by the other Ghaṭafān tribes, *e.g.*, in the battle of al-Raḳam (see the poem of Salama b. Khurshub al-Anmārī in *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, no. 5). About the same time the Ghaṭafān concluded an alliance with their neighbours the Ṭayyiʾ and Asad. There were also fights between the Ghaṭafān and the Hawāzin and Sulaym till the rising power of Islam ended these clashes. The Ghaṭafān were, like almost all Bedouins, hostile towards Muḥammad and his religion. At this time ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī, of the famous "house" of Badr, was the leading chief amongst the Ghaṭafān, and the Meccans tried to win his support, whilst Muḥammad was eager to forestall all hostile movements (*e.g.*, in the expedition of al-Kudr against Sulaym and Ghaṭafān). After the expulsion of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr from Medina to Khaybar, the Jews and Meccans made an alliance and gained the support of the Ghaṭafān and Sulaym. A contingent of the Banū Fazāra and perhaps of the Banū Murra under ʿUyayna took part in 5/627 in the siege of Medina (the so-called War of the Trench), but when this attempt had failed, the Banū Ashdjaʿ, who of all Ghaṭafān lived nearest to Medina, concluded a treaty with Muḥammad (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 48), and ʿUyayna thought it best to refrain from open opposition. He was in Muḥammad's camp during the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, accompanied him during the subsequent campaign of Ḥunayn, and the Prophet honoured him at Djiʿrāna, when the spoils were distributed, by a special gift of one hundred camels, to the chagrin of al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī, who got only four, though the Sulaym had taken an active part in the fighting. It was only in 9/631 that a deputation of the Fazāra and the Murra, led by Khāridja b. Ḥiṣn and al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf, went to Medina to announce their tribes' conversion. But in the revolt (*ridda*) that broke out immediately after Muḥammad's death, the Ghaṭafān and the Banū Asad took up arms. A band of them, led by Khāridja b. Ḥiṣn, attacked Abū Bakr in his camp near Dhu 'l-Ḳaṣṣa but was driven back. Then Khālid b. al-Walīd defeated the Banū Asad under Ṭulayḥa and a corps of the Fazāra under ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn in the battle of Buzākha [*q.v.*] and broke the last resistance of Khāridja b. Ḥiṣn at Ghamr in Fazāra territory. In consequence of this defeat the Fazāra lost part of their grazing-ground. ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn was brought as captive to Medina, but pardoned by Abū Bakr. His daughter Umm al-Banīn became wife to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (Ṭabarī, i, 3056-7).

In the wars of conquest the warriors of the Ghaṭafān joined the armies; some of them settled in the newly conquered countries. The Syrian army which was sent after Muʿāwiya's death in 60/680 against Medina was led by Muslim b. ʿUḳba of the Banū Murra. In Kūfa we find members belonging to the leading families of the Banū Fazāra, *e.g.*, Manẓūr b. Zabbān, father-in-law to Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Ḥadjdjādj, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and Mundhir b. al-Zubayr (Ibn Durayd, *Genealogisch-etymologisches Handbuch*, 173 etc.). Hind bint Asmāʾ b. Khāridja b. Ḥiṣn was married to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, then to Bishr b. Marwān, and later to al-Ḥadjdjādj.

In the contest between the Northern (*Muḍar*) and the Southern (*Kalb*) Arabs the Ghaṭafān naturally sympathized with the former. They fought at Mardj Rāhiṭ 65/684 under al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fazārī against the Banū Kalb. It seems that later on the Fazāra at Kūfa supported Zufar b. al-Ḥārith of the Banū Kilāb b. ʿĀmir and ʿUmayr b. Ḥubāb al-Sulamī in their fight against Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth al-Kalbī (see Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 259, 19). When Ḥumayd killed some of the Fazāra in their homeland in Arabia the latter took revenge in the battle of Banāt Ḳayn in the Samāwa c. 74/693 (see Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 128 f.). It was to the advantage of the Fazāra that Wallāda bint al-ʿAbbās, one of the wives of ʿAbd al-Malik and mother of the caliphs al-Walīd and Sulaymān (Ṭabarī, ii, 1174) was a descendant of Zuhayr b. Rawāḥa al-Fazārī (see the verses in Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, 672). When ʿUmar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī [*q.v.*] was viceroy of the East in 102/721-105/725 all Ḳays were again in the ascen-

dency. After the downfall of the Umayyad Empire we hear little of the Ghaṭafān. The Fazāra, Ashdjaʿ, and Thaʿlaba are mentioned in connexion with the revolt of the Bedouin tribes in 230/844-5 which was put down by Bughā al-Kabīr (Ṭabarī, iii, 1342 ff.). But the majority of the Ghaṭafān had left Arabia, and their lands were occupied by the Ṭayyiʾ. There were apparently no Ghaṭafān groups among the Northern (Ḳays) Arabs settled by order of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik in 107/725-6 in Egypt (see Haytham b. ʿAdī *apud* Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān wa 'l-iʿrāb*, 39 f., Wüstenfeld). Later on we find clans and families claiming descent from Ghaṭafān tribes in Egypt, Libya, the Maghrib and in Spain.

Amongst the poets of the *Muʿallaḳāt* there are two belonging to the Ghaṭafān: ʿAntara b. Shaddād al-ʿAbsī [*q.v.*] and al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī [*q.v.*]. Lesser poets of the Ghaṭafān are ʿUrwa b. al-Ward and al-Ḥuṭayʾa from the ʿAbs; al-Ḥādira and al-Shammākh from the Thaʿlaba b. Saʿd; Ibn Mayyāda (see *Aghānī*[3], iii, 261-340) from the Banū Murra b. ʿAwf; and Ibn Dāra (see *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 191 ff.) of the Banū ʿAbd al-ʿUzzū, commonly called Banu 'l-Muḥawwala because the Prophet changed their ancestor's name into ʿAbd Allāh, and ʿUwayf al-Ḳawāfī (see *Aghānī*[1], xii, 105-118) from the Fazāra.

Very little is known of the pagan religion of the Ghaṭafān. They worshipped like other tribes an idol called al-Uḳayṣir [*q.v.*]. They also had a sanctuary of al-ʿUzzā at Buss—misrepresented by Muslim writers as a rival institution to the Kaʿba at Mecca—which was destroyed in the first half of the 6th century by Zuhayr b. Djanāb al-Kalbī (see *Aghānī*[1], xxi, 94; xii, 126). Then there is Khālid b. Sinān al-ʿAbsī, who according to a saying attributed to Muḥammad was "a prophet whom his people let perish" (Ibn Saʿd, xii, 42, 7; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1328 A.H., i, 466 ff.).

The etymology of the name Ghaṭafān is unknown. Besides the well-known Ghaṭafān of the Ḳays-ʿAylān there are also clans of the same name amongst the Djuhayna, Djudhām, and Iyād (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tabellen*, i, 19; 5, 18; A 12; see also Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xl, 180). Ghaṭafān b. Unayf al-Kalbī was a poet of the 1st/7th century (Ṭabarī, ii, 456, 799). One of the secretaries of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam had the *kunya* Abū Ghaṭafān (Ṭabarī, ii, 837; see also Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xii, 199).

Bibliography: in the article; see also: The indices to Yāḳūt, *Geogr. Wtb.*; Ibn Saʿd; Ṭabarī; the *Naḳāʾiḍ* of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*; and *Aghānī*. See further v. Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ed. W. Caskel, iii, 7-14; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 7 ff. (J. W. Fück)

AL-**GHAWĀR**, a tract of broken limestone hills, now (1963) an important oil field, in Eastern Arabia. Centred 30 kilometres southwest of the oasis town of al-Hufūf, al-Ghawār proper is an elevated area elongated along a north-south axis. Bounded on the north by the depression of Djaww Umm ʿUnayḳ, the tract extends 50 kilometres south to Wādī al-Ḳuṣūr. It averages 20 kilometres in width. Al-Ghawār has only a few poor quality hand-dug wells, and Bedouins consider it a poor pasture area. The machine-drilled wells near the oil field camp of al-ʿUḍayliyya now provide a reliable source of summer water for small groups of Āl Murra and al-Dawāsir tribesmen. Darb Mazālīdj, formerly an important camel track between al-Ḥasāʾ and Central Nadjd, passes through al-Ghawār from northeast to southwest. The hill of al-ʿUthmāniyya and the hill and rock shelter of Ghār al-Shuyūkh, both well-known landmarks of the area, lie near this trail. The derivation of the name al-Ghawār is popularly explained as an alternative plural of *ghār* (common plural *ghīrān*), "rock shelter, shallow cave", or as a plural of *ghawr*, "low ground, depression".

The central portion of Ghawār (Ghawar) Oil Field coincides with al-Ghawār proper. Extending north to Fazrān and south to Wādī al-Sahbāʾ, the oil field has a total length of 256 kilometres. This, with an average width of 20 kilometres, gives it a greater surface area than any other oil field in the world. Discovered by the Arabian American Oil Company in 1948, Ghawār Field yielded an average of 715,200 barrels daily during 1962, nearly one-half of the Company's total production.

Bibliography: J. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, ii, 581-2; Map: U.S. Geological Survey, *Geographic map of the Western Persian Gulf quadrangle, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, Miscellaneous geologic investigations, Map 1-208 B, 1:500,000, 1958. (J. Mandaville)

GHAWĀZĪ [see ghāziya].

AL-**GHAWR**, "depression", "plain encircled by higher ground", a geographical term denoting various regions in the Muslim countries.

1. The best known is the Ghawr in Palestine, which corresponds with the deep hollow, called *Aulôn* in the Septuagint, through which the Jordan flows, between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea, and which is merely a section of the central Syro-Palestinian rift-valley. At first, the Ghawr consists of a plain, overshadowed by the mountains of Samaria on the one side and Mount ʿAdjlūn on the other, 105 km./65 miles long, and sloping down gradually from -208 m. /-680 ft. on the shores of Lake Tiberias to -394 m. /-1300 ft. by the Dead Sea; the width of the plain, though variable, does not exceed 12 km./8 miles in the northern part but reaches 20 km./12$^1/_2$ miles in the Jericho region. It then embraces the basin of the Dead Sea, the deepest point of which goes down to -793 m. /-2600 ft., while the width reaches 12 km./8 miles [see baḥr lūṭ]. Finally, it is continued by the Wādī al-ʿAraba, as far as the approaches to the gulf of ʿAḳaba.

From the earliest times of the Muslim occupation, the Ghawr belonged, for administrative purposes, to two different provinces, the *djund* of al-Urdunn and that of Filasṭīn. The Arab geographers describe it as a very hot, unhealthy district with bad water, but possessing numerous streams and covered with pasturages and sub-tropical plantations (palm-trees, sugar-cane and indigo). Besides the capital Arīḥā (Jericho), they mention Ṭabariyya (Tiberias), Baysān, ʿAmmatā and lastly Zughar to the south of the Dead Sea. As for the region called al-ʿArabāt and belonging to the Ghawr in Palestine where, according to Ibn Isḥāḳ (Ṭabarī, i, 2125; cf. 2107), ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ linked up with the forces from the east of the Jordan before the battle of al-Adjnadayn, this no doubt corresponds with the steppe zone lying to the South of the Dead Sea.

In the Mamlūk period, the Ghawr was divided into several administrative districts, all forming part of the second or southern march of the province of Damascus. It was followed by the trade and post route between Damascus and Ghazza. At the beginning of the Mamlūk period, the couriers made the crossing of the Jordan near Baysān, at a place where the river could be forded in normal times or crossed by ferry-boat in times of

flood; in the middle of the 8th/14th century, the route was modified to spare couriers from having to climb too steep gradients; they made use of the bridge of al-Madjāmiʿ, further to the north, at the confluence of the Jordan and the Yarmūk.

Bibliography: F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, i, Paris 1933, particularly 10, 80-1, 93-4, 423-9; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 30-2; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 158-9; Yaʿkūbī, *Buldān*, 326; Ibn Hawkal, iii, 114; Yākūt, iii, 822; Dimashkī, ed. Mehren, 201; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, particularly 64 ff.; J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941, 73.

2. Another Ghawr is Ghawr Tihāmat al-Yaman or Ghawr Tihāma (al-Farazdak, ed. Boucher, 20), called also, as a dual, Ghawrā Tihāma (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 219). The statements by the geographers regarding it are very vague, for it is sometimes identified with Tihāma and sometimes described as a separate district adjoining it. For example, according to Kudāma b. Djaʿfar, it stretched from Nadjd to the extreme borders of Tihāma; on the other hand, according to a passage in al-Bakrī, it lay between Tihāma (the district from Dhāt ʿIrk to two days' journey beyond Mecca) and the Sarāt.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 248; Hamdānī, 46, 48, 210, 233; Bakrī, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 7, 11, 36, 818; Yākūt, iii, 821. (F. Buhl-[D. Sourdel])

AL-GHAYB (a.). The two connotations of the root are *ghāba ʿan*, to be absent, and *ghāba fī*, to be hidden. In current usage, *ghayb* (and especially *ghayba*) may signify "absence" (and *ghayba*, correlated with *shuhūd*, "presence", may be a technical term of Ṣūfism); but more frequently *ghayb* may indicate what is hidden, inaccessible to the senses and to reason—thus, at the same time absent from human knowledge and hidden in divine wisdom. It is to this second meaning that *al-ghayb* refers, as a technical term of the religious vocabulary. It may then be rendered by "the mystery". Such is its meaning, with rare exceptions, in the Kurʾān. Its use there is frequent.

"*Al-ghayb* belongs only to God" (*Kurʾān*, X, 20); "He has the keys of *al-ghayb* which are known only to Him" (VI, 59), etc. Reference is here made to the Divine mystery, of itself inaccessible to man. Hence the translation adopted (by R. Blachère) of 'Inconnaissable', "Unknowable". The idea which reappears most often is the inaccessibility of *al-ghayb*, which remains totally hidden. "God knows the Unknowable and enlightens no-one about it" (LXXII, 26), "He does not raise you up to the Unknowable" (III, 174).

The *ghayb* nevertheless is an object of faith (II, 3), just as is the Word revealed to the Prophet (II, 4). Man ought therefore to cling to the unknowable mystery "from where God is" (*ladunī*), and God, if He wishes, will reveal it in part to him. "This is part of the story (*anbāʾ*) of the Unknowable which We reveal to you" (III, 44; cf. II, 49; XII, 102). It is thus, as Gaudefroy-Demombynes emphasizes, that the *ghayb* of the Kurʾān is "sometimes the Revelation, sometimes the Unknowable, sometimes both together" (*Les sens du substantif Ghayb dans le Coran*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, ii, Damascus 1957, 250). In fact, the common denominator is still the notion of (divine) Mystery, sometimes unrevealed, sometimes revealed in fragments—to the extent that this revelation is necessary to lead man along the straight path (*hidāya*). The Kurʾān does not communicate all the *ghayb* to man, but the whole Kurʾān is a (partial) communication of the *ghayb*. It is in this sense that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was to entitle his great commentary "The keys of the Mystery", *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*.

This partial revelation of the *ghayb* is explained by L. Massignon (*Passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1922, 500) as a participation which God vouchsafes to the prophets in His "essential mystery" (*al-sirr al-dhātī*, as al-Djurdjānī says in *Taʿrifat*, Leipzig 1845, 169). In the commentaries on the Kurʾān and in religious literature, *al-ghayb* is in fact applied at times to the absolute mystery of God Himself, but more often it is the invisible world taken as a whole. The distinction frequently appears between *ʿālam al-ghayb* and *ʿālam al-shahāda*, the world of the invisible mystery, created and uncreate, and the perceptible world, also called *ʿālam al-mulk*. These refinements of meaning are found in the *tafsīr* commentaries on *Kurʾān*, II, 3. Al-Bayḍāwī there explains the *ghayb* in which belief is required as "that which is not perceived by the senses or which is not immediately understood by the reason". But al-Ṭabarī, on the other hand, there defines the *ghayb* which is an object of faith as being the Will of God—thus an "attribute of the Essence".

However, this resort to the Divine Will seems to relate the idea of *ghayb* to the Decreee of God, rather more than to the notion of "essential Mystery". In his profession of faith, the Ḥanbalī Ibn Baṭṭa lays down: "One must throw oneself (*taslīm*) upon the Divine Omnipotence (*kudra*) and have faith in the Divine Mystery (*ghayb*), for the individual reason is unable to raise itself to the understanding (*maʿrifa*) of this mystery" (cf. the translation of H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 105). This "Divine Mystery" is thus simultaneously the "mystery of things" and the destiny of men (and of each man). It is reserved to God, who reveals it to his prophets to the extent that He wills.

Other usages of the expression *al-ghayb*: — (a) in Shīʿī theology, the *imām* has, of himself, knowledge of the *ghayb*; a view attacked by the Ḥanbalī al-Barbahārī and others. *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* is the title of a work of the Shīʿī Shīrāzī (Mullā Ṣadrā). — (b) Ibn Baṭṭa compares astrology with "the pretension to know the *ghayb*" and condemns both severely (cf. H. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 155). Under the same title of *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* (Cairo 1327) the Egyptian Aḥmad al-Zarkāwī treats of magic and divination. — (c) Ibn ʿArabī uses the same title again, but this time to designate Ṣūfī *maʿrifa*. In fact *taṣawwuf* frequently interprets the *ghayb* as the threefold world of *djabarūt*, *malakūt* and *lāhūt* [cf. ʿĀlam], but also as the hidden essence of all that is, whether visible or invisible. It is then the *ghayb al-huwiyya* ("mystery of selfhood") or absolute *ghayb* (*muṭlak*) (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 169-70).—The hierarchy of the *abdāl*, the "saints apotropéens" (Massignon), crowned by the *Kuṭb* ("Pole"), is called "the men of the Mystery" (*ridjāl al-ghayb*, Lane, *Arabian Nights*, xxx, n. 17).—And according to C. Wells (*Mehemet the Kurd* . . ., 129), *ibn al-ghayb* describes a child begotten without a father and endowed with mysterious intellectual faculties.

Al-ghayb, the Mystery, therefore, may be understood in three possible meanings. — 1) Normal religious sense: the mystery of the Divine Decree, unknowable in itself, partially revealed in the Kurʾān. — 2) The invisible world which magic, occultism and astrology try to penetrate (but the man who persists in crossing its boundaries by his own powers is committing a sin). — 3) In Ṣūfism,

al-ghayb means, according to context, the reality of the world beyond the senses and beyond discursive reason which gnosis (*maʿrifa*) experiences,—the hierarchy of the invisible worlds,—the beings of these worlds,—and even the world of the Divine Essence. (The penetration of the *ghayb* through a pleasurable intellectual experience was to become extremely suspect to the adversaries of *taṣawwuf*).—Finally, we should note that in Shīʿism, the *ghayb* known to the *imām* recalls the latter's actual condition when he has become *ghāʾib* and his state of *ghayba*, absence, or better, "occultation".

Bibliography: Further to references given in the text: *Dict. of tech. terms*, 1033 f. (s.v. *ʿālam*), 1090, 1539 f. (s.v. *huwiyya*): Max Horten, *Theologie des Islam*, 219 f.

(D. B. Macdonald-[L. Gardet])

GHAYBA (*maṣdar* of *ghāba*) means "absence", often "absence of mind". The latter sense was developed by the Ṣūfīs as the obverse of *ḥaḍra* [*q.v.*], absence from the creation and presence with God. The word is also used for the condition of anyone who has been withdrawn by God from the eyes of men and whose life during that period (called his *ghayba*) may have been miraculously prolonged. It is so used of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*]. A number of Shīʿī groups have recognized the *ghayba*, in the latter sense, of one or another *imām*, with the implication that no further *imām* was to succeed him and he was to return at a foreordained time as Mahdī [*q.v.*]. The first instance of this was that of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

Among the Ithnāʿasharī Imāmīs, the *Ghayba* became a major historical period, lasting from the disappearance of the twelfth *imām* until his reappearance in eschatological times. It was divided into two parts. In the "lesser *Ghayba*", from 260/874 to about 329/941, the Hidden Imām was represented among his followers by *safīrs* [*q.v.*], held to be in touch with him and exercising his authority. They maintained the organization, in its legal and financial functions, which had grown up around the later *imāms* (cf. Javad Ali, *Die beiden ersten Safire des zwölften Imāms*, in *Isl.*, xxv (1939), 197-227). The fourth of these did not pass on his authority to a successor; on his death, therefore, began what is called the "greater *Ghayba*" when the Imām is represented only indirectly or through occasional miraculous interventions. Though kept generally invisible, the Imām still lives on earth, has from time to time been seen by some and been in written correspondence with others (for instance, he receives letters placed on holy tombs), and maintains a control over the fortunes of his people. At the time of pilgrimage he is at Mecca, unrecognized, scrutinizing the hearts of the believers. The earlier organization of the sect has been replaced by the presence of independently learned *mudjtahids* in the various Shīʿī centres, recognized by the community as qualified to interpret the Imām's will. The *Ghayba* has legal effects on account of the absence of the *imām*, whose active presence in the community is regarded as necessary for validating certain community actions. Hence some have regarded *djihād* as in abeyance during the *Ghayba*, as well as the full celebration of the *ṣalāt al-djumʿa*. It has not been excluded from the thought of many Imāmīs that another direct representative of the Imām should appear under the title *Bāb*, an equivalent of *safīr*; but none of the claimants to this office has been generally recognized. (On the Imāmī *Ghayba* see I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 232 ff., 269 f.; idem, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, ii, p. lxii ff.; Ibn Bābūya al-Ḳummī, *Kamāl al-dīn wa-tamām al-niʿma fī ithbāt al-ghayba*, ed. Ernst Möller *Beiträge zur Mahdilehre des Islam*, I, Heidelberg 1901).

The corresponding periods of absence of an *imām* among the Ismāʿīlī groups are differently interpreted, and called *satr* [*q.v.*]. But among the Durūz [*q.v.*], the concept and term were revived to refer to the period of absence of al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza.

(D. B. Macdonald-[M. G. S. Hodgson])

GHAYLĀN b. MUSLIM, Abū Marwān al-Dimashḳī al-Ḳibṭī, is chiefly known as one of the first advocates of free will [see ḳadariyya], at the same time as Maʿbad al-Djuhanī [*q.v.*]. The son of a freed slave of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, he appears, like Maʿbad, to have been the disciple of a Christian from ʿIrāḳ, but he lived in Damascus where he held the position of secretary in the chancellery. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, iii, 29) mentions him on the same footing as Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, Sahl b. Hārūn and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, and even one so strictly orthodox as al-ʿAsḳalānī acknowledged his professional ability (*Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 424), while Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 171) estimated his *rasāʾil* to amount to about 2,000 leaves; they were probably not all of an administrative and diplomatic character, to judge by al-Khayyāṭ (*Intiṣār*, ed. and trans. Nader, Ar. text 93, trans. 115) who when answering the accusations of Ibn al-Rāwandī [*q.v.*] appealed to their content and stated that they were very widely known; he added that Ghaylān believed in the five Muʿtazilī principles, but the heresiographers rank him solely among the Ḳadarīs. According to al-Shahrastānī (margin of Ibn Ḥazm, i, 194), who names him as one of the Murdjiʾī Ḳadarīs, his principal doctrine concerned the primary, innate knowledge (*maʿrifa*) which allows it to be known that the world has an Artificer created by Himself; the *imān* is only the secondary, acquired knowledge.

The activities of Ghaylān, who apparently embraced the cause of al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj al-Kadhdhāb [see djahm b. ṣafwān], earned him the imprecations of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but it was only Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) who gave orders that his hands and feet should be cut off and who had him crucified, after al-Awzāʿī (born about 87/706, d. 157/774 [*q.v.*]) had subjected him to interrogation and given a verdict in favour of his execution.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 484, 625; idem, *ʿUyūn*, index; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 171; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*², ed. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1963, index; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. Badr, 190, 193, Eng. trans. A. S. Halkin, 1, 6-7; Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*; ʿAṣkalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 424; Ibn Baṭṭa, ed. and trans. H. Laoust, 169; A. N. Nader, *Muʿtazila*, 6; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, index; Montgomery Watt, *Free will and predestination*, London 1948.

(Ch. Pellat)

GHAYLĀN b. ʿUḲBA [see dhu 'l-rumma].

GHAYN, 19th letter of the Arabic alphabet, here transcribed *gh*; numerical value: 1000.

Definition: a voiced postvelar fricative; according to the Arab grammatical tradition: *rikhwa madjhūra mustaʿliya*. As regards the *makhradj*: *min adnā 'l-ḥalḳ* (from the part of the throat nearest to the mouth). The Arabs thus made *ghayn* (and *khāʾ*) guttural. They contrasted them with *ʿayn* and *ḥāʾ*, *min awsaṭ al-ḥalḳ*; and with *hāʾ* and *hamza*, *min aḳṣā 'l-ḥalḳ* (al-Zamakhsharī, *Muf.*² § 732). The velaric articulation of *ghayn* is well described by

R. Růžička as "between the soft palate (velum) and the back of the tongue" (*Existence du gh*, 182). The soft palate is divided into two areas: upper (prevelar) and lower (postvelar). The articulation of *ghayn* takes place in the latter area, hence the adjective employed in the definition. To the extent that a channel is formed on the back of the tongue permitting the uvula to vibrate, *ghayn* approximates to uvular *r*.

In a few cases the passage from *gh* to *kh* is quoted (J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 94), see Ibn al-Sikkīt (*al-Ḳalb wa 'l-ibdāl*, 32). But particularly interesting is the passage from *ʿayn* to *ghayn*, which has been illustrated with numerous examples by R. Růžička, notably in *L'alternance de* ع — غ *en arabe* (*JA*, ccxxi (1932), 67-115). Since his article in *ZA*, xxi (1907), 293-340, he has sustained and defended the theory of the secondary origin of *ghayn* in Semitic, by the passage of *ʿayn* into *ghayn* in Arabic and only in Arabic (references to these writings: *Ar. Or.*, xix (1951), 100, n. 4).

One of his last articles summarizes his ideas and his activity in this controversy: *La question de l'existence du gh dans les langues sémitiques en général et dans la langue ougaritienne en particulier*, in *Ar. Or.*, xxii (1954), 176-237 (quoted as *Existence du gh*). K. Petráček, his pupil, who is loyal to his ideas (*Ar. Or.*, xxi (1953), 240-62 and xxiii (1955), 475-8), acknowledges (*ibid.*, xxi, 243, n. 16) that only H. Torczyner has accepted the theory. During the lifetime of its author, and to his great chagrin, it seems to have encountered only indifference or neutrality in the world of orientalists. S. Moscati, in his recent *Lezioni di linguistica semitica* (Rome 1960), includes *ghayn* among the phonemes of common Semitic (41-3), as had W. Leslau in the *Manual of phonetics* (ed. L. Kaiser, Amsterdam 1957), 327. The existence of doublets is not sufficient to prove the secondary character of the Arabic *ghayn* (according to the judgment of J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 94). Further, R. Růžička appears to have underrated the data of South Arabian epigraphy and to have misinterpreted those of Ugaritic (cf. S. Moscati, *loc. cit.* and *Rend. Lin.*, series VIII, xv/3-4 (1960), 87; compare also the account of C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic manual*, Rome 1955, i, ch. 5, 8). We would ourselves also retain *ghayn* among the articulations of common Semitic. The most recent documents to be discovered (see *GLECS*, *Comptes rendus*, viii, 73; C. Virolleaud, *Palais d'Ugarit*, ii, 201, *Mission Ras Shamra*, vii, 1957), pending a fuller report, do not contradict this view.

But the dispute has at least brought to light a certain instability in the Arabic *ʿayn* (which can pass into *ghayn*), *at least among certain tribes*; (we must also eliminate false doublets arising from simple graphic errors in the manuscript tradition). An analogous case seems to be reproduced in present day dialects, where *ghayn* is seen to have passed into *ḳāf*: dialects of North Arabian nomads: Rögga, the Mawāli; the majority of the dialects of the Algerian Sahara, an immense region which seems to cover also the South Moroccan and Mauritanian Sahara (see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 95).

In Classical Arabic *ghayn* undergoes few conditioned changes (*ibid.*, 94). For the phonological oppositions of the phoneme *gh* see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse*, in *BSL* (no. 126), 105, 22°; for its incompatibilities see *ibid.*, 135.

For a general discussion of the phonetics of Arabic as seen by the classical grammarians, see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ; for modern studies, see LINGUISTICS and PHONETICS.

Bibliography: in the text and under ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. (H. FLEISCH)

GHAYR MAHDĪ [see MUḤAMMAD AL-DJAWNPŪRĪ].

GHAYṬA, GHĀʾITA or GHĪTA. A reed-pipe of cylindrical bore or an oboe of conical bore, popular in Muslim Spain and North Africa. The word is not Arabic, but originated in the low Latin *wactare* and the French *guetter*, whence the old English term *wayte*—the modern *wait*—who sounded the hours at night on an instrument thus named. Delphin and Guin say that the *ghayṭa* was introduced by the Turks, but it is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377) who likens the instrument to the Mesopotamian *surnāy*. It was blown by means of a single or double reed (*ḳaṣba*) placed in the inflation end of the instrument. It is practically identical with the Eastern *zamr* or *mizmār*. Like the mediaeval shawmer of Europe, the player takes the entire inflation reed (*ḳaṣba*) into his mouth as far as a disc called *ʿarrāḍ*, which means that the player's lips have no more control over the tone of the instrument than have those of a bagpiper. The 'bell' of the instrument is widely conical as that term implies, and is perforated with tiny holes. The tube of the *ghayṭa* is perforated with seven finger holes on its breast with one on its back for the thumb. Nowadays these holes on the breast—from the top to the bottom—bear Iranian names, *viz.*, *yaka sāʿida*, *shashka*, *bandjka*, *djahārka*, *sīka*, *dūka*, and *yaka*, the thumb-hole at the back being *haftakā*. Persian musical terminology is current even in conservative Morocco, and the instrument is delineated in Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*, 1787. The *ghayṭa* is chiefly an out-door instrument and is usually accompanied by a drum (*ṭabl*) played with two sticks, and a larger drum termed *ṭanbar*, *i.e.*, the French *tambour*, which is struck with an animal bone. In southern Tunisia it retains the old Arabic name of *zammāra*, which in Egypt is reserved for a double reed-pipe because — perhaps — the term signifies 'shackled'. Strangely enough Ibn Khaldūn calls the instrument *zallāma*, which A. Cour considered to be a metathesis of *zammāra*. On the other hand there was a certain musician named Zunām mentioned in the 18th *maḳāma* of al-Ḥarīrī who is claimed to have been the inventor of a *nāy zunāmī* or *nāy zulāmī*, and he was at the court of Hārūn (d. 193/809) and onwards. Al-Shaḳundī (d. 628/1231) of Seville calls it *zulāmī*. In some places of North Africa, where Turkish influence once prevailed, the instrument is known as the *zurna*; the term *zukra* is also used in Tunisia. In modern Spain the *gaïta Gallega* is still favoured in Galicia, and since that land was held by the Muslims for a mere five years, it is likely that the name of this instrument is not of Arabic origin; nevertheless the initial *ghayn* in the arabicized word has bred the crossed Spanish forms *gaita*, *raita* and *raica*. The Turkish form is *ghaydā* (modern Turkish *gayda*) and this term is used in a part of the Slavonic field for a kind of bagpipe.

Bibliography: G. Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*, Copenhagen 1787; T. Shaw, *Voyages dans la Régence d'Alger* (trans. by MacCarthy, Algiers 1830, 89 ff.); F. Salvador Daniel, *La musique arabe*, Paris 1863, Algiers 1879 (trans. by Farmer as *Arab music and musical instruments*, London 1915, 117, 224, 243-4); Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes*, Paris 1886, 47-9; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 152 fn. 3, 407; A. Bel, *La Djâzya*, Paris 1903,

93 ff.; J. E. Budgett Meakin, *The Moors*, London 1901, 202-3; Bū ʿAlī, *K. Kashf al-Ḳināʿ*, Algiers 1904, 98-104; Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, London 1929, 131; idem, *Oriental studies: mainly musical*, London 1953, 6; idem, *EI*[1], s.v. MIZMĀR; M. Snoussi, in *REI*, xxix/1 (1961), 143-57.

(HENRY G. FARMER)

GHAZAL, "song, elegy of love", often also "the erotico-elegiac *genre*". The term is Arabic, but passed into Persian, Turkish and Urdu and acquired a special sense in these languages.

The semantic development of the word from the root *gh z l*, "to spin", "spinning", is not in doubt, but presupposes intermediary meanings for which we have no evidence; the *ghazal* was not in fact a song of women spinning, like that of which Tibullus speaks (ed. Rat, Paris 1931, Book II, no. 1, line 60), but a man's song addressed to a girl; contamination by the noun *ghazāl* "gazelle", from the images and comparisons associated with it, is not perhaps to be excluded (cf. "to make sheep's eyes"). Whatever the reason, the idea evoked by the term *ghazal*, like the English "gallantry" and particularly the noun "gallant", now fallen into disuse, became elaborated in a realm of ideas where there mingle the notions of flirtation, compliments made to a lady, complaints at her coldness or inaccessibility and the description of effeminate languishing attitudes on the part of the lover (cf. the noun-adjective *ghazil*, "affected, mincing, without vigour"; on the ambiguity of the idea, see Ḳudāma, 42, to be compared with the definition in *LA*, xiv, 4, line 20, where the stress is on the idea of "amorous addresses"). The word *ghazal*, as early as in a line of al-Akhṭal (ed. Ṣalḥānī, 142), is associated with *lahw* "pleasure"; in a contemporary poet, Surāḳa (ed. Ḥusayn, in *JRAS*, 1936, no. 20, verse 9), the term appears in the phrase *yalhū ilā ghazal al-shabāb* "he seeks his pleasure in the *ghazal* of youth". The meaning of love-song inspired by youthfulness is clear in a verse attributed to Waḍḍāḥ [*q.v.*], where the composition of *ghazals* and the fear of death are contrasted. By the 3rd/9th century, *ghazal* had finally acquired the general sense given above (see *al-Washshāʾ*, 54 bottom, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Poesis*, 525); the comparative *aghzalu* is as much applied to a verse as to a poet and thus represents the general idea of preeminence in this genre (see *Aghānī*[3], i, 114, line 5, and Ibn Rashīḳ, ii, 115). The noun-adjective *ghazil* means the "elegiac poet" as early as the 3rd/9th century (thus *Aghānī*[3], viii, 352 and *Aghānī*[3], xx, 149 onwards). The 5th form of the verb, *taghazzala*, before it meant "to compose love-songs", would seem to have had the meaning "to express a sorrow of love" (see the passage in Ibn Rashīḳ, ii, 118); for his period, Ḳudāma established a distinction between *ghazal* and *taghazzul* (see Ḳudāma, 42, where the basis of the *ghazal* is further distinguished from that of the *nasīb*).

To the same realm of ideas as *ghazal* there belong the verbal noun and the verb *tashbīb* and *shabbaba*, whose etymology, curiously enough, was not discovered by certain Arab critics (see Ḳudāma, in Ibn Rashīḳ, ii, 121); the term is quite certainly derived from *shabāb*, "youthfulness, youth"; it is frequently used as a simple synonym for *ghazal* and *nasīb* (*LA*, i, 463, line 21). According to Ibn Durayd (in Ibn Rashīḳ, ii, 122 bottom), the term *nasīb* would be more commonly used; the origin of this remains obscure; perhaps it originally described a type of dedicatory verse addressed to a lady; but the possibility must not be excluded of a relationship, by loss of emphasis, with the word *naṣb*, "a kind of camelman's lament similar to the *ḥidāʾ*" (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, index; *Aghānī*[3], ix, 133 and also vi, 63, where it is a matter of a singer bearing the tribal name of al-Naṣbī). The word *nasīb*, in ancient times, designates the elegiac *genre*, in a list in which there also figure the poem of praise, the satire and the *fakhr* (thus in Ibn Rashīḳ, i, 100 and especially Ibn Sallām in *Aghānī*[3], viii, 6, line 4; cf. *ibid.*, 97, line 12); sometimes this genre appears in a five-fold list (see Ibn Rashīḳ, *loc. cit.*, bottom of page). In certain passages, the verb *nasaba* constructed with *bi-* clearly means "to sing of the beauty of a lady and the agitation she inspires" (thus in *Aghānī*[3], vi, 219, viii, 99, 123). It is well known that in its common meaning *nasīb* designates the amatory elegiac prologue at the beginning of a *ḳaṣīda*. Ḳudāma, 42, attempted very artificially to establish a distinction between the thematic elements of the *ghazal* and those of the *nasīb*.

i. — THE *Ghazal* IN ARABIC POETRY

1. The amatory elegy in Arabic poetry can be made the subject of historical and critical study only from the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. onwards. Of course, we have no text originating in this era, but those which have come down to us under the names of poets belonging to this period, such as Imruʾ al-Ḳays, Ṭarafa and a number of others, are very instructive. At that time the *ghazal* was handled according to a tradition which is clearly ancient and honoured. According to all the evidence, this genre was one of those most current in "spontaneous poetry", that is, in the camelman's chant (or *ḥidāʾ*); at this level it must have been improvised and for this reason no example of it has come down to us. Under what influences, where, and when did there appear and become established the custom of prefacing the *ḳaṣīda* with an amatory elegiac prelude, known from the 1st/7th century onwards as the *nasīb*? We can only guess at the answers to these questions. Since the *ḳaṣīda* was both originally and essentially not a framework but a lyrical movement consisting of a sequence in the key of *fakhr* or a Dionysiac expression of the ego, it is possible that the *nasīb* owed its place to the very importance of the carnal and psychic impulses which it evoked; in fact there also occur in the *ahal* of the Tuaregs the same lyrical flights introducing identical explosions of boasting; the procedure is not therefore peculiar to the Arabs. Though at first episodic in the poetry of the nomads of Central and Eastern Arabia, the elegiac production known as *nasīb* seems to have become incorporated in the *ḳaṣīda* under the influence of a fashion current among or created by poets belonging to groups on the Euphrates steppe; certain data accepted among ʿIrāḳī scholars indeed assume that the *nasīb* is the invention of a certain Ibn Ḥidhām (see Ibn Sallām, ed. Hell, 13, line 9) or of the famous Muhalhil [*q.v.*] (*ibid.* and also al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 297) or even in fact of Imruʾ al-Ḳays (Ibn Ḳutayba, 40, 52); as may be seen, these indications demonstrate the existence of a tradition which was still living in the 3rd/9th century and according to which the *nasīb* was associated with an idea peculiar to the Bakrī poets or others in the orbit of al-Ḥīra (see Blachère, *Litt.*, chap. V, § C.). This feature is significant since, in so far as it may be historically acceptable, it permits us to infer that this centre, with its musicians and its circle of poets, probably exercised an influence on the *ghazal* cultivated in the desert. It would seem that this

influence became apparent in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. at the latest. From certain indications it may be possible to descry a similar phenomenon in other centres closely linked with the *badawī* way of life such as Tayma', Mecca and al-Ṭā'if. Most probably, though of still uncertain date, the verse texts attributed to ancient poets like Ṭarafa, Zuhayr, ʿAlḳama, Imru' al-Ḳays, Ḥassān b. Thābit, al-Aʿshā Maymūn, and al-Ḥuṭay'a, to mention only the most representative, evoke reasonably well the themes which were habitually developed in the amatory elegiac *nasīb* of this period. The apostrophe to the deserted encampment, the description of the migrating group disappearing into the distance, the sorrow aroused by the separation, the memory left in the poet's heart by the promises of the beloved, the recital of the efforts made to rejoin her, all constitute a thematic sequence arising from the environment; even the detail of the development, as much as the stock phrases, derives from the same origin; to a certain extent, the thematic elements belong to the real world but they are transposed into a kind of fiction by the use made of them. Already at this time convention may well have been very powerful; everything leads us to believe that the elegiac poet from now on makes use of a vocabulary, of formulas, of stock phrases, whose use reinforces the tyranny of convention.

2. Among the generation of poets which arose about 50/670, the amatory elegiac *genre* received a particular twist which conditioned its subsequent development. This generation to varied degrees freed itself from the grip of the poetic tradition inherited from Central and Eastern Arabia. The three areas of the Muslim Arab East which were to struggle for leadership during the eighty years or so which followed differed in the extent of their contribution to this change. Syria and Palestine were of secondary importance and followed the lead of the Arabian peninsula and ʿIrāḳ. The latter, while occupying a prominent place in the poetic movement, carried on the previous tradition; the artists and versifiers were led by circumstances to specialize in the laudatory, satirical and descriptive styles; in the works of the representative ʿIrāḳī poets, amatory elegiac themes occur only in the *nasīb*s of the *ḳaṣīda*s; in some, like al-Farazdaḳ, they are in fact noticeably neglected; in all, they are treated in a manner which suggests a mere prolongation of the tradition passed on from the desert and cultivated at al-Ḥīra or under its influence.

In the Ḥidjāz on the other hand, and more particularly in Mecca, al-Ṭā'if and Madīna, the situation was entirely different. The influx of wealth from the conquest, the disruption of the social structure resulting from the enrichment and political advancement of certain families such as the Umayyads, the Zubayrids, and several Makhzūmī clans, the introduction into the population of Mecca and Madīna of foreign elements, particularly captives brought from Palestine and ʿIrāḳ, as well as the choice of Madīna as political capital, had all played their part in turning this province, with its urban centres, into a world very different from that which the generation of the Caliph ʿUmar I had known. The establishment of the Umayyad dynasty in Syria, the gradual political and religious rise of the cities of ʿIrāḳ and the ten years during which the revolt of the Zubayrids cut off the Ḥidjāz from the rest of the Empire, succeeded in giving society in Madīna and Mecca a character of its own. Certain aristocratic elements renounced an active rôle and sought solace for their unsatisfied ambitions in the pursuit of pleasure and the taste for sentimental intrigues. The anecdotal literature collected by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī from the writings of the ʿIrāḳī "logographers", especially the *ḳāḍī* of Mecca, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870), subject to the necessary critical adjustments, helps us to form an idea of what life in this circle was like. Women occupied an important place, together with dilettanti, aristocrats with violent passions, intriguers, characters of doubtful morality, singers and singing-girls. The setting was favourable to the development of lyric poetry; by a happy chance, the aristocracy produced several poets like al-ʿArdjī, al-Aḥwaṣ and ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, who devoted their talent to the celebration of their love affairs; others of more humble origin like Kuthayyir and Nuṣayb imitated them, without entirely being able to avoid becoming court poets. In this poetic movement a significant part is played by singers and singing-girls, as much by reason of the practices they introduced as because they took part in the composition of the works; often in fact they selected fragments of verse or commissioned them from poets, which implies an artistic production entirely governed by musical considerations.

The study of the amatory elegiac verse which developed in the Ḥidjāz between about 50/670 and the end of the first quarter of the 2nd/8th century comes up against the difficulty posed by the state of the texts. On the one hand a considerable volume of verse has disappeared; on the other, what has survived has often been preserved only in anthologies or late or even very recent recensions, as is for example the case with the poems of Kuthayyir (ed. Pérès, Algiers 1928-30) and those of Nuṣayb (ed. Rizzitano in *RSO*, xxii, 1943); frequently, these recensions consist only of fragments which poorly represent the original outpouring; even in the case of the relatively important *Dīwān* attributed to ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (ed. P. Schwarz, Leipzig 1901-2, 1909; reprinted by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1952), many problems arise; it is in fact apparent that this collection includes pieces which give evidence of reconstruction, retouching, and indeed the hand of imitators. The very conditions in which the *ghazal* of the Ḥidjāz was born explain the disappearance of these works and the state of those which survive; many were simply extempore compositions, occasional pieces, ephemeral by nature; some seem to have been commissioned by musicians, singing girls or dilettanti from poets forced to compose in haste and to refurbish earlier works. The uncertainties of attribution are great; it was indeed enough for a piece to contain the name of ʿAzza for it to be attributed to Kuthayyir, who was accustomed to celebrate a lady of this name; often too, single lines or pieces attributed to a poet are nothing more than elaborations in verse drawn from fictional biographies or romances about the poet; thus the small historical and literary value to be accorded to such compositions is easily seen. Taken together, nevertheless, the amatory elegiac texts which have been preserved allow us to evoke satisfactorily the general characteristics of the style in the period under consideration. In order to estimate the extent to which this is possible, however, we must constantly keep in mind the fact that our texts contain passages where the influence of the courtly style of ʿIrāḳ appears, as indicated below.

The poetic instrument used by the poets of the Ḥidjāz was substantially different from that of their contemporaries in Central and Eastern Arabia.

Under local influences the connexion between poetry and music remained very much alive; this is shown especially in the use of metres practically unknown to the poets in the desert tradition; thus, the ***khafīf***, the ***hazadj***, the ***ramal*** are found to be extensively represented among the elegists, and the identity of these with the musical modes of the same names must be emphasized. Among the poets of this school *enjambement* is much less rare than among their desert rivals. The vocabulary is equally characteristic; free from rare words and *hapax legomena*, it aims at simplicity and naturalness; the dialogue form is frequent and corresponds to the description of real scenes; naturally, many expressions are proper to the evocation of feelings connected with the excitements of the heart and the flesh.

The elegists of the Ḥidjāz were primarily poets of the desert school. Their surroundings simply brought about a development which set them aside from the main stream of the *badawī* tradition. This can easily be shown from the texts. Often, for example, the elegist of Madīna and Mecca invokes the deserted encampment, describes the departure of a migrating group, bewails his sorrow at a separation; thus thematic elements proper to the *nasīb* of the *ḳaṣīda* continue to appear (cf. specimens in Kuthayyir, ed. Pérès, no. 44, and ʿArdjī, no. 2, lines 7 ff. and no. 5, lines 1-4). These remnants of the desert setting lead quickly to stylization, but they still do not preclude a certain realism of description. This derives from the abiding nature of things. The elegist is above all a lyric poet and self-expression cannot do without a minimum of sincerity in its references to life. The various themes which he develops are in effect the highlights of the more or less stylized narration of known circumstances or real events; even the poetical texts inserted in fictional or romantic narratives still represent elements of verisimilitude within the pattern of the whole. It is clear that the elegist of the Ḥidjāz loves to note those details which evoke reality. We can therefore say that this lyric poetry was above all marked by an effort to express sentiments and emotions which were really felt, to represent scenes where the participants retained their attitudes and reactions; this is so unquestionable that in many cases the poet felt obliged to allude to the lady by a name other than her own.

A rapid examination of several themes treated by the elegists of the Ḥidjāz demonstrates the trends just sketched and emphasizes the persisting *badawī* influences. The thematic sequence relating to the obstacles encountered by the poet in seeking to find his lady reproduces the essential features of what is found in the desert tradition. There are few novelties; at the most we may note a certain harping on the obstacles arising from the separation of the sexes and the rigour of the new ethic in the society of Madīna and Mecca; we may also note the realism concealed beneath the fiction of conventional personages such as the *raḳīb* or "censor", the *kāshiḥ* or "ill-wisher", the *ʿādhil* or "blamer"; according to our biographical information, these personages correspond to known real persons. The poetical texts also refer very often to the difficulties which arise from human nature, to the quarrels and misunderstandings between lovers, to the rupture of relations never to be resumed (thus ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 61, and also al-ʿArdjī in *Aghānī*³, i, 392). One element, however, is original: in these elegists, an important rôle is played by the evocation of the meeting of the poet and a lady on the occasion of the Pilgrimage; clearly the theme in question does not refer to imaginary circumstances; a typical example is to be found in al-ʿArdjī (see *Dīwān*, no. 13 and the account in *Aghānī*³, i, 408). In these meetings, the lady acts the part of "the silent one" but the lyricism of the poet requires nothing more than her presence for its release. Similarly, the thematic sequence concerned with rediscovery is very suggestive, and appears frequently; here again the poet refers to events he has experienced, to night rides to rejoin his lady, to the surprise caused by his unexpected arrival; hardly have they met when the two lovers enter upon a dialogue whose simple pattern evokes a conversation which has actually taken place; the amorous quest is recorded as an exploit, which re-establishes the connexion between the elegiac theme and *fakhr* (thus in ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, no. 1, line 25 ff.; no. 6, line 10 and no. 258); among the Ḥidjāz poets rediscoveries are given substance by the description of details designed to emphasize the reality of the experience; thus, the lover, either alone or with companions, surprises the lady amusing herself with her women; sometimes the event is prearranged and organized by the lady; the two lovers meet in a secluded spot (thus in al-ʿArdjī no. 13, line 15, no. 23, line 2); the account very frequently ends with a description of the beloved and the evocation of sensual excitement between the two lovers (thus ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, no. 1, lines 35-41, no. 5, lines 10 ff., no. 258, lines 9 ff.; al-ʿArdjī, no. 47, lines 6-26).

There emerges from the whole pattern of these amatory elegiac themes a certain literary concept of love, which, for convenience, we shall call the Ḥidjāz manner. This concept is seen primarily in the images formed of the lover and his lady. The latter remains a somewhat unfocussed character, owing to the lack of any poetess able to express herself in verse with the authority of such men as ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, Nuṣayb or Kuthayyir; her physical appearance is described according to the canon already established in the traditional *nasīb*, evoking a softness and luxury that correspond with an ideal of womanhood having little in common with the generality of real *badawī* women; socially, she belongs to a noble family, which does not at all imply any insistence on the part of the elegist on celebrating her intellectual merits; on the contrary, under the influence of a tradition which may have already been established for centuries, the lady is depicted as a creature formidable in charm, coquetry and beauty, which she wields with a kind of unself-consciousness and at times with manifest cruelty. Nevertheless, on this point, the feminine ideal differs from what seems to have been the ideal of the desert poets; in the texts we are considering, there is a certain contradiction in the fact that the Ḥidjāz elegist takes pleasure in saying that his lady is the embodiment of womanly love, humble in the face of Destiny, eagerly submissive to her seducer (as in ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, *passim*, and esp. no. 7, lines 1-4, nos. 181 and 187, lines 13-18, and no. 242); this attitude is what distinguishes the Ḥidjāz lady most completely from her ʿIrāḳī sister, so imbued with courtly spirit. The poet-lover, in contrast to the lady, emerges from our texts with more defined features; two thematic sequences can be distinguished: in the first the lover represents himself according to the psychology and in the attitudes already familiar in the desert tradition; like his *badawī* brother, the elegist of Madīna and Mecca appears to us as a victim of his love for his lady, a prey to the hostility of a world in which he is alone with his agony and despair; his

tears flow easily and his complaints are shrill; a fairly large number of clichés strengthen the already apparent links with a completely traditional mentality; at many points, even in his plaintive attitudes, the poet-lover reveals his latent *badawī* traits, and, conspicuously, his *fakhr*; one example of this lies in his boast of *kitmān*, or "discretion", and of *ṣabr* or "constancy and courage in love"—two virtues to display which is to infringe them. A second thematic sequence comprises dominant ideas deriving from a certain realism; of particular importance in this field are those fragments of passages in which the poet portrays himself as a breaker of hearts, a kind of Don Juan whom no beautiful woman can resist (see details in *Aghānī*[3], i, 119, 139, 144, 166 f.; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, no. 10, lines 10-18, and no. 45); the realities of life are also evident in the developments which might be grouped under the title "love withers with age"; indeed, the poet often stresses the transience of the passions he has aroused or felt; this theme is further linked with the tendency of the desert poets to replace the elegiac *nasīb* with a stereotyped sententious reflection on the flight of youth (thus al-Farazdaḳ, ed. Ṣāwī, 78 and 89). Whatever the reason, the Ḥidjāz manner stands in absolute contradiction here to one of the basic principles of the courtly spirit, which imposes on the lover the obligation of submission to the lady of his choice. There is also another point on which this contradiction is accentuated even more decisively; the Ḥidjāz manner excludes *ʿiffa*, that is, a refusal to yield to desire, both in the lover and the lady. These poets adhere to what is human and do not seek to transcend it; their sensuality is as much part of their love as is their constancy (cf. the strikingly sensual passages in al-ʿArdjī, no. 15, lines 19-21, no. 5, lines 11 f., no. 131, line 7, no. 28, lines 1, 9; and frequent also in ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, as no. 28, lines 2, 5). In view of this, these poets have been named *ibāḥiyyūn*, "licentious"; it is justifiable, provided one makes it clear that their licence does not descend to indecency or depravity; it is very noteworthy in this connexion that the Ḥidjāz manner never offends against nature and a certain respect for good manners.

3. A new phase in the development of the amatory elegiac genre begins at the point where one can observe the characteristic features of *ʿUdhrī* [*q.v.*] love or the courtly spirit. It is very difficult to fix the *terminus a quo* when this phase makes its appearance; in the texts ascribed to the Ḥidjāz elegists there are in fact widespread courtly traces to be noticed, which arise from the uncertainties of subsequent revision; this very delicate question has not so far been the subject of any very profound research, even though it affects the whole problem. The origins of *ʿUdhrī* love are nevertheless illuminated with a new clarity by a very elaborate examination of the poetic texts attributed to Djamīl [*q.v.*] or Madjnūn [*q.v.*]; this examination must of course be linked with an enquiry into these poets and their ʿUdhrī rivals. Here and now it can be postulated that the amatory elegiac poetry of courtly inspiration acquired its character under influences coming from outside the primitive Arab homeland; certain factors are strictly ʿIrāḳī and to be sought in the preoccupations and tastes of some elements of society in Baṣra, Kūfa or Baghdād; others derive from contacts between centres in ʿIrāḳ and the Ḥidjāz; indeed, when in the first quarter of the 2nd/8th century Madīna was purified of worldly occupations, singer-composers left to settle in ʿIrāḳ, carrying with them the spirit which had favoured the flourishing of the Ḥidjāz manner; without creating it, this current could not but whet the curiosity of a certain ʿIrāḳī public regarding the stories which had spread about the elegists of Madīna or Mecca. From the end of the 2nd/8th century and in the following twenty-five years, there developed in Baṣra and Baghdād a semi-romantic, semi-historical literature, of which Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 306, cites several authors, such as Ibn al-Kalbī, al-Madāʾinī, or al-Haytham b. ʿAdī; these writings, widely utilized by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, demonstrate that the poet-lovers sometimes underwent a genuine transfiguration, which in certain cases turned real persons like Djamīl into veritable heroes of love. From then on the poetical works collected or mis-attributed under the names of these poet-lovers could not but reflect the psychology of the heroes who figured in the romances or romanticized biographies. Can certain tribal groups of Western Arabia have been familiar in their folklore from the 1st/7th century or even earlier with love stories centred on a more or less legendary personality? It is very possible. In particular it seems that the little tribe of the ʿUdhra, which in the 1st/7th century frequented an area extending from the oasis of Taymāʾ to the Wādī 'l-Ḳūra (see *Aghānī*[3], viii, 123, 126, lines 4-5) prided itself on having produced one of these heroes, the famous Djamīl. The ʿUdhra were not, however, the only ones to claim such a title to fame; the Nahd of the same area were equally proud of having given birth to the *sayyid* Ibn ʿAdjlān, who later became the hero of a love saga (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Poesis*, 449; *Aghānī*[1], xix, 102-4 and xx, 22; Blachère, *Litt.*, ii, chap. IV, § B). Under the pressure of tribal particularism, other groups seem later to have developed creations of a similar kind in the ʿIrāḳī centres where they had installed themselves; such seems to have been the case with the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and Madjnūn, their "fool of love" who became a famous hero through his passion for Laylā.

Before it was finally established in a closely defined system, the courtly spirit seems to have spread through diffuse influences as a kind of heightening of the Ḥidjāz spirit. There is no doubt that the poet Bashshār b. Burd (b. about 95/714, d. about 167/784) played a considerable part in popularizing certain themes at Baṣra; in his *Dīwān*, which is unfortunately incomplete, it is easy to note, among verses or fragments addressed to ʿAbda and other female personalities of the city, lyric pieces where in fact his love is from the first known to be hopeless and draws its lasting character from this certainty. The setting in which Bashshār was composing his *ghazal*s was in any case favourable to such emotional exaltation; it was the time indeed when at Baṣra mystical experiences were particularly to be observed among women; it was also the time when, in this centre as at Kūfa, a giddy society, free thinking and morally lax, was plunging into easy pleasures which, in occasional flashes, inspired a thirst for purer and serener joys. Bashshār himself seems to have experienced such disillusion, like his contemporary of Kūfa, Muṭīʿ b. Iyās (d. 170/787); here and there in Bashshar's elegiac works he gives evidence of a fruitless desire to detach himself from carnal pursuits. The merit of having achieved such an escape must be ascribed to his younger compatriot, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (b. about 133/750, d. about 193/808). The work of this poet is unique in the history of Arabic poetry; it is exclusively a song of

courtly love. Inspired by real love for a lady designated by various names, this elegist composed occasional pieces and more elaborate works all concerned with one ideal; for the poet, the lady is the unattainable, the distant incarnation of a desired being which one owes it to oneself to love while obeying a self-imposed rule never to try to go beyond dreaming. Renunciation is the law imposed from the moment when the heart ceases to heed the reason; nothing can permit one to dream of being healed from an affliction sent by fate. To express his experience, this courtly poet turns to the instrument developed by the elegists of the Ḥid̲j̲āz for their own purposes; he employs the same metres, *k̲h̲afīf*, *ramal* and *hazad̲j̲*; he shares their taste for a flexible vocabulary free of lexical pathos; for him even rhetoric has a certain spontaneity. A number of indications suggest that his poems were composed to be set to music; without doubt, many were composed at the request of certain aristocratic women of Bag̲h̲dād; it is plausible that the chosen lady of al-ʿAbbās was the princess ʿAlya, as ʿĀtika K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ī seems to have established. All this tends to show that the courtly *g̲h̲azal* is a genre born among the aristocratic society of the ʿIrāḳī cities; it corresponds to a certain sophistication cultivated by the youth of both sexes who described themselves as *ẓarīf* [*q.v.*], "smart" (pl. *ẓurafāʾ*, fem. pl. *ẓawārif*).

The emergence of Abū Nuwās (b. between 130/747 and 145/762, d. at Bag̲h̲dād about 200/815) represents a new stage in the development of the amatory elegiac *genre*. The work attributed to this name offers many problems. In the two available recensions it might well in fact not be one individual's works at all, but a collection; whatever the case, if the greater part of it is from the pen of Abū Nuwās alone, this clearly implies a convergence of influences; the poet was actually the child of an Iranian mother and a half-Arab father, and seems to reflect a double trend in which the Arab tradition is no longer the only dominant. In many characteristics the elegiac poems brought together under his name certainly resemble those of other poets of Baṣra. Though they lack much of the courtly spirit of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf, they are nevertheless written in the fluid style typical of that elegist and offer notable similarities to the poems of Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār; the setting of Bag̲h̲dād where Abū Nuwās lived for many years certainly must be taken into account here. There remain nevertheless features which specifically distinguish Abū Nuwās or his school; the courtly spirit occupies a secondary place in these works and must be sought in some pieces addressed to the enigmatic D̲j̲anān. These poems prefer to develop, with significant exuberance and insistence, an Epicureanism which embraces every kind of satisfaction; to a certain extent the Bacchic pieces verge, in certain episodes, on the elegy of sentiment; but the poet's eyes are no longer turned towards a chosen lady but towards loose women, or towards young men who, in these works, inflame passions which are hardly Platonic. If, as one may be justified in accepting as a hypothesis, the collection attributed to Abū Nuwās is not the work of one individual, it follows that this lyricism, so definite in character, corresponds to the taste and manners of one sector of Bag̲h̲dād society. The break with the courtly spirit and romantic love on the part of this sector is clear; in opposition to an idealism lacking relation to the human, there now arises an unashamed naturalism which refuses to blame itself.

4. The 3rd/9th century saw the elaboration of a coherent doctrine of the courtly ideal under the growing influence of neo-Platonism. This ideal is represented by the kind of treatise on sophistication which the *Kitāb al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā* of al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲āʾ [*q.v.*] constitutes; it is also illustrated by that notable anthology of love which we owe to the Ẓāhirī theologian Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 297/909), called *Kitāb al-Zahra*. It is unnecessary here to recall the characteristic traits of this spirit [see ʿUD̲H̲RA]. But we must indicate the connexions which seem to have existed between this concept of love and its reflexions in the neo-classical poetry whose principal representatives in the East are Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and al-Mutanabbī. Among the poets of this period the field of expression of the amatory elegiac genre became more restricted; the only developments to be found are confined in fact to the *nasīb*s prefacing *ḳaṣīda*s. In several respects this is a recollection of the *badawī* tradition, but the tone differs completely and the themes are treated more intellectually and are reduced to the notation of states of mind, and the expression of aphorisms on the vanity and fleeting nature of love, on the sorrow it inspires and the dissatisfaction to which it leads. This lyricism is sinking into conventionality and frigidity. Nevertheless, some urban poets of lesser fame, both in ʿIrāḳ and in the Muslim West, composed poems of a more personal lyricism in the *g̲h̲azal* manner. Their tone is given by certain pieces by the ʿAbbāsid prince Ibn al-Muʿtazz (b. 247/861, d. at Bag̲h̲dād 296/908); the influence of the courtly spirit is perceptible in these works but it does not go so far as to exclude references to a lived experience, in which emotion seeks to express itself with a spontaneity which is frequently suppressed. During the 4th/10th century, similar efforts are visible in other Bag̲h̲dād poets, particularly those who flourished in great numbers under the Būyids; many names could be cited, but the most typical seem Ibn Sukkara (d. 385/995) and al-Salāmī (d. 393/1003). In this group of poets the influence of Abū Nuwās is undeniable. Like their predecessor these artists sing as much of the joy of loving as of the emotional troubles which passion brings; in all of them we find a stylistic simplicity which in its directness of expression is decidedly a characteristic of the genre. Certain works of the Bag̲h̲dād poet Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (d. 391/1001) raise the question already put regarding Abū Nuwās; should they be cited in connexion with this *genre*? As far as Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ is concerned, the reply is of even greater delicacy, since the amatory elegiac inspiration of this poet is usually nothing but cynical eroticism. A more elaborate analysis of the *genre* at this stage in its development may lead to the conclusion that two currents are forming: the one idealistic and courtly; the other realistic, either with the moderation of the Ḥid̲j̲āz manner or with the extremism of the obscene poems of Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲. Whatever the case may be, the latter tendency shows itself only sporadically, since the conventionalism and the religious ethic of society do not offer it a favourable soil in which to develop.

In the period we have now reached, poetry in Arabic was cultivated in all the intellectual centres of the Muslim world. The amatory elegiac *genre* naturally therefore had its representative figures in each of these centres. In ʿIrāḳ under the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, they were numerous, competent in the manipulation of their instrument, but entirely without originality (see al-Ṭāhir, ii, 97-102 and the examples given). In Egypt, the same comment is valid, though under the Ayyūbids al-Bahāʾ Zuhayr (b. 581/1187, d. at Cairo 656/1258) frequently manages to achieve tones which

recall Abū Nuwās in their sincerity. In Spain, the Cordovan Ibn Zaydūn (b. 394/1003, d. at Seville 463/1071) contrived also to give the *genre* a somewhat newer air by the employment of a more elaborate vocabulary and the substitution here and there in the traditional thematic material of more acute psychological analyses. Similarly, Ibn Ḥamdīs of Syracuse (b. 447/1055, d. at Bougie (?) 527/1132) achieved the combination of a generalized lyricism with amatory elegiac movements of real charm. It seems also that the cultivated society of the cities of Spain particularly relished this spirit, which induced a sort of "sad delight".

5. Faced with their incapacity to revivify the thematic elements of the *ghazal*, the Arabic Muslim poets from the 5th/11th century onwards turned their efforts at originality in another direction. Both in the East and the West, there were groups who abandoned the exclusive cultivation of this *genre* by means of the resources of the classical vocabulary and prosody only. The signal was given in Spain by the composition of lyrical and elegiac pieces in the *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*] or *zadjal* [*q.v.*] forms. From the West, this novelty passed to the East, where Ibn Sanā᾽ al-Mulk (b. about 550/1155, d. 608/1211) in Egypt (see Rikābī, 69 ff.) and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (b. 677/1278, d. about 750/1359) in ʿIrāḳ compiled treatises with examples of these new poetic forms. These attempts signified an effort to return to the very foundations of all lyric poetry, but they did not aim at what was essential, namely a profound renewal of the themes dealt with in the *ghazal*.

In modern times throughout the Middle East we are witnessing efforts aimed precisely at effecting such a revolution. Poets of this persuasion are subjected to the influence of the Symbolists and indeed of the Surrealists who have gained importance in some literary circles of Western Europe. These efforts deserve our interest, but it is too early as yet to say whether they will be sufficiently widely followed to give new life to elegiac lyricism in Arabic poetry.

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ii. — IN PERSIAN LITERATURE

The *ghazal* is one of the most common instruments of Neo-Persian lyrics. In its present form it consists of a few *bayts* (verses, or distichs), generally not less than five and no more than twelve, with a single rhyme (often accompanied by a *radīf*); in the first *bayt*, called *maṭlaʿ*, both hemistichs too rhyme together; the last *bayt*, called *maḳṭaʿ*, contains the nom-de-plume (*takhalluṣ*) of the author; the contents of the *ghazal* are descriptions of the emotions of the poet in front of love, spring, wine, God, etc., often inextricably connected.

The problem of the origin of the neo-Persian *ghazal* coincides practically with the problem of the origin of neo-Persian poetry. Various hypotheses have been proposed, *e.g.*: (a) the neo-Persian *ghazal* originated from the *tashbīb* or *nasīb* of the Arabic *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], isolated from its context and later developed into an independent form (Shiblī Nuʿmānī, etc.); (b) its origin lies in Persian folk-songs, antedating Arabic influence (Braginskiy and other Soviet authors); (c) a distinction between a "technical *ghazal*" and a more generic *ghazal* should be made: the first can be said to have found its final form only in Saʿdī (7th/13th century), the second owes its origin to folk poetry, later refined at the courts under Arabic influence (Mirzoev). All these hypotheses have their share of truth. Actually it should always

be borne in mind that neo-Persian poetry in its specific sense has its origin in the literary experiment of adapting the Persian language to Arabic metres and forms, an experiment first begun at the courts of the first independent Persian dynasties of Khurāsān by people with a perfect knowledge of Arabic. On the other hand "Arabic", in this case, does not imply an ethnic meaning, as many Arabic poets of the time were, ethnically, Persians, and, from the point of view of its content, Arabic poetry of that period was in its turn influenced by Persian ideas. A very useful distinction is that between *ghazal* in its technical sense and *ghazal* in its generic sense, proposed especially by Mirzoev. In its generic sense the *ghazal* may also have been influenced, in its origins, by elements from folk-poetry, though this can in no way be demonstrated by documents, as we know nothing about Persian folk-poetry of the 3rd/9th century, and the very little we know about pre-Islamic Persian poetry shows us something totally different, technically, even from the oldest and least specific and technical forms of the neo-Persian post-Islamic *ghazal*.

The formal history of the neo-Persian *ghazal* can be divided roughly into five periods. The first is the period of the origins, rather obscure, as we have seen, for which we possess actually only fragments of poetical compositions not too different from fragments of *nasīb*s of *ḳaṣīda*s. Many elements of the "technical" *ghazal* still are lacking (*e.g.*, *takhalluṣ*, regular *maṭlaʿ* and *maḳṭaʿ*) and the style is rather decorative/descriptive, with a certain unity and congruity of meanings in the same composition (as compared with the conceptual incongruity of the "technical" *ghazal*) accompanied by a lack, or rarity, of *taghazzul* (the name given to the hardly definable general *Stimmung* of the classical *ghazal*). Rūdagī and Daḳīḳī may be regarded as the greatest poets of this period (3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries).

The second period could be called the formative one (4th/10th to 7th/13th centuries). In it the proto-*ghazal* acquires a very important element: the mystical experience. At the end of this period the classical *ghazal* is perfectly formed, though the "atmosphere" of the *ghazal* is either mystic in tendency (*e.g.*, ʿAṭṭār), or predominantly profane, as in Anwarī, best known as a *ḳaṣīda* writer but clearly distinguishing the *ghazal* as a special literary genus having as its object the *maʿshūḳ* "the Beloved" whereas the *ḳaṣīda* has as its object the *mamdūḥ*, "the Praised" (Prince or patron).

The third period (7th/13th to 10th/16th centuries) could be called the classical period. The *ghazal* finds its perfectly defined present shape, both from the point of view of form (all the technical elements implied in the definition of *ghazal* given above are present) and from the point of view of content: the decorative style of the origins, after the mystical injection of the formative period, passes into a highly refined and complex symbolic style. Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ are the supreme *ghazal* writers of this period. Especially in Ḥāfiẓ the chief object of the *ghazal*, the *maʿshūḳ*, the (earthly) Beloved, becomes inextricably connected not only with the *maʿbūd*, the divine Beloved (God, or better His representative on earth, the mystical Initiator) but even with the *mamdūḥ*, the traditional object of the *ḳaṣīda*: it has been demonstrated, recently especially by Lescot, that the Beloved of the *ghazal*s of Ḥāfiẓ is often his Prince or patron.

The fourth period, that of the so-called Indian style (10th/16th to 12th/18th centuries) [see SABK-I HINDĪ], sees an intellectual reflection on the accepted symbols of the classical *ghazal*, which becomes an arena for a quasi-philosophical exercise of the mind. The *ghazal* finds a renewed congruity of meaning, and its protagonist, instead of the *maʿshūḳ/mamdūḥ/maʿbūd* seems to be the Mind of its Author, creating ever new purely intellectual combinations of the old worn-out symbols. (The greatest poet of this period is probably Ṣāʾib).

The fifth and last period is not easily definable: in Iran a tendency to revive the classical and even pre-classical *ghazal* is followed by attempts to use the *ghazal* for more modern and profane purposes, for which this poetical form, with the refined neo-Platonic symbolism acquired in its classical period, seems rather inadequate.

A description of classical *ghazal* at the time of its "perfection" can be given only by showing the features and symbolic motifs of a single concrete example. We have selected for this purpose the *ghazal* of Ḥāfiẓ whose *maṭlaʿ* is:

rawnaḳ-i ʿahd-i shabāb-ast digar bustān-rā
mīrasad mozhdè-yi gul bulbul-i khush-alḥān-rā

(for full text see edition by M. Ḳazwīnī and Ḳ. Ghanī, Tehrān n.d., 7-8).

1. Once more the age of youth has returned to the garden—and the sweet-singing nightingale receives the good news of the Flower.

2. Oh, gentle breeze! should you once more reach the budding plants in the meadow, give my greetings to the Basil, the Rose, the Cypress tree.

3. The young Son of the Magi, the Vintner, appears before me in such charming motions that I am ready to sweep with my eyebrows the dust of the Tavern.

4. Oh, thou who coverest with purest amber the face of the Moon, do not perturb yet more this man perplexed by love.

5. I greatly fear that those who laugh at wine-bibbers may at last make a tavern of their Faith in God.

6. But mayest thou remain a friend of the Holy Men, for in the Ship of Noah there is still a handful of Mud that knows how to defy the Deluge.

7. Go out from this Dwelling, that has the Heavens for roof, and do not ask it for Food, for that Vile One at the end shamelessly kills her Guest.

8. And say to those whose last resting-place will be a handful of Dust: "Friend, what avails it to raise high palaces to the Skies?"

9. Oh, moon of Canaan! The throne of Egypt has been allotted thee; it is now high time that thou shouldst say farewell to the Prison!

10. Oh Ḥāfiẓ, drink wine, and be a libertine, and live joyfully, but take care not, as others do, to make a snare of the Book of God!

We have here an excellent example—the poem has been chosen almost by chance—of many features characteristic of the style of Persian lyrical poetry of the golden age. Let us list, first of all, the several motifs: of the images indeed none, without exception, is original.

(1) Nightingale-Rose. It may seem strange, but this motif, perhaps the one that occurs most frequently in Persian lyrics, has never been the object of historical research.

It appears in the most ancient Persian lyrics of the 4th/10th century. In the maturer lyrical forms (Ḥāfiẓ) it contains the following meanings:

The rose is Beauty aware of itself, the supreme, inaccessible symbol of the divine *istighnā*; often the rose disdainfully derides the nightingale but as soon as it blossoms it dies. This is the cause of the twofold

sadness of the nightingale, which mourns over the rapid death of the rose and its disdainful rejection of union. But between the two there is a kind of mysterious connection: the Bird of Dawn (an epithet very frequently applied to the nightingale) alone understands the secret language of the rose. The nightingale sings in *Arabic*—the sacred language—invitations to partake of the mystic wine. Inebriated with the perfume of the rose it fears to end as did the magician-angel, Mārūt. As the prayer offered at dawn is of special value and has special power (cf. Ḳur'ān, XVII, 78), so the lament of the nightingale is the auroral prayer. But it is a doleful prayer, offered to something inaccessible, for, as Muḳaddasī says in his charming book translated in the middle of the last century by Garcin de Tassy, "my song is a song of grief and not of joy ... Each time that I flutter over a garden I warble of the affliction that will soon replace the gaiety that reigns there". In an Indian Muslim allegory, the romance of the *Rose of Bakāwalī*, the inaccessible Rose, so difficult to find, is the only remedy that can restore the sight of King Zayn al-Mulūk, etc. The God-Rose identity in the famous preface of the *Gulistān* of Sa'dī can be clearly seen when the Mystic who travels in the transcendental world is unable to bring back any gift from his travels because: "I had in mind that when I reached the Rose-tree I would fill my lap with roses as gifts for my friends, but when I reached it I was so inebriated with the perfume of the Rose that the hem of my robe slipped from my hand".

The enthusiastic pan-Iranist, Pizzi, has endeavoured, but without adequate evidence, to show influence of the Persian Rose motif in the mediaeval *Roman de la Rose*, whose symbolism is reminiscent of this. But in the absence of definite documentary evidence and of preparatory studies we cannot exclude the opposite hypothesis, namely that a Hellenistic motif may have penetrated into both cultures, derived from that civilization which in various ways and forms fertilised them both, *i.e.*, the late Hellenistic symbolism. One should, however, bear in mind that what we refer to is a *motif* and not *an emotional and original perception* by Ḥāfiẓ of the "romantic" and vivid reality of the Spring and the flowers.

(2) And here we have another "personage", the *ṣabā*, "the zephyr", the springtime breeze, generally held to be—and not for the first time by Ḥāfiẓ but by innumerable poets before and after him—the Messenger *par excellence*. The breeze also is personified in a bird, more especially the hoopoe. Why? because with a very slight change in the transcription, the pronunciation of its name is identical to that of the famous region of *Sabā'* whose Queen, we read in the Ḳur'ān, sent a hoopoe as her messenger to King Solomon. Thus the "secondary images" aroused in the mind of the listener by the word *ṣabā* are quite other than those awakened in us by the word "zephyr", now ineradicably associated in our minds with Metastasio and Watteau. *Sabā* is a sound that reverberates with a rich symbolism which can be traced back historically and clearly to a "gnostic" world. Basil (*rayḥān*), mentioned soon after, which to us suggests little more than the idea of "perfume", is instead a word used in the Ḳur'ān. The fragrance of basil is one of the chief components of the olfactory joys of the Islamic paradise (cf. Ḳur'ān, LVI, 89), and singularly enough, of the Zoroastrian paradise also (cf. *Mēnōkē Xrat*, ch. VII). On the other hand, the Cypress, familiar to all amateur collectors of Persian carpets and miniatures, in its charming conventionalized shapes, is the sacred tree of Zoroaster. It is identified with the Prophet himself who planted a specially memorable cypress (that of Kāshmar) just at the time when the ecstatic-prophetic experience first thrilled him. It is a motif that seems to have come straight from a Central Asian spiritual area: the Shaman, indeed, plants a tree when starting on his "prophetic" career. Thus, even if in the case in point the words are not always intentionally and knowingly symbolical, they are not merely descriptive but are related to verbal-psychological cycles with which they have no connexion in our languages.

(3) In the springtime scenery summoned before us, the nightingale, the rose, the zephyr, the cypress, basil and the "young" (plants) of the meadow are playing a part in a scene which, even from our descriptive standpoint, might acquire a certain unity. But now there enters a character who to our eyes may seem truly extraneous. He is the young Magian (*moghbačče*), the vintner, and the *Tavern*. The "Zoroastrian" character of the images connected with wine, with the *Superior* of the Magi, and with the Young Magian (the connexion between inebriety and forbidden practices with Zoroastrian belief dates back to Daḳīḳī) are but words used to summon up the idea of that which is forbidden, of sacred impiety. Poets, ancient and modern, to evoke this idea use indiscriminately the words *Magian*, *Christian*, *temple of fire* or *church*. Sa'dī, although the differences were known to him, uses indiscriminately the words "priest", "bishop", "Brahmin" "Magian", "temple of fire", "church", "monastery" in the same poem. The ideas that these lyrical-symbolic images summon up are not something precisely and theologically Zoroastrian (wine indeed is only a secondary element in the Zoroastrian ritual); they serve as signs indicating an esoteric rite. As lyrical poetry was traditionally condemned both by Islam and by Zoroastrianism, the motif of *self-abasement* is added to this intricate image-motif. The poet, the Initiate, is willing even to wipe with his face the door of the tavern-temple where the Young Magian reigns. Here is summed up the material inherited from the frankly libertine poetry of the Arab *muta'akhkhirīn* (wine-Christian Convent, already found in pre-Islamic Arab poetry) with the mystical gnostic motif of a Rite of the Wine which is of ancient syncretic-gnostic origin.

(4) And now, as in a filiform succession of images, the Young Magian takes on the ambiguous appearance of a beautiful boy. The fourth verse should more accurately be translated as: "Oh thou, who drawest across the moon a polo-stick (*čawgān*) of the purest amber, do not make me, whose head whirls (like a polo ball), yet more confused". And we must then add that the game of polo, which is of Persian origin, supplies a wealth of images to this lyric. The polo stick, with its characteristic hooked shape, is the *zulf*, the long wisp of hair, black as the night, and the moon is no other than the face (the roundness of the face is traditionally greatly admired in this lyric). The Child-Magian who is also the Beloved of the Poet (or his *Initiator*, or *God*) has the brilliant and round face of the moon. By mischievously half-veiling it with his black curl, shaped like a polo stick, he only makes the already confused head of the poet whirl like a polo-ball.

(5) In this verse the poet introduces another motif: he upbraids the *doctors of the law*, the *orthodox*. But Ḥāfiẓ must not for this be taken for an "anticlerical", a "progressive". There may be cases in the traditional poetry of Persia of *mullā*s who, when indulging in

this literary style, are obeying its conventions in abusing ... themselves as a class. This motif can only have arisen from the fact that this kind of poetry gave a gnostic-Neoplatonic interpretation to materials —derived from the Arabian ʿAbbāsid libertine poetry —quite alien to Islamic orthodoxy. The result was a strange combination of libertinism and mysticism, that confers on it a special kind of style of its own.

(6) The verse that follows contains a transparent allusion to the superiority of the Saint (the man of God) over the Doctor of the Law, very skilfully expressed. Noah's ship is the human race, the handful of mud that it contains, possessing, however, the supreme faculty of overcoming any deluge, is the Perfect Man, the Saint, the mystic Master. He is "earth", mud indeed, but one which—as the original puts it—*be-ābī nakharad ṭūfānrā*, that is to say "would not buy the deluge for a drop of water", *i.e.*, gives no importance to external "deluges" (and here note the word-play water-deluge-earth). We should therefore be friends of those Masters and not of the doctors of the law.

(7-8) The ethical-mystical warning continues. But, be it always remembered, without undue personal tension. The world is seen as a house, an "old dilapidated convent". But the world—in Arabic a word of feminine gender—is also often compared by the Persian poets to a malicious, faithless *old woman*. Here the word we have translated by "Vile One" is *siyah-kāse*, "of the black pot", also "miserly" "despicable"; hence the play of words "food"-"pot".

(9) The following verse contains a metaphor which may be familiar to the Westerner also: Joseph the Israelite, the symbol of perfect beauty, or of the Soul, for whom the throne of Egypt is prepared, but who yet groans in prison (a typical Neoplatonic metaphor). The last verse reiterates the traditional accusation of hypocrisy addressed to the *mullās*.

In classical *ghazal* each verse forms a closed unit, only slightly interconnected with the others. Some modern scholars, to explain this, have invoked the "psychology of depth" to show that there is unity, but an *unconscious* one, in the *ghazal*. However this may be, external incongruity would seem to be a real rule in classic Persian poetry. We are in the presence of a bunch of motifs only lightly tied together.

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iii. — Ottoman Literature

[Circumstances beyond our control have obliged us to refer the reader to the Supplement. Editors' note].

iv. — In Urdu Literature

In spite of its difficulty the *ghazal* enjoyed a wide popularity in all literatures belonging to the Islamic cultural cycle. Urdu literature was born under the strong influence of Persian culture, more precisely, of the Persian literature of the period wrongly called of "decadence", the period of Indian style (10th/16th to 12th/18th centuries). This fact accounts for some special features of the Urdu *ghazal*. Its history should be divided into some four periods. The first period is that of *dakhnī* Urdu (9th/15th to 11th/17th centuries). In it the *ghazal* is only one, and not the most successful, of the instruments of Urdu lyrics, that prefer indigenous poetical forms. Dakhnī *ghazals* are generally descriptive and more congruous than the classical Persian ones. With Walī (1668-1741) the experiment of adapting the contemporary Persian style to Urdu poetry is widened and deepened. Urdu *ghazals*, more or less imitating the contemporary Indian-style Persian *ghazals*, find acceptance also in the literary circles of North India; so begins the classical period of the Urdu *ghazal*, culminating perhaps in Mīr Taḳī Mīr (d. 1810). Ghālib (d. 1869 [*q.v.*]) initiates the modern period of Urdu *ghazal*, which finds still newer developments in the contemporary period, the greatest names of which are, besides Iḳbāl (d. 1938 [*q.v.*]), who uses the *ghazal* in his peculiar ideological way as a symbolic channel to introduce ideas, Asghar of Gondwāna (1884-1936), Ḥasrat Mohānī (1875-1951), Fānī of Badāyūn (1879-1941) and Djigar of Murādābād (b. 1890).

The Urdu *ghazal*, born under the influence of the Indian-style Persian *ghazal* (*e.g.*, Bīdil of Paṭna, d. 1721, who left almost no trace in the development of the Persian *ghazal* of Iran, had an enormous influence on Urdu *ghazal*), shows a more marked intellectualistic character than Persian *ghazal*, together with a comparatively greater congruence in meaning. In later times this led *ghazal* writers to use this form too as an ideological instrument, especially under the influence of Ḥālī (d. 1914) and Iḳbāl (d. 1938). Ḥālī advocated, in his stylistical treatise *Muḳaddima-i shiʿr u shāʿirī*, added as a preface to his own *Dīwān*, a reform of the classical *ghazal* in a modern sense, based on a widening of the scope of *ghazal* so as to include real love, and other human emotions of our times; the rather limited *Wortschatz* of the classical *ghazal* should also be widened, according to Ḥālī, while the *malāmatī* and anacreontic aspects of the old *ghazal* should be abandoned. The renovation brought about in Urdu *ghazal* by the aforementioned personalities led to the result that now, in the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent the *ghazal* has become a serious instrument of modern poetry and its old popularity has found an interesting development in a modern sense.

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GHAZĀL, (A., fem. *ghazāla*, pl. *ghizlān*, *ghizla*), is the source of our term 'gazelle' denoting, in the Bovidae family, the species, all wild, of the subfamily of the Antilopinae. It is a noun much more restricted in application than *ẓaby*, which covers indiscriminately antelopes and gazelles, that is the Tragelaphini, Alcelaphinae, Oryginae, Reduncini, Antilopinae and Cephalophini. *Ghazāl*, in common with a number of names of animals, is at once a masculine singular denoting the male, and a collective noun denoting the species (see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux en Arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, viii, 95-9), but its most frequent use is in the wider sense. Herbivores, small of stature, both

sexes having tapering horns which are ringed for the lower two thirds and curve forward at the tip, gazelles are creatures of the semi-desert steppe and the savannah; thus they bulk large among the fauna of the Arabic-speaking countries in general, and among those of the Muslim world in particular. The desert-dwellers, nomads and camel-drivers, have from ancient times distinguished different species of gazelle, and the Arabs early gave them different names according to their coats; the modern systematic classification accords perfectly with these denominations, so that we have: — a. the Goitrous Gazelle, *Gazella subgutturosa* (*ghazāl*), in western Persia, Mesopotamia, and north-eastern Arabia; — b. the Rhim or Loder's Gazelle, or Slender-horned Gazelle, *Gazella leptoceros* (*r'im*/*rīm*, pl. *ārām*), with the sub-species *G. l. loderi* on the fringe of the Sahara and *G. l. marica* in Arabia, Palestine and Sinai; — c. the Dorcas or Atlas Gazelle, *Gazella dorcas* (*ādam*, pl. *udm*, *ādamī*, *sīn*, *sīnī*), with the sub-species *G. d. saudiya* in northern Arabia, Palestine and Sinai, *G. d. dorcas* in Egypt, *G. d. neglecta* in the Sahara and *G. d. massaesyla* in Morocco; and the three sub-species *G. d. littoralis*, *tilonura* and *Pelzelni* occurring by turns along the Red Sea coast; — d. the Dama Gazelle or "Biche Robert", *Gazella dama* (*aryal*, *adra'*), with geographical sub-species the Mhorr or Nanguer Gazelle, *G. d. mhorr*, in southern Morocco, *G. d. dama* (the sub-species bearing the specific name) in the central Sahara, the Red-necked Gazelle or Addra Gazelle, *G. d. ruficollis*, and the Korin or Red-fronted Gazelle, *G. d. rufifrons* (*umm dja'ba*, *ḥamra*), the two last-named being widely scattered throughout the scrub zones of Arabia and Africa; while the distribution of the Soemmering's Gazelle, *G. d. Soemmeringi*, extends from Somalia across into the coastal border of southern Arabia; — e. the Arabian Gazelle, *Gazella gazella* (*a'far*, *ya'fūr*), with the sub-species *G. g. arabica* in the mountainous areas of Arabia, *G. g. gazella* in Syria and Palestine, and *G. g. cuvieri* (Maghribī: *ādam*) throughout the Maghrib.

The excellence of its meat, a food permitted by the Ḳur'ān, and the difficulty of capturing a beast so fleet-footed, made the gazelle, "daughter of the sand" (*bint al-raml*), from earliest times highly prized game alike for the nomad in search of sustenance and the prince whose main pastime was hunting. Methods of capture varied with the hunter's rank. For the well-to-do, there was the noble chase (*ṭarad*, Sahara: *taldjādj*) with gazelle-hounds (*sulūḳiyya*), usually in the heat of the day (*taḥmīṣ*); this hunting down in strength, together with the lightning attack of the trained cheetah [see FAHD], were the forms which venery most often took in the Orient, the Arabs preferring them to the spectacular massacres in a closed battue (*ḥalḳa*) in which the Sāsānids took pride. The gazelle was also hunted by means of falconry, with eagles, gerfalcons, sakers and goshawks trained for this purpose [see BAYZARA]. Partaking less of sport, but more productive, were capture by net (*ḥibāla*, *ḥibāka*, *kaṣīṣa*), snare (*nushḳa*), or radial trap (*miḳlā*, *ḳula*) set at the approaches to watering-places; advantage was even taken of the animals' being dazzled by fires at night (*nār al-ṣayd*), when driven in towards them for capture (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 349, 484). Moreover, wealthy Muslims often kept domesticated deer in their parks, Persian-fashion; Usāma Ibn Munḳidh, the famous Syrian gentleman huntsman of the 6th/12th century, notes (*K. al-I'tibār*, ed. P. Hitti, Princeton 1930, 207-8) that his father's residence had a score of white gazelles and Atlas or Dorcas gazelles, male and female, grazing at liberty and breeding, each year, undisturbed, and reckoned among the domestic animals (*al-dawādjin*) of the household.

From the first century of Islam, Arab philologists active in linguistic enquiry among the nomad tribes assembled a valuable lexicographic collection of terms differentiating the gazelle as to species, shape, age, coat, posture at rest, leap, gait at speed, quavering call and habits, which forms no negligible aid to the ecological study of the animal. The fawn, for example, was known successively as: *ṭalw*/*ṭalā*ⁿ at birth, *khishf* at a day old, when already on its feet, *shādin* at the appearance of the protuberances later to be horns, *rasha'* when weaned, *shaṣar*/*shafar* at a month, *djahsh* or *djady* at six months, *djidha'* at a year, and finally *thanī* at two years and for the rest of its adult life; the gazelle differs from other ungulate ruminants in that the *thanī* is not succeeded by the *ribā'ī*, or *sadasī*, *ṣāli'*, or lastly *shabūb*, terms denoting the increasing ages of the young animals as determined by teeth development.

Without the gazelle, Arabic literature would have been without an important source of inspiration. The treatises on falconry and hunting [see BAYZARA and FAHD], in the first place, would virtually have lacked a raison d'être, the antilopinae being in Arab countries the noble game which the cervidae are for the West. Then poetry, classical and popular, would have been without its hunting themes (*ṭaradiyyāt*) in *radjaz*, with their vivid descriptions of the hunt in full cry and triumphant halloo, and erotic writing, in its search to idealize feminine grace and attractions, without countless metaphors drawn from the slender delicacy of the gazelle, its wild starting shyness and maternal tenderness, and the velvety glance owed to the contrast (*ḥawar*) of the ebony pupil set in ivory; such transports of earthly beatitude were induced by these eyes in the heart of the Oriental that the gazelle was to surrender them to the virgins of Paradise, the "houris" (*al-ḥūr al-'īn*), promised to the Muslim elect in the after-life (Ḳur'ān, XLIV, 54, LII, 20, LV, 72, LVI, 22).

The aura of lyricism enveloping the gazelle must not obscure the saddening fact that in our day the number of these gracious animals has dwindled considerably in the Islamic countries as a result of firearms and the reckless destruction made possible by modern vehicles; if stringent measures are not taken for the gazelle's protection, the species will be speedily on the way to extinction, and the term *ghazāl* will become an archaism in the Arabic language.

For the *ghazāl al-misk*, see MISK.

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(F. Viré)

al-GHAZĀL, Yaḥyā b. Ḥakam al-Bakrī, a native of Jaén, was called by this name ('the gazelle') in his youth because of his slenderness and good looks. He became prominent, along with ʿAbbās b. Firnās, at the court of al-Ḥakam I, who, on returning from his continual campaigns, liked to take part in the poetical tournaments of the little literary group which he had allowed to spring up round him. Al-Ghazāl was already 50 years old when his star shone even brighter at the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, who made him one of his favourite poets. In 225/840, after receiving with every honour the embassy of the Byzantine emperor Theophilus and being much flattered by this acknowledgement of his power, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II caused the Constantinople ambassador, when he returned to his country, to be accompanied by two Muslim emissaries: the poet Yaḥyā al-Ghazāl and another Yaḥyā called *ṣāḥib al-munayḳila* ('the man with the little clock'). These two were charged with bearing the amīr of Cordova's reply to Theophilus's letter, in which he had proposed an alliance against the ʿAbbāsids of the East and their vassals the Aghlabids of Ifrīḳiya because of their naval activities in Sicily. After delivering ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's reply and presents to Theophilus in Constantinople al-Ghazāl caused a stir at the Byzantine court with his talent and sparks of sly wit which he demonstrated brilliantly before the Emperor himself, his wife Theodora, and the crown prince Michael. By his charming manners and notorious cupidity he obtained jewels for his daughters from the Empress, just as he had contrived, before embarking on his mission, that the Cordovan amīr assign them a pension in case he should not return. His witty and sometimes coarse repartee was as famous as his avarice. He was a poet of mordant wit and greatly dreaded for his merciless satires. They were composed in a clear style devoid of rhetorical figures, which placed them within reach of the common people. Besides the personal gifts made to him by the court he brought back from his stay in Constantinople stocks of a variety of fig tree, of which the figs, called *doñegal*, are still known under the variant name *boñigar* given s.v. *higo* in the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy. During his time the musician Ziryāb [*q.v.*] introduced the game of chess to Cordova, where it had a great success. But it was not approved by al-Ghazāl, for in a poem addressed to a nephew of his who was a keen chess-player he declared it to be sinful and an invention of the devil. Al-Ghazāl's unusual diplomatic mission and the memory of Viking incursions gave rise to the legend invented in the 12th or 13th century by the Valencian Ibn Diḥya (*Muṭrib*, Khartoum 1954, 130 f.) according to which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, satisfied with the way in which al-Ghazāl and his companion had carried out their mission, entrusted to them in later years another embassy to the North with the aim of dissuading the king of the Vikings from attempting a fresh landing in Andalusia. According to this story the poet and his companion fulfilled their task in northern Europe and returned to Cordova after a dangerous voyage of nine months in Atlantic waters. The falseness of this is obvious at a glance. The more or less marvellous elements of which it is formed are copied for the most part from episodes attributed in the 10th century to al-Ghazāl's journey to the Greek emperor. No doubt the unusual activity of the Byzantine emperor in Cordova and the daring landing of the Vikings on Spanish territory, enriched with romantic details, finally amalgamated in the popular beliefs of Andalusia and so gave rise to a combined legend which little by little distorted the historical reality.

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(A. Huici Miranda)

al-GHAZĀLĪ, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (450/1058-505/1111), outstanding theologian, jurist, original thinker, mystic and religious reformer. There has been much discussion since ancient times whether his *nisba* should be Ghazālī or Ghazzālī; cf. Brockelmann, S I, 744; the former is to be preferred in accordance with the principle of *difficilior lectio potius*.

1. Life

He was born at Ṭūs in Khurāsān, near the modern Meshhed, in 450/1058. He and his brother Aḥmad were left orphans at an early age. Their education was begun in Ṭūs. Then al-Ghazālī went to Djurdjān and, after a further period in Ṭūs, to Naysābūr, where he was a pupil of al-Djuwaynī Imām al-Ḥaramayn [*q.v.*] until the latter's death in 478/1085. Several other teachers are mentioned, mostly obscure, the best known being Abū ʿAlī al-Fārmadhī. From Naysābūr in 478/1085 al-Ghazālī went to the "camp" of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] who had attracted

many scholars, and there he was received with honour and respect. At a date which he does not specify but which cannot be much later than his move to Baghdād and which may have been earlier, al-Ghazālī passed through a phase of scepticism, and emerged to begin an energetic search for a more satisfying intellectual position and practical way of life. In 484/1091 he was sent by Niẓām al-Mulk to be professor at the *madrasa* he had founded in Baghdād, the Niẓāmiyyā. Al-Ghazālī was one of the most prominent men in Baghdād, and for four years lectured to an audience of over three hundred students. At the same time he vigorously pursued the study of philosophy by private reading, and wrote several books. In 488/1095, however, he suffered from a nervous illness which made it physically impossible for him to lecture. After some months he left Baghdād on the pretext of making the pilgrimage, but in reality he was abandoning his professorship and his whole career as a jurist and theologian. The motives for this renunciation have been much discussed from the contemporary period until the present day. He himself says he was afraid that he was going to Hell, and he has many criticisms of the corruption of the *ʿulamāʾ* of his time (*e.g.*, *Iḥyāʾ*, i); so it may well be that he felt that the whole organized legal profession in which he was involved was so corrupt that the only way of leading an upright life, as he conceived it, was to leave the profession completely. The recent suggestion (F. Jabre, in *MIDEO*, i (1954), 73-102) that he was chiefly afraid of the Ismāʿīlīs (Assassins) who had murdered Niẓām al-Mulk in 485/1092, and whom he had attacked in his writings, places too much emphasis on what can at most have been one factor. Another suggestion is that of D. B. Macdonald (in *EI*[1]) that contemporary political events may have made al-Ghazālī apprehensive; shortly before he left Baghdād the Saldjūḳid sultan Barkiyārūḳ [*q.v.*] executed his uncle Tutush, who had been supported by the caliph and presumably al-Ghazālī; and it was soon after the death of Barkiyārūḳ in 498/1105 that al-Ghazālī returned to teaching.

From al-Ghazālī's abandonment of his professorship in Baghdād to his return to teaching at Naysābūr in 499/1106 is a period of eleven years, and it is sometimes said, even in early Muslim biographical notices, that al-Ghazālī spent ten years of this in Syria. Careful reading of his own words in the *Munḳidh* (see below), and attention to numerous small details in other sources, makes it certain that he was only "about two years" in Syria. On his departure from Baghdād in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 488/ November 1095 he spent some time in Damascus, then went by Jerusalem and Hebron to Medina and Mecca to take part in the Pilgrimage of 489/ November-December 1096. He then went back for a short time to Damascus, but his own phrase of "nearly two years there" (*Munḳidh*, 130) must be taken loosely. He is reported to have been seen in Baghdād in Djumādā II 490/May-June 1097 (Jabre, *op. cit.*, 87; cf. Bouyges, *Chronologie*, 3), but this can only have been a brief stay in the course of his journey to his home, Ṭūs. It is sometimes said that al-Ghazālī visited Alexandria, but scholars are now inclined to reject this report; if he did go to Egypt it can only have been for a short time.

In this period of retirement at Damascus and Ṭūs al-Ghazālī lived as a poor ṣūfī, often in solitude, spending his time in meditation and other spiritual exercises. It was at this period that he composed his greatest work, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* ("The Revival of the Religious Sciences"), and he may have lectured on its contents to select audiences. By the end of the period he had advanced far along the mystic path, and was convinced that it was the highest way of life for man.

In the course of the year 499/1105-6 Fakhr al-Mulk, son of Niẓām al-Mulk and vizier of Sandjar, the Saldjūḳid ruler of Khurāsān, pressed al-Ghazālī to return to academic work. He yielded to the pressure, partly moved by the belief that he was destined to be the reviver of religion (*mudjaddid*) at the beginning of the new century, in accordance with a well-known Tradition. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 499/ July-August 1106 he began to lecture at the Niẓāmiyya in Naysābūr and not long afterwards wrote the autobiographical work *al-Munḳidh min al-ḍalāl* ("Deliverance from Error"). Before his death, however, in Djumādā II 505/December 1111, he had once again abandoned teaching and retired to Ṭūs. Here he had established, probably before he went to Naysābūr, a *khānḳāh* or hermitage, where he trained young disciples in the theory and practice of the *ṣūfī* life. Several names are known of men who were his pupils at Ṭūs (cf. Bouyges, *Chronologie*, 4 n.).

2. Works and doctrines

(a) *Questions of authenticity and esotericism.* A great difficulty in the study of al-Ghazālī's thought is that, while he undoubtedly wrote many books, some have been attributed to him which he did not write. Bouyges in his *Essai de Chronologie* (composed before 1924 but only published posthumously in 1959 with additional notes on subsequent publications by M. Allard) lists 404 titles. Many of these are taken from lists of his works and no copies are known to exist. In other cases the same book appears under different titles, and a great deal of work has still to be done on manuscripts before scholars know exactly what is extant and what is not. Further, at least from the time of Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī (d. 638/ 1240) allegations have been made that books have been falsely attributed to al-Ghazālī (cf. Montgomery Watt, *A forgery in al-Ghazālī's* Mishkāt*?*, in *JRAS* 1949, 5-22; idem, *The authenticity of the works attributed to al-Ghazālī*, in *JRAS*, 1952, 24-45). The works whose authenticity has been doubted are mostly works expressing advanced ṣūfistic and philosophical views which are at variance with the teaching of al-Ghazālī in the works generally accepted as authentic. There are difficulties, owing to the richness of his thought, in establishing conclusively the existence of contradictions. Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185), however, who called attention to contradictions, also suggested that al-Ghazālī wrote differently for ordinary men and for the élite, or, in other words. that he had esoteric views which were not divulged to everyone (*Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, Damascus, 1358/1939, 69-72). This complicates the problem of authenticity: but there is no reason for thinking that, even if al-Ghazālī had different levels of teaching for different audiences, he ever in the "higher" levels directly contradicted what he maintained at the lower levels. An alternative supposition, that he adopted extreme philosophical forms of ṣūfism in his last years, seems to be excluded by the discovery that *Ildjām al-ʿawāmm*, in which he holds a position similar to that of the *Iḥyāʾ*, was completed only a few days before his death (Bouyges, *Chronologie*, 80 f.; G. F. Hourani, *The chronology of Ghazālī's writings*, in *JAOS*, lxxix (1959), 225-33). In the present state of scholarship the soundest methodology is to concentrate on the main works

of undoubted authenticity and to accept other works only in so far as the views expressed are not incompatible with those in the former (cf. Montgomery Watt, *The study of al-Ghazālī*, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 121-31.

(b) *Personal.* A year or two before his death al-Ghazālī wrote *al-Munkidh min al-ḍalāl*, an account of the development of his religious opinions, but not exactly an autobiography, since it is arranged schematically not chronologically; *e.g.*, he knew something of ṣūfism before the stage of development at which he describes it in the book. Most of the details about his life given above are derived from the *Munkidh*. He is also concerned to defend himself against the accusations and criticism that had been brought against his conduct and the views he had expressed. A small work answering criticisms of the *Iḥyā'* is the *Imlā'*.

(c) *Legal.* Al-Ghazālī's early training was as a jurist, and it was probably only under al-Djuwaynī that he devoted special attention to *kalām* or dogmatic theology. Some of his earliest writings were in the sphere of *fiḳh*, notably the *Basīṭ* and the *Wasīṭ*, but he apparently continued to be interested in the subject and to write about it, for a work called the *Wadjīz* is dated 495/1101, while the *Mustaṣfā* was written during his period of teaching at Naysābūr in 503/1109 (Bouyges, *Chronologie*, 49, 73). The latter deals with the sources of law (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*) in a manner which shows the influence of his earlier philosophical studies but is entirely within the juristic tradition. It is reported in biographical notices that at the time of his death al-Ghazālī was engaged in deepening his knowledge of Tradition.

(d) *Philosophy and logic.* After the period of scepticism described in the *Munkidh*, al-Ghazālī in his quest for certainty made a thorough study of philosophy, a subject to which he had been introduced by al-Djuwaynī. This occupied all the earlier part of the Baghdād period. What he studied was chiefly the Arabic Neoplatonism of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. Though his final aim was to show in what respects their doctrines were incompatible with Sunnī Islam, he first wrote an exposition of their philosophy without any criticism, *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa*, which was much appreciated in Spain and the rest of Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This he followed by a criticism of the doctrines entitled *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, "The incoherence (or inconsistency) of the philosophers"; this was finished at the beginning of 488/1095 (Bouyges, *Chronologie*, 23). In it he noted twenty points on which the philosophers' views were objectionable to Sunnīs or inconsistent with their own claims; in respect of three of these they were to be adjudged unbelievers. In the *Tahāfut* al-Ghazālī concentrates on demonstrating the inconsistencies of the philosophers and does not argue for any positive views of his own. Because of this he has been accused of having remained something of a sceptic. This accusation fails to notice that the *Tahāfut* was written just before the crisis which caused him to leave Baghdād; it is therefore possible that at the time he was somewhat uncertain of his positive beliefs, but a few years later when he was writing the *Iḥyā'* he was in no doubt about what he believed. What impressed al-Ghazālī most of the various branches of philosophical studies was logic, and in particular the Aristotelian syllogism. For the sake of Sunnī jurists and theologians to whom philosophical books were not easily accessible or, because of their technical language, not readily understandable, he wrote two books on Aristotelian logic, *Miʿyār al-ʿilm* and *Miḥakk al-naẓar*. A justification of the use of this logic in religious matters is contained in *al-Ḳisṭās al-mustaḳīm*, apparently written for some comparatively simple-minded believers who were attracted by Bāṭinī (Ismāʿīlī) doctrines. While full of enthusiasm for philosophy al-Ghazālī wrote a work on ethics, *Mīzān al-ʿamal*, though whether the whole of the extant text is authentic has been questioned (*JRAS*, 1952, 38-40, 45). Since al-Ghazālī does not appear to refer to the *Mīzān* in his later works, and since he became very critical of philosophical ethics (*Munkidh*, 99 ff.), it is possible that, as his enthusiasm waned, he rejected much of what he had written in this work.

(e) *Dogmatic theology.* His chief work of dogmatics is *al-Iḳtiṣād fi 'l-iʿtiḳād*, probably composed shortly before or shortly after his departure from Baghdād (Bouyges, 34). This book deals with roughly the same topics as the *Irshād* of al-Djuwaynī, but it makes full use of Aristotelian logic, including the syllogism. In this respect Ibn Khaldūn (iii, 41) is correct in making al-Ghazālī the founder of a new tendency in theology, although there is no striking novelty in his dogmatic views. In *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn*, (Cairo 1344, 24), written after the *Iḥyā'*, al-Ghazālī says that the *Iḳtiṣād* is more likely to prepare for the gnosis (*maʿrifa*) of the ṣūfī than the usual works of dogmatics; and this continuing approval strengthens the view that al-Ghazālī never ceased to be an Ashʿarī in dogmatics, even though he came to hold that intellectual discussions in religion should range far beyond the limited field of dogmatics, and that detailed discussions in dogmatics had no practical value. To dogmatic theology might also be assigned *Fayṣal al-tafriḳa bayn al-Islām wa-'l-zandaḳa.* This is partly directed against the Bāṭiniyya, but is mainly a defence of his own views on the extent to which *ta'wīl* is justified, and on the relative places of *tawātur* and *idjmāʿ* as sources of religious knowledge. *Ildjām al-ʿawāmm ʿan ʿilm al-kalām*, which appears to be his last work, warns of the dangers in the study of *kalām* for those with little education.

(f) *Polemics.* The *Mustaẓhirī*, edited in abridged form by Goldziher as *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte* (1916), is a searching theological critique of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs or Assassins. A Persian work, edited by O. Pretzl as *Die Streitschrift des Gasālī gegen die Ibāḥīja* (1933), attacks the antinomianism of certain mystics. The authenticity of a work of anti-Christian polemic, *al-Radd al-djamīl ʿalā sarīḥ al-indjīl* (ed. and tr. R. Chidiac, Paris 1939), is doubted by Bouyges (126), but defended by Louis Massignon (in *REI*, 1932, 491-536).

(g) *Ṣūfistic practice.* Al-Ghazālī's greatest work, both in size and in the importance of its contents is *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, "The revival of the religious sciences", in four volumes. This is divided into four "quarters", dealing with *ʿibādāt* (cult practices), *ʿādāt* (social customs), *muhlikāt* (vices, or faults of character leading to perdition), *mundjiyāt* (virtues, or qualities leading to salvation). Each "quarter" has ten books. The *Iḥyā'* is thus a complete guide for the devout Muslim to every aspect of the religious life—worship and devotional practices, conduct in daily life, the purification of the heart, and advance along the mystic way. The first two books deal with the necessary minimum of intellectual knowledge. This whole stupendous undertaking arises from al-Ghazālī's feeling that in the hands of the *ʿulamā'* of his day religious knowledge had become a means of worldly advancement, whereas it was his deep conviction

that it was essentially for the attainment of salvation in the world to come. He therefore, while describing the prescriptions of the Sharīʿa in some detail, tries to show how they contribute to a man's final salvation. *Bidāyat al-hidāya* is a brief statement of a rule of daily life for the devout Muslim, together with counsel on the avoidance of sins. *K. al-Arbaʿīn* is a short summary of the *Iḥyāʾ*, though its forty sections do not altogether correspond to the forty books. *Al-Maḳṣad al-asnā* discusses in what sense men may imitate the names or attributes of God. *Kīmiyāʾ al-saʿāda* is in the main an abridgement in Persian of the *Iḥyāʾ* (also translated in whole or in part into Urdū, Arabic, etc.), but there are some differences which have not been fully investigated.

(h) *Ṣūfistic theory.* It is in this field that most of the cases of false or dubious authenticity occur. *Mishkāt al-anwār* ("The niche for lights", tr. W. H. T. Gairdner, London 1924; cf. idem, in *Isl.*, v (1914), 121-53) is genuine, except possibly the last section (*JRAS*, 1949, 5-22). *Al-Risāla al-laduniyya* deals with the nature of knowledge of divine things, and its authenticity has been doubted because of its closeness to a work of Ibn al-ʿArabī and because of its Neoplatonism (cf. Bouyges, 124 f.). There are numerous other works in the same category, of which the most important is *Minhādj al-ʿābidīn.* These works are of interest to students of mysticism, and their false attribution to al-Ghazālī, if it can be proved, does not destroy their value as illustrations of some branches of ṣūfistic thought during the lifetime of al-Ghazālī and the subsequent half-century.

3. His influence

A balanced account of the influence of al-Ghazālī will probably not be possible until there has been much more study of various religious movements during the subsequent centuries. The following assessments are therefore to some extent provisional.

(a) His criticism of the Bāṭiniyya may have helped to reduce the intellectual attractiveness of the movement, but its comparative failure, after its success in capturing Alamūt, is due to many other factors.

(b) After his criticism of the philosophers there are no further great names in the philosophical movement in the Islamic east, but it is not clear how far the decline of philosophy is due to al-Ghazālī's criticisms and how far to other causes. Its continuance in the Islamic west, where the *Tahāfut* was also known, suggests that the other causes are also important.

(c) Al-Ghazālī's studies in philosophy led to the incorporation of certain aspects of philosophy, notably logic, into Islamic theology. In course of time theologians came to devote much more time and space to the philosophical preliminaries than to the theology proper. On the other hand, his speculations about the nature of man's knowledge of the divine realm and his conviction that the upright and devout man could attain to an intuition (or direct experience —*dhawḳ*) of divine things comparable to that of the worldliness of the *ʿulamāʾ* does not seem to have led to any radical changes.

(d) He undoubtedly performed a great service for devout Muslims of every level of education by presenting obedience to the prescriptions of the Sharīʿa as a meaningful way of life. His *khānḳāh* at Ṭūs, where he and his disciples lived together, was not unlike a Christian monastery; and it may be that he gave an impetus to the movement out of which came the dervish orders (but this requires further investigation).

(e) His example may have encouraged those forms of ṣūfism which were close to Sunnism or entirely Sunnī. Before him, however, there had been much more ṣūfism among Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* than is commonly realized. His influence on the ṣūfī movement in general, however, requires further careful study.

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(b) *Works.* Brockelmann, I, 535-46; S I, 744-56; Bouyges, *Chronologie* (as above). In *ZDMG*, xciii, 395-408, Fr. Meier gives information about the Persian *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* and its Arabic translation *al-Tibr al-masbūk*; English tr. by F. R. C. Bagley, *Ghazālī's book of counsel for Kings*, London 1964. Translations and studies later than Brockelmann: W. Montgomery Watt, *The faith and practice of al-Ghazālī*, London 1953 (*Munḳidh*, *Bidāyat al-hidāya*); G.-H. Bousquet, *Ih'ya ou Vivification des sciences de la foi, analyse et index*, Paris 1955; *Iḥyāʾ*, xi, Ger. tr. H. Kindermann, Leiden 1962; xii, Fr. tr. G.-H. Bousquet, Paris 1953; xxxi, Susanna Wilzer, *Untersuchungen*, in *Isl.*, xxxii, 237-309, xxxiii, 51-120, xxxiv, 128-37; xxxiii, Eng. tr. W. McKane, Leiden 1962; *Tahāfut*, Eng. tr. S. A. Kamali, Lahore 1958; Fr. trs. of *Ḳisṭās* by V. Chelhot in *BÉt.Or.*, xv, 7-98; and of *Munḳidh* by F. Jabre, Beirut.

(c) *Doctrines.* M. Asín Palacios, *La espiritualidad de Algazel y su sentido cristiano*, Madrid 1935, etc.; J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazalis*, Vienna and Leipzig 1921; A. J. Wensinck, *La pensée de Ghazâli*, Paris 1940; Farid Jabre, *La notion de certitude selon Ghazali*, Paris 1958; idem, *La notion de la* Maʿrifa *chez Ghazali*, Beirut 1958; M. Smith, *al-Ghazālī the Mystic* (as above); Roger Arnaldez, *Controverses théologiques chez Ibn Hazm de Cordoue et Ghazali*, in *Les Mardis de Dar el-Salam*, Sommaire, 1953, Paris 1956, 207-48. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AL-GHAZĀLĪ, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, brother of the more renowned Muḥammad Ghazālī, the Ṣūfī and popular preacher, made his way via Hamadān to Baghdād, and took his brother's place when the latter retired from teaching at the Niẓāmiyya. He died in 520/1126 in Ḳazwīn. He wrote an abridged version of the *K. al-Iḥyāʾ* of his brother, which has not survived; an exposition in sermon form of his confession of faith, *al-Tadjrīd fī kalimat al-tawḥīd* (Turkish translation by M. Fewzī, *el-Tefrīd fī terdjemet el-Tedjrīd*, Istanbul 1285); a discussion of the admissibility of *samāʿ* (Ṣūfī music and dancing), *Bawāriḳ al-ilmāʿ fi 'l-radd ʿalā man yuḥarrimu 'l-samāʿ*, ed. J. Robson in *Tracts on listening to music* (Or. Transl. Fund, NS v), London 1938; a subtle psychology of love, *Sawāniḥ*, ed. H. Ritter (Bibl. Islamica, xv) 1942; (probably) the *Risālat al-Ṭayr*, which was the inspiration for the *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (see H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, 8-10); and other minor writings which have not yet

been investigated. His sermons were very popular in Baghdād, and were collected in two volumes by Ṣāʿid b. Fāris al-Labbānī; of these however, only extracts are preserved in Ibn al-Djawzī. In them he undertook the defence of Satan (*al-taʿaṣṣub li-Iblīs*), popular in many Ṣūfī circles since Ḥallādj, which was soon afterwards further developed by ʿAṭṭār (see *Das Meer der Seele*, 536-50), and which presumably gave the so-called Devil worshippers, the Yazīdīs, the justification for their worship of Satan (Aḥmad Taymūr Pāshā, *al-Yazīdiyya*, Cairo 1352, 59-61).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 756, I², 546; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1957, iii, 147; L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929, 95-8; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, index; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, s. a. 520; idem, *Akhbār al-ḳuṣṣās wa 'l-mudhakkirīn*, ms. Leiden 2156, fol. 77 a-b; Ibn Khallikān, no. 37; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, iv, 54.

(H. RITTER)

AL-GHAZĀLĪ, DJĀNBIRDĪ, governor of Damascus under Selīm I. Originally a *mamlūk* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (873/1468-901/1495), he took his *nisba* from the Egyptian village of Minyat Ghazāl (Sharḳiyya), where he was *shādd* (superintendent). He obtained promotion, ultimately becoming *nāʾib* (governor) of Ḥamā (917/1511). After the battle of Mardj Dābiḳ (24 Radjab 922/23 August 1516), he was nominated governor of Damascus, first by fugitive *amīr*s in that city, then in Cairo, whither he had fled, by Ṭūmān Bāy. He commanded an expedition against the Ottomans in Syria, but was defeated by Sinān Pasha near Baysān (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 922/ December 1516). On 18 Muḥarram 923/10 February 1517, after the Ottoman victory at al-Raydāniyya, he submitted to Selīm I, with whom he had secretly been in communication. His atrocities against the Arabs of the Sharḳiyya led to the intervention of the Grand Vizier, Yūnus Pasha. On 5 Ṣafar 924/16 February 1518, Selīm appointed him governor of Damascus with the tax-farm (*taḥadduth*) of southern Syria. He suppressed tribal insubordination, and secured the safe passage of the Pilgrimage caravan. He built up a private army, chiefly of Arabs and Mamlūk refugees from Egypt, which included a corps of musketeers. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 926/October-November 1520, on the accession of Süleymān, Djānbirdī displaced the Ottoman sub-governors in his province, captured the citadel of Damascus, and endeavoured to involve Khāʾir Bey, the viceroy of Egypt, in the revolt. Khāʾir Bey remained loyal, and Djānbirdī, who had assumed the sultanic title of *al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Futūḥāt*, marched on Aleppo. In spite of siege and bombardment, Aleppo held out, and, on 9 Muḥarram 927/21 December 1520, Djānbirdī began to retreat, followed by Ottoman forces. At Damascus, he prepared for resistance, but on 26 Ṣafar 927/5 February 1521, his supporters were routed. He was killed, and his head sent to Istanbul.

Bibliography: Paul Kahle and Muhammad Mustafa (edd.), *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijâs*, vols. iii-v: the most important references are vol. v, 376-8, 418-9, for which cf. Gaston Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, ii, [Paris] 1960, 369-71, 405-6; Henri Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1952, 151-9, 171-4.

(P. M. HOLT)

GHAZĀLĪ, MEḤMED (?-942/1535), Ottoman poet, also known as "Deli Birader". His father's name was Durmush; his teacher, in his youth, Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAdjamī. Ghazālī very soon abandoned an early interest in Ṣūfism and took up teaching in the *medrese*s. His first official appointment was as *müderris* at the Bāyezīd Pasha *medrese* in Bursa; shortly afterwards, however, he went off to the court of Prince Ḳorḳud, the son of Bāyezīd II, in Manisa. Ḳorḳud grew in a short time to like both Ghazālī's company and his witticisms and made him his inseparable companion, even taking him with him to Egypt. Although Ḳorḳud became angry with him at one point there and ordered that he be executed, Ghazālī was successful in winning over the *ḳapîdjî-bashî* and thus saving himself (for details, see the *Tedhkere* of ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi).

Ghazālī wrote for Piyāle Bey, who had introduced him to Ḳorḳud, a *risāla* entitled *Dāfiʿ al-ghumūm wa rāfiʿ al-humūm* (Istanbul Un. Lib., Turkish MSS nos. 1400, 9659), in imitation of the *Alfiyya wa-shalfiyya* of Ḥakīm Azraḳī, and presented this *risāla* to Ḳorḳud. According to one account, Ḳorḳud was angered by this indecent *risāla* and sent Ghazālī away; but a more reasonable tradition relates that they were not separated until Ḳorḳud was put to death by Selīm I, and that only after Ḳorḳud's death did Ghazālī become *shaykh* at the *tekke* of Geyikli Baba in Bursa. It was at this point that he adopted the *makhlaṣ* "Ghazālī".

Quickly becoming bored with the life of a *shaykh*, he became *müderris* in Sivriḥiṣār. Later he became successively *müderris* in Akshehir with a daily salary of 50 *akče* and then at the Ḥüseyniyye *medrese* in Amasya. Through the good offices of Ḳadrī Efendi, he went from there to become *müftī* in Aghras.

Not happy in any place to which he had been, he finally went to Istanbul with a pension of 1000 *akče* and built in Beshiktash a garden, a bath, a mosque and a *zāwiye*. He began to operate the bath with Āteshīzāde Memi Shāh, but after a very short time complaints were lodged with the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha. Ibrāhīm Pasha sent 100 *ʿadjemī oghlan* and the bath was pulled down, so much to the joy of some that chronograms were written to commemorate the event. Ghazālī wrote a poem of 25 *bayt*, the *Kapludjanāme*, in which he expressed his grief. Following the death of Memi Shah and the execution of Iskender Čelebi, he made his way in 938/1531 to Mecca where he built a garden, a mosque and a *zāwiye* and where he remained until his death. Although there is disagreement about the date of his death, the date 942/1535, which is given in a chronogram, seems acceptable.

His *risāla Dāfiʿ al-ghumūm wa-rāfiʿ al-humūm* shows clearly Ghazālī's outlook on life. Although Ghazālī grew ashamed of this *risāla* in his old age and tried to collect the copies of it in order to destroy them, he was not successful in doing so. The work is divided into seven chapters and is filled from beginning to end with indecent stories. Along with this aspect of Ghazālī's nature, however, it is worth noting the sincerity which he showed to those whom he loved. After the executions of Prince Ḳorḳud and Iskender Čelebi, he wrote for each an elegy in which he manifests the grief he felt.

He also wrote a *risāla* entitled *Miftāḥ al-hidāya* concerning precepts relative to the ritual ablution and the prayer. This *risāla* was extracted from the *Bidāya* and the commentary upon it called the *Hidāya* (Istanbul Un. Lib., Turkish MS no. 3273, fol. 3a). His various anecdotes, short poems (*ḳiṭʿa*) and chronograms are very fine. Both Kātib Čelebi

and Bursalī Ṭāhir record that he wrote a history in Persian entitled *Mir'āt-i kā'ināt*, but Bursalī Ṭāhir adds that no copy has yet come to light.

He received the nickname "Deli Birader" because of a *bayt* which he wrote.

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<u>GH</u>ĀZĀN, Maḥmūd, Ilk<u>h</u>an [*q.v.*] from 694/1295 until 713/1304, was born on 20 Rabīʿ I 670/5 November 1271, being the eldest son of Arg<u>h</u>ūn [*q.v.*], then only in his thirteenth year. Upon his father's accession <u>Gh</u>āzān was appointed governor of <u>Kh</u>urāsān, Māzandarān and Ray, which provinces he continued to administer during the reign of Gayk<u>h</u>ātū [*q.v.*]. He had been brought up as a Buddhist and, whilst governor, had ordered the construction of Buddhist temples in <u>Kh</u>abūshān (Ḳūčān); but shortly before his accession, during the war with Bāydū [*q.v.*], he had been persuaded by his general Nawrūz to become a Muslim. In his reign Islam was recognized as the state religion, the régime was organized on a basis of Muslim culture, charitable endowments, mosques, theological schools etc., were erected in and around the new capital Tabrīz, descendants of the Prophet were sometimes mentioned in the first place in the state record before princes and princesses of the blood, and lastly the turban was introduced as the court headgear. But <u>Gh</u>āzān was more a Mongol than a Muslim; as ruler and legislator his activities were entirely free from biassed pietism. Particular attention was devoted to the finances of the country, the currency etc.; <u>Gh</u>āzān no longer appears on the coins (the inscriptions on which were in Arabic, Mongol and Tibetan), like his predecessors, as representative of the Great <u>Kh</u>ān in Pekin, but as ruler "by the grace of God" (in Mongol *tngri-yin küčündür* "in the power of heaven"). He carried out his plans with ruthless vigour; everyone whom he believed to be dangerous to the peace of the realm or to his autocratic rule was disposed of without compunction; among these was the Amīr Nawrūz himself, to whom he owed his throne. On the other hand <u>Gh</u>āzān's measures increased the prosperity of the country and in particular protected the peasantry from oppression and extortion. The revenue of the state is said to have risen during his reign, from 1700 to 2100 *tūmān*s. Like other Mongol rulers <u>Gh</u>āzān particularly esteemed those arts and sciences which might be useful to the State; he himself is said to have been conversant with natural history, medicine, astronomy, chemistry and even several handicrafts; attached to an observatory built by his orders in Tabrīz was a special school for secular sciences (*ḥikmiyyāt*). In addition to his native Mongol <u>Gh</u>āzān is said to have had some knowledge of the Arabic, Persian, Hindī, Ka<u>sh</u>mīrī, Tibetan, Chinese and Frankish (*i.e.*, French or Latin) languages. Notwithstanding his conversion to Islam, he took a great interest in the history and traditions of his own people, on which indeed he was an authority. It was at his suggestion that his minister the famous historian Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] compiled his *<u>Dj</u>āmiʿ al-tawārī<u>kh</u>*, in which his source for much of the information about the Mongols was none other than <u>Gh</u>āzān himself. Continuing the anti-Mamlūk policy of his predecessors, <u>Gh</u>āzān twice invaded Syria. In the first campaign (1299-1300) he occupied Aleppo, defeated the Egyptian army before Ḥimṣ and entered Damascus; but upon his return to Persia in <u>Dj</u>umādā I 699/February 1300 the country was at once re-occupied by the Mamlūks. For the second campaign he sought the alliance of Christian Europe. There has been preserved in the Vatican archives a letter from <u>Gh</u>āzān to Pope Boniface VIII dated 12 April 1302. "We for our part", says the Īl<u>kh</u>ān, "are making our preparations. You too should prepare your troops, send word to the rulers of the various nations and not fail to keep the rendezvous. Heaven willing we [*i.e.*, <u>Gh</u>āzān] shall make the great work [*i.e.*, the war against the Mamlūks] our sole aim." The expedition to which <u>Gh</u>āzān refers was undertaken in the spring of 702/1303: the Mongols were decisively defeated at <u>Sh</u>ahḳab near Damascus (2 Ramaḍān 702/20 April 1303) and never again attempted the conquest of Syria.

Bibliography: Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn, *Geschichte Ġāzān-Ḫan's*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940; idem, *<u>Dj</u>āmiʿ al-tawārī<u>kh</u>*, iii, ed. A. A. Ali-zade, Russian transl. A. K. Arends, Baku 1957; B. Spuler, *Mongolen*[2]; A. Mostaert and F. W. Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, in *HJAS*, xv/3-4, 419-506 (467-478). (W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

<u>GH</u>AZĀT [see <u>gh</u>azw].

<u>GH</u>ĀZĪ, Arabic active participle (pl. *g<u>h</u>uzāt*) used to indicate those who took part in a razzia [see <u>gh</u>azw], later in a *g<u>h</u>azwa* [*q.v.*] "raid against the infidels". This name later grew to be a title of honour reserved for those who distinguished themselves in the *g<u>h</u>azwa*, and it became part of the title of certain Muslim princes, such as the *amīr*s of Anatolia and more particularly the first Ottoman sultans. Corporations of *g<u>h</u>āzī*s are attested in Transoxiana and <u>Kh</u>urāsān from the Sāmānid period; these were wandering bands who obtained their living chiefly from booty won in the *g<u>h</u>azwa*, and who offered their services wherever war was to be waged against unbelievers or heretics. Their leaders often achieved great fame and even an official status. But these soldiers of fortune, for whom war was an economic necessity and who were easily transformed by lack of occupation into brigands, became, in times of peace, a danger to the government which employed them; al-Ṭabarī records, in 205/821 (iii, 1044), a revolt in <u>Kh</u>urāsān, stirred up by one of these mercenaries; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr (viii, 155) mentions that these seditious elements took part in the revolt of Bu<u>kh</u>ārā against the Sāmānid Naṣr, about 318/930. However, these groups, referred to by historians as *g<u>h</u>uzāt*, *fityān*, *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*], etc., formed a reserve of troops always available to whoever had need of them: Maḥmūd of <u>Gh</u>azna drew on them extensively, taking with him to India as many as 20,000 *g<u>h</u>āzī*s (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 262 f.); he was always in need of money to pay his mercenaries, burdening his people with taxes for this before each campaign (*ibid.*, ii, 168). These groups of soldiers of fortune mentioned by the historians in Transoxiana and <u>Kh</u>urāsān offered at the

same time a refuge for political or religious dissidents and an occupation for adventurers of all races, attracted by the lure of plunder. However, for centuries in these eastern provinces the Turks especially were the reservoir from which Persians and then Arabs recruited their mercenaries; hence, although these groups were originally without any national character, the Turkish element, as constituting the military class *par excellence*, was soon to predominate. Such organizations were not peculiar to the eastern provinces; they existed everywhere where there was fighting to be done, expecially in the regions of the frontier zones. Thus they were also found in the Arab-Byzantine frontier zones where, ever since the Umayyad period, a state of war had existed. In these regions, where, since the reign of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42), the Turkish element formed the majority of the fighting men, the Arab-Byzantine frontier battles were more and more to become Turco-Byzantine wars. In this zone where the *ghāzī*s were fighting against the *akritai*, guardians of the Byzantine frontiers who were themselves often recruited from among Turkish mercenaries, there came into existence a population of the marches which to a considerable extent was ethnically the same on both sides of the frontier. We find proof of this state of affairs in the epic literature, both Byzantine and Arabo-Turkish, whether in the Byzantine epic of Digenis Akritas, the Arabic epic story of Delhemma [see DHU 'L-HIMMA], or the Turkish story of Sayyid Baṭṭāl [see BAṬṬĀL]. In this area where pilgrimages maintained a continual state of crusade, the defence of both sides of the frontier was organized in the same way: on both sides there was a spontaneous organization, growing up independently of the frontiers and outside the framework of the state, imbued with the same half-military half-religious spirit. In about 595/1200 the caliph al-Nāṣir, seeking to strengthen the caliphate against its enemies, reorganized the corporations which were already linked to the principles of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], the code of rules for a virtuous life, according with the tenets of Islamic mysticism and held in common by the artisan, military and religious corporations. In the first place he turned his attention to the military element, which he bound to his own person by new bonds of vassalage. The *ghāzī*s, who had at first consisted of a popular movement in which were mingled adventurers and dissidents, were grouped into a corporation which possessed the attributes of a Muslim chivalry and was organized like a religious fraternity, with a ceremony of investiture conferring the title of *ghāzī*, the granting of arms and of ritual emblems, and which was joined henceforth by princes and rulers. In the marches of Asia Minor, however, where in the 5th/11th century the *ghazī* element was reinforced by the massive immigration of Oghuz tribes, the movement retained a popular and nomadic character, opposed to the settled and Persianized population of the Saldjūḳ towns. It was these turbulent elements of the marches, taking advantage of the slackening of Byzantine defences after the defeat of Mantzikert, impelled by the need to obtain their livelihood from plunder and at the same time inspired by the ideal of the Holy War, who, without the acquiescence of the Saldjūḳ government, carried out the conquest of Anatolia. The first Turkish conqueror of Cappadocia was a *ghāzī* leader, Emīr Dānishmend; with him *ghāzī* makes its appearance among the titles of the emirs of Asia Minor; the term is even given as a personal name to the elder son of the emir; the Greek legend on the coins of Dānishmend's successor reads: Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΜΗΡΑΣ ΑΜΗΡ ΓΑΖΗ (cf. I. Mélikoff, *Geste de Melik Dānişmend*, i, Paris 1960, 106). But this first *ghāzī* principality of Asia Minor, lacking the elements necessary for the organization and colonization of the conquered countries, could not survive after it had exhausted such resources as were readily to hand, and was forced to fall back before the attacks of the Saldjūḳs. The *ghāzī*s were forced back towards the frontiers (*udj*) and brought under the control of the central power, which bridled their turbulence by sending them to fight: to the north of Cappadocia, against the Greek empire of Trebizond, to the south, against the Armenians of Cilicia. These elements are known in Turkish sources under the name "Turks of the *Udj*" and their leaders are called "*Udj begi*". However, in the 7th/13th century, the Mongol invasion brought to Anatolia a new migration of Turkish tribes; large numbers of dervishes, fleeing from the invaded Iranian provinces, came to join the fugitives who had taken refuge in the frontier regions. As a result of the disruption of the Saldjūḳ state and the weakness of Byzantine resistance, there arose a new ferment in the frontier regions, where the dervishes brought a new access of enthusiasm for the Holy War. This ferment was to result, at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, in the formation of the Turkish emirates in Anatolia. The 14th century sources and the first Ottoman chroniclers have left in their writings testimony to what the *ghāzī* spirit was which animated these warlike principalities. "Put on the white cap for the *ghazā*!" exclaims the historian ʿĀshıḳpashazāde (ed. Giese, 40), while Eflākī (ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1959-61, i, 485; tr. Huart, ii, 10) tells us that the use of this white cap, the characteristic head-gear of the *ghāzī*s, was introduced in the frontier regions in the 7th/13th century by Meḥmed Beg of the *Udj*. This same Eflākī describes the ceremony of initiation of the "sultan of the *ghāzī*s", Meḥmed Aydïnoghlï, by the *Mawlawī shaykh* of Konya, Amīr ʿĀrif: "Meḥmed Beg, taking the club from the Čelebi, placed it on his head and said: 'I shall beat down my passions with this club, and with it I shall strike dead the enemies of the faith' " (cf. Eflākī, ii, 947-8; tr. Huart, ii, 391-2). The poet Aḥmedī gives the following definition of the *ghāzī*: "A *ghāzī* is the instrument of the religion of God, a servant of God who cleans the earth from the defilement of polytheism; a *ghāzī* is the sword of God, he is the protector and the refuge of the Believers; if he becomes a martyr while following the paths of God, do not think him dead, he lives with God as one of the blessed, he has Eternal Life" (cf. P. Wittek, in *Byzantion*, xi, 304). But these *ghāzī* principalities, whose aim was conquest and who supported themselves by plunder, who were made up of warlike elements and lacked the social classes necessary to organize the conquered territories, were doomed to grow progressively weaker and to die out. Only one of these principalities was able to survive and develop: this was the Ottoman state. A *ghāzī* principality like the others, it was the only one which was able to acquire the elements necessary for the organization of its conquests, thanks to its geographical position and to the proximity of the Byzantine capital, which obliged it to maintain a continual state of war. The first Ottoman sultans, just like the other Anatolian emirs, had included in their titles that of *ghāzī*, which is given them by the historians of their dynasty, such as ʿĀshıḳpashazāde, and which figures in their first inscriptions, as is shown in the inscription of 737/1337, concerning the building of the

Bursa mosque, where Orkhān is called "*sulṭān ibn sulṭān al-ghuzāt, ghāzī ibn al-ghāzī, Shudjā' al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn, marzbān al-āfāḳ, pehlevān-i djihān, Orkhān ibn 'Uthmān*". 'Āshiḳpashazāde also reveals that in the first centuries of the Ottoman empire there were four corporations, the first of which he calls the *ghāziyān-i Rūm*, the others being the *akhiyān-i Rūm*, *abdālān-i Rūm* and *badjiyān-i Rūm*. But when the Ottoman principality grew into an empire and the central power became firmly established, the *ghāzīs*, who had taken an active part in the conquest of Anatolia, were subjected to the authority of the state and the corporations were gradually disbanded. The work of the conquerors was accomplished and they had now to give place to the organizers of the empire.

Bibliography: Aḥmedī, in Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, i, Istanbul 1949, 7-8; 'Āshiḳpashazāde, *ibid.*, 237-8; Eflākī, *Manāḳib al-'ārifīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1959-61, i, 485, 506, ii, 947-8 (= Fr. tr. Cl. Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, ii, Paris 1922, 10, 36, 391-2); Barthold, *Turkestan*, 214-5, 239, 242, 287, 291, 295, 312, 345; Fu'ād Köprülü, *Türkiye Ta'rīkhi*, Istanbul 1923, 81 f.; idem, *Les origines de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1935, 88-133; Paul Wittek, *Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum*, in *Byzantion*, xi (1936), 285-319; idem, *The rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1938; idem, *De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople*, in *REI*, xiv (1938), 1-34. (I. Mélikoff)

GHAZĪ, King of 'Irāḳ, son of King Fayṣal I and his cousin Ḥazīma, was born in the Ḥidjāz in 1912, moved to Baghdād in 1921, and spent his childhood there until he was sent to Harrow School in England. He mounted the throne in the autumn of 1933, equipped with excellent social gifts; but he lacked seriousness or any taste for public affairs. He married 'Aliyya, daughter of ex-King 'Alī shortly after his accession, becoming the father of the future Fayṣal II in 1935. His short reign was marked by repeated military interventions in the Government, including the short-lived *coup* of General Bakr Ṣidḳī, 1936-7. He died in a motor accident in the spring of 1939.

Bibliography: S. H. Longrigg, *'Iraq 1900 to 1950*, Oxford 1953: Majid Khadduri, *Independent 'Iraq*, Oxford 1951. (S. H. Longrigg)

GHĀZĪ, Sayf al-Dīn, Zangid prince of al-Mawṣil from 541/1146 to 544/1149. See al-mawṣil, nūr al-dīn, zangids.

GHĀZĪ, Sayf al-Dīn, Zangid prince of al-Mawṣil from 565/1170 to 576/1180. See al-mawṣil, nūr al-dīn, salāḥ al-dīn, zangids.

GHĀZĪ ČELEBI, ruler of Sinope (700/1300?-circa 730/1330 ?) known especially for his piratical exploits against the Genoese, and sometimes alliance with and sometimes against the Greeks of Trebizond (it is known that there were actions in 1313-14, 1319, 1324); there are attributed to him in these raids lack of scruples (*e.g.*, taking guests captive), audacity (typified by an attack on Kaffa in the Crimea), and skill (he is said to have been able, by swimming under water, to pierce the hull of enemy ships), all of which testify to his reputation (see the episodes and the sources, Genoese, Byzantine (Panaretos) and Muslim (Abu 'l-Fidā' and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa), in W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, i, 485 and especially 451, and ii, 98). It is probable that this maritime activity represents the most important feature of his policy—certainly nothing is known of him beyond this; indeed—and this is not without significance—even his identity is in doubt. According to 'Ālī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, v, 22 (following Rūḥī), he was the son of the Saldjūḳid sultan of Rūm, Mas'ūd II, and on the death of the last sultan, 'Alā' al-Din (at the beginning of the 8th/14th century), was granted by the Īlkhān Ghāzān all the northern coastlands of Asia Minor; but this is a late version, perhaps entirely due to the fact that the tombstone of Ghāzī Čelebi (*TOEM*, ii, 422) calls him the son of Mas'ūd Čelebi, or to the fact that the career of Mas'ūd II and of his father Kay-Kā'ūs in the Black Sea was well remembered; more nearly contemporary authors (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 350-2, tr. Gibb, ii, 466-7, and, less clearly, Abu 'l-Fidā' *Taḳwīm*, ed. Reinaud-de Slane, 393) make Ghāzī Čelebi a descendant of the famous Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān the Pervāne, whose sons Muḥammad and, more especially, Mas'ūd had retained Sinope, their father's fief, until 1300 (cf. Müneddjim bashī, iii, 31), and this version, although dubious, is not impossible. Ghāzī Čelebi died, if the inscription on the tombstone has been read correctly, in 722/1322, a date which conflicts with reports of his being active in 1324. In any case when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through Sinope (in 1331 or 1333 ?) he was certainly dead—from an excess of *ḥashīsh* it was said—and the town had been occupied by the Isfandiyārid of Ḳastamūnī, but it is possible that Ghāzī Čelebi had accepted the suzerainty of the latter before his death (it is possible thus to interpret al-'Umarī, ed. Taeschner, 23). It is in any case impossible to deduce—as some authors have done—from the confused data on the Isfandiyārids [*q.v.*] that Ghāzī Čelebi lived until 1356.

Bibliography: apart from the sources mentioned in the article, see Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, i, 199, 257, and 317, and xv (1925), 305; Zambaur, 148 (inaccurate); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, ii, 466, n. 195; *EI*[1], art. Sīnūb. (Cl. Cahen)

GHĀZI 'L-DĪN ḤAYDAR (not Ḥaydar al-Dīn Ghāzī as given in the *Cambridge History of India*, v, 575, 578), the eldest son of Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, ruler of Awadh (1212-29/1798-1814), was born at Basawlī in Rohīlkhand in 1188/1774. He succeeded his father as the Nawwāb-Wazīr of Awadh in accordance with the rule of primogeniture, in 1229/1814.

Right from the time of his accession he was under the influence of the British Resident, Col. John Bailey, who did not hesitate to interfere in the day-to-day administration of the state. Supported by the Governor-General of British India, Lord Hastings, who wanted to reduce the prestige of the Mughal emperor of Delhi, he declared his independence in 1234/1819 and assumed the royal title of Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Mu'izz al-Dīn Shāh-i Zamān Ghāzi 'l-Dīn Ḥaydar. A huge sum of two crores of rupees (20,000,000) was spent on the manufacture of a throne, made of pure gold and silver and studded with precious stones, and a canopy richly decorated with pearls and gold and silver thread. The same year he struck his own coinage bearing the legend: *sikka zad bar sīm-u zar az faḍl-i rabb-i dhu 'l-minan, Ghāzi al-Dīn Ḥaydar-i 'ālī nasab shāh-i zaman.* The obverse bore a coat of arms with two fishes (the insignia of the House of Burhān al-Mulk [*q.v.*]), supported by two tigers bearing banners. These coins, which replaced the *pahiyyah-dār* rupee of Shāh 'Ālam II, were in circulation from 1235/1819 until 1242/1827.

A fine silver medal, commemorating the commencement of his rule, was also issued during the first year of his reign. This medal carried his full-faced portrait. An unsuccessful ruler, Ghāzi 'l-Dīn Ḥaydar

was a debauchee. He was under the baneful influence of rapacious and unscrupulous ministers like Sayyid Muḥammad Khān, commonly known as Āghā Mīr and entitled Muʿtamad al-Dawla, an upstart who had been one of the pages of Ghāzi 'l-Dīn Ḥaydar before his accession. His maladministration, combined with his extravagance and dishonesty, hastened the decline of the Awadh dynasty.

Ghāzi 'l-Dīn Ḥaydar was benevolent towards the poor and the needy, and provided dowries for innumerable poor girls from the public treasury. Among the notable buildings constructed during his reign are: the Ḳadam Rasūl, where a piece of stone, said to contain the footprint of the Prophet, was enshrined and the Imāmbāṙah Shāh Nadjaf, an imposing building dedicated to mourning for Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and the martyrs of Karbalāʾ. Ghāzi 'l-Dīn Ḥaydar died in 1243/1827 and was buried in this building.

The Persian dictionary *Haft Ḳulzum*, (publ. Lucknow 1882), a slightly re-arranged version of *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, which is ascribed to him, is in fact the compilation of Ḳabūl Aḥmad, who fathered it on the king apparently for some monetary consideration (cf. Ethé, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 265, 348).

Bibliography: Muḥammad Nadjm al-Ghanī Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Awadh*, Lucknow 1919, iv, 108-211; Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar, *Taʾrīkh-i Awadh* (*Ḳayṣar al-tawārīkh*), Lucknow 1296/1877, 205-66; Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Khān "Akhtar" Huglawī, *Guldasta-i Maḥabbat*, Lucknow 1239/1823 (an account, in prose and verse, of the meeting of Lord Hastings and Ghāzi 'l-Dīn Ḥaydar); anon., *Taʾrīkh-i Shāhiyya-i Nīshāpūriyya*, MS. Riḍā (Raza) Library, Rampur; Muḥ. Muḥtasham Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥtasham* or *Muḥtasham Khānī*, MS. Bankipore, vii, 605; Durgā Prāśād, *Taʾrīkh-i Ajodhyā* (MS.); Durga Parshād 'Mihr', *Bustān-i Awadh*, Lucknow 1892; Amīr ʿAlī Khān, *Wazīr-nāma*, Cawnpore 1293/1876; Lāl-djī b. Sītal Parshād, *Sulṭān al-ḥikāyāt*, MS. India Office 3902; Pūran Čand, *Iʿdjāz al-Siyar*, MS. India Office 3886; ʿAbd al-Aḥad b. Muḥammad Fāʾiḳ, *Waḳāʾiʿ Dil-padhīr*, MS., Storey 708; J. Mill, *History of India*, London 1857, viii and ix; Irwin, *The Garden of India*, London 1880. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

GHĀZI 'L-DĪN KHĀN [see shihāb al-dīn, mīr; muḥammad panāh, mīr; ʿimād al-mulk].

GHĀZI EVRENOS BEG [see ewrenos].

GHĀZĪ GIRĀY I, Khān of the Crimea, reigned for about six months in 930/1523-4. He was proclaimed khān in Muḥarram 930/November 1523 after conspiring with the Crimean *begs* to rebel against his father Meḥmed Girāy I [*q.v.*] and procuring his death. The Ottoman Sultan (Süleymān I) refused to recognize him and, in agreement with Memish Beg of the Shīrīn, the leader of the *begs*, appointed as khān Ghāzī Girāy's uncle Saʿādet Girāy (Djumādā II 930/April 1524). Ghāzī Girāy, unable to resist, accepted Memish Beg's proposal that he should be *ḳalghay* ([*q.v.*] 'heir-apparent') to Saʿādet Girāy, but was killed four months later (Shawwāl 930/August 1524).

Bibliography: Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā, *Al-Sabʿ al-sayyār fī akhbār al-mulūk al-Tātār*, ed. Kazim Bek, Kazan 1832, 88 ff.; Ḥalīm Girāy, *Gülbün-i khānān*, Istanbul 1287, 13; ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, *ʿUmdat al-tawārīkh*, supplement to *TOEM*, 99; *IA*, s.v. Gâzî Giray I (Halil Inalcık). (Halil Inalcik)

GHĀZĪ GIRĀY II, known as *Bora* ('tempest'), twice Khān of the Crimea (996/1588-1005/1596 and 1005/1596-1016/1607). Born in 961/1554, he first distinguished himself in 986/1578 as general of Crimean forces operating in support of the Ottomans against Persia, and won the regard of Özdemir-oghlu ʿOthmān Pasha [*q.v.*] (ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, MS; idem, *Nuṣret-nāme*, MS Istanbul, Esad Ef. [Süleymaniye] 2433; Āṣafī, *Shedjāʿat-nāme*, MS Istanbul Un. Lib. 6043; Iskandar Munshī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehrān 1314, 191, 197). Taken prisoner by the Persians in 988/1580 and refusing to co-operate with them against the Ottomans, he was imprisoned in the fortress of Alamūt, but escaped in 993/1585 and managed to rejoin ʿOthmān Pasha's army. Upon the death of ʿOthmān Pasha he went to Istanbul and settled at Yanbolu (Yamboli in Bulgaria). His bravery and loyalty prompted the Sultan (Murād III) to appoint him khān and send him with a fleet to the Crimea (Radjab 996/May 1588). The *begs* of the Crimea accepted him, but the Czar was supporting his own candidate, Murād Girāy. Ghāzī Girāy set on foot negotiations for an alliance with Poland and Sweden, and in 999/1591 made an incursion against Moscow. The next year the Crimean begs raided Russia again. When summoned by the Ottoman Sultan to serve in Hungary in the war with Austria, he made peace with Russia (ratified by Ghāzī Girāy in Radjab 1002/April 1594), the Czar undertaking to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 roubles and to send each year various stipulated gifts (*tīyīsh* and *bölek*) (two of his *yarlīghs* to the King of Poland were published by V. Velyaminov-Zernov and H. Feyizhan, in *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du Khanat de Crimée ....*, St. Petersburg 1864, 9-19; cf. I. Novoselskiy, *Borba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami v pervoy polovine XVII veka*, Moscow 1948, 118-9).

In Hungary, he took part in the siege of Raab/Yanīḳ (summer of 1002/1594), and in the following year led a brisk campaign to reduce to obedience the rebellious princes of Moldavia and Wallachia. His proposal that Moldavia should be granted to one of the Crimean princes having been rejected by the Porte, he did not appear in person for the campaign of 1005/1596, but sent the *ḳalghay* Fetḥ Girāy. As a consequence he was deposed, but was restored after three months. As the Crimea was now being threatened by the Ḳazaḳs, he began the building of the fortress of Ghāzī-kirman. At the Sultan's insistence, he joined the Ottoman army in Hungary in 1006/1598, and stayed on in winter-quarters at Sonbor/Szombor. His request that the *eyālet* of Silistre be granted him as *arpalīḳ* [*q.v.*] was brusquely rejected, and he refused to stay on in Hungary through the next winter (1008/1599-1600). The Austrians, in the hope of detaching him from the Ottomans, were promising him 10,000 gold pieces a year. Only in 1011/1602, when he saw that his behaviour was endangering his throne again, did he consent to return to Hungary, spending the next winter at Pečüy/Pécs [*q.v.*] and amusing himself with hunting and the writing of poetry. Next spring he returned to the Crimea. His ambassadors met a delegation from the Emperor at Kolozsvár (Klausenburg) to discuss terms of peace, but inconclusively. Throughout the Ottoman-Hapsburg war of 1001/1593-1015/1606 Ghāzī Girāy played a prominent part, both politically and in the military operations.

When peace was signed, he renewed his alliance with Poland against the Czar. The Sultan asked him to send 10,000 men for the operations against the Djelālīs [*q.v.* in Supp.] in Anatolia, but he sent only a small force. Next year (1016/1607) he was ordered

to advance through Shirwān to attack Persia (Ferīdūn, *Munsha'āt al-salāṭīn*², ii, 119), but died soon after of plague (Shaʿbān 1016/November 1607). His son and *ḳalghay* Toḳtamīsh Girāy, whom he had nominated to succeed him, was proclaimed khān by the *begs* of the Crimea, but the Porte refused to recognize him.

Ghāzī Girāy, one of the greatest khāns of the Crimea, managed to steer a course between the Porte, which wished to have the Crimean forces always at its disposal, and the Crimean aristocracy, which was seeking independence of the Porte. During his reign the Khānate co-operated more closely than ever with the Porte, and Ottoman influence, in culture and in administration, greatly increased: the *ḳapu-aghasî* (*eshik-aghasî*, *bash-agha*), appointed from among the Circassian slaves, came to occupy a predominant place in the government comparable with that of the Grand Vizier; and a corps of mounted musketeers (*tüfenkči*), bound to the ruler's person, was formed. Ghāzī Girāy was at the same time a genuine literary artist, occupying a unique place in Crimean literature and in the Ottoman *dīwān* tradition. In a sincere and fluent style, he wrote prose and poetry in Persian, in Arabic, and in Crimean, Čaghatay and Ottoman Turkish (he used as *makhlaṣ* 'Ghazāyī' and 'Khān Ghāzī'), introducing into *dīwān* poetry the new theme—later much imitated—of the valiant sentiments of the soldier. His works include (1) a small *dīwān* (incomplete manuscript published in fascimile by I. H. Ertaylan [see Bibl.]); (2) a *mathnawī* entitled *Gül ü Bülbül*, in Čaghatay Turkish (Ertaylan, 50-3, 62 n. 2, where the suggestion that it is a *naẓīre* to Fuḍūlī's *Nīk u bad* is rejected); (3) a lost 'contention-poem' (*munāẓara*) between Coffee and Wine (see Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 251); and (4) several letters in prose and verse (to be found in various *inshā'* collections, *e.g.*, British Museum MS Or. 6261; see also Abdullah-oğlu Hasan, *Kırım tarihine ait notlar ve vesikalar*, in *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, iii (1932), 118-22, iv-v, 159-66, vi-vii, 249-52). He figures prominently in a romantic novel by Nāmīḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Hasan Ortekin, *Bora Gazi Giray, hayatı ve eserleri* (unpublished *mezuniyet* thesis), Türkiyat Enstitüsü, Istanbul; C. M. Kortepeter, *The relations between the Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Empire, 1578-1608*.., (unpublished University of London Ph. D. thesis, 1962); I. H. Ertaylan, *Gazi Giray Han, hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1958; *IA*, s.v. Gâzî Giray II (by Halil Inalcık), with further references.

(HALIL INALCIK)

GHĀZĪ GIRĀY III, Khān of the Crimea from 1116/1704 until 1118/1707. In Radjab 1110/January 1699 he was appointed *Nuradin* (*Nūr al-Dīn* [*q.v.*]) by his brother Dewlet Girāy II, but rebelled, in collusion wtih the Noghay, and was dismissed. He came to Edirne and was exiled by the Porte to Rhodes. Upon the accession of his father Selīm Girāy [*q.v.*] in 1114/1702, he was recalled and made *ḳalghay* [*q.v.*], and at his death succeeded him as Khān (3 Ramaḍān 1116/30 December 1704). In spite of the Porte's pacific attitude, he himself followed an anti-Russian policy during the Russo-Swedish wars, which provoked Russian protests at Istanbul. For this, and for his resistence to the Porte's efforts to bring the Noghay directly under Ottoman control, he was deposed (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1118/March 1707) and ordered to reside at Karin-ābād (Karnobat, in Bulgaria), where in Rabīʿ II 1120/June 1708, aged 36, he died of plague.

Bibliography: Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh*, iii, 168, 172, 201, 215; Fîndîklîlî Meḥmed Agha (Silāḥdār), *Nuṣret-nāme*, MS; Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā, *Al-Sabʿ al-sayyār fī akhbār al-mulūk al-Tātār*, Kazan 1832, 270 ff.; *IA*, s.v. Gâzî Giray III (by Halil Inalcık), with further references.

(HALIL INALCIK)

GHĀZĪ KHĀN [see Supplement].

GHĀZĪ MIYĀN, popular title of SIPĀH SĀLĀR MASʿŪD GHĀZĪ, one of the earliest and most celebrated of Indo-Muslim saints, who lies buried at Bahrāič, in Uttar Pradesh. According to Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī, he was a soldier in the army of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Abu 'l Faḍl says that he was a kinsman (*khweshāwand*) of the Sultan. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badā'ūnī quotes a saint of Khayrabād who once remarked about the Sālār: "He was an Afghān who met his death by martyrdom". No early record of his life exists. Later generations have introduced many mythical and romantic elements in his biography. The *Mir'āt-i Masʿūdī* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, written during the reign of Djahāngīr (1014/1605-1037/1627), has consolidated all these later legends, though the author claims to have utilized an early Ghaznawid account of the saint in *Ta'rīkh-i Mullā Muḥammad Ghaznawī*, which is now lost. It is generally held that Sālār Ghāzī passed his youth in the field by the side of his father Sālār Sāhū. At the age of sixteen he started on his invasion of Hindustān. With Satrik (in Bāra Bankī) as his base of operations, he sent out his lieutenants in every direction to conquer and proselytize the country. Sayyid Sayf al-Dīn and Miyān Radjab of his army were sent to Bahrāič but they failed to achieve their objective. Sālār Masʿūd then marched in person to Bahrāič. He was successful in the beginning but was ultimately overthrown and slain with his followers on 18 Radjab 424/30 June 1033. His servants buried him at a spot he had earlier chosen for his resting-place. The fact that his name and his grave survived through the long years between the Ghaznawid invasion and the Ghūrid occupation of northern India shows that there was some Muslim population to look after the grave and to preserve for posterity the tradition of Sālār's martyrdom (Niẓāmī, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the 13th century*, ʿAlīgarh 1961, 76-7). Iletmish's son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, was the first prince of the ruling house of Delhi to live in Bahrāič and during his governorship Muslim colonization began in that region; but there is no reference to Sālār Masʿūd in Minhādj's account of the prince. According to Führer (*Archaeological survey report*, ii, 292), the first building over his grave was constructed by Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725/1325-752/1351) was the first sultan of Delhi to visit his grave. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ also made a pilgrimage to Bahrāič in 776/1374 and was so overwhelmed by its spiritual atmosphere that he had his head shaved (*maḥluḳ shud*) in the mystic fashion and adopted an other-worldly attitude (ʿAfīf, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 372). Some buildings, wells, shades and verandas are said to have been constructed by him.

The tomb of Sālār Masʿūd is one of the most popular centres of pilgrimage in India. Hundreds of thousands of Hindus and Muslims visit it every year. The legend of Ghāzī Miyān—also known as Bālāy Miyān, Bālā Pīr, Hataylā Pīr etc.— occupies a unique place in the cultural life of the people of northern India, particularly in the villages of eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and eastern Bengal. Many tales about him are current amongst the people, and many fairs,

festivals and feasts are held in different towns and villages of Uttar Pradesh (*e.g.* Meerut, Sambhal, Badāʾun) to commemorate different events of his life. There are several towns in northern India where certain old graves are considered to be those of his martyr-companions (*e.g.*, the grave of Mīrān Mulhim in Badāʾun, see Raḍī al-Dīn, *Kanz al-tawārīkh*, Badāʾun 1907, 51). The tradition of Ghāzī Miyān has assumed the form of a popular superstition in the villages of eastern Bengal, where large number of symbolic graves of the saint have been put up and thousands of Hindu and Muslim villagers make offerings to them. As it is believed that he was slain while his nuptial ceremonies were being celebrated —which thus became in a double sense his *ʿurs*—marriage processions in his memory are held at many places with *ʿalams* (banners) on the first Sunday of the month of Djayth (May-June). As this festival led to some immoral practices, Sikandar Lōdī (894/1489-923/1517) banned it, but it was revived later. Once the Emperor Akbar (963/1556-1014/1605) witnessed this festival incognito in the vicinity of Agra. The death of the saint is commemorated on the 12th, 13th and 14th of Radjab every year.

Bibliography: The earliest reference to the saint is found in Amīr Khusraw's *Iʿdjāz-i Khusrawī* (Nawal Kishore ed., ii, 155), wherein the author refers to his country-wide popularity. For other sources, see Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Indica, 491; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 69-70; ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Indica, 230; ʿAbd Allāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Dāʾūdī*, ʿAlīgarh 1954, 38; Niʿmat Allāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Khān Djahānī*, Dacca 1960, i, 217; Abu'l Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, Bibl. Indica, ii, 145; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Bibl. Indica, iii, 27; Firishta, *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta*, Nawal Kishore ed., i, 139; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Mirʾāt-i Masʿūdī* (for MS see Storey 1006-7); Dārā Shukoh, *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ*, Nawal Kishore, Kānpur 1900, 160-1; Ghulām Muʿīn al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, *Maʿāridj al-walāyat*, MS in personal collection, ii, 494-505; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Nawal Kishore 1873, ii, 217-24; Muḥammad ʿAbbās Khān Sherwānī, *Ḥayāt-i Masʿūdī* (Urdu), ʿAlīgarh 1935; ʿInāyat Ḥusayn, *Ghazā Nāma-i Masʿūd* (Urdu), Nāmī Press, Lucknow 1894; R. Greeven, *The heroes five*, Allahabad 1893; Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur ... la religion musulmane dans l'Inde*, Paris 1869, 72-9; *Asiatic Annual Register*, vi (1801); *JASB*, 1892, Extra number, p. 17; *Statistical and descriptive account of north-west provinces of India*, Allahabad 1874, 118; *District gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, xlv, Bahrāič ed. H. R. Nevill, Allahabad 1903; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, ii, 513-49; *Voyages de Nikolaes van Graaf aux Indes Orientales*, Amsterdam 1719.

(K. A. Nizami)

GHĀZĪ MUḤAMMAD [see ḲĀḌĪ MUḤAMMAD].

GHĀZĪPUR [see Supplement].

GHĀZIYA (A.) plur. *ghawāzī*, the name for Egyptian public dancing-girls. In the 19th century, according to Lane, they came from a single tribe and married only within it. They gave lascivious performances in the streets and courtyards, and performed privately in the *ḥarīms* for certain celebrations or in special places for audiences of men. Lane regarded them as among the most beautiful women in Egypt and as common prostitutes; he distinguished the *ghāziya* from the *ʿālima* [*q.v.*] or female singer.

Today this distinction is less sharp. In Egyptian cities both the dancing-girl and the singer are now called *ʿalma* (colloquial), while in the villages the dancer is still often called *ghāziya*. The dancers do not come from a distinct tribe but from various sorts of low-income families, usually urban. They are taught the art, after showing some natural ability, by female teachers who are sometimes called *ʿawālim* (plur.) too. Both the *ghāziya* and the *ʿālima* must now be distinguished from the better-paid, better-trained "Oriental" dancer (*rāḳiṣa*) who performs in the modern night clubs and films and at private celebrations.

The *ghawāzī*, according to Lane, preferred to call themselves *Barāmika*. *Ghāziya*, the origin of which is uncertain, is still a derogatory term avoided by the dancer herself. In the villages it connotes a woman outside the pale of respectability. *Ibn ghāziya* is thus a serious insult. See further RAḲṢ.

Bibliography: Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, ch. xix; Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.; M. Berger, *The Arab Danse du Ventre*, in *Dance Perspectives*, x (1961). (M. Berger)

GHAZNA, a town in eastern Afghānistān situated 90 miles/145 km. south-west of Kābul in lat. 68° 18′ E. and long. 33° 44′ N. and lying at an altitude of 7,280 feet/2,220 m.

The original form of the name must have been **Ganzak* < *gandja* "treasury", with a later metathesis in eastern Iranian of *-nz-/-ndj-* to *-zn-*, and this etymology indicates that Ghazna was already in pre-Islamic times the metropolis of the surrounding region of Zābulistān. The parallel forms *Ghaznī* (in present-day use) and *Ghaznīn* must go back to forms like *Ghaznīk* and *Ghaznēn*; the geographer Muḳaddasī and the anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (end of 4th/10th century) have *Ghaznīn*, and Yāḳūt says that this is the correct, learned form.

The oldest mention of the town seems to be in the second century A.D., when Ptolemy gives Ga(n)zaka in the region of Paropamisádai, locating it 1,100 *stadia* from Kābul, but to the north of that town. It must have been of some significance under the successive waves of military conquerors in this region, such as the Kushans and Ephthalites. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang (7th century A.D.) mentions it as Ho(k)-si(k)-na = Ghaznīk, and describes it as the chief town of the independent kingdom of Tsau-kiu-ch'a = Zābulistān. Buddhism was known in the region, for recent excavations at Ghazna have uncovered a Buddhist site and many clay and terracotta buddhas have been found. (It should be noted that A. Bombaci, in *East and West*, vii (1957), 255-6, doubts the accepted identification of Ghazna with the places mentioned by Ptolemy and Hiuen-Tsang.)

The history of Ghazna in the first three Islamic centuries is most obscure. The armies of the Arab governors of Khurāsān and Sīstān penetrated into Zābulistān in ʿAbd al-Malik's reign and fought the local ruler, the Zunbīl, whose summer quarters were in Zābulistān (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 397; Ṭabarī, ii, 488). The population of this area was doubtless basically Iranian, but with a considerable admixture of Turkish and other Central Asian peoples brought in by earlier waves of conquest; as the homeland of Rustum, Zābulistān plays a part in the Iranian national epic as the homeland of heroes. At the end of the 3rd/9th century, the Ṣaffārids Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr b. Layth reached Ghazna and Kābul, defeating

the Zunbīl of that time, but it is only with the 4th/10th century that the history of Ghazna, by then a theoretical dependency of the Sāmānids, becomes reasonably clear.

In 351/962 a Sāmānid slave commander, Alptigin, came to Ghazna with an army and established himself there, defeating the local ruler Abū ʿAlī Lawīk or Anūk, described as a brother-in-law of the Hindūshāhī Kābul-Shāh. In 366/977 another slave commander, Sebüktigin, rose to power in Ghazna, and under the dynasty which he founded, that of the Ghaznavids, the town enters the two most glorious centuries of its existence. It now became the capital of a vast empire, stretching at Sultan Maḥmūd's death in 421/1030 from western Persia to the Ganges valley, and it shared with Kābul a dominating position on the borderland between the Islamic and Indian worlds; according to Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 450, Ghazna's Indian trade did not suffer with the coming of Alptigin's army and the temporary severance of political links with India. It was still at this time, and for several decades to come, a frontier fortress town on the edge of the pagan Indian world; in the reign of Masʿūd I of Ghazna (421-32/1030-41) there was still a Sālār or commander of the *ghāzīs* of Ghazna (Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehrān 1324/1945, 254; cf. the anecdote in the first discourse of Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī's *Čahār maḳāla* describing the attacks in Maḥmūd's reign of the infidels on the nearby town of Lāmghān). The geographers of the later 4th/10th century stress that Ghazna was an entrepôt (*furḍa*) for the trade between Ghazna and India, that it was a resort of merchants and that its inhabitants enjoyed prosperity and ease of life. They expatiate on its freedom from noxious insects and reptiles and its healthy climate. In winter, snow fell there extensively, and the historian Bayhaḳī describes graphically how in the summer of 422/1031 torrential rain caused the stream flowing through the Ghazna suburb of Afghān-Shāl to swell and burst its banks, carrying away the bridge and destroying many caravanserais, markets and houses. Ghazna itself was not in a fertile spot and had few or no gardens, but the surrounding country of Zābulistān was fertile and the town accordingly enjoyed an abundance of provisions. Thaʿālibī lists among the specialities of the Ghazna region *amīrī* apples and rhubarb, and Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakshāh mentions monster pears from there, *pīl-amrūd* "elephant-pears".

Muḳaddasī describes the layout of Ghazna as it was during Sebüktigin's time. It had a citadel, *ḳalʿa*, in the centre of the town (the modern Bālā-Ḥiṣār), with the ruler's palace; a town proper or *madīna*, in which many of the markets were situated, and which had a wall and four gates; and a suburb, *rabaḍ*, containing the rest of the markets and houses. The citadel and *madīna* had been rebuilt by Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr b. Layth (Bayhaḳī, 261). Recent work by the Italian Archaeological Mission at Ghazna has shown that the houses of the great men lay on the hill slopes to the east of the modern town, on the way to the Rawḍa-yi Sulṭān, where lies Maḥmūd's tomb. In this vicinity are the two decorated brick towers built by Masʿūd III and Bahrām Shāh, which may be the minarets of mosques, and not necessarily towers of victory as early western visitors to Ghazna imagined. The site of a fine palace has also been uncovered here. We learn from Bayhaḳī that Maḥmūd had a palace at Afghān-Shāl, the Ṣad-Hazāra garden and the Fīrūzī palace and garden where he was eventually buried. His son Masʿūd decided in 427/1035-6 to build a splendid new palace to his own design (Bayhaḳī, 499, 539-41). For the erection and decoration of these and other buildings, the spoils of India were used; it seems that objects of precious metals and captured Hindu statues were directly incorporated into the palace fabrics as trophies of war. With the plunder brought back from the expedition of 409/1018 to Kanawdj and Muttra, Maḥmūd decided to build a great new mosque in Ghazna, to be known as the *ʿArūs al-Falak* "Bride of the Heavens"; to this was attached a *madrasa* containing a library of books filched from Khurāsān and the west (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 290-300). Other constructional works by Maḥmūd included elephant stables (*pīl-khāna*) to house 1,000 beasts, with quarters for their attendants, and various irrigation works in the district; one of his dams, the Band-i Sulṭān, a few miles to the north of the town, has survived to this day. For all these building works, it is probable that the early Ghaznavids imported skilled artisans from Persia and even from India, for Zābulistān had no artistic traditions of its own.

After the Ghaznavids' loss of their western territories, Ghazna and Lahore became their two main centres, and the minting of coins was concentrated on these two towns. In the first half of the 6th/12th century, Ghazna was twice occupied by Saldjūḳ armies (510/1117 and 529/1135), but a much greater disaster occurred in 545/1150-1 when ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn of Ghūr sacked the town in vengeance for two of his brothers killed by the Ghaznavid Bahrām Shāh; this orgy of destruction earned for him his title of Djihān-sūz "World-incendiary". However, Ghazna seems to have recovered to some extent. It was finally lost to the Ghaznavids in 558/1163, and after an occupation by a group of Ghuzz from Khurāsān, passed into Ghūrid hands, becoming the capital of the Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad. After the latter's death in 599/1203, it was held briefly by one of the Ghūrids' Turkish slave commanders, Tādj al-Dīn Yïldïz, but in 612/1215-16 came into the possession of the Ghūrids' supplanters, the Khwārizm-Shāhs. But Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu's governorship there was short. He was driven into India by Čingiz Khān's Mongols in 618/1221 and the town was then sacked by the latter.

This was really the end of Ghazna's period of glory; coins now cease to be minted there. In Īl-Khānid times, it passed to the Kart ruler of Harāt, Muʿizz al-Dīn Ḥusayn. Tīmūr granted it in 804/1401 to his grandson Pīr Muḥammad b. Djihāngīr, who used it as a base for raids on India. In 910/1504 Bābur appeared at Ghazna and forced its then ruler Muḳīm b. Dhi 'l-Nūn Arghūn to retire to Ḳandahār. Bābur has left a description of the town as it was at this time, a small place where agriculture was difficult, only a few grapes, melons and apples being produced; he marvelled that so insignificant a place should once have been the capital of a mighty empire. Under the Mughals and native Afghān dynasties, Ghazna played no very great rôle. It was besieged in 1059/1649 by a Persian army, but Awrangzīb succeeded in holding on to it, despite his loss of Ḳandahār. Nādir Shāh captured it in 1151/1738 before occupying Kābul and marching on Delhi in the next year, and after his assassination in 1160/1747, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī used Ghazna and Kābul as springboards for attacks on India. During the First Afghan-British War of 1839-42 Ghazna was twice taken by British forces, and on the second occasion the British commander sent back to India, at the Governor-General Lord Ellenborough's

request, the alleged Gates of Somnāth captured by Maḥmūd of Ghazna eight centuries previously.

Today, Ghazna is a town of some importance; it lies on the Kābul-Ḳandahār road and is the junction for the roads eastward to Gardīz and Mātūn, Urgun and Tōčī. It is the administrative centre of the province (*wilāyat*) of Ghazna. The great majority of the people are Persian-speaking and are Sunnī in religion.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

GHAZNAWIDS is the name given to the dynasty of Turkish origin which was founded by Sebüktigin, a General and Governor of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*]. With Ghazna [*q.v.*] for long its capital, the dynasty lasted for more than 200 years, from 367/977-8 to 583/1187, in eastern Īrān and what is now Afghānistān, and finally only in parts of the Pandjāb (with Lahāwur/Lahore as centre). For a long time its rulers held the official title of Amīr, although historians call them Sulṭān from the start; on coins, Ibrāhīm (no. XII below) was the first to bear this title.

From the time when Alptigin established himself in the region of Ghazna in 344/955-6 and made himself to a great extent independent of the Sāmānids, the area surrounding this town remained in the hands of Turkish rulers (for details see GHAZNA). In 367/977-8 (I) Sebüktigin gained power, and continued to rule until his death in 387/997. The new ruler, on the evidence of his coinage, acknowledged the overlordship of the Sāmānids, and gave them help against the Sīmdjūrids [*q.v.*] in 992 and 995. He also turned his attention to the Hindū Empires in the Pandjāb [*q.v.*] and in particular the Shāhū dynasty, whose head, Djaypāl, he defeated in 979 and 988, thereby acquiring the fortresses on the Indian frontier. His empire furthermore included northern Balūčistān, Ghūr, Zābulistān and Bactria (Tukharistān) (on the subject of these and all further geographical references in this article see the entries under individual words). In this way, Sebüktigin, an extraordinarily powerful and ambitious ruler, and a convinced Sunnī, laid the foundations of one of the most lasting empires in the Indo-Afghān border regions.

On this foundation, Sebüktigin's son (III) Maḥmūd, who after quarrelling at one time with his father had become reconciled with him towards the end of the latter's life, was able to embark upon the conquest of the Pandjāb. By so doing, he created for Islam an extensive territory in India, and laid the foundation for the religious division of this area, the latest effect of which has been the creation of the independent state of Pākistān. Maḥmūd swiftly superseded his brother (II) Ismāʿīl, who had been designated by his father as his successor, and by 389/999 had finally made himself secure. There is no doubt that he is the most important ruler of the dynasty. Culturally already strongly inclined towards Īrān and receptive to the developing new Persian literature, he perseveringly encouraged Firdawsī [*q.v.*], although he did not fulfil the exaggerated demands made by the latter since he could not overlook the expenses for his task of spreading Islam in India. Politically Maḥmūd was in a fortunate position, since on his ascending the throne the Sāmānids had lost their influence and he was able to come to an agreement with the victorious Ḳarakhānids [*q.v.*], which in essence laid down that the Oxus should be the frontier between the two kingdoms. A convinced Sunnī like his father, Maḥmūd exchanged the ties which Sebüktigin had had with the Sāmānids for an allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], an allegiance which remained purely nominal, since at that time distant Baghdād could not exert any influence so far east, and the Caliphs were in any case dominated by the Shīʿī Būyids [*q.v.*]. The latter had passed the zenith of their power and were several times the target of attacks by Maḥmūd, who thereby also rendered a service to the Caliph. At the same time as his 17 campaigns in the Pandjāb, Maḥmūd was able to push the Būyids back a considerable distance and exert his influence in Khwārizm [*q.v.*]. On his death (23 Rabīʿ II 421/30 April 1030), his empire comprised the Pandjāb and parts of Sind (plus a series of Hindū states in the valley of the Ganges which acknowledged his overlordship), northern Balūčistān (around Ḳuṣdār), Afghānistān including Ghazna, as well as Gharčistān and Ghūr (where native potentates had submitted to his overlordship), Sīstān, Khurāsān, and Persia

generally as far as Djibāl (Media); and finally Tukharistān and some border areas on the Oxus (for all details see MAḤMŪD B. SEBÜKTIGIN).

After Maḥmūd's death his son (IV) Muḥammad at first succeeded him, but was immediately opposed by his brother Masʿūd, who, having been his father's victorious general (governor of Iṣfahān and Rayy), was favoured by the army. An army despatched against him by Muḥammad deserted to him, in Herāt; Muḥammad was blinded and taken captive.

(V) Masʿūd I, a bold warrior, addicted, it is true, to drink, and lacking the diplomatic capabilities of his father, continued Maḥmūd's campaigns in India, and attempted to drive the Būyids further back; but he was able to gain possession of Kirmān [*q.v.*] only for a short time (424/1035). From a military standpoint his position was considerably less favourable than that of his father, who had had no opponent of his own calibre in Persia. Now, however, just at the time when Masʿūd came to the throne, the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] began to cross the Oxus and little by little to occupy Khurāsān. Masʿūd's resistance had little success; considerable parts of his army were engaged in the Pandjāb, and his forces were made up of very diverse elements: Iranians of various races, and also Indians; his own fellow Turks were only sparsely represented. On 8 Ramaḍān 431/23 May 1040, on the steppes of Dandān(a)ḳān, Masʿūd was decisively defeated by the Saldjūḳs under Toghrïl [*q.v.*], a defeat which cost him his Persian possessions (cf. B. N. Zakhoder, *Dendanekan* (in Turkish), in *Belleten*, xviii/72 (1954), 581-7). On a march to India Masʿūd was overthrown by a conspiracy and murdered forthwith in prison (433/1041). (For details see MASʿUD B. MAḤMUD).

An attempt to restore the blinded (IV) Muḥammad to the throne was foiled by the swift advance of Masʿūd's son (VI) Mawdūd, who pressed forward to Kābul from Balkh (where his father had left him as commander against the Saldjūḳs). He defeated Muḥammad in 434/1042 at the battle of Nagrahār, and killed him. In other ways too Mawdūd took bloody revenge on the murderers of his father. His brother Madjdūd, who also put forward claims, died even before a battle could be joined, probably of poison. Mawdūd's attempts to halt the advances of the Saldjūḳs into Persia continued fruitlessly for years. In 436-7/1044-6 they advanced beyond Bust into the countryside around Zamīndāwar and threatened Ghazna. Here general Bāsī-tigin was able to repulse them and thereby save the home territory of the Ghaznavids; it was also possible to divide the rebellious Ghūr and force them once more into submission to Mawdūd. In a similar way it was possible on the whole to maintain the power of the dynasty in India, even though some areas were temporarily lost and even Lahāwur was threatened for a time. Mawdūd was about to set forth himself on a campaign against the Saldjūḳs to attempt the recovery of Sīstān, when he died in Ghazna on 20 Radjab 440/18 December 1048 after a short illness.

Apart from Persia, now finally lost, Mawdūd had been able to preserve the kernel of his dynasty's territory, but the bloody quarrels which broke out after his death between several claimants to the throne seriously weakened the Ghaznavid position. Through the machinations of generals and viziers who wished to consolidate their own power, the 6-year-old (VII) Masʿūd II (really Muḥammad), Mawdūd's son, succeeded to the throne, followed on 1 Shaʿbān 440/9 Jan. 1049 by Mawdūd's brother (VIII) ʿAlī b. Masʿūd I and on his overthrow, in

- I. Abū Manṣūr Sebüktigin 977-97
  - II. Ismāʿīl 997-8
  - III. Maḥmūd 998-1030 (b. 970)
    - IV. Muḥammad 1030 and 1040-1 (b. 997)
    - V. Masʿūd I 1030-40 (b. 997)
      - VI. Mawdūd 1041-8 (b. 1021-2)
        - VII. Masʿud II 1048-9 (b. ca. 1043)
      - VIII. ʿAlī 1049
      - XI. Farrukhzād 1052-9 (b. 1026)
      - XII. Ibrāhīm 1059-99 (b. 1033)
        - XIII. Masʿūd III 1099-1115 (b. 1060)
          - XIV. Shērzād 1115-16 (b. 1081-2)
          - XV. Malik Arslan 1116-8 (b. 1083-4?)
          - XVI. Bahrām Shāh 1118-57 (?)
            - XVII. Khusraw Shāh 1157-60
              - XVIII. Khusraw Malik 1160-87 (d. 1190?)
    - IX. ʿAbd al-Rashīd 1049-52 (b. 1022-3?)

(X. Toghrïl usurper, 1042)

The numbers in this table correspond with those given in the text of the article

May 1049, by (IX) ʿAbd al-Rashīd b. Maḥmūd. Although this ruler lived in peace with his neighbours, he did not succeed in restoring internal stability. The dignitaries took exception to his relations with a certain slave, Tümen, who was forcibly removed as soon as ʿAbd al-Rashīd himself was murdered on 10 Shawwāl 443/14 February 1052. The murderer, a former slave of Masʿūd I and now Commandant of Zarandj, (X) Toghrïl, disposed of other members of the royal house and himself attempted to seize supreme power, but was murdered by followers of the dynasty on 17 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 443/21 March 1052.

With (XI) Farrukhzād b. Masʿūd I the hereditary ruling family returned to the throne. With the help of General Nūsh-tigin, who had already served ʿAbd al-Rashīd loyally, the new ruler was able to repel the Saldjūḳs, who in the meantime were making further advances on Baghdād and Anatolia, when they attacked his central territories; on the other hand, Makrān was lost to them. Farrukhzād died at the early age of 34, in Ṣafar 451/March 1059 apparently of cholera.

His brother and successor (XII) Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd I, signed a treaty of friendship with the Saldjūḳs, being obliged to cede to them Khuttalān, Čaghāniyān and Ḳubādiyān. Marriage alliances and later rich presents sealed the settlement thus reached with their long-standing main opponents in the West, who for their part promised to abandon their expansionist policy in the East. In other ways too, the new ruler proved himself an able diplomat and a cautious politician, avoiding dangerous undertakings, but essentially capable of preserving and defending his possessions. Ibrāhīm thus had his hands free for exploits in India (465-8/1072-6). He succeeded in capturing a number of fortresses and in re-establishing the influence of the Ghaznavids in the Pandjāb. Thenceforward Ibrāhīm called himself 'Sulṭān' on his coinage. Finally he delegated the continuation of the campaigns to his son Sayf al-Dawla Maḥmūd, whom he made Governor of Lahāwur, and who succeeded immediately in capturing Agra, and later other strongholds. When he attempted to seize power from his father, he was thrown into prison with his friends (481/1088). Ibrāhīm died on 5 Shawwāl 492/25 August 1099, after a reign of 40 years, the longest recorded in this dynasty.

His son and successor, (XIII) Masʿūd III, immediately embarked on an attack on Kanawdj, whose Hindū rulers were forced to submit and were brought to Ghazna in chains; a later attempted revolt in the town was suppressed. Otherwise, Masʿūd III kept up the ties of friendship and marriage with the Saldjūḳs and had a peaceful reign, until his death, at the age of 56, in Shawwāl 508/February-March 1115.

As had happened two generations earlier, the death of Masʿud III meant the outbreak of fratricidal war. Three of his sons took their turn as head of state. (XIV) Shērzād was forced after one year (Shawwāl 509/Feb.-March 1116) to flee to Ṭabaristān before his brother (XV) Malik Arslan, and early in 510/middle of 1116 he fell in an attempt to regain control of Ghazna. But Malik Arslan's days were also numbered. Another brother, who had escaped his sword, (XVI) Bahrām Shāh, won the help of Sandjar [*q.v.*], and was able to march into Ghazna in his train on 12 Shawwāl 511/6 February 1118 after two successful battles; Malik Arslan had fled to India.

Bahrām Shāh had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Saldjūḳs and pay them high tribute; as a guarantee of this one of their tax controllers remained in Ghazna when Sandjar vacated the town after 40 days, taking with him the State Treasure. Although these conditions were onerous, they also guaranteed Bahrām Shāh Sandjar's solid support. It was only with Saldjūḳ help that he could fend off an attack by Malik Arslan from India; his brother fell into his hands and was executed in Djumādā II 512/September-October 1118. Bahrām Shāh then established his authority in the Pandjāb in three campaigns (Ramaḍān 512/January 1119, Djumādā II-Shawwāl 514/end of 1120, and 523/1129). Otherwise the first decade and a half of his reign appear to have passed peacefully; at any rate no records of battles have survived. In 1135-6 Bahrām Shāh tried in vain to rid himself of Sandjar's overlordship together with the crushing tribute, of 1000 *dīnār*s per day (so at least according to the sources!). Nevertheless, in spite of his defeat by Sandjar, Bahrām Shāh was confirmed in his hereditary territories just as was the Khwārizm Shāh Atsïz [*q.v.*] after his rebellions. Like the latter, Bahrām Shāh now remained loyal to the Saldjūḳ Sultan, although he fell out with the rulers of Ghūr, and had one of them—his son-in-law—poisoned whilst visiting Ghazna. A brother of this man, after losing a battle (2 Muḥarram 544/12 March 1149), was publicly hanged on Bahrām Shāh's orders, with many of his advisers. Both these acts were revenged in the most terrible way by a third brother, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn, in an attack on Ghazna towards the end of 1150. The complete destruction of the capital and the utterly ruthless murder, rape and deportation of the inhabitants—who were certainly not responsible for the conduct of their ruler—rightly gained for this monster the name of Djahānsūz (Burner of the World), by which he is known to history. Bahrām Shāh had meanwhile fled to India; thence, when ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn had been taken captive by the Saldjūḳs, he apparently returned to Ghazna and died, it is thought, early in 552/February-March 1157. There is no doubt that by his treacherous murders and the personal cowardice with which he deserted his subjects in a moment of crisis Bahrām Shāh contributed, in a completely personal way, to the distintegration of his ancestors' empire, which now could no longer be checked.

The rule of Bahrām Shāh's second son (XVII) Khusraw Shāh, was restricted to Ghazna, Zābulistān and Kābul—apart from the Pandjāb. Further parts of the empire, Zamīndāwar and Bust, had in the meantime been taken over by the Ghūrids [*q.v.*]; Tiginābād also fell into their hands after a clash with Khusraw Shāh in the middle of 552/summer of 1157. As Sandjar died just at this time, Khusraw Shāh lost his only helper against his ever more powerful enemies in Ghūr. By Radjab 555/July 1160 he was dead.

His son and heir (XVIII) Khusraw Malik, saw his possessions dwindle bit by bit, until the empire of the Ghaznavids ceased to exist. Already at the beginning of 558/1163 he lost Ghazna and all his Afghān lands to the Oghuz ([*q.v.*] see also GHUZZ) to whom Eastern Persia too was exposed after the death of Sandjar. It was not long before the Ghūrids seized power here also; a member of their ruling house, Shihāb al-Dīn, was put in charge of these territories, and used them, as Maḥmūd had done before him, as a jumping-off ground for an advance on the Pandjāb, where Khusraw Malik still retained Lahāwur (his capital), Pēshāwar, Multān and Sind. On the pretext that he was obliged to take action against the

native Ḳarmaṭīs, Shihāb al-Dīn took Multān in 571/1175-6; in 575/1179-80 Pēshāwar fell into his hands. Finally he forced Khusraw Malik in Lahāwur to pay him tribute and give up his son, Malik Shāh, as hostage. Even so it was no easy task for the Ghūrid prince to dispose of Ghaznavid rule completely, for the Indian tribe of the Khokhars was collaborating with Khusraw Malik. Only after Lahāwur had been besieged several times was Khusraw Malik forced by hunger to yield, in Djumādā I and II 583/July-August 1187. After some delay he was sent to Ghūristān, and imprisoned in a castle in Gharčistān. There he was put to death with his sons, probably at the end of 585/beginning of 1190, when the Ghūrids found themselves threatened by the Khʷārizm Shāhs. "Thus Sebüktigin's house came to an end, and nothing was left of these mighty rulers but the historical memory" (Mīrkhōnd, Bombay (lithograph) 1849-50, 135), almost at the same time, incidentally, as the last Saldjūḳs also disappeared from history before the advance of another new dynasty, the Khʷārizm Shāhs.

In contrast to the Sāmānids and the Saldjūḳs, the cultural significance of the Ghaznavids after Maḥmūd's death was slight. As far as can be seen, the dynasty assimilated Persian influence in the realms of language and culture as quickly as did other Turkish ruling houses. But, leaving Firdawsī aside, they were not privileged to have a really important poet at their court. On the other hand, we are indebted to one of their leading officials, Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*], for a uniquely detailed picture of early Islamic-Iranian history; for the period of Sultan Masʿūd I, it is also a mine of information on cultural and diplomatic matters and the technique of government.

The life of the court, with its receptions and parties, and the form of government were in accordance with the customs of other Sunnī empires on Persian territory at this time. It is however worth noting that the principal ministers rarely changed, and therefore must on the whole have worked in harmony with their rulers.

Accession to the throne took place with the customary ceremonial, especially when the succession was peacefully established. The rulers counted among their principal duties a reverent attitude to the Caliphs, and the protection and dissemination of the Sunna—in opposition to the Hindūs as well as the Shīʿīs and the Ḳarmaṭīs in Multān. The fact that at the same time execution and torture were allowed in the repression of revolts or the "punishment" of defeated enemies was in accordance with the ideas of the time. The financial demands made on their subjects certainly varied according to what was required for waging war, paying tribute, and possibly also supporting an extravagant court, although it would appear that they did not exceed the usual average elsewhere, just as the rulers of the dynasty after Masʿūd I were average personalities. Of the longer-lived members of the dynasty, Bahrām Shāh can be considered the least conscientious and indeed also the least capable.

Bibliography: Sources: Besides Islamic world-histories (such as Mīrkhōnd, Firishta, etc.), and numismatic catalogues (including Thomas, in *JRAS*, 1848 and 1859), see especially ʿUtbī, Bayhaḳī, Djūzdjānī; ʿAwfī, *Djawāmiʿ* and *Lubāb*; Gardīzī, al-Rāwandī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* (see these articles and also Storey, i, index). Studies: M. Nazim, *The life and times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, with map; B. Spuler, *Iran*, 111-24; bibliographies to MAḤMŪD and MASʿŪD; Y. A. Hashmi, *Political, cultural and administrative History under the later Ghaznavids*, Hamburg 1956 (thesis), map, bibliography; idem, *Society and religion under the Ghaznavids*, in *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, vi/4 (Oct. 1958), 254-68 (both comparatively useful works, the first to give a comprehensive critical picture of the period after 1040); Gulam Mustafa Khan, *A history of Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznin*, in *IC*, xxiii (1949), 62-91, 199-235; Muhammad Abdul Ghafur, *The Ghūrids* (thesis), Hamburg 1959; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistān and eastern Iran (994-1040)*, Edinburgh 1963; idem, *The imperial policy of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Islamic Studies*, i/3 (1962), 49-82; idem, *Ghaznevid military organization*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi/1-2 (1960), 37-77; Browne, ii, 90-164, 305 ff.; D. Sourdel, *Inventaire des monnaies musulmans anciennes du Musée de Caboul*, Damascus 1963, xii-xvi, 26-81; C. E. Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Oriens*, xv (1962), 210-33; idem, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid Sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii/1-2 (1963), 3-22.

(B. SPULER)

ART AND MONUMENTS

Corresponding with the pre-eminence of the Ghaznawid dynasty there was, for about a century, an efflorescence of architecture and craftsmanship promoted by the tastes and opulence of those powerful patrons, and with its geographical centres in the eastern provinces of Iran, which for so long were a meeting-point of Islamic and foreign artistic currents. Quite certainly, this flowering sprang directly from the earlier experiences of the Sāmānid centres in Khurāsān or Transoxania and, in its last phase, it intermingles with the development of the art commonly denoted by the name Saldjūḳid, which was destined to achieve a renown that reached far beyond the limits of the empire of the Great Saldjūḳs. But the style developed within the Ghaznawid territories, from the reign of Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin and under his immediate successors, took an equally significant part in innovation, thus allowing us to emphasize its importance as well as the exemplary character, for the later evolution of Islamic art, of the works of art then executed in the residences, distant though they were, of Ghazna, Bust, Balkh, Harāt or Nīshāpūr.

Too often, we have to deplore the ruin and disappearance in the centuries that followed, of these monumental works, as well as of their furnishings. The sites of the ancient Ghaznawid capitals are today deserted, and the chroniclers' accounts can restore nothing to us save the astonishment of contemporaries at the ornateness of their edifices, the brilliance of the official ceremonies that were performed in them and the collection of objects of value which the conquest of India had made it possible to bring together. This is the point that emerges for example from the unfruitful attempt made earlier by A. U. Pope to evoke Ghaznawid art by starting from the imprecise facts contained in the literary sources (cf. *A survey of Persian Art*, ii, 975-80).

On the other hand, the various archaeological remains which have survived to our own time, our knowledge of which has been considerably increased within recent years, provide an insight,

stimulating in itself, into the art that flourished under the aegis of the Ghaznawids, and it is to be deplored that they have not yet given rise to any general work, pending the coming of the new discoveries which will perhaps one day complete the instruction they have imparted.

In these remains, traces of imposing edifices can be found, from the minarets at Ghazna to the castles in the "royal town" of Bust [*q.v.*], all situated within modern Afghanistan, to which no doubt should be added the half-ruined remains of the so-called mausoleum of Arslān Djādhib at Sangbast, of which we have only a description made some time ago (cf. E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918, 52-5).

The minarets had long been known in the field of ruins at Ghazna, where their prism-shaped brick plinths still stand, entirely covered with decorations and inscriptions; but only recently have both been attributed to Ghaznawid sovereigns of the last period, Masʿūd III (d. 508/1114) and Bahrām Shāh (d. 547/1152), after having formerly been incorrectly described, on the strength of ancient travellers, as "victory towers" of the conqueror of India and his son Masʿūd I. Their archaeological significance has thereby been slightly modified, particularly in regard to the date of the appearance in Ghazna of these brick decorations, obtained by the simple use of variety in the bonding, which adorn the silhouette of the last minaret, so long regarded as being a century older.

The ruins of Lashkari Bāzār, on the other hand, on the site of Maḥmūd's "camp" in the suburbs of Bust, which also became a favourite residence of Masʿūd I, constitute an architectural ensemble, the great extent of which has only just been revealed by excavations conducted by the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan—and still incompletely, since as yet only a preliminary report has been published. Three palaces built in a line along the bank of the Hilmand, formerly surrounded with enclosures and gardens, as is shown by their high outer walls, testify to the vigour of an architectural tradition directly related to the customary methods of construction in use in palaces of the Caliphs in ʿAbbāsid ʿIrāḳ. But the details of their plans, in which traces of successive alterations do not fail to raise delicate problems of date and attribution, also deserve attention, starting with the cruciform lay-out of the *īwān*s round the central courtyard of the South castle, where we can see the application of a typically Khurāsānian formula and a clear statement of the welcome subsequently accorded in Iran to this kind of concentric composition. At the same time can be seen traces of a surface decoration worthy of comparison with the embellishment of walls in the buildings of Sāmarrā, yet showing true originality in the details of panels of sculptured stucco, both inscribed and anepigraphic, as also in the frescoes with figures which ornamented the walls of the principal audience chamber and which still depict the rows of guards who once surrounded the sovereign's throne. We should note also the existence of a large mosque, standing outside the South castle though opening onto its fore-court, and characterized by the classically Muslim form of its pillared hall of prayer. Moreover, the two rows of booths stretching for more than half a kilometre along the avenue which led to the royal residence and connected it with the neighbouring town of Bust reveal, in their general treatment, a feeling for town-planning that somewhat transcends the narrow limits of palatine architecture and its exclusive concern with the sumptuous.

A second category of archaeological remains is provided by the abundant series of fragments of architectural decoration and ornamental or funerary inscriptions, mainly on marble slabs, which come from the site of Ghazna; some were discovered forty years ago, others as the result of the excavations at present being carried out by an Italian expedition, concerning which our information is still very incomplete. These fragments are almost all remarkable for their fine decorative quality, combined with richness of materials, which together give the arabesques traced on them a supple elegance of line and modelling for which no exact equivalent in Muslim Iran is known. Probably we should recognize here, to some extent, the results of Indian and Central Asian influences, which can also be seen in the choice of certain motifs containing figures (especially persons, or animals such as elephants). But the basic principles of an ornamentation that is both divided into sections and also characterized by a restricted variety of floral stylizations thus remain faithful to the spirit of ʿAbbāsid art, which can also be discerned in the prominence given here to the epigraphic bands with angular or cursive writing. Among the most significant of the fragments, besides sections from the frieze, are the remains of stone *miḥrāb*s, where the niche reveals a lobed profile, and tombs attributed to Sebüktigin and Maḥmūd.

Finally, in the third category are the various products of luxury crafts, of which interesting specimens have been preserved, though without attracting any but the most spasmodic attention, except for ceramics. Here, in fact, the discoveries at Lashkari Bāzār, enriched by the results of digging on the actual site of the town of Bust, have been subjected to a methodical analysis; there is a sufficient range of material for comparison to provide significant fixed points for the hitherto highly confused chronology of certain main categories of Muslim ceramics. The significant features of Ghaznawid pottery, glazed and unglazed, are in any case now precisely defined in its two principal stages, firstly in the 5th/11th century in its relation with Sāmānid pottery, which provided it with its first models, and later at the end of that century and the beginning of the 6th/12th century in relation to Persian Saldjūḳid ceramics, from which it then began to draw inspiration.

One could wish that the Ghaznawid bronze objects, which for the most part are in the museum at Kābul, might be studied in the same way. As for the carved woodwork, of which the doors of Maḥmūd's tomb provide the most famous illustration, it occupied in the art of the period a place which some have already underlined, but which has not yet been defined with the requisite precision or based upon sufficiently detailed analyses.

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GHAZW (A.), expedition, usually of limited scope, conducted with the aim of gaining plunder. The noun of unity *ghazwa* (pl. *ghazawāt*) is used particularly of the Prophet's expeditions against the infidels [see maghāzī], but has also special meanings (for which see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.).

In its most common sense, *ghazw* (and the dialectical variants) signifies a raid or incursion, a small expedition set on foot by Bedouins (both in the Sahara and in northern Arabia) with booty as its object, and also the force which carries it out. The term has passed into French in the form *rezzou*, which preserves the original meaning of *ghazw*, whilst it is the synonym *ghāziya* (pl. *ghawāzī*) which has given the English word *razzia*, current also in French (where, however, with the verb *razzier*, it tends to have a pejorative implication). In the Berber dialect of the Touareg of the Ahaggar, *tamagh layt* means a *ghazw* of a few men (see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. touareg-français*, Paris 1951-2, iv, 1726) and *igən* a group of more than 15-20 men (*op. cit.*, i, 456), the verb *ədəg* (*op. cit.*, i, 263) corresponding exactly to the Arabic *ghazā*.

The *ghazw* (colloquial *ghazu*, pl. *ghizwān*) was one of the oldest institutions of the camel-breeding tribes of Northern Arabia and continued, unmoderated by Islam, well into the present century. Unlike the other warlike activities of the Bedouin, namely war for territory (*manākh*) and punitive raids of retaliation (*tha'r*/coll. *thār*), its primary concern was the acquisition of camels. In practice it operated as a fairly effective means of redistributing economic resources in a region where the balance could easily be upset by natural calamities (Sweet, *Camel raiding*).

The *ghazu*, therefore, minimized the effect of localized drought or disaster on the breeding of properly balanced camel herds, the only form of wealth which could give economic security in this society. Since the acquisition of camels was the aim of a *ghazu*, very little blood was ordinarily shed during the course of it, mercy (*manʿ*) being freely granted. Indeed the whole course of a *ghazu* was governed by elaborate protocol.

A raid on a tribal section was usually initiated by a series of petty thefts of camels, disturbing the existing state of truce. These were often carried out by small parties on foot (*ḥanshal*, sing. *ḥanshūlī*: Hess, *Beduinen*, 96). When these thefts had become of sufficient gravity, and presumably the tolerance with which they were viewed varied according to the condition of the herds of the tribal section concerned, the truce was formally severed and mutual raiding could then be expected to ensue (Musil, *Rwala*, 505-6; Dickson, *The Arab of the Desert*, 343). The person chosen to lead a raid (*ʿaḳīd*, colloquial *ʿadzīd*, *ʿagīd*) was usually the *shaykh* of the section, unless incapacited by weakness or age, or a member of his family. The *ʿadzīd* gathered his force (*ḳawm*, colloquial *gōm*), for a small raid mounted on perhaps 20-30 camels (*djaysh*/*djēsh*), or on camels and horses if the section to be raided was not far distant. The objective was kept secret from all but a few until the moment of departure, which would be postponed if necessary till the omens were favourable. Scouts (*ʿuyūn*) were then sent out to reconnoitre the ground over which the raiding party would pass. When these reported that the objective was nearby, an advance-party (*sabr*, pl. *subūr*) made a final estimate of the position and brought back a report (*ʿilm*, pl. *ʿulūm*) and if possible a prisoner. The attack itself, provided the raiders were genealogically and socially close to the section to be raided, was made at sunrise (*ṣabāḥ*) or sunset, or at such times in between as the herds were not scattered (cf. Hess, *Beduinen*, 98). A night-attack (*bayāt*), though it would succeed most easily, was considered dishonourable (*ʿayb*, colloquial *ʿēb*).

The captured herds were driven back to the *ʿadzīd*, and the raiders divided into a rear-guard (*kamīn*/*tsamīn*), to ward off the inevitable counter-attack (*fazʿa*), and a party which drove the captured camels to the raiders' last camp, and then as fast as possible to their home-camp.

Although the community attacked was seldom taken by surprise and counter attacks were often effective (Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 181), most raids would seem to have been successful.

When the raiders came from further afield the raiding party was likely to be larger, and the concern with protocol and the desire to avoid bloodshed would then appear to have been less, since in these circumstances genealogical ties were more likely to be remote (Doughty, *Travels*, ii, 393). In general the more closely related were the parties involved, the more stringent were the rules governing the actual raid.

In its heyday the institution of the raid permeated the whole of Bedouin society, its social and economic life, and its folk literature. It reinforced the fissiparous and predatory nature of tribal society, and for long prevented the emergence of any political organization more complex than short-lived confederations. However, the rise of a strong central power in Arabia under Ibn Saʿūd marked the end of the traditional mode of life based on the *ghazu*. More recently the rise of the oil industry has further hastened the decline of traditional society by accelerating the trend towards the de-tribalization of the Bedouin and their re-grouping along modern industrial lines.

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Contes poétiques bedouins, in *BEO*, v (1935), 33-119. See further GHĀZĪ (as frontier-warriors).

(T. M. Johnstone)

GHAZZA, a town in southern Palestine which from ancient times had been an agricultural and caravan centre, situated 4 km. from the sea, on the route leading from Palestine to Syria and at the junction of the caravan-routes coming from Arabia. A frontier-town which often changed hands through the course of the centuries, the ancient *ʿAzza*, which had been one of the capitals of the Philistines, later became, under the Greek name *Gaza*, a flourishing Hellenistic city, and afterwards a Roman town belonging to Judaea. In the Byzantine period it formed part of Palestina Prima and was christianized in the 5th century; the seat of a bishopric, it was also renowned for its school of rhetoric and, at the beginning of the 7th century, it was described as a rich city where foreigners were welcomed. Merchants from Mecca visited it regularly, and it was in the course of one of these journeys that the Prophet's great-grandfather Hāshim is said to have died there, so conferring a particular dignity upon Ghazza, "the town of Hāshim". According to tradition, it was also there that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb acquired his fortune. Finally, it was in the immediate vicinity of Ghazza, in a place sometimes called Dāthin, sometimes Tādūn, that the Patricius of Ghazza was defeated by Arab troops sent by the first caliph Abū Bakr; but according to the most trustworthy accounts, the town itself was conquered by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ; although the inhabitants were well treated, the soldiers of the garrison were massacred and henceforth regarded in the Christian world as martyrs.

Between the 1st/7th and 3rd/9th centuries, the town of Ghazza is rarely mentioned in the texts. We know only that at the end of the 2nd/8th century the town had to endure the conflicts between the Arab tribes that had settled in Syria and Palestine, and that in 150/767 the great jurisconsult al-Shāfiʿī was born there. In the 4th/10th century, the period when it came beneath the domination of the Fāṭimids, the geographers described it as an important town possessing a beautiful Great Mosque; extending to the edge of the desert and to within a mile of the sea, it was surrounded by vast orchards and vineyards; its port was Mīmās, the ancient Maioumas mentioned as early as the 3rd century B.C., the site of which corresponds with the modern al-Mīna.

The town of Ghazza was afterwards occupied by the Crusaders, who found it in ruins. They started to rebuild it in 544/1149, and the new citadel was given to the Templars by king Baldwin III of Jerusalem, while around it there began to grow up an unprotected lower town inhabited by peasants and merchants. This stronghold helped the Crusaders in their capture of ʿAsḳalān [*q.v.*], which took place in 548/1153. Some years later the town was assaulted by Ṣalāḥ al-Din who, in 565/1170, sacked the lower town, though he was unable to capture the citadel. It was finally surrendered to this sovereign by the Grand Master of the Templars after the fall of Jerusalem. Recaptured by Richard Cœur de Lion, it became a stake in the negotiations which started between the Crusaders and the Muslims, and was then restored to the latter under the terms of the treaty of 626/1229. Soon afterwards, in 636/1239 and 642/1244, it was the scene of two serious defeats for the Crusaders, and immediately before the Mongol invasion it was a source of rivalry between the Syrian Ayyūbids and the Egyptians, before being itself occupied by the armies of Hūlāgū, marking the furthest limit of their advance.

In the Mamlūk period, Ghazza became the chief town of a district that for the most part belonged to the province of Damascus, though at times it was independent. The town was then very rich and very extensive, if one is to believe the accounts of contemporary geographers and travellers, all of whom stress its economic prosperity, which derived partly from the richness of the surrounding district, abundantly irrigated by subterranean water, and partly from the energy of its merchants. Its most sought-after products were the grape and the fig, but the abundance of its *sūḳs* was also a source of pride and, according to the Arab authors, it combined three types of social life represented by the merchants, farmers and stock-breeders. The population, belonging to various tribal groups, was very turbulent and always involved in strife. Ghazza eventually possessed numerous public buildings—mosques, *madrasas*, convents, a hospital and caravanserais, some of which still survive. The chief mosque, built on the foundations of the Crusader church of St. John through the efforts of the governor al-Djāwlī at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, remained standing until the 1914-18 war.

The arrival of the Ottomans in 922/1516 brought suffering to Ghazza. The inhabitants, misled by a false report of a Mamlūk victory into thinking that they could massacre the new Turkish garrison, were the victims of severe reprisals and a certain number of them were executed. They seem, however, to have made a good recovery. The Ottoman *ṭapu* registers [see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ] show an increase in population in the city from under 1000 households in 932/1525-6 to well over 2000 in 955/1548-9; the survey of 963-4/1555-7 shows a slight decline. The population was predominantly Muslim, with Christian and Jewish minorities and a small group of Samaritans—18 households in 963-4. The registers also show a number of retired members of the former *djund al-ḥalḳa* as living in the city. Kurdish and Turcoman quarters are also shown. At the end of the 11th/17th century, in about 1070/1660, Ghazza enjoyed a period of particular prosperity, under the government of a family of pashas, the most celebrated of whom, Ḥusayn Pasha, succeeded in putting a stop to the periodic raids of the Bedouins, while he maintained good relations with the Christians and Europeans. As the Chevalier d'Arvieux put it, the town at that time acted as the capital of Palestine, and Arabic, Turkish and Greek were all spoken there. Among its principal buildings were six mosques, besides the Great Mosque, numerous baths and markets and two churches, one Armenian and the other Greek.

The 18th century, on the other hand, was characterized in Ghazza by various disturbances and by the turbulence of the Bedouins, whom the Ottoman authorities had some difficulty in subduing; it closed with Napoleon's victory in 1799 immediately outside the town. In the 19th century Ghazza shared the fate of Palestine, being for a time attached to Egypt and then made directly subject to Ottoman governors; at the end of the 1914-18 war, it formed part of Palestine under the British mandate.

The period of peace experienced by Ghazza at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century brought about a marked increase in its population, which rose from 16,000 inhabitants in 1882 to 40,000 in 1906 (of whom 750 were Christians and 160 Jews). By 1932, however, the population had declined to

approximately 17,000, of whom a small minority were Orthodox Greeks, who maintained a church dating from the 12th century with the revered tomb of St. Porphyry, bishop of Ghazza in the 5th century. The Muslims who, since the 1914-18 war, had gathered for prayer in a place near the site of the now destroyed Great Mosque, also venerated a sanctuary dedicated to Nabī Hāshim, which is found mentioned as early as the 6th/12th century. Despite the progressive disappearance of caravans, the town was for a long time to possess a flourishing market with abundant supplies of various commodities, while the costume and mode of life there were close to those of Egypt. But its direct attachment to the latter country after the armistice of 1949 was to mark the decline of its commercial activity, though at the same time reaffirming its former strategic importance.

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AL-GHAZZĀLĪ [see AL-GHAZĀLĪ].

GHĪBA [see PANDJĀB].

GHIDHĀʾ, (A., plur. *aghdhiya*) indicates strictly in Arabic "that which ensures the growth and the good health of the body" (*Ḳāmūs*, s.v.), in other words feeding and food. We shall deal here only with the factors which determined the diet of the principal Muslim peoples in the classical period (though sometimes making modern comparisons), in particular with the laws of the Muslim religion concerning food. The descriptive section will be limited to the pre-Islamic period. The more particularly culinary aspects, *i.e.*, those concerning the preparation of special dishes, will be dealt with in the article ṬABKH. We have omitted for lack of space several aspects of the subject: the variations of food in the contemporary Muslim world, its place in social life (and in particular the question, often dealt with by Muslims, of the *ādāb al-akl*—rules of table manners), the estimated nutritional value in quality and in quantity of the food in the various Islamic countries, etc.

i. — Food of the pre-Islamic Arabs

The food of the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula (apart from the agricultural and civilized states of the south) was—and in large measure still is today—typical of the diet of a pastoral people in a desert region with scattered cultivated oases. We can get an idea of this food from ancient poetry, the classical texts and the Ḳurʾān (the sources have been examined by G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 88-109, 246; M. ʿI. Darwaza, *ʿAṣr al-Nabī*, Damascus 1365/1946, 80-6; M. Sh. Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-ʿArab*[2], i, Cairo 1343/1924, 380-5; M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Maʾākil al-ʿArab*, in *al-Muḳtabas*, iii (1908), 569-79). We have examined in addition the *ḥadīths*, the data of which are acceptable on this matter, since even forgers took great pains to add to the credibility of their work by the archaism of the customs to which they referred.

The essential product from the raising of domestic animals was milk (*laban* rather than *ḥalīb*), one of the two basic foods of the Arabs. The Ḳurʾān (XVI, 68/66) pays an eloquent tribute to this liquid, calling it "sweet to drinkers", and numerous traditions witness how greatly the Bedouin longed for it (*ʿayma*) when they were deprived of it (H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930, 325 = *MFOB*, iv (1910), 91 ff.). Mainly camel's milk was drunk, also that of goats and sheep. It could be drunk diluted with water, but sour milk (*ḥāzir*) was despised (G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 95). Milk-products from it were: *samn* "clarified butter" which was used for cooking and which disgusted the Romans of Aelius Gallus when they found it used instead of oil in the Ḥidjāz (Strabo, xvi, 4, 24; it is probably his βούτυρον); *akiṭ* "sour-milk cheese" (al-Bukhārī, lxx, 8, 16; Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 27; Imruʾ al-Ḳays, ed. Ahlwardt, *The divans*, London 1870, 162, no. 68, verse 5); *djubn*, cheese of an unknown sort (Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 38). Camels were slaughtered only in cases of great necessity. In general it was rare for meat to be eaten, but this made it all the more appreciated (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 303, etc.). They seem to have eaten chiefly mutton, sometimes from sheep kept near the house and specially fattened for the table (*dādjin*) (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 303, etc.; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1523; cf. Ibn Hishām, 735), of which the Prophet preferred the shoulder and the fore-leg (al-Bukhārī, lxx, 26, 58; Ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 392; cf. Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 108, 109; Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 20; Ibn Hishām, 764). The Medinans were extremely fond of the fat from its fat tail (*alya*) and of that from the camel's hump, which they cut from the living animal, a practice which Muḥammad forbade (al-Dārimī, vii, 9; references in poetry *apud* G. Jacob, *Altar. Beduinenleben*, 94; the same practice in the eastern Sahara: W. Besnard, *Que mangent-ils?*, Paris 1947, 47 f.). Specially prized parts of the camel were the udder, the liver, the foetus, etc. but the stomach and the tail were the food of slaves (Jacob, *ibid.*). It seems that it was not only in time of famine that they ate blood drawn from the veins of a living camel and allowed to coagulate or put into pieces of gut and cooked (al-Maydānī, ii, 119; *Ḥamāsa*, 645; *Aghānī*, xvi, 107: 20; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*[2], 234). They ate very little beef (*ibid.*; Lammens, *Berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 132) or goat meat. Pigs and fowls (Jacob, *ibid.*, 84 f.) seem to have been scarcely known, although some *ḥadīths* relate that the Prophet ate the latter (al-Dārimī, viii, 22).

The agriculture of the oases provided mainly dates, another basic food of the Arabs (Lammens, *Berceau de l'Islam*, 82 f.; idem, *Fāṭima*, 44, n. 2). In the oases they were almost the only food. "When the Prophet died, we were nourished only by the two black things: dates and water" (saying attributed to ʿĀʾis͟ha: al-Buk͟hārī, lxx, 6, 41; cf. Lammens, *Berceau*, 105, n. 3; for the inhabitants of the Fertile Crescent, on the other hand, the staple foods, even in the desert, were bread and water: *Genesis*, XXI, 14; *I Kings*, XVIII, 14). A scarcity of dates is the equivalent of famine (al-Dārimī, viii, 26; Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 41; Muslim, xxxvi, 152, 153; cf. *Ag͟hānī*, ii, 161). They liked to stress their therapeutic qualities and they formed the stock provisions when setting off on an expedition (Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 46). They were eaten also at festivals, such as the *walīma* in honour of the marriage of Muḥammad with Ṣafiyya (al-Bukhārī, lxx, 8, 16; Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 2). They were eaten dried (*tamr*), fresh (*ruṭab*)—when they were especially relished (Muḥammad was particularly fond of them eaten with cucumber, *ḳut͟ht͟hāʾ*, cf. Wensinck, *Index*, s.v.)—or when they were beginning to ripen (*busr*). A special variety called *ʿad͟jwa* was particularly sought after (especially those grown in the upper region of Medina) and considered as a sovereign remedy against poisons and sorcery (al-Buk͟hārī, lxx, 48; Muslim, xxxvi, 155-6, etc.).

Bread may not have been such an aristocratic food as has been thought, for barley bread at least was not uncommon among the settled populations. All the same, the Prophet and his family never ate bread made from wheat flour three days running during the period between the Hid͟jra and his death (al-Buk͟hārī, lxx, 23, 27; the *ḥadīt͟h* of Abū Hurayra according to which the Prophet never ate barley bread is contradicted by several others). The only one of his wedding feasts at which Muḥammad offered his guests bread was that on the occasion of his marriage with Zaynab (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 172, cf. 99). The flour was not sifted—Muḥammad had never seen a sieve—but simply blown to separate it from any coarse residue of husks (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 109; al-Buk͟hārī, lxx, 22, 23). Among the nomads, however, bread was very rare (Ammianus, xiv, 4, 6; Lammens, *Berceau*, 141; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strasbourg 1910, 56 f.). Strabo, following Aelius Gallus, speaks of a region of the Ḥid͟jāz where the only cereal is ζειά, perhaps a sort of soft wheat (xvi, 4, 24).

Bread was eaten with a "condiment" (*udm, idām*) which was moreover singularly meagre. Those who were able to season their bread with vinegar or oil were not considered as "living on dry bread" (root *ḳfr*) (Zayd b. ʿAlī, *Corpus iuris*, ed. Griffini, Milan 1919, no. 1011: read *yaḳtafiru*) and Muḥammad pronounced vinegar the best of condiments (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Food; also Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 39). We also hear of his being content with a date as flavouring for a loaf of barley bread (Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 41). According to a *ḥadīt͟h* attributed to ʿAlī, the best accompaniment was meat, the worst salt and the middle place was given to *samn* or oil (Zayd b. ʿAlī, no. 450; cf. al-Buk͟hārī, lxiv, 29). But it is possible that some at least of these *ḥadīt͟hs* were contaminated by later ascetic trends.

The settled agricultural populations were able to enjoy also some vegetables. Among the *buḳūl*, "herbs", the Prophet preferred *hindibāʾ*, "chicory". He was also fond of beets (*silḳ*; al-Buk͟hārī, lxx, 17) and of some vegetables belonging to the gourd family which are difficult to identify exactly (*dubbāʾ* "a kind of marrow?", *ḳut͟ht͟hāʾ* "a kind of cucumber", *ḳarʿ* "marrow"). Leeks (*kurrāt͟h*) were forbidden, though not *ḥarām* (Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 15, iii, 397), and so were raw garlic and onions. But according to other traditions, Muḥammad merely expressed his personal dislike of them and forbade those who had recently eaten them to come to the place of prayer (references in Wensink, *Handbook*, s.vv. *Garlic*, *Onion*, and *Concordance*, s.v.; also al-Dārimī, viii, 21). Olives also were eaten (Ḳurʾān, VI, 142/141) and the pith of the palm-tree (*d͟jummār*; al-Buk͟hārī, lxx, 42, etc.). Fruits mentioned are the citron (*utrud͟jd͟ja*; al-Buk͟hārī, lxx, 30), which is thought to be found also (according to the parallel Jewish text and certain Muslim commentaries) in Ḳurʾān, XII, 31 (under the name of *mitk*, *matk*, to be read in place of *muttakaʾ*, or disguised by a corruption in the text), the pomegranate (Ḳurʾān, VI, 99, 142/141; lv, 68), the grape (cf. Ḳurʾān, VI, 142/141; cf. Lammens, *Berceau*, 90 f.; the dried raisins of Ṭāʾif were famous). The apple and the fig are scarcely mentioned by the poets (Jacob, *Altar. Bed.*, 230) or in *ḥadīt͟hs* (Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.vv.).

The pastoral nomads were able to use also, in addition to the meat and the milk-products provided by their flocks, wild vegetables, game and small desert animals. Among the plants may be mentioned *kabāt͟h*, the ripe fruit of the thorn tree *arāk* (*Capparis sedata*; cf. Lammens, *Berceau*, 69; al-Buk͟hārī, lxx, 50; Muslim, xxxvi, 163), desert truffles, which, according to a saying attributed to Muḥammad, came from the manna sent to the Israelites (Muslim, xxxvi, 157-62; cf. Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tad͟hkira*, Cairo, 1356/1937, i, 252; Lammens, *Berceau*, 49), etc. The game mentioned in the traditions are the hare (Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 26; al-Dārimī, vii, 7) and the bustard (*ḥubārā*; Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 28); in addition they ate the flesh of the large desert lizards, food which is said to have disgusted Muḥammad, as a member of a settled community (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 112); he is said to have regarded these lizards as the metamorphosis of an Israelite tribe (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *ḍubb*; Robertson Smith, *Kinship...*, new ed., London 1903, 75, n. 2, 230 f.; Cl. Huart, in *JA*, 10th series, xii (1908), 450, n. 1; *Rev. biblique*, xii (1903), 104; a food of Ḥimyar according to a poet of Hud͟hayl: Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, i, Berlin 1884, no. 147², tr. 114); the flesh of hedgehogs (Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 29b), of grasshoppers (Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 34; al-Dārimī, vii, 5 ff.; cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship²*, 75, n. 2. 288; and art. D͟JARĀD), and even that of mice, lice and vermin (Jacob, *Altar. Bed.*, 95, 247 f.).

The inhabitants of coastal regions could also add fish to their diet (Ḳurʾān, V, 97/96).

Besides milk and water (often muddy and seldom plentiful), the Arabs were familiar with a certain number of fermented drinks prepared from dates, honey, wheat, barley, raisins. But wine made from grapes, which (in spite of the fact that there were vineyards at Ṭāʾif for example) was generally imported, was an expensive luxury. It was drunk in the taverns (*ḥānūt*) which were run by the Jews or the Christians of Ḥīra (*ʿIbādī*) and in which women singers (*ḳayna*) performed (Jacob, *op. cit.*, 96-109, 248-54; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 1889, 21 ff.; I. Guidi, *L'Arabie antéislamique*, Paris 1921, 53 ff.; and art. K͟HAMR).

These various resources, which combined foods of agricultural and pastoral origin but which included no, or very few, products from countries outside

Arabia, were prepared in a very elementary fashion. The meats were roasted (roots *sh.w.y*, *ḥ.n.dh*, *ṣ.l.y.*) or baked (*ṭ.b.kh*). The meat was cut in slices or in thin strips which were left to dry in the sun (*ḳadīd*) (*e.g.*, Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 36a; Abu 'l-Hindī *apud* Alūsī, *Bulūgh*, i, 380; in general on the methods of cooking, see Jacob, *Altar. Beduinenleben*, 90 ff.). A *ḥadīth* is cited according to which the Prophet announced "I am only the son of a woman of the Ḳuraysh who fed on *ḳadīd*" (cited in an epigraph by Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, *Umm al-Nabī*, Cairo 1958, 5). The oven proper seems to have been little known. The only word for oven attested in early Arabic, *tannūr*, is a borrowing from Aramaic (cf. Landberg, *Glossaire datînois*, i, 238 f.) and the purely Arabic word *ṭābūn* seems originally to have meant the cavity in which fire was made to shelter it from the wind (cf. Lane).

The cooking was simple and made use of very few different combinations of food. Two of the dishes mentioned are *tharīd*, associated with the tribal tradition of the Ḳuraysh, consisting of bread crumbled into a broth of meat and vegetables, and *ḥays*, a mixture of dates, butter and milk, both being among the favourite dishes of the Prophet, who said that ʿĀʾisha held among women the place which *tharīd* held among food (Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 290). They made many kinds of broth (*marak*, *maraḳa*), to which tradition prescribes that plenty of water should be added in order to be able to give some to neighbours (al-Dārimī, viii, 37), especially a broth of marrows (*dubbāʾ*) and of *ḳadīd*. When on expeditions, soldiers took with them *sawīḳ*, a kind of dried barley meal to which was added water, butter or fat from the tails of sheep. Several dishes belong to the broad category of gruels, the usual food of agricultural peoples (*e.g.*, gruels made with milk and with *samn*; al-Bukhārī, lxx, 48; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 147, etc.); these include *ḥarīra*, made from flour cooked with milk (al-Bukhārī, lxx, 15), *talbīna*, a similar dish eaten at funeral meals, *khazīr* (or *khazīra*), a gruel generally made from bran and meat cut up into small pieces and cooked in water (al-Bukhārī, lxx, 15, etc.). We notice that the general tendency is a search for fat, for greasy and heavy food, a tendency which still continues in Bedouin cooking and which is probably dictated by physiological needs. There is little tendency mentioned to spiced foods. The Arabs engaged in the transport of spices, but they were too precious a merchandise for them to use themselves at all frequently. We find mentioned, however, camphor and ginger (Ḳurʾān, LXXVI, 5, 17), cloves, pepper, aloes and the sweet wood called lignum aloes (a few references in poetry *apud* Jacob, *op. cit.*, 150, 258).

There seem to have been few prohibitions concerning food, imposed rather by custom (as with us) than by a definite code of laws, and often restricted to one or to several tribes (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 168 ff.). It is, at least in part, against pagan taboos of this sort that the Ḳurʾān seems to inveigh (II, 163/168 ff., VI, 118 ff.); there were often prohibitions concerning specific animals (and not a whole species), not as impure, but as consecrated to the Divinity (Ḳurʾān, V, 102, VI, 139/138, where there is also mentioned a harvest—*ḥarth*—which is taboo; the flesh of newly-born animals was forbidden to women, with the exception of still-born animals: Ḳurʾān, VI, 140/139). Even at Mecca itself, at the time of the *iḥrām*, the *ḥums*, *i.e.*, the holy families serving the local sanctuaries (Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut 1928, 130), abstained from meat, from clarified butter, from *aḳiṭ* (and perhaps from all milk-products) as well as from oil [see ḤUMS]. There were various portions of meat which were not eaten: the heart among the Djuʿfī tribe (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 61 f.), the fat tail of the sheep among the Balī of Ḳuḍāʿa who, not being assimilated with the rest of the Islamic population, still retained this taboo in Andalus (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 415; cf. H. Pérès, in *Mél. W. Marçais*, Paris 1950, 293 f.), the testicles, at least on feast days (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321/1903, xxx, 166); but there may have been here, as in present-day Arabia (in spite of the religious agitation which appears to have been provoked among the Djuʿfī who were forced by Muḥammad to break the taboo) "rational" motives: in north-western Arabia they do not eat the hearts of birds for fear of becoming as timorous as they are (A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 97; *Arabia Petraea*, iii, Vienna 1908, 150); Hudhalī poets reproach the South-Arabian tribe of Marthad for eating grasshoppers (*Dīwān Hudhayl*, 57, 147), but this was rather a special distaste for this food, or an affectation. A later saying claimed that the Bedouin ate "everything that crawls or walks except the chameleon" (*umm ḥubayn*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, ed. A. Amīn, etc., iii, Cairo 1942, 485; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurbā*, ed. R. Levy, London 1938, 101 f.; cf. Alūsī, *Bulūgh*, i, 380; Kurd ʿAlī, *Maʾākil*, 570). According to Sozomenus (5th century A.D.), the Saracens abstained from pork and observed a number of Jewish ceremonies (*Ecclesiastical history*, vi, 38 = *PG*, lxvii, 1412); it was probably a case of the Arab neighbours of Palestine coming under Jewish-Christian influences. But Pliny had already noted (*Nat Hist.*, viii, 78 = 52, § 212) the absence of pork in Arabia. In case of vital necessity, which often arose in the severe conditions of desert life, all the taboos were relaxed, even the general taboo on human flesh (*Dīwān Hudhayl*, 161 ff.; Procopius, *Bell. Pers.*, I, 19, 4) though it should not therefore be thought that cannibalism was general (J. Henninger, *Kannibalismus in Arabien?*, in *Anthropos*, xxxv-xxxvi (1940-1), 631 ff.), but during battles the heat of passionate hatred, or particular rites, often led men to drink or lick up the blood or the brains, to gnaw the liver of the dead, etc. (Ammianus, xxxi, 16; Ibn Hishām, 581, etc.; cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship*[2], 75, n. 2, 295 f.; Nallino, *Raccolta*, iii, 86). Vows were made of temporary abstinence: from *samn*, milk, meat, wine, sometimes even to fast completely [see NADHR]. In some regions wine must have played a religious part. Some rather doubtful texts speak of libations of wine poured on tombs (Jacob, *Altar. Beduinenleben*, 143; Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 182 f.; Lammens, *Arabie occid.*, 204). In Liḥyān it is perhaps a case of a large offering of wine to Dhū Ghābat to expiate a murder (W. Caskel, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch*, Cologne-Opladen 1954, no. 82). At Palmyra, wine was ceremonially drunk at the funeral banquets of the *thiasoi* (J. G. Février, *La religion des Palmyréniens*, Paris 1931, 194 f.; R. Dussaud, in *RHR*, xiv (1927), 200 ff.). It is perhaps to this sacred importance that we are to attribute the frequent use in Saphaitic of names such as Shrb (Sharīb? "drinking companion") and Skrn (Sakrān "drunk" "intoxicated"; G. Ryckmans, *Noms propres sud-sémitiques*, Louvain 1934, i, 212, 149, ii, 130, 99). At Mecca, at the moment of deconsecration which concluded the *ḥadjdj*, there was ritually drunk a fermented beverage with a basis of grapes (*sharāb*, *nabīdh*) or of barley and honey

(*sawīḳ*) and this rite was continued under Islam until the 2nd/8th century; a similar rite at the beginning of the ceremonies could explain the name of *yawm al-tarwiya* which is given to the first day (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 89-101). But, in other regions, in other circumstances or in other cults, there was abstinence. Wine was one of the things which people most often vowed to renounce; in particular those swearing vengeance abstained from it until their vengeance was accomplished (Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut 1928, 185; art. NADHR; Alūsī, *Bulūgh*, iii, 24). The Nabataeans did not drink wine (Diodorus, xix, 94, 3) and the Arabs in general had the reputation of being water drinkers (Ammianus, xiv, 4, 6; Spartianus, *Pescennius Niger*, 7). A Nabataean set up at Palmyra in 132 A.D. two altars to his god Shayʿ al-ḳawm who, as he emphasizes, probably with polemic intent, "does not drink (or perhaps: does not allow to drink) wine" (*CIS*, ii, 3973^{5}). This is very probably the god known in Greek as Λυκοῦργος (inscr. Waddington 2286a), who was regarded as the opposite of Aʿara Dhu 'l-Sharā, in Greek Δουσάρης and identified with Dionysos [see DHU 'L-SHARĀ], hence the mythical story of the fight between the god of wine and his enemy (Nonnos, *Dionys.*, xx, xxi).

Shortly before the time of the Prophet, those who were attracted to monotheism [see ḤANĪF] would seem to have adopted certain prohibitions in order to conform to the Noachic precepts enjoined upon Jewish proselytes and in general adopted by the Christians (*Acts*, xv, 29). An example is Zayd b. ʿAmr from the ʿAdī clan of the Ḳuraysh, who is said to have abstained from animals which had not been ritually slaughtered, from blood and from meat which had been sacrificed to idols (Ibn Hishām, 144). Others, probably from asceticism, under the influence of the earlier practices mentioned above and of the abstinence which was enjoined by Manicheism, by the Christian ascetics and certain Christian sects, and which was practised by other Semitic peoples (if the fact is indeed true), are said to have abstained from drinking wine—*e.g.*, another Ḳurashī, ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, who was later to embrace Islam (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 286). Musaylima forbade wine as well as sexual relations to those who were already fathers (Sayf b. ʿUmar, *apud* al-Ṭabarī, i, 1916; as against Ibn Hishām, 946). It has been possible to compile a list of those who abstained from wine in the Djāhiliyya (critical list in Caetani, *Annali*, i, 586).

The epigraphic sources add hardly anything to this picture for central and northern Arabia. They do, however, illustrate the importance attached there to game and hunting. This importance is also reflected in the rock engravings which accompany the graffiti or are contemporary with them (cf., *e.g.*, E. Littmann, *Thamūd und Ṣafā*, Leipzig 1940, 34 f., 100). They hunted gazelle, ostriches, ibex, perhaps also wild asses etc. A "Thamudean" text mentions the capture of a lizard (*wrl*), perhaps for food (*ibid.*, 60, no. 77 = Eut. 44, but A. van den Branden, *Les inscriptions thamoudéennes*, Louvain 1950, 69 reads *wʿl* "chamois"). The domestic animals mentioned: camels, cattle, sheep, horses, donkeys, were used partly for food (cf., *e.g.*, van den Branden, *op. cit.*, 8). The reference to an abundance of milk (*drr*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pars v, vol. i, Paris 1950, no. 362) and the reference to bees (van den Branden, inscr. HU 250) are dubious, as are the references to dates (A. van den Branden, *Les textes thamoudéens de Philby*, i, Louvain 1956, 5). Fish caught in the pools of stagnant water on the edges of the desert were preserved by drying (*CIS*, v, 4902, 4384).

ii. — Pre-Islamic Southern Arabia

Southern Arabia was much more agricultural and thus afforded a much greater variety of vegetable food. The dates (*tmr*) supplied by the many palm groves (*nkhl*) which are often the subject of the inscriptions (*e.g.*, *CIS*, pars iv [cited hereafter as *CIH*], 375, 403, 414, 615, 616, etc.; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII, 6, 45-7, Eratosthenes *apud* Strabo, XVI, 4, 24) must have been one of the staple foods. The sweet pith from the centre of the trunk of the palm tree (in Arabic *ḳulb*, *ḳalb*, *lubb*, etc., often confused with *djummār*, palm-cabbage; cf. al-Aṣmaʿī, *K. al-Nakhl wa 'l-karm*, ed. A. Haffner, Beirut 1908, 5, and notes; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. H. P. J. Renaud and G. S. Colin, Paris 1934, no. 107) seems to us to be the *lbb* which was preserved in a temple (*CIH*, 548^{13}; Rodinson, *Comptes Rendus du GLECS*, ix (1960-3), 103 f.). Wheat was produced only in moderate quantities and had to be imported (*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, §§ 24, 28, 32). Taxes were paid in flour (*ṭḥn* Gl. 1571^{3}, cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsab. Texte*, i = *SBAK. Wien*, ccvi/2, 1927, 104-7). Flour (*ṭḥn*, flour in general, *dḳḳ*, the flour of cereals, perhaps *khrṣ*?) was made with wheat (*br*), barley (*shʿr*), dates (*tmr*), *gdhdht*, which was perhaps a kind of wheat (it seems difficult to translate it literally as its Arabic equivalent *djadhīdha* "wheat husked and crushed"), and in addition semolina (*sdl*, cf. Ethiopic *sendālē*; *CIH*, 540: 39-40, 83, 86-8; 541: 120). We may have in *CIH*, 408 a reference to a field (*mʿlṣ(t)*; with the emphatic, *ṣ*!) in which would be grown the variety of wheat called in Arabic *ʿalas*; this inscription seems to refer to it in two aspects *yhr* and *frʿ* (cf. *CIH*, 352: 7, 11; cf. also *dhrʾ*, in *RES*, 2774: 4). Vegetable gardens (*tbḳlt*, in *RES*, 4636: 6, 7), orchards (*mhgrt*, in *CIH*, 204: 3, 546: 11; *ḳshmt*, in *CIH*, 308: 9), vineyards (*ʾʿnb*, in *CIH*, 342: 11-2, 604: 3, *wyn*, in *CIH*, 228: 2, 276: 3, etc.) were numerous. They produced vegetables (*bḳl*, in *SE*, 48^{3}, translated "broad beans" by Conti-Rossini) and fruit (*thmr*). The country produced sesame oil (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 28 (32), § 161), but not enough for its needs and had to import it via Moscha (*Periplus*, § 32). As a condiment they used capers which they soaked (*kbr wlkh*, in *RES*, 2845; cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien* . . ., i = *SBAK Wien*, 178, 4, 10 f.), and they imported saffron (*Periplus*, § 24) for the same purpose. Cinnamon, also imported in transit, obtained too high prices on the Roman market to be used locally (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XII, 93). The *dbs* which was distributed in large quantities to the workers on the dam of Mārib (*CIH*, 540: 96; cf. also 548: 12 f.) must have been a treacle of grapes or of other fruits, different from the honey which according to Pliny was produced in abundance in the kingdom of Saba (*Nat. Hist.*, VI, 32: 18, § 161). Eratosthenes mentions numerous apiaries (? μελιτουργεῖα) in Southern Arabia (Strabo, XVI, 4: 2, § 768).

The meat (*bshr*, in *CIH*, 563: 3) was in the main that of animals slaughtered (*ṭbkh*, in *CIH*, 541: 122-3, cf. Hebrew *ṭib^{e}ḥāh*) probably according to the usual Semitic rites. For the workers engaged on the repairs to the dam of Mārib they slaughtered thousands of cattle (*bḳr*) and probably also sheep (cf. Dionysios, *Periegesis*, 942 f.), one sort of which had the characteristic name of *dhbyḥ* (Ar. *dhabāʾiḥ* "victims") and the other the enigmatic name of *ḳrṣ*, and, on one occasion, 207,000 *ḳtnt*, which seems to represent

portions rather than head of sheep and goats (cf. Gl. 1142: 9). They were given also 1100 *ʾḍḥ* ("lambs used for sacrifice" to judge from Ar. *aḍāḥi*, pl. of *ḍaḥiyya*) and *ʿḍwd* (perhaps "fat lambs" to judge from Ar. *ʿaḍid?*; *CIH*, 540: 41 ff., 88 ff.; 541: 122 ff.). The sheep were called elsewhere *khrf*, in *RES*, 2959: 2 (Min.), Van Lessen i: 9 (Ḳatab.), and in the Minean colony of the Ḥidjāz *ḍʾn* (in contrast to the goats *mʿzy*, in *JSa*, 19: 11, called in Saba *sfr*, Gl. 1000 A 3). According to Eratosthenes they ate also birds, except for geese and hens (Strabo, XVI, 4, 2 = 768). On the shores of the Indian Ocean, some communities ate mainly fish (*Periplus*, § 27) and the nomads lived on game (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 32: 18 = § 161). These people drank milk (*ibid.*) and the workers of Mārib were supplied with butter (*khmʾt*, Hebrew *ḥèmʾâh*, Akkadian *khimētu*, etc.; *CIH*, 540: 96 f.).

The main drink (*CIH*, 563: 2 ?) seems to have been palm wine (Strabo, XVI, 4, 25, § 783; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 28 (32), § 161), which was called *mzr*^{m} *dh-tmr*^{m} (*CIH*, 540: 50-1; cf. Ar. *mazar*, *mizr*, the word for various fermented drinks) or *sḳy*^{m} *dh-tmr*^{m}, perhaps with a north Arabic gloss *al-ḥalab* (*CIH*, 541: 129-30, but the hypothesis of J. M. Solá Solé, *Las dos grandes inscripciones sudarábigas del dique de Mârib*, Barcelona-Tübingen 1960, 37, raises some difficulties). However, the numerous vineyards (cf. above, and the popularity of the Dionysiac themes making use of the vine in sculpture) provided grape wine (*Periplus*, § 24) and a certain amount was imported (*ibid.*, §§ 24, 28). The workers on the Mārib dam were provided with more of this than of palm wine. A distinction was made between the fermented beverage (*sḳy*) made with the excellent grapes of Ghirbīb (*ghrbb*, cf. the classical dictionaries) and that prepared from dried raisins (*fṣy*, cf. *fuṣa*^{n}; *CIH*, 540; 46-8, 91-4; 541: 127-8). The *shnn* kept in a temple (*CIH*, 548[12]) is probably the *shanin* "whey or milk diluted with water" known in various Arab countries (cf. the classical dictionaries and Dozy). We do not know whether the thermal springs of therapeutic value, which according to Ammianus (XXIII, 6, 46) were numerous, were used for drinking.

Almost nothing is known about the ritual use of foods. Libations (*msty*, in *CIH*, 563: 2 ?) were made on special altars (*mslm*, in *RES*, 3512), but we do not know what was the liquid used. Nor is anything known about the prohibitions concerning food. Nevertheless Eratosthenes mentions the absence of pigs among the domestic animals of the region (Strabo, XVI, 4, 2 = 768).

iii. — Regulations concerning food in early Islam

Muḥammad's reforms were made under the influence of a milieu in which each religious community was distinguished by its own regulations concerning food. We have seen how in the pagan milieu the situation was rather chaotic, and there was the influence of the Noachic code, imposed on proselytes by the Jews and coinciding more or less with the original Christian code. The Revelation (texts conveniently brought together by D. Masson, *Le Coran et la Révélation judéo-chrétienne*, Paris 1958, ii, 577-86) in this respect also was to put an end to ignorance and errors and the Prophet was to declare lawful (*ḥalāl*) "good" foods (*al-ṭayyibāt*) and unlawful (*ḥarām*) unclean foods (*al-khabāʾith*; Ḳurʾān, VII, 156/157). But the Ḳurʾān insists above all on the beneficial nature of food in general. Food is one of the greatest of Divine blessings (often in the Meccan *sūras*: LXXX, 24; XVII, 72/70; XVI, 74; XIV, 37/32, etc.; cf. index of Blachère's tr., s.v. nourriture), which, however, must be used with moderation (VII, 29, Medinan) and which must not be rejected except in specific circumstances. The word "eat (*kulū*) ..." occurs nearly thirty times. Muḥammad is said to have obliged two newly converted Djuʿfīs to eat heart, taboo in their tribe, without which their conversion would have been incomplete (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 62, l. 5 f.). The Ḳurʾān inveighs against men who arbitrarily deprive those who listen to them of certain foods (II, 163 f./168 f.; V, 89 f./87 f.; VI, 118 ff.; VII, 30/32; XVI, 117/116, texts which seem to belong to the beginning of the Prophet's stay at Medina). In some cases it is certain that the adversaries aimed at are pagans observing the prohibitions described above (II, 165; VI, 139-51/138-50; X, 60/59); but at Medina it became important to define Islam as against Judaism.

The mass of Jewish prohibitions concerning food led to the emphasizing of the fact that Allāh does not wish to impose too many burdens on His faithful people (II, 286). It seems that the Ḳurʾān is sometimes criticizing Judaizers or *ḥanīf*s who imposed on themselves excessive restrictions (VI, 118 ff.) and who wanted to influence the Prophet to do the same (VI, 116). The Jewish prohibitions (rather inexactly defined in VI, 147/146) are explained as a Divine punishment of the sins of the Israelites (IV, 158; XVI, 119). This is proved by the fact that they were not imposed on them before the revelation of the Torah, except for a prohibition, not of divine origin, which Isrāʾīl (Jacob) had imposed on himself (III, 87/93), a reference to the prohibition of the sciatic nerve after the struggle of Jacob and the angel (*Gen.*, XXXII, 33). They were moreover partially lifted by Jesus (III, 44/50). "Today" (V, 7) these forbidden foods are therefore permitted. We have here ideas taken from the Christian polemic against the Jews, particularly as exemplified by the Syriac writer of Iran, Aphraates (4th century A.D.); cf. his fifteenth homily (ed. Wright, London 1869, 309 ff.; cf. H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Coran*, Gräfenheinischen 1931, reprinted Hildesheim 1961, 318 ff.). Only a limited number of prohibitions were retained: blood (and consequently "strangled" meats), *mayta*, *i.e.*, the flesh of a dead animal or one not killed specially for meat, pork, animals consecrated to a pagan divinity (II, 168/173; V, 4/3; VI, 146/145; XVI, 116/115; on the date of these passages, see J. Schacht, in *EI*[1], s.v. maita). In addition, during the Pilgrimage it was forbidden to those in a state of ritual purity to kill or (*a fortiori*) to eat game (V, 1, 95/94 ff.), while fish was permitted (V, 97/96; cf. XVI, 14). It was necessary only to invoke (*dhakara*) the name of Allāh on lawful foods (VI, 118 ff., 139/138; XXII, 35/34). Involuntary infringements of these rules, through force majeure or compulsion, are moreover regarded by Allāh with indulgence (II, 168/173; V, 5/3; VI, 119, 146/145; XVI, 116/115). They defined the Muslim community, but only as a particular category within the wide family of the Possessors of the Scripture, since it is permitted to eat the food of the *ahl al-kitāb* and vice-versa (V, 7/5). In fact, these prohibitions go further in conformity to the Jewish regulations than the Noachic regulations, which the Jews theoretically admitted as sufficient for any strangers allowed to live with them (only not to eat unbled meat, according to *Gen.*, IX, 4; cf. E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*[4], Leipzig 1901-11, iii, 164 ff., 178, n. 77). There was, in short, a falling into line with the primitive Christian

position (which remained very closely observed in the East) as it is defined by the decree of the Apostles (*Acts*, XV, 29; cf. especially K. Böckenhoff, *Speisesatzungen mosaischer Art in mittelalterlichen Kirchenrechtsquellen des Morgen- und Abendlandes*, Münster i. W. 1907). They went further in demanding also abstention from pork. This abstention, one of the first to be practised by Judaizing pagans (Juvenal, XIV, 98 f.), was also the rule among certain Judaeo-Christians (*Didascalia*, 121, 27 ff.; cf. H. J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, Tübingen 1949, 341, n. 2) and it was presumably through this route that it became adopted in Arabia (see above, col. 1059 b); it was also adopted by the Christians of Ethiopia in imitation of the Old Testament (*Confessio fidei Claudii regis Aethiopiae*, ed. J. M. Wansleb, London 1661, 3 and n. 11; E. Ullendorff, in *JSS*, i (1956), 240-3; J. Baeteman, *Dictionnaire amarigna-français*, Dire Dawa 1929, col. 574; cf. M. Rodinson, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, xxi (1964), 241). The insistence on the lawfulness of fish arose perhaps from opposition to a Judaeo-Christian and Samaritan practice (Schoeps, *op. cit.*, 189 f.). In addition, an entirely new restriction appears in the Divine revelation: at first it praises the virtues of wine (XVI, 69), which is one of the delights promised to the elect in Paradise (XXXVII, 44/45 ff.; XLVII, 16/15), but later has reservations about it (II, 216/219), and then forbids it (V, 92/90). The commentators and the historians disagree on the causes and the date of this prohibition [see KHAMR]. The association with the prohibition of *maysir* suggests a link between wine and pagan usages (W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 298 f.; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, Paris 1957, 570 f.; cf. above, col. 1059 b) and we have seen above that abstention from wine was a religious practice fairly common in Arabia in various milieus and on various occasions. It does not seem easy to agree with W. Montgomery Watt that it was also partly a case of discouraging the import of an expensive commodity which came from enemy countries. The initial indifference about it and the injunction contained in verse IV, 46/43 seem to indicate that this prohibition was essentially a reaction against the deplorable effects of drunkenness within the Medinan community, one of them perhaps being excessive extravagance. This does not exclude the possibility that the practices of abstention mentioned above contributed to the enactment of the prohibition. In addition to these general prohibitions on the eating of specific foods, Islam decreed a general temporary abstention from food at periodic intervals—the fast of Ramaḍān [see ṢAWM].

iv. — Food in the traditional Muslim world

In the Arab empire, which after 132/750 became the Muslim empire, the food in the various occupied countries naturally continued to be the same as it had been before they were conquered. The Arab conquerors adopted it, after a certain period of adaptation, perhaps adding certain dishes or practices of their own. For the food of each country reference should be made therefore to works describing the diet in the pre-Islamic civilizations. For Egypt, see A. Ruffer, *Food in Egypt*, Cairo 1919 (= *Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Egypte*, i); A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum*, Tübingen 1923, 219-29; A. Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1920, 287-309 and also 250 ff., 259 ff., 271 f., 275 ff. On Syria and Palestine see especially R. A. S. Macalister, art. *Food* in J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, ii, Edinburgh 1899, 27-43; A. Bertholet, *Kulturgeschichte Israels*, Göttingen 1919, 130-4; P. Thomsen, art. *Nahrung* in M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Berlin 1924-32, viii, 429-31. On Mesopotamia, see B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Heidelberg 1920-5, i, 413-20. The picture had been somewhat modified by the influence of Greek and Roman customs, on which see especially Orth, art. *Kochkunst* in *Pauly's Realencyclopädie d. class. Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearb., xi/1, Stuttgart 1921, 944-82 and J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome*, Paris 1961 (= *Études et commentaires*, 38). For Sāsānid Iran, see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen-Paris 1944, 477-9.

However, the Muslim conquest created a relatively coherent cultural area which survived the fragmentation of the political unity which had brought it into being. Yet the differences between countries are important. To give a picture of the food and its variations throughout the whole of this area would be a vast and difficult enterprise for which the necessary detailed monographs do not exist. We shall limit ourselves here to indicating the main factors which influence all these diets. References to precise facts have in most cases only the value of examples taken at random.

1. Products consumed. The formation of new cultural frontiers leads to the spread throughout the territory concerned of products which have formerly been known only in one section of it. In the case of products too heavy to transport, this spread can take place only by their being grown or made locally. The most striking phenomenon in the Muslim world was the spread of the growing of rice and of sugar cane.

Rice, originally from India, was already in pre-Islamic times being cultivated in Iran, in ʿIrāḳ and in Syria, but had hardly been used as food in the Roman world (only as a thickening for sauces); it spread as a crop and as food as far as Spain. It became a common item of food and especially of the poor (particularly in the form of bread made from rice flour) in the areas where it was intensively cultivated, but elsewhere it remained relatively a luxury food, used only in recherché dishes. In any case it did not take the place of wheat and did not acquire the importance which it had in India and in the Far East (cf. M. Canard, *Le riz dans le Proche-Orient aux premiers siècles de l'Islam*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 113-31, and art. RUZZ).

Sugar, introduced to Iran from India perhaps shortly before the Muslim conquest, spread after this through the whole of the Mediterranean world (cf. N. Deer, *The history of sugar*, i, London 1949, 68 ff., 74 ff.; and art. SUKKAR). It was used in the food of princes and wealthy people, but among the poor was found chiefly as a medicine (a significant text in the *K. al-Ḥarb al-maʿshūḳ* ..., tr. J. Finkel, in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, viii (1932), 5). Honey was generally less expensive, and in particular *dibs*, a treacle of grapes, carob etc., was the sugar of poor people (cf. M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI*, 1949, 147).

Large-scale transport was particularly necessary to bring to the towns from the surrounding countryside food products such as wheat which were consumed in large quantities. Wheat was everywhere a commodity traded on a large scale (cf. for example R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 377 ff., and art. ḲAMḤ).

Certain heavy products regularly consumed were however transported by caravans or by ships (river or sea transport) considerable distances from the specific region in which they were originally grown. Examples are Syrian olive oil coming down the Euphrates, the dates of Lower ʿIrāḳ or of Arabia, etc., and, later, coffee from Arabia [see KAHWA, ZAYTŪN]. A list of Iranian food products exported in this way is found in B. Spuler, *Iran*, 406 f., a picture of the trade in foodstuffs between the various provinces of the Ottoman empire in Gibb-Bowen, i/1, 304. Thus there were great differences in price for the same commodity in the regions in which it was produced and those which were at varying distances from them (*e.g.*, for rice, cf. W. Hinz, in *Die Welt des Orients*, ii (1954-9), 57 ff.), a further factor being the difficulty or otherwise of the transport (the price of rice rose in Istanbul when unfavourable winds delayed the ships from Alexandria, W. Hinz, *op. cit.*, 60).

The products of all the regions of the Muslim world were thus available throughout every part of it to those who could afford the sometimes high prices; but in addition there were available products imported from outside. Thus, in the Middle Ages, the Near East imported from Russia and the Slav countries dried and salted fish, honey and hazel nuts. (G. Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel bezogen die Araber des Mittelalters aus den nordisch-baltischen Ländern*[2], Berlin 1891, 56 ff., 62 f.). In times of scarcity, Egypt in the 5th/11th century imported wheat from the Byzantine Empire (G. Wiet, *L'Egypte arabe*, Paris 1937, 230). Imports from Europe became numerous from the 6th/12th century onwards. Frederick II sold cereals to Tunisia and Andalusia (A. Schaube, *Handelgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets*, Münich-Berlin 1906, 304, 327), the Pisans exported Tuscan oil to Tunisia (*ibid.*, 298), southern France in the 7th/13th century sent to the Maghrib wine, chestnuts, broad beans, saffron etc. (*ibid.*, 31 f.). Tuscan saffron was on sale in the Maghrib, in Egypt and in Frankish Syria (*ibid.*, 187, 206, 283, 398). Egypt imported cheese from Sicily and from Crete (S. D. Goitein, *Artisans en Méditerranée orientale au haut Moyen-Age*, in *Annales*, xv (1964), 863). In the Middle Ages, Iran imported from India peas, wheat, barley and millet (Spuler, *Iran*, 403). In the 12th/18th century Europe exported to the Levant spices, sugar, coffee etc. (Gibb-Bowen, i/1, 307).

Spices were imported from still more distant places, their lightness for transport and the high prices they commanded justifying the long journeys. From China, the Sunda Isles, India and East Africa came pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, cardamom, mace, betel, musk and nutmeg [see TAWĀBIL].

2. Storage and preservation. The preservation of food is an important problem in all societies. The Muslim civilization had inherited processes from the ancient East and from the classical civilizations. Cereals were stored either in granaries [see AGADIR] or in silos (*maṭmūra* [*q.v.*]) and the agronomists recommended various processes to preserve them from decay, weevils, etc. (Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *K. al-Filāḥa*, ed. J. A. Banqueri, Madrid 1802, i, 678 ff.; tr. J.-J. Clément-Mullet, Paris 1864-7, i, 638 ff.). For fruit, especially grapes, there were handed down various recipes for preserving them from any deterioration and keeping them fresh (*e.g.*, Ibn al-ʿAwwām, i, 660 ff., tr. Clément-Mullet, i, 619 ff., to be compared with processes used by the Romans, J. André, *L'alimentation* ..., 89). Preservation by cold storage was known; melons from Transoxania were transported to Baghdād packed in ice inside lead boxes (al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. P. De Jong, Leiden 1867, 129). Drying was a less expensive and more widely used process. We have seen that before Islam the Arabs were already familiar with the drying of meat (*ḳadīd*) and of fish. Desert truffles were also dried (*Wuṣla*, ch. viii, § 44), also figs, pistachio nuts, etc. (Ibn al-ʿAwwām, i, 675 ff., tr. Clément-Mullet, i, 634 ff.). Fruits were often preserved in a sealed air-tight container which was sometimes buried in the ground (Ibn al-ʿAwwām, i, 662 f., 664 f., tr. i, 622, 624, etc.). The curing or smoke-drying of meat seems to have been very little known among the Arabs; it is described in the *Wuṣla* (ch. viii, § 45, mss. A, B, D) as being a Greek process. It was, however, one of the processes applied to *sharāʾiḥ*, slices of meat, in particular to those known as *miṣriyya*, "Egyptian" (*Wuṣla*, ch. v, § 2a), and known in some places as *mudakhkhana* "smoked" (*ibid.*, § 2d). The crystallizing of fruits in honey or sugar, a process known to ancient Rome and a speciality of modern Damascus, was known there at this time according to A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna 1875-7, ii, 333, who however quotes no evidence. *Ḳadīd*, or dried meat, must have been coated with fat (cf. the modern Algerian recipe in J. Desparmet, *Enseignement de l'arabe dialectal moderne*[2], Algiers 1913, ii, 184, tr. H. Pérès and G. H. Bousquet, *Coutumes, institutions et croyances des indigènes de l'Algérie*, i, Algiers 1939, 260). But the chief method of preservation was by means of antiseptic agents, particularly salt and vinegar, often used together and with the addition of many condiments; hence the names of these preserves: *mukhallalāt*, *mulūḥāt*. In addition to vinegar and salt (steeping in salted water, impregnating with salt), a great deal of honey, or its substitutes sugar and treacle (*dibs*), was used in these preparations, also lemon juice, oil, mustard, walnuts or hazel nuts roasted and crushed, all kinds of herbs and spices, etc. In this way were preserved, for long or short periods according to the preparation used, vegetables, fruits and also (using vinegar, oil, etc.) small fishes and birds (*ʿuṣfūr*). Special preserves were made (often to be kept for a shorter period) to be used, spread on bread or otherwise, as a kind of hors d'œuvre: many condiments and salted herbs, or herbs mixed into salted goat's *laban*. In their preparation, *laban* and *ḳanbarīs* (curds; *Wuṣla*, ch. viii, §§ 1-25) were sometimes used. Spices made possible also the preservation of sausages, of which those considered the best contained only mutton without beef, goat-meat etc., and not too much semolina; their name, *laḳāniḳ*, *naḳāniḳ*, betrays their Roman origin (*lucanicae*, sausages of Lucania; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, ed. R. Levy, London 1938, 94 f., 107; Ḥ. Zayyāt, *al-Khizāna al-sharḳiyya*, iv, Beirut 1948, 21, l. 3, 23, l. 6). The principal method of preserving milk was in the form of cheese. The eastern Jews sometimes transported kosher (*ḥalāl*) cheese very great distances (S. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, New York 1955, 112); the transport of food over medium or long distances enabled the inhabitants of the larger cities to enjoy a rich variety (*e.g.*, for Mamlūḳ Egypt, list in *K. al-Ḥarb al-maʿshūḳ*, *apud* J. Finkel, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, ix (1933-4), 11 f.). Generally speaking, the preservation of food was sometimes done by the producers for home consumption or for sale (*e.g.*, cheeses), sometimes by the wives or the servants in private households or in

palaces (whence the chapters of recipes for preserves in books of cookery like the *Wuṣla*), and sometimes it was the work of specialist craftsmen and prepared to be sold at a later date, sometimes after transport. The manuals of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] enjoin the *muḥtasib* to make sure for example that any fish left unsold was salted (al-Nabrawī *apud* W. Behrnauer, *Mémoire sur les institutions de police chez les Arabes les Persans et les Turcs*, Paris 1861, 155; Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad al-Saḳaṭī, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, i, Paris 1931, 35). But there was very little which resembled the modern food-preserving industry, though one might so classify the sausage-sellers (*naḳāniḳiyyūn*, see above), perhaps those who sold slices of meat (*sharāʾiḥiyyūn*), and the sellers of confectionery (*ḥalwāniyyūn*), traders who themselves preserved food for sale. Among them should also be included the *bawāridiyyūn*, makers and sellers of *bawārid*, cooked green vegetables preserved in vinegar or other acid liquids (cf. M. Rodinson, *Recherches* ..., 142 and the treatises of *ḥisba*).

3. Preparation. Foods often went through varying degrees of preparation before reaching the consumer, thus reducing the work done domestically (cf. S. D. Goitein, in *JESHO*, iv (1961), 193-7). Flour-grinding, work done by the women in country districts, was often in towns done by mills which provided flour ready prepared (*ṭaḥḥān* "miller"). Kneading of dough was generally done at home, but sometimes by bakers (*khabbāzūn*). The Mālikī and Abāḍī schools sometimes stipulated that a wife could not be obliged to grind corn and that her husband, in this case, was to supply her with flour and not grain (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Muṣʿabī, *K. al-Nīl*, tr. E. Zeys, *Droit mozabite, Le Nil, Du Mariage*, i, Algiers 1891, 71; Saḥnūn, *apud* M. Ben Cheneb, in *Revue indigène*, xxxiv (1909), 68). But in most cases dough was taken to the owner of a bakehouse (*farrān*) to be cooked (see, *e.g.*, R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 327 f.). Pastries and sweetmeats were also made by craftsmen, as were the various dishes which were sold ready cooked by the *ṭabbākhūn* "keepers of cook-shops", the *harrāsūn* or *harāʾisiyyūn*, sellers of *harīsa* in its popular form (minced meat and wheat cooked with fat), the *bawāridiyyūn* "sellers of *bawārid*" (see above), etc., to be taken away or eaten in the shop (lively description of a *shawwāʾ*, proprietor of a restaurant where all kinds of food could be eaten, in the *Maḳāma baghdādiyya* of al-Hamadhānī, ed. M. ʿAbduh, Beirut 1889, 57 ff.). European visitors to Cairo in the Middle Ages speak of 10,000 to 12,000 cooks in the streets, the 'Saracens' seldom doing any cooking at home (G. Wiet in *Revue du Caire*, August 1944, 351 f.). Meat was dealt with by specialists who carried out the slaughter (*dhabbāḥ*), the cutting up or the final marketing (*ḳaṣṣāb*, *djazzār* with variations in terminology). More specialized products were prepared by the maker and seller of sausages (*naḳāniḳī*, see above), or of slices of meat (*sharāʾiḥī*, see above), the roaster (*shawwāʾ*), the seller of cooked livers (*kubūdī*), of cooked sheeps' (or other animals') heads (*rawwās*), etc. The manufacture of oil gave rise to a real industry, using presses which were sometimes very costly (P. S. Girard, *apud Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, ii/1, Paris 1812, 605 ff. = 2nd ed., xvii, Paris 1824, 229 ff.). The industries of wine and other fermented drinks were widespread, for the use of Christians and Jews, although varying numbers of Muslims did not fail to take advantage of them; thus in the Mamlūk period Syria was a wine-growing country while Egypt was not (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 28). The prohibitions applied to this manufacture were only of fairly limited extent; *e.g.*, under the Ottoman empire in the 11th/17th century it was forbidden to make wine or *rāḳī* (*raḳī*) within Istanbul (A. Refik, *Hicrî on birinci asırda Istanbul hayatı*, Istanbul 1931, 32, no. 63; cf. R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1962, 205 ff., 257, 448 f.). The extraction and refining of cane sugar formed an important industry; Ibn Duḳmāḳ mentions 58 factories at Fusṭāṭ (iv, Būlāḳ 1309, 41-6); it is known that it was an important state monopoly under the Mamlūks (M. Sobernheim, *Das Zuckermonopol unter Sultan Barsbai*, in *ZA*, xxvii (1912), 75-84; A. Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, Damascus 1961, 146-51); later it was at Cairo that sugar was refined for the use of the palace of the Ottoman Sultan (*Ḳānūnnāme*, in Digeon, *Nouveaux contes turcs et arabes*, Paris 1781, ii, 276 f.). Sugar was also refined in Syria (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *ibid.*), in Sicily (M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Florence 1854-68, ii, 445, iii, 785 f.), in Iran (Spuler, *Iran*, index), etc. The confectioners used sugar and honey in various ways (see, *e.g.*, a good description of the work of the maker of *kunāfa*, a kind of vermicelli with sugar or honey, etc., in G. Martin, *Les bazars du Caire et les petits métiers arabes*, Cairo-Paris 1910, 60). Fish was dried and salted so that it could be transported long distances (Spuler, *Iran*, 407; Gibb-Bowen, i/1, 299); in Egypt the production of botargo (*baṭrakh*, *baṭrikh*) from mullet roes, an industry known from Pharaonic antiquity, still continued (L. Keimer, in *BIÉ*, xxi (1938-9), 215-43). In the Fayyūm, rose-water was distilled (P. S. Girard, *op. cit.*, 609 = 2nd ed., 236 ff.).

4. Distribution. We have given above some details of the distribution of food when it was done by those who had prepared or preserved it. It should be noted that the handbook on trade by Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Dimishḳī (5th-6th/11th-12th centuries?) classifies grocers as half traders and half craftsmen (see H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, vii (1917), 6). The peasant producers came to sell their produce either in the country, in temporarily set up regional markets (cf. R. Brunschvig, *Coup d'œil sur l'histoire des foires à travers l'Islam*, in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, v (1953), 43-75; F. Benet, *Weekly suqs and city markets*, in *Research for development in the Mediterranean Basin, a proposal*, ed. C. A. O. van Niewenhuijze, The Hague 1961, 86-97), or in the towns, in markets which were more or less permanent. In the larger towns there were wholesale markets supplying the large markets which served the whole of a large town district and also the small local markets. Private householders bought their provisions from the two latter types (good description by R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 368-97 and R. Mantran, *Istanbul* ..., 185 ff.). These retail markets consisted of specialized little shops: fruit and vegetable sellers, butchers, dried fruit merchants, sellers of spices (*ʿaṭṭār*), grocers who sold various kinds of fats (*baḳḳāl* in Morocco, elsewhere usually *zayyāt*, *sammān*, etc. with many variants, cf. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-shāmiyya*, Paris-The Hague 1960, 48), etc. There are found in the works on the corporations extensive lists of these retailers (*e.g.*, L. Massignon, *Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes d'artisans et de commerçants au Maroc*, an offprint from *RMM*, Paris 1925). As we have said, many variations are

to be found in the demarcation and naming of specializations in the different regions. In certain countries at certain times the state played an important part at several stages in the distribution of commodities.

5. Food consumption and its variations. In the sociological study of food, special attention must be paid to how consumption varies with different groups and categories of individuals (R. Firth, *The sociological study of native diet*, in *Africa*, vii (1934), 410 f.). These variations are due either to natural, geographical and economic differences in the food resources available to each group, or to cultural traditions of varying origins. Muslim civilization provides many instances of this phenomenon, which is worthy of more detailed study; here we shall give only some examples.

The geographical variations are obviously due to the variety of the resources available, and thus to natural conditions. But, at the sociological level, based on these conditions and extending beyond them, the establishment of cultural traditions regarding the choice and the preparation of dishes has created regional specialization. Thus, in the Middle Ages, Egyptian cuisine had a high reputation (cf. Ḥ. Zayyāt, *al-Khizāna al-sharkiyya*, iv, Beirut 1948, 14). In Turkey, the cooks of Bolu were and remain very famous (see BOLU, and Nazim Hikmet, *Les romantiques*, Fr. tr., Paris 1964, 8, 156). Cooks from places which were renowned for their food were employed in far distant regions. Al-Ṭāhir brought to Baghdād a Khurāsānī cook (Ṭayfūr, *apud* Spuler, *Iran*, 510), and Egyptian women-cooks were employed everywhere (even in the household of an orientalized Frankish knight of Antioch, cf. Usāma b. Munkidh, *K. al-Iʿtibār*, ed. P. K. Hitti, Princeton 1930, 140; tr. P. K. Hitti, New York 1929, 169 f.). This specialization gave rise to the numerous adjectives of geographical origin which accompany or represent the names of many dishes: *e.g.*, there are cakes called *akhmīmiyya*, *asyūṭiyya*, a sweet called *ḥalwā makkiyya*, etc. (cf. M. Rodinson, *Recherches* ..., 150). For the regional specialities of Andalus, see A. Huici Miranda, in *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, v (1957), 139; a recent ethnographic survey in Turkey traces the local variations of the same dish, see Z. Koşay and A. Ülkücan, *Anadolu yemekleri ve Türk mutfağı*, Ankara 1961; similarly, on local varieties of *palōv* (Ottoman *pilav*, *pilaf*) in Uzbekistan, see Karim Mahmudov, *Uzbekskie blyuda*, Tashkent 1963, 6, 77 ff., and cf. N. K. Alhazov, etc., *Azerbaydžanskaya kulinariya*, Baku 1963, 65 ff. Regional foods or dishes were made far from their place of origin, the recipes being transmitted orally or in writing. Thus as early as the 7th/13th century we find in the East recipes for Maghribī couscous (*ibid.*, 138; for the longing for couscous felt by Maghribī exiles in the East, see Makkarī, Būlāk, iii, 137; cf. H. Pérès, in *Bull. des Études Arabes*, iii (1943), 140; R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1940-7, 271). Food is today one of the channels for patriotic fervour. In literature and films, Egypt's national food (*ṭaʿmiyya*, Egyptian beans—*fūl mudammas miṣrī*, Jew's mallow or *mulūkhiyya*) is contrasted with the cosmopolitan dishes affected by snobs (see, *e.g.*, Maḥmūd Taymūr, *La belle aux lèvres charnues*, Fr. tr., Paris 1952, 87). A school textbook relates how an Egyptian student is delighted to find in Oxford an atmosphere of his native country in a restaurant kept by an Egyptian and serving *fūl mudammas* (Saʿīd al-ʿUryān, A. Duwaydār and M. Zahrān, *Mudammas Uksfūrd*, Cairo 1950). Egyptian emigrants returning home dream of a good hot *ṭaʿmiyya* rissole (Yūsuf Idrīs, *Umm al-dunyā*, in his collection *Arkhaṣ al-layālī*, Cairo 1954, series *al-Kitāb al-dhahabī*, 94).

When massive emigrations take place, the emigrants introduce their traditional dishes into their new habitat. Thus, the great emigrations of Muslims from Spain at the time of the Reconquista brought many Andalusian recipes to the Maghrib (see E. Gobert, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, iii (1955), 529 ff.), for example the famous *bəsṭēla* (from Span. *pastel*) of Morocco (see L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, Paris 1952, 52; detailed recipe in Z. Guinaudeau, *Fès vu par sa cuisine*, Rabat 1957, 33 ff.).

Variations according to the different religious groups are of more importance ideologically. We shall deal later with the development of the principles laid down in the Kurʾān, and it is necessary to mention here only that each group tended to mark itself off distinctly from the others by having its own series of rules concerning food. To eat just like others implied, generally speaking, that a group did not consider itself completely split off from them. In principle one should not eat with the *kāfir* (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 182, Fr. tr. Paris 1920, 152), which gave rise to the vast question of who exactly is to be regarded as *kāfir*. The Kurʾān allowed Muslims to eat the food of the *Ahl al-kitāb* and vice versa (V, 7/5, see above). But there is attributed to the Prophet a letter to the Mazdeans of Hadjar according to which Muslims were not to eat meat which they had killed as a sacrifice (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, Leiden 1917, 19, l. 8; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 80; cf. Spuler, *Iran*, 184, n. 5). Even in relation to the *Ahl al-kitāb*, the law was more restrictive than the Kurʾān, at least concerning animals killed while hunting or by ritual slaughter. It was not forbidden but reprehensible (*makrūh*), according to certain Mālikīs, to eat what a *Kitābī* had slaughtered for himself; according to others, on the contrary, this applied to meat slaughtered by a *Kitābī* for a Muslim. In all cases it was reprehensible to obtain meat from a non-Muslim butcher (Mālikīs). It was advisable to make sure that the name of Allāh had been invoked and not the Cross, or Jesus, etc., though it was permissible to eat, according to all the schools except the Ḥanbalīs, if no name at all had been invoked. However, a *fatwā* of Muḥammad ʿAbduh supporting the same position, issued in about 1903, seems to have provoked heated arguments (M. Rashīd Riḍā, *Taʾrīkh al-ustādh al-imām*, iii, Cairo 1324, 84, 167; see also C. C. Adams, in *Macdonald presentation volume*, Princeton 1933, 13-29). But it was reprehensible to eat anything destined for the synagogues, the churches or the feasts of the *Ahl al-kitāb*. In any case meat obtained from an idolater, a Mazdean, a pagan or an apostate was prohibited. To this list was sometimes added Christian Arabs (prohibited by Shāfiʿīs, and reprehensible according to certain Mālikīs) (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazīrī, *K. al-Fikh ʿala 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, ii/3, Cairo n.d., 21-6, etc.). The application of these principles has remained fairly strict until the present day. In China, many of the Muslim carriers take their own bread with them on journeys in order to avoid eating food prepared by infidels (M. Broomhall, *Islam in China*, London 1910, 230 f.). Usāma chose his food carefully in the house of the orientalized Frankish knight mentioned above. However, it is well known that Jewish food conforms to the Muslim rites and thus may be eaten, unlike

that of Christians, hence a well-known proverb giving the advice to sleep in Christian beds (which are clean). but to eat Jewish food (Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, iii, 13, no. 73; W. Marçais and A. Guîga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, ii, *Glossaire*, vi, Paris 1959, 2932; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 4). However the eastern Christians often tended to conform with the Muslim regulations (Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon* [in Syriac], ed. P. Bedjan, Paris 1898, 463 ff., tr. J. A. Assemani *apud* A. Mai *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, x, Rome 1838, 229 ff.; Ibn al-ʿAssāl, *Nomocanon*, ch. 23, ms. Paris, ar. 245, fol. 94 ff., Ethiopic tr. *Fatḥa Nagašt*, ed. I. Guidi, Rome 1897, 147 ff., tr., Rome 1899, 209 ff.), At the same time Christians and Jews very often avoided Muslim food. The Christians of Ethiopia reproached Europeans with eating meat killed by Muslims, which they considered as amounting practically to apostasy (Abba Têkla-Haïmanot, *Abouna Yacob ou le vénérable De Jacobis*, Paris 1914, 14; Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1853, ii, 92 f.). The Christians of Nābulus before the 1914-18 war limited themselves to avoiding the meat of animals sacrificed during the Feast of Sacrifices (J.-A. Jaussen, *Naplouse*, Paris 1927, 311), while the Copts in Egypt in the 11th/17th century bought no food of any sort from Muslims during this feast (J. M. Vansleb, *Nouvelle relation ... d'un voyage fait en Égypte*, Paris 1698, 383). But the Jews of Bukhārā in the 12th/18th century had no scruples about eating animals killed by Muslims (J. Wolff, *apud* A. Yaʿarī, *Sh̲ĕlūḥê ʾĕrĕṣ yiśrâʾēl*, Jerusalem 5711/1951, 665). The Afrīdīs of Afg̲h̲ānistān, who claim to be of Jewish origin, eat, therefore, meat cooked by Jews, but, being also Sunnīs, refuse meat prepared by Sh̲īʿīs (Y. Ben-Zvi, *Niddĕḥê Yiśrâʾēl*[2], Tel Aviv 5716/1956, 194, Eng. tr. *The exiled and the redeemed*, London 1958, 223). A similar separatism concerning food is to be found therefore among the various sects, but was rather exceptional. In the 4th/10th century a jurist of Ḳayrawān refused to eat sugar which came from Fāṭimid Sicily (*Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, *apud* M. Amari, *Storia* ..., iii, 785 f.; 2nd ed. iii/3, 808 ff.). The question of eating meat which has been sacrificed arises more often. A saying attributed to Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif (d. 112 or 113/730 or 731) and used by the Ḥanbalīs extends to the Rāfiḍa the prohibition decreed by Muḥammad concerning the Mazdeans: it was forbidden to marry their women or to eat the animals which they had slaughtered as sacrifices (Ibn Baṭṭa, *apud* H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 38, tr., 64). The Ismāʿīlīs forbade eating the meat of sacrifices offered by *mus̲h̲rikūn* or *ahl al-k̲h̲ilāf*, unless one had witnessed that the name of God had been pronounced over it (Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān, *K. al-Iḳtiṣār*, ed. M. W. Mirza, Damascus 1957, 105). They were thus assimilated to the *Ahl al-kitāb*. The Mālikīs discouraged the eating of meat which came from a *bidʿi*, while for the Sh̲īʿīs that which came from the enemies of the *ahl al-bayt* was unlawful (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-D̲j̲azīrī, *op. cit.*, 22; Abu 'l-Kāsim D̲j̲aʿfar b. Muḥ. al-Ḥillī, *S̲h̲arāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1839, 396 top, tr. A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871-2, ii, 214, § 50).

The variations according to way of life are probably the most considerable. The Bedouins differ from the settled populations in their food as well as in other details (see, *e.g.*, al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, ed. Ḥād̲j̲irī, Cairo 1948, 164, Fr. tr. Ch. Pellat, Paris 1951, 259). Bedouin women refused to marry town-dwellers because they hated the food of the towns, especially green vegetables (W. R. Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*[2], London 1903, 75, n. 2) and the same repugnance is found also among the nomadic Ḳazaḳs in Central Asia (J. D. Littlepage and D. Bess, *In search of Soviet gold*, New York [1937], 110 f.; cf. *Narodî Sredney Azii i Kazak̲h̲stana*, ii, Moscow 1963, 428). Milk products were a typical food of nomads everywhere in the ancient world (B. Laufer, *Some fundamental ideas of Chinese culture*, in *The Journal of Race Development*, v (1914), 167-70; H. G. Creel, *The birth of China*, London 1936, 80 f., Fr. tr. Paris 1937, 77 f.) and they suffered if they were deprived of them when in settled districts (cf. above, col. 1057 b). The difference between peasants and town-dwellers was also often emphasized. It was the subject in Egypt of literary works such as, in the 9th/15th century, the *K. al-Ḥarb al-maʿs̲h̲ūḳ* ..., and in the 11th/17th century the *Hazz al-ḳuḥūf* of al-Sh̲irbīnī (cf. Rodinson, *Recherches* ..., 113-5).

There was hardly any difference between the food of men and women, except perhaps that the idle lives of rich women inclined them to greediness, the love of sweet things, etc. (see, *e.g.*, E. de Amicis, *Constantinopoli*[8], Milan 1877, 333, Eng. tr. *Constantinople*, London 1878, 234 f.). The excursions of groups of women of leisure for picnics etc. were accompanied also by purchases of cakes, fruit, ices, etc. (*ibid.*, 306 f., Eng. tr., 214 f.; L. M. J. Garnett, *Turkish life in town and country*, London n.d., 67). Hence a regulation of the 10th/16th century forbidding women to go into the shops of the *ḳaymaḳčīs* of Eyyūb and laying down that the Christians should avoid them (A. Refik, *On altıncı asırda Istanbul hayatı*[2], Istanbul 1935, 40, no. 5; cf. R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIème siècle*, Paris 1962, 68). Similarly when in the baths women ate sweetmeats and special dishes (Kulsum Naneh, *Le livre des dames de la Perse*, tr. L. Thonnelier, Paris 1881, 28, 35 f.). In Iran, the offerings to Fāṭima are eaten only by men, at least in one of the first phases of the rite (H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, ii, 302). Moreover, in some places, customs based on magic forbid certain foods to women (E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1916, ii, 363).

Differences in diet according to age depend on theoretical (and even scientific) opinions concerning food. We shall deal with them below. On the other hand a certain number of differences according to social classes can be traced to economic and social factors. Naturally considerations of price alone restricted the food of the poor both in quantity and quality and had the same effect on that of misers, who were voluntarily poor. In some of the literature about misers, particularly in the masterpiece of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, the *K. al-Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, much is said about their meagre diet. The food of the poor and of misers was apt to include in particular "filling" dishes which were, at least in appearance, rich in nutritional value while consisting of inexpensive ingredients, like Harpagon's haricot of mutton. Several such dishes are mentioned in the time of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ: *ṭifs̲h̲īla*, *harīsa*, *fud̲j̲liyya*, *kurunbiyya* (*Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, ed. Ḥād̲j̲irī, 60; tr. Pellat, 99). At the beginning of the 7th/13th century lentils also were mentioned as a dish of poor people (M. Rodinson, *Recherches* ..., 153) and they were again despised as the food of the *fallāḥ* by al-Sh̲irbīnī. The distinction between the dishes of the poor and those of the rich was clearly understood by the collective consciousness, as expressed in proverbs, popular literature,

etc. Examples of this are found in current proverbs about *burghul* (Turkish *bulgur*) "crushed wheat", a dish of the poor and peasants in Syria-Palestine and Turkey in contrast to rice, the dish of the wealthy town-dwellers (M. Feghali, *Proverbes et dictons syro-libanais*, Paris 1938, 248, no. 1097; cf. X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens*, Paris 1958, 177). The *K. al-Ḥarb al-maʿshūḳ* has precisely as its main theme the contest between the food of the poor and that of the rich (J. Finkel, in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, viii (1932), 122-48, ix (1933-4), 1-18; cf. M. Rodinson, *Recherches* . . ., 113 ff.). The food of the rich was distinguished by the variety of the dishes, their complexity, their expensiveness, the length of time needed for their preparation, an ostentatious freedom of choice expressed by eating foods of little nutritional value. There was obviously an effort to improve the quantity and quality of the diet, but still there were applied the rules of "conspicuous consumption" in food (Thorstein Veblen, *The theory of the leisure class*, ch. iv, New York 1934, 73 f.) intended to set apart the élite from the masses. The members of the élite were expected to be familiar with the most esoteric dishes, and they either wrote themselves such treatises on cookery as those produced by people of importance in the ʿAbbāsid period (M. Rodinson, *Recherches* . . ., 99 ff.) or had these books written for them (cf. introduction of the book of Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ in Ḥ. Zayyāt, *al-Khizāna al-sharḳiyya*, iv, Beirut 1948, 20). Those who aspired to refinement in 4th/10th century Baghdād, the *ẓurafāʾ*, had strict rules in this matter (Al-Washshāʾ, *K. al-Muwashshā*, ed. R. E. Brünnow, Leiden 1886, 94 f., 130 ff., etc.; cf. M. F. Ghazi, in *Studia Islamica*, xi (1959), 61). The rulers had huge kitchens for themselves and their court, well stocked and equipped, staffed by numerous cooks and their assistants, under the direction of officers such as the *djashnagīr*, the *shādd al-sharāb-khāna* and the *ustādār al-ṣuḥba* at the court of the Mamlūks (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, LX f.), the *kilārdjī bashī*, "master of the larder" and his subordinates like the *peshkir bashī*, etc., all supplied with their provisions by the *maṭbakh emīni* and his staff at the Ottoman Palace (Gibb-Bowen, i/1, 78, 85, 332 f., 336 f.).

The quest for the exotic, the partial adoption of the cuisine of foreigners, especially when their civilization enjoys a certain prestige, is another means by which the élite may demonstrate its distinction from ordinary folk. Hence, in the Arab world, the vogue for Iranian dishes, which seems to have begun in pre-Islamic times (cf. ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān's introduction of *fālūdhadj* at Mecca, Alūsī, *Bulūgh*², i, 381) and was very pronounced in the ʿAbbāsid period (Rodinson, *Recherches* . . ., 148 ff.), and later the fashion for things Turkish (*ibid.*, 151). European influence began in the period of the Crusades (*ibid.*, 150; Rodinson, in *Comptes Rendus du GLECS*, ix (1960-3), 106 f.), and has naturally been very powerful since the 19th century, as all modern cookery-books demonstrate (see, *e.g.*, H. Stumme, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 538-49). Deep though its influence has been (see, for example, on the influence of Russian diet in Central Asia, K. Mahmudov, *Uzbekskie blyuda*, Tashkent 1963, 6, with illustrations of how this trend has been resisted by the Muslim 'clergy', who call potatoes 'food of Satan' and tomatoes 'fruits made of human blood'), in all countries the traditional dishes retain their popularity. Conversely, Muslim diet exercised a pronounced influence on Christian Europe in the Middle Ages (see M. Rodinson, in *Romania*, lxxi (1950), 433-49, in *Scritti orientalistici in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, ii, 425-35, and in *Études d'orientalisme* . . . . *Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, 733-47).

6. Factors of secular ideology in food. We can class as ideological the recommendations or prescriptions which are based either on a rational deduction from various principles and assumptions, or on the Divine will elucidated in greater or less degree by reasoning. Recommendations and prescriptions of this sort play an important part in food habits. We have seen above how certain of them are connected with differences in diet according to social groups and we shall now deal with some others, beginning with the non-religious ones.

Certain general ideas which are prudent deductions from experience are handed on by popular tradition. Thus we have a list of nourishing foods, and of those which cause wind (cf. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. A. Amīn etc., vi, Cairo 1949, 320 ff.). But generalizations of a "magic" type are often found: they can grow up from a basis of real attributes which have been observed (birds are timorous, testicles are connected with sexual activity, honey is sweet, etc.), or be deduced from systems of symbolic connexions (yellow is beneficial, black is ill-omened, etc.; cf. the remarkable and unfortunately unique study by J. Jouin, *Valeur symbolique des aliments et rites alimentaires à Rabat*, in *Hespéris*, xliv (1957), 299-327). But these wide and rash generalizations are based on the magic principles of contagion by propinquity, the law of similarity and of opposites, etc. Thus we have seen that in north-western Arabia it is believed that whoever eats birds' hearts becomes himself timorous (see above, col. 1059 b); similarly medical treatises explain that sheep's liver, heart or kidneys strengthen the liver, heart or kidneys of whoever eats them, while to eat sheep's brains causes loss of memory and stupidity because the sheep is senseless and stupid (Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 207; cf. the conversation recorded by Naʿīmā (anno 1063, A.H.) and translated by B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman Okla. 1963, 171-2); in present-day Morocco young boys newly-circumcised are made to drink soup made from sheep's testicles to strengthen them, and it is also the recognized diet for people who are exhausted (J. Jouin, *op. cit.*, 309). *Ḥalwāʾ* made with saffron has been recommended because yellow is a source of gaiety (Niẓāmī, *Haft paykar*, Tehrān 1334, 197³, tr. C. E. Wilson, London 1924, i, 156). Honey with its sweetness assuages mental suffering (J. Jouin, *op. cit.*, 315) as does *talbīna*, a dish made with honey (see above, col. 1059 a), hence their consumption at funerals. It is possible that the dictum attributed to the *faḳīh* of Medina, Rabīʿa b. Abī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 136/753-4), according to which the eating of *khabīṣ* (jelly made with starch) fortifies the brain (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, vi, Cairo 1949, 293), belongs to this class of popular opinions.

But as well as these there was also the corpus of scholarly opinions, transmitted by books and stemming for the most part from the scientific medicine systematized by the Greeks. It consisted of generalizations based sometimes on systematic research on data which were certainly not self-evident (such as the presence in the human body, besides blood, of the pituitary glands, yellow and black bile), from which the Greeks had drawn up a carefully worked out system, avoiding symbolic

data and open in principle to revision, consisting as it did of hypotheses which could be verified or invalidated. It was based on the theory of humours, from which had been deduced all kinds of conclusions on the nature of each food and its suitability to one or another human temperament. Thus all the books of medicine contain a long chapter enumerating, usually in alphabetical order, the attributes and faults of each food from the point of view of bodily and spiritual well-being. Special works are also devoted to this branch of medicine, dietetics. Some of them were translated into Latin and had a considerable influence on European dietetics (cf. M. Rodinson, *Recherches* ..., 110 f.). The educated classes paid a great deal of attention to dietetic precepts, so that this science was of no small practical importance. To choose one example among scores, there was the book on dietetics written by Maimonides for al-Malik al-Afḍal. Numerous examples of rulers who could not do without dieticians at their table are given in Ḥ. Zayyāt, *al-Khizāna al-sharḳiyya*, iv, Beirut 1948, 10 ff., cf. H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, Paris 1962, i, 251. Moreover, these scholarly theories penetrated deeply among the masses, where they became inextricably mixed, sometimes in a debased form, with current ideas coming from other sources. At the same time the learned works came more and more to take account of popular ideas on diet. Thus the famous doctor-philosopher Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 311/923 or 320/932) wrote that fresh dates caused ophthalmia, an idea which re-appears later in Ibn al-Bayṭār in the 7th/13th century. It is probable that this theory, which was unknown to the Greeks and to Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, came from popular ideas in the East (M. Meyerhof, *apud* P. Kraus, in *Orientalia*, iv (1935), 326).

Scholarly ideas on dietetics were influenced by popular ideas, particularly when it came to dealing with diets for special cases. For example the diet of women in child-birth is the subject of only a few general recommendations by the Greek physicians and the first Arab theorists who derived their ideas from them (cf., *e.g.*, Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, iii, fann 21, maḳāla 2, faṣl 3). But later the subject was developed under the influence of popular recipes. Thus a 9th/15th century writer recommends, in addition to foods and medicines intended as remedies for stomach pains etc., fresh ripe dates (*ruṭab*) and, if they are not available, ordinary dates also. This is justified by a *ḥadīth* and by the example of the Virgin Mary in Ḳurʾān, XIX, 25 (Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azraḳ, *K. Tashīl al-manāfiʿ*, Cairo 1356, 140 f.).

7. Post-Ḳurʾānic religious regulations. The pious specialists on religious questions who, in the 2nd/8th century, began to advise on the way of life which best conformed to the Muslim ideal recommended or discouraged the eating of certain foods, in accordance with current practice (see J. Schacht, *Esquisse d'une histoire du droit musulman*, Paris 1953, 22 ff.). Gradually these recommendations became canonized, as they were attributed to earlier and earlier authorities ending with the Prophet himself, at the same time that attempts were made to deduce from them general rules, to systematize them and also to bring them into harmony with the few prescriptions, later more precisely defined and systematized, which are contained in the Ḳurʾān. We cannot here follow the development of this process (on this see, *e.g.*, J. Schacht, *EI*[1], art. MAITA) and we shall deal only with its final results.

The prohibitions concerning food are part of the vast system of Muslim ethics. For this reason there are used for them the usual categories, which include all the degrees, from obligation to prohibition, by way of recommendation, indifferent permission and reprobation. Efforts are made to state the attitude to be taken in every possible case, and even in some very unlikely cases. Procedures are established to settle doubtful cases, all else failing, by ordeal: drawing lots to indicate which animal of a flock has been the object of an act of bestiality and is therefore impure (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Djaʿfar b. Muḥ. al-Ḥillī, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1839, 402, tr. Querry, *Droit musulman*, ii, 231, § 17); in cases of doubt as to the provenance of birds' eggs, which would decide whether they were lawful, to use those whose ends differ in width (*ibid.*, 403 = Querry, ii, 233 f., § 37 [Shīʿīs]).

The categories of the permitted and the forbidden in this field are (apart from some exceptions) identical with those of the clean and the unclean. There follows from this the obligation to apply to these cases the general idea of contagion, of the contaminating power of uncleanliness, which gives rise to a number of delicate problems to determine the limits of this contagion. The milk and the eggs of unclean animals are obviously unclean; but does an animal who has drunk wine or sow's milk, both of them unclean, become by this act unclean itself? (al-Ḥillī, *op. cit.*, 402; tr. Querry, ii, 230 f.). A dog, being unclean, makes unclean any liquid which it has begun to lap or game which it has begun to eat (D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, i, Rome 1926, 321); but there may be another juridical reason for the prohibition in the latter case (cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1933, ii, 91; H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, 230). The question was much discussed as to how far a mouse (or other unclean animal) which had fallen into a food which was clean caused it to be unclean (al-Dārimī, viii, 41; Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 47; cf. Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 321). In general it is admitted that the uncleanliness is transmitted to the whole of any liquid or fluid matter, but only to the parts of any solid matter which are near to the part touched (unless the mouse has remained there for a long time, according to the Mālikī Saḥnūn: Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed. and tr. L. Bercher[2], Algiers 1948, 158). The crossing of a clean with an unclean animal makes their progeny unclean (*e.g.*, the mule; see also, *e.g.*, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Shīrāzī, *K. al-Tanbīh*, ed. and tr. Bousquet, i, Algiers 1949, 123 [Shāfiʿī]).

It became necessary also to lay down the course to be followed when there arose a conflict between the system of regulations concerning food and other principles and exigencies of social life, and to make general rules also for borderline cases. Thus, suicide being forbidden, man has a duty to keep himself alive and in good health. From this is deduced the prohibition of injurious substances, notably intoxicants (cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 83, l. 16 f. concerning *bandj* [*q.v.*] "henbane"; in the Mughal Empire, non-Muslims as well as Muslims were, from social and humanitarian motives, forbidden to use it, see Sri Ram Sharma, *The religious policy of the Mughal Emperors*[2], London 1962, 25 f., 93, 109 ff.; but nowadays this prohibition is stressed especially with regard to opium, *ḥashīsh*, cocaine, etc., cf. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazīrī, *K. al-Fiḳh ʿala 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, ii[2], Cairo n.d., 4). But in cases of famine and of extreme necessity, the

principle of keeping one's self alive conflicts with the prohibition of what is unclean, and it is acknowledged that the latter must be sacrificed, at least to the minimum degree necessary to maintain life. But limits are set, and also a graduated table of degrees of uncleanliness is established (cf. al-Ḥillī, 406-8, tr. Querry, *Droit musulman*, ii, 242-6, which is especially detailed). The question arose and still arises particularly in relation to medicines prescribed by doctors. In the same way a compromise is established between the duty to keep alive and the rights of property: in certain conditions and within certain limits it is permissible to seize by force from a reluctant owner the means for sustaining one's life. In some cases the duty of acting humanely towards animals can also have an influence on what food is eaten (*e.g.*, the recommendation not to slaughter a sheep which is suckling, Muslim, xxxvi, 140a).

The *fiḳh* naturally upheld the food prohibitions laid down by the Ḳurʾān, endeavouring only to define their scope. The prohibition of blood, linked with that of the meat of animals which are dead without having been ritually slaughtered, led to many developments. It was necessary to define very precisely the method and conditions of slaughter [see DHABĪḤA], etc. Although "carrion" (*mayta*), an animal simply found dead, remains completely forbidden except in case of absolute necessity [see MAYTA], attempts have been made to mitigate a little the more precise prohibition, given in Ḳurʾān, V, 4/3, of the flesh of animals found strangled or gored, victims of a fall or killed by a blunt instrument. If even a breath of life remains in them they may still be ritually slaughtered and thus rendered lawful to eat. This is the "purification" mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. It was necessary to define in the greatest detail the signs by which the presence of this flicker of life could be recognized or presumed to exist (a good summary of the position of the Sunnī schools in al-Djazīrī, *K. al-Fiḳh*, ii^3, 4 and n. 3). More serious difficulties are caused by hunting. In general it is necessary to perform the ritual slaughter of the animal before its death, if this is possible. But where this is impossible, it is conceded that the fact of having killed an animal while formulating the intention of slaughtering it ritually and pronouncing the *tasmiya* ("in the name of God") at the moment of sending off the missile may take the place of this ritual slaughter. Naturally the pilgrim who has entered the state of ritual purity (*muḥrim*) may not take advantage of these privileges (in view of the Ḳurʾānic prohibition mentioned above). However some traditions authorize him to eat a wild ass which has been hunted down (al-Bukhārī, lxx, 20) or, in return for compensation, a hyena (Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 31; cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 10, n. 2, 11 ff.). On the other hand, efforts were made to specify how far the unlawfulness of the *mayta* extends to its skin, its milk, its eggs or to any foetus which it might contain. An exception from the prohibition of blood is generally made for the liver and the spleen, which are considered as a solid form of blood (*ḥadīth*: two kinds of blood have been made lawful for us, Ibn Mādja, xxix, 31; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 97). Ritual slaughter is not necessary for fish (or any marine animals), nor for locusts (cf. art MAYTA and below). For *khamr*, the same processes of interpretation are applied to the Ḳurʾānic prohibition. We shall limit ourselves here to mentioning that, on the one hand, the idea of *khamr* is defined by the intoxicating power of the liquor concerned (taking advantage of the meaning of *khāmara* "to be mixed together"), and that on the other hand the prohibition makes it, in accordance with the logic of the system, a drink impure in itself, even in a quantity too small to produce drunkenness. The result is a logical contradiction, which is illustrated when al-Ghazālī contrasts the Muslim law with the supposed prohibition of wine by Jesus, based solely on its ability to intoxicate. Ghazālī gets over the difficulty by asserting that the drinking of small quantities leads to that of large quantities and drunkenness (*Iḥyaʾ*, iv, 81, l. 3 f.), which is the line taken in the modern interpretation, which emphasizes the moral, hygienic and social justifications for this prohibition (cf. al-Djazīrī, *K. al-Fiḳh*, ii, 6-9).

Food can sometimes be affected by impurities which have nothing to do with the food itself. Thus the impurity of menstruation (Ḳurʾān, II, 222, and much developed later) leads to the conclusion that the meat of menstruating female animals is impure (*e.g.*, the hare: Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 26b), just as the impurity of women in this state can be transmitted to the food which they prepare (al-Ḥillī, 406, tr. Querry, *Droit musulman*, ii, 242, § 97 f.; a regulation which was applied at Nābulus according to Jaussen, *Naplouse*, 311). The same applies to food prepared by infidels (including the *ahl al-dhimma*, according to certain authors), perhaps even to that eaten in their company (*ibid.*, 404, 405, tr. Querry, ii, 236, 239, and col. 1065 b above) or, in practice, that prepared in utensils which they have used (a pathetic case cited by M. Broomhall, *Islam in China*, 226).

The Mālikī school endeavoured to limit the prohibitions to foods declared impure by Ḳurʾānic prescription, with only those restrictions set out above: that the food eaten should be neither harmful nor the property of others. But in general the idea of uncleanliness was extended, as we have seen, to other foods. It concerns always animal food, except where it relates to edible earth, which was sometimes discouraged or forbidden, and, among the Shīʿīs, to water from hot springs, which was discouraged. Lists are given of the impure parts of animals, generally faecal matter and urine (the urine of the camel is, however, permitted as a medicament); to these are sometimes added the sexal organs and other parts. Similarly, acts of bestiality make unclean the meat of the animal concerned, also the eating of excrement. This leads to the case of the *djallāla*, "scatophagous animal", mentioned in *ḥadīth* (Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 24, 33, etc.) and developed in great detail by the *fiḳh*, which specifies in particular the length of time which the animal must be kept in supervised isolation and fed with clean food in order to regain its cleanliness and be eaten lawfully.

But, above all, a certain number of animals are added to the pig, which is the only one actually prohibited as such by the Ḳurʾān. For some of these, such as humans and dogs, it is obvious that all that is being done is to make explicit prohibitions which are implicit in the sayings reported from the Prophet. In the case of certain others, a thorough study would be necessary to determine which are of pre-Islamic Arab origin and which arise from the customs already existing among peoples who have become Islamicized. In general, however, Islamic jurisprudence has developed extensively the chapter on the juridical classification of the various animals, with perceptible divergences among the schools: a summary of the attitudes adopted by the principal juridical schools will be found in the article ḤAYAWĀN —iv.

Over and above the categories elaborated by the schools, on the basis of the Ḳurʾān and Tradition, of foods whose consumption is forbidden or reprehensible, the zealous Muslim may wish to carry the imitation of the Prophet so far as to abstain from foods which, according to Tradition, displeased him personally, but which he did not forbid to others (at least according to most of the texts), although he forbade those smelling of them to enter the mosque: garlic, onion and often leeks (*kurrāth*; cf. references *apud* Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammedan tradition*, Leiden 1927, s.vv.; recommendations to which attention is still paid today, cf. J. Jomier, *Le commentaire coranique du Manâr*, Paris 1954, 142), which is probably the reason why according to the commentaries (*ad. loc.*) leeks are excluded from the *buḳūl* laid out on the "spread table" sent from Heaven to Jesus and the apostles (Ḳurʾān, V, 111 ff.). Perhaps the lizard should also be added to this list (see above, col. 1058 b).

In the course of the centuries there have come to be added to this list of prohibited goods new edible products; the fact that they were *bidʿa* reinforced their qualities of being harmful, intoxicating etc., to induce—but in vain—their prohibition. This has been the case with coffee [see ḲAHWA], *ḳāt* [*q.v.*], tobacco [see TÜTÜN], etc.

Each Muslim sect, formulating for itself a complete doctrine on all points of dogma and practice, has had to make its decisions on the problem of prohibitions concerning food. In general the Ḳurʾānic prohibitions have been adhered to, but some have considered them to have only an allegorical significance or that an era was beginning in which there was no further justification for them. The extra-Ḳurʾānic prohibitions have been deliberately criticized in some circles. The consumption of dogs, habitual in the Saharan Maghrib, was regarded with indulgence by some jurists (cf. M. Canard, in *Hespéris*, xxxix (1952), 298, n. 1; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale* . . ., 592, 631). The Ḳarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn allowed the meat of cats, dogs, donkeys, etc. to be sold, dogs to be fattened for the table and, at one time at least, seem to have permitted wine (De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn*², Leiden 1886, 174 f.; cf., *e.g.*, M. b. Mālik al-Ḥamādī, *Kashf asrār al-bāṭiniyya*, ed. M. Zāhid Kawtharī, Cairo 1939, 13). But Ismāʿīlī dogma follows the classical pattern of regulations concerning food, forbidding the flesh of carnivorous animals and birds of prey, that of the hyena and the fox, the mule and the donkey, discouraging that of the lizard and the hedgehog, authorizing that of the hare and the horse (on condition that the latter should not be ritually slaughtered unless it is exhausted with fatigue) as well as that of locusts and fish with scales, both to be caught alive; condemning the eating of marrow, spleen, kidneys or the genital organs of animals, etc.; forbidding all fermented drinks and discouraging the use of wine-vinegar (Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān, *K. al-Iḳtiṣār*, ed. M. Wahid Mirza, Damascus 1957, 95-7). Al-Ḥākim forbids in addition to this some plants: *mulūkhiyya* ('Jew's-mallow'), *rashād* (cress or rocket), *mutawakkiliyya* (a dish rather than a plant?), and lupins, because of their name or because they were liked by ʿĀʾisha, Abū Bakr, Mutawakkil, etc. (S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, i, CCCIX f.). As a further example we may mention the prohibition among the Yazīdīs of the chicken and the gazelle, of cauliflower and lettuce, accompanied by a tolerance towards the use of alcohol (R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjār*, Beirut 1938, 76 f.). Among the Nuṣayrīs are found in general at least those Muslim prohibitions which are very widespread (camel, eel, cat-fish), the prohibition of the hare, which is strictly Shīʿī, and, among the *Shamsiyya*, equally widespread prohibitions such as those of crabs and shell-fish, that of the porcupine, which is also unlawful for the Shīʿīs, as well as the more surprising prohibition of the gazelle and of vegetables (pumpkins, gumbo, tomatoes). The prohibition laid by this same group upon female animals is reminiscent rather of the practice of the Christian monks of the East. But there were of course local variations (L. Massignon, in *EI*¹, s.v. Nuṣairī; R. Strothmann, *Die Nuṣairī im heutigen Syrien*, Göttingen 1950 = *Nachrichten der Ak.d. Wiss. in Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1950, no. 4, 55).

It would be useful to make a study of the strictness with which these theoretical regulations are applied in practice in the different Muslim countries. The laxity or strictness of observance varies greatly according to regions, social categories, families, etc. The attitude even of the same group or the same individual may vary, according to whether it is a case of one regulation or another. Broadly speaking, for example, it seems that the prohibition of pork has always been more strictly observed than that of alcoholic drinks. Nevertheless in China, where the Muslims live in an area where pork is very much liked, they not infrequently eat it, with or without the precaution of calling it "mutton" (M. Broomhall, *Islam in China*, London 1910, 225 f., 230 f.). The non-Ḳurʾānic prohibitions are often less strictly observed, advantage sometimes being taken of the variations between the *madhāhib*. Thus, at Maʿān and often among the Bedouin of Arabia, there are eaten crows and eagles, which are forbidden by the majority of the schools (A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 67, n. 1; C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, i, 604). Rich Ottomans had sent to them by Christians (to celebrate *Bayram*!) mussels, concealed under green cloth (Marie Sevadjian, *L'amira*, Fr. tr. F. Macler, Paris 1927, 38 f.), etc.

In the category of religious prohibitions should be included those which the ascetics imposed on themselves, and which are nowhere prescribed by the Law. Among these is abstinence from meat, which is an ancient practice (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 150, 152, Fr. tr. *Le dogme et la loi de l'Islam*, Paris 1920, 122, 124), probably adopted in order to rival the zeal of Christians, Manicheans, etc. (L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*², Paris 1954, 61), and which may have been reinforced by Hindu and Buddhist influence (for Abu 'l-Alā al-Maʿarrī, see H. Laoust, in *BÉO*, x (1943-4), 152). The dervish-orders too propagated various prohibitions, thus provoking the protests of the reformers (J. Jomier, *Le commentaire coranique de Manâr*, Paris 1954, 209).

It would be interesting to study the way in which the *fuḳahāʾ*, the theologians, the mystics and the philosophers have attempted to justify the prohibitions concerning food. We cannot do it here, but would merely mention that there has always existed a tendency to interpret them in a rational way. Thus al-Marghīnānī points out that the aim of the prohibition is to preserve the nobility of the human body by preventing its being sullied through absorbing the substance of base animals (*Hidāya*, ms. Paris ar. 6763, fol. 247v., tr. C. Hamilton, London 1791, iv, 74). This tendency has developed particularly in modern times, when the apologists lay especial

stress on the social advantages and the benefits to health of the prohibition of wine (*e.g.*, J. Jomier, *Le commentaire coranique du Manâr*, Paris 1954, 209 f., and above, col. 1069 b). The mystics favour rather a symbolic exegesis. But the predominant tendency has been to see in these regulations a sign of God's arbitrary will. The expressions of this doctrine often coincide with that of certain contemporary sociologists, who insist on the arbitrary character of the regulations of social life. These regulations are seen as forming a system corresponding to a necessary pattern which is understood only by God: He sets himself against the ignorant anarchy of men, who are not directed by the Revelation but obey only their own psycho-physiological impulses. This is very well expressed in a *ḥadīth* which is said to have been uttered by Ibn ʿAbbās: "The people of the *djāhiliyya* used to eat certain things and abstain from others simply from distaste. But God sent His Prophet and revealed His Book; He allowed that which was lawful and forbade that which was unlawful in His eyes. That which He has permitted is lawful, that which He has forbidden is unlawful and that on which He has kept silent is tolerated (*ʿafw*). Then Ibn Abbās recited the Ḳurʾān, VI, 146/145" (Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 30; cf. M. Rodinson, in *Trudi dvadtsatʾ pyatogo meždunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov*, i, Moscow 1962, 362-6).

8. Aesthetic factors. Certain ideas, attitudes and recommendations concerning food are based neither on the categories of useful or harmful (ideas and recommendations of secular ideology) nor on those of good or evil (religious ideas, recommendations and regulations), but on those of what is agreeable or disagreeable. Several of these ideas and attitudes are in a sense "natural", that is to say linked with a conditioning which is specific (pertaining to the human species in general), ethnic (with variations due in part to geographical conditions) or individual, based on the physiological peculiarities of the species, the group or the individual respectively. But the physiological facts influencing the species or the group leave at the same time a certain margin of choice. Within this margin, each society chooses and inculcates in its members from childhood a system of values in taste (in the widest sense, *i.e.*, including not only the sense of taste but the sense of smell and others), comprising distinctions and preferences. It is moreover still often difficult (given the lack of sufficiently detailed studies) to distinguish within this system between the elements which are "natural" (based on physiology) although transmitted by tradition and those which belong to the arbitrary rules of social conduct. Furthermore, some small groups set up and propagate their own systems of values, generally within the margin left by the social system, but sometimes exceeding this. Finally, individuals are subject to their own physiological and psychological conditioning, also within the system inculcated by the society and the group, but sometimes going beyond it.

We can mention here only some of the features which are connected with this aesthetic approach to food. Among the distinctions made are of course the four specifically gustative flavours: sweet, sour, salt, bitter (Arabic *ḥulw, ḥāmiḍ, malīḥ, murr*) with the various degrees and varieties of insipidity (Ar. *malīkh, masīkh*, "completely insipid"; *tafih* "without either real sweetness, acidity or bitterness", cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Fiḳh al-lugha*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1885, 272); the qualities, perhaps connected with a chemical sensitivity, such as highly-spiced (in Arabic, as in English, called "hot", *ḥārr*, hence a group of seeds called "hot seeds", *abzār ḥārra*; cf. in French the four "semences chaudes": fennel, carraway, cumin, aniseed), piquant (*ḥāriṣ*, not always interchangeable with sour, *ḥāmiḍ*), astringent (*ḳābiḍ*), pungent (*ʿafiṣ*), etc. or those which correspond more closely to the chemical composition of the foods (fat, Ar. *samīn*, *i.e.*, rich in fats, similarly "oily, greasy, λιπαρός", Ar. *dasim*); those connected with smell (cf. Ibn Sīnā, *Psychology*, ed. J. Bakoš, Prague 1956, 76; tr., *ibid.*, 52 f.; cf. Aristotle, *De anima*, II, 10, 422b, and, for the terminology, the Arabic tr. of A. F. El-Ehwany and G. Anawati, 2nd ed., Cairo 1960, 80 with the appended glossaries; Ibn Sīnā addes to the qualities of savour listed by Aristotle, though it is possible to contest this, *bashāʿa*, an unpleasant taste, and *tafah*, insipidity), etc. To these should be added the sensations due to heat and cold, to a brittle or soft consistency, etc. The various preferences are expressed with reference to these distinctions. The taste for fat is readily discernible among both the early and the present-day Bedouin (cf. above, col. 1059 a). Those Muslims of today who are anxious to bring their cooking partly into line with European taste condemn the excessive use of fat meat in their dishes (cf. M. Rodinson, *Recherches* . . ., 107). The taste for highly-spiced foods and for sweet things appeared at a more advanced stage of Muslim civilization; it was simply a continuation of the tastes of classical antiquity (against which Sophon and Damoxenos waged a vain campaign in the 4th century B.C.), as were some more specific tastes which have now become disagreeable to us, such as that of rue (*sadhāb*), or that of products which have a very strong smell (cf. J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome*, 223 ff.).

The art of cooking consists in preparing and combining the basic elements in such a way as to produce a pleasant flavour. The combinations take into account the distinction between the sensory qualities, mentioned above, which are attributed to the foods, and the compatability (with a hierarchy of degrees of compatibility) and incompatibility of ingredients, whether used together or eaten following each other. Europeans have often remarked on the use in Muslim cooking of combinations in one dish of foods not in accordance with their own taste, for example that of highly-spiced with sweet and bland ingredients, without a sauce of intermediate flavour to lessen the contrast; there have even been drawn from this deductions, not beyond dispute, on collective psychology (E. F. Gautier, *apud* L. Massignon, in *RMM*, lvii (1924), 151). In fact these combinations are not confined to Muslim cooking; they are found in European and American cooking, and were used in the past even more than today. Much use is made of sauces for combining ingredients, as was done in the Middle Ages. Present-day Turkish cooking seeks to avoid having in one dish the taste of meat (roasted or grilled) and that of cooked vegetables (I. Orga, *Turkish cooking*, London 1958, 14). Vegetables cooked in oil are often eaten cold in the Middle East. As among the Romans, meat in the mediaeval Muslim world was usually boiled before being baked or roasted, and for some meat this was a necessity, either because of tradition or in order to make it tender (cf. J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome*, 223).

At the more elegant levels of society there has developed, following the tradition of the Ancient World, a custom of serving at one meal a succession

of dishes of varying flavours. It was introduced in Cordova in the 3rd/9th century by the Baghdādī Ziryāb (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 271). This arrangement seems to have been less generally adopted in the East than in the West.

It is natural that some preferences and abstentions which have a national or religious origin or are the result of an arbitrary social tradition should sometimes be justified also by aesthetic arguments. The preferring of mutton to beef is perhaps an example of this.

Aesthetic considerations which have nothing to do with taste are also important. Among them is the visual appeal of dishes, to which there are many references in the mediaeval culinary treatises. Great care is always taken over how a dish is served, and saffron, for example, is often used more for its "rich" golden colour than for its flavour. Also with the aim of delighting or surprising the beholder there were evolved an increasing number of the "disguises" (to use a term from ancient cookery) which were so popular also in Europe in the Middle Ages. Hence dishes with such significant names as *muzawwar(a)* "counterfeit", *maṣnūʿ* "artificial", etc., and recipes such as those for "mock brain" or omelette in a bottle (M. Rodinson, *Recherches* . . ., 157 f.), or the dish composed of 5 animals each inside the other which was devised for Abu 'l-ʿUlā, the governor of Ceuta and brother of the Almohad caliph Yūsuf I (A. Huici Miranda, in *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, v (1957), 140, 142, n. 3). Nowadays, on the contrary, names of this sort are given rather to economical dishes which are imitations of the more luxurious ones (*e.g.*, Turkish *yalancı dolma*). But attention is always paid to the appearance of a dish, so that even one so common as purée of chick-peas (*ḥummuṣ be-ṭḥīne*), a speciality of Damascus, is always decorated with powdered red pepper, whole chick-peas, etc.

The systematic discrimination of the foods with the pleasantest taste, the drawing up of the rules which govern this according to increasingly subtle criteria, and the search for the most delicious combinations of food, formed the preoccupations not only of head cooks but of a whole distinguished society of gourmets and gastronomes. Gastronomy was especially esteemed in the ʿAbbāsid period, hence the gastronomical gatherings organized by several of the caliphs (cf. Ḥ. Zayyāt, *al-Khizāna al-sharḳiyya*, iv, 4 ff.). Gourmets at the highest level of the social hierarchy took pleasure in preparing and in inventing dishes which were often called by their names (cf. M. Rodinson, *Recherches* . . ., *passim* and, for the Muslim West, A. Huici Miranda, *op. cit.*, 138 ff.). The abundance and the popularity of their writings on this subject were already arousing the anger of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs (d. 167/783; Goldziher, *Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists*, London 1893, ii, 104 ff.); they wrote especially many treatises on cookery (*Fihrist*, 317, l. 6-10; cf. M. Rodinson, *Recherches* . . ., 100 ff.) which are now unfortunately lost; poems were composed to celebrate certain dishes (*op. cit.*, 112). The interest in food of the ʿAbbāsid upper classes has left its trace in the names of dishes created by its most eminent members, for example the *ibrāhīmiyya*, which is named after the prince (at one time anti-caliph) Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. Within the Muslim world, gastronomy, although later less widespread and certainly less paraded because of the growth of puritanism, nevertheless always had its adherents and its poets (cf. Rodinson, *op. cit.*, *passim*).

Bibliography: In the article. For the manuscript works on cooking mentioned (especially the *Wuṣla ila 'l-ḥabīb*), see M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI*, 1949, 95-165. (M. Rodinson)

Banū **GHIFĀR** b. Mulayk b. Ḍamra b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna, a small Arab tribe, being a subdivision of the Banū Ḍamra b. Bakr, who in their turn formed a branch of the Kināna. The Ghifār lived in the Ḥidjāz between Mecca and Medina; some of their abodes are mentioned by the geographers. Very little is known of their history in pre-Islamic times: one of their members is mentioned (*Aghānī*[1], xix, 74, 5) in the brawls preceding the Fidjār-war [*q.v.*]. A quarrel between the Ghifār and the Banū Thaʿlaba b. Saʿd b. Dhubyān is referred to in a poem quoted by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 202 f. A woman of the Ghifār was wife to the poet ʿUrwa b. al-Ward al-ʿAbsī (Ibn Hishām, 653 f.). A confederacy (*ḥilf*) between them and the Banū Mālik of Kināna is mentioned in *Aghānī*[1], xi, 126 ff. Living as they did in the neighbourhood of Medina it was essential to the Prophet that they should not take sides with the Ḳuraysh; he therefore guaranteed them in one of his earliest letters the protection (*dhimma*) of Allāh and His messenger for their lives and goods (Ibn Saʿd, i, 2, 26 f.). In this treaty Muḥammad did not insist on their conversion; but by 8/630 they had embraced Islam and took part in the conquest of Mecca. Some of them had settled at Medina, *e.g.*, Abū Dharr [*q.v.*] and his nephew ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṣāmit; Sibāʿ b. ʿUrfuṭa as well as Abū Ruhm are even said to have been left by the Prophet as his representatives in Medina during some of his expeditions (Ibn Hishām 668, 810, 896, 966).

After the Prophet's death the Banū Ghifār did not join in the revolt (*ridda*), nor were their deeds outstanding in the time of the conquests (*futūḥ*). We hear of the quarter (*khiṭṭa*) they had in Fusṭāṭ, when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ conquered Egypt in 20/641 (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 746).

In 45/665 Ḥakam b. ʿAmr, a younger Companion of the Prophet (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, s.v.), was appointed to the governorship of Khurāsān; he died at Marw in 51/671. He was called al-Ghifārī, though his ancestor was not Ghifār, but the latter's brother Nuʿayla, whose descendants being few in number had affiliated themselves to the Banū Ghifār (Ṭabarī, ii, 80 f., 84 f., 109-11).

Bibliography: Indexes to Ibn Hishām; Wāḳidī (transl. by Wellhausen); Ṭabarī; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*; *Aghānī*, Tables; Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, N 13, index 172; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*; idem, *Muhammad at Medina* (indexes). For Ghifār in the tradition see Wensinck, *Concordance*, iv, 529, 42-6. (J. W. Fück)

GHILZAY [see ghalzay].

GHINĀʾ (A), song, singing. This is the specific meaning of the word, although it stands for music in its generic sense, an interpretation accepted by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (4th/10th century) who say (Bombay ed., i, 87): "*mūsīḳī* is *ghināʾ*, and the *mūsīḳār* is the *mughannī*" (see R. Payne-Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, 977, s.v. *hedhrula*). The origin and development of the song must be traced through the folk. From a musical point of view there is no difference between the simple chant of the *faḳīr* and the artless song of the *saḳḳāʾ* (water-carrier), or between the elaborate cantillation of the *muʾadhdhin* (caller to prayer) and the highly festooned vocal work of the professional

mug͟hannī (singer). In some lands *g͟hināʾ* is classified according to the structure of the music whether classical or popular, whilst in other lands it is grouped according to the class of verse used. In Morocco the song is divided into folk song or popular song called *ḳarīḥa* (natural talent), and the art song called *āla* (classical) or *ṣanʿa* (art work). In Algeria it is grouped under *kalām al-hazl* (profane song) and *kalām al-d̲j̲idd* (serious song).

The D̲j̲āhiliyya. Just as we see the double meaning of the Latin *carmen* (charm, song), so the Arabic *laḥana* and *s̲h̲aʿara* (from which we derive *laḥn* (melody) and *s̲h̲iʿr* (poetry)) have, in their pristine significance, the meaning of 'he understood' in the cryptic sense. Perhaps the *ḥudāʾ* (camel driver's song) was, at first, a 'charm' against the *d̲j̲inn* (genii) of the desert. The *ḥudāʾ/ḥidāʾ* was not confined to the camel driver. The toil or industrial song was to be found on every hand. Indeed we read of the Arabs of old singing at toil for their Assyrian task-masters. That dominating factor of repetition not only relieved the monotony of work but it regulated and disciplined it. Ibn D̲j̲innī (d. 392/1002) has said that the drawer of water will go on working as long as the *rad̲j̲az* chant continues. The water carrier, the boatman, the weaver, the gleaner, and even the women of the tent or household sang at work just as they do today. Al-Masʿūdī avers that the *ḥudāʾ* was developed out of the *bikāʾ* (lament) of the women. Out of this came the *nawḥ* (elegy) and the *naṣb* (secular song) which found expression on all occasions of joy, and would include wedding songs, children's songs and lullabies.

We know nothing of the verse or music of these early folk songs, any more than we know the character of those mentioned in *Exodus*, XV, 21 or *Numbers*, XXI, 17, although the names of some singers have been preserved. Al-D̲j̲awharī (d. 396/1006) and Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066) affirm that the *naṣb* was peculiar to the Arabs but was no more than a refined *ḥudāʾ*, and al-G̲h̲azzālī (d. 505/1111) says that its measure (*wazn*) was based on the prosody (*ʿarūḍ*) of the verse. Probably much of pre-Islamic poetry was sung, as Brockelmann suggested. Only by this means could full justice be done to the poetic language. It was not a mere guess which prompted St. Guyard and Landberg to suggest that Arabic prosody was based on musical principles. That verse was originally in the colloquial may be accepted, hence the term *laḥn* came to imply the colloquial. Certainly the folk song is partly responsible for perpetuating corruptions in speech, and both melody and measure are sovereign perpetuators, as we see in the *malḥūn* of Morocco. The melodic framework of folk song is quite simple, a solitary musical phrase being the general rule, and that is repeated with each *bayt* (verse) or even each *miṣrāʿ* (hemistich). The compass is generally tetrachordal or pentachordal, although even two notes might carry the limit of a toil song. Adornments (*taḥsīn*) of the melody by means of grace notes—always the mark of ability in the professional *mug͟hannī* (singer)—is rarely indulged in by the folk. Three types of *g͟hināʾ* are practised,—the solo, chorus, and antiphon. Both the measured (*mīzān al-s̲h̲iʿr*) and unmeasured (*g͟hayr mawzūn*) are in use. The former is called the *nas̲h̲īd*, *ins̲h̲ād*, *uns̲h̲ūda*, and the latter the *tartīl*.

Needless to say the art song existed with the *ḳaynāt*, *dād̲j̲ināt*, *mud̲j̲ināt*, or *ḳarīnāt* (professional singing-girls) of the tribes, wine shops, and private families, the term *musmiʿat*, found in al-Aʿs̲h̲ā Maymūn, being probably post-Islamic. History—or legend—mentions these singing-girls among the old Banū ʿAmālīḳ (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 231; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iii, 296), and certainly the *ḳinītu* was known to ancient Assyria. That all played a prominent part in social life is evident from the story of the Prophet Muḥammad himself. Lyall, in his *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* (XXVI, 87), opines that these *ḳaynāt* were 'all foreigners' and that they sang 'probably to foreign airs', but he gives no evidence; whilst the statement of von Kremer that they did not even sing in Arabic is likewise unacceptable. That *some* of them came from Persia, or more likely al-Ḥīra, and even Byzantium, and that *some* of their songs were sung in an alien tongue is quite admissible, but we know that some came from Mecca. Al-Nābig͟ha the poet was corrected by a *ḳayna* for using faulty rhymes (*iḳwāʾ*). That one—at least—was scarcely a foreigner (*Ag͟hānī*, ix, 164; xvi, 15). Most of the great pagan poets were entranced by those singing-girls, and among them Bis̲h̲r b. ʿAmr, al-Aʿs̲h̲ā Maymūn b. Ḳays, and ʿAbd Yag͟hūt̲h̲. Even Ṭarafa, Labīd, and ʿAbd al-Masīḥ were overjoyed to hearken to the *d̲j̲ank* (harp) and *tard̲j̲īʿ* (refrain) of the tavern *ḳayna*. Perron says that before Islām, 'music was little else than unpretentious psalming (*tarannum*), varied and embroidered by the singer'. Everyone sang in unison or octave, harmony—in our sense of the term—being unknown. What took its place was what the Arabs called *īḳāʿ* (rhythm) supplied by a *ḳaḍīb* (rhythmic wand), *duff* or *mizhar* (tambourines), or, failing the latter, a *g͟hirbāl* (a parchment-bottom sieve). Every singer decorated her melody with vocal ornaments (*zawāʾid*). Ṭarafa reveals how the song began on a low note, whilst another describes a singer who 'prolonged the final vowels with a high trill (*tud̲h̲rī*)' and clearly enunciated the syllables in the *tartīl* fashion.

Under Islam. At the birth of Islam there was no opposition to singing, since even the Prophet Muḥammad himself had joined in the toil-song at the digging of the trenches at Mecca, yet the four Orthodox Caliphs are reported to have been—more or less—in opposition to any indulgence in listening (*al-samāʿ*) to singing or any music. As a result, the rigid school of religious law in ʿIrāḳ prohibited, and that, more accommodating, of Madina, allowed singing, and a whole library of literature—both for and against—came into existence on *al-samāʿ*. Indeed a legal fiction arose which argued that the cantillation (*tag͟hbīr*) of the Ḳurʾān was not the same as singing, as we read in Ibn K̲h̲aldūn. Yet, as Ibn Ḳutayba pointed out, the rule and practice of cantillation and singing were identical, and—as we read in the *ʿIḳd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih—if the artistic song was illegal, so was the chanting of the Ḳurʾān. Human nature, being what it is, could not accept the bigoted ruling of the pious, and so there arose, in addition to the privately owned *ḳayna* or singing-girl, the professional musician (*mug͟hannī*), the first recorded being Ṭuways (10/632-92/711 [*q.v.*]). He, and a *mug͟hanniya* named ʿAzzat al-Maylāʾ [*q.v.*], are said to have introduced a new type of song called the *g͟hināʾ al-mutḳan* (artistic song) or *g͟hināʾ al-raḳīḳ* (graceful song). According to Ibn al-Kalbī, 'the *g͟hināʾ* is of three kinds —(1) the *naṣb*, which was the song of the riders (*g͟hināʾ al-rukbān*) and the singing-girls (*ḳaynāt*): (2) the *sinād*, which had a slow refrain (*tard̲j̲īʿ*), but was full of notes (*nag͟hamāt*): and (3) the *hazad̲j̲* which was quick (*k̲h̲afīf*)'. Yet a new element had arisen called *īḳāʿ* (rhythm), which was distinct from *ʿarūḍ* (metre), and was external because it was supplied by *taṣfīḳ* (handclapping), or

a pulsatile instrument such as the *ḳaḍīb* (wand), *duff*, *mizhar*, or *ghirbāl* (tambourine). All the *aṣwāt* (songs) contained in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* are in the *ḳaṣīda* (ode) or *ḳiṭʿa* (fragment) forms, and many collections of songs were made by Yūnus al-Kātib (d. *c.* 148/765), Ibn Djāmiʿ (d. *c.* 187/803), Yaḥya al-Makkī (d. *c.* 205/820), Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī (d. 236/850), Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Naṣībī (d. *c.* 246/860), Ibn Bāna [*q.v.*] or Bānata (d. 278/891), and al-Wazīr al-Maghribī (d. 417/1026). Later new popular forms of song appeared such as the *muwashshaḥ*, *zadjal*, *mawwāl*, *billīḳ* and *kānkān*. Indeed the first named was lifted into a premier place in Muslim Spain. Alas! not a note has been preserved. All that we know of the songs in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of al-Iṣfahānī, is the name of the tonal mode (*aṣbaʿ*) and rhythmic mode (*ḍarb*) in which they were sung. It is not until the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 693/1294) that we get a notation—or rather a tablature—of a song in Arabic books on music, whilst ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Ghaybī (d. 838/1435) is the earliest of the Persians to use a notation or tablature for a song. In the 8th/14th-9th/15th centuries three definite types of vocal music were recognized,—the *nashīd*, the *basīṭ*, and what was contained in the *nawba*, the latter being a vocal and instrumental *suite des pièces*. The *nashīd* comprised two parts, the first being an unrhythmical setting of two verses called the *nashr al-naghamāt*, the second being a rhythmic setting called the *naẓm al-naghamāt*. The *basīṭ* was a *ḳiṭʿa* set in one of the *thaḳīl* rhythms.

All singing in the Islamic East is basically homophonic, *i.e.*, purely melodic. Harmony, in our connotation of the term, is unknown. The greater part of the Islamic East conceives music horizontally, whereas Europe views it vertically. All melody is modal. In the days of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* there were but eight modes, but with the later impingement of Iranian culture there were eighteen or more. These were originally called *asābiʿ* (fingers), but later were named *naghamāt* (notes), *maḳāmāt* (places), or *ṭibāʿ* (natures), the latter term revealing the belief in the innate character of a particular mode. Then there are and were motives or patterns in the melody, some being hoary with antiquity. As every verse of a song is complete in itself, *i.e.*, it contains a compact thought, it originally consisted of the same melodic phrase, but from the time of Ibn Muḥriz (d. *c.* 96/715) the second verse was set to a different melody. These factors do not imply monotony, because the singer varies her or his rendition of the melody differently by means of ornaments (*zawāʾid*, *taḥāsin* or *zuwwāḳ*). For vocalizing these latter, special syllables are introduced such as *ah*, *yā* and *lā*, when the more conventional *yā laylī* or *tirī ṭār* do not suffice. These occur in various places, viz., in the bosom of a word, and the end of a phrase, or the close of a hemistich, verse, or song, and in the last position it is called *shughl* (work). Of course in the folk or toil songs none of the above artistries occur, although some chants of the pearl fishers off the Bahrain coast reveal something of the sort. It is highly probable that the metric melodies (*naghamāt al-buḥūr*), which are still used in North Africa to probe the scansion of verse, may be survivals of many of the old types of songs, even as far back as the days of early Islam.

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(Henry G. Farmer)

GHIRBĪB b. ʿABD ALLĀH, minor poet of Toledan origin who played a political rôle in his native town soon after the succession of the *amīr* al-Ḥakam I (180/796) by supporting the agitation stirred up by one ʿUbayd Allāh b. Khamīr (variant names). Ghirbīb, who exercised great influence at Toledo, had conceived a grudge against al-Ḥakam and, having fled from Cordova, set to work to foster an atmosphere of hostility to the Umayyad *amīr* at Toledo by means of his mordant verses. The latter finally entrusted the task of restoring order to the *muwallad* ʿAmrūs, who put down the revolt savagely and decimated the Toledan bourgeoisie on the "Day of the Ditch" (*waḳʿat al-ḥufra*). E. Lévi-Provençal has established that this event took place in 181/797 (and not in 191/807 as is generally accepted); and as, according to tradition, al-Ḥakam feared Ghirbīb too much to embark on an expedition against Toledo as long as the poet was alive, there is reason to think that he died in 181/797. Nothing remains of his poetical output except a few lines of no great value.

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(Ed.)

GHIRSH [see sikka].

GHIYĀR (Arabic: distinguishing, distinction, cognizance) is a term denoting the compulsory distinctive mark in the garb of *dhimmī* [*q.v.*] subjects under Muslim rule. It is considered probable that the *ghiyār* became the prototype of the Jewish badge in Christian Europe.

In Islamic lands it was part and parcel of the dispositions concerning the status of the *dhimmīs* which can be traced back to the time of Mutawakkil's enactments (233/849), but had been known even earlier; thus under Hārūn al-Rashīd they were discussed in Abū Yūsuf's *K. al-Kharādj* (72 f.) where they are ascribed to ʿUmar. From time to time when a recrudescence of anti-*dhimmī* restrictions occurred the re-introduction of the *ghiyār* figures in the reports.

It is described as a piece of cloth, a patch of a stipulated colour (red, blue, yellow) placed over the shoulder. The *Tādj* mentions that some considered it the badge of the Jew. On the other hand, in various sources the word denotes any kind of garb distinction imposed upon *dhimmīs*, and indeed the garment which bears the mark. Both the wider connotation and the narrower seem well attested. Thus the *zunnār* (a special belt) of the Christians often comes under this heading. The colours changed in the course of time for each infidel community. The *muḥtasib* [*q.v.*] was supposed to see to it that the statutes concerning the *dhimmīs* in general were enforced, and the wearing of the *ghiyār*, in particular, observed.

In the Maghrib the name *shakla* occurs for the *ghiyār*.

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GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE, KAY-KHUSRAW, MUḤAMMAD].

GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN NAḲḲĀSH, Tīmūrid courtier. If he was an artist, as the name indicates (*naḳḳāsh* = painter, etc.), his speciality is unknown. He was a protégé of Bāysonghor [*q.v.*], the gifted son of Shāh Rukh, and was attached by his patron to the Tīmūrid embassy to China in 823/1420-825/1422, with the special duty of drawing up a day-to-day descriptive account of the embassy. This report of the journey from Harāt to Khānbāligh (Pekin) and back, giving first-hand information about China which is not to be found elsewhere, at one time existed in writing, and has been incorporated into the *Zubdat al-tawārikh* of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, the *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Samarḳandī, etc. On the 18th century Turkish translation, called *ʿAdjāʾib al-laṭāʾif*, by Küčük Čelebizāde, see Babinger 293-4.

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GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN TUGHLUḲ I (Ghāzī Malik), founder of the Tughluḳ dynasty and ruler of India from 720/1320 to 725/1325, was by origin a Ḳarawna Turk and an immigrant from Khurāsān, who took service under the Khaldjīs. In 705/1305 he was appointed governor of Dīpālpūr in the Pandjāb, and as warden of the marches he held the Mongols at bay for fifteen years, conducting annual raids against them in the Kābul and Ghazna areas.

The prestige thus gained was his main asset when he rose against Khusraw Khān, a Khaldjī general of low-caste Hindu Parwārī origin, who had massacred the last Khaldjī ruler, Ḳutb al-Dīn Mubārak (716/1316-720/1320) and all the Khaldjī princes, seized the throne, apostatized from Islam and begun a reign of terror in Dihlī. Most of the Muslim governors had accepted Khusraw Khān's rule passively, probably owing to the lack of reliable intelligence from Dihlī. Ghāzī Malik addressed his *daʿwa* of *djihād* to only six governors of western India, of whom one joined him, two who refused to join were murdered by their own troops, while another who promised to help was restored to authority by his formerly rebellious troops. The Tughluḳ revolution was therefore the work of the rank and file of the Muslim army, rather than of the Muslim ruling élite. Three decisive victories ending in the capture and execution of Khusraw Khān left Ghāzī Malik the undisputed master of the Sultanate. Despite his refusal, he was raised to the throne by the *idjmāʿ* of the nobles, as the defender and restorer of Islamic power in India against the double challenge of Mongol threat and Hindu subversion. He assumed the title Ghiyāth al-Dīn.

Contemporary Muslim historiography eulogises him as the saviour of Islam in India, and Baranī presents him as the ideal sultan who combined a heroic rôle with personal virtues of continence, chastity and piety. The hagiographical tradition is much less complimentary owing to the Sultan's differences with the Čishtī mystic Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā on two points: acceptance by the latter of a large gift of money from Khusraw Khān, which he was unable to restore to the treasury when called upon; and the practice of the Čishtiyya [*q.v.*] to listen to music (*samāʿ*). To settle the second point the Sultan convened a great congress of *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfīs, and finally imposed some restriction on the *samāʿ* of the heterodox Ṣūfīs, without interfering with the practices of the Čishtī leader. Anecdotes of subsequent bitterness seem to be later apocryphal legends connected with the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn which found their way from later hagiographical writings like those of Djamālī into the serious historical works of Firishta and others; they are not traceable either in contemporary chronicles or near-contemporary hagiographies like Ḥamīd Ḳalandar's *Khayr al-madjālis*.

Administratively Ghiyāth al-Dīn's first problem was to restore the economy of the state after its upheaval and thorough fiscal chaos under Khusraw Khān. He had to resort to a policy of confiscation of *djāgīrs* granted by his reckless predecessors, and to the more unpopular measures of appropriating older land-grants and army pensions (ʿIsāmī, 389-91). His taxation policy, which affected mainly the Hindu agricultural and land-owning classes, was to strike a *via media*, denying them opportunities of accumulation of wealth which might lead to rebellion, but granting them security of subsistence to enable them to pursue their husbandry. Between 722/1322 and 723/1323, consolidation and expansion of the Sultanate was effected by this son Djawnā Khān (also known as Ulugh Khān, later Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*]), who re-subjugated the rebellious Kakātīya radja Pratāparuraveda II of Warangal after an initial reverse; annexed the Pāṇḍya Hindu kingdom of Madura (Maʿbar); invaded Djādjnagar and made incursions into the independent Hindu principality of Orissa. Ghiyāth al-Dīn personally led an expedition intervening in the civil war in Bengal, which was partly annexed to the sultanate and partly placed under a vassal ruler Nāṣir al-Dīn. During his five years' rule Ghiyāth al-Dīn had thus consolidated the sultanate and extended its borders considerably beyond the Khaldjī frontiers.

On his way back from Bengal in 725/1325 Ghiyāth al-Dīn was crushed to death under the roof of a wooden pavilion constructed hastily upon the orders of his son Djawnā Khān, which collapsed during an elephant parade after a banquet. Djawnā has been accused of parricide by two near-contemporary chroniclers, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and ʿIṣāmī, both with strong prejudices against him. Other historians of the age, Baranī and Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sarhindī, make no such accusation. Sir Wolseley Haig's theory of the involvement of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā in this alleged intrigue seems to be far-fetched.

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(AZIZ AHMAD)

GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN TUGHLUḲ SHĀH II IBN FATḤ KHĀN IBN SULṬĀN FĪRŪZ SHĀH TUGHLUḲ [*q.v.*] (790/1388-791/1389) succeded to his grandfather's throne according to his will, superseding a number of relatives. This led to the internecine dynastic wars which led to the decline, and finally the overthrow of the Tughluḳ dynasty. The Sultan's inexperience, his love of pleasure and his tactlessness in imprisoning his own brother Sālār Khān led to the revolt of his nephew Abū Bakr son of Ẓafar Khān, who defeated and killed him with the aid of the *wazīr* Rukn al-Dīn Čanda. The reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ II marks the acceleration of chaos and civil strife in which the Delhi Sultanate rapidly disintegrated: a process which also marks the provincialization of Muslim culture in India during the 9th/15th century.

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(AZIZ AHMAD)

GHUBĀR [see ḤISĀB, KHAṬṬ].

GHUBRĪNĪ, *nisba* of the B. Ghubrīn, a branch of the Zawāwa Berbers who formerly inhabited the eastern end of Great Kabylia in Algeria (Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, Index s.v. Ghobrîn) and who are still represented in the same area by the Ait Ghobri (Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, i, 286). Two Ghubrīnīs played a rôle in Ḥafṣid history:

(1) Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, b. 644/1246 at Bidjāya (Bougie) where he spent all his life and attained the rank of *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*. In 704/1304 he was sent by the Ḥafṣid ruler of Bougie, Abu 'l-Baḳā' Khālid, as an emissary to establish friendly relations with the rival Ḥafṣid at Tunis, Abū ʿAbd Allāh. On his return he was accused of treason and of having been implicated in the death of Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm (who had been captured in Ghubrīnī territory 22 years previously) and was put to death. He wrote a collection of biographies of Bougiotes entitled *ʿUnwān al-dirāya* ... which was edited by Muḥammad b. Abī Shanab (Mohammed Ben Cheneb) and published at Algiers in 1910.

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(2) Abū Mahdī ʿĪsā, who became *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāʿa* at Tunis in 787/1385 and died there about 813/1410.

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(J. F. P. HOPKINS)

GHUDJDUWĀN (today Gižduvan), a large village in the northeastern part of the oasis of Bukhārā, on the tributary of the Zarafshān River at present called Pirmast, formerly the Kharkān Rūd.

The origin of the village and etymology of the name are unknown. It is mentioned as a village of the town of Rāmitīn by al-Muḳaddasī (267c), but no notices are found in other geographies. Al-Samʿānī (406b) says the village was six farsakhs from Bukhārā, and was an important commercial centre. It is mentioned several times in Islamic texts as the home of several learned men. A lieutenant of the heretic al-Muḳannaʿ came from there according to Narshakhī (see below). Bābur in 918/1512 was defeated here by the Özbeks. Thereafter little is heard of the village although the citadel was the scene of fighting several times. At present the village is sixteen kilometres/10 miles from the railroad station of Kyzyl-Tepe and ca. 50 km/30 m. from Bukhārā.

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(R. N. FRYE)

GHUDJDUWĀNĪ, KHWĀDJA ʿABD AL-KHĀLIḲ B. ʿABD AL-DJAMĪL, famous ṣūfī *shaykh*, born in Ghudjdawān (according to al-Samʿānī) or Ghadjduwān (according to Yāḳūt). His father, whose name has sometimes been corrupted into ʿAbd al-Djalīl, lived at Malātya (Melitene); he migrated from there to the vicinity of Bukhārā, where his son received his education. Certain writers trace his

ancestry to a royal dynasty of Rūm (Asia Minor); others consider him to be a descendant of the *imām* Mālik b. Anas and another source traces him back through ten generations to Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kharaḳānī, a famous ṣūfī *shaykh* who died in 424/1033; this seems inadmissible, since only 193 years separate the date of the death of Kharaḳānī from that of the death of Ghudjduwānī (which appears the more exact) and during that time ten generations cannot be admitted; moreover Kharaḳānī lived in Khurāsān and the ancestors of Ghudjduwānī seem always to have been in Asia Minor. The only information we possess on his life tells us that he studied at Bukhārā where, at the age of 22, he met his *shaykh* Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf Hamadānī, who died on Thursday 8 Muḥarram 535/24 August 1140 (in reality a Saturday). Thanks to the latter he entered the sect of Ṣūfīs then called *Tarīḳat-i Khʷādjegān*, later known as the Naḳshbandiyya from the time of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband. Most of his biographers place his death in 575/1179, while another version gives the date 617/1220, which seems more correct because he twice mentions the date 600/1204 in his *Risāla-i Ṣāḥibiyya*; what is more, his successor in the *ṭarīḳa*, Khʷādja Aḥmad Ṣiddīḳ, died in 657/1259, so that if Ghudjduwānī had died in 575 his successor would have disappeared 80 or 82 years after him, which is hardly likely. He was buried in Ghudjduwān.

He has left a work in Persian comprising: several quatrains, the *Risāla-i ṭarīḳat*, the *Waṣiyyat-nāma* or *Wāṣāyā* (which was the subject of a commentary composed by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Iṣfahānī, known under the title of Khʷādja Mawlānā, died after 921/1515), the *Risāla-i Ṣāḥibiyya*, eulogies of his master Yūsuf Hamadānī, a *Dhikr-i Khʷādja ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ*, mentioned by Storey (mss. of Leyden, of the British Museum and of the India Office). The *Risāla-i Ṣāḥibiyya* has been published with a commentary by the author of this article. We possess another anonymous *risāla* in Persian eulogizing him and his successor Khʷādja ʿĀrif-i Riv-Gari, also published by the author of this article.

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GHUFRĀN, *maṣdar* of *ghafara*, to forgive; refers to the two Ḳurʾānic Divine Names, *al-ghafūr* and *al-ghaffār*, the Forgiver and He who unceasingly forgives. Thus: act of man forgiving an offence, but essentially: act of God forgiving sins. The term *ghufrān* belongs to the vocabulary of *ʿilm al-kalām*, e.g. treatise on the "Last Things" (*al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd*) and chapter on *tawba*; and to the vocabulary of *taṣawwuf*, e.g. "dwelling-place" (*maḳām*) of repentance (*tawba*). Frequent synonym: *al-ʿafw*, which places the emphasis on forgiveness conceived as (total) annulment of the sinful act.—The conditions and methods of Divine forgiveness are analysed in the article TAWBA. (L. Gardet)

GHŪL (A., pl. *ghīlān* or *aghwāl*), fabulous being believed by the ancient Arabs to inhabit desert places and, assuming different forms, to lead travellers astray (sometimes, like the Bedouins, lighting fires on the hills the more easily to attract them), to fall upon them unawares and devour them; certain isolated sources (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 315) affirm however that it fled as soon as it was challenged; according to al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, i, 309), it rode on hares, dogs and ostriches; men could kill it, but only by giving it one single blow, for a second restored it to life, and this is why it always asked anyone courageous enough to resist it to strike it again. The root of the word *ghūl* seems to contain two different ideas: on the one hand the ability to assume different forms and on the other the treacherous attack. Indeed the *ghūl* is considered as apt to change its form continually and to appear to travellers under the most attractive guises, its ass's hooves alone remaining unchangeable. The word denotes also any misfortune which happens unexpectedly to a human being (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, s.v.; Horten, *Theol. des Islams*, 335); it is also used, notably by Kaʿb b. Zuhayr in verse 8 of his *Burda* (cf. R. Basset, *Bânat Soʿâd*, 102) to indicate fickleness, the ability of the *ghūl* to change its shape and colour having become proverbial; in the same sense it is also sometimes given the name of *khaytaʿūr* (see *LA*, s.v.).

Early sources, while observing that *ghūl* denotes a male as well as a female being, make it clear that the Arabs tended to regard it as a female; later sources however make it into a diabolical *djinn* and certain of them prefer to apply the word *ghūl* to the male, of whom the female is called *siʿlāt* (pl. *saʿālī*), while others consider the *ḳuṭrub* as the male of the latter (see al-Damīrī, s.v. *ḳuṭrub*); indeed these authors are not far from thinking that *ghūl* and *siʿlāt* are the same thing, while al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 159), followed by al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib*, following the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* of al-Damīrī, Cairo 1956, 214), states that the *siʿlāt* was distinguished from the *ghūl* by the fact that she did not change her form; she was considered among the *djinn*s, as a kind of witch (*sāḥira*). However, although grammatical agreement with the word *ghūl* is in the feminine, those who regard *siʿlāt* as the feminine of *ghūl* can point to the fact that popular usage has formed a feminine *ghūla*, and that, in a certain number of traditions, we find men having fruitful sexual relations with *saʿālī* but rarely with *ghīlān*. Attached to this group is the *ʿudār*, an equally fabulous animal, a male whose habit was to make men submit to assaults, which proved mortal if worms developed in the anus of the victim; there is moreover a proverb: *alwaṭ min ʿudār*; it survives in the Yemen, in the Tihāma and even in Upper Egypt (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vii, 178; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 319).

The Ḳurʾān contains none of the above terms, but the Prophet was aware of popular beliefs on the subject of the *ghīlān*; according to one *ḥadīth* he denied their existence, but some commentators consider that he denied only their ability to change shape, all the more because, according to another *ḥadīth*, he advised the repetition of the call to prayer

as a way of escaping their evil deeds (cf. *LA*, s.v.; al-Damīrī, s.v.). Hence it is not surprising that this belief survived in Islam to the point that al-Ḳazwīnī, followed by al-Damīrī, does not hesitate to state that these beings are not uncommon in the thickets and reedy marshes and that if they can seize a man they play with him "like a cat with a mouse".

However, the Muʿtazila, in the first place al-Djāḥiẓ, but also for example al-Zamakhsharī (commenting on Ḳurʾān, XXXVII, 46), set out to demonstrate that this fabulous being did not exist. Al-Djāḥiẓ considers that the poets, in their vanity, have bolstered up the legend, for the interpretations, in which the imagination of the *ruwāt* has had a free rein, are based to a great extent on verses such as those of Taʾabbaṭa Sharr^an who boasts of his familiarity with the *saʿālī* or the *ghīlān* which he met in the desert (cf. *Aghānī*, xviii, 209 ff.). Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 314-22) devotes to the *ghīlān* a whole chapter in which he tries to bring the discussion on to a higher level; unable to deny their existence, for ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb himself is said to have seen and killed one (and other Companions too, see al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī, s.v.), he reports a philosophical opinion—taken up later by al-Ḳazwīnī—according to which the *ghūl* is a freak animal, naturally defective, which has strayed from all other animals to take refuge in inaccessible deserts; he suggests also that these beings are the offspring of the constellation Perseus (*Ḥāmil raʾs al-ghūl*) which, on rising, begets shapes and objects which are to be seen in deserts and even in inhabited regions.

In Berber lands, belief in ogres and other fabulous creatures is of great antiquity and manifests itself in a great many stories, where, however, they tend to be islamized (see Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, ii; E. Laoust, *Des noms berbères de l'ogre et de l'ogresse*, in *Hespéris*, xxxiv (1947), 253-65; idem, *Contes berbères du Maroc*, Paris 1949, ii, 125 ff.). For belief in the *ghūl* in Persia, see H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persans*, ii, 351 ff.; for Egypt, see especially C. E. Padwick, *Notes on the Jinn and the Ghoul in the peasant mind of Lower Egypt*, in *BSOAS*, iii (1923-5), 421-46.

In popular language *ghūl* (*ghūla*, *ḳuṭrub*, etc.) is frequently used to indicate a cannibal, man or demon, and this ogre is often invoked as a threat to naughty children; it also appears in many stories and has even passed into French and English, where *goule* (fem.) and *ghoul* respectively correspond to the old Arabic original and indicate in addition a kind of vampire which digs up bodies at night to devour them (cf. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. x).

Bibliography: Apart from the works quoted: Wellhausen, *Reste*, 137 ff.; G. van Vloten, in *WZKM*, vii (1893), 178; R. Basset, *Bânat Soʿâd*, Algiers 1910, 102, n. 2 and bibl. there given; idem, *1001 Contes*, i, 80-4, 153; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, iv, 444 ff. — Persian stories: J. Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia*, ch. xvi. — Egyptian stories: Spitta Bey, *Contes arabes*, s.v. *ghūl*. — North African stories: J. Desparmet, *Contes populaires sur les ogres recueillis à Blida et traduits* (Coll. de contes et chansons pop., xxxv), Paris 1909-10, 2 vols.; H. Basset, *Essai sur la litt. des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 129-35. — Turkish stories: Kúnos, *Türkische Volksmärchen*, index s.vv. *dew* and *dschinn*. On the *ghūl* which induces hydrophobia, see R. Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ch. xviii; on *Ṣaydāna*, borrowed from Ethiopic, see Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 50. See further DIW, DJINN, ʿIFRĪT, etc.

(D. B. MACDONALD-[CH. PELLAT])

GHULĀM (A., pl. *ghilmān*), word meaning in Arabic a young man or boy (the word is used for example of the ʿAbbāsid princes al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad, sons of al-Mutawakkil, at the time when their brother, the caliph al-Muntaṣir, attempted to make them renounce their rights to the succession (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1485), while the son of al-Wāthiḳ, whom they hesitated to proclaim caliph because of his youth, is described as *ghulām amrad* "beardless" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1368)); then, by extension, either a servant, sometimes elderly (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, Paris 1953, 69) and very often, but not necessarily, a slave servant (on this use see ʿABD); or a bodyguard, slave or freedman, bound to his master by personal ties; or finally sometimes an artisan working in the workshop of a master whose name he used along with his own in his signature (cf. D. S. Rice, in *BSOAS*, xv (1963), 67, and Mayer, *Metalworkers*, 14).

Every person of a certain rank in Arab Muslim society of the first centuries had in his service, sometimes in addition to free *ghilmān*, a number of *ghilmān* of servile status whose exact origin is not usually indicated and who are usually distinguished from the eunuchs, *khadam* [see KHĀDIM] (as for example in the description of the household of the vizier al-Ḳāsim under al-Muktafī, preserved in the *Nishwār* of al-Tanūkhī, ii, 159). Rulers owned an often impressive number of slave *ghilmān* who served as attendants or guards and could rise to fairly high office in the hierarchy of the palace service, as well as others who formed a component of varying importance in the armed forces. It is with these latter *ghilmān* and the role which they played in the running of various eastern and western Muslim states that this article is chiefly concerned.

i.—The Caliphate

We find hardly any mention of *ghilmān* at the court or in the palace of the Umayyad caliphs, but Slavs and Berbers who were or had been slaves are already found in the entourages of certain princes or in their armies (T. Lewicki, in *Folia Orientalia*, iv (1962), 319 ff.). Certainly from the time of the foundation of the "Round City" of Baghdād, there is mention of the presence of *ghilmān* in quarters inside the wall of the main fortification. But it is only under al-Muʿtaṣim that the *ghilmān* proper took their place in the history of the Muslim world, after the slave element, notably in the person of the famous eunuch Masrūr, had begun to play a rôle in the processes of government under Hārūn al-Rashīd.

At the end of the reign of al-Maʾmūn, his brother, the future al-Muʿtaṣim, had caused to be bought at Samarḳand about three thousand Turkish slaves who were to form the nucleus of the new guard of the caliph and of the new army. The constitution of this guard is said to have been the cause of the transfer of the capital to Sāmarrā in 221/836, although there must also have been other causes, connected with the policy followed by the caliph at that time. To the Turks recruited in Transoxania were added various slaves, also Turkish, who were in the service of certain dignitaries of Baghdād and who, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, were bought by the caliph. The new militia thus grew rapidly and, at Sāmarrā, the Turkish *ghilmān* were housed in special quarters, away from the Arab or Arabicized population, and obliged to take for wives young slaves of the same origin as themselves from whom they were never allowed to separate. They were divided into several groups under the command of leaders such as Ashnās, Waṣīf and Afshīn who were themselves

freedmen, and whose duty it was to lead their troops when on campaign.

What was the reason for the establishment of this force of armed slaves, which was to supplant not only the earlier Arab contingents but also the Khurāsānī troops who had appeared with the ʿAbbāsid dynasty and who, not long before, had effectively supported al-Maʾmūn? It was almost certainly the anxiety of the new caliphs to avoid the repetition of a civil war such as had broken out between al-Maʾmūn and al-Amīn, and to strengthen the central power by enabling it to rely on forces free from all local attachments. In fact, these *ghilmān*, whose numbers grew rapidly to several tens of thousands (20,000 or 70,000 according to the estimates of Arabic writers), did not remain aloof from partisan struggles; their appearance, though it caused profound changes in the functioning of the political régime, did not make the caliphate any more stable.

It was not long before their commanders, usually freedmen, who enjoyed the unconditional loyalty of their troops, began to occupy important positions, either as governors in the provinces, or at the court where they ended by interfering in affairs of government and in the problems of the succession to the caliphate. It was some of these officers who assassinated the caliph al-Mutawakkil in 247/861 and, during the following years, their disputes were the basic cause of the dynastic troubles which constantly recurred until the regent al-Muwaffaḳ and then his son al-Muʿtaḍid succeeded in imposing their authority on the soldiery. Meanwhile there were numerous quarrels between these Turkish officers and the representatives of the secretarial class which they tried to dominate.

Although the situation appears calmer during the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902), the military chiefs still belonged to the new aristocracy formed by the descendants of the first *ghilmān*; thus Badr, who was the caliph's supreme general and was often given the title of *ghulām*—in the broadest sense—of the Caliph, was the son of a freedman of al-Mutawakkil. The regiments of *ghilmān*, whose importance had grown during the war against the Zandj, were at this time very numerous. Each regiment bore the name of the leader who commanded it or who had formed it (thus the *Bughāʾiyya* was no doubt called after the name of an officer of al-Mutawakkil, Bughā al-Sharābī [*q.v.*] and the *Nāṣiriyya* after that of the regent al-Muwaffaḳ al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh), though this name did not indicate with any certainty in whose service they actually were. Among these *ghilmān* of the army of the caliph, those of which we know most, thanks to the list of the court expenses preserved by Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (*K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, 11-18), are the ones who formed the various detachments of the guard. There was first of all a group of former slaves of varying origins, white such as Daylamīs and Berbers, or black such as Nubians and former Zandj prisoners taken by al-Muwaffaḳ during the preceding reign, who were employed to form a line of troops (*maṣāff*) in the reception rooms and who were probably the origin of the corps of the *Maṣāffiyya* mentioned below. There were also others bought especially by al-Muʿtaḍid to be on duty in the "halls" (*ḥudjar*) of the Palace, from which they took their name (*al-Ḥudjariyya*), and placed under the command of eunuchs called *ustādhs*; to these were later added an élite of soldiers chosen from among the various detachments. In addition to these the personal guard of the caliph was made up of freedmen of al-Muwaffaḳ, called *al-ghilmān al-khāṣṣa*.

During the reign of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32), these corps of *ghilmān*, the respective size and importance of which it is difficult to assess (we know only that the *Maṣāffiyya*, who were under the command of the Chamberlain, numbered 10,000 men), commanded by leaders who were often rivals, once again influenced political events and the palace intrigues. Thus in the two abortive coups d'état of 296/908 and 317/929 against the caliph, the guards played a decisive rôle and, in 317/929, it was the *Maṣāffiyya* who forced al-Ḳāhir to flee. In addition, the demands of the *ghilmān*, on whom in large measure the fate of the caliphate depended (in the capital as well as in the provinces where they were often sent as reinforcements), gave rise to financial difficulties and several times they procured the removal from the vizierate of figures such as ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, who tried to restore financial order by making cuts in this expenditure. The interference of the *ghilmān* in political affairs led to the elimination of one regiment after another. The *Maṣāffiyya* were massacred in 318/930, then the *Sādjiyya* (on the origin of the name, see M. Canard, tr. of al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār ar-Rāḍī*, i, 49 n. 3) were imprisoned in 324/936 by the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ibn Rāʾiḳ, who shortly afterwards had the *Ḥudjariyya* exterminated in order to deprive the caliph of all power.

By this time the caliph had lost practically all control over the regiments of *ghilmān*. At Baghdād their commanders no longer respected his authority. Furthermore, persons such as the viziers were in a position to form in due course for themselves personal bodyguards capable eventually of repulsing the troops of the caliph. The provincial governors, who more and more often combined military and fiscal functions, for their part maintained troops who were completely loyal to them. Thus certain governors went so far, with the aid of their own regiments, as to seize effective power for themselves, and a number of them forced the caliph to recognize them as *amīr al-umarāʾ*; after several years they were replaced by the famous Buwayhid *amīrs*, whose Daylamī guards were from then on installed in the palace of the *amīr* side by side with the Turkish *ghilmān* who were still used.

In the western provinces the same development had already given rise to local attempts to attain autonomy from the second half of the 3rd/9th century onwards. Thus Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], who in Egypt achieved a large measure of independence from the central government and managed to establish a short-lived dynasty there, was the son of a slave bought at Bukhārā under al-Maʾmūn. Similarly al-Ikhshīd [*q.v.*], who was later to repeat this success in the same country, was the descendant of a Turk who came to Sāmarrā under al-Muʿtaṣim. The ephemeral dynasties thus founded themselves formed slave armies. The army of Ibn Ṭūlūn is said to have included 24,000 Turkish and 42,000 black slaves in addition to the smaller number of free soldiers; al-Ikhshīd also had a large slave army, and had as minister, as regent for his sons and ultimately as successor, the famous black slave Kāfūr [*q.v.*].

The tradition continued in Fāṭimid Egypt. There were at the Palace, as retainers holding more or less honorific offices and as guards, black or white slaves, some eunuchs and some not, most of the former originating from the Sudan and the latter from the Slav countries. The rôles of Djawhar [*q.v.*], who was a freedman of Slav origin, and of the eunuch freedman Djawdhar [*q.v.*], also a Slav, who was the right hand man of the caliph al-Muʿizz, are well

known. Later Turkish and Daylamī units were added. (On the rivalries between the different ethnic groups see FĀṬIMIDS, 858.)

A little later, the Saldjūḳids, who were not of slave origin and who had installed themselves in the eastern provinces of the ʿAbbāsid empire with the aid of the Turcomans, were nevertheless soon forced also to have recourse to a professional army and to recruit Turkish *ghilmān* (see below) as both soldiers and assistants. Thus the *atābaks* [*q.v.*] were in general former slaves. The *atābaks* of Syria themselves employed slaves of various origins for their personal bodyguard (such as those who assassinated Zangī [*q.v.*]), but their army does not seem to have been based on the recruitment of slaves. On the other hand, their successors the Ayyūbids, who were the descendants of a Kurdish officer, recruited Turkish slaves along with the Kurdish contingents, and the last ruler of this dynasty, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, tried to save his threatened throne by installing in Cairo an important troop of Turkish slaves. It was these slaves who were finally to found the first regime in which the power was officially wielded by the slave militia, that of the Mamlūks [*q.v.*].

In Muslim Spain, the slave element of European origin had also played an important rôle both in the army and in the palace service. The freedmen, usually called *fityān* [see FATĀ], but also *ghilmān* as in the East, came to control the main governmental offices and even to found, as the Umayyad state disappeared, small local dynasties [see AL-ANDALUS, 495].

In the Maghrib the name *ghulām* does not seem to have been in current use for the slave mercenaries, and although the rulers of the Maghrib had almost all had, since the Aghlabid period, black bodyguards (the members of which are generally called *ʿabīd*) and employed, in proportions which varied and which are difficult to ascertain, slave mercenaries of diverse origins, often Europeans, the slave militias never had in this region the importance which they had in the East. See further DJAYSH, MAMLŪK.

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ii.—PERSIA

The institution of military slavery in the Persian world is post-Islamic. Whilst slavery was known under the Achaemenids, Seleucids, Arsacids and Sāsānids, it was essentially for temple service, for state purposes like building or for domestic duties. At no time in the pre-Islamic period does slavery seem to have been as widespread in the Persian world as in other parts of the Middle East (R. N. Frye, *The heritage of Persia*, London 1963, 152-3). Military organization under all the historic pre-Islamic dynasties of Persia was based on the classes of greater nobility and lesser nobility or gentry (*vuzurgān* and *āzādhān* in Sāsānid terminology), and the free cavalryman was the backbone of the army. Within the army there was usually an élite body surrounding the Emperor, the Achaemenid "corps of immortals" or the Sāsānid *gyān-avspar* "those who sacrifice their lives", but there is no indication that these were anything but freemen and probably they were sons of the nobility (cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², 206 ff., 368). Any slaves in these armies can only have been employed in the little-regarded infantry rump, which was basically a rabble of conscripted peasants.

The carrying of Arab arms beyond the borders of Armenia and Persia opened up vast reservoirs of slave labour from the South Russian, Central Asian and northern Indian worlds. In particular, the Turks early acquired the reputation of being fierce fighters, skilled riders and archers, who because of their nomadic life in the harsh and extreme conditions of the Eurasian steppes were inured to danger and discomfort (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *Risāla fī manāḳib al-Turk*, tr. C. T. Harley-Walker, *JRAS*, 1915, 631-97, analysed by F. Gabrieli, *RSO*, xxxii (1957), 477-83). Turkish prisoners-of-war began to fall into the hands of the Arab governors of Armenia and Khurāsān, and it is with the military use of these captives—a writer of the 5th/11th century, Ibn Ḥassūl, emphasizes that the Turks are too proud a race to make good domestic slaves—that the institution of the *ghulām* in Persia begins. The Ṭāhirid governors of Khurāsān forwarded to the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād Turkish slaves for use in the Caliphal palace guard. Whilst details of the Ṭāhirids' own use of *ghulāms* are lacking, their example here must have been decisive for succeeding dynasties in Persia.

The spread of military slavery in Persia also reflects the growing economic and commercial prosperity of the land during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, for this enabled rulers to pay professional, slave armies rather than to rely on the Arab elements settled in the garrison towns or on local Persian troops. The advantage of slave troops lay in their lack of loyalties to anyone but their master and the fact that they had no material stake in the country of their adoption. Such ties were deliberately avoided

by the most strictly professional of slave commanders: the Sāmānid *ghulām* general Ḳaratigin Isfīdjābī (d. 317/929) laid down that "a soldier must be able to take with him everything which he possesses, wherever he may go, and nothing must hold him back" (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 157).

Juridically, the slave soldier belonged to his master and was heritable property like any other chattel. In practice, personal loyalties and attachments were usually taken into account. When in the middle of the 4th/10th century the Ṣaffārid Amīr of Sīstān, Abū Aḥmad Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir, died, his *ghulāms* should have passed to his successor Khalaf b. Aḥmad, but the latter gave them the choice of entering his own service or of seeking independent careers; in fact, they elected to stay with Khalaf, and he assigned them houses, estates and concubines (*Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, 341). One of Masʿūd I of Ghazna's old and trusted *ghulām* commanders was manumitted before his death and the Sultan respected his last wishes concerning the disposal of his personal *ghulāms* (Bayhaḳī, cited by C. E. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi/1-2 (1960), 49-50). It was clearly in the interest of the master to treat his slaves well, for the particular concern of the *ghulāms* was normally to act as a dependable élite force within the wider body of the army and as a personal bodyguard. Under such dynasties as the Ghaznavids and Saldjūḳs, *ghulāms* filled such important household and palace offices as Keeper of the Stables, Keeper of the Wardrobe, Keeper of the Sulṭān's Armour and Weapons, Bearer of the Ceremonial Parasol or *čatr* and Keeper of the Washing Vessels (cf. Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 47-8; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 35-41; İ. Kafesoğlu, *Sultan Melikşah devrinde Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu*, Istanbul 1953, 143-5). This last office of *ṭasht-dār* was held during the reign of the Saldjūḳ Malik Shāh by the *ghulām* Anūshtigin Gharčaʾī; it was the stepping-stone to his appointment as governor of Khʷārizm and the consolidation there in the 6th/12th century of his descendants as Khwārizm-Shāhs. When a ruler or commander lost the loyalty of his *ghulāms*, his position could become very insecure. The Ziyārid Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār was murdered in 323/935 because he had ill-treated his Turkish *ghulāms*, putting reins and saddles on them as if they were horses and leading them into stables (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 29-30; Miskawayh, *Eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, i, 162-3, 312-15, tr. iv, 182-4, 353-6; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 222-3). The *ghulāms* of the Sāmānid Amīr Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl killed him in 301/914 allegedly because he had become alienated from them through his excessive frequenting of the *ʿulamāʾ* (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 240).

In considering the personal relationship between master and slave, the sexual aspect should certainly not be neglected; the ethical climate of Persia in this period condoned homosexual liaisons (cf. Kay Kāʾūs, *Ḳābūs-nāma*, ch. xv, and for more recent times, Olearius, *Voyages and travels ... to the Great Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia*, Eng. tr. London 1669, i, 238: "Sodomy not punish'd in Persia"), and the master of youthful slaves was well-placed for indulging unnatural and sadistic tastes. Resentments aroused by practices of this kind seem to have been behind the murder in 541/1146 of Zangī b. Aḳ Sonḳur. Zangī's personal guard was drawn from the sons of the great men of the Turks, Greeks and Armenians, whose fathers he had killed or banished; he had then kept the sons after castrating them to preserve their boyish and beardless appearance. These *ghulāms* had long sought an opportunity for revenge, and eventually assassinated him (Bundārī, 208-9). Eunuch *ghulāms* from the Byzantine, Armenian and Khazar regions may have been castrated within their homelands, but this operation was also done within the borders of Islam, especially in the case of Turks. Emasculation was often accepted voluntarily as a recognized way to preferment (cf. *Murūdj*, viii, 148-9); thus one of the most highly-honoured of the Saldjūḳ *ghulām* generals under Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh, ʿImād al-Dawla Sāwtigin, had castrated himself (Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, 30-1).

The Ṣaffārids, successors to the Ṭāhirid heritage in Khurāsān, are the first Persian dynasty about whose employment of *ghulāms* we have detailed information. Yaʿḳūb b. Layth's known skill as a military organizer makes it unlikely that he would pass over the adoption of an institution so useful for buttressing a despotic ruler's power. Both Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 49-54, and the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, 222, say that he had a corps of 2000 *ghulāms* who on ceremonial occasions paraded on either side of his throne, richly clothed and armed with golden and silver shields, swords and maces, all captured from the treasury of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir at Nīshāpūr. Masʿūdī adds that there was within this general body the Amīr's personal bodyguard, the *ghulāms* of the *khawāṣṣ*, who slept round his tent and executed his personal orders. The equipment and functions of these Ṣaffārid *ghulāms* bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the Ghaznavid *ghulāms* of 150 years later as depicted on the walls of Lashkar-i Bāzār (see below).

Contemporaneously with the Ṣaffārids, the Sāmānids in Transoxania and later in Khurāsān were making a slave guard the nucleus of their army. Naṣr b. Aḥmad (d. 331/943) is said to have had as many as 10,000 *ghulāms*. The Amīrs hoped that these Turkish troops, with their personal bond of fealty to the ruler, would counterbalance the military influence of the indigenous Iranian *dihḳān* class, which was hostile to the dynasty's centralizing policy, but the rôle of the *ghulāms* in various palace revolutions and assassinations shows that this hope was not always realised. However, the geographer Iṣṭakhrī praises the Sāmānid slave army for its discipline and boldness in battle. It was, of course, from the slave guard of the Sāmānids that Alptigin, the conqueror of Ghazna, and Sebüktigin, founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India, arose.

In the course of the 4th/10th century, the use of military slaves spread throughout the Persian world to such Daylamī dynasties as the Ziyārids and Būyids and to Arab ones like the Ḥamdānids. The Turkish cavalry of the Būyid armies soon grew more numerous than the free Daylamī infantrymen, and under Muʿizz al-Dawla (d. 356/967) were preferred above the Daylamīs in pay and the granting of *iḳṭāʿ*s (Miskawayh, ii, 99-100, 163-4, 166, 173-4, 234, tr. v, 104-5, 175-6, 178, 186-8, 248; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 343). Amongst the Persian dynasties of Ādharbaydjān and the eastern Caucasus, as amongst the Christian principalities of Georgia and Armenia, slave troops were drawn from the Khazar and Russian lands to the north. The Yazīdī Sharwān-Shāhs had personal guards of *ghulāms*, and the Hāshimī ruler of Darband, Maymūn b. Aḥmad, had Rūs *ghulāms* who were still pagan, although these may have been adventurers of Slav-Scandinavian origin rather than slaves (cf. Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband in the*

10th-11th centuries, Cambridge 1958, tr. 28-9, 45-6, 51, 113-15, 121, 123, 127).

The Ghaznavids, themselves of servile origin, built their multi-racial army around a slave core, mainly of Turks but also including some Indians. In the reign of Masʿūd b. Maḥmud (d. 432/1041), the *ghulāms* numbered between 4,000 and 6,000. Headed by their own general, the *Sālār-i Ghulāmān*, they were used in battle as a crack force, and on ceremonial occasions they had rich uniforms and bejewelled weapons; the depiction of these *ghulāms* in the recently-discovered murals of the palace of Lashkar-i Bāzār at Bust accords well with the descriptions of them in the written sources. We also see at work at this time, as under the later Sāmānids, the process whereby provincial governors and commanders themselves collected extensive slave guards (cf. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, 40-50).

The Turkish dynasties who in the 5th/11th century irrupted into the Persian world from the Central Asian steppes soon adopted slave troops as a more reliable fighting instrument than the tribal bands who were their original following. As early as 398/1008 the Ḳarākhānid Ilig Khān Naṣr had a body of Turkish *ghulām* archers which he used against Maḥmūd of Ghazna (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, *Yamīnī*, ii, 85), and in the next century, the Ḳarākhānid *ghulāms* numbered several thousands (Bundārī, 264). In particular, the Great Saldjūḳs found that a paid, professional army was necessary to extend and protect their empire, since their original supporters, the Turkmens, were an anarchic and uncontrollable force. Within this professional army, the Saldjūḳ *ghulāms* were prominent; their commanders were active on *ghazw* in the Caucasus and Armenia and against the Arab dynasties of the west. They usually remained loyal to their masters the Sultans even when the fidelity of other Turkish and Turkmen troops wavered, *e.g.*, in Malik Shāh's battle of 465/1073 with his uncle Ḳāwurd and in the battle of 526/1132 of Dāʾūd b. Maḥmūd and Aḳ Sonḳur Aḥmadīlī against Ṭoghrïl b. Muḥammad (Bundārī, 48, 160-1). As well as Turks, the *ghulāms* of the Saldjūḳs included Greeks, Armenians and even negroes (*al-khuddām al-ḥubūsh*), whose *amīrs* are described as being especially influential under Masʿūd b. Muḥammad (*ibid.*, 193, cf. Rāwandī, 243). The great Vizier Niẓām al-Mulk collected around himself a corps of *ghulāms* of regal dimensions, and after his death this body, the *Niẓāmiyya*, still acted as a cohesive body in politics. In the 6th/12th century we see the seizure of power by *ghulām* commanders of the increasingly ineffective Saldjūḳ Sultans, nominally as Atabaks or tutors for young Saldjūḳ princes. Hereditary lines of slave Atabaks tended to form in such parts of Persia as Ādharbaydjān, Fārs, Khūzistān and Khurāsān, and in this latter province the *ghulāms* of Sandjar claimed to carry on the administrative traditions of their old master before they were swept away by the rising tide of the Ghūrids and Khwārizm-Shāhs.

Both the Ghūrids and the Khwārizm-Shāhs relied heavily on slave troops. Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu's *ghulāms* were armed with the traditional weapon of such troops, the mace (Nasawī, 232, tr. 386: *čumāḳdāriyya*). The Turkish *ghulāms* of the Ghūrids did not always act harmoniously with the native Ghūrī troops (cf. Djuwaynī-Boyle, 461), but the troops of Muʿizz al-Dīn or Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad, the *Muʿizziyya*, continued to revere that Sultan's name and in the 7th/13th century the principalities which they founded in northern India were ostensibly constituted in his name.

The invasions of the Mongols brought into Persia an entirely new set of military traditions. The Mongol commanders used the captured populations of towns as auxiliaries and as pioneers and sappers (cf. Spuler, *Mongolen*², 402, 416-19), but *ghulāms* in the older sense of professional slave soldiers did not reappear until the Mongols and their successors had been assimilated to Persian ways. The institution may be discernible in the 9th/15th century amongst the Turkmen Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in western Persia and eastern Anatolia. In an *ʿArḍ-nāma* dating from the time of Uzun Ḥasan (d. 883/1478) are mentioned 3,900 *ḳullughčïs* "servants" in the total of some 10,000 for the Right Wing of the army; it is unclear whether these were mounted or went on foot (W. Hinz, *Irans Aufsteig zum Nationalstaat in fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin-Leipzig 1936, 107-8; Minorsky, *A civil and military review in Fārs in 881/1476*, in *BSOS*, x (1939-42), 155, 164).

The military basis of the Ṣafawid state was originally the Ḳïzïl-bāsh tribal divisions, but Shāh ʿAbbās I (995-1037/1587-1628) invited men of all tribes and nations to enroll in a new salaried body of troops, the Shāh-sewans, who would be entirely devoted to the sovereign and free from tribal ties (cf. Minorsky, *EI*¹, s.v.). Also notable in this reign was the increased rôle in the Ṣafawid state of Georgians, Armenians and Circassians, many of whom were captured in the wars in the Caucasus and entered the Ṣafawid service as slave converts to Islam. In 994/1586 a Georgian was *lala* or tutor to the Ṣafawid prince Ṭahmāsp b. ʿAbbās, this office corresponding in many ways to the old one of Atabak (R. M. Savory in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 84-5). With such soldiers and officials as these, the institution of the *ghulām* takes on a new lease of life as an important component of the new troops. The Ṣafawid "slaves" (*ḳullar* or *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*) were mainly slaves or sons of slaves. The military *ghulāms* were numbered by Chardin at 10,000 and by Tavernier at 18,000 (a substantial proportion of the whole body of *ghulāms* was used for court and administrative service; in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. Minorsky, 56-7, 127-8, the term *ghulām* is also used for the young eunuchs and pages of the Shāh's private household). The *ghulām* body in general was headed by the extremely influential *Ḳullar Āghāsī*, and there was for it a special Vizier and *Mustawfī* of the Department of the *Ghulāms* (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. 46-7, 73). Tavernier noted that the *ghulāms* very rarely rebelled, "For being all Slaves, and of different Nations, there are no ties of Affection or Kindred between them: And if the King has an occasion to punish any of them, the chief of their Body is to execute his orders" (*Travels*, Eng. tr. London 1684, i, 224-5).

In the reign of the Ḳādjār Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1211-50/1797-1834), the term *ghulām* was still applied to the royal bodyguard, and Georgians were still prominent here (Sir Harford Jones Brydges, *An account of the transactions of His Majesty's mission to the court of Persia in the years 1807-11*, London 1834, i, 325, 331, 382); but in the course of the 19th century, as western influences grew in Persia and personal slavery disappeared, *ghulām* simply came to denote a runner or messenger employed by a foreign diplomatic or consular agency.

The term is still in current use in Persian Balūčistān, where until recently the *ghulāms* were slave retainers of the local Balūč chiefs or *sardārs*; although now legally free, they are still regarded as a socially inferior class (see B. J. Spooner, *Kūch u Balūch and*

Ichthyophagi, in *Iran, J. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, ii (1964), 61-2).

Bibliography: given in the article. There are no special studies, but surveys of the institution in the Persian world up to and including the Ghaznavids are given by C. E. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi/1-2 (1960), 40-50, and idem, *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 98-106. (C. E. Bosworth)

iii. — India.

The Muslim conquest and occupation of Hindūstān at the end of the 7th/13th century, although initiated and directed by the free chiefs of the Ghūrid dynasty, was mainly the achievement of Turkish *ghulāms* (more frequently referred to as *bandagān* in the Indo-Persian histories). In the frequent absences of Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām, his slave Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, who began in India as military commander (*sipah-sālār*) of Kuhrām, led the Ghūrid forces against Rādjput strongholds. On the death of Muʿizz al-Dīn in 602/1206, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn assumed power in Lahore, at that time probably without having been manumitted. The so-called *Taʾrīkh-i Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh*, ed. E. Denison Ross, London, 1927, 35-6, intended for Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, has a remarkable eulogy of Turkish slaves for their fidelity and for their capacity to win advancement to the rank of *amīr* and *sipahsālār*, without regretting their former free life in Turkistān.

Hindūstān was not, however, conquered exclusively by slave agents of the Ghūrids whether as commanders or as troopers. Lakhnawtī was conquered by the free Khaldjī Muḥammad Bakhtiyār; Khaldjīs also formed part of the Ghūrid armies.

Until the reign of Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī (689-95/1290-6) the sultans of Dihlī were all either military slaves or their descendants. Iletmish was not manumitted until after appointment as *amīr* of Gwāliyār, *malik* of Badāʾūn and after holding the *iḳṭāʿ* of the *ḳaṣba* of Baran (Minhādj al-Sirādj, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Calcutta 1864, 169-70). Balban had presumably been freed before his marriage to the daughter of Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Under Iletmish (and there is no reason to conclude that his successors changed the practice) Turkish slaves rose to provincial military command through service in the royal household as Keeper of the Stables, Keeper of the Washing Vessels, Keeper of the Leopards or royal bodyguard (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 229-324, *passim*). Slaves did not, however, enjoy a monopoly of office; Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1862, 26, speaks of the Turkish slaves ousting the free officers (*mulūk-i aḥrār*) in the reigns of Iletmish's children. Some of these officers were fugitives from the Mongols. Antagonism appears to have been evinced by Turkish slaves towards certain non-Turkish slaves, the *ḥabshī* Djamāl al-Dīn Yāḳūt and the Hindu eunuch Imād al-Dīn Rayḥān. Minhādj (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 300) specifically states that Turkish and Tadjīk slaves resented Rayḥān because he was of the tribes of Hindūstān (*az ḳabāʾil-i Hindūstān*).

Under the Khaldjī and Tughluḳ sultans, slaves continued to become high officers and to form an important component of the sultan's army. The Turkish element among the slaves appears to have been diluted somewhat and the rise to power of Hindū slaves is noteworthy in this period. How far the historian Baranī's hostility to their elevation was shared by his contemporaries is a moot point. The Hindū Khusraw Khān Barwarī, recipient of the homosexually-inspired favours of Sultan Mubārak Shāh Khaldjī, murdered his master (720/1320) and assumed the throne before being deposed by the free *malik*, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ. The Telingana Brahmin, Khān-i Djahān Maḳbūl, became *wazīr* to Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ. Slaves were apt to resent a former member of their number usurping the position of the ruling family. Slave commanders of fifty and a hundred, raised by Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, successfully plotted the overthrow of the famous eunuch, Malik Kāfūr, conqueror of the Deccan, when he began to kill off the sultan's family after ʿAlā al-Dīn's death (Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 376).

Sources for the Khaldjī and Tughluḳ periods give figures for the number of slaves in service. The army of Muḥammad ibn Tughluḳ was reputed to have 20,000 Turki *ghulāms*, 10,000 eunuchs as well as large numbers of slave bodyguards always accompanying him (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, edited text and Urdū translation by Khūrshīd Aḥmad Fārūḳī, Delhi 1962?, 25). ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1891, 267-73, gives the most elaborate account available of the slave establishment in the sultanate period. Fīrūz Shāh is said to have encouraged the provincial *muḳṭaʿ*s to collect slaves to present them to the sultan, receiving in return an allowance from the revenue to be remitted to headquarters equal to the value of the slaves. Such slaves were stationed in the principal fortress towns (*e.g.*, Multān, Dīpalpur, Sāmānā) and were paid both in cash and by the grant of revenue from villages. ʿAfīf says that Fīrūz Shāh had 180,000 slaves in the capital and in the provinces. A *dīwān* separate from the *dīwān-i wizārat* existed to manage the slaves. They were to be found not only in such familiar household offices as Keeper of the Washing Vessels, Keeper of the sultan's armour and weapons, Bearer of the Ceremonial Parasol, but also employed in the *dīwān-i wizārat* and the *dīwān-i arḍ*, and as *muḳṭaʿ*s, *parganadārs* and *shaḥnagān* (market overseers), becoming *amīrs* and *maliks*. Under the Sayyid sultans too, slaves are found as *muḳṭaʿ*s and *parganadārs*. Under the Lodīs, the sources yield the impression that the majority of officers were free Afghans.

The rôle of military slaves in the provincial Muslim kingdoms did not differ substantially from that in the Dihlī sultanate. Indeed, Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh, founder of the independent sultanate of Aḥmadnagar, Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjāpūr, Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh of Golkonda and Malik Sarwar of Djawnpur had all been *ghulāms*. *Ḥabshī* [*q.v.*] slaves were prominent in the politics of Gudjarāt, Aḥmadnagar, Bīdjāpūr and Bengal. In Bīdjāpūr, *ḥabshīs* took over the regency (*niyābat*) in the last phase of the sultanate, while in Bengal the former *ḥabshī* slaves Shāhzāda and Sidī Badr seized the throne at the end of the 9th/15th century. The latter had 5,000 *ḥabshīs* in his service. Under the Fārūḳids [*q.v.*] of Khāndesh, *ḥabshī* slaves were employed to guard the junior members of the ruling family in enforced seclusion (cf. C. F. Beckingham, *Amba Gešen and Asirgarh*, in *JSS*, ii/2 (1957), 182-8).

Under the Mughals, slaves played a very minor part in administration and in the army, though not in the household. Mughal rule was established by free Mughal, Turkish and Persian officers and the Mughal army was commanded by *manṣabdārs*, the vast majority of whom were free in origin. A test-sample of 225 of the 730 biographies of Mughal dignitaries in Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Shāh-nawāz Khān, *Maʿāthir al-umarāʾ*, Calcutta 1888-91 (*pānṣadīs* and

upwards under Akbar, *sih-hazārīs* and upwards thereafter to the middle of Aurangzīb's reign and then *pandj-hazārīs* or *haft-hazārīs*) shows that only one, Baḳī Khān Čela Ḳalmāḳ, a slave of Shāh Djahān, had been a slave. One, Fīrūz Khān a eunuch, and two, Ātish Khān and Ḥabsh Khān, were *ḥabshīs* who had entered Mughal service from the Deccan sultanates. The *Maʿāthir al-umarā*'s list is, however, not exhaustive; a number of slaves, including three of Bābur's and Humāyūn's, were given *manṣabs* and *djāgīrs* under Akbar and one, Iʿtibār Khān, was appointed governor of Dihlī (see *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr.², Calcutta 1927-39, 442, 444, 483, 485, 488, 491). Such promotions, however, form a very small proportion of Akbar's appointments.

Mughal *manṣabdārs* did on occasion, however, employ slaves as their own subordinate commanders. Mīrzā Nathan, *Bahāristān-i Ghaybī*, a history of Bengal in Djahāngīr's time (trans. M. I. Borah, two vols., Gauhati 1936) shows a slave, Islām Ḳūlī Ghulām thus employed as *Mīr Baḥr* (Commander of the fleet of boats). Examples of slaves holding minor military commands may be met with in the *Bahāristān-i ghaybī* under the names (see index) Ṣaʿadat Khān Khʷādja, Khʷādja Lal Beg, and Shīr Maydān.

Akbar employed a contingent of slave foot soldiers, described as *čelas* in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1872, 190. An interesting account of the use of *čelas* by a provincial governor in the period of the decline of the Mughal empire under Farrukh-siyar and Muḥammad Shāh is given in W. Irvine, *The Bangash Nawābs of Farrukhābād — a chronicle (1173-1857)*, in *JASB*, 1878, 340-7. Muḥammad Khān, the Bangash Nawwāb of Farrukhābād, encouraged his local military and revenue officers to obtain Hindū boys, the sons of Brahmins and Radjputs, some by consent, some by payment and some in default of revenue. 500 were trained as matchlockmen and others found employment not only in the Nawwāb's household, but also in his army and revenue service. By the end of Muḥammad Khān's rule, he had 4,000 such slaves. For the recruitment of slaves through the pressure of famine and inability to meet the revenue demands of the Mughal government, see the references given in Irfan Habib, *The agrarian system of Mughal India (1556-1707)*, London 1963, 110, 322-4, *passim*.

The explanation of the continuing existence of military slavery in India and the acquiescence of the slaves themselves in the system must be hypothetical. Deracinated, the Turkish *ghulāms* of the period of the Ghūrid conquest found membership of the conquering élite the only satisfying rôle possible in a compartmented society from which they were divided by religion and the attitudes of caste. The rewards of loyal and efficient service were great and, as the fate of Iletmish's children suggests, it was in the sultan's interest to treat his slaves generously. The Hindū slave, converted to Islām and cut off from his former caste fellows with no hope of reintegration into his old environment had every incentive to make the best of his new, forced, situation. The economic position of a slave was often preferable to that of many free men and those in special favour could hope for manumission. The homosexual aspect of the relationship between master and slave, to which Dr. Bosworth draws attention above (col. 1082 a), was important also in India, as the careers of Malik Kāfūr and Khusraw Khān Barwarī bear witness. The continuing existence of a large free element in the military and bureaucratic service of the Dihlī sultans probably prevented the slaves from acting successfully as a Pretorian guard or as Ottoman janissaries. An attempt by the Hindū *payks* immediately responsible for killing Malik Kāfūr in 716/1316 to assume airs of grandeur was soon suppressed by the new sultan, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaldjī (Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 376-7).

Bibliography: given in the article. For slaves and *ḥabshīs* in Gudjarāt see ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Makkī, *Ẓafar al-wālih*, ed. E. Denison Ross as *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, iii, 1928, index s.v. *ḥabshī*; also, Sikandar b. Mandjhū, *Mirʾāt-i Sikandarī*, ed. S. C. Misra and M. L. Rahman, Baroda 1961, 245, 323, 384 f., 427, 433, 444; for Bengal see, *History of Bengal*, ii, ed. Jadunath Sarkar, Dacca 1948; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, *passim*; on the rôle of slaves in the politics of the Deccan sultanates, see Sayyid ʿAli Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i Maʾāthir*, Delhi 1355/1936, 76, 517, 523, 586, 594-6 *passim*; Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, ii, London 1907, 351, iv, London 1908, index s.v. slaves; K. M. Ashraf, *Life and conditions of the people of Hindustan 1200-1550*, in *JASB*, 1935, 187-191. Some references for this article were kindly supplied by Dr. J. S. Grewal.

(P. Hardy)

iv.—Ottoman Empire

Besides *ghulām*, the terms used in the Ottoman Empire for a young slave subjected to a special training to equip him to serve the Sultan, a member of the military class or an ordinary individual were (A.) *ghilmān* (pl. of *ghulām* used as sing.), (P.) *djuwān*, or (T.) *oghlan* and (rarely) *čeleb*. A Palace page of the *Enderūn* [*q.v.*], of slave origin or recruited through the *devshirme* [*q.v.*], who had not yet been promoted to any post, was known as *oghlan* or *ič-oghlanī* [*q.v.*]; these were known collectively as *ič-khalḳī* or *ghilmānān-i Enderūn*.

The Ottoman administration was based upon the *ghulām* system. This principle of training young slaves for the Palace service and the service of the state had certainly been inherited by the Ottomans from the Seldjūḳ Sultanate of Rūm (see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 85-94, 108-22; M. F. Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri*..., in *THITM*, i (1931), 208-21, 242-6; idem, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğunun etnik menşeʾi meseleleri*, in *Belleten*, vii/28 (1943), 275); the names of various prominent commanders of *ghulām* origin in the service of this Seldjūḳ Sultanate are known, *e.g.*, Sharaf al-Dīn Ghulām, Khāṣṣ Balaban and the brothers Ḳaratay (see *Taʾrīkh-i Āl-i Selčūk*, facsimile of Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS supp. pers. 1553, publ. F. Uzluk, Ankara 1952, 52, 57, 66, 71). These *ghulāms* were used only for military duties; when Kaykāʾūs II granted important posts as *amīr* to various of his *ghulāms*, the other *amīrs* opposed him (*ibid.*, 52-3).

ʿOthmān Ghāzī appointed 'his *ḳul* Balabandjīḳ Bahādīr' to supervise the investment of Bursa (Neshrī, *Ǧihānnümā*, ed. Fr. Taeschner, i, Leipzig 1951, 35). Baraḳ Baba, who was flourishing at this time (ca. 725/1325), advises in his *Kelimāt* that on the *ghazā* the leaders of the Christians should be flung into the sea and their '*ushaḳs*', *i.e.*, the young men following them, should be taken into the army. In documents surviving from the reign of Orkhān there are indications that the training of slaves as Palace and administrative officers existed under the first Ottoman rulers (*e.g.*, the names Evrenkush Khādim and Shahin b. ʿAbd Allāh, in Orkhān's

wakfiyye of Shaʿbān 761/June 1360, publ. I. H. Uzunçarşılı in *Belleten*, xxvii/107 (1963), 442, pl. 16; the name *ṭawāshī* Mukbil, in a *temlīknāme* of Orkhān, *Belleten*, v/19 (1941), 280). Under Murād I the corps of *yeñi-čeri* [*q.v.*] was constituted from the prisoners of war who fell to the sultan as the fifth of the booty legally due to him (see ʿĀshīk Pasha-zāde, ed. Fr. Giese, Leipzig 1928, 50); this represents an extension of a *ghulām* system already in existence. The *devshirme*, [*q.v.*] a most important innovation which the Ottomans introduced into the *ghulām* system, may have developed from the practice of taking into Palace service or into the army the young sons of members of the local military class in newly-conquered regions. It is natural that in the Ottoman Empire and in Ottoman society, an *udj* state always in contact with the *dār al-ḥarb*, slaves gained a more important place than in other Muslim societies.

Under Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], who endeavoured to found a centralized Empire, the *ghulām* system came to full development. Notes in *taḥrīr*-registers of the 9th/15th century which refer to conditions in his reign show that in all parts of the Empire he granted to *kul*s trained by the *ghulām* system not only important military and administrative posts but also *tīmār*s. Reactions to this radical innovation are to be detected in the anonymous *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* (ed. Fr. Giese, Breslau 1922, 31), which reflect the sentiments of *ghāzī* circles; and these reactions made a weighty contribution to his fall. Ducas (ed. Grecu, 87; Turkish tr. by V. Mirmiroğlu, Istanbul 1956, 34) speaks of the existence in Bāyezīd's palace of 'selected children' belonging to various nations; the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, of 1396, says (i, 427): 'Ils enlèvent les enfants pour les instruire dans leurs impures croyances'; Bāyezīd built a slave-market beside his *ʿimāret* at Edirne; in 836/1432 Bertrandon de la Broquière (*Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892, 128) found that Messire Barnabo, who, like John Schiltberger (see *The bondage and travels* . . . , tr. J. B. Telfer, London 1879, 5-8), had been taken prisoner at the battle of Nicopolis (798/1396), was a highly-influential Ottoman officer.

For the reign of Murād II we possess abundant information about the system, not only from contemporary chronicles (*e.g.*, Ducas, ed. Grecu, 179, 187, 191, Turkish tr., 83, 88, 90; Chalcocondyles, book 5, Fr. tr. by Blaise de Vigenère, *Histoire de la décadence* . . . , Paris 1620, 108 f.), but also in official archive documents (*e.g.*, *Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, ed. H. Inalcık, Ankara 1954; an *idjmāl defteri* for Sofia in the Sofia National Library belongs to the same year, 835/1431; a deed of manumission of Murād II, dated 848/1444, is also relevant to our subject, see H. Inalcik, *Fatih devri* . . . , i, Ankara 1954, 215 ff.). Mūsā Čelebi's *kapī oghlanī* numbered 7,000 (Neshrī, 135, 140), Murād II's 4-5,000 (B. de la Broquière, 182-3). The *defter* for Arvanid shows that in 835/1431, at every level of the military organization, most of the *tīmār*-holding *sipāhī*s there were *kul*s of the Sultan or of a *beg*. Among them are bearers of the titles: *shahindji-bashī*, *emīr-akhūr*, *silāḥdār*, *čāshnigīr*, *kapīdjī*, *pashmak-oghlanī*, *solak*, *zaghardjī*, *ashdjī*; these had passed out from the Palace. Most of the *sandjak-begi*s of Albania between the years 835/1431 and 859/1455 were of *ghulām* origin; some of them—Kavala Shahin, Zaghanuz, Kāsim—rose to be *beglerbegi* or vizier. The sons of the local nobility in regions occupied by the Ottomans during the 9th/15th century were by preference taken into the Palace, where they received privileged treatment, and on 'passing-out' (Turkish *čikma*, see KHARDJ, and below) were appointed, with the title of *beg*, to the most important posts. Thus at this period many members of the Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian and Albanian aristocracies served the Ottoman state in high posts. Nevertheless, as it had been under the Seldjūks of Rūm, only military posts were granted to these products of the *ghulām* system; the post of Grand Vizier and the posts of head of the financial department and of the chancery were usually reserved to Muslim-born Turks of the *ʿilmiyye* career. It is clear that the Muslim-born always felt jealousy and hostility for those of slave origin (cf. Ducas, 143; tr., 63); according to the Venetian M. Zane (987/1579), the Turks fretted at the power enjoyed by slaves (A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire* . . . , Cambridge Mass. 1913, 43). Although Ḥüseyn Ḥusām al-Dīn (*Amasya taʾrīkhi*, iii, Istanbul 1927, 191, 201-3, 210, 214) exaggerates the degree of rivalry between native-born Turkish statesmen and the converts, it is indisputable that such a rivalry was an important element in the early centuries (see H. Inalcık, *Fatih devri* . . . , 69-136).

In pursuit of his policy of establishing an absolutist and centralized empire, Meḥemmed II expanded the *ghulām* system (in 880/1475 the *kapī-kullari* numbered 12,800) and entrusted nearly all influential posts, the Grand Vizierate included, to *kul*s (see H. Inalcık, art. *Mehmed II*, in *IA*, fasc. 75, 512): the *ʿulamāʾ* of the period regarded the vizierate as a post reserved to those of slave origin (see Tashköprüzāde, *al-Shakāʾik al-nuʿmāniyya*, Arabic text, i, 144, Turkish version by Medjdī, Istanbul 1269, 104). According to Angiolello, most of the military commanders and other holders of important offices were, during the reign of Meḥemmed II, persons trained by the *ghulām* system. Literary sources and archive documents enable us to visualize in detail the system as it prevailed in this period (for Western descriptions, see Donado da Lezze [G.-M. Angiolello], *Historia Turchesca*, ed. J. Ursu, Bucharest 1909; Fr. Babinger, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis* . . . , *SBBayer. Ak.*, Jg. 1956, Heft 8, Munich 1957, 30-48; for Ottoman descriptions, Idrīs Bidlīsī, *Hasht bihisht*, MS Nuruosmaniye 3209, fols. 359, 362; of the available archive material only a little has been published: A. Refīk, *Fātiḥ devrine ʿāʾid wethīkalar*, in *TOEM*, ix-x/49, 1-58; an important source for the *kānūn*s of Meḥemmed II is *Kānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. M. ʿĀrif, *TOEM*, supp., Istanbul 1330; R. Anhegger and H. Inalcık, *Kānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, Ankara 1956; cf. N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers Sultans* . . , Paris-The Hague 1960). The generally accepted view (cautiously considered by B. Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammed the Conqueror*, Cambridge Mass. 1941, 10 ff) that the Palace training system and the organization of *oda*s was established by Meḥemmed II under the influence of Byzantine models after he had taken Constantinople is immediately disproved by the references given above for the reign of Murād II. Meḥemmed II did, it is true, build a 'New Palace' (the present Topkapı Sarayı) in Istanbul, but its organization was modelled on that of the Palace at Edirne (see R. Osman, *Edirne Sarayı*, Ankara 1957). In his *kānūn-nāme* he merely brought together, with a few additions and changes, the rules and principles in force before his time.

The explicit statements of contemporary Western and Ottoman writers show that this system was

applied and expanded with a conscious appreciation of the advantages it offered. In the reign of Murād II Yazīdjī-oghlu ʿAlī wrote (*Selčūḳnāme*, Istanbul Topkapı Sarayı, MS Revan Köşkü 1390, fol. 566) that it was through the possession of slaves that a sultan could exercise power (cf. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, chap. iv); according to Kemāl Pasha-zāde (Istanbul, Millet Lib., MS 25, fols. 11-12), because all the *ghilmān* were equal at the Porte of the Sultan, none tried to rise above his fellows or dreamed of laying claim to the throne; in the 11th/17th century Paul Rycaut noted (*The present state* ..., London 1686, chaps. iii-iv) that the system arose from the necessity that the Sultan should delegate his authority to persons inseparably bound to himself. It became a principle in the Ottoman state that the sultan's executive power, the *ʿörf-i sulṭānī* [see ʿURF], should be delegated only to his own slaves. In the 10th/16th century the term *ehl-i ʿörf* means slaves with the authority to carry out the Sultan's orders. The *ḳapī-ḳullarī* were a powerful factor in establishing the Sultan's central authority against the powerful *udj-begleri* of the early period; in the 11th/17th century, Ḳoči Beg stated (*Risāle*, ed. A. K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 51) that the *ḳapī-ḳulu* provided a counterpoise to the provincial troops.

The *ghulām* system reached its fullest development under Süleymān I and his first two successors. The close interest which the Ottoman administrative system aroused in Europe in this period led to the writing of numerous detailed descriptions (for a fairly complete bibliography see K. Göllner, *Turcica*, i, Bucharest and Berlin 1961; for the Venetian *relazioni*, see Lybyer, 305-22). These descriptions, especially the memoirs of persons who, like G. A. Menavino (*Trattato de costumi et vita de Turchi*, Florence 1548), had served as *ič-oghlanī* in the Palace, are of great value for filling out the rich but bare data of the Ottoman archives (for the principal collections relating to the Palace see M. Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi*, Ankara 1955, 31, 70, 73-4; these are still unexploited).

In the early days the principal source for *ghulāms* was the *pendjik* [*q.v.*], supplemented by prisoners presented to or bought for the Palace. Hostages too were raised as *ghulāms* in the *Enderūn*. In the chief cities, the Imperial superintendents (*khāṣṣa khardj emīnleri*) would buy the best slaves at the slave-market for the Sultan. As early se the reign of Bāyezīd I (see S. Vryonis, *Isidore Glabas and the Turkish Devshirme*, in *Speculum*, xxxi (1956), 433-43), these sources were supplemented by children recruited by the *devshirme*. B. Miller (*op. cit.*, 79) calculates that in the 10th/16th century the total of slaves collected annually from all sources was 7-8,000, some 3,000 of them, on an average, being from the *devshirme*. When the *devshirme* boys reached Istanbul, those whose physique and character were best were selected (the sultan sometimes assisting when the selection was made) and sent, as *ʿadjamī oghlans* [*q.v.*], to the palaces of Ghalaṭa-sarāyī [*q.v.*] and of Ibrāhīm Pasha in Istanbul and to the palaces at Edirne and Manisa (I. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 297-305). Most of the rest were sent, under the name *Türk oghlanlarī*, to stay with Turkish farmers in Anatolia, to be called up later into the ranks of the *yeñi čeri*; a few were made *bostandjī* [*q.v.*] and worked in the palace gardens. The children of noble families in the conquered regions were also sent to the palace (Critoboulos, ed. Grecu, 287, Eng. tr. C. Riggs, Princeton 1954, 175). At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, there were 300 *ič-oghlanlarī* in Ghalaṭa-sarāyī and 300 in the palace at Edirne (T. C. Spandugino, *Petit traicté de l'origine des Turcqz*, (1510), ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1896, 63; according to Ramberti (1534), *apud* Lybyer, 254, there were 400 in Ghalaṭa-sarāyī and 300 at Edirne). After being educated, under strict discipline, in these palaces for from two to eight years, they were put through a second process of selection (known as *čīḳma*), and the best were taken into two departments of the palace in which the Sultan actually resided (Yeñi-Sarāy, later Topkapı Sarayı), the *Büyük Oda* (or *Khāne-i kebīr* or *Eski Oda*) and the *Küčük Oda* (or *Khāne-i ṣaghīr* or *Yeñi Oda*) (Angiolello mentions only one *oda* as existing at the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II; the first to mention a *Küčük Oda*, in addition to the *Büyük Oda*, is Navagero, in 960/1553 (apud B. Miller, 41); ʿAṭā (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿAṭā*, i, 153) is probably mistaken in speaking of the *Küčük Oda* as existing in the time of Meḥemmed II). The *Büyük Oda* was to the right, and the *Küčük Oda* to the left of the *Bāb al-Saʿāda* (*Babüssaade*) (see Bobovi's plan of 1086/1675, apud B. Miller, 52-3). Those not selected for the Yeñi Sarāy were appointed to the *bölük*s of the *ʿUlūfedjis* [*q.v.*] and the *Gharībs* see GHURABĀʾ], four of the six cavalry regiments of the Porte. According to I. de Promontorio (39-43) there were 400 *ič-oghlanlarī*, aged between 15 and 22, in all the *odas* (80 of them were in the *Khazīne* (Treasury), the *Kilār* (Pantry) and the *Khāṣṣ-oda* (Privy Chamber), for which see below). According to Angiolello, there were 340 in the *Oda*. According to Yunis Beg (*apud* Lybyer, 263), in 944/1537 there were 700 *ič-oghlanlarī*, aged between 8 and 20, in the Sultan's palace (but Ramberti speaks of only 500 in 940/1534). An official account of expenditure, dated 900/1494, mentions 3 *aghas* of the *Enderūn* and only 178 *ghilmān-i enderūnī* (Ö. L. Barkan, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (1953-4), 308), but the numbers grew to about 400 in the *Büyük Oda* and 250 in the *Küčük Oda* (Miller, 129-30; Uzunçarşılı, 310-1); at the beginning of the 11th/17th century, ʿAyn-i ʿAlī notes 709 persons, *aghas* and *ghilmān* together (*Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1280, 97).

The lads in these two *Odas* spent all their time at lessons and physical training. Their teachers were the Palace *muʿallims* (*muʿallimān-i Enderūn*) and *ʿulamāʾ* and *dānishmends* who visited the Palace at set times to give lessons; 12 of the lads were appointed *khalīfe*, 'tutor'. All had to begin by learning reading and writing, the principles of the Muslim faith, and the Ḳurʾān; after that each could 'specialize' according to his own capabilities and inclinations (ʿAṭā, i, 155). As they advanced, they learned the Muslim sciences, and the *ṣarf*, *naḥw* and literature of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Bāyezīd II used to take a personal interest in the boys' education (Menavino, *apud* Miller, 83). Those who made great progress in the religious sciences were allowed to pursue the *ʿilmiyye* career (ʿAṭā, i, 75; Bobovi, *apud* Miller, 109). All kinds of skills were also taught in the *Odas*: calligraphy, *inshāʾ*, arithmetic and *siyāḳat*, music; those who excelled at these would become *kātibs*. One point stressed both by Ottoman and European writers is the emphasis given to physical training, and to horsemanship and the management of arms (the *Hasht bihisht* dwells on this). The chief sports were weight-lifting and putting the weight, wrestling, archery, riding, throwing the lance, and the games of *tomaḳ* and *djerīd* [*q.v.*] (ʿAṭā, i, 177-82; Miller, 119); on feast-days competitions would be held in the Djerīd-Meydānī in the Palace garden and at the

Oḳ-Meydānī and the Sultan would award prizes. Literary works with such names as *Silāḥshor-nāme*, *Bāz-nāme*, *Ḳaws-nāme* were composed mainly for the use of these boys. Furthermore, each lad had to become skilled in one type of personal service or a craft; many masters of miniature-painting, drawing, book-binding and calligraphy were trained in the *Enderūn* (ʿĀlī, *Menāḳib-i hünerverān*, ed. Ibnülemīn M. Kemāl, Istanbul 1926). But over and above this practical education, the main aim of the Palace training was to inculcate absolute loyalty and obedience in the service of the Sultan. The lads were subjected to a very strict discipline, having no contact with the outside world or with their families and, so long as they remained in the palace, leading a monastic life completely cut off from women. Eunuchs watched over all their actions by day and night and slept among them in the dormitories. Menavino (*apud* B. Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New Haven 1931, 63) describes the aim of this training as being to produce 'gentlemen', thoronghly islamized, who knew how to speak and behave politely, were conversant with literature, and were chaste and self-controlled. The overall supervision of the *oda*s was exercised by the *Ḳapî-oghlanî ketkhudāsî*, who had under him eunuchs (between 16 and 30 in number).

The White Eunuchs (*Aḳ Aghalar*) constituted the permanent staff of the palace; these were slaves who had been castrated to make them eligible for this service. It was they who maintained discipline and were responsible for the lads' behaviour. Under Meḥemmed II they were 20 in number (Angiolello), under Selīm I, 40 (ʿAṭā, i, 164). Their chief, and the general overseer of the palace, was the *Ḳapî-aghasî* or *Bāb al-saʿāda aghasî*. Beneath him were three *oda-bashî*, in the order of precedence: *Khāṣṣ-oda bashî*, *Khazînedār-bashî* (or *Ser-khāzinîn*), *Kilārdjî-bashî*. The *Khāṣṣ-oda bashî* might be an *ič-oghlanî*. These eunuchs were responsible for the protection of the sultan's person and personal attendance on him; they accompanied him wherever he went, and guarded him as he slept. Some of them enjoyed the right to make a submission (*ʿarḍ*) directly to the Sultan: according to the *Ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II (*TOEM*, supp., 13-4) those so privileged were the *Ḳapî-aghasî*, the *Oda-bashî*, the *Khazînedār-bashî*, the *Kilārdjî-bashî* and the *Sarāy-aghasî* (this last being the superintendent of the cleaning and repair of the palace). The number of these "*ʿarḍ-aghalarî*" was later increased (ʿAṭā, i, 162). The five next in rank after them were later known as *köshe-bashî* (ʿAṭā, i, 164). The *Ḳapî-aghasî* exercised absolute authority in the palace, in the name of the Sultan (see I. de Promontorio, 41; Spandugino, 63; Ramberti, 244; Uzunçarşılı, 354-7; *Sadrazam Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa lâyihası*, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, i/6 (1942), 473; according to Angiolello he was chief over everyone in the palace except the Sultan); the Sultan consulted him not only on palace matters but on state affairs (the *ḳapî-aghasî* Ghaḍanfer Agha wielded enormous influence under Selīm II and Murād III). In 995/1587, however, Ḥabeshī Meḥmed Agha (a Black Eunuch) removed the harem from the control of the *Ḳapî-aghasî* (Uzunçarşılı, 354-5). The *Khazînedār-bashî* was eligible for promotion to *Ḳapî-aghasî*. After Aḥmed III appointed Silāḥdār ʿAlī (later Grand Vizier) as general supervisor of the palace, the *Ḳapî-aghasî* sank to second place. The *Ḳapî-aghasî* was by tradition eligible to pass out from the palace as *beglerbegi*, and later (in the 10th/16th century) as governor of Egypt with the rank of vizier.

The *Khāṣṣ-oda bashî*, the *Khazînedār-bashî* and the *Kilārdjî-bashî* were in charge of three higher *oda*s (or *ḳoghush*) which were responsible for the personal service of the Sultan. The *ič-oghlanlarî*, after completing the course of training (usually lasting four years) in the *Büyük Oda* and the *Küčük Oda*, were once more put through a process of selection. Those found most fitting at this *čîḳma* were taken into the *oda*s of the *Khazîne* and the *Kilār*; the rest were placed in the *bölük*s of the *Sipāhî-oghlanlarî* and the *Silāḥdārlar*, the other two of the six cavalry regiments of the Porte (*Kemankeş lâyihası*, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, i/6, 474). From the clothes which they wore, the *ič-oghlanlarî* in the *Büyük Oda* and the *Küčük Oda* were called *dolamalî*, those in the higher *oda*s *ḳaftanlî*. Of these higher *oda*s, the first in rank was the *Khāṣṣ-oda*; from the time of Selīm I onwards the chief duty of its members was to care for the *Khîrḳa-i sherîfe* room where the relics of the Prophet were kept (ʿAṭā, i, 189). According to the *Ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II (24), it comprised 32 *oda-oghlanî* and one *silāḥdār* (who looked after the Sultan's weapons), one *rikābdār* (in charge of his footwear), one *čoḳadār* (in charge of his outer clothing) and one *dülbend-oghlanî* (who looked after his turbans and underclothes); to them was later added a *miftāḥ-* (or *anakhtar-*) *ghulāmî* (or *aghasî*). These five *agha*s were also called the *zülüflü aghalar*. The numbers in the *Khāṣṣ-oda* were increased to 40 under Selīm I. In 880/1475 these three higher *oda*s together numbered 80 pages (I. de Promontorio, 40). In 1090/1679 the *Khāṣṣ-oda* comprised, besides the *Oda-bashî*, 6 *agha*s, 12 *eski* (i.e. senior) pages and 22 *ʿadjemī*s (juniors). Later still, there was more specialization in the duties carried out and new ranks were introduced (for details, see ʿAṭā, i, 187-97).

Early in the 11th/17th century, a fourth *oda*, known as *Seferli odasî*, was created from among the attendants with various duties in the *Büyük Oda* (according to ʿAṭā, i, 153, it was created under Aḥmed I, cf. *Kemankeş lâyihası*, 472; according to Uzunçarşılı, 311, in 1045/1635). Its head was the *Sarāy aghasî*. It comprised first those who washed the Sultan's clothes, and included later the bath attendants, the clowns, the mutes, the teachers, the musicians and the singers; the total numbers were in 1090/1679 134 and in 1186/1772 149. The bandsmen (*Enderūn mehterkhānesi*) also belonged to this *oda*.

All matters relating to the pages—promotions, transfers, etc.—were settled by a *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* of the Sultan in response to a proposal (*ʿarḍ*) made by the *Ḳapî-aghasî* or the *Khāṣṣ-oda bashî* (Uzunçarşılı, 304, 324). From time to time the Sultan would visit the *oda*s, attend competitions, and encourage the pages by awarding prizes. Each *oda* had a fixed complement, known as *gedik*. Appointments and promotions went usually by seniority (known as *odjaḳ yoliyle*); even the Sultan was obliged to respect this principle (*Kemankeş lâyihası*, 473), but exceptions were made in promotion to posts which required special aptitude, e.g. the position of *imām*, clerk (*yazîdjî*), bandmaster (*mehterbashî*). Each *oda* has its own bath, *imām* and *müʾedhdhin*. There were special libraries in the palace for the use of the pages (M. Refīḳ, in *TOEM*, vii/40, 236; I. Baykal, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, ii/9, 188). Messages were carried by *ḳolluḳčîlar*. Food for the pages and their clothes were provided by the Sultan. Each received, according to his rank, a stipend (*ʿulūfe*), an issue of clothes, and the occasional bonus (*Kemankeş lâyihası*, 472-4). All promotions and awards were made according to efficiency and seniority.

When the Sultan went out on campaign, the *Enderūn k̲h̲alḳi* were provided with horses and weapons and accompanied him, only the *Sarāy ag̲h̲asi* remaining behind to guard the palace.

Besides the 'Inner Service', the *Enderūn*, which we have considered above, there was a second complex of departments in the palace known as the *Bīrūn*, the 'Outer Service'. The *Enderūn* was the milieu in which the Sultan spent his private life, and at the same time a school where the *g̲h̲ulāms* were educated and trained. The *Bīrūn* was the section composed of the services concerned with the Sultan's relations with the outside world. According to the *Ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II, the heads of departments of the *Bīrūn* were, in order of precedence: the *Yeñi-čeri ag̲h̲asi*, the *Mīr-ʿalem*, the *Ḳapid̲j̲i-bas̲h̲i*, the *Mīr-ak̲h̲ūr*, the *Čaḳird̲j̲i-bas̲h̲i*, the *Ḳapid̲j̲ilar-ketk̲h̲udāsi*, the *D̲j̲ebed̲j̲i-bas̲h̲i*, and the *Topči-bas̲h̲i* (in 933/1527 the order was: *Yeñi-čeri ag̲h̲asi*, *Mīr-ʿalem*, *Ḳapid̲j̲i-bas̲h̲i*, *Mīr-ak̲h̲ūr*, *Čās̲h̲nigīr-bas̲h̲i*, *Süwāri bölükleri ag̲h̲alari*, *Čaḳird̲j̲i-bas̲h̲i*, *S̲h̲ahind̲j̲i-bas̲h̲i*, *Čawus̲h̲-bas̲h̲i*, *Čadir mehterleri bas̲h̲i*, *Ḳapid̲j̲ilar-ketk̲h̲udāsi*, see Ö. L. Barkan, in *Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1953-4), 308). Since (with the exception of the *Ḳapid̲j̲ilar-ketk̲h̲udāsi* and the *D̲j̲ebed̲j̲i-bas̲h̲i*) these officers were entitled to ride beside the Sultan, they were known as *özengi-ag̲h̲alari* or *rikāb-ag̲h̲alari* ('*Ag̲h̲as* of the Stirrup'). In addition to the bodies of men under these officers, the *Bīrūn* included also the *müteferriḳalar* [see MUTAFARRIḲA] under the *Müteferriḳa-bas̲h̲i*, the *Čawus̲h̲es* [see ČĀʾŪS̲H̲] under the Čawus̲h̲-bas̲h̲i, the *baltad̲j̲is* [*q.v.*] under the *Dār al-saʿāda ag̲h̲asi*, and the *bostand̲j̲is* [*q.v.*] under the *Bostand̲j̲i-bas̲h̲i* [*q.v.*] (for details on these and other groups belonging to the *Bīrūn* see Uzunçarşılı, 388-464). All these bodies belonged to the *g̲h̲ulām* organization of the Ottoman Empire.

An idea of the relative importance of the various groups comprising the *Bīrūn* can be obtained by comparing the data of an official list of 933/1527 (published by Ö. L. Barkan, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (1953-4), 300) with the data for 1018/1609 given by ʿAyn-i ʿAlī (82-99): the table shows that in less than a century the number of the *ḳapi-ḳullari* of *g̲h̲ulām* origin increased well over three times.

	numbers in 933/1527	annual pay in *akčes*	numbers in 1018/1609
mus̲h̲āhere-k̲h̲ōrān (*i.e.*, those with a monthly stipend, *čawus̲h̲es*, *čās̲h̲nigīrs*, poets, physicians, etc.)	424	4,381,458	1200-1300
Janissaries	7,886	15,423,426	37,627
Sipāhīs of the Porte (the *Alti Bölük*)	5,088	30,957,300	20,869
Ḳapid̲j̲ilar, *Teberdārlar*	319	758,622	2,451
D̲j̲ebed̲j̲iler	524	1,016,688	5,730
Topčilar	695	975,624	1,552
Tailors	301	641,094	319
Cooks	277	654,900	1,129
ʿAlem mehterleri	185	466,570	228
Čadir mehterleri and *Dīwān sāḳileri*	277	562,860	871
Craftsmen (jewellers, swordmakers, etc.)	585	1,422,726	947
Top ʿarabad̲j̲ilari	943	985,890	684
Falconers	259	509,760	592
Employed in the Imperial stables	2,830	5,133,000	4,322
Ad̲j̲emī og̲h̲lanlar and *Bostānd̲j̲is* in Istanbul	3,553	1,993,020	9,406
Totals	24,146	65,882,938	87,927

The institution which ensured that these *g̲h̲ulām* groups and the provincial administration should function together as a harmonious whole was the *čiḳma*, that is, the promotions and transfers which were made at intervals (of from two to eight years) and at each accession (according to *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i G̲h̲ilmānī*, *TOEM*, supp., 99, every 7 or 8 years; according to Miller, 128, every 2 or 3 years in the *Büyük* and *Küčük Odas*; cf. Uzunçarşılı, 336-9). At the *Čiḳma*, the most senior (*eski*) of the pages in the *Büyük* and *Küčük Odas* were promoted to higher *odas*, i.e. (in ascending order) the *Seferli*, the *Kilār* and the *K̲h̲azīne*; the rest were transferred to the *bölüks* of the *Sipāhī og̲h̲lanlari* and the *Silāḥdārlar*, according to their pay. Satisfactory *eskis* in the three higher *odas* were promoted to the *K̲h̲āṣṣ-oda* (for the ceremonies of transfer in the later period see ʿAṭā, i, 187-8). The satisfactory 'juniors' (*ʿad̲j̲emī*) in the four higher *odas* became 'senior' (*eski*); the rest were transferred to the corps of *müteferriḳalar* or the *čās̲h̲nigīrs*, in the *Bīrūn*. In each of the four higher *odas* there were 12 *eskis*; as they were allowed to carry daggers, they were known as *bičaḳli*. The 12 *k̲h̲alīfes* in the *Büyük* and *Küčük Odas* used to teach the *ʿad̲j̲emīs*. The *ag̲h̲as* of the three upper *odas* were selected from members of the *K̲h̲āṣṣ-oda*, but the actual head of each *oda* was a White Eunuch (*Aḳ ag̲h̲a*). The *K̲h̲azīnedār-bas̲h̲i*, if promoted, became *Ḳapi-ag̲h̲asi* (there is documentary evidence, however, that in the time of Murād II the *K̲h̲azīnedār-bas̲h̲i* was not a eunuch and that he was promoted to the post of *sand̲j̲aḳ-begi*, see *Defter-i Arvanid*, p. 1 and n. 5). According to the *Ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II (23), the *silāhdār* and the *rikābdār* were promoted from the *K̲h̲āṣṣ-oda* to be *müteferriḳa* at 50 *akčes* or *ag̲h̲a* of one of the cavalry *bölüks* or *Čās̲h̲nigīr-bas̲h̲i*; as a special mark of favour he might be made *ḳapid̲j̲i-bas̲h̲i*. The *ag̲h̲as* of the *odas* were promoted to the post of *sand̲j̲aḳ-begi*. As time went on, the *ag̲h̲as* of the *Enderūn* passed out to even more important posts: in the 10th/16th century it became the practice that the *K̲h̲āṣṣ-oda bas̲h̲i* should pass out as *beglerbegi*. In general an *ag̲h̲a* of the *Enderūn* became *sand̲j̲aḳ-begi* or an *ag̲h̲a* in the *Bīrūn*; an ordinary member joined one of the *bölüks* or *d̲j̲emāʿats* of the *Bīrūn*.

At the time of a *čiḳma* each group in the *Enderūn* and in the *Bīrūn* was on the move. The *Özengi Ag̲h̲alari* of the *Bīrūn* moved to the command of a *sand̲j̲aḳ* or a *beglerbegilik*; ordinary members were granted *zeʿāmets* in the provinces. But after the 10th/16th century they too, like the *ag̲h̲as* of the *Enderūn*, began to receive appointments as *beglerbegi* and vizier; in fact an *Ag̲h̲a* of the Janissaries might be appointed directly Grand Vizier. *Čas̲h̲nigīrs* and *müteferriḳas* and *sipāhīs* from the *bölüks* were given *zeʿāmets*; *čawus̲h̲es*, *ḳapid̲j̲is* and senior Janissaries were generally given *tīmārs*; thus they passed into the ranks of the 'feudal' *sipāhīs* in the provinces. The best of the *bostand̲j̲is* and the *as̲h̲čis* entered the cavalry *bölüks* or became *ḳapid̲j̲is*, the rest passed into the Janissaries. Thus the highest position which most of the *ḳapi-ḳullari* in the *Enderūn* and the *Bīrūn* could reach was a *tīmār* in the provinces. We

have seen that so early as the first half of the 9th/15th century *ḳul*s of the Sultan and of *beg*s were granted not only posts as *sandjaḳ-begi* and *beglerbegi*, but also *zeʿāmet*s and *tīmār*s; the view that the timariots were composed only of Turkish-born Muslim *gönüllü* [*q.v.*] or *aḳîndjî*s [*q.v.*] is erroneous.

In the classical period (up to the 11th/17th century), an important place in the ranks of the timariots—and thus in the basic military and administrative organization of the Empire—was occupied by the '*beg ḳullarî*' (or '*ghulāmlarî*'). Each *beglerbegi*, *sandjaḳ-begi* and *su-bashî* had to have his own force of *ḳapî-ḳullarî*, their numbers being regulated by *ḳānūn*. To own slaves was regarded as a necessary qualification for the exercise of executive power. Even the timariot had a small 'Porte', composed of *djebelü*s and *ghulām*s (*oghlan*s), its strength determined by the value of his *tīmār* (the proportions are given in the *Ḳānūnnāme* of Süleymān I, but the text published by M. ʿĀrif, *TOEM*, supp., contains many errors; cf. *Sûret-i Defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*); thus in 835/1431 the *ghulām-i mîr Yörgüč* held a *tîmār* of 6089 *aḳče*s, and hence had to put in the field one *djebelü* and one *ghulām* (*Arvanid*, 34). *Pasha*s and *beg*s endeavoured to support more *djebelü*s and *ghulām*s than the *ḳānūn* obliged them to (when Rüstem Pasha died he left 1700 slaves). *Djebelü*s, *ghulām*s and *nöker*s, in origin prisoners of war or purchased slaves, were, like their masters, subject to the regulations that applied to the *ʿaskerî* class (see H. İnalcık, *15. asır Türkiye iktisadî ve içtimaî tarihi kaynakları*, in *Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1953-4), 53), and thus their status in society differed from that of the ordinary *ʿabd*; all the same, the *sharīʿa* rules relating to the *ʿabd*, to *ʿitḳ* and to *walāʾ* [*qq.v.*] applied to the relations between the *ghulām* of the military class and his master.

Some of the boys levied by the *devshirme* were placed in the mansions of prominent men. *Beg*s and *pasha*s, after training their *ghulām*s in various duties in their *ḳonaḳ*s, each a microcosm of the Sultan's palace, could procure that they passed directly into the military class; by presenting their meritorious *ghulām*s to the Sultan, they could obtain for them *tîmār*s, especially in newly-conquered territories. The *ḳānūnnāme*s provide for the allocation of *tîmār*s not only to the sons of *beg*s and *pasha*s but also to their *ghulām*s, in amounts proportionate to the *khāṣṣ* or *tîmār* of the holder [see TĪMĀR]. *Djebelü*s were slaves who rendered military service, while *ghulām*s (*oghlan*s) were in the personal service of the *sipāhī*. It was possible for a *ghulām* to become a *djebelü*, and a *djebelü* a timariot. In the first half of the 9th/15th century, the *udj begleri* were able to present *tîmār*s in their *sandjaḳ*s to their own *ghulām*s and *nöker*s (see H. İnalcık, *Fatih devri* . . . , i, 149-50) and thus maintain a quasi-independent status vis-à-vis the central authority. The *ghulām*s of executed *pasha*s, like their other possessions, became the property of the Sultan, and were sometimes taken straight into the palace (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 472). Thus the *ghulām* system was in force at every level of the military-administrative organization.

In the classical period of the Empire, this system was not merely the source for recruitment to the administrative class; it was also, from the very beginning, of great importance in the social and economic structure of society, especially in the great cities. Examination of the registers kept by the *ḳāḍī*s of Ottoman cities in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries (see H. İnalcık, *15. asır Türkiye iktisadî* . . . , in *Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1953-4), 52-61) shows that one of the most profitable investments which a wealthy man could make was to buy slaves. Slave-merchants accompanied the armies, and at the end of a battle set up their markets (see for example C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Cambridge 1908, 142). In the 11th/17th century the records of the Istanbul customs alone show an importation of 20,000 slaves (Miller, 81). In the second half of the 9th/15th century, the average price of a slave was 40-50 Venetian ducats. The use of slaves ensured various legal and economic advantages. The manufacturers of velvet and brocade at Bursa used slave-labour, usually on the *muḳāṭaba* [*q.v.*] system. It was profitable for merchants to use slaves and *ʿatîḳ*s (freedmen) as commercial agents (see H. İnalcık, *Bursa*, in *Belleten*, xxiv/93 (1960), 91-3). One factor encouraging this was the legal principle of *walāʾ* [*q.v.*]. The *sharīʿa* was supplemented by detailed *ʿurfî* regulations relating to slaves (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, Istanbul 1943, index s.vv. *kul*, *esir*). The Ottomans did, in practice, extend the benefits which the *sharīʿa* ensured to the *ʿabd*. Slaves, whether in the service of the state or in private ownership, were not regarded as composing a base class in society: indeed in certain circumstances the name of *ḳul* procured influence and esteem. The *ḳāḍî*s' registers reveal that *ʿatîḳ*s, who had grown up in an active world of business and enriched themselves, without encountering any social obstacles, were surprisingly numerous in the upper classes of Ottoman society.

Right from the time of Orkhān Ghāzī, prisoners of war had also been used by the state as slave-labourers, being settled on agricultural land and in villages with the name *ortaḳčî-ḳul* [*q.v.*] (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kulluklar ve Ortakçı kullar*, in *Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, i (1939), 29-74, 198-245, 397-447). There is no resemblance at all between these and the *ghulām*s belonging to the military class.

The classical Ottoman administrative system, based on the use of *ghulām*s, developed greatly in the second half of the 10th/16th century, the number of the *ḳapî-ḳullarî* passing 80,000. With the decline in the authority of the Sultan at the end of this period, the *ḳapî-ḳullarî* acquired absolute control of the palace, the government and the provincial administration, and endeavoured to monopolize the military fiefs and the other sources of state-revenue. Their power became such that they could depose, appoint, and even murder (ʿOthmān II) the Sultan. Although the *ghulām*s of the palace sometimes made common cause with them, in general it was to their advantage to support the authority of the Sultan. Thus the palace attempted to pit the cavalry regiments against the Janissaries. Ottoman historians and writers on government in dealing with this period (Kātib Čelebi, Ḥasan Beg-zāde, Naʿīmā, Ḳoči Beg [*qq.v.*]) attribute the anarchy in the first place to the disruption of the *ghulām* system.

The revolt of Abaza Meḥmed Pasha (see ABAZA—i, and H. İnalcık, art. Husrev Paşa, in *IA*, fasc. 49, 606-9) is to be explained as a violent manifestation of the reaction which this domination of the *ḳul*s provoked in Anatolia. Later attempts on the part of the palace and the government to reduce the numbers of the *ḳapî-ḳulu* troops and bring them under discipline were fruitless; only when Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] assumed dictatorial powers was it possible to make some resistance to them. The lack of discipline among the *ḳapî-ḳullarî* was reflected in the *Enderūn*: when the *čîḳma* due at the accession of Meḥemmed IV was delayed, the *ič*-

oghlanlarĭ mutinied (Naʿīmā, iv, 349-50); and finally in 1086/1675 the organizations of the *Büyük* and *Küčük Odas* and of the palaces of Ghalaṭa-sarāyĭ [*q.v.*] and of Ibrāhīm Pasha were abolished (Uzunçarşılı, 304). After the wars which lasted from 1094/1683 until 1111/1699 the system of *ḳapĭ-ḳullarĭ* and *ghulāms* lost its former significance and importance in the state and took on a new character.

As reasons for the collapse of the system, there come to mind, besides its losing its former function, such explanations as the reduction in the supply of slaves and the contraction of the financial resources of the state. But the basic reasons are to be sought among those which produced the decline of the Empire and compelled a change in its structure and institutions. In the provinces, individuals who had not passed through the system began to enter the service of the *pashas* and thus occupy an increasingly prominent place in the administration and in the army. The state was obliged to recognize these military groups who, under various names (*sarudja sekbān, gönüllü, levend*), came into existence in the service of the various *pashas*. This meant the abandonment of the principle that the Sultan's executive authority was exercised only by the *ḳapĭ-ḳullarĭ*. Again, from the 11th/17th century onwards the application of the *devshirme* among the Christian *dhimmīs* became increasingly difficult, so that a *devshirme* in this century could produce only 2000 boys (Miller, *Palace School*, 75). Finally, former members of the *Enderūn* and men of influence were able to introduce their own children, instead of *devshirme* boys, into the schools of the palace and the *odas* of the *Enderūn* (ʿAṭā, i, 113). When in the 12th/18th century persons trained in the Government offices began more and more to pass into executive positions and provincial posts (see H. İnalcık, art. Reîs-ül-Küttâb, in *IA*, fasc. 98, 671) and the *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] rose to control the provincial administration, the *ghulām* system no longer had any significance or importance. The purge of the *Enderūn* under Aḥmed III and the changes introduced by Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha (ʿAṭā, i, 162-5) are, to some degree, the expression of new tendencies. In the *odas* at this period greater stress was laid upon education. The *odjaḳ yolĭ* (*i.e.*, the principle that promotion was possible only after passing through a series of duties) was abolished, and the principle that a qualified person could take a short cut into the *Khāṣṣ-oda* was accepted. Ghalaṭa-sarāyĭ was re-opened as a school training pages for introduction directly into the *odas* of the *Khazīne* and the *Kilār* in the Topḳapĭ Sarāyĭ. The last great representative of the *ghulām* system is Khusrew Pasha [*q.v.*]. In his own *ḳonaḳ* he had many slaves, whom he had bought, educated and trained by private teachers, and appointed them to important posts in the services of the state; many of them rose to the rank of *pasha* (M. Thüreyyā, *Nukhbat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, Istanbul 1290, 269). Maḥmūd II, imitating the palace organization of Western courts, made fundamental changes in the Ottoman palace organization; the *Enderūn Naẓāreti* was established in 1831, the *Mābeyn Müshīriyyeti* in 1832 (M. Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 729), and in 1833 the *odalar* were completely abolished (Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, iv, 112).

Bibliography: in the article. See also ḲAPĬ ḲULU, ḲUL, and SARĀY-I HÜMĀYŪN.

(HALIL İNALCIK)

GHULĀM AḤMAD ḲĀDIYĀNĪ [see AḤMADIYYA].

GHULĀM ʿALĪ [see ĀZĀD BILGRĀMĪ].

Sayyid **GHULĀM ḤUSAYN KHĀN ṬABĀṬABĀʾĪ** AL-ḤASANĪ b. Bakhshī al-Mulk Naṣīr al-Dawla S. HIDĀYAT ʿALĪ KHĀN "Ḍamīr", *Bakhshī* to Shāh ʿĀlam (reigned 1173/1759-1221/1806), b. S. ʿAlīm Allāh b. S. Fayḍ Allāh Ṭabāṭabāʾī, was born at Delhi (Shāhdjahānābād) in 1140/1727-8 in a poor family. When he was five years old the family migrated to Murshidābād [*q.v.*], where Allāh Wirdī Khān Mahābat Djang, a kinsman of his mother, was then living in the service of Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, the *Nāẓim* of Bengal. Soon afterwards, when Allāh Wirdī Khān was appointed the *Nāẓim* of ʿAẓīmābād (Paṭna), S. Hidāyat ʿAlī Khān went with him and settled there. Gradually he acquired extensive property and eventually became the *Nāʾib* of the province of ʿAẓīmābād under Zayn al-Dīn Aḥmad Khān Haybat Djang. In 1156/1743 his father lost his post and returned to Delhi with his family. Early in 1158/1745 Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān went to ʿAẓīmābād, married a daughter of his maternal uncle ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Khān, who was employed in the army of Haybat Djang, and took part in the defence of the town against Muṣṭafā Khān. In 1161/1748 Ghulām Ḥusayn entered the service of Saʿīd Aḥmad Khān Ṣawlat Djang, son-in-law of Allāh Wirdī Khān, who was then at Monghyr. Soon afterwards he went to Pūrniya where Ṣawlat Djang had been appointed *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*]. On the death of his patron in 1169/1754 Ghulām Ḥusayn refused to serve under his son and successor Shawkat Djang, but was prevailed upon to change his mind. In 1170/1756, when Shawkat Djang revolted against Sirādj al-Dawla [*q.v.*], the independent ruler of Bengal, and was defeated and slain in battle, Ghulām Ḥusayn, fearing reprisals at the hands of the victor, fled to Benares and took refuge with his relations living there, who had earlier been banished by Sirādj al-Dawla.

In 1170/1757, on Mīr Djaʿfar's assumption of power as the *de facto* governor of Bengal, Ghulām Ḥusayn returned to ʿAẓīmābād and through the intercession of Rādjā Rām Narāyan, the local governor, recovered some of his family estates and was allowed to live in the town. He soon found favour with Rām Narāyan, but when prince ʿĀlī Guhar (Shāh ʿĀlam II) attacked Bengal in 1172/1759 he threw in his lot with the invaders. The attack having failed, he again went to Benares but soon sought the pardon of Rām Narāyan and returned to ʿAẓīmābād. Thereafter he involved himself in Bengal politics, siding now with Mīr Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] and now with the British, gaining favours from both sides. In 1176/1762 Mīr Ḳāsim gave him a cash present of Rs. 5000 and also ordered the payment of the arrears of his salary with a view to retaining his allegiance, for he was intimate with the British and Mīr Ḳāsim entertained strong suspicions of his loyalty (cf. *Siyar al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, Eng. transl. 1926, ii, 436). His subsequent rôle as an intermediary between the various contending groups is a very dubious one (cf. *Siyar* . . . , Eng. transl. 1926, ii 458, 513, 517, 524-5, 532, 535-7, 553). It was through his efforts that the *ḳalʿa-dār* of Rōhtās arranged to surrender the fortress to the British. In 1187/1773-4 he was in Calcutta making preparations for a pilgrimage to Mecca but having been suddenly impoverished, gave up the intention. Some four years later he tried to ingratiate himself with Warren Hastings, the British Governor-General, but without success. In 1194/1780 he again approached the British but with the same negative results. The exact date of his death is not known, but according

to the Bānkīpur MS. (No. 282) he was alive till 1230/1815. According to *Nuzhat al-kh͟awāṭir* (vi, 200) he died at Ḥusaynābād, a village founded by his father near Monghyr. His descendants are still living in Patna.

An Iranian by extraction, he was thoroughly conversant with the art of Persian letter-writing. He was a *munsh͟ī* by profession and his letters and writings drew praise from, among others, Warren Hastings (*Mistar Hash͟ting ... muḥarrarāt-i faḳīr-rā mī-sitāyad, Siyar ...*, ii, 674). Among all his activities as a *Mīr Munsh͟ī*, a political negotiator, a soldier and an intermediary, he found time for literary activities, undaunted by periods of penury and vicissitudes of fortune. His fame rests chiefly on the *Siyar al-mutaʾakh͟kh͟irīn*, his *magnum opus*, a detailed history of India from Awrangzīb's death in 1118/1707 to 1195/1781, begun in Ṣafar 1194/ February 1780 and completed in Ramaḍān 1195/ August 1781. An autograph copy of this work is preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Bānkīpur (vii, 582). Editions: Calcutta 1248/1836; Lucknow 1282-3/1866, 1314/1897; Eng. transl. by Ḥājjī Muṣṭafā, originally Raymond, Calcutta 1789 (most of this edition was lost at sea); reprint Calcutta 1902-3, another reprint with index, Calcutta 1926. Urdu translations: (i) *Iḳbāl-nāma* by S. Bakh͟sh͟ish ʿAlī, Delhi n.d.; (ii) *Mirʾāt al-salāṭīn* by Gōkul Praśād, Lucknow 1874. There are also several partial translations into English and one Persian abridgement: *Mulakh͟kh͟aṣ al-tawārīkh͟* (ed. Calcutta 1243/ 1827, Agra 1247/1831). His other works include (i) *Bish͟ārat al-imāma*, a *mathnawī* on the lives of his ancestors, especially the miracles of his grandfather S. ʿAlīm Allāh Ṭabāṭabāʾī (d. 1156/1743) and his great-grandfather S. Fayḍ Allāh (MS. Bānkīpur Suppt., i, no. 1991); (ii) a theological work on the prerogatives of ʿAlī and his descendants, being a commentary of certain *ḥadīth͟*s quoted in the *Fawātiḥ* of Mīr Ḥusayn al-Maybud͟hī (defective MS. of unknown title, Bānkīpur, xiv, no. 1319); (iii) a *tafsīr* of the Ḳurʾān in 'idiomatic' Arabic (*tafsīr dar tāzī-i bā-muḥāwara*); (iv) a commentary on the *Mathnawī* of D͟jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; (v) a *dīwān* of poems; and (vi) other theological works. No MSS. of nos. (iii) to (vi) are known to exist. A historical work of doubtful authenticity entitled *Sh͟araf-nāma*, written in 1221/ 1806-7 (MS. Āṣafiyya, iii, no. 1314), is also attributed to him.

Bibliography: *Siyar al-mutaʾakh͟kh͟irīn*, Lucknow 1866, ii (iii), 948-52; an abridged Eng. transl. of the above appeared in *The Asiatic Annual Register ... for the year 1801*, London 1802, *Characters*, 28-32; D͟hu'l Faḳār ʿAlī Kh͟ān "Mast", *Riyāḍ al-wifāḳ* (MS.); Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, viii, 194-7; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian biography*, 164; Storey, i/I, 625-640 (the most detailed account), 1027; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat al-kh͟awāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād 1376/1957, vi, 199-200.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

GH͟ULĀM ḤUSAYN "SALĪM" Zaydpurī, one of the earliest Muslim historians of Bengal, migrated from his home-town Zaydpur, near Bāra Bańkī in Awadh, to English Bāzār or New Mālda (Bengal), also called Ańgrēzābād, and became *Ḍāk Munsh͟ī*, or Postmaster, there under George Udny (Udney), the Commercial Resident of the East India Company's factory at that place. Apparently a well-educated man, he undertook to write, at the request of Udny, a history of Bengal, which he named *Riyāḍ al-salāṭīn* (chronogram of 1207/1787-8, the date of completion). This work is divided into a *muḳaddima* and four *rawḍās* (1) the viceroys of the Sultans of Delhi, (2) the independent kings, (3) the *Nāẓim*s (governors) under the Tīmūrids and (4) the British. Edition: *The Riyázu-s-Salátin ... edited by Maulavi Abdul Hak Abid*, Calcutta 1890-1; Eng. transl., *The Riyazu-s-Salatin ... translated ... with notes* by Maulavi Abdus Salam, Calcutta 1902-4.

A man of considerable learning, he devoted his spare time to teaching. One of the pupils of a pupil of his, S. Ilāhī Bakh͟sh͟ b. ʿAlī Bakh͟sh͟ al-Ḥusaynī Ańgrēzābādī wrote *Kh͟ᵘurshīd-i d͟jahān-numā*, a general history of the world, which also contains a brief account of Gh͟ulām Ḥusayn, his teacher's teacher (cf. H. Beveridge, *JASB*, lxiv/1 (1895), 196, 198). Other references are to be found in *Riyāḍ al-salāṭīn*, Engl. transl., 2-5; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād, 1378/1958, vii, 352. He died in 1233/1817. See also Storey, i, 178.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

GH͟ULĀM ḲĀDIR ROHILLA b. Ḍābiṭa Kh͟ān b. Amīr al-Umarāʾ Nad͟jīb al-Dawla [*q.v.*], founder of the town of Nad͟jībābād, remembered chiefly for his cruel treatment of the Mugh͟al emperor Sh͟āh ʿĀlam (*reg.* 1173-1221/1759-1806), and his family. While still young Gh͟ulām Ḳādir Kh͟ān was left at the Imperial court as his father's representative, most probably as a hostage. He escaped from custody, however, in 1190/1776 on the defeat of the imperial forces by Ḍābiṭa Kh͟ān, and joined his father at the fort of Gh͟awth͟gaṙh, the family headquarters near Thāna Bhawan, the birth place of Ash͟raf ʿAlī Thānawī [*q.v.*]. The very next year Ḍābiṭa Kh͟ān was defeated by the Marāthās and Gh͟ulām Ḳādir was taken prisoner and brought to Delhi. There he was lodged in the palace (Red Fort) and, to the amusement of the courtiers, was obliged to appear before the emperor clad in women's attire. All this seems to have been done to humiliate his father, the Rohilla chief Ḍābiṭa Kh͟ān. A handsome lad, he attracted the attention of the ladies of the harem, but was punished by castration. On the death of his father in 1199/1785 Gh͟ulām Ḳādir succeeded to the family estates but did not pay the customary succession fee to the emperor. In 1202/1787, the Marāthā leader, Sindhiyā (Scindia), entered into a pact with Gh͟ulām Ḳādir for controlling the Sikhs who were giving trouble in the Doāb. Instead of observing the pact Gh͟ulām Ḳādir began to drive out the Marāthā collectors of revenue and seize imperial territory, enjoying all the time the patronage of the eunuch Ḥāfiẓ Manẓūr ʿAlī Kh͟ān, who had a strong hold over the emperor and wanted to throw off Marāthā control. In August of the same year Gh͟ulām Ḳādir succeeded in defeating the Marātha forces at Sh͟āhdara, near Delhi. He laid claim to the post of *Mīr Bakh͟sh͟ī* and the control of the imperial administration. The next month he occupied the capital and forced Sh͟āh ʿĀlam to appoint him *Mīr Bakh͟sh͟ī* and *Amīr al-Umarāʾ*, offices once held by his father and grandfather. He then began his depredations in the Doāb and even usurped the crown-lands reserved for the privy purse of the emperor (*ṣarf-i kh͟āṣṣ maḥāll*). In Sh͟awwāl 1202/July 1788 he again appeared before Delhi and through the treachery and intrigue of his friend, the eunuch Manẓūr ʿAlī, superintendent of the royal household, was able to have an audience with the unwilling but helpless emperor. This audience proved to be the beginning of a period of great troubles for the imperial family—the House of Tīmūr. Sh͟āh ʿĀlam was taken prisoner and deposed on 26 Sh͟awwāl /30 July, and

ten days later he was blinded. In a moving Persian poem Shāh ʿĀlam laments the loss of his eyes (cf. Ṣabāh al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Bazm-i Tīmūriyya*, Aʿẓamgaṙh 1367/1948, 317-8). Children and women of the harem were starved to death, princes flogged and the *bēgam*s dishonoured. For days together every conceivable cruelty was perpetrated on the royal family in vengeance for the act of castration to which the Rohilla chief had been subjected during his boyhood. Retribution, however, soon overtook him. In Djumādā I 1203/February 1789 he was captured by the Marāthā leader, Mahāddjī Sindhiyā, and after a short imprisonment was put to death; his body was dismembered and hung from a tree.

Bibliography: Khayr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ilāhābādī, *ʿIbrat-nāma*, I.O. MS. 3908-10 (gives the fullest account of Ghulām Ḳādir's career); extracts in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* . . . , viii, 237-54; Amīn al-Dīn Ḥusayn Khān, *Pādāsh-i Kirdār*, I.O. MS. 3979; ʿAlī Bakht Gurgānī 'Aẓfarī', *Wāḳiʿāt-i Aẓfarī*, Urdu transl., Madras 1937; *Ferishta's History of Dekkan . . . , by Jonathan Scott*, London 1794, ii, 285-306; W. Francklin, *The history of the reign of Shah-Aulum*, London 1798 (mostly based on Ghulām ʿAlī Khān's *Shāh ʿĀlam-nāma*, fasc. i, Calcutta 1912, fasc. ii, Calcutta 1914); *Nādirāt-i Shāhī*, ed. Imtiyāz ʿAlī Khān ʿArshī, Rampur 1944; Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Calcutta 1952, iii, 278, 280, 284, 287, 291 ff., 302-20 (where several other references are given); Durgā Prashhād, *Waḳāʾi ʿĀlam Shāhī*, (ed.) Imtiyāz ʿAlī Khān ʿArshī, Rampur 1949; Naṣīr al-Dīn Barlās, *Nadjīb al-tawārīkh* (MS.); *A History of the Freedom Movement*, Karachi 1957, i, 129-35.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

GHULĀM AL-KHALLĀL, usual appellative of Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar b. Ahmad, a highly-esteemed Ḥanbalī traditionist and jurisconsult (d. 363/974). He owes his by-name to the fact that he was the principal disciple of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923 [*q.v.*]). He transmitted his master's *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ*, the first great *corpus juris* of Ḥanbalism; he completed it on a number of points by the *Zād al-musāfir* which, though of lesser importance than the first compilation, was also to become a much consulted work; the *Zād al-musāfir* was considered as presenting fairly numerous divergences not only from the *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ* but also from the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī. Other works of *fiḳh* are also attributed to him, in particular a treatise on the differences of opinion between al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz also transmitted the *Kitāb al-Amr* of Ibn Ḥanbal; a manuscript of this work is preserved in the Ẓāhiriyya at Damascus; to the purely doctrinal interest of this treatise is added an interest of a social and political nature, for it contains a criticism of the life of luxury and pleasure which was led by the caliphs and their entourage, and one can detect in it the beginnings of a veiled hostility to the Turkish elements of the caliphate.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Ḥusayn b. al-Farrāʾ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo ed., ii, 75-127 (gives the list of the divergences from the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī); Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 278; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 45-6; Djamīl al-Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus n.d., 26; Brockelmann, S I, 311.

(H. Laoust)

GHULĀM THAʿLAB, nickname of an Arab philologist named Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Hishām (Hāshim), Abū ʿUmar al-Zāhid al-Muṭarriz al-Bārūdī. A native of Abīward Khurāsān, he was born in 261/875 and died at Baghdād on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 345/16 February 957. He owes his nickname to his relations with Thaʿlab [*q.v.*] whose zealous disciple and successor he was; he himself had many pupils, and famous people did not scorn to attend his lectures. He made his living as an embroiderer (*muṭarriz*), but certainly received also subsidies from several patrons, as appears from an anecdote quoted by almost all his biographers.

Although he transmitted some *ḥadīth*s and the traditionists regard him generally as reliable, his fame rests principally on his extraordinary erudition in matters of Arabic vocabulary; in this field he is considered as the most learned of all the philologists, and tradition has it that he dictated from memory 60,000 pages; the very extent of his learning caused him often to be accused of forgery and dishonesty, but, to judge from some anecdotes, his detractors seem to have been wasting their time; this was notably the case with Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*], who was one day shown up in public by Ghulām Thaʿlab and until his death never spoke to him again. He had an answer for everything and was even able to find a meaning, from the old Bedouin vocabulary, for words which mischievous pupils invented as a joke.

Politically, it is particularly interesting to note that he belonged to the party which, so late as the 4th/10th century, still revered the memory of Muʿāwiya (see Ch. Pellat, in *St. Isl.*, vi (1956), 56); he even wrote a little work (*djuzʾ*) on the merits of the Umayyad caliph, which he insisted on his pupils reading before he allowed them to attend his lectures; al-ʿAsḳalānī himself (*Lisān al-mīzān*, v, 268) passes a rather severe judgement on this work because it contained apocryphal data, but he places the responsibility for these on other transmitters. It is precisely because of his hostility towards ʿAlī and the Shīʿa that Ibn al-Nadīm is by no means favourable towards him; all the same he devotes to him a long notice (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 113-4), which includes a page of exceptional interest on the way in which at that time a dictated text gradually acquired the form of a finished work, thanks to the care of the listeners and the final intervention of the master. Ibn al-Nadīm and the other biographers list a total of more than 25 works among which the *Kitāb al-Yāḳūt* (or *al-Yawāḳīt*) *fi 'l-lugha* seems to be the most important. In this list he draws particular attention to a commentary (*sharḥ*) and a supplement (*fāʾit*) to the *Faṣīḥ* of Thaʿlab, a "very good" *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* based on the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, a supplement to the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, a critism of Abū ʿUbayda (*mā ankarahu 'l-Aʿrāb ʿalā Abī ʿUbayda fīmā rawāh*) and a critical supplement to the *Djamhara* of Ibn Durayd.

Bibliography: apart from the works quoted: Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 356-9; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 345; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 226-34; Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, s.v.; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 477-9; for further bibliography and extant MSS see Brockelmann, S I, 183.

(Ch. Pellat)

GHULĀT (singular, Ghālī), "extremists", a term of disapproval for individuals accused of exaggeration (*ghulū*) in religion. By heresiographers it was applied particularly to those Shīʿīs [*q.v.*] whose doctrines Ithnaʿasharī Imāmī orthodoxy has regarded as exaggerated in reverence for the *imām*s or in other ways. In practice, the term has covered all early speculative Shīʿīs except those later accepted by Ithnaʿasharī tradition, as well as all later Shīʿī

groups except Zaydīs, orthodox Ithnaʿasharīs, and sometimes Ismāʿīlīs. During the early period, what are called the *Ghulāt* offered a distinctive speculative tendency within the general Shīʿī political orientation; their speculations continued to influence most later Shīʿī (and even some Sunnī) thought, and formed a reservoir of ideas from which many later Shīʿī movements drew their main inspiration. Accordingly, the term *Ghulāt*, if understood as a proper name without *parti pris*, may be made to serve for a heterogeneous but interconnected group of Shīʿī religious leaders and for the later tradition which went back to them.

Traditionally, the first of the *Ghulāt* was ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*], whose *ghulū* may have consisted in denying that ʿAlī had died, and predicting his return (*radjʿa*), as the later Imāmīs did that of the Twelfth Imām. In any case, the notion of the absence (*ghayba*) of an *imām* who is due to return and establish justice as *mahdī* [*q.v.*] or *ḳāʾim* seems to have appeared first among the *Ghulāt*. Other positions which seem to have been labelled *ghulū* by early writers were the (public) condemnation (*sabb*) of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as usurpers of ʿAlī's right, and the notion that the true *imām*s were divinely protected (*maʿṣūm*) against any sort of error. The *Ghulāt* were especially concerned to define the nature of the *imām*'s person and were ascribed varying positions on this: that the *imām* was the *waṣī*, executor, of the Prophet; that he possessed a prophetic authority (*nubuwwa*) himself, though one secondary to Muḥammad's; that he (as well as Muḥammad) possessed a spark of the divine light (*nūr ilāhī*) inherited from Adam through a line of prophets; or that he represented divinity itself, perhaps as a lesser god in the earth, or by infusion (*ḥulūl*) of the divine spirit in him.

They were almost equally concerned to define the nature of the true believer. Some seem to have expected all the truly faithful to receive some degree of prophetic inspiration. At least by the time of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ's friend Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], a leading Ghālī, many thought of the soul in purely spiritual terms, essentially independent of any body; thus some expected a purely spiritual resurrection, and many seem to have adopted the principle of reincarnation (*tanāsukh*) and even that of transmigration (*maskh*) into sub-human bodies. In conformity with their depreciation of the body, many seem to have regarded the ritual law as not binding on those who had come to a deeper truth, that is, those who knew the *imām*. They were commonly accused of regarding all rules of conventional morality as inapplicable (*ibāḥa*); at the same time, some of them were blamed for introducing new rules, such as vegetarianism. Some of the *Ghulāt*, notably al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd and Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIdjlī, speculated on the nature of God himself, commonly in strongly anthropomorphic terms inspired by Ḳurʾānic passages, often with symbolic cosmological implications.

Much of this thought can be traced to the impulse of Islam itself and the experience of the Ḳurʾān. The expectation of continuing prophecy and the hope for a human leader who, under divine guidance, would order the world justly, represented an interpretation of Islam alternative to that of the leadership at Mecca and Medina. Some details, however, reflected pre-Islamic Arabian conceptions, for many of the early *Ghulāt* leaders seem to have been tribal Arabs. A form of divination used in the circle of Mukhtār and some conceptions of the *radjʿa* of heroes may have had old-Arabian origins. Finally, many of the later *Ghulāt* leaders were Mawālī, of Christian, Jewish, Gnostic, and Zoroastrian background, and they brought ancestral conceptions with them; probably the bulk of their speculations on the soul derive from such earlier Middle Eastern traditions (cf. I. Goldziher, *Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīt*, in *ZA*, xxii, 1909).

In the first generations, the *Ghulāt* seem to have been just especially intensely religious elements in the various Shīʿī movements. But by the second century, some of them probably initiated independent political activity against the régime (but in such "risings" as that of Bayān b. Samʿān [*q.v.*], it may have been the government which took the initiative in an attempt at suppression); while their ideas also helped justify the formation of certain inherited lines of imāmate, in which it was believed that a given claimant was *imām* whether he attempted to gain rule of the Islamic community or not. Both the lines of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and that of Muḥammad Bāḳir and Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ were more or less willingly surrounded by *Ghulāt* thinkers (cf. Fr. Buhl, *Alidernes stilling til de Shiʿitiske Bevaegelser under Umajjaderne*, in *Kgl. Danske Viden. Selsk., Forhandling*, 1910, no. 5). Imāmī tradition automatically places all supporters of any claimants from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya as *Ghulāt*, under the collective name of Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*]. Some of these Kaysānīs continued to support the ʿAbbāsids as *imām*s with supernatural authority for some generations. It seems that some of the *Ghulāt* allowed the imāmate to pass not only out of the ʿAlid but even out of the Hāshimid family, when some other man appeared to have the divine leading. *Ghulāt* Shīʿī ideas, finally, seem to have affected certain Zoroastrian sectarian movements, especially through reverence for Abū Muslim (cf. Gholam Hossein Sadighi, *Les Mouvements religieux iraniens*, Paris 1938).

By the 3rd/9th century, at latest, there developed, among the *Ghulāt*, *bāṭinī* [*q.v.*] systems of symbolical Ḳurʾān interpretation. These seem to have been influenced by philosophy of the Greek tradition. *Ghulāt* differed according as they asserted the supremacy of one or another principle, among those agreed to be embodied in certain religious offices and persons. The Mīmiyya exalted the *mīm*, or Muḥammad, embodying as prophet the principle of declared truth and outer reality; the ʿAyniyya exalted the *ʿayn*, or ʿAlī, embodying as *imām* the principle of inward meaning; a third principle was represented by the *sīn*, or Salmān Fārisī, the Gate through whom men came to the truth. Several of these groups played something of a rôle in the declining years of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, when an enthusiast like Shalmaghānī held high political position.

Much of the *Ghulāt* heritage was absorbed into the Imāmī and Ismāʿīlī movements and disciplined by the exclusion especially of notions implying any compromise of the unity of God; thus the term *ḥulūl* seems to be rejected by surviving authors, along with the idea that the *imām* could be a god or a prophet. But even such ideas continued present within Imāmī and Ismāʿīlī circles and in sects like the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*]; in later centuries, numerous apocalyptic movements developed in which various of the ideas of the *Ghulāt* were used, and which often resulted in more or less long-lasting sects, those of the Nizārīs and Druzes from the Ismāʿīlī fold, and the ʿAlī-Ilāhīs or Ahl al-Ḥaḳḳ, who saw ʿAlī as God. The first Ṣafawīs likewise interpreted Shīʿism in a

manner which orthodox Imāmism must term *ghulū*. Transformed into complex symbolic lore, as at the hands of the Ḥurūfīs, much entered the broad stream of Ṣūfism.

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(M. G. S. Hodgson)

GHUMĀRA (Gumera of Leo Africanus), Berber tribe of the western Maghrib. Ibn Khaldūn groups them among the Maṣmūda tribes and attributes to them as ancestor Ghumār son of Maṣmūd or, according to another tradition, son of Mesṭāf, son of Melīl, son of Maṣmūd. The Ghumāra were divided into a large number of clans—B. Ḥumayd, Mattīwa, Ighṣawa (= Ghẓāwa), Madjkasa, etc.—whose names are still borne by certain tribes of the Rīf. It is rather difficult to determine precisely the territory occupied by the Ghumāra. According to Ibn Khaldūn it was five days long, from the region of the "plains of the Maghrib" to Tangier, by as many broad, from Ḳaṣr Kutāma to the river Wargha. It was bounded by the Atlantic between Aṣīla and Anfā and was adjacent on this side to the territory of the Barghwāṭa. Al-Bakrī excludes the regions of Tangier and Ceuta from it and gives as its limits Nakūr on the east and Karūshat on the west.

The Ghumāra had been long established in this part of the Maghrib when Islam was introduced. When conquered by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr they became converted to the new religion but in the 2nd/8th century adopted Khāridjī doctrines and took part in the revolt of Maysara. Even after the defeat of the Khāridjīs they showed an inclination towards heresy: "Their countrified customs and rustic habits", says Ibn Khaldūn, "prevented them from recognizing the true principles of religion". Thus they gathered in multitudes around the false prophet Ḥā-Mīm [*q.v.*]. Later another prophet appeared, by name ʿĀṣim b. Djamīl al-Yazdadjūmī; in 625/1228 a revolt broke out at the instigation of one Abu 'l-Ṭawādjin, who claimed to be a prophet and magician. A taste for magic was also one of the characteristics of the Ghumāra. Al-Bakrī provides various items of information on this point and Ibn Khaldūn remarks that it was especially the young women who practised the art.

From the political point of view the Ghumāra suffered various vicissitudes. From the 2nd/8th to the 4th/10th century the eastern part of their clans was included in the kingdom of Nakūr. Sogguen, one of their chiefs, tried, it is true, to put himself in the place of the Banū Ṣāliḥ, the descendants of the founder of this state, but his attempt failed (144/761). At the partition of the Idrīsid empire the eastern clans fell to ʿUmar b. Idrīs and were governed by his descendants. They remained faithful to these princes even after the Idrīsids had been expelled from Fez by the Fāṭimids and supported them to the end in their struggles against the Umayyads of Spain. After the downfall of the Idrīsids (264/877) the Ghumāra recognized the authority of the Umayyads, then that of the Ḥammādids of Ceuta until the Almoravid invasion. On the approach of the Almohads the Ghumāra hastened to adopt the new doctrine and even helped ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to take Ceuta (541/1146). But this faithfulness, which had won them the caliph's favour, did not last long. Abū Yaʿḳūb was obliged to come in person to put down the revolt of a Ghumāran chief named Sabaʿ b. Managhfād (562/1166-7) and after the defeat of the rebel entrusted the government of Ceuta to his brother with the task of keeping a watch on the Rīf.

The Marīnids also had great difficulty in checking the turbulence of the Ghumāra and managed to subdue them only by taking advantage of the quarrels between *ṣaff*s which divided them. Even so their subjection was rather precarious. "In our days", writes Ibn Khaldūn, "the Ghumāra have become powerful and numerous, but recognize nevertheless the authority of the Marīnid government and pay taxes to it so long as it has the means to compel their respect. But if ever it shows weakness . . . it is forced to send troops from the capital to make them submit again. Protected by their inaccessible mountains, they do not fear to offer asylum to princes of the royal family and other

rebels who ask for their protection". From the 9th/15th century onwards we lack exact information about the Ghumāra. Their name, still mentioned by Leo Africanus in the 10th/16th century, is borne today by a powerful tribe of the Djabāla.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, tr. 288 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, tr. de Slane, ii, 133, 144, 156 ff., 197 f.; Leo Africanus, tr. Épaulard, 12, 250, 256, 264, 268, 278, 544, 564; E. Fagnan, *L'Afrique septentrionale au XIIe siècle de notre ère* (*Kitāb al-Istibṣār*), Constantine 1900, 45 ff., 144-7; Mouliéras, *Maroc inconnu*, ii, 291-355.

(G. Yver)

GHUMDĀN (epigr. GHNDN, *CIH* 429), the castle of Ṣanʿāʾ (Azāl) in the Yaman, famous for its antiquity, its size, and its splendour. Arabian geographers give detailed descriptions of it (v. infra), esp. Hamdānī (in *Iklīl*, viii), who attributes its building to the king Ilsharaḥ Yaḥḍib (about 25 B.C.), probably correctly (cf. *CIH* 429). The castle was situated between the twin mountains Nuḳum and ʿAybān. It is said to have been destroyed by the Abyssinian conquerors in 525 A.D., but was rebuilt and served as the residence of Sayf b. Dhū Yazan after the Persian occupation in 570. It was finally demolished in connexion with the Muslim conquest of the Yaman, allegedly by Farwa b. Musayk or the Caliph ʿUthmān. Legend attributes the foundation of 'Ghumdān to Sām b. Nūḥ, more seldom to Solomon or al-Zabbāʾ. The castle is said to have had twenty storeys, each of them 10 cubits high; its lower part was made of freestone, its upper part, including the splendid terrace with four lions of bronze, was built of polished marble. Hamdānī locates its ruins opposite to the first and second doors of the chief mosque, which probably contains much material from the old castle. South Arabian poets, such as Umayya b. Abu 'l-Ṣalt and ʿAlḳama b. Dhū Djadan, celebrate Ghumdān as the residence of the Ḥimyarite kings. The poems quoted may, as Hamdānī remarks, partly refer to another castle, the homograph ʿUmdān in Mārib.

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(O. Löfgren)

GHUNDJĀR, a nickname given, allegedly because of his ruddy cheeks, to an early Persian *ḥadīth* scholar, Abū Aḥmad ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Taymī al-Bukhārī, who died at the end of the year 186/802. The Arabo-Persian word does mean "rouged", but it is, of course, highly doubtful whether this is the origin of the name.

The nickname was transferred to a later scholar who spent much effort upon collecting ʿĪsā's traditions and who is known as the author of a *History of Bukhārā*. His name was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Bukhārī, known as (al-)Ghundjār. He flourished in the second half of the 4th/10th century and worked in the book trade. Of the dates given for his death (410, 412, 422), 412/1021-22 is the most likely one; 422/1031 would seem too late, since he states himself that he said the funeral prayers for a scholar deceased in 350/961 (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, i, 296). Only brief citations from the *History of Bukhārā* have so far come to light. An abridgment of the work was made by al-Silafī, and additions were contributed by a certain Aḥmad al-Māmānī (b. Māmā?) (d. 436/1045). A certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Bukhārī, said to have died a hundred years earlier, in 312/924 (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 116 f.), and to have been the author of a *History of Bukhārā*, seems to be, in fact, identical with this Ghundjār.

Bibliography: For ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, cf., *e.g.*, Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii/2, 394; Ibn Abī Ḥātim Rāzī, *Djarḥ*, iii/1, 285 f.; and, summing up the meagre data, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, vii, 732-4. For the historian of Bukhārā, cf. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 411b; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 239; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 386, 428; R. N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge Mass. 1954, 103 f. For the alleged earlier historian of Bukhārā, cf. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 98; Brockelmann (1st ed.), I, 138 (also I, 167, corrected in S I, 310); Frye, *op. cit.*, xvii.

(F. Rosenthal)

GHŪR, the mountainous territory in Afghanistan about the headwaters of the Farah Rud, Hari Rud, and Murghab, from which is named the mediaeval dynasty of the Ghūrids [*q.v.*]. The establishment of Islam came late in Ghūr, and raids by Arab generals continued until the 4th/10th century. A tradition of the existence of Jewish settlements finds confirmation in the discovery of a Judaeo-Persian inscription of A.D. 752-3 at Tang-i Azao, near Čisht. In 372/982 the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* claims that most of the inhabitants had accepted Islam. Originally the chief place was Mandaysh, in a district called Sanga near the mountain Zār-i Margh. These localities were placed by Maricq near Ahangarān—the name, still extant, of the fortress where Muḥammad b. Sūrī of Ghūr was besieged by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 401/1010. The founding in the district of Warshāda of a new capital, Fīrūzkūh [*q.v.*], was the work of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (killed by Bahrām Shāh of Ghazna ca. 544/1149). His successor, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Sām, established frontier fortresses at Kadjūrān, to the south, Shersang towards Herāt and Bindār and Fivār to the north-west. The rediscovery by Maricq in 1957 of the minaret and citadel of Fīrūzkūh was a triumph of modern exploration. Ghūr was noted for its export of armour, weapons, guard-dogs and slaves. Its historical role came to an end with the sack of Fīrūzkūh by the armies of Čingiz Khān.

Bibliography: A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret de Djām*, 1959; W. B. Henning, *The inscriptions of Tang-i Azao*, in *BSOAS*, xx (1957), 335-42; C. E. Bosworth, *The early Islamic history of Ghūr*, in *Central Asiatic Journal*, vi/2 (1961), 116-33; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 342-4; Minhādj-i Sirādj, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*.

(A. D. H. Bivar)

GHURĀB, (A.) "crow". In view of the diversity of their meanings the Arabic words formed from the three consonants *gh*, *r* and *b* cannot be traced to a single root, and it is probable that in the course of the history of the language there came about a convergence of terms with different origins; thus, *ghurāb* is too reminiscent of the Latin *corvus* for us to consider it a mere coincidence; moreover, early Arab philologists considered *ghurāb* to be independ-

ent, since they made to derive from it such words as *ghurba*, *ightirāb*, etc. which imply an idea of estrangement, of separation; later authors go so far as to regard the root *gh. r. b.* as being made up from the consonants *gh*, *r*, *b* which appear initially in words meaning a misfortune or something unpleasant.

Such theories are explained firstly by the place which the crow occupies in the literary tradition of the Arabs, secondly by its place in ornithomancy, where it is pre-eminently the bird of ill omen.

In poetry, although its black colour may symbolize the night (*ghurāb al-layl*) and be the object of favourable judgements, the crow is fundamentally synonymous with separation, with an unhappy event, and the poets make a sometimes immoderate use of the stereotyped expression *ghurāb al-bayn*, which strictly means the carrion crow, but which owes its origin to the fact that crows are led by instinct to encampments which their occupants are preparing to leave, and announce by their croaking the imminent departure (*bayn*) of the tribe—more particularly of the beloved—before swooping down on the deserted places, where the poet, arriving too late, is struck with grief on seeing them.

The mere sight of a crow is in itself unpleasant, and one can readily understand, without feeling the need to postulate a borrowing, that the early Arabs should have made it into a bird of ill omen and in addition applied themselves to observing and interpreting its flight and its croaking, in the context of what is called *ṭīra* [*q.v.*]. Examples from literature of these predictions, which were deduced more or less spontaneously, cannot be quoted here; but it is worth mentioning that they are the sign of a fairly rudimentary ornithomancy which only at a relatively late date was perfected and systematized, although the *Fihrist* (Cairo ed., 436) already refers to Arabic treatises of ornithomancy, one of which is the work of al-Madāʾinī. T. Fahd has studied a treatise attributed to al-Djāḥiẓ, comparing it in a very illuminating fashion with two Assyro-Babylonian texts; in spite of differences of detail, it does not seem that the Arabic text is the result of an enquiry carried out among the Bedouins: rather one has the impression that it is an attempt, made probably at a late date, to give some order to elements of diverse provenance. Nevertheless, it is strange that al-Djāḥiẓ, who is one of the few authors to have considered that the belief in the malicious influence of the crow and in the possibility of drawing omens from its flight and its cry is only a superstition based on verbal similarities (*Ḥayawān*, iii, 444), should have been later credited with two treatises of divination: the text studied by T. Fahd (found in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iii, 130-2) and the *Bāb al-ʿIrāfa wa 'l-zadjr wa 'l-firāsa ʿalā madhhab al-Furs* (published and translated into Russian by K. Inostrantsev, in *Materials from Arabic sources for the history of the culture of Sassanid Persia*, St. Petersburg 1907, text, 3-27, tr. and comm., 28-120).

In the context of Islam the word *ghurāb* is used in the Ḳurʾān (v, 34/31) with reference to the crow sent by God to show Cain how to bury his brother Abel whom he had just killed; although rationalists see in this a manifestation of divine favour towards the bird considered to be of ill omen, they do not succeed in stifling the prejudices made still stronger by the legend of the crow (*ghurāb Nūḥ*) which Noah sent out to reconnoitre, but which, having found a carcass, did not return.

The malevolent character of this bird explains the considerable number of nicknames which it has in Arabic; but it is proverbial also for sharpness of vision, its suspicion, its pride and the blackness of its plumage, and the word *ghurāb* appears in a number of expressions such as "that will only happen when the crow turns white" (*ḥattā yashīb al-ghurāb*).

The Arabs knew several varieties of crow, including one which can learn to speak, and had observed their hostile relations with cattle, donkeys and owls; their habit of perching on camels to plunge their beaks into the pustules which form on their backs tended to increase the Bedouins' dislike for this bird, about which in any case they knew little, since some maintained that it reproduced itself by pecking the female with its beak.

The crow is among the animals that must be killed, and its flesh is forbidden; it possesses however certain medicinal properties, the dried blood in particular being a specific for haemorrhoids. A crow's beak carried on the person gives protection against the evil eye, but to see the bird in a dream is of course a sinister portent.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 313 ff., iii, 409-64; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, *passim*; Damīrī, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī, s.v.; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, *passim*; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index; H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 195; T. Fahd, *Les présages par le corbeau. Étude d'un texte attribué a Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *Arabica*, viii/i (1961), 30-58.

(Ch. Pellat)

GHURĀB, type of boat [see safīna].

al-**GHURĀB** [see nudjūm].

GHURABĀʾ (in Turkish *Ghurebā*), pl. of A. *gharīb*, Ottoman term for the two lowest of the six cavalry regiments (*Altì Bölük*) of the *Ḳapì-ḳullarì*. The regiment riding on the Sultan's right was known as *Ghurebāʾ-i yemīn* (*Sagh gharībler*, *Sagh gharīb-yigitler*), that riding on his left as *Ghurebāʾ-i yesār* (*Sol gharībler*, *Sol gharīb-yigitler*). The oldest terms used for them are *gharīb-yigitler* and *gharīb-oghlanlar* (see F. Babinger, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio* . . ., *SBBayer. Ak.*, Jg. 1956, Heft 8, Munich 1957, 30; *Ordo Portae*, ed. Ş. Baştav, Budapest 1947, 7; Donado da Lezze [G.-M. Angiolello], *Historia Turchesca*, ed. J. Ursu, Bucharest 1909, 139); here *gharīb* means 'away from his native land', and *yigit* 'bold, impetuous man'. From the earliest days there were in the Ottoman principality Muslim warriors who had come from other principalities of Anatolia or other Muslim lands to take part in the *ghazā* under the banner of the Ottomans. An official document of 835/1431 (see *Sûret-i Defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, ed. H. İnalcık, Ankara 1954, p. 42, *tīmār* no. 94) mentions a *gharīb-yigit* who had come from Karaman and received a *tīmār* on the Albanian *udj* (cf. also p. 81, *tīmār* no. 227, and p. 115, *tīmār* no. 320).

Of the six cavalry regiments of the *Ḳapı-ḳullarì*, the *Sagh ʿUlūfedjiler*, *Sol ʿUlūfedjiler*, *Sagh Gharībler* and *Sol Gharībler* were known collectively as the *Dört Bölük* (or *Bölükat-i Erbaʿa*, the 'Four Divisions'); they were regarded as *Ashaghì Bölükler* ('Inferior Divisions') in relation to the remaining two *Yuḳarì Bölükler* ('Superior Divisions'), namely the *Sipāhī Oghlanlarì* and the *Silāḥdārlar*. It has been suggested (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 35, 37; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu ocakları*, ii, Ankara 1947, 137) that the 'Inferior Divisions' were established in the first half of the 9th/15th century (whereas the 'Superior Divisions' date from the reign of Murād I). The *Sagh Gharībler* were regarded as slightly superior to the *Sol Gharībler*.

In the 10th/16th century, the men of these two regiments were recruited from three sources: (1) from *ʿadjemī oghlanlar* selected at a *čìḳma* at Gha-

laṭa-sarāyï, the Palace of Ibrāhīm Pasha, or the palace at Edirne [see GHULĀM]; (2) from suitable sons of members of the *Altï Bölük*; (3) from young Muslims from other Muslim lands who had come to fight the *ghazā* in the Ottoman army and distinguished themselves (according to Idrīs Bidlīsī, *Hasht bihisht*, MS Nuriosmaniye 3209, they were "ʿArab, ʿAdjem and Kurd'; according to Angiolello they came from Persia, the land of the Tatars, Cappadocia, the land of the Turcomans and Egypt). The name shows that the original source of recruits for these *bölük*s was the last (the only case where Muslims were taken into the ranks of the *Ḳapï-ḳullarï* [see GHULĀM]).

In about 880/1475 (I. de Promontorio, 30) the two *bölük*s numbered 1000 men (but *Ordo Portae*, of about the same date, mentions only 400; Angiolello speaks of 500-1000). In the 10th/16th century they numbered 1000 each, 2000 together (*Hasht bihisht*; Ramberti, *apud* A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire*..., Cambridge 1913, 251: about 2000 together; in a document of 976/1568, see Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 196, the *Sagh Gharībler* are recorded as 1000 men, the *Sol Gharībler* as 1539); at the beginning of the 11th/17th century (ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *Ḳawānīn*, Istanbul 1280, 9), the *Djemāʿat-i Ghurebāʾ-i yemīn* numbered 928, the *Djemāʿat-i Ghurebāʾ-i yesār* numbered 975.

Their organization was the same as that of the other *bölük*s of *ḳapï-ḳullarï*. In each *bölük* there was an *agha* in command, a *ketkhudā* (*kahya*; according to Angiolello and Ramberti his pay was 30 *aḳčes* a day), a *kātib* or *khalīfe* to attend to the paper work (with 20 *aḳčes*, according to Angiolello; according to Ramberti, half a century later, he received 25), and a *čawush* or *bash-čawush* responsible for discipline (for the organization see *Sadrazam Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa lâyihası*, ed. F. R. Unat, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, i/6 (1942), 457). In the 10th/16th century the *agha* of the *Sol Gharībler* was appointed from among the *čāshnīgīr*s. At a *čïḳma*, the *agha* of the *Sol Gharībler* was promoted *agha* of the *Sagh Gharībler*, and the latter *agha* of the *Sol ʿUlūfedjiler*. Sometimes by exception, and contrary to the *ḳānūn*, towards the end of this century the *agha* of the *Sagh Gharībler* was promoted directly *agha* of the *Silāḥdārlar*, or *sandjaḳ-begi*, and even *beglerbegi* (see documents *apud* Uzunçarşılı, 172). Whereas each of the *aghas* had in the times of Meḥemmed II and Süleymān I received an *ʿulūfe* of 80 *aḳčes* (see Angiolello and Ramberti), at the end of the 10th/16th century they received 100; in addition they held *zeʿāmet*s.

The two divisions were sub-divided into 260 *bölük*s, each with its *bölük-bashï* (*Kemankeş lâyihası*, 457).

Since their horses needed grazing land, the majority of them were scattered in the outskirts of Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa, Kütahya and Konya; an officer appointed jointly by the *agha*s of the six regiments, with the title *ketkhudā-yeri*, was in command of each of these scattered groups of members of the six regiments and maintained discipline. The *ʿulūfe* of the men varied between 6 and 20 *aḳčes* (*Ordo Portae*, p. 9; Angiolello: 10-20 *aḳčes*; I. de Promontorio: 12 *aḳčes*; Ramberti: 7-14 *aḳčes*). At each promotion the *ʿulūfe* was increased by 3 *aḳčes*. Their sons, if they showed themselves fit, could be appointed to the *Ghurebā* regiments. Their weapons were bow and arrow, shield, scimitar (*pala*), dagger, lance and axe. Though some carried muskets, firearms were not popular with them. They had assistants known as *oghlan* (Ramberti, 251). Each of the two *bölük*s had a flag (*bayraḳ*) and a *tugh*; the flag of the *Sagh Gharībler* was white and that of the *Sol Gharībler* of two colours, white and red or white and green.

Duties. Like all the *ḳapï-ḳullarï*, at first they served in the field only when the Sultan himself went on campaign, but in the 10th/16th century it became the practice for them to serve also under a *serdār-i ekrem*, *i.e.*, a commander with the rank of vizier. The *Gharīb-yigitler* had a reputation for valour, and so in the course of the fighting were sometimes entrusted with difficult tasks like penetrating the ranks of the enemy (*Hasht bihisht*). Their principal duty on campaign was to guard the Sultan's standards (*Hasht bihisht*) and later the *sandjaḳ-i sherīf* [*q.v.*]; they took their station as the rearmost of the cavalry regiments guarding the Sultan's tent and protected the rear (*Ordo Portae*, 9). These two *bölük*s formed the rearguard of the *ḳapï-ḳullarï*, stationed in the centre, and guarded the tents and baggage. From the end of the 10th/16th century onwards, when, during a siege, a battle developed it was their dangerous duty to guard the entrenchments.

With the general decay of the *ghulām* system, the order and discipline of these *bölük*s too began to break up. Already in the 10th/16th century, the places of *ḳapï-ḳullarï* in their ranks were in time of war increasingly filled by 'outsiders' known as *serdengečdi*; at the same time the principle was abandoned of enregistering *mülāzim*, candidates for future vacancies in the *bölük*s.

When in the 11th/17th century these *bölük*s began to take part in the mutinies and revolts, steps were taken to reduce the importance of the *bölükāt-i erbaʿa*. In 1071/1660, under Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha the numbers of the *Sagh Gharībler* were reduced to 410, those of the *Sol Gharībler* to 312. Later still, the *Sagh Gharībler Aghasï* was made subordinate to the *Sipāhī oghlanlarï Aghasï*, and the *Sol Gharībler Aghasï* to the *Silāḥdārlar Aghasï*. In a list of 1123/1711, the *Sagh Gharībler* are shown as numbering only 180 men and the *Sol Gharībler* 162. On campaigns, however, these two *bölük*s maintained their entity as guardians of the *sandjaḳ-i sherīf*. In Ṣafar 1242/September 1826, very shortly after the abolition of the Janissaries, all six of the *Altï Bölük* were disbanded (for the text of the firman, see Uzunçarşılı, 210-2).

The so-called *ghurbet ṭāʾifesi*, groups of men who, from the 10th/16th century onwards, left their homes and sometime roamed the country as brigands, are quite unconnected with the *Ghurebā*.

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(HALIL İNALCIK)

GHURĀBIYYA, a branch of the Shīʿī "exaggerators" (*ghulāt* [*q.v.*]). Its adherents believed that ʿAlī and Muḥammad were so like in physical features as to be confused, as like "as one crow (*ghurāb*) is to another" (a proverbial expression for great similarity, cf. *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xvii, 53), so that the Angel Gabriel when commissioned by God to bring the revelation to ʿAlī gave it in mistake to Muḥammad. ʿAlī was, they say, appointed by God to be a Prophet and Muḥammad only became one through a mistake. According to Ibn Ḥazm, some believed that Gabriel erred in good faith; others held he went astray deliberately, and cursed him as an apostate. According to al-Baghdādī, the sectaries greeted one another by cursing Gabriel. According to the *Bayān al-adyān*, the Ghurābiyya were so called because they believed that ʿAlī was in heaven in the form of a crow. Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 300) remarks that this

is one of the few sects the origin of which is not attributed to an individual.

It is related that in the 4th/10th century the followers of this sect in Ḳumm raised a serious revolt against the decision of the judge Abū Saʿīd al-Iṣṭakhrī (died 328/940) when he divided an inheritance equally between two claimants, one of whom was the daughter and the other the uncle of the deceased. The Ghurābiyya demanded that the whole estate should go to the daughter and the uncle be quite excluded; as our source rightly observes, this was the result of their political creed, according to which the succession to Muḥammad was legitimate only in the line of his only daughter Fāṭima and not in that of his uncle (ʿAbbās) (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ii, 194). Cf. the regulations made by the Caliph al-Muʿizz regarding the inheritance of daughters in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Rafʿ al-Iṣr*, ed. Guest (in the appendix to al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Gibb-Memorial, xix), 587, l. 3 from end. Ibn Djubayr, who visited Damascus in 580/1184, mentions the Ghurābiyya among the minor sects to be found in Syria.

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GHŪRĪ [see dilāwar khān and mālwā].

GHŪRIDS, the name of an eastern Iranian dynasty which flourished as an independent power in the 6th/12th century and the early years of the 7th/13th century and which was based on the region of Ghūr [*q.v.*] in what is now central Afghānistān with its capital at Fīrūzkūh [*q.v.*].

1. Origins and early history. The family name of the Ghūrid Sultans was Shanasb/Shansab (< MP Gushnasp; cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 282, and Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul*, in *Festschrift E. Sachau*, 289, n. 3), and in the time of their florescence, attempts were made to attach their genealogy to the ancient Iranian epic past. The 7th/13th century historian of the Ghūrids, Djūzdjānī, quotes a metrical version of the genealogy of the family composed by Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārakshāh Marwarrūdhī and completed in the reign of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (*scil.* in the last third of the 6th/12th century). In this, the family is traced back to the tyrant of Iranian mythology, Azhd Dahāk, whose descendants were supposed to have settled in Ghūr after Farīdūn's overthrowing of Dahāk's thousand-year dominion. Within this genealogy, Shansab himself is placed in the first century of Islam, and the family now brought within the ambit of the new faith. Shansab is said to have been converted by the Caliph ʿAlī, who formally invested him with the rulership of Ghūr; his son Fūlād later espoused the cause of Abū Muslim in Khurāsān and in this way assisted the ʿAbbāsids. A further alleged episode can be directly connected with the political position in Ghūr in later times. According to this, the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd received at his court the Amīr Bandjī b. Nahārān Shansabānī and a rival chieftain from Ghūr, Shīth b. Bahrām. Bandjī was awarded the insignia of political sovereignty (*imārat*) over Ghūr, together with the title *Ḳasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, whilst Shīth was awarded the military command (*pahlawānī*) of the forces of Ghūr, "an arrangement", says Djūzdjānī, "which has continued thus till the present time" (see further, below).

All these fabrications clearly aim at giving some lustre to a dynasty which had arisen from very obscure and localized origins, or as in the latter episode, they attempt to project into the past an explanation for the political situation of later times (cf. C. E. Bosworth, *The early Islamic history of Ghūr*, in *Central Asiatic Journal*, vi (1961), 125-7). Ethnically, we can only assume that the Shansabānīs were, like the rest of the Ghūrīs, of eastern Iranian Tādjīk stock. We are equally in the dark about the language which they spoke, except that in the early 5th/11th century it differed considerably from the Persian of the Ghaznavid court. It is possible that the earliest Ghūrids spoke some south-east Iranian language, one of the group which has been all but eliminated in modern times by the spread of Persian and Pashto (communication from G. Morgenstierne). There is nothing to confirm the recent surmise that the Ghūrids were Pashto-speaking.

We know nothing really definite about the Shansabānīs until Ghaznavid times, *i.e.*, the 5th/11th century; it was only in the early part of this century that Ghūr, and presumably the Shansabānīs, began to adopt Islam. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982-3) mentions a Ghūr-Shāh who was tributary to the Farīghūnid Amīrs of Gūzgān to the north of Ghūr [*qq.v.*], but there is nothing to show that this ruler was necessarily a Shansabānī. Within the empire of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna (338-421/998-1030), Ghūr remained an unabsorbed enclave; hence during his reign, at least three expeditions were sent by him to Ghūr. In 401/1011 a force attacked the Shansabānī chief Muḥammad b. Sūrī, capturing him at his stronghold of Āhangarān. He was now deposed, his pro-Ghaznavid son Abū ʿAlī set up as the Sultan's vassal and teachers left to instruct the people in the precepts of Islam (cf. ʿUtbī and Djūzdjānī in M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 70-2, and Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 122-3, 127-8). From this, and from other information in Djūzdjānī, we can firmly identify the Shansabānīs as petty rulers of the region of Mandēsh on the south bank of the upper Herī Rūd, with its centre at Āhangarān, the place still known today by that name. According to Djūzdjānī, the stronghold of the Shansabānīs of Mandēsh lay at the foot of the Zar-i Margh, one of the five great mountain massifs of Ghūr, and believed by the Ghūrīs to be the mountain where the Sīmurgh nurtured Rustam's father Zāl. At this time, the term "Ghūr" seems to have had a restricted meaning and to have been synonymous with Mandēsh, *i.e.*, the north-eastern corner of the Ghūr of the early Islamic geographers.

The existence of several other chieftains of Ghūr (in the larger sense of the term) is known in the 5th/11th century. Of at least equal importance with the Shansabānīs were the lords of the region further down the Herī Rūd, around the later Ghūrid capital of Fīrūzkūh and the modern Khwādja-Čisht; this district seems to have been distinguished from Ghūr (in the narrow sense) and called *Bilād al-Djibāl*. Bayhaḳī, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 114-20, gives a detailed

account of the Ghaznavid expedition of 411/1020 under Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd, which marched up the Herī Rūd from Herāt, captured the fortress of Djurwas and made the local chieftain Warmēsh-Pat submit. The occurrence at a later date of this name in the Shīthānī family (see above) points to the fact that this district of Djurwas in the north-western corner of Ghūr was the centre of the Shansabānīs' rivals, the Shīthānīs. Bayhaḳī mentions the names of other chieftains in Ghūr, and it is clear that, despite Djūzdjānī's attempts to inflate the early Shansabānīs' sphere of authority, these last were only one lot of petty chiefs amongst several in this inaccessible region. Moreover, it seems that the primacy of the Shansabānīs at a later date was only achieved after much jostling for power and local warfare, although explicit information on this process is meagre.

2. The period of vassalage to the Ghaznavids and Saldjūḳs. Maḥmūd of Ghazna's nominee Abū 'Alī b. Muḥammad is praised for his beneficent rule and his encouragement of the newly-introduced Islamic religion; he built mosques and *madrasas* and endowed them with *awḳāf*. But during the reign of Mas'ūd of Ghazna (421-32/1030-41) an internal revolution took place in Mandēsh, and Abū 'Alī was deposed by his nephew 'Abbās b. Shīth. 'Abbās devoted his efforts to fortifying and rebuilding the castles and strongholds which were such a feature of the landscape of Ghūr, but his tyranny provoked an appeal of dissident Ghūrī chiefs to Sultan Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd. Ibrāhīm therefore marched into Ghūr, deposed 'Abbās and set up the latter's son Muḥammad. Muḥammad was succeeded by his own son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥasan (the first Shansabānī known to have a *laḳab* or honorific). Within this period, *scil.* the second half of the 5th/11th century, the Shansabānīs were trying to extend their authority beyond Mandēsh and over the lands of rival chieftains. Djūzdjānī speaks of the feuding and turbulence which went on within Ghūr both at this time and until much later; and it was during the suppression of a rebellion in Wadjīristān, the district to the west of Ghazna, that Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥasan was killed.

With the accession of his son, 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥusayn (493-540/1100-46), our knowledge of the dynasty becomes fuller. Since four of his many sons eventually became rulers, Djūzdjānī calls him *Abu 'l-Salāṭīn*, "Father of Sultans". By now, Ghūr had become a buffer region between the truncated Ghaznavid empire, reduced after the middle years of the 5th/11th century to southern and eastern Afghānistān and northern India, and the powerful empire of the Saldjūḳs. In particular, Saldjūḳ Khurāsān was after 490/1097 under the rule of the forceful Sandjar b. Malik Shāh. With the relative decline of the Ghaznavids after Ibrāhīm's death in 492/1099, Ghūr was drawn towards the Saldjūḳ sphere of influence. 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥusayn was initially confirmed in power by Mas'ūd III b. Ibrāhīm of Ghazna, but in 501/1107-8 Sandjar led a raid into Ghūr and captured 'Izz al-Dīn, and thereafter the Ghūrid maintained close relations with the Saldjūḳ, sending him as tribute the specialities of Ghūr, including armour, coats of mail and the local breed of fierce dogs.

On 'Izz al-Dīn's death, his son Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī succeeded as chief in Ghūr and overlord of the Shansabānī family. He now made a general division of territories amongst his brothers, an indication that political feeling amongst the Ghūrids was still tribal and patrimonial in nature, and unaffected by the administrative sophistication of their Ghaznavid neighbours, with their unitary state under one Sultan. Sayf al-Dīn retained the fortress of Istiya as his capital; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad was allotted Warshād or Warshār, where he now founded the town and fortress of Fīrūzkūh and assumed the title of *Malik al-Djibāl*; Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad took Mādīn; 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn took Wadjīristān; Bahā' al-Dīn Sām took Sanga, the chief place of Mandēsh; and Fakhr al-Dīn Mas'ūd took Kashī on the headwaters of the Herī Rūd. It was soon apparent that the Shansabānīs' sense of family solidarity was not developed enough to allow this division to work, and fratricidal strife broke out. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn quarrelled with his brothers, fled to Bahrām Shāh's court at Ghazna, but was there poisoned. From this deed there arose, says Djūzdjānī, the deep hatred and enmity between the Ghūrid and Ghaznavid families. In retaliation, Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī marched on Ghazna and temporarily expelled the Sultan, but in the face of popular sympathy for the Ghaznavids was unable to hold the city; and in a battle which took place when Bahrām Shāh returned, Sayf al-Dīn was captured and ignominiously executed.

Bahā' al-Dīn succeeded in Ghūr in 544/1149, and after finishing the fortifying of Fīrūzkūh, set out with an army for Ghazna, but died en route in that same year. 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn had been left behind by his brother to rule Ghūr, and he now took over supreme power there. His pressing tasks were to avenge his dead brothers and, if possible, to reduce Ghaznavid power in Afghānistān, for the hold which they had on the routes through eastern Afghānistān from Kābul to Ghazna and Bust blocked any potential Ghūrid expansion there. Bahrām Shāh massed his troops in the region of Tigīnābād (*i.e.*, the modern region of Ḳandahār). 'Alā' al-Dīn moved into Zamīn-Dāwar and a great battle took place, in which the tactics of the Ghūrī infantry, with their walls of protective shields, overcame the Ghaznavids' elephants. Bahrām Shāh was pursued to Ghazna and again defeated, retiring now to India. 'Alā' al-Dīn entered the city, and a frightful orgy of devastation and plundering followed, earning the Ghūrid his title of *Djihān-Sūz* "World Incendiary" (545/1150-1). The corpses of all but three of the Ghaznavid Sultans were exhumed and burnt, and on the way back to Ghūr, the other great Ghaznavid centre of Bust was sacked in an equally savage manner. 'Alā' al-Dīn thus made no attempt at this moment permanently to annex the Ghaznavid territories in eastern Afghānistān, but he does seem to have aspired to a more ambitious position than that of a mere chieftain of Ghūr. According to Ibn al-Athīr, he now copied Saldjūḳ and Ghaznavid practice, calling himself *al-Sulṭān al-Mu'aẓẓam* and adopting the *čatr* or ceremonial parasol; previously, the Ghūrids had been content to style themselves *Malik* or *Amīr*. It was natural that his success at Ghazna should embolden 'Alā' al-Dīn to throw off Saldjūḳ control. In 547/1152 he stopped paying tribute to Sandjar and endeavoured to support an anti-Saldjūḳ rising in Herāt. His army advanced from Fīrūzkūh down the Herī Rūd, but was met at Nāb by Sandjar's forces and crushingly defeated after the Turkish, Oghuz and Khaladj troops in the Ghūrid army had gone over to their co-nationals in Sandjar's army. 'Alā' al-Dīn was personally captured and spent some time as a prisoner in Khurāsān. The last years of his life, until his death in 556/1161, were spent firstly in consolidating his throne in Ghūr against rival members of his family, and secondly in making conquests in Gharčistān and the upper

Murghāb valley, in the Bāmiyān and Ṭukhāristān regions and in the Zamīn-Dāwar and Bust regions.

3. The Ghūrids as an imperial power. The expansionist policy of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's last years meant that the Ghūrids were now breaking out beyond their mountain fastnesses in Ghūr and would soon become a major power in the eastern Islamic world. There was, indeed, something of a vacuum of power there at this time: the Ghaznavid empire was in decay, and Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz and the consequent anarchy in Khurāsān facilitated Ghūrid expansion in the west. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's annexations gave the impetus towards a tripartite division of the Ghūrid empire, each under a separate branch of the Shansabānī family, and this division remained characteristic until the final fall of the Ghūrids.

The senior branch ruled over Ghūr from Fīrūzkūh and was concerned with expansion westwards into Khurāsān. When Ghazna was finally taken in 569/1173-4, another branch was established there and used Ghazna as a base for expansion into India. Finally, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn installed in the newly-conquered town of Bāmiyān his brother Fakhr al-Dīn Masʿūd, and the latter ruled over Ṭukhāristān, Badakhshān and Shughnān, up to the Oxus bank. After Fakhr al-Dīn's death in 558/1163, he was followed by his son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. The latter is said to have extended his power over the Oxus into Čaghāniyān and Wakhsh; he also received from Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad in Fīrūzkūh the title of "Sulṭān" and the privilege of having a *čatr*.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn was succeeded at Fīrūzkūh by his son Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad, who took repressive measures against the Ismāʿīlīs who had infiltrated into Ghūr and had spread their propaganda there, but who only reigned for two years (556-8/1161-3). During his reign, there arose a feud between the Shansabānīs and their rivals in Ghūr, the Shīthānīs. The Sultan treacherously murdered his Commander-in-Chief Warmēsh b. Shīth, and in revenge, Warmēsh's brother, now succeeded to the office of *Sipah-Sālār*, murdered Sayf al-Dīn on the battlefield. It is to explain these tribal disputes that Djūzdjānī projects back the rivalry of the two families into ʿAbbāsid times (see above).

Under Shams al-Dīn (later Ghiyāth al-Dīn) Muḥammad of Ghūr (558-99/1163-1203) and Shihāb al-Dīn (later Muʿizz al-Dīn) Muḥammad of Ghazna (569-602/1173-1206), the Ghūrid empire reached its apogee. These two brothers maintained a partnership and amity rare for their age. Broadly speaking, the first was concerned with expansion westwards and the checking of the Khʷārizm-Shāhs' ambitions in Khurāsān, whilst the second carried on the *ghāzī*-tradition of the Ghaznavids in northern India. The Ghūrids thus challenged the Khʷārizm-Shāhs for supremacy in the eastern Islamic world, and initially seemed to have an advantage in that they were completely free agents, whereas the Shāhs were vassals of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy. Moreover, the Ghūrids skilfully utilized the fears roused in the west by the Shāhs' imperialist ambitions. Ghiyāth al-Dīn kept up cordial relations with the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, and embassies were frequently exchanged between Fīrūzkūh and Baghdād; Djūzdjānī's father took part in one of these. The Sultan was received into al-Nāṣir's *Futuwwa* order, and the Caliph more than once urged the Ghūrids to stem the advance of the Khāʷrizm-Shāhs in Persia.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn was joined at Fīrūzkūh by Muʿizz al-Dīn, who had been at Bāmiyān. The two of them then fought off a coalition of Fakhr al-Dīn of Bāmiyān, himself covetous of the power in Ghūr, and the Turkish governors of Herāt, Tādj al-Dīn Yïldïz, and of Balkh, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḳamāč, defeating them at Rāgh-i Zar in the Herī Rūd valley. After this, Ghiyāth al-Dīn campaigned in Zamīn-Dāwar, Bādghīs and Gharčistān, securing these regions for his empire. The Ṣaffārid *amīr* of Sīstān, Tādj al-Dīn Ḥarb, acknowledged him as suzerain, and even the Ghuzz in Kirmān, who had taken over the province after the overthrowing of the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān, sent envoys to Fīrūzkūh. After the last Ghaznavid, Khusraw Malik, had abandoned Ghazna for Lahore, his former capital was occupied for twelve years by Ghuzz adventurers, until in 569/1173-4 Ghiyāth al-Dīn ejected them and installed Muʿizz al-Dīn in Ghazna with the title of "Sulṭān". Herāt was captured in 571/1175-6 from its Turkish governor Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ṭoghrïl and held for a time.

Internal disputes within the dynasty of the Khʷārizm-Shāhs now favoured the Ghūrids. Ousted from Khʷārizm in 568/1172-3 by his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tekish, Sulṭān Shāh had secured help from the Ḳarā Khiṭāy and had carved out for himself a principality in Khurāsān. He now clashed with the Ghūrids over possession of Herāt and Bādghīs, but Ghiyāth al-Dīn summoned troops from Bāmiyān and Sīstān and from Muʿizz al-Dīn in Ghazna, and in 586/1190 he defeated Sulṭān Shāh near Marw. Sulṭān Shāh was captured, and most of his Khurāsānian territories fell to the Ghūrids. In northern Afghānistān, the Bāmiyān Ghūrid Bahāʾ al-Dīn Sām occupied Balkh in 594/1198 after its Turkish governor, a vassal of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy, had died. In the same year, a general war broke out in Khurāsān between the Ghūrids on one side, urged on by the Baghdād Caliph, who was now threatened by the Khʷārizmian advance into western Persia, and on the other side the Khʷārizm-Shāh and his Ḳarā Khiṭāy suzerains. The Ḳarā Khiṭāy invaded Gūzgān and Tekish threatened Herāt, but both were decisively defeated by the Ghūrids. When in 596/1200 Tekish died, Ghiyāth al-Dīn took over most of the towns of Khurāsān, penetrating as far west as Bisṭām in Ḳūmis and installing in Nīshāpūr as governor of Khurāsān a Ghūrid prince, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad. Ghiyāth al-Dīn died at Herāt in 599/1202-3; latterly he had been ill and incapacitated, and Muʿizz al-Dīn had had to leave his Indian campaigns and attend to the west.

After his brother's death, Muʿizz al-Dīn followed the usual practice within the Shansābānī family of allocating the various provinces of the empire as appanages for Ghūrid Maliks; thus whilst retaining Ghazna as his own capital, he installed Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn at Fīrūzkūh. Meanwhile, the new Khʷārizm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad was preparing to recover Khurāsān, where Ghūrid rule was proving unpopular; according to Djuwaynī, Muʿizz al-Dīn confiscated for his army grain which had been committed for protection to the *Imām* al-Riḍā's shrine at Ṭūs. In 601/1204 Muʿizz al-Dīn repulsed the Shāh from Herāt and pursued him back into Khʷārizm. However, the flooding of the Khʷārizmian countryside halted his troops, and the Khʷārizmians' allies, the Ḳarā Khiṭāy, routed Muʿizz al-Dīn's army at Andkhūy on the Oxus. The Sultan himself escaped, but all Khurāsān except Herāt was lost and in the next year he was assassinated in the Indus valley, allegedly by an Ismāʿīlī emissary, whilst returning from a punitive expedition against the Khōkars of the Pandjāb.

4. The end of the Ghūrids. Within a decade of

- I Muḥammad b. Sūrī
  - II Abū ʿAlī
  - III Shīth
    - IV ʿAbbās
      - V Muḥammad
        - VI Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥasan
          - VII ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn
            - VIII Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī
            - Shudjāʿ al-Dīn ʿAlī
              - XVII ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn) Muḥammad
            - Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad
            - IX Bahāʾ al-Dīn Sām
              - XII Shams al-Dīn (Ghiyāth al-Dīn) Muḥammad
                - XIV Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd
                  - XV Bahāʾ al-Dīn Sām
              - XIII Shihāb al-Dīn (Muʿizz al-Dīn) Muḥammad [IN GHAZNA]
            - Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad
            - X ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn
              - XI Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad
              - XVI ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Atsïz
            - [BĀMIYĀN BRANCH] 1. Fakhr al-Dīn Masʿūd
              - 2. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad
                - 3. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Sām
                  - 4. Djalāl al-Dīn ʿAlī
                  - ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad

Muʿizz al-Dīn's death, the Ghūrid empire fell apart, passing for a brief while into the hands of the Khwārizm-Shāhs before the coming of the Mongols enveloped the eastern Islamic world in a common catastrophe. The Ghūrid armies comprised both native Ghūrī and Afghān troops, primarily infantrymen, and also Turkish *ghulāms*, who supplied the cavalry element. Muʿizz al-Dīn's skill had kept these groups together, but dissensions occurred after his death. The Ghūrī troops supported for the succession to the Sultanate the Bāmiyān line, first Bahāʾ al-Dīn Sām and then after his death in 602/1205, his two sons ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and Djalāl al-Dīn. The Turks, however, favoured Muʿizz al-Dīn's nephew Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who in the end prevailed over the governor of Ghūr, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, candidate of the local adherents of the Karrāmiyya sect [*q.v.*]. In the eastern parts of the empire, the Turkish commander Tādj al-Dīn Yildiz seized Ghazna and held it against the Bāmiyān Ghūrids. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd did not dare to leave Fīrūzkūh and move against Yildiz, and was in 603/1206-7 reduced to calling in the Khwārizm-Shāh to expel Yildiz and enforce his rights in Ghazna. The dynasty's end was now near, and the last Sultans at Fīrūzkūh, first Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd and then after 609/1212 successively Bahāʾ al-Dīn Sām, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Atsiz and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (the former Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn), were puppets of the Shāh. Finally, in 612/1215, the Shāh deposed the last of the Sultans in Fīrūzkūh; the Bāmiyān line was also extinguished and Yildiz driven from Ghazna. All the Ghūrid possessions except for those in India were now placed under Khwārizmian governors.

In this way, there ended what may be termed the "Ghūrid interlude" in eastern Islamic history, a remarkable if transient achievement for the chieftains of a backward mountain region. With the aid of their local Ghūrī troops combined with Turkish *ghulāms*, the Ghūrids made Ghūr for the first and last time in its history the centre of a great empire. That this was not more durable may perhaps be explained by the over-straining of Ghūrid military resources on the two fronts of Khurāsān and India, and also by the political and military skill of their rivals, the Khwārizm-Shāhs, in taking advantage of conditions in Persia after the fall of the Saldjūḳs.

There was, nevertheless, a durable Ghūrid legacy in India through Muʿizz al-Dīn's campaigns there, which formed a basis for later consolidation by such of his Turkish commanders as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Muḥammad Khaldjī and Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāč (for the Ghūrid campaigns in northern India see DIHLĪ SULTANATE). Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd sent Ḳuṭb al-Dīn a *čatr* and the title of "Sulṭān", and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was accordingly installed in Lahore with this title. These *ghulām* generals continued in India the Ghūrid court and military traditions and added the word *Muʿizzī* to their own titles, keeping Muʿizz al-Dīn's name on their own coins for many years after his death.

5. Ghūrid culture. The ethos of the Ghūrid empire was strongly Sunnī. Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad persecuted Ismāʿīlī adherents in Ghūr. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad cultivated the moral support of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, as did the Ghūrids' epigoni in northern India. They thus secured an advantage over the Khwārizm-Shāhs, who suffered in the eyes of Sunnī orthodoxy for their anti-Caliphal policy and, in the case of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad at least, for their pro-Shīʿī sympathies. In the earlier Ghūrid period, the doctrines of the literalist Karrāmiyya sect were dominant in Ghūr, but Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad and Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad adhered latterly to the Shāfiʿī law school (see Bosworth, *The early Islamic history of Ghūr*, 129-33).

The Ghūrids followed the example of the Ghaznavids in being generous patrons of art and literature. In his section of the *Lubāb al-albāb* on royal poets, ʿAwfī cites ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn, and states that after the Sultan's death, his *dīwān* circulated widely in northern India and Zābulistān; it is well-known that during the sack of Ghazna, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was careful to preserve for his own library the works of the great Ghaznavid poets. The *tadhkiras* of ʿAwfī and Dawlat-Shāh preserve the names of a large number of Ghūrid poets, and Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī cites as immortalizers of the Sultans Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Rafīʿī, Abū Bakr Djawharī, ʿAlī Ṣūfī and himself. In contrast to the Ghaznavid period, from which we have several fairly complete *dīwāns*, the great bulk of Ghūrid poetry has regrettably been lost. Fortunately, some of the work of Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārakshāh or Fakhr-i Mudabbir has survived, cf. Storey, i, 1164-7. All this literature was in Persian; the recently-discovered Pashto anthology, the *Pəṭa khazāna* "Treasury of secrets", claims to include Pashto poetry from the Ghūrid period, but the significance of this work has not yet been evaluated [see AFGHĀN (iii) Pashto literature].

As in literature, the artistic and architectural traditions of the Ghaznavid period were kept up by the Ghūrids, so far as we can ascertain from the paucity of surviving material. Ghazna rose again after the Ghūrid sacking and flourished under Muʿizz al-Dīn, benefiting from the influx of Indian plunder; it is to the period of his rule there that U. Scerrato ascribes a unique type of glazed tile found at Ghazna (*Islamic glazed tiles with moulded decoration from Ghazni*, in *East and West*, N.S. xiii/4 (Rome 1962), 263-87). Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad was a great builder and patron of the arts, constructing mosques, madrasas and caravanserais in Khurāsān. Above all, we now have the minaret of Djām/Fīrūzkūh as a monument of Ghūrid architecture, to add to the other surviving examples at Herāt, Čisht and Lashkar-i Bāzār [see Plates xxxi, xxxii]; J. Sourdel-Thomine thinks it possible to speak of a distinctive Ghūrid architecture (*L'art ġūride d'Afghanistan à propos d'un livre récent*, in *Arabica*, vii (1960), 273-80).

Bibliography. The chief primary source is Djūzdjānī's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* (new edn. by ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, 2 vols., Kabul 1342-3/1963-4), in form a world history but in fact a special history of the Ghūrid dynasty. This can be supplemented by Ibn al-Athīr and Djuwaynī. Of local histories, Muʿīn al-Dīn Isfizārī's *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī awṣāf madīnat Harāt* (ed. Muḥ. Kāẓim Imām, 2 vols., Tehran 1338-9/1959-60) contains material on Herāt under Ghūrid rule. Amongst *adab* works, there are historical anecdotes and other material in Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī's *Čahār maḳāla*, ʿAwfī's *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* and Fakhr-i Mudabbir's *Ādāb al-mulūk*.

Secondary works include Barthold, *Turkestan*², 338 ff.; Sir Wolseley Haig, in *Camb. Hist. of India*, iii, *Turks and Afghans*, ch. 3; Köprülüzade M. Fuat, *Fahreddin Mübarekşah ve eseri*, in *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1934, 123-54; V. Minorsky, *Some early documents in Persian* (II), in *JRAS* (1943), 86-99; A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam, la découverte de la capitale des Sultans Ghorides* (*XIIᵉ-XIIIᵉ siècles*), Paris 1959, of which pp. 31-54 are a historical survey of the dynasty; Y. A. Hashmi, *Political, cultural and administrative history under*

the later Ghaznavids (from 421/1030 to 583/1187), Hamburg thesis, 1956, 98 ff.; M. A. Ghafur, *The Ghurids*, Hamburg thesis 1959; C. E. Bosworth, *The early Islamic history of Ghūr*, in *Central Asiatic Journal*, vi (1961), 116-33; idem, in the forthcoming *Camb. Hist. of Iran*, v; Ch. Kieffer, *Les Ghorides, une grande dynastie nationale*, in *Afghanistan* (Kabul 1961-2, 3 parts). For chronology and numismatics, see Zambaur, *Manuel*, 280-1, 284; E. Thomas, in *JRAS* (1860), 190-208; Zambaur, in *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschr.*, xxxvii (1905), 185 ff.; D. Sourdel, *Inventaire des monnaies musulmanes du Musée de Caboul*, Damascus 1953, 114 ff.

(C. E. Bosworth)

GHURŪSH [see SIKKA].

GHUSL, general ablution, uninterrupted washing, in ritually pure water, of the whole of the human body, including the hair, performed after declaring the intention (*niyya*) so to do. For the living it is a fairly simple process, though it applies also to the washing of the corpse of a Muslim (see below). For the living, the essential *ghusl* is that which is obligatory before performing the ritual daily prayers; this *ghusl* becomes necessary as a purification following acts of a sexual nature which produce *djanāba* [*q.v.*]: intimate relations, normal or not, emission of sperm and of feminine *manī* (except in cases of illness when only the ordinary ablution, *wuḍū'* is required). *Ghusl* is also required after menstruation and lochia (other losses of blood do not demand the *ghusl* for purification). Whoever is thus in a state of major impurity is subject to the same taboos as those incurred by minor impurity (*ḥadath* [*q.v.*]); in addition, he may not recite the Ḳur'ān nor attend the mosque; women who are menstruating or who are in childbirth may recite the Ḳur'ān, but their fast and their ritual prayers are not recognized, and it is forbidden to have sexual relations with them before they have performed the *ghusl*. The general rules of the *ghusl* are more or less the same in the various schools, orthodox or not (with the Ḥanafīs, however, the intention is not an obligatory requirement), if we disregard any trifling casuistical details (*e.g.*, what if a person, after having sexual relations, proceeds with his *ghusl*, but does not ejaculate until afterwards?). Moreover, and this is much more important, the four orthodox schools agree in the fact that, if it is not possible to use water, the Believer may, for the *ghusl* as for the *wuḍū'*, have recourse to cleaning with dust (*tayammum* [*q.v.*]); however, there has been much discussion over this question.

Besides this obligatory *ghusl*, *fiḳh* recognizes others which are only *sunna* and the list and the number of which vary according to the schools (*e.g.*, 12 among the Shāfi'īs); among the most important and the most generally recognized are the *ghusl* recommended for the Friday prayer and that of the Two Feasts, as well as that on the occasion of the *ḥadjdj*. Among the Shī'īs, there are not less than 28, several of which are connected with the history of Shī'ism (as a curiosity of folklore, it is interesting to note that, according to certain Shī'ī doctors, the *ghusl* is obligatory if one has voluntarily looked at a hanged person or if one has touched a newly-born child).

The rules for the washing of the dead are of course different from those of the *ghusl* mentioned above. We give here a brief account of them. There is some disagreement (particularly among the Mālikīs) over whether this *ghusl* is obligatory or *sunna*; although in fact this washing is most often done by specialists, *fiḳh* gives detailed regulations concerning the principles of the devolution of this duty on the spouse of the deceased, then on his or her relatives; in all cases the legal nakedness of the dead person (*'awra*) must be covered during the operation; if the corpse of a man is washed by a woman who, being his wife, is not forbidden to see him, the point is disputed as to whether the corpse need be completely covered (and vice versa for the body of a woman). In the absence of water, here also recourse may be had to *tayammum*, as in some other hypothetical situations. The corpse of a martyr (*shahīd* [*q.v.*]) who has fallen in the Holy War is not washed.

As well as these legal dispositions, it is necessary, with this as with all other institutions, to examine what happens in practice in the Muslim world. In our view, the *ghusl* of the dead is generally practised, and the *ghusl*s which are only *sunna* are practised rather seldom. Concerning the *ghusl* for *djanāba*, it has not until now been sufficiently noticed that the existence of the *ḥammām* is connected with the purification from *djanāba*. As in other matters, the effective practice is sometimes much more lax than the theory: where the ritual prayer is neglected (this is very often the case for example in North Africa, particularly among women), the *ghusl* will naturally also be neglected; but sometimes the demands of practice are more rigorous than those of *fiḳh*. Thus, it has been noted that, in certain regions of Morocco, whoever has relations with a Jewess must wash seven times with water coming from seven different streams. Throughout Islam, however, for every minority very much preoccupied with observing the prescriptions of the law, we find a majority who often neglect them, although, in particular cases, they have a curiously inadequate idea of what they are: detailed systematic studies would thus show a discrepancy between the regulations of the *ghusl* and the practice.

Bibliography: For the sociological theory of the whole subject of purifications etc. in human societies, V. Pareto, *Trattato di sociologia generale*, i; Fr. tr., *Traité* ..., i, 649 ff.; Eng. tr. *The mind and society*, 1935, ii, 736 ff.; G.-H. Bousquet, *La pureté rituelle en Islam*, in *RHR*, cxxxviii (1950), 53-71 (with detailed references for what has been said above). The books of *fiḳh* begin with a chapter on ritual purity, where *ghusl* is dealt with, *e.g.*, Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, excellent Italian tr. by Guidi, i, 28 ff., 141 ff., and Fr. tr. by Bousquet, i, 32 ff., 95 ff.; similarly the books of *ikhtilāf* (*e.g.*, the modern work of Muḥammad al-Djazīrī, *K. al-Fiḳh 'ala 'l-madhāhib al-arba'a*, i, 78 ff., Cairo 1355: much detail and very lucid). (G. H. Bousquet)

GHŪṬA, name given in Syria to abundantly irrigated areas of intense cultivation surrounded by arid land. A *ghūṭa* is produced by the co-operative activity of a rural community settled near to one or several perennial springs, whose water is used in a system of canalization to irrigate several dozen or several hundred acres. Each *ghūṭa* has its own particular system of irrigation based on cycles of varying length. The soil in a *ghūṭa* is usually laid out in platforms which form terraces of watered zones, the level sections of which are supported by stone walls two to six feet high. In them is carried out a closed agricultural economy, which provides an assured subsistence for men and animals. Near the source of the water there is an area in which vegetables and fruit are intensively grown, then the extent to which the land is exploited decreases in proportion to the time it takes for the water to reach

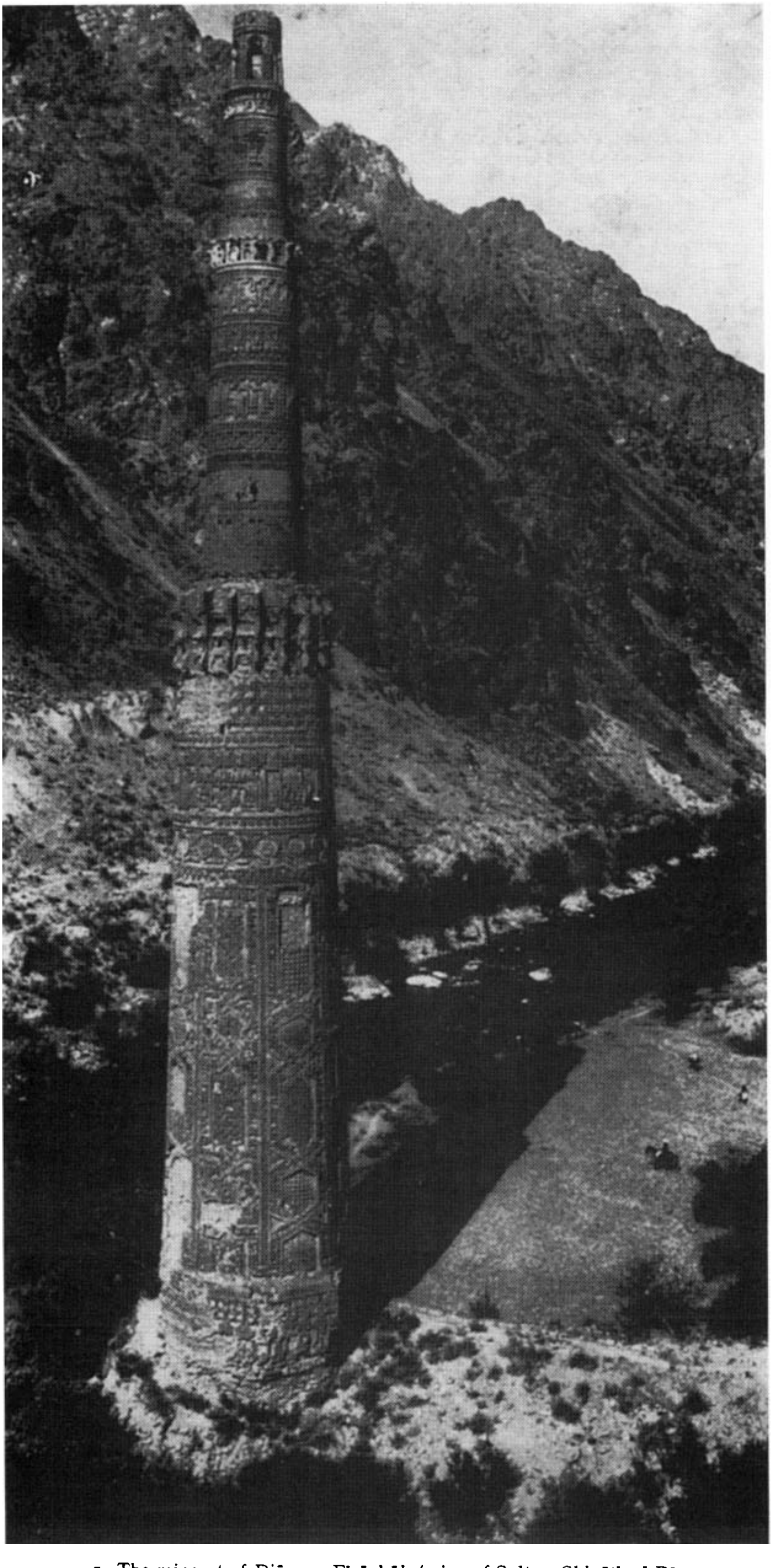

1. The minaret of Djām or Fīrūzkūh (reign of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, 558-99/1163-1203).

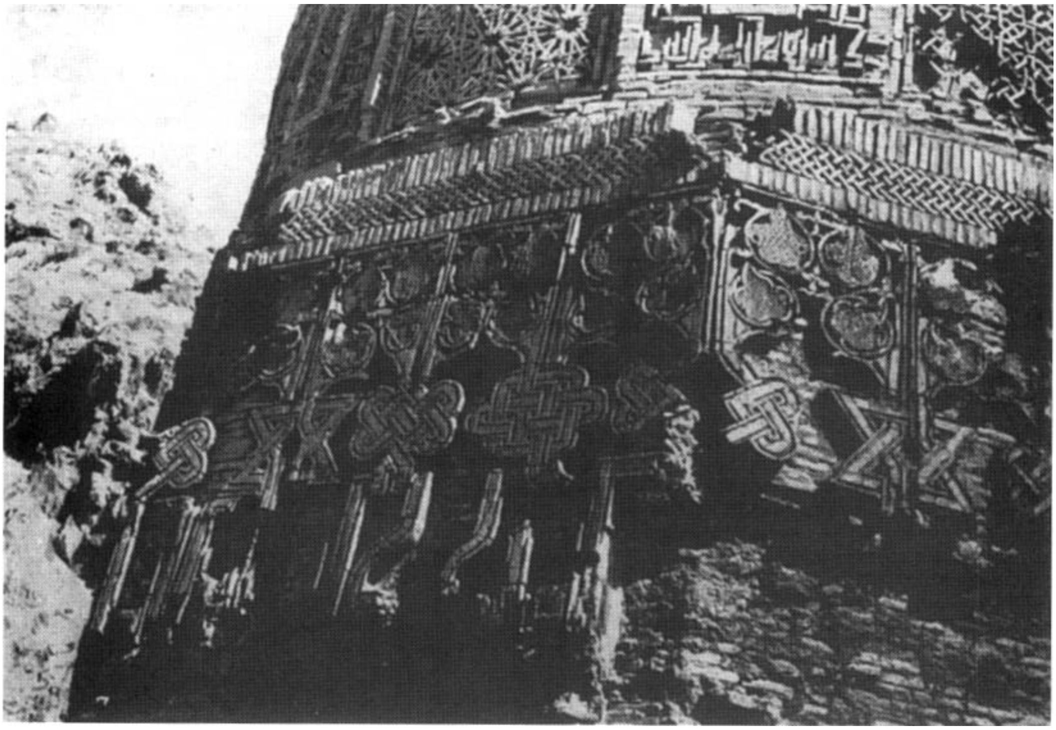

2. Detail of the minaret.

3. Surviving remains of the *madrasa* and mosque at Čis͟ht in the Harī-Rūd valley, also from the reign of G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Muḥammad.

it. While birch-trees and poplars grow in the damp of the central area, as the distance from the spring increases, trees become sparser, unsheltered fields spread out and areas planted with vines or cereals are reached; beyond this there will be the region which is flooded in winter, and further still some temporary fields. This is a schematic picture of the *ghūṭa*s of Djarūd, Nabak, Yabrūd and Dimashḳ (see R. Thoumin, *Géographie humaine de la Syrie Centrale*, Tours 1936, 115-120; J. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche Orient*, Paris 1946, 283-91).

The *Ghūṭa* of Dimashḳ [*q.v.*] is the area of gardens and orchards which surrounds the former Umayyad capital below the gorges of Rabwa and which is made fertile by a close network of irrigation trenches fed by the Baradā [*q.v.*]. The *Ghūṭa* extends from the eastern slopes of Mount Ḳāsiyūn [*q.v.*] as far as the streams and the water brought in from the Baradā allow bushes to be grown. Beyond this, to the east, is the *Mardj*, a region of pasture and wide stretches of arable land. These grass-lands, which are green from December to June and dried up from July onwards, end at the lagoon of ʿUtayba [*q.v.*], or "Lake of Damascus". Still further to the east is the scorched land of the steppe, which man's strenuous labour has pushed back to about 20 km/12 miles from Mount Ḳāsiyūn.

The charms of this place, which is considered by Muslim tradition to be one of the four earthly paradises, have been celebrated by many Arab poets (see Kurd ʿAlī, *Ghūṭa*, 68-107) and described by more than one western traveller.

Consisting of a half of a basaltic basin filled with fertile limestone alluvions and facing eastwards, the *Ghūṭa* is intersected by the Baradā, which flows down a slight natural slope split up into artificially constructed levels from Rabwa (699 metres/2,300 ft) to the point where it leaves Dimashḳ (650 metres/2,130 ft) and then to the *Mardj* (600 metres/1,970 ft). It is dominated by a screen of mountains 500 metres/1,640 ft. above the plain and is subject to the violent contrasts which are typical of a semi-desert climate. It has a rainfall of only about 250 mm/10 inches, most of which falls in December, January and February, with some autumn and spring rain. This is supplemented by the Baradā.

The structure of the *Ghūṭa* is formed by six major diversions of the Baradā which fan out into the plain at Rabwa. The most important diversions, the Nahr Thawrā, which in fact forms the northern limit of the *Ghūṭa*, has allowed the formation of an irrigation basin which includes the northern outskirts from Rabwa to Djawbar and is about 15 km/10 miles in width. The Nahr Yazīd, which runs alongside the district of al-Ṣāliḥiyya, swings round the basin of the Nahr Thawrā and turns towards Ḳābūn and Ḥarastā, driving mills and irrigating vegetable gardens and orchards. The Bānās and the Ḳanawāt supply the town of Dimashḳ with water, receive its drainage and sewage and go on to irrigate the southern section of the *Ghūṭa*. In the western region the pure waters of the Nahr Mizzāwī and the Nahr Dārānī allow flowers and early vegetables to be grown. On leaving Damascus, the Baradā and the Nahr ʿAḳrabānī flow to the south-east, and supply an extensive network of channels (including the Daʿiyānī and the Mlīhī) which have allowed a wooded region, the *Zawr*, to be established in the lowest part of the *Ghūṭa*. The absence of geographical features allows many channels to be drawn off and a series of basins without very precise limits to be formed, each one merging with the next. The Nahr Mnīn, coming down from Mount Ḳalamūn, comes in below Birza to complete the irrigation of the olive groves. Beyond Dūmā and ʿAdhrā, in the *Mardj*, use is made of the subterranean pools of water by installing hoists above the wells. In the south, a canal about 30 km/20 miles in length brings water from the Nahr al-Aʿwadj to irrigate the sectors for which the Nahr Darānī cannot produce enough water.

The improvement and the exploitation of the land of the *Ghūṭa* is dependent upon the harnessing and distribution of the water from the rivers. Skilful irrigation offsets the insufficient rainfall and permits regular agricultural work. This irrigation takes place at intervals, at fixed hours and days, and is effected without mechanical means of opening or closing. The distribution of the separate sections of water is carried out according to a conventional rotation which is called the *ʿaddān*. On the maintenance and supervision of the canals, on the measures which regulate the flow, and on the method of distribution of the water, see R. Tresse in *REI*, 1929, 473-90.

The crops grown in the *Ghūṭa* are determined by the conditions created by the irrigation and the nature of the soil and the climate. Those that can be grown most intensely and are most remunerative are preferred. The agriculture of the *Ghūṭa* can be divided into winter crops (*shitī*): cereals, leguminous crops for food and for animal fodder, and summer crops (*ṣayfī*): market vegetables, mainly gourds, and industrial crops such as aniseed, hemp and sesame. Crops are grown in zones, some of which produce two crops, the most productive being the region between Mount Ḳāsiyūn and Dimashḳ with its great variety of fruit and vegetables, which already in the 10th/16th century consisted mainly of cucumbers, onions, aubergines, cauliflowers, carrots, *lūbiyāʾ*, melons and water-melons. The trees grown are those of temperate countries. Long before the arrival of the Ottomans the apricot had been the most important tree of the *Ghūṭa* and from that time there are found also almond, cherry, fig, pomegranate, hazel-nut, walnut, peach, pear and plum trees. In the second zone, in the shade of the fruit trees, cereals (barley, wheat, maize) replace the vegetables. In the third zone, the cycle of irrigation becomes more widely spaced and olive trees take the place of the fruit trees. Finally there is a fourth zone of single cultivation, where vines replace the olive-trees, but where cereals still grow, though with a yield which decreases progressively until the steppe is reached.

There are crops peculiar to certain villages: thus the 14th century traveller Frescobaldi mentioned the flowers of Mizza and its rose-water industry, to which could be added that of violet oil. From Dārāyā and Dūmā raisins were exported to the West in the 10th/16th century. Olive trees are cultivated in two regions, one in the north including Birza, Ḳābūn, Ḥarastā and Dūmā, the other in the south including Mizza, Kafr Sūs, Babīlā, and Ḥūsh Rīḥāniyya. Finally hemp (*ḳunnab*) is harvested in the autumn in the humid zone of the *Zawr*. This wooded district, which has no well-defined limits, includes the regions of Djisrīn, al-Aftarīs, Kafr Baṭnā, ʿAyn Tarmā, Zibdīn and Djaramānā, and in its many *ghayḍa* (pl. *ghiyāḍ*) many beech trees and black and white poplars flourish.

The *Ghūṭa* has always been thickly populated, its inhabitants living in settlements built along the edges of the irrigated zones where groups of small-holdings tend to develop. Throughout the centuries, the number of villages has varied greatly; each

writer gives a different list of them, and that of Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Ṣāliḥī (10th/16th century) has only a certain number of names and sites in common with that of the present-day writer Kurd ʿAlī (*Ghūṭa*, 218 ff.). To the names already given can be added those of some villages which have become places of pilgrimage by reason of legends connected with them, such as Birza in the north-east where, according to a legend which stems from the Samaritans, the birthplace of Abraham (the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*) is to be found; Bayt Lahyā in the north, also connected with the legend of Abraham; the hill of Rabwa in the west, a legendary stopping place of ʿĪsā and his mother; and finally the village of al-Rāwiya, in the south-south-east, where there is the tomb of one Zaynab Umm Kulthūm (who has nothing in common with either the daughter of the Prophet or the daughter of ʿAlī and Fāṭima). There are also villages where the tomb of a Companion of the Prophet is revered; among these are Ḥadjīra, where Mudrik b. Ziyād is buried, al-Manīḥa, where Saʿd b. ʿUbāda is buried, and Mizza where Diḥya al-Kalbī is buried.

The history of the Ghūṭa is bound up with that of Dimashḳ [*q.v.*]. The excavations of Tell al-Ṣāliḥiyya provide evidence that the first human settlements in this oasis go back to the fourth millennium B.C. Greek and Roman remains are found at various places. In the Byzantine period there existed a great number of churches and monasteries such as Dayr Murrān, Dayr Bāwanna and Dayr Buṭrus of which the combined effects of time and man have removed every trace; others are perpetuated in present day place-names, such as Dayr Ṣalībā (now Dayr Khālid) and Dayr al-ʿAṣāfīr. It was in the *Ghūṭa*, at Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*], that Marwān, with his Yemenīs, gave battle to the Ḳaysīs in 64/683. Under the Umayyads, the *Ghūṭa* formed one of the districts of the province of Dimashḳ, and had an autonomous administration with a separate *dīwān* whose chief activity was the collecting of the *kharādj*. Many of the attacks on Dimashḳ were made less effective by having to get past the orchards with their network of paths edged by low walls on either side, and Crusaders and Zangids were able to appreciate their defensive value. At the end of the 6th/12th century, and even more in the 7th/13th century, under the Ayyūbid [*q.v.*] princes many monuments were built; *madrasas* and mausolea arose in peaceful surroundings among the orchards between the Nahr Thawrā and the Nahr Yazīd. From west to east could be seen the double cupola of the mausoleum of Kitbughā (8th/14th century), the Māridāniyya *madrasa* (7th/13th century) at Djisr al-Abyaḍ, the Shibliyya *madrasa* which formed part of a complex of buildings including the mausoleum of Shibl al-Dawla Kāfūr, a *khānḳāh* and a public fountain; the ribbed cupola of the Turbat al-Badrī, built in the time of Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], rises not far from the *madrasa* of Sitti Ḥāfiẓa (7th/13th century). Finally, below al-Ṣāliḥiyya, the Rukniyya *madrasa* (7th/13th century) overlooked the gardens. Vegetable gardens and orchards survived to the north of Dimashḳ until about 1950, since when they have been gradually supplanted by new housing estates.

Bibliography: The essential work is Kurd ʿAlī, *Ghūṭat Dimashḳ*, in *MMIA* (2nd ed. 1952, 358 and map), which includes a good bibliography of the Arabic sources; Rubaʿī, *K. Faḍāʾil al-Shām wa-Dimashḳ*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, in *MMIA*, 1951, 60; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, in *MMIA*, 1954, 116-17, 145 f., 169; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra*, ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1956, 13, 277 ff., 305 ff.; Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, Damascus 1953, 10-16 (tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Guide des Lieux de Pèlerinage*, Damascus 1957, 24-40); Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Géographie* (tr. Reinaud and Guyard), ii, 49, 135, ii², 9, 15; Ibn Djubayr, *Voyages*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1953-6, 301 f.; Yāḳūt, iii, 825 (Beirut ed., iv, 219); Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Ṣāliḥī, *Darb al-Ḥūṭa ʿalā djamīʿ al-ghūṭa*, ed. A. Talass, in *MMIA*, xxi (1946), 149-61, 236-47, 338-51; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 33, 231, 237; H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in *JA*, 1894-96 (see *Index Général* by E. Ouéchek, Damascus 1954); R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 293-313; R. Mantran and J. Sauvaget, *Règlements fiscaux ottomans*, Damascus 1951, 16-18; J. Sauvaget, in *Monuments Ayyoubides de Damas*, ii, 65 ff., iii, 119 ff., 131 ff.; R. Tresse, *L'irrigation dans la Ghouta de Damas*, in *REI*, 1929, 459-570; R. Thoumin, *Notes sur l'aménagement et la distribution des eaux à Damas et dans sa Ghouta*, in *B. Et. Or.*, iv (1934), 1-26; idem, *Géographie humaine de la Syrie Centrale*, Tours 1936, 60-75, 120-25, 228 ff.; A. Latron, *La vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban*, Damascus 1936, 18, 21, 148, 207; J. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie*, Paris 1946, 283-99; Birot and Dresch, *La Méditerranée et le Moyen Orient*, vol. ii, Paris 1956, 441-42.

(N. Elisséeff)

al-GHUZŪLĪ, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bahāʾī al-Dimashḳī, an Arabic writer of Berber origin (d. 815/1412) who composed, under the title *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr*, an anthology on the model of the *adab* books but which, as the author justly boasts in the preface, is in its content favourably distinguished from the great mass of these writings. He deals with the house and its different sections, all the pleasures of life and sport and the accessories required for their realization; he illustrates these subjects with anecdotes and verses taken from later poetry but, at the same time he presents a very great wealth of material—still far from being exhausted—relating to the history of the civilization of the Muslim peoples. The book was printed in Cairo, in two volumes, in 1299-1300.

(C. Brockelmann)

GHUZZ, form generally used by Arabic authors for the name of the Turkish Oghuz people. The origin of the Oghuz, which for long was obscure because of the diversity of the transcriptions of the names of peoples in the Chinese, Arabic, Byzantine and other sources, seems to have been clarified by J. Hamilton, *Toguz Oghuz et On-Uyghur*, in *JA*, ccl/1 (1962), 23-64. At the beginning of the 7th century A.D. there was formed, among the eastern Turkish T'ie-lo tribes, a confederation of Nine Clans = Toḳuz Oghuz (a form known to the Arabic authors), who revolted against the empire of the western Turks and helped to form the empire of the most important tribe among them, whose name is the earliest attested, namely the Uyghurs. During the period of the extension of this empire (3rd/9th century) some groups of these peoples spread towards the west, losing their links with the structure of the Nine Clans and acquiring, in new countries and in their contacts with new peoples, distinctive characteristics: these are the people called by the western writers of that time, with no more reference to the "Nine", Oghuz (Arabic: Ghuzz; Byzantine: Ouzoi). The different deductions often drawn from the later legend of Oghuz-Khān (see below), or from rash linguistic assimilations, are to be rejected.

i.—Muslim East

We shall not deal at length here with the period of the history of the Oghuz/Ghuzz before they came in contact with Islam. It should however be mentioned briefly because, owing to their new habitat and the period during which they moved there, all that we know of them, admittedly very elementary and uncertain, is now based mainly on the Arabic (or Persian) authors. We shall ignore what these authors have said on the eastern Toḳuz-Oghuz (see V. Minorsky in his commentary and his translation of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 1937, 268 f.) in order to concern ourselves here only with the western Oghuz/Ghuzz.

The earliest reference to the presence of Oghuz/Ghuzz (without the Toḳuz) in Central Asia is found in al-Balādhurī (431), writing of events belonging to the end of the reign of al-Maʾmūn, although Ibn al-Athīr, writing much later, reports the opinions of authors who consider those Turks who, under the caliphate of al-Mahdī, had supported the movement of al-Muḳannaʿ, as already then belonging to the Oghuz. In contrast to this, from the middle of the 3rd/9th century, nearly all the Arab geographers mention them. In the 4th/10th century they occupied a territory roughly bounded to the south by the Aral Sea and the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā, to the west by the River Ural or the lower Volga and the Caspian Sea, to the north-east by the upper course of the Irtysh. They then had other Turkish peoples as neighbours: to the north the Kīmāk, a branch of the Ḳīpčaḳ, to the east the Kharlukh (Ḳarluḳ), to the west the Pečeneg and above all the semi-Turkish state of the Khazar, and they were in constant communication with the Bulgars of the middle Volga who were also for the most part Turks; finally, to the south, and particularly along the Sīr-Daryā, they bordered on the Muslim world. For the most part they were nomads, herding camels (with one hump and resistant to cold though not to excessive heat), sheep, horses etc., and each tribe branded its animals with a special sign—a *tughra, tamgha* [*qq.v.*]. All the same, it should not be thought that they were exclusively nomadic, for both among the remains of the former populations and among the Oghuz themselves there were settled groups occupied with agriculture in the oases, and also, particularly on the boundaries of the Muslim world and along the routes leading to the Bulgars or the Khazars, markets which had often become small fortified towns where their chiefs and leading men came to barter, against the products of the civilized world to the south, animals, prisoners sold as slaves, and furs brought from the northern forests; and in the principal one of these little towns, Yänikänt, probably the ancient Nau-Kärdä of the pre-Turkish Indo-European inhabitants, the chief of the Oghuz/Ghuzz chose to live in the winter, though he may have stayed further upstream, at Djand (near to the modern Perovsk): the recent archaeological investigations which have located the sites and the ruins of these towns along the former course of the lower Sīr-Daryā confirm that they were certainly urban settlements and not the camps of nomads. It is difficult to state precisely what the Oghuz were ethnically, but, however important the Turkish element was (and the Russian chroniclers know the Oghuz only by the name of Turks/Torki), there is little doubt that there had been on the one hand inter-marriage with the remains of the earlier populations, and on the other hand an integration into the Oghuz/Ghuzz of non-Turkish groups, incorporated just as they were and later Turkicized: it has even been suggested that the name of the Oghuz/Ghuzz tribe of the Döger [*q.v.*] preserves the ancient name of the Tokharians; the result being that the Oghuz/Ghuzz of the west were no longer ethnically the same as the other Turks and particularly those of the east.

So far, then, as we can speak at all of a geopolitical configuration of Central Asia, it would seem possible to postulate, in the 4th/10th century, certain political and other interests in common between Khʷārizm, the semi-autonomous outpost of Muslim civilization to the south of the Caspian Sea, and the state of the Khazars, to the west of the Caspian Sea and the lower Volga, and that there was, in opposition to them, some form of alliance of the Oghuz/Ghuzz with the Bulgars (and at one time, with the "Russians" of Kiev). This is particularly the impression given by the account which has been preserved of the embassy to the Bulgars at the beginning of the century of the caliph's envoy, Ibn Faḍlān, who passed through Khʷārizm. Moreover, although the Oghuz/Ghuzz formed only a very loosely-joined confederation of tribes, they nevertheless recognized, within the framework of a western Turkish world which maintained a certain feeling of uniformity, the supremacy of a Yabghu [*q.v.*] of the left, to whom corresponded the Ḳarluḳ Yabghu of the right: a title and idea inherited from the ancient Turkish empire of the 6th century A.D. and from the early Central Asiatic states. The Yabghu of the Oghuz/Ghuzz normally lived at Yänikänt; he had a lieutenant (*Küdhärkin*) and a head of the tribal army (*subashi*).

Even if, as Ibn al-Athīr believes, the Turks (whoever they may have been) who had helped al-Muḳannaʿ had already embraced Islam, according to him Islam did not reach the western Turks, and in particular the Oghuz/Ghuzz, until the 4th/10th century and it was not until the end of that century that it became general among them. Before this the Oghuz/Ghuzz, like all the inhabitants of Central Asia, must have been influenced to some extent by Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity and Khazar-Judaism, and the influence of the latter perhaps explains the later presence among the Saldjūḳs of characteristically Biblical names; but there are no grounds for believing that they abandoned completely their vague ancestral Shamanism. The Oghuz/Ghuzz came into contact with Islam in various ways: first through the raids and counter-raids which they exchanged on the southern frontiers of their territory with the Muslim *ghāzīs* of the state of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], and the prisoners which were taken by both sides; then through some of the activities of the Ṣūfīs of the frontiers; and finally, and probably most of all, through the merchants whom they met in the markets, or "protected" as they travelled along the roads leading across Oghuz territory towards that of the Bulgars, the Khazars and the Chinese. Political or other reasons had caused Islam to spread among the Bulgars, and probably among the lower classes of the Khazar population, from the first half of the 4th/10th century. The Ḳarluḳ and the Oghuz/Ghuzz were not converted until the second half of the century, the former shortly after the middle and the latter at the end of the century, though it has of course still to be ascertained what form of Islam had been taught to them and how much of it they did in fact absorb at first. Moreover Islam did not reach all the Oghuz/Ghuzz, and those in the extreme west escaped the Muslim propaganda: the remnants of

them were later, when incorporated in the Byzantine army, to receive Christian baptism.

The conversion to Islam, whatever form it may have taken, and the drive towards the south of those of the Oghuz/Ghuzz who were not already too much engaged in the west are related phenomena. The drive towards the territories of the Muslim Mā warā᾽ al-Nahr, although these lands themselves were an attraction, may have been due also to pressure behind the Oghuz/Ghuzz from their other Turkish neighbours, for it is known that later the Ḳîpčaḳ were to occupy the territories left vacant by the migration of the Oghuz/Ghuzz. But another result of their conversion to Islam was that it prevented the *ghāzī*s from fighting against them as pagans and allowed the Muslim princes to enlist them under their banners; it could even make them into *ghāzī*s themselves to fight against the other Turks who were still pagan, and the part which the *ghāzī* formations were to play in the pattern of later Turkish history is indisputable even when, transferred to other fronts, they were directed against other adversaries. It is possible that there took place, between the supporters and the enemies of Islam, battles memories of which may be preserved in the (admittedly highly embellished) accounts concerning the origin of the Saldjūḳids; but Shāh-Malik, the Yabghu against whom the Saldjuks fought, was nevertheless himself a Muslim, and we should not exclude, merely for lack of evidence, the idea that the Oghuz/Ghuzz chiefs were attracted to Islam, as were those of the Ḳarluḳ (the Ḳarakhānids) and as has so often happened with peoples in a tribal stage of development, by the principle of authority which Islam conferred on them over the organization of the tribes, apart from the fact that they would soon be able to intervene in the conflicts of the traditional Muslim world itself.

As has just been said, the Oghuz/Ghuzz expansion towards the south took place mainly from the last years of the 4th/10th century, then especially in the fourth decade of the 5th/11th century, under the leadership of a family, the Saldjūḳids, which was to found a vast empire. This is discussed in other articles, so that we are not concerned to relate here the history of this expansion—contemporary with that of the "Ouzoi" towards southern Russia, the lower Danube and Byzantium—, but only to show its place in the history of the Oghuz/Ghuzz. The first migrations of the groups which followed the Saldjūḳids occurred as they took advantage of the appeals for help addressed to them in turn by the Sāmānids and various rival princes of the Ḳarakhānid family who had succeeded the Sāmānids in Mā warā᾽ al-Nahr. In the official tradition of the dynasty, the ancestor Saldjūḳ is presented as having been the head of the army of a "Khazar" prince: presumably of a territory or a group recognizing Khazar suzerainty between the Aral Sea and the Volga. On the other hand, however, in the various political struggles of the first half of the 5th/11th century, the descendants of this Saldjūḳ were fighting against the Yabghu of the Oghuz, Shāh Malik, the ally of the Ghaznavids, and it is not impossible that they went so far as to lay claim to the position of Yabghu and that they were in fact recognized as such by a large section of their people. The details of the episodes of which little is known but which can lead to this conclusion have been the subject of a discussion between O. Pritsak and the present author which cannot be regarded as closed. (See O. Pritsak, *Der Untergang des Reiches des Oghusischen Reiches*, in *Mélanges Köprülü/Köprülü armağanı*, 1953; discussion by Cl. Cahen, in *JA*, 1954, 271-5 and Pritsak's reply in his communication to the Congress of Orientalists at Munich in 1957).

Thus the Saldjūḳid expansion drew into the old territories of Islam a substantial portion of the Oghuz/Ghuzz people; it is difficult to specify them more precisely, for the few names of tribes which are attested at that time do not distinguish them for us from the others, and also the fact that some elements of these tribes accompanied the Saldjūḳids does not preclude that others may have remained behind in their former habitat. Those who left it we find divided into two groups: one following Arslan-Isrā᾽īl b. Saldjūḳ [*q.v.*] in the region of Bukhārā, and then established by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 416/1025 in Khurāsān, the other, which was to take the place of the first group there in 426/1035, under the leadership of the nephews of Arslan, Toghrïl and Čaghrï [*qq.v.*]. The members of the first group, left without a leader by the disappearance of Arslan, proved themselves incapable of being assimilated to the administrative rules and the social structure of an old-established Iranian state: harried by the Ghaznavid troops, they succeeded, after detours across Iran, in reaching the frontiers of Armenia from which they returned when, on the death of Maḥmūd, the Ghaznavid family was split by quarrels, then, disturbed at the advance of the second Saldjūḳid group, escaped again towards the west, crossed the mountains of Kurdistan, and ended by being exterminated in Upper Mesopotamia in about 437/1045 by an alliance of Bedouins and Kurds. The Oghuz/Ghuzz of Toghrïl and Čaghrï, after several years of war, defeated Mas'ūd of Ghazna at Dandānḳān in 431/1040, and conquered for their masters the greater part of Iran, and also 'Irāḳ, etc.; most of them were concentrated in Ādharbaydjān, a country whose population is today still mainly Turkish; from there a section of them was to spread, in the second half of the 5th/11th century, into Byzantine Asia Minor, which they soon converted into what from then on was known as Turkey.

From the end of the 4th/10th century, however, there appears a new name (first attested in al-Muḳaddasī in about 375/985), that of Türkmen/Turcoman, applied to a large section of the Oghuz/Ghuzz peoples and sometimes also to the Ḳarluḳ, though it is impossible to state precisely in which contexts the term Oghuz/Ghuzz continued in use and in which Türkmen/Turcoman was preferred. Certainly it seems that at first the latter name was used exclusively of the Muslim Oghuz/Ghuzz in contrast to those who had not become Muslim and who continued to be called by their earlier name. But we find the name Oghuz/Ghuzz used later of those who had become Muslim. Broadly speaking it can be said that the name Türkmen/Turcoman is used by writers of the territories comprising the Saldjūḳid empire and its successor states to indicate those of the Oghuz/Ghuzz who were the descendants of the groups which followed the Saldjūḳids (even although they later abandoned them to go, for example, into Byzantine Asia Minor); these writers applied the name Oghuz/Ghuzz to all the others, even later, when some of them in their turn were to come and settle in the Saldjūḳid territory (but without really being incorporated in the state). Foreign writers, on the other hand, or those who were hostile to the Saldjūḳids and their successors, used the name Ghuzz universally, with pejorative intent, of all the Turks on whose military strength these régimes depended; this was the case with the writers of Fāṭimid Egypt,

and even with those who, in the Yemen, wrote of the conquest (albeit half Kurdish) of the country by the Ayyūbids, or with those in the Maghrib writing of the Ayyūbid drive towards Tripoli and Ifrīḳiya. We cannot pursue all these branches here and for details of the later history of the Oghuz/Ghuzz who proceeded in the 11th century to Iran and beyond, the reader is referred to the articles SALDJŪḲIDS and TÜRKMEN.

There remained, however, in Central Asia a certain number of them who, from 538/1143, were driven back by the conquest of the Ḳarakhānid territories (including Mā warā' al-Nahr) by the non-Muslim Ḳara-Khitay. The majority of them settled, with the more or less willing agreement of the Saldjūḳid authorities, in the eastern part of Khurāsān, in the region of Balkh. But, as was the case earlier when the first Turcomans settled in Ghaznavid territory, this new group of Oghuz/Ghuzz (thus called in contemporary sources) proved impossible to assimilate into an organized state. Sultan Sandjar tried to subdue them by force and, like the Ghaznavid Masʿūd, a century earlier, was himself heavily defeated by them (548/1153). But whereas the Turcomans, led by the Saldjūḳids, had founded an empire, the Oghuz/Ghuzz of this period merely helped to spread anarchy throughout Khurāsān. Finally they were decimated and subdued by the Khwārizmshāhs, although one of them, Malik Dīnār [*q.v.*], ousting other Saldjūḳids, proceeded to make himself master for several years of their principality of Kirmān. The difference arises in part certainly from the fact that the Saldjūḳids had been able to lead their Turcomans on to other conquests, while the absence of a great leader and the general political conditions of the 6th/12th century allowed the Oghuz/Ghuzz of Khurāsān no prospect beyond that of converting Khurāsān into a region of grazing lands for their convenience.

The above episode is the last in which we find the Oghuz/Ghuzz in action under this name; beyond the frontiers of Islam their place had been taken by the Ḳîpčaḳ, many of whom moreover in their turn began to swell the army of the ruler of Khwārizm. The foundation of the Mongol empire, in the 7th/13th century, led of course to the incorporation or to the expulsion of many Turcomans who were descended from the former Oghuz/Ghuzz, but henceforward the name is no longer found used of a group of people which still exists, whereas that of Türkmen has survived until the present day in Central Asia.

It was at this time, however, that among these descendants of the Oghuz/Ghuzz, confronted with the Mongols, there developed, in an atmosphere of veneration of the past and of their ancestors, the legend known as that of Oghuz-Khān, the vast spread and possibly also the relative antiquity of which are attested by versions extending from Central Asia (in Uyghur) to Asia Minor (in particular the popular Turkish story of Dede Ḳorḳut [*q.v.*], composed under the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu in the 9th/15th century). It represents the descendants of Oghuz Khān as being divided into 24 tribes, and of these it is certain that 22 were already known, by name and by their *tamghas*, to Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, the Muslim Turk of the second half of the 5th/11th century whose dictionary provides such noteworthy information about his fellow-Turks; a certain number of these tribes are attested in historical events, but only the Ḳînîḳ (and then solely as the tribe of the Saldjūḳids), the Yîva, Salghur, Avshar and the Döger appear before the Mongol period. The Saldjūḳid conquest had taken place over their heads and broken them up. It was Rashīd al-Dīn, the great historian of the Mongols, who gave to the Muslim world the first written account of the legend, and it is from him that it was borrowed by the later authors who related it for educated Turks, writers such as Yazîdjî-oghlu, the 9th/15th century adapter of Ibn Bībī in Asia Minor, or the famous prince Abu 'l-Ghāzī in Central Asia in the following century. But although the legend reflects after its fashion the regions in which it grew up, there would seem to be no justification for using it as a basis for a reconstruction of the authentic history of the early Oghuz/Ghuzz, though a future scholar may find a way of making some use of it in this respect.

Bibliography: The Oghuz/Ghuzz are known in varying degree to nearly all the geographers from Ibn Khurradādhbih. The main information, much of which is collected in Russian translation in V. I. Belayev, *Arabskie istočniki po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, i, Moscow-Leningrad 1939, is found in the following: Iṣṭakhrī, 9 and 217-22, completed by Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 389, 512 and Muḳaddasī, 274; works based on Djayhānī: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 100-1 and 122, Marwazī 29 (both ed. Minorsky), and Gardīzī; Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī in the Mashhad MS described by A. Zeki Velidi in *Izv. Ak. Nauk. SSSR*, 1924, 237-48; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 212-3 and ii, 18-9 (pagination reproduced in Pellat's trans., in progress); Bīrūnī, and even, later still, Idrīsī and Yāḳūt. Of particular interest, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, is the account of the journey of Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Zeki Velidi, 1939, A. P. Kovalevsky, 1956, and Sāmī Dahān, 1959, Fr. tr. M. Canard in *AIEO Alger*, xvi (1958). The principal historians to be considered are those of the Ghaznavids and the Saldjūḳids, especially Bayhaḳī and Ibn al-Athīr, but also the *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, ed. Moh. Iqbal, the *Saldjūḳnāma* of Ẓāhir al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, ed. Gelāleh Khāvar (better than the adaptation of him by Rāwandī), the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, ed. Bahār, 102-3 and 421, the anonymous *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, Gardīzī already mentioned, ed. Moh. Iqbal, etc. See also Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 120. For the events of the 6th/12th century see the historians of the Saldjūḳids (reign of Sandjar); Ibn al-Athīr again; Djuwaynī, *Ta'rīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii. A special place is occupied by the *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk* of Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, a work not only of lexicography, but of remarkable and unique general information, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat (1917) and in facsimile with Turkish tr. by Besim Atalay (1939). For the legend of Oghuz Khān the principal texts have been cited in the article; the *Kitāb-i Dede Ḳorḳut* should be consulted in the ed. with a very full preface by E. Rossi. For the Chinese sources (on the Toḳuz-Oghuz only), see J. Hamilton, art. cited; for the Byzantine sources, J. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-Turcica*², 1960, s.v. *Ouzoi*.

It is impossible to enumerate here all the studies which in one way or another refer to the Oghuz (a fair number of them are listed in Pearson's *Index Islamicus*); a good brief restatement of many of the questions has appeared in ch. vii of C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznevids* ..., Edinburgh 1963; and in spite of their date the contributions of Barthold to *EI*¹ [GHUZZ and TURKS] remain generally useful, also his general survey in the *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Fr. tr. of his

Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens, lectures delivered in 1926), and his developments in his *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, Engl. tr. 1928; see also the commentaries of V. Minorsky in his editions of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* and of Marwazī cited above, and the anonymous *Istoriya Turkmenii*, Tashkent 1940. Among the special works, for the origins we limit ourselves to referring to Hamilton cited above; for the history of the Og͟huz/G͟huzz in Central Asia in the 4th/10th and the 5th/11th centuries, Houtsma, *Die Ghuzenstämme*, in *WZKM*, ii (1888); J. Marquart, *Ueber das Volkstum der Komanen*, *Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, N.F. xiii (1914); M. F. Köprülü[zāde], *Og͟huz etnoloz͟hisine dāʾir taʾrik͟hī notlar*, in *Türkiyāt Med͟jmūʿasi*, i (1925), 185-211; A. J. Yakubovskiy, *Seldjukskoe dviženie i Turkmeni v XI vekov*, in *Izv. Ak. Nauk SSSR*, 1936; S. P. Tolstov, *Goroda Guzov*, in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1947, and especially *Po sledam drevnek͟horezmiyskoy tsivilizatsii* (German trans. *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*), 1953, a basic synthesis of the results of the archaeological investigations carried out by the author and others up to that date, with significant historical implications; O. Pritsak, *Der Untergang des Ogusischen Jabgu* (see above in the art.); Cl. Cahen, *Les tribus turques d'Asie occidentale pendant la période seldjukide*, in *WZKM*, li (1948-52), and *Le Maliknameh et l'histoire des origines seldjukides*, in *Oriens*, ii (1949); Ibr. Kafesoğlu, *Türkmen adı, manası ve mahiyeti*, in *Jean Deny Armağanı*, 1958; Tahsin Banguoğlu, *Oguzlar ve Oguzeli üzerine*, in *Turk dili araştırmalar yıllığı Belleten*, 1959 (based on Maḥmūd Kās͟hg͟harī). For the events of the 6th/12th century, Barthold, *Sultan Sindjar i Guzy*, in *Zap. VO*, xx (1912); M. Köymen, *Büyük Selcuklular Imparatorluğunda Oğuz isyanı ve istilası*, in *Ankara Üniv. Dil. ve Tar-Coğr. Fak. Dergisi*, v/2 and 5 (1947), with German tr.; Ibr. Kafesoğlu, *Harezmşahlar devleti tarihi*, 1956. For the legend of Og͟huz K͟hān, see W. Bang and G. R. Rahmati, *Die Legende von Oghuz Khan*, 1932; E. Rossi, preface to his ed. of *Dede Ḳorḳut* mentioned above; M. Kaplan, *Oğuz Kağan Destanı ile Dede Korkut kitabında eşya ve aletler*, in *Jean Deny Armağanı*, 1958. This article was prepared before the publication of the art. Oğuz in *IA*.

(Cl. Cahen)

ii.—Muslim West

In the Middle Ages al-G͟huzz (or al-Ag͟hzāz, or al-G͟huzziyyūn) indicated the Turkish or Turcoman mercenaries who twice penetrated North Africa by way of Egypt. The first Ag͟hzāz appeared, in the middle of the 6th/12th century, in the army which the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin sent to conquer Ifrīḳiya (553/1158). A group of them was introduced into Ifrīḳiya by Ḳarāḳūs͟h al-G͟huzzī [*q.v.*], an adventurer of Armenian descent, the freedman of a brother of Saladin, and Ibrāhīm b. Ḳarātakīn, who were sent by the ruler of Egypt and Syria to conquer the eastern Mag͟hrib. Ḳarāḳūs͟h had appeared in 568/1172-3 in Tripoli. After several adventures, including imprisonment in Cairo, he was again in Tripolitania in 573/1177-8 to fight beside the Banū G͟hāriya [*q.v.*]. But Ibn Ḳarātakīn was killed and the family of Ḳarāḳūs͟h, his sons, his possessions and some of his mercenaries fell into the power of the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, after the fall of Gabès (10 S͟haʿbān 583/15 October 1187) and of Gafsa, three months later. These G͟huzz, of proved courage, having given proofs also of their submission, were then transferred to Marrākus͟h and formed into a corps d'élite, regularly paid, which the caliph put at the service of the régime. Armed with a bow which was named after them (*al-g͟huzzī*), they fought in all the battles and were very much in favour, but without being absorbed into the population (they had their own cemetery).

About 660/1261, there appeared in North Africa a new wave of G͟huzz, but the name this time refers to Kurds, fleeing before the conquests of Hūlāgū [*q.v.*]. When the Almohad dynasty fell, some took service with the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen, others with the Ḥafṣids of Tunis, others finally settled at Marrākus͟h where they passed into the service of the Marīnid dynasty who made much use of them in their expeditions of the Holy War in Spain where, with the archers of Ceuta, they formed the front line; they constituted also the personal bodyguard of the sultan. With time and with the appearance of portable fire-arms the Moroccan G͟huzz lost some of their importance. In the middle of the 16th century they are no longer referred to as G͟huzz but as Turks, whether they were mercenaries or not; in the 17th century their name, retained in Portuguese (*algoz*) with the meaning of hangman, is applied only to public executioners.

The G͟huzz used by the Almohads in their expeditions of the Holy War are mentioned by many of the mediaeval European historians.

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(G. Deverdun)

iii.—Sudan

In the Sudan the term G͟huzz was used of the hereditary *kās͟hif*s of Lower Nubia (between the First and Third Cataracts of the Nile) during the Ottoman period; more generally, the tribe formed by their kin. The name, as in Egyptian usage, was equivalent to *Mamlūk*s, and the G͟huzz should therefore be distinguished from the hereditary garrison-troops (*ḳalʿed͟ji*s) of Bosniak origin in Aswān, Ibrīm and Sāy, who were called *ʿOt͟hmānlı*s. The founder of the tribe is called by Burckhardt, Ḥasan "Coosy" (probably *Ḳuzzī* for *G͟huzzī*), and his coming, as commander of the Bosniaks, is placed in the reign of Sultan Selīm I: this may be too early. The hereditary *kās͟hiflik*, which had its headquarters at al-Dirr, and was virtually autonomous, survived until the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas͟ha. At the time of the Turco-Egyptian invasion of the Sudan (1820-1), Ismāʿīl Kāmil Pas͟ha

appointed a member of the tribe, Ḥasan, to administer the territory between Aswān and Wādī Ḥalfā. The vestiges of the traditional authority of the Ghuzz tribal chiefs vanished some sixty years later, when the area was placed under military government at the time of the Mahdia.

Bibliography: J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, 133-9; Naʿūm Shuḳayr, *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, Cairo [1903], ii, 108-10.

(P. M. Holt)

GIAOUR [see GABR and KĀFIR].

GIBRALTAR [see DJABAL ṬĀRIḲ].

GĪLĀN, a historic region around the delta of the river Safīd-rūd [*q.v.*], was the homeland of the Gēl people (Gelae, Γῆλαι; = Καδούσιοι) in antiquity. The present Persian inhabitants, who speak a special dialect (cf. G. Melgunoff, *Essai sur les dialectes ... du Ghîlân ...*, in *ZDMG*, xvii (1868), 195-224, and the article IRAN: Languages) bear the name Gīlak (at an earlier period also Gīl). The derivation of the name from *gil* "clay", in allusion to the marshes of the region, is a piece of folk etymology.

In the middle ages Gīlān first extended as far as the Čālūs in the south east; later it ran parallel on its eastern side with the Pulu-rūd and included Čābūksār. In the north east Gīlān verged on the region of Tālish [*q.v.*] which was sometimes counted as part of it. After Tālish was ceded to Russia by the Peace of Gulistan of 1813, this frontier was replaced by the river Astāra. For some 225 km. Gīlān is bounded by the Caspian Sea; towards the interior the frontier is the mountain-chain forming the northern limit of the high plateau of Iran, and in this direction Gīlān is between 25 and 105 km. wide. In the 10th-11th centuries the mountainous areas in the south of the region bore the name of Daylam [*q.v.*]; their inhabitants were often the enemies of the real natives of Gīlān. As the inhabitants see it, the area is divided by the Safīd-rud into two regions; "beyond the river and before the river"—Biya Pīsh in the east (land of the early Amardoi) and Biya Pas in the west (land of the Gelae). In the 19th century the area was divided into first four and then five regions. In 1938 the population was estimated at 450,000, mostly Shīʿī Persians (Gīlak and Tālish, particularly in the mountains) but also Jews, Armenians, and gypsies, who occupied an area of some 14,000 square km. In the middle ages the first capital was Dūlāb (= Gaskar (?) according to Muḳaddasī), then Fūman [*q.v.*] and Lāhīdjān [*q.v.*] according to Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, and finally, after Gīlān was incorporated in the Ṣafawī empire, Rasht [*q.v.*], which remained the capital under Nādir [*q.v.*] and to the present day. Since 1938 Gīlān has formed the administrative district of Rasht in the first canton (Ostān) of the empire of Īrān, linking the country with areas further south (see IRAN, with statistics and map).

Gīlān has a warm, damp, often tiring climate. Even in the middle ages, accordingly, its people were often to be seen dressed in only short trousers or "almost naked" (Ibn al-Athīr, Būlāḳ ed., viii, 77). The luxuriant forest provided (and still provides) the materials for the wooden houses with verandas (Iṣṭakhrī, 205, 211; Yāḳūt, i, 183) characteristic of Gīlān and Māzandarān [*q.v.*]. In the middle ages agriculture (which was a profitable pursuit) was left mainly to the women (*Ḥudūd*, 136 f.) and consisted chiefly of rice-growing and silkworm-breeding, which had been introduced by the Genoese; its products were exported to the Mediterranean area via Tana on the northern shores of the Black Sea as early as the 14th century (W. Heyd in *Zeitschrift für Staatswissenschaften*, xviii (1862), 692). In modern times tobacco has come to be grown. Fishing made an important contribution to the inhabitants' food supplies; admittedly in the middle ages most journeys across the Caspian Sea began from Ābaskūn [*q.v.*] and not from Gīlān as in modern times (cf. B. N. Zakhoder, *Povolž'e i Yu. V. Kaspiya* [*The Volga Basin and the south-eastern part of the Caspian Sea*], in *Folia Orientalia*, i/2, Warsaw 1959, 231-50). As for mineral resources, Gīlān possesses a certain amount of copper and lead.

As with all the area along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, the northern mountain-chain of the Iranian plateau and its climate have protected Gīlān from inland invaders (Arabs as well as Turks and Mongols) throughout the whole of its history. However, in 301/913-4 the Vikings (Rūs) made a successful attack from the sea (Masʿūdī, ii, 20-4; B. Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Petersburg 1875 (*Mem. Imp. Ac. of Sciences*, 7th Series, xxiii/1); idem, in *Quellen*, iv, p. IV f., 18) and in 1638 and 1667 the Cossacks followed their example in Rasht. The inhabitants of the country, particularly the Daylamīs [see DAYLAM], had a great influence (above all in the 10th century) on the history of their neighbours and even on the Caliphate (cf. BUWAYHIDS/BŪYIDS). Since Gīlān with her clans and her local rulers was nearly always independent, from the period of the Achaemenids and the Sasanians, the Zoroastrian faith and some Nestorian colonies could survive there for a long time (Thomas of Marga, *Book of the governors*, ed. E. A. W. Budge, London 1893, ii, 480; Jean Dauvillier, in *Mélanges Cavallera*, Toulouse 1948, 279, with bibliography). The doctrines of the Shīʿī Zaydīs penetrated into Gīlān from the neighbouring countries of Ṭabaristān [*q.v.*] and Māzandarān [*q.v.*] and brought the Nāṣirwand dynasty into the country (on the literary productions of the Zaydīs there see R. Strothmann, in *Isl.*, ii (1911), 60-3). Little more is known as to the details of the history of Gīlān in these centuries. The country came under the nominal rule of the states of the Ziyārids [*q.v.*], the Būyids and the Kākūids [*q.v.*] as well as the Great Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*]; on this see Ann K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 60. Hence Gīlān paid tribute, at least for a time (for details see Spuler, *Iran*, 469). In connexion with this development Sunnī Islam found general favour and even occasional helpers in some of the many dynasties which shared the country until the end of the 16th century. Christianity and Zoroastrianism faded away. (L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Les dynasties locales du Gîlân et du Daylam* in *JA*, ccxxxvii (1949), 301-50, gives a full account of these dynasties, which is too detailed to be reproduced here). In 706/1307 the Ilkhān Öldjeytü [*q.v.*] succeeded in forcing the country to acknowledge his overlordship, but its native dynasty remained. In the western part of the country at that time the *madhhab*s of the Ḥanbalīs and the less numerous Shāfiʿīs preponderated as did the now extinct *madhhab* of the historian and Ḳurʾān commentator al-Ṭabarī (who indeed came from this region). In the east the Zaydīs had remained (cf. Ḳāshānī, *Taʾrīkh*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., supp. persan, ms. 1419, fol. 38r to 49v; this manuscript is to be published by Professor Horký of Prague). From 762/1361 the Kār-Kiyā dynasty managed to seize the dominant position in Lāhīdjān and lost it only when Shāh ʿAbbās I incorporated Gīlān in the Ṣafawid state in 1000/1592. In 1060/1650

it was put under the direct rule of the central power (cf. Lambton, *op. cit.*, 108). Since then Gīlān has belonged to Persia, apart from the years between 1136/1724 and 1146/1734 when it was annexed by the Russians who, however, finally left it on account of its climate. From 1917 to 1921 the Bolsheviks tried to impose their rule on it; in the end they succeeded with the help of intermediaries in founding a Soviet republic of Gīlān (cf. Kurt Geyer, *Die Sowjetunion und Iran*, Tübingen 1955, 13-8, especially 14, note, sources and bibliography). All these attempts were finally brought to an end when Riḍa S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] took over the government and, later on, the throne.

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(B. SPULER)

AL-**GILDAKĪ** [see Supplement, s.v. AL-D̲J̲ILDAKĪ].

GILGIT [see Supplement; for the languages of the region, see DARDIC AND KĀFIR LANGUAGES, vi].

GIMBRI [see ḲONBUR].

GINUK̲H̲ [see DIDO].

GIPSIES [see ČINGĀNE, LŪRĪ, NŪRĪ, ZUṬṬ].

GIRAFFE [see ZARĀFA].

GIRĀY, cognomen borne by the members of the dynasty which ruled in the Crimea from the beginning of the 9th/15th century until 1197/1783. The family was descended from Tog̲h̲a Temür, a younger son of Čingiz K̲h̲ān's son D̲j̲oči. Möngke Temür, the K̲h̲ān of the Golden Horde (665/1267-679/1280), had granted the Crimea and Kafa as *nuntuk̲h̲* (appanage) to his son Urang Temür (Öreng Timur) (Abu 'l-G̲h̲āzī Bahādur K̲h̲ān, *Shedjere-i Türk*, St. Petersburg 1871, 173). During the civil wars which from 760/1359 onwards convulsed the domains of the Golden Horde, the descendants of Tog̲h̲a Temür joined in the struggle and laid claim to the K̲h̲ānate; they finally succeeded in establishing a state in the Crimea, independent of the other k̲h̲āns ruling at Ulug̲h̲ Yurt, the centre of the Golden Horde. There survives a coin of 796/1393-4 issued by Tas̲h̲-Temür in the Crimea in his own name, and another of 797/1394-5 with Tas̲h̲-Temür's name on one face and the name of Tok̲h̲tamīs̲h̲ K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] on the other (A. K. Markov, *Inventarniy Katalog musulmanskikh monetʾ Imperatorskago Ermitaža*, St. Petersburg 1896, p. 491, nos. 1239-40; Lane-Poole, *Cat.*, vi, p. 184, no. 558). In Tok̲h̲tamīs̲h̲'s struggles against Tīmūr and later against Edigü, the descendants of Tog̲h̲a Temür were always on the side of Tok̲h̲tamīs̲h̲, and were from time to time forced to relinquish control of the Crimea to k̲h̲āns supported by Edigü (for coins struck in the Crimea by Temür-Ḳutluḳ K̲h̲ān between 802/1399 and 810/1407 and by Pūlād K̲h̲ān in 811/1408 see Spuler, *Horde*, 140-1, notes 25, 32). Upon the death of Edigü in 822/1419, Tas̲h̲-Temür's son G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn gained control of the Crimea, where we find his brother Dewlet-Birdi ruling in 830/1427 (when he sent an embassy to the Mamlūk sultan Bārsbāy: ʿAynī, *ʿIḳd al-d̲j̲umān*, Bayazıd Public Lib., Istanbul, MS Veliyüddin 2369, *s.a.*). Henceforward the dynasty's efforts were concentrated on maintaining their hold on the Crimean peninsula and, when opportunity offered, on seizing Sarāy and thus acquiring the k̲h̲ānate of the Golden Horde.

According to local tradition in the Crimea (*al-Sabʿ al-sayyār* [see Bibl.], 72), G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn, in accordance with the customs of the Golden Horde (see *ʿUmdat al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 204), was brought up by his *atalïḳ* [*q.v.*], who belonged to the Kerey tribe, and later, out of respect for his *atalïḳ*, gave his first son the name Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Kerey; thereafter the members of this family bore the cognomen (*laḳab*) Kerey/Girāy.

According to G. Németh (*A Honfoglaló Magyarság Kialakulása*, Budapest 1930, 265-8), the name is composed of *ker*, 'giant', with the diminutive suffix *-ey*. As a name borne by various sections of the tribe, it is found among the Ḳazaḳs, the Türkmen, the Bas̲h̲d̲j̲irt, the Buriats and the Mongols, with various pronunciations: Kerey, Kirey, Kiray, plural: Kereit. When Čingiz K̲h̲ān defeated the powerful Kereit ruler Ong K̲h̲ān, some of the Kereit fled to the West, the rest being scattered among the Mongol tribes (*Secret history*, § 186; Turkish tr. by Ahmet Temir, Ankara 1948, 109; German tr. by E. Haenisch, Leipzig 1948, 74). Thus the Kereit, either fleeing before the Mongols or coming with them, were spread over a very wide area, as far west as the Crimea. Until recent times the Taraklï branch of the Uvak-Kirey led a nomad existence among the Ḳazaḳs in the valleys of the Irtish, the Sarı Su and the Chu (H. H. Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, ii, London 1876, 6, 11). The *tamg̲h̲a* of the K̲h̲āns of the Crimea (for its shape see the coins of Mengli Girāy in *Müze-i Hümāyūn*: *meskūkât ḳatalog̲h̲u*, 3rd section, Istanbul 1318/1900, 211, and *IA*, iv, 784b) was called *taraḳ tamg̲h̲a*.

The Kerey were one of the four main tribes (*kes̲h̲ik*) upon which the K̲h̲ānate of the Golden Horde depended. The Kerey, dwelling east of the Don and in the northern Caucasus, gave their support to Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Girāy. Only one of his sons, Mengli, used the cognomen Girāy, but it was borne by all Mengli's sons and descendants, and was assumed also by some of the begs of the S̲h̲irin who married into the ruling family (*ʿUmdat al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 200).

Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Girāy made an alliance with the Ottoman Sultan Meḥemmed II in 858/1454 [see ḤĀD̲J̲D̲J̲Ī GIRĀY], and this alliance was maintained by his successors. In 880/1475, called in by Eminek Mīrzā to assist him against the Genoese, who were stirring up internal troubles, the Ottomans responded immediately and occupied the Genoese fortresses in the southern Crimea; Mengli Girāy [*q.v.*], released from prison, was placed on the throne as a client of the Ottoman Sultan (H. İnalcık, *Yeni vesikalara göre Kırım Hanlığının Osmanlı tâbiliğine girmesi*, in *Belleten*, viii/30 (1944), 185-229).

At first, the Girāy rulers were in alliance with the Grand Dukes of Moscow, against the K̲h̲āns of the

Golden Horde (ruling at Sarāy and hoping to recover control of the Crimea), and against the Jagiellos of Poland. But after 926/1520, the khāns of the Crimea laid claim, as being the rightful heirs, to the patrimony of the Golden Horde, and when the Russians began to threaten Ḳazan embarked on an unrelenting struggle against them, which bore the character of a religious enterprise (*ghazā*). In 927/1521 Ṣāḥib Girāy [*q.v.*] became Khān of Ḳazan; three years later he went to Istanbul, being succeeded, until spring 938/1532, by Ṣafā Girāy (Hādī Aṭlāsī, *Ḳazan Khānlïghï*, Kazan 1913, 125-35). When in Rabīʿ I 939/October 1532 Ṣāḥib Girāy returned as Khān of the Crimea, he attacked the Russians, and after a long struggle the Girāy house were obliged to cede the Volga basin and the old capital of the Golden Horde, Takht-ili (Ulugh Yurt); Ḳazan was lost in 959/1552, Astrakhan in 961/1554. It is from this period onwards that the Girāy house, who had heretofore claimed to follow an independent policy, adopted Ottoman protection against the Russian threat, acting in ever closer cooperation with the Ottomans in the wars in Central Europe and against Persia [see ḳïrïm]. The first joint military enterprise had been the Moldavian campaign of 881/1476, the second was Süleymān I's Moldavian campaign of 945/1538.

The Ottomans recognized the Girāy house as their intermediaries in their political relations with northern powers: ambassadors of Poland and Russia would first present themselves at the court of the Khān and then proceed to the Porte.

Domains. The capital is referred to in Ḥādjdjī Girāy's *yarlïḳ* of 857/1453 as "Orda-i muʿaẓẓam Ḳïrḳ-yirde Sarāy" (see A. N. Kurat, *Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan Hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 62-80, plate 173-84). His coin of 845/1441 was struck at "Beldet-i Ḳïrïm", that of 847/1443 at "Ḳïrḳ-yir" (for these towns see V. D. Smirnov, *Krimskoye khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom ottomanskoy Porti do načala XVIII. veka*, Odessa 1887, 102-22). Under Mengli Girāy the palace was moved from the strong citadel at Ḳïrḳ-yir into the valley, to the site now called Baghčesāray (Simferopol). In the *yarlïḳ* Ḥādjdjī Girāy claims sovereignty over Taman, the Ḳïpčaḳ and Kabartay. In their *yarlïḳ*s the Girāy rulers give themselves the title '*Ulugh orda we Ulugh yurtnïñ we Desht-i Ḳïpčaḳnïñ ve Takht-i Ḳïrïmnïñ .... Čerkesnïñ ve Tat bile Tavghačnïñ Ulugh Pādishāhï we hem Ulugh Khānï*'. In the attempt to establish their sovereignty over the Desht-i Ḳïpčaḳ (the steppeland to the north of the Black Sea) and Circassia the Khāns had to engage in long struggles, achieving partial success particularly under Ṣāḥib Girāy I [*q.v.*]. Sultans of the Girāy family, with the title *Ser-ʿasker Sulṭān*, were sent to govern the Khānate's territories in Ḳuban, Budjaḳ and Yedisan. Like the khāns of the Golden Horde before them, the Khāns exacted an annual tribute of money and furs (known as *tïyïsh* and *bölek*) from the rulers of Russia and Poland. Since the Khāns always claimed sovereignty over the ports on the southern coast of the Crimea (Tat-ili), from 889/1484 onwards the Ottomans made them a yearly grant (*sāliyāne*) from the customs revenues of Kefe [*q.v.*] (a million and a half *akče*s annually). Meḥemmed Girāy I, and some later Khāns, attempted to establish direct control over these ports.

The dynasty first openly acknowledged the sovereignty of the Ottoman Sultan in Mengli Girāy's letter of Rabīʿ I 880/July 1475 (see H. İnalcık, *op. cit.*). Although the new relationship resulting from the strengthening of this sovereignty was later presented as arising from a special agreement, the texts adduced are clearly fabrications.

From Mengli Girāy onwards, the Khāns each had a *ḳalghay* [*q.v.*] (also *ḳaghalghay*) as *walī ʿahd*, 'heir apparent', and from 992/1584 also a second *walī ʿahd* known as *Nūr al-Dīn* (*Nuradin*). According to the *Ḳānūn-i Djengīzī* (*türe, yasa*), the *ḳalghay* should be the Khan's brother; when the throne fell vacant, the *ḳalghay* became Khān and the *Nūr al-Dīn* became *ḳalghay*. The attempts of some khāns to appoint their sons to these posts caused disturbances and civil war. When the tribal aristocracy of the Crimea [see ḳïrïm], following the *türe* and without reference to the Porte, appointed a *ḳalghay* as the new khān (as in the cases of Ghāzī Girāy I and Toḳtamïsh Girāy), the Ottoman Sultan withheld his recognition and fierce conflicts resulted, but in general the Porte was influenced in its choice by the claims of the existing *ḳalghay*. Of the forty khāns, 24 had been the *ḳalghay*, and five the *Nūr al-Dīn*.

From the time of Saʿādet Girāy (930/1524-938/1532) onwards, it became customary that one of the Khān's brothers should be sent to Istanbul as a hostage (Ferīdūn Beg, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*[1], ii, 167; Münedjdjim-bashï, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-akhbār*, ii, 699). Two of these hostages (Islām Girāy II and Bahādïr Girāy I) were sent to the Crimea as Khān. The Khān chosen received his diploma direct from the hand of the Ottoman Sultan and was presented with the *khānlïḳ teshrīfātï* (a sword, a banner, a *ḳalpaḳ* with a jewelled *sorghuč* and a sable robe) (see *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, ii, 131, 683). When there was a campaign, the Sultan sent the Khān a gift of 40,000 gold pieces, known as *čizme-bahā*, which was distributed to the Khān's household troops and to the *mïrzā*s. The Sultan could depose, imprison or exile the Khān; occasionally the Khān was executed. When a Khān had to be appointed, the Porte usually came to an agreement with the Shirin Begi, the leader of the Crimean tribal aristocracy. When a Khān succeeded to the throne, the hostage, together with other members of the dynasty who found themselves in danger, entered the Ottoman domains and were installed in *čiftlik*s in various parts of Rūmeli (Islimye, Yanbolu, Tekirdaghï, Čataldja). When the succession to the Ottoman throne was threatened, the Girāy family was regarded as having a claim to it (*e.g.*, in the revolution of 1098/1687, see *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, ii, 630).

The branch of the family known as Čoban Girāylar arose at the end of the 10th/16th century. The *ḳalghay* Fetḥ Girāy, in return for ransom, sent back to her country the daughter of a Polish boyar who had been captured; on the way, the girl gave birth to a son, but Fetḥ Girāy refused to acknowledge the child as his and tried to have it killed. A certain Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed, who was travelling with the girl, hid the child in Moldavia and, when Fetḥ Girāy was killed in 1004/1596, brought him to the Crimea. He was appointed *Nūr al-Dīn*, with the name Dewlet Girāy; his descendants were called (pejoratively) 'Čoban Girāylar'. Although one of this line, ʿĀdil Girāy, was appointed Khān (1075/1665-1081/1670), the later Khāns denied that this branch was of royal blood and gave no further offices to its members.

By article 3 of the Ottoman-Russian treaty of Küčük Kaynardja (8 Djumādā I 1188/17 July 1774), each signatory recognized the independence of the Girāy house, but on 20 Shaʿbān 1197/21 July 1783 the Russians occupied and annexed the Crimea. In 1199/1785 the Ottomans considered appointing a member of the house as Khān over the Tatar

tribes in Budjak (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 142); in 1201/1787, when war was declared on Russia, this plan was put into effect and Shahbāz Girāy, with the title of Khān, and later Bakht Girāy fought in the Ottoman ranks at the head of the Tatars of Budjak. By article 6 of the treaty of Jassy (Yash), in 1206/1792, the Ottomans recognized the Russian annexation of the Crimea.

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GIRESUN, a town on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia about 110 miles west of Trabzon, the principal town of a *vilayet*, with a population (1960) of 19,902. It is the Kerasos of antiquity (for the classical names and their possible permutations see A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, Hanover 1923, 405); threatened by the Turks from the 8th/14th century onwards, it came under Ottoman control with the Empire of Trebizond. The town has a favourable site on a peninsula of basaltic lava (tombolo) on which is built the acropolis, sheltering a small natural harbour, with an island nearby, the Ares of antiquity, now Giresun adası. The fortress was however of no great strength, and the town which spread out below it was exposed in the 17th century to the raids of the Cossacks (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 70). Kerasos is said to have given its name to the cherry, introduced to Rome by Lucullus after his victory over Mithridates, but the cherry trees, which were still numerous in the region until the 19th century (W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 265) have been replaced by hazel-nut trees whose fruit is more easily stored and transported and for which Giresun is today the most important centre of preparation, trade and export, a position confirmed in 1961 by the completion of an artificial harbour enabling ships to come alongside the quay (trade about 1 million tons).

Bibliography: apart from the works cited, see *İA*, s.v. (B. Darkot); on the hazel-nut region of Giresun, X. de Planhol, *A travers les chaînes pontiques, plantations côtières et vie montagnarde*, in *Bulletin de l'Association de Géographes Français*, 1963, 2-11. (X. DE PLANHOL)

GIRGĀ, (Djirdjā; an obsolete form Dadjirdjā is also found), a town and province of Upper Egypt. The name is said to be derived from a monastery of St. George (V. Denon, tr. A. Aikin, *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, London 1803, ii, 25). The town originated in the late 8th/14th century as the tribal centre of Hawwāra [*q.v.*], who dominated Upper Egypt for the following two centuries. About 983/1576, the power of this tribe was broken, and Girgā became the seat of the governor of Upper Egypt, who was also *kāshif* of the Girgā district. The governors, who are variously referred to as *ḥākim al-Ṣaʿīd*, *amīr al-Ṣaʿīd*, and *bak Djirdjā*, belonged to the neo-Mamlūk élite, and frequently intervened in the factional struggles in Cairo. The *kāshiflik* of Girgā is represented today by the *mudīriyya* of the same name, although for some time after 1239/1823-4, in consequence of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's administrative experiments, it was absorbed in a larger territorial unit. In 1859, Sōhāg (Sūhādj) took the place of Girgā as the provincial capital.

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GIRGENTI [see DJIRDJENT].

GIRISHK, a town of ca. 10,000 inhabitants, altitude 865 metres/2830 ft, on the Helmand River in present Afghanistan.

Girishk is not mentioned in sources before the time of Nādir Shāh, when he captured the citadel in 1737, but a fort probably had guarded the passage of the river at this site for a long time before this date. In the 19th century Girishk was the centre of the Barakzai Afghans, and as such assumed a new importance. The site was of strategic importance and Girishk played a role several times during the troubles of the 19th century.

At present the town is an important centre for the irrigation of the Helmand basin.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 346; S. K. Rishtiya, *Afganistan v XIX veke*, trans. into Russian, Moscow 1958, index; D. Wilber, *Afghanistan*, New Haven, Conn. 1954, index. (R. N. FRYE)

GIRIT [see IḲRĪTISH].

GĪSŪ DARĀZ, SAYYID MUḤAMMAD GĪSŪ DARĀZ, a celebrated Čishtī saint of the Deccan, was born at Delhi on 4 Radjab 721/30 July 1321. His ancestors originally came from Harāt, from where they migrated to India and settled at Delhi. His father, Sayyid Yūsuf Ḥusaynī *alias* Sayyid Rādjā, was a disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ [*q.v.*]. Gīsū Darāz was a small child when Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725/1325-752/1351) embarked upon his Deccan experiment and forced the *ʿulamāʾ* and *mashāʾikh* of Delhi to migrate to Dawlatābād. Sayyid Rādjā left Delhi under duress and settled at Dawlatābād, where he died in 731/1330. In 735/1335-6 Gīsū Darāz left Dawlatābād with his widowed mother and returned to Delhi. He completed his study of the external sciences (*ʿulūm-i ẓāhir*) under Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Kaythalī, Mawlānā Tādj al-Dīn Bahādur and Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Muḳtadir. His search for a spiritual master brought him to Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh [*q.v.*], whom he served for years with single-minded devotion, and from whom he received the *khilāfa* and the title of Gīsū Darāz ('one possessing long locks of hair').

When Timur turned towards India (800/1398), Gīsū Darāz hastened to quit Delhi. He stayed for some time in Gwāliyār and then left for Gudjarāt where he was the guest of Khwādja Rukn al-Dīn Kān-i Shakar. Later he migrated to Gulbargā and finally settled there. Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī (800/1397-

825/1421) accorded him a warm welcome (no. 39 in the collection of his letters is addressed to the Sultan), but he could not enjoy the saint's confidence for long. According to Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī, it was his association with philosophers and the philosophic bent of his mind which alienated the saint from him. His successor, Sultan Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī (825/1421-838/1435), however, succeeded in winning the golden opinion of Gīsū Darāz. According to the *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, the saint exercised a profound influence on his life. Gīsū Darāz died at Gulbargā on 16 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 825/1 November 1422. Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī built a magnificent tomb over his grave. Hundreds of thousands of people gather there on the occasion of his *ʿurs* celebrations. The *dargāh* management now runs a publishing house, a monthly journal, a library and several schools and *madrasas*, including one for girls.

Gīsū Darāz was a profound scholar and a prolific writer. He was well-versed in the studies of the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* and *taṣawwuf*, and knew several languages, including Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and Hindi. He was fully conversant with Hindū folklore and mythology and used to discuss religious problems with the Hindu *yogīs* and scholars (*Djawāmiʿ al-kalim*, 118-9). He had correspondence and contact with eminent contemporary saints, such as Sayyid Muḥammad Ashraf Djahāngīr Samnānī and Masʿūd Bakk. He expounded the Čishtī mystic principles in the Deccan and produced a large number of works on different branches of the religious sciences. It is said that the number of his writings corresponds with the number of years he lived (*i.e.*, 105). No Indo-Muslim Čishtī saint has so many literary works to his credit.

Of the works produced by Gīsū Darāz, the following are particularly noteworthy: (A) Exegesis: (i) a mystical commentary on the Ḳurʾān (MS with Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusaynī, *sadjdjāda nashīn*, Gulbarga); (ii) another incomplete commentary on the lines of the *Kashshāf*. (B) *Ḥadīth*: (iii) a commentary on the *Mashariḳ al-anwār*; (iv) Persian translation of the *Mashāriḳ*. (C) *Fiḳh*: (v) *Sharḥ al-Fiḳh al-akbar*, edited by ʿAṭā Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād 1367. (D) *Taṣawwuf*: (vi) *Maʿārif*, an Arabic commentary on the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (MS in three volumes with the *sadjdjāda nashīn*, Gulbarga); (vii) Commentary on *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* in Persian (MS in two volumes with the *sadjdjāda nashīn*, Gulbarga); (viii) *Sharḥ Taʿarruf*, commentary on the *Taʿarruf* of Shaykh Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Bukhārī; (ix) *Sharḥ Ādāb al-murīdīn*, Arabic commentary on the *Ādāb al-murīdīn* of Shaykh Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Nadjīb ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir Suhrawardī; (x) Persian translation of *Ādāb al-murīdīn*; (xi) Commentary on the *Fuṣūs al-ḥikam* (this work is not extant, but from references to Ibn al-ʿArabī found in *Maktūbāt* (p. 22), *Khātima* (pp. 18-9) and *Djawāmiʿ al-kalim* (p. 99) it appears that he did not agree with his views); (xii) *Sharḥ Tamhīdāt*, a Persian commentary on the *Tamhīdāt* of ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadānī, edited by S. ʿAṭā Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād 1364; (xiii) *Sharḥ Risāla-i Ḳushayriyya*, Persian commentary on the *Risāla* of Ḳushayrī, ed. S. ʿAṭā Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād 1361; (xiv) *Sharḥ Risāla-i Ḳushayriyya*, in Arabic; (xv) *Ḥazāʾir al-Ḳuds* or *ʿIshḳ-nāma*, edited by S. ʿAṭā Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād; (xvi) *Asmār al-Asrār*, edited by S. ʿAṭā Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād 1350 (commentary on a section of this work by Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn son of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī in *Madjmūʿ Tisʿ Rasāʾil*, Delhi 1314); (xvii) *Khātima*, edited by S. ʿAṭā Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād 1356; (xviii) *Maktūbāt*, edited by ʿAṭā Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād 1362 (contains 66 letters; the As. Soc. of Bengal MS 1232 contains 61 only); (xix) *Madjmūʿa-i Yāzda Rasāʾil*, edited by S. ʿAṭā Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād 1360 (*risāla* 5 in this collection has been wrongly attributed to Gīsū Darāz; it was written by Imām Muẓaffar Balkhī); (xx) *Djawāhir-i ʿushshāḳ*, commentary on a *risāla* of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Gīlānī, edited by S. ʿAṭā Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād 1362; (xxi) *Anīs al-ʿushshāḳ*, collection of poems, ed. S. ʿAṭā Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād 1360.

Two early works—(I) *Miʿrādj al-ʿashiḳīn*, (editions prepared by (i) Dr. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Delhi, (ii) Dr. Gopī Čand Nārang, Delhi, (iii) Khalīḳ Andjum, Delhī, (iv) Taḥsīn Sarwarī, (v) Dr. Nadhīr Aḥmad, ʿAlīgarh (typescript)) and (II) *Shikār nāma* (editions: (i) Mubāriz al-Dīn Rafʿat, Ḥaydarābād, (ii) Thamīna Shawkat, Ḥaydarābād)—are also attributed to Gīsū Darāz but no convincing internal or external evidence has so far been put forward to establish the attribution.

Though these works are mostly in the nature of commentaries and summaries of earlier mystic classics, they are not wholly devoid of originality. Gīsū Darāz did not always conform to the traditional approach; in fact he had, as Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith of Delhi has remarked, a peculiar *mashrab* of his own. He was critical of both Ibn al-ʿArabī and ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadānī. He did not agree with the author of the *Taʿarruf* that a mystic cannot have the vision of God (*ruʾyat*) here in this world. He did not permit his disciples to adopt indiscriminately the practices of the *yogīs*. He was particularly fond of the *Ādāb al-murīdīn* and the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, since they were of great value for one who wanted to organize *khānḳāh* life in lands without any deep mystic tradition. There is a desire in his works to bridge the gulf between *sharīʿa* and *ṭariḳa*, which he considered complementary rather than contradictory to each other. He explained some of the much-criticized practices of the Čishtīs (*e.g.*, prostration before the *pīr* and audition parties) in such a way that orthodox opposition to them was toned down. Great as an organizer, erudite as a scholar, Gīsū Darāz did not, however, succeed in maintaining the pan-Indian character of the Čishtī *sadjdjāda* which he occupied. The era of the great Čishtī *Shaykhs* of the first cycle ended with his master, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh of Delhi.

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(K. A. NIZAMI)

GIZA, GIZEH [see AL-ḲĀHIRA].

GLASS [see ZUDJĀDJ].

GLĀWĀ, Arabicized form of the Berber Igliwa (sing. *glāwī*). Berber tribe of Morocco, belonging to the linguistic group of the *tashalḥit*. Population (1940) about 25,000 including 1600 Jews. Their territory, which straddles the centre of the High Atlas chain, is crossed by the ancient road which, at an altitude of 2260 metres/7400 feet, passes over the Tishka col, and which, from earliest antiquity, has provided communication between southern Morocco and the great palm-groves of the Wādī Darʿa. Although the tribe considers itself to be of Maṣmūdī origin, its native chiefs trace their origin to the marabout Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, the patron saint of the Moroccan town of Safi. With heads uncovered but with a black band round their foreheads, the Glāwā formerly wore the *akhnif*, a short burnous of black wool, woven in one piece, with a large red or orange medallion on the back. The Glāwā do not weave carpets; it is thus in error that their name has been given to the greatly prized products of the large neighbouring confederation of the Ayt-Wawzgit (Djabal Sirwā). The tribe achieved notoriety in the 19th century through the association of its chiefs with the penetration of the Sharīfī *makhzan* in the Atlas. Two personalities should be mentioned; the second of them became internationally known.

(1) Glāwī Madanī, born about 1863, was the son of the *amghar* [*q.v.*] Muḥammad Ibibat, whom he succeeded in 1886. The skilful way in which, in November 1893, he welcomed in his *ḳaṣaba* of Telwet (Tlwat) the old ruler Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, whose army was in difficulties in the Atlas because of cold, was the beginning of his success; he received as reward the title of *Khalīfa* for the Tafilalet and was given rifles and a cannon. He was to put these arms to good use for his policy of conquering the neighbouring tribes, and to become one of the great *ḳā'id*s of the Atlas. In 1902 he was nominated leader of the *djīsh* of Taza and was wounded and defeated by the agitator Bū Ḥmāra [*q.v.*]; he had to seek refuge in Algeria, whence the French procured his repatriation and that of his followers to Tangiers. His success was confirmed when, after having supported the claims of Mawlāy al-Ḥāfiẓ against his brother Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he succeeded, after his protégé had become sultan, in getting himself appointed as grand vizier of the Sharīfī government (14 June 1908). He used his power to impose his authority over vast territories, situated between Wādī Tensift and Wādī Darʿa. He fell from favour on 26 May 1911, played an active part during the temporary occupation of Marrākush by the "Blue Sultan" al-Hiba in 1912, and managed with difficulty to join the French. In 1913, with the accession of Mawlāy Yūsuf, he was restored to his high office and built an imposing palace at Marrākush where he died suddenly on 13 August 1918.

(2) Glāwī Tihāmī, the younger brother of Glāwī Madanī, who appointed him pasha of the town of Marrākush by a *ẓahīr* of 8 July 1909. He shared in his brother's disgrace in 1911 but was restored to office at the time of the French occupation of Marrākush, in September 1912. When his brother died he succeeded him in his high office and, with the help of his son, held the double appointment until his death. A courageous and experienced warrior and a devout Muslim (he twice performed the Pilgrimage), this harsh ruler kept the tribes and the town which he governed in fear and in poverty, but also in peace. Settled at Marrākush, in the triple palace which he had built for himself, he loved to offer extravagant hospitality to illustrious guests from all parts of the world, who would then proclaim afar his power, his generosity and his political acumen, thus contributing to the rise of tourism in Morocco. During the war of 1939-45 he was unshakeably faithful to the Allied cause and one of his sons, an officer in the French army, was killed in Italy. In 1953 he led a conspiracy of Berbers and Marabouts which resulted in the expulsion of the sultan Sayyidī Muḥammad. When the latter returned, in November 1956, he obtained *amān*, and died in his palace on Monday 23 January 1957.

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(G. DEVERDUN)

GOA [see HIND-iv and ṢINDĀBŪR].

GOD [see ALLĀH].

GODOBERI [see ANDI].

GOG AND MAGOG [see YĀDJŪDJ WA-MĀDJŪDJ].

GOGO [see GAO].

GÖK TEPE (Turkish "blue hill"), transcribed in Russian "Geok Tepe", a fort in the oasis of the Akhal-Teke [*q.v.*] Turkmen, on the Sasīk su (Sasīk Āb), situated about 45 km. west of ʿAshkābād, today in the Soviet Republic of Turkmenistān. It consists

of a series of isolated places, one of which, Dengil Tepe ($4^1/_2$ km. in circumference), was defended from 1 until 24 Jan. 1881 (new style) by about 12,000 Akhal-Teke Turkmen [see TEKE] against the Russians under General Mikhaïl Dmitrievič Skobelev (about 8,000 Caucasians and Turkestanis). Both sides suffered heavy losses, and after the capture of the fort, the majority of the Turkmen defenders were slain during four days of looting, or as they fled. Later, the Russians set up a new fort in a similar oasis, near Dengil Tepe; since 1883 the Trans-Caspian Railway has also reached this place in which a museum commemorates the battle.

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(B. SPULER)

GÖKALP, ZIYA, Turkish thinker, born Meḥmed Ḍiyā' (Ziya) at Diyārbakr in 1875 or 1876 and known by his pen name after 1911. Ziya became acquainted with the Young Ottoman ideas of patriotism and constitutionalism through his father, who died having entered him in the modern high school to learn modern sciences and French. From his uncle he learned Arabic, Persian, and the traditional Muslim sciences and became acquainted with the works of the Muslim theologians, philosophers, and mystics. The clash of orthodoxy, mysticism and modern science in his mind, heightened by the uncle's opposition to his aspirations for a higher education in Istanbul, led Ziya to attempt suicide from which he was saved by his elder fellow-townsman Dr. ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet [*q.v.*]. His subsequent career was an intellectual sublimation of his struggles between the three influences, and may be separated into three phases.

His liberal and revolutionary phase began with his coming to Istanbul to attend the school of veterinary medicine, and entrance into the secret Society of Union and Progress. He was arrested in 1897, sentenced to one year of imprisonment, and exiled back to Diyārbakr.

Following the Revolution of 1908, Ziya became the leading Ottomanist liberal writer and lecturer in Diyārbakr. His change into an idealist populist and nationalist, marking the second phase of his career, occurred in Salonika where he went in 1909 as a delegate to the convention of the Union and Progress and remained, having been elected to its central committee. He became associated with a group of young writers connected with the periodicals *Genč Ḳalemler* (Young Pens) and *Yeni Felsefe Medjmūʿasi* (New Philosophical Review) who were interested in the democratization of the language and literature, and in the development of a new ideology to serve as a guide in the social transformation believed to have been begun by the Revolution of 1908. The group crystallized two tendencies, one materialistic and socialistic and the other idealistic and nationalistic. Gökalp became the leader of the second while the first soon disappeared.

From 1912 to 1919, Gökalp lived in Istanbul, this being the most influential phase of his career. His acquaintance with émigré intellectiuals from Kazan, the Crimea, and Azerbaijan gave a more pan-Turkist colouring to his nationalism, though he did not subscribe to their racist tendencies. He remained primarily the nationalist ideologist of the Turks of the Ottoman Empire, who he believed had to cultivate national consciousness in face of the challenges of the non-Turkish nationalities of the dissolving empire. His key concept was that of "culture" as distinct from "civilization", and defined as the values and institutions distinguishing one nation from others comprised in a common civilization. The Turkish nation would emerge by a transference from the orbit of Eastern to that of Western civilization. In that transformation those elements of Islam that had become part and parcel of the Turkish culture would remain as a living spiritual force. The Turkish nation would be Westernized in so far as it succeeded in harmonizing modern civilization with its own culture and faith. In a series of articles and through his lectures as professor of sociology at the University of Istanbul he elaborated his approach, to demonstrate its application to the reforms needed in education, language, family, law, economy, and religion.

Following the end of World War I, Gökalp was exiled by the British to Malta together with several Turkish statesmen and intellectuals. Upon his release in 1921 he joined the national movement led by Mustafa Kemal. Though he fully supported the Kemalist reforms, he did not attain the position of foremost ideologist of the more radical Kemalist régime. He died in 1924, while a member of the Grand National Assembly.

Gökalp wrote poetry, but was primarily an essayist. His only book, *Türk medeniyeti ta'rīkhi* (The History of Turkish Civilization) which he began shortly before his death, remained unfinished; one volume, covering the pre-Islamic period, was published posthumously (Istanbul 1341). He attained nationwide fame as a thinker, but some of his ideas were overshadowed by the Kemalist reforms, some were distorted by the anti-Kemalist Pan-Turkists, while others were rejected after his death. The establishment of modern Turkey as a secular nation-state is greatly indebted to the orientation prepared by Gökalp's ideas. One of his inadvertent influences has been outside Turkey: Sāṭiʿ al-Huṣrī, who was one of his liberal opponents until he left Turkey in 1919 to join the Arab national movement, seems to have appropriated Gökalp's theory of nationalism, his social philosophy, his secularism, and his concept of national education.

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(Niyazi Berkes)

GÖKČAY [see gökče].

GÖKČE-TENGIZ, Gökče-göl or Gökče-deniz; otherwise Sevan, from Armenian *Sew-vank*, 'Black monastery'; a great lake in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, approx. 40° 20° N and 45′ 30′ E. Triangular in shape, Lake Gökče lies 6,000 feet/1830 metres above sea level and is surrounded by barren mountains; its area was formerly reckoned at 540 sq. miles and maximum depth 67 fathoms, but the level of the lake is being systematically lowered in connexion with the important system of hydro-electric stations on the river Zanga, which flows from the lake into the river Aras, and supplies a large part of the energy requirements of Soviet Armenia. A lava island (now peninsula) at the north-west corner is surmounted by two ancient Armenian monasteries, the monks of which were much persecuted following the Arab conquest in the 1st/7th century (cf. J. Muyldermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie*, Louvain 1927, 95). Lake Gökče is scarcely mentioned in Islamic sources prior to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*], but subsequently features in the accounts of Ottoman-Persian conflicts in this area, as well as during the Russian conquest of Transcaucasia early in the 19th century. The lake is famous for its succulent fish, particularly a trout called *ishkhan*, which form the basis of an important industry. Lake Gökče is not to be confused with several rivers called Gökčay ('Blue stream'), *e.g.*, one in Shīrwān, another in Anatolia between Sivas and Kayseri.

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GÖKLÄN, a Turkmen tribe mainly inhabiting the country round Bojnurd in northern Persia, but with some elements in the Turkmen SSR and the Kara-Kalpak ASSR of the Soviet Union. The number in Persia is difficult to determine but is probably about 60,000. Soviet sources now tend to avoid tribal distinctions, but according to the 1926 census there were 17,000 Göklän in the Kara-Kala district of the Turkmen SSR (South of Kizyl-Arvat) and some 38,000 in the area lying between Il'yaly (S. of Khodzheyli) and Turtkul' in the Kara-Kalpak SSR. The tribe was formerly divided into a number of clans (Čakur, Kirik, Bayandïr, Ḳayi, Yangak, Saghrï, Ḳara-Balkan, Ay-Derwīsh, Erkekli, Sheykh Khodja) only traces of which now remain. The Göklän appear never to have been nomads, being occupied mainly with silk and more recently with cotton growing. Those in the Kara-Kala district are mostly market gardeners. They were in the past traditional enemies of the large Yomud and Teke tribes and were wont to side with the Russians during the latter's campaigns in the Turkmen country in the last quarter of the 19th century. They are nominally Muslim by religion.

Bibliography: R. Rahmeti Arat, article 'Göklen' in *IA*. For earlier details: E. Schuyler, *Turkistan*, ii, 382; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, 212 f. For later information: Tokarev, *Ethnography of the peoples of the USSR* (in Russian), 356, and *Soviet Encyclopaedia*², ii, 587. (G. E. Wheeler)

GÖKSU, literally 'blue water', name given by the Turks to numerous rivers or streams, notably (1) one of the two small rivers flowing into the Bosphorus, by the confluence of which were the pleasure gardens between Kandilli and Anadolu hisarı called 'The Sweet Waters of Asia', a place particularly frequented in the 19th century by Ottoman and Levantine society; (2) the great river (168 miles/270 km long, drainage basin of 4000 square miles/10,350 sq. km) of Cilicia Trachea, the ancient Kalykadnos, the course of which occupies the axis of a large sedimentary marine miocene basin, corresponding to a saddle in the arc of the central Taurus. The regime, pluvio-nival, is that of Mediterranean regions, slightly modified by the retention of water in the Karst. In antiquity it was used for navigation (Ammianus Marcellinus, XIV, 2, 15; 8, 1); it has always been used for floating timber, and recently for the irrigation of the delta plain of Silifke (Saysulak barrage) and for hydro-electric power (two barrages on the upper left branch producing 18 million KW per hour).

Bibliography: in general see *İA*, s.v. (B. Darkot); for (1), *İA*, s.v. Boğaziçi, col. 690a; for (2) description of the course in H. Saraçoğlu, *Türkiye coğrafyası üzerine etüdler II: Bitki örtüsü, akarsular ve göller*, Istanbul 1962, 178-83; regime in I. H. Akyol, *Régime des cours d'eau méditerranéens de l'Asie Mineure, Congrès International de Géographie*, Lisbon 1949, ii, 330. (X. de Planhol)

GÖKSUN, also göksün, a small town in south-eastern Turkey, the ancient Kokussos, W. Armenian Goglson, now the chef-lieu of an *ilçe* of the *vilâyet* of Maraş, pop. (1960) 3697. It is the 'Cocson', 'Coxon', where the army of the First Crusade rested for three days in the autumn of 1097 (see *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, i, Philadelphia 1955, 297-8).

Bibliography: *İA*, *s.v.* Göksun (by Besim Darkot), with full bibliography. (Ed.)

GOLD [see dhahab].

GOLD COAST [see ghana].

GOLDEN HORDE [see bātū'ids, ḳipčaḳ, sarāy].

al-**GOLEA** [see al-ḳulayʿa].

GOLETTA [see ḥalḳ al-wādi].

GOLIATH [see djālūt].

GOLKONḌĀ, renamed Muḥammadnagar by Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk, the founder of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī [*q.v.*] dynasty, a hill fort about five miles west of Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) [*q.v.*], is situated in 17° 23′ N., 78° 24′ E. The hill rises majestically in a vast boulderstrewn plain. The site is a natural one for the construction of fortifications, as the summit,

called Bālā Ḥiṣār or acropolis, is about four hundred feet above ground level and commands the whole countryside. The name, Golkonḍā, is derived from two Telugu words, *golla* (shepherd) and *konḍa* (hill). There is no doubt that part of the fortifications go back to pre-Muslim times, for certain constructions, such as a wall by the side of the Fatḥ Darwāza, are built of huge granite blocks piled one upon the other, which is characteristic of pre-Muslim citadels of Āndhra Pradesh such as parts of the historic fort of Konḍāpallī. Golkonḍā was ceded to Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī by the Rādjā of Warangal in 764/1363, but did not become the capital of the *ṭaraf* or province (later, kingdom) of Tilang-Āndhra till the governorship of Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk in 900/1494-5. Golkonḍā's glories were rivalled by the foundation of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] in 1000/1591-2. In the heyday of its history Golkonḍā was the centre of trade and commerce where travellers, architects, calligraphers, learned men and men of the world thronged, and this inevitably resulted in a vast increase in the population of the walled city which led to the foundation of the new "City of Ḥaydar". Golkonḍā, however, remained the emporium and centre of the diamond trade of the Orient.

The fortifications of the city and the Bālā Ḥisār are threefold. The outermost circumvallation, which protects the whole city, is about 8,000 yards in circumference, enclosing a vast area, more or less oval in shape, with the rectangular *nayā-ḳilʿa*, "new fort", constructed in 1624, jutting out rather abruptly to the north-east. This wall, which is crenellated throughout, rises to an average of 55 feet, with 8 strong gates and 87 bastions, each with its own name. Four gates are still open: the Fatḥ Darwāza or "Victory gate" (through which the conquering army of Awrangzīb entered the city), the Makkī Darwāza, "Mecca gate", completed 967/1590, the Bandjāra Darwāza leading to the Ḳuṭb Shāhī tombs (which form a majestic sky-line in the neighbourhood), and the Mōtī Darwāza, "pearl gate". A very interesting bastion is the Naw Burdjī, "nine-lobed", which juts out of the defensive wall of the *nayā ḳilʿa* in a corrugated form, perhaps intended to provide a greater field for defence in all directions (but see Burton-Page in *BSOAS*, xxiii/3 (1960), 520). For other bastions see BURDJ, iii.

About 900 yds. above the Fatḥ Darwāza is the Bālā Ḥisār Darwāza, "acropolis gate", the entrance to the second line of defending walls. A short distance to the north of this gate is the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, erected by Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk in 924/1518, in which he was assassinated some 25 years later. From this gate the road upwards is very steep, with hundreds of steps with recesses for resting. Half-way up the hill run the double walls which constitute the third line of defence. On the left are palaces, women's apartments, mosques, arsenals, offices, granaries, magazines, and on the right, open ground, parks and groves, wherever a space could be found for them. Before the Bālā Ḥiṣār proper is a well-preserved mosque reputedly erected by Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb Shāh, and within a few yards of the Throne Room and the acropolis proper is an ancient Hindū temple which was renovated by the Brāhmin ministers of the last Ḳuṭb Shāhī king. There is another very steep path, also served by a number of irregular steps, connecting the lower palaces with the Bālā Ḥiṣār, and by the side of this can be seen the system of raising water from the ground level to the topmost citadel. There is a series of tanks, at different levels; the water was raised by teams of oxen at each level pulling huge leather buckets by rope and pulley and pouring it into the higher cistern. The waste water was brought down through earthen pipes which still exist.

The Bālā Ḥiṣār Darwāza is remarkable not merely for its mantlet but also for the figures and emblems of Hindū mythology which are worked in stucco between the arch and the lintel. Perhaps an even more remarkable structure is a small gateway piercing the penultimate fortification. It is a pillar and lintel gate surmounted by a fairly flat arch. In the centre of the broad stone lintel is a beautiful circular medallion with the lotus motif flanked by mythical figures of Yālī, half dog and half lion, and swans with snake-like worms in their beaks. Above the lintel is a simple pointed alcove surrounded by representations of lion-cubs, peacocks and parrots. The whole composition symbolizes the synthesized Indo-Muslim culture of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī period.

The Golkonḍā tombs, standing outside the fort to the north-west, are a group of some twenty buildings seven of which are tombs of the kings. Their appearance is uniform: typically a square building with an arcaded lower storey, supported on a massive plinth which may itself be arcaded; the lower storey bears a crenellated parapet with a small *mīnār* at each corner, and centrally a tall drum, which may be arcaded and balustraded, supporting a single dome arising from a band of petal-like foliations as in the Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*] domes. The grey granite is usually covered with stucco and with encaustic tiles. The projecting cornices are elaborately worked with plaster designs; this, and the addition of miniature decorative arcaded galleries encircling the *mīnārs*, are characteristic of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī buildings here and at Ḥaydarābād. An important early building in the group is the mortuary where the bodies were washed, the arches of which continue the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] style. For illustrations of these buildings see HIND, Architecture.

The city of Golkonḍā was the most important mart for diamonds in Asia, as described by, *e.g.*, Marco Polo in 1292, Nicolo Conti in 1420, Tavernier in 1651, and it was here that diamonds were cut, polished and shaped and then exported to all parts of the world.

Bibliography: S. Toy, *The strongholds of India*, London 1957, detailed review and comment by J. Burton-Page in *BSOAS*, xxiii/3 (1960), 508-22; S. H. Bilgrami and Willmott, *Historical and descriptive sketches of His Highness the Nizam's dominions*; Ali Asgher Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, Hyderabad 1927; G. Yazdani, *Inscriptions in Golconda Fort*, in *EIM*, 1913-4, 47-59; idem, *Inscriptions in the Golconda tombs*, in *EIM*, 1915-6, 19-40; Sen, *The Indian travels of Thevenot and Carreri*; *Travels in India* by J. B. Tavernier, translated by V. Ball, Oxford 1925; Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, 5 vols., 1912-25; H. K. Sherwani, articles on the Ḳuṭb Shāhī dynasty in *JIH*, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1960, 1962; idem, in *IC*, 1957; idem, in *J.Pak.Hist.S.*, 1957, 1958, 1962. (H. K. SHERWANI)

GOMBROON, GOMBRUN [see BANDAR ʿABBĀS].

GONDAR [see ḤABASH].

GONDĒSHĀPŪR, (Arabic form Djundaysābūr) a town in Khūzistān founded by the Sāsānid Shāpūr I (whence the name *wandēw Shāpūr* "acquired by Shāpūr", cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der*

Perser, 41, n. 2), who settled it with Greek prisoners. It is the town known as Bēth-Lāpāt in Syriac, corrupted to Bēl-Ābādh, now almost unrecognizable in the form *nīlāb* and *nīlāṭ*; the site is marked at the present day by the ruins of Shāhābād (cf. Rawlinson in the *Journ. of the Royal Geogr. Soc.*, ix, 72; de Bode, *Travels in Luristan*, ii, 167). The town was taken by the Muslims in the caliphate of ʿUmar by Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī in 17/738, after the occupation of Tustar; it was surrendered on terms (Balādhurī, 328). Sayf b. ʿUmar's story in Ṭabarī, i, 2567, and Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 432, according to which the fall of the town was the result of a forgery made by the slave Mukthif, seems to be a romantic fiction. The skin of Mani [*q.v.*] was hung on a gate of the city. Gondēshāpūr was the capital of Yaʿḳūb b. Layth al-Ṣaffār (262-3/875-7), who died there in 265/878. In Yāḳūt's time only a few ruins marked the site of the town (ii, 130).

Bibliography: Al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 191; Barbier de Meynard, *Diction. géogr. de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 169 f.; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber*, 40-2; Brockelmann, I, 201; Ṭabarī, i, 2567; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 201, 213, 231; Wüstenfeld, *Jacut's Reise*, in *ZDMG*, xviii, 425.

(CL. HUART)

Gondēshāpūr's main title to fame lies in its importance as a cultural centre which influenced the rise of scientific and intellectual activity in Islam. Its importance was enhanced by its having been closely associated with a secular field of learning, namely medicine, and by its having been the foremost representative of Greek medicine.

There was a hospital at Gondēshāpūr where, unlike the Greek *asclepieia* and the Byzantine *nosocomia*, treatment seems to have been based solely on scientific medicine. At any rate, this was a characteristic of the hospitals of Islam, for which the hospital at Gondēshāpūr may have served as model. The fourth Islamic hospital founded in Islam (by Hārūn al-Rashīd) was in fact built and run by Gondēshāpūr physicians.

There was a medical school at Gondēshāpūr which was probably in close association with the hospital there. There is also evidence of its ties with the Gondēshāpūr school for religious instruction. Systematic Gondēshāpūr influence on Islamic medicine seems to have started during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, when Gondēshāpūr physicians began to take up their residence in Baghdād. Ḥārith b. Kalada, the Arab doctor contemporary with the Prophet, is said to have studied medicine at Gondēshāpūr. This story presents certain chronological difficulties in its details, however, and is, very likely, of a legendary character.

Arabic sources contain stories which trace back the medical interest of the district of Gondēshāpūr to a physician who had come from India. These stories imply that this initial Indian influence found a fertile ground for development in the Byzantine settlers of Gondēshāpūr which included a group of doctors and that this medical knowledge was further enriched in time through cumulative experience in treatment and through contact with local medical traditions. It is difficult to determine the factual value of such reports. The transformation of Gondēshāpūr into an important medical centre was undoubtedly the work of the Nestorians. But this may not have effectively taken place before the reign of Khusraw I Anūshīrawān (531-579 A.D.).

It is likely that the Gondēshāpūr medical teaching was modelled upon that of Alexandria and Antioch but that it became more specialized and efficient in its new Persian home. Apart from its influence as a medical centre, Gondēshāpūr may, more generally, be looked upon as a place through which the Nestorian heritage of Greek learning of Edessa and Nisibis passed to Baghdād.

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(AYDIN SAYILI)

GÖNÜLLÜ, Turkish word meaning 'volunteer', in the Ottoman Empire used as a term (sometimes with the pseudo-Persian plural *gönüllüyān*, in Arabic sources usually rendered *djamulyān* or *kamulyān*) for three related institutions:

1. From the earliest times of the Ottoman state, volunteers coming to take part in the fighting were known as *gönüllü*; their connexion with the *mutaṭawwiʿa*, *ghāzīs* [*qq.v.*], of earlier Muslim states is evident (see M. F. Köprülü, *Les origines de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1936, 102-3; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1942, 59). A high proportion of the *ghāzīs* and *aḳindjis* [*q.v.*] on the *udj* (the march-lands) of the Ottoman state were such *gönüllüs*. With the promise of the grant of *tīmārs* and *ʿulūfe* [*qq.v.*] the State encouraged men to join the army, especially when a major campaign was in prospect; the text of a firman, issued before the Moldavian campaign of 889/1484, by which the Sultan ordered such a proclamation to be cried in public, survives (in the registers of the *ḳāḍīs* of Bursa, A. 4/4), and it is recorded that a group of *gönüllü* came from Antalya to join the Ottoman army attacking Cyprus (978/1570). Such volunteers are found throughout Ottoman history, and this was the principal means by which native Muslims could become timariots or enter the ranks of the *Ḳapī-ḳullari* [see GHULĀM], for volunteers who distinguished themselves were granted *tīmārs* or *zeʿāmets* [*qq.v.*] or admitted to the *Ghurabāʾ* [*q.v.*] regiments; the rest were appointed to the bodies of *gönüllüyān* who performed garrison duties in the fortresses of the Empire, being supported by *ʿulūfe*. In the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, with the ever-increasing need for men, the *gönüllü bayraghī* was unfurled and *gönüllü* troops, serving for pay, were recruited; this must have been a continuation of the old tradition.

2. In the 10th/16th century we find an organized body known as *gönüllüyān* in most of the fortresses of the Empire, in Europe, Asia and Egypt. It resembled the bodies of *müstaḥfiẓlar* and *beshlüyān*; its characteristics were that its members performed garrison duties, served for pay (*ʿulūfe*), and had for the most part begun as volunteers. It was organized, like the *Ḳapī-ḳullari*, into *djemāʿats* and *bölüks*. Reference is found to two main groups, the *Sagh Gönüllüler* (or *Gönüllüyān-i yemīn*, 'of the right') and the *Sol Gönüllüler* (or *Gönüllüyān-i yesār*, 'of the left'). In the main fortresses they formed two *djemāʿats*, *süwārī* (cavalry) and *piyāde* (infantry). Each *djemāʿat*

was commanded by an *agha*, and each was divided into *bölüks* of 10-30 men each. The first *bölük* of the cavalry was called *Agha bölüğü*, and the second *Ketkhudā* (*Kahya*) *bölüğü*; the first *bölük* of the infantry was the *Ketkhudā bölüğü*. Every *bölük* had a *Bölük-bashî* (or *Ser-bölük*). In 1025/1616 the daily pay of the *Agha* was 50 *aḳčes*, of the Clerk (*Kātib*) 20-25, and of the *Ketkhudā* 20-25; each *Ser-bölük* received 10-20 (for details see *Defter-i esāmī-i gönüllüyān-i süwārī we piyādegān we müstaḥfiẓān-i ḳalʿa-i Ḥaleb*, Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, maliye 2/6467). In 963/1556 the *gönüllüs* of Cairo received between 10 and 16 *aḳčes*, in 1130/1718 those of the fortress of Nish received 14 *aḳčes* a day. The establishment (known as *gedük* or *gedik*) of each *djemāʿat* was fixed. In the 10th/16th century, when there were vacancies, in response to a *tedhkire* [*q.v.*] from the *beg* or the *defterdār* of the *eyālet*, a *berāt* [*q.v.*] of the Sultan would be issued granting these vacancies to volunteers who had distinguished themselves on the frontiers, so-called *yarar yiğitler* and *yoldashlar*, the sons of *gönüllüs*, and Janissaries. There were in the fortresses separate *djemāʿats* of pensioners (*müteḳāʿid*) and *ḳul-oghullari* [see YEÑIČERI] connected with the *gönüllüyān*.

The *gönüllüs* in the fortresses might be called out to serve on a campaign or take part in frontier-fighting. Those that distinguished themselves might be granted *tîmārs*; in the 11th/17th century it could happen that distinguished *aghas* of the *gönüllüs* were appointed *sandjaḳ-begi*.

3. In the 11th/17th century a body known as *gönüllüyān* is mentioned also among the paid auxiliaries who, under various names, were recruited in the provinces to serve on a campaign. In 1131/1718 a formation of auxiliaries called *sekbān* was abolished, and it was ordered that their place should be taken by the raising of *dîwānegān* (*deliler*), *fārisān*, *ʿazebān* and *gönüllüyān*; but the dismissed *sekbāns* re-enlisted in the new formations and continued their misdeeds. These groups, the *gönüllüyān* included, frequently cast off all obedience and discipline and plagued the provinces with their depredations.

Bibliography: in the article.

(HALIL İNALCIK)

GŌRĀN [see GŪRĀN].

GÖRDES, a small town in eastern Anatolia (38° 55′ N., 28° 17′ E.) at an altitude of about 1,500 ft on the banks of the Kum Çay. The town, with a small local market, has now lost all importance but it was famous until the beginning of the 19th century as an important centre for the making of prayer rugs. The population in 1960 was 5,071.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 55; *IA*, s.v. (B. Darkot); for the carpets of Gördes, see *IA*, s.v. *Halı* (M. A. Mehmedoğlu) and pl. 2 and 3. (X. DE PLANHOL)

GÖRIDJE [see MANASTÎR].

GÖRIDJELI ḲOČÎ BEG [see ḲOČÎ BEG].

GOSPEL(S) [see INDJÎL].

GOUM [see GUM].

GOVERNMENT [see DAWLA, ḤUKŪMA, SIYĀSA, SULṬĀN, etc.].

GOVERNOR [see AMÎR, WĀLĪ].

GRAMMAR [see FIʿL, NAḤW, TAṢRĪF].

GRAÑ [see AḤMAD GRAÑ].

GRANADA [see GHARNĀṬA].

GREECE, GREEKS [see, for ancient Greece, YŪNĀN; for the Byzantine Empire, RŪM; for Greece under Ottoman rule, MORA].

GREEK FIRE, GREGORIAN FIRE [see BĀRŪD, NAFṬ].

GROCER [see BAḲḲĀL].

GUADALAJARA [see WĀDI 'L-ḤIDJĀRA].

GUADALQUIVIR [see AL-WĀDI 'L-KABĪR].

GUADARRAMA [see AL-SHARRĀT].

GUADIANA [see WĀDĪ YĀNA].

GUADIX [see WĀDĪ ĀSH].

GUARANTEE [see AMĀN, ḌAMĀN, KAFĀLA].

GUARDAFUI, the cape at the north-east tip of the Horn of Africa, in Somalia, known also as Raʾs ʿAsīr, and, according to ʿAlī Čelebī, as Raʾs al-aḥmar. It was the Ἀρωμάτων ἀκρωτήριον of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy and the νότον κέρας of Strabo. The origin of the name is uncertain; the present form is one of several variants occurring in the Portuguese writers. It may be connected with Masʿūdī's Djafūnā and it appears as Dj.rd.fūn in the rutters of Ibn Mādjid and in ʿAlī Čelebī. Many absurd etymologies have been proposed. It may include the name Ḥafūn, given to a prominent cape further to the south. Guillain states that the local inhabitants gave the name Djardafūn not to Guardafui but to a small promontory a few miles away. It belongs to the area in which the Somali are first found and was once populated by Dir, later expelled by Dārod (Madjērtēn). There is a small group of Mahrī descent who have intermarried and speak Somali.

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(C. F. BECKINGHAM)

GUDĀLA, small Berber tribe belonging to the great ethnic group of the desert Ṣanhādja (the Berber phoneme *g* is usually rendered in Arabic script by a *djīm* but Ibn Khaldūn, in his system of transcription, writes it as a *kāf* which, in the original manuscript, presumably had a diacritical point placed above or below). They lived in the southern part of what is now Mauritania, to the north of the Senegal and in contact with the ocean. To the south their territory bordered the land of the Negroes; to the north, in the present Ādrār of Mauritania, lived their Ṣanhādja "brothers", the Lamtūna and the Massūfa.

Like the other desert Ṣanhādja, the Gudāla were essentially nomadic camel-drivers, and possessed fast dromedaries (*nadjīb*, pl. *nudjub*). Nevertheless they possessed a town, Naghîrā (reading uncertain), at a distance of about six stages from the river Senegal, and so probably in what is now Tāgānt.

Along the shores of the Atlantic they collected quantities of ambergris and caught enormous sea turtles the flesh of which they ate. There too they possessed, on the island of Āwlīl, not far from the mainland, a famous salt-pan. As al-Idrīsī places this island at about one *madjrā* (at most 150 kilometres/100 miles) from the mouth of the Senegal, it cannot have been, as was suggested, either Arguin or Tidra. With greater probability, it has been suggested that Āwlīl was the present Īn-Wolalan, between Nwākshōṭ and Saint-Louis.

At the beginning of the 5th/11th century the supremacy over the Ṣanhādja of the desert was held by the chiefs of the Lamtūna. Towards 425/1034 it was the Gudāla chief Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm who held it. On returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca he brought back with him from Sūs, to convert the Ṣanhādja to Islam, the famous ʿAbd Allāh b. Yā-Sīn al-Djazūlī,

who was to launch the Almoravid movement. After the death of Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm the supremacy returned to the Lamtūna, in the person of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, and then of his brother Abū Bakr. From then on the Gudāla no longer made common cause with the Almoravid movement, in which mainly the Lamtūna and the Massūfa took part. After the expedition against Sidjilmāsa they retired to their territory in the Sahara, where they fought sometimes with the Negroes, sometimes with those of the Lamtūna who had remained on the spot.

They undoubtedly ended by wiping out the latter. In the second half of the 8th/14th century Ibn Khaldūn places them immediately to the south of al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ, in contact with the Dhawū-Ḥassān, nomadic Arabs of the Maʿḳil group. Later on the latter were to advance towards the south and occupy present-day Mauritania. At this point the Gudāla disappear from history. Their name is now attested only by two very small fractions of Gdāla, one in the north, in Tīrīs, the other in the south, among the Brākna.

Bibliography: Besides the classical historians and geographers, see: A. Huici Miranda, *Un fragmento inédito de Ibn ʿIdarī sobre los Almorávides*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, ii/1 (1961), 43; P. Marty, *L'émirat des Trarzas*. (G. S. Colin)

GŪDJAR (Gudjdjar, Gurdjdjar), name of an ancient tribe, wide-spread in many parts of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, akin to the Rādjpūts, the Djāṭs [*q.v.*], and the Ahīrs, who are claimed by Gudjdjar historians as off-shoots of the main stock. Both Western and native writers agree that the tribe migrated to the plains of Hindustan from Central Asia sometime in the middle of the 5th century A.D. Tall, handsome, wirily-built, and of a fair complexion, they are believed to be descendants of either the Scythians or the White Huns. The view of a minority of Gudjdjar historians, that they are of indigenous origin, finds little support. Largely agriculturalists, they also herd cattle and sell milk and other dairy products, but with the spread of education and a desire for bettering their economic condition they have taken to other occupations, mainly in the undivided Pandjāb and the Uttar Pradesh (India), and adopted a settled way of life.

The word Gurdjdjara first occurs in Bāna's *Haršačritra* where Harsha Vardhana's father Prabhākaravardhana is described as "the one who kept Gurdjdjara awake" (cf. K. M. Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjara-Deša*, Bombay 1955, i, 3). Here Gurdjdjara stands for the "king of Gūdjars", the *malik al-djuzar* of the Arab historians (cf. al-Sīrāfī, *Silsilat al-tawārīkh*, Paris 1881, 126-7; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 446; Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa*, Leiden 1892, vii, 137; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 16, 66; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 383-4), who ruled over Gudjarātra, whose boundaries it is difficult to fix precisely but which extended not only to the Narmda but also included parts of modern Saurāshṭhra and Rādjasthān, with its capital at Bhīlamāla or Bhinamāla (Bīlamān of the Arab historians, perhaps representing the colloquial pronunciation) near the present Mount Abu. This was a famous centre of swordmaking. Swords made here were highly prized, and there are several references in Arabic literature to the sword of Bīlamān (cf., *e.g.*, al-Kindī, *al-Suyūf wa adjnāsuhā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, Cairo 1952, 9-10, where it has been corrupted into *Sulaymāniyya*). In all probability this was the sword described by Arabic lexicographers as *al-muhannad* (cf. *Lisān*, s.v., *TA* under *HND*).

In course of time four ruling families of the Gurdjdjars emerged as empire-builders. These were: (1) The Paramāras or Paṅwāras, (2) the Pratīhāras or Parīhāras, (3) the Čahamānas or Čawhānas and (4) the Solankīs or Čawlūkiyas known to the Arabs as the *Ṣalūḳiyya* (cf. Ibn Rusta, 135; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1945, i, 184, ii, 198, where *Ṣalūḳiyya* dogs are mentioned). Of these Mihir Bhodja the Great (836-890 A.D.), a Pratīhāra king, with his capital at Ḳannawdj, has been described as a mighty ruler. He had a well-equipped and strong army (Gurdjdjar-Bālā), and his military exploits made him a popular hero. Among the Čawhānas Prithvirādja of Delhi was the last notable ruler; he suffered defeat at the hands of Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām in 588/1192 at Tarāʾoṛi (Tarāʾin, near Karnāl). This victory paved the way for the foundation of a Muslim empire in India.

It has also been established that the Sultans of Gudjarāt, of whom Maḥmūd Begara (863/1458-917/1511) and Bahādur Shāh (932/1526-943/1536) (see gudjarāt) deserve mention, were of Gudjdjar origin, belonging to the Tāṅk branch of the Pramāras (cf. ʿAbd al-Mālik, *Shāhān-i Gūdjar*, Aʿẓamgaṛh, 1353/1934, 333 ff.); Ibn Khurradādhbih (16) also refers to the *malik al-Ṭāniḳ*, along with the *malik al-djuzar*. *Ṭāniḳ*, is obviously the Arabicized form of Tāṅk (variants Tāk, Tak, Taksh); this identification eluded both the historians of India and Arabists.

The Gudjdjars seem to have spread all over the country and founded many towns and places, some of them still bearing their name, as Gūdj(a)rānwāla, Gūdjarkhān, Gudjrāt, Godjara, and Gūdjargadh.

They were quite numerous in the Sahāranpur district of India and the neighbouring territory, which was known until 1857 as Gudjarātta or Gūdjaradeša. A headstrong and prosperous tribe they were a source of great trouble to Bābur [*q.v.*] and Shēr Shāh Sūr [*q.v.*]. Notorious for their habit of plundering, they harried the British and the local people during the military uprising of 1857. Consequently they suffered heavily, losing their leaders and many of the *djāgīrs* that they had held during the Moghul period. The Gūdjars of Delhi and the neighbourhood harried and plundered refugees who fled from the city when it fell to the British in 1857. Even the members of the ex-royal family were not spared. (Cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Gurdjdjar*, ii, 415-6; Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Moghuls*, Cambridge 1951, 202, 207, 211; Ḥasan Niẓāmī, *Ghadr-i Dihlī ke Afsāney*: *Dihlī ki Biptā* (in Urdu), Delhi n.d., 34, 52, 59).

In Hazāra (Pakistan), Djammū, Kāṅgṛa (India) and some parts of Kashmīr there exist small pockets of Gūdjars who still lead a nomadic life. They move from place to place, in single families or in small groups, and pitch their tents or erect their ramshackle huts where they find grass and fodder for their animals. They speak a dialect known as Gūdjarī or Godjarī, which Grierson characterizes as a corrupt form of the Mēwātī dialect of eastern Rādjpūtāna.

It was the emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] who forced the Gūdjars to adopt a settled life. Thus many towns in the Pandjāb with the prefix Gūdjar, peopled mainly by this tribe, came into existence (Gudjrāt [*q.v.*], however, was founded by Alkhān, a Paṅwāra Gūdjar and commander-in-chief of the army of Mihir Bhodja). When they adopted Islam is not known; even to this day both Muslim and Hindu Gūdjars are found living as close neighbours. Many of the ceremonies and customs prevailing among them are of purely Hindu origin, for many of the Muslim Gūdjars take pride in being converts from Hinduism. They regard as their national

heroes Djaypāla, the Hindu-Shāhiyya ruler of Lahore, whom Maḥmūd Ghaznawī defeated, Mihir Bhodja Pratīhāra, whose grandfather Nāga Bhaṭṭ II (792-825 A.D.) has been described as the inveterate enemy of the Arabs, Rādja Dāhir of Alōr, defeated and killed by Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, Rāna Sāṅga and Rāna Pratāp of Mēwāṛ, and look upon their Muslim conquerors as despoilers and enemies of the Gurdjdjaras, because they destroyed their kingdoms, raided and looted their territories and subjected them to all sorts of indignities (cf. ʿAlī Ḥasan Čawhān Gurdjdjar, *Taʾrīkh-i Gurdjdjar*, Karachi 1960, iii, especially ch. iii and iv, which are full of the bitterest invective against the Muslim conquerors and invaders).

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

GUDJARĀT, a province of India on the north-west of its coastline, lying east of the Ran of Kaččh [*q.v.*] and broadly divided into Mainland Gudjarāt and Peninsular Gudjarāt (Kāṭhīāwāṛ, the ancient Sawrāshṭra, modern Sōraṭh). Mainland Gudjarāt is approximately the area of the plains in the lower reaches of the rivers Sābarmatī, Mahī, Narbadā and Tāptī, bounded north by the Mārwāṛ desert, east by the line of hills running south-east from Ābū to the Vindhyas. It takes its name (Sanskrit *Gurjarātra*) from the widespread Gūdjar (Skt. *Gurjara*) tribe, who, it has been suggested, entered India with the White Huns at the end of the 5th century A.D., and who in many ways closely resemble the Djāṭs [*q.v.*]; the name was even applied to the country north of Adjmēr in the 9th century A.D., but by the 11th-13th centuries, just before the coming of Islam, Gudjarāt referred particularly to the domains of the Solankī kings of Aṇahilwāḍā whose boundaries were much as described above.

(a) The ancient history of Gudjarāt covers a period of some 15 centuries before the advent of Islam at the end of the 7th/13th century: the Mawrya dominions extended to Sawrāshṭra in the 4th century B.C. (inscription of Aśoka at Djunāgaṛh [*q.v.*]); the region was under the Śaka satraps until the 4th century A.D. when it passed to the Guptas; after their overthrow by the Huns there followed the Valabhīs (perhaps overthrown by the Arabs from Manṣūra [*q.v.*] in Sindh, cf. the numismatic evidence adduced by G. P. Taylor in *Gujarat College Magazine*, January 1919), Čāwaḍās, and the Solankīs or Čawlukyas. The last-named dynasty were worshippers of the Hindū divinity Shiva, whose splendid temple at Somnāth in Sawrāshṭra was plundered by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 416/January 1026, in the reign of Bhīma I the fourth Čawlukya dynast (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 242; so also al-Bīrūnī, ed. Sachau, ii, 9; Gardīzī, ed. Nazim, 86-7; Haig in *Cambridge history of India*, iii, 23 ff., gives an incorrect date, presumably following Firishta); gold and jewels worth two million *dīnār*s, the sandalwood gates of the temple, and the stone phallic emblem of the god were transported to Ghaznī. The rebuilding soon commenced, this time in the fine stone for which the reign of Bhīma I was distinguished—a genre which was to become very significant for the derivative architecture of the Gudjarāt sultanate. The sixth dynast, the great Siddharādja, who ruled for over 50 years in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D., extended the dominions and built the famous temple at Siddhpur later converted into a mosque by Aḥmad I; under his patronage the Djayn [*q.v.*] religion was firmly established in Gudjarāt. The ninth ruler, Mūlarādja II, sent a large army which in 574/1178 vanquished the army of Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām which was exhausted by its long march through Uččh, Multān and the Mārwāṛ desert (Muslim historians show Bhīma II as the victorious ruler; but the Sanskrit *Kīrtikaumudī* and *Sukṛtasaṅkīrtana*, and contemporary grants, leave no doubt that the invasion occurred in Mūlarādja's short reign). The defeat was avenged in 593/1197 when Muʿizz al-Dīn's general Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*] plundered Anahilwāḍa, the capital, forcing Bhīma II to take refuge in a remote part of Gudjarāt, and returned to Dihlī laden with booty. Mūlarādja and his brother Bhīma both came to the throne as minors; the central authority thereby became weak, and the kingdom was virtually divided among the nobles and provincial chiefs. The most powerful of these, the Vāghelās ruling at Dholkā, gradually usurped the royal power and transferred their capital to Anahilwāḍa; this was the regnant dynasty at the time of the Muslim conquest, and it continued to hold pockets of territory in north Gudjarāt for some time thereafter.

Pre-Muslim Gudjarāt seems to have been well known to the Muslim, particularly the Arab, world, for it is frequently referred to by travellers and geographers from the merchant Sulaymān onwards. Al-Balādhurī, 3rd/9th century, notices the pirates of the Sawrāshṭra coast, and mentions the great ports of Bharōč and Sindān [*qq.v.*]; al-Masʿūdī describes the strength of the kingdom and the power of its ruler, and mentions the gold and silver mines; Iṣṭakhrī, 4th/10th century, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, 4th/10th century, give itineraries and describe the topography; al-Bīrūnī, 5th/11th century, gives fuller details with greater exactness, as does Idrīsī at the

end of that century; these two are the only geographers to describe the rivers of Gudjarāt. Most of these authors are especially interested in the ports of Gudjarāt, Bharōč, Khambāyat and Sindān, in the capital Anahilwāḍa (Āmhal, Nahlwāra, Nahrwāla, etc.), and in its trade and natural resources (gold, silver, pearls; horses and camels; teak, bamboos, aloewood, betelnut); they describe local Hindū and Djayn practices in some detail, and are impressed by the religious toleration shown in the region.

A most significant event in this period was the arrival of the Zoroastrian fugitives from Īrān. The 'traditional' date for their first landing, now challenged by many scholars, is 716 A.D.; but the exodus was spread over many generations, and refugees were still arriving at the Gudjarāt ports in the two succeeding centuries. They later became generally known in India as the Pārsīs, and while they are now to be found all over the Indian subcontinent their concentration has always been highest in Gudjarāt and the Marāṭhā country to its south, specially Bombay. For a general account of the Zoroastrians see MADJŪS; for this Indian branch see PĀRSĪ, in addition to later references in this article.

(b) Gudjarāt under the Dihlī sultanate. Gudjarāt fell to the Muslims in one decisive battle when Karṇa, the last Vāghela ruler, was defeated in 697/1298 (some textual confusion; cf. Hodīvālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, Bombay 1939, 248-9) by the armies of the Dihlī sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī under the generals Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān; Anahilwāḍa was sacked, the rebuilt Somnāth temple was despoiled, and local garrisons were established. Nuṣrat Khān moved on to the sack of Khambāyat, where in addition to enormous booty he secured the slave Kāfūr, nicknamed Hazārdīnārī "bought for a thousand dīnārs" [see KĀFŪR; DIHLĪ SULTANATE]. Asāwal, Dholkā, Randēr, Mahuwā, Dīw and Djunāgaṛh were also overrun, and the invaders extended even to Kaččh. Karṇa's queen Kawlādevī was sent to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, but Karṇa escaped with his daughter the celebrated Devaldevī to Devagiri [see ELURĀ, KHIḌR KHĀN].

In 700/1300 ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn appointed his brother-in-law Malik Sandjar, entitled Alp Khān, as *nāẓim* of Gudjarāt; the old Hindū capital Anahilwāḍa became the seat of the provincial governor, but was now more commonly known as Pāṭan. Alp Khān administered the province capably for sixteen years until he was recalled to Dihlī and murdered at the instigation of the now powerful Kāfūr. On his departure disturbances broke out in Gudjarāt; Kamāl al-Dīn Gurg, the victor of Djālor [*q.v.*], sent to restore order, was taken prisoner and put to death, and sedition spread. The lawlessness increased on the death of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. His successor Mubārak Shāh appointed the general ʿAyn al-Mulk to suppress the revolt, and sent his father-in-law Malik Dīnār, entitled Ẓafar Khān, as *nāẓim*. The latter, a competent administrator, restored order throughout the province, but was recalled and executed in 719/1319 when Ḥusām al-Dīn, the half-brother of the royal favourite Khusraw Khān, was appointed in his place. Ḥusām rebelled against the Dihlī authority and was replaced by Waḥīd al-Dīn Ḳurayshī, under whom Gudjarāt remained quiet.

Some twenty years later bands of Afghān and New Muslim adventurers, under disaffected *amīrān-i ṣada*, constituted a menace to the country; the massacre of *amīrān-i ṣada* at Dhār [*q.v.*] led to a general rising of the *amīrān-i ṣada* of Gudjarāt in 745/1344, who seized the state revenues as they were being taken to Dihlī. Accordingly, in Ramaḍān of that year/February 1345, the sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] set out in person to bring the province to order. This he did with characteristic savagery, executing disaffected and loyal *amīr*s indiscriminately. He made his headquarters in Bharōč, and, discovering that its revenues and those of Khambāyat and other towns were several years in arrears, appointed agents who exacted an extortionate rate from the people. Many rebel *amīrān-i ṣada* fled to Dawlatābād [*q.v.*]; on being summoned back to Bharōč they suspected Muḥammad's treacherous intentions, killed the Dawlatābād officials, proclaimed Ismāʿīl Mukh as their king, and took control of much of the Marāṭhā country. The sultan therefore left Bharōč to quell the rebellion, and during his absence another revolt broke out in Gudjarāt under the leadership of a former slave named Ṭaghī, who was supported by many *amīr*s, some Hindū chieftains, and a large proportion of the population. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ returned to suppress the main revolt, and spent much time and effort in pursuit of the brilliant Ṭaghī; during Muḥammad's preoccupation with Gudjarāt affairs the rebel king Ismāʿīl Mukh abdicated in favour of another *amīr-i ṣada*, Ḥasan entitled Ẓafar Khān, who was shortly afterwards (748/1347) proclaimed as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh [see BAHMANĪS]. Ṭaghī withdrew to Soraṭh and thence to Ṭhaṭṭhā, but through Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's energetic pursuit of him the whole of Gudjarāt was subdued as never before. The sultan pursued Ṭaghī to Ṭhaṭṭhā where he had taken refuge with the Djām, but died in camp there in 752/1351, his nephew Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ travelling to the camp for his enthronement. Fīrūz made a difficult retreat to Dihlī, and local events in Gudjarāt did not concern the historians until some fifteen years later when he marched against the Djām in 767/1366 (for the date see Hodīvālā, *op. cit.*, 322); the campaign was disastrous and he lost most of his army in the Ran of Kaččh. On finally gaining Gudjarāt he dismissed the governor for failing to send him supplies and guides, and spent much time there in recruiting a new army, appointing as governor Ẓafar Khān the son-in-law of Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak [*q.v.*]. This efficient *nāẓim* was supplanted in 778/1376 by one Shams al-Dīn Dāmghānī, who had promised a greatly increased revenue from the province; in spite of severe extortion Dāmghānī was unable to fulfil his promise, and the oppressed population rose against him. The sultan then appointed Malik Mufarraḥ Sulṭānī entitled Farḥat al-Mulk, who remained governor for fifteen years.

The imperial control of the provinces slackened during the struggles for the Tughluḳ succession, and by early 793/1391 Farḥat al-Mulk was known to be supporting Hindū practices to gain the confidence of the Rādjpūts before attempting to establish his independence; the *ʿulamāʾ* protested to Dihlī, and Muḥammad II Tughluḳ sent Ẓafar Khān the son of Wadjīh al-Mulk as governor, with the title of Muẓaffar Khān. Farḥat al-Mulk defied the new governor, and the armies of both met in the decisive battle of Kamboī, 30 km. west of Pāṭan, on 7 Ṣafar 794/4 January 1392, when Farḥat al-Mulk was killed. Muẓaffar Khān proceeded to Pāṭan and diligently began restoring order and prosperity in the province, and quashed all tendencies to the toleration of Hindū idolatry. He several times besieged the fortress of the Rādjā of Īdar [*q.v.*] for withholding tribute, and destroyed the temple of

Somnāth in 797/1395 and 804/1402; on the latter occasion he followed the Somnāth Hindūs to Dīw where he established Islam.

When Muẓaffar K̲h̲ān was appointed governor his son Tātār K̲h̲ān had been retained in Dihlī by Muḥammad II Tug̲h̲luḳ as his *wazīr*. On the death of the sultan, Tātār K̲h̲ān was prominent in the intrigues for power, and in 800/1398 he came to Gudjarāt to raise an army in order to march on Dihlī. The invasion of Tīmūr prevented this immediately, and indeed Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh, the last Tug̲h̲luḳ, took refuge for a time at Pāṭan with Muẓaffar K̲h̲ān. In 805/1403 Tātār K̲h̲ān endeavoured to persuade his father to march on Dihlī, but the latter, now aged over 60, refused and attempted to dissuade his son. Tātār K̲h̲ān then imprisoned his father, proclaimed himself sultan of Gudjarāt in Rabīᶜ II 806/November 1403 with the title of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, and marched on Dihlī; but Muẓaffar K̲h̲ān's brother S̲h̲ams K̲h̲ān caused Tātār K̲h̲ān to be poisoned and released his brother from prison. Muẓaffar returned to Pāṭan and carried on the administration for several years before finally assuming the royal title.

(c) The sultanate of Gudjarāt. Muẓaffar K̲h̲ān was persuaded by the nobles to assume the insignia of royalty in 810/1407, as the Tug̲h̲luḳ dynasty was virtually extinguished, and no coin had been struck by the Dihlī sultan for six years; he thus acceded as Muẓaffar S̲h̲āh. Shortly after his accession he invaded Mālwa [*q.v.*] and imprisoned sultan Hūs̲h̲ang at Dhār on suspicion of his having murdered his father Dilāwar K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*]; however, he restored him soon afterwards. Muẓaffar died in 813/1410 and was succeeded by his grandson Aḥmad the son of Tātār K̲h̲ān—not without the suspicion of having been poisoned by him.

The reign of Aḥmad I, which did much to consolidate the new sultanate, lasted 33 years, much of which was occupied in warfare against neighbouring Rādjpūt princes and the contiguous Muslim rulers of Mālwa, K̲h̲āndes̲h̲ [*q.v.*] and the Deccan: in 817/1414-5 against Djunāgaṛh, compelling the payment of tribute; and from this time the power of the sultanate was extended into the central regions of Soraṭh beyond the coastal towns already in its control; in 819/1416 a confederacy of Rādjpūts in the north-west, with the partial support of Hūs̲h̲ang of Mālwa, was defeated, and two years later Aḥmad marched against Čāmpānēr and levied tribute; in 820/1417 the army of Naṣīr K̲h̲ān of K̲h̲āndes̲h̲, supported by the Mālwa army, invaded the eastern border of Gudjarāt and invested the fort of Sulṭānpur, but was repulsed by Aḥmad S̲h̲āh who followed up and besieged Naṣīr K̲h̲ān in his fort of Asīrgaṛh; Naṣīr swore fealty to Aḥmad S̲h̲āh and his claim to K̲h̲āndes̲h̲ was in turn recognized by Aḥmad. The instigator of the K̲h̲āndes̲h̲ attack having been found to be Hūs̲h̲ang of Mālwa, Aḥmad next attacked that kingdom in 822/1419 and 823/1420, effecting little but the plunder of outlying districts; in 825/1422, during Hūs̲h̲ang's absence from Mālwa on his notorious expedition to Uṛīsā [*q.v.*], Aḥmad again attacked, besieging the capital Māndū [*q.v.*] for some months without effect; the Gudjarāt and Mālwa armies confronted each other later that year in Sārangpur without a major engagement, and Aḥmad returned to Aḥmadābād and undertook no further military action for two years.

From 829-31/1425-8 there were continued hostilities against Pundja the ruler of Īdar. Aḥmad built the walled city of Aḥmadnagar (renamed Himatnagar in the 20th century) some 30 km. from Īdar as a base of operations. In 831/1428 Pundja was killed by a fall and his son sought peace and promised tribute; nevertheless he and his successors maintained intermittent warfare with the Gudjarāt sultanate for generations thereafter. In 832/1429 a Hindū prince of the house of Djālāwar (some doubt; his name does not occur in the dynastic lists), objecting to Aḥmad's discriminatory measures against the Hindūs, attacked Nandurbār with the help of a Bahmanī army, later reinforced by one from K̲h̲āndes̲h̲ also; the attackers were utterly defeated by Aḥmad's superior skill. Two years later the Bahmanī ruler Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Walī sent an army to capture the island of Mahīm (now a part of Bombay), which was held under general Gudjarāt suzerainty by a semi-independent Muslim prince; but the generals of the Gudjarāt force first invested Thāna, the most important town of the northern Konkan coast and in Bahmanī territory, by land and sea, and after its capitulation drove the invader from Mahīm.

In 836/1432-3 Aḥmad in his last major campaign against his Hindū neighbours overcame the ruler of Pāwāgaṛh, sacked Nandōd, and forced tribute from the rulers of the distant Dungārpur, Koṭāh and Bundī; although Aḥmad had apparently been defeated on a previous occasion (see *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 417; *ibid.*, xxiii, 239. The defeat is not recorded by the Muslim historians).

Aḥmad died in Rabīᶜ II 846/August 1442 after a reign devoted to consolidating Islam in his dominions by relentless iconoclasm and oppression of the Hindūs. His justice was strict but impartial, and he was known for his piety and as a disciple of the great religious teachers S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Khattū of Sarkhedj and Burhān al-Dīn Ḳuṭb al-ᶜĀlam of Baṭwā. In 813/1411 he had founded his capital city of Aḥmadābād on the left bank of the Sābarmatī, with a citadel and spacious streets (Aḥmad Rāḍī, *Haft iḳlīm*, Bibl. Ind., 86-7), and struck coin there and at Aḥmadnagar. His soldiers were paid half in coin from the imperial treasury and half by grants of land (*djāgīr*); for the *wanta* system of land revenue applicable to Hindūs, originating in his reign, see TENURE OF LAND.

Aḥmad's eldest son succeeded him with the title Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, a mild and generous ruler. He followed his father's policy in a further attack on Īdar in 850/1446, the ruler buying peace by giving Muḥammad his daughter in marriage, and in 853/1449 against Čāmpānēr, from which, however, he withdrew after the *rādjā* had invoked the aid of Maḥmūd I of Mālwa; on the return journey he fell ill and died at the capital in Muḥarram 855/February 1451. His eldest son Djalāl K̲h̲ān succeeded him with the title Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad S̲h̲āh II and reigned for less than nine years. He won an early victory in the battle of Kapadwandj against a Mālwa invading force; and in 861/1457 formed a Muslim alliance with Maḥmūd I of Mālwa against the Hindū *rānā* of Čitawr, who had earlier defeated his forces (Sanskrit inscription on *kīrtistambha* of Čitawr; the defeat is not recorded by the Muslim historians). Otherwise his reign was occupied in building, and in attempts to secure the person of his young half-brother Fatḥ K̲h̲ān who was under the protection of the Baṭwā s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ S̲h̲āh ᶜĀlam. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad died suddenly in Radjab 862/May 1458, and is said to have been poisoned by his wife in order that her father, S̲h̲ams K̲h̲ān of Nāgawr, might succeed to the Gudjarāt throne. The nobles first raised to the throne Dāwūd K̲h̲ān, a younger son of Aḥmad I, but he was deposed after a reign of seven days of moronic

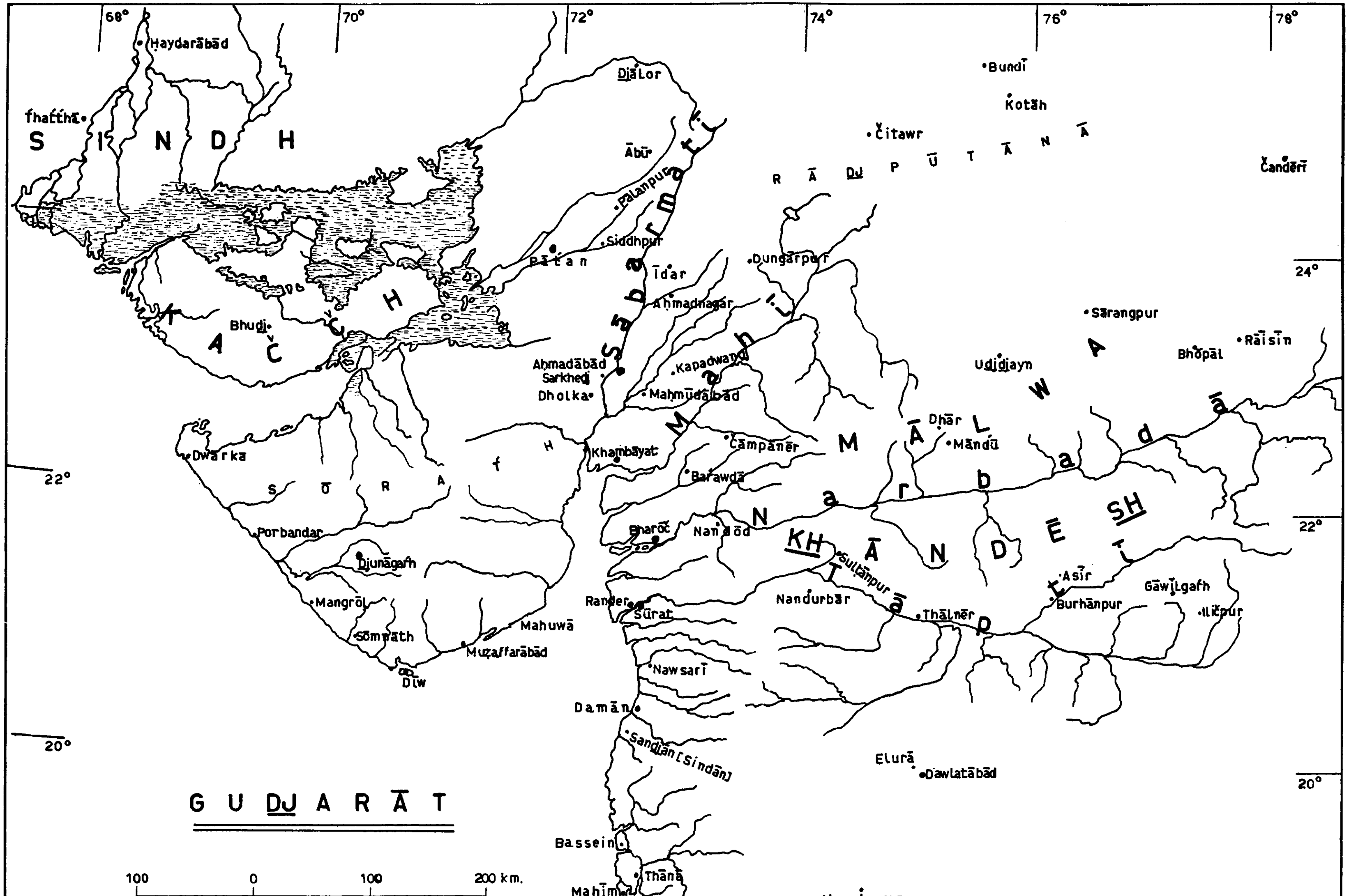
GUDJARĀT
SINDH
KAČČH
SŌRAṬH
RĀDJPŪTĀNĀ
MĀLWA
KHĀNDĒSH
Sabarmatī
Mahī
Narbada
Tāptī
Haydarābād
Ṭhaṭṭhā
Bhudj
Djālor
Ābū
Palanpur
Siddhpur
Pāṭan
Īdar
Aḥmadnagar
Aḥmadābād
Sarkhedj
Dholka
Kapaḍwandj
Maḥmūdābād
Khambāyat
Čampānēr
Baṛawdā
Bharōč
Nandōd
Dwarka
Porbandar
Djunāgaṛh
Mangrōl
Sōmnāth
Dīw
Muẓaffarābād
Mahuwā
Rānder
Sūrat
Nawsārī
Damān
Sandjān [Sindān]
Bassein
Thāna
Mahīm
Dungarpur
Čitawr
Bundī
Kotāh
Čanderī
Sārangpur
Rāisīn
Bhōpāl
Udjdjayn
Dhār
Māndū
Sulṭānpur
Nandurbār
Thālnēr
Asīr
Burhānpur
Gāwīlgaṛh
Iličpur
Elurā
Dawlatābād
68°
70°
72°
74°
76°
78°
24°
22°
20°
100
0
100
200 km.

incompetence, and Fatḥ Khān, then thirteen years old, succeeded as Maḥmūd Shāh. Within months he showed the courage and judgement that were to characterize the 54 years of his reign when he thwarted a conspiracy to remove him; and he was early involved in clashes with Mālwa when he intervened to prevent a Mālwa attempt on the dominions of the infant Bahmanī king Niẓām Shāh.

In 865/1461 Maḥmūd supported ʿUthmān Khān of Djālor in his struggle for the succession there, secured the extension of his domains—important for Gudjarāt as Islam was thereby securely established in south Rādjpūtānā—and conferred on him the title of Zubdat al-Mulk. The extension of Islam in the south of the Gudjarāt dominion was furthered in 869/1465 when an army was sent to take the hill forts of Bahrōt and Parnerā and the port of Damān from the hands of their Hindū *rādjās*; and at this time the old Pārsī settlement of Sandjān was destroyed. The years 871-4/1467-70 saw Maḥmūd gradually overcoming the strong Rādjpūt power at Djunāgaṙh and its citadel-fort of Girnār. The defeated *rādjā* embraced Islam, and Maḥmūd remained some time at Djunāgaṙh, improving its beauty and its defences to make it a centre from which Islam could be propagated throughout the Soraṫh peninsula. He accordingly renamed it Muṣṭafābād and settled *sayyids* and other divines there, and set it up as a mint town and as the headquarters of the *thānādār* or local administrator. To combat the laxity of the administration reported from Aḥmadābād while the sultan was on his Soraṫh campaign he appointed one Djamāl al-Dīn as *fawdjdār*, with the title of Muḥāfiẓ Khān. From his new headquarters of Muṣṭafābād Maḥmūd made expeditions in 875/1472 into Sindh and Kačč̣h, subduing the predatory tribes and sending their leaders to Muṣṭafābād for instruction in Islam; on his return he marched against the sacred Hindū town and temple of Dwārkā [*q.v.*] where pirates had been harassing Muslim pilgrims, and sacked the town and the neighbouring island of Beṫ (see J. Burton-Page, "*ʿAzīz" and the sack of Dwārkā* ..., in *BSOAS*, xx (1957), 145-57). He returned to Aḥmadābād in 878/1473 and undertook no major military operations for the next nine years; in this time he built the new city of Maḥmūdābād 30 km. south-east of Aḥmadābād.

In Ramaḍān 885/November 1480, when Maḥmūd was making his yearly visit to Muṣṭafābād, an attempt to dethrone him and place his eldest son Aḥmad on the throne was frustrated by the *wazīr* and Muḥāfiẓ Khān; Aḥmad seems to have been involved in the conspiracy, as he was passed over for the succession and Maḥmūd's youngest son Khalīl became heir-apparent. In Shawwāl 887/December 1482 Maḥmūd started his second great war against the Hindū princes, this time against the powerful *rādjā* of Čāmpānēr and his stronghold of Pāwāgaṙh, which fell after an investment of twenty months; for further details of this interesting siege see ḥiṣār. The *rādjā* publicly rejected Islam and was executed, but a son was brought up in the family of an Aḥmadābād noble and later attained distinction. Maḥmūd was captivated by the beauty and climate of Čāmpānēr, which he fortified and laid out as a new capital with the name Muḥammadābād; a mint was established (Shahr-i mukarram). Čāmpānēr remained the political capital, and the favourite residence of Maḥmūd, until the end of his reign.

In the years 896-9/1491-4 the activities of Bahādūr Gīlānī, a renegade from the Bahmanī court who committed repeated acts of piracy from Dābhōl in the south Konkan coast and had even ravaged Khambāyat and Mahīm, caused Maḥmūd to attack him by sea and call for Bahmanī cooperation by land; eventually Gīlānī was killed and full reparation was made to Gudjarāt.

In the early 10th/16th century Gudjarāt was one of the powers to intervene in the dynastic rivalries which arose in Khāndēsh on the death of ʿĀdil Khān II, finally resolved in 914/1509 with the acceptance of the Gudjarāt candidate, a kinsman of Maḥmūd's, as ʿĀdil Khān III (for a detailed account see fārūḳids).

Since the arrival of Vasco da Gama in Calicut in 1498 the Portuguese had extended their maritime influence over much of the Indian ocean and the Red Sea, to the great detriment of the lucrative trade which passed through the Gudjarāt ports, especially Khambāyat, and depriving Egypt of the revenues of much of her Eastern trade. Their first opposition in these regions came from the joint force of the fleet despatched by the Egyptian Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī, under the command of Amīr Ḥusayn, and that of Gudjarāt commanded by Malik Ayāz the governor of Djunāgaṙh, who won the first victory in Ramaḍān 913/January 1508 when Dom Lorenzo, son of Francisco d'Almeida the Portuguese viceroy, was killed in a battle off Čawl; but the combined Muslim fleets were defeated by d'Almeida in a battle outside Dīw harbour in Shawwāl 914/February 1509 (E. Denison Ross, *The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507-1517*, in *JRAS*, 1921, 545-62). Maḥmūd then attempted to establish diplomatic relations with the Portuguese (see W. de G. Birch (ed.), *The commentaries of the great Afonso Dalboquerque*, Hakluyt Socy., especially ii, 210 ff.); but after Albuquerque's capture and orgiastic sack and massacre of Ṣindābur (Goa), the port of the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultanate of Bīdjāpur, Maḥmūd realized the impracticability of maintaining any alliance with such an intransigent enemy of Islam and, to avoid provocation, broke the Egyptian alliance and liberated his Portuguese prisoners.

Maḥmūd died at Aḥmadābād on 2 Ramaḍān 917/23 November 1511 and was buried at Sarkhedj. In his reign the prosperity of the Gudjarāt reached perhaps its greatest height; certainly it knew its greatest internal security in the towns and in the ports. The army was efficient and well equipped, and Maḥmūd was solicitous for the welfare of his troops, including the families of those killed in battle, who were provided for by continuance to them of the assets of the late soldier's *djāgīr*, and consoled the next-of-kin of the dead in person after his battles. He was a great builder, and also laid out many gardens and orchards, and is credited with the introduction of many kinds of fruit trees into Gudjarāt. He was a tall man with a prodigious appetite and a moustache which he could tie behind his head, and was said to have been inoculated against poison by consuming it in gradually increasing doses "so that if a fly settled on his hand it fell dead". His sobriquet of "Begṙā" has given rise to some speculation as to its true meaning: one etymology seeks to derive it from the "two forts (*gaṙh*)" of Čāmpānēr and Djunāgaṙh which he captured; but the word is not written in Gudjarātī with *ṙh*; another derives it from Gudjarātī *vegaṙo*, a bullock with sweeping horns, in allusion to his moustaches; Dr. P. B. Pandit (personal communication) has suggested that it is the word

Beg with the Gudjarātī diminutive suffix *ṛā*, *-ḍā*, "the little Beg"; the form Bayḳarā, used in the article FĀRŪḲIDS, seems to be a false Mughalization. Valuable accounts of Maḥmūd and Gudjarāt in his reign are given in the works of the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa and the Italian Varthema.

Khalīl Khān succeeded his father as Muẓaffar Shāh II, a mild and cultured ruler whose clemency bordered on weakness. Early in his reign he was involved in the affairs of the neighbouring state of Mālwa: in 916/1510 Maḥmūd II Khaldjī had usurped the Mālwa throne from his elder brother Ṣāḥib Khān, who had been proclaimed as Muḥammad II by the rebel *wazīr* and asked for Muẓaffar's assistance in coming to his throne. His claim was favourably reported on by the Gudjarāt agents in Mālwa, and Muẓaffar had agreed to attack Mālwa in his support after the rains. Muẓaffar was at the time entertaining an ambassador from Shāh Ismāʿīl I of Persia, whose mission was apparently to induce Gudjarāt to accept the Shīʿa faith, and who had become acquainted with Ṣāḥib Khān; one evening after a dinner party the ambassador in a moment of pederastic enthusiasm assaulted Ṣāḥib Khān, who fled in shame first to Khāndesh and then to Berār; the ambassador was sent back to Persia after a scarcely cordial reception. Ṣāḥib Khān's claim was quietly forgotten, and shortly afterwards Muẓaffar was called on to intervene on behalf of Maḥmūd II who found himself no more than a puppet in the hands of his minister Mēdinī Rāī and his Rādjpūt army. Muẓaffar accordingly marched on the capital Māndū with a strong Gudjarāt force which was joined by the Khāndesh army, hearing of which Mēdinī Rāī sought help from the powerful Mahārānā Sāngrām of Čitawr; the fort was taken by escalade in Ṣafar 924/February 1518, the Rādjpūt garrison massacred, and Maḥmūd restored to his throne. The text of a letter from Muẓaffar to the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I, congratulating the latter on his victory over Persia and announcing the capture of Māndū, is given by Ferīdūn (*Munshaʾāt*[1], i, 395-7).

Muẓaffar had been delayed in his actions in Mālwa by several skirmishes in and around Īdar, where a usurper had been established on the throne of this feudatory Hindū state by Sāngrām of Čitawr; this interference was ill received in Gudjarāt, and armies were sent to restore the rightful heir; the usurper continued, however, to harass the northern districts of Gudjarāt until Muẓaffar's return from Mālwa. Sāngrām, incensed by insults to his name offered by the Gudjarāt commander at Īdar, raided Īdar, Aḥmadnagar and other towns in 925/1519; Muẓaffar retaliated with a large force early in 927/1521, and compelled the Rānā to pay tribute and send a son to the Gudjarāt court as a hostage.

In Muẓaffar II's reign there was considerable diplomatic intercourse with the Portuguese at Goa, friendly at first. A mission sent to Gudjarāt in 918/1512-3 sought permission to build a fort at Dīw, which the sultan, on the advice of Malik Ayāz [*q.v.*], governor of Djunagárh and Dīw, did not grant. The Portuguese cause was pressed by one Malik Gōpī at the Gudjarāt court, but Malik Ayāz's wiser counsels prevailed and the defences of Dīw were strengthened. Two attempts by the Portuguese to take Dīw by force, in 926/1520 and 927/1521, were thwarted, and an attempt to take Muẓaffarābād, 30 km. east of Dīw, and establish a fort there, was foiled when some Muslim captives blew up a munitions ship in which they were travelling.

Muẓaffar II died in Djumādā II 932/April 1526. His eldest son Sikandar succeeded him but was murdered after six weeks and an infant son of Muẓaffar II was placed on the throne as Maḥmūd II; but the loyal nobles sent for Bahādur, the second son of Muẓaffar II, who was formally installed as sultan in the Ramaḍān/July following, the infant Maḥmūd II and other princes of the royal blood being quietly disposed of, except for his younger brother Čānd Khān who had taken refuge with Maḥmūd II of Mālwa.

The principal events of Bahādur's reign—the attack on the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar in 935/1528 to settle a territorial dispute with Khāndesh, his conquest of Mālwa in 937/1531, the capture of the Rādjpūt strongholds Udjdjayn, Bhīlsā and Rāīsīn in 938/1532-3 and Čitawr in 941/1535, the defeat of the Portuguese at Dīw in 937/1531 but the loss to them of Bassein in 941/1534 and the grant of permission to build a fort at Dīw in 942/1535, the long war with the Mughal Humāyūn from 941/1534 in which Bahādur lost Mālwa and was dispossessed of most of his dominions until Humāyūn returned to face the threat of Sher Khān in 942/1536, and his death through Portuguese treachery—have been discussed above in the article BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ: see also HUMĀYŪN, MĀLWA, MUGHALS; and add to the Bibliography of BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ: Philip Baldaeus, *Description of the East India coasts* ... in Churchill's *Collection of voyages and travels*, London 1732, iii, 530 ff.

Bahādur's murder by the Portuguese took place at sea outside Dīw in Ramaḍān 943/February 1537, and with his death the greatness of the Gudjarāt sultanate ended. The Portuguese seized Dīw with the palace and treasury, and it thenceforth passed out of Muslim hands. Bahādur left no heir, and in the first confusion after his death Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, Humāyūn's brother-in-law whose refuge with Bahādur had provoked the war with the Mughals, aspired to the throne, entered into a treaty with the Portuguese whereby he granted them Mangrōḷ and Damān and a strip of coastal land in exchange for their support, and the *khuṭba* was read in his name in the mosque at Dīw; but the nobles of Bahādur's court sent an army against him, and he was defeated and fled to Dihlī. Bahādur had in his lifetime indicated that his sister's son Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, who since 926/1520 had been the ruler of Khāndesh, should succeed him, and the nobles sent for him; but within weeks he died of grief for the uncle to whom he had been a constant and loyal companion for the previous ten years, and the eleven years old Maḥmūd Khān, son of Bahādur's renegade brother Laṭīf Khān, was then enthroned as Maḥmūd Shāh III.

Maḥmūd and his two successors were all minors, and the history of the sultanate after 943/1537 is mostly one of puppet monarchies and factious and suspicious nobles plotting for power against each other and against the best interests of the state. In 944/1538 the Ottoman sultan Süleymān I, apprehensive at the growing Portuguese threat because of Bahādur's death, sent a fleet from Suez to attack them at Dīw; the Gudjarāt land forces, fearing that the presence of the Turks at Dīw would be no more comfortable than that of the Portuguese, failed to give full cooperation, and on receipt of a fabricated letter announcing that the Portuguese main fleet was arriving from Goa, the Ottoman fleet raised the siege and sailed away; the Gudjarāt generals negotiated a peace treaty with the Portuguese, and built a wall separating the fort from the town of Dīw (see further KHĀDIM SÜLEYMĀN PASHA).

In 950/1543 Maḥmūd III escaped from his custody at the hands of the powerful regent Daryā Khān and fled to the protection of ʿĀlam Khān Lodī the fief-holder of Dhandūkā 100 km. south-west of Aḥmadābād; in the following battle Daryā Khān was defeated and fled to Māndū, but Maḥmūd found that he had exchanged one master for another, for ʿĀlam Khān placed him under guard in the citadel of Aḥmadābād and assumed direction of the kingdom. Two years later Maḥmūd persuaded a disaffected noble to attack ʿĀlam Khān, and assumed personal rule. He turned his attention first to the Portuguese, established a fort at Sūrat [*q.v.*], and in 953/1546 attacked Dīw with a large force; after a siege of eight months, in which the brilliant Gudjarātī commander Khwādja Safar was killed, the Portuguese received reinforcements from Goa, and on 17 Ramaḍān/11 November the governor João de Castro "conquered like a Christian and triumphed like a heathen": all Muslim prisoners and the inhabitants of the city were mercilessly butchered. A year later the Portuguese sacked and burnt Bharōč and massacred the inhabitants.

In 953/1546 Maḥmūd removed his residence to Maḥmūdābād where he laid out his famous deer-park. In 955/1548 he sent for Āṣaf Khān from Mecca where he had gone with the late sultan Bahādur's treasures and *ḥaram*; he was made absolute regent, and raised for the sultan a personal bodyguard of 12,000 foreign mercenaries. In Rabīʿ I 962/February 1554 Maḥmūd was murdered in his palace by a resentful attendant, and with him ten of the chief nobles including Āṣaf Khān. His assassin attempted to accede to the throne but was defeated in the first attack of the remaining nobles. Maḥmūd III left no heir, and the nobles sought out a boy called Raḍī al-Mulk, a great-great-grandson of Aḥmad I, whom they installed as Aḥmad Shāh III; the kingdom was virtually divided among the nobles, and the reign is a dreary chronicle of civil war, one Iʿtimād Khān, a converted Hindū, being prominent as regent. Almost the only event of external interest is the cession of the port of Damān to the Portuguese on condition that they drove out the Ḥabshī governor who neither paid taxes nor acknowledged the central government; the Portuguese prepared to attack Damān in Rabīʿ II 966/February 1559, but the Ḥabshī garrison abandoned the fort without a battle. Several members of the Ḥabshī community rose to prominence at about this time and further weakened the power of the government. In 968/1561 Aḥmad III, who was beginning to resent his confinement, was murdered on Iʿtimād Khān's orders.

Again the problem of finding an heir presented itself. Iʿtimād Khān produced a child of unknown parentage as the child of Maḥmūd III by a concubine, who was duly proclaimed sultan as Muẓaffar III. The kingdom continued to be split up amongst the various nobles, who were now joined in their depredations by adventurers from the north of India. Prominent among these a little later were the so-called Mīrzās, descendants of Tīmūr and hence kinsmen of the Mughal emperor Akbar. Eventually in desperation Iʿtimād Khān invited Akbar to invade Gudjarāt.

Akbar left Fatḥpur Sīkrī in Ṣafar 980/July 1572 and arrived at Pāṭan early in Radjab/November of the same year, receiving the submission of the Gudjarāt nobles in what was more of a triumphal procession than a campaign at Pāṭan and Aḥmadābād; he proceeded to Khambāyat, when there was some attempt at rebellion in Aḥmadābād on the part of some nobles who were having second thoughts but who were soon brought to submission. As he proceeded further south, however, he encountered some resistance: his kinsmen the Mīrzās [*q.v.*] had made themselves masters of Sūrat, Baṛōdā, Bharōč and Čāmpānēr, and together with the rebellious Ḥabshīs formed a considerable opposition; they were defeated by the imperial forces at the battle of Sarnāl on 17 Shaʿbān 980/23 December 1572, and after the long siege of Sūrat which ended on 23 Shawwāl 980/26 February 1573. Akbar returned to Fatḥpur Sīkrī in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 980/April 1573, and Gudjarāt became a *sūba* of the Mughal empire of sixteen *sarkārs*—there having been twenty-five *sarkārs* in the dominions of the Gudjarāt sultanate at its greatest extent. Within three months of Akbar's departure the Mīrzās again revolted and with the rebel Ḥabshīs besieged the Mughal governor in Aḥmadābād; Akbar returned to Gudjarāt in nine days by forced marches and finally suppressed the Mīrzās' revolt in the battle of Aḥmadābād in Djumādā I 981/September 1573. A minor outbreak of disturbances under one of the Mīrzās in 985/1577 was put down by the Mughal expeditionary force from Khāndesh.

The last Gudjarāt sultan, Muẓaffar III, had been taken prisoner by Akbar's forces on his first invasion. In 986/1578 he escaped and made his way to Gudjarāt and rose in rebellion in 991/1583, actually assuming the sultanate for a period of about six months; he evaded capture by the Mughal forces, and continued to offer resistance as a fugitive for the next ten years until his suicide after capture in 1001/1593 (for the final pursuit and capture of Muẓaffar see Burton-Page, *op. cit.*, 151 ff.).

For the largely peaceful history of Gudjarāt under the Mughals see MUGHAL. The importance of the province to the Mughals was largely commercial. The region was famous for its silk weaving and, especially at Aḥmadābād and Sūrat, the production of velvets (although sericulture never seems to have been practised in the region; the silk was imported from Bengal and from China); fine cotton cloth (*bafta*) was produced at the coastal towns, Bharōč in particular producing fine bleached calico; Sarkhedj was the principal centre for indigo production in the Mughal empire; saltpetre was refined at Aḥmadābād and Sūrat; and salt was prepared by evaporation from many districts bordering on the Raṇ of Kačč h. The conquest of Gudjarāt also gave ports to the Mughal empire, where apart from the commercial traffic there was a busy pilgrim traffic to the Holy Cities. The trade suffered a great loss in the Satyāsiō Kāḷ, the "famine of eighty-seven" (the Vikram year 1687, 1040-1/1630-1), and took at least ten years to recover; an interesting account of Mughal famine relief is given by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Bādshāh-nāma* (text, Engl. trans., and comment in P. Saran, *Provincial government of the Mughals*, Allahabad 1941, 432-3).

The peace and prosperity of Gudjarāt under Mughal rule gave way to disorder after the death of Awrangzīb at the beginning of the 12th/18th century. Previously there had been sporadic raids on Gudjarāt territory, especially Sūrat in 1074/1664 and 1081/1670, by the Marāṭhā chieftain Shivādjī; now the Gāikwāṛ family rose to prominence in Gudjarāt affairs and wielded more power than the Mughal *sūbadār*; by 1137/1725 they had started a reign of terror. Villages and towns were plundered, and in the next ten years the Marāṭhās had overrun almost all the province; eventually, with the fall of Aḥmadābād in 1171/1758, Mughal rule was extinguished. For the history of the

Marāṭhā wars and their rule of Gudjarāt see MARĀṬHĀS. Some tracts of the province were not, however, under the Marāṭhā rule of the Gāikwāṙ or the Peshwa, but remained under the authority of independent Muslim nobles, the Nawwābs of Bharōč, Khambāyat, Rādhanpur, and Sūrat [*qq.v.*] among others, in addition to the large district of Djunāgaṙh [*q.v.*]. After the defeat of the Marāṭhās in the third battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*] an imperial *farmān* was sent to Muʾmin Khān the Nawwāb of Khambāyat in 1174/1761 for the recovery of Gudjarāt. Muʾmin Khān prepared for battle but in the absence of imperial support was unable to take effective action, and Marāṭhā rule continued until Gudjarāt was ceded to the British by the Gāikwāṙ in 1817.

For the ethnology of Gudjarāt see HIND, Ethnology. For religious developments see DJAYN, PĀRSĪ; for Islamic sects see BOHORĀS, KHŌDJAS, IMĀM SHĀH, ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, MUʾMIN, SĀTPANTHĪ.

For the coinage of Gudjarāt see SIKKA. For the monuments, see HIND, also AḤMADĀBĀD, BHARŌČ, ČĀMPĀNĒR, DJŪNĀGAṘH, KHAMBĀYAT, MAḤMŪDĀBĀD, SŪRAT.

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GUDJARĀTĪ, language spoken in the state of Gudjarāt (population 20,623,474) and in the communities of Gudjarātīs which have settled in various parts of India; it has always been the first language of the many Gudjarātī Muslims, in preference to Urdū, and shows some Muslim influence in its literary forms, notably in the introduction of the *ghazal*. Outside India, large communities of Gudjarātī speakers are settled in Asia and Africa.

Gudjarātī belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-Iranian subgroup of the Indo-European language family. The earliest inscriptional evidence of Aryan speech in Gudjarāt goes back to the Ashōkan edicts at Girnar (Sawrāshtra) of 250 B.C. Gudjarāt had a strong tradition of Sanskritic and Prākritic learning. A literary standard prevalent in the region bounded by Djaysalmēr to the north, Mālwa to the east and Sawrāshtra and Gudjarāt to the west and south became a direct predecessor of modern Gudjarātī. Some of the dated documents of the 12th century and secondary copies of compositions of the 10th century mark the beginning of old Gudjarātī literature. Modern Gudjarātī literature is rich in belles-lettres as well as in serious prose. The Gudjarātī script is a cursive form of Devanāgarī; the syllabary is Sanskritic. The Perso-Arabic script has never been in regular use for Gudjarātī.

Southern, Central and Northern Gudjarāt and peninsular Sawrāshtra form the major dialect regions of Gudjarātī. The dialects of Sawrāshṭra are archaic and have preserved some older features. Notable among the occupational jargons are the speech of fishermen in Sawrāshṭra and along the southern Gudjarāt coast, the bardic and pastoral communities of Sawrāshṭra, the Ismāʿīlī Khodjas of Sawrāshṭra and the Pārsīs of South Gudjarāt. On the whole, central and northern Gudjarāt are innovating dialects, and modern standard Gudjarātī is based on the speech of the educated upper caste population.

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GŪDJRĀŃWĀLA, an industrial town of West Pakistan and headquarters of the district of the same name, situated in 32° 9′ N. and 74° 11′ E., on the main railway line between Lahore and Peshawar [*qq.v.*]; population (1961) 196,154. The town, a mere village till the middle of the 19th

century, owes its origin to a tribe of the Gūdjars [*q.v.*] who were expelled by Sānsī Djāṭs from Amritsar [*q.v.*]. On changing hands the village was renamed Khānpur, after the head-man of the Sānsīs. But this name never gained popularity.

It was of little importance during Mughal days and consequently finds no mention in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*. Early in the 19th century it was captured by Čarat Singh Djāṭ, grandfather of the Sikh ruler Randjīt Singh, who made it his headquarters. Randjīt Singh himself was born here and it continued to be the capital of the rising Sikh power until 1799, when the seat of government was shifted to Lahore. The Sikh general Harī Singh Nalwa, who led many punitive expeditions against the Afghāns of the Khyber, was also a native of this place. His house, in a narrow street of the town, is still preserved. The father and grandfather or Randjīt Singh both have their *Samādhs*, last resting places, in this town. The former was cremated in a corner of the gardens named after him, but now called Jinnah Bagh, while the latter has his mausoleum in a quarter of the old city. A lofty cupola covering a portion of the ashes of Randjīt Singh, who has his tomb in Lahore and a *bāradarī*, a fine example of Sikh architecture, form a part of the complex. An old mosque, said to date from the times of Shēr Shāh Sūr [*q.v.*], with the typical onion-shaped dome, is also preserved.

The town remained quiet during the military uprising of 1857 but was badly disturbed during the Non-Cooperation and *Khilāfat* movements of 1921-22, when rioters uprooted the railroad track, burnt down the railway station and indulged in widespread arson and looting. By way of punishment the new railroad station was built at a considerable distance from the town. It is now used as a halting station for good trains while the passengers alight at the site of the destroyed station, which was rebuilt by the British Government. Politically unimportant, the town is a flourishing centre of iron, steel, copper and hand-loom industries and is rapidly expanding.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

GUDJRĀT, a town, *taḥṣīl* and district in the northern plains of the Pākistān Pandjāb lying between the rivers Djehlam and Čanāb. The district is thought to have once formed part of the ancient Gurdjara kingdom; but it is not specifically referred to in Islamic historical writing until the time of Bahlōl Lodī (855-94/1451-89) when the town of Bahlōlpur, 36 km. north-east of Gudjrāt town, was founded; the settlement of the district was continued by Shīr Shāh in the middle of the 10th/16th century, and completed by Akbar with the refounding of Gudjrāt town.

There seem to have been at least two succesive cities on the site of what is now Gudjrāt. One tradition gives the early name of the town as Udanāgarī and a foundation by Rādjpūt kings in the 5th century B.C.; a king Alākhāna is cited by the Sanskrit *Rājatarangini* as the defender of the town against Śankaravarman of Kashmīr between 883 and 902 A.D., and is perhaps the origir of the 'ʿAlī Khān' reported as a re-founder in a popular local Muslim tradition; one city seems to have been destroyed c. 703/1303 by the Mongols. The modern foundation dates from Akbar, who in 995 or 997/1587 or 1589 persuaded some of the local Gūdjars to restore Gudjrāt and made it the headquarters of a large district; the local population is predominantly Djāṭ [*q.v.*], but the fort (Gudjrāt-Akbarābād) was garrisoned by Gūdjars.

The town and district remained under efficient Mughal control until the death of Awrangzēb, records of the period having been preserved by the hereditary *ḳānūngōs* of the region. In 1151/1738 it was ravaged by Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]; the Gakkhars of Rāwalpindī, under Sultan Muḳarrab Khān, established themselves there in 1154/1741, but the country was an open prey from 1161/1748 to 1175/1761 to the marauding armies of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] on whose route it lay. Muḳarrab Khān was confirmed in his possessions by the Durrānī ruler, and nominally administered them on his behalf; but "nothing was left to the people but the food and drink in their mouths; the rest was Aḥmad Shāh's". This nominal rule lasted until 1179/1765, when Gudjrāt fell to the Sikhs. The district came under British rule in 1846.

The district is largely agricultural, and produces some timber. Gudjrāt town has some reputation as a centre for fine furniture making, and had previously some renown as a centre of iron damascening. The shrine still exists of the *pīr* Shāh Dawla [b. 975/1567, d. 1125/1713 according to the local tradition], a saint whose intercessions were said to remove the curse of barrenness if the first-born were dedicated to his service. These children attached to the shrine are invariably freaks, of low intelligence and with absurdly pointed heads—deliberate distortion of the heads in infancy has been suspected; they are known as Čūhā-i Shāh Dawla, "Shāh Dawla's rats".

The name Gudjrāt used here reflects the conventional spelling Gujrat, adopted to distinguish this district and town from Gujarat (Gudjarāt [*q.v.*]); the two names are really identical. For the etymology see GUDJARĀT.

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GUERSIF [see GARSĪF].

GUILD(S) [see FUTUWWA, ṢINF].

GUINEA, an independent republic on the West coast of Africa (246,000 sq. km), bounded on the north by Portuguese Guinea, Senegal and Mali, on the east by the Ivory Coast, and on the south by Liberia and Sierra Leone. Within these limits, between 7° and 13° N., and between 7° and 17° E., every type of terrain and climate is to be found, starting with Lower Guinea which has a width of from 40 to 90 km, and where extensive deltas have been formed by the neighbouring rivers, often lined with mud-flats or strewn with islands; Central Guinea corresponds with the Fūta Djallon, dominated by residual high ground from 1200 to 1500 m. and distinguished by the *bowal*, a cap of laterite isolated by erosion, and where the introduction of cultivation has increased the sterility. Upper Guinea corresponds with the upper basin of the Niger, where the climate becomes continental; further south, in the Guinea forests, lies the mountain barrier containing Mount Nimba.

Guinea probably derives its name from the Berber *ignawən*, pl. of *agnaw*, which means "mute" and does not imply any notion of colour (see G. S.

Colin in *GLECS*, vii, 93-5), contrary to the view expressed by M. Delafosse (*Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, ii, 277).

The population of Guinea numbers about 3 million. There are still some centres of population that are either indigenous or were established in very early times, Coniagui and Bassari in the north, Kissi and Guerze in the south.

The Baga, Landuman, Mani or Mendenyi, and Nalu have been driven back from the Fūta towards the coast by Mande, Sarakole, Malinke and Sussu elements, and by the conquering Fulani. The history of these settlements corresponds in general outline with the history of Islamization.

This process was accomplished only slowly, under the pressure of political and military events in the Nigerian Sudan, first with Malinke elements, and then through the Fulani who, as soon as they believed themselves to be sufficiently strong, were to proclaim a holy war and to maintain their ascendancy over the Fūta until the French conquest.

It was in 422/1050 that Baramendana Keita, the sovereign of Mali, was converted to Islam. From the end of the 5th/11th century the first Diola to be Islamized by the Sarakole penetrated into Guinea and began to spread Islam into the Fūta and along the kola-nut routes leading to the coast. In the 6th/12th century, the Soninke Morikubala Dore introduced Islam into the Konian, Awrodugu and Kossadugu. In 658/1260 Amari Sonko, one of the commanders of Mansa Ule, king of Mali, conquered and converted the Kangaran. In the first half of the 10th/16th century came the Pouli from Macina and Tichitt, commanded by Bambi Diade. These first Fulani invaders were Ḳādiriyya Bakkāya (of the Kunta of Timbuctu). They set about converting or expelling the refractory elements. Koli Tenguela or Koli Pouli, great-grandson of Bambi Diade, created the first kingdom of Fūta.

Attracted by the mountain pasturages, the Fulani came in ever increasing numbers from Macina at the end of the 11th/17th century, and Islamization became more marked. However, the Muslim Mandingos, coming from Diafonu in particular, founded Kankan and the villages of Bate, Kuafodie and Tintiule. In 1105/1694 a powerful force of Fulani arrived from Macina, led by a certain Seri or Sidi. In about 1111/1700 leadership passed to Muhammadu Saïdi and then to Kikala, a man renowned for his piety. On the death of his son Sambigu, his grandsons Nuhu and Malik Si disputed the succession (1132-8/1720-6).

The Muslim penetration was, at that date, on so extensive a scale that it was tempting to make use of the religious pretext to evict the proprietors of the land. It was Ibrahima Mussu, still known as Karamoko Alfa, a man of immense piety, who was called on to fight against the pagans. He inaugurated the permanent state of holy war which was one of the constant and fundamental policies of Fūta. The first victories fell to the aggressive Fulani, but the pagans recovered and their chief, Pouli Garme, occupied Timbo when Karamoko became insane and died. In his place was chosen Ibrahima Sori ("the Wakeful"), known as *mawdo* (= the Great), who in practice was to be the great war leader of Fūta, defeating the Wassulonke and the Sulima in succession. He compelled the Fulani chief of Labe to recognize his authority over the Mandingo province of Niokolo in Upper Gambia, and forced Maka, king of Bundu, to become Muslim and take the title of *almami*. In face of these triumphs, the council of elders became perturbed and their head, the *Modi Maka*, with the support of the Alfaya had Abdullahi Ba Demba, a descendant of Karamoko Alfa, nominated as *almami*. But under the threat of perils from without, they recalled Ibrahima Sori who, in about 1194/1780, moved the capital of Fukumba to Timbo. On the death of Ibrahima Sori (in about 1784), the kingdom of Fūta, divided into two rival branches, the Alfaya and the Soria, was apportioned to each of the branches alternately every two years. During the reigns of Karamoko Alfa and Ibrahima Sori Mawdo, the Islamization of central Guinea (Kindia region) was continued. Some Kankan families broke away and founded Beyla (corruption of *billāh*).

These alternating reigns did not pass without serious difficulties. The Islamization of the Dialonke proceeded with increased momentum as a result of the founding in 1821 of the *madrasa* of Tuba, an important Ḳādirī centre, by al-Ḥādjdj Salimu, better known under the name Karamba. In 1830, Alfa Mamadu introduced Islam into the Rio Nuñez. The 19th century was dominated by the reign of the Almami ʿUmar (1837-72), who overcame his rival Ibrahima at Timbo (1851) and succeeded in conquering the fanatical Muslims who had revolted in the Fitaba at the instigation of a *marabout*, Mamadu Djue. These rebels were called Hubbu from the phrase *ḥubbu rasūl Allāh* (= the love of God's Messenger). Mamadu Djue having died, his son Abal ("the Wild") continued the struggle and contrived to kill the Almami Sori Dara at Boketto, the capital of the Fitaba, in 1872.

Treaties of friendship were signed in the reign of Ibrahima Sori Donhol Fella (1872-89) and Amadu Dara (1873-96) with representatives of England and France. In 1887-8, Aimé Olivier, Comte (?) de Sanderval, caused himself to be proclaimed a citizen of Fūta Djallon by the Alamai, and to be given the highlands of Kahel and the right of coinage. Sanderval thereafter played a decisive part in the vassals' struggle against the Almami Bokar Biro, who was defeated at Bentiguel-Tokosere by the chief of Labe. Restored to the throne by the French administration, he agreed to sign a protectorate treaty, but in place of his name he wrote Bissimilaï (*bi-'smi 'llāh*). Captain Müller then marched on Timbo. Bokar Biro and his 1500 warriors were defeated at Poredaka. It was the end of the independence of the Fūta Djallon.

The progress of Islamization was thus advanced notably; in 1850 al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar had established the Dinguiraye (cattle-park) before carrying out his conquests in the north, and his adherents had penetrated the frontier zone of the present northern Guinea. From 1870 a former Mandingo pedlar, Samory Toure, set up the empire of Onassubu, the capital of which, Bissandugu, was his place of refuge after expeditions to what later became Ghana and the Ivory Coast.

Samory's invasions produced a renewed Islamic infiltration. By the treaties of Kenieba-Koura (March 1886) and Bissandugu (1887), Samory made himself secure from the direction of the French Sudan and, to protect himself from the British, he requested a French protectorate. Operations started again from 1891. In 1898 Samory, captured by the Gourand force, was deported to Gabon where he died two years later.

French Guinea was established by a decree of 17 December 1891, and its boundaries were fixed in 1899 with the neighbouring states, French Sudan (now Mali) and the Ivory Coast. Being included in 1904 in the Federation of West Africa, it became a

'Territoire d'Outre-Mer' and gained its independence on 28 September 1958 by voting *non* in the referendum under the guidance of the present President Sekou Touré.

The Islamization of Guinea was continued throughout the whole French period with the frequent help of the administration. On the other hand, since independence a strict neutrality has been imposed by the President, although himself a Muslim.

In conclusion, we may say that in Guinea as a whole, according to the judgement of the geographer J. R. Molard, "the Fulani are Muslim born, the Mandingos are adopting Islam, while the forest peoples (Kissi, Toma, Guerzé) have remained hostile."

Bibliography: Arcin, *Histoire de la Guinée Française*, Paris 1911; Demougeot, *Note sur l'organisation politique et administrative du Labé, Mémoire IFAN*, Larose 1944; idem, *Histoire du Rio Nunez*, in *BCHSAOF*, xxi (1938); Feral, *L'Islam en Guinée Française*, Doc. CHEAM Nr. 1022; Houis, *Guinée Française*, Paris, S.E.M.C.; Marty, *L'Islam en Guinée*, Paris 1921; R. Molard, *Essai sur la vie paysanne au Fouta-Djalon*, in *Revue de géographie alpine*, Grenoble 1944, republished in *Hommage à Jacques Richard Molard, Présence Africaine*, 155-251; Tauxier, *Moeurs et histoire des Peuls*, Paris 1937; Vieillard, *Notes sur les Peuls du Fouta Djalon*, in *FIBAN*, 1940, 85-210; see also the *Études Guinéennes* published by the Centrifan de Conakry before independence and the *Recherches Africaines* which have since replaced them. (R. Cornevin)

GUL (Pers., 'rose, flower'). In eastern Islamic literatures the (red) rose plays a very important part. The image of the rose (or the bud: *ghunča*) recurs in all manner of similes, metaphors and other figures of speech, in set phrases, idioms and puns. *Gul-āb* (rose-water) is considered one of the finest ingredients for sweets and drinks. With the nightingale (*bulbul* [*q.v.*]) the rose constitutes an old established pair of lovers, naturally not restricted to its actual meaning. The mention of either term of the binomial *gul - bulbul* evokes in the language of poetry the image of the other. *Gul* and its compounds are used as personal names (for example, *Gul-andām* and *Gul-shāh*) as well as place names (*Gulkhandān, Gulistān* and *Gulgasht*). As rival claimant (*raḳīb* [*q.v.*]) for the rose, and occasionally its protector, the thorn is used. As symbol of the challenge to a match or contest the rose appears (similar to the glove in the West) in the expressions *gul-i djang, gul-i hangāma* and *gul-i kushti*, the last-named being also the title of a *mathnawī* by ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī Nadjāt (d. ca. 1126/1714; see J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 286). The word, with separate derivations and numerous combinations, appears alone (even as a personal name) and combined (*gul-dasta, gulistān, gulshan* and *gulzār*) with other personifications of things or with persons frequently in the titles of Persian, Turkish and Indian books. *Gul u bulbul* is the title of both Persian and Indian *mathnawī*s (see H. Ethé, *Neupers. Lit.*, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 250 ff.). Well known is Faḍlī's Turkish *mathnawī Gül ve bülbül* (*Gül ü Bülbül, Rose und Nachtigall von Fasli, ein romantisches Gedicht*, Turkish edition and German translation by Joseph von Hammer, Pest and Leipzig 1834; see Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 110 ff.), which is, next to that composed in Čaghatay by Luṭfī in 814/1411 (see A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 129), the best of all the epics of the same name (such as those of Baḳāʾī, Ghāzī Girāy II and others) in the Turkish languages. But the rose was combined with yet other partners. See for example the indexes in *Gr. I. Ph.*; Gibb, *op. cit.*; Browne, ii, iv. Further material might be provided by catalogues of oriental and western manuscripts, further Edwards, *Cat. of the Printed Books in the British Museum*, London 1922; A. J. Arberry, *Persian Books* (*Cat. of the Library of the India Office*, ii/6), London 1937, and similar works. From Persian poetry might be mentioned *Gul u Khusraw* or *Khusraw u Gul* (usually *Khusraw-nāma*) by Farīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ʿAṭṭār (d. 627/1230?) (see *EI*², i, 753; H. Ethé, *op. cit.*, 286; in more detail H. Ritter, *Philologika*, x, *Isl.*, xxv (1938), 160-72); *Gul u mul* ("Rose and Wine"; see *IA*, ii, 734); *Gul u Naw-rūz* by Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Ṭabīb in 734/1334, and the same title by Khwādjū Kirmānī in 742/1341-2 (see H. Ethé, *op. cit.*, 249); *Gul u Ṣanawbar* "Rose and Spruce", in prose and several times translated into Urdū (see H. Ethé, *op. cit.*, 321 and 323); Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*², Paris 1870, i, 157 ff.; and translated by him in *Revue orient. et amér.*, vii, 69-130). From Ottoman poetry, *Gül ü Khusrev* by Āhī (d. 923/1517; Gibb, *op. cit.*, ii, 291); *Gül u Ṣabā*, "Rose and Zephyr", by Nedjātī (d. 914/1509; see Gibb, *op. cit.*, ii, 101); *Münāẓara-i Gül ü Khusrev*, "Contest between (the) Rose and Khusrev", also by Nedjātī (see Gibb, *op. cit.*, ii, 100), and *Gül ü Nev-rūz* by Muʿīdī (16th century; see Gibb, *op. cit.*, iii, 160).

Bibliography: In addition to that mentioned above, Charles Joret, *La Rose dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen-Age*, Paris 1892; Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*² (Pers. tr.), iv, Tehrān 1336 s., 165-9; Annemarie Schimmel, *Rose und Nachtigall*, in *Numen*, v/2 (1958), 85-109. (J. Rypka)

GÜLBABA, a Turkish title, with the sense of head of a Muslim cloister (*tekke*) of the Bektāshī Order; the name of a *tekke* at Buda and of another *tekke* in the neighbourhood of Edirne; the name of a legendary personality.

The name Gülbaba, in connexion with the *tekke* and the *türbe* so designated at Buda, appears in Turkish documents of 974/1566 with the form كل بابا (Vienna, Flügel 1294); on a manuscript sketch-map of 1684 (E. Veres, *Marsigli jelentése és térképei Budavár 1684., 1686. évi ostromairól* [Report and maps of Marsigli on the sieges of the fortress of Buda in the years 1684 and 1686], in *Budapest régiségei* [Antiquities of Budapest], ix, 142) it occurs four times in the same form, though in each case without vocalization. Written in the same manner, it is found in several Turkish authors, *e.g.*, in Pečewī (ii, 141), Ewliyā Čelebi (vi, 244) and Naʿīmā (i, 289); and in Silāḥdār it occurs a number of times in the form كول بابا (ii, 401, 799, 801). In the writings of European authors the name is encountered as Julpapa in G. Wernher and E. Brown, as Gyulpapa in the superscription—from a European hand—on the above-mentioned manuscript sketch-map, and as Ghiul Baba in the text of L. Marsigli; about 1830, after the rendering of a dervish from India, it was written down as Tiulbaba. The forms given in the Latin script leave no doubt that the name, in its first syllable, has to be pronounced Gülbaba, with the vowel ü. A man with the name Gülbaba is known from the time of Meḥemmed II (Babinger, *GOW*, 213) and a locality near Edirne is also called Gülbaba. The word *gül*, as a component of personal names, is known, too, in other instances, *e.g.*, Gül Toḳmaḳ Khān, Gül Rüstem Khān.

The expression *gül*, in names of this kind, has not

the meaning of rose (*i.e.*, the flower), but a mystical sense, in that it alludes symbolically to fiery zeal on behalf of the (Muslim) faith. This meaning underlies, moreover, the compounds *gül-tesbīḥ*, *gül-benk*. In the life of the dervish, *gül* has the sense of "glowing iron rose", "particular ornament on the top of a dervish cap, especially in the case of the Ḳādirī order"; it is the mark which distinguishes the head of a house of the order and which is to be worn on the cap (*tādj*). M. d'Ohsson writes (*Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, ii, 534) that the red-hot iron is called *gül*, which the Rifāʿī dervishes grasp, kiss and bite in the ecstasy of their religious dances. Th. Menzel observes (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Dervisch-tāǧ*, in *Festschrift G. Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, 179 n.) that one of the objects in use amongst the dervishes is named "*zenǧīrli šiš* = *gül*, *charb* (Nadelspitze mit Kugel und Kettchen)", that part of the dervish cap is called *gül*, and this is regarded as the *damgha* of the *erens* (*ibid.*, 191); and that, furthermore, *gül* in various contexts is the badge of different dervish orders and of distinct grades within the orders.

In elucidating the name Gülbaba we have therefore to set out from this mystical sense of the word *gül*, with the result that *gülbaba* means "a zealous dervish, a rose on the branch of his order", *i.e.*, a man who, at the ceremonies held in common, leads and intones the prayers, one who knows how to take hold of the red-hot iron as of a rose breaking into bloom—the iron whose touch is as pleasing as the fragrance of roses, one who keeps and handles this iron, a man who bears the mark of a religious head (*gül*) on his cap fashioned from wedge-shaped pieces of cloth, etc. Ewliyā Čelebi (vi, 244) alludes to this sense of the word, when he addresses Gülbaba, in verses composed in his honour, as *güllü baba*, *i.e.*, as little father of the roses, as the *baba* recognizable by the rose. This meaning is also to be found in E. Brown, who notes that the head of the Buda *tekke* was "called *Julpapa*, or Father of the *Rose*" (Edward Brown, *A brief account* . . ., London 1673, 34, quoted in *Budapest régiségei* [Antiquities of Budapest], ix, 115), and in L. Marsigli, who remarks that the Turks, by Gülbaba, understand a "Padre Rosa", in much the same manner as the Christians use an expression like "Padre Giazinto".

Other explanations of the word are: that it comes from *Kel baba*, "bald father" (I. Kunos, in *Pallas Lexikon*, Budapest 1894, viii, 365); also that it derives from the verbal stem *gül-* (after the analogy of Gäl-bäri, see Gy. Németh, in *KCsA*, ii, 379).

Gülbaba is therefore a Turkish title. It is only on the evidence of Ewliyā Čelebi that Gülbaba would seem to be a personal name, referring to a historical personage. Ewliyā Čelebi remarks (vi, 225) that Gülbaba died at the Ottoman conquest of Buda and that Sultan Süleymān had his corpse laid to rest and commended the fortress of Buda to his protection. Of such an important event no trace is to be found in other sources. It is mentioned neither by Pečewī (the reference to Pečewī given by Cl. Huart in *EI*¹, s.v. Gül-Bābā, is the result of an error), nor by Djalāl-zāde, the official historian of the campaign. We have therefore to accept that there was never a person with the name Gülbaba in the time of the Turks, and in particular no historical personage of this name, but that on the other hand there existed at all times one or more *gülbaba* in charge of a *tekke*.

The *tekke* and *türbe* called Gülbaba at Buda were built by Meḥemmed Pasha before 958/1551. The *türbe* is still standing today. The hill on which these two buildings stood (it is now called Rózsadomb, *i.e.*, Hill of Roses) has been given the name Miḥnet tepesi in the historical literature as the result of an erroneous statement by von Hammer (*GOR*², iii, 706); it used in fact to be called Gülbaba bayrï, Tekke bayrï ("Gülbaba Hill, Tekke Hill").

Bibliography (further to works mentioned in the text): G. Wernher, *Moscouiter wunderbare Historien* ... *Warhafftige Beschreibung* ... *Der wunderbaren Wasseren in Ungaren Verzeichnuss*, Basel 1563; E. Brown, *A brief account of some travels in Hungaria, Servia, etc.*, London 1673, revised second ed. 1685, Fr. tr. Paris 1674; J. F. Miller, *Epitome vicissitudinum et rerum memorabilium de urbe Budensi*, Buda 1760; J. Podhradczky, *Eredeti két magyar krónika* (Two Original Hungarian Chronicles), Pest 1833; A. K. Fischer, *Gül-Baba*, Budapest 1898; *Vasárnapi Ujság* (Sunday Newspaper), 1855, 1862 and 1873; Rūm-beg-oghlu Fakhr al-Dīn, *Gül baba*, in *TOEM*, iii/15 (1328), 962-5; *Ün*, Isparta 1935; L. Fekete, *Gül-Baba et le bektāšī derk'āh de Buda*, in *Acta Orient. Hung.*, Budapest 1954 (the most recent review of the subject). (L. Fekete)

GULBADAN BĒGAM, the talented and accomplished daughter of the emperor Bābur [*q.v.*] by one of his wives, Dildār Bēgam, who was a lineal descendant of the Central Asian *ṣūfī* Aḥmadi-Djām *Zinda-Pīl*, was born c. 929/1523 in Khurāsān (Kabul?), two years before her father set out from Kabul on his last but historic expedition across the Indus in 932/1525, which won him the empire of India. That very year she was adopted by Māham Bēgam, mother of Humāyūn [*q.v.*] and the senior wife of Bābur, to rear and educate. In 936/1529 she left for Āgra [*q.v.*], the seat of Bābur's government, under the care of her foster-mother to join her father there. She remained in India till 947/1540 when Humāyūn suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Shēr Shāh Sūr [*q.v.*]. She along with other royal ladies was sent back to Kabul where the fugitive emperor Humāyūn joined her in 952/1545. In about 946/1539 she married Khiḍr Khʷādja Čaghatāy, second son of Bābur's full sister Khānzāda Bēgam. An otherwise undistinguished man, he rose to the rank of *Amīr al-Umarāʾ* under Humāyūn (cf. *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Eng. transl. by Blochmann, 365 *n.*). She bore him many children but none attained greatness. In 982/1574 she left on a pilgrimage to Mecca, stayed in the Ḥidjāz for three and a half years and performed the *ḥadjdj* four times. She returned to India in 990/1582 after a perilous voyage involving a shipwreck off Aden, where she had to stay for a whole year. It was after her return home that she was asked by Akbar [*q.v.*] to write her personal memoirs, the *Humāyūn-nāma* or *Aḥwāl-i Humāyūn Pādshāh*, as material for Abu 'l Faḍl's *Akbar-nāma*. Only one incomplete copy, recording the events up to 960/1553, of this work survives; it is in the British Museum. It was published with a lengthy introduction and English translation by Annette S. Beveridge (London 1902). Another, but inferior edition containing only the Persian text, was published at Lucknow in 1925 under the title *Humāyūn-nāma-i Gulbadan Bēgam*. She died at Āgra on 6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, 1011/7 May, 1603 at the age of 82 lunar years. Akbar himself accompanied and shouldered her bier a little distance.

She was well-versed in both Turkī and Persian and was good at calligraphy and the art of *inshāʾ*. She used to compose in Persian and two lines of hers

have been quoted by Mahdī Shīrāzī in the *Tadhkirat al-Khawātīn* (not seen by me).

Bibliography: Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., ii, 312; Abu 'l Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, Bibl. Ind., iii, 568, 815, 817; Muḥammad b. Muʿtamad Khān Badakhshī, *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī* (MS.), *sub anno* 1011 A.H.; Rieu, i, 147*a*, iii, 1083*a*; Annette S. Beveridge, *The History of Humayun* (*Humāyūn-nāma*), London 1902, introduction 1-79; Storey, i/1, 538-9; Muʿtamad Khān, *Iḳbāl-nāma-i Djahāngīrī* (MS.); ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād 1357/1955, v, 318-9 (the only notice in Arabic known to me). (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

GULBĀNG, a Persian word meaning the song ot the nightingale, and hence by extension fame, repute, and loud cries of various kinds. In Turkish usage it is applied more particularly to the call of the muezzin [see adhān] and to the Muslim war-cry (*Allāhu Akbar* and *Allāh Allāh*). In the Ottoman Empire it was used of certain ceremonial and public prayers and acclamations, more specifically those of the corps of Janissaries [see yeñi čeri]. Such prayers were recited at pay parades and similar occasions, at the beginning of a campaign, when they were accompanied by three volleys of musketry fired in the air, and at the accession of a Sultan. They were led by an officer standing with crossed arms on the '*gülbāng* stone' which was to be found in Janissary barracks. The term *gülbāng* was also used in the rituals of the Bektāshī and Mewlewī orders.

Bibliography: Pakalın, i, 683-5; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapıkulu ocakları*, i, Ankara 1943, 249, 375, 421-2, 533-4. See further mehterkhāne and nawba. (Ed.)

GULBARGĀ, a town and district in the north of Mysore state in India on the western borders of what is known as "the Deccan" (Dakkhan [*q.v.*]); the town is situated at 17° 21′ N., 76° 51′ E. Of some antiquity in the Hindū period, it formed part of the domains of the Kākatīyas of Warangal before the Islamic conquest. It was annexed for the Dihlī sultanate by Ulugh Khān, the future Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, early in the 8th/14th century, to pass first to the Bahmanī dynasty on its establishment in 848/1347, whose first capital it became under the name Aḥsanābād. It fell to the ʿĀdil Shāhīs of Bīdjāpur in 909/1504, and although it was recovered by Amīr Barīd ten years later it was soon retaken by the ʿĀdil Shāhīs; they held it until 1067/1657, when Mīr Djumla besieged it and captured it for the Mughals.

The majority of the monuments of Gulbargā belong to the period when it was the Bahmanī capital, and have already been described in the article bahmanids. Of the monuments not mentioned there the following are of some importance: Ḳalandhar Khān's mosque (see *Report of Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, 1335F:/1925-6*, 7 ff., Plates IIa, Xb), built by a Bahmanī governor after the transfer of the capital to Bīdar; the mosque of Afḍal Khān, an ʿĀdil Shāhī general of the late 10th/16th century (Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, *Basātīn-i Salāṭīn*, 130 ff.), which stands in the court of the *dargāh* of Gēsū Darāz, in the later stone Bīdjāpur style [see bīdjāpur, Monuments] similar to the mosque of Malika Djahān, with hanging stone chains below the cornice (*Report ... 1335F./1925-6*, 8, Plates IIb, XIa); the Langar mosque, early Bahmanī or possibly pre-Bahmanī, with a vaulted arch-shaped ceiling with wooden ribs recalling the style of the Buddhist cave-temples (*Report ... 1346F./1936-7*, 7 ff., Plate VIa); a group of 5 mausolea at Holkonḍa, once a suburb of Gulbargā on the Homnābād road, similar to those of the Haft Gunbadh (*Report ... 1344F./1934-5*, 1); the mosque and *dargāh* of Ḥaḍrat Kamāl Mudjarrad (*ibid.* 5-6 and Plates IIIa and b); the tomb of Čānd Bībī, of Niẓām Shāhī style (*ibid.*, 6, Plates IVa and b).

Bibliography: in the article; and see Bibliography to the article bahmanids. (J. Burton-Page)

GÜLEK BOGHAZ, Turkish name for the Cilician Gates, for which see cilicia, col. 35a.

GULISTĀN [see saʿdī].

GULISTĀN, the name of a place in the Caucasus where, on 12 October 1813, a peace treaty was signed between Russia and Persia. In 1800 the Russians had annexed Georgia, and the Persians, in an effort to check their further advance southward, had suffered two defeats in 1812, at Aslandūz and Lankurān, and had been forced to sue for peace.

The terms of the Treaty of Gulistān, which was negotiated through the mediation of the British ambassador Sir Gore Ouseley, were disastrous for Persia. The regions of Georgia, Ḳarābāgh, Shakkī, Shīrwān, Darband, Bākū, Dāghistān, Gandja, Muḳān, and part of Ṭālish, were ceded to Russia, and Article 5 stipulated that only Russian naval vessels had the right to navigate on the Caspian Sea. The ambiguous nature of the Article relating to the territorial settlement led to disputes and to the renewed outbreak of war in 1826.

Bibliography: A. Waḥīd Māzandarānī, *Rāhnamā-yi ʿuhūd*, Tehran 1341s./1962, 294, 306. For an English translation of the Treaty, and additional bibliography, see J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, i, 1956, 84 ff. (R. M. Savory)

GÜLKHĀNE, (modern Turkish Gülhane) the "House of roses", or Gülkhāne Meydānî, is the name of a part of the gardens which lie along the Sea of Marmora on the east side of the Topkapî Sarāyî in Istanbul [*q.v.*]; the name is derived from the fact that in olden days the building, in which the rose sweetmeats for the use of the court were prepared, stood there. The place is famous in history because the celebrated firman of Sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd, the so-called *Khaṭṭ-i sherīf* promulgating the reforms, was publicly proclaimed there on Sunday 26 Shaʿbān 1255/3 November 1839; cf. the description in G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Turkei*, ii, 14 ff.; Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, vi, 59 ff.; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*², London 1965, 104 ff., and article tanẓīmāt; on the place itself cf. White, *Three years in Constantinople*, i, 110, and *TOEM*, i, 291 ff.; it is now a park. (J. H. Mordtmann*)

GULPĀYAGĀN, district and town in the fifth *Ustān* (Luristān). The central chain of the Zagros range traverses the district; the highest peak is Ḥādjdjī Ḳārā (3650 m.). The district lies partly in the cold region and partly in the temperate one. The chief town, Gulpāyagān, which is situated in Long. 50° 18′ W. and Lat. 33° 26′ N., is 1924 m. above sea level and therefore has a cold climate in winter. It is an ancient town containing some buildings dating from the Saldjūḳ era. In 1951 the population of the town and the surrounding villages amounted to 22,000. The Arab geographers gave the name of the town as Djarbādhakān, *i.e.*, Gurbādhakān. It is only in comparatively recent times that frequent mention of the town occurs. The Arab geographers referred to it merely as a stage or station on the

route uniting Iṣfahān with Hamadān. The chief industry of the town and its surroundings is agriculture.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, ii, 40; Le Strange, 210; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 63; E. Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, ii, 114; Razmārā and Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, v, 316; for a discussion of the etymology of the name, see Aḥmad Kasravī, *Nāmhā-yi shahrhā u dihhā-yi Īrān*, Tehrān 1335/1956, 68. (L. Lockhart)

GULSHANĪ (Turkish: Gülshenī), Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Shihāb al-Dīn (?-940/1534), Turkish mystic, a successor of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and a prolific poet. He came of a family settled in Diyārbakr, where his father Muḥammad al-Āmidī's *türbe* and a prayer-hall said to have been built by him still stand some 500 yards outside the Mardin gate (see ʿAlī Emīrī, *Diyārbekirli baʿd-i dhewātīn terdjeme-i ḥālleri*, 16; for the report that he came from Barda in Ādharbaydjān, see M. ʿAlī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbaydjān*, 318). Muḥyī-i Gülshenī, whose *Menāḳib-i Ibrāhīm Gülshenī* [see *Bibl.*] is the richest source on Ibrāhīm Gulshanī's life and circle, continues the genealogy given above with four more names: b. Aydoghmush b. Gündoghmush b. Ḳutludoghmush b. Oghuz, thus making him a descendant of Oghuz Ata, but gives no information on his ancestors beyond his father and his grandfathers. His father Muḥammad al-Āmidī was the author of works on *fiḳh*, *kalām* and *manṭiḳ*; his paternal grandfather Ibrāhīm wrote a *sharḥ* on the *Farāʾiḍ*, completed the *Fakk al-mughlaḳ* (on the solution of various problems in *fiḳh*), composed much-esteemed works on *taṣawwuf*, and was for a time *ḳāḍī* of Diyārbakr (Muḥyī, *Menāḳib*, fol. 6r); his maternal grandfather Sharaf al-Dīn was descended from a certain Ḳāḍī ʿĪsā and was a *mudarris* at ʿAyntāb (*Menāḳib*, fol. 6v).

The date of Gulshanī's birth is not exactly known. Muḥyī's statement (*Menāḳib*, 159v.) that when he died in 940/1534 he was 114 years old implies that he was born in 826/1422-3; but elsewhere he states that he was two years old when his father died and that his father had survived into the reign of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu sultan Ḥamza (838-48/1434-44), so that the date 826 must be advanced by at least ten years; another statement (see below) that he joined Uzun Ḥasan at Tabrīz at the age of 15 implies that he was born in 859 or 860/1455 or 1456, but for reasons which will appear this statement on his age is unacceptable. Most probably he was born between 838 and 840/1434-7. His father dying when he was two, he was brought up by his paternal uncle Sayyidī ʿAlī, who, according to the *Menāḳib* (7r.), had more than 200 *murīds*. While still a child, Gulshanī began to learn the Ḳurʾān and to read Turkish books of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*. Concerning his later education the *Menāḳib* gives only vague and confused information: it relates that he set out alone to study in Mā warāʾ al-nahr, but when he reached Tabrīz he was adopted by Uzun Ḥasan's *ḳāḍīʿaskar*, who told him that all the *ʿulamāʾ* of Uzun Ḥasan's realm would obey his guidance, and appointed him *tawḳīʿī*. The stipend he received enabled him to help his uncle at Diyārbakr and, probably at this time, to bring his sister to Tabrīz (*Menāḳib*, 9v., 73r.). (That he was given the post of *tawḳīʿī* and still more important posts and was recognized already as a famous *shaykh* shows that the statement, also in the *Menāḳib*, that he was only 15 when he went to Tabrīz must be rejected). Elsewhere (13r.-v.) it is stated that he travelled to Harāt to resolve a dispute between Uzun Ḥasan and Ḥusayn Bayḳara, and, on a similar mission, visited Shīrāz, where he met Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī [see al-dawānī]. He gives the impression to have been at this period a government official with an inclination to *taṣawwuf*, who enjoyed special inward experiences and was searching for a suitable *murshid*; soon afterwards at Ḳarabāgh, by the good offices of Uzun Ḥasan's brother Uways, he was introduced to and became the *murīd* of Dede ʿUmar Rūshanī ([*q.v.*], d. 892/1486) of Aydīn, who was the *khalīfa* of Sayyid Yaḥyā-i Shīrwānī, the *pīr-i thānī* ('second *pīr*, *i.e.*, founder') of the Khalwatī order [see khalwatiyya].

Thenceforth Gulshanī devoted himself to *dhikr* and to ascetic practices: he would walk in the streets with a wine-cup in his hand to demonstrate his attachment to *malāmī* doctrine and wore a sheep-skin *tādj* (*Menāḳib*, 28r.). After Uzun Ḥasan's death (882/1478), his successor Khalīl had little esteem for Gulshanī, but the respect and fame which he enjoyed during the reign of Yaʿḳūb (883-96/1478-90) are demonstrated by a poem of Idrīs Bidlīsī [see bidlīsī], quoted in the *Menāḳib* (30v.-31r.); this respect was increased by the reverence in which Yaʿḳūb's *ḳāḍīʿaskar* ʿĪsā held him. Gulshanī assiduously attended the sermons of ʿUmar Rūshanī, who had come from Ḳarabāgh to settle at Tabrīz (*Menāḳib*, 26v.); he was present when Sultan Yaʿḳūb besieged Akhiska, settled various disputes within the royal family, and witnessed the rise of Shaykh Ḥaydar. When ʿUmar Rūshanī died (892/1486), he succeeded him (not without opposition) as *post-nishīn* [*q.v.*] and began to teach his disciples in the Muẓaffariyya mosque at Tabrīz. This period of *dhikr* and *samāʿ* did not last long: Yaʿḳūb's successors had little respect for him and even persecuted him. In 900/1495 he performed the Pilgrimage together with a numerous company of disciples and adherents. At Mecca he met some *ʿulamāʾ* of Egypt and wished to visit Egypt on his homeward journey, but gave up the plan out of consideration for his family waiting for him at Tabrīz (*Menāḳib*, 78v.-79r., 83r.). The Ṣafawī occupation of Tabrīz, consequent persecutions, and Alwand Beg's defeat by Shāh Ismāʿīl (907/1502) obliged him to hasten from Tabrīz with his family. He came to Diyārbakr, then governed by Ḳāsim Beg; but when, after Alwand's death (910/1504-5), Diyārbakr too fell to the Ṣafawīs (912/1507), he was obliged to flee again, first to Jerusalem (where he carried out a forty day retreat [see khalwa]) and then to Egypt, where he settled at Birkat al-ḥadjdj near Cairo. Timurtash, a Khalwatī *shaykh* who had earlier come from Shīrwān to settle there, procured for him the possession of Ḳubbat al-Muṣṭafā; while living there he met Sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī while he was out hunting, and the Sultan granted him living-quarters at the Muʾayyadiyya mosque by Bāb Zuwayla. Though deprived by the Ottoman invasion under Selīm I of the patronage first of Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī and then of his successor Tuman Beg, Gulshanī was held in great honour by the Ottoman troops (Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳat*, ii, 163), many of whom, encouraged perhaps by Gulshanī's old acquaintance Idrīs Bidlīsī, became his *murīds*; indeed his quarters at the Muʾayyadiyya mosque could no longer accommodate his followers, which gave rise to complaints from Arab *shaykhs* also lodged there. This enormous popularity was the cause of anxiety to the successive Ottoman governors, who feared a rising; and indeed when Ibrāhīm Pasha came to Egypt to investigate the situation after the rebellion of Aḥmed Pasha (Khāʾin [*q.v.*]) his adverse report to Sultan Süleymān prompted the Sultan to summon Gulshanī in 934/

1527-8 to Istanbul (see ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, Istanbul Un. Lib. MS T 2359, ii, fol. 24v.). The Sultān interviewed him, and his work *Maʿnawī* was sent to Kemāl Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*] for a *fatwā* on whether it contained ideas contrary to the *sharīʿa*. The Sultan was impressed by *Gulshanī* and the *fatwā* (text in *Menāḳib*, 120v.) was favourable; so after staying six months (through the winter) in Istanbul, Gulshanī returned to Egypt. (This incident forms the subject of the first play in Turkish literature, see İ. H. Danişmend, *Türk tiyatrosunun ilk piyesi*, in *Türklük*, ii (1939), 73-91.) Five or six years after his return to Egypt, Gulshanī died during an epidemic of plague on 9 Shawwāl 940/24 April 1534; he was buried in a *türbe* at his convent, which still stands. Of his two sons Aḥmed Khayālī and Meḥmed, the former, a poet whose Turkish *Dīwān* contains many pleasing poems, succeeded him.

Works. Ibrāhīm Gulshanī was a poet so prolific that he is said to have dictated poems in three languages (Persian, Turkish and Arabic) to three scribes at once. A. His works in Persian are (i) *Maʿnawī*: written in imitation of the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, this work of 40,000 couplets was begun at Diyārbakr and finished in 10 months; like the *Mathnawī*, it contains many stories, and many couplets from the *Mathnawī* are quoted in it verbatim. There are many fine manuscripts with gold-inlaid bindings in the libraries of Istanbul (Ayasofya 2080 [copied in 927], Umumî 3588 [copied 928], Süleymaniye-Halet Ef. 272 [copied 927), Süleymaniye-Esad Ef. 2908 [copied 936]). A *sharḥ* of the first 500 couplets (which are written in a very complex style) was composed by Laʿlī Meḥmed Fenāʾī and has been printed (*Sharḥ-i Maʿnawī*, Istanbul 1289). (ii) *Dīwān*: in this collection of 17,000 couplets (almost as long as Djalāl al-Dīn's *Dīwān-i kabīr*) the influence of Djalāl al-Dīn, Ḥāfiẓ, and sometimes Yūnus Emre is to be detected; it has not been printed or thoroughly studied. MSS in Turkey: Istanbul, Fatih 3866 (copied 931); Millet, farsça manzum 418 (? 10th/16th century); Ankara, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi library (unnumbered, ? 19th century). (iii) *Kanz al-djawāhir*, a work of about 7,500 quatrains, some in *rubāʿī*, some in *tuyugh* form, written in fairly simple language, on the themes of Divine Love, *fanāʾ* and *baḳāʾ*, and the author's devotion to his *murshid*, ʿUmar Rūshanī. Only one MS is known: Istanbul Un. Lib. F 1233 (according to the *Menāḳib*, 167, Gulshanī's *rubāʿīs* in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, amounted to 12,000 couplets). (iv) *Sīmurg-nāma*, a work of 30,000 couplets, known only from references in the *Menāḳib* (83v., 167r.). B. His works in Turkish comprise only a *Dīwān* of about the same length (17,000 couplets) as his Persian *Dīwān*. In some of his Turkish poems, Gulshanī is clearly under the influence of Yūnus Emre and Nesīmī [*qq.v.*]. The work deserves study, both for its literary and for its linguistic interest. The best and fullest MS known is in the Library of the Dil ve Tarih-Coğ. Fak. (Üniversite kütüphanesi kitapları 982). Selected poems from the *Dīwān* are found in various libraries, *e.g.*: Dil ve Tarih-Coğ. Fak. (Mustafa Çon 289); Istanbul Millet (Carullah 1661 and manzum 379); Istanbul Un. Lib. (T 890). Some of his *ghazals* were translated into Persian with a commentary by Idrīs Bidlisī (*Menāḳib*, 30r.). C. The Arab *ʿulamāʾ* and poets of his day regarded Gulshanī as '*ummī*', and perhaps he did not speak Arabic well (Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 163). His Arabic poems formed only a small *Dīwān* of 5,000 couplets (*Menāḳib*, 167r.). In form and content they are influenced by his Persian poems. The only known MS (of selections) is in the Library of the Dil ve Tarih-Coğ. Fak. (Üniversite kütüphanesi collection).

In his poetical works, especially in the final couplets of his *ghazals*, Gulshanī mentions, together with his own *makhlaṣ* or *nisba*, that of his *murshid* ʿUmar Rūshanī, whose thought so strongly influenced him. Gulshanī did not escape criticism, any more than his *murshid*, who, under the influence of the works of Muḥyī al-Dīn al-ʿArabī, adopted an extreme doctrine of *waḥdat-i wudjūd* and, for his efforts to spread in Ḳarabāgh and its neighbourhood the ideas of the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, was condemned and persecuted as a 'Fuṣūṣī'. Condemnatory *fatwās* were issued concerning Gulshanī and his *murīds* and successors, who preached the same extreme *waḥdat-i wudjūd* (see *Fatāwā-yi Abū Suʿūd*, Istanbul, Millet Lib., MS şer'iye 80, fol. 267r.-v.).

Gulshanī's *ṭarīḳa*. The Gulshaniyya *ṭarīḳa*, which took its name from his *nisba*, was a branch of the Khalwatiyya. It assumed its characteristic form only after Gulshanī had settled in Egypt and built his famous convent there. It diverges from the Khalwatiyya, based on the principles of *khalwa* and *dhikr*, especially in its rules of behaviour (*ādāb*). The Gulshaniyya *ṭarīḳa*, which at first adopted *samāʿ* and other practices of the Mawlawiyya (Ṣāliḥ, *Manāḳib-i awliyā-yi Miṣr*, Būlāḳ 1262, 143), later absorbed practices from the Baktashiyya and other orders, and was thus regarded as having placed itself outside the *sharīʿa* (Ḳaraḳash-zāde ʿÖmer, *Nūr al-hudā li-man ihtadā*, Istanbul 1286, 7). The rules of daily life in Gulshanī's convent in Cairo, the weekly ceremonies held there and the practices of the *ṭarīḳa* as a whole present peculiarities which deserve study (see Shemleli-zāde, *Shīwe-i ṭarīḳat-i Gulshaniyye*, Millet Lib., MS şer'iye 888; for the convent and its buildings, see ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, *djuzʾ* vi, 54).

Bibliography: Muḥyī-i Gülshenī (d. 1026/1617), *Menāḳib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gülsheni* (references in the text are to the foliation of my own MS; for other MSS see *Istanbul Kitaplıkları Tarih-Coğ. yazmaları kataloglari*, i/6, Istanbul 1946, no. 310); Ṣāliḥ, *Manāḳib-i awliyā-yi Miṣr*, Būlāḳ 1262 (details from Muḥyī's work, much abridged); Ḥulwī, *Lamazāt*, Istanbul Un. Lib. MS 1894; ʿAlī Emīrī, *Diyārbekirli baʿḍ-i dhewātīn terdjeme-i ḥālleri*, Millet Lib.; idem, *Tedhkire-i shuʿarāʾ-i Āmid*, Istanbul 1328; Laṭīfī, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1314, 52-4; ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Shaḳāʾiḳ*, i, 66; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, i, 320, 335, 389, x, 243-6; Ṣādiḳ Widjdānī, *Silsile-nāme-i Khalwatiyye* (*Tomar-i ṭuruḳ-i ʿāliye*); M. Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, i, 19; M. ʿAlī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbaydjān*, Tehran 1314; Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1299, ii, 163; ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1306, iv, 54; Mrs. R. L. Devonshire, *Rambles in Cairo*, 332.

(TAHSIN YAZICI)

GULSHANĪ (GÜLSHENĪ) ṢARŪKHĀNĪ, Ottoman poet who flourished in the reign of Meḥemmed II, was born in Ṣarūkhān, and lived a life of religious seclusion and devotion. His *Maḳālāt* (variously entitled in the MSS *Rāz-nāme*, *Pend-nāme*, *Esrār-nāme*) is written in seven chapters in the *mathnawī* form, containing 950 couplets; completed in 864/1459, it consists of homilies, stories and parables. After each homily or admonition, Gülshenī includes stories to illustrate his point.

He is the author of a Persian *dīwān*: the text of the *ḳāṣīdes* addressed to Meḥemmed II and Bāyezīd

II is reproduced from the unique MS (Istanbul, Bayezid Um. Küt. 5280) by Tahsin Yazıcı (see Bibl.). He wrote also a poem celebrating the Prophet's birthday (*mawlūd*).

Bibliography: Laṭīfī, *Tedhkere*, s.v.; Bursalī Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Müʾellifleri*, ii, 388; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, ii, 378; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, ii, 286; T. Yazıcı, *Gülşenî, eserleri ve Fâtih ve II. Bayezid hakkındaki kasideleri*, in *Fâtih ve İstanbul*, ii/7-12 (1954), 82-137.

(Günay Alpay)

GÜLSHEHRĪ, a Turkish poet of the beginning of the 8th/14th century. Hitherto, his personal name was taken to be Aḥmed, on the evidence of a single entry in a manuscript of his poem *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*. Recently, on the strength of several points in the same work, he has been identified with a certain Sheykh Süleymān, whose *türbe* is in Kïrshehir. It can be easily supposed that this town from which as a poet he took his name Gülshehrī was his home. The date of the poet's death is unknown, but it must have been after 717/1317, the year when his work *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* was completed.

Gülshehrī wrote two great didactic *ṣūfī* poems, *methnewī*s in *remel* metre, one in Persian entitled *Falak-nāma* (completed 701/1301-2), of about 4,000 distichs (*bayt*s), of which the so far unique manuscript is now in the Public Library (Genel Kitaplık), Ankara, as no. 817. The other work is written in Turkish and is entitled *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*; this likewise consists of about 4,000 distichs, and now exists in a facsimile edition with introduction by Agâh Sırrı Levend (Ankara 1957). A dissertation on this work, by Müjgan Cunbur, has not yet appeared in print. Gülshehrī's *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* ("Speech of the birds") is a free adaptation in verse of the poem of the same name also in the *remel* metre, by the Persian poet Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], and not really a translation. The ideas and construction of the work are the same as with ʿAṭṭār; it is an allegory of *ṣūfī* monism (*waḥdet-i wudjūd*), in the form of a story of a journey by the birds under their leader, the hoopoe (*hüdhüd*), to their queen, the Sīmurgh [*q.v.*], whose eyrie was far off on Mount Ḳāf, and their arrival there, after the hardships of the journey only thirty of them attaining their goal, where they were finally compelled to recognize themselves to be the "Sī murgh" —"thirty birds". In matters of detail, however, Gülshehrī often goes his own way.

In one place in his work *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* (text, ed. A. S. Levend, 297, l. 14), the poet names the *Gülshannāme*, as a work written by himself; it is, however, probable that the *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* itself is meant. Another small *methnewī* is also in existence, probably by Gülshehrī, consisting of 167 distichs and also in *remel* metre, on Akhī Ewrān/Evren (*Kerāmāt-i Akhī Ewrān ṭāba tharāhu*), which is very closely linked with the *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* since they have whole verses in common. There is some difference of opinion as to whether this short *methnewī* on Akhī Evren derives from Gülshehrī himself, or whether it was composed by another poet who may have been a follower of Akhī Evren and who made use of lines from the *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* and misappropriated the then famous name of Gülshehrī. It is a striking fact both that in the *methnewī* on Akhī Evren the *Falak-nāma* is in fact named (verse 159b), but not the *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*, and also that the name of Akhī Evren does not figure in the latter work [see akhī ewrān].— In another place in the *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* (text, A. S. Levend, 296 l. 12) Gülshehrī also speaks of a verse translation of a work by the poet Kudūrī in Turkish as his own work. A manuscript of a further work of Gülshehrī, *ʿArūḍ risālesi*, is in Istanbul (Millet Kitaplığı, Ali Emiri, Farsça yazmalar, no. 517).— Finally, from various manuscripts now dispersed there still survive some *ghazal*s by Gülshehrī. These have been collected together by Fr. Taeschner in his article *Zwei Gazels von Gülşehri*, in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı* (*Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*), Istanbul 1953, 479-85.

Bibliography: in the text; see also Fr. Taeschner, *Das Futuvvetkapitel in Gülšehrīs altosmanischer Bearbeitung von ʿAṭṭārs Manṭiq uṭ-ṭayr*, Berlin 1932; idem, *Gülschehrīs Mesnevi auf Achi Evran, den Heiligen von Kirschehir und Patron der türkischen Zünfte*, Wiesbaden 1955; idem, *Des altrumtürkischen Dichters Gülşehrī Werk Manṭiḳ uṭ-ṭayr und seine Vorlage, das gleichnamige Werk des persischen Dichters Farīduddīn ʿAṭṭār*, in *Németh Armağanı*, Ankara 1962, 359-371.

(Fr. Taeschner)

GUM, GUM ARABIC [see ṣamgh].

GŪM (Arabic *ḳawm*; French *goum*), the usual form and pronunciation, in the Arab countries of North Africa, of the name given to a group of armed horsemen or fighting men from a tribe. The derivative *gūma* signifies "a levy of *gūm*s, troops, a plundering foray", "sedition", "revolt".

It was the Turks who, in the former Regencies of Algiers and Tunis, gave the *gūm*s an official existence by making them the basis of their system of occupation of the country. All the tribes had been divided by them into *makhzen* or auxiliaries, who were exempt from most taxes, and *raʿiyya*, who were liable to all taxes. The latter were the more numerous. When one or more of the latter tribes refused to pay a tax or revolted for some reason, the Turkish army rapidly advanced to the insurgents' territory. Though small in size, this army was reinforced by the exceedingly mobile cavalry groups of the *gūm*s.

Soon after their occupation of the Algiers Regency, the French learnt how to make best use of the *gūm*s. But once the country had been pacified, the *makhzen* tribes disappeared. The system of *gūm*s was then extended to all tribes, without exception. Under the command of the chiefs, *ḳāʾid*s or *agha*s, appointed by the French authorities, the *gūm*s had to co-operate with the military police in the maintenance of peace in the country, and in protecting the migrations of the nomadic tribes and the safety of caravans.

In territory under military administration, the number of "goumiers", *i.e.*, members of the *gūm* of a tribe, varied according to regional needs. The goumiers received a monthly wage and encamped on certain State lands whose revenues went to them, but they were obliged to equip and mount themselves at their own expense. On active service they were also entitled to the *muʾna*, a special allowance for food.

In civil territory, the goumiers equipped and mounted themselves at their own expense. They did not draw any pay but, when called up, they received the special allowance for food. In civil territory *gūm*s were called up only in the event of insurrection or European war. They were, in fact, a territorial militia under the command of the tribal chiefs and subject to the orders of the administratuon. The *gūm* from each mixed commune consisted of 120 horsemen. The goumiers had the right to carry arms. Their distinctive badge was a green and red cord fixed round the turban. The goumiers' horses were not subject to any tax charges, and the goumier himself was exempt from the tax on livestock.

After the inauguration of the French Protectorate in Morocco, a similar organization was created, and the Moroccan goumiers particularly distinguished themselves during the second world war, in Italy and the south of France [see also MAKHZEN].

Bibliography: W. Esterhazy, *De la domination turque dans l'ancienne Régence d'Alger*, Paris 1840, 261 ff.; Soualah, *Cours moyen d'arabe parlé*, Algiers 1909, 100; Larcher, *Législation algérienne*, Paris 1903, i, no. 298, 147; Ménerville, *Dict. de Législation algérienne*, 20; *Circulaire du Gouverneur général de l'Algérie des 21-25 mars 1867*; Hugues and Lapra, *Code Algérien*, Paris 1878; *Arrêté du Gouvern. Général de l'Algérie du 11 Dec. 1872*, art. 4; *Circulaire du Gouvern. Général de l'Algérie* of 29 April 1910. (A. COUR)

GÜMRÜK [see MAKS].

GÜMÜLDJINA [see Supplement].

GÜMÜSH-KHĀNE (modern spelling Gümüşhane), literally "the house of silver, the town of silver", mining centre and town of Asia Minor, principal town of a *vilâyet*, on the road from Trabzon to Erzurum. The evolution of the town went through two distinct phases. (1) As a mining centre. It is probably Gümüsh-khane to which Marco Polo refers when he writes (xxii) of silver mines in the region of Bayburt. In any case the town was known by this name (Kumish) in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (tr. Gibb, Cambridge 1962, ii, 436). Situated at an altitude of about 5,000 ft., built in an amphitheatre on the steep slopes of the Musalla deresi (a left tributary of the Harşit çay), the ancient town, which during the whole of the Ottoman period was a busy centre for the mining of argentiferous lead, under a system of state encouragement and supervision (see N. Çağatay, in *AÜDTCD*, ii (1943), 124), was "important and lively" in the 17th century (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnümā*, 622, 623). But by the beginning of the 19th century the mines were in complete decline; in 1836, they employed no more than 50 or 60 workers and it was no longer profitable to work them. They were therefore closed, particularly because of the lack of fuel due to the de-afforestation of the area, in the middle of the 19th century; then, after a last attempt to work them in 1883, closed finally a few years later. (2) As a town on a main route. The main centre of the town then gradually moved towards the Harşit valley 2½ miles away, along which at first were scattered country houses surrounded by gardens and orchards, which provided at the end of the 19th century an important export of dried and preserved fruit (pears, plums, apricots, etc.). Gradually a commercial, and then an administrative, centre arose there along the main route from Trabzon to Erzurum. The decline of the old town was completed by the Russian occupation in 1916-18, which left it half in ruins, and by the exodus of the important Greek and Armenian minority (even so late as the beginning of the 20th century, the Greeks formed half of the 3,000 inhabitants). Today all the commerce and administration is concentrated in the new town. Pop., 1960, 5,312.

Bibliography: apart from the works cited and the articles of J. H. Mordtmann in *EI*[1] and of B. Darkot in *İA*, see Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 343. Gümüsh-khāne, situated on the main route from Trabzon to Iran, was visited and described in the 19th century by many European travellers; see especially W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 168-9, ii, 234-8 (detailed analysis of the position of the mines before they were closed); Th. Deyrolle, *Voyage dans le Lazistan et l'Arménie*, in *Le tour du monde*, Paris 1875 (xxix), 22-4 for the period of the growth of the new town and the trade in fruit in 1869. (X. DE PLANHOL)

GÜMÜSHTEGIN, name of various Turkish chiefs, particularly the Dānishmendid prince known also as Amīr Ghāzī [see DĀNISHMENDIDS] and the atabeg of Aleppo [see ZANGIDS]. (ED.)

GUNBADH [see ḲUBBA].

GUNBADH-I ḲĀBŪS, the second town of Gurgān province, Iran, 110 km by road north-east of the provincial headquarters at Gurgān [*q.v.*], with an estimated population of 10,000 in 1956. Five km west of Gunbad (as it is popularly called) lie the ruins of the mediaeval city of Djurdjān, near the shrine said to be that of the ʿAlid Yaḥyā b. Zayd. The modern town is named from the mausoleum of the Ziyārid Ḳābūs b. Washmgīr, still standing at the northern end of the main street. It is a cylindrical brick tower 167 feet high, placed on an artificial mound 32 feet above the plain. Angular buttresses divide the sides into ten panels, the exterior diameter being 48 feet. Above the door a band of Arabic inscriptions in simple Kufic philosophically name the structure as the *ḳaṣr* ('palace') of Ḳābūs, ordered during his lifetime in 397/1006-7, or 375 by solar reckoning (*i.e.*, the Era of Yazdagird III commencing A.D. 632). The monument is nowadays much admired for its structural strength and simplicity.

Bibliography: A. Godard in A.U. Pope (ed.), *A survey of Persian art*, ii, 970-4; *RCEA*, vi, 62 (No. 2118); E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i, 39-43, 100-6; B. Dorn, *Caspia*, 91. (A. D. H. BIVAR)

GUNS, GUNNERY [see BĀRŪD].

GÜNTEKIN, REŞAT NURI [see RESHĀD NŪRĪ GÜNTEKIN].

GŪRĀN, an Iranian people, now reduced to between 4,000 and 5,000 houses, inhabiting an area north of the main road from Kirmānshāh to the Persian frontier near Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn and comprising the slopes of the Kūh-i Shāhān—Dālāhū mountain. The Gūrān 'capital' is Gahwāra, lying 60 km. due west of Kirmānshāh in the valley of the Zimkān, a southern tributary of the Sīrwān. An isolated community occupies the village of Kandūla, 40 km. north-east of Kirmānshāh, near the site of Dīnawar. Other, more numerous branches are formed by the Bādjalān and the tribes of the Hawrāmān [*qq.v.*].

An older form of the name was certainly Gōrān (< *Gāwrān-), as it is so preserved in Kurdish dialects, while Gūrānī itself has undergone the sound-change *ō*, *ū* > *ū*, *ü* respectively (*v. infra*). It is thus difficult to reconcile the name with that of the Γουράνιοι, mentioned by Strabo, xi, 14, 14, as neighbours of the Medes. The origin of the name is more probably to be sought in a form **gāw-bāra-kān* 'ox-riders' (*v.* Minorsky, *op. cit. infra*). This name is connected with the Caspian provinces, as also is the place-name Gīlān, which is of frequent occurrence among the Gūrān. The inference that their original home lay near the Caspian is further supported by the evidence of their language. Just as the closely related Zāzā [*q.v.*], or Dimlī, people moved west into classical Armenia, so the proto-Gūrān appear to have migrated south and peopled the whole southern Zagros area. Later they were largely submerged by an expansion of the Kurds, also from the north, but their language has left its mark on the ('Central') Kurdish of their conquerors.

Ibn Khurradādhbih, 14, preserves the older form

of the name as Djābārᵃḳa, and similar forms are used by Ibn Faḳīh and al-Masʿūdī, always in close connexion with Kurds. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, describing the rise of the Ḥasanōyid principality (ca. 350-420/960-1030), which stretched from northern Luristān to Shārazūr, frequently mentions the exploits of the *Djawraḳān, while for this name the author of the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh* regularly substitutes Gūrānān. Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (ca. 744/1343), mentions 'Kurds called al-Kūrāniya' in the mountains of Hamadān and Shārazūr, and Sharaf Khān, in the *Sharaf-nāma* (1005/1596), still uses the term Gūrān as if referring to the populace of Ardalān and Kirmānshāh as a whole, although he distinguishes their various rulers. The absorption of all but the surviving Gūrān population by Kurdish tribes thus appears to have proceeded slowly, the present equilibrium having been achieved little more than a century ago.

The Gūrān are mainly sedentary cultivators, yet they have long been renowned for their military qualities. In the last century they provided a standing regiment of between 1,000 and 2,000 men for the Persian army. Those subjected to Kurdish tribal overlordship, however, have completely surrendered their identity. The name Gōrān, synonymous with *miskēn*, is now used among the Kurds of Shārazūr as an appellation for the serf-like, Kurdish-speaking peasantry.

It is noteworthy that the name Gōrān is also borne by a small group of Kurds inhabiting the area north of the Great Zāb river above the confluence of the Khāzir. These 'Seven tribes', as they are also called, speak Kurdish dialects of the Southern group, unlike their neighbours, and have evidently been transported from the Kirmānshāh—Khānaḳīn region.

Language.

The Gūrānī dialects belong to the North-West Iranian group. Of those recorded Hawrāmī is consistently the most archaic. Characteristic of the phonology are (*a*) the preservation of initial *y-* and *w-*: H(awrāmī) *yáwa*, B(ādjalānī) *yaw*, K(andūlaī) *yaya* 'barley', H, B *wā*, K *vā* 'wind', H, K *winī* 'blood', (*b*) initial *w-* < *hw-*: all *wārd-* 'eat', H, K *war* 'sun', *warm* 'sleep', (*c*) initial *h-* < *x-*: H, K *har* 'donkey', *hāna* 'spring', (*d*) *-rd-* > *-l-*, in words unmistakably NWIr.: H *wilī* 'flower', K *zil* 'heart'. In general H and B have preserved the *madjhūl* vowels *ē*, *ō*, lost in the other Gūrānī dialects: H *hēla*, K *hīla* 'egg', H, B *gōsh*, K *gūsh* 'ear', where *ū* generally becomes *ṻ*: K *dṻr* 'far', *zṻ* 'quick'.

In the nominal system masculine and feminine gender, and direct and oblique case, are normally distinguished. Most dialects have a defining suffix *-aká*, F. *-aké* (*-akī*). The indefinite suffix, generally *-ī*, is *-ēw*, F. *-ēwa*, in Hawrāmī. H also preserves a genitive Iḍāfa form *ū*: *das-ū wēm* 'my own hand', beside the epithetic *ī*: *yānēw-ī kōn* 'an old house'.

The copula is characterized by the presence of an *-n-*, thus Sg. 1 *-anā(n)*, 2 *-anī*, 3 *-an*, etc. With the present tense the durative prefix is generally *m(a)-*: B *makarō*, K *makarū*, but H *karō* 'he does', B, K *māčān*, H *māčā* 'they say (*wāč-*)'. H has, in addition, a proper imperfect tense formed from the present stem: *karēnē* 'I was doing', *wāčē* 'he was saying'. The majority of dialects have preserved the inverse formation of the past tenses of transitive verbs: H, B *čēsh-it wāt* 'what did you say?', K *āwirdan-ish* 'he has brought it'. Passive stems are formed in *-ya-*: H *wāčyō* 'it is said', K *kiryān* 'it has been made'.

Gūrānī has attained literary status in the form of a κοινή which, besides being the vehicle of a number of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ writings, was cultivated at the court of the Wālīs of Ardalān. A sketch of the grammar of this literary language has been given by Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS.*, ii, 728 ff. Poets of name range from Yūsuf Yāska (fl. 1010/1600) to Mawlawī (d. 1300/1882). All Gūrānī verse, epic, lyric and religious alike, is in a simple decasyllabic metre. Its former popularity is reflected in the fact that *gōrānī* is the common word for 'song' in the neighbouring Kurdish.

Bibliography: V. Minorsky, *The Gūrān*, in *BSOAS*, xi (1943), 75-103; Benedictsen/Christensen, *Les dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwä*, Copenhagen 1921; K. Hadank, *Mundarten der Gūrān*, (Oskar Mann) bearbeitet von . . ., Berlin 1930; M. Mokri, *Cinquante-deux versets . . . en dialecte Gūrānī*, in *JA*, 1956, 391-422. (D. N. MacKenzie)

GŪRĀNĪ, Sharaf (or Shihāb or Shams) al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿOthmān, known as Mollā Gūrānī, 9th/15th century Ottoman scholar and *shaykh al-islām*. [Sakhāwī sometimes found his name given as Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl *etc.*; and in one place (ii, 1486) Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa mentions him with the *kunya* Abu 'l-ʿAbbās.] While noting that Maḳrīzī gives another date and place (the latter obviously a copyist's distortion), Sakhāwī has him born in 813/1410-11 in the Gūrān district of the Shahrizōr province of upper ʿIrāḳ, and it is probably only by inference from the ethnic character of this region that F. Babinger makes him a Kurd (*Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1953, 518). After having studied under local teachers, he pursued his further education in Ḥiṣn Kayfā, Baghdād, Damascus (where he arrived in 830/1426-27), Jerusalem and, finally, Cairo (835/1431-2). Here he studied under such famous scholars as Ibn Ḥadjar and Ḳalḳashandī, and he gained a reputation for learning which led to the patronage of important men and a teaching appointment at Barḳūḳiyya *madrasa*. Because of an unseemly quarrel with another scholar, he was dismissed his post and exiled to Syria in 844/1440-41 whence, in despair of his future in Mamlūk territories, he went over to the Ottomans and changed his *madhhab* from Shāfiʿī to Ḥanafī. His first appointment was to the Ḳaplīdja *madrasa* in Bursa, and in 854/1450-51 he succeeded Ḳaradja Aḥmad Efendi as professor at the Yîldîrîm in the same city (Belīgh, 283). Later he was made tutor to Prince Meḥemmed in Maghnīsa, and when the latter ascended the throne in 855/1451 he received the post of *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿaskar*. He was present at the conquest of Constantinople (ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, v, Istanbul 1277, 257) and composed in elegant Arabic a letter to the Sultan of Egypt announcing this great victory (Ferīdūn Beğ, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274, 235). His intractable independence of attitude proving an annoyance to the new Sultan and his statesmen, he was removed from the centre of affairs by appointment to the *ḳāḍī*-ship of Bursa, but here, too, he acted in defiance of the royal will and was finally dismissed from office. He left Ottoman territory for a while, but returned in 861/1457 after having performed the Pilgrimage and was once again appointed *ḳāḍī* of Bursa with lavish monthly supplements to his salary from the Sultan. In 867/1462-63 he succeeded Mollā Khusraw as *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul (Belīgh, 260; but cf. Tashköprüzāde-Medjdī, 149 margin, where it is said that Khʷādja-zāde succeeded Mollā Khusraw in this office in 872/1467-68). In 885/1480-81 he was elevated to *shaykh al-islām*, and he remained

in this office until his death in the latter part of Radjab 983/1488. He is buried in the mosque he built in the quarter of Istanbul which still bears his name.

The independence of mind which he exhibited in his public life is also to be found in his works. Thus, in his commentary on the Ḳur'ān entitled *Ghāyat al-amānī*, etc. (completed in 867/1463) he often takes issue with Zamakhsharī and Bayḍāwī (Brockelmann, II, 228, S II, 319; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1190), and in his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī entitled *al-Kawthar al-djārī*, etc. (completed in Edirne in 874/1469) he even refutes his former master Ibn Ḥadjar (Brockelmann, I, 159, S I, 262, S II, 319; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 553). Several of his works are on Ḳur'ānic readings (*ḳirā'a*): under the title of *al-ʿAbḳarī* he compiled his notes on the *Kanz al-maʿānī* of al-Djaʿbarī, the famous commentary on al-Shāṭibī's *Ḥirz al-amānī* (Brockelmann, S I, 725; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 646); his *Kashf al-asrār*, etc. (not completed in 890/1485 as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1487, says, for a ms. of it in the Süleymaniye, No. 47/2, is dated 874/1469-70) is a commentary on al-Djazarī's *al-Durra al-muḍī'a*, etc. (Brockelmann, II, 202); the same Süleymaniye ms. also contains another work by him on this subject, the *Lawāmiʿ al-ghurar fī sharḥ fawā'id al-Durar* which, from its title, may be a commentary on the *Durar al-afkār*, a work by al-Djaʿbarī not recorded in Brockelmann (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1319). On *fiḳh* he wrote a commentary to al-Subkī's *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ* entitled *al-Durar* (or *al-Budūr*) *al-lawāmiʿ* which Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (i, 596) implies is a spiteful attack on the *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, also a commentary on the *Djamʿ* by al-Maḥallī, his successor at the Barḳūḳiyya (Brockelmann, S II, 106, 319). A few other minor works are also attributed to him.

Bibliography. The two basic sources for his biography are al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ*, Cairo 1353, i, 241-3 and Ṭashköprüzāde, *al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, Arabic text in the margins of Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 143-51; Turkish version by Medjdī, Istanbul 1269, 102-11; German translation from the Arabic by O. Rescher, Istanbul 1927, 48-53 (see also 114). Despite his fame and importance, he is scarcely mentioned in the historical works of the period: see the bibliography to the article by Ahmed Ateş in *IA*, viii, 406-8, and add: Beligh Efendi, *Güldeste-i riyāḍ-i ʿirfān*, Bursa 1302. For his buildings in Istanbul and elsewhere, see Ḥusayn Aywānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, i, 187, 207, and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fâtih devri mimarîsi*, Istanbul 1953, Nos. 73, 85, 90, 171, 199, 244, 384 and 486. He figures in a miniature among the illustrations to Sâmiha Ayverdi, *Edebî ve Manevî Dünyası içinde Fatih*, Istanbul 1953, 10.

(J. R. Walsh)

GURČĀNĪ [see Supplement]

GURDJISTĀN [see KURDJ].

GURGĀN, Old Persian VRKĀNA, Arabic DJURDJĀN, the ancient Hyrcania, at the South-east corner of the Caspian Sea.

The province, which was practically equivalent to the modern Persian province of Astarābādh [*q.v.*] (now part of *Ustān* II) forms both in physical features and climate a connecting link between sub-tropical Māzandarān with its damp heat and the steppes of Dihistān in the north. The rivers Atrak [*q.v.*] and Gurgān, to which the country owes its fertility and prosperity, are not an unmixed blessing on account of their inundations and the danger of fever which results.

Gurgān played an important part in the Sāsānid period, being the frontier province against the nomads pressing in from the north. The fortresses of Shahristān-i Yazdgird and Shahr-i Pērōz (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 51, 56) were built as a defence against the nomads of the Dihistān steppes; a long wall was built along the northern frontier to defend the lands.

Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ is said to have levied tribute from the "Malik" of Gurgān as early as the year 30/650-1; but the real conquest of the country was the work of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (98/716-7). At that time the ruler of Gurgān was a Marzbān but the real power seems to have been in the hands of the Turkish chief Ṣūl.

After punishing the unruly population of the valley of the navigable Andarhāz, the modern Gurgān river, Yazīd founded the town of Gurgān, which henceforth was the capital of the province. It must have been a very prosperous place in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. The gardens around it, irrigated by the waters of the river, were famous; its chief product was silk. Gurgān was also a station on the caravan route to Russia. The town was divided in two by the river, which was crossed by a bridge of boats; on the eastern side was the town proper or Shahristān, whose nine gates are detailed by Muḳaddasī, and on the western, the suburb of Bakrābādh (called after a settlement of the Arab tribe?). The prosperity of the town seems to have been early threatened by internal dissensions. ʿAlid propaganda had found a congenial soil in the lands along the Caspian, and the ʿAlid dynasty of Ṭabaristān included Gurgān in its sphere of influence. In Gurgān itself the tomb of Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, commonly known as Gūr-i Surkh (the Red Tomb) was an object of great reverence. The constant unrest in these lands enabled Mardāvīdj b. Ziyār in 316/928 to found a kingdom of his own in Gurgān with the help of the Daylamites: it survived for over a hundred years, although nominally dependent on the Sāmānids and later the Ghaznawids [see ZIYĀRIDS]. The dome-shaped tomb (Gunbadh-i Ḳābūs [*q.v.*]) of the ruler Ḳābūs b. Washmgīr (366/976-7 - 403/1012-3) still exists as a memorial of this period.

The population was massacred at the time of the Mongol invasion and Mustawfī (transl. Le Strange, 156) writing in the 8th/14th century describes the town as a heap of ruins. Tīmūr is said to have built a palace in 795/1392-3 on the bank of the river, but Gurgān never again attained its former prosperity. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Djihān-numā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 339), however, mentions Gurgān, which had been rebuilt since the Mongol period, as inhabited by fanatical Shīʿīs.

The position of Gurgān in the angle formed by the confluence of the Gurgān River and the Khurmā-rūd is marked only by extensive mounds, which have not yet been investigated. The very name of the town has recently been transferred to Astarābādh. Only the Gunbadh-i Ḳābūs, about 2 miles to the north-east and about a mile away from the river, has withstood the ravages of time.

Bibliography: As in the article ASTARĀBĀDH.

(R. Hartmann [- J. A. Boyle])

GURGANDJ, called by the Arabs Djurdjāniyya, and also in the period about 600/1200 described as Khwārizm (like the country round), the economic centre of the Khwārizm [*q.v.*] area and for a long period also the political capital of the territory, lay to the west of the lowest reaches of the Oxus (Āmū

Daryā). The town, whose age is unknown, was captured by the Arabs in 93/712. They attempted to deprive Gurgandj of its importance by founding a city, Fīl (Fīr), on the further bank of the Oxus; but the new settlement was gradually inundated by the river (for details see KĀTH). In order to maintain their domination over Khwārizm, which was an area at that time on the outer fringe of the world of Islam, the Arabs divided the territory; the native dynasty, the Āfrīghids, who bore the title of Khwārizm-Shāh, were allowed to retain the northern part, with Kāth as their capital; Gurgandj became the residence of an Arab *amīr*, who had power over the south-west (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 122, § 25, and 371; Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāẓim, 1930, p. 57). This state of affairs lasted for over 250 years, until 385/995 (for details see KHWĀRIZM). Then the Arab *amīr* of the time, Maʾmūn b. Muḥammad, was able to expel the old dynasty and unite the whole of Khwārizm under his own rule. From that time he took over the ancient title of the rulers of that country, Khwārizm-Shāh. Thereafter Gurgandj ranked after Kāth as the second principal city, but after the overthrow of Maʾmūn's successors by the Saldjūḳs in 434/1043, it exceeded Kāth in importance and became once more the real centre of the territory as well as the intermediary for commerce with the Oghuz and other northern Turkish tribes (Gardīzī, 95; Iṣṭakhrī, 299 f., 341; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 350 f., 477 f.). At this time the town had four gates and a large palace near the Bāb al-Ḥudjdjādj, on the edge of a huge market place, and consisted of an outer and an inner city (*Ḥudūd*, 122). According to Muḳaddasī, 288, in the 4th/10th century the town grew rapidly; in 600/1204 it was besieged by the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] (Djuwaynī, ii, 55; Barthold, *Turkestan*[1], 349 f.) and at the beginning of the 7th/13th century it was included among the most prosperous cities of the Islamic Empire (an account dating from the period 613-6/1216-9 is given in Yāḳūt, ii, 54, 486; iii, 933; iv, 260 f.). Immediately thereafter, in 618/1221, Gurgandj was attacked by the Mongols and after a siege of many months was razed to the ground (there is a lengthy account in Djuwaynī, i, 98 f.; thorough discussion of details in Fritz Meier, *Die Fawāʾiḥ ... des ... Kubrā*, Wiesbaden 1957, 53-60, with presentation of all source material; cf. also Barthold, *Turkestan*[1], 433-7). The Mongols also flooded the town by diverting the Oxus; nevertheless a few remains of pre-Mongol buildings have been found (for instance an inscription of 401/1010-1: *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkheol. Obshčestva*, xiv, 015 f.; cf. also Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Raverty, 281, 1100). The question of how far the diversion of the Oxus at that time led to a displacement of the river bed is discussed in the article ĀMŪ DARYĀ. Gurgandj lay waste from that time forth. The new capital of the province, Urgenč, founded in 628/1231, was on a different site and presumably corresponds to the earlier so-called "Little Gurgandj", three parasangs from Gurgandj. For the history of this town see URGENČ.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 447-9; Barthold, *Turkestan*[1], index; idem, *12 Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 65; Josef Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 96, 102; Spuler, *Iran*, 31, 108, 115; idem, *Mongolen*[2], 28 (sources in note 7); idem, *Der Amu Darya*, in *Jean Deny Armağanı*, Ankara 1958, 231-48; A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Razvalinī Urgenča* (*The Ruins of Urgenč*), in *Izvestiya Akad. Material'noy kul'turī*, vi/2 (1930); S. P. Tolstov, *Drevniy Khorezm* (*Old Khwārizm*), Moscow 1948, index; idem, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, German tr. by O. Mehlitz, Berlin 1953, 241-5 (with very ambiguous use of sources), 253 f., 263 f., 286-91, 313; idem, in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 1953/I, 160-74 (with plans and illustrations); H. Desmond Martin in *JRAS*, 1943, 63 (plan of the campaign in Khwārizm in 1220-1); *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Éntsiklopediya*[2], xliv (1956), 313 f. (illustrations).
(B. SPULER)

GURGĀNĪ, FAKHR AL-DĪN ASʿAD, author of the first known courtly romance in Persian: *Wīs and Rāmīn*. In the opinion of Z. Safa (ii, 361) his achievement is to have introduced a literary genre which is now represented by a series of works, several of which are worthy of note. What is known of his life is limited to the little that he reveals in his poem. The accounts given by his biographers are negligible but agree in attributing to him the authorship of the poem (with the exception of Dawlat Shāh, who erroneously attributes it to one of the Niẓāmīs). ʿAwfī has preserved three of his lyrical poems (texts: Maḥdjūb, introd., 14), the others being lost. Shams-i Kays (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad and E. G. Browne, 80) writes: "The poetic metre *baḥr-i hazadj-i musaddas-i maḥdhūf* is that of Niẓāmī's *Khusraw and Shīrīn* and of Fakhrī Gurgānī's *Wīs and Rāmīn*"; later (140) he refers to him simply as Fakhrī, which was perhaps his *takhalluṣ*. In the last verse of his poem, Gurgānī refers to himself as young; in addition he inserts (ed. Minovi, 468, v. 72; ed. Maḥdjūb, 350, v. 72; tr. Massé, 431 bottom) this confidence (which partly explains his skill in depicting the passions of love): "How many days did I sample love! But it did not make me happy for one single day". He had certainly studied the Arab and Iranian philosophers (see the introd. to the poem, on the subject of a non-material God and His creation) and astronomy (description of the night: ed. Minovi, 80; ed. Maḥdjūb, 60; tr., 72). In this same introduction he sings the praises of Ṭoghrīl Beg, of his vizier and of ʿAmīd Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muẓaffar, who was appointed governor of Isfahan after the capture of this town by the sultan (441/1050); this governor was the patron of the poet and appointed him to various offices. In the course of conversation with him, as Gurgānī relates in detail (Minovi, 25-7; Maḥdjūb, 18-21; tr., 6-7), the subject arose of the love story of Wīs and Rāmīn, preserved in a Pahlavi manuscript: "a continuous narrative, but containing all manner of strange words", lacking in ideas and maxims—that is to say a prose narrative without any poetic ornament (perhaps like the Georgian translation of the poem). The governor having invited him to translate this story into Persian, "to embellish it as one adorns a flower-bed in April", Gurgānī set to work, and finished, in 447/1055 or shortly after, this verse romance which consists of 8905 *bayt* in *hazadj*, the metre most often adopted later by those who composed romances in the same genre.

The question arises whether Gurgānī knew Pahlavi. It is impossible summarily to deny this after having read his account, imprecise though it is, of the conversation with the governor, and it is possible to conclude from one of the verses of the poem that he had some, though not a complete, knowledge of the language ("For one who knows Pahlavi, Khurāsān signifies the place from which we receive light", ed. Minovi and Maḥdjūb, ch. 48, v. 4); in the course of this conversation, however, he refers to the prolixity and the strange (*i.e.*, archaic) words of the Pahlavi text. For the question whether he worked directly from it or through a Persian translation, see Maḥdjūb,

introd., 20. The important thing is that he gave new life to an original which otherwise would no doubt have disappeared like so many other Pahlavi texts.

In his poem the influence of ancient Iran appears particularly in the frequent allusions to the divine or the evil powers, to the sacred fires (mentioned by their names) and to their maintenance, to the ancient months and feast days, and to legendary features; there is in it a case of trial by ordeal, and one of those consanguineous marriages which were characteristic of the royal families of ancient Iran. The subject of the poem is fatal love: from the time of the appearance of the first edition of the Persian text the similarities between the poem and the story of Tristan and Iseult were recognized—there is thus no need to give an analysis of it here (cf. Massé, 9 ff.). The romance may be based on a historical fact: V. Minorsky has sought to demonstrate that it probably relates the adventures of a descendant of the Arsacid family and of a princess of one of the seven noble families of the Parthian period.

In Gurgānī's poetry there are realistic features contributing to knowledge of customs and folklore. At times his style is affected and precious (tr., 20-1), especially when, like other Persian poets, he is describing feminine beauty in conventional terms (*e.g.*, ch. 37; tr., 90). Maḥdjūb has noted a series of images and of ancient proverbs (introd., 55-8), archaism sometimes used with a special meaning (*ibid.*, 34) and some words which are close to the Pahlavi forms (*ibid.*, 43). The poem had a lasting influence. Maḥdjūb points out similarities between some verses of Gurgānī and those of later poets, and even some borrowings (introd., 98 ff.). The ten passionate letters written by Wīs to Rāmīn (Minovi, 347-83; Maḥdjūb, 259-86; tr. 318-51) were imitated by the poets Awḥadī, Ibn ʿImād, ʿĀrifī, ʿImād Faḳīh (ten letters), Amīr Ḥusaynī, Kātibī and Salmān-i Sāwidjī (thirty letters). Of more significance is the similarity evident in the plan of Niẓāmī's verse romance *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, which was probably inspired by Gurgānī, though as regards style it may be suggested that Niẓāmī intended that his learned and highly artificial style should form a contrast to the generally simple and sober style of Gurgānī.

Bibliography: Editions: Nassau Lees and Munshi Ahmad Ali (Bibl. Ind.), Calcutta 1864, based on a manuscript in India; Minovi, Tehrān 1314/1935, based on three manuscripts including that of the Bibl. Nat., Paris, which is the best; Muḥammad Djaʿfar Maḥdjūb, Tehrān 1337/1959, which makes use of the two preceding editions. French translation with introduction, by H. Massé, Paris 1959; Georgian adaptation: *Visramiani*, tr. O. Wardrop (Oriental Translation Fund, new series, xxiii, London 1914). Studies: Z. Safa, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyāt dar Īrān*, Tehrān 1336/1958, ii, index; *Gr.I.Ph.*, index; K. H. Graf, analysis and extracts translated into German verse, in *ZDMG*, xxiii (1869), 375-433; Fr. Gabrieli, *Note sul Wîs u Râmîn*, in *R. Acad. Naz. dei Lincei, rendiconti*, March-April 1939; V. Minorsky, *Wîs u Râmîn, a Parthian romance*, in *BSOAS*, xi/4 (1946); Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat, in *Payām-i naw*, Tehrān 1324/1946, nos. 1 and 2; M. Minovi, in *Sukhan*, Tehrān 1333-4/1956, nos. 1 and 2; A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 621-6; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 176-8.

(H. Massé)

GURGĀNĪ [see DJURDJĀNĪ].

GŪRKHĀN, the title borne by the (non-Muslim) rulers of Ḳarakhitāy [*q.v.*] (Chinese Hsi Liao = Western Liao) who governed central Asia between 522-5/1128-31 and 608/1212 (or, with Güčlük, till 615/1218). The first ruler was Yeh-lü Ta-shih (d. 537/1143), a prince from the north Chinese dynasty of Liao, of the Kʿi-tan (Khitāy) people. He overthrew the regime of the Ḳarakhānids [*q.v.*] or Ilig-khāns and in 535/1141 defeated the Saldjūḳid sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*] decisively in the Ḳaṭwān plain, north of Samarḳand: the victory of a non-Muslim ruler from the East over one of the most powerful rulers of Islam probably provided the foundation for the legend of Prester John [*q.v.*] (Gūrkhān > Johannes).

The title Gūrkhān is probably taken from the Turkish words *kür/gür* (Mongol *kür*) ("broad", "wide", "general": cf. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān*, ed. C. Brockelmann, Budapest 1928, 117; Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches* ...,[2] 1960, ii, 1447, 1637; *Manghol un Niuca Tobcaʾan* (*Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*), ed. E. Haenisch, Leipzig 1937, 65 and ed. Kozin, Moscow/Leningrad 1941, 278); P. Doerfer in *OLZ*, 1960, col. 635 f. The Muslims also refer to Gūrkhān as "Khān-i Khānān".

Bibliography: K. A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng, *History of the Chinese Society Liao*, Philadelphia 1949, 431, 619-55 (History of the Gūrkhāns based on Eastern and Western sources, written in collaboration with K. H. Menges); K. Menges in *Byzantion*, xxi/1 (1951), 104-6; idem, in *RO*, xvii (1953), 71; Spuler, *Iran*, 360 n. 8. For the history of the Gūrkhāns see also the Bibl. to ḲARA KHITĀY and KIRMĀN (13th century).

(B. Spuler)

GUWĀKHARZ [see BĀKHARZ].

GÜZEL ḤIṢĀR [see AYDÎN].

GŪZGĀN [see DJUZDJĀN].

GWĀLIYĀR, formerly capital of the Sindhia state of Gwāliyār, now a town in Madhya Pradesh. "Tradition assigns the foundation of the city to one Sūradj Sen who was cured of leprosy by an ascetic named Gwālipa. The latter inhabited the hill on which the fort now stands, and this was called Gwāliyār after him". The early history of Gwāliyār is, however, shrouded in myth and romance. The Hūna adventurers, Toramana and his son Mihirkula, who partially overthrew the Gupta power in the 6th century A.D., are considered to be the first historical holders of this place. Later Rādjā Bhodj of Kanawdj, the Kačhwāha Rādjpūts and the Parīhars respectively held sway over it.

In 413/1022 when Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna marched against Ganda, the ruler of Kālindjar, he passed the fort of Gwāliyār. Since the Rādjā of Gwāliyār was a feudatory of Ganda, the Sultan stormed the fort. The Rādjā, despite his successful resistance, was so alarmed that he sued for peace (*Zayn al-akhbār*, 79). In 592/1196 Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak took the fort from the Parīhars (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 145; Eng. tr., Raverty, i, 545-6, with note on other versions). Iletmish's first territorial appointment was as the *amīr* of Gwāliyār (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 169; Eng. tr. i, 604). It appears to have been lost to the Turks because in 629/1231 Iletmish is reported to have reconquered it and made appointments of the *amīr-i dād*, the *kotwāl* and the *ḳāḍī*. But the history of the Muslim occupation of Gwāliyār is a chequered one. Early in her reign Raḍiyya (634-7/1236-40) had to send an expedition towards Gwāliyār under Tamur Khān, but the position became untenable and the fort had to be abandoned to Čahardeva. In 649/1251 Balban led a full-scale expedition against Gwāliyār, but does not seem to have achieved any permanent success, for the numismatic evidence shows that

Gwāliyār was independent up to at least 657/1259. In the disturbances caused by Timur's invasion (800/1398) it was seized by the Tonwar Rādjpūts. In 894/1488 Sultan Bahlūl Lōdī marched against Gwāliyār and forced the Rādjā, Mān Singh, to submit. When Sikandar Lōdī (894-923/1489-1517) shifted his capital to Āgra he considered the annexation of Gwāliyār necessary for the consolidation of his power, but he could not achieve his objective. Though subjected to frequent attacks by the rulers of Mālwa, Djawnpur and Delhi, the Tonwars managed to retain it till 924/1518, when the fort was surrendered to Ibrāhīm Lodī. When Bābur turned his attention to the Afghān principalities after his victory at Pānīpat, he found Tātār Khān Sarang Khānī occupying the fort along with all its dependencies. It was through the help of Sayyid Muhammad Ghawth, a celebrated Shaṭṭārī saint, that he succeeded in establishing his hold over it. In 934/1528 Bābur visited Gwāliyār and spent some time examining the palaces of Mān Singh and Vikramāditya. He was impressed by their size and splendour although he grumbles a little at their want of taste and elegance. In 949/1542 Gwāliyār fell to Shīr Shāh Surī (945-52/1538-45) who forced Afghān tribes to settle there in large numbers (Rukn al-Dīn, *Laṭā'if-i Ḳuddūsī*, Delhi 1311, 85). This attempt at Afghān colonization in Gwāliyār was closely linked up with his policy of consolidation in Rādjpūtānā. Besides, Gwāliyār was also important as one of the principal stages on the great route from the Deccan which passed by Sirondj, Narwar, Gwāliyār and Dholpur to Āgra. His descendants practically made it the capital of their dominions.

In 965/1558 Gwāliyār passed to Akbar. Abu 'l-Faḍl mentions it as a *sarkār* in the province of Āgra and refers to its 'exquisite singers', 'lovely women' and 'iron mine'. Gwāliyār was one of the 28 mint towns of Akbar for copper coins. *Dewriza* rice for Akbar's kitchen was brought from here. There was a quarry of red clay (*gil-i surkh*) in the hills of Gwāliyār.

It was due to Mubāriz Khān, the future Sultan ʿĀdil Shāh, that music received great encouragement in Gwāliyār, and musicians from Mālwa, the Deccan and other parts of the country gathered there. Out of 36 singers and players enumerated in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, 15 had learned in the Gwāliyār school, including the famous Tānsen. The Mughals used it also as a state prison (cf. Tavernier, *Travels*, Eng. tr. Crooke, London 1925, i, 51 ff.; F. Bernier, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1724, 147 ff.; Eng. tr. Constable, London 1891, 106 ff.). Apart from the large number of political prisoners, princes and nobles, the great Naḳshbandī saint, Shaykh Aḥmad of Sirhind, was interned here by Djahāngīr. It remained in Mughal possession until the 12th/18th century. In the confusion that followed on the battle of Pānīpat in 1174/1761, Lokendra Singh, the Djāt chief of Gohad, obtained possession of the fort but was driven out by Sindhia soon after. There were many vicissitudes, and full Sindhia control could not be established before 1886. Gwāliyār lost its importance as the seat of Sindhia Government when a new town, Lashkar, developed near it.

"The old city of Gwāliyār is now a desolate-looking collection of half-empty, dilapidated, flat-roofed stone houses, deserted mosques and ruined tombs. As it stands, the town is entirely Muhammadan in character, no old Hindu remains being traceable" (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908 ed.). Of the monuments, besides the fort which is situated on a great table rock of Vindhyan sandstone and is considered to be one of the most impregnable forts of India, there are several mosques—particularly the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, commenced by Djahāngīr, and the mosque of Muʿtamid Khān—several tombs, wells, tanks (on the "never-failing" tanks see Tavernier, *op. cit.*, 51) and *bā'ōlīs* etc. The tombs are noticeable for the excellent carved stone and splendid pierced screen work. The tomb of Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth Shaṭṭārī (d. 970/1563), built in Mughal times, perpetuates the structural traditions of the Lōdī period, but derives its decorative elements from Gudjarāt. The shrine of Bābā Kapūr (d. 979/1571), another popular saint of Gwāliyār, is situated in a cave, cut in the north-eastern face of the rock on which the Gwāliyār fort stands.

Bibliography: Bar Hebraeus, *alias* Gregory Abu 'l-Faradj b. Hārūn, *The Syriac Chronicle*, Paris 1890, 211-2; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. M. Nāẓim, 79; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind*, tr. E. Sachau, London 1914, i, 202; Minhādj al-Sirādj, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Bibl. Ind., 145, 169, 174-5, 247; Eng. tr. Raverty, London 1881, i, 546, 604, 619 ff., 743; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, index, Eng. tr. Gibb, London 1929, 224; *Bābur Nāma*, tr. Beveridge, ii, 539-40; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, i, tr. Blochmann, Calcutta 1927, 32, 60, 235, 680-2; ii, Jarrett and Sarkar, Calcutta 1949, 192, 198; Sh. Djalāl Ḥiṣārī, *Gwāliyār-nāma*, Brit. Mus. MS Add. 16,859; Hirāman Munshī, *Gwāliyār-nāma*, Brit. Mus. MS Add. 16,709; Shrimant Balwant Row Bhayasahib Scindia, *History of the fortress of Gwaliyar*, Bombay 1892; Motī Rām and Khwush Ḥāl, *Aḥwāl-i ḳilāʿ-i Gwāliyār*, Br. Mus. (Rieu, i, 304b), Ind. Office (Ethé 499); Khayr al-Dīn, *Gwāliyār-nāma* or *Kārnāma-i Gwāliyār*, Brit. Mus. (Rieu, iii, 1028a); J. de Laet, *De imperio magni Mogolis* ..., Leiden 1631, 40 ff.; J. B. Tavernier, *Voyages*, Eng. tr. Crooke, London 1925, i, 51-2; F. Bernier, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1724, 147 ff., Eng. tr. A. Constable, London 1891, 106 ff.; Tieffenthaler, *Description historique et géographique de l'Inde*, Berlin 1786, 184, 217 ff., 246; Ray, *The dynastic history of Northern India*, Calcutta 1936, ii, 822-9; *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Calcutta 1908; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New edition, 1908, xii, 438-43; A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, ii, 330; *Epigraphia Indica*, i, 154-62; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic period*), Bombay n.d., 30, 126 ff.; Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 113, 207-8; Shamsuddin Ahmad, *Inscriptions from Gwalior State*, in *EIM*, 1939-40, 43-7; Ram Singh Saksena, *Moslem epigraphy in the Gwalior State*, in *EIM*, 1925-6, 14-19; *ibid.*, 1929-30, 7-9; *ibid.*, 1935-6, 52-7; idem, *Persian inscriptions in the Gwalior State*, in *IHQ*, i (1925), 653-6; iii (1927), 715-8; vii (1931), 55-6; xvi (1940), 592-5. (K. A. Nizami)

GWANDU. First mentioned in the *al-Infāḳ al-maysūr* of Muhammadu Bello (d. 1837) Gwandu was, at the beginning of the 19th century, a village in the prosperous little state of Kebbi (capital: Birnin Kebbi) in the western Sudan. In 1805, in the course of the Fulani *djihād*, Shehu Usumanu dan Fodio (d. 1817) established a temporary headquarters at Kambaza, near Gwandu, but was attacked by a coalition of the Kebbawa, Gobirawa and Tawāriḳ. The Fulani army was defeated and the survivors fell back on Gwandu where they stood siege under daily attacks. Finally the Kebbawa and their allies withdrew but were courageously pursued and ambushed by the Fulani garrison. The Kebbawa force was

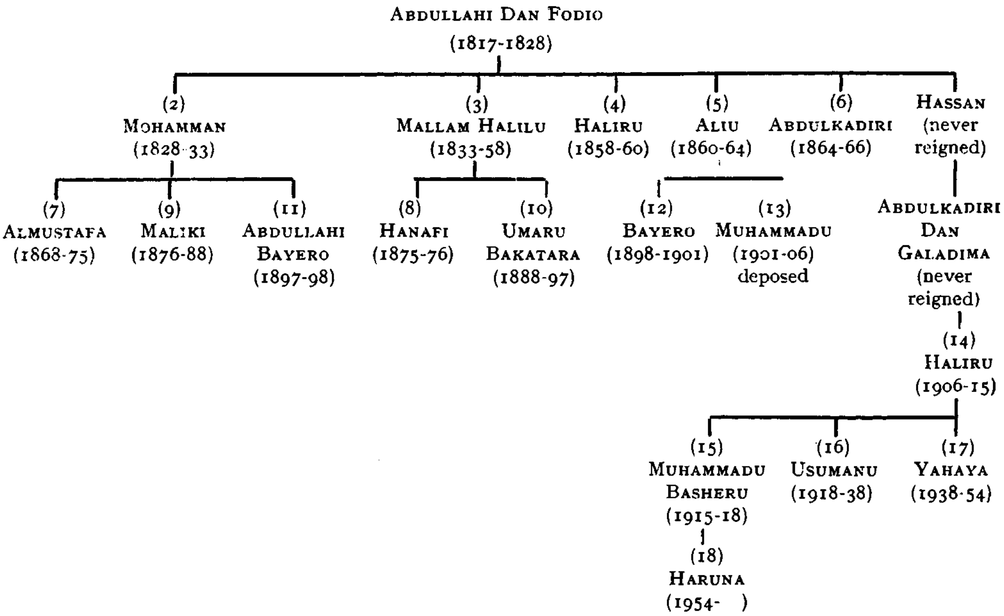

routed and put to flight at Gumbai and this was the turning point of the *djihād*. Shehu Usumanu was never again in serious danger and the Fulani forces, despite occasional reverses, proceeded to subdue most of an area in size approximate to (but not co-terminous with) that of the present state of Nigeria. Shehu Usumanu, the leader and inspiration of the *djihād*, fell sick in 1806 and remained in Gwandu, leaving the conduct of his campaigns to his Fulani commanders. His son, Muhammadu Bello, built a wall around the village to strengthen it and for the next two years it served as the capital of the incipient Fulani empire.

In 1808 Alkalawa, the capital of Gobir, was taken and Shehu Usumanu left Gwandu in favour of Sifawa. He then divided the administration of the conquered territories between his brother, Abdullahi dan Fodio, and his son, Muhammadu Bello. Abdullahi became responsible for the western dominions and Muhammadu Bello for the eastern. Gwandu was under Abdullahi's authority but he preferred to build the town of Bodinga, close to Sifawa, for his headquarters so that he might remain near his brother. From Bodinga, however, he led a series of victorious campaigns until, in 1810, he administered most of Kebbi (but which the Fulani were able to subdue entirely) and had exacted allegiance from Nupe, Ilorin, Yauri, Gurma, Arewa and Zabarma.

In 1809 Muhammadu Bello created a township of the hamlet Sokoto, and built a wall around it so that it might serve as the administrative headquarters of the eastern dominions, and it was there that Shehu Usumanu died in 1817. Abdullahi, on hearing of his brother's death, hastened the fourteen miles from Bodinga to Sokoto, but found that Bello had been proclaimed *Sarkin Musulmi* (Commander of the Faithful) and the gates of the town were closed against him. By Fulani custom succession passed to a brother rather than to a son and Abdullahi withdrew to Gwandu aggrieved. On his arrival he found that the nearby town of Kalembena was in revolt, hoping to profit from his weakness after his rejection by Sokoto. His position was desperate but Bello went to his aid. In a celebrated scene, the two met outside the walls of Kalembena; Bello, the warrior and chief architect of the Fulani empire, mounted on a charger, Abdullahi astride the mare which as a mallam (Arabic: *muʿallim*) he always rode. In accordance with Fulani custom, Bello, as the younger man, went to dismount but his uncle waved him back into his saddle, and himself bent forward to salute his nephew as Commander of the Faithful. Together they put down the revolt. Thereafter Abdullahi retained the administration of the western dominions subject to the recognised authority of the Sarkin Musulmi, Bello, of Sokoto. This situation established in effect a dual empire which they bequeathed to their heirs, and led to a close friendship between the *amīr*s of Gwandu and the Sultans of Sokoto which lasted unbroken until the British occupation of Nigeria and which still endures.

Abdullahi, who was born in 1766, was twelve years younger than his illustrious brother Shehu Usumanu and was instructed in the Ḳurʾān and the Mālikī rite by Mallam al-Ḥādjdjī Djibrilla, as was his brother. He was some thirty-eight years of age when, in 1804, he was the first to pay homage to Shehu Usumanu as Sarkin Musulmi. Deeply religious, he nevertheless played a prominent part in the Fulani wars of conquest; in the early campaigns he often served, as did Bello, in a subordinate capacity to other Fulani commanders but distinguished himself by bravery in hand-to-hand fighting. Always of a literary bent, he would celebrate his victories with an Arabic ode and may be said to have been the poet laureate of the *djihād*. After the submission of Kalembena in 1819 he left administrative matters in the hands of his son Mohamman (who was to succeed him) and his nephew Bohari and devoted his last years to study and writing. He did not himself adopt the title of *amīr* but preferred the simple style "mallam" (which he retained until his death in 1828).

All these principal figures of the Fulani *djihād*,

Shehu Usumanu, Abdullahi and Muhammadu Bello, were prolific writers in Arabic but Abdullahi had the most felicitous command of the language. For lists of his works, both those which have survived and those whose titles are known but which may be no longer extant, see the writer's *Field notes on the Arabic literature of the western Sudan (Abdullahi dan Fodio)*, in *JRAS*, 1956, and *A catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the University library, Ibadan, Nigeria*, Ibadan 1955-58.

The mosques of Abdullahi in Birnin Kebbi and Gwandu, and his tomb and the tomb of a Shaykh Haliru in Gwandu, are important monuments of Fulānī religious architecture (cf. J. Schacht, in *Travaux de l' Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, 1954, 13 and pl. v, and in *Studia Islamica*, viii (1957), 136).

After the initial conquests of the Fulanis the various dominions of the dual empire were placed under the direct authority of Fulani *amīrs*; those of the western empire paid tribute to Gwandu, and those of the eastern empire to Sokoto. However, neither empire was for long at peace and revolts were constant, especially among the Kebbawa and Gobiwara, whose total submission was never obtained. By the end of the 19th century the direct authority of both Gwandu and Sokoto extended little beyond the boundaries of their own amīrates and when the British forces occupied the country in 1902 they found the Sarkin Kebbi sturdily maintaining the independence of Argungu, and the Gobirawa from Sabon Birni and Chibiri attacking the eastern and north-eastern districts of Sokoto itself. Argungu, the Kebbawa stronghold, was never occupied by the Fulani despite the fact that it lay between the twin capitals of Sokoto and Gwandu, being fifty miles from the former and less than thirty miles from the latter. The outlying dominions of both empires, however, still recognized the spiritual leadership of the descendents of Shehu Usumanu and a degree of temporal suzerainty pertaining to Sokoto and Gwandu.

The walled town of Gwandu remained the capital of the amīrate, until in 1860, the *amīr* Aliu, the fourth of Abdullahi's sons to succeed to the throne, transferred his headquarters to Ambursa in order to protect the towns along the south bank of the Gulbi against the attacks of the Kebbawa of Argungu. The other princes of the royal house continued to reside in Gwandu.

In 1864 Aliu died and was succeeded by his brother Abdulkadiri, the last of Abdullahi's sons to reign over Gwandu. By this time the power of the Kebbawa had so increased that Gwandu was obliged to seek an end to the constant hostilities and Sarkin Musulmi Ahmadu Rufai, in 1866, negotiated a peace treaty, known as the Lafiyar Toga, between Abdulkadiri and Sarkin Kebbi Toga. The principal terms of the treaty were (*a*) that Argungu should be recognized as an independent state, (*b*) that all towns then held by Argungu should be retained by Argungu, and (*c*) that all slaves hitherto captured in battle should remain the property of their captors.

The peace obtained by the Lafiyar Toga lasted for eight years, when hostilities were resumed which were to continue until Argungu was occupied by British troops in 1902.

In 1876 Maliki, son of Mohamman and grandson of Abdullahi, acceded to the throne and reigned for twelve years, during which he was visited by Mr. Joseph Thomson on behalf of the Royal Niger Company, and was presented with cloth to the value of forty million cowries. The Company's present to the Sarkin Musulmi was cloth to the value of sixty million cowries. After the death of Maliki in 1888, Umaru Bakatara, son of Mallam Halilu (1833-58) and grandson of Abdullahi, came to the throne and was visited by Sir G. Goldie and Mr. Wallace (afterwards Sir W. Wallace) who brought more gifts from the Royal Niger Company. In 1898 Bayero, son of Aliu (1860-64) and also a grandson of Abdullahi, came to the throne. He offered no resistance to the British occupation and died, two months later, in 1903.

To-day, Sokoto Province of the Northern Region of Nigeria is divided into three administrative divisions, Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu. The headquarters of Gwandu Division is Birnin Kebbi (pop. 10,000) and the Division comprises the emirates of Gwandu itself (area 6,207 sq. miles, pop. 350,000) and Yauri (area 1,306 sq. miles, pop. 57,000). The present Emir of Gwandu, al-Ḥādjdjī Haruna, is President of the House of Chiefs of the Northern Region.

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(W. E. N. Kensdale)

GYPSIES [see čingāne, lūrī, nūrī, zuṭṭ].

GYPSUM [see djiṣṣ].

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M. C. Şihabeddin Tekindağ, University of Istanbul. 993, 1199.
E. Terés, University of Madrid. 12.
H. Terrasse, Casa de Velázquez, Madrid. 501.
H. R. Tinker, University of London. 566.
R. Traini, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples. 689.
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A. S. Tritton, University of London. 404.
G. Troupeau, École des Langues Orientales, Paris. 697, 893, 962.
E. Tyan, Université St. Joseph, Beirut. 72, 389, 1017.
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G. Vajda, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. 13, 14, 105, 110, 232, 237, 295, 535, 682, 748, 750, 770, 878, 906, 1021, 1031, 1156, 1175.
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P. Wheatley, University of London. 1214.
G. M. Wickens, University of Toronto. 57.
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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

P. 19^{b}, **ʿABBĀSIDS**, l. 3, *for* 344/945 *read* 334/945.
P. 187^{b}, **ʿADHĀB al-ḲABR**, *add to Bibliography*: J. Macdonald, *The twilight of the dead*, in *Islamic Studies*, iv (1965), 55-102; idem, *The preliminaries to the resurrection and judgment*, *ibid.*, iv (1965), 137-79.
P. 277^{a}, **AḤMAD b. ḤANBAL**, l. 7 *of Bibliography*, *for* 234-43 *read* 324-43.
P. 394^{b}, **ʿALĪ PASHA ČORLULU**, l. 22 *of the article*, *for* May 1710 *read* May 1706.
P. 433^{a}, **AMBĀLA**, *add to Bibliography*: Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Eng. tr. K. K. Basu, Baroda 1932, 141, 130 n. 8; *Memoirs of Bābur*, Eng. tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1922, ii, 465.
P. 451^{b}, **ʿAMR b. al-ʿĀṢ**, l. 1 *of Bibliography*, *for* ii. 1 *read* iii. 1.
P. 856^{a}, **BADĀʾŪN**, *add to Bibliography*: Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Baroda 1932, index under Badaon (Badayun).
P. 952^{a}, **BĀḲARGANDJ**, *add to Bibliography*: *Geographical and Statistical Report of the Districts of Jessore, Fureedpore and Backergunge*, Calcutta 1888.
P. 1022^{b}, **BANŪR**, *add to Bibliography*: *Memoirs of Bābur*, Eng. tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1922, ii, 464.
P. 1046^{b}, **al-BARĪDĪ**, l. 5 *of the article*, *for* al-Manṣūr *read* al-Muḳtadir.
P. 1047^{b}, **BARĪD SHĀHĪS**, ll. 9-10, *for* Bīdar annexed Bīdjāpur *read* Bīdjāpur annexed Bīdar.
P. 1053^{a}, **BARŌDA**, *add to Bibliography*: Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Eng. tr., Baroda 1932, 114-5.
P. 1194^{b}, **BHATTINDA**, *add to Bibliography*: Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Eng. tr., Baroda 1932, 222 n. 9, and index under Tabarhinda.
P. 1250^{b}, *delete* **BOBASTRO** [see barbashturu].
P. 1300^{b}, **BULANDSHAHR**, *add to Bibliography*: Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Eng. tr., Baroda 1932, index.

VOLUME II

P. 12^{b}, **ČANDERĪ**, ll. 21-2, *read* in the Mālwā internal struggles by Maḥmūd Shāh Khaldjī I.
P. 59^{a}, **CONGO**, ll. 22-3, *for* a Zanzibar Shaykh called Ḥasan b. Amīr al-Shīrāzī *read* the late Chief *Ḳāḍī* of Kenya, Shaykh al-Amīn b. ʿAlī; l. 30, *after* sūrat Yāsīn in Swahili, *add* by ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ al-Fārsī; l. 33, *after* Manrisho Yake", *add* also by ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ al-Fārsī.
P. 308^{b}, **DIPLOMATIC**, ii — maghrib, *add to Bibliography*: Abu ʾl-Walīd Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Mustawdaʿ al-ʿalāma*, Tiṭwān 1964.
P. 347^{b}, **DIYĀR MUḌAR**, l. 43, *for* (485/1082) *read* (485/1092); lines 53-4, *for* In 553/1158 Zangī granted it in fief, *read* In 553/1158 the Zangid granted it in fief.
P. 372^{a}, Mīr **DJAʿFAR**, *add to Bibliography*: Raḥmān ʿAlī Ṭaysh, *Tawārīkh-i Dhāka*, Ārrah 1910, 79-111; Awlād Ḥaydar Fawḳ, *Tawārīkh-i djadīd Ṣūba Bihār-o Urīsa*, Patna 1915, 285-381.
P. 402^{a}, **DJALĪLĪ**. The present members of the Djalīlī family of Mosul have asked the editors to make known that the second sentence of this article does not accord with their family tradition, according to which ʿAbd al-Djalīl b. ʿAbd al-Malik was born a Muslim in Diyārbakr in about 1030/1621 (cf. ʿAlī Amīrī, *Tadhkirat shuʿarāʾ Āmid*, Istanbul 1328, i, 258) and had extensive business connexions with Mosul and Baghdād; he later settled in Mosul, and died in 1090/1679.
P. 558^{b}, **DJĪWAN**, *add at end of Bibliography*: For his views on *samāʿ* see Muḥammad Djaʿfar Nadwī, *Islām awr Mūsīḳī* (in Urdu), Lahore 1956, 119-20, 168-75.
P. 778^{b}, after **FĀRĀB**, *insert*: **al-FĀRĀBĪ**, Abū Ibrāhīm Isḥāḳ [see Supplement].
P. 809^{a}, **FARRUKHĀBĀD**, *add to Bibliography*: Dēbī Prashād, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḍilʿ Farrukhābād*, Allāhābād 1859.
P. 879^{a}, **FEHMĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: see also Ali Kemali, *Erzincan*, n.p. (Resimli Ay Matbaası) 1932, 260 f.
P. 1004^{b}, **GHANĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: Ḥusayn-Dōst Sanbhalī, *Tadhkira-i Ḥusaynī*, Lucknow 1875, s.v.; Abū Muḥammad Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn Miskīn, *Taḥāʾif al-abrār fī dhikr awliyāʾ al-akhyār*, Amritsar 1321-2/1905, *tuḥfa* 6; Muḥammad Aṣlaḥ Kashmīrī, *Tadhkira-i shuʿarāʾ-i Kashmīr* (MS in Persian).
P. 1036^{b}, **GHAZAL**, iv, l. 22, *for* Gondwāna *read* Gonda.
P. 1093^{a}, **GHULĀM ḲĀDIR ROHILLA**, *add to Bibliography*: Alṭāf ʿAlī Barēlvī, *Ghulām Ḳādir Rōhilla* (in Urdu), Aligarh n.d.
P. 1130^{a}, **GUDJARĀT**, l. 8 *of Bibliography*, *for* al-Mirmānī *read* al-Kirmānī *and after* Bodl. Elliot 237 *add* (and further Pertsch 511, now at Tübingen, and King's College Cambridge MS 67; see the note by Hameed ud Din in *History and Culture of the Indian people*, vi, Bombay 1960, 752-3, and idem, in *Journal of Indian History*, xl/3 (1962), 749-50 and 767-77).
P. 1134^{b}, **GULBADAN BĒGAM**, l. 5, for *Zinda-Pīl* read *Zhanda-Pīl*.

VOLUME III

P. 24^{b}, **ḤADĪTH**, l. 38, *for* al-Bābūya *read* Ibn Bābūya; l. 41, for *al-Ibtiṣār* read *al-Istibṣār*.
P. 29^{a}, **ḤADĪTH ḲUDSĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1104/1692-3), *al-Djawāhir al-saniyya fi ʾl-aḥādīth al-ḳudsiyya*, Baghdād 1384/1964 (a Shīʿī collection of *Ḳudsī* traditions).
P. 53^{a}, **al-ḤAḌR**, *add to Bibliography*: A. Caquot, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes de Hatra*, in *Syria*, xxix (1952-5).

P. 62ª, ḤĀFIẒ RAḤMAT KHĀN, *add to Bibliography*: Niyāz Aḥmad Khān 'Hūsh', *Ta'rīkh-i Rōhilkhand* (in Urdū), Bareilly n.d.; Muḥammad Sulaymān Khān 'Asad', *Nakṣh-i Sulaymānī*, Tonk 1323/1904; Ḥusām al-Dīn Gwāliyārī, *Ta'rīkh-i Muḥammad Khānī* (MS in Persian, in the Library of the All-Pakistan Educational Conference, Karachi).

P. 90ᵇ, AL-ḤALABĪ, Nūr al-Dīn, l. 14 of the art., *for* Ibn Sayyid al-Nāsh *read* Ibn Sayyid al-Nās.

P. 123ª, ḤAMDALA, l. 14, *for* usually *read* regularly.

P. 231ª, ḤARṬĀNĪ, *Bibliography*, *delete* M. Ould Daddah, in *GLECS* (26/5/1965).

P. 246ª, *before* AL-ḤASAN AL-AʿṢAM *insert* AL-ḤASAN ʿALĀ DHIKRIHI 'L-SALĀM [see Supplement].

P. 285ª, ḤAWĀRĪ, l. 3 of art., *for Beiträge read Neue Beiträge*.

P. 333ª, ḤAYY B. YAḲẒĀN, lines 21-23. The edition and translation, Oxford 1671, were by the younger Edward Pocock (1648-1727). A fragment of an English translation by his father, the elder Edward Pocock (1604-91), dated 10 July 1645, survives in manuscript in the Bodleian Library (MS. Poc. 429, ff. 1-2, 16-17). *Add to the bibliography*: G. Vajda, *D'une attestation peu connue du thème du 'philosophe autodidacte'* ", in *al-Andalus*, xxxi (1966), 379-83.

P. 381ª, HILĀL, i, *add to Bibliography*: R. Brunschvig, in *Mélanges Georges Marçais*, ii, 1957, 15, 19.

P. 456ª, HINDAL, l. 10, *for* 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 952 *read* 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 958.

P. 497ᵇ, HISHĀM B. AL-ḤAKAM, lines 11-12, *for* descriptive attributes (*ṣifāt*), rather than accidents (*aʿrāḍ*), *read* merely descriptive attributes, *and* l. 17, *for* accidents *read* attributes.

P. 511ª, ḤIYAL, l. 34, *add* See also MŪRISṬUS. l. 39, *for* 111, *read* 111).

P. 512ᵇ, l. 44, *after* valid *add* (cf. Shāṭibī, *Muwāfaḳāt*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Darrāz, iv, 210 f. [*K. al-Idjtihād*, i, § 10]). l. 51, *read* confirm.

P. 535ª, ḤIZḲIL, l. 11 *of the article*, *for* כחי *read* כלי.

P. 570ᵇ, AL-ḤULAL AL-MAWSHIYYA, *add to Bibliography*: See the article (in Arabic) by al-ʿAbbādī in *Tiṭwān*, no. 5 (1960); and especially R. Brunschvig, *al-Ḥulal al-Maushiyya, Grenade et le Maroc marīnide*, in *Studies ... H. A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 147-65, in which the compilation of the *Ḥulal* is situated in its historical context so that its true significance is made apparent.

P. 585ᵇ, HURMUZ, l. 11 *of Bibliography*, for *Comentarios* read *Commentarios*; l. 19, for *perdue* read *perdeu*; l. 20, *for* Scillinger *read* Schillinger; *and add*: J. Aubin, *Les princes d'Ormuz du XIIIᵉ au XVᵉ siècle*, in *JA*, ccxli (1933), 77-138.

P. 673ª, IBN ʿABBĀD, *add to Bibliography*: Aḥmad Bahmanyār, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Ṣāḥib Ibn-i ʿAbbād*, Tehran 1965.

P. 751ª, IBN AL-DJAṢṢĀṢ, *add to the Bibliography an important article by* G. Wiet, *Un homme d'affaires mésopotamien au Xᵉ siècle*, in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, Città del Vaticano 1964, iii, 475-93.

P. 775ᵇ, IBN AL-ḤADDĀD, l. 3, *for* Cadix *read* Guadix.

P. 780ª, IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ, l. 20, *for* AL-BALĀFIḲĪ *read* AL-BALAFIḲĪ.

P. 799ª, IBN ḤAZM, *add to Bibliography*: J. Bosch-Vilá, *Ibn Ḥazm, généalogista*, Cordova 1963, 15 pp. (off-print from *IX Centenario de Aben Hazam*).

P. 802ᵇ, IBN HUBAYRA. *Throughout the article, for* Yūsuf b. ʿUmar *read* Yazīd b. ʿUmar.

P. 803ᵇ, IBN ḤUBAYSH, l. 15, *for* Djazīrat Shakr *read* Djazīrat Shukr.

P. 806ª, IBN ʿIDHĀRĪ, *add to Bibliography*: *al-Bayān al-Mugrib*, iv, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane aux XIIᵉ-XIIIᵉ siècles*, Arabic text ed. by Dr Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1967 (fragments on the Almoravids).

P. 825ᵇ, IBN KHALDŪN, l. 2, *for* (732-84/1332-82) *read* (732-808/1332-1406).

P. 833ª, IBN KHALLIKĀN, lines 8-9, *for* Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zubayr *read* Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr.

P. 835ª, IBN AL-KHAṢĪB, l. 1, *for* AḤMAD B. AL-KHĀṢĪB *read* AḤMAD B. AL-KHAṢĪB.

P. 836ᵇ, IBN AL-KHAṬĪB, l. 6, *for Miʿyār al-ikhtibār read Miʿyār al-ikhtiyār*.

P. 863ª, *before* IBN MANDA *insert* IBN AL-MAʾMŪN [see AL-BAṬĀʾIḤĪ].

P. 865ª, IBN MARDANĪSH, l. 32, *for* Cadix *read* Guadix.

P. 865ᵇ, IBN MARYAM, l. 37, for *ḥizr* read *ḥirz*.

P. 866ª, IBN MARZŪḲ, l. 12, *for* Lamṭūna *read* Lamtūna.

P. 898ᵇ, IBN AL-NAFĪS, *add to Bibliography*: On Andrea Alpago, see Francesca Lucchetta, *Il medico e filosofo bellunese Andrea Alpago*, Padua 1964.

P. 939ᵇ, IBN SHUHAYD, *add, at end of the article*: A second attempt has been made by Yaʿḳūb Zakī (James Dickie), *Dīwān Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī*, Cairo 1969.

P. 946ª, IBN SĪNĀ, *add to Bibliography*: the psychological section of the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* was edited by F. Rahman, as *Avicenna's De Anima*, London 1959.

P. 949ª, *before* IBN SULAYM AL-ASWĀNĪ *insert* IBN AL-SUḲĀʾI [see Supplement].

P. 980ª, IBN ZURʿA, *add to Bibliography*: S. Pines, *La loi naturelle et la société: la doctrine politico-religieuse d'Ibn Zurʿa, philosophe chrétien de Bagdad*, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization*, ed. U. Heyd (= Scripta Hierosolymitana, ix), Jerusalem 1961, 154-90.

P. 989ª, IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD, *add to Bibliography*: F. Omar, *The composition of the early ʿAbbāsid support*, in *Bull. Coll. Arts*, Baghdād 1968.

P. 994ᵇ, IBRĀHĪM ḤAKKĪ PASHA, *add to Bibliography*: Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, Oxford 1969.

P. 994ᵇ, IBRĀHĪM AL-ḤARBĪ, *add at the end of the article*: His *Kitāb al-Manāsik* was published, with a long introduction on the author and his works, by Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1389/1969.

P. 1085ª, IḲRĪṬISH, lines 55-6, *for* circa 241-66/855-80 *read* circa 241-circa 281/855-95 (according to G. C. Miles); p. 1086a, *add to Bibliography*: G. C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Arab Amirs of Crete* (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 160), New York 1970.

P. 1102ª, ĪLĀT, l. 35, *for* Dānizhpashūh *read* Dānishpazhūh; p. 1103b, l. 13, *for* Ousely *read* Ouseley.

P. 1260ᵇ, ʿIRĀḲ, *add to Biblography*: I. al-Samarrāʾī, *al-Tawzīʿ al-lughawī al-djughrafī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ*, Cairo 1968.

H

HĀʾ, 26th letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *h*; numerical value: 5, as in the Syriac (and Canaanite) alphabet [see ABDJAD]. It continues *h* from common Semitic.

Definition: *unvoiced glottal spirant*; according to the Arab grammatical tradition: *rikhwa mahmūsa*; as regards the *makhradj*: *aḳṣā ʾl-ḥalḳ* "the farthest part of the throat" (al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*[2], § 732). A voiced *h* can be found after a voiced phoneme but it is not a distinctive characteristic (see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 75). Pause can develop a *h* to support the short final vowel of a word when it is not a vowel of inflexion (*iʿrāb*): this is the *hāʾ al-sakt* or *hāʾ al-waḳf* or *hāʾ al-istirāḥa* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 36 ee to ii). For the phonological oppositions of the phoneme *h*, see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 177; for the incompatibilities, *ibid.*, 201.

Modifications: the conditioned modifications of *h* are limited to its possible assimilation to a *ḥ* preceding or following, and this between the final letter of one word and the initial of the next; or to reciprocal partial assimilation after an *ʿayn*, thus: *-ʿh-* > *-ḥḥ-*, as *maḥḥum* for *maʿhum* "with them" (using the ancient dialectal form *maʿ*), a particularly frequent phenomenon among the Banū Tamīm (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 12 r and 11 e; J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 75). This latter assimilation is also found in Maghribī and eastern dialects (W. Marçais, *Ūlād Brāhīm* 11 and n. 1; C. Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 5, in *ZDPV*, xxxviii (1915).

h disappears, in modern dialects, from the 3rd pers. masc. sing. of the pronominal suffix, in those dialects where the suffix is *-o*, *-u* and derives from **-ahū* with loss of *-h*. The same is also true of the *h* of the 3rd person feminine singular and 3rd person plural pronominal suffixes in certain dialects of North African and Oriental sedentary groups (notably Aleppo, Lebanese dialects). For assimilations: to a preceding *ʿayn*, see Bergsträsser's Map 5 referred to above; to other preceding consonants, see J. Cantineau, *ibid.*, 76.

h as a demonstrative element appears in three forms: with a short vowel: *ha-*, the definite article in Hebrew; with a long vowel: *hā*, which, in Classical Arabic, did not go so far as to constitute a demonstrative in itself but which appears in compounds; with a diphthong: *hay*, also in compounds, like *hayta* (= *hay* + *ta*) of *hayta laka* in Ḳurʾān, XII, 23 "[come] here" (see H. Fleisch, *Esquisse*, 108-13), but *hey* "here" (L. Bauer, *Palästinische Ar.*[3], § 55, 6).

Bibliography: see in text and under ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. For a general discussion of the phonetics of Arabic as seen by the classical grammarians, see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ; for modern studies, see PHONETICS and LINGUISTICS.

(H. FLEISCH)

ii. — IRANIAN AND TURKIC LANGUAGES

In addition to its consonantal value (as in Persian *ham*, *pahn*, *bih*, Turkish *hep*, *daha*, Urdū *hem*, *bahut*, *vəh*, etc.) the letter *h* early acquired in Persian the rôle of *mater lectionis* for the final vowel *-a*. Whether this was due to analogy with the writing of the Arabic ending of the feminine singular, *-at*^{un} ~ *-a*(*h*), or to a phonetic development within Persian, *-ag* > **-ay* (> **-ah*?) > *-a* (NPers. *-e*), it is impossible to decide. It was plainly from the spelling of final *-a* with *-h*, however, that the spelling of the much rarer final *-i* developed, as in *kh* (earlier *k*, *ky*) = *ki*. In other languages practice differed: in Kh^{w}ārizmian final short vowels were not expressed other than by the Arabic *ḥarakāt* and the same was true of early Pashto spelling, but in the course of the last two centuries writings with *-h* have increased in Pashto for *-a*, *-ə*, as in په *pa*, ته *tə*, *ta*. In certain cases a morphological difference is expressed by a variant spelling, *e.g.*, دَ ده *da də* 'of him'. From final position the letter ه later passed into use as *mater lectionis* for the short vowels *-a*, *-e* in medial position in some Turkish usage and is still so used (for *-a-*) in the written Kurdish of ʿIrāḳ.

In Persian and Turkish there is no visible distinction between final consonantal and 'mute' *h*, *e.g.*, *nh* may represent Pers. *na*, *nih*, *nuh*, and Turk. *ne*. In the North Indian languages, however, the occurrence of aspirated consonants has led to further conventions; see below.

(D. N. MACKENZIE)

iii. — INDIAN LANGUAGES

Generally in Indo-Aryan languages *h* is voiced in all positions (see W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, Oxford 1953, 33 ff. with full references), and frequently a contiguous syllable can carry the breathy quality of the *h*; in some languages (Pandjābī, some East Bengali dialects) *h* is replaced by a syllabic tonal distinction; in others (some dialects of Rādjāsthānī and East Bengali) there may be a phonetic differentiation between voiced *h* and voiceless *h* < *s*. In Urdū, Hindī and some dialects of Pandjābī *ah* in tonic syllables when followed by short *i*, *e*, or a consonant, or *in pausa*, is fronted to [ɛh].

Besides this free *h*, there is also the characteristic aspiration of consonants: *kh čh ṭh th ph*; *gh djh ḍh ṛh dh bh*. In the former series the aspiration is voiceless, in the latter series voiced; there is also the possible juncture of voiceless consonant and voiced

h arising from morphological processes, distinguished from both series. There is no phonetic distinction in Indian speech between *h* and *ḥ*. In Urdū and Hindī phonology contiguous final consonants do not occur, except in pedantic educated speech, and are separated by an anaptyctic vowel, usually *a*; thus *fatḥ* is usually realized as *fataḥ* and pronounced as [fatɘh].

In the Perso-Arabic script as applied to Indian languages *hāʾ* is generally called *hē* (sometimes *čhoṭī hē* 'little h' to distinguish it from *baṛī hē* 'big h', *i.e.*, *ḥāʾ*). The existence of the aspirated consonants has brought about a useful, but not always applied, writing convention, whereby intervocalic ('free') *h* is written with the 'hook' form of *hē*, post-consonantal *h* (aspiration) with the 'butterfly' (*dōčas͟hmī*) form. Thus بھائی *bhāʾī* 'brother', بہائی *bahāʾī* 'Bahāʾī'. In Sindhī the script has been further modified to indicate the aspirated consonants: ٻ *bh*, ڦ *ph*, ٿ *th*, ٽ *ṭh*, ڇ *čh* (but جھ *d̲j̲h*), ڌ *dh*, ڏ *ḍh*, ک *kh* (contra ڪ *k* (but گھ *gh*).

Hē is used as in Persian, etc. (see above) as *mater lectionis* for final *-a*, and thus coincides graphically with etymological final *-h* (*e.g.*, نہ *na*, but چودہ *čawdah* < Skt. *čaturdaśa*, Mid. Ind. *čaurasa*, *čauraha*, *čaudaha*). Nouns with this ending do not change in written form in declension in oblique sing. and direct pl., although the inflexions are shown in speech: thus *b.č.h* represents *bačča* dir. sing. and *bačče* obl. sing. and dir. pl. By extension this ending may sometimes be used for an etymologically long vowel: thus frequently *r.ʾ.d̲j̲.h* for *rād̲j̲a* (*recte rād̲j̲ā*).

Bibliography: in addition to reference above and bibliography given for DĀL ii, see Mohiuddin Qadri, *Hindustani phonetics*, Hyderabad n.d. [1931 ?], 35, 63-9, 72-9, 81, 84, 86, 99.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḤĀʾ, 6th letter of the Arabic alphabet, is transcribed *ḥ*; numerical value: 8, as in the Syriac (and Canaanite) alphabet [see ABD̲J̲AD].

Definition: *unvoiced pharyngeal spirant*; according to Arabic grammatical tradition: *rik͟hwa mahmūsa*, as regards the *mak͟hrad̲j̲*: *awsaṭ al-ḥalḳ*, "the middle part of the throat" (al-Zamak͟hs͟harī, *Mufaṣṣal*[2], § 732). *ḥ* is a very much stronger and harsher spirant than *h*. It is produced by the friction of the expressed air against the strongly contracted walls of the pharynx (a breath sound without velar vibration), from which an elevation of the larynx ensues. It is pronounced "with the glottis almost closed", according to M. Cohen (*Essai comparatif*, 98); with the passage of air through the cartilaginous glottis, according to the teaching of P. Fouché. The sound is voiceless. The corresponding voiced sound is *ʿayn*. For phonological oppositions of the phoneme *ḥ*, see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 176; for the incompatibilities, *ibid.*, 201.

Arabic *ḥ* continues a common Semitic *ḥ*. This *ḥ* has become *hamza* or has become mute in Akkadian, it replaces *k͟h* in Hebrew, Aramaic, Tigre, Tigrigna and Soḳoṭri (modern South Arabian). It has become mute in most of the other modern Ethiopian languages. In the latest period of Geez there is confusion between the different pharyngeal and glottal sounds (see W. Leslau, in *Manual of Phonetics*, 329).

Modifications in Arabic: as an unconditioned change, several examples are quoted of development from *ḥ* to *h*, thus: *madaḥa* and *madaha* "to praise" and development from *ḥ* to *ʿ*, the *faḥfaḥa* of the Hud͟haylites (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 9 l). As regards conditioned changes: in a juxtaposition of *ḥ* and *ʿ* at the end of one word and the beginning of the next, *ḥ* may assimilate *ʿ* to itself in either position, thus: *-ʿḥ-* > *-ḥḥ-* and *-ḥʿ-* > *-ḥḥ-*, except in one reading of Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ (see *ibid.*, § 12 q). In the modern dialects, *ḥ* undergoes only a small number of conditioned changes (see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 74); note (*ibid.*) the question of the *taf͟k͟hīm* and *tarḳīḳ* of *ḥ*, which, in consequence, prevents or permits the production of *imāla*.

ḥ as a demonstrative element appears with a vowel of the 1st and 4th orders in *kaḥa* and *kaḥā* "there" in Geez (A. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, col. 823, *Eth. Gr.*[2], § 160 b) and with diphthong in Arabic *ḥayt͟hu* (= *ḥay* + *t͟hu*) "where, there where" (see H. Fleisch, *Esquisse*, 112). According to Ch. D. Matthews *Akten des XXIV. int. Or.-Kongresses, München 1957* 260-1), *ḥa* is used as a definite article in modern South Arabian; but the question is broader: see W. Leslau, *A prefix h in Egyptian, modern South Arabian and Hausa*, in *Africa*, xxxii (1962), 65-8.

For the general discussion of the phonetics of Arabic as seen by the classical grammarians, see ḤURŪF AL-HID̲J̲Āʾ; for modern studies, see PHONETICS and LINGUISTICS. See also HĀʾ—iii, above.

(H. FLEISCH)

ḤABĀBA, name of a singing slave-girl (*ḳayna* [*q.v.*]) of Medina who had learnt music and singing from the great singers of the 1st/7th century: Ibn Surayd̲j̲, Mālik, Ibn Muḥriz, Maʿbad, D̲j̲amīla, ʿAzza [*qq.v.*]. Her talent, beauty and charm conquered Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who finally became her owner in circumstances which the sources describe very variously, but at a date after his accession (S͟haʿbān 101/February 720); she was originally called al-ʿĀliya and it is he who is said to have given her the name by which she has remained famous. Ḥabāba is often associated with another *ḳayna* of Medina, Sallāma [*q.v.*], but the latter, also purchased by the caliph, seems to have played mainly the part of a singer (though see al-Masʿūdī, whose account is not convincing), while Ḥabāba exerted complete control over Yazīd, who was infatuated with her. Neglecting his duties, he shared all his pleasures with her and even granted her authority, which she knew how to exert, to such a degree that he attracted bitter complaints from those about him, particularly his brother Maslama. When the opportunity arose to pursue her policies, she was supplied with the verses she required by the poet al-Aḥwaṣ [*q.v.*]. According to tradition, she died of choking on a pomegranate seed, and her decease inspired such violent sorrow in the caliph that he kept her corpse by him for several days and even had it exhumed later on in order to see her face one last time; shortly thereafter he died himself, of consumption, on 24 S͟haʿbān 105/26 January 724, and was buried beside her. The enemies of the Umayyads did not fail to draw arguments from the debauched conduct of Yazīd and his absolute subservience to Ḥabāba (see the speech of Abū Ḥamza *apud* al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 123).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkās͟ha, 364, 408; Ṭabarī, ii, 1464-6; *Ag͟hānī*, xiii, 148-59 (Beirut ed., xv, 95-113); Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, v, 446-53; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, v, 58; F. ʿAmrūsī, *al-D̲j̲awārī al-mug͟hanniyāt*, Cairo n.d., 96-107.

(CH. PELLAT)

ḤABAS͟H, ḤABAS͟HA, a name said to be of S. Arabian origin [See ḤABAS͟HAT], applied in Arabic usage to the land and peoples of Ethiopia, and at times to the adjoining areas in the Horn of Africa. Although it has remained a predominantly Christian

country, Ethiopia has an important Muslim population, and has moreover had relations with the world of Islam since the days of the Prophet. These will be examined under the following headings: (1) history, (2) the spread of Islam, (3) Ḥaba<u>sh</u> in Muslim geographical writings, (4) Ethiopian languages spoken by Muslims. A final section will deal with the *Aḥābi<u>sh</u>* in ancient Arabia. Reference may also be made to ERITREA, <u>DJ</u>ABART (on Ethiopian Muslims) and ḤABE<u>SH</u> (on the Ottoman province of that name). (ED.)

i.—HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Though Muslim traditions mention friendly relations between Muḥammad and the Negus, the principal expansion of Islam occurred at a time when the Aksumite state was in a period of decline. The Persians had disrupted the sea and trade routes in the Red Sea, and the Muslim conquests soon enveloped the whole of Arabia and North Africa. Ethiopia was thus severed, at least temporarily, from its spiritual source, the Patriarchate of Alexandria. In fact, Islam had knocked on the very gates of the Christian kingdom: it had occupied the Dahlak islands [*q.v.*]. The isolation of Abyssinia, which was to last for many centuries, had now begun. Trade and conquest were a thing of the past, and in the face of the great Islamic expansion there was nothing left to the people but to retire within their impregnable mountain fastnesses.

While the internal upheavals in the heart of Ethiopia were at their height (towards the close of the first millennium A.D.), Islamic encroachment along the fringes of the kingdom became bolder and more dangerous. The internal troubles were eventually checked, and ground lost, both territorially and in the propagation of Christianity, was regained, but the effects of the disturbances on the periphery could not be mitigated in the same manner. Here the losses along the coastal plains proved irremediable; the Islamization of the lowlands continued at an accelerated pace, and Muslim powers succeeded one another in establishing their sovereignty, with varying degrees of effectiveness, over the African Red Sea littoral. But Islam threatened not only the coastal areas from which the Abyssinian Kingdom had been cut off; it spread its militant faith also among the nomadic groups who lived and moved between the sea and the eastern slopes of the escarpment until, finally, it began to encroach even upon eastern Shoa and the Sidama country. The period from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th century, the time of greatest internal weakness, saw the systematic penetration of Islam on a wide front: in the Dahlak archipelago, the Dankali and Somali coasts, among the Be<u>dj</u>a [*q.v.*] in the north and the Sidama in the south, in the Ifat sultanate of eastern Shoa, at Harar [*q.v.*] in the east and near Lake Zway in the west, where Arabic inscriptions and Islamic tombs attest the radius of Muslim expansion.

The slave-trade proved to be a powerful agent in the Islamization of the coastal plains, for it maintained the link with the Arab world and established or supported such centres as Zeila [see ZAYLAʿ] or Mogadishu [see MAḲDI<u>SH</u>Ū] with their Dankali and Somali hinterland. Moreover, the slave-raids undoubtedly accelerated the diffusion of Islam among the pagan peoples of East Africa, as conversion was the easiest way of escaping this recruitment. The organization of this lucrative trade was enormous: it set up bridgeheads deep in the interior of the country, and what had begun as a raiding expedition developed into permanent control of entire areas and the establishment of a series of petty states and sultanates. Setting out from the Dankali and Somali regions and the coastal towns, the slave-traders enveloped the Harar area, Arussi, and the lake district in the south-west.

It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty whether the origin of the Muslim state in eastern Shoa is due to slaving expeditions. Its beginnings are shrouded in impenetrable darkness, but it must have existed for a considerable period and have been under the rule of the Ma<u>kh</u>zūmī sultans, probably since the late 3rd/9th century. The overthrow of this Shoan sultanate, in 1285, and its absorption within that of Ifat, the predominant Muslim state in Ethiopia, is described in a document published by Enrico Cerulli (*RSE*, 1941, 5-42). The sultanate of Ifat under the Walasma dynasty had become the focus of Islamic expansion in Ethiopia and of all those southern nuclei of resistance to Abyssinian and Christian encroachment who saw in the spread of Islam the lesser evil. Ifat was firmly established on the south-eastern fringes of the Shoan plateau and has impinged on many points and at several stages in the subsequent course of Ethiopian history.

The war of attrition between the central Christian highlands and the Muslim sultanates, entrenched all along the eastern and southern fringes of the Abyssinian plateau, is the principal feature of Ethiopian history during the period from the 8th/14th to the 10th/16th century. Proceeding from east to west we first encounter the sultanate of Adal (Muslim writers such as Maḳrīzī refer to it as Zeila, but Adal and Zeila are largely synonymous and their histories closely connected) on the Dankali and Somali coast. At times Adal formed part of the state of Ifat; its ruler was styled *Amīr* or *Imām* (*Negus* in the Ethiopian chronicles), and one of them who opposed the Ethiopian King Amda Sion's march against Zeila, in 1332, was defeated and slain. Harar became a Muslim city-state and a great centre of Islamic commerce and cultural propagation. Ifat held the south-eastern part of the Shoan plateau and the slopes of the Awash rift-valley; it was the most important of the sultanates. To the west of Ifat, in what is now the Arussi region, the Dawaro kingdom controlled large tracts of southern Ethiopia. It bordered upon the Bāli sultanate, while the small principalities of Sharkha and Arababni lay between Dawaro and the most westerly Muslim state, Hadya, which comprised the territory of the Sidama and Gurage.

Those were the Muslim sultanates ranged against the Emperor Amda Sion (1314-44). They covered a far greater area than that controlled by the Christian Emperor, but the latter had the advantage of a geographically compact state, while the Islamic peoples were spread in a vast semicircle without proper communications or political cohesion. Amda Sion seized the initiative, attacked Ifat and Hadya, and defeated both. He had thus gained the entire plateau down to the Awash River. And though these Muslim principalities displayed great powers of recovery, for the time being Amda Sion had relieved the pressure of Islamic encroachment. Victory brought mass conversions to Christianity in its wake; many monasteries and churches were founded at that time, and the name of Amda Sion himself was registered among the saints in the *senkessar* (Synaxarium).

Amda Sion's son and successor, Saifa Arʾad (1344-72), is principally renowned for his reprisals

against Egyptian merchants in Abyssinia to show his disapproval of the persecutions to which Christians in Egypt had been subjected, culminating in the imprisonment of the Coptic Patriarch. Saifa Arʾad's son, Dawit I (1382-1411), brought about a temporary reconciliation with the Egyptian ruler, marked by an exchange of gifts. He also received an embassy from the Coptic Church in Egypt. But under his son Yesḥaḳ (1414-29) relations deteriorated once more, and the Ethiopian Emperor endeavoured to enlist the help of the "Franks" (possibly Aragon) in support of the Copts of Egypt (this episode has been investigated by Hasan Habashi in an unpublished Ph. D. thesis, S.O.A.S., University of London, esp. chapter III). Ethiopian Emperors from time to time threatened to divert the course of the Nile in an attempt to mitigate the lot of their co-religionists in Egypt by so dramatic a gesture.

Meanwhile, the Ethiopians realized that the tense but "peaceful co-existence" with the Muslim strongholds in their immediate neighbourhood, on the Red Sea coast, could not last for ever. They therefore acted upon a suggestion, first advanced by Pedro de Covilham, to enlist the aid of Portuguese naval forces in the dislodgement of Muslims from the Red Sea littoral. The arrival of a Portuguese exploratory mission was, however, much delayed, and it did not, in fact, reach the country till 1520, by which time the general situation had undergone profound changes.

In the meantime the sultanate of Adal was convulsed by internal struggles. The recent defeat had done grave harm to the prestige of the Walasma dynasty, whose authority was now constantly challenged by the *amīr*s and military commanders. The Sultan Abū Bakr had transferred the capital to Harar, possibly to extricate himself from the persistent pressure exerted by the generals who drew their principal support from the Dankali and Somali peoples. Chief among those forceful military commanders was Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (nicknamed Grañ, 'the left-handed') [see AḤMAD GRĀÑ] who soon became the effective master of the Muslim possessions in Ethiopia and assumed the title of *Imām*. We are fortunate in possessing a detailed eye-witness account of the Muslim conquests of the 10th/16th century, with the Imām Aḥmad as the central figure, written by S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn (*Futūḥ al-Ḥabas̲h̲a*, ed. R. Basset).

Grañ had first made sure of the strength of his position in Adal and had then welded the Danakil and Somalis into a formidable striking force, inspired by the old ideal of the *d̲j̲ihād* and lust of conquest and plunder. He initially concentrated on limited objectives, raids and incursions into the plains and foothills, before venturing upon the distant and difficult highlands. But in 1529, three years after the departure of the abortive Portuguese Mission, he struck and inflicted a major defeat on Lebna Dengel, the Ethiopian Emperor. He was, however, unable to drive home this advantage, as his armies disintegrated, drunk with victory and booty. It was only two years later that he was finally ready to begin the great conquest and invasion which inundated nearly the entire territory of traditional Abyssinia, burning churches and monasteries and forcibly converting large numbers of Christians. Dawaro and the Shoa province were conquered in 1531, and Amhara and Lasta followed two years later. At the same time Bali and Hadya as well as the Gurage and Sidama regions fell into Grañ's hands.

The accession to the throne of the Emperor Claudius (1540-1559) thus occurred at a most critical moment in the history of Ethiopia—yet within less than two years the situation had radically changed, thanks mainly to the help given by the Portuguese. The 400 men under Christopher da Gama had disembarked at Massawa in 1541 and, aided by the Governor of the maritime province, who had held out at Debaroa, set out on their epic march into the interior. When the Portuguese contingent met the Imām Aḥmad, they were successful in two encounters, but could not press their victory home. Meanwhile, Grañ asked for and obtained reinforcements from the Turkish commander Özdemir [*q.v.*], with which he prevailed over the Portuguese and their leader, who was put to death. But the remaining 200 Europeans had not been demoralized; they managed to join forces with the remnants of Claudius' armies and, near Lake Tana, fought what was probably—at least until recent days—the most decisive battle in the history of Ethiopia. They smote the Muslim troops and slew Grañ himself (1543).

Though there still followed some skirmishes, with the death of Grañ the serious Muslim threat to Ethiopia had been effectively removed. Assisted by the soldiers of a Christian country from Europe, the Ethiopians had finally saved their ancient Christian kingdom and heritage. But the salvation had come at a very late hour: Ethiopia lay prostrate and exhausted; many of its churches and monasteries existed no longer; its clergy was weakened, and its people were either Islamized—however superficially —or terrorized and in urgent need of moral and material succour.

Adal, though greatly enfeebled, continued with harassing operations against the Ethiopians. A nephew of Aḥmad Grañ moved against the plateau, but he was beaten by Claudius, who subsequently advanced on Adal and wrought much devastation. Harar was now the main Muslim stronghold in Ethiopia, and it was from there that another attack was launched which, in 1559, led to the death of the Emperor Claudius.

But despite such isolated successes the Muslims no longer constituted a serious danger to the Abyssinian Empire. By the middle of the 10th/16th century the prospect of an Islamized Ethiopia had become very remote. The next serious encounter with Islam did not occur until the last decades of the 19th century, when the reign of the Emperor John (1868-89) was characterized by constant wars against the Muslim powers encroaching upon his dominion.

Egypt, under the Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], had conceived plans for the conquest of Abyssinia. In these designs she was encouraged by the quick success of the British Expedition in 1868 and by the hope of Ethiopian disunity. In 1875 Egypt directed a three-pronged attack against the Christian Empire; earlier already her agent, the Swiss adventurer Werner Munzinger, had placed himself in charge of the Keren area and also assumed the governorship of Massawa. He now led the assault from Tajura, but was overwhelmed and killed by Dankali forces. The second prong set out from Zeila under the command of Raʾuf Pas̲h̲a and succeeded in occupying Harar. The Egyptians stayed there until they were dislodged, ten years later, by the Emperor Menelik. The third and largest column proceeded from Massawa, crossed Eritrea, and during their descent into the Mareb Valley, near Gundet, were attacked by John's Tigrean army and virtually annihilated.

The shock of this disaster was immense, and the Egyptians at once prepared another expedition, this

time of nearly 20,000 men under the command of the Khedive's son. The Emperor now organized a veritable crusade, and the whole country down to Menelik's Shoan hills reverberated with excitement and the call to deal a final blow to the Muslim foe. When the two armies met in 1876 near Gura, the Egyptian *débâcle* was so colossal that it quenched their thirst for Imperial aggrandizement in Ethiopia.

The last violent encounter with Islam occurred in 1888 when hostilities between the Sudan and Abyssinia flared up shortly after the establishment of the Mahdist state. A large contingent of Mahdists entered western Ethiopia, burnt parts of Gondar, and then retired across the frontier (see P. M. Holt in *BSOAS*, xxi (1958), 287-8). The Emperor John met the Mahdists in a great battle at Metemma (1889) and appeared to defeat them, but in the last moments of the engagement the Emperor was mortally wounded, and his army retreated when its leader had fallen.

The Emperor John's religious fanaticism and his forcible conversions, both in the service of his beliefs and as an instrument of political unification, had no lasting or beneficial effect. They disturbed the atmosphere of religious toleration which is usually a mark of modern Ethiopian life. After John's death the Emperor Menelik allowed a return to religious tolerance and amity, a policy which was continued with a considerable measure of success under the Emperor Hayla Sellasie.

Although nearly half of the population of the Horn of Africa are Muslims, their impact on the character and substance of Ethiopia is as peripheral as is their geographical distribution all around the central highland plateau. The identification of Abyssinian Christianity with the political and cultural life of the country is so complete that no numerical increase in Islam has been able to touch the intrinsic nature of this phenomenon. Yet, any map of the distribution of religions in North East Africa demonstrates most strikingly the Muslim encirclement of Abyssinia—everywhere except for the predominantly pagan South West.

The most notable group of Muslims in Ethiopia are unquestionably the D̲j̲abart [*q.v.*], for they alone enter into the life of the country. D̲j̲abart was originally the name of a region in the territories of Zeila and Ifat but was later applied to all the Muslim principalities of Southern Ethiopia and, ultimately, to all Muslims living in the Ethiopian Empire.

Islam is still making steady progress among the Cushitic and Nilotic peoples in the lowland areas, but none among the highland population of Semitic speech. Perhaps its clear-cut theology makes a special appeal to the less sophisticated peoples in the hot and arid regions with little civilization of their own. The universal call of Islam must have a great attraction in all those quarters where the particularistic and national message of Abyssinian Monophysite Christianity can scarcely be expected to penetrate.

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(E. Ullendorff)

ii.—The Spread of Islam

A summary account of the spread of Islam will also cover its present distribution in the modern state of Ethiopia. The settlement of Muslims in the trading stations existing along the Red Sea coast led eventually to the diffusion of Islam among the nomads of the coastal plains known as ʿAfar or Danḳalī [*q.v.*]. The northernmost nomads, the Bed̲j̲a [*q.v.*], were influenced both from the Nilotic region and from coastal settlements of which ʿAyd̲h̲āb [*q.v.*] was one of the most important. Zaylaʿ [*q.v.*] became an important diffusion centre and through trading relations the ruling classes of the developed southern Sidama kingdoms, as far west as Hadya around the river Gibē, adopted Islam. The religious culture penetrated northwards into Shoa and along the eastern highlands there were Muslim states, the most famous being Awfāt [*q.v.*] and its successor Adal with Zaylaʿ as capital. Much of the region of the Muslim Sidama states of Bali and Dawaro was overwhelmed by the first movements of the great Galla invasion which began early in the 10th/16th century. In consequence Islam disappeared except among trading groups and in the unique city of Harar [*q.v.*]. Farther south, Maḳdis̲h̲ū [*q.v.*], Marka and Brava were Islamic points in territory inhabited by both Bantu Nyika and Somali tribes. Islam spread only among the Somali [*q.v.*] and its diffusion is bound up with legends of tribal origins.

The central point throughout the history of this north-eastern region of Africa has been the Christian state of Ethiopia against which waves of nomad aggression tended to waste themselves. Muslim trading communities were present on the plateaux but these waves also left behind small groups of Muslim agriculturalists. These Ethiopian Muslims living in plateau regions are known as D̲j̲abart ([*q.v.*] and see also eritrea) and are indistinguishable from the Christians among whom they live except in customs which derive from religion. Those in the north (Eritrea and Tigrai) speak Tigrinya and the others Amharic.

Before the 19th century, therefore, the only Muslims in the region apart from immigrant traders were the scattered groups of D̲j̲abart and the nomadic tribes of ʿAfar and Somali in the plains. Islam made its greatest gains during this century, not merely among pagans (mainly Galla), but also among northern Christian tribes in what is now called Eritrea. Many of the Galla [*q.v.*] tribes which had penetrated into the highlands and were making a great if une coordinated bid to gain control of the Christian stat-

adopted Islam in contradistinction to Ethiopian Christianity as a means to that end. A people known as Dobʿa occupied a section of the eastern buttresses of the highlands, originally part of Awfāt which came under Ethiopian sovereignty, against which they were continually in opposition. The Dobʿa disappeared as an ethnic unit, but it was probably through them that those Galla who occupied the same region (Yed̲j̲u and Raya or Azebo) and mingled with the preceding population adopted Islam as well as their hostility to Christian Amhara. Similarly, Islam spread among the Wallo Galla in the heart of the highlands (centre Dessié) to reinforce their attempt to remain distinct from Amhara. Many Wallo changed to Christianity during the reign of the Emperor John.

The 19th century was a period of anarchy in northern Ethiopia and the Christian state had no real control. The Egyptian conquest of the Sudan affected Eritrea (occupation of the Keren highlands 1860-76). Most of the Tigrē-speaking tribes became Muslim between 1840 and 1880. These included the ruling classes of the nomadic Bait Asgedē (Ḥabāb, Ād Taklēs and Ād Tamāryām), many of whose serfs were already Muslim; the cultivating tribes of the Bilen or Bogos (Christian elements remain among the Bait Tarke section); the Marya living north-west of the Bilen; the Mensa; and Bait Juk. Muslim holy tribes formed themselves, one of the more important being the Ād S̲h̲ayk̲h̲. Also the pagan negroid Baria, inhabiting the country around the Takkazē and Gash, became Muslim during the Turko-Egyptian occupation. The Mīrg̲h̲ānī family [see MĪRG̲H̲ĀNIYYA] gained great influence among Eritrean tribes during this period, deepening the religion of the southernmost Bed̲j̲a, the Banū ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], who had been influenced by Islamic diffusion from the *fuḳarāʾ* of the Nilotic Fund̲j̲ [*q.v.*] state.

The northernmost ʿAfar tribes, mixing with other groups, gave rise to the Saho tribes who occupy the eastern mountain slopes of Akele-Guzai, Shimezana and Agame. Long exposed to Islamic influence, a movement into Islam began in the 8th/14th century. They were still predominantly Christian at the beginning of the 19th century, but during this period of change they became predominantly Muslim. They comprise the Asaorta, Hazo or Hazu, Mini-Fere, and Debri-Mela, though they contain groups which have remained Christian, *e.g.* the whole of the Irōb tribe and sections of the Mini-Fere and Debri-Mela.

In the south, it has already been shown (*e.g.*, al-ʿUmarī's account) that although Islam had entered the Sidama states by the 8th/14th century it had made no lasting mark upon the bulk of the population of these states and what little there was disappeared before the waves of Galla and subsequent upheaval and dislocation. The Galla first invaded the Muslim kingdom of Bālī [*q.v.*], where was situated the sanctuary of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥusayn which they assimilated, and the eastern part of Sidama territory became Galla whilst the unmodified Sidama became confined to the valley of the river Omo. Only in the second half of the 19th century did the Galla of the Harar region adopt Islam; since then many of the Arusi have also come to call themselves Muslim.

The Galla who invaded the region beyond the Gibē formed a number of states (Guma, Gomma, Gēra, Limmu Enarya, and D̲j̲imma Abba D̲j̲ifar) into which Islam spread in the middle of the 19th century, chiefly through commercial currents from the east, though there was also some Nilotic Sudan influence. It also spread among some Sidama (Gāro or Bosha, Tambaro, Alaba, Hadiya or Gudēla, and part of the Walāmo) and Guragē groups (Walanē, Akelil-Kabena, Gogot and Siltē), though it should be pointed out that in many of these southern regions no clear-cut religious classification is possible. From the Nilotic Sudan Islam spread among certain Negro tribes (*e.g.* the Berta) of the western Ethiopian borderland known to the Amhara as Shanqela.

An aspect which distinguishes the Islam of the region from other parts of Africa is in the number of *mad̲h̲habs* which are recognized, owing to historical circumstances. The Ḥanafī (through Turkish or Egyptian influence) is found at Maṣawwaʿ and elsewhere on the Eritrean coast, in parts of the interior of the Ethiopian state, and in a quarter of Harar city; the Mālikī (from the Nilotic Sudan) in the extreme west and in the interior of Eritrea; and the S̲h̲āfiʿī (from Arabia) in other parts of Eritrea, among the Sidama, the Galla of Gibē region, and the Somali. The spread of Islam was nowhere accompanied by Arabization and in consequence the peoples, especially the nomads, preserved their own social institutions as the basic feature of communal life, modified but not radically changed by Islamic institutions. For further information the articles on individual peoples or regions should be consulted.

(J. S. TRIMINGHAM)

iii. — AL-ḤABAS̲H̲ IN MUSLIM GEOGRAPHICAL WORKS

Arabic writers often use the word *Ḥabas̲h̲a* as vaguely as some classical and mediaeval Europeans use Ethiopia, *i.e.*, as approximately equivalent to the habitable part of sub-Saharan Africa, though the Arabs, unlike some European geographers, do not confuse it with India. Its eastern boundary was considered to be the Baḥr Ḳulzum and Baḥr al-Zand̲j̲, its northern the desert separating it from Egypt; Idrīsī extends it to the southern limit of cultivation in Africa. In the west Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih gives it a common frontier with the Ṣufrī state of Sid̲j̲ilmāsa, and al-ʿUmarī states that it is bounded by the country of the Takrūr; there is no reason to suppose he does not refer to the Sudanese Takrūrīs. The Arabs derived their information partly from Ptolemy, especially from the recension of al-K̲h̲ʷārizmī in the *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, the handbook he wrote to accompany the map compiled by order of al-Maʾmūn. In time this information became more rather than less confused as names became more corrupt. Muslim penetration was at this time practically confined to the lowlands on the western shore of the Red Sea. This is why so many Arab descriptions emphasize the extreme heat and aridity of Abyssinia. Their acquaintance with the plateau was very slight, though later accounts become more detailed and more accurate. The disorders that ensued after the collapse of the Aksumite kingdom, the prevalence of Christianity in the highlands, and the formidable physical obstacles to communication contributed to this ignorance. In general the early Arab geographers mention only the capital, D̲j̲arma, or D̲j̲armī, properly D̲j̲arama (*Ḥudūd*, 473), really Garama, capital of the Garamantes of Fazzān [*q.v.*], where Yāḳūt places it. In the *Ḥudūd*, for example, only three place names in Ḥabas̲h̲a are given, D̲j̲aramī, corrupted into Rāsun, and two others, equally corrupt, but tentatively identified by Minorsky as ʿAyd̲h̲āb and Zaylaʿ. Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, iii, 34) gives the capital as Kuʿbar. This cannot be Ankober as stated by the editors, nor can it be the same as Idrīsī's Kald̲j̲ūn. It is Yaʿḳūbī's Kaʿban or Kaʿbar, capital of the Nad̲j̲ās̲h̲ī. Its iden-

tification is problematical; Conti Rossini proposed Aksum, but several alternatives are equally plausible; it cannot have been very distant from the Dahlak islands. Idrīsī's description is hopelessly confused and his names, probably derived from Ptolemy, are extremely corrupt. His capital is Dj.nbayta, a populous city in a desert (*sic*). Ibn Saʿīd, followed by Abu'l-Fidāʾ, also mentions this place. Idrīsī's other names include K.ldjūn and N.djāgha or Nadjāʿa, perhaps merely a corruption of Nadjāshī. These have not been satisfactorily identified, but the first is al-ʿUmarī's Kuldjūrā, a town in Awfāt. Ibn Saʿīd, though repeating much that occurs in Idrīsī, gives some new information. He mentions the country of Saḥarta (Eth. Saḥart), Wafāt (*i.e.* Awfāt), and the Danākil. Yaʿḳūbī gives a list of Bedja kingdoms and refers to the Ḥadārib. Al-Dimashḳī records six races of the Ḥabasha, which include the Amḥara, the Dāmūt (Eth. Damot), and the Saḥart. By far the best Arabic account of Abyssinia is that given by al-ʿUmarī in the *Masālik al-abṣār*; his source was Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Zaylaʿī, an envoy from his countrymen to Egypt. He provides a list of seven Muslim states in Ḥabasha, Awfāt [*q.v.*], Dawāru [*q.v.*], Arābabnī, Hadya, Sharkhā, and Dāra. He describes them as all subject to the *ḥaṭi* (Eth. ḥaṣe) the Ethiopian ruler. He mentions Tigray as the old name of Saḥart, Aksum (Akhshūm), Shoa, Hamasen, Ganz, and even Enarya. Maḳrīzī reproduces the list of Muslim kingdoms, along with much else from al-ʿUmarī, in his *Kitāb al-ilmām*; his supplementary information may come from oral sources.

Although on several occasions during the 10th/16th century Ottoman power extended to parts of the Eritrean plateau, Ottoman geographical literature, to the very limited extent to which it has been examined, contains little information about Ḥabasha that is not derived from Arabic, or at a later date, from European sources. The Turkish map in the Vatican library showing the source of the Nile and even Ewliyā Čelebī's general conception of Africa merely reflect Arab geographical tradition. Ewliyā's short account of Ḥabasha has been studied by Bombaci. It appears to owe nothing to written sources and is probably derived from oral accounts rather than from his own alleged journey. He uses Ḥabasha to denote only the Ottoman *eyālet*; independent Ethiopia he calls Dembiye, *i.e.*, Dembiya, the province north and north-west of Lake Tana, which included Gondar, then the capital. Ewliyā mentions several places on the coast from Sawākin to Mogadishu and gives some details about Maṣawwaʿ. The few places he names in the interior cannot be identified with any confidence.

Bibliography: C. A. Nallino, *Al-Ḫuwârizmî e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo, Rend. Lin.*, 1894; *BGA*, index; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 5, 55, 377-8, iii, 34; al-Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib*; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 164, 473-4; al-Dimashḳī, *Kitāb Mukhab al-dahr*, St Petersburg 1865 and Leipzig 1923; al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, traduit et annoté Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1-39, Paris 1927; al-Maḳrīzī, *Historia regum islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, Leiden 1790; C. Conti Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia*, Bergamo 1928, 268-75, 292-3, 323-331; H. v. Mžik, *Afrika nach d. arabischen Bearbeitung des Ptolomaeus*, in *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 59 no. 4, 1916; E. Cerulli, *Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia, Mem. Lin.* 1931; O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London 1952; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, x, Istanbul 1938; A. Bombaci, *Notizie sull'Abissinia in fonti turche*, in *Rassegna di studi etiopici*, iii/1 (1943), 79-86; idem, *Il viaggio in Abissinia di Evliyā Čelebī*, in *AIUON*, n.s. ii (1943), 259-75.

(C. F. Beckingham)

iv. — Ethiopian Languages spoken by Muslims

While Amharic and Tigrinya are spoken predominantly by Christians (apart from scattered pockets of Djabart), Tigre-speakers are almost all Muslims. This language (referred to as *al-Khāṣṣiya* in the Kassala province of the Sudan) extends over the eastern lowlands of Eritrea, the northern and western plains, and the large Banū ʿĀmir tribal group. The Tigre-speakers constitute the pastoral and nomadic sector of the Eritrean population. Their number has been estimated at some 250,000.

Harari (its indigenous name is Adare) is the language spoken in the town of Harar in eastern Ethiopia. It is surrounded on all sides by Galla and Somali, which have left their imprint on Harari, but a greater influence, especially in the sphere of the vocabulary, has been exerted by Arabic—owing to the long Muslim conquest and Harar's position as the premier Muslim city in Ethiopia. Since the town came under effective Ethiopian authority, towards the end of the last century, the influence of Amharic has grown, and it seems likely that the latter will slowly displace Harari altogether. The number of those still capable of speaking Harari has been estimated by Cerulli at 35,000.

Harari has generally been written in Arabic, and not Ethiopian, characters. Its literature is limited to some songs and some popular works of Islamic religious law.

Among non-Semitic languages spoken by at least a certain number of Muslims are Galla, Somali, the Sidama languages including Kaffa, as well as Beja and Bilen.

Bibliography: E. Cerulli, *Studi Etiopici: I. La lingua e la storia di Harar*, Rome 1936; E. Ullendorff, *The Semitic languages of Ethiopia: a comparative phonology*, London 1955; W. Leslau, *The Arabic loanwords in Gurage (southern Ethiopia)*, in *Arabica*, iii (1956), 266-84; idem, *Arabic loanwords in Tigrinya*, in *JAOS*, lxxvi (1956), 204-13; idem, *Arabic loanwords in Amharic*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 221-44; idem, *Arabic loanwords in Geez*, in *JSS*, iii (1958), 146-68.

(E. Ullendorff)

Aḥābīsh

Aḥābīsh is a plural form which may mean either (a) "Abyssinians" as derived from Ḥabash, or (b) "companies or bodies of men, not all of one tribe" (Lane), from *uḥbūsh* or *uḥbūsha*; in a poem ʿUthmān is said to have been murdered by "*aḥābīsh* from Egypt" (Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 79, 7; from Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 152). It is also said that the word is applied to men who formed a confederacy either at a mountain called al-Ḥubshī or at a wadi called Aḥbash.

The Aḥābīsh who are mentioned several times in the *sīra* of Muḥammad were a confederacy of small tribes or clans, at first allied with Banū Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna against Ḳuraysh (al-Azraḳī, *ap.* Wüstenfeld, *Mekka*, i, 71. 14), but subsequently allied with Ḳuraysh. The leading group was Banu 'l-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna, and the others usually named are: al-Muṣṭaliḳ (of Khuzāʿa), and al-Hūn (of Khuzayma) with its subdivisions ʿAḍal and al-Ḳāra (for references in Ibn Hishām, al-Wāḳidī and al-Ṭabarī see Watt, *Muhammad at*

Mecca, Oxford 1953, 153-6; cf. also Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 302; in Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 29. 15 it is said that al-Ḳāra formed a *djummāʿ* with men of Kināna, Muzayna and al-Ḥakam).

While the above facts are clearly stated in several passages, there has been much dispute about the identity of the Aḥābīsh who supported Ḳuraysh since the appearance of the article by H. Lammens, *Les 'Ahabiš' et l'organisation militaire de la Mecque, au siècle de l'hégire* (*JA*, 1916, 425-82; reprinted in *L'Arabe occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut 1928, 237-94). Lammens put forward the view that the Aḥābīsh consisted of Abyssinian and other negro slaves attached to a core of nomadic Arabs; and further held that the power of Mecca in the early 7th century A.D. rested on these mercenaries. Lammens was correct in rejecting the older view that the Aḥābīsh were simply "die politischen Verbündeten" (J. Wellhausen), but his hypothesis as a whole is unjustified for the following reasons: (a) he sets too much weight on the meaning "Abyssinians" and neglects the second possible meaning; (b) there is nothing in the sources to suggest that the tribes or clans of the Aḥābīsh are not Arab; (c) they are stated to be confederates (*ḥulafāʾ*) of Ḳuraysh, not slaves, and at their first mention they were confederates of enemies of Ḳuraysh; (d) they were organized under a chief (*sayyid*), usually of Banu 'l-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna, who spoke to Ḳuraysh as an equal (*e.g.*, Ibn Hishām, 582, 743); (e) in the Meccan campaigns the Aḥābīsh did not have the importance alleged by Lammens. The Meccans certainly had some Abyssinian slaves who fought for them; of the eleven slaves or freedmen who fought for Muḥammad among the Emigrants at Badr, two were clearly of Abyssinian origin (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 344); but this is a small proportion, and there is nothing to show that such slaves were called Aḥābīsh. The word is used, however, of Abyssinians in the Yemen (S. Smith in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 455, 458, 465).

Bibliography: (further to that in the text): M. Hamidullah, *Les 'Aḥābīsh' de la Mecque*, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, i, 434-7; Ṭabarī, i, 2495.9; Ibn Durayd, 119; ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī, *Risāla*, 213 foot. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḤABASH AL-ḤĀSIB AL-MARWAZĪ, AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, one of the most important and interesting figures in early Islamic astronomy, hailing from Marw, but living in Baghdād. The sobriquet "Ḥabash" ("the Abyssinian") is nowhere explained; it may refer to the dark colour of his skin. While the *Fihrist* (p. 275) mentions only that he reached the age of 100, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (*Taʾrīkh*, 170) gives more detailed information on his life and the various stages of his scientific activity. According to him, he lived in the reigns of al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim, which is confirmed by Ibn Yūnus (in his "Great Ḥākimitic Tables", see Kennedy, *Tables*, 126), who reports observations made by Ḥabash in Baghdād in 214/829 and 250/864. The limits for the year of his death (250/864-260/874) as given in Suter, No. 22, p. 13, and Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 565, are pure conjecture. Nallino (*al-Battānī*, i, p. lxvi, and *Raccolta*, v, 55) states that Ḥabash completed the *zīdj*, a copy of which is preserved in Berlin (Ahlwardt, 5750), in 300/912. If this is true, we would have to assume that he made his first observations as a young boy of no more than 15, which is not very probable. For this reason, Nallino (*Bull. du XIIe congr. int. d. orientalistes*, no. 15, 11-2) excludes the possibility of his having collaborated in the Maʾmūnic observations; see Vernet, 505, note 31. Vernet's surmise that there were two different individuals bearing the name Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib is extremely unlikely. The titles of his works listed in the *Fihrist* and by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (differing with one exception only slightly) are the following: *The Damascus tables*; *The Maʾmūnic tables*; *On the distances* [of the planets] *and* [their] *bodies*; *On the construction of the astrolabe*; *On sundials and gnomons*; *On the three tangent circles and the properties of their junctions* (*kayfiyyat al-awṣāl*); *On the construction of horizontal, vertical, inclined* (*māʾila*) *and turned* (*munḥarifa* = "deviating from the main directions") *planes*. In Ibn al-Ḳifṭī the last two titles are combined into one: *On the tangent circles and the mode of their application* (*kayfiyyat al-ittiṣāl* [better read *istiʿmāl*]) *to the construction of .... planes*. If this is correct, the title would refer not to the construction of sundials but to stereographic projection and its practical application, the terms *māʾil* and *munḥarif* bearing on the ecliptic and on the horizon with the *muḳanṭarāt* respectively.

Contrary to this list, which contains only two *zīdj*es, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī in the *vita* preceding it mentions three *zīdj*es, and under different titles: one according to the methods of the *Sindhind*, "composed in his early days, when he still relied on the computations of the *Sindhind*", in which he refuted entirely al-Fazārī's and al-Khwārizmī's procedures and their application to the motion of trepidation according to Theon of Alexandria; another one, called *al-zīdj al-mumtaḥan* ("verified tables", *tabulae probatae*, for the meaning of the title see Vernet, 506), which was the most famous of his works composed after he had had recourse to his own observations; finally a third one, the "small *zīdj*" called also the *zīdj al-shāh*.

It is hardly possible to decide whether the two extant *zīdj*es bearing Ḥabash's name (Berlin 5750 and Istanbul, Yeni Cami 784, 2°), both described in detail by Kennedy (nos. 15 and 16, and §§ 7 and 8, pp. 151-4) are at least in part identical with one or the other of the two great *zīdj*es listed (the *zīdj al-shāh* is lost). The former, in which references to the *al-zīdj al-mumtaḥan* of Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr (Ms. Escorial 1927 (formerly 922), Kennedy, no. 51 and § 5, 145 ff., and Vernet, 507 ff.) are found, is obviously modified by some later author. The latter is "much more homogeneous than the other purported copies of early zīdjes" (Kennedy). It contains among others a "Table for the correct positions" (*Djadwal al-taḳwīm*), of which Abū Naṣr Manṣūr (*Risāla ... ila 'l-Bīrūnī ... fī barāhīn aʿmāl djadwal al-taḳwīm fī zīdj Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib*, in *Rasāʾil Abī Naṣr ila 'l-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1948) has given an elaborate description. There the following four functions are listed for the argument λ (ecliptical longitude) = 1, 2, ... 90°: 1. the latitude *b* ("*al-mayl al-thānī*") of a point on the *equator* with longitude λ; 2. $\cos b_{90-\lambda}$; 3. $\frac{\cos \lambda}{\cos b_{90-\lambda}}$; 4. $\sin \varepsilon \operatorname{tg} \lambda$. With the aid of these functions many computations can be considerably abbreviated.

As for the *zīdj al-shāh*, the title seems to indicate that it was composed on the basis of parameters (*e.g.*, longitude of the solar apogee) or even methods employed in the Pahlavi tables *Zīk-i-shatroayār*, known and in use already at the time of the astrologers of al-Manṣūr, such as Mā shāʾa 'llāh, which in turn, as Nallino (*Raccolta*, v, 233) has shown, must have been based mainly on Hindu models (*Sūrya-siddhānta*).

There is no doubt that Ḥabash possessed a perfect mastery of trigonometrical functions (sine, cosine, versine, tangent, cotangent) and their application to the problems of spherical astronomy. Curiously enough, however, Abū Naṣr in his *risāla* on Ḥabash's *djadwal al-taḳwīm* (see above) avoids the term *ẓill* and consistently replaces it by the ratio of sine and cosine (thus the above fourth function is actually defined as "sin λ · sin ε/cos λ").

Al-Bīrūnī, who cites Ḥabash on many occasions, himself wrote an improvement and correction to the tables of Ḥabash (*Takmīl zīdj Ḥabash bi 'l-ʿilal wa-tahdhīb aʿmālihi min al-zalal*, Boilot, no. 4, p. 177). Ibn Yūnus, in his *Ḥākimitic tables*, on one occasion at least makes the depreciatory statement that "Ḥabash's remarks concerning the latitudes of Venus and Mercury sound like those of one who does not understand what he is saying" (Kennedy, 126). Contrary to this, the unanimous opinion of all later writers seems to have been that Ḥabash was one of the great astronomers of early ʿAbbāsid times.

Ḥabash's son Abū Djaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 396) was a renowned astronomer and instrument maker. He wrote a book on the planispheric astrolabe.

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ḤABASHAT, a term found in several Sabaean inscriptions with apparent reference to Aksumite Abyssinia. Despite the absence of explicit evidence, it has generally been assumed to apply not only to the territory and people of the Aksumite empire but also to a South Arabian tribe related to the former and in close contact with them. To E. Glaser the term in its widest and most ancient usage signified no more than "incense-collectors" (Arabic *ḥabasha* "to gather") and was applicable to all the peoples of the incense regions, that is, of the Mahra and Somali coasts and Abyssinia proper. He equated it with the Greek *Aithiopes* for which he posited an original **Aṭyūb* with the same sense. In Ḥabashat of the inscriptions, however, Glaser preferred to see a region and tribe of South Arabia which he further recognized in the Abasēnoi of Uranius (*apud* Stephanus of Byzantium) who inhabited an incense-bearing land beyond the Sabaioi. He concluded that Ḥabashat was a part of the Mahra country and that the people, after succumbing to the neighbouring Ḥaḍramawt during the wars between Sabaʾ and Ḥimyar, emigrated round about the turn of the era to Africa, where they laid the foundations of the later Aksumite empire. C. Conti Rossini rightly stressed the improbability of a people from Mahra colonizing across the Red Sea and also raised the linguistic objection that Geʿez, the language of Aksum, shows closer affinities with Sabaean than with Ḥaḍramī. Consequently, if the Abasēnoi were really Ḥabashat they might more reasonably be seen as colonists *from* Abyssinia. For his part he took Ḥabashat as a South Arabian tribe, part of which had emigrated to Eritrea at a very early date, and sought their provenance in Western Yemen, which had obvious geographical advantages. A number of middle Sabaean texts attest their presence in the ancient district of Sahartān, roughly the region between Wādī Baysh and Wādī Surdūd, and they were clearly in close relations with Aksum. This location, which he specified to the vicinity of Luḥayya, was felt all the more convincing since many Yemenī place names, ancient and modern, were found to recur in Eritrea, a clear indication of early cultural contacts. However, it is pertinent to observe with A. J. Drewes that such theories on the South Arabian origins of a tribe Ḥabashat have tended to become confused with and to develop on the strength of a quite separate issue, that of the South Arabian origins of Abyssinian civilization generally, and of the latter there is little doubt. In fact there is no known mention of Ḥabashat before the earliest references to Aksum, that is, at least 400 years later than the oldest Abyssinian texts. Even by the traditional chronology of A. Jamme, the Sabaean inscriptions citing the name are not earlier than the first century B.C. and other schemes would up-date them by three centuries. Ḥabashat is attested in only one Aksumite text (*DAE*, 6/1 = 7/2) where it is the rendering of *Aithiopes* in the Greek version (*DAE*, 4/2-3). In the Sabaean texts there is no suggestion that Ḥabashat was anything other than a designation for the region comprising the nucleus of the Aksumite empire. Where the reference is to the *people* of Ḥabashat, the term employed is Aḥbāsh (*ʾḥbš*). Consequently it is probable that in Sabaean and Aksumite Geʿez the name simply represented the later Arabic al-Ḥabasha, Abyssinia.

Fortunately Abyssinian history may be considered in isolation from the foregoing problem. Although the epigraphic and other evidence from Eritrea is scant compared with that from Arabia, the texts so far published permit certain general conclusions. The earliest date back to the fifth century B.C. and are written in South Arabian characters. They may be subdivided into those in Sabaean and those in a language resembling Sabaean but with divergences in vocabulary, syntax, and proper names. The latter show that a civilization was developing in the Aksum region which closely resembled that of Sabaʾ but whose roots, undoubtedly transmitted from Sabaʾ, must go much further back in time. Since some of the texts of the first category actually mention Sabaʾ and Mārib (*mryb*), the possibility of a later wave of Sabaean colonists in the fifth century is very likely. Thereafter, till the emergence of Aksum, the only inscriptions consist of a few uninformative graffiti, and it is possible that in this period the development of the local civilization was largely inhibited by the Ptolemaic presence in the Red Sea. The first mention of Aksum itself occurs in roughly contemporary South Arabian and Greek sources. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (traditionally about 70 A.D., more recently brought forward to about 230 A.D.) knew it as a flourishing trade centre under a king Zōskalēs and with links with Arabia and Egypt through its port Adulis. Ptolemy (160 A.D.) also mentions the city, and its people, but gives little indication of its status. The silence of earlier authors would suggest that, if not of recent foundation, it rose to prominence only after the eclipse of the Ptolemies. As a trading nation the Aksumites inevitably came into sharp conflict with the interests of Sabaʾ, and it is probably in this context that we should understand the part played by them in the struggle which developed between the rising state of Ḥimyar and the traditional Hamdānid dynasty in Sabaʾ. One Sabaean text (*CIH*, 308) tells how Gadarat, king of Ḥabashatān, concluded an alliance with ʿAlhān

Nahfān of Saba'. In the reign of his son Sha'irᵐ Awtar, Gadarat appears on the side of the Ḥimyarites in campaigns in Ẓafār, Sahartān and Nagrān (Jamme, 631, 635). Similarly during the co-regency of Īlsharaḥ Yaḥḍub and Ya'zil Bayyin, the Nadjāshī 'Adhbah sided with the Ḥimyarite ruler Shammar of Raydān during campaigns in Western Yemen which resulted in the defeat and surrender of the Ḥimyarite faction (*CIH*, 314 + 954; Jamme, 574-7, 585). Jamme places all these events in a period of about three generations in the first century B.C., a date difficult to reconcile with the Abyssinian evidence. J. Pirenne however, in identifying Shammar with the famous Shammar Yuhar'ish, brings the date of the troubles forward to about 250 A.D. and thereby introduces an attractive degree of cohesion into the early history of Aksum.

The greatest Aksumite ruler was unquestionably Ēzānā (mid fourth century), whose inscriptions, composed in Greek, Ge'ez and pseudo-South Arabian, tell of campaigns extending from the confines of Egypt to Somaliland. His titles include kingship of Ḥamēr (Ḥimyar) and Raydān, and Saba' and Salḥēn. It is difficult to assess the validity of this claim—the theory of an Aksumite occupation of the Yemen after the reign of Shammar Yuhar'ish has been abandoned in the light of new inscriptions—but E. Littmann supposes that a successful campaign in South Arabia may have lain behind it. It is worth observing too that a predecessor, the unknown author of the *Monumentum Adulitanum*, in the course of similarly wide-ranging conquests, had subdued the Arrhabitai and Kinaidokolpitai, who inhabited the coastal regions of Ḥidjāz and 'Asīr down to the northern borders of Saba'. If this operation may be seen as an attempt to curb piracy in the Red Sea, it is possible that Ēzānā, too, may have had commercial motives for interfering in South Arabian affairs. Drewes, who attributes the *Monumentum Adulitanum* to one Sembrouthēs, known from a fragmentary Greek inscription from Daqqī Maḥarī (*DAE*, 3), goes so far as to suggest the latter's identity with Shammar Yuhar'ish and would thus explain the titulature. Apart from his statecraft, Ēzānā's most notable achievement was to make Christianity the state religion. It had been introduced to Aksum by Frumentius about 330 A.D. After Ēzānā reliable information on Aksum is scant till about 525 A.D. when the Emperor Justin called upon the Nadjāshī Kālēb to intervene in South Arabia on behalf of the persecuted Christians there [see DHŪ NUWĀS] but in this case an attempt to gain control of Saba' by appointing a puppet ruler Sumyafa' failed when the latter was deposed by Abraha [*q.v.*]. Later history is virtually unknown, for with the spread of Islam the land became isolated from its traditional contacts and went into decline. It is known, however, that 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf established a commercial treaty with the Nadjāshī so that a caravan went from Mecca to Abyssinia every winter. Apparently Muḥammad looked upon it as a friendly country. The members of the first Hidjra, whatever their motives in going there, were accorded a favourable reception by the Nadjāshī and in the year 6 the Prophet allegedly sent an embassy to him. Al-Ṭabarī records that on the latter occasion the ruler's name was al-Aṣḥam b. Abdjar, that he had a son Arhā, and that he died in A.H. 9. Abdjar seems certainly to be an error for Ella Gabaz, of whom coins are known, and in Arhā one may see Armāḥ, of whom also there are coins. But of al-Aṣḥam, probably Ella Ṣaḥam, nothing seems to be recorded.

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ḤABAṬ, South Arabian name for a sacred area which is under the protection of a saint and which is a place of refuge; see ḤAWṬA.

ḤABBA, literally grain or kernel, a fraction in the Troy weight system of the Arabs, of undefined weight. Most Arab authors describe the *ḥabba* as $^1/_{60}$ of the unit of weight adopted, as a $^1/_{10}$ of the *dānaḳ* (which in Arab metrology is a sixth part of the unit [see SIKKA]), but there are other estimates which vary from $^1/_{48}$ to $^1/_{72}$. The *ḥabba* thus means someting very different according to the unit of weight; there is a *ḥabba* of the silver measure, a *ḥabba* of the gold measure, a *ḥabba* of the *mithḳāl*, later of the *dirham* etc. On the supposition that the oldest Arab unit of Troy weight was the *mithḳāl* [*q.v.*] of 4.25 grammes ($65^1/_2$ grains Troy), we get as the most probable weight of the *ḥabba* in the early days of Islam about 70-71 milligrammes (1.1 grains), which approximately agrees with the European apothecary's weight of the *granum* (grain, $\frac{1}{5760}$ of the pound) as it was used throughout Europe down to the most recent times (cf. the English Troy grain of 64.8 milligrammes). The statements regarding the subdivisions and multiples of the *ḥabba* also vary; the *ḥabba* is usually divided into 2 grains of barley (*sha'ir*) or 4 grains of rice (*aruzz*) or about 100 mustard-seeds (*khardal*); sometimes 3 and sometimes 4 *ḥabba* on the other hand make a *ḳīrāṭ* [*q.v.*].

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Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (*Handbuch der Orientalistik, Ergänzungsband* 1, *Heft* 1), Leiden 1955, 2, 12-13; and the metrological text books, *e.g.*, F. Noback, *Münz-, Mass- und Gewichtsbuch*; Kelly's *Universal Cambist*, etc.

(E. v. ZAMBAUR)

ḤABBĀN, a town in the Wāḥidī Sultanate of the former Aden Protectorate, situated in the *wādī* of the same name. It is very old and may be referred to as early as 400 B.C. in the inscription *RES* 3945. Many ancient graffiti have been copied in the vicinity and a subterranean water-conduit leading to a cistern within the city may be pre-Islamic. The population figure is not known but was estimated at 4,000 in the mid-nineteenth century. The town is dominated by the walled fortress of Maṣnaʿa Ḥāḳir which stands on an isolated hill in the middle of the town and is the residence of the Sultan. As is usual in the Wāḥidī region the houses are strongly built like fortresses and up to five storeys high. There are nine mosques and an important library. The town is divided into four quarters: 1. that of the Ḥaḍārim and Raʿiyya; 2. that of the Jews, who have now either emigrated to Palestine or embraced Islam; 3. that of the prominent family of Faḳīh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shiblī; and 4. that of the carpenters, who form a caste and are descended from the ancient carpenter family of al-ʿAwd, originally from Yashbum but now scattered all over South Arabia. It has been plausibly suggested that the Jews here may have been descendants of Ḥimyarite proselytes. They numbered about 200 in 1947 and, though subject to the usual taxes and restrictions, were well treated so that relations with the Arab population were good. They were divided into five sections (*ḳaṣabāt*) and came under the protection of the Sultan. They spoke Hebrew amongst themselves and had their own cemetery outside the town. By trade they were itinerant silversmiths. Ḥabbān is also known as a centre for the cultivation of incense but the chief crops are *dhura* and barley. The land is very fertile and can support up to four harvests in one year. Indigo provides the Ḥaḍārim with employment as dyers, and rubber has also been noted. The road from Bāl Hāf to Markha passes through the town and a caravan trade was conducted with Niṣāb and Mārib, principally in tobacco, cotton and cloth against coffee and salt.

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ḤABESH, Ottoman name of a province covering the African coastlands of the Red Sea south of Egypt as far as the Gulf of Aden, and including also the *sandjaḳ* of Djidda; the principal *sandjaḳs* were Ibrīm, Sawākin, Arkiko, Maṣawwaʿ, Zaylaʿ and Djidda, so that its area corresponded approximately to the coastal districts of the present-day Sudan, Ethiopia, French Somaliland and the Zaylaʿ district of the Somali Republic.

The province was founded with the intention of expelling the Portuguese, who, since the last years of the Mamlūk sultanate, had been endeavouring to obstruct the Pilgrimage and the spice trade from their bases along the Red Sea coast. These Portuguese attacks caused a reduction in the customs revenues of such ports as Djidda, Suez and Ṭūr; they also had unfavourable repercussions throughout the Muslim world, since word of them was spread by pilgrims (see H. Inalcık, in *Belleten*, xxi/83 (1957), 503-5). As protector of the Holy Places [see KHĀDIM AL-ḤARAMAYN], the Ottoman Sultan was forced to action; but after the failure of five expeditions against the Portuguese (between 930/1524 and 961/1554), it was decided that these regions should be permanently occupied and constituted a province.

In 962/1555, therefore, Özdemir Pasha [*q.v.*] was appointed *beglerbegi* (Istanbul, Basvekâlet Arşivi, Kepeci tasnifi, Divan-i Hümayun ru'us kalemi, no. 213, 212); with an army gathered in Egypt, he launched an offensive up the Nile, but the operation failed, owing to the obstacles which this route entailed (see C. Orhonlu. in *Altıncı Türk Tarih Kurumu kongresi tebliğleri*, Ankara 1961). In a second expedition Özdemir Pasha embarked his forces at Suez and landed at Sawākin. Using both land and naval forces, he conquered the whole region from Maṣawwaʿ to Zaylaʿ, the province being finally constituted in 964/1557 (C. Orhonlu, *XVI. asrın ilk yarısında Kızıldeniz sahillerinde Osmanlılar*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xii/16, 1-24). In order to consolidate their position, the Ottomans extended their conquests inland until 966/1559, when Özdemir Pasha died. After his death, Ottoman power declined rapidly. The remoter districts were abandoned or separately administered [see BARĀBRA]. In 1789 Bruce found Maṣawwaʿ under the rule, not of an Ottoman governor, but of a tribal chief entitled *nāʾib*. The *kāshiflik* in Lower Nubia had become hereditary, and the descendants of the Ottoman garrison, intermarried with the local population, became a hereditary military caste.

Since one of the primary duties of the *beglerbegi* was to maintain order in the Holy Cities and the Yemen, the headquarters of the province was, from the last quarter of the 10th/16th century until the beginning of the 19th century, located in Djidda (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme def., xxi, 311, xxvii, 235, 6, 92). Owing to the disturbances in this region, Medina was temporarily made the headquarters in the 12th/18th century.

By 1814, when Burckhardt visited Sawākin, Ottoman authority was reduced to the granting by the governor of Djidda of recognition to the local *amīr*, and the appointment of a customs officer in the port. The Ottoman sultan finally transferred all claims on the African parts of the province to the pasha of Egypt in 1830.

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ḤABĪB B. ʿABD AL-MALIK AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-MARWĀNĪ, great grandson of the Umayyad caliph of Damascus al-Walīd I. After the

fall of the Umayyad dynasty, Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Malik fled from Syria and arrived in Spain in advance of his cousin, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya, the future ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I of Cordova; when this Umayyad claimant arrived, Ḥabīb gave him his support and encouraged him in his aspirations. On the eve of the battle of al-Muṣāra (138/756), which was to decide the fate of the throne of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān appointed Ḥabīb commander in chief of the cavalry.

After victory had been achieved, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I *al-Dākhil* retained his cousin Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Malik permanently in his service, and he became his intimate confidant. The ruler entrusted to him the government of Toledo, a key point in the centre of the Iberian peninsula, which until then had been under the domination of the Fihrīs, supporters of Yūsuf, the *wālī* dismissed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. While Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Malik was at Toledo, this eastern town showed no sign of rebellion; this calm must be attributed to the energetic attitude of its governor, who also made use of this place as a centre of operations against the revolt which was taking place at this time in the adjacent territories—the rebellion of the Berber Shaḳyā which broke out in 151/768 and which was the most serious of all the many uprisings which took place during ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's reign. The detachments sent by the governor of Toledo succeeded in penetrating into the main stronghold of the chief rebel, the castle of Sopetrán, in what is now the province of Guadalajara. In 162/778 Ḥabīb was once again in action in his territory, against another rebellion—by the *ḳāʾid* al-Sulamī.

In reward for his services, the *amīr* granted great favours and benefits and many estates to Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who in addition did not hesitate to appropriate to himself, with the ruler's connivance, any land which he coveted; on one occasion, confronted by the vigorous support of the judge of Cordova for those who had been dispossessed, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went so far as to repay from his own money the value of the properties which Ḥabīb had seized. On Ḥabīb's death (date unknown), the ruler showed profound grief, which is described in graphic terms by the historians.

Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Malik was the founder of the line of Ḥabībīs, which provided al-Andalus with some notable men of learning and of letters, among whom there stands out the branch of the Banū Daḥḥūn. Among the most noteworthy Ḥabibīs may be mentioned: Ḥabīb Daḥḥūn and Bishr b. Ḥabīb Daḥḥūn, both poets of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II; the *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, Ibrāhīm al-Ḳurashī, also contemporary with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II; ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Daḥḥūn, a venerable *faḳīh* who lived to see the fall of the caliphate of Cordova and was the religious counsellor of Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*]; Saʿīd b. Hishām b. Daḥḥūn, a poet who lived at Porcuna and was the contemporary of Ibn Ḥamdīn (6th/12th century).

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ḤABĪB b. AWS [see abū tammām].

ḤABĪB b. MASLAMA, a military commander of Muʿāwiya. He was born at Mecca c. 617 A.D. in a family belonging to the Ḳurayshī clan Fihr. He took part in the conquest of Syria and distinguished himself in the fights against the Byzantines. By order of Muʿāwiya he conquered Armenia in 21/642 and the following years (for details vide supra i, 635); then he was given the governorship of Northern Syria and fought against the Mardaites (Djarādjima [*q.v.*]) and the Byzantines. After ʿUthmān's death he supported the cause of Muʿāwiya against ʿAlī. At Ṣiffīn (37/657) he commanded the left wing of the Syrian army and served as a representative of Muʿāwiya in the negotiations with ʿAlī, which finally led to the arbitration. He died c. 42/662 not yet 50 years old. According to others (*Aghānī*[1], xiv, 9; Ṭabarī, ii, 139) he was still alive in 51/671. Later writers sometimes wrongly reckon him amongst the "companions" of the Prophet (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 190).

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 130; the Indices to Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, Dīnawarī, Yaʿḳūbī; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿawiya Ier*, in *MFOB*, i, 42-57. (J. W. Fück)

ḤABĪB al-NADJDJĀR (the carpenter), legendary character who gave his name to the sanctuary below mount Silpius at Anṭākiya [*q.v.*] where his tomb is reputed to be. He is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān; nevertheless Muslim tradition finds him there, in *sūra* XXXVI, 12 ff., under the description of the man who was put to death in a city (*ḳarya*) not otherwise specified, having urged its inhabitants not to reject the three apostles who had come to proclaim the divine message to them. According to Muslim tradition the "city" was Antioch and the anonymous believer was called Ḥabīb. According to al-Ṭabarī he was not a carpenter but a silk-worker, yet the epithet of *nadjdjār* is applied to him by all the other ancient sources (al-Masʿūdī, Muṭahhar [ps.-Balkhī], Balʿamī, al-Thaʿlabī) and by more recent authors. He was stoned or trampled to death by his executioners. More recent legends, such as the one preserved by al-Dimashḳī (*Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 206), embroider the story of his martyrdom with strange new details (walking about with his severed head in his hand). There is nothing to prove that Ḥabīb was the Agabus of *Acts*, xi, 28 and xxi, 10-11, for although the latter suffered martyrdom according to several hagiographic texts (*Synaxaire de Constantinople*, in H. Delehaye, *Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Nouembris*, col. 591, cf. 783 f. and *Synaxaire arabe jacobite*, ed. R. Basset, *PO*, xi/5, 788 f.), it is not stated that this was at Antioch, but either at Jerusalem or in some place not specified. The prehistory of the Muslim legend is not therefore entirely clear.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 789-93; idem, *Tafsīr*, xxii, 91 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 127 f. (trans. Ch. Pellat, Paris 1962, i, 127); Muṭahhar (ps.-Balkhī), *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 130 f., 134 f.; *Chronique de Ṭabarī* (Balʿamī), trans. H. Zotenberg, ii, 51 f.;

Th̲aʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis*, 240 f.; Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 6/13, n. 1-2.

(G. Vajda)

ḤABĪB ALLĀH (Ḥabībullāh) **KH̲ĀN** (1872-1919), son of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*] and of the concubine Gulrīz, who came from the Wak̲h̲ān; ruler of Afg̲h̲ānistān in succession to his father, from 1 October 1901 to 20 February 1919, when he was assassinated at Kalla-gūs̲h̲ in the valley of Alingār not far from the residence of Ḳalʿat al-Sirādj̲ (Lag̲h̲mān). In foreign affairs he adopted a pro-British policy, reinforced by frequent visits to India, by requests for British arbitration on the question of the frontier with Iran (MacMahon Mission, 1902-3, whose findings were accepted by both countries so far as the delimitation of the frontier was concerned, though the related question of the division of the waters of the Hilmand was to drag on at greater length), and by the signing, on 21 March 1905, of an agreement with Sir Louis Dane which confirmed the ʿAbd al-Raḥmān-Durand agreement of 1893. Great Britain pledged itself to guarantee Afghan independence so long as the *amīr*'s actions, in his relations with other powers, conformed with the advice given by the British government; to pay an anuual subsidy of £ 160,000 sterling; to place no limitations on Afg̲h̲ānistān's importing of war materials; and accepted the presence, for an unlimited period, of a political agent at the court of the Viceroy of India and of Afg̲h̲ān commercial agents in India and in Great Britain itself. The *amīr* pledged himself to friendship with Great Britain, and always to consult Britain in any consultations with a third power; accepted the presence at Kābul, for a period of three to five years, of an Anglo-Indian political agent chosen by the *amīr* from among Muslims proposed by the Indian Foreign Office; he did not, however, accept the British request to construct fortifications on the Hilmand. This was the situation which was to form the subject of the Anglo-Russian convention of 31 August 1907 (not, however, formally accepted by the *amīr*), which left Afg̲h̲ānistān under the British sphere of influence, recognizing Russia's interests as equal with those of Great Britain only in the field of commerce. In this field and in that of the local matters concerning frontiers there was also to be possible some direct contact between Russia and Afg̲h̲ānistān, but all political relations were to be left to the British Agent. During the First World War, however, Afg̲h̲ānistān's proclamation of neutrality (*farmān* of 24 August 1914) made it possible to accept a Turco-German mission and also the presence in Kābul of a "provisional Indian revolutionary government". In internal policy, the *amīr*, who was rather less energetic than his father, embarked on a programme of pacification based on acts of generosity such as recalling exiles and the remission of tribute, but always within the framework of a process of irreversible state centralization, even though it was being carried on under the aegis of the *mullā*s and of the military, and under the menace of the palace intrigues conducted by the *Sardār* Muḥammad ʿUmar (b. 1889), the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and his mother Bībī Ḥalīma, but above all by Naṣr Allāh (b. 1874), the *amīr*'s brother, commander-in-chief of the army and a claimant to the throne. The slackening of discipline in the army (whose strength in peace time was 150,000 men) was offset by new military supplies and by general material improvements. The *amīr* took measures against the serious economic situation of the country by means of a fiscal policy which permitted the increase of trade with India (and also with Russia, but without going so far as the establishment of the regular relations desired by the governor of Turkestan, Ivanov), and with Treasury loans to merchants. He carried out some public works, but it was in the field of education that most progress was made. With a military school supplementing it, there began to function from 1903 the high school called Ḥabībiyya, based on the type of the Anglo-Indian colleges and intended to train an administrative cadre: in its 12 classes, with local and Indian teachers, there were taught, together with literature and the religious sciences, geography, chemistry, physics, history, mathematics; while among the languages, together with Persian, were English, Hindustani and, more sporadically, Pashtu. A suitable *Dār al-taʾlīf* attached to the school attended to the preparation of textbooks, most of which were lithographed in India. In Kābul a lithographical and printing works (the ʿInāyat press) was set up. For eight consecutive years from 1911, there appeared the 16-page fortnightly scientific, literary and political periodical *Sirādj̲ al-ak̲h̲bār-i afg̲h̲āniyya*, with engraved illustrations and edited by the "father of modern prose", Maḥmūd b. G̲h̲ulām Muḥammad Ṭarzī (b. Kābul, 1285/1868-9, d. Istanbul 1353/1934-5). Thus schools and periodicals were the first two really modern manifestations of Afg̲h̲ān cultural life. The assassination of the *amīr*, however, brought to an abrupt end this interim period of apparent tranquillity and of imposed friendship with Great Britain, and opened the way to new and more definite national claims by the country.

Bibliography: A. Hamilton, *Afghanistan*, Boston-Tokyo n.d. (Oriental Series, Millet Company); *Dogovor zaklyučenniy meždu Britanskim pravitelʾstvom i ėmirom Afganskim ot 21 marta 1905 goda s otnosyas̲h̲čimisya k nemu priloženiyami*, in *Sbornik materialov po Azii*, lxxx (1907), 62-74; A. Le Chatelier, *L'émir d'Afghanistan aux Indes*, in *RMM*, ii (1907), 35-49; F. Raskolʾnikov, *Rossiya i Afganistan*, in *Noviy Vostok*, iv (1923), 46-8.

(G. Scarcia)

HĀBĪL wa **ḲĀBĪL**, names of the two sons of Adam [*q.v.*] in Muslim tradition: Hebel and Ḳāyin in the Hebrew Bible (for the distortion and assimilation through assonance of the two words, compare the pairs of words Dj̲ālūt - Ṭālūt, Hārūt - Mārūt, Yādj̲ūdj̲ - Mādj̲ūdj̲; Ḳāyin is, however, attested sporadically). Although the Ḳurʾān does not give these names, it tells however (CV, 27-32/30-5, Medinan period) the story of the two sons of Adam, one of whom killed the other because his own sacrifice was refused when his brother's was accepted. Unlike the Bible, the Ḳurʾān also tells how the murderer learned from the example of a crow how to dispose of his victim's body. From this episode the Ḳurʾān argues for the prohibition of murder, underlined by a consideration inspired, no doubt indirectly, from the *Mis̲h̲na*, *Sanhedrin*, iv, 5: to take the life of an innocent being is as serious a crime as to cause the death of the whole of humanity; to save the life of a single person is as meritorious as to do so for all men. If an exegetical tradition is to be believed, Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 72, is also referring to the first murderer: Ḳābil, having offered the trust (*amāna*) to Adam, broke his word and killed the brother entrusted to his care, but this interpretation, foreign to the context, does not rest on any serious basis. Several later authors certainly know the biblical story: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. S. ʿUkās̲h̲a, 17 f.,

quotes an abridged form of Genesis, IV, 1-8; al-Ṭabarī adduces Genesis, IV, 9-16, following Ibn Isḥāḳ; and they lay stress, in accordance with the Bible and the Ḳur'ān, on the rejection of the sacrifice as a reason for the fratricide, this rejection being due to the poor quality of the fruits of the earth offered up by Ḳābīl. In general, however, Muslim sources show a preference for legendary versions derived from the Jewish *aggada* and the "Treasure Cave", rather than the slightly paraphrased scriptural data. And so they try to find a motive for the drama in distant antecedents which claim to fill a gap in the biblical narrative. Indeed, according to the latter, Adam had only daughters after the fratricide and after the birth of Seth who was to replace Abel (Genesis, V, 4). The legend readily repeated by Muslim authors (following Wahb b. Munabbih) has it, in short, that each of the two brothers had a twin sister (Aḳlīmā and Labūdā), each destined to be the bride of the other brother; displeased with this arrangement, Ḳābīl had agreed to having a trial sacrifice which should decide the question, but when God's judgment went against him, he murdered his brother and took possession of his own sister (it is to be remarked that a version attributed to the *imām* Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ by al-Tha'labī, 28, refashions the legend, eliminating the motive of consanguineous marriage; the polemical anti-Zoroastrian point is obvious). Tradition also offers a number of variants as to the means of murder: Hābīl was beheaded by a carpenter's axe, his head was crushed by a huge stone while he slept, etc. Lastly, the Muslim legend has received the fable already mentioned by Jerome, *Ep. 36 ad Damasium* and attested in more recent *midrashim* about Ḳābīl being killed by his blind descendant (Lemekh). —As is often the case with similar material, Jewish texts of a later period show some traces of the Muslim legend.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tīdjān*, 15 f., 20; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaḳāt*, i, 10-14; Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, 4 (Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, 4 f.); Ṭabarī i, 137-47, 152 (*Chronique de Tabari*, i, 61 f., 89 f); idem, *Tafsīr*, vi, 119 ff. (Dār al-Ma'ārif edition, x, 201 ff.); Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 61 f. (trans. Pellat, i, §§ 49-55); Kisā'ī, *Vita Prophetarum*, 68, 72 f.; Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-madjālis*, 21-30; A. Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel in der Agada, den Apokryphen, der hellenistischen, christlichen und muhamedanischen Literatur*, Vienna-Leipzig 1923; B. Heller, *Abel* (in der islamischen Legende), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, i, 211-4 (these two works give the previous bibliography); D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, 16-8; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, 84-8. (G. Vajda)

ḤĀBIṬIYYA, followers of Aḥmad b. Ḥābiṭ [*q.v.*].

HABOUS [see WAḲF].

ḤABSHĪ, term used in India for those African communities whose ancestors originally came to the country as slaves, in most cases from the Horn of Africa, although some doubtless sprang from the slave troops of the neighbouring Muslim countries. The majority, at least in the earlier periods, may well have been Abyssinian, but certainly the name was applied indiscriminately to all Africans, and in the days of the Portuguese slave-trade with India many such 'Ḥabshīs' were in fact of the Nilotic and Bantu races.

There is little detailed information concerning the numbers, the status and the functions of the Ḥabshīs in the earliest Muslim period, although the favour shown to the Ḥabshī slave Djamāl al-Dīn Yāḳūt by the Khaldjī queen Raḍiyya [*q.v.*] in the early 7th/13th century indicates that even then Ḥabshīs were able to rise to positions of power and eminence (but the story that Djamāl al-Dīn was the queen's lover has no support in the contemporary historians). The Ḥabshīs were certainly well distributed over India by the Tughluḳ period, for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled widely in the sub-continent between 734/1333 and 743/1342, notices them from north India to Ceylon, employed especially as guards and men-at-arms by sea as well as by land (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 31, 59-60, 93, 185; tr. Gibb, London 1929, 224, 229, 236, 260). Their presence in large numbers in Gudjarāt is nowhere directly recorded, but may be presumed from a reference at the end of the 8th/14th century to the promise of revenue and tribute payments, including 400 Hindū and Abyssinian slaves, to Dihlī by the Gudjarāt *nā'ib* Shams al-Dīn Dāmghānī (777/1375? Accounts vary).

Towards the end of the 8th/14th century the slave Malik Sarwar, who was most probably a Ḥabshī eunuch, became prominent under sultan Muḥammad b. Fīrūz and the later Tughluḳs, having in 791/1389 been appointed *wazīr* with the title Khwādja Djahān. In 796/1394 he was appointed governor of the eastern provinces of the empire and sent to Djawnpur as *Malik al-sharḳ* to suppress the wave of Hindū rebellion which was threatening the province. Malik Sarwar extended the bounds of the districts for which he was responsible and pacified the province, but never assumed the royal title in spite of his virtual independence. His adopted son nicknamed Ḳaranful, also an African slave, did however cause the *khuṭba* to be read in his name, and struck coin, after succeeding Malik Sarwar in the government in 802/1399 as Mubārak Shāh; his younger brother succeeded him on his death the following year and, as Ibrāhīm Shāh, ruled Djawnpur for nearly forty years, a great patron of art and literature. For his reign and that of his successors see IBRĀHĪM SHĀH SHARḲĪ and SHARḲIDS.

In Bengal, where Ḥabshī slaves arrived directly by sea, it is recorded that the Ilyās Shāhī sultan Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh, 863-79/1459-74, maintained some 8000 African slaves mainly for military purposes, many of whom were raised to high rank. They became dangerously powerful under the rule of Djalāl al-Dīn Fatḥ Shāh (886-91/1481-6), who on taking measures against them was assassinated by the Ḥabshī commander of the palace guards, the eunuch Sulṭān Shāhzāda; the latter usurped the throne as Bārbak Shāh, the first of a succession of Ḥabshīs who ruled Bengal from 892/1486 to 899/1493. Bārbak Shāh was killed after a rule of about six months by the Ḥabshī army commander Amīr al-Umarā' Malik Andīl to avenge his master's murder; he was persuaded to ascend the throne himself as Sayf al-Dīn Fīrūz, and ruled with ability and generosity. He in turn was assassinated in a palace plot and succeeded by an infant king of dubious ancestry; the real power was in the hands of the Ḥabshī regent Ḥabash Khān, who was soon murdered by another Abyssinian, Sidī Badr called Dīwāna, who succeeded as Shams al-Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh; he subjected Bengal to a reign of terror and extortion, and at first only the wisdom of his Arab *wazīr* 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn enabled him to continue. Eventually the extremes of Ḥabshī mismanagement drove the *wazīr* to join the popular revolt against Muẓaffar, who was secretly assassinated during a siege; this brought an end to the Ḥabshī interregnum, which was beginning to threaten not only Bengal's progress and military power but also the institution of the

monarchy itself. The *wazīr* was elected king, as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn S͟hāh, in 900/1493, and shortly thereafter expelled all Africans from Bengal; most of them eventually made their way to Gud͟jarāt and the Deccan.

It was perhaps in the Deccan that the Ḥabs͟hīs were most conspicuous over a considerable period. Here again records of their presence in the early period are scanty, although Rafīʿ al-Dīn S͟hīrāzī states in the *Tad͟hkirat al-mulūk* that the Bahmanī sultan Fīrūz, 800-25/1397-1422, had many in his *ḥaram* and as his personal attendants; some of the bodyguard were, he says, subverted by his brother Aḥmad, who eventually encompassed Fīrūz's death at the hands of his Ḥabs͟hī *d͟jāmadār*. Foreigners, especially Persians and Turks, had earlier been attracted to the Bahmanī court, and Aḥmad on his accession increased their number. This led to rivalry between the local Dakhnī Muslims and the foreigners, not least on religious grounds since most of the influential foreigners were S͟hīʿī. The Ḥabs͟hīs, who were Sunnīs, lost favour at the court, and came to support the local Sunnī Deccan Muslim faction in their opposition. The Dakhnī party managed to regain some favour in the later years of Aḥmad S͟hāh Walī's reign and, coming also to some power, commenced a persecution campaign against the foreigners, not excluding the Persian Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] in spite of his reforms whereby offices were divided between the foreigners and the Dakhnī party; in this division two of the four Bahmanī provinces, Māhūr and Gulbargā, were governed by Ḥabs͟hīs. The persecution culminated in the plot, in which a Ḥabs͟hī leader was the instigator, to discredit Maḥmūd Gāwān, whom the sultan put to death. The hill outside Bīdar town where the Ḥabs͟hī community had their stronghold is still known as the Ḥabs͟hī Koṭ; the tombs of many Abyssinian nobles and soldiers are scattered over the hill (see G. Yazdani, *Bīdar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947, 82 ff.). The next sultan, Maḥmūd S͟hāh, 887/1482-924/1518, who had succeeded to the throne with the help of an extreme Turkish faction, nevertheless appointed a Ḥabs͟hī *dīwān* of finance, Dilāwar K͟hān. This officer failed to carry out a plan to assassinate the unpopular *wazīr*, a converted Hindū, at the king's command, and fled the country. Meanwhile a popular Dakhnī revolt had in 892/1487 attempted an unsuccessful coup to dethrone Maḥmūd; he was saved by his foreigners, and gave orders for a general massacre of Dakhnīs and Ḥabs͟hīs. The differences were settled, but the Sunnī Turk Ḳāsim Barīd [see BARĪD S͟HĀHĪS] as *wazīr* seized much of the government, and Dilāwar K͟hān returned from exile to assist the king against him; but Dilāwar K͟hān was defeated and the Barīd family gained a greater ascendancy over the Bahmanī lands. In 901/1495 the Ḥabs͟hī governor of western Telingāna, Dastūr Dīnār, rose in revolt on being replaced by Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk, and was defeated by the Barīdī minister with the aid of Yūsuf ʿĀdil K͟hān; he was however restored to the fief of Gulbargā in an attempt by Ḳāsim Barīd to curb the ambition of Yūsuf in Bīd͟jāpur. On the death of Ḳāsim Barīd in 910/1504. Yūsuf marched on Dastūr Dīnār, killed him, and annexed Gulbargā to his dominions. Yūsuf then took vigorous measures to establish the S͟hīʿī faith, which led to renewed hostilities between the foreign and Dakhnī factions in which the Ḥabs͟hīs again took a leading part.

In Bīd͟jāpur continuing conflict between Sunnīs and S͟hīʿa caused first (916/1510) a decree precluding Dakhnīs and Ḥaks͟hīs from holding office in the state; the Sunnī revival under Ibrāhīm (941/1534-965/1558) restored the Dakhnī-Ḥabs͟hī faction to power in 943/1537, but the next sultan reversed his father's religious policy and reinstated the foreigners. Later, in the time of Ibrāhīm II (988/1580-1037/1627), it was a number of influential Ḥabs͟hī officials who restored the dowager queen Čand Bībī; but now factions arose within the Ḥabs͟hīs, and another Dilāwar K͟hān rose to supreme power in the Bīd͟jāpur kingdom. On his eventual defeat in 999/1591 he took service with Burhān II in Aḥmadnagar, where the Ḥabs͟hīs had long been influential.

In Aḥmadnagar, in the troubles following the accession of Ibrāhīm Niẓām S͟hāh — whose mother had been a Ḥabs͟hī—there were at least two Ḥabs͟hī factions independent of the Dakhnī party. They provided the ministers of state and army commanders, and seem to have been for a time the effective king-makers of Aḥmadnagar (for details of the succession struggles see NIẒĀM S͟HĀHĪS). The most prominent of the Ḥabs͟hīs in Aḥmadnagar in the 11th/17th century was unquestionably the *wazīr* Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*], a slave who had originally been purchased in Bag͟hdād, who rose to power when he defeated the Mug͟hal forces in Berar in 1010/1601, and in 1012/1603 established Murtaḍā Niẓām S͟hāh II as the Aḥmadnagar ruler in spite of the presence of Mug͟hal troops in the capital. He reorganized the revenue system of the kingdom, sets its finances on a sound basis, and organized the training of troops, mostly Marāṭhās, as guerillas to fight against the imperial Mug͟hals. On Malik ʿAnbar's death in 1035/1626 the king came completely under the influence of another Ḥabs͟hī, Ḥamīd K͟hān, and his wife, the latter becoming the recognized means of communication between the sultan and his subjects. On Ḥamīd K͟hān's decline from power Malik ʿAnbar's son Fatḥ K͟hān attained the same control over Aḥmadnagar as his father had done, until his defeat, on honourable terms, at Mug͟hal hands.

Besides the important posts held on land by the Ḥabs͟hīs, they were also prominent in the navies of Gud͟jarāt and the Deccan powers. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century Aḥmad Niẓām al-Mulk, the founder of the Niẓām S͟hāhī dynasty, conquered the region of Danḍā Rād͟jpurī on the southern Konkan coast from Gud͟jarāt, giving the command of its island fort, D͟jand͟jīra (corruption of Ar. *d͟jazīra*?), to his Ḥabs͟hī noble Sīdī Yāḳūt; it seems to have remained entirely under Ḥabs͟hī governorship thereafter. On the Mug͟hal conquest of Aḥmadnagar in 1046/1636 D͟jand͟jīra passed to Bīd͟jāpur, who continued the Ḥabs͟hī tradition, command of the island passing not from father to son but from one commander of the fleet to another. D͟jand͟jīra's importance increased at this period, as it came to protect all the trade of Bīd͟jāpur and also the pilgrim traffic. The Marāṭhās under S͟hivād͟jī tried repeatedly (ca. 1070-80/1660-70) to gain possession of D͟jand͟jīra: on their last and severest attack the governor appealed for help from both Bīd͟jāpur and the Mug͟hals. It became apparent that only the Mug͟hals, who saw in this maritime power an ally against the Marāṭhās, were prepared and able to assist the governor, who thereupon transferred his allegiance from Bīd͟jāpur to the Mug͟hals. The governor was given the title of Yāḳūt K͟hān and command of the Mug͟hal navy at D͟jand͟jīra and Sūrat. The power of the Ḥabs͟hī naval commanders continued until the end of the 11th/17th century, and they were victorious against the English forces as well as against the Marāṭhās; but by about 1730 their sea power had

declined as that of the Marāṭhās had risen, and they were no longer able to protect the Sūrat shipping. The Marāṭhās were however unable to establish any influence over Djandjīra by land, and when in the 19th century control of the Konkan coast passed to the British the internal affairs of the Ḥabshī colony were left undisturbed.

In Gudjarāt there seems to have been a continuous supply of Ḥabshīs by sea through the ports of Bharōč, Sūrat-Randēr and Khambāyat. The sultan Bahādur (933/1526-943/1537) especially welcomed foreigners to his service, and there were said to have been as many as 5000 Ḥabshīs in Aḥmadābād alone (Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr, *Ẓafar al-wālih* ..., ed. Ross, i, 97, 407, 447); many of these appear to have been prisoners taken in the Muslim invasion of Abyssinia in 934/1527. The abler Ḥabshīs rapidly obtained positions of importance: thus Sayf al-Mulk Miftāḥ was governor of the fort of Dāmān, with a force of 4000 Ḥabshīs, at the time of the Portuguese conquest; Shaykh Saʿīd al-Ḥabshī, a cultured and wealthy soldier, who had performed the Ḥadjdj and who maintained a fine library and a public kitchen (Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr, ii, 640-3), is remembered as the builder of the exquisite 'Sīdī Saʿīd's' mosque (980/1572-3) in Aḥmadābād; the titles Djudjhār Khān and Ulugh Khān were borne by several Ḥabshī nobles, one Ulugh Khān being the patron of the historian Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr, in the 10th/16th century, especially after the disorders which began with the accession of Maḥmūd Shāh III in 943/1537. They formed a prominent faction opposed to the local Gudjarātī nobility and the dissension of these rival nobles in the sultanate made possible the almost bloodless conquest of Gudjarāt by Akbar in 980-1/1572-3. See further GUDJARĀT, also IKHTIYĀR AL-MULK, ULUGH KHĀN.

The Ḥabshīs were similarly prominent in the neighbouring sultanate of Khāndēsh [*q.v.*; see also FĀRŪḲIDS], where the practice of the Ḥabshī Malik Yāḳūt Sulṭānī in keeping the male members of the royal house in restraint in the mountain fortress of Āsīrgaṛh has led C. F. Beckingham, in *Amba Gešen and Āsīrgarh*, in *JSS*, ii (1957), 182-8, to suppose that this custom was imported from Abyssinia, the Ethiopian royalty having been detained in a similar way on mount Amba Gešen; but this may be no more than a coincidence, as there are many instances of similar practices in India where no Ḥabshī influence is suspected.

The Ḥabshīs were dominant in the Gudjarāt navies both as commanders and as men-at-arms, and their numbers in Gudjarāt and on the Konkan coast seem to have been greatly augmented through the extensive Portuguese slave-trade (see *inter alia* K. G. Jayne, *Vasco da Gama and his successors*, 1910, 22 ff.; Jean Mocquet, *Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes* ..., Paris 1830, 259-63), which certainly brought 'Ḥabshīs' who were not Ethiopians. Their descendants are still recognized as a separate Muslim community in Gudjarāt (S. C. Misra, *Muslim communities in Gujarat*, New York [1964], 77, s.v. *Sidi*), and in 1899 the *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix/2, 11 ff., describes them as building round mud huts with circular grass roofs —an African rather than an Indian feature. Their chief object of worship then was Bābā Ghor, an Abyssinian saint, whose shrine stands on a hill near the cornelian mines in Ratanpur near Rādjpīpla (where there was once a colony of Ḥabshī miners; *Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc.*, ii, 76); they are described as begging in small bands playing, besides drums and rattles, a fiddle ornamented with peacock feathers and sounded by a bow one end of which is equipped with a coconut shell in which stones rattle.

The flow of Ḥabshī slaves into India continued through the Mughal period, and the names of individual Ḥabshīs occur frequently throughout the Mughal histories. They do not, however, seem to have been allowed to acquire enough power ever to have formed Ḥabshī factions of any importance; but they are certainly known as provincial governors, e.g. Ātish Ḥabshī, governor first of Bihār and later of the Deccan (d. 1061/1651); Ḥabash Khān Sīdī Miftāḥ and his son Aḥmad Khān, both of whom attained high rank under Awrangzīb; Dilāwar Khān, (d. 1114/ 1703), also a governor of the Deccan. Biographies of these and many others are given in the register of Mughal nobility, the *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, cf. index.

In modern India the word *ḥabshī* is often heard applied in a pejorative sense to an Indian of dark skin, and also frequently to a man of Gargantuan appetite.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the article, see the bibliographies to the articles on the major regions of India. No systematic study of the Indian Ḥabshīs has yet been attempted, and much field-work, particularly anthropological and linguistic, is needed. R. Pankhurst, *An introduction to the economic history of Ethiopia*, London 1961, includes as Appendix E 'The Habshis of India', 409-22, incomplete and with dates unreliable. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḤABŪS [see ZĪRIDS].

ḤAČ OVASĪ [see MEZÖ-KERESZTES].

ḤAḌĀNA, (A.), *ḥiḍāna*, in the technical language of the *fuḳahāʾ*, is the right to custody of the child, a ramification of guardianship of the person which though exercised as a rule by the mother or a female relative in the maternal line may in certain circumstances devolve upon the father or other male relative. This institution is of very great importance in judicial practice because of the numerous conflicts to which the subject gives rise, particularly where the spouses are "separated" and above all where the cause of separation is repudiation of the wife.

A.—In theory this right of custody begins with the birth of the child, whether boy or girl, the parents living together (al-Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, iii, 46). However most authors, of whatever school, recognizing that difficulties on this point do not normally arise till dissolution of the marriage, confine their explanations to this hypothesis alone.

When the spouses are not separated there are only two sets of circumstances in which the right of custody sets husband over against wife. The wife has a domicile distinct from that of her husband, either because he permits this to her (Ḥanafī law), or because she has reserved this right to herself by a clause in the marriage contract (Mālikī and Ḥanbalī law); or else the husband decides to take his small child on a journey, unaccompanied by his wife. In these two cases it is only the Ḥanafīs who have drawn the logical conclusions from the principle that *ḥaḍāna* is a prerogative conferred upon the mother, even before dissolution of the marriage. Thus the husband is not entitled to travel with his child, still in custody of the mother, against the wishes of the latter (al-Kāsānī, iv, 44). Authors of the other schools pay less attention to this *ḥaḍāna* during the subsistence of the marriage and their doctrine on the subject is very unstable.

B.—In the majority of the schools *ḥaḍāna* ends at the age of seven for a boy, who can then "feed and clothe himself without the aid of a third party", and at pre-puberty for a girl (about the age of nine). In

Mālikī law it lasts until puberty for boys and until the consummation of marriage for girls.

In the three schools which terminate very early the privilege of the mother and others entitled to *ḥaḍāna* (Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī), the question arises as to what becomes of the minor when no longer in the care of the mother. We must not forget that this concerns a child who has barely attained the age of reason. In Ḥanafī law he or she is then obligatorily given over (*ḍamm*) to the father, or in default of the father through death or unworthiness, to the male relative on whom devolves the *wilāya* of the child's person, with the condition, in the case of a girl, that the *walī* must be a relative "within the forbidden degrees". In other words the boy of seven and the girl of nine are not consulted, since the Ḥanafīs consider them still too young to be able to make a reasoned decision.

The Shāfiʿīs (*Muhadhdhab*, ii, 171) and Ḥanbalīs (*Mughnī*, vii, 614) allow the boy of seven to choose between continuing to live with his mother and moving to his father's house. The same option is given to the girl who has reached the age of nine, but in Shāfiʿī law only.

At puberty (towards the age of fifteen—see BĀLIGH) the boy is accorded the right, by all schools, of having a dwelling independent of that of his father, or that of his mother if he had opted for her at the age of seven as permitted by the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī schools. However, he is "recommended" to stay with his parents. As for the girl who has reached puberty, it is surprising to find the Shāfiʿī school the most liberal towards her. For the doctors of this school do not forbid her to have a separate abode, although they hold it to be morally "reprehensible" (*makrūh*) (*Muhadhdhab*, ii, 169). In the other schools puberty does not release a virgin girl from the custody of her parents. We have seen that in Mālikī law she remains under her mother's control until consummation of marriage. Much the same solution is reached in Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī law, where the virgin girl (*bikr*) cannot leave her father at puberty, "since she is ignorant of men and their wiles". On the other hand, the girl over the age of puberty who is no longer virgin (*thayyib*), being widowed or repudiated, has freedom of movement. Even here the Ḥanafīs make certain reservations concerning a girl whose conduct is not "sure"; although *thayyib*, she must still live with her father.

C.—The devolution of the right of custody follows differing rules in the various schools, which can be split, from this point of view, into two groups. On the one side we have the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs, who make the right of custody, if not an exclusively feminine prerogative, at least a function in which women always take precedence, so much so that of two female relatives of equal degree the uterine will be preferred to the consanguine; and on the other side the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī schools which, while according an indisputable priority to some women (mother and maternal grandmother, great grandmother, etc.), do not hesitate in certain contingencies to prefer men to women even though the latter be quite closely related to the child.

According to the scholars of the first two schools *ḥaḍāna* belongs in the first instance to the mother; in default of the mother, or if she is unworthy or has forfeited her right, custody passes to the female ascendants of the mother, the nearer excluding the more remote, then to the female ascendants of the father (in Mālikī law maternal aunts come before ascendants of the father); these are followed by the full sister (because of the double link) and the uterine sister, before the consanguine; then nieces (except the consanguine, who is related to the child through the father only); maternal aunts are preferred to paternal aunts.

In these two schools men are invested with *ḥaḍāna* proper only in default of all female relatives within the "forbidden degrees" (for marriage). The two qualities must be united in one and the same woman if she is to bar the devolution of the right of custody upon a man. Thus no account is taken of the female cousin, even if full, since there is no obstacle to marriage between full cousins in Islamic law. Moreover, the presence of a wet-nurse or the daughter of a wet-nurse, despite the existence of a bar to marriage, does not keep men from *ḥaḍāna* since these women are not blood-relatives of the child.

The men in question are, first of all, the *ʿaṣabāt* (males related through males) who come in the same order as in the law of succession: first, therefore, the father; then, in the absence of any *ʿāṣib*, Ḥanafī law calls upon males related through females, but only those with whom marriage would have been impossible if the child had been a girl. Last of all come relatives, men and women, who are not within the forbidden degrees for marriage (full cousins, their issue, etc.)—men exercising *ḥaḍāna* over boys, women over girls. Only in default of all relatives does the *ḳāḍī* designate a person of trust.

In the other two schools (Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī), the priority of women is less absolute than in Ḥanafī and Malikī law, and men may assume *ḥaḍāna* even where there exist fairly close female relatives. Thus in default of the mother and female ascendants of the mother, or if the latter are prevented, or are unworthy or have forfeited their right, *ḥaḍāna* is conferred on the father, then on female ascendants of the father. Another peculiarity of these two schools is that the consanguine sister is preferred to the uterine and the paternal aunt to the maternal (*Muhadhdhab*, ii, 170 and 171; *Mughnī*, vii, 623), both solutions being directly contrary to those of the Ḥanafī and Mālikī schools.

D.—The Ḥanafī scholars never fail to ponder the nature of *ḥaḍāna*. Is it a "right" (*ḥaḳḳ*) of the custodian or a "right" of the child? They generally conclude by saying that although it is a "right" of the custodian (man or woman)—which explains how the latter may renounce it by refusing the burden—it is above all and first and foremost a "right" of the child, in whose interest all the conditions of aptitude for the function have been established. It is because the child's interest governs all the solutions of *fiḳh* in this matter that the woman custodian (for it is in respect of women that the exigencies of the law are most numerous) is required to be adult, sane, and capable of assuring the safe-keeping of the child: thus a woman would be deprived of *ḥaḍāna* where her occupations kept her too long away from home during the day. It is also necessary that she should not be *fāsiḳa*, *i.e.*, of bad morals, and that her customary residence should not be a place of debauchery, which could prove injurious to the child. Illnesses and infirmities are likewise causes of exclusion from *ḥaḍāna*; this is quite comprehensible since a sick or infirm *ḥāḍina* could not pay the necessary attention to the small child. Slave-girls, at the time when they existed, were deprived of this right.

The teaching of the other schools on all these points hardly varies from the Ḥanafī doctrine.

In two sets of circumstances considerable practical importance attaches to the opinions of the jurists

concerning capacity to exercise the right of custody: first, where the *ḥāḍina* (especially the mother) remarries; second, where the father is a Muslim but the woman called to assume custody is non-Muslim.

On the first point the schools are unanimous. The remarriage of a repudiated or widowed mother is normally a cause of forfeiture of *ḥaḍāna*, unless she marries a man related to the child within the "forbidden degrees". How do the scholars explain the rule and the exception, reconciling them with the principle that *ḥaḍāna* is established in the interest of the child? Their explanation is simple if not pertinent. The mother who remarries after widowhood or repudiation (for in practice it is only she who is concerned) must devote all her time to her new husband—law, morality and religion require it; how could she, under these conditions, give to the child in her custody the care its tender years demand? It is another matter if the new husband is a close relative of the child (uncle for example) because it is supposed that his natural affection will prevent him from taking offence at his wife's attention to the child.

In order of frequency, the second problem connected with the conditions of capacity to exercise *ḥaḍāna* is that of disparity of religion. Suppose the mother, widowed or repudiated by a Muslim husband, is not herself a Muslim. Should the *ḥaḍāna* be left to her? No, reply the S͟hāfiʿīs (*Muhad͟hd͟hab*, ii, 169) and the Ḥanbalīs (*Mug͟hnī*, vii, 613), and their arguments on this point are not without good sense. Is not misbelief (*kufr*) more serious than mere misconduct? Now we have seen that this latter causes forfeiture of *ḥaḍāna*, in the case of women as well as men. Besides, if it is true that this institution was created in the interest of the child, how can it be maintained that this interest is safeguarded when the child's most precious possession (its belonging to Islam) is threatened by possible proselytising on the part of the mother, exerting herself in favour of her own religion?

The Mālikīs, not without a certain hesitation, and the Ḥanafīs much more firmly, decide that the *d͟himmiyya* (Christian woman or Jewess) has the right of *ḥaḍāna*. Still, the Ḥanafīs add certain qualifications to the rule (al-Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, iii, 49). Thus a non-Muslim woman loses the custody of the child if she has tried to turn it from its father's religion, provided the child has reached the age when it is able to understand its religious duties. Since this age corresponds more or less to that when *ḥaḍāna* normally finishes, at least for boys, the Ḥanafī qualification is of minor importance. More significant is the rule which demands parity of religion where it is an *ʿāṣib* who, in default of women, assumes the *ḥaḍāna*, since the devolution of the right of custody exercised by men follows the same rules as for succession and, as we know, disparity of religion is a bar to succession in Islamic law.

It goes without saying that, whatever school we take, the renegade is excluded from *ḥaḍāna*. Apart from anything else, how could she look after the child when (according to the scholars) she must be immediately imprisoned and held until she reverts to Islam? When for any reason (incapacity, unworthiness, remarriage with someone outside the family, illness) a woman is deprived of her right of custody, she can recover it afterwards when the obstacle has disappeared, except in Mālikī law. This doctrine is explicitly formulated in relation to remarriage, but it is agreed that it extends to the other causes of impediment or forfeiture.

E.—The works of *fiḳh* dwell at length on a question of great practical interest, although its rules are now largely outmoded owing to progress in the speed of communications. It is forbidden for the person in whom custody of the child is confided to settle the child in a place remote from the abode of the father. Ignoring the distinctions and sub-distinctions drawn by the authors, the main point is that the woman (and, when relevant, the man) who has custody of the child is forbidden to remove it to a place so far distant that the father could not easily oversee its education and conduct and supervise its welfare. Defiance of this prohibition would cause forfeiture in favour of another, be it the father or the next woman in line.

The Ḥanafīs, envisaging only the most frequent case, that of a mother, repudiated and so free in her movements, who has custody of her child, add to the general prohibition of causing the child to live remote from the father an important qualification—a qualification recommended, be it said, by common sense and equity. Of all the women who may be entitled to exercise *ḥaḍāna*, the repudiated mother alone can take her child with her if she decides to go back to the land where she herself was born and where the marriage during which she had the child was concluded (both conditions must be met), however remote this land may be. It would indeed have been cruel to take away the young child of a repudiated wife returning to the land where her whole family resided and which her former husband had made her leave by marrying her.

It should be noted that in Ḥanafī law the custodian who breaks the rule forbidding her to remove a child from its father does not thereby automatically forfeit *ḥaḍāna*. The judge will simply order her to return to the place where the father is.

In the three other schools, custody of the child devolves on the father when the repudiated mother settles in a distant land; and the ruling is the same when it is the father who settles far away (which seems hardly fair).

F.—From the double character of *ḥaḍāna*, whereby it is at one and the same time a prerogative of the mother (and others entitled) and also a measure of protection in respect of the small child, derive, respectively, the following consequences:

The woman entitled to custody of the child is not bound to accept it, except where the mother is concerned, and even in her case the Ḥanafīs make it obligatory only when it is impossible to find another custodian, for the interest of the child overrides the "right" of the mother. This explains why any *ḥāḍina* may normally (Ḥanafī law) claim a wage distinct from the cost of maintaining the child, which naturally falls on the father, unless the child has a personal fortune. This presupposes that the parents are "separated" and that the *ʿidda* [*q.v.*] period has expired. Outside the Ḥanafī school, the mother cannot claim a wage distinct from the *nafaḳa* due to the child; and the Mālikīs go so far as to refuse a wage to all those entitled to *ḥaḍāna*; if, in their doctrine, it sometimes happens that a needy mother may draw a *nafaḳa* on the goods of her child, or part of the child's allowance, she does so not in the capacity of custodian but as any mother in need (Dardīr-Dasūḳī, ii, 534).

Although a "right" of women, *ḥaḍāna* is nevertheless established in the interest of children; it is not therefore permissible to modify the imperative rule fixed on this point by *fiḳh*. These rules belong to the public order, in as much as disregard of them would be injurious to the child. It is on the occasion of a

negotiated divorce (*khul*ʿ) that the parties may attempt to circumvent this principle. Although it is permissible for the spouses to agree that the mother should undertake the full cost of maintaining the child, as consideration for the repudiation pronounced by her husband, it is not possible, on the other hand, for the husband to make it a condition of the repudiation that his wife should give up the *ḥaḍāna* (except perhaps in Mālikī law); in such a case the *khul*ʿ would be valid and the purported condition void. Nor could the wife, by agreeing to compensate her husband, obtain a prolongation of the period of *ḥaḍāna*, at least where boys are concerned, for such agreement is admitted in the case of girls (Ibn Nudjaym, *Baḥr*, ii, 98).

G.—Contemporary legislation inspired by Islamic law (codes of personal status and laws relating to the family) has introduced but few changes into the system of classical *fiḳh*.

In countries of Ḥanafī allegiance, the main preoccupation has been to prolong the duration of *ḥaḍāna*, which the classical law of the school restricts unduly.

The Egyptian law of 10 March 1929 (art. 20) authorizes the judge, when "the interest of the children requires this measure", to extend this period to nine years for the boy, and to eleven years for the girl. This disposition was taken up by the Jordanian code of 1951 (art. 123), and the Syrian code of 1953 (art. 147). The Sudanese circular no. 34 of 1932 (art. 1) squarely adopts the Mālikī doctrine (Sudanese Muslims are governed by Ḥanafī law, though ritually Mālikīs); thus the boy is in the custody of females until puberty, and the girl till consummation of marriage. As for the Iraqi code of 1959 (art. 57, al. 5), it permits the judge to prolong the *ḥaḍāna* without fixing a maximum.

The two North African codes of personal status (Tunisia 1956 and Morocco 1958), while reproducing broadly the principles of Mālikī law on the question, add a few modifications inspired by Ḥanafī law, which are not always very felicitous. Thus it is hard to see why the Tunisian code (art. 67) should limit the duration of custody by women to seven years for boys and nine years for girls, when the majority of actual Ḥanafī countries have abandoned this rule of their own school. Due to Ḥanafī influence again is the possibility for the woman entitled to *ḥaḍāna*, even the mother herself when "separated" from her husband, to claim a remuneration distinct from the *nafaḳa* due from the father to his child (art. 103 and 104 of the Morrocan code). The Tunisian code (art. 65) modestly accords her a wage "for laundry and the preparation of food". The two codes adopt a fairly similar solution to that of the Ḥanafī school concerning disparity of religion between child and custodian. In Moroccan law (art. 108) this adoption is heavy with consequences in view of the long duration of *ḥaḍāna* which the code has borrowed from the Mālikī system.

Every non-Muslim *ḥāḍina* (the only case revealed by practice) is deprived of the custody of a Muslim child when it reaches the age of five, the mother being excepted from the rule unless she tries to turn the child from the Muslim religion, in which case she likewise forfeits her right of custody.

Bibliography: All works of *fiḳh* treat the question at length, often in the chapter on *nafaḳāt*. See especially Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324, v, 207 ff.; Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1313, iii, 46 ff.; Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Cairo 1313, iii, 46 ff. (all Ḥanafī); Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj*, Cairo 1357, vii, 214 ff.; Shīrāzī, *Muhadhdhab*, Cairo n.d., ii, 169 ff. (Shāfiʿī); Ḥaṭṭāb, *Mawāhib al-Djalīl*, 1929, iv, 214 ff.; Dardīr-Dasūḳī, *Sharḥ al-kabīr*, ii, 526 ff. (Mālikī); Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, 3rd. ed. Cairo 1367, vii, 612 ff. (Ḥanbalī). See also Bousquet, *Précis de droit musulman*[3], i, no. 95; Syed Ameer Ali, *Mahommedan Law*[5], Calcutta 1928, ii, 248 ff., for the liberties taken with the classical law by the courts in Algeria and India.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ḤADATH, minor ritual impurity which, in *fiḳh*, is distinguished from major impurity (*djanāba* [*q.v.*]). *Ḥadath* is incurred: 1. — by contact with an unclean substance (*khabath*, *nadjas*) which soils the person or clothing, etc.: sperm, pus, urine, fermented liquor, and some other kinds. There is some controversy about corpses or the bodies of animals. It is only in the view of the Mālikī school that the pig and dog, when alive, do not soil. Except with the Shīʿīs, contact with a human being never soils according to Muslim law, unlike the prescriptions of Jewish law; 2. — by certain facts; by the emission of any substance whether solid, liquid or gaseous from the anus, urethra or vagina (further to those which bring about major impurity); by loss of consciousness—sleep, syncope, madness; by apostasy, and in certain other circumstances. The Khāridjī minority alone has elaborated a moral theory of *ḥadath* (slander, false swearing, perjury, obscene proposals, evil thoughts, etc.).

The *muḥdith* regains his ritual purity, which the *ḥadath* has dispelled, by means of the simple ablution (*wuḍūʾ*) which can be replaced, if it is impossible to use water, by the *tayammum* [*q.v.*]; as for the part of the body soiled by *khabath*, this must be washed, likewise in water that is ritually pure, to restore its purity. The same applies to the clothing of the man at prayer, and the place in which he intends to make his *ṣalāt*. Anyone who is in a state of *ḥadath* cannot therefore: a) perform the prayer; b) make the ritual circumambulation of the Kaʿba (*ṭawāf*); c) touch a copy of the Ḳurʾān, but he can carry fragments of it (for example, on a medal or a piece of paper), and can also recite from it. For casuistical details, see the works quoted in the bibliography and also the articles djanāba and ḥayḍ. In general, practising Muslims are very familiar with these rules. As for the requirement, in case of *djanāba*, to make a *ghusl*, this partially explains the existence of *ḥammām*s in urban centres.

Bibliography: The collections of *ḥadīth*s (cf. the *Handbook* of Wensinck), and texts of *fiḳh*, all of which start with the study of ritual purity; reference should be made, in particular, to the works of *ikhtilāf*, such as the *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid* of Ibn Rushd and others. Even a mystic like Ghazālī (*Iḥyāʾ*, I, Book III, § 21 ff. in the *Analyse* of Bousquet) deals with these questions in a way similar to that of the *fuḳahāʾ*, though in a slightly different spirit. G.-H. Bousquet, *La pureté rituelle en Islam*, in *RHR*, cxxxviii (1950), 53-71.

(G. H. Bousquet)

al-**ḤADATH**, town, which today has disappeared, in the province of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*], situated in a plain at an altitude of 1000 metres at the foot of the Taurus, near to the three lakes on the upper course of the Ak Su, one of the principal tributaries of the Djayḥān. Known as al-Ḥadath al-Ḥamrāʾ (probably to avoid confusion with Ḥadath al-Zuḳāḳ in the Palmyra desert), it owed its importance to its situation on the Arabo-Byzantine frontier, between Marʿash and Malaṭiya, at the entry of the saddle

which guarded the route to Albistān. Its protection was assured by a fortress built on a hill called al-Uḥaydab, "the Little Hunchback". To the north-west of al-Ḥadath, in the massif of the Nuruhak Dagh, was the *darb al-Ḥadath*, a narrow pass which was the scene of many battles and whose name the Arabs changed to *darb al-salāma* in an attempt to exorcise the evil fate which seemed to be attached to it.

Conquered under the caliph ʿUmar by Ḥabīb b. Maslama, who had been sent by the general ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanam, al-Ḥadath was used by Muʿāwiya as a starting point for his incursions into Byzantine territory. The upheavals at the end of the Umayyad dynasty enabled the Byzantines to re-occupy the region, without, however, succeeding in changing very much the course of the frontier. In 161/778, the Byzantine general Michael Lachanodrakon sacked al-Ḥadath. The caliph al-Mahdī rebuilt it in 163/778 and the town was then called al-Mahdiyya or al-Muḥammadiyya. His successor, Mūsā al-Hādī, re-populated it with inhabitants from neighbouring towns. But these buildings of sun-dried brick could not long withstand the severe winter climate. Furthermore, the Byzantines overran it once again and burned it completely, whence its name Göynük, "burnt", used both in Turkish and Armenian. Hārūn al-Rashīd rebuilt and fortified it and maintained a large garrison there, as in the other frontier-stations of this region. Thus under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Ḥadath became a strategic point which served as a base for their expeditions into Byzantine territory. But in 336/950, Leo, the son of Bardas Phocas, seized al-Ḥadath and left none of its fortifications standing. The town became Muslim again as the result of a victory by the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla, who rebuilt the walls in 343/954, but the Byzantines re-took it in 346/957. After this, al-Ḥadath no longer played an important part in the military history of the region. However it fell again into Muslim hands in 545/1150 under the Saldjūḳ sultan of Ḳonya Masʿūd b. Ḳilidj Arslān; then the Armenians seized it in their turn and made it a base for expeditions against the Muslims. In 671/1272, the Mamlūk sultan Baybars seized al-Ḥadath from the Armenians. The fortress was burned and all that remained was the town, which the Kurds then called Alhan and where they grazed their flocks. In 839/1436, the Mamlūk sultan Barsbāy used it as a base for his expedition against the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr.

In 1950 various ruins at Seray-Köy, to the south of the lake of al-Ḥadath, were described and identified by R. Hartmann as being the remains of al-Ḥadath. This identification contradicts earlier opinions, which had situated al-Ḥadath on the site of the present-day Inekli to the north of the lake.

Bibliography: See especially the study by R. Hartmann, *al-Ḥadath al-Ḥamrā'*, in *Istanbuler Forschungen*, xvii (1950), 40-50. Principal Arabic sources: Yāḳūt, i, 514; ii, 218 ff.; iv, 838; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 189 ff.; Ṭabarī, *index*; M. Canard, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'Emir Sayf al-Daula*, Algiers-Paris 1934, 44, 92; Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, Paris 1837-45, i/2, 113 and 140, n. 173; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 748. See also Le Strange, 121 ff.; idem, *Palestine*, 443 ff.; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935, index s.v. 'Αδατᾶ; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Brussels 1935, i, 95; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, Paris 1953, i, 267, 269-70; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, 121, 718.

(S. ORY)

ḤADD (A.), plural *ḥudūd*, hindrance, impediment, limit, boundary, frontier [see ʿAWĀṢIM, GHĀZĪ, THUGHŪR], hence numerous technical meanings, first and foremost the restrictive ordinances or statutes of Allāh (always in the plural), often referred to in the Ḳur'ān (sūra ii, 187, 229, 230; iv, 13, 14; ix, 97, 112; lviii, 4; lxv, 1).

In a narrower meaning, *ḥadd* has become the technical term for the punishments of certain acts which have been forbidden or sanctioned by punishments in the Ḳur'ān and have thereby become crimes against religion. These are: unlawful intercourse (*zinā* [*q.v.*]); its counterpart, false accusation of unlawful intercourse (*ḳadhf* [*q.v.*]); drinking wine [see KHAMR]; theft [see SĀRIḲ]; and highway robbery (*ḳaṭʿ al-ṭarīḳ* [*q.v.*]). The punishments are: the death penalty, either by stoning (the more severe punishment for unlawful intercourse) or by crucifixion or with the sword (for highway robbery with homicide); cutting off hand and/or foot (for highway robbery without homicide and for theft); and in the other cases, flogging with various numbers of lashes. The number of lashes in the less-severe *ḥadd* for unlawful intercourse is 100, in the punishments for false accusation of unlawful intercourse and for drinking wine 80; the prescribed intensity of the lashes is different, too, generally speaking in the opposite order.

The *ḥadd* is a right or a claim of Allāh (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*), therefore no pardon or amicable settlement is possible once the case has been brought before the *ḳāḍī*, although it is recognized that *ḳadhf* and theft include infringing a right of humans (*ḥaḳḳ ādamī*). On the other hand, active repentance (*tawba*) is taken into account in cases of theft and highway robbery. There is a strong tendency, expressed in a tradition attributed to the Prophet, to restrict the applicability of *ḥadd* punishments as much as possible, except the *ḥadd* for *ḳadhf*, but this in its turn serves to restrict the applicability of the *ḥadd* for *zinā* itself. The most important means of restricting *ḥadd* punishments are narrow definitions. Important, too, is the part assigned to *shubha* [*q.v.*], the 'resemblance' of the act which has been committed to another, lawful one, and therefore, subjectively speaking, the presumption of bona fides in the accused. There are short periods of limitation, in general one month. Finally, proof is made difficult; in contrast with the acknowledgment concerning other matters, the confession of an offence involving a *ḥadd* can be withdrawn [see IḲRĀR]; it is even recommended that the *ḳāḍī* should suggest this possibility to the person who has confessed, except in the case of *ḳadhf*; it is considered more meritorious to cover up offences punishable by *ḥadd* than to give evidence on them; and particularly high demands are made of the witnesses as regards their number, their qualifications, and the content of their statements. These demands are most severe with regard to evidence on *zinā*; a further safeguard lies in the fact that an accusation of *zinā* which is dismissed constitutes *ḳadhf* which itself is punishable by *ḥadd*. The liability of the slave (but not of the woman) to *ḥadd* punishments is less than that of the free man [see ʿABD]. On the liability of the *Dhimmī* see A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-Musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beyrouth 1958, 119 ff. (needs considerable elaboration); on that of the *Musta'min*, see W. Heffening, *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925, 65 ff. See also TAʿZĪR and ʿUḲŪBA.

In theology, *ḥadd* in the meaning of limit, limitation, is an indication of the finiteness which is a necessary attribute of all created beings but incompatible with Allāh.

In *kalām* and in philosophy, *ḥadd* is a technical term for definition of which several kinds are distinguished : *ḥadd ḥaḳīḳī* which defines the essence of a thing, *ḥadd lafẓī* which defines the meaning of a word, etc. Opposed to the definition is the description (*rasm*), but the distinction is not very sharp, so that it is possible to speak of a *ḥadd rasmī*. A perfect or complete definition (*ḥadd kāmil*) must be *djāmiʿ māniʿ*, "universal and proper"; this is achieved by giving the *genus proximum* and the *differentia specifica*.

In logic, *ḥadd* means the term of a syllogism; the minor term is called *ḥadd aṣghar*, the major term *ḥadd akbar*, and the middle term *ḥadd awsaṭ*.

In astrology, the degrees of each sign of the zodiac are divided into five unequal portions each of which belongs to one of the five planets; this portion or term of a planet is called *ḥadd*.

In the terminology of the Druzes, the main officers of their religious hierarchy are called *ḥudūd*; this usage is based on an allegorical interpretation of the Ḳurʾānic passages.

Bibliography: General: Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, s.v.— On *ḥadd* punishments: Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 300 ff.; idem, *Handleiding*[3], 304 ff.; J. P. M. Mensing, *De bepaalde straffen in het ḥanbalietische recht*, Leiden 1936; J. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, chap. 24 (with bibliography).—On *ḥadd* as "definition" and "term of syllogism": I. Madkour, *L'Organon d'Aristote dans le monde arabe*, Paris 1934, 107 ff., 196 ff.; R. Brunschvig, in *Arabica*, 1962, 74-6. There are numerous works defining or rather explaining the technical terms used in one or several branches of knowledge; see Brockelmann, S III, index, s.v. *ḥudūd*, and add: Abu 'l-Walīd al-Bādjī, *R. fi 'l-ḥudūd*, *RIEEI*, ii (1954), Arabic part, 1-37; also the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khʷārizmī and the *K. al-Taʿrīfāt* of al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī [*qq.v.*] belong to this group.— On *ḥadd* in astrology: Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, transl. De Slane, ii, 221, n. 1; transl. F. Rosenthal, ii, 215, n.—On the *ḥudūd* of the Druzes: Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, ii, 8 ff.; M. G. S. Hodgson, art. DURŪZ.

(B. Carra de Vaux-[J. Schacht])

Before assuming its philosophical meanings, the word *ḥadd* follows a semantic evolution comparable to that of the Greek words that it translates, ὁρισμός and ὅρος. From its meaning of "limit" it passes to that of "delimitation" or "definition", and from that of "furthest limit" or "extremity" to that of "extreme" or "term" in logic. In order to avoid any ambiguity between the two meanings, modern Arab authors who study mediaeval philosophy often follow *ḥadd*, in the sense of "definition", with the word *taʿrīf* in parenthesis, since one of the uses of *taʿrīf* is in fact "definition", although its meaning includes both description and name.

In metaphysics *ḥadd* means "definition", in so far as it is a statement referring to the thing whose essential elements it sets out. It indicates the thing's quiddity, its *māhiyya* (secondary substance or predicated substance). In its strict sense "definition" can refer only to a substance, but in a wider sense we speak also of definitions of accidents, although these cannot be defined without the mention of an element that is foreign to them, *i.e.*, the substance that receives them. *Ḥadd* is used also in a derived sense, to mean a commentary on the name of the thing; it is then a "nominal definition", which is not composed of direct references to the thing's essence, but explains the name that does refer to the essence. In entities composed of matter and form, "definition" does not refer to form alone, but to everything that goes to make up the entity, *i.e.*, to matter and to form. In entities that have no material element, it obviously refers to form alone; nevertheless, there can be no definition of the entity that is absolutely simple, since different essential elements cannot be distinguished in it. Definition applies to individuals, but there is no definition of the particular as such. The individual can be indicated only by combining various attributes that apply to it alone, for example by pointing out its filiation.

In logic *ḥadd* is used with different meanings according to the three mental processes, which are forming the concept, judging and reasoning. In the logic of the concept *ḥadd* has the meaning of "definition" as in metaphysics, and has also to give the essential elements of the thing defined, but in this case with reference to the concept, *i.e.*, by uniting the essential meanings so as to produce in the mind an intelligible exactly equivalent to the essence of the thing. This statement is more explicit than the name, of which it gives an analysis; it is the name that expresses the meaning in one word only.

Perfect definition, *ḥadd tāmm*, is a statement of *proximum genus* and specific difference: "Man is a rational animal". It cannot be arrived at by demonstration, but only by the methods that make it possible to determine this genus and this difference. The definition is obtained *bi-ṭarīḳ al-tarkīb*, by means of combination, *i.e.*, by taking the essential attribute whose extension is just greater than that of the thing to be defined and combining with it the essential attribute peculiar to the thing. This is obtained by looking for all the attributes that belong to the essence of the genus that has just been defined, by making a kind of division, *ḳisma*, and finally by selecting that one which is predicable only of the thing to be defined.

In this perfect definition are included, on the one hand, all the *summa genera*, and, on the other, all the consequents of the essence. It is, however, often very difficult to find these two attributes. If they cannot be determined, we have to be content with giving a correct but less precise notion, for example by stating one or more of the thing's essential characteristics that are peculiar to it. The statement is thus equivalent in extension, but not in comprehension; it is a description, *rasm*, or an imperfect definition. When the cause of the existence of the thing defined gives the meaning of the thing, a causal definition is obtained, and when cause and effect are united in the same proposition, the definition is complete, *ḥadd tāmm*, and resembles the conclusion of a syllogism. An example is: "Thunder is the noise that is produced in the cloud because of the fire that is quenched there". (For details of the reasoning, see *Shifāʾ*, *Manṭiḳ*, v, book 4, ch. 4, 290-1). Definition in no way refers to existence.

While *ḥadd* means "definition" in the logic of the concept, the same word means "term" in the logic of the proposition and in that of syllogistic reasoning. *Ḥadd* is, in that case, the word or statement used as subject or as predicate, major, minor or middle term.

The whole Islamic theory of definition, and that of terms of reasoning, follows Aristotle, sometimes reproducing what he says almost word for word. The brief mention of definitions made by the *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* is already in conformity with this; they apply the method outlined above to the definition of

species and genera, omitting "Substance", which can be the object only of a "description", *rasm*; it is "the entity that is self-subsistent and receives contrary attributes"—this is in accordance with Aristotelian teaching. Al-Kindī uses the word in its accepted sense. Avicenna is the Hellenizing philosopher who most develops the study of *ḥadd*; it is a theme to which he returns again and again in his works. Al-Ghazālī scarcely mentions it in the first part of the *Maḳāṣid*. Averroes comments on the relevant chapters of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Al-Djurdjānī, in his *Taʿrīfāt*, gives the ordinary meaning, the various philosophical meanings, including that of "defective (*nāḳiṣ*) definition", obtained "by nearest (*i.e.*, specific) difference alone, or by that and *summum genus*". In Ṣūfism, he adds, *ḥadd*, which has then the sense of "limit", "indicates the separation between you and your Lord".

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HADENDOA [see bedja].

ḤADHF [see naḥw].

al-**HĀDĪ ILA 'L-ḤAḲḲ**, regnal name of the fourth ʿAbbāsid caliph Mūsā, son of al-Mahdī, who had been proclaimed heir in 159/775-6. His accession took place in Muḥarram 169/August 785, but it did not pass off smoothly. Al-Mahdī died when he was actually on the way to Djurdjān intending to force Mūsā, resident in that province, to renounce his rights in favour of his brother Hārūn, who had been appointed second heir in 166/782-3. Although the chamberlain al-Rabīʿ procured that the oath of allegiance to Mūsā was sworn in Baghdād, a revolt broke out in the capital almost immediately afterwards; it was swiftly put down, before even al-Hādī arrived, but contemporaries saw in it the hand of adversaries of the new ruler.

On returning to Baghdād, al-Hādī first made al-Rabīʿ his vizier, but dismissed him soon afterwards and entrusted the central administration to various persons, none of whom seems to have made any mark. Once in power, al-Hādī continued the persecution of the *zindīḳs* which his father had begun, but abandoned the latter's moderate policy towards the Shīʿīs, adopting an attitude of frank hostility to the ʿAlids; hence he was led to repress brutally an ʿAlid revolt which had broken out in Medina and which ended in the massacre of Fakhkh [*q.v.*]. Other revolts had to be put down, both in Egypt and in ʿIrāḳ. Throughout his reign, the most important question was that of the succession. Al-Hādī wished to annul the right of his brother Hārūn, who then had as his tutor and adviser Yaḥyā the Barmakid. Hārūn, vigorously rejecting his brother's proposals, was finally thrown into prison and threatened with a still worse fate. At this juncture, in Rabīʿ I 170/September 786, there occurred the sudden death of al-Hādī, an event in which, according to some chroniclers, Hārūn's mother al-Khayzurān had some share. Thus ended the short reign of a caliph who left the reputation of being a ruler energetic to the point of brutality as well as addicted to pleasure; through the massacre of Fakhkh he widened the gulf between the ʿAbbāsids and the ʿAlids; his only lasting achievement was perhaps an improvement in the financial departments of the central administration.

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al-**HĀDĪ ILA 'L-ḤAḲḲ, YAḤYĀ**, founder of the Zaydī dynasty of the Yemen [see zaydīs].

HĀDĪ SABZAWĀRĪ [see sabzawārī].

al-**ḤADĪD**, iron. According to the *Sūrat al-Ḥadīd* (LVII, 25) God sent iron down to earth for the detriment and advantage of man, for weapons and tools are alike made from it. According to the belief of the Ṣābians, it is allotted to Mars. It is the hardest and strongest of metals and the most capable of resisting the effects of fire, but it is the quickest to rust. It is corroded by acids; for example, with the fresh rind of a pomegranate it forms a black fluid, with vinegar a red fluid and with salt a yellow. Collyrium (*al-kuḥl*) burns it and arsenic makes it smooth and white. Ḳazwīnī distinguishes three kinds of iron, natural iron, *al-sābūrḳān*—which can only mean dark iron ores such as micaceous ore, magnetic ironstone etc.—and that which is made artificially, which is of two kinds, the weak (Pers. *narm-āhan*) or female, *i.e.*, malleable iron, and hard or male, *i.e.*, steel (*fūlādh*). According to al-Kindī, however, the kind of iron called *sābūrḳān* is identical with male iron; both kinds are called natural iron, while steel on the other hand is not natural. These contradictory statements cannot be reconciled here. Chinese and Indian iron are particularly esteemed. The applications of iron and iron-rust in medicine and magic are fairly numerous and varied. See further maʿdin.

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ḤADĪḌ [see nudjūm].

ḤADĪDĪ, *makhlaṣ* of a minor Ottoman poet who flourished in the first decades of the 10th/16th century, the author of a verse-chronicle. According to his near-contemporay Sehī, his home was Feredjik (near Enos), where he was *khaṭīb*; he adopted the *makhlaṣ* Ḥadīdī because he was a blacksmith by trade.

His unpublished history of the Ottoman dynasty, completed in 930/1523-4, consists of some 7000 very pedestrian couplets in the *hazadj* metre; the last incident recorded is the appointment of Ibrāhīm

Pas̲h̲a as Grand Vizier (in 929/1523). In an introduction Ḥadīdī states that his account, as far as the first years of the reign of Bāyezīd II, is a verse-paraphrase of the prose history by 'the S̲h̲eykh̲ ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳ Pas̲h̲a-og̲h̲lı', *i.e.*, ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳ-Pas̲h̲a-zāde [*q.v.*]; but this section, the first two-thirds of the work, contains also some episodes characteristic of the Urud̲j̲ texts, *e.g.*, the passage on Bāyezīd I's suicide, quoted disparagingly by Saʿd al-Dīn (i, 217; cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, i, 627; for another example see A. S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler* . . ., Ankara 1956, 182). The rest of the work is, he claims, original. According to Laṭīfī, he failed to procure the presentation of his work to the Sultan, Süleymān I. Although Pečewī names it among his sources (i, 3), it is probably of minor importance and only a few manuscripts survive, in Istanbul: Esad Efendi (Süleymaniye) 2081, much damaged by fire towards the end; Ali Emiri manzum 1317, modern (for these two, see *Istanbul Kütüpaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, i/2, no. 69); University Library T 1268, a good old copy (see L. Forrer, in *Isl.*, xxvi (1942), no. 17); Veliyüddin (Beyazıt) 152/3443 (see *Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü*, iv, Ankara 1957, p. X). There is a copy in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Pertsch, *Katal.*, 232), and a good, apparently old, manuscript has recently been acquired by the British Museum (Or. 12896).

Poems by a Ḥadīdī are preserved in some anthologies (see, for example, F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı* . . . . *türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, ii, nos. 2665, 2690).

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al-ḤĀḌINA, a small independent region of South Arabia, now in the Upper ʿAwlaḳī Sultanate. It is one of the most fertile districts of South Arabia and is irrigated by canals from the Wādī ʿAbadān. The products of the soil, which is of volcanic origin, include indigo, which is exported to al-Ḥawṭa, *d̲h̲ura* and millet. Al-Ḥāḍina is inhabited by the tribe Ahl K̲h̲alīfa which claims descent from the Hilāl [*q.v.*]. When the Hilāl emigrated from South Arabia they remained behind, whence their name K̲h̲alīfa. In the past they ordinarily acknowledged no authority, but in time of war would serve under the banner of the Sultan of the Upper ʿAwāliḳ in Niṣāb. According to Philby, who visited the region in 1936, they numbered about 300 male adults, giving a total population of about 1,000. There were nine clans in possession of some sixteen villages of which the most important was D̲j̲abiyya, a market and the seat of the ʿAḳīl or ruler. Al-Ḥāḍina was famed in Landberg's day as a centre for cotton, which was exported to Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb and Ḥarīb. It lies on the caravan roads from Bāl Hāf to Mark̲h̲a, and D̲j̲irdān to Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb and Mārib.

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al-ḤĀDIRA (al-Ḥuwaydira), nickname of the Arabic poet Ḳuṭba b. Aws. Very little is known of his life; he belongs to the Banū T̲h̲aʿlaba b. Saʿd b. D̲h̲ubyān, a tribe of the group G̲h̲aṭafān. He had a quarrel with Zabbān b. Sayyār al-Fazārī and satirized him in his verses. In another poem he boasts of the victory of his kinsmen at al-Kufāfa. The leader in this battle, K̲h̲ārid̲j̲a b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī, later on turned Muslim (Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Iṣāba*, i, 222) whilst al-Ḥādira is called a pagan poet (*d̲j̲ahilī*); so we may infer that he lived into the beginning of the 7th century. His poems, few in number, were collected by Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Yazīdī (d. 310/921-2). One *ḳaṣīda* is included in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (no. viii, ed. Lyall); it is said that this poem was greatly admired by Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit.

Bibliography: *al-Hādirae diwanum cum Yazidii scholiis edidit* . . . ., G. H. Engelmann, Lugd.-Bat. 1858; Brockelmann I, 26; S I, 154. (J. W. Fück)

ḤADĪTH (narrative, talk) with the definite article (*al-ḥadīt̲h̲*) is used for Tradition, being an account of what the Prophet said or did, or of his tacit approval of something said or done in his presence. *K̲h̲abar* (news, information) is sometimes used of traditions from the Prophet, sometimes from Companions or Successors. *At̲h̲ar*, pl. *āt̲h̲ār* (trace, vestige), usually refers to traditions from Companions or Successors, but is sometimes used of traditions from the Prophet. *Sunna* (custom) refers to a normative custom of the Prophet or of the early community.

I. The development of Ḥadīt̲h̲

Tradition came to be considered second in authority to the Ḳurʾān, but this was the result of a lengthy process. The Prophet had made a great impression on his contemporaries, and Islam had not only survived his death, but had quickly spread far beyond Arabia. It is therefore only natural that those who had known him should have much to tell about him and that new converts should have been anxious to learn what they could about him. Many of his Companions settled in conquered countries where it is reasonable to assume that they would be questioned about him; but there would be nothing formal about the retailing of stories and little attempt at first to record them. At that time there was no idea that Tradition was second in authority to the Ḳurʾān because there was no collected body of traditions. At the Prophet's death, the Ḳurʾān remained as the source of guidance and it was only gradually, as new problems arose, that men came to feel the need of a subsidiary authority. Individuals and groups in various regions developed an interest in Tradition, and many traditionists engaged in travels to learn traditions from authorities in different countries. The annual Pilgrimage would also provide an opportunity for people of different regions to meet, and traditions would be spread in this way. The demand for traditions was great, and inevitably the supply grew to meet it.

Gradually the necessity of producing authorities for traditions developed, and there is reason to believe that the practice was to some extent in force before the end of the first century; but it was late in the second century before it seems to have become essential to have a complete chain of authorities back to the source. Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 150/767 or 151/768) quotes authorities in his biography of the Prophet, but not always with a complete chain, and the same applies to Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) whose law-book *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* gives many traditions with partial chains of authority, some with complete chains, and some with none. When books of tradition came to be compiled the traditions had two necessary

features: (1) the chain of authorities (*isnād*, or *sanad*) going right back to the source of the tradition, and (2) the text (*matn*).

But while traditionists were collecting traditions and attempting to verify their authority, there were others who were nót prepared to lay great emphasis on the importance of tradition. As a result there were disputes between parties; but largely as a result of the genius of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 204/820) [*q.v.*] the party of Tradition won the day, and *Ḥadīth̲* came to be recognized as a foundation of Islām second only to the Ḳurʾān. Al-S̲h̲āfiʿī laid emphasis on an argument which seems to have been current even before this time (cf. *ZDMG*, lxi (1907), 869), that when the Ḳurʾān spoke of the Book and the Wisdom (cf. ii, 151; iii, 164; iv, 113; lxii, 2) it meant Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth̲*. Thus *Ḥadīth̲* was given a kind of secondary inspiration. Though not the eternal word of God, like the Ḳurʾān it represented divine guidance.

II. Collections of Ḥadīth̲

The theory was held by some that traditions should be conveyed only by word of mouth and not written, and there are even traditions in the books supporting this view. Abū Dāʾūd (*ʿIlm*, 3) rather curiously gives two traditions, one after the other, the first stating that the Prophet gave command to write traditions and the second stating that he forbade writing them. Whatever justification there may have been for the view that writing was prohibited, there were, even quite early, men who made notes for their own guidance, and these notes formed a basis for larger works produced later. Among them mention may be made of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/712 or 99/717) in Medina who is quoted as transmitting many traditions from his aunt ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, and Muḥammad b. Muslim Ibn S̲h̲ihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741) who settled in Syria and was one of the most widely quoted authorities. Reference is even made to *ṣaḥīfa*s (scripts) in which some Companions of the Prophet collected traditions.

When more formal books were first compiled they were of the type called *musnad* works, the word indicating that each Companion's traditions were collected together. While this arrangement has its interest, it is not very convenient. People would want to consult traditions on particular subjects and would therefore need to read through much irrelevant material before discovering what they were seeking. Such works as those of al-Ṭayālisī (d. 203/818) [*q.v.*] and of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) [*q.v.*] are arranged according to this method. Mālik had arranged his *Muwaṭṭaʾ* according to the subject-matter, but the 3rd/9th century was the time when the important *muṣannaf* (classified) works were compiled. They were said to be arranged *ʿala 'l-abwāb* (according to the sub-sections), and this arrangement of the material proved to be much more convenient. Six of these *muṣannaf* works eventually took precedence over others. The most authoritative were considered to be the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Buk̲h̲ārī [*q.v.*] and Muslim (d. 261/875), followed in importance by the *Sunan* works of Abū Dāʾūd [*q.v.*], al-Tirmid̲h̲ī (d. 279/892), al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915) and Ibn Mād̲j̲a (d. 273/886). The *Ṣaḥīḥ*s contain biographical material and Ḳurʾān commentary in addition to details of religious observance, law, commerce, and aspects of public and private behaviour which are the main interest of the *Sunan* works. The corpus of Tradition provides details to regulate all aspects of life in this world and to prepare people for the next. In theory the traditions of al-Buk̲h̲ārī and Muslim are all considered sound, whereas those in the other books have varying degrees of worth; but criticism has been made even of some of al-Buk̲h̲ārī's and Muslim's traditions.

There was no official body to commission the books of Tradition, so they had to make their own appeal to the community. By the 4th/10th century the collections of al-Buk̲h̲ārī and Muslim were fairly generally recognized, and the others gained recognition after longer periods. For example, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (d. 808/1406) did not recognize Ibn Mād̲j̲a's *Sunan*, but spoke of the 'five' books. Nevertheless the six books were eventually recognized, although some people preferred Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* to Ibn Mād̲j̲a's *Sunan*. Other works also were compiled, and while they did not command so much general respect as the six books, they are recognized as important and are quoted. Among these mention may be made of the works of al-Dārimī [*q.v.*], al-Dāraḳuṭnī [*q.v.*] and al-Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*]. Commentaries were written on the books of Tradition, and there are many works which give selections of one kind or another. A favourite type of work uses the title *Arbaʿīn* from the practice of collecting forty traditions on some particular subject. Larger works were also compiled giving selections of traditions from various sources. One of the best known of these is *Miṣbāḥ al-sunna* by al-Bag̲h̲awī [*q.v.*], enlarged into the still more popular *Mis̲h̲kāt al-maṣābīḥ* by Walī al-Dīn.

The works to which reference has been made are those recognized by Sunnīs. The S̲h̲īʿīs have books of their own, accepting only traditions traced through ʿAlī's family, an important purpose being to support the claims of the S̲h̲īʿa. They are *al-Kāfī fī ʿilm al-dīn* by Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Kulīnī (d. 328/939); *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruhu 'l-faḳīh* by Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī called al-Bābūya al-Ḳummī (d. 381/991); *Tahd̲h̲īb al-aḥkām* by Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 459/1067 or 460/1068), of which he produced a shorter version entitled *al-Ibtiṣār fīmā 'k̲h̲tulifa fīhi min al-ak̲h̲bār*. They are *muṣannaf* works covering subjects similar to those in the Sunnī books.

III. Criticism of Ḥadīth̲

Before the recognized books were compiled the body of Tradition had grown enormously, and serious students recognized that much of it was fabricated. The *ḳuṣṣāṣ* (storytellers) were men who invented the most extraordinary traditions to which they attached seemingly impeccable *isnād*s, their purpose being to astonish the common people and receive payment for their stories. The spurious nature of such was easily recognized. Others fabricated traditions to spread false doctrines, and this was sometimes so cleverly done that it had a chance of being undetected. For example, one such quotes the Prophet as saying, 'I am the seal of the prophets; there will be no prophet after me unless God wills'. The phrase 'unless God wills' is so common that it could easily pass without comment, but men of insight noticed the heretical tendency in spite of the excellent *isnād* which supported it. Some who had invented traditions to teach heretical doctrines afterwards confessed what they had done, but as many of their traditions had been incorporated in books they did not know how to undo the damage. At the other extreme there were pious men who were so disturbed by the laxity of their times that they invented traditions to exhort men to live righteously. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (d. 143/760) is reported to have said,

"I have not seen more falsehood in anyone than in those who have a reputation for goodness". Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl (d. 212/827) is credited with the similar statement, "I have not seen the good man lying about anything more than about *Ḥadīth*". The fact that different types of people invented traditions shows how important *Ḥadīth* had become. Because of this, ingenious men made use of it to propagate their ideas.

Criticism was made of transmitters for various other reasons. Some were accused of carelessness in transmission, others of being inaccurate in old age, others of pretending to transmit traditions when they had lost their books and were depending on a faulty memory. Al-Ḥākim (d. 405/1014) accuses some of tracing back to the Prophet traditions which went back only to Companions or Successors.

As a result of the effort to investigate the genuineness of traditions biographical works were compiled regarding the people who appear in *isnāds*. It was important to know the years of their birth and death, for this shows whether they could have met the people they are said to have quoted. Statements were also recorded regarding the degree of their trustworthiness, but these raised problems for they were frequently contradictory. Although it is said that such material was collected from the first century, the books were mainly compiled from the third century onwards. Arabs were notable as genealogists, and therefore one may not unreasonably assume that while the books began to appear comparatively late, materials for the earliest periods were available. Books were also written confined to traditionists in particular districts, *madhhabs*, or centuries, some including people of other interests. It is important to note that while these are called *ridjāl* (men) works, they include many women traditionists (see further AL-DJARḤ WA 'L-TAʿDĪL).

The criticism of traditions soon developed a series of technical terms, a number of which are found in the six books, where comments on traditions are common. Al-Tirmidhī made a notable contribution to the criticism of Tradition, for he not only supplied notes to the large majority of his traditions, but concluded with a chapter in which he discussed some points (see *Varieties of the ḥasan tradition*, in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, vi (1961), 37 ff.). The use of technical terms seems to have been a gradual development, but although a particular term might be used differently at different periods, fairly general agreement about most of them was eventually reached.

Traditions were divided into *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound), *ḥasan* (good), and *ḍaʿīf* (weak) or *saḳīm* (infirm). *Ṣaḥīḥ* traditions have seven grades: (1) those given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim; (2) those given by al-Bukhārī alone; (3) those given by Muslim alone; (4) those not given by either, which however fulfil their conditions (*shurūṭ*); (5) those which fulfil al-Bukhārī's *shurūṭ*;(6) those which fulfil Muslim's *shurūṭ*; (7) traditions sound in the opinion of other authorities. *Ḥasan* traditions are not considered quite so strong, but they are necessary for establishing points of law. Indeed, most of the legal traditions are of this type. There are varieties of the *ḥasan* but authorities are not all agreed on the subject. Al-Tirmidhī has used *ḥasan* along with other words, but in his final chapter he has unfortunately not explained what he means by all the terms he uses. Weak traditions also have various degrees. Allowance is made for using weak traditions dealing with exhortations, stories, and good behaviour, but not for those dealing with matters of law or with things which are allowable or forbidden. Abū Dāʾūd has used *ṣāliḥ* for traditions about which he has made no remark, some being sounder than others. Some have held *ṣāliḥ* to be a grade inferior to *ḥasan*, but this view is not common. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1449) distinguishes between *ṣāliḥ al-iḥtidjādj* (fit to be used as proof) and *ṣāliḥ al-iʿtibār* (fit to be considered), the former being equivalent to *ḥasan* and the latter, though weak in itself, deserving consideration to see whether it is corroborated. If that is so it becomes *ṣāliḥ bi-ghayrihi* (fit through another tradition) and *ṣāliḥ al-iḥtidjādj*. But in classical terminology *ṣāliḥ* is applied to transmitters rather than to traditions.

Most of the following technical terms, mainly dealing with the *isnād*, acquired a stable meaning although all authorities did not agree in their interpretation of some. For convenience they are here arranged in five groups.

(i) With reference to the number of transmitters. *Mutawātir* is applied to a tradition with so many transmitters that there could be no collusion, all being known to be reliable and not being under any compulsion to lie. *Mashhūr* is a tradition with more than two transmitters, some such being *ṣaḥīḥ* and others not. *Mustafīḍ* is treated by some as equivalent to *mashhūr*, by some as equivalent to *mutawātir*, but by most as an intermediate class. *ʿAzīz* is used of a tradition coming from one man of sufficient authority to have his traditions collected when two or three people share in transmitting them. *Gharīb* is a tradition from only one Companion, or from a single man at a later stage. It may apply to *isnād*, or *matn*, or both. It is to be distinguished from *gharīb al-ḥadīth* which applies to uncommon words in the *matn* of traditions. *Fard* can be used of an *isnād* with only one transmitter at each stage, or of a tradition transmitted only by people of one district. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) says every *fard* is not reckoned *gharīb*; al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278) considers those from one district to be *fard* and those from individuals *gharīb*. *Shādhdh* is a tradition from a single authority which differs from what others report. If it differs from what people of greater authority transmit, or if its transmitter is not of sufficient reliability to have his unsupported traditions accepted, it is rejected. *Āḥād* is used of traditions from a relatively small number of transmitters, not enough to make them *mutawātir*. *Khabar al-āḥād*, or *al-ḥadīth al-āḥādī* is to be distinguished from *khabar al-wāḥid*, a tradition from a single man.

(ii) With reference to the nature of the *isnād*. *Muttaṣil* is used of an unbroken *isnād* traced back to the source. If it goes back to the Prophet it is *muttaṣil marfūʿ*, if to a Companion it is *muttaṣil mawḳūf*. *Musnad* is generally applied to a tradition with a fully connected *isnād* traced to the Prophet, *i.e.*, both *muttaṣil* and *marfūʿ*, though it has been applied by some to connected traditions going back to a Companion or a Successor. *Marfūʿ* is a tradition traced to the Prophet whether or not the *isnād* is complete; but some would treat it as equivalent to *musnad*. *Mawḳūf* is a tradition going back only to a Companion. *Maḳṭūʿ* is a tradition going back to a Successor regarding words or deeds of his. Al-Shāfiʿī and al-Ṭabarānī used it in the sense of *munḳaṭiʿ*, which has been used of an *isnād* including unspecified people, or one later than a Successor who claims to have heard someone he did not hear. It is also used of one later than a Successor quoting

directly from a Companion; but commonly it is applied when there is a break in the *isnād* at any stage later than the Successor. *Munfaṣil* (separated, divided) may be found applying to a tradition with several breaks in the *isnād*, to distinguish it from *munḳaṭiʿ*. *Muʿallaḳ* (suspended) is used when there is an omission of one or more names at the beginning of the *isnād*, or when the whole *isnād* is omitted. *Mursal* is a tradition in which a Successor quotes the Prophet directly. *Muʿallal* or *maʿlūl* applies to a tradition with some weakness in *isnād* or *matn*. Al-Ḥākim calls it a tradition mixed with another, or containing some false notion of the transmitter, or given as *muttaṣil* when it is *mursal*.

(iii) With reference to special features of *matn* or *isnād*. *Ziyādāt al-thiḳāt* means additions by authorities in *matn* or *isnād* which are not found in other transmissions. Views differ regarding the extent to which such information is acceptable. *Muʿanʿan* is used of an *isnād* where *ʿan* (on the authority of) is used with no clear indication of how the tradition was received. It is held that when those who use it are known to be genuine, and to have heard the person they quote, the tradition is *muttaṣil*. *Musalsal* is applied when the transmitters in an *isnād* use the same words, or are of the same type, or come from the same place. *Musalsal al-ḥalf* is a type in which each transmitter swears an oath, and *musalsal al-yad* is the type in which each transmitter gives his hand to the one to whom he transmits the tradition. *Mudallas* is used of a tradition with a concealed defect in the *isnād*. The defect of *tadlīs* (concealing defects) may consist in pretending to have heard a tradition from a contemporary when that is not so (*tadlīs al-isnād*), or in calling one's authority by an unfamiliar *ism*, *kunya*, or *nisba* (*tadlīs al-shuyūkh*), or in omitting a weak transmitter who comes between two sound ones (*tadlīs al-taswiya*). *Mubham* (obscure) is used when a transmitter is named vaguely, *e.g.*, *radjul* (a man), or *ibn fulān* (son of so and so) without giving the man's *ism*. *Maḳlūb* (transposed) is applied when a tradition is attributed to someone other than the real authority to make it an acceptable *gharīb* tradition, or when two traditions have the *isnād* of the one with the *matn* of the other. Some use *munḳalib* when there is a slight transposition in the wording. *Mudradj* (inserted) is used of a gloss in the *matn*, or of giving with one *isnād* texts which differ with different *isnād*s, or of mentioning a number of transmitters who differ in their *isnād* without indicating this. Generally it is used of inserting something in the *isnād* or the *matn* of one tradition from another to make this appear part of it. *Muḍṭarib* (incongruous) is used when two people or more disagree with one another in their version of a tradition, they being people of similar standing. The difference may affect *isnād* or *matn*. *Iḍṭirāb* makes a tradition weak. When a man is called *muḍṭarib al-ḥadīth* it means his traditions are confused. *Isnād ʿālī* (a high *isnād*), which is used when there are very few links between the transmitter and the Prophet, or between him and a certain authority, is considered a valuable type on the ground that the fewer the links the fewer are the possible chances of error. *Isnād nāzil* (a low *isnād*) means that there are many links. The quality of the former is called *ʿuluww* and of the latter *nuzūl*. *Muḥarraf* (altered) is used of a change occurring in the letters of a word. *Muṣaḥḥaf* (mistaken) is used of a slight error in *isnād* or *matn*, commonly confined to an error in the dots. *Mudabbadj* (variegated, embellished) is used when two contemporaries transmit traditions from one another. *Iʿtibār* (taking into consideration) means consideration of whether a transmitter who is alone in transmitting a tradition is well known, or whether, if the tradition is solitary by one authority, someone in the chain has another authority, or whether another Companion transmits it.

(iv) With reference to acceptable traditions. *Maʿrūf* (acknowledged) is applied to a weak tradition confirmed by another weak one, or it is a tradition superior in *matn* or *isnād* to one called *munkar* (see below). *Maʿrūf* is also applied to a traditionist when two or more transmit from him. Otherwise he is *madjhūl*, *i.e.*, unknown either as regards his person, or his reliability. *Maḳbūl* (accepted) is a tradition which fulfils requirements and is either *ṣaḥīḥ* or *ḥasan*. *Maḥfūẓ* (committed to memory) applies to a tradition which, when compared with one which is *shādhdh*, is considered of greater weight.

(v) With reference to rejected traditions. *Munkar* (ignored) is used of a tradition whose transmitter is alone in transmitting it and differs from one who is reliable, or is one who has not the standing to be accepted when alone. Some equate *munkar* with *shādhdh*, but *munkar* is normally considered inferior. When one says of a transmitter *yarwi 'l-manākir* (he transmits *munkar* traditions) this does not involve the rejection of all his traditions; but if he is called *munkar al-ḥadīth* they are all to be rejected. *Mardūd* (rejected) is the opposite of *maḳbūl*. More particularly it is a tradition from a weak transmitter which contradicts what authorities transmit. *Matrūk* (abandoned) is a tradition from a single transmitter who is suspected of falsehood in Tradition, or is openly wicked in deed or word, or is guilty of much carelessness or frequent wrong notions. *Maṭrūḥ* (cast out) is held by some to be synonymous with *matrūk*, by others to be a separate class less acceptable than *ḍaʿīf*, but not so bad as *mawḍūʿ* (fictitious), the worst type of all. Some other technical terms are given below. [See also AL-DJARḤ WA 'L-TAʿDĪL].

The criticism of traditions was very detailed, showing how seriously the work was undertaken, and one recognizes the genuine effort made to clear away what was false. But Western scholars have tended to argue that the criticism did not go far enough. Goldziher, in his *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, and elsewhere, has shown that *Ḥadīth* is not based on such firm ground as the conventional doctrine would lead one to suppose, and he has been followed by many others. One readily notices phrases from the Old and New Testaments put into the mouth of the Prophet as his sayings. There are references to towns far from Arabia which were to be conquered, even to towns not yet founded in the Prophet's time. Parties which arose in the early Muslim period are named, *e.g.*, Khāridjīs, Murdji'a, Ḳadariyya, Djahmiyya. Reference can be found to the rightly-guided Caliphs, and there are unmistakeable references to the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids. Many miracles are attributed to the Prophet, although the Ḳur'ān does not represent him as a miracle-worker. There is great detail regarding the tribulations before the end of the world, and regarding the Last Judgment. There are also elaborate descriptions of heaven and of hell. The Western mind finds it difficult to accept such material as genuinely coming from the Prophet. Professor J. Schacht has argued cogently that *isnād*s grew as time passed, and so legal traditions which belonged to a later period were eventually

traced back to the Prophet. While one does not feel justified in explaining away the whole body of Tradition on these lines, it is quite clear that much material coming from a later date has been attributed to the Prophet, and this makes it very difficult to find a satisfactory criterion by which one may recognize what is genuine. Material which accumulated within a certain circle may often have seemed to a later generation to have come from a Companion who settled in the area, and by a natural process to have been attributed to him with the assumption that he had the Prophet as his authority. One result of Western criticism is that we must be chary of accusing men like Abū Hurayra of inventing many traditions, for they probably heard and transmitted very little of what they are reputed to have told.

IV. The study and transmission of Tradition

The study of Tradition is called *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth* (the sciences of Tradition). Various works had been written on branches of Tradition, but the first to attempt a comprehensive work was Abū Muḥammad al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. 360/971) whose lengthy work in seven parts is called *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna 'l-rāwī wa 'l-wāʿī*. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī wrote a more systematic work entitled *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, divided into 52 *nawʿ* (categories), a method followed by later writers. The work of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, which may be considered the classical work on the subject, has 65 *nawʿ*. The study covers minutely a wide range of subjects, dealing with classes of traditions and transmitters (emphasis being specially laid on knowledge of the Companions —*Ṣaḥābī*s, and the Successors—*Tābiʿūn*), with methods of learning and transmitting traditions, with rules about details of writing traditions and methods of making necessary corrections in one's manuscript, even with the ages at which it is appropriate to begin and to stop transmitting. To give one illustration of the rules for writing, when the phrase *ṣallā 'llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallam* comes after *rasūl Allāh*, one must not end a line with *rasūl*, for to do so would mean that someone happening to glance at the next line might think God was being invoked to bless and preserve Himself.

There were a number of recognized methods by which traditions could be received, but everyone was not agreed about the relative importance of some of them. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ gives the following: (1) Hearing (*samāʿ*). Hearing directly from the *shaykh*'s mouth is considered superior to other methods. (2) Reciting to the *shaykh* (*al-ḳirā'a ʿala 'l-shaykh*), commonly called *ʿarḍ* (submitting the material to him). One may recite to him his material from memory or from a book, and he may listen with or without his book for reference according to the quality of his memory. The important matter is that he should be able to guarantee the correctness of what is attributed to him. This method is equally valid if one hears someone else reciting. (3) Licence (*idjāza*). Licence to transmit a *shaykh*'s traditions is of various kinds, some more precise than others as to the material and the person or persons to whom it is given. (4) Handing over (*munāwala*). This applies to a copy of the *shaykh*'s traditions being handed to a student with or without *idjāza*. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ held that *idjāza* must be received to make it valid, but said that a number of traditionists held that *munāwala* alone was sufficient. (5) Correspondence (*mukātaba*). Some held that material received thus may be transmitted though licence has not been given, but others disagreed. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ holds that if the man who receives the traditions is familiar with the *shaykh*'s handwriting he may transmit the traditions, making clear how he received them. If licence is given this is equivalent to *munāwala* with *idjāza*. (6) Bequest (*waṣiyya*). Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says that receiving a book of traditions in a bequest does not give one the right to transmit them, but some consider that it does. *Waṣiyya* is also used of a book entrusted to someone by one going on a journey. (7) A find (*widjāda*). One who finds a book in a *shaykh*'s handwriting may transmit the traditions if he explains how he got them, this giving a suggestion of a connected *isnād*. If the book contains the *shaykh*'s traditions copied by someone else, one may say merely that he said such and such, this not suggesting a connected *isnād*. Some at least of these methods were used in the 3rd/9th century, and possibly earlier. Al-Bukhārī has chapters on reading over traditions to a *shaykh* and on *munāwala* and *mukātaba*, and al-Tirmidhī speaks of reading over material to a *shaykh*.

Different words used in the transmission of traditions are discussed, such as *ḥaddathanī* (he told me), *ḥaddathanā* (he told us), *akhbaranī* (he informed me), *akhbaranā* (he informed us), *samiʿtu* (I heard), *anba'anī* (he announced to me), *anba'anā* (he announced to us), *ʿan* (on the authority of). Various views mentioned by people of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries suggest that in their day there was no general agreement about the relative importance of these terms. Al-Ḥākim is more precise. He says *ḥaddathanī* should be used when one hears a *shaykh* with no others present and *ḥaddathanā* when others are present; *akhbaranī* when one reads over traditions to a *shaykh* with no others present, and *akhbaranā* when one hears someone else reading to the *shaykh*; *anba'anī* when one submits traditions to a *shaykh* and is given *idjāza* by word of mouth. *ʿAn*, which is generally agreed to be allowable when the transmitter is reliable, often appears in al-Bukhārī's traditions. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) justifies it especially when the *isnād* is long, as it avoids tedious details. An *isnād* which begins with one or more of the other words often uses only *ʿan* towards the end; or it may begin with one of the recognized words and continue with *ʿan* to the end.

It is not sufficient, according to the strictest rules, to give merely the contents of a collection of traditions for which one has received *idjāza*; one must inscribe on one's manuscript the name of the *shaykh* from whom one received the traditions, telling how and when this took place, along with the line of authorities through whom he heard it. So not only the separate traditions but also the whole collection must have an *isnād*. This practice has continued in certain quarters, but the invention of printing has largely made it unnecessary. The text of some important scholar is printed, his authority sufficing without any attempt to trace the transmission of his version down to the present day. But manuscripts always give details of the transmission of their contents.

In discussing the age at which people may begin to hear and transmit traditions and the age at which they should stop Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ holds that no hard and fast rules can be laid down. Some say the youngest age is five and that people should stop in their eighties, but he argues that some are not too young before five and some have not become senile in their eighties, although there are others who should stop earlier.

Inconsistency in traditions (*mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*)

has caused difficulty, recognizing the existence of traditions which seem contradictory. Ibn Ḳutayba's *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* (Cairo 1326/1908; Fr. tr. G. Lecomte, Damascus 1962) is a standard work on the subject. By an exercise of ingenuity it may be possible to reconcile the traditions, or one may be given preference because of the superiority of its transmitters; or by a knowledge of when the traditions were promulgated one may conclude that the later one has abrogated the earlier. This subject has the title of *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh* (the abrogating and the abrogated). A tradition cannot be abrogated by *idjmā*ʿ; only a tradition can abrogate a tradition.

It is often said that the validity of a tradition depends not on the text but on the *isnād*. While this is generally true, it is not the whole story. For example, al-Ḥākim (*Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, 59 ff.) mentions some traditions with very reliable men in the *isnād* which he holds to be faulty and weak. He argues that one requires considerable knowledge to detect this, and can arrive at a conclusion only after discussion with people learned in the subject.

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ḤADĪTH ḲUDSĪ (sacred, or holy tradition), also called *ḥadīth ilāhī*, or *rabbānī* (divine tradition), is a class of traditions which give words spoken by God, as distinguished from *ḥadīth nabawī* (prophetical tradition) which gives the words of the Prophet. Although *ḥadīth ḳudsī* is said to contain God's words, it differs from the Ḳur'ān which was revealed through the medium of Gabriel, is inimitable, is recited in the *ṣalāt*, and may not be touched or recited by the ceremonially unclean. *Ḥadīth ḳudsī* does not necessarily come through Gabriel, but may have come through inspiration (*ilhām*), or in a dream. One statement, not generally accepted, says God revealed these traditions to the Prophet on the night of the *Miʿrādj*. The words are not God's exact words, but express their meaning. They may not be used in *ṣalāt*, and there is no harm if one touches them when ceremonially unclean. Disbelief in the Ḳur'ān is infidelity, but this does not apply to *ḥadīth ḳudsī*. When quoting a *ḥadīth ḳudsī* one must not say simply, "God said" as when quoting the Ḳur'ān, but either, "God's messenger said in what he related from his Lord", or, "God most high said in what God's messenger related from Him". Some of these traditions quite clearly have their source in the Bible. For example, "what eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has entered into the heart of man" (cf. Isaiah lxiv, 4; 1 Cor. ii, 9), and a tradition telling that on the Day of Resurrection God will say, "O son of Adam, I was sick and you did not visit me", continuing on the lines of Matthew xxv, 41 ff.

The *ḥadīth ḳudsī* do not form a separate group in the books of tradition, but some collections have been compiled from the six Sunnī books and, more commonly, from others. The largest collection, *al-Itḥāfāt al-saniyya fī 'l-aḥādīth al-ḳudsiyya*, by Muḥammad al-Madanī, or al-Madyanī (d. 881/1476), publ. Ḥaydarābād 1323/1905, contains 858 traditions divided in three groups: (1) those beginning with *ḳāla*; (2) those beginning with *yaḳūlu*; (3) those given alphabetically, this last containing 603. The *isnād* is not given, but as the collection from which each tradition comes is mentioned,

those who desire can find its *isnād* there. A collection of 101 *ḳudsī* traditions entitled *Mis̲h̲kāt al-anwār* by Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) was published in Aleppo (1346/1927) along with a collection of 40 compiled by Mullā ʿAlī al-Ḳāriʾ (d. 1014/1605). Ibn al-ʿArabī, who divides his collection into three parts, two of 40 traditions and one of 21, gives a full *isnād* in the first, sometimes in the second, and usually in the third. ʿAlī al-Ḳāriʾ merely mentions the Companion reputed to have heard the tradition from the Prophet. Another collection, not published, is by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Muḥammad b. Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1621). It is divided into two parts (cf. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, ed. Flügel, i, 150 f.), the first with traditions beginning with *ḳāla* and the second arranged in alphabetical order. It would appear that al-Munāwī, whose smaller work has the same title as al-Madanī's, was largely dependent on that work.

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ḤADĪTH̲A, "New [town]", the name of several cities.

I. Ḥadīth̲at al-Mawṣil, a town on the east bank of the Tigris, one farsak̲h̲ below the mouth of the upper (Great) Zāb. Its ruins are to be recognized in the mound of Tell al-S̲h̲aʿīr. Various accounts of its origin are given. According to His̲h̲ām b. al-Kalbī (*apud* Ibn al-Faḳīh, 129 and Balād̲h̲urī, Būlāḳ ed., 340) Harth̲ama b. ʿArfad̲j̲a, after making Mawṣil the capital, came to Ḥadīth̲a in the reign of ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb, where he found a village with two churches in which he settled Arabs. That this story is authentic (it is also given in Yāḳūt, ii, 222) is confirmed by Ṭabarī (i, 2807), according to whom in 24/645 Walīd spent some time in Ḥadīth̲a on his way back from Armenia. Ḥamza says that Ḥadīth̲a is the translation of the Persian Nōkard. If this is not an invention of S̲h̲uʿūbiyya bias, the best explanation of the name would be that of Balād̲h̲urī, namely that inhabitants of the "Newtown" of Anbār Fayrūzs̲h̲ābūr migrated thither and transferred the name to their new abode. When Ḥamza and others ascribe the "foundation" of the town to the last Umayyad Marwān II b. Muḥammad or Bar Bahlūl ascribes it to his father Muḥammad b. Marwān I, the reason may be that these rulers erected some buildings there, but nevertheless the explanations of the name "Newtown" as "newer" than Mawṣil are inventions (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 22; Hoffmann, *Syr. Akten pers. Märt.*, 178; E. Reitemeyer, *Städtegründungen der Araber*, 83). The town's period of greatest prosperity falls within the early ʿAbbāsid period, when the Caliph al-Hādī stayed there before his death and when the rebel general Mūsā b. Bog̲h̲a made it his headquarters in the reign of al-Muhtadī (Ṭabarī, iii, 578, 1827). The population remained Christian. Mār Abrahām was bishop of Ḥadīth̲a before he became Patriarch and Katholikos (837-50 A.D.) (Budge, *Thomas of Margā*, ii, 103; Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, iii/1, 508 note 1).

The town lay on the terraced east bank of the Tigris in the form of a semicircle. Its mosque lay close to the river and the buildings, with the exception of the mosque, were of brick. The tomb of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb was shown there, but probably wrongly, as he died in Medina (Muḳaddasī, 139; *Marāṣid*, 292). It is remarkable that Ḥadīth̲a is sometimes described as the northern extremity of Sawād, which had a greater extent than the province of ʿIrāḳ (Yāḳūt, iii, 174; Dimis̲h̲ḳī, 185). Elsewhere it is mentioned as a station on the post-road from Bag̲h̲dād to Mawṣil. It was ruined as a result of the Mongol invasion.

II. Ḥadīth̲at al-Furāt, called also Ḥadīth̲at al-Nūra (Lime-Newtown) on the Euphrates, south of ʿĀna (34° 8′ N. and 42° 26′ E.), a *nāḥiya* of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of ʿĀna. The town itself is built on an island, only the caravan stations being on the western river bank. It has very much declined since 1910, when the reefs and dams in the river were blown up in order to make way for packet-boats which never came into service; it had formerly 400 houses, 2 *d̲j̲āmiʿ*s and 3 *masd̲j̲id*s, 2 corn-mills, gardens with 1500 date palms (about 6000 in the whole *nāḥiya*). It was irrigated by great waterwheels called *nāʿūra*, which were erected at the rapids of the river. There are limestone quarries on the western side of the Euphrates valley. There are three saints' tombs of the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries there, from N. to S.: 1. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Ḥadīd (a certain Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim); 2. The Awlād Sayyid Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī; 3. a certain Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn, said to have been one of the occupants of Noah's ark. As to the history of the town, Yāḳūt (ii, 223), following Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. D̲j̲ābir, observes that it was taken before ʿUmar's time in the governorship of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir. It had a strong castle on the island which was of some importance as late as the time of the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim (*Marāṣid*, 292). According to Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī the inhabitants were Christians.

III. Ḥadīth̲a called D̲j̲irs̲h̲ or D̲j̲irs, a village in the G̲h̲ūṭa of Damascus (Yāḳūt, ii, 225; *Marāṣid*, 292).

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(E. Herzfeld*)

HADIYYA [see hiba].

HAD̲J̲AR (locally pronounced *hagar*) is a cognate of the Ethiopic *hagar* "town", and was the normal word for "town" in the epigraphic dialects of pre-Islamic South Arabia. It is still in use today as an element in the place-names given to ruins of pre-Islamic town sites in South Arabia. See Azimuddin Ahmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's in Šams al-ʿulūm*, Leyden 1916, 108.

(A. F. L. Beeston)

HAD̲J̲AR [see al-ḥasā].

ḤAD̲J̲AR (a.), stone. The word is applied in Arabic as indiscriminately as in European languages to any solid inorganic bodies occurring anywhere in Nature; sometimes indeed it is used in a still broader sense, as in *Sūra* II, 60/57 and VII, 160, where the rock from which Mūsā procures water is called also 'stone'. Although *Sūra* XVII, 50/53: "Say: Be ye stones, or iron" may indicate a certain discrimination between stones and minerals, later texts, or at least some of them, do not maintain it. In the *Book of Stones* ascribed to Aristotle all the substances

described—metals, and even glass and mercury included—are called stones; so too are certain organic substances, the Bezoar [see BĀZAHR] and the "meat magnet", *maghnāṭīs al-laḥm* (*Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, ed. J. Ruska, 1912, 110).

A survey of stones analogous to the surveys of animals and stars by Aristotle and Ptolemy respectively is not known in classical literature. There are a few objective descriptions in Theophrastus and Pliny, but their influence, if any, on Islamic literature has not yet been studied. Aristotle's theories on the origin of minerals in general became known through the Arabic translation of the *Meteorologica* (see AL-ĀTHĀR AL-ʿULWIYYA; the text contained in MS Yeni Cami 1179 has meanwhile been edited by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, together with *De coelo*, 1961). It is to be noted that in the editions of the Greek text Book 3 ends (378b 5-6) with the announcement of a detailed discussion of the different kinds of bodies; in the Arabic translation, Book 4 begins (ed. Badawī, 90) with this same announcement, which was therefore judged to be the introduction to this spurious book. However, the promised detailed discussion does not appear there either. This was probably the reason for compiling the spurious *Book of Stones* mentioned above. In Latin translations of the *Meteorologica*, Ibn Sīnā's treatise on the origin of stones and mountains sometimes appears as an appendix, occasionally under Aristotle's name; the Arabic and Latin texts, with an English translation, were published separately by E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville: *Avicennae de Congelatione et Conglutinatione lapidum*, 1927 (see *OLZ*, 1929, cols. 374-6). Fragments of the *Meteorologica* of Theophrastus in Syriac have recently been edited and translated by E. Wagner and P. Steinmetz, *Der syrische Auszug der Meteorologie des Theophrast* (Ak. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit., Abh. d. Geistes-u. Sozialwiss. Kl. 1964, i); see also P. Steinmetz, *Die Physik des Theophrastos von Eresos*, 1964.

Islamic books on the origin of stones etc. are listed in AL-ĀTHĀR AL-ʿULWIYYA, and also in E. Wiedemann, *Zur Mineralogie im Islam* (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Naturw.*, xxx, *Sitz. d. phys.-med. Soz. in Erlangen*, xliv (1912), 205 ff.). A comprehensive discussion of the subject, dealing with the origin of stones in general and enumerating a great many of them in detail, is contained in al-Ḳazwīnī's *Cosmography*, 203-45. Here *maʿdiniyyāt* are divided into metals (the "seven bodies", *al-adjsām al-sabʿa*), stones and oily substances. Ethé's translation (*Die Wunder der Schöpfung*, Leipzig 1868, not mentioned in *GAL*) breaks off after the chapter on metals; the chapters on stones and oily substances were translated by J. Ruska (*Das Steinbuch ... des Ḳazwīnī übers. und mit Anm. versehen*, Beil. zum Jahresbericht 1895/96 der provisor. Oberrealschule Heidelberg, Kirchhain 1896). The relation between 'Aristotle' and al-Ḳazwīnī has been fully discussed by J. Ruska in the introductory chapter of his *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, 1912.

Interest in descriptions of specific "stones" is very many-sided. Apart from the descriptions of substances in medical, commercial, technical and chemical literature, for which, *inter alia*, pharmacological and chemico-alchemical works may be consulted, there exists a special type of stone-books in which genuine information may be found but whose main purpose is magical. The Pseudo-Aristotle mentioned above is one; another, also ascribed to Aristotle, in which a chapter on stones is incorporated, is the famous *Sirr al-asrār* or *al-Siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riyāsa*, published by ʿA. Badawī, *Fontes Graecae doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum*, i, 1954. A bibliography of such literature was compiled by M. Steinschneider, *Arabische Lapidarien*, in *ZDMG*, xlvii (1895), 244-78, to be supplemented by H. Ritter, *Orientalische Steinbücher*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, iii (1935), 1-15. For the *Lapidario* of Alfonso the Wise, see BALĪNŪS; for the use of stones for magical purposes, see H. Ritter and M. Plessner's translation of *Picatrix* (Ps.-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, 1962); a chapter on this subject will be included in the forthcoming volume of studies on this book.

Since no attention has been drawn to the unique place in the mineralogical literature of Islam occupied by the *al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir* of al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*], a few remarks on it may be added here. The *djawāhir* proper, *i.e.*, pearls and precious stones, occupy only part of the book; it deals also with many metals and other minerals, always giving exact descriptions, indications of the location of mines, specific weights, prices, uses, and tales concerning them, the last often aptly criticized [see ALMĀS]. The book deserves a full translation with careful textual criticism. M. J. Haschmi's doctoral thesis *Die Quellen des Steinbuches des Berūnī* (Bonn 1935) was prepared simultaneously with the edition of F. Krenkow (Ḥaydarābād 1355) and relies only on manuscript sources. It should be pointed out that al-Bīrūnī questions the genuineness of Aristotle's book of stones (Haschmi, 35; ed. Krenkow, 41). Only two chapters have so far been made accessible to non-Arabists: P. Kahle, *Bergkristall, Glas und Glasflüsse nach dem Steinbuch des Biruni*, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 321 ff.; F. Krenkow, *The chapter on pearls in the Book of Precious Stones by al-Beruni*, in *IC*, xv (1941), 399-421 and xvi (1942), 21-36.

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(M. PLESSNER)

AL-ḤADJAR AL-ASWAD [see AL-KAʿBA].

ḤADJAR AL-NASR ("the rock of the vulture"), a fortress founded by the last Idrīsids [*q.v.*] in a natural mountainous retreat, placed by Ibn Khaldūn among the dependencies of the town of al-Baṣra [*q.v.*]. Its site has now been identified in the territory occupied by the small tribe of the Sumatra, east-north-east of the Moroccan town of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr (Alcazarquivir). It is reported to have been known also by the name of Ḥadjar al-Shurafāʾ. In 317/929-30 the Banū Muḥammad, expelled from Fās after the assassination of their prince, the famous al-Ḥadjdjām, settled at al-Baṣra. These descendants of Idrīs would not, however, have escaped the blockade and the Fāṭimid persecutions had it not been for the regard in which the Berbers held the descendants of the Prophet. It is without doubt these sentiments which enabled al-Ḥasan b. Gannūn (Djannūn), the local ruler, to manœuvre skilfully between the Umayyads of Spain and the Fāṭimids and to carve out for himself a principality which in about 361/972 comprised not only al-Baṣra but also Tangiers and Tetuan. Al-Ḥakam II, the *amīr* of Cordova, was finally roused by the activities of Ibn Gannūn into sending a fleet and an army to subdue him. The

Idrīsid then took refuge in his fortress with his harem and his treasure and, after several spectacular reverses, he finally inflicted a bloody defeat on the Umayyad troops on 21 Rabīʿ I 362/30 December 972; their leader, Ibn Ṭumlus, was killed and they had to seek refuge within the walls of Ceuta. In order to avenge this cruel defeat, al-Ḥakam II sent to Morocco his best general, the renowned *mawlā* Ghālib [*q.v.*], who gathered together his army as soon as he disembarked and set off to besiege Ḥadjar al-Nasr. Ibn Gannūn resisted so effectively that fresh reinforcements were sent from Spain, with a large supply of gold to buy over the allies of the Idrīsid. The latter realized that he was lost and was obliged to surrender on 21 Djumādā II 363/19 March 974. A week later Ghālib inflicted on him the bitter experience of attending the mosque of the fortress to hear the prayer pronounced in the name of al-Ḥakam, his conqueror. Ghālib returned to Spain six months later, taking with him Ibn Gannūn and his relations of the Banū Muḥammad branch. The arrival of the Idrīsids at Cordova on 3 Muḥarram 364/23 September 974 was the occasion of magnificent celebrations. Pensions and gifts were accorded to the 700 warriors "who were worth 7,000". (For their further history and the assassination of Ibn Gannūn see IDRĪSIDS). With this exile the decay of the fortress presumably began; the texts make no mention of it after this date.

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HADJARAYN, a town in Ḥaḍramawt on the Djabal of the same name, about five miles south of Mashhad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] on the Wādī Dūʿan. Situated amid extensive palm-groves, it is built against the slopes of the Djabal. The surrounding land is very fertile and produces *dhura*. Irrigation is provided through channels from the *sayl* and from very deep wells. The town is of importance as a centre on the motor road between Mukallā and Shibām. Its houses are built of brick and are large but the streets are narrow and steep. It belongs to the Ḳuʿaytīs of Shibām [*q.v.*] who are represented in it by a member of their family, who bears the title *naḳīb* and lives in a palace on the summit of the hill. Hadjarayn has about 3,000 inhabitants, many of whom have connexions with Java and speak Malay. In the vicinity of the town there are relics of the pre-Islamic period, when the incense trade still flourished in the district. The ruins of an ancient town, Raydūn, with inscriptions are still to be seen about the valley.

Hadjarayn was known to Hamdānī but in the form *al-Hadjarān*. In his time it consisted of two towns, Khawdūn and Dammūn, lying on opposite sides of the *wādī*. Khawdūn was inhabited by the Ṣadaf, Dammūn by the Kinda. At the foot of the fortified hill, on which Hadjarayn lay, there were palmgroves and fields of *dhura* and *burr*, which were watered by a *ghayl* coming from the top of the hill.

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ḤADJDJ (A.), pilgrimage to Mecca, ʿArafāt and Minā, the fifth of the five "pillars" (*arkān*) of Islam. It is also called the Great Pilgrimage in contrast to the *ʿumra* [*q.v.*] or Little Pilgrimage. Its annual observance has had, and continues to have, a profound influence on the Muslim world. Those not taking part follow the pilgrims in thought; the religious teachers, and nowadays the press, radio and television help them in this by providing doctrine and news bulletins. For the Muslim community itself this event is the occasion for a review of its extent and its strength. To the religious, social and even political significance which such a gathering has today, was added, until the 18th century, an economic aspect: then, at this time of the year, Mecca was the site of one of the greatest commercial fairs of the world in which were found the products of Europe, Arabia and the Indies. Moreover, in those times, when travelling was still difficult, the pilgrimage helped to produce a mingling among the élite of the Muslim world: scholars on the way to Mecca would stay temporarily at places in the way, forming friendships with colleagues or themselves teaching in the local mosques.

i. — THE PRE-ISLAMIC ḤADJDJ.

The investigation of the original meaning of the root *ḥ.dj* goes no further than hypotheses, some however probable. The Arabic lexicographers give the meaning "to betake oneself to"; this would agree with our "go on pilgrimage". But this meaning is as clearly denominative as that of the Hebrew verb. Probably the root חגג, which in North as well as South Semitic languages means "to go around, to go in a circle", is connected with it. With this we are not much farther forward however; for we do not even know whether religious circumambulations formed part of the original *ḥadjdj*. We do know that in the pre-Muslim period two annual markets were held in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, at Ukāẓ and Madjanna. These were followed in the early days of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja by that of Dhu 'l-Madjāz and thence the people went direct to ʿArafāt. The Muslim practice of going out from Mecca to ʿArafāt is therefore probably an innovation; and Islam knows nothing of religious circumambulations in ʿArafāt.

This *Ḥadjdj* to Arafāt was not a local peculiarity; pilgrimage to a sanctuary is an old Semitic custom, which is prescribed even in the older parts of the Pentateuch as an indispensable duty. "Three times a year shall you celebrate for me a *ḥag*" is written in Exodus (xxiii, 14), and "three times a year all thy males shall appear before the Lord Yahwe" (*ibid.*, 17 and xxxiv, 22). But in Arabia also there were probably several places of pilgrimage where festivals like that of the *Ḥadjdj* of ʿArafāt were celebrated. The month of Aggathalbaeith mentioned by Epiphanius seems to presuppose a sanctuary in the north.

The *ḥadjdj* of ʿArafāt took place on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja; the most diverse Arab tribes took part in it, but this was only possible when peace reigned in the land. The consecutive months Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and Muḥarram thus formed a sacred period during which tribal feuds were at rest; weapons were laid aside in the holy territory.

It may be regarded as certain that in Muḥammad's time the sacred festival fell in the spring. Wellhausen has, however, made it appear probable that the

original time of the *ḥadjdj* was the autumn. If, as is probable, the above mentioned intercalary month had for its object to maintain this time of the year, the intercalation did not effect its purpose, but from what cause we do not know. If the *ḥadjdj* originally fell in the autumn, it is natural, when inquiring into its original significance, to compare it with the North Semitic autumnal festival, the "Feast of Tabernacles" (or Day of Atonement), a proceeding which finds further support in the fact that the Feast of Tabernacles in the Old Testament is often called briefly the *ḥag* (*e.g.*, Judges, xxi, 19; I Kings, viii, 2, 65). We will indeed find several features in agreement (see below).

Great fairs were from early times associated with the *ḥadjdj*, which was celebrated on the conclusion of the date-harvest. These fairs were probably the main thing to Muḥammad's contemporaries, as they still are to many Muslims. For the ceremonies had already then lost their religious significance for the people. The following may be stated: a main part of the ceremony was the *wuḳūf*, "the halt", in the plain of ʿArafāt; in Islam the *ḥadjdj* without *wuḳūf* is invalid. This can only be explained as the survival of a pre-Muslim notion. Houtsma has compared the *wuḳūf* with the stay of the Israelites on Mount Sinai. The latter had to prepare themselves for this by refraining from sexual intercourse (Exodus, xix, 15) and the washing of their garments (Exodus, xix, 10, 14). Thus they waited upon their God (נכונים, 11, 15). In the same way the Muslims refrain from sexual intercourse, wear holy clothing and stand before the deity (*waḳafa* = כון = stand) at the foot of a holy mountain.

On Sinai, the deity appeared as a thunder- and lightning-god. We know nothing of the god of ʿArafāt; but he probably existed. Muḥammad is related to have said at the Farewell Pilgrimage: "The whole of ʿArafāt is a place for standing (*mawḳif*), the whole of Muzdalifa is a place of standing, the whole of Minā a place of sacrifice". Snouck Hurgronje has explained these words to mean that the particular places there, where heathen ceremonies were performed, were to lose their importance through these words. A little is known of these heathen places in Muzdalifa and Minā (see below).

It is uncertain whether the day of ʿArafāt was a fast-day or not. In Tradition it is several times expressly stated that Muḥammad's companions did not know what was his view on this question: he was therefore invited to drink and he drank. The ascetic character of the *ḥadjdj* days is clear from the *iḥrām* prohibitions. That these were once extended to include food and drink is clear from Muḥammad's explanation: "the *tashrīḳ* days (11-13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja) are days of eating, drinking and sensual pleasure". In early Islam ascetically disposed persons therefore chose the *ḥadjdj* as the special time for their self-denials (see Goldziher in *RHR*, xxxvii, 318, 320 f.).

The *wuḳūf* lasts in Islam from the moment after midday till sunset. Tradition records that Muḥammad ordered that ʿArafāt should not be left till after sunset, while it had previously been usual to begin the *ifāḍa* even before sunset. But the Prophet is said not only to have shifted the time, but even to have suppressed the whole rite by forbidding the running to Muzdalifa and to have ordered that it should be slowly approached. But how tenacious the old custom is, is clear from modern discriptions of the *ifāḍa*. Snouck Hurgronje thought he saw a solar rite in the latter, a view which was more definitely formulated by Houtsma in connexion with the character of the *ḥadjdj* (see below), viz. that it was originally considered a persecution of the dying sun.

The god of Muzdalifa was Ḳuzaḥ, the thunder-god. A fire was kindled on the sacred hill, also called Ḳuzaḥ. Here a halt was made and this *wuḳūf* has a still greater similarity to that on Sinai, as in both cases the thunder-god is revealed in fire. It may further be presumed that the traditional custom of making as much noise as possible and of shooting was originally a sympathetic charm to call forth the thunder.

In pre-Islamic times, the *ifāḍa* to Minā used to begin as soon as the sun was visible. Muḥammad therefore ordained that this should begin before sunrise; here again we have the attempt to destroy a solar rite. In ancient times they are said to have sung during the *ifāḍa*: *ashriḳ thabīr kaymā nughīr*. The explanation of these words is uncertain; it is sometimes translated: "Enter into the light of morning, Thabīr, so that we may hasten".

When they arrived in Minā, it seems that the first thing they did was to sacrifice; 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja is still called *yawm al-aḍāḥī*, "day of the morning sacrifices". In ancient times the camels to be sacrificed were distinguished by special marks (*taḳlīd*) even on the journey to the *ḥaram*; for example two sandals were hung around their necks. Mention is also made of the *ishʿār*, the custom of making an incision in the side of the hump and letting blood flow from it; or wounds were made in the animal's skin. It is frequently mentioned also that a special covering was laid on the animals.

According to a statement in Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld, 76 f. = tr. Guillaume, 50), the stone-throwing began only after the sun had crossed the meridian. Houtsma has made it probable that the stoning was originally directed at the sun-demon; strong support is found for this view in the fact that the *Ḥadjdj* originally coincided with the autumnal equinox; similar customs are found all over the world at the beginning of the four seasons. With the expulsion of the sun-demon, whose harsh rule comes to an end with summer, worship of the thunder-god who brings fertility and his invocation may easily be connected, as we have seen above at the festival in Muzdalifa. The name *tarwiya*, "moistening", may also be explained in this connexion as a sympathetic raincharm, traces of which survive in the libation of Zemzem water. These are again parallels to the Feast of Tabernacles (or Day of Atonement): the goat, which was thrown from a cliff for ʿAzazel, is not difficult to identify as the type of the sun-demon; and the libation of water from the holy well of Siloam was also a rain-charm, for the connexion between the Feast of Tabernacles and rain is expressly emphasized (Zach., xiv, 17). Further we may call attention to the illumination of the Temple on the Feast of Tabernacles, which has its counterpart in the illumination of the mosques in ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa, as well as the important part which music plays at both feasts.

Quite other explanations of the stone throwing are given by van Vloten (*Feestbundel . . . aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje aangeboden*, 1891, 33 ff.) and Chauvin (*Annales de l'Acad. Royale d'Arch. de Belgique*, 5th Ser., Vol. iv, 272 ff.). The former connects the stoning of Satan and the Ḳur'ānic expression *al-Shayṭān al-radjīm* with a snake, which was indigenous to ʿAḳaba. The latter finds in it an example of scopelism: the object of covering the *Ḥadjdj* ground with stones thrown on it was to prevent the cultivation of it by the Meccans. Both these theories have been satisfactorily refuted by Houtsma. Cf.

also Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 430 ff.—On the significance of shaving in connexion with the history of religions, see the article IḤRĀM.

On the *Tas̲h̲rīḳ* days some of the pilgrims dry the flesh of the sacrificed animals in the sun to take it with them on the return journey. This custom agrees with the meaning of the word *tas̲h̲rīḳ* given by the Arab lexicographers, *i.e.*, "to dry strips of meat in the sun"; but it may be doubted whether this is the original meaning of the word. A satisfactory explanation has not yet been given; see, however, Th. W. Juynboll. *Über die Bedeutung des Wortes Taschrīk*, in *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxvii, 1 ff. It must also be noted that Dozy in his book *De Israëlieten te Mekka*, traces the words *tas̲h̲rīḳ* and *tarwiya* as well as the whole *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* to a Jewish origin; but his thesis may be considered definitely refuted by Snouck Hurgronje's *Het Mekkaansche Feest.*

(A. J. Wensinck)

ii. — The origin of the Islamic Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲.

Muḥammad's attitude to the *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* was not always the same. In his youth he must have often taken part in the ceremonies. After his "call" he paid little attention at first to the festival: in the oldest *sūras* it is not mentioned and it does not appear from other sources that he had adopted any definite attitude to this originally heathen custom.

Muḥammad's interest in the *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* was first aroused in Medina. Several causes contributed to this, as Snouck Hurgronje showed in his *Mekkaansche Feest.* The brilliant success of the battle of Badr had aroused in him thoughts of a conquest of Mecca. The preparations for such an enterprise would naturally be more successful if the secular as well as the religious interests of his companions were aroused. Muḥammad had been disappointed in his expectations regarding the Jewish community in Medina and the disagreements with the Jews had made a religious breach with them inevitable. To this period belongs the origin of the doctrine of the religion of Abraham, the alleged archetype of Judaism and Islam. The Kaʿba now gradually advances into the centre of religious worship: the father of monotheism built it with his son Ismāʿīl and it was to be a "place of assembly for mankind". The ceremonies performed there are traced to the divine command (Ḳurʾān, II, 119 ff.). In this period also the Kaʿba was made a *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] (cf. Ḳurʾān, II, 136-45) and the *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* is called a duty of man to Allāh (III, 91). This is the position of affairs in the year 2 of the Hid̲j̲ra. It was only after the unsuccessful siege of Medina by the Meccans in the year 5 that Muḥammad was able to attempt to carry out his plans. The first effort was made in the expedition to Ḥudaybiyya, which although it did not bring him to Mecca, yet by the treaty with the Ḳuraysh brought an *ʿumra* into prospect for the next year. In the year 7 Muḥammad instituted the ceremonies at the Kaʿba; but it was only after the conquest of Mecca in 8 that the opportunity was afforded of publicly celebrating the festival. But he did not take advantage of this occasion himself, for in the year 9 he sent Abū Bakr in his stead as leader of the pilgrim caravan to Mecca. While the latter was on the way, he was overtaken by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who had been commissioned to read out to the pagan pilgrims the *barāʾa* (Ḳurʾān, IX, 1 ff.) which had been revealed in the meanwhile; in these verses the performance of the pilgrimage was forbidden to unbelievers, except those with whom the Prophet had made special treaties.

In the year 10 Muḥammad himself led the *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*. Tradition has much to tell on the subject of this so-called farewell-pilgrimage (*ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲at al-wadāʿ*). These accounts of the ceremonies performed by Muḥammad agree essentially with the later practice. The arrangements which he made on this occasion are of importance, however, for the history of the *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, notably the abolition of the "intercalation" (*nasīʾ*) and the introduction of the purely lunar year, which is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān with the words: "Verily the number of months with God is twelve months in God's book, on the day when He created the heavens and the earth; of these four are sacred; that is the true religion. In these shall ye do no injustice to one another. But fight the unbelievers, as they fight you, one and all, and know that God is with the righteous. The intercalation is but an increase of the unbelief, in which the unbelievers err, for they make it [*i.e.*, the time in which it falls or should fall] lawful one year and unlawful the next" (Ḳurʾān, IX, 36 ff.). On other ordinances promulgated on this occasion see below.

(A. J. Wensinck)

iii. — The Islamic Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲

A. The journey to Mecca. It is a duty obligatory on every Muslim man or woman who has reached the age of puberty and is of sound mind to perform the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* once in his or her life provided that they have the means to do so (cf. Ḳurʾān, III, 91/97). The following are exempt for as long as their incapacity lasts: the insane, slaves, those who have not been able to obtain mounts or save the sums of money (procured honestly, *ḥalāl*) necessary for the journey and for the sustenance of their families during their absence. The obligation is lifted also during periods when the route is unsafe by reason of war, abnormal brigandage, epidemics, etc. For certain categories of Muslims who are unable to go, the law provides the possibility of accepting or hiring the services of other Muslims who will take their place on the pilgrimage. Each substitute may represent only one person and must already have made the pilgrimage on his own behalf. In this way invalids and elderly people can delegate someone to replace them. Provision is even made for a substitute to be sent posthumously.

The pilgrimage of a child (with his family) or of a slave (with his master) is considered a meritorious act but does not fulfil the obligation and must be made again when the one has reached puberty and the other become free. Some *ʿulamāʾ* insist that every woman must be accompanied by her husband or a close male relative (brother, son, etc.) who has the right to enter her harem; others say that a woman is obliged to go even if she has no such protector.

In practice, statistics show that only a small number of Muslims, especially in the case of those in countries far from Mecca, is able to perform the pilgrimage. It is beyond the reach of many people of limited means. And it is established that a fair number of those who could have afforded it die without having been to Mecca.

The *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* always takes place on the same dates of the lunar calendar, during the first two weeks of the month to which it gives its name *D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a*. Ever since Islam suppressed the intercalary month [see NASĪʾ] which every three years corrected the discrepancy between the solar and the lunar year (Ḳurʾān, IX, 36-7) the Muslim festivals, and consequently the pilgrimage, fall each year ten or eleven days earlier than the preceding year, and thus

run through the whole cycle of the seasons in 32-3 years. The journey is of course much harder when the *ḥadjdj* takes place in high summer, although the cold of winter, especially at night, can also be painful for the pilgrims, insufficiently protected by their ritual garments. Only Muslims may be present at the pilgrimage, though very rarely Christian travellers have been able to mingle with them, protected by a disguise. In the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries Muslims sometimes took with them Christian slaves, who thus penetrated into the forbidden territories.

Until the 18th century, the methods of travel available to pilgrims were either sailing ships as far as Djudda, or caravans. The latter were in effect convoys organized by the authorities of the great Muslim countries. The dangers of the journey (the risk of losing their way in the desert, of being caught in a sandstorm or in the torrent of a river-bed filled with water by sudden rain, the danger of attack by Bedouins, of epidemics, etc.) rendered it a serious undertaking, and the pilgrim knew that he might die on the way. For this reason there have long been more men than women pilgrims. The authorities, for their part, had built at the most important points of the route forts, some of them quite small, which were manned by small garrisons and served also as stations for supplies of water and food. A military escort accompanied the convoy, supplying as it passed the annual relief of the garrisons. The nomad tribes whose territory was crossed were won over by the distribution of money (called *ṣurra*, "purse" [*q.v.*]) and of robes of honour. Each section was directed by a pilgrim leader [see AMĪR AL-ḤADJDJ], in addition to whom there were the leaders of secondary caravans in case the main caravan became divided. From the 7th/13th century onwards, a famous palanquin, the *maḥmal* [*q.v.*], was carried to symbolize the political authority of certain Muslim countries, especially Egypt, and then the Ottoman Empire. Other displays of prestige consisted of taking musicians as part of the caravan and of letting off fireworks at certain points; (for details of the material organization of a caravan, see J. Jomier, *Maḥmal*).

An important caravan was mustered at Damascus and reached the Ḥidjāz by following broadly, as far as Medina, the direction later taken by the Ḥidjāz railway through Maʿān and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ. It was accompanied by a Syrian *maḥmal* and the journey from Damascus to Medina took about thirty days (see R. Tresse, *Pèlerinage syrien*).

A caravan from the Maghrib, sometimes with a parallel group proceeding by sea as far as Alexandria, made its way first to Cairo, and was sometimes joined en route by groups of pilgrims from Senegal and Timbuktu. Then groups of Egyptians and Maghribīs set off again for the Ḥidjāz at twenty-four hour intervals. Their route led through ʿAdjerūd, ʿAḳaba, the country of Madyan and the eastern shore of the Red Sea. The Egyptian caravan travelled with its *maḥmal*, while the new exterior hangings (*kiswa* [*q.v.*]) for the Kaʿba were carried on other camels. The journey from Cairo to Mecca took about 35 days. However some pilgrims preferred the sea route; indeed at the time of the Crusades there was no choice, and to avoid passing too close to Frankish territory pilgrims coming from Egypt travelled up the Nile and then across the desert to the port of ʿAydhāb, where they took ship for Djudda. In spite of the resumption of the overland caravan under Baybars, the sea traffic continued. Towards the end of the 8th/14th century ʿAydhāb was replaced by the port of Ṭūr (in Sinai), and later it was Suez which, in the 19th century, monopolized the steamship traffic. The last official Egyptian caravan to go by the overland route was in 1300/1883 and it consisted of only 1,170 persons. But once in the Ḥidjāz, the Egyptian pilgrims continued to group themselves into official caravans around their *maḥmal*, which had been brought there by ship, until 1926 when the palanquin was seen in the Holy Places for the last time.

There was also a caravan from ʿIrāḳ, across Arabia, and another from the Yemen (see Burckhardt, *Travels*, appendices i and ii). The pilgrims from central Africa made their way to Port Sudan, where they embarked for Djudda. The arrival at Mecca of the principal caravans, especially those from Syria and Egypt, was a great event for the inhabitants of the city. They camped in places specially allotted to them (see the plan of Mecca in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka I* or in Rifʿat Pasha, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn*), and they generally did not appear until a few days before the *ḥadjdj*.

During the last century the journey to the Ḥidjāz has been greatly changed, first by the advent of steam navigation, then by the building of the short-lived Ḥidjāz railway [*q.v.*] (opened in 1908) and finally by the introduction of motor vehicles into Arabia and the spread of air travel. It has been altered also by public health measures, by the introduction of quarantine, and above all by the use of vaccination, so that the terrible epidemics of earlier centuries are now a thing of the past. Nowadays the death rate is relatively low and the main causes of death are the advanced age of some of the pilgrims, and sunstroke. The annual reports of the Muslim quarantine doctors who have accompanied the pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz form a collection of extremely valuable documents; they consist mainly of technicalities, but often contain much that is of human interest and are often vividly written and sometimes very moving (texts printed practically every year since the beginning of the 20th century by the Quarantine Office at Alexandria, not for sale).

Up to the present only a rough annual figure has been available for the number of pilgrims. For one thing it is difficult to estimate how many Muslims from Arabia itself take part in the *ḥadjdj*, and then the rather fragmentary information provided by the quarantine services or the pilgrimage offices in the different countries, which alone could provide the numbers of non-Arabian pilgrims, would need to be brought together systematically. Dr. Buez, in *Une mission au Hedjaz*, Paris 1873, 84, gives the approximate total of pilgrims for 23 years between 1807 and 1873. The minimum was 50,000 in 1853 and 1859, the maxima 150,000 in 1873 and 160,000 in 1858. In 1926, a very exceptional year for this period, 250,000 pilgrims are reported.

According to the Meccan press during the last few years (but always excluding the pilgrims who come from the Arabian peninsula itself), from 1957 to 1962 there was an annual total of between 140,000 and 180,000. During this period the chief annual contingents varied within the following limits, reckoning in thousands: Egypt 30-40 (with only 10 in 1962 because of tension between Egypt and Saudi Arabia), Iran 10-28, Pakistan 9-23, India 13-20, Indonesia 7-13, Syria 5-13, Sudan 5-7, Nigeria 3-15, Irak 3-11.

Pilgrims have always been able to make financial arrangements with agents (*muḳawwim*), or nowadays with organizations, who undertake to provide for them in advance all the material needs of the journey.

Some pilgrims take advantage of the journey to pay long visits to places on the way and to spend some time in the Holy Cities. Their aim may be devotion, study, commerce, or even simply to work to earn enough to continue their journey. In the Middle Ages many used to arrive at Mecca in Ramaḍān, the month in which the performance of the *ʿumra* is held to be especially meritorious. A special caravan, the *Radjabiyya*, which set off from Cairo in Radjab, is mentioned from time to time in the 8th/14th century chronicles. Devotional motives influenced the decisions of the pilgrims. The year in which the station at ʿArafāt fell on a Friday was held to be particularly blessed, and to die near to the Holy Places was considered to bring especial grace. Until the 19th century many, by carrying on commercial activities during the pilgrimage, were enabled to cover, in part or entirely, the expenses of the journey, and some big merchants were even able to make a considerable profit. Finally it should be mentioned that there exist at the present time in the most impoıtant Muslim cities associations whose aim is to encourage the pilgrimage. (For some aspects of a pilgrimage made by a Shīʿī at the beginning of the 20th century, see Kazem Zadeh, *Relation d'un pèlerinage à la Mecque*, in *RMM*, xix (1912), 144 ff.) The word *ḥādjdj* so often added to Muslim names is an honorific title meaning "one who has made the pilgrimage".

B. Arrival at Mecca. The pilgrim will already have put on the sacred garment or *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] when he passed through (or was on a level with) one of the places prescribed for this by tradition, or before he boarded the plane for Djudda. He is then *muḥrim*, in a state of holiness, observing the prohibitions laid on those who are in this state and repeating frequently the invocation known as *talbiya* [*q.v.*]. The rites on arrival at Mecca are the same for all, for the *ḥadjdj* is in fact an *ʿumra*, that is a rite of visiting the Kaʿba, which is completed by the rites of visiting the Holy Places in the neighbourhood of Mecca. The *ʿumra* consists of walking seven times round the Kaʿba (*ṭawāf* [*q.v.*]), praying two *rakʿas* facing the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm* and the Kaʿba (this prayer, according to the various juridical schools, is either only *sunna* or *wādjib*), and finally traversing seven times (four times going and three times returning) the distance between Ṣafā and Marwa (*saʿy* [*q.v.*]). What follows these observances depends on the intention which the pilgrim formed at the time of assuming the *iḥrām*. He intended to perform either the *ḥadjdj* alone (*ifrād*) or the *ʿumra* and the *ḥadjdj* together (*ḳirān*); in either of these two cases he does not relinquish the state of *iḥrām* after having performed the rites of arrival. But if he wanted to perform the *ʿumra* first and then to enjoy (*tamattuʿ*) the freedom of a normal life, not resuming the *iḥrām* again until the last minute for the *ḥadjdj*, he deconsecrates himself by having a few locks of hair cut off and coming out of the *iḥrām*. But in this case he will have to offer a sacrifice, which can be made wherever he chooses in the sacred territories and within a period upon the duration of which the jurists differ.

In general, the pilgrim joins a group led by a guide (*shaykh*, *dalīl*, *muṭawwif*). In this town, where the pilgrimage is the sole source of revenue for the inhabitants, who naturally try to gain as much as possible from it, it is useful to have the protection of a guide, no matter what this costs. Some guides visit the various Muslim countries from time to time to recruit their clients in advance.

C. The collective ceremonies of the *ḥadjdj*. Unlike the preceding observances, which each pilgrim carries out individually and at any date he chooses within the months set aside for them, the visits to the Holy Places in the vicinity of Mecca are made collectively in a traditional order, between 8 and 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. We can give here only the broad outlines of the question, which has provoked an abundant literature among the casuists, each juridical school having its own requirements regarding details. These will be found in a table given by al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*, 178.

On 7 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, there is preached in the mosque of Mecca a sermon or *khuṭba* in the course of which the pilgrims are reminded of the duties which will fall on them.

It is generally on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja that the pilgrims who have relinquished *iḥrām* for *tamattuʿ* assume it again. This day is called "day of watering", *yawm al-tarwiya*; for, say the Arabic writers, on this day the pilgrims water their animals and provide themselves with water for the following days. This explanation is not accepted by Wensinck and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, among others, who prefer to see in this name traces of an ancient rain rite.

The pilgrim then becomes part of an immense crowd moving towards the east. Tens or hundreds of of thousands of men and women in their white ritual garments enter a desert valley overhung with mountains and rocks. Formerly this was a mass of people on foot, and of camels, in which the pilgrims were accompanied by merchants who were there in order to offer them whatever could be sold in such circumstances. Today, cars and lorries proceed along the metalled road, while a string of first aid posts is set up for some days.

The night from 8 to 9 is spent at Minā (merely from custom) or already at ʿArafāt (25 km/15 miles from Mecca), where in the 10th/16th century a firework display was held.

The central event of the *ḥadjdj* is the station (*wuḳūf*), on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, in front of the *Djabal al-Raḥma*, a small rocky eminence in the valley of ʿArafāt itself. All the juridical schools consider this to be an indispensible *rukn*. The station begins at noon (when the sun has passed its apogee) with the joint recital of the prayers of *ẓuhr* and of *ʿaṣr* brought forward, and it lasts until sunset. A sermon is preached to commemorate that which was given by Muḥammad, but it is almost impossible to hear it in this vast valley (the juridical schools differ on whether there ought to be one or two sermons). Tents are erected as a shelter from the sun. This gathering is without doubt the most impressive moment of the pilgrimage, even though some of those present who have come for merely material purposes continue to go about their business. For the crowd of pilgrims it is a time of prayer and of collective emotion, and invocations are heard on every side.

On 27 May 1960, His Excellency Shaykh Shaltūt, the Rector of al-Azhar, gave, in a lecture on Cairo Radio, the following directives for this station: It is enough, he stated in effect, to spend at ʿArafāt one hour of the time between noon and sunset, and at this time the pilgrim should be completely alone with God, whether standing, seated or lying down. It is not, as some assert, enough to be there, but asleep. The ascent of the *Djabal al-Raḥma* is not prescribed by the Law and can be dangerous with such a crowd of people. Finally he said that it is not necessary to remain there until night, so that one adds to the jostling crush as the crowd leaves ʿArafāt.

The doctors of the law admit that those who have

been delayed can still perform individually a brief but valid station at ʿArafāt during the following night and until, but not beyond, the dawn, before hastily overtaking the main mass of pilgrims; but once this permitted period is over they will have to perform the whole pilgrimage again. In the Middle Ages it was sometimes known for pilgrims to remain twenty-four hours at ʿArafāt in order to be quite sure of the validity of their pilgrimage when there was doubt about when exactly the lunar month began and thus of which day was in fact 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja.

The mass of pilgrims leaves ʿArafāt on the evening of the 9th, when the sun has set. Then there begins the running (called *ifāḍa*), in which the pilgrims retrace the road by which they have come from Mecca. They pass the *ʿAlamayn*, or boundary marks, which show that they are entering again the *ḥaram* which surrounds Mecca. It is said that there is sometimes great confusion among the rushing crowd. The *Maghrib* and *ʿIshā'* prayers are recited together at Muzdalifa, the second of the Holy Places outside Mecca which the pilgrims are to visit. The Ḳur'ān speaks of this place under the name of *al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām*. The mosque here is illuminated. The night is passed here by all except the women and the frail and sick, who may omit this and go ahead of the others to Minā in order to proceed calmly during (but not before) the second part of the night to the ritual stoning of ʿAḳaba.

On the morning of the 10th, the day called *yawm al-naḥr*, after the recital of the first prayer (*al-fadjr*), the crowd proceeds from Muzdalifa to Minā, which for three days will be the place where the pilgrims gather. The pilgrims first proceed to throw seven small stones at a construction called *djamrat al-ʿaḳaba* [see AL-DJAMRA] which stands against the mountain at the western exit from the valley of Minā. This is the only stoning which takes place on the 10th. Around this place, which now in the thoughts of the pilgrims symbolizes the Devil, the crush is indescribable and all that can be seen is a mass of outstretched arms.

Next follow the sacrifices which have given this day its name of Feast of Sacrifices. Tens of thousands of sacrificial victims, mainly sheep and goats, are offered for sale by the Bedouins and the merchants of Minā; only dignitaries of high rank sacrifice camels. A rock near ʿAḳaba is held to be the most auspicious site for the sacrifice (Burckhardt, *Travels*, ii, 59; Burton, *A Pilgrimage*, ii, 240), but in fact the doctors of the law insist that sacrifice can be made anywhere in Minā. The pilgrims themselves consume a part of the meat from the slaughtered animals, then the poor take what they want and the rest is abandoned. For the last fifty years, the local authorities have regulated the slaughter and especially the burial of the remains, so as to put an end to the smell which in former times very soon arose from this huge charnel-house. This offering of a victim in memory of that of Abraham springs from a private devotional act, rules for which are sometimes laid down by the doctors; it is not absolutely obligatory. Many offer at this time the sacrifice which is due for their *tamattuʿ* (or their *ḳirān*, as certain doctors stipulate). It should be noted that this is a simultaneous offering of many individual sacrifices and not a collective ceremony.

It is usual after the sacrifice to have the head ritually shaved or the hair cut short. Then the pilgrim returns to Mecca to perform a *ṭawāf* around the Kaʿba, which is now seen for the first time adorned with its new exterior hangings (*kiswa*). This is the *ṭawāf* of the *ifāḍa*, which forms an indispensible part (*rukn*) of the pilgrimage. It is best if it is done on the 10th, but it can be transferred to the following days under certain conditions laid down by the jurists. The pilgrims who are making only the *ḥadjdj* or the *ḥadjdj* and *ʿumra* combined (*ḳirān*) have now finished the main part of their observances. Only those pilgrims who have chosen *tamattuʿ* have still to perform the ritual running of the *saʿy*.

After the ritual shaving (or the trimming of the hair of the head or the body) the prohibitions end and the pilgrims can leave the state of *iḥrām*. Conjugal relations (*djimāʿ*), however, are permitted only after the *ṭawāf* of the *ifāḍa* (or the *saʿy* for pilgrims who have chosen the *tamattuʿ*). According to certain doctors the order of performing the stoning, sacrifice, shaving and *ṭawāf* may be reversed. As an act of devotion also the water of Zamzam is drunk and a further visit is made to Minā.

The 11-13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja are called *ayyām al-tashrīḳ* (see below). These are days of social relations, and of visits in company to Minā. Witnesses speak of the striking contrast between this motley crowd, clad in the greatest possible variety of local dress, and the sight of it on the previous day in the uniformity of the ritual garments. In the 10th/16th century a firework display was given on the first night. Each day normally between mid-day and sunset, every pilgrim has to throw seven stones at each of the three *djimār* of Minā, ending with that of ʿAḳaba (the only one which had been stoned on the 10th). This order of stoning follows a tradition of the Prophet who is said to have acted thus [see AL-DJAMRA]. It is also the custom to sacrifice near a granite block on the slope of Mount Thabīr (cf. Burckhardt, *Travels*, ii, 65; al-Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 196, map 184); Abraham is said to have prepared his son for sacrifice here. It is permitted to leave Minā on the 12th and thus to omit the three ritual stonings still prescribed for this day. It appears that the pilgrims usually take advantage of this permission and so return to Mecca. When they are about to leave the town for good, it is the custom for them to perform a last *ṭawāf*, called the 'farewell *ṭawāf*'.

The pilgrims take advantage of their presence at Mecca to visit the places which are connected with memories of the Prophet and his family. Those who have performed only the *ḥadjdj* (*ifrād*) and who now wish to perform an *ʿumra* will again assume the *iḥrām* at a place called Tanʿīm. But it was above all during these days that, until the 12th/18th century, the commercial fair of Mecca reached its height. Finally, a large proportion of the pilgrims make arrangements to go to Medina, either on the way to Mecca or on the return journey, in order to visit the tomb of the Prophet.

The ceremonies briefly described above are the normal ceremonies of the *ḥadjdj*. There is laid down a series of acts which are to be performed in reparation for the omission of one or another of the secondary rites or for any negligence in performing them. They range from the offering of a sacrificial victim to fasting and the giving of food as alms to the poor. But nobody must fast during the feast days at Minā, unless for very special reasons which have been examined by the doctors of law.

D. The spiritual significance of the *ḥadjdj*. The sermons and discourses given in recent years on Cairo Radio allow us to trace in outline the spiritual significance of the pilgrimage as it is regarded today. The primary obligation of the pilgrims is to perform

a monotheistic act of worship; obeying the order of the One God, they come as "guests of God" to visit the "house of God", towards which Muslims throughout the world turn at each of their five daily prayers. Firstly, the pilgrims are exhorted to make this journey for God alone, to purify themselves of all that could estrange them from God, and to avoid all quarrelling. They are to ask of God pardon for their sins and beseech Him to grant them His mercies. Secondly, the traditional formulas of the prayers make the crowd ceaselessly repeat that God is One and has no associates. It is thus expressed in the formula of the *talbiya* [*q.v.*], and in this invocation which is often repeated at ʿArafāt: "There is no god but the One God, Who has no associates; to Him belongs power, to Him belongs glory. He holds all good in His hands and has power over everything". There are many invocations of the same type.

Furthermore, the pilgrim frequently hears preachers telling of the deeds and actions of the Prophet during his last pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj al-wadāʿ*) in the year 10/632. The "descent" of Ḳurʾān, V, 5/3 at ʿArafāt and the *khuṭba* of the Prophet at this same place are especially emphasized. Moreover, everything reminds the pilgrims of the existence of the *Umma* (the Muslim community) and its extent. Sermons and articles are fond of repeating that the pilgrimage is the annual congress of the Muslim world. The equality of all Muslims before God, and its symbolization by the uniformity of the ritual garments, are firmly emphasized. Many pilgrims buy for one of the parts of their *iḥrām* a piece of cloth large enough to serve later as a shroud—the thought of death and judgement is never far off. The pilgrims are counselled to exercise the social virtues of patience and calmness in the face of the thousand and one little incidents which may arise. Finally, in the town of Mecca itself, which saw formerly the defeat of the polytheists at the hands of the Muslims, there are many reminders of the duty of the Holy War (*djihād*), in all the forms of hot or cold war which this struggle can assume in our time. The sacrifice at Minā is used nowadays to demonstrate the necessity of sacrifice in the fight for the cause of Islam.

The memory of Abraham is sometimes evoked concerning the sacrifice, but it is more often linked with the Kaʿba and with the pilgrimage in general, for the Ḳurʾān attributes to Abraham both the building of the sanctuary and the call to the pilgrimage. If the properly performed pilgrimage is rewarded by complete forgiveness of sins (as is taught by a *ḥadīth* frequently quoted, and given by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim), this forgiveness is not linked to any particular rite and certainly not to the slaughter of an animal offered as a sacrifice. The pilgrimage does not include a sacrifice for sin.

As always, the preachers present the ideal state of things; the reality is very much more prosaic. There are all types among the pilgrims, the fervent and the lukewarm, those who are truly pious and those who come out of self-interest or to conform socially. Immediately the period of prohibitions is over, most of them waste no time in returning to the pleasures of life. Until the last century, many of the wealthy pilgrims would buy a concubine slave-girl to take back with them to their country. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that many of the present-day pilgrims who return from the Ḥidjāz, and are welcomed home with great celebrations, have a powerful desire to return again to these places which have made an unforgettable impression on them. It is much more difficult to know the exact kind of spiritual influence which is exerted by the pilgrimage. Does it consist primarily of a development of the sense of belonging to a community? Or is it a loftier attachment to other and strictly Muslim values? This is known only to God.

(A. J. Wensinck-[J. Jomier])

The social, cultural and economic effects of the Pilgrimage in medieval Islam are of immense importance. Every year, great numbers of Muslims, from all parts of the Islamic world, from many races and from different social strata, left their homes and travelled, often over vast distances, to take part in a common act of worship. These journeys, unlike the mindless collective migrations familiar in ancient and medieval times, are voluntary and individual. Each is a personal act, following a personal decision, and resulting in a wide range of significant personal experience. This degree of physical mobility, without parallel in pre-modern societies, involves important social, intellectual and economic consequences. The pilgrim, if wealthy, may be accompanied by a number of slaves, some of whom he sells on the way—as a kind of traveller's cheques—to pay the expenses of his journey. If he is a merchant, he may combine his pilgrimage with a business trip, buying and selling commodities in the places through which he travels, and thus learning to know the products, markets, merchants, customs and practices of many lands. If he is a scholar, he may take the opportunity to attend lectures, meet colleagues, and acquire books, thus participating in the diffusion and exchange of knowledge and ideas. The needs of the pilgrimage—the commands of the faith reinforcing the requirements of government and commerce—help to maintain an adequate network of communications between the far-flung Muslim lands; the experience of the pilgrimage gives rise to a rich literature of travel, bringing information about distant places, and a heightened awareness of belonging to a larger whole. This awareness is reinforced by participation in the common ritual and ceremonies of the pilgrimage in Mecca and Medina, and the communion with fellow-Muslims of other lands and peoples. The physical mobility of important groups of people entails a measure of social and cultural mobility, and a corresponding evolution of institutions. It is instructive to compare the stratified, rigidly hierarchic society and intense local traditions within the comparatively small area of Western Christendom, with the situation in medieval Islam. The Islamic world has its local traditions, often very vigorous; but there is a degree of unity in the civilization of the cities—in values, standards and social customs—that is without parallel in the mediaeval west. 'The Franks' says Rashīd al-Dīn 'speak twenty-five languages, and no people understands the language of any other' (*Histoire des Francs*, ed. and trans. K. Jahn, Leiden 1951, text 11, trans. 24). It was a natural comment for a Muslim, accustomed to the linguistic unity of the Muslim world, with two or three major languages serving not only as the media of a narrow clerical class, like Latin in Western Europe, but as the effective means of universal communication, supplanting local languages and dialects at all but the lowest levels. The pilgrimage was not the only factor making for cultural unity and social mobility in the Islamic world—but it was certainly an important one, perhaps the most important.

Islamic history offers many examples of the impact of the pilgrimage; the biographies of learned and holy men are full of accounts of formative

meetings and studies in the Holy Cities, on the way there, and on the way back. The wandering scholar is a familiar feature of medieval societies: the pilgrimage ensured that the wanderers met, at a determined time and place. It provided the Islamic world as a whole with a centre and a forum, which contributed greatly to the formation and maintenance of an Islamic consensus—almost, one might say, an Islamic public opinion. The Almoravid and Almohad revolutions in the Maghrib were started by returning pilgrims, made aware through travel of the religious backwardness of their own peoples. Indian pilgrims brought the revived Naḳshbandī movement to the Middle East; other Indian pilgrims brought back the stimulus of Wahhābism.

The effect of the pilgrimage on communications and commerce, on ideas and institutions, has not been adequately explored; it may never be, since much of it will, in the nature of things, have gone unrecorded. There can, however, be no doubt that this institution—the most important agency of voluntary, personal mobility before the age of the great European discoveries—must have had profound effects on all the communities from which the pilgrims came, through which they travelled, and to which they returned. (B. Lewis)

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ḤĀDJDJ, Ḥādjdjī, one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca [see ḥadjdj].

AL-ḤĀDJDJ ḤAMMŪDA b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1201/1787), secretary to ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, Bey of Tunis (1172-96/1759-82), and then of his successor Ḥammūda b. ʿAlī (1196-1229/1782-1814), composed a *Kitāb al-Bāshā*, a history of the Ḥafṣids and the Turkish governors of Tunis, which is still largely in manuscript. A portion dealing with the wars of Khayr al-Dīn and ʿArūdj was published by Houdas, *Chrestomathie maghrébine*, Paris 1891, 14-96; two other portions were translated by A. Rousseau (Algiers 1849) and Cherbonneau (*JA*, July 1851).

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AL-ḤĀDJDJ ʿUMAR b. Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān Tāl, a celebrated Toucouleur conqueror who founded a short-lived kingdom in west Sudan where he imposed the Tidjānī *wird*; he was also called al-Shaykh al-Murtaḍā, at the time when he was preaching. The son of the *tyerno* Saydu Tāl, who was a fervent Muslim, he was born in about 1797 at Halwar (Aloar on the maps), a village in Fūta Toro, 40 km. from Podor (Senegal); he belonged to the Torobe caste, of the Toucouleur race.

At the age of eighteen, after considerable study of the Ḳurʾān he devoted himself to study and meditation, and then received the Tidjānī *wird* of Sīdī (Sayyidī) ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad Nagel, through the intermediary of Sīdī Mawlūl Fal and the Moorish *shaykhs* of the Id-aw ʿAlī. When 23 years old he set out for Mecca by way of Kong, Sokoto, Fezzān and Egypt. There he was once more initiated by Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ghābī Abū Ṭālib who made him a Tidjānī *muḳaddam* and even *khalīfa* for the negro countries. He visited Medina and Jerusalem, returned to Mecca three times, then stayed at al-Azhar, where he had discussions with the *shaykhs* of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*]. From there he returned through Fezzān and Bornu, after performing several miracles, according to the legend. He escaped from the assassins sent by the sultan al-Kanemi of Bornu who nevertheless had given him his daughter Maryatū in marriage, and also numerous slaves whom he made his *talibes* (*ṭalaba*). For seven years he remained in Sokoto with Muḥammad Bello, the son and heir of ʿUthmān dan Fodio, and married his daughter Maryam. He travelled through Hamdallahi, the capital of Macina, to Segou where he was arrested by king Tyefolo at the instigation of *shaykh* Amadou (Aḥmad) the king of Macina, who looked on him as a dangerous agitator; on being liberated, he returned to Fūta in 1838. At that period he was for the most part regarded as an informed and inspired religious leader.

After being received with great deference by the *almamy* (*imām*), he settled from 1838 to 1848 in Fūta Djallon, at Diegounko near Timbo, where he founded a *zāwiya*; he instructed a large number of disciples and worked the Boure gold-mines. In 1846 he returned alone to preach the Tidjānī *wird* at Fūta Toro, in his own country, with only moderate success; he also visited Gambia, Saloum, Sine, Baol, and Cayor and made friendly contacts with the governor Caille. In 1848, alarmed by his growing power and the number of his devotees, the *almamy*

asked him to leave his territories; he settled in Dinguiraye, which he fortified and where he pushed forward his preparations for conquest and the holy war by recruiting supporters—whom he called *anṣār*—and by laying in stocks of arms and ammunition; his military commander was Alfa ʿUmar, son of the *tyerno* Baïla, whose army was eager to fight for the faith.

He came to blows with the minor chieftain of Yimba who was demanding some small-arms from him, defeated him and seized his territory. Between 1848 and 1854 he conquered the Manding, Tamba Ounde and Bandiougou Keïta chiefs and overran Boure and Bambouk. At Kolon he defeated a Bambara army from Nioro, and captured Koniakari, Yelimane and Nioro in 1854. He overcame Kandia Koulibali, the last Massassi king of Kaarta, and had him beheaded. His authority at that time extended through the entire territory between Fūta Djallon and Hodh.

Meanwhile, on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1268/6 September 1852, after the prayer of the *ʿIshāʾ*, he heard three times a voice authorizing him to wage holy war. From that moment, "he strove to sweep the country clean and impose Islam".

His conquests, though rapid, were precarious. As early as 1854 he was obliged to leave Dinguiraye and resume the struggle against the Bambara of Kaarta: the latter were constantly defeated, but continued to revolt. He also fought against the Diawara of Kingi, suffering heavy losses; the kings of Segou and Macina refused to be his allies. In 1855 he made his headquarters at Nioro, and beat off a siege. Under these threats, he launched an attack against Ahmadou Ahmadou, the king of Macina; the Fulani being Muslim, he fought them in order to impose on them the practice of the Tidjānī *wird*, and won a victory at Kassakeri on 12 August 1856. It was during this period that he established cordial relations with the Moorish *shaykh* Sī Aḥmad al-Bakkāy, the enemy of the Fulani; he warred against the Khassonke and attacked the chiefs of the Bondou and the Fūta.

Al-Ḥadjdj ʿUmar was an excellent military leader and his campaigns were swift and victorious; pagan prisoners and wounded were put to death and the women and children enslaved; on the other hand, any Muslim enemies who were wounded were bandaged and sent home.

In 1857 the people of Kaarta, fleeing from the war, took refuge in Khasso; the *shaykh* laid siege to the French fort of Médine which had received the refugees; the town, defended by the half-caste Paul Holl, resisted for three months and finally Faidherbe relieved it.

In 1858 the *shaykh* fortified Koundian, then invaded the Boundou and the Fūta and attacked Matam in 1859; he was repulsed and returned to Nioro; the French took Guénou and relieved the outskirts of Bakel. In 1859 he lost Dimar and Damga, both occupied by the French, while the Fūta Toro was slipping away from his domination.

He then tried to move the populations of Fūta Toro and Bondou in order to repopulate Kaarta, which had been cleared of its inhabitants; his aim was to bring the loyal populations nearer to Nioro. Despite his great religious prestige, the Toucouleur were reluctant to emigrate; he had villages burnt down to force the people to leave, thereby causing a terrible famine. In 1860 he resumed his conquest of the Bambara empire of Segou, which was decimated. At Tio, in January 1861, he defeated the armies of ʿAlī Diara king of Segou and Ahmadou Ahmadou king of Macina. He took Nyamina, Sansanding and Segou on 10 May 1861; this date marks the islamization of the Bambara country, whose population thenceforward had to observe the five obligations of Islam. Segou was fortified and the Tidjānī practice enforced on all.

He conquered Macina in 1861 after a renewed offensive by ʿAlī Diara and Ahmadou Ahmadou, who were defeated. He suggested to the latter that they should both submit to the judgement of God, on the occasion of a great battle, and on 8 April 1862, with an army of 30,000 Sofas, he defeated the Fulani who were commanded by Ba Lobbo, after which he crushed a second Fulani army of 50,000 men; Ahmadou Ahmadou was wounded.

In 1862 he seized Hamdallahi and had the king beheaded. Macina surrendered; he solemnly designated his son Ahmadou as his successor, and himself took the title of sultan of Macina. The *shaykh* then took and sacked Timbuctu, but the Kounta Moors of the Bakkāʾiyya allied themselves with the Fulani, who plotted together and besieged him in Hamdallahi. The siege lasted for eight months and eventually the town was reduced owing to famine; al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar had it burnt and took refuge among the cliffs of Bandiagara where, deserted by his followers, he died mysteriously, probably by blowing up a keg of gunpowder. The date of his death is taken to be 4 Ramaḍān 1280/12 February 1864. As his heir he left his son Ahmadou al-Kabīr al-Madanī.

His empire stretched from Macina to Faleme and from Tinkisso to Sahel, but it fell to pieces sixteen years after his death. His body never having been found, some believed that he would return.

He was regarded as a saint and man of letters; he knew by heart the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, of Muslim and al-Bukhārī, and spent long hours in meditation and prayer before taking his decisions. He had, it is said, received five privileges from God:—he had the power to see God's Messenger, either in dreams or when awake; he knew the unknown "great name" of God; he could read men's hearts; he had God's authorization to direct men spiritually along the right path; he had received God's sanction to wage holy war.

In *khalwa*, he had various visions of the Prophet; he saw also an appearance of *shaykh* al-Tidjānī; he escaped miraculously from the assassins sent by the sultan of Bornu; he persuaded God to send rain; and, another time, he caused a spring to appear.

He was the author of numerous works: the *K. al-Rimāḥ* and the *K. al-Suyūf*, both relating to the Tidjāniyya; *K. Safīnat al-saʿāda li-ahl al-ḍaʿf wa 'l-nadjāda*; *K. al-Nuṣḥ al-mubīn*; *K. al-Maḳāṣid al-saniyya*; *K. Tadhkirat al-mustarshidīn*; *K. Falāḥ al-ṭālibīn*; *Taḳyīd fī khawāṣṣ al-ḥizb al-sayfī*; *Adjwiba fī 'l-ṭarīḳa al-tidjāniyya*.

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ḤADJDJĀDJ, ruler of Kirman [see KUTLUGH KHĀNS].

AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ B. YŪSUF B. AL-ḤAKAM B. ʿAḲĪL AL-THAḲAFĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, the most famous and most able governor of the Umayyads, of the Aḥlāf clan of the Banū Thaḳīf, born

in Ṭā'if about 41/661. His forebears, poor and of lowly origin, are said to have earned their living as stone carriers and builders (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, v, 38; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, iv, 313); his mother, al-Fāriʿa, also from the tribe of the Banū Thaḳīf, was the divorced wife of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, a man as capable as he was unscrupulous, who was appointed by Muʿāwiya as governor of Kūfa. Already as a child al-Ḥadjdjādj had been given the nickname *Kulayb* ('little dog'), under which he often appears in the satires of the poets (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 290 f.); as a young man he was a schoolmaster in Ṭā'if (*ʿIḳd*, v, 13), a detail also satirized by the poets. Apart from this nothing is known of his youth, and little of the early years of his public life: he does not seem to have distinguished himself in the battles in the Ḥarra of Medina in 63/682 (*Aghānī*, xvi, 42) and al-Rabadha in 65/684 (Ṭabarī, ii, 579) or as governor of Tabāla in the Tihāma (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 396).

The change began when al-Ḥadjdjādj, in the first years of the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, set out from Ṭā'if to Damascus to serve in the police force (*shurṭa*) under Abū Zurʿa Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ al-Djudhāmī, the vizier of the caliph. He attracted the attention of ʿAbd al-Malik because he succeeded in a short time in restoring discipline among the mutinous troops with whom the caliph was about to set out for ʿIrāḳ against Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. In the drastic means with which he discharged this task there could already be recognized the method which was later to make him famous, indeed notorious. On the campaign against Muṣʿab, al-Ḥadjdjādj seems to have led the rearguard and to have distinguished himself by some feats of valour. After the victory over Muṣʿab at Maskin on the Dudjayl in 72/691, on the caliph's orders he set out from Kūfa in the same month at the head of about 2000 Syrians against ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the anti-caliph of Mecca. He advanced unopposed as far as his native Ṭā'if, which he took without any fighting and used as a base. The caliph had charged him first to negotiate with Ibn al-Zubayr and to assure him of freedom from punishment if he capitulated, but, if the opposition continued, to starve him out by siege, but on no account to let the affair result in bloodshed in the Holy City. Since the negotiations failed and al-Ḥadjdjādj lost patience, he sent a courier to ask ʿAbd al-Malik for reinforcements and also for permission to take Mecca by force. He received both, and thereupon bombarded the Holy City with stones from the mountain of Abū Ḳubays. The bombardment was continued during the Pilgrimage. Because of his anger at being prevented by Ibn al-Zubayr from performing the *ṭawāf* and *saʿy* al-Ḥadjdjādj did not scruple to bombard the Kaʿba, together with the pilgrims there assembled. A sudden thunderstorm, in which the uneasy soldiers detected a warning of Divine punishment, he was able to interpret to them as a promise of victory. After the siege had lasted for seven months and 10,000 men, among them two of Ibn al-Zubayr's sons, had gone over to al-Ḥadjdjādj, the anti-caliph with a few loyal followers, including his youngest son, was killed in the fighting around the Kaʿba (Djumādā I 73/October 692).

Thus the unity of the state was restored, and the year 73 is sometimes called the "Year of Unity" (*ʿām al-djamāʿa*, *ʿIḳd*, v, 35). ʿAbd al-Malik showed himself grateful and conferred on al-Ḥadjdjādj the governorship of the Ḥidjāz, the Yemen and the Yamāma. The governor himself led the Pilgrimage in the years 73 and 74 and provided for the re-building of the Kaʿba on the original foundations and with the same dimensions as it had had before its restoration by Ibn al-Zubayr. He restored peace in the Ḥidjāz, but with a severity which frequently caused the caliph to intervene. Thus it is not improbable that the complaints of the inhabitants of the Ḥidjāz were among the factors which led to his being transferred to ʿIrāḳ in 75/694; though the immediate reason for this change was the death in this year of Bishr b. Marwān, a brother of the caliph, who until then had been governor of Kūfa. Because of the constant intrigues of the Khāridjīs, the governorship of ʿIrāḳ was the most important and responsible administrative post of the Islamic state. Al-Ḥadjdjādj took over this governorship, at the age of 33, at the beginning of 75/694 (Ṭabarī, ii, 944, line 9, 876, line 3; not so late as Ramaḍān, Ṭabarī, ii, 872, line 9), at first with the exclusion of Khurāsān and Sidjistān (Ṭabarī, ii, 863; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 397; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh, i, Cairo 1959, 503). The sermon with which he installed himself in Kūfa is no less famous than that of his compatriot and predecessor in Baṣra, Ziyād b. Abīhi, and like it has found its place in Arabic literature. The most urgent task was to restore discipline among the troops of Kūfa and Baṣra, who were garrisoned at Rāmhurmuz on the farther bank of the Tigris under the command of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, but who, at the instigation of Bishr, had left their camp without leave and were loitering about in the towns. Al-Ḥadjdjādj threatened that any soldier who had not returned to his post within three days would be put to death and his possessions laid open to plunder. This was effective. The soldiers poured back into the camp and al-Ḥadjdjādj himself undertook the distribution of their pay, whereupon he had to suppress another very dangerous mutiny led by Ibn al-Djārūd because of the reduction in the pay granted by the caliph himself. At this time there occurred also a violent quarrel between al-Ḥadjdjādj and Anas b. Mālik which, thanks to the intervention of ʿAbd al-Malik, ended in a moral victory for the old Companion of the Prophet (*ʿIḳd*, v, 36-9). After this the troops were immediately employed in battle against the Azāriḳa, who had chosen as caliph Ḳaṭarī b. Fudjā'a, famous also as a poet; al-Muhallab defeated them in 77/696. At the same time another Khāridjī leader, Shabīb b. Yazīd, was threatening ʿIrāḳ from Mawṣil, but, after several dangerous reverses, he was defeated, with the help of Syrian troops which al-Ḥadjdjādj had requested from the caliph, at the end of 77/spring 697 on the Dudjayl in Khūzistān. And finally al-Ḥadjdjādj defeated in the same year the governor of Madā'in, al-Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, who had foolishly taken the first opportunity to rebel in alliance with the Khāridjīs.

After the removal of the Khāridjī danger in ʿIrāḳ, al-Ḥadjdjādj was in the year 78 appointed also to the governorship of Khurāsān and Sidjistān (Ṭabarī, ii, 1032 f.). He left Khurāsān to be administered by al-Muhallab, and to Sidjistān, which had to be subdued anew, he sent from Kirmān the well-tried general ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath at the head of a splendidly equipped army, the "Peacock Army" (*djaysh al-ṭawāwīs*, Masʿūdi, *al-Tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf* [*BGA* viii], 314; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, iv, 365-7). This was the beginning of a revolution which was far more dangerous than any earlier one and which was directed not only against al-Ḥadjdjādj, but against the dominating rôle of the Syrians, and thus against the caliph and Umayyad rule itself. Ibn al-Ashʿath at first carried out his campaign carefully and accord-

ing to orders; he pacified each territory as it was conquered, ensured supplies and accustomed his troops gradually to the different climatic conditions. Al-Ḥadjdjādj, with his usual impatience, ordered Ibn al-Ashʿath in several offensive letters to advance without delay, and threatened if he did not do so to transfer the command to his brother Isḥāḳ. Ibn al-Ashʿath left the decision to his chief officers, whom he knew to be opposed to al-Ḥadjdjādj and to this endless war in distant lands. They gave their allegiance to him, and, with an army which soon grew to 100,000 men, Ibn al-Ashʿath marched against al-Ḥadjdjādj, occupied Kūfa and Baṣra, and, in the suburbs of Baṣra, besieged the governor, who was again obliged to call Syrian troops to his aid. The Syrian army, under the leadership of two sons of ʿAbd al-Malik, was instructed first to negotiate with Ibn al-Ashʿath and to hold out to him the prospect of the recall of the hated governor. As he would agree to none of the proposals, the Syrians attacked and defeated him decisively in 82/701 at Dayr al-Djamādjim and at Maskin on the Dudjayl; three years later he died by his own hand (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 400; Ṭabarī, ii, 1135; the chronology of these events is not quite certain).

This was the last revolt of the Arabs of ʿIrāḳ. After al-Ḥadjdjādj had suppressed them and had also pacified the Kurdish and Daylamī brigands (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 323 f.), he strengthened Syrian military rule over the country. In 83/702 he built midway between Kūfa and Baṣra the fortified town of Wāsiṭ, made it his own residence and transferred there the majority of the Syrian troops, ostensibly to protect the inhabitants from encroachments by the Syrians, but in reality to isolate them from the ʿIrāḳīs and to bring them firmly under his authority. Al-Ḥadjdjādj was now master of the whole of the Islamic East with the exception of Khurāsān, where the reigning governor, Yazīd b. Muhallab, the son of the famous conqueror, was only very slowly applying himself to the extirpation of the last followers of Ibn al-Ashʿath. When he did not obey repeated summonses to Wāsiṭ, al-Ḥadjdjādj finally procured from ʿAbd al-Malik his dismissal (85/704; Ṭabarī, ii, 1140 f.) and imprisoned him.

Although ʿAbd al-Malik had now and then restrained the activities of his governor, al-Walīd (86-96/705-15) gave him a free hand in everything and relied on him all the more in that he was indebted to him for his succession to the throne, which al-Ḥadjdjādj had urged to ʿAbd al-Malik against the claims of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (Ṭabarī, ii, 1166 f.; *Aghānī*, xvi, 60). Also al-Walīd's great victories in the East were the result of al-Ḥadjdjādj's efforts: Transoxania was conquered by Ḳutayba b. Muslim, ʿUmān by Mudjdjāʿa b. Siʿr (cf. H. Klein, *Kapitel xxxiii der anonymen arabischen Chronik Kashf al-ghumma al-djāmiʿ li-akhbār al-umma* . . ., thesis, Hamburg 1938, 28), India by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Thaḳafī—three outstanding generals whom al-Ḥadjdjādj had wisely appointed in view of their abilities. He did not himself take part in the campaigns, but he prepared them very carefully, sparing no expense, since he calculated that with victory he would recover his expenses many times over. In domestic affairs also al-Walīd conformed to the wishes of his governor, appointing and dismissing officials at his prompting.

Al-Ḥadjdjādj was now anxious to improve the prosperity of the country, which had suffered terribly from the twenty years of war. This too was his ultimate aim in concerning himself with the production of a uniform tradition of the text of the Ḳurʾān: he wanted on the one hand to put an end to the quarrels of the theologians over the different readings and to produce a single text which the Islamic community should be obliged to use, and on the other hand to purge this text of any kind of anti-Umayyad allusions. The division of the Ḳurʾān into separate *adjzāʾ* seems to go back to him (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*[2], iii, 260), and it may have been on his orders that new vowel points were introduced (*op. cit.*, 262). In any case, he declared the new text which he had sponsored to be henceforth the only valid one and forbade most strictly the *ḳirāʾa* of Ibn Masʿūd. In connexion with the monetary reform by ʿAbd al-Malik in 76/695, al-Ḥadjdjādj began to strike purely Arabic coins, which gradually superseded the Byzantine and Sāsānid currencies, until then in general commercial use. For this purpose he founded his own mints, first in Kūfa and then in Wāsiṭ, putting them under the management of a Jew named Sumayr (whence these coins were called *al-sumayriyya*) and punished most strictly the making of counterfeits or even the most trivial faults in production (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 337 f.). Many theologians disapproved of the striking of these coins with the name of God upon them (and hence at first called also *al-darāhim al-makrūha*) for they might fall into the hands of infidels (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 468; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 337). Yet the new coins established themselves in circulation as legal currency and helped to promote the circulation of money and the stabilization of economic conditions. Al-Ḥadjdjādj caused to be translated into Arabic the tax-*dīwān* which had hitherto been kept in Persian (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 300 f.; cf. also Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1357/1938, 38), in order to be able to study the tax registers himself.

Of especial importance, however, were al-Ḥadjdjādj's efforts to improve agriculture. Like the Sāsānid kings before him, he was anxious to drain the marshes on the lower Euphrates and Tigris by a system of canals, and thus to obtain fertile land; when embankments broke he spared no cost in repairing them (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 274 and 294). He gave to meritorious Arabs, such as Bashshār b. Muslim, a brother of Ḳutayba, uncultivated lands as fiefs (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 361). He took further measures against the migration of countrypeople into the towns which had led to a disastrous reduction in the *kharādj*, and forced the newly converted Muslims to return to the fields which they had left and to continue paying *kharādj*. When the farmers of the Sawād complained to al-Ḥadjdjādj about the desolation of the land—a result of the many wars—he is said to have forbidden them to slaughter cattle in order to preserve the animals for ploughing (on this see the two satirical verses in *Aghānī*, xv, 98).

Al-Ḥadjdjādj was the most loyal servant that a dynasty could wish for. His obedience towards the Umayyads and his willingness to serve them were unbounded, and the caliphs repaid him for this with their unstinted favour. ʿAbd al-Malik, it is true, often urged him to practice restraint, for instance when he felt that the governor was extortionate in the raising of taxes, was too liberal with public resources, or was shedding more blood than was necessary. But in his answers, often pointed by verses composed by himself or others, al-Ḥadjdjādj was always able to give practical reasons for his actions, so that no mistrust on the part of the caliph ever resulted. The books of *adab* provide a large number of examples of this correspondence. The caliph and the governor were dependent on each other.

The latter's occasional journeys to Damascus strengthened the relationship, which was a personal as well as an official one: one of al-Ḥadjdjādj's nieces—the daughter of his brother Muḥammad, who under ʿAbd al-Malik was governor in the Yemen —was married to a son of ʿAbd al-Malik, the later caliph Yazīd II; the first son of this marriage was named al-Ḥadjdjādj in honour of the governor (*ʿIḳd*, iv, 452; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 396). The governor for his part named his first three sons after members of the Umayyad house, while his daughter married a son of al-Walīd I, Masrūr (*ʿIḳd*, iv, 422). His relations with al-Walīd seem on the other hand to have been of a more formally correct nature; the relevant correspondence is limited to purely administrative affairs. Al-Ḥadjdjādj feared nothing so much as the death of al-Walīd and the accession of Sulaymān, whom he had made his implacable enemy because of his interference in the question of the succession to the throne; add to this his measures against Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who was Sulaymān's especial protégé. It was thus his anxious wish not to outlive al-Walīd (Ṭabarī, ii, 1272). This wish was fulfilled: he died one year before al-Walīd in Ramaḍān 95/ June 714, only 52 years old, prematurely aged and worn out by the load of strain, danger and disappointment which he had had to bear, and was buried in Wāsiṭ. The cause of death is said to have been cancer of the stomach (*waḳaʿat fī djawfihi 'l-ākila*: Masʿūdī, *Prairies*, v, 377; Ibn Khallikān, i, 347; according to Barhebraeus, *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Ṣālḥānī, Beirut 1890, 195, he died of consumption). The traces of his grave were obliterated in order to preserve it from profanation. His death was mourned by only a few, chief among whom were al-Walīd, the poet Djarīr (*Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, 486 f., cf. 496), and also Khālid al-Ḳasrī, the governor of Mecca (*ʿIḳd*, v, 30 f.); above all Yazīd b. Abī Muslim, al-Ḥadjdjādj's *mawlā*, and later governor of Ifrīḳiya, dared to call Sulaymān's attention to the merits of the deceased (Masʿūdī, *Prairies*, v, 404-6).

Scarcely any figure of the early period of Islam has become the subject of Arabic literature to such an extent as al-Ḥadjdjādj. He was a man of mark. The stories and verses in which are reflected the arguments for and against him are innumerable. Most of them are pungent anecdotes and allow us to understand exceptionally clearly the traits of his character. The ʿAbbāsids remembered him with hatred, but in reality envied the Umayyads this governor. There is no doubt that in the interests of the state al-Ḥadjdjādj could be stern and pitiless; every kind of obstinacy was in his eyes a crime against the State. But the mass executions and other atrocities which were attributed to him are the inventions of his enemies. He is often, and justly, compared with Ziyād b. Abīhi, Muʿāwiya's governor: "They both considered themselves not as holders of a lucrative sinecure, but as representatives of public order and of the Sultan, and repaid the trust of their sovereigns, who granted them great authority and left them in office until the end of their lives, by faithfully fulfilling their duties, unconcerned whether or not they found favour with public opinion" (Wellhausen, *Reich*, 159; cf. English tr. *The Arab Kingdom*, 254).

That al-Ḥadjdjādj did in fact have such a conception of his position can be gathered from his own words which are recorded by al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyā al-Nahrawānī (d. 390/1000) in *Kitāb al-Djalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfī wa'l-anīs al-nāṣiḥ al-shāfī*, Ms Istanbul, Topkapısarayı, Ahmed III 2321, fol. 44a. When, after the death of Ibn al-Ashʿath, there was peace in ʿIrāḳ and al-Ḥadjdjādj rewarded the Ḳaysīs richly for their support, ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to him that he must be less generous with public funds. Al-Ḥadjdjādj replied to the caliph with the following verses:

"By my life! The messenger has brought the pages written by you which, after dictation, were folded and sealed.

It is a letter which contains both gentle and harsh things and in which I have been admonished—admonitions are always useful to men of understanding.

Many misfortunes befell me, for this I shall now supply explanations and also reasons and thus justify myself.

When I was a punishing scourge for the people without seeking personal advantage thereby,

—whether they were pleased or angry about this, whether I was praised or blamed or even abused by them—

(and when) in a country into which I came, on my arrival the fires of enmity blazed everywhere,

then I have endured of it all that is known to you and fought unceasingly, until death had almost overcome me!

You have heard how many tumults there have been there, and if another than I had been (there), he would have perished from terror.

Always when they wished to commit one of their unhappy deeds, I have proffered my head without disguising myself,

and if brave men (i.e. the Ḳaysīs) had not defended me against them, jackals and hyenas would have shared out my limbs!"

On the strength of this justification—which tersely outlines the whole of al-Ḥadjdjādj's achievement—the caliph could only write: "Act as you think proper!"

Al-Ḥadjdjādj's assurance and precision in administration, his firmness and knowledge of men, and his quick instinctive grasp in critical moments must have seemed somewhat sinister to his contemporaries. The fact that he did not tolerate bribery and punished the unlawful acquisition of riches, must have made him thoroughly hated by a civil service in which both were traditional. His chief faults were impatience and lack of self-control; he lacked the balance (*ḥilm*) which had earlier distinguished Muʿāwiya. Thus he sometimes demanded the impossible from those under his command, and had fits of rage if his orders were not carried out quickly enough. Nevertheless al-Ḥadjdjādj was a highly cultivated man: his eloquence was unsurpassed (and feared), he attached great importance to a pure Arabic, had literary taste and was accustomed to associate with poets (Djarīr, Farazdaḳ, al-ʿUdayl b. al-Farkh al-ʿIdjlī, al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbd al-Aʿradj al-Asadī, the poetess Laylā al-Akhyaliyya), but he persecuted the satirists (ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān al-Sadūsī, Yazīd b. al-Ḥakam al-Thaḳafī, etc.). He was a devout Muslim, but neither bigoted not superstitious; the squabbling of the theologians left him unmoved, but frankness made an impression on him and as a rule procured exemption from punishment.

The unprejudiced judge sees in al-Ḥadjdjādj one of the greatest statesmen, not only of the Umayyads, but of the whole Islamic world.

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277 f., 280, 314-6, 321 f.; *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wa'l-ḥadāʾiḳ fī akhbār al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* (= *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, i), 8-11, 15-7, 19, 53 f., 148; *Anonyme Arabische Chronik*, ed. Ahlwardt, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1960, index; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, index; idem, *al-Shiʿr wa'l-shuʿarāʾ* (*Liber Poësis*), ed. de Goeje, index; (Pseudo-) Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Imāma wa'l-siyāsa*, Cairo 1937, ii, 29-62; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (*Prairies d'or*), especially vol. v, see index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i (al-Azraḳī), 145, 308; ii (al-Fākihī), 20, (al-Fāsī), 171; iii (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī), 52, 80; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, Cairo 1368, 349-56; idem, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Cairo 1957, 212-4; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. Munadjdjid, i, Damascus 1951, 350-2; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i, Cairo 1948, no. 144 (pp. 341-8); Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, Cairo 1948-50, especially i, 385-8, ii, 135-8, see also index; idem, *Bukhalāʾ*, Damascus 1955, 140, 337; (Pseudo-) Djāḥiẓ, *Tādj*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Bāshā, Cairo 1914, 132 f., 169; *Aghānī*, index; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, 7 vols., Cairo 1940-53, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, index; idem, *al-Fāḍil*, ed. Maymanī, 36, 51; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī, *Muḥabbar*, ed. Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād 1942, index; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār Abī Tammām*, Cairo 1937, 155, 205 f.; Ḥuṣrī, *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, ed. Badjāwī, 18, 84 f.; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1953, i, 85-9, 261; ii, 260 f.; idem, *Dhayl al-Amālī*, 7 f., 42-4, 47 f., 72, 76 f., 171 f., 216; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, Cairo 1954, i, 160 f., 295; ii, 15-7; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, Cairo 1960, 18, 61 f., 69, 140 f., 167, 181; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1952, 101; Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 46 f., 82 f., 286, 309, 351; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, ed. ʿAwwād, 157 f.; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, Cairo 1958, 268, 272, 307, 323, 343, 407; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, Cairo 1945-51, 279 f., 301, 442, 494, 573 f., 593, 781 f., 882; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Diwald-Wilzer (Bibl. Isl. 21), 19-23; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1954, 22 f., 28 f., 235; ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1955, 65; Caetani, *Chronographia*, 851, 862 f., 881 f., 892-5, 916-8, 925-7, 938, 947, 949, 969 f, 979-81, 993-6, 1009 f., 1020, 1034, 1052, 1073, 1087, 1120, 1136, 1150, 1159-61, 1167; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 141-60 (English trans. 226-57); J. Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj ibn Yousof*, Paris 1904; Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, index; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorâns*², iii, 103 f., 106, 124, 260-2; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 99 f., 139 f.; A Dietrich, *Al-Ḥaccâc b. Yûsuf'un terceme-i hâline dair bir kaç mülâhaza*, in *Islâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, ii/1, Istanbul 1957, 147-55. (A. DIETRICH)

AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ, B. YŪSUF B. MAṬAR AL-ḤĀSIB, a translator who lived in Baghdād in the late 2nd/8th and early 3rd/9th centuries. His translations include the *Elements* of Euclid (revised by Thābit b. Ḳurra and commented by al-Nayrīzī [*qq.v.*]) and a version, from a Syriac text, of the Astronomy of Ptolemy. The latter, called *K. al-Madjisṭī*, was completed in 212/827-8.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I 203, S I 363; A. Mieli, *La science arabe*, Leiden 1938, 85. (ED.)

ḤĀDJDJĪ BAYRĀM WALĪ (? 753/1352-833/1429-30), patron saint of Ankara and founder of the order of the Bayrāmiyya [*q.v.*], was born at the village of Solfasol, 7 km. north-east of Ankara, the son of a certain Koyunludja Aḥmad; his personal name was Nuʿmān. After studying at Ankara and Bursa, he taught at the Kara Medrese at Ankara, but abandoned the theological career when invited by Sheykh Ḥāmid (on whom see *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, tr. Medjdī, 74 f. = tr. Rescher, 29 f.) to join him at Kayseri (they are said to have met on *Ḳurbān bayramî*, whence he was given the name Bayrām); as his *mürīd* he accompanied him to Syria, thence on the Pilgrimage, and back to Akseray. After his master's death (in 805/1402, according to Mustaḳīmzāde, see A. Gölpınarlı, *Manâkıb-ı Hacı Bektâş*..., Istanbul 1958, 120) he returned to his native Ankara, where he gathered a numerous following: among his disciples are counted Aḳ Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and Dede ʿUmar Sikkīnī (heads of the two branches into which, after his death, his order split), the poet Shaykhī [*q.v.*], the brothers Yazīdjī-oghlu Muḥammad and Aḥmad Bīdjān [*qq.v.*], and Ashraf-oghlu Rūmī, author of the *Muzakkī al-nufūs*, who became his son-in-law. In spite of the extremist tendencies of some of his followers, his own teachings did not exceed the bounds permitted by orthodoxy; he seems to have lived a humble life, supporting himself by manual labour, and practising and encouraging works of charity. His activities are said to have aroused the suspicions of Murād II, which were, however, allayed when he was brought before the Sultan at Edirne; a tradition that he had preached in the Eski Djāmiʿ there is reported by Ewliyā (ii, 437; iii, 430 f.). He was buried in a *türbe* beside the mosque, abutting on the Temple of Augustus, which he founded. Attributed to Ḥādjdjī Bayrām are five poems (fullest text given by Okhan, see Bibl.), much commented on by his followers, in the style of the *ilāhī*s of Yūnus Emre.

The current attribution of the mosque to Miʿmār Sinān (presumably based on Ewliyā, ii, 430) is unjustified (see F. Taeschner's brief description in *ZDMG*, lxxxii, 1928, 108); the only inscriptions (Ger. tr. by P. Wittek in M. Schede and H. St. Schultz, *Ankara und Augustus*, Berlin 1937, 45-6, and cf. 36-41) record a repair in 1126/1714 (the inscription published by Mübārek Ghālib, *Anḳara*, ii, 1928, p. 41, no. 82, has no connexion with the mosque). In the Ankara Etnografya Müzesi are preserved clothes allegedly worn by Ḥādjdjī Bayrām, and the wooden doors (photograph in *Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi* [Ank. Ün. Ilahiyat Fak.], i, 1956, 231) and shutters of the *türbe* (restored in 1947).

Bibliography: No critical study of the life of Ḥādjdjī Bayrām has been published. The available sources (many in MS) are listed by M. F. Köprülü, *Ilk mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 377, n. 2; some of these have been used for the monographs of Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir (*Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Welī*, Istanbul 1329, reprinted 1331), Meḥmed ʿAlī ʿAynī (same title, Istanbul 1343) and Mehmet Ali Okhan (*Hacı Bâyramı Velî*, Ankara 1950). See also Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, tr. Medjdī, 77 = tr. Rescher, 31; B. M. Ṭāhir, *ʿOM*, i, 56-7; Abdulbaki [Gölpınarlı], *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, Istanbul 1931, 33-9; D. Krencker and M. Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara*, Berlin and Leipzig 1936, 60-1 (P. Wittek); for the political and social context of Ḥādjdjī Bayrām's movement see P. Wittek, *De la défaite d'Ankara*..., in *REI*, xii (1938), 1-34. (V. L. MÉNAGE)

ḤĀDJDJĪ BEG [see RIḌWĀN BEGOVIČ].

ḤĀDJDJĪ BEKTĀSH WALĪ [see BEKTĀSHIYYA].

ḤĀDJDJĪ GIRĀY (d. 871/1466), founder of

the Girāy dynasty of Khāns of the Crimea. On his coins he calls himself 'al-Sulṭān Ḥādjdjī Kerey b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khān' (see O. Retovski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905, nos. 1-4); according to Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān (*Shadjara-i Turk*, ed. Riḍā Nūr, Istanbul 1925, 184) his father and grandfather were Ghiyāth al-Dīn and Tash-timur respectively (cf. M. Riḍā, *al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, 69-71). The identification of him with Dewlet-berdi (V. D. Smirnov, *Krïmskoe khanstvo* ..., St. Petersburg 1887, 221-34) seems incorrect. Dewlet-berdi (for a coin of his see Lane-Poole, *Cat.*, vi, no. 568) appears in one source (*ʿUmdat al-tawārīkh*, 95) as the brother of Ghiyāth al-Dīn; he was still ruling as khān at Solghat (Eski-Ḳïrïm) in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 832/August 1429 (N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits* ..., i, 25; see further Spuler, *Horde*, 157). According to Polish sources (Spuler, *loc. cit.*), Ḥādjdjī Girāy was born near Troki in Lithuania and was assisted in assuming the khānate by Vitovt (Witold, d. 1430); it is known that the Grand Dukes of Lithuania gave sanctuary to Toḳtamïsh and to Ḥādjdjī Girāy's ancestors, and protected them against the khāns dwelling at Sarāy and supported by the powerful *amīr* Edigü (M. Khrushevskiy, *Istoriya Ukrainoy-Rossii*, iv, Lwow 1907), and this same policy was to assist Ḥādjdjī Girāy in occupying the Crimea and maintaining himself there. One of the main factors facilitating the rise of an independent khānate in the Crimea under Ḥādjdjī Girāy was, according to the native sources (*al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, 69-71; *ʿUmdat al-tawārīkh*, 94-6), the movement westward, over the northern coasts of the Black Sea and into the Crimean peninsula, of the principal tribes—the Shirin, Ḳonghurat and Barïn—upon whose support the rulers of the Golden Horde relied. With their help, Dewlet-berdi and Ulugh-Muḥammed attempted to seize control of the whole territory of the Golden Horde; but Ḥādjdjī Girāy was to attempt to centralize his authority in the Crimea and its immediate neighbourhood, being greatly assisted by Tekine Mïrzā, the leader of the Shirin and the rival of Edigü's descendants. This much is definite, that in 836/1433 and 837/1434 Ḥādjdjī Girāy, as Khān, was fighting with the Genoese of Kefe [*q.v.*], seeking to secure for himself the important revenues brought in by Kefe and the other ports of the Crimea; like the khāns of the Golden Horde before him, he always regarded these ports as being under his suzerainty (see the *yarlïgh* of 26 Ṣafar 857 in A. N. Kurat, *Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 66; cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, Cambridge, Mass. 1936, 220). When in the summer of 836/1433 his vassal Prince Alexis of Mangub took Cembalo (Balaklava), he himself opened hostilities against the Genoese of Kefe. To repel this threat, Carolo Lomellino was sent from Genoa with a force of 6000 men; he recovered Cembalo, but as he was advancing upon Ḥādjdjī Girāy's base of Solghat (Eski-Ḳïrïm) he was defeated in a surprise attack (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 837/end of June 1434). Ḥādjdjī Girāy's forces invested Kefe, but, lacking ships and artillery, could do nothing against the defenders, who possessed fire-arms (for the contemporary report of this campaign by Andrea Gatari, see A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 208; L. Colli, *Khadži Girey-Khan i ego politika*, Izv. Tavr. U Arkh. Komm. no. 50, Simferopol 1913, 113-21). Failing to take Kefe, Ḥādjdjī Girāy attempted to divert commerce to the harbours of Solghat, Kerč and Inkerman which he controlled, and to transport goods to Anatolia in Tatar ships.

It has been stated (Spuler, *op. cit.*, 163, 168) that the khān of Sarāy, Seyyid Aḥmed, seized the Crimea in about 837/1434 and that Ḥādjdjī Girāy was able to resume power only in Radjab 853/August 1449 with the help of Casimir IV; but coins of his are known, struck at Ḳïrïm (Solghat) in 845/1441 and at Ḳïrïm and Ḳïrḳ-yir in 847/1443 (Retovski, nos. 1-4; A. K. Markov, *Inventarnïy kat. musulmanskikh monet Imp. Ermitaža*, St. Petersburg 1896, 534, no. 5), and in the accounts registers of the Genoese of Kefe (spring 845/1442) there is mention of a victory of his (*Agicarei imperatoris tatarorum*) over Seyyid Aḥmed (N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits* ..., i, 35, 36; Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 231, n. 1). In 849/1445 Ḥadjdjī Girāy made an alliance with Casimir IV of Poland, close cooperation with Lithuania and Poland being always his policy. In 856/1452 he attacked from the rear and defeated Seyyid Aḥmed when the latter invaded Casimir's territories.

In Djumādā II 858/June 1454 he entered into an agreement with the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II, who had just taken Constantinople, in order to capture Kefe from the Genoese. When the Ottoman fleet approached Kefe, the Khān invested the town by land with 7000 men (18 Radjab 858/14 July 1454), but the town held out; Ḥādjdjī Girāy withdrew, agreeing to accept in future the annual tribute of 1200 gold pieces which the Genoese had earlier undertaken to pay. Later, it seems, the Genoese succeeded in turning the tribal leaders of the Crimea against Ḥādjdjī Girāy; they deposed him and made his son Ḥaydar khān in his place (860/1456). After a few months Ḥaydar was obliged to flee and Ḥādjdjī Girāy resumed power; from thenceforward he had good relations with the Genoese (Colli, *op. cit.*, 120-1; W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, ii, 398).

Confronted by the efforts of Seyyid Aḥmed Khān to restore the former power and unity of the Golden Horde, Ḥādjdjī Girāy maintained the old alliance with Lithuania and Poland, who were faced by the same threat, and also acted in concert with the grand prince of Moscow (Spuler, 170-4). He thus played an important part in the fragmentation of the Golden Horde. When Sayyid Aḥmad marched on Moscow in Muḥarram 870/July-August 1465, Ḥādjdjī Girāy attacked him near the Don and obliged him to withdraw. The attempt of the Papacy to use him against the Ottomans (H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii, 451) shows that he was at this time one of the most powerful figures of Eastern Europe.

His *yarlïgh* of 26 Ṣafar 857/8 March 1453 gives important details about the extent of his territories: his capital (*Orda-i muʿaẓẓam, Sarāy*) was at that time Ḳïrḳ-yir (cf. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, 102 ff.); his suzerainty extended over Ḳïrḳ-yir, Ḳïrïm (Solghat), Kefe, Kerč, Taman, Ḳabada, and Ḳïpčaḳ. The tribal forces of the Crimea, the *Ḳïrïm tumanï* (6000-7000 men), were under the command of the *beg* of the Shirin, Iminek; the tribesfolk of the Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ were not to be relied on. Coins of his, struck at Ḳïrïm in 845, 847, 867 and 871, and at Ḳïrḳ-yir in 847, 858 and 867, are known (see Retovski, Markov, Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*). Pero Tafur's description, of 841/1437, of the *Ordu-bazar* near Solghat (*Travels and adventures*, ed. M. Letts, New York and London 1926, 136) shows that he maintained the traditions of nomadic life; but Ḳïrḳ-yir was a powerful fortress.

Ḥādjdjī Girāy died towards the end of the summer of 871/1466 (Heyd, ii, 398; *al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, 73), and was buried in the tomb of his ancestors at Saladjïḳ near Baghčesarāy (Simferopol). He had eight sons: Dewlet-yār, Nūr-dewlet Khān, Ḥaydar Khān, Ḳutluḳ-zamān, Kildish, Mingli Girāy Khān [*q.v.*],

Yamghurdjī and Özdemir (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, *Shadjara*, 184).

Bibliography: In the article. See also GIRĀY.

(HALIL İNALCIK)

ḤĀDJDJĪ KHALĪFA [see KĀTIB ČELEBI].

ḤĀDJDJĪ NASĪM OGHLU [see AḲ ḤIṢĀRĪ].

ḤĀDJDJĪ PASHA, DJALĀL AL-DĪN KHIḌR B. ʿALĪ, eminent 8th/14th century Turkish physician and author of several important medical texts, including the famous *Shifāʾ al-asḳām wa dawāʾ al-ālām* (Brockelmann, II, 233; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1049). He was born about the second quarter of the 8th/14th century in Ḳonya (and not Aydîn, as stated by Ṭashköprü-zāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, in marg. of Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, 114; Turkish trans. by Medjdī, Istanbul 1269, 74), whence he went to Cairo to study under Mubārak Shāh al-Manṭiḳī and Akmal al-Dīn Bārbartī. As the result of an illness, he changed his studies from *fiḳh* to medicine, and his abilities were great enough to secure for him later the position of chief physician in the Manṣūriyya hospital. Early in the last quarter of the 8th/14th century he returned to Anatolia, where he entered the employ of the Aydîn-oghlu dynasty, serving both as physician and as *ḳāḍī*, and it was to ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Aydîn that he dedicated his *Shifāʾ* (783/1381). His death occurred in the 20's of the 9th/15th century, and he is buried in Birgi.

His works, most of which are in Arabic, include philosophy, mysticism and Ḳurʾānic exegesis, but it is his medical writings which have assured his fame. However, even the scholars who would most insist on his importance in the history of Turkish medicine can claim little originality for his work, and it is probably his Turkish abridgments and simplifications of the *Shifāʾ*—known as the *Muntakhab* and the *Tashīl*—which most command interest today, being amongst the earliest specimens of Ottoman didactic prose. Both have been used and quoted extensively in Vol. ii of the historical dictionary (*Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü*) published by the Turkish Linguistic Society.

Bibliography: A. Süheyl Ünver, *Hekim Konyalı Hacı Paşa, hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1953; Abdülhak Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Ilim*, Istanbul 1943, *index*; *IA*, fasc. 39, 28-30.

(J. WALSH)

ḤĀDJIB, term which may be translated approximately as chamberlain, used in Muslim countries for the person responsible for guarding the door of access to the ruler, so that only approved visitors may approach him. The term quickly became a title corresponding to a position in the court and to an office the exact nature of which varied considerably in different regions and in different periods. Basically the Master of Ceremonies, the *ḥādjib* often appears as being in fact a superintendent of the Palace, a chief of the guard or a righter of wrongs, sometimes even as a chief minister or a head of government. The word *ḥādjib* itself is derived from the verb *ḥadjaba* "to prevent", and should be considered in conjunction with the term *ḥidjāb* which, together with *sitr*, denotes the curtain used, in accordance with a custom widespread in the Orient before the time of Islam, to conceal the sovereign from the gaze of courtiers or visitors (for the arguments for and against this custom, see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥidjāb*, in *Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, Cairo 1352/1933, 155-86; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ch. xvii).

i.—THE CALIPHATE.

The *ḥādjib* makes his appearance at the very beginning of the Umayyad period. Certain chroniclers list carefully the names of the persons, nearly all freedmen or clients, who were chamberlains to the first caliphs, from the reign of Muʿāwiya onwards; various texts prove that even at that time palace ceremonial was already developed, so that the importance of the *ḥādjib* can readily be understood. The chamberlain not only introduced into the sovereign's presence friends and visitors; he also supervised the organization of the solemn audiences, at which those present formed themselves into two groups on either side of the hall, leaving the centre of the floor vacant for those who were admitted to address the caliph. At this period the *ḥādjib* figures in the caliph's entourage on a level with the secretaries (*kuttāb*), with no pretension to equal in dignity the representatives of the Arab aristocracy.

The situation changed considerably with the coming of the ʿAbbāsids, who bestowed a more exalted place upon their *mawālī* assistants. The two most important offices of the Court were now those of the *wazīr* and the *ḥādjib*, both granted to *mawālī*, sometimes of very humble origin. The rank of the *ḥādjib* was inferior to that of the *wazīr*, as appears from the account of how the "vizierate" was granted to the *ḥādjib* al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus in the reign of al-Manṣūr. The chamberlain, appointed from among the Palace servants, was the head of the domestic staff of the palace as well as master of ceremonies; he might also occasionally be commanded to eliminate by violent means persons who had displeased the caliph.

During the first two centuries of the ʿAbbāsid period there was, it is clear, a constant rivalry between the *wazīr*, whose functions are not yet clearly defined but who already assists the ruler in the tasks of administration and government, and the *ḥādjib*, who sometimes managed to procure the removal of the *wazīr* in office and to occupy his place. The chamberlains, former Palace servants, are the rivals of the professional secretaries from whom, for the most part, the viziers were appointed. Thus under al-Manṣūr the chamberlain al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus was granted the vizierate after the dismissal of Abū Ayyūb and later, under Hārūn, his son al-Faḍl was appointed vizier after the disgrace of the Barāmika [*q.v.*]. In the middle of the 3rd/9th century the rivalry persisted, but at this time the chamberlains were usually recruited from among the new Turkish *ghulāms* [*q.v.*] of the caliphs; such was the case of Ītākh, the *ḥādjib* of al-Mutawakkil, who found himself occupying the highest position when the caliph decided to dispense with a vizier.

At the end of this century the authority of the chamberlain had diminished somewhat compared with that of the *wazīr* who, with a staff of highly specialized *kuttāb*, had become in fact a head of government. He was rivalled also by the *amīr* who, at this period, was the commander in chief of the army. Yet his influence was not negligible, becoming apparent particularly when there were palace revolutions, for he had directly under his orders certain detachemnts of the guard, notably the *Maṣāffiyya*. Thus the attitude of the chamberlain Sawsan was the determining factor in the unsuccessful coup d'état against al-Muḳtadir in 296/908. During the reign of this caliph another chamberlain, Naṣr al-Ḳushūrī, who held office continuously from 296/908 until 317/929 whereas the viziers were constantly changing, came to play an important part in the choice of these ministers whom, moreover, it was his responsibility to arrest when they fell out of favour.

From 317/929 onwards, however, the year of another unsuccessful coup d'état against al-Muḳtadir, the *ḥādjib*'s post assumed more of a military aspect and the chamberlains became rivals of the *amīrs*, who by now had succeeded in gradually supplanting the viziers and in imposing their authority on the caliph. The new chamberlain, an officer and former governor named Yāḳūt, was for some time able to hold his own with the all-powerful Muʾnis and to have his own son appointed Prefect of the Police. But both father and son were dismissed soon afterwards at the demand of Muʾnis, who procured the appointment to the *ḥidjāba* of two devoted officers of his, the Banū Rāʾiḳ. Under the next caliph, al-Ḳāhir, the post of chamberlain was again granted to a soldier, Ibn Yalbaḳ, who, in the course of a short "reign", attempted to gain control of the person of the sovereign and even to impose his own Shīʿī convictions. Thereafter the *ḥidjāba* was associated with the supreme command: the new chamberlain of al-Rāḍī, Ibn Yāḳūt, who was at the same time *amīr*, took over the government and controlled the viziers. The chamberlains were on the point of becoming the real masters of the State, at this period when the authority of the caliph was becoming daily weaker; but they did not enjoy so great financial resources as the provincial governors, to whom they were obliged to yield place. It is for this reason that the caliph finally selected, as the person entrusted with the task of government, the *amīr* Ibn Rāʾiḳ, who received the title *amīr al-umarāʾ* in 324/936. As a compensation, the chamberlain's title was made more exalted: in 329/941 he became *ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb*, a more impressive title, although the number of *ḥudjdjāb* under him was decreased.

At this period, as appears from the statements of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, the official duties of the chamberlain were still to supervise all the persons concerned with the service or the guard of the sovereign, to control all that went on within the palace, and to organize the audiences, determining precisely the positions of the various dignitaries and courtiers (*tartīb al-ḥawāshī*).

ii.—SPAIN.

In Muslim Spain the position of the *ḥādjib* was very different from what it was in the East. In the amīrate, and later the caliphate, of Cordova, the title of *ḥādjib* was always superior to that of *wazīr*, the latter belonging to mere counsellors of diverse origins, whom the ruler gathered around him and from among whom, almost invariably, he chose the *ḥādjib*. The *ḥādjib* assisted the prince in the tasks of administration and government and acted as chief minister, controlling the three services of the civil administration, namely the royal residence, the chancellery and the financial department. The *ḥidjāba* did indeed remain vacant for some thirty years in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, but it was filled again, on his death in 351/962, by his son al-Ḥakam II; a few years later it served as a springboard for the ambitions of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, the Arab-born secretary who in 367/978 procured for himself appointment to the *ḥidjāba* and managed to gather all power in his hands, becoming, in the reign of the young Hishām II, in effect "Mayor of the Palace"; in 371/981 he adopted a royal *laḳab*, al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh, caused his name to be mentioned in the *khuṭba* immediately after that of the caliph, and then in 386/996 had himself called *al-sayyid* and *al-malik al-karīm*. The prestige thus attached to the title of *ḥādjib* did not disappear, for with the break-up of the Umayyad empire in Spain the princelings of the *ṭawāʾif* adopted the title of *ḥādjib* in preference to that of *malik*, in order to indicate that they regarded themselves as representatives of the caliph.

Bibliography: J. Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Medine*, Paris 1947, 131; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, index; idem, *Questions de cérémonial ʿabbāside*, in *REI*, 1960, 121-48; Yaʿḳūbī, *passim* (at the end of each reign); Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, *passim* (at the end of each reign); Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, Baghdad 1964, 71-9; idem, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, 154; Ṣūlī, *Akhbar al-Râdi billâh*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index; Ibn Taghrībirdī, iii, 272; Ibn Khaldūn-de Slane, ii, 5, 7, 11-6; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 165 ff., iii, 18-20

(D. SOURDEL)

iii. — EASTERN DYNASTIES.

As is shown by such works as Narshakhī's *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā* and al-Khwārizmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, both the palace administration and the bureaucracy of the Sāmānids were modelled on those of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs. The Sāmānid *Ḥādjib* thus grew out of the *Amīr*'s own household, although by the middle years of the 4th/10th century, and probably earlier than this, he was no longer purely a domestic official of the palace but primarily a high military commander. Since the core of the Sāmānid army was the Turkish slave guard [see GHULĀM, Persia], the Chief *Ḥādjib* (*al-Ḥādjib al-Kabīr*, *Ḥādjib al-Ḥudjdjāb*, *Ḥādjib-i Buzurg*) combined the twin functions of head of the palace establishment and Commander-in-Chief of the army. Thus, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nūḥ (343-50/954-61) this office was held by Alptigin [*q.v.*], Sebüktigin's master. As Alptigin's career shows, the power of the Sāmānid Chief *Ḥādjib* was such that he could aspire to supreme power in the state after that of the *Amīr*, and could even attempt to play the rôle of king-maker. Other Turkish *ghulām* officers held the rank of simple *ḥādjib* or general beneath the Chief *Ḥādjib*. These *ghulām* generals were sometimes appointed to provincial governorships; until his death in 387/997, Sebüktigin regarded himself as governor in Ghazna for the Sāmānids, and on his tomb he is described as *al-Ḥādjib al-Adjall* "Most exalted general" (cf. S. Flury, *Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna*, in *Syria*, vi (1925), 62-3). According to Niẓām al-Mulk's account of the training of *ghulāms* at the Sāmānid court (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xxvii), the rank of *ḥādjib* was attained after a man had passed through the grades of *withāḳ-bāshī* "tent leader" and *khayl-bāshī* "detachment commander" (the whole of this account should, however, be treated with caution; cf. Bosworth in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 45).

Miskawayh's use of the term *ḥādjib* shows that it was known as a military rank in the Būyid army, again with the meaning of "general". It does not seem to have implied the headship of a palace organization, for this last institution was not developed amongst the Būyids to the same extent as in the more centralized Sāmānid and Ghaznavid states. Miskawayh speaks of the army of ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār (356-67/967-78) and implies an ascending hierarchy of *naḳīb*, *ḳāʾid* and *ḥādjib*: "They [*sc.* the army] .... urged him to treat them just as his father [*sc.* Muʿizz al-Dawla] had done in regard to appointments as *Ḥādjib*, *Ḳāʾid* and *Naḳīb*, and in regard to general promotion policy" (*Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ii, 236, cf. 262, tr. v, 251, cf. 279).

The office of *Ḥādjib* passed from the Sāmānids to

the Ghaznavids, their successors in Khurāsān, and Bayhaḳī's *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī* shows the wide extent of its usage in Ghaznavid military life. As with the Sāmānids, the Commander-in-Chief of the army under the Sultan held the title of *Ḥādjib-i Buzurg*, and there were *ḥādjibs*, generals, directly beneath him. These top commanders had the special designation of a black cloak, a distinctive type of belt and a two-pointed cap (*kulāh-i dū-shākh*). The majority of them were Turks. It seems that the Ghaznavid *Ḥādjib-i Buzurg*, compared with the Sāmānid one, was one step further away from possessing direct control over the palace organization, for the day-to-day running of this was in the hands of a *Wakīl-i khāṣṣ* and the palace guard was responsible to a special general officer, the *Sālār-i Ghulāmān-i Sarāy* (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 68, 101, 138). He was nevertheless a most powerful and influential figure. In the succession dispute of 421/1030 after Maḥmūd's death, the *Ḥādjib-i Buzurg* was 'Alī Ḳarīb or 'Ali Khwīshāwand, a kinsman of the dead Sultan, and it was the transfer of his support from Muḥammad to Mas'ūd that gave the latter a bloodless victory over his brother (Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 92-3; Bayhaḳī, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 1, 12 ff., 50 ff.). When the Sultan did not act personally as war-leader, the *Ḥādjib-i Buzurg* had supreme responsibility in the field; thus until just before the final disaster at Dandānḳān in 431/1040, Mas'ūd left the fighting in Khurāsān against the incoming Saldjūḳs to his Commander-in-Chief, Sübashī Tigin.

Bibliography: Barthold, *Turkestan*, 227; Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 142; Spuler, *Iran*, 337-9; Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 37-77; M. F. Köprülü, in *IA*, s.v. Hâcib, with much useful detail on the Sâmânid and Ghaznavid periods. (C. E. Bosworth)

In the Saldjūḳ period, there appears to have been a general tendency for the importance of the office of *amīr ḥādjib* to decline, relative to Ghaznawid times. He was no longer specifically the commander of the army but rather a court official. The various army commanders tended to be referred to by the title *isfahsālār* or *sipahsālār*. The *amīr ḥādjib*, however, like all the *amīrs* naturally took part in military expeditions and in some cases commanded a section of the army of one of the Saldjūḳ sultans or *maliks*. Thus, for example, 'Alī b. 'Umar, the *amīr ḥādjib* of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, led the advance guard against Sandjar (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 386); he eventually became paymaster of the army (*ibid.*, x, 391).

Rāwandī, quoting the alleged practice of the Sāsānian Ardashīr b. Bābak, states (p. 97) that a king needed a *wazīr* for the maintenance of the stability of his kingdom, a *ḥādjib* who would administer punishment (*siyāsat afzāyad*), a courtier (*nadīm*) and a secretary (*dabīr*). Niẓām al-Mulk describes the functions of the *ḥādjib* as those of a court official. But since the court was a military court, the *amīr ḥādjib* was, in practice, normally a Turkish *amīr* and the men under him were usually *ghulāms* (military slaves, see GHULĀM; cf. *Siyāsat-nāma*, 94-5, and the description of Sāmānid practice cited above). He was concerned with military discipline as well as court ceremonial; he was the most important official at the court, ranking above the *amīr ḥaras* (chief of the guard and chief executioner, *ibid.*, 121). Under Muḥammad b. Malikshāh the *amīr ḥādjib* acted as intermediary between the sultan and the *wazīr*; he received the orders of the sultan and passed them on to the *wazīr* (Bundārī, 117). Niẓām al-Mulk also mentions an official whom he calls the *ḥādjib-i dargāh*, who was in charge of ceremony and procedure at the royal court (*ibid.*, 111). It is not clear whether his office was different from that of the *amīr ḥādjib*; but it is probable that the two were the same.

Rāwandī mentions at the beginning of each reign the *wazīrs* and *ḥudjdjāb* of the sultan. Some of these were comparatively unknown persons; others, however, like the *amīr* Ḳomač, *ḥādjib* to Malikshāh and Barkyāruḳ (pp. 125, 139), Khāṣṣ Beg, the *ḥādjib* of Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad (p. 225) and Malikshāh b. Maḥmūd (p. 249), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭoghan-yürek(?), also *ḥādjib* to Mas'ūd (p. 225), the *atābeg* Ayyāz, *ḥādjib* to Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (p. 259) and Arslān b. Ṭoghrīl (p. 282), the *atābeg* Pahlavān, *ḥādjib* to Arslān b. Ṭoghrīl (p. 282), and the *atābeg* Āy Āba, *ḥādjib* to Ṭoghrīl b. Arslān (p. 331) were among the powerful *amīrs* of the day. There does not appear to have been any hereditary tendency in the office, and Rāwandī records only one case of a father and son both holding the office of *ḥādjib*, namely 'Alī Bār, who was *ḥādjib* to Muḥammad b. Malikshāh, and his son Muḥammad, who was *ḥādjib* to Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (pp. 153, 203). In addition to the *amīr ḥādjib*, there were a number of lesser chamberlains (*ḥudjdjāb*) at the court (cf. H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Gross-Selǧuqen und Ḫorazmšahs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 103, 105).

The great *amīrs* and provincial governors had their own courts and they, too, had their own *ḥādjibs*. Ibn al-Athīr mentions Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yaghsiyānī(?), who was *amīr ḥādjib* to al-Bursuḳī and subsequently to 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī (x, 453, 454).

Many prominent men also had their *ḥādjibs* or chamberlains, who were not necessarily members of the military class; this was also the case in Tīmūrid times (cf. H. F. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 42, 55).

Under the Ilkhāns the *ḥādjib* was a chamberlain, and so far as the royal court or the provincial courts were concerned tended to be a member of the military classes. Under the Tīmūrids the *ḥudjdjāb* are mentioned among the officials of the court and ranked below the *nuwwāb-i ḥaḍrat* (cf. Tādj al-Salmānī, *Šams al-ḥusn*, ed. Roemer, Wiesbaden 1956, 29). There was a change of terminology under the Ṣafawids, the chief *ḥādjib* becoming known as the *ishik-āḳāsī bāshī* [*q.v.*], whose functions were similar to those of the *ḥādjib-i dargāh* mentioned by Niẓām al-Mulk. (A. K. S. Lambton)

iv. — Egypt and Syria.

The chief chamberlain of the Fāṭimid court was an exalted functionary known as the *Ṣāḥib al-bāb* [*q.v.*]; his subordinates, however, were called *ḥādjibs*, and he himself is occasionally referred to as the *ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb*, in place of his more usual title. In describing the officers required for the Fāṭimid chancery, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (*Ḳānūn dīwān al-rasā'il*, Cairo 1905, 115; cf. Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 136-7) speaks of a *ḥādjib al-dīwān*, whose duty was to keep out unauthorized visitors and thus safeguard the secrets of the state. The Seldjūḳid rulers of Syria introduced the military *ḥādjib* familiar in the East; Zangid and Ayyūbid institutions, in this as in other respects, show strong signs of Seldjūḳ influence. The *ḥādjib* is now a military officer, with military functions—as for example to command a citadel (Abū

Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, ii, 69), to act as *Shiḥna* (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 208, 224, 234) or, sometimes, as envoy (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 293), or to "encourage" the troops (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 132; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 133). The term *ḥādjib* was still, however, used in Egypt in the 7th/13th century in the sense of chamberlain (as for example in a verse of Ibn al-Nabīh, d. 686/1287, who links it with the Persian term *pardadār* [*q.v.*]; cited in *Eos*, ed. A. T. Hatto, The Hague 1965, 271).

In the Mamlūk Sultanate, the *ḥādjib* still retains some of the functions of a chamberlain. The chief *ḥādjib*—*ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb*—presents envoys, guests, petitioners and other callers at the Sultan's court; he is also responsible for the organization of military parades. The primary functions of the *ḥādjib*s under the Mamlūks, however, were not ceremonial but judicial—the administration of justice among members of the Mamlūk military class, in accordance with the laws of the Mongol *Yasa* [*q.v.*]. According to some Egyptian sources, this separate jurisdiction was set up in the time of Baybars, when the Mamlūks and Mongols became an important element in the Syro-Egyptian state and, though islamized, insisted on following Mongol custom in personal matters. "They therefore set up the *ḥādjib*", says Maḳrīzī, "to adjudicate disputes between them, to restrain the strong among them and give justice to the weak, in accordance with the rules of the *yasa*. They also assigned to him . . . disputes concerning *iḳṭā*ʿs [*q.v.*] . . ." (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 221; cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, vii, 183 ff.). The *ḥādjib*'s courts thus maintained a form of feudal privilege, whereby the Mamlūks had immunity from the courts and laws to which the natives were subject—that is, the *ḳāḍī*'s courts administering the *Sharīʿa*, and were answerable only to special military courts, with Mamlūk not native judges, administering the *yasa*—the laws of the most powerful and most respected of the steppe peoples, among which most of the Mamlūks were recruited. These special courts dealt with matters concerning members of the Mamlūk class, including lawsuits about their fiefs.

In time, the scope and scale of the chief *ḥādjib*'s judicial actions were considerably increased. At first, he was subordinate to the Sultan's viceroy in Egypt, the *Nāʾib al-salṭana* [*q.v.*], but gained greatly in power when this office was left vacant or, later, allowed to lapse. Maḳrīzī dates the usurpation of Islamic judicial authority by the *ḥadjib*s from the mid 8th/14th century. Sultan Shaʿbān (746-7/1345-6) transferred the judicial power previously exercised by the *nāʾib al-salṭana* to the chief *ḥādjib*, who thus became head of an independent court dispensing administrative (*siyāsī*) justice. During the reign of Ḥādjdjī the *nāʾib*'s authority was restored, and the chief *ḥādjib* reverted to his previous status. This set-back was, however, only temporary. In 753/1352 a group of merchants from the Mongol lands appealed to the Sultan for justice against their Egyptian debtors, after failing to obtain satisfaction through the *Ḳāḍī*'s court. The Sultan referred the case for decision to the chief *ḥādjib* Djurdjī, who dealt with the matter by torturing the debtors until they paid their debts. The sultan was displeased with the *Ḳāḍī*, and forbade him to try cases between foreign and Cairene merchants. From this time on, says Maḳrīzī, the *ḥādjib*s acquired arbitrary authority over the people (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 221-2; cf. *Sulūk*, ii, 863). After the troubles of 806/1403-4, he says, the *ḥadjib*s became more numerous and more oppressive (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 221). In the time of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (815-24/1412-21) even the office of *muḥtasib* was given, for the first time, to the *Amīr ḥādjib* instead of to one of the *ʿulamāʾ* as previously (Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xi, 210). The Muslim sources complain of the encroachments of the *ḥādjib*s, who deal with cases involving native civilians, and even presume to give rulings according to Muslim law. Many litigants preferred the more expeditious and better enforced decisions of the *ḥādjib* to those of the *ḳāḍi*, while the *ḥādjib* for his part had a financial interest in dealing with more cases. Maḳrīzī speaks of Mamlūk *amīr*s who held no fief but lived entirely on fees and fines which they collected as judges. "Today the *ḥādjib* has come to be the judge of the mighty and the humble alike, whether the case be one of *sharʿī* or of what they call administrative (*siyāsī*) justice" (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 219-20).

At first there were three senior officers at the centre: the *ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb*, the *ḥādjib*, and the *ḥādjib thānī*; Barḳūḳ increased the number to five. The position of the chief *ḥādjib* in the table of precedence varies, at different times and in different sources, from the 3rd to the 12th place after the Sultan. The chief *ḥādjib* (*amīr ḥādjib*) of a provincial city ranked third, and sometimes second, after the governor, whom he could replace in an emergency. Subordinate *ḥadjib*s served under him, in varying numbers. In Damascus, Aleppo and sometimes Tripoli the chief *ḥādjib* was an *amīr* of the first class, in Ṣafad, Ḥamāt and Ghazza of the second class. In Barḳūḳ's time there were six lesser *ḥādjib*s in Damascus, three in Aleppo, two or one in other towns.

Ḳāʾit Bay introduced a new functionary, with the Persian title *pardadār*, to discharge the duties of court chamberlain. This office, held by an *amīr* of the second class, continued to the end of the Mamlūk Sultanate.

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v.—North Africa.

In North Africa, the office of *ḥādjib*, which had existed under the Fāṭimids, disappeared shortly afterwards—certainly under the Zīrids—to be of importance again under the Ḥafṣids. The institution of the *ḥidjāba* seems to have been introduced from Spain into Ifrīḳiya, where at first, in the reign of Abū Isḥāḳ (678-82/1279-83), the *ḥādjib* was merely a kind of superintendent of the palace, acting at the same time as the intermediary "between the sovereign and persons of all classes"; after the reign of Abū

Ḥafṣ (683-94/1284-95), the *ḥidjāba* proper was separated from the control of the palace accounts, and the *ḥādjib* acquired increasing importance, to the degree that Abū Bakr (718-47/1318-46) used his *ḥādjib* as his chief minister, introducing in Tunis the practice of the *amīrs* of Constantine and Bougie to make the local *ḥādjib* their right-hand man; the most influential "chamberlain" was Ibn Tafrāgīn, who, in the second half of the reign of Abū Bakr, made the *ḥidjāba*, already an influential office, a post of great responsibility, "by the extent of its powers almost a dictatorship, and soon, under a young sultan, the means to hold him in tutelage and to make all the machinery of the state work as he wished"; for more than twenty years it was he who controlled the whole administration of the realm and directed its policy as he pleased. After the Ḥafṣid restoration in the last third of the 8th/14th century, the title of *ḥādjib* was maintained but the powers attached to the office were suppressed, the chamberlain becoming once more a kind of *chef du protocole*. See H. R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, index; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 54 ff. and index; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Cairo ed., ii, 210, tr de Slane, ii, 15, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 18.

Further west, the *ḥādjib* of the Marīnids was at Fās an intimate of the ruler, while at Tlemcen, under the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*] he became the major-domo of the palace and minister of finance, but disappeared almost completely after the Marīnid interregnum.

See further ḲAPÎDJÎ, MÂBEYNDJI, PARDADĀR, ṢĀḤIB AL-BĀB, TESHRĪFĀTČÎ. (ED.)

ḤĀDJIB B. **ZURĀRA** B. ʿUDUS B. ZAYD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. DĀRIM B. MĀLIK B. ḤANẒALA B. MĀLIK B. ZAYD MANĀT B. TAMĪM, an eminent *sayyid* of the Dārim of Tamīm in the period of the Djāhiliyya. His name was, according to Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān, Zayd, and his *kunya* Abū ʿIkrisha.

Ḥādjib, a member of one of the noblest families of Bedouin society, was known for his mildness. A particular incident in connexion with Ḳurād b. Ḥanīfa later caused Ḥādjib to kill Ḳurād, which led to clashes between some families of Dārim.

The first battle attended by Ḥādjib was the battle of Djabala [*q.v.*]. He was captured and freed himself by paying the exceedingly high ransom of 1100 camels. He headed the troops of Tamīm in the encounters of al-Nisār and al-Djifār and was defeated.

Ḥādjib continued the tradition of friendly relations between al-Ḥīra and the Dārim and attempted to gain for the Dārim the privilege of the *ridāfa*, which had been entrusted by the rulers of al-Ḥīra to another branch of Tamīm, the Yarbūʿ. The Yarbūʿ refused to cede the *ridāfa* to the Dārim, marched out against the forces of al-Ḥīra sent against them, and defeated them at Ṭikhfa.

Ḥādjib attained fame through a visit to the court of Persia. He asked the Persian ruler to permit his people to pasture their herds in the Persian territory, since they were suffering from a heavy drought caused by the curse of the Prophet on Muḍar. Ḥādjib left his bow as pledge, promising that his people would not harass the subjects of the Persian ruler. When the Prophet lifted his curse, Ḥādjib was already dead. His son ʿUṭārid went to the Persian king, who returned to him the bow and granted him a precious suit of clothes, which ʿUṭārid presented to the Prophet while visiting him with the delegation of Tamīm in 9/630. The Prophet, however, refused to accept the gift.

This widely current story is contradicted by a report recorded in a commentary of Abū Tammām's *Dīwān*. According to this report Ḥādjib gave his bow as pledge when he was entrusted by the Persian ruler to escort a caravan to ʿUkāẓ. After he had successfully carried out his mission he was "crowned" by the ruler of Persia.

Some traditions claim that Ḥādjib embraced the religion of the Magians. Whether Ḥādjib met the Prophet is rather doubtful, since traditions claiming this seem not to be trustworthy. He died in the twenties of the 7th century.

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ḤADJIEWAD [see KARAGÖZ].

BANŪ **HĀDJIR**, Bedouin tribe of Eastern Arabia. Its members (sing. Hādjirī) trace their ancestry to Ḳaḥṭān through Hādjir and Manṣūr, eponym of al-Manāṣīr tribe. The two groups, known together as ʿIyāl Manṣūr, have frequently been allies. Banū Hādjir, according to their traditions, migrated to Eastern Arabia from the Tathlīth area in southwestern Arabia. They claim kinship with the Djanb and Āl Shurayf tribes of Eastern ʿAsīr. Their move to the east, said to have been made for economic advantage, probably occurred two or three hundred years ago. Sections of the tribe now range the Ḳaṭar Peninsula and, in Saudi Arabia, the districts north and northeast of al-Ḥasā Oasis known as al-Djawf and al-Bayḍāʾ.

The camel-raising al-Mukhaḍḍaba (also known as al-Makhāḍīb, sing. Makhḍūbī), one of the two main tribal divisions, had the Ḳaṭar Peninsula as its *dīra* until about 1900. The other main division, Āl Muḥammad, whose economy was based on sheep

herding, occupied central al-Ḥasā Province (now Eastern Province). Always loyal to Ibn Saʿūd in his wars against al-ʿUdjmān, Muṭayr, and other tribes, Banū Hādjir were awarded the pasture area of al-Djawf. During the period of *Ikhwān* settlement, Banū Hādjir established colonies in al-Djawf at Yakrub, Shuhaylāʾ, Ṣalāṣil, Fūda, and ʿAyn Dār. With the decline of the *Ikhwān* colonies after 1930, these villages were abandoned. The Saudi Arabian Government was in 1382/1963 encouraging resettlement of these sites; and a few Banū Hādjir groups, particularly Āl Ḥamra, were cultivating small plots.

Ḥamūd b. Shāfī b. Sālim Ibn Shāfī of al-Shabāʿīn (of al-Mazāhima section of al-Mukhaḍḍaba) is paramount *shaykh* of Banū Hādjir. He succeeded his father, who died in al-Kuwayt during the winter of 1375/1955-56. The shaykhly household has summered at al-Rayyān, nine km west of al-Dawḥa, in Ḳaṭar, since 1378/1959.

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(G. Rentz and J. Mandaville)

ḤADJR (A.), literally prevention, inhibition, is the technical term for the interdiction, the restriction of the capacity to dispose. The term expresses both the act of imposing this restriction and the resulting status; a person who is in this status is called *maḥdjūr* (abbreviated from *maḥdjūr ʿalayh*). Subject to *ḥadjr* are (a) the minor, (b) the insane, (c) the irresponsible, and in particular the spendthrift, (d) the bankrupt, (e) a person during his mortal illness, and (f) the slave. Whether *ḥadjr* comes into being automatically or needs to be imposed by the *ḳāḍī*, is a subject of controversy between the several schools in the cases (b), (c), and (d), and so are numerous questions of detail. Abū Ḥanīfa, for instance, denied that the irresponsible person who was of age was subject to *ḥadjr*; Abū Yūsuf and Shaybānī held that he was, and, in addition to the spendthrift, they regarded as liable to *ḥadjr* a debtor who refused to sell his property in order to pay his debt, a debtor of whom it was feared that he would spirit away his property by fictitious transactions (these two rulings obviously link up with the *ḥadjr* of the bankrupt), and a person who by the use of his own property caused prejudice to his neigbours. The extent of the *ḥadjr* or, conversely, the kind of transactions which the *maḥdjūr* is entitled to conclude on his own, varies according to the type of case; the *ḥadjr* covers all transactions of the insane, so much so that he cannot even validly adopt Islam if he is a non-Muslim, and of the minor; the others are, generally speaking, entitled to make certain dispositions of a personal nature, such as repudiation (supposing they are married), although these may create pecuniary obligations; the bankrupt is, in principle, prevented only from diminishing his assets, and a person during his mortal illness only from concluding unilaterally disadvantageous transactions if, taken together with any legacies he may have made, they amount to more than one third of the estate. The *ḥadjr* imposed on recalcitrant debtors and on persons who cause prejudice to their neighbours applies only to the transactions and dispositions which are directly relevant. Some texts list many more classes of persons under *ḥadjr*, and sometimes even the dead are included. The curator of the *maḥdjūr* (his guardian in the case of a minor) is called *walī*, and his power to represent his ward, *wilāya* [*q.v.*]. It is, as a rule, either the father or the grandfather, or the *ḳāḍī* or his representative, and the master in the case of a slave. He may confer on the minor the capacity to dispose, but not with regard to purely disadvantageous transactions, and in particular, the master may confer the capacity to dispose upon his slave, whether for a single transaction, such as getting married, or in general, for trade; a slave who has received this last permission is called *maʾdhūn*. This permission, too, does not include unilaterally disadvantageous transactions. The revocation of this permission is also called *ḥadjr*.

This concept of *ḥadjr* has formed the subject of a number of legislative measures in Algeria and in British India.

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AL-ḤAḌR, Arabic name of the ancient Hatra (Atra, Ἄτραι), situated in the desert to the west of the Tharthār, three short days' march to the south-west of al-Mawṣil. The Arab geographers, who no longer knew the exact site of this former caravan and commercial centre, provide certain legendary details regarding its ancient greatness. According to Yāḳūt (ii, 282), it was built entirely of hewn stone and possessed 60 large towers, each of which was separated from the next by nine smaller towers and linked to a palace and baths. Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī do not mention it, however, and the historians' principal reason for naming it is to relate the circumstances of its destruction by the Sāsānid Shāpūr I (Sābūr al-Djunūd), who reigned from 241 to 272 A.D.; the authors are not always entirely certain with regard to the identity of the Sāsānid king, some of them placing the event in the reign of Ardashīr, while others, Firdawsī in particular, put the date in the reign of Shāpūr II, who remained on the throne from 309-10 until 379; it is established that, in 363, the town was already in ruins, and it is probable that the little Arab kingdom of Hatra, a vassal of Rome, fell to the assault of Shāpūr I, after having successfully resisted the attacks of Ardashīr I.

The account of the Sāsānid victory is accompanied by a legend that is very widely disseminated among the Arab authors of the first centuries of Islam and derived from two sources: the first is the *Khudāynāma* translated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] under the title *Kitāb Siyar mulūk al-ʿAdjam*; the second is an Arab tradition transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī and founded mainly on the verses of ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*], Abū Duʾād al-Iyādī [*q.v.*] and others of greater or lesser authenticity (see F. Gabrieli, *L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, in *RSO*, xiii/3 (1932), 209; G. E. von Grunebaum, *Abū Duʾād al-Iyādī*: *Collection*

of fragments, in *WZKM*, li/4 (1950), 277 and references cited, with the addition of al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 149). The versions that we possess contain considerable divergencies, but they are all arranged according to a single plan, which is presented in the following way: an ancestor of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir [*q.v.*], named al-Ḍayzan (see *LA* for the meanings of this word in Arabic) b. Muʿāwiya (usually, b. Djabhala, from his mother's name), who was himself descended from Tanūkh b. Mālik [*q.v.*], reigned over al-Ḥaḍr with the title of Sāṭirūn (= Sanatrukes, according to Nöldeke; this title, signifying "king" in Assyrian, is sometimes regarded as the name of the founder of the town, al-Sāṭirūn b. Usayṭirūn in al-Masʿūdī); as he had plundered the territory of the Sāsānid king, the latter came and laid siege to Hatra; after two (or four) years he had still failed to capture it, and it was then that al-Ḍayzan's daughter, al-Naḍīra, saw Shāpūr, became enamoured of him, and offered to deliver the town to him if he would consent to marry her and give her first place. The circumstances of the capture of Hatra are related in various ways: al-Naḍīra made her father and the garrison intoxicated and gave the key of the town to Shāpūr, or else she showed him the way to enter the citadel by following the course of the Tharthār, or else she showed him how to render ineffective the talisman that protected the town. Shāpūr, now master of the place, massacred al-Ḍayzan and his troops, took away al-Naḍīra and married her. During the wedding night she was unable to sleep, and for hours turned restlessly on her couch, soft though it was; in the morning, Shāpūr discovered in a fold of her belly the cause of her sleeplessness, a myrtle-leaf which had lodged there (acording to another version, the leaf was found under the cushions). On discovering to what extent she had been pampered by her father, Shāpūr, indignant at such ingratitude and fearing a similar act of treachery towards himself, brought about al-Naḍīra's death by tying her by the hair to a horse's tail.

The theme of this legend is repeated in a fairy story by Hans Andersen (see A. Christensen, *La princesse sur la feuille de myrte et la princesse sur le pois*, in *AO*, xiv, 241-57).

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For the legend of al-Naḍīra, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Saḳḳā, etc., i, 71-2; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iv, 119-20; Ṭabarī, i, 827 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 81-6; *Aghānī*, i, 140 (Beirut ed., ii, 116-8); Thaʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, 492; Eutychius, ed. Cheikho, i, 106-7; Yāḳūt, s.v. Ṭīzanābādh; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 218-9.

(CH. PELLAT)

ḤAḌRA, "presence", is used broadly by mystics as a synonym of *ḥuḍūr*, "being in the presence [of Allāh]". Its correlative is *ghayba* ([*q.v.*], with references there given), "absence" from all except Allāh. On the controversy as to whether in expressing this relation to Allāh *ḥaḍra* or *ghayba* is to be preferred—that is, which is the more perfect, final element—see especially R. A. Nicholson's trans. of the *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, *GMS* xvii, 1911, 248 ff. The term was later extended by Ibn ʿArabī, in working out his monistic scheme, to the "Five Divine *Ḥaḍarāt*", stages or orders of Being in the Neoplatonic chain [see ʿĀLAM and ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ AL-ḲĀSHĀNĪ]. There is a short statement of these in the *Taʿrīfāt* of Djurdjānī (Cairo 1321, 6), which has been translated by M. Horten in his *Die philosophischen Systeme des spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 294 f., where, and at p. 151, he gives also some minor uses of the term. See also L. Massignon's edition of the *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, Paris 1913, 183, with a reference to Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, and Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, 169. In consequence, the Plotinian scheme of dynamic emanation was called in Islam *madhhab al-ḥaḍarāt* (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 69; tr. de Slane, iii, 100; tr. Rosenthal, iii,89). Dervishes call their regular Friday service *ḥaḍra* [see DHIKR]. For the use of *ḥaḍra* (*ḥaḍrat*, T. *ḥaḍret*) as a title of respect, see Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alḳāb al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1957, 260-4, and LAḲAB. (D. B. MACDONALD)

ḤAḌRAMAWT. The name Ḥaḍramawt is applicable in its strictest sense to the deep valley running parallel to the southern coast of Arabia from roughly 48° E. to 50° E., between precipitous walls rising to a high plateau (the Djol), which on the south separates it from the narrow coastal plain and on the north from an arid tract merging into the sand desert of the Empty Quarter of Arabia. The eastern end of this valley, where it turns south-eastward into the sea, has the special name of Wādī Masīla, and is not properly speaking part of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. In a more extended sense, however, the name Ḥaḍramawt has always been applied to a much larger area, comprising the districts to the north and south of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt proper, together with an area on the west which includes not only the highlands providing the head-waters of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt but also a number of wādī-systems draining off those highlands north-westward into the Ramlat Sabʾatayn (an outlier of sand desert isolated from the main part of the Empty Quarter) and southwards into the sea. The western limit of Ḥaḍramī territory can be said to lie approximately at longitude 47° E. [see map to AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT].

The Hebrew form of the name, Ḥaẓarmaweth, is partly modelled on the classical Arabic form, but no doubt partly influenced by a folk-etymology assuming a connexion with the idea of "presence of death" (which may also have operated to some extent on the classical Arabic form). The native Ḥaḍramī inscriptions use the spelling *ḥḍrmt*, which contrasts with the Sabaean spelling *ḥḍrmwt*; and this is in all likelihood based on the root *ḍrm* (cf. Arabic *ḍirām* "burning heat"), enlarged by a feminine termination *-ot* and a prefix comparable (as C. D. Matthews has suggested) with the definite article encountered in the present-day dialects of south-east Arabia, which fluctuates between *ʾa-*, *ha-* and *ḥa-*.

I.—PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD

Evidence for the early history of this area is extremely scanty. One possible reason for this may be that some of the main urban centres have not undergone those population shifts which have, further west, left centres like Mārib, Ṣirwāḥ, Tumnaʿ,

etc. as deserted ruins capable of furnishing a rich archaeological and epigraphic booty. The two main centres of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, S͟hibām and Tarīm, are millennium-old foundations still in full occupation; and such archaeological evidence as may have been there has either been destroyed by subsequent occupation or is irretrievably buried under the present towns. The same may well apply to other sites in the Wādī. The only site in the whole area which has been scientifically excavated is Madhāb, an ancient village settlement on the opposite side of the Wādī ʿAmd from the modern Ḥurayḍa, excavated by Caton-Thompson in 1937-8. Some superficial investigations have been made at S͟habwa, the ancient metropolis of Ḥaḍramawt. Other important sites which have been recorded are an impressive wall at Mayfaʿat (about 15 km. north of the present-day administrative centre of Mayfaʿa in the Wāḥidī sultanate); the traceable ground-plan of a large settlement at the ancient haven of Cane (just west of modern Bīr ʿAlī), with the adjoining fortress rock of *Mwyt* (modern Ḥusn al-G͟hurāb); a strongly fortified wall at Libna, obstructing a valley roughly 30 km. north of present Bīr ʿAlī; and a walled town at Barīra in the Wādī D͟jirdān to the south of S͟habwa. All these have yielded a handful of historically valuable inscriptions, but have never been properly excavated. Apart from some scattered sites which have produced a few, mostly fragmentary, inscriptions, this is the sum total of our primary sources for ancient Ḥaḍramawt. Mention should also be made, however, of a temple site described by W. F. Albright at Khor Rori on the Ẓafār coast about 50 km. east of Salāla, which appears to have been an ancient Ḥaḍrami settlement.

Our secondary sources are the data about the Chatramotitai in Greek and Latin authors (usefully extracted and summarized by C. Conti-Rossini in his *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, Rome 1931); and mentions of Ḥaḍramawt in texts from further west, principally Sabaean.

The chronology of ancient Ḥaḍramawt is an even more difficult problem than that of the areas further west. Both primary and secondary sources have furnished us with a fairly ample total of names of kings of Ḥaḍramawt, but the task of sorting these out into even a relative chronology has not yet been satisfactorily achieved. The most that can be said at present is that the earliest Ḥaḍramī texts appear to be slightly later in date than the earliest large bulk of Sabaean texts, and that the independent kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt came to an end around the close of the third century A.D. Thereafter, the "kings of Sabaʾ and D͟hū-Raydān" use a formal titulature claiming Ḥaḍramawt as part of their dominions. The first ruler to do this was *šmr yhrʿš*, who figures in the Islamic sources as S͟hamir Yurʿis͟h (Ṭabarī, i, 910). But even at an earlier period the population of the area appears to have included pockets of Sabaeans, to judge from some fragmentary inscriptions in early Sabaean dialect, and the fact that one "king of Sabaʾ" (assigned by Pirenne to about 250 B.C.) exercised authority over tribes in the "highlands of Ḥaḍramawt" (*CIS*, iv, 126).

During its period of independence, Ḥaḍramawt took part in a kaleidoscopic pattern of wars and alliances with other South Arabian states, the main evidence for which is to be found in Sabaean dialect texts. The two principal political events mentioned in the native Ḥaḍramī texts are the fortification of Libna as a defence against the tribe of Ḥimyar (geographical considerations indicate that this must here imply a section of Ḥimyar occupying the coastal strip west of Mukalla, which is their present-day habitat); and the fortification of *Mwyt* (Ḥusn al-G͟hurāb) in the disturbed period following the death of D͟hū Nuwās [*q.v.*] in the early sixth century A.D.

The situation of the "metropolis" of Ḥaḍramawt (as Eratosthenes terms it) at S͟habwa is remarkable, for it lies right on the north-west perimeter of Ḥaḍramī territory in a small wadi draining into the Ramlat Sabʾatayn. Evidently it owes its importance to commercial factors, since it was the principal entrepôt for the incense trade. Frankincense, produced in the Mahra country east of Ḥaḍramawt, was at this point handed over to the caravans which assured its transport up the west coast of Arabia to the markets of the Mediterranean and Mesopotamia. The salt workings in the neighbourhood may also have contributed to its commercial importance; according to Philby (*Sheba's daughters*, 91) they are today "the chief or only economic asset of the locality".

Closely connected with the trade factor was the significance of S͟habwa as a cult centre. Pliny's descriptions of the methods of handling the incense at S͟habwa indicate strong religious sanctions governing the process; and it remained a shrine and pilgrimage centre down to the latest days of the pre-Islamic South Arabian civilization, as is attested by a fifth century A.D. graffito there associated with the monotheistic cult of Raḥmān. In the earlier polytheistic period, the Ḥaḍramī pantheon shows a close similarity to those of other South Arabian areas, dominated by the astral triad of moon, sun and Venus-star; except that the moon god in Ḥaḍramawt bore the distinctive name Sin, borrowed from Babylonian religion. He is commonly referred to as "Sin of *ʾlm*", and it has been conjectured that the latter term is the name of the principal shrine of this deity.

Muslim sources are agreed that Ḥaḍramawt was the original homeland of the tribe of Kinda, an offshoot of which founded the central Arabian kingdom of Kinda [*q.v.*]; but it has to be appreciated that these were nomads, and down to about the beginning of the Christian era the nomadic populations of South Arabia were culturally totally distinct from the settled folk whose culture is the one to which our main epigraphic evidence bears witness; and this evidence has, for the earlier periods, nothing whatever to say about the nomads. Only in the few centuries before Islam do we begin to see a fusion and intermingling of the two cultures. The early Islamic writer Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb still speaks of Kinda and Ḥaḍramawt as if they are regarded as independent ethnic entities ("Ḥaḍramawt" representing the ancient settled culture), though both inhabiting the geographical Ḥaḍramī area.

The language of the pre-Islamic Ḥaḍramī inscriptions is close enough to Sabaean, Minaean and Qatabanian to rank with them as all dialects of a single "Epigraphic South Arabian" language. With Minaean and Qatabanian it constitutes a group using a sibilant for the causative verbal prefix and pronominal affixes, against Sabaean *h* in these functions. Its own main distinctive peculiarities are the use of a preposition *h*- "to, for" (Sabaean and Qatabanian *l*-, Minaean *k*-); the fact that *ṯ* and *s* have coalesced into a single phoneme spelt indifferently with either letter; and a differentiation between the masculine and feminine forms of the pronominal affix, not found in the other dialects, though parallelled in the modern Sahori dialect (see Beeston, *Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian*, § 37: 6).

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II. — Islamic Period

The editors regret that, for reasons beyond their control, they are obliged to relegate this section of the article to the Supplement.

ḤAḌŪR (Ḥaḍūr Nabī S͟huʿayb), a mountain massif in the Yemen on the eastern edge of the Sarāt Alhān, some twelve miles west of Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*], lying between the *wādīs* Sihām and Surdūd. It is separated from the Ḥarāz range to the west by the Ḥaymat al-K͟hāridjiyya [*q.v.*], known in Hamdānī's time as the Balad al-Ak͟hrūdj and inhabited by the Sulayḥ, a branch of Hamdān. The massif is named after Ḥaḍūr b. ʿAdī b. Mālik, an ancestor of the Prophet S͟huʿayb b. Mahdam, who is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (cf. *Sūra* VII, 83 f. and XI, 85 f.). He had been sent to preach to and to warn his people on Djabal Ḥaḍūr and was slain by them there. According to Arab tradition, Ḥaḍūr Nabī S͟huʿayb was the highest of the three mountains which remained above the waters during the Deluge. The other two were Djabal S͟hahāra and Djabal Kanin (3,400 metres) in K͟hawlān. The main ridge of Ḥaḍūr is about three miles long and has seven peaks, the highest being Djabal Ḳāhir (Djabal Bayt K͟hawlān) which is 3,760 metres high and is often covered with thick snow in winter for days at a time. On it is the celebrated tomb (with mosque) of the Prophet S͟huʿayb, which is much visited (particularly by young women who hope to be cured of barrenness there); on the last day of Ramaḍān and on the festival of ʿArafāt great festivities are held there.

On the range itself there are several villages. It is traversed by numerous *wādīs*, among them Wādī Dāwūd and Wādī Yāzil, which disperse their *sayl*-waters in all directions. In these valleys excellent vines are found in addition to various fruit-trees. In the deeper parts of Ḥaḍūr the cereals particularly grown are *d͟hura*, barley and wheat. To the east lies the fertile plain of Ḳāʿat Sahmān, which lies on an average of 2,800 metres above sea level and contains several villages, the most important of which is Matna. This was called K͟hān Sinān Pas͟ha by the Turks and has a *samsara* [shelter house] said to have been built by Sinān Pas͟ha.

In Hamdānī's time the Mik͟hlāf Ḥaḍūr comprised several districts. The names of all but al-Djaʿlal, Ḥaḳl Sahmān and Masyab seem to have disappeared without trace. The hard white honey of Ḥaḍūr was famous in Arabia and is even mentioned by Imruʾ al-Ḳays in one of his poems. Hamdānī adds that the people of Ḥaḍūr spoke bad and clumsy Arabic (Ḥimyaritic).

Some 25 miles north-north-west is Ḥaḍūr al-S͟hayk͟h, quite distinct from the above and the largest mountain of the Sarāt group Djabal al-Maṣānaʿa. It is about 3,310 metres high. Both were explored by Eduard Glaser in 1885.

Bibliography: E. Glaser in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1886, 42-5; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, (ed. D. H. Müller), Leiden 1884-91; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*; C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann, *Landeskundliche Ergebnisse*, Hamburg 1934. (J. Schleifer-[A. K. Irvine])

HADY, oblation, from the Arabic root *h d y* which has the meanings "to guide", "to put on the right path", "to make a present". The word is certainly of pre-Islamic origin; it used to denote the sacrificial offerings destined for the lord of the Meccan sanctuary (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 92). The ritual of the *taḳlīd* and the *is͟hʿār*, to which we shall return, suggests that the *hady* had to be some kind of humped animal, especially selected. It appears that the slaughtered beast was left by the man making the sacrifice for the poor and for animals (Ibn His͟hām, *Sīra*, i, 146). The term and the consecration ritual survived in Islam, which, however, tended to replace *hady* by *ḍaḥiyya*.

Occurring rarely in the Ḳurʾān (only seven times and that in Medinese *sūras*: II, 196, V, 2, 95, 96, XLVIII, 25), *hady* there denotes the oblations intended for the Kaʿba (XXII, 33), without further definition. But *ḥadīt͟h* and Ḳurʾānic exegesis are generally agreed in restricting the word to victims chosen from the *anʿām* (VI, 143) or animals in flocks or herds. It is the normal offering of the pilgrim, which he must for preference choose from the camel family, or failing that from the bovines, or else the sheep, or finally the goat family (Ibn Rus͟hd, *Bidāya*, i, 222; al-Taḥṭāwi, *Ḥās͟hiya*, i, 555). The sacrifice must take place on the completion of the Pilgrimage, preferably by the sacrificer himself, so marking his return to secular life.

Although the offering of a *hady* is in theory optional, the prescriptions of the *ḥadjdj* and also possible transgressions of the strict taboos of the *iḥrām* in practice render it obligatory. In the first place, we should recollect that the pilgrimage can be performed by three different methods—*ifrād*, *ḳirān* and *tamattuʿ*. The first consists of making the *ḥadjdj* alone, at the prescribed time, the *ʿumra* being performed outside the month of the pilgrimage or simply neglected. In this case, the believer is not bound to offer a *hady*. But he must make compensation if he chooses the *tamattuʿ* (Ḳurʾān, II, 196), that is to say if he accomplishes the *ʿumra* at the same time as the pilgrimage, resumes secular life and dedicates himself once again for the *ḥadjdj*. Similarly, a kind of penalty is envisaged with regard to the *ḳārin*, one who takes the *iḥrām* at the same time for an *ʿumra* and for a *ḥadjdj*, and who releases himself from the vow only when the pilgrimage is accomplished. In these last two methods, which are regarded by jurists as indulgences, one can redeem oneself by the sacrifice of a *hady*. An oblation is similarly owed by the pilgrim who, having taken his *iḥrām*, finds it impossible to reach the holy city on account of a siege or an illness (II, 196). Moreover, certain transgressions of the strict laws of pilgrimage (violation of the prohibition on hunting [V, 95] and the sexual taboo; cutting of the hair or shaving before desacralization [II, 196]) can similarly be redeemed by the sacrifice of a victim. It is important, however, to make clear that although highly commendable, the offering of a *hady* is not obligatory, and one can also secure redemption by fasting or alms-giving (II, 196, V, 95).

From this it emerges that *hady* is sometimes propitiatory, at other times expiatory. But in no case is its meat regarded as impure, since in any event it is consumed either by the sacrificer, his family and the poor (Ḳur'ān, XXII, 28, 36), or by the last-named only (this is the case, for example, with the *hady* owed by the pilgrim when besieged, *muḥṣar* [al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, ii, 144 and 184] and in general with every expiatory *hady*).

The animal offered as *hady* must meet certain requirements in regard to age and appearance defined by *fiḳh*. The legal age varies according to the species: it is 5 years for camels, 2 for cattle, 1 for goats, and 6 months for sheep (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Sharḥ*, iii, 534, 537; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, i, 255). Moreover, the victim must be fat and free from blemish; in particular, it must not be lame, blind or one-eyed, scabby or puny, nor must it reveal certain brand-marks which recall the pre-Islamic *wasm*. Once it is chosen, the pilgrim will proceed to its consecration by the *taḳlīd* and the *ishʿār*. For this purpose, he hangs a sandal (*naʿl*) or a piece of leather from its neck, and with a spear-head cuts a gash in its hump and sometimes in its back (when it is a case of an animal without a hump).

Having been thus consecrated, the *hady* thereafter belongs to the deity. Except for certain circumstances specified by *fiḳh*, it is then no longer possible to exchange, sell or replace it or to inherit it. It is also forbidden to make any profit whatever from it. However, in contradistinction to pre-Islamic practice, it can be ridden by the sacrificer, on condition that no harm comes to it. It is in fact regarded as a valuable object entrusted to the man, who must do everything possible to restore it to its lawful owner, Allāh.

What essentially characterizes the *hady* and distinguishes it from other blood sacrifices is that this is a question of a sacrifice in a fixed place, in that the sacrifice, except when performed under compulsion, must necessarily take place in Mecca. Moreover, and particularly with the *hady* offered for a pilgrimage completed by *ifrād*, *tamattuʿ* and *ḳirān*, it is often also restricted in time, that is to say the beast sacrificed must be slain towards the end of the pilgrimage, more precisely on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, after the two *wuḳūf*s of ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa, this period being regarded as especially propitious for an approach to the divinity.

It appears that among the ancient Arabs of the Ḥidjāz the sacrifices of Minā took place before sunrise. The institution of the *ḍaḥiyya*, which is the Islamic equivalent of the *hady*, reveals the reformer's desire to break away from sun worship by transferring the time of sacrifice to the hour known as *ḍuḥā*, after the morning prayer. The word *ḍaḥiyya* was thus substituted, especially in current speech, for the term *hady*. But in the books of religious jurisprudence the former denotes sacrifices on the day of *naḥr* (slaughter), sacrificed at places other than Minā, reserving the latter for those at Mecca.

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ḤAFAR AL-BĀṬIN [see BĀṬIN].

ḤĀFIẒ [see ḲĀRI' and ḲUR'ĀN].

AL-ḤĀFIẒ, the regnal name of the seventh Fāṭimid caliph of Egypt, whose real name was Abu 'l-Maymūn ʿAbd al-Madjīd, born at Ascalon (date of birth uncertain: 466, 467 or 468/1073-6) while famine raged in Egypt (Ibn Khallikān, i, 389).

Little is known of his life before he took his place in the political world. In 524/1130 he was called by two army leaders, Hazārmard and Barghash, to be regent and not caliph, following the assassination of his cousin the caliph al-Āmir [*q.v.*] who had left no male heir, but whose wife Djihā was then pregnant (*Nudjūm*, v, 237 ff.).

But this invitation aroused the hatred of Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. al-Afḍal, called Kutayfāt, son of the former Fāṭimid minister al-Afḍal [*q.v.*] who had been assassinated by al-Āmir in 515/1121. The very day on which the regency commenced, Kutayfāt brought off a coup d'état, with the help of Barghash, who had been eliminated from the vizierate. Kutayfāt then overthrew Hazārmard and ʿAbd al-Madjīd, threw the latter into prison, seized the treasures of the palace, and declared himself the representative and lieutenant of the expected imām of the Twelver Shīʿa (Lavoix, iii, p. 163, n. 439). Though he did not suppress the Ismāʿīlī faith, he aroused the hostility of its followers, who no doubt resented its replacement by Twelver Shīʿism as the official doctrine of the state (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, ii, 117-8).

A year later, on 16 Muḥarram 526/9 December 1131, the supporters of the Fāṭimid state made a successful counter coup, with the help of the young followers of al-Āmir, the "Āmiriyya", led by the chamberlain Yānis [*q.v.*], who was of Armenian origin. They killed Kutayfāt, and freed ʿAbd al-Madjīd from prison. At first he was restored as regent, but a few months later a decree (*sidjill*) was read, proclaiming ʿAbd al-Madjīd this time as caliph with the title al-Ḥāfiẓ li-dīn Allāh (Ḳalḳashandī, ix, 291-7). Thereafter an annual feast was celebrated, the feast of victory, *ʿĪd al-Naṣr* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 357, 490; ed. Wiet, ii, 385).

The caliph then tried to assert his legitimacy as a Fāṭimid imām by using the characteristic titles of the Imāmate, such as: Lord and Master, the Imām of this Age and Time (Wiet, *CIA*, 81 f.; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, ii, 16). He gave also in the above-mentioned decree several explanations for his succession to the caliphate. Until then the Fāṭimid imāmate had been transmitted from father to son. He claimed that his cousin al-Āmir had nominated him as his successor just as the Prophet had nominated his cousin ʿAlī, that, furthermore, his grandfather, al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*], had also foreseen his succession, since he had described his father, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who had, however, no right to the succession, as heir-presumptive of the Muslims (*Walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn*). It is also alleged that the child born to al-Āmir's wife was a daughter.

After this al-Ḥāfiẓ paid more attention to the intrigues of the viziers. When he saw that Yānis was becoming powerful and had given his name to a private regiment, the "Yānisiyya", he rid himself of him by poisoning him in 526/1131 (Ibn Aybak, 511; *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iii, 26-7). It was perhaps at this time that he formed his own pretorian guard, called "Ḥāfiẓiyya" in his honour (Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 482, 508).

This time the caliph ruled alone, with the help of his sons. He nominated Sulaymān heir-presumptive and gave to him the duties of vizier (*wāsiṭa*). When, after two months, Sulaymān died, he then appointed another son, Ḥaydara (Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, ix, 377-9). But a third son, al-Ḥasan, jealous because of this nomination, plotted against his father and brother. He seized power, killed several army leaders and formed a private corps, *Ṣibyān al-zarad*, the young cuirassiers. But the army, offended by the massacre, gathered in front of the palace and demanded al-Ḥasan's head. Al-Ḥāfiẓ then had his son poisoned by the agency of his Jewish doctor (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, iii, 27-9).

This time he appointed to the vizierate Bahrām, a Christian Armenian. But this choice provoked a revolt among the Muslims, for once Bahrām came to power he formed an Armenian army of 20,000 men, infantry and cavalry. The Egyptians are said to have feared that he would change the religion of Islam (Ibn Muyassar, 79 ff.).

The Muslim troops being discontented, the caliph incited against Bahrām the governor of Ascalon, Riḍwān b. Walak̲h̲as̲h̲ī, who had been banished by Bahrām, but Bahrām sent him away again to the prefecture of al-G̲h̲arbiyya. The people of Egypt were grateful to Riḍwān for having prevented the Armenians from entering Egypt when he was at Ascalon. He later gathered troops and Bedouins and drove Bahrām out of Cairo into Upper Egypt. The caliph, however, gave Bahrām a safe-conduct (*amān*) (Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiii, 325) because of the intervention of the king of Sicily, Roger II (*Ṣubḥ*, vi, 458-63).

But once Riḍwān became vizier (*Ṣubḥ*, viii, 342-6), he seized all power and took the title of King (*malik*) (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 305). He was also a Sunnī; and when he attempted to depose the caliph he was assassinated in 542/1147 (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 173).

After this al-Ḥāfiẓ appointed no more viziers, but the troubles and the disturbance continued. He died of a violent intestinal colic (*ḳawlanḏj*) in D̲j̲umādā II 544/October 1146.

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(A. M. Magued)

ḤĀFIẒ, (K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a) S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Muḥammad S̲h̲īrāzī, Persian lyric poet and panegyrist, commonly considered the pre-eminent master of the *g̲h̲azal* form. He was born in S̲h̲īrāz, probably in 726/1325-6, though Ḳāsim G̲h̲anī argues for 717/1317 and others favour 720/1320. With a few marked absences, he seems to have spent the greater part of his life in S̲h̲īrāz, for long moving in or near the court-circle of the Muẓaffarid dynasty. He is believed to have died in S̲h̲īrāz, in 792/1390 (or 791/1389), and his tomb is perhaps that city's best known monument. Though credited with learned works in prose, his fame rests entirely on his *Dīwān*. There are few aspects of the life and writing of Ḥāfiẓ that have not given rise, and especially from about 1930 to 1955, to vigorous scholarly dispute over matters of both interpretation and fact. The reverence in which he is held, not only in Persia but widely throughout East and West, as the undoubted composer of some of the world's most sublime and technically exquisite poetry, will doubtless ensure continued concern with these problems, however intractable and ultimately insignificant some of them may seem to be.

Apart from its general historical framework, the presumed facts of Ḥāfiẓ's life were for long largely drawn from biographical prefaces, from the usual anecdotal *tad̲h̲kira* sources like Dawlats̲h̲āh, or from casual references by writers like Mīrk̲h̲ʷānd and his grandson. Such material has of course frequently been viewed sceptically; but most of it is of its nature difficult to disprove conclusively, and in one or two instances (as in an alleged encounter with Tīmūr, in 789/1387) research has only tended to strengthen, if not fully to confirm, the legend. Informative biographies of Persian poets are a notorious rarity, and it seems unlikely at this late date that any significant new material of an explicitly biographical nature will be discovered relating to Ḥāfiẓ. Though not a new technique, it has recently become fashionable to analyse the poems themselves for new biographical evidence or for some bearing on the material already to hand. The latest, and the most comprehensive and ingenious work of this kind, has been done by Ḳāsim G̲h̲anī and by R. Lescot; but the net result so far is somewhat disproportionate to the formidable effort involved. At best, it has now been convincingly demonstrated that the *Dīwān* bears a much more direct relationship to the milieu of its composition than was suspected in the traditional view. Such methods always have their dangers, particularly where the basic biographical material is itself so slight; in the case of Ḥāfiẓ, the problem is exacerbated by the continued lack of a reasonably authentic text. All this being so, it still seems proper to give here the main outlines of the life in more or less traditional form.

Ḥāfiẓ's father, Bahāʾ al-Dīn or Kamāl al-Dīn (some sources refer to his grandfather), is said to have migrated from Iṣfahān to S̲h̲īrāz, where he died in the poet's infancy, leaving the family in poor circumstances. In a close-knit, flourishing centre of Islamic civilization such as S̲h̲īrāz at that time was, humble beginnings were only a relative handicap; and it is plausibly suggested that Ḥāfiẓ received a thorough education on the usual classical lines. It was no doubt in youth that he earned the right to use the title *ḥāfiẓ* (Ḳurʾān-memorizer), which became his pen-name; his verse bears ample evidence of familiarity with Arabic, with the Islamic sciences and with Persian literature generally. He is reputed to have been among other things a baker's apprentice and a manuscript-copyist during these years of adolescence and early manhood; but, to judge in particular by the dedication of certain poems to Ḳiwām al-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 754/1353), sometime vizier to S̲h̲āh Abū Isḥāḳ Īnd̲j̲ū, he was into his poetic stride as a panegyrist before the age of thirty. An oft-cited poem (Brockhaus, no. 579; Ḳazvīnī-G̲h̲anī, 363) mentions nostalgically other S̲h̲īrāz notables of this period, including the ruler himself. Already by his twenties, in the wake of the disintegration of the Il-K̲h̲ānid order, Ḥāfiẓ had

lived through dynastic upheavals in and around Shīrāz.

A second phase in the poet's life begins in 754/1353 with the capture of Shīrāz, after a protracted struggle between the Īndjū and Muẓaffarid dynasties, by Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad. The latter ruled for five years, before being deposed and blinded by his son Djalāl al-Dīn Shāh Shudjāʿ. These years were apparently a period of rigid Sunnī observance, hard on Ḥāfiẓ and his fellow-citizens alike; but the poet seems to have recommended himself with some success to Mubāriz al-Dīn's chief minister, Burhān al-Dīn Fatḥ Allāh. The long reign of Shāh Shudjāʿ (759-86/1358-84), while at no time settled politically, and though far from being a period of continuous prosperity and success for Ḥāfiẓ, coincides with his phase of maturest composition. It was during these years that his fame spread throughout Persia, as well as westwards into Arabic-speaking lands and eastwards to India; it seems, nevertheless, that he declined invitations to remove to distant courts. The Muẓaffarid dynasty effectively came to an end at the hand of Tīmūr, in 789/1387, during the last few years of Ḥāfiẓ's life, though random representatives of it, like Shāh Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Manṣūr, seem to have shown the poet sporadic favour to the end.

It is generally believed that Ḥāfiẓ was more or less out of favour with Shāh Shudjāʿ for a period of some ten years (768-78/1366-76), during which time he is said to have spent a year or two in Iṣfahān and Yazd. The reason for such a fall has never been fully explained, though it is traditionally related to the poet's allegedly libertine views and behaviour. Though thereafter he enjoyed favour, from time to time, from the throne and from ministers like Djalāl al-Dīn Tūrānshāh, he seems never fully to have regained his former standing. Yet it should be remembered that there is still no real certainty as to what such standing actually signified: certainly there is frequent reference to poverty throughout the poet's life (whether it be regarded as a complaint, a hint or a literary device), and there is no serious suggestion that he held a regular, richly rewarded office as "court poet". At one time he is said to have been a professor of Ḳurʾānic exegesis at a Shīrāz *madrasa*, but there is doubt as to which of his patrons might have obtained him this preferment and no record of his period of tenure.

Legend credits Ḥāfiẓ with editing his *Dīwān* in 770/1368, *i.e.*, over twenty years before his death, but no manuscript of this version is known. Less speculative, perhaps, but still unattested by real evidence, is the edition (with a preface of doubtful biographical value) compiled after the poet's death by a disciple, a certain Muḥammad Gulandām. From this traditional version are assumed to spring the thousands of manuscripts now extant and over 100 printed editions: many of these versions differ widely in the order and number of poems, in the order and number of verses within a given poem, and in their detailed readings. The bibliography is very extensive, and only some of the principal editions or translations can be mentioned here. (In general, it may be said that serious interest in Ḥāfiẓ seems to have passed, after his death, to the Ottoman world and to India, whence it came by the late 18th century to Europe, returning in strength to Persia only in the 20s and 30s of the present century). First, it should be mentioned that several manuscripts are known in Persia, in Europe and elsewhere, which date from about the second and third quarters of the 15th century, *i.e.*, from thirty to sixty years after the poet's death; the most reliable of these contain just under 500 poems, while later versions rise to 600 and beyond. (In 1958, P. N. Khānlarī published a manuscript dated around 813/1410, which contains 152 poems in good textual condition). Derivative manuscripts, sometimes with commentaries in Persian, Turkish or Urdū, continued to circulate throughout the next four centuries.

The earliest historic recension, for long accepted as authoritative, and as a source of Ḥāfiẓ's life, was that of the Ottoman Sūdī (d. 1000/1591); he was at one time charged with having suppressed one or two poems of Shīʿa sympathy, but modern scholarship has justified him by failing to find these poems in early manuscripts, and by casting at least some doubt on Ḥāfiẓ's Shīʿism. This recension was taken as the basis for another long-dominant edition, the three volumes (692 poems) of H. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1854-61. The late 18th and early 19th centuries saw much fragmentary and dilettante preoccupation with Ḥāfiẓ among Europeans (chiefly British and French), but a landmark in printed texts was the Calcutta edition of 1791 (725 poems), associated with the name of Upjohn; this edition was still based on late manuscripts and largely on the Sūdī recension; its introduction provided much of the material for the traditional life. J. von Hammer-Purgstall produced in 1812-3 a massive German prose-translation of the *Dīwān*, which was known to Goethe at the time he was writing the *West-östlicher Diwan*. Between 1858 and 1864, *i.e.*, roughly at the same time as the Brockhaus edition mentioned above, and using substantially the same sources, V. von Rosenzweig-Schwannau brought out another three-volume edition of the text, accompanied by a remarkably skilful verse-translation in German. The English renderings, partial or complete, of the late 19th century (those, for example, of H. Bicknell, H. Wilberforce Clarke, Gertrude Bell and W. Leaf) deserve only passing mention, despite interesting merits of their own. By 1900 a largely spurious, second-growth Ḥāfiẓ stood beside the several approximations to the real figure. The 20th century saw the rebirth of serious Ḥāfiẓ scholarship in Persia. Special mention has already been made of the fundamental research of Ḳāsim Ghanī, but there are few eminent Persian scholars of the present day who have not contributed important articles in this field. In particular, three editions merit notice: that of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khalkhālī, Tehrān 1927 (495 poems, based on a manuscript of 828/1424, but marred by errors); that of Ḥusayn Pizhmān, Tehrān 1936 (994 poems, many marked as doubtful!); and that of Muḥammad Ḳazvīnī and Ḳāsim Ghanī, Tehrān 1941 (576 poems; the most scientific and reliable edition so far, based on some very old manuscripts; contains a good introduction, but lacks a critical apparatus). A new edition, also based on very early manuscripts, is reportedly in preparation by H. Ritter.

It will be seen that the two basic tasks of all research on Persian poetry, the establishment of a significant biography and the edition of an authoritative text, have assumed added and special dimensions in the case of Ḥāfiẓ. In briefest sum, one may state the dilemma thus: no text of Ḥāfiẓ, however good in itself, can be fully intelligible at any level without a marked amplification in our knowledge of his life and times; yet much of such knowledge must come from an analysis of the text, and one can have little confidence in the results of analyses, however scrupulously conducted, that are

based on texts of doubtful reliability. It may well prove that neither task is fully susceptible of solution, even within limited terms of reference: while solidification of the biography must largely wait on the text, such expectation gives no ultimate certainty of a rich yield; any acceptable text will inevitably be based on virtually the sole criterion of seniority of manuscript, and the oldest Oriental manuscripts, particularly if falling outside the author's lifetime, are not necessarily the fullest or the most accurate in any absolute sense. This is especially true of poetry, and indications so far suggest that it is even more than normally true of the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ. There is, too, the fundamental question of the poet's own intent: should everything he ever wrote (or perhaps merely countersigned) be included, even if he might himself have chosen to omit certain items from the supposed canon of 770/1368? Did he have second (or later) thoughts about the inclusion, the order, or the actual text of whole poems or individual verses? If we cannot now hope to answer questions of this kind, we should be cautious in claiming to do more in effect than publishing early manuscripts and observing their differences from later ones. Certain generally useful conclusions may be drawn, but we may well never be sure what such differences signify in any particular case.

Failure hitherto to solve these basic problems has never quenched interest in several secondary problems related to them. Scholars living in an age of non-representational art and literature are perhaps less concerned than most of their forebears (E. G. Browne was in advance of his age here) to discover positively "whether Ḥāfiẓ meant what he said", whether he was a mystic or a libertine, a good Muslim or a sceptic, or all of these by turns. It is now generally claimed (without prejudice) merely that he spoke *through* the standard themes and terminology of hedonism, the lament for mortality, human and mystical love, and so on; that he was a superb linguistic and literary craftsman, who took these forms so far beyond the work of his predecessors that he practically cut off all succession; and that he revolutionized the *ghazal* and the panegyric both, by making the one the vehicle for the other in place of the *ḳaṣīda*. Nevertheless, useful new work has been done (particularly by R. Lescot) in establishing the chronology of certain poems so as to suggest a development in Ḥāfiẓ's attitude, style and methods. The secondary problem most hotly debated in recent years concerns the "artistic unity" of the poems: even supposing that the present varying order of verses were reduced to an original uniformity, is there any genuine unity in these *ghazals*, and did not Ḥāfiẓ invite later confusion by his failure to develop any theme consistently? There are indications that the problem is neither new nor specifically Western, for Shāh Shudjā' is supposed to have made some such criticism, according to an anecdote current no later than the time of Khwāndamīr. Arguments have been put forward, by A. J. Arberry and by the writer, to suggest that the true unity of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry is not thematic or dramatic in the classical Western sense, but lies rather in a subtle weaving of imagery and allusion around one or more central concepts. These arguments have found some favour with J. Rypka and others, but have also been rejected, both explicitly and by implication, as either invalid or unnecessary.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text, see: Ḳāsim Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār wa afkār wa aḥwāl-i Ḥāfiẓ*, Tehrān 1321-2/1942-3 (2 vols. only appeared before the author's death); J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 256-68 and bibliographical references (the best and fullest summary to date); H. R. Roemer, *Probleme der Hafizforschung und der Stand ihrer Lösung*, Wiesbaden 1951; A. Gölpınarlı, *Hafiz Divanı*, Istanbul 1944 (useful preface); R. Lescot, *Chronologie de l'œuvre de Hafiz*, in *BÉt. Or.*, 1944, 57-100; A. J. Arberry, *Ḥāfiẓ: fifty poems*, Cambridge 1947 and reprinted, 1-34; idem, *Classical Persian literature*, London 1958, 329-63; Browne, iii, 271-319; *IA*, s.v. Hâfız, by H. Ritter.

(G. M. Wickens)

ḤĀFIẒ-I ABRŪ, the *laḳab* of 'Abd Allāh b. Luṭf Allāh b. 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Bihdādīnī, Persian historian of the time of Shāhrukh, who died in 833/1430. He was also in the suite of Tīmūr as an excellent chess-player and accompanied him and Shāhrukh in some campaigns.

His first known work is probably the anonymous *Dhayl-i Djāmi' al-tawārīkh* (unique MS: Nuruosmaniye), which deals with the reign of Uldjaytū and Abū Sa'īd, the first part being an extract from the *Ta'rīkh-i Uldjaytū Sulṭān* by al-Ḳāshānī. The next of his works, completed in 814/1412 by order of Shāhrukh, is the *Dhayl-i Ẓafarnāma-yi Shāmī* about the rest of the life of Tīmūr. Some time later he wrote a history of the reign of Shāhrukh to 816/1413 (unique MS: India Office). In 817/1414 he began at the request of Shāhrukh to translate and to complete an old Arabic geographical work called *Masālik al-mamālik wa-ṣuwar al-aḳālīm*, probably one of the redactions of al-Balkhī. In this unfinished and untitled work he could not repress his interests as a historian and included in it extensive historical passages especially on the history of Fārs, Kirmān and Khurāsān.

While occupied with this geographical work Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū was in 820/1417 charged by Shāhrukh to compile a voluminous historical enterprise consisting of three famous older historical books, with supplements and a continuation written by himself. The result of this endeavour was the *Madjmū'a*, which contains: A. Introduction and Contents. — B. The Chronicle of al-Ṭabarī translated by Bal'amī. — C. Continuation of this work to 656/1258 by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — D. Introduction to the *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn and list of its contents by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — E. The *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh*. — F. History of the Kurtid Dynasty by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — G. Four small treatises on Tughāy-Tīmūr, Amīr Walī, the Sarbadārids and Amīr Arghūnshāh by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — H. Continuation of the *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh*, dealing with the events in Ādharbāydjān and Arabic 'Irāḳ in the years 703-95/1304-93. — I. History of the Muẓaffarid Dynasty by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — J. The *Ẓafarnāma* of Shāmī. — K. The above mentioned Continuation of this work by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — L. History of Shāhrukh's reign to Rabī' II 819/May 1416. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū makes use in parts F, H and I of sources known to us. The first three-quarters of F are an extract from the *Harātnāma* by Sayf b. Muḥammad Harawī, about the first two-thirds of I are a simplification of the *Mawāhib-i ilāhī* by Mu'īn al-Dīn Yazdī. In H the history of Uldjaytū's and Abū Sa'īd's reigns is an extract from the *Dhayl-i Djāmi' al-tawārīkh* mentioned above. The other passages of his supplements result from sources unknown to us or from oral tradition. L is the second redaction of his History of Shāhrukh. Some parts in G, H, I and L are closely connected with the historical passages of his geographical work.

The further great historical enterprise of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū is the *Madjmaʿ al-tawārīkh*, a universal chronicle divided into four voluminous *Arbāʿ*. The first *Rubʿ* treats of the Prophets, the old Iranian myths and the history of Īrān to the Arab conquest, the second the history of the Caliphate to 1258, the third the history of Īrān in the Saldjūḳ and Mongol periods. The fourth, dedicated to Bāysunghur and having a special title *Zubdat al-tawārīkh-i Bāysunghurī*, is subdivided into two parts, the first dealing with the life of Tīmūr (736-807/1336-1405), the second with the reign of Shāhrukh to Rabīʿ II 830/February 1427. The three first *Arbāʿ* have not the value of sources. The end of the third *Rubʿ*, the reign of Uldjaytū and Abū Saʿīd, is more detailed than in the *Madjmūʿa* (H), and agrees with the above mentioned *Dhayl-i Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. The first part of the fourth *Rubʿ* is a copy of the *Ẓafarnāma* of Shāmī, here and there corrected and completed, divided chronologically into single years and having interpolated the parts of F, G, H, I and K of the *Madjmūʿa* which relate to these years. The second part is the third enlarged redaction of his history of Shāhrukh.

As this survey shows, the works of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū are an interesting example of the manner of working of a Persian historian of the Middle Ages in what concerns the use of works of other authors and his own former books. For the first 22 years of the reign of Shāhrukh his work is the best source. The *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* was practically the sole source of the *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn* by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī and hence of the later Persian chroniclers.

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(F. Tauer)

ḤĀFIẒ AḤMED PASHA, (?-1041/1632), Ottoman Grand Vizier. The date of his birth is uncertain. Simone Contarini, in his *relazione* of 1612 to the Signoria of Venice, states that he was then about forty years of age (Barozzi and Berchet, i, 146: "... Cabil bassa già capitan del Mare che regge ora Damasco sarà di 40 anni ..."). He rose in the *enderūn-i humāyūn* to the status of *muṣāḥib*, *i.e.*, confidant of the sultan, and to the office of *doghāndjī bashî*. On leaving the *enderūn-i humāyūn* he became a vizier and also Ḳapudān Pāshā, *i.e.*, High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet—an appointment that he filled (22 Shawwāl 1016/9 February 1608 until 16 February 1609: cf. Naʿīmā, ii, 23 and Salignac, 259, note I) with little distinction, since he failed, in 1017/1608, to safeguard the ships bearing the tribute of Egypt from Alexandria to Istanbul, a number of vessels being lost to a Florentine squadron near Rhodes as a result, in no small measure, of his negligence. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed, deposed from the office of Ḳapudān, was now made Beglerbeg of Shām (Damascus). During his tenure of this appointment (April 1609-January 1615: cf. Laoust, 199-201) he was engaged in operations against the Druze chieftain of the Lebanon, Fakhr al-Dīn II [*q.v.*]. Some years later, being then Beglerbeg of Diyārbekir, Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed was ordered to restore Ottoman control over Baghdād, where the *subashî* Bekir was in rebellion, but he failed in this mission, the forces of the Ṣafawīd Shāh ʿAbbās I seizing the town in the winter of 1033/1623-4. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed became Grand Vizier in Rabīʿ II 1034/February 1625. The main event of his Grand Vizierate was a fruitless siege of Baghdād (Ṣafar 1035/November 1625-Shawwāl 1036/July 1626). He was deprived of the office of Grand Vizier in Rabīʿ I 1036/December 1626, becoming now second vizier, but at the same time receiving in marriage the hand of a sister of Sultan Murād IV. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed was appointed Grand Vizier for the second time on 29 Rabīʿ I 1041/25 October 1631 (Naʿīmā, iii, 79). A revolt amongst troops from Asia Minor brought about his death, however, on 19 Radjab 1041/10 February 1632 (Pečewī, ii, 420-1).

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AL-ḤĀFIẒ AL-DIMAS̲H̲ḲĪ [see IBN ʿASĀKIR].

ḤĀFIẒ IBRĀHĪM, Muḥammad, Egyptian poet and writer, was born between 1869 and 1872 on a house-boat (Arabic: *d̲h̲ahabiyya*) anchored on the Nile near Dayrūṭ (*mudīriyya* of Asyūṭ). On the death of his father, when he was four years old, he was given a home by his maternal uncle, first in Cairo and then at Ṭanṭā, where he had the opportunity of attending, albeit irregularly, the few courses given in the al-Aḥmadī mosque, and of familiarizing himself with Arabic classical poetry, especially that of the ʿAbbāsid period, while serving his apprenticeship in the offices of several lawyers. Continually seeking anxiously for the vocation which he had not yet discovered, and weary of living at his uncle's expense, he left Ṭanṭā to enrol in the military college at Cairo; after graduating, he entered Government service first in the War Ministry and then in the Interior. As an officer, he served for a long time in the Eastern Sudan, at the time of Lord Kitchener's campaign, but after a riot in which he had been involved he asked to be retired. Returning to Cairo in 1906 he had the opportunity of attaching himself to Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], whose disciple he was, and of devoting himself more freely to poetry. He was also at this period in contact with such political leaders as Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl [*q.v.*], Muṣṭafā Kāmil [*q.v.*] and Ḳāsim Amīn [*q.v.*], as well as with the intelligentsia gathered round K̲h̲alīl Muṭrān [*q.v.*] and others. It was only in 1911 that he succeeded in becoming a member of the civil service and in being nominated head of the literary section of the Khedivial Library (now the Dār al-Kutub) at Cairo, a post which he retained almost until his death on 21 July 1932.

Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm must be counted among the representatives of the innovating Egyptian poetical school, whose leader was Sāmī al-Bārūdī [*q.v.*] and who followed their own temperaments and nature, aiming to detach themselves from tradition. But he set himself apart from other spokesmen of the new generation by his more spontaneous adherence to the cause of the people and the cause of the Arab community in general, whose legitimate emotions and ambitions he succceeded in reproducing. In fact, the pieces in his *Dīwān* (Cairo 1937, 2 vols.) reveal a mass of details and direct observations which on the one hand throw light on several aspects of Egyptian political and social life during the first decades of this century, and on the other allow us to glimpse the frequently polemical standpoint of the poet. Particularly in those verses which are immediately recognized as political, he demonstrates his perfect grasp of the reality of the situation, that is, that the three authorities struggling for the good opinion of the public (the British, the Sultan, and the Khedive) must be flattered and that he must above all smother his anger and despair and conceal his thoughts. Thus his occasional poems, in which the poet of the people was forced to adapt himself to the style of panegyrics or threnodies, lack originality and imagination. Suffering, complaints, anxiety and melancholy are the basis for the best verses of Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, who reserved for such themes his most delicate choice of images and his most effective vocabulary, in a structure that is far from ignoring the classical tradition completely. His poetry, which cannot be subjected to exhaustive criticism in this article, became known fairly rapidly in the learned circles of al-Azhar and received a flattering welcome among the cultured élite and the political leaders of Egypt. Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, in his sympathy with the wretched, became above all the echo of the sufferings and hopes of his people; it was perhaps this predisposition which led him to translate certain episodes from Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* (*al-Buʾasāʾ*) (Cairo 1903, and reprints), remarkable especially for the splendour of his Arabic prose; another aspect of his narrative style is represented by *Layālī Saṭīḥ* (1st ed.: Cairo 1906, 2nd ed.: n.d.) in which there appear more strongly the moral objectives which the imitators of the *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*] cherished at the end of the 19th century; this long *maḳāma* contains a critical survey of Egyptian morals and was perhaps written in imitation of the *Ḥadīt̲h̲ ʿĪsā b. His̲h̲ām* of Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī [*q.v.*], who remains superior to Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm in this *genre*. Also noteworthy is the translation, made in collaboration with K̲h̲alīl Muṭrān, of a work of Paul Leroy-Beaulieu entitled in Arabic *al-Mūd̲j̲az fī ʿilm al-iḳtiṣād* (Cairo 1913, 5 vols.).

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ḤĀFIẒ RAḤMAT K̲H̲ĀN, b. S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam K̲h̲ān b. Maḥmūd K̲h̲ān b. S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn known as Kōṭā Bābā . . . b. Bharēč K̲h̲ān . . . b. Ḳays ʿAbd al-Ras̲h̲īd, the legendary ancestor of the Paṭhāns or Afg̲h̲āns, a *ḥāfiẓ* (memorizer) of the Ḳurʾān, was the head of an important ruling family of Rohilkhand during the 12th/18th century. Some of his ancestors had migrated from S̲h̲ōrābak in the Pis̲h̲in district of West Pakistan to Čač Hazāra where the family ultimately settled. He was born in 1120/1708 at Tor S̲h̲ahāmatpūr, a small little-known village in *rōh* (*i.e.*, a hilly country, a term loosely applied to the tribal areas of present-day West Pakistan and the adjoining territory of Afg̲h̲ānistān), after the return of his father from his first visit to India where, in the territory then known as Kaṭēhr (modern Rohilkhand) one of his slaves, Dāwūd K̲h̲ān, had been able to gain wealth and influence with the local rād̲j̲ās and *zamīndārs*, whom he served as a mercenary. Gradually Dāwūd K̲h̲ān was able to carve out a separate principality for himself. His almost meteoric rise to power attracted many of his fellow-countrymen to India including S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam K̲h̲ān, father of Raḥmat K̲h̲ān. On arrival in India he was warmly received by Dāwūd K̲h̲ān, in the manner befitting a master. But S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam K̲h̲ān apparently became jealous of the success of his former bondsman, who had him murdered. Soon afterwards Dāwūd K̲h̲ān was himself killed, and succeeded by his adopted son ʿAlī Muḥammad K̲h̲ān. A brave and dashing soldier, he was awarded a standard and kettle-drums along with the title of Nawwāb by the reigning Mug̲h̲al emperor, and won the favour of the Grand Vizier Ḳamar al-Dīn K̲h̲ān. Emboldened by this patronage the Rohillas, under ʿAlī Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, began their depredations in and around the *parganah* of Bareilly [*q.v.*]. Complaints reached the emperor Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (*reg.* 1131/1719-1161/1748) who ordered punitive

measures against them. An unexpected victory over an imperial force encouraged the Rohilla adventurers to further annexations. These alarmed Ṣafdar-Djang [*q.v.*], the Nawwāb-Wazīr of Awadh, who had his own plans of expansion. Himself a Shīʿī, he disliked the orthodox Rohillas, and instigated the Mughal emperor against ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān. An expedition, led by the emperor himself, was mounted against the Rohilla chief, who submitted and, on the intercession of the *wazīr*, was forgiven but carried as a prisoner to Delhi. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, the right-hand man of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, was, however, left free. The detention of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān was taken as a national insult and Raḥmat Khān misused the liberty granted to him by raising a large force and marching to the capital in order to coerce the emperor into releasing his patron ʿAlī Muḥammad. He succeeded in brow-beating the *wazīr* and other counsellors into accepting his demands. Consequently ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān was released from captivity, and the governorship of the *ṣūba* of Sirhind, at that time disturbed by roving bands of Sikhs and Djāṭs, was conferred on him. Raḥmat Khan again distinguished himself by breaking the resistance of the refractory *zamīndārs* and dispersing the marauders. ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān had not been at his post for long when news of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī's invasion of India (1161/1748) reached Delhi. As a precaution against the defection of the Rohillas, ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān was removed from Sirhind and reappointed to his old post in Kaṭēhr.

On the death of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh in 1168/1748 and that of the *wazīr* Ḳamar al-Dīn Khān, there was a keen contest for this key-post in the empire. Ṣafdar-Djang, an aspirant to the office, was able to enlist the support of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, who deputed Raḥmat Khān to help him achieve his ambition. Raḥmat Khān marched to Delhi with 1,000 choice troops and by a bold stroke compelled the emperor Aḥmad Shāh (*reg.* 1161/1748-1168/1754) to confer the office of *wazīr* on Ṣafdar-Djang. Soon thereafter ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān died, on 3 Shawwāl 1162/14 September 1749, having, according to *Gulistān-i Raḥmat* (see *Bibliography*), nominated Raḥmat Khān as his successor only two days before his death. Raḥmat Khān, however, willingly withdrew in favour of ʿAlī Muḥammad's minor son Saʿd Allāh Khān, his two elder brothers ʿAbd Allāh Khān and Fayḍ Allāh Khān being away in Afghānistān as prisoners of the Abdālī. Raḥmat Khān virtually adopted the rôle of regent during the minority of Saʿd Allāh. This situation tempted the rapacious Ṣafdar-Djang to try and gain the Rohilla acquisitions for himself. He succeeded in pitting Ḳāʾim Khān, the Bangash Nawwāb of Farrukhābād [*q.v.*] against the Rohillas. A pitched battle was fought at a place three miles from Badāʾūn [*q.v.*], in which Ḳāʾim Khān was slain and his large force of 60,000 horse routed. As fruit of the victory Raḥmat Khān annexed many *parganahs* belonging to the vanquished Bangash chief. Ṣafdar-Djang turned the defeat of his own instrument to advantage and captured Farrukhābād, maltreating his fallen ally's family. Aḥmad Khān, younger brother of Ḳāʾim Khān, however, soon recovered his lost patrimony by defeating and killing Nawal Rāy, the deputy of Ṣafdar-Djang. This incensed Ṣafdar-Djang, who assembled a huge force and marched against the Afghāns. On an appeal for help from Aḥmad Khān, Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān joined in the battle and their combined troops inflicted a heavy defeat on the Awadh army. Smarting under the blow, Ṣafdar-Djang called in the Marāṭhās under Malhar Rāo Holkar and Djay Appā Sindhiyā. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, finding himself unequal to the Marāṭhas, did not respond to Aḥmād Khān's appeals for help, but Saʿd Allāh Khān, acting independently of the regent, joined the forces of the Bangash Nawwāb. The Marāṭhās completely annihilated Saʿd Allāh's army of 12,000 in a fierce battle near Fatḥgaṛh on 28 April 1751. By imprudently refusing help to a brother Afghān ruler in trouble, Raḥmat Khān brought misery not only to the Afghāns but also darkened his own prospects as an independent ruler of Rohilkhand. Desirous of wielding more power, he began to strengthen his own position and sided with Ṣafdar-Djang, who, after his dismissal from the office of *wazīr*, was trying to make trouble. In the armed conflict that followed between the Marāṭhas and the ruler of Farrukhābād, Raḥmat Khān enigmatically remained neutral. Elated by their victory, the Marāṭhās and their ally Ṣafdar-Djang now thought of invading Kaṭēhr and annexing it. Sensing their designs, Raḥmat Khān and other Rohilla chiefs fled to the difficult reaches of the Terai, where they entrenched themselves. Ṣafdar-Djang and the Marāṭhās laid siege to their camp, but the difficulties of the terrain and the news of Abdālī's impending invasion of India discouraged them. Considering it prudent to retreat, they agreed, at the instance of the emperor Aḥmad Shāh, to open peace negotiations with the Rohillas. The peace treaty was finally signed at Lucknow in February 1752. By it the Rohillas were required to pay an indemnity of fifty lakhs of rupees to the Marāṭhās, the price of their participation in the conflict between Awadh and Kaṭēhr. To establish his superiority further, Ṣafdar-Djang compelled Raḥmat Khān to accompany him to Awadh. However, after reaching Mōhāń, 15 miles from Lucknow, Raḥmat Khān was allowed to return to his own country. With a view to further reducing the position and influence of Raḥmat Khān, the two elder sons of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, who had been kept as hostages at Ḳandahār, were released by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī in 1166/1752 on the occasion of his making yet another invasion of India, and were sent back to Kaṭēhr "with a letter strongly recommending their guardians to carry out Ali Muhammad's will". Willy-nilly Raḥmat Khān had to partition the country into three sections, assigning each to the three major sons of ʿAlī Muḥammad, *i.e.*, ʿAbd Allāh Khān, Fayḍ Allāh Khān and Saʿd Allāh Khān (the ruling prince, but the younger son). The presence of Raḥmat Khān as a virtual 'regent' was resented by ʿAbd Allāh, an ambitious and headstrong young man, who attempted to poison him, but the attempt was foiled; it led to the banishment of ʿAbd Allāh Khān from Kaṭēhr. This division of the country and his subsequent loss of revenue and prestige compelled Raḥmat Khān to seek new possessions, and he consequently extended his rule to Pīlībhīt which he renamed Ḥāfiẓābād (a name which never became popular) and which now became the principal seat of his government; Bareilly [*q.v.*], which had all along been the major centre of his activity, was relegated to a secondary position. At Pīlībhīt he constructed a big palace, a *Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ* and a *Dīwān-i ʿĀmm* to complete the appurtenances of rulership. In the meantime, Ṣafdar-Djang was preparing to fight the emperor's party and summoned Raḥmat Khān to his assistance. He at first responded, but on second thoughts considered it prudent to remain neutral. This was construed as an open act of rebellion against the emperor, for as a loyal subject Raḥmat Khān was expected to side

with the emperor's party against a refractory subject. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān had to pay dearly for this political mistake which led to the ruin of the short-lived Rohilla kingdom and dimmed the prospects of Afghān rule in India. In this internal conflict, which may rightly be termed the rebellion of Ṣafdar-Djang, the only Afghān chief who responded to the call of the emperor was Nadjīb al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. The very next year Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī invaded India for the third time, and ordered Raḥmat Khān to help the *wazīr* Ghāzī al-Dīn ʿImād al-Mulk [*q.v.*] realize the *pīshkash* due from Shudjāʿ al-Dawla who had succeeded his father Safdar-Djang in 1170/1756. An agreement was reached eliminating the need for a call to arms. At the battle of Panipat in 1175/1761, which sounded the death-knell of Marāṭhā rule in India, Raḥmat Khān, his son ʿInāyat Khān and his cousin Dūndē Khān, father-in-law of Nadjīb al-Dawla, took an active part and helped Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī with their troops. For the help rendered by Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, the Durrānī chief conferred the *parganah* of Etawah on him. Raḥmat Khān expelled the Marāṭhās, who still held it. Soon afterwards Shudjāʿ al-Dawla thought of settling old scores with the Bangash ruler of Farrukhābād and in alliance with his former foe, Nadjīb al-Dawla, who had now become *wazīr* and *amīr al-umarāʾ*, commenced operations against Farrukhābād. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān sided with the weaker side and was able to avert the fall of the small Afghān kingdom. The next notable event in which Raḥmat Khān was involved was the attack on Patna, then held by the British, in 1177/1763, and the battle of Buxar fought in 1178/1764 between the British and Mīr Ḳāsim ʿAlī, the deposed *nāẓim* of Bengal and Raḥmat Khān's ally Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, who greatly feared the growing power of the British in India. Shudjāʿ al-Dawla was defeated and sought refuge with Raḥmat Khān, who was then encamped at Ḥasanpūr (district Murādābād). Finding him unwilling to render active help, Shudjāʿ al-Dawla turned to the Marāṭhās and they both fell on the British at Kōṛa Djahānābād in 1179/1765. However, their troops could not withstand the destructive fire of the English batteries and were completely routed. Shudjāʿ al-Dawla was compelled to sue for peace, but he bore a grudge against Raḥmat Khān for not having come to his help at a critical juncture. Since the English were convinced of the neutrality of Raḥmat Khān, he was allowed to enjoy a few more years of happiness and prosperity. The danger of growing British supremacy, however, loomed large on the Indian horizon and an acute and shrewd observer like Raḥmat Khān could not easily ignore it. In the meantime Nadjīb al-Dawla, and Raḥmat Khān's cousin and one of his great supporters, Dūndē Khān, both died in 1184/1770 and 1185/1771 respectively, thus weakening Afghān power in India. Ḍābiṭa Khān, son and successor of Nadjīb al-Dawla, considered it prudent to become an ally of the Marāṭhās, for he thought that by so doing he would be able to save his possessions from falling into the hands of Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, the enemy of his family. Raḥmat Khān, assessing the political situation much more sensibly, sided with the Nawwāb of Awadh, whom the British wanted to use as a pawn and whose territories they reckoned would serve as a buffer state between the British and the Marāṭhās, both struggling for power in India. As his own share of the price of defence against the Marāṭhās, Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān bound himself to pay on behalf of the Rohillas forty lakhs of rupees (Rs. 4,000,000) to Shūdjāʿ al-Dawla with the provision to pay Rs. 1,000,000 in cash and the balance in three equal instalments of Rs. 1,000,000 to be spread over three years. To this agreement Sir Robert Barker, the British commander-in-chief, was a witness (cf. C. E. Aitchison, *Treaties, sanads and engagements*, i, 5).

As Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān felt that the conditions binding him to pay forty lakhs of rupees for warding off the menace of the Marāṭhās had not been fulfilled, he declined to pay. This was construed as a breach of agreement solemnly entered into by the Rohilla chief. This naturally led to the outbreak of hostilities between Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān and the Awadh *darbār*. Some of the Rohilla chiefs, including Fayḍ Allāh Khān, second son of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān and later the founder of the princely state of Rāmpūr (now merged with Uttar Pradēsh), dissociated themselves and took no part in the war, in which the British actively helped the Awadh forces. Consequently the two armies met at the battlefield of Kaṭra Mīrānpūr, 7 *kōs* from Tilhar, in 1188/1774. The Rohillas were greatly outnumbered and the defection of a large body of troops under Bakhshī Aḥmad Khān completed the ruin of the Rohillas and the eclipse of their glorious but shortlived rule in India. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān was struck by a flying cannon ball and killed outright. His head was severed from his body by one of his former retainers, Murtaḍā Khān Bharēč, and taken to Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, who gloated over it. The corpse was later recovered from the battle-field and the severed head was sewn to it. It was despatched to Bareilly, where it was buried. In 1189/1775 Rāo Pahāṛ Singh, who had received a number of villages in *djāgīr* from Raḥmat Khān, erected a mausoleum over his grave, which was completed by Dhu 'l-Faḳār ʿAlī Khān, a son of Raḥmat Khān, in 1194/1780. It was repaired from time to time but is now in a sad state of neglect.

After the death of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, the victorious armies fell to depredation and spoliation of the helpless population. Thousands of villages which refused to surrender were burnt down and the inhabitants driven out. Hundreds of buildings which had been erected by the Rohilla chiefs or which were an eye-sore to Shudjāʿ al-Dawla as an extreme Shīʿī were razed to the ground. Even the family and close relations of the fallen hero were not spared and were subjected to all sorts of indignities. They were reduced to great straits and even the women-folk were forced to march on foot from Pīlībhīt, where they had taken refuge, to Basawlī. For days together during the fatiguing march via Aonla and Bareilly several members of the ex-ruling family died of hunger and other privations. The prisoners were eventually transferred to the fort at Allāhābād, where they remained for only a few months since the concentration of Rohilla forces under Fayḍ Allāh Khān at Lāldhāng and the serious illness of Shudjāʿ al-Dawla compelled the latter, who had earlier refused to listen to the entreaties of his own mother, to relent and set free some of the prisoners. Maḥabbat Khān, another son of Raḥmat Khān, however, preferred to remain in detention along with his mother, the widow of Raḥmat Khān, and other ladies of his household rather than to win his own personal freedom.

The régime of Raḥmat Khān, a just and humane ruler, was marked by all-round peace and prosperity. "Under his . . . rule the peasants were protected; the artisans and craftsmen were encouraged to pursue their vocations in peace and without let or hindrance; trade and commerce flourished and vexatious taxes

upon trade were abolished". A patron of learning and literature, he supported five thousand *ʿulamāʾ* by allowing them stipends from the public treasury. A deeply religious man, he scrupulously observed the Ramaḍān rituals and, after the custom of the *ḥuffāẓ*, also recited privately some parts of the Ḳurʾān himself during the nights of the holy month. A poet in Persian, some poems found in an anthology of Afg̲h̲ān poets preserved in the British Museum are ascribed to him, but it is difficult to establish their authenticity. He is the author of *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-ansāb*, an account of the genealogy of the Afg̲h̲āns with a concluding chapter in refutation of S̲h̲īʿism (completed in 1184/1770) (MS. I.O.,D.P. 777; cf. also Storey, I/i, 396-7).

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ḤĀFIẒ AL-DĪN [see AL-NASAFĪ].

ḤAFĪẒ (ʿ**ABD** AL-), ʿAlawī Sultan of Morocco, commonly known both in Europe and Morocco by the name of Moulay Hafid. He was born in 1880 to the Sultan Moulay Ḥasan [*q.v.*] and his legal wife al-ʿAliyya, who belonged to the Arab confederacy of S̲h̲āwiyya. On the death of his father, his younger brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], who had become Sultan, appointed him *k̲h̲alīfa* at Marrākus̲h̲. After a long underhand struggle and with the aid of the great *ḳāʾid* Madanī Glāwī [see GLĀWA] he was proclaimed sultan at Marrākus̲h̲ on 16 August 1907. But at Fās in January 1908 he was recognized as Sultan only on the strength of his promises to follow a xenophobe policy imposed by the powerful Moroccan élite. (An attempted Idrīsid restoration took place at this time but without result). In spite of the support which Moulay Hafid found in Germany, the foreign powers did not recognize him until 1909, and then only after he had defeated the troops of his deposed brother and promised to respect the undertakings given by the latter to the European nations at the Conference of Algeciras (1906). Very well-read, a jurist and a theologian, he did not possess his father's moral qualities and was ill-prepared for the insurmountable difficulties he had to face. During his reign France and Germany reached the agreement of 1909 which recognized the "special interests" of the former in Moroccan affairs and made possible the signing of the Franco-Moroccan protocol of 4 March 1910. This act of diplomacy established "the understanding between the two countries" and enabled an international loan to be launched, which was greatly needed by Morocco. In November of the same year, the settlement of the disorders in Melilla resulted in the signing of an agreement between the Sultan and Spain. Serious events occurred in Morocco at the beginning of 1911 and, faced by increasing disorder, Moulay Hafid officially requested the help of the French troops who had been stationed at Casablanca since 1907. They were soon able to relieve Fās and facilitated the arrest and execution of the agitator (*rogī*) Bū Ḥamāra [*q.v.*] who had been at large in the countryside since 1902. The Spaniards, in order to counterbalance the French operations, occupied Larache (al-ʿArāʾis̲h̲), al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr and then Arzila (Aṣīla). This interference provoked the disapproval of Germany, who sent a gunboat to Agadir and created for herself a zone of influence in the Sūs. The Agadir incident was settled by the Franco-German agreement of November 1911, which gave France a free hand in Morocco in return for considerable territorial compensations in Equatorial Africa. On 30 March 1912 at Fās the sultan signed with M. Regnault, representing the French government, the Protectorate Treaty. Immediately afterwards an insurrection broke out around the capital and, on 17 April, serious riots took place in Fās. They cost the lives of scores of French soldiers and civilians and of a large number of Moroccan Jews whose ghetto (*mallāḥ*) had been plundered. General Lyautey was then appointed Resident Commissioner General of the French Republic alongside H.M. the Sultan of Morocco. The position of Moulay Hafid became impossible, both in the eyes of France and of the Moroccan people, and he decided to abdicate. After he had very skilfully settled his own position and that of his family, the decision was officially announced on 13 July 1912. The Sultan then paid a visit to France, returning thereafter to Tangier, where the palace of the Ḳaṣaba was placed at his disposal. During the 1914-18 War he lived in Spain. He died at Enghien (France) on 4 April 1937. His body was taken back to Fās with the honours appropriate to his rank.

Bibliography: Further to that of the art. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ: L. Harris, *With Moulaï Hafid at Fez behind the scenes in Morocco*, London 1909; *Annuaire du Maroc*, Alger 1912, with a portrait of the sultan and a list of his ministers (p. 163); A. G. P. Martin, *Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine*, Paris 1923; M. Le Glay, *Chronique marocaine*, Paris 1933; Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās bi-d̲j̲amāl ak̲h̲bār ḥāḍirat Miknās*, 5 vols. published, Rabat 1929-33; Col. Justinard, *Le Caïd Goundafi*, Casablanca 1951; Ibn ʿAbbūd, *Tāʾrīk̲h̲ al-Mag̲h̲rib*, ii, Tetuan 1951; G. Deverdun, *Marrakech, des origines à 1912*, i, Rabat 1959; F. Charles-Roux et J. Caillé, *Missions diplomatiques françaises à Fès*, (with portrait), Paris 1955; Michaux-Bellaire, *Une tentative de restauration idriside à Fès*, in *RMM*, v/7 (July 1908); see also *Afr. Fr. B* and *Afr. Fr. RC*, 1906-12 (*passim*) and *RMM* (general index to vols. i-xvi).

(G. DEVERDUN)

ḤĀFIẒĀBĀD, headquarters of a *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Gūd̲j̲rāṅwāla [*q.v.*] district of West

Pakistan, lying between 31° 45′ and 32° 20′ N. and 73° 10′ and 73° 50′ E. on the east bank of the river Čenāb, with an area of 894 sq. miles. It is 33 miles by road from Gūdjrāńwāla with a population (1961) of 34,576. It is an ancient town and was of considerable importance during Mughal times, as it finds mention in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, where it is described as the seat of a *maḥāll*. Its importance declined with the rise of Gūdjrāńwāla, which lies on the main rail-road to Peshāwar and Lahore. It is now a small town mainly known as a wholesale market for agricultural produce, chiefly fine quality rice, cotton, wheat and oil-seeds.

Founded by one Ḥāfiẓ, said to be a favourite of the emperor Akbar, it is of little historical importance. During the Sikh supremacy, it suffered along with other parts of Gūdjrāńwāla district. Its two leading tribes—the Bhaṭṭīs and the Tārańs—resolutely resisted the Sikhs and consequently suffered heavily. During the disturbances after the first World War, Ḥāfiẓābād was also badly affected, with the result that martial law was imposed.

Bibliography: *District Census Report—Gujranwala*, Karachi 1961, 1-5, 1-23; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xiii, 4-5; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Eng. transl. by Jarrett, index.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ḤAFRAK, a district in the seventh *Ustān* (Fārs), situated in the plain where the Pulvār Rūd joins the Kurr. Ibn al-Balkhī (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, London 1921, 126) mentions the district by name, but gives no description of it. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha* (Eng. tr. G. Le Strange, 126) repeats, but does not add to, Ibn al-Balkhī's words; however, in a further passage (178), he states that the district lies on the route from Shīrāz to Abarḳūh. The Arab geographers appear to have had no knowledge of Ḥafrak. Ḥafrak is not to be confused either with Khabr, a town in Fārs, or with the large village of Khabrak, which is in the same province. On the assumption that an earlier form of the name was Hapirak, an endeavour was made to derive this name from Ha-pir-ti, which was then thought to be the name of the Elamite people, but this, besides being geographically incorrect, is also etymologically wrong, since Ha-pir-ti has been shown to be a misreading for Ha(l)tamti; in this connexion, see Poebel, *The Name of Elam in Sumerian, Akkadian and Hebrew*, in *Amer. Jour. Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, xlviii, Chicago 1931-32, 20-6. (L. Lockhart)

ḤAFṢ b. SULAYMĀN [see abū salama].

ḤAFṢ b. SULAYMĀN b. al-Mughīra, Abū ʿUmar b. Abī Dāwūd al-Asadī al-Kūfī al-Fākhirī al-Bazzāz, transmitter of the "reading" of ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*]. Born about 90/709, he became a merchant in cloth, which gained for him the surname of Bazzāz. His fame rests solely on the knowledge he had acquired of the "reading" of the master of Kūfa, whose son-in-law he was. After the death of the latter and the foundation of Baghdād he settled in the capital, where he had numerous pupils, then went to spread the "reading" of his father-in-law in Mecca. Shuʿba b. ʿAyyāsh (d. 194/809) was also concerned in the passing on of ʿĀṣim's "reading", but Ḥafṣ is considered more reliable, and it is the system passed down by his efforts which was adopted for the establishment of the text of the Ḳurʾān published in Cairo 1342/1923 under the auspices of King Fuʾād, which is gaining recognition as the modern Vulgate. This is underlined by R. Blachère (*Introd. au Coran*, Paris 1947, 134-5), who adds that the Islamic community may well recognize in the future only the "reading" of ʿĀṣim handed down by Ḥafṣ. Ibn al-Djazarī notes that Ibn ʿAyyāsh differed from Ḥafṣ on 520 points, but that the latter respected the "reading" of ʿĀṣim in full, except for one word, from XXX, 53, which he read as *ḍuʿf*, while his master vocalized it *ḍaʿf* (and it is this vocalization which has been adopted by the Cairo edition).

Ḥafṣ died in 180/796.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 29, 32; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, i, 254 f.; Dānī, *Taysīr*, 6 and *passim*; ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Ṣarf al-ʿinān ilā ḳirāʾat Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān*, ed. A. Khalifé, in *Machriq*, 1961, 342-62, 540-69 (*urdjūza* of 520 verses with glosses); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, s.v.; Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, s.v.; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 215-6; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, tables. (Ed.)

ḤAFṢ AL-FARD, Abū ʿAmr or Abū Yaḥyā, theologian, concerning whose life practically nothing is known. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 180; Cairo ed., 255), he was a native of Egypt, and, if we accept the traditional chronology of al-Shāfiʿī's biography (but see J. Schacht, in *Studia Orientalia Joanni Pedersen ... dicata*, 322), it is probably there that he fell out with al-Shāfiʿī, who is said to have "excommunicated" him (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ii, 330-1); this incident probably occurred between 188/804 and 195/810-1, so that it is unlikely that Ḥafṣ was the pupil of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798; al-Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf al-sādat*, ii, 47) before joining, in Baṣra, the circle of Abu 'l-Hudhayl [*q.v.*], who was resident there until 203/818-9. His adherence to Muʿtazilism does not seem to have been very close; he appears later to have had some disagreement with Abu 'l-Hudhayl, before returning to Egypt, where he represented the official theological position during the *miḥna*; nevertheless he seems to have returned to a relatively orthodox attitude.

The fact remains that the heresiographers, who frequently associate him with Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, attribute to him a doctrine which is not Muʿtazilī in that he professed the creation of acts by God (*khalḳ al-afʿāl*). The *Fihrist* therefore lists him among the *mudjbira*, and al-Khayyāṭ reproves him for anthropomorphism because of his thesis that the *māhiyya* of God is known to Him alone. Ḥafṣ rejected the thesis of al-Naẓẓām on the interpenetration (*mudākhala*) of accidents and preached *mudjāwara*. One original point of his doctrine is the sixth sense which God will create on the Day of Resurrection in order to enable His creatures to see Him.

The *Fihrist* attributes to him six works: *K. al-Istiṭāʿa*, *K. al-Tawḥīd*, *K. fi 'l-makhlūḳ ʿalā Abi 'l-Hudhayl*, *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-Naṣārā*, *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-Muʿtazila*, *K. al-Abwāb fi 'l-makhlūḳ*, none of which seems to have survived.

Bibliography: further to the works mentioned above: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 25, 74; idem, *Bayān*, i, 25; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. Ritter, index; Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, 98; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iii, 54; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, on the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, ii, 114-5; Shams al-Dīn Muḥ. b. al-Zayyāt, *K. al-Kawākib al-sayyāra ...*, Cairo 1325, 167; M. Horten, *Das philos. System der Spek. Theologen*, 499; Wensinck, in *Handwörterbuch*; A. N. Nader, *Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956, 45. (Ed.)

ḤAFṢA, daughter of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and wife of the Prophet, is said to have been born five years before Muḥammad's mission, while the Ḳuraysh were rebuilding the Kaʿba. Her mother was Zaynab bint Maẓʿūn, the sister of the famous ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn [*q.v.*]. Married first to the Ḳurayshī Khumays b. Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī and widow-

ed while still childless (her husband, a Badrī, died at Medina on the return from Badr), she was offered by her father in marriage to Abū Bakr and to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān; the latter refused, explaining that he did not want to marry at that time; the former said nothing and later made his excuses to ʿUmar, saying that he had understood that Muḥammad himself intended to marry Ḥafṣa. Muḥammad did indeed propose marriage and ʿUmar accepted, naturally with enthusiasm. It is very likely that the Prophet was led to contract this marriage for reasons of policy, wishing to strengthen his bonds with such a valuable supporter as ʿUmar, all the more so because shortly before this he had asked in marriage Abū Bakr's daughter ʿĀʾisha.

The name of Ḥafṣa is mentioned in the sources in connexion with the following events. Hidjra: she emigrated to Medina with her father. Marriage: According to the majority of the sources, Muḥammad married her in the month of Shaʿbān 3/February 625, after his marriage with ʿĀʾisha and before the Battle of Uḥud; she was thus his fourth wife. Episodes concerning Muḥammad's harem: At the beginning of Sūra LXVI are verses alluding to an event or events which are certainly of a domestic nature: God reproaches the Prophet concerning his wives and reminds him that one of them has divulged a secret which he had entrusted to her; an allusion is then made to the alliance of two wives against the Prophet and the passage ends with a threat of general repudiation. The commentators, the authors of books of *asbāb al-nuzūl*, the biographers and the *muḥaddithūn* explain these verses thus: Muḥammad, during a temporary absence of Ḥafṣa, had invited into her room Mary the Copt [see MĀRIYA] and had relations with her there. Ḥafṣa, returning, surprised them and created a scene. Muḥammad then placated her, swearing that he would have no more relations with his slave, but at the same time insisted that she should not breathe a word of the affair. Ḥafṣa was unable to refrain from telling her friend ʿĀʾisha and the news of the incident spread. The Prophet was annoyed and divorced Ḥafṣa, but soon retracted his decision because Djibrīl came down from Heaven and charged him to take back his wife because she was very devout and was to be his wife in Paradise (Ibn Saʿd, viii, 58); moreover, ʿUmar was so grieved by the treatment inflicted on his daughter that he was to be pitied (it was probably ʿUmar's resentment which caused the Prophet to reverse his decision). He freed himself from the oath which he swore concerning Mary by means of a *kaffāra*, and for twenty-nine days avoided his wives. Nöldeke dates this episode to 7/628-9, Caetani to 9/630-1. Some reporters of *ḥadīth*s are obviously not very happy about this story, which they consider as dishonourable to the Prophet: they assert that the secret confided to Ḥafṣa, and by her to ʿĀʾisha, was the fact that Abū Bakr would succeed to power after Muḥammad and that ʿUmar would follow Abū Bakr (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 424, etc.). For verse 1 of the same Sūra LXVI the sources supply another *sabab al-nuzūl*, while keeping for the verses which follow the explanation given above: Muḥammad visited one of his wives, generally given as Umm Salama, but sometimes as Ḥafṣa (Ibn Saʿd, viii, 59, etc.; in this case the names change in what follows) and stayed with her longer than usual because she offered him a honey drink of which he was very fond. ʿĀʾisha then agreed with Ḥafṣa and some of the other wives of the harem on a way of preventing this from becoming a habit: one after the other said to Muḥammad when he visited her that a disagreeable smell came from him and that he must have eaten some *maghāfīr* (a sweet resin from the *ʿurfuṭ* tree). But Muḥammad had not eaten this; the smell could only have come from the drink which he had tasted earlier when visiting Umm Salama; the cause must therefore be the bees which frequented the *ʿurfuṭ* trees. Consequently Muḥammad denied himself the use of honey. But God had allowed it and Muḥammad abrogated the prohibition. According to one *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, iii, 358, iv, 273 f.), the secret which the Prophet confided to one of his wives and the oath to which the Ḳurʾān refers are to be connected with this prohibition of honey (and not with the episode of Mary the Copt). Thus already very early some relaters of traditions, conforming to a different ethical system from that which prevailed in the Prophet's milieu, endeavoured to modify as much as possible the accounts transmitted by the others. This tendency to draw a discreet veil over Muḥammad's domestic life is confirmed in the modern *tafsīr*s and notably in Muḥammad ʿAlī's notes to his edition and translation of the Ḳurʾān published under the auspices of the Aḥmadiyya. Another episode, which has no connexion with the Ḳurʾān, shows us once again ʿĀʾisha and Ḥafṣa conspiring to play a trick on a woman of noble family, Asmāʾ bint al-Nuʿmān al-Djawniyya, whom Muḥammad had sent for from her tribe with the intention of marrying her. After having adorned her for her meeting with the Prophet, they advised her to say when he approached her for the first time "I take refuge with God against you," for, they told her, it pleased him when a woman uttered this sentence on such an occasion. The result of this advice was that Muḥammad threw the sleeve of his mantle over his face and cried out three times "It is I who take refuge" and went away. Immediately after this he sent the new bride back to her tribe with gifts to assuage her sorrow; the poor girl did not marry again and died in grief. Ḥafṣa as one of the four privileged wives of Muḥammad: According to Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 51, the Prophet was authorized by God to invite to him whichever of his wives he chose without observing any order. The wives to whom he gave preference were ʿĀʾisha, Zaynab and Umm Salama, but al-Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, i, 448 and 467) and al-Yaʿḳūbī (ii, 93) add Ḥafṣa. During the final illness of the Prophet: Some *ḥadīth*s mention attempts made by ʿĀʾisha and Ḥafṣa to arrange for the Prophet to have private conversations before his death with their fathers, to the exclusion of the other Companions, and especially of ʿAlī. This is certainly possible, though these *ḥadīth*s are contradicted by others in the matter of the persons who were summoned by Muḥammad to his bedside, and it is impossible to tell which are nearer to the truth. Some *ḥadīth*s mention Ḥafṣa even in connexion with Muḥammad's delegating to Abū Bakr the leading of the public prayer. On the advice of ʿĀʾisha (or of Abū Bakr through ʿĀʾisha as an intermediary), she is said to have suggested to the Prophet that he should entrust this task to ʿUmar instead of to Abū Bakr, asserting that the latter was too weak and that his voice would be strangled by tears. It seems strange that this advice should come from ʿĀʾisha; it has, however, been pointed out that the person chosen to lead the prayer might have suffered harm instead of gaining advantage by taking the Prophet's place at a time when there was not yet any political significance attached to this duty. But in this case also there are some *ḥadīth*s which are completely different. After the

death of the Prophet: Ḥafṣa, like the other wives of Muḥammad, received an annual endowment and enjoyed the respect of the Muslims, but she did not play any political rôle even during the caliphate of her father; all that is reported of her during this period concerns matters which are of minor importance: some of the Companions asked her to persuade ʿUmar to allocate to himself from the public treasury a more liberal allowance, but ʿUmar would not be persuaded to do this, being inspired by the Prophet's example to live very soberly and modestly; as he ate frugally and dressed in too mean a fashion, she exhorted him to spend more on himself. Overcome with anger by Abū Luʾluʾa's assassination of her father, she was among those who incited ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*] to take vengeance on al-Hurmuzān, and it was because of this interference that her brother ʿAbd Allāh exclaimed "God have pity on Ḥafṣa!" (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 259). When ʿĀʾis͟ha revolted with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr against ʿAlī, Ḥafṣa wanted to join her in this campaign, but her brother ʿAbd Allāh persuaded her not to become involved. During the conference at Ad͟hruḥ, she urged ʿAbd Allāh to participate in order to prevent a split in the Muslim community. These are the only two actions to prove that she took any part in the events during the period of the civil wars. Death of Ḥafṣa: According to the majority of the sources, Ḥafṣa died at Medina in the month of S͟haʿbān 45/October-November 665, *i.e.*, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya; some, however, give the year of her death as 41/661-2, immediately after his accession, and Ibn al-At͟hīr (iii, 73) gives it as 27/647-8(!). Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who was governor of Medina at this time, followed her corpse and pronounced the funeral prayer. Text of the Ḳurʾān in Ḥafṣa's possession: The first collection of the fragments of the Ḳurʾān, formed by Zayd b. T͟hābit on the orders of Abū Bakr, was considered as private property and remained in the possession of Abū Bakr; after his death it passed into the hands of ʿUmar and then of Ḥafṣa (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch.*, ii, 15). The committee nominated by ʿUt͟hmān to issue the official text made use of these *ṣuḥuf*, but returned them to their owner when the work of collation was finished. After the death of Ḥafṣa, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam had them handed over to him and destroyed them (al-Balād͟hurī, i, 427). Character of Ḥafsa: Ḥafṣa did not have an outstanding personality; she was neither lively, witty and attractive like ʿĀʾis͟ha, nor discreet, serious and helpful like Umm Salama. Her character does not emerge very clearly from the accounts in which she is mentioned and, although some *ḥadīt͟h*s affirm that she certainly took after her father (*e.g.*, Ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 141, 237 f.), it is difficult to see in what the resemblance between them lay; perhaps they refer to the ease with which she flew into a passion or her ability to get her own way. Certainly she was not one of the most graceful and submissive of women. When Muḥammad at one time was threatening to divorce all his wives (al-Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, i, 425 f. etc.; Abbott, 52-5), her father advised her not to be excessive in her requests, not to contradict Muḥammad, not to speak behind his back and not to be jealous of ʿĀʾis͟ha, who was more beautiful and more loved by Muḥammad. Ḥafṣa was certainly not jealous of Abū Bakr's daughter; on the contrary, the two women were great friends; several *ḥadīt͟h*s show them eating together, fasting together, helping each other to maintain their own position in the harem, and perhaps to promote the affairs of their fathers. It should however be mentioned that, although in the first years after their marriages Ḥafṣa had the ascendancy over ʿĀʾis͟ha, who was still a child, the latter soon took the lead, and dominated one of the two groups of wives (ʿĀʾis͟ha, Ḥafṣa, Sawda and Ṣafiyya) which came into existence within the harem. If in fact she had any influence with Muḥammad and later with her father, she exerted it so discreetly that the sources made no mention of it. Ḥafṣa could read and write, while other wives of the Prophet were able only to read, and some were completely illiterate.

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(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

ḤAFṢA BINT AL-ḤĀDJDJ AL-RUKŪNIYYA (al-Rakūniyya), poetess of Granada born after 530/1135, d. 589/1190-1. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Iḥāṭa*, i, 316) and other writers praise the beauty, distinction, literary culture, wit, and poetic gifts of this woman, who was remembered in later ages above all for her love-affair with the poet Abū Djaʿfar Ibn Saʿīd of the Banū Saʿīd [see IBN SAʿĪD] family. Abū Djaʿfar was the inspiration of most of her poetry which we possess. After the arrival at Granada of Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān, the son of the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, she frequented his court and indulged in an amorous intrigue with him (though without abandoning Abū Djaʿfar) and was even sent with a delegation to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin at al-Ribāṭ. It was on this occasion that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin is said to have granted her a village or estate near Granada, al-Rukūna, from which her *nisba* is derived but which is otherwise unknown. Jealousy was an element in Abū Djaʿfar's political attitude and Abū Saʿīd's hostility towards him, and the latter finally received orders to execute his rival. After the crucifixion of Abū Djaʿfar in 560/1165 Ḥafṣa lamented her lost lover in verse which expresses a touching grief, dressed in black at the risk of prosecution, then little by little gave up poetry and devoted herself to teaching. She ended her days at Marrākush, where Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr had entrusted the education of the Almohad princesses to her.

Of her poetical production, strongly tinged with the romantic atmosphere which still prevailed in Spain, there remain only about 70 lines which attest a deep skill in a well-learned craft, but some personal touches and genuine sentiments often expressed in a style quite free from rhetorical artificiality may be perceived.

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(CH. PELLAT)

ḤAFṢIDS (BANŪ ḤAFṢ), a dynasty of Eastern Barbary (627-982/1229-1574), whose eponymous ancestor was the celebrated Companion of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*], the *shaykh* Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Yaḥyā al-Hintātī [*q.v.*], one of the chief architects of Almohad greatness. His son, the *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ, governed Ifrīḳiya from 603 to 618/1207 to 1221. His grandson, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, was governor in 623/1226, but was got rid of by one of his brothers (Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā) in 625/1228. Under the pretence of defending the purity of Almohad tradition, which he claimed was being undermined, the new governor omitted the name of the Muʾminid caliph from the *khuṭba* (beginning of 627/Nov.-Dec. 1229) and took the title of independent *amīr*; his sovereignty was fully affirmed in 634/1236-7 by the inclusion of his name in the *khuṭba*.

In the 7th/13th century, after its temporary unification by the Almohads, the Maghrib was once again, and not for the last time, divided into three states: the Marīnid empire of Fez, the ʿAbd al-Wādid kingdom of Tlemcen (Tilimsān) and the Ḥafṣid kingdom of Tunis.

I. The *amīr* Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā (625-47/1228-49). Having achieved independence, he gathered together what was to be henceforth the Ḥafṣid territory, i.e., the whole of Ifrīḳiya, by seizing Constantine and Bougie (628/1230) and ridding Tripolitania and the country south of Constantine of the persistent rebel Ibn Ghāniya (631/1234). The following year he annexed Algiers, and then subdued the Chelif valley. He encouraged the expansion of the Banū Sulaym (Kuʿūb and Mirdās) when they pushed back the Banū Riyāḥ (Dawāwida) in the Constantine region and the Zāb. In 636/1238, he subdued the Hawwāra of the Algerian-Tunisian borders. He thwarted a dangerous conspiracy (639/1242), and launched an attack against Tlemcen, which he took early in 640/July 1242, handing it back to the ʿAbd al-Wādid in return for his submission to Ḥafṣid rule. On his way back, he conceded to the chiefs of the tribes of the Banū Tudjīn rule over their respective territories, thus setting up in the Central Maghrib a number of small vassal states capable of ensuring his security. From 635/1238 onwards, the power of Abū Zakariyyāʾ spread as far as Morocco and Spain, whence tokens of submission flowed in. When he died, he was in control of the whole of northern Morocco, and Naṣrids and Marīnids acknowledged his overlordship.

He upheld Almohad tradition in his civil and military administration, and in his capital Tunis, on which he conferred many benefits: *muṣallā*, *sūḳ*, *ḳaṣaba* and *madrasa* (the oldest of the public *madrasas* of Barbary). Mālikism was not interfered with by official Almohadism, nor was the mysticism associated with al-Dahmānī (b. 621/1224), ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī, Sīdī Abū Saʿīd (d. 628/1231), al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258 [*q.v.*]), and ʿĀʾisha al-Mannūbiyya (d. 665/1267 [*q.v.*]).

Rapid economic growth followed peace and security, and exchanges became more frequent with Provence, Languedoc and the Italian republics, with whom treaties were signed. From 636/1239, relations with Sicily became closer when the Ḥafṣid ruler began to pay yearly tribute in return for the right to maritime trade and freedom to import Sicilian wheat. About the same time, bonds of friendship were forged between the crowns of Tunis and Aragon. Christian merchant communities (Spanish, Provençal and Italian) settled in the ports, particularly in Tunis, with their own *funduḳs* [*q.v.*] and consuls. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century many Spanish Muslims, craftsmen, men of letters and so on, emigrated to Ḥafṣid Ifrīḳiya, and before long constituted a powerful Andalusian body alongside the Almohad caste in the capital (see ANDALUS, vi, appendix).

II. The caliph al-Mustanṣir (647-75/1249-77). As heir presumptive, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad succeeded his father without difficulty. He gave free rein to his love of ostentation, and from 650/1253 he adopted the caliphal title of al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh. His self-confident policy was rewarded by important diplomatic triumphs in Morocco, Spain and even in the Ḥidjāz and Egypt. His rule was never jeopardised by a few plots and rebellions, often started or supported by the Arabs. In 658/1260 he executed the chief of his chancellery, the Andalusian writer Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*]. On the whole, relations with Christendom were as easy as they had been under Abū Zakariyyāʾ, though they suffered some setback when the crusade of St. Louis (died at Carthage, 25 August 1270) turned towards Ifrīḳiya. Less than a month later, the crusaders left under the terms of a treaty made with al-Mustanṣir. With his death began a

lengthy period of disturbance and secession (675-718/1277-1318).

III. The reign of his son al-Wāthiḳ (675-78/1277-79) began well, but was marked by the scheming of his Andalusian favourite Ibn al-Ḥabbabar and the rising in Bougie (end of 677/April 1279) in favour of a brother of al-Mustanṣir, Abū Isḥāḳ. As early as 651/1253 he had led a revolt of Dawāwida Arabs, and, after taking shelter at the Naṣrid court of Granada, had been well received by the ʿAbd al-Wādid of Tlemcen when al-Mustanṣir died. Al-Wāthiḳ was at last forced to abdicate in favour of this uncle of his, who entered Tunis as its master (Rabīʿ II 678/August 1279); he had been helped to some extent by military aid furnished by Peter II of Aragon, who was anxious to secure the allegiance of the Ḥafṣid state in his struggle with Charles of Anjou.

IV. Abū Isḥāḳ (678-82/1279-83) executed al-Wāthiḳ, Ibn al-Ḥabbabar and several other notables, and entrusted the governorship of Bougie to his son Abū Fāris. Soon after the Sicilian Vespers (30 March 1282) had tolled the knell of Angevin dominion over Sicily, Ibn al-Wazīr, governor of Constantine, to whom Peter III of Aragon had pledged assistance, proclaimed his independence, but was worsted by Abū Fāris before Peter of Aragon's forces were able to land, and the latter sailed off for Trapani.

Abū Isḥāḳ maintained normal relations with Italy, and gave one of his daughters in marriage to the heir-apparent of Tlemcen. But Ibn Abī ʿUmāra, an adventurer, seized the whole of south Tunisia with Arab help, was proclaimed caliph (681/1282), and was successful enough to cause Abū Isḥāḳ to flee to Bougie to join his son Abū Fāris. The latter obliged him to abdicate in his favour (end of 681/spring 1283).

After the usurper Ibn Abī ʿUmāra (681-3/1283-4) had been proclaimed in Tunis, he overthrew and put to death Abū Fāris (3 Rabīʿ I/1 June 1283), and even had the ex-caliph Abū Isḥāḳ executed. His triumph was short-lived. The excesses in which he indulged and his ineptness, shown particularly in dealings with the Arabs, provoked their discontent, so that they allowed Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, brother to al-Mustanṣir and Abū Isḥāḳ, to dethrone him.

V. Abū Ḥafṣ (683-94/1284-95) succeeded in the task of restoring Ḥafṣid authority. Pious and peace-loving, he initiated much religious building. Aragon-Sicily became hostile, seized D̲j̲arba (683/1284), acquired by the treaty of 684/1285 the "tribute" of Tunis formerly paid by the Ḥafṣid to the Angevins of Sicily, made an alliance with the Marīnids against him (685-6/1286-7), plundered the coasts of Ifrīḳiya, and set up a pretender to the throne of Abū Ḥafṣ in the person of Ibn Abī Dabbūs (1287-8), an Almohad prince who had taken refuge in Aragon. Despite several approaches, the ruler of Aragon-Sicily never succeeded in renewing peaceful relations with Abū Ḥafṣ.

After 684/1285, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, a son of the *amīr* Abū Isḥāḳ and nephew of Abū Ḥafṣ, gained control, with the help of the Arabs, of all the western part of Ḥafṣid territory, including Bougie and Constantine. Next year he marched against Tunis. Thrown back to the South, he seized Gabès and advanced towards Tripolitania, but was forced to draw back to defend his capital Bougie, threatened by an ʿAbd al-Wādid incursion instigated by Abū Ḥafṣ, who still exercised suzerainty over the sultan of Tlemcen. Simultaneously, local independent states developed in the D̲j̲arīd, at Tozeur, and at Gabès, while the Arabs of the south and of Tripolitania began to show hostility. On the other hand, the allegiance of the Central and Eastern Arabs won for them, for the first time in Ḥafṣid history, grants of land and of revenues. During the last years of the reign, Bougie annexed the Zāb, to whose governor, from 693/1294 onwards, Abū Zakariyyāʾ conceded the control of all southern Constantine. In the same year, the lord of Gabès also recognized the suzerainty of Abū Zakariyyāʾ. Here begins the decline of Ḥafṣid influence, and from now on the opposition of Bougie to Tunis recalls that of the Ḥammādids to the Zīrids.

VI. Abū ʿAṣīda (694-708/1295-1309). A posthumous son of al-Wāthiḳ, he appointed the great Almohad *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Ibn al-Liḥyānī to be chief minister. He attempted to reduce the disaffected Kingdom of Bougie (695/1296), soon to be threatened also on the west; for Algiers had submitted to the Marīnids, and when these had mastered the Mitid̲j̲a they laid siege to Bougie (699/1300). Abū Zakariyyāʾ died in 700/1301, and his son and successor Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ at once used every exertion to bring about a reconciliation with Abū ʿAṣīda; eventually they signed a treaty (707/1307-8) which had as object to reunite the two Ḥafṣid branches, and which provided that on the death of one of the two monarchs the survivor should inherit the vacant throne.

Particularly during the last three years of his reign, the realms of Abū ʿAṣīda were seriously disturbed by the Kuʿūb Arabs. We know of certain treaties he concluded with Christendom, but the levying of the "tribute" of Tunis and the occupation of D̲j̲arba kept him opposed to Frederick of Sicily.

VII. Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr al-S̲h̲ahīd (709/1309). A second cousin of Abū ʿAṣīda, he was proclaimed by the Almohad *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s of Tunis, who rejected the arrangement whereby all Ḥafṣid territory was to pass to Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ; but the latter took only seventeen days to get rid of him, and forced the reunion of the two Ḥafṣid states.

VIII. Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ (709-11/1309-11) was unable, however, to prevent a new defection of the Constantine region under his brother Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr, who also made himself master of Bougie in 712/1312. Meanwhile, the old Almohad *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Ibn al-Liḥyānī had seized the throne of Tunis, which Abu 'l-Baḳā' was forced to give up.

IX. Ibn al-Liḥyānī (711-7/1311-7). To begin with, relations between the two Ḥafṣid monarchies were good. But, after resisting the onslaughts of the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen (713-15/1313-15), the ruler of Bougie, Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr, attacked Tunisia (715-16/1315-16), and Ibn al-Liḥyānī had to give it up.

X. Abū Ḍarba (717-8/1317-8). The Tunisians made this son of Ibn al-Liḥyānī their ruler, but he resisted for only nine months the attacks of Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr, and Ḥafṣid unity was again restored.

XI. Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr (718-47/1318-46) had a hard task in putting down many serious revolts spread over the years between 718/1318 and 732/1332, which were stirred up by Abū Ḍarba or by a son-in-law of Ibn al-Liḥyānī, Ibn Abī ʿImrān, and carried on by the Arabs and the ʿAbd al-Wādids. Ḥafṣid territory was continually assailed, and often with success, by the sultan of Tlemcen (719-30/1319-30); finally Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr freed himself from this threat by an alliance with the Marīnid of Fez, whose heir presumptive Abu 'l-Ḥasan married a daughter of Abū Yaḥyā. The difficulties besetting the first fourteen years of the reign led to the defection of many southern localities and to much tribal disaffection. So from 720/1320 Abū Yaḥyā endeavoured

to preserve the unity of his territories by entrusting the administration of the provinces more and more to his sons, advised by chamberlains. The second half of Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr's caliphate (733-47/1333-46) is notable for the rise of the Almohad *shaykh* Ibn Tafrāgīn to an all-powerful position as chamberlain (744/1343), the stern quelling of Bedouin turbulence, some diminution of disaffection, the liberation of Djarba from the Sicilian yoke, the lessening of the subordination of Bougie to Tunis, and especially, with Ibn Tafrāgīn's encouragement, the gradual subjection of Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr to the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan, his son-in-law and immediate neighbour now that the latter had annexed Tlemcen and the ʿAbd al-Wādid kingdom.

XII. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad. His father, the late *amīr*, had secured the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan's support for his accession to the throne, but Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ahmad soon met his death at the hands of one of his brothers, Abū Ḥafṣ, and this murder was Abu 'l-Ḥasan's excuse for an easy conquest of Ifrīḳiya.

The Marīnid occupation (748-50/1348-50) received little support, and the abolition of the revenues which the Bedouins had been collecting from the settled populations set off an Arab revolt, which resulted in such a resounding defeat for Abu 'l-Ḥasan (749/1348) that his reputation never recovered from it. The loss of the greater part of Barbary and the growing hostility of Ifrīḳiya forced him to escape by sea to the west (Shawwāl 750/late December 1349).

XIII. Al-Faḍl. This son of Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr, governor of Bône, was proclaimed in Tunis, but was soon (751/1350) put down by Ibn Tafrāgīn, who replaced him by a brother of al-Faḍl, Abū Isḥāḳ.

XIV. Abū Isḥāḳ (750-70/1350-69). The new prince was so young that the wily Ibn Tafrāgīn himself was for fourteen years the real power behind the throne. Disturbances and movements towards autonomy multiplied on all sides; the Banū Makkī held the south-east and the Ḥafṣids the Constantine region, whence Abū Isḥāḳ had to endure many attacks, some of them severe (752-7/1351-6).

The Marīnid of Fez, Abū ʿInān Fāris, fired with the idea of imitating his father's heroic exploits, took Tlemcen, Algiers, and Médéa. The mutual hostility of the three Ḥafṣids ruling in Bougie, Constantine and Tunis lightened the task of the invader; who in addition had the support of the Banū Muznī of the Zāb and the Banū Makkī of Gabès.

The second Marīnid conquest of Ifrīḳiya (753-9/1352-8) began brilliantly with the capture of Bougie (753/1352), slowed down for a while, and then (757-8/1356-7) achieved its objective with the capture of Constantine, Bône and Tunis and the submission of the Djarīd and Gabès. Yet the collapse came even more swiftly than it had for Abu 'l-Ḥasan, and for a similar tactless act—the refusal to permit the Dawāwida to collect certain taxes from the settled population. His forces routed, Abū ʿInān Fāris had to fall back on Fez (758-1357). Abū Isḥāḳ and Ibn Tafrāgīn returned to Tunis only a few months after they had been turned out. The Marīnid died in 759/1358 without having succeeded in re-establishing his authority in eastern Barbary.

While an ʿAbd al-Wādid restoration was taking place in Tlemcen, matters in the East returned to the conditions ruling when Abū Isḥāḳ began his reign: Bougie, Constantine and Tunis governed by three different and independent Ḥafṣids, and the whole of the south, the south-east and a part of the Sahel maintaining their independence of the Ḥafṣid of Tunis. When Ibn Tafrāgīn died (766/1364), Abū Isḥāḳ was able to rule in person, but to no great effect. On the other hand, the Ḥafṣid of Constantine, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, seized Bougie from his cousin Abū ʿAbd Allāh and succeeded in uniting the whole of the Constantine region (767/1366).

XV. Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Khālid (770-2/1369-70). The situation rapidly worsened under this prince, who was too young when he succeeded his father, so that for the third time Ifrīḳiya was united by a Ḥafṣid of Constantine and Bougie, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās.

XVI. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (772-96/1370-94). By his qualities of mind and heart and his gentle firmness he restored the prestige of the dynasty, of which he was one of the most notable members. From him descended all the succeeding Ḥafṣid sovereigns. Once he had checked the Bedouins (773/1371) and loosened their hold on the sedentary population, he regained piecemeal the lands his forebears had lost to the south and south-west (773-83/1371-81) and even recovered the Zāb. From 783/1381 onwards Abu 'l-ʿAbbās was occupied in consolidating his achievements and curbing any attempt to revive the suppressed local independencies of the south. Thanks to internal ʿAbd al-Wādid quarrels and the intense rivalry between ʿAbd al-Wādids and Marīnids, he had nothing to fear from the west. Relations between Barbary and Christendom were soured by Ḥafṣid acts of piracy, which grew in impudence when the Franco-Genoese expedition against Mahdia (792/1390) was halted. Later, a reconciliation with the Italian republics was brought about.

XVII. Abū Fāris (796-837/1394-1434) carried his father's task to a brilliant completion. In Constantine and Bougie (798/1396), as well as in Tripoli, Gafsa, Tozeur and Biskra, whose local dynasties he had uprooted (800-4/1397-1402), he appointed officials chosen from among his freedmen. He led daring expeditions into the Aurès (800/1398) and the Saharan borders of Tripolitania (809/1406-7). He cleared up a serious crisis which agitated the Constantine region and the south-east in 810-11/1407-8, and rounded it off by taking Algiers (813/1410-1). There followed a long period of calm, broken by the launching of several attacks in the west whereby Abū Fāris attained control over the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen (827-34/1424-31). He intervened in Morocco as well, and even in Andalusia. His relations with Christendom were sometimes friendly, sometimes strained, but at all times close, and much diplomatic activity went on all through the reign.

The propitious state in which Abū Fāris's father had left the realm, and his own military prowess account only in part for his unusual success; he benefited in addition from the popularity which he enjoyed for his care for justice and his policy of religious orthodoxy, which was manifest in many ways: favours bestowed on the pious, the *ʿulamāʾ*, the *sharīf*s, the celebration of the *mawlid*, his efforts to foster Sunnism in Djarba, religious and civil building, the suppression of taxes not authorized by the *Sharīʿa*, the expansion of the voluntary privateering regarded as *djihād*. Mālikī formalism prevailed, owing to the influence of the famous jurist Ibn ʿArafa (716-803/1316-1401), who was mainly responsible for banishing Ibn Khaldūn to Cairo, where he died in 808/1406. The palace of the Bardo, first mentioned in 823/1420, illustrates how far Andalusian influence had penetrated into Ḥafṣid Barbary. Besides being the ruler of a prosperous state and a generous patron, Abū Fāris won a great reputation in the Muslim world by his far-reaching

and discerning liberality. The septuagenarian who had defeated Alphonso V of Aragon at Djarba two years before ended his days in the Ouarsénis at the head of an expedition marching to subdue Tlemcen (837/1434).

XVIII. Al-Muntaṣir (837-9/1434-5). This grandson of Abū Fāris had to contend with rebellious relatives and their Arab allies. He erected a fountain and the *madrasa* al-Muntaṣiriyya which was to perpetuate his name.

XIX. ʿUthmān (839-93/1435-88). Brother of the foregoing, he carried on the work of his illustrious grandfather Abū Fāris. Pious and just, he initiated many hydraulic works, and constructed numerous *zāwiyas*. He took the Tunisian miracle-worker Sīdī Ben ʿArūs (d. 868/1463) under his protection. He too had to contend with his relatives, especially, for the space of seventeen years (839-56/1435-52), his uncle Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī. This son of Abū Fāris was expelled from the governorship of Bougie in 843/1439, but for long afterwards held out against the troops of the sultan in the Constantinois. ʿUthmān also undertook military operations in the south (845-55/1441-51). But in fact, once the first phase of Abu ʾl-Ḥasan's venture was over (towards 843/1439), the greater part of the country was at peace. The provinces were governed, as they had been in Abū Fāris's day, by the prince's freedmen, with the title of *ḳāʾid*. One of them, Nabīl, affronted ʿUthmān by the assumption of too great authority at the court, and was imprisoned (857/1453). The second part of the reign was clouded by outbreaks of famine and plague, and by the revival of tribal unrest, which was particularly troublesome in 867/1463; it was checked with severity, but not entirely suppressed. On many occasions ʿUthmān marched against the south and south-west (862/1458, 870/1465). An ʿAbd al-Wādid had taken Tlemcen and though brought once to heel (866/1462), he had again to be reduced to obedience (871/1466). The last years of the reign (875-93/1470-88), as indeed those of the dynasty, are obscure. ʿUthmān tended more and more to appoint his own relatives to provincial governorships. It seems that he retained his hold on Tlemcen and in 877/1472 the new lord of Fez, the founder of the dynasty of the Banū Waṭṭās, recognised his suzerainty.

XX. Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā (893-4/1488-9). This grandson of ʿUthmān succeeded him. He dealt pitilessly with those of his relatives who challenged his rule, and was in the end himself killed by his first cousin ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Ibrāhīm.

XXI. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Ibrāhīm (894-5/1489-90) was soon dethroned by a son of his predecessor and enemy.

XXII. Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā (895-9/1490-4). The Ḥafṣid state might conceivably have recovered its strength under this ruler, had he not died of the plague while still young.

XXIII. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (899-932/1494-1526). A first cousin of the preceding, he was given over to pleasure, and the decline of the dynasty went on apace. He restrained the rebellious Arab tribes only with difficulty, and the Spaniards took from him Bougie and Tripoli in 1510.

XXIV. Al-Ḥasan (932-50/1526-43). Son of the former ruler, he was driven from Tunis in Ṣafar 941/August 1534 by the Pasha of Algiers, Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, but after Charles V had occupied La Goulette he restored him to his capital (Muḥarram 942/July 1535). He fought against the Turks of Ḳayrawān (1535-36) and then against Sīdī ʿArafa (1540), the chief of the peculiar marabout state founded at Ḳayrawān by the Shābbiyya tribe. His eldest son Aḥmad deposed him.

XXV. Aḥmad (950-76/1543-69). He too continued the struggle with the Shābbiyya, whose new chief, Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭayyib, had allied himself with the Spaniards and with Muḥammad, the legitimate heir of the late Ḥafṣid ruler. Meanwhile, the pirate Dragut [see TURGHŪD], in alliance with the Turks and Aḥmad, was trying to establish himself in the Sahel. In 959/1552 the Shābbiyya were defeated by Aḥmad. The Spaniards evacuated Mahdia in 1554, and Dragut, returning from Istanbul with the title of Pasha of Tripoli, took Gafsa (December 1556) and Ḳayrawān (December 1557). In 967/1569, the Pasha of Algiers seized Tunis, and Aḥmad went to join his brother Muḥammad at La Goulette. Finally, in 982/1574, Don John of Austria lost Tunis which he had taken the year before, and the city was reduced to the rank of chef-lieu of an Ottoman province.

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ḤĀḤĀ, Moroccan confederation of Berber tribes (*Iḥāḥan*) belonging to the sedentary Maṣmūda [*q.v.*], inhabiting the plateaux of the western High Atlas as far as the sea. In the 1939 census they numbered 84,000, among whom were 20 Jews, despite the traditional prohibition upon any Jew travelling about in this territory. It is a country on the ancient route (prehistoric remains) between North and South, between the plains of Marrākush and Tarūdant, either by the mountain passes or by the coast road. The Ḥāḥā are a good example of Berbers that are islamized (perhaps by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ) but almost devoid of Arab blood. They speak the *tashelḥit* dialect (chleuh) and for the most part understand colloquial Arabic. Their territory includes almost the whole steppe- and forest-covered region of the argan-tree [see ARGAN] but, for lack of rain, they have to resort to extensive agriculture and goat-rearing. The houses are not grouped together in villages but are scattered, and each section lives separately. The confederation first appeared in history in the 5th/11th century (al-Bakrī does not know of it) as a supporter of the Almoravid movement, and later of the empire of the Almohads, either voluntarily or under compulsion. After the collapse of that dynasty, their geographical situation, though not giving them complete independence vis-à-vis the Marīnid sultan, allowed them to show their regard for the nomadic Arabs deported by the Almohads, particularly the Ḥārith and the Kalabiya. Ibn Khaldūn praised their intellectual standing at that time and described them as proud and courageous. Over a century later Leo Africanus, followed by Marmol, confirmed their juridical singularities and attributed to them a territory more extensive than that which they occupy at the present time; it apparently extended as far as the Asīf al-Māl, a tributary on the left bank of the Wādī Tansift. Leo also noted that although some of their elements, no doubt near the plain or the coast road, still paid tribute to the last Arab nomads on the occasion of

their annual migration with their flocks, it was not without resistance. The same author records the presence of numerous Jews in the country, from which they have today practically disappeared. The Portuguese advance in Morocco provoked a strong religious and xenophobic reaction among the Ḥāḥā, who spontaneously assumed leadership of the Holy War and made an appeal to the Saʿdid marabouts. The struggle against the Christians lasted for a long time, at the cost of much bloodshed and misery among the confederation (see R. Ricard, *Sources inédites*, 1st series, Portugal, v, Paris 1953). It was amongst them, at Afug̲h̲āl, that the founder of the Saʿdid dynasty was buried, and the famous al-D̲j̲azūlī [*q.v.*] was also to be interred close by, until the time when the two bodies were transferred with great ceremony to Marrākus̲h̲ (929/1523). The Saʿdids established a section of their cane-sugar industry among the Ḥāḥā; the surviving remains and thedefore station of the region still testify to the economic significance of these destructive enterprises. In 1002/1594 six hundred men were recruited from the Ḥāḥā and sent to Timbuktu by sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] with the promise of exemption from all levies or taxes (al-Saʿdī, *Tāʾrik̲h̲ al-Sūdān*, ed. and trans. Houdas, Paris 1900, index). The founding of the town of al-Ṣawīra (Mogador) in 1178/1765, by bringing greater wealth to the northern Ḥāḥā, encouraged them to support the cause of the ʿAlawī dynasty. Those in the South, whose centre is still Tamanar, have been a source of constant trouble in the Moroccan Mak̲h̲zan, penetration of which was only completed under the French Protectorate, and not without difficulties of every sort (on the relations of the Ḥāḥā with the neighbouring tribe of the Seksawa, see J. Berque, *Antiquités Seksawa*, in *Hesp.*, 1953). A Moroccan confraternity, of S̲h̲ād̲h̲ilī origin, bears the name Ḥāḥiyūn (Ibn Ḳunfud̲h̲, *Uns al-faḳīr*, ed. M. Fasi and A. Faure, forthcoming).

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(G. DEVERDUN)

ḤĀʾIK [see LIBĀS].

AL-ḤĀʾIK, MUḤAMMAD AL-ANDALUSĪ AL-TIṬAWNĪ, compiler of the texts of songs deriving from Andalusian Arab music which, in his time (12th/18th century), were still preserved in Morocco; a great number of them have been transmitted orally from generation to generation down to the present day.

Very little is known of al-Ḥāʾik and his name is known only because it is found at the beginning of the introduction of his still unpublished work *Kunnās̲h̲ al-Ḥāʾik*. His ethnical name, al-Tiṭawnī, suggested that he was an inhabitant of Tetuan, and this has been stated by a number of writers on Moroccan music. However, a manuscript fragment which contains the first eighteen pages, bears, after his name and his ethnical name, the words *aṣl^an^*, *al-Fāsī dār^an^*; this fragment was indeed discovered at Fez, and in no other manuscript is this detail given. Al-Ḥāʾik was, then, a native of Tetuan and probably composed his work at Fez, where he was living; this seems natural, given the courtly ambiance which prevailed there at that period, that is, so far as can be ascertained, in the reign of the sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl b. Mawlāy al-S̲h̲arīf. There exist no other facts about his life; the historians of Tetuan know no more than this and there is nothing in the libraries of Morocco which can throw any light on his biography.

The majority of the musicians of present-day Morocco, who continue the mediaeval tradition, have no knowledge of musical theory, so that the melodies and the texts of songs have undergone alterations; this gives al-Ḥāʾik's work an especial importance in that it has rescued from oblivion all that remained of them in his time. The original manuscript does not survive, or at least it is not known where it is, but a number of copies of it exist in various Moroccan towns; not all of them give the *nawba*s in the same order or contain the same songs, the copyists having given preference to those which were most commonly sung in a given locality.

In 1353/1934-5, there was published at Rabat a book of 182 pages entitled *Mad̲j̲mūʿat al-ag̲h̲ānī al-mūsīḳiyya al-andalusiyya al-maʿrūfa bi 'l-Ḥāʾik*. Its author, al-Makkī Ambīrkū, has collected the songs of the *nawba*s *Ramal al-māya*, *al-ʿUs̲h̲s̲h̲āḳ*, *al-Iṣbahān*, *G̲h̲arībat al-Ḥusayn*, *al-Raṣad* and *Raṣad al-d̲h̲ayl* after having, he claims, compared several MSS. This work, of unequal value, is incomplete, for, in addition to the fact that it contains only six *nawba*s out of eleven, its author has not collected all the songs, nor included those which are found in the margins of the good manuscripts.

In spite of the detailed character of his collection, al-Ḥāʾik did not collect all the Andalusian music which was sung in his time, for several verses of vanished *nawba*s which are still sung at Tetuan are not found in his manuscripts—a further indication that al-Ḥāʾik did not come from Tetuan.

In the absence of a system of musical notation, al-Ḥāʾik, starting from the principle that the musician knows the melody from memory, adds in the margin of each song notes concerning the *mīzān* (rhythm and time) and separates the *as̲h̲g̲h̲āl* songs with the number of their *adwār*.

The work begins with an introduction and then sets out the 721 songs which comprise the 24 modes, grouped into 11 *nawba*s. At the beginning of each *nawba* there is a short explanation on the modes, including their origin and their qualities, and illustrated by examples of songs which actually belong to them. Next, arranged by rhythm, are found the various songs which form the *nawba* and whose number is not the same in all cases.

Above the song is given its title of *taws̲h̲īḥ*, *zad̲j̲al* or *s̲h̲ug̲h̲l*, and almost all of them have in the margin a variant which is sung to the same melody. In the margin there is also given the mode to which the song belongs and its metre, if it has one. The *adwār* are indicated by numbers beside the corresponding verses.

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(F. VALDERRAMA)

ḤĀʾIL [see ḤĀYIL].

ḤĀʾIR (A.), term (proved by various lexicographical investigations to be identical with *ḥayr*, see H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, Paris 1937, 129) whose meaning is clarified by the study of the remains of *ḥayrs* still surviving around ancient princely residences of the Islamic Middle Ages. The frequent references by Arab authors, which lead to the conclusion that they were either parks or pleasure-gardens, provided sometimes with a sumptuous pavilion, or more exactly zoological gardens like those which are recorded at Sāmarrā or at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ (cf. H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, index s.vv. *ḥāʾir* and *ḥayr*), are supplemented by the data provided by the ruins of Umayyad or ʿAbbāsid castles, and by the ruins of the Ghaznawid castle of Lashkar-i Bāzār in Afghānistān.

The numerous enclosures which surrounded the palaces of Baghdād and Sāmarrā in ʿIrāḳ, enclosures filled with rare plants and stocked with animals, to make them hunting-reserves, have, it is true, now vanished without leaving any appreciable traces; but on the other hand, at Umayyad sites with the significant names Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī and Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī [*qq.v.* and ARCHITECTURE] and at Khirbat al- Mafdjar [*q.v.*], various types of outer walling have survived to a degree sufficient to provide valuable information on the appearance and the dimensions of the gardens which they enclosed. In each case are found walls of stone and brick, now fallen into ruin but formerly of considerable height, which were supported by semi-circular buttresses built alternately against the inner and the outer face; these walls enclosed vast areas of arable land irrigated by aqueducts and with other elaborate installations for bringing and holding water; sluice-gates made it possible to drain off superfluous water brought by torrential rain-storms. The areas enclosed may have been pleasure-parks, continuing the tradition of the elaborate 'paradises' of the kings of the ancient Orient. More probably, however, the land was under very productive cultivation, planted particularly with bushes and trees (fruit-orchards and olives in the steppe-country around Palmyra, orange-trees in the Jordan valley); this would explain the presence of edifices built by members of the aristocracy, and sometimes by caliphs, in places which assured the owners substantial revenues from the products of the soil.

Bibliography: On the *ḥayr* of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, see D. Schlumberger, *Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi (1936-38)*, in *Syria*, xx (1939), 365; on that of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī, A. Gabriel, *Kasr el-Heir*, in *Syria*, viii (1927), 302-29, and xiii (1932), 317-20; K. A. C. Creswell, *Another word on Qasr Al-Hair*, in Syria, xviii (1937), 232-3; H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes 1. Les jardins de Kasr el-Heir*, and *16. Retour aux jardins de Kasr el-Heir*, in *Syria*, xii (1931), 316-8, and xv (1934), 24-32. On the *ḥayr* of Khirbat al-Mafdjar, R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar*, Oxford 1959, 5-7.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

ḤĀʾIṬ AL-ʿ**ADJŪZ** "the wall of the Old Woman" (the form Ḥāʾiṭ al-Ḥadjūz is sometimes found, notably in al-Harawī) the name given by Arabic writers to a wall said to have been built by the mythical queen of Egypt, Dalūka [= al-ʿAdjūz], who is said to have mounted the throne after the army of al-Walīd b. Muṣʿab [*sic* = the Pharaoh of Moses], in pursuit of the Israelites, had been engulfed by the Red Sea. In ordeı to protect the surviving women, children and slaves from the attacks of the peoples of the East and of the West, Dalūka is said to have surrounded the Nile Valley, from al-ʿArīsh to Aswan, by a rampart flanked by military posts each within call of the next; according to another tradition, this wall, which was decorated with figures of crocodiles and other animals, was also intended to protect the queen's son, a keen hunter, against wild animals.

This legend, which had already appeared in a similar form in Diodorus Siculus (I, 57), probably owes its origin to the Egyptian habit of building here and there small outlook-posts of sun-dried brick which enabled them to keep a watch on the *wādīs* leadirg towards the Nile and remains of which still existed in the 19th century. This wall is mentioned by many Arabic writers, but whereas al-Masʿūdī (332/943) for example saw only ruins of it, al-Harawī (d. 611/1215) had followed along it "on the tops of mountains and in the depths of valleys" from Bilbays to the Nubian frontier "for a distance of about one month's walking", and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), while admitting that the greater part of it had disappeared, stated that he had followed it from farthest Upper Egypt to Dandara.

Bibliography: The principal sources are listed by G. Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, Paris 1953, 97-8; here we mention only: Ibn al-Faḳīh, 60; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 398-9 (tr. Pellat, ii, § 809); Dimashḳī, 33-4; Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii, 171 (tr. Rat, ii, 357; cf. R. Basset, *1001 Contes*, i, 176 and bibl.); Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, i, 392-3; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 45-6; ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, Cairo 1924, i, 239; Maḳrīzī-Wiet, i, 134, 166-7, iii, 288, 325; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 72-3.

(CH. PELLAT)

ḤAḲĀʾIḲ, plural of *ḥaḳīḳa* = truth, as a technical term denotes the gnostic system of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] and related groups. In this technical sense the term is used particularly by the Ṭayyibīs.

During the eras of the prophets of the law—the time of concealment (*satr*)—the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* are hidden in the *bāṭin* [see BĀṬINIYYA], the interior truth behind the exterior (*ẓāhir*) of the scriptures and the law. While the law changes with every new prophetic era the truth of the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* is eternal. This truth is the exclusive property of the divinely guided Imām and the hierarchy of teachers installed by him. It cannot be revealed to anyone except on formal initiation. The *Ḳāʾim* will abrogate all prophetic law and make the hidden truth public. In his era the *ḥaḳāʾik* are fully known free from all symbolism. The teaching hierarchy is no longer needed and discarded.

The two main components of the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* system are an interpretation of history as the permanent struggle and eventual victory of the hierarchy in possession of the esoteric truth over the adversaries, and a cosmology dividing the world into a spiritual, an astral, and a physical realm. History is viewed as a progression of cycles with recurrent types and situations leading to its consummation in the appearance of the *Ḳāʾim*, who will rule and judge the world. The roots of this interpretation of history are Shīʿī, and it appears in its main features already in Ismāʿīlī texts of the 3rd/9th century. The basis

of the cosmology, at least since the early 4th/10th century, was adapted from Neoplatonism. A Neoplatonic cosmology was introduced by the Persian *dāʿī* al-Nasafī [*q.v.*] (d. 332/943-4). His system was criticized in some points by his contemporary Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], but defended by the younger contemporary Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjzī [*q.v.*]. Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism adopted the cosmological system apparently only under the caliph al-Muʿizz [*q.v.*] (ruled 341-65/953-75). A new system was propounded by Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. ca. 411/1020), but was not much noticed in Fāṭimid times. Among the Ṭayyibīs in the Yaman a new synthesis introducing mythical elements was adopted by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*] (d. 557/1162). His work remained the basis of the Ṭayyibī *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* system. Among the Nizārīs interest gradually turned away from the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* and centred more and more on the reality of the Imām viewed as an eternal and absolute figure transcending history and the world.

Bibliography: See ISMĀʿĪLIYYA. Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamārē Ismāʿīlī madhhab kī ḥaḳīḳat aur us kā niẓām*, Ḥaydarābād Dn. 1954, 576 ff.

(W. MADELUNG)

ḤAKAM, arbitrator who settles a dispute (from *ḥakama*: to judge, from whence is derived also *ḥākim*: any holder of general authority, such as a provincial governor and, more precisely, the judicial magistrate). A synonym, also a technical term and in current use, is *muḥakkam* (from *ḥakkama*: to submit to arbitration, whence also *taḥkīm*, the procedure of arbitration or, more precisely, submission to arbitration).

In pre-Islamic Arabia, given the lack of any public authority responsible for the settling of disputes [see DIYA, ḲIṢĀṢ, THAʾR], *taḥkīm* was the sole judicial procedure available to individuals who did not wish to exercise their right of private justice or who were unable to settle their differences by means of a direct friendly agreement. This procedure was of a purely private character, depending throughout solely on the goodwill of the parties involved. In principle, they chose their *ḥakam* freely, and the only binding force of the latter's decision was a moral one. Thus the arbitrator usually asked the parties to the dispute to hand over to him pledges which would ensure that his judgement was carried out.

Nevertheless arbitration acquired a certain systematization and an institutional character amounting to public justice in the fairs held periodically in various localities, such as ʿUkāẓ: a *ḥakam* was appointed there, to whom, by force of custom, recourse was made for the settlement of disputes arising from the transactions being carried out there.

This state of affairs survived in Arab society after the coming of Islam, for the Ḳurʾān maintained, in principle, the system of private justice; all the same, it recommends Muslims to submit their differences to the arbitration of Muḥammad. An illustration is provided by the famous *taḥkīm* to which, in 37/657, in their struggle for power, ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya consented to submit [see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, MUʿĀWIYA, ṢIFFĪN].

In Muslim law, which developed in environments and in social and political conditions entirely different from those of Arabia, arbitration is encountered in its classical form: it is an adventitious procedure, as compared with the organized judicial system of the State.

Nature of arbitration. — Although it proceeds from the will of the parties involved, arbitration constitutes an act of jurisdiction: it is described in the texts as "a branch of the judicial power" (although, on the other hand, an arbitrator's decision is regarded as a transaction). Indeed the *ḥakam* is obliged to give judgement in conformity with the rules of the Law; arbitration in simple equity, by friendly agreement, seems therefore to be impossible. But this disadvantage is offset by the fact that the parties may empower their respective arbitrators to agree, in their name, upon a compromise solution.

Scope. — *Taḥkīm* is possible only for the settlement of private conflicts of interest concerning property.

There may be only a single arbitrator, or the parties may nominate two or more arbitrators. In the last case the arbitrators must, in principle, give a unanimous decision. Nevertheless the question is discussed whether, if the parties agree, a majority decision may be given.

The necessary qualities of an arbitrator are the same as those demanded of a judge; and the same impediments and grounds of objection apply.

Effects. — The agreement to submit to arbitration is not binding, inasmuch as the appointment of the arbitrator is regarded as the nomination of a proxy, so that either party may revoke it *ad nutum*, even when it is the case of a single arbitrator appointed with the agreement of the two parties. This rule admits of only one modification: when the appointment of the arbitrator has been submitted to the judge for his approval, revocation is no longer possible. Nevertheless in the Ḥanbalī *madhhab* one opinion teaches that revocation is no longer possible after the arbitrator has commenced proceedings. The Mālikī *madhhab* rejects these distinctions and recognizes the agreement to submit to arbitration as obligatory in all circumstances.

As for the arbitrator's decision, it is binding in all the *madhhabs*, except for one contrary opinion in the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. It has therefore full legal force, and does not need to be confirmed by the ratification of a judge. Nevertheless an arbitrator's decision carries less authority than a judge's. On the one hand, it is generally agreed that an appeal against it may be made before the judge, who may annul it if it seems to him to be contrary to the teaching of the *madhhab* which he follows. (Yet it should be remembered that such an appeal may be made also against judicial decisions.) All the same, the party profiting by the arbitrator's decision is free to submit it to a judge, who will confirm it, certifying that it is in conformity with his *madhhab*; in this case the decision will have the validity of a judgement proper. On the other hand, the effects of the decision are strictly limited to the persons who are directly involved. Thus whereas judgements may affect persons not involved in the proceedings but regarded legally as represented by the plaintiff or defendant in the case (one heir by other heirs, the surety by the principal debtor), the decision of an arbitrator is not recognized as having any such effect.

Bibliography: The works of *fiḳh*, under the heading *Taḥkīm*; the Ottoman *Medjelle*, art. 1841-51; E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*², Leiden 1950, 29 ff.

(E. TYAN)

AL-**ḤAKAM** B. ʿ**ABDAL** B. DJABALA AL-ASADĪ, satirical Arab poet of the 1st/7th century. Physically deformed, for he was hunch-backed and lame, he possessed some spitefulness, which shows in his diatribes, but he had a lively wit, prompt repartee, humour, and the subtlety of the Ghāḍira clan to which he belonged [cf. AL-GHĀḌIRĪ]. He was born

at Kūfa and lived there till ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr drove out the Umayyad authorities (64/684) whom he followed to Damascus where he was admitted to the intimacy of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. He then went back to Kūfa and was closely connected with Bis̲h̲r b. Marwān [*q.v.*] whom he accompanied to Baṣra when the latter was appointed governor there (74/693-4), and whose death he was to lament at the end of that same year. He was also on excellent terms with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bis̲h̲r, and frequented the salon of al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, who on one occasion rewarded him richly. While poetry was certainly his means of livelihood, he was far removed from the pompous eulogies that poets used to address to the great; he contented himself with merely sending short letters in verse to his benefactors, appealing to their generosity, and the fear of his satires was generally enough to assure him success; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (*Bayān*, iii, 74) and other authors after him even describe how, once his reputation for redoubtable satire was established, he limited himself to sending his walking stick to the powers he wished to appeal to, with the object of his request written upon it, and never had to suffer another refusal. His fame, indeed, rests in part at least on a *ḳaṣīda* dedicated to the senior official of the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*, Muḥammad b. Ḥassān b. Saʿd, to which he added a few lines every time this intractable administrator gave him cause for complaint (text in *Ḥayawān*, i, 249-53). The fragments of his poetry which have come down to us show al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbdal as a likeable rogue, given to drink, and always ready to produce a few witty verses to obtain a present or to escape punishment. His satires, in which he is not above using coarse language, are not, however, sordid; the few amatory verses which have been preserved are rather crude, but what is most surprising is to find under his name a poem written with great simplicity on the misdeeds of a mouse and the usefulness of a cat (*Ḥayawān*, v, 297-300). The date of his death is unknown.

Bibliography: references in Nallino, *Letteratura*, 149 (French tr., 228-9); D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, ed. Ḥād̲j̲irī, 381-2; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 344.—Some poems can be found in D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, index; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, 1344/1926 ed., ii, 260-1; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 458; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, index; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, ii, 149-59 and index (Beirut ed., ii, 360-80); Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 161.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-ḤAKAM B. MUḤAMMAD B. **ḲANBAR** AL-MĀZINĪ, a minor poet of Baṣra, of whose work there remain only some lines of *g̲h̲azal* [*q.v.*] that are entirely proper and for the most part set to music, and also a small number of invectives against Muslim b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*]. The date of his birth, which must have taken place in about 110/728-9, is not precisely known, and the only indications concerning him that we possess are two anecdotes: the first tells of the female slaves of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī (d. 142/759 [*q.v.*]) maltreating Ibn Ḳanbar, even stripping him in the street, because they were astonished to find so ugly a man capable of composing love poems that had become celebrated; the second testifies to his friendly relations with Ruʾba b. ʿAd̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (d. in about 145/762 [*q.v.*]). Like so many other Baṣran poets, he went to Bag̲h̲dād, where he appears in the company of Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*] and, in particular, Muslim b. al-Walīd. The two men were enemies, to the point that they sometimes came to blows, and it is related that Muslim took a long time to get the better of his adversary. The epigrams that they exchanged do not appear to have been scurrilous, and it is interesting to see in them the revival of the old tribal disputes and rivalries between the Muhād̲j̲irūn and the Anṣār, Ibn Ḳanbar acting as defender of the former against Muslim who was an Anṣārī; but we possess too little of his poetry to draw conclusions of any value.

Bibliography: *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xiii, 9-12 (Beirut ed., xiv, 153-60), xxi, 228-71 *passim*; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 579 (although the *Ag̲h̲ānī* relates several details on the authority of Ibn Sallām [139-231/756-845], the latter does not give any account of Ibn Ḳanbar); Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, i, 30, 215; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 153, 761; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 468; Muslim, *Dīwān*, ed. S. Dahhān, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

ḤAKAM B. **SAʿD**, tribe of Arabia dwelling in the Tihāma [*q.v.*].

(AL-)**ḤAKAM IBN ʿUK(K)ĀS̲H̲A**, an Andalusian adventurer. His ancestor ʿUk(k)ās̲h̲a had been one of the numerous *muwallad*s who had joined forces with Ibn Ḥafṣūn to rebel against the central power of Cordova, stationing themselves in the fortresses along the Guadalén, in the region of Jaén and Martos. The rebels submitted without resistance to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, in the course of his first Andalusian campaign, known as that of Monteleón, in 300/913; they were granted *amān* but were transferred together with their families to Cordova, so that the *amīr* could be sure that they remained submissive. It was there that (al-)Ḥakam Ibn ʿUk(k)ās̲h̲a lived. At the downfall of the Caliphate he appears in the service of Ibn al-Saḳḳāʾ, the vizier of Ibn D̲j̲ahwar [see D̲J̲AHWARIDS]. The assassination of the vizier led to the imprisonment of (al-)Ḥakam, who nevertheless succeeded in escaping and joining the King of Toledo, al-Maʾmūn. The latter, who also was aiming at annexing Cordova to his possessions, was anticipated by al-Muʿtamid of Seville. But when al-Maʾmūn set him in command of one of his fortresses on the frontier of the Cordovan territory, Ibn ʿUk(k)ās̲h̲a, much helped by the hostility which the Cordovans felt for the ʿAbbādids, managed by a sudden attack to gain entrance to the town and kill the governor ʿAbbād, the son of al-Muʿtamid, together with Ibn Martīn, the chief of his mercenaries. He met with no resistance in making himself master of the city, and proceeded to proclaim as ruler al-Maʾmūn, then in Valencia, who on his arrival in Cordova was solemnly recognized as ruler on Friday 23 D̲j̲umādā II 467/13 February 1075. However, he died, possibly through poisoning, four months later on 14 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 467/1 July 1075. The Cordovans rose in revolt and summoned back al-Muʿtamid; Ibn ʿUk(k)ās̲h̲a fled without contemplating resistance, and as he was crossing the bridge over the Guadalquivir he was killed by a Jew on 29 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 467/15 August 1075. As a sign of contempt, his body was crucified together with that of a dog. His son Ḥarīz fled to Toledo, where al-Ḳādir, al-Maʾmūn's successor, put him in command of Calatrava (Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ); he is mentioned as a poet by al-Fatḥ Ibn K̲h̲āḳān and Ibn al-Abbār.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, ii, 161; Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *Aʿmal al-aʿlām*, index; R. Dozy, *Loci de Abbadidis*, ii, 122-6; ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, *Duwal al-ṭawāʾif*, 101-3; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 386.

(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

AL-ḤAKAM I B. HIS̲H̲ĀM, Abu 'l-ʿĀṣī, third Umayyad *amīr* of Cordova. The second son of his father, who died prematurely, he succeeded on 3 Ṣafar 180/17 April 796 when 26 years old. At his

proclamation the internal truce was broken and his uncles Sulaymān and ʿAbd Allāh, sons of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, disputed his authority and crossed from Barbary to Spain. ʿAbd Allāh made for the Upper Frontier, but he found conditions unfavourable there and went with his sons ʿUbayd Allāh and ʿAbd al-Malik to negotiate with Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle and offer him support in a campaign against Barcelona and the region of the Ebro delta. In the following year Sulaymān also landed in the Peninsula and made to attack Cordova, but was defeated and withdrew to Merida, where he was captured and put to death. ʿAbd Allāh was pardoned on condition that he did not leave Valencia.

The reign of al-Ḥakam I was almost entirely devoted to suppressing the repeated rebellions which were ceaselessly breaking out on the three frontiers of Toledo, Saragossa, and Merida. There was a rising at Toledo, populated for the most part by *muwallads*, in the year following the proclamation of al-Ḥakam I's succession, and the faithful ʿAmrūs was sent to put it down and decimated its citizens in the famous "Day of the Ditch" (*waḳʿat al-ḥufra*). On the Upper Frontier the Banū Ḳaṣī provoked isolated rebellions which the same ʿAmrūs, now transferred to Saragossa, made it his task to suppress. He also punished the *muwallads* of Huesca and founded the citadel of Tudela so as to provide himself with a firm foothold. On the Lower Frontier the centre of neo-Muslim and Berber resistance was Merida, which did not give in till 197/813. Two great insurrections in the capital, Cordova, coincided with these frontier risings. In Dj̲umādā I 189/May 805 a plot to dethrone al-Ḥakam I and replace him by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, his cousin, was uncovered, and 72 Cordovan notables were crucified and exposed on the causeway which runs along the right bank of the Guadalquivir. Thirteen years later, in 202/818, the well-known popular uprising of the Arrabal (Suburb) took place and was savagely repressed. 300 notables were crucified and the rest of the inhabitants of the Arrabal were exiled. Some emigrated to Fez; others joined the Levantine pirates: their wanderings led them to Alexandria and Crete, where they survived for a century and a half. Internal insurrections prevented al-Ḥakam I from undertaking any serious offensive against the kingdom of Asturias. In 180/796 a raid through Old Castile (al-Ḳilāʿ) enabled him to take possession of Calahorra and to reach the coast at Santander, but in 185/801 Barcelona fell to Charlemagne's Franks and so Louis the Pious was able to organize the Spanish Marches. In the same year the troops of al-Ḥakam I were defeated in the defile of Arganzón and counter attacks by the Asturians provoked a new offensive which brought about their defeat at Wādī Arūn (which must be the Orón, near Miranda de Ebro).

In spite of the savage cruelty and continual uprisings of the reign of al-Ḥakam I, it coincides with the period of humanization of al-Andalus and foreshadows the era in which, with the succession of his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, ʿAbbāsid influence from the East is to become preponderant and the domination of the neo-Muslims in the civil administration and in military command to become ever greater. At the end of his life al-Ḥakam's character lost some of its asperity as he lost his health and he withdrew into his palace under the guardianship of his faithful foreign mercenaries. Within a fortnight of having his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II recognized as his successor he died on 25 Dh̲u 'l-Ḥidjdja 206/21 May 822, leaving to his son a kingdom completely submitted to the *amīr*'s authority.

Bibliography: Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*[2], i, 285-307; Simonet, *Hist. de los Mozárabes*, 298-309; Barrau-Dihigo, *Royaume asturien*, 157-64; I. de las Cagigas, *Los Mozárabes*, i, 150-1; and especially E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 151-89, where all the known sources have been used, including the yet unpublished part of the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān, Fez ms., 1-101.

(A. Huici Miranda)

AL-ḤAKAM II, al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, second Umayyad Caliph of Spain, son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. His reign was one of the most peaceful and fruitful of the Cordovan dynasty. In his time Cordova, as an intellectual capital, shone even more brilliantly than under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Though nominated heir-apparent in his first youth he was 46 years old before assuming power (2 or 3 Ramaḍān 350/15 or 16 October 961). He had acquired a long and direct experience of public affairs and as a statesman showed himself not unworthy of his illustrious father. The fifteen years of his reign were peaceful; the only alarm to disturb them was a raid by the Danish *Madj̲ūs* [*q.v.*] who landed first at Alcacer do Sal and were repulsed on the plain of Lisbon in 360/971. The indubitable superiority of the Caliphs forces ensured the most complete security of the borderland right from the beginning of al-Ḥakam II's rule. It also imposed a truce on Christian Spain during which embassies arrived in Cordova continuously from 356/966 until 365/975, when count García Fernandez of Castile, with Galician and Navarrese support, broke the peace and was defeated at S. Esteban de Gormaz and later at Langa on the Duero and Estercuel near Tudela. Al-Ḥakam's activity in Morocco, now that the Fāṭimids had removed to Egypt, and until the rise to political and military power of Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir, known as al-Manṣūr (Almanzor of the Christian Chronicles [see al-mânṣūr]), was confined to deposing the Idrīsid princes. In the course of ten years, by dint of intrigues, distribution of gold, and armed intervention, he saw to it that his best general, the famous *mawlā* G̲h̲ālib, subdued the Idrīsid al-Ḥasan b. Gannūn and transported him and his relatives to Cordova. This minor triumph was celebrated with great pomp as marking the resolution of the last major problem of al-Ḥakam's foreign policy. His glorious reputation, heightened by the interest and good taste with which he enlarged and beautified the marvellous mosque of Cordova, and his literary and artistic predilections seemed to augur well for a long and fruitful reign, but his health, which had always been delicate, took a serious turn for the worse as the result of a stroke which he had suffered two years before these events, and the *de facto* direction of the affairs of state fell to the minister Dj̲aʿfar b. al-Muṣḥafī. Anxious to ensure that the succession should fall to his only son, the adolescent His̲h̲ām II, he was proposing to have allegiance sworn to him with great pomp in the Alcázar of Cordova, but he died on 3 Ṣafar 366/1 October 976, and the *bayʿa* to His̲h̲ām II took place on the following day. Even before falling ill he gave evidence of exemplary piety, in contrast with the conduct of his father, and sought with enthusiasm the company of jurists and theologians as well as literary men and scientists.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, ii, 233-53, 257-9 (tr. 384-418, 427-9); Ibn Saʿīd, *Mug̲h̲rib*, ff. 114, 157; Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *Aʿmāl*[1], 47-8; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 144-7; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, 101-5; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 247-57 and passim (see index); Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp*[2], ii, 176-99; Codera,

Est. crit. hist. ár. esp., ix, 181-263; and especially Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 165-96, iii, 493-500, who used the text of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis* prepared by E. García Gómez.

(A. Huici Miranda)

AL-ḤAKAMĪ [see abū nuwās; al-djarrāḥ b. ʿabd allāh].

ḤAḲĪḲA, Various approximate translations of this word can be given, as will appear. The meanings that predominate are "reality", in the sense of the intelligible nucleus of the thing existing, or "nature" of the thing, or "transcendental truth" of that which exists. The term is not Ḳurʾānic, unlike *ḥaḳḳ* (the "real", the "true"), a divine Name, from which it must be distinguished (see below). As al-Djurdjānī indicates (*Taʿrīfāt*, Leipzig 1845, 94), *ḥaḳīḳa* derives from (*ḥaḳḳ* →) *ḥaḳīḳ*, which with the addition of the ة becomes an abstract substantive. — For a more precise understanding of the nuances implied, the vocabularies of grammar, philosophy (*falsafa*) and *taṣawwuf* must be examined.

1. In rhetoric (and exegesis, *tafsīr*), *al-ḥaḳīḳa* is the basic meaning of a word or an expression, and is distinguished (a) from *madjāz*, metaphor, metaphorical and figurative meaning, and (b) from *kayfiyya*, in the general sense of analogy. — Ibn Taymiyya has left (ms., coll. Rashīd Riḍā, Cairo) a treatise *al-Ḥaḳīḳa wa 'l-madjāz*. When the *madjāz* becomes so habitual in use that it acquires as it were a "basic meaning", it is then designated *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-ʿurfiyya* (cf. A. Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 31, cited by Macdonald, *EI*[1]). Louis Massignon quotes (*Passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1922, 822) a ms. of al-Ḥallādj entitled *al-Kayfiyya wa 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*: *kayfiyya* is here clearly differentiated from *madjāz* (cf. *ibid.*, quoting another title *al-Kayfiyya wa 'l-madjāz*, common to both al-Ḥallādj and al-Ashʿarī); *ḥaḳīḳa* then becomes the "basic, divine and definitive meaning" (*ibid.*, n. 2).

2. In *falsafa* (especially according to Avicennan usage), *ḥaḳīḳa* possesses a two-fold meaning, the ontological and the logical. (A) Ontological meaning (*ḥaḳīḳat al-shayʾ*): "Everything has a *ḥaḳīḳa* through which it is what it is ... It is what we have called "existence proper" (*al-wudjūd al-khāṣṣ*); by that, we have not meant to signify concrete (*ithbātī*) existence ... It is clear that each thing has its own *ḥaḳīḳa* which is its quiddity (*māhiyya*)" (Ibn Sīnā, *al-Shifāʾ*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo ed. 1380/1960, 31; cf. 45). Or again: the *ḥaḳīḳa* is "the property of being requisite for each thing" (*Nadjāt*, Cairo ed. 1357/1938, 299). There is the same idea in the *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 139), where it is stated that the *ḥaḳīḳa* of the triangle depends on causes, one formal and one material, and not on causes efficient and final. — It was in the same Avicennan line that al-Djurdjānī was to define *ḥaḳīḳat al-shayʾ* as "the thing as it is in itself" (*Taʿrīfāt*, 95). *Ḥaḳīḳa* must thus be understood not as the thing existing, but as the essence of the thing inasmuch as it exists, the real nature in its absolute intelligibility. The concept that it denotes is in line with the essence, but always in keeping with a connation of "reality", intra- or extra-mental (cf. *Shifāʾ*, 32). We realise that certain texts identify it with quiddity (*māhiyya*) or essence (*dhāt*); these should not, however, be regarded as pure synonyms. It appears that the best translation of *ḥaḳīḳa* must be, according to circumstances, either "nature" or, as Mlle. Goichon suggests (*Introduction à Avicenne*, Paris 1933, 77), "essential reality". — A two-fold series of distinctions has to be established: (i) *huwiyya*, selfness (of the concrete thing); *māhiyya*, quiddity (essential definition); *dhāt*, essence properly speaking; *ḥaḳīḳa*, "essential reality"; (ii) *taḥaḳḳuḳ*, verification (of that which is); *ḥaḳḳ*, Real, transcendingly True; *ḥaḳīḳa*, reality, or transcendental truth. (B) Logical meaning (*al-ḥaḳīḳa al-ʿaḳliyya*): it is the truth which "the exact conception of the thing" establishes in the intelligence (A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, 84). From this same logical point of view, *ḥaḳḳ* will be the true in the sense of a judgement (*ḥukm*) of equivalence with the real (al-Djurdjānī, *op. cit.*, 94).

3. In *taṣawwuf*, the philosophical sense of the term is internalized in a line of deeply relished intellectual experience (*maʿrifa*). The *ḥaḳīḳa* is the profound reality to which only experience of union with God opens the way, "essential Idea" according to Nicholson (*The idea of personality in Ṣūfism*, Cambridge 1923, 59); cf. Anṣārī, *K. al-Manāzil*, the ten chapters of the section on "realities" (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*). — There are two attitudes according to the schools. (a) The Ṣūfīs of the "Unity of Witness" (*waḥdat al-shuhūd*), e.g. al-Ḥallādj, reserve for *ḥaḳīḳa* a sense of the absolute intelligibility of things, understood through the spirit of the mystic, which thus leads to the Real but is not itself the Real. "The [essential] reality (*al-ḥaḳīḳa*) of a thing is *on this side* of the real (*dūn al-ḥaḳḳ*)", said al-Ḥallādj (cf. Louis Massignon, *Passion*, 568). (b) Later Ṣūfism, from Ibn ʿArabī, was generally to take *al-ḥaḳīḳa* as the ultimate reality of the real itself in the uniqueness of being of all existence (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*); and the *ḥaḳīḳa* of the universe is to be God manifested in His attributes (cf. the central thesis of the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* of Ibn ʿArabī). Experience of union or identification will therefore be an effective experience (of intellectual-gnostic type) of the unique "reality" *beyond* the real. — Some Ṣūfi expressions applying this second meaning (al-Djurdjānī, *op. cit.*, 95): *ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, "unique and universal degree of all realities", also called "presence of union" and "presence of being"; *ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-asmāʾ*, "realities" of the divine Names, determinations of the Essence (*dhāt*) and its connexion with the manifested world, — that is to say, the attributes by which men are distinguished from each other; *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya*, the divine Essence in the first of these manifestations, "and it is the supreme Name".

4. Other usages could be reviewed. Some references may be given, by way of example, to the usage of al-Ghazzālī, who stands so to speak on the hinge between the two vocabularies of *falsafa* and *taṣawwuf* (before the full elucidation of the "Uniqueness of Being"). *Al-ḥaḳīḳa* is the profound reality, the quintessence of things, the flesh that is discovered behind the peel. The expression *ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-umūr*, "the essential realities of things", often recurs (e.g. *Munḳidh*, 8), *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* here being almost synonymous with *asrār*; similarly *ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥaḳḳ*, "the essential reality of the Real" (e.g. *Ildjām*, 56), which in a flash leads faith (*īmān*) to *yaḳīn*, absolute certainty.

We may further define the meaning of *ḥaḳīḳa* according to two correlative distinctions (*muḳābal*) which frequently serve to explain it. A. *Ḥaḳīḳa* as distinct from *ḥaḳḳ*. The analyses given above form the first step. *Ḥaḳīḳa* and *ḥaḳḳ* can be differentiated as the abstract and the concrete: "reality" and "real", — Deity and God, says L. Massignon (*Passion*, 568). Now, "if reality is on this side of the real" (see above), "everything real, affirms al-

Ḥallādj, has its essential reality" (*ibid.*, 801, n. 1). And again (from al-Sulamī, cf. L. Massignon, *Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1954, 310): "The Names of God? From the point of view of our comprehension, they are one single (Name); from the point of view of the Real (*al-ḥaḳḳ* = God), they are Reality (*al-ḥaḳīḳa*)". Determined by the definite article, *al-ḥaḳḳ* is the very Name which will most usually denote God in Ṣūfī usage; thus it could not be confused with *ḥaḳīḳa*. But, without the article, *ḥaḳḳ* can assume a fully abstract sense which approximates it to *ḥaḳīḳa*, reality, truth (cf. L. Massignon, ed. of the *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, Paris 1913, 184, n. 1). Subsequently (in later Ṣūfism), *al-ḥaḳīḳa* so coming to denote an effective, deeply felt experience, the man in quest of God will fix his heart upon this by a purification (*tanzīh*) of his idea of the divine attribute (cf. al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, Eng. trans. by Nicholson, Leiden-London 1911, 384). It is in this sense that *ḥaḳḳ* can denote in God the essence not manifested, and *ḥaḳīḳa* the divine attributes which are indeed the inmost being of things, their essential reality (cf. *Dict. of techn. terms*, 333 ff.). The Ṣūfīs of the "unity of Being" like to call themselves "the People of the *ḥaḳīḳa*"; but "the People of the Sunna and the Community" claim the title of *ahl al-ḥaḳḳ* (cf. H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 166, n. 2).

B.—*Ḥaḳīḳa* differentiated (by contrast) from *sharīʿa*. This is one of the themes of the *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* of al-Hudjwīrī. *Ḥaḳīḳa* here receives a meaning very near to Ghazālī's usage. It is the profound reality which remains immutable "from the time of Adam to the end of the world", like the knowledge of God, or religious practice, which only the inner purpose renders perfect. *Sharīʿa* ("Law") is the reality which can undergo abrogations or changes like ordinances and commandments. Two errors are to be guarded against: that of the pure jurists who refuse to distinguish between inner reality and the regulations of the Law, and that of the *bāṭiniyya* and extremist Shīʿīs (eg. Ḳarmaṭīs), teaching that the Law is abolished when profound Reality is attained. In fact, says al-Hudjwīrī, the *sharīʿa* cannot possibly be maintained without the existence of the *ḥaḳīḳa*, nor can the latter without observance of the *sharīʿa* (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, Eng. tr., 383). Each of them rests on three pillars: for *ḥaḳīḳa*, it is the three-fold knowledge (a) of the Essence and Unity of God, (b) of His Attributes, (c) of His Actions and His Wisdom; for *sharīʿa*, the three-fold knowledge (a) of the Ḳurʾān, (b) of the *Sunna*, (c) of the *idjmāʿ* (*ibid.*, 14). In conclusion, the "mutual relation (of *sharīʿa* and *ḥaḳīḳa*) may be compared to that of body and spirit" (*ibid.*, 383).

Thus *ḥaḳīḳa*, in the sense either of profound or essential reality, or of transcendental truth, was to be currently used in very different lexicons (the Ḥanbalī al-Barbahārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 22, was to speak of "the reality of the faith", *ḥaḳīḳat al-īmān*, which only the observance of the whole body of religious prescriptions guarantees; cf. H. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 82, n. 1). *Falsafa* was to make it a precise term of ontology and logic; and *taṣawwuf* employed it very differently, depending on whether the inner experience specified was or was not situated within a monist view of the relations of God and the world.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text: Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 125; Lane, *Lexicon*, 609; M. Horten, *Theologie des Islam*, 152-3; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, with comm. of ʿArūsī and Zakariyyā, ii, 92 ff.; F. Jabre, *La notion de certitude selon Ghazālī*, Paris 1958, see Index, s.v.; Anṣārī-Harawī, *K. al-Manāzil*, text and Fr. tr. by S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, Cairo 1962, 92-101/121-8. (L. GARDET)

ḤAKĪM [see ṬABĪB].

ḤAKĪM ATA (d. (?) 582/1186), Turkish saint of Khwārizm, the disciple and third *khalīfa* of Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*], and the author of popular poems on the mystic life. His personal name was Sulaymān and his *nisba* Bāḳirghānī, *i.e.*, (according to Barthold, *Turkestan*², 150 and n. 1) of Bāḳirghān, a locality near the modern Kungrad, in the delta of the Āmū Daryā, where his tomb is still pointed out.

The legendary biography of Ḥakīm Ata is recounted in the anonymous *Ḥakīm Ata kitābī* (Kazan 1846): as a child he attracted the attention of Aḥmad Yasawī, and at the age of 15 became his *murīd*; he was given the name Ḥakīm ("wise") by the prophet Khiḍr [see AL-KHAḌIR], who inspired him to utter his poems (*ḥikmets*); his *shaykh* having sent him out on a camel with orders to settle wherever the camel brought him, at Bīnawā he attracted the attention of 'Bughra Khān' and received in marriage his daughter ʿAnbar, by whom he had three sons (for a summary see M. F. Köprülüzāde, *Ilk mutaṣawwiflar*, 98-104).

Three works, all very popular down to modern times in Turkestan and especially in the Volga basin, are attributed to him: (1) *Bāḳirghān kitābī* (MSS very common, printed Kazan 1846, etc.) is a collection of the works of 14 authors, consisting of 124 poems (of which 44 are by 'Sulaymān') and 8 versified tales (with two, on the *miʿrādj* and on Abraham's sacrifice of Ismāʿīl, by Sulaymān); the spirit and style is close to that of Aḥmad Yasawī's *Dīwān*; (2) *Ākhir zamān kitābī* (Kazan 1847, etc.), in *hazadj* metre, on the Day of Judgement; (3) *Ḥaḍrat-i Maryam kitābī* (Kazan 1878, etc.), in *madīd* metre, on the death of Mary the mother of Jesus (a story given also by Rabghūzī [*q.v.*]). His *Miʿrādj-nāme* and some of his short poems are included also in the *Dīwān-i Ḥikmet* of Aḥmad Yasawī (Istanbul 1899, 47-56).

Bibliography: M. F. Köprülüzāde, *Türk edebiyātīnda ilk mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 40-2, 98-104 (legends of his life), 193-5 (his works), with references to sources; *IA*, s.v. Hakîm Ata, by R. Rahmeti Arat, with further references.

(GÜNAY ALPAY)

ḤAKĪM-BASHĪ [see HEKĪM-BASHĪ].

AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH, sixth Fāṭimid caliph, whose name was Abū ʿAlī al-Manṣūr, one of the most famous caliphs because of his excesses, his cruelty, his persecutions, particularly of the Christians, the divine character which certain of his supporters attributed to him and which is an article of faith with the Druzes, and because of his mysterious end. It is difficult to form an exact idea of his personality, so strange and even inexplicable were many of the measures which he took, and so full of contradictions does his conduct seem. His main characteristic is a tyrannical and cruel despotism, with intervals of liberalism and humility.

Al-Ḥākim, born in 375/985, was only eleven and a half years old when his father, al-ʿAzīz, died at Bilbays on 28 Ramaḍān 386/14 October 996. He had been proclaimed *walī al-ʿahd* in 383/993. On his deathbed, al-ʿAzīz had instructed the chief *Ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān and the leader of the Kutāma, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār, to proclaim his son caliph. He made his entry into Cairo on the day following his father's death, dressed in a monochrome

durrāʿa, wearing a turban ornamented with precious stones, with a lance in his hand, a sword at his waist and preceded by his father's corpse. On the following day he was solemnly presented to the dignitaries in the great *īwān* of the Palace, seated on a golden throne, and was greeted with the title of *imām* with the *laḳab* of al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh.

Right at the beginning of his reign, the Kutāma Berbers, who were the mainstay of the dynasty, insisted that the leadership of the government be entrusted to their chief, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār, who was renowned for his successes over the Byzantines in Sicily, and he was appointed *wāsiṭa* [see FĀṬIMIDS], with the *laḳab* of Amīn al-Dawla. He showed favour to the Berbers in the army, at the expense of the other elements—Turks, Daylamīs and Blacks, had ʿĪsā b. Nasṭūrus, the vizier of al-ʿAzīz, put to death, and quarrelled with the young caliph's tutor, the eunuch slave Bard̲j̲awān [*q.v.*]. The latter, made anxious by the plan formed by the followers of Ibn ʿAmmār to suppress al-Ḥākim, made an alliance with the governor of Damascus, the Turk Mangūtekīn. But Mangūtekīn, having marched towards Egypt accompanied by his Bedouin ally Mufarrid̲j̲ b. Dag̲h̲fal b. al-D̲j̲arrāḥ [see D̲J̲ARRĀḤIDS], was abandoned by him and defeated near ʿAsḳalān by Ibn ʿAmmār's troops under the command of Sulaymān b. D̲j̲aʿfar b. Fallāḥ. However, Ibn ʿAmmār's government lasted only a short time. One of the most powerful Berbers, D̲j̲ays̲h̲ b. Ṣamṣāma, who had been dismissed from his post as governor of Tripoli, joined with Bard̲j̲awān. A revolt broke out against Ibn ʿAmmār, who was defeated and had to go into hiding, and Bard̲j̲awān seized power and took over the position of *wāsiṭa* at the end of Ramaḍān 387/beginning of October 997 and caused the oath of loyalty to the young caliph to be sworn again. Ibn ʿAmmār, at first pardoned, was later assassinated.

The administration of Bard̲j̲awān, helped by his secretary, Fahd b. Ibrāhīm, had to face numerous difficulties: the Byzantine offensive in northern Syria, a rebellion at Tyre of the adventurer ʿAllāḳa with Byzantine support, and disturbances at Damascus and at Barḳa in Tripolitania. Affairs in Syria ended successfully with the defeat of the Byzantine fleet off Tyre; D̲j̲ays̲h̲ b. Ṣamṣāma, although at first defeated outside Afāmiya, pursued and conquered the Byzantines who were disorganized by the death of their leader Damian Dalassenos (see M. Canard's translation of the account by Ibn al-Ḳalānisī in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, Paris, xix (1961), 297 ff.). Just before the beginning of this campaign against the Byzantines, Mufarrid̲j̲, who wished to make himself master of Ramla, had had to submit to D̲j̲ays̲h̲ b. Ṣamṣāma. Order was restored at Damascus. It was restored also at Barḳa, but the attempt to take Tripoli from the Zīrid ruler of Ifrīḳiya failed. The negotiations with the Byzantines, begun after the Afāmiya incident and initiated either by the Emperor Basil or by Bard̲j̲awān, came to nothing and Basil began a new campaign in northern Syria, and this time was successful. It was after this, but also after the death of Bard̲j̲awān, that, in 391/1001, a ten year truce was concluded with the Byzantines. The peaceful relations between Byzantium and al-Ḥākim were to be disturbed by the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 400/1009, and in 406/1015-6 Basil even forbade commercial relations with Egypt and Syria.

From Rabīʿ II 390/April 1000, Bard̲j̲awān was no longer in power. Al-Ḥākim, whose personality was beginning to assert itself, found the tutelage of Bard̲j̲awān, who kept him shut up in the palace, irksome. He therefore, with the connivance of the slave Raydān, had him assassinated while he was taking a walk with him. Disturbances followed, for the Turks feared that this was a *coup* by the Berber party. The young caliph was obliged to show himself at the gate of the palace to explain the reasons which had compelled him to have Bard̲j̲awān killed, and to demand obedience and help from all his subjects. This murder, and the cold determination with which it was ordered, showed already in this boy of fifteen those bloodthirsty inclinations to which the majority of his ministers and of the important dignitaries were later to fall victim.

From this time on, al-Ḥākim ruled as an absolute despot, obeying only his own caprice and mood of the moment, whether good or bad, decreeing the most extraordinary and the most unpopular measures, later mitigating them or abolishing them, and then again re-introducing them, alternating harshness and liberalism, to end finally in the madness of the last years of his reign.

The chief features of al-Ḥākim's reign were: (1) a series of measures arising from a spirit of Muslim, and specifically S̲h̲īʿī, religious fanaticism—(a) laws against the Christians and the Jews, (b) anti-Sunnī measures, (c) edicts of an ethico-social character (all measures which were annulled more than once although no clear reasons for this can be detected); (2) a great number of executions and cruelties; (3) rebellions and manifestations of discontent among the population; (4) al-Ḥākim's eccentricities, verging on madness, and his claims to be recognized as divine.

There were occasions on the other hand when al-Ḥākim showed remarkable simplicity, humility and asceticism, liberality and sense of justice, so that judgements of him have not always been unfavourable.

The measures taken against the Christians and the Jews were one of the most striking features of his reign, but it must be admitted that there had already been similar edicts issued by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. We list al-Ḥākim's measures briefly here:

393/1003: the demolition of a church which was being rebuilt, and the erection in its place of the Rās̲h̲ida mosque (on this see al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 282); the conversion of two other churches into mosques; the transfer of the Melkite Christians from their own quarter to that of al-Ḥamrāʾ (on which see *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, i, 298); the prohibition of wine, although Muslim law permits it to Christians, and orders to destroy the wine-jars and to empty the wine onto the ground.

395/1004: the forcing of Christians and Jews to wear black belts (*zunnār*) and turbans.

396/1005-6: a new prohibition of wine.

397/1007: the prohibition of the Palm Sunday procession at Jerusalem and elsewhere.

398/1008: the confiscation of the possesssions of the churches and monasteries in Egypt.

399/1009: the forcing of Christians and Jews to wear when in the baths a distinctive badge hung round their necks—a cross for the Christians and a small bell for the Jews; the demolition of two churches in Cairo and one at Damascus and the desecration of their graveyards; the infliction of tortures on a number of Christian officials, which led a number of others to embrace Islam.

400/1009-10: the demolition of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; according to Ibn al-

Ḳalānisī, this was because the caliph was indignant at a fraud practised by the monks in the miracle of the descent of the holy fire on to the altar (on this miracle see Kračkovskiy, *The "holy fire" according to the accounts of al-Bīrūnī and other Muslim writers of the 10th-13th centuries* (in Russian), in *Khristianskiy Vostok*, iii/3 (1915), 226-42).

In the same year: the prohibition in Cairo of the Epiphany Procession, the Muslim authorities being forbidden to attend it as they had formerly done; the destruction of the Melkite monastery of al-Ḳaṣīr on the Mukaṭṭam Hills and the desecration of the graveyard; the destruction of a church at Damietta.

401/1010: the repetition of the order to the Christians and Jews to wear black belts; a new prohibition of wine and of its use in the Mass.

402/1011-12: the forbidding of the display of crosses and the sounding of *nāḳūs* [*q.v.*].

403/1012-13 (in 404, according to al-Maḳrīzī): an order to the Christians and the Jews to wear black turbans and head veils (*ṭaylasān*), and to Christians to wear a wooden cross round their necks; an order forbidding them to ride on horseback; the replacement of Christian officials by Muslims. These measures were made still more severe after Christian petitions were received, and a large number of Christians were forced through fear to embrace Islam. This was a disastrous year for the Christians, all of their convents and churches being destroyed and their treasures confiscated. Only the monastery of Sinai was spared, thanks to a ruse on the part of the abbot. But it did not escape confiscations, since, in 411/1021, the abbot complained to the caliph about them.

In general this policy had the approval of the Muslims, who hated the Christians because of acts of misappropriation and of favouritism by the Christian financial officials, which led for example to the execution in 393/1003 of the secretary Fahd b. Ibrāhīm, who had been at the head of affairs for more than five years, and the imprisonment, although temporary, of several Christian secretaries of the various offices. It should be mentioned that these measures were perhaps not always strictly enforced, otherwise it would not have been necessary to repeat them.

On the other hand, in 404/1013 al-Ḥākim allowed the Christians and the Jews, even those who had embraced Islam, to return to their faith and to emigrate to Greek territory. In 411/1021, when he learned that some Christians who had become Muslims were attending Mass in certain houses, he took no action against them, and in the same year he produced a whole series of measures in favour of the Christians: authorizing the rebuilding of the monastery of al-Ḳaṣīr and the restoration of its possessions, granting protection to all the churches of Jerusalem, restoring some churches and returning their possessions to all the churches, and authorizing Christians who had embraced Islam to apostasize.

One wonders whether al-Ḥākim was not at times inspired by the memory of his Christian mother.

The specifically Shīʿī and anti-Sunnī measures encountered a vigorous opposition from the mainly Sunnī population of Egypt, and were, either because of this or in an access of liberalism, sometimes repealed. Although, in 393/1002-3, thirteen people were arrested, publicly exhibited and imprisoned for three days for having performed the prayer of *al-ḍuḥā* [see ṢALĀT] which had been forbidden since 370, in 399/1009 it was once again permitted to perform it, according to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī. Similarly there were authorized the *ḳunūt* [*q.v.*] in the Friday prayer (which was considered as a usage introduced during the ʿAbbāsid period: cf. al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim*, i, 121) and the prayer of the *tarāwīḥ* in Ramaḍān; it was permitted in summoning to the prayer of *al-fadjr* to say twice (*tathwīb*), in accordance with Sunnī practice, "prayer is better than sleep"; it was no longer obligatory to call, in the *adhān*, "Come to the best of works", which was a specifically Shīʿī formula (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 287 and 342, where the dates do not agree). But, according to al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 342, in 403/1012 he ordained a return to the formula "Come to the best of works", suppressed the *tathwīb* and once again forbade the *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* and that of the *tarāwīḥ*. The forbidding of women to weep and lament at funerals should probably also be attributed to a reaction against a popular practice which had been forbidden by the Prophet but which the Sunnīs do not seem to have combated very strictly.

One of the measures which often gave rise to disturbances was the anathema pronounced in 395/1005 against the first caliphs and the Companions of the Prophet: orders were given to inscribe these maledictory formulas on the walls of the mosques and of various other buildings and also on the bazaar shops, and this gave rise to a brawl at the time of the return from the Pilgrimage. The edict was therefore repealed two years later and an order was given to efface the anathemas and to punish any who insulted the Companions. This order was renewed in 403/1013. To this reversal of policy and return to Sunnī practices belongs also the authorization to celebrate the fast and the breaking of the fast as the Sunnīs did, when the new moon was actually observed, whereas the Fāṭimid law fixed the beginning of the month by astronomical calculations; and also the suppression of the Feast of Ghadīr Khumm (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 389, 10).

The rigorous measures against the Sunnīs produced a great zeal for Shīʿism and people thronged the lectures which were given at the palace by the chief *Ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān, to such an extent that people died of suffocation.

The creation of the *dār al-ʿilm* or *dar al-ḥikma* [*qq.v.*] in 395/1005 was another measure intended to combat Sunnism and promote Ismāʿīlī propaganda.

The edicts of an ethico-social character are among the most curious decisions of this caliph, and when they were not the result of caprice and of outright whims, it is possible to attribute them to an anxiety to promote good morals and to combat libertinism.

The prohibition of wine which we have already mentioned affected the Muslims as well as the Christians. It was not observed during the revolt of Abū Rakwa (see below). It was repealed in 396/1006, when al-Ḥākim's physician had pointed out to him that wine would be beneficial for his health. But this order was re-introduced several times, certainly out of a concern for morality. Of a similar nature were the suppression of houses of ill-fame, the forbidding of people to appear in baths without wearing a loin-cloth, the forbidding of the sale of slave singing-girls, the prohibition of beer (*fuḳḳāʿ*) and of the sale of honey and of raisins (which could be used to make intoxicating drinks), the prohibition of musical instruments and the forbidding of performances by singers and musicians. For the same reasons he forbade women to adorn themselves and to display their jewels, to go to the baths, the cemeteries and even, at one time, to go out at all, in 405 forbidding the shoemakers to make shoes for them so that they were forced to remain indoors. Some women who

went to the baths in spite of the prohibition were walled up there.

Al-Ḥākim also forbade pleasure parties on the banks of the Nile and boating excursions on the Khalīdj; he also ordered all doors and windows which overlooked the Khalīdj to be closed. He even forbade people to walk about at night or to keep shops open after sunset, though at other times he himself took pleasure in strolling in the lighted streets.

All these measures were extremely unpopular; al-Ḥākim was certainly anxious to deal severely with the debauchery and excesses of certain classes of the population and he did not hesitate to punish most severely any infringements of the prohibitions.

Although it can be admitted that the caliph's motives in issuing certain of the prohibitions were serious, the same cannot be said of a number of other measures. Among these was a series of prohibitions concerning food, which were irksome both for trade and for the consumers. He forbade *malūkhiya*, a very popular mucilaginous vegetable, on the pretext that Abū Bakr, ʿĀʾisha and Muʿāwiya had liked it, the salad known as *muwakkaliyya* (rocket), lupins, certain shell-fish (tellina), fish without scales (which recalls the prohibition in Deuteronomy, XIV, 3 ff.). The forbidding of the killing of cattle except for the Feast of Sacrifices may have arisen from the need to preserve them for agriculture (compare the policy of al-Ḥadjdjādj).

But what can be said of the order, twice issued, to kill all the dogs because their barking annoyed the caliph, and of the prohibition of the game of chess? What explanation can be found for al-Ḥākim's confiscation in 399 of his mother's, his sister's and his wives' possessions?

Infringements of all these regulations were sometimes punished by death, for al-Ḥākim resorted to executions for all kinds of reasons, among them to inspire terror and as a method of government. The number of viziers, high officials and ordinary individuals whom he had put to death is considerable. We mention here only few cases: the assassination of Bardjawān and execution of Fahd b. Ibrāhīm (see above); the execution in 395/1004-5 of all the inmates of the prisons; tortures inflicted in 399/1009 on a number of Christian officials (hanging up by the hands, of which some of them died); in 400/1010, the execution of the vizier ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maghribī and of the ex-vizier Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, and in 401/1010 of his successor, the Christian Manṣūr b. ʿAbdūn, and also of Ḥusayn b. Djawhar and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān who, after having fled to the Banū Ḳurra, had returned under safe-conduct; in 404/1013, the mutilation of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djardjarāʾī and of the black eunuch Ghayn, a high official of the Palace, and in the same year the execution by drowning of several of al-Ḥākim's concubines; in 405/1014, the execution of the vizier al-Ḥusayn b. Ẓāhir al-Wazzān and of two other viziers, one of them being al-Faḍl b. Djaʿfar b. al-Furāt. He even had secretly put to death, in 400/1010, his maternal uncle Arsenius, the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, whom he himself had had elected ten years earlier. His hypocrisy and cynicism were such that he would even load with gifts people whom he was soon afterwards to execute.

It is not surprising therefore that the whole population stood in terrible fear of al-Ḥākim.

One of his most cruel acts—for it was inspired solely by the desire for vengeance—was his decision, at the end of 410/March 1020, to burn al-Fusṭāṭ, as a result of the circulation of libellous statements against him, accusing him of abandoning Islam completely and of having abolished its fundamental prescriptions (fasting and the Pilgrimage) after the preaching of al-Darazī and of Ḥamza (see below), and because of the riots which had followed the proclamation of the divinity of al-Ḥākim by a propagandist at the Mosque of ʿAmr. He gave orders to his black troops to plunder and to burn al-Fusṭāṭ, and these troops committed atrocities on the inhabitants. The eunuch slave ʿAdī, whom the caliph had sent to restore order, gave him such an angry account of what had happened that al-Ḥākim had him killed on the spot. But he had to intervene himself to stop the fighting, for the Turks and the Berbers had taken the side of the inhabitants of al-Fusṭāṭ and were fighting against the black troops. Some traditions state that the caliph was hypocritical and cynical enough to ask: "But who gave orders for this?", and that he amused himself by watching the burning of al-Fusṭāṭ from the top of the Muḳaṭṭam hills. The disturbances lasted for a whole week and left much of al-Fusṭāṭ in ruins.

The reign of al-Ḥākim was moreover disturbed by a number of rebellions. First there was a revolt of the Arab tribe of the Banū Ḳurra in the region south-east of Alexandria, the Buḥayra. But the most serious was that of Abū Rakwa Walīd b. Hishām, an Umayyad prince driven out from Andalus. After several adventures in different regions, even in Syria, he appeared in the region of Barḳa and won the support of the Zanāta Berbers. He already had with him the Banū Ḳurra, who had revolted previously. He set himself up as anti-caliph and defeated first one army at the end of 395/1005, then that of the Turk Inal (according to Yaḥyā, the Armenian Ḳābil) which al-Ḥākim had sent against him. At this point al-Ḥākim's distress was all the greater in that the population of Egypt and the troops, tired of the executions and the cruelties that the caliph had inflicted on the Banū Ḳurra and the Kutāma of the Syrian army, showed their joy and hoped that they would be rid of the tyrant. It seems even that the vizier Ḥusayn b. Djawhar had entered into correspondence with Abū Rakwa. Al-Ḥākim then called on the Ḥamdānid *ghulāms* who were in Syria and on the Ṭayyī Bedouin of Mufarridj b. Daghfal and put them under the command of al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ. A battle took place between detachments of the two armies on the outskirts of Alexandria. Then Abū Rakwa penetrated as far as the Fayyūm and sent one of his detachments towards Djīza where the caliph had sent reinforcements under the command of ʿAlī b. Fallāḥ, who was defeated. But in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 396/August 1006, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ gained a decisive victory over Abū Rakwa at Fayyūm and Abū Rakwa, who was fleeing towards Nubia, was captured and delivered up by the *amīr* of the Nubian marches and executed in Cairo in Djumādā II 397/March 1007. The alarm had been great. The caliph had had to humble himself to regain the sympathy of the troops, apologizing for the executions which he had ordered. It seems even that at one point he considered fleeing to Syria, for it was expected that the rebel would enter Cairo and the unrest of the population had caused a serious rise in prices. During the two years that this rebellion lasted, al-Ḥākim's prohibitions concerning food were waived and it was at this time also that he mitigated the anti-Sunnī measures.

A further alarm was caused by the revolt in 402/1011-2 of Mufarridj the Djarrāḥid in Palestine,

encouraged by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Maghribī (the vizier al-Maghribī), who had taken refuge with his son Ḥassān b. al-Mufarridj after the execution of his father ʿAlī al-Maghribī in 400. See the article DJARRĀḤIDS for details of how their intrigues were successful in installing in Palestine an anti-caliph in the person of the *Sharīf* of Mecca in 403/1012-3 and how al-Ḥākim bribed Ḥassān to abandon the *Sharīf*, who returned to Mecca and gave himself up to al-Ḥākim, who pardoned him.

The eccentricities in which al-Ḥākim indulged when he was no longer under the tutelage of Bardjawān are well-known. He began to wander around the streets and alleys of al-Fusṭāṭ at night, accompanied by a few companions. When this happened, the merchants would illuminate their shops and houses and the streets were as lively as in the day-time. He liked to watch scenes of wrestling (*muṣāraʿa*) among the street loafers—brawls which sometimes degenerated into murderous battles between rival groups. He showed at times an unhealthy curiosity. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd relates a revolting scene which took place in 407/1016-7, when actually in the street he made one of his black attendants make an old debauchee submit to a degrading assault and laughed as he watched this spectacle. Sometimes during these walks he was seized by a fit of absolute madness. One day as he passed a butcher's shop he seized the butcher's chopper and with it struck and killed one of his attendants, passing on without paying any more attention to the body; the terrified crowd did not dare to do anything and the body remained there until al-Ḥākim sent a shroud in which to bury him.

In 405/1014-5 these expeditions increased; he was seen in the streets several times in one day. He did not give up his outings even when he was ill, but he had himself carried in a litter.

There can also be counted among his eccentricities his sudden fits of humility and of asceticism, unless it is thought that he had always an inclination towards Ṣūfism. In 403/1012-3 we see him forbidding his subjects to prostrate themselves in front of him, to call him "Our Lord", and to beat drums or sound trumpets in the neighbourhood of the palace. He made a great point of celebrating the two great Islamic festivals without a procession and without ornaments. He showed abstinence in all he did—in food and in bodily pleasures. He allowed his hair to grow long and wore coarse garments of black wool, rode only on a donkey and distributed alms lavishly. In 404/1013, after his cousin ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās had been proclaimed heir-presumptive, he delegated all the affairs of state to him. It was the heir who rode on horseback in the official processions, wearing all the insignia of the caliph, whereas the latter continued to ride on a donkey. Towards the end of his reign, this humility and asceticism increased to the point that he no longer changed his clothes and wore them filthy with sweat and dust and sticking to his body, that he travelled about the countryside, climbed the Muḳaṭṭam hills and went for longer and longer solitary walks, when, having ordered his attendants to wait for him at a distance, he imagined that he was speaking to God.

His madness (unless it really was absolute religious conviction—Ismāʿīlism taken to its ultimate conclusions) led him to accept and encourage the theories of Ismāʿīlī extremists according to which he was the incarnation of the Divinity. The historians give rather confused accounts of the respective parts played in this affair by the Ismāʿīlī missionaries, Ḥasan b. Ḥaydara al-Farghānī al-Akhram, Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Zawzānī and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl Anushtekīn al-Darazī, and it is certain that several episodes have been confused with one another. However, it seems that it was in 408/1017-8 that this theme began to be preached, with the caliph's approval. It is almost certain that Ḥamza preached it first and that al-Darazī was his disciple, although Yaḥyā makes Ḥamza appear after al-Darazī. Furthermore there was rivalry between the two [see AL-DARAZĪ and DURŪZ]. According to one version, al-Darazī was killed by the Turks who were angered by his theories; according to another, the caliph, fearing for al-Darazī's safety, sent him off secretly to Ḥawrān. Al-Akhram is also said to have been a follower of Ḥamza; he is said to have presented to the *Ḳāḍī* while he was judging in the Mosque of ʿAmr a paper which began with the words "*bi-'sm al-Ḥākim al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*"; this started a riot in which his companions were massacred while he himself was able to escape. Some accounts state that he was killed by a Turk. Ḥamza, who was a great favourite of al-Ḥākim and had a special relationship with him, is said by one tradition to have been obliged to go and hide in the Ḥawrān. It is not known what became of him after al-Ḥākim's disappearance, but he is known to have been the founder of the theological system of the Druzes.

It is not clear whether al-Ḥākim's disappearance was directly related to all this and to what extent this preaching can have increased the caliph's madness.

Al-Ḥākim's end was as extraordinary as his life, and it will probably never be known how it came about. On 27 Shawwāl 411/13 February 1021, he disappeared while walking at night on the Muḳaṭṭam Hills and on the plateau which leads from there to Ḥulwān. He walked away from the two attendants who were accompanying him and whom he had ordered to wait for him. They did not see him again and returned to the palace next morning. A search was made and five days afterwards his clothes were found, pierced by dagger blows. According to one plausible version, he was assassinated at the instigation of his sister, Sitt al-Mulk, with whom he had had a disagreement: Sitt al-Mulk had reproached him for his extravagant behaviour, which she said was threatening the existence of the dynasty, while he reproached his sister for her licentious way of life. Fearing that she might be put to death herself, she acted first and arranged with the *shaykh* of the Kutāma, Sayf al-Dawla b. Dawwās, that al-Ḥākim should disappear. There circulated several traditions, none of which is reliable: he was said to have been killed by an unknown assassin, to have taken refuge in a monastery to end his days there, etc. The Druzes believe in a mysterious *ghayba* [*q.v.*] (a well-known Shīʿī theme) which is to last until the time when he will re-appear (the Shīʿī theme of the "return" [see RADJʿA]). The theory that al-Ḥākim withdrew into solitude because he saw the impossibility of realizing his ideas in Egypt (A. Müller) is merely hypothetical.

The picture we have given of the reign of al-Ḥākim does not on the whole present him in a favourable light. It cannot, however, be said that his reign was particularly unfortunate for Egypt. It had some less gloomy aspects.

During his reign the vast Fāṭimid domain lost none of its territory and in fact al-Ḥākim was even recognized at Mosul by Ḳirwāsh, the ʿUkaylid of Mosul, for a time in 401/1010-1. It was during his reign, also, in 406/1015-6, that Manṣūr b. Luʾluʾ of Aleppo submitted

to the Fāṭimid caliphate, and after his disappearance Aleppo had several Fāṭimid governors. It is true that at the end of his reign the situation at Damascus was troubled. In 410/1019-20, he had appointed as governor the *walī al-ʿahd* designate, who had introduced liberal measures, such as the authorization of wine-drinking, which were not in accordance with al-Ḥākim's ideas; he had the support of some classes of the population—the *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*]—while others did not approve of him. As he had in addition entered into relations with the Djarrāḥid, al-Ḥākim recalled him. He obeyed this order immediately; al-Ḥākim was satisfied and sent him back to Damascus. But there broke out a revolt against him and, on the death of al-Ḥākim, Sitt al-Mulk had him arrested and brought back to Cairo.

It is to al-Ḥākim that Cairo owes the building of the mosques of al-Rāshida (see above) and of al-Maḳs and the completion of the mosque known as that of al-Ḥākim which had been begun by al-ʿAzīz. He was also responsible for the foundation ot the first Muslim university, the *Dār al-Ḥikma* mentioned above, with its considerable library. He patronized the development of the sciences and of letters; the historian al-Muṣabbiḥī was one of his close friends and the astronomer ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān wrote for him his work *al-Zīdj al-kabīr*. He was on excellent terms with the physician Ibn Muḳashshir, on whose advice he returned to wine-drinking. It is true, however, that he had another physician put to death.

At the beginning of his reign his intention was to rule in regular consultation with the important men of Cairo, but he soon tired of this. This was no doubt one of his fits of humility which, like the others, seems to have contained more of affectation than of sincerity. But all the historians agree that he was generous, that he did his utmost to combat famine by making gifts and by trying to stabilize the price of food, that his concern for justice was such that he himself attended to the *ḥisba*, and that he appointed in addition to the chief of police two *ʿadl* witnesses, without whose consent no sentence could be pronounced. Yaḥyā states that he never allowed himself to seize anyone's property, that he abolished taxes (*mukūs*) and other unjust dues and that he restored to their owners goods which had been unjustly appropriated. The same writer depicts him among the people, welcoming all their requests and endeavouring to satisfy them. He abolished the "fifth" (no doubt the fifth that Fāṭimid juridical theory decreed should be paid to the caliph on any profit made), as well as the *nadjwā*, the tax which had to be paid by those who were present at the *madjālis al-ḥikma*, the Ismāʿīlī learned meetings which were held at the Palace.

A panegyric of al-Ḥākim by a Jewish writer is found in a fragment of a chronicle published by Neubauer in *JQR*, ix, 25; in it he appears as a benefactor of the country and the author praises his sense of justice (see D. Kaufmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens aus jüdischen Quellen*, in *ZDMG*, li (1897), 442-3; but also M. Schreiner in *REJ*, xxxi, 217, on the burning by al-Ḥākim of a Jewish quarter).

It is an account of his liberality also which has been preserved in some of the tales of the *1001 Nights*, such as the story of the Cairo merchant who, having given splendid hospitality to the caliph when he had stopped in front of his garden during an official procession to ask for a drink, received from al-Ḥākim as a reward all the coins struck by the Mint in that year (Lane, *The Arabian Nights* ..., London 1914, iii, 56). Similarly, in the *Ḥikāyat Wardān al-Djazzār maʿ al-marʾa wa 'l-dubb* (*1001 Nights*, Cairo, nights 353-5): a treasure guarded by a bear is discovered by the butcher in question (see the complicated story); he gives it to al-Ḥākim who has come on his donkey to see the treasure that the butcher has told him about; the caliph keeps a part of it and gives the remainder to the butcher who is thus enabled to build all the shops of the *sūḳ* which is called after him Sūḳ Wardān. This story is related by Ibn al-Dawādārī, who claims to base it on the *Ḥall al-rumūz fī ʿilm al-kunūz* of a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Ḳayrawānī.

The historians have formed very varied judgments of al-Ḥākim's personality. Dozy and A. Müller have tried to show that there was in him a certain idealism. Ivanow, *Rise*, 123 ff., thinks that he was anxious to realize the ideals of the Sunnīs as well as of the Ismāʿīlīs and to this end to suppress Christianity, and that in addition he was always trying to make the Ismāʿīlī doctrine more perfect. But he sees in him also a desire to "play to the gallery" and thinks that there may have been a histrionic streak in him. He even sees a democratic flavour in some of his acts; but this is going rather far.

Yaḥyā, who was a physician as well as a historian, tried to give a medical explanation of his "madness" as a mixture in his brain of pernicious and morbid humours which from his childhood caused him to suffer from a kind of melancholy (in the true sense) and a trouble of the mind which made him a prey to fantasies. He states that in his youth he was subject to fits and that the ill-constitution of his brain caused him to suffer from insomnia (see Yaḥyā-Cheikho, 218 ff.). This insomnia may explain al-Ḥākim's nocturnal walks.

In any case, al-Ḥākim's personality remains an enigmatic one. He seems to have been several persons in succession or even simultaneously.

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also Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Die Chronik des Ibn* ..., Teil 6: *Der Bericht über die Fatimiden*, ed. Salāh ad-dīn al-Munaǧǧid, Cairo 1961, 256-312; Ḳalḳa-s͟handī, *Ṣubḥ* ..., x, 384, xiii, 359-60; Ḳayrawānī, *Histoire de l'Afrique*, tr. Pellissier and Rémusat (*Explor. de l'Algérie*, vii), 116 ff.—Among modern works the biography of al-Ḥākim in S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, i, 278 ff., remains the basic work. See also Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iii, 66, iv, 269; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fat. Chalifen*, 164 ff. (very important; his account is in part founded on Ibn Ẓāfir, *al-Duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*); S. Lane-Poole, *A history of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 123 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885 i, 629 ff.; De Lacy O'Leary, *A short history of the Fatimid Khalifate*, index; Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, *Al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh wa asrār al-daʿwa al-fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1937, a very important and detailed monograph, with an excellent index; ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mād̲j̲id, *Al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh, al-k̲h̲alīfa al-muftarā ʿalayh*, Cairo 1959; G. Wiet, *Précis de l'hist. de l'Égypte*, 1932, 182-3; idem, *L'Égypte arabe* (vol. iv of *Hist. de la Nation Égyptienne*), 195-204; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-dawla al-fāṭimiyya*[2], Cairo 1958, 163-8, 204 ff., 218-38, 249 ff., 258, 272 ff., 310 ff., 331 ff., 352 ff., 378 ff., 428 ff. and *passim*; idem, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-islām al-siyāsī* ..., Cairo 1949, iii, 168-70. See also M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-fāṭimiyya*, index. There are also interesting details in Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, see index, and in the *Kitāb al-D̲h̲ak̲h̲āʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf* of the Ḳāḍī al-Ras̲h̲īd b. al-Zubayr (ed. M. Hamidullah), 68, 150-1, 232-3. 241, On the deification of al-Ḥākim, see P. J. Vatikiotis, *Al-Hakim bi-Amrillah: the God-King idea realized*, in *IC*, xxix (1955), 1-18 (revised version in idem, *The Fatimid theory of state*, Lahore 1957, 149 ff.); G. Wiet, *Grandeur de l'Islam*, Paris 1961, 168-70; S. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, New York 1955, 83-4.

(M. Canard)

AL-ḤĀKIM AL-NAYSĀBŪRĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Bayyiʿ, a traditionist of note, b. 321/933, d. 405/1014. He travelled in various countries to study *Ḥādīt̲h̲* and heard traditions from about 2000 *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*. Because he held the office of *ḳāḍī* for a time he became known as al-Ḥākim. He wrote many books, among them *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīt̲h̲*, an important work on the science of *Ḥadīt̲h̲*, which set a standard for the method of dealing with the subject. Though he was held in high esteem for his scholarship and was visited by many scholars, his writings have met with criticism. He has been called a S̲h̲īʿī, but al-Subkī stoutly denies this. Al-D̲h̲ahabī who, in *Tad̲h̲kirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, calls him "the great *ḥāfiẓ* and *imām* of the traditionists", also includes him in his *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl* where he says that he made mistakes in his book *al-Mustadrak ʿala 'l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, in the parallel passage in *Lisān al-mīzān*, remarks that he is too distinguished to be mentioned among weak traditionists, but that some say he became careless in old age. In spite of criticism he holds an honoured place among traditionists. Printed works by al-Ḥākim: *al-Mustadrak ʿala 'l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, Ḥaydarābād 1334-42; *al-Madk̲h̲al fi uṣūl al-ḥadīt̲h̲*, ed. Muḥammad Rāg̲h̲ib al-Ṭabbāk̲h̲, Aleppo 1351/1932; *An Introduction to the Science of Tradition*, ed. and trans. J. Robson, London 1953; *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīt̲h̲*, ed. Dr. Muʿaẓẓam Ḥusayn, Cairo 1937.

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(J. Robson)

ḤAḲḲ. The original meaning of the root *ḥḳḳ* has become obscured in Arabic but can be recovered by reference to the corresponding root in Hebrew with its meanings of (a) "to cut in, engrave" in wood, stone or metal, (b) "to inscribe, write, portray" (this also in a Canaanite inscription of the 8th cent. B.C.; S. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic inscriptions*, Oxford 1903, 171, 185), (c) "to prescribe, fix by decree", therefore "prescribed, decree, law, ordinance, custom", (d) "due to God or man, right, privilege" (cf. Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew and English lexicon*, Oxford 1952; L. Koehler and A. W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Leiden 1953). The word *ḥaḳḳ*, meaning "something right, true, just, real", is common in pre-Islamic poetry (the index prepared by the School of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University lists 916 places in edited texts); it also occurs, with the meaning "truth", in the proverbs of the Arabs (Maydānī, ed. Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, nos. 85, 123, 232). Derived from this again is *ḥaḳḳ* as a Divine Name. This is already attested, in the forms *ḥqt* and *ḥq*, in the South Arabic inscriptions (Y. Moubarac, *Les noms, titres et attributs de Dieu dans le Coran et leurs correspondants en épigraphie sud-sémitique*, in *Muséon*, 1955, 86 ff.), and it occurs also in the Arabic translation of the Diatessaron (A. Ciasca, *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice*, Rome 1888, 172, on John, XIV, 6).

The primary meaning of *ḥaḳḳ* in Arabic is "established fact" (*al-t̲h̲ābit ḥaḳīḳat^an^*), and therefore "reality", and the meaning "what corresponds to facts", and therefore "truth", is secondary; its opposite is *bāṭil* (in both meanings). This is well stated by D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī (*Taʿrīfāt, s.v.*), whereas some of the lexicographers start from the secondary meaning (cf. Lane, *Lexicon, s.v.*). *Ḥaḳḳ* in its primary meaning is one of the names of Allāh (cf. al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā, no. 52), and it occurs often in the Ḳurʾān in this sense, as the opposite of *bāṭil*. The commentators of the Ḳurʾān usually explain it as *t̲h̲ābit* (*e.g.*, Bayḍāwī on sūra X, 32; XX, 114; XXII, 6, 62; XXXI, 30). A similar usage is implied in pre-Islamic poetry, by the use of the antonym *bāṭil*, in the verse of Labīd (*Dīwān*, ed. Huber, xli, 9): *a-lā kullu s̲h̲ayʾ^in^ mā k̲h̲ala 'llāha bāṭilu*, "Lo, everything except Allāh is vain, unreal." (The occasional explanation of the Divine Name *ḥaḳḳ* as "Creator" is based merely on its alliterative contrast with *k̲h̲alḳ*, "creation". For another explanation, see Massignon, *K. al-Ṭawāsīn*, 174). But the use of *ḥaḳḳ* in the Ḳurʾān, in Islamic traditions (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices, s.v.*), and in Arabic literature in general, is not restricted to the Divine Name; it may refer to any "reality", "fact", or "truth"; thus, the features of the Day of Judgment, Paradise and Hell are *ḥaḳḳ*. A further meaning of *ḥaḳḳ* (pl. *ḥuḳūḳ*) deriving directly from the primary one, is "claim" or "right", as a legal obligation [see ḥuḳūḳ]; this use of the term is already fully developed in the Ḳurʾān. Islamic religious law distinguishes the *ḥaḳḳ Allāh*, mainly Allāh's penal ordinances, and the *ḥaḳḳ al-ādamī*, the civil right or claim of a human.

In Ṣūfī terminology, *ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn*, an expression taken from sūra LVI, 95, is that "real certainty"

which comes to the creature with his passing away (*fanā'*) in his *ḥāl* after he has acquired visual certainty (*ʿayn al-yaḳīn*) and intellectual certainty (*ʿilm al-yaḳīn*); cf. Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt, s.v.*; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Būlāḳ 1290, ii, 99 ff. In Ṣūfī terminology, too, the *ḥuḳūḳ al-nafs* are such things as are necessary for the support and continuance of life as opposed to the *ḥuẓūẓ*, things desired by the *nafs* but not necessary to its existence. The use of the formula *ana 'l-ḥaḳḳ*, 'I am the *Ḥaḳḳ*", by al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] was one of the counts on which he was condemned and executed.

To sum up, the meanings of the root *ḥḳḳ* started from that of carved, permanently valid laws, expanded to cover the ethical ideals of right and real, just and true, and developed further to include Divine, Spiritual Reality.

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(D. B. MACDONALD-[E. E. CALVERLEY])

HAKKĀRĪ, (1) name of a Kurdish tribe, who from ancient times have inhabited the practically inaccessible mountain districts south and east of Lake Van, a region called after them Hakkāriyya by Arab geographers and historians [see KURDS], and hence (2) the name of the extreme south-east *vilâyet* of the modern Turkish republic (modern name: Hakkâri), population (1960) 67,766 (the most sparsely populated area of Turkey, with a density of only 7 persons per sq. km.); the chief town is Čölemerik [*q.v.*]. Named by Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, s.v.) as a town, district and some villages in the Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar [see IBN ʿUMAR, DJAZĪRAT], Hakkārī is mentioned as a place also in a Geniza document of the early 12th century (S. D. Goitein, in *J. Jewish St.*, iv (1953), 78). The district came under Ottoman suzerainty as a result of the winter campaign of 920-1/1515-6 (Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, ii, 432 ff.); it was sometimes counted as a *sandjaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Van, but, like other Kurdish districts, it enjoyed the privilege that the Kurdish prince was recognized as the hereditary *sandjaḳ-begi* (I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1949, 572-3), so that Ottoman suzerainty was barely nominal. Only in the middle of the 19th century did the Ottoman authorities begin to make the suzerainty real: for a time Hakkārī formed part of the *eyālet* of Erzurum; in 1876 it was made a separate *wilāyet*; in 1888 it was made a *sandjaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Van. It was again made a *vilâyet* in 1935. Until the first World War it had a large population of Nestorian Christians [see NESTORIANS]; even at the present time the inhabitants of the region are predominantly Kurds.

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AL-**HAKKĀRĪ** [see ʿADĪ B. MUSĀFIR].

ḤAKKĪ [see ʿABD AL-ḤAḲḲ B. SAYF AL-DĪN].

ḤAḲḲĪ [see IBRĀHĪM ḤAḲḲĪ, ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ].

ḤĀL, as a term of grammar [see NAḤW].

ḤĀL (pl. *aḥwāl*), Ṣūfī technical term (*iṣṭilāḥa*) which can be briefly translated by "spiritual state". Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/859) outlines the distinction which was to become classic between *aḥwāl* ("states") and *maḳāmāt* ("stations"). We find a more highly developed elaboration in his contemporary in Baghdād, Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (165-243/781-857).

The term *ḥāl* belonged to the technical vocabulary of the grammarians, the physicians and the jurists. It seems indeed (cf. L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallâj*, Paris 1922, 554) that it was from the medical vocabulary that al-Muḥāsibī borrowed it. In medicine, *ḥāl* denotes "the actual functional (physiological) equilibrium" of a being endowed with *nafs*; in *taṣawwuf*, it was to become the actualization of a divine "encounter" (*wadjd*),—the point of equilibrium of the soul in a state of acceptance of this encounter. Here, and in the later elaboration of the Ṣūfī vocabulary, the original meanings of the grammatical and medical vocabularies approach each other. In grammar, *ḥāl* is the state of the verb in relation to the agent, its "subjective" state. This last notion, which was to be of very direct influence on the philosophical vocabulary of the science of *kalām* (*ḥāl* = intermediate modality between being and non-being, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., 38), was for its part to connote many analyses of *taṣawwuf*. In short, the *aḥwāl* can there be defined as modalities of activation, realities essentially "instantaneous" and trans-temporal, which seize the "state" of the subject in the act of "encounter" with an internal "favour" (*fā'ida*), received from God (al-Muḥāsibī).

Thus two notions colour the Ṣūfī *ḥāl*: 1) the idea of activation, of point of equilibrium, and thus of temporal non-succession (which does not necessarily imply non-stability); 2) the idea of "encounter", and hence that the activation takes place under the impact of this "encounter", which will be directly or indirectly related to God. The definition of *ḥāl* as "passive state" often given by Western interpreters appears to be inadequate as a rendering of the exact sense, and transposes too abruptly into *taṣawwuf* a term of Christian mysticism (see below).

Ḥāl appears many times in Ṣūfī texts as the opposite and complement (*muḳābal*) of *maḳām*, or *waḳt* or *tamkīn*.

1.—*Ḥāl* and *maḳām*. The *maḳāmāt* are the "places", the progressive stations that the soul has to attain in its search for God. In general, the authors insist upon the "effort" of the soul in its approach to the *maḳāmāt*, just as they emphasize the "received" character of *ḥāl*. Although the distinction can sometimes apply to the "active" states and "passive" states of Christian mysticism, the equivalence does not appear to be total; to adhere to it would be to falsify the meaning of certain Ṣūfī analyses.—The *maḳāmāt* and the *aḥwāl* are clearly presented as two series of spiritual states, the first acquired, the second received; hence, in the manuals and in descriptions of the soul's ascent, the *maḳāmāt* generally precede the *aḥwāl*. But in fact the difference is one of perspective and stage of analysis. Both are readily called (as with al-Anṣārī and his commentators; cf. also Ibn al-ʿArīf, etc.) *manāzil*, the traveller's "halts" along the route, the resting-places. *Maḳām* evokes the staging posts which continue to remain available—to reach a new *maḳām* does not destroy the preceding *maḳām*; the *ḥāl*, on the contrary, is by nature "instantaneous", there is a succession or alternation of *aḥwāl*, there may be a stabilization of one or the other, but not

a concomitance of several: the heart possessed by a *ḥāl* is seized entirely, even though this *ḥāl* evokes, as it were spontaneously, a second which finally brings it to perfection and denies it (dialectic of the *muḳābals*).

Two remarks follow from this: (a) The same *manzil*, the same resting-place, according to the authors and their analytical processes, may be classed among either the *maḳāmāt* or the *aḥwāl*, for example, *maḥabba* (love of the soul and of God). For al-Kalābādhī, this is the loftiest of the *maḳāmāt* reached; and for al-Anṣārī, the first of the *aḥwāl* (cf. Anawati and Gardet, *Mystique musulmane*, Paris 1961, 127-8 and n. 10). (b) Repentance, asceticism, long-suffering, poverty, humility, fear of God, piety, sincerity, etc., the *maḳāmāt* follow one after another, the order no doubt varying to suit each particular treatise, but obeying a progressive principle. The *aḥwāl*, on the other hand, are subject to every sentiment that takes possession of the soul during its quest for God, and they can be received, according to the various degrees of activation, equally well at the start as during the progress or at the conclusion of the procedure. In conformity with a psychological law upon which the writers of *taṣawwuf* insist, they often present themselves in *muḳābal*, in pairs of complementary opposites—contraction and dilation of the heart (*ḳabḍ* and *basṭ*); absence and presence (*ghayba* and *shuhūd*); annihilation and survival (in God: *fanāʾ* and *baḳāʾ*), etc.

It would be fruitless to attempt to draw up precisely defined lists of *maḳāmāt* and *aḥwāl*. Different examples are to be found in practically every treatise of Ṣūfism, *e.g.*, the *Lumaʿ* of al-Sarrādj (seven *maḳāmāt* and about ten *aḥwāl*), the *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf* of al-Kalābādhī, the *Manāzil* of al-Anṣārī (ten *aḥwāl*, no "section" entitled *maḳāmāt*), etc.

It must also be noted that certain writers, basing their analyses upon the etymological meanings of these terms, maintain that *ḥāl*, once received through pure grace, can become *maḳām* through the zeal of the recipient. "If the *ḥāl* endures, it becomes a possession (*milk*) and is then called *maḳām*. The *aḥwāl* are given, the *maḳāmāt* are acquired; the *aḥwāl* come from the gift itself, the *maḳāmāt* are produced by the zeal of the man who perseveres in striving", says al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, 85): establishing a continuity between *ḥāl* and *maḳām*, the activation received in the soul being as it were destined to be possessed by it. A further point to note is a phrase of al-Hudjwīrī, according to whom "the fleeting state (*ḥāl*) of the saint is the permanent station (*maḳām*) of the prophet" (*Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, English trans. by R. A. Nicholson, Leiden-London 1911, 236). In general, however (cf. below, § 3), the stabilized *ḥāl* is rendered by some word other than *maḳām*.

2.—*Ḥāl* and *waḳt*. Unlike *maḳām*, *waḳt* may be said to occur on the same analytical level as *ḥāl*. As we have seen, *ḥāl* evokes a point of equilibrium, the impact of an "encounter". *Waḳt* (time) must not be understood as a temporal measure; it transcends measured and measurable time, it is "the unit of psychic measure" (L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 556) of the *wadjd*, of the encounter, or its absence; cf. al-Hudjwīrī (*op. cit.*, 368) for whom, to "the time of encounter", there corresponds "the time of absence (*faḳd*)". A whole Ṣūfī line, culminating in Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda, professes "the spirituality of time". But it is frequently emphasized (*e.g.*, al-Hudjwīrī, 369) that *waḳt* "has need of *ḥāl*", that "*ḥāl* (state) is that which descends upon 'time' (*waḳt*) and adorns it, as the spirit adorns the body". It is the actualization of *ḥāl* which makes it possible not to lose *waḳt*, and it is thanks to *waḳt* that the *ḥāl* received is actualized in the soul. According to the degree of completeness of the spiritual experience, emphasis will be placed on either the one or the other. It is said that Jacob was the possessor of *waḳt*, while Abraham possessed *ḥāl*. Similarly, *ḥāl* qualifies the object of desire (*murād*) and *waḳt* the degree introspectively attained by the one who desires (*murīd*). So much so that the *murīd* (which connotes the idea of novice, beginner) "is with himself in the pleasure of *waḳt*", and the *murād* "[is] with God in the delight of *ḥāl*" (al-Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 370).

Ḥāl, an inner received state, may well at the start of the spiritual life be burdened with speech; however, it must succeed in transcending every description (*naʿt*), just as *wadjd* inserted in time shatters time, when from "encounter" it becomes "ecstasy" (cf. al-Kalābādhī, *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf*, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1352/1933, 54).

3.—*Ḥāl* and *tamkīn*. Muḥāsibī, taking his idea of *ḥāl* from the medical vocabulary (cf. above), laid stress on the point of equilibrium experienced internally, from which it followed that *ḥāl*, not measured temporally, was enduring. Other writers (*e.g.*, al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352, iii, 16-7) emphasize the multiplicity of *aḥwāl* in the soul, the lack of continuity in their order, and the extreme difficulty of stabilization.

But it is generally stated that *ḥāl*, the internal reality of self *transiens*, unstable at the start of spiritual life, can tend to become stabilized—beyond speech and beyond temporal order. The vocabulary of al-Djurdjānī, who regards it as becoming *maḳām* because "possessed" by the subject, here seems to be at fault. For preference, it is the idea of *tamkīn*, strengthening, stability, that emerges. The *maḳām* is a place, the station where one remains; *tamkīn* is the spiritual act of enduring and stability. *Tamkīn*, says al-Hudjwīrī, (*op. cit.*, 372), is contrasted with *talwīn*, which indicates a change, an alternating transition from one state to another.

Moreover, *maḳām*, exactly like *ḥāl*, can and must be strengthened by *tamkīn*. And this last is of two kinds, depending on whether the action of God or the subject's act is dominant. In the second case, it qualifies the *maḳāmāt* and the *aḥwāl* and is coloured by them; in the first case, "there are no attributes". The weak soul could not persist in the act of *ḥāl*—which may arise, vanish, give way to some new favour. The soul endowed with *tamkīn* becomes stabilized beyond the reach of every psychological change.

According to al-Anṣārī, the stabilized *aḥwāl* progressively become "ascendencies", *wilāyāt*, then "realities", *ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, in order finally to attain the "limits" of the mystical ascent, *nihāyāt*. Cf. S. de Beaurecueil, introduction to *Sharḥ al-manāzil* of ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī, Cairo 1954.

Bibliography: in the article. In addition: (a) many treatises of *taṣawwuf*, *e.g.*, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, etc.; (b) among others, *Dict. of techn. terms*, 359 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *Emotional religion in Islam*, in *JRAS*, 1901-2, and *Religious attitude and life in Islam*, Chicago 1909, 182, 188; E. Blochet, *L'ésotérisme musulman*, 181 ff.; A. J. Arberry, *Ṣūfism*, London 1950, 75-9 (analysis of the *Risāla* of al-Ḳushayrī); Anawati and Gardet, *Mystique musulman*, Paris 1961, 41-3 and index; P. Nwyia, *Ibn*

ʿAbbād de Ronda, Beirut 1961, index; S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, Ar. text and Fr. tr. of the *Manāzil* of al-Anṣārī, Cairo 1962, 71-80/104-20.

(L. Gardet)

ḤALAB, in Turkish Halep, in Italian, English and German Aleppo, in French Alep; town in Syria, the most important after Damascus.

It is situated in 38°68′5″ E. and 40°12′ N., and at an altitude of 390 metres/1275 ft., at the north-west extremity of the inland plateau of Syria and on the banks of a small river, the Ḳuwayḳ (average rate of flow from 2 to 3 cubic metres per second) which descends from the last foothills of the Taurus. It is surrounded by a vast chalk plain with a healthy though severe sub-desert climate with wide variations in temperature (winter average: 5° to 17° Centigrade; summer average: 20° to 30°) and a low and irregular rainfall (annual average: 420 mm/16½ ins. spread over 40 to 50 days). The basic resources of this arid country come from the growing of wheat and cotton and the rearing of sheep; olive and fig-trees and vines also thrive there, and, in addition, in the immediate outskirts of Aleppo there are market gardens along the banks of the river, and pistachio trees (L. *Pistacia vera*), which have for centuries been a great speciality of the town. At all periods these local resources have supplied Aleppo with commodities for trade and for sale in the neighbouring regions and also the opportunity to develop manufacturing industries which are still active today: chiefly textiles and soap-making. In addition it is a market centre for the nomadic Arabs of the steppes of the northern S̲h̲āmiyya who bring to it sheep, alkalis and salt (from the lagoon of al-Ḏj̲abbūl).

Aleppo's importance as an urban centre dates largely from pre-Islamic times: it is certainly not an exaggeration to claim that it is one of the most ancient cities of the world and that no other place which is still inhabited and flourishing can boast of a comparable history.

Aleppo is first mentioned in history in the 20th century B.C., under the same name as it now has (Hittite Khalap; Egyptian Khrb; Akkadian Khallaba, Khalman, Khalwan) and in conditions which clearly imply that even at that early date it already had a very long past behind it. It seems that a rural settlement was formed there in prehistoric times and that this village gradually gained ascendance over the others in the area, owing to the relatively wide resources of its site and in particular to the presence there of a rocky eminence on which the citadel still stands today: it was this acropolis, one of the strongest and the most easily manned defensive positions in the whole of northern Syria, which enabled the masters of the place to extend control over their neighbours so as to found the "great kingdom" which was, in the 20th century B.C., to enter into relations with the Hittites of Anatolia.

At first the relations of the two states were friendly; but at the end of the 19th century B.C. the Hittite king Mursil, attempting the conquest of northern Syria, "destroyed the town of Khalap and brought to the town of Khattusa the prisoners of Khalap and its wealth". Aleppo fell next under the power of the Mitannis (before 1650 B.C.) and about 1430 fell again into the hands of the Hittites, who formed there a principality which was destined to collapse at the same time as the Anatolian kingdom. The Aramaeans, who then settled in northern Syria, seem to have neglected Aleppo in favour of new localities which they founded in its neighbourhood. Nothing is heard of the town either in the period of the Assyrian or of the Persian domination; it seems that this temporary disappearance was the consequence of a more or less serious destruction of the settlement, which probably occurred at the time of the fall of the Hittite kingdom and the effect of which was to reduce it to the status of a small rural town.

Aleppo owed its recovery to the conquests of Alexander and to the formation of the Seleucid kingdom. Seleucus Nicator, to whom it was allotted, founded on its site, between 301 and 281 B.C., a colony of Macedonians called Beroia, built according to a regular plan with rectilinear streets crossing at right angles, ramparts whose four sides formed a square, and a system of canals bringing water from the springs of Haylan 11 kilometres away. Though Beroia never took an important part in the destinies of the Seleucid kingdom, this foundation nevertheless formed a decisive turning-point in the history of the place: not only did it restore to it permanently the urban character which it had lost, but its layout was to be maintained in the Islamic town, some of its characteristic features surviving until the present day.

Incorporated into the Roman province of Syria, which was formed in 64 B.C., Aleppo owed to its new masters a long period of peace and the construction of magnificent market buildings (an agora and a colonnaded avenue). A Christian community established itself there at a very early date and it would seem that the town had a very active economic life during the Byzantine period, for many Jews settled there and there grew up at this period, outside the walls, a suburb for caravan trains inhabited by Arabs of the Tanūk̲h̲ tribe, whence its name, of Arabic origin, al-Ḥāḍir ("the settlement of sedentarized Bedouin"). But the Persian invasion of 540 A.D., led by the king Khosroes I in person, inflicted a serious blow on Aleppo: the citadel, into which the population had retreated, held out against the attack, but the town itself was burned. Its defences were rebuilt by Justinian, who built there a fine cathedral, but the sack of Antioch and the constant threat of Persian invasions inevitably prevented the recovery of the district.

It was in 16/636 that the Muslim troops appeared before Aleppo, under the command of K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd: the Arabs in the suburb surrendered immediately, followed very soon by the rest of the inhabitants, in favour of whom Abū ʿUbayda signed a solemn pact guaranteeing them their lives, the preservation of the fortifications and the possession of their churches and houses, against their agreement to pay tribute. As a consequence of this the first mosque of the town was built on a public roadway: it was in fact the monumental arch which stood at the entry to the colonnaded street; its bays were simply walled in to transform it into an enclosed space.

Attached to the *d̲j̲und* of Ḥims, and then to that of Ḳinnasrīn, Aleppo played no administrative or political rôle under the Umayyad caliphate, although some governors of the province did reside in its neighbourhood. Its life seems to have been modified only very slowly by the Muslim conquest: not only did there remain a large Christian community, which continued to be split by the same dissensions as in the past, but in addition it was to be more than a century before the number of Muslims in the region had increased enough to warrant the building of a monumental Great Mosque: it is not known whether it was al-Walīd I [*q.v.*] or his brother Sulaymān [*q.v.*] who was responsible for the construction of this building on the site of the ancient agora, which was

to remain until modern times the chief place of worship in Aleppo.

The ʿAbbāsid caliphate was for Aleppo, as for the whole of Syria, a period of eclipse: it remained during this period a provincial centre, deprived of any political or administrative importance. It fell into the hands of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], was re-taken by the caliph, besieged by the Ḳarmaṭīs in 290/902-3, then from 325/936-7 became subject to Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd [*q.v.*], who appointed as governor the chief of the Arab tribe of the Kilāb; this encouraged an influx of the Bedouins of this tribe into northern Syria, which was later to have regrettable consequences for the town. Disputed between Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*] and the Ikhshīdids, Aleppo was finally captured from the latter, in 333/944, by the famous Ḥamdānid *amīr*, Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who established himself there.

Thus, for the first time since the advent of Islam, Aleppo became the capital of a state and the residence of a ruler, and was to share in the admiration accorded by historical tradition to the Ḥamdānid prince because of his military successes against the Byzantines, and the brilliant literary activity which centred round the vast palace which he built outside the walls: al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī [*q.v.*], al-Waʾwaʾ [*q.v.*], Ibn Nubāta [*q.v.*], Ibn Khālawayh [*q.v.*], Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*] and many others less famous, were to give to the court of Sayf al-Dawla a brilliance which at this time was unique. In contrast to this, the administrative methods do not seem to have been very favourable to the development of economic activity. Furthermore, during the winter of 351/962, Nicephorus Phocas appeared unexpectedly before the town, took it by storm after elaborate siege operations, and left it as a deserted ruin, having methodically pillaged and burned it for a whole week and either massacred its inhabitants or led them away captive.

It was to be a long time before Aleppo recovered from this catastrophe. Sayf al-Dawla abandoned it for Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*] and on his death it passed to his son Saʿd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Maʿālī Sharīf, with whose accession there began the darkest period in the history of the town since the Muslim conquest. The ambitions of the regents, the covetousness of the neighbouring *amīrs*, the successive Byzantine invasions, the Bedouin raids, and the repeated attempts of the Fāṭimids of Egypt to seize a place whose possession would have opened to them the route to ʿIrāḳ all resulted in half a century of disorders, fighting and violence (for details see ḤAMDĀNIDS). Nor did the Fāṭimid occupation in 406/1015 bring any noticeable improvement, because of the revolts of the governors and the weakness of the central administration: the latter soon became so pronounced that in 414/1023 the Bedouin tribes of Syria decided to divide the country among themselves. In this way Aleppo fell to the chief of the Kilāb, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, whose descendants, the Mirdāsids, remained in possession of it for slightly over fifty years under the merely nominal suzerainty of the caliphs of Cairo. Ṣāliḥ himself was powerful enough to drive back the Fāṭimids temporarily as far as Palestine, but the division of his territories among his sons was the signal for an incessant series of quarrels and civil wars which brought anarchy and misery to the town and enabled the Byzantines and the Fāṭimids, each in turn appealed to for help by the rival claimants, to intervene continually in the affairs of the dynasty: thus in 457/1065 the Mirdāsid Rashīd al-Dawla Maḥmūd succeeded in taking Aleppo from his uncle with the help of Turkish mercenaries enlisted with funds provided by the Byzantines.

It was in fact in the Mirdāsid period that the Turks began to penetrate into Syria, as isolated bands which the Mirdāsid princes often took into their service, but which usually roamed the region unhindered in search of plunder. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century, Aleppo itself was to come under the domination of the Turkish dynasties.

In 462/1070, under the pressure of political circumstances, Maḥmūd had officially caused the *khuṭba* to be recited in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳāʾim and of the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp-Arslān, in spite of the disapproval of the inhabitants, the majority of whom had from the time of the Ḥamdānids been adherents of the Imāmī Shīʿī doctrine. This attachment to the Saldjūḳ empire remained a purely theoretical one, in spite of a military demonstration by the sultan outside the walls of the town in 463/1071. Some years later, on the occasion of a dispute between two Mirdāsids for the succession, Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] sent against Aleppo his brother Tutush [*q.v.*:] the Arabs of the Kilāb and the ʿUḳaylid chief Muslim b. Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], who had joined him, having secretly entered into negotiations with the besieged prince, Tutush raised the siege, to return to the attack in the following years. Unable to hold out against him, the last Mirdāsid, Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil Sābiḳ, surrendered the town to Muslim b. Ḳuraysh (472/1079).

This could be only a provisional solution, but the political conditions of the time, in a world which was in the process of change, meant that no stable situation could immediately be established: it was to be another half-century before the fate of Aleppo was settled.

On the death of Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, which occurred in 478/1085 in an encounter with Sulaymān b. Ḳutulmish, Tutush, at the request of the citizens of Aleppo themselves, hastened from Damascus in order to oppose Sulaymān's design on the town, but he in his turn had to retreat before Malik-Shāh; the latter, in 479/1086, sent to Aleppo as governor Ḳāsim al-Dawla Aḳ-Sunḳur [*q.v.*], whose beneficial administration ensured for the town a few years' respite. This annexation of Aleppo to the empire of the Great Saldjūḳs was not to remain unquestioned, because of the political confusion created by the death of Malik-Shāh. Tutush defeated and put to death Aḳ-Sunḳur, who had set himself up as defender of the rights of Barḳyāruḳ [*q.v.*], and thus made himself master of Aleppo; on his death in 488/1095, it passed to his son Riḍwān [*q.v.*]; Riḍwān was succeeded in 507/1113 by his son Tādj al-Dawla Alp-Arslān, who was assassinated in the following year and replaced by his brother Sulṭān-Shāh, a minor to whom there was given as regent one of his grandfather's slaves, Luʾluʾ al-Yaya. This small Saldjūḳid dynasty was not to gain any more than a purely local importance: the smallness of its territory, of modest dimensions and impoverished by so many years of wars, disorders and impositions, its rivalry with the Saldjūḳid dynasty of Damascus, the resistance of the Shīʿī elements of the population (to whom were joined Ismāʿīlīs, who were active and dangerous enough for it to be necessary to humour their demands), all combined to render its authority precarious. The princes of Aleppo were not, any more than were their neighbours, of a stature successfully to oppose the Crusaders, who were able to push forward their enterprises in northern Syria; they even came to attack the town itself (493/1100, 497/1103), which was forced to submit to paying

tribute to them. The assassination of Luʾluʾ was to render this long political crisis still more acute: the Artuḳid prince of Mārdīn, Il-Ghāzī, was chosen as regent, but he was prevented from any effective action by his distance from Aleppo, the ruined state of the town and the dissensions within the family. In 517/1123 moreover, Balak [*q.v.*] ousted his cousins from Mārdīn and deposed Sulṭān-Shāh, but he died the following year without having been able to prevent the Crusaders from desecrating the Muslim sanctuaries on the outskirts of Aleppo. Abandoned, then besieged anew by the Crusaders allied to Sulṭān-Shāh and to Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa, the town was saved only by virtue of the energy and devotion of its *ḳāḍī*, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Khashshāb, who took over the administration and the direction of political affairs: it was he who, with the agreement of the population, appealed for help to the *atābeg* of al-Mawṣil, Aḳ-Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī, whose successors were to save Aleppo and to re-establish its position.

After some years of instability, the consequence of the assassination of al-Bursuḳī, Aleppo was in 523/1129 officially given by the sultan to the famous *atābeg* ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī [*q.v.*], whose victorious campaigns were to have the effect of freeing it rapidly from the threat of the Crusaders. After him, his son Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] was not only to continue with increasing success his work of reconquest but also to lift the town out of the state of decay into which it had fallen. He was a prudent and just administrator, who knew how to instil into the population respect for governmental authority; he rebuilt the fortified walls, the citadel, the Great Mosque and the *sūḳ*s and repaired the canals; above all it was he who was responsible for the foundation of the first *madrasa*s which were to support his efforts to restore Sunnī orthodoxy. It is true that in 516/1122 an attempt towards this had been made by the Artuḳid Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, but it had encountered the opposition of the Shīʿīs, who demolished the building as fast as it was erected. Nūr al-Dīn founded at Aleppo no fewer then six *madrasa*s (including the Ḥallāwiyya *madrasa*, the former Byzantine cathedral transformed into a mosque by the *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-Khashshāb as a reprisal for the "atrocities" of the Crusaders, and the Shuʿaybiyya *madrasa*, on the site of the first *masdjid* founded by the Muslims on their entry into Aleppo). He entrusted the teaching in them to Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī *fuḳahāʾ* whom he invited from ʿIrāḳ and Upper Mesopotamia: Raḍī al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Kāsānī, Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Abī ʿAsrūn (on whom see Brockelmann, I, 374-5, S I, 649, 971). His *amīr*s followed his example. With the *madrasa*s were built also convents for the Ṣūfīs. The Sunnī propaganda movement thus begun increased in intensity: the failure of the coup attempted in 552/1157, during an illness of the *atābeg*, by the Shīʿī elements of the town with the connivance of his brother Amīr-i Amīrān, clearly shows that the action of the Turkish princes was not long in producing results. Nūr al-Dīn also founded at Aleppo a hospital and a *Dār al-ʿAdl* for his public judicial hearings.

On the death of Nūr al-Dīn, the youth of his son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, encouraged the ambitions of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who, having made himself master of Damascus, marched on Aleppo, but the authorities and the population, firmly loyal to the Zangid dynasty, held out against him and even appealed to the Ismāʿīlīs for help, forcing him to abandon the siege. Only eight years later was he able to take Aleppo, the Zangids of al-Mawṣil, who had welcomed him on the death of Ismāʿīl, being only too happy to hand it over to him in order to be able to regain possession of the Mesopotamian territories which he had taken from them (579/1183). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave the town to his son Ghāzī who administered it first as governor, then as ruler under the name of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*]. Having extended his authority over all northern Syria, he was the first Ayyūbid ruler who dared to arrogate to himself the title of *Sulṭān*, and the dynasty which he thus founded remained until the Mongol conquest powerful enough to oppose with some success the claims of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil [*q.v.*], against whom it obtained support by means of an alliance with the Ayyūbid kingdom of Mayyāfāriḳīn and with the Saldjūḳs of Konya. Ghāzī himself, his wife, Ḍayfa-Khātūn, and his *mamlūk* Toghrīl, who was proclaimed regent on Ghāzī's death, all displayed remarkable political qualities and were able not only to preserve Aleppo in the hands of the direct descendants of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, ousted everywhere else by those of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, but also to make it the capital of a strong and prosperous state (annual revenue of the treasury in the middle of the 7th/13th century: about 8 million *dirhams*), which was surpassed only by the realm of Egypt. This period marks the apogee of mediaeval Aleppo. Increased by new suburbs in which there lived the Turkish cavalry of the rulers, its industries stimulated by the presence of the royal court, enriched by the trade with the Venetians whom the commercial treaties (1207, 1225, 1229, 1254) had authorized to establish a permanent factory there, its fortifications restored according to modern techniques, its citadel entirely rebuilt to become one of the most splendid works of military art of the Middle Ages, its canal system repaired and extended to reach throughout the town, and its *sūḳ*s enlarged, Aleppo became at this time one of the most beautiful and most active cities in the whole of the Muslim East. *Madrasa*s continued to be built (the Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* of Ghāzī; the Madrasat al-Firdaws of Ḍayfa Khātūn), as well as Ṣūfī convents (the Khānḳāh of Farafra, of Yūsuf II), both erected in a logical and sober style of architecture and housing an intellectual life which was remarkable for its time, as is witnessed by the names of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*], of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm [*q.v.*], of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād [*q.v.*], of Ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (Brockelmann, I, 358), and of ʿAlī al-Harawī [*q.v.*].

The reign of Yūsuf II [see AL-MALIK AL-NĀṢIR] was to mark at the same time the zenith and the collapse of the dynasty: chosen as sultan by the *amīr*s of Damascus, he annexed central Syria and began at the same time an open conflict with the Mamlūks of Egypt, which was ended by the intervention of the caliph of Baghdād. But, on the other hand, Aleppo, which had already had to defend itself twice against armed bands of Khwārizmīs, was attacked by the Mongols of Hūlāgū; abandoned by its ruler and a proportion of its inhabitants and taken by assault on 8 Ṣafar 658/24 January 1260, it was ruthlessly sacked, and Yūsuf II, taken prisoner by the Mongols, was put to death.

Occupied by the Mamlūks after the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt, retaken by the Mongols, again recovered by the Mamlūks, Aleppo was to remain under Mamlūk domination until the Ottoman conquest; it was made by them the capital of a *niyāba* which came immediately after Damascus in the hierarchy of the provinces: corresponding roughly with the area of the former Ayyūbid kingdom, it owed its importance to its geographical situation, on the northern fron-

tier of the empire, whose protection it ensured. Nevertheless the town recovered only slowly from the disaster it had suffered in 658/1260: the continual threat of a renewed Mongol offensive kept it in a semi-deserted state for nearly half a century; it was 32 years before the citadel was repaired and 130 years before the destroyed fortifications were rebuilt. Once security had been restored, the revolts of its governors, the turbulence of the troops and the severe taxation system scarcely helped to restore its activity, and the ravages of the Black Death of 1348, soon followed by those of Tīmūr, completed its paralysis.

But from the beginning of the 9th/15th century, the destruction of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia and of the Genoese factories on the Black Sea, through which the commercial traffic between Europe and Persia had passed, gave Aleppo a considerable economic advantage, which was very soon to make its fortune: the town became the starting point for the caravans which fetched silk from Djīlān to re-sell it to the Venetians in exchange for cloth of Italian manufacture, and thus enjoyed a vigorous impetus whose effect was to change its topography. While its *sūḳ*s grew and were provided with large *khān*s which are among the most remarkable and typical buildings of the town (the Khān of Abrak, the Khān of Özdemir, the Khān of Khayr-bak), vast and populous suburbs grew up along the caravan routes, doubling the area of buildings and necessitating the rebuilding further out of the eastern walls. In all of these suburbs there arose great mosques provided with minarets (the mosques of Altunbughā, of Aḳbughā, of Manklibughā) and *zāwiya*s intended for the devotions of the Ṣūfīs, whose doctrines and practices were then very popular. One of these suburbs housed the Christians—Maronites, and especially Armenians—who served as brokers and dragomans to the European merchants.

Occupied without fighting by the Ottomans after the battle of Mardj Dābiḳ, Aleppo became the capital of a *wilāyet*, which corresponded to the *niyāba* of the Mamlūks and whose governors had the rank of *mīr-i mīrān*.

The rebel governor of Damascus, Djānbirdī al-Ghazālī [see AL-GHAZĀLĪ, Djānbirdī], failed to capture Aleppo in 926-7/1520, which was incorporated in the Ottoman provincial system. The first detailed (*mufaṣṣal*) register in the *Daftar-i Khāḳānī* [*q.v.*] is dated 924/1518; several other surveys were made during the 10th/16th century. During the Ottoman decline, from the late 10th/16th century, it suffered like other provincial capitals from the factional and political activities of the local military forces. For some years the Janissaries of Damascus imposed their domination on Aleppo, from which they were finally expelled only in 1013/1604. Situated at a junction of routes, and adjacent to Turkoman, Kurdish and Arab tribal areas, Aleppo offered obvious advantages to rebels, and served as a base for the Kurd, ʿAlī Djānbulāṭ [see DJĀNBULĀṬ], defeated in 1016/1607, as well as for Abāza Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], fifty years later. The domination of the local Janissaries was checked in the following century by the emergence (before 1180/1766) of a rival faction, the Ashrāf—a name which may signify no more than the retainers and clients of the Aleppine *naḳīb al-Ashrāf*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ṭāhāzāde, called Čelebi Efendi. There is evidence that the Ashrāf tended to belong to the higher social groups, while the Janissaries, assimilated to the townspeople, were petty artisans and tradesmen. The factional struggles continued after Čelebi Efendi's death (1786); in a notorious clash in 1212/1798, the Janissaries treacherously slaughtered a party of Ashrāf. The leader of the Ashrāf was now Ibrāhīm Ḳaṭārāghāsī, a former servant and protégé of Čelebi Efendi. On Bonaparte's invasion of Syria, he commanded a contingent of Ashrāf, sent to fight the French: there was a separate Janissary contingent. Ibrāhīm was twice appointed governor of Aleppo, but failed to perpetuate his power there, or to secure the ascendancy of the Ashrāf. The Janissaries regained power after his removal in 1223/1808, and although proscribed by the governor, Čapanoghlu Djalāl al-Dīn Pasha, in 1228/1813, remained a force in local politics. In 1235/1819 they combined with the Ashrāf to head an insurrection against the governor, Khurshīd Pasha. Even after the dissolution of the Janissary corps in 1826, they survived as a faction in Aleppo, as did the Ashrāf, until the mid-19th century.

During the whole of this period, in spite of the heavy taxation (treasury revenues farmed out in 991/1583-4, for the town proper: 3,503,063 *aḳčes*; total together with the surrounding villages: 17, 697,897 *aḳčes*), Aleppo did not merely maintain the commercial importance it had acquired under the last Mamlūk sultans, but developed it to the point of becoming at one period the principal market of the whole of the Levant. The signing of capitulations with the western European powers led, in fact, to the opening of new factories there: beside the Venetians, who in 1548 had brought there their consulate and their commercial headquarters, the French in 1562, the English in 1583 and the Dutch in 1613 also opened there consulates and trading offices which, throughout the 11th/17th century, were in fierce competition. Relegated to second place by the rapid development of Smyrna (Izmir) and by the Ottoman wars against Persia, whose effect was to cut it off from the regions with which it traded, and still more adversely affected by the efforts of the English and the Dutch to make Russia and the Persian Gulf the commercial outlets for Iran, Aleppo nevertheless continued to be a centre of world-wide importance, importing from Europe, via Alexandretta and Tripoli, manufactured goods (cloth, metals, chemical products, glass, paper, etc.) which it re-exported to eastern Anatolia, Kurdistan and Persia, exporting the products of its own industry (silks, cottons) and the raw materials supplied by its hinterland (drugs, cotton, nut-gall). In 1775, the total annual value of this trade stood at nearly 18 million gold francs, but after this date it declined continually because of the slowing down of the industrial and maritime activity of France, which had finally obtained a virtual monopoly over Aleppo. Another reason for this decline was the corrupt administration, and also the earthquake of 1822 which destroyed the greater part of the town; in addition, the constantly expanding place which the new trade with Asia and America was filling in world economy deprived the Levant of much of its former importance: in the period from 1841-46 the trade of Aleppo did not exceed even 2 million gold francs.

The intense commercial activity of its hey-day naturally was reflected in a further extension of the *sūḳ*s, many of which were entirely rebuilt in cut stone; at the same time the governors of the town provided *khān*s to house the foreign merchants. These Ottoman *khān*s of Aleppo are among the best-preserved and most characteristic monuments of the town: some of them are attached to other buildings used for trade with which they form a homogeneous complex covering a vast area (*e.g.*, the *waḳf* of Dukagin-zāde

Meḥmed Pas͟ha, 963/1555: a great mosque, three *k͟hāns*, three *ḳayṣariyyas* and four *sūḳs*, covering nearly 3 hectares; the *waḳf* of Ibrāhīm-K͟hān-zāde Meḥmed Pas͟ha, 982/1574: the customs *k͟hān* and two *sūḳs* consisting of 344 shops, the whole covering 8,000 square metres); others, which conform more closely to the traditional type, are no less noteworthy (the *k͟hān* of the Vizier, the *k͟hān* of Kurt-bak). Thanks to these building works of the Ottoman pas͟has, Aleppo possesses today the most beautiful *sūḳs* in the whole of the Muslim world. The great mosques, built at the same time, which reproduce the building style current in Istanbul, show the same breadth of conception, the same lavish resources, and the same successful result (the *d͟jāmiʿ* of K͟husraw Pas͟ha, and of Bahrām Pas͟ha; the Aḥmadiyya *madrasa*, the S͟haʿbāniyya *madrasa*, the *madrasa* of ʿOt͟hmān Pas͟ha).

At the same time, as a result of the commercial activity in the town and the impoverishment of the country districts, which together produced a drift of the peasants to the town, new suburbs arose, inhabited by small craftsmen (weavers etc.), increasing the town to an area approaching that which it occupies today: at the end of the 11th/17th century, it contained about 14,000 hearths, a considerable figure for the time.

The installation of the European merchants had naturally been profitable to their habitual intermediaries: the Jews and more especially the Christians. The latter in addition, by acting as dragomans for the consulates, were able to obtain diplomas of immunity [see BERATLÎ]. Thanks to the activities of European missions, many of them became Roman Catholics (4,000 Catholics in 1709; 14,478 Catholics as against 2,638 non-Catholics in the middle of the 19th century). Their suburb grew and middle-class houses were built in it which are among the finest in the town, and it even became a centre of intellectual activity.

Thus, in many respects, the first half of the Ottoman period (10th/16th-12th/18th centuries) constituted the culminating point in Aleppo's history.

From 1831 to 1838 the Egyptian occupation [see IBRĀHĪM PAS͟HA], which temporarily removed Aleppo from Ottoman administration, placed a heavy burden on the population because of the financial levies and the taxation which were imposed, but, here as elsewhere, it opened a new chapter in the history of the town: the revolt of 1266-7/1850, led by the leading inhabitants against the Ottoman governor, can be considered as the last spectacular manifestation of a social system which was already doomed. Throughout the second half of the 19th century, profound changes took place, under the influence of Europe, in social (schools, newspapers), administrative (the legal system) and economic life (the introduction of the tomato, and of kerosene and machines). New districts, planned and built in western style (ʿAzīziyya, D͟jamīliyya, al-Talal) grew up outside the old town and attracted primarily the more Europeanized elements of the population: Christians and Jews. When Aleppo became linked by railway to Ḥamāt and Damascus (1906), and then to Istanbul and to Bag͟hdād (1912), the proximity of the stations gave a new life to these districts, and today the centre of gravity of the town tends to move towards them.

Joined to Syria at the end of the 1914-18 war, Aleppo increased in administrative importance but suffered a great economic crisis, being cut off by the new political and customs frontiers from the countries with which it had formerly been trading—Anatolia, Upper Mesopotamia and ʿIrāḳ. This crisis was averted fairly rapidly by the discovery of new outlets for the commerce and manufactures of the town. The capital of a *muḥāfaẓa*, equipped with a very elaborate and methodically organized administrative machinery, and provided with many flourishing schools, Aleppo gradually became an industrial town (spinning and weaving mills) and a political and intellectual centre second in importance only to Damascus. Its continually expanding population, which in 1945 was approaching 300,000, even made it appear, immediately after the Second World War, that it had a future as great as its past.

In fact the town of Aleppo now has over 450,000 inhabitants, among them 320,000 Muslims, 130,000 Christians and a few thousand Jews. But it is unfortunate that this development has taken place without any definite measures of town-planning and that the new districts which have grown up on the outskirts, and which are occupied mainly by a population of manual and minor office workers, have not been planned as a harmonious extension of a city whose originality of architecture and intense activity had ensured it a unique place among the other great Muslim cities of the Near East. Although its commercial activity has recently benefited from the construction of the port of al-Lād͟hiḳiyya, the increase in vehicles has led to traffic problems which caused the authorities to open some thoroughfares through the ancient blocks. In addition Aleppo suffers from its situation as the "second" town of Syria, in relation to a capital to which both its history and its ambitions are traditionally opposed; the problems arising from the development of the northern provinces of Syria and of the "market place" which has long served as their centre are among the most urgent of Syria's present concerns.

Bibliography: The basic work remains J. Sauvaget, *Alep: essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*, Paris 1941, of which the above article is a résumé and which contains a systematic bibliography and list of the sources. See also *İA*, s.v. Haleb, which is here reprinted (with some additions and revisions). Various later publications should be added, in particular the following studies: M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, i, Algiers 1951; D. Sourdel, *Les professeurs de madrasa à Alep aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-50), 85-115; idem, *Esquisse topographique d'Alep intra-muros à l'époque ayyoubide*, in *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, ii (1952), 109-133. Some basic texts have been edited or translated: J. Sauvaget, *"Les trésors d'or" de Sibṭ ibn al-ʿAjami*, Beirut 1950; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī taʾrīk͟h Ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahan, i-ii, Damascus 1951-4; S. al-Dahhān, *Bug͟hyat al-ṭalab li'bni 'l-ʿAdīm*, in *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, i/2 (1951), 207-25 (publication of an extract on the walls and the citadel); D. Sourdel, *La description d'Alep d'Ibn Šaddād*, Damascus 1953; al-Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, ed. and tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953-7, 4-6 (tr. 6-12). For Aleppo in the Ottoman period reference may be made to: Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 206-10 (text of an Ottoman *Ḳānūnnāme* for Aleppo, dated 978/1570); R. Mantran and J. Sauvaget, *Règlements fiscaux ottomans*, Paris 1951, 97-118 (for an earlier German version of this *Ḳānūnnāme* see Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 239-41); B. Lewis, *The Ottoman archives as a source for the history of the Arab lands*, in *JRAS*, 1951, 150-1 (registers of Aleppo in the *Daftar-i K͟hāḳānī* [*q.v.*]); Herbert L. Bodman, Jr., *Political*

factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826, Univ. of N. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1963 (note bibliography, pp. 146-53); Ferdinand Taoutel, *Contribution à l'histoire d'Alep/Wat͟hā'iḳ ta'rik͟hiyya ʿan Ḥalab*, 3 vols., Beirut 1958-62; Alfred C. Wood, *A history of the Levant Company*, London 1935. The Turkish historian Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] was born in Aleppo, and devotes some attention to its affairs. For the present-day situation see N. Chehade, *Aleppo*, apud *The new metropolis in the Arab world*, ed. M. Berger, New Delhi 1963, 77-102 (Arabic version: *Tak͟hṭīṭ al-mudun fi'l-ʿālam al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1964, 187-210). The inscriptions have been published, independently of the works of J. Sauvaget, by E. Herzfeld, *CIA*, part ii, Northern Syria, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, Cairo 1954-5.

(J. SAUVAGET*)

AL-**ḤALABĪ**, BURHĀN AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM, a famous Ḥanafī author. Born in Aleppo, he studied first in his native town and later in Cairo, where D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] was one of his teachers; then he went to Istanbul where he lived for more than fifty years, finally becoming *imām* and *k͟haṭīb* at the mosque of sultan Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ, also teacher of the recitation of the Ḳur'ān at the *Dār al-Ḳurrā'* founded by the Grand Muftī, Saʿdī Čelebi (d. 945/1538-9). He was deeply learned in Arabic language, *tafsīr* and *ḳirā'a*, *ḥadīt͟h*, and particularly *fiḳh*. He led a retired and unworldly life, devoted to study, teaching and writing. One personal feature known of him is his hostility to Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. He died in 956/1549, more than 90 years old.

His main work is the *Multaḳa 'l-abḥur*, a handbook of the *furūʿ* according to the doctrine of the Ḥanafī school. It is based on four works, the *Muk͟htaṣar* of al-Ḳudūrī [*q.v.*], the *Muk͟htār* of al-Buldad̲j̲ī, the *Kanz al-daḳā'iḳ* of Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī [*q.v.*], and the *Wiḳāyat al-riwāya* of Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūdī (on whom see Ahlwardt, cat. Berlin, no. 4546). Completed in 923/1517, it had an immediate success, acquired very numerous commentaries (the two most popular ones are the *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-anhur* of S̲h̲aykh-zāde, d. 1078/1667, and the *Durr al-muntaḳā* of al-Ḥaṣkafī, d. 1088/1677), was translated into Turkish and commented upon in this language (*e.g.*, by Muḥammad Mawḳūfātī, who wrote about 1050/1640), and became the authoritative handbook of the Ḥanafī school in the Ottoman Empire. The account of the legal system in the Ottoman Empire in I. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris 1787-1820 in 3 vols., 1788-1824 in 7 vols.), is based on this work. It has often been printed, and was partly translated into French by H. Sauvaire (Marseilles 1882).

Very popular, too, were the two commentaries which Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī wrote on the *Munyat al-muṣallī* of Sadīd al-Dīn al-Kās͟hg͟harī (an author of the 7th/13th century). The larger one, called *G͟hunyat al-mutamallī* (or *al-mustamlī*), is an exhaustive treatment of all questions concerning ritual prayer, and it was highly praised for its clear and attractive style.

Directed against Ibn ʿArabī are his *Niʿmat al-d͟hariʿa fī nuṣrat al-s͟hariʿa*, and his *Tasfīh* (sic) *al-g͟habī fi 'l-radd ʿalā Ibn ʿArabī* (cf. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K͟halīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, no. 2973).

Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī was well aware of Ḥanafī works produced in India, and he made an extract of the *Fatāwā Tātārk͟hāniyya*, compiled by order of Tātārk͟hān (d. soon after 752/1351), a nobleman at the court of Muḥammad II Ṭug͟hlāḳ (726/1324-752/1351), but his fame does not seem to have spread to any considerable extent to that other great centre of the Ḥanafī school.

On these and his other writings, see Brockelmann, II, 570 f., S II, 642 f., also Brockelmann, I, 478, S I, 659 f.

The main sources for Ibrāhīm's biography are the reports of two near contemporaries of his, Ṭās͟hköprüzāde [*q.v.*] (d. 968), *al-S͟haḳā'iḳ al-nuʿmāniyya* (transl. O. Rescher, Konstantinopel-Galata 1927, 311 f.), and Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971; cf. Brockelmann, 483). This last has not been directly accessible so far, but it is quoted in the accounts of the later biographers, most reliably by Muḥammad al-Ṭabbāk͟h. The *Kawākib al-sā'ira bi-aʿyān al-mi'a al-ʿās͟hira* of Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn al-G͟hazzī (Jounieh 1949, ii, 77) contains, in addition, some authentic recollections of the father of the author. The entries in the catalogue of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K͟halīfa (ed. Flügel, vi, nos. 12848, 13320, etc.) are invaluable for the additional information they give. Ibn al-ʿImād, *S͟had͟harāt al-d͟hahab*, vii, year 956, is a poor extract from the earlier biographies, but Muḥammad Rāg͟hib al-Ṭabbāk͟h, *Iʿlām al-nubalā' bi-ta'rīk͟h Ḥalab al-S͟hahbā'*, v, 569-572, is perhaps the most reliable digest of the earlier biographical sources.

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(J. SCHACHT)

AL-**ḤALABĪ**, NŪR AL-DĪN B. BURHĀN AL-DĪN ʿALĪ B. IBRĀHĪM B. AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ʿUMAR AL-ḲĀHIRĪ AL-S͟HĀFIʿĪ, Arabic author. He was born in Cairo in 975/1567-8 and pursued the usual studies. His main teacher was the famous S͟hāfiʿī S͟hams al-Dīn al-Ramlī. Later on he taught at the Madrasa al-Ṣalāḥiyya. He died in Cairo on 29 S͟haʿbān 1044/17 February 1635. His best known work is the *Insān al-ʿuyūn* commonly known as *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*. It is a biography of the Prophet, written at the request of Abu 'l-Mawāhib b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī, then head of the leading S͟hayk͟h-family of Egypt. The work is based on two earlier biographies, *viz. ʿUyūn al-at͟har* by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās͟h [*q.v.*] and *al-Sīra al-S͟ha'miyya* by al-Ṣāliḥī, but it also contains materials taken from other sources. It found a wide circulation, was printed several times and translated into Turkish. For mss of it and of its abridgments see Brockelmann II, 307 and S II, 418. Amongst his other writings enumerated by al-Muḥibbī, we may mention *al-Naṣīḥa al-ʿAlawiyya fī bayān ḥusn ṭarīḳat al-sāda al-Aḥmadiyya* in defence of the Brotherhood of Aḥmad al-Badawī [*q.v.*].

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(J. W. FÜCK)

ḤALĀL WA **ḤARĀM** [see S͟HARĪʿA].

ḤĀLET EFENDI, Meḥmed Saʿīd, Ottoman statesman, was born in Istanbul *ca.* 1175/1761, the son of a *ḳāḍī*, Hüseyn Efendi, from the Crimea. He was educated in the house of the S͟hayk͟h al-Islām S͟herīf Efendi. He served under various provincial governors in Rumeli and as Ketk͟hudā [*q.v.*] of the *nā'ib* of Yeñis͟hehir Fener (Larissa). On returning to Istanbul, he became closely attached to G͟hālib Dede [*q.v.*], the *s͟heyk͟h* of the Mewlewī convent at G͟halaṭa, a connexion which enabled him to complete his literary education. He was at this time serving as secretary to certain Ottoman dignitaries, such as Ḳaṣṣāb-bas͟hī Meḥmed Ag͟ha and later the Phanariot Kallimakhi; shortly afterwards the favour of the *ketk͟hudā-i rikāb-i hümāyūn* Muṣṭafā Res͟hīd Efendi procured him a place among the *k͟hʷād̲j̲egān* [*q.v.*].

On 4 Ramaḍān 1217/29 December 1802 he was appointed ambassador to France, with the rank of *bash-muḥāsib*. His mission to Paris was a failure, but it enabled him to learn about the Western world. After his return to Istanbul (late 1806) he was appointed *beglikdji wekīli* and on 23 Rabīʿ I 1222/31 May 1807, two days after the revolution which deposed Selīm III, was promoted to the post of *reʾīs al-küttāb* [*q.v.*]. At the request of the French ambassador Sebastiani, who alleged that he was pro-British in his policy, he was dismissed on 5 March 1808 and exiled to Kütahya; this banishment was in fact a fortunate accident for him, since Muṣṭafā IV was dethroned on 28 July following. In Shaʿbān 1224/September 1809 he was permitted to return to Istanbul.

The new sultan Maḥmūd II sent him on a mission to Baghdād, where he arrived on 25 Djumādā I 1225/28 June 1810. His task was to persuade the quasi-independent *wālī* Küčük Süleymān Pasha to pay various sums due to the sultan. When Süleymān refused, Ḥālet Efendi retired to Mosul where, with the help of the *mutaṣarrif*s of Mosul and Bābān, he prepared a military expedition against the recalcitrant *wālī*. The expedition was successful, Süleymān Pasha being murdered and the former *ketkhudā* ʿAbd Allāh Agha being appointed in his place.

In 1226/early 1811 Ḥālet Efendi was appointed *ketkhudā-i rikāb-i hümāyūn*, and on 5 Shawwāl 1230/10 September 1815 *nishāndji*. He enjoyed the confidence of Maḥmūd II, who sought his advice in state affairs (for the secret correspondence between Ḥālet Efendi and the *berber-bashî* ʿAlī Agha, see Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*[2], x, 262-78, xii, 226-8). He supported the sultan in his policy of subduing the *derebeyi*s [*q.v.*] in the provinces, but he did not favour the project to abolish the corps of the Janissaries: indeed he used them as an instrument to maintain his influence over the sultan. For a time he was so powerful that he controlled nominations to the posts of Grand Vizier and of Shaykh al-Islām. According to Slade, his intimacy with the Phanariots brought him under suspicion, and he tried to justify himself by showing 'as great hatred to the Greeks as he was supposed to have friendship' (*Record of travels*, i, 246). His fall was brought about by the part he played in procuring the deposition, in 1820, of ʿAlī Pasha Tepedelenli [*q.v.*] of Yanya; as his rival the *reʾīs al-küttāb* Djānib Efendi had predicted, the expedition against ʿAlī Pasha provoked the Greek revolt in the Morea (March 1821). Accused of being the cause of this disaster, he was exiled to Konya in Ṣafar 1238/November 1822 and strangled there a few days later. His head was brought to Istanbul and was buried in the Mewlewī convent at Ghalaṭa, near the public fountain and the library which he had founded there.

Ḥālet Efendi was a man of great intelligence and eloquence, whose abilities procured him a predominant position in the early years of the reign of Maḥmūd II. He maintained this position by appointing his own creatures to key posts and by sending any adversary to exile or to death. He was a conservative, strongly opposed to westernization. His rôle in precipitating the Greek insurrection was disastrous for the Ottoman Empire.

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(E. Kuran)

ḤĀLETĪ, ʿAzmī-zāde Muṣṭafā (977/1570-1040/1631), Ottoman poet and scholar, considered the master of the *rubāʿī* in Turkish literature. He was born in Istanbul, the son of Pīr Meḥmed ʿAzmī (d. 990/1582), the tutor of the prince Meḥmed (later Meḥmed III), who left, besides poems in Turkish, Eastern Turkish, Arabic and Persian, an expanded translation of the *Anīs al-ʿārifīn* of Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ and an unfinished translation (later continued by his son) of the *mathnawī Mihr u Mushtarī* of the Persian poet Muḥammad ʿAṣṣār (see Rieu, *Cat. Persian MSS*, ii, 626; Pertsch, *Kat.*, 843 ff.).

Ḥāletī studied under such scholars as the historian Saʿd al-Dīn, who arranged his first appointment as *müderris*. He soon distinguished himself and was made *müderris* successively at the *medrese*s of Eyyūb, Sultan Selīm, the Süleymāniyye (1008/1599) and Wefā (1010/1602).

In 1011/1602 he was made *ḳāḍī* of Damascus; there he met the poet Rūḥī [*q.v.*] who mentions him with praise in a *ḳiṭʿa* chronogram. He was later (1013/1604) moved to Cairo, where for a short time he took charge of the office of the *beglerbegi*, upon the murder of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Pasha, but he was accused of not being firm enough and dismissed. After a short period of disgrace, he was made *ḳāḍī* of Bursa, but was dismissed as a result of the incursions of the famous rebel-chief Ḳalenderoghlu [*q.v.*]. In 1020/1611 he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Edirne, but was moved to Damascus the same year, where he remained until 1022/1618.

On the accession of ʿOthmān II in 1028/1618 Ḥāletī submitted to the young sultan a petition in verse, and was again made *ḳāḍī* of Cairo. He returned to Istanbul in 1028/1619. He submitted a similar petition to Murād IV, in whose reign he became the *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Anadolu (1032/1623) and later (1037/1627) of Rūmeli. He was made a *müderris* of the *dār al-ḥadīth* of the Süleymāniyye a few months before he died in 1040/1631 (indicated in the chronogram on his tomb-stone: *Rūḥ-i pākine dem-be-dem raḥmet*). He is buried in the courtyard of a school at Ṣofular which he had restored.

Despite many vicissitudes, Ḥāletī had, on the whole, a successful career and reached the second highest position of his profession; his *dīwān*, however, is full of complaints against Fate, and the jealousy of intriguing colleagues. The sources generally agree that Ḥāletī was one of the most learned men of his time. He wrote and translated many books on law, and he left a library of several thousand volumes, most of them annotated in his own hand.

Apart from various religious treatises, he is the author of: (1) *Dīwān*, dedicated to Meḥemmed III in its early version. It has not been edited. MSS contain varying numbers of *ḳaṣīda*s, *ghazal*s and *ḳiṭʿa*s. Some include his *rubāʿī*s, some do not. For a fairly good copy, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Hazine 894, which contains 31 *ḳaṣīda*s 721 *ghazal*s, 300

rubāʿīs and the *Sāḳī-nāme*. Ḥaletī cannot be considered a major poet, but his *dīwān* contains many poems of impeccable form, fresh inspiration and colourful imagery. He owes his fame and place in Turkish literature almost entirely to his *rubāʿīs*, for which reason he has often been compared with ʿUmar K͟hayyām. His *rubāʿīs* are either included in copies of his *dīwān* or form an independent *risāla*, where they are alphabetically arranged. In both cases their numbers vary greatly (between 70 and 600). These *rubāʿīs*, exquisite in form, impeccable in style and often very personal in expression, are not always original in subject matter. They treat mostly the old themes common to most *dīwān* poets: All things are ephemeral, Fortune is fickle, life is fleeting, Fate is merciless, the beloved is cruel, consolation is to be found in mystic love, etc. But all these thoughts and feelings are so skilfully expressed that poets, scholars and biographers alike proclaimed him as the greatest master of *rubāʿī* (cf. Nedīm's famous verse: *Ḥāletī ewd̲j̲-i rūbāʿīde uč̣ar ʿanḳā gibi*, "Ḥāletī soars in the topmost heaven ot *rubāʿī* like the *ʿAnḳā*").

(2) *Sāḳī-nāme* (the Book of the Cup-bearer), a *mat̲h̲nawī* of 520 distichs in *mutaḳārib*, which Ḥāletī wrote following the vogue of the time, when many poets produced works of varying length in this genre, introduced from Persian. It consists of a short introductory prologue followed by 15 sections (*maḳāles*) and an epilogue (*k̲h̲atm-i kelām*). Following the pattern, Ḥāletī uses this genre to glorify mystic love symbolized by wine, elaborates on the transience of worldly things and mocks the ostentatious practices of the hypocritically devout; finally he invites all "men of heart" to join in drinking this wine and become brothers.

(3) *Müns̲h̲eʾāt*, a collection of the letters Ḥāletī wrote to various important personalities of the time. Although they are written in the usual flowery and bombastic *ins̲h̲āʾ* style, they contain a number of enlightening references to events and personalities of the time.

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ḤALFĀʾ (a.), alfa-grass, esparto-grass. This name is generally used, loosely, of two rather similar plants: the true alfa-grass (*stipa tenacissima*) with leaves folded into a half-sheath and ears which somewhat resemble those of barley; and the lygeum or esparto-grass or "wild alfa" (*lygoeum spartum*), a smaller plant which has stiffer leaves. The former grows in mountainous districts and on high plateaus; in Tunisia it is called *ḥalfāʾ rūsiyya* and *geddīm*; the latter prefers low-lying ground (*ḥalfāʾ mahbūla, sennāg̲h̲*). Although it is difficult to recognize them at first, the experienced eye can distinguish the yellow-green of alfa-grass from the blue-green of esparto-grass. A field of alfa or a pre-Saharan steppe pasture where alfa is predominant is sometimes given the name *zemla*.

The true alfa flourishes in the area extending from the Ḍahra of Morocco to beyond the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa in Libya and including the Ḳṣūr Mountains, the plateau of the Awlād Sīdī S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, D̲j̲elfa, Bū Saʿāda, the Bū Ṭāleb and the Maʿādid, in Algeria, and the High Tell, the *d̲j̲abals* situated to the south of the Dorsal, the chain of the Maṭmāṭa and the plateau of the Ḥāwiya, in Tunisia. This alfa is sometimes subdivided into "sparterie" alfa, with very fine stalks about 40 centimetres long, which have a regular diameter, and "paper-making" alfa, with coarser stalks of varying length.

Usually only the true alfa is used to make pulp for paper-making, since the discovery, in the 1850's, by Thomas Routledge of Eynsham of the possibilities of its use in this industry. The wild alfa or esparto-grass, although its fibres are equally suitable for paper-making, is preferred for sparterie (see below) and rope-making. They are, however, to a certain extent interchangeable.

The alfa fields have given rise to many juridical problems. Originally the state of Tunisia tended to consider the alfa areas as its domain and to instal there workers to harvest it, and public weighing officials. Soon, however, there developed a system of "concessions" with privately employed workers.

The season for the harvesting of alfa, but not of esparto-grass, is officially fixed from September 1st to April 30th, the spring months being left to allow the plant to grow again. The harvesting is done by women and consists of separating the fibrous stalk from the sheath by a sharp pull done with the help of a rod (*moglaʿ*) 30 centimetres long. The woman takes a handful of stalks (*mozla*), twists them round the rod, and, with a brisk action, separates them from the rhizomes. The product of the harvest, first collected into hanks (*zerza*), then bound into sheaves (*ḥnāg*) of from 10 to 12 bunches, is put into a wide-meshed net (*d̲j̲eyyāba, s̲h̲əbka*) to be carried to the public weighing machine in the market place (*məns̲h̲ra*). A good worker can gather as much as 100 kgs. in a day. Among the Awlād ʿAzīz (Maknāsī) a woman's harvesting ability is considered as part of her dowry. After being weighed, the alfa is put into stacks (*gūm*) in the stack-yard to dry thoroughly. After a week it is put into bales which are piled up (*testīf*) to await transport by train or lorries to wholesale markets or factories.

In Tunisia, the markets, the first of which were set up at Sousse and Ḳayrawān, multiplied with the building of the railway between Hans̲h̲īr Swātīr and Sousse. Local markets were set up near the stations: Ḥād̲j̲eb al-ʿUyūn, Sbeytla, Ḳāṣrīn, Thelepte, Haydra, in the High Tell. Centres at Mazzūna, Sened, Maknāsī, Ḳafṣa, Sīdī Bū Zīd, Fayḍ and Bīr Hafey supply alfa to Sfax or to the recently built cellulose factory at Ḳaṣrīn.

In addition to this industrial use there should be mentioned some uses of alfa in local handicrafts. In Hergla, the Chebba and Kerkena it is used for plaiting the special baskets (*s̲h̲wāmī*) which are used for holding the pulp of crushed olives when it is put under the press to extract the oil. In Zrība, Takrūna, and the Maṭmāṭa it is used for weaving on a high-warp loom decorated mats with a warp of wool and a weft of alfa, the stalks being either left in their natural colour or died red and black; this craft is done by women and those of Bū Ṭāleb (Algeria) also excel in it. Alfa is used also to make long plaited strips (*ḍfīra*) which are made into hump covers for camels (*bṭās̲h̲*), double panniers (*s̲h̲ārya*) or pairs of saddle-bags (*zəmbīl*), grain silos (*gambūṭ, rwīna*) which are stored in the *ḳṣars* of the south or in the court-yards of cave-dwellings, sleeping mats, and even sandals (*tarbāga*), which consist of a simple sole fastened to the foot by two or three thongs which are passed between the toes and round the side of the foot and fastened in front. If soaked in lukewarm water alfa can if necessary be twisted into ropes.

In southern Tunisia alfa is used also as fodder for

camels. In spring the semi-nomadic camel-owners graze them on the surrounding alfa-growing plateaus.

Esparto is more easily worked than alfa *rūsiyya* and there are two methods of using it. A. Louis (*Iles Kerkena*, i, 343-56) describes the various processes which transform esparto: from the bale to the soaked fibre (drying, baling, steeping in the sea, drying again, silage) and from the beaten fibre to useful objects.

Fibre which has been steeped in sea-water and beaten on a round stone or a wooden block, then twisted (*teftīl*) once, is made into string or thin ropes (*shrīt*, *khəzma*, *mradda*), thick ropes for drawing up water from wells or for haulage (*ḥbəl*, *djarr*) and even, after being twisted again on an implement for twisting the strands (*ṛaghla*), ropes for fishing boats. Twisted cords of esparto are used also for making nets for carrying loads, camel harnesses, sacks and for the partitions of fish-traps, in fact in many objects in current use in agriculture and fishing.

Esparto which is simply soaked and not beaten is used for plaiting. The plaits are then joined to make double donkey-panniers, hump covers for camels, saddle bags, carriers for water-coolers (*nāgla*), and various other everyday objects similar to those made from the true alfa.

This is a family craft and many are skilled in it (though it is agreed that the inhabitants of Kerkena are specialists in twisting and plaiting alfa), hence the proverb "A house without alfa is a deserted house".

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(A. Louis)

ḤALĪ [see ḤALY].

ḤĀLĪ, Khwādja Alṭāf Ḥusayn, Urdū poet. His ancestor Khwādja Malik ʿAlī came to India in the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ and was appointed ḳāḍī of Pānīpat. Ḥālī was born at Pānīpat in 1837. His father died when he was nine years old; but in spite of the drawback in his early education he studied Arabic and Persian grammar and elementary logic in Dihlī, and in 1856 occupied a petty clerical post at Ḥiṣār. After the Mutiny in 1857 he remained unemployed for four years and during this period studied exegesis, tradition, philosophy, logic and Arabic literature. About this time he began to compose Urdū poetry on the advice of Ghālib [*q.v.*] whose pupil he became, though he confesses that he was more influenced by the straightforward expression and lack of exaggeration in the verses of his patron Nawwāb Muṣṭafā Khān 'Shayfta' in whose service he remained as a courtier until 1869. Then, on Shayfta's death, he took up a post in the Pandjāb Government Book Depot at Lahore to revise the text of Urdū translations of English works. This brought him indirectly in touch with the content and values of European literature which came to exercise considerable influence on his critical outlook. In association with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād [see Āzād] and with the encouragement of English officers of the Department of Education in the Pandjāb, he founded a new school of Urdū poetry, which adopted the *mathnawī* for realistic themes related to Indian life and background. His famous *mathnawī*s *Munādjāt-i Bewā*, *Barkhārut*, and *Ḥubb-i Waṭan* belong to this period. He also widened the scope of the *ghazal* and enriched it with a deep ethical tone.

The most powerful impact on Ḥālī's mind was that of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*] whose movements of educational and social reform he began to support in his articles from 1871, whom he came to know better when he moved from Lahore to Delhi to join there the teaching staff of the Anglo-Arabic School, and on whose suggestion he composed in 1879 *Musaddas-i madd-o djazr-i Islām* (popularly known as *Musaddas-i Ḥālī*). This work revolutionized Urdū poetry by introducing into it the dynamics of pan-Islamic revivalism and paved the way for Urdū and Indo-Persian political poems which became a powerful means of religio-political propaganda in Muslim India. In 1887 Ḥālī resigned from the Anglo-Arabic School on being awarded a pension by Ḥaydarābād State and dedicated himself to a life of scholarship until his death in 1914.

The *Dīwān* of his Urdū *ghazal*s published in 1893 revived in Urdū the moral trend of Saʿdī [*q.v.*] whose biography Ḥālī had published in 1884. The collected edition of Ḥālī's Arabic and Persian prose and verse appeared in 1914. Between Ghālib and Iḳbāl [*q.v.*], and as a link between them, Ḥālī is regarded as a poet of stature with whom begins the era of westernized Urdū poetry with a strong Islamic orientation.

As a biographer and critic he holds a high position in Urdū literature. His study of Ghālib (*Yādgār-i*

G͟hālib) appeared in 1884 and of the life and work of Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān (*Ḥayāt-i D̲j̲āwayd*) in 1901. The long introduction (popularly known as *Muḳaddama-i s̲h̲iʿr-o s̲h̲āʿirī*) to his Urdū *Dīwān* marks the beginning of the modern standards of literary criticism in Urdū.

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(AZIZ AHMAD)

HALIDE EDIB [see KHĀLIDE EDĪB].

ḤALĪMA, a mare, or a valley, or a G͟hassānid princess, after whom was named one of the most famous of all the *ayyām* [*q.v.*] of pre-Islamic Arabia, sometimes identified with the *yawm* of ʿAyn Ubāg͟h. It is possible that *yawm* Ḥalīma was the "day" which witnessed the victory of G͟hassān over Salīḥ [*q.v.*] late in the 5th century A.D. But more probably, it represents the victory of the G͟hassānid al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. D̲j̲abala over the Lak͟hmid al-Mund̲h̲ir b. al-Nuʿmān, who was killed in the encounter. If true, the battle would have taken place in June, A.D. 554, at the spring of ʿUd̲h̲ayya, in the district of Ḳinnasrīn.

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(IRFAN SHAHĪD)

ḤALĪMA BINT ABĪ D̲H̲UʾAYB, foster-mother of the prophet Muḥammad. She and her husband belonged to the tribe of Saʿd b. Bakr, a subdivision of Hawāzin. Muḥammad was given to her to suckle from soon after his birth until he was two years old. Well-to-do families thought desert-life healthier for infants than that in Mecca. Some modern scholars have doubted the whole episode, but Muḥammad probably lived with this tribe for a time. After the battle of Ḥunayn he honoured his foster-sister al-S̲h̲aymā, and responded favourably when men of Saʿd b. Bakr, negotiating for the return of their captured women, pleaded their milk-relationship to him. Further stories connected with the desert residence are legendary: Ḥalīma and her family prospered miraculously while Muḥammad was with them; she therefore asked to be allowed to keep him for a further period after weaning, but while he and his foster-brother were herding lambs, two men cut him open, purified his heart with snow and returned it to his body, and Ḥalīma, fearing demonic possession, hastily took him back to his mother.

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(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḤALḲ AL-WĀDĪ (the "throat", or the "gullet" of the wadi), in French La Goulette (from the Italian form Goletta), township situated on the coastal strip which encloses the wide but very shallow lagoon of Tunis (less than 3 feet deep), to the north of the channel by which it is linked to the sea. After the ports of Carthage were abandoned, this became the port of Tunis; for a long time it had no artificial improvements, the ships anchoring at the entrance to a channel which had to be constantly dredged. There goods were trans-shipped onto flat-bottomed boats which carried them to Tunis, 10 kilometres away, at the west of the lagoon, as is described by al-Idrīsī as early as the 6th/12th century (*Description*, 112/131). The entrance to the channel was guarded to the north by a fortress which is probably the "castle of the chain" mentioned by al-Bakrī in the preceding century (*Description*, 85); it was used for defence and as a customs post. When La Goulette and Tunis were captured from the Ḥafṣids in 940/1534 by K͟hayr al-Dīn (Barbarossa), the fortress was extensively rebuilt and became a strong bastion. The following year, however, it was seized by the Emperor Charles V who left a garrison there. During his reign and that of Philip II, the bastion was incorporated in a large citadel. But in Rabīʿ II 982/August 1574, the Turks, under the command of Sinān Pas̲h̲a and ʿUlūd̲j̲ ʿAlī, drove the Christians permanently from Tunis and La Goulette. The Turks restored the old fortress, but demolished the other parts of the citadel, of which only the substructure now remains. La Goulette remained until the end of the 12th/18th century a haunt of corsairs, which was scarcely disturbed by the demonstrations of European fleets. Under the Bey Ḥammūda (1782-1814), the fortifications were completed: in about 1829, the traveller Nyssen saw there a second fort (to the south) and several batteries. The Bey Aḥmad (1837-1855) built there an arsenal and a summer palace. La Goulette was the first Tunisian port; between 1861 and 1865 in particular, it "was visited by an average of over 600 ships each year, carrying a total of 80,000 tons", which comprised 90% of the imports and 45% of the exports of the Regency (Ganiage, 55-6). In 1872, that is to say nine years before the establishment of the French Protectorate, La Goulette was linked to Tunis and to the palace of the Bardo by a railway track, which never, however, offered serious competition to the inconvenient small boats.

With the construction of the port of Tunis at the end of the lagoon and the digging out in the mud of a channel 10 kilometres long and 7.5 metres deep, La Goulette became, after 1893, the outer harbour of the capital, with a basin of eleven hectares which now permits ships with a draught of up to 10.5 metres to come alongside: iron ore and phosphates from the Haut Tell are loaded there and hydro-

carbons and coal are unloaded; it contains the main electricity station, whose output has recently doubled. This outer harbour is shortly to be enlarged. There has long been a settlement to the north of the bastion—a fishing village whose inhabitants are mainly of Italian origin and which has become a seaside resort and a popular suburb of Tunis. In 1926 La Goulette had a population of 7,400, of whom 2,000 were Jews and nearly 4,000 Europeans, two-thirds of the latter being Italians; in 1956 its population was 26,300 (including 10,150 Europeans and 3,300 Jews, who have almost all left since Tunisia became independent).

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(J. Despois)

ḤALḲA, as a term of Ṣūfism [see TAṢAWWUF].

ḤALḲA (literally "circle", "gathering of people seated in a circle", and also "gathering of students around a teacher"), among the Ibāḍī-Wahbīs of the Mzāb [*q.v.*] a religious council made up of twelve *ʿazzāba* ("recluses", "clerks"; on the exact meaning of this word, see R. Rubinacci, *Un antico documento di vita cenobitica musulmana*, 47-8), and presided over by a *shaykh*. On the mystical sense of *ḥalḳa*, the *Ḳawāʿid al-Islām* of al-Djayṭālī [*q.v.*], which is the most complete code of the Ibāḍī sect (written probably in the first half of the 8th/14th century), says: "On their arrival the members of the assembly must seat themselves to form the circle (*ḥalḳa*), leaving no space between them; for spaces delight the devil and let him in". Each Mzābī town had such a council, which met in the town mosque, in the chief mosque if there were more than one. Originally the *ḥalḳa* was simply those who assembled around a Muslim legal scholar or theologian, which later, among the Ibāḍīs of Wargla [*q.v.*], of Wādī Rīgh [*q.v.*] and in particular among those of the Mzāb grew into a "council of recluses" to which the whole existence of the Mzābī cities was subject. In fact, before the French annexation of the Mzāb (1882), the Ibāḍī *ḥalḳa*s in the Mzābī towns took precedence over the *djamāʿa*s, *i.e.*, the municipal councils which directed the affairs of the town.

The first mention of the *ḥalḳa* among the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib is found in the chronicle of Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wardjilānī [*q.v.*], in the account concerning the two famous 4th/10th century Ibāḍī *shaykh*s, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yazīd b. Makhlad and Abū Khazar Yaghlā b. Zaltāf. These *shaykh*s, who were natives of the town of al-Ḥāmma in the Tunisian Djarīd and who belonged to the Zenāta tribe of the Banū Wisyān, were very active, particularly under the Fāṭimid caliph Abū Tamīm al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh (341-65/953-75). Al-Dardjīnī [*q.v.*] includes them among the Ibāḍīs belonging to the seventh *ṭabaḳa* ("class"), which corresponds to the first half of the 4th/10th century. According to Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjilānī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim and Abū Khazar formed part of a *ḥalḳa* and all the Ibāḍī-Wahbīs "who wished to be informed in the humane sciences, the science of good behaviour and the traditions of holy men, came to learn from them so that they soon gained a considerable reputation". Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who was a very rich man, was enabled by his wealth to feed them and provide for their needs. Unfortunately apart from these facts nothing is known of the organization of the *ḥalḳa*. It is known, however, thanks to Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjilānī, that Abu 'l-Ḳāsim's disciples were not allowed to marry, which reminds us of one of the obligatory rules imposed on the *ʿazzāba* by the great Ibāḍī reformer Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr (whom we shall mention later), namely that of celibacy (nevertheless Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who was the *shaykh* of the *ḥalḳa*, did have a wife, a fact which disturbed him greatly). It seems therefore that celibacy was considered essential for a member of the *ḥalḳa* already in this "prehistoric" stage of the institution as represented by the group of students presided over by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. There is reason to suppose that a "council of recluses", composed, as will appear below, of twelve members grouped around a *shaykh*, existed also at a still earlier date among the Nukkār [*q.v.*], an Ibāḍī sect which was hostile to the Ibāḍī-Wahbīs. In fact, according to a passage in Ibn Khaldūn's history of the Berbers, the famous political head of this sect in the first half of the 4th/10th century, Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād [*q.v.*], had with him Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Aʿmā, accompanied by "twelve other persons of influence", with whom he went from the Bilād al-Djarīd into the Aurès (in about 331/942-3), in revolt against the Fāṭimids. Since Abū ʿAmmār was teaching in the first half of the 4th/10th century in the Bilād al-Djarīd (at Tūzer or at Taḳyūs, *i.e.*, Krīz Tagyūs, the ancient Thiges), where he was the teacher of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, it may be that Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yazīd b. Makhlad and Abū Khazar Yaghlā b. Zaltāf, who were natives of another part of the Bilād al-Djarīd, were influenced in their ideas on the *ḥalḳa* by the existence of the Nukkārī council of twelve. Among the pupils of Abū Khazar Yaghlā b. Zaltāf was Abū Muḥammad Wīslān/Wāslān b. Yaʿḳūb, a famous Ibāḍī scholar of Djarba [*q.v.*], who is classed by al-Dardjīnī among the persons of the eighth *ṭabaḳa* (second half of the 4th/10th century). According to al-Shammākhī [*q.v.*], he also presided over a *ḥalḳa* in his native island.

To the following *ṭabaḳa* (first half of the 5th/11th century) there belonged another Ibāḍī scholar who was a native of the Bilād al-Djarīd: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr, who was responsible for the first rule concerning the constitution of an Ibāḍī-Wahbī *ḥalḳa*. Abū ʿAbd Allāh studied in the Bilād al-Djarīd under the direction of the *shaykh*s Abū Nūḥ Saʿīd b. Zanghīl and Abū Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Miswar, who lived in the second half of the 4th/10th century. After the death of Abū Nūḥ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr went to Ḳayrawān to perfect his knowledge of Arabic language and grammar. Then, after returning to the Bilād al-Djarīd, he settled at Taḳyūs, whence he next went to the Wādī Rīgh (Oued Righ). It was in this oasis that he organized his *ḥalḳa*, at the request of some young Ibāḍī-Wahbī students from Djarba, where they had already heard of this institution. This took place in the year 409/1018-9, and hence the cave in the Wādī Rīgh which was fitted up to be the seat of this *ḥalḳa* was given the name of "ninth". It was apparently in this cave that Abū ʿAbd Allāh drew up the rules of the *ḥalḳa* (in Arabic *Siyar al-ḥalḳa*). There exist two

very similar versions of these rules, one of which is contained in the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲* of al-Dard̲j̲īnī (7th/13th century) and another in the *Kitāb D̲j̲awāhir al-muntaḳāt* of al-Barrādī (beginning of the 9th/15th century). The critical edition of the *Siyar al-ḥalḳa* based on these two versions is by M. R. Rubinacci. This document shows that the members of a *ḥalḳa* were known as *ʿazzāba* (singular form: *ʿazzābī*). They were distinguished from the laity by their tonsure (they had to shave their heads completely) and by their simple white habits. New members were admitted to this council only after a very detailed investigation. At the head of a *ḥalḳa* was a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, who retained this position until his death. He governed the *ʿazzāba*, took charge of the administration, judged, and taught, being responsible for the material possessions (*ḥubus*) and the spiritual well-being of the *ḥalḳa*. He was assisted by a *k̲h̲alīfa* who might take his place if necessary. It was he also who appointed certain experts (inspectors, ushers) known as *ʿurafāʾ* (singular: *ʿarīf*), one of whom supervised the collective recitation of the Ḳurʾān, while another took charge of the communal meals, and others were responsible for the students' education, etc. All the time which the *ʿazzāba* had free after the performance of their professional duties was devoted to prayers and other pious exercises, important among them being the five religious meetings per day, devoted to the recitation and the explanation of the Ḳurʾān. Two of these meetings, one of them held in the middle of the night, were presided over by the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the *ḥalḳa*. The *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* concerned himself also with teaching the students. While the main body of the *ʿazzāba* went about its professional occupations, an *ʿarīf* prepared the communal meals of which there were two a day (in the morning and after the *ʿaṣr* prayer). The lives of the *ʿazzāba* were subject, according to the rules laid down by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr, to a severe discipline. They were governed by a strict moral code and any misdemeanour was punished immediately.

Tradition also attributes to Abū ʿAbd Allāh a missionary zeal, considering him to have been the most active agent in disseminating and popularizing Ibāḍism in the northern Sahara. It is in fact mainly to him that is attributed an achievement which had far-reaching consequences in the history of African Ibāḍism: the conversion of the Banū Muṣʿab, a Berber tribe settled in the Tadmayt, in the area of the present-day Mzāb, which until then had adhered to the Muʿtazilī doctrine. By this he helped to determine and to a certain extent to facilitate the foundation of the oases which were later all to be known by the general name of Mzāb and to become the refuge of the Ibāḍīs of the Mag̲h̲rib (after the fall of Ibāḍism in the Wādī Rīg̲h̲ and the Wargla oasis) and a place where the institution of the *ḥalḳa* became the supreme religious council of the sect, which in some respects replaced the theocratic government of the former Ibāḍī *imāms* of the Mag̲h̲rib. After the death, in 440/1048-9, of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr (who had settled, towards the end of his life, in the Wargla oasis), it was his disciple Abu 'l-K̲h̲aṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Salām Manṣūr b. Abī Wazd̲j̲ūn who continued the work which his master had begun. It was at this time also that the *ʿazzāba* of the Wādī Rīg̲h̲ decided to write a primarily juridical work for the benefit of their "novices". They produced the *Dīwān al-as̲h̲yak̲h̲*, consisting of 25 volumes.

In the first half of the 6th/12th century there lived the Ibāḍī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* and scholar Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Maʿlā (b. al-Muʿallā), who built up the organization of the *ḥalḳa*. He was the founder of a *ḥalḳa* which was held in the mosque of the town of Tīg̲h̲ūrt (Tuggurt) in the Wādī Rīg̲h̲. It was probably for this council that Abū Zayd drew up a rule which we find mentioned by al-Dard̲j̲īnī and by al-S̲h̲ammāk̲h̲ī. This seems to be the beginning of the use of mosques for the Ibāḍī *ḥalḳas*.

After Abū Zayd, it was Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Tināwatī al-Ward̲j̲lānī who made a considerable contribution to the definitive elaboration of the rules of the *ḥalḳa*. Abū ʿAmmār, one of the most eminent Ibāḍī scholars of the period, originated from the Berber tribe of the Tināwat, from the fraction which had settled in the Ward̲j̲lān (Wargla) oasis. He lived in the first half of the 6th/12th century. After having begun his studies in this oasis, he went to Tunis, where he studied among other things the Arabic language. Then he performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca. He died at Wargla and was buried there. He is renowned in the history of Ibāḍism for the part he played in the organization of authority in the Ibāḍī communities, helping to centralize this in the institution of the *ḥalḳa*. He was responsible for the production for this "council of recluses" of a special code of rules (in Arabic *sīra*) which has to a large extent retained its importance until the present day and which today among the Ibāḍī scholars of the Mzāb is known as *Sīrat Abī ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Ward̲j̲lānī*. It is a small work of about ten pages, of which the Ibāḍī collection at Kraków possesses two manuscripts brought from the Mzāb by the late Z. Smogorzewski and part of which has been translated into French by E. Masqueray (*Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, 254-7, note). The *ʿazzāba*, say these regulations, must cut themselves off from their family and live only in a retreat. They must pray at night on the mountain tops. They must wear only woollen clothes; they must know the Ḳurʾān by heart and must occupy without complaining the post assigned to them by the *ḥalḳa*. An *ʿazzābī* must be anxious to possess the Sciences, he must defend energetically the rights of the weak, and he must maintain order in the town. The *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the *ḥalḳa* must be intelligent, polite and moderate. He appoints the members of the *ḥalḳa* and distributes them into three sections, the first of which consists of him alone. The second section consists of four other eminent members of the *ḥalḳa*, and they form, with the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, a special council which directs all the affairs of the *ḥalḳa* (there is also a full council composed of all the members of the *ḥalḳa*). When one of the members of the special council dies, another *ʿazzābī* has to replace him. Among the members of the *ḥalḳa* there is a *muʾad̲h̲d̲h̲in*, three others teach the children in the school, five wash the corpses of the dead, one acts as *imām* and recites the prayers in the mosque, and two others manage the possessions of the mosque. One member of the *ḥalḳa* is responsible for distributing the food to the *ʿazzāba* and to the pupils and another supervises the cleaning of the mosque.

Al-Dard̲j̲īnī, who was a member of the *ḥalḳa* of Wargla for two years (616/1219-617/1220-1), has given us a number of details concerning the internal life of this institution (R. Rubinacci, *op. cit.*, 74-5). It is interesting to learn that it was composed not only of the people of Wargla, but also of *ʿazzāba* who were natives of other Ibāḍī communities, including the Mzāb, such as the pious Abā Yazmū al-Muṣʿabī, who had preceded al-Dard̲j̲īnī in the *ḥalḳa* in question by seven or eight years.

The "council of the recluses" soon became an institution so closely linked with the Ibāḍī-Wahbī sect

that Ibn Khaldūn, writing (towards the end of the 8th/14th century) in a passage of his *History of the Berbers* (tr. de Slane, iii, 278) of the Ibāḍī-Wahbī inhabitants of the Wādī Righ (which he contrasts to the Nukkārīs), refers to them simply as *al-ʿazzāba*.

A *ḥalḳa* seems to have existed (but only in an undeveloped form, more akin to a simple gathering of a group of students round a famous *shaykh*) on the island of Djarba, in the second half of the 4th/10th century. This institution still existed there in about 916/1510, at the time of Pedro of Navarre's expedition against Djarba. The council of the *ʿazzāba*, presided over by the legal scholar Abu 'l-Nadjāt Yūnus b. Saʿīd, directed at this time the affairs of the Ibāḍī-Wahbī inhabitants of Djarba, in this case assisting the "governor" of this island, one Abū Zakariyyāʾ, who also was an Ibāḍī. At the same period, there were also some Ibāḍī-Wahbī *ʿazzābas* in the Djabal Nafūsa [see AL-NAFŪSA, DJABAL], in the northern part of Tripolitania; they were in communication with the *ʿazzāba* of Djarba. In fact *ʿazzāba* existed in this district until very recently. Indeed, the Ibāḍī *mudīr* of Djādū, who lived in the middle of the 19th century and who was known to H. Duveyrier, bore the by-name of *al-ʿAzzābī*. In the Berber description of the Djabal Nafūsa composed at the end of the 19th century, there are mentioned houses belonging to the families of the *ʿazzāba* in the *ḳaṣr* of Umm al-Djorsān (cf. A. de C. Motylinski, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1899, 73). It must nevertheless be admitted that very little is known of the history and organization of the *ʿazzāba* in the island of Djerba and in the Djabal Nafūsa.

After the disappearance of the Ibāḍī-Wahbīs from the Wādī Righ and Wargla, which took place between the 9th/15th and the 12th/18th century (Ibn Khaldūn still speaks towards the end of the 8th/14th century of the existence in the first of these oases of a large number of Ibāḍīs belonging to the various branches of al-Ibāḍiyya), the Ibāḍī *ḥalḳas* survived in the *ḳuṣūr* of the Mzāb where the remnants of the Ibāḍī population of these two oases had fled. According to the description of the Mzāb given by Leo Africanus in 1526 (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 437), there were already six of these *ḳuṣūr*, inhabited by a wealthy population of merchants. They were apparently al-ʿAṭf (el-Ateuf), Bū Nūra (Bou Noura), Banū Isdjen (Beni Isguen), Ghārdāya (Ghardaïa), Malīka (Melika) and Sīdī Saʿīd (this latter being destroyed by the Turks in the 17th century). To the five of these *ḳuṣūr* existing until the present day must be added a further two: al-Ḳarāra (Guerara), situated at the extreme east of the Shebka, and Barriyān (Berrian), situated a day and a half's march to the north of Ghārdāya. These two places were founded in the 11th/17th century and are outside the pentapolis which forms the Mzāb proper.

Nothing is known of the history of the *ḥalḳas* of the Mzāb in the earliest times, although local traditions mention holy men and scholars who were natives of this country from the first half of the 6th/12th century (Masqueray, *Chronique*, 140-2, note). Apparently this institution did not yet exist in the Mzāb in the time of al-Dardjīnī, in the first part of the 7th/13th century. Indeed the Mzābīs who wished at this time to enter the "council of recluses" were obliged to seek a *ḥalḳa* far from their native district, as for example the pious *ʿazzābī* Abā Yazmū al-Muṣʿabī, who entered the *ḥalḳa* of Wargla. In the 8th/14th and the 9th/15th centuries there arose among the Ibāḍīs of the Djabal Nafūsa a revival of theology and jurisprudence. The remarkable works written at this time by al-Djayṭālī and by other famous Ibāḍī writers reached the Mzāb, where they rekindled the taste for scholarship which had for long been extinguished in this country. Under the impetus of pious *shaykhs*, among whom should be mentioned Abū Mahdī ʿĪsā b. Ismāʿīl al-Muṣʿabī (first half of the 9th/15th century), the Ibāḍī *ḥalḳas* of the Mzāb, composed of *ṭalaba* ("students", plural of *ṭālib*, used here in the sense of *ʿazzāba*), who were ignorant and had little influence, reformed themselves and applied themselves to a religious revival. It is from this period that there date the numerous reforms made by the *ṭalaba* (*ʿazzāba*) of the Mzābī *ḳuṣūr*. As a result of these reforms, the *ʿazzāba* of the Mzāb began once again to play a considerable part in the life of the Ibāḍī communities of that country, side by side with the lay municipal councils of the Mzābī towns. Proofs of this exist from as early as the beginning of the 9th/15th century. It was in fact at this period (Radjab 807/January 1405 and Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 811/March 1409) that two decrees were issued, as we read in the first words of these documents, following unanimous agreement, by "the *madjlis Wādī Mizāb*—the *ṭalaba* and the *ʿawāmm* (laity)". There is no doubt that the *ṭalaba* mentioned in these documents (of which the Ibāḍī collection at Kraków possesses a copy made in 1913 for the late Z. Smogorzewski) were merely the delegates of the *ʿazzāba* of all the towns of the Mzāb who had met together in one common session. In another document, which is, however, very late (it dates from the year 1245/1829), the word *ṭalaba* is explained by *ʿazzāba*. We read in fact "*madjlis ʿazzāba Wādī Mizāb—ṭalaba* and laity".

The text of the internal regulations of the *ʿazzāba* of Ghārdāya (tr. A. de C. Motylinski, *Guerara depuis sa fondation*, 23-8) dates probably from the first half of the 9th/15th century. These regulations were drawn up by the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Yaḥyā, a scholar of Ghārdāya, who lived (according to local tradition) in the first half of the 9th/15th century. Adopted with general agreement by the *ʿazzāba* of Ghārdāya, these regulations concern their internal discipline and the organization of the *ḥalḳa*. The document states that these regulations conform "to the traditions handed down by our ancestors". The document next refers to the laxity, the disagreement and the divisions which reigned among the *ʿazzāba* of Ghārdāya in the period immediately preceding the production of these regulations. It deals chiefly with punishments for faults committed by the *ʿazzāba* (including excommunication in the case of an *ʿazzābī* who has committed a sin considered as "great"), and with the admission of new members of the *ḥalḳa* (an examination and a long period of observation of the candidate were obligatory). According to the regulations, an *ʿazzābī* might not reveal the secrets of the *ḥalḳa*, on pain of being excluded from the council. The *ʿazzāba* were expected to uphold the interests of those who had suffered wrongs, and to judge impartially between rich and poor. The regulations deal also with the organization of the meetings of the *ḥalḳa*, the *ḥubus* which provided for the upkeep of the mosque and for the support of the *ʿazzāba* and *ṭalaba*, etc. It is interesting to note that they are silent on the question of the celibacy of the *ʿazzāba*, which had formerly been so important.

The part which the *ʿazzāba* played in the Mzāb immediately before the French annexation of the country was a very important one. An account of the history of one of the Mzābī towns, Ḳarāra (Guerara), composed in about 1883 by Sī Muḥammad b. Shetīwī

b. Slīmān, an orthodox Muslim inhabitant of this town, gives an impressive picture of the importance of the *ʿazzāba* in the government of the town. According to this account, the administration of Ḳarāra was in the hands of three institutions: the *ʿazzāba*, the *djamāʿa* of the laity (in Arabic *ʿawāmm*, which in the Mzāb was used of "everyone who is not a *ṭālib*") and the armed force responsible for maintaining order, composed of soldiers who were known as *makārīs*. The word *makrūs*, of which *makārīs* is a plural, means in Algerian Arabic "an adolescent of 12-14 years" and in the Mzāb "an adult fit to carry arms". "Twelve *ṭalaba*", according to the account of Sī Muḥammad, "known as *ʿazzāba*, and versed in the Ḳurʾān, were in charge of the mosque and responsible for its upkeep. They instructed the children and taught the various sciences to the adults, punished wrongdoers, protected the weak, the widows and the orphans, ... passed acts and pronounced judgements according to the law, determined the boundaries of houses, lands and gardens, and administered the possessions which the mosques had acquired by religious donations and which provided food for the *ʿazzāba* and the *ṭalaba*. After them came twelve men who formed the *djamāʿa* of the *ʿawāmm*. They were responsible for the management of the affairs of the town, both internal and external, but they could not interfere in matters which were the province of the *ṭalaba* of the mosque (= *ʿazzāba*). When they had to deal with a matter which was beyond their competence, they consulted the twelve *ʿazzāba* who had the supreme authority. The *djamāʿa* of the laity, the middle authority, was responsible mainly for the population of the town and the extension of the oases. After them came twelve men known as *makārīs* who were the police authorities, maintaining order and arresting wrongdoers and those guilty of disorderly behaviour". The *makārīs* also formed a separate *djamāʿa*, which, however, possessed no powers other than those which were delegated to it by the two other *djamāʿas*. It must, however, be pointed out that very often the practice did not correspond with the theory; for example, in the town of Guerara itself the lay groups composed primarily of ambitious persons gained the upper hand by by-passing the *ʿazzāba* as early as the time of the first internal struggles (end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century). At the head of the *ʿazzāba* (or, by extension, of the *ṭalaba*) was a *shaykh* who, before the French annexation of the Mzāb, was the real president of the Government Council, the representative of the supreme authority of each of the towns in the Mzāb, which were constituted, as appears from what has been said above, as true theocratic republics. These *shaykh*s and presidents of the Government ceased to exist as such after the arrival of the French: thus for example the last *shaykh* of this type in Malīka, ʿUmar b. Ḥādjdj ʿĪsā, ceased to govern in about 1832. Two exceptions are known, however: the *shaykh* of Banū Isdjen, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Ayyūb, who was still governing in 1883, and the *shaykh* of Ghārdāya, Ḥādjdj Ṣāliḥ b. Ḳāsim, who was assassinated in 1881. The *shaykh*s of this type were elected by the *ʿazzāba* of the individual towns, but it was necessary to have also the agreement of the *shaykh*s of other Mzābī towns. One of these *shaykh*s consecrated the person elected by putting on his head, after a suitable speech, a white turban, the symbol of his rank. Besides the councils of the *ʿazzāba* and of the laity, who were responsible for the administration of the individual towns of the Mzāb, there was also a *djamāʿa*, or rather a general *madjlis*, composed of the delegates from the *ʿazzāba* of the whole country (at least two *ʿazzāba* from each town). This *djamāʿa*, which was responsible for the most important matters or those matters which concerned all the Mzābī towns together, met in the mosque of the cemetery of the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kurtī, situated between Bū Nūra and Banū Isdjen, or in the mosque of the cemetery of the *shaykh* ʿAmmī Saʿīd al-Djarbī, near Ghārdāya.

After the annexation of the Mzāb by the French in 1882, the *shaykh*s of the *ʿazzāba* still continued to wield great moral authority in the Mzābī towns, but they had already ceased to possess any political power. Their authority nowadays is limited only to the *ʿazzāba* and the *ṭalaba* of the individual towns of the Mzāb, and to the mosque itself. They also ensure that the lay population fulfils the regulations ot the Ibāḍī doctrine, making use in serious cases of a *tabriʾa* (excommunication). Within this field the authority of the *ʿazzāba* and of the *shaykh* of the *ḥalḳa* is still very great. They control all the Ibāḍī population of the Mzāb. The *ḥalḳa* still remains the supreme religious and moral institution of the Mzābīs. Nowadays a Mzābī *ḥalḳa* has 12 *ʿazzāba* members (sometimes there are 24, 12 of whom, however, are only substitutes). The *ʿazzāba* are recruited from among the *ṭalaba*, *i.e.*, students (in the Berber of the Mzāb they are called *aru*, plural *irwan*), both the oldest and the most learned, though it is true that the moral qualifications of the candidates often take precedence over their learning. One exception only is known: Banū Isdjen, where candidates for admission to the local *ḥalḳa* are subjected to an examination (they have to know the whole of the Ḳurʾān by heart). The candidates must be married, in contrast to the rule of Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Wardjlānī which obliged the candidate to separate from his wife. The *shaykh*, who is today primarily a teacher, teaches the *ṭalaba* in a mosque. The *ṭalaba* are supervised by an *ʿarīf* chosen from among the oldest and most learned of the *irwan*. Another *ʿarīf* supervises the communal meals (which are provided by the *ḥubus* and from gifts). Two or three masters are chosen from among the *ʿazzāba* to teach the children the elements of the Arabic language and also the Ḳurʾān (such an *ʿazzābī* bears the title *muʿallim*). One *ʿazzābī* acts as *imām*, another is *muʾadhdhin*, four or five wash corpses, etc. The *shaykh* elected from among the members of the *ḥalḳa* by the other *ʿazzāba* is the thirteenth member of this council. The four oldest *ʿazzāba*, summoned by the *shaykh*, form the special council which acts in more important cases. The decision of this council is binding (also for the *shaykh* himself). The *ḥalḳa* meets in the town mosque and the meetings of the *ʿazzāba* are always secret. There are also in the Mzābī towns *ḥalḳa*s composed of women. These female *ʿazzāba* have an *imām* (who also is a woman), but no *shaykh*, and the *ḥalḳa*s of women have only a limited power. Thus, for example, the *tabriʾa* concerning a member of such a *ḥalḳa* may be imposed only by a *shaykh* from a *ḥalḳa* of men in the area.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources cited, see Abu 'l-Faḍl Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Barrādī, *Kitāb al-Djawāhir al-muntaḳāt*, lith. Cairo 1302/1884-50; A. Coÿne, *Le Mzab*, Algiers 1879, 29-30; T. Lewicki, *Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes ibāḍites-wahbites de l'Afrique du Nord du VIIIe au XVIe siècle*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 29-31, 33-7, 56; idem, *Notice sur la chronique d'al-Darǧīnī*, in *RO*, xiii (1936), 146-72; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Paris-Algiers 1878; M. Morand, *Les Kanouns du Mzab*, Algiers 1903; A.

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ḤALḲA, term used in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times for a socio-military unit which, during most of the period of Mamlūk rule, was composed of non-Mamlūks. The sources do not indicate the date of its foundation, and there is no convincing explanation of the meaning of its name (for two different views, see Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans mamlouks*, i/2, 200-2 and A. N. Poliak, in *BSOAS*, x (1940-42), 872). The *ḥalḳa* had been in existence during most of the Ayyūbid period, being mentioned for the first time in 570/1174 (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, Cairo 1951, 305, reprinted in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, London 1962, 74). Under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn it seems to have constituted the *élite* of his army. Under his Ayyūbid successors, this unit is mentioned only rarely, yet it must have preserved a considerable part of its power and status, for even during the early years of Mamlūk rule it was still very strong. In those years the *ḥalḳa* included a considerable number of pure Mamlūks. The commanders of the unit, called *muḳaddamū al-ḥalḳa*, held honoured positions, and are named side by side with the Mamlūk *amīrs* in all important ceremonies. They also served as envoys to important states, functions which were usually reserved for the *khāṣṣakiyya* [*q.v.*]. Their pay was, however, even in that early period, much lower than that of the *amīrs*. Originally a *muḳaddam ḥalḳa* was entitled to command 40 men during an actual military expedition (but not after its termination). With the decline of the *ḥalḳa* this right had only a theoretical significance.

The members of the *ḥalḳa* were generally called *adjnād al-ḥalḳa*, sometimes *ridjāl al-ḥalḳa*, and sometimes simply *adjnād*.

Until the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn, we find no clear indications of the decline of the *ḥalḳa*. During the reign of his father, Ḳalāʾūn, we still hear of 4,000 *ḥalḳa* soldiers participating in the war against the Mongols in 680/1281 as *élite* troops fighting in the centre (*ḳalb*) of the Sultan's expeditionary force; the number of the Royal Mamlūks fighting in that centre was only 800.

The first conspicuous sign of a major decline appears during the land redistributions (*rawk* [*q.v.*]) of the late 7th/13th and early 8th/14th centuries. One of the chief aims of the *rawks*, which included the regrouping and reallocation of the fiefs (*iḳṭāʿ*), was to reinforce the Royal Mamlūks and to weaken the *ḥalḳa*. These moves against the *ḥalḳa* were completely effective, and led to its rapid decline. After the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad it became usual for the members of the *ḥalḳa* to exchange their feudal estates against payment or compensation (*muḳāyaḍa*), a special department called *dīwān al-badal* being established for this purpose. As a result many socially inferior elements—pedlars, artisans and other kinds of "common people" (*al-sūḳa wa 'l-ʿāmma*)—joined the *ḥalḳa*. Towards the close of the 8th/14th century the *ḥalḳa* lost practically all its importance as a fighting unit. Only a few of its members continued to take part in military expeditions, the majority being left behind in Cairo to perform guard duties there during the absence of the main force.

Al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (815/1412-824/1421), who tried to rejuvenate the Mamlūk army in general, attempted also to arrest the decline of the *ḥalḳa*, but, as with his other reforms, his success was short-lived. Sultan Barsbāy (825/1422-842/1438) reversed Shaykh's policy towards this unit, and from then on the *ḥalḳa* was on a steady down-grade up to the very end of Mamlūk rule. The very name *ḥalḳa* is gradually replaced by the term *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*], one of its sub-units.

The *ḥalḳa* regiment of Syria, like the whole of the Syrian military society under the Mamlūks, deserves a separate study, for what is true of the armies stationed in Egypt does not, in many cases, apply to the forces stationed in Syria. Generally speaking, the status of the Syrian province was far inferior to that of Egypt. Mamlūk *amīrs* were usually reluctant to serve there, and the élite units of pure Mamlūks were concentrated in Egypt, mainly in Cairo. The Royal Mamlūks, the main cause of the *ḥalḳa*'s decline in Egypt, had no garrisons in Syria; thus in Syria the *ḥalḳa* was a far stronger and a far more important element than was its counterpart in Egypt. The central place which the *ḥalḳa* units occupied in Syria may be seen from Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī's (d. 872/1468) chapter on the Syrian provinces and their armies (*Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, 131-5), where the *ḥalḳa* is mentioned repeatedly but the other units are mentioned only occasionally, if at all. It is true that some of the figures which this author quotes refer to the *ḥalḳa*'s numerical strength in the past (*ḳadīm*an), but this should be taken as an indication of the general decline of the armies of Mamlūk Syria and not of the decline of the Syrian *ḥalḳa* in particular (see also *Zubda*, 103-6, and *BSOAS*, xvi, 71-2). The *ḥalḳa* survived in Syria, after a fashion, into Ottoman times (see B. Lewis, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 479).

Bibliography: D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk Army*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 448-59 (the reasons for the *ḥalḳa*'s decline being discussed at 455 f.). (D. Ayalon)

AL-**ḤALLĀDJ** (the wool-carder), Abu 'l-Mughīth al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr b. Maḥammā al-Bayḍāwī, Arabic-speaking mystic theologian (244-309/857-922). His life, his teaching and his death throw light on a crucial period in the history of Muslim culture, and the interior experience which he describes can be considered a turning point in the history of *taṣawwuf*. (This article includes, as well as the article of *EI*1, some extensive additions drawn from the later works of L. Massignon).

I. — Biographical details

Origins. Al-Ḥallādj was born in about 244/857-8 at Ṭūr, to the north-east of al-Bayḍā in Fars. In Ṭūr an Iranian dialect was spoken; al-Bayḍā was an Arabized town where Sībawayh was born. It is said that al-Ḥallādj was the grandson of a *gabr* and a descendant of Abū Ayyūb, the Companion of the

Prophet. His father, who was probably a wool-carder, left Ṭūr for the textile region which extended from Tustar to Wāsiṭ (on the Tigris), a town founded by Arabs, with a predominantly Sunnī-Ḥanbalī population (with, in the country districts, an extremist Shīʿī minority), and the centre of a famous school of Ḳurʾān readers. At Wāsiṭ, al-Ḥusayn lost the ability to speak Persian. Before he was 12 years old, he learned the Ḳurʾān by heart and became a *ḥāfiẓ*. He very early attempted to find an inner meaning in the teaching of the *sūra*s and applied himself to *taṣawwuf* at the school of Sahl al-Tustarī.

At Baṣra. When he was twenty he left Tustarī to go to Baṣra. There he received the habit of the Ṣūfīs from ʿAmr Makkī, and married Umm al-Ḥusayn, the daughter of Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Aḳṭaʿ. He did not take any other wives and he and his wife remained united all their lives, having at least three sons and one daughter. His marriage earned him the jealousy and the opposition of ʿAmr Makkī. When he was absent from home, al-Ḥallādj was able to entrust the support of his family to his brother-in-law, a Karnabāʾī. Through the latter, he found himself in contact with a clan which supported the Zaydī rebellion of the Zandj [*q.v.*], who were contaminated in varying degrees by Shīʿī extremism; this is probably the origin of his persistent but unfounded reputation as being a Shīʿī *dāʿī* or "missionary preacher". He retained from this period some curious and apparently Shīʿī expressions, but continued to lead at Baṣra a fervently ascetic life and to remain profoundly faithful to Sunnism. He went to Baghdād to consult the famous Ṣūfī Djunayd, but in spite of the latter's advice, tired of the conflict which existed between his father-in-law al-Aḳṭaʿ and ʿAmr Makkī, he set off for Mecca immediately after the Zandj rebellion had been crushed.

First Pilgrimage. At Mecca he made his first Pilgrimage, and made a vow to remain for one year of *ʿumra* in the courtyard of the sanctuary, in a state of perpetual fasting and silence. In this he was trying out his personal way to union with God, and, going against the discipline of secrecy, began to proclaim it. ʿAmr Makkī then broke off relations with him, yet he began to attract disciples.

Khūzistān, Khurāsān and departure from Tustar. Having returned to Khūzistān, he gave up the tunic of the Ṣūfīs and adopted the "lay" habit (probably the *ḳabā*, a cloak worn by soldiers), in order to be able to speak and preach more freely. This beginning of his apostolate, the main aim of which was to enable everyone to find God within his own heart, and which earned for him the name of *Ḥallādj al-Asrār*, "the carder of consciences", exposed him to suspicion and hatred and scandalized the Ṣūfīs. Some Sunnīs, former Christians some of whom were to become viziers at Baghdād, became his disciples. But some Muʿtazilīs and some Shīʿīs, who were important treasury officials, accused him of deception and of false miracles and incited the mob against him. He left for Khurāsān to continue his preaching among the Arab colonies of eastern Iran and remained there for five years, preaching in the cities and staying for some time on the frontiers in the fortified monasteries which housed the volunteer fighters in the "Holy War". He returned to the region of Tustar, and, with the help of the Secretary of State, Ḥamd Ḳunnāʾī, was able to instal his family in Baghdād.

Second Pilgrimage, distant journeys, Third Pilgrimage. With four hundred of his disciples, he then made his second pilgrimage to Mecca, where some of his former friends, Ṣūfīs, accused him of magic and sorcery and of making a pact with the *djinns*. It was after this second *ḥadjdj* that he undertook a long tour in India (Hinduism) and Turkestan (Manicheism and Buddhism), beyond the frontiers of the *dār al-Islām*. "Au delà de la Communauté musulmane, c'est à toute l'humanité qu'il pense pour lui communiquer ce curieux désir de Dieu, patient et pudique, qui dès lors le caractérise ..." (L. Massignon). About 290/902, al-Ḥallādj returned to Mecca for his third and last pilgrimage. He returned there clad in the *muraḳḳaʿa*, a piece of patched and motley cloth thrown round his shoulders, and a *fūṭa*, an Indian loin-cloth, round his waist. His prayer at the station of ʿArafāt was that God should reduce him to nothing, should make him despised and rejected, so that God alone might grant grace to Himself through the heart and the lips of His servant.

Final preaching at Baghdād. After returning to his family at Baghdād, he set up in his house a model of the *Kaʿba*, prayed at night beside tombs and in the daytime proclaimed in the streets or the *sūḳs* his burning love of God and his desire "to die accursed for his Community". "O Muslims, save me from God" ... "God has made my blood lawful to you: kill me" ... This preaching aroused popular emotion and caused anxiety among the educated classes. The Ẓāhirī Muḥammad b. Dāwūd was angry that al-Ḥallādj should claim a mystical union with God; he denounced him at the court and demanded that he should be condemned to death. But the Shāfiʿī jurist Ibn Suraydj maintained that mystic inspiration was beyond the jurisdiction of the courts. It was at this period that, according to the hostile account of the grammarians of Baṣra, al-Ḥallādj replied to al-Shiblī, in the Mosque of al-Manṣūr, by the famous *shaṭḥ* ("theopathic phrase"): *Ana 'l-ḥaḳḳ*, "I am [God] the Truth", proclaiming that he had no other "I" than God.

Arrest. A movement for the moral and political reform of the community was taking shape in Baghdād, inspired by the preaching of al-Ḥallādj and by those of the faithful who were anxious to see in him the hidden "Pole" [see ḲUṬB] of the time. He dedicated to Ibn Ḥamdān and to Ibn ʿĪsā some treatises on the duties of viziers. In 296/908, some Sunnī reformers (under the Ḥanbalī influence of al-Barbahārī, see H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, *passim*) made an unsuccessful attempt to seize power and to raise Ibn al-Muʿtazz to the caliphate. They failed, and the infant caliph, al-Muḳtadir, was restored, his vizier being the Shīʿī financier Ibn al-Furāt. Al-Ḥallādj was involved in the consequent anti-Ḥanbalī repression and succeeded in fleeing to Sūs in Ahwāz, a Ḥanbalī town, although four of his disciples were arrested. Three years later, al-Ḥallādj himself was arrested and brought back to Baghdād, a victim of the hatred of the Sunnī Ḥāmid. He remained in prison for nine years.

Imprisonment. In 301/913, the vizier Ibn ʿĪsā, the cousin of one of al-Ḥallādj's disciples, put an end to the trial (cf. the *fatwā* of Ibn Suraydj) and the imprisoned supporters of al-Ḥallādj were released. Nevertheless, owing to pressure from his enemies and the influence of the chief of police, who was an enemy of the vizier, al-Ḥallādj was exposed for three days on the pillory with "Ḳarmaṭī agent" written above him. He was later confined in the palace, where he was able to preach to the ordinary prisoners. In 303/915, he cured the caliph of a fever, and in 305 "restored to life" the crown prince's parrot. The

Muʿtazilīs denounced his "charlatanism". The vizier Ibn ʿĪsā, who had been favourable to al-Ḥallādj, was replaced in 304-6 by Ibn al-Furāt, who was anti-Ḥallādj, but the influence of the queen-mother prevented the latter from re-opening the trial. It appears that two of al-Ḥallādj's most important works date from this period: the *Ṭā Sīn al-Azal*, a meditation on the case of Iblīs, "the disobedient monotheist", and the short work on the "ascension" (*miʿrādj*) of Muḥammad, who halted on the threshold, two bow-shots from the Divine Essence.

These meditations condemned Iblīs's refusal and suggested that beyond the experience of Muḥammad there could be attained a union in love between man and God. They seem to have been a reply to the Shīʿī extremist al-Shalmaghānī, who considered that faith and impiety, virtue and vice, election and damnation were all *muḳābal* ("related opposites") and equally pleasing to God. Al-Shalmaghānī had a considerable influence at the Baghdād court and even on the course of the trial of al-Ḥallādj.

The condemnation. The trial was re-opened and the case argued in 308-9/921-2. The background to it was Ḥāmid's financial speculation, which had been opposed in vain by Ibn ʿĪsā. It was to destroy the latter's influence that Ḥāmid procured the re-opening of the trial of al-Ḥallādj. He was helped in this by Ibn Mudjāhid, the respected leader of the corporation of the Ḳur'ān readers and a friend of the Ṣūfīs Ibn Sālim and al-Shiblī but opposed to al-Ḥallādj. The Ḥanbalīs, at the instigation of Ibn ʿAṭā', himself a Ḥanbalī and a mystic, held demonstrations and "prayed against" Ḥāmid: both in protest against his fiscal policy and in order to save al-Ḥallādj. They even demonstrated against al-Ṭabarī, who condemned the riot. These disorders gave the vizier Ḥāmid the opportunity to make Ibn ʿAṭā' appear before the tribunal. But Ibn ʿAṭā' refused to witness against al-Ḥallādj and maintained that the vizier did not possess the right to judge the conduct of "holy men". He was ill-treated by a guard during the court hearing and died from the blows he received.

Ḥāmid and the Mālikī ḳāḍī Abū ʿUmar Ibn Yūsuf, who always supported those in power at the time, arranged in advance the judgement of the tribunal which was to condemn al-Ḥallādj. Al-Ḥallādj had said "The important thing is to proceed seven times around the *Kaʿba* of one's heart": they therefore accused him of being a Ḳarmaṭī rebel who wished to destroy the *Kaʿba* of Mecca. There was no Shāfiʿī present at the trial. The Ḥanafī ḳāḍī declined to give judgement, but his assistant agreed to support Abū ʿUmar, and the syndic of the professional witnesses succeeded in producing eighty-four signatories. Sitting in judgement, Abū ʿUmar, urged by Ḥāmid, pronounced the formula: "It is lawful to shed your blood".

The execution. For two days the grand chamberlain Naṣr and the queen-mother interceded with the caliph, who, stricken with a fever, countermanded the execution. But the intrigues of the vizier triumphed over the hesitation of al-Muḳtadir who, as he was leaving a great banquet, signed the warrant for al-Ḥallādj's execution. On 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, the sounding of trumpets announced the impending execution. Al-Ḥallādj was handed over to the chief of police, and in the evening in his condemned cell exhorted himself to face martyrdom and foresaw his glorious resurrection. These prayers, noted down and handed on, were to be re-grouped in the *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj*.

On 24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, at Bāb Khurāsān "before an enormous crowd", al-Ḥallādj, with a crown on his head, was beaten, half-killed, and exposed, still alive, on a gibbet (*ṣalīb*). While rioters set fire to the shops, friends and enemies questioned him as he hung on the gibbet and traditions relate some of his replies. The caliph's warrant for his decapitation did not arrive until nightfall, and in fact his final execution was postponed until the next day. During the night there spread accounts of wonders and supernatural happenings. In the morning, according to al-Tūzarī, those who had signed his condemnation, grouped around Ibn Mukram, cried out: "It is for Islam; let his blood be on our heads". Al-Ḥallādj's head fell, his body was sprinkled with oil and burned and the ashes thrown into the Tigris from the top of a minaret (27 March 922).

Witnesses reported that the last words of the tortured man were: "All that matters for the ecstatic is that the Unique should reduce him to Unity", recapitulating the appeal to the one authentic *tawḥīd*, that which God utters in the heart of His friends; and that he then recited Ḳur'ān, XLII, 18.

II. — Principal (published) works

(1) Twenty-seven *Riwāyāt*, collected by his disciples in about 290/902, in the form of *ḥadīth ḳudsī*, Arabic text in 3rd ed. of the *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj* (Fr. tr. L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, Paris 1922, 893-904); (2) *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, a series of eleven short works (including the *Ṭā Sīn al-Azal*), Arabic text and Persian version of Baḳlī, ed. by L. Massignon, Paris 1913 (Fr. tr. L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, 830-93); (3) some poems collected (cf. *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf* of al-Kalābādhī) in the *Dīwān d'al-Ḥallāj*, Arabic text and Fr. tr., ed. L. Massignon, Paris 1931; new Fr. tr., Paris 1938; (4) some *logia* and especially the *novissima verba* of the last night, collected in the *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj*, ed. L. Massignon (Paris 1914; ²Paris 1936; ³Paris 1957).

(For the other writings of al-Ḥallādj and the discussion of their authenticity, see L. Massignon, *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, introd. i-iv; *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, 804-22; *Dīwān d'al-Ḥallāj*, 1931 ed., 1-9; and *Opera Minora*, Beirut 1963, ii, 40-5 and 191).

III. — The main accusations

The trial of al-Ḥallādj took place against the background of the religious and political intrigues, and those concerning financial policy, which disturbed the Baghdād court during the minority of al-Muḳtadir. It illustrates the position of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty at the beginning of the 4th/10th century and the rôle played in it by the viziers held together by common interests. Al-Ḥallādj's two main enemies were the Shīʿī vizier Ibn al-Furāt and the Sunnī vizier Ḥāmid. All his sermons in the Baghdād *sūḳ*s were aimed at a drastic application of the values of faith to the inner life and at the proclamation of a union in love between the soul and God: all this within the framework of a dogma which deliberately stressed his Sunnī adherence. But his sermons fell on deaf ears, not only among the political circles of the court, but also in the world of the traditional jurists, the majority of them Mālikīs and Ḥanafīs, who revolved around them. It is surprising that al-Ḥallādj's strongest supporters were recruited among the Ḥanbalīs, whose pietism had at that time a considerable influence among the common people. Al-Ḥallādj's demands for moral reform and his influence on the

people were an annoyance to many of those in power. They based their accusation on two pretexts:

(a) Religious pretext: al-Ḥallādj's unmeasured utterances called in question the esoteric prudence and the discipline of secrecy which had become the rule in Ṣūfī circles since the time when Nūrī and his followers had been called to give an account before the courts of their teaching on the love of God. One result was that the Ṣūfīs such as ʿAmr Makkī and Djunayd who had been al-Ḥallādj's friends blamed him for having spoken publicly of his personal experience and for having expressed it in "theopathic statements" (*shaṭaḥāt*); in addition, some rather confused Ṣūfī tendencies, particularly those concerning "ʿUdhrī love", felt that they had to condemn the search for the One through willing love and the way of suffering. This was perhaps the main reason why the Ẓāhirī Ibn Dāwūd became an enemy of al-Ḥallādj, bent on his destruction. After this al-Ḥallādj was accused of blasphemy and of claims to *ḥulūl* (substantial union with God); and his anxiety to give an inner significance to ritual acts ("proceed seven times round the Kaʿba of your heart") was denounced as a wish to abolish the acts themselves.

(b) Political pretext: this was probably the most telling and the most decisive. Al-Ḥallādj's marriage had connected him with the Zaydī Zandj; his distant travels made him seem to be a Ḳarmaṭī *dāʿī* ("missionary"); and the language which he used, and even his themes of meditation, did borrow a certain number of Shīʿī elements, even although his replies to the interrogations on this matter remained of profoundly Sunnī inspiration. His accusers, who feared his influence on the people as well as on the members of the court, then decided to present him as an agitator and a rebel who was a threat to the order of the Community. A falsely literal exegesis of some of his sayings (see above) accused him of wishing, like the Ḳarmaṭīs, to destroy the Kaʿba at Mecca. It thus became "lawful to shed his blood" in the name of the Community itself.

Actually, during the last years of his life, al-Ḥallādj seems to have drawn onto himself his torture and condemnation—but for quite different reasons: recognizing that the way of union with God through love and suffering which he must follow was something which transcended the juridical framework of the Community, and offering himself as a sacrifice for this Community by submitting voluntarily to its laws.

IV. — Significance of the experience and the witness

In the history of *taṣawwuf*, al-Ḥallādj retains a privileged position in the line known as *waḥdat al-shuhūd*. It has sometimes been suggested that this phrase should be translated as "unity of vision" or of look" (in reference to the meaning of the 3rd form of the root *sh h d*); or, rather better, by "unity of presence". But *shuhūd* really means the act of being present at, of being a witness of, and we consider it advisable to retain the meaning of "unity of witness" (or "monisme testimonial", L. Massignon, *Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*², Paris 1954, 103). The *waḥdat al-shuhūd* is not only "sight" or "look", but an actual presence which *is* total witness: it is God witnessing to Himself in the heart of His votary (*ʿābid*). This union with God (*djamʿ*) leads to a unification (*ittiḥād*) which is not a unification of substance, but operates through the act of faith and of love (*ʿishḳ, maḥabba*), which welcomes into the emptiness of oneself the Loving Guest (= God), "the essence whose Essence is Love", as al-Ḥallādj expressed it.

The mystical experience thus understood was to be sharply criticized by the other main Ṣūfī line, that of the *waḥdat al-wudjūd* ("unity of the Being" or "monisme existentiel", Massignon, *ibid.*), which was dominant from the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries [see ALLĀH, 416]. A double objection was made:

(1) An objection to the idea of *ḥulūl*, infusion of substance, "incarnation",—this was an alignment with one of the accusations at the trial. Al-Ḥallādj had in fact written: "Thy Spirit has mingled itself with my spirit as amber mixes with fragrant musk" (*Dīwān*, M. 41), and above all "We are two spirits fused together (*ḥalalnā*) in a single body" (*ibid.*, M. 57). But the whole context of the poems and the writings makes it clear that *ḥulūl* here was not to be understood in the sense, which later became current, of "incarnation" or union of substance. In its most obvious sense the *ḥulūl* of al-Ḥallādj is to be understood as an *intentional* complete union (in love), in which the intelligence and the will of the subject—all in fact which enables him to say "I"—are acted upon by Divine grace. Thus the "we are two spirits fused together in a single body" should be compared with the saying of the Christian mystic St. John of the Cross: "Two natures (God and man) in a single spirit and love of God".

(2) From this arose the second, and most frequent, objection aimed at al-Ḥallādj by the *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, which was to be, as expressed by Ibn ʿArabī, that he maintained in the *djamʿ* and the *ittiḥād* a "duality". The monism of the "unity of Being" in fact intends that the *ittiḥād* should operate not, indeed, through *ḥulūl* but through a total substitution of the divine "I" for the empirical "I". To be "one" (*aḥad*) with God is to make actual the divine which in man's spirit has emanated from God (emanated, not been created *ex nihilo*; cf. al-Ghazālī's statement in the *Risāla laduniyya*: "the (human) spirit is from the *amr* of God"). This charge of "duality" aimed at the "unity of witness" reveals the difference in orientation between the two ways: the unification in and through the acts of faith and love (supreme Witness), for the *waḥdat al-shuhūd*; and the reabsorption of the acts of the created being in his first act of existence (conceived here as emanating from the Divine Being) for the *waḥdat al-wudjūd*.

V. — Vocabulary and "technical terms"

The principal writings of al-Ḥallādj are either meditations on themes symbolizing the progress of the mystic in his quest for God, or the direct (poetic) expression of this actual progress. He was constantly making his vocabulary more precise; his profound knowledge of the technical vocabularies of *fiḳh*, of *ʿilm al-kalām* and of the nascent *falsafa* combined to produce a semantic equipment which was strikingly suited to the analysis of the "spiritual states" (*aḥwāl*). "Ḥallādj, a dialectician and an ecstatic (cf. Lullius, Swedenborg), endeavoured to bring dogma into harmony with Greek philosophy on a basis of mystic experience; he was in this a precursor of Ghazālī" (L. Massignon in *EI*¹).

In the last section of the *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf*, al-Kalābādhī devotes several chapters to the *iṣṭilāḥāt* ("technical terms") of Ṣūfism. The definitions of these terms are clearly based on al-Ḥallādj: thus *wadjd* ("ecstasy"), *sukr* ("intoxication"), *djamʿ* ("union"), etc., and in particular those *muḳābal*s

("related opposites") which are *tadjrīd* ("enclosed solitude") and *tafrīd* ("open solitude"), *tadjallā* ("irradiation") and *istitār* ("the action of veiling, making secret"), *fanā'* ("annihilation") and *baḳā'* ("continuing existence"), etc. These terms were to have a very precise meaning in the *waḥdat al-shuhūd* of the school of al-Ḥallādj; they were to receive another meaning in the future *waḥdat al-wudjūd*; and in each case were to be understood with reference directly to the experience being described and to the conception of the world which underlay their formulation. Nevertheless their first definition by al-Ḥallādj was of prime importance in the development of the *ʿilm al-taṣawwuf*. It often gave rise to disagreements, even among al-Ḥallādj's followers themselves: as with the use of *ʿishḳ*, concurrently with, and often in preference to, *maḥabba*, for the love of God and of man. *ʿIshḳ* was part of the vocabulary of the earliest Ṣūfism (cf. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī); but the sense of "desire", which was one of its usual connotations, was to be rejected, through fear of attributing to God either mutability or passivity. L. Massignon has shown that the editors of the texts of al-Ḥallādj, among them the Shīʿī Baḳlī, had no hesitation in substituting *maḥabba* for *ʿishḳ* in these texts, thus diluting al-Ḥallādj's thesis that *ʿishḳ* is a divine attribute of Essence (cf. *Notion de l'"essentiel Désir"*, in Massignon, *Opera Minora*, Beirut 1963, ii, 226-53).

VI. — The school and the sects of the Ḥallādjiyya

It seems that in 309/922 al-Ḥallādj's disciples had been formed into a *ṭarīḳa* (religious fraternity). After the execution of their Master, they went into hiding and dispersed, and thus even became split up. In fact legal persecution continued, and in 311-2/924-5 several followers of al-Ḥallādj were beheaded in Baghdād.

A certain number of disciples fled to Khurāsān, where several of them took part in the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī reform movement. Ibn Bishr and particularly Fāris Ibn ʿĪsā (founder of the *Ḥallādjiyya-ḥulūliyya*) upheld and spread al-Ḥallādj's teaching in the Ṣūfī circles in Khurāsān. The *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf* of al-Kalābādhī stems from this tradition. In the 5th/11th century, according to al-Sulamī and al-Khaṭīb, there were still at Nīshāpūr some Ḥallādjī "extremists". Among them may be included Ibn Abi 'l-Khayr (the subject of a study by Nicholson) and Fārmadhī, who was the *shaykh* of al-Ghazālī—hence the latter's favourable judgement of al-Ḥallādj.

Other disciples, such as Ibn Khafīf (who had been al-Ḥallādj's friend at the end of his life rather than his disciple), introduced some Sālimiyya elements into the reform movement of al-Ashʿarī.

In Ahwāz and at Baṣra an ephemeral sect of the Ḥallādjiyya (known however only through the attacks of its enemies, especially al-Tanūkhī) is said to have adopted extreme positions. Its main representative, al-Hāshimī, is said to have declared himself to be a prophet inspired by the Spirit who, after having been "fused" into al-Ḥallādj, abode in one of his sons, hidden from all (Ismāʿīlī influences).

At Baghdād, other Ḥallādjiyya, mentioned by ʿAṭṭār, presented themselves as Sunnīs, but in a very liberal sense, and saw a connexion between the *Ana 'l-ḥaḳḳ* of the Master and the Divine Word addressed to Moses from the Burning Bush (Ḳur'ān, XX, 14). The important Ḥanbalī, Ibn ʿAḳīl (studied by George Makdisi), after having first defended al-Ḥallādj, was obliged to retract.

In his *Farḳ*, al-Baghdādī cites the Ḥallādjiyya among the sects which had to be treated legally as apostates. During the 5th/11th century, there was lively polemical argument. The principal points at issue seem to have been the following:

(a) In *fiḳh*: the five "personal obligations" (*farā'iḍ*) are replaceable, even the *ḥadjdj* (= *isḳāṭ al-wasā'iṭ*).

(b) In *kalām*: the transcendence of God (*tanzīh*) beyond the dimensions of the created (*ṭūl*, *ʿarḍ*); the existence of an uncreated Spirit of God (*rūḥ nāṭiḳa*) which comes to unite itself to the created *rūḥ* of the ascetic (*ḥulūl al-lāhūt fi 'l-nāsūt*); the saint (*walī*) becomes the living and personal witness of God (*huwa huwa*), whence the theopathic expression *Ana 'l-ḥaḳḳ*.

(c) In *taṣawwuf*: complete union with the Divine Will (*ʿayn al-djamʿ*) through suffering accepted and desired. The *dhikr* which the *shaykh* al-Sanūsī attributes to the Ḥallādjiyya is modern.

In Shīʿī-Imāmī circles, the first reaction was to condemn and excommunicate the Ḥallādjiyya as *ghulāt*, heterodox extremists. Later the follower of Avicenna Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (7th/13th century) and Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī (11th/17th century) declared al-Ḥallādj to be a saint, though it is true that they interpreted his road to union according to their own philosophical tenets. In this way a cult of al-Ḥallādj continued to exist in certain Iranian circles, but it was severely attacked by other movements. In Sunnī Islam the term *Ḥallādjiyya* came to mean no longer a religious fraternity but any jurisconsults, theologians or mystics who, through personal conviction, believed in the sainthood of al-Ḥallādj (cf. above the attitudes of Ibn ʿAḳīl, of al-Ghazālī, etc.): this was strongly condemned by Ibn Taymiyya. The last Ḥallādjiyya adherents were to merge into the *ṭarīḳa* of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. Today there exist no more Sunnīs who are openly Ḥallādjī. Many of them "excuse" al-Ḥallādj according to the Shāfiʿī juridical formula; but they go no further. He continues to be invoked however, and his tomb is visited by pilgrims from distant towns.

VII. — Judgements of his contemporaries and of posterity

Few persons in Islam have been so much discussed as al-Ḥallādj. In spite of the *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*] of the judges who condemned him, he had his devotees among the doctors as well as among the people. We give here, with a note of their opinions, a list of the principal doctors who have taken part in this famous discussion. The various opinions can be divided into three groups: (a) *taraddud* (condemnation), which is subdivided into *radd* (simple rejection) and *takfīr* (excommunication): indicated in the following list by the sigla *rdd*; (b) *taraḥḥum* ("canonization") or *wilāya* (affirmation of sainthood), which is subdivided into *iʿtidhār* (justification with excuse) and *ḳabūl* (full and complete acceptance): sig'a *w*; (c) *tawaḳḳuf* (suspension of judgement, abstention): sigla *t*.

(A) Jurists (*fuḳahā'*): *Ẓāhirīs*: Ibn Dāwūd and Ibn Ḥazm (*rdd*); *Imāmīs*: Ibn Bābūya, Abū Djaʿfar Ṭūsī and Ḥillī (*rdd*), Shūstarī, ʿĀmilī (*w*); *Mālikīs*: Ṭurtūshī, ʿIyāḍ, Ibn Khaldūn (*rdd*), ʿAbdarī, Dulundjāwī (*w*); *Ḥanbalīs*: Ibn Taymiyya (*rdd*), Ibn ʿAḳīl (who retracted), Ṭawfī (*w*); *Ḥanafīs*: Ibn Buhlūl (*t*), Nābulusī (*w*); *Shāfiʿīs*: Ibn Suraydj, Ibn Ḥadjar, Suyūṭī, ʿUrḍī (*t*), Djuwaynī, Dhahabī (*rdd*), Maḳdisī, Yāfiʿī, Shaʿrāwī, Haythamī, Ibn ʿAḳīla, Sayyid Murtaḍā (*w*).

(B) "Theologians" (*mutakallimūn*): *Muʿtazilīs*:

Djubbā'ī, Ḳazwīnī (*rdd*); *Imāmīs*: Mufīd (*rdd*), Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, Maybudhī, Amīr Dāmād (*w*); *Sālimiyya*: *in globo*, (*w*); *Ash'arīs*: Bāḳillānī (*rdd*), Ibn Khafīf, Ghazālī, Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (*w*); *Māturīdīs*: Ibn Kamālpāshā (*rdd*), Ḳārī (*w*).

(C) "Philosophers" (*falāsifa* and *ḥukamā'*): Ibn Ṭufayl, Suhrawardī (*Shaykh al-ishrāḳ*), Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī (*w*).

(D) Ṣūfīs (*ṣūfiyya*): 'Amr Makkī and the majority of the early teachers (*rdd*), with the exception of Ibn 'Aṭā', Shiblī, Fāris, Kalābādhī, Naṣrābādhī, Sulamī (*w*), and Ḥuṣrī, Daḳḳāḳ, Ḳushayrī (*t*). Later: Ṣaydalānī, Hudjwīrī, Ibn Abi 'l-Khayr, Anṣārī, Fārmadhī, 'Abd al-Ḳādir Djīlānī, Baḳlī, 'Aṭṭār, Ibn 'Arabī, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and the majority of the moderns: (*w*). There should be noted the abstention (*t*) of Aḥmad Rifā'ī and of 'Abd al-Karīm Djīlī. It can be said that, although al-Ḥallādj would have repudiated their prudent esotericism, the Ṣūfīs as a whole made of him their "martyr" par excellence. For the details, discussions and analyses, see L. Massignon, *Passion*, chap. ix, "Ḥallāj devant le ṣūfisme", 400-29.

Al-Ḥallādj's "survival after death" was to develop into a "legend", sometimes scholarly (in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, Malayan and Javanese) and sometimes popular. See L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, chap. x, 430-60, and idem, *La Légende de Hallacé Mansur en pays turcs*, in *Opera Minora*, ii, 93-139.

In the West, there has been as great a diversity of opinion on al-Ḥallādj. The opinions of the earlier writers were superficial. Thus A. Müller and d'Herbelot believed him to be secretly Christian; Reiske accuses him of blasphemy, Tholuck of paradox; Kremer makes him a monist, Kazanski a neuropath, and Browne "a dangerous and able intriguer", etc. But the outstanding researches of L. Massignon restored this incomparable figure to his rightful place in his environment and in the development of Muslim thought. After this, there is scarcely a work devoted to the culture of the Islamic countries which omits to mention al-Ḥallādj; while there is continual confirmation of the value and authenticity of his mystic approach and of the witness of his life and of his death. In addition to the works of the specialists, it can be said that the fame of al-Ḥallādj has become part of universal culture (see, for example, the articles of P. Marechal written as early as 1923, and the recent work (1964) of R. Arnaldez).

Bibliography: To the works of L. Massignon cited in the article add: idem, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929, 57-70; idem, *Opera Minora*, Beirut 1963, ii, 11-342. There is an exhaustive bibliography of al-Ḥallādj (up to 1922) in L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Ḥallāj, Martyr mystique de l'Islam*, chap. xv (appendix); and up to 1948 in idem, *Nouvelle Bibliographie ḥallāgienne*, in *Opera Minora*, ii, 191-220. To these should be added various more recent works, including: L. Gardet, *Expériences mystiques en terres non-chrétiennes*, Paris 1953, 131-141, 173; A. J. Arberry, *Revelation and reason in Islam*, London and New York 1957, 29-30 and 107-8; L. Gardet, *Thèmes et textes mystiques*, Paris 1958, 19, 135-40; Paul Nwyia, *Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda*, Beirut 1961 (see *index* s.v.); G.-C. Anawati and L. Gardet, *Mystique musulmane*, Paris 1961, 35-40, 101-4, 107-10, 118-21, 171-3, and passim; G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionnel au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963 (see index, s.v.); R. Arnaldez, *Ḥallāj ou la religion de la croix*, Paris 1964; H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 275-9. A revised edition of *La Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, considerably augmented from the texts and notes left by L. Massignon, is in course of preparation by G. and D. Massignon.

(L. Massignon-[L. Gardet])

ḤALY, a group of about 35 villages in a cultivated area on the Arabian Red Sea coast, latitude 18° 45′ N. An *amīr* appointed by the Saudi Arabian Government resided, in 1383/1963, at the chief village of al-Suffa, near the coastal road. The larger markets are here and at the neighbouring hamlet of Kiyād. Other important villages are al-Shi'b, Kudwat al-A'wadj, and al-Baydayn, all of which had government elementary schools in 1383/1963. The agricultural economy of Ḥaly is based on the seasonal flow of Wādī Ḥaly. Sesame, sorghum, and millet are cultivated in an irrigated area of 200 sq. km which is liable to damage by floods. Some produce is sold in al-Ḳunfidha, 53 km to the northwest. The people of Ḥaly come chiefly from al-Hiyala, Kināna, and al-'Umūr tribes.

Ḥaly, also known as Ḥaly Ya'ḳūb or Ḥaly Far'ūn, was ruled by a chief of Kināna when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa landed there in c. 731/1330. The traveller left a description of Ḳabūla al-Hindī, one of a group of Muslim ascetics at Ḥaly. In later times the district was taxed intermittently by the *sharīf*s of Mecca; and Egyptian troops passed through the villages on their 19th century campaigns against al-Ḥidjāz and 'Asīr. Occupied briefly by the Wahhābīs in ca. 1218/1803, Ḥaly became a part of the modern Sa'ūdī state after 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd conquered al-Ḥidjāz in 1344/1925.

Bibliography: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 163-5 (Eng. tr. Gibb, ii, 364-5); K. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, 375; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 185-7, 208, 234; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 52, 251.

(J. Mandaville)

ḤĀM (Cham), son of Noah [see NŪḤ]; he is not explicitly mentioned in the Ḳu'rān, but is perhaps alluded to as the unbelieving son of the Patriarch who refused to follow his father at the time of the Flood (XI, 44[42]-49[47]). Later tradition is acquainted with the Biblical story in *Genesis*, IX, 18-27 (according to which it is not Ḥām but his son Canaan who was cursed for a sin committed by his father) and with the legendary amplifications elaborated by Jews and Christians; as the story in the Ḳur'ān in conjunction with these details calls for a fourth son of Noah, it is Canaan or an invented son called Yām who fills this rôle. Ḥām's sins—carnal relations in the Ark (according to the Jewish Aggada), an offence against his father—are variously told by Muslim historians, who know also that this character, born white, turned black as a result of his father's curse. It is also told that Jesus ('Īsā [*q.v.*]) brought Ḥām back to life for a while (so al-Ṭabarī; Sām according to al-Tha'labī) and that the latter told the Apostles some of the episodes of life in the Ark and the end of the Flood. The Muslim authors also mention the lot of the three sons of Noah; a version handed down by al-Ṭabarī, however, softens the fate of Ḥām who, reduced to servitude, nevertheless profited from the leniency of his brothers (it is to be remarked that according to Bal'ami, Japhet was similarly cursed, which is explained by the fact that the Iranian author did not favour "the Turks, the Slavs, Gog and Magog", reputed to be descended from the latter). Finally, Muslim historiography has retained from the list of nations in *Genesis* X elements which were adapted to the geographico-political situation of the time; this explains how, apart from the genealogical

link between Ḥām and the black races, produced by multiple incests, Āfrīdūn should also be considered as descended from him, at least according to an indication in *al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, iii, 144-9.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 18 f.; Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tidjān*, 25 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 23 f., 26; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 12 f. (Smit, 16 f.); Ṭabarī, i, 187-216 (*Chronique de Tabari*, i, 112-4); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 75-80 (Pellat, i, 32, §§ 66-8), iii, 240, vi, 154; Ps.-Balkhī, *al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, i, 26 ff./27 ff. and the passage referred to above; Kisāʾī, *Vita prophetarum*, 98 f.; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, 36-8; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 85-7; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 108; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, 27 f.; H. Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen im Koran*, 105 f.; B. Heller, in *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, 160 f. = *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 128. (G. VAJDA)

Languages. Words derived from this name have served to designate languages related to the Semitic languages. The Hamito-Semitic family (chamito-sémitique, hamito-semitisch) has had its name since 1887. It was generally believed to embrace a Hamitic group as opposed to a Semitic one. This point of view was rectified in *Les Langues du monde*, 1st. edition 1924: In the recognized Hamito-Semitic family there are four distinct branches: Semitic [see SĀM]; ancient Egyptian with Coptic [see ḲUBṬ]; the Berber tongues [see BERBER]; the Cushitic languages [see KŪSH]. It seems that to these should be added the Hausa [*q.v.*] group.

As the non-Semitic branches do not show any common characteristics by which to unite them in a clearly defined group, the term Hamitic must be abandoned; it would be more correct to speak only of Hamito-Semitic with four or five branches.

The history of this study and its bibliography can be found in Marcel Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947; see also by the same author the chapter *Langues chamito-sémitiques*, in the 2nd edition of *Les Langues du monde*, 1952, and *Résultats acquis de la grammaire comparée chamito-sémitique*, in *Conférences de l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Université de Paris*, Paris 1934.

For a detailed comparison see SĀM.

Physical types. The terms Hamites (Hamiten, Chamites), Hamitic (Hamitisch, Chamitiques) are sometimes used to designate the African peoples who speak non-Semitic Hamito-Semitic languages and certain others, and seem to be a mixture of Whites and Blacks; these elements are also referred to as African whites and Ethiopians (in the anthropological sense). See William H. Worrell, *A study of races in the ancient Near East*, Cambridge 1927 and, more recently, in R. Biasutti, *Le razze e popoli della terra*,[2] Turin 1953-7. (M. COHEN)

ḤAMĀ [see ḤAMĀT].

HAMADHĀN (HAMADĀN), city in central Iran located in a fertile plain just south of Mt. Alwand, 48° 31′ E. (Greenw.), 34° 48′ N., altitude ca. 1800 metres/5900 ft.

Hamadhān is a very old city. Whether the name is first mentioned in cuneiform sources dating about 1100 B.C., telling of the conquests of Tiglatpileser I, is uncertain but unlikely. Herodotus (I, 98) says that the Median king Deiokes in the seventh century B.C. built the city called Agbatana, or Ekbatana according to other Classical authors. This name has been interpreted as an Iranian word **hangmata* "(place of) gathering", but an Elamite form **hal. mata . na* "land of the Medes", might suggest another etymology. The city was well known as the capital of the Medes, a winter capital of the Achaemenids, and an important city on the trade route between Mesopotamia and the east under the Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian dynasties. The city is mentioned in Armenian sources as Ahmatan and Hamatan, in the Bible as Aḥmetā (Ezra, VI, 2), and in Syriac sources in various forms. It underwent sieges and suffered destruction several times in its ancient history.

The ancient, but mythical, pre-Islamic history of the city was known and mentioned in many Arabic sources, principally the geographers (see Schwarz, below). After the battle of Nihāwand, in 641 or 642 A.D., the Persian commander in Hamadhān made peace with the victorious Arabs. The circumstances of the Arab conquest of the city are contradictory in the sources, but it seems that the initial agreement of submission was broken by the Persians and the city had to be taken by storm, probably in the spring of 645 (Ṭabarī, i, 2650, 6 and Balādhurī, 309). Arabs from the tribes of Rabīʿa and ʿIdjl were settled in the city, since they are mentioned as residing there in 77/696 (Ṭabarī, ii, 994, 17). Christians and Jews are mentioned as part of the population.

The city is described by the geographers as strongly fortified, perhaps the strongest in the entire area called al-Djibāl by the Arabs, which encompassed ancient Media. In the fighting between Maʾmūn and Amīn for the caliphate in 195/810, the city underwent a long siege (Ṭabarī, iii, 829, 15).

Hamadhān of the 4th/10th century is described by the geographers as a large city, mostly rebuilt since the Arab conquests. It had four gates in its walls, three bazaars, and extensive suburbs. The main mosque was already then called an old structure. In 319/931 the city was taken by the Daylamī leader Mardāwīdj, after which he massacred many of the inhabitants (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 396). The city recovered only slowly from this catastrophe, and in 345/956 it suffered from an earthquake. The religious controversies and struggles of the time were also felt in Hamadhān, for in 351/962 a religious clash in the city cost many lives (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 404).

According to the sources Hamadhān was not a cultural or intellectual centre like Rayy, Iṣfahān, or other cities, but was rather a commercial city in a rich agricultural area. Nor was it an important industrial or textile centre, but such items as gold work and leather articles are mentioned as exported from Hamadhān. The altitude, and consequent cold climate in winter, restricted the agricultural produce of the area. The geographer al-Muḳaddasī (398) gives a few examples of the peculiarities of the Persian dialect spoken in Hamadhān, such as the addition of *-lā* to Arabic proper names.

Hamadhān was plundered by the Ghuzz Turkomans in 420/1029, and in 494/1100 a Saldjūḳ army sacked the city (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 127). A pestilence swept the area in 531/1136 causing many deaths. During the second half of the 6th/12th century Hamadhān was a Saldjūḳ capital. In 618/1221 the city was captured by the Mongols after a long siege and destroyed. Most of the inhabitants were killed or fled. Some inhabitants returned to the ruins but were massacred by a new invasion of the Mongols in 621/1224 (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 176, 192).

Unfortunately, no history of Hamadhān has survived. A history of the city by Abū Shudjāʿ Shīrawayh b. Shahvdār (died 509/1115) was used by

Yāḳūt in his geographical dictionary. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (i, 310) mentions other histories of the city, none of which have survived, an indication of the lack of a strong and continuous scholarly tradition in the city. One of the famous sons of Hamadhān was the rustic poet Bābā Ṭāhir, also a mystic, who lived under the early Saldjūḳs. Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, the geographer (d. *circa* 290/903) also came from the city, but he gives few details about his birthplace.

Under the Īl-Khāns Hamadhān regained its former importance, and Ābāḳā Khān died there in 680/1282. The historian of the Mongols Rashīd al-Dīn was probably born in Hamadhān *circa* 645/1247. The city, of course, passed from under the Djalayir [*q.v.*] to Tīmūr, and later to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, until the Ṣafawids established their rule in the city after 908/1503. Several times during the 10th/16th century Hamadhān was occupied by Ottoman troops. In 1136/1724 Aḥmed Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Baghdād, held the city until he was expelled by Nādir Shāh eight years later (a two volume survey [see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ] of the town and district of Hamadhān, compiled during this period, is preserved in the Turkish archives—see B. Lewis in *Mélanges Massé*, Tehrān 1963, 260). After changing fortunes Hamadhān reverted to Iran in 1732. In 1789 the city was taken by Aghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār, founder of the Ḳādjār dynasty, and the citadel, on the hill now called al-Muṣṣalā, was destroyed.

The population of the city about 1820 was estimated at 40,000 by Ker Porter. Curzon in 1889 estimated it as 20,000. The 1931 census gave 51,000; in 1934 it was 60,000, and in 1950 about 120,000. The principal remains of the past in or near the city are the Gandj Nāmah, two Old Persian inscriptions by Darius and Xerxes carved on Mt. Alwand 12 kilometres south-west of the city, the pre-Islamic stone statue of a lion mentioned in Arabic sources (see Schwarz, 528), the so-called tomb of Esther and Mordecai, the ʿAlawiyān mosque from the Saldjūḳ period, the Burdj-i Ḳurbān, a mausoleum from Mongol times, and the tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir.

Bibliography: *A Guide to Hamadan* published by the geographical division of the General Staff of the army, under the direction of Ḥ. ʿA. Razmārā (Tehrān 1954) gives a map of the city and general information. Schwarz, *Iran*, v, 513-34, and Le Strange, 194-196, give references to the geographers. There is no general history of the city and historical citations have been mentioned above. For more recent history see R. Ker-Porter, *Travels in Georgia* . . . , London 1821; G. N. Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892. (R. N. FRYE)

AL-**HAMADHĀNĪ**, Aḥmad Badīʿ al-Zamān "the Prodigy of the Age", Arabo-Persian writer and letter-writer, was born at Hamadhān in 358/968 and died at Herāt in 398/1008. He pursued his early studies in his native town, where his master was Ibn Fāris [*q.v.*]. Aided by an exceptional memory and talents, he was soon noted for his virtuosity in handling the Arabic and Persian languages. He apparently remained true to Shīʿism for the greater part of his life. At about 22 years of age, he settled at Rayy where the intellectual atmosphere appeared favourable to his ambitions; the Būyid *wazīr* Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] granted him his patronage; it is possible that in this town the young man mixed with the local beggars' guild and notably with the unorthodox poet Abū Dulaf, an intimate friend of the *wazīr* (see al-Thaʿālibī, iii, 175-94). It may be supposed that these contacts gave to al-Hamadhānī the idea of composing certain of his first *Maḳāmāt*. Perhaps as a result of a quarrel, the young man went to Djurdjān where he is said to have come into contact with Ismāʿīlī elements. In 382/992 he went to Nīshāpūr, apparently attracted by the renown and the activity of this intellectual metropolis; there he made some useful contacts but clashed with the letter-writer Abū Bakr al-Khʷārizmī, then at the height of his fame; he finally prevailed and eclipsed his adversary, who died, overcome by chagrin. From this time al-Hamadhānī undertook a series of journeys which were also triumphs; perhaps he went to Zarandj (in Sīstān) to the court of the *amīr* Khalaf, whose panegyrist and favourite he was. After the deposition of the Sāmānids, he attached himself for a while to Maḥmūd of Ghazna, whose praises he sang (see al-Thaʿālibī, iv, 200) before settling finally at Herāt where he died, scarcely aged 40; a short time earlier he had embraced Sunnism.

Even in his lifetime it would appear that al-Hamadhānī had created for himself a certain reputation as a poet; the collection of verse which survives under his name (ed. Cairo 1903) does not, however, reveal any originality, and by the subjects dealt with as well as by the style it is related to the poetical works composed at this time in the circles of the wits of ʿIrāḳ and Iran. The same may be said of the "Epistles" or *Rasāʾil* in rhymed and rhythmic prose, part of which has been published (Istanbul 1298, Beirut 1890); the brilliance of the often affected style does not succeed in convincing us that so much artistry should be put to the service of such wordlly and empty preoccupations. Of a completely different interest is the volume of *Maḳāmāt* or "Séances", which has perpetuated the writer's name.

Al-Hamadhānī seems to deserve the title of creator of this genre. The hypothesis of Zakī Mubārak that the idea of the "Séance" is to be found in the works of the grammarian Ibn Burayd arises from a misinterpretation of a passage of al-Ḥuṣrī. The composition of the *Maḳāmāt*, begun about 380/990, seems to have extended over many years. Al-Hamadhānī is said to have dictated not less than four hundred of them; only fifty-two are now known. These "sketches" vary in length but rarely exceed a few pages; they are made up according to a strict balance; they are of rhymed and rhythmic prose, mixed with verse; the learned, sometimes precious, style constitutes the principal but not the sole concern of the author. In fact, he shows himself to be a keen observer of life and men; through his contacts with the beggars' guild, he feels obliged to devote a fairly important place to those who represent it; one séance is even devoted to the vernacular of these rogues; the common people find a place in these narrations as well as the bourgeoisie and the literati; the satire of manners, so rare in Arabic literature, is developed here with burlesque and piquancy; certain séances are sometimes also panegyrics of patrons. It may be said that in al-Hamadhānī's hands the *maḳāma* reflects contemporary society. This writer has the final merit of having given a framework to this genre; with the exception of a few "sketches" which are narratives set in the past (such as the Séance of Ghaylān, Beirut ed., 43-8), the greater part of the collection is made up of accounts which portray a cultivated and cynical bohemian and a bourgeois suffering for his own credulity. The "Séance" thus conceived was to serve as a model for almost a thousand years [see MAḲĀMA].

Bibliography: Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iv, 167 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 39; *Maḳāmāt*:

Istanbul 1298/1880, Beyrut (ed. Muḥammad ʿAbduh) 1889, 1908 (?), 1924, 1958, Cairo (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd) 1342/1923; translations by S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, iii, 78 ff. (6 *Maḳāmāt*), by Grangeret de Lagrange, *Anthologie arabe*, 153 ff. (3 *Maḳāmāt*), by O. Rescher in *Beiträge zur Maqamen-littératur*, v, Leonburg 1913, by W. Prendergast, *The maqāmāt of Badīʿ az-Zamān*, Madras-London 1915, by F. Gabrieli in *Rend. Lincei*, 1949 (1 *Maḳāma*). Studies on the genre and the author: Z. Mubārak, *La prose arabe au IVe siècle de l'Hégire*, Paris 1931, 148 ff.; R. Blachère, *Étude sémantique sur le nom Maqāma*, in *Machriq*, 1953, 646 ff.; R. Blachère and P. Masnou, *Choix de maqāmāt, traduites de l'arabe avec une étude sur le genre*, Paris 1957 (with the rest of the bibliography); cf. Brockelmann, I, 93 ff. and S I, 150 ff.

(R. Blachère)

ḤAMĀʾIL [see siḥr, tamāʾim, ṭilasm].

al-**ḤAMAL** [see nudjūm].

ḤAMĀLIYYA, or Ḥamālliyya, Hamallism, an African Islamic movement which is named after *Sharīf* Ḥamāllāh, whose name was thus transcribed by the first French writers (P. Marty, *Étude sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan*, Paris 1920, v); others have rendered it as Ḥamā Allāh, or Hamala. His followers call themselves *ikhwān*, and they are also known as Ḥamālliyyīn; their Tidjānī adversaries call them "eleven beads", *sapo e gô* (in Tukolor), and regard them as heretics.

This doctrine made its appearance in Mali at the beginning of this century, not as a new confraternity but as an attempt to reform the teaching of the Tidjāniyya, especially in regard to the recital of the prayer *djawarat al-Kamāl*; according to the Ḥamāllists, this has to be recited eleven times and not twelve, as the Tidjānī *wird* lays down.

The founder of this movement was Shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, known as *Sharīf al-akhḍar*, a native of Touat, who is said to have received the Tidjānī *wird* from Ṭāhir b. Abū Ṭayyib (Thaar ben Bou Tayeb), *wakīl* of the Tidjānī *zāwiya* of Tlemcen (Algeria). He settled at Nioro in 1904 and determined to restore the Tidjāniyya to its pristine purity; he caused the chaplet with eleven beads to be adopted, but he died in 1909 without being able to spread his doctrine, despite the help of some Wolof merchants in Nioro.

His disciple, Sharīf Amadou Ḥamā Allāh Ḥaydara, born in 1886 and 26 years of age when his master died, took over the teaching with much greater success. Ḥamā Allāh belonged to the tribe of the Ahl Sīdī Sharīf of Tichit. His grandfather and his father Muḥammad ūld (*walad*) Sayyidna ʿUmar, of a Sharīfian family, were traders who had settled in the town of Nioro at the end of the 19th century; his mother Aïssa Diallo was a Fulani from Niamina. Shaykh Ḥamā Allāh traced back his genealogy to ʿAlī, the Prophet's son-in-law, through ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. He was thus a descendant of the Ḥasaniyya *Sharīf*s. He studied at the Ḳurʾān school of his tribe with Shaykh ūld Sīdī, and then with al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad ūld Mukhtār who later became his enemy, and finally with Shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad. Seldom going out and always wearing white, he dedicated himself to devotions, mortification and ecstasy; he was a mystic who had ecstatic visions which, it was said, put him in direct communion with Allāh or the Prophet and on which his reputation was based; he was visited by large numbers of mystics who shared his ideas and, at the beginning, by some Moors from the locality.

In about 1925, he took the title Shaykh and appointed *muḳaddams*. Without leaving his *zāwiya*, he was able to employ zealous propagandists who spread his teaching to Nioro, Walata, Kiffa, Kayes, Timbreda, Nara and Nema. In a few years his doctrine, which had not had much success with the Moors, had spread over a wide area among the negroes inhabiting the river basins of the Senegal and Middle Niger; he also had *muḳaddams* among the Awlād Zayn, Ahl Terenni, Ahl Togba, Ladoum, Awlād Nāṣir, Awlād Mbārek, Ahl Sīdī Maḥmūd and Laghlal. He preached the purified Tidjānī *wird*, his followers vowed themselves for life and could not adopt any other creed; the obedience of his *ikhwān* had to be absolute. He was reputed to be a *walī*, and by some regarded as *mahdī*. Among his disciples he had officials of the administration and some of the local police. His prestige spread throughout the Sahel, but he lost control over the most turbulent of his followers.

The preaching of Ḥamā Allāh soon came up against very lively resistance from Tidjānī circles, especially among the Kaba Diakité and the Silka, disciples of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar [*q.v.*]; it was also challenged by the Ḳādiriyya and several Moorish tribes. The origin of this hostility, apart from the matter of the eleven beads, lay in the fact that his preaching was given in Nioro, the fief of powerful ʿUmarian families, and that it revealed a social aspect that was opposed to the structure of society of that period.

Shaykh Ḥamā Allāh granted the *wird* to women, prisoners (Ḥarātīn [*q.v.*]) and young people, releasing them from paternal authority or that of their masters; finally, he authorized women to take part in ceremonies which brought men together without any distinction of caste. He criticized the depravity of women and recommended the wearing of decent garments; secular and social problems he ignored.

It is certain that although Aḥmad al-Tidjānī had prescribed the recital of the prayer *Djawarat al-Kamāl* eleven times on the instructions of the Prophet whom he saw in a dream, which was in conformity with the mystique of numbers, he had the same prayer recited twelve times, for reasons not explained, at a period when he was compelled to struggle against the Turks (ʿAyn Mahdī was captured by the Turkish forces in 1197/1783 and in 1201/1787); it is possible that the innovation derives from his son Muḥammad al-Kabīr. The Ḥamāllist chaplet consists of eleven beads on each side, counting from the pendant.

Al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar Tall, initiated in 1835, practised the eleven recitations until the moment when he received the *wird*, for the second time, from Shaykh Muḥammad Ghālī, in Mecca; but, in his work *al-Rimāh*, he wrote that the true number of recitations was eleven.

Ḥamā Allāh's disciples preached the equality of castes, and of men and women; they made recruits among the opponents of the Tall clan, among people of caste, slaves, and also certain families with mystical tendencies. The doctrine was exalted by the *muḳaddams*, some of whom disturbed public order by extravagant hero-worship of the *Shaykh*; one of the most active was Yacouba (Yaʿḳūb) Sylla of Kayes. The conflict passed swiftly from the social sphere to the political. The French administration tried to temporize and to avoid becoming involved in a religious quarrel, but was compelled to intervene when incidents became more serious: in 1923, politico-religious conflicts broke out between the Laghal and Tenouadjiou tribes, starting a vendetta which lasted for several years. In 1924, the Ḥamāllists attacked

the chief of Nioro's house; Shaykh Ḥamā Allāh, who had not intervened to put a stop to these incidents, was sent to Mederdra. In 1929, Yacouba Sylla was the source of a scandal in Kayes: the Tidjānīs accused him of orgies and seditious songs, and to avoid disturbances he was sent away to Kaedi. In the same year, further serious incidents broke out in Kaedi, on the occasion of his preaching on the equality of women, the wearing of jewellery and the uselessness of the Ḳur'ān; he caused luxurious textiles to be burned and gold necklaces to be sold; later, Yacouba Sylla organized public confessions which led to numerous divorces; he also organized the "dances of Paradise"; on 15 February 1930 a riot in which Tidjānīs and Ḥamāllists were the opponents led to fifteen deaths. In 1933 Fodié Sylla proclaimed himself *Mahdī* and, after attempting to attack the administrative post, was imprisoned in Kidal. The excesses of the two Sylla were castigated by Shaykh Ḥamā Allāh.

In 1933, Ḥamā Allāh was reconciled with the administrative authorities and returned to Nioro. In about 1936, the Ḥamāllists changed their *ḳibla* and prayed in the direction of Nioro, which they called "their Mecca". In 1938, the Tenouadjiou attacked the Ḥamāllist Laghlal and seriously wounded their chief, Bābā, a son of the *shaykh*. Later, he was again attacked and his enemies burned the soles of his feet. Believing himself to be in danger, Ḥamā Allāh took certain religious measures and prescribed the prayer shortened to two *raḳ'as*: his disciples were swift to follow him. In August 1940, Bābā felt that he was in a position to take revenge and attacked Tenouadjiou encampments and caravans on several occasions; the matter ended in the deaths of 400 men, women and children and appalling atrocities. The personal and direct responsibility of the *shaykh* does not appear to have been proved: at least, some Ḥamāllists such as the Reyanes condemned these excesses. However, he was deported to Algeria, and later to France.

In face of rigorous repression, all the more severe since France was at war, the brotherhood went underground; its followers limited the *shahāda* to its first part, or sometimes introduced the name of Ḥamā Allāh in place of the Prophet's, and some had themselves tattooed on the forehead or arms with the brand of his flock. Inquiries into subsequent incidents at Bobo Dioulasso, 'Ayn Berbegha and al-Agher revealed the presence of Ḥamāllists, but did not implicate the brotherhood. The *shaykh* died on 28 August 1942 at Montluçon, where he is buried.

After the 1939-45 war, the Ḥamāllists reappeared but, under pressure and in face of the hostility of the 'Umarian Tidjānīs, they often preserved a semi-clandestine character. Yacouba Sylla, exiled to the Ivory Coast, had enormous success there; he maintains a community of 250 persons whose members pool their resources and indulge in public confession; he has the reputation of being able to read minds and see the past; he does not mix with the Muslim merchants of Gagnoa and preaches the uselessness of the Pilgrimage. In Mopti, Muḥammad Kambiri takes pains to preserve the pure teaching of the *Shaykh* in religious matters. His disciples live apart and do not go the mosque; they practise the Muslim ritual among themselves.

In about 1939, Ḥamā Allāh had converted to his doctrine the Tyerno Bokar Salif Tall, a man very well known in Mali where, among the Fulani, he has left the reputation of being a saint; having undertaken the defence of the *shaykh*, Bokar was abandoned by the Tall family and died soon afterwards, but his disciples have continued his teaching: they practise recitation of prayer with eleven beads according to Ḥamā Allāh, but the emphasis is placed on charity and love of God and man, following Bokar Salif Tall.

In 1950, 70,000 Ḥamāllists were recorded in the district of Nioro, out of a total of 155,000 Muslims; in the town itself, more than half the population is Ḥamāllist; they teach their faith in about thirty Ḳur'ān schools; in the rest of Mali, there are about 150,000 followers at Bamako, Ségou, Timbuktu, Ansongo, Kidal, Kayes and Bandiagara. In Mauritania, they are fairly numerous in Hōdh, and some are found as far away as Atar; in Haute-Volta there are about 80,000 at Ouahigouya, Dori, Yako and Bobo Dioulasso; and there are some in the valley of the Senegal and at Niamey.

The present holder of the *wird* is apparently Sharīf Aḥmad ūld Ḥamā Allāh, who is 50 years of age and lives at Nema, in Mauritania.

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(J. C. Froelich)

ḤAMĀM (pl. *ḥamā'im, ḥamāmāt*), a collective substantive which, taken in a wide sense, denotes any bird "which drinks with one gulp and coos" (*kull ṭayr 'abba wa hadara fa-huwa ḥamām*), that is to say the family of the Columbidae, with which the mediaeval Muslim naturalists incorporated that of the Pteroclidae, the sand-grouse (*ḳaṭā* [*q.v.*]), morphologically very closely related to the pigeons. The Columbidae, which *ḥamām* represents, are fairly widespread from 'Irāḳ to the Maghrib with their different species of pigeons and turtle-doves, both resident (*awābid*) and migrant (*ḳawāṭi'*). In the genus *Columba* we find—a) the ring-dove or wood-pigeon, *Columba palumbus* (*warashān, sāḳ ḥurr, ḥaydhuwān, dalam*; Maghrib: *za'ṭūṭ, zaṭṭūṭ*), a bird of passage in 'Irāḳ and Syria, absent from Egypt and resident in the Maghrib with the sb/sp. *C.p. excelsus*;—b) Bruce's green pigeon, *Treron waalia*, (*ḥaḳm, abu 'l-akhdar, khaḍrā'*), especially in southern Arabia;—c) the stock-dove or blue dove, *Columba oenas* (*yamām, ḥamām barrī*), a winter visitor in 'Irāḳ, Egypt and the Maghrib;— d) the rock-dove, *Columba livia* (*ṭūrānī, ḥamām khalawī*), with the sb/sp. *C.l. livia*, in the Maghrib, *C.l. palaestinae* in Syria, Jordan and northern Arabia, *C.l. gaddi* from Palestine to 'Irāḳ, and *C.l. schimperi* in Egypt; it is from this pigeon that all the tame and domesticated breeds are descended. The genus *Streptopelia* is represented by—a) the turtle-dove, *Streptopelia turtur* ('Irāḳ: *shifnīn*; Arabia and Syria: *uṭrughull, turghull, dhikr Allāh, Abū dhikrā, ṣulṣul*; Egypt: *ḳumrī*; Maghrib: *īmām*), with the sb/sp. *S.t. turtur*, a bird of passage in autumn and spring in

all the Arabic-speaking countries, *S.t. arenicola* which nests throughout the Maghrib as far as Tripolitania, a bird of passage in Syria, Palestine, ʿIrāḳ and northern Arabia, *S.t. lugens*, a resident in south-western Arabia, and *S.t. isabellina* which is restricted to the Nile delta;—b) the red-eyed dove, *Streptopelia semitorquata*, a somewhat rare resident in south-western Arabia;—c) the collared turtle-dove, *Streptopelia decaocto* (*fākhita, sitt al-rūm, yā karīm, karīma*), with the sb./sp. *S.d. decaocto*, a resident of Palestine, Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and *S.d. arabica*, a resident in the Ḥidjāz and the Yemen;—d) the palm-dove or laughing-dove, *Streptopelia senegalensis* (*dubsī, ḳinṭir*; Maghrib: *ḥamām al-ghāba*), with the sb./sp. *S.s. senegalensis*, a resident in western Arabia, Egypt, Tripolitania and the Maghrib; *S.s. aegyptiaca*, a resident in the Nile delta, *S.s. phoenicophila*, a resident in the Saharan regions of the Maghrib and *S.s. cambayensis*, a bird of passage on the east coast of Arabia;—e) the long-tailed dove or Namaqua dove, *Oena capensis* (*yahmūm, ḥumḥum/ḥimḥim, umm balīma*), resident throughout Arabia, though rare in the Yemen.

In the restricted sense, *ḥamām* denotes the domestic pigeons deriving from the rock-dove, whether the free or "roof-pigeons" that are established in towns (*ḥamām ahlī, ḥamām al-amṣār*) and on which the Meccans prided themselves (*ḥamām Makka*), or the artificially bred or "dove-cot" pigeons (*buyūtī, dādjin*) trained to live (*muwaṭṭan*) in private lofts (*ʿamūd*, pl. *aʿmida*) or official pigeon-houses (*burdj*, pl. *burūdj*). It is to this last category that mediaeval writers in Arabic devoted so much of their work in both prose and verse; indeed; the contact established between the Muslims and the pigeon-loving Byzantines gave such a fillip to pigeon-keeping (*laʿb bi 'l-ḥamām*) among the Arabs that it quickly became a pastime that attracted several caliphs, such as the ʿAbbāsids al-Mahdī, Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Wāthiḳ and al-Nāṣir. It is necessary only to recall the lengthy passages devoted by al-Djāḥiẓ to the pigeon (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, iii) to be able to assess the passion with which this hobby was pursued in the great cities of Baghdād, Baṣra, Damascus and Cairo. On the subject of the "sporting pigeon" (*al-hādī*, pl. *al-huddā*ʾ) the philologists have compiled a large quantity of lexicographical material drawn from the technical vocabulary of pigeon-devotees (*arbāb al-hawādī*). Indeed, in the whole physiognomy of the pigeon there is not a single remex or rectrix without its own name; forms, colours and breeds provided the subject for learned treatises, most of which are lost, although we know their titles and general content from references made to them by later authors when making compilations. Thus, Ibn al-Nadīm names (*Fihrist*, 80, 222) a *Kitāb al-Ḥamām* by the philologist Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/824), a *K. ʿAnsāb al-ḥamām* and a *K. mā wurida fī tafḍīl al-ṭayr al-hādī* by a certain Ibn Ṭarḥān al-Mughannī; al-Ḳalḳashandī refers (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, 87 ff., xiv, 369 ff.) to al-Ḳawwās al-Baghdādī who wrote a work on pigeons for the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir, and we know that the *ḳāḍī* Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (620-92/1123-93), to whom al-Maḳrīzī is much indebted in his *Khiṭaṭ Miṣr*, wrote a *K. Tamāʾim al-ḥamāʾim* which is often mentioned.

Like falconry, the sport of pigeon-flying (*zadjl, zidjāl*) in competitions (*sibāḳ*) enjoyed very great popularity from the 2nd/8th until the 7th/13th century, among all the Muslim peoples; less onerous than the pursuit of hawking, it provided satisfaction for their love of gambling, the question at stake being whose pigeons were the most highly bred and best trained to return to the loft from the greatest distance. Records of pedigrees (*dafātir al-ansāb*) were kept and, according to al-Djāḥiẓ, selected specimens could reach prices ranging from seven hundred to a thousand *dīnārs* in the Baghdād market. Some long-flight birds (*samāwiyyāt, naḳḳāzāt*) were capable of flying from the Bosphorus to Baṣra, from Cairo to Damascus, or from Tunis to Cairo in a single flight; moreover, the homing pigeon (*zādjil*, pl. *zawādjil*) from the time of its birth received the closest attention from its owner. The moment was awaited when the young pigeon, having grown its feathers, left the nest (*nāhiḍ, budjdj/mudjdj, djawzal, ʿazhal, zaghlūl*) and tried to fly, in order to compel it to return to the nesting-place (*ḳurmūṣ* from the Greek κηραμός, *ufḥūṣa, miḥḍana*) through narrow pierced pigeon-holes (*timrād*, pl. *tamārīd*) at the foot of the loft; the bird was thus obliged to climb up the ladder inside, by a series of jumps which strengthened its muscles: it became an "indoor" pigeon (*bāṭinī*), as distinct from an "outside" one (*ẓāhirī*) which returned to the loft through pigeon-holes at the top. Once it could fly easily and was "accustomed" (*muwaṭṭan*) to the loft where it was born, although still a novice (*ghumr*) in respect of sense of direction (*ihtidāʾ*), it had to be trained so that its homing instinct should be "acquired" (*mudjarrab*). For this purpose it was mated at a very early age, and the owner relied on the absolute constancy of the pair to make completely certain that the bird would return when taken away from its mate; it was carried in a basket, the distance being increased each time, and was released from each of these stages (*mazādjil*).

Like the Greeks and the Romans, the Muslims made skilful use of the valuable qualities of the homing pigeon, employing it as an entirely trustworthy means of communication. Pigeon post, an official institution integrated into the Intelligence Service (*barīd*), is said by the Muslim historians to have been the work of the *atabeg* of Syria Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī (541-69/1146-74). The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575-622/1180-1225), an ardent pigeon-enthusiast, restored this institution, which disappeared with the coming of the Mongols (656/1258) under the caliphate of al-Mustaʿṣim bi 'llāh; we know from Joinville that when St. Louis landed at Damietta (1249) "for a moment the sky was darkened" by the cloud of carrier pigeons released by the inhabitants to warn the sultan of the danger threatening their city. The Mamlūk Baybars (658-76/1259-78) made Cairo a centre for pigeon-keeping, and it included nearly two thousand pigeons bearing the symbol of the State (*dāgh*); only the sultan himself used to open the messages, which had to be brought to him by the pigeon-officer (*barrādj, baṭāʾiḳī*) as soon as they arrived. These notes were written on special very thin paper called "bird-paper" (*waraḳ al-ṭayr*) and were perfumed if they contained good news, bad news being carried by a bird whose plumage was darkened with soot. It was the custom that the text of the message should have no margin and should be without any preamble of formal praise of Allāh, since it might fall into the hands of infidels, that it should not bear the date of the current year but only the day and month, and that by way of signature at the end there should be the formula *kafā bi'llāh hādiyan* ("Allāh is sufficient guide"). These air-borne letters were rolled up and fastened to one of the carrier pigeon's remiges, without in any way interfering with its flight; ordinarily they were sent in duplicate, without any mention of address; any Muslim, not the intended

recipient, who by chance received a message of this sort felt it his duty to sent it on, after attending to the pigeon's needs and making a note of his action on the back of the message.

It was during the 9th/15th century that the use of the pigeon-post gradually disappeared. Whatever the chroniclers may say, there is every ground for asserting that this method of communication was in current use in Islam well before the 6th/12th century, as is proved by the remains of the "pigeon stages" (*marākiz al-ḥamām*) placed at regular intervals (*mudarradja*) along the shores of the eastern Maghrib, following a continuous line of *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] and ensuring the safe dispatch of the correspondence of the Aghlabid governors of Ifrīḳiya (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries); the modern place-name Hammamet (*al-Ḥamāmāt*, "the pigeons") is a living reminder.

The theme of the "gentle dove", the messenger of love, peace, and good fortune, was the unfailing inspiration of Arab poets of all periods and in all the Muslim countries, and it would be useless to try to enumerate all the *ḳaṣīda*s which, in their conclusion, evoked the image of eternity in the tender cooing of turtle-doves (*al-hawātif*) high up among tall trees. In Islam, as everywhere else, this bird is regarded with popular affection, and a pair in a cage are very often the chosen companions of the Muslim home; at a very early date, this affection found expression in various proverbs and legends which hold up the Columbidae as examples of sweetness, attachment and fidelity, as for instance Noah's dove, or the two carrier pigeons sent from Mecca by Allāh to the Prophet Muḥammad when hidden in the cave. It appears, however, that the latter did not share this feeling of affection since, by a tradition which relies on the testimony of Abū Hurayra (see *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd), he is alleged to have included pigeons among the ranks of the demons. Nevertheless, in the eyes of Ḳur'ānic law the flesh of the columbidae is permitted as food, and mediaeval Muslim medicine credited both it and also pigeon-dung with great therapeutic and aphrodisiac properties (see Ibn al-Bayṭār, trans. L. Leclerc, i, 457); oneiromancy, for its part, allowed great significance to the *ḥamām* seen in a dream, while ornithomancy did the same for the *ḥamām* encountered in the wild.

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HĀMĀN, name of a person whom the Ḳur'ān associates with Pharaoh (*Fir'awn* [*q.v.*]), because of a still unexplained confusion with the minister of Ahasuerus in the Biblical book of Esther. To the details given s.v. FIR'AWN, should be added the fact that, according to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 368, Hāmān built the canal of Sardūs, but Fir'awn obliged him to repay to the peasants the money which he had extorted from them for this.

Bibliography: given in the art. FIR'AWN; see also J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 149; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 284. (G. Vajda)

HĀMARZ, Persian officer who, at the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*], was in command of the Persian troops who were driven back by the Bakr b. Wā'il [*q.v.*] and who was killed in the battle. Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 228 = ed. Pellat, i, 648) calls him, in error, al-Hurmuzān, but he should not be confused with the Persian general of this name [*q.v.*] who was assassinated by 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 1030, 1032, 1034 f. (tr. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, Leiden 1879, 335, 338, 340, 342); Ibn al-Wardī, *Ta'rīkh*, Cairo 1285, i, 117; see also the *Bibl.* of the article DHŪ ḲĀR. (Ed.)

ḤAMĀSA (A.), "bravery", "valour" (used nowadays together with *ḥamās*, to translate "enthusiasm"), is the title of a certain number of poetic anthologies which generally include brief extracts chosen for their literary value in the eyes of the anthologists and classified according to the genre to which they belong or the idea which they express; these works are related to a more general category, that of "poetic themes", *ma'ānī 'l-shi'r* [*q.v.*], but differ from it in the apparent effacement of the author who abstains from any comparison or judgement and imposes his taste without indicating the reasons for his choice. The origin of the title, which has embarrassed modern critics, seems however very clear: *al-Ḥamāsa* (verses on bravery in war) is the title of the first—and incidentally the longest—chapter in the oldest and most celebrated anthology of this type, that of Abū Tammām (d. 231/849 [*q.v.*]): following a procedure currently practised until our own times in many literatures, this title has been adopted for the complete work as a whole and has replaced the name which its author had given to it: *al-Ikhtiyārāt min shi'r al-shu'arā'* and another name which a copyist had probably attributed to it (see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 166). This anthology met with such success, in both Mashriḳ and Maghrib, that later anthologists imitated it and retained the title, which little by little lost its etymological sense to become synonymous with *mukhtārāt*, "selections", "anthology"; this is so much the case that the *Ḥamāsa* of Ibn al-Shadjarī (see below) was also published, in Cairo, in 1306, under the title *Mukhtārāt shu'arā' al-'Arab*.

i. — Arabic literature

The *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām marks a new orientation in comparison with earlier anthologies which contained complete poems [see *e.g.*, AL-MUFAḌḌAL AL-ḌABBĪ] or the whole available work of a poet, or even of a tribe [see *e.g.*, HUDHAYL]. Here, on the contrary, the anthologist, himself a poet, allows his own personal taste to be exercised in extracting from a poem the one or more verses which seem to him to illustrate most felicitously a literary genre and later, after Abū Tammām, a given theme. This *Ḥamāsa* is divided into ten chapters of unequal length containing respectively, in no apparent order, lines on bravery in warfare, death (*marāthī*), morality (*adab*), love (*nasīb*), the faults of the adversary (*hidjā'*), hospit-

ality (*diyāfa*), various qualities (*ṣifāt*), the sleep enjoyed by travellers (*al-sayr wa'l-nuʿās*),witticisms (*mulaḥ*) and women's failings (*madhammat al-nisāʾ*). The majority of the poets quoted are ancient ones going back to the pre-Islamic period or to the beginnings of Islam, but some are more recent.

The success of this *Ḥamāsa* inspired several commentaries (see al-Baghdādi, *Khizāna*, Cairo ed., i, 33), of which that of al-Tabrīzī is the best known (see R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 152; see also ABŪ TAMMĀM, adding there: a *Ḥamāsa ṣughrā* or *K. al-Waḥshiyyāt* by him was edited by I. al-Kaylānī, Damascus 1964). In the Maghrib, its vogue was no less great; study of it constituted one of the foundations of literary culture (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 28), and al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī, who imitated it, made a new commentary on it.

In order not to be left behind, al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897 [*q.v.*]) also composed an anthology which he entitled *Ḥamāsa*, so contributing in a decisive manner to the semantic evolution of the term and its definitive adoption. In the *Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī, the verses are no longer divided under a small number of rubrics, but are grouped together, according to the poetic themes that they contain, in 174 very subtly graded chapters (*e.g.*, thirteen of them are concerned with fleeing from the enemy), with the result that this anthology may be considered to come into the category of *maʿānī 'l-shiʿr*. It should be added that it enjoyed far less success than the earlier work; it does not seem to have been studied in Spain, where al-Buḥturī was, however, held in great esteem, and only a single manuscript of it has been discovered.

The next work chronologically appears to be that of a certain Abū Dumāsh (or Dimās), of which we have only a brief mention in the *Fihrist* (Cairo ed., 120); then come those of Muḥammad b. Khalaf Ibn al-Marzubān (d. 309/921), of which we know only the title (see *Fihrist*, 213-4, which does not mention the *Ḥamāsa*; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 52; F. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 31-2) and of Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004 [*q.v.*]), entitled *al-Ḥamāsa al-muḥdatha* (see *Fihrist*, 119; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 84). The two Khālidīs, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hāshim (d. 380/990) and his brother Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd (d. 400/1009), who lived in the entourage of Sayf al-Dawla, are the authors of a *Kitāb Ḥamāsat shiʿr al-muḥdathīn*, the title of which clearly shows the gradual change in meaning of the word *ḥamāsa* (see *Fihrist*, 240; M. Canard, *Sayf al Daula*, Algiers 1934, 293-5; their *Ḥamāsa*, also entitled *al-Ashbāh wa'l-naẓāʾir*, survives in manuscript in Cairo).

In the following century, it was in Spain that al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī (d. 476/1083 [see AL-SHANTAMARĪ]), already the author of a commentary on Abū Tammām, composed a *Ḥamāsa* (quoted by al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 33).

The same literary form was again followed by Ibn al-Shadjarī (d. 542/1148 [*q.v.*]), whose *Ḥamāsa* was published under this title by F. Krenkow at Ḥaydarābād in 1345 (see above). Somewhat later, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan *alias* (al-) Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601/1204 [*q.v.*]) composed a new and more original one; this grammarian and poet, with his inordinate pride and uncommon vanity, thought himself capable, not only of selecting the best poems of the earlier poets, but also of himself writing other and equally good poems; thus, following Abū Tammām, he composed a *Ḥamāsa* in which he included only poems of his own composition (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xiii, 72 ff.).

It was an Andalusian living in Tunis, Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Andalusī al-Bayāsī (572-653/1177-1255) who was the author of the next *Ḥamāsa*; a philologist, historian and poet well schooled in classical poetry, he compiled in Tunis in 646/1248 a collection of poems, stories and fables to which he unwarrantedly gave the name *Ḥamāsa* (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; A. González Palencia, *Literatura*², 107; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 384, 399, 406); this work exists in manuscript at Gotha.

The last *Ḥamāsa* that we know is that of Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Faradj al-Baṣrī (killed in 659/1261); it is known by the name *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya* (see al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 33), and a manuscript of it is preserved in Cairo.

The interest of these works, and especially of the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, is multiple. For us, their merit lies in preserving poems by poets otherwise unknown, and of serving in a subsidiary way as secondary sources for the publication of the *dīwān*s of ancient poets, but they also provide us with reasonably precise indications in regard to the tastes of a period. For generations of young Arabic-speakers, in both the Mashriḳ and Maghrib, the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām has largely contributed—in perhaps too fragmentary a form—to the maintenance of the prestige of archaic poetry, considered as a model for imitation, and has at the same time constituted a sort of manual of ethics.

The original meaning of *ḥamāsa* encouraged the provisional adoption of the term as the designation of the epic, and Bocthor was one of the first to suggest translating "epic poem" by *shiʿr ḥamāsī*; however, in Arabic, the use of *ḥamāsa* was short-lived, and today the word has been replaced, in this sense, by *malḥama* (pl. *malāḥim*); however, in order to give the present article greater homogeneity, it is here that the question of the epic in Arabic literature will be discussed.

Accounts of heroic adventures accompanied by wonderful happenings are not rare in this literature [see ḤIKĀYA, SĪRA], and if such were the complete definition of the epic, it would be possible to assert that this literary form was practised by the Arabs; the romance of Baṭṭal [*q.v.*], the *Sīrat al-amīra Dhāt al-Himma* [see DHU 'L-HIMMA], the saga of the Banū Hilāl [see HILĀL], the romance of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [*q.v.*], and the *Sīrat ʿAntar* [see ʿANTAR] in particular offer features which bring them close to the great epics of universal literature, and one cannot fail to be struck by the evident resemblances between the *Sīrat ʿAntar*, considered, however, as a romance of chivalry, and the *Chanson de Roland*; but to be counted true epics, these narratives are in general lacking in the literary elaboration which is the mark of the masterpieces of epic literature. Although the *Sīrat ʿAntar* also contains, to a somewhat limited extent, another element of the epic, namely a feeling of the greatness of the fatherland represented by a hero who possesses all the virtues, in these narratives we are not conscious of the inspiration which animates the *Shāhnāma*, for example, and it may perhaps be thought that, if epics are linked with the awakening of nationalities, the Arabs hardly needed this element during the most brilliant period of their literature which corresponded with the apogee of their power; yet it may be regretted that no genius revealed himself during the centuries of decadence or produced a work comparable with that of Firdawsī, which was then available in Arabic.

To explain the absence of epics in the classical period, it has been said that the Arabs were unacquainted with Homer's masterpieces; in fact feeling convinced of the superior value of their own poetry, they scarcely knew the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, and

in any case were daunted by the difficulties of translating verse (see G. Wiet, *Les traducteurs arabes et la poésie grecque*, in *MUSJ*, xxxviii/16 (1962), 361-8; the embarrassment of Mattā b. Yūnus is nevertheless instructive for, in his translation of Aristotle's *Poetica* (ʿA. Badawī, *Arisṭūṭālīs, Fann al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1953, 96), he was content to render ἐποποιία by اڨ (while Badawī, in his own trans., 3 and *passim*, uses *malḥama*).

It has also been said that the rule of the monorhyme excluded long compositions in verse; now the *urdjūza* permits the composition of very long works, and it is precisely in *radjaz* that some poems have been written that come near to being epics, without, however, ceasing to be versified chronicles except when they have a purely didactic character; Ibn al-Muʿtazz is one of the first representatives of this form, which flourished especially in al-Andalus in the hands of Ghazāl, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Ibn Zaydūn, Ibn ʿAbdūn, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and others. In certain poems of Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Khuraymī, of Abū Tammām, of Abū Firās or of al-Mutanabbī, there is certainly a strong feeling of epic, but it would be exaggeration to regard these *ḳaṣīdas* as true epics.

Rather than attempt to find an explanation for the Arabs' continued ignorance of a noble literary form which has contributed to the universal prestige of the great literatures of antiquity and the Middle Ages, it is fitting simply to reflect that, while possessing all the necessary documentary, literary and technical elements for the creation of the epic, they did not achieve the final stage of the process; they preferred to follow a tradition which may be called national, and which Islam helped to anchor still more deeply in their hearts. This is basically the opinion of many modern Arab critics—from the talented translator of the *Iliad*, Sulaymān al-Bustānī (see his *Introduction*) to Aḥmad Abū Ḥāḳa, author of the *Fann al-shiʿr al-malḥamī* (Beirut 1960)—who agree that the epic genre, in spite of the works mentioned above, is lacking in Arabic literature.

From the nineteenth century onwards, the translation of Homer and the reading of great epics have inspired some more or less successful attempts, among which may be mentioned those of Aḥmad Muḥarram, *al-Ilyādha al-islāmiyya* (an epic of the Prophet), of Būlus Salāma, *ʿĪd al-Ghadīr* (a Shīʿī epic) and *ʿĪd al-Riyāḍ* (a Saʿūdī epic), and of Fawzī Maʿlūf, *Bisāṭ al-rīḥ*, which Abū Ḥāḳa considers the best.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 115-6; A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955, 26-8; Sarkīs, 297, 530; R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 150-2; Brockelmann, index; S. Achtar, *Buḥturī*, Sorbonne thesis 1953 (unpublished); Z. al-Mahāsinī, in *Āfāḳ* (Rabat), i/3 (1963), 52-5; F. Klein-Franke, *Die Hamasa des Abu Tammam: Ein Versuch*, Cologne 1963. (Ch. Pellat)

ii. — Persian Literature

When introduced into Iran by the Arabs, the word *ḥamāsa* at first retained its original meaning (bravery) and then, rather later, was used in Persian to denote the heroic and martial epic (*ḥamāsa-i pahlavānī*), a literary genre, the works composed in this form being comparable with the heroic epics of the other Indo-European peoples; this is the meaning of *ḥamasa-sarāyī* (from *sarāyidan*, to sing, and, by extension, to compose), the title of the work by Dr. Ṣafā on the Persian epic.

The earliest texts of a heroic character are concerned with the kings of antiquity and the period when the Iranians were still in direct contact with the Aryans of India. In brief, the heroic legend in Iran started to take shape even before the Iranians emigrated from India towards what was later to be Iran; it was subsequently enriched with new elements and developed into oral or written narratives, particularly during the last period of the Sāsānid dynasty. Upon comparing the Vedas and the Avesta, one observes that the Indo-Iranians, even before their separation, were familiar with the legendary exploits of the same heroes. Some of these narratives were mainly products of the imagination (the creation of the world and of man); others had some historical basis; but, with the passing of time and the accretion of oral elements, they assumed a legendary aspect. In the *Avesta*, the *Yasht* are of great importance in regard to national legends. Several sections allude to legends and beliefs similar to those found in the Vedas: thus Vivasvat, father of Yama, and Trita Aptya (of the Rig-Veda) correspond to Vivanhant, father of Yima (Djam), and to Athwiya (Abtin) father of Thraetaona "the child of Thrita" (Farīdūn) who are named in the *Hom Yasht* (of the *Yasna*), "the most important chapter for the comparative history of the beliefs of Avestan Persia and Vedic India" (J. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, i, 79); they appear later in Persian epic texts [see djamshīd, farīdūn]; other *Yasht* mention heroes, most of whom figure in the *Book of Kings* of Firdawsī, and places situated in North-West Persia (ancient Media). According to Nöldeke (in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 131), it can be accepted that, at the period when the *Avesta* took shape, some presentation of the mythical history of Iran, if not written at least traditional, was in existence. But, unlike the Persian epics composed from the 5th/11th century, which bring together a mass of details, these particulars are short and incomplete in the Avestan texts.

On the other hand, striking analogies have been found between the legendary accounts recorded by Greek historians and several episodes in the *Book of Kings* of Firdawsī—but only from the time of the Achaemenids: for example, the fragments by Ctesias, physician to Artaxerxes II (4th century B.C.), collected by Diodorus Siculus (i, 11), provide information from Median tradition; as for the parallels, Achaemenes as a child was brought up by a falcon, according to Aelianus, just as the hero Zāl (in the *Shāh-nāma*) was brought up by the *Sīmurgh* (a kind of phoenix); the histories of Cyrus and Kay Khusraw, the one recounted by Herodotus, the other by Firdawsī, present obvious analogies; on the one hand we find the new-born Cyrus exposed by order of his maternal grandfather Astyages, king of the Medes, but left in the keeping of shepherds by his minister Harpagos and, on reaching manhood, overthrowing the empire of the Medes; on the other hand the infant Kay Khusraw left among the shepherds in the mountains on the orders of his maternal grandfather Afrāsyāb (the murderer of his son-in-law and king of Turan), then recognized as the lawful heir of the kings of Iran and taking vengeance on Afrāsyāb for the murder of his father and his uncle; in the 5th century A.D., Moses of Khorene attributes the same adventure to the Sāsānid king Ardashīr and records other legendary Iranian narratives (the Persian epic had a great influence on the Armenian epic; see F. Macler, in *JA*, ccxxvii, 549). In short, the influence of the Avestan texts was maintained over what was later to become the Persian epic up to the time of the Parthian period and even later, for the

ancient names were often given to the sovereigns and leading personages of the Sāsānid period.

Moreover, on the decline of the Sāsānids, several works were written in Pahlavi containing traditions and stories of heroes; and there were also others during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. Of some, only the title is known (through the medium of Arab authors): such are the *Kitāb al-Sakīsarān*, the title of a prose work named by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 118 = tr. Pellat, § 541)—probably Sagēsarān (the chiefs of the Saka, of Sīstān, perhaps connected with the family of the Rustamids, see A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 143)—and hence a text of great importance for epic traditions, translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, and the *Kitab-i Paykār*, "Book of combats", named by al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, French tr., 136). Others were preserved in part; such are the history of *Bahram Čūbīn*, which survived thanks to the Arab historian al-Dīnawarī (*Akhbār ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 81-104) and also to Firdawsī (trans. J. Mohl, in-12, vi, 460 and vii); the duel of *Rustam and Isfendyār*, translated into Arabic prose by al-Thaʿālibī (*Ghurar*) and into verse by Firdawsī (iv, 461 ff.); the *Mudjmil al-tawārīkh* mentions a work relating to the hero Pīrūz (Tehrān ed., 66, 70) and an *ʿAhd-i Ardashīr* (61-4) which was used by Miskawayh (*Taḍjārib al-umam*); the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* (Tehrān ed., 8) mentions a *Bakhtyār-nāma* devoted to the great exploits of a commander-in-chief under Khusraw Parvīz. The history of Alexander by the pseudo-Callisthenes was probably translated into Pahlavi, and then from Pahlavi into Arabic, with additions relating to Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn [see ISKANDAR NĀMA]); other works concerning the Sāsānid period and mentioned in the *Fihrist* (Ṣafā, *Ḥamāsa*, 45 and n.) survive as fragments in the works of Arab authors; several short Pahlavi post-Sāsānid works (collections of moral aphorisms, *pand-nāmak*) are to be found scattered in Firdawsī.

Of all these works, only two survive in their Pahlavi text; they are therefore essential for the study of the genesis of the Persian epic. The *Memorial of Zarīr* (*Aiyatkār-i Zarīrān*; see *Gr.I.Ph.*, index, s.v. Yatkār), the versified form of which (in syllabic metre) has been identified by E. Benveniste, represents the Sāsānid adaptation of a poem of the Arsacid period (before the 3rd century A.D.)—a poem composed "in about the 6th century of our era, the contents of which go back to some vanished Yasht" (Zarīrān is named twice in the *Yasht*); Daḳīḳī [*q.v.*] sometimes drew inspiration from it textually (cf. *JA*, 1932/2, 255 and Firdawsī, trans. Mohl, in-12, iv, 298-9) in writing the thousand or so lines of verse that Firdawsī inserted in his *Shah-nāma*. The second of these works, in prose, is the *Kārnāmak-i Ardashīr* (Book of the exploits of Ardashīr) in which "a whole series of features from the legend of the great Cyrus can be discovered" (see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 91); it was very closely followed by Firdawsī (trans. in-12, v, 265; and *Gr.I.Ph.*, index, s.v. Kārnāmak).

In addition, two important Pahlavi works transmit not only religious but also heroic traditions—the *Dinkart* (written in the 10th century) preserves fragments from the Avesta and numerous facts relating to the earliest Iranian dynasties, and the *Bundahishn* (11th century) contains information about the dynasties of the Kayanids and the Sāsānids.

It is known that the kings of ancient Persia took an interest in the histories of their reigns: under the Sāsānids, "as had previously been the case in the time of the Achaemenids, the royal court kept official annals; it is supposed that these annals were utilized by the author or authors of the *Book of sovereigns* probably written . . . under Yazdgard III" (cf. A. Christensen, *op. cit.*, 53 and n. 4). The Greek historian Agathias (d. 582) states that he had been able to consult these royal annals which were housed in the archives of Ctesiphon (*op. cit.*, 70). Now according to Baysonghur's preface to the *Shah-nāma* [see FIRDAWSĪ], in the reign of the last of the Sāsānids, Yazdgard III, the *dihḳān* Danishvar of Madāʾin had all these chronicles, from the earliest times to Khusraw II, written down systematically, with the assistance of *mobads* and learned men (Nöldeke, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 141); this book was entitled *Khʷatāy-nāmak*; several Arab and Persian authors refer to the Arabic translation of it under the title *Siyar al-mulūk*, which corresponds with the Pahlavi title, the word *khʷatāy* ('god') having also the meaning of 'sovereign' (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, Leipzig ed., 102); it gave the history of the kings of Iran, from mythical times to the end of the Sāsānids, mingling legendary and historical facts, the latter being predominant for the Sāsānid period. The Arabic translation by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (2nd/8th century) was an indispensable source for Arab historians. The Pahlavi original disappeared, but much of it was preserved thanks to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, introd. 42). On account of the copyists' carelessness, copies of the *Siyar al-mulūk* are by no means in agreement: according to Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā al-Kasrawī collated several copies and did not find any two the same. According to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, others (who are named by al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, Leipzig ed., 99) had translated the *Khʷatāy-nāmak* into Arabic, each in his own way, sometimes introducing accounts from other countries into the history of Iran (Nöldeke, *Tabari, Geschichte der Perser . . . zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, introd.; and especially the résumé of V. Rosen's study of these Arabic translations and the changes and alterations of the Pahlavi text in these translations: A. Christensen, *op. cit.*, 54 and n. 1). Not one of these translations survives; but fragments from them can be seen in a series of Arabic and Persian works, with occasional variants resulting from the diversity of the sources.

Apart from that of the written sources, the importance of the traditions and legends transmitted orally is not negligible. But it is certain that the earliest Persian epics derive from written sources, using Pahlavi documents (either directly or through Arabic translations), as well as traditions preserved in families and transmitted orally by narrators or story-tellers (*rāwī*) from Khurāsān, Sīstān or Transoxania. Al-Bīrūnī gives the names of some of those he had heard (*Āthār*, 42, 44, 99); the author of the *Mudjmil al-tawārīkh* states that "the *rāwīs* of earlier days based their stories on the ancient books of the Fārsīs" (Tehrān ed., 2). Finally, the influence of the Arab authors who devoted themselves to the history and legends of ancient Iran must not be forgotten.

All these factors led the Iranians to undertake a general compilation, on the lines of the annals drawn up on the orders of the ancient kings: thus, during the 4th/10th century, three prose *Shāhnāma* were written [see FIRDAWSĪ], the last of which, by Abū Manṣūr, was freely used by Daḳīḳī and later by Firdawsī; all that remains of it is the very important introduction, published by Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī (*Bīst maḳāla*, Tehrān 1313/1935, ii, 1-64); it was consulted also by al-Bīrūnī (*Āthār*, 112 and 116), which tends to prove that at the end of the 4th/10th

century, and afterwards, it was regarded as the accepted *Shāhnāma*; al-Thaʿālibī (*Ghurar*) similarly drew upon it to a considerable extent, a fact which explains the points of resemblance between his book and Firdawsī's epic, both as regards the historical facts and also the legendary stories.

In addition to the *Shāhnāma* of Abū Manṣūr, there were also other texts in Pahlavi (or translated into Arabic) which served as sources, during the second half of the 5th/11th century and the first half of the 6th/12th, for writers of epics (analysed by J. Mohl, introd. to the *Livre des Rois*)—epics which were inferior to Firdawsī's in breadth and power but which complete the whole epic structure that he had brought into being; poems celebrating Gershāsp (the most original and the oldest, composed about 458/1066 [see ASADĪ]), his grandson Sām, the three children of his great-grandson Rustam—Djihāngīr, Farāmarz and Banū Gushāsp—, Bārzū [see BĀRZŪ-NĀMA], Bahman, Rustam's redoubtable adversary (by Īrānshāh, in about 499/1106), Shāhryār, Bārzū's son, the last of the family (by Mukhtārī, d. *ca.* 545/1150) and about eight epics celebrating minor heroes (Ṣafā, *op. cit.*, 3rd part, ch. III).

From the 6th/12th century onwards, the decline of the national epic gradually became evident under the influences of Islam, of Arab culture and, later, of the predominance of the Turks; in any case, the great epic and national subjects of Iranian antiquity had already been treated. However, one of these subjects, which Firdawsī was unable to develop to its fullest extent, provided Niẓāmī with the opportunity to write a vast and learned epic (587/1191), the *Romance of Alexander* [see ISKANDAR, ISKANDAR NĀMA, NIẒĀMĪ]—a subject to which Amīr Khusraw and Djāmī later returned, not to speak of the adaptations made in Turkey, India and other Oriental countries. The first epic to honour a contemporary prince was the *Shāhānshāh-nāma*, written by Muḥammad Pāʾīzī in honour of sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārizm Shāh, in about 596/1200. The most important historical epic, after Firdawsī's, is the *Ẓafar-nāma* (Book of victory) of Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī which continues the *Book of Kings* from the occupation of Iran by the Arabs up to the period in which the author was living, the time of the Mongol invasion; hence the real interest, at once historical and literary, of the third and last part of this poem which consists of 75,000 *bayts* (completed in 735/1335). Another epic relating to the history of the Mongols down to the successors of Čingīz-Khān is the *Shāhānshāh-nāma*, completed by Aḥmad Tabrīzī in 739/1338. The epic by Adharī Ṭūsī (d. 866/1462), devoted to the history of the Bahmanid sultans of Dekkan, left unfinished, was completed by an anonymous author. Tīmūr's resounding exploits were celebrated by Hātifī (d. 927/1521), a nephew of Djāmī, under the title *Ẓafar-nāma* (ed. Lucknow 1869); to the same poet we owe about a thousand lines of verse of an epic on the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl which he left unfinished. The reign of this same ruler and that of his son formed the subject of an epic written by Ḳāsimī Gunabādī and completed in 939/1533 (ed. Bombay 1287); to him we owe also an epic on the reign of Shāh Rukh, the son of Tīmūr. The capture of the island of Kishm and the town of Hurmuz (Djārūn) from the Portuguese was recounted in verse by Ḳadrī (*Djangnāma-i Kishm*, 1032/1623, and *Djārūn-nāma*). Lastly, a *Shāhānshāh-nāma* was written by Ṣabāʾ (d. 1822) in honour of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. These are the principal epic works, most of them written under the influence of Firdawsī or Niẓāmī. In addition, throughout the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, a series of secondary works commemorated certain sovereigns and leading personages of Iran, India and Turkey (*Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 238).

As regards the second category of these epics (devoted to heroes of the Shīʿī faith; Ṣabā, *op. cit.*, 305 ff.), the oldest is the *Khāvarān-nāma* of Ibn Ḥusām (d. 875/1470), celebrating the virtues and exploits of the caliph and *imām* ʿAlī. The anonymous *Ṣāḥib-ḳirān-nāma* (1072/1662) similarly honoured Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. One of the most important of these works, the *Ḥamla-i Ḥaydarī*, glorifies the lives of Muḥammad and ʿAlī, their saintliness and their achievements; its authors are Muḥammad Rafīʿ Bādhil, a native of Mashhad, who had emigrated to India where he held high office; after his death (1123/1711), his work was completed by Abū Ṭālib Fanduruskī. The same subject was used in a more extended work (30,000 *bayts*) written in a better style than the preceding one, composed in the 19th century by Mullā Bamūn ʿAlī (*takhalluṣ*: Rādjī) entitled *Ḥamla-i Rādjī* (ed. 1270/1854). Ṣabā, named above, is the author of the longest of the works in this category, the *Khudāvand-nāma*, on the same subject as the *Ḥamla-i Ḥaydarī*; here, more than in these other works, the influence of Firdawsī is to be discerned.

As *ḥamāsa* denoted exclusively the heroic epic, it has been necessary to leave out of this account the cycle of romantic epics (the earliest of which, Zaryadres and Odatis, was known as early as the 4th century B.C., according to Atheneus, XIII, 575), that is to say the episodes devoted to love, which are treated briefly in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī and which the poets of different periods (Niẓāmī, Amīr Khusraw and Djāmī in particular) magnified into vast versified romances (not to mention Firdawsī's other works, for example *Farhād u Shīrīn*, and Gurgānī's *Wīs u Rāmīn*; see also ASADĪ).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, two essential works: Nöldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos*, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 130 ff. (2nd ed. 1920); English trans. by L. Bogdanov, *The Iranian national epic*, Bombay 1930, Persian trans. by Buzurg ʿAlawī, *Ḥamāsa-i Millī-i Īrān*, Tehrān 1327 (solar); Dh. Ṣafā, *Ḥamāsa-sarāyī dar Īrān*, Tehrān 1334/1956. Reference may also be made to A. Christensen, *Heltedigtning og Fortaellingsliteratur hos Iranerne i oldtiden*, Copenhagen 1935. (H. MASSÉ)

iii—TURKISH LITERATURE.

From the 19th century onwards the Arabic adjective *ḥamāsī* became in Turkish the equivalent of the adjective "epic", while *ḥamāsiyya* indicated an epic poem (see H. C. Hony and Fahir Iz, *A Turkish-English dictionary*², Oxford 1950, s. vv. *hamasi, hamasiyat*; Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Osmanlica-Türkçe Sözlük*, Istanbul 1952, s.v. *ḥamāsī*); *ḥamāse* became the synonym of the Persian *destān*, which also is used to render "epic" (see M. N. Özön, *op. cit.*, s.v. *destān*). In the *Türkçe Sözlük* (³ Ankara 1955), published by the Türk Dil Kurumu, the two terms, Arabic and Persian, are found linked together: *hamaset destanı*.

In Turkish literature the Persian term *destān* was used for the ancient popular epics in syllabic verse, transmitted orally, then also the first verse chronicles of epic type, celebrating the prowess of a historical character who had become a legendary figure. The ancient epics of the Turks of Central Asia, sung by the *ozan* or popular poet-musician accompanying

himself on the *ḳopuz*, have not survived, and the *Oghuznāme*, the national epic of the Oghuz Turks, can be studied only through a prose compilation made in the 9th/15th century, the *Kitāb-i Dede Ḳorḳut* [see DEDE ḲORḲUT]. The same is true of the epic literature of the Islamicized Turks transplanted into foreign countries, who, taking for their model the Persian or Arabic heroic tales, created for themselves a new national epic celebrating the exploits of the conquerors of Anatolia and dominated by the ideal of the Holy War: the saga of Sayyid Baṭṭāl [*q.v.*], that of Melik Dānishmend [*q.v.*] and that of the dervish-*ghāzī* Ṣarī Ṣalṭuḳ Dede [*q.v.*] have survived only in the form of prose compilations made in the 8th/14th or 9th/15th centuries. But although the ancient *destāns*, epic poems transmitted by oral tradition, have not survived, there are known some works of epic character, which are composed according to the rules of Arabo-Persian prosody, in the *mathnawī* form and in *ramal* metre, and which have the title of *destān*. Among the earliest may be mentioned the *Destān-i Maḳtal-i Ḥüseyn*, an epic poem commemorating the tragedy of Kerbela, composed in 762/1361 by the poet Shādhī for the *emīr* of Ḳasṭamonu, Kötürüm Bāyezīd (MSS: University of Bologna, Marsigli collection no. 3325; Ankara Univ. Lib., Üsküdar Kemankeş coll. no. 528). Towards the 9th/15th century there appeared verse chronicles of epic type which, while recounting the exploits of historical characters, preserved the heroic spirit of the ancient epics; the poet often gives to these verse chronicles the name of *destān*. To this category belong the *Ghazāwetnāme* which forms part of the *Iskendernāme* of Aḥmedī [*q.v.*] (d. 816/1413) and which relates, in the form of an epic poem, the history of the first Ottoman rulers up to Emīr Süleymān (d. 813/1410), and the *Destān of Umūr Pasha*, the second part of the *Düstūrnāme* of Enwerī, written in 869/1465, which celebrates the exploits of Umūr Aydïnoghlu [*q.v.*]; to describe this part of his work, written in the form of a popular tale in verse, the poet uses the term *destān* (cf. I. Mélikoff, *Le Destān d'Umūr Pacha*, Paris 1954, 31-5, 72, verse 744).

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited in the article, see, on Turkish epic literature: A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura Turca*, Milan 1956, 308-13; P. N. Boratav, *Littérature turque*, in *Histoire générale des littératures*, Paris 1961, i, 782, 787-8, ii, 183-4; I. Mélikoff, *La geste de Melik Dānişmend*, Paris 1960, i, 41-52; eadem, *Abū Muslim, le "Porte-Hache" du Khorassan, dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne*, Paris 1962, 29-43; F. Taeschner, *Die osmanische Literatur*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, v/1, *Turkologie*, Leiden 1963, 258-62.

(I. MÉLIKOFF)

iv.—CENTRAL ASIA

However near to extinction the tradition of oral heroic poetry among the Turkic-speaking peoples may or may not be, it is one of the most important in living memory and deserves closer study in the West than it has as yet received.

Oral heroic narrative in Turkic dialects ranges from the hero-tales of the Altaic tribes (Schiefner, Radloff, Ulagashev) to the full-scale epics of great bards like the Kïrgïz Sagïmbay and Sayakbay (*Manas*) or the Özbek Fazïl Yuldash-oghlï (*Alpamïsh*). If we go north of the Altai to include the hero-tales of, in part, non-Turkic tribes, we can trace one of several hypothetical lines of epic development entire, from shamanistic adventures in the upper and lower worlds, where the hero is borne on the wings of eagles if not of thought itself, to military expeditions against empires beyond the steppe, where man's dream of free movement at speed had matured in the taming of that heroic beast, the horse.

If, as is probable, some Huns were Turks, the Turkic peoples will have had some form of heroic poetry for at least the past fifteen or sixteen hundred years. As companion of a Byzantine ambassador extraordinary, Priscus witnessed a performance of panegyric heroic poetry glorifying Attila as he presided at a banquet. 'When evening fell, torches were kindled, and two barbarians went into the presence of Attila and recited lays of their composition lauding his victories and warlike qualities. The feasters gazed at them fixedly, and while some took delight in the verse, others recalled the battles and were fired in their hearts, while yet others, because their bodies were grown frail with age and their spirit abated, shed tears.' (Ἐπιγενομένης δὲ ἑσπέρας δᾷδες ἀνήφθησαν, δύο δὲ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Ἀττήλα παρελθόντες βάρβαροι ᾄσματα πεποιημένα ἔλεγον, νίκας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κατὰ πόλεμον ᾄδοντες ἀρετάς. ἐς οὓς οἱ τῆς εὐωχίας ἀπέβλεπον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἥδοντο τοῖς ποιήμασιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πολέμων ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι διηγείροντο τοῖς φρονήμασιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐχώρουν ἐς δάκρυα, ὧν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἠσθένει τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἡσυχάζειν ὁ θυμὸς ἠναγκάζετο. C. Müllerus, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* IV, 1885, 92b). It is as unnecessary to infer that the Huns copied such poems from their Gothic allies as that these copied them from the Huns. Indeed, although there may have been mutual influence and although each of the two peoples may have cultivated both panegyric and epic lay, the extant evidence permits us safely to infer only the panegyric lay for the Huns and the epic lay for the Goths. The fact that δύο.., παρελθόντες βάρβαροι is not in the dual does not exclude the possibility that the 'two barbarians' performed as a pair, as the two performers in the Old English *Wīdsiþ* may have done in a passage which could refer to panegyric (lines 103 ff.). The fragments of heroic poetry cited by al-Kāshgharī [*q.v.*] c. 1077 A.D., largely derive from highly stylized laments for dead heroes, and from panegyric or more frequently self-panegyric (whether the first person sing. or pl. is directly stated or only implied). The fragments show Muslim Turks at grips with an alien people, the Tangut of the Koko Nor region, or with fellow-Turks of the 'idolatrous' Buddhist religion, the Uigur—patterns which are repeated in the 19th and 20th century epics, with the Kalmïk as hated enemy. The form is that of long couplets with rhyming caesura: A+A, A+X, B+B, B+X, etc. This enables scholars to reassemble couplets scattered by al-Kāshgharī, as Brockelmann has done, under the three heads: 'Battle with the Tangut', 'Campaign against the Uigur', 'Battle with the Yabaḳu' (a Turkicized Mongol tribe), furnishing some idea of what a 9th or 10th century Turkic lay may have looked like: but there can be no guarantee of unbroken sequence among these couplets, as some have assumed. The only internal sign of Islamic influence, and it is a negative one, is the unquestioning assurance with which the warriors desecrate the images of the Buddhist Uigur.

Although there is no surviving epical version, the legend of Oghuz Ḳaghan, the mythical eponymous founder of the Oghuz tribes, cannot be omitted from even the briefest account of Turkic epic. Both Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (Chap. I) and Abu 'l-Ghāzī [*q.v.*] quote the legend; but the most important witness to it is

the text in the unique Schefer ms. Paris, Bibl. nat. suppl. turc 1001, written in the Uigur script. It is reasonable to assume that the account of the realms subdued by Og͟huz Ḳag͟han must postdate the period of Čingiz and his immediate heirs; but, after this, opinions diverge. Pelliot (followed by S͟hčerbak) considered the text to be a recension in the Uigur of Turfan towards 1300 A.D., though adapted orthographically in Kîrgîz territory in the course of the 15th century (while S͟hčerbak considers the writing to resemble that of the *yarlîḳ* of Toktamîs͟h). Bang, on the other hand, held that it was written in 'later East Turkic' but that beyond this its date and dialect are totally inscrutable. Sümer argues that it was written in Iran, under G͟hazan K͟hān or his successor, by an Uigur *bak͟hs͟hi* or *bitikči* on the basis of Türkmen oral narrative. The text is incomplete at beginning and end, and there are other imperfections. As the text stands, it is not possible to determine whether the hero's birth is miraculous or merely remarkable, though one must suppose the former in the light of what follows. For, later, Og͟huz Ḳag͟han's acquisition of at least the first of his two wives (future matrons of groups of tribes) is due to heavenly intervention. His first exploits are against wild beasts, and preeminently a unicorn. Before he sets out to conquer nations, he assembles his princes, proclaims himself Ḳag͟han, and chooses 'Grey Wolf!' as his war-cry. And, indeed, before his first battle, a grey wolf emerges (like his first wife) from a heaven-sent ray, and leads the army. Together they conquer Asia, Egypt and Byzantium. Various Turkic tribes, like the Kîpčak and Karluk, are founded en route; and when Og͟huz Ḳag͟han comes to rest he gives each of the three sons of his first wife, Kün (Sun), Ay (Moon) and Yultuz (Stars), a third of a golden bow, and the sons of his second, Kök (Sky), Tag͟h (Mountain) and Tengiz (Sea), each a silver arrow as insignia of their tribal organization. The legend is evidently a tribal origin-myth fused with a wishful travesty of the saga of the more dazzling Mongols as reflected in their *Secret History*, from the totemistic Grey Wolf onwards, but always at the poetic level of myth and folk-tale. The form of the narrative is prose, but Riza Nur and Pelliot each detected a group of lines (both situated at high points in speeches by Og͟huz Ḳag͟han) in octo-syllabic rhyming metre (XI, 6-XII, 3; XLII, 3-7), which Pelliot interprets as citations from an epic poem now lost. Nevertheless, prose or rhyming prose breaking into verse at points of heightened interest is a favoured narrative vehicle among the Turkic and neighbouring peoples. As to the influence of the legend in later days, it is thought that the figure of Manas in the 19th and 20th century Kîrgîz cycle owes something, in his rôle of conqueror, to the figure of Og͟huz Ḳag͟han.

Some modern epics, like the Kîrgîz 'national epic' *Manas* [*q.v.*], are confined to one Turkic people, though some of its characters (including Manas himself) may also appear in the epics of other Turkic peoples. Other epics, like *Alpamîs͟h* [*q.v.*], *Edige-batîr*, *Koblandî-batîr*, *S͟hora-batîr* and the romantic epic *Kozî Körpös͟h*, may be shared by several peoples, although not always at the same level of literary development. For example, among the Özbek at least ten variants of *Alpamîs͟h* are known, among the Kazakhs two, among the Karakalpaks one, and the scale ranges from shorter poems of *ca.* 2,500 lines to full scale epics of some 14,000; whereas in the Altai it appears as the rather primitive hero-tale of *Alip-Manas͟h*, but again, among the 14th-15th century Og͟huz, in the highly polished version of 'Bamsi-Beyrek' in the *Kitāb-i Dede Ḳorḳut* [*q.v.*]. *Manas* is unique in that by a process of dynastic and other cyclization, it has engulfed not only Kîrgîz epics which were once independent of it (*e.g.*, *Er Kökčö*, *Er Tös͟htük*, the latter a tale of a hero's adventures in the underworld much as in Altaic hero-tales) but also the bulk of Kîrgîz oral folklore, leaving only such 'minor epics' as *Djanîs͟h and Bayîs͟h* (closely linked with the Türkmen-Özbek *Yūsef and Aḥmed*, *v. infra*), *Kurmanbek*, *Sarîndji*, *Er-Tabîldî* intact. The *Manas*-bards (*manasči*) were either permitted or encouraged to record in the laboratory such high numbers of lines of *Manas* and of its continuations *Semetey* (2nd generation) and *Seytek* (3rd generation) as 250,000 (*Sagîmbay*, 1867-1930) and 400,000 (Sayakbay, b. 1894) respectively. The *ca.* 12,500 lines of *Manas* recorded by Radloff in the latter part of the 19th century on the other hand represent rather the 'bare bones' of possible live performances, having been taken down by the frustrating method of dictation to hand. Genuine performances suited to various types of patrons and audiences could last from one evening to many weeks of evenings and so run to many thousands of lines. Such length was obtained not so much by wealth of incident as by means of 'static' lyrical elaboration of any matter of beauty or interest. This fluidity in the treatment of basic themes also extended in part to the subject-matter itself; for example, as a compliment to Radloff (or so he thought), his singer introduced the White Czar (a figure to whom the great Manas himself looked up in awe), compounding him of the remote Czar of Russia and the great white god of the shamans. So far, two main 'schools' of *Manas* tradition have been distinguished: those of Tien Shan (Sagîmbay) and Issîk Kul' (Sayakbay). Themes of *Manas* are the hero's miraculous birth and prodigious boyhood; his unification of the Kîrgîz tribes after defeating rebellious kinsmen and other k͟hāns; his various expeditions, above all the Great Expedition to China with its tragic return, ending in Manas' death; and his resurrection, linked with legends attached to ancient tombs in Kirgizia. Unusual depth is given to the epic by the unhappy rôle of Manas's milk-brother Almambet, a Chinese (Radloff: Oirot-Kalmîk) prince converted to Islam, to whom he entrusts the leadership of the Great Expedition, demoting loyal old Bakay in order to do so and thereby inflaming Kîrgîz jealousy. In addition to relying on magic animal helpers who are clearly of shamanistic origin, Manas has the stock Turkic retinue of forty warriors (*kîrk-čoro*), most of whose names are common to Radloff and the 20th century bards. The chief Kazakh heroic epics are: *Alpamîs-batîr*, *Edige-b.*, *Er-kokča*, *Er-sayn*, *Er-targîn*, *Kambar-b.*, *Koblandî-b.* and *S͟hora-b.* (period of the capture of Kazan). *Kîz-žibek* and *Kozî Körpös͟h and Bayan Sulū* (the Turkic Romeo and Juliet) are of a more lyrical and romantic turn. *Ayman S͟holpan and Uraḳ-batîr* derive from the times of Russian expansion into Central Asia. As stated above, the poem of *Alpamîs͟h* attained truly epic dimensions in Özbek. Özbek shares the military romance of *Yūsuf and Aḥmed* with the K͟hʷārizm-Türkmens (*Boz-Og͟hlan*) and also has the historical *dāstān S͟heybānī-k͟hān* and the romances *Kuntugmîs͟h*, *S͟hīrīn and S͟hakar*, and *Orzigul*. The leading epic of the Karakalpaks is *Ḳîrk-ḳîz*—'The Forty Maidens'. Although this poem has undergone much influence from the recent past, the heroine Gulaym conforms to an ancient Central Asiatic type of warrior-maiden remembered in poetry over a wide area despite the intrusion of Islamic notions of womanhood. Gulaym's

father Allayar, ruler of the Karakalpak stronghold of Sarkop, gives her the fertile region of 'Miueli' (Fruit-land'?), which she fortifies and develops. Her father falls to the Kalmîk Khān, but she avenges him with the help of her lover, the Khʷārizmian hero Arîslan. In Ādharbāydjān the story of the Robin Hood-like Köroghlu [*q.v.*] = Gorogli—Ravshan, 'Son of the Blind Man'—is widely known but has not been taken to the stage of epic. As well as in Turkey, Armenia, Georgia and Persian Ādharbāydjān, the *Gorogli* cycle is known in the lands of the Türkmens, Kazakhs and Özbeks, the last of whom told it elaborately, though not yet epically, as 'The Forty Dastans of Gorogli'.

In the epics of the Kazakh, and, through them, of the Kîrgîz, the heroic prestige of the Nogay, like that of the Achaeans in Homer, is great. In Radloff's version of the Kîrgîz epic, Manas himself is of the Sarî-Nogay, whereas Sagîmbay makes him the grandson of the eponymous Nogay-khān. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the standing of the historical Nogay (d. 1299), and then of his following, among the Tatars of the Golden Horde and also among their eastern neighbours. As was stated above, the Kazakhs also know an epic of Edige, another Emir of the Horde (d. 1419). It is from this time onwards that the modern epics receive traces of names or events, however faintly or however generalized, which can be related to known history rather than to myth and legend. The Kîrgîz, Kazakhs and Karakalpaks share the conception of the perfidious, jabbering, heathenish Kalmîk as paramount enemy. This must derive from the centuries of Kalmîk expansion and pressure on the Turkic tribes (15th-18th centuries), yet after their decline the Kalmîk remained the classic adversary right through the period of the great khānates (which also left their precipitates in the epics) and Russian expansion, up to the present day. Despite the emphasis on the heathenry of the Kalmîk enemy, however, the positive influence of Islam on Turkic epic remains superficial, whereas the deeper layers often reveal shamanistic conceptions [see SHAMANISM]. In recent centuries the epics have come increasingly under the influence of such literary forms as the Persian *dāstān*, whose name has been adopted even for extempore oral epic, and ultimately also epic in book-form, which has preserved several earlier popular versions of epics (*e.g.*, *Kambarbatîr*—see bibliography). Turkic epic shares with oriental music the advantages and disadvantages of improvised performance. On the one hand there are the freedom and ecstasy of the inspired bard.—It is said that when the *manasči* Keldîbek (b. circa 1755) began to sing, the *yurt* trembled and a great whirlwind arose, and in its gloom and din supernatural horsemen, battle-comrades of Manas, flew down so that the ground shook beneath the thud of the hooves. On the other hand, a political disaster could all but shatter a great tradition in a single generation, and a new start must be made. One result of this is a marked diversity of tradition and the repetition of stock motifs in ostensibly different epics over a wide area—such epics are apt to be attracted into the orbits of others. For example, *Ḳozî Ḳörpösh* runs parallel to *Alpamîsh* for part of its course. Another result of extemporization in frenzy, instead of recitation from memory of a perfected work of art, is the total absence of archaic language: each generation has created the fabric of its epics anew within the broad lines laid down by tradition.

The materials for the study of Turkic epic poetry are at present available only in the Soviet Union. Until the conditions governing the recording, editing, and publication of epic performances are more widely known, it will not be possible for others to assess those texts, far from complete in number, which have found their way to the West. Epic poetry of its nature is intimately bound up with political life, and the *Iliad* will have been no exception, so that it is not of itself disturbing that modern bards have become, for example, radio personalities. But the Central Asiatic and Mongolian epics have experienced such marked fluctuations of fortune, following political decisions, as to abash the disinterested scholar. Some recent publications, however, both editions and critical studies, encourage the belief that the basic recordings of a still living major tradition of heroic epic are intact and may one day be given to the world in full.

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v.—Urdu Literature

In the Deccan, where Urdu literature developed earlier, epic begins with Nuṣratī's *ʿAlī Nāma*, celebrating the exploits of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh II (1656-1672) of Bidjāpūr. In northern India it developed very late, but elements which can be described vaguely as epical are found in the *shahr āshūb* poems lamenting the economic and social decline of Dihlī and its environs written from the early eighteenth century up to a few years after the Mutiny of 1857, beginning with Shāh Ḥātim Dihlawī (1699-1791), continuing through the *mathnawīs* and satires of Mīrzā Rafīʿ 'Sawdā' (1713-1781) and Mīr Taḳī 'Mīr' (1733-1810), and culminating in the famous *shahr āshūb* of Mīrzā Khān 'Dāgh' (1831-1905). The eighteenth and early nineteenth century ornate and rhymed prose *dāstān* shows the fossilization of a possible epic residue in stale magical romance. These *dāstāns*, which are rooted in the Amīr Ḥamza cycle, current in the Islamic world from Turkey to Indonesia, later developed into voluminous, long-drawn-out, stereotyped, repetitive narratives *Ṭilism-i hūshrubā* and *Būstān-i khiyāl*. Situated in a world of magical phantasmagoria, their content deals with an endless struggle, plot and counter-plot by a triangular set of characters: degenerate pseudo-heroes whose literary ancestry going back to the Ḥamza cycle, their helpers the *ʿayyārs* (tricheurs), their opponents the pagan magicians who with some stretch of imagination might be equated with the predatory Marātha and Djāt bands which had engulfed the Mughal Empire in the eighteenth century.

The first heroic epic poem in the modern sense is, perhaps, a short anonymous Dakanī *mathnawī* written to lament the fate of Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.v.*] fighting with his back to the wall. Mūʾmin Khān 'Mūʾmin' (1800-1851) is the most eminent of Urdu poets who wrote short heroic poems supporting the *djihād* and the movement of Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlwī [*q.v.*]. Mawlawī Liyāḳat al-Lāh and others among Barēlwī's group of *mudjāhidīn* used the short *razmiyya mathnawīs* for incitement and the call to the *djihād* in an unpoetic and colourless style.

The *marthiya* written in Lakhnaʾū in the middle of the nineteenth century lamenting the tragedy of Karbalā (61/680) receives epical treatment and rises to epic grandeur in the work of Mīr Babar ʿAlī 'Anīs' (1802-1874) and his contemporary Mīrzā Dabīr (1803-1875). In the vein of martyrological epic it dwells upon the theme of the heroic resistance and suffering of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, fighting heroically against overwhelming odds; it contains elaborate descriptions of the desert and the hero's horse and sword, but confuses anachronistically the emotional and social, and to a large extent geographical, milieu of 1st/7th century ʿIrāḳ with nineteenth-century Awadh.

After 1857, when Urdu poetry entered its modern phase, the epic theme and glory of historical Islam became the dominant note underlying the political poem which began with Alṭāf Ḥusayn 'Ḥālī''s [*q.v.*] *musaddas Madd-u djazr-i Islām* and culminated in the poems of Iḳbāl. In the political poem the epic intent emphasizes revivalism and juxtaposes it with modernism; usually the treatment is not narrative and the epic motive is served by references to particular men or events in Islamic history. Ḥafīẓ Djāllandharī has written a narrative *Shāhnāma-i Islām* which is versified history and lacks genuine epic elements.

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ḤAMĀT, town in central Syria, 54 km. north of Ḥimṣ and 152 km. south of Ḥalab on the road which connects these two towns, and built on both banks of the Nahr al-ʿĀṣī [*q.v.*] or Orontes, which at this point winds a great deal. The steppe plateau which surrounds the town is in part made into ploughed land (cereals), Mediterranean-type orchards and market gardens, thanks to the hydraulic installations which bring water from the river to its fertile soil.

The town of Ḥamāt goes back to early antiquity: it was occupied by the Hittites, who left inscriptions there, then, in about the 11th century B.C., it passed into the hands of Aramaean kings: it is at this period that it is mentioned in the Bible under the name of Hamath. After having been forced, in the reign of Solomon, to recognize the supremacy of the Hebrews, these kings regained their independence, then, in the middle of the 9th century B.C., fought on the side of the Aramaean kings of Damascus against the Assyrian Salmaneser and finally, in 738 B.C., had to pay tribute to Tiglath-pileser; soon afterwards, in 720 B.C., following a revolt, the Aramaean kingdom

of Ḥamāt was incorporated into the Assyrian empire. In the Hellenistic period, the town received, probably under Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the name of Epiphania, which it did not retain after the Arab conquest. This took place in 15/636-7 and the town, now of little importance, which had been taken "by capitulation", belonged until the beginning of the 4th/10th century to the *d̲j̲und* [*q.v.*] of Ḥimṣ. Little is known about its organization at this time; we know only that already in the Umayyad period it contained a Great Mosque, which seems to have been built on the site of a Byzantine church, parts of which were re-used in building it, and which was restored under the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī, and that during the reign of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (end of the 3rd/9th century) it was a large market town protected by walls.

During the reign of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla, the town of Ḥamāt was incorporated into the district of Ḥalab, and until the beginning of the 6th/12th century its destiny was to continue to be linked with that of this town, which at that time was going through a troubled period. It is known that after the raid of Nicephorus Phocas in 357/968, during which the Great Mosque at Ḥamāt was burned, northern Syria had been under the nominal domination of the Fāṭimids, who allowed the Mirdāsids to ravage it, and had then passed into the hands of the Sald̲j̲ūḳid princes. On the death of the last Sald̲j̲ūḳid, Riḍwān, in 507/1113-14, Ḥamāt was probably occupied by the *atābeg* of Damascus, Tug̲h̲takīn [*q.v.*], but in 509/1116-17 it fell into the power of the governor of Ḥimṣ, K̲h̲īrk̲h̲ān b. Ḳarād̲j̲a, who later gave it up to his brother S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd. During the first third of the 6th/12th century Ḥamāt was one of the principal stakes in the struggles between the rulers of northern Syria and those of southern Syria, while the Franks also coveted it, though they never succeeded in taking it. On the death of Maḥmūd, in 517/1123, the town of Ḥamāt was taken again by Tug̲h̲takīn, then, in 522/1128, belonged to his son and successor Tād̲j̲ al-Mulūk Būrī [*q.v.*], who installed there his own son Sevind̲j̲. After concluding an agreement with Zangī [*q.v.*], Būrī send Sevind̲j̲ to him in 524/1130, when he was immediately and treacherously imprisoned. Zangī was thus able to enter Ḥamāt together with K̲h̲īrk̲h̲ān b. Ḳarād̲j̲ā to whom he handed over the town, re-taking it from him shortly afterwards. The other son of Būrī, Ismāʿīl, succeeded in seizing it again and in holding it from 527 to 529/1133-5, but was finally forced to withdraw before Zangī, who then occupied it definitively. Ḥamāt next passed into the hands of Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], then of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [q.v.], who occupied it in 570/1174-5. It was the latter who handed it over, in 574/1178-9, to his nephew al-Malik al-Muẓaffar ʿUmar, whose descendants remained masters of the town throughout the Ayyūbid period and even after the intervening period of the Mongol invasion (which they made no attempt to resist) until the beginning of the Mamlūk period. The principal line becoming extinct in 698/1299, the town had become the headquarters of a Mamlūk *niyāba* of Syria, but the nephew of the last prince, the famous author Abu 'l-Fidāʾ [*q.v.*], succeeded, thanks to the friendship of the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in getting himself restored, in 710/1310, to the governorship of the town, then, in 720/1320, in receiving the title of *sulṭān*, which was also accorded to his son al-Malik al-Afḍal Muḥammad. The latter, however, incurred the wrath of the sultan of Cairo and was exiled to Damascus until his death in 742/1342.

In the Ayyūbid period, and during the governorship of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, the town of Ḥamāt (which was the birth-place of the geographer Yāḳūt [*q.v.*]) enjoyed true prosperity. Its unusual appearance is stressed by eastern and western travellers, and in particular by Ibn D̲j̲ubayr. While possessing no monuments of outstanding grandeur, it occupied an unusual site, on both banks of the Orontes, with its houses crowded close to the river, and possessed its own peculiar charm which, it was said, was appreciated only by those who explored its various quarters. Along the river thirty-two water-wheels or norias (*nāʿūra*) of various sizes (the tallest being 22 metres high) raised water to aqueducts which supplied both sections of the town and irrigated the surrounding gardens; drinking water was provided, it is not known exactly from what date, by a special aqueduct which came from the region of Salamiya. On the right bank there extended a quarter which Ibn D̲j̲ubayr describes as a "suburb" and which, joined to the other bank by an arcaded bridge, was especially remarkable for its *k̲h̲āns*; it was here that travellers stayed. The town proper was situated on the left bank, which was higher (reaching in places as much as 40 metres above the level of the river) and dominated by a line of mountains; it consisted of a lower and an upper town, both surrounded by a wall which dated from al-Malik al-Muẓaffar ʿUmar, also a citadel, built along the bank of the river on an isolated eminence overlooking the lower town; each of these towns had a mosque (that of the lower town having been built by Nūr al-Dīn and that of the upper town being the original Great Mosque) and *sūḳs*; the lower town possessed in addition a hospital and three *madrasas* (one of which had been founded by Nūr al-Dīn for the great jurist Ibn Abī ʿAsrūn), but the *sūḳs* of the upper town were the more famous.

From the middle of the 8th/14th century, Ḥamāt was administered by Mamlūk governors, who continued at first to use the former palace of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar ʿUmar, which today is ruined, and who caused to be engraved the numerous texts of decrees which are still visible on the walls and the columns of the Great Mosque. The town suffered at the hands of Tīmūr, to whom the destruction of the citadel is attributed. But the Mamlūk administration concerned itself with the prosperity of Ḥamāt and it was during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries that the Mamlūk governors built or rebuilt two of the most important norias of the town and also the largest aqueduct.

In the Ottoman period Ḥamāt became, at the time of the first administrative reorganization of the empire, the headquarters of a *liwāʾ* belonging to the *eyālet* of Tripoli; but in the middle of the 18th century the town was attached to the *pas̲h̲alïḳ* of Damascus as a fief (*mālikāne*) of the Pas̲h̲a. It was at this time that Asʿad Pas̲h̲a al-ʿAẓm built there a residence which still exists, now used as a museum, and which, while not the equal of the "ʿAẓm Palace" at Damascus, is nevertheless a very fine specimen of Ottoman civil architecture, and remarkable for its terraces overlooking the Orontes. In the 19th century, at the time of a new administrative reorganization, Ḥamāt was attached to the *wilāyet* of Damascus. In 1906 the town was linked by railway to Aleppo in one direction and to Ḥimṣ and Damascus in the other. At the beginning of the 20th century its population seems to have been stable: approximately 60,000 inhabitants are recorded in 1893 and in 1930. By this time such importance as the town had arose

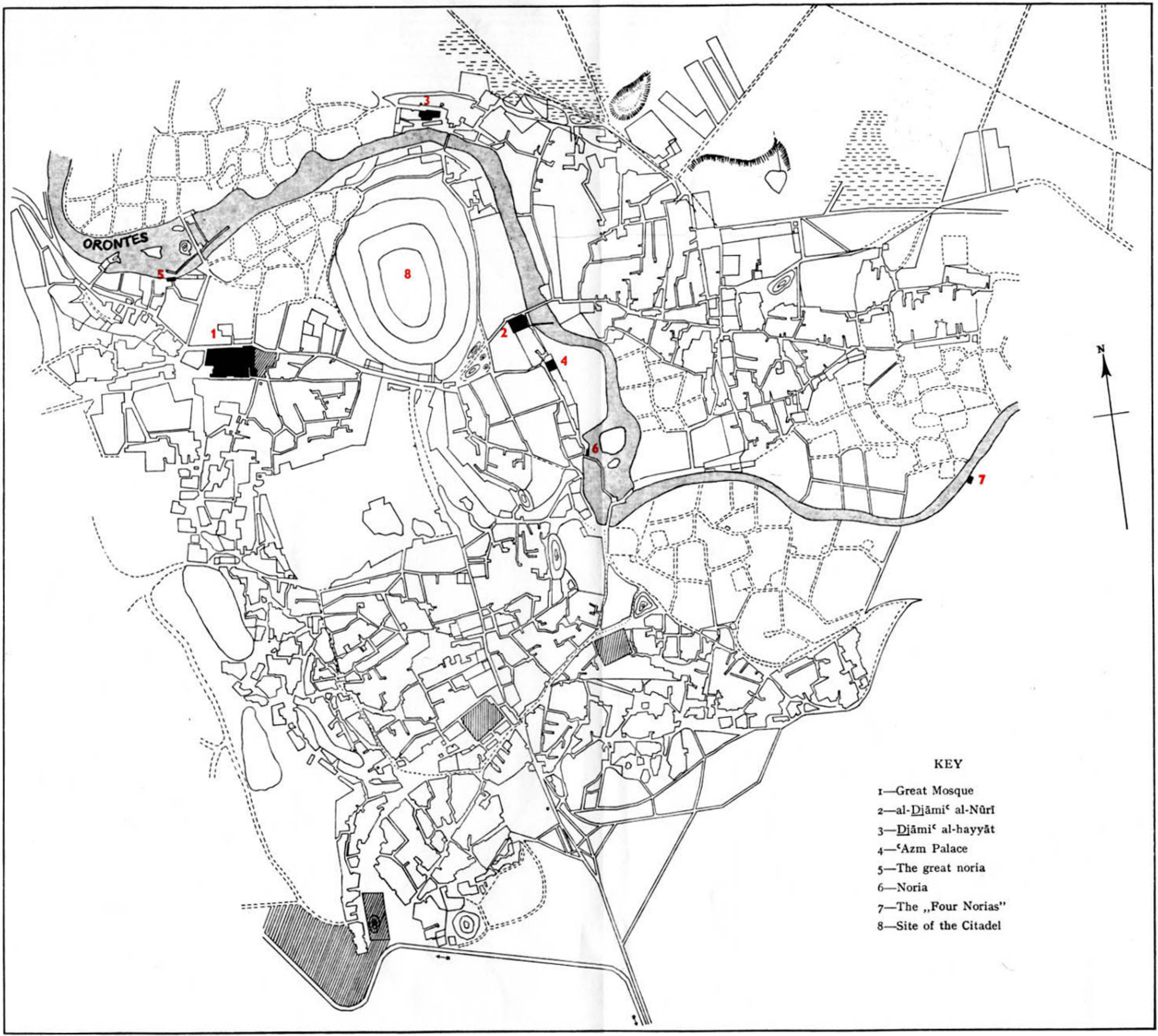
ORONTES
N
KEY
1—Great Mosque
2—al-Djāmiʿ al-Nūrī
3—Djāmiʿ al-hayyāt
4—ʿAzm Palace
5—The great noria
6—Noria
7—The „Four Norias"
8—Site of the Citadel

from its position as a market used mainly by the Bedouin from the surrounding district, who obtained there the various products which they needed and notably some very good textiles, while it remained one of the most picturesque cities of Syria, with nine norias still working out of the eighteen recorded in the 18th century. But, since 1945, the town of Ḥamāt has shared in the general tendency to expansion of the towns of Syria and its population now exceeds 150,000.

There remain in Ḥamāt several monuments worthy of note. The most important is the Great Mosque, which dates from the Umayyad period; as is proved by the presence in its courtyard of a pavilion on columns intended as the local *bayt al-māl*. The hall of prayer is of an original plan: its three naves are in fact each of different width and its eight pillars support five cupolas in the form of a cross. The courtyard is surrounded by vaulted porticoes with semi-circular arches, some of which appear to date from the time that the mosque was built. The western portico opens into an adjoining mausoleum, which contains the tomb of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar III (683-98/1284-98), the last direct descendant of the nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Of its minarets, the one, isolated, to the east of the hall of prayer, bears an inscription of 529/1135, but is built on a base which seems earlier; the other, abutting on the north portico, dates from the Mamlūk period.

On the right bank of the Orontes is the *Dj̲āmiʿ al-Nūrī*, the mosque of the lower town, founded by Nūr al-Dīn, in which still survive important parts of the original building and which is particularly famous for the interesting *minbar* which belongs to the first foundation. On the opposite bank of the Orontes is the *Dj̲āmiʿ al-ḥayyāt*, or mosque of the snakes, so-called because of the form of the small columns which frame one of the windows of the hall of prayer and which resemble intertwined snakes. Beside this mosque is the tomb of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ.

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(D. Sourdel)

HAMAWAND, also hamawand (generally Arabicized as Aḥmadwand, though Ḥama is the normal hypocoristic form of Muḥammad), a small Kurdish tribe of obscure origins, numbering about 10,000 souls, now settled mainly in the Čamčamāl and Bāzyān districts west of Sulaymāniya, in ʿIrāḳ. The chief family is divided into the four branches Ramawand, Ṣafarwand, Ras̲h̲awand and Bagzāda. Ag̲h̲as of this family were until recently established in some fifty villages of the area, having both tribal followers and client villagers in their service.

With the exception of one offshoot, which went to S̲h̲īrāz, the tribe is supposed to have migrated from the area of Kirmāns̲h̲āh, in Persia, about 1185/1770. They supported the Baban princes of Sulaymāniya until their autonomy came to an end in 1847. For some decades thereafter the tribe continued to harass the Ottoman and Persian authorities equally, and earned themselves considerable notoriety by taking to systematic brigandage over the whole area between Bag̲h̲dād, Kirmāns̲h̲āh and Mosul. In 1889, however, having suffered losses at the hands of the Persians, they retired to Bāzyān and were then deported by the Ottoman authorities, half to Adana and half to Tripoli in North Africa. Seven years later the latter contingent, men, women, and children, fought its way back to Bāzyān and the whole tribe was shortly allowed to reunite. As late as 1908 caravans travelling from Kirkuk to Sulaymāniya did so in terror of attack from the tribe.

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(D. N. MacKenzie)

ḤAMAWĪ [see saʿd al-dīn ḥamawī].

ḤAMḌ, WĀDĪ AL-, Iḍam of the classical Arab geographers, a seasonal watercourse in north-western Arabia which enters the Red Sea 50 km. south of al-Wadj̲h. Wādī al-Ḥamḍ is one of the major physiographic features of western Arabia; it and its tributaries drain a basin 455 km. long lying between the mountain chain of al-Ḥidj̲āz and the *ḥarra*-capped plateau to the east. Wādī al-Dj̲izl, the main tributary of the system in the north, drains the southern and western slopes of Ḥarrat al-Raḥāh and Ḥarrat al-ʿUwayriḍ. Tributaries in the south-east flow from Ḥarrat K̲h̲aybar. The southern limit of the Wādī al-Ḥamḍ watershed lies 75 km. south-southwest of Medina in the upper reaches of one of the several *wādī*s known as al-ʿAḳīḳ [*q.v.*]. The Wādī al-ʿAḳīḳ which drains a large plateau area east of Ḥarrat Rahaṭ and southeast of Medina is not, as often reported, part of the Wādī al-Ḥamḍ system. Classical Iḍam lay in the *dīra*s of As̲h̲djaʿ and Dj̲uhayna. Its

upper reaches near Medina were called al-Ḳanāh, and a tributary of Wādī al-Ḥamḍ near the city is still known by that name. The name Iḍam occurs in the works of the early poets, and there are records of Muslim raids into the valley in the years 8/629-30 and 10/631-32. The Damascus-Medina pilgrim track and the Ḥidjāz Railway route enter Wādī al-Ḥamḍ at Hadiyya Station, 165 km. from Medina, and follow its course nearly all the way to the Holy City.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1364, 165-6; Hamdānī, 171; Yāḳūt, i, 305; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, Cairo 1326, ii, 220, 338; Ṭabarī, i, 1609-10, 1763.

Maps: In the series U.S. Geological Survey, Miscellaneous Geologic Investigations, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1: 500,000, see the following sheets: (a) *Northwestern Hijaz*, I-204B, 1959, (b) *Northeastern Hijaz*, I-205B, 1959, and (c) *Southern Hijaz*, I-210B, 1958.

(J. Mandaville)

ḤAMD ALLĀH b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmād b. Naṣr al-**MUSTAWFĪ** al-**ḲAZWĪNĪ**, Persian historian and geographer, born about 680/1281-2 at Ḳazwīn, d. after 740/1339-40. He came of a Shīʿī family which had provided a series of governors of Ḳazwīn in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. His great-grandfather had been the Auditor-General of ʿIrāḳ and the family had since then borne the appellation Mustawfī. Ḥamd Allāh was appointed financial director of his home town and of several neighbouring districts by the well-known minister and historian Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who also inspired his historical studies. About 720/1320 he began with a *Ẓafar-nāma*, closely imitating Firdawsī in style and diction, which in 75,000 verses describes Islamic history up to 734/1333-4, that is, almost to the end of the Īlkhān empire. Ḥamd Allāh worked for 15 years on this material and in that connexion wrote his own studies of Firdawsī. This work has not been published. *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* (completed 730/1330) is similar in content, concise and very readable in style; in essentials it depends on known sources (al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Djuwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn, and also on the *Shāh-nāma* for the mythical period), but it contains a quantity of useful information about the author's times which is not to be found elsewhere, so that it is indispensable as a source for the later Īlkhān period (pub. in facsimile with English paraphrase by E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson, Leyden and London, 1911-14: *GMS*, xiv/1 and 2). Even more important is his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (Hearts' Bliss), an essentially cosmographical and geographical work, which is also written in an easily comprehensible manner. This work is practically our only source for the whole human geography of the last period of the Īlkhān empire; it still assumes the unity of that empire, which was crumbling from 735/1335 onwards. Only from the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* can we gather all the essential facts on the organization of administration, commerce, economic life, sectarian divisions, tax-collection and similar subjects; apart from literary sources (some classical geographers, reference books like Yāḳūt, the cosmography of al-Ḳazwīnī, and the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn Balkhī), Ḥamd Allāh used to a great extent his own knowledge and official documents available to him as a financial official (complete edition, Bombay 1894; *The Geographical Part*, text and translation, by Guy Le Strange, Leyden and London 1915-19: *GMS*, xxiii/1-2). The two last-named works were frequently transcribed because of their clear structure and simple style, and still deserve high regard as outstanding products of Persian mediaeval geography and historiography.

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(B. Spuler)

ḤAMD ALLĀH, shaykh, Ottoman calligrapher [see khaṭṭ]

ḤAMDALA means the saying of the formula *al-ḥamdu liʾllāh* (for the different vocalizations—*du, di, da*—see *LA*, iv, 133, 7 ff.) "Praise belongs to Allāh"; for from Him all praise-worthiness proceeds and to Him it returns. *Ḥamd* is the opposite of *dhamm*, being praise for something dependent on the will of him who is praised and it differs in this from *madḥ* which is not so limited; it is thus different from, although it may be an expression of *shukr*, "gratitude", the opposite of which is *kufrān*; *thanāʾ*, often rendered "praise", more exactly "taking account of", is used both of praise and dispraise. The phrase is formally *ikhbārī* or *khabarī*, "narrative", but in its use it is *inshāʾī*, "assertive", for the speaker makes it an expression of the praise which he at the moment directs towards God (Muḥammad ʿAbdū in *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa*, Cairo, 1323, 28; see, too, the elaborate discussion by al-Baydjūrī in his *Ḥāshiya* on the *Kifāyat al-ʿawāmm* of Faḍālī, Cairo 1315, 3 ff. In Lane's translation, "Praise Be" (*Lexicon*, 638) he meant an emphatic affirmation, not a *duʿāʾ*; this is plain from his letter to Fleischer on the translation of *tabāraka* (*ZDMG*, xx, 187). But this use of "be" is misleading and hardly defensible as English. Perhaps the *inshāʾī* force could be indicated by a mark of exclamation as Palmer does in his translation of the Ḳurʾān. As the phrase occurs twenty-four times in the Ḳurʾān, besides other forms such as *lahu ʾl-ḥamd*, it naturally became frequent in Muslim usage. All things come from Allāh, and for all things, pleasant or grievous, He is to be praised. Yet the word *ḥamdala* does not seem to belong to the classical language and is thus later than *basmala*, which may even be pre-Islamic. In the *Ṣaḥāḥ* and the *Lisān* it does not occur, though *basmala* is in both, in the latter fortified with a verse from ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (Schwarz, *Dīwān*, no. 413, ii, 241; the evidence for the line and the usage is fullest in the *Tādj*, s.v.). In the *Miṣbāḥ* (finished 784/1382) *ḥamdala* is mentioned, but only under *basmala*; it has no entry of its own. Finally, it is entered in its place in the *Ḳāmūs*; so slowly did it win recognition as a word. Besides its broad, devout usage the phrase is statedly a part of the *ṣalāt* and of the supplemental *tasbīḥ*, being repeated thirty-three times in the latter (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. iii; *Lexicon*, 1290b). Further, as one of the seven *mathānī*, i.e. the verses of the *Fātiḥa*, it has part with the *Fātiḥa* in various mystical and magical usages and meanings. Thus it is the *mathnā* assigned to the first of the seven stages of the Rifāʿī *ṭarīḳa* (W. H. T. Gairdner, *Way of a Mohammedan Mystic*, 12, 23). Even in orthodox tradition the *Fātiḥa* has begun to have magical value; cf. in al-Bukhārī (*Kitāb al-Tafsīr*, *Bāb Fātiḥat al-Kitāb*) the story of the man who used it as a charm (*ruḳya*) against snake-bite, and the Prophet approved. For later elaborate developments in magic, see al-Būnī, *Shams al-maʿārif*, faṣl X, and Aḥmad al-Zarḳāwī, in *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, 175. But the *ḥamdala* does not seem to be used by itself in magic as is the *basmala*. Again, the tendency to use the phrase as an introductory

formula soon expressed itself as a tradition from the Prophet: "Whatever is not begun with praise of Allāh is maimed" [see BASMALA]. Thus the *ḥamdala* became one of the three required things at the beginning of any formal writing. But this requirement was distinctly later, for, while the use of the *basmala* in this way held from the earliest times, we do not find the *ḥamdala* prefixed to the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām nor to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* nor even to the *Fihrist*. See on this usage and the traditions supporting it, the commentary of Sayyid Murtaḍā on the *Iḥyā'*, i, 53 f. and on the praiseworthiness of this exclamation especially v, 13 ff. (*Kitāb al-Adhkār*). The Friday sermon (*khuṭba*) in the mosques usually begins with the *ḥamdala*; and in earlier days a *khuṭba* lacking the *ḥamdala* was called *batrā'*.

Bibliography: References as above and also Bayḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, i, 5, 26 ff.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 45 ff.; Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ*, i, Cairo 1307, 115 ff. There exist numerous minor works, still in manuscript, on the *basmala* and the *ḥamdala* but these works often merely reproduce what is to be found in the *Tafsīrs* and the treatises. (D. B. MACDONALD)

HAMDĀN, a large Arab tribe of the Yemen group, the full genealogy being Hamdān (Awsala) b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Rabīʿa b. Awsala b. al-Khiyār b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān. Their territory lay to the north of Ṣanʿā [*q.v.*], stretching eastwards to Ma'rib [*q.v.*] and Nadjrān [*q.v.*], northwards to Ṣaʿda [*q.v.*], and westwards to the coast (Abū Arīsh). The eastern half belonged to the sub-tribe of Bakīl, the western to Ḥāshid [*q.v.*], and these are still found there.

In the Djāhiliyya Hamdān worshipped the idol Yaʿūḳ (but probably not Yaghūth as sometimes stated; cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 20, 22). Ibn al-Kalbī (*Aṣnām*, 10) suggests that they may have accepted Judaism at the time of Dhū Nuwās; many of their allies of Bal-Ḥārith (al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb) were Christian. There is little mention of them in poetry and in the accounts of early battles. When Abraha [*q.v.*], ruler of the Yemen, marched against Mecca, Hamdān joined in the attack made on him by a Yamanī prince, Dhū Nafr, allegedly to defend the house of God. On the "second day of Kulāb" they, along with Kinda and Ḳuḍāʿa, supported Bal-Ḥārith against Tamīm. Again with Bal-Ḥārith they defeated their neighbours on the east, Murād, at Mulāḥa (Razm in the Djawf), allegedly on the very day of the battle of Badr in 624. Another victory over Murād was at al-Ḳāʿ (in the Djawf).

To seek alliance with Muḥammad a deputation from Hamdān came to Medina in 9/631, led by the poet Mālik b. Namaṭ and Abū Thawr Dhu 'l-Mishʿār, probably a prince (Ibn Hishām, 963; cf. Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 73 f.); but this deputation seems to have represented only a part of the tribe. Others are said to have submitted to ʿAlī on his expedition to the Yemen in 10/631-2 (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 274). Muḥammad set ʿĀmir b. Shahr (of Bakīl) over Hamdān (Ṭabarī, i, 1851-3). At the *ridda* some of the tribe were inclined to revolt, but most stood firm behind the leaders (cf. W. Hoenerbach in *Abh. der Akad. der Wissenschaften und der Literatur* (Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Kl.), Mainz 1951, 274-7). According to al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1959, 438 f.) Hamdān became dispersed as they moved into the conquered lands, apart from those who remained in the Yemen. For a time, however, there was a strong body of them in Kūfa (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, index), including ʿĀmir b. Shahr (*Usd*, *s.v.*) and the poet Aʿshā of Hamdān (d. 83/702 [*q.v.*]). They were nearly all fervent supporters of ʿAlī and his sons (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index). Twelve thousand of them are said to have been in ʿAlī's army at Ṣiffīn, and their leader Saʿīd b. Ḳays took a prominent part in the battle. For a time they were reckoned, along with Ḥimyar and Madhhidj, a "seventh" of the Arabs (Ṭabarī, i, 2495). The geographer al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945) [*q.v.*] belonged to the group remaining in the Yemen.

Bibliography: (additional to that in article): al-Hamdānī, 49.9-15; 53.26-54.1; 67.14 f., 21-5; 85.6; 86.25; 101.1-3; 103.21; 105.13 f.; 106.16 f.; 107.9 f.; 108.22-4; 115.9; 125. 1 f.; 132. 5 f; 183.23; 190. 19 f.; 194. 21-4; 198. 13-16; Yāḳūt, see index, p. 262; Ṭabarī, index; A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, Paris 1847-8, index; F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, T. 9.10 and Register, p. 200; *Aghānī*, Tables; Ibn Hishām, 52, 950, 963.

(J. SCHLEIFER-[W. MONTGOMERY WATT])

ḤAMDĀN ḲARMAṬ B. AL-ASHʿATH, the leader of the Ḳarmaṭian movement in the *sawād* of al-Kūfa. Originally a carrier from the village of al-Dūr in the *ṭassūdj* of Furāt Bādaḳlā, he was converted to the early Ismāʿīlī movement by the *dāʿī* [*q.v.*] al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī. The date 264/877-8 given in this connexion by a much later report may be approximately correct. When al-Ḥusayn died or left the district, Ḥamdān became his successor. He organized the movement throughout the *sawād* and appointed the *dāʿīs* for the major districts. His main assistant was his brother-in-law ʿAbdān [*q.v.*], who soon became the leading spirit and conducted the propaganda quite independently. The movement spread rapidly among the peasants, and many of the Bedouin clans and tribes in touch with the *sawād* also became adherents. Various taxes were collected from the converts, culminating in the fifth on all income to be saved for the expected Mahdī. Eventually a kind of communal ownership of goods was introduced and care was taken of the needy in the community. In 277/890-1 a fortified *dār al-hidjra* was built as a place of refuge and congregation. As the Baghdād government had not since the time of the Zandj revolt re-established effective control over the region, the movement escaped its notice until the year 278/891, when some people from al-Kūfa accused it of creating a new religion and permitting warfare against the Muslims. No action was taken. As this, however, was the first Ismāʿīlī movement of which the government took notice, the name 'Ḳarmaṭian' was later applied to other groups not organized by Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ.

The doctrine propagated by Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān probably closely resembled that ascribed to the Ḳarmaṭians by al-Nawbakhtī. Its central theme was that the appearance of the Mahdī Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the seventh Imām and seventh Apostle of God, was at hand, ending the era of Muḥammad, the sixth Apostle. He would rule the world, establish justice, abolish the law of Islam, and proclaim the hidden truth of the former religions. This truth could already be attained at least partially by the converts on initiation. The doctrine had a distinctly antinomian character. Reports of the Sunnī sources that the followers of Ḥamdān dispensed with the Islamic ritual and law are trustworthy, but not so their allegations that this led to licentiousness and libertinism among them.

This was essentially also the teaching of the leaders of the Ismāʿīlī movement with whom Ḥamdān kept up correspondence. When the later Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mahdī succeeded to the leadership in Sala-

miyya, he introduced certain doctrinal changes which aroused the apprehension of Ḥamdān. ʿAbdān was sent to find out the reason for the change. He learnt that the new leader denied any connexion of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl with the movement and claimed the Imāmate for himself. Thereupon Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān broke off the propaganda, causing a momentous split in the Ismāʿīlī movement. This happened about the year 286/899. Ḥamdān soon afterwards went to Kalwā<u>dh</u>ā and from there disappeared. A report of Ibn Mālik that he was killed in Ba<u>gh</u>dād does not seem reliable.

Bibliography: The report of A<u>kh</u>ū Muḥsin, probably mostly taken from Ibn Rizām, is best preserved by Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, vi, Cairo 1961, 44 ff., and also by al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. Bunz, Leipzig 1909, 101 ff., and by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, transl. S. de Sacy in *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, i, pp. CLXVI ff.; Ṭabarī, iii, 2124 ff.; M. J. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*[2], Leiden 1886, 16 ff.; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1958), 36 ff.; idem, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 59 ff. (W. MADELUNG)

AL-**HAMDĀNĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD B. YAʿḲŪB B. YŪSUF B. DĀWŪD B. SULAYMĀN <u>DH</u>I 'L-DUMAYNA AL-BAKĪLĪ AL-ARḤABĪ, often named IBN <u>DH</u>I/ABI 'L-DUMAYNA or IBN AL-ḤĀʾIK "the weaver's (*i.e.*, the poet's) son" after his ancestor Sulaymān, who was a poet (cf. *Iklīl*, x, 197), South-Arabian scholar, most famous as antiquarian, genealogist, geographer and poet. On account of his rich and varied literary production he was called "the tongue of South Arabia" (*lisān al-Yaman*).

Al-Hamdānī, whose family originated from al-Marā<u>sh</u>ī in the territory of Bakīl, was born in Ṣanʿāʾ in the latter half of the 3rd/9th century, perhaps in 280/893 according to a cryptic notice in the recently discovered 10th *maḳāla* of his *Sarāʾir al-ḥikma* (*Iklīl*, i, ed. al-Ḥiwālī, Preface p. 62). Having received an excellent education in all branches of learning, he made extensive travels and acquired a detailed knowledge of Arabia, as is shown by his classic description of this peninsula (*Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿarab*), which is perhaps a supplement to the otherwise unknown work *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* (cf. al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāh*, i, 283). He visited ʿIrāḳ, lived for a long time in Mecca and was in contact with many eminent scholars, such as the older Anbārī, Zāhidī and Ibn <u>Kh</u>ālawayh.

The main authority of al-Hamdānī for South-Arabian archaeology and genealogy was Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd, called al-Yaharī (after his ancestor <u>Dh</u>ū Yahar) and al-Ḥanbaṣī (from his castle in Bayt Ḥanbaṣ near Ṣanʿāʾ). The rich material supplied by this authority, by the records (*sidjill*) of the tribe of <u>Kh</u>awlān in Ṣaʿda, and by other oral and literary sources was collected in his magnum opus, the encyclopaedia *al-Iklīl*, "the Crown". For our knowledge of the South-Arabian tribes the *Iklīl* plays the same fundamental rôle that the *Djamharat al-ansāb* of Ibn al-Kalbī does for the Northern ones. Only four of its ten parts are so far known to exist in manuscript: I, II, VIII, X. The first two books—treating the genealogy of Mālik b. Ḥimyar, *viz.* al-Hamaysaʿ b. Ḥimyar—were discovered in 1932 in the Berlin ms. Or. oct. 968, of which a facsimile edition was published in 1943. This ms. gives the text in the recension of Muḥammad, the son of the famous Na<u>sh</u>wān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī, made about 600/1200. According to the introduction the redactor made only some minor omissions from the original text. There are, however, several later additions incorporated, among them some marginal notes of Na<u>sh</u>wān. A second ms. of book II exists in Cairo. Book VIII, containing descriptions of the old castles of the Yaman, with much poetry inserted, enjoyed great popularity; it is preserved in several MSS. of mediocre quality, so that all editions and translations are unreliable in details. Extracts from this book in a better recension were found in the Ambrosiana (see *Orientalia*, N.S., xii, 135-45). Book X finally gives the genealogies of the twin Hamdān tribes, Ḥā<u>sh</u>id and Bakīl.

Of the remaining, lost, parts of the *Iklīl*, book III is said to have treated the merits (*faḍāʾil*) of Ḳaḥṭān, books IV-VI the old history of South Arabia (*al-sīra/siyar al-ḳadīma, al-wusṭā, al-a<u>kh</u>īra*) until the beginning of Islam, book VII a critic of false traditions, and book IX finally the Ḥimyaritic inscriptions (*masānid*). Quotations from this book in the commentary on Na<u>sh</u>wān's Ḥimyaritic *ḳaṣīda* show that al-Hamdānī had some knowledge of the *musnad* writing, but no real understanding of the inscriptions.

Apart from genealogical, historical and topographical material, the *Iklīl* provides us also with a rich anthology of old Yamanī poetry. At the end of book I there are given three complete *ḳaṣīda*s of ʿAbd al-<u>Kh</u>āliḳ b. Abu 'l-Ṭalḥ al-<u>Sh</u>ihābī, who is otherwise little known (cf. *Ṣifa*, 58). The work also preserves numerous samples of al-Hamdānī's own poetry, which was collected in a *Dīwān* of six volumes and commented upon by Ibn <u>Kh</u>ālawayh (d. 370/980), but is now lost. Al-Hamdānī's famous *ḳaṣīda al-Dāmi<u>gh</u>a* is preserved at the end of the Berlin MS. of the *Iklīl*, I-II. With this fervent defence of the Banū Ḳaḥṭān against the Banū ʿAdnān, al-Hamdānī engaged himself in the old fatal controversy between northern and southern tribes that had been started about 200 years earlier by Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī with his *Mu<u>dh</u>ahhaba*. His engagement in the tribal *mufā<u>kh</u>ara* may have been fatal for al-Hamdānī, who was accused by his enemies of blasphemy against the Prophet, as belonging to the Banū Hā<u>sh</u>im (cf. *Iklīl*, i, ed. al-Ḥiwālī, Preface p. 49, the passage from the *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* of Ibn Abu 'l-Ridjāl).

Al-Hamdānī spent the greater part of his life in Rayda, where he enjoyed the favour of Abu Djaʿfar al-Ḍaḥḥāk, called Sayyid Hamdān, and wrote his *Iklīl* in the castle of Talfum. Having moved from there to Ṣaʿda, he was involved in political controversies and put in prison by Asʿad b. Abū Yuʿfir al-Ḥiwālī (d. 332/943) on behalf of the Rassī Imām Aḥmad al-Nāṣir b. Yaḥyā al-Hādī in Ṣaʿda. In his *Ḳaṣīdat al-djār*, printed by al-Ḥiwālī in his preface to *Iklīl* i (pp. 49-56), al-Hamdānī blames Asʿad, while Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ukaylī, who released him from prison, is praised in the context of *Iklīl* i. A second imprisonment brought about a strong reaction among the Arabs and led to the battle of Katafā, and eventually to the death of al-Nāṣir and his brother Ḥasan. Having been released from prison with the consent of Ibn Ziyād, the ruler of Zabīd, al-Hamdānī praised the leaders of the revolt in poems (see *Iklīl*, i, ed. al-Ḥiwālī, pp. 331 ff.). Hence there are strong reasons to disbelieve the current statement, made by Ṣāʿid al-Ḳurṭubī in his *Ṭabaḳāt* (ed. Cheikho 59) on the authority of the Umayyad Caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir (350-366), that al-Hamdānī died in prison in Ṣanʿāʾ in the year 334/945 (*ibid.*, Preface 48, 59 s.).

Only one other book of al-Hamdānī, *K. al-Djawharatayn al-ʿatīḳatayn*, on the two precious metals gold and silver, has been preserved and is being edited by Toll in Uppsala. Of the astrological work *Sarāʾir al-ḥikma* a fragment has recently come to light (v. supra). Of the remaining works attributed to al-Hamdānī nothing has been recovered so far; some of these are cited in the *Iklīl*. Their titles are: (1) *al-Siyar waʾl-akhbār* (= *Iklīl* iii-v?), (2) *Ayyām al-ʿarab*, (3) *al-Yaʿsūb* (on shooting and hunting), (4) *al-Ḳuwā* (on medicine), (5) *al-Zīdj* (astronomical tables), (6) *al-Ṭāliʿ waʾl-maṭāriḥ* (mentioned only in Ḳifṭī's *Inbāh*).

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B. Biography: Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 58-9; al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 163; idem, *Inbāh al-ruwāh ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāh*, ed. Muḥ. Abu ʾl-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1369, i, 279-284 (main biographical source); Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-arib* (*GMS* VI), iii, 1, 9; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāh*, Cairo 1326, 217 (from Khazradjī); short biographies in Fīrūzābādī's *K. al-Bulgha fi taʾrīkh aʾimmat al-lugha* (Berl. Ahlw. 10060, f. 63 b) and Ibn ʿAzm's *Dustūr al-iʿlām* (Berl. Ahlw. 9876/7, f. 50 b).

C. Editions and translations: (1) *Ṣifa*: *Al-Hamdânî's Geographie der arab. Halbinsel*, ed. D. H. Müller, i-ii, Leiden 1884-1891; L. Forrer, *Südarabien nach al-Hamdānī's "Beschreibung der arab. Halbinsel"*, Leipzig 1942 = Abhandl. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXVII/3 (partial translation); (2) *Iklīl*: i-ii (and *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Dāmigha*): Facsimile edition, Berlin 1943; i: ed. O. Löfgren, fasc. 1-2 (Uppsala 1954/65) = Bibliotheca Ekmaniana 58; ed. Muḥ. b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥiwālī, Cairo 1383/1963; ii (last section) ed. Löfgren: al-Hamdānī, *Südarabisches Muštabih*, Uppsala 1954 = Bibl. Ekmaniana 57; viii: D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen u. Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iklîl des Hamdânî*, i-ii, Vienna 1879-81 = *SBAk. Wien*, phil.-hist. Classe, xciv-xcvii; idem, *Auszüge aus dem VIII. Buche des Iklîl*, Vienna 1899 = *Südarab. Alterthümer im Kunsthist. Hofmuseum*, 80-95; ed. Anastās Mārī al-Karmalī, Baghdād 1931; ed. Nabih Amin Faris, Princeton 1940; idem, *The antiquities of South Arabia* (translation), Princeton 1938 = *Princeton Oriental Texts*, iii; x: ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1368/1949

(O. Löfgren)

HAMDĀNIDS, three families of the Banū Hamdān whose tribal rule over Ṣanʿāʾ and its dependencies extended from 481-570/1088-1175. Throughout Yemen's long history of political anarchy, the large and powerful tribe of Hamdān [*q.v.*], many of whose members were Shīʿī, either of the Zaydī or Ismāʿīlī sect, often imposed their rule over Ṣanʿāʾ and its environs whenever there was a decline of a larger dynastic state. Such was the case with the weakening of the Ṣulayḥid [*q.v.*] dynasty, whose members were of a sub-tribe of the Hamdān, towards the end of the 5th/11th century.

Upon the transfer of the capital of the Ṣulayḥid state from Ṣanʿāʾ to Dhū Djibla in 481/1088-89 by the second ruler of this Fāṭimid dynasty, al-Mukarram Aḥmad, ʿImrān b. al-Faḍl, one of the leaders of the Banū Hamdān from the sub-tribe of al-Yām, and Asʿad b. Shihāb, maternal uncle of al-Mukarram Aḥmad, were appointed as the Ṣulayḥid governors over Ṣanʿāʾ. On the death of al-Manṣūr Sabā, the third Ṣulayḥid ruler, in 492/1098-99, and the resultant decline of his state, the rule of Ṣanʿāʾ passed more directly into the hands of the Banū Hamdān in the person of Ḥātim b. al-Ghashīm al-Mughallasī.

Ḥātim died four years later and was succeeded by his second son, ʿAbd Allāh. Intratribal strife, perhaps in part caused by sectarian differences, began, with control of Ṣanʿāʾ as the prize; only two years after ʿAbd Allāh came into power, and although he was recognized as a just ruler, he was killed by poison in 504/1110-11. He in turn was succeeded by his younger brother, Maʿn b. Ḥātim. By now the dissension in the tribe had reached full force, with the elders, led by the *Ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. ʿImrān, son of the former Ṣulayḥid governor, ranged against Maʿn while a large group of the tribe came to his support. At length, in 510/1116, Maʿn was deposed and imprisoned by the *Ḳāḍī* Aḥmad, and the tribal control of the city passed into the hands of another Hamdānid family.

Hishām b. Ḳubayb (not Ḳubbayt as in Lane-Poole) b. Rusaḥ and his brother, al-Ḥumās, ruled in succession for the next seventeen years (the year of Hishām's death is not known). Upon the demise of al-Ḥumās, in 527/1132-33, he was followed by his son Ḥātim. With the continuance of tribal discord the Ṣanʿānīs rose in revolt and deposed Ḥātim in favour of Ḥamīd al-Dawla Ḥātim, the son of the *Ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. ʿImrān, in 533/1138-39. He is reported to have entered Ṣanʿāʾ with 700 Hamdānī horsemen in support of his régime.

By this time Yemen had reverted to its usual state of political and religious anarchy with the main towns and districts of both the coast and the highlands in the hands of local independent rulers, a condition ripe for the rise of religious reformers and adventurers. One of these reformers was the Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad, a direct descendant in the sixth generation from al-Hādī ila ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā, the founder of the Zaydī sect in the Yemen. Al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad, rising in 532/1137-38, proclaimed his leadership of the Zaydīs in their chief centre, Ṣaʿda, and set out to conquer the highlands, taking Nadjrān, al-Djawf, and al-Ẓāhir before marching against Ṣanʿāʾ. In 545/1150-51 he attacked and defeated Ḥamīd al-Dawla, but was unable to seize Ṣanʿāʾ from the Hamdānids.

On the death of Ḥamīd al-Dawla in 556/1161 control over Ṣanʿāʾ passed to his son, ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, during whose reign the Mahdid [*q.v.*] ruler of Zabīd in the Tihāma began his campaigns for territorial conquest and the spread of the apostate religious doctrines instituted by his father, ʿAlī b. Mahdī (d. 554/1159). In 568/1172-73 the Mahdid attacked the Zurayʿid [*q.v.*] ruler of ʿAdan by laying siege to the city. The Zurayʿids, unable to withstand the Mahdids alone, requested and received the assistance of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim and that of two other Hamdānid tribes of the highlands. In a series of encounters during the first part of 569/1173 the Mahdid was driven back to the Tihāma by the allies.

Shortly after the return of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim to Ṣanʿāʾ the Ayyūbids under Turān Shah reached the outskirts of the city in their conquest of Yemen. ʿAlī fled to the safety of his mountain fortress leaving the city open to the invaders, and with the capture

of Ṣanʿāʾ by the Ayyūbids in 570/1174-75 the Fāṭimid rule of the Hamdānids of nearly a century came to a close.

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(C. L. Geddes)

ḤAMDĀNIDS, Taghlibī Arab family which, in the 4th/10th century, provided two minor dynasties, which arose, owing to the decadence of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, in Mesopotamia or Djazīra (Mosul) and in Syria (Aleppo), and whose most distinguished representative was the *amīr* of Aleppo, Sayf al-Dawla.

The Ḥamdānids are descended from ʿAdī b. Usāma . . . b. Taghlib, which is why they are called Taghlibīs and ʿAdawīs (see their genealogical tree in Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, C, 32 and in M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides de Jazîra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers 1951, 287-8; cf. the appendix to the edition of the *Dīwān* of Abū Firās by S. Dahan, Beirut 1944). They came originally from Barkaʿīd in the eastern part of the Djazīra (on Barkaʿīd, see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 105).

The first Ḥamdānids. The first member of the family on whom historical information is available is Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn b. al-Ḥārith, who appears in 254/868 with other Taghlibīs in an army which was fighting against the Khāridjīs of Djazīra, but is found from 266/879-80 onwards, and particularly in 272/885-6, among the Khāridjīs, whence his nickname of al-Shārī. In 279/892-3, at the time when al-Muʿtaḍid assumed power and decided to re-establish the authority of the caliph in Djazīra, Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn was in possession of certain places there, including Māridīn, and, on the left bank of the Tigris, Ardumusht (on this place see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 112 and *passim*). In 282/895, the caliph seized Māridīn, which Ḥamdān had left; then his troops took Ardumusht, which Ḥamdān's son, Ḥusayn, who had been left to guard the fortress while his father fled, yielded to the caliph's forces, himself going over to the caliph's side. After a vigorous pursuit along both banks of the Tigris, Ḥamdān gave himself up to the caliph outside Mosul and was imprisoned. (On this episode, see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 301-2; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *apud* Lang, *Muʿtaḍid als Prinz und Regent*. . ., in *ZDMG*, xli, 243; Abū Firās, *Dīwān*, ed. Dahan, 148, in the great *ḳaṣīda* which he wrote in praise of his family.)

His son Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, now on the side of the caliph, gave the latter valuable support in the fighting against the Khāridjīs and their leader Hārūn al-Shārī. It was due to him that Hārūn was captured, and the grateful caliph rewarded him by pardoning his father Ḥamdān and granting him the command of a corps of Taghlibī horsemen, which several members of the family joined. He took part in the fighting in the Djabal against Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf [see DULAFIDS] in 283/896, and in the expeditions against the Ḳarmaṭīs. During the caliphate of al-Muktafī, he was responsible in 291/903, under the orders of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, *ṣāḥib dīwān al-djaysh*, for the victory in Syria over the Ṣāḥib al-Khāl, who was captured. He also took part in Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's expedition in which he re-conquered Egypt from the last Ṭūlūnid ruler in 292/904-5, refusing to accept the governorship of Egypt. He again fought the Ḳarmaṭīs in Syria in 295/907-8. Having taken part in the conspiracy to put Ibn al-Muʿtazz on the throne in 296/December 908, he fled after the plot failed. His brother, Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, was ordered to pursue him but was unable to overtake him. Ḥusayn finally asked for *amān* through the mediation of his brother Ibrāhīm, which was granted. He was even appointed governor of Ḳumm and Kāshān in the Djabal. He returned to Baghdād and received in 298/910-11 the governorship of the Diyār Rabīʿa. But he quarrelled with the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, revolted, and was captured by the eunuch Muʾnis in 303/916. He was imprisoned, and put to death in 306/918 in circumstances which are obscure, perhaps as the result of a Shīʿī conspiracy in which he is said to have take part while in prison, for he had pronounced Shīʿī sympathies (see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 330-1, 338-9).

Ḥusayn's brothers, ʿAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, Ibrāhīm, Dāwūd and Saʿīd, had remained loyal to the caliph. The first had been appointed governor of Mosul in 293/905-6. He subdued the Kurds of the region, directed, as has been said, the operations against his brother Ḥusayn in 297, but in 301/913-4 was dismissed for reasons which are not clear, revolted, but then gave himself up to Muʾnis, was pardoned and was re-instated as governor of Mosul in 302/914-5. He was under suspicion at the time of Ḥusayn's revolt in 303, and for a time both he and his brother Ibrāhīm were imprisoned. Soon he was again given a command in the army, and fought under Muʾnis against Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj, the governor of Ādharbaydjān and Armenia, who revolted in 307/919. His brother Ibrāhīm was appointed governor of the Diyār Rabīʿa in 307 (being succeeded, on his death in 308, by his brother Dāwūd); while Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ was appointed in 308/920 governor of the Ṭarīḳ Khurāsān and Dīnawar and was re-appointed in 313/925-6 to the governorship of Mosul as well, to which were shortly added the regions of Bāzabdā and of Ḳardā on the left bank of the Tigris. Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ was to retain these positions until his death in 317/929; in the history of the caliphate he played an active political and military rôle which took him away from Mosul, where he left as his lieutenant his son al-Ḥasan, the future Nāṣir al-Dawla. In 311/923-4 he was given the task of ensuring the security of the Pilgrimage route: on his return he was attacked by the Ḳarmaṭī Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān and taken prisoner, but was freed in 312/928. In 315/927-8, the Ḳarmaṭīs had reached ʿAyn al-Tamr near al-Anbār on the Euphrates and presented a serious threat to Baghdād. Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, with his three brothers Sulaymān, Saʿīd and Naṣr, served in the army sent to halt the Ḳarmaṭīs. According to one tradition, it was due to the initiative of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, who persuaded the commander of the army to destroy the bridge over the Nahr Zubāra, that Baghdād was saved and the Ḳarmaṭīs forced to turn their attentions elsewhere.

However, Hārūn b. Gharīb, the son of the maternal uncle of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, was ambitious to take the place of the commander-in-chief, the eunuch Muʾnis, who was friendly to the Ḥamdānids. Having obtained the governorship of the Djabal, he dismissed Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ from his governorship of Dīnawar. Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ then came with his troops to Baghdād. He took part in the conspiracy which came to a head at the beginning of 317/February 929 and whose aim was to overthrow al-Muḳtadir and to replace him by his brother Muḥammad al-Ḳāhir. Working closely with the chief of police, Nāzūk, he played a very

important part in the conspiracy and it was he who installed al-Ḳāhir in the palace and procured al-Muḳtadir's abdication; at the same time, keeping his own interests in view, he caused to be bestowed on himself the governorship of a wide area. But there arose a counter-revolt; the new caliph was besieged in his palace and Abu 'l-Haydjā' died heroically defending al-Ḳāhir to the end. Al-Muḳtadir, returned to power, evinced the most profound grief at Abu 'l-Haydjā''s death.

Abu 'l-Haydjā' was at this period the most notable member of the Ḥamdānid family. His great qualities of valour and generosity and his frank and independent spirit commanded respect and were universally esteemed. But he possessed also the spirit of intrigue which was characteristic of the great feudal lords of the time and he was finally the cause of his own undoing. Abū Firās gives him an important place in his *ḳaṣīda* and praises his powerful sword-strokes. Like Ḥusayn, and probably the whole family, he had definite Shīʿī tendencies, which were to re-appear in his son Sayf al-Dawla: Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions that he was responsible for the restoration of the tomb of ʿAlī at Kūfa (on Abu 'l-Haydjā', see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 341-76, and on his brothers, *ibid.*, 378-81).

Abu 'l-Haydjā''s two sons were to be the most famous members of the Ḥamdānid family and, inheriting their father's prestige, were to follow his political example and to make renowned the two emirates, Mosul and Aleppo, which they governed. But Abu 'l-Haydjā' may be considered as the founder of the emirate of Mosul and of the Ḥamdānid dynasty.

The Ḥamdānid emirate of Mosul. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, the son of Abu 'l-Haydjā' and the future Nāṣir al-Dawla, had at first some difficulty in making himself *amīr* of Mosul. On his father's death he inherited only a part of his domains, on the left bank of the Tigris, his claim to Mosul being denied. He regained it in 318/930, however, but was deprived of it again as a result of the intrigues of his uncles, Naṣr and Saʿīd, who left him only the western part of the Diyār Rabīʿa. In 322/934 he again became master of Mosul and of the Diyār Rabīʿa, but was ousted once again by his uncle Sāʿid, who was intriguing against him from Baghdād. He therefore rid himself of him by a villainous murder, then Mosul was re-occupied by the troops of the vizier Ibn Muḳla. Ḥasan, who had fled to Armenia, prepared from there the re-conquest of Mosul. He defeated the lieutenants of the caliph and of the rival Taghlibī clan, the Banū Ḥabīb, who had sided with the caliph against him. At the beginning of 324/end of 935, the caliph al-Rāḍī finally appointed him governor of Mosul and of the three provinces of the Djazīra (Diyār Rabīʿa, Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Bakr). He nevertheless had to fight, with the help of his younger brother ʿAlī, the future Sayf al-Dawla, in order to wrest Diyār Bakr from one of his former auxiliaries, a Daylamī, and Diyār Muḍar from some Ḳaysī tribes and an officer of the caliph. In 936 he was master of the whole of the Djazīra and henceforward was to be able to give free rein to his ambitions.

The crisis in the caliphate which had forced the caliph al-Rāḍī to hand over his powers to an *amīr al-umarā'* gave rise to rivalry among all the candidates for this position. Ḥasan, with the power which the possession of a rich province gave him, desired the position and engaged in a conflict with the *amīr al-umarā'*, Badjkam [*q.v.*], who tried unsuccessfully to dispossess him of Mosul. At one moment Ḥasan gave his support to another *amīr al-umarā'*, Ibn Rā'iḳ, and to the caliph al-Muttaḳī, who were being threatened by the ambitious Aḥmad al-Barīdī of Baṣra, but then had Ibn Rā'iḳ assassinated and himself took his place at Baghdād in 330/942 after having brought back the caliph to his capital (4 June 942). He had earlier received the title of Nāṣir al-Dawla (Defender of the dynasty), while his brother ʿAlī, who, with his cousin Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān, had helped him, received that of Sayf al-Dawla (Sword of the dynasty). Nāṣir al-Dawla governed the attenuated ʿAbbāsid empire for about a year, but had to give up the position to one of his officers who had led a revolt against him, the Turk Tūzūn, and returned to Mosul. The caliph al-Muttaḳī quarrelled with Tūzūn and put himself under the protection of the Ḥamdānid, but the latter, after being defeated by Tūzūn, abandoned the caliph who, after trying to gain the protection of the Ikhshīd of Egypt, who was master of Syria, returned to Baghdād. Nāṣir al-Dawla then concluded in 332/944 a pact with Tūzūn which assured him the governorship of the Djazīra. Next he unsuccessfully opposed the Buwayhid Muʿizz al-Dawla when in 334/January 946 the latter took possession of the capital, and concluded an agreement with him in 335/946. He was confirmed in his possessions and the Buwayhid even supported him when his troops revolted. But twice there was conflict between them, in 337/948-9 and in 347/958-9, because of the Ḥamdānid's refusal to fulfil his financial obligations to the central power as represented by the Buwayhid. In 347 Nāṣir al-Dawla even had to take refuge with his brother Sayf al-Dawla, the master of Aleppo (from 336/948, see below), until the signing of a new treaty which Muʿizz al-Dawla concluded with Sayf al-Dawla, regarding Nāṣir al-Dawla as the subordinate of his brother. Nāṣir al-Dawla was once again driven out of Mosul by Muʿizz al-Dawla, and for the same reasons, in 353/964, but he was able to make a victorious return there with his sons. However, Muʿizz al-Dawla would have dealings only with Abū Taghlib, the eldest son of Nāṣir al-Dawla, who was already beginning to follow a policy of his own.

This year 353 marks the decline of the power of Nāṣir al-Dawla, who, now old and in conflict with his sons, was deposed by them and exiled in 356/967 to Ardumusht, where he died in 358/969.

Nāṣir al-Dawla's power had extended over the Diyār Rabīʿa, Mosul, the districts on the left bank of the Tigris, and Raḥba in the Diyār Muḍar. As we shall see, he had left the Diyār Bakr to his brother Sayf al-Dawla, who also held the greater part of the Diyār Muḍar. At the beginning of his reign, Nāṣir al-Dawla had made two unsuccessful attempts, in 324/935-6 and in 333/944, to extend his domination to Ādharbaydjān. His penetration into Armenia in 323/935 when he was forced to leave Mosul (see above) was also only temporary, and it is doubtful whether he was able to make his authority recognized there as Sayf al-Dawla did later. In the Byzantine war Nāṣir al-Dawla played only a part of little importance (on the reign of Nāṣir al-Dawla see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 377-407, 409-52, 507-39, and art. NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA).

He was succeeded by his son Faḍl Allāh Abū Taghlib al-Ghaḍanfar. Abū Taghlib came into conflict first with his brother Ḥamdān, who alone had opposed the removal of Nāṣir al-Dawla and who had a certain amount of power at his command, for he held the governorship of Nisibis in the Diyār Rabīʿa, of Māridīn and of Raḥba in the Diyār Muḍar, and he

had in addition seized Raḳḳa and Rāfiḳa after the death of Sayf al-Dawla of Aleppo. In order to fight against Ḥamdān, Abū Taghlib made an agreement with Bakhtiyār, who had succeeded Muʿizz al-Dawla at Baghdād, and Ḥamdān was forced to abandon his possessions and to flee to Baghdād. Bakhtiyar succeeded in procuring his return to Raḥba in 359/970; but the war between the two brothers recommenced, resulting in a battle, in which Ḥamdān mortally wounded another of his brothers, and in further quarrels in the Ḥamdānid family, several members of which abandoned Abū Taghlib. Ḥamdān was defeated, however, and again obliged to flee to Baghdād where he was joined at the end of 360/971 by his brother Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm.

Abū Taghlib did not on the other hand enter into conflict with his cousin at Aleppo, Abu 'l-Maʿālī Sharīf, the successor of Sayf al-Dawla, who, having difficulties in Syria, tacitly accepted the nominal suzerainty of the emirate of Mosul over that of Aleppo which had been granted to Abū Taghlib by the caliph al-Muṭīʿ, thus continuing the state of affairs which had existed during the time of Nāṣir al-Dawla. Nor did he oppose Abū Taghlib's seizure of the Diyār Bakr and the Diyār Muḍar.

But Abū Taghlib's chief opponent was the Buwayhid Bakhtiyār, master of the caliphate and the representative of the central power to which the Ḥamdānid had to pay tribute. Hostility between the two was inevitable, especially as the Ḥamdānid's ambition was to play in Baghdād the rôle which had formerly been played by his father Nāṣir al-Dawla, and also as two of his brothers were there, one of whom especially, Ḥamdān, was urging Bakhtiyār to drive Abū Taghlib out of Mosul. At first Abū Taghlib and Bakhtiyār followed a policy of alliance, which showed itself in their common attitude towards the Ḳarmaṭīs and the Fāṭimids, but in 368/973, prompted by Ḥamdān, Bakhtiyār undertook the conquest of Mosul and marched on the town. A shrewd move by Abū Taghlib in the direction of Baghdād led Bakhtiyār to negotiate. The terms of the agreement, which contained one clause requiring the Ḥamdānid to keep Baghdād supplied with wheat, were observed by neither side and hostilities recommenced, ending in a new agreement in 974. Relations then improved, and Abū Taghlib, to whom Bakhtiyār had persuaded the caliph to grant the *laḳab* of ʿUddat al-Dawla, gave the Buwayhid his support against the rebel Turkish leaders and advanced even as far as Baghdād. But it was due to the intervention of the Buwayhid of Shīrāz, ʿAḍud al-Dawla (the son of Rukn al-Dawla of Rayy), that Bakhtiyār was restored to his throne at Baghdād. In 364/975 Abū Taghlib obtained a new treaty, which freed him from the payment of tribute. When ʿAḍud al-Dawla attempted, in 367/977, to gain for himself Bakhtiyār's position at Baghdād and to send the latter to seek a new fortune in Syria, Abū Taghlib gave his support to Bakhtiyār, who was trying to recapture Baghdād, on condition that his brother Ḥamdān, who was with Bakhtiyār, was handed over to him; he then had Ḥamdān put to death. But the troops of Bakhtiyār and Abū Taghlib were defeated by ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 367/978. The Buwayhid seized Mosul and forced Abū Taghlib to flee. He reached Nisibis, then Mayyāfāriḳīn, then Arzan and Armenia, then Ḥiṣn Ziyād in the Byzantine territory of Anzitene held by the Byzantine rebel Skleros, hoping to obtain his help by forming an alliance with him. But his hopes were disappointed; he returned towards Amid without encountering any opposition from the Buwayhid troops who were engaged in besieging Mayyāfāriḳīn. After the capture of this town in 368/978, Abū Taghlib no longer felt secure and turned towards Raḥba. From there he tried in vain to reach an agreement with ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who was now master of the greater part of the Djazīra, and decided to continue into Syria into Fāṭimid territory, while the Buwayhid army arrived to occupy the Diyār Muḍar. Avoiding passing through the territory of his cousin at Aleppo, Saʿd al-Dawla, who had acknowledged the suzerainty of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and had been invited by him to arrest the fugitive, he managed to reach the Ḥawrān. He hoped to enter Damascus and to obtain from the Fāṭimid caliph the governorship of this town, which at that time was in the hands of a rebel, al-Ḳassām. But the latter prevented him from entering the town and Abū Taghlib, after some skirmishes, headed southwards and reached Kafr ʿĀḳib on the Lake of Tiberias. He began negotiations with the Fāṭimid general Faḍl and promised to help him to reconquer Damascus. But Faḍl had undertaken to support Mufarridj b. Daghfal b. al-Djarrāḥ, the master of Ramla, who was disturbed by the presence and the ambitions of Abū Taghlib. Faḍl, violating his agreements, on the contrary promised Ramla to Abū Taghlib. Finally Abū Taghlib joined forces with the enemies of Mufarridj, the Banū ʿUkayl, and with them embarked on an action against him. Mufarridj then appealed to Faḍl. In the ensuing battle Abū Taghlib was taken prisoner by Mufarridj and put to death (369/979)

Abū Taghlib had had to endure violent Byzantine attacks in 361-2/972, but in the following year his lieutenant took prisoner the Domesticus Melias, who died in captivity. In /974, the Emperor in revenge ravaged Mesopotamia. It appears that about this time Abū Taghlib paid tribute to the Empire. At the time of the revolt of Skleros, after the death of John Tzimisces in /976, the Byzantine rebel relied on the help of Abū Taghlib, with whom he concluded a pact, and we have seen that in 368/978 he spent some time at Ḥiṣn Ziyād, the headquarters of Skleros (on the reign of Abū Taghlib see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 541-77, 838 ff.).

The Ḥamdānid dynasty of Mosul ended tragically. It had indeed led a rather precarious existence from the time of the arrival at Baghdād of Muʿizz al-Dawla.

Abū Taghlib's sister, Djamīla, who had fled with her brother, also met a tragic end. One tradition had it that she took her life after being handed over to ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The other members of the Ḥamdānid family at Mosul, notably Abū Taghlib's two brothers Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn and Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm, transferred their allegiance to the Buwayhid. After the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, a Kurdish *amīr*, Bādh, had taken possession of the Diyār Bakr. In order to halt Bādh's attempts to gain the remainder of the Djazīra, the Buwayhid Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, who had come to the throne in 379/989, authorized the two brothers to return to Mosul. They attempted there to regain power and fought against Bādh with the help of the Banū ʿUḳayl. Bādh was killed in a battle against Ḥusayn in the region of Balad. Bādh's successor, his nephew Abū ʿAlī b. Marwān, carried on the struggle against the two brothers and took Ḥusayn prisoner, but released him on the intervention of the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz, who received him in Syria and made him governor of Tyre in 387/997. Another of Abū Taghlib's brothers, Abu 'l-Muṭāʿ Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, also entered the service of the Fāṭimid, and became governor of Damascus

in 401/1010-1. Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm was arrested and put to death by the ʿUḳaylid *amīr* with whom he had fought against Bādh. Mosul then passed into the power of an ʿUḳaylid dynasty.

One of Ḥusayn's grandsons, Ḥusayn Abū Muḥammad, who like his ancestor bore the title Nāṣir al-Dawla, played an important rôle in Egypt in the reign of al-Mustanṣir, first as governor of Syria, then in Cairo during the disturbances of 459/1065 and the following years. He was at one moment absolute master in Cairo, tried to re-establish the ʿAbbāsid suzerainty there and deprived the caliph of all authority. He died in 465/1072, the victim, with his brother Fakhr al-ʿArab, of a conspiracy [see FĀṬIMIDS, AL-MUSTANṢIR and NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA].

The Ḥamdānid emirate of Aleppo. The formation of the Ḥamdānid emirate of Aleppo was the work of ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Haydjā' ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, Sayf al-Dawla. After the assassination of Ibn Rā'iḳ, Nāṣir al-Dawla had tried to gain control of his fief of the Diyār Muḍar and of northern Syria. But the lieutenants whom he sent there had only a precarious authority and were disposed to render allegiance to the Ikhshīd. In 332/944, the caliph, who was under the protection of the Ḥamdānid, sought the support of the Ikhshīd and tried to go to Syria. Fearing that the whole of Syria and the Diyār Muḍar would fall into the hands of the Ikhshīd, Nāṣir al-Dawla sent troops under the command of Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān, who gained control of Aleppo. The caliph left for Raḳḳa, accompanied, or rather escorted, by Sayf al-Dawla who had left Nisibis with him. However, the Ikhshīd, who had driven Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd out of Aleppo, had arrived at Raḳḳa, to meet the caliph there. The caliph received the Ikhshīd and confirmed him in the possession of Syria. Then the Ikhshīd, who had refused to commit himself further, returned to Egypt, while the caliph retraced his steps to Baghdād. As the authority of the administrators whom the Ikhshīd had appointed in northern Syria seemed rather precarious, Sayf al-Dawla decided to seize northern Syria, with the help of troops and money supplied by his brother. He entered Aleppo in Rabīʿ I 333/October 944, by arrangement with the Kilābīs of the region and without any fighting. Then the Ikhshīd reacted; after a war of more than two years, interrupted in 334/945 by a truce which the death of the Ikhshīd encouraged Sayf al-Dawla to repudiate, a definitive peace was concluded between the Ḥamdānid and the son and successor of the Ikhshīd, Unudjūr, and in 336/947 Sayf al-Dawla became master of a state which comprised northern Syria (*djund* of Ḥimṣ and of Ḳinnasrīn, ʿAwāṣim), the Syrian frontier marches, which submitted to him in 335/946, and the greater part of the Diyār Muḍar and the Diyār Bakr (see above). This Syro-Mesopotamian state remained theoretically subordinate to that of Mosul, Nāṣir al-Dawla being the elder, but in practice it was territorially and politically more important, and Sayf al-Dawla (who until then had fought for Nāṣir al-Dawla in ʿIrāḳ, in Mesopotamia, even in Armenia, where in 328/940 he had received the submission of the Armenian princes, and against the Byzantines) became in fact independent of him and of the caliph.

From the time he became master of Aleppo, responsible for the defence of the Syro-Mesopotamian frontier (which extended from Cilicia to Shimshāṭ and to Ḳālīḳalā in Armenia), Sayf al-Dawla's main task was the war against the Byzantines; but he had also to fight against the rebel tribes in Syria. He built himself a splendid palace outside Aleppo, his main capital, the second being Mayyāfāriḳīn, on which too he lavished every care. He gathered round him a number of members of his family, including his cousin Abū Firās, whom he had made governor of Manbidj, and formed for himself a court made famous by the poets who were attached to it. He reigned in Aleppo from 336/947 until 356/967. The first period of his reign was marked by successes both within the realm and outside it, but in the later period, from 350/961-2 onwards, he suffered serious reverses—the temporary occupation of his capital by the Byzantines, the loss of Cilicia, internal disturbances and rebellions, and finally his own illness (hemiplegia). He died at Aleppo in Ṣafar 356/ February 967, aged 51. Nevertheless the brilliance which he conferred on the emirate of Aleppo by his military victories and by his cultural influence, and through the poets and the prose-writers of what has been called the "circle of Sayf al-Dawla", has made him one of the most famous rulers of Islam. Without going into detail, we refer the reader to the article SAYF AL-DAWLA, which will deal with his campaigns against the Byzantines and against the tribes, the beginnings and the end of his career, his internal and external policy and his cultural rôle (on him see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 489-505, 596-663, 741-827. Ulla S. Linder Welin, *Sayf al-Dawlah's reign in Syria and Diyārbekr in the light of the numismatic evidence*, offprint from *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis*, i, Lund 1961, deals with the political events as reflected in the coins issued by Sayf al-Dawla).

Sayf al-Dawla's successor was his son Saʿd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Maʿālī, who at that time was at Mayyāfāriḳīn and did not arrive in Aleppo until June-July 967. He was the son of the sister of Abū Firās al-Ḥarīth ibn Abi 'l-ʿAlā' Saʿīd and was only 15 years of age. He had to face the rebellion of Abū Firās, his father's cousin, who was at that time governor of Ḥimṣ. Abū Firās was killed in battle in 357/April 968. After this Saʿd al-Dawla had to leave Aleppo because of the threat of the Byzantine armies, which at the end of 968 reached as far as Ḥimṣ and Tripoli but did not, however, trouble Aleppo, where Saʿd al-Dawla had left his chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) Ḳarghūyah, who had been his father's chamberlain and had already governed Aleppo during the absence of Sayf al-Dawla. Saʿd al-Dawla was unable to return to Aleppo as soon as the disturbance was over because Ḳarghūyah, ambitious to seize power for himself, had come out in open rebellion (358/968). The young *amīr*, deprived of Aleppo by Ḳarghūyah and of Raḳḳa by Abū Taghlib, wandered from Sarūdj to Ḥarrān, Mayyāfāriḳīn and Manbidj, whence he advanced towards Aleppo. But he had to retreat before the presence of the Byzantine forces. In fact, Peter the Stratopedarch and Michael Bourtzes had taken Antioch at the end of 358/October 969, and Peter the Stratopedarch had entered Aleppo and imposed on Ḳarghūyah a treaty making Aleppo a Byzantine protectorate (Ṣafar 359/December 969-January 970) which excluded Saʿd al-Dawla from the emirate of Aleppo in favour of Ḳarghūyah and, after him, of his lieutenant Bakdjūr. Saʿd al-Dawla obtained refuge at Ḥimṣ, whence he succeeded in returning to Aleppo only in 367/977, after Ḳarghūyah had been removed by his lieutenant Bakdjūr.

At first Saʿd al-Dawla's authority extended only over the Syrian provinces, Abū Taghlib having in 360/971 seized the whole of the Djazīra. However, by

recognizing the suzerainty of the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 368/979 (which gained for him from the caliph the *laḳab* of Saʿd al-Dawla), he succeeded in recovering the Diyār Muḍar, with the exception of Raḥba and Raḳḳa, from Abū Taghlib, now a fugitive. He had appointed Bakdjūr governor of Ḥimṣ, but he lost no time in entering into conflict with him. Bakdjūr relied for help on the Fāṭimid, who had promised him the governorship of Damascus and whose plan was to take advantage of the enmity between Bakdjūr and Saʿd al-Dawla to seize the emirate of Aleppo for himself. In order to fight against Bakdjūr, Saʿd al-Dawla relied on the help of the Byzantines, who, in 371/981-2, had just sent an army to Aleppo to remind the *amīr* of his obligations under the treaty of 359, which from then on he was obliged to fulfil more or less scrupulously. It was a Byzantine army which, in 373/983, forced Bakdjūr, who had come to lay siege to Aleppo, to raise the siege, and which also returned Ḥimṣ to Saʿd al-Dawla. The conflict between Bakdjūr and Saʿd al-Dawla ceased during the time that Bakdjūr, driven out of Ḥimṣ, was governor of Damascus for the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz, particularly as Saʿd al-Dawla, no longer able to rely on support from the Buwayhids whose power was then in decline, made overtures to the Fāṭimid caliph and recognized his sovereignty in 376/986. But hostilities recommenced when Bakdjūr, engaged in conflict with the Fāṭimid vizier Ibn Killis, was obliged to abandon Damascus and installed himself at Raḳḳa, whence he marched against Aleppo. He received little support from the Fāṭimid, whereas Saʿd al-Dawla received Byzantine reinforcements, and he was defeated at Nāʿūra to the east of Aleppo in 381/991, captured and executed. But Saʿd al-Dawla quarrelled with the Fāṭimid caliph over the arrest of Bakdjūr's children, which was done contrary to a promise that he had given, and if he had not died in Shawwāl 381/December 991, like his father of hemiplegia, he would certainly have attacked the Fāṭimid possessions in Syria, as he had haughtily threatened the Fāṭimid ambassador that he would do.

Saʿd al-Dawla's policy had been to manœuvre among Byzantium, the Buwayhid and the Fāṭimid. He was not absolutely loyal either to the Fāṭimid or to the Emperor, for in 375/985 the Emperor had to invade his territory because he was not fulfilling his obligations. Saʿd al-Dawla avenged himself for this intervention, which had led to the capture of Killis and the bombardment of Apamea and of Kafarṭāb, by sending Karghūyah against the monastery of Dayr Samʿān [*q.v.*] where he massacred a great number of monks and led others in captivity to Aleppo. However, a new agreement was concluded in 376/May 986, which did not prevent Saʿd al-Dawla from supporting the rebel Skleros when the latter was set free by the Buwayhid at the end of 986, and in addition from recognizing at the same time (December 986) Fāṭimid suzerainty. In internal affairs he had only a precarious authority (on all this see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 665-94).

Saʿd al-Dawla was succeeded by his son Saʿīd Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil Saʿīd al-Dawla. The history of his reign is almost exclusively that of the attempts of Fāṭimid Egypt to gain the emirate of Aleppo, which were opposed by the Byzantine emperor. A first attempt in 382/992 by the Fāṭimid general Mangūtekīn, who laid siege to Aleppo, failed, less by reason of the operations of Bourtzes, the Byzantine governor of Antioch, than because of Mangūtekīn's lack of vigour and the excellent resistance of Aleppo. A second attempt by the same Mangūtekīn in 384/944 was almost successful, for Bourtzes, to whom Saʿd al-Dawla and his minister Luʾluʾ, the former chamberlain of Saʿd al-Dawla, appealed for help, was defeated at the Ford of the Orontes, and Aleppo was besieged for about eleven months. But on the one hand the persistence of Luʾluʾ and on the other the arrival of the emperor Basil II in person, sent for from Bulgaria by a Ḥamdānid ambassador, in the spring of 995, forced Mangūtekīn to retreat. The Ḥamdānid *amīr* and Luʾluʾ humbly prostrated themselves before the emperor in gratitude for this. Later, the Egyptians extended their authority further and further over the emirate of Aleppo. In 388/998 they even defeated the Byzantines outside Apamea, which remained in Egyptian hands. In 389/999 a new Byzantine campaign, which advanced as far as Beirut, strengthened the defence of Aleppo against the Egyptians by the establishment of a Byzantine garrison at Shayzar. But in 391/1001 Basil II concluded a peace treaty with the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim, who, on his side, signed a treaty with the *amīr* of Aleppo.

After this the emirate of Aleppo steadily declined. After the beginning of the reign of Saʿīd al-Dawla, a large number of Ḥamdānid *ghulāms* had passed into the service of Egypt. Luʾluʾ aimed to seize entirely the power which he was in fact already wielding, for he completely dominated Saʿīd al-Dawla, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. He therefore had Saʿīd al-Dawla assassinated in 392/1002. From then on he held the power, which he shared with his son Manṣūr. In 394/1003-4, he rid himself of the members of the Ḥamdānid family: the two sons of Saʿīd al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī and Abu 'l-Maʿālī Sharīf, were exiled to Cairo; a son of Saʿd al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, fled, disguised as a woman, to the court of the emperor Basil.

Luʾluʾ died in 399/1008. His son Manṣūr succeeded him and received investiture from the Fāṭimid caliph with the title of Murtaḍā al-Dawla (the Approved of the dynasty). His reign was marked by an attempt to restore the Ḥamdānids in the person of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, the son of Saʿd al-Dawla. At the request of a large faction at Aleppo, his brother-in-law, the Marwānid Mumahhid al-Dawla of the Diyār Bakr, obtained the Emperor's permission for Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ to leave Constantinople. He reached Mayyāfāriḳīn, whence he marched with a small army on Aleppo. But he was not given the Emperor's support. Manṣūr b. Luʾluʾ enticed over to his side the Kilābīs who had joined Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ and obtained in addition Egyptian help, for he was scarcely more than a Fāṭimid governor. The defeated Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ fled towards Malaṭya and from there returned to Constantinople. The Emperor wished to send him back into Muslim territory but Manṣūr intervened to persuade the Emperor to keep him with him. It is probable that he was converted to Christianity and served in the Byzantine army, for there exists his seal with on one side his name in Arabic and on the other the representation of a person who seems to wear his hair in military style and to wear a belt with a legend in Greek: Hagios Theodoros (Saint Theodore Stratilates?). (See Halil Edhem, *Sceaux du Musée de Constantinople*, 1321, 42, no. 31).

By a curious trick of fate, Mansūr b. Luʾluʾ, after he had been dethroned by Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās in 406/1015-6, also took refuge in Byzantine territory and received as a fief the castle of Shīḥ al-Laylūn, near to the frontier; he also made an unsuccessful attempt to return to Aleppo and served in the Byzantine army, for he appears on the side of Romanus Argyrus

at the battle of Aʿzāz in 421/1030 (see Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, *sub anno*; cf. M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 709-11 and 859).

Thus ended, after that of the Ḥamdānids of Mosul, the dynasty of the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo. Both were of a character uncommon at this time, in that they were Arab dynasties. Both played an important political rôle; they had their period of greatness which was followed by decline. The historian of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ibn al-Azraḳ, has given a melancholy account of this (see M. Canard, *Sayf al-Dawla. Recueil de textes*, 1934, 279-80). The patronage of Nāṣir al-Dawla and of Sayf al-Dawla favoured in Mosul and Aleppo a remarkable literary development. The names of Ibn Nubāta, of Kus͟hād͟jim, of al-Nāmī, al-Sarī, Babbāg͟hā, Abū Firās, of al-Mutanabbī and others will always be associated with the Ḥamdānid dynasty. The Ḥamdānids have been praised, by writers impressed by their efforts in the Holy War, by their Arab qualities of courage and generosity and by the ostentation with which they surrounded themselves, and they retained enormous prestige. But they have also had their critics. In their own time, Ibn Ḥawḳal (119-20, 140 ff., 153-4) did not spare them his criticisms, for he was outspoken in his judgement of their tyrannical administration and their cupidity. Of present day writers, Kurd ʿAlī has also reacted against the unbounded admiration which the Arab world has accorded them.

Bibliography: The outstanding study of Freytag, *Geschichte der Dynastien der Hamdaniden in Mosul und Aleppo*, in *ZDMG*, x (1856) and xi (1857), although now out of date, remains of importance. See now M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides de Jazîra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers-Paris 1951, with bibl. in the introd., 15-71. Information on the members of the family is given also in Abū Firās, *Dīwān*, ed. S. Dahan, Beirut 1944, index. (M. Canard)

ḤAMDĪ, ḤAMD ALLĀH (853/1449-909/1503), Turkish poet, born at Göynük near Bolu. He was the youngest of the twelve (or seven) sons of the famous *s͟hayk͟h* Aḳ S͟hams al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who had succeeded Ḥād͟jd͟jī Bayram as the superior of the Bayrāmiyya. Ḥamdī lost his father at the age of ten. He had an unhappy childhood, which probably inspired him to write his famous *mat͟hnawī Yūsuf we Zuleyk͟hā*. In the introductory part of this work he relates that his lazy, ignorant and quarrelsome brothers ill-treated him and were jealous of him because of the great affection their father Aḳ S͟hams al-Dīn showed him. "Joseph reached the extremity of his misfortunes, there is no end to my suffering" (*Yūsuf we Züleyk͟hā*, Istanbul, MS Üniversite T.Y. 675, fols. 11b-12a). Although he has nothing laudatory to say of his brothers, some of them are mentioned in the sources as outstanding *ʿulemāʾ* (Hüseyn Enīsī, *Menāḳib-i Aḳ S͟hams al-Dīn* and Tas͟hköprü-zāde, *al-S͟haḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyye, passim*).

Very little is known about his early life and his education. Judging by his works and by the fact that he was for a short time *mudarris* at the *madrasa* of Meḥemmed I in Bursa, he must have had a classical training. From various complaints and remarks scattered in his works, particularly in his *mat͟hnawī Leylā we Med͟jnūn* (Istanbul, MS Üniversite T.Y. 800, fol. 110) it seems evident that Ḥamdī did not enjoy protection or encouragement from any sultan, vizier or other dignitary. According to some *ted͟hkire*-writers (Laṭīfī, Ḳînalî-zāde Ḥasan Čelebī, Beyānī, s.v.) he originally submitted his *Yūsuf we Züleyk͟hā* to Bāyezīd II, with a dedicatory introduction. As there was no response from the sultan, he removed the dedication in subsequent copies and replaced it with lines complaining of Fate. During his short stay in Bursa as *mudarris*, Ḥamdī became a disciple of the *s͟heyk͟h* Ibrāhīm Tennūrī, one of his father's *k͟halīfa*s, and retired to Göynük where he lived a secluded life. His circumstances must have been difficult as Ḥasan Čelebī reports that he made his living by copying and selling his own works. He died at Göynük where he is buried beside his father.

Apart from various treatises on religion and mysticism mentioned in the sources, which have not come down to us, Ḥamdī is the author of the following works: (1) *Dīwān*, a small volume, copies of which are extremely rare and which is not characteristic of the poet, since Ḥamdī distinguished himself in the *mat͟hnawī* genre and his conventional *ḳaṣīda*s and *g͟hazal*s, mostly with a mystic leaning couched in *ṣūfī* terminology, are of rather limited inspiration. For a fairly good copy see Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi no. 2626; (2) *Yūsuf we Züleyk͟hā*, a *mat͟hnawī* on the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, treated in a mystical manner. Originally based on the data given in the Ḳurʾān and its commentaries, later elaborated by outstanding Persian poets, the story was made the subject of a *mat͟hnawī* by several Eastern and Western Turkish poets. Ḥamdī's work, completed in 897/1492, became immensely popular and very many copies are to be found in the libraries of Turkey and Europe (for copies in Istanbul libraries see *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Türkçe Hamseler Kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961, 22-37). Ḥamdī says in his work that he followed the *Yūsuf we Züleyk͟hā* attributed to Firdawsī and particularly that of D͟jāmī. In fact most of the *mat͟hnawī* is in line with D͟jāmī's with the difference that he uses the *k͟hafīf* metre instead of D͟jāmī's *hazad͟j* and he intersperses the *mat͟hnawī* with *g͟hazal*s following the tradition of S͟heyk͟hī; (3) *Leylā we Med͟jnūn*, a *mat͟hnawī* completed in 905/1499-1500, based on the well-known legend of Arabic origin, also a parallel to D͟jāmī's homonymous work. Although not inferior to the *Yūsuf we Züleyk͟hā* this *mat͟hnawī* did not enjoy the same popularity and was almost ignored after Fuḍūlī's (a good copy dated 936/1530 is MS Ayasofya 3901/2); (4) *Tuḥfet al-ʿus͟hs͟hāḳ*, an allegorical *mat͟hnawī*, the most original of Ḥamdī's works. A young merchant (the human soul) sets forth from Caesarea (the sacred country), as the result of guidance by the *s͟heyk͟h* Ewḥad al-Dīn, with servants and merchandise (the capabilities of the soul) for Constantinople (this sad world), where his great beauty causes the Byzantine vizier (beshrouded reason) to select him as a fitting husband for his equally beautiful daughter (bodily delight). The young merchant abandons his true faith and devotes himself to his beloved. Two sons are born to them. At a service in the church of St. Sophia, the young merchant sees his volume of the Ḳurʾān which he had placed there when he abandoned Islam. As he opens the pages of the volume, he lights on a verse exhorting those whose hearts have grown hard to return to God. The young merchant cries aloud as the light of divine guidance streams into his soul. The vizier and his daughter embrace Islam at this holy sign and all three depart for Caesarea. Since most *mat͟hnawī*s elaborated usually one of the known and common themes of the Islamic world, this original tale does not seem to have aroused much interest, as the MSS are extremely rare (a good copy is in the British Museum, MS Or. 7115); (5) *Ḳiyāfet-nāme*, (the Book of Features), a short *mat͟hnawī* in *k͟hafīf* metre on the tra-

ditional science of physiognomy, dealing with the relationship between physical features and moral characteristics, without particular literary value (a good copy dated 991/1583 in Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi, in a *medjmūʿa*, no. 3613, fols. 84-90); (6) *Mewlid*, a *mathnawī* on the life of the Prophet with particular emphasis on the events accompanying his birth, his heavenly journey, miracles and death, one of the many poems of this genre, the most famous of which is Süleymān Čelebī's *Wesīlet al-nedjāt*. Ḥamdī's work varies in many details from that of Süleymān Čelebī and it has none of its religious lyrical fervour. For a fairly good copy see Süleymaniye-Fatih no. 4511; (7) *Aḥmediyye*, a poem in *mathnawī* form in praise of the Prophet. Although some sources give its name as *Muḥammediyye*, Ḥamdī himself is quite clear about it: "I called this poem *Aḥmediyye* and completed it in 900" (Selimağa-Kemankeş, no. 1111). Ḥamdī's works have not been edited. For extracts see *Bibliography*.

Bibliography: The *tedhkires* of Sehī, Laṭīfī, ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, Ḳinalī-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, Riyāḍī, Ḳāf-zāde Fāʾiḍī, Beyānī, s.v.; Hüseyn Enīsī, *Menāḳib-i Aḳ Shems al-Dīn*, Süleymaniye-Hacı Mahmut no. 4666, *passim*; Tashköprü-zāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyye*, *passim*; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, ii, 138-225 and vi, 74-85; M. Fuad Köprülü, in *IA*, s.v.; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 347. (Fahir İz)

ḤAMDĪ BEY, ʿOTHMĀN [see ʿothmān ḥamdī bey].

ḤAMDŪN al-**ḲAṢṢĀR,** Ḥamdūn b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmāra Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḳaṣṣār, a celebrated Ṣūfī and learned divine, was a follower of Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*] and the chief of the Malāmatīs (who incurred blame by concealing their good deeds, in order to avoid self-conceit). He lived and taught in Nīshāpūr, where he died in 271/884, and was buried in the cemetery of Ḥīra. Among his associates were Abū Turāb al-Nakhshabī, ʿAlī Naṣrābādī and Abū ʿAlī al-Thaḳafī. His followers formed a sect of Ṣūfīs called Ḳaṣṣārīs or Ḥamdūnīs: among his pupils was ʿAbd Allāh Mubārak.

He taught asceticism and also tolerance of others, counselling men to associate with the learned, but to have patience with the ignorant. He advised contentment with little, "Sufficiency will bring you ease without weariness: you weary yourself in seeking too much". Association with the Ṣūfīs, he said, teaches tolerance, for ugliness in their fellow-beings is excused by them, and beauty is not praised, lest praise should lead to pride. To a man who reviled him, Ḥamdūn said, "My brother, if you were to accuse me of all ill-doing, you would never revile me as I myself do".

Bibliography: al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, 114-9 and index; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, x, 231-2; al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-mahdjūb*, tr. Nicholson, 125, 126; ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, ed. Nicholson, i, 331-5; Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 71, 72. (Margaret Smith)

ḤĀMĪ, a coast-town in Ḥaḍramawt, about 18 miles north-east of Shiḥr [*q.v.*], near Raʾs Sharma in a very picturesque and fertile district. Like Makalla and Shiḥr it belongs to the Ḳuʿayṭī of Shibām [*q.v.*] and has, as the name shows, thermal wells of the temperature of boiling water. The houses of the little town are low and built of mud; in the centre of the town and on the shore there are two important *ḥiṣn*. The inhabitants are mainly fishermen; their number was estimated by Capt. Haines at 500 in 1839. Behind the town lie thick palm-groves and fields with luxurious crops of Indian corn.

Bibliography: Captain S. B. Haines, *Memoir to accompany a chart of the south coast of Arabia* ..., in *JRAS*, ix (1839), 153; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 635, 639; Van den Berg, *Ḥadhramout*, Batavia 1886, 11; Leo Hirsch, *Reisen in Südarabien, Mahraland und Hadramūt*, Leiden 1897, 11, 37, 38; Th. Bent and Mrs. Th. Bent, *South Arabia*, London 1900, 210, 211. (J. Schleifer)

ḤĀMĪ-I ĀMIDĪ, Aḥmed Ḥāmī, (1090?-1160/1679?-1747), an Ottoman poet from south-east Anatolia. He was born at Āmid (Diyār-Bakr) and taught by Ḥāsim Āmidī and Āgāh Samarḳandī. In 1121/1709 he went to Istanbul, where, through the patronage of Muḥsin-zāde ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, he entered the Imperial *Dīwān*. He returned to his native town in 1129/1717 when his patron was appointed *Beglerbegi* of Diyār-Bakr. After acting as secretary (*kātib*) there, he fulfilled the same function in Erzurum, taking part later in the Tabrīz campaign and being promoted to the rank of the *Khʷādjegān* [*q.v.*]. He retired from service to the State in 1138/1726, and devoted himself to poetry. He also built a mansion (*ḳonaḳ*) in his native town and a pavilion (*köshk*) on the Tigris. He visited Istanbul once again in 1143/1730. Towards the end of his life the *Wālī* of Diyār-Bakr made him the gift of a village. He died in his native town.

His *Dīwān*, of which several copies are in existence in Turkish libraries (two MSS copied in 1207/1792 are in the author's possession), has been printed in Istanbul (1272). Ḥāmī is the author of skilfully written *ḳaṣīdas* and *marthiyas*. Among the former, a *ḳaṣīda* of 370 couplets ending in the *redīf* "*üzre*" and a *lāmiyya* (poem rhyming in "l") are the best known. He was able to describe events from daily life without too great an addiction to metaphor and simile.

Bibliography: Rāmiz, *Tedhkire* (Ist. Univ. Lib. T.Y. 91), 65; Esʿad (Ṣaḥḥāflar-Sheykhi-zāde), *Baghče-i ṣafā-endūz* (Ist. Univ. Lib. T.Y. 2095), 112 (a copy in the author's handwriting can also be found at the Süleymaniye Library, MS Esad Ef. 84); Faṭīn, *Tadhkira* (*Khātimat al-ashʿār*), Istanbul 1271, 58; ʿAlī Emīrī, *Tadhkira-i shuʿarāʾ-i Āmid*, Istanbul 1328, 187-209; Bursalı Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, ii, Istanbul 1333, 139-40; Gibb, *Ottoman poetry*, iv, 71-3; Şevket Beysanoğlu, *Diyarbakırlı fikir ve sanat adamları*, Istanbul 1957, i, 211-24. (Abdülkadir Karahan)

ḤĀMĪ 'l-**ḤARAMAYN** [see khādim al-ḥaramayn].

ḤAMĪD, or **ḤAMĪD OGHULLARI,** the sons of Ḥamīd, one of the Turkish principalities in Anatolia in the 8th/14th century. Founded in the region of Uluborlu in Pisidia by Ilyās, the son of the eponym, it rapidly embraced the whole region of the Pisidian lakes, and then the Pamphylian plain and the mountain passes linking them, thereby constituting a state that was situated on an important road and so controlled one of the principal variants of the South-North route from the Mediterranean to the Mongol Empire. Two branches had their respective centres at Eğridir [*q.v.*] and in the region of Antalya and its *yayla* Korkuteli, ruled by Yūnus, elder son of Ilyās. The Eğridir branch, whose tenure was for a time interrupted by the defeat and death of Falak al-Dīn Dündar, the younger son of Ilyās, at the hands of the governor of Anatolia for the Īlkhānids, Demirtash, in 724/1324, was revived by Isḥāḳ in 728/1328 and by his brother Meḥmed, who was ruling in Gölḥiṣār in 733/1333 (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, trans. Gibb, ii, 423).

- Ḥamīd (end of 13th century?)
  - Ilyās (beginning of 14th century?)
    - Antalya branch
      - Yūnus
        - Khiḍr (about 1330)
        - Maḥmūd (d. 1324)
          - Mübāriz al-Dīn Meḥmed (before 1361—d. after 1378)
            - ʿAlī
            - ʿOthmān (before 1392-1423)
        - Sinān al-Dīn Djalis
    - Eğridir branch
      - Falak al-Dīn Dündar (d. 1324)
        - Khiḍr (about 1325)
        - Meḥmed (at Gölḥiṣār in 1333)
          - Muṣṭafā (d. before 1358)
            - Ilyās (d. before 1375)
              - Ḥüseyn (d. 1391)
                - Muṣṭafā
        - Isḥāḳ (1328- d. before 1344)

A prince of this family was in command at Ṣuhud near Afyon Ḳaraḥiṣār in 769/1368. This northern principality was absorbed by the Ottomans in 793/1391. The Antalya branch was exposed to the attacks of the Cypriots who occupied the town from 1361 to 1373 (Mübāriz al-Dīn then retreated to Korkuteli). Annexed by Yïldïrïm Bāyezīd in 794/1392, the southern principality was restored in 805/1402, after the battle of Ankara, by a certain ʿOthmān, who reconquered all its territories except Antalya, despite his alliance with the Ḳaraman oghullarï, and whose defeat and death in 826/1423 marked the end of the dynasty.

Bibliography: the sources, which are essentially epigraphic, have been collected by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, 1929, and subsequently in *Ün* (review of the Halkevi of Isparta), *passim*, years 1934-5; historical syntheses: İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri*, Ankara 1937; idem, article Hamîd oğulları in *İA*; X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens*, Paris 1958, 90-4 (for economic history and historical geography); Barbara Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1964, especially 67-92, with map (p.132). (X. de Planhol)

ḤĀMID b. al-ʿAbbās, Abū Muḥammad, born 223/837, died 311/923, in early life, according to the satirist Ibn Bassām, a waterseller and vendor of pomegranates, was one of the ablest financiers of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs from al-Muwaffaḳ to al-Muḳtadir. He combined the collection of the *kharādj* and domains (*ḍiyāʾ*) of Wāsiṭ (from 273/886) with that of Fars (from 287/900) and Baṣra. He succeeded Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] as vizier on 3 Djumādā II 306/11 November 918, but showed himself inadequate, so that the caliph al-Muḳtadir appointed as *nāʾib*, to assist him, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*]. His vizierate, which lasted until 20 Rabīʿ II 311/7 August 923, was marked by a sullen rivalry between the vizier and his assistant; Ḥāmid was forced to bring Ibn al-Furāt to trial, adopted a tax policy which resulted in riots in Baghdād, and took violent measures against dissidents: Ḳarmaṭīs, Ṣūfis (*e.g.*, the condemnation and execution of al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*]) and particularly Imāmīs (*e.g.*, the imprisonment of the *wakīl* of the *imām*, Ibn Rūḥ); all these actions hastened his fall. He was tortured and humiliated by the son of the new vizier, Ibn al-Furāt, who had taken over his office, and returned to die at Wāsiṭ, probably poisoned.

Bibliography: Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, index (a portrait of this wily and ruthless financier is given in the preface, 18 n. 1); ʿArīb, *Ṣilat Taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 73-110; Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, i, 58-91; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿÎsà*, Cambridge 1928, index; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 413-26 and index (bibliog. at 414 n. 3); idem, in *Arabic and Islamic studies ... H. A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 602-8. (L. Massignon*)

ḤĀMID b. **MUḤAMMAD** al-**MURDJIBĪ** [see al-murdjibī].

ḤAMĪDĀBĀD [see isparta].

ḤĀMIDĪ (830?-90?/1427?-85?), a poet at the Court of Sultan Meḥemmed the Conqueror. He was born in Iṣfahān and educated there. Ḥāmidī left his native town at an early age and after visiting many cities entered the Ottoman dominions in 861/1457, where he succeeded in making the acquaintance of the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pasha, becoming later a poet at the Court of the Conqueror. For almost twenty years he enjoyed the Sultan's favours as one of his constant companions. During that time he copied many rare and valuable works for his patron's library and also presented *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals* to the Sultan or made translations for him. In 881/1476, however, he incurred the Sultan's displeasure and was sent to Bursa where he became *türbedār* at the *ʿimāret* of Murād I. He was later pardoned and appointed *türbedār* of Emīr Timürtash. Two of his sons, Maḥmūd and Djelīlī are known, the latter being a talented poet who flourished at the beginning of the 10th/16th century.

Ḥāmidī's works include the *Kulliyāt-ï dīwān*, ranking first in importance, the *Djām-ï sukhangūy* (or *Fālnāme*) and a *Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*. The *Kulliyāt* includes a *mathnawī* in Persian entitled *Ḥasbiḥāl-nāma*, and having a certain autobiographical character, as well as *ḳaṣīdas*, *taʾrīkhs*, *ghazals* and *muḳaṭṭaʿāt*. Most of it is in Persian, although there are also some Turkish *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals*. Of the known MSS of the *Kulliyāt* (in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and the library of the Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara), the Ankara MS has been published in facsimile (Ismail H. Ertaylan, *Külliyāt-ı*

Dīvān-ı Mevlānā Ḥāmidī, Istanbul 1949). For criticism see Ahmed Ateş, in *Belleten*, xiv (1950), 116-26; Ali Canib Yöntem, in the newspaper *Yeni Istanbul*, 3 October 1950.

Bibliography: Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira*, Istanbul 1314, 119; ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, *Mashāʿir al-shuʿarā* (Ist. Univ. Lib. T.Y. 2406), 80b-82a; Belīgh, *Güldeste-i riyāḍ-i ʿirfān*, Bursa 1302, 454-5 (a copy of this in the author's handwriting is in the Ist. Univ. Lib. no. T.Y. 6195, f. 222a); ʿAṭā (Enderūnlu), *Taʾrīkh*, v, 160. (Abdülkadir Karahan)

al-**ḤĀMIDĪ**, (1) Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abi 'l-Suʿūd al-Hamdānī, the second *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs in the Yaman. According to ʿUmāra, not supported by Ṭayyibī sources, the Ṣulayḥid Queen al-Sayyida in 526/1132 appointed him chief *dāʿī*, but then transferred the headship to the Amīr of ʿAdan, Sabaʾ b. Abi 'l-Suʿūd b. Zurayʿ, who supported the claim of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥāfiẓ to the Imāmate. If the report is reliable, Ibrāhīm may have been deposed for his sympathy with the claim of al-Ṭayyib. After the death of the *dāʿī* al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥasan in 533/1138, the first Ṭayyibī *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*, Dhuʾayb b. Mūsā, chose him as his assistant. After Dhuʾayb's death in 546/1151 (Hamdānī: 536/1141-2) he became his successor as the highest religious authority in the absence of the Imām. The situation of the Ṭayyibī community was precarious, because it found little protection among the princes of the Yaman, while the Zurayʿid rulers of ʿAdan actively championed the cause of the rival Ḥāfiẓī community. Ibrāhīm resided in Ṣanʿāʾ, whose Yāmid rulers had left the community but did not interfere with the missionary work. There he died in Shaʿbān 557/July 1162.

Ibrāhīm apparently was the founder of the peculiar Ṭayyibī *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* [*q.v.*] system. He introduced the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* into the literature of the community and relied heavily on the works of Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī while interpreting them according to his own ideas. His main work *Kanz al-walad* became the model of a series of later Ṭayyibī *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* works.

(2) Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (1). He succeeded his father as the third *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. He gained support among the tribes of Ḥimyar and Hamdān, who conquered the fortress Kawkabān for him. This roused the jealousy of the Yāmid ruler of Ṣanʿāʾ, ʿAlī b. Ḥātim. He made war on them and in 364/974-5 took Kawkabān. Ḥātim stayed some time in Bayt Radm and then moved to Sh-ʿāf in the mountainous region of Ḥarāz, where he succeeded in converting the people, who had been Ḥāfiẓīs. Conquering several fortresses, he chose al-Ḥutayb as his residence. After his main supporter Sabaʾ al-Yaʿburī was killed and the Ayyūbids extended their rule over most of the Yaman, Ḥātim's activity was restricted to the clandestine organization of the Ṭayyibī propaganda. On 16 Muḥarram 596/6 November 1199 he died in al-Ḥutayb and was buried there.

In his major work *al-Shumūs al-zāhira*, Ḥātim made use of the Mufaḍḍal literature of the *ghulāt* [*q.v.*], while at the same time condemning some of their views. His short treatise *Zahr badhr al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* has been edited by ʿĀdil al-ʿAwwāʾ (*Muntakhabāt Ismāʿīliyya*, Damascus 1958).

(3) ʿAli b. Ḥātim (2). He took the place of his father as the fourth *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. As the Yaʿburīs in Ḥarāz turned away from him he took up residence in Ṣanʿāʾ. The Ayyūbids did not interfere with his activity. He died on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 605/31 May 1209, in Ṣanʿāʾ.

Bibliography: The main biographical source, Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan, *Nuzhat al-afkār*, is not edited. It has been studied by Ḥ. F. al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, Cairo 1955, 269 ff.; ʿUmāra in H. C. Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892, 102. Other sources are edited and discussed by S. M. Stern, *The succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir*, in *Oriens*, iv (1951), 214 ff. For their works see W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, Tehrān 1963, 52 ff., 61 ff. (W. Madelung)

ḤAMĪDĪ, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr ʿUmar b. Maḥmūd, born in Balkh, died in 559/1164, a *ḳāḍī* who in 551/1156 began to compile his collection of twenty-three Ḥamīdian sessions (or scenes) (*maḳāmāt-i Ḥamīdī*) to serve as a pendant in the Persian language to the celebrated Arabic *Maḳāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī, as he states in his preface. Like these authors, he subordinated matter to form, above all endeavouring in his writings to show himself as a consummate stylist. For the most part, his *maḳāmāt* describe some episode in his adventures or travels; others deal with more general subjects (a season of the year, some mystical point, war or love); four of them are debates (*munāẓara* [see asadī]); the thirteenth describes Balkh, at one time a prosperous place but devastated in 548/1153 by the invasion of the Ghuzz; he apologizes for ending the work *ex abrupto* because, he says, he has been overwhelmed by the calamities of the time. His work was praised by the poet Anwarī (in lines translated by E. G. Browne) and by Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī (*Čahār maḳāla*, tr. Browne, 14, n. 6).

Bibliography: Rieu, *Cat. Persian Mss. British Museum*, 747 (list of the *maḳāmāt*); Ethé, *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 228; Browne, ii, 346 (extract translated from the 13th *maḳāma*); A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 806-7. (H. Massé)

ḤAMĪDĪZĀDE MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI [see muṣṭafā efendi].

ḤĀ-MĪM b. Mann Allāh b. Ḥāfiẓ b. ʿAmr, known as al-**MUFTARĪ**, Berber prophet of the beginning of the 4th/10th century, who appeared among the Ghumāra Berbers, or, to be more exact, in the tribe of the Madjkasa settled not far from Tetuan. He began to preach his religion in 313/925 and was killed not far from Tangier, in a battle against the Maṣmūḍa, in 315/927-8. His religion appears to have survived him for a period whose length is unknown, but which did not go beyond the end of the 4th/10th century.

Just as in the religion of the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*], this doctrine, about which we have very little information, was in part a garbled version of Islam, with a 'Ḳurʾān', in Berber, only two daily prayers, a weekly fast day, a fast of three or ten days in Ramaḍān, a tithe given in alms, but no ablution or pilgrimage. Forbidden foods were fish, birds' eggs, and the heads of any animals. On the other hand the meat of wild animals was allowed, but not that of the wild boar. Breaches of these laws were punished by fines of which Ḥā-Mīm and his relatives reaped the benefit. Lastly, two women played an important rôle in this religion, a paternal aunt of the prophet and a sister of his, both of them sorceresses.

In short, this belief appears to have been a mixture of distorted Islam and Berber beliefs.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afr.*, 100-1, trans. 197 f.; *K. al-Istibṣār*, 79 (trans. Fagnan, 143-6); Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, i, 192 (trans. Fagnan, i, 275); Ibn Abī Zarʿ al-Fāsī, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, ed. Tornberg, 62-3 (Latin trans., 84); Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, ed. de

Slane, i, 287 (trans., ii, 143-4); R. Basset, *Recherches sur la religion des Berbères*, Paris 1910, 47-8; A. Bel, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, Paris 1938, 175-82; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, Paris 1946, 128.

(R. Le Tourneau)

al-ḤAMMA, Sp. Alhama, a name commonly given to hot springs and which, in those regions of Spain long occupied by the Muslims, replaced the old Romance terms Caldas (*aquas calidas*) and Baños (*balneos*). This same name was also given, however, to two rivers which are in no sense thermal: one rises in the province of Soria and is a right-bank tributary of the Ebro; the other is a minor stream of the northern slope of the Sierra Nevada which flows into the river Fardes. The Alhamas which are best known for their history and their baths are four: that of Almería, which according to the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* had the best medicinal waters of the Peninsula; that of Aragón, known to the Hispano-Romans as Aquae Bilbilitanae; that of Murcia, also Roman, which was reconquered by James I of Aragón, who handed it over to Castile; finally, the best known, that of Granada. It was rich through its celebrated textile factories, well fortified by nature and art, and the summer residence of the kings of Granada. It lies about 25 miles from the capital. The Muslims possessed it till 887/1482, in which year, after a stubborn resistance, it was taken by assault by Diego Ponce de Merlo, the marquis of Cadiz, and Diego Hernández Portocarrero, the governor of Andalusia. The sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī tried three times to retake it with much persistence and bloodshed, but the Catholic Monarchs were determined to keep it and from it to dominate the whole kingdom of Granada, so they reinforced it with numerous troops and the sultan had to give up the attempt. Well-known *romances* such as "Ay de mí Alhama" sing of this loss which was so severely felt by the Muslims, and the epic assault was commemorated in a fine bas-relief in Toledo cathedral.

Bibliography: Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico de España*, s.v.; *Enciclopedia España*, iv, 660-3; Aguado Bleye, *Manual de Historia de España*, ii, 44; Soldevila, *Historia de España*, ii, 419.

(A. Huici Miranda)

ḤAMMĀD b. al-ZIBRIḲĀN [see next art.]

ḤAMMĀD ʿADJRAD (in *status constructus*), Arab satirical poet whose genealogy has not been exactly established; his *kunya*, Abū ʿUmar, would justify the following: Ḥammād b. ʿUmar b. Yūnus (rather than b. Yaḥyā or Yūnus b. ʿUmar) b. Kulayb al-Kūfī. Born at the latest at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, this *mawlā* of a clan of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa probably owes his by-name (*ʿadjrad* = completely naked) to the saying of a Bedouin. His biographers agree in declaring that he achieved fame only under the ʿAbbāsids, but they do not fail to point out that al-Walīd II b. Yazīd II (125-6/743-4) had him come to his court, with a certain number of other poets, and that he returned to his native land after the death of the Umayyad caliph (R. Blachère, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, 110, does not quote him, however). This is, in any case, the only datable information we possess on his life, which appears to have been quite eventful. Only al-Djahshiyārī (*Wuzarāʾ*, 190) represents him as a secretary in the chancellery and notes that he had served under Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣūl at al-Mawṣil and ʿUḳba b. Salm b. Ḳutayba in Baḥrayn, and it is possible that this activity dates before the year 140/758. Under al-Saffāḥ he seems to have enjoyed the company of the governor of Kūfa, Muḥammad b. Khālid, and to have been the tutor of the caliph's son, Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-ʿAbbās; under al-Manṣūr he was in touch with the *wazīr* al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus [*q.v.*], and the caliph himself is said to have appreciated his satirical verve. According to one tradition, the latter even induced him to accompany, with other dissolute characters, Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-ʿAbbās to Baṣra on his nomination as governor of the city (147/764-5), for al-Manṣūr wished to discredit his nephew and to disqualify him for the caliphate. This prince was about the only person with whom Ḥammād ʿAdjrad remained on good terms and whose eulogy he composed, although al-Ḥuṣrī (*Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, 312) wonders whether one of his *ḳaṣīdas* addressed to Muḥammad is *madḥ* or *hidjāʾ*; he mourned him at his death, in 150/767-8. But since he had composed for him some amorous verses about an ʿAbbāsid princess, Zaynab, her brother Muḥammad b. Sulaymān had been striving to take revenge. Therefore the poet left Baṣra to take refuge with al-Manṣūr, who did indeed protect him and even engaged him to satirize his enemy. Some biographers describe his stay in Baghdād, with others of his kind, during the reign of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), but the traditions concerning his death diverge widely. According to some, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, who was three times governor of Baṣra (see Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 281), had him assassinated at al-Ahwāz, where his presence is indeed attested; according to others, he died of sickness between al-Ahwāz and Baṣra, but the date of this event varies considerably according to the sources, and is placed in 155, 161, 167 or 168. The date 161 appears probable because, on the one hand, he died before Bashshār (d. 167 or 168/784-5), and, on the other, legend tells that the latter, by a strange irony of fate, was buried next to him.

The greater part of Ḥammād's extant verses are nothing but diatribes against Bashshār, and the *Aghānī* is full of anecdotes about the contentions of the two men. Although the blind poet recognizes the talent of his adversary, certain of whose verses had affected him grievously (*Aghānī*, Beirut ed., xiv, 328; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 30; idem, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 66), criticism is unanimous in considering that the two poets cannot be compared. According to the *Aghānī* (xiv, 332), the scholars of Baṣra found only about forty verses of merit in the epigrams of Ḥammād, while they discovered more than a thousand in those of Bashshār; al-Djāḥiẓ, while occasionally appreciating the talent of Ḥammād (cf. *Ḥayawān*, i, 239, 240-2), places him well below his adversary (cf. *Ḥayawān*, iv, 453-4) and even judges him far inferior to Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*].

Skilled at setting friends at loggerheads, incapable of respecting his own friendships, he let fly at them, even at Muṭīʿ b. Iyās [*q.v.*], sallies which were often scurrilous, practised a sordid blackmail, and busied himself in bringing dishonour to his victims in terms which detract from his own character. There is no reason to be surprised that posterity, since the end of the 2nd/8th century, should hold against him accusations of Manichaeism, which he certainly did not deserve, for he does not seem capable of feeling the slightest religious sentiment; his *zandaḳa* lay, in fact, in an attitude of profound religious indifference, of libertinism and of impertinence, which was shared more or less by his habitual companions, amongst whom figured his two namesakes Ḥammād al-Rāwiya [*q.v.*] and the grammarian Ḥammād b. al-Zibriḳān (on whom see particularly *Ḥayawān*,

iv, 445, 447; *Aghānī*, index; al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ii, 347). Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 473) does not mention him amongst the *zanādiḳa*, and G. Vajda has dealt conclusively with the accusations of Manichaeism made against the libertines with whom he is generally mentioned (see *Les zindiqs en pays d'Islam*, in *RSO*, xvii (1937), 173-229).

From his poetic works, which were certainly abundant, there survive only a few relatively feeble verses, mostly satirical. There are some poems, however, in which he displays a wisdom that is surprising for him, also some erotic verses which do not lack freshness and were deemed worthy of being set to music.

Bibliography: Notices and verses are to be found in Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 754-6 and index; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 372; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 23-6; *Aghānī*, xiii, 70-98 (Beirut ed., xiv, 304-63); Ṣūlī, 3-8, 10; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 148; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 249-54; Ibn Khallikān, i, 165; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 157; ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ii, 349-50; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, index; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, i, 197-212. (Ch. Pellat)

ḤAMMĀD al-RĀWIYA, *i.e.*, "the transmitter", Ibn Abī Laylā, a collector of Arabic poems, especially the *Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*]. He was born at Kūfa in 75/694-5 (the date 95 is a misreading). He was of Iranian stock, his father being a captive from al-Daylam, named Sābūr or Hurmuz or Maysara. Ḥammād, like his namesakes and boon-companions Ḥammād ʿAdjrad and Ḥammād b. al-Zibriḳān, belonged to a set of beaux-esprits at Kūfa, who at their merry gatherings used to drink wine and recite verses and were in the eyes of the pious suspect of heresy (*zandaḳa*). Ḥammād was very fond of poetry; many anecdotes show him in conversation with al-Ṭirimmāḥ (*Aghānī*³, vi, 95), al-Kumayt (*Aghānī*¹, xiv, 113), ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (*Aghānī*¹, x, 50), Kuthayyir (*Aghānī*¹, viii, 152 f.), al-Farazdaḳ (*Aghānī*³, vi, 73), Djarīr (*Aghānī*³, viii, 36), Dhu 'l-Rumma (Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 177), and other poets. His intimate knowledge of the poetry, genealogy, history and lore of the Bedouins won him the favour of the caliphs, especially al-Walīd b. Yazīd, and their dignitaries. It is uncertain whether he was invited already by Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik; for the story (*Aghānī*³, vi, 75 ff.) is chronologically inconsistent, because Yūsuf b. ʿUmar was appointed governor of the East only in 120/738. The downfall of the Umayyads hit him hard. It seems that he went to al-Manṣūr (*Aghānī*³, vi, 80) but felt disappointed (*Aghānī*³, vi, 82 f.; viii, 253 f.) and returned to Kūfa where he died in 155/772 (Yāḳūt) or in 156/773 (*Fihrist*). Later dates are unwarranted. He was mourned by Muḥammad b. Kunāsa in an elegy (*Fihrist*, etc.). Amongst his pupils were his *rāwī* al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (*Aghānī*³, vi, 70, 72), Khalaf al-Aḥmar (Yāḳūt, iv, 179), and al-Aṣmaʿī who owed nearly all the poems of Imraʾ al-Ḳays to Ḥammād.

Ḥammād was no scholar, but rather a dilettante who enjoyed poetry as one of the good things in life and did not care too much about authorship and authenticity. He took no interest in the studies of grammar which were making rapid progress during his later years. There was in addition the rivalry between the schools of Baṣra and Kūfa. He was held in high esteem by Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*], the founder of the Baṣra school (*Aghānī*³, vi, 73), but was denounced in the next generation. According to the Baṣran Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, Ḥammād knew nothing about grammar, prosody, and correct speech (*Aghānī*³, viii, 283; Djumaḥī, 14), whilst his rival, the Kūfan Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī, did not deny his vast knowledge, but accused him of having ruined the tradition of Bedouin poetry beyond repair by his clever forgeries (*Aghānī*³, vi, 89).

Ḥammād collected, according to al-Naḥḥās, d. 337/948-9 (Ibn Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, 48), the seven long odes, commonly known as *al-Muʿallaḳāt*. Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī quotes poems of al-Ḥuṭayʾa from the book (*kitāb*) of Ḥammād al-Rāwiya, mainly to blame him for admitting spurious verses (Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Mukhtārāt*, 123, 127, 136; cf. Goldziher, *ZDMG*, xlvi, 48 ff.). In the Dīwān of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl there is a piece (no. 26, ed. Lyall) which corresponds to the verses copied by Ibn al-Kalbī from a manuscript which again is called "the book of Ḥammād al-Rāwiya". Otherwise traces of Ḥammād's literary activities are scarce.

Bibliography: Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, 14; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 288 ; *Aghānī*³, vi, 70-95; *Fihrist*, 91-2; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, i, 90-2; Ibn Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, 43-50; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 137-40 ; Ibn Khallikān, i, 292-4; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ii, 356; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*², ii, 253; Lyall, *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ii, xiii n, xxvii f.; Arberry, *The Seven Odes*; R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 103-5. (J. W. Fück)

ḤAMMĀDA (a.) is synonymous with 'plateau' in the Sahara of the southern Maghrib and Tripolitania, but is used only by some of its Arabic-speaking inhabitants. The word stands for large areas which are the outcrops of horizontal beds of secondary or tertiary limestone or sandstone (or calcareous or gypso-calcareous crusts of the quaternary era), and which stand out as a result of the erosion caused by running water during periods which were less arid than the present. The surface of the *ḥammāda*s is almost always rocky and totally devoid of vegetation, except in small basins where the limestone has dissolved (*ḍāya*; classical *aḍāt*); it is often blackened, consolidated and rendered barren by a "desert patina" due to the exudation of iron salts; it is sometimes partly covered by a *reg* formed by the breaking up of angular stones. The edge of the *ḥammāda*s, steep and jagged, is called *kreb* in southern Morocco. The principal *ḥammāda*s are those of the Drāʿ or of Tindouf, of the Saoura and the Guir in Southern Morocco, those of Tademaït and Tinghert in Southern Algeria, that of Murzūḳ and the Ḥammāda al-Ḥamrāʾ, in Southern Tripolitania. The use of the word *ḥammāda* is extended to even very small hills with calcareous incrustations in the lower steppes and in the Sahel of Tunisia and even to small plateaus on the Tunisian backbone (*ḥammāda* of the Awlād Ayar, of the Awlād Aoun, of the Kessera). The term *ḥammāda* is not found in Eastern Libya beyond lat. 14° E. (Greenwich) and has not the same meaning in the East, where it is applied to semi-arid plains. In the Sahara the word *ḥammāda* is rivalled and replaced, over fairly large areas, by *ḍahr* (back, reverse of slope), both in the Tuniso-Tripolitanian range of plateaus and in the Mauritanian Adrar, or, less frequently, by the word *gāʿda* (Djabal ʿAmūr, eastern Morocco, Mauritania). Lastly the huge plateaus of primary sandstone which surround the Ahaggar massif are called *tassili*, a Ṭuāreg Berber term; in the south of Morocco *kemkem*, another word of Berber origin, is the synonym of *ḥammāda*; the great lava plateaus of the Tibesti are called *tarso* by the Tūbū. (J. Despois)

ḤAMMĀDIDS (Banū Ḥammād) a Central Maghrib dynasty (405-547/1015-1152) collateral with that of the Zīrids of Eastern Barbary, taking its name from its founder Ḥammād b. Buluggīn b. Zīrī b. Manād.

The aspirations towards Ifrīḳiya of the Ṣanhādja *amīr*s, the Zīrids, lieutenants and vassals of the Fāṭimids in the Maghrib, brought about the split between the Central Maghrib and Ifrīḳiya proper. Under the second Zīrid, al-Manṣūr b. Buluggīn, his uncle Abu 'l-Bahār b. Zīrī had already tried without success to carve out a kingdom in the Central Maghrib (379-83/989-93). Now al-Manṣūr's successor Bādīs had to confront a powerful Zanāta wave which broke from Tiaret to Tripoli from 386/996 and at length overwhelmed him (391/1001), thanks mainly to his uncle Ḥammād b. Buluggīn. In 395/1004-5 he gave Ḥammād the task of pacifying the restive West, and undertook never to recall him and to give up to him Ashīr, the Central Maghrib and any town he was able to conquer. Ḥammād met with such success that in 398/1007-8 he founded a new town north-east of Msīla with an eye to its serving as his capital, the celebrated Ḳalʿa (Ḳalʿat Ḥammād/Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād/al-Ḳalʿa [*q.v.*]). Ḥammād disobeyed Bādīs's order to surrender part of the Constantine territory to his heir, and, with his brother Ibrāhīm, rebelled (405/1015).

I. Ḥammād b. Buluggīn (405-19/1015-29). He severed his relations with the Fāṭimids of Cairo and transferred his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād; thus the Ḥammādid kingdom came into being. Bādīs laid siege to the Ḳalʿa and after six months gained a decisive victory in 406/1015; but death overtook him when he seemed about to reduce his uncle to obedience (end of 406/May 1016). His successor al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs dealt the rebel so crushing a blow (468/1017) that he sued for pardon, which was granted him. This peace, consolidated by alliances by marriage, which gave him complete sovereignty over all Central Maghrib, was to be respected by Ḥammād until his death (419/1028). It would seem that he had returned to the Fāṭimid allegiance.

II. Al-Ḳāʾid b. Ḥammād (419-46/1028-54) successfully checked an adventure of the Maghrāwī *amīr* of Fez, and made him swear allegiance (430/1038-9). In 432/1040-1 he broke the pact his father had made with al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, who marched against him and besieged the Ḳalʿa for two years; at the end of this time a reconciliation between the two cousins was brought about (434/1042-3). There is some uncertainty about the date of al-Ḳāʾid's repudiation of the Fāṭimids and his recognition of the ʿAbbāsids, but it must be around the time of al-Muʿizz (whose break with Cairo was an established fact by 439/1047) since he sent him a body of cavalry which participated in the famous battle of Ḥaydarān (443/1052). But most likely it was after this Hilālī victory, which put an end to the culture of Ḳayrawān, that he once more recognized Fāṭimid suzerainty, thus acquiring the honorific appellation of Sharaf al-Dawla which had formerly been borne by his cousin.

III. Al-Muḥsin b. al-Ḳāʾid (446-7/1054-5). His father's advice to deal circumspectly with his uncles was unheeded. His violent and tyrannical disposition got the better of him, and led to his assassination, after nine months' rule, by one of his cousins, who succeeded to his throne.

IV. Buluggīn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥammād (447-54/1055-62). As the alliance between the Ḥammādids and the Hilālī Athbadj grew closer, so the Zīrids relied more and more on the Riyāḥ and the Zughba. Then, when thrown out of Ifrīḳiya by the Riyāḥ, it was the turn of the Zughba to put themselves at the disposal of the Ḥammādids. In 450/1058-9 Buluggīn obliged the Biskra chiefs to recognize him and treated the Zanāta with severity. After the Almoravids had taken Sidjilmāssa, one of the main routes for gold whose importance had increased with the Hilālī invasion, Buluggīn attacked the Zanāta of Morocco and seized Fez (454/1062). But shortly afterwards on his way back he was assassinated by his cousin al-Nāṣir b. ʿAlannās who then entered the Ḳalʿa.

V. Al-Nāṣir (454-81/1062-89) gradually established his authority and attracted important allies: the petty king of Sfax Ḥammū b. Mallīl, and the *muḳaddam* of Ḳasṭīliya paid him homage, and a delegation of Tunisian *shaykh*s asked him to appoint a governor. This was ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khurāsān, the first Khurāsānī prince to govern Tunis with a council of *shaykh*s. Al-Nāṣir invaded Ifrīḳiya at the head of an imposing coalition which included the Athbadj. But Tamīm and the Riyāḥ put up such a defence that at Sabība (between Ḳayrawān

Genealogical table of the dynasty

I.—Ḥammād b. Buluggīn b. Zīrī
(405-19/1015-28)

- II.—al-Ḳāʾid (419-46/1028-54)
  - III.—Muḥsin (446-7/1054-5)
- ʿAlannās
  - V.—al-Nāṣir (454-81/1062-89)
    - VI.—al-Manṣūr (481-98/1089-1105)
      - VII.—Bādīs (498/1105)
      - VIII.—al-ʿAzīz (498-515 or 518/1105-21-2 or 1124-5)
        - IX.—Yaḥyā (515 or 518-47/1121-2 or 1124-5 to 1152)
- Muḥammad
  - IV.—Buluggīn (447-54/1055-62)

and Tebessa) he suffered a defeat comparable in gravity with that inflicted on al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs at Ḥaydarān. Anarchy and devastation spread throughout Central Maghrib, which now experienced the evils that Ifrīḳiya had suffered for years. The crushing of the Ṣanhādja at Sabība (457/1065) finally sealed the ascendancy of the Hilālīs over all eastern Barbary, while the Riyāḥ held sway in Ifrīḳiya and the Athbadj in Central Maghrib. Just as the Zīrids had been forced to give up Ḳayrawān and to retire on Mahdia, so the Ḥammādids lost their hold on the Ḳalʿa and fell back on Bougie, named al-Nāṣiriyya after its founder al-Nāṣir who installed himself there shortly after 461/1068-9. There was some indication of a revival of Zīrid-Riyāḥid power when they seized Khurāsānī Tunis (459-60/1067), and to thwart this al-Nāṣir led the Athbadj in an attack on Ifrīḳiya (460/1067-8), took Laribus and then Ḳayrawān (though this he had to give up), and he returned to the Ḳalʿa. Al-Nāṣir certainly played some part (though the affair is obscure) in the sale of Ḳayrawān by the Zughba in about 470/1077-8, the year in which a Zīrid-Ḥammādid pact was concluded; al-Nāṣir married Tamīm's daughter Ballāra. This peace, which was destined to last until the end of Tamīm's reign (501/1108), marks the peak of Ḥammādid superiority over their Bādīsid cousins, overwhelmed by the Hilālī invasion. Al-Nāṣir led a number of expeditions to the West and made allies of the heads of an important Zanāta tribe, the Banū Mākhūkh. On many occasions he had to take vigorous action against the Zanāta when they joined with the Arabs in acts of brigandage.

VI. Al-Manṣūr (481-98/1088-1105). In spite of his youth, this son of al-Nāṣir and Ballāra followed firmly in his father's footsteps and was the recipient of Ibn Ḥamdīs's panegyrics. Although the district was overrun by Arabs, he stayed in the Ḳalʿa until he left it for Bougie (483/1090-1). Ibn Khaldūn considers that he was the first of his line to issue a coinage, and it was he who "civilized" the Ḥammādid kingdom, hitherto semi-nomadic and totally lacking in the polish of the Bādīsids of Ḳayrawān. On his accession, he instructed Abū Yaknī to remove Balbār, an uncle of his and governor of Constantine, and rewarded him with the governorship of that city and of Bône. In 487/1094, Abū Yaknī rebelled and tried to bring about a great coalition of al-Manṣūr's enemies—Tamīm (to whom he offered Bône), the Arabs and the Almoravids. Al-Manṣūr recovered Bône and Constantine. Abū Yaknī took refuge in the Aurès, and was later put to death. Al-Manṣūr had also to intervene in the West, which had been overrun by the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn as far as Algiers (473-5/1080-3). From Tlemcen the Almoravids were attacking Ṣanhādja territory with the connivance of the Zanāta, themselves egged on by the Banū Mākhūkh, notwithstanding their relationship by marriage to al-Manṣūr. Al-Manṣūr punished the Banū Mākhūkh, and invested Tlemcen so closely that Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn sued for peace. The Almoravids soon broke this peace, and again had to be forced to withdraw. But later (after 484 ?/1091) al-Manṣūr met defeat at the hands of the Zanāta of Mākhūkh and was obliged to fall back on Bougie. Not satisfied with the murder of his wife, Mākhūkh's sister, he wrought further vengeance by sacking Tlemcen (496/1103). The next year saw the end of Ḥammādid-Almoravid hostility, with the signing of a peace treaty. This done, al-Manṣūr turned to the repression of the Zanāta of Central Maghrib.

VII. Bādīs (498/1105). This son and successor of al-Manṣūr was a Caligula whose bloody tyranny fortunately endured for less than a year.

VIII. Al-ʿAzīz (498/1105 to 515 or 518/1121-2 or 1124-5). Unlike his brother Bādīs, he enjoyed a long and peaceful reign. He took pleasure in the company of lawyers. He made peace with the Zanāta and married one of Mākhūkh's daughters. Nevertheless, his fleet subdued Djerba (the date is uncertain) and in 514/1120-1 he laid siege to Tunis and obliged the Khurāsānī Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to offer submission. About this time he laid on his son the duty of recovering the Ḳalʿa from Hilālī occupation.

IX. Yaḥyā (515/1121-2 or 518/1124-5 to 547/1152) drove the Khurāsānī Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from Tunis and deported him to Bougie where he eventually died, and assigned the town to one of his uncles (522/1128). Tunis stayed in Ḥammādid hands until 543/1148-9. A Ḥammādid army took the citadel of Tozeur (the date is uncertain) whose rebellious chief was imprisoned in Algiers, where he ended his days. Yaḥyā launched a great attack by sea and land against Mahdia (529/1135) at the instance of some Arab clans and of the inhabitants who were vexed because their prince al-Ḥasan, last of the Zīrids, had yielded to certain demands of Roger II of Sicily. The venture was a failure, for al-Ḥasan was able to enlist the support of Arab contingents and a Sicilian fleet. In about 536/1141-2, Yaḥyā strove to get on good terms with the Fāṭimid al-Ḥāfiẓ, but in the end acknowledged the ʿAbbāsids, for in 543/1148-9 he minted coins at al-Nāṣiriyya (Bougie) in the name of the caliph al-Muḳtafī. Towards 537/1143 the ambitions of the Normans towards Ifrīḳiya became dangerously obvious when they made an onslaught upon Djidjelli. In 539/1144-5 it was the turn of Brechk, between Cherchell and Tenes, to undergo attacks by the Sicilian fleet. Yaḥyā's luckless cousin, the last Zīrid al-Ḥasan, had been expelled from his capital Mahdia (543/1148) by Roger II's admiral George of Antioch, and he was obliged to live under surveillance at Algiers, for Yaḥyā was anxious lest the fugitive should establish contact with the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin whose growing influence was giving good cause for anxiety. In 543/1148-9 Yaḥyā concentrated in Bougie such of his treasures as remained at the Ḳalʿa. Now came the lightning conquest of Central Maghrib (547/1152). ʿAbd al-Muʾmin captured in turn Tlemcen, Miliana, Algiers (where the last Zīrid al-Ḥasan and the Athbadj *amīr* both submitted), and finally Bougie (Djumādā I 547/August 1152). Yaḥyā fled to Bône, and thence to Constantine. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's son ʿAbd Allāh seized the Ḳalʿa and sent his troops on from there against Constantine. A bloody battle ended in victory for the attackers; the last Ḥammādid surrendered and was removed to Bougie, where the Caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin treated him and his family with kindness, and finally to Marrākush where they were granted handsome pensions and Yaḥyā had ample leisure to indulge in hunting, his favourite pastime. He followed ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to Salé in 548/1153-4, and ended his days there in 557/1161-2.

The history of the Ḥammādids is even less clear than that of the Zīrids, with which it is closely interwoven, in sources that are mainly bookish, partial, biased and second-hand. Of Ḥammādid daily life and institutions, unquestionably ruder and simpler than those of Zīrid Ifrīḳiya, we are in almost complete ignorance.

Bibliography: H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, 2 vols., Paris 1962, and

bibl., especially L. Golvin's works as well as his *Recherches archéologiques à la Qal'a des Banū Hammād*, Paris 1965.

(H. R. IDRIS)

ḤAMMĀL (A.) "street-porter", "bearer". In old towns with narrow winding streets, the use of porters is indispensable for the transport of packages, cases, furniture, etc., which elsewhere is effected by means of beasts of burden, carts or, at the present day, by motor vehicles. The most elementary equipment used by the *ḥammāl* is a simple rope, fairly thick, which he first ties round the object to be carried and then loops over his forehead; in this way the burden is held on the porter's back, and he controls its lateral movement by keeping both hands on it. In certain cases, especially in Istanbul, the *ḥammāl*'s equipment is more elaborate; on his back he wears a small leather apron (*arkalık*) and a kind of padded saddle (*semer*) on which the weight of the burden rests. When the burden is beyond the powers of one man or is particularly difficult to handle, two or more porters take a long pole, called *sırık* in Turkish, from which they hang the chest or bale of goods by means of ropes. The shouts of the porters as they clear a way for themselves add to the picturesqueness of eastern streets: *bālək!* in the West, *rāsak! ḍahrak! djambak!* "[Mind] your head, your back, your side" in the Arab East, *dokunmasın!*, *varda!* or *varda destur!* in Turkey.

Works of *ḥisba* are hardly concerned with porters, except in forbidding them to interfere with the flow of traffic or to overload themselves in a manner dangerous for themselves and for passers-by (see R. Arié, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i/3 (1960), 360). On this point Ibn ʿAbdūn (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947, 91) states that a porter's load must not exceed half a *ḳafīz*, that is about 116 litres of dry foodstuffs.

In Fās, the *ḥammāla* mostly carry cereals, while the *zərzāya* form a special guild which has had a long history and which possesses its own particular organization; no doubt their name derives from that of the villages of Zərzāya (in Berber, *azərzay*, pl. *izərzayən*, which has given the singular *zərzāy* in Arabic). According to the local tradition, the Berber porters are said to have received certain privileges as early as the reign of Idrīs II [*q.v.*], and in practice it is still native Berbers of the same tribe who form the guild (see M. Lakhdar, *Les izerzaïn ou portefaix berbères*, in *Hespéris*, xix (1934), 193-4). Leo Africanus (trans. Epaulard, i, 193-4) speaks of them at some length; he relates that their *amīn* each week selected those who were to work and be at the disposal of the public for that period, and that their takings went to a communal fund, the contents of which were divided at the end of the week; they maintained constant solidarity and received the benefit of exemption from taxes and the free baking of bread.

R. Le Tourneau recently made a study (*Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, index, s.v. portefaix) of their organization which has hardly been modified since. They are divided into several groups which elect their *amīn* for six months; these *umanāʾ* in their turn elect, for one year, an *amīn* in chief who is recognized by the government as head of the guild. Their numbers are very much the same as in the time of Leo Africanus (about 300), and the members of the guild are replaced frequently, a factor which explains the short period in office of the *umanāʾ*. They all dress in the same way and are equipped with a rope and sack; they stand together in groups at various points of call where clients come to fetch them. Their charges are not governed by a tariff, and in general they seem to be satified with what they are given. Moreover their honesty is proverbial, and any shortcoming is severely punished by the *amīn*. Quite recently, they were still sleeping, at night, in small groups in the markets, stores and *funduḳs* and making their rounds for the purpose of preventing thefts and giving the alarm in case of fire.

Bibliography: in the text.

(CL. HUART-[CH. PELLAT])

ḤAMMĀM or steam bath, often still referred to as "Turkish bath" (and in French as "bain maure"), is a building typical of the Islamic world where archaeological remains witness to its existence as early as the Umayyad period (in addition to references in texts which mention the construction of baths in the first towns founded after the conquest: the bath of ʿAmr at Fusṭāṭ in Ibn Duḳmāḳ, i, 105; the first three baths of Baṣra, in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 353) and where it has continued until the present day to occupy a position of primary importance, recognized by the Arab writers themselves (who for example mention *ḥammāms* among a town's ancient claims to pre-eminence, and compile contemporary detailed lists of these buildings in addition to inventories of monuments).

The ritual use of the *ḥammām* in the performance of the major ablution explains why it has always been considered one of the essential amenities of the Muslim city, gradually assimilated as "a sort of annex of the mosque" (W. Marçais), while at the same time the life of a whole quarter revolved around it. Thus the Muslims gradually forgot the prejudices that had at first surrounded it as being an element which was borrowed from a foreign civilization (as late as the 4th/10th century mention is still found of *ḥammāmāt rūmiyya*) and whose decoration was for a long time derived from conventions of pre-Islamic times. People went to it for relaxation as well as to fulfil the laws of hygiene or a religious regulation, and the public baths, which were numerous in every town (and reserved on certain days or at certain times for men and at others for women), formed considerable sources of revenue for the private individuals or the authorities who established them. The popularity of the use of the *ḥammām* had also led to the installation of private baths in the precincts of palaces or within larger town houses.

Information on the number of baths existing in the Middle Ages in the chief Muslim towns can be found in the early sources, and this information has sometimes been used as a basis for modern estimates of the populations of towns at that period. In fact the value of the details thus provided varies greatly according to whether they are obtained from accurate inventories of monuments or simply from estimates by chroniclers.

To the first category belong for example the data provided by Ibn ʿAsākir on Damascus in the 6th/12th century (57 baths *intra muros*: *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Ṣ al-Munadjdjid, ii/1, Damascus 1954, 162-4) and, a century later, by Ibn Shaddād on the baths of Aleppo (80 public baths *intra muros* and 94 *extra muros* plus 31 private baths, making a total of 195: *Description d'Alep*, ed. D. Sourdel, Damascus 1953, 130-8) and of Damascus (85 baths *intra muros* and 31 *extra muros*, making 116 in all: *Description de Damas*, ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1956, 291-302), data which seem reasonable when we consider that about 30 years ago Damascus had 60 baths of various dates, 41 of which were still in use.

On the other hand the contradictory data given by

such a writer as Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ about Baghdād seem much less reliable: for a period extending from the 3rd/9th to the 4th/10th century the figure he gives for the number of baths in the town varies from 60,000 to 1,500 [see BAGHDĀD]. Similarly for Cordova at the end of the 4th/10th century we find figures ranging from 300 baths in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ii, ed. Dozy, 247; Fr. tr. Fagnan, 383) to 600 in the period of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir (al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, i, 355). The information given by Leo Africanus for Fez in the 10th/16th century seems more reliable (100 baths listed, whereas in 1942 not more than 30 existed), also that given for 11th/17th century Istanbul by Ewliyā Čelebi (61 baths *intra muros* and 51 *extra muros*, plus private baths, making a total of about 150), details which can hardly be accused of exaggeration. But we have given these few statistics only as examples to demonstrate the extent of the potential documentation, which would demand careful comparisons between parallel sources of information (with recourse where possible to archives) in order to produce a reliable contribution to social and economic history.

From another aspect there should be mentioned the graphic descriptions of Muslim baths which feature in the accounts of early or later Western travellers, from Chardin or La Boullaye le Gouz for example (on the less well-known account of the latter, see *Voyages et observations*, Paris 1657, 40-2) to E. W. Lane (*Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, chapter 16; see also the text of N. Diaz de Escovar, *De como se construia un baño en tiempo de los árabes*, cited by E. Lévi-Provençal), not forgetting the iconographic material provided by some Persian or Turkish miniatures, such as the representation of a *ḥammām* by an artist of the school of Bihzād (see B. Gray, *Persian painting*, Geneva 1961).

But even more useful information could be obtained from the juridical works and from the manuals of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*], which provide much detail on the control exercised by the *muḥtasib* over the cleanliness of the buildings as well as over the seemly behaviour of the users and of the bath attendants.

Unfortunately at present there has been no sufficiently detailed study of the number and the use of the *ḥammām*s which are still functioning in the old quarters of various Islamic towns, on the model of what has been done for Damascus, where an archaeological inventory of the buildings of this type, begun in 1931, has very recently been completed by some new observations. The existence of these baths is in fact a proof of the continued vitality—at least among the common people—of habits which have long been traditional in Muslim society and many aspects of which need to be clarified by means of sociological and linguistic studies, in particular the local variations in arrangement and terminology.

The details thus collected could then usefully be compared with those supplied in addition by juridical or literary texts, for example the nomenclature of the various personnel connected with the running of the *ḥammām* which is found in a writer such as the 4th/10th century Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (*Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, Baghdād 1964, 19). In the latter case for instance, a brief research has shown that two members of the staff, the *wakkād* ("stoker") and the *zabbāl* ("superintendent of the supply of dung-fuel for the furnace") are still called by these names in Damascus (at Fez they are called *sakhkhān* and *ghabbār*), while it appears that there is no longer in use today the term *ṣāḥib al-ṣundūk* for the superintendent of the changing-room (called *gellās* in Fez and combined in Damascus with the *muʿallim* or "proprietor") nor that of *kayyim* for the lessee of the bath. The posts of *muzayyin* ("barber") and *ḥadjdjām* ("cupper", "blood-letter"), also mentioned by Hilāl, seem to have lost their importance in favour of that of *mukayyis* or *kayyās*, the "masseur" (who wields the *kīs* or bag of tow used to massage the clients), who is probably connected with the *ḥakkāk* ("beater") attested in Cordova in the 4th/10th century and with the *dallāk*, with the same meaning, mentioned for Istanbul by Ewliyā Čelebi.

Thus we have to deal with an extremely rich and changing vocabulary, which reflects the variations which must have existed between the usage peculiar to each region and each period and is often preserved in the abundant literature of proverbs, tales and popular legends which seems always to have surrounded the *ḥammām*, a favourite centre for local beliefs and superstitions and in particular the favourite haunt of *djinn*s [*q.v.*] (see for example the "Farce of the *Ḥammām*" published by E. Saussey, *Une farce de Karagueuz en dialecte arabe de Damas*, in *BEO*, vii-viii (1937-8), 5-37).

It is, however, the architectural aspect of the Islamic bath which would be most worthy of study, so much were buildings of this type governed by the factors of siting (*e.g.*, the necessity for an abundant supply of water) and by the practical exigencies imposed by the solution of difficult and often interesting problems. Not only do the *ḥammām*s which are identifiable and available for archaeological study today provide, because of the long periods they have occupied the same sites, excellent starting points for the exploration and the reconstruction of the stages in the development of the towns to which they belong; but in addition the older parts of them provide significant illustrations, in compositions which are often original both in plan and in form, of the methods of construction, the tastes in ornament and the technical abilities of their early builders.

For this reason it would be particularly useful to know the stages in the evolution of these buildings, which have not yet been traced with the necessary thoroughness—chiefly because of lack of sufficient numbers of preliminary monographs—but the broad lines of which at least we can already attempt to trace. This evolution is in fact dominated, from the first appearances of the *ḥammām* in the Umayyad period until the spread of these buildings into the furthest provinces, by the existence of a rigid procedure, which is apparent in the most varied interpretations and which was conditioned by the nature of the operations performed in Muslim baths.

The order in which these operations are performed has remained practically the same everywhere. The clients of the *ḥammām*, who have removed their clothes and put on a simple loin-cloth composed of towels knotted together, gradually accustom themselves to an atmosphere which becomes increasingly hot and humid as they proceed towards the centre of the building, where their spell in the sweating-room produces an intense perspiration. They pass into the hands of specially-trained staff, male for men and female for women, who wash them clean with soapy lather, rub them vigorously, massage them, remove their body-hair and shave them. They next proceed either to wash in warm water or to immerse themselves in baths of warm or hot water. Finally a brief period of relaxation in a rest room is intended to restore bodies exhausted by this vigorous treatment.

To provide for this programme, the *ḥammām*

consists basically of a certain number of rooms each with its especial function: first an undressing and rest room, generally known as *mus̲h̲allah* or *mas̲h̲lah* in the East, *maslak̲h̲* in Egypt and Morocco, and *maḥras* in Tunisia, which communicates with latrines and may be linked to the central part of the bath by staggered corridors of varying length; then a transition room, without means of heating but whose atmosphere is nevertheless already warmed by its proximity to the heated section and which in winter is used for undressing, and which may be known as "outside" (*barrānī*) as in Fez, or "first room" (*bayt awwal*) as in Cairo, or more precisely as "intermediate outside" (*wasṭānī barrānī*) as in Damascus, or *bīt al-barəd* in Tunis (adjoining a *bīt al-bədəl*); next a first heated room, or warm room, which in Damascus is called "intermediate interior" (*wasṭānī d̲j̲uwwānī*), in Fez "middle" (*wusṭā*), and in Tunis usually *bīt əs-sk̲h̲ūn*; finally a second heated room, the hot room proper or steam bath (*taḥmīm*; *ʿarrāḳa* or *zḳāḳ* in Tunis) which may be called simply *ḥarāra* as in Cairo, or more expressively "interior", *d̲j̲uwwānī* at Damascus and *dak̲h̲li* at Fez. This steam room is generally provided with a certain number of alcoves (called in Damascus *maḳṣūras*), where are found either benches of stone or brickwork (*maṣṭabas*), used for the attentions given to the bathers by the staff, or pipes bringing supplies of hot or cold water (*ḥanafiyyas*), or stone basins which serve as little swimming pools (*mag̲h̲ṭas*), filled with hot or cold water.

Although in some cases light and air are obtained through vents with adjustable flaps, usually neither windows nor ventilation holes are provided for in the central section, where the efficient retention of heat and steam is ensured by means of thick walls, crowned by vaults or cupolas which are equally thick, with steam-proof linings of marble or of varnished plaster over paved floors, provided with runnels to carry off the water. Light penetrates only through thick pieces of glass, a sort of "bottle-ends" inlaid in the domes, where they often form simple decorative motifs. Furniture is provided only in the changing and rest room, which is the most luxuriously arranged, with wooden benches, covered with cushions, generally disposed around a pool with a fountain (in Tunis: *k̲h̲aṣṣa*). The clients' entrance itself, the only opening through which this tightly closed building is in contact with the world outside, is only rarely conceived as an architectural motif to embellish an important façade.

To the collection of rooms accessible to the public, or used by the owner of a private bath (for the two types of building, conceived according to the same model, have never differed from each other except in size or in the degree of richness in their decoration), are joined the indispensable annexes which house the heating system and its services, which are not linked by any passage to the *ḥammām* proper but which possess their own exit onto the street, used especially for deliveries of fuel. The furnace room, which in Damascus is called *k̲h̲izāna* or "reserve" of heat and steam (in Tunis: *fornāḳ*), is separated from the hot room only by a thin partition, pierced with holes through which the steamy air passes: in it a continually stoked furnace maintains the temperature of the cauldrons (in Tunis *naḥāsa*) of boiling water. From these hot water is circulated in the interior of the bath, where it is complemented by the circulation of cold water, by the system of ventilation from the stove and by the circuit evacuating the waste water, all of which are usually led through earthenware pipes embedded in the walls or beneath the floor. Finally, the supply of water from outside is assured either by pipes, drawing it off from the town system of water supply when one exists, or by the use of an elevating machine, usually worked by a draught animal.

Based on this classical and complete arrangement, there emerged later developments, some successful and some not, which may take the form either of a slightly different arrangement (*e.g.*, the situation of the boiler in the centre of the steam room instead of in an adjacent room separated from it by a partition), or particularly by simplifications involving most often the omission of one or several of the rooms whose purpose was to permit a gradual increase in the temperature. These various modifications correspond to local habits or temporary customs which, in the present state of the documentation, it is still difficult to ascertain precisely.

Among the types of baths on which most information is available, however, are the Umayyad *ḥammāms*, successors to the *thermae* of antiquity from which they presumably derive—which explains their sudden appearance in the 2nd/8th century in an already developed form—but not without undergoing transformations profound enough to banish any idea of a mere slavish imitation of their models. We have only to compare the most important remains of baths from this period with earlier buildings to realize, in spite of the striking similarities in the methods of construction (the use of hypocausts and of heating pipes in the walls for example), the originality of the layout, in which we no longer find for example the traditional succession of the *apodyterium*, the *frigidarium*, the *tepidarium* and the *calidarium* nor their relative proportions.

In fact only the first of these terms can continue to be applied to the changing and rest room of the Umayyad *ḥammām*, which more or less retained the functions and appearance of the ancient *apodyterium*, even to the extent of including in its decoration statues and frescoes with figures imitated from Hellenistic works. But the adjacent unheated room has no longer any feature in common with the *frigidarium* (even though the frequently used name of "cold room" has led to a certain amount of confusion in this matter), of which it has retained neither the vast dimensions nor, more especially, the appointments (galleries, swimming-pools, gymnasiums) which made this room the chief element in the antique baths and the centre of the social and sporting activities which took place there. Finally, the two heated rooms also differ from the ancient *tepidarium* and *calidarium* or *sudatorium* in that they have come to fill, in relation to the other sections of the *ḥammām*, a place whose importance indicates a change from the customs practised in late antiquity.

This fact was first pointed out by D. Schlumberger, when he published the results of his preliminary investigations of a small private *ḥammām* of the Umayyad period, that of the castle of Kaṣr al-Ḥayr al-G̲h̲arbī [*q.v.*] near Palmyra. But the same adaptation of the antique plan to new requirements by the suppression of the *frigidarium* and parts of the architectural features henceforward of no use, is seen in the ruins of many other Umayyad sites, the true nature of which was first defined in the researches of J. Sauvaget. In fact not only is it illustrated by the famous baths of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmrā [*q.v.*] and of Ḥammām al-Ṣarak̲h̲ [*q.v.*] (the former of which owes its fame to its rich décor of paintings and both of which possess examples of an interesting elaboration of the rest room, adapted in this case to the function of

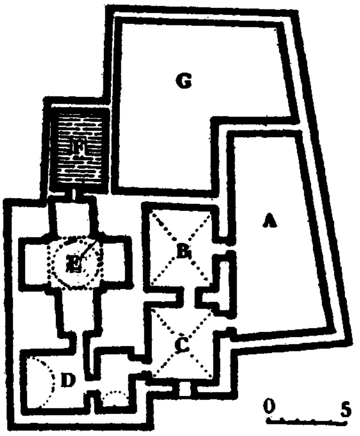

Fig. 1. Plan of a typical Umayyad *ḥammām* : the *ḥammām* of ʿAbda, where A and B are the undressing rooms, C is the unheated room, D the hot room, E the steam room, F the boiler, and G the service court (cf. J. Sauvaget, *Remarques*, fig. 7)

reception room for official personages), but it also explains the less well-known buildings, of sometimes doubtful date, the remains of which are still visible in the Syro-Jordanian steppe (at D̲j̲abal Says, K̲h̲irbat al-Bayḍā, ʿAbda, Ruḥayba and al-Ḥuṣub), and in which there regularly appear, besides the series of three small rooms—unheated, warm and hot—a room reserved for rest or for undressing and another, formerly containing the boiler, which was flanked on one side by the steam room and on the other by the essential service court (fig. 1).

The only exception to this uniform type is the magnificent *ḥammām* of K̲h̲irbat al-Mafd̲j̲ar [*q.v.*], recently discovered in an Umayyad residence in the Jordan valley, which deserves in this connexion a special mention. Its two small interior rooms supplied with steam by an orifice made in the wall of the adjacent furnace room, and the two intermediate rooms of the same dimensions which preceded them, were in fact accompanied by a huge square hall, more than 30 metres long, with interior pillars and a roof of cupolas to which were annexed elaborate latrines and a small room with an exedra decorated with especial care. This vast *apodyterium*, access to which was through a huge porch, surmounted by a princely statue, which itself served as ante-room to the room with exedra where probably the owner of the bath sat, had been provided with a remarkable ornamentation—a mosaic pavement and painted and sculpted stucco in all its upper section. The presence of a large swimming-pool occupying the whole of the length of the south wall of the room reveals in addition a deliberate adaptation of the *frigidarium* of antiquity. This arrangement is quite exceptional in an Islamic *ḥammām*, and has already been proved to be compatible with the luxurious tastes of the founder of the castle; it must be seen in this setting of costly fantasy in order to understand why (apparently) no later building was inspired by it.

The arrangement of the later mediaeval baths, so far as can be judged from the scattered examples which exist, merely reproduces, with further simplification, that of the classical Umayyad prototypes: four rooms, consisting of an undressing room, two intermediate rooms and a steam room adjacent to the section containing the heating apparatus. This

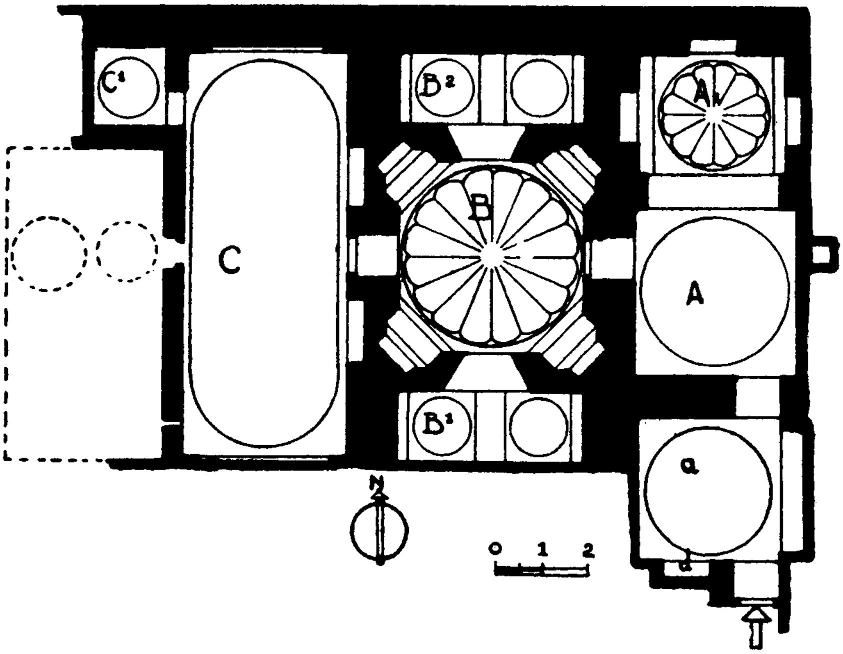

Fig. 2. Ayyūbid type: restoration of the original plan of the Sūḳ al-Bzūriya bath at Damascus, where A indicates the unheated rooms, B the hot room and its annexes, and C the steam room (cf. M. Ecochard, *Monuments ayyoubides*, fasc. ii, fig. 57)

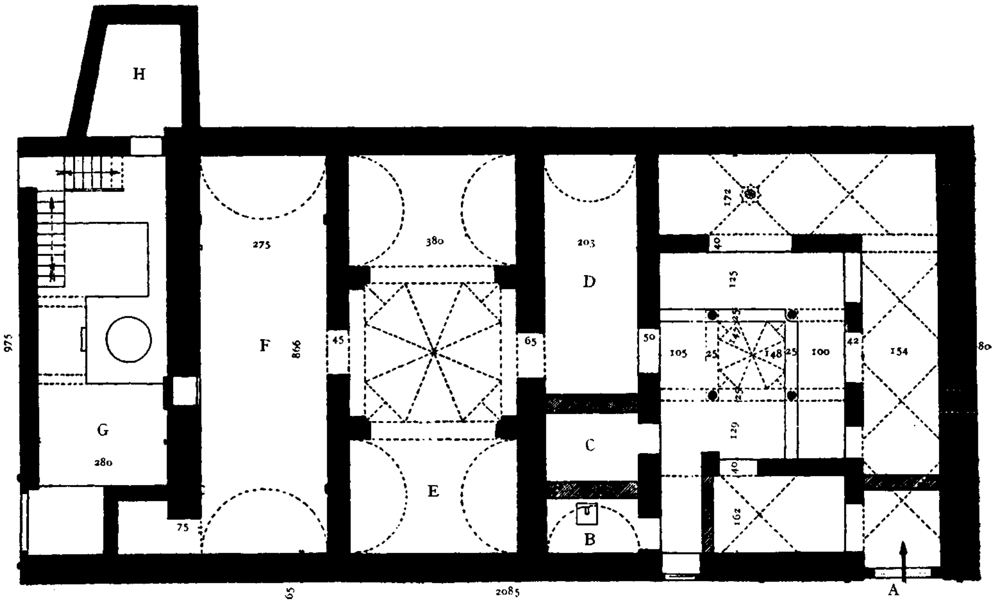

Fig. 3. Typical plan of a Marīnid bath at Rabat (cf. H. Terrasse, in *Mélanges William Marçais*, fig. 3)

A = entrance
B = latrine
C = store-room
D = frigidarium
E = tepidarium
F = calidarium
G = furnace
H = pool

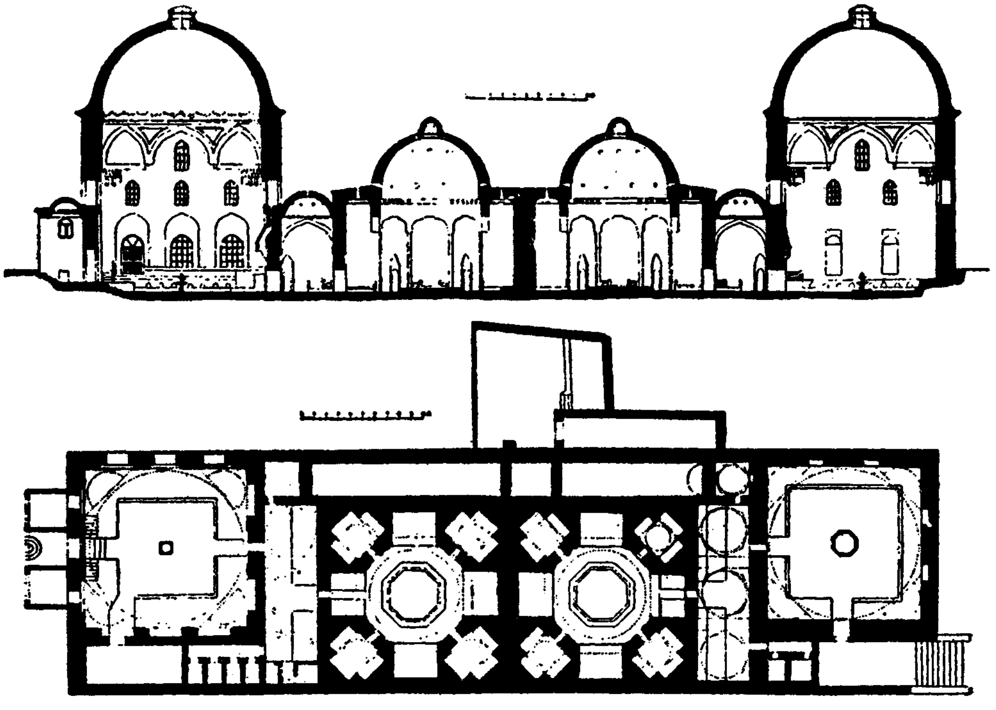

Fig. 4. Monumental Ottoman type: the Haseki (Khāṣṣeki) *ḥammām* at Istanbul (cf. B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic architecture*, fig. 34)

is the plan to which in particular the Damascus baths of the Ayyūbid period conform. These have been the object of especially detailed archaeological studies and can therefore be profitably cited here, although unfortunately there exist no architectural data on the hiatus of four centuries which separates them from the Umayyad buildings or on the Iranian baths of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ or earlier periods which might perhaps foreshadow some of their features (the brief notes by E. Schroeder, in A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, Oxford 1939, 998,concerning the existence of an early *ḥammām* at Nigar to the south of Kirmān are in this respect quite inadequate).

At Damascus, in the 6th/12th century, we first notice the abandoning of the system of hypocausts in favour of a more simple solution, which consists of passing the chimney of the stove beneath the paved floors that are to be heated: hence the rooms of the central part of the *ḥammām* are laid out according to the axis of this flue pipe. Next the effect of Mesopotamian influences on the architectural methods is felt in the lavish use of conches and ribbed cupolas. Finally there should be mentioned the clear predominance, in the arrangement of the whole, of the middle or warm room,.which may have an elaborate octagonal form and which then forms the centre of the plan of the building (fig. 2).

The modifications which the following periods brought to this scheme involved firstly the disappearance, in the 9th/15th century, of the intermediate unheated room, then the continual expansion of the hot room which increased in decoration and in size, thanks to the multiplication of the *maḳṣūra*s which surrounded it, until, in the 12th/18th century, it predominated over all the other rooms and, in still more recent buildings, became the only room. Before a more than local importance is attributed to this arrangement, a similar evolution (which would have to be linked with a previous change in the habits of the users of the baths) would have to be established in other Syrian towns, in particular in Aleppo. It would also be useful to know whether it appeared in a neighbouring province such as Egypt, particularly in Cairo, where some early *ḥammām*s with a radiating plan, the majority of which go back to the Mamlūk period, have not yet been the subject of sufficiently detailed archaeological research.

In Spain and the Mag̲h̲rib on the other hand, the buildings appear to belong to a different tradition, which is of Andalusian as well as Umayyad origin. Some very early specimens, including baths of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries at Granada and Tlemcen, thus show a very great simplicity in conception and execution, with no attempt at architectural decoration anywhere except in their changing rooms. Next, in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, there appears a certain elaboration of the buildings due to the adoption, within axial and rectangular plans, of the types of cold, warm and hot rooms (with the warm room predominating) which were found in the Ayyūbid *ḥammām*s in the East. But the possible connexions between the well-known Marīnid baths (fig. 3) and their Eastern models at varying distances from them have not yet been studied nor even mentioned with the attention which the hypothesis deserves.

The baths built after the Sald̲j̲ūḳid conquest in Iran, and the baths of Turkey, form a particularly important chapter in the history of the *ḥammām*, especially noticeable in the remarkable proliferation of buildings of this type in Anatolia and Istanbul. More solidly built than the Ṣafawid baths, on which in any case studies and surveys are lacking (one rare example is a bath of Kas̲h̲ān, the plan of which has been published by P. Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse*, Paris 1867, pl. 45), the Turkish *ḥammām*s have often been cited as works of the utmost technical perfection, conforming to the habitual Muslim arrangement while also inheriting the experience which the Byzantine buildiers had acquired earlier in this field. The Ottoman period above all saw the erection of many harmoniously arranged buildings, in which the principle of a multiplicity of rooms was abandoned in order to put the emphasis on the changing room and the steam room, which were most frequently built as majestic domed halls. These baths often consisted of two symmetrical groups of buildings which had no communication with each other—since one was reserved for men and one for women—but which were supplied by the same service annexes, on the model of various works of Sinān [*q.v.*] and of the K̲h̲āṣṣeki Ḥammāmī in Istanbul (fig. 4).

Bibliography:The references to the Arabic sources have been given in the text; see also al-Hamad̲h̲ānī, who gives, in the *maḳāma ḥulwāniyya*, a humorous description of the behaviour of the attendants of a *ḥammām*. On the role of baths in Muslim society, particularly in some large towns, see A. Mez, *Renaissance*, ch. xxi; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, Paris 1937, 333, 338-41; E. Lévi Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 430-1; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 247-9; E. Pauty, *Les hammams du Caire*, Cairo 1963 (*MIFAO*, vol. lxiv); R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1962, 503-5. On the layout and functioning of the bath from Damascus examples, with extremely detailed technical and architectural descriptions, the basic work is M. Ecochard and Ch. Le Cœur, *Les bains de Damas*, 2 vols., Beirut (*PIFD*) 1942-3; see also the review by J. Sauvaget, in *JA*, ccxxxiv (1943-5), 327-32, and J. de Maussion de Favières, *Note sur les bains de Damas*, in *B. Et. Or.*, xvii (1961-2), 121-31 and 12 pl. For the purely archaeological point of view see K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, i, Oxford 1932, 253-80 (Ḳuṣayr ʿAmrā and Ḥammām al-Ṣarak̲h̲); D. Schlumberger, *Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi (1936-1938)*, in *Syria*, xx (1939), 213-23; J. Sauvaget, *Les ruines omayyades du Djebel Seis*, in *Syria*, xx (1939), especially 246-7, 254; idem, *Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades*, i: *Châteaux de Syrie*, in *JA*, ccxxxi (1939), 15-6, 26 and n. 1, 36-9, 52; R. W. Hamilton, *K̲h̲irbat al Mafjar*, Oxford 1959, 45-105; J. Sauvaget, *Un bain damasquin du XIIIe siècle*, in *Syria*, xi (1930), 370-80; M. Ecochard, *Trois bains ayyoubides de Damas*, apud *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, Paris 1940, 92-112; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, especially 215-7 and 315-6; H. Terrasse, *Trois bains mérinides du Maroc*, in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, Paris 1950, 311-20; L. Torres Balbás, *Cronica arqucológica*, in *al-And.*, vii (1942), 206-10 (Gibraltar), ix (1944), 475-7 (Ronda), xi (1946), 443-6, xvii (1952), 176-86 (Torres Torres and other places in the Levant), 433-8 (Murcia); K. Klinghardt, *Türkische Bäder*, Stuttgart 1927; B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic architecture*, London 1959, 74-6. See further ILID̲J̲A, ḲAPLID̲J̲A.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

In the Mag̲h̲rib the *ḥammām*, as well as being a place intended for the major purification of the

Believer and for his bodily hygiene, is a meeting place and a centre of social life. With its entrance near the mosque, of which its acts almost as the antechamber, and sometimes situated in the middle of a *sūḳ*, it assumes in the Maghribī city the character of a social centre. The *ḥammām* is often several centuries old and proudly displays its letters of pedigree; and its double entrance door, painted in green and red, is sometimes surmounted by a marble plaque with an inscription testifying to its early foundation.

Although it is true that the forty or so Turkish baths in Tunis differ in size and in the comforts which they offer to their patrons, there is scarcely any variation in the general layout of the building and the way in which it works.

The area reserved for the users consists of two quite distinct parts: the section for dressing and resting and the bath proper, which includes warm and hot rooms, usually three in all, one leading into the next (see above).

The proprietor of the *ḥammām* (*ḥammāmdji*) and the attendants formerly came from among the Mzabis from southern Algeria who had settled in Tunis. They formed a guild. In addition to the manager, the personnel consists of: one in charge of the dressing room (*ḥārəz əl-maḥraṣ*) helped by staff stationed in the rest room (*ḥārəz əl-maḳṣūra*); one in charge of the linen (*ḥārəz əl-bədəl*) assisted by a number of cubicle stewards and servants who wash the loin-cloths and several masseurs (*ṭayyāb*) whose services are available on request; one in charge of the heating (*frānḳī*) with one or two assistants. The name of "master of the bath" (*ra'īs al-ḥammām*) which is often given to him is a clear indication of the importance of his duties. Formerly the master of the furnace and his assistants were always natives of Ouargla (southern Algeria) and they too belonged to a special guild. They were employed without a contract, receiving each year from the owner a lump sum. The hairdresser and coffee waiter available for the clients do not form part of the staff but are tenants of the *ḥammām*. The staff of the women's baths are all women: the manageress and her deputy are assisted by a number of female attendants (*ḥārza*). There are no professional masseuses.

The client presents himself to the manager, who acts as cashier. When he enters the dressing-room he is taken in charge by the *ḥārəz əl-maḥraṣ* or the superintendent of the *maḳṣūra*, who gives him a loin-cloth (*fūṭa*), a bath towel (*bəshkīr*) and a pair of pattens *ḳabḳāb*). He is given also a second towel in which to wrap his clothes. He then goes into the *bīt al-bārəd*. On coming out of this "cold room", he gives his long bath-robe to the *ḥārəz əl-bədəl*, in charge of the linen, and, wearing only a loin-cloth, is led into the second room (*bīt əl-skhūn*). As soon as he has become sufficiently accustomed to the heat, he proceeds to the third room where he waits until he starts to sweat. After sweating abundantly he leaves the *ʿarrāḳa* and returns to the second room for friction with a special glove (*kāsa*), the scouring of his skin and, if he wishes, massage (*təmsīd*). The friction-glove is made of a mixture of woollen and goat's hair threads sewn together and arranged so as to form a rough surface. This vigorous friction enables the top layer of skin, together with the dirt (*ūsakh*) accumulated in the pores, to be rubbed off in greyish rolls.

When the friction, scraping and massage are completed, the bather goes into the cubicle to complete the purification and attentions necessary for hygiene. When asked by the cubicle steward, he slips his loin-cloth under the door, takes the two *bəshkīr* which the steward passes to him, wraps himself in them, and goes towards the *bīt əl-bədəl*. The *ḥārəz əl-bədəl* dries him, envelops him in fresh dry towels and wraps his head in a sponge-cloth in the form of a turban.

Then the superintendent of the dressing-room or of the rest room receives the bather in either the entrance hall or one of the little rest-rooms adjacent to it, wishes him good health and prepares a place for him to lie down. The coffee waiter comes to offer him refreshments. This is the time of relaxation after all the attentions which the bather has received, which lasts until the call inviting the clients to give up their places to other bathers.

The majority of *ḥammāms* serve at different times both men and women, though some are strictly reserved for one or the other sex. A veil stretched across in front of the entrance hall is often used to indicate that is is the women's turn. When woman are bathing the usual manager and staff are replaced entirely by women.

Formerly the Tunisian lady went to the bath with much ceremony and an escort of two or three servants. One carried the clean linen wrapped in a silk scarf (*ṣorra*), another, the silver or copper bucket (*ṣṭol əl-ḥammām*) in which were placed the traditional objects: a copper bowl with a long handle to ladle out the water (*ṭāṣa*), the box of fuller's earth (*ṭaffāla*), the coarse-toothed comb (*khallāṣ*), the fine-toothed comb made of tortoise-shell (*fəllāya*), the friction-glove and the small round "curry-comb" (*maḥākka*, *ḥakkāka*) made of threads of coarse wool or of hempen tow mounted on a cork disc. The clay (*ṭfal*) had been bought long before in the *sūḳ* and perfumed with rose-water, essence of rose geranium or orange-flower water.

Although most town houses contain all that is necessary for a woman's toilet, the Tunisian woman still patronizes the *ḥammām*. Nowadays many modern beauty-products replace the traditional lotions taken with the clean linen in the suitcase to the bath; but some of the procedures are repeated from one generation to another: after washing the body and the friction comes the application of *ṭfal* to the hair, the removal of bodily hair, etc. The session at the bath might be prolonged if the master of the heating did not produce a violent jet of steam, the *ḳaṭṭūs*, to remind the bathers that it is time to wrap themselves in the towels held out for them by the attendants and to go and rest in the *maḳṣūra*.

These women's sessions provide the occasion, both in towns and villages, for the young bride to parade herself before her friends in the various items of her trousseau. The proceedings are enlivened with songs, "youyou" and lengthy gossip. Women also take advantage of meetings at the *ḥammām* in order to make themselves up and wear all their finery.

In addition to its use for ritual purification [see WUḌŪʾ] the *ḥammām* is considered, in the popular phrase, as a "silent doctor" (*əṭ-ṭbībəl-bakkūsh*), able by its warm atmosphere, as well as by the abundant perspiration which it produces, to cure all ailments and particularly the various forms of rheumatism.

All the great occasions in life are accompanied by a bath in the *ḥammām*. The expectant mother comes there in order to ensure an easier delivery; forty days after the birth, she comes again for purification. The young boy is taken there before his circumcision. The young bride visits it three times during the period of the marriage festivities: *ḥammām əl-ūsakh*, the bath for cleanness, seven days before the wedding; *ḥammām əl-dbagh*, the bath for the application of

henna on the third day of the celebrations; and *ḥammām əl-təs͟hlīl*, the rinsing bath, on the eve of the consummation of the marriage. The future husband invites his friends to accompany him to the bath at the beginning of the marriage celebrations, returns after the application of henna, and is there again a few hours before entering the conjugal home and on the day following the wedding night. The popular poets have not failed to write of the delicious bodily languor which drives away all memory of suffering and anxiety, the beneficial heat which induces rest and relaxation, the indefinable atmosphere of well-being and of mystery peculiar to *ḥammāms*: "water of winter, heat of summer, sweetness of autumn and smile of spring".

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(A. Louis)

ḤAMMĀM AL-ṢARAK͟H is a ruined bath building which stands within an isolated enclosure wall about sixteen miles east of Zarḳaʾ in the Balḳā, and three miles south-east of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥallābāt. It was visited and first planned by H. C. Butler in 1905 and 1909; but the most recent drawings of the building were made by L. H. Vincent with K. A. C. Creswell in 1926 (Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, i, 274-5). The ruins have since suffered much from earthquake and stone-robbers, so that all published photographs, including some more recent than 1926, show walls and vaults standing intact which no longer exist. Here, therefore, we describe a past state of affairs.

A square, stone-paved and cement-lined pool and a circular well close to the main building are the only visible signs of water. The bath is stone-built and vaulted throughout of locally quarried materials, the walls being for the most part of limestone ashlar, the vaulting partly of ashlar but mostly of rough-hewn shale fragments or a concrete of light volcanic cinders. Vaults and arches throughout are slightly pointed: barrel-vaults over rectangular and cross-vaults over square compartments. On the walls Butler and Musil (in 1909) both found traces of figured frescoes. The roofs were covered with a fine water-proof cement mixed with crushed pottery.

The building closely resembles Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra [*q.v.*] in plan and has analogies in certain respects with the bath at K͟hirbat al-Mafd͟jar [*q.v.*]. It comprises two clearly differentiated parts: a large hall with a deep recess on one axis flanked by two secluded chambers; and a series of smaller rooms. The hall served undoubtedly as an apodyterium and reception room, and the smaller rooms for bathing.

The hall is nearly square (8.9 × 7.9 m), with its corners towards the points of the compass. The shorter, south-west, wall containing the entrance is now totally destroyed. In the middle of the south-east side there is a deep recess, or *īwān*, from which two doors give access to two small flanking rooms each lit by three slit windows and furnished with a square niche in a back corner. The main hall is lit by three windows set high in the wall opposite the recess. It is roofed by three barrel-vaults resting on two transverse arches which spring from low wall-piers attached to the long walls. The central vault is carried into the recess. Similar vaults cover the flanking rooms.

A door in the north-east wall leads into the baths proper, which are strikingly small in relation to the hall. Three or four connecting rooms provide a sequence of increasing temperature. No furnace or hypocaust is visible, but vertical flues in the walls of the second and third rooms prove that these were heated, a tepidarium and calidarium respectively, the first being a cold room. Architectural interest is chiefly centred in the calidarium, a domed square with semi-circular apses in two opposite walls. In this room four wall arches carry ashlar pendentives supporting a dome comprised of shale fragments compressed between projecting radial ribs made of wedge-shaped lengths of shale. Eight round windows lighted the dome. The apses are semi-domed, with voussoirs set in wedge-like courses radiating from a lunate block at the centre of the springing. Each recess had a round-headed window.

Opposite the door of the calidarium a vaulted passage, nearly as wide as the room itself, leads to a rectangular chamber now totally demolished. Similar arrangements well preserved at K͟hirbat al-Mafd͟jar prove that this contained a boiler, doubtless heated by a furnace below, to provide steam for the calidarium.

The plan of Ḥammām al-Ṣarak͟h is almost identical with that of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra, and this, with the frescoes, may suggest that the same mind planned both, and for the same purpose: to provide at once for the relaxation and official receptions of some Umayyad prince. No residence in either case stood near. In both a rectangular recess formed the princely *miḥrāb*, directly confronting the axis of an assembly hall and apodyterium. This reflects a simpler ceremonial than the separate and elaborate reception

room at Khirbat al-Mafdjar, attributed to al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Ḥammām al-Ṣarakh may then be dated some years or decades earlier; perhaps to the Caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, if Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra and another closely similar bath at Djabal Says (*Syria*, xx, 246-56) have been rightly so attributed.

Bibliography: H. C. Butler, *Ancient architecture in Syria*: *Section A*: *S. Syria*, 77-80; and appendix, xix-xxv; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, i, 273-84.

(R. W. Hamilton)

ḤAMMŪDIDS, dynasty which reigned over various towns in Muslim Spain from 407/1016 till 450/1058. Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn [*q.v.*], on his second succession to the caliphal throne in Shawwāl 403/May 1013, had to distribute large fiefs among the Berbers who had raised him to power. He allotted to ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd the governorship of Ceuta and to his brother al-Ḳāsim that of Algeciras, Tangier, and Arzila. The two were genuine Idrīsids [*q.v.*], their great-grandfather Ḥammud being the great-grandson of Idrīs II. ʿAlī, who considered himself to be the heir of Hishām II [*q.v.*], proclaimed his independence, and on the pretext of liberating Hishām (whom he thought to be still alive), decided to make himself master of Cordova. Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn put up almost no resistance and was defeated and made prisoner in Muḥarram 407/July 1016. The ambitious ʿAlī ordered the corpse of Hishām II to be disinterred, and on it being proved that he had been murdered, took it upon himself personally to execute Sulaymān as a regicide and had himself recognized as caliph with due form and ceremony. Thus he became the first non-Marwānid to occupy the Cordovan throne since the restoration of the Umayyads on Spanish soil. During the first eight months of his rule he won the approval of his subjects by applying the law strictly to the Berbers, who had become accustomed to immunity. But soon, seeing that Cordovans were beginning to mutter against him as a foreign usurper and to show their sympathy for the Umayyad pretender al-Murtaḍā, he forgot his moderation, allowed the Zanāta to enjoy their privileges and immunities, and subjected the capital to a reign of terror until he was murdered by three Slav palace slaves. His Zanāta partisans called upon his brother al-Ḳāsim, who was in Seville as governor, and proclaimed him caliph. The only pretender to dispute the throne with him was a great-grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who was proclaimed caliph on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 408/29 April 1018 by the Slav *fatā* Khayrān, lord of Almería, and the Arab Mundhir of Saragossa, but on attacking Granada before making for Cordova he was vanquished and killed. The Cordovans could now enjoy an unexpected tranquillity for three years, thanks to the moderation of al-Ḳāsim who, surrounded by a bodyguard of Negro mercenaries, won over the Slav chiefs who had upheld al-Murtaḍā. This liberal régime could not last. The Berbers of the capital, feeling themselves disregarded, invited Yaḥyā, the eldest son of ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd, to cross from Morocco to Málaga and march against Cordova. His aged uncle al-Ḳāsim gave up the struggle and took refuge in Seville. Yaḥyā was proclaimed caliph in the Alcázar of Cordova on 22 Rabīʿ II 412/5 August 1021. He could maintain himself on the throne for only a year and a half, for his insufferable arrogance alienated the sympathies of the very Berbers who had enthroned him, and he fled to Málaga. His uncle al-Ḳāsim returned from Seville to install himself once more in the capital, but after six months, on 21 Djumādā II 414/10 September 1023, the Cordovans, weary of the insolence of the Africans, rebelled and forced him to flee. The Sevillans declined to receive him and when he went to take refuge at Jerez his nephew Yaḥyā went from Málaga to besiege him. He gave himself up and was imprisoned with his two sons, to be murdered after a few years in prison. Yaḥyā reigned at Málaga until 427/1035. He had successors at Málaga until 449/1057, in which year Bādīs (see zīrids of Spain), the Berber prince of Granada, entered it and dethroned the last Ḥammūdid, Muḥammad II al-Mustaʿlī. At Algeciras al-Ḳāsim's son Muḥammad al-Mahdī reigned from 431/1039 to 440/1048 and his son al-Ḳāsim al-Wāthiḳ from 440/1048 to 450/1058. In this latter year Málaga was occupied by the Abbādids of Seville.

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(A. Huici Miranda)

HĀMŌN, Moses, chief Jewish physician to Süleymān I. His father, Joseph Hāmōn, a native of Granada, served as physician at the court of Bāyezīd II and Selīm I. Probably born *ca.* 1490, Moses Hāmōn became a leading court physician and influential courtier under Süleymān I. He seems to have allied himself with the powerful court faction headed by Khurrem Sulṭān [*q.v.*], the Sultan's favourite consort, her daughter Mihr-i Māh [*q.v.*] and the latter's husband, the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], who, *inter alia*, conspired against the heir presumptive, Prince Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*], executed in 1553. Shortly before Hāmōn's death in 1554, he was dismissed as a result of the intrigues of envious colleagues or the temporary disgrace of Rüstem Pasha.

Hāmōn possessed a valuable collection of manuscripts, among them the famous Dioscorides codex of the 6th century A.D., now in Vienna. He wrote an early Turkish treatise on dentistry and was instrumental in the printing of several Hebrew works and of a well-known Persian translation of the Pentateuch. He also played an important part in Jewish communal affairs.

Bibliography: H. Gross, in *REJ*, lvi (1908), 1-26 and lvii (1909), 55-78; U. Heyd, in *Oriens*, xvi (1963), 152-70 (and the sources cited there).

(U. Heyd)

HAMPĪ, the name now commonly given to the ruins of the capital city of the Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*] empire, on the right bank of the Tungabhadrā river 60 km. north-west of Bellary. The name seems to be derived from the prominent temple to Pampāpati (Kannada *h* < Old Kann. *p*) in the *bāzār* area.

The Vidjayanagara empire is of importance for the Muslim world not only as an active Hindū power which defied its Muslim neighbours for over two centuries, but also for the evidence it offers of the progressive synthesis of certain aspects of Hindū and Muslim cultures from the 8th/14th to the 10th/16th centuries; this article is concerned with that

synthesis as expressed in its buildings.

Most of the buildings of Vid̲j̲ayanagara are characteristically Hindū works in the late Hoysaḷa style; but in some the Muslim influence is apparent, especially where the building concerned is (presumably) one built for the Muslim community or by a section of it. It is known that the ruler Devarāya I (1406-22 A.D.) had many Muslim mercenaries in his service: the first of his line to appreciate the advantages of cavalry, he had imported many horses from Arabia and Persia and enlisted trained troopers to ride them; and reference is made also to the 'Turkish' bowmen he attracted by liberal grants of cash and land (the adjective is perhaps not to be taken literally, as *turaka*, *turas̲h̲ka* in non-Muslim Indian texts frequently means no more than 'Muslim'). They are no doubt responsible for reconstructions in the walls and gates of the citadel of Hampī: thus, the northern gate is of the typical Hindū beam-and-bracket construction, but the remains of the turret above it show arches and parapets of the same general shape as exhibited in the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] buildings at Gulbargā; the southern gateway, one of the main entrances to the city, shows a tall domed structure supported on four open arched sides, similar to the late Bahmanī and Barīd S̲h̲āhī tombs at Bīdar [*q.v.*]. Within the citadel is a large high-walled enclosure generally referred to as the *zanāna*; the accounts of travellers to the Vid̲j̲ayanagara court suggest that the kings did indeed keep their women in seclusion—a practice which was known in early Hinduism but seems to have been most freely adopted by Hindūs as a direct imitation of Muslim practice—but that they were allowed to watch spectacles taking place in the city. The so-called "watch towers" on the walls of the enclosure appear to have been built for the pleasure of the ladies of the *zanāna*, a purpose similar to that seen in the Mug̲h̲al palaces [see BURD̲J̲, iii, *ad fin.*]; these towers, one square and one octagonal, have arched openings on all their faces and are thus strikingly unlike any other Hindū work in the sub-continent, although the synthesis of the Hindū and Muslim styles appears here in that the roofs are of the stepped pattern which characterizes the temple roof (*śikhara*). Within the enclosure stands the finest and most complete of the mixed-style buildings, known as the Lotus Pavilion; this is an open pavilion on the ground floor, with massive piers and foliated arches showing a triple recession of planes of the intrados which recalls the style of the Lodī mosques of Dihlī [*q.v.*]. The upper storey is provided with numerous small arched windows in each face, originally equipped with wooden shutters, and is separated from the ground storey by a deep eaves roof on corbelled brackets very similar in effect to the deep eaves of the Bīd̲j̲āpur buildings. The roof, however, is of the Hindū pyramidal stepped variety. This appears to be a late building (ca. 983/1575 ?).

Outside the *zanāna* enclosure is a long oblong building with eleven tall arched openings alternating with walls of blind arches, generally known as the 'elephant stables', but which Havell takes to be the mosque built by Devarāya II (1422 ?-46 A.D.) for his Muslim troops. The arched chambers are domed, and the central chamber is surmounted by a square turret, probably originally crowned by a stepped tower of the Hindū pattern, approached by steps from within and therefore providing access to a high place to cry the *ad̲h̲ān*. A local tradition asserts that this building was later used as a stable for the state elephants, but there seems to be no trace of the occupancy of these animals; further work on the site, including excavation, will be necessary if the thesis that it was the mosque can be supported. A structure in the army commander's enclosure has been identified by Longhurst as Devarāya's mosque; but this building faces due north (the *ḳibla* here being slightly north of west) and the identification may be rejected.

Near the 'elephant stables' is an oblong arcaded building called a 'guard-room' by Longhurst and 'Rām Rād̲j̲'s treasury' by Havell; it has also been known as the 'concert hall'. This shows the best use of the structural arch in the Hampī buildings: foliated arches with radiating brick voussoirs, supported on slender columns; the roof is incomplete. Its purpose cannot now be known, but it obviously reflects work by Muslim craftsmen.

Other buildings of Muslim style at Hampī include some of the constructions associated with the elaborate irrigation system, the relation of which with the irrigation systems of the Muslim cities of Bīdar and Bīd̲j̲āpur has not yet been ascertained. These include two baths—the *ḥammām* was another Muslim institution borrowed by these Hindū dynasties—and an octagonal pavilion with fountains. About 1.8 km. to the west of the citadel stand two Muslim tombs whose style resembles that of the early Bahmanī period at Bīdar; nothing is known of the history of these tombs.

That the synthesized tradition of the Hampī buildings endured after the conquest of Vid̲j̲ayanagara by the Deccan Muslim confederacy at Tālikoṭā [*q.v.*] in 972/1565 is shown by the palace of the last dynasty built twenty years after the conquest at their new capital of Čandragiri, in the North Arcot district of Madras some 370 km. south-east of Hampī. This is a three-storeyed building with a façade 45 m. wide, each storey showing a range of pointed arches; inside there are excellent pillared halls, the upper one of intersecting arches roofed by shallow domes. The roof is crowned by seven pyramidal towers of the Hindū *śikhara* type.

Bibliography: In addition to the detailed bibliography of the article VID̲J̲AYANAGARA: A. H. Longhurst, *Hampi ruins described and illustrated*, Madras 1917: descriptions uncritical, map inadequate, no plans, illustrations poor and without scale; E. B. Havell, *Indian architecture* . . ., London ²1927, specially 185-92: written generally to prove Havell's untenable thesis of the essentially Indian nature of Indian Islamic art. For the Čandragiri palace: R. F. Chisholm, *The old palace of Chandragiri*, in *Ind. Antiquary*, xii (1883), 295-6. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

AL-ḤAMRĀʾ, the name of several places in Morocco. This name has been or is still borne by:—

(1) Marrākus̲h̲: on the basis of numerous documents emanating from the Naṣrids and Saʿdids, Colonel de Castries has proposed translating the expression "*ḥamrāʾ Marrākus̲h̲*" by "l'Alhambra de Marrakech", and applying it to the palace or *ḳaṣaba* of the Saʿdids in that town. But other texts suggest that, even in the diplomatic vocabulary, the word *ḥamrāʾ* had progressively assumed the sense of capital (substantive or adjective) in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries; and it seems that the true meaning of this word is optative, in that red, one of the Prophet's favourite colours, is a sign of joy, good fortune and above all power. Since the 19th century it has been customary in Morocco to reverse this expression (perhaps under European influence), and one writes "*Marrākus̲h̲ al-ḥamrāʾ*" (Marrākus̲h̲

the Red) or simply *al-Ḥamrāʾ*. On this question, see G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956, 17-23, which gives the bibliography. See further Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Zarhūnī, *Riḥla*, Rabat MS; French trans. Col. Justinard, *La Riḥla du Marabout de Tasaft*, Paris 1940, 17, 127, 128, 163, 197, and J. Caillé, *Les Accords internationaux du sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah*, Paris 1960, 155.

(2) Several villages in southern Morocco, see V. P. Lancre, *Repert. alpha. des confédérations de tribus ... et des agglomérations de la zone française de l'Empire chérifien*, Casablanca 1939, 380, 422.

(3) Al-Baṣra [*q.v.*]: the identification is given by al-Bakrī, *K. al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, 110, Fr. tr. M. G. de Slane, Algiers 1911-13, 216.

4) Dar al-Hamara: Marmol, *L'Afrique*, Fr. tr. Perrot d'Ablancourt, Paris 1667, ii, book IV, 200, gives this name to an ancient Roman town situated to the North of the mouth of the Wādī Lukkus, and adds in the table of contents "on the mountain of the Zarhoun" ... but this mistake has not been made on the map of the "Kingdom of Fez" (between pp. 136 and 137). Marmol identifies this locality, without either proof or reason, with "l'Epticienne de Ptolemée". Dar al-Hamara has not yet been discovered.

5) Fās: al-Khūrī, in his *Aḳrab al-mawārid*, Beirut 1889, records under the word *al-ḥamrāʾ*, though without any evidence, "the name of the new town of Fās". We know of a mosque at Fās with this name, the significance of which remains enigmatic.

(Sidjilmasa did not bear the name *al-ḥamrāʾ*, but rather *al-ʿamrāʾ*: see D. J. and J. Meunié, *Abbar, cité royale du Tafilalet*, in *Hesp.*, i/2 (2e trim.), 1959.)

Bibliography: in the article.

(G. DEVERDUN)

AL-ḤAMRĀʾ, the Alhambra of Granada [see GHARNĀṬA].

ḤAMRĪN, DJABAL, modern name of an isolated western chain of the mountains of the Iranian border, about 500 miles long. Its northern extremity crops up in the Djazīra, south of the Djabal Sindjar and the Tigris flows through it at al-Fatḥa. At Shahrabān it is crossed by the great road from Baghdād to Hamadān and Tehrān, at Ahwāz it separates the plains of the ancient Elam, the modern Khūzistān, from those of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, and is finally united with the Iranian plateau in the province of Fārs. This range has had its name repeatedly changed. Its Assyrian appellation is not certain. The Syrians called it Ūrukh or Orukh, which appears in Polybius, v, 52 with reference to the campaign of Antiochus III against Molon, as τὸ ʼΟρειχὸν ὄρος. Bārimmā is the oldest Arabic name, which may be traced to the Syriac Bēth Remmān, *i.e.*, temple of Rimmon, probably an Assyrian sanctuary. The mountains took this name from a village on the eastern bank of the Tigris, where the river flows through the mountains. It lay on the Baghdād-Mawṣil road, was inhabited by Jacobites and for a time formed a bishopric with Bēth Wāzīḳ. Ḳudāma and Yāḳūt give the Syrian name Sātīdamā to the western part of the range in the Djazīra; the word means blood-drinker and appears elsewhere as the name of frontier rivers. Later in Ibn Ḥawḳal, this western part is called Djabal Shaḳūḳ, traces of which name remain in that of the modern village of al-Shaḳḳ. Iṣṭakhrī and Yāḳūt, following Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, say that there were springs of pitch in the midst of the waters, as indeed is still the case at the place where the Tigris breaks through the Bārimmā, and that the range extended from the centre of Djazīra in the west, to the borders of Kermān in the east, where it becomes the hills of Māsabadhān (Pusht-i kūh). The remarkable length of this homogeneous range has given rise to fanciful notions, so that Yāḳūt, for example, speaks of *al-djabal al-muḥīṭ bi 'l-arḍ*, as comparable with the ocean surrounding the earth. The modern name of Ḥamrīn appears first in Yāḳūt (iii, 7) under the form Ḥumrīn. It is found also as early as 758/1357 in the great *waḳfiyya* inscription of the Madrasa al-Mirdjāniyya (cf. L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie, Inst. Français d'Arch. Or.*, Cairo 1912, 16, 28). The part west of the Tigris is now called Djabal Makḥūl. A parallel range is called Djabal Mukayḥil, *i.e.*, coloured with *kuḥl*, probably after a village on the Tigris (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii, 218, and *Marāṣid*). Such names derived from colours are nowadays fast driving out the ancient names from Arab nomenclature; even Ḥumrīn is a modern name, the "reddish", from *aḥmar*, in spite of the old Syriac ending in *-īn*. A place close to the Tigris bears the ancient, expressive name of Khanūḳa which means the "strangled" or "confined".

In the unpublished Turkish work *Djāmiʿ al-anwār fī manāḳib al-akhyār* of Ṣafā al-Dīn ʿĪsā al-Ḳādirī al-Naḳshbandī al-Bandanīdjī of 1077/1666 a tomb of Mādjid al-Kurdī (d. 567/1171-2) is mentioned as a well-known place of pilgrimage on the Ḥamrīn; it has not yet been identified (see Massignon, *op. cit.*, 60).

Bibliography: *BGA*, (ed. de Goeje), Indices; Yāḳūt, i, 464, cf. *Marāṣid*, ed. Juynboll, s.v.; Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii, 218; Georg Hoffmann, *Syrische Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, Index s. Bēth Remmān; Le Strange, index; E. Herzfeld, *Untersuchungen zur Topographie ...*, in *Memnon*, i (1907), 1 and 2; Friedr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat- u. Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1910-1, chap. iii; G. C. Miles, *Some coins from Sinjār*, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, lvi (1939), 247-8; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, i, 126, 128-9.

(E. HERZFELD*)

ḤAMŪLA, name given in some parts of the Arab Middle East to a group of people who claim descent from a common ancestor, usually five to seven generations removed from the living. The word is derived from the Arabic verb *ḥamala*, to carry, and literally means a "female carrier". Some writers believe that the reference is to a beast of work and that the word was originally used in this sense to describe the landless patronymic groups who worked as tenants for landowners. A more plausible explanation is that the reference is to a woman in her capacity of bearing children. E. Peters [see *Bibl.*] suggests that such reference symbolizes descent from 'one womb' and signifies full brother unity and hence a high degree of group cohesion.

The *ḥamūla* is usually a territorial group whose members cooperate economically and politically. In Arab villages in Palestine during the Ottoman régime each *ḥamūla* occupied a special quarter (*ḥāra*) and its members held adjacent plots of common land (*mushāʿ*). The members cooperated in agricultural work, exchanged gifts on special occasions and helped each other economically when in need. Politically, the *ḥamūla* formed a "blood group" whose members paid or received blood compensation (*diya*) collectively in cases of homicide. Its members were described as 'those who stand together in one line' (*yaṣuffu maʿa baʿḍ*). They literally "stood" in this way on two major occasions: in a peace-making ceremony (*ṣulḥa* [*q.v.*]) and in the graveyard when

burying one of their number.

The men of a *ḥamūla* were also linked together through the sharing of a number of rights and obligations in relation to one another's sisters and daughters. They had a priority right in marrying a woman from within the *ḥamūla* (a first, or a classificatory, father's brother's daughter — *bint ʿamm*) over any outsider. They were also bound to protect the honour of *ḥamūla* women. Through the practice of preferential in-*ḥamūla* marriage they were further linked together by matrilateral and affinal ties. Children born of such marriage had the same men as both paternal and maternal uncles or cousins (*muʿammamīn wa mukhawwalīn*) and in cases of disputes were not likely to harbour conflicts of loyalties.

In subsequent decades law and order came progressively under the control of the centralized government, and common land was increasingly converted to private property. As a result the *ḥamūla* lost some of its economic and political functions. Also, stratification cut across *ḥamūla* boundaries and the principle of in-*ḥamūla* marriage came into conflict with the principle of equality of status between spouses in marriage [see KAFĀʾA], and this brought further disruption to the *ḥamūla*.

However, largely through the enduring ties resulting from in-*ḥamūla* marriage, from co-residence and from continued cooperation in a number of ways, the *ḥamūla* has shown a remarkable degree of persistence in the face of drastic social change. Under some circumstances it has assumed new functions in new political and economic situations.

Bibliography: Most of the material so far published on the *ḥamūla* deals only with peasant and Bedouin communities in Palestine and Israel: A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1908; J. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche Orient*, Paris n.d. [?1946]; Hilma Granquist, *Marriage conditions in a Palestinian village*, Helsingfors 1931-3; eadem, *Arabiskt Familjeliv*, Stockholm 1935; *Conditions in Arab villages, 1944*, in *General Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, London, July and September 1945; R. Montagne, *La civilisation du désert*, Paris 1947; Afif Tannous, *The Arab village community in the Middle East* [Smithsonian Report for 1943, publication 3760], Washington D.C. 1944, 523-44; A. Granott, *The land system in Palestine*, London 1952; E. Peters, *The proliferation of segments in the lineage of the Bedouin in Cyrenaica*, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xc/1 (1960); A. Cohen, *Arab border villages in Israel*, Manchester 1965. (A. COHEN)

HĀMŪN, name for a salt plain in eastern Īrān, Afghānistān and Balūčistān, usually the drainage area of a river. The etymology of the word, found in Pahlavi as *dasht-ē hāmūn*, is disputed, but it is used especially for the lake in Sīstān into which the Hilmand River [*q.v.*] drains. This lake or swamp changes its size and even location according to the season. The usual name for the lake, until recent times, was Zarah or Zirih (compare Avestan *zrayah* "lake"), but this name is now used for the depression in Afghānistān south of Sīstān into which the Hilmand flows when the water is excessive (Gawd-i Zarah). One may find much information about the lake of Sīstān under the name Zarah in the Arabic and Persian geographers.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 338; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. M. Bahār, Tehrān 1936, *passim*; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 185; G. P. Tate, *Seistan*, Calcutta 1910-12, 2 vols. (R. N. FRYE)

HAMZA, orthographical sign *alif*, which is the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, with numerical value *one*; transcribed ʾ internally and at the end of words, ignored initially (except in special cases) in the system of the *EI*.

Definition: *unvoiced glottal occlusive*. For the Arab grammarians, *hamza* is a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ* defined as: *shadīda madjhūra*, having as *makhradj*: *aḳṣā ʾl-ḥalḳ* "the farthest part of the throat" (like *h*) (al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*², § 732). For the phonological oppositions of the phoneme *hamza*, see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 178; for the incompatibilities, *ibid.*, 201.

Hamza madjhūra. *Hamza, a priori*, should be unvoiced, J. Cantineau has said (see below); nevertheless he placed it, "with every reserve" it is true, as a voiced sound opposite the unvoiced *h* (*Consonantisme*, 280). The symmetry of the system benefited by this, but there is very little probability that *hamza* was voiced in Arabic. There was simply a mistake on the part of the Arab grammarians, who were unable to distinguish sufficiently the vowel articulated with the *hamza* and the unvoiced consonantal element of the *hamza*; the vowel having become an integral part of the *hamza*, the latter was then of course voiced. The *makhradj* given in the definition of *hamza* is that taught by Sībawayhi, followed by grammatical tradition. As for al-Khalīl, he does not even seem to have perceived a consonantal element in the *hamza*. He considers it like *alif, wāw, yāʾ*: they are called *djūf* (pl. of *adjwaf*) "because they come out of the *djawf*, the hollow of the breast"; "they are *fiʾl-hawāʾ*, in the air [expired]; they have no articulatory region to which they can be assigned except the *djawf*, the hollow of the breast" (see *Traité*, § 44 j *n.* and § 46 f). His *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* begins with *ʿayn*, *aḳṣā ʾl-ḥuruf kullihā* "the farthest away of all the *ḥurūf*", according to his description. See *Traité*, § 46 a-f; J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 22, *Esquisse*, 187.

Alif as sign of two *ḥarf*s. In phonetics, the Arab grammarians considered *alif* as the sign of two *ḥarf*s: *hamza*, here definite, and *alif ḥarf al-madd*, called *alif layyina* (*ḥarf muʿtall*), except only al-Mubarrad, who ignored *hamza* (see *Traité*, § 44 a *n.* and particularly Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr ṣināʿa*, i, 46).

The Arabic script is derived from the Nabatean Aramaic writing. This, like the more ancient Aramaic writing, denoted the Semitic glottal occlusive by the character *ālaf*. In Aramaic this occlusive had become very much weakened; in Nabatean *ālaf* served to denote final *ā* in all emphatic states. Thus there is already in this script the double use of *ālaf*, but in a restricted manner as regards to notation of *ā*. There is no example of the notation of this long vowel in the middle of a word. Such notation by means of *alif* is an Arab innovation (J. Cantineau, *Nabatéen*, i, Paris, 1930, 47). But this introduction of *alif* for *ā* in the script of the text of the Ḳurʾān was carried out irregularly, under the influence of partial improvements, inserted at various periods, without any definite plan (see R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*², Paris 1959, 71, 80, 93-4, 101). The Cairo edition of the Ḳurʾān (published under the patronage of King Fuʾād I), which is an archaizing edition, makes good the *alif*s lacking in the text with a superscript upright *alif* (see *ibid.*, 152-3). Even in current Arabic writing, *alif* is lacking in the ductus of some words, for example. in *lākin* "but" and some demonstrative pronouns

Modifications. "A glottal occlusive ʾ, which should *a priori* be unvoiced, is attested in all ancient Semitic languages and in some modern dialects" (J. Cantineau, *Consonantisme*, 288). It was therefore part of the common Semitic consonantal system. In Arabic, one modification of *hamza* which appears

to be unconditioned is the development of initial *hamza* into *ʿayn*: the *ʿanʿana* of the Tamīm and the Ḳays (see *Muzhir*[3], i, 221 end: C. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.*, § 2 *o*, 8 *q*, 14 *f*). They said, for example, *ʿudhn* for *ʾudhn* "ear". More important modifications affected *hamza* in the Ḥidjāz where it became very weak.

The Arab grammarians (Sībawayhi, ii, Ch. 411; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*[2], 658-62) designated all the accidents which can befall *hamza* as *takhfīf al-hamza*. This *takhfīf*, literally "weakening", includes (1) the *hamza bayna bayna*; (2) the phonetic change of *hamza* into another articulation; this is the *ibdāl* of *hamza*, which is properly a *ḳalb*; (3) the suppression (*ḥadhf*) of *hamza*. All this has been set out in detail in H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 17 to 20, and by J. Cantineau in *Cours*, 77-84.

(1) The *hamza bayna bayna*. The 105th question discussed in the *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* by Ibn al-Anbārī demonstrates the difficulty which the Arabs found in explaining this; many authors have written of it (references in *Traité*, § 45 b). The European writers, G. Weil, A. Schaade (references *ibid.*), were no more successful in achieving a satisfactory explanation and J. Cantineau is not very clear in *Cours*, 77. The Arabs, as the existence of *hamza* in their language indicates, were a people who practised "the hard attack" on vowels (see J. Marouzeau, *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*[3], s.v. *attaque*); that is to say, in the articulation of a vowel, there was first precession (closing) of the vocal cords; then their sudden opening produced the explosive glottal stop, the *hamza*; then came the vibrations of the vowel; and when the vowel was ended the vocal cords closed. This explains why they needed a *hamza* to pronounce an initial vowel and why they were unable to pronounce two vowels successively with a simple hiatus; when the first vowel was ended the vocal cords closed into the position for the hard attack on the second.

The *hamza bayna bayna*, according to the Arab grammarians, was produced intervocally, when, after articulation of a vowel belonging to a preceding syllable, the following syllable had to be enunciated beginning with a *hamza*, as follows: *-āʾa-* in *sāʾala*, *-aʾa-* in *saʾala*, *-āʾu-* in *tasāʾul*, *-aʾu-* in *laʾuma*, *-āʾi-* in *ḳāʾil*, *-uʾi-* in *suʾila*, etc. After the articulation of the first vowel, the vocal cords closed, as has been said, into the position for the hard attack on the second, but, after the closure of the vocal cords there was no explosive glottal stop: the *hamza* was reduced to the firm clear interruption established by the closure of the vocal cords. One passed from this closure, characterized by strong articulatory tension (since it begins the first part of the syllable, with increased tension) direct to the vocalic vibrations; this was sufficient to maintain the autonomy of the syllable. But it is apparent that, according to the extent to which the glottal stop was attenuated, many degrees of weakening of the *hamza* were possible, right up to its absence (*hamza bayna bayna*).

The Arab grammarians were unable to make this analysis. They lacked a proper notion of the vowel; their *ḥaraka* is not a *ḥarf* and has no autonomy; they had to proceed by means of the detour of the *ḥarf al-madd*, of which the *ḥaraka* formed part. They recognized the weakness of the *hamza bayna bayna*, near the state of *sākin*, but still *mutaḥarrik*. In the expression of Sībawayhi *hamza bayna bayna* (ii, 452, *l.* 10) they saw the indication of an "intermediate" *hamza*, that is, one placed between two *makhradj* (as is made clear in *Mufaṣṣal*[2], 165, *l.* 19-20): for (ʾ)*a*, between the *makhradj* of the *hamza* and the *makhradj* of the *alif* (of which the *fatḥa* is a part); for (ʾ)*i* between the *makhradj* of the *hamza* and the *makhradj* of the *yāʾ* (*sākina*) (of which the *kasra* is a part), etc. These explanations remain obscure by reason of the deficiency of the means of analysis at the Arabs' command.

(2) The *ibdāl* (*ḳalb*) of *hamza*. This *ibdāl* was produced only in the middle of a word or in the conjunction of two different words. In both cases the standardizing activity of the Arab grammarians led to the acceptance of the sequences *-iʾa-* > *-iya-*, *-uʾa-* > *-uwa-*, as permitted (though not obligatory) assimilations, *e.g.*, *muliʾat* in *Ḳurʾān*, LXXII, 8 is read as *muliyat*; *muʾadjdjal* and *muwadjdjal* "which has a fixed term". They rejected *-iʾu-* > *-iyu-*, *-iʾi-* > *-iyi-* and *-uʾi-* > *-uwi-*, though these pronunciations have existed among the Arabs. In these cases they admitted the possibility only of a *hamza bayna bayna*. On the other hand, after *ū* and *ī*, they rejected the pronunciation of a *hamza bayna bayna* but admitted assimilation: *khaṭīʾat* > **khaṭīyat*, then *khaṭiyyat* "sin", *maḳrūʾun* > **maḳrūwun*, then *maḳruwwun* "read (passive participle)".

In the middle of a word, in the sequence *-aʾa-*, the weakness of the *hamza* might lead to its disappearance. The *hamza* simply dropped out and the two adjointing short vowels contracted into one long vowel: *-aʾa-* > *-ā-*. This may explain the form *sāla* for *saʾala* "to ask".

(3) Suppression (*ḥadhf*) of the *hamza*. Except in the case of pause, *hamza* placed between vowel and consonant or consonant and vowel *may* disappear: between vowel and consonant, it disappears and there is a compensatory prolongation of the vowel, *e.g.*, *raʾs* > *rās* "head", *dhiʾb* > *dhīb* "wolf", *muʾmin* > *mūmin* "believer"; between consonant and vowel it simply drops out, *e.g.*, *ḥawʾab* > *ḥawab* "wide valley", *sawʾat* > *sawat* "turpitude"; this may explain *yasalu* for *yasʾalu* (unaccomplished of *saʾala*). Cases of compensatory prolongation of the vowel are few, as *al-marʾat* > *al-marāt* "the woman", *al-kamʾat* > *al-kamāt* "the truffle".

Meeting of two *hamzas*. The Arabs generally experienced especial distaste for repeating the same consonant successively when the separator was a simple short vowel (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 28). This distaste was much increased when it was a question of repeating *hamza*. There are no Arabic words with *hamza* as 1st and 2nd or 2nd and 3rd radicals. *LA* (i, 14-5/i, 23a-24b) gives only 7 roots with *hamza* as 1st and 3rd radicals, all only slightly productive and of secondary origin (see *Traité*, § 20 a). Nevertheless the Arabic language was unable to avoid the meeting of two *hamzas*, whether in the pattern of morphological forms or in the employment of words with *hamza* as their 1st or 3rd radical.

Thus the Arab grammarians distinguished between a meeting of two *hamzas* in the same word and a meeting of two *hamzas* in two different words (at the end of one and the beginning of the next). All the details cannot be given here, but reference may be made to H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 20 d-p, or to J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 82-3. For two successive *hamzas* in the same word, the following normal changes may be briefly indicated: *ʾaʾ* > *ʾā*, by dissimilation and compensatory prolongation of the vowel, *e.g.*, **ʾaʾkharu* > *ʾākharu* "other"; *ʾuʾ* > *ʾū*, similarly by dissimilation, *e.g.*, **ʾuʾsaru* > *ʾūsaru* "I am bound"; *ʾiʾ* > *ʾī*, equally by dissimilation, *e.g.*, **ʾiʾthar* > *ʾīthār* "to choose". For haplologies or dissimilations occurring in nouns and particles, see *Traité*, § 30 h and i.

For the repercussions of the weakness of *hamza* on the morphological system see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 81-2, or *Traité*, § 22. The dissimilation *ʾarʾā > ʾarā "I see" may be noted. Dissimilation may also have been at work in *ʾasʾalu* > *ʾasalu* "I ask"; *saʾala* and its unaccomplished may have undergone various influences (see *ibid.*, § 22 b and d).

For the treatment of the pause on *hamza* see J. Cantineau, *loc. cit.*, 80-1 or *Traité*, § 21.

The action of the Arab grammarians in the question of *hamza* may be summed up as follows: adhering to the tradition of the Tamīm, their efforts at standardization were a reaction against the pronunciation of the Ḥidjāz. As possible, but not obligatory, *ibdāl* they accepted only *iʾa* > *iya* and *uʾa* > *uwa*; as possible, but not obligatory *ḥadhf* they accepted cases like *raʾs* > *rās*, *dhiʾb* > *dhib*, *muʾmin* > *mūmin*. In the meeting of two *hamzas*, apart from cases like *ʾaʾ* > *ʾā* given above, they set up as standard the weakening (*hamza bayna bayna*) of one of the two *hamzas*. But one thing remained outside the scope of their attack: the diversity in writing *hamza*.

Orthography of *hamza*. The very first rudimentary attempts to put the Ḳurʾān into writing were made according to the local pronunciation of the Ḥidjāz, which subjected *hamza* to all the *takhfīf* already described. The Ḳurʾānic orthography however was surrounded with a holy reverence which forbade any change in the traditional ductus of the words. When the Muslim community and its leaders wished to fill in the inadequacies of this orthography and pass from *scriptio defectiva* to *scriptio plena* (see R. Blachère, *Introduction*, 4, 71, 78-98) they had to give a sign to *hamza*, properly pronounced, in contrast to the usage of the Ḥidjāz. They used a point, but of a colour different from that of the vowel points. The system lasted a long time; "it was still the current usage in the 5th/11th century at the time of al-Dānī" (*ibid.* 97). The current sign appears to use a little *ʿayn* instead of the point. Placed over *alif*, the complementary sign indicated for *alif* the glottal occlusive pronunciation (*hamza*). When, by *ibdāl*, this glottal occlusive had become *w* or *y*, entailing *wāw* or *yāʾ* in the ductus of the word, the sign of *hamza* was placed above them; this is the origin of *wāw* and *yāʾ* as *kursī* of *hamza*. When nothing remained in the spelling to recall the glottal occlusive, the *hamza* was put back in the empty space, so to say, that is, without *kursī*. These are, schematically, the principal lines of the story of writing *hamza*. It was conditioned by the anxiety to preserve the glottal occlusive *hamza* in an unalterable text which had not made provision for it. But there remain obscurities in the orthography of verbs with *hamza* as 2nd radical, in the accomplished of the forms *faʿila*, *faʿula*, *fuʿila*. See *Traité*, § 16; on the writing of *hamza*, al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Djumal*, 277-80; on the usage of the Cairo Vulgate, R. Blachère, *Introduction*, 151-2.

Difficult cases. According to Ibn al-Sikkīt (C. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.*, § 14 *s*), *hamza* sometimes develops into *h* among the Ṭayyiʾ, *e.g.*, *hin* for *ʾin* "if". "But it is difficult to say whether we can speak here of a sound change", adds C. Rabin. For *ʾa* as interrogative particle, Wright (*Ar. Gr.*[3], i, 282 C) quotes the ancient dialect forms *hamā* (= *ha* + *mā*) for *ʾamā* (= *ʾa* + *mā*) and *hadhā-lladhī* for *ʾadhā-lladhī* "Is this he who?" Is there development from *hamza* to *h*? G. Garbini, *Sull' alternanza h-ʾ in semitico* (in *AIUON*, sezione linguistica, i (1959), 47-52) on every occasion when he acknowledges an alternation *h-ʾ*, considers that the *h* must be regarded as primitive and the *hamza* as secondary, thus: *h* > *ʾ*, in accordance with the general tendency of "the laryngeals and the pharyngeals" to weaken.—Matters are not so simple as that. But one point at least may be observed: *hamza* as a demonstrative element appears in Arabic with the three vocalic states (as does an independent base): *ʾa*, *ʾā*, *ʾay*, employed as vocative particles.

Modern dialects. J. Cantineau (*Cours*, 84-5) has set out the situation of *hamza* in the modern dialects: in eastern dialects, where "*hamza*, though weakened, has remained a phoneme in the phonological sense of the word" (84); and in Maghrib dialects where "*hamza* is no longer a phoneme and has almost entirely disappeared" (*ibid.*). Reference should be made to him.

Bibliography: In the text *Traité* refers to H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut, 1961. The publications of J. Cantineau, *Cours de phonétique arabe*, *Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'arabe classique*, *Consonantisme du sémitique*, are quoted respectively as *Cours*, *Esquisse*, *Consonantisme*, with reference to the Jean Cantineau memorial volume *Études de linguistique arabe*. The article *hamza* in *al-Muʿdjam al-kabīr*, i, 1-32 (Cairo 1956, Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya) gives an account of the whole Arab viewpoint, but without references, or with vague references only. The exclusion of *hamza* from the number of the *ḥurūf*, attributed to Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mubarrad by 4 MSS of the *Sirr ṣināʿa* of Ibn Djinnī (see the edition, i, 46), is attributed in this *Muʿdjam* (p. 1) to Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Thaʿlab. The art. *hamza* in *LA* (i, 10-4/i, 17-22) gives the names of all the *hamzas* distinguished by the Arabs, *takhfīf* and the treatment of the *ḳirāʾāt*. For the *khaṭaʾ al-ʿawwām*, the mistakes of the ordinary people over *hamza*, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *Adab al-kātib*, ed. Grünert, 392-400 (repeated in the *Muzhir*[3] by al-Suyūṭī, i, 311-3). The *Cours* of J. Cantineau or H. Fleisch, *Traité*, give further precise useful references; otherwise see under ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. For a general discussion of the phonetics of Arabic see MAKHĀRIDJ AL-ḤURŪF. For the use of *hamza* as *mater lectionis* for the *iḍāfat* of Persian, see IḌĀFA, ii.

(H. FLEISCH)

ḤAMZA B. **ʿABD ALLĀH** [see ḤAMZA B. ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB].

ḤAMZA B. **ʿABD** AL-**MUṬṬALIB**, the paternal uncle of the Prophet, was the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Hāla bint Wuhayb. He played a part in negotiating with Khuwaylid b. Asad, the father of Khadīdja, for the Prophet's marriage, and on his conversion became one of the bravest champions of Islam, although he had previously been an opponent of the new religion. He defended the Prophet against the insults of Abū Djahl, took part in the action against the Jewish Ḳaynuḳāʿ clan, and led an expedition to the sea coast at al-ʿĪṣ with thirty of the Muhādjirūn. On the way they encountered the followers of Abū Djahl but there was no fighting, thanks to the intervention of Madjdī b. ʿAmr al-Djuhanī. Ḥamza fought with great courage at Badr (2/624), distinguishing himself in single combat with many polytheists, but in the following year he was slain fighting heroically at Uḥud by the Abyssinian slave Waḥshī who thereby gained his manumission. After he fell, his body was barbarously mutilated by Hind bint ʿUtba who chewed his liver. This was evidently a survival of prehistoric animism.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 69, 120, 184, 232, 322, 344, 419, 433, 442, 485, 516, 563, 567, 584, 607;

Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 3-11; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* (Cairo edition), i, 353-4; H. Lammens, *L'âge de Mahomet et la chronologie de la Sīra*, in *JA*, 1911/1, 209-50; Sprenger, *Das Leben des Moḥammad*, ii, 69, 81, 88; iii, 108, 120, 172, 180; H. Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, 23, 25, 30, 45, 46, 138; Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, *Dīwān* (ed. Rhodokanakis), no. xxxix, 20; *Aghānī*, iv, 25; xiv, 15, 22; xix, 81-82.

Like so many heroes, Ḥamza passed into the world of legend after his death and became the central figure of a popular romance to whom were attributed all manner of fantastic adventures. These took place in lands which the real Ḥamza never visited—Ceylon, China, Central Asia and Rūm. The explanation suggested by Bahār (*Sabk-shināsī*, i, 284-5) is that the source was a work, no longer extant, entitled *Ḳiṣṣa-i maghāzī-i Ḥamza* which is mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*. This deals with the exploits of a Persian Khāridjī leader, Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh, who led an insurrectionary movement against Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successors. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, Ḥamza undertook expeditions to Sind, Hind and Sarandīb (*i.e.*, India and Ceylon). His boldness appealed to the Persian imagination long after the Khāridjī movement had died down and, by identification with the Prophet's uncle, he became an orthodox Muslim hero in popular literature, acceptable to all.

Before passing to the Romance of Amīr Ḥamza, it is necessary to discuss the career of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh very briefly. His name is given in the *Zayn al-akhbār* of Gardīzī as Ḥamza b. Ādharak, which is spelt in the Arabic sources as Adrak or Atrak. Ṭabarī gives only a brief outline of his life but a more detailed account occurs in the Persian sources. He was a native of Sīstān and the son of a *dihḳān*, tracing his genealogy to Zav, the son of Ṭahmāsb. Since one of the Caliph's agents had made insulting remarks about his lineage, he rebelled. Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr (whom Gardīzī follows) state that this took place in 179/795-6. In the *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, however, the date is given as 181/797-8, which is accepted by Mme Pigulevskaya. Ḥamza successfully defied al-Rashīd and prevented the men of Sīstān from paying the *kharādj*. Against his growing power, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, the governor of Khurāsān, asked for help from the Caliph who came in person to Sīstān in 192/807-8. Although the latter gave him a written promise of safe-conduct, Ḥamza refused to accept it and determined on further resistance. After the death of al-Rashīd, he led expeditions to Sind and Hind and died in 213/828-9. Gardīzī says, on the other hand, that he was killed in battle in 210/825-6.

In favour of Ḥamza the Khāridjī, it can be said that he was certainly a patriot and champion of local rights but the good in him was outweighed by the ruthlessness and cruelty he displayed to gain his ends. Shahrastānī (96) mentions the religious views of his associates, the Ḥamziyya. These held rigid views on predestination—that even the children of their adversaries and of polytheists were destined for hell-fire. He also states that Ḥamza was one of the companions of al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ruḳād who rebelled in Sidjistān. "Khalaf the Khāridjī opposed him in the doctrine of predestination and on the category of persons worthy to hold power, and so they separated. Ḥamza held it lawful that there could be two Imāms at the same time as long as there was general theological agreement and the enemy were not subdued" (Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 76-80).

There is every indication that the Romance of Amīr Ḥamza (called variously *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza*, *Ḥamza-nāma*, *Ḳiṣṣa-i Amīr Ḥamza*, *Asmār-i Ḥamza* or *Rumūz-i Ḥamza*) was of Persian origin. The action centres round the Sāsānian court at Ctesiphon, and Van Ronkel draws an interesting parallel between events in the Romance of Ḥamza and the adventures of Rustam in the *Shāh-nāma*. Earlier and simpler recensions reveal some traces of archaic phraseology which might easily be as early as the 5th/11th century. It is significant also that none of the Arabic sources makes any reference to the existence of a Romance before the 7th/13th century. At that time Ibn Taymiyya refers to stories current among the Turcomans of Syria about the mighty feats of Ḥamza (*Minhādj al-sunna*, Būlāḳ 1322, iv, 12). In the Persian version the number of sections varies between 69 and 82. At least three different recensions can be recognized from the numerous lithographed editions and manuscripts (see *BSOAS*, xxii/3 (1959), 473-4). One of these was the archetype of all subsequent versions in various languages. The Romance was ascribed to Djalāl-i Balkhī, but in a manuscript at Dresden the author's name appears as Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Abu 'l-Maʿālī. An anonymous poetical version entitled *Ṣāḥib-ḳirān-nāma* is mentioned by Dr. Ṣafā (*Ḥamāsa-sarā'ī dar Īrān*, 379). It is in 62 sections and was composed in 1073/1662-3.

There is a considerable difference between the Arabic *Sīrat Ḥamza* and the Persian Romance. In its most complete form the Arabic version is in ten parts, and many new names and episodes appear. The hero is not the well-known uncle of the Prophet as in the Persian version, but is an entirely different person who is, however, some relative of the Prophet. Copies of the Arabic version at Gotha and Paris are ascribed to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Kūfī al-Bahlawān who may be the same as the author of *Sayf b. Dhī Yazan*. To complicate further the vexed question of authorship, a copy of the Arabic version in the Ambrosiana Library at Milan is said to be by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Dahhān.

From Persia the Romance of Ḥamza spread to India and achieved great popularity at the Mughal court. The story was much embroidered at this period and it became a favourite subject for the miniature-painter. An Urdū translation was made which, according to Garcin de Tassy, was written by a certain Ashk. The latter mentions a version in fourteen volumes prepared for Maḥmūd of Ghaznī—a statement of dubious authenticity. In the majority of Urdū versions the story has been divided into nineteen *daftar*s, each of which has a title of its own. A partial English translation from the Urdū was published at Calcutta by Shaykh Sadjdjād Ḥusayn in 1892. Translations were also made into Bengali and Tamil.

According to Köprülü, the Ḥamza cycle became very popular among the Turks. Ewliyā Čelebi mentions a series of miniatures depicting the combats of Ḥamza with well-known champions and demons. The earliest Ottoman version was made by Ḥamzewī (d. 815/1412-3) in twenty-four volumes. It was in prose, freely interspersed with verses. Copies of Turkish versions are to be found in Vienna (Flügel, ii, 29-30), in Paris (Blochet AF 352: S 632, 647-9, 654, 656), and in Milan (Ambrosiana, no. 226, 330). In the 10th/16th century, Āḳhūremīrizāde Hāshimī wrote, in the popular language of the story-tellers, a poem *Berḳ-i pūlād-dil* on the exploits of the son of Ḥamza, which is mentioned by ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi.

Among the adaptations and imitations of the Romance in other languages, the Georgian romance cycle entitled *Amiran-Darejaniani* is important as one of the first made from the Persian. It is attributed to Mose Khoneli who is said to have lived in the 12th century. A full Georgian translation, however, was not made until the 19th century (Bodleian Library Ms. Wardrop c. 3). Other versions were made in Malay (*Ḥikāyet Amīr Ḥamza*), and Javanese (*Menak*) from which the Balinese and Sundanese translations originated.

Bibliography: 1 On Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh see Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 554; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 304-5; Ibn al-Athīr, 101, 103-4; Ṭabarī, 638, 650; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 42; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* (ed. Bahār), introduction, 32, 156-79 passim, 210; *Zayn al-akhbār* (ed. Nafīsī), 103-8; *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ* (ed. Bahmanyār), 44, 267; Spuler, *Iran*, 53, 55, 169; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Le vicende del ḫarigismo in epoca abbaside*, in *RSO*, xxiv (1949), 41; O. Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C.—A.D. 1957*, London 1958, 103-7; N.V. Pigulevskaya and others, *Istoriya Irana s drevneyshikh vremen do kontsa 18 veka*, Leningrad 1958, 110-1; B. Składenek, *Powstanie Charydżyckie Ḥamzy al-Ḫāriǧī w Sistanie*, in *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, i/33 (1960), 25-37.

2. On the Ḥamza Romance see Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt-i Īrān* i, 34-5; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, 211; *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, 176; Glück, *Die indischen Miniaturen des Haemzae-Romanes im Oesterreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien und in anderen Sammlungen*, Vienna-Leipzig 1925; S. van Ronkel, *De Roman van Amir Hamza*, Leiden 1895; Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii, 228; C. Virolleaud, *Le roman iranien de l'émir Hamza*, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres*, April-June 1948; idem, *Le roman de l'Émir Hamza, oncle de Mahomet*, in *Ethnographie*, liii (1958-9), 3-10; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOD*, i, 71-2; *TM*, i, 9-10; *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 2, 319; D. M. Lang and G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Amiran-Darejaniani: A Georgian romance and its English rendering*, in *BSOAS*, xxii/3 (1959), 454-90. This contains further bibliographical information concerning manuscripts and lithographed editions. There is an English translation of the Georgian version by R. H. Stevenson entitled *Amiran-Darejaniani: a cycle of medieval Georgian tales traditionally ascribed to Mose Khoneli*, Oxford 1958; Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature hindouie et hindoustanie*[2], Paris 1870-1, i, 236; Borst, *Twee Soendasche Amir Hamzah-Verhalen*, in *TITLV*, lxxviii (1938), 137-57. (G. M. Meredith-Owens)

ḤAMZA B. **ʿALĪ** B. Aḥmad, the founder of the Druze religious doctrine. He was of Persian origin from Zūzan and a felt-maker.

Among the Ismāʿīlī followers of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*] there had been speculations encouraged by his strange conduct and predictions of earlier authorities that he might be the expected *Ḳāʾim*. While the leaders of the official propaganda organization tried to counteract these speculations, al-Ḥākim early in 408/summer 1017 began to favour a movement led by al-Ḥasan al-Akhram proclaiming his divinity. Al-Akhram tried to win over prominent officials by sending them letters and was honoured in public by al-Ḥākim. In Ramaḍān 408/January-February 1018 he was murdered while riding in the retinue of al-Ḥākim. The caliph punished the murderer but cut off completely his connexion with the movement.

Ḥamza had participated in the proclamation of al-Ḥākim's divinity and the end of the distinction between exoteric and esoteric Islam, but had remained in the background. After al-Akhram's death he suspended his propaganda. In Muḥarram 410/May 1019 al-Ḥākim again showed his favour to the movement. Now Ḥamza claimed the leadership as the Imām and *ḳāʾim al-zamān* and adopted the title *Hādī al-mustadjībīn*. The centre of his activity was the Raydān mosque near the Bāb al-Naṣr outside the walls of Cairo. He met a prominent rival in the Turkish official al-Darazī [*q.v.*] who, after trying in vain to come to terms with Ḥamzā, acted independently and attracted many of Ḥamza's followers. On 12 Ṣafar 410/19 June 1019 Ḥamza sent a delegation to the chief Ḳāḍī in the Old Mosque with a letter demanding his conversion. Three of the men were killed by the mob and riots ensued. Al-Ḥākim had the transgressors arrested and executed at various times. The Turkish troops were incensed by this and turned against their countryman al-Darazī, besieging him in his residence (*dār*). Forty of his followers were killed but he escaped to the palace. The Turks demanded his extradition from al-Ḥākim, who put them off to the following day. On their return he informed them that al-Darazī had been killed. Now all the soldiers turned against Ḥamza in the Raydān mosque and besieged him with twelve of his men. Ḥamza escaped and had to hide a short time but by Rabīʿ II 410/August 1019 regained al-Ḥākim's favour. He now built up a strong missionary organization, attributing cosmic ranks to its leaders. The movement spread rapidly, particularly in Syria. When al-Ḥākim disappeared in Shawwāl 411/January 1021, the adherents of the Ḥākim-cult were persecuted and Ḥamza had to hide. In some letters (which appear to be genuine) he promised his followers his triumphal return. According to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd he was killed some time after his flight. Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Muḳtanā, who became the leader of the movement, pretended to be in touch with him and still in 430/1038 predicted his near reappearance.

For Ḥamza's religious doctrine see DURŪZ.

Bibliography: Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*, *apud* F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, Göttingen 1881, 202 ff. (copied with an erroneous "correction" by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, transl. S. de Sacy in *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, i, pp. CCCCXXX ff.) is based on a good source, but the stories of al-Akhram and al-Darazī are placed a year too late. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux and H. Zayyat, Beirut 1909, 220 ff., 237 (followed by al-Makīn) replaces al-Akhram wrongly by al-Darazī. Al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, *apud The Governors and judges of Egypt*, ed. R. Guest, London 1912, 612. For the evidence of the Druze writings see de Sacy, *op. cit.*, particularly i, pp. CCCLXXXVII ff., 101 ff., ii, 101 ff.; H. Wehr, *Zu den Schriften Ḥamzas im Drusenkanon*, in *ZDMG*, xcvi (1942), 187 ff.; W. Madelung, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 115 ff.; A. F. L. Beeston, *An ancient Druze manuscript*, in *Bodl. Libr. Rec.*, v (1956), 286 ff.; M. G. S. Hodgson, *Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the origin of the Druze Religion*, in *JAOS*, lxxxii (1962), 5 ff. (W. Madelung)

ḤAMZA B. **BĪḌ** AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-KŪFĪ (the spelling Bīḍ is attested by a verse where this name rhymes with *tanbīḍ*; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, iv, 47), is one of those Arab poets, full of wit and verve,

whom the great men of the day did not take seriously but loaded with riches to gain their eulogies and escape their sarcasms, for they were quick to get the laugh on their side and, free of all scruples, did not hesitate to use blackmail. Ḥamza b. Bīḍ, who is treated by his biographers with indulgence and sympathy, is said to have succeeded in extracting from the great men whose company he frequented a million *dirhams*, and this figure does not appear exaggerated, if we are to judge by the sums which the slightest scraps of verse brought him. A childhood friend of Bilāl b. Abī Burda [see al-Ashʿarī, Abū Burda] who did not, however, succeed in detaining him at Baṣra, he lived on familiar terms especially with the Umayyad princes and the sons of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v.*], whom he always approached with success, even when he went to see them in prison. The *Aghānī* reproduces several anecdotes which show with what spontaneous audacity he managed, thanks to two or three verses, to provoke the hilarity of his friends and to make them loosen their purse-strings; at times he was commissioned by groups in difficulty to make petitions on their behalf, for his tongue was feared because his predictions or maledictions had a curious tendency to come true. Verses addressed to Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, foretelling his accession to the throne, could still encourage Hārūn al-Rashīd, while yet heir presumptive; other verses gained the admiration of a grammarian like al-Naḍr b. Shumayl [*q.v.*], who made al-Maʾmūn appreciate them. Taken as a whole, the poetry of Ḥamza b. Bīd is of great simplicity and in certain respects recalls the satirical songs of our days by the humour it exudes, the use of droll terminology (*fakhkhāra* to indicate the head, for example) and the complete absence of affectation. Although the critics seem to reproach him for his habit of drinking wine, which was however quite customary at that period, for his effrontery and for his libertinism (*khaliʿ mādjin*), it is astonishing that the *Aghānī* includes him among the *fuḥūl* of his generation and that Yāḳūt does not hesitate to class him among the best and to describe him as *mudjīd*. He died in 116/734-5.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 454; idem, *Bayān*, index; Marzubānī, *Muʾtalif*, 100; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 591; idem, *ʿUyūn*, index; *Aghānī*, xv, 15-26 (Beirut ed., xvi, 143-63); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 280-9; R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, index. (Ch. Pellat)

ḤAMZA b. **ḤABĪB** b. ʿUmāra b. Ismāʿīl, Abū ʿUmāra al-Taymī al-Kūfī al-Zayyāt, one of the "Seven Readers" of the Ḳurʾān. A *mawlā* of the family of ʿIkrima b. Ribʿī al-Taymī, he was born in Ḥulwān in 80/699 and became a merchant; his surname al-Zayyāt arises from the fact that he transported oil from Kūfa to Ḥulwān, whence he brought cheese and nuts. Having settled at Kūfa, he became interested in *ḥadīth* and the *farāʾiḍ*, on which he left a *Kitāb al-Farāʾiḍ* which was probably collected by his pupils (*Fihrist*, 44). His fame, however, rests particularly upon his "reading". A pupil, in this field, of al-Aʿmash [*q.v.*] and of Ḥumrān b. Aʿyan, both of whom followed Ibn Masʿūd, of ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*] and of Ibn Abī Laylā who founded his authority upon ʿAlī, he established an independent system which became canonical and was put together in a *Kitāb Ḳirāʾat Ḥamza* (*Fihrist*, 44); he was criticized, particularly by Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn ʿAyyāsh, perhaps because of their insufficient knowledge of his "reading". Notable among his numerous pupils were Sufyān al-Thawrī and al-Kisāʾī, but those who passed down his "reading" are his immediate disciples, Khalaf b. Hishām (150-229/767-843) at Baghdād and Khallād b. Khālid (d. 220/835) at Kūfa. Ḥamza died at Ḥulwān in 156/772.

The "reading" of Ḥamza, which had become quite widespread in the Maghrib, was ousted, thanks to the zeal of a scholar of al-Ḳayrawān, al-Khayrūn (d. 306/918), by that of Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], which owed its diffusion to the fact that it was adopted by the Imām Mālik, so that it followed the spread of Mālikism; however, it is still in use in some areas in Maghrib where the appellation Ḥamzāwī is not uncommon.

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ḤAMZA b. **ʿUMĀRA** [see karbiyya].

ḤAMZA FANṢŪRĪ, Indonesian Ṣūfī, author of Malay treatises and poems, from Pansur, *i.e.*, Barus on the west coast of Sumatra. He lived before Shams al-Dīn of Pasai (d. 1630) who cited his poems and commented on them, and before the doctrine of emanation in seven grades became popular in Indonesia through the influence of Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh's (d. 1620) work *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala*; his lifetime may thus have been the second half of the 10th/16th century. He belonged to the school of mysticism characterized by names like Ibn al-ʿArabī and ʿIrāḳī. Works: *Asrār al-ʿārifīn*, *Sharāb al-ʿāshiḳīn* and poems (*Rubāʿī*) (ed. J. Doorenbos, *De geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri*, 1933, uncritical, many poems clearly not by Ḥamza; see Drewes, *TITLV*, lxxiii, 391), *Kitāb al-Muntahī* (unpublished, see Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise geschriften*, 25). His doctrine: H. Kraemer, *Een Javaansche primbon*, 1921, 24-44, in *Djåwå*, iv, 29 ff.; A. Johns, in *JMBRAS*, xxviii/1, (1955), 74. (P. Voorhoeve)

ḤAMZA al-**ḤARRĀNĪ**, ancestor of the Banū Ḥamza who for several generations held the office of *naḳīb al-ashrāf* [see sharīf] in Damascus, with the result that in the end the family was named *Bayt al-Naḳīb*.

As early as 330/942 a representative of this house, Ismāʿīl b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Natīf, was acting as *naḳīb*. Several of his descendants distinguished themselves through their ability and learning. Two sons of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm, the *sayyid* Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad and the *sayyid* Shihāb al-Dīn, left their names in the history of Damascus. The former, called *al-Zurayḳ* on account of his blue eyes, was made responsible for the teaching at the *madrasa* al-Nāṣiriyya and for the direction of the *Khānḳāh* al-Asadiyya. He died on 2 Ṣafar 814/26 May 1411 at the age of 35. His brother Shihāb al-Dīn succeeded him as head of the Nāṣiriyya. In 818/1415 he was temporarily deprived of part of his duties, whereby he lost a thousand dirhams a month; later, in about 830/1427, he received most of the appointments of shaykh Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAdjlūnī, who resigned them in his favour. Shihāb al-Dīn's son ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Aḥmad, born in 818/1415, was a well-known teacher at the *madrasa* al-ʿImādiyya, who died of an illness in 874/1469.

In the 11th/17th century Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥanafī, who was born in 1007/1598, is noteworthy. He was *raʾīs* in Damascus and taught

in the *madrasa* al-Ḥāfiẓiyya. He died in 1067/1657. His son Ḥusayn, born in 1031/1622, made a prolonged visit to Istanbul and afterwards held the post of *nāʾib* in Damascus where he taught in the *madrasa* al-Fārisiyya (built in 808/1405) and wrote a collection of poems known by the title *al-Ḥusayniyya*; he died in Ramaḍān 1072/April-May 1662 and was buried on the slopes of Ḳāsiyūn.

In modern times, the most illustrious member of the family was Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Nasīb Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥamzāwī al-Ḥanafī, born in Damascus in 1236/1821. After the serious study of literature and Muslim law he was appointed *ḳāḍī* in 1260/1844. He stayed for a long time in Istanbul and Anatolia. On returning to Damascus, he became a member of *al-Madjlis al-Kabīr*. At the time of the massacres in 1860 he distinguished himself by protecting numerous Christians; seven years later he held the office of *muftī* of Syria.

He ranks as one of those scholars whose writings, especially on religion and *fiḳh*, are unusually voluminous. Part of his reputation he owes to his rare virtuosity in calligraphy : he was able to write the *fātiḥa* on a grain of rice and to engrave on the stone of a signet-ring the names of the warriors who had fallen at Badr. He died in his native town in 1305/1887.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 34, 496; S II, 31, 775; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 15-6; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, ii, 105-8, 125-8, iv, 124; Sakhawī, *al-Ḍawʾ*, iii, 163; Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, i, 174, 464, ii, 140; Dj. Zaydān, *Mashāhīr al-Sharḳ*, ii, 164-8; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, 1706-8; Adīb Taḳī ol-Dīn al-Ḥuṣnī, *Muntakhabāt al-tawārīkh li-Dimashḳ*, ii, 768-86; M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, iii, 71; Khayr al-Dīn al-Zarkalī, *al-Aʿlām*, viii, 63-4.

(N. Elisséeff)

ḤAMZA AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, (Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan, [Ibn] al-Muʾaddib), philologist and historian of the 4th/10th century. Born about 280/893, he died after 350/961 (the year in which his *Chronology* was completed; note also that ʿAḍud al-Dawla, for whom he is supposed to have written one of his works, was so named only in 351) and, it is said, before 360/970-71. Most of his life was spent in his native Iṣfahān. He mentions three visits to Baghdād, one dated in 308/920-1, and another, his third, in 323/935. He had contact with many important scholars, among them al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Durayd. He appears to have been a prominent citizen of Iṣfahān, highly regarded because of his vast learning which caused the malevolent to dub him "drivel merchant". His scholarly interests gravitated toward history, proverbs, poetry, and lexicography. The following works are preserved or known through occasional quotations:

On history, (1) a History of Iṣfahān, which seems to have combined political and biographical information, and (2) the famous Chronology of pre-Islamic and Islamic dynasties (*Taʾrīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa 'l-anbiyāʾ*), a survey of world history which has been studied in the West since the eighteenth century and which was first published in its entirety with a Latin translation by I. M. E. Gottwaldt (St. Petersburg-Leipzig 1844-48, repeatedly reprinted, *e.g.*, Beirut 1961; English trans. of part of the work by U. M. Daudpota, in *Journal Cama Or. Inst.*, xxi (1932), 58-120).

On proverbs, (3) *al-Amthāl ʿalā afʿal*, dealing with comparative proverbs and including some appendixes on other types of proverbial expressions and on superstitious beliefs and amulets, and (4) *al-Amthāl al-ṣādira ʿan buyūt al-shiʿr*, preserved in Ms. Berlin Or. qu. 1215.

On poetry, (5) an edition of the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās, which goes beyond being a mere collection of poems and contains much valuable literary information. Further, (6) a *Kitāb Maḍāḥik al-ashʿār* (cf. Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 293-5) and (7) a *Ris. al-ashʿār al-sāʾira fī 'l-nayrūz wa-'l-mihradjān* (cf. Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 31, 52; apparently identical with the work on "Persian Festivals" by ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī, summarily referred to in connexion with his chapter on the subject by Nuwayrī, i, 185).

On lexicography, (8) the partly preserved *Muwāzana* (*bayn al-ʿarabī wa-'l-ʿadjamī*), written for ʿAḍud al-Dawla, in which, as is shown by numerous citations, the author was greatly concerned with finding—often far-fetched—Persian etymologies (for those, *e.g.*, of *asṭurlāb* and *awdj*, cf. Bīrūnī, *Ifrād al-maḳāl*, 69, and *Tamhīd al-mustaḳarr*, 17 [*Rasāʾil al-Bīrūnī*, Ḥaydarābād 1368/1948]), and (9) *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīf*, on misspellings caused by the ambiguities of the Arabic script, which, in addition, is an outstanding achievement in the field of cultural history (cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir*, ii, 171, 245, and idem, in *al-Thaḳāfa*, v (1943), reprinted in Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Muntaḳā*, Cairo 1955, ii, 177-84).

A quotation dealing with the interpretation of *sūra* XXXV, 1, supposedly from a *R. al-Muʿriba ʿan sharaf al-aʿrāb* (?) (Ḳasṭallānī, *Irshād*, Būlāḳ 1288, viii, 31) is doubtful. Other titles are mentioned in *Fihrist*, 139.

Ḥamza is described, in particular by al-Ḳifṭī, as a Persian nationalist with strong prejudices against the Arabs. This may well be a true description. We do find him greatly concerned with matters Persian, but he also shows himself fully aware of the importance of the cultural rôle of the Arabs. His works prove him to be a thorough and, to a degree, original scholar who always looks for the best sources and the most authentic information available, using, for instance, Jewish and Byzantine informants on Jewish and Greco-Roman chronology, who always probes deeply and intelligently, and who reports many unusual and highly interesting matters which give a greater insight into the immense variety and curiosity of Muslim intellectual life in the ninth and tenth centuries. His importance was acknowledged by later Muslim scholars through the wide use they made of his works, in particular, his chronological history and the collection of *afʿal* proverbs.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 139; Abū Nuʿaym, *Taʾrīkh Iṣbahān*, i, 300; Samʿānī, 41a; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 335 f.; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 209-13; E. Mittwoch, *Die literarische Tätigkeit Ḥamza al-Iṣbahanis*, in *MSOS As.*, xii (1909), 109-69; idem, *Altarabische Amulette und Beschwörungen*, in *ZA*, xxvi (1911), 270-6, and *Abergläubische Vorstellungen der alten Araber*, in *MSOS As.*, xvi (1913), 37-50 (for Ibn Abī Sarḥ as Ḥamza's source, cf. J. A. Bellamy, in *JAOS*, lxxxi (1961), 224-46); Brockelmann, I, 152, S I, 221 f.; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 118, 139, 383, 466 f.; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague 1954, 128-38; E. Wagner, *Die Überlieferung des Abū Nuwās-Dīwān*, in *Abh. Akad. Wiss. und Lit., Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl.*, 1957, 303-73 (cf. Muhalhil, *Sariḳāt Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1957).

(F. Rosenthal)

ḤAMZA BEG, Prince of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] dynasty (the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* mentioned in the *Bibl.* to that article has now been published by

Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer, 2 vols., Ankara (TTK, Series III, no. 7) 1962-4).

ḤAMZA BEG (IMĀM), second *imām* of Dāghistān, leader of the popular politico-religious movement which disturbed the northern Caucasus from 1832 to 1859 and which is known as *Murīdism*, from the religious ideology from which it arose. This movement was based on Muslim mystical influences which originated in Bukhārā, in particular those propagated by the Naḳshbandīs [*q.v.*], but made use of religious dogma for political ends and was closely linked with the practical conception of the Holy War. It was a consequence of the Russian punitive expeditions in the Caucasus and was directed at the same time against the Russians, their allies the Avar khāns, and the mountain peoples who had submitted to their domination. After the death of the first *imām*, Ghāzī Muḥammad, or Ghāzī Mollā, who was surrounded and killed in the village of Gumri on 17 (29) October 1832 by a Russian detachment, Ḥamza Beg (called by the Russians Gamzat Bek) became *imām* of Dāghistān. Although Ḥamza Beg belonged to the family of the Avar khāns, being a *čanḳa*, *i.e.*, the son of the khān by a woman of humble birth, and consequently had no right to the succession, he nevertheless aspired to the khān's throne and made use of the movement for his own ends. On 13 August 1834, he defeated and massacred the Avar khāns, on the River Tabor, near their capital Khūnzāḳ, which he occupied after driving out the Russians. This act cost him his life: he was assassinated on 19 September 1834 in the main mosque of the town by the brother of the famous Ḥādjdjī Murād [see MURĀD], *nā'ib* of Shāmil [*q.v.*]. The latter replaced Ḥamza Beg as *imām* of Dāghistān, and with him Murīdism received its definitive form. It was to last until the surrender of the *imām* Shāmil on 25 August 1859.

Bibliography: E. I. Kozubskiy, *Pamyatnaya knižka Dagestanskoy oblasti*, Temir-Khan-Shura 1895; A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Une république soviétique musulmane : le Dâghestân*, in *REI*, xxiii (1955), 7-56; N. A. Smirnov, *Politika Rossii na Kavkaze v XVI-XIX vekakh*, Moscow 1958; and especially: idem, *Myuridizm na Kavkaze*, Moscow 1963 (Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR). (I. MÉLIKOFF)

ḤAMZA ḤĀMID PASHA, Ottoman Grand Vizier under Sultan Muṣṭafā III, was the son of a merchant of Develi Ḳara Ḥiṣār, named Aḥmed Agha; born in Istanbul *ca.* 1110/1698-9 he entered upon his official career in the offices of the Sublime Porte. Owing to the protection of the celebrated Rāghib Pasha [*q.v.*], whose pupil he was in the elaborate prose of the official style, he was nominated *mektūbdju* (Secretary to the Grand Vizier) on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1153/5 February 1741, a position he held for many years. On 19 Muḥarram 1169/25 October 1755 he was appointed *re'is al-kuttāb* (Minister of Foreign Affairs), and, in addition to other high offices in the years following, three times filled the office of *ketkhudā* (Minister of Home Affairs) but only for short periods and without further distinguishing himself. After being appointed vizier in Rabī' I 1176/September-October 1762 he took the place of the Grand Vizier Rāghib Pasha on 9 Ramaḍān 1176/24 March 1763, when the latter fell severely ill and on his death (24 Ramaḍān/8 April) he succeeded him. But he was not a strong enough man for this position, for, as his biographers say, he was slow in coming to a decision and was too fond of ease and comfort. The only noteworthy event of his period of office was his sending Aḥmed Resmī Efendi [*q.v.*] to the court of Frederick II in response to Count Rexin's embassy (cf. Zinkeisen, v, 897 ff.). After less than seven months of office he was deposed on 23 Rabī' II 1177/31 October 1763 and sent to Crete as governor, where he remained, except for a brief interval, till 1183/1769. In this year, on 16 Rabī' I/20 July, he was given the governorship of Djidda and Ḥabesh and died in Mecca in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1183/March-April 1770.

Bibliography: Süleymān Fā'ik, *Sefīnet al-ru'esā'*, 93 f.; Aḥmed Djāwīd, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzerā'*, suppl. ii, 8 ff.; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii, 255; *IA*, s.v. (by I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı); Wāṣif, *Ta'rīkh*, i, *passim*; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, viii, 259-62 and *passim*; L. Bonneville de Marsangy, *Le Chevalier de Vergennes, son ambassade à Constantinople*, Paris 1894, 222 f., 230 ff.; I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1956, iv/1, index. (J. H. MORDTMANN-[E. KURAN])

ḤAMZA MĪRZĀ, Ṣafawid prince, second son of Muḥammad Khudābanda, born *ca.* 973/1565-6. In 985/1577 Shāh Ismā'īl II ordered that Ḥamza Mīrzā be put to death at Shīrāz, together with his father and brother, Abū Ṭālib, but Isma'īl II was assassinated before the order could be carried out.

After the accession of his weak and purblind father, as Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 985/February 1578, Ḥamza Mīrzā was made heir-apparent at the instance of his mother, Mahd-i 'Ulyā, who, until her murder by the *ḳizilbāsh* [*q.v.*] in 987/1579, was the real power behind the throne; he also had the support of the Turkmān-Takkalū *ḳizilbāsh* faction, which then dominated the political scene in the capital, Ḳazwīn.

In 989/1581 Ḥamza Mīrzā suppressed a revolt staged by the Shāmlū-Ustadjlū faction in Khurāsān in support of his younger brother, 'Abbās Mīrzā [see 'ABBĀS I], and thereafter he played an increasing part in state affairs. Though endowed with great personal bravery, he was proud, quick-tempered and impulsive, and lacked the maturity of judgement needed to steer a safe course between the rival *ḳizilbāsh* factions. In 992/1584-5, when the *amīr al-umarā* of Ādharbāydjān, Amīr Khān Turkmān, obstructed his efforts to identify those responsible for his mother's murder, Ḥamza Mīrzā listened to the promptings of the Shāmlū-Ustādjlū faction, and put the Turkmān chief to death. This action provoked a Turkmān-Takkalū revolt in support of his youngest brother, Ṭahmāsp. Ḥamza Mīrzā crushed the revolt, but was unable to prevent the occupation of Tabrīz by the Ottomans under 'Othmān Pasha in 993/1585. The following year, the Shāmlū-Ustādjlū faction, for reasons which are not entirely clear, conspired with the Turkmān-Takkalū faction to arrange the assassination of Ḥamza Mīrzā in the Ṣafawid camp near Gandja. Their tool was Ḥamza Mīrzā's personal barber who, on 24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 994/6 December 1586, stabbed the prince to death while he was in a drunken stupor.

Bibliography: Iskandar Beg Turkmān, *Ta'rīkh-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, 2 vols., Tehrān 1955-6, index, s.v.; Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Zindigānī-yi Shāh 'Abbās-i Awwal*, i, Tehrān 1955, index, *s.v.* (R. M. SAVORY)

SILIḤDĀR **ḤAMZA PASHA**, Ottoman Grand Vizier, was born at Develi Ḳara Ḥiṣār *ca* 1140/1728-9, the son of a landed *agha* named Meḥmed; he began his career in 1156/1743-4 in the *ḥalwa-khāne* (honey-bakery) of the *Kilār-i humāyūn* (Imperial Privy Commissariat), but his gifts soon won him a position among the pages of the *Enderūn* [*q.v.*],

where he won the favour of Muṣṭafā III. When the latter came to the throne on 16 Ṣafar 1171/30 October 1757, he at once appointed Ḥamza his *silìḥdār* [*q.v.*], afterwards granted him the rank of vizier (Shawwāl 1171/June 1758) and betrothed him to the infant princess Hibet Allāh, who died however in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1175 /July 1762. From 1172/1759 to 1182/1768 he filled in quick succession no fewer than twelve governorships in Rumelia and Anatolia, in accordance with the system then in force of annual change of office; in this period he fell into disgrace for a few months in 1178/1765 and was banished to Dimetoḳa with loss of his rank. As *wālī* of Egypt in 1179/1766 he came into conflict with the Mamlūk *amīr*s and the celebrated *shaykh al-balad* ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*] and was finally driven out of the country by them (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1180/April 1767). When in 1182/1768 the Sulṭan was eager for a breach with Russia, but found his bellicose plans opposed by the Grand Vizier Muḥsin-zāde Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] and the Shaykh al-Islām Walī al-Dīn Efendi, he dismissed the former on 23 Rabīʿ I 1182/7 August 1768 and appointed in his place on 20 Rabīʿ II/3 September his old favourite the Siliḥdār Ḥamza Pasha, who was at that time *wālī* of Anadolu. A few days after his arrival in the capital the new Grand Vizier had the ultimatum to Russia approved at a great council (4 October) and imprisoned the Russian resident Obreskov, who declined to fulfil the demands of the Porte, in Yedikule (6 October); in consequence the disastrous war with Russia broke out, which was concluded only by the peace of Küčük Kaynardja [*q.v.*] in 1774. Ḥamza Pasha did not live to see the beginning of hostilities; he was suddenly dismissed from office on 5 Djumādā I 1182/17 October 1768, the reason given being insanity, but others say at the instigation of the Khān of the Crimea; he was sent to Crete as governor of Canea; but on his way there he died at Gelibolu in the same month.

Bibliography: Aḥmed Djāwīd, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, suppl. ii, 16 ff.; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii,254 f.; *IA*, s.v. (by I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı); Wāṣif, *Ta'rīkh*, *passim*; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, viii, *passim*; I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1956, iv/i, index. (J. H. Mordtmann-[E. Kuran])

ḤANĀBILA (A.), pl. of Ḥanbalī, denotes the followers of the school of theology, law and morality which grew up from the teaching of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]) whose principal works, the *Musnad* and the *responsa* (*masā'il*), had begun to be codified even during the lifetime of their author. Ḥanbalism, while being hostile to the very principle of speculative theology (*kalām*) and to esoteric Ṣūfism (*ḥulūl*, *maʿrifa*, *ibāḥa*) did not develop in complete isolation. A great number of Ḥanbalī authors were themselves dogmatic theologians or Ṣūfīs. The often intransigent rigidity of the dogmatic position of Ḥanbalism, which purported to recognize no other sources than the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*, did not fail on the contrary to influence consistently the very formation of the other Muslim schools.

1. Ḥanbalism from 241 to 334/855-945. It was during the period from the Sunnī reactionary movement of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) to the advent of the Būyids in 334/945 that Ḥanbalism was truly constituted as a school. The great collections of *responsa* which were then produced, thanks to the zeal of a considerable number of theologians coming from very different regions of the Muslim world, undoubtedly bear witness to a common effort in the search for a unity of doctrine. But there is every reason to suppose, if one may judge by those which have been preserved, that these works were, to a large extent, collections in which the accent was placed, according to the personalities of the reporters or their interests, on particular ideas of Ibn Ḥanbal or particular aspects of his doctrines. They were never simple works of pure theoretical speculation, but the response to a need for religious and moral direction. Very often they went hand in hand with the transmission of *responsa* attributed to other teachers, notably the teachers of the school of Ḥidjāz or that of Khurāsān, like Mālik b. Anas, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak or Isḥāḳ b. Rāhawayh. They contributed towards the settling of Ḥanbalī doctrine at a very early stage, without, however, ending in a very rigorous systematization, and at the same time allowing divergences from the thought of the founder of the school to survive.

Two of the sons of Ibn Ḥanbal played an important rôle in the transmission of his work. The elder of the two, Ṣāliḥ (d. 266/879-80), made his career in the service of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate as *ḳāḍī* at Ṭarsūs and at Iṣfahān. The younger, ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903), in particular put in order the materials of the *Musnad*, to which he made a certain number of additions and to which his pupil Abū Bakr al-Ḳaṭīʿī (b. 368/978-9) put the finishing touches. The additions of al-Ḳaṭīʿī are, within the Ḥanbalī school, quite often disputed (on the other compilers of *masā'il*, see aḥmad b. ḥanbal, the *Masā'il*).

Several other eminent traditionists reported the *Masā'il* and may be regarded as true disciples of Ibn Ḥanbal. Thus Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī (d. 275/888-9), was the author of the *K. al-Sunan*, and his *K. al-Masā'il* (published in Cairo in 1353/1934) is the sole collection of *responsa* available today. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277/890-1), who is sometimes compared with al-Bukhārī and with Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī, followed the teaching of Ibn Ḥanbal and collected a large number of *Masā'il* certain of which are considered rare; his *ʿaḳīda* defends, on the basis of the nature of the faith and of the Ḳur'ān, and equally on the basis of the condemnation of *kalām*, the most characteristic ideas of Ḥanbalism.

One name dominates the history of Ḥanbalism during this period; that of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923-4), who was a pupil of Abū Bakr al-Marwazī, knew the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh and taught at Baghdād in the mosque of al-Mahdī. In his *K. al-Djāmiʿ*, he collected and classified the *responsa* of Ibn Hanbal which had already been the subject of individual recensions. This enormous compilation was still used, in the 8th/14th century, by Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Ḳayyim. Still other works are attributed to Abū Bakr al-Khallāl, and enjoyed a great authority, in particular a *K. al-Īmān*, a *K. al-Sunna*, his *K. fi'l-ʿilm* and a *K. al-ʿilal*. In addition Abū Bakr al-Khallāl composed the first history of Ḥanbalism which is known to us. His work was finished by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/973-4), known by the name of Ghulām al-Khallāl [*q.v.*].

Two other names are closely connected with the history of Ḥanbalism at the end of the 3rd/9th and at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. The first is Abū Bakr al-Sidjistānī (d. 316/928), a son of the traditionist Abū Dāwūd. From him we have a *K. al-Maṣāḥif* (edited by A. Jeffery, Leiden 1937) and a short profession of faith in verse in the best Ḥanbalī tradition. Several other works of exegesis or tradition are attributed to him. The second is Abū Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 327/938-9), whose work enjoyed a wide popularity. His *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl* was considered

one of the most important works which had been written in this discipline. His *Tafsīr*, in the judgment of Ibn Kathīr, constituted the work *par excellence* of traditional exegesis and surpassed in its doctrinal value that of al-Ṭabarī. His *K. al-ʿIlal*, on the subject of defects in *ḥadīth*, demonstrates this tendency to follow the classifications (*abwāb*) of *fiḳh*. There is further attributed to Abū Muḥammad al-Rāzī a refutation of the Djahmiyya and a eulogistic biography of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

The considerable rôle which Ḥanbalism played, on the other hand, in the religious and political history of the Caliphate is illustrated by the activities of al-Barbahārī (d. 329/940-1 [*q.v.*]), traditionist and jurisconsult, pupil of Abū Bakr al-Marwazī and of Sahl al-Tustarī, a vigorous preacher who struggled bitterly against Shīʿism and Muʿtazilism for a reform of the Sunnī Caliphate. The excess of his zeal led, in 323/935, to the condemnation of Ḥanbalism by a decree of the caliph al-Rāḍī.

His contemporary Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Khiraḳī (d. 334/945-6), who left Baghdād to take refuge in Damascus with the advent of the Būyids, is the author of the first manual of Ḥanbalī *fiḳh*, the *Mukhtaṣar*, which was commented upon in turn by Ibn Ḥāmid (d. 403/1012-3), the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā (d. 458/1066) and the *shaykh* Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223). The *Mukhtaṣar*, upon which, according to Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503-4), there were almost three hundred commentaries, still remains today an excellent introductory manual to Ḥanbalī doctrine in the sphere of *furūʿ*.

2. Ḥanbalism under the Būyids (334-447/945-1061). From the moment of the installation of the Būyids in Baghdād Ḥanbalism was an active and numerically strong school which possessed a doctrinal literature comparable to that which the other schools were able to offer. The progress of Imāmī Shīʿism, encouraged by the Būyids, and of Ismāʿīlism after the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969 and the foundation of Cairo, came into conflict with the Ḥanbalī theologians and preachers, who exercised a decisive influence on the beginnings of the Sunnī restoration which began to assert itself from the reign of al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1021). Ḥanbalism then took the rôle of a politico-religious opposition party and was in the forefront of the ideologies which were developed or founded for the defence of the Caliphate and Sunnism.

From among the numerous representatives of Ḥanbalism whose names have been preserved for us in bio-bibliographical works we shall here cite only those few teachers who appear to us to be, both for their work and their activities, most typical of the vitality and the internal diversity of the school.

Abū Bakr al-Nadjdjād (d. 348/959-60) held sessions of popular exhortation at Baghdād in the mosque of al-Manṣūr. He compiled the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, wrote a *K. al-Sunan* and, apart from a treatise of *fiḳh*, a *K. Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahāʾ*.

Abū Bakr al-Ādjurrī (d. 360/971), who was educated at Baghdād and afterwards led a life of seclusion at Mecca, is claimed at the same time by Ḥanbalism and Shāfiʿism. His *K. al-Sharīʿa* (published Cairo, 1369/1950) shows obvious affinities with the professions of faith in the Ḥanbalī style. It seems that one can see in him one of those Shāfiʿī teachers who, refusing any concession to *kalām* or to Ashʿarism, were Ḥanbalī in *uṣūl* and Shāfiʿī in *furūʿ*.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971) is the author of three celebrated *Muʿdjams*, of a *K. al-Sunna* and a *K. Makārim al-akhlāḳ* ... (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 49-51).

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn b. Samʿūn (d. 387/997), through his Ḥanbalī training and his inclination towards Ṣūfism, is one of those many scholars whom it is difficult to place, with any degree of certainty, within the confines of one school. The *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 155-62) and Ibn ʿAsākir (*Tabyīn al-muftarī*, 200-6) each lay claim to him. Ibn Samʿūn, who commented upon the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī, held sessions of religious and moral exhortation at Baghdād which acquired a widespread reputation.

His contemporary Ibn Baṭṭa al-ʿUkbarī (d. 387/997), educated at Baghdād, retired when nearly forty, after travels to Mecca and Syria, to his native town. We owe to him several important works, in particular a renunciation of legal stratagems (*ḥiyal*) which were employed in certain schools of *fiḳh*, and two professions of faith which were subsequently widely used: the *Ibāna kabīra* and the *Ibāna ṣaghīra*. The *Ibāna ṣaghīra* (cf. H. Laoust, *Profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, *PIFD*, 1958) is primarily designed to be a profession of popular faith addressed more particularly to young people and to the non-Arabs. Its purpose was to lead back to the imitation of the Prophet all those who were tending to waver in their faith because of the proliferation of sects and doctrines.

Ibn Ḥāmid (d. 403/1012-3; *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 171-7), one of the intimate circle of the caliph al-Ḳādir, was first and foremost a teacher and a *muftī*. His most famous work is his *K. al-Djāmiʿ fi 'khtilāf al-fuḳahāʾ*, subsequently often used in Ḥanbalism. There are further attributed to him two dogmatic treatises which are also often cited: a *K. fī uṣūl al-dīn* and a *K. fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*. Ibn Ḥāmid, both by his teaching and his written works, contributed to the education of numerous Ḥanbalīs, whether natives of Baghdād or attracted to the ʿAbbāsid metropolis by the reputation of its learning.

One of his disciples was the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā Ibn al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066), who made his career at Baghdād in the service of the caliph al-Ḳāʾim. The work of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā, almost totally lost, is known to us through his *Aḥkām sulṭāniyya* (published Cairo 1356/1938) which would appear to have been copied verbatim from the treatise on public law of al-Māwardī (d. 456/1064), unless the two works both stem from a common source. Those of his works which were most frequently used were his commentary upon al-Khiraḳī, a treatise on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (*K. al-Mudjarrad*), another on the divergent opinions of legal scholars (*K. al-Ikhtilāf*), and finally an important treatise of dogmatic theology, the *K. al-Muʿtamad*, an abbreviated version of which has survived (ms. at the Ẓāhiriyya in Damascus). The *K. al-Muʿtamad*, constructed in the fashion of contemporary treatises of *kalām*, devotes considerable space to the theory of the Caliphate. The *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā, who was present in 433/1041-2 and in 445/1053-4 at the formal reading of the *Ḳādiriyya*, was, as much through his official duties as through his scholarship and his teaching, closely associated with the policy of Sunnī restoration under al-Ḳāʾim.

3. Ḥanbalism during the final two centuries of the Caliphate of Baghdād (447-656/1061-1258). In 447/1061 Toghrïl Beg occupied Baghdād and put an end to the Shīʿī dynasty of the Būyids. The attempt of al-Basāsīrī, in 451/1059, to re-establish Shīʿism in Baghdād had all the characteristics of a desperate and ephemeral action. In 459/1067 the Niẓāmiyya was inaugurated at Baghdād for the teaching of Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*. The Sunnī reconquest of central and southern Syria followed. In

467/1074-5 the *amīr* Atsïz re-established the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba* at Damascus. The political disruption of the first great Saldjūḳid empire began in 485/1092 with the death of Malik Shāh. A short time afterwards the Crusaders made their appearance in Syria and Palestine, occupying Antioch in 491/1098, Jerusalem in 492 and Tripoli in 503/1109-10. However, the momentum of the movement of Sunnī restoration continued, with the revival of the Caliphate beginning with all-Muḳtafī (530-55/1136-60), and with the constitution, in Syria, of the dynasty of the Zangids and the Ayyūbids. This period of two centuries was the golden age of Ḥanbalism which, however great its attachment to the traditionalism of its *credo*, itself also appeared, through the personality of its principal representatives, as a movement of profound diversity.

The *sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar al-Hāshimī (d. 470/1077-8), a successor in spirit of al-Barbahārī and Ibn Baṭṭa, distinguished himself in particular by the energetic drive he brought to bear in support of the Ḥanbalī *credo* and the restoration of the authority of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate. We see him then at Baghdād taking command of a series of popular uprisings against Muʿtazilism and Ṣūfism; in 460/1068 against the teaching of Muʿtazilism at the Niẓāmiyya; in 461 against Ibn ʿAḳīl, who was condemned for his sympathies towards Muʿtazilism or al-Ḥallādj; in 464 against various forms of corruption; in 465 again against Ibn ʿAḳīl, who was forced to recant in public; finally in 469 against Ibn al-Kushayrī who, in his teaching at the Niẓāmiyya, had taken up again against Ḥanbalism the old charge of anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*).

Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalwadhānī (d. 510/1116-7), on the other hand, was a technical specialist in *fiḳh* who lived far from any political agitation (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 258). In the *Hidāya* he endowed Ḥanbalism with a manual of *fiḳh* which long remained authoritative. His *K. al-Tamhīd fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, preserved in manuscript at Damascus, on the metholology of law, deserves to be edited. Several others of his works are frequently cited in the literature of the school: two treatises on *ikhtilāf*, another, more controversial, on the law of succession, and a short profession of faith in verse, the *Dāliyya*, which was still learned by heart in the 8th/14th century and in which Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is extolled as the safest guide to follow after the Prophet and his companions.

Abu 'l-Wafāʾ ibn ʿAḳīl (d. 513/1119-20) is not only one of the great scholars of Ḥanbalism but also one of the most famous Arab prose writers. Several of his masters were Ḥanafīs or Shāfiʿīs. In his youth he was interested in Muʿtazilism and in the doctrine of al-Ḥallādj; we have referred above to the two struggles which, in 461/1069 and 465/1073, saw him opposed by the *sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar and to his retraction. In 475/1082-3 he conducted a vigorous academic attack against Ashʿarism; in 484/1091-2, at the time of the arrival of Malik Shāh and Niẓām al-Mulk at Baghdād, he was summoned to explain to the latter the meaning and the importance of Ḥanbalism. He enjoyed a considerable reputation with the Caliphs al-Muḳtadī (467-87/1074-94) and al-Mustaẓhir (487-512/1094-1118). His interventions in political life were frequent.

Ibn ʿAḳīl was a particularly prolific author (*Dhayl*, i, 158). His voluminous *K. al-Funūn*, of which only one volume survives, is a treatise of *adab* which was much used by Ibn al-Djawzī. His more technical works, however, should not be forgotten: the *K. al-Fuṣūl*, also known by the name of *Kifāyat al-muftī*; the *K. al-Irshād fī uṣūl al-dīn*, his main treatise of dogmatic theology; the *K. al-Wāḍiḥ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, on the methodology of law; finally the *K. al-Intiṣār li -ahl al-ḥadīth*, the title of which emphasizes well enough the place that the study of tradition held with this author (G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAḳīl et la résurgence de l'islām traditionaliste*, *PIFD*, 1962).

In the century which preceded the fall of the Caliphate three names dominate the history of Ḥanbalism. The first is the vizier Ibn Hubayra (d. 560/1165) who, while still a youth, wandered through the markets of Baghdād with a Ṣūfī preacher to exhort the population to live according to the dictates of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. Ibn Hubayra owed his career to the caliph al-Muḳtafī (in 555/1150) who, in 544/1149-50, appointed him vizier. Al-Mustandjid (555-66/1160-71) retained him in office, though not without difficulties. In 557 Ibn Hubayra founded, in the quarter of Bāb al-Baṣra, a *madrasa* destined for the purpose of teaching Ḥanbalī tradition and *fiḳh* and for the benefit of which he made a *waḳf* of his valuable personal library. His political programme rested on two aims: the restoration of the Sunna and of the authority of the Caliphate. To succeed in this he tried, on the one hand, to free the Caliphate from Saldjūḳid control and to spur on Nūr al-Dīn to the conquest of Fāṭimid Egypt; on the other hand he endeavoured to band together, around the Ḥanbalī *credo* and opposed to Shīʿism, all the families of Sunnism. His *K. al-Ifṣāḥ* consisted of a commentary upon the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and of Muslim; he included therein a treatise of *ikhtilāf* (published Aleppo 1928). The work, read and commented upon in the mosques at the request of the vizier, seems to have enjoyed, at least during his lifetime, a fairly wide-spread popularity (*Dhayl*, i, 251-89).

The *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī (d. 561/1166 [*q.v.*]) is the founder of the first great Ṣūfī order, that of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. His doctrinal position is difficult to ascertain, owing to the distortions to which his personality and his ideas were subjected by his principal biographer, al-Shaṭṭanawfī (d. 713/1313-4), and the legends transmitted by his admirers. The *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir belonged to Ḥanbalism not only by education but also by the very nature of his work. The *K. al-Ghunya*, edited many times, constitutes his principal treatise of dogmatic and moral theology. Here are to be found, grouped together, a profession of faith, a manual of *ādāb sharʿiyya*, a précis of the fundamental rules of *fiḳh* and elements of heresiography—the whole in the pious and militant tradition of Ḥanbalism.

Abu 'l-Faradj Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), jurisconsult, traditionist, historian and above all preacher, was intimately connected with the political life of his time. He had, for teachers, Ḥanbalī scholars many of whom were well known, and owed the first successes of his career to the vizier Ibn Hubayra, during the caliphates of al-Muḳtafī and al-Mustandjid. The outstanding period of his activity as an official preacher is set in the caliphate of al-Mustaḍīʾ (566-74/1171-9). The advent of al-Nāṣir (575-622/1179-1225) did not immediately put an end to his activities but progressively marked the beginning of his decline. In 590/1194 he was arrested and held for five years under house arrest at Wāsiṭ; his death followed shortly after his release. His massive work (cf. *Dhayl*, i, 416-20) embraces, it might be said, all the types of Islamic literature. Strongly influenced by Ibn ʿAḳīl and by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, he is the historian of the Caliphate in the *Muntaẓam* and of Ṣūfism in the

Ṣifat al-ṣafwa. His *Talbīs Iblīs*, directed against the *bidʿas* introduced into Islam by Ṣūfism, *falsafa*, the sects or the doctors of the law, is in the aggressive tradition of Ḥanbalism. But his best known works are the eulogistic biographies (*manāḳib*) which he devotes to the religious and political personalities of the first centuries of Islam. An uncompromising critic, he also composed refutations of al-Ḥallādj, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī and the Caliph al-Nāṣir.

In the following fifty years, Ḥanbalism still had several eminent representatives at Baghdād. Ibn al-Māristāniyya (d. 599/1203), who was interested in the sciences inherited from Greek antiquity and composed a history of Baghdād, energetically defended the policy of Ibn Hubayra in the eulogistic monograph which he devoted to him (*Dhayl*, i, 442-6). Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sāmarrī (d. 616/1219-20), who was *ḳāḍī* at Sāmarrā, *muḥtasib* at Baghdād and entered the service of the Chancellery, left two highly regarded treatises of *fiḳh*: the *K. al-Mustawʿib* and the *K. al-Furūḳ* (*Dhayl*, ii, 121-2). Isḥāḳ b. Aḥmad al-ʿUlthī (d. 634/1236-7), a Ṣūfī and relentless polemist, was noted for his reforming zeal, which went to the lengths of criticizing the Caliph al-Nāṣir for his policy and Ibn al-Djawzī for his complacency towards *taʾwīl* (*Dhayl*, ii, 205-11). Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 656/1258), a son of the celebrated preacher, made his career in the service of al-Nāṣir, al-Ẓāhir and al-Mustanṣir. Killed with his three sons at the time of the capture of Baghdād by the Mongols, he left an apology for Ḥanbalism. In the course of an official journey he had founded a *madrasa* at Damascus, the Djawziyya, which served as the tribunal of the Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍī*.

In the provinces Ḥanbalism also made a very early appearance. At Iṣfahān, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Mandah (d. 395/1004-5) and his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (d. 470/1077-8) are often mentioned as important authors (*Ikhtiṣār*, 339 and 396).

At Herāt, al-Anṣārī (d. 481/1088-9 [*q.v.*]) gave Ḥanbalism its most celebrated Ṣūfī treatise, the *K. Manāzil al-sāʾirīn*.

At Damascus one of the earliest teachers of the school appears to have been the *shaykh* Abū Ṣāliḥ Mufliḥ (d. 333/941-2), founder of a mosque to which he gave his name outside the Bāb Sharḳī (*Bidāya*, xi, 204-6). It was particularly with Abu 'l-Faradj al-Shīrāzī (d. 486/1093) that Ḥanbalism became firmly rooted in Palestine and Syria (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 248-9; *Dhayl*, i, 68-73). His son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 536/1141-2), himself also a preacher and author of a refutation of Ashʿarism, founded at Damascus the first great Ḥanbalī *madrasa* (*Dhayl*, i, 198-201).

Two other families of Ḥanbalī scholars were eminent at Damascus under the Zangids and the Ayyūbids; that of the Banū Munadjdjā and particularly that of the Banū Ḳudāma, natives of Palestine (cf. H. Laoust, *Précis de droit d'Ibn Ḳudâma*, *PIFD*, 1950). To this last family belonged the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ghanī (d. 600/1203-4), a traditionist of Ṣūfī tendencies hostile to Ashʿarism, and the *shaykh* Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223), to whom we owe a treatise of Ḥanbalī law, the *Mughnī* (12 vols., Cairo 1922-30), which has enjoyed and continues to enjoy a great reputation. The town of Ḥarrān, on the other hand, was also from very early times an active centre of Ḥanbalism. The most renowed teacher of this school was Madjd al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya (d. 652/1254-5), to whom is owed the *Muntaḳā* (Cairo 1932) and the *Muḥarrar* (Cairo 1950).

4. Ḥanbalism under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans. Ḥanbalism remained very active in Syria and Palestine under the Baḥriyya Mamlūks. It then had as its most celebrated representative Aḥmad b. Taymiyya (d. 728/1328, see IBN TAYMIYYA), whose family had sought refuge in Damascus in 666/1267-8 before the threat of a Mongol invasion. It was at Damascus that Ibn Taymiyya was educated, interesting himself not only in Ḥanbalī literature but in all the Muslim schools, as well in the field of *fiḳh* as in *kalām* or *falsafa*. Intimately concerned in the religious and political life of his time, Ibn Taymiyya very soon found himself, because of his polemical zeal, clashing with numerous opponents and was subjected to frequent persecutions. Sent to Cairo in 705/1305-6 he was imprisoned once for almost eighteen months until 707 (25 September 1307). Exiled to Alexandria for seven months, he was freed and taken back to Cairo by al-Malik al-Nāṣir after the fall of Baybars al-Djāshnikīr. He returned to Damascus in 712/1313. Imprisoned once, in 720/1320, in the citadel for a period of about five months for holding, on the question of repudiation (*ṭalāḳ*), a doctrine deemed to be heretical, he was imprisoned a second time in 726/1326 for his views on the visitation of tombs (*ziyārat al-ḳubūr*), which he denounced as heretical. It was in prison, in the citadel of Damascus, that he died on 20 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 728/26 September 1328. As much by his doctrinal works as by his teaching or his personal activities, Aḥmad b. Taymiyya left a deep imprint on the history of Ḥanbalism.

His principal pupil, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350-1; *Dhayl*, ii, 447-53), who shared some of his later persecutions, was more a preacher than a polemist and commented on the *Manāzil* of al-Anṣārī (3 vols., Cairo 1916). We owe to him also an important treatise on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the *Iʿlām al-muwaḳḳiʿīn* (3 vols., Cairo 1915), a treatise of public law built around a theory of proof, the *Ṭuruḳ ḥikmiyya* (Cairo 1317, and later eds.), and finally a profession of faith in verse, the *Nūniyya*, principally directed against the Djahmiyya and the Ittiḥādiyya (published several times in Cairo since 1902).

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Radjab (d. 795/1393), from a family which originated from Baghdād but which had settled in Damascus, was a pupil of Ibn al-Ḳayyim. Jurisconsult and traditionist, he established himself, by his *Dhayl*, as the trustworthy and precise historian of Ḥanbalism. His great legal work, the *Ḳawāʾid* (Cairo 1933), deserves to be made the subject of a monograph. To Ibn Radjab are owed also several dissertations which endeavour to establish, on points of dogma, and not without a certain rigidity, the so-called position of the Ancients (*salaf*).

Under the Circassian Mamlūks (784-923/1382-1517) Ḥanbalism lost some of its importance in Syria and Palestine for reasons that are hard to ascertain, though doubtless its hostility to the school of Ibn ʿArabī and that of the Ittiḥādiyya, whose influence was increasing, contributes to the explanation of this relative decline. Though greatly weakened, however, Ḥanbalism did not disappear altogether. Represented by great families of jurisconsults who monopolized, along with the teaching, the official posts and the profits derived therefrom, it was distinguished by several theologians whose importance deserves emphasis. The list of them is found in the *Mukhtaṣar ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, the work of the venerable *muftī* of the Ḥanbalīs in Damascus, the *shaykh* Muḥammad Djamīl al-Shaṭṭī (published Damascus 1330/1921), which is based on *al-Manhadj al-aḥmad*, still unpublished, of Mudjīr al-Dīn al-

ʿUlaymī (d. 927/1521 [*q.v.*]), the historian of Jerusalem and Hebron.

The chief *ḳāḍī* Burhān al-Dīn Ibn al-Mufliḥ (d. 884/1479-80) belonged to a family which gave to the school several other equally well-known *ʿulamāʾ*; among other works he composed a history of Ḥanbalism, as yet unedited.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Mardāwī (d. 885/1480-1) is particularly known, in the literature of the school, through a voluminous manual of *furūʿ*, the *K. al-Inṣāf*, and a treatise of legal methodology, the *K. al-Taḥrīr fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*. His influence made itself felt upon several of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Egypt at this time (*Mukhtaṣar*, 69). Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAskarī (d. 912/1506-7) continued his work (*ibid.*, 78-9).

After the conquest of Syria and Egypt (1517) the Ottoman régime, to the extent that it gave pre-eminence to Ḥanafism or Māturīdism, was not favourable to the development of Ḥanbalism. Several scholars, however, in Syria, Palestine and Egypt, deserve to be mentioned.

Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā al-Ḥudjāwī (d. 968/1560-1), a native of Jerusalem who enjoyed great authority in these three countries, is above all the author of the *K. al-Iḳnāʿ* (publ. Cairo) which long remained one of the fundamental treatises of Ḥanbalī *fiḳh* and is continually used (*Mukhtaṣar*, 85).

Manṣūr al-Bahūtī (d. 1051/1641), who taught at the University of al-Azhar, similarly left several valuable manuals [see AL-BAHŪTĪ].

Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1089/1679), who was born at Damascus, studied in Cairo and died at Mecca, is above all, in the eyes of posterity, the author of the *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (*Mukhtaṣar*, 61).

ʿAlī al-Burādiʿī (d. 1150/1737-8), who was official preacher in Damascus at the mosque of Sinān Pasha and directed the ʿUmariyya *madrasa*, left behind him the reputation of being a great preacher (*Mukhtaṣar*, 123).

The *Shaykh* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Baʿlī (d. 1192/1778), whose family also gave other eminent scholars to Islamic sciences, was initiated in the mysticism of Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn Farīḍ under the direction of the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (*Mukhtaṣar*, 133) — a fact which does not constitute an isolated phenomenon, for there was no shortage of Ḥanbalīs who attempted to achieve the intelligent co-existence of the Sharīʿa and the *ḥaḳīḳa*.

The dominant fact in the history of Ḥanbalism under the Ottomans was the appearance of Wahhābism with the *shaykh* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792; see WAHHĀBIYYA and H. Laoust, *Essai sur Ibn Taymīya*, 506-40). Born at ʿUyayna, in about 1115/1703, but educated for the most part in Mecca and Medina, he succeeded in winning over to his cause, after several unsuccessful attempts, at Darʿiyya, the *amīr* Muḥammad b. Saʿūd. Thus was born, in 1157/1744, the Saʿūdī state which, after diverse vicissitudes, has survived up to the present day. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb remains, throughout this long history, the accredited theoretician *par excellence* of the movement. Apart from several professions of faith, his most important work is his *K. al-Tawḥīd* (printed several times). The fundamental works characteristic of the movement are to be found in the *Madjmūʿat al-tawḥīd al-nadjdiyya* (Cairo 1346) and the *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa'l-masāʾil al nadjdiyya* (Cairo 1346, 4 vols.).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and his disciples made much use of the work of Aḥmad b. Taymiyya, in particular the *Wāsiṭiyya*, the *Siyāsa sharʿiyya*, the *Minhādj al-sunna* and the various dissertations of this author against the cult of saints and certain forms of Ṣūfism (notably that of the Ittiḥādiyya). After Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-Ḳayyim is also often cited. But other authors, early or late, such as the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā or al-Ḥudjāwī, are also used by the Wahhābī writers.

Within Ḥanbalism, however, Wahhābism did not gain the unanimous support of the doctors of the law; certain authors did not follow it or were even hostile to it. Such was the case with Ibn Ḥumayd al-Makkī (d. 1295/1878; Brockelmann, S II, 812), the author of an important collection of Ḥanbalī biographies, *al-Suḥub al-wābila*; an edition of this work would be a great contribution to a better understanding of modern and contemporary Islam.

Passionately discussed at the time of its appearance and at other periods of its history, Wahhābism, which had bitter enemies in the Ottoman Empire, in Persia and in different Arab countries, exercised an influence more or less lasting and more or less profound in the Maghrib, India and the Arabian peninsula. Its influence on the Syro-Egyptian Muslim reform movement made itself particularly felt with Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) in the period after the first world war. It has sometimes been sought to establish an influence if not of Ḥanbalism, at least of the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, in the birth of the movement of the Ikhwān al-Muslimīn (cf. J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Religious and political trends in modern Egypt*, 1950, 16). For the rest, Ḥanbalī *fiḳh* remains operative, in a large measure, in Saʿūdi Arabia. Numerous Ḥanbalī publications have also been brought out, in the course of the last century, not only in Arabia but also in India, Syria and Egypt.

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(H. LAOUST)

ḤANAFIYYA, the Ḥanafī *madhhab* or school of religious law, named after Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] al-Nuʿmān b. Thābit. It grew out of the main body of the ancient school of Kūfa, and absorbed the ancient school of Baṣra, too. As early as the generation following Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), we find Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*] (d. 182/795) refer to him as "the prominent lawyer" (*Kitāb al-Kharādj*, 11), and al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] (d. 189/805) speak of the "followers of Abū Ḥanīfa". Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*] (d. 204/820) refers repeatedly to the followers of Abū Ḥanīfa as a homogeneous group (*Ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth*, on the margin of *Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, 122, 337, and elsewhere). The transformation of the bulk of the ancient school of Kūfa into the school of the Ḥanafīs was helped by the extensive literary activity of Abū Yūsuf and, above all, of al-Shaybānī whose main works, the *Kitāb al-Aṣl* (edition begun by Shafīḳ Shaḥāta, Cairo 1954), the *Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* (ed. Abu 'l-Wafā al-Afghānī,

Cairo 1356), and the *Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (Būlāḳ 1302, on the margin of Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-Kharādj*), became the standard texts of the school. Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī came to be regarded as the two main companions of Abū Ḥanīfa, and together with him they form the triad of the highest authorities of the school although other companions of his, such as Zufar b. al-Hudhayl and al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Luʾluʾī, were equally prominent at the time. They often disagree with one another, and the uniform character of the doctrine is much less pronounced in the Ḥanafī *madhhab* than in the other schools. (The differences of opinion of the three authorities are listed in Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī, *Mukhtalif al-riwāya*.) For adventitious reasons, Abū Ḥanīfa and his school became the main target of the Traditionists [see AHL AL-ḤADĪTH] in their attack against the use of subjective opinion (*raʾy*) in religious law [see AṢḤĀB AL-RAʾY].

Having originated in ʿIrāḳ, the Ḥanafī school was favoured by the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs. It has always been well represented in its home country and in Syria. It spread early to the East, to Khurāsān, Transoxania, and Afghānistān (where the present constitution gives official recognition to the Ḥanafī doctrine), also to the Indian subcontinent, to Turkish Central Asia, and to China. Numerous famous representatives of the school came from Khurāsān and Transoxania. From the 5th/11th century until well into the time of the Mongols the family of the Banū Māza wielded political power in Bukhārā as the hereditary chiefs (*raʾīs*) of the Ḥanafīs in the town, with the title of *ṣadr*. In Khurāsān, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, the Ḥanafīs developed a special law of irrigation, adapted to the system of canals there (cf. Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, 8). In the Maghrib, too, the Ḥanafī school had adherents alongside the Mālikīs during the first few centuries of Islam, particularly in Ifrīḳiya under the Aghlabids [*q.v.*]; in Sicily they even predominated (al-Muḳaddasī, 236 ff.). Finally, the Ḥanafī school became the favourite school of the Turkish Saldjūḳid rulers and of the Ottoman Turks; it enjoyed the constant favour of the dynasty and exclusive official recognition in the whole of the Ottoman Empire. As a legacy of former Ottoman rule, the Ḥanafī doctrine has retained official status, as far as Islamic law has remained valid, even in those former Ottoman provinces where the majority of the native Muslim population follows another school, *e.g.*, in Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, and Syria.

Among the well-known members of the Ḥanafī school in the older period, of whom more or less considerable works have survived, are al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 261/874), the court lawyer of the caliph al-Muhtadī, who wrote a handbook on *waḳf* which has become a classic, a handbook on the duties of the *ḳāḍī*, and a work on legal devices (*ḥiyal* [*q.v.*]); al-Ṭaḥāwī [*q.v.*] (d. 321/933), a convert from the Shāfiʿī school; al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd (d. 334/945), who abbreviated the contents of the main works of al-Shaybānī in a book called *al-Kāfī*; Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī [*q.v.*] (d. 375/985), a fertile writer on *fiḳh* and other branches of religious sciences; and al-Ḳudūrī [*q.v.*] (d. 428/1036), upon whose *Mukhtaṣar* later works draw a good deal. During this whole period there was in the Ḥanafī school a strong tradition of producing books concerning the application of Islamic law in practice. The *Mabsūṭ* of Shams al-Aʾimma al-Sarakhsī [*q.v.*] (d. 483/1090), a commentary on the *al-Kāfī* of al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd, marks the transition to a more logical and systematic arrangement of the subject-matter within each chapter; it was followed by the *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ* of al-Kāsānī (d. 587/1191), which has a strictly systematic arrangement. These older works were, however, ousted by later handbooks and their commentaries in a process common to all schools of Islamic law. One of the most important of these is the *Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī [*q.v.*] (d. 953/1196; English transl. by Charles Hamilton, London 1791, reprinted Lahore 1957); it acquired numerous commentaries, and Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī (7th/13th century) produced a synopsis of it which he called *Wiḳāyat al-riwāya*. Another member of the literary family deriving from the *Hidāya* is the *Djāmiʿ al-rumūz* of al-Ḳuhistānī (d. 950/1543) which enjoyed great authority in Transoxania. The second important later work is the *Kanz al-daḳāʾiḳ* of Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī [*q.v.*] (d. 710/1310), again with numerous commentaries, *e.g.*, the *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of al-Zaylaʿī (d. 743/1342), and particularly the *Baḥr al-rāʾiḳ* of Ibn Nudjaym [*q.v.*] (d. 970/1563). The same Ibn Nudjaym wrote the *Kitāb al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, a treatise on the systematic structure of positive law. In the Ottoman Empire, the *Durar al-ḥukkām* of Mullā Khusraw (d. 885/1480), a commentary on his own *Ghurar al-aḥkām*, gained particular authority. Based on Ḳudūrī's *Mukhtaṣar*, the *Mukhtār* of al-Buldadjī (d. 683/1284), the *Kanz al-daḳāʾiḳ*, and the *Wiḳāyat al-riwāya* is the *Multaḳa 'l-abḥur* of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī [*q.v.*] (d. 956/1549); this work soon became the authoritative handbook of the Ḥanafī school in the Ottoman Empire. The two most popular commentaries on it are the *Madjmaʿ al-anhur* of Shaykh-zāde (d. 1078/1667), and the *Durr al-muntaḳā* of al-Ḥaṣkafī (d. 1088/1677). This same al-Ḥaṣkafī is the author of the *Durr al-mukhtār*, on which Ibn ʿĀbidīn (d. 1252/1836) wrote a commentary called *Radd al-Muḥtār*, a highly esteemed work which pays particular attention to the problems of the contemporary world. The latest great exposé of the Ḥanafī doctrine in the traditional style is the *Hukukı islâmiyye ve istilahatı fıkhıyye kamusu* by Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen, *mufti* of Istanbul, 6 vols., first ed. Istanbul 1950-2 (Publications of the University of Istanbul, no. 402, of the Faculty of Law, no. 90). The most authoritative handbook of traditional Ḥanafī doctrine in India, after the *Hidāya*, is the so-called *Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya* [*q.v.*], not a collection of *fatwā*s but an enormous compilation of extracts from the authoritative works of the school, made by order of the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr (1067/1658-1118/1707). Parts of it were translated into English by N. B. E. Baillie and by Mahomed Ullah ibn S. Jung.

Among the more important collections of Ḥanafī *fatwā*s are those of Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Māza (d. about 570/1174), called *Dhakhīrat al-fatāwā*, of Ḳāḍī-Khān [*q.v.*] (d. 592/1196), of Sirādj al-Dīn al-Sadjāwandī (end of the 6th/12th century), who is also the author of a very popular treatise on the law of inheritance, of al-Bazzāzī al-Kardarī (d. 827/1424), of Abu 'l-Suʿūd [*q.v.*] (d. 982/1574), and of al-Anḳarawī (d. 1098/1687).

Famous Ḥanafī works on *uṣūl* are the *Kanz al-wuṣūl* of al-Pazdawī (d. 482/1089), the *Kitāb al-uṣūl* of Shams al-Aʾimma al-Sarakhsī (see above), the *Manār al-anwār* of Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī (see above), the *Tawḍīḥ* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Masʿūd al-Maḥbūbī, known as Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Thānī (d. 747/1346), on which the Shāfiʿī author al-Taftāzānī [*q.v.*] (d. 792/1398) wrote a commentary called *Talwīḥ*,

the *Taḥrīr* of Ibn al-Humām (d. 861/1457), with its commentary called *Taḳrīr*, by Ibn Amīr al-Ḥādjdj (d. 879/1474), and the *Mirḳāt al-wuṣūl* by Mullā Khusraw (d. 885/1480). (On the work of al-Pazdawī, see R. Brunschvig, *Théorie générale de la capacité chez les Hanafites médiévaux*, in *Revue Intern. des Droits de l'Antiquité*, ii (1949), 157-72).

Works of Ḥanafī *ṭabaḳāt*: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥammad (d. 775/1373), *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*; Ibn Ḳutlūbughā [*q.v.*] (d. 879/1474), *Tādj al-tarādjim* (ed. G. Flügel, *Die Krone der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Leipzig 1862); Kemāl Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*] (d. 940/1534), *Ṭabaḳāt al-mudjtahidīn* (digested by G. Flügel, *Die Classen der hanefitischen Rechtsgelehrten*, in *Abh. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, viii, Leipzig 1860, 269-358); Ṭashköprüzāde [*q.v.*] (d. 968/1560), *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya* (German transl. by O. Rescher, Konstantinopel-Galata 1927); Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī (d. 1304/1886), *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya* and *al-Taʿlīḳāt al-saniyya*.

In British India, from 1772 onwards, Islamic law as it was administered locally fell under the influence of English legal thought, and an independent legal system, substantially different from Islamic law according to Ḥanafī (and, for the Shīʿa minority, according to Shīʿī) doctrine, came into being. This is properly called Anglo-Muhammadan law (see SHARĪʿA—India and Pakistan). There are numerous handbooks of Anglo-Muhammadan law, the most elementary but the most scholarly of which is A. A. A. Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan Law*, 3rd ed., London 1964, completed by his *Cases in the Muhammadan Law of India and Pakistan*, Oxford 1965.

For the Ottoman Empire, the actual legal system and the administration of justice at the end of the 18th century are described in I. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1787-1820 in 3 vols., 1788-1824 in 7 vols. Then, in 1877, Ottoman Turkey enacted a codification of the law of contracts and obligations and of civil procedure, according to Ḥanafī doctrine, as the Ottoman Civil Code, or the *Medjelle* [*q.v.*]. Traditional Islamic law cannot be adequately expressed in the form of a code, and the *Medjelle*, having been undertaken under the influence of European ideas, is not an Islamic but a secular code, however often modern lawyers may have used it as an authoritative statement of Ḥanafī doctrine. It also contains certain modifications of the strict doctrine of Islamic law, mostly by way of omission. But through the intermediary of the *Medjelle*, the Ḥanafī form of Islamic law has deeply influenced the "civil law" of several countries in the Near East. In Egypt, about the same time, Muḥammad Ḳadrī Pasha put the Ḥanafī law of family and inheritance, of property, and of *waḳf* into the form of codes, but these efforts, only the first of which was officially sponsored, were never enacted as codes.

The only Western accounts of the strict Ḥanafī doctrine of Islamic law are L. Blasi, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, Città di Castello 1914, and G. *Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, ed. J. Schacht, now replaced by J. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*[2], Oxford 1966.

Bibliography: *IA*, s.v. Hanefîler; J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, part I, chap. 2 (on the emergence of the Ḥanafī school), part IV, chap. 4 (on the reasoning of the early Ḥanafī authorities); idem, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, chap. 9 (on the consolidation of the Ḥanafī school), chap. 13 (on the Ḥanafī school in the Ottoman Empire), chap. 14 (on the Ḥanafī school in Mughal India and on Anglo-Muhammadan Law), and chap. 15 (on the influence of the Ḥanafī school on the civil laws of the Near East).—On the spread of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, see A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, Heidelberg 1922, 202-6 (Eng. tr., 210-5); Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha, *Naẓra taʾrīkhiyya fī ḥudūth al-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Cairo 1344, 8 ff.—On authoritative Ḥanafī works, see N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance, with ... a bibliography*, New York 1916, 161 f., 173 ff., 177 ff. (reprinted Lahore 1961); J. H. Harington, *Remarks upon the authorities of Mosulman law*, in *Asiatick Researches*: *or Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal*, x (Calcutta 1808), 475-512(on Ḥanafī works used in India).

(W. Heffening-[J. Schacht])

ḤANBALĪS [see ḤANĀBILA].

HANDASA [see ʿILM AL-HANDASA].

ḤANDŪS [see SIKKA].

HĀNIʾ b. ʿURWA al-MURĀDĪ, a Yemenī chief of Kūfa who lost his life during the attempt made by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Ṭālib to seize power, at the end of 60/680. Hāniʾ possessed great influence among the Yemenīs of Kūfa who, represented by the Madhḥidj, Kinda and Hamdān, formed a numerous element in the town; an anecdote related in the *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad and in the *ʿIḳd* gives further proof that it was an advantage to enjoy his favour. He had a thorough knowledge of the Ḳurʾān, and his name is mentioned in a list of readers belonging to the nobility (*al-ashrāf al-ḳurrāʾ*). But the fact to which Hāniʾ owes his renown is his participation in the preparations for al-Ḥusayn's revolt. We know that the ʿAlid, urged by the Shīʿīs of Kūfa to come there and place himself at the head of his supporters, at first sent his cousin Muslim b. ʿAḳīl to take stock of the situation and to rally the support of those who sympathized with the movement. These steps not having passed unnoticed, the caliph Yazīd appointed ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] governor of Kūfa, with instructions to bring this dangerous situation under control. The house of Hāniʾ, used as a meeting-place by the conspirators, was almost the scene of an attempt against the life of Ibn Ziyād himself (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 244, 246-9; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, 247 f., etc.); Muslim came there to take refuge, on learning that the net was closing round him. Finally Ibn Ziyād invited Hāniʾ, who on the pretence of illness had for some time absented himself from his meetings, to come and see him. Hāniʾ hesitated, but in the end allowed himself to be persuaded, relying on the powerful influence he possessed, and unaware that a spy had discovered the part that he had taken in hatching the plot. When he had come into Ibn Ziyād's presence, the latter overwhelmed him with reproaches and accused him of giving asylum to Muslim. Hāniʾ denied the charge, but the spy was summoned and Hāniʾ was compelled to admit that Muslim had been given protection by him; nevertheless he tried to excuse himself and, possibly feeling convinced that the revolt would be successful, ventured to promise Ibn Ziyād that no harm would befall him (according to al-Masʿūdī, he advised him to flee with his family to Syria). Instead the governor, who had been instructed to arrest Muslim, demanded that he should be handed over to him, but this Hāniʾ obstinately refused, even under the threat of execution; in a fury, Ibn Ziyād struck his face with the stick he was holding; streaming with blood, Hāniʾ made a vain attempt to wrest the spear from one of the guards, and was locked up in a wing of the castle. When the news that he had been killed spread about, an angry crowd of Madhḥidjīs gathered, but dispersed

when Ibn Ziyād sent the *ḳāḍī* Shurayḥ with assurances that Hāniʾ was still alive. Finally Muslim was discovered in his latest hiding-place, taken to the castle and beheaded; Hāniʾ was taken to the sheep-market and also put to death (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 268 f.), being perhaps later crucified in the place known as al-Kunāsa (*ibid.*, ii, 231). The news of this double execution reached al-Ḥusayn after he had arrived in ʿIrāḳ. Elegiac verses on Muslim and Hāniʾ, attributed to Ibn al-Zabīr al-Asadī or other poets, are repeated in several sources. Together with Muslim b. ʿAḳīl, Hāniʾ became a character in the *taʿziya* (E. Rossi and A. Bombaci, *Elenco di drammi religiosi persiani*, Vatican 1961, index).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 229-32, 244, 246-9, 250-4, 268-70, 284, 292; ʿArīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus*, 62; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 247 ff., 250-2, 255, 259, 260; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 287-9; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 71 ff. (Cairo 1376/1956, i, 123 f.); *ʿIḳd*, ed. A. Amīn etc., Cairo, i, 160 f., ii, 378 f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 135 f., 140 f.; Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1368/1949, 97-100, 108; idem, *Aghānī*[1], xiii, 37, xiv, 98; Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1329-32, iv, 336 f.; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Kaṣīdat Ibn ʿAbdūn*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1846, 162 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 19-24, 29 f., 54, 188; Bayyāsī, *K. al-Iʿlām bi-ʾl-ḥurūb fī ṣadr al-Islām*, ms. Cairo, ii, 31, 32, 33; *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 159 f.; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Bodl., fol. 20 v; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1348-55, viii, 153, 154, 168; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, viii, Beirut 1367/1948, 199-202, 208 f.; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Mūsawī al-Muḳram, *al-Shahīd Muslim b. ʿAḳīl*, Nadjaf 1369/1950, 129-34, 138 f., 147-53; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Tod des Husein ben ʾAli und die Rache, Ein historischer Roman* ..., Göttingen 1883 (*Abh. der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxx), 31-7, 43 f., 46; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, Berlin 1901, 61, 62-4; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, 144, in the reprint (= *MFOB*, v, 142). The poems are also in *The Naqāʾiḍ of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq*, ed. Bevan, 246; *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, iii, 359.

(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

ḤANĪF (a.) (pl. *ḥunafāʾ*), means in Islamic writing one who follows the original and true (monotheistic) religion.

1. The Ḳurʾān. The word *ḥanīf* is used especially of Abraham as the type of this pure worship of God; II, 135/129; III, 67/60, 95/89; IV, 125/124; VI, 79, 161/162; XVI, 120/121, 123/124; XXII, 31/32. In most of these verses the *ḥanīf* is contrasted with the idolaters (*mushrikūn*). It is also asserted that Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian (III, 67/60; cf. II, 135/129), and that the people of the book were originally commanded to worship God as *ḥunafāʾ* (XCVIII, 5/4). In the remaining two passages where the word is used in the Ḳurʾān (X, 105; XXX, 30/29), Muḥammad and his followers are commanded to worship God as *ḥunafāʾ*, not idolaters. In III, 19/17 Ibn Masʿūd read *ḥanīfiyya* instead of *islām*: "the true religion in God's sight is the *ḥanīfiyya*" (A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qurʾān*, Leiden 1937, 32). All this indicates that there is a definite conception of the *ḥanīf* and his religion in the Ḳurʾān. This conception is closely linked with the resistance of the Muslims to the intellectual criticisms of Muḥammad's religion by Jews and Christians. In effect the Muslims are to defend themselves by saying that their religion is the pure worship of God, revealed by Him to previous prophets and to Muḥammad, but partly corrupted in the course of time in Judaism and Christianity [see taḥrīf]. Further this religion is in accordance with the natural disposition (*fiṭra* [*q.v.*]) created in men by God (XXX, 30). Thus the *ḥanīfiyya* is contrasted both with polytheism and with the 'corrupted' monotheism of the Jews and Christians. It must indeed for a time have been the name applied to Muḥammad's religion, as is evidenced by the reading of Ibn Masʿūd in III, 19/17, which could hardly be an invention of his own, by the reference to Abraham as *ḥanīf muslim* in III, 67/60 and also by later Islamic usage. This name presumably belongs to the years immediately following the *hidjra*, especially after the break with the Jews. The technical use of *muslim* and *islām* is said not to be before the end of 2 A.H. (R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qurʾān*, Edinburgh 1953, 108), and may be later.

2. Later Islamic usage. The apologetic position associated with the Ḳurʾānic conception of *ḥanīf* is maintained. *Ḥanīf* is occasionally used as the equivalent of *muslim* (Ibn Hishām, 293, 982, 995; cf. 871). More frequent is the use of *ḥanīfiyya* for the 'religion of Abraham' or for Islam (Ibn Hishām, 143, 147; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 128; iii/1, 287). The form *taḥannuf* is used to mean "the adoption of Islam" (*Kāmil*, 526, poem by Djarīr; *LA*, x, 404; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2827). These ideas were sometimes employed in the elaboration of Ṣūfī doctrines. Al-Ḥallādj spoke of himself as "the least *ḥanīf* of the community of Muḥammad" (Massignon, *Akhbār*[3], 161); and al-Anṭākī and al-Bisṭāmī spoke of the basic form of monotheism as *al-ḥanīfiyya* (Massignon, *Passion*, 607; *Essai*[2], 282; etc.). The general Islamic usage underlies the question in *Kāmil*, 244, "What is a *ḥanīf ʿala ʾl-fiṭra* ...?" (cf. Diyārbakrī, ii, 177). In the verses quoted by Yāḳūt, ii, 51, and other authors, which contrast the *ḥanīf* with the Christian priest and Jewish rabbi, the word almost certainly means Muslim; and the same may be true of the verse of Ṣakhr (*Hudhailiten*, ed. Kosegarten, xviii, 11) where wine-drinking Christians make a noise round a *ḥanīf* (and the scholiast suggests *muslim*). The poem ascribed to Umayya b. Abi ʾl-Ṣalt, which speaks of the *dīn al-ḥanafiyya* as the only religion which will survive the resurrection (cf. Schulthess, *Beiträge sur Assyriologie*, viii, 3), is presumably of Islamic inspiration. So too is the verse in Ibn Hishām (180) which speaks of "establishing the *ḥanīf* religion". A case can also be made for holding that the religion of him who *yataḥannafu* with whom the Christians ally themselves (Djarīr, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ii, 595) is Islam, and that *al-ʿābid al-mutaḥannif* who observes his prayers (*ṣalāt*) (poem by a Nadjdī pagan, Djirān al-ʿAwd, *LA*, x, 404; cf. *Khizānat*, iv, 198) is a Muslim. Another possible interpretation of the last two passages is considered below.

3. Christian usage. The word *ḥanīfiyya* is more frequently used for Islam by Christian writers than by Muslims (*JSS*, ii (1957), 360, n. 4; in Eutychius, *Burhān*, 1, the rendering "Muslims" is almost certain). The word occurs in a letter written about 590/1194 by a Spanish Christian king to the Almohad ruler (quoted by Ibn Khallikān-De Slane, iv, 338). Most revealing, however, is a passage in the *Risāla* of ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī (London 1880, 42) where, after speaking of Abraham worshipping the idol as a *ḥanīf*, he adds that "he abandoned the *ḥanīfiyya*, which is the worship of idols, and became a monotheist and believer, for we find that the *ḥanīfiyya* in the revealed books of God is a name for the worship of idols". This statement may have been sharpen-

ed in the interests of anti-Islamic polemic, but it has ample justification in earlier Syriac usages. It was probably because of Christian polemics that the Muslims in the main abandoned the word.

4. Pre-Islamic usage and religious practice. The fact that Muḥammad was able to regard himself and the Muslims as following Abraham the *ḥanīf* shows that there was no organized religious body in the early 6th century A.D. known as the *ḥanīfiyya*. Since the whole conception, however, had a bearing on apologetics, Muslim scholars tended to look for a basis in pre-Islamic history; that is, they tried to find actual *ḥanīf*s. Their statements on such matters must therefore not be accepted without careful scrutiny. Thus, when men are said to have set out to seek "the *ḥanīfiyya*, the religion of Abraham" (Ibn Hishām, 143, 147), it may be true that they set out on a religious quest, but it is practically certain that they did not use that phrase. The primary question, which has been much discussed by modern scholars, is whether there is any conclusive evidence that *ḥanīf* was used before the revelation of the Ḳur'ān for a religious ascetic, Christian or otherwise. The suggestion of Ibn Hishām (152) that *taḥannuf* and *taḥannuth* are the same is an example of the attempt to find corroborations of the Ḳur'ānic conception of *ḥanīf*, for *taḥannuth* almost certainly is derived from Hebrew and means devotional exercises, and thus has no connection with *taḥannuf* (H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into ... the Qoran*, London 1902, 10n.). Some of the verses quoted above (such as those of Ṣakhr and Djirān) may be interpreted of a pre-Islamic Arab ascetic; so may that of Dhū Rumma (*LA*, xiii, 206) mentioning a *ḥanīf* who turns west. Yet several such "possible" interpretations are not conclusive evidence of the supposed pre-Islamic use of *ḥanīf* for "ascetic".

The result of careful examination of the passages of early poetry is that the word *ḥanīf* "seems generally to mean *Muslim* and in the odd occurrences which may be pre-Islamic to mean *heathen*" (A. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 114). This last point is paralleled by the use of *ḥanīf* and its derivatives in early translations into Arabic to represent the Syriac *ḥanpo* (pl. *ḥanpé*) etc.; and the Syriac word normally means "heathen", but sometimes has the connotation of "a person of Hellenistic culture" (cf. N. A. Faris and H. W. Glidden, *The development of the meaning of the Koranic Ḥanīf*, in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xix (1939), 1-13, esp. 6-9, where much fresh pre-Islamic material is adduced; Ar. tr. in *Abḥāth*, xiii (1960), 25-42). Even Syriac material, however, must be used with care, since the hellenized pagans of Ḥarrān, who came to be known as Ṣābians [see AL-ṢĀBI'A], in their attempts to establish themselves as a "people of the book" seem to have taken over the Ḳur'ānic conception of the *ḥanīfiyya* and to have claimed that they were *ḥanpé* and the heirs of the original *ḥanpūtho* (*loc. cit.*, 8, giving a passage from Thābit b. Ḳurra (d. 288/901), quoted by Barhebraeus, *Chronicum Syriacum*, Paris 1890, 168). Such assertions by Thābit and possibly other Ḥarrānians are doubtless the source of al-Mas'ūdī's references to the Ṣābians as following the religion of the *ḥanīfiyya* (*Tanbīh*, 6, 90 f., 122 f., 136, 145; cf. Glossary). Al-Mas'ūdī, however, who is here dealing with the pre-Christian Roman emperors, appears to be following Christian sources which used *ḥunafā'* in the sense of "pagan", since the forty emperors preceding Constantine could be described as "pagan" but not as "Ṣābian"; his acceptance of the identification of the *ḥanīfiyya* with the Ṣābian religion would then be part of the attempt to illustrate factually the Ḳur'ānic conception of *ḥanīf*. A similar borrowing of *ḥunafā'*, "pagans", from a Christian source is found in al-Ya'ḳūbī, i, 51 f., where it is applied to opponents of Saul and David (*i.e.* the Philistines, cf. I Samuel, 17), who are further described as worshippers of stars (cf. Theodore Abū Ḳurra, *al-Dīn al-Ḳawīm*, in *al-Mashriḳ*, 1912, ad init., *al-ḥunafā' al-awwalīn* as star-worshippers).

5. Etymology. Suggestions that *ḥanīf* is formed from the Arabic root or is derived from Hebrew or Ethiopic have little to commend them. The source must be Syriac, probably with the plural *ḥunafā'* (representing *ḥanpé*) coming first. In some Aramaean circles, however, the primary meaning of "heathen" or "pagan" was overshadowed by secondary connotations, such as "of Hellenistic culture", so that the word could be applied to philosophically-minded persons who were essentially monotheistic. The Ḳur'ānic usage neglected the primary meaning and developed some of the secondary connotations, a semantic process not unknown elsewhere (cf. "snob" in French).

6. Conclusions. The common Islamic conception of *ḥanīf* and the *ḥanīfiyya* is derived solely from the Ḳur'ān. The word *ḥanīf*, if used independently of the Ḳur'ān (as by pre-Islamic Arabs or Christians), means primarily "pagan". It is therefore vain to look for religious or ascetic movements or individuals to whom this name was actually applied in pre-Islamic times. The movements and individuals exist, but any assertion that some one is a *ḥanīf* (in the Islamic sense) is the work of a later Muslim apologete, or one under Islamic influence like Thābit b. Ḳurra, and is therefore historically valueless.

Bibliography: in the article. Earlier literature is summarized in Faris and Glidden, *op. cit.*

(W. Montgomery Watt)

ḤANĪFA b. LUDJAYM, ancient Arab tribe, part of Bakr b. Wā'il [*q.v.*] on a level with Tha'laba and 'Idjl. The chief subdivisions were al-Dūl (or al-Du'il), 'Adī, 'Āmir, Suḥaym. They were partly nomadic, partly agricultural (date-palms and cereals), and also partly pagan, partly Christian. The town of al-Hadjr, capital of al-Yamāma, belonged chiefly to them, also the town of Djaww (later al-Khidrima). Other localities mentioned as belonging to them (and as chiefly occupied by them) include: the *wādī* of al-'Irḍ, al-Awḳa, Fayshān, al-Kirs, Ḳurrān, al-Manṣif (a fortified town), Tala' b. 'Aṭā, al-Thaḳb (or al-Naḳb), Tu'ām, Ubād, 'Uthāl. The Ḥanīfa are said to have moved from al-Ḥidjāz to al-Yamāma after the extinction of an older culture there [see TASM]. Their separation from the rest of Bakr apparently took place towards the end of the war of Basūs [*q.v.*], and they were absent from the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*]. This absence may be connected with the fact that they recognized the suzerainty of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra and were employed in conducting Persian caravans from the Yemen to 'Irāḳ. In extending their influence over the region between al-Yamāma and 'Irāḳ they came into conflict with Tamīm, and there were several battles. The leader about 600 A.D., Ḳatāda b. Maslama, was succeeded by Hawdha b. 'Alī, apparently a Christian, who on one occasion was well received at the Persian court and given a crown, in reward for his services in conducting caravans. With the decline of the Persian empire after 628, Hawdha began negotiations with Muḥammad, but had not become a Muslim before his

death in 630. Thumāma b. Uthāl, who may have been Hawdha's successor, is said to have become a Muslim after being captured in a raid. He was leader of the loyal Muslims of Ḥanīfa in the wars of the *ridda*, when a large section of the tribe revolted against Medina under Musaylima [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. W. Caskel; al-Hamdānī, see *Index Historicus*; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, Cairo, index; *Aghānī*, Tables; A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847, index; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, index; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1205, 1737-9, 1748 f., 1929-57, etc.; Ibn Hishām, 945 f., 965, etc.; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 18, 25 f., 33, 55; Caetani, *Annali*, 10 A.H., § 32A, 67-9A; W. Hoenerbach, in *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur*, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, No. 4, 1951, 255-67; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 132-7. (W. Montgomery Watt)

ḤANĪFA, WĀDĪ [see wādī ḥanīfa].

HANSALIYYA, a religious brotherhood of Moroccan origin which established itself in the Central Atlas and in the neighbourhood of Constantine.

It appears to have its origin in the *zāwiya* founded towards the end of the 6th/12th century by a Berber from the Sūs, Saʿīd u ʿAmur al-Ahansalī, on the banks of the *asīf* Ahansal, in the heart of the Berber country. From modest beginnings this *zāwiya* became better known in the second half of the 11th/17th century, when a descendant of the founder, Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Yūsuf al-Ahansalī, who died in 1702, founded a new *zāwiya* in the same region and founded a brotherhood. Abū ʿUthmān had pursued long studies in Morocco and had spent several years in the Orient. He had been initiated by Sayyidī ʿĪsā al-Djunaydī at Damietta.

His son Yūsuf succeeded him and acquired a certain political as well as religious influence in the region of the Wādī al-ʿAbīd, especially after the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. On his death the brotherhood declined in Morocco but took on new vigour in the region of Constantine. Nevertheless, several *zāwiyas* of the order remained in the region of Wawizaght and at the time of the French occupation were playing a minor political rôle under the direction of Sayyidī Moḥā u Aḥmad al-Ahansalī. If this little brotherhood still survives, which is not certain, it no longer exercizes more than a very feeble influence.

One of the sons of Sayyidī Yūsuf, Sayyidī Saʿdūn, threatened by the Moroccan authorities, fled to the Constantine area about 1730, made converts there, and erected a *zāwiya* of minor importance; it appears that there is an offshoot of this *zāwiya* at Le Kef in Tunisia.

The Hansaliyya combined the customary mystic practices—the *wird* and recitations of the verses of the *Damyāṭiyya*, a mystic poem by the *imām* ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Dīrūṭī al-Damyāṭī—with dances, songs, and flagellations which induced ecstasy. In Morocco, in the milieu where they arose, they long enjoyed the reputation of miracle-workers in communication with the *djinn*.

Bibliography: Muḥammad al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fez 1309/1891, ii, 170; Salāwī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā*, iv, 57; Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1884, 385 ff.; Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 492; Ch. de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1934, 264, 267; de Segonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas*, Paris 1904, 55; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *La zaouia d'Ahançal*, in *AM*, xxvii (1927), 87-113; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse au Maroc*, Paris n. d., 163-82, and genealogical table at end. (R. Le Tourneau)

HĀNSAWĪ, Shaykh Djamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad, also called Ḳuṭb Djamāl al-Dīn, a Ṣūfī mystic of the Indian Čishtiyya [*q.v.*] order, b. 580/1184-5, d. in Hānsī 659/1260-1. He was a descendant of the theologian and religious lawyer Abū Ḥanīfa, and was a senior *khalīfa* of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd "Gandj-i Shakar" [*q.v.*] during the time the latter spent at Hānsī [*q.v.*]. He is said to have been the *khaṭīb* of Hānsī when he joined Farīd al-Dīn, and to have resigned this post and its consequent material benefits as a necessary condition of his spiritual discipline.

He is known as the author of two works: his *Mulhamāt* (Arabic; lith. Alwar 1306, Dihlī 1308) is a collection of Ṣūfī aphorisms, with particular reference to the difference between the externalist recluse (*zāhid*) and the true mystic (*ʿārif*), without much specific reference to purely Indian conditions; and his *Dīwān* (Persian; lith. Dihlī 1306) is the earliest known poetical work of a Čishtī mystic, which in addition to its mystical content is valuable for the light which it throws on contemporary religious and political thought and institutions, the popular beliefs, customs and practices, and the attitudes of the mystics to all these, of the early 7th/13th century in north India. A manuscript copy of the *dīwān*, no. 360 in the Bibliotheca Nova of the library of the University of Uppsala, is described by K. V. Zetterstéen, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala verzeichnet und beschrieben*, in *MO*, xxii (1928), 298-302, 428; *ibid.*, xxix (1935), 150 ff., where a short extract from the *Mulhamāt* is also given, 152 ff. The table of contents of the *Dīwān*, with translations of some verses, is given by Zetterstéen in *Selections from the divan of Jamāluddīn Aḥmad Hānsawī*, in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, i (1948), 165-82.

Bibliography: Mīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyā*ʾ, Dihlī 1302, especially 178 ff., which also contains a notice of the two sons of Djamāl al-Dīn: the younger, Burhān al-Dīn, was also admitted as a disciple of Farīd al-Dīn; Muḥammad Ghawthī Shaṭṭārī, *Gulzār-i abrār*, MS A.S.B. Calcutta, 17r-v; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1309, 67 ff.; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*, Lucknow 1914, 42; many references *passim* in the hagiographical literature, for which see Bibliography to čishtiyya. See also K. A. Nizami, *The life and times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1955, index; idem, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1961, index. On the *Mulhamāt* cf. M. G. Zubaid Ahmad, *The contribution of India to Arabic literature*, Allāhābād 1946, 85 f. (J. Burton-Page)

HĀNSĪ, a town of the Indian Pandjāb, situated 29°7′ N., 76° 0′ E., in the Hariyānā [*q.v.*] region of which it was the old capital until supplanted by Ḥiṣār Fīrūza [*q.v.*] in 757/1356. It is known from inscriptions that it was occupied by the Tomārs and Čawhāns before the Muslim conquest, and was perhaps occupied from Kushāṇa times, 1st or 2nd century A.D.: certainly the old fort, to the north-east of the present town, is an extensive *tell* representing an accumulation of many cultural layers. Hānsī was already a major stronghold when Masʿūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, stormed this "virgin fortress" in the winter of 429/1037-8 (Abu 'l Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, Tehrān 1324/1945, 533-4; Eng.

tr. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* ..., ii, 140), capturing it at his second attempt. From that time Hānsī became an important forward position in the Ghaznawids' Indian province, and we read of Masʿūd's second son, Madjdūd, who had been appointed governor of that province, spending the winter of 433/1041-2 at Hānsī waiting his chance to launch an attack on Dihlī. Two years later, however, the Dihlī rādjā Mahīpāl recaptured Hānsī, and it was strengthened by him and subsequent builders. Towards the end of the next century it was enlarged and further strengthened by Prithwī Rādj as a bulwark against the Ghūrī forces; but, after the defeat of the Hindū forces at Tarāwarī by Muḥammad b. Sām, Hānsī also surrendered (588/1192). At the end of that year a Čawhān army invaded Hariyānā, compelling the Muslim governor Nuṣrat al-Dīn to take refuge in the fort; but they were overcome by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak (details incorrect in Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge history of India*, iii, 41, cf. Hoḍīvālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, Bombay 1939, 179-80). Within a few months Aybak had taken Dihlī, and made it the headquarters of Muslim power in India; the Muslim hold on Hānsī thereafter remained secure.

Hānsī frequently figures in the chronicles of the Dihlī sultanate both as an important stronghold (for its strategic importance see HARIYĀNĀ, of which it was the principal town) and as an *iḳṭāʿ* of numerous officials: doubtless a convenient one for the sultan to have at his disposal, for it was far enough from Dihlī to make appointment—or banishment—to it a reality, but it was sufficiently close to the power of arms at the capital to prevent a rebel from easily asserting his independence. For example, it was the *iḳṭāʿ* of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE] in about 640/1242, to which he was banished in 650/1252-3 after the conspiracy against him; when he had gathered some local support there he was sent further, to Nāgawr, and Hānsī was nominally given to an infant son of the king but in practice was occupied by one of Balban's opponents (Minhādj-i Sirādj Djuzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Bibl. Ind. 202; Eng. tr. Raverty, ii, 140); other princes had held this *iḳṭāʿ* previously, for example Abu 'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd, the son of Iletmish, who died in 626/1229, held Hānsī before 623/1226 (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 180) and there built the *ʿidgāh* (no date; inscription in J. Horovitz, in *EIM*, 1911-12, 28 and plate XIX/1, 2). The prestige of Hānsī declined after the foundation of Ḥiṣār Fīrūza by Fīrūzu Shāh Tughluḳ in 757/1356, which took over the function of headquarters of a *shiḳḳ*; in the previous reign, however, Hānsī had been described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as "an exceedingly fine, well-built and populous city". It certainly remained in operation as a stronghold for some time, for in 923/1517 Ibrāhīm Lodī confined his brothers there to keep his kingdom secure while he was faced with a rebellion at Djawnpur.

Hānsī itself is little mentioned during Mughal times; it appears in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* merely as a *maḥall* in the *sarkār* of Ḥiṣār Fīrūza in the *ṣūba* of Dihlī. For its general history under the Mughals and their successors see HARIYĀNĀ, and for the period in which Hānsī became the headquarters of the English adventurer George Thomas see also MARĀTHĀS. Thomas is said to have re-fortified Hānsī; certainly a military fort was established there by the British in 1803, and one Mīrzā Ilyās Beg was appointed *nāẓim* of Hariyānā by General Ochterlony; but the country remained subject to constant raids and was for long in disorder until the British established direct rule over the region in 1818.

Monuments.—The old fort has already been mentioned; it was dismantled after the mutiny of 1857, but gateways and lengths of bastioned wall remain. The *dargāh* of Sayyid Shāh Niʿmat Allāh, who accompanied Muḥammad b. Sām in 588/1192 and was killed at the conquest of Hānsī, stands in the fort; Hindū materials were freely used in its construction, and if the date 588 in the inscription of the attached mosque is correct it must be the oldest mosque in India (some doubt; cf. Horovitz, *op. cit.*, 19). On the west of the town stand the mosque and tomb of the "four Ḳuṭbs", Ḳuṭb Djamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī [see HĀNSAWĪ] and his three successors; the shrine itself was not built until 903/1496, but in a mosque in the enclosure is a tombstone with an Arabic inscription of 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 622/4 November 1225, the oldest dated tombstone in India; another mosque nearby bears the date Muḥarram 877/June 1472; and in the same enclosure is the tomb of ʿAlī Mīr Tudjdjār (*sic*; the word is used as a singular in Urdū), a disciple of Ḳuṭb Djamāl al-Dīn. This is the finest building in Hānsī, a square domed mausoleum with glazed tiles in inlaid patterns in the spandrels of the openings and filling the small blind arches above the level of the doors; it appears to date from the 9th/15th century, although the local tradition assigns it to the 7th/13th. Also to the west of the town is the *ʿidgāh* already referred to. Further still is a mound, with a small mosque, called the Shahīd Gandj, traditionally supposed to be where 150,000 Muslims were slain, presumably in Masʿūd's first unsuccessful attempt on Hānsī.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, see the bibliography to HARIYĀNĀ; general account in *Punjab District Gazetteers, ii a, Hissar District, Part A*, Lahore 1916. For the monuments: H. B. W. Garrick, *Report of a tour in the Panjab* ..., in *ASI*, xxiii, Calcutta 1887, 13-9 and Plates V-VII; the monuments are cursorily described in this volume, and their serious study is now an urgent necessity. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

HĀNSWĪ [see HĀNSAWĪ].

ḤĀNYA [see IḲRĪTISH].

ḤANẒALA B. **ABĪ ʿĀMIR** [see GHASĪL AL-MALĀʾIKA].

BANŪ **ḤANẒALA** B. **MĀLIK**, a branch of the tribe of Tamīm [*q.v.*], of the group of Maʿādd, descended from Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. The chief subdivisions were Dārim (from which came the poet al-Farazdaḳ), Yarbūʿ (to which Djarīr belonged) and the Barādjim (five families descended from Mālik b. Ḥanẓala). They inhabited the Yamāma between the hills Djurād and Marrūt, near *ḥimā* Ḍariyya [*q.v.*]. Among their villages were al-Ṣammān (with wells, cisterns and irrigation) and al-Raḳmatān; but they were mainly nomadic.

In history they appear at the first "day of Kulāb" (probably before 550 A.D.) as supporters of Shuraḥbīl, prince of Kinda, there defeated and killed by his brother Salama. Towards 570 Zurāra b. ʿUdas, chief of Dārim, was in good relations with the king of Ḥīra, but the death of the latter's brother while among Dārim led to a raid (second "day of Uwāra") as a result of which 100 captives of Ḥanẓala were burnt alive by the king. Another important battle was on "the day of Rahrahān", a few years later, when B. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*], annoyed because Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra had given hospitality to the killer of their chief, attacked a caravan of Ḥanẓala and made some prisoners and took booty. An attempt by Laḳīṭ to revenge this defeat led to the more disastrous defeat

at Shiʿb Djabala. Ḥanẓala were part of the forces of Tamīm on the second "day of Kulāb", when they successfully repulsed an attack. Among the first of the tribe to become a Muslim was al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis [*q.v.*] of Dārim. It was among Tamīm that the prophetess Sadjāḥ appeared in the "wars of the *ridda*"; among those supporting her was Mālik b. Nuwayra (Yarbūʿ), who was put to death by Khālid b. al-Walīd. To Ḥanẓala belonged Asmāʾ bint Mukharriba, mother of Abū Djahl [*q.v.*]. After the conquests many of the tribe settled in Baṣra and elsewhere in ʿIrāḳ, and to them the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] and Sayābiga [*q.v.*] became clients (Pellat, *Milieu Baṣrien*, 37, 41). Some Khāridjī leaders came from Ḥanẓala, notably ʿUrwa b. Udayya who led the opposition to ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn and was executed in Baṣra about 58/678; also his brother, Abū Bilāl Mirdās (killed 61/681).

Bibliography: Caussin de Perceval, *Les arabes avant l'Islamisme*, index; *Mufuḍḍaliyyāt* (ed. Lyall), 122 f., 428-36; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, index; Ṭabarī, index, s.v. ʿUrwa b. Udayya, etc.; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 137-41, 372-4. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḤANẒALA B. **ṢAFWĀN**, one of the people of the Interval (*fatra* [*q.v.*]), regarded as a prophet sent to the Aṣḥāb al-Rass [*q.v.*], who maltreated and killed him before being destroyed themselves. The formation of the legend apparently began in the 3rd/9th century (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, index) but Ibn Ḳutayba does not mention Ḥanẓala among the prophets of the *fatra*, and al-Masʿūdī, in the *Murūdj* (i, 125, iii, 105), devotes only a few lines to him. Later on, the necessity felt by the exegetists to explain the Ḳurʾānic expression Aṣḥāb al-Rass (XXV, 40/38, L, 12) brought about a widespread development of the legend, which finally attributed to Ḥanẓala the role played by Khālid b. Sinān [*q.v.*] in the removal or destruction of the fabulous bird called *ʿanḳāʾ* [*q.v.*], which was ravaging the Aṣḥāb al-Rass (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 367). Furthermore, the verse (XXII, 44/45): "how many stone-built wells, how many powerful palaces [are abandoned]!" inspires a commentary in which Ḥanẓala appears and, once more, the Aṣḥāb al-Rass. The latter, near ʿAdan, had a well which supplied them with abundant water and a king who governed them with justice and assured their happiness; when the king died, his people embalmed him in order to preserve his image and, urged by Satan who had entered the king's dead body and had proclaimed that he was not dead, began to worship this idol, which Satan had ordered to be concealed by a veil. However, God sent to this people the prophet Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān al-ʿAbsī (who received his inspiration only while sleeping) to reveal to them Satan's deceit and to turn them from their worship of him, but the Aṣḥāb al-Rass had no faith in his words, killed him, and cast him into the well. Divine retribution soon followed, the people were destroyed and their country was given over to *djinns* and wild beasts.

Bibliography: besides the references in the text: Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1292, 129-33; Damīrī, s.v. *ʿanḳāʾ*; Maḳdisī, *Création*, iii, 134 in the text, 138 in the translation; R. Basset, *1001 Contes, etc.*, iii, 86-8, who reproduces a passage from Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāya*, ii) after Hammer, *Les origines russes*, St.-Petersburg 1852, 15-16, 87, and accompanies it with a comparative study of the legend of the demon who assumes the features of one deceased. (CH. PELLAT)

ḤANẒALA B. **ṢAFWĀN** b. ZUHAYR AL-KALBĪ, general and governor of the Umayyads who, in Shawwāl 102/April 721, was appointed by the caliph Yazīd II governor of Egypt in place of his brother Bishr b. Ṣafwān, who had been sent to Ifrīḳiya. During his three years in Egypt (Shawwāl 102—Shawwāl 105/April 721—March 724) he had statues destroyed and paintings effaced, on the orders of Yazīd. Hishām, after removing him from office, was obliged to send him back to Egypt (7 Shaʿbān 118/20 August 736), as the incompetence of his successor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid, was causing this province to be in danger of recapture by the Byzantines. He had been governing it for five years and eight months when Arab rule in the Maghrib was seriously threatened by the revolt of the Khāridjī Berbers, who completely destroyed an Arab army on the banks of the Subū and killed Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ, the governor of Ifrīḳiya (123/740-1). Ḥanẓala, on Hishām's orders, arrived in Ṣafar 124/December 741-January 742, in time to repel the Berbers who had invaded Ifrīḳiya and were threatening Ḳayrawān. After establishing his headquarters in the capital, Ḥanẓala made a sortie and defeated successively ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Yazīd al-Hawwārī, at al-Aṣnām (Djalūlā?), and ʿUkkāsha b. Ayyūb al-Fazārī, at al-Ḳarn (the chronological order of these two victories varies according to the sources); ʿUkkāsha was then arrested and put to death (Djumādā II 124/April-May 742).

The disturbances which resulted in the fall of the Umayyads had their repercussions in the Maghrib. A usurper, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihrī, who was descended from ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, returned from Spain, raised a revolt at Tunis, and called on Ḥanẓala to hand over Ḳayrawān to him; because of religious scruples, the latter offered no resistance and left the capital (Djumādā I 127/February 745) to return to the East.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, New Haven 1922, index (ed. with Fr. tr. A. Gateau, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, Algiers 1942, 1947, index); Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 305-6; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 382; Ṭabarī, ii, 1871; Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, ed. Guest, London 1912, repr. Beirut 1959, index; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 277 ff., 312 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, Cairo 1312, v, 124, 147; Ibn ʿIdhārī, ed. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, Leiden 1848-51, i, 45-8; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de la Sicile*, ed. Desvergers, Paris 1841, 13-4 of the text, 38-41 of the translation; idem, *ʿIbar*, vi, 111 (tr. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, i, 217-9, 362, 365); Nuwayrī, appendix to vol. i of the *Histoire des Berbères*, 362-5; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʾnis*, Tunis 1286, 40; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i, 273, 297-302, 322-3; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān*, i, Tunis 1963, 91; F. Gabrieli, *Il califfato di Hishâm*, Alexandria 1935, index. (R. BASSET*)

ḤĀRA, "Quarter" or "ward' of a town [see MADĪNA, MAḤALLA].

ḤARĀFĪSH, ḤARĀFISHA [see ḤARFŪSH].

ḤARAKA WA-**SUKŪN** "motion and rest", a technical expression used, on the one hand, in philosophy and theology, and, on the other, in grammar.

I.—PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY

1.—The *Falāsifa* take the Greek theories for their base. Thus al-Kindī exactly reproduces Aristotle's thought when he writes, like him linking time and motion, that time is a duration that is counted by motion (*mudda taʿudduhā 'l-ḥaraka*; cf. *Phys.* IV, 219 b: ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως ... ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐστι τὸ ἀριθμούμενον, that is to say that time is the *counted*

number of motion). Furthermore, al-Kindī knows the famous formula: time is the number of motion; he identifies it with the preceding one (*Li-anna 'l-zamān innamā huwa ʿadad al-ḥaraka, aʿnī annahu mudda taʿudduhā 'l-ḥaraka*). There is no motion without body and time; these three realities are simultaneous in existence. Motion presupposes something moveable that is a body; if there is neither motion nor time there is nothing that goes from ... to (*fa-lā shay' min ... ilā*; cf. *Phys.* V. 224b I: ἔκ τινος εἴς τι), and thus there is no duration, and without duration there is no body, no means of being at all (*fa-lā ḥal al-battata*). Thus al-Kindī defines motion, in general, as "the fact that the manner of being of an essence is modified" (*tabaddul ḥāl al-dhāt*). This internal modification involves a close relationship between the motion of beings and their nature. "Nature is the principle (*ibtidā'*) of motion, and of rest after motion". Al-Kindī defines the efficient cause thus: "the principle of motion of a thing of which it is the cause". Nature is thus the way that leads to rest (*al-ṭarīḳ ila 'l-sukūn*), and rest coincides with the final state, the realization of actuality or the last fulfilment. It is here a question of natural motion, as Ibn Rushd states, when commenting on the definition of nature: ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις ἡ πρώτη (*alladhī minhu 'l-ḥaraka al-ūlā*), in these words: "the name of nature is applied first to the substance (*djawhar*) that is the form (*ṣūra*) and is the principle of motion in things that are essentially and fundamentally natural" (*Tafsīr*, ii, 514-5).

As in Aristotle, *ḥaraka* is used of local motion (*ḥaraka makāniyya, ayniyya, naḳl*, φορά = change of position, *tabaddul makān*); of increase and decrease (*rubuwwiyya* and *idmiḥlāliyya*, or again *tabaddul makān*, but in so far as the limit of the motion is a coming towards, or a drawing away from, the centre of the being in question; Aristotle (*Phys.* IV, 213b 4) already thought that motion with respect to place could be either a change of position or an increase); of alteration (*ḥaraka istiḥāliyya, tabaddul kayfiyyāt*); and finally of generation and corruption (*al-kawn wa- 'l-fasād, tabaddul djawhar*). These different types of motion can be related to nature: "It is said of the motion of generation and of the motion of growth (*numū*) that they are a type of nature, for they are the way that leads to this nature, that is to say, form, and they are its principle. Form exists in them in an intermediate manner: it is, in motion, between pure potentiality and pure actuality, or again, it is partly potential and partly actual" (Ibn Rushd, *Tafsīr*, ii, 515). Averroes refers to another current definition: motion, in general, is a gradual transition of that which is potential to actuality (*khurūdj mā bi-'l-ḳuwwa ila 'l-fiʿl ʿalā tadrīdj*). Al-Djurdjānī states that "gradual" is added in order to exclude generation (*kawn*) from the definition of motion. *Kawn* here signifies, not generation in time, such as a gestation or a maturation that amount to alterations and changes of form and size, but creation, the act that causes a being to enter instantaneously upon existence. Such is the opinion of Ibn Sīnā; on the subject of the active cause considered metaphysically he writes: "Metaphysicians do not understand by *agent* simply the principle of setting in motion (*mabda' al-taḥrīk*), as do physicists, but the principle that gives existence, as the Creator does to the world. As for the efficient physical cause, it causes to exist only the actual setting in motion, according to one of the types of motion; that is why, in the physical realities, that which gives existence is the principle of motion" (*Shifā'*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*). This distinction is important; cf. Aristotle, *Phys.*, V., 225a 26: "It is impossible for the non-being to be moved. If this is so, generation (leaving non-being) is not a motion ..., nor is corruption (returning to non-being)". On this subject al-Tahānawī writes: "The Moderns have deviated from this definition, since the gradual process is the fact that a thing arrives at one time after another time. Consequently time enters into the definition of motion. Now, time is understood as being the measure (*miḳdār*) of motion, and this necessarily involves a vicious circle... They say then that motion is the first fulfilment (*kamāl*) of that which exists potentially, in so far as it exists potentially (they thus reproduce Aristotle's expression, *Phys.* III, 201 a 11). The explanation is this: when, for example, a body is in one place and it can arrive at another place, it has two possibilities, that of arriving at the second place, and that of directing itself towards it (*tawadjdjuh*). Each time that it is possible for it to arrive there, it receives a (new) fulfilment in arriving. There is, then, perfection in both cases: orientation towards a second place and arrival at that place. But the orientation necessarily precedes the arrival; as long as the orientation exists actually, the arrival exists potentially. The orientation is, then, a first fulfilment for this body, which necessarily exists potentially with respect to its second fulfilment, that is to say, with respect to its arrival". This passage shows that in the definition of time as the "measure" of motion confusion is caused by forgetting that time is not a number that counts but a number that is counted. It is this confusion that causes a vicious circle. Besides, *tawadjdjuh* is not enough; it is potential motion, but not yet a real motion, the actuality of a potentiality. Al-Kindī's *tabaddul*, because of its root meaning and the shade of meaning of the *maṣdar* of the Vth form, more accurately renders the reality.

Precise details of the types of motion are given. Thus it is pointed out that quantitative (*min kam ilā kam ākhar*) motion affects both matter and form, and that rarefaction (*takhalkhul*) and condensation (*takāthuf*), growth (*numū*) and shrinking (*dhubūl*), becoming fat (*siman*) and becoming thin (*huzāl*) must be distinguished. Change of position is distinguished from movement on the spot (*waḍʿiyya*), in the motion of rotation (*ʿala 'l-istidāra*): "each part of the moveable object leaves each one of the parts of its position—in a case where there is a position—, but the whole remains attached to its position. We add "in a case where there is a position", in order to include in the definition of motion the encompassing Sphere (which, properly speaking, has no position)" (al-Tahānawī).

The theory of motion is linked, as it is for the Greeks, with the organization of the *cosmos*. The circular motion of the celestial spheres, the most perfect motion, is eternal because its limit coincides with its origin, and there exists no time outside it; time cannot preexist the motion of the encompassing Sphere. The motion of the spheres determines the various motions in the time of the beings of the sublunary world, in particular that of the elements upwards (*al-ḥaraka al-ṣāʿida*) or downwards (*al-hābiṭa*). The composition of the elements is thus considered as motion: a change in the manner of being of that which is not compound (*al-tarkīb ḥaraka, wa-in lam yakun ḥaraka lam yakun tarkīb*) (al-Kindī).

A distinction is also drawn between essential (*dhātiyya*) motion, which moves a body without the intervention of the motion of another, and accidental

(*ʿaraḍiyya*) motion, like that of a man who is on a ship under way; and between natural motion and forced motion (βία, *al-ḥaraka al-ḳasriyya*), in which the motive force (*al-ḳuwwa al-muḥarrika*) is external to the object moved (*al-mutaḥarrik*); this applies to artificial motions. A being can receive the principle of its motion from another being (*min ghayrihi*: God, Nature), but have it in itself and move with a natural motion. Forced motion occurs when its principle remains external to the body: "When the principle of motion in a body comes from outside (*min khāridj, min ghayrihi*) . . ., that which results from this motion is an artificial (*ṣināʿī*) product of the same type as the art" (*Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, 282). Motion is simple or compound. Simple (*bāsiṭa*) motion is voluntary (*bi-'l-irāda*)—that of the stars, or involuntary—that of physical nature, that is to say, of the elements. Compound (*murakkaba*) motion stems from animal (*al-ḳuwwa al-ḥayawāniyya*) or non-animal force. In the latter case, we have vegetative (*nabātiyya*) motion; in the former, voluntary animal (*irādiyya ḥayawāniyya*) motion, if it is accompanied by conscience (*maʿa shuʿūr*), or imposed (*taskhīriyya*) motion, without conscience, such as the motion of the pulse. "Voluntary motion has a proximate principle, a more distant principle and a most distant principle. The proximate principle is the motive force that is in the muscles of the organs; then comes the consent which gives the faculty of desiring (*al-ḳuwwa al-shawḳiyya*). The most distant is the imagination (*takhayyul*) and the reflexion (*tafakkur*). When a form is sketched in the imagination or the reflexion, the faculty of desiring mobilizes itself to consent to it, and the motive force that is in the limbs puts itself at its service" (*Shifāʾ*, *ibid.*, 284).

As for speed, rapid (*sarīʿa*) motion and slow (*baṭīʾa*) motion are distinguished. "Rapid motion is that which covers a distance equal to another in a time shorter than that in which the other distance is covered; if one assumes the equality of the two motions with respect to the distance covered, the time of the rapid motion is less; if one assumes this equality with respect to the time, the distance covered by the rapid motion is greater" (al-Tahānawī). The cause of speed or slowness is in the hindrance offered by the medium traversed: for example, the resistance of water or air, if it is a question of a natural motion. If it is a question of a forced or a voluntary motion, they are the slower as the body displaced is greater (*akbar*). The initial force is taken into consideration only in the case of unnatural motions, such as the force with which an arrow is shot.

Rest is presented at the limit of motion as a second fulfilment, following the pattern of the immutability proper to that which is perfect. There is also a type of rest closer to the inertia of matter, from which motion is unleashed. This idea is in Ibn Rushd: every agent that acts "goes back to a cause which is the principle of a change (*taghyīr*) following a state of stability (*thabāt*) and rest (*sukūn*); this is what is called motion" (*Tafsīr*, ii, 491). The commentator does not exactly follow Aristotle, who makes of the agent a principle of both change and stopping (*Metaphys.* 1013 a 29 and 1013 b 24). The idea of a rest before motion is clearly expressed by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ. The body is not moveable because of its corporeity (*djismiyya*), even though the Spheres exist only with their motion. The mover of the body is another substance, the soul (i, 228). The act of the universal soul is to impart to them their revolutions (*idārāt*), and to this end to keep at rest (*taskīn*) the individual centre of each of them. The soul is alive by itself. Thus motion is life. In certain bodies it is essential, as in fire; when its motion ceases and it is at rest, it is extinguished. Elsewhere it is accidental, as in water, air and earth, which continue to exist if their motion stops. Motion is a form which the soul puts into the body *after* having given it its shape (*shakl*). Rest is the absence (*ʿadam*) of this form; it is better suited (*awlā*) to the body than motion, since the body has dimensions and cannot be moved in all these directions at once. Its motion in one of these directions suits it no better than motion in another. In itself motion is a spiritual form which penetrates all parts of the body and withdraws from them instantaneously; in the same way light penetrates a translucent body in one instant. But once the motion of the body has penetrated it completely in one instant, it spreads little by little after the fashion of heat.

2.—*Kalām*.—The speculation of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ is akin to that of the *Mutakallimūn* in the questions that it raises. For theologians motion is a proof of the existence of God (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, i, 22). They take *ḥaraka* only in the sense of local motion, the sense of the lexicographers. They define it as the integration of two arrivals (*madjmūʿ al-ḥuṣūlayn*), when a body arrives at a place after having arrived at another. But this is not simple succession, in which one takes each isolated point in the trajectory, one after the other; motion would then be a succession of rests. In reality it is "the double act of being in two different places at two different instants" (*kawnāni fī ānayni fī makānayni*). The force of these duals is important here; it consists not in enumerating two things, but in encompassing two separate terms in the unity that binds them together, that is to say, in their continuity. Most interesting too is this other problem: the point of departure at which the body is at rest and from which it is set in motion partakes at the same time of rest and motion; but then we cannot clearly distinguish between motion and rest; the object at rest, at the time when it is at rest, begins to tend (*shāriʿ*) towards motion. These speculations border on what we call dynamics, continuity and integration of motion. Unfortunately the solution offered is purely verbal and is expressed by rhetorical juggling which cannot be translated: *al-ḥaraka kawn awwal fī makān thānī, wa-'l-sukūn kawn thānī fī makān awwal*, that is to say that motion consists in being in a second place from the first time onwards, and that rest consists in being in the first place of origin at a second time. Be that as it may, this rhetorical form meets as best it can the demands of the dialectic of motion (cf. al-Tahānawī).

Another problem: at the first moment of its creation in becoming (*ḥudūth*), a being is neither in motion nor at rest. The Ashʿarīs think that beings and accidents are renewed at each instant; this leads to the atomicity of time and motion (cf. al-Bāḳillānī). The Muʿtazilīs all admit that rest lasts, that it has duration and is not ceaselessly renewed by an act of immobilization; but they diverge on the question of knowing if the same is true of motion, a question which relates to our modern principle of inertia. If motion has no duration as such, it is a succession of rests, when one believes with Abū Hāshim al-Djubbāʾī that the creation of a substance localizes it, sets it in a determined place in a state of rest. But how can one conceive of a being's being in a place without having arrived there? Creation would then be a motion that culminated in the localization of the being created, except that this motion would be preceded by no localization either in the same place

or in another. But this restriction (*ḥaṣr*), which consists in speaking of a motion or a rest divorced from that which fundamentally defines them, the relation of anteriority and posteriority, leads to denying both motion and rest. Thus Abu 'l-Hu̲d̲h̲ayl postulates, for the first moment when creatures come into being, a situation intermediate (*wāsiṭa*) between motion and rest. It is from similar problems that Leibnitz's metaphysics sprang, in the West, as the foundation of modern dynamics.

3.—*Ḳur'ān and Tafsīr*.—The Ḳur'ān exhibits no uses of *ḥaraka* and *sukūn* that lend themselves to a commentary on the physical reality of motion and rest. The ingenuity of the commentators makes up for this. Thus Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, on XL, 61 ("God has made for you the night that you may rest in it"), writes: "Motions produce fatigue, because they necessarily develop heat and dryness which give rise to a distressing irritation". Furthermore, the great number of motions disperses the animal spirits which participate in sensation, and the acuity of the senses is blunted; from this comes sleep. Everything serves al-Rāzī as an excuse for giving scientific accounts of the motions of the heavens and the beings of this world: the fastening down of the earth by the mountains, the *tasbīḥ* of the stars, the separation of heaven and earth when they emerged from chaos, and in particular the verses in which occurs the verb *sak̲h̲k̲h̲ara*, signifying that God imposes on such and such a being a function to fulfil in creation. Al-Kindī does the same in a *risāla*, in which, while dealing with the prostration of creatures, in connexion with Sūra LV, 6, he makes a study of celestial motions.

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(R. Arnaldez)

ii. — Grammar

A kind of primary datum of experience reveals to the Arab grammarian the existence of the *ḥarf* [*q.v.*] in one of the two states *mutaḥarrik* and *sākin*. When *mutaḥarrik*, the *ḥarf* is followed by one of the three *ḥarakas*; when *sākin*, the *ḥarf* is not followed by a *ḥaraka*; this is *sukūn*, "rest, quiescence". This division *mutaḥarrik-sākin* admits of no exceptions; for this reason *alif*, *wāw*, *yā'* had to be subjected to it, with the following result: *mutaḥarrika* [see ḥurūf al-hid̲j̲ā', production of the *ḥurūf*]; *sākina* (and even *sākina* by nature), *alif*, *wāw*, *yā'* are *al-ḥurūf al-mu'talla* "the weak", the *ḥurūf al-madd*. These *ḥurūf al-madd* signify the utterance of a vocalic element, with the tone *a* for *alif*, the tone *u* for *wāw* and the tone *i* for *yā'*. But in this utterance what is considered is not at all the *quantitative* prolongation but a *quality* of the latter, its continuum.

The *ḥarakas* are not *ḥurūf*, and therefore cannot be affected by the production of the *ḥurūf*, as set out in the article cited above. They are thought functions of the *ḥurūf al-madd*; as Ibn D̲j̲innī explains, "the *ḥarakāt* are a part of the *ḥurūf al-madd wa 'l-līn*, which are *al-alif*, *al-yā'*, *al-wāw*, and just as these *ḥurūf* are three in number, so there are three *ḥarakāt*: the *fatḥa*, the *kasra*, the *ḍamma*. The *fatḥa* is a part of the *alif*, the *kasra* is a part of the *yā'*, the *ḍamma* is a part of the *wāw*" (*Sirr al-ṣinā'a'* i, 19, lines 8-11). But which part? Their beginning' their first part; *al-ḥarakāt awā'il li-ḥurūf al-madd* (*ibid.*, 20, line 14, 27, line 1, 35, line 3). The proof of this is that if a *ḥaraka* is increased by *is̲h̲bā'* it acquires a *madda*, of the same nature as itself, and achieves the dimensions of a complete *ḥarf*, the corresponding *ḥarf al-madd*, so that the *alif* is a *fatḥa mus̲h̲ba'a*, etc. (*ibid.*, 27, lines 1-2). Thus, in view of the relation of the *ḥaraka* to the *ḥarf al-madd*, Ibn D̲j̲innī (19, lines 11-3) considers "little *ḥarf*" as a suitable appellation of the *ḥaraka*; *al-fatḥa* is *al-alif al-ṣag̲h̲īra*, etc.

The *ḥarakas* are deficient by their nature: as regards their content, as we have just seen, they are part of another,as regards their existence they cannot maintain themselves by themselves, but need the support of a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ* or one acting as if it were *ṣaḥīḥ*; and their place on this support, *fi 'l-martaba* "according to rank" (that is, in accordance with the natural order), is "after the *ḥarf*" (*ibid.*, 32-7). But the latter also needs the *ḥaraka* in order to exist. When there is a *ḥaraka* after the *ḥarf*, it is a *ḥarf mutaḥarrik*, it *possesses* its *ḥaraka*; in *iskān* the *ḥarf* is *bereft* of its natural appurtenance. It can manage without this if it can rely on the *ḥaraka* of a preceding *ḥarf mutaḥarrik*. But, without a *ḥaraka* either after or before it (which would be the case of the first consonant in an initial group), *iskān*, for the Arab grammarians, is inconceivable in the Arabic language. Thus there is a necessary association between *ḥarf* and *ḥaraka*. Thus the *ḥarf* continues to be conceived within syllabism. This may be called "implicit syllabism" (as in the case of the Canaanite alphabet), in contrast to the "explicit syllabism" of Akkadian cuneiform and the Ethiopic script.

The dipththong exists in Arabic: *aw* and *ay* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 7), but it has no name in Arabic grammatical nomenclature, extensive though this is. Nowhere else is it discussed. Now in Arab phonetical theory it comes in here quite naturally, as Ibn D̲j̲innī shows (*ibid.*, 21-30), that is, in the manner in which the *ḥurūf sākina*, *alif*, *wāw*, *yā'*, may come after a *ḥaraka*. Every *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ*, whether *mutaḥarrik* or *sākin* (including *wāw mutaḥarrika* and *yā' mutaḥarrika*), can come after any *ḥaraka*. But it is not so with these three *ḥurūf sākina*. There are impossible cases: these are *alif* after *kasra* or *ḍamma*, that is *ia*, *ua*. There are cases of difficulty or repugnance which demand a corrective; these are *wāw* after *kasra* or *yā'* after *ḍamma*, that is *iu*, *ui*; in the first case the *wāw* is made by *ḳalb* into *yā'*, and in the second, the *ya* is made by *ḳalb* into *wāw*,that is, *iu* > *ī*, as in *mīzān*, and *ui* > *ū*, as in *mūḳin*. But *wāw* or *yā'* after *fatḥa* presents no difficulty for the language. This is the case of the diphthongs *aw* and *ay*, which ought to have deserved special attention, but, from the Arab viewpoint, it was simply that *wāw* and *yā'* came after *fatḥa* and remained unchanged—though this was in contradiction with the theory of the *ḥaraka* as a part of the *ḥarf al-madd*, its *awā'il*, which announces and requires its completion, and Ibn D̲j̲innī's efforts were directed to demonstrating that this theory held good. Some authors reserved the name of *ḥarf al-līn* for the *ḥarf al-madd* in this position; but this has remained a special usage.

The name *ḥaraka* cannot be disassociated from its sub-divisions, *fatḥa*, *kasra*, *ḍamma*. These latter terms are purely Arabic, and have some relation to the physiology of the mouth during the emission of the sounds to which they refer, notwithstanding the legendary part in their creation attributed to Abu

'l-Aswad al-Du'alī (al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn*, 16, lines 8-10). As regards the term *ḥaraka* "movement", *i.e.*, the movement of the articulatory organs, obtained through a certain connected sound to which the term was transferred, a very simple observation might have led to the idea; and this would naturally lead to its opposite *sukūn*, "rest, quiescence". In our view, all these terms, *ḥaraka*, *sukūn*, *fatḥa*, *kasra*, *ḍamma*, represent an Arab creation, expressing one of the first insights of the Arabs as they pondered over their language. Thus they soon spread in the grammatical science of the Arabs and there is no need to seek the origin of the concept of *ḥaraka* in the philosophy and the musical science of the Greeks, as M. Bravmann seeks to do (*Materialien*, 12).

The signs representing the *ḥaraka*s and the *sukūn* belong to the supplementary elements added to the Ḳur'ānic script without affecting the ductus of the word, and constitute what is known as the *scriptio plena* (R. Blachère, *Introduction*², 79, 92-102). To denote the *ḥaraka*s a dot was used at first, above the *ḥarf* for *fatḥa*, below for *kasra*, and in the middle to the left for *ḍamma*, with two points in the case of *tanwīn*, not in black like the ductus of the word, but coloured, usually red, in order to distinguish them and to change nothing of the true body of the word (al-Dānī, *K. al-Nuḳaṭ*, 134, line 1). R. Blachère (*ibid.*, 95-6) describes this insertion of vowel-points, in which at first only the vowels of *iʿrāb* were indicated, the vowels of inflexion, which were especially important since they determined the function of the word in the sentence. He says nothing about *sukūn*. As al-Dānī reports (*ibid.*, 137, lines 5-7) it was first marked by a little red horizontal line (*djarra*) above the *ḥarf*. Other signs were subsequently employed before the current little circle came into use (see Wright, *Ar.Gr.*³, i, 13C).

A particular case of *sukūn* is the *djazm*, quiescence of the final *ḥarf* of the *muḍāriʿ*, which is then *al-madjzūm*, the apocopated.

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(H. FLEISCH)

HARAM (plur. *ahrām*, *ahrāmāt*, and in the popular dialect of Egypt, *ihrām*, the latter also used as a singular), a word of doubtful origin = pyramid. In Muslim literature, although the pyramids of Saḳḳāra (*al-haram, al-mudarradj*) as well as those of Abūṣīr, Dahshūr, Maydūm, etc., are well known, the *ahrām* are pre-eminently the pyramids of Cheops and Chephren, or sometimes also of Mycerinos, west of Djīza (Giza). They have been mentioned and described times without number by the geographers, but as a rule their accounts have little value as original documents. The most important sources are collected in al-Maḳrīzī's chapter on pyramids. In these we find it repeatedly stated that the ʿAbbāsid al-Ma'mūn was the first to try to have the Great Pyramid opened, which was done only after incredible trouble. But in spite of the detailed accounts on this point, it is improbable for reasons already set forth by De Sacy that this Caliph could have undertaken this task himself, especially when we remember how brief his stay in Egypt was. We also know that the pyramids had already been broken into in ancient times. Nevertheless, it may be presumed that it was about that time that further progress into the interior of the Pyramid of Cheops was made for the first time in the Muslim period and that the tomb-chamber, of which we have numerous more or less clear accounts, was gradually reached. The belief generally current that rich treasures were concealed there was no doubt a stimulus to this work. In later times we learn of an unsuccessful attempt by al-Malik al-ʿAzīz to destroy the Little Pyramid (593/1196-7). Ḳarāḳūsh had previously by Saladin's orders removed a series of the smaller pyramids of Djīza to use the stone to build walls and bridges at Djīza (cf. also *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 151). Furthermore, in all the stories about these colossal erections, whose original significance was the object of the most fantastic speculations, the kernel of fact is enveloped in fairy-tales such as are associated with no other ancient monuments in Egypt. Some of them even go back to Herodotus, like the story of the woman, the spirit of the pyramid of Mycerinos, who destroys the reason of any one approaching it by her beauty and her smile; this is apparently a survival of the story of Rhodopis, the traditional builder of this pyramid (Wiedemann, 485 ff.). Herodotus likewise already mentions subterranean canals connecting the Nile and the pyramids (*ibid.*, 466). In other cases, as Maspero has shown, distinct recollections of Old Egyptian ideas have survived; for example, in the description of the guardians of the western and eastern pyramids, there is reflected the impression made on later ages by the monuments of the period of the Pharaohs. But it is legends from the sphere of Coptic-gnostic ideas that have become most strongly associated with these buildings. The two great pyramids there became the tombs of the prophets Hermes and Agathodaemon, and with this was combined the tradition that they were built to conceal treasures and prevent the wisdom of the first generations of mankind from being destroyed by the inundation of the deluge prophesied by the astrologers. Another tradition is that which is associated with the legendary figure of Shaddād b. ʿĀd [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: The main Arabic sources as well as modern literature are quoted in E. Graefe, *Das Pyramidenkapitel in al-Maḳrīzī's Ḫiṭaṭ*, 1911 (cf. the new edition by G. Wiet), and in G. Wiet's introduction to his new edition of Vattier, *L'Égypte de Murtadi, fils du Gaphiphe*, 1953, 80 f.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 80 f. (tr. Gibb, i, 1958, 51-2); J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, 1926, 61 f.; M. Plessner, in *Stud. Isl.*, ii (1954), 45-60; De Sacy, *Observations sur l'origine du nom donné par les Grecs et les Arabes aux Pyramides d'Aegypte*, in *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 1801, vi, 456-503; Wiedemann, *Herodot's zweites Buch*, *passim*; Ebers, *Ägyptische Studien*, 153 f., where further literature is given; Vollers, in *ZDMG*, 1 (1847), 654; Carra de Vaux, *L'Abrégé des Merveilles* (= Ps.-Masʿūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān*, 1938), and Maspéro's researches on it in *Journal des Savants*, 1899, 99 f., 154 f.; cf. the latter's *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, i; Berthelot, *Les merveilles de l'Égypte et les savants Alexandrins*, *ibid.*, 242 f., 271 f.; von Bissing, *Der Bericht des Diodor über die Pyramiden*; Baedeker's *Egypt*.

(E. GRAEFE-[M. PLESSNER])

ḤARĀM [see SHARĪʿA].

AL-ḤARAM AL-SHARĪF, "the Noble Sanctuary",

after Mecca and Medina the acknowledged third holiest Muslim sanctuary, is located in the south-eastern part of the present Old (*i.e.*, walled) City of Jerusalem. An understanding of the history and significance of the Ḥaram has been complicated by two factors: first, the contrast between an extreme paucity of early sources (written or archaeological) and a systematized explanation of the Ḥaram's significance in the *faḍāʾil* or holy guidebooks of the late Mamlūk period; and, second, the lack of any complete archaeological survey of the area (with the single exception of *al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā* [*q.v.*]) coupled with centuries of reconstructions and repairs which have often obliterated the original character and purpose of many buildings. In addition, as we shall try to show, the very concept of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf developed slowly over the centuries, as the character of the city of Jerusalem changed. Because of these limitations, a full account of the history and of the problems of the Ḥaram as a whole can best be given in connexion with the development of the whole city (al-Ḳuds [*q.v.*]). We limit ourselves here to a brief description of its more salient features and to a definition of the problems which are peculiar to it alone.

As it is visible to-day the Ḥaram is a large trapezoidal platform (southern end: 281 metres; northern end: 310 metres; eastern end: 462 metres; western end: 491 metres), whose eastern border and parts of the southern one coincide with the walls of the present city. Its size remained constant throughout the Muslim Middle Ages, since an inscription to that effect (Max van Berchem, no. 163, with important commentaries) still exists and was seen as early as the 4th/10th century. This platform is totally artificial; its northern side was cut out of the natural rock, while its southern end was raised over rocks and valleys, including, in the southeastern corner, the Tyropaeon valley, now 28.50 metres below the surface. The underground parts of the Ḥaram include 37 cisterns and, at the southern end, a vast complex known as Solomon's Stables consisting of vaults on thick piers and the so-called Double Gate just under the Aḳṣā mosque. Although much repaired and restored by the Romans, throughout the Middle Ages, and in the modern period, this platform can be assumed to have been a Herodian creation for the Jewish Temple. While this seems clear for the size of the platform, it is less so for its present level above the ground. The ruined state of the Temple area at the time of the Muslim conquest is attested by the more or less legendary accounts of ʿUmar's visit, by Christian sources, and by the character of the outer masonry of the walls. It would follow that the existing pavements and in general the surface planning of the Ḥaram were for the most part Muslim creations.

The Ḥaram is to-day surrounded with walls on its southern and eastern ends. These are Ayyūbid, Mamlūk, and Ottoman. From the evidence of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and of Eutychius it appears that sizeable walls were erected in Fāṭimid times. Earlier walls existed, as we know from inscriptions and from al-Muḳaddasī, but they do not seem to have been as spectacular. Walls existed also on the western side, but the growth of the city over the Tyropaeon valley after the Crusades has all but obliterated their traces (one exception being the Herodian Wailing Wall) and replaced them with façades of various religious and secular buildings.

A series of gates led from the Ḥaram to the outside. To-day there are 15 of them: East: Golden Gate (now blocked); South: Single, Double, and Triple Gates; West: *bāb* al-Mughāriba (on top of an older gate known as *bāb* al-Nabī), *bāb* al-Silsila, *bāb* al-Mutawaḍḍā, *bāb* al-Ḳaṭṭānīn, *bāb* al-Ḥadīd, *bāb* al-Nāẓir, *bāb* al-Sarāy, *bāb* al-Ghawānima; North: *bāb* al-ʿAṭm, *bāb* Ḥiṭṭa, *bāb* Asbāṭ. With the exception of *bāb* al-Sarāy, this list is already found in Mudjīr al-Dīn in the 9th/15th century and can be assumed to represent the last stage of major developments on the Ḥaram, *i.e.*, the Mamlūk period. For earlier times, especially before the Crusades, the question of the gates is far more complex and has been the subject of numerous controversies (summary and bibliography in O. Grabar, *A new inscription from the Ḥaram*, in *Studies . . . in honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell*, London 1965). All problems concerning the gates have not yet been solved but the following points can be justified. First, from the Mamlūk period onwards, only northern and western gates were open, but in Fāṭimid times southern ones were still used and both these and the Golden Gate to the East were built in their present shape in Umayyad times, although based on Herodian plans. Second, as the character and shape of the city changed, emphases on more or less significant gates shifted as well, but certain names of gates (Ḥiṭṭa, Nabī, Asbāṭ, etc.) had acquired a permanent religious value and shifted from one place to the other. Third, while all early gates were entrances *to* the Ḥaram, some of the later ones (*bāb* al-Ḳaṭṭānīn, for instance) were entrances *from* the Ḥaram to institutions which bordered it.

Approximately in its centre the Ḥaram is provided with a smaller platform reached by eight sets of stairs; on it are found the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*] and a number of smaller sanctuaries. This second platform was almost certainly a Muslim creation, but its peculiarly asymmetrical character suggests that older buildings or ruins influenced the size and location of the Muslim work.

A large number of sanctuaries are found on the Ḥaram. The most important ones are the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra and the Aḳṣā mosque, whose architectural history and religious significance have been fairly well established. Other sanctuaries still await proper study and it may suffice to mention their purposes. A first group comprises monuments attached to the events surrounding the Ascension of the Prophet: dome of the Ascension (*miʿrādj*, [*q.v.*]), place of Burāḳ [*q.v.*], etc. A second group commemorates Prophets whose lives were associated with Jerusalem: Abraham, Joseph, Jacob, Jesus. Finally there is a number of *minbars*, *miḥrābs*, *dikkas* for prayer, and fountains, most of which illustrate the characteristically Mamlūk concern for small constructions dedicated to precise religious functions. Many of these are now disused, but some, like the fountain of Ḳāytbāy, are exquisite works of art.

There is no doubt that all these sanctuaries did not appear at one time. If we are better informed on the later ones, the reason is that so many memories and monuments were obliterated during the Crusades. For earlier times we possess only lists (Ibn al-Faḳīh, al-Muḳaddasī, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih) of monuments. It seems, however, that the growth of individual small sanctuaries on the Ḥaram took several centuries and that it was not before the Fāṭimid period that the whole area had acquired its full complement of religious associations and of monumental expressions of these associations. The reasons for this are to be found primarily in the peculiarities of the history of Muslim Jerusalem. The former Temple area became first of all the site of the Muslim congregational

mosque in the city, then that of the monumental Dome of the Rock expressing Umayyad power and ambitions, and only later a complete ensemble with precise religious meanings and with an attempt at architectural organization. It is the accidental inheritance by the Muslims of such a vast area and precise developments in the history of the Muslim faith that made it a unique sanctuary; it was not, as in Mecca, a pre-established body of beliefs and practices which so transformed it, nor as in Medina, the desire to commemorate the earliest years of the faith. Mediaeval Muslims themselves seem to have been conscious of the anomalous position of the Ḥaram. In early centuries it was called *al-masdjid al-ḥarām*, "the sacred mosque", or *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā*, "the farthest mosque", the first term being canonical for Mecca only, the second one being more precisely the name of the congregational mosque of Jerusalem. Still in the 8th/14th century the term *al-ḥaram al-sharīf* was not considered proper and it would seem to have been imposed in Ottoman times by popular usage rather than by full agreement on the unified holiness of the area. Still to-day a confusion exists between the Ḥaram area as merely the "mosque" of the city of Jerusalem and the Ḥaram as the unique place of a number of holy events. In spite of these confusions and of the complicated history of the area, the depth of its religious and symbolic significance is proved by the vast literature which grew around it and by the facts that it contains the first masterpiece of Islamic architecture and that princes and laymen over many centuries lavished money and efforts on its beautification.

Bibliography: A full bibliography will be found in the articles AL-ḲUDS and ḲUBBAT AL-ṢAKHRA. In addition to references in the text, the most important guides to the problems of the Ḥaram are Mudjīr al-Dīn, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḳuds wa 'l-Khalīl*, 2 vols., Cairo 1283 (partial translation by H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, Paris 1876), and the second volume of Max van Berchem's *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*: *Jérusalem*, Cairo 1925.

(O. GRABAR)

AL-ḤARAMAYN, the two holy places, usually referring to Mecca and Medina, occasionally, in both Mamlūk and Ottoman usage, to Jerusalem and Hebron [see AL-ḤARAM AL-SHARĪF, AL-KHALĪL, AL-ḲUDS, AL-MADĪNA, MAKKA. On the title Servant (or Protector) of the two holy places see KHĀDIM AL-ḤARAMAYN]. The following article deals with the administration of Ottoman *waḳf*s in favour of the Holy Places.

Such *waḳf*s were established from early times by the Ottoman Sultans and by members of their household and court, and in the 9th/15th century were already administered by special departments. The oldest of these appears to be the *Ewḳāf-i ḥaremeyn muḳāṭaʿadjilighi*, the records of which, preserved in the state archives [see BAŞVEKÂLET ARŞIVI], run from 884/1479 to 1280/1863-4. This was followed by the *Ewḳāf-i ḥaremeyn muḥāsebedjiliği*, with records from 905/1499-50 to 1255/1839-40. Its original purpose was apparently to deal with those revenues—a much smaller group—received directly instead of by *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*], but its functions were later greatly extended.

Probably as a result of the practice by ladies and princes of the Household of appointing the Chief Eunuch as administrator of the *waḳf*s they established for the Holy Places, he acquired control of a group of pious *waḳf*s. During the reign of Murād III, with the rise in influence of the black at the expense of the white eunuchs, this control passed from the Chief White Eunuch to the Chief Black Eunuch, the *Kîzlar Aghasî* [*q.v.*]. In Muḥarram 995/December 1586, according to the historian of the Ministry of *Waḳf*s, a decree of the Sultan appointed the *Kîzlar Aghasî* Ḥabeshī Meḥmed Agha superintendan (*nāẓir*) of the *waḳf*s in favour of the *ḥaramayn*, thus establishing a system which, with some changes, lasted until the 19th century. Two other functionaries, under the *Kîzlar Aghasî*, dealt with these *waḳf*s. They were 1) his chief secretary (*yazîdjî* [*q.v.*]), 2) an inspector (*müfettish* [*q.v.*]). The first such inspector, Amasyalî Meḥmed Efendi, known as Memek Čelebi (d. 1009/1600-1; cf. ʿAṭāʾī, *Dheyl*, ii, 448, who calls him Memekzāde, and remarks that his relationship with the *Kîzlar Aghasî* brought him great wealth and influence) was appointed in Muḥarram 995, at the same time as the transfer of these *waḳf*s to the *Kîzlar Aghasî* (*Taʾrīkhče*, 16).

The *Kîzlar Aghasî*'s jurisdiction in matters of *waḳf* was in time greatly extended. In Ramaḍān 1006/May 1598 a number of *waḳf*s established for imperial mosques in Istanbul were, because of peculation and maladministration, placed under his authority (Uzunçarşılı, 178). Others in the capital and provinces followed, and the *Kîzlar Aghasî* thus came to control a great mass of *waḳf*s all over the Empire—an important source of power and profit. Though the two main accounting departments still bore the name of *ḥaramayn*, they came to deal with many other *waḳf*s established for mosques and other pious purposes and, consequently, with the pay and appointment of mosque functionaries, as well as with transfers, appointments, dismissals, promotions etc. directly dependent on the *ḥaramayn* departments. *Waḳf*s called 'of the *ḥaramayn*', enjoying fiscal privileges, are found all over the Empire (as for example in Hungary, L. Fekete, *Die Siyāḳat-Schrift*, i, Buda-Pest 1955, 74, 100, 755 ff., and in Palestine, U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine* . ., Oxford 1960, 145). The revenues came to a separate treasury in the palace, known as the *ḥaremeyn dolabî*. The *Kîzlar Aghasî* held a weekly *dīwān*, at which the affairs of the *waḳf*s under his control were examined, with the benefices and offices supported by them. In the late 18th century, according to d'Ohsson, the *Ḥaremeyn muḥāsebesi ḳalemi* dealt with all the imperial mosques, as also all those of the capital and the European provinces, the *Ḥaremeyn muḳāṭaʿasî ḳalemi* with *waḳf*s in all the provinces of Asia and Africa (*Tableau*, ii, 528). According to Hammer (*Staatsverfassung*, ii, 150, 160), the *muḥāsebe* issued nomination certificates for religious functionaries in the capital and European provinces, the *muḳāṭaʿa* for Anatolia (cf. Gibb-Bowen i/1, 76-7, 131-2, i/2, 92, 97, 171, 176). During the reigns of Muṣṭafā III and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I attempts were made to remove these *waḳf*s from the control of the *Kîzlar Aghasî*, who was, however, able to recover them (d'Ohsson, ii, 535 ff.; *Taʾrīkhče*, 21 ff.). He finally lost them in the course of the reforms of the eighteen twenties and thirties, when they were entrusted to a newly created special department, which was merged into the Ministry of *Waḳf* in 1836.

(See further KHAZĪNE; KÎZLAR AGHASÎ; WAḲF, Ottoman. On the sending of funds and gifts to the holy places see ṢURRA).

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(B. LEWIS)

HARAR, capital of Ethiopia's largest province, an important commercial centre, and one of the main Muslim cities in East Africa. Since the governorship of Ras Makonnen, Emperor Hayla Sellassie's father, Harar has played an increasingly important part in the life of Eastern Ethiopia and is at present the seat of the Imperial Military Academy and an agricultural college. Its famous market, favourable climate (with an annual mean temperature of 20° C), and turbulent history, together with its picturesque setting as a mediaeval walled city, have made Harar one of the principal tourist attractions of modern Ethiopia. Its cosmopolitan population, estimated at some 60,000, consists of Gallas, Somalis, Monophysite Amharas, Levantines, and Europeans, but somewhat less than half can be described as genuine Hararis and speakers of the indigenous Semitic language. The principal name associated with the study of the history, Islamization, and language of Harar is that of Enrico Cerulli.

The history of Harar is very largely identical with that of Islam in Ethiopia in general and has as such been discussed under AL-ḤABASH.

At a later period the Walasma sultans transferred their capital to Harar, possibly to extricate themselves from the pressure exerted by their generals who drew support from the Danākil [see DANKALĪ] and Somalis [*q.v.*]. Chief among those forceful military commanders was Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm (nicknamed Grañ [see AḤMAD GRAÑ] 'the lefthanded'), who soon became the effective master of all the newly conquered Muslim possessions in Ethiopia and assumed the title of Imām. In the middle of the 11th/17th century a new Muslim state was established as the independent Emirate of Harar which continued until Menelik's conquests at the end of the 19th century when, in 1887, Harar was incorporated in the Christian Ethiopian Empire.

The Ḳādiriyya is the foremost Islamic order in East Africa and is particularly strong in the Harar region. In *madhhab*, the people of Harar belong overwhelmingly to the Shāfiʿite rite.

Harari (or Adareñña) is the Semitic language spoken in the town of Harar.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie*, 1897; R. Burton, *First footsteps in East Africa or an exploration of Harar*, 1856; E. Cerulli, *La lingua e la storia di Harar* (*Studi Etiopici*, vol. i), 1936: W. Leslau, *The Verb in Harari*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1958; idem, *Etymological dictionary of Harari*, 1963; idem, *Ethiopians speak; studies in cultural background*, i, *Harari*, 1965; C. Mondon-Vidailhet, *La langue Harari et les dialectes éthiopiens du Gouraghê*, 1902; P. Paulitschke, *Die geographische Erforschung der Adal-Länder und Harar's*, 1884; R. Società Geogr. Italiana, *L'Africa Orientale* (index: Harrar), 1936; *Guida dell'Africa Orientale*, 1938, 442 ff.; S. P. Pétridès, *Le héros d'Adoua, Ras Makonnen*, 1963; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 1952.

(E. ULLENDORFF)

ḤARAS [see ḲAṢR].

AL-ḤARĀSĪS (Ḥarsūsī; in their own speech: Ḥarsḗh (Ḥarsáy)) a bilingual, nomadic Arabian tribe of 400 or fewer arms-bearing males, Shāfiʿī Sunnīs in religion and Hināwīs in regional political faction; identified as to *dīra* with the barren steppe called Djiddat al-Ḥarāsīs—below the south-east corner of *al-Rimāl*, "The Sands" (al-Rubʿ al-Khālī [*q.v.*])—but usually ranging in the area of seaward-trending, forage-filled *wādīs* towards the coasts of al-Baṭāḥira and the southern al-Djanaba [*qq.v.*]. Their eponymous tribal area, called by them and by al-Mahra [*q.v.*] simply *a-Giddét*, extends east-north-east and east from the (inland) terminal basins of Wādī Muḳshin and Wādī ʿĀra [*qq.v.*]—the latter in Ḥarsūsī and Mahrī: ḥa-Wōdī dhŌreh—to Sayḥ al-Uḥaymir (a smaller portion of the south-east Arabian steppe desert) and the rough north-south strip of al-Ḥuḳf or al-Ḥiḳf. From Ramlat al-Saḥma (a marginal district of "The Sands") it extends south across the small, land-locked drainage of a-Ṣighōt and its terminal sand-district, a-Baṭḥāt, to the group of *wādīs* which, through Sāḥil al-Djāzir, enter Ghubbat Ṣawḳirah of the Arabian Sea. (Of these the chief, north-east to south-west, are: Haytām (Hītōm), Arōnib, Ghadān (or the eastern Ghadūn), Wōṭif, and south of al-Djāzir, ʿAynína—the upper portion of which, among multilingual southern Arabs, goes under variations, some of them with *ḥa-*, of the Djunaybī (and Baṭḥarī) toponym ha-Rikāt, "the rāk (arāk) tree").

The Ḥarsūsī country is touched to the north-east by a motor track from east coastal Raʾs al-Daḳm, and is crossed from south-west to north-east by a motor track from southern coastal Salāla [*q.v.*]; Mahrī, etc.: Ṯsalōlet; but Shaḥrī-Ḳarāwī: Ṯsalúlt), the two joining and continuing north through the *sayḥ* or steppe of al-Durūʿ to ʿIbrī and al-Buraymī [*qq.v.*]. Without a single permanent water source (except potential *ḳalamas* drilled and usually capped by oil explorers), al-Ḥarāsīs at times, even in summer, pasture their animals without watering, while themselves subsisting on milk (*djazaʾa*, *yadjzaʾu*; see AL-DAHNĀʾ).

Bertram Thomas (*Alarms and excursions*—note typographical error on p. 283: "Hasaris") was much attracted by the intelligence and friendly spirit of those from the tribe who aided him as guides and linguistic informants. To this association is owed the first Western study of Ḥarsūsī speech. Like the other southern tribal tongues from old South Semitic which have long outlived the related Ancient South Arabian, this one deserves further investigation. For the oft-occurring *bāl* of Mahrī and Ḥarsūsī (= Ar. *baʿl*, "lord or owner of; having, characterized by, located at or near") Ḥarsūsī has also a variant *bōl*. (*Cf.* Baṭḥarī: *baʿal*, with *ʿayn*, and Shaḥrī-Ḳarāwī: *baʾl*, with reduction to *hamza* (beside occas. Shaḥrī-Ḳarāwī *bāl*). For fem., Ar. *baʿla*, Ḥarsūsī and Mahrī have *bālit*, contra Baṭḥari *baʿlet*, Shaḥrī-Ḳarāwī *baʾlit*. For Ar. *ilāhī* (*rabbī*), Ḥarsūsī has *a-belī*, contra Mahrī *a-bālī*, both doubly determined by definite article and by possessive pronoun.

Ḥarsūsī, with considerable speech variation between individuals, appears to be more deeply influenced by Arabic than the others of the "four strange tongues" of the tribes *down-country* (from ʿUmān)—which is what Ḥadara, with *ḥ*, means, having despite Thomas nothing to do with Hadoram, with *h*, of Genesis, x, 27. Yet Ḥarsūsī staunchly retains many old and interesting vocables, which at the same time make it, if it be only a branch of Mahrī, a quite distinctive one.

The tribe has these main sections (names in Arabic): (1) Bayt ʿAksīt, (2) Bayt Muṭayra, (3) Bayt ʿAfarrī, (4) Bayt Ḳadharān, and (5) Bayt Barḥāh, besides, as one of the largest groups, Bayt Shaʿla, which is either a section or a subsection of (1) or of (2). The shaykhly authority rests in (1), the principal leader (Ḥarsūsī *muḳaddam*, pl. *muḳad-(d)amat*) in 1962 being Sharḳī b. ʿAks (Ḥarsūsī

ʿakis and ʾakis). The second in rank is Sh. Sālim b. Huwayla of (2), which was formerly the shaykhly clan.

Bibliography: See that of the art. AL-BAṬĀḤIRA. Also: B. Thomas, *Alarms and excursions in Arabia*, London and Indianapolis 1931; Samuel B. Miles, *The countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, London 1919; Maria Höfner, *Die lebenden südarabischen Mundarten*, in *Handb. d. Orientalistik*, ed. Spuler, iii, *Semitistik*, pts. 2 and 3, 331-41, Leiden 1954; Wilfred P. Thesiger, *Arabian sands*, London 1960 (from his exploration accounts, mainly in *GJ*, London 1946-50); Arabian American Oil Company, *Oman and the southern shore of the Persian Gulf*, Cairo 1952 (in Engl. and Arabic); Charles D. Matthews, papers on southern non-Arabic and mixed place names in Proceedings of Int. Cong. Or., Munich, 1957, and Moscow, 1960, and in *MEJ*, xiii/2, 1959 (in Readers' Commentary), and monograph (in preparation), *The southern borderlands of the Arabian Empty Quarter*.

Maps: Bartholomew's "Southern Arabia" (Pl. 33) in *The Times Atlas of the World, Mid-Century Edition*, ii (1960) (this excellent map has among some defects the erroneous correction of Sayḥ al-Uḥaymir to conform with unimportant "Haima"—near, to the south-west—which, however, should have been Hadjma or Hadjlat Hadjma); "The Arabian peninsula", 2nd edn., 1962, of a 1:2,000,000 map (1st edn., 1958) in a series by the U.S. Geological Survey and Arabian American Oil Company (this sheet separate in Eng. and in Ar.). Area maps are to be published in an official British series. (C. D. MATTHEWS)

HARĀT (HERĀT), a city and district on the Harī Rūd in western Afghānistān, altitude: 3,030 feet, 34° 22′ N., 62° 9′ E. Among the forms of the name preserved in Arabic and Persian literature we find Harā, Harāh and older Harē from Harēv. Armenian has Hrev.

The city is mentioned in the Old Persian inscriptions (Haraiva), in the Avesta, and in Greek as Ἀρία or Ἀρεία. Alexander the Great built a city here called Alexandria in Aria. Other towns on the Harī Rūd are mentioned by Ptolemy, Isidore of Charax, and others, an indication of the fertility of the river valley. In the trilingual inscription of Shapūr I at Nakṣh-i Rustām the province of Harāt is called in Parthian *ḥryw* (line 2) and in Greek PHN (the Middle Persian form is illegible). The Middle Persian form of the name Harēv later became Harē. In the Pahlavi list of the cities of Īrānshahr (see Markwart, below) we find the name written *ḥrʾy* to which the Arabs added a feminine ending. Under the Sāsānids Harāt was an important military centre on the frontier against the Hephthalites, although at times it was under Hephthalite rule [see HAYĀṬILA].

The Arab army under al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays in its conquest of Khurāsān in 31/652 seems to have avoided Harāt, but we may assume that the city submitted to the Arabs, since shortly afterwards an Arab governor is mentioned there. Nothing is known of events in Harāt during the civil war and under the early Umayyad Caliphate, but apparently Harāt revolted and was reconquered in 41/661. In 83/702 Yazīd b. al-Muhallab defeated certain Arab rebels, followers of Ibn al-Ashʿath, and forced them out of Harāt. The city was the scene of conflicts between different groups of Muslims and Arab tribes in the disorders leading to the establishment of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate. Harāt was also a centre of the followers of Ustādhsīs [*q.v.*.]

Harāt was a great trading centre strategically located on trade routes from the Mediterranean Sea to India or to China. The city was noted for its textiles during the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, according to many references in the geographers. Harāt also had many learned sons as one may see in al-Samʿānī s.v. al-Harawī. The city is described by al-Iṣṭakhrī (263), and Ibn Ḥawḳal (437) as having four gates, a strong inner citadel and extensive suburbs. There is much information in the Arabic and Persian geographers about the city in the 4th/10th century. According to the account of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (152) Harāt flourished especially under the Ghūrid dynasty in the 6th/12th century. The great mosque of Harāt was built by Ghiyāth al-Dīn the Ghūrid in 598/1201. During the Ghaznawid and early Ghūrid periods of the 5th/11th century the heretical sect of the Karāmiyya was strong in Harāt, but Ghiyāth al-Dīn, after first supporting them, later turned to the Shāfiʿī rite of Sunnism.

Harāt was captured by the Mongols in 618/1221 and the pillage and slaughter is described by Sayf al-Harawī (66-72, see *bibl.*). The city was destroyed a second time and remained in ruins from 619/1222 to about 634/1236, but people returned to the city, including some who had been captured by the Mongols, and much of the city was rebuilt. In 642/1244 a local prince Shams al-Dīn Kurt (or Kart) was named ruler of Harāt by the Mongol governor of Khurāsān and in 653/1255 he was confirmed in his rule by the founder of the Il-Khān dynasty Hülegü. Shams al-Dīn founded a new dynasty and his successors, especially Fakhr al-Dīn and Ghiyāth al-Dīn, built many mosques and other buildings. The members of this dynasty were great patrons of literature and the arts. The history of the dynasty is given by Spuler (below).

Tīmūr took Harāt in 782/1380 and he brought the Kurt dynasty to an end a few years later, but the city reached its greatest glory under the Tīmūrid princes, especially Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara [*q.v.*] who ruled Harāt from 874/1469 to 912/1506. His chief minister, the poet and author in Persian and Turkish, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] was a great builder and patron of the arts. The present Muṣallā area, and many buildings such as the *madrasa* of Gawharshād, ʿAlī Shīr *maḥāl*, many gardens, and others, date from this time (see Togan, below).

The village of Gāzirgāh, over two km northeast of Harāt, contained a shrine which was enlarged and embellished under the Tīmūrids. The tomb of the poet and mystic Khʷādja ʿAbd ʿAllāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1088), was first rebuilt by Shāh Rukh about 829/1425, and other famous men were buried in the shrine area.

In 913/1507 Harāt was occupied by the Özbeks but after much fighting the city was taken by Shāh Ismaʿīl in 916/1510 and the Shāmlū Turkomans assumed the governorship of the area. At the death of Shāh Ismaʿīl the Özbeks again took Harāt and held it until Shāh Ṭahmāsp retook it in 934/1528. Several times later for brief periods the Özbeks held the city but the Ṣafawids ruled it most of the time until the revolt of the ʿAbdālī Afghāns in 1128/1716. Several Ṣafawid expeditions to retake the city failed, and the Afghāns remained in possession of the city until 1142/1729 when they submitted to Nādir Shāh. Another revolt of the Afghāns was suppressed by Nādir Shāh in 1732. In 1160/1747 the nephew of Nādir Shāh, one ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān, revolted in Harāt but after Nādir's death in that year Harāt fell under Afghān rule.

In 1837 the Persians laid siege to Harāt but failed to take it. In 1856 they captured the city but were forced to evacuate it the next year as a result of a peace treaty in Paris between Great Britain and Persia. Since that time the city has been part of Afghānistān, the capital of a province.

The histories of Harāt, both those preserved and those lost, are listed in Sayf al-Harawī (pp. vii-x; see below) and in Togan (442, *Bibliografya*). The present city has a population of ca. 100,000. The climate is mild, and in summer there is a west wind of "one hundred and twenty days".

Bibliography: On the pre-Islamic city see J. Markwart, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 11 and 46.

General histories are by Sayf al-Harawī, *The Ta'rīkh Nāma-i-Harāt*, ed. M. aṣ-Ṣiddīqī, Calcutta 1944; Muʿīn al-Dīn al-Zamčī al-Iṣfizārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt fi awṣāf madīnat Harāt*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, Tehrān 1959. For Harāt under the Kurt dynasty see B. Spuler, *Mongolen*², 155-161. The Tīmūrid age in Harāt is described by W. Barthold, *Herat unter Ḥusein Baiqara*, trans. by W. Hinz (Leipzig 1938); Eng. tr. by V. and T. Minorsky in *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, iii, Leiden 1962, 1-72. For a plan of the city in Tīmūrid times with photos of buildings see Z. V. Togan's article, Herat, in *IA*. For a description of the city and surroundings in the 9th/15th century see A. M. Belenitskiy, *Istoričeskaya topografiya Gerata XV v.*, in *Alisher Navoi*, ed. A. K. Borovkov, Moscow 1946, 175-202.

On the cultural life of Harāt under the Tīmūrids see D. N. Wilber, *Afghanistan*, New Haven 1962, 102-7. For a description of the city in 1885 see C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, London 1888, 23-43. Nineteenth century Harāt is described in G. Malleson, *Herat*, London 1880. For a tourist guide to the sights of Harāt see E. Caspani and E. Cagnacci, *Afghanistan crocevia dell'Asia*, Milan 1951, 260-4; Mohamed Ali, *A new guide to Afghanistan*, Kabul 1958, 216-22. A. Khalīlī, *Āthār-i Harāt*, 3 vols., Harāt 1930-1, is an account of the monuments and tombs of Harāt (in Persian). See also A. Lézine, *Herat, notes de voyage*, in *BEO*, xviii (1963-4), 127-45. (R. N. Frye)

ḤARĀṬĪN [see ḥarṭānī].

al-**HARAWĪ** [see al-anṣārī al-harawī].

al-**HARAWĪ** al-**MAWṢILĪ**, *shaykh* Taḳī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr, a Syrian author of the 6th/12th century and celebrated ascetic and pilgrim who, after a life of travelling, spent his last days at Aleppo, at the court of the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī [*q.v.*]. This ruler held him in high regard and built for him, at the gates of the town, the Shāfiʿī *madrasa* in which he taught and which still houses the remains of his tomb.

The Arabic sources mention this "wandering ascetic" (*al-zāhid al-sā'iḥ*) and devote varying biographical notes to him, though without describing in any detail his education, tastes or the activities that won him the appreciation of the caliph al-Nāṣir and several Ayyūbids. They reveal only that, having been born in al-Mawṣil of a family originating in Harāt, he left that town in order to lead a wandering existence, became known as a preacher in Baghdād and Aleppo, acquired a reputation as a mystic and conjuror and even as a magician, and to these varied talents owed the influence that he held over the master of Northern Syria; he died in 611/1215, after having had inscribed on his mausoleum, built in imitation of the Kaʿba, certain gnomic maxims and an epitaph with a text of somewhat lyrical character. But his writings, which reveal his immense interests as well as a true originality of mind, allow us to suppose further that in Syria, then so disturbed through the Crusades, he was on various occasions entrusted with missions to obtain information and undertake secret political negotiations, and that these later permitted him, on the strength of his experiences, to play the part of a more or less occult counsellor to those in power at the moment. Certain references to his travels and to the eminent personages whom he met make it possible to fix a number of precise dates in his life, between 569/1173 and 588/1189, and to establish the routes of his principal journeys in Palestine, Egypt and Sicily, as well as to Rūm, in the reign of sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, whom he also accompanied on some of his military expeditions.

His religious preoccupations, tinged with Shīʿī sympathies, and the place which, in a revival of Islam, he accorded to the veneration of local sanctuaries, appear through his *K. al-Ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-ziyārāt* or "Guide des lieux de pèlerinage" (ed. with French tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1952-57), written with constant attention to accuracy and concision. But his recollections as a courtier and envoy, his knowledge of warfare and government as well as his inclinations as a moralist not devoid of secular culture are the main themes of his *Tadhkira Harawiyya fi 'l-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya*, Memoir of al-Harawī on ruses of war (ed. with French tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Les conseils du šayḫ al-Harawī à un prince ayyūbide*, in *BEO*, xvii (1961-2), 205-66), and they recur in the *Waṣiyya Harawiyya*, last counsels of al-Harawī (ed. with French tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Le testament politique du Shaykh ʿAlī al-Harawī*, in *Islamic and Arabic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965), which, before his death, he dedicated to his patron at Aleppo. Moreover, this last work is unique in providing us with clear information about the nature of his relations with this sovereign: these were based on an essentially political foundation, misunderstood in the accounts of contemporary biographers.

Bibliography: For the life and personality of al-Harawī, see particularly the introductions to the French translations of the three works mentioned above. Cf. also Brockelmann, I, 629-30, and S I, 879; Ibn Khallikān, no. 432 (tr. de Slane ii, 286-8); Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, ed. G. al-Shayyāl, iii, 224-5. For al-Harawī's tomb and its inscriptions, see *RCEA*, nos. 3609-3614 and 3614 A-B; E. Herzfeld, in *CIA*, *Alep*, i, 262-8, and ii, pl. CXI-CXIV; cf. J. Sauvaget, *Les "Perles Choisies" d'Ibn ach-Chihna*, Beirut 1933, 116, n. 1. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

ḤARĀZ, a mountain complex and district in the Yemen, situated between the Wādī Surdud and the Wādī Sihām, with the Tihāma districts of Liʿsān and the Banū Saʿd to the west and Ḥaymat al-Khāridjiyya [*q.v.*] to the east. Apparently composed of rocks of the trap series (basalt) and of granite, it has the shape of an irregular star with Djabal Shibām or Ḥarāz (2930 m.) at the centre. A northern projection consists of Djabal Banī ʿAytharī (2450 m.), Djabal Ḥaṣabān (2600 m.), Djabal Banī Luʿf (2300 m.) and Djabal Maghāriba. To the west lie Djabal Masār (2800 m.) and Djabal Ṣaʿfān (2000 m.), to the south Djabal Lahāb (2400 m.), and to the south-east Djabal Hadād. Between Djabal Ḥaṣabān and Djabal Masār is the Wādī Shadhb, a tributary of the Wādī Surdud, and between Djabal Ṣaʿfān and Djabal

Lahāb the Wādī Birār or Ḥidjān, whose steep course is followed by a branch of the Ṭarīḳ al-Shām between Ḥudayda and Ṣanʿā [*q.v.*], though it is not suitable for motor traffic. The massif is very steep and precipitous at its edges but the area on top, between 2200 and 2500 m., has the character of undulating hill land, split up by innumerable valleys and gullies and with the aforementioned peaks rising in isolation out of it. All of the upper reaches is inhabited and there are countless villages and castles, even to within a short distance of the summits of the mountains. The chief town of the district is Manākha with 200-300 houses, lying at 2322 m. just northeast of Djabal Shibām and formerly the residence of the Ḳāʾimmaḳām of Ḥarāz, Ḥayma and Djabal ʿĀniz (southeast of Harāz). Manākha had become the main trading centre of Ḥarāz by Niebuhr's day, having supplanted al-Mawza on Djabal Lahāb, which is noted by Hamdānī as the *sūḳ* of the area. Five miles west of Manākha lies al-ʿAttāra (1900 m.) where the Dāʿī of Yām (Nadjrān) [*q.v.*] used to reside. Other towns of note are Masār, almost on top of the Djabal, Mitwaḥ and Djirwāh on Djabal Ṣaʿfān, Lakama on Djabal Shibām, Usil west of al-ʿAttāra, and ʿAmḳa on Djabal Ḳuṣayba in Hawzan, just south of al-ʿAttāra. Closely associated with Ḥarāz is the Tihāma town of Ḥadjayla in the Wādī Birār.

The climate of the district is unusually wet and subject to sudden temperature changes. Frequent rain storms associated with south-westerly winds and a mist, known locally as *sukhaymānī* or *ʿumma*, combine to make this one of the most fertile parts of Arabia with very varied flora and fauna. Agricultural activity is intense. After a belt of thorn bushes and myrrh trees, coffee cultivation begins at 1300 m. near Usil and continues to 2100 m., mainly on the western slopes. It is carried out on a fantastic system of terracing which covers almost all parts of the mountain slopes, often extending for 2000 feet or more without a break, irrigation being provided by a network of canals and cisterns. Above the coffee belt, *ḳāt* is extensively grown and, in the vicinity of permanent water sources, there flourish many types of fruits, including pears, peaches, apricots, plums, figs and grapes, even bananas. Wheat, barley, and leguminous crops are also found. The broken terrain of the mountains, however, provides little opportunity for rearing livestock other than sheep and goats. Outlets for trade in these commodities are found in Ṣanʿā, and also in the Tihāma through various markets, notably Ḥadjayla, Sūḳ al-Khamīs, Sūḳ al-Rabūʿ, Sūḳ al-Ithnayn and Sūḳ al-Djummāʿ.

The inhabitants of Ḥarāz stand in marked contrast to those of the Tihāma in physical characteristics, religion, customs and practices. Most tribes are Shīʿa Zaydīs but the divided nature of the mountain encourages the existence of numerous sects. Thus there are Dāwūdīs among the Banū Muḳātil and on Djabal Ṣaʿfān, Sulaymānīs on Djabal Maghāriba, other Ismāʿīlīs in Hawzan, Lahāb and al-ʿAttāra. In Manākha there are Yaʿḳūbīs, while a few Shāfiʿīs, more typical of the Tihāma, are to be found on Djabal Ṣaʿfān. There used to be many Jews also, particularly in Manākha, Hadjara and Hawzan. In Manākha they owned land and virtually controlled the coffee trade. Tribal divisions are equally numerous, almost every valley forming the boundary between two tribes. Hamdānī described Ḥarāz and Hawzan as two Himyarite stocks. In the former there were also Ḥanātila, Luʿf and Nashū of the Banū Hamdān. According to Glaser (1885) the district was divided as follows: 1. Banū ʿArrāf on Ṣaʿfān; 2. Ṣaʿfān proper; 3. Masār; 4. al-Maghāriba; 5. Banū Ismāʿīl northwest of Masār; 6. Ḥaṣabān; 7. Hawzan; 8. Thuluth east of Lahāb; 9. Lahāb; 10. Banū Muḳātil; 11. al-Yaʿābir south of Manākha; and 12. al-ʿUḳmur between Manākha and Ḥayma.

The history of the district in ancient times is hardly known, though *CIH* 343 briefly alludes to *hwzn* (Hawzan). Hamdānī's description of the Mikhlāf Ḥarāz agrees substantially with what we know today. He mentions its fertility, that it produced corn, honey and sesame (*wars*), and that its dialect was midway between good and bad Arabic. His data on the towns, many of which are no longer attested, are discussed by Glaser. In more recent times, whenever the power of the Imāms of Ṣanʿā was weak, the more fertile parts of western Yemen tended to come under the control of various northeastern tribes. Thus in 1763 Ḥarāz had become subject to the newly founded Makramī dynasty of Nadjrān and remained so until 1872 when the Turks destroyed the citadel of the Dāʿī of Yām, Aḥmad al-Shibāmī, at al-ʿAttāra, whereupon the Yām made peace and retired to Nadjrān. The Turks themselves placed great importance on controlling Ḥarāz, making Manākha their headquarters, and it became the scene of bitter struggles between them and the Yemenīs.

Bibliography: A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1889, 37-48; E. Glaser, in *Pet. Mitt.*, xxxii (1886), 33-37, 45; al-Hamdānī, *Djazīra*; H. C. Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1774; C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann, *Landeskundliche Ergebnisse*, Hamburg 1934, 44-73; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*; Aḥmed Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh-i Yemen we Ṣanʿā*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1290-1 A.H.; *Yemen Sālnāmesi*, Ṣanʿā 1308 A.H., 108 ff.

(A. K. Irvine)

ḤARĀZEM, SĪDĪ [see ibn ḥirzihim].

ḤARB, a powerful Arab tribe of Yemenī origin in the Ḥidjāz between Mecca and Medina. They are divided into two great bodies, the Banū Sālim and B. Muṣrūḥ. To the B. Sālim belong amongst other clans, al-Ḥamda, al-Ṣubḥ, ʿAmr, Muʿara, Walād Salīm, Tamīm (not the celebrated great tribe of this name), Muzayna, al-Hawāzim (Awāzim, Hāzim), and Saʿdīn (Saadīn, sing. Saadanī); to the Muṣrūḥ, amongst others: Saʿdī (Saʿadī), Laḥabba, Bishr, al-Ḥumrān, ʿAlī, al-Djahm, Banū ʿAmr.

Doughty gives amongst others the following villages of the B. Sālim (between Medina and Yanbuʿ and on the great Wādī Ferrā (probably Ferraʿa)), Djadayda, Umm Thayyān (Dayyān), Kayf, Dār al-Ḥamra, al-Kissa, al-Khurma, al-Wāsiṭa, al-Massāniyya, al-Ṣafra (with extensive date-palm groves and a large market; besides the chief article of commerce, the date, which is here sold very cheaply, and the excellent honey from the adjoining mountains, genuine Mecca balsam is sold here, and is found genuine nowhere else in Arabia except at Badr), al-ʿAlī, Djadīd, Baddur (Badr?), Madsūs, Shātha (Swayḳa); of Muṣrūḥ: al-Kharaybi (near Mecca), Klays, Rābuḳ (not far from here the traveller Charles Huber was murdered by his retinue, the Ḥarb), al-Swarḳiyya. A portion of the Ḥarb also live in the great Wādī al-Ḥumḍ (al-Ḥamḍ near Wādī Rumma), the small harbour of Līth and the Djabal Figgara (Fiḳḳara between Medina and Yanbuʿ, belonging to the B. Sālim).

The Ḥarb came from Yemen to the Ḥidjāz (a clan of the Wādiʿa of the Ḥāshid [*q.v.*] bears the same name) in the Muslim period. At the beginning of the last century the Wahhābīs [*q.v.*] succeeded only after

hard fighting in overcoming them. During Palgrave's stay in Nadjd, in 1862, the Shammar chief Ṭalāl b. Rashīd in person led an expedition against the Ḥarb tribes and conquered a portion of them. Palgrave gives the number of the Ḥarb who were under the Shammar chiefs as 14,000, Doughty on the other hand only 2000.

In his *Djazīra* al-Hamdānī mentions the Ḥarb as neighbours of the Balī and the Djuhayna in the country between Khaybar and Medina and near Mecca.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, 82, 110, 120, 130; Burckhardt, *Travels*, 306, 406, 423; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 153, 154, 207, 1030; xiii, 144-6, 196, 452, 453 469, 480; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 153 (§ 225); W. Palgrave, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 42, 66; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, i, 125, 128, 144, 235; ii, 20, 21, 24, 85, 114, 174, 308, 309, 461, 478, 511, 512-13. (J. Schleifer)

[Owing to circumstances beyond their control, the Editors are unable to supply, as they had planned to do, a revised text of this article. For the convenience of readers they re-print the article which appeared in the first edition. A new article will, it is hoped, be included in the Supplement.]

ḤARB, war.

i. — Legal Aspect

Ḥarb may mean either fighting (*ḳitāl*) in the material sense or a "state of war" between two or more groups; both meanings were implied in the legal order of pre-Islamic Arabia. Owing to lack of organized authority, war became the basis of inter-tribal relationship. Peace reigned only when agreed upon between two or more tribes. Moreover, war fulfilled such purposes as vendetta and retaliation. The desert, adapted to distant raids and without natural frontiers, rendered the Arabs habituated to warfare and fighting became a function of society.

Islam, prohibiting the shedding of blood by one Muslim against another, prohibited all kinds of war (*ḥarb*) except a holy war (*djihād* [*q.v.*]). Only a war having an ultimate religious purpose, that is, to enforce the sacred law (*sharīʿa*) or to check transgression against it, was lawful. No other form was legal within or without the Islamic state.

Thus, Islam prohibited the inter-tribal warfare of the Arabs, because such wars were regarded as too ungodly and brutal, motivated by earthly interests, and permitted only a war which fulfilled a religious purpose. Thus, only one kind of war was lawful—the *djihād*—invoked for the purpose of expanding or consolidating the area of the validity of Islamic law.

As in the *jus fetiale*, *ḥarb* must be declared and prosecuted in accordance with certain prescribed rules. In the first place *ḥarb*, in the sense of fighting, must be distinguished from such duties as prayer or fasting, defined as individual duties; *ḥarb* is a collective duty (*farḍ al-kifāya*), binding on the community as a whole. Since a permanent state of war existed between the Islamic state (*dār al-Islām*) and other countries (*dār al-ḥarb*), Muslims were permanently in a state of hostilities with non-Muslims. But in fulfilling the collective duty of war not all Muslims were under an obligation to fight; only a few were called upon to fulfil the duty on behalf of the community. If no one fulfilled the duty at all, the whole community was liable to punishment. Only when Islam was threatened by a sudden attack did the duty become obligatory on all, including women, children and slaves.

As a collective duty war was a state instrument. Thus, only the *imām* (or his deputies in the provinces) was charged with the duty of prosecuting the war. In order to be lawful war was not only declared by the *imām*, but he was also charged with calling the believers to battle. Since in legal theory a state of war was always in existence (except when a peace treaty was still binding), the declaration of war by the *imām* merely meant that the circumstances in which the believer can fulfil the duty of *ḳitāl* had arisen. Calling the believers to battle was merely to summon to the duty of fighting those who were under an obligation to take up arms.

Nor was the prosecution of war lawful unless preceded by an invitation addressed to the enemy to accept Islam. Since *ḥarb* meant in theory the litigation between belief in Allāh and His prophet and misbelief, the unbelievers were first offered Islam before fighting took place. Followers of the recognized revealed religions were given the choice between Islam, submitting to Muslim rule and payment of the *djizya*, and fighting. An invitation to Islam was first forwarded to the enemy, and only refusal to accept it rendered fighting lawful. This rule was based on the Ḳurʾānic communication: "We never punish until we have first sent an apostle" (XVII, 18); and a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet said: "I have been ordered to fight the polytheists until they say there is no god but Allāh; if they say it, they are secured in their blood and property" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, 236). The jurists differed as to whether the invitation should be renewed if war broke out again with an enemy. The Mālikī and Ḥanafī jurists maintained that renewal of the invitation was commendable (*mandūb*); the Shāfiʿī jurists left it to the *imām* to make a choice, depending on the merit of the situation; and the Ḥanbalī jurists insisted that only those who had not received an invitation should be notified.

In the prosecution of war, the Muslim warriors were under an obligation to refrain from unnecessary shedding of blood or the destruction of property. Non-combatants, such as women, children, monks, the aged, blind and insane, unless they helped in the war, were excluded from molestation. If combatants were captured, they were liable to be killed or enslaved and their property taken as spoil. However, the detailed rules concerning the treatment of enemy persons and property varied in accordance with the various schools of law (see *corpus juris* of each school of law under such headings as *djihād*, *siyar* or *ghanīma*).

Hostilities came to an end either by Islam's victory over the enemy, agreement to submit to Muslim rule at the expense of paying the *djizya* in the case of *dhimmīs*, or peace with the enemy for a limited period, if the *imām* decided that fighting was harmful to Islam. Such peace was of a limited duration, not exceeding ten years, until the *imām* could resume the war. The *imām* should not terminate the fighting if the number of Muslim warriors was not less than half the number of enemy warriors (Sūra VIII, 66-7), until victory was attained.

Bibliography: Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharādj*, Cairo 1352; Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-kabīr* (of al-Shaybānī), ed. S. Al-Munajjid, Cairo 1957; Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, iv, Cairo 1322; al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. M. Enger, Bonn 1858; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, ed. Fyzee, Cairo 1951; W. Heffening, *Das Islamische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925; M. Hamidullah, *Muslim conduct of state*,

Lahore 1954; M. Khadduri, *War and peace in the law of Islam*[2], Baltimore 1955 and bibliography.

(MAJID KHADDURI)

ii. — THE CALIPHATE

We shall not provide here a history of wars nor even a study of the place of war in the life of Muslim societies. We shall merely give some notes on the art of war itself, which may be supplemented by the articles DĀR AL-ḤARB (on the concept of the theoretical state of war between Islam and all neighbouring non-Muslim lands), DJIHĀD (concerning the Holy War), DJAYSH (on armies and military organization), and ḤIṢĀR (for siege operations), in addition to other more specialized articles which will be mentioned in their place. In addition we shall not encroach on the period of fire-arms for which reference should be made to the article BĀRŪD.

The theoretical literature on the art of war continues, despite a certain evolution in practice, the traditions of the early Arabs, the Greeks and above all the Sāsānids. Translations of Greek, Persian and even (indirectly) Indian works had been made before the *Fihrist*, and there survives one part of the translation of the *Tactica* of Aelianus, the author of classical antiquity who also in Byzantium was the most consulted on these matters. But, in general, we have to deal with more popular traditions, accounts of the actions of early Arab heroes, of victorious generals and of the first caliphs, and especially of Alexander and of the great rulers of Persian history. These materials are incorporated in works of *adab* such as the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of Ibn Ḳutayba or *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, and the later encyclopaedias; and they are found more particularly in the literary genre of the Mirrors for Princes [see SIYĀSA] such as, for example, the *Sirādj al-mulūk* of al-Ṭurṭūshī which, among many other instructive anecdotes for princes, include some concerning the conduct of armies and of war operations. The experience of later generations however is also added, and it is this which, though without any rupture with tradition, is the more direct inspiration for the works written under the influence of the reigning military aristocracies, in Central Asia, during the period of the Crusades, and later under the Mamlūks, from which last period a great number survive, written for the most part from the point of view of military exercises (lists in L. Mercier, *La parure des Cavaliers*, Fr. tr., 1924, 432-59; H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xvii (1929), 116-54, and George T. Scanlon, *A Muslim manual of war*, 1961, 6-20). We shall mention here only the earliest which have survived: the Ghaznawid and Ghūrid *Kitāb al-Ḥarb wa'l-shadjāʿa* published by I. and M. Shafīʿ in *IC*, 1957 (the military section of the treatise, belonging to the genre Mirror for Princes, entitled *Adab al-mulūk* by Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakshāh, beginning of the 7th/13th century), and the *Tadhkira fi 'l-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya* of ʿAlī al-Harawī, ed. and Fr. tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, in *BEO*, xvii (1962) (to be compared with a paragraph of the *Traité d'Armurerie . . . pour Saladin*, ed. and Fr. tr. Cl. Cahen, in *BEO*, xii (1948), 23-4, 148-9 and 159-60) for the Ayyūbids; also two published works written in the Mamlūk state, that of ʿĪsā b. Ismāʿīl al-Aḳsarāʾī (in which are found the extracts from Aelianus), ed. and German tr. Wüstenfeld, *Das Heerwesen der Muhammedaner*, in *Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, xxvi (1880), and the *Tafrīdj al-kurūb fī tadbīr al-ḥurūb* of ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Awsī al-Anṣarī, ed. and Eng. tr. George T. Scanlon in the recent work cited above. There is also some information in the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn and in the jurists such as al-Māwardī or al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī (*Āthār al-uwal fī tartīb al-duwal*, beginning of the 8th/14th century), even in ordinary *fiḳh* (cf. the example given by M. Talbi in the *Cahiers de Tunisie*, iv (1956)). Naturally a history of war would begin primarily with the combing (which has never been done from this angle) of the chronicles and even of the popular romances of chivalry, which abound in accounts of battles, of varying precision and reliability. Finally there should be remembered the useful information to be extracted from some passages of two Byzantine works: the *Taktikon* of Leo VI and the *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos (beginning of the 10th and middle of the 11th century A.D. respectively).

In theory, war is justified only when it is for the faith, the *djihād*, and ordinary war, *ḥarb*, between Muslims is condemned, whence the efforts made by rulers to represent their adversary as having at least in some respect contravened the commandments of the faith or infringed orthodoxy. However Ibn Khaldūn, as a sociologist, considers war to have been an integral part of human society from the tribal state onwards—though he adds that according to the Law the Holy War and the suppression of revolts are the only form of war justified.

Except in cases of a formal *djihād* against unbelievers, no regular and legally valid "declaration of war" is provided for but quite often two adversaries send each other challenges, announcing that the only solution possible between them is the sword, showing the judgement of Allāh. Nor is there legally a state of war for any except the combatants, and although of course "civilians" may be pillaged, taken prisoner, etc., it can also happen, even in the *djihād*, to the great scandal of the strict Muslims, that trading caravans pass unmolested between the armies, indifferent to the quarrels of the rulers (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 281).

Nowhere more than in these works is one conscious of the connexion between war and policy and of the fact that the success of the first depends in large part on the quality of the second. The Prince is therefore recommended to seek to gain the goodwill of his subjects, and more particularly of his troops, by his conduct towards them and especially by paying them regularly and well—which presupposes a sound financial situation; when troops are reviewed he must of course inform himself of their condition, or verify this personally. In addition, he must keep himself informed on the general situation of the enemy state, or the state which is virtually so, its material resources and the state of its morale, in order when possible to make contact with dissident elements, especially within the army itself. Hence the necessity of maintaining a system of espionage [see DJĀSŪS] in which use may be made of the entourage of ambassadors (who must be changed frequently to avoid the danger of their forming friendships in the enemy country), and also of merchants and pilgrims, real or pretended (ʿAlī al-Harawī was one of these). Naturally, as it is known that the enemy can do the same, it is necessary to have a system of counter-espionage, especially within the army, while avoiding taking measures against men who have received letters from the enemy so long as they have not actually succumbed to temptation. It is advisable all the same to make them renew their oath of loyalty. All this produced an atmosphere of petty and almost puerile ruses and of general suspicion which was typical of the warfare

and even of the whole of "political" life of that time.

To this information there is added, in the case of war or the threat of war, information on the movements of the enemy, one means for acquiring which is the *barīd* [*q.v.*]; there are sometimes even services for rapid communication (watchtowers, particularly on the coast, visual signalling and pigeon post); on all this see J. Sauvaget, *La Poste aux Chevaux dans l'Empire des Mamluks*, 1941.

In the actual military operations morale is important. It is encouraged at first by gifts and promises on setting off, by the hope of booty, and is renewed before battle is joined by accounts of the exploits of ancestors and, in the case of *djihād*, pious exhortations —the equivalent of those heard for example by the Christian enemies who followed the Cross.

Obviously the military teaching and practices of the classical Muslim armies have little in common with the raids and single combats of pre- and proto-Islamic times (on which see DJAYSH and GHAZW). The specialists, as with *fiḳh*, distinguish the *uṣūl* and *furūʿ*. The *uṣūl* are primarily the theoretical division of the army into five elements (*khamīs*): the centre or heart (*ḳalb*), the right wing (*maymana*), and the left wing (*maysara*), the vanguard (*muḳaddama*) and the rear-guard (*sāḳa*), which, *mutatis mutandis*, apply when the army is on the march or in camp as well as in battle. The *furūʿ* are the operations by the irregulars, who do not form part of the army proper but who may play a part in the preliminaries and on the fringes of the battle.

When the campaign has been decided upon, the necessary forces are mustered, the arms are distributed (other than the individual weapons always carried by the soldiers) and the command is allotted, if the Prince is not leading the army himself. Women and children (who, among the nomads, go with the fighters and encourage them, risking capture in the case of defeat) are excluded from the regular armies of organized states. The baggage may be either at the head or the rear of the marching column. The route should have been studied with regard to the nature of the terrain, the provision of supplies and the enemy's movements; unless the safety of the situation is certain, the country must be explored from all sides by scouts and small reconnaissance parties and a signal given at any indication of an approach by the enemy. It may happen that the vanguard travels several hours ahead of the centre and, if precautions are insufficient, is taken by surprise and outnumbered. While on the march, the army halts in camps whose sites must similarly be chosen to ensure security, and particularly supplies of water, etc. If the halt is long, the camp is made roughly in a square surrounded by ditches, the troops being arranged within it in such a way as to preserve the separation of the five corps and the headquarters, with transverse lanes between the sections roughly on the model of Greco-Roman camps.

When battle is imminent, it is important to choose its ground so as to be incommoded as little as possible by sun and wind, avoid the risk of flood, and to escape being dominated by an enemy occupying higher positions; if the enemy on his side has taken similar precautions, an attempt must be made to manœuvre, so that as the battle develops the desired disposition may be achieved. Astrologers are often consulted on the most propitious time to give battle and sometimes a "council of war" is held.

During the battle each of the five theoretical *khamīs* enjoys a certain autonomy of command, although naturally the commander-in-chief can give orders for the manoeuvre of one section for the benefit of the others or take from one group reinforcements for others. In principle each *khamīs* forms a continuous line, although it may sometimes be divided into little groups, *kardūs* (squadrons) plur. *karādīs* (an innovation which is said to have been introduced, in imitation of Byzantine practice, by Marwān II). There are usually three ranks. The first consists of the archers and cross-bowmen, the second of infantry, protected by their shields and armed with lances or swords, the third of the heavy cavalry (light cavalry were normally found only among the irregulars). In the centre the leader's standard should be seen unfurled; battles have been lost because its fall had been taken as a signal of defeat. The battle consists basically of a cavalry charge, which may be repeated about three times if the enemy line has not been broken before this. The rôle of the infantry and archers consists of breaking from a distance, and then from close at hand, the enemy assault, which however the cavalry engages on the spot if it has been able to get through to it. When the cavalry is attacking, spaces are left between the infantry, or they stand aside, to make way for the charge by their cavalry. If the charge has not been broken by the countercharge, it may lead rapidly to the retreat of the enemy cavalry, producing disorder in the enemy ranks. In the case of great numerical or other inferiority, the lines may be replaced by a formation in solid squares to withstand the shock of attack. A charge is not usually made simultaneously in the centre and on the flanks, although there may be an attack from one section of the enemy at one point and from another elsewhere; as a result one part of the army may be defeated while another is victorious, and there have been cases when each side has thought itself to be victorious or to be vanquished. In general, however, one of the two cavalry detachments which have been victorious in their sectors proceeds before the other to fall upon the other sections of the enemy army. In fact the great danger is that as soon as victory seems certain they hurl themselves on the enemy's baggage etc. to seize booty and from then on are incapable of offering resistence if the enemy unexpectedly returns to the attack.

Frequently attempts are made to organize ambushes, either by taking advantage of a mountain pass on the route of the enemy army or by trying through manœuvres during the course of the battle itself to lure the enemy into positions prepared in advance. This preparation of ambushes was often combined with cavalry action in the tactics of simulated flight, in which the Turks in particular excelled. Whereas the Arabs, although much lighter and more rapid than the Crusaders must have been (relying as they did on massive shock tactics), generally attacked in one single line, the Turks attacked, shooting as they went, in such a formation as to shower the enemy with arrows from all directions; they did not persist in an effort to break the enemy lines, but, having made contact, attempted to draw them in pursuit, thus disorganizing their lines, and then to make a sudden turn, with the eventual help of fresh forces who had been placed in ambush. It is strange that the successive semi-nomad peoples who had owed their success partly to these tactics, once they became more settled and in possession of empires whose armies were of the more traditional and heavier type, one by one forgot their primitive method of fighting and were beaten by newcomers who still practised it.

During the battle, the leader replaces as far as possible the soldiers' mounts which have been killed

and arms which have been lost or rendered useless. *Fiḳh* debates, but in general disapproves of, the killing of non-combatants, women, children, old men and also men of religion. During sieges in particular, but occasionally also in battles in open country, individuals or groups may obtain *amān* [*q.v.*] even from an ordinary individual. It is a great misfortune if the defeat is such as to prevent the burial of those killed, who are often left by the enemy lying where they are after having been robbed. But in general the aim is less to kill than to capture and, once the battle has been fought and won, the enemy camp is pillaged [see GHANĪMA]. In principle the Prince reserves for himself the legal fifth, but more often the pillage was completely unorganized, and during it the troops observed neither the basic rules concerning the sharing of booty nor indeed any discipline at all. In particular, each one seized for himself all the male and female prisoners he could capture and later either sold them as slaves (causing a fall in prices if they were numerous) or kept them for himself. The peasants, whenever possible, robbed the fugitives belonging to either side.

Once victory has been gained, the conqueror or his vizier sends letters of victory (usually *fatḥ*) which as the centuries progress become increasingly the occasion for stylistic exercises by the heads of the *Dīwān al-rasāʾil* (see, *e.g.*, the correspondence written by the *ḳāḍī* al-Fāḍil for Saladin and the letters on the capture of Jerusalem). These "communiqués" naturally exaggerate the strength of the enemy and the importance of the victory won, and minimize the losses. In the case of war against infidels and heretics, a special report is submitted to the caliph, who sends congratulations and awards honours. The victorious general may also be awarded honours by his prince; and if it is the prince himself who has conducted the war, he provides celebrations, games, banquets and donatives, although these were neither regular nor obligatory.

The prisoners who were the Prince's share were employed by him on heavy work for which he would have had difficulty in finding native labour (the building of fortresses, etc.). For the wealthy prisoners of course a ransom (*fidāʾ*) was expected, and often received, from either the prisoner's family or the enemy prince. There might also take place an exchange of prisoners if there was a peace treaty or a truce. Finally—but especially in the case of war against the infidel—money was given or bequeathed by devout persons to be used for the freeing of Muslim prisoners (and correspondingly on the other side for the ransoming of Christian prisoners). When, in a town for example, civilians were captured who might not be Muslims, they were ransomed by their co-religionists, and the documents of the Geniza [*q.v.*] for example have preserved letters concerning the ransoming of Jews. The ransom of an ordinary prisoner naturally corresponded roughly with the price of a slave.

Muslim law does not appear to have concerned itself with the condition of prisoners as such while in Islamic territory (they were slaves); it did on the other hand consider the way in which Muslims who had fallen into the hands of unbelievers in foreign lands should behave in order to safeguard their faith (Erwin Graef, *Religiöse und rechtliche Vorstellung über Kriegsgefangenen in Islam und Christentum*, in *WI*, viii (1963), 89-139).

A war, especially if there was no siege, rarely lasted for long, and there were seldom more than a few thousand actual fighting troops engaged, even although the total army of the state in question consisted of more than this. This was because it was difficult to obtain food supplies while on a campaign. Furthermore, because of the climate, it was not possible in general to plan a campaign in winter and, after the officers had become farmers or tax-collectors, it was no longer possible to detain them on a campaign during the time of the harvest; in any case they were reluctant to remain under arms for more than a few weeks, their ordinary means being insufficient to maintain them for longer, and they also disliked the absence from their family. Very often the war is decided in a single battle, which may be followed by several sieges of strongholds.

War is often ended by a peace in the form of a capitulation or a treaty negotiated after an exchange of embassies; on other occasions, especially in wars with infidels, the peace is limited to a truce of a set time and over a limited area; often also the war can cease without there being any official peace.

The above remarks do not apply indifferently to all periods, to all peoples (the exception of the Turks has already been pointed out), or to all places. The semi-heavy cavalry, which at first played only an insignificant rôle, increased in importance from the 8th/14th century onwards. The tactics of classical warfare are impossible in mountain fighting, in which cavalry can play only a minor part, and in marshes such as those of the *Baṭīḥa* of ʿIrāḳ. This was one of the reasons why, during the last years of the autonomous caliphate, there were mixed with the Turkish cavalry Daylamīs, mountain dwellers fighting on foot. It could happen that if each of the two rival armies was unable to fight on the terrain of the other, then neither could win or be defeated: for example the early Almohad infantry were unable to attack the Almoravid cavalry on the plain, but equally could not be attacked by them in their mountains. In the east of the Muslim world elephants [see FĪL] terrified the horses of an enemy who was unused to them. We have not dealt here with naval warfare [see BAḤRIYYA] but we must emphasize the rôle which a navy could play in transporting land troops: across the Straits of Gibraltar for example, or from Egypt to the Syrian ports which the Crusaders were attacking from the land.

On the frontiers, the *ghāzī*s and *murābiṭūn* inflicted on the enemy not battles but sudden raids (delayed on the way back by their booty, which included many animals), which were answered by counter-raids. This did not, however, exclude various forms of peaceful relationships between the frontier populations in the intervals between raids, such as are described in the Greek and Arabic romances of chivalry (Digenis Akritas, Dhu 'l-Himma [*q.v.*], Sayyid Baṭṭāl [see AL-BAṬṬĀL], etc.); the romances of the Turks of the *ūdj*, the followers of the Arab *ghāzī*s and the Byzantine *akritai*, are more uncompromisingly warlike.

The resounding victories of the Mongols raise the question whether they possessed a clear technical superiority over their adversaries. The matter has not been sufficiently studied, but it would seem that this was not so. Their successes appear to have been due to their discipline; to the speed of their movements and to the art of concealing them; to the excellence of their system of espionage and intelligence; to the combined use on a large scale of traditional siege weapons, transported by means of prisoners, and of the ruses practised by nomads in open country; to the terror inspired by their appearance, their distant and unknown origin, their exceptional readiness to

massacre and, as a result of this terror, the ready co-operation and the voluntary capitulations which they obtained—to the fact in short that success breeds success. But the relatively minor battle of ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] was enough to break the spell and to reduce them to the status of ordinary adversaries.

In the first generations following the Arab conquest, the governor of a province, who was still essentially the general of an army of occupation, was called *wālī 'l-ḥarb*, although his authority in fact considerably exceeded the conduct of war, if there was one, and even the maintenance of the army.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited, see DJIHĀD and DJAYSH. The general histories of war and of military art have nothing of interest in the Muslim field; the only useful general presentations are those of A. v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Islam*, i, and Reuben Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, ch. ix. Among the important battles (apart from sieges) of which we possess circumstantial accounts are *e.g.*, that of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*] and that of Malazgirt [*q.v.*] studied by Cl. Cahen in *Byzantion*, ix (1934), 613-42.

(CL. CAHEN)

iii. — THE MAMLŪK SULTANATE

This article will deal with Mamlūk expeditions from their departure from Cairo, where the main body of the army was garrisoned, until their return to the Egyptian capital. Expeditions in the direction of Syria will be discussed, for this was the chief theatre of operations. The passages dealing with the actual fighting will be confined to field battles; for siege warfare, see ḤISĀR.

From mobilization up to arrival at the place of assembly.

A decision to dispatch a large expedition against a strong enemy was usually made known by the hoisting, some time in advance, of a special flag called *djālīsh* or *shālīsh* [*q.v.*] over the *ṭablkhāna* [*q.v.*], accompanied by the beating of special drums (*kūs* [*q.v.*]). Shortly after this ceremony the army was passed in review, and a few days later the *nafaḳat al-safar* (on which see D. Ayalon in *JESHO*, i (1950), 56 ff.) would be distributed, in time for the soldier to replenish his equipment and stores.

The mobilization of the expeditionary force on the eve of their move from Cairo was called "the general muster" (*al-nafīr al-ʿāmm*). Troops detailed to take part in the campaign received written orders (*awrāḳ* or *awrāḳ al-tadjrīd*) to this effect. The military police (*nuḳabāʾ al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya* and *nuḳabāʾ al-ḥalḳa*: see NAḲĪB) were responsible for seeing that the members of the expeditionary force presented themselves on time and in the appointed place (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, British Museum, Ms Add. 23,325, fol. 186a, fol. 268; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 193, 210, 222; *Sulūk*, i, 544; ii, 260, 518, 520; *Nudjūm*, v, 17, 76, 411).

Shortly before the army set out, various supplies were prepared in the stations lying along its route. These stocks (*iḳāmāt*, sing. *iḳāma*, or *iḳāmāt wa-anzāl*) consisted of barley, wheat, chickens, pigeons, geese, sweets, melons and various other kinds of food, as well as fire-wood, horses, riding-camels and camels of burden.

Except when, as in some of the great Syrian battles, an enemy aggressor dictated the time, military campaigns were undertaken by the Mamlūks mainly during the spring, when the weather was mild. Winter campaigns, especially towards Syria, were rare, and provoked bitterness and complaints.

The army's departure from Cairo to the nearby place of assembly was called *tabrīz*. The Sultan and *amīrs* went there one after the other, each heading his *ṭulb* (see below). Usually this procedure lasted from morning till noon. Only very rarely did it take several days (for two typical instances of such departure see Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 14, 131; *Badāʾiʿ*, v, 37).

The expeditionary force was called *tadjrīda* (pl. *tadjārīd*). When the Sultan himself went to battle he was always the commander of the *tadjrīda*. Otherwise it was the highest ranking *amīr* taking part, *i.e.*, the *amīr* who, by his rank and office, was entitled to sit nearest the Sultan in the official ceremonies. The usual title of this commander, up to about the middle of the 9th/15th century, was *muḳaddam al-ʿaskar* (or *al-ʿasākir*). Very rarely he was called *muḳaddam al-djaysh* (or *al-djuyūsh*). Sometimes his title was abbreviated to *muḳaddam* [*q.v.*]. In campaigns entailing sea voyages, two commanders were sometimes appointed, one on sea (*muḳaddam al-ʿaskar fi 'l-baḥr*) and one on land (*muḳaddam al-ʿaskar fi 'l-barr*) (*Nudjūm*, vii, 548). On religious functionaries accompanying the army, see ḲĀḌĪ AL-ʿASKAR.

The place of the army's assembly. With the exception of the first few years of their rule the Mamlūks always assembled their campaigning armies near Cairo. Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb (637/1240-647/1249) built in 676/1248 the town of al-Ṣāliḥiyya, in the north-eastern part of Lower Egypt, with a double purpose: to serve as a resting place for the incoming armies after their crossing of the Sinai desert and as a point of concentration for the outgoing armies before starting their organized march into Syria. The second of these functions was discarded by the Mamlūks shortly after their coming to power. Sultan Ḳuṭuz, on his march to ʿAyn Djālūt, was probably the last to use it for this purpose (*Sulūk*, i, 330_{4-6}, 373_{15-17}, 381_{6-21}, 382_{15-16}, 411_{4-5}, 429_{13-14}; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xx, 18_{18}; *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 184_{22-4}, 232_{8-11}). Thenceforward the Mamlūks used to assemble their armies near Cairo. At first the place of assembly was by Masdjid al-Tibr (frequently distorted into al-Tibn), but from the end of the 7th/13th century onwards it was al-Raydāniyya [*q.v.*] which served in the same capacity (the pilgrims' Caravan to Mecca used also to assemble in that place).

The Sultan at al-Raydāniyya. The focal point of the army's camp at al-Raydāniyya was, quite naturally, the sultan's tent. It was placed at the end of the row of the *amīrs*' tents, which were arranged according to the principle that the less important ones came first, while the more important ones came last (Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, 136-7) [see KHAYMA, MUDAWWARA]. The system of guarding the Sultan's tent was, according to the Mamlūk sources, very similar to that employed in the Cairo citadel, especially the guarding inside the tent (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 48_{2}-49_{13}, 56_{15-17}; *Ḍawʾ al-ṣubḥ*, 258_{1-4}; *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 210_{30-36}; *Ḥawādith*, 680_{11-12}). The whole of the Sultan's *cortège* was called *al-rikāb al-sharīf* (or *al-sulṭānī*).

The army in the field did not carry with it any special structures for performing the daily prayers. This might imply that when in the field the army prayed under the open skies. The sole exception seems to have been that of Baybars I, who, in 661/1262-3, ordered the making of a tent-mosque (*djāmiʿ khām*), which had to be pitched on the right of the Royal tent. This mosque had *miḥrāb*s and a *maḳṣūra* in it (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, ed. Sadeque, pp. 89-90; British Museum, MS Add. 23,331, fol. $71b_{8-7}$). In all probability Baybars followed here, as in other

matters, the example of the Mongols. Of their employment of tent-churches we are informed by William of Rubrouck (London 1900, xxix, xxxi, 29). Berke K͟hān, the ruler of the Golden Horde and Baybars' ally, had tent mosques (*masād͟jid k͟hām!*), where the five daily prayers were performed (Yunīnī, ii, 365_{6-7}). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 380 = Gibb, ii, 482) saw these mosques in the Golden Horde at a much later date. For the strict performance of the prayers by soldiers on campaign, as a habit, under Baybars I, see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, fol. $63b_{13-16}$.

From al-Raydāniyya to Damascus (or Aleppo). The army always departed from al-Raydāniyya in separate groups, and entered the Syrian capital in the same way (*arsālan, afwād͟jan, ʿalā dafaʿāt*). Thus the expeditionary force stretched over a long distance during its advance. On some occasions we are told that the left wing (*al-maysara*), the right wing (*al-maymana*), and the centre (*al-ḳalb*) of the Egyptian army entered Damascus on three successive days (*al-Nahd͟j al-sadīd*, xx, 22_{3-6}; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* (ed. Roemer), ix, 32_{10-13}). Only further evidence will show whether the Mamlūk army always advanced in the same formations which it used in the field of battle.

One of the most common measures of protection taken by the advancing army was the sending out of special scouts (*kas͟hs͟hāfa*) in various directions.

The military expedition was accompanied by a very large camel caravan, which carried its baggage (*t͟haḳal*, pl. *at͟hḳāl*). Each Mamlūk participating in a campaign received at least one camel. Sometimes the Mamlūk received two camels, while the non-Mamlūk soldiers of the *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*] received 3 camels per two men (see D. Ayalon, in *JESHO*, i (1958), 270-1). Sultan Barḳūḳ gave his Mamlūks 7,000 camels and 5,000 horses when he planned in 796/1394 his campaign against Timurlang (Ibn al-Furāt, 380_{13-16}; *Nud͟jūm*, v, 562_{6-8}). In the biggest *tad͟jrīda*s 800 to 1,000 camels were needed to carry the light armament alone (Ibn al-Furāt, 371_{8-11}; Ibn Ḳāḍī S͟huhba, fol. $99a_{6-7}$). Mules were very rarely employed for carrying the baggage. They were used in 691/1292 by the Sultan's army in the region of Aleppo because most of the camels died in an epidemic (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, fol. $177a_{6-9}$). The employment of wheeled vehicles (*ʿad͟jal*), mainly for carrying siege machines, was also extremely rare.

Though the advancing army was always accompanied by numerous physicians, surgeons, chemists and great quantities of drugs (see, *e.g.*, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 49_{6-7}), it would appear that its numerical strength was often reduced as a result of maladies which attacked its members during the march (this is quite apart from epidemics, which always took a heavy toll of the Mamlūks, and particularly of the younger ones amongst them; see D. Ayalon, in *JRAS*, 1946, 62-73. The sources do not inform us how and where the sick were treated. The weak and those who lagged behind were often sent back to Egypt.

The Mamlūk sources furnish rich and reliable information on the time-table of the army along its main route of advance: Cairo-Gaza-Damascus-Ḥamāt-Ḥimṣ-Aleppo (for a detailed list of the stations along this route see W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*, 47, 48-9). This information is not spread, however, evenly over the whole Mamlūk period, for the sources mention the time-table only when the Sultan himself headed the military expedition. Data on regions lying outside the line Cairo-Aleppo, viz., the Delta area, Central and Upper Egypt and the Ḥid͟jāz is sparse.

The march from Cairo to Aleppo took 30 to 40 days; from Cairo to Damascus 20 to 25 days; from Cairo to Gaza 10 to 12 days; from Gaza to Baysān 5 to 6 days; from Baysān to Damascus 3 to 4 days; from Damascus to Ḥimṣ 2 to 3 days; from Ḥamā to Aleppo 2 to 3 days. The above figures sometimes include the resting days in the intermediate stations and sometimes not. The average lengths of rests in the main stations were: in Gaza—3 to 5 days; in Baysān—2 to 3 days; in Damascus—5 to 7 days; in Ḥamā—2 to 3 days. The length of the resting time in Ḥimṣ as well as the length of time needed to cover the distance between Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā has not been established.

A fundamental aspect of the Mamlūk military expedition was that, at least for most of the period, there was, in effect, no fixed ratio of officers to men. True, according to rule, the *Amīr* of a Thousand had to have under his command a thousand *ḥalḳa* soldiers and an unspecified number of *Amīrs* of Forty and *Amīrs* of Ten, while the *muḳaddam ḥalḳa* had to command forty *ḥalḳa* soldiers during a campaign (see D. Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 450-1). It is not clear how far this was in fact applied in the early Mamlūk period, when the *ḥalḳa* was still strong and numerous. But for most of the period the *ḥalḳa* was in steady decline, and under the Circassians had stopped going to battle almost completely. When the *ḥalḳa* did go to war, their numbers never exceeded a few hundred. The very name *muḳaddam ḥalḳa*, so frequent in the Baḥrī period, disappears altogether under the Circassians (see *BSOAS*, xv, 448 ff. and ḤALḲA). This implies that the above-mentioned proportion between the simple soldiers and their superiors in the campaign had only paper value.

As for the Royal Mamlūks (*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*, see *BSOAS*, xv, 204 ff.), who constituted the backbone of the army, and who bore the brunt of the fighting, we do not know even the theoretical ratio of their officers and men in the campaign. It is stated that during the cadastral survey (*al-rawk al-Nāṣirī*) of 715/1315 the number of the Royal Mamlūks was 2,000 and the number of their commanders (*muḳaddamū al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*) was 40. But we do not know whether the same proportion existed before or after that year, and especially whether it had ever been adopted in the field of battle.

In the present state of our knowledge there is only one formation participating in battle which can be adequately described. This formation, which was called *ṭulb* (pl. *aṭlāb*), and which is mentioned most frequently in the sources, was of a very loose character and the number of soldiers included in it might vary considerably. The formation which went out to war under the command of an *amīr* constituted a *ṭulb*. At the same time, all the Royal Mamlūks taking part in a campaign, whose number far exceeded that of the soldiers of all the other *aṭlāb* put together, formed only one *ṭulb* (for further details see ṬULB).

Secrecy and military ruses. Little or no attempt was made to hide or disguise the preparations for a Mamlūk campaign. The hoisting of the war-flag, the muster, inspection, and pay-parade long before the departure of the expeditionary force gave ample warning to the enemy of the impending attack. Since the Mamlūks hardly ever used the sea-route in order to transport their armies or equipment to Syria, they had to confine themselves to a single land-route from Cairo to Gaza, a fact which greatly facilitated the enemy's task of watching their movements. In Syria the situation, though somewhat better, was not fundamentally different. Though there were two

routes from Gaza to Damascus, the one following the coast, then turning right through the valley of Esdraelon to Baysān, and the other passing through Karak in Transjordan, it was the first route which was mainly used, because it was far better than the second. Besides, the supplies prepared along the army's route of advance long before its departure, without any attempt of disguise, told the enemy from exactly what quarter to expect the attack.

One can find, however, some instances of attempts to mislead the enemy. Once, when Baybars I set out at the head of a group of horsemen, he forbade his men to buy food and fodder in order to conceal their identity (*Sulūk*, i, 598). Sultan Ṭaṭar (824/1421)was considered one of the greatest experts among the Mamlūk Sultans in the employment of ruses. When he set out against his rival *amīrs* in Syria he did not hoist the *djālīsh* (*Nudjūm*, vi, 490-8). He also cut all communications between Egypt and Syria. These acts, which are called "the concealment of news" (*taʿmiyat al-akhbār*) (*Nudjūm*, vi, 494-5; Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 72_{5-7}; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 152-3), are praised by the historian, who says that in this respect Ṭaṭar followed the example of the early Mamlūk Sultans (*Nudjūm*, vi, 494-6). There are other instances of cutting the communications between various parts of the realm in order to disguise the army's movements. Other ruses employed by the Mamlūk Sultans are recorded. Sultan Barsbāy distributed the *nafaḳat al-safar* to make Ḳarā Yuluk believe that he (*i.e.*, Barsbāy) intended to attack him. Fearing, however, that he would not be able to get his money back, he distributed the *nafaḳa* to the *amīrs* only and not to the Royal Mamlūks (*Nudjūm*, vi, 685-7). Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh employed many ruses against the *amīr* Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī (*Nudjūm*, vi, 336-7). One of these was lighting many fires in the camp which he had already left, thus making Nawrūz believe that his adversary was still there together with his army (*ibid.*, 147_{5-7}). In their battles agains the Mongols, soldiers of the Mamlūk army sometimes wore *sarāḳūdj* hats in order to mislead their enemy about their identity. Armenian soldiers in the Mongol camp also wore the same head-gear so as to pass as Mongols (*Sulūk*, i, 511_{10-11}, 783_{14-15}; *ibid.* (Quatremère's translation), i/1, 235; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, fol. $78b_{2-3}$, $80b_{7-8}$; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, index, s.v. *sarâqûj*).

Discipline. Mamlūk army discipline had greatly deteriorated in the Circassian period in comparison with the Baḥrī period and reached its lowest ebb in the closing decades of Mamlūk rule (for the state of Mamlūk discipline in peace-time. see *BSOAS*, xv, 211-3).

In the Baḥrī period there were few instances of insubordination in connexion with a campaign, and when these did occur they were severely punished (see, *e.g.*, *Sulūk*, i, 544_{13-15}; Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 2). Under the Circassians a wholly different situation prevailed. Shirking from participation in an expedition became more and more frequent among the Royal Mamlūks, the only military body worthy of its name in that period; and threats of capital punishment (mainly by strangling, *shanḳ*) were totally unheeded. It even happened that a whole expeditionary force, with the exception of its commanders, failed to report for duty in spite of being repeatedly summoned. Such instances of total disobedience occurred, however, from time to time only with the smaller expeditions which were sent to Upper or Lower Egypt, the Ḥidjāz, etc. (*Nudjūm*, v, 28, vii, 756_{9-13}, 755_{2-5}; *Ḥawādith*, 6_{14}-7_{21}, 553_{14-19}). Sometimes the members of the expedition, having gathered at the place of assembly, set out for the field of battle without waiting for the order to move (*Nudjūm*, vi, 259_{1-19}, vii, 264_{8-9}). When a certain expedition did go to war with determination and without being prodded, the historian considers it to be "a very grand thing" (*shayʾ ʿaẓīm ila 'l-ghāya*) (*Nudjūm*, vii, 408_{1-2}). A unique case of real enthusiasm for war which seized the whole Mamlūk army in the Circassian period was the expedition against Cyprus in 829/1426 (*Nudjūm*, vi, 600).

Another form of insubordination was the return of big sections of the expeditionary force, or even the whole of it, from the battlefield or from one of the stations en route to Cairo without the Sultan's permission. This phenomenon became common from the start of the long series of battles between the Mamlūks and the Turkoman chieftain Shāh Suwār and his Ottoman allies during the reign of Sultan Ḳāitbāy, but the first signs of it had already appeared at an earlier date (Ibn Khaldūn, v, 483_{13-15}). The number of soldiers returning to Cairo against orders was particularly great when the campaign was long and hard. Scarcity of food and fodder and high prices forced many of them to sell their horses, arms and field-dresses (on the field-dress of the mamlūk, see L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 19-20) and return home. The Sultan's anger was of no avail, for "his only choice was to keep silent". The deserters usually came back secretly and kept in hiding, until the Sultan's wrath subsided, but it did happen that they entered Cairo openly and impudently demanded additional pay. The Sultan never succeeded in sending them back to the front which they deserted (*Nudjūm*, vii, 487_5-8_8; *Ḥawādith*, 602_{21}-3_{13}, 672_{20-23}; *Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 88_{12-14}, 89_{2-3}, 227_{22}-8_2, 229_{14-22}, 254_{22-23}, 255_{12-14}, 269_{11-16}, iv, 116_{8-23}, 437_{3-6}, v, 68_{12-13}). One of the main reasons for the Mamlūks' failure to maintain their hold over Cyprus was that the garrison stationed there frequently returned to Cairo, in utter disregard of the orders of the Sultan, whose attempts to send them back usually ended in complete failure (*Nudjūm*, vii, 724_{6-8}; *Ḥawādith*, 435-7, 448_{5-19}, 454_5).

A legal release from a campaign was called *dustūr*. This term, very frequent in the Ayyūbid period, gradually died out in the period of the Mamlūks.

The battle order in the field. The arrangement of the army in battle order was called *tartīb* or *taʿbiya* (*Nudjūm*, vi, 444_3, 493; *Ḥawādith*, 646) or *muṣāfafa* (*Nudjūm*, vii, 67) or *ṣaff* (*Nudjūm*, vi, 493), while the battle itself was called *maṣāff* [*q.v.*] (Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 113_{24}; *Nudjūm* (C), vi, 10_8; Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 170_9, 172_{22}). In almost every important field battle of the Mamlūks the Mamlūk army and the enemy's army were divided into three main bodies when they faced each other. These were the centre (*al-ḳalb*), the right wing (*al-maymana*) and the left wing (*al-maysara*). The strongest of these three was always the centre. It included the choicest troops, who fought under the Royal banners (*al-sanādjiḳ* or *al-aʿlām al-Sulṭāniyya*) and were commanded by the Sultan himself. The Royal banners betrayed the Sultan's position, a fact which endangered his personal safety in an emergency. When the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Nāṣir Yūsuf fought the Baḥrī Mamlūks he got away from underneath the banners, and thus escaped capture (*Sulūk*, i, 375_{5-8}). Sultan Ḳalāūn, in his battle against the Mongols, gave orders to furl the Royal banners, in order to avoid being identified by the enemy (*al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xiv, 492_{1-3}). In another battle the Royal banners were moved backwards, while the Sultan remained on the

same spot (*Manhal*, i, $154b_{22}$). On the Royal Banners see also Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima* (ed. Quatremère), ii, 46 = tr. Rosenthal, ii, 52.

Close by the two wings were placed the auxiliary forces (the Bedouin horsemen near one wing, and the Turcoman horsemen near the other). Occasionally infrantrymen (*mushāt*, *radjdjāla*) were posted in front of the battle-array described above (Ibn Iyās, iv, 448, 451, v, 8). The use of infantry seems to have increased in the later years of Mamlūk rule (see Ibn Ṭūlūn, ed. R. Hartmann; al-Anṣārī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān*, Cambridge Un. Lib., MS Dd, 11, 2). This may have been the result of the growing use of fire-arms. The infantrymen employed in the field of battle were mainly recruited from amongst the peasants and semi-nomads of Djabal Nābulus and other parts of Syria (Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 81; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), vii, 303_{17}; *Sulūk*, i, 388_{5-6}; ii, 93_{7}; Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 41, 169_{15}; *Ḥawādith*, 701_{7-8}; *Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 51_{5-7}; iv, 408-9, 448_{12-18}, 451_{17-18}; v, 8_{2-3}, 63_{2-8}).

Sometimes the battle-array was rather more elaborate. Amīr Minṭāsh, in his fight against Barḳūḳ, arranged his army thus: *ḳalb*, *maymana*, *maysara*, and two additional wings (*djanāḥān*). In addition, he posted at the rear of both the *maymana* and *maysara* a reserve unit or rearguard (*radīf*). Barḳūḳ could not do the same, because his army was too small (*Nudjūm*, v, 493_{10-13}). In 802/1400 the army of Sultan Faradj, which numbered 5,000 horsemen and 6,000 infantrymen, was arranged in his battle against Amīr Tanam between Ramla and Gaza in the following manner: right wing, left wing and "centre within a centre within a centre" (*ḳalb fī ḳalb fī ḳalb*); each of these formations had its own rearguard (*radīf*) (*Nudjūm*, vi, 35_{10-13}). In 820/1417 al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, who was stated to have been a great military reformer and an expert in warfare and in the arrangement of troops in the field of battle (*wa-kāna imāman fī . . . maʿrifat taʿbiyat al-ʿasākir*) paraded his army in battle array by Tall al-Sulṭān (near Aleppo). He decided not to leave the arrangement of the *ṭulb*s of the *amīr*s to anybody else, but to do it himself. He arranged them not according to the order in which the *amīr*s used to sit in the Sultan's presence during official ceremonies, but according to their offices or functions (*bi-ḥasab waẓīfatihi*) (*Nudjūm*, vi, 363_{6-12}. See also *Manhal*, iii, $168a_{2-8}$; *Badāʾiʿ*, ii, 8_{23-5}; *JAOS*, 1949, 142; *BSOAS*, xv, 454-5). This would seem to imply that the order of the *amīr*s' *ṭulb*s in the battlefield was then normally an exact copy of the order of their sitting at official ceremonies. In 842/1438 the *amīr* Āḳbughā al-Timrāzī arrayed Sultan Djaḳmaḳ's army against *amīr* Ḳurḳmās as follows: *maymana*, *maysara*, *ḳalb*, *djanāḥān*. This battle array was called *taʿbiyat al-mudjannaḥ* (*Nudjūm*, vii, 46_{6-8}). A vanguard placed before the centre was called *djālish al-ḳalb* (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iv, 15_{6}). Occasionally the centre itself seems to have been divided into several sections, including wings, as may be deduced from the expression *djanāḥ al-ḳalb al-aysar* (*Nudjūm* (C), vii, 303_{13-14}).

The sources furnish very little information about the places occupied by the armies of the various Egyptian *amīr*s and the governors of the Syrian provinces within the left and right wings and the centre. Concerning the army of the province of Ḥamāt, it is explicitly stated that it had customarily been placed at the hand of the right wing since the days of Saladin (*Sulūk*, i, 201_{3-6}; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iv, 24_{28-9}).

The actual fighting. A recurrent phenomenon in the main battles fought out between the Mamlūks and their adversaries was that the wings were usually defeated first, sometimes at the very start of the fighting, whereas the centre held out much longer. Very shortly after the opening of the fighting, the whole elaborate array would be greatly upset, for a wing of one of the opposing armies would soon crumble under the impact of the enemy's onslaught, and its soldiers take to flight, while the victorious wing on the opposite side would pursue it at full speed. It is noteworthy that even the side that was ultimately defeated succeeded quite often, during the initial stages of the fighting, in routing one of the enemy's wings and pursuing it. Both the pursued and the pursuing wings would get very far away from the main scene of the battle, and thus would be kept in complete ignorance of the progress of the fighting (this occurs in the battle of Gaza against the Franks in 642/1244 (Sibṭ, 494_{8-16}) in the battle of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf against Aybak in 648/1251 (Makīn, 53-5; *Sulūk*, i, 324-7; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), vii, 6_{16}-7_{2}) in the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt and in the battle of Barḳūḳ against his rivals at Shaḳḥab in 792/1390 (Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 185-7; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, fol. $59b_{20-25}$; *Manhal*, fol. $47b_{5-6}$). It happened more than once that the pursuing wing, on returning to the field of battle, discovered that the army to which it belonged had already been utterly routed.

The great field battles which the Mamlūks fought were usually short, and only rarely lasted more than one day. One of their most protracted battles was against Timurlang, but this was a combination of a field battle and a siege of the town of Damascus, and sieges were usually very long in the Middle Ages. In those very few cases when the battle continued into the next day, fighting would stop during the intervening night. The Mamlūks never fought a night battle against a foreign enemy.

One of the classical tactics employed by the Turkish and Mongol tribes in the field of battle was, as is well known, the encirclement of the enemy, and his annihilation within the tightening ring. The making of a ring (*ḥalḳa*) around the opponent is mentioned very frequently in the *furūsiyya* [*q.v.*] training-books composed during the Mamlūk period, and very rarely in actual military exercises. The same tactics were also very common in hunting (*ḍarb ḥalḳat ṣayd*), especially in the early decades of Mamlūk rule (*Sulūk*, i, 498_{7}, 520_{1-6}, 549_{9-11}, 584_{1-8}, 789_{5-6}, 859_{20-21}, 421_{10-14}; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, fol. $52a_{7-10}$, $93b_{11-16}$; Quatremère, *Sultan Mamlouks*, i/2, 147 ff.). As far as can be learnt, however, from the available sources, the Mamlūks did not employ this method of warfare in any of their great battles, *i.e.*, they never encircled the enemy *in the battlefield* and annihilated him after encirclement (they did so to certain sections of the defeated and pursued enemy, usually far away from the scene of the main battle. In the case of ʿAyn Djālūt the picture is not clear). One possible explanation for this fact is that neither of these two adversaries could employ the tactics of encirclement successfully against the other, because both of them were well versed in it (the Khwārizmians employed it with great success against the Franks in the battle of Gaza in 642/October 1244, see Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 494_{3-16}. In 701/1302 the Mamlūks quelled a great rising by the Bedouins in Upper Egypt by encircling them in a "*ḥalḳa* like the hunting *ḥalḳa*"—al-Manṣūrī, fol. 231a-232a). Another possible explanation is that the Mamlūk art of war might have gradually diverged from that of their Turco-Mongol nomad brethren under the influence both of sedentary

living and of Muslim military precedent. The same might be true, though to a lesser degree, of the Mongol armies of Iran. As is well known, hunting was one of the main means of training for real war of the nomads of the steppe. In the reign of Baybars I the use of *ḥalḳat ṣayd* is mentioned much more frequently than in the reigns of later sultans. This might indicate the deterioration of nomad war usages amongst the Mamlūks with the passing of time (for Mamlūk military training see D. Ayalon, *Notes on the* Furūsiyya *exercises and games in the Mamluk Sultanate*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix, 31-62; T. Scanlon, *A Muslim Manual of War*, Cairo 1961).

Of the practices employed in Mamlūk battles, the two following are worthy of note.

(a) In the battle of Abulustayn (675/April 1277) the Mongols dismounted from their horses and fought "to the death" (*Nahdj*, xiv, 424_{5-6}; Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 271-2; *Nudjūm* (C), vii, 168). This kind of warfare seems to have been quite common with the Mongols (for its repeated use in their war against the Khwārizmshāh see Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 443_{18}-44_{7}). The Mamlūks do not seem to have used it at all. In the early Muslim period, however, this practice is often mentioned in the sources as having been employed in critical or desperate conditions (see, *e.g.*, Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 288; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/1, 93_{14-19}; Ṭabarī, i, 1614_{8f}; iii, 853_{21}-54_{11}; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii, 338).

(b) Authors of Mamlūk military treatises mention the employment of a tremendous noise as a means of frightening the enemy, and indeed the Mamlūks did use this method quite frequently, and with considerable success. According to Mamlūk sources it was particularly successful in the siege of Acre (690/1291). During the final assault on the town the Mamlūks used a huge quantity of drums (*kūsāt*) carried on the backs of 300 camels, which produced a terrible thunder, so that "the world turned upside down". The Bedouin adversaries of the Mamlūks were particularly sensitive to the use of drums (*Duwal al-Islām*, ii, 147_{5-7}; Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 321_{3}; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), vii, 6_{7-9}; *Sulūk*, i, 765_{1-2}; ii, 162_{8}; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 112_{10-11}).

When the Mamlūks were forced to fight their major battles on Egyptian soil, they usually preferred the vicinity of Cairo as the field of battle. On several occasions the boundary between the Sinai desert and Egypt proper, which was called "the head (or the beginning) of the sand" (*raʾs al-raml* or *awwal al-raml*) was recommended as more suitable for the defender, on the ground that the attacker would be exhausted immediately after crossing the desert. Both Barḳūḳ, when he fought Minṭāsh and Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, and Ṭūmanbāy, when he fought the Ottomans, rejected the suggestion, and chose the vicinity of Cairo instead (*Nudjūm*, v, 409_{8-9}, 411; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, fol. $38b_{5-8}$; Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 114_{8}; ix, 80_{24-7}; *Badāʾiʿ*, v, $136_{6-9, 23-4}$, 139). Apparently the fact that Sultan Aybak defeated al-Nāṣir Yūsuf at al-ʿAbbāsa (648/February 1251) soon after the last-named had crossed the desert, thus removing for ever the Ayyūbid menace to Mamlūk rule, did not induce his successors to follow in his footsteps.

The Kerchief of Safe Conduct. When one of the rival parties wanted to negotiate a truce, a peace or a surrender, an envoy or envoys would be sent to the enemy's camp carrying a special cloth or kerchief called "the kerchief of safe conduct" (*mandīl al-amān*). This kerchief, the colour of which is not specified, was usually worn round the neck, or put on the head (it was rarely tied round the waist or held in the hand). Such a kerchief could also be sent by the victorious side as a sign of acceptance of the offer of negotiations (Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 145_{11}; *Manhal*, v, fol. $20a_{18}$; *Nudjūm*, v, 309_{7}; vii, 415_{10-11}, 439_{3-4}; *Badāʾiʿ*, ii, 11_{20-26}; iii, 109_{13}, 306_{6}, 353_{10f}; Ibn ʿArabshāh, *al-Taʾlīf al-ṭāhir*, British Museum, MS Or. 3026, fol. $86a_{14-16}$, fol. $97a_{18-19}$. See also L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 63, note 4, and Dozy, under *Mandīl*). Rarely a shirt (*ḳamīṣ al-amān*) was used for the same purpose as the kerchief (Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 228_{7}; see also Manṣūrī, fol. $123a_{13}$).

Casualties. The figures quoted by the Mamlūk sources for their own and enemy casualties are, on the whole, quite moderate, though by no means free from exaggeration. Very illuminating in this context is the view expressed by the Mamlūk historian Ibn Taghrībirdī. He, and his near contemporary Ibn Khaldūn (see *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 9 f. = tr. Rosenthal, i, 16), who spent many years in the Mamlūk Sultanate, belong to the very few Muslim historians who question the veracity of figures mentioned in the historical sources. But while both of them criticize the figures pertaining to the sizes of the armies, only Ibn Taghrībirdī includes in his criticism the figures of those killed in action. The same author, who states on several occasions that the numbers quoted in the sources of those carried off by the plague are extremely exaggerated, adds on one of these occasions that the same is true of those killed in earlier battles (*al-waḳāʾiʿ al-mutaḳaddima*), when the sources spoke of one hundred thousand persons, or less, down to one thousand or even to one hundred, slain in a single battle. Our historian argues that even when the number of the slain does not exceed one thousand, their bodies are scattered over a wide area, and in order to count them one has to engage many thousands of those who remained alive, and even then it would take a long time to establish the exact number of the dead. Then he adds: "And we have not seen and we have not heard that any king had ever appointed anybody to count the numbers of those killed in any battle conducted between himself and his enemy, unless the number of the slain was one thousand or less. As for those killed in the battles of Hūlākū, Ghāzān and Timur, the establishment of their exact numbers is sheer madness, and whoever believes in these numbers is nothing but a madman". Then our chronicler concludes that he mentioned the battles of these three Khāns specifically only because they lived nearer his own time, but he meant any battle which took place either in the Muslim period or before it (*Ḥawādith*, 337_{14}-8_{13}. For the author's view of the exaggerations of the historian concerning the sizes of expeditionary forces, etc., see *Nudjūm*, vi, 603_{14-16} and also *Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 131_{6-8}, ix, 20_{9-14}. For his carefulness in quoting the numbers of Mamlūks cf. *ibid.*, vi, 687_{7-10}).

In spite of the quite numerous great battles of the Baḥrī period and the constant expeditions against the Bedouins in the Circassian period, Mamlūk sources do not furnish very rich information about the numbers of those killed in action. Data about the number of the wounded are scant. Very meagre are also the data about the prisoners of war.

The casualties suffered by the Mamlūks in the 9th/15th century were, in most cases, slight, if their encounters with Timur at the opening of this century and with the Turkoman Shāh Suwār and the Ottomans in its closing decades are excepted. The small number of casualties resulted from the lack of real fighting in that period, a fact which, amongst other causes,

greatly contributed to the accelerated decline of the Mamlūk army. Two statements by Ibn Taghrībirdī, the greatest authority on Circassian Mamlūk military society, about the intimate connexion between the scarcity of fighting, the lightness of casualties and the degeneration of the army, are of great importance (the author, who died in 874/1470, knew only of the very first battles against Shāh Suwār). In his first statement he says that the Mamlūks of his time "are a people who eat unearned bread", for they owe everything they have to the feats of the Mamlūks of past generations. There were no real wars in the 9th century A.H. after the war against Timur. The battles fought during the reigns of al-Nāṣir Faradj, al-Muʾayyad Shaykh and al-ʿAzīz Yūsuf were only substitutes for war. The greatest battle of the century was that of Shaḳḥab (792/1390), yet the number of those killed on both sides was under 50. After Shaḳḥab there were battles in which not a single soldier lost his life (*Nudjūm*, vi, 688). In his second statement, which he makes on summing up Sultan Ḳalāūn's rule, our author says that had Ḳalāūn's only positive act been the good upbringing he gave his Mamlūks, this alone would have justified his claim to greatness. Their good behaviour and discipline were in complete contrast to those of the Mamlūks of his own time. This should be coupled with the fact that, except for the war with Timur, there was no real war in the ninth century. The biggest military operation of that century was the conquest of Cyprus, but even this operation did not constitute a real battle, for the Cypriots surrendered to a small contingent, before the main body of the Mamlūk army reached the battlefield. The rest of the Mamlūk naval campaigns were no more than "sea voyages there and back" (*safar fi 'l-baḥr dhahābᵃⁿ wa-ayābᵃⁿ*). This, according to Ibn Taghrībirdī, is in glaring contrast to the big and constant battles and to the fighting fervour which marked the period between the reigns of Salāḥ al-Dīn and al-Ashraf Khalīl. It is remarkable, he adds, that the Mamlūk soldiers of earlier generations were modest and shy, in spite of their victories and achievements. They effaced themselves in the presence of the great and of the veterans, and did not despise those who occupied lower positions than themselves. The Mamlūks of his own time were, in contrast, holding "their buttocks in the water and their nose in the sky (*ist fi 'l-māʾ wa-anf fi 'l-samāʾ*). None of them is capable of holding the horse's rein properly. They are experts in overcoming the weak and the powerless. Their *djihād* is the humiliation of their commander. Their *ghazwa*s are the looting of the hay and the dried clover" (*Nudjūm* (Cairo), vii, 328_3-9_{15}. On the breakdown of the discipline of the Mamlūks under the Circassians, see *BSOAS*, xv, 206-13. There is a marked tendency in the Circassian period to idealize the Baḥrī period, but this tendency is by no means without solid foundation).

The dead soldier's inheritance. The death of a soldier during a campaign often caused serious complications. One of the greatest difficulties was to obtain reliable testimony concerning the will he made before he died. The testimony of his fellow-soldiers was not considered good enough. In the meantime the deceased's property would be squandered. In order to safeguard the interests of the deceased's legal heirs, Sultan Baybars I decreed in Shaʿbān 663/May 1265, with the approval of the Chief Ḳāḍī, that every field commander would appoint a certain number of upright and devout persons, who would be authorized to testify to the dead soldier's last will. This decree had a welcome from the army. Earlier, in Radjab 662/April 1264, Baybars promulgated another decree safeguarding the interests of the deceased soldier's orphans. This one does not seem to have been confined to soldiers participating in a campaign (*Sulūk*, i, 512_{1-7}, 536_{10-16}; *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, $206_{11-16, 19-28}$).

The return of the victorious army to the capital. The announcement of a victory in the capital was accompanied by the playing of bands and particularly by the beating of drums in the Cairo citadel and at the gates of the houses of the *Amīr*s of a Thousand. This way of announcing the victory was called *duḳḳat al-bashāʾir* (or *al-kūsāt*, etc.). Sometimes the drums would not stop beating for seven days running. The town was decorated for many days. The decoration usually included the construction of wooden "towers" (*ḳilāʿ*) in the streets, the repainting of the city's gates and the drawing of gilt coats of arms (*runūk*, sing. *rank*) on them. The returning army used to march through Cairo (*shaḳḳa al-Ḳāhira*) in a magnificent procession. Shackled prisoners, severed heads, torn, broken and reversed banners, cleft and sometimes also reversed drums formed part of the procession. The chief commanders of the expeditionary force received sumptuous robes of honour (*khilaʿ*, sing. *khilʿa*) and other gifts.

The behaviour of the Mamlūk army during a defeat. The behaviour of an army in a defeat or during a retreat is one of the best criteria for judging its efficiency and morale. Judged by this criterion alone, the Mamlūk army would not have justified its great reputation. That it would be easily dispirited as a result of a military setback in the years of its decline is to be expected. The extraordinary thing is that, as far as one can judge from a single important instance, its behaviour was not fundamentally different when it was at, or near, the peak of its power. The only major defeat suffered by this army in the Baḥrī period was in the first battle against Īlkhān Ghāzān (699/1299). The retreat soon turned into a panic flight. Even the grand *amīrs* abandoned the soldiers under their command and fled for their lives. In order to facilitate their flight the soldiers threw away their helmets and wore kerchiefs instead. Many of them took off their field-dresses and went into hiding in Damascus from fear of the wrath of the mob. Others tried to disguise their identity by cutting their beards. Both the Egyptian and Syrian armies withdrew to Egypt. Their soldiers reached Cairo in tiny isolated groups or even singly (*mutafarriḳīn furadāʾ*), most of them half-naked and horseless. According to one historian the number of those killed in the actual fighting was quite small; many found their death during the flight. It took several months to re-organize and re-equip the army, but Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad rose to the occasion in spite of his youth. The maintenance and reorganization of such huge armies could be carried out in Egypt because of the great prosperity of that country in that time, as explicitly stated by the sources (*Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 122_{15-19}, $124_{1-8, 13-14}$, 128_{13}-9_3; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd* (in *Patrologia Orientalis*), xiv, 637_8-8_3, 670_8-71_3; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 60_{23}-61_2, 80_{1-5}; Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 17-18, 37-40).

In the battle against Timurlang (Djumādā I 803/January 1401) the Mamlūk defeat was not severe, and therefore the retreat was very orderly at the beginning; but as soon as the *amīrs* learnt of Sultan Faradj's departure, they also departed hastily without taking leave, and each of them reached Egypt with not more than one or two Mamlūks

(*Nudjūm*, vi, 61_{14-17}).

A most striking proof of the deterioration of the Mamlūk army's discipline early in the 9th/15th century is afforded by its attitude immediately after Sultan Barsbāy raised the siege of the fortress of Āmid in 836/1433. Failing to capture it, Sultan Barsbāy decided to make a treaty with its defender, Ḳarā Yuluk, and return to Egypt. The besieging army remained intact throughout the long siege, and suffered only few losses. There was, of course, no question of any defeat. Yet as soon as the news of the treaty spread in the camp, the whole army did not bother to wait for the order of retreat, but turned its back on the fort and started a headlong stampede towards Egypt. In this chaotic flight each made his own way, and the huge army soon disintegrated into tiny groups which rushed towards Egypt in different ways, unbeknown to one another. The *amīrs* fled in one direction, whereas their Mamlūks, together with their *ṭulbs*, ran away in another. The Sultan himself was left with a few followers, and was exposed during the whole night to great danger. The contemporary historian believes that Ḳarā Yuluk could have inflicted heavy losses on the retreating army had he possessed sufficient courage to pursue it (*Nudjūm*, vi, 206-9).

In the numerous defeats which the Mamlūk army suffered at later dates all its retreats were most disorderly. The soldiers returned home hungry, naked and barefoot. Some of them came back on foot, others riding donkeys and yet others riding camels (see *e.g.*, *Badāʾiʿ*, ii, 112_{6-8}, iii, 12_{5-6}, 34_{13-16},; v, 72_{6-8}, 128_{8-11}).

Battles within Mamlūk military society. Whereas the Mamlūks fought against their external enemies with considerable zeal and determination, at least until the early decades of Circassian rule, their internal battles were in most cases conducted with little determination and ferocity, and in a rather leisurely manner. The number of casualties was usually very small. The expression "insignificant fighting" (*ḳitāl hayyin*) is very frequent in connexion with this kind of warfare. It was almost impossible to foresee the results of these battles, for the two rival camps were always in a fluctuating state, with Mamlūks constantly going over from one side to the other. When the scales were definitely tipped in favour of one rival, it often happened that most of the Mamlūks of the losing side would go over *en bloc* to the winning side (see, *e.g.*, *Nahdj*, xiv, 579_{5}-80_{3}; *Manhal*, iv, fol. $216a_{18-20}$; *Nudjūm*, vi, 35-6). Even in the battles between Barḳūḳ and his rivals, which were much fiercer than the ordinary Mamlūk skirmishes, and later in the battles which these rivals conducted amongst themselves, there was a constant flow of Mamlūks from one camp to the other. Because of this flow and because the combatants on both sides wore more or less the same dress, the supporters of one rival had sometimes to bear distinguishing marks (see, *e.g.*, Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 170_{22-3}). Only the battles between Sultan Faradj and his Circassians were distinguished by their particular ferocity (see *JAOS*, lxix (1949), 141-2).

The Cairo citadel (*ḳalʿat al-djabal*) occupied a most central place in the Mamlūk internal strifes. In spite of its being strongly fortified, its sieges usually were of short duration, for it passed from hand to hand without much struggle. Sieges which lasted seven days were quite rare (*Sulūk*, i, 800_{20}; *Ḥawādith*, 179_{18-21}, 233_{8-9}; Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 147_{3}, 181_{18}; *Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 455_{3}). The longest siege of the citadel under the Mamlūks lasted 31 days (*Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 362_{1}-363_{2}). The Madrasat al-Sulṭān Ḥasan, which is situated opposite the citadel, always played an important rôle in these sieges.

Though inter-Mamlūk fighting caused considerable damage to the civilian population, many inhabitants of the capital enjoyed witnessing it in the same way that they enjoyed witnessing the spectacle of the *maḥmal* procession. Sometimes the spectators suffered heavier casualties than the Mamlūks (*Ḥawādith*, 171_{21-3}; *Nudjūm*, vii, 405, 417_{14}-18_{4}).

It was only very rarely that the Mamlūk rival factions called the Egyptian Bedouins to help them against each other. When in 902/1497 they did call them, the Mamlūks fought the Mamlūks, while the Bedouins fought the Bedouins (*Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 356_{7-9}, 357_{19}-58_{2}). A few years later, in 906/1501, the Mamlūk factions again contemplated calling the Bedouins for help, but then discarded the idea on the grounds that such a step was too humiliating (*Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 450_{8-10}). As for the Bedouins, they showed little enthusiasm for a trial of arms with the Mamlūks, as long as they were not attacked by them. Once Barḳūḳ asked the Bedouins to help him against his rivals, but they excused themselves, saying that they were not able to fight the Mamlūks (Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 72_{11-19}).

See further the articles on the individual battles—ʿAYN DJĀLŪT, ḤIMṢ, MARDJ DĀBIḲ, SHAḲḤAB, WĀDĪ AL-KHĀZINDĀR etc.; for siege-warfare see ḤIṢĀR.

(D. AYALON)

iv. — OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

A major field campaign was perforce an enterprise involving the Ottomans in a long and complicated process of preparation. News from abroad—espionage reports, in fact—had an obvious relevance to operations in the field and the Ottomans strove to be well informed about the international scene (*e.g.*, through Ragusa: cf. N. H. Biegman in *Belleten*, xxvii (1963), 237-55 ; on Jewish spies in the Ottoman service see A. Arce, *Espionaje y última aventura de José Nasi*..., in *Sefarad*, xiii (1953), 257-86). Routes followed in earlier wars sometimes came under renewed consideration at a later date—Meḥemmed II would seem to have studied some of the campaigns of Bāyazīd I and Murād II as a guide to his own action (cf. H. İnalcık, in *X. Bizans Tetkikleri Kongresi Tebliğleri*, Istanbul 1957, 220). Moreover, advice about the best routes available might also be sought from soldiers and officials well acquainted with a particular theatre of war (cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, ii/1, 521).

The great campaigns stood in close relation to a number of geographical zones. In time of war against Persia, Erzurum (reached from Istanbul either along the sea route to Trebizond or overland) was a base area of vast importance for the Ottoman armies. So, too, the region of Diyarbekir, Van and Mosul, with Aleppo as a rear base—fortress towns which also fulfilled a similar rôle in relation to ʿIrāḳ, when that land was the theatre of war. Against Russia the Ottomans made much use of the sea routes from Istanbul to the Crimea and to the fortresses located on the rivers flowing into the Black Sea—*e.g.*, Azov and Yenikale (Don and the Strait of Kerch), Ochakov and Kilburun (Dnepr and Bug), Akkerman (Dnestr) and Kilya, Ismail, Tulcea, Braila, Silistra and Ruschuk (Danube), to all of which must be added the fortresses guarding Moldavia (*e.g.*, Bender, Iasi, Kaminiec and Khotin). As for campaigns on the middle Danube, here the main line of advance was from Istanbul through Edirne, Plovdiv, Sofia and Nish towards Belgrade, beyond which the

Danube itself and the Tisza offered access into the Hungarian lands, the Sava and the Drava into the regions of Hercegovina, Dalmatia and Bosnia. The great centre of Salonika was well situated to act as a base area for operations directed against Greece and Albania (cf., on communications in the Ottoman Empire, the works of Jireček and Taeschner).

The vast extent of the empire, the great distances to be overcome meant that full mobilization was, in general, a slow and laborious affair. It was the custom to send out in December orders calling the *sipāhī*s, *i.e.*, the "feudal" horsemen in the provinces, to a campaign envisaged for the following year (cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, ii/1, 521; J. Cuspinianus, *De Turcorum origine*, 63r-v; I. Dujčev, *Avvisi*, 43; Sutton, ed. A. N. Kurat, 35-7, 90-1, 151-3). Marsigli (*Stato militare*, ii, 106) indicates how, for a campaign in Europe, the troops from Asia Minor and the Arab lands passed over into the Balkans at Istanbul and Gallipoli or straight to Salonika from the ports of Syria and Egypt, the various contingents joining the main line of march thereafter at Philippopolis (Filibe [*q.v.*]), Sofia and Nish. Of the troops from Europe the Bosnians made for Eszék, the Albanians for Nish, the men of Transylvania for Pest via Szolnok and the Wallachians, Moldavians and Krim Tatars for Belgrade via Temesvár (Marsigli, *op. cit.*, ii, 106). It was seldom possible, in time of conflict with Austria or Persia, to concentrate the imperial forces in the actual theatre of war until the summer was far advanced, with the result that major field operations often had to be compressed into the months of August, September and October. The diminution, in the late summer, of natural sources of fodder in the area of operations tended to restrict the length of the campaign season, since the Ottomans took with them to war—and therefore had to feed—a large number of transport animals (cf. de Warnery, *Remarques*, 37-8). With the onset of winter (often harsh in the Balkans and as a rule severe in Armenia and the adjacent regions) the time for withdrawal to winter-quarters was almost at hand.

The preparations for a new campaign included the bringing together of vast supplies of war material. Orders would go out to the cannon foundries (Ṭop-k͟hāne) at Istanbul and elsewhere for the casting of new guns and to the mines of the empire for supplies of metal (lead, copper, iron) and for the fabrication of picks, shovels, crowbars, axes, nails, horse-shoes, axles for gun-carriages and waggons, etc. (cf. art. BĀRŪD, 1063; also J. Grzegorzewski, in *Archiwum Naukowe*, vi (1912), *passim*; Gökbilgin, *Yürükler*, 169). Austrian accounts of material captured from the Ottomans during the long war of 1094/1683-1110/1699 embrace a wide range of articles and equipment—*e.g.*, cramps, shovels, scythes, sickles, anvils, bellows, iron, lead, horse-shoes, nails, slow-match, linseed-oil, resin, pitch, cauldrons, camel-hair and horse-hair, ropes, cord and cables, cotton-wool, sacks, sheep-skins, grease, tallow, waggon-jacks, etc. (cf. Boethius, *Kriegs-Helm*, i, 153; *Archiv f. Kunde österreich. Gesch.-Quellen*, iv, 444; Veress, *Gyula Város*, 452; also (for Peterwardein, 1716) *Mon. Hung. Hist., Scriptores*, xxvii, 585). These inventories include the guns, fire-arms and other weapons taken from the Ottomans and, in addition, list the amounts of captured gun-powder, sulphur and saltpetre (essential items that the Porte drew both from inside the empire and from foreign sources: cf. the references in BĀRŪD iv (1063) and D͟JIZYA ii).

Of the first importance also was the obligation to make available adequate supplies of food for the troops in the field. The Ottomans, on campaign, led a frugal and sober life, a little bread (or biscuit), mutton and rice (pilav), dried beef, onions and the like forming, with water, the main ingredients of their diet. This temperate approach to eating and drinking tended, as some of the Western sources indicate, to make the Ottoman soldier more resistant to disease and of greater endurance than his Christian foe (cf. Menavino, in Sansovino, *Historia Universale*, 73r; Georgieviz, *Epitome*, 52-53; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, iv, 518; de Courmenin, *Voiage*, 261; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 23). The central government took elaborate measures to meet the need for supplies and provisions. Large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep accompanied the Ottomans to war as sustenance for the troops in the field (cf. Magni, *Turchia*, i, 290). On the local population dwelling close to the line of advance would fall the burden—against payment, however—of bringing to the troops on the march grain and victuals of various kinds (cf. da Lezze, *Historia Turchesca*, 48-9; Spandugino, in Sathas, *Documents Inédits*, ix, 230-1; de Courmenin, *Voiage*, 255-6). At times, indeed, when a major campaign was in view, an edict might be issued, forbidding the export of supplies from a given area (cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, ii/1, 525). The government—with the armed forces in mind—promoted the cultivation of rice in the Balkan lands, *e.g.*, along the rivers Maritsa and Vardar (cf. FILĀḤA iv, 907).

A great campaign meant the gathering together of vast numbers of transport animals, waggons and carts. Oxen and buffalo (some of them bred under government control, *e.g.*, in Cilicia: cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 40) hauled the large guns, while camels (drawn from Asia Minor and the Fertile Crescent), mules and draught horses ("*bārgīr*", levied from the lands along the lower Danube) acted as beasts of burden. The *sipāhī*s, *i.e.*, the "feudal" warriors, and also the "*Altı bölük*", or mounted regiments of the imperial household, came to war with their own horses, more swift and more light in physique than the heavier "*bārgīr*". It was, in addition, the custom, for purposes of transport, to requisition waggons and animals, together with personal labour service, from the rural population on or near the line of march (cf. Menavino, in Sansovino, *Historia Universale*, 43r, 105r-106v; Spandugino, in Sathas, *Documents Inédits*, ix, 218; Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, ii/1, 230; I. Dujčev, *Avvisi*, 203; Montecuculi-Crissé, iii, 294, 295, 305-306; L. Barbar, in *Wiener Staatswissenschaftliche Studien*, xiii/1, 43 ff.; B. A. Cvetkova, *Impôts extraordinaires*, 225).

The opening of a campaign was attended with elaborate ceremonies. Of the six *tūg͟h*s [*q.v.*] or horse-tails marking the exalted rank of the Sultan two would be erected in the first courtyard of the imperial palace at Istanbul. Should the Grand Vizier—and not the Sultan—be in charge of the campaign, then one of the three *tūg͟h*s assigned to him was exposed to public view. After six weeks this *tūg͟h* (known as "*ḳonak tūg͟hı*", *i.e.*, "tough de station", because it travelled and halted one day's march ahead of the main forces) was moved to the first encampment of the campaign located at Dāwūd Pās͟hā near Istanbul, the war being in Europe, or else sited close to Üsküdar (Skutari), hostilities being in Asia. On the following day contingents drawn from the crafts of Istanbul and destined to practise their trades on campaign for the benefit of the troops—millers, bakers, butchers, saddlers, etc.—went out in ceremonial procession to the encampment. Two days

later the Janissaries and, in succession after them, the other corps and regiments of the central government moved to the camp, where the Grand Vizier, as *Serdār*, or commander-in-chief, now joined them, having taken formal leave of the Sultan (cf. I. Dujčev, *Avvisi*, 215; Galland, *Journal*, i, 177 ff.; de la Croix, *Mémoires*, i, 266 ff., 295 ff.; Kéralio, *Histoire*, i, 52 ff., ii, 73 ff., 82 ff., 88 ff.; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 21 ff.; Montecuculi-Crissé, iii, 289; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, vii, 387 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 488 ff.).

Much care was taken to make the line of march, at least within the confines of the empire, as smooth and as practicable as possible. Orders would be sent to the authorities in the provinces, bidding them repair the relevant routes in order to facilitate the passage of waggons and guns. Piles of stones and wooden stakes served to mark out the actual line of advance that the troops had to follow (cf. *Trésor politique*, iii, 861; I. Dujčev, *Avvisi*, 69, 264; Magni, *Turchia*, i, 288; Auer, ed. Lukinich, 50; L. Barbar, *op. cit.*, 22, 27, 28). The crossing of rivers (*e.g.*, in Europe, the Sava, the Drava, the Danube or the Tisza) was a problem of particular importance. Supplies of tools, chains, timber, cables, nails, etc. had to be assembled for the building of great pontoon bridges. Sometimes pre-fabricated parts of the structure would be carried to the designated site in boats or on waggons and carts. Moreover, to ensure that the work went ahead with despatch, orders might be issued requisitioning the services of local skilled craftsmen, *e.g.*, carpenters and smiths (cf. Barovius, *De rebus Ungaricis*, 134-5; Szamosközy, *Történeti Maradványai*, 147-8; Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, ii/1, 521, 525, 543; Auer, ed. Lukinich, 80; Magni, *Turchia*, 391-3; de la Croix, *Mémoires*, 298-300; Molnar, in *Müvészettörténeti Értesitö*, vii/4, 259-63).

The Ottomans, in the time of their splendour, observed a strict discipline on the march. Even the slightest damage to orchards, gardens and cultivated fields along the route was visited with severe punishment (cf. Menavino, in Sansovino, *Historia Universale*, 73r; Georgieviz, *Epitome*, 53-4; Chesneau, *Voyage*, 108-9). Such discipline seems, however, to have been far less good, when the empire was in decline (cf. de Warnery, *Remarques*, 89). Written commands transmitted from the *serdār*, through the *Čawush-bashi* and his subordinates, to the various corps and regiments made known the order of march, the chief elements of which—in the actual theatre of war—included an advanced screen of raiding and reconnaissance horsemen (*e.g.*, *akindjilar* and Tatars), a vanguard of picked cavalry under the *Čarkhadji-bashi*, a main force embracing the Janissaries, the *Alti bölük*, the specialist troops (*e.g.*, armourers, artillerists, etc.), together with the mass of the "feudal" *sipāhīs* on either flank, and a rearguard covering the baggage and supplies (cf. de Promontorio-de Campis, ed. Babinger, 49, 61; *Ordo Portae*, ed. Şerif Baştav, 8-11; Marsigli, *op. cit.*, ii, 112-7; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 493 ff.).

The movement from one camping site to the next began in the small hours of the morning. It was now that the personnel entrusted with the choice and delimitation of a new site went forward, under suitable escort and with tents, baggage and equipment, to fulfil their duties. Access to pasture for the animals and to water for beasts and men alike was a factor of much importance in the selection of the next site. Experience from earlier campaigns, expert local advice and careful reconnaissance meant of course that the choice could often be made, in principle at least, well before the actual moment of need. With the forward movement thus begun, the various corps and regiments set out in succession, marching until about the hour of noon, when the new camp, in normal circumstances, would be at hand. The centre of the encampment was reserved for the tents of the Sultan, the Grand Vizier and the high dignitaries of the Porte. Around them would lie the Janissaries, the *Alti bölük*, the artillerists with their cannon—in short, the troops belonging to the imperial household. Beyond this central nucleus stood the *Beglerbegs*, the *Sandjak begs* and the *sipāhīs* of the provinces, each corps having its own quarters. Much colourful detail can be gleaned about such encampments from the European sources—*e.g.*, on the lanterns used for marching in the hours of darkness, the water-carrier (*sakkā*) with his buffalo skins, the "baraques" of the artisans and craftsmen (each with a small pennant above it, pointing to a particular trade or occupation), the enclosure where strayed animals waited for their owners to reclaim them or the canvas barriers erected around the quarters of the Sultan and painted to look like walls. The deepest impressions left on the Christian mind would seem to have come, however, from the frugal and sober habits of the Ottoman soldier, the absence of drunkenness, the wonderful silence prevailing in such encampments and from the care taken to maintain a high standard of personal and public cleanliness amongst the troops (*e.g.*, regular visits to the barber, frequent washing of clothes, lavish provision of latrines both within the quarters of each individual unit and within the camp as a whole)—all of which stood in marked and favourable contrast to the practices normal in the armies of Christendom (cf. Spandugino, in Sathas, *Documents Inédits*, ix, 230; *Trésor politique*, iii, 865 ff.; de Courmenin, *Voiage*, 258-9; de la Croix, *Mémoires*, i, 289 ff., 301 ff.; Galland, *Journal*, i, 113 ff., ii, 113 ff.; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, iv, 516 ff.; Magni, *Turchia*, i, 288 ff., 301 ff., 336-7, 348-9; Guilleragues, *Ambassades*, 323 ff.; Benaglia, *Relatione*, 101 ff.; Marsigli, *op. cit.*, i, 81, ii, 56 ff.; de La Motraye, *Voyages*, ii, 5 ff.; Villars, ed. Vogüé, i, 77 ff.; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 13, 22, 27-8). There is often mention, too, of the pomp and circumstance of Ottoman warfare—*e.g.*, of the uniform and equipment of the Janissaries, of the respect accorded to meritorious conduct in the field (the granting of aigrettes, of honorific robes and of gratifications in cash) or of the brilliant-hued pennants used to distinguish one from the other the various regiments and corps and also the personal retinues of the great dignitaries (cf. *Trésor politique*, iii, 841, 843, 853; de Germigny, in *L'Illustre Orbandale*, i, 109; Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, Supl. I, i, 86-7; Benaglia, *Relatione*, 234; Magni, *Turchia*, i, 339; Brue, *Journal*, 24, 27, 58-9; Perry, *View of the Levant*, 42).

An assessment of Ottoman tactics in the field demands some degree of caution. The rôle, in warfare, of the Janissaries, the *Alti bölük* and the specialist corps of the imperial household was a most important one, but it can be given too much emphasis. The main weight of the Ottoman forces—and this fact determined in large measure their system of tactics—was to be found in the *sipāhīs*, the "feudal" warriors from the provinces, who far out-numbered the troops of the central government. On the battlefield, subject of course to variations imposed by the terrain, the normal order consisted of a firm centre embracing the Janissaries and other élite elements

with trenches, cannon and waggons as protection (in short, a "Wagenburg" arrangement) and on each side a powerful wing of *sipāhī* horsemen. The tactics appropriate to such forces aligned in such an order are not hard to define: harassment of the foe, skirmishes, sudden thrusts, feigned retreats, infiltration toward the flank and rear of the opposing troops and at last a general onset of horsemen, with the foe, should all go well, overrun and cut down in flight and relentless pursuit. To considerations of this kind must be added factors of a strategical nature: time and distance (in relation to war against Austria and Persia), climate (the approach of winter) and logistics (food and munitions for the men, fodder for the animals). The influence of these factors was such that, in the golden age, a major Ottoman campaign assumed the form of an offensive brief in duration, but waged with vigour to ensure, if possible, a rapid and decisive result—the emphasis resting, of course, in the tactical sense, on warfare highly mobile and fluid in character.

As the art of war changed and became more elaborate in Europe, so, in the course of time, new tactics, indeed a distinctive system of warfare was evolved, first in Austria and then in Russia, to meet the Ottoman armies in the field. Raimondo di Montecucculi, one of the greatest theoreticians of war and himself victor over the Turks at St. Gotthard in 1075/1664, laid down in his famous memoirs the principles of action destined to govern all the campaigns of Austria and Russia against the Ottomans in the late 11th/17th and the 12th/18th centuries: "... Attaquer avec les cuirassiers l'infanterie de l'ennemi ... soutenir et repousser sa cavalerie avec nos piques et notre mousqueterie, et battre sans relâche l'une et l'autre avec l'artillerie, et toutes sortes de bouches à feu ..." (Montecuculi-Crissé, iii, 302). The tactical formation which embodied these principles was the square or rectangle, each side (two or three lines deep) consisting of alternate groups of foot and horse with chevaux de frise in front of them, the guns being at the corners of the square, the reserve troops and baggage inside it. Modifications of later date involved the disappearance of the pikes and the chevaux de frise, the diminution in the size of the squares and an increase in their number—changes designed, in short, to obtain greater freedom of movement (cf. Montecucculi, *Mémoires*, ii, *passim*; Röder von Diersburg, ii, 33; Eugen, *Feldzüge*, ii, 552 ff., *passim*; Vauban, ii, 281 ff.; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 63 ff., 74 ff., 90 ff., 109 ff.; Marsigli, *op. cit.*, ii, 86; Bruce, *Memoirs*, 43, 46; Poniatowski, *Remarques*, 103; Manstein, *Mémoires*, 124, 178 ff.; F. Ley, *Münnich*, 62-3; Anthing, *Campagnes*, i, 142-3, ii, 78-9; Smitt, *Suworow*, 157 ff., 431; de Volney, *Considérations*, 19-20, 47; von Berenhorst, *Betrachtungen*, 362 ff.; Criste, *Kriege*, 272 ff.).

The Ottoman armies still contained much sound material, both in respect of equipment and of men. Praise is given in the European sources to their muskets, mortars and mines (see above, BĀRŪD, 1064). On favourable ground the Janissaries still fought well, as at Gročka in 1152/1739 (cf. Criste, *op. cit.*, 272-3). Nevertheless, the old Ottoman tactics met with little success against the co-ordination of all arms and all categories of troops practised in Austria and Russia, the increasing reliance of the Christians on massed gun-fire and musket-fire, and their conviction that the best means to overcome the Muslim foe was to force him into a major battle. The Ottomans, during the war of 1683-99, began, in 1687, to entrench themselves in elaborate fashion, renouncing to some extent the open and mobile order of battle normal to them before this time. Such a change—itself a consequence of the severe defeats endured at the hands of the Austrians since 1683—was soon shown to be of doubtful advantage. At Zenta in 1109/1697 the Ottomans, unable to hold their entrenchments under the efficient fire of the Austrian guns, suffered yet another formidable reverse (cf. Röder von Diersburg, ii, 22; Marsigli, *op. cit.*, ii, 125; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 122 ff.).

Much information, often of great detail, is to be found in the European sources of the late 17th and of the 18th centuries, *e.g.*, on the incompetence of Ottoman generals, the tactics of the *sipāhīs*, the skill of the Ottomans with the sabre, the use of smoke signals to launch an attack, the wild rush of the Janissaries towards the foe and on the unwieldiness of the Ottoman guns (cf. Villars, ed. Vogüé, i, 367, 368; Vauban, ii, 283; Eugen, *Feldzüge*, ii, 568 ff.; Röder von Diersburg, ii, 107 ff.; Poniatowski, *Remarques*, 104-5; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 24, 60 ff., 77-78, 114; Kéralio, *Histoire*, i, 113 ff.; Smitt, *Suworow*, 162 ff.; Criste, *Kriege*, 273 ff.). The resultant picture—even when all allowances have been made—is of a war machine outmoded beyond hope of renovation. Soldiers of such great reputation as Lorraine and Villars and authors of genuine insight like de Warnery and Kéralio underline the basic defects of Ottoman warfare—incompetence in the high command, lack of an efficient artillery, ignorance of tactics and of the art of manœuvre (cf. Villars, ed. Vogüé, i, 79-80, 368, 380; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 114; Kéralio, *Histoire*, i, 114-5). Reform on European lines had in fact become for the Ottomans a most urgent and unavoidable need. The last word on their traditional style of warfare can be left to Maurice de Saxe, who wrote that neither valour, nor number, nor wealth was lacking to them—but order, discipline and "la manière de combattre" (*Rêveries*, i, 87).

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v.—PERSIA

The conduct of war in the early centuries of Islamic Persia was based essentially on the military heritage of earlier Persian empires, but it also contained elements from the Arab desert tradition of warfare and the Turkish steppe tradition of raiding.

We first hear of Persian military methods in the Islamic period from the accounts of the Arab conquest of al-ʿIrāḳ and Persia under Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. The mailed cavalryman, armed with sword, lance, mace or bow, was characteristic of the Sāsānid army, and the deployment and tactics of such cavalrymen must have been similar to the type of heroic warfare depicted in the *Shāh-nāma* (on which see Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*[2], Berlin and Leipzig 1920, 53 ff.). War elephants were also used, and their use later passed to several of the Islamic dynasties of Persia (for the military use of elephants, see FĪL). At the battle of Buwayb on the Euphrates banks in 13/634, the Persians advanced against al-Muthannā's Arabs in three cavalry columns, each headed by an elephant protected by a group of infantrymen. At al-Ḳādisiyya in the following year,

Rustum's troops (allegedly numbering 120,000, of whom a large proportion must have been infantry conscripts and camp followers) advanced on the first day of battle in thirteen ranks, each behind the other, and rained arrows on the Arabs. Being without adequate protective clothing or helmets, the latter suffered considerably, but nevertheless stood firm and were able to advance and use their lances and swords at close quarters (Ṭabarī, in Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*[4], Edinburgh 1915, 104 ff., and R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 431-2).

With the decline of direct Caliphal authority in Persia and the rise of virtually independent dynasties (sc. in the 3rd/9th century and after), two trends of military significance may be noted. Firstly, the emphasis on the cavalry arm increased with the popularity in armies of Turkish military slaves (*ghulāms* [*q.v.*]), for these were primarily cavalrymen, using the weapon of the steppes, the bow. Secondly, multi-national, professional armies became the norm, and the supreme commander or ruler had a problem in wielding together for action the disparate elements composing his forces. According to Niẓām al-Mulk, Maḥmūd of Ghazna drew advantage from this diversity. He kept the various nationalities, Turks, Indians, Khurāsānīs, Arabs, etc., in their ethnic groups, and encamped thus when the army was on the march; on the battlefield, the spirit of emulation spurred them all on to prodigies of valour (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xxiv). But on more than one occasion, the Great Saldjūḳs had difficulty in holding their forces together on the battlefield. In 465/1073, for instance, Malik Shāh had to defend his throne against his uncle Ḳāwurd, the representative of conservative Turkmen feeling. In a battle outside Hamadhān, Malik Shāh's own Turkish troops turned against the Kurdish and Arab contingents of his army, because these last had played the decisive rôle in crumpling and routing Ḳāwurd's right wing and had thus outraged the feelings of Turkish solidarity amongst the Sultan's own Turks (Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, 48). However, where the ruler or commander had at his disposal a force of dependable *ghulāms*, these could be moved along the front to whichever part needed strengthening or watching (cf. Bayhaḳī, *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, cited in C. E. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi/1-2 (1960), 47).

The Arab raiders, like the Turkmen marauders from the steppes in later centuries, had travelled with a minimum of baggage. But in a settled land like Persia, the large-scale movement of troops was bound to be a complicated affair. The reduction of fortresses and walled towns demanded siege machinery; if agriculture was to flourish and the taxable capacity of the land to be maintained, an army could not expect to live off the countryside, so supplies had to be taken along; and such non-combatant bodies as the court and harem and the *dīwān*s of the administration frequently accompanied the army on its campaigns. When in 420/1029 Maḥmūd of Ghazna marched against the Būyids of Ray and Djibāl, his full expedition comprised, besides the fighting men, 12,000 camels carrying the armoury, 4,000 camels for the treasury, wardrobe and domestic equipment, 300 elephants for transporting the tents and 2,000 horses for conveying the harem and courtiers (Shabānkāra'ī, *Madjma' al-ansāb fi 'l-tawārīkh*, MS Yeni Cami 909, ff. 178b-179a). In the 6th/12th century under Sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, the Saldjūḳ army also had with it on the march a travelling hospital (*māristān*) mounted on 40 camels (Bundārī, 136-7; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, ed. Lippert, 404-5; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, ii, 82-3). Naturally, the speed at which such armies could move was slow, and the successes of the indifferently-armed but highly mobile Saldjūḳ raiders in Khurāsān are in large part explicable by their advantages over the heavily-burdened and less manoeuvrable Ghaznavid professional armies.

In addition to such impedimenta as these, an army on the march might have to take with it equipment for coping with particular types of terrain or climatic conditions. In 430/1039 Mas'ūd I of Ghazna sent back to his capital for equipment suitable for steppe and desert warfare (*ālat-i djang-i biyābān*) so that his forces in Khurāsān might meet the Turkmens on more equal terms (Bayhaḳī, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehrān 1324/1945, 588). Beasts of burden were used to trample ways through snow, or else peasant corvées were impressed for the task. As a protection against rain, troops of the Ghaznavids are mentioned as wearing oiled cotton coats (*bārānīhā-yi kirbāsīn*) (Bayhaḳī, 134, 534). Thus when an army was campaigning outside its normal sphere of action, local conditions had to be provided for if the army was to function at optimum efficiency; the sources often note the effect of the damp climate of the Caspian coast region in rusting weapons, and the Turkish archers of Ibn Rā'iḳ's general Bačḳam were in 326/938 routed in Khūzistān by the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla because continuous rain had ruined their bowstrings (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 254-5).

The plundering of the countryside by a passing army was an age-old custom in Persia (cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], 213, on the scorched-earth tactics of Sāsānid troops). Certain troops and commanders acquired particularly bad reputations for their plunderings and excesses against the civilian populations, such as the Daylamīs of Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 22-4), and the Turkmens—many of them fresh from the Ḳipčaḳ steppes and still pagan—of the Khwārizm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. A Ghaznavid commander in Khurāsān cut down all the pistachio-nut trees in the Bayhaḳ oasis and sent some of the trunks off to Ghazna for fuel (*Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, 273). Other commanders had a good reputation for the discipline which they kept over their soldiers whilst on the march, *e.g.*, Ya'ḳūb b. Layth (*Murūdj*, viii, 46 ff.). It was recognised that violent behaviour was morally indefensible and contrary to the *Sharī'a*, but it was sometimes excused on the grounds of necessity (see the apologia of Sulaymān b. Ḳutalmïsh for his ravaging of the region of Aleppo in 477/1084-5, in Ibn al-Athīr, x, 90). Not infrequently the civilian population of a whole region might be evacuated in face of an advancing enemy, as is said to have been done by 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad in the Sīr Daryā valley when the Mongols were approaching (*ibid.*, xii, 179).

The commander of an advancing army had to plan his strategy with regard to such considerations as the availability of supplies, the maintenance of his communications and the type of terrain and natural conditions which he would have to face when giving battle. In a land of hydraulic constructions like Persia, it was often possible to divert rivers and irrigation channels to flood the land in face of an approaching enemy. In 456/1064 Ḳutalmïsh b. Arslan Isrā'īl rebelled against Alp Arslan; he shut himself up in Ray and made the roads thither impassable by diverting water over the salt flats and

into the *wādīs* (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 23-4). But the *locus classicus* for this tactic was Khwārizm, where an army advancing north-westwards along the Oxuṣ could be halted by the flooding of the very complex irrigation system of that region (for examples from the 6th/12th century, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 154, 325, 337, 339, 349). On the other hand, such a decision to flood territory might affect both sides. When the Ghūrid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn faced Sandjar at Nāb in the Harī Rūd valley in 547/1152, he decided to flood his own rear to prevent his soldiers yielding; this manoeuvre recoiled upon him disastrously, for the Turkish troops in the Ghūrid army deserted to the Saldjūḳs, and the Ghūrīs were pushed back into the flooded lands and swamps (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, 358-60).

When the army halted and prepared for battle, guards were posted and scouts sent out to investigate the terrain and the enemy positions (Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-mulūk*, ch. xx; on this work, see *Bibliography*). According to this author, the ʿĀriḍ or head of the military branch of the administration then inspected the whole of the army, from the officers downwards, their weapons and their mounts, and passed them as fit for battle. Commanders exhorted their troops, often promising special rewards for outstanding feats of bravery (cf. Bosworth, in *Isl.*, xxxvi/1-2, 69-70, 74). If the enemy were infidels, religious enthusiasms could be roused, and Fakhr-i Mudabbir has a section on the *lashkar-i ṣalāḥ* "those who support the soldiers by their prayers and intercessions" (ch. xxxiv). During Alp Arslan's Anatolian campaign of 463/1071, the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim composed special prayers for the Muslim forces; copies were sent to the *khaṭībs* attached to the Saldjūḳ army and the prayers were read out before the battle of Malāzgird (Mantzikert) (Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, 47-8; Cahen, *La campagne de Mantzikert d'après les sources musulmanes*, in *Byzantion*, ix (1934), 633). The armies which campaigned against the Greeks and Georgians in eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus usually included religious elements, to be equated here with the *ghāzīs* [*q.v.*], who not only exhorted the faithful but who might themselves join in the fray. For the coalition of 570/1174-5 of the Muslim rulers of north-west Persia against the Georgians, the mother of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Arslan b. Toghrïl fitted out a group of ten such men under the Imām of Hamadhān, and when the Muslim troops flagged, the Imām led his little group into battle with a charge of such vehemence that the day was saved for Islam (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 299-300).

In an age when belief in the influence of the stars on human affairs was all but universal, the decision to give battle might be made on such irrational grounds as the prognostication of the commander's personal astrologer, an important figure in his entourage (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 328). The old Arab practice of personal combats between the champions of each army before the signal for a general engagement was given, was still common, and Fakhr-i Mudabbir devotes a section to the *mubārizān* (ch. xxvii). The outcome of these combats might well affect the morale of the onlooking armies and thus influence the subsequent fighting. In the third battle between the rival Saldjūḳs Bark-yāruḳ and Muḥammad at Rūdhrawār in 495/1102, the personal combats were indecisive, so the two armies disengaged and peace was arranged (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 224-7).

We pass now to the arrangement of forces on the battlefield itself. Pre-Islamic Persian commanders sometimes deployed their troops in long, unbroken lines (Arabic, *ṣufūf*), which then advanced on the enemy (as at al-Ḳādisiyya, see above), but this was usually modified by breaking the troops up into fighting groups. The classic formation resulting from this was a quinquepartite one (*taʿbiya*), called by Fakhr-i Mudabbir the "Persian" method, as used by the Sāsānids, as opposed to the "Turkish" one. It was used both for the army on the march and as arranged for battle, provided in this latter case that the ground was reasonably level and open. It comprised a vanguard (*muḳaddam*), a left wing (*maysara*), a centre (*ḳalb*), and right wing (*maymana*) and a rearguard (*sāḳa*, *khalīfa*) containing the reserves, the whole body being preceded on the march by a screen of scouts (*ṭalāʾiʿ*). Fakhr-i Mudabbir says that the general in charge should place his archers on the left wing, the men with javelins on the right and the men armed with maces, clubs, swords and battleaxes in the centre; action should then start with the movement forward of the left wing, followed by the centre and right wing (ch. xxiv).

The historical sources give plentiful examples of the use of this quinquepartite formation, although when the armies actually engaged, the vanguard had normally dropped back to merge with the three component blocks of the front line. When in 389/999 Maḥmūd of Ghazna defeated the Sāmānid Amīr Abu 'l-Fawāris ʿAbd al-Malik and his amīrs near Marw, the Sultan himself held the centre with 10,000 cavalry and 70 elephants, his brother Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr had the right wing with 10,000 cavalry and 30 elephants and the former commanders of his father Sebüktigin had the left wing with 12,000 cavalry and 40 elephants (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, iii, 342-3, tr. vi, 367-8). In 526/1131 the Saldjūḳs Masʿūd b. Muḥammad and his brother Saldjūḳ Shāh faced Sandjar and his protégé Toghrïl b. Muḥammad at Dīnawar. Both sides employed this formation and, like Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Sandjar placed a protective screen of elephants before his lines. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad took the centre himself, placing the Amīrs Ḳarāča Sāḳī and Ḳïzïl on his left and the Amīrs Yürünḳush Bāzdār and Yūsuf Čāʾūsh on his right. Facing him, Sandjar held his own centre with 10,000 troops; his nephew Toghrïl, the Amīr Ḳamāč and another commander, the Amīr-i Amīrān, were on the left; and the Khwārizm-Shāh Atsïz and other commanders were on the right. Masʿūd's army was defeated by a tactic frequently practised on such occasions and reminiscent of the classic enveloping movement employed with such success by Hannibal against the Romans at Cannae: Ḳarāča Sāḳī drove into Sandjar's centre, but Toghrïl and Atsïz dropped back from the wings and enveloped and annihilated Ḳarāča's forces (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 476). It was possible in battle, however, for one wing of each army to push back the opposing wing so that a circular formation resulted. This occurred during the first engagement of the Khwārizm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and his son Djalāl al-Dīn with the Mongol Djoči. The only way out of this impasse was for the Mongols to launch an attack on the centre, but Djalāl al-Dīn stood firm, and the two armies disengaged when night fell (Djūzdjānī, tr. 268-70; other examples of this pattern of battle in Djuwaynī-Boyle, 351-2, 360).

The use of elephants to form a screen before the front ranks of the *taʿbiya* was especially favoured by such dynasties as the Ghaznavids, Saldjūḳs and Ghūrids (for details, see FĪL), but other means might be used to protect the front line. At the battle of

Bazimdjā near Baghdād in 549/1154 between the Caliph al-Muḳtafī and a Turkish army under the Amīr Masʿūd Bilālī, the latter army had with it great numbers of Turkmens, together with their tents, flocks, families and other baggage. The Turkish *amīrs* placed these thousands of horses and sheep before their front rank as a barrier, stationing armoured troops behind them; the Caliphal forces nevertheless broke through (Bundārī, 236-9).

In confused fighting, when the troops were densely packed together, the army's standard (*ʿalam* [*q.v.*]) was important as a rallying-point. Under the Ghaznavids and Saldjūḳs, the office of standard-bearer (*ʿalam-dār*) was usually given to a trusted *ghulām*. The capture of an army's standard had a dispiritng effect on the troops, and might well decide the outcome of the battle. When the Khᵂārizmian prince Ḳuṭb al-Dīn b. Tekish (the later ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad) was campaigning against the Ismāʿīlīs of Ḳūhistān, his standard mysteriously drooped and snapped; this was taken as an ill omen, and he made peace and withdrew his forces (Djuwaynī-Boyle, 315). The waving of flags, in addition to the use of drums and trumpets, was one of the chief means by which a commander could pass instructions to a distant part of the battlefield (cf. *Ādāb al-mulūk*, ch. xxviii); and as an aid to the directing of the fighting, the commanders of the Ghaznavids were often given personal elephants to use as vantage-points (Bayhaḳī, 483).

Fakhr-i Mudabbir regards the use of ambushes and secret attacks, launched at such unguarded times as the midday siesta and in the early morning when guards are changing duties, as a most important aspect of the art of war (ch. xxii). The old raiding tactic, common to both the desert Arabs and the Turkish nomads, of an impetuous attack, a feigned flight and a return to the onslaught (*karr wa farr*), could still be made to work in certain conditions. The local chiefs of Ṭabaristān used it with effect against the invading Ghaznavids in 426/1035 (Bayhaḳī, 458). At Malāzgird, Alp Arslan successfully drew the Greek army into an ambush by means of a feigned retreat (Cahen in *Byzantion*, ix, 634-5). For a battle outside Baghdād in 621/1224, Djalāl al-Dīn Khᵂārizm-Shāh had inferior numbers; he therefore posted a detachment of men in an ambush, made two or three assaults on the forces of the Caliphal general Ḳushtemür, and then a feigned flight and return (Djuwaynī-Boyle, 422-3).

During his Indian campaigns, Sebüktigin is said to have used a technique of successive attacks. He separated his *ghulāms*, who were armed with clubs and maces, into groups of 500 men, and each group attacked in turn, falling back to allow another group to move up (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, *Yamīnī*, i, 85-6).

Whilst the flexibility of cavalry made it very useful in open conditions, where the opposing forces might be spread over a wide front, infantry often came into its own in broken or precipitous terrain or where the fighting was close and confused. The Daylamīs were famed as tough infantrymen, and at times they were mounted on camels or mules and rushed to the battlefield. In a battle of 322/934 with Yāḳūt, governor of Fārs, ʿAlī b. Būya's Daylamīs dismounted and advanced on the enemy behind a solid wall of shields, from which they employed their characteristic weapons of the *zhūpīn*, a pronged javelin which could be used either for thrusting or throwing, and the battleaxe (Miskawayh and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, i, 297-8, iii, 423, tr. iv, 336-7, vi, 449). Similarly, the Ghaznavids had a permanent force of crack palace infantry (*piyādagān-i dargāhī*) who were carried on swift camels to distant battlefields and then dismounted to fight (Bayhaḳī, 603-4). When in 501/1107-8 the Saldjūḳ Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh faced the Mazyadid "King of the Arabs", Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaḳa, the ground at al-Nuʿmāniyya between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ was too swampy for horses to manoeuvre, so Muḥammad's Turks dismounted and fought on foot (Ḥusaynī, 80). The Ghūrīs of central Afghanistan were, like the Daylamīs, a race of mountaineers and were famed as infantrymen. Djūzdjānī mentions a peculiar tactic of theirs, the use of the *kārwa*, a protective screen of cowhide padded with cotton; this was placed over the shoulders and formed a defence for advancing soldiers (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. 352-3; according to Raverty, the *kārwa* was used in Afghanistan until the introduction of firearms).

Since Persia is a land of predominantly land-locked rivers, few of which are in any case perennial, amphibious operations are only rarely mentioned in the sources. The Oxus was unsuitable for large-scale navigation, and armies attacking Khᵂārizm marched along its banks rather than sailed down it. Only on the edge of the Persian world, in the Indus valley, do we hear of extensive river warfare. In 418/1027 Maḥmūd of Ghazna led an expedition against the pagan Djāts of the lower Indus region, employing 1,400 ships armoured with spikes and carrying fighting men. When battle was joined, the Muslim troops rammed the Djāts' ships and hurled *nafṭ* at them; soldiers waiting on the river banks then finished off the undrowned survivors (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nazim, Berlin 1928, 88-9; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 121-2).

The conventions of warfare included the ones that quarter, *amān*, should be freely given and that prisoners-of-war should not be slaughtered or ill-treated (*Ādāb al-mulūk*, ch. xxiv). The sources usually therefore mention breaches of these conventions, as in Kirmān during the time of the Saldjūḳ Arslan Shāh b. Toghrïl Shāh (d. 572/1176-7), when inexperienced soldiers and *ghulāms* of his killed captives from an invading army (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Taʾrīkh-i Saldjūḳiyān-i Kirmān*, 46). It was not, however, regarded as unethical to masquerade in the characteristic dress of the enemy; it is recorded that the Khᵂārizm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad was fond of the tactic of donning in battle the distinguishing garb of the enemy in order to confuse him (Djuwaynī-Boyle, 352).

After the battle, the victorious army divided up the captured booty [see GHANĪMA]. In the absence of the ruler himself, the *ʿĀriḍ* often supervised this procedure, taking out the ruler's fifth and those items specifically reserved for him, such as precious metals, weapons and elephants. The remainder was then divided out amongst the fighting personnel though not, according to the *Ādāb al-mulūk*, ch. xxxii, amongst the camp following (cf. Bosworth in *Isl.*, xxxvi/1-2, 62, 74).

The Mongols and Tīmūrids brought into the Persian world fresh military ways. During the period of their dominance (sc. the 7th-9th/13th-15th centuries), the older techniques of warfare, based essentially on slow-moving, heavily-armed professional armies, were temporarily eclipsed; they re-emerged under the Ṣafawids and their successors, but were then revolutionized by the introduction of firearms. The Mongol armies were composed almost

wholly of cavalrymen, with the bow as their basic weapon; these armies have therefore been cited by military historians as showing that cavalry need not depend on a stable infantry base, as was usual in earlier times in the classical and Near Eastern worlds (cf. D. Martin, *The Mongol army*, in *JRAS*, 1943, 49). Before embarking on a campaign, such commanders as Čingiz and Tīmūr carefully mapped out their operations; this attention to planning and detail gives a striking impression of modernity compared with the more empirical and haphazard methods of earlier conquerors and commanders. Spies would be sent out, and before the Manchurian campaign of 1211 and the Kh^w^ārizmian one of 616/1219, Čingiz obtained information on local conditions from traders and others familiar with those lands. According to Sayfī Harawī, Čingiz had maps of Afghanistan prepared for himself, and Ibn ʿArabshāh likewise mentions Tīmūr's interest in maps. By such means as these, Čingiz learnt about the topography of Sīstān and Balūčistān and was able to send the minimum force necessary with his son Čaghatay to try and intercept Djalāl al-Dīn Kh^w^ārizm-Shāh on his return from India (A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumî türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 109-10, 425). The Mongols also spread rumours about the enormous size of their forces and sent secret agents to provoke dissension and treachery. On the battlefield, captives were used to swell the apparent numbers of the Mongols, and dummies mounted on horses were even used (Martin, *op. cit.*, 59). These tricks doubtless contributed to the obviously exaggerated numbers for the Mongol armies given in the sources.

The basic formation of the Mongol army was a tripartite one, comprising a centre (where the Khān's personal bodyguard of picked men, *baʾatur* [see BAHĀDUR], was usually stationed) and two wings, any of which components could function as separate military units. The Mongols entered a new territory in widely separated colums, with screens of scouts and with couriers to maintain contact with the other columns. Čingiz usually endeavoured to defeat the enemy in a pitched battle before penetrating far into unfamiliar ground, and his great enemy the Kh^w^ārizm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad sought by all means possible to avoid such an engagement, compelling the Mongols to reduce the countryside of Transoxania and thus isolate Bukhārā and Samarḳand. On the battlefield, the Mongol light cavalry would gallop forward showering arrows whilst one or both of the wings began an enveloping movement against the enemy's flanks or rear. At times, riders would dismount in order to shoot in a more accurate or concentrated way, as did the troops of Ghāzān Khān in his battle of 699/1299 with the Mamlūks at Madjmaʿ al-Murūdj near Salamiyya in Syria. However, surprise was a great feature of both the strategy and tactics of the Mongols; such stratagems as the feigned retreat were highly favoured, and proved successful on a remarkable number of occasions. The Mongols also pursued fugitives relentlessly, to prevent the defeated forces from regrouping; after the defeat of the Mamlūks mentioned above, Mongol soldiers appeared as far south as Jerusalem and Ghazza (Martin, *op. cit.*, 59-76).

In the military sphere as elsewhere, the Mongols and Tīmūrids left a lasting imprint on the Persian world. It was not surprising that the Özbek army of Shaybānī Khān, of which Bābur was originally a member, should still follow the Mongol pattern of battle-array, with the positions in the battle-line handed down hereditarily and the warriors of greatest trust stationed on the extremities of the two wings (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 154-5). The army of the Turkmen Aḳ Ḳoyunlu dynasty was divided in the Turco-Mongol fashion into the three divisions of a centre (called by the Mongol term *manḳalay* "forehead", "front"), a left wing (*sol*) and a right wing (*sagh*) (Minorsky, *A civil and military review in Fārs in 881/1476*, in *BSOS*, x (1939-42), 154 ff.).

With the advent of the Ṣafawids, artillery and firearms came into prominence and wrought a fundamental change in the art of war; for a consideration of military techniques in this later period see BĀRŪD V.—THE ṢAFAWIDS.

Bibliography: (in addition to the references given in the text): There has been little systematic study of the military history of mediaeval Persia. Some of the strategic and tactical aspects of the Ghaznavid-Saldjūḳ fighting are considered in Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 241 ff., and there exists a study of the battle of Dandānḳān, based on Bayhaḳī's account, by B. N. Zakhoder in *Russkiy Istoričeskiy Žurnal*, 1943, Turkish tr. in *Belleten*, xviii (1954), 581-7. There is a general survey of the art of war in Persia up to the coming of the Saldjūḳs by Spuler in his *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 494-9; in his bibliography (Nos. 365 and 366) are cited two general works on the military history of Persia, Dj. Ḳūzānlū, *Taʾrīkh-i niẓāmiyya-yi Īrān*, Tehrān 1310/1932, and Gh. Ḥ. Muḳtadir, *Taʾrīkh-i niẓāmī-yi Īrān*, Tehrān 1319/1940. The Mongols as soldiers have attracted rather more attention; see Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*², 413-6, and D. Martin, *The Mongol army*, in *JRAS*, 1943, 46-85 (the same author's article *Chinghiz Khan's first invasion of the Chin empire*, in *ibid.*, 182-216, illustrates Mongol strategy and tactics but in a non-Persian context). Quatremère's notes to his *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, i, Paris 1836, still contain valuable material on the art of war in this period. Of the Persian Mirrors for Princes, chs. xx and xli of the *Ḳābūs-nāma* of Kay Kāʾūs are relevant, but of outstanding value is the *Ādāb al-mulūk wa kifāyat al-mamlūk* or *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa 'l-shadjāʿa* of Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakshāh, written under Sultan Iletmish of Delhi in the early 7th/13th century. The greater part of it deals specifically with the art of war, and its information seems to be based primarily on Ghaznavid and Ghūrid practice (see on it I. M. Shafi, *Fresh light on the Ghaznavīds*, in *IC*, xii (1938), 189-234, and Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid Sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii (1963), 16; Cl. Cahen has used material from it for his appendix on the weapons of the Ghūrids in *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BÉt.Or.*, xii (1947-8), 160-2).

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

vi. — INDIA

1. General.—The army in India (for its composition, organization, training and pay, see LASHKAR) was distributed in various places of a ruler's dominions according to their strategic importance, in order to avoid difficulties of transport; for example, the north-west frontier provinces, where there was the continual threat of Mughal raids, were always well provided with experienced troops under able and loyal commanders during the Dihlī sultanate period. The main army was concentrated in the capital, or

in a city or camp where the ruler was residing, with detachments and garrisons at many provincial headquarters under the command of *kōtwāls* [*q.v.*]. The garrison system, which the Indian sultans seem to have inherited from the ʿAbbāsids through the Ghaznawids, was always well maintained, many rulers attaching great importance to keeping old forts in good repair and building others as the dominions were enlarged, modifying them for artillery as this became available [see ḤIṢN]. When the need for war arose, the first attempts to meet the situation would be made by local troops; if these were inadequate, reinforcements would be called for from neighbouring areas before aid was requested from the capital. The forces at the capital (*hashm-i ḳalb*) had as their main component the cavalry, well accoutred and mounted on Arab or Turkoman horses; and this branch was of course fully mobile and could easily be sent to a distant part of the dominions. The other fighting branches, however, the elephants and the infantry, were less mobile; elephants were maintained especially in the capital, since possession of them was a royal prerogative and no sultan would permit them to be concentrated in a town away from the capital, where they might be used against him in the event of rebellion. The infantry (*pāyak*) maintained in the capital were employed as bodyguards and for local defence; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī comments on their skill with the bow, and mentions that the best *pāyaks* came from Bengal. Obviously they were not readily transportable on distant campaigns, although on major expeditions they could march with the baggage train, for which they would provide a continual escort; but a class of infantry (*pāyak bā asp*) is mentioned which seems to have been provided with horses maintained by the government. On remoter campaigns infantry could be drawn from standing local troops, locally conscripted, or provided by feudatory rulers; and local arrangements were similarly necessary to facilitate the passage of the army on its line of march.

2.—The army on the march. Armies would commence the march at an auspicious moment fixed by the astrologers, and before leaving, rulers, commanders and troops would visit saints and shrines for protection and blessing—indeed, holy men were called *lashkar-i duʿāʾ*. The army would be led by an advance party, including the scouts, standard bearers and musicians—importance was given to the spectacular side, cf. Amīr Khusraw, *Khazāʾin al-futūḥ*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1927, 101-2; Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 1890, 369-70—and officers of the commissariat who would ensure that adequate stores were available along the route. The sultan moved in the main party, accompanied on major expeditions by the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *ḥaram*—a practice continued by the Mughals, in Humāyūn's time the Mughal camp assuming the dimensions of a city under canvas moving from place to place, while by the time of Awrangzīb the march had become very cumbrous, with its heavy artillery, baggage train, the imperial treasure on several hundred camels, the imperial archives, fresh water for the court (Ganges water was favoured; cf. GANGĀ *ad fin.*), the imperial kitchen and provisions, the imperial wardrobe, presents for use as diplomatic gifts, and the imperial tents and other appurtenances of the camp, as well as the tools of war: besides projectile engines, saps and mines for use in sieges [see ḤIṢĀR], armouries for the supply of missiles and replacement of broken weapons (*zarrād-khāna*; cf. Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh*, Bibl. Ind., 1862, 6), and the royal armoury (*ḳūr-khānā*). The march was also attended by large numbers of imperial and other servants.

Transport was provided by draught- or pack-buffaloes, camels, ponies and elephants. The latter were also used in river-crossings, either by fording or, in deeper water, to break the force of the current to enable troops to cross (ʿAfīf, *op. cit.*, 111). But pontoon bridges were also used, as well as river boats when these were available—as they would have been in the sultan's territory, cf. Ahl Allāh Mushtāḳī, *Wāḳiʿāt-i Mushtāḳī*, B.M. Add. 11633, fol. 49 r.; and the large force of woodcutters used, *e.g.*, by Islām Shāh Sūr against Humāyūn (ʿAbd Allāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Dāʾūdī*, B. M. Or. 197, fol. 114 r.), must have been employed for river crossings *inter alia*.

Stores were available to a marching army within its own frontiers from the various state granaries as well as from local tributary chiefs, who demonstrated their loyalty by gifts of provisions, and from landholders under the sultanate who were required to supply grain as well as transport and boats—often, indeed, also to join the marching army or to supply some member of their family for that purpose. Grain was also brought to the army, on the march or on the battlefield, by corn-merchants (*bandjārās*), often nomads, who were encouraged by good prices (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 1862, 304 ff.); it was often provided by the local population on payment—the *kotwāl* of the camp ensured that grain was available at reasonable rates—or, in the last resort, was obtained by plunder; but since this alienated the local population, who might flee, in which case supplies would of course fail, this was seldom resorted to. In any case, compensation would later be paid for stores taken or for land or crops damaged, the rate being assessed by the local *amīn* (called also *munṣif*, *mushrif* in the Sūrī period), cf. ʿAbbās Sarwānī, *Tuḥfa-yi Akbar Shāhī*, B.M. Or. 164, 73 v.

Although rapidity of movement sometimes permitted little halting—forced marches were not unknown—the army on the march generally encamped at night. The site was when possible carefully chosen, as adequate water, forage and firewood had to be available, and for preference a locality defended by river or hill was selected. The fighting arms were naturally in the forward and flanking positions, corresponding to their places in the order of battle (see below), the sultan's personal party was in the middle of the camp, and behind were the armouries, transport and camp-followers. If the camp was in the vicinity of the enemy's forces, and hence in danger of attack by skirmishing parties or patrols, it would be defended by a ditch and parapet, certainly from Khaldjī times (cf. Baranī, *op. cit.*, 301); in Tīmūr's campaign against Maḥmūd Tughluḳ it is recorded that trees were felled to form an abatis within the ditch (*Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī*, tr. Elliot, iii, 437), and that lines of tethered buffaloes were placed in front of the first rank of troops as a defence against elephants, which could be further impeded by caltrops; Bābur at the battle of Pānīpat also used the abatis to protect a flank, guarding his front by picketed carts (although this device is referred to in India in the 7th/13th century, see Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak, *Ādāb al-mulūk wa kifāyat al-mamlūk*, India Office MS 647, f. 87 v.; in the battle between Humāyūn and Sultan Bahādur of Gudjarāt in 942/1535 gun-carriages were so used by both sides); and a little later, in the time of Shīr Shāh Sūr, the parapets were formed of sand-bags. The same defences were applied to the last

camping-ground, *i.e.*, the camp at the battlefield, with such additional protection as the exigencies of the campaign seemed to call for. This was certainly continued until late in the Mug̲h̲al period, for in the campaign of D̲j̲ahāndār S̲h̲āh's son ʿIzz al-Dīn against Farruk̲h̲siyar in 1124/1712 we read of his throwing up a parapet about 2 m. high inside a wide ditch around his camp, on which he mounted guns and mortars (K̲h̲wāfī K̲h̲ān, *Muntak̲h̲ab al-lubāb*, Bibl. Ind., 1869, ii, 699).

3.—Battle-ground. In addition to the requirements of the encamped army (see above) the actual terrain of combat was selected with great care: the presence of a hill or some other natural defence at the rear or on the flanks would relieve the commander from making extensive arrangements for the protection of that quarter. The ideal ground had, in addition to these natural defences, an extensive plain of hard or smooth ground—stony ground was when possible avoided as it damaged the horses' hoofs—free from dust, sand or mire, neither too near nor too remote from habitation, and with an independent water-supply. The battle-field itself might be further defended by entrenchment, abatis or stockade, as in the case of the camp; in later periods such defence might be provided also for individual pieces of artillery.

These requisites seem to have been sought at all periods of the Muslim power in India. Tīmūr thoughtfully adds (*Tūzuk*, 191) that the sun should not be in front of the battle-ground, lest the eyes of the troops be dazzled.

4. Order of battle.—The general order of filing an army in the field—vanguard, right wing, left wing, centre and rear—persisted in Muslim India with little variation, but with bewildering changes of terminology, from the days of the G̲h̲aznawids; the composition of the various elements was, however, never firmly established, and at different times places were found for elephants or for artillery in one or more of these traditional elements. The main arm in terms of which all dispositions were conceived was invariably the cavalry.

In advance of the vanguard were the scouts and skirmishers (*ṭalāya, muḳaddama-i pīs̲h̲, yazkī* in Sultanate times; under Tīmūr and Bābur *ḳarāwal*; under the later Mug̲h̲als *muḳaddamat al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲, manḳala* and *ṭaliʿa* are used besides *ṭalāya*), light squadrons trained to reconnoitre the roads and the enemy's positions and to bring back quick information; they were instructed not to move in a body yet to maintain touch with one another, not to engage the enemy unless they were attacked, and to retreat with caution lest their withdrawal be interpreted as flight and thus cause a general stampede (*Ādāb al-mulūk*, fols. 84 v.-86 v.). They might be divided into left and right sections (*Ḳarāwal-i dast-i čap, ḳarāwal-i dast-i rāst*), as with Tīmūr.

The vanguard proper was called *muḳaddama* under the Dihlī sultans, *harāwal* under Tīmūr and the Mug̲h̲als. With Tīmūr the *harāwal* had its own van, the *harāwal-i harāwal*, the main body being the *harāwal-i buzurg*; Bābur in the battle of Pānīpat added to this a vanguard reserve, *ṭarḥ-i harāwal*.

The wings (*d̲j̲ināḥ* < Ar. *d̲j̲anāḥ*) were in Sultanate times called *maysara* (left) and *maymana* (right), each divisible into left and right sections; under Tīmūr the right and left wings were called *barang̲h̲ar* and *d̲j̲arang̲h̲ar* respectively, with the possibility of much subdivision: *e.g.*, for the right wing the *harāwal-i barang̲h̲ar* (van of the right wing), *čapāwal-i barang̲h̲ar* (left section of the right wing), *s̲h̲aḳāwal-i barang̲h̲ar* (right section of the right wing), possibly also *harāwal-i čapāwal-i barang̲h̲ar* (van of the right section of the right wing); and so similarly for the left wing. Bābur's army was disposed in much the same way, the terms *yamīn-i barang̲h̲ar* and *yasār-i barang̲h̲ar* being used for the right and left sides of the right wing (corresponding terms also for the left wing); each wing had in addition a flanking party (*tulg̲h̲uma, tulḳuma*) of light cavalry to encircle the enemy's flank and take him in the rear; and each wing had also its own reserve (*ṭarḥ*).

The centre was known in Sultanate times as *ḳalb*, with its two sections, *dast-i čap-i ḳalb* and *dast-i rāst-i ḳalb*, to left and right respectively; it was followed by the rearguard, *suḳḳa* or *k̲h̲alf*. In Tīmūr's accounts the centre is *ḳol* or *g̲h̲ol*, the rearguard *ʿaḳab*; Bābur uses similar terms, though the later Mug̲h̲als sometimes reverted to the earlier terms, and used in addition *čandāwal* or *čag̲h̲dul* for the rearguard. The term *ilatmas̲h̲* is used in the accounts of Akbar's campaigns for units filed between vanguard and centre, but apparently sometimes posted on the flanks of the centre just clear of the rear of the right and left wings, or in front of them; in such cases their function must have been similar to that of the *tulg̲h̲uma*.

At all times the centre was where the ruler or his deputy took his station, accompanied by the *ʿulamāʾ*, physicians, astrologers, etc., and the personal bodyguard; and this was the usual station for the elephants, certainly at least the ceremonial elephants carrying the standards and the *čhatra* and those carrying bands of musicians. Wives or favourite children not infrequently accompanied the royal commander in the *hawda* of his elephant, although Awrangzīb deprecated this practice, declaring that unnecessary persons round the commander hindered efficient leadership and organization. The chain of command was passed from the commander to all branches of the army through adjutants (*tawāčī, yasāwal, sazāwal*), who were also responsible for ensuring that proper battle array and battle discipline were maintained; the orders might be communicated through flag signals, drum-beat or trumpet-blast, as well as by couriers.

The composition of the other divisions of the army varied greatly throughout the Muslim period, except perhaps for the rearguard, which at all times comprised the kitchens, armouries, wardrobes, treasury, spare animals, prisoners, wounded, and a fighting contingent for the defence of the centre from any attack from behind. For the rest, at least a few general principles can be enumerated. In Sultanate times there were three ways of drawing up: infantry, cavalry or elephants could form the front line, according to the exigencies of the situation. When the infantry led, four lines of foot-soldiers, their accoutrements somewhat different for each line, were arrayed with wide gaps left in their ranks so that the cavalry behind them could observe the situation, and charge or retreat through them. A mobile cavalry force was kept on the right wing, a company of archers on the left wing; operators of *mand̲j̲anīḳs* and *ʿarrādas* [*qq.v.*, see also SILĀḤ] were placed on the right of the centre, archers and naphtha-throwers on the left of the centre. These conventional dispositions were in fact no impediment to the battle-situation, as there was also a conventional and disciplined order of the use of these auxiliary forces (see below, Strategy and tactics).

When the cavalry led, their front rank was drawn up similarly to the method described above for the

front line of infantry; the foot-soldiers would then form the second line, and, as was the case also when the infantry led, the elephants would for the most part be stationed in the centre, although selected beasts might be deployed to support either flank.

The third possible order was when the elephants led, followed immediately by the cavalry, as in Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ's battle against the usurper Khusraw Khān in 720/1320 (Amīr Khusraw, *Tughluḳ-nāma*, Ḥaydarābād 1352/1933, 92-3); or when they were placed in front of each wing, as in ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's battle against the Mongols at Kīlī in 699/1299. The usual place of the elephants, however, was in the centre protecting the king. They were armoured with iron sheets, and carried *hawda*s in the form of armoured turrets in which sat archers, naphtha-throwers and operators of projectile engines —an Indian device adopted by the Muslims which goes back in time to the 4th or 3rd century B.C. (cf. Sarva Daman Singh, *Ancient Indian warfare* . . ., Leiden 1965, 82 ff.) and persisted certainly into Mughal times, cf. Barbosa, *Travels*, tr. and ed. M. L. Dames, Hakluyt Socy. London 1918, i, 118.

It is less easy to determine the manner of drawing up under the Mughals. Artillery became increasingly important, and often occupied the first line of the vanguard on heavy carts chained or roped together, so that they might serve also as a barrier to a sudden enemy onslaught; between the carts gabions and mantlets formed a protection for the supporting matchlockmen; and in front of them an entrenchment might be formed. Lighter pieces of ordnance followed, swivel-guns (*zanbūrak, shuturnāl*) on camels, and small cannon (*gadjnāl, hathnāl*) in the *hawda*s of elephants. The cavalry followed. In the vanguard there were also mortarmen (*dīgandāz*), grenadiers (*raʿdandāz*) and rocketmen (*takhshandāz*). Artillery might be stationed also in the front rank of the two wings and of the centre, with elephants also in front of each body of troops.

The size of the various branches of the field force is also difficult to ascertain in most periods; but in a Mughal account of a force of 40,000 cavalry the vanguard is said to have 8,000, the centre 12,000, the two wings 11,000 between them, the reserves 4000, and the rearguard 4,500. If, say, 40 elephants were available for a particular campaign, seven were placed in front of the vanguard, fifteen in front of the centre, six in front of each of the two reserves, two in front of each wing, and two in the rearguard.

The field force was under the command of the ruler or his deputy—a prince of the royal blood, or the *wazīr*, or some other favoured noble—who as *sar-i lashkar* took command of the centre also. In the army of the Dihlī sultanate, the vanguard was commanded by the *muḳaddam* or *sar-i lashkar-i muḳaddama*, and the left and right wings by the *sar-i fawdj-i maysara* and *sar-i fawdj-i maymana* respectively. The ruler's special cavalry contingent in the left and right wings of the centre (the *khāṣṣa-yi khayl*) was commanded by the *sar-i djandar*, with its two divisions under a *sar-i djandar-i maysara* and *sar-i djandar-i maymana* respectively (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 1931, 62). These officers were mostly in command of the cavalry; the terms for commanders of infantry are uncertain, although the *sahm al-ḥashm*, *nāʾib sahm al-ḥashm* and *shimla al-ḥashm* all seem to be concerned particularly with infantry (Yaḥya b. Aḥmad, *ibid*; Baranī, *op. cit.*, 30). The horses were under the supervision of an *ākhur bak*, the elephants under a *shaḥna-yi pīl*, the camels under a *shaḥna-yi nafar* (Baranī, *op. cit.*, 24), while the armouries were in charge of the *sar-i silāḥdār*. The Mughal terms seem less stereotyped, and the force commanders are often called by their offices in the static army establishment [see LASHKAR] with its decimal organization. In the time of Akbar the *manṣabdār*s [*q.v.*] were deputed to various commands, and in his multiracial army a Rādjpūt section would be commanded by a Rādjpūt *manṣabdār*, the Afghān section by an Afghān *manṣabdār*, etc. The horses were under the supervision of an *akhtabegī*, the artillery and other firearms under a *mīr ātish*, and other armament, and the standards, under a *dārogha-yi ḳurkhāna*.

5. Strategy and tactics.—The following account does not include the tactics of siegecraft, for which see ḤIṢĀR.

Before a battle took place an appreciation of the situation was made by the ruler, the *sar-i lashkar*, generals of wide experience, and officials of the *dīwān-i ʿarḍ*, and the campaign was carefully planned. This war council was usual in the Sultanate period (*e.g.*, Amīr Khusraw, *Tughluḳ-nāma*, 48, 84; ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. Mahdi Husain, Agra 1938, 254), and was considered equally valuable by Tīmūr (*Tūzuk*, 5 ff.) and by the Mughals (*e.g.*, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., 1935, iii, 25 ff.; Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Akbar-nāma*, Bibl. Ind., 1886, ii, 48, 482). An impassioned oration by the ruler or commander-in-chief to his subordinates was often a feature of such an *andjuman*, and this was extended into a direct appeal to the soldiery by Shīr Shāh, Akbar and the later Mughals, usually on the eve of battle but on occasions during its course.

A battle was usually begun in the morning and would be suspended in the evening, although the defenders endeavoured to delay engagement as long as possible so that they could retreat under cover of darkness if defeated. The commencement was signalled by drum-beat and by the war-horns blown by *čāwūsh*es, and engagement would begin to the accompaniment of war-cries; secret passwords were also in use to establish identities in the event of hand-to-hand fighting.

In the usual pattern of the assault, in the Sultanate period, battle was first joined by the vanguard (cf. Baranī, *op. cit.*, 260), followed by the movement of the right wing; the centre then made its advance, and finally the left wing. A force would aim to create panic among its opponents first by an incessant rain of arrows, from cavalry, infantry, and from the *hawdas* of the elephants; these included poisoned and incendiary arrows. *Mandjanīḳ*s carried in the *hawdas* were similarly used to discharge large stones and naphtha-containers at the enemy. An early elephant-charge was also employed with the intention of spreading panic, after which the other arms would engage. The chief target was always the enemy centre where their commander would be stationed. In the event of the vanguard or a wing suffering a reverse it would receive reinforcements from reserves or from other wings—but with caution, lest the enemy seeing a wing being reinforced by troops moving from the centre should conclude that the centre also was broken.

Tīmūr's keen tactical insight is reflected in a long and detailed statement of the principles of field engagement in different situations in the *Tūzuk* (Bombay ed., 191-207), emphasizing the need for continual appreciations of the situation throughout the course of a battle. He advocates delaying the attack until the enemy has begun the aggression, then—with a force of between 9000 and 12,000—

moving first the vanguard against them, followed by the van of the right wing in support, closely followed by the van of the left wing; if this was insufficient, the first corps of the right wing was to proceed, followed by the second corps of the left wing, the second corps of the right wing, and then the first corps of the left wing; if the assault from none of these units resulted in victory, further action—presumably by the centre—was to await Tīmūr's order as commander. A more complicated order of attack is given for field forces of from 12,000 to 40,000.

Tīmūr's descendants profited from his scientific approach to warfare, and his principles were generally maintained, although of course the pattern of battles changed considerably after the introduction of artillery. Thus at the battle of Khanuwā, near Āgra, in 933/1527, the battle was commenced by the fire of small-calibre matchlocks and culverins from the right wing of Bābur's army under Muṣṭafā Rūmī, after which the heavy artillery of the centre, under the *mīr ātis͟h* Ustād ʿAlī Ḳulī, opened fire slowly at the ironclad elephants of the enemy; when the artillery battle was well under way Bābur ordered the charge of his flanking parties (*tulg͟huma*), the heavy artillery was moved forward, and the cavalry moved around the advanced light artillery (*Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, 568-9). Generally, however, the heavy artillery was unable to move up after the cavalry had advanced beyond the forward entrenchments, and in the event of a retreat the guns could hardly be saved: they had to be spiked and abandoned. In Akbar's reign the guns were given greater mobility by being mounted on individual gun-carriages, instead of being manhandled from carts as before, drawn by bullocks and often pushed into position from behind by elephants. This increased mobility is seen, for example, in the battle of Dharmat, near Ud̲j̲d̲j̲ayn, of 1068/1658 between Awrangzīb and Mahārād̲j̲ā D̲j̲aswant Singh, which began with the usual long-range fire of rockets and cannon; the Rād̲j̲pūts, in spite of the casualties caused by Awrangzīb's forward guns, wheeled and attacked this artillery and temporarily silenced it, but the gunners managed to recover, and mounted their guns on high ground where it was less prone to attack and could more easily bombard the enemy's centre. The artillery barrage might, however, be withheld, as in the battle of Sāmogaṛh later the same year when Dārā S͟hikōh was misled by the silence of Awrangzīb's heavy ordnance and launched a premature attack; at last Awrangzīb's heavy guns replied, causing appalling carnage.

The cavalry was still a paramount arm even after the great improvement in small arms and artillery—often handled by European mercenaries—in the 11th/17th century. After the initial softening-up by fire, the cavalry would attack, discharging arrows as they did so, eventually coming to close quarters and fighting with the sword (the principal weapon of the Mug͟hal cavalryman) or lance (the favoured weapon of Rād̲j̲pūt cavalry). The cavalry appear not to have used firearms from horseback until the Durrānī [*q.v.*] troops did so in the late 12th/18th century. In the thick of battle Indian horsemen, especially the Rād̲j̲pūts, would often dismount, bind themselves together by their shirt-tails, and fight to the death with maces, clubs, axes and daggers [for the weapons in use see SILĀḤ, India].

The fiercest fighting took place around the elephant of the rival commander, who considered it dishonourable to retreat if merely wounded by arrows. The death or disappearance of the leader usually meant the loss of the campaign; thus in the battle of Sāmōgaṛh, already mentioned above, Dārā lost the day after the *hawda* of his elephant had been struck by a rocket and he mounted a horse instead: his troops saw the empty *hawda* and believed their commander to have fallen. The importance attached by both sides to the death of the commander is shown earlier in the suppression of Kis͟hlū K͟hān's revolt by Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ in 728/1328: Muḥammad placed one S͟hayk͟h ʿImād al-Dīn, who resembled him personally, in the centre under the royal umbrella, and lay in ambush himself with 4000 horse; the rebels attacked the centre and killed the S͟hayk͟h, and confident of their victory dispersed to plunder the camp when Muḥammad emerged and broke Kis͟hlū and his unsuspecting forces.

These tactics were suited in particular to the plains of northern India, and the northern powers—the rulers of the Dihlī sultanate and the imperial Mug͟hals alike—found difficulty in devising others suitable to the swamps of Bengal or the broken ravines of the Deccan. The Marāṭhās under S͟hivād̲j̲ī and his successors had brought guerilla warfare to a fine art, and on many occasions used it to harass the armies of the Mug͟hals and of the Deccan sultanates. The qualities of Marāṭhā warfare were appreciated by Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*], who organized a corps of guerilla fighters for the Niẓām S͟hāhī [*q.v.*] sultanate.

It was long before the rulers of Muslim India realized the potentialities of naval warfare, although individual men-of-war were certainly commissioned as escorts for the pilgrim traffic by sea; after the Mug͟hal conquest of Gud̲j̲arāt and the Konkan coast, however, they came to appreciate the possibilities of sea and land cooperation, as in some battles fought along these coasts, and eventually the hereditary admirals of D̲j̲and̲j̲īra [see ḤABS͟HĪ] were appointed as admirals of the Mug͟hal fleet. For the navies of Muslim powers in India, and their naval strategy and tactics, see BAḤRIYYA, India (in Supplement).

6. Tricks and stratagems.—One device to deceive the enemy as to the strength of the attacking army was the simulated arrival of fresh reinforcements: squadrons of the army would be sent away under cover of night to return in the morning, beating drums and flying colours as though they were a new army approaching; similarly, Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ is reported as sending 1000 men to receive a mere force of 100 joining his army. A simulated flight often won an advantage, as in Fīrūz S͟hāh Tug͟hluḳ's battle against S͟hams al-Dīn Ilyās S͟hāh of Bengal in 754/1353 near Lakhnawtī: the Bengali forces, thinking Fīrūz to be in full retreat, emerged from their stronghold in pursuit, and in consequence suffered a severe reverse (ʿAfīf, *op. cit.*, 114). But the device was a familiar one, and mistakes arose: thus in the battle of Tukarōʾī [*q.v.*; see also DĀWŪD K͟HĀN KARARĀNĪ] in 982/1574 Dāwūd put to flight Akbar's vanguard, *ilatmas͟h* and centre, but did not follow up, thinking their flight to be a ruse; but the Mug͟hal right wing counterattacked strongly, and Dāwūd lost the day. This simulated flight was often the occasion for ambuscade (*kamīn*) by a detachment of the army drawn up in a carefully chosen position near the rear-guard; although the *kamīn* might be posted for other purposes, for surprise marauding raids on the enemy or his line of communications, or merely to keep fresh in case of being needed at any point for reinforcement. The Mug͟hal armies, however, despised this form of warfare and did not employ it.

Also despised by the Mug͟hals, and never carried

out with much enthusiasm even in Sultanate times, was the night attack (*shab-khūn*), which Abu 'l-Faḍl calls 'the trade of cowards, disdained by heroes' (*Akbar-nāma*, iii, 51). It was often used against the Muslim armies, however, who were instructed to be prepared for it; the *Ādāb al-ḥarb* prescribes the division of the camp into four groups for the purpose: foot-soldiers, well accoutred, were to guard all entrances, the right wing and centre remained alert in their proper positions with lights extinguished, or lighted in different places to mislead the invaders, the left wing prepared for battle with the invaders, while a fourth group left the camp in order to guard and patrol the approaches. The attackers would have blocked the roads to the camp, and might cry out deliberately that such-and-such a general had been captured or killed, in order to spread despondency among those encamped.

Not indeed part of the army in the field, although vital to its commanders, were the spies—from whom would have come the information necessary to effect the *shab-khūn*; but their intelligence was valued at all stages of the campaign. See further DJĀSŪS.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see S. Sabahuddin, *Conduct of strategy and tactics of war during the Muslim rule in India*, in *IC*, xx (1946), 154-64, 291-6, 345-52; xxi (1947), 7-15, 123-4: extended treatment with constant reference to and quotation of campaigns. Almost all the Indian historical chronicles give descriptions of battles in detail; for these see Bibliographies to articles on the major Indian dynasties, especially DIHLĪ SULTANATE and MUGHALS, also Storey, 92-157, 433-780. For the Mughal period see especially W. Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moguls*, London 1903, and references quoted there; also Abdul Aziz, *The mansabdari system and the Mughal army*, Lahore 1946. Some useful information on *ḥarb* in the Dihlī Sultanate period, as well as information on the Sultanate army and its administration, in I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Dehlī*, Lahore 1942 ([4]Karachi 1958), ch. VII 'The Army'.

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See further the bibliography to LASHKAR.

(S. A. A. RIZVI and J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḤARB B. UMAYYA B. ʿABD SHAMS, the father of Abū Sufyān and father-in-law of Abū Lahb [*qq.v.*], one of the leading figures of Mecca in his day. He is said to have been the first to use Arabic writing, and one of the first to renounce wine. A companion of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, he succeeded him as war-leader, and led the clan of ʿAbd Shams and, according to some traditions, all Ḳuraysh in the so-called sacrilegious war [see FIDJĀR]. After his death the leadership is said to have passed to the Banū Hāshim. The story of his contest of merits and subsequent quarrel with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is no doubt a projection backwards of the later conflict between the houses of Umayya and Hāshim.

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali*, index; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, index; Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Sīra*, 82.

(ED.)

ḤARBA, spear [see ʿANAZA, ʿAṢĀ, ḲAḌĪB, SILĀḤ].

ḤARBĀʾ, a ruined city in ʿIrāḳ, pre-Muslim (and possibly Babylonian) in origin, and situated south-west of Balad on the west bank of the Shuṭayṭ which is a former bed of the river Tigris: 34° 3′ N., 44° 10′ E. It was known to the Sāsānids and their Arab successors in ʿIrāḳ, as also to the Arab geographers—Yaʿḳūbī, Masʿūdī, Yāḳūt—and to Ṭabarī. The crossing of the Tigris by troops of the Khāridjī leader Shabīb in 76/696, operating against al-Ḥadjdjādj, was near this spot. The city at that period or later was known for its textile and (probably) pottery manufacture. A great irrigation or river-reclamation work was carried out here by the caliph al-Mustanṣir in 629/1232, and the existing Dudjayl channel, and the great four-arch Ḥarbāʾ bridge, 24 m. long and 12 m. broad, (from which the place is now called Djisr Ḥarbāʾ) survive from this enterprise. The 90-metre-long inscription on the bridge gives details of the construction, and heaps praises on its builder. The remains are rendered conspicuous by the cupola of the tomb of a Shaykh (or Sayyid) Saʿd, which is visible from far off.

(E. HERZFELD-[S. H. LONGRIGG])

ḤARBĪ [see AMĀN, DĀR AL-ḤARB, MUSTAʾMIN].

ḤARBIYE, (< Ar. *ḥarbiyya*) the Ottoman and Turkish war college. Ottoman reforms in the 12th/18th century included some innovations in military training, notably the opening of the Hendesekhāne by the Comte de Bonneval in 1734 and the opening of the Mühendiskhāne-i Berrī-i Hümayūn in 1791-95. A number of military training centres for Maḥmūd II's new army were set up in various parts of Istanbul in the 1830's, including the Alay Mekteb-i Ḥarbiyesi (Rami, 1832), the Mekteb-i Fünūn-i Ḥarbiye (or ʿAsākir-i Khāṣṣa-i Shāhāne Ḥarbiye Mektebi, founded by Meḥmed Nāmiḳ Pasha, the Mekteb-i Ḥarbiye Nāẓiri, at Mačka in 1834), the Topkhāne-i ʿĀmire Mektebi, and the Mekteb-i Ḥarbiye-i Shāhāne (Selīmiye barracks, Üsküdar, 1835). In 1846, these were centralized in a single Mekteb-i Ḥarbiye in the Pangalti quarter of Istanbul, which drew most of its students from a network of military secondary schools founded during the same period in Istanbul and other towns, mainly in the European parts of the empire. The curriculum of the Ḥarbiye emphasized mathematics and foreign languages (at first French, from the 1880's also German) in addition to technical military subjects. In 1848, the two-year course was supplemented with a second two-year course for general staff officers, extended to three years in 1881. Colmar von der Goltz-Pasha, inspector of imperial military schools from 1884 to 1895, added participation in manœuvres to classroom instruction. In 1909, the Ḥarbiye's teaching staff consisted of nine Germans, eight Turks, and two Armenians. From 1909, staff officers were trained in a separate military staff college (Erkān-i Ḥarbiye Mektebi) located at Yildiz Palace, to which lieutenants and captains were competitively admitted after a regular tour of troop service. With

the outbreak of the First World War, the staff and students of both schools were transferred to active service, and the schools therefore ceased to function; their reopening after the armistice was impeded by the successive requisitioning by the Allied authorities of suitable buildings. A temporary military school was opened under the aegis of Muṣṭafā Kemāl at Djebedji near Ankara in 1920. In 1923 the Ḥarbiye reopened at Pangaltı, and in 1936 (now renamed Harp Okulu) it was transferred to a new building in the government quarter of Ankara. The staff college reopened as Mekteb-i ʿĀlī-i ʿAskerī in the old war ministry building at Bāyezīd in 1923, and as Ḥarb Akademisi back at Yıldız in 1927. Between 1847 and 1945, the Ḥarbiye graduated 32,799 lieutenants, the yearly average rising from about 25 to about 100 in the 1870's, and over 500 at the turn of the century, and from 114 under the early Republic to nearly 1,000 in the 1940's. Between 1851 and 1930, a total of 967 of these graduated from the staff course or staff college as staff captains. Even during the Ottoman period most of the officers were Turks—a majority of them from Istanbul and the European provinces; the proportion of Syrians and Iraqis among the staff officers, for example, was about 6% before 1900 and 14% between 1900 and 1914.

The founding of the Ḥarbiye was one of the first durable Ottoman measures of Westernizing reform, preceding that of the Mülkiye [*q.v.*] by twenty-five years, and almost from the start, its students and graduates have been in the forefront of political change. The Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī [*q.v.*] Djemʿiyyeti was secretly founded in 1889 at the separate military medical college, but in 1897 a special court martial held a mass trial of Ḥarbiye students for subversive activities, of whom 78 were deported to Libya. In 1920, 250 Ḥarbiye students made their way from occupied Istanbul to Anatolia. A silent march by the Harbiye students on 21 May 1960 was one of the preludes of the military coup six days later. Harbiye staff and students were prominently involved in the two abortive coups (February 1962 and May 1963) under Colonel Talât Aydemir; the suppression of the second of these led to wholesale forced resignations from the student body.

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(D. A. Rustow)

ḤAREKET ORDUSU, literally "action army", the name usually given to the striking force sent from Salonica on 17 April 1909, under the command of Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha [*q.v.*], to quell the counter-revolutionary mutiny in the First Army Corps in Istanbul. The striking force also known as the Army of Deliverance, reached the capital on 23 April (n.s.) and, after some clashes with the mutineers, occupied the city on the following day.

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(Ed.)

HAREM [see ḤARĪM, SARĀY].

ḤARF, letter of the alphabet, word; Ibn Djinnī (*Sirr al-ṣināʿa*, i, 15-19), examining the etymology of the word, finds an original meaning of *ḥadd*, "limit": *innamā ḥarf al-shayʾ ḥadduh wa-nāḥiyatuh*; and, in speaking of the *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ*: *ḥadd munḳaṭaʿ al-ṣawt wa-ghāyatuh wa-ṭarafuh* (16, lines 6-7), "the limit where the cutting of the *ṣawt* occurs, its end, its extremity." This explanation introduces an element from a system which was elaborated much later: the *maḳṭaʿ*, but it is important because of the use of the word *ḥadd*, "limit." The *LA* contains a long article on *ḥarf* (x, 385/ix, 41a). It retains as the primary meaning of *ḥarf*: *al-ṭaraf wa 'l-djānib*, "the extremity, the side", whence it derives the name *ḥarf* for the letters of the alphabet. Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī, in the *Sharḥ* of his *Shudhūr al-dhahab* (Cairo 1951/1371) indicates only (p. 14, l. 13): *ṭaraf al-shayʾ*. With regard to the ancient Semitic languages, Arabic *ḥarf* "extremity, side" is related to Syriac *ḥarpā* and *ḥerpā* "edge, point" (Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, s.v.). In Hebrew, the relation is more remote: *ḥerpā*(*h*) "invective, reviling", which can be explained by "stinging, sharp words" (see Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, under *ḥ r f*).

The *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi begins with the broad tripartite division: "*ism*, *fiʿl*, *ḥarf*, the last meaning what is neither *ism* nor *fiʿl*." This division came to the Arabs from Aristotelian logic [see FIʿL]. Fr. Prätorius (in *ZDMG*, lxiii (1909), 504-5) has related *ḥarf* to the term *hóros* which is used in Aristotelian logic. M. Bravmann (*Materialien*, 8-9) accepted this and rejected the criticism of J. Weiss (in *ZDMG*, lxiv (1910), 349-82). *Hóros*, too, signified "limit", thence, among its derived meanings, "determination of the meaning of a word", whence, "definition". In Arabic, *ḥadd*, "limit, definition", has followed the same path; as for *ḥarf*, it has three derived meanings: (1) "word", (2) "letter of the alphabet", (3) the designation of the third term in the broad tripartite division.

It is difficult fully to clear up the processes by which these meanings are derived; for if, on the one hand, there was Greek influence on the development of meanings of an Arabic term (*ḥarf*), the primary meaning of which corresponded with that of the Greek term (*hóros*), the Arab world, on the other hand, offered for the possibilities of semantic derivation a completely different milieu of thought. The following is a possible explanation: from *ḥarf*, "extremity, side" (*LA*), "limit" (Ibn Djinnī), might have derived the meaning of "word" (recorded in Lane's *Lexicon*, s.v.). Then, in a very simple analysis of the phonic components of the word, it was enough for the first specialists on the Arabic language to pronounce a word slowly in order to divide it into what we call syllables and where they found "limits", *i.e.*, *ḥurūf*. The short vowel gave them no difficulty, since for them it had no autonomy but was a sort of accident of the stable element [see ḤARAKA WA-SUKŪN]. The *ḥarf* of the *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ* was taking shape. Finally, in that which was neither *ism*, nor *fiʿl*, it was easy to notice that many of these units, and some of the most common of them, had only one *ḥarf*: one has only to think of *wa-* the very common conjunction, *fa-*, *bi-* "in", *li-* (conj. and prep.), the interrogative

ʾa; or only a single *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ*: the negatives *lā*, *mā*; *fī* "in", the vocative *yā*; or two *ḥarf*: *min*, *ʿan*, etc. (see below); and this without being subject to any *iʿrāb*, inflexion. It was the domain of the *ḥarf*.

This presentation has the advantage of following a natural order in the analysis of the primary linguistic datum: the sentence. But it reduces heavily the extent of Greek influence: it takes it back to the suggestion of a point of departure, the choice of a word (*ḥarf*) meaning, like the Greek *hóros*, "limit".

The Arab grammarians tried to find a precise definition of *ḥarf*, the third term in the division given in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi, and in its comprehension and extension. Already in the *Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī (d. about 340/951), p. 17, l. 11, is found the definition which was to be accepted later by the great grammarians and, without essential change, even in some modern grammars, *e.g.*, *al-Ḳawāʾid al-djaliyya, al-k. al-thālith*, of Eddé (2nd ed. Beirut 1911, 111): *al-ḥarf mā dalla ʿalā maʿnan fī ghayrih*, "the *ḥarf* is that which indicates a meaning in something else". It cannot do without this something else—verb, noun or pronoun, and determines a meaning in it. This is why these *ḥurūf* are called also: *ḥurūf al-maʿānī*, *e.g.*, al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿilal al-naḥw* (Cairo 1959/1378, 54). On the discussion of the definition indicated above, see Ibn Yaʿīsh, pp. 1066-1071 (for § 497 of the *Mufaṣṣal*) and Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, ii, 297, l. 8 (with reference to i, 8, lines 14 ff., where *ism* is discussed) (Istanbul ed. 1275, with marginal *Sharḥ*).

When thus defined, *ḥarf* is usually translated by "particle". But how far had this concept of *ḥarf* to be extended? Many "grammatical instruments" (*adawāt*, sing. *adāt*), the term of al-Farrāʾ (see *ZDMG*, lxiv, 381-2 and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 187, lines 17 and 19) came of themselves. Other cases were less clear: Ibn al-Sarrādj saw a *ḥarf* in *ʿasā* and *laysa*; Thaʿlab agreed for the first, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī for the second; al-Zadjdjādjī (*al-Djumal*, 53 f.) placed *kāna* and its "sisters" among the *ḥurūf*; al-Suyūṭī (*Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ*, Cairo 1327, i, 10, l. 7 f.) examined the question and reaffirmed the general opinion that these were verbs.

Al-Zamakhsharī (*Mufaṣṣal*², § 497-624; Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1066-1250) presents all the different *ḥurūf* grouped according to their grammatical use, *e.g.*: *ḥurūf al-ʿaṭf* (of co-ordination), *ḥurūf al-nafy* (of negation); so more briefly in Eddé, *op. cit.*, 111-4. These *ḥurūf* re-appear amongst the 'Particles' of the European grammars, *e.g.*, S. de Sacy, *Gr. Ar.*², i, 466 f.; Wright, *Ar. Gr.*³, i, 278 f.; but without the systematic presentation given by the Arabs. Ibn Hishām [*q.v.*] arranged his *K. Mughnī 'l-labīb ʿan kutub al-aʿārīb* alphabetically, starting from the *ḥurūf*, the particles. It is not a classification of the *ḥurūf*: to him they were a means to present his great study of Arabic syntax. He had to insert, though, words like *kull* which do not belong to the *ḥurūf*.

The *Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir fī 'l-naḥw* of al-Suyūṭī (ii, 2nd ed., Ḥaydarābād 1360, 11) enumerates all the *ḥurūf*: uniliterals: 13; biliterals: 24, triliterals: 19, quadriliterals: 13; quinquiliterals: 1; total 70. Expressions such as: *khalfa*, *warāʾa*, "behind"; *amāma*, *ḳuddāma*, "in front of"; *bayna*, "between", are not included. These expressions, which the European grammarians regard as prepositions, were placed by the Arab grammarians among the *ẓurūf* (sing. *ẓarf*), see, *e.g.*: al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Djumal*, 44, l. 8-9; 72, l. 7-8; 74, l. 1-2. In the same work of al-Suyūṭī (ii, 11-4) are to be found all the grammatical classifications of *ḥurūf*, according to every possible way of regarding them.

The *Dict. of Tech. Terms* (i, 320-4) mentions 18 separate meanings of the term *ḥarf*. Two (2 and 3) concern the usage of the *ahl al-djafr* [see DJAFR]. Three refer to the script: nos. 1, 4, 5; no. 1 is useful to recall: *muʿdjama* — *muhmala* [see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ]. The others (apart from the last one) repeat phonetic divisions: they are to be found, as far as they are worth mentioning (except no. 6), under ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. The last one refers to *ṣarf*: *aṣliyya* — *zāʾida* [see ṢARF]. No. 6: *muṣawwita* — *ṣāmita*, comprises two groups: the *ḥurūf al-madd wa 'l-līn*, and the other *ḥurūf*, *mutaḥarrika* or *sākina* respectively. This division is useful, for it can provide the means of expressing 'vowel' and 'consonant' in Arabic. The first term is already ancient: in fact *al-muṣawwitāt* occurs in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (compiled in 377/987), 16, line 12, to designate the vowels of the Greek alphabet. After these 18 divisions come *al-ḥurūf fi 'ṣṭilāḥ al-ṣūfiyya* [see ḤURŪFĪ].

Ḥarf has also assumed the meaning of 'Ḳurʾānic reading', *i.e.*, a word with various readings, *e.g.*, *hādhā fī ḥarf Ibn Masʿūd ay fī ḳirāʾat Ibn Masʿūd* (*LA*, x, 385/ix, 41a). But what is the meaning of *aḥruf* in the *ḥadīth*: *nazala 'l-Ḳurʾān alā sabʿat aḥruf kulluhā shāfin kāfin* "The Ḳurʾān has been revealed according to seven *aḥruf*, each effective, sufficient"? The most widespread explanation (Abū ʿUbayd, al-Azharī, Ibn Athīr Madjd al-Dīn, *Ḳāmūs*) is that which attributes to *aḥruf* the sense of *lughāt* 'dialects' (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.); reference may be made also to the *K. al-lughāt fi 'l-Ḳurʾān*, published by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Cairo 1365/1946 and chapter 37 of al-Suyūṭī's *Itḳān*, *Fīmā waḳaʿa fīhi bi-ghayr lughat al-Ḥidjāz*. According to the notice given by Abū ʿUbayd in *LA* (x, 385/ix, 41b), this *ḥadīth* does not refer to words with seven *ḳirāʾāt*, but to *lughāt*, "dialectical words or expressions" found at various points of the Ḳurʾān, some from the dialect of the Ḳuraysh, others from that of Ahl al-Yaman, or of the Hawāzin or the Hudhayl, etc.; it continues: *wa maʿānīhā fī hādhā kullihi wāḥid* (*wāḥida*, in *TA*, vi, 68, line 18), "and their meanings in this are a single [meaning]", *i.e.*, they do not add a further meaning to that of the Ḳurʾānic text.

Bibliography: In the text; see also ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. (H. FLEISCH)

ḤARFŪSH, family name of the Shīʿī amīrs of the Baalbek region in Ottoman times. Technically a part of the *vilayet* of Damascus, the region of Baalbek was historically more closely associated with Mount Lebanon, and the Ḥarfūsh amīrs were frequently the virtual vassals of the Lebanese amīrs of the Maʿn and Shihāb dynasties. The origins of the Ḥarfūsh family are not clear; but it was already well-established in the Baalbek region in the latter half of the 10th/16th century, when Mūsā Ḥarfūsh conspired with other neighbouring chieftains against Ḳorḳmaz Maʿn of the Shūf in 992/1584-5 (see FAKHR AL-DĪN). His successor Yūnis Ḥarfūsh later became an ally of Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn II, acting as his vassal. The Ḥarfūsh amīrs continued to control the Baalbek region, imposing on it their oppressive rule, until the Ottoman system of provincial administration was reorganized in 1864. Earlier on, in 1850, Muḥammad Ḥarfūsh had led a rebellion against the Ottomans, who retaliated strongly. The Ḥarfūsh amīrs were overthrown and hunted down until their power was completely destroyed in 1866, and the remnants of the family were reduced to pauperism.

Bibliography: Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, vii, 9; ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf, *Dawānī*

al-ḳuṭūʿ fī taʾrīkh banī al-Maʿlūf, Baabdā 1907-8, 155, 159, 213, 217, 228, 231; A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250-1900*, London 1939, 59; Ṭannūs al-Shidyāḳ, *Akhbār al-aʿyān fī djabal Lubnān*, Beirut 1859. (K. S. Salibi)

ḤARFŪSH (a.; sometimes also Kharfūsh), "vagabond, ne'er-do-well", often used in the sense of "ruffians, rascals, scamps"; plural *ḥarāfīsh, ḥarāfīsha*. From the 7th/13th to the 10th/16th century the term appears in chronicles and other works dealing with the Mamlūk domains of Egypt and Syria. The last author to make relatively frequent use of the term seems to be the chronicler Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524), and a final reference, obviously in a period when the term had disappeared from common use, occurs in al-Muḥibbī's 11th/17th-century biographical dictionary *Khulāṣat al-athar* (see below).

The *ḥarāfīsh* represent the lowest element in the strata of Mamlūk society, forming groups in the urban centres of Cairo and Damascus and, at least temporarily, also in Homs, Hama, and Aleppo. Made up of professional beggars, able-bodied as well as infirm, street-entertainers, and the unemployed, the *ḥarāfīsh* seem to have developed a guild-like organization headed by a *shaykh* who bore the title *sulṭān al-ḥarāfīsh*. Often attacked by the orthodox writers for their barbarous speech and dress as well as for their heretical religious tendencies, the *ḥarāfīsh* were a despised and feared group given to rioting and plundering on occasion. To pacify and control this unruly but organized element, the sultan and the chief *amīrs* gave them alms and, in times of famine, numbers of *ḥarāfīsh* were assigned to the more affluent *amīrs* and to wealthy merchants and other non-governmental figures, who then became responsible for feeding them.

The development of the organization of the group (called a *ṭāʾifa* by some contemporary writers) is seen in the rise of the office of the *sulṭān al-ḥarāfīsh*, which first appears in the late 8th/14th century and persists until the end of the Mamlūk rule. The "*sulṭān*", who was the head of the guild-like organization, was responsible to the state for the discipline of his followers. Ibn Iyās (*Die Chronik des Ibn Iyās*, Bibliotheca Islamica, Band 5e, 41) mentions the *sulṭān al-ḥarāfīsh* along with the heads of artisan guilds who accompanied the last Mamlūk sultan in the ceremonial procession on his departure for Syria to fight the Ottoman Turks.

During the Ottoman period the term disappears and is replaced by *djuʿaydī* as a general term for "vagabond, beggar". However, in a notice regarding the head of the artisan guilds in Damascus, the *shaykh al-mashāyikh*, in the 11th/17th century, we are told that he was "formerly known as *sulṭān al-ḥarāfīsh*, then he was called, out of respect, *shaykh al-mashāyikh*" (al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, iv, 144). From the 10th/16th century until it fell into disuse at the end of the 19th century, the title of *shaykh al-mashāyikh* was handed down in the Damascene family of the Banū ʿAdjlān.

The connexion between the lowly *ḥarāfīsh* on the one hand and the respectable guild organizations on the other is not clear. Nor is their connexion with Ṣūfism—in its folk manifestations—easily explicable. The clearest indication of a relationship of the latter sort is in the figure of a popular saint known as ʿUbayd al-Ḥarfūsh or al-Ḥurayfīsh (d. 801/1399) whose work of pious devotions *al-Rawḍ al-fāʾiḳ* is still printed, most recently in 1949 (cf. Brockelmann, S. II, 229). In a verse cited by al-Sakhāwī (*al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 349), ʿUbayd wrote that the *ḥarāfīsh*, although poor, substisting on a morsel and in rags in a deserted mosque, will be forgiven their sins because they are neither liars nor hypocrites.

Undoubtedly the *ḥarāfīsh* represent one of those urban groups in the Muslim world that appeared periodically under different names, made up of impoverished, uprooted former artisans and peasants as well as professional beggars, who robbed and looted as well as begged for a livelihood, and who, in different periods, allied themselves with various elements in the government—at times with the sultan, at others with the *amīrs*. They should be compared—for differences as well as similarities—with the earlier *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*] and *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*], as well as with the later *zuʿar*.

A single literary reference to this group occurs in the *Alf layla* in the story of "The Ḥarfūsh and the Cook" (cf. Habicht, *Tausend und eine Nacht*, iv, 138-40, translated in Payne, *Tales from the Arabic*, i, 9; R. Burton, *A Thousand and One Nights' entertainment*, Suppl. i, 4).

Bibliography: For a discussion of the word itself cf. *TA*, iv, 297 (*ḥ r n f sh*) and *ibid.*, 305 (*ḥ r f sh*); Dozy, i, 374; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, i b, 195-7. Additional material, both on the term and on the history of the group will be found in the article by W. M. Brinner, *The significance of the Ḥarāfīsh and their 'Sultan'*, in *JESHO*, vi (1963), 190-215. A study by Ira M. Lapidus, *The Muslim city in Mamlūk times* (in the press), adds further citations and discussion of the *ḥarāfīsh*. (W. M. Brinner)

HARGEISA, administrative headquarters and capital of the former British Somaliland Protectorate, now of the northern region of the Somali Republic, lying in 9° 33′ N. lat. and 44° 04′ E. long. With a population of some 35,000 Somali and lying in territory normally grazed by the Habar Awal clan, the town is of recent formation. It has developed from the cultivating *ṭarīḳa* community (of the Ḳādiriyya) established by Shaykh Maḍḍar (Habar Awal, Ḥüseyn Abokor, Rēr Ḥosh, 1241-1336/1825-1918) in the second half of the nineteenth century. Under the Shaykh, who enjoyed a considerable reputation for piety and miraculous works, the community grew and prospered, attracting members of many different Somali clans. The main crop was sorghum, and the *ṭarīḳa* which straddled the caravan routes from Harar and the Ogaden was well-placed to be an important trading centre. Swayne, who visited the *ṭarīḳa* at the end of the nineteenth century, describes it as comprising a few hundred mud and wattle huts surrounded by a high mat fence enclosing a square mile or two of cultivated fields and subject to attack from surrounding Somali and Ethiopian raiders. During their rule on the coast, the Egyptians gave the Shaykh arms; and under the British he at first received a stipend. Later, after his death, and the development of Hargeisa as an administrative centre, especially when the town became the capital of the Protectorate, the *ṭarīḳa* declined and is no longer the tightly-knit theocratic unit which it was formerly. Shaykh Maḍḍar is buried beside the stone house given him by Lord Delamere in recognition of the Shaykh's kindness on a hunting expedition and his shrine is frequently visited, especially by women in search of blessing. The Shaykh's staunch support of British interests was recognized by the appointment of the local Ḳāḍī from amongst his descendants.

After the transfer of the Protectorate capital from

Berbera, Hargeisa began to assume its present character. As befits the main centre of trade in the interior of northern Somaliland it now boasts a modern hospital, some cinemas, a power station and broadcasting service, an aerodrome and most of the appurtances of modern government. A local government council was opened in 1953, and a legislative council in 1957. The latter merged with the Somalia legislative assembly at Maḳdis̲h̲u when the Protectorate and U.N. Trust Territory of Somalia joined to form the independent Somali Republic on 1 July 1960.

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(I. M. Lewis)

HARG̲H̲A, the Arabic form of the Berber name of the tribe to which Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] belonged, the Arg̲h̲en (the prosthetic *hā'* is general in Arabic transcriptions of the names of Berber tribes, and the suffix *a* [< *at*] in the plural has been substituted for the *-ən* of the Berber plural). The original home of this tribe is not known with any certainty. H. Basset and H. Terrasse (*Sanctuaires et forteresses almohades*, in *Hespéris*, 1924/1, 19) identify the Harg̲h̲a with the G̲h̲eg̲h̲āya (Ig̲h̲ig̲h̲ayən), who are also referred to by historians as belonging to the confederation of the Harg̲h̲a. But E. Lévi-Provençal (*Doc. inéd. d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, 55, n. 2) and R. Montagne (*Les Berbères et le Makhzen*, 64) consider on the contrary that the latter were natives of the Anti-Atlas, south-east of Taroudant, where some of the Arg̲h̲ən still exist, surrounded by other tribes bearing the names of particular elements of the confederation of the Harg̲h̲a, as given by al-Bayd̲h̲aḳ. A little above Tinmel there still exists a village with the name Arg̲h̲an, whose inhabitants maintain that their ancestors came from Sūs (E. Doutté, *En tribu*, 120-1). It is therefore possible that one fraction of the Arg̲h̲ən, whose original home was in the Anti-Atlas, may have settled on the northern slopes of the Great Atlas. E. Lévi-Provençal (*Six fragments inédits*, 8) records among the Harg̲h̲a a *ribāṭ* (*rabṭa*) which Ibn Tūmart had built, and gives its name as Īgīllīz (Īgīlīz in al-Bayd̲h̲aḳ); now, among the G̲h̲eg̲h̲āya (see E. Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la toponomie du Haut Atlas*, in *REI*, 1942, 117) there still exists a village named Glīz which must be the same one; at the foot of the mountain a number of grottoes had been excavated, and one of them which the Almohads had venerated was called in Arabic *al-g̲h̲ār al-muḳaddas* because Ibn Tūmart was accustomed to retreat there to pray and meditate. (It is perhaps not by chance that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin gave the name Īgīlīz to the obsidional town which he founded to the north of Almoravid Marrākus̲h̲, the modern Gīlīz).

Before the appearance of Ibn Tūmart, the Harg̲h̲a were a branch of the main confederation of the Maṣmūda [*q.v.*], from among whom seven fractions in all adopted the Mahdī's cause immediately after his return to the Atlas—the Harg̲h̲a, Hīntāta, Tinmel[lel], Gedmīwa, Genfīsa, Urīka and Hazraga (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ, vi, 225; H. Basset and H. Terrasse, *op. cit.*, 16-9).

After the recognition of Ibn Tūmart by the Harg̲h̲a, the Almoravids tried to seize the Mahdī while he was in Īgīlīz, by taking the tribe from the rear, but their attempt failed (516/1122): after a second attempt by the Almoravids against Īgīlīz (517/1123), Ibn Tūmart finally abandoned his *ribāṭ* in order to settle at Tinmel[lel] [*q.v.*] which he made the capital and bastion of his movement (518/1124). Thenceforward, Īgīlīz was no more than a sanctuary and place of pilgrimage which the Almohad caliphs visited from time to time, until the day when the dogma of the Mahdī was officially repudiated by Idrīs al-Maʾmūn, the ninth Almohad caliph (626/1229-629/1232).

The Harg̲h̲a comprised one of the least powerful fractions, but Ibn Tūmart had endeavoured to bring them into prominence. On the one hand, he had incorporated with them the members of the tribes who came from the Anti-Atlas (see R. Montagne, *op. cit.*, 64), on the other hand he had attached several of his principal companions, especially ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*], Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥsin al-Bas̲h̲īr and others to them; but the Harg̲h̲a, fearing to be dispossessed of their rights as relatives and heirs of Ibn Tūmart, were utterly opposed to all such adoptions, and from the times of the Mahdī's death tried to reject them. The members of his family, led by his two brothers, did not indeed approve of the nomination of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin as caliph; on being condemned to live under surveillance in Marrākus̲h̲, they escaped and tried to rebel, but failed and were executed. In this way the part played by the Harg̲h̲a in the history of the Almohads came to an end, and they sank back into obscurity.

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(H. Monés)

HARĪ RŪD, the river of Harāt, which flows for almost 350 miles from the Dai Zangī mountains, west of the Kūh-i Bābā range in central Afg̲h̲ānistān to the oasis of Marw. The river flows south of Harāt, and some thirty miles west of the city it changes direction and flows north. For about sixty miles it forms the boundary between Īrān and Afg̲h̲ānistān before flowing into the Soviet Union. It irrigates the Tad̲j̲and oasis and then is lost in the sands. In the early spring the river is swift and deep at Harāt but in the late autumn it is low and passable.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, s.vv. Harāt and Sarak̲h̲s; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 329 (sketch-map); Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, tr. 212; Le Strange, 407 ff.; C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, London 1888, 175; T. Holdich, *The gates of India*, London 1910.

(R. N. Frye)

ḤARĪB, a district of South Arabia on the *wādī* of the same name and lying immediately to the west of Bayḥān [*q.v.*]. The Wādī Ḥarīb rises under the name of Wādī ʿAyn in Bilād al-D̲j̲uraybāt in the highlands of Murād [*q.v.*] and runs northeastwards for about 30 miles through rugged and barren hills to disappear into the desert of Ramlat Sabatayn. About halfway along its course it is joined from the east by the Wādī Mablaḳa and widens into a broad silt plain. Some ten miles further north it unites

with the Wādī Muḳbal which runs almost parallel to it a short distance to the west. Finally, just before its entry into the desert, it receives, also from the west, the Wādī Ablaḥ, which is separated from the main area of Ḥarīb by the Ḳaran mountains and an isolated spur thereof, Djabal Ḥashfa. At present the boundary between the Yemen and Bayḥān traverses Ḥarīb so that the upper reaches of Wādī ʿAyn and the plain at its confluence with Wādī Mablaḳa belong to Bayḥān, while Wādī Ḥarīb proper lies in the Yemen, coming under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Mārib [*q.v.*]. It is interesting to note that at some time in antiquity Ḥarīb may have constituted the westernmost region of Ḳatabān [*q.v.*], for across the gap between Djabal Ḳaran and Djabal Ḥashfa there is found an ancient stone wall, al-Ḳayd, whose defence-works are directed westwards. Just west of Ḥarīb lie the lands of Murād which may have been independent or belonged to Sabaʾ [*q.v.*] before being incorporated into Ḳatabān. In the 6th century A. D. Ḥarīb formed part of Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*].

At present the chief town of the district is Darb Āl ʿAlī which is situated within the Yemen between Wādī Muḳbal and Wādī Ḥarīb. Landberg described it as inhabited by about 250 *ashrāf*, drawn from four families, who own most of the land of Ḥarīb. The most important was the Āl ʿAlī b. Ṭālib, the family of the *Amīr* of Ḥarīb. There were also resident there several families of merchants and artisans (*ḳarawī*, pl. *ḳirwān*), each with its own hereditary profession. About five miles further north, at the confluence of the two *wādīs*, lies Darb Bū Ṭuḥayf, which belongs to the Āl Abū Ṭuḥayf who claim descent from the Hilāl [*q.v.*]. The Banū ʿAbd (of Murād) occupy parts of the *wādī*, including the town of Darb Āl ʿAmr in Wādī ʿAyn and the hills of Djabal Ḳaran. On the latter is the tomb of a saint, Abū ʿĀmir Uways b. al-Murādī al-Ḳaranī, a contemporary of the Prophet. The village of al-Sāḥa, near Darb Āl ʿAmr, also belongs to a clan of Banū ʿAbd, the Āl Ghuthaym, who are noted locksmiths. Some members of this clan emigrated to Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] and practised their profession there. Hamdānī also gives the inhabitants of Ḥarīb as the Murādī tribes of Rabīʿ, Khalaf and ʿUdhr. The Āl Rabīʿ, who are *mashāʾikh*, still lead a nomadic life in Ḥarīb, Bayḥān, and also in al-Djūba in Murād. As is often the case in this part of Arabia, many of the towns are occupied by *raʿiyya* or dependent classes, while their patrons live outside the towns in tents.

The identification of Ḥarīb with Pliny's Caripeta can no longer be regarded as sound. Nevertheless the area is covered with evidence of ancient occupation in the form of ruined towns and the remains of irrigational systems. A particularly important site is Hadjar Ḥinū al-Zarīr, just across the frontier from Darb Āl ʿAlī and north of the isolated Djabal Ḳarn ʿUbayd. It was briefly visited by an American archaeological mission in 1951, though not excavated, and is reported as having several buildings still largely intact and many inscriptions. According to tradition it was named after one al-Zarīr b. Ṣaʿaḳ, who once ruled there, and inhabited by smiths who were *raʿiyya* of the Ḥimyarites. There may be some truth in the latter tradition since there is abundant evidence of the existence of an iron-smelting industry in the general area. Landberg also mentions a site called Timnaʿ, with associated ruins, in the plain of al-Djufra on Wādī Ablaḥ, which he supposed to have been the ancient capital of Ḳatabān, but it has now been demonstrated that the latter actually lies elsewhere [see BAYḤĀN]. There are also reports of a ruin field called Hadjar Ḥarīb north of Darb Bū Ṭuḥayf but little information is available on it.

Although the main caravan route from Bayḥān to Mārib by-passes Ḥarīb to the north, there is an alternative road from Wādī Bayḥān which takes advantage of an impressive stepped pass leading through the mountains into Wādī Mablaḳa. Traditionally cut by a certain Bārghāl, it is called *MBLQT* in a Ḳatabanian inscription at the pass, which records that it was built by a *mukarrib* of Ḳatabān, Yadaʿ ʾab Dhubyān b. Shahr, who probably reigned about 200 B.C. From there the road runs past Darb Āl ʿAlī and through the wall, al-Ḳayd, whereafter there is a choice of three mountain roads into the Wādī al-Djūba.

Several other places with the name of Ḥarīb or *ḤRB* are known from Hamdānī and the inscriptions.

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ḤĀRIM, small town in northern Syria dominated by a fortress of the same name and situated in 34° 10′ E. and 36° 11′ N., 88 km. west of Aleppo, 39 km. east of Anṭākiya and 21 km. south of the lake of ʿAmḳ [*q.v.*]. Its site, at the foot of the western slope of the Djabal al-ʿAlā, makes it into a point of remarkable strategic importance. Situated slightly off the road from Anṭākiya to Aleppo, yet sufficiently close to control it, it guards the entry to the massifs of the Djabal al-ʿAlā and the Djabal Barīsha.

Consisting at first simply of an enclosure of sheep-folds (whence probably the origin of the name Ḥārim, from the Semitic root *ḤRM*, with its connotations of prohibition, exclusion, etc.), then, under the Byzantines, a small castle, Ḥārim was occupied by the Arabs at the time of the conquest, then re-taken by the Byzantines, and finally conquered by the Saldjūḳ sultan Sulayman b. Ḳutulmīsh in 477/1084. Malik-Shāh occupied it in 479/1086. Then, after the Frankish conquest in 491/1098, it became an important fortress. The Crusaders made it into a strong castle which commanded the route out to Djisr al-Ḥadīd [*q.v.*] and ensured the safety of Anṭākiya. After several attempts, Nūr al-Dīn succeeded in taking Ḥārim in 559/1164 and granted it as a fief to the *amīr* Madjd al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. al-Dāya. In 579/1183, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn seized it from the Zangids and gave it to one of his followers, Ibrāhīm b. Shirwa. The attacks made by the Crusaders to recover Ḥārim were all unsuccessful and the fortress remained in the hands of the Ayyūbids. Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, the son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, rebuilt it entirely, as is indicated by an inscription of 595/1199 engraved above the lintel of the entrance gate. In 658/1260, the Mongol Hūlāgū occupied Ḥārim, which from then on played only a minor rôle in the military history of northern Syria.

Nowadays, Ḥārim, the site of which is still marked by the ruins of its fortress, has a permanent market in which the agricultural products of the region are sold. Its gardens have always been famous, as is witnessed by various Arab writers, and its olive groves occupy the lower slopes of the Djabal al-ʿAlā.

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part, 219 ff.; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 449; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, index; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1913, 220-38; G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1958, especially i, 93-5, 382, iii, 120; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, Paris 1953, i, 217; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1936, index; Froment, *Carte touristique et archéologique du Caza de Ḥārem*, in *Syria*, xi (1930), 185, 192; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891, ii, 210-1.

(S. Ory)

ḤARĪM (also *ḥaramgāh*, *zanāna*, etc.), a term applied to those parts of a house to which access is forbidden, and hence more particularly to the women's quarters. In ancient Arabia women seem to have enjoyed some measure of personal freedom, though the use of the veil was not unknown, especially in towns. It became commoner after the advent of Islam, with the adoption, on the one hand of a stricter code of sexual morality, on the other of a more urban way of life. The provisions of the Ḳur'ān on the veiling and seclusion of women (XXXIII, 53-9) were elaborated and made severer by jurists and commentators, and used to justify a system that owed more to the earlier city civilizations of the Middle East than to Islam. In the great houses, in the cities of the Islamic Empire, the free Arab lady known to us from early poetry disappears. While the lower and middle classes seem generally to have practiced a form of monogamy, the wealthier classes maintained elaborate gynaecea, in which, besides their legal quota of wives, there were establishments of concubines, attendants, eunuchs and guards. So normal did this become in medieval Muslim society that Muslim travellers are shocked when they visit other societies in which women enjoy greater social freedom. The system survived into comparatively modern times, and has not entirely died out even at the present day. In its Turkish form, *harem*, the word has passed into many European languages.

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On the psychology of harem women, see E. F. Gautier, *Mœurs et coutumes des Musulmans*, Paris 1931, 36 ff.

See further ʿabd (on slavery); djins (on sexual life); ḥidjāb (on the veil); khādim, khaṣī (on eunuchs); ḳayna (on slave singing-girls); mar'a (on women in general); nikāḥ (on marriage); sarāy (on the palace, including the imperial *harem*).

(Ed.)

ḤARĪR, silk. The etymology of the word is obscure; its synonyms *ibrīsam* and *ḳazz*, as well as *dībādj* which more particularly denotes silk brocade, are Persian loanwords; *khazz*, properly speaking a mixture of silk and wool, but sometimes also used for silk, is etymologically isolated in Arabic, and perhaps connected with *ḳazz*. *Ḥarīr* occurs in the Ḳur'ān, sūras XXII, 23 = XXXV, 33, and LXXVI, 12, where it is said that the raiment of the people of Paradise will be silk. A group of traditions which, together with others, express an ascetic tendency in early Islam, forbids the use of silk to men but allows it to women. The prohibition is often expressed in the form that he who wears silk in this world, shall not wear it in the next. (Another version forbids it to men only if it is worn for ostentation. On the other hand, the wearing of silk is occasionally not recommended even for women.) The use of silk in garments by men is allowed only as appliqué work, as a border not more than two fingers broad, etc. When the Prophet was presented with a silken robe, he wore it once during the ritual prayer, but then expressed strong repugnance for it. The traditions declare that the use of silk for upholstery is like its use for clothing, and they explicitly forbid its use in saddle-cushions and the like. Sufferers from itch, however, may use silk garments, and the Prophet allowed their use to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, who complained of lice. A contrary tendency is attested by traditions according to which some ancient authorities used to wear silk, and by counter-traditions which threaten those who regard silk and *khazz* as allowed, with punishment. On the details of the traditions, see A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. clothes; the same, *Concordance*, s.v. *ḥarīr*. As a result of these traditions, all schools of religious law forbid to men the wearing of garments made completely of silk next to the skin, and they differ on many questions of detail which do not fall exactly under this close definition. The Shāfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs, in addition, forbid sitting or leaning on silk (as material of cushions, etc.), or using it as hangings on walls, except for the Kaʿba, but they allow the wearing of garments made partly of silk if its quantity is not greater than that of the other material. The Mālikīs forbid the use of silk garments even to sufferers from itch, lice, etc.; they also forbid sitting on silk but allow its use for hangings. The Ḥanafīs permit lying or sleeping on silk, also the use of silk cushions and of silk prayer mats; according to Abū Ḥanīfa (against the *mashhūr*

of the school) it is permitted to wear outer garments of silk provided they do not touch the body. All these prohibitions apply to men only. If a man performs the ritual prayer in a garment of silk, he commits a sin but his prayer does not become invalid. Different from the question of wearing silk garments is the question of wearing silk material in order to fulfil the minimum requirement of covering one's "nakedness" (*ʿawra*), particularly during the ritual prayer; in this last case, if one must chose between silk and material which has become ritually unclean, the use of silk is generally preferred. The unlawful use of silk at a wedding dinner-party (*walīma*) cancels the religious obligation of accepting a personal invitation to it [see ʿURS]. The works of *fiḳh* treat of the rules regarding the use of silk either in a special section on clothing or in the chapters on ritual prayer and/or on the *walīma*; the doctrines of the four *sunnī* schools of religious law are conveniently set out in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazīrī, *K. al-fiḳh ʿala 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, ii (*ḳism al-muʿāmalāt*), 2nd ed., Cairo 1933, 12 ff. See also Juynboll, *Handleiding*[3,4], 157; Guidi and Santillana, *Sommario del diritto malechita*, i, 57 f., ii, 63; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, i, 60 f. (for the Shāfiʿīs, the Mālikīs, and the "Twelver" Shīʿīs respectively).

Circumstances beyond our control have obliged us to refer the reader to the Supplement for articles on the silk trade and industry in mediaeval Islam and post-Mongol Persia. What follows here is divided into four sections:

i. A brief general survey of the silk industry and trade, especially with Europe, from the point of view of the European economic historian;

ii. A detailed examination of the Ottoman silk industry;

iii. A survey of the silk industry in the Arab lands;

iv. A contribution by an art historian, reviewing the products of the Islamic silk industry particularly as they are represented in the museum collections of the Western world.

For some information on silk cultivation and the mediaeval silk trade, see FILĀḤA, TIDJĀRA, TŪT.

(ED.)

i. — SURVEY OF THE TRADE AND INDUSTRY

In the mediaeval and early modern period silk ranked among the three or four most important commodities of intercontinental trade. At least until the beginning of the 19th century silk and silk textiles were the most important exports from Muslim countries. Within this long period the most striking fact is the gradual transfer of silk culture from east to west. While Muslim demand and technique remained, so far as we can judge, practically static in the centuries following the Mongol invasions, silk weaving and the breeding of silkworms were steadily spreading in Europe.

The growth of the European silk industry influenced Muslim production in two ways, negatively by increasing the competition in the highly specialized field of silk weaving, positively by raising the demand for raw silk. The mechanization of European sericulture and silk weaving in the 19th century was the final blow to the traditional Muslim crafts; it is clear, however, that this was not a completely new point of departure, but the result of a development that had begun several centuries before.

It is at present impossible to point to any decisive moment in this long development. In the 7th/13th century the near monopoly of the Muslim weavers on the European market had first been broken by the weavers of Lucca. In the 9th/15th century Italian silk fabrics figured among the Venetian exports to the Levant, and at the time of the Portuguese discoveries they had reached the Central Asian and Indian markets. In the factories of the Levant they were met by a counter-current of Muslim silk fabrics on their way to Europe, but this counter-current grew steadily weaker. What once had constituted the bulk of Muslim exports to Europe had, by the middle of the 11th/17th century, become limited to a few specialized qualities. It was not a question of quantity and price only. As early as 979/1571 a Venetian traveller in Persia noted that the finish of the Persian smooth stuffs and damask was inferior to the Italian. Around 1153/1740 an English merchant (J. Hanway) stated that Persia in good years would be a promising market for "rich silks, gold and silver lace, velvets and other rich manufactures". Even at that time it might seem like carrying coals to Newcastle, but a century later the German expert, Blau, found that the Persian weavers were working for the home market only, their products being too coarse to be exported. In 1889 some 15% of the total imports into Persia were English, Austrian, French and Russian silk fabrics (Curzon).

The towns which were admired by the mediaeval and early modern travellers for their flourishing silk industry, Yazd, Kāshān, Iṣfahān, Damascus and others, maintained their traditional crafts into the present century. Without statistical data it is impossible to decide when they passed from stagnation to decline. It is interesting to note, however, that the movement towards the west took place within Islam as well as from Islam to Europe. In Bursa, conveniently situated both in relation to the caravan routes from Persia and to the important market constituted by the Ottoman court, silk weaving expanded spectacularly in the 9th/15th century and maintained its prosperity at least to the end of the 12th/18th century. The prosperity of the silk industry in Izmir and on Chios belongs to an even later date and reached its highest level at the end of the 12th/18th century, when the fabrics of Izmir competed successfully with local products in the market of Bursa. In this case, at least, decline did not begin before the industrialization of European production.

These developments in the weaving industry necessarily influenced the localization of sericulture. Until *ca.* 900/1500 the Caspian provinces, Māzandarān, Gīlān, and Shīrwān, were by far the most important districts from the point of view of international trade. The production of other regions, such as Syria or Khurāsān, was mostly manufactured locally. The earliest reasonably reliable estimates of the production of raw silk in Persia date from the first half of the 11th/17th century, when the firm rule and active commercial policy of ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] had brought the sericulture of the Caspian provinces to a peak of prosperity. The often quoted estimate of Olearius from 1047/1637, who put the average "harvest" at 20,000 bales (roughly 2,000 tons), was, however, considerably higher than the contemporary estimates of Dutch and English merchants, who presumably had a better knowledge of local conditions. Though the estimates which were sent to the Dutch and English East India Companies vary, 1,000 tons would probably be a realistic figure for the annual production of raw silk in Persia at the death of ʿAbbās I. Two-thirds of the annual production was exported to Europe, and the most important district

was Gīlān, which alone accounted for half the total production.

The 11th/17th century was to all appearances a prosperous one for the Persian producers and for their middlemen, the Armenian merchants. This prosperity came to a sudden end with the political break-down of the early 12th/18th century. Around 1153/1740, according to Hanway, the production of Gīlān had fallen to *ca.* 160 tons annually, while the breeding of silkworms had come to a complete stop in Shīrwān.

Political stability in the second half of the 12th/18th century brought renewed prosperity to Gīlān, which from this time on completely overshadowed the other Persian silk-producing regions. The highest production figures in the whole history of Gīlān were probably reached shortly after the middle of the 19th century, when the mechanization of the European silk industry and better means of access to the Caspian provinces brought the demand to unprecedented heights. Around 1850 Blau estimated the annual production of Gīlān at 350-420 tons; in 1864 it was more than 1,000 tons. This was the peak, however. The same year disease (*pebrine*) appeared among the silkworms, probably (as in France) the result of unlimited expansion without change of technique.

Persian sericulture never recovered fully from this blow. At the very moment when heavy investments were necessary to exterminate the *pebrine* and to mechanize silk-winding, prices of raw silk took a downward turn, partly as a result of the long depression in Europe, partly because of Japanese competition. After 1890 conditions improved to some extent, but the highest production figure reached before 1914 was *ca.* 550 tons.

Syrian silk appears among the European imports from Syria in the middle ages, but primarily it was manufactured locally, particularly in Damascus. It was probably during the wars between the Ottoman Empire and Persia in the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries that it first came into prominence as a substitute for the Persian raw silk. The French specialized in the silk of Lebanon, while the other nations seem to have preferred the qualities from northern Syria.

In spite of some expansion, mostly in Lebanon, the Syrian production of raw silk was much smaller than the production of Persia until the last decades of the 19th century. The earliest reliable statistics show an annual average of *ca.* 110 tons between 1861 and 1870. The Syrian silkworms were hit by disease like those of Persia, but the consequences were less serious. The more intimate connections with Europe and a considerable import of French capital facilitated a rapid change of technique. The *pebrine* was exterminated within a few years and the mechanization of silk-winding got under way. Before the first world war the production of Syria and Lebanon equalled that of Persia.

The prosperity of the sericulture of western Anatolia dates from the beginning of the 11th/17th century. Before the 19th century it produced mainly for the silkweavers of Izmir, Chios and Bursa, but as early as 1837 steam-power was used in the winding of silk in Bursa. This is probably the main reason why this region was able to expand far beyond the older producers of Persia and Syria in the late 13th/19th century. On the eve of the first world war production had reached 1000 tons annually [see BURSA].

With a total of a little more than 2000 tons annually around 1914 the Muslim countries accounted for less than 10% of the world production of raw silk. The war caused a serious decline and recovery was delayed by the low prices of raw silk during the depression and later by the introduction of artificial fibres. At present the economic importance of sericulture in the Muslim countries is negligible. Including exported fresh cocoons the production amounted in 1962 to *ca.* 320 tons of raw silk, or little more than 1% of the world production.

Bibliography: Information on the silk industry and sericulture is extremely scattered—as on most other aspects of the economic history of Islam. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, Leipzig 1886, is fairly complete on the period up to ca. 900/1500. Not quite so useful are Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1896 and idem, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1911. For recent statistics see *Statistique de la production de la soie en France et à l'étranger*, Syndicat de l'Union des Marchands de Soie, Lyon 1872—and the *Production Yearbook* of FAO. Otto Blau, *Die commercielle Zustände Persiens*, Berlin 1858; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, 2 vols., London 1892 (with list of the most important travellers in Persia); G. Ducousso, *L'industrie de la soie en Syrie*, Paris-Beirut 1913; *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der oost-indische compagnie in Perzië*, ed. H. Dunlop = *Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën vol. 72*, The Hague 1930 (important on the 11th/17th century); D. Chevallier, *Lyon et la Syrie en 1919*, in *Revue historique*, ccxxiv, Paris 1960.

(N. STEENSGAARD)

ii. — THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The word for "silk" in Ottoman Turkish is *ipek*, in Kïpčak Turkish *yipek*; in Eastern Turkish the word *torḳu*, *torghu* means silk or silk stuff; the word *aghï*, found in the inscription of Kültegin (S 5) means rich silk stuff, valuable goods (see Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, s.v.); in old Ottoman the expression *aḳ ḳumāsh* is occasionally found for silk stuff.

By the end of the 8th/14th century Bursa was one of the principal silk markets of the world, as is evident from the descriptions of J. Schiltberger (*Travels and bondage* ..., ed. J. B. Telfer, London 1879, 34) and Clavijo (*Narrative of the embassy* ..., tr. Markham, London 1859, 159; see also Pero Tafur, *Travels and adventures, 1435-39*, tr. M. Letts, New York and London 1926, 149, and B. de La Broquière, *Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892, 134). Just as the silk industry and trade of Byzantium depended in large measure on silk from Persia (R. S. Lopez, *Silk industry in the Byzantine Empire*, in *Speculum* xx (1945)), so the development of the silk trade and industry in the Ottoman Empire is connected with the fact that the Persian silk caravans came increasingly to the Ottoman capital of Bursa.

It is known that the weaving of silk stuffs was carried on in various towns of Seldjūḳ Anatolia (see below). In early Ottoman sources it is noted (ʿĀshïḳ Pashazāde, ed. ʿĀlī, 56; ed. Giese, 52; Gn. tr. R. Kreutel, 87) that during the reign of Murād I, Alashehir (Philadelphia), still in Byzantine hands, was famous for its red silk stuffs, from which banners and robes of honour (*khilʿa*) were made. Pegolotti's mention (early 8th/14th century, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans, Cambridge Mass. 1936, 208, 297, 300; see W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, ii, 674) of *seta turci* presumably refers to the principality of

Aydin, so that silk for local needs was apparently produced here. A document of the reign of Meḥemmed II shows that silk was produced in the Tokat-Amasya region in the 9th/15th century (see R. Anhegger and H. Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī*, Ankara 1956, p. 41, no. 31). The 9th/15th century registers of the *ḳāḍīs* of Bursa contain no indication that silk was then made there or that Anatolian silk was used. The silk production and export of the Morea, on the other hand, had been famous since Byzantine times (see F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, ii, Paris 1959, docs. 1681, 1859, 2071, 2202; iii, Paris 1961, docs. 2448, 2508). Although the silk of the Morea was not so esteemed as that of Persia, a *ḳāḍī*'s record shows that it was coming to Bursa in 906/1500 (Bursa Şeriye sicilleri, no. 18/17). Silk produced in Albania was exported to Bursa and to Europe in the 10th/16th century (see H. Inalcık, *Sûret-i defter i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, 126; F. Dalsar, *Bursa'da ipekçilik*, Istanbul 1960, 207; and, in a *defter-i mufaṣṣal* of the reign of Selīm I, Başvekâlet Arşivi, tapu no. 80, *Defter-i resm-i ḥarīr-i wilāyet-i Mora*).

All the same, in both the Seldjūḳ and the Ottoman periods, the raw material for international trade and for local silk manufacture in Anatolia came mainly from the districts south of the Caspian Sea. In the time of the Ilkhāns, the Persian silk caravans followed the *Shāhrāh-i Gharbī*, which led via Sulṭāniyye, Erzurum, Erzindjan and Sivas to Konya; two minor routes branched off at Sivas for Constantinople (Z. V. Togan, in *Ikt. Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1954), 45). With the establishment of the Ottoman state, some of these caravans began to come by these routes to Bursa, instead of continuing to Constantinople or Foča; yet even in the 8th/14th century a shorter route, Erzurum—Erzindjan—Tokat—Amasya—Bursa, had surpassed them in importance, and the old sea-route from Trebizond to Constantinople, formerly very active, thenceforward declined. At Bursa, now a Muslim city, Persian merchants could easily and safely establish direct contacts with Italian merchants. Orkhān granted trading concessions to the Genoese and built a *bezzāzistān* at Bursa; later references in *waḳf*-registers to this *bezzāzistān* mention a *mīzān* (balance) for silk in it.

It may justly be claimed that the Ottomans consciously followed a policy of making their new capital a principal entrepôt for Persian silk, of gaining control of the silk-routes, and, in the 10th/16th century, of occupying the Persian centres of silk-production. The factors prompting this policy were the rich revenues which silk brought to the Treasury, the great demand for silk stuffs in the palace and among the wealthy classes, and the increasing dependence of the fortunes of the industry on such a policy (see H. Inalcık, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî vaziyeti*, in *Belleten*, xv/60 (1951), 664-75); the acquisition of silk and silkstuffs was also regarded as a means of amassing wealth (see H. Inalcık, *15. asır Türkiye iktisadî ve içtimaî tarihi kaynakları*, in *Ikt. Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1953-4), 55-65).

As early as the reign of Bāyezīd I, Ottoman conquests extended control over the silk-routes, in the north towards Amasya, Tokat and Erzindjan, and in the south towards Malatya. When the attempts in the 10th/16th century to control Tabrīz and to establish close relations with Gīlān and Shirwān are being considered, the economic motive must not be overlooked; from the time of the submission of Amīr Dūbādj (Muẓaffar Sulṭān) to Süleymān I in 940/1533, the Ottomans regarded the rulers of Gīlān as their vassals (Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*, ii, 163).

The Persian silk exported to Anatolia came principally from Māzandarān, Gīlān and Shirwān. The products of the first two districts were collected first at Sulṭāniyya, and in later years mainly at Tabrīz; as early as 741/1340, the *tamghā* [*q.v.*] on silk at Tabrīz amounted to 300,000 *dīnārs* (ʿAbd Allāh al-Māzandarānī, *Resālā-ye Falakiyyā*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1952, p. 59). Here the silk was bought by the great merchants and the caravans were assembled; these caravans reached Erzurum by the middle valley of the Aras, known as Čuḳūr-i Saʿd (or Sāʿat). The caravans of silk from Shirwān and Gandja reached Erzurum via Shamākhī and Tiflīs. The caravans bound for Aleppo, also an international silk-market, went via Tabrīz, Van, Bidlīs and Diyārbakr, or along the valley of the Euphrates via Erzindjan and Kemakh. The sea-route from Trebizond was also used (Dalsar, *op. cit.*, p. 195, doc. 81, of 1016/1607). From the 8th/14th century onwards, Bursa began to rival Aleppo as a destination for Persian silk-caravans (the statement of W. Heyd, ii, 673, that the Ottomans obstructed the silk-routes is baseless). The caravans depended largely on the supply of horses and camels by the Türkmen nomads; at the end of the 9th/15th century a horse was hired for the journey Tabrīz-Bursa-Tabrīz at 400 *aḳčes* (about 9 ducats). Several caravans came to Bursa each year; an average caravan consisted of 300-400 beasts and carried 200 *yüks* of silk (a *yük* consisted of 400 or—according to another note—550 *lidres*; the *lidre* of silk was 120 *dirhams*, so that one *yük* was the equivalent of *ca.* 154 Kg.); a caravan of 919/1513 brought 400 *yüks* of silk (Dalsar, p. 168, doc. 41). The Persian silk-merchants resident at Bursa in the 9th/15th century were mainly from Tabrīz, Gīlān, Čuḳūr-i Saʿd and Shirwān (on them see *Ikt. Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1953-4), 62-4). At this period Armenian merchants were in the minority. Most of the silk brought to Bursa was the highly-prized fine silk of Astarābād (*setta stravai*). The *ḳāḍīs*' registers of Bursa contain records that silk was sold there on behalf of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu ruler Yaʿḳūb and the Ṣafawid shāhs Ismāʿīl, Ṭahmāsb and ʿAbbās (Dalsar, docs. 40, 62, 67, 240). Of these merchants, called indiscriminately ʿAdjam in Ottoman sources, some were certainly Ādharī Turks; the records distinguish the 'resident' (*mutamakkin*) from the 'travelling' (*saffār*) merchants.

Government regulations provided that the silk must be unloaded at the *bezzāzistān* (R. Anhegger and H. Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī*, p. 41, no. 31). There the silk was weighed on a scales (*mīzān*) set aside for it (in the 11th/17th century the *mīzān* at Bursa was in the ʿAdjem khānī, later called the Ḳoza khānī, see Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 19), the dues on it were collected, and the owner was given a *tedhkire* stating the weight of the silk and certifying that the dues had been paid : these details were also entered in the *mīzān defteri*. In the 11th/17th century, on every *wazna* (*vezne*), that is 30 *lidre* (4500 gr.), of silk a *mīzān resmi* or *terāzū resmi* of 52 *aḳčes* each was collected from seller and buyer (see H. Inalcık, *Bursa*, in *Belleten*, xxix/93 (1960), 58). Meḥemmed II introduced another *mīzān resmi* on the frontier at Tokat. This second tax annoyed the Persians, and in 877/1472 Uzun Ḥasan took and sacked Tokat. Silk in transit through Uzun Ḥasan's realm paid fairly high dues at Erzindjan and Kharput or (on the other route) at Diyārbakr and Mardin (W. Hinz, *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, c (1950), 197). The Ottomans later

established another *mīzān* at Erzurum (on measures to counter-act tax-avoidance see below, p. 214). Whatever its destination, all imported silk had to be brought to the Bursa *mīzān*. Sales were carried out in the *bezzāzistān*, after the *mīzān resmi* had been paid, by brokers (*dellāl*) under the control of the *simsār* [*q.v.*]. The broker took a fixed due (*dellāliyye*) (see Anhegger and Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 41-3; for a *ḳānūn* controlling brokers, *op. cit.*, 57-9; for their malpractices, Dalsar, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-5, 224, 285). The activities of the *simsār* were supervised by the sultan's *khāṣṣa ketkhudāsi* in Bursa, who took charge of the revenues raised. Silk-merchants could not leave the *khān* before obtaining the permission of its supervisor and the *simsār's* attestation that the dues had been paid.

The following table gives the amounts for which at various dates the three-year farm of the Bursa *ḥarīr mīzānī* was leased:

	million *aḳčes*	
892/1487	6.0	
914/1508	5.4	
918/1512	7.35	
928/1521	2.1	
930/1523	3.0	
947/1540	2.9	
950/1543	3.8	
965/1557	4.2	
1015/1606	5.2	(including *gümüsh yasaghī* and *ḳaṣṣābiyye*)

The silk trade developed considerably during the reign of Bāyezīd II, who built at Bursa two great 'sulṭānī' khāns, those popularly known as the Koza khānī (or ʿAdjem khānī) and the Pirinč khānī. Under Selīm I, there was a great regression; only towards the end of the reign of Süleymān I do the figures for the silk-trade approach again those of the reign of Bāyezīd II. For comparison it may be noted that the silk *mīzān muḳāṭaʿasī* for Aleppo under Selīm II amounted only to 400,000 *aḳčes*. It has been calculated that in 978/1570 the total annual silk production of Persia was 22,000 *yüks*, of which 3,000 were exported to Turkey (P. Masson, *Hist. du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1897, 416). In about 905/1500, the Bursa silk industry needed a daily supply of 5 fardellos (1250 Bursa *lidres*) (G. R. B. Richards, *Florentine merchants in the age of the Medici*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, 110). The silk merchants of Bursa would gather at the *bezzāzistān* and buy the imported silk en bloc at a single price, later distributing it among themselves (Dalsar, p. 221; for the same system under the Byzantines, see Lopez, *op. cit.*, offprint p. 18). Silk brought to Bursa was rapidly sold out; if caravans were delayed, prices rose and there was speculation. The Bursa agents of Italian companies competed to buy and send off silk as quickly as possible (Richards, *op. cit.*, 127; Inalcık, *Bursa*, docs. 10, 18, 32). In the 9th/15th century the principal buyers were Genoese, Venetians, Florentines and Jews. Meḥemmed II encouraged the Florentines during the war with Venice (867/1463-884/1479), and the Medicis took an increasing interest in the trade. Silk prices at Bursa at various dates were as follows:

		price in *aḳčes* per *lidre* of good quality fine silk	
872/1467		50	
883/1478		67	(one *altīn* = 45 *aḳčes*)
893/1488		70	(one *altīn* = 49 *aḳčes*)
899/1494		82	
907/1501		65-70	(one *altīn* = 53 *aḳčes*)
919/1513		77	
925/1519	Astarābādī	93	
	Albanian	72-80	
927/1521		62	
981/1573		60.5	(one *altīn* = 60 *aḳčes*)
989/1581		135-150	

The great increase in price in 989/1581 was due to the war with Persia. The type of silk most in demand was fine silk, because it matured rapidly and took colours well; it was known as *tilānī*. Thick, poor quality silk was called *kenār* and *tisāk*.

Most of the silk brought to Bursa was exported to Europe. In the 9th/15th century European merchants from the *Dār al-ḥarb* paid an *ad valorem* customs duty on goods imported and exported: at different periods the rate was 2%, 4% and 5%; after the end of the 10th/16th century the rate of 3% became established in the capitulations (see H. Inalcık, *Bursa*, 60). Silk in transit, sent by Persian merchants to Europe through Ottoman territory, paid customs dues at Bursa (Dalsar, p. 184, doc. 67). That *dhimmīs* too were subjected to paying these dues gave rise to long disputes (Dalsar, docs. 201-5).

The silk trade between Persia and Turkey was a dominant element in the economies of both countries. The Ottoman silk industry was dependent upon Persian silk; moreover the trade brought an average of 70,000 *altīn* a year into the treasury. In Persia, the currency in circulation was kept supplied by gold and silver earned in the Ottoman markets. The consequent shortage of currency harmed the Ottoman economy (see H. İnalcık, *Türkiyenin iktisadî vaziyeti*, 651-5), so that efforts were made to prevent the movement of large quantities of precious metals, and even copper, into Persia through the dealings in silk; restrictions were imposed, and payment in goods, and especially in cloth, was encouraged (H. Inalcık, *Bursa*, 54).

The wars with Persia in the 10th/16th century seriously affected the silk trade and had profound repercussions upon the economies and finances of the two countries. The first stage begins with Selīm I's imposition, as a weapon of war, of a commercial blockade. His intention was to prevent the Persians from acquiring war materials, silver and iron, and, by forbidding the trade in silk, to reduce the Shāh's income from dues (*bādj*), one of his main sources of revenue (see Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 257). But the blockade had no effect, since most of the merchants began to use the routes through Aleppo and Iskandarūn. Thereupon Selīm resorted to more violent measures: Arab, Persian or Ottoman merchants with stocks of Persian goods had their goods confiscated (letter to the sultan of Egypt, in Ferīdūn, i, 425). The silks and cloths of all the Persians at Bursa were confiscated and listed, and the merchants themselves were transported to Rumeli and Istanbul (921/1515; see Dalsar, p. 198, doc. 86). The import and sale of Persian silk was forbidden. Anyone proved to have sold silk was fined its value (Dalsar, pp. 195-208, docs. 83-118). When Süleymān came to the throne he released the merchants, and restored their goods or paid them compensation. Nevertheless the ban on the import and trade in silk by Persian merchants was maintained for a time. This blockade had important effects: firstly, it increased the state control of the sale and distribution of silk; the scarcity and high price of silk obliged many merchants and weavers to go out of business; instead of the Persian and Ādharī Turkish merchants, known collectively as ʿAdjem, Armenians began to gain control of the

trade; and finally the government encouraged the production of silk within the Ottoman empire—it is at this period that silk from Albania and Rumeli is mentioned on the Bursa market. Nevertheless when the silk-routes were re-opened under Süleymān, the industry again became dependent on Persian silk and there was a new expansion in the trade and manufacture of silk. Yet in this reign too, during the wars with Persia (for example in 953/1546), the Ottoman government imposed restrictions on the movement of gold and silver currency into Persia: the consequent shortage of silk harmed the Bursa industry and led to a fall in the state-revenue derived from it (Dalsar, p. 171, doc. 48; p. 173, docs. 50-1; p. 219, doc. 149). In the ensuing period of peace the silk trade flourished again, and we find Shāh Ṭahmāsb himself employing an agent in 983/1575 to buy cloth for him at Bursa from the proceeds of six *yük* of silk (Dalsar, p. 181, doc. 62). But in the long period of war from 986/1578 to 1049/1639, silk became an important political weapon for each side. As early as 987/1579 the Ottoman state revenue from the trade had been halved (Dalsar, p. 173), and the Ottomans again imposed a strict control on the export of gold and silver. In 994/1586 the shortage of silk had left three-quarters of the looms of Bursa idle, and the quality of the fabrics produced had begun to decline (Dalsar, p. 335, doc. 273). The peace of 998/1590 extended Ottoman sovereignty over the silk-producing regions of Gandja and Shirwān north of the river Kur [*qq.v.*]. Next year the ruler of Gīlān, Aḥmad, attempted to exchange Persian for Ottoman protection, but was later obliged to flee to Ottoman territory (Ferīdūn, ii, 162-4; Selānīkī, 250-2). One of the terms of peace was that the Shāh should send to the Ottoman government 200 *yük* of silk annually, later reduced to 100 *yük* (Ferīdūn, i, 172). The restrictions on the export of gold and silver caused an acute shortage of currency in Persia (CSP Col., *East Indies, China and Japan 1617-1721*, London 1870, doc. 446). Before Shāh ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] launched his counter-attack in 1012/1603, he sought means (no doubt at the suggestion of the Sherley brothers) to export Persian silk direct to Europe, via the Indian Ocean; the English would thus escape the obligation to pay customs-dues in Turkey and the Shāh would deprive his enemy of a rich source of revenue. In 1019/1610 he sent an embassy to Lisbon and exported 200 *yük*s of silk by sea, hoping to prove that this route was cheaper. When the attempt to make an agreement with Spain failed, the Shāh turned to England, and in 1026/1617 Sir Thomas Roe opened negotiations with the Shāh. Of the 3-4 million gold pieces which Persian silk cost annually, England undertook to pay two-thirds in goods and one third in coin (see H. Inalcık, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî vaziyeti*, 666). In order to maintain control of it, the Shāh made the silk trade a state monopoly and forbade the export of silk to Turkey. The Ottomans and Venice—the two states most affected—watched these developments with anxiety. In 1028/1619 and 1031/1622 consignments of Persian silk were indeed sent to England by sea. The English were hoping also to establish another export route via Russia; this prompted the Ottomans to make threats to England (*op. cit.*, 669-79). After the Ottoman-Persian peace of 1027/1618, Persian silk was again exported to Aleppo, Bursa and Foča. Shāh ʿAbbās's policy was not followed by his successor, who abolished the state monopoly of silk; and the use of the Indian Ocean route did not develop, mainly because England was reluctant to provide the gold and silver currency required for it. Nevertheless in 1043/1633 the Venetians were concerned at learning that English merchants were buying large quantities of silk at Bandar ʿAbbās (CSP, Venetian, xxiii, doc. 101). In 1075/1664 the French too were attempting to divert the Persian silk-trade through the Persian Gulf and Surat (P. Masson, *op. cit.*, 326-7).

During the period 986/1578 to 1027/1618 some tendencies which had begun earlier became more apparent. Firstly, silk production within Turkey increased, the earliest records of silk-production at Bursa dating from 996/1587 (Dalsar, p. 386, docs. 299-301). In the years after 1000/1590, the annual *mīzān resmi* levied on silk produced at Bursa amounted to 40-50,000 *aḳčes* (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Fekete tasnifi no. 1796). Secondly, in the 10th/16th century Foča, further to the west, began to rival Bursa as a trade centre frequented by Eastern merchants; Persian silk-merchants, in order to evade the dues levied at Bursa, increasingly came to Foča, and later to Izmir/Smyrna (Dalsar, p. 178, doc. 58; p. 271, docs. 200-1). Armenian merchants, progressively extending their hold over the trade, began to export silk direct to Europe, so that Leghorn became a great European silk-mart. The Ottoman state retaliated by exacting the double of the *mīzān resmi* from silk which did not pass through Bursa (Dalsar, docs. 200-205) and by levying customs dues on all silks destined for Europe, even if they were the property of *dhimmīs* (Dalsar, p. 184, doc. 67; the latter regulation had been applied to Jewish *dhimmīs* so early as 928/1521 : p. 271, doc. 202). Some Muslim merchants employed Muslim slaves and agents to carry silk to Italy (Dalsar, p. 171, doc. 47).

In the second half of the 11th/17th century, Izmir gained in importance, as being the port where European merchants could most easily buy Persian silk, and began to rival Aleppo and Ṣaydā/Sidon. In 1201/1787 the value of the silk exported that year from Izmir was 1,865,000 gold pounds, representing 4% of the total exports. The most important purchasers there were the British, the Dutch and the French. The most active caravan route in the 12th/18th century was that from Erzurum via Tokat to Izmir (P. Masson, *Commerce... XVIIIe siècle*, 552); for a detailed description of the route in the preceding century see J. B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages ...*, i, Paris 1679, 5-70). From January to October a continual succession of caravans brought silk to Izmir. The hire of a baggage-camel was 40 *ḳurush*; the various customs and dues levied along the route amounted to 122 *ḳurush* per *yük*; the customs dues on entering Izmir were 46 *ḳurush*. In about 1081/1670, of the total Persian silk production of 22,000 *yük*s, 3000 *yük*s came to Izmir (Masson, i, 421: here a *yük* is defined as 276 *libre*). A new customs-post had been set up at Erzurum in the 10th/16th century; here, in the middle of the 11th/17th century, a due of two *ḳurush* (*écu*) was levied on each *batman* of silk from Shamākhī, Gandja and Tiflīs, and a lower rate, 1½ *ḳurush*, on the finer and more costly silk of Gīlān (with the aim of attracting Gīlān silk to the Erzurum route). Each camel-load (800 *lidre*) of silk paid a tax of 80 *ḳurush* (J. B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages ...*, Paris 1679, 20). Again according to Tavernier (i, 21), Gīlān silk was of three types, which he calls *charbasi*, *carvari* and *loge*; while from Shamākhī, Gandja and Tiflīs there came only two types, *charbasi* and *ardache* (sometimes *ardasse*).

It has been suggested (Dalsar, 161, 306) that in the 11th/17th century the import of cheaper silk-stuffs from Europe led to a decline in local silk-weaving

and that it became more profitable to produce raw silk for sale to Europe. This suggestion seems to be incorrect, the change not occurring until the 19th century; until that time European silk-stuffs could not compete with the products woven at Damascus, Aleppo, Istanbul and Chios to suit Turkish taste, and imports from Europe remained at the earlier limited level. Even so late as 1202/1788, the value of all kinds of silk imports from France did not exceed 400,000 gold pounds. The silk-stuffs most appreciated in Turkey came from Venice (Masson, *op. cit.*, ii, 446-7). All the same, the progressive increase in the demand for raw silk in the West which accompanied the expansion of the silk industry there and the consequent rise in price had its effect upon the increase of silk production in Turkey. As early as the mid-11th/17th century, Bursa was famous for silk production (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 35). In 1091/1680 G. Wheler noted (*A journey in Greece*, London 1682, 209) that the plain of Bursa was covered with mulberry-orchards and that much silk was produced in the whole area between Biledjik, Izmid and Bandirma. Velvet was woven at Biledjik in 982/1574 (T. Dağlıoğlu, *Onaltıncı asırda Bursa*, Bursa 1940, p. 83, doc. 115). Bursa silk was exported to the industrial centres of Aleppo, Damascus, Diyārbakr, Tokat and Istanbul (Dalsar, 387-9); Amasya, an old centre of silk-weaving, later became important for silk manufacture (for the activities of a Swiss who established a spinning-mill here see G. Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, Paris 1867, 449-51). In about 1040/1630, ʿAlāʾiyya and Alashehir are also mentioned as producing silk. That silk production continued in the Morea in the Ottoman period has been noted above: in the 12th/18th century raw silk was exported to Western Europe from the Morea (Masson, *op. cit.*, ii, 626) and from the neighbourhood of Salonica (for the silk of Zagora near Salonica and of Southern Macedonia, see N. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1956, 257-60).

In the 12th/18th century, Turkish-produced raw silk so increased both in quantity and in quality as to compete with Persian silk. Skilled artisans were brought from France to the Morea to improve the technique of silk-reeling (Masson, *op. cit.*, ii, 446). Bursa and the surrounding region surpassed all other areas. In the 12th/18th century the demand in Europe for Bursa silk led to the danger that the Turkish weaving industry would be deprived of raw material, so that the government set limits to the quantity exported. By a regulation (*niẓāmnāme*) of 1806, a quota of Bursa silk was set aside for sale at a fixed price to the tradesmen of Istanbul; the rest could be sold, when the Sultan had authorized it, to Europe (Dalsar, pp. 393-4, doc. 308). The annual demand of European merchants for Bursa silk was 21,750 okes (*ca.* 27,900 kgs.). Since they were ready to pay 29-30 *ḳurush* for 350 *dirhams* instead of the fixed price (*narkh* [*q.v.*])of 21.5 *ḳurush* at Bursa or 23.5 at Istanbul, illegal sales could not be prevented.

In the 19th century, as the weaving industry declined in the Ottoman Empire (see below), the production of raw silk expanded greatly. In order to assure the production of silk to the quality which the mechanized European industry demanded, from 1830 onwards the government published instruction manuals entitled *Taʿlīmnāme-i ḥarīr* (*e.g.*, the *Taʿlīmnāme-i ḥarīr*, Istanbul 1269, written in Armenian by Khʷādja Agob and translated into Turkish by him and Djewdet). From 1838 onwards special steam-machines (Fr. *filature*, Turkish *mandjılnıḳ*) were installed at Bursa for the extraction of silk from the cocoon; there were 3,000 of them by 1856, at which date it was estimated that there were, installed in the houses, 8,000 such machines worked by pedals. According to Sandison's *Report on the trade of Brussa for the year 1846* (PRO, FO 78, 701), in that year 215,000 okes of silk (*ca.* 267,600 kgs.) were produced in Bursa; he writes also "Brusa silk and cotton stuffs are always falling more into disuse". It is noticeable indeed that raw silk was increasingly being exported to Europe. In 1855 some four million kgs. of cocoons were raised, producing 400,000 kgs. of raw silk. In 1888 a school, the Dār al-Ḥarīr, was opened at Bursa with the aim of teaching the scientific principles of silkworm rearing. After a great fall between the years 1860 and 1880 as a result of disease, production rapidly increased again: the tax-revenues on silk cocoons allocated to the administration of the Ottoman Public Debt [*see* DÜYŪN-I ʿUMŪMIYYE] in 1881 amounted to 14,695 gold pounds, but in later years the figure rose to 200,000 (Dalsar, 209); silk production, having been half a million kgs. in 1885, increased to 1½ million kgs. in 1901 (see the *Sālnāmes* of Bursa for this period). All the same, half the silk exported from Turkey to Europe in 1881 had originated in Persia, the Caucasus region and Turkestan.

THE SILK-WEAVING INDUSTRY

A silk-weaving industry existed in Anatolia, before the period of the Ottomans, under the Seldjūḳs. Among the 'gifts' (*multamasāt*) sent from Anatolia to Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] as vizier of the Il-khānid sultan, were 2,000 rolls of *kamkhā* (T. *kemkhā*) and 10,000 cubits of velvet from Erzindjan and 4,000 rolls of *kamkhā* from other cities of Anatolia (Z. V. Togan, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (1954), 42, n. 5). Among the tribute sent to the Il-khānid ruler in 657/1258 there figure *nakh* and *kamkhā-i Anṭālī* (*i.e.*, of Antalya) (see Aḳserāyī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1944, 62). A few silk fabrics woven in Seldjūḳ Anatolia are to be found in museum collections (a fragment bearing the name of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I is in the Musée des Tissus at Lyons, see E. Diez and O. Arslanapa, *Türk sanatı*, Istanbul 1956, 259-60). Favourite types of material imported into Seldjūḳ Anatolia were *atlās-i Istanbūlī*, *zarbāft-i Rūmī*, various types of *Rūmī dībā*, *Shushterī* and *ʿAttābī* garments, gold *Iskandarānī* brocades and *ḳuṭnī* handkerchiefs (Ibn Bībī, *El-Evāmirü 'l-ʿalāʾiyye* . . ., facs. of MS Aya Sofya 2985, Ankara 1956, 32, 49, 56, 155, 436). Al-ʿUmarī (*ca.* 730/1330) says of Akīra, adjacent to the Ottoman principality, that "its silk is quite equal to Byzantine (*Rūmī*) brocade and cloth (*ḳumāsh*) of Constantinople. Most of it is exported" (R. B. Serjeant, *Material for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, xv-xvi (1951), 59). In the *Čengnāme* which he wrote for the Ottoman ruler Emir Süleymān (early 9th/15th century), Aḥmad-i Dāʿī lists the following types of material: embroidered *dībādj-i Shushdar* from which robes of honour [see KHILʿA] were made for sovereigns (for Shushdar brocade see Rāwandī, *K. Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Ikbal, *GMS* n.s. ii, London 1921, 513-4), *nakh*, *zarbāft*, *Dimishḳī kamkhā*, *ḳaṭīfa*, *wālā-yi Khaṭāʾī*, *ʿAttabī* of ʿAdjam (for this see R. B. Serjeant, *op. cit.*, in *Ars Isl.*, x (1943), 99, and A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, iii, London and New York 1937, 1996, n. 1), *Khʷārizm shālī*, *aladja Iskandarānī* for making *djubbas* (R. B. Serjeant, in *Ars Isl.*, xiii-xiv (1948), 100-6; *Resālā-ye Falakiyyā*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1952, 14-5, 242-3, 247), *sundūs* (for

this green brocade made in Yazd, see Serjeant, *op. cit.*, 87, 94), *khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ-i Ḳîrîmî* (for *khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ* see T. Öz, *Türk kumaş ve kadifeleri*, i, Istanbul 1946, 62), *sharb-i Shāmī* and crimson *wālā* of Yazd.

It is a point worthy of note that the silk industry of the Ottoman Empire developed in cities lying on the caravan-routes from Persia, *i.e.*, Erzindjan, Tokat, Amasya and Bursa, on the one route, and Mardin, Marʿash and Aleppo on the other. The silk industry of Istanbul was introduced from Bursa. As early as the end of the 8th/14th century, Bursa, the Ottoman capital, possessed an industry in silk fabrics, whose products were exported to Europe and to Eastern countries (H. Inalcık, *Bursa* . . ., 50-1). This industry gradually expanded. At Bursa, Persian merchants who had brought in supplies of raw silk exchanged them mostly for European woollens and for Bursa silk fabrics. Under the names *Bursa ḳumāshî* or *Rūmī aḳmisha, tāfta, wālā, kamkhā* and *ḳaṭīfa* were imported into Uzun Ḥasan's territories; and we have noticed the record of Shāh Ṭahmāsb buying fabrics in Bursa. When Selīm I seized Shāh Ismāʿīl's treasury, he found in it 91 vestments of Bursa fabric (T. Öz, *Türk kumaş ve kadifeleri*, i, Istanbul 1946, 42). For the trade in Bursa fabrics in the bazaars of Tabrīz, see *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia*, ed. M. Grey, London (Hakluyt Soc.) 1873, 173. Bursa fabrics were prized also in Italy (G. R. B. Richards, *op. cit.*, 88, 156). The customs' registers for Kili, Aḳkermān and Kefe of the end of the 9th/15th century show that Bursa fabrics were then being exported to Northern Europe; Russian merchants had bought silk and taffeta in Bursa in 918/1512 (Dalsar, docs. 36, 76); the kings of Poland had Turkish silk-stuffs bought for them at Bursa (Dağlıoğlu, doc. 46; Dalsar, docs. 73, 190; A. Refik, *Onaltıncı asırda Istanbul hayatı*[2], Istanbul 1935, 108); and Turkish silk fabrics were used in Sweden for the making of ecclesiastical vestments (T. Öz, *loc. cit.*; A. J. B. Wace *apud* T. Öz, introd., p. 3). All the same, the products of the Bursa industry were mostly consumed locally: the Bursa registers of the effects of deceased persons (*tereke defterleri*) show clearly that the rich used great quantities of silk fabrics for clothes and for house-furnishings: from brocade and velvet were made *ḳaftān*s [*q.v.*], *dolama*s (a kind of under-shirt), *fiston*s (skirts), sashes, shawls, *čarshaf*s and kerchiefs [see LIBĀS], and pillows, bedspreads and cushions [see MAFRŪSHĀT]. Brocades and velvets also provided a means, like precious metals and stones, of accumulating wealth. The Palace bought extensive supplies of silk-stuffs from Bursa: the fabrics needed for clothing the personnel of the palace and for ceremonial occasions (made up by the palace tailors, who in 1018/1609 numbered 319) were ordered by the Chief Tailor (*Terzi-bashî*) and bought by the *khāṣṣa khardj emīni* at Bursa from private firms (R. Anhegger and H. Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī* . . ., 35-6; Inalcik, *Bursa* . . ., 64; Dalsar, pp. 226-33, doc. 160; T. Öz, *Türk kumaş ve kadifeleri*, i, Istanbul 1946, and ii, Istanbul 1951; idem, *Turkish textiles and velvets*, Ankara 1950 (with many illustrations of garments); the register of contents of the Inner Treasury (*Enderūn khazînesi*), dated Shaʿbān 910/January 1505, reproduced in *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi arşiv kılavuzu*, ii, Istanbul 1940, no. 21; other sources on the ceremonial garments worn on special occasions are the *teshrīfāt* registers, the *inʿām* registers, and the *Sūr-nāme*s, especially the record of the wedding of Khadīdje Sulṭān in 1085/1674: A. Bādī, *Riyāḍ-i belde-i Edirne*, Edirne, MS Selimiye 2315, ii, 270-9; *Sūrnāme-i Wehbī*, Istanbul, MS Ahmed III 3593). The cost of the various fabrics bought for the Palace in 954-5/1547-8 amounted to 12,000 gold pieces (Inalcık, *Bursa* . . ., 64). Analysis of the Palace treasury inventories of the early 9th/15th century shows that garments were made from Bursa fabrics, as well as from rich fabrics from Yazd, Europe and India. From the 10th/16th century onwards fabrics manufactured in Istanbul and Chios (Saḳîz) are frequently mentioned, and there are records of *ḳutnī* of Baghdād, Damascus and Biledjik, *kemkhā* of Damascus and Amasya, *merre* of Aleppo, fabrics from Mardin and Marʿash, and velvets of Menemen, Aydos, Göynük and Üsküdar.

In about 907/1502 there were over a thousand silk looms working in Bursa (*Ḳānūnnāme-i iḥtisāb-i Bursa*, ed. Ö. L. Barkan, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, ii/7 (1942), 30). The silk-weaving industry of Istanbul developed during the 10th/16th century; the number of looms producing various kinds of brocade (called *serāser, shāhbenek, zerbāft*) rose from a hundred to 318 in 972/1564, at which date a firman was issued ordering their reduction to the former number; at an inspection made in 985/1577, 268 looms making the silver brocade *serāser* were found, and it was ordered that their number be reduced to 100 and that the others turn to making ordinary *serenk* brocade (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 108, 116-8). According to Ewliyā Čelebi (i, 615-8) there were in Istanbul (in about 1050/1640) 105 sellers of satin, 16 sellers of brocade, 70 weavers of velvet, 100 makers of velvet and *serenk* pillows, 100 weavers of *dārāyī*, 5 makers of *khilʿa*s, 17 makers of sashes and 400 weavers of bath-towels (*peshtemāl*); silk fabrics were sold in the Bezzāzistān-i Djedīd, Chios fabrics at Ghalaṭa. At Istanbul many new types of fabric, known as Istanbulkārī, began to be manufactured (T. Öz, *op. cit.*, ii, 4, 44). In the first half of the 10th/16th century a silk factory attached to the palace was established at Istanbul: it is referred to as the Khāṣṣa Kārkhāne or the Kārkhāne-i ʿĀmire (Dalsar, docs. 22, 23; T. Öz, *op. cit.*, i, 47, with a plan); it employed *kemkhādjî*s under the *Kemkhādjî-bashî* and *ghazzāz*es under the *Ghazzāz-bashî*. According to the registers of the palace craftsmen (*ehl-i ḥiref:* see T. Öz, *op. cit.*, ii, 2; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 463; R. M. Meriç, *Türk nakış sanatı tarihi araştırmaları*, Ankara 1953), in 964/1557 145 weavers were employed, in 1047/1637 32, and in 1098/1687 only four; in the middle of the 12th/18th century, however, the number had risen to eight *ghazzāz* and three *kemkhā-bāf*. Of 268 silk looms functioning on the open market in Istanbul in 985/1577, 88 were run by slaves attached to the Palace (for slaves sent to Bursa in 936/1530 to be attached to master-craftsmen and learn the art of weaving various fabrics, see Dalsar, doc. 245). In 1171/1758, 40 pillow-making workshops, one silk-spinner's workshop and one guild-room were set up in Üsküdar as a *waḳf* for the Ayazma Djāmiʿi (T. Öz, i, 44). In the first half of the 19th century, there were 5000 weavers in Üsküdar, later left unemployed as a result of the competition of the products of Western mechanized industry (C. Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, New York 1878, 59). In 1843 the State founded a modern silk-factory at Hereke, but the Ottoman silk industry remained in general a field for private enterprise.

The numerous types of silk fabrics are classified in the *iḥtisāb* regulation for Bursa (*Tarih Vesikaları*, ii/7, 28-31) into three main groups: velvets (*ḳaṭīfe*), brocades (*kemkhā*) and satins (*tāfta, aṭlas*), the first being fabrics with a nap, the second those with a

design woven in, and the third smooth, light and brightly-coloured fabrics. The various types had different names according to the number of threads in the warp, the use of gold or silver threads, the degree of twisting of the threads, and the patterns woven in. (There is as yet no systematic classification of the very numerous types of Turkish fabrics; see, meanwhile, T. Öz, *Türk kumaş ve kadifeleri*, i-ii, Istanbul 1946-51; A. J. B. Wace, *The dating of Turkish velvets*, in *Burlington Magazine*, lxiv (1934); *Brief guide to Turkish woven fabrics*, Victoria and Albert Museum no. 3, London 1950; *2000 years of silk weaving*, New York 1944; Nurettin Yatman, *Türk kumaşları*, Ankara 1950; O. Ş. Uludağ, *Bursa kumaşları*, in *Belleten*, i/3-4 (1937), 753-60. The principal collection of Turkish silk fabrics is in the museum of Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul; others are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Benaki Museum, Athens, the Mevlâna Müzesi, Konya, the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, the Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara, and in the Kenan Özbel collection of the Ministry of Economics, Ankara).

Specialists have reached the conclusion that in the fields of colour and design Ottoman Turkish fabrics blended diverse influences to create a characteristic style, and that this style had a profound influence in the Near East, in the Mediterranean countries, and in Western Europe (see A. J. B. Wace, *apud* T. Öz, i, 2-5, and idem, *Turkish woven fabrics*, 5-16). In this style are to be detected the influences not only of Persia, Byzantium and Italy, but also the Uyghur tradition of Central Asia which was especially prevalent in Anatolia in the period of the Il-khāns (the "three circles", "tiger stripes" and Buddhist sun medallions commonly used in Ottoman designs are found also in Uyghur pictures, *op. cit.*, 10; for the *dībā-i Turkī* sent to Hārūn al-Rashīd and the changes in Persian textiles under the Seldjūks and the Il-khānids see P. Ackerman, in A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, iii, London and New York 1937, 2043-4, 2071, 2195); but there were peculiarities of style characteristic of the various Ottoman silk-weaving cities, such as the type connected with the name of Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī at Bursa in about 890/1485. In the 9th/15th century the great majority of the weavers at Bursa were local Muslim Turks. In 906/1501 an Italian weaver resident at Bursa, a certain Tomasino Caviae, is mentioned. In 920/1514 Selīm I transported the best craftsmen from Tabrīz to Istanbul (Ferīdūn, i, 405). In the 11th/17th century the number of Greek weavers at Bursa began to increase. The brocades of Europe, Kefe and Chios were imitated at Bursa.

Organization of the Industry

Those employed in the silk industry were organized into various *ḥirfet*s, trade guilds. The entrepreneurs were in two main groups, the *khāmdjī*s (dealers in raw silk) and the *doḳumadjī*s (weavers). The *khāmdjī* merchants would buy raw silk at the *bezzāzistān* and have it spun by *dolābdjī*s into warp threads (*mashdūd*) and woof threads (*pūd*). The warp threads, called *mashdūd* because they were more tightly twisted, varied in the number of strands according to the type of fabric to be woven, from 1800 (*tāfta*) to 8150 (*gülistānī kemkhā*); the *dolābdjī*s or *ibrīshīm büküdjü*s who performed the spinning worked for the *khāmdjī*s but constituted a separate *ḥirfet*. The *khāmdjī*s then had the warp and woof threads dyed, by the *boyadjī*s (*ṣabbāghs*). The following list of stock and tools recorded in the effects of a deceased *boyadjī* (Bursa, Şeriye sicilleri A6/6, of 893/1488) throws light on the technique of dyeing: vegetable dye, red dye, indigo, *Hindī* indigo, *ala* indigo, valonia, alum, cauldrons, ladles, trays, sieves, troughs, mallets, work-benches. The dyed silk was sold by the *khāmdjī*s to the *doḳumadjī*s (weavers), who were organized into different *ḥirfets*: *ḳaṭīfedji*s, *kemkhādjī*s, *wāledjī*s, *fuṭadjī*s. For each type of fabric a distinct type of loom was used, with the appropriate number of teeth (a loom was valued at 3000 *aḳčes*, *i.e.*, some 60 gold pieces, in about 893/1488).

The most numerous and influential *ḥirfet* at Bursa was the *ḳaṭīfedji*s, whose products were world famous; as an example, the organization of their *ḥirfet* may be summarized as follows: the number of *ustas* (*ustādh*, master-craftsmen) was limited; these chose from among themselves a council of control known as the 'Six' (*Altılar*: for the election see Dalsar, pp. 318, 330, 397-8), who were, in descending order, the *shaykh*, the *kahyā* (*ketkhudā*), the *yigit-bashī*, the *ishdji-bashī*, and two *ahl-i khibra*; the *ḳāḍī* would confirm this election, as being to an official body, and register the result. The principal duties of this council were to ensure that regulations concerning the quality and prices of manufactured goods were carried out; to carry out the examinations for promotion from apprentice (*shāgird*) to journeyman (*ḳalfa*) and from journeyman to master, and to issue licences (*idjāza*); to investigate and settle disputes and malpractices in the guild; to represent the guild in dealings with the government; and (most important of all) to prevent competition and underhand practices in the employment of workmen and in the buying of stocks. In the carrying out of these duties the *kahyā* usually acted as the principal officer; the *yigit-bashī*, with his assistant the *ishdji-bashī*, would investigate complaints and make a report to the *ahl-i khibra*, on the basis of which they made the final decision (see *Ḳānūnnāme-i iḥtisāb-i Bursa*, p. 28). The *shaykh* was the spiritual head of the guild and presided at ceremonies. The guild co-operated closely with the government, and if there was any resistance to the decision of the Altılar the latter could call upon the local state officers to enforce it (Dalsar, pp. 111-7). The regulations of the guild were confirmed by the Sultan, so becoming an *iḥtisāb ḳānūnu*; as such, their application became the responsibility of the *ḳāḍī* (see the *Ḳānūnnāme* cited, pp. 28-31). Until it was dyed, the silk was under the control of the *mīzān emīni*, thereafter, until the fabric was finished, of the *muḥtesib* [see ḤISBA]. The woven fabric was inspected for its dimensions by the *tamgha* (*damgha*) *emīni*, who stamped it, a *tamgha resmi* being levied on each *top* (roll) of fabric.

The weaving was in general carried out on looms set up in private houses. According to the *tereke defterleri* of the 9th/15th century, large numbers of slaves were used in the industry, being bought specifically for the purpose and employed on the principle of *mukātaba* [*q.v.*] (see H. Inalcık, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (1953-4), 57-9). At the same time there were quite big 'factories' (*kārkhāne*): in Istanbul, 400 *peshtamāldjī*s were working in a single large *kārkhāne* near Ḳırḳ-česhme (Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 616 = tr. Hammer, i/2, 222); and in about 995/1587 there is a record of several 'big businessmen' at Bursa owning from 20 to 60 looms (Dalsar, doc. 273). Women, as well as men, were found among the masters and the workpeople (Dalsar, p. 320). The workpeople were divided into three main groups: *ḳul*s, *shāgird*s and *edjīr*s (Dalsar, doc. 241), the last being the true employees, whose daily wage was calculated on the basis of the number of *dhirāʿ* woven (Dalsar, doc. 242). The *shāgird*s were the young apprentices

who worked for a small wage under contract for one year or for three years (in 957/1550 a *s̲h̲āgird* was engaged for three years, to be paid 600 *aḳčes*, see Dalsar, doc. 246); in the contract the master undertook to teach the craft within a specified time (see *e.g.*, Dalsar, docs. 246, 248). The weavers sold their products at specified shops in the market, and were not permitted to sell their goods elsewhere. When one branch of the industry expanded, its members could easily form themselves into a new *ḥirfet* (Dalsar, doc. 322).

The Ottoman silk industry, under the pressure of economic factors, progressively expanded in output but declined in quality—a tendency already visible at the end of the 9th/15th century (see *Ḳānūnnāme-i iḥtisāb-i Bursa*, 28-31). The widespread demand among the common people for cheaper goods forced the relaxation of the old guild standards of quality and the toleration of a more loosely woven *gülistānī kemk̲h̲ā*, deemed suitable to their needs (*ibid.*, 29). The establishment of new looms by untrained workers (called *k̲h̲ām-dest*) without the authorization of the guild and the consequent increase in the number of looms working provoked violent resistance on the part of guild-members from the 11th/17th century onwards (Dalsar, docs. 3, 4, 21, 236-8, 240-1, 260), and the intervention of the authorities on behalf of the guilds was fruitless. A decline in quality resulted also from the occasional shortages of silk and of the crimson dye gum-lac (T. *lök*); the number of threads in the warp was reduced and poor dyes were used (in the 9th/15th century the warp was composed of 4500-5000 threads, in the 11th/17th century of only 2400; for the dyes used see N. Baylâv, *Türkiye'nin boya bitkileri* . . ., in *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, i, Istanbul (Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi) 1963, 732-44). At the same time cotton or linen threads were increasingly used in the woof. The fall in quality was encouraged also by the import from Europe of low-grade, cheap and showy materials, which induced the Turkish weavers to compete with them. From the 11th/17th century onwards there was increasing demand for silk-stuffs from Venice and Chios which copied the Ottoman designs.

Bibliography: in the article. (H. İnalcik)

iii.—The Arab Lands in the Post-Mongol Period.

The Mongol invasion of the Muslim world resulted in the dislocation of many trades and the transfer of artisans, especially those engaged in the silk industry; yet only about one-tenth of Arab territory, including Bag̲h̲dād and Mawṣil, was adversely affected by the Mongols. Moreover, even those once prosperous centres with thriving silk trades, supposedly destroyed by the Mongols, were reported half a century later by Marco Polo to have maintained or recovered their prosperity. Pedro Teixeira, like Marco Polo, was impressed by the flourishing silk industry in Bag̲h̲dād and Mawṣil.

The making of silk was almost confined to Syria and Tunisia, where the climate is especially suited to the breeding of silkworms and the growth of mulberry trees. Algeria and Morocco were also silk producing countries but on a limited scale. There was a *muk̲h̲attam* [*q.v.*] factory in Tilimsān and a Jewish controlled industry in Fās. The Arabs in North Africa introduced silk into Sicily and Spain and from there it was introduced into the Rhône Valley and Milan. Other Arab countries tried unsuccessfully to make silk; they managed, however, to maintain *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] factories dependent upon imported raw silk. The *ṭirāz* factory in Cairo goes back to Fāṭimid times and functioned throughout the Mamlūk period. European travellers who visited Egypt in Ottoman times noted a silk industry using Syrian raw material. Muḥammed ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a planted three million mulberry trees, which grew well, but the climate was not suitable for the breeding of the silkworm.

Syrian silk deserves a more detailed study. Ottoman registers for Syria-Palestine compiled in the 10th/16th century show extensive silk cultivation and manufacture; there is similar evidence of silk exports. Aleppo and Damascus were not only famous for the manufacture of good locally reared silk, but were also great centres for trading in a lower-grade silk imported from Persia. European factors residing in Syria competed for raw silk, Syrian and Persian, to barter it for woollen cloth. Muslim merchants managed to strike hard bargains with the Europeans, forcing them to barter their woollens for large amounts of raw silk, the balance being paid by Europeans in cash-producing commodities such as dyes. Thus woollens were subsidiary to silk in Syria, while the contrary was true in Europe. Russian activities in north-western Persia cut off Persian silk from Syrian markets. Syrian locally-produced silk partly filled the gap, perhaps at the expense of local industry. The price of raw silk rose sharply, thus encouraging greater production in Syria. Volney noted the great number of new mulberry trees along the Syrian coast. Increasing in the nineteenth century, the production of raw silk fell later as a result of the competition of Far Eastern silk and artificial silk.

The silk industry in the Arab countries produced textiles for home consumption only. There seems to have been no appreciable foreign market for textiles, because many countries maintained their own industries. Descriptions of Arab dress in Ottoman times show that silk textiles were more commonly used than woollens, but less than linen or cotton.

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(A. K. Gharaibeh)

iv—Products of the Islamic Silk Industry.

The Arabs, for whom, with their nomadic origins, wool was the most important raw material for textiles, were also familiar with silk from the earliest times. Although the Prophet forbade the wearing of silk clothing as a luxury, because it threatened to lead to effeminacy, silk weaving flourished greatly in the Islamic world, and Islamic silk mills dominated world trade from the 9th to the 14th century A.D. The words Atlas (German for satin), damask (Damascus) and muslin (Mosul) are taken from Arabic, and taffeta from Persian. The development of the textile arts in Islam was linked with their last phases in the ancient world whose territories were occupied by the Arabs—those of the ancient

Orient in the time of the Sāsānids in Iran and Mesopotamia, and those of the late Greek and Byzantine civilizations in Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor. In the Carta Cornutiana, a document relating to the founding of a village church near Tivoli, not far from Rome, written in 471 A.D., the excellence of Persian textiles was praised, just as it had been by Herodotus and Xenophon. Under the Sāsānid rulers Shāpūr II (310-379) and Kawādh I (488-531), Syrian weavers were transported to Persia. In the rock tomb of King Khusraw II (590-628) in Ṭāḳ-i-Būstān, clothing woven of Iranian silk is represented. It is probable that in Alexandria, later in Cairo and Tyre, in Damascus and Ctesiphon, and later still in Baghdād, Rayy and many other places, the first Caliphs encouraged a new and fruitful development of silk mills and made possible the founding of new silk factories in the conquered territories from India and Bahā al-Dawla, now in the Columbia Textile Museum in Washington, with inscriptions in cuneiform Kūfic (Pl. IIIa). The Būyids in Western Iran considered themselves the legitimate successors of the Sāsānids. There is a remarkable piece of fabric, dating from the same period, in the Louvre in Paris, from a church at St. Josse near Calais, whose Kūfic inscription refers to Maḥmūd of Ghazna (Pl. IIIb). In one instance Dorothy Shepherd was able to classify a particular piece of material as being of a known species of Iranian silk (Pl. IIb). On the back of a piece of silk in the church in Huys (Belgium) she discovered an inscription which was identified by W. B. Henning as being 7th century Sogdian, and which, it is believed, points to Bukhārā as its place of origin. According to the inscription, the material in question was known as *Zandaničī*, no doubt named after the place of manufacture. Some of these pieces of silk,

(a) *Ṭirāz* with Kūfic inscription giving the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustanṣir bi ʾllāh.

(b) *Ṭirāz* with floriated Kūfic inscription.

Turkestan in the east to Sicily and Spain in the west. Iran's key position under the Achaemenids and the Sāsānids, between Eastern Asia and Europe, was maintained by the Islamic peoples, and extended and strengthened by their expansion on the trade routes by land and sea. The costly raw material, the silk itself, was at first imported from its land of origin, China. Under the Byzantine Emperor Justinian (527-65) monks brought silkworm chrysalises to Byzantium in their pilgrims' staffs. At that time the breeding of silkworms was also started in the countries of the Near East, which gradually became independent of imports. Just as in Byzantium State factories for silk weaving had been set up in the gynaeceums, employing almost exclusively women, so too the caliphs and other Islamic rulers created court and state factories, the products of which were known as *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*]. They are known particularly on account of the robes bestowed by the rulers upon those they wished to honour [see KHILʿA], which were woven in these factories, generally of linen but sometimes also of silk; these often bore an inscription (figs. a and b), usually worked in silk, giving the name of the ruler, the place, the manager of the factory and the year of production. Many remains of such garments, with inscriptions, have come to light in Egyptian tombs, giving proof of how numerous the weaving mills were at that time (Pls. IIa, VIa). A particularly magnificent example is a robe of honour bestowed by the Būyid ruler depicting lions beside a tree of life, found their way, as coverings for relics, into the treasuries of Western churches, as at Rome, Aix, Sens (Pl. Ia) and Nancy. They are in fact early Islamic pictures, executed on a background of Sāsānid silk, depicting the lion-hunts of the Persian Shāhinshāh (Berlin, formerly State Museums), and splendid fragments of these have also found their way into European church treasuries such as those of Passau (Pl. IVa), Trier, Cologne (St. Kunibert) (Pl. Ib), Milan (St. Ambrose) and Prague (Cathedral Treasury). There is one such piece with an Arabic inscription, another from Rayy in which the Kings are portrayed on horseback beside the trees of life and above the lions. Silk weaving flourished particularly in early and mid-mediaeval times in Rayy, where among other things double cloth was made, with different designs on the two sides (Pl. IVb, c). These were sometimes used as palls. There was a considerable exchange of ideas and inspiration between the Byzantine and Islamic weaving industries, just as had existed between Iran and Byzantium in Sāsānid times. One group of Byzantine silk mills, which must be considered as the forerunners of the damask mills, was decisively influenced by the geometric style of stucco decorations at Sāmarrā, which led to the arabesque. These pseudo-damasks, as they are called, are now claimed by Sigrid Müller-Christensen, with some justification, to be Islamic work. The abstract leaf design of the arabesque became increasingly dominant in Islamic

textile ornamentation, and finally asserted itself completely at the same time as cursive Kūfic was replaced by Naskhī [see KHAṬṬ]. When the Mongols overran Western Asia (1256-59), Chinese weavers brought new influences to bear in almost all the Islamic countries. Under the Mongol dynasties in Iran and Turkestan, Chinese motifs such as the Fonghoang, the Dragon, the Ky-lin and others were introduced into Islamic textile designs, even in places such as Egypt and Asia Minor where the Mongols did not penetrate. Chinese damasks encouraged a great flowering of damask weaving in Mamlūk Egypt and in Syria; this is clear from findings in many tombs, among which have been found a remarkably large number of pieces of material bearing inscriptions of the Mamlūk Sultan Muḥammad Nāṣir (Pl. VIc, e). In 723/1323 this Sultan received from the embassy of a Mongol Khān 700 lengths of silk, in some of which his name was woven. A gold brocade of this kind is preserved in the vestments collection of the Marienkirche in Danzig.

In Andalusia there were important silk mills from the time of the Umayyad dynasty, as can be seen from a *ṭirāz* fabric bearing the name of Hishām II, after the model of the Egyptian fabrics. Attempts were made to imitate Baghdād silk textiles, and in at least one case a fabric which was certainly manufactured in Spain was given an Arabic inscription, which, for the sake of advertisement, falsely claimed that it was of Baghdād manufacture. The silk woven in Almeria was considered comparable with Persian textiles. As a result of the discoveries of silk garments in the tombs of Spanish princes in the Cistercian monastery of Las Huelgas near Burgos (Pl. VIIb), which are mainly of Spanish-Moorish silk material, our knowledge of Spanish-Moorish silk weaving has been extended and deepened. In Granada too, where the Alhambra style (Pl. VIIc) was taken over in the textile arts also, and in Murcia, Malaga and other places there were silk mills. In Sicily, at the court of Palermo, Byzantine factories were supplanted by Arab, which continued there even after the conquest by the Normans and under the rule of the Hohenstaufen (Pl. VIIa). The German coronation robe in Vienna bears impressive witness to the high standing of their silk weaving and embroidery.

As early as the end of the 7th/13th century, Marco Polo noticed that there were flourishing silk mills in the parts of Asia Minor, such as Ḳonya, which were under the dominion of the Turks (Pl. VI d). In the Ottoman period, flowers such as carnations, tulips and hyacinths enriched the plant designs. Üsküdar velvet was prized throughout the then known world (Pl. VII d, e).

Islamic silk weaving and embroidery reached its highest fulfilment in Persia with the coming of the Ṣafawids. The chief factories were now in Tabrīz, Ḳazwīn and Iṣfahān. There were many exchanges of inspiration between textile designs (including those of knotted carpets) and china mosaic work and the flourishing art of miniature painting. The pictorial silk and velvet materials are unique. In Sāsānid Iran the mythical big-game hunt of the Shāhinshāh had been depicted in the tombs of Ṭāḳ-i-Būstān, on silver dishes, and on silk materials as well. Now it was figures from the Alexander legend, King Khusraw and the beautiful Shīrīn, the poor poet Madjnūn and the unattainable Princess Leylā, who found their place in the pictures woven in costly silk and velvet brocades. The names of artists, such as Shāh Muḥammad Mūʿizz al-Dīn and, above all, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, are known to us from their signatures (Pl. VIIIa).

Where once the silk textiles of the Near East had made their way into occidental church treasuries, where they were used as wrappings for relics or as vestments, they now came to the courts of European princes; a delegation (1635-1639) led by Olearius was sent by Duke Frederick III of Holstein Gottorp to Shāh Ṣafī (1629-1642) in Iṣfahān, and the velvet brocades which were among the presents Olearius brought back for his sovereign were used as tapestries in the Rosenborg Castle, in Copenhagen. Apart from the Spanish princes and the Kings of Sicily, whose cerements were sometimes of silk of Arab manufacture, it seems that European princes only occasionally used Arab silks for clothing; those who did included Cangrande VII della Scala (d. 1329) in Verona, the confidant of the Emperor Henry VI, and Duke Rudolf IV of Habsburg (1339-65) (Pl. Va). The inspiration given to European textile art by Arab silk materials, particularly apparent at first in Italy and Spain, spread throughout Europe, and can be seen even in Italian, Spanish, French, German and Dutch paintings, which all reveal the influence of Islamic silk textiles in the garments of the people represented.

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(H. J. Schmidt)

AL-ḤARĪRĪ (sometimes Ibn al-Ḥarīrī in Yāḳūt), Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī, Arabic poet and philologist known principally for his *Maḳāmāt*. Born in 446/1054, probably to a landed family living at al-Mashān, near Baṣra, where he spent his childhood, he commenced his studies at Baṣra; his biographers agree that he studied under al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Ḳaṣabānī, but the latter is said to have died in 444/1052 (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 218; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 373; al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, 227), so that there is a discrepancy here to clear up. He then carried out the duties of *ṣāḥib al-khabar*, that is chief of intelligence [see barīd, khabar], and his descendents still occupied this important post in 556/1161, when ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (apud Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 262) visited Baṣra. Al-Ḥarīrī lived in the district of the Banū Ḥarām, which was to give its name to his first *maḳāma*, but his office was at al-Mashān. His duties left him with sufficient leisure to take part in the serious conversation of the bored bourgeois society of the decadent Baṣra of his day, to apply himself to poetry and to write books.

His best-known work is the *Maḳāmāt* or *Sessions*, which imitate very closely those of al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*]: the narrator, called al-Ḥārith b. Hammām, is like ʿĪsā b. Hishām, while the hero, a quick-tongued rascally Bohemian named Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī, recalls Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī. According to al-Ḥarīrī himself (*apud* Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 262-3) or his son (*apud* Ibn Khallikān, i, 419), Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī was a real person and may even on his appearance in Baṣra have inspired the first *maḳāma* of al-Ḥarīrī, *al-Ḥarāmiyya*, which is the 48th of the collection; however, his hero may perhaps be only identical with a Bohemian called Abū Zayd al-Muṭahhar b. Sallām al-Baṣrī, with whom al-Ḥarīrī had some dealings (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 272; Ibn Khallikān, i, 420). According to Ibn al-Tilmīdh (*apud* Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 283), the *Maḳāmāt* were begun in 495/1101, which seems to confirm the existence of Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī, for he might have been driven from Sarūdj when the town was taken by the Crusaders in 494/1100 [see sarūdj] and have taken refuge in Baṣra. Al-Ḥarīrī, whose duties brought him into contact with various high dignitaries of Baghdād, might have been encouraged in his enterprise by the future vizier of al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-35), Ibn Ṣadaḳa [*q.v.*], to whom he dedicated his *Maḳāmāt*, at any rate if the dedication on the autograph manuscript that Ibn Khallikān happened to see in Cairo in 656/1258 is to be believed; one must then, it seems, reject the version attested by the son of al-Ḥarīrī, who wanted to curry favour with Anūshirwān b. Khālid [*q.v.*], that it was dedicated to this latter, the minister only from 521/1127. The date of completion of the *Sessions*—the editing of which was sometimes laborious—is not known with certainty, but from 502/1108 the Andalusian Yūsuf b. ʿAlī al-Ḳuḍāʿī, who had studied them under the author, made them known in Spain and explained them some years later to Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī [*q.v.*]; from the beginning of the 6th/12th century they were part of the curriculum of literary Andalusians (see for example al-Ruʿaynī, *Barnāmadj*, Damascus 1962, 32, 33, 44, 51, 60, 79).

They were already classics in the lifetime of the author, who died on 6 Radjab 516/10 September 1122, and he himself boasts of having personally authorized 700 copies (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 267); they never afterwards ceased to be popular with the literary public, in spite of the criticisms of various detractors, such as Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr and the author of the *Fakhrī*; (al-)Shumaym al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*] himself, who claimed to be able to surpass all literary works, admits that despite several attempts he did not succeed in writing *maḳāmāt* better than those of al-Ḥarīrī, which decided him to write a commentary, one of the twenty which are known and of which the most famous and the most complete is that of al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222 [*q.v.*]).

The reasons for this extraordinary success, which gave rise to countless imitations in Arabic, in Persian, and even in Hebrew and in Syriac [see maḳāma], are somewhat difficult to understand and must be accounted for by the decline of literary taste. Indeed, the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī are no more than a pale reflection of those of al-Hamadhānī; it is not merely the number of the *Sessions* which shows the constant concern with imitation (for at the end of the 5th/11th century there survived probably only the 50 sessions of Badīʿ al-Zamān, of the 400 which he wrote); this concern moreover is quite superficial, for al-Ḥarīrī, by confining himself to relating the meetings of al-Ḥārith b. Hammām and Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī, restricts the scope of the *Sessions* and, neglecting depth, puts all his effort into form. What he had in great measure certainly is an unequalled mastery of the Arabic language and a perfect command of its inexhaustible vocabulary; verbal exuberance leads to acrobatics which the followers of al-Ḥarīrī, who regarded him as the most perfect representative of the genre, delighted in, whereas he merely set the style.

The *Maḳāmāt* first became known in the West through partial translations: in 1656, Latin tr. of the first *Maḳāma* by Golius (following on a new edition of Erpenius's grammar); in 1731, edition of the first *Maḳāmāt* by Schultens, who in 1731 and 1740 translated six of them; in 1737, Reiske published the tr. of no. 26. The first extended tr. (extracts from 17 *maḳāmāt*) is that of Venture de Paradis: made between 1786 and 1795, it was not published until 1964 by A. Amer (*Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis*, v). The first complete edition is the work of Caussin de Perceval (1819), but it is the authoritative edition of S. de Sacy (1822; 2nd ed. revised by Reinaud and Derenbourg, Paris 1847-53) which made al-Ḥarīrī best-known—even to the Orientals, who had forgotten him; it was followed by other oriental and European editions and by translations into various languages: German, by Rückert, Frankfurt 1826, 1837 (43 *maḳāmāt*; 2nd ed. of 24 *maḳāmāt* by Annemarie Schimmel, Stuttgart [1966]); English, by Chenery, London 1867 and by Steingass, London 1898; French (partial), by Raux, Paris 1909. A Hebrew translation of the *Maḳāmāt*, by the Spanish Jewish poet Judah al-Ḥarīzī (ca. 1170-1230), entitled *Maḥbērôth Ithiēl*, was first published in London in 1872 and re-edited in Tel Aviv, by I. Perez, in 1951. See further A. Percikowitsch, *Al-Harizi als Übersetzer der Makamen Al-Hariris*, Munich 1931; I. Schirmann, *Die hebr. Übersetzung der Makamen des Hariri*, Frankfurt 1931.

Al-Ḥarīrī is also the author of the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawaṣṣ*, a collection of critical notes on the incorrect use of certain expressions; after S. de Sacy had published an extract from it in

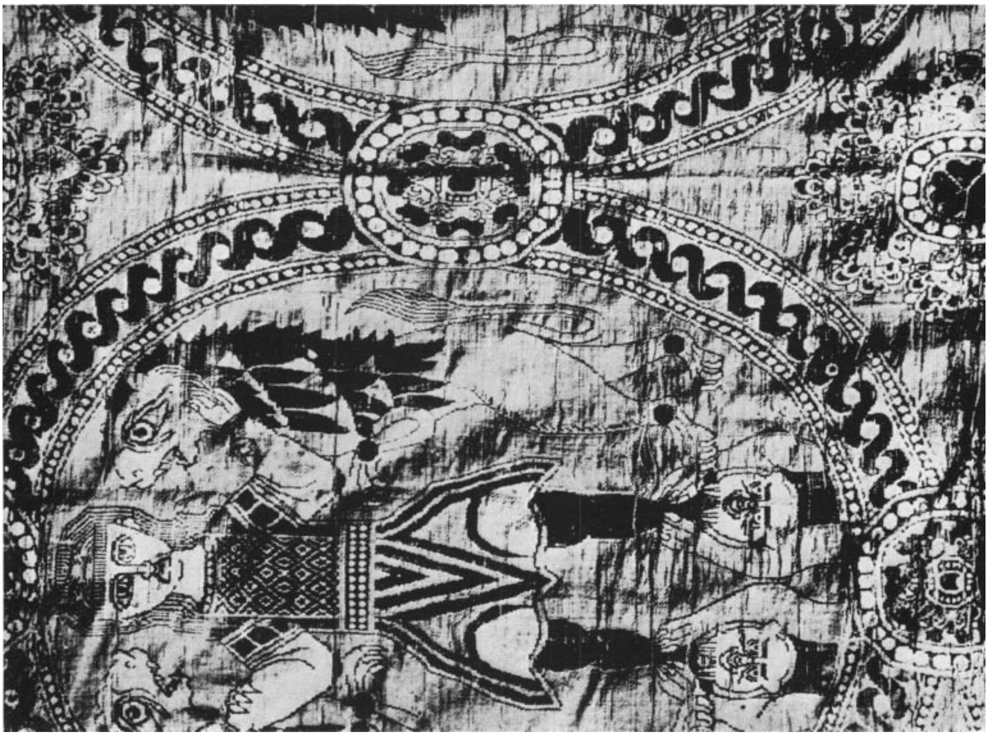

Iran, 3rd/9th century; Sudarium of St. Victor, Sens Cathedral.

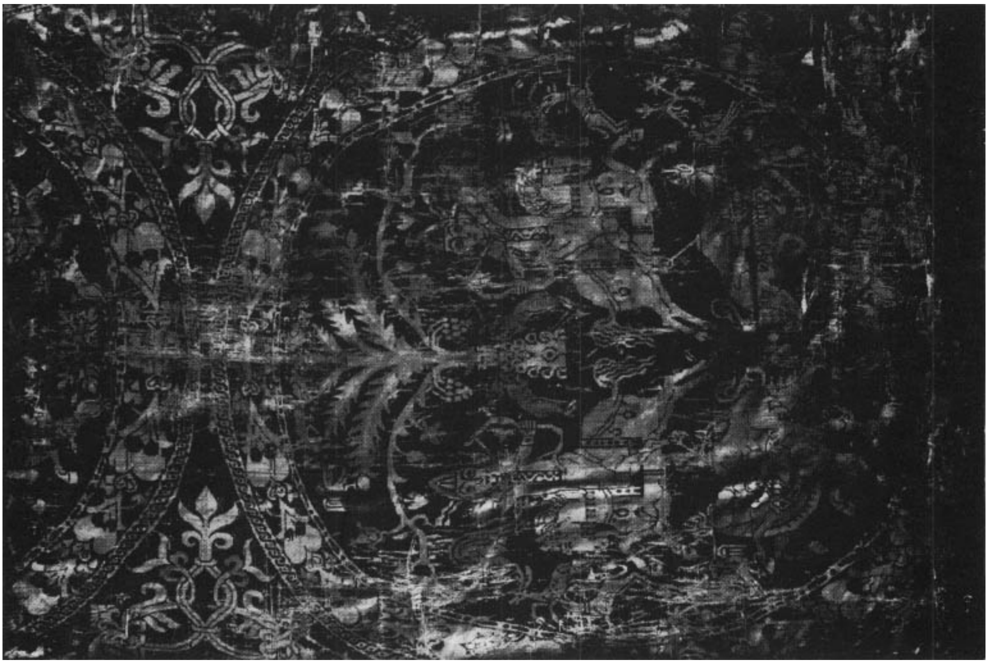

Iran, 1st/7th century; Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Cologne.

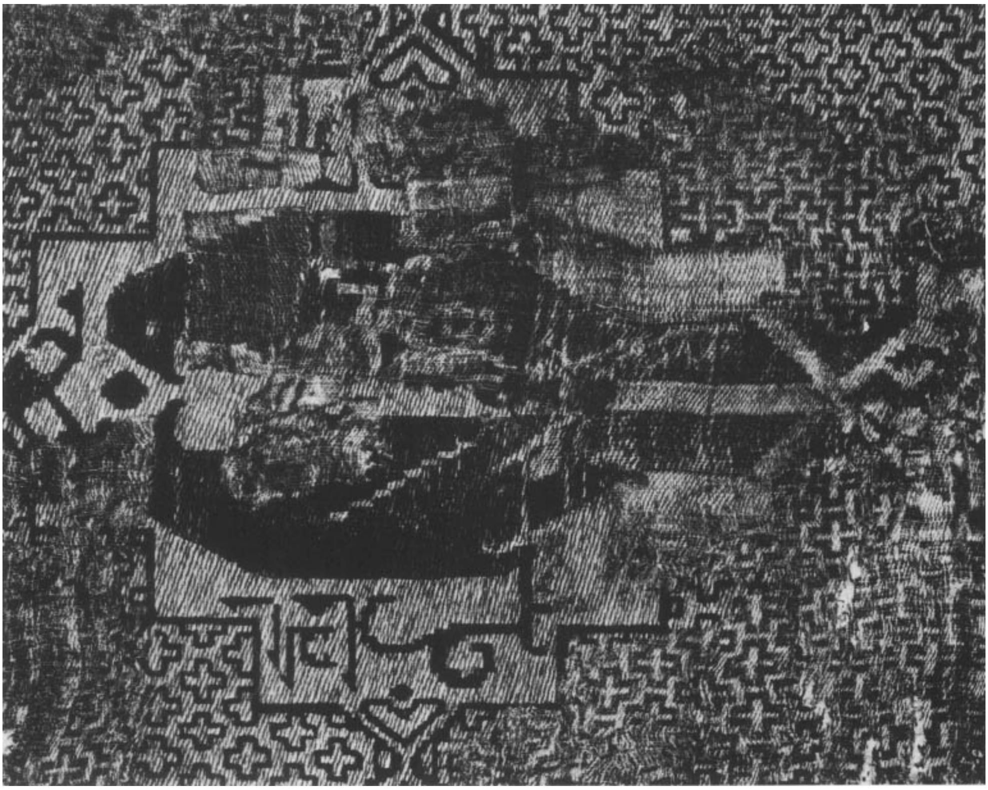

Egypt, 4th/10th century; Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

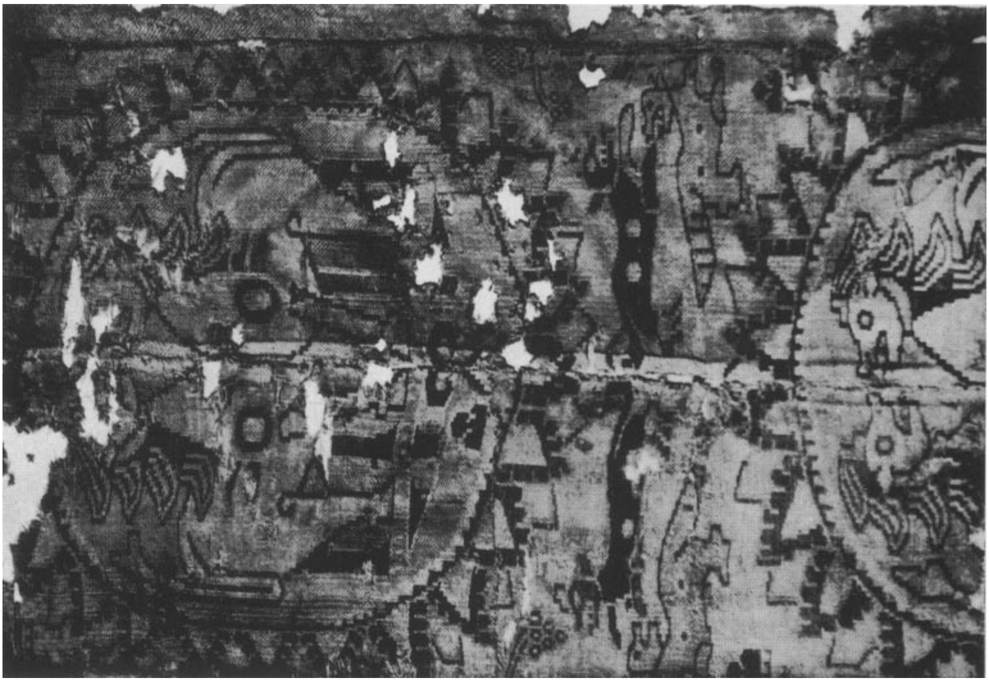

'Zandanīčī' silk, 1st/7th or 2nd/8th century; Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

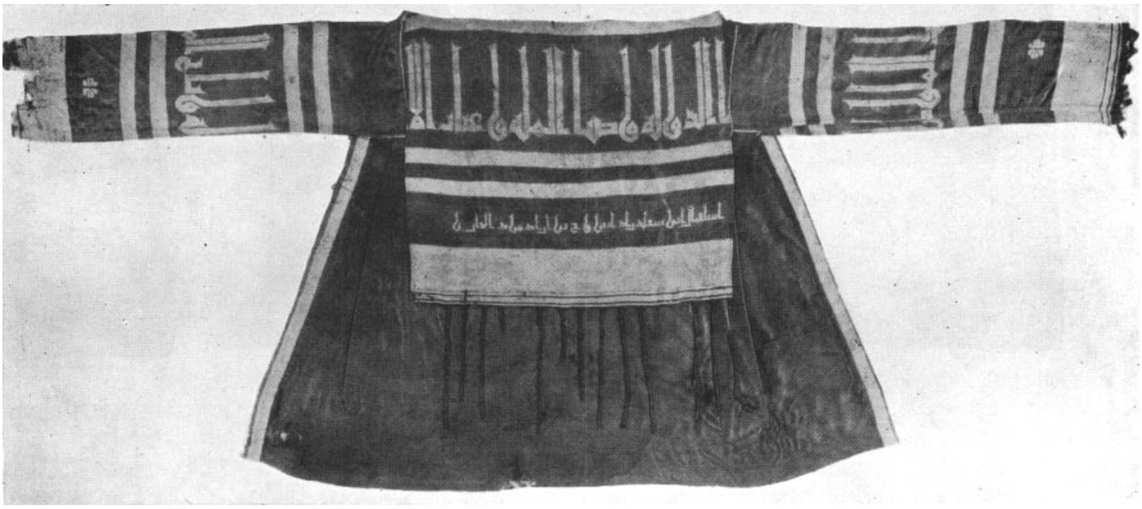

Khilʿa with inscription of Bahā al-Dawla, ca. 390/1000; Textile Museum, Washington.

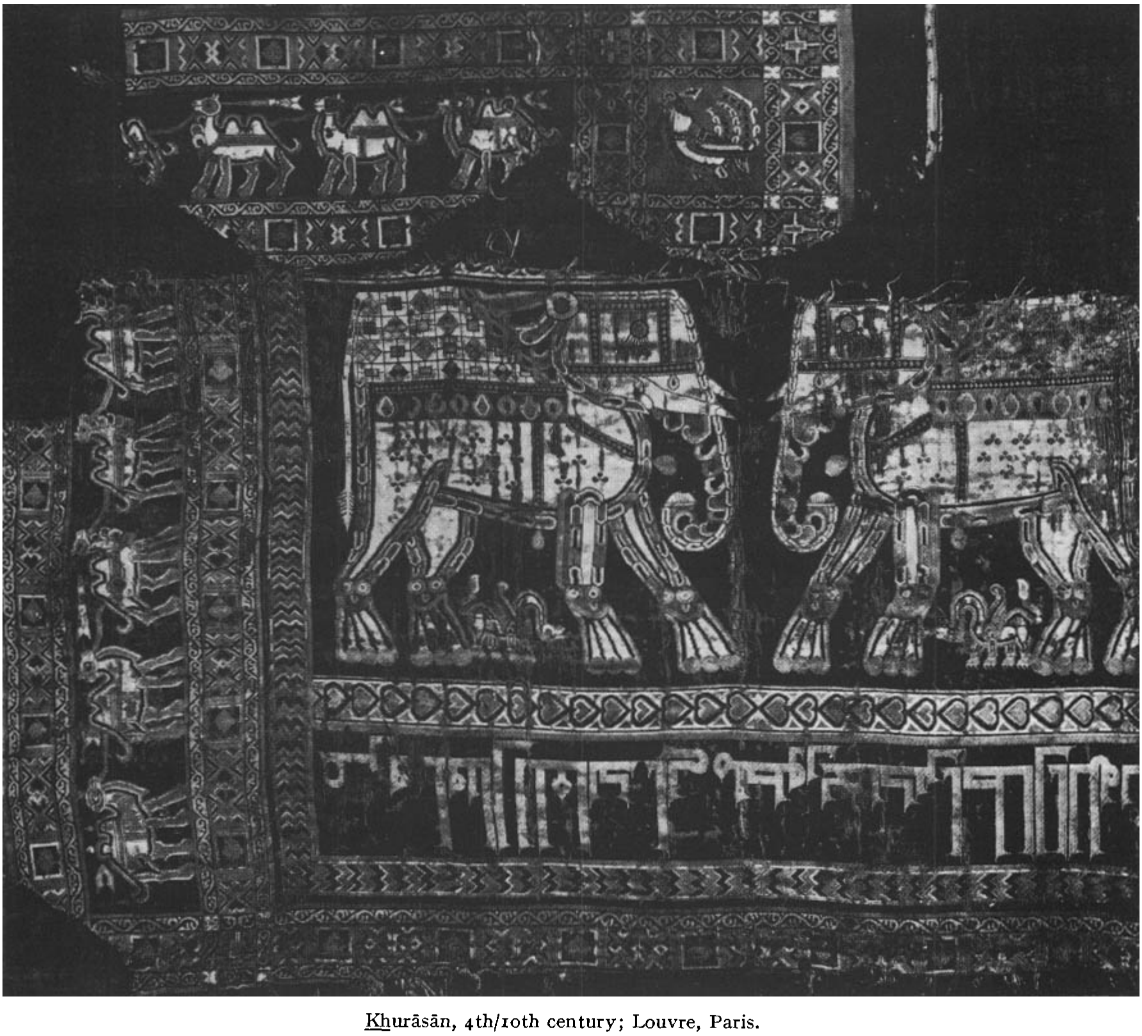

Khurāsān, 4th/10th century; Louvre, Paris.

(a)

(a) Double-weaving, Baghdād, 6th/12th century; Cathedral Treasury, Passau.

(b) Double weaving, Iran, 5th/11th or 6th/12th century; Textile Museum, Washington.

(c) Double-weaving, other side of *b*.

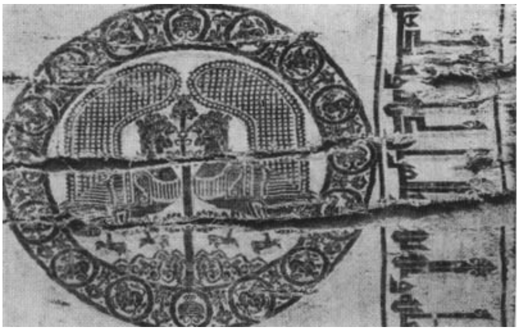

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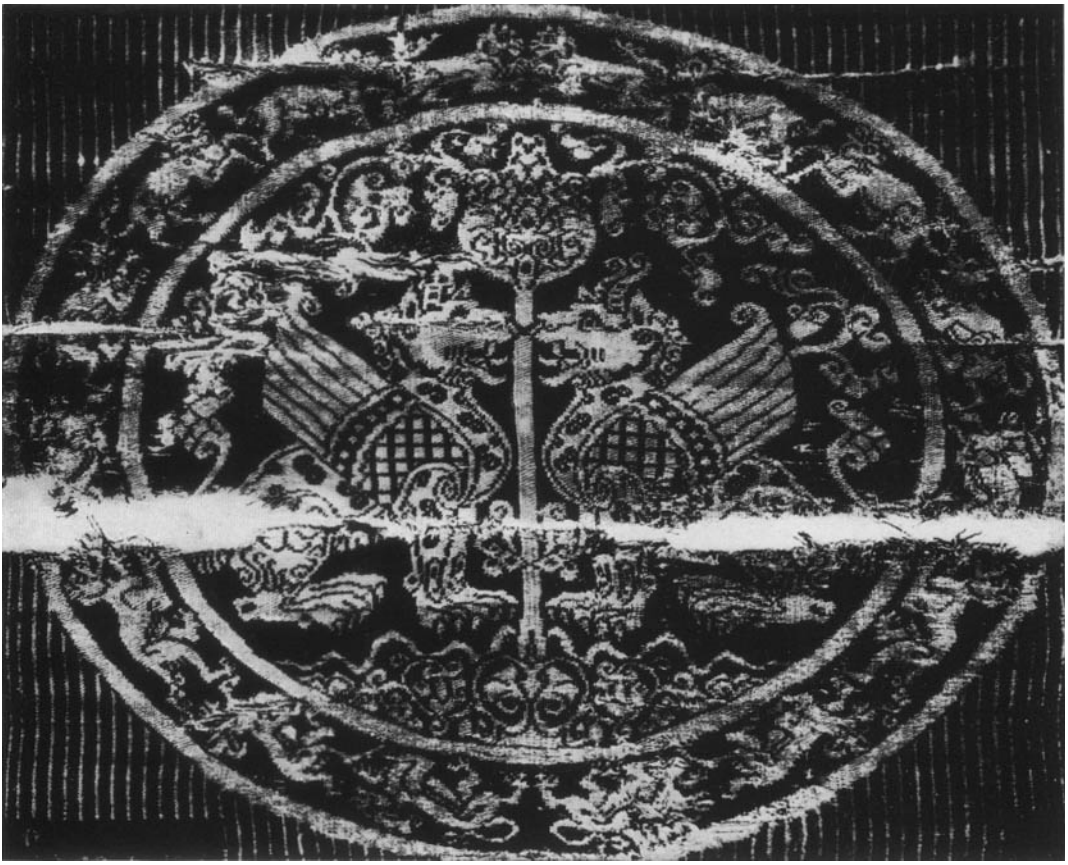

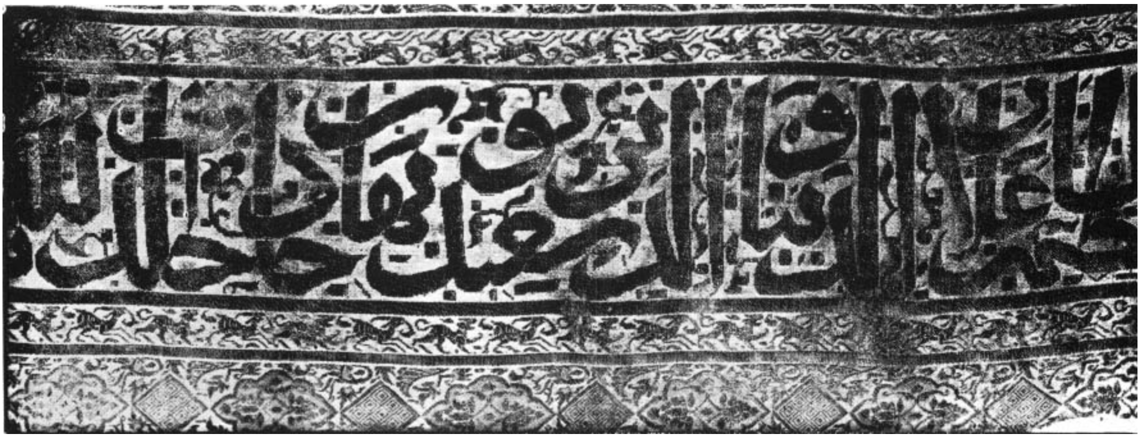

Funeral-gown of Rudolf IV of Habsburg; Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Vienna.

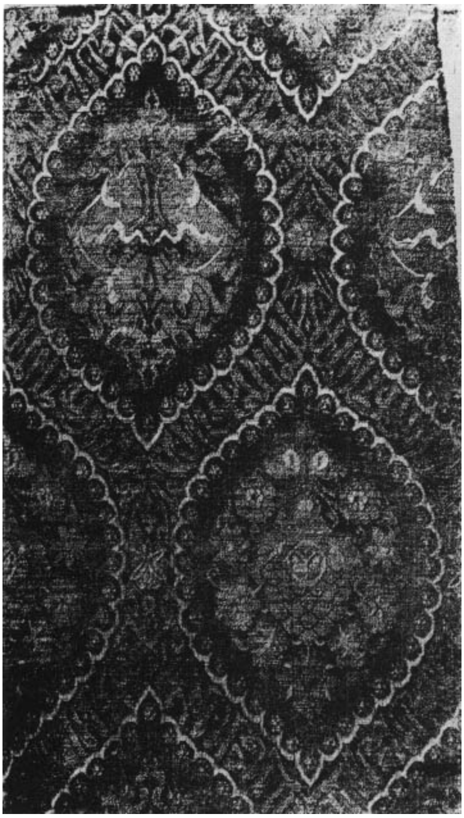

Silver-brocade, Iran, 8th/14th or 9th/15th century; Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

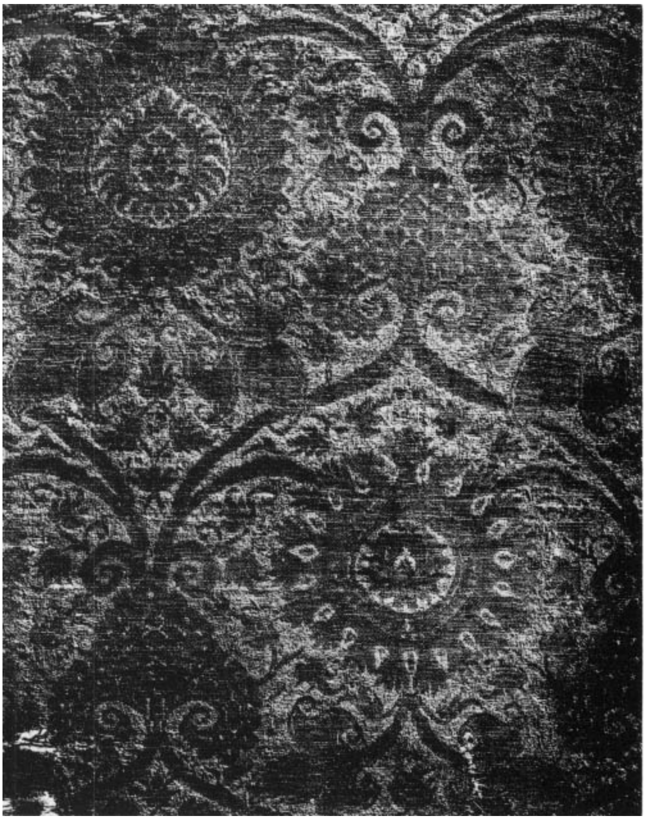

Gold-brocade, Iran, 9th/15th century; Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

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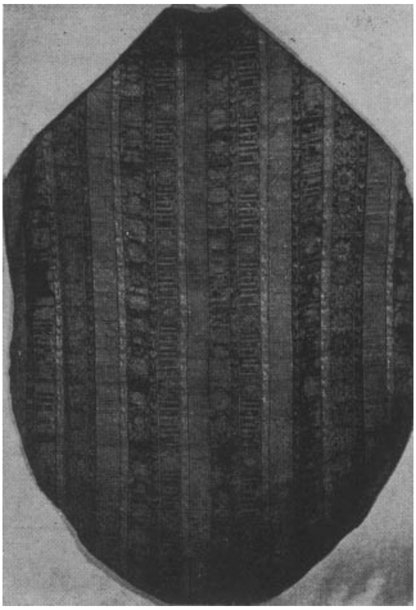
(b)

(a) Egypt, 6th/12th century; Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels.
(b) Chasuble of silk-brocade, Syria, 8th/14th century; Church of St. Mary, Danzig.
(c) Fabric with the name of the Mamlūk sultan Muḥammad al-Nāṣir; Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.
(d) Gold-brocade with the name of Sultan Kay-ḳobād, Asia Minor, 7th/13th century; Musée des tissus, Lyon.
(e) Silk-damask with the name of Muḥammad al-Nāṣir; Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

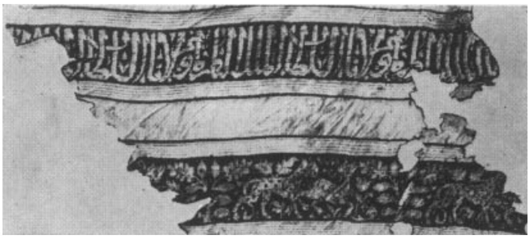
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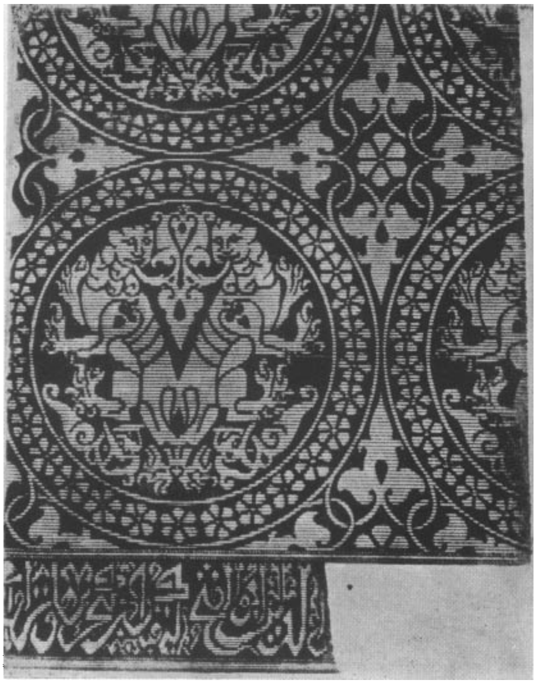
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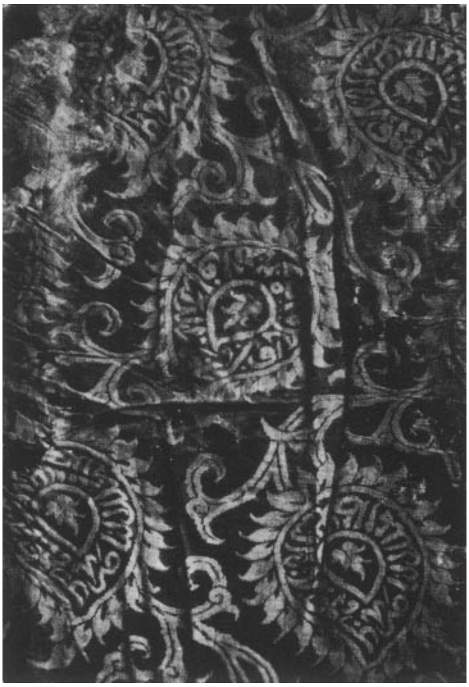
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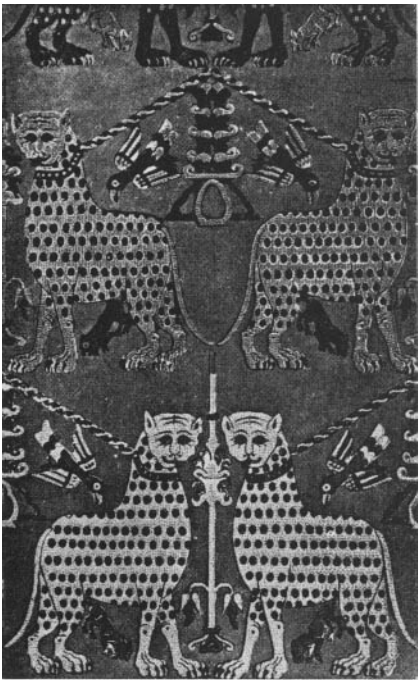
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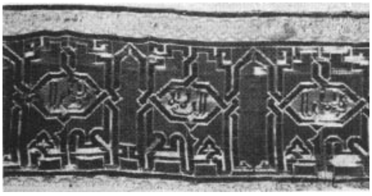
(c)

(a) Sicily 7th/13th century; Chinon Cathedral.
(b) From the tomb of Maria of Almenar, Hispano-moresque, 7th/13th century; Cistercian Monastery, Las Huelgas.
(c) Hispano-moresque, 8th/14th century; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
(d) Velvet-brocade, Üsküdar, 10th/16th century; Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
(e) *Ḳaftān* of Bāyezīd II, late 9th/15th century; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul.

(d)

(e)

(a) Silk-brocade, made by G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn, Iran, 10th/16th century; Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels.

(b) Velvet-brocade, Iran, 10th/16th century; Textile Museum, Washington.

(c) Wall-carpet with the design of a *miḥrāb*, Iran, 11th/17th century; Mosque of S͟hayk͟h Ṣafī, Ardabīl.

(d) Silk-brocade, Iran, 12th/18th century; Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

his *Anthologie grammaticale* (Paris 1828-9, Arabic text, 25 ff. = trans., 63 ff.), Thorbecke produced a complete edition of it in Leipzig in 1871. To the Istanbul edition (1299) is appended a commentary by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafādjī, who disputes many assertions made by the author.

His letters (*rasāʾil*) have been collected; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī has preserved some in his *Kharīda*, and Yāḳūt has included a few in his biography of al-Ḥarīrī; two among these in which all the words contain a *sīn* and a *shīn* respectively (hence their names of *sīniyya* and *shīniyya*) are typical examples of al-Ḥarīrī's taste for mere virtuosity without content.

He is also the author of a *Dīwān*, which has not survived, and of a didactic *urdjūza* on grammar, the *Mulḥat al-iʿrāb*, written at the prompting of Ibn al-Tilmīdh and accompanied by a commentary, of which Yāḳūt gives some idea.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 261-93 = *Irshād*, vi, 179-84; Ibn Khallikān, i, 419 ff.; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*; V. Chauvin, *Bibl.*, ix, 99 ff.; Dumas, *Le héros des maqâmât de Hariri, Abou-Zaid de Saroudj*, Algiers 1917; L. Bercher, *Trente-cinquième séance de Hariri, dite "de Chiraz"*, in *RT*, 1922; Crussard, *Étude sur les Séances de Harîri*, Paris 1923; O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur Maqamen-litteratur*, Istanbul 1914; Brockelmann, S I, 486-99; R. Blachère and P. Masnou, *Al-Hamadānī, choix de maqāmāt*, Paris 1957, 42-7. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH-[CH. PELLAT])

ḤARĪRIYYA, sect of Rifāʿiyya in the region of Damascus, founded by ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarīrī al-Marwazī, d. 645/1247 at Baṣar (Ḥawrān). Its excessive pantheism, apparent in the works of its poet Nadjm al-Dīn b. Isrāʾīl, was repudiated by Ibn Taymiyya in a very important *fatwā* (xxvi, n. 2 in the collection made by Ibn ʿUrwa, *Tafsīr al-kawākib al-darārī*, MS Damascus, *tafsīr*, no. 151). Cf. al-Fārūthī (d. 694/1294) *apud* Abu 'l-Hudā, *Kitābat al-djawāhir* Istanbul 1302, 326. (L. MASSIGNON)

AL-**ḤĀRITH, DJABAL** [see DJŪDĪ].

AL-**ḤĀRITH** B. **DJABALA**, A.D. 529-569, the most famous of all the kings of Ghassān [*q.v.*] in the military annals of Arabia, and in the history of Byzantium and of Monophysitism in the sixth century.

As the phylarch and ally of Byzantium he led his mounted contingent against the Persians and their Arab allies, the Lakhmids, in the wars of Justinian's reign and distinguished himself in two of its military operations: the battle of Callinicum, A.D. 531, and the Assyrian campaign, A.D. 541. At Yawm Ḥalīma [*q.v.*] in A.D. 554 he triumphed decisively over the Lakhmid Mundhir.

As a believer in the One Nature of Christ, he revived the Monophysite Church after its disestablishment during the reign of Justin I, A.D. 518-27. Throughout his long reign, he afforded it protection from the hostility of the Chalcedonians and sought to keep its unity intact against divisive and schismatic movements, such as the Tritheistic heresy of Eugenius and Conon.

Byzantium recognized his services and worth and bestowed on him its highest honours and titles: he became *patricius*, *biṭrīḳ* [*q.v.*] and *gloriosissimus*.

Bibliography: Procopius of Caesarea, *History*, I, xvii, 45-8; xviii, 26, 35-7; II, i, 1-11; xix, 12-8, 26-46; xxviii, 12-4; *Anecdota*, ii, 23, 28; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, French trans. by J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1901, ii, 245-8, 269; R. Aigrain, *Arabie*, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, iii, cols. 1203-13; Irfan Kawar, *Procopius and Arethas*, in *BZ* l, (1957); idem, *The Patriciate of Arethas*, in *BZ* lii, (1959). (IRFAN SHAHĪD)

AL-**ḤĀRITH** B. **ḤILLIZA** AL-YASHKURĪ, a pre-Islamic Arab poet to whom is attributed principally a *ḳaṣīda* which mediaeval critics regarded as the seventh of the *muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*]. The information that we possess in respect of his life deserves no credence, and the poem that is the cause of his renown is in itself so suspect that Ṭāhā Ḥusayn considers it to be totally apocryphal (cf. also al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 449, on the questions of other verses). This *ḳaṣīda*, in *khafīf* metre and with *-āʾū* rhyme (with an *iḳwāʾ* in one verse in *-āʾi*), is said by legendary tradition to have been improvised (though it has none of the signs of improvisation) in the following circumstances: after the king of al-Ḥīra al-Mundhir b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ had restored peace between the tribes of Bakr [*q.v.*] and Taghlib [*q.v.*] which the war of al-Basūs [*q.v.*] had broken, hostages from the two tribes were compelled to remain with the sovereign; during the reign of ʿAmr b. Hind (554-570 [*q.v.*]) the Taghlabī hostages having died by accident, their tribe asked for recompense from the Bakr, who refused, and then complained to the king; it was then that al-Ḥārith, who had the task of pleading the case for his tribe against the Taghlib (whose spokesman was ʿAmr b. Kulthūm [*q.v.*]), recited his poem in the *madjlis* of the king, who had ordered hangings to be set up to keep him apart from the poet, since the latter suffered from tubercular leprosy (*baraṣ*); overcome by al-Ḥārith's talent, ʿAmr b. Hind is said to have had the hangings drawn up, one after another, and to have treated the poet with singular marks of esteem, although in general he inclined towards the Taghlib.

The political aim of this *muʿallaḳa* is undeniable; the section reserved for *nasīb* and descriptions is cut short, while the plea on behalf of the Bakr is more highly developed and is accompanied by criticisms of the Taghlib who are invited to put an end to their recriminations. The poem, an eloquent fragment, would be of documentary interest if it could be regarded as authentic.

Bibliography: it is possible that the lines attributed to al-Ḥārith were put together by Sukkarī from the works of the Banū Yashkur (cf. *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 226), but indeed it seems clear that the poet's *dīwān* has never been separately established; a short *Dīwān*, accompanied by that of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, has, however, been published by F. Krenkow in *Machriq*, and then separately, Beirut 1922; the *muʿallaḳa* had previously been published twice, with the commentary of Zawzanī and Latin translation, first by W. Knatchbull, Oxford 1820, later by J. Vullers, Bonn 1827; a French translation was given by Caussin de Perceval in his *Essai*, ii, 366-73 (reproduced in L. Machuel, *Auteurs arabes*, Paris 1924, 80-6); finally, the English translation by A. J. Arberry, *The seven odes*, London-New York 1957, 222-7, is preceded by a study on the poet and a comparison of the earlier translations (210-21). Comments and lines of verse will also be found in Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 151-2 and index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* and *Bayān*, index; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 127 (al-Ḥārith is placed in the sixth class of pre-Islamic poets); *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, 263-8, 515-8; *Aghānī*, ix, 171-4 (Beirut ed., xi, 37-44); Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 198 (Cairo ed., i, 295); Abkāryūs, 105-7; L. Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 416-20; F.

Bustānī, *Rawāʾiʿ*, no. 26; idem, *al-Madjānī al-ḥadītha*, i, 139-50; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 28, 74; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, 26 (French trans., 43); Brockelmann, S I, 51; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Fi'l-adab al-djāhilī*, 236-43; R. Blachère, *HLA*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

BANU 'L-ḤĀRITH B. KAʿB, usually called Balḥārith, an Arab tribe belonging to the Yemenī group. Their genealogy is: al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. ʿUlā b. Djald b. Madhhidj (Mālik).

They lived in the district of Nadjrān [*q.v.*] and were neighbours of the Hamdān. The following places amongst others belonged to them: al-ʿArsh, al-ʿĀdh, Baṭn al-Dhuhāb, Dhu 'l-Marrūt, al-Furuṭ (pl. Afrāt, between Nadjrān and the Djawf), Ḥadūra (Khadūrā), ʿIyāna, al-Khaṣāṣa (between Ḥidjāz and Tihāma), Ḳurrā, Saḥbal, Ṣamʿar, Sūḥān or Sawḥān, Mīnān or Maynān, Shaṭṭ Ziyād (belonging to the clan Ziyād); wādīs: al-ʿAwhal al-Aʿlā and al-ʿAwhal al-Asfal, al-Nuḍārāt, Thadjr; waters: ʿAynā Dhiʾb, al-Bathrā, al-Djafr, al-Harār, Ḥimā, al-Kawkab, Khaṭma (Khiṭma, a well in the sand), Khulayḳā, al-Malaḥāt, Māwa, al-Shalīla (belonging to the clan Dāʿir), Shisʿā, Yadamāt; mountains: Tukhtum. Sections of the Balḥārith lived also in Raydat al-Ṣayʿar in Ḥaḍramawt, in the town of Radāʿ (inhabited by the ʿAns and Khawlān), in the villages al-Ṣamaʿ and Ḥadaḳān, which belonged to the Bakīl, and in al-Faladja near Damascus.

In the Djāhiliyya a section of the Balḥārith worshipped the idol Yaghūth. Another section professed Christianity. The ʿAbd al-Madān b. al-Dayyān, a prominent family of the Balḥārith, built a large church, Dayr Nadjrān, also called the Kaʿba of Nadjrān (according to many authorities, a tent composed of 300 pieces of hide).

Historical. The idol Yaghūth was the cause of a battle between the Balḥārith and the Murād, who claimed Yaghūth for themselves, at al-Razm (in the south of Nadjrān, in the land of the Murād) on the same day as the battle of Badr (17, 19 or 21 Ramaḍān of the year 2). The Balḥārith, allied with the Hamdān, inflicted a severe defeat on the Murād, and Yaghūth remained in their possession. On the "second day of Kulāb" (in the Dahnā) the Balḥārith (under Nuʿmān b. Djassās) fought against the Tamīm tribes Ribāb and Saʿd b. Zayd-Manāt under Ḳays b. ʿĀṣim). On the side of the Balḥārith were Hamdān, Kinda, Ḳudāʿa and other tribes, in all about 8000 strong, divided into four divisions, with four leaders, who all bore the name Yazīd and were under the supreme command of ʿAbd Yaghūth b. Ṣalāt. In this battle the Balḥārith were defeated. The chiefs of the allied armies fell and ʿAbd Yaghūth was wounded. Of other battles of the Balḥārith we may mention that of Ḥiḍra (in Tihāma) against the Daws, in which the Balḥārith were again defeated, and that of Baṭn al-Dhahāb.

We find the Balḥārith already in possession of Nadjrān when the ʿAzd, with whom they had many disputes, left the Yemen under ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir Muzayḳiyāʾ after the bursting of the dam of Maʾrib. When Muḥammad's call had gone out through all Arabia, the Christians among the Balḥārith (in about 8/630) sent a deputation to the Prophet in Medina, which consisted mainly of ecclesiastics, including a bishop, Abu 'l-Ḥāritha. They arranged an interview with the Prophet at a place near Medina, where they were to undergo a trial by the ordeal called *mubāhala q.v.*] or *liʿān* (ceremony of objurgation). But when they were convinced of Muḥammad's mission and feared a defeat, they begged the Prophet to cancel the arrangement. The Prophet agreed on condition that they paid tribute. In Rabīʿ I of the year 10/632 Muḥammad sent Khālid b. Walīd with 480 men to the Balḥārith to demand that they should adopt Islam. Those who were heathen and a number of the Christians submitted and Khālid remained among them to instruct them in the Ḳurʾān and the institutions of Islam. After some time Khālid returned with a deputation of the Balḥārith (among them two members of the Christian family of ʿAbd al-Madān) to the Prophet. Muḥammad gave each member 10 ounces (400 *dirhams*) and appointed one of them, Ḳays b. al-Ḥusayn, *amīr* of the Balḥārith. When in 11/633 the false prophet al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī [*q.v.*] appeared, the Balḥārith, influenced by his emissaries, followed him. They drove out the governor of Nadjrān (ʿAmr b. Ḥazm), and al-Aswad entered the town in triumph. The Muslims remained faithful to Islam under Abū Bakr, and the Christians renewed the treaty.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen*, table 8, 16, and *Register*, 210; Yāḳūt, index s.v.; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, index s.v., and 55, 8 ff.; 83, 9 f.; 93, 15 ff.; 169, 7 f.; H. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 68; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1724-7 and index s.v.; *Aghānī*, x, 82; xiv, 26; xv, 73 and index s.v.; Ibn Hishām, 401, 958-62; (transl.) A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, 270-7, 645-8; Ibn Saʿd, index (part iii) s.v.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, index s.v. Hârith (Benou-l)-ibn-Càb; Caetani, *Annali*, year 10, §§ 4 ff.; Sprenger, *Mohammad*, iii, 508-10; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, index s.v.; O. Blau, *Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, xxiii, 562. (J. SCHLEIFER)

[Owing to circumstances beyond their control, the Editors are unable to supply, as they had planned to do, a revised text of this article. For the convenience of readers they re-print the article which appeared in the first edition. A new article will, it is hoped, be included in the Supplement]

AL-ḤĀRITH B. SURAYDJ (or ʿUMAYR) B. YAZĪD B. SAWĀ (or SAWWĀR) B. WARD B. MURRA B. SUFYĀN B. MUDJĀSHIʿ, ABŪ ḤĀTIM, leader of a rebellious movement in Khurāsān against the Umayyad administration. His father, Suraydj, had his abode in the quarter of the Banū Mudjāshiʿ in Baṣra and received a yearly *ʿaṭāʾ* of 700 *dirhams*.

Al-Ḥārith is mentioned as one of the courageous warriors in the battle against the forces of the Khāḳān at Paykand in 111/729. He was flogged on the order of the governor of Khurāsān, al-Djunayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī, having opposed the latter's injustice. The verse referring to this event says that "he refused to be a '*djanība*' (*i.e.*, a horse driven alongside) of the Murra when they went astray and their *imām* committed iniquities". He rebelled in 116/734. Aided by the native forces of Djūzdjān, Fāryāb and Ṭalḳān, al-Ḥārith captured Balkh and marched at the head of a force, which grew to the figure of 60,000, against Marw, defended by the new governor, ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hilālī. The defeat of al-Ḥārith at Marw reduced the number of his followers to 3000. The news that he was being dismissed by the Caliph, Hishām, and replaced by Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī drove ʿĀṣim to negotiate with al-Ḥārith. The basis of their agreement was to be their common call to Hishām to put a stop to iniquity; if he refused, al-Ḥārith and ʿĀṣim would revolt against his rule.

After his arrival the new governor, Asad b. ʿAbd

Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], succeeded by vigorous action in recapturing Balkh and compelled al-Ḥārith to cross the Oxus. Al-Ḥārith, aided by the forces of the local leaders, laid siege to Tirmidh, but failed to conquer the city and was compelled to retreat to the fortress of Tabūshkān in Ṭukhāristān. A force sent by Asad under the command of Djudayʿ al-Kirmānī besieged the fortress; the adherents of al-Ḥārith insisted on leaving and surrendered to the besieging force. Some of them were decapitated; the women were sold as slaves (118/736).

Al-Ḥārith with his force joined the Khāḳān of the Türgesh [*q.v.*]. He fought valiantly on the Khāḳān's side in the encounter of Kharīstān and defended his retreat when his army was defeated (119/737). Al-Ḥārith assisted the Khāḳān in the preparations for a new expedition and received from the Khāḳān 5000 horses. The Khāḳān was, however, murdered and the power of the Türgesh collapsed. Asad died in 120/738.

The new governor, Naṣr b. Sayyār, marched in 122/740 with an army against Shāsh, which served as a base for the forces of al-Ḥārith. There was an encounter between the troops of Naṣr and al-Ḥārith but the battle between the forces of Shāsh and the army of Naṣr was prevented by an agreement between them, by which the ruler of Shāsh would deport al-Ḥārith to Fārāb. The assumption of H. A. R. Gibb that the object of the expedition against Shāsh was the expulsion of al-Ḥārith is plausible. Naṣr apprehended that the dangerous rebel might incite the Turkish rulers to lead a new expedition against him. These fears would seem to be reasonable in view of the instability of the central government after the death of Hishām, the tensions between the Muḍarīs and the Yemenīs in Khurāsān, as well as the dissatisfaction of the native rulers with the policy of Naṣr in Transoxania. This explains why Naṣr pleaded with the Caliph, Yazīd b. al-Walīd, to pardon al-Ḥārith. The letter of safe-conduct granted to al-Ḥārith by the Caliph promised to return the confiscated property of the adherents of al-Ḥārith and to act according to the ordinances of "The Book and the Sunna".

When al-Ḥārith came back to Marw in 127/745 he reiterated the demand to act in accordance with the ordinances of "The Book and the Sunna". He justified his struggle against the administration and his secession from the community by the statement that "the few who obey God are many and the many who disobey God are few". He was welcomed by Naṣr and the people of Marw; his son Muḥammad and his daughter al-Alūf, who were detained, were released. Naṣr offered to appoint him as governor of a district, but he refused. He divided the gifts given to him by Naṣr among his adherents. He demanded of Naṣr that he should appoint as officials only decent and righteous people.

Shortly after his arrival, al-Ḥārith was joined by 3000 Tamīmīs who gave him the oath of allegiance. He encamped outside Marw, and instructed Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*] to read his "*sīra*", setting himself up against Naṣr. Djudayʿ al-Kirmānī joined al-Ḥārith for a short time. However they fell out, their forces clashed and al-Ḥārith was killed in 128/746.

Al-Ḥārith is mentioned as a Murdjiʾī. His secretary was Djahm b. Ṣafwān. In his political activity he followed in the steps of Abu 'l-Ṣaydāʾ, who fought for the rights of the *mawālī*; some of the companions of Abu 'l-Ṣaydāʾ fought on the side of al-Ḥārith. Al-Ḥārith and his followers are the only group in early Islam which seceded from the community and aided the unbelievers against their brethren with the aim of establishing a government acting according to the ordinances of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. In the force of al-Ḥārith are mentioned "*ahl al-baṣāʾir*", people of a religious conviction, whom al-Ḥārith used to consult. When al-Ḥārith returned he came back with his *ḳāḍī*. The black flags raised by al-Ḥārith seem to have been an imitation of the *sunna* of the Prophet. A special feature of this peculiar group was the habit of appealing to the enemy during the battle to join them by using moral and religious arguments. Al-Ḥārith seems to have had a feeling of mission. He apparently lived an ascetic life and wanted to establish a just government resembling that of the Prophet and the first Caliphs. He demanded that the principle of election of the *Shūrā* [*q.v.*] should be followed. A satirical verse recited after his death claims that he hoped to be a Caliph: "The son of a saddle (Ibn Sardj) hopes to be a Caliph: How remote are the means of the Caliphate from a saddle".

Bibliography: H. A. R. Gibb, *Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 69-94; F. Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hishām*, Alexandria 1935, 44-70; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 190-3; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 288-306 (English trans. 459-498); G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe*, Amsterdam 1894, 24-32; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., f. 66b; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Ms. f. 295b, 982b; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 460; v, 36; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, ix, 313, 322; x, 26; *Arabskiy Anonym XI Veka*, ed. P. A. Gryaznevič, Moskow 1960, f. 258b; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, iv, 228, 229; v, 35, 56; Ḥasan Ibr. Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām al-siyāsī*, i, Cairo 1935, 538, n. 4.

(M. J. Kister)

ḤĀRITH AL-MUḤĀSIBĪ [see AL-MUḤĀSIBĪ].

ḤĀRITHA B. BADR AL-GHUDĀNĪ, poet and notable of the Tamīmī clan of the Banū Ghudāna, at Baṣra. Born probably shortly before the Hidjra, he appears while still young to have been a follower of the prophetess Sadjāḥi [*q.v.*] and then, having settled in Baṣra, he fought at the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] against ʿAlī, but afterwards joined his cause; however, as soon as Ziyād arrived in ʿIrāḳ in 45/666 he became a fervent supporter of the new governor, who finally entered him on the tribal pay-roll of the Ḳuraysh to increase his emoluments. Some satirical verses of the poet whom Ziyād matched against him, Anas b. Abī Unās, reveal that at some point he was nominated *ʿāmil* of Surraḳ, in Ahwāz, but it was chiefly during the disturbances which followed the death of Yazīd I that he played some part in politics, although this is not made very clear in the sources which allude to it; however, he seems to have taken part in the struggle against the Khāridjīs who were threatening Baṣra, and to have met his death by drowning during a campaign, in 64/684 or 66/686 (I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 158, wrongly gives the date 50).

Ḥāritha is a picturesque figure of the first half of the 1st/7th century. Though well known for his eloquence, wisdom and knowledge of historical traditions and genealogy, the reputation that he has left behind is principally that of an inveterate drinker, whose foibles Ziyād tolerated, whilst his sons were not averse from keeping him company. He may be regarded as one of the first bacchic poets of the Muslim period, but almost nothing of his work survives; some gnomic verses of his are still quoted, and also a funeral oration for Ziyād, part of which has been preserved (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vii, 159;

al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 914; *Aghānī*, xxi, 19; Yāḳūt, s.v. al-Thanawiyya).

Bibliography: al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* and *Bayān*, index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ṭabarī, i, 322, ii, 26, 78, 449, 580-2, 585; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 914-16; *Aghānī*[1], xxi, 20-44, and index; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 160; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, 1331/1913 ed., iv, 322-3, 325; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 1937; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 304-5, 383-4; H. Lammens, in *RSO*, iv, 120-1; idem, *Omayyades*, Beirut 1930, *passim*; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, 146 (Fr. tr., 224-5); Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 154-6.

(H. Lammens-[Ch. Pellat])

HARIYĀNĀ, name given to the tract of country in the Indian Pandjāb to the north-west of Dihlī, surrounding the towns of Hānsī [*q.v.*] and Ḥiṣār Fīrūza [*q.v.*] in the present Ḥiṣār district and extending east into the Rohtak [*q.v.*] district; it lies south of the Ghaggar stream—which partly coincides with the ancient Saraswatī river which once joined the Indus [see sindhu], now little more than a monsoon drainage channel whose waters are lost in the Rādjāsthān sands—and is traversed by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ's West Djamnā canal [for the history of this see references s.v. djamnā]. The name seems to mean "green tract", although the region is now semi-desert (for the modern condition see O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan: a general and regional geography*, London 1954, who, however, conflates Hariyānā and Sirhind); a popular etymology connects the name with a legendary king called Hari Čand.

The region was of some strategic importance to the rulers of Dihlī, as it lay on the more southerly route to that city from Khurāsān via Multān and the southern Pandjāb (the northern approach to Dihlī being through Sirhind [*q.v.*]). According to a Sanskrit inscription of the time of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, "Hariyāṇaka" was ruled first by the Tomārs, then by the Čawhāns, then by the "Śaka" kings Sāhavadīna (Shihāb al-Dīn, i.q. Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām), Ṣuduvadīna (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak; at this time the Sanskrit character *ṣa* was generally pronounced in north India as *kha*), etc., down to Gayāsadīna; it bears the date 1337 VS = 680/1281 (*Epigr. Indica*, v, Appendix p. 34; plate in *JASB*, xliii, 104). Certainly it was held by the Čawhān kings of Dihlī immediately before the Ghūrid conquest, its ruler Hammīr being slain at the same time as Prithwī Rādj of Dihlī. The region is frequently mentioned in the chronicles of the Dihlī sultanate as forming an *iḳṭāʿ* of officials at the Dihlī courts. It was sufficiently close to the capital to prevent any attempt at independence by a rebel official, although there was the incident of Sayyid Ibrāhīm, son of Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan [*q.v.*], who was governor of Hariyānā when Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ made his expedition to the south of India in 736/1335: on rumours of the sultan's death in the pestilence in Telingānā, Ibrāhīm seized the tribute of treasure on its way to Dihlī from Sindh on the pretext that the roads were unsafe; when the rumours were proved false he allowed the convoy to proceed to the capital, but his acts were reported to the court and he was put to death. His aim seems to have been, however, the Dihlī throne rather than mere independence at Hariyānā, which could not have been sustained once the imperial armies had returned to Dihlī.

Hariyānā was a region in which Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ took an especial interest, it being the home of his mother who was of Bhaṭṭī Rādjpūt descent; he was quick to realize its strategic importance, and besides carrying out his scheme of irrigation mentioned above, as part of his policy for the encouragement of agriculture, built there the three minor forts of Muḥammadpur, Ẓafarābād and Rāḍābād (now all disappeared, although villages so named still exist) and the major forts of Ḥiṣār Fīrūza [*q.v.*] and Fatḥābād [*q.v.* in Supplement], besides strengthening that of Hānsī. From this time the administrative centre of Hariyānā shifted from Hānsī to Ḥiṣār Fīrūza.

The Hariyānā district lay on Tīmūr's route of devastation to Dihlī, and indeed a detachment of his troops was attacked there by a Djāṭ tribe. The history of the district thereafter is one of confusion; but it is known to have come, about 814/1411, into the possession of Khiḍr Khān, who subsequently became the first of the Sayyid dynasty of Dihlī, and it certainly remained a possession of the Dihlī sultanate throughout the Sayyid and Lodī periods. It passed naturally to the Mughals after their conquest, and seems to have been peaceful until the early 18th century. It became the scene of much turbulence and confusion after the invasion of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], and a contested region between the rising Sikh power, the enfeebled Mughal empire, and the predatory Bhaṭṭī chiefs, Muslim converts from Rādjpūt stock, of Bhaṭnēr and Fatḥābād. As the Sikh power increased the Bhaṭṭīs sought Mughal aid, and a Bhaṭṭī chief was at one time appointed *nāẓim* of Ḥiṣār; but neither he nor subsequent governors of Hānsī and Ḥiṣār could stem Amar Singh's Sikh forces, and the whole district fell into Sikh hands until the Mughal-Sikh treaty of Djind, in 1781, restored Hariyānā to the Mughal empire, Fatḥābād and Sirsā to the Bhaṭṭīs, and assigned the remainder of the conquered districts to the Sikhs. In 1797-8 the English adventurer George Thomas overran Hariyānā and established his capital at Hānsī; he was eventually overcome by Bourquin for Sindhia, and in 1801 Hariyānā passed into Marāthā hands; in 1803 it was ceded by Sindhia to the British government.

The district is well known for cattle breeding, and Hariyānā cattle are much prized in India.

Bibliography: in addition to references in the article, see the bibliographies to hānsī, ḥiṣār fīrūza, and rohtak.

(J. Burton-Page)

HARKARN, b. Mathurādās, a Kaṅbōh [*q.v.*] of Multān, known chiefly for his collection of letters (*inshāʾ*), entitled *Irshād al-ṭālibīn* but popularly called *Inshāʾ-i Harkarn*. Nothing is known about his early life or the teachers from whom he learnt Persian, the court language of the day. He was employed for some time as a secretary (*munshī*) by Iʿtibār Khān *khwādja-sarāy*, most probably a Hindu convert to Islam and an influential eunuch, who was from very early years a confidant and retainer of the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*]. It is not exactly known when Harkarn entered the service of Iʿtibār Khān. In 1032/1622 Iʿtibār Khān was appointed governor of Āgra, where Harkarn got the chance to display his talents as an official secretary, as he had spent a lifetime in the exercise of that profession (cf. preamble to his *Inshāʾ*). After the death of Iʿtibar Khān, later called Mumtāz Khān, Harkarn left Āgra and while in Mathurā, probably on a pilgrimage, he compiled his *Inshāʾ* between 1034/ 1625 and 1040/1631 (cf. Ethé, 2069). Divided into seven *bābs* (sections) it contains model letters of appointment of state officials, besides various kinds of other official documents (ed. with English transl. by Francis Balfour under the title *The Forms of Herkern*, Calcutta 1781, 1804[2], reprinted

1831; lith. Lahore 1869, 1871). The *Inshā'* of Harkarn was used by the British in India, during the days of the East India Company, as a model for diplomatic correspondence with the native princes and potentates. It was also extensively used in *maktabs* (primary schools) and *madrasas* in India to give a good grounding to students in Persian letter-writing. With the discontinuance of Persian as the court language this book fell into disuse.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ḤARRA, a basalt desert, "a district covered with black broken stones, which looks as if it had been burned by fire". Such *ḥarras*, which owe their origin to subterranean volcanoes which have repeatedly covered the undulating desert with a bed of lava, are found particularly in the east of Ḥawrān and stretch from there to Medina. Al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā' bi-akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā*, Mecca ed., 1316, 38 gives a detailed description of a great earthquake at Medina which began on 1 Djumādā II 654/26 June 1256 and lasted several days (see also Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte von Madyna*). There is perhaps, as Wetzstein suggested, an allusion to these fearful stony wastes in Jeremiah xvii 6 (חררים). Yāḳūt, ii, 247 ff., details no less than 29 of these *ḥarras* with their names (see *ZDMG*, xxii (1868), 365-82). An accurate map, with an index of names to the whole territory in which *ḥarras* are found, is published in the *Zeitschr. des Deutsch. Palästinavereins*, xii, in the narrative of A. Stübel's journey to Dīret al-Tulūl and Ḥawrān (1882). The same author has also discussed the supposed origin of such deserts of stones in *Die Vulkanberge von Ecuador* after v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, i, 90, note 5 (where also, i, 89 ff., bibliographical references are given). See also v. Oppenheim in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1896 (*Zur Routenkarte meiner Reise von Damaskus nach Baghdād in dem Jahre 1893*); Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, 24, 419 f. and index; D. G. Hogarth, *The penetration of Arabia*, London 1904, 4, 81, 168 f., 259, 284, 339; H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 72. (Ed.)

AL-ḤARRA, Of all the *ḥarras* dealt with in the preceding article, the one that stretches through the gardens of Medina on the north-eastern side of the town, known as the *Ḥarrat Wāḳim*, became, thanks to a famous battle in 63/683, al-Ḥarra *par excellence*.

The situation in Medina was seriously disturbed some time after the accession to the throne of Muʿāwiya's son Yazīd. It led to a rebellion provoked by the indignation felt by men of piety at Yazīd's scandalous conduct and the conviction that it was impossible to obey an *imām* of such a type. Beneath the religious aspects of the movement, economic motives may have been concealed. For it is certainly possible that the interests of a great part of the local elements had been upset or threatened in a general way by Muʿāwiya's fiscal reforms, which compelled the provinces to contribute towards the expenses of the State, and, in particular, by the reorganization of the system of pensions, which Muʿāwiya had proposed to establish upon the basic principle that pensions must be the reward for services, especially military, rendered to the government (cf. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, 408-13); in the Holy Cities there was a group of individuals and families, their exact number difficult to define, who, under this principle, could no longer be on the pay-roll in their capacity as heirs of the first beneficiaries of pensions.

The governor of Medina, ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān, appointed by Yazīd (end of 62/682 or beginning of 63/683), was too young and inexperienced to control the situation (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 402). The caliph himself then proposed (al-Balādhurī, 31) that a Medinese delegation should be sent to him in the hope of being reconciled with the malcontents by means of his generosity, but the delegates, though loaded with gifts and bounties, on their return to the Ḥidjāz incited their fellow-citizens to revolt by their accounts of the caliph's scandalous mode of life.

Alarmed by the situation in the Ḥidjāz, Yazīd once again tried the method of conciliation: he sent, first to Medina, then to Mecca, a mission headed by al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr [*q.v.*], but it did not succeed in restoring calm. The Medinese malcontents found an opportunity to come out in open revolt when a *mawlā* arrived to supervise the harvests from the lands (*ṣawāfī*) belonging to the caliph. A scene then took place in the chief mosque (beginning of 63/682) that is reminiscent of pre-Islamic customs: the rebels took off their sandals, turbans and burnous which they heaped up in the court-yard, to signify that they were depriving the caliph of his sovereignty, just as they cast off these garments. They ended the meeting by nominating as their chief ʿAbd Allāh b. Hanzala [*q.v.*], "with a view to securing the deposition of Yazīd"; but as the Muhādjirūn were dissatisfied with this choice, which gave predominance to the Anṣār, they also nominated ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ al-ʿAdawī as commander of the group of Ḳurayshīs and their *mawlās*, and Maʿḳil b. Sinān al-Ashdjaʿī commander of the non-Ḳurayshī Muhādjirūn. (It should be noted here that the Ṭālibīs and the ʿAbbāsids had refrained from joining the dissidents and continued to hold aloof when the revolt broke out.) Wellhausen observes, we think justly, that in this great revolt the Anṣār did not fight for themselves as a separate party. Lammens, on the other hand, lays stress on the Anṣārī character of the movement; but even if the Anṣār were in a majority in Medina and included the most active agitators there, the presence of groups of Ḳurayshī and non-Ḳurayshī Muhādjirūn, exerting such pressure that it was decided to give them their own chiefs, contradicts his opinion.

After the scene in the mosque, the attitude of the rebels towards the Umayyads became so aggressive that the latter, with their *mawlās*, adherents and servants, gathered together inside the precincts of Marwān's houses (*dār*) outside the town and appealed to the caliph for immediate aid. Though disgusted by their lack of initiative (for in fact they numbered about a thousand men), Yazīd decided to send an army to the Ḥidjāz; but the principal objective was to subdue Ibn al-Zubayr, since it was thought that a military demonstration would suffice to bring the Medinese to heel. The choice of a general presented difficulties. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*], a former governor of Medina, refused the mission since he was unwilling to shed the blood "of Ḳurayshīs", and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] certainly had no desire, after the slaughter of the ʿAlids at Karbalā', to undertake a second equally odious campaign. Yazīd then approached Muslim b. ʿUḳba al-Murrī [*q.v.*], an old soldier who was deeply devoted to the Umayyads and who did not trifle in matters of discipline. Since

he was of great age and his infirmities had grown worse during the preparations for the expeditionary force, Muslim set off in a litter.

Although the exact numerical strength of his army cannot be given (estimates vary from 4,000 to 12,000 men), it is at least possible to say that it had been very well equipped, in anticipation of a difficult and detested campaign; each soldier received a bonus of 100 *dīnārs*, in addition to his ordinary full pay.

On the news of Muslim's advance, the rebels tightened their siege of the *dār*; finally the Umayyads were driven out, after swearing that they would not give any assistance to the Syrian army; they met Muslim at Wādī 'l-Ḳurā; a number of them continued their journey towards Syria, but the greater part, with Marwān at their head, joined the expeditionary force.

Reaching the oasis of Medina, Muslim went to pitch his camp on the *ḥarra*. The Medinese had had time to dig and fortify a trench, on the vulnerable side of the town (or to repair the one dug by the Prophet in 5/627), and it was there that a savage battle took place when the three days' respite allowed by Muslim for negotiation had elapsed and when a final appeal for unity had failed. The offer of two annual payments made by Muslim in the caliph's name, and the promise of a marked reduction in the price of corn (al-Bayhaḳī, 65, etc.) provide further, and specific, proof that economic motives also had led the Medinese to revolt. Muslim controlled his troops' movements from the top of a platform (*kursī*) or stretcher (*sarīr*), but it seems that when the Medinese cavalry charged and reached his tent he mounted his horse and took an active part in the battle, at least during the critical moments (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 414-6). At first, the battle went in favour of the rebels, but it ended in the defeat of the Medinese when Marwān obtained permission from the Banū Ḥāri<u>th</u>a to pass through their quarter with a detachment of cavalry and took the defenders of the trench from the rear. The Medinese fled "like ostriches"; the Ḳuray<u>sh</u>īs were the first to take to flight and seek refuge in Mecca. Ibn Ḥanẓala resisted bravely and fell with his eight sons (or most of them) and a handful of men as resolute as himself. Pursuing the fugitives into the town, the Syrians abandoned themselves to an appalling pillage which continued for three days and which certain sources state had been authorized by Yazīd himself in the event of the army meeting resistance; the Negroes took the opportunity to riot. Wellhausen raises doubts as to the reality of this pillaging, and Lammens shortens its duration, but the sources are unanimous on this point and add details that are difficult to disregard. Estimates of the number of victims differ widely (from 180 to 700 Anṣār and Ḳuray<u>sh</u>īs, from 4,000 to 10,000 other insurgents). The date of the battle is fixed as Wednesday, the penultimate (or antepenultimate) day of <u>Dh</u>u 'l-Ḥi<u>dj</u>dja 63/27 or 26 August 683. On the following day, in Ḳibā, Muslim compelled the defeated to renew their oath of loyalty to Yazīd and, going beyond the ordinary formula, demanded that they should recognize themselves to be the slaves of the caliph, who was thus free to sell them and their possessions alike. Some individuals who refused to submit to this demand or who stipulated as a condition for their *bayʿa* that Yazīd should undertake to follow the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna* of the Prophet (according to one account, also that of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar) were executed. Among those whom Muslim did not spare was his old friend Maʿḳil b. Sinān, leader of the Muhā<u>dj</u>irūn during the revolt (but he had sworn that, if he met him, he would kill him). One of the caliph ʿU<u>th</u>mān's sons, who was suspected of having wanted to play a double game, had his beard torn out. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, on the contrary, was treated with the greatest consideration, on the orders of Yazīd himself. The Ḳuray<u>sh</u>īs' chief during the revolt, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ, had been one of those who had fled to Mecca. Muslim b. ʿUḳba was given the nickname Musrif, apparently on account of the massacre of al-Ḥarra, since the term has the meaning "prodigal [of human blood]". After a short stay in Medina, he continued on his way to Mecca where he had to fight ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*: biographies of Ibn Ḥanzala, v, 47-9, of Maʿḳil b. Sinān, iv/2, 23 ff., vi, 36, of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ, v, 106-10; references to the revolt in the biographies of Marwān, v, 26, of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, v, 166 ff., of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, v, 70, of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, v, 159; those who took part in the battle, v, 57, 128, 209, 220, vii/1, 164; those killed in the battle, iii/1, 152, iii/2, 2, 18, 30, 44, 73, iv/1, 50, 98, iv/2, 86, v, 50, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 63, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 144, 156, 182, 186, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 218, 374, vii, 117, viii, 279, 304; details of the pillage, v, 98, 189; <u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Tria opuscula*, 70 ff. (confirming the pillaging and atrocities committed by the Negroes); Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Ansāb*, ed. Goitein, ivB, 30-46; Dīnawarī, *al-A<u>kh</u>bār al-ṭiwāl*, 274-7; Ṭabarī, ii, 400-23; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae* (ed. Houtsma), 297-9; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin* (ed. Schwally), 64-8; *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1293, ii, 311 ff., (in the *K. al-ʿAs<u>dj</u>ada al-<u>th</u>āniya*); Masʿūdī, *Murū<u>dj</u>*, v, 160 f., 162-4; idem, *Tanbīh*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, Cairo 1357/1938, 263 ff.; *A<u>gh</u>ānī*, i, 12-4; Azraḳī, Fākihī and Fāsī in F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, i, 139, ii, 18, 168 ff.; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, iv, 86-8, 93-102; Sibṭ Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, ms. Paris, fols. 123r-132v; Bayyāsī, *K. al-Iʿlām bi 'l-ḥurūb fī ṣadr al-Islām*, ms. Paris, fols. 33v-44r; *Fa<u>kh</u>rī* (ed. Ahlwardt), 141; Ibn Ka<u>th</u>īr, *Bidāya*, viii, 217-24; Weil, *Chalifen*, i, 324-33; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, i, Leiden 1861, 87-111 (estimation of Muslim criticized by Wellhausen); A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885, i, 365-9 (the same judgement of Muslim criticized by Wellhausen); J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 95-103 (Eng. tr. 38 ff., 151-66); H. Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazîd Ier*, 210-57.

(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

ḤARRĀN, named Καῤῥάν by the Greeks, Carrhae by the Romans, and called Hellenopolis—"the heathen city"—by the Fathers of the Church because of the pagan religion of its inhabitants, is situated in Northern Mesopotamia on the small river <u>Dj</u>ullāb at the intersection of important caravan routes to Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia. To-day it belongs to Turkey. According to Yāḳūt (ii, 331), Ḥarrān is in the Fourth Clime, only one day's march from Urfa and two day's march from Raḳḳa. The town is a very ancient settlement, and is believed to have been the birthplace of Abraham. It was the home of the Moon-God, Sīn, and according to al-Bīrūnī Ḥarrān was dedicated to Sīn; the shape of the town resembles that of the moon (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Ā<u>th</u>ār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 204).

i. — History

For the pre-Islamic history of Ḥarrān reference may be made to A. Mez's monograph (*Die Stadt Harran bis zum Einfall der Araber*, Strassburg 1892) and Weiss-

bach's article in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Χαῤῥάν (pp. 2009-21). Ḥarrān was peacefully occupied by the Arabs during the Caliphate of ʿUmar in 19/640. At that time it was one of the most important towns of Diyār Muḍar. According to Balādhurī, who gives a full account of the conquest of the Djazīra, Ḥarrān capitulated to ʿIyāḍh ibn Ghanam (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 174). Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa states that the Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar II transferred a school of medicine from Alexandria to Ḥarrān (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. Müller, Cairo 1882, i, 116). Marwān II made Ḥarrān his residence and the capital of the Umayyad Empire. Though information about his building activities is meagre, we may presume that the first mosque of Ḥarrān was constructed during his reign (see below). Yaʿḳūbī mentions that Marwān built his palace in a place called *dabāb al-bayn* and spent some 10 million dirhems on it (*Taʾrīkh*, ii, 405). Mez tried to identify the Citadel with Marwān's palace (*op. cit.*, 11), but D. S. Rice refuted his theory (see D. S. Rice, *Mediaeval Ḥarrān*, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii (1952), 42, n. 7). When the ʿAbbāsids occupied Iran and the larger part of Mesopotamia, it was from Ḥarrān that Marwān set out at the head of an army of 12,000 to meet the ʿAbbāsid army. After his defeat the palace at Ḥarrān was looted and destroyed (Ṭabarī, iii, 45).

During the ʿAbbāsid period Ḥarrān is not mentioned until Hārūn al-Rashīd's time, when he constructed a canal from the river Djullāb to Ḥarrān to assure the water supply of the city. Then in 215/830 the Caliph al-Maʾmūn passed through the town during his campaign against the Byzantines. It was at that time that al-Maʾmūn offered the heathen inhabitants the choice between the adoption of Islam, or of any one of the tolerated religions, or extermination. They claimed to be Sābians, which was one of the accepted religions, and that saved them from extermination (Ibn al-Nadīm al-Baghdādī, *al-Fihrist*, translated in Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, St. Petersburg 1856, ii, 14-17). Ḥarrān played an important part in the cultural field during the early ʿAbbāsid period. The town was the home of one of the most important schools of translators, and under the guidance of Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] Sābians translated numerous Greek books on mathematics and astronomy into Arabic. The famous astronomer al-Battānī [*q.v.*], Albatenius in Latin, was a native of Ḥarrān and worked there. Ḥarrān was also a Ḥanbalī stronghold (Muḥammad Djamīl al-Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus 1339/1920, 48). The Sābians did not enjoy religious freedom for very long; their persecution started in the early 5th/11th century, and the last Sābian temple was destroyed at that time.

Ḥarrān subsequently came under the suzerainty of a nomad petty dynasty, the Numayrids [*q.v.*]. The dynasty was founded by a certain Waththāb (380-410/990-1019) (Rice, *op. cit.*, 56-7, and 74-84). There is an inscription on the south-east gateway of the Citadel, which gives the name of Manīʿ, the third Numayrid ruler. The inscription gives the date 451/1059, which means that he must have been the lord of Ḥarrān by that time. He maintained the position until his death in 456/1063 (Rice, *op. cit.*, 53 and 55). The Numayrids recognized the suzerainty of the Fāṭimid caliphs, who ruled over Ḥarrān and the region until 474/1081. In that year the ʿUḳaylid Sharaf al-Dawla, an ally of the Saldjūḳs, occupied Ḥarrān. Yaḥyā b. al-Shāṭir was appointed governor of the city, but two years later the Ḥarrānians rebelled against him and against the Saldjūḳs. The rebellion was quickly and cruelly suppressed. After the Crusaders occupied Edessa they cut off the water supply from Ḥarrān in 1104 (J. B. Segal, *Edessa and Ḥarrān* (*An inaugural lecture delivered on 9th May 1962*), SOAS Londen 1963, 23-4). ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī founded the Zangid dynasty in Mosul and attached Ḥarrān to his principality in 521/1127.

Ḥarrān flourished and was beautified by Nūr al-Dīn, who took possession of the city in 544/1149, and later by Saladin. It became customary at about that time to appoint two governors of Ḥarrān, one for the city and another for the Citadel. By the end of the 6th/12th century, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Gökbüri was the lord of Ḥarrān, having received the city as a fief in 557/1181 (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 37). It was in Gökbüri's time, in 1184, that the famous Spanish-Arab traveller, Ibn Djubayr, visited Ḥarrān and gave a detailed account of its mosques and bazaars (see below). Muẓaffar al-Dīn recognized the suzerainty of Saladin. It was Saladin who enlarged and re-decorated the Great Mosque of the city. The enlargement was necessary since the number of Muslims had greatly increased. Later, in 587/1191, Saladin offered Ḥarrān to his brother, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, who rebuilt the citadel (Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī umarāʾ al-Shām wa ʾl-djazīra*, Bodleian Library MS, tr. in Rice, *op. cit.*, 45). There were two great earthquakes in Ḥarrān during the 6th/12th century, the first in 508/1114 and the second, the stronger, in 552/1157. Between 599 and 626/1202 and 1228-9, Ḥādjib ʿAlī was governor of Ḥarrān for the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf (Ibn Shaddād, Rice's tr., *op. cit.*, 42). In 635/1237 the Khwārizmians, fleeing from the Mongols, occupied the town of Ḥarrān, and afterwards the citadel. Three years later, in 638/1240, the town and the citadel were re-taken by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Nāṣir. Ayyūbid rule in Ḥarrān, and Ḥarrān's history as a city, however, soon came to an end. Shortly after the Mongols appeared before its gates, first the city, and shortly afterwards the citadel, surrendered peacefully to them. Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim, the grandson of the famous Shaykh Ḥayāt, whose shrine still stands outside the city walls to the west (see below), negotiated with Hulagu over the surrender of the citadel (D. S. Rice, *A Muslim shrine at Ḥarrān*, in *BSOAS*, xvii/3 (1955), 441). In 662/1263, Taḳī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymiyya, the famous theologian, who was later active in Damascus, was born in Ḥarrān. After the abortive expedition of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ṭaybars to Ḥarrān in 670/1271, the Mongols removed the inhabitants to Mosul and Mārdin, destroyed its mosques and buildings and walled up the city gates (Ibn Shaddād, cf. Rice's translation, *A Muslim shrine . . .*, 477). After the Mamlūk victory over the Mongols in 703/1303, the Djazīra, including Ḥarrān, came under Mamlūk rule. The town, however, was never rebuilt. The citadel, it seems, fulfilled an important function in 715/1315, as is attested by an inscription on its south-west tower (see below). Today the whole town is in ruins, inhabited only by nomad Beduins who live in mud-brick bee-hive huts.

ii. — Architecture

The town, which was oblong in shape, was surrounded by a stone wall surmounted by intermediate towers and intersected by eight gates (Pl. IX, nos. 5-12). The perimeter of the town is given in a manuscript as 7612 cubits, that is 3943 metres (Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii (1952), 38). The ruins of Ḥarrān in modern times were mentioned and its plan shown

for the first time by E. Sachau (*Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 223) and a quick survey was carried out by C. Preusser in 1911 (*Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler*, Leipzig 1911, 59-63, Abb. 19-24, Tafeln 72-77). Our knowledge of the town and its monuments, however, is mainly derived from the full survey of the town carried out by Seton Lloyd and W. C. Brice in July 1950 (*Harran*, in *Anatolian Studies*, i (1951), 77-111, plan of the site on p. 85), and from the excavations of the late D. S. Rice. The following main monuments and ruins have been recorded: (a) the Great Mosque, or D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Firdaws (no. 1 on Pl. IX); (b) the Citadel (no. 2); (c) a basilican church near the north-east corner of the site (not marked on the plate); (d) a large mound, south of the mosque, ca. 28 m. high (no. 3); (e) the Mausoleum of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥayāt (no. 4); and (f) traces of eight gates in the city wall (nos. 5-12), of which the Aleppo gate (no. 11) is particularly interesting as it has been fairly well preserved.

Rice worked at Ḥarrān in 1951-52, 1956 and 1959. In 1951 he uncovered the south-east gateway of the Citadel, which can be dated to the 5th/11th century (see D. S. Rice, *Mediaeval Ḥarrān*: *Studies on its topography and monuments I*, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii (1952), 36-84; idem, *Unique dog sculptures of Mediaeval Islam*, in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxi, 20 September 1952, 466-67). He carried out a two-week season in 1952 and a three-week season in 1956, on both occasions working in the Great Mosque (see *From Sīn to Saladin: Excavations in Harran's Great Mosque . . .*, in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxxi, September 1957, 466-9; also Seton Lloyd, *Seeking the Temple of Sin, Moon-God of Harran, and light on the strange Sabian sect through 1400 years*, in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxii, 21 February 1953, 288; the Director's report in *Anatolian Studies*, vii (1957), 6); and a final excavation between 15 July and 1 September 1959. In that year the work in the Great Mosque was completed and the plan of the mosque established, a deep sounding having been made on the high mound south of the mosque (cf. Director's report in *Anatolian Studies*, x (1960), 8).

(a) The Citadel (Pl. IX, no. 2) was mentioned for the first time by Muḳaddasī in the 4th/10th century. Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, who visited Ḥarrān in 580/1184, describes it as a very strong fortress with a moat around it paved with stones (*Riḥla*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1907, 257). Ibn S̲h̲addād remarked that the Citadel was called *al-Mudawwar* "the round one" (cf. Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii, 37). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī called it *Ḳalʿat nad̲j̲m*, "the star citadel", and gave its perimeter as 1350 paces and the height of the walls as 50 ells (cf. *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, London 1915, 103). Nearly all Arabic sources mention that there was a Sābian temple inside the Citadel. The Citadel is in the south-east corner of the town. It is an irregular rectangle with an eleven-sided tower on three of its four corners. There must have been a fourth tower, but that has been destroyed. Lloyd and Brice gave the Citadel's dimensions as 130 x 90 metres (*Anatolian Studies*, i, 97). It had three storeys and about 150 chambers, some of them with brick vaulting. Lloyd and Brice recognized four building periods in the Citadel. They presumed that the first period elements, forming the nucleus of the structure, must have been erected well before Islam; the second and third periods they dated to Islamic times; and the fourth period they considered to be Crusader, by reason of an ornamental archway behind the west tower (*op. cit.*, 79, 101, and 104). The Crusaders, however, never occupied Ḥarrān. Of the three surviving towers, the one in the West corner is the best preserved (Pl. Xa). There are two solid towers flanking an entrance in the south-eastern side of the enclosure. That gateway deserves special attention, as Rice exposed it in 1951. The entrance has a horseshoe arch springing from two moulded imposts decorated with guilloche patterns. Below the imposts are two pairs of dogs in relief on either side, represented with their heads facing backwards and with collars on their necks (Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, Pl. vii, 64). At the threshold of the gateway Rice found fragments of a Kūfic inscription giving the name of Manīʿ, the third ruler of the Numayrid dynasty, and the date of construction 451/1059. From the Kūfic inscription and the glazed pottery excavated in the gateway, Rice concluded that this part of the Citadel dated from the 5th/11th century (Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii, 42 f.; idem, in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxi, September 1952, 466-7). This part of the Citadel may very well represent the second building phase in its structural history as recognized and mentioned by Lloyd and Brice. The third phase of building can be explained by Ibn S̲h̲addād's account, which states that the Citadel was rebuilt by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, to whom the town of Ḥarrān and the Citadel were given by his brother Saladin in 587/1191 (Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii, 45). There is a second, undated, inscription on the wall of the south-western tower, which is Mamlūk in character. It refers to a restoration of the Citadel. Rice attributes it to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who sent an expedition to Malatya in 715/1315 (Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii, fig. 1, pp. 46-7). That must have been the latest phase in the history of the Citadel. Finally, Rice mentioned that there were no pre-Islamic structures visible in the Citadel. Further excavations are required to establish its earlier history.

(b) The Great Mosque or D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Firdaws (no. 1 on Plate IX and Plate Xb). Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, who visited Ḥarrān in 580/1184, gave a detailed description of the Great Mosque and praised its beauty. He mentioned that it had a great courtyard, in which there was a domed structure, that there were three more domes in the building, and that the sanctuary had five aisles and 19 doors opening into it—nine doors on either side and the 19th under a big central arch (*Riḥla*, 246). The plan of the mosque was first drawn by Preusser in 1906 (*Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler*, Leipzig 1911, Tafel 73), and later by Creswell in 1919 and 1930 (plan published in *Early Muslim architecture*, i, fig. 489). The earliest history of the mosque is not known, as the historians are silent on the subject. Though there are no reports that Marwān II, when he made Ḥarrān his capital, erected a congregational mosque there, we may presume that he did so. The great square minaret in the northern part of the building, still preserved up to 26 m., is regarded as dating from the Umayyad period (Plate Xb). Creswell assumes that after 215/830, when the Caliph al-Maʾmūn forced the pagan inhabitants to choose between the adoption of Islam or any one of the tolerated religions, many of them became Muslims, and therefore the number of Muslims greatly increased. Therefore, the Congregational Mosque of Marwān II may have been enlarged (Creswell, *op. cit.*, i, 409). There is no reference to such work, but it is known from an inscription that Nūr al-Dīn restored, embellished and enlarged the

mosque.

Rice's excavations in 1952, 1956 and 1959 established a plan of the mosque which differed from that of Creswell. (The new plan of the Great Mosque is to be published shortly in Creswell's new edition of *Early Muslim architecture*, i. A monograph on the Great Mosque is under preparation by R. H. Pinder-Wilson, D. Strong and R. W. Hamilton.) The mosque is a square enclosure measuring 103 × 103 m. It had three entrances, one on each side except the *ḳibla* wall. There was a large court-yard surrounded by porticoes, one on the north side, one on the west, and two on the east. There were nineteen openings into the sanctuary, the central one being under a great arch, just as described by Ibn Djubayr. The ornamentation of this great arch betrays an Ayyūbid origin. A capital near the east wall has an inscription giving the date of the completion of Nūr al-Dīn's work as 570/1174 (Rice, in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxxi, September 1957, p. 467, fig. 13.) There were four aisles in the sanctuary (not five as mentioned by Ibn Djubayr), formed by three arcades. The aisles ran parallel with the *ḳibla* wall. The pavement of the first aisle is different from that of the other three, which, as Rice concluded, may indicate an addition of Nūr al-Dīn (Rice, *op. cit.*, 467). The arches of the façade of the sanctuary were supported by pilasters to which columns were attached. Inside the sanctuary the arcades differed from one another. The first arcade had double columns resting on rectangular bases; the second arcade was formed by single columns, although its central arch was supported by two pairs of columns. The third arcade, next to the *ḳibla* wall, was rather complicated, having pilasters alternating with pairs of columns, which may indicate a different building period. Rice has already suggested that there are indications that the mosque may once have contained only two aisles (Rice, *op. cit.*, 468). The *miḥrāb* was semicircular, and was situated some 5 metres to the east of the axis of the building. There was also a flat-*miḥrāb* on the *ḳibla* wall, west of the semicircular *miḥrāb* (Rice, *op. cit.*, 468). The best preserved parts of the mosque are the eastern façade of the mosque and the square minaret which was attached to the Northern section of the building (Plate Xb). In each of the three entrances Rice found Babylonian stelae, dating from the time of Nabonidus (6th century B.C.), incorporating relief figures, one of which represents the Moon-God Sīn, the second one the Sun-God, Shamash, while the third figure has not yet been identified (Rice, *op. cit.*, 468). Rice's excavations not only established the plan of the Great Mosque but also confirmed that the larger part of the building which is visible to-day dates from the Ayyūbid period.

(c) The mausoleum of Shaykh Ḥayāt (no. 4 on Plate IX). This small mausoleum is outside the city walls to the west, close to the north-western corner of the town. According to Christian tradition, this was either the grave of Terah, Abraham's father (B. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their rituals*, London 1852, i, 342), or the ruins of St. John's church (Mez, *op. cit.*, 15, and Rice, *A Muslim shrine* . . ., 436). When Ibn Djubayr visited the place there was a small mosque there and the dwelling place of the Shaykh. In the published work of Ibn Djubayr the Shaykh's name is given as Abu 'l-Baraka Ḥayyān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (*Riḥla*, 244). Rice studied and photographed the small enclosure and described it as consisting of a small mosque and a mausoleum or *ziyāra* of the Shaykh. It is a domed building dating from the Ayyūbid period. The building has been restored several times and there are some later additions (Rice, *op. cit.*, 436). There is an inscription on the east wall of the building, first interpreted and published by M. van Berchem. The correct interpretation, however, is provided by Rice. The inscription states that the shrine was erected by Shaykh ʿUmar, son of Shaykh Ḥayāt, and gives the date as Djumādā II 592/ May 1196 (Rice, *op. cit.*, 437-8, Pl. IV). Rice points out that the Shaykh's name is missing from the manuscript of Ibn Djubayr, and that the name Ḥayyān was incorrectly inserted by the editor (Rice, *op. cit.*, 439-40). This small building is used to-day as a mosque.

(d) The city gates (nos. 5-12 on Plate IX). Ibn Shaddād enumerates eight city gates, starting in the south and proceeding clockwise: Bāb al-Raḳḳa (no. 10 on Plate IX), al-Bāb al-Kabīr (no. 11), Bāb al-Niyār ("the Gate of the Fires"), Bāb Yazīd, Bāb al-Faddān, al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, Bāb al-Sirr, and Bāb al-Māʾ (Rice, *Mediaeval Ḥarrān*, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii, 37). The Aleppo Gate (no. 11 on Plate IX) which is identical with the Bāb al-Kabīr of Ibn Shaddād, is the best preserved. It was first illustrated by Chesney in 1850 (R. A. Chesney, *The expedition for the survey of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates*, London 1850, i, 115), then it was photographed and published by Preusser (C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler*, Pl. 72) and it appears also in Seton Lloyd and W. Brice's article (*Anatolian Studies*, i, Pl. IX/2). An inscription on the gate gives the name of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, Saladin's brother (Rice, in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxi, 1952, 467).

(e) The bazaars. Very little is known about the bazaars of Ḥarrān. Ibn Djubayr mentions them, saying that they were very well arranged, that they were roofed, and that at every point where four roads met there was a great dome. He also states that the Djāmiʿ Masdjid adjoins the markets (*Riḥla*, 245). Ibn Djubayr's last sentence gives some clue to the whereabout of the bazaars, though they are also visible on Strzygowski's photographs (*Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, figs. 269, 281). To obtain further knowledge of the bazaars and of some other monuments of Ḥarrān, or to find the Sābian temple, which must have been very close to the Great Mosque, the continuation of Rice's excavations is essential.

Bibliography: in the text.

(G. Fehérvári)

ḤARRĀNIANS [see ṣābiʾa].

HARRAR [see harar].

ḤARSŪSĪ [see ḥarāsīs].

ḤARṬĀNĪ (pl. ḥarāṭīn), the name given, in north-west Africa, to certain elements of the population of the oases in the Saharan zone. From the ethnic point of view, they seem to have arisen from inter-breeding, perhaps at some very remote period, between white invaders and the indigenous negroid inhabitants (calling to mind the enigmatic Bāfūr in Mauritania). But the ethnic type of the Ḥarāṭīn is markedly different from that of the Negroes; those from Southern Morocco are sometimes even of a mongoloid type. Rather than being a distinct race, they constitute, in the eyes of the other native inhabitants, above all a kind of caste, formed of men theoretically free but of an inferior status, ranking between the *aḥrār* "free men" and the *ʿabīd* "slaves, captives": peasants.

A sedentary population, they cultivate the palm-groves on behalf of the landlords to whom they are "attached". In Mauritania, however, the nomads

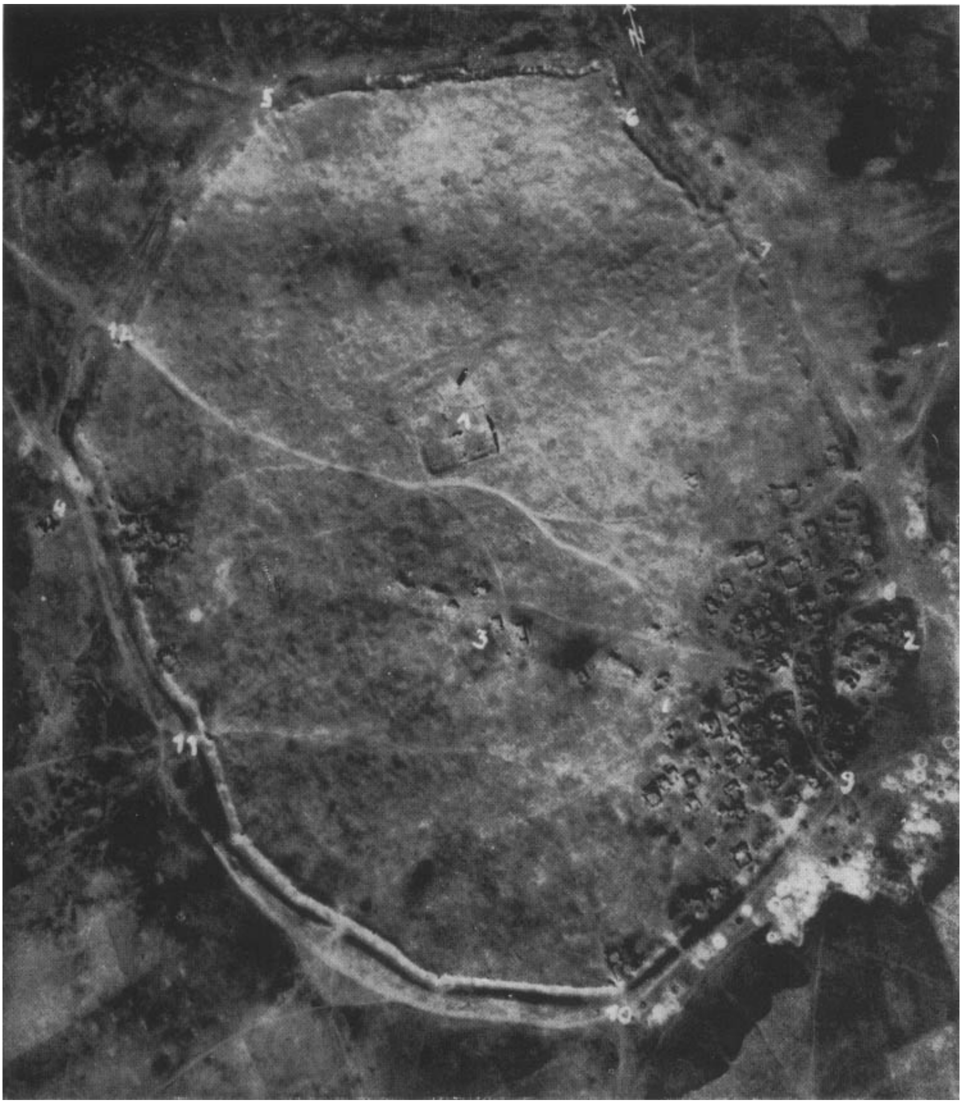

Key:

1. The Great Mosque.
2. Citadel.
3. The large tell.
4. Mausoleum of Shaykh Ḥayāt.
5-12. Gates (after the plan by Seton Lloyd and W. Brice).
5. Anatolia Gate.
6. Lion Gate.
7. Moṣul Gate.
8. Baghdād Gate.
9. Raḳḳa Gate.
10. Raḳḳa Gate.
11. Aleppo Gate.
12. Modern breach.

(Photograph from the papers of the late Professor D. S. Rice)

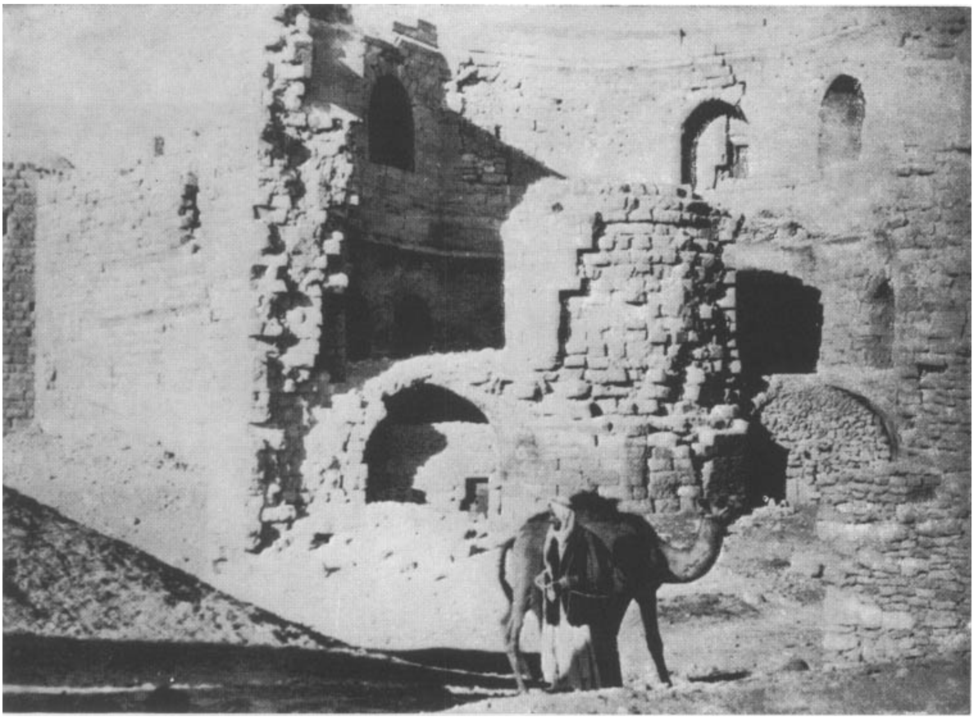

(a) West tower of the Citadel.

(Photograph by courtesy of Professor Seton Lloyd)

(b) Great Mosque, East façade and Minaret. From the south-east.

(Photograph by D. S. Rice, reproduced by courtesy, of Mrs. M. Rice and S.O.A.S., University of London)

employ them as herdsmen. When they can do so, they readily emigrate to the towns in the North where they work mainly as gardeners, well-diggers and water-carriers.

It was partly from the Ḥarāṭīn, brought from Mauritania, that the Moroccan sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] recruited his "Negro guard", *dj̲ays̲h̲ ʿabīd al-Buk̲h̲ārī*, vulgo *Bwāk̲h̲er* (cf. al-Nāṣirī, *al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, tr. Fumey, in *AM*, ix (1906), 74-8).

The exact etymology of *ḥarṭānī* is unknown, as is that of the corresponding Berber term, *āḥarḍān* (pl. *iḥarḍānen*). The Berber dialect of the Twāreg has the word *as̲h̲ardan* "mulatto". But it is possible that the term does not refer to the colour of the skin. In the Arabic dialects of the Mag̲h̲rib the adjective *ḥarṭānī* is not applied exclusively to human beings. In the different regions, it is variously applied to a horse of mixed breed (Mauritania), an ungrafted tree, a wilding (Algeria) or a holding of land that is not free (Zaʿīr, in Morocco). It might be connected with what was originally a term of abuse, to be compared with the Berber names for a species of lizard, root *ḥrdn*.

An Almohad prince, the *sayyid* Abū Zayd, son of sultan Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, bore the epithet al-Ḥarḍānī, but unfortunately the historians do not explain its significance (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, ii, 205, 236).

As for the Arabic etymologies hitherto suggested, these are quite unfounded. They are — 1. *ḥarrāt̲h̲īn* "ploughmen", when they cultivated only with the hoe; 2. *ḥurr t̲h̲ānī* "free man of secondary rank" or "man who had become free, a freedman". These are neither phonetically nor semantically possible.

We should add that, in certain regions of the Mag̲h̲rib, the word Ḳeblī/Geblī (pl. Ḳbāla/Gbāla), lit. "native of the South[-East] or *ḳibla*", is almost synonymous with Ḥarṭānī.

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(G. S. Colin)

HART̲H̲AMA b. **AʿYAN**, a general and governor of the ʿAbbāsid period, a native of K̲h̲urāsān. As a supporter of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*] in the reign of al-Manṣūr, he was brought to Bag̲h̲dād in chains and remained in obscurity throughout the reign of al-Mahdī. He then became the confidential adviser of al-Hādī who is even said to have ordered him to kill Hārūn, and was stopped from doing so only by al-K̲h̲ayzurān's intervention. However, on the death of al-Hādī, it was he who brought Hārūn out of prison and took part in his enthronement. The new caliph consequently entrusted him with important offices, appointing him to be governor first of Palestine, then of Ifrīḳiya, whence he was recalled to take over command of the guard under the orders of Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. Next he took a share in the arrest of the Barāmika and became one of the most prominent military leaders. After the uprising of Rāfiʿ b. al-Layt̲h̲ [*q.v.*], he was given the governorship of K̲h̲urāsān and was in Samarḳand when the caliph died in 193/809. In the ensuing struggle between al-Maʾmūn and al-Amīn he sided with the former and, together with Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], was given command of the troops which laid siege to Bag̲h̲dād in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥidjdja 196/August 812. Although still faithful to al-Maʾmūn, he vainly tried to procure the escape from Bag̲h̲dād of the defeated caliph, al-Amīn, who was captured by Ṭāhir's soldiers while making away in a boat. Hart̲h̲ama played a major part in restoring calm in ʿIrāḳ after the revolt of Abu 'l-Sarāyā [*q.v.*].

On being appointed governor of Arabia and Syria, he decided not to take up his post but instead to go to Marw to see al-Maʾmūn and to put him in touch with the situation; but al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*], who had been described by Hart̲h̲ama as a *madjūs* and accused of committing acts of tyranny, had him arrested and imprisoned, with the caliph's approval; some days later he was put to death by his rival, in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 200/June 816. His son Ḥātim b. Hart̲h̲ama, then governor of Armenia, tried to lead a revolt, but the attempt was cut short by his death; however, it is said that the punishment meted out to Hart̲h̲ama was not unconnected with the affair of Bābak [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, index; Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 488-9; Ṭabarī, iii, 712-24 and *passim*; Djāḥiẓ, *Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 320-1; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Djahs̲h̲iyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkās̲h̲a, 385 ff.; *Ag̲h̲ānī*[1], ii, 190, xviii, 46; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, v, 467, vi, 94-7, 138-44, 212-8, 220, 223 and *passim*; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Berbères*, trans. de Slane, i, 391, 394, 398; M. Ben Cheneb, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, Algiers 1920, 14 and bibl.; Fournel, *Berbères*, i, 404; F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xi (1928), 341-97, *passim*; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(Ch. Pellat)

HARŪD [see hari rūd].

HĀRŪN b. **ʿIMRĀN**, the Aaron of the Bible. The Arabic form of the name derives from the Syro-Palestinian. The Ḳurʾān, which mentions him from the second Meccan period onwards, places him in its lines of prophets, associating him, as does the book of Exodus, with Moses at the time of the flight from Egypt [see firʿawn] and accords him a rôle in the making of the Golden Calf, in which, however, the initiative is attributed to the "Sāmirī" [*q.v.*]. Ibn Ḥazm, on the other hand, severely criticized the Biblical account, which he regarded as falsified. Hārūn is also the brother of Maryam [*q.v.*], but this name is given in the Ḳurʾan only to the mother of Jesus [see ʿīsā]. The death of Hārūn is accompanied in later tradition by legendary details which come from the Jewish Aggada, while Muslim legend has probably influenced the Midrashic versions of a later date. The legend may be summarized thus: Mūsā and Hārūn one day discovered a cave from which a light was gleaming. They entered it, and there found a golden throne inscribed with the words: "For him whom it fits". As it seemed too small for Mūsā, Hārūn seated himself in it; whereon the angel of death forthwith appeared and took his soul. Being born three years earlier than Moses, he was then 127 years old. When Moses returned to the Israelites, they asked him about his brother and, hearing of his death, accused him of having murdered him. Angels then appeared bearing the bier of Hārūn and proclaimed: "Do not suspect Mūsā of such a crime". In another version, Mūsā led the Israelites to the grave of Hārūn and the latter, on being recalled to life, declared his brother's innocence. According to one tradition, the seventy notables of Israel carried away by the "cataclysm" (*radjfa*, Ḳurʾān, VII, 155/154)

were killed for having accused Moses of the murder of his brother, but they were afterwards brought back to life and became prophets.—At Ṣalkhad [*q.v.*] a footprint of Hārūn was shown.—In the historiosophy worked out by the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*], Hārūn is a *ḥudjdja* or a *waṣī* together with Mūsā.

Bibliography: The verses of the Ḳurʾān listed in the index of R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, s.v.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 43-4; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, i, 40-1 (G. Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, 49-50); Ṭabarī, i, 448, 473-93, 502; idem, *Tafsīr*, new edition, xiii, 80-152 (old edition, ix, 31-53); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 93-5 (trans. Ch. Pellat, i, 39, §§ 87-89); *K. al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 92/95; Balʿamī, *La Chronique de Ṭabari*, i, 296, 317 f., 345, 358, 391, 395 f., 543; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, 100, 123-5, 146; Kisāʾī, ed. Eisenberg, 222 f., 238; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317, i, 161 (1317 impression, i, 140); Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān, *Asās al-taʾwīl*, ed. A. Tamer, Beirut 1960, 196; Corbin-Mo'in, *Commentaire de la Qasida ismaélienne*, Tehran-Paris 1955, 109; Harawī, *Guide des Lieux de Pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 17, trans., 43; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 149; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 283 f.; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes* . . ., 81, 102; H. Speyer, *Die Biblischen Erzählungen* . . ., 260 f., 323-6; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, index, s.v. Aaron/Hārūn; Jewish sources summarized by A. Marmorstein, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, i, cols. 13-16; H. Schwarzbaum, *Jewish, Christian, Moslem and Falasha legends of the death of Aaron, the High Priest*, in *Fabula*, v, 185-227.

(G. Eisenberg-[G. Vajda])

HĀRŪN b. KHUMARAWAYH [see ṬŪLŪNIDS].

HĀRŪN b. YAḤYĀ, a person known only from an account left by him and inserted in the the *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa* of Ibn Rusta (ed. De Goeje, in *BGA*, vii, 119-30). Nothing is known of his origin. Accordding to J. Marquart, he was a Syrian, and a Christian —a fact which would have hastened his release during his stay in Constantinople (*Streifzüge*, 207). Taken prisoner in Palestine by the Byzantines, he was transferred across Asia Minor, to Constantinople, and was probably placed in one of the prisons reserved for Muslim prisoners (for these prisons cf. *REI*, 1947, 49 n. 1). Released by the authorities and awaiting his final liberation, he had time to visit parts of the town and to study closely the famous monuments there. His description contains archaeological information of the highest interest and can be considered one of the most—if not the most—important of all accounts left by visitors to the Byzantine capital in the Middle Ages. After the ransom of the Arab prisoners Hārūn b. Yaḥyā left Constantinople for Salūḳiya (Thessalonica), from where he travelled to Venice and later Rome, of which too he left a description.

The date of his stay in Byzantium is disputed. According to Marquart and Vasiliev it took place between 267/880 and 276/890. G. Ostrogorsky thinks it was during the winter of 912-3, during the short reign of the Emperor Alexander (*Zum Reisebericht des Hārūn-ibn-Jahja*, in *Sem. Kondakov*, v (1932), 254), a date accepted also by H. Grégoire (*Un captif arabe à la cour de l'Empereur Alexandre*, in *Byzantion*, vii (1932), 666-73). As for V. Minorsky, he places it at about the year 900 (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 419, n. 2).

Hārūn b. Yaḥyā's account was translated and commented upon for the first time in German by J. Marquart (*op. cit.*, 206-37) then, in English, by A. A. Vasiliev (*Hārūn-ibn-Yaḥya and his description of Constantinople*, in *Sem. Kondakov*, v (1932), 149-63); there are three French translations: the first by Mehmed Izeddin (*Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance au IXe siècle*: *Hāroun-ibn-Yaḥyā*, in *REI*, 1947, 41-62), the second by M. Canard (in Vasiliev's *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii/2 (1950), 382-94) and the third by G. Wiet, in Ibn Rusteh, *Les atours précieux*, 134-46.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned: V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, XVII, 418 ff.; Mžik, *Beiträge zur historischen geographie*, Leipzig-Vienna 1929, 88 f.; J. Sauvaget, *Chronique de Damas d'el-Jazari*, Paris 1949, 29.

(M. Izzedin)

HĀRŪN al-RASHĪD, Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the fifth ʿAbbāsid caliph, is, thanks to the "Arabian Nights", an almost legendary figure, so that the "good Hārūn al-Rashīd" of the "golden prime" of the ʿAbbāsids has obscured his true historical personality. His reign, which saw many incidents of critical importance, was a turning point in the history of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate; it marked the decline in administrative efficiency and initiated the political disintegration of the Islamic empire.

He was born in al-Rayy in Muḥarram 149/February 766 (another account in Ṭabarī, iii, 599, puts it as early as Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 145/March 763). He was the third son of al-Mahdī, and his second son by al-Khayzurān [*q.v.*], a slave girl from the Yemen who, being freed and married by al-Mahdī in 159/775-6, played an influential role in the reign of both her husband and her son. The ʿAbbāsid Court at which Hārūn spent his carefree and serene youth surrounded by eunuchs [see KHAṢĪ] and *Mawālī* [*q.v.*] was beginning to show signs of laxity and splendour. His early upbringing rendered him susceptible to influence, especially that exerted by his mother and by his secretary-tutor Yaḥyā b. Khālid [see AL-BARĀMIKA]. Early in his youth, Hārūn was appointed the leader of two expeditions against the Byzantines, in 163/779-80 and 165/781-2, when he was accompanied by high ranking officials and veteran generals. The former culminated in the capture of Samālū, the latter was a marked success, in that the ʿAbbāsid army reached for the first and last time the coast of the Bosphorus. It cannot be assumed that Hārūn, hardly more than a boy, played a leading role in these expeditions. However, he was appointed governor of Ifrīḳiya, Egypt, Syria, Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, with Yaḥyā b. Khālid in charge of the actual administration, and second in succession to the throne in 166/782, ostensibly on the strength of these victories, but in reality because of the instigation of his mother and Yaḥyā b. Khālid, in order to enhance his prestige and pave his way to the throne. In the struggle between various political groupings, each identifying itself with an *amīr* through whom it sought to achieve absolute power, intrigues were a common weapon at al-Mahdī's court. These intrigues showed their effect when al-Mahdī ultimately decided to nominate Hārūn the first in succession; but he died in obscure circumstances in 169/785 before fulfilling his wish. Under al-Hādī [*q.v.*], Hārūn, ill-treated and humiliated, would have renounced his claim to the Caliphate but for the encouragement of Yaḥyā b. Khālid.

However, Hārūn was proclaimed Caliph, after the mysterious death of al-Hādī which was due to a court conspiracy, on 15 Rabīʿ I 170/14 September 786. He was then in his early twenties, and his accession to the throne was due to fortuitous as well as fortunate circumstances in which he had no real

share. It was therefore a matter of course that the grateful Hārūn should bestow the right to govern on Yaḥyā b. Khālid who, together with his two sons al-Faḍl and Djaʿfar, remained in power for about 17 years. Their downfall in Muḥarram 187/January 803 marked, more or less, the end of the importance of the viziers as initiators of policies and not merely heads of the administration. Political necessity drew al-Rashīd to rely more and more on his *mawālī* and eunuchs, who were entirely dependant on the Caliph and therefore loyal to him. They, in fact, proved equal to their task in many decisive moments (Ṭabarī, iii, 678, 682, 705, 716, etc.) and played an important rôle in controlling other political groupings.

Despite the glorious picture of the golden age, Hārūn's reign was, in fact, a long sequence of political disturbances flaring up in the eastern parts as well as the western parts of the empire. Syria, a province inhabited by unruly tribes with Umayyad sympathies, never ceased to be the bitter enemy of the ʿAbbāsids. Frequent fights between the two rival factions, the Yamanīs and the Muḍarīs, eventually developed into a war with the ʿAbbāsid army, because governors used to take sides with one faction against the other. The feuds continued with brief intervals until 180/796, when the situation became so serious that al-Rashīd had to send Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā, who succeeded in quietening the situation and disarming the tribes. Al-Rashīd's move to al-Raḳḳa [*q.v.*] at about this time was partly due to the disturbances in Syria (Ṭabarī, iii, 706). As to the Egyptian risings of 172/788 and 178/794-5, they were mainly due to maladministration and arbitrary taxation, as Egypt had to subsidise the ʿAbbāsid army fighting in Ifrīḳiya. But Harthama b. Aʿyān was able to restore peace to Egypt. Instability in Ifrīḳiya started after the death of the competent governor Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*] in 170/786, and successive governors failed to restore order. Harthama b. Aʿyān [*q.v.*] was able to subdue ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Djarūd's rebellion in Ḳayrawān in 178/794-5, but disturbances blazed up again in 180/797 and al-Rashīd consented to bestow the governorship of Ifrīḳiya on Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab [*q.v.*] only in return for an annual payment of 40,000 dīnārs. The process of disintegration, which had already started in Spain with the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty (138/755) and in al-Maghrib with the foundation of the Idrīsid dynasty (172/788), was aggravated in Ifrīḳiya by the foundation of the Aghlabid [*q.v.*] dynasty (184/800), alleviated in the last case however by financial benefits to the central treasury. Finally the Yemen was a place of unrest owing to its remoteness and its mountainous nature; al-Rashīd's governor and Mawlā Ḥammād al-Barbarī employed a harsh policy towards the people of the Yemen, who therefore revolted under al-Hayṣam al-Hamdānī in 179/795. Thanks to local support, the revolt lasted for nine years and resulted in al-Hayṣam and many of his followers being sent to al-Rashīd, who had them strangled. The lot of the Yemenīs improved only when Ḥammād was dismissed after 13 years of governorship.

The causes of the unrest in the eastern part of the empire were more complicated. The unrest was partly due to the disappointment of the lower classes, whose condition was not improved by the advent of the ʿAbbāsids. Moreover, the ʿAbbāsids had to contend with a population more attached to their old local tradition than to Islam, and sometimes, as was the case with large parts of Daylam and Ṭabaristān, completely unaffected by it. Al-Rashīd himself converted 400 Ṭabaristānīs to Islam in 189/805 (Ṭabarī, iii, 705, 1014-15). The dissatisfaction manifested itself in the form of ʿAlid or Khāridjī risings. It was as early as 176/792-3 that the Ḥasanid Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḥḍ [*q.v.*] rebelled in Daylam and won considerable support from the native princes and the people. Al-Rashīd sent al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, who through diplomacy and promises of amnesty persuaded Yaḥyā to give in. But Yaḥyā's submission did not entirely satisfy al-Rashīd, who a little later found a pretext to have the amnesty annulled and threw Yaḥyā into prison (*Maḳātil*, 309-22). The number of the Khāridjīs was considerable in Kirmān as well as in Fārs and Sīstān; they continued in their hostile attitude towards the new régime, and during the reign of al-Rashīd seem to have recovered from the heavy blow inflicted upon them in the late Umayyad period. There was a series of revolts, the most serious being that of al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf al-Shārī [*q.v.*], and that of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shārī. The former, with headquarters in Naṣībīn, took place in 178/794 in the entirely tribal province of al-Djazīra and defeated successive ʿAbbāsid armies. Then al-Rashīd sent Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, of the same tribe as al-Walīd, whom he killed in 179/795. The latter broke out in Sīstān when Ḥamza occupied Harāt in 179/795 and extended his authority to Kirmān and Fārs, and al-Rashīd was unable to subdue the rebels (Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux* . . ., 52-5). Khurāsān became the scene of a series of local risings due to the incompetence of the successive governors with the exception of al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī and al-Faḍl al-Barmakī (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 203.). The situation worsened when ʿAlī Ibn ʿĪsā Ibn Māhān was appointed governor in 180/795-6. His notorious deeds caused two serious revolts, namely that of Abu 'l-Khasīb Wuhayb b. ʿAbd Allāh in 185/801 at Nasā, and that of Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] in 190/806 at Samarḳand.

In his religious policy al-Rashīd stressed the religious character of the Caliphate, and continued the anti-ʿAlid and anti-*zandaḳa* policy of his predecessors. He initiated his reign by a general amnesty, but the potentially dangerous ʿAlids and the *Zindīḳs* were excluded from it. His suspicions included even the politically inactive and pious Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] who was suddenly arrested and sent to Baṣra, then to Baghdād. Although it was alleged that al-Kāẓim was killed by al-Rashīd's orders (*Maḳātil*, 335; *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 66, 71 ff.) it seems more likely that his death in 183/799 was natural (Ṭabarī, iii, 649). Al-Rashīd's attitude towards the *dhimmīs* seems to have been stricter than that of his predecessors. In 191/806 he ordered churches along the Muslim-Byzantine frontiers to be demolished, and ordered the *dhimmīs* of Baghdād to wear different clothes from those of the Muslims and to ride different animals (Ṭabarī, iii, 712-3; *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Arnold, 31-2; Fattal, *Le statut* . . ., 66). His motive in so doing may have been to win over Muslim public opinion or else the necessity to be on guard against foreign spies.

A great part of al-Rashīd's fame was due to his interest in the wars against the Byzantines. In waging *djihād* against the infidels, Hārūn was in fact fulfilling one of the important duties of the Caliph in the eyes of Muslims. Border attacks and counter-attacks occurred with almost annual regularity, but the interesting aspect of al-Rashīd's expeditions was his personal participation in a number of them. He organized the border area as a separate adminis-

trative unit called al-ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*] with a centre in Manbidj. In 181/797, al-Rashīd profited by the Byzantine internal troubles as well as their conflict with the Bulgarians, and took the fortress of al-Ṣafṣāf, while a division of his army penetrated as far as Ancyra. The empress Irene (better known in Muslim sources as ʿUghusta [*i.e.*, Augusta]), then already the real ruler of the Byzantine State (797-802), demanded a peace treaty which al-Rashīd first refused and subsequently accepted because of the Khazar menace. But when Nicephorus ascended the throne in 802, hostilities were resumed and al-Rashīd himself led the Muslim army in 187/803 and 190/806. In the second expedition al-Rashīd met with considerable success, taking Heraclea and Tyana. Nicephorus, threatened by the Bulgarians from the east, had to accept a very humiliating peace-treaty by which he had to pay personal poll tax on behalf of himself and his son.

Having chosen ʿIrāḳ as their residence, the ʿAbbāsids had lost interest in the Mediterranean fleet. Al-Rashīd was the first ʿAbbāsid Caliph to pay attention to naval power. Successful raids on Cyprus in 190/805 and Rhodes in 192/807 had no lasting effect. It might seem surprising that by the end of al-Rashīd's reign the situation on the frontiers was virtually unchanged; the campaigns were, in fact, bedevilled by many problems such as difficulties of supply and the harshness of the weather. Encouraged by the weakness of the central government in Armenia, where a slow process of Arab colonization was in progress, the Khazars made occasional raids on Muslim territories. Only the efforts of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī and Khuzayma b. Khāzim succeeded in controlling the situation. An exchange of embassies and gifts is alleged to have taken place between Hārūn al-Rashīd and Charlemagne, which resulted in giving Charlemagne rights of protection over Jerusalem. Nothing has yet been found in Arabic sources to substantiate this allegation, and although they may have had political interests in common, there seems to be no truth in it.

The later period of al-Rashīd's reign reveals a certain lack of competence in him as a ruler. Some of his decisions, such as the covenant of the Kaʿba (186/802), make him at least partly responsible for the civil war and the disintegration of the empire. It was again in Khurāsān that the trouble started. Al-Rashīd did not heed the reports of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān's misrule and contented himself with the precious gifts he sent; but when Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth's revolt became dangerous, ʿAlī was finally disposed of in 191/806. This did not put an end to the revolt of Rāfiʿ, whose authority had increased by 192/807-8. In spite of ill health, al-Rashīd, accompanied by his two sons al-Maʾmūn and Ṣāliḥ, marched against the rebel with a considerable ʿIrāḳī army (Gabrieli, *La successione di Harun al-Rashid*, in *RSO*, xi, 349), but he had to halt at Ṭūs in Ṣafar 193/November 808, as his health began to deteriorate. Meanwhile the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*] came out in his rear in several areas, especially in Ispahān. Al-Rashīd died on 3 Djumādā II 193/24 March 809.

Opinions on his character are contradictory. He has been represented by various chroniclers as pious and dissolute, statesmanlike and incompetent at the same time. In fact, politically, his reign was not a period of ideal stability. Moreover, he virtually dismembered the empire by the unwise decision to apportion it between his sons al-Amīn [*q.v.*], al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] and al-Muʾtamin, and thus initiated its decline. This move by al-Rashīd may have been inspired by the wish to safeguard not only the succession of his direct descendants against the ambitions of many ʿAlid and ʿAbbāsid contenders, but also to ensure ʿAbbāsid authority over all the provinces; but this can hardly have been the right approach. Economically, the commercial activities, which reached as far as China, made al-Rashīd's name known to the whole world of the time, and increased the splendour of his court, which was a centre of art and culture.

Bibliography: The chief source is Ṭabarī, iii, 599-764; Ibn al-Athīr gives a summarized version of Ṭabarī with fresh information here and there (al-Kāmil, vi, 65-152); Other sources are Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 491-524; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. al-Munajjid, 1956 (index); Djahshiyārī, Cairo 1938, 177-288; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 287-414; Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil*, ed. Nadjaf 1934, 308-36; and *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, 1871, 278-80, 290-319. Information will be found in other later histories, and also in al-Dhahabī's *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, MS.British Museum Add. 23,278 with incomplete chronological sequence, fols. 36 a, 36b, 40a-70a; some local histories are useful in this respect such as al-Azraḳī's *Akhbār Makka*, 1859; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Malik al-Shuʿarā Bahār, Tehrān 1314 (where the author's sympathies are strongly against the central regime); al-Narshakhī's *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, Tehrān 1939; Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. 1853; and Ḳummī's *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, etc. Modern works: Apart from the general works on the Caliphate: see E. H. Palmer, *Haroun al-Rashid*, London 1881 (in many ways out of date); H. St. J. B. Philby, *Haroun al-Rashid*, Edinburgh 1933 (dependant on secondary sources and intended for the general reader); N. Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, Chicago 1946 (exposing the role played by Khayzurān and Zubayda on the political scene and at the court); A. Joumard, *Haroun al-Rashid*, 2 vols, 1956 (an attempt to present the reign of al-Rashīd as an ethnic struggle between Arabs and Persians); L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, Paris 1912; F. Gabrieli, *La successione di Harun al-Rashid e la guerra fra al-Amin e al-Maʾmun*, in *RSO*, xi (1926-28), 341-97; D. Sourdel. *La politique religieuse du calife ʿAbbaside al-Maʾmun*, in *REI*, xxx (1962), 28-30; On relations with the Byzantines see: *Cambridge Medieval history*, iv, 124-127; E. W. Brooks, *The Byzantines and Arabs in the times of the early ʿAbbasids*, in *EHR*, xv (1900), 728-47, xvi (1901), 84-92; G. Ostrogorsky, tr. J. Hussey, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford 1956, 162-9, 173; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1961 (see index); idem, *Byzance et les Arabes* (introduction). On the relations with Charlemagne see: F. F. Schmidt, *Karl der Grosse und Harun al-Rashid*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 409-11; E. Joranson, *The alleged Frankish protectorate in Palestine*, in *AHR*, 1927, 241-61; H. B. Bittermann, *Hārūn al-Rashīd's gift of an organ to Charlemagne*, in *Speculum*, iv (1929), 215-7; Buckler, *Hārūn al-Rashid and Charles the Great*, 1931 (see Appendix and bibliography); S. Runciman, *Charlemagne and Palestine*, in *EHR*, 1935, 606-19; M. Khaddūrī, *al-Ṣilāt al-diblūmāṭīḳiyya bayn al-Rashīd wa Shārlamān*, Baghdad 1939. See also Le Strange, *Baghdad during the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1924.

(F. OMAR)

AL-**HĀRŪNIYYA** (in modern Turkish Hârûniye) was in the Middle Ages a fortress town of the marches of the Djazīra (*al-thughūr al-djazariyya*) between Marʿash and ʿAyn Zarba, to the east of the middle

Djayḥān (Ceyhan). It owes its name to Hārūn al-Rashīd who founded it in 183/799 when he was organizing the defence of the frontiers, and fortified it, according to Yāḳūt, with two ramparts and iron gates. Ibn Ḥawḳal stresses its prosperity and the valour shown by its inhabitants in their battles against the Byzantines, but he mentions that at the time when he was writing it had been captured by the Byzantines. It was finally conquered and destroyed on 23 Shawwāl 348/27 December 959 by Leo Phocas, who took 1500 prisoners; rebuilt by Sayf al-Dawla, it was then re-taken by the Crusaders and annexed to the kingdom of Little Armenia. Hârûniye is now a *nahiye merkezi* of the *ilçe* of Bahçe, in the *vilâyet* of Adana; pop. (1960), 4507.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 179 and index; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Le Strange, 128-9; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i, 95; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 279, 799; *İA*, s.v. Hârûniye (addenda by Besim Darkot).

There was another place with the same name in ʿIrāḳ, not far from Djalūlā; according to Yāḳūt, it had an old bridge, built by a Khosroes, of stones clamped together with lead.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, s.v.; Le Strange, 62.

(T. H. Weir*)

ḤARŪRĀʾ (ḤARAWRĀʾ, according to Yāḳūt, ii, 246, but wrongly), a locality, village or district (*kūra*) near al-Kūfa. During the pre-Islamic period and in the first century of Islam at least, Ḥarūrāʾ stood on the banks of the Euphrates or one of its canals, for a line of al-Aʿshā (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 730) speaks of "*shaṭṭ Ḥarūra*", but in the 3rd/9th century it was described as being in the desert (*ṣaḥrāʾ*) by the traditionist Ibn Dīzīl al-Hamdānī (d. 283/896; see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, i, 215); the hydrographic system of the region had thus probably undergone a transformation.

Of no importance from the point of view of commerce or agriculture, Ḥarūrāʾ owes its fame to an historical event that took place there; it was the place where the supporters of ʿAlī who were opposed to the arbitration offered by Muʿāwiya at Ṣiffīn [see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB] made their first secession. Certain individuals only had revealed their opposition at Ṣiffīn by crying out *lā ḥukmᵃ illā li 'llāh*, but their numbers increased during the return of ʿAlī's army to al-Kūfa, and those who met together at Ḥarūrāʾ (from which they were known as Ḥarūrīs) in Rabīʿ I 37/August-September 658 (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 521 v.) were several thousand strong, perhaps twelve thousand. It was a real mutiny for, even though these opponents restricted themselves to the provisional choice of a leader to direct prayer (ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Kawwāʾ al-Yashkurī) and a military leader (Shabath b. Ribʿī al-Tamīmī), they no longer recognized the authority of ʿAlī; they proclaimed that the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] must be made to God and according to the precept *al-amr bi'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* ("to command what is proper and forbid what is blameworthy") and that a committee (*shūrā*) should thereafter choose the head of the community (this did not prevent the dissidents, before leaving for al-Nahrawān, from taking as their chief ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī; see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, i, 214 ff. and cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 540 f.; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 555; *ʿIḳd*, i, 260 etc.). The motives for this demonstration were no doubt religious, but it is only the Khāridjī traditions, preserved in Ibāḍī sources, that allow us to perceive them clearly. E. L. Petersen (*ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya* [see *Bibl.*], 39 and n. 41) does not appear to attach any importance to these traditions, which he leaves aside for later explanation. It was M. Kafafi (Kafāfī) and L. Veccia Vaglieri who discovered and studied them and, feeling convinced of their antiquity, quite independently of each other came to regard them as the key to the understanding of the religious motivation of the Khāridjī secession; the grave accusation brought against ʿAlī by his headstrong adversaries of having committed an act of unbelief (*kufr*) in accepting the arbitration, their insistence upon breaking away from the caliph who refused to show repentance and break the pact of Ṣiffīn, their exaltation which led them to face death in the certain knowledge that Paradise would be the reward for their obedience to God, these at last have found the logical basis that hitherto was missing. These Khāridjī traditions are set forth at length in two late Ibāḍī sources, the *Kitāb al-Djawāhir* of al-Barrādī, written in the Maghrib at the end of the 8th/14th century or at the beginning of the 9th/15th, and the *Kitāb al-Kashf wa-'l-bayān*, written before 1070/1659 by an Ibāḍī theologian of ʿUmān, al-Ḳalhātī (see Brockelmann, S II, 568). While al-Barrādī says they were taken from a *Kitāb al-Nahrawān*, probably the work of one ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī (1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries), al-Ḳalhātī is silent as to his sources; however, M. Kafafi, who has given a résumé, states that they go back to an ancient period. A comparison of the pages of al-Barrādī and the résumé of those of al-Ḳalhātī shows that the two authors have not drawn upon the same source; however, the subject-matter is substantially the same.

Evidently preoccupied with the secession of the Ḥarūrīs, ʿAlī sent to Ḥarūrāʾ, to parley on his behalf, his cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, and then also went there himself to discuss the matter with the dissidents. The arguments which the Ḥarūrīs used in these discussions have not been reproduced in al-Ṭabarī or in the other Sunnī sources or those favourable to ʿAlī, while the arguments of the latter and of Ibn ʿAbbās are included. The rebels' argument was, briefly, as follows: "When we had shed the blood of ʿUthmān, we were in the right path, because he had made innovations (*aḥdāth*); so, too, when we shed the blood of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and their adherents on the Day of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] because they were rebels; and also when we shed the blood of the supporters of Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr, because they were rebels and transgressors against the Book of God and the *Sunna* of the Prophet. Has a command come down from heaven compelling ʿAlī to change his attitude? No. He must therefore persevere in the line of conduct followed at the start, continue the war and refuse arbitration". Ibn ʿAbbās vainly reminded his opponents of the verses in the Ḳurʾān (IV, 39/35, V, 1-3/1-2) on the nomination of arbitrators in certain cases; the Ḥarūrīs replied that any question for which a decision (*ḥukm*) on the part of God existed could not be submitted to arbitration; God had laid down the ruling to be followed in the case of a band of rebels (*fiʾa bāghiya*), for He said (XLIX, 9): "If two parties of Believers fight against each other, re-establish peace between them! If one of them persists in rebellion against the other, fight against that party which is rebelling (*allatī tabghī*) until it bows before Allāh's command". Are not Muʿāwiya, ʿAmr and their supporters a *fiʾa bāghiya*? And the Ḥarūrīs add that God said (VIII, 40/39): "Fight them, till there is no sedition (*fitna*) and the religion is God's entirely". Has Muʿāwiya returned to obedience to God? The answer could only be negative. Therefore Allāh had already made

known His *ḥukm* for a similar case and it must be applied; it must be regarded as one of His *ḥudūd* [see ḤADD], like the *ḥudūd* regarding the fornicator and the robber. Men have no choice in a question on which God has given His judgement (*lā ḥukmᵃ illā li'llāh*). In their discussions, the Ḥarūrīs resorted to still other arguments and other verses of the Ḳurʾān to justify their secession, but those summarized above were the most difficult to refute. Ibn ʿAbbās was compelled to recognize their validity (even the Sunnī sources and those that favour ʿAlī state that he failed in his task); as for ʿAlī, he persuaded the dissidents to abandon their secession, though how he succeeded in doing so is not very clear. The arguments that he put forward (and which differ materially in the various sources) do not seem sufficiently compelling to win over adversaries so stubborn in their convictions. Must we then accept the statement of al-Fazārī in his *K. al-Nahrawān* that he promised to resume the war against Muʿāwiya and backed up his promise with the firmest assurances? A sentence slipped into some sources: "we shall levy taxes, we shall fatten the mules, then we shall march towards them" (al-Balādhurī, 523v.; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 3353; Mubarrad, 558, etc.) suggests that ʿAlī made concessions; even Ṭāhā Ḥusayn recognizes that there was a misunderstanding at that time. In any case it is certain that when, some time after his return to al-Kūfa, ʿAlī clearly stated his intention to respect the Ṣiffīn agreement, the Ḥarūrīs, who had returned to the town with him, became incensed. It was as a result of this statement by ʿAlī that the dissidents secretly held meetings, raising the question whether to remain in a country where injustice ruled was compatible with the duties owed to God; those who held that it was necessary to leave it went away into hiding, invited the dissidents in al-Baṣra to follow suit and gathered together at al-Nahrawān, thus seceding for the second time. It is possible that, at the beginning of the Khāridjī movement, a distinction was made between *al-Muḥakkima al-ūlā* = the first to have cried out at Ṣiffīn *lā ḥukmᵃ illā li 'llāh*, *al-Ḥarūriyya* = those who had been present at the gathering at Ḥarūrāʾ but who, on returning to ʿAlī's ranks, did not feel obliged to enter into open rebellion (while perhaps remaining attached to their idea that the Ṣiffīn agreement was a sin for which repentance must be shown), and *al-Khawāridj* = those who left al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra in order to break every link with ʿAlī; but this is merely a hypothesis to justify these different terms, for it is to be noted that the last two terms were used indiscriminately in the sources (in fact of a much later date).

At Ḥarūrāʾ, or nearby, two battles took place, one in 67/686, in which al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] was defeated by the army of Muṣʿab [*q.v.*], the other on 9 Shawwāl 315/8 December 927 when the Sādjid Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj, fighting for the caliph al-Muḳtadir against the Ḳarmaṭī sovereign of Baḥrayn Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān al-Djannābī, was defeated and captured (it should, however, be observed that most of the sources do not mention Ḥarūrāʾ in connexion with this battle, merely saying that it took place outside al-Kūfa, or at the gates of that town).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. Paris, 521 r.-v., 522 v.-523 v., 525 v.-526 v., 529 r.; Ṭabarī, i, 3349-53, 3362 f., 3387-9, ii, 716, 725, 730, 863, 907, 1347, 1348; Ṭabarī-Zotenberg, iii, 683 f.; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 222 (ʿAlī's discussion with the Ḥarūrīs is wrongly placed at al-Nahrawān, for ʿAlī addresses Ibn al-Kawwāʾ, who was among the dissidents in Ḥarūrāʾ and not with the Khāridjīs at al-Nahrawān); Yaʿḳūbī, 223 (superficial and confused); Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 528 f., 539 f., 558 f.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Būlāḳ 1293, i, 260 f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 389 f., v, 226, 318; idem, *Tanbīh*, 381 f.; Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, ms. Istanbul, ii, 24-9; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 272-5, iv, 222 f.; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharh Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1329, i, 204 f., 206, 215 f. (tradition partly different from those of the other sources); Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Paris, 184 r.-185 r.; Barrādī, *K. al-Djawāhir*, lith. Cairo 1302, 118-25 (trans. in L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Traduzione*... [see below], 23-35; *ibid.*, 19-23, biographical notes on the dissidents of Ḥarūrāʾ named by al-Barrādī); Shammākhī, *K. al-Siyar*, lith. Cairo 1301, 48-60 (trans. L. Veccia Vaglieri, *ibid.*, 80-3); al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, vi, nos. 1171, 1185, 1198; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 6, 14-15, ed. Nadjaf 1371/1951, 26; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, ed. M. Badr, 56 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *K. al-Fiṣal*, iv, 153 ff.; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 86 f. (trans. Haarbrücker, 129, some names of persons who returned to ʿAlī's ranks); J. Wellhausen, *Die relig. polit. Oppos.-parteien*, 4, 17; L. Caetani, *Annali*, A.H. 37, §§ 170-3, 177, 179, 181, 184, 190-2, 195-9 and cf. 193-4; A.H. 38, §§ 115, 129, 135, 147 (p. 123 f.); Fr. Buhl, *ʿAlī som Prætendent og Kalif*, Copenhagen 1921, 1-98, in particular 69 f. (*Festskrift udgivet af Københavns Universitet i Anledning af Hans Majestæt Kongens Fødselsdag*); M. Kafafi, *The rise of Khārijism according to Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Azdī al-Qalhātī*, in *BFA*, xiv (1952), 29-48; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Il conflitto ʿAlī — Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibāḍite*, in *AIUON*, n.s. iv (1952), 1-94; eadem, *Traduzione di passi riguardanti il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita*, in *AIUON*, n.s. v (1953), 1-98; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *al-Fitna al-kubrā*, ii: *ʿAlī wa-banūhu*, Cairo 1953, 103-5; E. L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah. The rise of the Umayyad Caliphate*, in *Acta Orientalia* (Copenhagen), xxiii (1959), 157-96 (the rebellion of the Khāridjīs is touched upon at 186 f.); idem, *ʿAlī and Muʿawiya in early Arabic tradition. Studies on the genesis and growth of Islamic historical writing until the end of the ninth century*, Copenhagen 1964, 38 f.; — For the battles of 67/686 and 315/927: M. J. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*, Leiden 1886, 95 f.; Defrémery, *Mémoire sur les Sadjides*, in *JA*, 4th ser., x (1847), 428 f.

(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

HĀRŪT WA-MĀRŪT. In one of its admonitions to the unbelieving Jews of Medina, the Ḳurʾān (II, 102/96) expresses itself thus (from A. J. Arberry's translation): "[the children of Israel] follow what the Satans recited over Solomon's Kingdom. Solomon disbelieved not, but the Satans disbelieved, teaching the people sorcery, and that which was sent down upon Babylon's two angels Hārūt and Mārūt; they taught not any man, without they said, "We are but a temptation; do not disbelieve . . ."". The Ḳurʾānic narrative, linked somewhat artificially with Solomon, whose relations with demons are well-known [see SULAYMĀN], thus reflects a legend concerning the fallen angels who made themselves masters of the arts forbidden to men. The exegetic tradition relating to this passage can explain how the angels had come to that place from heaven. The sight of men's sins had impelled the angels to make derogatory remarks about mankind. When God

challenged them to do better if placed under the same conditions, they accepted a test, for which Hārūt and Mārūt were chosen. Having come down to the earth with instructions to avoid the grave sins of idolatry, fornication, murder and the drinking of wine, they almost immediately were captivated by a wondrously beautiful woman. Being caught unawares at the very moment when she was granting them her favours, they killed the man who had witnessed their misconduct. God caused them to be watched while doing so by their brothers who had remained in heaven, and who consequently could only say "Indeed Thou wast right". Left to choose between punishment in the world and the eternal pains of hell, the two guilty angels preferred to expiate their offence here below; they were then imprisoned and hung by the feet in a well in Babylon where they have been in torment ever since. In the final analysis, this theme derives from the account in *Genesis*, VI, 1-4 concerning the loves of the "sons of Elohim" and the daughters of men, expanded in the apochryphal books where there appears the supplementary theme of the fallen angels, masters of magic (*Jubilees*, V, 6; *Enoch*, chaps. VI-VIII, etc.; allusion in the New Testament, *2nd Epistle of Peter*, II, 4 and *Epistle of Jude*, 6); in the *Midrash Abkir*, an Aggadic Jewish work of a late period, but rich in traditions left aside by the great rabbinical texts, the guilty angels bear the names of Shemḥazaī, ʿUzza and ʿAzaʾel. According to its version of the legend, which also recurs in more than one Muslim text, the angels who had fallen into sin lost the use of the ineffable Name of God which would have allowed them to return to heaven; the woman whom they had lusted after, having learned this Name from them, made use of it to escape from them and to make her way to heaven where, as a reward for her virtuous resistance, God changed her into a star. On this point, an astrological motif is grafted onto the legend, for the names given to this woman, Anāhīd, Bīdukht, Zuhra—in the Jewish version Naʿamah—seem, with the possible exception of the last, to be firmly connected with the planet Venus. As regards the names Hārūt and Mārūt, it is hardly possible to discover any etymology (contrary to the opinion of A. J. Wensinck in *EI*[1]) other than Haurvatāt and Ameretāt, "integrity" and "immortality", two of the "archangels" (Amesha Spenta) of Zoroastrianism; it is still not clear how the synthesis of the Iranian features and the Jewish legend of the fallen angels took place, nor how the hypothetical version which had substituted Iranian names for the Semitic names of the heroes of the story came into Arabia as early as the beginning of the 7th century A.D.; yet traces of it have been found in the Manichaean books. We can therefore conclude without being overrash that the immediate source of the allusion in the Ḳurʾān and of certain elements in the later Muslim legend is to be found in the syncretistic beliefs developed on the fringe of the main Jewish, Christian and Mazdean religions. Variations on the Ḳurʾānic theme which we have not touched on here in detail have been severely criticised by more than one theologian: see *al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, iii, 14 ff.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, iii, Cairo 1354/1935, 244; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa ʾl-nihāya*, i, 37-8.

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(G. Vajda)

AL-ḤASĀ, (or al-Aḥsāʾ, also al-Ḥasāʾ), oasis, or more properly group of oases, in eastern Saudi Arabia, approximately from 25° 20′ to 25° 40′ N., and 49° 30′ to 49° 50′ E. The name has been also used to designate the entire region of Eastern Arabia. The capital is al-Hufūf [*q.v.*], about 65 kms. inland from the Persian Gulf. The name derives from *ḥisy*, an excavation in sandy soil which, having a stony substratum, holds rain water for a long time, this water being easily reached with little digging. The average elevation of the oasis is 175 m. above sea level.

Al-Ḥasā, with some 180 square kms. of garden area, has roughly the shape of an "L", with al-Hufūf at the apex, the northern oases forming the vertical stroke and a large group of gardens and villages, sometimes referred to collectively as al-Shurūḳ. forming the horizontal stroke. The vertical branch, oriented due north-south, is about 25 kms. long; the horizontal branch is about 18 kms. long and is oriented east-west. The cultivated portions are not continuous but are interrupted by sandy areas, limestone outcrops, and some fairly large *sabkhas*, which serve as catchment basins for the highly saline water drained from the gardens, especially during the winter period of low evaporation. Al-Ḥasā has a warm and humid climate in the summer, though less humid than the coastal regions, but its winter weather is quite mild. The average annual precipitation is about 70 mms. The total population is now estimated at about 200,000, about half of whom live in the capital, al-Hufūf, and in the town of al-Mubarraz, some 1.5 kms. north of the capital. The remaining population is distributed among some 50 villages and hamlets in the cultivated areas, the largest having about 4,000 inhabitants. The population is about equally divided between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs of the Ithnāʿasharī persuasion. All four orthodox schools of law are represented among the Sunnīs of al-Ḥasā, but the two predominant ones are the Ḥanbalī, which has increased in importance in recent times, and the Mālikī, which has a distinguished tradition in the oasis. Al-Ḥasā was in the middle ages an important centre of Mālikī learning.

With over 12,000 hectares under cultivation and close to three million palm trees, al-Ḥasā is the largest and richest oasis in Saudi Arabia. The mainstay of al-Ḥasā's agriculture is the abundant water furnished by over sixty flowing artesian springs, several of which have a flow of over 75,000 litres per minute. At least since the early middle ages, when the region was called Hadjar, after the name of its capital, the most abundant and famous local produce has been dates, giving rise to the dictum of something being "like carrying dates to Hadjar", as a parallel to the "coals to Newcastle" phrase. The most extensively grown local variety is called *ruzayz* (after which the inhabitants are sometimes jokingly called *ruzayzīs*) and the variety considered to be the best in quality is *khulāṣ*; over seventy different varieties of dates

have been recorded in al-Ḥasā, some of them being used only as fodder [see TAMR]. Another item of economic importance for which the area has long been famous is the local breed of tall, white donkeys, which once were widely exported, in particular to Egypt and ʿIrāḳ. Dietary changes and the introduction of wheeled transport brought about a foreseeable decline in the economic importance of both dates and donkeys. On the other hand, the increased cash wages due largely to the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province have given rise to an increase in commerce, services, and light industry, as well as some greater variety in agricultural produce. The manufacture of textiles to make the locally worn cloak (*bis͟ht*) has long enjoyed a well-deserved reputation and is still an important part of the economic picture of al-Ḥasā.

History. The detailed study of the history of al-Ḥasā, particularly with regard to the earlier periods, is yet to be undertaken. It has been suggested that the region called Attene in antiquity might be the same as present-day al-Ḥasā, but no other references in old sources can be connected with the oasis. The area was certainly known as al-Ḥasā (or al-Aḥsāʾ) during the time of the Prophet. The majority of the people of the area accepted Islam at an early date, although they rebelled against the central power a number of times. Most notable among these rebellions was that of the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*], who, when they brought the Black Stone from Mecca, kept it in this area for about twenty years.

In mediaeval Arabic sources al-Ḥasā is said to be a fortress in al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] not far from al-Had͟jar, the ancient capital of the district. This fortress was founded by the famous Ḳarmaṭī leader Abū Ṭāhir al-D͟jannābī [*q.v.*] in 314/926 near a locality then called al-Ḥasā. He called the fortress al-Muʾminiyya, but both fortress and settlement continued to be known by the old name. In 443/1051, the area was visited and described by the Persian Nāṣir-i-K͟husraw, whose account of the Ḳarmaṭī government is particularly valuable. The Ḳarmaṭī power was eventually crushed by a dynasty native to al-Ḥasā, the ʿUyūnids.

Remains of ʿAbbāsid pottery in the oasis suggest that al-Ḥasā was already densely populated during early Islamic times. It does not seem likely, however, that the Portuguese and the Persians, who ruled or occupied the island of al-Baḥrayn in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries respectively, extended their rule to the oasis. In later times, and by reason of its geographical location as well as its resources, the oasis was coveted by the Wahhābīs [*q.v.*] from Nad͟jd and by the Turks, while the lords of the Banū K͟hālid, who had for many years been the masters of al-Ḥasā, fought to maintain their position. The oasis changed hands a number of times. Al-Ḥasā first yielded to the Wahhābīs in 1209/1793. Between 1235/1819 and 1241/1825 the oasis was occupied by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas͟ha's Egyptian army; and between the latter date and 1247/1830, it was in dispute again between the Banū K͟hālid and the Wahhābīs, who finally gained the upper hand but were forced to another brief relinquishment of the area to the Egyptians in 1255/1839. The Turks occupied the oasis in 1289/1872 and made the area a *sand͟jaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Baṣra. During the Turkish occupation, al-Ḥasā was the administrative centre of the *sand͟jaḳ* and the residence of the Mutaṣarrif Pas͟ha. The Turks were finally expelled from al-Ḥasā by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd in 1913.

The rule by Egyptians, Turks, and Wahhābīs until 1332/1913 was not a secure one. Two powerful Bedouin tribes of eastern Arabia, the Banū K͟hālid and the ʿUd͟jmān, continuously raided the villages of al-Ḥasā and endangered the trade routes. The area was finally pacified under the rule of the present dynasty. From 1913 until 1952 al-Ḥasā continued to be the administrative centre of the entire area of eastern Saudi Arabia, which was then called al-Ḥasā Province. The name of the oasis was also used to designate the oil concession (The Hasa Concession) obtained from Ibn Saʿūd by Frank Holmes in al-ʿUḳayr in 1923, which covered the lands lying between the sands of al-Dahnā to the west and the Gulf to the east, and between ʿIrāḳ and Kuwayt to the north and a line running due west from the base of the Ḳatar peninsula to the south.

In 1952 the capital of the province was moved from al-Ḥasā to the town of al-Dammām [*q.v.*] on the Gulf coast, and the province itself changed its name from al-Ḥasā Province to the Eastern Province. The amīrate of al-Ḥasā has jurisdiction over only the oasis area and reports to the provincial government in al-Dammām. In the 1960's the Saudi Arabian Government undertook elaborate agricultural extension work in the oasis, including sand stabilization, drainage, and the establishment of experimental farms.

Bibliography: Nāṣir-i-K͟husraw, *Safar-nāme*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1881; Yāḳūt, s.v.; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn*[2], Leiden 1886; idem, *La fin de l'empire des Carmathes* .., in *JA* (1895); Sulaymān al-Dak͟hil, *Taʾrīk͟h al-Aḥsāʾ*, 1331; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, Āl ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *Tuḥfat al-mustafīd bi-taʾrīk͟h al-Aḥsāʾ*, Riyadh 1379; R. E. Cheesman, *In unknown Arabia*, London 1926; J. B. Mackie, *Hasa, An Arabian oasis*, in *Geographical Journal*, lxiii (1924); H. StJ. B. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1923; R. Raunkiaer, *Gennem Wahhabiternes Land paa Kamelryg*, Copenhagen 1913; F. S. Vidal, *The Oasis of al-Hasa*, New York 1955; Muḥammad Ibn Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-ak͟hbār*, Cairo 1370-3; J. C. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOman and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908; F. Wüstenfeld, *Baḥrein und Jemama*, in *Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Gött.*, 1874; H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1949; Admiralty, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944; R. Lebkicher, G. Rentz, M. Steineke, and others, *Aramco Handbook*, The Netherlands 1960. (F. S. VIDAL)

Futher bibliography: S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925; J. B. Kelly, *Eastern Arabian frontiers*, London 1964. (ED.)

ḤASAB WA-NASAB, a *muzāwad͟ja* [*q.v.*] in the Arabic manner used of two aspects of the single idea of nobility. The second term denotes kinship, the relationship, particularly ancestral, i.e. the genealogy of an individual or a tribe, the record of which, in the time of the D͟jāhiliyya, was carefully maintained by the *nassāba* and which, under Islam, formed a branch of history [see NASAB]. The *nasab*, which was an element of honour, was based not only on consanguinity but also on maternal descent, although the relationship on the paternal side, which was more easily traced, seems to have been the more important. Normally, all the members of a tribe had a collective *nasab* going back to the ancestor from whom the tribe was named and a narrower *nasab* which began with the founder of the clan, without the links in this chain necessarily being very illustrious. The *nasab* to be proud of was one which went back very far into the

past and was stained by no dishonour; the slightest stain on the other hand was exploited by enemies who, in their *hidjā'* [*q.v.*], cast aspersions on the ancestors of the individual or the clan concerned. It was with the intention of emphasizing the equality of the Believers and of achieving the unity of the Community that the Prophet forbade *al-ṭa'n fi 'l-ansāb, i.e.*, attacks based on the real or imaginary defects of an ancestor, especially of the eponymous ancestor of the tribe or the clan.

While the only people deprived of *nasab* were solitaries, outcasts and of course slaves, the possession of *ḥasab*, according to the pre-Islamic conception of it, necessitated not only the existence of ancestors but the doing honour to them by performing memorable deeds of prowess or displaying outstanding virtues, in particular exemplary generosity. The memory of the great deeds performed in the past by members of the tribe was passed down from father to son to form a collective *ḥasab* of which all could boast; the valour of the group was measured so to speak by the total of these exploits and virtues, which provided for all a model to imitate, an ideal moral standard to attain and a patrimony to safeguard; it was in fact a sort of tribal *sunna*.

In contrast to *nasab*, *ḥaṣab* could be acquired also by an individual by means of virtuous acts or brave exploits. Thus, the *ḥasib* was a person who either possessed a noble ancestry or had acquired nobility personally, without necessarily requiring an outstanding *nasab*, whereas the *nasīb* had to be equipped with both *nasab* and *ḥasab*.

The appearance of Islam did not entirely banish these ideas, which remained very much alive among the Arab tribes (and even among the *fuḳahā'*, who had to know a woman's *ḥasab* in order to assess her *mahr* [see ṢADĀḲ]), but the earlier ideas were in fact modified by the tendancy to egalitarianism and by the preponderant place accorded to the Faith. The Ḳur'ān makes no reference to them, but *ḥadīth*, where it is authentic, reveals an abrupt change in conception which the numerous philological works and commentaries enable us to understand. While forbidding attacks on genealogies, the Prophet proclaimed: "Learn enough genealogy to know your *aḥsāb* and fulfil the duties imposed by family relationships" (here, *aḥsāb* seems to be related to the etymological meaning of the root *ḥsb* "to count", that is "to know what you are worth collectively"), but there are also attributed to him the *ḥadīths*: *ḥasab al-radjul khulūḳuh* "a man's *ḥasab* is his moral qualities" and: *ḥasab al-radjul naḳā' thawbayh* "... is the cleanness of his two garments", which some interpret as a sign of wealth. In fact one *ḥadīth* announces unexpectedly: *al-ḥasab al-māl wa'l-karam al-taḳwā* "*ḥasab* is wealth and generosity is religious piety". Thus the excellence of ancestors would be replaced by wealth, and the generosity which procures *ḥasab* by religion; there is nothing surprising in the fact that any Believer could acquire a nobility which formerly had been reserved for those with ancestors and that *ḥasab* should not in theory be considered as an Islamic quality, but it is most extraordinary that wealth should take its place. The matter should not be exaggerated however, and the following commentary by Ibn al-Sikkīt (in *LA*, s.v. *ḥsb*) would serve to show the *ḥadīth* in its true perspective, if it did not deviate from Islamic moral standards by taking no account of transient circumstances: "A man may possess *ḥasab* and generosity (*karam*) even if he has no ancestors of nobility (*sharaf*), whereas *sharaf* and glory (*madjd*) exist only through the ancestors: the Prophet thus substituted wealth (*māl*) for the nobility of the individual (*al-nafs*) or of his ancestors, which means that the poor man with *ḥasab* is neither respected nor esteemed, whereas the rich man who is without it is respected".

Bibliography: B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 81-8, 114 and references there given; see also Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 107 ff. (tr. Pellat, §§ 955 ff.) and the theory of Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, 243 ff. (tr. de Slane, i, 280 ff., tr. Rosenthal, i, 273 ff.).

(ED.)

ḤASAN, AL-MALIK AL-NĀṢIR NĀṢIR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MA'ĀLĪ, 19th Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt, in the line known to contemporary chroniclers as *Dawlat al-Turk*. He was the most prominent of eight sons of the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn who ruled in turn during the years 741/1340-763/1362 and who are frequently designated in European documents of the period as "Ḥasan and his brothers" (*e.g.*, *BSOAS*, xxviii (1965), 492: "Nasser Hassan et suo fradeli"), see Zambaur, *Manuel*, i, 103, 106; and Wiet, in *Mém. Inst. Egypte*, xix, genealogical tree p. 279). Owing to the sustained attempt at dynastic succession Ḥasan was very young (11 years) at his first accession to the Sultanate on 14 Ramaḍān 748/18 December 1347, and did not in fact rule during his first reign, which lasted for just under four years (until 17 Djumādā II 752/11 August 1351). As happened frequently under the Mamlūks, *de facto* power was divided among rival factions of *amīrs* surviving from the period of a deceased sultan (*ḳarāniṣ*, see Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 217 ff.), a struggle in this case coloured by the rise to a significant position of the Circassian elements, who had been favoured by his brother and predecessor al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥādjdjī and who towards the end of the 8th/14th century were to emerge as the rulers of Mamlūk Egypt and Syria [see ČERKES ii and BURDJIYYA]. Nine months after attaining his majority Ḥasan is reported to have abdicated (*Nudjūm*, v, 91), owing to the pressure of the *amīrs* Ṭāz and Minkalī. These arranged the succession of Ḥasan's brother Ṣāliḥ, who was three years older and who, under the regnal name al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, managed to stay on the throne for about three years, until his deposition on 2 Shawwāl 755/20 October 1354; he remained imprisoned until his death seven years later. Instrumental in this act and in the immediate restoration of Ḥasan were the *amīrs* Ṣarghitmish and Shaykhūn, the *Atābak al-'asākir* [*q.v.*] and first bearer of the title al-Amīr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*]. It was owing to the latter's intercession with Ḥasan that the *amīr* Ṭāz, instead of being condemned to death for his insurrection, was merely rusticated to Syria and the governorship of Aleppo. Soon after his second accession Ḥasan's position was weakened by the murder of Shaykhūn during a quarrel with a fellow *mamlūk*. Further, and possibly as a result of this act, Ṣarghitmish acquired more power than pleased the Sultan and had to be incarcerated in Alexandria, where he later died. Finally Ḥasan's second and last reign was brought to an end by one of his own ambitious *mamlūks*, Yalbughā, who murdered the Sultan in the Citadel while he, having got word of the conspiracy, was arranging an escape to Syria in bedouin dress, on 12 Djumādā I 763/9 March 1362.

The periods of rule of Sultan Ḥasan are thus conspicuous neither for their length nor for evidence of his political competence. The major event of his first reign, whose cause can hardly be laid at the

door of the Sultan but whose repercussions must have made government in Egypt and Syria more difficult than usual, was the plague of 749/1348 [see ṬĀʿŪN]. The devastation of the Mamlūk dominions and decimation of their population which followed in its wake are described in some detail by the chronicler Ibn Taghrībirdī (*Nudjūm*, v, 62-76). Of Ḥasan's foreign relations, however, there is documentary evidence sufficient to indicate sustained activity: with the Byzantine Empire (M. Canard, in *AIEO*, iii (1937), 27-52), with the monks of Mt. Sinai (Ernst, *Sultansurk.*, Docs. XIII, XIV, XV), and with the Republic of Venice (Thomas-Predelli, *Diplomatarium*, ii, Docs. XII, XIII, XLVII). Yet another trace of his reign is the *madrasa* of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo, construction of which was begun in 757/1356 (*Nudjūm*, v, 158).

Bibliography: Ibn Taghrībirdī, v, 54-108, 147-74, a fairly exhaustive account, though additional references in Arabic chroniclers can be found in Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Ṣāfī*, *MIE*, xix, p. 133 (no. 916), and in Ernst, *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters*, Wiesbaden 1960, 59. See also, Weil, *Chalifen*, iv, 476-89, 500-05; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, viii, 242-4; Thomas-Predelli, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, Venice 1880-96, ii, Docs. XII, XIII, XLVII; and M. Canard, *Une lettre du sultan Malik Nasir Hasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène (750/1349)*, in *AIEO Alger*, 1937, 27-52. For the *madrasa*, cf. Wiet, *Cairo*, Norman, Okla. 1964, 139 ff. and Index.

(J. WANSBROUGH)

MAWLĀY AL-**ḤASAN**, ABŪ ʿALĪ, sultan of Morocco from 12 September 1873 to 9 June 1894. He was the son of Sayyidī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān whom, at the age of 37, he succeeded without dispute. Soon after his accession, however, revolts broke out at several places: Azammūr, against the local governor; Meknès, where an uncle rose as pretender to the throne; Fez, where the tanners rebelled in order to obtain the abolition of a local tax. The sultan repressed these risings quickly and without excessive cruelty. He passed a great part of his reign on expeditions aimed at maintaining the submission of many Berber tribes. It was while returning from such a long campaign, which had taken him as far as Tāfīlālt, that he died in the Tādla region. His death remained secret until the army had arrived at Rabat, where his young son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] was proclaimed sultan.

Like his father and his grandfather Mawlāy al-Ḥasan understood the pressing necessity to modernize Morocco and thought that the first sector to be reformed was that of the army. He therefore created permanent and regular units, in which sundry renegades served, and invited foreign instructors, above all French and English, from 1877 onwards. Moreover, several groups of infantry were sent to Gibraltar to be trained with English troops. The sultan bought arms in Europe and installed a cartridge factory at Marrākush and an arsenal at Fez, the *Makīna*. He even established the nucleus of a national fleet. He occupied himself also with the technical training of the Moroccans and sent several to Europe, envisaging the modernization of certain Moroccan industries.

But relations with the European powers, more and more attracted by Morocco, absorbed a great part of his activity. He received a growing number of embassies, and it was on his initiative and that of Great Britain that the first international conference concerned with Morocco was held at Madrid from 19 May to 3 July 1880. This conference dealt with the "protection" rights of the European powers in the Sharīfian Empire. Pious and conservative in his internal policies, Mawlāy al-Ḥasan thus, without fully realizing the implications of his initiative, enmeshed Morocco in an international process which was to end in the Protectorate of 1912.

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ḤASAN, *amīr* of the Čūbānid [*q.v.*] dynasty.

AL-**ḤASAN** B. **ʿABD ALLĀH** [see NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA].

AL-**ḤASAN** B. **ʿALĪ** [see ZĪRIDS].

AL-**ḤASAN** B. **ʿALĪ** [see AL-ḤASAN AL-UṬRŪSH, IBN MĀKŪLĀ, NIẒĀM AL-MULK].

AL-**ḤASAN** B. **ʿALĪ** B. **ABI 'L-ḤUSAYN** [see KALBIDS].

(AL-)**ḤASAN** B. **ʿALĪ** B. **ABĪ ṬĀLIB**, son of ʿAlī and Fāṭima [*q.v.*], claimant to the caliphate until he renounced the office in favour of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, and, in the eyes of the Shīʿīs, the second *imām*.

Early years. — He was born in 3/624-5 (the month is uncertain; mid-Ramaḍān?) and given the name al-Ḥasan by Muḥammad, while his father wanted to call him Ḥarb; he lived with the Prophet for only seven years, but was nevertheless able later to recollect some of his phrases and actions (for example that Muḥammad threw back into the heap of *ṣadaḳa* dates one which he had already put into his mouth, for he was unwilling to eat anything from the *ṣadaḳa*). Tradition, including also that preserved in Sunnī collections, relates, as evidence of the love that Muḥammad felt for his grandchildren, not only the phrases he is said to have used concerning them, but also charming anecdotes that testify to his affection (*e.g.*, Muḥammad descended from the *minbar* during one of his discourses in order to pick up al-Ḥasan who had stumbled over his long tunic and fallen down; "Alas", he said, "your riches and your children are a seduction"; he allowed his grandchildren to climb on his back while he was prostrating himself in prayer, etc.). More important for the deductions drawn from them by the Shīʿīs are certain phrases attributed to the Prophet (*e.g.*, "They will be the *sayyids* of the young in Paradise", a *ḥadīth* whose veracity was contested by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam; see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, iv, 5), and above all the fact that he took them, with their father and mother, under cover of his mantle and declared that they were People of the House free from all impurity [see AHL AL-KISĀʾ and FĀṬIMA]. After their grandfather's death (which was followed soon by that of their mother), al-Ḥasan and his brother played no part in the important events of the caliphates of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān. They lived, says one source, in a state of obedience to their father; in fact, even if they followed him in some of his demonstrations of opposition to ʿUthmān, they took an entirely passive part (in any case they were still very young). Their names are mentioned on the occasion of the siege of ʿUthmān's house [see ʿUTHMĀN], for ʿAlī, according to several traditions, sent

them to carry water to the caliph, who was dying of thirst, and ordered them to defend him when the danger from the besiegers grew greater. When al-Ḥasan entered the house, ʿUthmān's murder had already taken place, but he was in time to see that Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had had a part in the assassination and it is for that reason that, from then onwards, he called him al-Fāsiḳ (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 58).

The caliphate of ʿAlī.—When ʿAlī was elected caliph and Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾisha rebelled, al-Ḥasan was sent, with ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, to Kūfa to persuade the inhabitants to take his father's side and send him reinforcements [see AL-DJAMAL]; later, during the campaign against Muʿāwiya, he took part in the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*].

His caliphate.—After the murder of ʿAlī, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] invited the people to nominate him as caliph (ʿAlī had not dared to give advice on the question of the succession), and al-Ḥasan made a speech, reported in many texts, for the purpose of praising the merits of his family and his father and, finally, of himself, by insisting on the fact that he had lived in intimacy with the Prophet. Ḳays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda al-Anṣārī was the first to do homage to him; however, he tried to impose a condition, that the *bayʿa* should be "on the Book of God, the *Sunna* of the Prophet and the war (*ḳitāl*) against those who declared licit that which is illicit (*al-muḥillūn*)", but al-Ḥasan succeeded in avoiding this commitment by saying that the last condition was included in the first (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1). According to al-Balādhurī, the oath taken by those present stipulated that they should make war on those who were at war with al-Ḥasan, and should live in peace with those who were at peace with him. This formula astonished the assembly; if al-Ḥasan had spoken of peace, was it because he desired to conclude a peace with Muʿāwiya? Al-Ḥasan could count on 40,000 former adherents of ʿAlī, either because they had clung obstinately to their political ideas, or because they feared reprisals from Muʿāwiya. That this fear existed can be conjectured from the fact that Muʿāwiya lost no time in promising *amān* to all those who asked him for it, and pursued this policy with success when he entered ʿIrāḳ. Granted the method of the ancient Arab chroniclers, it is difficult to place all the episodes of the struggle between Muʿāwiya and al-Ḥasan in precise chronological order. However, it is evident that Muʿāwiya was not slow to demonstrate, either in a speech or in letters to al-Ḥasan, his decision not to recognize the election of the latter to the caliphate; he soon prepared for war, summoning to join him the commanders of his forces in Syria, Palestine and Transjordania. At the start, there was an exchange of letters, embellished with verses, between al-Ḥasan and Muʿāwiya and between ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (in some sources ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās or simply Ibn al-ʿAbbās) and Muʿāwiya on the subject of spies whom the latter had sent to Kūfa and Baṣra (*al-Aghānī*, xviii, 162, etc.). The correspondence continued for some time in a polemical form, returning to old questions—which makes it more interesting (at least if the letters reproduced by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī in his *Maḳātil* are authentic). When Muʿāwiya's warlike intentions became clearer (he had advanced to Mosul, but, at the same time, he was probably making offers by letter for a settlement of the dispute), al-Ḥasan had to prepare for war. At first his supporters did not respond to his appeal; it was only when ʿAdī b. Ḥātim [*q.v.*] urged them on that they began to enlist. To halt Muʿāwiya's advance, al-Ḥasan sent an advance-guard of 12,000 men to meet him, under the command of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, whom he instructed to consult Ḳays b. Saʿd and Saʿīd b. Ḳays al-Hamdānī. His aim may have been to remove from his side this Ḳays, who represented the party for war to the death, because he was already intending to negotiate with his adversary; al-Ṭabarī at least says so expressly (i, 1 ff.). Then he too began to advance (two or three months after the election). At the Sābāṭ of al-Madāʾin he halted and made a speech which disturbed his followers, who probably were already suspicious owing to certain words he had used or else to the slowness of his advance. He stated that he would not entertain any feeling of rancour against a Muslim, that the reconciliation refused by his men was better than the split that they wanted (see, *e.g.*, al-Dīnawarī, 230). His soldiers wondered whether in fact he wished to make peace with Muʿāwiya. The reaction was violent: one group, evidently those most determined to continue ʿAlī's policy, sacked his tent and seized the carpet from under his feet, and his silk cloak was all but torn from his shoulders. Al-Ḥasan shouted for his faithful followers from the Rabīʿa and the Hamdān and, with their help, escaped from these fanatics, took horse and rode away. When he reached Muẓlim Sābāṭ, a certain al-Djarrāḥ b. Sinān al-Asadī, a man of Khāridjī opinions, wounded him in the thigh with a dagger, crying out as he did so "You have become an infidel (*kāfir*) like your father". Bleeding profusely, al-Ḥasan was carried to al-Madāʾin and cared for in the governor's house. After this, the news of the attack on al-Ḥasan became widely known, having been purposely divulged by Muʿāwiya, and it led to desertions; Muʿāwiya advanced as far as al-Akhnūniyya, facing the troops of ʿUbayd Allāh encamped at Maskin; at the same time his advance guard approached al-Madāʾin. It was here that the negotiations, which had probably been opened some time earlier in spite of the opposition of al-Ḥusayn and had been continued by means of envoys representing the two disputing parties, came to a successful conclusion. Al-Ḥasan's troops had no wish to fight, and each day an increasing number of ʿIrāḳīs joined Muʿāwiya.

The conditions of the agreement concerning al-Ḥasan's abdication.—On the matter of the conditions of the agreement, there are in the sources certain variants which it is impossible to correct and reconcile. According to some accounts, Muʿāwiya gave carte blanche (but in respect of what?) to al-Ḥasan, who later regretted not having asked for more. The compensation in money was the sum of one million *dirhams* (annual appanage? in addition to the single payment of 5 million to be taken from the treasury of Kūfa?) and the revenue from a district in Persia (Dārābdjird? Fasā? al-Ahwāz?), which al-Ḥasan was never able to collect since the people of Baṣra were hostile, maintaining that it was a dependency of their own. Some traditions add other conditions which, however, must be suspected of having been interpolated later, in order to reduce the criticisms brought against al-Ḥasan and to show that he had raised certain problems and held firm in regard to his own point of view. These are the conditions: power was to be restored to al-Ḥasan after the death of Muʿāwiya (but the idea of a pre-determined succession had not yet made its appearance, and we know what difficulties Muʿāwiya was later to encounter in securing its acceptance by the Muslim community; from a letter of Muʿāwiya, we may deduce that he represented the matter as being poss-

ible in the future, but without giving any undertaking on his part); according to another source, Muʿāwiya pledged himself not to designate a successor, the choice being referred to a committee (*shūrā*) (but if so Muʿāwiya did not and could not contemplate his son's succession!); again, Muʿāwiya promised to follow "the Book of God, the *Sunna* of the Prophet and the conduct of the righteous caliphs" (but such a condition in the sense that ʿAlī's party gave to it implied the condemnation of ʿUthmān's policy; could Muʿāwiya accept that?); a general amnesty was to be granted; two million *dirhams* were to be paid to al-Ḥusayn (this condition to show that al-Ḥasan had also thought of his brother?); preference would be given to the Hāshimīs (ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids) over the Banū ʿAbd al-Shams (Umayyads) in the granting of pensions (*aʿṭāʾ*) and awards (an admissible condition?).

During his halt at al-Akhnūniyya, face to face with al-Ḥasan's advance guard, Muʿāwiya informed ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās that al-Ḥasan had asked him to make peace, but he was not believed; he then negotiated in secret with ʿUbayd Allāh through the intermediary of a third party and offered him a million *dirhams* if he would join him, and this ʿUbayd Allāh did, unbeknown to his troops. This defection was to lead to a split in the ranks of the advance guard; it seems that 8,000 men followed the example of their general. Ḳays b. Saʿd then took command of the 4,000 who had not left him and invited them to choose between obedience to a misguided *imām* (Muʿāwiya) and war under the command of a leader (himself) who was not an *imām* (a speech handed down with certain variants); it seems that the soldiers preferred to fight, but soon the situation changed, with the result that Ḳays consented to lay down his arms. From Maskin, where he had gone, Muʿāwiya went on to Kūfa; al-Ḥasan rejoined him and declared officially in the mosque that he had renounced the caliphate.

Al-Ḥasan's abdication naturally provoked certain reactions: Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] told him that he would rather have heard that he had died before that day; the same Ḥudjr, or another adherent, accused him of having humiliated the Muslims; others suggested that he should review his decision; some years later, the Shīʿīs, gathering together, showed their disapproval of the fact that al-Ḥasan had not asked for sufficient guarantees, for he had not secured an undertaking in writing from Muʿāwiya that the latter would leave him the caliphate after his death. Muʿāwiya took various measures to prevent future insurrections: some of the tribes that were devoted to the ʿAlids he transferred from Kūfa, replacing them by others from Syria, Baṣra and Mesopotamia (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1920).

What were the motives that led al-Ḥasan to abdicate? We can accept those specified in the sources—love of peace, distaste for politics and its dissensions, the desire to avoid widespread bloodshed—but it is also probable that he was aware that his cause was lost; if it is true that ʿAlī habitually emptied the State treasury (every week, it is said!) to share out the contents, he must have been short of money; moreover, defections had been frequent in the last years of his father's caliphate and had even increased during his own; thus he could not rely on soldiers who had little desire to fight. The consequences of the abdication weighed heavily on the ʿAlids who later claimed the throne. In the polemics against them, the argument that they had lost all claim on account of al-Ḥasan's renunciation was not easy to rebut; a *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, ii, 169, Fr. tr. 238 f.) purported to show al-Ḥasan's lack of resistance as a great merit: Muḥammad is alleged to have said "This my son is a lord by means of whom God will one day reunite two great factions of Muslims".

After the abdication.—During the journey back to Medina, at al-Ḳādisiyya, al-Ḥasan received a letter from Muʿāwiya asking him to take part in the campaign against a Khāridjī, Ibn al-Ḥansāʾ al-Ṭāʾi, who had just started a revolt. Al-Ḥasan replied that he had given up fighting against him in order to bring peace to the people, and that he would not fight at his side. Having settled in Medina, al-Ḥasan lived quietly, at least in appearance, without engaging in politics; as before, he went from one marriage to another, so earning for himself the title of *al-Miṭlāḳ* "the Divorcer". He had 60 or 70 or 90 wives and 300 or 400 concubines. This life of sensual pleasures does not appear, however, to have aroused much censure. In 49/669-70 (other dates: 50, 48, 58, 59), he died of a somewhat prolonged illness, or else from poisoning, attributed by many of the sources to one of his wives, by name al-Djaʿda, daughter of al-Ashʿath; Muʿāwiya is said to have suborned her with the promise of a large sum of money and of marrying her to Yazīd; but it should be noted that al-Ḥasan was in no way anxious to reveal his suspicions to his brother al-Ḥusayn, for fear that vengeance for his death might be taken against some innocent person; the Yemenī chief al-Ashʿath was regarded by the Shīʿīs as a traitor, in the pay of Muʿāwiya, and it is quite possible that the hatred felt for him had been transferred to his daughter. Al-Ḥasan had expressed the wish to be buried beside his grandfather Muḥammad, but Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and ʿĀʾisha together agreed to prevent al-Ḥusayn from carrying out this request (another version: ʿĀʾisha consented, but Marwān was obdurate; *Usd*, 14 f.). They were on the point of taking up arms, but al-Ḥasan had stated that, in the event of opposition, he could be buried in the Baḳīʿ, and Abū Hurayra convinced al-Ḥusayn that the best course would be to take this solution. As we do not know the exact dates either of the agreement for the abdication or of the official ceremony at Kūfa, the length of al-Ḥasan's caliphate cannot be determined; the sources, confronted with the same difficulty, give different periods—five months and ten days, six months and a few days, eight months and ten days.

Al-Ḥasan's physical and moral attributes.—This grandson of Muḥammad was the one who resembled him most closely. According to Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, he had a defect of speech inherited from one of his uncles; it is sometimes added that he was a good orator (and several of his speeches have been reported). He is said to have been a ruler of mild disposition who never lost his composure (*ḥalīm*), generous and pious (it was from piety that he made numerous pilgrimages on foot); but the information that we possess about him stops short at this point, and the absence of any praise of his intelligence, skill or bravery is striking. He was a personage who shone with a reflected light, emanating from his grandfather and his parents.

Al-Ḥasan in the opinion of the Shīʿīs.—All Shīʿīs, of whatever group, regarded and continue to regard al-Ḥasan as their second *imām*; they have never ceased to affirm that he was designated by his father to succeed him as ruler of the faithful. The prerogatives that they attribute to him in his capacity as *imām* are the same as those of the other *imāms* of

their lines (the differentiation of the lines starting with a later *imām*); thus the questions relating to impeccability, infallibility, etc. do not concern him personally.

The abdication of al-Ḥasan, so much criticized in his own time by many of his supporters, thus did not invalidate his position as *imām*; his conduct was justified as springing from his pious detachment from mundane matters. The gap left by the lack of extraordinary qualities was filled, in the Shīʿī texts, by accounts of his miracles, among which were the following: at the time of his birth he praised God and recited the Ḳurʾān; Djibrīl rocked him in his cradle; an angel protected him, and also his brother, when they were asleep far away from their home; while still a child, he called to a palm-tree, and the tree came to him as a son to his father; as a child, he drew honey from a pebble, and Muḥammad showed no surprise; he made an old palm-tree bear fruit; he raised the sanctuary of Mecca into the air; he made the houses of Medina tremble; he flew up into the sky, disappeared and returned after three days; he transported the place where he and other Muslims were together present to Mecca, so that they might see the pilgrims performing the *ʿumra*, and then swiftly restored it to the original spot; he asked God to send him food for 70 travelling companions and, the gates of heaven having opened, angels descended bearing cups, ewers, tables ready prepared, and food that was not only sufficient to satisfy the whole company but did not diminish; he caused water to gush forth when his comrades were searching for it; he took the stars from heaven and then restored them to their places; he revived a dead man, etc. After consulting sources differing from our own, Donaldson summarizes other accounts also, but he is mistaken when he says that the number of al-Ḥasan's miracles is limited to sixteen. The Shīʿis further maintain that Muʿāwiya tried to poison al-Ḥasan 70 times, but never succeeded in killing him because he cured himself by going to Muḥammad's tomb; that the Umayyads shot 70 arrows into al-Ḥasan's body before his burial (Donaldson); that, as a member of the sacred group consisting of Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, himself and al-Ḥusayn, al-Ḥasan shared their prerogatives: creation as images of light thousands of years before the creation of the world, the sending of light into Adam's loins and thereafter into the loins and the wombs of the forebears of the Five. Al-Ḥasan is one of the principal characters of the Persian religious dramas (*taʿziya*).

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AL-ḤASAN B. ʿAMMĀR [see AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH].

AL-ḤASAN B. HĀNIʾ [see ABŪ NUWĀS].

AL-ḤASAN B. ḤAYY [see AL-ḤASAN B. ṢĀLIḤ B. ḤAYY].

AL-ḤASAN B. ḲĀSIM [see IDRĪSIDS].

AL-ḤASAN B. AL-KHAṢĪB [see IBN AL-KHAṢĪB].

AL-ḤASAN B. MAKHLAD [see IBN MAKHLAD].

AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD [see AL-MUHALLABĪ].

AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ʿAṬṬĀR [see AL-ʿAṬṬĀR].

AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ṢABBĀḤ [see ḤASAN-I ṢABBĀḤ].

AL-ḤASAN B. SAHL, secretary of and governor for the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn, and brother of the vizier al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*]. Iranian by birth, the son of a Zoroastrian convert, al-Ḥasan entered the service of the Barmakid al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He later took part in al-Maʾmūn's action against his brother al-Amīn, and when al-Maʾmūn assumed the title of caliph in 196/814 he was put in charge of taxation (*al-kharādj*) in the provinces which the new ruler controlled. After al-Maʾmūn's troops had captured Baghdād, his brother sent him to ʿIrāḳ with instructions to ensure control there, while the caliph remained at Marw. It was at this time that he was confronted first with the ʿAlid revolts of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā and Abu 'l-Sarāyā, which he was able to suppress only with the help of the troops of the general Harthama, and then with a revolt by the population of Baghdād which aimed to depose al-Maʾmun and appoint Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] to the caliphate. After the mysterious assassination of al-Faḍl b. Sahl and the return of the caliph's court to Baghdād, it was expected (according to some authors) that al-Ḥasan would succeed his brother as vizier. In fact he withdrew from politics, afflicted, it is said, by "neurasthenia", but mainly shocked by the circumstances of his brother's death. He retired to his estates at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, near Wāsiṭ, and it was there that there took place, in 210/825, the elaborate celebration of the marriage of his daughter Būrān [*q.v.*] with the caliph al-Maʾmūn, who had retained his esteem for his former supporter. He then made his daughter a gift of the palace to the south of Baghdād, called al-Ḳaṣr al-Ḥasanī, which he owned and which was

to become one of the caliph's palaces. He died at Fam al-Ṣilḥ in 236/850-1 without having held any further office.

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(D. SOURDEL)

AL-ḤASAN B. ṢĀLIḤ B. ḤAYY AL-KŪFĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, traditionist and Zaydī theologian of whose life little is known. It seems that he was born in 100/718-9 and, after giving his daughter in marriage to the son of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, ʿĪsā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī, went into hiding with his son-in-law, so eluding al-Mahdī's search until his death which occurred at Kūfa in 168/784-5. According to the *Fihrist* (178; Cairo ed., 253), he was the author of several works, among which are mentioned: *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd, Kitāb Imāmat wuld ʿAlī min Fāṭima, al-Djāmiʿ fi'l-fiḳh*, etc. With his two brothers ʿAlī and Ṣāliḥ, who shared his doctrine, he was regarded as the founder of the Zaydī sect of the Ṣāliḥiyya, which seems to be iden tical with that of the Abtariyya (Butriyya), and only differs from the Sulaymāniyya in points of detail.

Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 509) places al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ among the number of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, and Ibn al-Nadīm remarks that the majority of the *muḥaddithūn* are Zaydīs; moreover, the relations between the latter and the Muʿtazila are well known, and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 25) makes it clear that al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ is of the same opinion as the Muʿtazila on the question of the imāmate which, according to him, can belong to any family whatsoever. In fact, the main features of the doctrine which is attributed to him are essentially concerned with the imāmate, which is elective and can be conferred on the *mafḍūl*, even if the *afḍal* is known [see IMĀMA] at least insofar as the latter gives consent; consequently the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar is legitimate, given that ʿAlī, who was the best of the Muslims after the Prophet, agreed to forego the office; unlike the other Shīʿīs, the Ṣāliḥiyya thus considered that the Companions were not at fault in not giving preference to ʿAlī (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iii, 80, where he uses the name al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy, as does also al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, § 85). With regard to ʿUthmān, the Ṣāliḥiyya do not excommunicate him and, considering that on the one hand he ranks among the *ʿashara mubashshara* [*q.v.*] and is consequently *muʾmin*, and that on the other hand he performed actions which should earn him the title of *kāfir*, they refuse to take sides (*tawaḳḳuf*). In another connexion, this sect is in favour of the use of force (*sayf*) to compel recognition of the imāmate of any descendant of al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn who is worthy of it, and admits the possibility that two *imāms* may reign in two different countries and be obeyed, even if they take contrary decisions and one of them declares the murder of his rival to be lawful. Al-Shahrastānī adds that, in his time, the adherents of this doctrine confined themselves to the *taḳlīd* and appealed neither to *raʾy* nor to *idjtihād*. In regard to the *uṣūl*, they followed the Muʿtazila, whom they respected more deeply that the masters of Shīʿism, whilst, for the *furūʿ*, they adhered to the doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa, except on certain points on which they followed al-Shāfiʿī or the Shīʿa.

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(CH. PELLAT)

AL-ḤASAN B. TĪMŪRTĀSH [see ČŪBĀNIDS].

ḤASAN B. USTĀDH-HURMUZ, ABŪ ʿALĪ, one of the leading figures of the Būyid régime at the end of the 4th/10th century. His father, Ustādh-Hurmuz, one of the *ḥudjdjāb* of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, is said to have been born in about 300/912; on entering the service of the son and successor of the great Būyid in Fārs, Sharaf al-Dawla, he became governor of ʿUmān for him and then, wishing to transfer his allegiance to the other son, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, master of ʿIrāḳ, he had to return to private life (374/984). The son, Ḥasan, who was born in about 350/961, had for some time been in the service of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla in Baghdād. But some years later they changed places: Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, evicted from ʿIrāḳ by Sharaf al-Dawla, who was succeeded by Bahāʾ al-Dawla, became master of Fārs (380/990), in addition to Kirmān which he already held. Ḥasan came there to see him, and had the governorship of Kirmān given to his father, which he was to retain even after the death of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla and the conquest of Fārs by Bahāʾ al-Dawla. It was Ḥasan who, in Fārs, quelled the revolt of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's cousins, the sons of ʿIzz al-Dīn Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*]; it was mainly he who kept up resistance to Bahāʾ al-Dawla in Ahwāz. In 388/988, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla met his death in a new revolt by Bakhtiyār's sons. Ḥasan then rallied his Daylamī army to the cause of Bahāʾ al-Dawla who, in 391/1001, restored to him the governorship of Ahwāz. His administration there proved to be so successful that Bahāʾ al-Dawla now entrusted him with the administration of ʿIrāḳ, which at that time was racked by widespread disturbances (392/1002); and despite setbacks in his struggle against the lord of the Baṭīḥa, Ibn Wāṣil, and the Kurdish prince Badr b. Ḥasanawayh (with whom he was later reconciled), he retained this province until his death, which took place unexpectedly in 401/1011, at the age of 49 or 51. Though disagreeing about his birth, the authors are unanimous in praising the impartial energy of his administration, which restored order and a sound financial system; for the sake of public order, he forbade the celebration in Baghdād both of the Shīʿī *ʿashūrāʾ* and also of the Sunnī counter-pilgrimage to the tomb of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr; and there is a pretty story to illustrate his scrupulous regard for the property of foreign merchants. His obsequies were conducted by the celebrated *sharīf* al-Raḍī, who wrote a *ḳaṣīda* on him. His father, whom, when he himself was appointed to ʿIrāḳ, he had enabled to succeed him in Ahwāz, survived him until 405/1015.

Bibliography: Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rudhrawārī and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ in Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, iii (and trans., vi), and, for the later period not covered by this work, from 393/1003, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, Ibn al-Athīr, ix, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (unpublished), all derived from Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ's lost work.

(CL. CAHEN)

AL-ḤASAN B. YŪSUF [see AL-ḤILLĪ].

AL-ḤASAN B. ZAYD B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB was a pious man, who, following the example of his father and grandfather, abandoned all political aspirations and reconciled himself to ʿAbbāsid rule. His daughter became the wife of al-Saffāḥ while he himself lived at the Caliph's court, and is even said to have occasionally communicated the views of his ʿAlid relatives and their dependants to al-Manṣūr. In 150/767 al-Manṣūr made him gover-

nor of Medina, but in 155/772 he aroused the Caliph's wrath and was dismissed, imprisoned and had his property confiscated. But restitution was made to him by al-Manṣūr's successor, al-Mahdī, who gave him back all that he had lost, after al-Manṣūr's death. He died in 167/783 at al-Ḥādjir, while on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and was buried there.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 144, 149, 258, 358 f., 377, 400, 453 f. and 2518; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 456; Ibn Ḥazm, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 280; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 420, 454; vi, 4, 21 f., 53.

(FR. BUHL*)

AL-ḤASAN B. ZAYD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL B. AL-ḤASAN B. ZAYD, a descendant of the preceding, founder of an ʿAlid dynasty in Ṭabaristān [*q.v.*]. The high-handed rule of the Ṭāhirids on the one hand and, on the other, the settlement of ʿAlid elements in the region led to a rising in favour of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, *al-dāʿī al-kabīr*, in 250/864. Al-Ḥasan, who was living at Rayy, was proclaimed sovereign by a section of the population of Ṭabaristān and received the allegiance of Wahsūdān b. Djustān of Daylam [*q.v.*]. He succeeded in defeating the Ṭāhirid troops and seizing the towns of Āmul and Sāriya, while Djustān II took Rayy, which he had to abandon in 253/867 before the threat of the army sent by al-Muʿtazz and commanded by Mūsā b. Bughā. Al-Ḥasan had furthermore to be perpetually on his defence against attacks on all sides and was more than once driven out of the country, on which occasions he always found support in Daylam, so that in 257/871 he was able to take Djurdjān and in 259/873 Ḳūmis. In this latter year, Djustān made an unsuccessful attempt to re-conquer Rayy, but he had also to assist the *dāʿī* in his struggle against Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār [see ṢAFFĀRIDS], who had undertaken an expedition against Ṭabaristān; al-Ḥasan was again forced to retire to Daylam but was saved by tremendous rains which obliged his enemy to withdraw. Thus the *dāʿī* was able to return to Ṭabaristān and dwell there undisturbed until 266/888, when Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh invaded Djurdjān and conquered a part of it. While al-Ḥasan was fighting with him there, another ʿAlid, in order to have himself proclaimed ruler, spread the news in Ṭabaristān that the *dāʿī* was killed or wounded, but on al-Ḥasan's return he was defeated and killed. Al-Ḥasan died in 270/884 in possession of his territory, which he passed on to his brother Muḥammad b. Zayd, *al-dāʿī al-ṣaghīr*; his family continued to rule in Ṭabaristān till 316/928. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, who possessed rare energy and the capacity for stubborn resistance, was a sincerely religious man, well educated, and a patron of letters.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1528-33, 1583-6, 1698, 1737 f., 1840, 1873, 1880, 1883-5, 1940, 2104; *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, 570-4; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 85-8, 109, 138, 166, 171 f., 177, 180, 183-5, 199, 208, 233, 286; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 342 ff., viii, 353; Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, transl. Browne, 162 ff.; A. Müller, in *Isl.*, i, 542, 545, ii, 27-32; Th. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, 194-7; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Daïlamites*, Paris 1932; B. Spuler, *Iran*, 71 n. 6, where further references are given, and index. (FR. BUHL*)

ḤASAN ABDĀL, a small town about 40 km. east of Āṭak, Pākistān, 33°48′ N., 72°44′ E., which forms a part of the ruins around the ancient Taxila. It is known as the site of a spring which has attracted legends of sanctity from Buddhist, Hindū, Muslim and Sikh sources, and in its form of the sacred tank of the Serpent King Êlāpatra was described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D. It is now known by Muslims as the spring of Bābā Walī, and by the Sikhs as that of Pandjā Ṣāḥib (Pandjābī *pandjā* 'group of five (sc. fingers)', *i.e.*, 'hand'), from the shape of a mark on a rock from underneath which the water flows. Sikh popular tradition ascribes the mark to the hand of their founder Guru Nānak, although the story is acknowledged by many including some devout Sikhs, to be an invention of the 12th/18th century; certainly there was no shrine of Sikh worship at Ḥasan Abdāl before the time of Randjit Singh.

The 'Bābā Walī' mentioned seems to be the saint Ḥasan of Ḳandahār, called Abdāl, who came into India in the train of Tīmūr, and was an ancestor of the historian Mīr Maʿṣūm, author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Maʿṣūmī*, who recorded his descent from the saint in an inscription on the Buland Darwāza of Fatḥpur Sīkrī. A variant tradition, however, collected by Cunningham (see *Bibliography*), makes one Ḳandahārī saint of Bābā Walī and a Gūdjar saint of Ḥasan Abdāl. The shrine of Bābā Walī stands high on a hill, and the spring at its base is enclosed by a Sikh *gurudwāra*, a tank canopied with mulberry-trees and filled with fish, and several tombs in ruins (one shown in *Annual Report ASI 1919-20*, Pl. Ib), one of which is said to be of a daughter of Akbar(?) and associated in British memories with the tomb of "Lalla Rookh" —the last poem in Moore's romance was recited by the disguised prince at Ḥasan Abdāl; but the historicity of the lady referred to is in doubt.

Historically Ḥasan Abdāl is of interest as having been a popular camping ground of the Mughal emperors on their way to and from Kashmīr; from the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (tr. Blochmann, i, 446) it is apparent that the town bore the name Ḥasan Abdāl in Akbar's time, and that Akbar visited the tomb of Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ there (= the tomb mentioned above as illustrated in *ARASI*, obviously a "Baghdādī octagon" and hence stylistically in the mid-10th/16th century tradition). Opposite the shrine and on the far side of its stream are the remains of a Mughal garden with parterres and fountains, and of a bath; the site is known as Wāh, said to have been so called from the emperor Akbar's cry of admiration at its pleasant prospect.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, i, 446, 515; *Taʾrīkh-i Maʿṣūmī*, tr. Elliot and Dowson, i, 239; M.S. Elphinstone, *Account of the kingdom of Caubool*, i, London 1839; A. Cunningham, *ASI*, ii, s.v.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḤASAN AGHA, successor of Khayr al-Dīn as governor of Algiers, when the latter was recalled to Istanbul on 17 Rabīʿ I 942/15 October 1535 to become *ḳapudan-pasha*.

Ḥasan was of Sardinian origin; he was captured as a child by an Algerine pirate and made a slave of Khayr al-Dīn, who set him free and made him a eunuch and his confidant. While his master was in command at Algiers he performed various civil and military duties, Khayr al-Dīn leaving him at the head of the government with the title of *khalifa*. Until the attack by Charles V (1541) he seems to have acquitted himself well in his duties. It appears that the Count of Alcaudete, the governor of Oran, may have been in contact with him before the Emperor's attack and have believed that he could count on Ḥasan to surrender the town without too much difficulty. It is even possible that the negotiations continued after the defeat of the Spanish expedition.

Subsequently, Ḥasan led a victorious expedition against the Kabyle chief of Kūko in 1542. He may a little later have undertaken a campaign against Tlemcen, but this is doubtful. He gave up his duties in unknown circumstances and died unremarked at Algiers at the end of 1545, aged about 58.

Bibliography: Haëdo, *Hist. des Rois d'Alger*, chap. 3; H. de Grammont, *Hist. d'Alger sous la domination turque*, Paris 1887, 56-72; P. Ruff, *La domination espagnole à Oran (1534-1558)*, Paris 1900, 68-75; R. Basset, *Documents musulmans sur le siège d'Alger en 1541*, Paris-Oran 1890; S. Lane-Poole, *The Barbary corsairs*, London 1890, 112-23. (R. Le Tourneau)

al-ḤASAN al-AʿṢAM, famous Ḳarmaṭī leader of Baḥrayn, born at al-Aḥsā in 278/891, died at Ramla in 366/977. His father Aḥmad b. Abī Saʿīd al-Ḥasan al-Djannābī was the brother of Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān [see al-djannābī]; he died by poisoning in 359/970. Al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam probably never held power alone, it being, after the death of Abū Ṭāhir, held collectively by the latter's brothers; but he was on several occasions in command of the Ḳarmaṭī armies. In 357/968, he took Damascus and defeated the Ikhshīdid governor. He fell into disgrace for misappropriating some of the booty, but regained command after the Fāṭimid conquest of Syria and the change in the attitude of the Ḳarmaṭīs, who allied themselves with the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. With the help of the Buwayhid Bakhtiyār and the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib, al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam in 360 gained a complete victory outside Damascus over the Fāṭimid general Djaʿfar b. Falāḥ, who was killed, and he had the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz cursed in the mosques. He next took Ramla, penetrated into Egypt and laid siege to Cairo. But a sortie by Djawhar [*q.v.*] and the defection of his allies ʿUḳayl and Ṭayyiʾ forced him to retreat, and he returned to al-Aḥsā. Damascus remained in the hands of the Ḳarmaṭīs.

Al-Muʿizz, who arrived in Cairo in 362/973, sent al-Aʿṣam a letter (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, 251 f.) reproaching him for having abandoned the Fāṭimid cause, to which al-Aʿṣam sent an insolent reply. In 363/974 he marched once again against Egypt and laid siege to Cairo. But he was betrayed by his ally al-Ḥasan b. al-Djarrāḥ [see djarrāḥids] and defeated by the Fāṭimid troops under the command of the son of al-Muʿizz, the future al-ʿAzīz, and returned to al-Aḥsā.

The Ḳarmaṭīs who remained in Syria joined forces with the Turk Alptekīn, a Buwayhid afficer who had fled from Baghdād and seized Damascus. A Fāṭimid army commanded by Djawhar arrived outside Damascus in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 365/August 976. Alptekīn and the inhabitants of Damascus then appealed for help to al-Aʿṣam, whose arrival from al-Aḥsā obliged Djawhar to retreat in Djumādā I 366/December 976. Pursued by al-Aʿṣam and Alptekīn, Djawhar abandoned Ramla, then ʿAsḳalān, which he was forced to leave in humiliating conditions. After this, al-ʿAzīz, who had been caliph since 365/975, himself took the field, and Alptekīn and al-Aʿṣam, who had returned to Ramla, suffered a severe defeat there. While the fleeing Alptekīn was soon captured, al-Aʿṣam reached the Lake of Tiberias, where he received an emissary of the caliph and made peace on condition that the caliph paid him an annual tribute of 30,000 *dīnār*s, paid in advance for the current year. Then al-Aʿṣam returned to al-Aḥsā.

These last details are from the account of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (followed by Ibn al-Athīr), who states that the battle outside Ramla took place in Muḥarram 367/August-September 977. But the other sources make al-Aʿṣam die at Ramla in Radjab 366/March 977, a few days after he arrived, already sick, in this town. If, as is probable, al-Aʿṣam died in 366, there may have arisen a confusion between him and his brother or cousin Djaʿfar, who, according to Ibn al-Dawādārī, succeeded al-Aʿṣam in the command of the Ḳarmaṭīs allied to Alptekīn, after his death.

Al-Aʿṣam has sometimes been considered as the principal promotor of the change in the attitude of the Ḳarmaṭīs towards the Fāṭimids.

Bibliography: There is a notice on al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam in al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 115. Among the historians see, under the dates indicated, Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 1-2 (reproduction of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī who copies Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ), 3 f., 15-21; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *PO*, xviii, 817 (119), xxiii, 351-2 (143-4), 358 (150), 389-90 (181-2); Ibn Ẓāfir, MS Brit. Mus. Or. 3685, fol. 48 f.; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, MS Paris 5866, fol. 12r, 14r, 60v; Ibn al-Athīr *sub annis* 357, 360, 364; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 88 f.; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. Shayyāl, 139, 180 f., 200-4, 247-8, 250-1; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 379; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo ed., iv, 31, 56, 58-9, 62, 70, 74-5, 128; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Chronik*, Sechster Teil, *Der Bericht über die Fatimiden*, Cairo 1961, 134, 144, 148-9, 156, 159 f., 175 f., 178-9. For the modern works, see S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, i, Introduction, 219 f., 227-39; Quatremère, *Vie du khal. fat. Moezz-lidin-Allah*, in *JA*, 1837, 76 f.; Defrémery, *Hist. des Ismaéliens de la Perse*, in *JA*, 1856, ii, 376-80; Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten* . . ., *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xxi (1876), 50-1; idem, *Gesch. der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, 114 f., 121 f., 137; De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes* . . ., 157, 182, 183 f., 186-7, 188 f., 190-1; B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismailism*, 81 f.; H. I. Ḥassān and T. A. Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz li-dīn Allāh*, Cairo 1948, 103 f. and index; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Bahrainqarmaṭen*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959), 35 f., 55 f., 65 f., 85 f. (a very important work). (M. Canard)

ḤASAN al-ʿASKARĪ, Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, the eleventh Imām of the Twelver Shīʿa. He is known as al-Ṣāmit, al-Zakī, al-Khāliṣ, al-Naḳī, al-Rafīḳ and al-Hādī. He was commonly called Ibn al-Riḍā (Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā the eighth Imām) among his followers in his lifetime. His *nisba*, al-ʿAskarī, like that of his father the tenth Imām, derives from ʿAskar Sāmarrā. He was born in al-Madīna. Most Twelver Shīʿī authorities give the date of his birth as Rabīʿ I 230/November 844, but al-Kulīnī gives Ramaḍān 232/April 847 (*Uṣūl*, 324). His mother was an *umm walad* named Ḥudayth. Some sources name her Sūsan or Salīl. He was brought to Sāmarrā with his father in 233/847-8 or 234/848-9 and continued to live there. Although he led a life of confinement and strict retirement, he was under constant surveillance during the six years of his Imāmate and was for a while imprisoned by al-Muʿtamid. His brother Djaʿfar took part in intrigues against him.

According to the Twelver Shīʿī traditions, Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī was nominated Imām by his father, the tenth Imām, soon after the death of the previously nominated Imām, his brother Muḥammad Abū Djaʿfar, and a few months before the death of their father in 254/868. The death of Ḥasan's brother, Muḥammad, in the lifetime of their father gave rise

to sectarian dissent, on the ground that the tenth Imām was the last Imām, and owing to the claims of Djaʿfar to the Imāmate.

The eleventh Imām fell ill on 1 Rabīʿ I 260/25 December 873 and died seven days later. He was buried in his house beside his father. His Bāb was ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd. Early Shīʿī authorities (al-Kulīnī, *Uṣūl*, 326; al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 365) say that during the week of his illness, the caliph al-Muʿtamid sent his doctors and servants to attend the Imām, and that a considerable number of ʿAlid and ʿAbbāsid notables visited him. Later Shīʿi sources accuse al-Muʿtamid of poisoning him.

At the death of the eleventh Imām, further dissension arose among the Shīʿa on the question of his posterity [see MUḤAMMAD AL-ḲĀʾIM]. Some believed that he left a child named Muḥammad; other denied it. The latter were of no unanimous view: some held that Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī was al-Ḳāʾim and would return; others regarded his childless death as a proof of their error in supporting his Imāmate and turned to his brother Djaʿfar. Al-Shahrastānī mentions twelve dissentient sects (*Milal*, ed. Cureton, ii, 128-31) while Masʿūdī speaks of twenty (*Murūdj*, viii, 40).

Bibliography: An early and detailed account of the life, miracles, companions and agents of the eleventh Imām is given by al-Kulīnī, *Uṣūl*, lith. Bombay 1302, 324-33 and 202-4. A full account of the sources with extensive citation is given by Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehrān 1302, xii, 154-79. See also al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, Tehrān 1308, 365-8; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, ed. Ritter, 78-89; Ibn Khallikān (De Slane trans.), i, 390-1; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 189; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 366; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Aʾimma al-ithnāʿashar*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Beirut 1958, 113; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 141 ff.; Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin, *Nudjūm* (Cairo ed.), iii, 32.

In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, reference may also be made to ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Khānedān-i Nawbakhtī*, Tehran 1311 solar, index; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shīʿite Religion*, London 1933, 217-25; and J. N. Hollister, *The Shīʿa in India*, London 1953, 90-2.

(J. ELIASH)

ḤASAN BABA, dey of Algiers from the beginning of 1682 till 22 July 1683. He first exercised the functions of corsair-captain (*raʾīs*) at Algiers; in this capacity he took part in the revolt of 1671 which replaced the powers of the *aghas* by that of the deys. Son-in-law of the first dey, Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Ṭrīḳī who was also a corsair, he already played an important part in the days of this timid old man. Thus, when Ḥādjdj Muḥammad fled to Tripoli on receiving news that a French fleet was coming to attack Algiers, Ḥasan Baba had no difficulty in seizing power (beginning of 1682). He engaged in a brief campaign to repulse the Moroccan troops threatening Tlemcen, but hurried back to Algiers, towards which Duquesne's fleet was sailing. The fleet arrived there on 29 July, bombarding the town from 26 August to 12 September. During this time the dey exercised a rigid authority over the town.

Having on this occasion gained nothing, Duquesne returned in 1683 and began to bombard the city afresh on 26 June. This time the dey agreed to negotiate and to hand over hostages, among whom was a *raʾīs* whom he regarded as his rival, Ḥādjdj Ḥusayn nicknamed Mezzomorto. The latter succeeded in procuring his release by Duquesne on 22 July and led the other corsairs to make an attack on Ḥasan Baba, who was murdered the same day.

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ, ABŪ SAʿĪD B. ABI ʾL-ḤASAN YASĀR AL-BAṢRĪ (21/642-110/728), famous preacher of the Umayyad period in Baṣra, belonging to the class of the "successors" (*tābiʿūn*). His father, whose name was originally Pērōz, was made prisoner at the taking of Maysān in Irak, and is said to have been brought to Medina, where he was manumitted by his owner, a woman whose identity cannot be definitely established, and married Ḥasan's mother, Khayra. According to tradition, Ḥasan was born in Medina in 21/642 (for a critique of this tradition see Schaeder, *op. cit.* in bibl., 42-8). He grew up in Wādī ʾl-Ḳurrā and, one year after the Battle of Ṣiffīn, went to Baṣra. As a young man he took part in the campaigns of conquest in eastern Iran (43/663 and the following years). Thereafter he lived in Baṣra until his death in 110/728. His fame rests on the sincerity and uprightness of his religious personality, which already made a deep impression on his contemporaries (Ritter, 14 ff., 33, n. 5), and above all on his famous sermons and pronouncements in which he not only warned his fellow citizens against committing sins, but commanded them to consider and to regulate their whole life *sub specie aeternitatis*, as he did himself. These sermons, of which only fragments have been preserved, are among the best surviving specimens of early Arabic prose. Their vivid images and striking antitheses place them in the class of great rhetoric. It was not without reason that anthologists such as Djāḥiẓ and Mubarrad quoted them together with the famous speeches of the political leaders of the Umayyad period as models of style, and many of his sayings have even found their way into the great dictionaries. Two famous examples are: *ḥādithū hādhihi ʾl-ḳulūba faʾinnahā sarīʿatu ʾl-duthūr* "Repolish these hearts (the seats of religious feeling), for they very quickly grow rusty!" (Ritter 34, mistranslated); *idjʿali ʾl-dunyā ka ʾl-ḳanṭarati tadjūzu ʿalayhā walā taʿmuruhā*! "Make this world into a bridge over which you cross but on which you do not build!" (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 158). It is natural that there is hardly any work of hortatory literature in which some of Ḥasan's sayings are not quoted. His political judgements of the earlier caliphs are not, as is usually the case, confessions of allegiance to a political party, but arise from his religious principles. He criticized fearlessly the rulers of his time, the governors of ʿIrāḳ. When he went so far as to criticize the founding of Wāsiṭ by Ḥadjdjādj in 86/705, he incurred the displeasure of the governor and had to go into hiding until Ḥadjdjādj's death (Schaeder, 55-63; Ritter, 53-5). Nevertheless Ḥasan disapproved of those who took part in attempts to remove by rebellion the evil governors (*taghyīr al-munkar*). When the followers of the rebel Ibn Ashʿath (81/700) ordered him to join them, he explained that the violent actions of tyrants were a punishment sent by God which could not be opposed by the sword but must be endured with patience (Schaeder, 56-7; Ritter, 51). In his sermons he constantly warned against worldly attitudes and attachment to earthly possessions: men are already on the way to death and those who are already dead are only waiting for the others to follow (Ritter, 20). He was suspicious of those who amassed riches. He rejected a suitor for his daughter's hand who was famous for

his wealth simply because of his riches (Ritter, 25), and it did not occur to him to accept uncultivated land (*mawāt*) which was being distributed free: "if I could have everything that lies between the two bridges for a basketful of earth, it would not please me" (Ritter, 25-6). Ḥasan called the worldling, whose faith sat lightly on him and who sinned without concern, by the term *munāfiḳ*, which only he used in this sense. Hence he appears in the doxographies as the chief representative of the doctrine that the *ṣāḥib al-kabīra* was a *munāfiḳ* (Ritter, 42-4). He judged sins strictly (*tas̲h̲dīd al-maʿāṣī*) and considered that the sinner was fully responsible for his actions. He cannot exculpate himself by saying that God created all actions. This is the attitude of the Ḳadariyya. Ibn Taymiyya recognizes the connexion between *tas̲h̲dīd al-maʿāṣī* and Ḳadariyya when he says: "Men call everyone who judges sin harshly a Ḳadarī", and states that for this reason Ḥasan has been accused of adhering to Ḳadarī doctrine. There is no doubt that Ḥasan had taken the standpoint of the Ḳadarīs, although attempts were made already at an early date to clear his reputation of this stain (Ritter, 57 ff.). It appears to be demonstrated also by the *risāla* to ʿAbd al-Malik (ed. Ritter, 67-83). Ḥasan's *uk̲h̲uwwa* "brotherly feeling" and his altruism are also stressed. One of his admirers was the poet Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*], who called him as a witness for his divorce from his wife Nawār (Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 70).

Not much of Ḥasan's work has survived. In addition to the fragments of sermons already mentioned we have a *risāla* to ʿUmar II of an ascetic and hortatory character (Ritter, 21 ff.), a *risāla* to a "brother" in Mecca, to whom he recommended *mud̲j̲āwara*, residence in Mecca (Ritter, 8-9), a work on the 54 *farīḍa*, whose authenticity is not yet established (Ritter, 7-8). According to the *Fihrist* (34, 1), Ḥasan had written a *tafsīr*. L. Massignon, in *Essai*, 162-3, cites a few details of Kur'ānic exegesis. G. Bergsträsser, in *Islamica*, ii, 11 ff., deals with Ḥasan's much sought-after "readings" of the Ḳur'ān. Measured by later standards, Ḥasan handled *ḥadīt̲h̲* in a very careless fashion. His own sayings were circulated as *ḥadīt̲h̲*s, and he did not protest (Ritter, 11). Hence he is judged harshly by the critics of the *muḥaddit̲h̲ūn*. D̲h̲ahabī designates him in the *Mīzān*, s.v., as *kat̲h̲īr al-tadlīs* "rich in forgeries" (Ritter, 2-3).

Influence: The Ahl al-sunna wa 'l-d̲j̲amāʿa and the Muʿtazilīs both considered him as one of them, although the latter at times claimed that their origin was not connected with him. The followers of *futuwwa* considered him, because of his *uk̲h̲uwwa*, as their *imām* (Ritter, 40 ff.). His name appears in the *silsila*s of many Ṣūfī orders as a link in the chain, and he is cited innumerable times in moral works of exhortation. The influence of his ascetic piety persisted in Baṣra (Ritter to be corrected). In the chief work of the Ṣūfī school of Baṣra, the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, it is stated: *wa 'l-Ḥasanu raḥimahu 'llāhu imāmunā fī hād̲h̲a 'l-ʿilmi 'llad̲h̲ī natakallamu bih, at̲h̲arahu naḳfū wa sabīlahū natbaʿu wa min mis̲h̲kātihi nastaḍī'* "and Ḥasan is our *imām* in this doctrine which we represent. We walk in his footsteps and we follow his ways and from his lamp we have our light" (*Ḳūt*, i, 149).

Bibliography: Sources: There is hardly any Arabic annalistic or general biographical work which does not contain something concerning Ḥasan and hardly a work on ethics, exhortation, mysticism or *adab* which does not cite one of Ḥasan's sayings. The following may be mentioned: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/1, 114 ff.; *Fihrist*, 183; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Susanna Wilzer (Bibl. Isl. 21), 18 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-ak̲h̲bār*, Cairo 1925, index; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, no. 155; S̲h̲ahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. Cureton, 32; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1310, *passim*; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, Cairo 1932-8, *passim*; Hud̲j̲wīrī, *Kas̲h̲f al-maḥd̲j̲ūb*, tr. R. A. Nicholson, *GMS* xvii, 86 f.; Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-awliyā'*, ed. Nicholson, i, 24 ff.; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Ādāb Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*, Cairo 1931; *Ak̲h̲bār Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*, ms. Ẓāhiriyya, Damascus, cf. *Fihris* (*Ta'rīk̲h̲*), 306 (not seen); D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, Cairo 1949, index; Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, index; *D̲j̲amharat rasā'il al-ʿArab*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Cairo 1937, i, 378-89.

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ḤASAN BEY-ZĀDE, Aḥmed (d. ? 1046/1636-7), Ottoman historian, was the son of 'Küčük' Ḥasan Bey, who was *Re'īs al-küttāb* for the four months of K̲h̲ādim Mesīḥ Pas̲h̲a's Grand Vizierate (D̲h̲u'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 993—Rabīʿ II 994/December 1585—April 1586) and died in Muḥarram 995/December 1586. Obliged by poverty to abandon the theological career, Ḥasan Bey-zāde entered the *ḳalem* service (probably in 998/1590 or 999/1591) as a clerk to the *Dīwān-i Hümāyūn*. He was present on the Hungarian campaigns of 1005/1596 and 1007/1598 as secretary of the *serdār*. At the beginning of the Uyvar/Neuhausel campaign of 1008/1599, Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a made him his *bas̲h̲ tedhkered̲j̲i* (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ed. of 1281-3, i, 214), in which post, with a short period as 'acting' *re'īs al-küttāb* during the Kaniz̲h̲a campaign (Solakzāde, 656), he served successive *serdār*s until at least 1013/1604. He is mentioned as *defterdār* of Anadolu in 1018/1609 (Naʿīmā, ii, 71). Thereafter, but with many periods out of office, he held a succession of posts whose sequence and duration is not yet established (*defterdār* of Tuna (twice), Aleppo, Karaman; *beglerbegi* of Kefe, Karaman). According to Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa (i, 285 = ed. Flügel, no. 2160) he died in 1046/1636-7.

His History of the Ottomans, as yet unpublished, falls into two parts: the first two-thirds is an abridgement of the *Tād̲j̲ al tawārīk̲h̲* of Saʿd al-Dīn [*q.v.*]; the rest is apparently original and, for the later reigns, of great importance, since it depends on Ḥasan Bey-zāde's own experiences. Manuscripts are fairly numerous: to those listed in Babinger, 174 and 414, in *Istanbul Kütüpaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, i/2, 1944, 116-8, by O. F. Köprülü [see *Bibl.*], and in F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı ... türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, i, 1961, nos. 745-7, add Konya, Mevlana Müzesi 3086. The History was first composed in 1031-2/1622-3 (see Flügel, ii, 255); but the manuscripts vary both in their content (? two recensions, see *Tarih Dergisi*, ii/3-4, 99) and in the points to which they reach: at least three (Nuruosmaniye 3106, Tarih Kurumu 517, Konya) have continuations to 1039 (=Solakzâde, p. 749, see below),

and two (Vienna 1049, Köprülü) to 1045/1636 (= Solakzāde, 763). The work served as a main source for Pečewī (see *Taʾrīkh*, i, 3 etc.), Kātib Čelebi (see *Fedhleke*, i, 11 etc.) and Naʿīmā (perhaps indirectly, through Shāriḥ al Manār-zāde, see *Taʾrīkh*, i, 10, and NAʿĪMĀ); while Solakzāde [*q.v.*] frequently follows it so slavishly that he reproduces verbatim Ḥasan Bey-zāde's autobiographical references : thus at *Taʾrīkh*, 610 and 635, for example, *ishbu ṣāḥib al-ḥurūf* and *bu faḳīr* refer to Ḥasan Bey-zāde (Naʿīmā, e.g., at i, 309, occasionally does the same). It remains to be investigated whether a complete edition of the work is required or whether its essential information is in fact already available through these published texts.

Ḥasan Bey-zāde is the author also of *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī niẓām al-ʿālam* (MS: Istanbul, Belediye O.49), dedicated to Čelebi ʿAlī Pasha (Grand Vizier 1029-30/1619-21); it is a collection of maxims of government, abridged from the *Rawḍ al-akhyār* of Meḥmed b. Khaṭīb Ḳāsim (d. 940/1533, see *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 17; Brockelmann, II, 429), itself based on the *Rabīʿ al abrār* of al-Zamakhsharī. A *medjmūʿa* in the possession of Prof. Cavid Baysun (for details see *Tarih Dergisi*, ii/3-4, 100, n. 8 and *TM*, x, 322-3) contains some poems composed by Ḥasan Bey-zāde (who used, besides his personal name Aḥmed, the *makhlaṣ* Ḥamdī), and three *fetḥnāmes* (one incomplete) which he wrote for the capture of Kanizhe (1009/1600). In the Public Record Office in London are preserved two letters informing Queen Elizabeth of this victory, one from the Sultan (SP 102/4, partial trans. in B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman Okl. 1963, 166-8), the other from the Grand Vizier (SP 102/61): these were probably composed by Ḥasan Bey-zāde.

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(J. H. Mordtmann-[V. L. Ménage])

ḤASAN BUZURG, founder of the Djalāyirid [*q.v.*] dynasty.

ḤASAN ČELEBI [see ḲINALĪZĀDE].

ḤASAN DIHLAWĪ, Nadjm al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿAlā al-Sidjzī al-Dihlawī (b. 655/1275, d. 737/1336), eminent poet and hagiographer of Islamic India, is principally known for his *Dīwān* and for the *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, a compilation, made between 707/1307 and 721/1321, of the *dicta* of his preceptor Niẓām al-Dīn al-Awliyā [*q.v.*]. The authoritativeness of the later work is acknowledged by his contemporaries, including the historian Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī [*q.v.*], as well as in all subsequent hagiographies compiled in India. He was a close friend of Amīr Khusraw and, like him, attached at Multān to the court of Prince Muḥammad (Shahīd), son of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (665/1266-686/1287). They were both attached to the court of ʿAlā al-Dīn Khaldjī (696/1296-716/1316). Later he migrated to Dawlatābād in Dakhan and died there. His fame as a poet was eclipsed by that of Amīr Khusraw, but in his own right he is the master of a direct, appealing style.

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(Aziz Ahmad)

ḤASAN FEHMĪ, Ottoman statesman, was born near Batum, the son of Ḥādjdjī-oghlu Sherīf Molla and grandson of one Meḥmed Agha. After primary education there he went to Istanbul, where he studied Arabic, Persian, and French with private tutors, as well as law. He began government service as an employee of the Translation Bureau in 1858, subsequently becoming an official in various commercial courts. While so employed he wrote for the newspapers *Taḳwīm-i Tidjāret* and *Djerīde-i Ḥawādith*. In 1868 he became president of the first *medjlis* of the Commercial Court, but was dismissed, probably in late 1871, during the Grand Vizierate of Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. For some years thereafter he practised law privately.

Upon the institution of the constitutional regime by Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*], Ḥasan Fehmī, then chief clerk of the Translation Bureau, was elected a deputy by the Istanbul electors on the fourth ballot, on 1 March 1877. When the chamber met on 21 March, it elected him one of the four secretaries for the first session. On the closing day of that session, 28 June 1877, Ḥasan Fehmī made the major speech, pointing with pride to the chamber's free discussion and to its beneficial actions, even though in his view it had not accomplished all it should have done.

Chosen again on 12 November 1877 as an Istanbul deputy for the second session of the parliament, Ḥasan Fehmī became president of the chamber by election on the third ballot, taking office on 31 December. As president he was more moderate and courteous than had been his predecessor Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha [*q.v.*] in the first session, but allowed more digression by those who spoke. The session over which he presided, prorogued by the sultan on 14 February 1878, passed no bills, but effectively criticized the ministry. Ḥasan did not, like Aḥmed Wefīḳ, assume the rôle of government spokesman. After the chamber's dissolution Ḥasan Fehmī continued as vice-president of a special chamber committee, over which the sultan presided, to aid refugees from the Russo-Turkish war.

In 1878 Ḥasan Fehmī was appointed Minister of Public Works. While occupying this office he taught commercial law and international law in Istanbul. He was also for a time director of the civil list (*Khazīne-i Khāṣṣa nāẓiri*). His lectures on law were published in summary form in a book entitled *Telkhīṣ-i ḥuḳūḳ-i düwel*, but after a *jurnal* submitted to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II the book was suppressed and he was reprimanded. In 1881 Ḥasan Fehmī attained

the rank of vizier, and became Minister of Justice. In the first months of 1885 he was sent on a special diplomatic mission to London to negotiate the Egyptian question. In 1889 he became collector of customs (*Rüsūmāt emīni*), in 1892 *wālī* of Aydīn, and in 1895 *wālī* of Selânik, then again collector of customs and president of the Council of Accounts (*Dīwān-i muḥāsebāt*). He was the second Turkish delegate to sign the peace after the Greco-Turkish war of 1897.

Despite his many offices under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, Ḥasan Fehmī retained the reputation of being untainted by the régime, and after the revolution of 1908 was regarded by some affection by the Young Turks as an "Old Young Turk" and a living link between the first and the second constitutional periods. During the two years following the revolution he was twice Minister of Justice and once President of the Council of State in various cabinets, and became a member of the Senate. He died in 1910 in his house at Edirne Ḳapī and was buried in the family cemetery at Fātiḥ on Agha Yokushu. His wife was the daughter of ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ghālib Pasha.

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ḤASAN FEHMĪ Efendi, known as Aḳshehirli, an Ottoman Sheykh al-Islām. The son of ʿOthmān Efendi of Ilgin, he was born in 1210/1795-6, and held various appointments in the teaching branch of the *ʿIlmiyye* [*q.v.*] profession. In 1275/1858-9, on the death of Yaḥyā Efendi [*q.v.*], he was appointed to the office of *Ders Wekili*, with the duty of teaching and preaching on behalf of the Sheykh al-Islām. Djewdet, who had reason to be hostile to Ḥasan Fehmī, indicates that the appointment was made for want of any one better, and says that he was known among the students as *kadhūbī*—the liar (*Tezâkir 13-20*, ed. Cavid Baysun, Ankara 1960, 69; according to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, he earned this soubriquet by not fulfilling the promises he made to the influential people whom he approached). His position became much stronger after the accession of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, whose preceptor he was. In 1863 he accompanied the Sultan to Egypt, where he is said to have had learned conversations with the Azharī Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Saḳḳāʾ [*q.v.*]. In 1867 he became Ḳāḍīʿasker of Anatolia, then of Rumelia, and in April 1868 was appointed, for the first time, as Sheykh al-Islām. This was a time when the modernization of the apparatus of government was reducing the jurisdiction and power of the office of the Sheykh al-Islam; the creation in particular of new administrative bodies dealing with law and education meant a curtailment of his authority in matters previously regarded as his exclusive concern [see bāb-i mashīkhat]. Ḥasan Fehmī tried to resist these encroachments. The first object of his counter-attack was the committee which, under the chairmanship of Aḥmad Djewdet [*q.v.*] and the authority of the *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*, was preparing a new Ottoman civil code, the famous *Medjelle* [*q.v.*]. Djewdet and his committee had successfully resisted the pressure of the extreme Westernizers, egged on by the French ambassador Bourée, for a French-style code, and were preparing a modern statement of Ḥanafī Muslim law. They now had to face the opposition, on the other side, of the *ʿulamāʾ*, led by the Sheykh al-Islām, who saw in the preparation of this code under the department of justice a usurpation of the funčtions and prerogatives of his own office. Ḥasan Fehmī offered various obstructions to the work; in 1870 he procured the removal of Djewdet to other duties and the transfer of the *Medjelle* committee, under a new chairman, to the jurisdiction of his own office. Djewdet later returned to the chairmanship, but the feud between him and Ḥasan Fehmī continued (Ebul'ulâ Mardin, *Medeni hukuk cephesinden Ahmet Cevdet Paşa*, Istanbul 1946, 64, 70, 78-80, 82, 84, 88 f., 91 ff., 98-9, 106, citing Djewdet's own account of these matters from his unpublished memoranda).

Another objective was the newly opened *Dār al-Funūn*, designed by the Ministry of Education to grow into a university and serve as the corner-stone of a modern educational system. Ḥasan Fehmī was not present at the ceremonial opening in 1870; there is good reason to believe that he was instrumental in bringing about the closing of the *Dār al-Funūn* in the following year. There is some evidence that one of the circumstances leading to this closure was a public lecture given by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, which was reported to the Sheykh al-Islām as being heretical and blasphemous (Osman Keskioğlu, *Cemaleddin Efgani*, in *Ilâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1962, 92-6, where other Turkish sources are cited; M. Z. Pakalın, *Son sadrıazamlar* ..., iv, Istanbul 1944, 136 ff.; Osman Ergin, *Türkiyede maarif tarihi*, ii, Istanbul 1940, 460 ff.; Meḥmed ʿAlī ʿAynī, *Dār al-Fünūn taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1927 (not seen); E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-09*, Cambridge 1910, 7; R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, Princeton N.J. 1963, 271).

Ḥasan Fehmī was dismissed from office in September 1871, ten days after the death of his protector the Grand Vizier ʿĀlī Pasha [*q.v.*], and two weeks after the return of Djewdet as chairman of the *Medjelle* committee and a member of the Council of State. He returned to office for a second term as Sheykh al-Islām in July 1874, and remained until May 1876. He lost no time in resuming his quarrel with Djewdet, whom he blamed for the transfer of the *Medjelle* committee from the *bāb-i fetwā*, under his own jurisdiction, to the Sublime Porte (Mardin, *op. cit.*, 114 ff., 123 f.). The work on the *Medjelle* proceeded, however, and by now the Sheykh al-Islām was even willing to attend the first prize-giving ceremony of the Galatasaray school in 1875 (Maḥmūd Djewād, *Maʿārif-i ʿUmūmiyye Neẓāreti taʾrīkhče-i teshkīlāt we idjrāʾātī*, Istanbul 1338, 152). The last eight and a half months of his tenure of office coincided with the second Grand Vizierate of Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha [*q.v.*], and ended with his tall. The riots of 10 May 1876 were directed especially against the Grand Vizier and the Sheykh al-Islām, the rioters demanding the dismissal of both. Ḥasan Fehmī's unpopularity was no doubt due in part to his association with a very unpopular minister. There is also some evidence that he was personally unpopular among the *ʿulemāʾ* and theological students (see for example Meḥmed Memdūḥ, *Mirʾāt-i shuʾūnāt*, Izmir 1328, 64-5, where he is accused of giving advancement only to his own followers, and of appointing unqualified persons). Prof. Davison (*Reform* ..., 325) hazards the guess that his unpopularity among the students may have been due to the influence of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, against whom he is said to have acted in 1870.

The hostility of Djewdet, better grounded and more potent, will no doubt have had some effect. Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha is said to have tried to pacify the students by offering to replace Ḥasan Fehmī, but without avail. Both were dismissed on 11 May 1876. In 1877 Ḥasan Fehmī was sent to Medina, where he died in 1881.

Ḥasan Fehmī combined the offices of Chief Muftī of the capital (Sheykh al-Islām) and chief preceptor of the palace, and was therefore called *Djāmiʿ al-riyāsatayn*. This combination was unusual but not unprecedented (see for example SAʿD AL-DĪN). He was the author of a number of books, chiefly text-books and commentaries, some of which were printed. He also composed poems in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

Bibliography: in addition to works cited in the article *ʿIlmiyye Sālnāmesi*, 1334, 599-601; *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, i, 216-7; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1340, 306-7; Aḥmed Rāsim, *Istibdāddan ḥākimiyet-i milliyyeye*, ii, Istanbul 1925, 120 ff.; Ismail Hami Danişmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, iv, Istanbul 1955, index; Niyazi Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964, index. (B. LEWIS)

ḤASAN FEHMĪ, a Turkish journalist who achieved a brief celebrity in 1909 as editor of the newspaper *Serbestī*, in which he made violent attacks on the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ]. His murder on the Galata bridge by an unknown assailant on the night of 6-7 April 1909 (n.s.) was blamed by both the liberals and the Muhammadan Union [see ITTIḤĀD-I MUḤAMMEDĪ] on the Committee, and his funeral was made the occasion for hostile demonstrations and speeches. A period of mounting tension followed, culminating in the mutiny of troops of the First Army Corps on 31 March o.s. = 13 April n.s.

Bibliography: Turkish newspapers 7-13 April 1909, n.s.; F. McCullugh, *The fall of Abd-ul-Hamid*, London 1910, 23-4, 62-3, 71-4; A. Sarrou, *La jeune-Turquie et la révolution*, Paris-Nancy 1912, 76; Yūnus Nādī, *Ikhtilāl we inḳilāb-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1325 (solar), 19 ff.; Ali Cevat Bey, *Ikinci meşrutiyetin ilânı ve otuzbir Mart hadisesi*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat, Ankara 1960, 46; Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk inkilâbı tarihi*², i/2, Ankara 1964, 129, 183-4; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*², 1965, 210-1. (B. LEWIS)

ḤASAN KĀFĪ [see AḲ ḤIṢĀRĪ (d)].

ḤASAN KÜČÜK [see ČŪBĀNIDS].

ḤASAN, MĪR [see MĪR GHULĀM ḤASAN].

ḤASAN PASHA, son of Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and placed in command at Algiers three times: 1544-1551, 1557-1561, and 1562-1567. The son of an Algerine woman, he was less than 28 years old when appointed pasha of Algiers for the first time. His first command (as deputy to his father, who was both Beylerbey and Ḳapudan Pasha) was marked at the beginning by the strengthening of the fortifications of Algiers, found to be inadequate after the expedition of Charles V in 1541. On the other hand, he tried to settle the question of Tlemcen, still as much under the influence of the Spaniards of Oran as that of the Turks of Algiers. To this end he organized two campaigns against Tlemcen: one, in 1544, was victorious; the other, in 1546, was cut short when he learnt of the death of his father in Istanbul and hastened back to Algiers. From this time he received the title of *beylerbey* which his father had always held.

From 1550 onwards he had in addition to cope with the Moroccans. The Saʿdid Muḥammad al-Shaykh had taken Fez in 1549 and thus become ruler of all Morocco. Ḥasan Pasha thought to ally himself with him against the Spaniards of Oran, but the Saʿdid profited from this alliance to seize Tlemcen (9 June 1550). Ḥasan Pasha reacted at once, retook Tlemcen, and even pursued the Moroccan troops as far as the Moulouya. This was the beginning of a Moroccan policy which the Turks were long to pursue.

The *beylerbey* was recalled to Turkey in September 1551 as the result of many intrigues. He was once again sent to Algiers in June 1557 to replace Ṣāliḥ Pasha, who had died the year before.

Relations were again strained between the Saʿdids and the Turks, for the Moroccans had retaken Tlemcen. Ḥasan Pasha rapidly ejected them and even entered Morocco, but for fear of having his lines of communication cut by the Spaniards he did not push on as far as Fez. At the same time he sent to Morocco some Turks, pretending to be deserters, who succeeding in assassinating the Saʿdid ruler on 23 October 1557. He then turned against the Spaniards, whom he heavily defeated on 26 August 1558. In 1559 he wished to strengthen the Turkish hold on Kabylia and inflicted a serious defeat upon his enemies in September 1559. After this he tried to enroll the Kabyles in his service against the Moroccans. The outraged Janissaries seized the *beylerbey* and sent him in chains to Istanbul (September 1561).

Quickly vindicated, Ḥasan Pasha returned to Algiers a year later. He at once made serious preparations against the Spaniards of Oran. The siege of Mers el-Kebir lasted two months (3 April-7 June 1563), but failed, as a consequence of the arrival of a relieving fleet. In the following year Ḥasan Pasha received orders to prepare his fleet for the Ottoman attack on Malta, and he took part in this in July 1565. Although the siege failed, the Algerians and their commander served with distinction.

The Ottoman archival sources provide some supplementary details on Ḥasan Pasha's career. Upon his recall from Algiers in 1551, he was appointed *sandjaḳ-begi* of Manisa, but held office for only a short time: he was retired, with a *dirlik*, in 962/1554 (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme register no. i, p. 212, no. 1326, of 15 Muḥarram 962). The text of the firman ordering him to participate in the attack on Malta is preserved (Mühimme, vi, p. 263, doc. 561). As beylerbey he followed his father's policy of hostility to the French, and was hence accused of piratical activities against French ships (Mühimme, vi, p. 637, doc. 1398). After his second recall from Algiers in 1567, he played a part in the battle of Lepanto [*q.v.*]: he was ordered to command part of the fleet sent from Istanbul to the Archipelago (Mühimme, xii, p. 244, doc. 510), and during the battle fought in the centre, with the Ḳapudan Pasha, Müʾedhdhinzāde ʿAlī Pasha. On 2 December 1571 he was again appointed beylerbey of Algiers (Mühimme, xvi, p. 313, doc. 555) but did not go to his post (Mühimme, x, p. 99, doc. 157, of 23 Shaʿbān 979/12 January 1572), probably because he was already ailing. He died in 1572, and was buried beside his father at Beshiktash. His elder son Maḥmūd commanded a ship at Lepanto; the younger, Meḥmed, was a *müteferriḳa* (Mühimme, xxv, p. 93, doc. 1050, of 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 981).

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1888, 50; A. Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des chérifs au Maroc*, Paris 1904, chaps. 4 and 6; P. Ruff, *La domination espagnole à Oran*, Paris 1900, chaps. 9-13; Aziz Sami Ilter, *Şimalî Afrika'da Türkler*, Istanbul 1936, i, 124-40, *passim*; R. Le Tourneau, *Les débuts de la dynastie saʿdienne*, Algiers 1954, chap. 4; Sir Godfrey Fisher, *The Barbary States*, London 1957, 76, 81-2, 85.

(R. Le Tourneau and Cengiz Orhonlu)

ḤASAN PAS̲H̲A, governor of the Bag̲h̲dād *eyālet* (*wilāyet*) (and intermittently of adjacent provinces also) from 1116/1704 to 1136/1723, and father and predecessor of Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], founded the line of Mamlūk rulers of ʿIrāḳ which lasted till 1247/1831. A Georgian by origin and son of an officer of Murād IV, he was born about 1068/1657, educated in the Sarāy schools, and advanced rapidly to the governorships of Konya, Aleppo, Urfa and Diyārbakr. In ʿIrāḳ he showed exceptional gifts of character by his piety, firmness and justice, and, by yearly (at times monthly) expeditions, successfully imposed discipline on the unruly Arab and Kurdish tribes, secured a high (if never flawless) standard of law and order, and demanded justice and honesty from his subordinates. The Ottoman declaration of war on Persia in 1136/1723 involved Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a in important military operations and a large-scale invasion of enemy territory in the winter of that year. He died at Kermāns̲h̲āh before the spring, and his posthumous title of "conqueror of Hamadān" was strictly earned not by him but by his son Aḥmad: but his own lengthy tenure of the Pas̲h̲alıḳ was rightly judged as outstandingly successful.

Bibliography: As for Aḥmad Pasha [*q.v.*].

(S. H. Longrigg)

ḤASAN PAS̲H̲A, Čataldjalı, Ottoman Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a. The son of a Janissary from Čatald̲j̲a, he was trained as a saddler in the household of the *Čās̲h̲nagīr* Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a. The patronage of the *Dār al-saʿāda ag̲h̲ası* Muṣṭafā procured him appointment in the Palace service successively as *Maṭbak̲h̲ emīni*, *Čawus̲h̲-bas̲h̲ı*, *Ḳapıd̲j̲ı-bas̲h̲ı* and *Mīrak̲h̲ur-i ewwel* [see sarāy]. Upon his appointment as Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a in 1035/1625-6 he was given in marriage ʿĀʾis̲h̲a Sulṭān, the daughter of Aḥmed I.

As Admiral, he procured the installation of D̲j̲ānıbek Girāy as K̲h̲ān of the Crimea (1037/1627-8). In 1040/1630-1 he destroyed the Cossack fleet which had ravaged the Black Sea coasts while he was cruising in the Ionian islands and he repaired and re-fortified Özi ([*q.v.*], Oczakov) on the Dnieper. The jealousy of the *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* Red̲j̲eb Pas̲h̲a, who suspected that he was aspiring to supersede him, led to Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a's dismissal as Ḳapudan (12 Rabīʿ I 1041/8 October 1631) and appointment as beylerbey of Budin. While he was supervising the movement of troops in Rumeli, he died at Dog̲h̲an Köprüsü in Northern Thessaly. His body was brought to Istanbul and buried by a *mekteb* (in *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, ii, 132: a *mesd̲j̲id*) which he had founded in the Gedik Pas̲h̲a quarter.

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(Cengiz Orhonlu)

ḤASAN PAS̲H̲A [see d̲j̲ezāʾirli g̲h̲āzī ḥasan pas̲h̲a, kāhya ḥasan pas̲h̲a, k̲h̲ādim ḥasan pas̲h̲a, ṣoḳollī, tiryākī ḥasan pas̲h̲a, yemenli ḥasan pas̲h̲a, yemis̲h̲d̲j̲i ḥasan pas̲h̲a].

Dāmād ḤASAN PAS̲H̲A, (? -1125/1713), Ottoman Grand Vizier. The sources refer to him sometimes as "Moralī", *i.e.*, "from the Morea" and sometimes as "Enis̲h̲te", *i.e.*, "brother-in-law" (of the sultan, in this instance). He became a *čokadār* and then, in 1095/1683-4, rose to the rank of *silāḥdār*. On the accession to the throne of Süleymān II in Muḥarrem 1099/November 1687 he was made governor of Egypt (with the status of vizier)—an appointment that he held until 1101/1689-90, when, according to the *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, he became *mutaṣarrıf* of Brusa and Nicomedia (Izmid). Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a, in 1102/1690-1, received the hand of K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a Sulṭān, a daughter of Meḥemmed IV. After serving for some time as *Bog̲h̲āz muḥāfıẓı* he was sent, in 1105/1693-4, to govern the island of Sāḳız (Chios). The war of the "Sacra Lega" (Austria, Venice, Poland) against the Ottoman Empire was still in progress (1684-99). Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a now, in 1106/1694, had to meet at Chios the assault of a Venetian naval force sailing under the command of Antonio Zeno and consisting of about one hundred vessels, great and small, with more than eight thousand troops on board. Effective resistance was not possible and Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a, after a brief siege, surrendered the island to the Venetians, the Muslim garrison and the Muslim population on Chios being allowed to depart, with their arms and baggage, for Čes̲h̲me on the mainland of Asia Minor. As a punishment for this reverse Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a suffered a brief incarceration, after which he became governor of Kefe (Kaffa) in the Crimea (*Nusretnâme*, i/1, 27). He was raised, in 1106/1695, to the rank of fifth and then of second vizier (*Nusretnâme*, i/1, 27, 33). Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a now held office in succession as *muḥāfıẓ* of Edirne (1107/1695-6: *Nusretnâme*, i/1, 110), as *Beglerbegi* of Anadolu (1109/1697: *Nusretnâme*, i/3, 302) and as *Beglerbegi* of Ḥaleb (1109/1697: *Nusretnâme*, i/3, 307). Appointed to be *ḳāʾimmaḳām* at Istanbul in 1110/1698 (*Nusretnâme*, i/3, 353), Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a continued to serve in different capacities, until, not long after the accession of Aḥmed III, he was made Grand Vizier on 8 Red̲j̲eb 1115/17 November 1703, retaining that office till 28 D̲j̲umādā I 1116/28 September 1704. Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a became governor of Egypt for the second time in 1119/1707 and then, in 1121/1709, governor of Tripoli in Syria. He served as *Beglerbegi* of Anadolu once more in 1124/1712 and later in the same year was transferred to Raḳḳa in Syria. He died in Rebīʿ II 1125/May 1713.

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(V. J. Parry)

SEYYID ḤASAN PASHA, Ottoman Grand Vizier under the sultan Maḥmūd I; a native of a village in the district of Shārkī (Shebin) Ḳara Ḥisār, he entered the Janissary Odjak, in 1146/1733-4 attained the rank of *ḳul-kāhyasī* (lieutenant-general), took part in the Persian campaigns and in mid-Rabīʿ I 1151/29 June-8 July 1738, during the war with Austria, was promoted to be Agha of the Janissaries. After receiving the title of vizier on 22 Ramaḍān 1152/26 December 1739 for his bravery in this war, he was appointed Grand Vizier on 4 Shaʿbān 1156/ 23 September 1743, owing his nomination to the favour of Bashīr, the influential *Kïzlar-aghasï* (chief black eunuch) of the Imperial Ḥarem. The continuation of the war with Nādir Shah [*q.v.*], the cessation by the convention of 18 January 1744 of the border warfare with Austria, which had been going on intermittently since the Peace of Belgrade (1739), and various diplomatic steps, instigated by the celebrated adventurer Aḥmed Pasha Bonneval [*q.v.*] with a view to the reception of the Porte into the European Concert, all fell within his period of office. As a result of Palace intrigues he was dismissed on 22 Radjab 1159/10 August 1746 and banished to Rhodes. In the following year (mid-Rabīʿl 1160/13 March-1 April 1747) the governorship of Ič-il and a little later (mid-Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda/12-23 November) that of Diyārbakr was given him, and he died in the latter town at the end of 1161/1748.

Illiterate, but a wise and experienced man, he occupied with success the highest posts of the Empire for almost a decade. As a pious Muslim he built in 1158/1745 in the Bāyazīd quarter of Istanbul, near a khān constructed by himself, a two-storey building including a mosque, a *madrasa* and a public fountain.

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SHERĪF ḤASAN PASHA, Ottoman Grand Vizier in the reign of Selīm III, was the son of Čelebi Ḥādjdjī Süleymān Agha, one of the *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] of Rusčuḳ, who is mentioned in the year 1183/ 1770 as leader of the troops of Rusčuḳ, Silistre and Yergögü (Giurgewo) in the war against Russia (1769-1774). He himself took part with distinction in the raid led by the Crimean Khān into the Ukraine in the winter of 1769, a campaign celebrated through Baron de Tott's description (*Mémoires*, ii, 202-67), as *serdengečdi aghasī* (chief of the volunteers). In the course of the campaign he was rewarded for the financial support which he had given the Grand Vizier Muḥsinzāde Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] by being granted the rank of *ḳapudjī bashī*, and on 23 Djumādā II 1187/11 September 1773 was appointed commandant of Rusčuḳ with the rank of vizier. Being transferred shortly afterwards to the post of commandant of Silistre, he defended it with success when the Russians attacked at the end of the year. After the conclusion of peace (July 1774) he fell into disgrace, lost the rank of vizier and spent a number of years in exile in Gümüldjine and Salonica. After the outbreak of war with Russia at the end of 1201/ autumn 1787 he was again given various military commands on the Danube and, following the death of Djezā'irli Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], he was appointed on 1 Shaʿbān 1204/16 April 1790 Grand Vizier and *Serdār-i ekrem* (commander-in-chief) in his place. While his brother Seyyid Meḥmed was able on 25 Ramaḍān/8June to inflict at Yergögü a considerable reverse on the Austrians who had declared war on the Ottoman Empire, his own campaign against the Russians was most unfortunate; towards the end of the year the latter captured in rapid succession the fortresses of Kili, Tulča, Isaḳdja and Ismāʿīl and, as Sherīf Ḥasan Pasha had moreover brought suspicion upon himself by all kinds of arbitrary actions and the frankness of his reports, he was surprised in the night of 9 Djumādā II 1205/12-13 February 1791 in his quarters in Shumnu (Shumla) and shot by the Sultan's orders.

Bibliography: Aḥmed Djāwīd, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, suppl. ii, 43 ff.; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 160; Wāṣif, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 63, 267, 290; Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*², iv, 62, 67, v, 18-102; Zinkeisen, *GOR*, vi, 768, 796-814; I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1956, iv/1, index. (J. H. MORDTMANN-[E. KURAN])

ḤASAN-I RŪMLŪ, grandson of the *ḳïzïlbāsh* chief Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū, the governor of Ḳazwīn and Sāudj Bulāgh, who died in 946/1539-40. Ḥasan-i Rūmlū was born at Ḳumm in 937/1530-1, and was trained in the Ṣafawid army as a *ḳürči*.

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū is chiefly remembered as the author of a twelve-volume general history entitled *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*. Only two volumes are extant, but these are probably the most valuable ones. Vol. x, covering the period 807-899/1405-1493, exists only in MS. in Leningrad (Dorn 287). C. N. Seddon published (Baroda 1931) the text of Vol. xi, covering the period 900-985/1494-1577, and (Baroda 1934) an abridged translation of this volume (see Storey, i/1, 306-08; Rieu, *Supp.*, 55; description by Seddon in *JRAS*, 1927, 307-13, and reviews by V. Minorsky in *BSOS*, vii/2 (1934), 449-55, and vii/4 (1935), 990-3).

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, as a *ḳïzïlbāsh* officer, concentrates on military affairs, and has less information on administrative matters than other chroniclers of the period; moreover, political caution leads him to present the actions of the *ḳïzïlbāsh* in the most favourable light. Despite this, the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* contains valuable biographical material, and remains the best authority for the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76). From 948/1541-2, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū accompanied the Shāh on most of his expeditions, and was an eye-witness of events from that date until 985/1578, in which year he brought his chronicle to a close with an account of the accession of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh.

Bibliography: references in the text. (R. M. SAVORY)

ḤASAN-I ṢABBĀḤ, first *dāʿī* of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs at Alamūt. Ḥasan was born at Ḳumm, son of an Imāmī Shīʿī of Kūfa, ʿAlī b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥimyarī. He studied at Rayy and there, sometime after the age of seventeen, was converted to Ismāʿīlism. (The tale of his schoolfellow pact with ʿUmar Khayyām and Niẓām al-Mulk, his later enemy, is a fable.) In 464/1071-2 he became a deputy of ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭṭāsh, chief Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* in the Saldjūḳ domains; in 469/1076-7 he was sent to Egypt, presumably for training, where he remained about three years. (The stories of his conflict there with the *wazīr*, Badr al-Djamālī, are not dependable.) On returning to Īrān, he travelled widely in the Ismāʿīlī cause. In 483/1090 he seized the rock fortress of Alamūt [*q.v.*] in Rūdhbār in Daylamān with the aid of converts among the garrison. This was one of the first coups in a general rising against the Saldjūḳ

power by the Ismāʿīlīs, which emphasized seizing fortresses and assassinating key opponents and had wide success after Malik̲sh̲āh's death (485/1092); these insurgents were called Nizārīs [*q.v.*] after they broke with the Fāṭimid Egyptian government in 487/1094 in support of the claims of Nizār to the imāmate. Meanwhile Ḥasan, as leader in Rūd̲h̲bār, was taking a number of strongholds there and making them as self-sufficient as possible. After 498/1104, under Muḥammad b. Malik̲sh̲āh, the Sald̲j̲ūḳ forces recovered many fortresses, including the headquarters of Ibn ʿAṭṭās̲h̲'s son near Iṣfahān; Ḥasan's post at Alamūt proved a crucial stronghold, resisting persistent Sald̲j̲ūḳ assaults. In 511/1118 a major siege of Alamūt broke up only on Muḥammad's death. By this time, Ḥasan seems to have been recognized as chief throughout the Nizārī movement. His remaining years, till 518/1124, were mostly peaceful and devoted to consolidating into a cohesive (but territorially very scattered) state such of the Nizārī holdings as had been retained.

Ḥasan led a retired and ascetic life and imposed a puritanical regimen on Rūd̲h̲bār. He executed both his sons, one for alleged murder, the other for drunkenness. He was learned in the philosophical disciplines and wrote cogently. We have a portion of his autobiography, an abridgement of a treatise of his on theology, and possibly other writings. He expounded in Persian an intensely logical form of the S̲h̲īʿī doctrine of *taʿlīm*, that one must accept absolute authority in religious faith; this form of the doctrine became central to the Nizārī teaching of the time and greatly affected al-G̲h̲azālī.

Neither in the intellectual nor in the political sphere do we know how far Ḥasan was an originator, how far simply the most successful exemplar of the new ways used by the Nizārīs. Among later Nizārīs, Ḥasan came to be looked on as the chief figure of the "*daʿwa d̲j̲adīda*", the reformed Ismāʿīlī movement dating from the break with the Egyptian government. He was the *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a*, the living proof of the vanished *imām* after Nizār's death, and the authorized link with the line of *imām*s who subsequently appeared in Alamūt. He was called *sayyid-nā*, "our master", and his tomb became a shrine. Outsiders ascribed to him the organization of the whole Nizārī movement and especially the organization and training of the *fidāʾīs*, dedicated assassins, who later may have formed a special corps.

What we have of Ḥasan's writings, in addition to brief citations and perhaps summaries in later Nizārī works, is preserved in al-S̲h̲ahrastānī and in Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-tawārīk̲h̲*, and D̲j̲uwaynī (who is less full); the latter two give primary data on his life. For discussion and bibliography, see Marshall G. S. Hodgson, ***The Order of Assassins*: *the struggle of the early Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs against the Islamic world*** (The Hague 1955). For an uncritical but interesting modern Ismāʿīlī evaluation, see Jawad al-Muscati, *Hasan bin Sabbah* (2nd. ed.: Ismailia Association Pakistan, Karachi 1953 or 1958).

(M. G. S. HODGSON)

ḤASAN AL-UṬRŪS̲H̲, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿUMAR AL-AS̲H̲RAF B. ʿALĪ ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN [see ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN], born about 230/844 at Medīna of a K̲h̲urāsān slave girl, died in S̲h̲aʿbān 304/beginning of 917 at Āmul as ruler in Ṭabaristān, is still recognized under the official name of al-Nāṣir al-Kabīr as Imām by the Zaydiyya [*q.v.*] in the Yemen.

Al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ came to Ṭabaristān in the reign of the ʿAlid al-Dāʿī al-Kabīr al-Ḥasan b. Zayd [see AL-ḤASAN B. ZAYD B. MUḤAMMAD]; his brother and successor al-Ḳāʾim bi 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥammad b. Zayd distrusting him, he endeavoured to found a kingdom of his own in the east, at first with the support of the governor of Naysābūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-K̲h̲ud̲j̲istānī, who took D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān from al-Ḳāʾim. But tale-bearers cast suspicion on al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ and al-K̲h̲ud̲j̲istānī threw him into prison in Naysābūr or D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān and had him scourged, which injured his hearing and to this he owes his epithet "the deaf". On his release he returned to al-Ḳāʾim Muḥammad and in 287 or 288 or (according to Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*, Tehrān 1307, 229, line 14, ed. Cairo 1949/1368, 694) not till 289/900-1 he shared in the latter's defeat at D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān by Muḥammad b. Hārūn, then a partisan of the Sāmānid [*q.v.*] Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad. Al-Ḳāʾim died as a result of a wound; al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ fled and went to Dāmag̲h̲ān and Rayy among other places. On the death of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid in 289/902, he came forward again, especially as Muḥammad b. Hārūn, who had quarrelled with the Sāmānids, supported him. Al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ received a welcome from D̲j̲astān of Daylam (or his son Wahsūdān; cf. Vasmer, in *Islamica*, iii, 165 ff.). The friendship of the D̲j̲astānids, which dated from the time they and al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ were with al-Ḳāʾim, was as fickle as their attitude to Islam, which their ancestor Marzbān had adopted only a century earlier. Several joint undertakings thus came to nothing; al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ recognized the necessity of first of all securing a following of his own, and through them the followers of the D̲j̲astānids. He conducted Islamic missions and ʿAlid propaganda from Hawsam among the not yet converted tribes on the coast of the Caspian Sea and in Gīlān and also built mosques.

The Sāmānid Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl in 298/910 sent Muḥammad b. Ṣaʿlūḳ to Ṭabaristān with orders to prevent the foundation of the new state; but a K̲h̲urāsān army superior in numbers and still more so in equipment was completely defeated by the Daylamīs under al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ at S̲h̲ālūs in D̲j̲umādā I 301/December 913; many fugitives were driven into the sea; a detatchment led by Abu 'l-Wafāʾ K̲h̲alīfa b. Nūḥ escaped to the fortress of S̲h̲ālūs, surrendered to al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ on a promise of pardon, but was shortly afterwards massacred by his general and son-in-law al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ had in the meanwhile gone to Āmul with the rest of the army, sent for by the terrified inhabitants, and had taken up his abode in the former palace of al-Ḳāʾim Muḥammad. He was able to instal his officials from S̲h̲ālūs to Sāriya, unhindered by the Sāmānids, because just then Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl was murdered and his son Naṣr had first of all to make his position secure against his family and the notables. The Ispahbed S̲h̲arwīn b. Rustam of the house of Bāwand, which had been very dangerous to the earlier ʿAlids, made peace with al-Uṭrūs̲h̲.

In accordance with the usual experience in the foundation of ʿAlid states, more difficulty was found in getting the numerous relatives to work together. As al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ was at least 70 when he entered Āmul, and his sons seemed rather incapable, the tension that had formerly existed between al-Ḳāʾim Muḥammad and al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ was now repeated between the latter and the already mentioned general al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim. The latter broke for a time with al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ and even took him prisoner on one occasion, but had to fly to Daylam in face of the general indignation. But equally general was the pressure

brought by the notables upon the dying al-Uṭrūsh to designate this same al-Ḥasan as his successor, and they at once paid homage to him after the death of al-Uṭrūsh.

Al-Uṭrūsh owed his rise not only to the skilful way in which he took advantage of the political discord on the Caspian Sea but also to his unusual intellectual ability. He was also a poet (cf. Brit. Mus. MS, Suppl. 1259, iv, and specimens in the *Ifāda*, see *Bibl.*), but he particularly cultivated dogmatics, tradition and law (cf. also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 183, lines 11 ff.). His *Ibāna* has been preserved indirectly (see *Bibl.*); he differs from the Yemen practice in the ritual of burial and minor points of the law of inheritance; he also recognized the validity of the formula of repudiation when pronounced three times in succession as equivalent to three separate repudiations, by which he aroused the opposition of the Twelver Shīʿīs, who were numerous in the north; one of his sons, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, actually joined them; and he himself used their form of washing the feet, of course combined with the general Shīʿa refusal to recognize the rubbing of the covered foot as a substitute for washing; he also showed himself less strict against members of other faiths, which is intelligible in view of his political and missionary aims. A particular Zaydī sect, the Nāṣiriyya, was called after him, which was only merged in the Ḳāsimiyya, which had become predominant in the Yemen, by the Imām al-Mahdī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, son of the above mentioned al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim.

The latter, known as al-Dāʿī al-Ṣaghīr, succeeded al-Uṭrūsh and was able to conquer Naysābūr in 308/920 through Laylā b. Nuʿmān, an old general of his predecessor, and even to send an army against Ṭūs. But he was killed in 316/928 when going from Rayy to the relief of Āmul, which was occupied by Asfār b. Shīrwayh al-Daylamī and Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār. His power had always been limited by the sons of al-Uṭrūsh: Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Djaʿfar b. al-Uṭrūsh had taken Āmul in 306/918 with the help of Muḥammad b. Ṣaʿlūk, governor of Rayy, and again in 312/925, on each occasion holding it for a short time. In 311/924 his brother Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad had entered it; his son Abū ʿAlī Ḥusayn and his brother and successor Abū Djaʿfar had also to fight an anti-Imām in Djaʿfar's son Ismāʿīl, who however was poisoned in 319/931. In the meanwhile, another relative of al-Uṭrūsh, Abū Faḍl Djaʿfar, had set himself up with the title al-Thāʾir fi 'llāh and soon after 320/932 was able to occupy Āmul for a time, aided by his policy of taking sides alternately in the wai between the Ziyārid Washmgīr with the Būyids who were now coming to the front, especially as the Fīrūzānid al-Ḥasan and a certain Ustundār of the Bādūs(e)pānids who had once been conquered by the Dāʿī al-Kabīr al-Ḥasan b. Zayd also intervened.

This little ʿAlid state in the north of the Muslim world was continually able to hold its own, although its importance and size constantly changed, among the petty native princes, the Fīrūzānids, notably Mākān b. Kālī, and Djastānids, Ziyārids, Ispahbads of the house of Bāwand, Būyids and Sāmānids, even in spite of domestic troubles. It lasted down to about 520/1126, the year of the death of Abū Ṭālib al-Ṣaghīr Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī b. al-Muʾayyad, who could not prevail in Daylam against the Assassins; we can hardly reckon in this line the alleged ʿAlid dynasty of Kiyā-Ḥusaynī in Gīlān from the end of the 8th/14th to the end of the 9th/15th century. Abū Ṭālib was the great-grand-nephew of the Imām al-Nāṭiḳ Abū Ṭālib (see *Bibl.*) who, born in 340/951, has given us the most important account of al-Uṭrūsh, based on the stories of eye-witnesses, such as his father.

Al-Bīrūnī, permeated by the ancient Persian traditions, blames Ḥasan al-Uṭrūsh for destroying the family organization of the Kadhkhudā, established by the mythical Farīdūn (*al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, text 224, tr. 210; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*², 214, and idem, *Sočinenya*, i, Moscow 1962, 273).

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(R. STROTHMANN)

ḤASANAK, properly, Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās (d. 423/1032), the last *wazīr* of Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] of Ghazna. Becoming governor of Khurāsān at an early age, Ḥasanak went on the pilgrimage in 414/1023 and allowed himself to be persuaded (Bayhaḳī, 209) to return via Cairo and there to accept a robe of honour (*khilʿa*) from the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ẓāhir. This resulted in his being suspected by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Ḳādir of being an adherent of the Fāṭimid Caliphate. After his return to Ghazna, therefore, the ʿAbbāsid Caliph demanded of Maḥmūd that he should have him executed «as a Ḳarmaṭī» [*q.v.*]. (This indicates that in Baghdād at that time Fāṭimids and Ḳarmaṭīs were classed together). Maḥmūd clearly regarded the accusation as unfounded, and went so far as to appoint Ḥasanak *wazīr* in 415/1024, his predecessor Maymandī being thrown into prison. Maḥmūd attempted to pacify the ʿAbbāsid Caliph by sending the robe of honour, and other presents which Ḥasanak had received, to Baghdād, where they were burnt.

During the last six years of Maḥmud's reign, Ḥasanak exerted a remarkable influence over him, but seems to have opposed his son Masʿūd [*q.v.*] and supported the descendants of Masʿūd's brother Muḥammad. This brought about his downfall after Maḥmūd's death (23 Rabīʿ II 421/30 April 1030). He was immediately banished to Herāt (Bayhaḳī,

52), accused of offending against Masʿūd (Bayhaḳī 64) and, mainly as a result of efforts by the finance minister, Abū Sahl Sawsanī, tried on the old charge of being a Ḳarmaṭī. The ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Ḳādir also, evidently offended that his wishes in 415/1024 had not been complied with, again interfered. After a trial which Bayhaḳī (178-89) describes in detail, in an account clearly sympathetic to Ḥasanak, the latter, clad only in a shirt, was strangled on Wednesday 28 Ṣafar 423 (the corresponding 14 February 1032 was a Monday), and his head given in derision to his chief opponent Sawsanī; his corpse remained tied to a pillory for seven years.

According to all that can be ascertained from the sources, Ḥasanak did not die merely as a result of court intrigues and the dynastic struggle of Maḥmūd's two sons. He was evidently also a victim of the deeply rooted fear felt by the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs and the Ghaznavids of an Ismāʿīlī revolution, a fear not entirely unfounded in view of the numerous subversive currents all over Western Asia and Persia during the 5th/11th century, even if in individual cases it was directed against the innocent.

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(B. Spuler)

ḤASANĪ, name given in Morocco to the money minted on the orders of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan from 1299/1881-2 onwards.

The object was to replace the previous Moroccan coinage consisting of a multitude of bronze, copper or silver coins; the gold coins had practically disappeared a long time before. The currency previous to Mawlāy al-Ḥasan was victoriously rivalled by different foreign currencies, mainly Spanish, French and English, especially since the financial crisis created by the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60 (cf. G. Ayache, *Aspects de la crise financière au Maroc après l'expédition espagnole de 1860*, in *RH*, ccxx (Oct.-Dec. 1958), 3-42).

The coins minted were the *riyāl* or douro of a nominal value of 5 French francs, and the *nuṣṣ* (*niṣf*) *riyāl* or half-douro, both of the standard of 900/1,000, then three other coins of the standard of 835/1,000: *rubʿ riyāl* (quarter of a douro), *dirham ḥasanī* or *ḥasanī* (tenth of a douro) and finally *bilyūn* or *gersh* (*ḳirsh*) equal to a twentieth of a douro. All these coins were silver.

Bibliography: In his account of Moroccan money, Ch. de Foucauld (*Reconnaissance au Maroc*, 22, n. 1) does not mention *ḥasanī* coins, although his journey took place after Mawlāy al-Ḥasan's monetary reform; Ch. R. Leclerc, *Le Commerce et l'industrie à Fez*, in *Afr. Fr. —Renseignements coloniaux* (August 1905), 309-10; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *L'organisation des finances au Maroc*, in *AM*, xi (1907), 171-251; R. Sidbon Beyda, *La question monétaire au Maroc*, Paris 1921; A. Reynier, *La Banque d'Etat du Maroc et les banques d'émissions coloniales*, Casablanca 1926; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 284-5; J. L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe*, iii, Paris 1962, 429-36.

(R. Le Tourneau)

ḤASANĪ (pl. Ḥasaniyyūn), name of the ʿAlid [*q.v.*] *sharīfs* descended from al-Ḥasan, son of ʿAlī and Fāṭima. *Ḥasanī* is thus contrasted with *Ḥusaynī*, the name of the descendants of their second son. In Morocco, the surname of Ḥasanī is particularly reserved to those *sharīfs* descended from Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil [*q.v.*] in order to distinguish them from their Idrīsid [*q.v.*] cousins. The Ḥasanī family have played a considerable part in the history of the Maghrib and the Western Sahara, not only by reason of their number but also in giving birth to two great Sharīfian dynasties; that of the Saʿdids [*q.v.*] in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries and that of the ʿAlawids [*q.v.*], which has been reigning in Morocco from the middle of the 11th/17th century to the present day (the ʿAlawids are also known under the names of Filālīs or Sidjilmāsīs and the Saʿdids under that of Zaydānīs).

The date and reason for the establishment of the Ḥasanīs in southern Morocco are not precisely known, and it is hardly possible to verify the legends handed down to us in the abundant literature. The Arabic writers, however, are agreed in fixing the arrival of the first *sharīfs* at Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*] towards the end of the 7th/13th century, either brought back from Arabia by pilgrims or as a result of the journey of a special deputation which sought them at Yanbūʿ, a little port in the Ḥidjāz. The inhabitants of the oases of the Tafilalet (capital: Sidjilmāsa) welcomed them in the hope of ensuring for themselves good date-harvests in the future. The first of these *sharīfs* bore the same name as his ancestor al-Ḥasan. He is now known by the surname of al-Dākhil, that is, the first to enter. A first cousin of this personage, Zaydān, appears to have been summoned about the same time and for the same reasons by the tribes of the oases of the Wādī Draʿ. It has been suggested that these ʿAlids may have come to Morocco with the Maʿḳil tribes [*q.v.*], who at that time were establishing their rule over the Moroccan oases south of the Atlas, where the *sharīfs* would have played their traditional part as bringers of good luck and judges in the quarrels of these nomads from Arabia. The hypothesis is attractive but has not yet been verified.

Several Arab authors have questioned the direct lineal descent from Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, and even the Sharīfian origin of the first Saʿdids, but today the genealogy of all the Ḥasanīs, though perhaps not always unquestionable, is in fact not questioned. The genealogical table published here is complementary to that given for the ʿAlids, and therefore does not go back earlier than the common grandfather of the Saʿdids and the ʿAlawids.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās*, Fās 1309/1891-2; Idrīs b. Aḥmad, *al-Durar al-bahiyya*, 2 vols., Fās 1309/1891-2; Ḳādirī, *al-Durr al-sani*, Fās 1309/1891-2; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 3 vols., Fās 1316/1898-9; A. Cour, *Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs*, Paris 1904; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922; J. D. Brèthes, *Contribution à l'histoire du Maroc par les recherches numismatiques*, Casablanca [1939]; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, 2 vols., Casablanca 1949-50; Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, new ed. Casablanca 1955-6, French trans. in *AM*, ix (1906), x (1907), xxxiv (1936); G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956.

(G. Deverdun)

Genealogical Table of the Ḥasanī Sovereigns of Morocco
(cf. the table for the ʿAlids, at vol. i, p. 401)

- ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib
  - Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya
    - about fifteen generations
      - Muḥammad (both entered Morocco at the end of the 13th century:)
        - Aḥmad [Saʿdids of the Wādī Draʿ]
          - Zaydān (ancestor of the Saʿdids)
            - Makhlūf
              - ʿAlī
                - ʿAbd al-Raḥmān
                  - Muḥammad
                    - Maḥammad al-Ḳāʾim bi-Amr Allāh
                      - Aḥmad al-Aʿradj (d. 1557)
                      - Maḥammad I al-Mahdī (d. 1557)
                        - ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib (d. 1574)
                          - Muḥammad al-Maslūkh (d. 1578)
                        - ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ghāzī (d. 1578)
                        - Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (d. 1603)
                          - al-Maʾmūn (d. 1613)
                            - ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1623)
                              - ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 1626) [Saʿdids of Fās]
                          - Abū Fāris (d. 1608)
                          - Maḥammad II (d. 1613)
                          - Zaydān (d. 1627) [Saʿdids of Marrākush]
                            - ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 1631)
                            - al-Walīd (d. 1636)
                            - Maḥammad III (d. 1654)
                              - Aḥmad al-ʿAbbās (d. 1659)
        - Ḳāsim
          - al-Ḥasan al-Dākhil (ancestor of the ʿAlawids) [ʿAlawids of the Tafilalet]
            - Muḥammad
              - al-Ḥasan
                - ʿAlī al-Sharīf al-Sidjilmāsī
                  - Yūsuf
                    - ʿAlī
                      - Maḥammad
                        - ʿAlī al-Marrākushī (d. 1597)
                          - al-Sharīf (abdicated 1636)
                            - Muḥammad I (d. 1664)
                            - al-Rashīd (d. 1672)
                            - Ismāʿīl (d. 1727)
                              - Muḥammad II (d. 1729)
                              - ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1757)
                                - Muḥammad III (d. 1790)
                                  - Yazīd (d. 1792)
                                  - Hishām (d. 1799)
                                    - ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 1859)
                                      - Muḥammad IV (d. 1873)
                                        - al-Ḥasan I (d. 1894)
                                          - ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (deposed 1908, d. 1943)
                                          - ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ (abdicated 1912, d. 1937)
                                          - Yūsuf (d. 1927)
                                            - Muḥammad V [1] (d. 1961)
                                              - al-Ḥasan II
                                  - Ḥusayn (d. 1799)
                                  - Sulaymān (d. 1822)

[1]) banished from Morocco from 19 August 1953 until 16 November 1955, his place being taken by his uncle ʿArafa b. al-Ḥasan.

ḤASANWAYH, name of one of the Kurdish chieftains (and of the dynasty descended from him) who, in the 4th/10th century and at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, succeeded in founding and maintaining in Western Iran and Upper Mesopotamia more or less autonomous and lasting principalities.

Ḥasanwayh b. Ḥusayn (Abu 'l-Fawāris) belonged to a branch of the Kurdish tribe of the Barzikānī, other groups of which were led by several of his relatives (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 518-9). The death of two uncles (349/960 and 350/961) and the use of force against a nephew enabled him to gather into his hands a certain number of fortresses and "protections", *ḥimāyāt* [*q.v.*], in the middle Djibāl (Ḳarmīsīn region). The assistance he gave the Būyids in their struggles against the Sāmānids and their Iranian allies earned him favours from Rukn al-Dawla which in turn permitted him to increase his influence over the Kurds of these areas. This emboldened him to resist with force the governor of the province of Hamadhān, Sahlān b. Musāfir, after trouble over the taxes he owed, and things might have gone badly for him if the expedition against him organized by Rukn al-Dawla's *wazīr*, Ibn al ʿAmīd, had not been interrupted by the latter's death. The dead man's son and successor, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-ʿAmīd, negotiated with him, and in return for tribute of 50,000 *dīnār*s and considerable numbers of animals, granted him financial autonomy, with the right to collect taxes in his province (Ṣafar 360/December 970). He became reconciled with Sahlān, who was himself semi-independent, and allied himself with him by marriage. In the struggle between the Būyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*] and his cousin ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] he contrived, while promising his aid to the former in view of his connexion with the Būyid of the Djibāl, Fakhr al-Dawla, to confine this to sending him his sons ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ and Badr and postponing his own arrival until Bakhtiyār was beaten and put to death. Several unpublished letters written by Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sābiʾ (*Rasāʾil*, Paris MS, fols. 55 v., 94r., 97r.; Leiden MS, fols. 129r., 200 v.) in the name of Bakhtiyār or of the caliph al-Tāʾiʿ, bear witness to these negotiations. Meanwhile, Ḥasanwayh seems to have managed to make his peace with ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who at least took no measures against him; he died in 369/979 in his fortress of Sarmādj (south of Bīsutūn).

Dissension broke out among his numerous sons. In the struggle in which Fakhr al-Dawla set himself up against his brothers ʿAḍud al-Dawla and Muʾayyid al-Dawla of Rayy, several Ḥasanwayhids including ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ were on the side of the first, while others including Badr supported ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The defeat of Fakhr al-Dawla involved his Kurdish allies, Sarmādj was taken from one of them, Bakhtiyār, and in the end all the sons of Ḥasanwayh were put to death except Badr (Abu 'l-Nadjm) who, with the title of *ḥādjib*, was installed as general leader of the Barzikānī Kurds in the name of Muʾayyid al-Dawla, heir to the possessions of Fakhr (370/980). These facts are substantiated by a letter of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf (C. Cahen, *Une correspondance buyide inédite*, in *Studi orientalistici . . . Levi Della Vida*, i, 87).

Abu 'l-Nadjm (later Nāṣir al-Dawla) is considered by the historians to be a prince worthy of all praise. Though a faithful vassal of Muʾayyid al-Dawla, whom, for example, he assisted in fighting the Ziyārid Ḳābūs [*q.v.*], he was equally loyal to Fakhr al-Dawla once more, when the latter had peacefully succeeded Muʾayyid al-Dawla after ʿAḍud al-Dawla and Muʾayyid al-Dawla had died. In the quarrels between the various claimants to the succession of ʿAḍud al-Dawla he successfully supported Fakhr al-Dawla against Sharaf al-Dawla, suppressed the revolt of a Barzikānī chieftain near Ḳumm, and on Fakhr al-Dawla's death appears as a counsellor to the government of the young heir and his mother, whom he assisted for example in repelling the claims of Maḥmūd of Ghazna (ʿUtbī, trans. Reynolds, 424). He came meanwhile to a good understanding with the new Būyid in Baghdād, Bahāʾ al-Dawla, through whose efforts the Caliph conferred upon him in 388/998 the *laḳab* mentioned above. At that time he possessed the territories of Sābūr-Khwāst, Dīnawar, Nihāwand, Asadābād, Barūdjird, and several districts of Ahwāz, as well as Ḳarmīsīn, Ḥulwān and Shahrzūr from time to time. Abū Shudjāʿ Rudhrawārī, who regards the Barzikānī as "the worst tribe on earth for brigandage", hymns his skill, energy and justice, which enabled him to impose on them a respect for order, to conduct a sensible financial administration, to develop the mountain roads and the markets (including, at Hamadhān, a market for the sale of his own produce), to foster religion, and to secure by large gifts the safety and welfare of the pilgrimage which crossed his territory; several surviving coins show that he struck his own coinage (some new coins of his have been published by G. C. Miles in *Mém. de la mission arch. en Iran*, xxxvii, 143-5).

The last period of his principality brought him several trials nevertheless. In the quarrels in which the Būyids or their dignitaries opposed each other, the assistance or hospitality which he gave to some involved him in the anger of others. The Ḥasanwayhids had immemorially been rivals of the Shādjahān Kurds, their western neighbours (towards Ḳarmīsīn and Ḥulwān) and of the most influential family among them, that of the ʿAnnāzids [*q.v.*]; Badr had expelled from his territory Abu'l Fatḥ ibn ʿAnnāz, who had taken refuge among some ʿUḳaylī [*q.v.*] Bedouins in Upper Mesopotamia; in 397/1006-7 there were hostilities from this quarter. Again, Badr had alienated his eldest son, Hilāl, and preferred a younger; at one moment victorious with the help given him by the vassal ruler of Shahrzūr, Hilāl was finally vanquished by an army sent by Bahāʾ al-Dawla; but through this affair Ibn ʿAnnāz, with whom Badr had been obliged to reconcile himself, had improved his position. More generally, the Kurdish subjects and neighbours of Badr ceased to respect him, and it was in fighting a minor group that Badr met his death in 405/1014.

This was the end of the family. It is true that in the previous year Bahāʾ al-Dawla had died and Ṭāhir (Ẓāhir), a son of Hilāl, had again taken Shahrzūr; and Hilāl, being freed, arrived to take his father's place. But after a few months they were conquered and put to death by the son of Abu 'l-Fatḥ ibn ʿAnnāz, Abu'l Shawḳ [see ʿANNĀZIDS], whose power in the Djibāl was henceforth to replace that of the Ḥasanwayhids. There remained in the hands of the family, which had been stripped of all other possessions, only its old stronghold of Sarmādj, where the last heir died in 439/1047, at the moment when a new conqueror was entering the country, the Saldjūḳ Turk Ibrāhīm Ināl.

Bibliography: Apart from the occasional sources given in the article, all the information derives from the history of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, as it has been transmitted to us (apart from the brief extract

preserved for the years 389-92) through the works of Miskawayh and Abū Shudjāʿ up to 389, Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik al Hamadhānī up to 367, Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Athīr, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī [see BŪYIDS/BUWAYHIDS]. Further information beyond that given here may be found in V. Minorsky's articles KURDS, in *EI*[1], and ʿANNĀZIDS, in *EI*[2], and in his commentary on *Abu Dulaf's travels in Iran*, 1955, 93 (on Sarmādj); see also Zambaur, 211, and B. Spuler, *Iran* (index).

(CL. CAHEN)

ḤASDĀY B. SHAPRŪṬ (ca. 294-365/905-75), Jewish dignitary at the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and al-Ḥakam II, in Cordova (see ḲURṬUBA). He mastered Arabic, Hebrew, Latin and the Romance vernacular, and specialized in medicine. Originally perhaps a court physician, he soon figures as a supervisor of customs and as a diplomat dealing with embassies from Byzantium and Germany, going on a mission to León, bringing to Cordova the Queen of Navarre and her grandson Sancho of León (347/958). Assisted by a Greek monk he studied, and improved on the earlier Arabic translation of, the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides, sent from Byzantium.

He was the head (*Nasī*) of the realm's Jewry. Hebrew accounts, poems and documents tell of his services to and contacts with Jews in Spain, the East, Byzantine Italy, Toulouse, and the Khazar kingdom; of his court at which Hebrew scholars and poets served, and of his fostering the development of a native school of Jewish learning. Probably this activity, which made Spanish Jewry independent of foreign lands in communal administration and cultural orientation, was favoured by the Spanish caliphate.

Bibliography: S. W. Baron, *A social and religious history of the Jews*[2], Philadelphia 1957-8; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii; E. Ashtor, *History of the Jews in Muslim Spain* (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1960, Ch. v and 159 ff., 233-8.

(M. PERLMANN)

ḤĀSHID WA-BAKĪL, a large confederation of tribes in the highlands of northern Yaman. For well over two millennia the confederation has kept its identity and territory with little change.

The article on the confederation by J. Schleifer in *EI*[1], based in the main on al-Hamdānī's survey (4th/10th century) and on E. Glaser's visit to the land of Ḥāshid in 1884, sets forth many details not repeated here.

Since the dawn of history the confederation has occupied a large part of the region between Ṣanʿāʾ and Ṣaʿda, with Ḥāshid generally established on the western side and Bakīl on the eastern. As both Ṣanʿāʾ and Ṣaʿda have often been capital cities for Yamanī dynasties, the confederation has been in the main current of political life. Virtually every historical work on the Yaman discusses the doings of Ḥāshid and Bakīl, so that it is impossible to review their annals comprehensively in a short space.

The later kings of Sabaʾ included a dynasty sprung from Ḥāshid and another from Bakīl. Even then the two tribes were commingled, though often hostile towards each other; both dynasties had Maʾrib as their capital and the palace of Salḥīn as their residence, and both venerated the same deities.

J. Ryckmans, who has worked with the Sabaean inscriptions, identifies Ḥāshid as intra-Hamdān and Bakīl as ultra-Hamdān. The Arab genealogists disagree with this identification. According to Ibn Ḥazm, the children of Hamdān's son Nawf (wrongly given by Ibn Ḥazm as Nawfal) were a multitude of tribes (*buṭūn djamma*), all going back to Nawf's grandsons Ḥāshid and Bakīl, "the two tribes of Hamdān (*ḳabīlā Hamdān*)". This scheme places Yām [*q.v.*] among the branches of Ḥāshid and Arḥab among the branches of Bakīl. At present the tribe of Yām lives north of the confederation and is regarded as a separate entity, while the tribe of Arḥab lives to the south and is more closely associated with Ḥāshid than with its reputed ancestors of Bakīl.

Another version, recorded by al-Suwaydī, gives Bakīl as grandson rather than brother of Ḥāshid (Bakīl b. Djusham b. Ḥāshid). This version is less plausible, as it makes every branch of Bakīl also a branch of Ḥashīd; it probably reflects the common tendency to regard Bakīl as the junior partner in the alliance, a tendency also illustrated by the assigning to Bakīl of second place in the joint name.

For centuries men, families, and larger groups have moved back and forth between Ḥāshid and Bakīl without bringing about a complete amalgamation. The verb *tabakkala* is used by al-Hamdānī in the 4th/10th century for members of Ḥāshid transferring their allegiance to Bakīl, the converse of which would be *taḥashshada*.

After the introduction of Islam, the confederation continued to furnish rulers for the Yaman. The royal Rasūlid genealogist, al-Malik al-Ashraf, states that the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries and the roughly contemporaneous Hamdānids were both descended from Ḥāshid, their lines bifurcating from Ḥāshid's son Djusham al-Awsaṭ (Ḥāshid's father was Djusham al-Akbar).

Over the centuries Ḥāshid and Bakīl, in a manner not uncharacteristic of brothers, have often fought with each other, just as they did in Sabaean times. Almost always, however, they have both stoutly resisted the imposition of outside authority. As Zaydīs they have been inclined to be on good terms with the Zaydī Imāms, who have kept strongholds such as Shahāra in the country of Ḥāshid, but even under the Imāms they have shown a spirit of independence rather than subservience. The Imāms have frequently chosen members of the confederation as provincial governors. When the Turks were in the Yaman, they had little success in extending their jurisdiction into the territory of Ḥāshid and Bakīl.

Sources used by the British Admiralty in 1916 estimated the number of fighting men in the confederation at about 50,000, making it probably the strongest military force in the region. The paramount chiefs, coming from the Ḥimrān of Ḥāshid, also enjoyed a degree of ascendancy over Bakīl.

On the rôle of these tribes in the events following the revolution of September 1962 see YAMAN.

The majority of the members of the confederation are townsmen and villagers, engaged in agriculture and the raising of horses and sheep and to some extent in trade. The nomadic elements range northwards and eastwards, penetrating into al-Djawf (Djawf Ibn Nāṣir), where the influence of the confederation is not inconsiderable. Descendants of the Prophet (Sayyids) are held in high esteem by these Zaydīs, especially in the land of Ḥāshid, where at Ḥūth they have one of their main centres in the Yaman.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited under the article in *EI*[1], see J. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam*, Louvain 1951; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948; al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb*

fī maʿrifat al-ansāb, ed. K. Zetterstéen, Damascus 1949; al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik al-dhahab fī maʿrifat ḳabāʾil al-ʿarab*, Cairo n.d.; J. Werdecker in *Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte*, xx (1939) (on Glaser's journey of 1884); Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7. (G. Rentz)

HĀSHIM, BANŪ [see HĀSHIMIDS, HĀSHIMIYYA, ḤIDJĀZ, MAKKA].

HĀSHIM B. **ʿABD MANĀF**, great-grandfather of the prophet Muḥammad. As a grandson of Ḳusayy, who had made the tribe of Ḳuraysh dominant in Mecca and had reorganized the pilgrimage, he held the offices or functions of *rifāda* and *siḳāya*, that is, the provision of food and water for the pilgrims. For the first he collected contributions in money or kind from the chief men of Mecca. One year when food was scarce in Mecca, he brought baked cakes or loaves from Syria, and crumbled (*hashama*) these to make broth (*tharīd*) for the pilgrims; after this he was known as Hāshim, though his proper name was ʿAmr. To improve the water supply he dug several wells. He is credited with the introduction of the system of two trade journeys a year (cf. Ḳurʾān, CVI, 2), presumably by making a journey in summer to Syria. He died on such a journey at Ghazza (Gaza), leaving behind in Medina a son ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib [*q.v.*] by Salmā bint ʿAmr of the clan of al-Nadjdjār. Hāshim may have been in his time the leader of the alliance of the Muṭayyabūn or its later developments, from which the descendants of his brothers Nawfal and ʿAbd Shams were excluded. Much of this traditional account (though sometimes doubted) has probably a solid basis in fact, but the story of the wager between Hāshim and Umayya is doubtless an invention reflecting the later dynastic rivalries.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 87-9; F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1858-61, iv, 34-8; also i, 67, 134; iii, 47.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

HĀSHIM B. **ʿUTBA** B. Abī Waḳḳāṣ al-Zuhrī Abū ʿUmar, a Companion of the Prophet and a neph w of the more famous Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*]. Converted to Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca, he distinguished himself at the battle of the Yarmūk, where he lost an eye, and held important commands under his uncle at Ḳādisiyya and Djalūlā, where he led the Arab forces. He was killed fighting on the side of ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn.

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali*, index; Ṭabarī, index. (Ed.)

Aḥmed **HĀSHIM**, (1884-1933), Turkish poet and writer, the main representative of the Symbolist movement in Turkey, was born in Baghdād. His father ʿĀrif Ḥikmet belonged to the well-known Alūsī family and was a government official who had served in various districts as *ḳāymaḳām* and *mutaṣarrif*. His mother was a Kāhya-zāde. Both families included many members who occupied high posts in the Ottoman administration. Hāshim lost his ailing mother, who does not seem to have had a happy life and who was the only true companion of his childhood, at the age of eight. He recalled later in his poems the memory of his walks with her along the Tigris. Being himself of poor health and extremely sensitive, this unhappy childhood left a lasting mark on his life and work. In 1895 his father brought Hāshim to Istanbul, where he improved his Turkish at a private school and then in 1896 at the Galatasaray lycée where the children of the upper classes gathered and where he made friends with many future poets and writers, particularly Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, one of his future biographers. He also made there his first contact with French literature (many subjects being taught in this lycée by French teachers). His literature teacher Müftüoghlu Aḥmed Ḥikmet [*q.v.*] awakened in him a taste for poetry and is said to have given him a first inkling of the kind of poetry which he later developed (Aḥmed Hāshim, *Bize göre*, 40; A. Ş. Hisar, *Ahmed Haşim, şiiri ve hayatı*, 13). He graduated from Galatasaray in 1906 and entered the Tobacco Administration (*Reji Idaresi*) helped by the novelist Khālid Ḍiyā (Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil), who was a senior official there. He also registered at the Law School (*Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ*), which he never completed. During this period he studied contemporary French poets extensively, mainly the symbolists (Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk yıl*, v, 157-8). Except for a two-year interval in Izmir, where he taught French in the local lycée, he lived in Istanbul earning his living mainly as a translator in Government offices until the First World War, during which he served in the Army as reserve officer, fought at Gallipoli and toured Anatolia. After the war he became an official of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (*Düyūn-i ʿUmūmiyye* [*q.v.*])and later taught aesthetics and mythology at the Academy of Fine Arts and French at the School of Political Science (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) and the War Academy. In 1924 he went to Paris and made close contact with French literary circles, contributing an article *Tendances actuelles de la littérature turque* to the August 1924 issue of *Mercure de France*. In 1928 he made another trip to Paris. The same year he developed liver trouble and his health gradually deteriorated. His visit in 1932 to Frankfurt for treatment gave no respite and he died in Istanbul on 4 June 1933, at an age when he had just begun his most mature work.

Aḥmed Hāshim possessed an extremely sensitive, infinitely restless and constantly changing temperament. His great affections and friendships would change to deep hatreds overnight and then he would forgive and forget everything in turn. According to the reports of his close friends (among others Y. K. Karaosmanoğlu and A. Ş. Hisar, see *Bibl.*), in spite of his brilliant intelligence, poetical genius and wide culture, he suffered from a strong feeling of inferiority and a series of complexes. He always thought that his physique was intolerably ugly, that he was awkward and unsociable and unattractive to women. He was convinced that Fate had been unkind to him. He always felt lonely and unloved in the world. He never recovered from the circumstances of his childhood and from the feeling of being "strange and different" in the early years of his youth. This made him at times cruel and cutting. He lived as a bachelor and married just before his death the woman who had looked after him, so that "he could have a mourning widow after him".

Aḥmed Hāshim began to write his first poems at Galatasaray when he was fifteen. In these early poems there is a distant echo of the "Indian School" of *dīwān* poetry in the style of Sheykh Ghālib. But he is more obviously following in the steps of the Tanẓīmāt poet ʿAbd-al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid in the choice of morbidly sad and melancholy subjects and of Djenāb Shehāb al-Dīn in the vaguely symbolist imagery. In this period his style and language follow more closely the taste of Djenāb Shehāb al-Dīn and particularly Tewfīḳ Fikret in the choice of the Arabo-Persian sophisticated vocabulary and in the weaving of Persian *iẓāfe*s.

After these imitative experiments Aḥmed Hāshim

did not write for a few years but read extensively the French impressionists and particularly the symbolists, whom he found close to his nature and his conception of poetry. Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Henri de Régnier, Mallarmé, Samain and the Belgian Verhaeren were his favourites.

In 1909 a group of young poets and writers who thought that the *Therwet-i Fünūn* movement was now out-moded, set up a short-lived new literary group: the *Fedjr-i Ātī* ("Dawn of the Future"). Although Hāshim joined this new circle, because many of his friends were members, he himself was already a distinctly independent personality in Turkish poetry. Liberating himself completely from the influence of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* poets and not caring much for a group movement, he concentrated on developing modern Turkish symbolism, the theory of which he elaborately expounded in various articles and particularly in the preface to *Piyāle*. "Unlike prose, poetry is not to be understood but to be felt... meaning and clarity are not the aims of the poet... Poetry, like the words of prophets, should be open to diverse interpretations".

Aḥmed Hāshim's works underline his desire to escape from surface representation and invest his art with a deeper level of consciousness. For him the Universe exists in and through the mind and conception of the poet. There is no internal and external world, no division into subject and object, all is apprehensible by the poet in search of beauty in a transcendental reality existing deeper than mere appearances.

In his poetry, he sought to convey by his acute perception of all the senses and dreams his own communication with and interpretation of that mystic reality.

For him the unity of music and poetry was a means to this deeper communication and his verse is freer and more pliant in both form and rhythm than that of the earlier modernists. His poetic technique shows a rejection of the straight comparison and plainly-worked simile and a preference for symbolic imagery inspired by his growing interpretation of that 'deeper reality' in general symbolical conceptions.

Some of his poetry seems obscure as a result of his development of an essentially personal range of symbols with which the reader must be acquainted in order to evaluate his verse more deeply. He did not wish to be more 'explicit'. This symbolic technique called upon the deeper imagination of both reader and poet and freely created more associations and nuances which would be stifled by a more concrete and surface technique. Aḥmed Hāshim deliberately attempted to evolve a poetry whose language, of rhythm and symbol, with its own word-values and phrase-orders, defied logical analysis yet liberated and stimulated the mind to a deeper level of consciousness.

In the limited subject-matter and vocabulary of Aḥmed Hāshim, dawn, twilight, evening, night, darkness, the moon, moonlight, lakes, ponds, deserts, roses, carnations, storks, nightingales, melancholy, hopeless love, distant and unknown lands and death are ever-recurring themes and motifs. His poems are generally short. He ignored all movements and changes in Turkish language and literature and remained faithful to *ʿarūḍ* until the very end, as he considered the syllabic metre (*hedje wezni*) "only fit for folk poems". He lived through wars and revolutions, but his poetry remained completely unaffected by these. However, the language reform movement did eventually influence him and his last quatrains are written in every-day Turkish without the sophisticated Arabo-Persian vocabulary and without Persian *iżāfe*s. Unlike Djenāb Shehāb al-Dīn, whose experiments in simple (*sade*) Turkish were mainly unsuccessful, Aḥmed Hāshim's were among his best. And judging by them, it is safe to say that he would have grown to surpass his early work had he lived longer.

Except for a few articles, Aḥmed Hāshim's prose consists mainly of short essays on casual themes, as he was sometimes a columnist in various dailies. His style is condensed, colourful and pithy, often tinged with cutting irony.

Aḥmed Hāshim is the author of (1) *Göl sāʿatleri*, Istanbul 1921 (contains poems previously published in the then leading literary review *Dergāh*), (2) *Piyāle*, Istanbul 1926, 1928 (contains his early poems, the *Shiʿr-i Ḳamer* series and the famous introduction which was first published in *Dergāh* as a kind of manifesto, (3) *Ghurabā-khāne-i Laḳlaḳān*, Istanbul 1928 (contains selected essays first published in the newspaper *Aḳsham*), (4) *Bize göre*, Istanbul 1928, 1960 (part of his essays published in the newspaper *Iḳdām*, (5) *Frankfurt Seyahatnamesi*, Istanbul 1933, 1947 (travel impressions), (6) *Ahmed Haşim'in şiirleri*, Istanbul 1933 (collected verse published after his death by the Semih Lutfi Kitabevi).

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(FAHİR İZ)

AL-**HĀSHIMĪ** (Shaykh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Hāshimī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥasanī al-Tilimsānī), theologian and *ṣūfī* of Sharīfī descent, born 22 Shawwāl 1298/17 July 1881 at Subda (in the department of Oran, Algeria) where his father, a small land-owner, held the office of judge (*ḳāḍī*). After his father's death, Muḥammad went to Tlemcen, where he followed various occupations: farm-worker, tailor, seller of drugs and spices. He attended regularly the mosques and *madrasas* to gain instruction in the religious disciplines and joined the mystic order (*ṭariḳa*) of the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*] "famed particularly for the learning of its members" (E. Doutté). His spiritual director (*murshid*), Muḥammad b. Yallas, had been the disciple in turn of the *shaykhs* Muḥammad al-Habrī (d. 1900) and Ibn al-Ḥabīb al-Būzīdī (d. 1909); then, on the latter's death, he attached himself to the *shaykh* Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī (Ben ʿAlīwa) of Mostaganem. In 1911, Muḥammad al-Hāshimī set off with his master for the East. After a stay of two years at Adana (Turkey), he settled at Damascus, where he completed his theological education under different *ʿulamāʾ*: Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī, Yūsuf Nabhānī, Abu 'l-Khayr al-Mīdānī, etc. Shortly after the death of his master Ibn Yallas (1928), he received from the *shaykh* al-ʿAlawī the office of *khalīfa* of the ʿAlawiyya-Darḳāwiyya-Shādhiliyya *ṭarīḳa* in the countries of the Near East.

From then on he devoted himself exclusively to the teaching of theology (*tawḥīd*) and mysticism (*taṣawwuf*). His lectures at the Umayyad Mosque and in a number of *madrasas* (Shāmiyya, Nūriyya) were very well attended; he founded *zāwiyas* in Damascus and in the surrounding villages, at Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt and Ḥalab as well as in Transjordan and Palestine. On his death at Damascus at the age of 80 (12 Radjab 1381/19 December 1961), he left behind him several thousand disciples and the reputation of a "renewer" (*mudjaddid*) of religion. The quality of his teaching and the virtue and wisdom which he disseminated caused him to be known as "the Shaʿrānī of his time".

His written works consist of ten or so treatises or opuscula on *tawḥīd* and *taṣawwuf*. (1) In *tawḥīd*, he professes an Ashʿarism enriched by the addition of Avicennan ideas (the distinction of the necessary, of the possible and of the impossible and the grasping of these three categories by the intelligence in order to recognize the divine qualities, the attributes of the Prophet and the limits of the created world) and by the developments of the theological school of North Africa (in particular of the *imām* al-Sanūsī, the doctor and *ṣūfī* of Tlemcen, d. 895/1490). The basic idea is that knowledge (*ʿilm*, *maʿrifa*) and more especially the knowledge of *tawḥīd* is an individual obligation upon the believer; it not only protects him from the error of denying (*kufr*) or of "associating" (*shirk*), but it illuminates him with a certainty (*yaḳīn*) which is of divine origin. For the benefit of readers with varying intellectual capacities, al-Hāshimī wrote a brief "Sunnī profession of faith" in prose, which he turned into verse in order to make it more easily memorized (*ʿAḳīdat ahl al-sunna maʿa naẓmihā*), then a short commentary on this text (*Sharḥ naẓm ʿAḳīdat ahl al-sunna*) and, finally, a much more elaborate commentary entitled *Kitāb Miftāḥ al-djanna fī sharḥ ʿAḳīdat ahl al-sunna* (these three works were printed in Damascus in 1379/1960). Before this trilogy, there had already been published: *Sabīl al-saʿāda fī maʿnā kalimatay al-shahāda* (Damascus 1347/1939), *Risālat al-baḥth al-djāmiʿ ... fī mā yataʿallaḳ bi 'l-ṣanʿa wa 'l-Ṣāniʿ* (Damascus 1374/1955) and *Risālat al-ḳawl al-faṣl al-ḳawīm fī bayān al-murād min waṣiyyat al-ḥakīm* (Damascus, 1376/1957), a short theologico-mystic commentary on the allegory of the swords which, taken separately, are easily broken and if joined together form a solid support. (2) In *taṣawwuf*, several treatises written in reply to the theoretical or practical questions of his pupils have not yet been printed. The only works at present available are the *Sharḥ Shitrandj al-ʿārifīn* ("Commentary on the Chess-board of the Gnostics"), an explanation of a curious diagram attributed to Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī, in which human destiny and the mystic's progress towards God, together with the perils and the grace which attend them, are illustrated by the hundred squares of a chess-board (Damascus 1357/1938, reprinted 1964) and *al-Ḥill al-sadīd limā stashkalahu al-murīd* (Damascus 1383/1964), which investigates in what conditions a disciple may be permitted to change one *shaykh* or *ṭarīḳa* for another. Shaykh al-Hāshimī was responsible for the first edition of the *Miʿrādj al-tashawwuf*, a technical glossary of Ṣūfism by Ibn ʿAdjība [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: the essential work on the ʿAlawiyya branch of the Darḳāwa is M. Lings, *A Moslem saint of the twentieth century*, London 1961, devoted to the *shaykh* Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī and describing the essential aspects of the mystic method of training (*wird*, *dhikr*, *khalwa*) used also in the Syrian *ṭarīḳa* (the author makes occasional references to al-Hāshimī). Notices on al-Hāshimī are found in the following works, written by two of his disciples: Saʿīd al-Kurdī, *al-Djunayd*, Damascus 1368/1949, 142-6, and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿĪsā, *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ ʿan al-taṣawwuf*, Aleppo 1384/1964, 355-61.

(J.-L. Michon)

HĀSHIMIDS (al-Hawāshim), the dynasty of Ḥasanid Sharīfs who ruled Mecca almost without interruption from the 4th/10th century until 1343/1924. After the First World War the dynasty provided kings for Syria and Iraq, which later became republics, and gave its name to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (see following article). The eponym of the dynasty was Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf [*q.v.*], the great-grandfather of the Prophet.

The majority of the Shīʿa recognized as their Imāms descendants of ʿAlī's martyred younger son al-Ḥusayn. Descendants of the elder son al-Ḥasan found their opportunity to wield temporal as well as spiritual power during the chaotic period following the Ḳarmaṭī occupation of Mecca.

The Hāshimid line of Meccan Sharīfs was descended from Mūsā I al-Djawn ("The Black"), a great-grandson of al-Ḥasan and a younger brother of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. One of Mūsā I's sons, Ibrāhīm, was the ancestor of the Ukhaydirids [*q.v.*] of al-Yamāma, and the other, ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Ṣāliḥ (also called al-Riḍā), was the sire of the Meccan Sharīfs. From ʿAbd Allāh's son Mūsā II sprang three of the main branches of the dynasty—the Mūsāwids, the Hawāshim, and the Ḳatādids. From Sulaymān, another son of Mūsā II, came the fourth main branch, the Sulaymānids (strictly speaking, therefore, all four branches were Mūsāwids).

The Sharīfate lasted nearly a millennium, with the Mūsāwids, Sulaymānids, and Hawāshim reigning for well over two centuries and the Ḳatādids for the remaining seven centuries and a quarter.

The first of the line to make himself master of Mecca was the Mūsāwid Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad of the fourth generation after Mūsā II. Djaʿfar is said to have supplanted a representative of Egypt at an uncertain date, probably in the early years of the second half of the 4th/10th century. Djaʿfar's success may have been connected with the rising power of the Fāṭimids. Early in the 5th/11th century the Mūsāwids under Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-Ḥasan failed in an attempt to bring the Caliphate back to Mecca, and their authority was later challenged by the Sulaymānids, who developed a base for their power farther south on the Red Sea coast [see ʿAsīr]. Neither the Mūsāwids nor the Sulaymānids got an enduring grip on the Sharīfate. In the second half of the 5th/11th century they gave way to the Hawāshim (so called here to distinguish them from the larger entity of the Hāshimids), whose eponym was a descendant of Mūsā II named Hāshim.

In or about 597/1201 (the correspondence of dates in *EI*², i, 552 is inexact), one of the greatest of the long line of Sharīfs, Ḳatāda b. Idrīs, swept down from his stronghold of Yanbuʿ and drove the Hawāshim out of Mecca. Ḳatāda was in the tenth or twelfth generation after Mūsā II, and all the Meccan Sharīfs who succeeded him came of his stock.

In the mid-7th/13th century Muḥammad Abū Numayy I, the eighth Ḳatādid, first mounted the throne as a partner of his father al-Ḥasan. Nearly two centuries then elapsed before the accession of Muḥammad Abū Numayy II, son of Barakāt II [*q.v.*].

The descendants of Abū Numayy II in time split into three principal clans which often contended with

one another for sovereignty over Mecca. The first clan to establish itself was Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh (the ʿAbādila), named after a grandson of Abū Numayy II, but it soon yielded to Dhawū Zayd, named after a great-great-grandson. The third clan, Dhawū Barakāt, named after a son of Abū Numayy II, shared dominance with Dhawū Zayd from 1082/1672 until Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh regained power under Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muʿīn b. ʿAwn in 1243/1827. Muḥammad and the seven rulers among his descendants, the last of the Meccan Sharīfs, are known collectively as Āl ʿAwn. In 1334/1916 Muḥammad's grandson al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī assumed the title of King, and in 1343/1924 he abdicated as the forces of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd drew near Mecca.

It is impossible to devise a complete list of the Hāshimid Sharīfs of Mecca. The sources for their history, though ample, contain gaps and contradictions. A general idea of the course of their succession and of the imperfections of the chronology may be got from the genealogical tables in Snouck Hurgronje and al-Sibāʿī. The picture is further complicated by the fact that many Sharīfs reigned more than once (Saʿīd b. Saʿd of Dhawū Zayd, for example, reigned five times between 1099/1688 and 1129/1717, and his father had reigned four times before him). The reign of at least one Sharīf lasted less than a day. Very often two or more Sharīfs shared the rule as partners (*shurakāʾ*).

The total number of Hāshimids who held office as Sharīf of Mecca between Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī appears to have been just short of a hundred. Of them less than twenty belonged to the first three branches and slightly more than eighty to the fourth, the Ḳatādids.

Not only was the rule of the Hāshimids disturbed by frequent internecine struggles, but it was often interfered with and on a few occasions briefly suppressed by Muslim sovereigns outside al-Ḥidjāz, beginning with the Fāṭimids and ʿAbbāsids and ending with the Ottomans and Āl Suʿūd. In the *khuṭba* the Sharīfs almost invariably recognized one or another of these sovereigns as their overlord. Given the tremendous internal and external pressures on the Sharīfate, its survival for so many centuries should be accounted one of the more remarkable phenomena of history and also regarded as an impressive token of the esteem enjoyed by the Prophet's family in the Islamic world.

Further details on Hāshimid rule and individual Sharīfs will be given in the article MAKKA.

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HĀSHIMIDS, the royal family of the Ḥidjāz (1908-25), ʿIrāḳ (1921-58), and Jordan (1921-). The family belongs to the Dhawū ʿAwn, one of the branches of the princely line of the Hāshimids of the Ḥidjāz. Their rise to eminence in the Arab world was begun by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and his sons, ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh, and Fayṣal, who in 1894 were brought to Istanbul by the Ottoman government. The youngest son, Zayd, was born there.

In 1908, Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] succeeded in obtaining appointment as Sharīf and Amīr of Mecca. He soon became supreme in the Ḥidjāz and began to expand his influence in the border areas. He actively sought to limit the influence of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd and of Sayyid al-Idrīsī in ʿAsīr. In this phase, the Amīr acted as the loyal representative of the sultan. Ideologically conservative, Ḥusayn was never close to the Young Turks and relied on his personal connexions among the older Ottoman statesmen. In 1914, when the Unionist government attempted to apply centralizing measures in the Ḥidjāz, relations between the Amīr and the government entered a crisis which, however, was settled to the satisfaction of the Amīr.

In the early phase of World War I, Ḥusayn cautiously looked to his own interests. Still seeking predominance in Arabia, the Amīr demanded an Ottoman guarantee of the Ḥidjāz as a hereditary autonomous amīrate. At the same time, he was negotiating with the British in Egypt and with certain secret Arab nationalist societies. The agreement with the British, embodied in an exchange of letters with Sir Henry McMahon, was not entirely satisfactory, but the Ottoman government, always deaf to the Amīr's requests, became threatening in the spring of 1916. As a result, in June 1916, the Arab Revolt began. The term "Hāshimid" was used in official documents to describe the Amīr and his acts. In November, Ḥusayn issued a proclamation as *malik al-bilād al-ʿarabiyya*. The Allies, however, addressed him only as "King of the Hijaz."

At the end of the war, Fayṣal, the third son, was pre-eminent. As commander of the Northern Arab Army, he was the commander of Allied Forces in Syria and Transjordan. As representative of the Ḥidjāz at the Peace Conference, he negotiated with the Great Powers. Fayṣal proved unequal to the task of mediating the opposing aims of the Allies and of the notables of Syria and Palestine, who formed themselves into the Syrian General Congress in 1919. The Congress refused to accept the mandate system. Fayṣal, after accepting the crown of Syria from the Congress in March 1920, somewhat reluctantly acceded to armed resistance to the French and was forced to flee from Syria when the French defeated the Arab forces in July 1920 [see MAYSALŪN].

Ḥusayn, King of the Ḥidjāz, still dreamed of being king of Arabia. He was unsuccessful, however, in his efforts to persuade the British to support him against ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd. Nevertheless, he would not seek an accommodation with the Wahhābī leader, despite the military superiority which the Nadjdī forces had demonstrated in 1919. Ḥusayn, doubtless seeking support in the contest, adopted the title of Caliph in 1924. Suʿūdī military force prevailed, and Ḥusayn fled from the Ḥidjāz in October 1924, leaving ʿAlī as king. The latter followed his father when Ibn Suʿūd completed the conquest of the Ḥidjāz in December 1925. Ḥusayn, who spent his remaining years in Cyprus, died in ʿAmmān on 4 June 1931. ʿAlī lived in Baghdād until his death on 13 February 1935.

Fayṣal [*q.v.*], with British backing, became king of ʿIrāḳ on 23 August 1921. He worked diligently to form the heterogeneous elements of his kingdom into a unity and to create viable relations with the mandatory power. His activities culminated in the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 and the admission of ʿIrāḳ to the League of Nations on 3 October 1932. With ʿIrāḳī independence achieved, Fayṣal sought to create a union of ʿIrāk with Syria, but he failed to win the approval of the dominant political coalition in Syria.

The death of Fayṣal ushered in a period of drift.

The reign of the young king Ghāzī [*q.v.*] (8 September 1933 to 4 April 1939) was marked by tribal rising, military coup, rapid succession of cabinets, and increasing agitation against the British connexion. The course of affairs during the reign of Fayṣal II was set by ʿAbd al-Ilāh, who was regent during the minority of the king (4 April 1939-2 May 1953). The Regent's policy of furthering Pan-Arab aspirations under ʿIrāḳī leadership through cooperation with Great Britain passed its first hurdle when the government of Rashīd ʿĀlī al-Kīlānī was suppressed by the British in May 1941. In 1942-3, the ʿIrāḳī government initiated talks for the purpose of creating a federation of ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Transjordan, Palestine, and Lebanon (the "Fertile Crescent"). The result, however, was the Arab League, which under Egyptian leadership thereafter blocked ʿIrāḳī hopes. After 1945, ʿIrāḳ committed itself firmly to Great Britain and the western powers. Egypt took the lead in opposing the ʿIrāḳī foreign policy, and when ʿIrāḳ signed the Baghdad Pact with Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Great Britain (24 February-12 October 1955), Egyptian and Syrian displeasure became intense. ʿAbd al-Ilāh and Fayṣal II were killed in the military coup of 14 July 1958.

ʿAbd Allāh, the second of Ḥusayn's sons, who had been the most eminent before 1918 and the first to embrace Pan-Arabism, moved to Transjordan in late 1920 with the avowed aim of restoring Fayṣal in Syria. He was persuaded instead to become *amīr* of Transjordan under British mandate. The Amīr was a loyal friend of Great Britain, and on 22 March 1946 a new treaty was signed which proclaimed ʿAbd Allāh to be the sovereign of an independent state. During and after World War II, ʿAbd Allāh worked to expand his kingdom into Greater Syria (Transjordan, Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon), to the embarrassment of ʿIrāḳ and of the British government. The Greater Syria plan was strongly opposed by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon. When the King included Arab Palestine in the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan in 1950, Egypt directed an attempt to expel Jordan from the Arab League. (The new name had been adopted in May 1946, but was not used by any other government until 1950.) The King's outspoken British orientation and the existence of the British-commanded Arab Legion facilitated the continuous stream of extreme nationalist propaganda which the opponents of his policies directed against him. On 20 July 1951 ʿAbd Allāh was assassinated.

GENEALOGY OF THE HĀSHIMIDS AND THE DHAWŪ ʿAWN

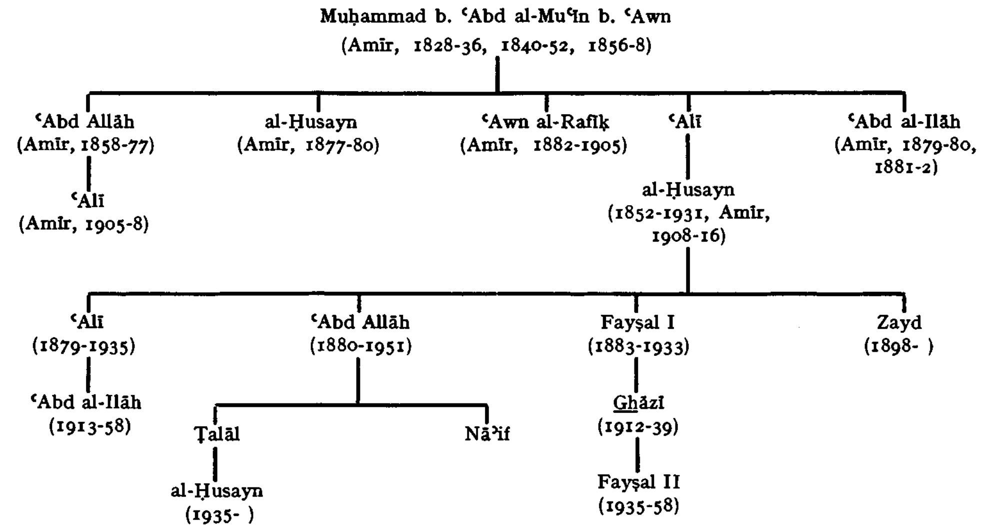

King Ṭalāl (20 July 1950-11 August 1952) was incapacitated throughout most of his reign, and his younger brother Nāʾif acted as regent until 5 September 1951. The state of Ṭalāl's health was such that Parliament deposed him and the throne passed to his son, Ḥusayn, who did not reach his majority until 2 May 1953. The kingdom was shaken by the problem of incorporating western Jordan at the time when the "positive neutralism" of republican Egypt was exciting the younger generation and opposition politicians throughout the Arab world. King Ḥusayn adopted a nationalist course which culminated in the removal of General John B. Glubb from the command of the Arab Legion and the termination of the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty in 1956-7. The King, however, soon broke with his Egyptian-oriented colleagues and accepted American financial assistance. With Ḥusayn now the object of Egyptian hostility, Jordan and ʿIrāḳ joined together in the Arab Federation in response to the formation of the United Arab Republic in 1958. The Federation came to an end with the extinction of the Hashimite kingdom in ʿIrāḳ.

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HĀSHIMIYYA, a term commonly applied in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries to members of the ʿAbbāsid house and occasionally to their followers and supporters. From early ʿAbbāsid times it was understood to denote the descendants of Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf [*q.v.*], the common ancestor of the Prophet, ʿAlī, and al-ʿAbbās; its use by the ʿAbbāsids was thus interpreted as expressing a claim to the Caliphate based on kinship with the Prophet in the male line. Van Vloten, followed by other scholars, showed that the name had in fact a different origin. From some passages in the chronicles, confirmed by the heresiological literature, it is clear that the term Hāshimiyya was applied in Umayyad times to a religio-political faction—those who believed that the Imāmate had passed from the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] to his son Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*]. After the death of Abū Hāshim in 98/716, his followers split into several groups, the most important of which held that the Imāmate had been transferred to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās and thus, through him, to the house of ʿAbbās. The ʿAbbāsids inherited the party and organization of Abū Hāshim, along with his claims; it was this party, the Hāshimiyya, which was the main instrument of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda and movement in Khurāsān, and thus of the overthrow of the Umayyad Caliphate. The doctrinal content of the Hāshimiyya preaching has been the subject of some disagreement. As the followers of an ʿAlid pretender, the group may be described as of Shīʿite origin —but at a time when this term had not yet acquired its later and more definitely sectarian significance, and when the split of the house of the Prophet into different branches, with different claims and separately organized followings, had not yet taken place. The view of Van Vloten and Wellhausen, that the ʿAbbāsid preaching was of an extremist character [see GHULĀT], has been followed by some scholars, but rejected by others, notably Moscati and Cahen, who sees in the ʿAbbāsid movement an urge, focussed around the still undifferentiated family of the Prophet, towards profounder islamization and the ending of racial domination. Of this family, the ʿAbbāsids were the most active and best organized, and were therefore able effectively to mobilize the support and goodwill which the family could command. After the ʿAbbāsid victory there was some—perhaps deliberate—ambiguity in the use of the terms Hāshimiyya and Hāshimiyyūn. Statements attributed to al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr—as for example in the inaugural *khuṭba* at Kūfa and in the correspondence with the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*]—already put forward a specifically ʿAbbāsid claim to the Caliphate, in reply to the ʿAlid's assertion that no one had more Hāshimī blood than he (Ṭabarī, iii, 29 ff., 209 ff.). The third ʿAbbāsid Caliph, al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], is said to have abandoned the claim to the Imāmate derived from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and Abū Hāshim, and to have based the claim of the dynasty on their descent from al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib as the kinsman and rightful successor of the Prophet (Nawbakhtī, 43). From this time onwards the political and messianic aspirations which found expression in Shīʿism are focused on the descendants of ʿAlī and more especially of Fāṭima rather than on the Banū Hāshim as such; it may be noted that already in the surviving *Hāshimiyyāt* of Kumayt [*q.v.*], with their sometimes almost messianic overtones (*e.g.*, ed. Horowitz, Leiden 1904, 154, 3), the poet restricts his praises to the Prophet, ʿAlī, and the ʿAlids. In ʿAbbāsid times the name Hāshimiyya was applied to the family of the Prophet in general but more specifically to the ʿAbbāsids themselves, and the sectarian connotation of the term was lost in an oblivion from which it was rescued only by modern scholarship.

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AL-**HĀSHIMIYYA**, name of the administrative capital of the ʿAbbāsids before the building of Baghdād, referring not to a single place but to wherever the Caliph chose to establish his residence. The confusion as to the location of al-Hāshimiyya stems from the existence of more than one place of that name, as each in turn was occupied for a period as the official residence of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph. The founder of the dynasty, al-Saffāḥ (d. 132/754), after leaving al-Kūfa, settled at a site opposite Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*], where he built a city and named it al-Hāshimiyya (situated midway between al-Kūfa and Baghdād; cf. Yāḳūt, iv, 946—confuses with Madīnat b. Hubayra; Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA*, i, 85; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *BGA*, ii, 166; Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 53, 115, 130*i*). Previously the Caliph had begun construction at Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra itself, but he abandoned this location when the

populace, in preference to al-Hās͟himiyya, persisted in referring to the town by the name of its founder, the last Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ, Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra. This same Yazīd originally built a city on the Euphrates near al-Kūfa, but was forced to abandon this site by order of the Umayyad Caliph Marwān II (presumably Madīnat Ibn Hubayra, which Ṭabarī and Yāḳūt confuse with Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra; cf. *Annales*, iii/1, 80, 183; *Muʿd͟jam*, i, 680, iii, 208; iv, 123, 946; Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 287). In 134/752, al-Saffāḥ moved once again and established his capital near al-Anbār, formerly the Persian city Fīrūz Sābūr, but he died in 136/754 before completing it (*Futūḥ*, 287; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 429-30; *Buldān*, 237; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, 189; Dīnawarī, *Ak͟hbār*, 372-3; Ibn Rustah, *BGA*, vii, 109; Ṭabarī, iii/1, 80, 87; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 339; *K. al-ʿUyūn* in *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, i, 211). The authorities report that al-Manṣūr, who now became Caliph, established his residence at a new location in the general vicinity of al-Kūfa which, according to al-Ṭabarī, was adjacent to Madīnat Ibn Hubayra (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 450; al-Ṭabarī, iii/1, 271, 272, 319). This site is not to be confused with Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra, which, as previously noted, was situated midway between al-Kūfa and Bag͟hdād. These accounts seem to suggest that the centre of al-Manṣūr's administration was the city near al-Kūfa which was first built and later abandoned by the governor of Marwān II. There were, therefore, no less than four ʿAbbāsid capitals: the three capitals of al-Saffāḥ at Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra, at the site opposite that town, and at al-Anbār, and also the capital of al-Manṣūr at Madīnat Ibn Hubayra. The proclivity of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs for this constant moving is still unexplained; but it does suggest that they were searching for a site which could satisfy certain particular needs. Following a riot in the court of his palace, al-Manṣūr began the journey which led to the founding of Bag͟hdād. In 146/763, the administrative agencies of the government were moved to the new location signifying the formal transfer of the capital (al-Ṭabarī, iii/1, 129-33, *sub anno* 141/758, 271, 418 ff. also gives dates 136, 7; K͟haṭīb, Cairo ed., i, 67 = Paris ed., 2; *Muʿd͟jam*, i, 680).

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ḤAS͟HĪS͟H is a narcotic product of *Cannabis sativa* L., hemp. When cultivated under certain favourable climatic and soil conditions, especially in India and neighbouring areas, the plant is more active physiologically; it is there called *C. Indica* Lam. Both of these "varieties" are morphologically alike. It is a dioecious plant; the dried flowering tops of the pistillate plants contain a resin whose chief constituent is cannabinol. Cannabin also comes from these tops; today its tannate is used as a hypnotic, narcotic, and sedative used in hysteria, acute mania, nervous insomnia, and in menopausal nervous disturbances.

The Indian hemp was known as a useful plant in early historic times. In the earliest scientific literature, the ancient Mesopotamian lexical lists, there is evidence that *Cannabis* was used both in the manufacture of cloth and as a drug. In Sumerian, it is *A.ZAL.LA* and in Akkadian *azallū*. These terms are cognate to the Syriac *ʿazal* "to spin." In the list, it is equated with *gurgurru* from *garāru* "to roll, to twist." Thus, the Persian word for hemp, *gargarind͟j*, is related to the late Assyrian *gurgurangu*. Another equivalent in the list is *šami nissati* "herb of grief." An interesting equivalent is the Sumerian *GÁN.ZI.GÙN.NU* where *GÁN* is probably *ḫabbilu* "robber," and *ZI* is *napištu* "soul." *GUN.NU* is "to twist, to weave." The entire meaning, therefore, of the Sumerian word is "plant + narcotic + weaving," or hemp. In Babylonian medicine, it was used externally with other ingredients for the stomach, swellings, and loss of control of the lower limbs. Internally, it was used for depression of the spirits and renal calculus.

Towards the end of the eighth or first half of the seventh century B.C., the word *qunnabu* or *qunubu* is mentioned in a Sargonid text. The cognates, Arabic *kanib* and Persian *kanab*, often refer to the hemp seed and its narcotic properties. The Greek (Wellmann, Dioscorides, III, 148) κάνναβις and Latin *Cannabis* also are related.

In ancient Egypt, hemp is noted as a drug in the Berlin and Ebers papyri, internally, by smoking, and in a salve. It was called *šmšm t* (von Deines, Grapow, VI, 493).

According to Laufer, the Persian *bang* is a narcotic prepared from the hemp seed. *Bang* is cognate to the Sanskrit *bhaṅgā* and Avestan *baṅha* "narcotic", Arabic *band͟j*, Portuguese *bango* and French *bangue*. *Band͟j*, in the old Arabic literature, was often used for henbane as a substitute for hemp, thus creating confusion; the two were often used together in prescriptions.

In ancient China, from 1200-500 B.C., when the *Rh-Ya* was compiled, the hemp plant, *ma*, was known. In the biography of the physician Hoa-tho the narcotic properties of hemp are demonstrated in its use in surgery. Soubeiran gives the modern name as *ma-iao*, after Tatarinov.

Herodotus (fifth century B.C.) relates the use of hemp by the Scythians as a means of cleansing their bodies. The hemp is thrown on red-hot stones in an enclosed space. The odour is inhaled until intoxication; then they dance and sing. Galen discusses the use of hemp seed to excite sexual pleasure, to extinguish flatus, and for earache. Paulus Aeginata (seventh century A.D.) uses hemp as a carminative.

As a drug, hemp was used in Arabia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and also in India. In the latter, it fell at first into the hands of the priestly caste who employed it in the Hindu religion and customs. Later, it spread among the people as *bhang*, a product of the dried leaves reduced to powder and mixed with flour and spices, and *ganja* the flowering and fertilized tops of the female plants. In India, it was originally eaten; later its smoking became more common. *Ganja* is actually a resin with a rusty green colour and a characteristic odour; this resin is *charas*. In India, men in leather jackets or leather suits pass through a field of *C. sativa* rubbing and crushing roughly against the plants in the early morning after a fall of dew. The resinous matter which sticks on is then scraped off and forms the *ganja* of commerce. Sometimes, the plant is trodden with the feet or rubbed between the hands.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Arabs acquired a knowledge of *ḥas͟hīs͟h* after their predecessors all about them had been using the plant in weaving and medicine for over a thousand years. One of the earliest physicians in Islam to use *Canna-*

bis was Djābir b. Ḥayyān (2nd/8th century). It is found as *bandj* in his *Kitāb al-Sumūm* (47b, 131b) where it is used for narcotic purposes.

Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAlī al-Harawī (fl. 4th/10th century) of Harāt, in his *Kitāb al-Abniya ʿan ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-adwiya*, describes hemp, *shāhdānadj* (today, in Persian, it is the hemp seed) as useful for the manufacture of rope, and medicinally for headache and earache.

Under another synonym, *ḳinnab*, Maimonides (348) also calls it *shahrānadj* and *shahdānadj al-barr* ("wild hemp"). Actually, in Arabic works, these names generally designate the seed and not the resin or leaves. According to Meyerhof, it was not often that the Arabs used the resin (today called *ḥashīsh* and sometimes adulterated with leaf extracts).

ʿUmar b. Yūsuf b. Rasūl (d. 694/1294-5), in his *al-Muʿtamad fiʾl-adwiya al-mufrada* (Cairo 1951, 258, 399-400), gives *shāhdānaḳ* as *ḳinnab* for ear pain and for the head. Ibn Rasūl states that there are two varieties, a garden type and a wild one. A dose is seven *dirhams* of the oil extracted from the seed. Ibn al-Bayṭār (1271, 1349, 1845), of the 7th/13th century, has the word *shahdhanaḳ*, also from *shāh dānah* "king of the grains," in his work *Djāmiʿ al-mufradāt*.

The *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb* (444) gives *ḳanneb* as the Moroccan synonym. In Morocco, *ḥashīsh* is given in an electuary (*maʿdjūn*) or in various confections. It is also prepared as *kif* which is smoked in small pipes especially by the lower classes. This is also true in other regions of North Africa.

How *ḥashīsh* came to become the common Arabic term for Indian hemp narcotic is uncertain. Those who take *ḥashīsh* are called *ḥashshāshūn* (Dozy, i, 289), also as *ḥashīshiyyūn* or *ḥashīshiyya*. (The word *ḥashīsh* originally meant "dry herb" coming from *ḥashsha* "to dry" as with drug plants.) This last name is also sometimes used of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs, who are alleged to have used—or even introduced—the drug [see ḤASHĪSHIYYA].

Numerous references to *ḥashīsh* in *The Thousand and One Nights* (*ca.* 600/1200) are to be found. In these tales, hemp is used mainly as an odorant to drug people or animals. In his *Travels*, Marco Polo discusses *ḥashīsh* in its use as a stupefying agent.

Closer to modern times, the use of *ḥashīsh* in Egypt was found to be so widespread and deleterious that Bonaparte issued edicts prohibiting the drinking or smoking of hemp products. These turned out to be ineffective, since its habitual use had been going on for so many hundreds of years.

Today, the use of hemp drugs to produce euphoria and greater sexual pleasure is very widespread in India, Asia Minor, Egypt, and in other parts of Africa. In Egypt, *ḥashīsh* is today very cheap and is smoked commonly by the poorer classes. This is also generally true for the region from Tripoli to Morocco, especially in Algeria. On the west coast of Africa, the Negroes cultivate the *C. sativa* and smoke the fresh or dried leaves in pipes which contain a piece of glowing charcoal. In the Rif, the drug is used by the Sanūsī in religious ceremonies. The same is true in the Congo where the Kassai and Baluba tribes have lost some ancient fetishes and have substituted *riamba* or hemp. The drug is regarded as a means of protection against illness and as a symbol of peace.

Hemp preparations are also smoked in East Africa, Madagascar, and in South Africa. In the latter, a hemp product called *dagga* is responsible for 17% of all admissions to the Pretoria Mental Hospital. The Hottentots, Bushmen and Kaffirs smoke hemp alone or with tobacco. In Turkey a preparation from hemp called *esrar* ("secret") is smoked with tobacco. It is also chewed there.

In Syria, much hemp is grown. There are many dens in Damascus where *ḥashīsh* and opium are smoked. Addiction also occurs among the Uzbeks and Tatars.

In India, where hemp smoking is popular, it has been shown that moderate use causes no moral injury. On the other hand, excessive consumption is physically and mentally injurious and leads to moral weakness and depravity. The drug is smuggled today into Egypt from Syria and Lebanon. A United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs declared in 1950 that 60,000,000 square metres were under Indian hemp cultivation with an annual production in Syria and Lebanon alone of 300 tons.

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(M. Levey)

ḤASHĪSHIYYA, a name given in mediaeval times to the followers in Syria of the Nizārī branch of the Ismāʿīlī sect. The name was carried from Syria to Europe by the Crusaders, and occurs in a variety of forms in the Western literature of the Crusades, as well as in Greek and Hebrew texts. In the form 'assassin' it eventually found its way into French and English usage, with corresponding forms in Italian, Spanish and other languages. At first the word seems to have been used in the sense of devotee

or zealot, thus corresponding to *fidāʾī* [*q.v.*]. As early as the 12th century Provençal poets compare themselves to Assassins in their self-sacrificing devotion to their ladies (F. M. Chambers, *The troubadours and the Assassins*, in *Modern Language Notes*, lxiv (1949), 245 ff.; D. Scheludko, *Über die arabischen Lehnwörter im Altprovenzalischen*, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xlvii (1927), 423). But soon it was the murderous tactics of the Nizārīs, rather than their selfless devotion, that fascinated European visitors to the East, and gave the word a new meaning. From being the name of a mysterious sect in Syria, assassin becomes a common noun meaning murderer. It is already used by Dante ('lo perfido assassin ...', *Inferno*, xix, 49-50), and is explained by his commentator Francesco da Buti, in the second half of the 14th century, as 'one who kills another for money'.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the name assassin—and the sect that first bore it—received a good deal of attention from European scholars, who produced a number of theories, mostly fantastic, to explain its origin and significance. The mystery was finally solved by Silvestre de Sacy in his *Mémoire sur la dynastie des Assassins et sur l'origine de leur nom*, read to the *Institut* in 1809 and published in the *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal*, iv (1818), 1-85 (= *Mémoires d'histoire et de littérature orientales*, Paris 1818, 322-403). Using Arabic manuscript sources, notably the chronicle of Abū S̲h̲āma, he examines and rejects previous explanations, and shows that the word assassin is connected with the Arabic *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲* [*q.v.*]. He suggests that the variant forms Assassini, Assissini, Heyssisini etc. in the Crusading sources come from alternative Arabic forms *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲ī* (pl. *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲iyya* or *has̲h̲īs̲h̲iyyīn*) and *ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲* (pl. *ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲īn*). In confirmation of this he was able to produce several Arabic texts in which the sectaries are called *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲ī*, but none in which they are called *ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲*. Since then, the form *ḥashīs̲h̲ī* has been amply confirmed by new texts that have come to light—but there is still, as far as is known, no text in which the sectaries are called *ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲*. It would therefore seem that this part of S. de Sacy's explanation must be abandoned, and all the European variants derived from the Arabic *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲ī*.

This revision raises again the question of the meaning of the term. *Ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲* is of course the Arabic name of Indian hemp—*cannabis sativa*—and *ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲* is the common word for a hashish-taker. De Sacy, while not accepting the opinion held by many later writers that the assassins were so called because they were addicts, nevertheless explains the name as due to the secret use of hashish by the leaders of the sect, to give their emissaries a foretaste of the delights of paradise that awaited them on the completion of their missions. He links this interpretation with the story told by Marco Polo, and found also in other eastern and western sources, of the secret 'gardens of paradise' into which the drugged devotees were introduced (Marco Polo, edd. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, London 1938, i, 40 ff.; cf. Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronicon Slavorum*, iv, 16; J. von Hammer, *Sur le paradis du Vieux de la Montagne*, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, iii (1813), 201-6—citing an Arabic romance, in which the drug used is called *Band̲j̲*). This story is early; the oldest version of it, that of Arnold of Lübeck, must date from the end of the 12th century. Their chief, he says, himself gives them daggers which are, so to speak, consecrated to this task, and then "et tunc poculo eos quodam, quo in extasim vel amentiam rapiantur, inebriat, et eis magicis suis quedam sompnia in fantastica, gaudiis et deliciis, immo nugis plena, ostendit, et hec eternaliter pro tali opere eos habere contendit" (*Monumenta Germaniae historica*, xxi, Hanover 1869, 179). This story, which may well be the earliest account of hashish dreams, is repeated with variants by later writers. It is, however, almost certainly a popular tale, perhaps even a result rather than a cause of the name *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲iyya*. The use and effects of hashish were known at the time, and were no secret; the use of the drug by the sectaries, with or without secret gardens, is attested neither by Ismāʿīlī nor by serious Sunnī authors. Even the name *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲iyya* is local to Syria (cf. Houtsma, *Recueil*, i, 195; Ibn Muyassar, *Annales*, 68) and probably abusive. It was never used by contemporaries of the Persian or any other non-Syrian Ismāʿīlīs; even in Syria it was not used by the Ismāʿīlīs themselves (except in a polemic tract issued by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Āmir against his Nizārī opponents —A. A. A. Fyzee, *al-Hidāyatu 'l-āmiriya*, London-Bombay 1938, 27), and only occasionally even by non-Ismāʿīlī writers. Thus Maḳrīzī, in a fairly lengthy discussion of the origins and use of hashish, mentions a Persian *mulḥid* (probably an Ismāʿīlī) who came to Cairo at about the end of the 8th century A.H. and prepared and sold his own mixture of hashish—but does not call the Ismāʿīlīs *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲iyya*, or mention any special connexion between the sect and the drug (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, ii, 126-9). *Ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲ī* would thus appear to have been a local Syrian epithet for the Ismāʿīlīs, probably a term of contempt —a criticism of their behaviour rather than a description of their practices.

Bibliography: B. Lewis, *The sources for the history of the Syrian assassins*, in *Speculum*, xxvii (1952), 475-89; idem, *The Ismāʿīlites and the Assassins*, in *A history of the Crusades*, editor-in-chief K. M. Setton, i, *The first hundred years*, ed. M. W. Baldwin, Philadelphia 1955, 99-132; M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, espec. 133-7. For the history of the sect see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA and NIZĀRĪS. (B. LEWIS)

ḤĀS̲H̲IYA, pl. *ḥawās̲h̲ī*, meaning (1) the *margin* (of pages in [*fī*, *ʿalā*, *bi-*] which notes could be written), then (2) the *marginal note* itself (or "note" in general), and, finally, (3) *gloss*, used in the sing., undoubtedly as a profession of modesty, in titles of independent works, at times of some length, dealing with comments on subjects treated by earlier authors. This last usage is comparatively late; none of the ca. 150 titles listed in Brockelmann, S III, 892-4, antedates the 8th/14th century. Although it was used as a book title all over the Muslim world, *ḥās̲h̲iya* enjoyed particular favour among scholars of the eastern region.

Ḥawās̲h̲ī, in the second meaning, appears loosely used in titles of books no later than the 5th/11th century, the presumable date of the *Ḥawās̲h̲ī* of a certain Ibn Masrūr on Aristotle's *De sensu* (Ibn al-Maṭrān, *Bustān al-aṭibbāʾ*); in the case of *Ḥawās̲h̲ī mawḍūʿāt al-ʿulūm* (Brockelmann, S I, 820), the attribution of both title and work to Ibn Sīnā is dubious. The use of *ḥās̲h̲iya* in the sense of marginal note must, however, be much earlier. The practice itself of using the margins of pages for annotations was, of course, not an invention of Islamic times, but, with the general increase in book production, it achieved there the status of a scholarly custom.

Since, in the manuscript age, nothing not firmly anchored in the text could be expected to survive the next copyist, the only possible position for a permanent annotation was within the text itself, and

the practice of inserting notes immediately after passages to be annotated was not infrequently followed; such notes were introduced by a number of different terms, among them, if rarely, *ḥās̲h̲iya*. The margins were used to note down textual corrections, variant readings, lexicographical explanations (sometimes in another language), additional information and references, criticisms of the author's views, and the like, with certain marks often, but by no means regularly, used to indicate the passage of the text to which a given *ḥas̲h̲iya* referred. It also was not unusual to fill the margins with material that had no direct relation to any particular passage of the text. This could include extensive remarks, quotations, and even occasionally entire commentaries or other complete works. The custom of using margins for other works carried over into printing and was expanded there.

In the 7th/13th century, the S̲h̲āfiʿite Ibn D̲j̲amāʿa expressed his opinion on marginal notes in these terms (*Tad̲h̲kirat al-sāmiʿ*, Ḥaydarābād 1353, 186-91): "There is nothing wrong with writing important notes (*ḥawās̲h̲ī, fawāʾid, tanbīhāt*) in the margins of a book one owns .... Only important notes that pertain to the contents of the book in question should be given, such as notes that call attention to difficult or doubtful passages, allusions, mistakes, and the like. Problems and details that are alien to the contents should not be allowed to deface the book, nor should there be so many marginal notes that it becomes disfigured or the student is at a loss to find out where they belong."

Bibliography: F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, in *Anal. Or.*, xxiv, Rome 1947, 17 f., 39 f., 51 f. (F. Rosenthal)

ḤĀS̲H̲IYA, the entourage of a ruler [see ḳaṣr].

ḤAS̲H̲MET (?—1182/1768), Ottoman poet, born in Istanbul. His father was the *ḳāḍīʿasker* ʿAbbās Efendi. Ḥas̲h̲met became a *müderris*, but, because of his satires, was exiled in 1175/1761, first to Bursa and later to Rhodes, where he died. In his youth he had been under the protection of the Grand Vizier Ḳod̲j̲a Rāg̲h̲ib Pas̲h̲a, himself a poet, and dedicated some works to him. His scattered poems were collected while he was in exile in Bursa by one of his admirers, Saʿīd Imām-zāde, who also wrote a short biography of Ḥas̲h̲met to figure at the beginning of his *dīwān*; here one finds the information that Ḥas̲h̲met was a peerless swordsman and archer. The romantic epigrams which he exchanged with the contemporary poetess Fīṭnat [*q.v.*] are famous.

Works: (I) *Dīwān*. In this work (Būlāḳ 1841), besides two long poems in Arabic recounting the "beautiful names" of God and Muḥammad, these poems are for the most part *naẓīres* to the works of well-known poets, but are, nonetheless, very musical and contain some original images. The *terkīb-i bend* expressing his grief at the death of his father is notable for its simple, sincere tone. (II) *Intisāb al-mulūk* or *K̲h̲ʷābnāme*, a prose work, printed as a supplement to the *Dīwān*, in which Ḥas̲h̲met recounts a dream which he had on the night of the accession of Muṣṭafā III. All the rulers of the world come to the new sultan and ask for a job, each according to the speciality of his own country: the Russian to be chief furrier, the Englishman to be overseer of the powder-magazine, the Dutchman to be head gardener, the Frenchman to have charge of the wardrobe, and so on. (III) *Sūrnāme* or *Welādetnāme*, a prose work describing in a lively and colourful way the celebrations on the occasion of the birth of a daughter to Muṣṭafā III (simplified version in Latin transcription by Reşad Ekrem Koçu, Istanbul n.d.). (IV) *Sanad al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, a *risāla* written against those who condemn poetry and poets from the religious point of view. In this work, which consists of four sections and a conclusion, Ḥas̲h̲met claims that poetry has a divine origin, that there are passages in metre in both the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, and that Muḥammad, his Companions and Muslim rulers have all attributed great value to poetry and poets. (V) *S̲h̲ehādetnāme*, a short *risāla* explaining the material and spiritual effects of the *s̲h̲ahāda*. (VI) Although Meḥmed Saʿīd Imām-zāde mentions that Ḥas̲h̲met was writing a lexicographical work entitled *Durratayn* and containing Arabic compound words, no such work has been found.

Bibliography: Rāmiz, *Ted̲h̲kere*, Istanbul Un. Lib., MS T. 91; M. Nād̲j̲ī, *Esāmī*, 1308, 121; Meḥmet T̲h̲üreyyā, *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, ii, 233; Bursalī Meḥmet Ṭāhir, *ʿOt̲h̲mānlı Müʾellifleri*, ii, 141; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, ii, 322; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 140-50; Rieu, *Cat. of Turkish manuscripts*..., 204.

(Mehmed Kaplan)

ḤAS̲H̲R [see ḳiyāma].

ḤAS̲H̲W [see naḥw].

ḤAS̲H̲WIYYA (Ḥas̲h̲awiyya, Ḥus̲h̲wiyya, or Ahl al-Ḥas̲h̲w), a contemptuous term derived from *ḥas̲h̲w* ("farce" and hence "prolix and useless discourse") and with the general meaning of "scholars" of little worth, particularly traditionists; this term is sometimes associated with *g̲h̲ut̲h̲āʾ* and *g̲h̲ut̲h̲ar*, and even with *raʿāʿ*, "the scum of the populace" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Muk̲h̲talif*, 96; tr. Lecomte, 90), and used by some Sunnis of extremist traditionists or those whose researches are of very little value. Fairly close to Nābita [*q.v.*] and to Mud̲j̲bira [*q.v.*], it is used, in a narrower sense, of the *Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīt̲h̲* [*q.v.*] who, uncritically and even prompted by prejudice, recognize as genuine and interpret literally the crudely anthropomorphic traditions. A few names of individuals who made themselves notorious in this way and who belonged neither to the Karrāmiyya nor to the anthropomorphist S̲h̲īʿīs are mentioned by al-S̲h̲ahrastānī (ed. Cureton, 77); the Sālimiyya (see I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, lxi, 79) also came into this category. Al-Nawbak̲h̲tī (*Firaḳ*, 7) uses the name Ḥas̲h̲wiyya for well-known traditionists such as Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī or Mālik b. Anas, whom he classes among the Murd̲j̲iʾa [*q.v.*].

The Muʿtazilīs applied the name of Ḥas̲h̲wiyya to the majority of the *Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīt̲h̲*, because, although without the unquestioning acceptance of the Ḥas̲h̲wiyya proper and often with the reservation "without comment" (*bilā kayfa*), they yet admitted some anthropomorphic expressions.

Bibliography: G. van Vloten, in *Actes du XIᵉ Cong. int. des Orient.*, 99 ff.; M. Th. Houtsma, in *ZA*, xxvi, 196 ff. (with bibliographical references); A. S. Halkin, in *JAOS*, liv (1934), 1 ff.; A. N. Nader, *Muʿtazila*, 99; K̲h̲afād̲j̲ī, *S̲h̲ifāʾ*, s.v.

(Ed.)

ḤĀSIB [see ʿilm al-ḥisāb].

ḤĀSIK (Hasek), a town in the Mahra country [*q.v.*], east of Mirbāṭ [*q.v.*] in 17° 21′ N. Lat. and 55° 23′ E. Long., at the foot of the high mountain of Nūs (Lūs), the ʾΑσίχων of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Before the town lies the "bay of herbs" (D̲j̲ūn al-Ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲), the bay of Ḥāsik (Raʾs Ḥāsik), also called Kuria Muria Bay after the two islands lying opposite (K̲h̲aryān and Maryān in Idrīsī). Idrīsī describes Ḥāsik as a small fortified town four days

east of Mirbāṭ, with many inhabitants, who are fishermen. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa landed here on his way through to ʿUmān and found the houses built of fishbones with roofs of camelskins. In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's and Idrīsī's time there was great intercourse between Ḥāsik and the island of Soḳoṭrā [*q.v.*] to the south. The frankincense which was produced in the Mahra country was exported through Ḥāsik. The town is now quite ruined. It is called Sūḳ Ḥāsik and is inhabited by the Ḳara and other tribes of the frankincense country.

Opposite Ḥāsik, according to Miles about 20 miles from the coast, lie the "seven isles of Zenobia" (the ἑπτὰ νῆσοι, αἱ Ζηνοβίου λεγόμεναι of the *Periplus*), the Kharyān and Maryān group of Idrīsī, called the Djazāʾir Ibn Khalfān, after a prominent Mahrī family, by the Arabs of the south coast. The most westerly of the islands and the one nearest the coast bears the name Ḥāsikī or Ḥāsikiyya, *i.e.*, the island belonging to Ḥāsik (the Portuguese, who visited this island in 1588, called it Hezquiye). Like the most easterly of the islands, Ḳibliyya, it is covered by a large number of peaked hills mainly composed of red and streaked granite and inhabited by pelicans and diving birds. Hulton, who visited the islands in 1836, found only one of them, Hallaniyya, inhabited. He found that the language resembled that of Soḳoṭrā. The huts in which the few inhabitants lived consisted of loose stones above which were laid fishbones covered with seaweed. They belonged to the Bayt (Banū) Djanaba (Djenabi = Ζηνοβιος of the *Periplus*), the same tribe as lived on the coast between Ḥāsik and Raʾs al-Ḥadd. Their ancestors are said to have migrated hither several centuries ago, after being driven from Ḥāsik and Mirbāṭ as a result of feuds with their neighbours. Ptolemy and Pliny call the people of these islands ʾΑσχῖται or Ascitae, a name doubtless connected with Ḥāsik, although the ancients connected this name with ἀσκός "wineskin".

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra* (ed. Müller), 52, 1; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 214-5, tr. Gibb, ii, 391; Hulton, *Account of the Curya Murya Isles near the south-eastern coast of Arabia*, in the *Journal of the London Royal Geog. Soc.*, xi (1841), 156-64; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 264, 305, 306, 311, 312, 335-47, 656-7; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 95, 98-9, 313-4. (J. Schleifer)

ḤĀSSA [see ḥiss].

ḤASSĀN, BĀ (Banū), a branch (*baṭn*) of the South Arabian tribe of Kinda [*q.v.*], living in Ḥaḍramawt and descended from Ḥassān b. Muʿāwiya b. Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiya b. Thawr b. Mur(at)tiʿ b. Kinda. One member of it was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Ibn/Bā Ḥassan al-Ḥaḍramī (750-818/1349-1415), whose chronicle (*Taʾrīkh Ibn Ḥassān*, also called *T. al-Bahāʾ*) was used by ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad Abū/Bā Makhrama (833-903/1430-98) and his son al-Ṭayyib (870-947/1465-1540) for the biographical dictionary *Ḳilādat al-naḥr*. A copy of that chronicle is now in the Bodleian Library. Other works by him are cited by al-Saḳḳāf (see *Bibl.*) but seem to be lost.

Another *baṭn* Ḥassān is said by al-Ḳalḳashandī to belong to the ʿUdhra b. Zayd al-Lāt branch of Kalb [*q.v.*]. Other Ḥassāns are enumerated by Hamdānī in his *Iklīl*, ii (see *Bibl.*), where the genealogy of Āl Ḥassān Dhi ʾl-Shaʿbayn is given (Berlin MS, fols. 158b-159a).

Bibliography: ʿAbd Allāh al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh al-shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn*, i, Cairo 1353, 74-6; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī maʿrifat ansāb al-ʿarab*, Baghdad 1332, 1378, s.v. (Abyārī's ed., Baghdad 1959, omits this and six further sections = 4 pages!); al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik al-dhahab*, Nadjaf 1345, 53; al-Hamdānī, *Südarab. Muštabih*, ed. O. Löfgren, Uppsala 1953 (= Bibl. Ekmaniana 57), 19; O. Löfgren, *Über Abū Makhrama's Ḳilādat al-naḥr*, in *MO*, xxv (1931), 120-39; R. B. Serjeant, *Materials for South Arabian history*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 299; idem, *The Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt*, London 1957, 11; idem, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford 1963, 53. (O. Löfgren)

ḤASSĀN B. MĀLIK, grandson of the Kalbī chief Baḥdal b. Unayf [*q.v.*] and cousin of the caliph Yazīd I, his father being the brother of Maysūn, the famous wife of Muʿāwiya (it has been thought, erroneously, that he was the uncle of Yazīd I, because he is often referred to simply as Ibn Baḥdal). This relationship, the nobility of his clan (the Banū Ḥāritha b. Djanāb) and the power of the Kalb tribe earned for him under Muʿāwiya and Yazīd the governorships of Palestine and of Jordan. Before this, he had fought at Ṣiffīn in the ranks of the Syrian army, in command of the Ḳuḍāʿa of Damascus (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, 233). It was he who accompanied the young Yazīd when he arrived at Damascus to assume the caliphate, and he continued to exert a strong influence over his royal cousin, who had become also his brother-in-law. On the death of Muʿāwiya II, the son and successor of Yazīd I, there arose a crisis (64/684) in which Ibn Baḥdal played an important part by supporting the claims to power of the two young half-brothers of Muʿāwiya II, Khālid and ʿAbd Allāh. Having entrusted Palestine to a chief of the Djudhām, Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ, Ibn Baḥdal betook himself to the *djund* of Jordan and then to Djābiya in order to follow events from closer at hand. The situation at this time was favourable to the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, for al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī [*q.v.*], the governors of Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrīn, and the rival of Ibn Baḥdal who had driven Rawḥ out of Palestine had either secretly or openly taken his side. But the cunning ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] arrived from ʿIrāḳ and changed the course of events through his intrigues (at least according to the account of Ibn Saʿd, which seems to be the most objective). In fact ʿUbayd Allāh persuaded Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], already on his way to Mecca to offer homage there to Ibn al-Zubayr, to retrace his steps, and to go to Palmyra, where he next set himself up as a candidate (on the later manoeuvres of ʿUbayd Allāh at Damascus, see al-ḍaḥḥāk b. ḳays al-fihrī where, at p. 89b, l. 50, for Ḳuraysh read Ḳays). Three parties were formed: the supporters of Ibn Baḥdal, those of Ibn al-Zubayr, and the neutrals, who did not mind whether the caliphate remained with the Umayyads or fell into the hands of anyone else; Marwān, it seems, had little confidence in his success. While al-Ḍaḥḥāk was still at Damascus, Ḥassān attempted to bring the situation to a head: he caused to be read out in the Great Mosque a message in which he extolled the claims of the Umayyads and accused Ibn al-Zubayr of unworthy behaviour and hypocrisy. This resulted in an upheaval, which is known as the "Day of Djayrūn". Finally, it was decided to invite the Umayyads and the Syrian leaders to a conference at Djābiya in order to reach an agreement (ʿUbayd Allāh, not being one of the *ashrāf* of Syria, was excluded from it). Owing to his prestige Ibn Baḥdal presided, but he did not succeed in getting his candidate appointed. After 40 days of discussion Marwān

b. al-Ḥakam was proclaimed caliph. Before Ibn Baḥdal would recognize him, he had stipulated that the young Khālid should succeed after Marwān and that his tribe should receive important privileges and his own family retain certain prerogatives which it had enjoyed under the Sufyānids. From then on his influence declined steadily. Before his death Marwān obliged him to recognize ʿAbd al-Malik as his successor. In the revolt of ʿAmr al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*], Ḥassān supported ʿAbd al-Malik and found himself among the Umayyads witnessing the assassination of the rebel. After this event no more is heard of this Kalbī chief who had, at one juncture, been the arbiter of the destinies of the Umayyad dynasty. The probable date of his death is given as 69/688-9 (al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, MS Bodl., fol. 58 v.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, viii, 313).

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 28, 29; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 184; Yaʿḳūbī, *Hist.*, ed. Houtsma, 301, 304, 306; Ṭabarī, ii, 468-77, 483, 576 f., 785, 787 f.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1293, ii, 314 f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 194, 197-201, 205; idem, *Tanbih*, *BGA*, viii, 307 f.; *Aghānī*, xvii, 111, 114; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, s.v.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, iv, 120-3, 126, 246 f.; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, Paris MS., fols. 139 r.-141 r.; Bayyāsī, *K. al-Iʿlām bi 'l-ḥurūb fī ṣadr al-Islām*, Paris MS., fols. 85-8; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 106-112; Fr. Buhl, *Die Krisis der Umayyadenherrschaft im Jahre 684*, in *ZA*, xxvii (1912), 50-64; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwia Ier*, in *MFOB*, iv (1910), 287; idem, *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, in *MFOB*, v (1911), 107; idem, *L'avènement des Marwānides et le califat de Marwān Ier*, in *MFOB*, xii/2 (1927), *passim*, see index.

(H. LAMMENS-[L. VECCIA VAGLIERI])

ḤASSĀN B. AL-NUʿMĀN AL-GHASSĀNĪ, an Umayyad general who played a decisive part in the consolidation of the conquest of Ifrīḳiya by storming Carthage and finally defeating al-Kāhina [*q.v.*]. It is difficult, however, to trace the course of his actions on account of the uncertainty of the chronology and a host of discrepancies. The dates given for his arrival in Ifrīḳiya are Muḥarram 68/July-August 687, 69/688-9, 73/692-3, 74/693-4, 78/697-8; and for his fall 76/695-6, 77/696-7, 78/697-8, 79/698-9, 82/701-2, 84/703-4 and 89/707-8. The chronology given by the earliest chroniclers, *i.e.* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and the pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba, and confirmed by Ibn ʿAsākir, is the most probable. It agrees with the logical sequence of events and makes it possible to avoid inconsistencies.

Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī [*q.v.*] met his death in 69/688-9 when fighting against the Rūm, after evacuating Ifrīḳiya. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, occupied by the struggle against the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, was unable to find a successor for him immediately. But in 73/692-3 Ibn al-Zubayr was defeated and put to death, and the war with the Byzantines was resumed. It was, therefore, probably at this time that Ḥassān was sent with a strong army to reconquer Ifrīḳiya. After taking Carthage and laying it waste—the inhabitants set sail for Sicily—he pursued the Rūm and their Berber allies into the region of Bizerta. Defeating them once again, he drove back the former to Béja (= Vaga), where they consolidated themselves, and the latter to Bône. After halting at Ḳayrawān, he marched against the Kāhina. He by-passed the fortress of Madjdjāna without attacking it, and went on, to meet a complete disaster on the borders of the Meskiana. Hotly pursued as far as Gabès, he was forced to evacuate Ifrīḳiya and went to await the caliph's orders at the Ḳuṣūr Ḥassān (so named in memory of himself) four days' journey to the east of Tripoli.

The fall of Carthage had caused deep concern in Constantinople. The emperor Leontius, who overthrew Justinian II in 695, sent the patrician John with a powerful fleet to recapture the town, certainly after the evacuation of Ifrīḳiya by Ḥassān. The latter stayed for three years in Tripolitania. Then, with a new army, he resumed the offensive, probably in 78/697-8, with the help of certain Berber groups who were dissatisfied with the policy of the Kāhina. The latter was defeated and perished in the battle. Next Carthage, abandoned by its defenders, was once again captured and laid waste. On being dismissed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, the caliph's brother and governor of Egypt, who replaced him by his protégé Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (Ṣafar 79/April-May 698), Ḥassān returned to the East. When passing through Egypt he was stripped of all the booty taken in Ifrīḳiya. He died fighting against the Byzantines in 80/699-700.

Ḥassān's campaigns mark the final consolidation of the Arab conquest. To him is owed the construction of the arsenal at Tunis, *Dār al-sināʿa* [*q.v.*], on the orders of the caliph, who was anxious to create a powerful fleet, and the rebuilding of the great mosque of Ḳayrawān in more durable materials. Following the example of the attempts then being made in the East, he tried to provide Ifrīḳiya too with an efficient administration and, in order to guarantee the co-operation and loyalty of the Berbers, he gave them a share in the *fayʾ*, particularly in the distribution of land.

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(M. TALBI)

ḤASSĀN B. THĀBIT B. AL-MUNDHIR B. ḤARĀM, of the Khazradj tribe of Yathrib (later Medīna), traditionally known as the "poet laureate" of the Prophet, is more correctly the most prominent of several poets who were associated with the rise of Islam, and one who already had an established reputation in the Djāhiliyya. When

Muḥammad arrived at Medina, Ḥassān was of mature age (though probably not yet 60—which is the age given by most authorities including Ibn Isḥāḳ who relies directly on Ḥassān's grandson Saʿīd—or even 52 or 53 years old as other authorities suggest), and had written panegyrics on the G͟hassānid and Lak͟hmid princes, visited them in their courts and received gifts from them. Equally uncertain is the date of his death, which is variously given as 40/659 or before that year, 50/669 or 54/673. As the last we hear of Ḥassān is some time before ʿAlī's assassination, a date around 40/659 is the most likely.

It is not certain exactly when Ḥassān embraced Islam, although it is stated that his brother Aws was one of the earliest converts and was assigned the Immigrant ʿUt͟hmān b. ʿAffān as his "brother" and guest in Medina, a fact which probably partly accounts for the Umayyad sympathies with which Ḥassān is credited, and which are represented by (or—in the case of spurious poems—reflected in) the comparatively large number of elegies on ʿUt͟hmān (8 out of 32) ascribed to Ḥassān in the *Dīwān* and elsewhere. However, Ḥassān himself had an *uṭum* of his own, was rich and kept such company as Ḳays b. al-K͟haṭīm [*q.v.*] the Awsī poet and Sallām b. Mis͟hkam, chief of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr.

In the year 5/627 Ḥassān figures in the story of the slander against ʿĀʾis͟ha, when he is said to have been punished for taking part in the slander, to have been attacked and wounded by Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭil [*q.v.*], and then reconciled by the prophet and given Sīrīn, an Egyptian slave girl, and other gifts. However, the story (and Ḥassān's supposed prominent part, which is assigned by certain authorities, including Ibn His͟hām, to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*] rather than to Ḥassān) received excessive attention from later generations, and should be viewed both as a whole and in detail against the background of friction between the newcomers and the Medinese themselves, both in Medina and in the course of the campaign against the Banu 'l-Muṣṭaliḳ when the story originated. For an examination of the controversial details see W. ʿArafat, *A controversial incident in the life of Ḥassān b. T͟hābit*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955).

It was then, or soon after the siege of Medina, that the Muslims, and particularly the Medinese among them, realized the need for the systematic support of poets, and Ḥassān's contribution was especially welcome. For better effect, advice and the necessary data were given by Abū Bakr. Once he joined the Muslim community, Ḥassān employed his talents on behalf of Islam, though he took no part in fighting, probably because of advanced age, rather than cowardice as is most frequently suggested. In any case, even before Islam, Ḥassān's role as a poet predominates.

In 9/630, the "Year of Delegations", Ḥassān is said to have had occasion to recite poetry on behalf of the Prophet in the presence of the important Tamīm delegation. Prominence is usually given to this visit, the purpose of which, however, is not certain; and the suggestion that the delegates were converted on hearing Ḥassān's poem is doubtful. The fact that three different sets of poems are found, each of which is claimed to be the one which served the occasion, is indicative both of the doubtful character of such poetry and of the high esteem in which Ḥassān was held.

Little is heard of Ḥassān himself afterwards, except when ʿUmar sought his expert opinion on a poem by al-Ḥuṭayʾa slandering al-Zibriḳān b. Badr; or when he is occasionally heard reciting his own poetry. On one occasion, some time later in his life, he came reluctantly out of retirement to support his less able son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in a battle of slander against al-Nad͟jās͟hī [*q.v.*]. Otherwise he was growing old, happy and waxing sentimental when reminiscing on his visits to the G͟hassānids, but sad and reprobatory when contrasting the dignified carousing he had known at the princely court of the G͟hassānids with the unrestrained enjoyment of newly found luxury by his own son and his boon-companions.

In the revolt against ʿUt͟hmān, Ḥassān, Kaʿb b. Mālik, al-Nuʿmān b. Bas͟hīr [*qq.v.*] and others were vociferous in support of the besieged caliph and (according to Ṭabarī, i, 2971) even tried to dissuade the rebels from their intention. After ʿUt͟hmān's death they went to Muʿāwiya, who gave Ḥassān and Kaʿb a present of money each and later rewarded al-Nuʿmān b. Bas͟hīr with a governorship.

Ḥassān had one daughter, who on one occasion displayed a talent for poetry, and by Sīrīn, according to most sources, one son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was as provocative as his father but shared neither Ḥassān's ability as a poet nor his longevity.

Ḥassān's *Dīwān* in the recension of Ibn Ḥabīb [*q.v.*] contains 228 poems on different subjects, the *Sīra* 29 more, while other poems and single lines are found elsewhere ascribed to him. Nevertheless at an early period doubts were cast on the authenticity of this poetry generally or on specific poems or lines; recently a detailed study of the poetry ascribed to Ḥassān was made by the author of this article with a view to establishing, on internal as well as external evidence, the authenticity or otherwise of each poem. This study indicated that some 60-70% of this poetry may be spurious. The poetry in the *Dīwān* presents such a variety of spirit and style, is so full of contradictions and anomalies and contains such a high proportion of inferior verse, that the poems could not have been the work of a single author nor all of them by a poet of high repute.

This spurious poetry should be viewed in the light of the eventful century following the rise of Islam in which the events involved the same tribes who had taken part in the early struggle. Earlier verse was forgotten or overwhelmed, replaced or supplemented by new poetry. Verse naturally accompanied tribal, sectarian or factional disputes; but was written also to clear the reputation of persons whose record in the early stages was not complimentary, or else to supplement and embellish the accounts of the *mag͟hāzī*. Some of these poems were the work of narrators or forgers, while others were ascribed to Ḥassān deliberately for prestige or else accidentally. Evidence sometimes indicates that a poem may be only partly authentic. More than 30 poems, parts of poems, or single lines are also ascribed by Ibn His͟hām and other authorities to Ḥassān's son or to other persons, including some of Ḥassān's contemporaries. The long poems of boasting can be seen on internal evidence to be by descendants of the Anṣār and reflect the inferior status to which they were reduced after the Battle of al-Ḥarra in 63/682.

Although only briefly, the spurious character of such poetry was noted by early critics, and Ibn Isḥāḳ was the subject of severe censure by Ibn Sallām and Ibn al-Nadīm, for including in his *Sīra* spurious poetry ascribed to Ḥassān and others, although Ibn Isḥāḳ himself pleaded good faith and lack of the appropriate critical experience. His editor Ibn His͟hām omitted or rejected on expert authority a large number of such poems, branding some outright as forgeries, and others as doubtful.

In the case of Ḥassān, Ibn Hishām rejected 15 out of 78 poems which appear in the *Sīra*, of which total 29 are not in Ibn Ḥabīb's recension of the *Dīwān*, while 10 out of the 15 so rejected are in the *Dīwān*. Ibn Sallām writes in his *Ṭabaḳāt* (179) briefly but significantly, "more poetry was fathered on Ḥassān than on any one else. When the Ḳuraysh quarrelled among themselves and slandered each other, they ascribed to him a great deal of poetry which is impossible to sift." For a more comprehensive view of the sources of this poetry and of the opinions of early critics, see W. ʿArafat, *Early critics of the authenticity of the poetry of the Sīra*, in *BSOAS*, xxi (1958). The main reason for ascribing to Ḥassān a larger proportion of such poetry is Ḥassān's higher reputation, already recognized at the advent of Islam.

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(W. ʿArafat)

HATAY, the name given by the Turks to the Sanjak of Alexandretta, at the time of the crisis of 1936-9. For the history of the area see ANṬĀKIYA and ISKANDARŪN.

HĀTIF, invisible being whose cry rends the night, transmitting a message; a prophetic voice which announces in an oracular style a future happening. Already in the Bible this voice is confused with that of the prophet (Ezekiel, XXI, 2, 7; Amos, VII, 16). On the eve of Muḥammad's call, mysterious voices were proclaiming his coming. These were the voices of "one who was calling" (*munādī*) or "who was shouting" (*ṣāʾiḥ*: *Aghānī*[1], xv, 76; in the legend of Madjnūn, *hātif* is the equivalent of *munādī* and of *ṣāʾiḥ*: *ibid.*, i, 169; ii, 4; i, 174; a third equivalent, *tālī*, is found in al-Ṭabarī, iii[4], 2337). It is also the voice coming from an idol (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 110) or from the entrails of a calf sacrificed before an idol (al-Ṭabarī, i[3], 1144 f.; Ibn Hishām, 134; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 105), or the voice of a mysterious horseman (*ibid.*). It is a *hātif* which brought the poet Abū Dhuʾayb news of the approaching death of the Prophet (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1286/1869, v, 188).

According to al-Djāḥiẓ, this voice usually announces the death of a great person; "nomads and semi-nomads," he says, "scarcely conceal their belief in the *hātif*; on the contrary, they are amazed that anybody can dispute its value" (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1323-5/1905-7, vi, 62 and cf. 64).

A passage of al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 323, admirably describes the psychological genesis of this phenomenon: "The particular characteristic of the *hātif*," he says, "is to produce an audible voice without possessing a visible body. There are varying opinions on the subject of the *hawātif* and the *djinn*s; some say that this phenomenon, mentioned by the Arabs and used by them to announce news, finds its origin in the solitude of the deserts, the isolation of valleys, the journey across vast spaces infested by *ghūl*s [*q.v.*] and the swamps filled with wild animals. For, when man ventures into these places alone, he thinks; and when he thinks he becomes fearful and cowardly; in this state he is inclined to false ideas and harmful illusions, created by the black bile, which make him imagine events and people, and to believe the impossible, in a similar way to someone who is the victim of an obsession ... The basis of this phenomenon lies in a wrong way of thinking in which man creates in his imagination what he reports about the activity of the *hawātif* and the *djinns*."

This phenomenological explanation does not remove all its mystery from the *hātif*, and the question put by al-Djāḥiẓ to the man who claimed to know everything, was much repeated: "Let me know [about the origin] of the verses [pronounced by] the *hātif* and about the news which is spread during the night" (*K. al-Tarbīʿ wa 'l-tadwīr*, ed. Pellat, Paris 1955, 42).

In modern Arabic the word *hātif* has been adopted as the equivalent of telephone.

Bibliography: In addition to the authors mentioned above, see I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur ar. Philologie*, Leiden 1896-99, i, 212. In Cairo and Damascus there exist two written works, still in manuscript, which discuss the subject: Abū Bakr b. ʿUbayd b. Abi 'l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), *K. al-Hawātif* (see Brockelmann, S I, 247); Abū Bakr b. Djaʿfar al-Kharāʾiṭī (d. 327/938), *Hawātif al-djinān wa-ʿadjāʾib mā yuḥkā ʿan al-kuhhān* (Brockelmann, S I, 350). (T. Fahd)

HĀTIF Aḥmad, *sayyid* of the line of Ḥusayn; his family, natives of Urdubād (Ādharbaydjān), in the time of the Ṣafawids settled in Iṣfahān, where he was born. He was the most notable poet under the dynasties of the Afsharīs and the Zand. He divided his time between his native town, Ḳumm and Kāshān. He was a man of erudition and a physician, and had a knowledge of Arabic, in which language he wrote some poems; in Persian he was the author of an important collection consisting of *ḳaṣīda*s, *ghazal*s, *rubāʿī*s and other short works, in which the influence of Saʿdī and Khādjū can be discerned. He owes his fame mainly to a *tardjiband* (strophic poem) as remarkable for its finesse and profundity of thought as for its style, the subject being the uniqueness of God; it is one of the masterpieces of mystical poetry. He died in Ḳumm in 1198/1783.

Bibliography: *Dīwān* (ed. Waḥīd Dastgardī, Tehrān). Translations of the *tardjiband*: by Schlechta-Wssehrd (in *ZDMG*, v, 80 ff.), by E. G. Browne (iv, 284 ff.). Translations of poems: Bland (*Century of Persian ghazals*, 38 ff.); Jouannin (in *JA*, xi (1827), 244 ff.); Defrémery (*ibid.*, vii (1856), 130 ff.). (H. Massé)

HĀTIFĪ, ʿAbd Allāh, Persian poet, son of Djāmī's sister, born in Khardjird in the district of Djām, a dependency of Herāt, died in 927/1521. He wrote a *Tīmūr-nāma*, an epic known also as *Ẓafar-nāma* (lith. Lucknow 1869), on the subject of Tīmūr's conquests. He had planned to write a *Khamsa*, a collection of five long poems, but this work he was unable to complete; of it we possess a *Shīrīn and Farhād*, a charming *Laylī and Madjnūn* (ed. W. Jones, Calcutta 1788) and a *Haft manẓar* on the model of the *Haft paykar* of Niẓāmī. He was influenced by this poet (though not by his artifices and obscure allusions) and also by Amīr Khusraw. He eschewed the eulogies and panegyrics traditionally placed at the head of long poems; but at the beginning of *Laylī and Madjnūn* he proclaimed his Shīʿism and his devotion to the poet Ḳāsim al-Anwār. At the beginning of the *Tīmūr-nāma* he makes an allusion to his lyric poems, the complete collection of which has not survived. According to Sām Mīrzā (*Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*), he was visited by Shāh Ismāʿīl when returning from the conquest of Khurāsān (917/1511) and was invited to compose a poem on that sovereign's achievements, but he wrote only about a thousand lines of verse of this work.

Bibliography: On the *Ẓafar-nāma*: C. A. Storey, ii/2, no. 358; on the *Ismāʿīl-nāma*, *ibid.*, no. 373. Luṭf ʿAlī Beg, *Ātash-kada*, 65; Riḍā-Ḳulī-Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā*, ii, 54; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 3, 346; Bābur, *Mémoires*, tr. Pavet de Courteille, i, 409; Hammer, *Redekünste Persiens*, 355; Ouseley, *Notices*, 143; Rieu, *Catal. Persian Mss.*, 652; Ethé, *Gr. I. Ph.*, index; Storey, ii/2, no. 373.

(Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

ḤAṬĪM [see kaʿba].

ḤĀTIM b. HARTHAMA, the son of Harthama b. Aʿyan [*q.v.*], held a number of appointments in the service of the Caliphs. In a letter from al-Amīn to Ṣāliḥ, dated Shawwāl 192/July-August 808, *i.e.*, nearly a year before the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the heir apparent advises his brother to confirm Ḥātim b. Harthama, like his father a man of proved loyalty, in his post, and to entrust him with the guarding of the Caliphal palaces (Ṭabarī, iii, 769; cf. Gabrieli, *Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amīn in aṭ-Ṭabarī*, in *Rend. Lin.*, Ser. vi, vol. iii (1927), 203). Later, al-Amīn appointed him governor of Egypt, with religious and fiscal authority (*ʿala 'l-ṣalāt wa 'l-kharādj*). He had already served in Egypt as police chief (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) during his father's governorship in 178/794. He arrived there as governor in 194/810, with a force of 1000 Khurāsānī *abnāʾ* [*q.v.*]. He first stopped at Bilbays, and compelled the recalcitrant Arabs of the Ḥawf, or eastern Delta, to pay the *kharādj* which they had withheld; he then moved on, taking a hundred hostages with him, and reached Fusṭāṭ on 4 Shawwāl 194/11 July 810. When the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn began, Harthama was identified as a supporter of al-Maʾmūn. Al-Amīn therefore dismissed and replaced Ḥātim, who left Egypt in Djumādā II 195/March 811. He is said to have been the first to construct and use the summer residence and belvedere called *Ḳubbat al-hawāʾ* [*q.v.*], 'Dome of the air', on the slopes of Muḳaṭṭam, by the present site of the citadel of Cairo. At the time of his father's death in 200/816 he was governor of Armenia. When he received the news he wrote to the local rulers and nobles (*mulūk* and *aḥrār*; var. Kurds, *akrād*) inviting them to join in a rising, but was himself overtaken by death while making his preparations. According to Ibn Ḳutayba, it was said that the revolt of Bābak [*q.v.*] was caused by these events.

Bibliography: Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, ed. Guest, 136, 147, Beirut ed. 1959, 173-4; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1960, 389; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, ii, 144-8 and index; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, Paris 1937, 65-6; G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, Paris 1938, 238.

(B. Lewis)

ḤĀTIM al-AHDAL [see al-ahdal].

ḤĀTIM al-ṬĀʾĪ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd, Abū Saffāna or Abū ʿAdī, poet, who lived in the second half of the 6th century A.D., traditionally the most finished example of the pre-Islamic knight, always victorious in his undertakings, magnanimous towards the conquered and proverbial for his generosity and hospitality. According to legend, his mother Ghunayya (var. ʿInaba, etc.) was so generous that her brothers had to obtain a declaration that she was incapable of managing her affairs; from his youth the extravagances in which Ḥātim indulged provoked the anger of his grandfather, his guardian since the premature death of his father, so that he left him. In the *adab* books there are a number of traditions giving instances of his generosity, and it is even said that after his death he used to entertain travellers who asked for hospitality; he would rise from his tomb, slaughter a camel, and his son ʿAdī [*q.v.*] would be ordered in a dream to replace the dead animal. This tomb was probably on a hill (ʿUwāriḍ, see Yāḳūt, iii, 740) at Tungha, in Wādī Hāʾil (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 880) where he had lived. Four stone figures stood on either side of his tomb (cf. *Dīwān*, No. xiv; Lane, *The Thousand and one nights*[2], ii, 295 ff.), young girls with their hair loose, representing mourners. Also to be seen near the tomb were the remains of the great cooking pots which Ḥātim used to prepare meals for his guests. According to Palgrave (*Narrative*, i, 199), the tomb was still known in the district (cf. R. Basset, *Notes sur les Mille et une nuits*, iii, in *Revue des Trad. pop.*, 1897, 146-52).

As a poet, Ḥātim has left mostly verses in praise of liberality and altruism, but the *Dīwān* bearing his name is probably largely apocryphal and also may originally have been much larger (cf. *Fihrist*, 132, which speaks of 200 leaves). His wife Māwiyya also inspired some of his poems.

The figure of Ḥātim quickly became very popular in *adab* literature, and there are scarcely any works which do not include stories of his proverbial generosity. However, no Arabic writer has made him the principal character of a literary work, although in the eastern parts of the Muslim world he has become a much loved romantic figure.

In Persian, he is the hero of a romance, *Ḳiṣṣa-i Ḥātim Ṭāʾī* (or *Ḳiṣṣa-i haft sayr* (*suʾāl*)-*i Ḥātim Ṭāʾī*), translated by D. Forbes (London 1830) from a version which differs appreciably from the Calcutta editions (ed. G. J. Atkinson, 1818 and ed. 1827); the *Haft inṣāf-i Ḥātim Ṭāʾī* forms a sequel to these. A shorter sketch of the life and deeds of Ḥātim has been given by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504-5) in *Ḳiṣāṣ u āthār-i Ḥātim Ṭāʾī* (or *Risāla-i Ḥātimiyya*, ed. Ch. Schefer, in *Chrest. persane*, i, 173 ff.). The *Dāsitān-i Ḥātim Ṭāʾī* (Istanbul 1878) is a Turkish version of the romance. A Tatar version was published in Ḳāzān in 1876. Various editions of a translation of the *Ḳiṣṣa-i Ḥātim* in Urdu under the title of *Ārāʾish-i maḥfil* are mentioned in the India Office Catalogue, ii/2, 135 ff. (cf. Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la litt. hindouie et hindoustanie*, i, 552 ff.;

on a verse translation of the romance, see *ibid.*, i, 497, iii, 148; an analysis in Arabic is given in the review *Thaḳāfat al-Hind*, Dec. 1954 ff.). An adaptation of the romance exists in Malay (there is a MS in Paris; see A. Cabaton, *Cat. rom. des mss. ... indo-polynésiens*, 227, no. 61, ii); three chapters of it have been edited by P. P. Roorda van Eysinga (*Tjèritèra dari pada sè orang bèrname Hatim Tayi*, in *Uittreksels uit Maleische Geschiedenissen*, 5-18 (appendix to his *Maleisch en Nederduitsch Woordenboek*, Batavia 1825; Dutch trans. in *De Oosterling*, i (1835), 352 ff.).

Bibliography: *Der Dīwān des arabischen Dichters Ḥātim Ṭaj*, ed.-trans. Fr. Schulthess (cf. Barth, *Zur Kritik und Erklärung des Diwans Ḥātim Ṭejjs*, in *ZDMG*, lii, 34 ff. and R. Geyer, *Zu den Gedichten des Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī*, in *WZKM*, xii (1898), 308-18); Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 123-30; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 327-31; *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 96 ff. (Beirut ed., xvii, 276-302); Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 491-5, ii, 162-6; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Mukhtārāt*, Cairo 1306, 12-6; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, i, 161-2; Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, i, 72-81; Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, i, 98-134; Brockelmann, S I, 55; R. A. Nicholson, *A literary history of the Arabs*, London 1907, repr. Cambridge 1941, 85-7; [O. Rescher], *Abriss der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte*, i, Istanbul 1925, 64-9; G. Thouvenin, *La légende arabe d'Hatim Ta'i dans le Décaméron*, in *Romania*, lix (1933), 247-69.

On the Persian romance: H. Ethé, *Cat. Pers. Mss. India Office*, nos. 780-3; Browne, *A Cat. Pers. Mss. Cambridge*, nos. 319, 333, 399, 420-2; *Gr.I. Ph.*, ii, 329 ff. (C. van Arendonk*)

ḤAṬṬĪN [see ḥiṭṭīn].

HAUSA, name of a people, now predominantly Muslim, dwelling mainly in the Northern Region of Nigeria.

i. — Origins and history.

Our sources foi the early history of the Hausa are limited to the oral traditions of the folklore and to three chronicles, written at a late date, but purporting to go back to the tenth century A.D. and certainly themselves ultimately dependant upon this oral tradition. They are: "The Kano Chronicle" (Palmer, *Sudanese memoirs*, Lagos 1928, iii); "The Hausa Chronicle" (Mischlich and Lippert, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Haussastaaten*, Berlin 1903); the "Song of Bagauda" (Hiskett, in *BSOAS* xxvii/3 (1964) and xxviii/1 and 2 (1965). In addition we have the traditional account of the history of Katsina which was recorded by F. de F. Daniel earlier in the present century and is preserved in an undated and unpublished work under the title of *A history of Katsina*.

It seems probable that the early autochthons of Hausaland were a negro people who lived by a hunting economy and who at a certain point in their history became mixed with immigrants of probable Hamitic origin. This mixing took place in the Sudan, but there is evidence that in earlier times the negro stock lived as far north as the northern edge of the Sahara. Discoveries of arrow heads and agricultural implements suggest that what is now the territory of nomads was once the habitat of sedentary negro agriculturalists akin to the Hausa.

Hausa legends of origin are confused. Some name Biram as the ancestor of the *Hausa Bakwai*—the Seven Hausa States. Others, particularly the well-known Daura legend of the snake-killer, most conveniently available in Hodgkin's *Nigerian perspectives* (London 1960, 54 ff.), attribute the origin of the Seven to Bawo, son of Abuyazidi, alias Bayajidda, the "King of Baghdad" and husband to the daughter of the king of Bornu. This legend of the incoming migrants from the north is repeated elsewhere in the Sudanese cycle of myths of origin, as for instance in the henna legend of Bornu. The fact which emerges is that at a point which is generally taken to be the 4th/10th century, but which may have been considerably earlier, the autochthonous negro population of Hausaland bordering on the southern Sahara became host to and was subsequently dominated by, strangers from the north. These strangers appear not to have been negroid. They were also not in the first instance Muslim, although the Kano Chronicle hints that they may have already been influenced by monotheism. Certainly the cult of the autochthons was alien to them and it was not until several generations had elapsed that they became absorbed into it.

The causes of these immigrations are still to be clearly defined. They may, however, be sought in the political and religious upheavals of the North African littoral during the early Christian era and the "Song of Bagauda"—a Kano tradition—attributes what was probably the last major wave in the tenth century to famine further north.

As for the autochthons upon whom these immigrations impinged, they are remembered for us in the Barbushe legend of the Kano Chronicle and in popular legend. These were a pagan people, ruled by a hunter-priest-king who practised seclusion and divination and who appears to have presided over a cult of idol worship based on animism. The "Song of Bagauda" portrays these people as living in small open autonomous village and clan groups scattered over the country-side. Later, warrior chiefs and early Sudanese *condottieri*—the incoming immigrants already mentioned, or their descendants—found "an easy prey" and the small open settlements became subjected to the walled city states which the invaders began to build:

"The people were living widely dispersed over the
open country, not subject to any authority.
There was no chief, no protecting town wall.
Tunbi together with Washa saw an easy prey
And they joined forces, conquering the people
of Kano.
The elders said: let a chieftaincy be established.
They appointed Bagauda, the protector.'
(*BSOAS*, xxviii/1 (1965), 115).

By the beginning of the 8th/14th century the immigrants appear to have become seduced by the surrounding paganism, for we find that the chief Tsamia has "discovered the secret of the god" and a *modus vivendi* is apparent in which the rulers give a measure of official recognition to the indigenous cult.

During the reign of Yaji (750-87/1349-85) Mandingo missionaries arrived in Kano and under their tutelage the chief introduced the Islamic rites of slaughter and prayer. The Mandingoes also caused a mosque to be built. Clearly however, a strong anti-Islamic faction remained. Islam prevailed, but paganism, neither then nor later, was by any means extinguished. The arrival of the Mandingoes may be regarded as the first definite stage in the Islamization of the Hausa. It is significant that they arrived in the 8th/14th century. It was in 725/1325 that Mansa Musa made his famous pilgrimage and it is probable that we have here an aspect of the Islamic expansion which took place under this ruler. It may well be that the Mandingoes were merchants as well as missionaries and that they came in search of the gold of the Sudan.

The arrival in Hausaland of the famous North African divine, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī, during the reign of Mohamma Rimfa (867-904/1463-99) marks a further stage in the establishment of Islam. In particular, he appears to have introduced the Sharīʿa and certain elements of Islamic constitutional theory to the Hausa, thus providing an ideological focus around which subsequent constitutional development could coalesce. Traditionally, al-Maghīlī also personifies the introduction of Islamic mysticism into the Western Sudan.

Our initial sources for the early period are confined almost entirely to Kano, but it is probable that the pattern was similar over the rest of Hausaland. In Katsina, according to Daniel, Islam was received by the people but rejected by the court (in contrast to Kano where the opposite was the case). However, this is subject to the caveat that it may reflect the later rivalry between Kano and Katsina for precedence in Islam, together possibly with echoes of the rivalry between Habe and Fulani. The kingdom of Gobir is known to have existed from the first half of the 8th/14th century, although our informant, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tells us only that it was pagan. Kano, Katsina, Zaria and Zamfara are listed by Leo Africanus in the 9th/15th century. By the 11th/17th century the Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebi is speaking specifically of the seven Hausa tribes.

It appears that an early formative influence upon Hausa political institutions was that of Mali, for the Mandingo missionaries were employed by the Kano chief. As we know from the accounts of the Saharan travellers, the medieval kingdoms of the Sahara developed largely under Mamlūk influences and there is evidence in the surviving ceremonial of the Hausa courts that these influences extended to Hausaland. Certainly by 813/1410 the rulers of Kano were using chain mail, iron helmets and *lifidi* (Ar. *libd*)—the North African quilted horse armour. By 844/1440 they were employing eunuchs and a feudal system based on slave settlements was fully established.

In the 9th/15th century a further development also becomes apparent, for influences from Bornu begin to appear in Hausaland. Bornu and Kanem had of course been in contact with North Africa and Egypt from a much earlier date, and therefore Bornu represented in some measure simply an additional channel for incoming Islamic influences. However, the Bornu kings had already established a specific constitutional framework and its influence in Hausaland is to be seen, for instance, in the wide-spread adoption of Bornu titles. The results which flowed from these circumstances have been aptly described by M. G. Smith (*Historical and cultural conditions of political corruption among the Hausa*, in *Comparative studies in society and history*, vi/2 (1964)): "Thus political centralization, tributary links with Bornu, commercial development and the adoption of Islam by the rulers went hand in hand. Simultaneously the chiefs became kings, free of traditional norms and political restraints", while among the people Islam, the institution of slavery and the hardening feudal structure of society produced a stratification into peasants, a trading class, an Islamic learned class, throne slaves and a ruling aristocracy.

Throughout this period Islam advanced slowly, but with the powerful pressures of trade and a superior culture behind it. At the same time, pre-existing African institutions continued to be fully effective, and, as we can see from the evidence of Islamic and pagan names in the king lists of the Hausa Chronicle (probably the most useful evidence that this otherwise suspect document provides), the dispute between paganism and Islam continued to characterize the history of the Hausa states. By the end of the 12th/18th century the pattern was one of a number of independent principalities with territorial boundaries broadly defined in the course of previous centuries, but still constantly in dispute. The rulers of these states paid lip-service to Islam and to the Sharīʿa and each was supported by a hierarchy of *malams* reputedly learned in Islam, whose function was to give an air of legality to the *sarkis*' rule. In fact however, it appears that their governments were discrete and arbitrary and very largely at their individual whim. Islam both constitutionally and in ritual observance was but casually observed and was involved in an accommodation with pre-existing African custom and belief, of which the Hausa *malams* were the principal agents.

It was in protest against this situation that, in 1804, Shaihu Usumanu dan Fodio (ʿUthmān b. Fūdī) launched the *djihād*. This *djihād* was the violent culmination of an intellectual argument which had been developing over the preceding centuries and which changed its emphasis, but by no means ceased when the *djihād* was successfully concluded. When Shaihu Usumanu and his followers—mainly Fulani, but with not insignificant contingents of Hausa peasantry attached—won their war, they set up a system of government which is usually thought of as a loose feudal empire. The son of the Shaihu, Sultan Muḥammad Bello, ruled from Sokoto over what had been the eastern half of the old kingdom of Gobir, while from Gwando ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, the brother of the Shaihu, ruled what had previously been Zamfara and part of Kebbi. For the rest, the former Habe kingdoms were parcelled out among the Shaihu's flag-holders who ruled under varying feudal obligations to Sokoto. Some Habe escaped the Fulani and preserved substantial rump kingdoms further north.

The structure of this Fulani polity was not fortuitous. It was an attempt to actualize in the Sudan the medieval Islamic constitutional theory of the central "imāmate" delegating authority to provincial governors and commanders. In theory, at any rate, this structure was unified by the authority of the *imām*, which flowed from divine sanction, and by the universal applicability of the Sharīʿa. This theoretical basis of the Fulani state we find exposed in the apologia of the Fulani leaders, particularly in the *Ḍiyāʾ al-ḥukkām* of ʿAbd Allāh.

The Fulani achieved some initial success in their political objectives, though inevitably this fell short of completion. Culturally, their success was both more complete and more lasting. But during the following hundred years the centrifugal forces of dynastic rivalries and tribal tensions caused the structure of their empire to decay, both morally, in that the high Islamic ideals of the founders shrank to mere personal piety in the later rulers, and politically, in that the Fulani lost a measure of physical control. Nevertheless, this process can be, and often is, exaggerated. Barth, who visited Hausaland in about 1850, makes it clear that Fulani rule was still substantially effective. At the turn of the century, when the British took over, Fulani power was certainly tattered at the edges, but the core was still intact and tribute continued to be paid to Sokoto. The notion of a corrupt, disintegrating and ineffective Fulani rule involves major exaggerations and misunderstandings; it owes its origin to the no doubt sincere

but certainly mistaken interpretations of Lugard and certain—though by no means all—of his early administrators.

At the beginning of the present century the British took over administrative responsibility for what was formerly the Fulani emirates, and to them they added Bornu. These became the Northern Provinces and subsequently the Northern Region of the Protectorate of Nigeria. They were governed by what has become known as "Indirect Rule". This is frequently thought of as the brain-child of Lugard. In fact, it involved little change, either in practice or in theory, from the central imāmate already discussed. Sokoto retained its religious authority, which was by no means merely nominal. Emirs and local chiefs continued to exercise their traditional functions, but subject to the direction and control of European political officers. Taxation was modified in an effort to eradicate the grosser forms of peculation. Muslim Law was regulated only in so far as was necessary to avoid violence to the Western conscience. In the early years of the Administration at any rate, it seems that "Indirect Rule" was a principle rather than a closely defined policy and that the degree of direct intervention depended largely on the personalities and zeal of individual administrative officers.

The progress of Northern Nigeria to self-government took place over the following half century. It was characterized by the rapid extension of Islam in the measure that the *Pax Britannica* achieved security and facilitated communications. Modern means of mass communication have greatly accelerated this process since the Second World War.

The existence of substantial and relatively well-trained indigenous Civil Service cadres made possible the smooth transfer of power when self-government became complete on 1 October 1960. The form of government adopted by Northern Nigeria was democratic and secular, although, as is to be expected, Islamic institutions and attitudes inform all political and social activities, and probably the greatest cohesive factor in Hausa society remains a devotion to the Islamic way of life.

Hausa institutions: slavery.

Slavery has been one of the most important of the institutions influencing the development of Hausa society. There are two aspects: the slave trade; domestic slavery.

The slave trade from the Sudan was ancient. It seems probable that the Romans traded in slaves from the countries south of the Sahara and that the Arabs, Berbers and other Saharans simply took over a trade which already existed. By the 9th/15th century Hausaland had become involved in the complex of the trans-Saharan slave trade, which focused at points along the southern edge of the Sahara. There was a southern and a northern area of activity. The slaves were harvested from the Plateau and from the forest and riverain country in the course of war, raiding and kidnapping. It was native Sudanese who conducted these activities and it appears that the Arabs did not penetrate in person into these sub-Saharan areas until relatively late times. A proportion of the slaves were brought to Kano and other Saharan "ports" and from here they passed into the northern transit area, where Arab and Saharan middlemen took over. Having completed the Sahara crossing, they became destined for North Africa, Egypt, the Levant, Istanbul and other parts of the Turkish empire, and Arabia.

A larger proportion, however, were probably absorbed into the domestic slavery of the Sudan itself. Barth's well-known observation that "the quiet course of domestic slavery has very little to offend the mind of the traveller ..." (*Travels*, London 1857, ii, 151) appears truthfully to reflect the reality of this institution in Hausaland. The Hausa extended family is known as the *gandu*, a largely self-supporting unit based on agriculture and formerly dependent on slave labour. The *gandu* slaves were readily assimilated into the kinship group of the *gandu* head and as Baba of Kara (Mary Smith, *Baba of Kara*, London 1954) records, the *gandu* head assumed a paternal relation towards his slaves and their children, all of whom were brought up in Islam and became Hausa-speaking. The main hardship involved in the system, apart from some deprivation of liberty, was the constant danger of kidnapping and consequent separation from the *gandu* kin. Slaves were readily freed and, as elsewhere in Islam, became clients of their former master.

The results of the system were far-reaching. The master-client relationship became fundamental in Hausa society, while the *gandu* became over the centuries a melting-pot where Gwaris, Plateau peoples, Nupe, Yoruba and others acquired Islam and the Hausa tongue and where exotic influences and techniques introduced across the Sahara met and mingled with the indigenous techniques of the Sudan. In short, slavery, for all its evils, has been a unifying force in Hausaland and it is probable that the heritage of attitudes and loyalties which it has left behind remains one of the strongest bonds of Hausa society.

Trade.

In Hausaland trade was closely related to the constitutional and historical developments which we have already described. The early indigenous settlements must have lived by hunting and by some farming and probably had little trade. According to the Kano Chronicle there was, in these early days, no market.

The visit of the merchants from Mali may have been exploratory, but by the middle of the 9th/15th century commercial activity had become established, associated with the increasing influence of Bornu in Hausaland. In the reign of Dauda (824-41/1421-38) a Bornu nobleman settled in Kano and is credited with the founding of the first market. Slave harvesting to the south appears suddenly to have become wholesale. The camel was introduced into Kano at this time. Touareg came to Hausaland, drawn certainly by trade, and merchants from Gwanja found their way to Katsina. There are also references about this time to trade with Zaria and Nupe and the pattern which emerges is that of *fatauci*—the long distance trade of the Hausa—extending northwards into the Sahara and southwards and then laterally to encompass Nupe and Ashanti and, in the east, Bornu.

By the 11th/17th century the trans-Saharan trade had diminished somewhat, although the extent of this decline has been over-stated. However, there is evidence that it was compensated for by an increase in the lateral trade. The Kano Chronicle tells us that cowries first came to Hausaland between 1114/1703 and 1143/1731. Doubt has been thrown on this statement, as part of an assumption that the Saharan cowry exchange area must have reached Hausaland at an earlier date. This is still an open question, but it is certainly arguable that cowries did in fact come to Hausaland only at this late date, borne up from the coastal cowry exchange area as part of an expanding tide of lateral trade. But despite this lateral

trade, the Saharan traffic passing via Hausaland remained significant and Monteil (*De Saint-Louis à Tripoli par le lac Tchad*, Paris 1895) has described the annual salt caravans which were still plying the Saharan routes into Hausaland at the close of the nineteenth century.

Internal trade—*kasuwanci*—centres round the institution of the market, which takes place once or twice a week and is organized on a trade and craft basis. As in other Islamic markets, each trade has its own quarter and all are communally responsible for the proper running of the market, under a market head. Market dues are payable and Usumanu dan Fodio lists such imposts—considered by him illegal—as *tasuwa* (a tax on butchers) and *agama* (on cottons and other market goods). Clapperton and Barth give further details. The market is supported by *fatauci*; by the predominantly agricultural economy of the Hausa and by the very numerous and diversified crafts and techniques of which they are masters. In addition, the market has great social and psychological significance and, as M. G. Smith has pointed out, despite Islam, the institution still rests upon the sanctions and approval of the pre-Islamic spirits.

The *bori* cult.

In so far as it can be translated, the word *bori* means "the spirits of the possession cult" and this possession cult appears to represent the pre-Islamic religion of the Hausa. It has flourished on into Islam and is still practised both by Muslim Hausa and by the non-Muslim Maguzawa. The Hausa conceives of a whole spirit world which can best be visualized as parallel to the human world, but inhabited by the *bori*. Unlike the supernatural worlds of Islam and Christianity, this spirit world is in no way transcendent. It is imminent in man's immediate surroundings and is fraught with dangers for humans unfortunate or foolish enough to trespass upon it.

The spirits are of two kinds: those of the city and those of the "bush". The first are largely exotic and contain many Islamic importations; the second probably represent the original nature spirits of African popular belief. At some point Allāh became involved in the cult, but as a rather remote and shadowy deity who resembles the Sky God of the southern peoples of West Africa. Most of the spirits are disease demons, such as Kalgo who gives rheumatism and Mai-Aska the Barber, who causes baldness and rashes. Malam Alhaji, clearly an Islamic borrowing, is normally benign, a kind of "Father Time" who carries off old people. The *bori* live in their own city, *Jan Kasa*, popularly thought to be situated somewhere in the Sahara.

The spirits are responsible for all diseases and the cure depends on discovering the spirit responsible and then on correct placation. They must also be consulted and placated in all such important events as marriage; child-birth; building a house; setting up a market and so on. The adepts of the *bori* cult are the *masu bori*, who become possessed or are "mounted" by the particular spirits with whom they are identified. Each spirit has a peculiar sacrifice by which he or she is conjured up. Thus one has a lame hen; another a white hen and yet another a speckled hen and so on.

There are periodic *bori* dances in the course of which possession takes place. There is often also a permanent *gidan tsafi*—a "temple" at which offerings can be made.

Islam has clearly become involved in the *bori* cult, in that many *bori* spirits now bear Muslim names. Also the Islamic *djinn* have taken their place among the *bori* spirits, as have also the ogre-like figures of the pagan ancestors. The synthesis between Islam and the *bori* cult and the persistence with which nominally Muslim Hausa continue to consult the *masu bori* are main targets for the disapproval of the Muslim moralists.

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(M. Hiskett)

ii.— Language.

The Hausa language is spoken as a mother-tongue by some twelve to fifteen million people, both of Habe and of Fulani stock, living mostly in the Northern Region of Nigeria and in the adjacent Republic of Niger, but also in small colonies of settlers and traders in most of the large towns and ports of Africa north of the Congo from Cameroon to Tripoli and from Dakar to Port Sudan. In Northern Nigeria it constitutes the majority language and is used as a second language to English in the legislature the law courts and for government business, and as the language of instruction in most of the primary schools. It is now written for official and scholastic purposes in the Roman script (with the addition of three special letters), but the older Arabic script (known as *ajami*) is still extensively used for private correspondence and religious tracts. There is a government controlled agency, the Hausa Language Board, which seeks to arbitrate on matters of spelling punctuation and new vocabulary. Hausa is also spoken as a second, or third, language by severa million more people in Northern Nigeria, notably Nupe, Kanuri and Birom, and it is used as a lingua franca or trade language over a large part of West Africa. Compared with some other African languages it shows remarkably little dialectal variation, the principal dialects being those of Kano, Katsina and Sokoto. Standard written Hausa is based on the

dialect of Kano, the largest Hausa speaking town and the provenance of most Hausa traders in foreign parts.

Hausa belongs to the Chadic group of the Hamitic, or, as it is now often called, Afro-Asiatic, family of languages, being the only language of the group that is spoken by more than a few hundred thousand speakers. Structurally it is extremely reminiscent of some Indo-European languages, both in its clause structure and word order and in the use it makes of grammatical categories such as dative and subjunctive. Its sound system, however, is in some ways peculiar, especially in the use it makes of glottalization to give distinctions of meaning. All the four basic consonants, P,T, K, and S, occur in voiceless, voiced and glottalized varieties, and most of these can be either palatalized or labiovelarized as well, at least in the older dialects of Katsina and Sokoto. Medially, however, these latter distinctions are generally speaking allophonic. Basically it has only two vowels, A and I/U, but the pronunciation of these varies considerably according to phonetic environment (in the case of I/U, also from dialect to dialect), and developed from them by the addition of H or the semivocalic Y and W are the long vowel and diphthongal sounds *aa*, *ai*, *au*, *ii*, *uu* (the last four as in Arabic and *aa* as with *fatḥa* plus *alif*), and also, in syllables of a restricted pattern, *ee* and *oo*. Various forms of consonant-vowel and vowel-consonant harmony operate in the syllable (including the spreading of glottality beyond the domain of the initiating consonant, as with the emphatic consonants in Arabic), and there is also both complete and partial (*umlaut*) vowel harmony in successive syllables of both single words and closely connected word groups, also many instances of vowel *ablaut*, both grammatical and dialectal. The syllable is always of CV, CVV, or CVC structure, the first C including the glottal stop (comparable with Arabic *hamza*, but not written in the Roman orthography, except where it occurs medially, mainly in Arabic loanwords), and the typical word is a disyllable. The fact that no word begins with a vowel effectively prevents such interverbal elisions and crases as are typical of many African languages, in all but the most rapid speech, whilst giving to Hausa speech a rather staccato quality. Syllables have one of two significant tones, 'high' and 'low', this alternance serving to distinguish both lexical items and grammatical forms. Falling tones also occur in some special cases. Tone is minimally distinctive in many pairs of words, but the fact that neither it nor vowel length is indicated in the standard orthography often makes the elucidation of a Hausa text rather difficult for one who is not deeply read in the language. There is normally a progressive downdrift in the clause, which may be arrested, however, by a succession of high toned syllables; but this downdrift may be reversed by interrogative and other special intonations. Unlike the case with many African tone languages, both lexical and grammatical tones are relatively invariable, and there are no 'displaced tones' or 'tonal perturbation'. Stress is a secondary feature, generally linked to tone and vowel length and rarely in itself discriminatory. Ideophones and interjections tend to fall outside the normal pitch range, having either exceptionally high or exceptionally low tones.

Morphologically and syntactically, almost all Hausa words can be divided into the following categories: nouns, verbs, ideophones and particles. The first two normally consist of a root or base, simple or extended to a maximum of four syllables, and a termination, in most cases purely vocalic. Ideophones and particles cannot be so analysed and many of these have consonantal endings, the final consonant, however, having a restricted range corresponding to the range of coda consonants within words of all classes. Prefixes and suffixes are few, mainly the feminine suffix -*(i)yaa*/-*(u)waa*, the 'ethnic' prefix *bà*- (e.g. *Bà-haush-èe* 'a Hausa man', fem. *Bà-haush-ìyaa*, pl. *Haus-aa-waa*), and a *ma*- prefix, which, as in Arabic, is employed to form verbal derivative nouns. Perhaps the most striking feature of the language is the contrast between the morphology of the verb and that of the noun. The former is organized in a homogeneous, all-embracing, system of seven 'grades' (these having varied, often rather subtle, semantic correlates) each grade occurring in from one to four distinct forms, depending on purely syntactic criteria, and making a total of twelve forms in all. Any of these twelve forms may further be pluralized or intensified in meaning by a reduplication of (the first syllable of) the root. Morphologically these verbal forms differ from one another only in their termination and/or their tone pattern; there are none of the affixes that are common—and functionally comparable—in other African languages. The tense (better described as an aspect) system is expressed outside the verb proper by means of various forms of subject pronoun (in several persons and tenses distinguishable only in spoken, not in written, Hausa), whose presence (like that of the subject prefixes in Bantu languages) is normally obligatory in all but the imperative. Conversely the noun presents a complex and heterogeneous system of inflexion, employing all morphological devices from simple tonal or terminal vowel change (as with verbs) to infixation, suffixation, reduplication, or a combination of two or more of these. The main function of such inflexion is to indicate plurality: there are at least eight classes of noun plural, with three or more subclasses in each, and the choice between each of these is determinated by a whole complex of criteria in the singular form: tone pattern, radical structure phonology, terminal vowel and even sometimes etymology and meaning. Many nouns have two or more different plural forms in use even in the same locality, whilst many other nouns have none. There is also a great variety of nominal forms derived from verbal roots, but these do not as a rule pluralize. Etymologically unrelated verbs and nouns not infrequently have phonically identical bases, but these very rarely share a common form, *i.e.*, termination plus tone pattern, the verbal forms, which are grammatically determined, taking priority over the nominal.

In common with other Hamitic languages, Hausa has a system of three genders, masculine, feminine and plural, the last being, in cases where there is sex reference in the singular, notionally as well as grammatically common. The masculine-feminine dichotomy cuts right across the singular-plural class system, there being both masculine and feminine nouns in almost all the eight classes (contrast Arabic). Most, but by no means all, nouns ending in -*a*(*a*) are feminine and the others almost all masculine, and names of animals, as in French, are as a rule, assigned exclusively to one or other gender (except for domestic animals, which usually have distinct words for the two sexes). But there is a class of adjectival nouns which exhibit all three forms (except that, where the masc. form ends in -*aa*, this form is common to the feminine), these concording with the gender of the noun they qualify or refer to.

Gender concords also operate in the preverbal tense-marking, and other forms of personal pronoun (with masc./fem. distinction in both the 2nd and 3rd persons singular), in demonstratives and specifiers (but not numerals), in the genitive copula (agreeing with the head noun) and in the identity particle equivalent to '(it) is', where the system of agreement is very complex. A curious feature of the language is that, where the male and female of a species are designated by different words, the plural form of the latter is common in meaning. Thus 'ewes' signifies sheep, 'hens' poultry, 'mothers' parents and 'daughters' children; exceptions are 'men' and 'women', and 'stallions', not 'mares', signifying horses.

Tenses are relatively few in number, by African standards, but their usages, especially in combination with one another and with the many conjunctional particles, are as complex as anything in French or Latin. In the indicative tenses there is a partial distinction between those used in general and those used in relative constructions, the latter including not only relative clauses proper, but also certain types of question and of emphatic statement. This binary system is very similar to that of Fula and some other quite unrelated languages, as is also the usage of the subjunctive. There are fewer negative tenses than affirmative ones, and these are common to both systems. Other modes of the verbal notion, such as inception, continuance, repetition, priority, isolated occurrence etc., are conveyed by means of a set of auxiliary verbs. Word order is more flexible than in English, various types of inversion and front-shifting being common, and subtler shades of meaning can be conveyed by the insertion in the clause of special particles similar to those of Ancient Greek and Modern German. Various forms of ellipsis, often involving suppression of the verb, are also common, both in spoken and written Hausa, these giving the language at times a very terse and almost 'telegraphese' quality. It has a wealth of proverbs, idioms and stylistic variants and is capable of rendering almost any Western thought or idiom. Much poetry is written in the language, this being characterized by dialectal forms and other special conventions. The prosody is based upon that of Arabic poetry.

Hausa possesses a very large vocabulary, of mixed origin. Most of its basic verbal roots (some three thousand in number) are of indigenous origin (though a number of these show a remarkable phonic resemblance to Germanic verbs of similar meaning), as are its numerous ideophones. But, as is to be expected of a traders' and a Muslim's language, many of its nouns are palpably loanwords from other languages. These include a great number of Arabic words, not only in the specialized spheres of religion, literacy, politics, justice, war, trade, crops, dress, horse equipment etc., but also words for such general concepts as 'affair, plan, discussion, argument, skill, just, generous, treacherous, brave, etc.' There are also at least a hundred Arabic verbs in everyday use, covering such general notions as 'understand, agree, promise, test, destroy', these being mostly taken over in either the first or the second form, but adapted, like the Arabic nouns, into the Hausa phonological and morphological systems (Hausa glottalized consonants, for example, substituting for the emphatic ones of Arabic, and Arabic loan nouns invariably having regular Hausa plural forms). Arabic loans represent a number of different historical layers, routes and media of borrowing, sometimes everyday and learned forms of the same Arabic word co-occurring in the language (*e.g.*, *laìfii* and *ʾaibùu* 'fault, blemish'). It is interesting to note that many Arabic words have been taken into Hausa that have not been taken into Swahili, and *vice versa*. One or two more literary constructions, *e.g.* the 'cognate accusative', would also appear to have been borrowed from Arabic. Recently, since the European occupation of West Africa, however, the language has become swamped by loanwords from English and French, in their respective areas (these again being assimilated to native models), and borrowing from Arabic appears to have virtually ceased.

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iii. — Hausa Literature

Hausa literature falls into three main categories, or perhaps it is nearer the mark to distinguish two traditions, and a subsequent process of synthesis which is currently in progress. But for convenience we shall pursue our discussion under the following heads: (a) the folk literature; (b) the literature of Islam; (c) modern literature.

(a) The folk literature. This is in fact an oral literature at the ultimate provenance of which we can only guess. It is highly improbable that it was ever recorded in writing before the commissioning of such work by European enquirers. As in all folk literature, the term "folk" does not mean "simple", and whatever aspect we study—provenance, interpretation or classification—we are aware of a complex convolution of ideas, motives and themes around which it is impossible to draw precise boundaries of time, type or origin.

The tales may conveniently be classified as tales about animals, tales about people and historical tales, though clearly such a classification is arbitrary and there are constant blurred edges where the division is not precise.

The concept behind the animal stories, probably the earliest chronological stratum of this folklore, is that all the animals once lived together in amity, but the tricks of the spider and the thefts and deceits of the hyena sowed discord and forced them

apart. The lion was king before man overcame him with his poisoned arrow—thus the Hausa proverb *Dan Adam abin tsoro*—"Man is a thing to be feared". In these stories the characters of the animals are stereotyped. The spider is a slick trickster, the hyena a cunning but gullible thief usually caught out by her vanity. The he-goat is the most intelligent of the animals, the jackal the most learned, and so on. The plots are elementary and have little regard for cause and effect, or for natural laws. The audience expects that the animals will behave according to their well-known characters. What delights is to see these expectations fulfilled. The animal characters function at the same level of intelligence and motivation as humans. When man figures in these stories his rôle is that of a being on terms of equality with the animal world except when his superior skills enable him to triumph. This notion of man's immanence in the world of nature is to be contrasted with the developing concept of his transcendence over and apartness from the animals, which appears in the more complex stories about people. We therefore suppose that these animal stories form an early stratum which has its roots certainly in a pre-monotheistic and not improbably in a pre-social era.

The tales about people appear to reflect the increasing complexity of man's relationship to his environment, and the development of his own society. Creation and cosmology myths now become common. Typically, giant pagan ancestors of the Barbushe type (Palmer, *The Kano Chronicle*, in *Sudanese Memoirs*, iii, Lagos 1928, 97 ff.) meet, wrestle, and leap so high in the sky that their fighting causes the sound of thunder. More subtly, the woman with many mouths appears, and stories of the "Pandora's Box" type offer their explanations of good and evil. Possibly such stories as that of the man who married the monkey woman, and the women who grew spider's eyes mark an awareness of group differentiation and incipient tribalism.

Of particular importance in these stories is the character of Auta, the "Baby of the Family", who is at first simply the enviable character blessed with luck, but who subsequently becomes the hero and *deus ex machina* of the later historical stories.

The historical stories seem to be an extension of the cosmology and creation myths, for the Barbushe-type ogres who figure in them are certainly associated with the first confrontation between the autochthons and the early immigrants. The subsequent growth of city states we find represented in such typical stories as No. 8 in Rattray, *Hausa Folklore*, i, where Auta is credited with the building of the first walled town. By far the richest stratum of the historical tales concerns Islam—and not unexpectedly so, since this is, apart from the advent of the Europeans, the last major social disturbance to have activated the folklore process. Here the conflict between Islam and paganism is sometimes overt, as in the story *Ba sarki sai Allah*, in Tremearne, *Hausa superstitions and customs*, London 1913, no I. Elsewhere paganism is represented by some custom abhorrent to Islam, for instance dog-eating as in *HSC*, 30; cannibalism in many examples and most interestingly in *HSC*, 76 and 96, where the pre-Islamic custom of burying live victims with the king is overcome by Islam. Frequently, as in *HFL*, i, 8, Auta becomes the hero of Islam, and the hunter ancestors—for instance the Girringas in *HSC*, 98—represent paganism.

The sources for these tales are many. Predictably, we find the familiar and timeless themes of universal folklore—Cinderella; Jack the Giant-Killer; the jealous step-mother; the child-eating witch, and so on. Their appearance should in no way surprise us, since they merely serve to confirm what we already know from historical and archaeological evidence, that Africa has been constantly in touch with the great currents of human culture. These classical themes usually appear as a core around which chronologically later events and experience have left their own deposits. Thus most typically in *HSC*, 3, where the Cinderella core is embedded in the Indian story of a miraculous fish (with possibly also a reference to Ḳur'ān, XII, 31). The Oedipus core is also common, and is often associated with the legendary figure of "the king of Agades" (*HSC*, 64), a character of some significance in view of the persistent traditions of immigration into Hausaland from Agades, by which we understand the Saharan north.

Again predictably, the *Arabian Nights* figure in this folk literature in instances too numerous to list. Suffice it to record Aladdin, Ali Baba, the Isle of Women among other familiar characters and themes from the *Nights*. To the *Nights* also may be attributed tales of bawdy humour in which jealous husbands are cuckolded and foolish lovers are discomfited. But such robust humour is ubiquitous and of great antiquity, and it would be unwarranted to conclude that the *Nights* were necessarily the direct or the sole source.

The style of these tales tends to short staccato sentences where grammatical structures are simple and literary conceits few. On the other hand idiom is vivid and varied, as is to be expected in tales meant to be told. There are few Arabic loan words, and those that do occur are either basic Islamic terms or thoroughly naturalized. Many stories begin with some such conventional opening as *Ga ta nan, ga ta nan* and end with the formula *Shi ke nan, kungurus kan kusa*. In these folk tales Hausa humour is catholic and at times broad. Fun is poked at the pompous. The slave is also a frequent butt for ridicule. But on the whole the Hausa are amused less by simple incongruity and more by the spectacle of human gullibility, by him who is the victim of his own short-comings and by him who is hoist by his own petard.

(b) The literature of the Islamic period. This literature, written initially in the *ajami* script, is almost entirely in verse. Also, apart from a few contemporary compositions, it is religious. Popular tradition has it that poetry in Hausa was first composed and written down by ʿĪsā, son of ʿUth̲mān b. Fūdī (Usumanu dan Fodio). So far, nothing leads us to dispute this tradition and we therefore accept that Hausa first started to be used in formal composition at the end of the 18th or in the early 19th century.

There are four main categories of this verse: (1) *Begen Annabi*—eulogy of the Prophet Muḥammad; (2) *Wa'azi* (Arabic *waʿẓ*)—the threat of eternal punishment and the promise of divine reward; (3) *Tauhidi* (Arabic *tawḥīd*)—Muslim theology, the 'science of the unity'; (4) *Fikihu* (Arabic *fiḳh*)—Muslim law. The first is primarily devotional. The remaining three had a twofold purpose. Firstly, that of the evangelical Fulani, to reach the common people with a message of salvation. Secondly, in the post-*d̲j̲ihād* era, the purpose of the propagandist, to uphold the Muslim hierarchy by the sanctions of Islam. These two purposes provide us with the very *raison d'être* of such a literature in Hausa rather than in Arabic.

Our present evidence strongly indicates that the poetry grew out of the religious and theological

tensions associated with the Fulani *djihād*, its immediate prelude and its aftermath. It is to be regarded as an extension of the theological and devotional writings in Arabic, which had a much earlier origin. To some extent it reflects the inadequacy of Arabic literacy in the Sudan at a point when the intellectual battles of the day could no longer be confined within the circle of those fully literate in Arabic. An important consequence was to make Hausa no longer purely a vernacular, but to give it a status as a language of learning of the second rank, as we see clearly from the testimony of Baba (Mary Smith, *Baba of Karo*, London 1964, 132).

Of the four categories, *Begen Annabi* is certainly the most pleasing by Western standards, since it attempts to express the emotions of personal religious experience in terms of human devotion. Its imagery is closely influenced by detail from the *sīra* literature, from the infancy legends of Muḥammad, and by incidents from *Ḳur'ān* and *ḥadīth*. The most impressive example—moving and sincere—is a *takhmīs* by ʿĪsā b. ʿUthmān on an original by the Shaihu. Unfortunately, it is still unpublished.

Wa'azi at its best can be fine apocalyptic ranting, full of the fiery colour and sulphurous imagery of the mediaeval Muslim hell, and its counterpart of lush and fleshy delights in Paradise. A memorable example is the poem known as *Wakar jan mari*—'The song of the red leg irons' also attributed to ʿĪsā b. ʿUthmān, and as yet unpublished.

Tauhidi is the most intellectual of Hausa writing. The unpublished work *Ku san samuwar Jalla* is an example of high quality. This presents the arguments for God's existence, His unity, omnipotence and so on, in Hausa verse, but with extensive use of Arabic philosophical terms in various degrees of naturalization. It will be clear that such an exercise requires considerable command of the original Arabic disciplines and is the product of a high order of intellect.

Fikihu is aesthetically unattractive, but certainly not without interest to the European reader, for it is a rich source of information on pre-Islamic custom. To the Muslim it is of paramount importance, for upon this and upon *tauhidi* depend his chances of salvation. Correspondingly, those who can write this verse hold the salvation of the masses in their hands and their authority in the Muslim hierarchy is thus considerable.

These categories of learned poetry are the main channel whereby the esoteric Arabic vocabulary, known initially only to an élite, passed through the process of naturalization into common speech. A high proportion of this vocabulary has not yet reached the vernacular, but the poetry remains popular and by a process of constant enquiry and the scholia of the *malams* [*q.v.*] the borrowing of this class of learned Arabic words into Hausa is still proceeding.

In addition to these learned categories there is popular poetry such as *yabo*— "praise song"; *zambo* —"satire", and the incantations of the *bori* practitioners. These categories are not normally written and therefore belong to the oral literature.

The learned poetry is metrical and the metres conform to the classical Arabic metres, although it appears that certain minor variants are allowed to the Hausa poet which would be improper to his Arab counterpart. Among the most popular metres are *al-ṭawīl*, *al-kāmil*, and *al-wāfir*. Tone plays no part in this metrical system.

The popular poetry is also metrical, and while it does not conform to the Classical Arabic metres it appears to have been influenced by them. Certainly, to all intents and purposes it too is quantitative, but it may be that remnants of an earlier qualitative—that is a tonal—system have survived marginally in some of this poetry. This, however, has yet to be convincingly demonstrated.

(c) Modern literature. By this we mean works printed in *boko* (Roman characters), the great bulk of which has been produced over the course of the last fifty years. To some extent it is an artificial development, having been initially the introduction of missionaries, European administrators and the Western education system. Subsequently it was nurtured by Departments of Education and such quasi-government organizations as the Northern Regional Literature Agency. Its dissemination has been closely linked to the growth of government sponsored education. It has been written, in the main, by men who have passed through the primary and secondary schools created or supported by the Administration. But as more Northern Nigerians began to feel at home in both the world of Islamic Africa and the world of the secular West, so a synthesis became apparent in which the two earlier traditions were drawn together to emerge in a new form of literature influenced by, but certainly not slavishly following Western patterns.

Our purpose is best served by a brief analysis of certain outstanding examples of this literature, for it is still not yet sufficiently extensive to allow of further general conclusions. *Shaihu Umar* (Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Zaria 1955) is the story of a boy and his widowed mother who fall foul of the slave raiders. It has a carefully constructed plot in which a series of incidents and blows of fate arbitrate the lives of these people, who are shown as the helpless victims of their own social and political institutions. It is a story of great human sympathy, of charity and social concern and is at first sight far removed from our traditional *genres*. Yet the institutions which support the plot are those of traditional Muslim learning, slavery, the life of the Sarki's court and Hausa kinship custom. Indeed it portrays the Islamic life of the Western Sudan at its dramatic *fin de siècle*, immediately prior to the beginning of the European Administrations. Even the hyena, that ancient rascal of a remote indigenous traditions, enters the story at one point to intervene drastically in the hero's life.

Gandoki of Alhaji Bello (first printed Zaria 1934 and subsequent undated editions) is a very different tale. Here the plot is rudimentary and without chronological discipline. It starts with a vivid picture of experiences in the fighting which took place against Lugard's columns at the turn of the century, and the central character is a roistering pagan-slaying boastful warrior who clearly has the blood of the Nagwamatse in his veins. Then suddenly the story moves into the fantasy world of jinns and ogres and the hero moves through a series of marvellous adventures in which the author's debt to the *Arabian Nights* is evident. Yet despite the clearly Islamic influences, both literary and moral—for Gandoki is a devout Muslim—it is clear that the ogres and pagan enemies whom he slays or enslaves have stepped out of the Barbushe cycle, for they are the giant elephant hunters and bogey-men of the cosmology and early history myths. Once again our traditions have converged, but to produce a very different though equally entertaining result.

Magana jari ce of Alhaji Abubakar Imam (fifth

edition, Zaria 1960) is justly famous. This, a much larger work than the previous two, is a series of short stories based largely on the animal cycle but borrowing such exotic themes as "The Pied Piper", which it then presents delightfully in an African setting, and numerous themes from the *Nights*. The whole is connected by the parrot who is both narrator and hero, in that he has to invent his tales in order to prevent the young prince from rushing headstrong to his doom at the hands of the jealous vizier. The parallel with the *Nights* is obvious, but the parrot is also the spider trickster of the animal tales and certainly reminiscent of Abū Zayd, the witty, unscrupulous, improvising *rāwī* of the *Maḳāmāt*. The work is a mine of information on Hausa custom, is immensely rich in linguistic material and is unquestionably a classic of Hausa literature. Perhaps more overtly than our two previous examples it combines the three traditions which we have described and illustrates their leavens at work.

Clearly Hausa literature is now at a point where past tradition and recent intellectual experience provide the materials for important and exciting new developments. One such is represented by the recent works of Malam Shu'aibu Makarfi, *Zamanin nan namu* (Zaria 1959) and *Jatau na Kyallu* (Zaria 1960). These are full length plays on such moral and social themes as juvenile delinquency, mercenary mothers and prostitutes, written in the latest idiom of the Kano streets and market-place, full of English and other neologisms, but interspersed with unctuous asides and moralizing (in verse) by a *mai shela* or 'herald' who performs a function very similar to that of the chorus in a Greek tragedy.

Bibliography: (a) In addition to works mentioned in the text, *Labarun Hausawa da makwabtansu*, Zaria 1932, i-ii; Edgar, *Litafi na tatsuniyoyi na Hausa*, Lagos 1924, i-iii; Shön, *Magana Hausa*, ed. Robinson, London 1906. (b) The only collections of learned poetry at present available are Robinson's *Specimens of Hausa literature*, Cambridge 1896, a rather haphazard collection in an archaic orthography and indifferent translation; also *Wakokin Hausa*, Zaria 1957, Hausa texts transcribed into Roman script, a better selection than Robinson but marred by certain errors and misreadings of the *ajami* manuscripts; M. Hiskett, *The 'Song of Bagauda': a Hausa king list and homily in verse—I*, in *BSOAS*, xxvii (1964), an edited Hausa text, with English translation in *BSOAS*, xxviii (1965). For a discussion of the significance of the poetry, M. Hiskett, *The historical background to the naturalization of Arabic loan words in Hausa*, in *ALS*, vi (1965); for metre Greenberg, *Hausa verse prosody*, in *JAOS*, lxix (1949); M. Hiskett, *The 'Song of Bagauda'—III*, in *BSOAS*, xxviii (1965). (c) No critical work on modern Hausa literature has yet been written. Catalogues of NORLA and their successors, Gaskiya Press, Zaria give lists of titles of Hausa novels, etc., which are currently available.

(M. Hiskett)

See further NIGERIA.

ḤAWĀLA, literally "draft", "bill", is the cession, i.e., the payment of a debt through the transfer of a claim. If A has a debt to B and a claim against C, he can settle his debt by transferring his claim against C to the benefit of B. In this case A is the transferor (*al-muḥīl*), B the creditor (*al-muḥtāl*) who accepts the cession, C is the cessionary (*al-muḥtāl ʿalayhi*). It would however be incorrect to consider the *ḥawāla* merely from the viewpoint of a cession: it is first of all a means of payment to release the *muḥīl* from a debt, therefore, besides the task of the cession it fulfils that of the declaration and assignment as well (R. Grasshoff, *Das Wechselrecht der Araber. Eine rechtsvergleichende Studie über die Herkunft des Wechsels*, Berlin 1899, 60). It is not identical with the *suftadja* [*q.v.*]; this is on the contrary a pure transaction of issuing a bill, a special form of the *ḥawāla*, "distinguished by the fact that the *muḥtāl ʿalayhi* is absent at the conclusion of the contract between the *muḥīl* and the *muḥtāl*" (Grasshoff, *op. cit.*, 64). According to the *fiḳh* books the following prerequisites are necessary to validate a cession: the transferor and his creditor must conclude a contract, the transferred debt must be a fixed obligation and the transferor's debt must be in agreement with that of the cessionary in kind, manner and conditions of payment.

The *ḥawāla* occurs rather often in Arabic papyri, usually in the form of "written obligation" (*dhukr ḥaḳḳ*); cf. A. Grohmann, *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library*, i, Cairo 1934, no. 48_7 and p. 116; ii, Cairo 1936, no. 102_8 and p. 118; A. Dietrich, *Arabische Papyri aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (= *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxii/3), Leipzig 1937, no. 4_4. The cessionary may be represented through an agent (*wakīl*), as in the Papyrus no. 13_6 (for it see p. 84) in A. Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek*, Hamburg 1955.

The word *ḥawāla* entered Europe through the commerce of the Italian Levant in the form *aval* to indicate the guaranty of a draft. In modern Arabic *ḥawāla* means draft, cheque or assignment.

Bibliography: R. Grasshoff, *Die allgemeinen Lehren des Obligationenrechts sowie die Lehre vom Kauf-, Vollmachts-, Gesellschaftsvertrage*, Diss. iur. Königsberg 1895; idem, *Die suftağa und ḥawâla der Araber, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Wechsels*, Diss. phil. Königsberg 1899; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre* (= *Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, xvii), Berlin 1897, 373-84; *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, revised and edited by J. Schacht (= *Lehrbücher d. Sem. f. Or. Spr. Berlin*, xxxv), Berlin and Leipzig 1935, 66 f.; Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī ʿalā matn Abī Shudjāʿ*, Cairo 1307. i 389-92.

(A. Dietrich)

ḤAWĀLA, as a financial term, assignation; in Islamic finance, an assignation on a *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] effected by order of the ruler in favour of a third party. The term is applied both to the mandate for the payment and to the sum paid. It is already established in these senses in ʿAbbāsid finance (see F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 63-5). In the ʿAbbāsid empire, *ḥawāla* was widely used in both state and private finances to avoid the dangers and delays inherent in the transport of cash. The mandates were known as *suftadja* [*q.v.*] or *ṣakk* [*q.v.*]. Thus we know that the tax-collectors (*ʿummāl*) of Ahwāz, Fārs and Iṣfahān transmitted the revenue which they collected to the central government by *suftadja*. In the encashment of the *suftadja* and in all matters relating to *ḥawāla*, the primary rôle was played by the *djahbadh* [*q.v.*] (see R. Grasshoff, *Die Suftağa und Ḥawāla der Araber*, Göttingen 1899; W. J. Fischel, *Jews in the economic and political life of medieval Islam*, Royal Asiatic Soc. Monographs, vol. xxii, London 1937, 3-35).

Ḥawāla appears in wide use in Saldjūḳ finance (H.

Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Gross Selǧūqen und Ḫorazmšāhs*, Wiesbaden 1964, 74-5; O. Turan, *Selçuklular tarihi ve Türk Islâm medeniyeti*, Ankara 1965, 277-8). It is thought that in some circumstances it took the form of the direct collection of state revenue from the peasantry (cf. A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 73), but this is far from characteristic of *ḥawāla*. For the Ilkhānid and post-Ilkhānid period in Persia, the sources are sufficient to show in some detail the features of *ḥawāla* at this time (Rashīd ad-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, ii, Tehrān 1338s., 1024-40, 1068-75; Abdollah ibn Mohammad ibn Kiyā al-Māzandarānī, *Die Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1952, index s.v. *ḥawālat*; Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī, *Dustūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib*, i/1, ed. A. A. ʿAlīzāde, Moscow 1964, 294-302). From the entries relating to *ḥawāla* (*ḥawālat*) in Ilkhānid financial registers, it is clear that *ḥawāla* consisted in the making of payments by order from the farm (*māl-i muḳāṭaʿa*, the *aṣl-i māl* given in the register) due from a tax-farmer (*ʿāmil*). These assignations were always recorded in the monthly and yearly accounting registers of the central *dīwān* (*daftar-i taḥwīlāt* and *daftar-i djāmiʿ al-ḥisāb*) under the two main headings of *al-muḳarrariyya* and *al-iṭlāḳiyya*. Under *al-muḳarrariyya* fell the regular (*muḳarrar*) payments made every year by order of the sovereign from the *dīwān-i aʿlā* to *ḳāḍīs*, *shaykhs*, *sayyids*, students, financial officials and *yāmdjīs* (the staff of the *manāzil*), or for public works. Under *al-iṭlāḳiyya* fell payments made to members of the court, palace servants, and the military. This fundamental distinction is doubtless related to the separation of military and civil administration in the Īlkhānid state. All these assignations on the provincial tax-farmers (*ʿummāl*) were made by *barāt*, *yāftadja* or *ḥawāla* (*Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, 162-65). (Agents who came to collect money for the central treasury were known in this period as *ilčī*). When the term of his contract (*ḍamān*) expired, the tax-farmer (*ʿāmil*) submitted these *barāts* and *yāftadjas* for auditing to the *ṣāḥib-dīwān*, and received a *ḥudjdjat* showing the result (*ibid.* 65).

Muḳāṭaʿa and *ḥawāla* were the basis of Īlkhānid finance. But widespread malpractice led Ghāzān Khān to attempt a number of reforms. In the reign of his predecessor Gaykhātū, the revenue accruing from the tax-farms was squandered in the provinces, and as a result assignations were not honoured there (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ii, 1083). In these circumstances the unpaid military resorted to direct exaction from the peasantry, driving them from their land and destroying sources of revenue. Ghāzān Khān first carried out a general survey to determine the sources of revenue of each locality. Then he reformed the method of collection (*ibid.*, 1031-4). Revenue was now collected directly by state officials, and the military were paid directly, and in cash, from the state treasury. Finally, the state lands were distributed to the military as *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*]. The replacement of *muḳāṭaʿa* and *ḥawāla* by a system in which the state collected revenues and made payments directly was hard to maintain in a mediaeval state. Under the conditions of the time it was very difficult and very expensive to build up the necessary organization, and to transport, store and encash revenues collected in kind. Of Ghāzān Khān's reforms, only the allocation of state revenue as *iḳṭāʿ* to military personnel resident in the villages had any chance of success. That the reforms had no lasting effect is clear from Nakhdjawānī's complaints of fiscal malpractice with regard to *muḳāṭaʿa* and *ḥawāla* (*Dustūr al-kātib*, 297-8). According to Nakhdjawānī, assignations were made on the *tamghawāt* [see TAMGHĀ] in the provinces (cf. *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ii, 1048). Later Khwādja Ghiyāth al-Dīn and Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn laid down the principle that these revenues should be collected by *muḥaṣṣils* [*q.v.*] of the *dīwān*, and that allowances should again be paid directly from the treasury. But these reforms also lapsed (on the later history of *muḳāṭaʿa* and *ḥawāla* in Īrān, see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, London 1943, 79).

In the Ottoman empire, as in other Islamic states, *muḳāṭaʿa* and *ḥawāla* were the basis of the financial system. The rich material preserved in the Ottoman archives makes it possible to establish the system in detail and to shed light on obscure points in its earlier history (particularly important are the *muḳāṭaʿāt defterleri* and the *māliyye aḥkām defterleri* in the Başvekâlet Arşivi Umum Müdürlüğü). The main source of revenue which was exploited by *muḳāṭaʿa* and on which assignations were made was the *khawāṣṣ-i hümāyūn* [see KHĀṢṢ], which came under the administration of the *defterdār*. In general payments were made at the place where the revenue was collected through assignations on the tax-farmer. The system was favoured by such factors as the difficulty of transporting cash and the slowness with which revenue accumulated from the taxation of commercial transactions, particularly in the towns. Thanks to entries made in the *muḳāṭaʿāt* registers of the central government, the *defterdār* was in a position to exercise close control over the administration of these revenues in distant provinces. Another group of revenues — including the *aʿshār*, which were payable in kind — was assigned to the military as *tīmār* [*q.v.*]. The timariot collected these revenues directly. However, as in the case of Ghāzān Khān's reforms, this system of enfeoffment must be seen as a departure from the *ḥawāla* principle. Revenues in this category were no longer the subject of *ḥawāla* transactions; in the Ottoman system they constituted an entirely distinct branch of the administration under the *nishāndjī* [*q.v.*].

The *ʿāmil* (tax-farmer), who took on a *muḳāṭaʿa* for a given term (usually three years), made payments in accordance with the assignations of the central government, to those in whose favour they were drafted. The payments were always made with the cognizance of the *emīn* [*q.v.*] and *ḳāḍī*, the government's supervisory agents, and entered in their registers. The payments were always in cash. The *ḳāḍī* gave the tax-farmer a *ḥudjdjet* which stated the amount of the payment, to whom it was made, by what order, on what date, and from which *muḳāṭaʿa*. A copy was entered in the *ḳāḍī*'s register. The *ḥudjdjet* would then be submitted in the accounting which took place when each instalment of the *muḳāṭaʿa* fell due. If on the other hand the payment was not made, a *mektūb* stating the reason for this was given to the bearer of the assignation. The *ḳāḍīs*' registers are among our most valuable sources for *ḥawāla* transactions.

The mandate for the *ḥawāla* is a *ḥükm* of the sultan. It specifies how much is to be paid, to whom, and from what source. *Ḥawāla* orders are of three main types: (1) orders made out directly in favour of claimants, used for the payment of allowances (*sālyāne*, *ʿulūfa*, *mawādjib*) to the military in the provinces; (2) assignations placed at the disposal of an *emīn* to cover purchases made in connexion with provincial public works or for the palace (see R. An-

hegger and H. İnalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, Ankara 1956, 35); (3) orders for the surrender to the sultan's emissary (*ḳul*) of sums for the state treasury (*Khizāne-i ʿĀmire*).

The various *muḳāṭaʿāt* in a region tended to be ear-marked for particular claimants, and their claims regularly met from the same source. It was for this reason that the central financial administration was organized into departments with such names as *Anadolu muḳāṭaʿasi, maʿden muḳāṭaʿasi, büyük ḳalʿa muḳāṭaʿasi*.

From the 11th/17th century onwards, we find the revenues of tax-farms being transferred to the central treasury by bill of exchange (*poliče*) through the services of *ṣarrāf*s established in the main towns. *Ḥawāla* nevertheless continued to be used. It lost its importance when tax-farming (*muḳāṭaʿa*) was abolished after the declaration of the Tanẓīmāt in 1839. The Tanẓīmāt introduced a policy of fiscal centralization. State officials appointed to the provinces with extensive powers collected revenue directly. After paying salaries and meeting other local expenses locally, the *muḥaṣṣil* sent the balance to the central treasury (see H. İnalcık, *Tanzimatın uygulanması ve sosyal tepkileri*, in *Belleten*, xxviii/112 (1964), 629).

In *fiḳh*, *ḥawāla* was the subject of a separate *kitāb*. In the *fatwā* collections of the Ottoman *muftī*s, the *kitāb al-ḥawāla* sometimes includes *fatwā*s on *ḥawāla* transactions involving the state, as well as those relating to transactions between private individuals, or between individuals and *waḳf*s (see *Fatāwā-yi Abu'l-Suʿūd*, Topkapı Sarayı MS Ahmed III 786, ff. 251-2; *Fatāwā-yi Yaḥyā Efendi*, MS Ahmed III 788, ff. 141-3).

In Ottoman Turkish, *ḥawāla* has the further sense of a tower placed at a vantage-point; *ḥawāla* towers were sometimes built for blockading purposes near castles which were likely to put up a long resistance. This method was used in the blockade of Bursa in the early 8th/14th century. Meḥemmed II contemplated using Rūmeli Ḥiṣārī as a *ḥawāla* to blockade Constantinople if resistance continued. Ottoman *ḥawāla*s have left traces in Balkan toponymy. One such *ḥawāla* is that built by Meḥemmed II near Belgrade, now known locally as Avala.

Bibliography: in the article. (H. İnalcık)

ḤAWĀRĪ, apostle. The word is borrowed from Ethiopic, in which language *ḥawāryā* has the same meaning (see Nöldeke, *Beiträge z. sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, 48). The suggested derivations from Arabic, attributing to it the meaning "one who wears white clothing" etc., are incorrect. Tradition delights to endow the earliest Islamic pioneers with foreign bynames which were familiar to the "people of the Book". Abū Bakr is called *al-Ṣiddīḳ*, ʿUmar *al-Fārūḳ*, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām *al-Ḥawārī*. Moreover, the collective term *al-Ḥawāriyyūn* occurs, denoting twelve persons who at the time of the "second ʿAḳaba" are said to have been named by Muḥammad (or those present) as *naḳīb*s of the inhabitants of Medina "to be the sureties for their people, just as the apostles were sureties for ʿĪsā b. Maryam, and as I myself (Muḥammad) am surety for my people". Christian influence is also found elsewhere in the account of the "second ʿAḳaba", where the total number of those present is put at 70 or 72, apparently on the analogy of the account in the Gospels of the 70 or 72 apostles (Luke, X, 1, 17). Of these 12 *Ḥawāriyyūn*, nine are said to have belonged to the Khazradj and three to the Aws. Their names were said to be : — Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, Asʿad b. Zurāra, Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, Saʿd b. Abī Khaythama, Mundhir b. ʿAmr, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr, Abu 'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, Rāfiʿ b. Mālik. According to another version, however, the *Ḥawāriyyūn* belonged exclusively to the tribe of Ḳuraysh and were : — Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ḥamza, Djaʿfar, Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ, ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām (cf. al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1290, 344). These accounts again make it clear to what an extent the rivalry between Anṣār [*q.v.*] and Muhādjirūn [*q.v.*] has influenced tradition.

The tradition concerning these twelve Muslim apostles has perhaps, like so many others, arisen as a deduction from a statement in the Ḳurʾān (III, 45, LXVI, 14) : Jesus says "Who are my *Anṣār* for God('s cause) ?" And the *Ḥawāriyyūn* answer "We are the *Anṣār* of God", etc. The parallel with Muḥammad's own position is here clear enough, and it is evident that, alongside of the Muslim Anṣār, the need was felt for Muslim *Ḥawāriyyūn*.

On the subject of the disciples of Jesus statements will be found in various Muslim writers, for the most part deriving from passages in the Gospels; see ʿĪSĀ and MĀʾIDA.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text, A. J. Jeffery, *Foreign words* . . ., 115-6; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, old ed., iii, 197-200, new ed., vi, 442-8. (A. J. Wensinck)

ḤAWĀSHĪ [see ḤĀSHIYA].

HAWĀZIN, a large North Arabian tribe or group of tribes. The genealogy is given as: Hawāzin b. Manṣūr b. ʿIkrima b. Khaṣafa b. Ḳays b. ʿAylān (see ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN, ʿADNĀN, AL-ʿARAB (Djazīrat), vi). Properly speaking Hawāzin includes the tribes of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*] and Thaḳīf [*q.v.*], but the term is sometimes restricted to what is more correctly ʿUdjz Hawāzin, "the rear of Hawāzin", comprising Djusham b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr, Naṣr b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr and Saʿd b. Bakr [*q.v.*]. Among the places reckoned to belong to Hawāzin were: Amlaḥ, ʿAds al-Maṭāḥil, al-Dardā, al-Ḍabʿān, and Fayf al-Rīḥ; the wadis Awṭās, Liyya, Turaba, Zabya (so *Muʿdjam*, but variants in al-Hamdānī); the waters Dhu 'l-Ḥulayfa and Tiyān and the mount al-Muḍayyiḥ. Before Islam, Hawāzin along with B. Muḥārib worshipped the idol Djihār at ʿUkāẓ; the *sādin* came from a family of B. Naṣr of Hawāzin.

Early history. For a time Hawāzin paid tribute to Ghaṭafān (under Zuhayr b. Djadhīma of ʿAbs), but they became independent on Zuhayr's death. Hostility continued, however, and there were many battles, sometimes between most of Ghaṭafān on the one side and most of Hawāzin (often in alliance with Sulaym) on the other, sometimes between individual tribes, such as Fazāra and Djusham. Hawāzin was also bitterly hostile to Ḳuraysh, against whom it had fought the wars of the Fidjār. The underlying cause was the trade rivalry between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, since the inhabitants of the latter town, Thaḳīf, were either part of Hawāzin or in close alliance. One war began with a quarrel between an ally of Ḳuraysh (belonging to Kināna) and a man of Hawāzin. The second and more famous war of the Fidjār arose from the killing of ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl (of Kilāb of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa) by Barrād b. Ḳays (client of Ḥarb b. Umayya of Ḳuraysh). Though Ḳuraysh had to retire to Mecca on several occasions, they seem to have had the best of the fighting in the end. Peace was made

with Hawāzin, but al-Ṭā'if passed into the control of the section of Thaḳīf known as the Aḥlāf, who were subordinate to Mecca.

Relations with Muḥammad. In general Muḥammad had good relations with ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. A small section of Saʿd b. Bakr (to which tribe his wet-nurse Ḥalīma [*q.v.*] had belonged) became Muslims at an early date, though others fought against him at Ḥunayn. Otherwise he had little contact with Hawāzin till after his triumphant entry into Mecca in 8/630. While still settling the affairs of Mecca, he heard that Mālik b. ʿAwf (of Naṣr) was concentrating a force of Hawāzin and Thaḳīf only a day or two's march away and was thus threatening both Mecca and the Muslims. Because of the old enmity between Ḳuraysh and Hawāzin 2000 Meccans joined Muḥammad when he marched to meet this threat. The battle took place at Ḥunayn, and, while Thaḳīf took refuge in al-Ṭā'if, Hawāzin was routed and lost all their possessions. Muḥammad treated Mālik b. ʿAwf very generously, however, restoring his wife and children, making a gift of camels, and recognizing him as chief of Hawāzin. The tribe had to make a payment of *siʿāya*, presumably for the restoration of the captured women and children. Mālik then helped Muḥammad against his former allies of Thaḳīf.

Later history. During the *Ridda*, Hawāzin are said to have suspended the payment of *ṣadaḳa* to Medina, but they did not take up arms against Abū Bakr. This was doubtless because of the consideration shown them after their defeat.

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ḤAWḌ, the basin at which on the day of the resurrection Muḥammad will meet his community. This idea is not found in the Ḳur'ān, but in Tradition, which supplies a great variety of details of which the following are the more important.

Muḥammad is called the precursor (*farat*) of his community On the day of the resurrection the latter, in the first place the poor who have not known the pleasures of life, will join him near the basin. So far as one can judge, the question is one of admittance: Muḥammad pleads with Allāh for his Companions, but he is told: Thou dost not know what they have done since thy death. Some have gone back on their steps (Bukhārī, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 73; *Musāḳāt*, bāb 10; *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 52; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 132; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 995).

The descriptions of the basin raise questions of cosmological topography. Its dimensions equal the distance between Djarbā' and Adhruḥ (variants: Ayla-Ṣanʿā'; ʿAdan-ʿUmān; al-Madīna-Ṣanʿā' etc.) and its jars are numberless as the stars. Its waters are white as milk and sweet as honey. It is filled by two spouts from Paradise, one gold, the other silver. Some traditions connect the basin with the river of Paradise, al-Kawthar [*q.v.*], but these associations are secondary, Kawthar having become the proper name of a river of Paradise only at a later date. The representation of the throne of Muḥammad as being above the basin is also part of the topography of Paradise ("a garden of Paradise"). Details taken from the Bible are fairly numerous, like the very common tradition that he who drinks of the waters of the reservoir will never thirst (cf. St. John's Gospel, iv, 14).

It is hardly possible to assign a definite place to the reservoir among the eschatological sites. According to a canonical tradition (Tirmidhī, *Ḳiyāma*, bāb 9; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 178), Muḥammad said that if he is not found near the *ṣirāṭ* he should be sought near the *mīzān* or else near the basin. In the creed known as *Fiḳh Akbar II* the basin comes immediately after the balance (art. 21).—Neither Ghazālī, in *al-Durra al-fākhira*, nor the author of the *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-ḳiyāma* mentions the basin. In the *Iḥyā'* it comes between the intercession and the descriptions of Hell and Paradise, without there being any connexion with the one or the other. This uncertainty, which connects the basin sometimes with Paradise, sometimes with the trials at the Last Judgment, has given rise to the idea of two basins.

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ḤAWḌ (pl. *aḥwāḍ*, *ḥiyāḍ*) is the Arabic, and hence Persian, Turkish (mod. *havuz*) and Urdu word for cistern or artificial tank for storing water. It is used also for a drinking trough or wash-basin. In India the word has sometimes been used for any tank built or excavated by the Sultan for public utility. For our purpose here, we shall discuss only the architectural cisterns.

The history of the cistern must be as old as the real beginning of Islamic architecture, which began with the construction of the early mosques: water being needed for ablution before the performance of prayer, the cistern was from the first as necessary a feature as the other elements of the mosque. Very little information is preserved about the earliest ablution tanks. Probably they were first built in the *ṣaḥn* of the mosque, for when the mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn was first opened for prayer (265/879), one of the criticisms made of it was that it lacked any place for ablution in its *ṣaḥn*, to which the builder replied that he had purposely omitted it because of the uncleanliness which it brought, but that he would have one built behind the mosque. As the people complained of the tank being outside the mosque proper, it can be presumed that this was contrary to what they had been accustomed to. In later times, examples of ablution cisterns are found most frequently in the *ṣaḥn*, but sometimes outside the mosque. This preference may also be in part due to the Turks who, under Byzantine influence, regarded the domed interior of the mosque as the sanctuary proper, while the outside court, corresponding to the Byzantine *atrium*, was not looked upon as the *ṣaḥn* had been in early Islam. The typical Turkish ablution tank is an octagonal reservoir covered by an octagonal pavilion resting on columns and arches, with wide eaves and a low dome. The present octagonal tank covered by a square pavilion in the *ṣaḥn* of the Great Mosque of Damascus shows Turkish influence. The square double-storeyed domed edifice over the octagonal tank in the *ṣaḥn* of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was, however, built before the Turkish conquest of Egypt by Sultan Lādjīn in 696/1296, and may be likened to other multi-storeyed cisterns of Alexandria. In India the mosque-tanks are usually

open, and are generally square or rectangular in plan.

Simultaneously with ablution tanks, fountain-cisterns were also developed in Islamic architecture, at first in mosques, and then also in palaces and gardens. The earliest extant example of such a cistern appears to be the one underneath the western-most domed edifice in the *ṣaḥn* of the Great Mosque of Damascus. It was octagonal with a little parapet all round, and a jet—probably in imitation of the *phiale* which sometimes stood in the *atria* of the Byzantine churches—in the middle. The octagonal cistern in the *ṣaḥn* of the Great Mosque of Ḥarrān was, in all probability, a fountain-cistern, as was that in the *ṣaḥn*s of the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā (234-7/848-52) and of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, the latter being described by Ibn Duḳmāḳ as a great basin of marble, 4 cubits in diameter, with a jet of water in the centre, over which was a gilt dome on ten marble columns, and round which were sixteen marble columns with a marble pavement. This was later rebuilt by Lādjīn. Once thus developed, the fountain-cistern is often found in mosques of later dates along with the ablution tank—generally separate, but sometimes combined in one.

This cistern was, however, particularly developed in Īrān and under its influence in India. A pool of water set in a plantation was popular not only in the pre-Islamic lay-out of gardens in Īrān, but was also a frequent motif in the ornamentation of pottery and metalwork. In the rapid expansion of the Islamic period, this theme of plants and water took an extraordinary form in architecture. In shape, Iranian tanks vary greatly. Most frequent is the rectangular tank, but square, octagonal and cross-shaped pools also are not uncommon. The beautiful tank at the shrine of Niʿmat Allāh Māhān combines the octagon and the cross, the octagon serving as fountain at the intersection of the cross, the arms of which have diagonally cut corners to parallel this octagon. More elaborate and very characteristic are the ogee pools, often polygonal. In the big tanks, the water is usually still and the cistern is by preference filled to the very brim. But running water also had its place, trickling or leaping through the channels, according to the terrain, or dropping in musical cascades, and there were numerous fountains, some five hundred, for example, in the Hazār Djarīb. In India, the design of the tanks was copied almost exactly, but more often with multiple and varied jets in the middle. The best examples of such tanks are to be noticed in the garden of the Tādj Maḥall (second quarter of the 11th/17th century) in Āgra and in the Shālīmār Bāgh (1047/1637-8) in Lahore.

There are other forms of the fountain-cistern, not in the open, but in pleasure-houses. We hear in the Thousand and One Nights of a pool in a wonderful domed building decorated with "all kinds of pictures in gold and ultramarine, and it had four doors, to which one ascended by five steps; in the midst of it was a pool, to which one descended by steps of gold, those steps being set with minerals. In the midst of the pool was a fountain of gold, with images, large and small, from the mouths of which the water issued; and when the images produced various sounds at the issuing of the water, it seemed to the hearer that he was in paradise". To this group belongs the recently discovered Saldjūḳ Ḥawḍ-khāna at Rayy—a small vaulted building with a pool inside, octagonal in plan, and sunk below the ground level.

Large cisterns, especially for drinking water, fed by the nearest *wādī* or river or by rain-water, were also built by Muslim rulers. Of these, two kinds may be distinguished; open and covered or monumental. Several of the first variety have been discovered in Tunisia. The two largest, built by Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad between 246-8/860-3, are about a kilometre from the north gate of Ḳayrawān and receive the water of the *wādī* Mardj al-Līl when it is in flood. They are polygonal, one being composed of seventeen straight sides and the other of forty-eight sides, with a round buttress at each corner internally and externally, and, in addition, an intermediate buttress externally in the centre of each side. The masonry is of rubble covered with a very hard coating of cement. The larger cistern had an octagonal tower in the middle which Abū Ibrāhīm used to visit occasionally in a boat. Most of the other cisterns in Tunisia, such as ʿAyn al-Ghurāb, Fisḳiyat al Arad, Fisḳiyat Eddaliyā, Fisḳiyat al-Haguia and Ḥanshir Fortunat, are round, with buttresses placed internally and externally along the circular walls.

Open cisterns are found in India and some of them, such as the Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī and Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ in Delhi, Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī in Badāʾūn, and the great tank of Djahāngīr al-Sheikhupura near Lahore, are very famous. Most of these tanks are now ruined, and the Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ no longer contains water. They are of stone masonry (except the last, which is of brick) and are either square or rectangular in plan with stairs on all four sides, and they once contained a pavilion in the centre. The pavilion in the tank of Djahāngīr—an octagonal three-storeyed building approached by a causeway—still exists. The Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ, covering over seventy acres of land, was built by Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī in 695/1295, and when fallen into decay was re-excavated and repaired by Fīrūz Shāh. The repairs were so extensive that Tīmūr ascribes the tank itself to Fīrūz Shāh.

Similar open tanks, not so much for drinking water as for ornamentation, are also found in other parts of the sub-continent. The emphasis here is less on the tank than on the central structure, which was intended as a pleasant place to sit in and while away an hour. Such are the platforms in the Anūp Talāo in Fatḥpur-Sīkrī (976-94/1568-85), the Djalamandir or water-pavilion in front of the Sāt Manzil (991/1583) in Bīdjāpur and the double-storeyed building in front of the painted pavilion (probably 10th/16th century) at Kumatgī.

Of the monumental variety, we have a good example in the cistern of Ramla, built during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 172/789. It forms an irregular four-sided figure which tapers from 24 m. on the north side to about 20.50 m. on the south and consists of subterranean excavation, lined with strong retaining masonry walls and divided into six aisles by five arcades of four arches each, running from east to west and resting on cruciform piers. On the east-west arcades rest rubble tunnel-vaults, reinforced by three arcades running from north to south, which also, like the former, spring from wall-piers. A staircase runs down the north side to the bottom of the cistern, which has a well-preserved pavement. A series of holes averaging 55 cm. square pierced in the vault of each bay enabled twenty-four people at the same time to draw water by means of ropes and buckets. This suggests that the whole area above the cistern was originally levelled-up and paved. The cistern of Sīdī Bū ʿUthmān in Morocco, apparently of the 6th/12th century, and that of the fortress of Saône, in Syria, of the Crusading period, belong to this type.

Another interesting example of this group, different in plan but probably an imitation of the Syrian tradition, is to be seen in the Alcazaba of Merida in Spain. It is a T-shaped building of stone masonry and consists of three parts: an entrance passage with doors for entrance and exit (head of the T), galleries or corridors of ascent and descent with a partition wall in the middle, and the water chamber (stem of the T). All the three parts are covered by tunnel-vaults, that of the corridors sloping towards the water chamber, whose vault is divided into two lengths, the lower covering the part next to the staircase, and the higher the remainder. The chamber was evidently filled by an inlet in the lower part of the wall, but that is not visible from the surface. The exact date of the cistern is unknown, but it is supposed that it was made sometime between the 1st/7th and the 4th/10th century.

Some of the most interesting extant examples of covered cisterns in India are to be seen in the water towers in Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*] (10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries). They are lofty square buildings of stone masonry, and were used both as distributing centres with pipes leading away from them, and as traps to intercept silt and prevent the pipes being choked, as well as to relieve the pressure in the pipes.

Muslim rulers were always mindful about the elaborate arrangement of water—whether in their mosques and tombs or in their palaces and cities. To them it was not only a need of life, but also a religious necessity and the most exquisite refinement of luxury—the idea of paradise—in a thirsty land.

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ḤAWḌ, usual spelling HODH (*ḥawḍ* > *ḥōḍ* = a horsetrough, made of leather mounted on a wooden frame), name of the natural depression situated in south-eastern Mauritania in the angle of the Senegal and Niger basins. It is bounded on the north by an escarpment, *Dhar Tichitt* (*ẓahr tishit*), stretching from Tichitt to Aratane and marking the limit of the Adafer plateau. In the north-east the escarpment which curves round above Oualata (Dhar Oualata = *ẓahr Walata*) and Nema, forms the boundary of the table-land of Djouf (Djawf). The western boundary of the Hodh is much less clearly marked; after a point facing towards Bassikonnou and Nara it takes in Timbedra and then turns back towards Tichitt through Aïoun el Atrous (*ʿUyūn al-ʿAtrūs*).

The Hodh thus consists of a plateau and, below the escarpment, a plain which in turn is divided into two regions, in the south a region of grazing lands and wells, Labiar (*al-Biʾār*), and in the North the Aouker which has been overrun by sand.

Its climate is midway between that of the Sahara and that of the Sahel. There are three distinct seasons: the rainy season lasts from July to September, the hot dry season from March to July, the dry cool season from October to March. The abundant rainfall gives the grazing land a savannah vegetation which attracts both caravans and herds.

History.—As a result of its situation on the edge of the desert, the Hodh has been a disputed region throughout its long history. According to certain traditions the Fulani of Macina originated there. The kingdom of Awdaghost (which included the northern Hodh) is said to have been established by the Lamtūna Berbers (5th/11th century) and afterwards conquered by the negro Soninké sovereigns of Ghāna (990), whose capital, Koumbi Saleh, is in the Hodh. The Almoravids of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar are said to have captured Awdaghost in 1054 and Ghāna in 1076.

The death of Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar (480/1087) seems to have allowed Ghāna to recover her independence, but the sovereign's authority can hardly have extended beyond the Aouker and the Bassikounou. In 1203, Soumangourou Kanté, king of the Sosso, seized Ghāna. The pagan garrison routed the Muslim Soninké at Oualata (1224). In 1240, Soundjata Keïta destroyed the city of Ghāna.

Arab invasions occurred in the Sahara towards the end of the 8th/14th century, at a time when the berberization of the population was becoming increasingly intensive. The Soninké towns of Chétou and Birou became, in Berber, *Tishit* and *Iwalaten* (Oualata). The Maʿḳil Arabs, especially the Ḥassān branch, supplied the Berbers with *condottieri* who were the chief figures of the wars of that period. The Hodh is situated at the extreme limit of the range of the Arab tribes coming from the north who, after being checked by the Senegal, turned their course eastwards. It was therefore to some extent only the

fringe of the Arab invasion that penetrated to this region.

At the beginning of the 9th/15th century, the Awlād Dāwūd b. Muḥammad dominated the Hodh. At the beginning of the following century they were replaced by their kinsmen the Awlād Dāwūd b. ʿArrūḳ who, falling back on the Niger, in the middle of the 11th/17th century gave way to the Awlād Muḥammad—Awlād Mbārek, who had been compelled to move westwards under pressure from the Trārza and the Brākna. At the beginning of the 19th century the Awlād Nāṣir drove back the Awlād Mbārek to the East.

Only in about 1850 was the political supremacy of the Ḥassān Arabs replaced by that of the Mashdūf, almost pure Berbers though Arabic-speaking, who succeeded in imposing themselves as a result of their alliance with al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar and his Toucouleurs, who captured Nioro (1850).

After 1890, French penetration made itself felt. Nioro was occupied on 1 January 1891. Two years later, Archinard conquered Macina and the Nara region. The final occupation of the Hodh was carried out by Colonel Roulet who, starting from Timbuctu, entered Oualata without firing a shot.

In the matter of the religious confraternities, the Ḳādiriyya *ṭarīḳa* was propagated in the 12th/18th century, while in the 19th century the Tidjāniyya, under the influence of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar, was more influential. But what was to be of considerable importance in this region was the "differentiated Tīdjānism" introduced by a *sharīf* of the Touat, Muḥammad wuld Aḥmad wuld ʿAbd Allāh (or al-Sharīf al-Akhḍar) and his successor Shaykh Hamalla, whose father was *sharīf* of Tichitt and whose mother was a Toucouleur, and who had brought together a powerful contingent of Moorish tribes linked for administrative purposes to the districts of Nioro, Kiffa, Timbedra, Nara and Nema. The Hamallists were the instigators of the incidents of Kaëdi (1930) and Nioro-Assaba (1940).

In 1940, almost all the tribes had been penetrated by Hamallist propaganda, which preached an actively bellicose Islam and, with its xenophobic attitude, gathered all the dissidents of eastern Mauritania and western Sudan. A numerous marabout federation, the Tenouajib, members of whom were recorded in Kayes, Yélimané, Nioro, Kiffa and Tamchakett, had shown itself hostile to this propaganda, preserving instead a strict Ḳādirī orthodoxy. On the occasion of the 1940 armistice the Hamallists thought the moment had come to suppress their Tenouajib rivals and seize their possessions. But, after their violent attempt, thirty-three of the assailants, among whom was the eldest son of Shaykh Hamallah, were condemned to death and shot in Yélimané. Shaykh Hamallah was deported, first to Algeria and later to France, where he died during the German occupation.

If Marty could regard Nioro as the Mecca of the Sudan, it is certain that the Hodh was in practice the principal starting point for Islam in the direction of the negro countries. It remains a place of importance. It was for that reason that the Governor-General of A.O.F. decided, in October 1944, to set up the district (*cercle*) of the Hodh, with ʿUyūn al-ʿAtrūs as its centre; the administration of Mauritania had proved the necessity of this step.

This fact involved modification of the frontier. For a very long time the Hodh had been divided between Mali and Mauritania. Under these agreements it became wholly Mauritanian, and has remained so with the coming of independence.

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ḤAWFĪ, type of popular poetry peculiar to Algeria. It consists of short poems of between two and eight verses which are sung by girls or young women while amusing themselves on swings or at country excursions. These songs are all anonymous and sung to the same tune, which consists of two very simple melodic phrases. The origin of the *ḥawfī* is obscure; its etymology offers no explanation. The genre is more commonly called *taḥwīf*, which means the act of singing the *ḥawfī*. The prejudice of the Arabic anthologists against popular poetry, with the exception of *zadjal*, deprives us of material for criticism in this field. Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Quatremère, iii, 429) connects the *ḥawfī* with the *mawwāl* without giving any explanation; this testimony is all the more uncertain as in the Būlāḳ edition the term *ḳūmā* is substituted for that of *ḥawfī* in the passage in question; F. Rosenthal, in his translation of the *Muḳaddima* follows this reading (iii, 475, note 2).

W. Marçais (*Tlemcen*, 209) hesitates to "identify the modern *ḥawfī* of Tlemcen with the *ḥawfī* of Ibn Khaldūn". He does, however, try, but with all reserve, to find some connexion between the *ḥawfī* and the *mawwāl*. According to him the two genres have the same number of verses and use the same metre, *basīṭ*. Starting from this he thinks that he is able to trace an evolution of the *ḥawfī* which, at first obeying the rules of classical scansion, gradually detached itself from the *mawwāl*. "At a comparatively modern date, the original rules of the form being lost, the admirers of *ḥawfī* ... continued to add, though sometimes in a rather lame fashion, to the classical tune of these poems, successions of rhyming lines".

This proof is not at all convincing, especially as Ibn Khaldūn's attitude that all poetry in the vernacular is the result of the degeneration of an earlier classical genre has distorted the approach to the problem. This has necessarily made still more difficult the problems which arise as soon as the study of the evolution of poetic genres is approached.

In fact it appears in the context that Ibn Khaldūn has not tried to establish a direct link between the Andalusian or Maghribī and the eastern genres, but that he has merely emphasized what they have in common—namely that they are popular genres, a fact which he emphasizes again when he speaks of the Egyptian imitation of the *mawwāl* of Baghdād.

Nor is the scansion which W. Marçais suggests for the verses of the *ḥawfī* any more plausible, for his attempt to find in them a metre of the *basīṭ* type forces him to resort to completely unjustifiable

subtleties. Syllabic scansion must be applied here, and any other method can only result in the establishment of irregular schemes.

Another hypothesis, which at first sight seems more attractive, seeks to find the origin of the *ḥawfī* in Andalusian strophic poetry. S. Bencheneb sees it as "a debased and popularized form" of this Andalusian poetry and adds that "from the point of view of metre, the *ḥawfī* represents an intermediate stage between the quantitative and the syllabic measure" (*Ch. Escarpolette*, 91).

This is in fact to re-state, from the starting point of the *muwashshaḥ*, the very same principle of evolution which we have just rejected. The rigidity and the learned diversity of the structures of Andalusian strophic poetry, its use of a quantitative metre, its themes and its vocabulary all exclude any link with the *ḥawfī*. It would be very difficult to regard it even as deriving from the *zadjal*, which also obeys very strict rules of structure. It is not clear, moreover, what this intermediate stage of the metre can be. In the *ḥawfī* the metre is syllabic, and furthermore it plays only an unimportant part. It must not be forgotten that the *ḥawfī* is exclusively sung. It is the musical stress which controls the whole poem and the very simple structural arrangement are intended only to enhance the harmonies which this stress produces.

The *ḥawfī* poems, written in dialect, consisting of a small number of verses which lend themselves to syllabic scansion and possess no notable structural characteristic, seem quite simply to derive from local popular inspiration. We must adhere to this conclusion so long as no convincing proof of their Andalusion or eastern origin is put forward.

Swing games accompanied by songs are widely found throughout the Maghrib. They are attested notably at Tangier, Rabat-Salé and at Fez. But the term *ḥawfī* is reserved for the songs sung at Tlemcen and in the Algérois (Algiers and Blida). S. Bencheneb considers that "the *ḥawfī* of Algiers, Blida oı elsewhere is independent of that of Tlemcen", but there does not seem to us to be any convincing argument to prove this independence. If the two types have had a common source, Andalusian or eastern, it is hardly permissible to speak of a parallel development. But if, as is the case in the present state of our knowledge, this derivation cannot be established, then there are too many similarities between the *ḥawfī*s of the two regions to justify such a sharp differentiation. The establishment of the texts has enabled us to find very many common features in the *ḥawfī*s of Tlemcen and those of Algiers and Blida: common poems, isolated verses used by both, the same numbers of verses, the same use of rhymes and above all the use of the same melody. Certainly the *ḥawfī*s of Tlemcen are more numerous and have more varied themes, but this could arise merely from a greater popularity of the genre at Tlemcen.

In another field, that of the *buḳāla* [*q.v.*], some exchanges have taken place. S. Bencheneb has noted an interesting fact in this connexion: at Mostaganem *ḥawfī* poems of Tlemcen are sung during ceremonies at which the omens are consulted; it was only later that "in certain towns and certain milieus original poems ... replaced the *ḥawfī* poems which used to be sung by women in order to learn their fate. Thus the genre *buḳāla* must be derived from the *ḥawfī*". The establishment of the texts of the *ḥawfī* has allowed the relationship between the two genres to be seen fairly clearly. Several poems are common to both, and isolated verses, themes, images and expressions are found in both. Although the *buḳāla* is not sung, it is clear that the structure of several of its poems would permit them to be adapted to the tune of the *ḥawfī*. There should nevertheless be mentioned the greater thematic and linguistic richness of the *buḳāla*. This similarity cannot, however, lead to any serious conclusion concerning the origin of the two genres, and we can merely state again that they both belong to a popular literature which developed parallel with works in literary language throughout the whole of the Arabic-speaking area.

We have collected 83 poems, 61 of which are of Tlemcen origin. But it must be mentioned that several of these poems are sung indifferently at Tlemcen, Blida or Algiers with variants which are not always due to the use of a different dialect. These 83 poems are divided thus: (a) 12 distichs, of which 8 are from Algiers; (b) 15 tercets, of which 13 are monorhymes and 2 rhyming ABB with internal rhymes; 8 of these are from Algiers; (c) 34 quatrains of which 23 are monorhymes and 9 rhyme AABB; (d) 11 poems of 5 verses, seven of which are monorhymes, 3 rhyming AAABB and 1 AAAAB; (e) 8 poems of 6 verses which consist of: 5 poems made up of two monorhymed tercets, 1 of three distichs with different rhymes, 2 made up of one monorhymed quatrain and one distich; (f) 5 poems of 7 verses which divide variously into quatrains, tercets and distichs; (g) 1 poem of 8 verses made up of two monorhymed quatrains. We have included in this list 3 poems which are in reality variants. The study of the arrangement of the internal rhymes shows that they are much less numerous than in the *buḳāla* and are arranged in a less contrived fashion. It is rather a case of seeking for musical assonances able to sustain the melody of the *ḥawfī*.

The themes of the *ḥawfī* of Tlemcen are more varied than those of the *ḥawfī* of Algiers; whereas the latter is almost entirely devoted to love and the description of the gardens where swing games are played, the *ḥawfī* of Tlemcen has the following themes: (a) Poems devoted to Tlemcen, its surroundings or to certain of its districts. It should be noted that the *ḥawfī* of Algiers has nothing similar except for one poem devoted to Sidi Ferruch. (b) Religious themes: sometimes about the Prophet, his daughter and ʿAlī, sometimes celebrating the Tlemcen saints. In this connexion there should be mentioned a definite sympathy for the great figures of Shīʿism which is found also in several *buḳāla* poems. Here too the Algerian *ḥawfī* has no theme of similar inspiration. (c) Themes of love: these preponderate as much at Tlemcen as in the Algérois. They sing of the lover and the happiness or the torment he gives. The *ḥawfī* of Tlemcen includes in addition dialogues between lovers and love-songs put into the mouth of a young man. (d) Themes concerning different aspects of social life at Tlemcen: the life of a young woman, her relations with her mother and her mother-in-law, an account of the attributes of the members of the family, etc.

The literary quality of these poems is very uneven. Some are excellently constructed from the point of view of the sentiments expressed and in the choice of expressions and images. The use of floral themes in the description of girls is often a very happy one. Themes of grief or nostalgic sadness are particularly suitable to the melody of the *ḥawfī*. Other poems are more prosaic, but they all faithfully reflect some aspect of life at Tlemcen and, especially, of the spirit of its inhabitants. In spite of the upheavals which social life in Algeria has undergone, the *ḥawfī* is still

popular, although the young women of today take rather less interest in this genre which delighted so many of their forbears.

We have been unable to collect any information on the melody of the *ḥawfī*; we have however had it written down in musical notation. Evidence, already unreliable enough in the matter of the texts, is here completely lacking, and it is all the more regrettable since a scientific approach to the problems of popular poetry, and often of classical poetry also, is impossible without the recognition of the primary rôle which the melody plays in it; the problems of structure themselves cannot be solved without a full appreciation of it. Nor can the question of the origins be approached until an exhaustive recension has been made of Maghribī compositions in dialect.

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(J. E. Bencheikh)

ḤĀWĪ, snake-charmer or itinerant mountebank, from *ḥayya*, snake. The plural is *ḥuwā* (so Lane) or more generally *ḥāwiyyūn*. In Egypt certain members of the Gipsy tribes (see NŪRĪ) act in this capacity. The *fellāḥīn* often have recourse to them, particularly when afflicted with various forms of skin-disease (*karfa*) or eczema (*ḳūba*). The general procedure of these quacks is to recite some rigmarole over a glass containing olive-oil and the white of an egg, and then to spit into it. The slimy mixture is thereafter applied as an ointment. Certain members of the dervish fraternities, such as the Rifāʿiyya and the Saʿdaniyya, also play their part in the folk-medicine of the Nile Valley as snake-charmers and viper-enchanters. The reason why their services are requisitioned is because of the popular belief that skin-diseases are due to the viper blowing its poison into the body, and these men claim to possess the necessary authority to counteract the poisonous infection.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ismāʿīl, *Ṭibb al-rukka*, Cairo 1310-1312, i, 80 ff., ii, 31; Eng. tr. by J. Walker, *Folk-Medicine in Modern Egypt*, London 1935; *MW*, July 1933, 289. See also RUḲYA.

(J. Walker)

ḤĀWĪ, "pertaining to air". Al-Khalīl said and repeated: *al-alif al-layyina, al-wāw, al-yāʾ* are *hawāʾiyya*, that is to say *fi 'l-hawāʾ*, "in the air [exhaled]" (*Le Monde Oriental*, xiv (1920), 44-5). For Sībawayhi (ii, 454, l. 21 f.), *al-alif* is *al-ḥarf al-hāwī*, to be understood, according to the *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* (iii, 261, l. 14, 264, l. 4), as *dhu 'l-hawāʾ* "which has some [exhaled] air". These two expressions, *hawāʾiyya* and *hāwī*, might be thought to be synonymous, but there is a nuance.

Al-Khalīl (*ibid.*, 44, l. 17-8) expresses himself thus on the subject of the *ḥurūf* mentioned above: "they are *fi 'l-hawāʾ*, in the air [exhaled], they have therefore no region of articulation (*ḥayyiz*) to which they might be assigned, unless it is the *djawf*, the hollow of the chest". Therefore, without *makhradj*, either in the throat or mouth, these *ḥurūf* are *fi 'l-hawāʾ*: the air is so to speak *their place of existence*. Sībawayhi grants them a *makhradj* (see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 19-20 or H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 44b, d, g); but he insisted on the amplitude (*ittisāʿ*) of this *makhradj* which makes them precisely *ḥurūf al-līn* [see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ, genesis of the *ḥurūf*]. The widest is that of the *alif* and it offers its fullest width *li-hawāʾ al-ṣawt* "for the air of the *ṣawt*" (Sībawayhi, ii, 454, l. 22). He is therefore considering *the abundance of the air* passing with the *ṣawt* within the full width (*ittisāʿ*) of the *makhradj*; he attributes this name *al-hāwī* to *alif* as being the most eminent, leaving *wāw* and *yāʾ*, with less extensive *makhradj*, under their appellation *layyina*.

Bibliography: in the text; see also HAMZA (*hamza madjhūra*) and ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. For a general discussion of the phonetics of Arabic see MAKHĀRIDJ AL-ḤURŪF.

(H. Fleisch)

ḤAWĪZA, also known by the diminutive Ḥuwayza, town situated in the swamp country east of the Tigris between Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣra. It apparently also lent its name to the surrounding area. The original town was supposedly founded by Shāpūr II, and was later rebuilt in Islamic times by one Dubays b. ʿAfīf b. al-Asadī during the reign of the Caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ (363/974-381/991). Thus the town is not mentioned by any of the early geographers. The population included many Nabataeans, presumably bearers of the original Aramaic culture which survives in that region until today. According to Mustawfī it was one of the most flourishing cities of Khūzistān (8th/14th century). The surrounding land was fertile, and corn, cotton, and sugar cane grew abundantly there.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 678, ii, 371 ff.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 108-9 (trans.) = 110-11 (text); Le Strange, 241.

(J. Lassner)

HAWKING [see BAYZARA].

ḤAWRA, a town in Ḥaḍramawt under the eastern wall of Wādī al-Kasr, just north of the confluence of the three valleys of ʿAmd, Dawʿan [*q.v.*], and al-ʿAyn. The town is dominated by a large castle and a watchtower on the heights above. The population, reckoned by Ingrams to number 1,500, has a strong Indonesian infusion. The leading citizens are of the family of Bā Wazīr; there are also descendants of Badr Bū Ṭuwayriḳ, the founder of Kathīrī power in Ḥaḍramawt. Ḥawra is, nevertheless, a Ḳuʿayṭī enclave in Kathīrī territory, lying southwest of Shibām, the principal Ḳuʿayṭī centre in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt.

In al-Hamdānī's time (4th/10th century) Ḥawra was a large town inhabited by two branches of the tribe of Kinda. The modern tribe of Nahd north of Ḥawra claims descent from Kinda; it is probably distinct from al-Hamdānī's tribe of Banū Nahd, a division of ʿAns established in what is now southern ʿAsīr. In 1224/1809, during the second invasion of Ḥaḍramawt by the Wahhābīs of Nadjd, called *Aṣḥāb al-bushūt* ("the Men of the Cloaks") by Ibn Hāshim, Ḥawra was one of the places they pillaged.

Bibliography: H. F. v. Maltzan, *Adolph v. Wrede's Reise in Hadhramaut*, 235; Van den Berg, *Le Ḥadhramout*, 13; L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-arabien, Mahraland und Hadramūt*, 179, 183; T. Bent and Mrs T. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, 210 f.; Hamdānī; Muḥammad b. Hāshim, *Taʾrīkh al-*

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ḤAWRA [see AL-DHIʾĀB].

HAWRĀMĀN, Avroman, a mountainous region of the southern Zagros lying west of Sanandadj (Senna) on the western border of Īrān. It extends for approximately 50 km. south-east from a point 46° 0′ E., 35° 30′ N., to the river Sīrwān. The Hawrāmān mountain (Avroman Dagh, 2626 m.) forms a northern extension of the Shāhō range, from which it is separated by the Sīrwān. Parallel to both ranges, east of the river, is the Kō (or Kūh-i) Sālān (2597 m.). The chief products of the area are various orchard fruits, walnuts, gall-apples and mastic.

The population is a branch of the Gūrān [*q.v.*] and numbers perhaps 10,000 persons, still distinguished by their language and to some extent dress from the surrounding Kurds. The members of the Bagzāda family trace their descent, in the first instance, back through three centuries. Many take the title Sān, *i.e.*, Sulṭān. The principal tribal division is between the Hawrāmān-i Luhōn, south-west of the main range, and Hawrāmān-i Takht to the north and east. The latter is further divided into Takht proper of the Ḥasan-Sānī family (with Shār-i Hawrāmān as its chief village), Dizlī of the Bahrām-Bagī, and in the east Razāw of the Muṣṭafā-Sānī. The leading Luhōnī village is Nawsūda. Others are Pāwa, the home of a divergent dialect, lying on the western flank of mount Shāhō, and Hadjīdj, the easternmost village of Luhōn on the Sīrwān; the inhabitants of both these are known throughout the Near East as wandering pedlars.

At the beginning of the present century all branches of the Bagzāda family extended their sway over a number of non-Hawrāmī villages (notably Biyāra and Tawēla, both in ʿIrāḳ and seats of Naḳshbandī Shaykhs), bringing their total holdings to over seventy villages. Since 1350/1931 most of them have been dispossessed by the Persian authorities and exiled.

In 1915 three parchments, dating from 88 B.C., 22-1 B.C. and 53 A.D. respectively, were discovered in the area. These 'Avroman Documents', written in Greek and Parthian, relate to the ownership of local vineyards.

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ḤAWRĀN, region of southern Syria bounded to the east by the volcanic massif of the Djabal al-Durūz, to the north by the plateau of the Ladjāʾ and the Damascus plain, to the west by Djawlān [*q.v.*] and to the south by the Yarmūk, a region which corresponds roughly to the administrative area, or *liwāʾ*, of the same name and which extends for about 100 kilometres from north to south and 75 from east to west. The term Ḥawrān was applied formerly to the whole of the basaltic region which separates Syria from Transjordania and thus included the Djabal al-Durūz and the Ladjāʾ. The low plateau (an average of 600 metres above sea-level) which forms the "heart" of the Ḥawrān (known as Nuḳra, "hollow"), and the slopes of the mountain as well are covered with arable land produced by the decomposition of volcanic rock; water from the many springs rising on the side of the massif, together with the relatively frequent rainfall, allows the growing of cereals.

Ḥawrān has been inhabited from a very early date. Its small towns and villages are mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters and in Deuteronomy (III, 4-5), but the region at that time was generally known as Bashān. Occupied by the Hebrews during the second half of the second millennium B.C., its possession was disputed by the kingdoms of Israel and Damascus; it was finally devastated and conquered by the Assyrians, who remained masters of it for a century (732-610 B.C.). During the following centuries, Achaemenid domination assured Ḥawrān a long period of peace, during which towns developed and the country became extensively Aramaized. The Hellenistic and Roman periods were less settled: at the time of the decline of the Seleucid empire a number of small autochthonous states grew up around the Ḥawrān which became the scene of their battles. It was mainly the Nabataeans, of Arab origin, who infiltrated into the Ḥawrān and settled permanently in the south, at Busrā and Ṣalkhad, while the Idumeans were entrusted by the Romans with maintaining order in the areas of Trachonitis (Ladjāʾ), Auranitis (Djabal Ḥawrān) and Batanea (the plain of Ḥawrān). It was in 106 A.D. that the Romans annexed Ḥawrān, the southern part of which became part of the new province of Arabia, while the rest, which was first attached to the province of Syria, later also became gradually attached to Arabia.

The Roman period was characterized by the development of towns and large villages, inhabited mainly by Aramaeans and Jews, and by the increasing infiltration of Arab elements, Nabataean and Safaitic. This infiltration continued to increase during the Byzantine period, when new groups, sometimes from southern Arabia, penetrated into Ḥawrān and the neighbouring steppes, gaining control of the edges of the desert. Some took service with the Byzantines. These, the Ghassānids, supplanted the Banū Ṣāliḥ in about the 5th century A.D. They were semi-nomads who made in Ḥawrān permanent encampments, the most famous of which was that of al-Djābiya [*q.v.*]. The country then became profoundly arabized, while at the same time Christianity spread.

Ḥawrān was finally conquered by the Muslims in Radjab 13/September 634 after the battle of the Yarmūk which halted the Byzantine counter-offensive. Its population seems to have supported the Umayyads and, after their fall, rose under the leadership of a certain Ḥabīb b. Mūsā in a revolt which was suppressed by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], the uncle of the ʿAbbāsid caliph.

During the ʿAbbāsid period Ḥawrān suffered particularly from the incursions of the Carmathian bands [see KARMAṬĪ]. Then, in the period of the Crusades, the country was the scene of battles and many raids by the Crusaders who came periodically to pillage the area, attempting to seize its main fortresses, or crossed it on their way to attack Damascus. But Ḥawrān also suffered from the activities of Zangī [*q.v.*], when he was attempting to take Damascus. It was in 614/1217 that the Crusaders made their last appearance in Ḥawrān. Soon afterwards, in 642/1244, the north of the country was ravaged by the Khwārazmians who had been sum-

moned by the Ayyūbid rulers, and then, in 658/1260, the Mongols appeared there, before their defeat by the Mamlūks at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*].

In the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, Ḥawrān was divided into the two districts of Ḥawrān proper, corresponding to the Auranitis of antiquity, and of al-Bathaniyya, corresponding to Batanaea, both of them belonging to the province of Damascus. It was then a prosperous region, with numerous villages, with a large production of cereals, and with a partly Christian population.

During the Mamlūk period the region was composed of the two *wilāyas* of Ḥawrān, with its capital at Buṣrā, and al-Bathaniyya, capital Adhriʿa, together with the *niyāba* of Ṣalkhad whose powerful fortress was commanded by an *amīr* of high rank. To it there was probably added a district corresponding to the Ladjā', with its capital at Zurʿ. At this time the country was crossed by the *barīd* [*q.v.*] route from Damascus to Ghazza, while the pilgrim caravans set off from Buṣrā. But the region was, in the 8th/14th century, troubled by the infiltration of nomad groups belonging to the Banū Rabīʿa who gradually settled there.

The Ottoman period saw the penetration of a further nomad group belonging to the Banū Rabīʿa, that of the ʿAnaza, who drove towards the west the nomads who had arrived earlier and penetrated into the settled area, spreading disorder and insecurity. The inhabitants of the villages were forced to pay a "brotherhood tax" and there arose between the rival groups, particularly at the beginning of the 19th century, battles to which the *pasha* of Damascus had to put a stop. In the 12th/18th century the pilgrim route was moved further to the west, the pilgrims no longer assembling at Buṣrā but at al-Muzayrib, where from this time an annual fair was held.

The 18th and 19th centuries witnessed also the settlement in the Djabal Ḥawrān of the Druzes who had originally been dwelling in southern Lebanon. During the 18th century these mountain people drove the original inhabitants down onto the plain and their presence formed a new element of unrest. While, in about 1844, the Rwāla tribe appeared in Ḥawrān and entered into conflict with the ʿAnaza, the Druzes who had remained in Lebanon and who had been implicated in the massacres of 1860 also fled to the Djabal Ḥawrān, driving out the last remaining non-Druze inhabitants. During the final years of the 19th century, the Ottomans incorporated Ḥawrān in a larger province which, in addition to the Djabal Ḥawrān and Nuḳra, comprised, Djaydūr, Djawlān, ʿAdjlūn and the Balḳā. This new province served as a base for expeditions intended to subdue the Druzes, and it was at this time that colonies of Circassians were introduced into the country. Though unable to pacify the country entirely, the Ottomans nevertheless restored security in the plain, where the nomads ceased to demand from certain villages the payment of the brotherhood tax. The construction in 1904 of the Ḥidjāz railway [*q.v.*] put an end to the gathering of pilgrims at al-Muzayrib and to the annual fair there. This railway played a strategic rôle in the 1914-18 war, particularly during the retreat of the Turkish army in September 1918.

Occupied by the troops of the *amīr* Fayṣal for nearly two years, Ḥawrān revolted in July 1920 when French troops entered Damascus. Another insurrection, by the Druzes in 1925, was suppressed with more difficulty. Nevertheless the Druze and Ḥawrān region experienced under the French mandate a period of relative security and prosperity during which the settled population was protected from the demands of their nomad neighbours.

In the state of Syria, Ḥawrān, restored to its usual limits, formed a *liwā'* having its capital at Adhriʿa and made up of two *ḳaḍā'*s—Adhriʿa and Azraʿ. Its population in 1933 was 83,000, 77,000 of them dwelling in 110 villages, some of which, such as Adhriʿa, Nawā, Buṣrā and Azraʿ, are in fact small towns. The population is heterogeneous: together with the Druzes, living mainly on the mountain, and the Sunnī Muslim Ḥawrānī peasants, there are found Circassians, nomads in the process of becoming settled, and some Orthodox or Catholic Christians, generally grouped on the edge of the mountain.

Ḥawrān is now a busy and prosperous region. It is the "granary of Syria", it is crossed by the road and railway which link Damascus and Jordan, and it is frequented by the nomads who come there after the harvest to exchange wool and butter for the various commodities they need.

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ḤAWSHABĪ (pl. Ḥawāshib), a South Arabian tribe and sultanate. The land of the tribe, north of Aden in the western British Protectorate of South Arabia, is a rough quadrilateral with one of the shorter sides abutting on the Yaman, whence the land extends southeastwards to the Faḍlī sultanate [*q.v.*], which cuts it off from the sea. North of the Ḥawshabī sultanate are the ʿĀmirī and ʿAlawī states [*qq.v.*], while to the south lies the ʿAbdalī state [*q.v.*] of Laḥdj with its dependent Ṣubayḥī tribe [*q.v.*]. The Ḥawshabī sultanate is of strategic importance for its command of the main route from Aden to Taʿizz in the southern Yaman and its control of the upper reaches of Wādī Tuban, the principal source of water for Laḥdj. The capital, al-Musaymīr, is less than 100 km. from Aden and about 80 from Taʿizz. On the right bank of Tuban, it consists of little more than the sultan's rude stone palace and a cluster of huts. The Ḥawshabī tribe may number some 10,000 souls.

The Ḥawāshib are identified by al-Hamdānī (4th/10th century) as a branch of Ḥimyar living on Djabal Ṣabir (not far west of their present home) with the Sakāsik and the Rakb, all under a Ḥawshabī chief. The implication in *EI*[1] that the modern tribe is of "pure Ḥimyarite descent" is not, however, accurate, as among its members today a strong African strain is evident.

Although the Ḥawāshib concluded their first agreement with the British in 1255/1839, they did not sign a protectorate treaty until 1313/1895. The Anglo-Ottoman convention of 1332/1914 defined

inter alia the boundary between the Ḥaw<u>sh</u>abī territory and the Yaman, but the collapse of the Ottoman Empire introduced a new situation, and in recent years both the Mutawakkilite Kingdom of the Yaman and the Yaman Arab Republic have claimed the Ḥaw<u>sh</u>abī territory as part of "occupied south Yaman". The Ḥawā<u>sh</u>ib have at times clashed with their stronger neighbour Laḥ<u>dj</u>; at other times they have recognized the suzerainty of the ʿAbdalī ruler (see, for example, the text of the pledge of allegiance in 1312/1895 in al-ʿAbdalī, pp. 177-9, with the names of many *ʿāḳils* of the Ḥawā<u>sh</u>ib). In 1382/1963 the Ḥaw<u>sh</u>abī sultan, Fayṣal b. Surūr, joined the Federation of South Arabia.

Bibliography: Hamdānī; Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, *Fī <u>dj</u>anūb al-<u>Dj</u>azīra al-ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1368/1949; Aḥmad Faḍl al-ʿAbdalī, *Hadiyyat al-zaman fī a<u>kh</u>bār mulūk Laḥ<u>dj</u> wa-ʿAdan*, Cairo 1351; H. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, London 1923 (photograph of al-Musaymir palace); C. Aitchison, ed., *A collection of treaties*[5], xi, Calcutta 1933; Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; idem, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946.

(G. Rentz)

ḤAWṬA, enclave, enclosure, is the name given in southern Arabia to a territory generally placed under the protection of a saint which thus is considered sacred. The term belongs to classical Arabic and in fact means "precaution". Nevertheless, inherent in the root *ḥ w ṭ* is the technical meaning given to this word by the Arabs in the south: it does in fact express the action of surrounding, of encircling, but also that of defending, of guarding and, by extension, of preserving; whence the substantive *ḥawṭ*: a red and black twisted cord which a woman wears round her hips to protect her from the evil eye (*LA*, s.v. *ḥ w ṭ*).

There exist many *ḥawṭa*s in southern Arabia. W. Thesiger found several while travelling from Salala to the Ḥaḍramawt across the interior. He particularly mentions one at Mu<u>gh</u><u>sh</u>in, on the edge of al-Rubʿ al-<u>Kh</u>āli, to the north-east of Ẓufār (*Arabian Sands*, 97). The most important *ḥawṭa* of Arabia is probably that of ʿInāt, to the south-east of Tarīm: it contains the remains of the famous Sayyid Muḥsin b. Sālim, of the family of the <u>*shaykh*</u> Abū Bakr, the greatest saint of the Ḥaḍramawt. Second in importance is the *ḥawṭa* situated in the region of the upper Wāḥidīs: here is buried another great saint, the *faḳīh* ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. Lahḏj, capital of the territory of the ʿAbādil, is also called *Ḥawṭa* because several saints are buried there.

The sacred nature of the *ḥawṭa* is attested by a certain number of tabus which protect its fauna and flora. W. Thesiger states that at Mu<u>gh</u><u>sh</u>in it is forbidden to kill the hares. Also his companions warned him of the dangers involved if one cuts the branches or the trees in a *ḥawṭa*—an act which would result in many disasters, and even in death, for its perpetrator (*op. cit.*, 97). R. B. Serjeant speaks of the respect (*iḥtirām*) due to the *ḥawṭa*, which is hailed by a cry called *taʿ<u>sh</u>īra* (*Ḥaram and Ḥawṭah*, 44), known to the early Arabs. These, on arriving near to a place where they suspected there was an epidemic, placed their hands behind their ears and uttered ten loud cries in succession, hoping thus to exorcize the evil. In the case of the *ḥawṭa*, the *taʿ<u>sh</u>īra* expressed the fear inspired by this holy place, which Serjeant has no hesitation in comparing with a *ḥaram*. It does indeed possess the same main privileges, notably the security assured to all its inhabitants, protected as they are by the law of God and of His representative, the patron saint of the *ḥawṭa*. It is in fact a place of refuge and sanctuary. The prohibition of all killing within the holy enclosure is a strict one and the violation of this rule is considered a very serious offence. In order to expiate this crime, the guilty tribe must execute one of its members, though not necessarily the murderer himself. The comparison with the *ḥaram* can be taken further. Like the *ḥaram*, the *ḥawṭa* is composed essentially of two concentric sections which are not equally sacred. The first of them encloses the remains of the saint who founded it and over whose tomb a cupola has been erected. All around this sacred nucleus extends a wide area whose borders, well- or ill-defined, mark the extreme limit of the *ḥawṭa*. Beyond this line the ground is no longer sacred.

In spite of these points which the *ḥaram* and the *ḥawṭa* have in common, it is difficult to consider the latter as a true sanctuary. It has in fact been created by the initiative of an individual: a man belonging to a family famed for its sanctity declares to be sacred, one might say tabu, an area of ground over which he intends to exert his jurisdiction. But his action depends for its effectiveness on the agreement of the neighbouring tribes who must first sanction this decision. Indeed it is they who will have to defend the *ḥawṭa* and ensure that it remains inviolate, so that without their agreement arrangements made unilaterally can have no effect. Serjeant cites the case of a member of the family of the Sayyids who, having had no success in his politico-religious offices, had to leave his native region and found another *ḥawṭa* elsewhere.

Thus a *ḥawṭa* may be considered as halfway between the *ḥaram*, a place where a holy power manifests itself, and the *ḥimā* [*q.v.*], a territory under the protection of a powerful overlord. The *ḥawṭa*, which contains no relic when it is created, possesses one finally when its patron dies.

Once the security of an area declared *ḥawṭa* is admitted and assured, merchants, peasants and others arrive and settle there, by agreement with the founder, who then bears the title of *munṣib*, dignitary, and who is accorded certain polito-religious privileges known as *<u>dj</u>āh*. Under his authority, the *ḥawṭa* may become a meeting place for the tribes, a market, a centre of exchange where religion and commerce often flourish side by side.

Bibliography: W. Thesiger, *Arabian Sands*, London 1959; R. B. Serjeant, *Ḥaram and Ḥawṭah, the sacred enclave in Arabia*, in *Mélanges Ṭāhā Ḥusayn*, Cairo 1962, 41-58.

(J. Chelhod)

AL-ḤAWṬA, the name of a number of towns in Arabia, the more important of which will be cited here. Those lying in the southern part of the peninsula contain the shrines of famous saints (see the article immediately preceding). Ḥawṭat al-Ḳaṭn, under the south wall of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt some 20 km. west of <u>Sh</u>ibām, belongs to the Ḳuʿayṭī sultanate of al-<u>Sh</u>iḥr and al-Mukallā, the paramount state of the eastern British Protectorate of South Arabia, and the palace there has served as the residence of the Ḳuʿayṭī governor of the <u>Sh</u>ibām province. Bent has described the structure: "Like a fairy palace of the Arabian Nights, white as a wedding cake, and with as many battlements and pinnacles, with its windows painted red . . . behind it rise the steep red rocks of the encircling mountains". Some of the inhabitants of the town are members of Yāfiʿ, the Ḳuʿayṭī sultan's tribe.

The town of al-Ḥawṭa in the upper basin of Wādī Mayfaʿa, also in the eastern Protectorate, is not far

north of ʿAzzān, the capital of the Wāḥidī sultanate of Bal-Ḥāf, within whose domains it falls. Landberg's information on this town of al-Ḥawṭa is digested in *EI*[1], ii, 295-6. In the Lower ʿAwlaḳī sultanate, a state of the western Protectorate, the village of al-Ḥawṭa lies on the coast near the mouth of Wādī Aḥwar and the inland town of Aḥwar, the capital of the sultanate. The seat of the ʿAbdalī sultan of Laḥdj [*q.v.*], the premier chief in the western Protectorate, is the large town of al-Ḥawṭa al-Djafāriyya, which takes its name from the shrine of the saint Muzāḥim Bal-Djafār, whose *ziyāra* is celebrated in the month of Radjab.

The tribe of Tamīm [*q.v.*] has been established in central Nadjd since pre-Islamic times. One of its centres is the valley called by al-Hamdānī (4th/10th century) Baṭn al-Faḳī, and now known as Wādī Sudayr, northwest of al-Riyāḍ. The valley runs down the eastern slope of Ṭuwayḳ and empties into al-ʿAtk [*q.v.*]. Among the settlements of Tamīm there al-Hamdānī lists al-Ḥāʾiṭ, which is probably identical with the modern al-Ḥawṭa (Ḥawṭat Sudayr) in the middle section of the valley, between al-Rawḍa and al-Djanūbiyya. The population of al-Ḥawṭa does not, however, hail exclusively from Tamīm, as there are elements of Banū Zayd and Banū Khālid present. Tamīm has another centre south of al-Riyāḍ in the region of ʿUlayya where Wādī 'l-Ḥawṭa also runs down the eastern slope of Ṭuwayḳ. Wādī 'l-Ḥawṭa is roughly parallel to Wādī Birk [see AL-AFLĀDJ], which lies just south of it. In the middle section of Wādī 'l-Ḥawṭa is al-Ḥarīḳ or Ḥarīḳ Naʿām (Naʿām is the name given by al-Hamdānī to the valley). Farther down, the valley makes a sharp turn and runs northwards under the name of Wādī 'l-Sawṭ (mentioned by al-Hamdānī) to empty into Wādī 'l-Sahbāʾ [see AL-KHARDJ]. Just before the turn is al-Ḥawṭa itself, also called Ḥawṭat Banī Tamīm, a group of oases of which the main ones are al-Ḥilla and al-Ḥilwa. Other Arabs live side by side with Tamīm. Close ties link the people of Tamīm in the two Ḥawṭas.

In neither of the Ḥawṭas of Nadjd is there any indication of the existence of a shrine. The men of Tamīm in these parts are noted for their fanatical devotion to the teachings of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*], himself a member of this tribe, who vigorously attacked the cult of saints and popular reverence for shrines. In 1918 the late King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd told Philby: "... the folk of Hauta and Hariq are ignorant and difficult, wild and truculent; leave them to one side and come not near unto them".

Bibliography: Hamdānī; Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, *Fī djanūb al-Djazīra al-ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1368/1949; Aḥmad Faḍl al-ʿAbdalī, *Hadiyyat al-zaman fī akhbār mulūk Laḥdj wa-ʿAdan*, Cairo 1351; Turkī b. Muḥammad Āl Māḍī, *Taʾrīkh Āl Māḍī*, Cairo 1376 (details on Tamīm and the Ḥawṭas of Nadjd); J. and M. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900; D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut*, Leiden 1932; W. H. Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles*[3], London 1952; C. de Landberg, *Arabica*, v, Leiden 1898; idem, *Etudes*, ii/3, Leiden 1913; Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; idem, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946. (G. RENTZ)

ḤAWWĀʾ (Eve), wife of Ādam [*q.v.*]. This name does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, which speaks only (VII, 18/19-22/23 and XX, 120 f.) of the "spouse" guilty jointly with her husband of the disobedience which cost them expulsion from Paradise. The only mention of this name in Arabia in pre-Islamic (?) times was in a verse of ʿAdī b. Zayd, if its authenticity is reliable. The Muslim writers after the revelation of the Ḳurʾān all give the name of Ḥawwā to the spouse of the First Man. The biblical etymology of Ḥawwā (Genesis, III, 20: "mother of all living") is cited in the name of Ibn ʿAbbās (Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaḳāt* i/1, 16), and it is known also (*ibid.*) that her name in "Nabataean" was *ʾththa* (the word for "wife" in Aramaic.) The legendary details concerning the first couple [see also ĀDAM, HĀBĪL WA-ḲĀBĪL] are most often adapted from Rabbinical sources and the Syriac "Cavern of Treasures". Ḥawwā was created in Paradise from a left rib removed from her husband while deeply asleep,—a painless operation, as otherwise no man would feel affection for his wife. Adam gave her the name Ḥawwā, because she was formed from a living being. Adam issued from the dust and Ḥawwā from a bone: man with age becomes more and more handsome, and woman more and more ugly. The espousals of the first couple were celebrated with the assistance of God and the angels. According to a tradition, Adam tasted the forbidden fruit only after having been intoxicated by the wine which Ḥawwā made him drink. Ten punishments, among them menstruation, pregnancy and the sufferings of childbirth, remind the daughters of Eve of the fault of their first ancestress. They received, however, as consolation, the assurance that every pious woman, devoted to her husband, would have a place in Paradise, as compensation for the grievous suffering of parturition. If she dies in childbirth, she takes her place among the martyrs and is united with her husband in the hereafter. A legend tells also how Adam and Eve dressed themselves when they found themselves naked after their sin: in wool spun by the woman and woven by the man. Their life after the expulsion began by a long separation [see ĀDAM] but, according to a different tradition, as soon as they had left Paradise, the husband and wife made the pilgrimage to Mecca fulfilling all the ceremonies, and Ḥawwā had her first menstruation there, after which Adam stamped his foot on the ground and the well of Zamzam sprang forth, allowing his wife to proceed with her ritual purification. Ḥawwā died two years after Adam and was buried beside him.

Muslim Neoplatonism and mysticism, Sunnī as well as Shīʿī, make of Ḥawwā (as of Adam) entities of their metaphysical hierarchy (intellect-soul, form-matter); in Ismāʿīlī esoterism, Ḥawwā is a symbol of "the spiritual and mystical signification which *is* Paradise" (H. Corbin).

Bibliography: in addition to the articles mentioned above: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. S. ʿUkāsha, 15; Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tīdjān*, 8-10, 16; Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 108 f.; H. Schlobiess, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vi, col. 857; Nabia Abbot, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, Chicago 1957, 38-50; G. Vajda, *Juda ben Nissim Ibn Malka* ..., Paris 1954, 83; H. Corbin, *Trilogie Ismaëlienne*, Teheran-Paris 1961, part iii, 126 f. (J. EISENBERG-[G. VAJDA])

ḤAWWĀʾ [see ḤĀWĪ and RUḲYA].

AL-**ḤAWWĀʾ** [see NUDJŪM].

HAWWĀRA (also Huwwāra; now Howwāra or Hewwāra), name of a Berber people. Disregarding the legends which give them a Yemenī origin, we must remember that ancient Arabic authors do not agree about their place in the Berber family. The Muslim geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī (340/951) regards them as members of the Butr branch of the Berbers, whereas most Berber and Arabic genealogists, whose

opinions are given in the *History of the Berbers* of Ibn Khaldūn (8th/14th century), regard them as a tribe forming part of the al-Barānis branch, believing them to be descended from Hawwār b. Awrīgh (Ibn ʿIdhārī: Awzīgha) b. Burnūs. It must be said, however, that according to the Berber genealogist, Sābiḳ b. Sulaymān al-Maṭmāṭī, and Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], at least a part of the tribes considered to belong to the Hawwāra, that is to say the descendents of Addās, son of Zadjdjīk, drew their origin from the Butr Berbers, thus agreeing with the opinion of al-Iṣṭakhrī. The tribes of the Hawwāra and other Berber tribes related to them were very numerous. The principal ones were: the Addāsa (Tāsā?), the Andāra, the Awtīta (Huṭīṭa), the Baṣwa, the Gharyān, the Harāgha, the Banū Īrmazyān (Marmazyān), the Ḳaldin (Ḳaldīn), the Kamlān, the Karkūda, the Lahān or Lahāna (Luhān, Luhāna), the Maghar, the Malīla, the Maslāta (Masallāta), the Mindāsa or Mindās (Mandāsa, Mandās), the Misrāta (Miṣrāṭa), the Razīn (Rāsīn), the Saṭaṭ, the Tarhūna (Tarhuna), the Wannīfan (Wannīfa), the Warfalla (Warfal), the Wargha, the Warsaṭifa (Warsaṭīf), the Washtāta, the Yaghmorāsen (Ghomrāsen?), the Zakkāwa and the Zanzafa.

In the earliest days, say Ibn Khurradādhbih (232/846-7) and al-Masʿūdī (345/956), the Hawwāra lived in the country of Ayās (Oea), that is, Tripolitania, "a country which then belonged to the Rūm/Byzantines". They continued to live there, along with other Berber tribes, such as the Nafūsa [*q.v.*], the Zenāta [*q.v.*], the Mazāta [*q.v.*] and the Lawāta [*q.v.*], at the time of the Muslim conquest. It seems that in the later decades of the 1st/7th century, at the time of the great movements of the Berber peoples, in flight from the invaders and resettling in the west of Ifrīḳiya and in the Maghrib under the leadership of Kusayla [*q.v.*] and afterwards under that of Kāhina [*q.v.*], several Hawwārī fractions left Tripolitania, and spread throughout North Africa. Other Hawwāra followed this first wave of emigration at the time of the Khāridjī rebellion against the orthodox Arabs, a rebellion which broke out about the year 122/740 and in which practically all the Berbers took part. The Hawwāra, who had been converted to Islam at the end of the 1st/7th century or the beginning of the 2nd/8th, embraced with fervour the doctrines of the Khāridjī sect, becoming in turn Ṣufrīs [*q.v.*], Ibāḍīs (-Wahbīs) [*q.v.*] and finally Nukkārīs [*q.v.*], and took part in every revolt of this sect from the rising of the Ṣufrīs ʿUkāsha and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Huwwārī (124/742), and that of the Ibāḍī Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī (140/757-8 [*q.v.*]), to the revolt of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād (331-5/943-7) and the rising of 342/953. Because of these revolts, Hawwārī fractions were obliged to make several further migrations, from east to west and *vice versa*. It is during this period too that some of the Hawwāra, who acknowledged the sovereignty of the Aghlabid *amīrs*, settled in Sicily, while others found their way into the Ahaggar. As a result of these migrations, the Hawwāra proper and other tribes regarded as Hawwārī, by infiltrating amongst the autochthonous Berbers, occupied some fairly extensive areas, where they lived as farmers in the mountainous massifs, or as nomads in flat country, obeying their own chiefs. These chiefs usually recognized the nominal supremacy of the various great Muslim dynasties of North Africa and even of Muslim Spain, while sometimes organizing themselves into little independent states. Later, the Hawwāra, weakened towards the middle of the 4th/10th century by the pressure of the Fāṭimids and, in the first part of the 7th/13th century, by that of the Ḥafṣid *amīr*, Abū Zakariyyā', ceased to play any part in political affairs. The greater part of the nomadic Hawwārī tribes of Ifrīḳiya had already by the time of Ibn Khaldūn been completely assimilated by the pastoral Arabs, whose language and way of life they had adopted. They paid tribute to the latter and also to the Ḥafṣid sultans. As for the Hawwārī peoples who lived in central Maghrib, Ibn Khaldūn says that they "graze flocks of sheep, but, burdened by taxation, no longer show that pride and independence for which they were at one time noted, when their warriors were famous for their victories. Now scattered and weakened, they have fallen into degradation". Only the Hawwāra of Morocco seem to have enjoyed a more prosperous situation in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries and in the following centuries. In the first part of the 8th/14th century they even became very powerful in the Tamesna district. Many Hawwārī tribes, formerly so powerful, disappeared leaving no trace, and there are no more than a few place names to witness to the existence of these peoples who from the 2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries played such an important part in the history of Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib.

We may now consider the Hawwārī tribes in the 3rd-10th/9th-16th centuries, that is, the period on which, thanks to the writings of Arabic historians and geographers, we have the most complete and detailed knowledge.

Barḳa and Egypt. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Hawwāra of Barḳa came to cultivate their crops on the land between Alexandria and old Cairo. Another fraction of this tribe took part in the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimid army in 358/969 and were given by the Fāṭimid caliphs a tract of land where the Hawwāra chiefs played some political rôle (see below).

Tripolitania and Fezzān. In Tripolitania, which was the ancient homeland of the Hawwārī tribes, from about the middle of the 2nd/8th century mention is made of an *arḍ Hawwāra* ("country of the Hawwāra"). According to the Arab geographers of the 3rd-6th/9th-12th centuries, the eastern boundary of this land ran through Tawargha (Tauorga) and Waddān (in the oasis of al-Djufra), even through Zāla (Zēlla), an area in ancient times belonging to the Mazāta, eastern neighbours of the Hawwāra. The western boundary first passed through the city of Tripoli (one gate of this city was called Bāb Hawwāra), and then, in the 8th/14th century, west of the oasis of Zanzūr (Zenzūr), where the Hawwārī fraction of the Banū Madjrīs lived. The southern boundary of the country occupied by the Tripolitanian Hawwāra was formed by the Fezzān. Among the Hawwāra tribes who inhabited the *arḍ Hawwāra* the Karkūda should be mentioned, whose name is apparently related to that of the ancient town of Ḳarḳūza (Gargūza), lying south-west of Zanzūr and mentioned by Tidjānī. The Misrāta, whose chief centre was the little town of Suwayḳat Ibn Mathkūd, occupied the most eastern part of the coastal zone of the "country of the Hawwāra". They devoted themselves, according to Ibn Khaldūn and Leo Africanus, to trade with Egypt, the Bilād al-Djarīd and the "country of the Blacks". The name of Wādī Magher (Wādī Mager, to the south-east of Zliten) doubtless has its origin in that of the tribe of the B. Maghar, which is mentioned in this part of Tripolitania in the year 681/1282. The home of the

Malīla is not known. The Ibāḍī chronicles refer to the existence of this tribe in Tripolitania in the 2nd/8th century. The Lebda region—according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam the most ancient settlement of the Hawwāra—was occupied by the tribe of the Maslāta (Massallāta), whose name survives in that of the present Djebel Msellāta. This tribe was still rich and powerful in the 10th/16th century. Earlier, towards the interior, Arabic sources note the presence of the Tarhūna, who led a nomadic life in the present homonymous district, and also that of the B. Gharyān (mentioned in the 7th/13th century). The Hawwārī tribe of the B. Washtāta, who disappeared at an early date from Tripolitania, have left their name in Uestat, a little fort to the south of Gaṣr Tarhūna. Further towards the interior, in the neighbourhood of Benī Ulīd and of Bū Ndjem, wandered the B. Warfalla (today Ōrfella). This latter tribe, with the Misrāta and the Marmazyān, formed in the 3rd/9th century the eastern branch of the Tripolitanian Hawwāra, called Lahān (al-Luhān). In 245/859 this branch was in rebellion against the Aghlabid government. We must also add that to the east of the *arḍ Huwwāra*, in the heart of the Mazāta country, lived the Hawwārī tribe of the Mindāsa.

The Tripolitanian Hawwāra, who were the chief support of the Ibāḍī *imāms*, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Maʿāfirī and Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī (d. 155/772), remained for a long time faithful to Ibāḍī doctrines, except for a Malīla fragment, who were Sunnī, and the inhabitants of the Kirza (Ghirza) district, probably Warfalla, who were still pagan in the 5th/11th century. They became orthodox only towards the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, except, however, those living in the Gharyān district and some neighbouring areas, who were still Ibāḍīs in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries.

At Fezzān, Arabic sources mention the existence at the beginning of the 4th/10th century up to the end of the 6th/12th century, of a small Ibāḍī-Berber state, whose capital was Zawīla [*q.v.*] and which was ruled by the Hawwārī dynasty of the B. Khaṭṭāb. A Hawwāra tribe, namely the B. Kaldīn, lived in the Fezzān town of Tamermā in the 5th/11th century.

Tunisia. In the south-east of Tunisia, in the neighbourhood of the town of Gabès and in the south-Tunisian Djebel, lived the Hawwārī tribe of the Zanzafa, which already by the beginning of the 2nd/8th century is noted as professing Ibāḍī doctrines and obeying a Rustamid governor. Further to the north-east, round about Tozeur, the Saddāda oasis perhaps owes its name to the Saṭaṭ Hawwārīs. Between Gabès and Sfax, at al-Maḥras, in the time of Tidjānī there lived a Hawwāri fraction, who came there at a time difficult to specify, probably about the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, from Tripolitania. In the time of Leo Africanus they spoke the same Berber dialect as the inhabitants of Djerba, with whom they were in contact. Some isolated Ibāḍī Hawwāra established here in the 8th/14th century are mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn. Another Hawwāra group lived, according to Ibāḍī sources, at Bāṭin al-Mardj in the 3rd/9th century, in the northern zone of the Tunisian Sāḥil. West of this region there was, at that time, an Ibāḍī population made up of Hawwāra and Mazāta, established in the plain of Ḳayrawān, the *Faḥṣ Ḳayrawān* of the early Arabic sources. These seem to be Hawwārī groups whose ancestors came from Tripolitania, in about 141/758, with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, governor of Ifrīḳiya for the Ibāḍī *imām*, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Maʿāfirī. Later on these Hawwāra groups were joined by the B. Kamlān, a Hawwārī tribe from the region south of Constantine, brought to the plain of Ḳayrawān in 315/927 from Hodna, near the later al-Masīla, by the Fāṭimid prince, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. They appear again in this district in the year 332/944, in revolt against the Fāṭimid al-Manṣūr, in the ranks of the army of the famous Nukkārī chief Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, of whom, together with their *confrères* south of Constantine, they became the most faithful followers. Another group of the B. Kamlān, from Zāb, settled at Ḳayrawān, after the defeat of Abū Yazīd. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim established some Hawwāra also in the Djabal Zaghwān, a canton to the south of the city of Tunis. Further to the west, the whole *Haut-Tell* of Tunisia was in the Middle Ages the classical homeland of Hawwārī tribes. They appear already in 124/742 in the neighbourhood of Bādja (Béja), whither they came with the Ṣufrī chief ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Hawwārī. It is in the same region that Arabic sources mention the Hawwāra as being in revolt against the Aghlabid *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad in 268/882. A Hawwārī tribe, the B. Sulaym, lived in the area to the north of Béja in the 8th/14th century. Two other Hawwāra fractions, namely the B. Wargha (Wergha) and the B. Washtāta (Ūshtāta), have survived to this day in the Tunisian *Haut-Tell*. In the 8th/14th century the B. Wannīfan inhabited the district between the plain of Marmādjna (Marmādjanna, now Bermajna, along the banks of the Oued Sarrath) and the neighbourhood of Tébessa. They are mentioned at this time also at Bulṭa (Bilṭa), in the province of Bādja. One fraction still survives, under the name of Ūnīfa, near Kēff. In the 5th/11th century, in the district of Sabība (Henshīr Sbība), there was, among other Hawwāra fractions, a branch of the B. Kamlān, whose territory still stretched some way to the west, in the direction of Tébessa and Djebel Awrās. The Baṣwa tribe in the 8th/14th century occupied the lands between Téboursouk and Zaghwān, while the Ḳayṣar tribe appeared from the year 624/1227 in the plain of Ebba (Ubba) as well as in the area between this place and Lorbeus.

Algeria. In Algeria in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries there were several Hawwārī tribes and fragments, distributed between two regions: to the south of Constantine and to the east of Oran. The Hawwāra are already mentioned there, at Zāb, in 124/742. It is here too that several Hawwāra groups (among others the B. Kamlān) are later (in 250/864) found in revolt against the Aghlabid government. Other Hawwārite groups came to settle in the Zāb around 342/953, after the defeat which the Fāṭimid ruler al-Muʿizz inflicted on the Ibāḍī Hawwāra of the Djebel Awrās. They were still living there in the 5th/11th century, north of the town of Tahūda, and still faithful to Ibāḍism. Al-Yaʿḳūbī also describes Hawwārī fractions (among others the Saghmār) in the western Zāb. It is probably from the Zāb that certain Hawwāra groups found their way to the Wēd Sūf and the Wēd Rīgh, where they are described by Ibāḍī sources towards the 6th/12th century. Certain Hawwārī tribes and fractions inhabited, along with other Berber peoples, the Aurès (Awrās) massif and the area to the east of this, towards the town of Tébessa. Ibāḍī Hawwāra are already found there towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, at the beginning of the reign of the Rustamid *imām*, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. A hundred years later they are again mentioned as dwelling there, by al-Yaʿḳūbī. At the time of the revolt of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād (whose mother was descended

from the Hawwāra), the B. Kamlān of the Aurès and other Hawwārī fragments who had settled in this area and been converted to Nukkārism by this chief remained to the end faithful to the doctrines which he preached. It is only in 342/953 that the B. Kamlān and the Malīla of the Aurès submitted to al-Muʿizz. Among the Hawwārī tribes of the Aurès were also the Lahān, who, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, lived at Dūfāna (today ʿAyn Dūfāna, on the road from Batna to Khenshela). Survivors of the ancient Hawwāra people still lived in the Aurès in the 8th/14th century, but dominated by the Lawāta. It seems that the northern boundary of the South Constantine territories once inhabited by the Hawwārī tribes was ʿAyn Mlīla (about 50 km to the south of the town of Constantine), whose name comes from that of the Malīla fragment. A Hawwāra population also still existed at Tifesh in the 9th/15th century. To the west of Batna, between this town and Ngaous, the name of Huwwār (Howwār), the eponym of the Hawwārī tribes, survives in that of Téniet Hoggar (Thaniyyat Hoggār, "Gorge of Hoggār"), the change from *ww* to *gg* being a normal phenomenon in Berber phonetics. To the north-west of the Aurès a fragment of the B. Kamlān is frequently mentioned by Arabic authors as inhabiting, in 315/927, the plain of Hodna, in the region of the later al-Masīla. The Hawwāra are described there again in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. Part of the mountainous chain which extends to the north of Hodna was occupied in the time of al-Bakrī by the powerful Berber tribe of the B. Yaghmorāsen, regarded as belonging to the Hawwāra, and numbering 60,000. Their chief town, Ghadīr Warrū has been identified as the present Bordj Redīr (Bordj Ghadīr), south of Tocqueville. It seems that the B. Yaghmorāsen were identical with the Hawwāra living at al-Ghadīr (= Ghadīr Warrū?), and submitting to Fāṭimid rule in about 335/946-7, according to Ibn Ḥammādo. East of Oran and on the western boundaries of the former department of Algiers, Arabic sources describe the presence of Ibāḍī Hawwāra in the neighbourhood of Tāhert [*q.v.*] around the end of the 2nd/8th century. Perhaps these were the same groups which had gone from Tripolitania to Ḳayrawān with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam and accompanied their chief in his flight to the Maghrib, establishing themselves near the capital of the Rustamid *imāms*. In the time of the *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam (168/785-5 to 208/823-4) the Hawwāra were in revolt against this chief and occupied the valley of the Mina (tributary of the Chelif), where they had organized a small state under the local dynasty of the B. Masāla. The centre of this state was situated, towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, on the territory of Hillil and Relizane. In all probability the state of the B. Masāla included also the Ḳalʿat Hawwāra [*q.v.*], today Ḳalʿat B. Rāshid, lying in the mountains between Relizane and Mascara and in later centuries the headquarters of the Hawwāra of the Mina. Some other Hawwārī fractions established themselves, probably in the 2nd/8th century, on the plateau of Sersū and in the massif of Wānsherīsh (Ouarsenis). Among the Hawwāra of Oran were also a fraction of the Misrāta, whose name survives in that of the caves of Mesrāta near Ḳalʿat B. Rāshid, and a branch of the Mindās, which has given its name to the plateau on the right bank of the Mina (mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn) and to the present village of Mendez to the south-east of Relizane.

Ahaggar (Hoggar). This region owes its name to the Touareg tribe of the Ahaggar [*q.v.*], whose name preserves that of the Hawwāra (Howwār > Hoggār). A fragment of the latter "crossed the sands", says Ibn Khaldūn, and settled next to the tribe of the Lamṭa, "wearers of the veil", who lived near the town of Kawkaw (Gao) in the "country of the Blacks". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa—who in 754/1353 crossed the country of this tribe (which he calls Hukkār < Hoggār) while travelling from Takaddā (in Aïr) to Tawāt (Touat)—says that its members wore veils on their faces. The history of the Ahaggar before the 8th/14th century is unknown. However, it seems that the arrival of this tribe in the territory which they now occupy must have been connected with the defeat inflicted on the Hawwāra of the Aurès by the Fāṭimid ruler al-Muʿizz in 342/953 and with the dispersal of the "assemblies" of these rebels, some of whom, Ibn Ḥammādo tells us, fled as far as the "country of the Blacks". We have mentioned above a place, west of the Aurès, called Thaniyyat Hoggār, which might be the point from which the Hawwāra of the Aurès set out for the Ahaggar in the second half of the 4th/10th century. Yāḳūt [*q.v.*], quoting the lost geographical work of al-Muhallabī (364-85/975-96), mentions an important state, with its "capital" Aksintilā, situated in the middle of Ifrīḳiya and ruled by a chief of the Hawwāra tribe. This account, in other particulars extremely far-fetched, may relate to the beginning of the Hawwārī confederation of the Kəl Ahaggar.

Morocco. Nothing is known for certain about the history of the Hawwārī tribes of Morocco, traces of which, however, are to be found in this country from the 3rd/9th century, and certain groups of which have survived in various regions of the country to this day. It seems possible that the Hawwāra came to Morocco with the Berbers of Ifrīḳiya and of the central Maghrib, who, according to the author of *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, went to Tangier with the Muslim governor of that city, the future conqueror of Spain, Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād. Today a Hawwāra fraction is to be found in the plain of Tafraṭa in the east of Morocco, on the right bank of the Mulūya, and, further to the north, to the east of the lower course of this river. The name of the town of Malīla (Melilla), already attested in the 4th/10th century, derives from that of the homonymous Hawwāra people. In the 10th/16th century the B. Razīn are found in the Rif and in the 5th/11th century, between Tangier and Ceuta, a township named Huwwāra. In the interior of the Rif, east of the upper course of the Oued Ouergha (whose name derives from that of the Hawwārī Wargha) and in the neighbourhood of the powerful Dsūl tribe (Tasūl in Arabic sources) are today to be found the homes of the Hewwārat al-Ḥadjar. It was this Hawwāra fraction whose land was divided and fell to the Idrīsid prince Dāwūd (with that of Tasūl) in 213/828-9. The Hawwārī fragment of the B. Ziyād, a branch of those Hawwāra, who lived at the town of Zulūl (Zalūl), appeared in the 5th/11th century near the town of Azīla, not far from another branch of this tribe, namely the Hawwārat al-Sāḥil ("Hawwāra of the coast"). There were also Hawwāra among the Berber groups inhabiting the Fez region. We know this from al-Bakrī, who describes another Tarhūna fragment there. A place named Washtāta, mentioned by the same geographer as being near Fez, is known to be connected with the homonymous Hawwārī tribe. The province of Tāmesna, in the west of Morocco, was occupied in the 7th/13th century by the Hawwāra and the Zenāta, faithful followers of the Marīnid rulers. In the time of Leo

Africanus these peoples comprised 260,000 warriors. Another considerable branch of the Hawwāra lives to this day on each side of the lower course of the Wād Sūs. In the time of al-Idrīsī (549/1154) the people of Aghmāt, a town to the south of Marrākush, who carried on trade with the "country of the Blacks", belonged to the tribe of the Hawwāra. Finally, in the time of Leo Africanus, some Hawwāra lived also in the Sidjilmāsa district.

Spain. Some Hawwāra fragments left northern Morocco at an early date for Spain (with Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, according to Ibn Khaldūn). They established themselves there in remote areas, where they enjoyed almost complete independence with regard to the Umayyad *amīrs*. A Hawwārī family called B. Zennūn (B. Dhi 'l-Nūn) was dominant in the Shantabariyya (Santaver) district, where it is mentioned in the year 158/775 as being in revolt against the Umayyad *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. Some Hawwāra lived at Shantabariyya, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī (340/951) and the B. Zennūn dynasty was still in existence in the 5th/11th century. In the immediate vicinity of Shantabariyya, east of this area, the B. Razīn, another Hawwārī fragment from the north of Morocco, settled at an early date. They occupied the plain named after them Sahlat Banī Razīn—Albarracín on modern maps. Obscure in the first centuries of the Umayyad period, this family acquired a certain importance in the second half of the 4th/10th century, and after the downfall of the Caliphate of Cordova became independent. To judge by the place-names of the region, there were also Hawwāra in the neighbourhood of Valencia, where the author of *al-Bayān al-mughrib* mentions a place named Sāḳiyat Huwwāra. The present name of this locality, Mislata, probably comes from that of the Hawwārī Maslāta tribe.

Sicily. It seems from Arabic sources and Christian documents, as well as from the evidence of place-names, that there were also Hawwārī fractions in Sicily. The Hawwāra of Ifrīḳiya took part in the Aghlabid conquest of the island in 212/827. They remained there for a long time. In 592/1196 there were still Hawwāra in Palermo. Among other Hawwārī tribes represented in mediaeval Sicily, the Misrāta, the Malīla, the Karkūda and the Andāra should be mentioned. It seems that at least a part of these immigrants remained faithful to Ibāḍism. Indeed, the 6th/12th century Ibāḍī author, al-Wisyānī speaks of Ibāḍī in Sicily, probably of Hawwāra origin, as being in touch with their co-religionists in North Africa. According to another Ibāḍī source, the *Dhikr asmā' baʿḍ shuyūkh al-wahbiyya* (6th-7th/12th/13th centuries?), Ḳaṣr Yānū (Castrogiovanni) in Sicily constituted the northern limit of the territory occupied by the Ibāḍīs.

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Egypt and the Sudan. An important historical rôle was played by Hawwāra of Egypt, a completely arabized group. Their first centre was in the Buḥayra, where they became the dominant tribe. Some Hawwāra were settled in Upper Egypt by Barḳūḳ (c. 782/1380-1), their chief, Ismāʿīl b. Māzin, being granted the *iḳṭāʿ* of Girgā [*q.v.*]. His successor, ʿUmar (d. 799/1396-7) was the eponym of Banū ʿUmar, the ruling clan for the next two centuries. Under the next chief, Muḥammad Abu'l-Sunūn, a period of agrarian prosperity began, connected with the development of sugar-planting. Meanwhile, Hawwāra were expanding in Upper Egypt, and, in 815/1412-3, they attacked and devastated Aswān, then held by Banū Kanz, an Arabo-Nubian clan. The authority of the Mamlūk sultanate was represented in the Hawwārī territory by the governor of Ḳūṣ and Akhmīm, but with the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (922-3/1516-7) this appointment lapsed. The ruling chief, the *amīr* ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, was recognized as the governing authority in Upper Egypt: he is described in Ibn Iyās as "administrator of the districts of Upper Egypt" (*mutawallī djihāt al-Ṣaʿīd*), as well as "chief of the Arabs of Upper Egypt" (*shaykh ʿUrbān al-Ṣaʿīd*). The rule of Banū ʿUmar lasted for about sixty years, but ultimately became intolerable to the Ottoman administration. In 983/1576, Banū ʿUmar were formally deprived of their powers,

and a certain Sulaymān Bey (? Djānbulād) was appointed governor of Upper Egypt. In the 12th/18th century, there was a revival of Hawwārī power, associated with the tribal chief, the *amīr* Humām b. Yūsuf. He overshadowed the transient governors of Upper Egypt, who were distracted by the factional politics of the neo-Mamlūk régime. Under Humām, Upper Egypt enjoyed a period of comparative tranquillity and prosperity. Djabartī depicts him as a paragon of Arab shaykhly virtues—openhanded, hospitable and loyal. A less favourable memory of the domination of Hawwāra has been transmitted by Burckhardt, who speaks of extortion practised on merchants, and the reduction of the Copts to servile status. Humām and his tribe belonged to Niṣf Ḥarām, the group associated with the neo-Mamlūk Ḳāsimiyya faction. After the collapse of the Ḳāsimī ascendancy in Cairo (1142/1730), remnants of the defeated faction took service with Humām, and were assimilated to the local people. Towards the end of his life, Humām played a critical part in Egyptian politics by the support he invariably gave to grandees who had been ousted from power in Cairo. He had particularly close relations with Ṣāliḥ Bey, the last Ḳāsimī notable, who was exiled by Bulut-ḳapan ʿAlī Bey (1178/1765). When ʿAlī himself sought asylum in Upper Egypt (1180/1767), Humām effected a reconciliation between him and Ṣāliḥ, enabling the two beys to defeat their opponents, and retake Cairo. After ʿAlī had procured the assassination of Ṣāliḥ, in 1182/1768, Humām assisted the dead grandee's followers to capture Asyūṭ, and hold it against the governor of Upper Egypt nominated by ʿAlī. The rebels and Hawwāra were ultimately defeated, and Humām fled, to die near Isnā (8 Shaʿbān 1183/7 December 1769). With his death, the political supremacy of Hawwāra came to an end, but they retained their social and economic importance until the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha. After the extirpation of the Mamlūks in Upper Egypt, Ibrāhīm Pasha proceeded to confiscate the *iltizāms* and other sources of the wealth of the old régime (1813). The descendants of Humām were broken by this policy, and their tribesmen were subsequently absorbed into the masses of the peasantry.

In the Sudan two distinct groups are connected with Hawwāra of Egypt. The Hawāwīr are a nomadic tribe, having their territory in the steppe, west of the Nile. They probably represent a southerly wave of Hawwārī expansion from Egypt. The Djallāba (*i.e.*, pedlars) Hawwāra have immigrated into Kordofan and Dār Fūr within the last three centuries, admittedly as traders, as their name suggests. Their designation as Hawwāra may imply no more than an original domicile in territory dominated by this tribe.

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(P. M. Holt)

ḤAWZ, pl. *aḥwāz* (coll. *ḥwāz*): (1)—Territory, suburb, environs of a large town, in North Africa and especially in Morocco, where the word appeared at the beginning of the 10th/16th century: attested for Fās in Leo Africanus (*Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Epaulard, i, Paris 1956) and for Marrākush in manuscript documents (*Sources inédites*, 1st series, Portugal, ii, Paris 1939 [P. de Cénival] and v, Paris 1953 [R. Ricard]). It was already employed in Muslim Andalusia with the same meaning, and has given rise to the Spanish *alfoz*, district (L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, Glossary, Paris 1952). In Tunisia, the word was known under the Ḥafṣids, but with a fiscal sense (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, Paris 1947). (2)—With the article, al-Ḥawz denotes exclusively the region of Marrākush, the Haouz, a wide embanked plain drained by the *wādī* Tansift and its tributaries, and by the *wādī* Tassawt. Notwithstanding the hills of the Djabīlāt, it is a monotonous and for the most part arid country, almost entirely covered with a scrub of thorny jujube trees where grazing is possible. However, the geographical situation has endowed the plain with all the elements needed for prosperity. These were brought into service by the Almoravids, who founded Marrākush in 462/1070, provided water for their capital by excavating the *khaṭāṭir* [see ḲANĀT] and built a bridge over the *wādī* Tansift. Under the succeeding dynasty, the Almohads, Marrākush became the metropolis of the Muslim West, and the whole of south Morocco experienced great prosperity. It seems to have been towards the end of the 6th/12th century that al-Ḥawz was distinguished from al-Gharb [*q.v.*], for the division of the plains of Atlantic Morocco into two parts corresponds with the zones imposed on the nomadic Arab tribes introduced into Morocco by the Almohad sultan Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*]. "To the Rīyāḥ fell the Gharb, to the Djusham the Ḥawz", (A. al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā*, ii, Casablanca 1954; Fr. tr. I. Hamet, in *AM*, xxxii (1927)). It may also be concluded that it was at this period that began the erosion of the Berber Tāmasnā (a wide coastal strip that straddled the *wādī* Umm al-Rabīʿ) which today has completely disappeared. The fall of the Almohads, the transfer by the Marīnids of the capital to Fās, the continual attempts to secede did not prevent the Ḥawz from remaining one of the richest provinces in Morocco for another century. But the arrival from the South of the Arab bands of the Maʿḳil brought anarchy, a rift between the Berber mountains and the plain now held by the Arabs, and finally the general ruin of a region in which the populace, aided by their marabout saints, thought only of means to resist the political and fiscal manœuvres of the sultans, whether in the North or the South. In the western half of the Ḥawz, the Portuguese interventions were destined to provoke a sharp revival of the holy war. Under the Saʿdids and ʿAlawīs, the history of the Ḥawz becomes identical with that of Morocco. Today the region is inhabited by the great Arab tribe of the Rehamna (*Raḥāmina*) and by numerous groups brought there, from the most diverse regions, at the wish of the sultans, though still to some extent preserving their own particular characteristics. Those living along the foothills (*dīr*) of the Atlas, without forgetting Arabic, now understand Berber (L. Galand, *Un type de frontière linguistique arabe et berbère dans le Haouz de Marrakech*, in *Orbis*, iii/1, Louvain 1954). On the functions of the so-called *makhzan* tribes (ʿAbda,

Aḥmar, Raḥāmina, Manābaha, Ḥarbīl) and of the Guich of the Ḥawz, see DJAYSH; E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1904; Lt.-Col. Voinot, *Les tribus guich du Haouz Marrakech*, in *Bull. du cinquantenaire de la Société de géographie et d'archéologie d'Oran*, 15 April 1928. A small tribe from the Ḥawz, the Awlād Abī Siba' (O. Bousebaa) has won a great reputation for its thick woollen carpets (P. Ricard, *Corpus des tapis marocains du Haut Atlas et du Haouz de Marrakech*, Paris 1927).

Certain Moroccan Jews bear the name of *Ḥawzī*.

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HAY'A, in the sense of "astronomy" [see ʿILM AL-HAY'A].

HAY'A (A.), synonym (see *LA*; *TA*) for 'shape' (*shakl*) and 'form' (*ṣūra*), and also for 'state' (*ḥāl*) and 'quality' (*kayfiyya*). Al-Kindī states that, according to Hippocrates, one of the meanings of the word 'nature' applies to the configuration (*hay'a*) of the human body. In the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* we find: *hay'at al-arkān*: the configuration of the elements; they use this word also to discuss the thesis of the materialists who think that the Living and All-powerful Being is a body, since he exists in a configuration that is distinguished by accidents, such as life, power, knowledge (*ʿalā hay'a makhṣūṣa bi-aʿrāḍ*; ii, 55). In this sense, *hay'a* is the geometric shape of a body insofar as it reveals a metaphysical reality, form, which fashions it from inside. The idea of *hay'a* is bound up with that of a form and that of a motion, which is itself regarded as a form: "The term 'form' is used for any configuration (*hay'a*) and for any action upon a receptive (*ḳābil*) object, whether single or compound, so that motions and accidents are forms (*ṣuwar*)" (Ibn Sīnā, *Shifā'*, ii, 282). Avicenna distinguishes motion, as defective (*nāḳiṣa*) form, from completed (*tāmma*) geometric shape, such as the square or the circle. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' have analogous ideas: there is constitutive form (*ṣūra muḳawwima*) like length, breadth, depth (for a body), and perfective form (*ṣūra mutammima*), such as shape (*shakl*): triangle, square, pentagon, circle etc., and motion (ii, 21). Here *shakl* is used to describe the result of motions that produce such and such a shape, whether in nature or in art. *Hay'a* is completed form, considered not by itself, but in relation to the motion that, in it, completes constitutive form. *Hay'a* is more alive and more dynamic; *shakl* is static. That is why the word *hay'a* is applied in particular to the bodies of animals and men, which certainly contain curves and angles, but whose configuration is more than an arrangement of geometric shapes.

From this meaning it is an easy step to that of 'predisposition', which is more frequent in the technical language of philosophy. It is found in Avicenna, and it is related to another term from the same root: *tahayyu'*: 'aptitude', often used in conjunction with *istiʿdād*. A text of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', concerning the development of the soul during gestation, is particularly clear; it speaks of "the aptitude (*tahayyu'*) and predisposition (*istiʿdād*) that are stamped (*yanṭabiʿ*) into the soul, which are first form and potentially apt to become form in actuality by acquiring the aptitude (*ʿind al-tahayyu'*) for receiving moral characteristics, moral actions, the various types of knowledge, education . ." (i, 9). We are here concerned with the configuration assumed by the soul in the interval between its reality as first form in potentiality and its completion in moral characteristics etc. This intermediate situation is well indicated in the phrase in which *tahayyu'* is framed by the two particles *li-* (for, in order to): "*al-ṣūra al-ūlā bi-'l-ḳuwwa li-taṣīra ṣūra bi-'l-fiʿl ʿind al-tahayyu' li-ḳubūl al-akhlāḳ* . . .". There is then a *hay'a* of the soul, just as there is of the body. Aptitude or predisposition is inherent in *hay'a*. In fact, the first meaning of the verb *tahayya'a* in Arabic is: 'to assume one's *hay'a*' (*akhadha lahu hay'atahu*), and it is from this meaning that it takes on that of 'to be predisposed towards'. Avicenna says that one of the causes of the excitement of desire is a discontent (*ḍadjar*) arising from one *hay'a*, and the wish to change to another *hay'a*. He speaks also of particular causes that particularly distinguish one *hay'a*, to the exclusion of another (*takhṣīṣ hay'a dūn hay'a*) and make it the object of desire (*Shifā'*, ii, 288). The dynamism that distinguishes every *hay'a* becomes consciousness and desire in the soul.

A very special use of this term, which derives from the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, should be noted. The word *hay'a* is used to express in Arabic ἕξις or *habitus* (*malaka*). At first sight, this meaning appears very far removed from the preceding ones; but it may be derived from them, and may retain some connexion with them. It would seem that we should start from the force of the Vth form *tahayya'a*: 'to qualify oneself by the particular configuration that one assumes': the *fāʿil* acts on a *munfaʿil* which reacts on it. Aristotle, in the first place, defines ἕξις: "οἷον ἐνέργειά τις τοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ ἐχομένου" (*Met.*, 1022b 4). The illustration that he draws from clothing is well represented by the Arabic Vth form: one who wears a garment (action) is clothed by that garment (reaction). *Habitus* lies between action and reaction. The definition of this *hay'a* is translated: *ka-annahā fiʿlu-mmā li-'lladhī hiya lahu wa-huwa lahā*. Ibn Rushd comments: "It is the action of an agent on an object that undergoes the action . . . Aristotle says: 'When something acts and something else undergoes its action, the fact of undergoing the action (*infiʿāl*) is between the two'; this means: . . . when one thing carries out an action and acts upon another thing which undergoes its action, the *hay'a* is the state (*ḥāla*) that occurs between them. If the *hay'a* is considered with respect to the agent, it is called action; if it is considered with respect to the patient (*munfaʿil*), it is called passivity (the fact of undergoing the action)". This commentary is not very clear, for it is based on an approximate translation. But, short of being a truism, it can have only one meaning: that the *hay'a* unites two characteristics, one active, the other passive, and as an intermediary transfers the action that is carried out to the patient, and the action that is suffered to the agent, the two actions mingling into one. It should be remembered that *hay'a* is an intermediate state, of the same type as a motion, which allows an object moving towards actuality to receive a qualification that it possessed in potentiality. We meet, once again, the lexicographical meanings of *ḥāl* and *kayfiyya*.

A second meaning of ἕξις is that of 'disposition' according to which a being is in a good or a bad condition' (διάθεσις, καθ' ἣν ἢ εὖ ἢ κακῶς διακεῖται τὸ διακείμενον, *Met.* Δ 1022b 10). Διάθεσις is rendered *waḍʿ*. Averroes's commentary: "*Hay'a* is used of the state (*ḥāla*) that is produced as a consequence of a composition (*tarkīb*, instead of the *waḍʿ* of the translation). It is the *hay'a* by virtue of which the

composition of a thing is good or bad. For example, health... is a *hay'a* which results from a composition, that of the organs and the humours". This *hay'a* is good or bad, either in itself, or with regard to another *hay'a*. This meaning comes close to that which we have encountered in Ibn Sīnā, concerning the disposition from which desire springs.

Finally this term enters into the nomenclature of a branch of astronomy (*ʿilm al-nudjūm*) which is called *ʿilm al-hay'a* [*q.v.*]. According to the definition of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', it is "the knowledge of the hieratic order of the spheres, the number of the heavenly bodies,, the divisions of the zodiac and its stars, their distances, sizes and motions". It is perhaps because *hay'a* is used of the organic human body, the microcosm, that the term is applied to the macrocosmic order.

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ḤAYĀT (A.), life. The Ḳur'ān mentions life in very many verses. God is Himself living (*ḥayy*), see II, 255; XL, 65, etc. Al-Ṭabarī writes, in his *Tafsīr* (ed. Dār al-Maʿārif, v, 386): "This word *ḥayy* describes Him who has perpetual (*dā'ima*) life and a permanent existence (*baḳā'*) without any initial or terminal limit, for everything that is not He, although it be living, has a life that begins at a definite point and ends at a fixed limit". On this, he says, all the commentators are agreed. They differ on other questions. For some God is Himself spoken of as living because He Himself provides for the maintenance of His creatures and allots every creature its portion. He is therefore living by virtue of His management (*tadbīr*) of the Universe, not by virtue of Life. For others He is living by virtue of Life, which is one of His attributes. Others again say that it is one of His names. Al-Zamakhsharī states that *ḥayy*, in the technical language of the theologians, describes one who has knowledge and power (*Kashshāf*, Cairo 1948, i, 291). The question of the Life of God enters into general discussions on the divine attributes. A critical account is to be found in the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm (Cairo 1317, ii, 153 f.). In the *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, taking up Avicenna's distinctions between necessary and possible being, shows that God is the only necessary being, but that, contrary to Ibn Sīnā's contention, the existence of the possible being does not necessarily follow from the existence of the necessary being in itself, that is to say that creatures do not necessarily proceed from God; they are created by Him, in His Wisdom and His Freedom. This is the sense that should be given to *ḥayy* (ii, 307 f.).

The Ḳur'ān also mentions life in this world (*al-ḥayāt al-dunyā*) in order to contrast it in a religious and moral sense with the after-life. Life on earth, as a creation of God and considered in itself, is full of beauties; but it is nothing in comparison with the next life (Sūra III, 185), and the error of the unbelievers is to cling exclusively to it. Whether the attractiveness (*tazyīn*) with which life on earth is invested in the eyes of the unbelievers is the effect of an illusion for which man is responsible, or the result of an action of God, is a problem that normally sets Muʿtazilīs and Ashʿarīs, Ḳadarīs and Djabarīs at odds with one another (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, ii, 198 f.; commentary on II, 212). Life in this world, compared with life in the next, is something that is purely for use (*matāʿ*; Sūra XIII, 26; XL, 39), that is to say, according to the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*, a thing of little value which is enjoyed for a certain period of time and which disappears. It is diversion and play (*lahw wa-laʿib*) beside the real life (XXIX, 64; cf. Blachère, *Le Coran*, ii, 535, note on *al-ḥayawān* as an intensive of *ḥayāt*). The True Life is the "abode of permanence" (*dār al-ḳarār*). The life of this world may seduce one (*gharra*; VI, 70, XXXI, 33, XLV, 34, etc.). A parable summarizes these ideas. It compares life in this world to the rain that fertilizes the fields; then, when man believes that he himself has the power to cultivate the fruits of the earth, God sends His *amr*, that is to say, according to the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*, His judgment and His chastisement, and He mows down the crops, and it is as if they had never existed (X, 24). Consequently, life on earth and all that is connected with it is a gift of God which must be used with gratitude and piety, not for its own sake, but in order to expend it in good works and thus orientate it towards the future Life. Islam does not approve of contempt for life. Nevertheless the *dunyā* is an object of reproach, insofar as it "cuts" the path that leads to God. Nor is it merely loosely condemned, for life on earth is attended with values that remain associated with man in the next life (cf. Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, 3rd part, Būlāḳ ed., 151 f.).

As for life in the biological sense of the word, it is a frequent theme in the Ḳur'ān. There is a kind of Ḳur'ānic embryology, for example XXIII, 12-4; XXXII, 7-8; LXXVII, 20. Al-Rāzī comments: "A human being is generated from a seed which is itself generated from the fourth of the excretions produced by the digestion (*min faḍl al-haḍm al-rābiʿ*, that is to say the spermatic fluid). This is generated as a consequence of the consumption of food, which is of animal or vegetable origin. The animal derives from the vegetable, and plants are generated from very pure earth and water" (iv, 188). The end of verse 14 of Sūra XXIII: "Then we developed him in a second creation", is interpreted as referring to the development of the human being after his birth, during his infancy and his youth, the creation of understanding (*fahm*) and reason (*ʿaḳl*), until his death. The text reads: *anshaʾnāhu*, "We developed him", because God established the development of the spirit (*inshā' al-rūḥ*) in man. Al-Rāzī (*ibid.*) points out that this is proof of the error of al-Naẓẓām, who thinks that man is spirit and not body, and of the mistake of the *falāsifa*, who say that man is indivisible and that he is not a body. In fact, man is a compound (*murakkab*) of both attributes.

Certain Muslim philosophers may have been inspired by these verses in their representation of life as a development away from matter, proceeding by way of organic life to spiritual life. Several passages in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* and in Ibn Ṭufayl also give the impression that the idea of some kind of evolution is not unknown to them. For Ibn Bādjdja (Avempace), in his *Risālat al-Ittiṣāl*, natural heat (*al-ḥarr al-gharīzī*) exists before all the other parts of the body; it is the instrument of the instruments; all the parts of the body function with reference to it; it exists in all the animals that have blood, and it is also found in the animals that have no blood; it is called the motive force (*al-ḳuwwa al-muḥarrika*) it is form (*ṣūra*), and this form is the prime mover, the natural spirit (*al-rūḥ al-gharīzī*). In the womb the embryo has organs that make it resemble a plant: this is what is created in the first place; it is nourished, and grows, like a plant. On emerging from the womb, the human being makes use of the senses and resembles an irrational animal. It moves in space and

has desires: this occurs only because of the arrival of the spiritual form (*al-ṣūra al-rūḥāniyya*) which appears in the "common sense" and the imagination. At this level of life the imaginative form (*al-ṣūra al-mutak͟hayyila*), as the imaginative force (*al-ḳuwwa al-k͟hayāliyya*), is the prime mover. Below this there is the impulsive nutritive force (*al-ḳuwwa al-g͟hād͟hiya al-nazūʿiyya*) and the sensory force for propagating the species (*al-ḳuwwa al-munmiya al-ḥissiyya*). Animality begins with sensory spiritual form, the first degree of the spiritual forms. Below this is the vegetable kingdom, and it is disputed whether plants are living creatures; this problem is made more acute by the relationship of *ḥayāt* and *ḥayawān*. The plant-man in the womb is potentially an animal, for the natural spirit that is in it is capable of receiving spiritual form. The natural spirit that is in plants is incapable of doing so. The reason for this is a difference in the mixture of the humours (*al-imtizād͟j*). Beyond the senses and the imagination comes thought (*al-ḳuwwa al-fikriyya*), when intelligibles, which are potential in the sensory, become actual.

We can recognize in this structure the broad outline that the commentaries have taken from the Ḳurʾān. But for the *falāsifa* this development is not due to a series of disconnected creative acts of God. The Aristotelian idea of potentiality introduces a dynamism into nature itself. Moreover philosophical doctrine, in the tradition of Plato and Aristotle, connects life essentially with the soul. For example, al-Kindī (*Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1950, i, 226) sees life as an accident that happens to the body, since the living being disappears when life is extinguished, while the body retains its corporeity. The natural heat or natural spirit which is in the heart of the animal is not itself life; it is merely a disposition by virtue of which the animal can receive life (*uʿiddat fīhi li-yanāla bihā ʾl-ḥayāt*). Al-Kindī gives two versions of the Aristotelian definition of life: the (first) entelechy of a natural body (with organs) capable of receiving life (which has life in potentiality): (1) *tamāmiyya d͟jirm ṭabīʿī d͟hī ālāt, ḳābil li-ʾl-ḥayāt*; and (2) *istikmāl awwal li-d͟jism ṭabīʿī d͟hī ḥayāt bi-ʾl-ḳuwwa*.

Thus the conceptions of life in Islam offer us a particularly clear example of the interpenetration of Greek ideas and Ḳurʾānic images, even though the *falāsifa*, by transposing disconnected creative acts of God into terms of the continuity of natures, have altered the fundamental Islamic meaning.

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(R. Arnaldez)

ḤAYĀTĪ-ZĀDE, Ottoman family of physicians and *ʿulamāʾ*, the prominent members of which are:

(1) Muṣṭafā Feyḍī, said to have been a convert from Judaism (born Mos͟he ben Raphael Abravanel) and to have acted as interpreter during the interrogation of the 'Messiah' S͟habbĕtay Ṣebī ([*q.v.*], see also DÖNME), became *reʾīs al-aṭibbāʾ* [see ḤEKĪM-BAS͟HĪ] in 1080/1669-70 and died in 1103/1691-2. He is the author of a '*k͟hamsa*' entitled *al-Rasāʾil al-mus͟hfiyya fi ʾl-amrāḍ al-mus͟hkila*, on the nature, symptoms and treatment of various diseases, based on the Latin works of various European writers of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century (Fernelius, Fracastor, Mercado, Fonseca, etc.); the five treatises concern (1) Hypochondriac affection, (2) true hypochondria, (3) syphilis, (4) *plica polonica*, and (5) malignant fever (MSS: British Museum, Add. 5984 (see Rieu, *CTM*, 125 f.), Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı (see Karatay, nos. 1799-1801), etc.).

(2) His son, Meḥmed Emīn, also a physician, followed at the same time the *ʿilmiyye* career and was for seven months in 1746/1159 S͟hayk͟h al-Islām (Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, iv, 537).

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(Ed.)

HAYĀṬILA, Arabic broken plural from Hayṭal, the name given by Islamic writers to the (H)ephthalites or White Huns, the Ye-Ta of the Chinese authors, a steppe people from Mongolia who settled along the Oxus during the fourth or fifth centuries A.D. and formed one, or perhaps several, powerful kingdoms. The first Huns to appear in K͟hurāsān, some twenty-five years earlier than the arrival of Huns in Europe, were the Chionites of Ammianus Marcellinus (XVI, 9, 4; XVII, 5, 1; XVIII, 6, 22). Their name may consist of the Pers. *xiyōn* 'Hun' + Gk. tribal ending -ῖται; though W. B. Henning (*ZDMG*, xc (1936), 17) regarded the termination of Ἐφθαλῖται as a Sogdian plural form. The Chionites attacked the eastern frontier of Iran *ca.* A.D. 350, but when opposed by Shapur II they came to terms, and eventually under their king Grumbates they joined his expedition against Roman Mesopotamia. At the siege of Amida (A.D. 359) the son of Grumbates was killed, and the body cremated, a striking detail which tallies with archaeological data for the European Huns (Nándor Fettich, *La trouvaille de tombe princière hunnique à Szeged-Nagyszéksós*, 105); from the Bishkent valley in Tād͟jikistān; and for Ḳaras͟hahr according to the *Chou shu*. Subsequent movements of certain 'Kidarite Huns' can be traced in Bactria and Gandhara, but the use of this designation by Priscus for the fifth century may involve an anachronism. The name, at least, derives from that of their first king, Kidara, well attested in the late fourth century by coins, and also in Chinese annals (cf. W. M. McGovern, *The early empires of Central Asia*, 408).

According to Ghirshman, the Chionites (who may indeed include the Kidarites) were identical with the (H)ephthalites; but sinologists such as McGovern and Enoki believed the latter were a fresh horde who descended on Tuk͟hāristān during the fifth century A.D. and drove the Kidarites into Gandhāra. Eastern invaders repulsed from Iran by Bahrām V in A.D. 427 may have been from either group. But it was specifically to the Hayāṭila that Fīrūz resorted for aid to gain the throne of Iran from his brother Hormizd III in A.D. 457. Later he turned against the Hayāṭila and attacked them, but was defeated and captured by their king, called Ak͟hs͟hunwār by al-Ṭabarī or K͟hus͟hnavāz by Firdawsī. He obtained his release by leaving his son Ḳubād as a hostage, but later ransoming him returned to the attack, and charged his cavalry into a hidden ditch to perish with all his men. According to Ṭabarī, i, 879, his opponent had the bodies interred in tumuli (*al-nawāwīs*). The classic account of the (H)ephthalites in this context is by Procopius, *Wars*, I, 3, who claims that though Huns by name and race, they did not live as nomads,

were of fair complexion and regular features (a detail scarcely corroborated by paintings at Bāmīyān) and practised inhumation of the dead, up to twenty of his boon-companions being buried with each chief. This contrasts with the cremation found amongst the Chionites. The Sāsānian Ḳubād owed his restoration in A.D. 488 or 9 to (H)ephthalite support. In A.D. 557 Khusraw Anūshirwān allied himself with the Khan of the Turks, called Sindjibū or Σιλζίβουλος in the Arabic and Byzantine sources, to crush the (H)ephthalites. The fullest account is that of Firdawsī, who names the vanquished ruler Ghātfar. This is apparently the Κάτουλφος of Menander Protector (*FHG*, IV, 206 and 225), who is called Wazar or Waraz in Ṭabarī, i, 859. After a fierce battle the Hayāṭila were dispersed, and their lands partitioned between the Turks and the Sāsānians. To the same period belongs the enigmatic ruler *npky MLKʾ*, whose name appears thus in Pahlavi script on coins of the Kābul area, and who may also have minted at Andarāb. The extent to which the kingdom of Zābulistān [*q.v.*], south of the Hindu Kush, was distinct from that of the Hephthalites in Bactria is disputable. Even after the arrival of the Arabs in Khurāsān during 31/651, (H)ephthalite survivors from Harāt took part in resistance to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir in Ḳūhistān (Ṭabarī, i, 2886), while as late as 85/704 others are mentioned with 'Tibetans' and 'Turks' during confused fighting in the rebellion of Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (Ṭabarī, ii, 1153). Yāḳūt, s.v. Bādghīs, calls this district the 'headquarters of the Hayāṭila' (*Dār mamlakat al-Hayāṭila*), a reminiscence of the tribe's participation in the wars of the local chief Ṭarkhān Nīzak against the Arab governors, in particular Ḳutayba b. Muslim. Earlier, the main centre of the Hayāṭila was probably at Ḳunduz.

Unless it survives in Khaldjī Turkish (see below), the language of the Hayāṭila is entirely unattested, like that of the European Huns. The 'Iranian' hypothesis of Ghirshman and Enoki—based on the coin legends in cursive Greek script, though these are sometimes difficult to decipher— has now been overtaken by the discovery of earlier inscriptions at Surkh Kotal which prove the language in question to have been the local Iranian dialect of Bactria. For the speech of the Hayāṭila themselves, the 'Turkish' hypothesis, supported by Minorsky's evidence, now holds the field. According to the *Chou Shu*, the Hayāṭila practised polyandry. Eastern Hun military equipment, probably Kidarite, is represented on a silver dish (O.M. Dalton, *The treasure of the Oxus*³, 1964, 53, no. 201), and included a straight sword, possibly two-handed, and a compound bow, but no stirrups. The view that such modern tribes as the now Pashtu-speaking Ghilzai-Khaldjī of Afghanistan, or the Turkish-speaking Khaladj of Iran represent descendants of the Hayāṭila was shown by Minorsky to have the authority of al-Khuwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 119. To connect the Persian-speaking Djāghurī of Afghanistan would also be attractive, but in all cases the links are very tenuous.

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ḤAYAWĀN "the animal kingdom", Arabic word derived from a Semitic root (cf. Hebrew חיה) implying a notion of life (*ḥayāt* [*q.v.*]). It is attested only once in the Ḳurʾān (XXIX, 64), where it means "the true life" and is used of the other world; the dictionaries state that a spring of Paradise is also called by this name, but the most usual meaning of *ḥayawān*, used as a singular or a collective, is an animal or animals in general, including man, who is more precisely called *al-ḥayawān al-nāṭiḳ*.

1. Lexicography. The fauna of the Arabian peninsula has been covered under AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT— v, and it is probable that it has scarcely changed since pre-Islamic times, except for the disappearance of the lion which occurred long ago, and the more recent disappearance of the ostrich; even in the peninsula however the ancient terminology, as found in the classical lexicographical works, has not always survived; furthermore, in the other Arabic-speaking countries, the indigenous or imported fauna, while it has common Mediterranean characteristics, does not have a nomenclature which is absolutely identical with that of ancient Arabia, for dialect terms have been formed or borrowed from local languages (see for instance V. Monteil, *Faune du Sahara occidental*, Paris 1951), and furthermore the same word may be applied in different regions to different animals [see esp. FANAK]. In general, however, for the better-known animals, the terminology is very similar throughout the Arabic-speaking countries.

As regards the classical period, this vocabulary formed the subject, as early as the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries, of a series of monographs dealing particularly with domestic animals (horse, camel, etc.), and the Arabic dictionaries have carefully recorded it; a lexicographical work such as the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīduh gives to animals a space proportionate to their importance in the life of the Arabs (vi, 135-viii, 186), and the richness of the Arabic vocabulary to describe certain species of animals has long been recognized. This wealth is due partly to the fact that investigators have collected terms belonging to various archaic dialects, partly to the multiplicity of metaphors used by the poets, and finally to a highly developed differentiation between the animals according to age, sex, ability to reproduce, colour of fur or plumage, formation of limbs, lips etc.; thus it is that Fr. Hommel, *Die Namen der Saügethiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern*, Leipzig 1879, records more than 120 words for the horse and more than 160 for the camel. However, the number of really specific terms varies, in accordance with various factors, from one to four:

(a) Most wild animals are indicated by one single term, if we exclude synonyms or the names of varieties which are difficult to identify (*ʿuḳāb* "eagle", fem.; *ṭāʾūs* "peacock", masc.; etc.).

(b) Two terms are used for: (1) wild animals which live in flocks: a collective noun and a noun of unity used for either sex (*naml* "ants"/*namla* "an ant"), but the noun of unity, characterized in this case by the same suffix as the feminine, tends to be felt as indicating the female (*ḥamām* "pigeons"/*ḥamāma* "a pigeon" > "a female pigeon"); (2) wild or domestic animals in which the sexes are distinguished: the masculine form is reserved for the species and for the male when the feminine form comes from the same root (*kalb* "dog"/*kalba* "bitch"); when the

opposite is the case, the word for the female, though grammatically feminine, has a masculine form and often indicates both the female and the species (*ḍabuʿ* (fem.) "hyena"/*ḏh̲ikh̲* (masc.) "male hyena").

(c) Three terms are used for a certain number of species: a collective noun, a noun of unity used regardless of sex, and a term to indicate the male of certain animals who live in flocks (*naʿām* "ostriches"/ *naʿāma* "an ostrich" of either sex/*ẓalīm* "male ostrich"). In cases such as *ḥimār* "donkey" / *ḥimāra* and *atān* "female donkey", *ḥimāra* seems to be a secondary fem. and not a noun of unity for either sex (cf. Hebrew *ḥamōr*/*atōn*).

(d) For some domestic species which live very close to the Bedouins, four terms can be found: one for the species, one for the individual regardless of sex, one for the female and a fourth for the male (*ibil* "camels" / *baʿīr* "one animal of the herd" / *nāḳa* "female camel" / *d̲j̲amal* "(male) camel"). In this category the name of the species is generally masculine in form but treated grammatically as feminine (*e.g.*, *ibil*, *g̲h̲anam*, etc.) because of the preponderance of females over males.

Examination of a certain number of names of animals shows that the name of the female is independent of that of the male and that the formation of the feminine by the addition of the suffix *-t* > *-a* is secondary; this "particularizing" suffix serves basically to form the nouns of unity used for either sex (*bag̲h̲la* means a he-mule as well as a she-mule) but, the females being always more numerous than the males among the animals which live in herds, the noun of unity comes to be confused with the noun for the female (*e.g.*, *dad̲j̲ād̲j̲a* "one fowl of the poultry yard" > "hen"). On this question, see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, 25 May 1960.

Among the great number of names found in the lexicographical or zoological works, the existence should be noted, along with specific or metaphorical terms, of appellations formed like the *kunya* [*q.v.*] or the *maʿrifa* [see IBN] of humans: *umm ḥubayn* "chameleon", *ibn āwā* "jackal", etc.; these metonymical forms, widely used throughout the centuries especially in Arabic dialects (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.vv. *ibn*, *abū*, *umm*), have sometimes ended by supplanting the corresponding specific term, but this cannot be considered as a systematic personification of the animals in question, for a number of plants have similar names; we might rather consider them as euphemisms used with prophylactic intent or as a kind of pet-name, notably for example when such an attractive creature as the sparrow is called *Abū Muḥriz*, *Abū Muzāḥim*, *Abū Yaʿḳūb*, etc.

2. Animals among the pre-Islamic Arabs. All the same the Bedouin, like other peoples, attributed to animals the qualities and the faults of humans, as is proved by a number of proverbs which are undoubtedly pre-Islamic. These proverbs almost all appear in the form of an elative followed by the name of the animal; thus generosity is attributed to the cock (*ask̲h̲ā min lāfiẓa*), perfidy to the lizard (*ak̲h̲daʿ min ḍabb*), stupidity to the bustard (*aḥmaḳ min ḥubārā*), boldness to the lion (*ad̲j̲raʾ min al-layt̲h̲*), etc. (see the collections of proverbs, and especially the index to the proverbs in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ).

It has been noticed moreover that a certain number of tribes of ancient Arabia bear the names of animals: Asad "lion", Ḳuraysh̲ "shark", etc. and it has been suggested that they might have a totemic significance; on this subject, W. R. Smith (*Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, London 1903) collected some factual details about survivals of animal cults, prohibitions of certain foods and other indications, and inferred from them the existence of a totemic system among the early Arabs; his theory has not on the whole, however, been accepted by ethnologists, and it is possible that the importance which the Bedouins of necessity attach to animals of every kind does not arise at all from totemism but is simply a form of animalism (see J. Henninger, in F. Gabrieli (ed.), *L'antica società beduina*, Rome 1959, 85-6 and references there given). It is perhaps worth recalling here that the early Arabs portrayed the souls of the departed in the form of a bird (*hāma*), usually a sort of owl, which flew for some time around the tomb and on occasion cried out for vengeance (see I. Goldziher, in *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 3 ff., analysed by G.-H. Bousquet, in *Arabica*, 1960/3, 257-60). Although the Prophet rejected this belief (*lā ʿadwᵃ wa-lā hāmatᵃ wa-lā ṣafarᵃ*), it has lived on under Islam in various forms [see ṬAYR].

The Ḳurʾān (V, 102/103, VI, 139/138 ff.) inveighs against the practices of the *d̲j̲āhiliyya* which consisted of consecrating certain animals to certain gods, or of applying a taboo to certain camels, sheep and other animals among the herds. The animalism of the early period included also, as well as the *baliyya* [*q.v.*], various sacrifices, concerning which it suffices to refer to the comprehensive work of J. Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955; a number of them, however, have been retained in Islam [see D̲H̲ABĪḤA] and Muslims today still perform sacrifices on many occasions (see, *e.g.*, A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 337-63). Animals were and still are associated with the practice of sympathetic magic such as *istimṭār* [*q.v.*]; even quite recent zoologists expatiate happily upon the method of interpreting the sight of one or another animal in a dream [see TAʿBĪR AL-RUʾYĀ], also on the magic properties of the different organs, of which sorcerers make great use [see SIḤR]. Fabulous animals inhabited the deserts [see G̲H̲ŪL], and it was often in animal form that the *d̲j̲inns* [*q.v.*] approached humans. Animals such as camels, horses, cows, sheep, greyhounds, cats and bees possess *baraka* [*q.v.*], but dogs, cats and others also possess the evil eye (on all these questions see E. Westermarck, *Pagan survivals in Mohammedan civilization*, London 1933, *passim*).

3. The creation of animals. Apart from the proverbs mentioned above, the folklore of early Arabia, in the form in which it has reached us, contains hardly any animal stories (see below); at the most we find legends explaining the creation or the modification of certain animals. Thus the mouse (*faʾra*) was a miller's wife or a Jewess who was metamorphosed; similarly certain lizards were formerly tax-gatherers, etc. (see al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, 197 and references). This question of animal metamorphoses (*mask̲h̲*) retains a certain importance, even under Islam, while the Ḳurʾān, apparently, solved the problem; for it states repeatedly that animals were created by God (II, 159/164, XXXI, 9/10, XLII, 29, XLIII, 11/12, XLV, 3/4) "[starting] from a liquid" (XXIV, 44/45) and that, of every thing, God "created a pair" (LI, 49). To the word *dābba* (pl. *dawābb*), which is used here instead of *ḥayawān* and refers more especially to riding animals and domestic animals, is opposed, in the verses intended to emphasize the Divine solicitude, the term *anʿām*, the herds, of which God sent down "eight (single) pairs" (XXXIX, 8/6; see also XXV, 51/49, XXXVI,

71); camels deserve a special mention for "they were created by Him for you" (XVI, 5).

However, early beliefs concerning the temporary or permanent metamorphoses of certain humans into animals are confirmed by such verses as "Those whom Allāh has cursed, against whom He has been angry, of whom He has made monkeys and pigs" (V, 65/60) or "We have said (to those who have broken the Sabbath): "Be despicable monkeys!' " (II, 61/65; see also VII, 166). There were two problems for commentators to solve: the first was to find out to what events the verses quoted above referred, and the second to examine the fate reserved for these creatures who had been metamorphosed. It goes without saying that the replies to the first question were various; al-Kisāʾī, for example (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 274 f.), considered that the monkeys were Israelites who had undergone metamorphosis in the time of David for having caught and cooked fish on a Saturday, and that the pigs (*op. cit.*, 307) are contemporaries of Jesus who did not believe in him. The same Kisāʾī, following other authors, thinks that the animals resulting from these metamorphoses multiplied, while others on the contrary think that they died without issue, that is to say that God had created independently the species in question (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, iv, 68). The belief in creation by metamorphosis or in the modification of certain animals is still current (see, *e.g.*, H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 185 ff.). To *maskh* is closely linked the question of metempsychosis, at least for the unorthodox sects and the theologians who admit the transmigration of souls into the bodies of animals [see ḤULŪL, TANĀSUKH]. We should note in passing that the Beast [see DĀBBA] is associated in Muslim eschatology with the Last Judgement and that a Ḳurʾānic verse (VI, 38): "No creature is there [crawling] on the earth, no bird flying with its wings, but they are nations like unto yourselves.... Then to their Lord they shall be mustered", permits commentators to consider that the animals too will experience the Resurrection and the Last Judgement [see ḲIYĀMA]. Furthermore, the Ḳurʾān, which mentions some dozen different species, contains five *sūra*s named after animals: the Cow (II), the Bee (XVI), the Ant (XXVIII), the Spider (XXIX), and the Elephant (CV)—the largest and the smallest creatures thus being included.

4. Animals and Muslim law. Islam concerns itself with animals in many other connexions, and there is hardly a chapter of Muslim law which does not deal with them. Domestic animals are subject to the *zakāt* [*q.v.*]; the sale of animals [see BAYʿ, TIDJĀRA] is bound by restrictions in connexion with the legality of the consumption of their flesh (*e.g.*, it is forbidden to sell pigs; however it is permitted to sell leeches, though it is forbidden to eat them); the question of their barter against other animals (see J. Schacht, *Origins*, 108) or of a contract for delivery with prepayment [see SALAM] is also debated; ritual sacrifices are the subject of precise instructions as is the killing of animals intended for eating [see DHABĪḤA]; to this chapter is connected that of hunting and game [see ṢAYD] and, secondarily, of furs [see FARW]; the prohibitions imposed on pilgrims in a state of *iḥrām* form another legal question [see ḤADJDJ and IḤRĀM], while some traditions of the Prophet lead to the posing of the question whether, outside the state of *iḥrām*, it is legal to kill certain animals and, on occasion, to eat their flesh. Thus the fundamental problem is reached, which concerns on the one hand food, and on the other the use for other purposes of one or another portion of a forbidden animal. In what follows we shall concern ourselves with the juridical status (*ḥukm*) of the various species of animals.

The Ḳurʾān enumerates on several occasions the prohibitions concerning the eating of the flesh of an animal which has not been ritually slaughtered, concerning the spilt blood, and the pig (V, 4/3; see also II, 168/173, VI, 146/145, XVI, 116/115), but in the last verse it provides for the lifting of the prohibitions in a case of absolute necessity (on the question of the pig, see KHINZĪR; for the spilt blood, we remember that the early Arabs, when they were dying of thirst in the desert, sometimes resigned themselves to slaughtering a camel and drinking its blood [*madjdūḥ*; see *Arabica*, 1955/3, 327]). Traditions of the Prophet and Islamic jurisprudence concede this *ḍarūra*, but in general they are much stricter, for they impose prohibitions upon species of which nothing is said in the Ḳurʾān, but without, it seems, restoring pre-Islamic practices (on which at present we possess only inadequate data). In fact the juridical schools have endeavoured, in a completely empirical way, to put an end to the uncertainty which existed in the early period of Islam (see I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 74) and to draw up lists of animals the consumption of which is lawful (*ḥalāl*), prohibited (*ḥarām*) or reprehensible (*makrūh*), without reaching absolute agreement (the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* of al-Damīrī, used with caution, is the most useful manual on this, for the author indicates the legal classification of each species according to the various schools).

In order to arrive at the *ḥukm*, several general criteria, Ḳurʾānic or based on tradition, have been applied by all the schools. Thus, by virtue of V, 97/96 "Permitted to you is the game of the sea and the food of it", all fish are lawful and their flesh may be eaten without ritual slaughter; however, some marine or aquatic animals are declared *ḥarām* or *makrūh*, or are still the subject of discussions, for they come within the sphere in which other criteria are applied; thus the frog, which would normally be *ḥalāl*, is regarded as *ḥarām* because the Prophet forbade the killing of it (see below). Moreover, some *fuḳahāʾ* zealots, in their meticulous search for anything impure, condemn the eating of those aquatic animals which have names resembling those of unlawful land animals ("dog of the sea", "pig of the sea", "ass of the sea"; their zeal leads them to prohibit an animal which has the same name as a forbidden animal even in a language other than Arabic, as with the ass, which in West Africa has the same name as the pig, cf. A. Gouilly, *L'Islam dans l'Afrique occidentale française*, Paris 1952, 205), or those which have the same shape (especially the eel, which is the same shape as the serpent). They go so far as to declare unlawful all marine creatures which have not got the shape of fishes (Ḥanafīs), with the explanation that the Ḳurʾānic text authorizes fishing, but not necessarily the eating of everything caught (al-Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, ms. Paris ar. 6763, fol. 248 v.). Special cases are the scatophagous fishes, fishes found inside the belly of another fish, and above all the *ṭāfī*, dead fish floating in the water, which is lawful only for the Mālikīs and the Shāfiʿīs, though the Ḥanafīs permit the *ṭāfī* if it has been killed by an accident and has not died a natural death, which leads to a discussion of whether death from heat or cold is to be considered as natural (al-Marghīnānī, *op. cit.*, fol. 249 v.). The crustaceans are often

unlawful or reprehensible, as is the whole class of animals with shells.

By virtue of the verses (V, 6-7/4-5) "The good things (*ṭayyibāt*) are permitted you", we find included in the chapter of what is *ḥalāl* those animals whose flesh is esteemed for its flavour (chickens, sheep, etc.); conversely, the peacock and other animals are declared *ḥarām* because of the bad quality of their flesh. By the same token *istiḳdhār* or *istikhbāth*, *i.e.*, the habit of consuming unpleasant food, causes animals possessing it to be classed among those which are *ḥarām*: *e.g.*, scarab beetles. In this field there is a certain amount of indecision and not a little subtlety: the stork for example, which would be *ḥalāl*, is regarded as *ḥarām* because it eats snakes. Snakes themselves are *ḥalāl*, but eating them classes the stork among the carnivores. Indeed, among the Traditions of the Prophet which are also invoked, there is one (see Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 32; Zayd b. ʿAlī, *Corpus iuris*, no. 538), which was to serve also as the basis for a division into *bahāʾim* and *sibāʿ* (see below), and according to which all carnivores are forbidden whether they are mammals equipped with fangs (*dhu nāb*) or birds provided with claws (*dhū mikhlab*); but it is not universally accepted, and the Mālikīs (see al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed. and tr. Bercher, ³Algiers 1949, 299) permit the eating of the flesh of birds of prey, while the Awzāʿīs (see al-Damīrī, s.v. *al-bāzī*) consider that no bird is *ḥarām*. All the jurisconsults regard the cat, the dog, the wolf, the crocodile etc. as *ḥarām*, and travellers report with disgust any cases of eating dogs which they witness (see, *e.g.*, al-Muḳaddasī, *Description de l'Occident musulman*, Algiers 1950, 61 and n. 172); the fox is generally considered as lawful, the jackal and the wild cat are the subject of disagreement, and the hyena is lawful, except for the Mālikīs, who pronounce it *makrūh*. (The Prophet, questioned on the lawfulness of the hyena, is said to have replied: "But who eats the hyena?"; see al-Damīrī, s.v. *arnab*; Ibn Mādja, xxviii, 15; al-Tirmidhī, xxiii, 4). The classification of the elephant is disputed, for although it is a herbivore, it possesses means of defence which are termed *nāb* in Arabic.

According to another *ḥadīth* the Prophet is said to have forbidden the killing of bees (because God made a revelation to them [see NAḤL]), ants (for the same reason [see NAML]), frogs (because they were close to God when the Throne was upon the water and because their croaking is a praise to God), hoopoes (because of the part which one of them played with Solomon [see HUDHUD]), and finally the *ṣurad* (magpie) which was the first to fast; it follows that it is also forbidden to eat the flesh of these animals, although opinions do not altogether agree on this. Swallows and bats are the subjects of the same prohibition because the Prophet forbade the killing of them for similar reasons, but the jurisconsults are far from agreeing on the authenticity of the *ḥadīths* about them. Conversely, certain animals are *ḥarām* because the Prophet ordered them to be killed for their impious conduct; these *fawāsiḳ* are the kite (*ḥidāʾa*), the black and white crow (*abḳaʿ*), the scorpion, the mouse and the *ʿaḳūr* dog; the kite and the dog are already included in another prohibition; the other varieties of crow are lawful, while the prohibition concerning the mouse extends to all rodents with the exception of the jerboa, which in any case is sometimes classed among the *ḥasharāt* or insects, which are considered as *ḥarām*, except by the Mālikīs; thus the scorpion is already forbidden under this heading, but the idea of *ḥasharāt* is rather confused, for among them is found the lizard (which is *ḥalāl*) and the hedgehog (*ḥalāl* among the Shāfiʿīs); on the other hand, locusts [see DJARĀD], which form a supplementary food for the Bedouin, are not forbidden by any school, even if found dead (this, with fish, is one of the two *maytas* which according to one *ḥadīth* are lawful). But some insist that they must have been intentionally killed and their heads cut off. (Yet against this may be cited ʿAlī, who is reputed to have said *kulhu kullahu* "eat them all", when shown a heap of locusts some of which were already dead; al-Marghīnānī, *op. cit.*, fol. 249 v.). Reptiles are in general considered unlawful or reprehensible, except among the Mālikīs who merely apply the criterion of harmfulness and authorize the eating even of poisonous snakes if the poisonous part has been cut off. The lizard (*ḍubb*), however, is often recognized as lawful, by virtue of some *ḥadīths* which state that the Prophet abstained from them merely because of personal dislike, but some others say that this species represents a tribe of the Banū Isrāʾīl which had been metamorphosed, and this leads to their being prohibited (al-Bukhārī, lxx, 10, 28; Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 27; al-Dārimī, vii, 80; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 111 f., etc.; cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 93). Animals which are considered to have no liquid blood are in general regarded as lawful, since blood is what constitutes the impurity of animals which have not been ritually slaughtered (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 83). Many, however, are forbidden (except by the Mālikīs) because of the disgust which is felt for them and which causes them to be classed among the *khabāʾith*, "unclean foods", discouraged by the Ḳurʾān (VII, 156/157). This vicious circle, from the logical point of view, is moreover applied to other foods and allows all prohibitions to be canonized. This is particularly true for the *ḥasharāt al-arḍ*, (sometimes *khashāsh*), a term which embraces in a variable and inconsequential way the small animals which live on the ground, and are in general forbidden or reprehensible, in spite of a *ḥadīth* (Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 29a; cf. Damīrī, s.v.). They include scorpions, all kinds of insects, and worms. Concerning the latter there is much disagreement, for it is difficult not to eat them accidentally with other foods. Some schools make efforts to distinguish those which have been engendered by the food itself from those which have not, those which are alive or dead, those which have *rūḥ* or not (cf. discussion by al-Djazīrī, *Kitāb al-Fiḳh*, ii, 3 and n. 1).

In general birds without talons are permitted, but certain of them are the subjects of discussion, and receive different classifications according to the schools; this is the case notably with the parrot and the owl.

It goes without saying that a certain number of animals have not received any classification, because it has not occurred to anyone to eat their flesh. Similarly for very rare species the question has not been solved because it has not arisen; thus al-Damīrī mentions that nobody has been concerned with the rhinoceros, which he himself considers at first sight to be *ḥalāl*; the case of the giraffe is disputed; and finally the monkey is regarded as *ḥarām* except by the Mālikīs; here there intervenes, as in the case of the *nisnās* (see Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, London 1938, 105, tr. 34) the new idea of a resemblance between animals and humans, which, by a kind of natural law, prevents people eating these creatures without a formal prohibition being necessary (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *apud* al-Damīrī, s.v. *ḳird*, where is found moreover a *ḥadīth* condemning the eating of monkeys).

Among domestic animals, while the camel, the ox, the sheep etc. present no problem, the equidae give rise to disagreements; the horse is lawful for the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs, while the other schools consider it *makrūh*; the domestic ass is *ḥarām*, except for the Ḥanbalīs who regard it as *makrūh*, while the wild ass is *ḥalāl* for all schools except the Ḥanafīs. The mule, arising from a crossing of two differently classified species, is prohibited, except that, at least for those who regard the horse as *ḥalāl*, the offspring of a horse and a wild she-ass is permitted.

In contrast to the other schools, the Ẓāhirīs, and particularly Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], remain faithful to their fundamentalist criterion and base themselves on Ḳurʾān, VI, 119 "... seeing that He has distinguished for you that He has forbidden you", to reject prohibitions which are not found in the Ḳurʾān.

The S̲h̲īʿīs do not differ radically from the Sunnīs; although they differ from them on points of detail, they nevertheless base their decisions on identical criteria. Thus the *ḳāḍī* al-Nuʿmān (*Kitāb al-Iḳtiṣār*, ed. Muḥ. Waḥīd Mīrzā, Damascus 1376/1957, 95-6), who sets forth the doctrine of the Ismāʿīlīs, points out that God has forbidden the eating of carrion, spilt blood and pork (Ḳurʾān, V, 4/3) and that the Prophet declared unlawful carnivores with fangs and birds with talons (see above); he adds that the hyena and the fox are forbidden, and that the eating of the lizard, the hedgehog, insects (*ḥas̲h̲arāt*), snakes and all the small reptiles or insects included under the name of *k̲h̲as̲h̲ās̲h̲* is to be discouraged; only locusts caught alive while in flight are permitted. However, the S̲h̲īʿīs include among the flesh which is forbidden or reprehensible that of several particular birds (the lark etc.) and that of two new categories: birds which hover more than they fly, and birds which lack both a gizzard and other organs (Querry, *Droit musulman*, ii, 232 ff.). The Ismāʿīlīs authorize the eating of horse-meat only in the case of an animal useless for any work, and they forbid absolutely the flesh of mules and domestic donkeys; also *ḥarām* are animals which habitually eat excrement (*d̲j̲allāla*), unless they have been fed a certain time on herbage. It is also *ḥarām* to consume the milk or the eggs of forbidden animals, but abstention from eating certain parts of permitted animals—the glands, the spleen, the genitals etc.—is also recommended. Among aquatic animals those which have no *ḳis̲h̲r*, *i.e.*, scales (cf. Leviticus, XI, 9, Deut. XIV, 9) are forbidden, as are those which are not alive when caught. In cases of necessity, however, all these prohibitions are waived.

These general considerations leave the way open for argument, especially in the case of animals which are difficult to classify; an example is the cat-fish (*d̲j̲irrī*; see H. Laoust, *Profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, 136-8). Divergences appear as well among the S̲h̲īʿī sects; thus Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 352; tr. Gibb, ii, 468) relates that for the Ḥanafī inhabitants of Sinope (Ṣanūb) the best way of assuring themselves that a traveller and his companions adhered to Sunnism was to offer them a hare, for the Rāfiḍīs do not eat the flesh of this animal (though the Ismāʿīlīs do).

To the question of the legality of killing certain animals is added the forbidding of pilgrims in the state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] to shed blood, from which arises the problem of how one is to deal with vermin; the question arises also in connexion with prayer [see ṢALĀT].

At another level arises the question of the way in which animals are to be treated; for example it is permitted to kill a cock, but the Prophet forbade reviling it because it performs the religious function of awakening the Faithful at the time of prayer; the same rule applies to fleas "who awakened a prophet". In general Muslims are counselled to treat animals, and particularly their mounts, well, for they will have to give account in the next world of any cruelty which they have inflicted on them in this (on behaviour towards animals, see G.-H. Bousquet, *Des animaux et de leur traitement selon le Judaïsme, le Christianisme et l'Islam*, in *St. Isl.*, ix (1958), 31-48; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, ch. xxii).

The problem presented by the use of the parts of animals regarded as *ḥarām* is a complex one which cannot be given here the full treatment which it deserves (al-Damīrī gives precise details on this topic). By way of example, among the Mālikīs (al-Ḳayrawānī, *op. cit.*, 297), the Muslim who has had of necessity to eat the flesh of an animal not ritually slaughtered may not use its skin as a prayer rug, nor may he sell it. Similarly, before the skins of wild beasts (*sibāʿ*) may be used as prayer rugs, or sold, it is necessary for them to have been ritually slaughtered. Although pigs are forbidden in the Ḳurʾān, the Mālikīs allow the use of hogs' bristles.

It is hardly possible within the limits of this article to enlarge on the subject of the lawfulness of animals, the complexity of which in Islamic law is due to what the doctors consider to be the insufficiency of the Ḳurʾānic regulations. Prohibitions concerning food being considered necessary—as is proved by the fact that later "prophets" hastened to enact more of them [see, *e.g.*, ḤĀ-MĪM]—the schools, in order to develop the system outlined in the verses at the beginning of this section, applied various criteria (on which they are not always unanimous), so that in order to present this intricate subject more completely, it would be necessary to list all the animals and to indicate for each one the *ḥukm* adopted by each of the different schools. It would also be instructive to compare these classifications with the Biblical regulations (Leviticus, XI, 1-47; Deuteronomy, XIV, 4-21; see also Isaiah, LXV, 4, LXVI, 3, 17) and with the criteria laid down: it is lawful to eat ruminant quadrupeds with cloven hoofs (this excludes the horse, the donkey, the camel, the rabbit, the hare and the pig), also aquatic animals equipped with fins and scales; birds which are held in abomination and reptiles which are lawful are listed separately. The prohibitions set forth in the Old Testament are regarded in the Ḳurʾān (IV, 158/160) as a punishment inflicted on the Jews for their iniquity and their disobedience to God, and the Holy Book of Islam had no reason to be so severe, but the scruples of the *fuḳahāʾ* led them to adopt a more rigorous position and to restrict the alleviations from which Muslims could benefit. In certain cases custom supersedes a legal ruling which is considered to be too liberal: thus, the coney (*wabr*) is in general considered lawful, in contrast to the Biblical regulation, but it is the object of prohibitions based on custom, for example among the Egyptian Bedouin (see G. W. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*, London 1935, 90), or among the settled communities of Southern Arabia (see Freya Stark, *The southern gates of Arabia*, Penguin ed., London 1945, 67 f.).

5. Animals in literature. Several animal species occupy a notable place in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. To give an idea of the extent of this, in vol. i of *al-Mad̲j̲ānī 'l-ḥadīt̲h̲a* of F. al-Bustānī, Beirut 1945, which provides a representative survey of this poetry, are mentioned, under various names, about

80 animals among which camels [see IBIL], horses [see FARAS], ostriches [see NAʿĀM] and lions [see ASAD] are the most frequent (M. M. D. al-Nowaihi has studied this question in an unpublished thesis presented at London in 1942: *Animals in ancient Arabic poetry* [excluding the horse and the camel]; a thesis entitled *Le chameau dans la poésie arabe antéislamique*, by E. K. Zakharia, is in course of preparation at Paris).

In Arabic poetry in the Islamic period, animals of the desert naturally tend to occupy a less important place, even among the classical and neo-classical writers, although these continue to describe their camels and to boast of their journeys across the empty spaces; in spite of the abundance of new sources of inspiration, the "modernists" did not hesitate to display their linguistic knowledge in *ṭaradiyyāt* [*q.v.*] in which they built up artificially an extraordinarily rich vocabulary. Some of them wrote charming verses on pet animals, especially Muḥ. b. Yasīr (see Ch. Pellat, *Muḥammad b. Yasīr al-Riyāshī wa-ashʿāruh*, in *Machriq*, 1955, 289-338) or al-Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḳāsim (see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 229 and index), who composed elegies on goats, cats, birds (see K. A. Fariq, *An ʿAbbāsid secretary-poet who was interested in animals*, in *IC*, xxiv (1950), 261-70). During the following centuries the crow [see GHURĀB] and the lion retain their place in literature (for they symbolize respectively the sadness of separation, and strength and boldness), while new species appear: *e.g.*, the elephant and the giraffe. Descriptions of nature induce new themes and original symbols, and the poets describe the ugliest animals as well as the pleasantest; the pigeon [see ḤAMĀM], the nightingale [see BULBUL], the peacock [see ṬĀʾŪS] are used as symbols, not only in Arabic, but also in Persian and in Turkish literature. The poets of the Muslim West concerned themselves very much with pets, ignoring the camel, which they scarcely knew (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 235-47).

In the field of prose the situation is quite different. No stories of animals are found in pre-Islamic Arabia, which in any case did not, generally speaking, possess a very highly developed folklore [see ḤIKĀYA], and the fables attributed to Luḳmān [*q.v.*] date for the most part from after the beginning of Islam. The translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] was thus something of a revelation, but it remained a masterpiece which was occasionally imitated but never surpassed. First should be mentioned the verse rendering of these fables by Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*], then that by Ibn al-Habbāriyya [*q.v.*] in his *Natāʾidj al-fiṭna fī naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna*; next the imitations of Sahl b. Hārūn [*q.v.*] in his *K. Thaʿlā wa-ʿAfrā* and his *K. al-Namir wa 'l-thaʿlab* (a ms. of which has just been identified in Tunis; see ʿA. al-Mhīrī, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-Djāmiʿa al-Tūnusiyya*, i (1964), 19-40), of Ibn Ẓafar [*q.v.*] in his *Sulwān al-muṭāʿ fī ʿudwān al-atbāʿ*, as well as the *K. al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāghim* of Ibn al-Habbāriyya and the *Fākihat al-khulafāʾ* of Ibn ʿArabshāh [*q.v.*]. None of these works appears to have gained the same success as *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and it may be said that Arabic literature still awaits its La Fontaine.

We note also that a certain number of animals are introduced in the *Thousand and one nights* and that in it the theme of metamorphosis is widely used (see N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits*, Beirut 1949, 93, 142-4, 193 and *passim*; M. I. Gerhardt, *The art of story-telling*, Leiden 1963, 305 ff.).

Apart from *djinn*s and *ghūl*s (see above) there exists also a certain number of fabulous animals, mainly birds [see ʿANḲĀʾ, RUKHKH, SĪMURGH].

In the folklore of certain regions of the Muslim world animal stories are most numerous; in North Africa, in particular, they form an important element of the native Berber literature and show numerous affinities with the corresponding western tales; here it is the jackal [see IBN ĀWĀ], half way between the wolf and the fox, which is the central figure (see H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 240 ff.). In the dialectical Arabic of North Africa, the perceptible Berber influence is added to the eastern borrowings drawn principally from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*; apart from the jackal, the most usual figures are well-known animals: the donkey, the ox, the ram, the he-goat, the hen, the dog, the cat, as well as the fox, the gazelle, the hyena and the lion. Most of the manuals and collections of texts in dialect Arabic reproduce some of these stories (see Bibl. of the art. ḤIKĀYA). (CH. PELLAT)

6. Animals in art. Representations of animals occupy only a restricted place in the art of the Islamic countries, limited by the tendencies towards non-representationalism and decorative abstraction which typify this art and which, though varying considerably from one region and one period to another in their development, contribute in large measure to the originality of Muslim civilization [see FANN]. For it was primarily religious restrictions which led to the prohibition of all representations of living beings and which explain their total absence from public buildings such as mosques. Such restrictions, however, in no way prevented painted or sculptured compositions of a secular character from taking their inspiration from nature, and in particular from fauna, even when they avoided too precise a delineation of physical form, or from frequently testifying, within the bounds of Islamic culture, to the continuance or revival of very ancient traditions.

A systematic inventory of the zoomorphic figures thus used and their main types has not yet been undertaken. The diversity of the various fields in which such an inquiry would have to be conducted, from architectural ornament to illustrations of manuscripts and ranging through all the luxury articles produced by craft-work, suffices to show its importance. But the results obtained would no doubt vary greatly according to the nature and material of the objects under consideration [see ʿĀDJ, BILLAWR, etc.]. It would also reveal the differences of treatment accorded to each species of animal, based on ideas derived either from literature or from daily observation as well as symbolic and magic significance [see ASAD, FĪL, etc.]. This point has been made clear in the all too rare studies of any profundity based on certain iconographic animal motifs, such as, for example, the unicorn or the ibex devouring a snake (cf. R. Ettinghausen, *Studies in Muslim iconography, I, The unicorn*, Washington 1950, and *The "Snake-eating Stag" in the East*, in *Late and mediaeval studies in honour of Albert Mathias Friend Jr.*, Princeton 1955, 272-86).

Even before other investigations of this kind are undertaken, it may be stated that certain animal figures, employed as much for their ornamental qualities as for the different connotations that they might convey and often associated with the glorification of royal power, made their appearance in Islamic art as early as the Umayyad period. Certain elements of the bestiary were thus incorporated in the sculptures carved in half-relief on the façade of the

palace of Mshatta [*q.v.*], while subjects of the same order, though more familiar, were painted on the vaulting of the bath at Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra [*q.v.*], and the principal mosaic of the castle of Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*] had as its theme two facing gazelles grazing and a lion attacking one of them, on each side of a majestic tree. Mention must also be made of the realistic representation of a galloping horse and wounded deer in a fresco of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.v.*], for in these experiments we can see the first illustrations of a taste which was subsequently to prove enduring in the Muslim world. For a long time, indeed, the decoration of palaces and rich mansions sought to find a place for a whole stock of more or less stereotyped animal motifs taken from the Sāsānid or Hellenistic East, and later associated with the life of luxury and pleasure lived by the new holders of sovereign power.

The same reasons explain the frequency of these motifs on articles of furniture connected with the daily routine of princely life and, whether ceramics or metal artefacts or even precious fabrics, characterized alike by the need to ensure the glory, happiness and good fortune of the patrons who had ordered them. For this reason, particular preference was shown for representations of those animals which had long been utilized as the symbols of royal power (the lion, the bird of prey, etc.), which might evoke the sovereign's pastimes (hunting scenes), or which had been endowed with some beneficent properties of talismanic and astrological origin (signs of the Zodiac). These images provided the craftsmen with the essential elements for linear decorations (painted, engraved, or worked on a flat surface) which generally combined interlaced floral and geometrical forms with bands embellished with strings of quadrupeds or birds, as well as medallions decorated with figures exactly repeated or sometimes symmetrically facing each other. They also formed the subject of the rarer sculptures in relief imitating the silhouettes of well-known animals especially for ewers and incense-burners.

Examples of this kind remain relatively rare during the earliest centuries of Islam, from which period we can cite only the bronzes influenced by Sāsānid tradition, such as the group to which belongs the so-called aiguière of Marwān II. But their number steadily increased with the development of ʿAbbāsid civilisation and its growing receptivity to foreign customs, some of which were tainted with heterodoxy. A significant proof of this is afforded by the Buwayhid articles of goldsmith's work or textiles which, with due observance of the aesthetic laws of stylization and repetition, were decorated with such animals as felines, ibexes, elephants, eagles, peacocks and even griffins (analyses of these motifs in G. Wiet, *Soieries persanes*, Cairo 1947). But we can also take as an example the ivory boxes made in Muslim Spain in the 4th/10th century [see ʿĀDJ] and Egyptian Fāṭimid sculptures in crystal, ivory or wood (see particularly G. Marçais, *Les figures d'hommes et de bêtes dans les bois sculptés d'époque fâtimite conservés au Musée arabe du Caire*, in *Mélanges Maspéro III*, 1935-40, 241-57), not forgetting the dishes and bowls of faïence with lustre decoration that were made at that time in different parts of the Muslim world.

Of these various instances in which animal decoration takes a prominent place, some employ a range of figures of "heraldic" style, to be found principally in ʿIrāḳ or Iran, and whose Sāsānid antecedents can be recognized without difficulty: simplified interpretations of these motifs appear even in the most common types of ornamented pottery (see, for examples from the 5th/11th century, sherds found at Bust and studied in J.-C. Gardin, *Lashkari-Bazar II. Les trouvailles*, 45-9 and index). Other figures reveal the appearance of touches of a delicate realism which, in their veracity of detail or sense of movement, renew the handling of classical subjects and give an authentic freedom of posture to the animals carved on Egyptian panels or painted with rapid strokes on pottery of the same origin (cf. the remarks of R. Ettinghausen, *Early realism in Islamic Art*, in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, i, Rome 1956, 250-73). But it was above all in Saldjūḳid or later art, in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries and from the time when the expansion of the new Turkish empires had opened up the way in the Near East to increased Iranian and Asiatic influences, that the effects of this realism made themselves felt most forcefully.

It was then that the most remarkable animal-shaped metalwork objects known in the Islamic countries were produced, objects which, in recent years, successive exhibitions devoted to Iranian art have made it possible to bring together and compare. At the same period, on public buildings in Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia, there appeared numerous representations of animals, carved in stone or stucco and intended primarily to serve as talismans, sometimes inspired by an astral symbolism then very widespread (motif of knotted dragons, selected signs of the Zodiac) (cf. M. van Berchem, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, 78 ff., and D. S. Rice, *Medieval Harran*, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii (1952), 65-6). With these we may compare the types of contemporary coinage, especially the Artuḳid and Dānishmendid, which provided similar motifs—in earlier periods, only a medal of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil had borne on the obverse the figure of a dromedary (cf. T. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928, pl. LIX d) —while a later echo is to be found in the "lions of Baybars" which were to mark, as though with a coat-of-arms, the principal constructions and foundations of this Mamlūk sultan.

In the same period too zoomorphic figures were utilized in linear ornamentation to decorate the walls of public buildings or on specimens of the minor arts (see the analyses of decorations of this type, with excellent drawings, in the studies of D. S. Rice devoted to specimens of Islamic metal-work inlaid with silver). The masterpieces which owe a large proportion of their interest to such manifestations belong as much to Iran or Saldjūḳid Anatolia as to Syria and Egypt (first under the Ayyūbids, then the Mamlūks), and not forgetting the region of Mosul (for its workshops of bronze-workers, see AL-MAWṢIL). But it must be noted that only the provinces of Khurāsān witnessed the development of those astonishing types of zoomorphic inscriptions, restricted to objects in metal, which have quite recently attracted attention and which made use of the silhouettes of animals either to delineate the actual characters, or else to "animate" them by outlining them within the interlaced foliage which formed the background (see D. S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Paris 1955, 21-33). No doubt this must be regarded as the most perfect example of the adaptation of fauna to the requirements of the arabesque to be found among the typical aspects of ancient art in Islam.

It was moreover in the Iranian or Indo-Iranian arts that, during the later periods, the taste for

animal motifs continued to serve as a pretext for ornamental stylizations that are full of freshness and delicacy, while in the other regions of the Muslim world they were gradually abandoned. Ṣafawid brocades and carpets thus provide, up to a recent period, an illustration of the resources of this at once graceful and conventional repertory, which research in the Mongol period had successfully revived, but which thereafter was to remain unknown to Muslim artisans working elsewhere than in Persia.

Side by side with these zoomorphic elements of Islamic decoration, we must also not overlook the representations of animals multiplied, though in quite a different spirit, by Muslim painters and miniaturists, who very frequently took their models from the animal world and succeeded in giving interpretations of markedly ornamental character, yet sometimes not devoid of exactness or even realism.

Indeed, even in an ancient period, at the time of the rise of what it has recently been suggested should be called "Arab painting" (cf. R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, Geneva 1962), and which corresponds more precisely with a flowering that took place in post-Saldjūḳid Irako-Mesopotamian or even Syro-Egyptian culture (from the end of the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th century), the actual nature of the works illustrated, books of *adab* including collections of fables or technical treatises sometimes touching on zoology, further encouraged the very particular popularity that representations of animals then enjoyed. By way of example it will suffice to refer to the illuminated copies of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ which have survived (copies in Paris, B.N., Ar. 3465 and 3467; Munich, Staatsbibl. C. arab. 616; Cairo, Nat. Lib., Pers. lit. 61; Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Pococke 400) as well as copies of the two *K. Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān* edited by Ibn Bakhtīshūʿ (in Persian; New York, Morgan Lib., M. 500; Washington, Freer Gall. No. 27-5) and by Ibn al-Durayhim al-Mawṣilī (Escorial, Ar. 898), without overlooking the *K. al-Bayṭara* of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Aḥnaf (Istanbul, Topkapı Saray, Ahmet III 2115) or the *Kashf al-asrār* of Ibn Ghānim al-Maḳdisī (Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Lala Ismail 565) and the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of al-Djāḥiẓ (see O. Löfgren, *Ambrosian fragments of an illuminated manuscript containing the zoology of al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1946).

But in these various works, to which might be added the "genre scenes" with figures of familiar animals found occasionally in other illustrated manuscripts of the same period (see, for example, the scenes known as "the herd of camels", "the departure of the caravan", or "the discussion near a village" in a MS of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Harīrī: Paris, B.N., Ar. 5847), it is of particular interest to note a stylistic continuity which makes it permissible to speak of a style of portrayal of animals peculiar to the pictorial art thus represented. This style might essentially be defined as the "combination of shrewd perception of the animal's special qualities with a natural way of presenting them" (R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, 136).

In point of fact, in the earliest known copy of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, of the beginning of the 7th/13th century (MS Paris, B.N. ar. 3465), it is easy to see what care has been taken to give life and expressiveness to animal forms, little by little escaping from the conventionalism inherent in the traditional Iranian style, which incidentally is reflected in the balance of each picture. The apogee of this tendency is ultimately found in such a typical work of the so-called Baghdād school as the MS Ḥarīrī-Schéfer previously referred to, signed by a certain al-Wāsiṭī in 634/1237. It can be seen to disappear finally with the rise of the formalism that was to characterize Mamlūk painting, while it was to be reborn in a new form in the truly Persian schools of painting which were to take shape after the rupture brought about by the Mongol conquest. These schools were indeed to preserve the feeling of the animal's movement, even when in place of the earlier attempts at realism they substituted the return to a more ornamental conception of the different subjects treated and when their masterpieces took shape under the inspiration of extremely varied aesthetic sensibilities (in addition to the classical works on the subject, see the recent work of B. Gray, *Persian painting*, Geneva 1961).

Thus it is possible to confer upon the Muslim miniaturists, considered as a whole, the well-deserved epithet of "master animal-painters", a title which it would seem difficult to reconcile with the regulations restricting the freedom of the creative imagination in that civilization, but which none the less justly emphasizes one of the most attractive aspects of art in Islam.

Bibliography: There is no comprehensive study devoted to this question. Various individual studies have been referred to in the text. For further study of certain of the aspects discussed above, reference should be made to K. A. C. Creswell, *A Bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam*, London 1961, to which may now be added E. J. Grube, *Three miniatures from Fusṭāṭ in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, in *Ars Or.*, v (1963), 89, 95, and H. Goetz, *Indo-Islamic figural sculpture*, *ibid.*, 235-41.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

7. Zoology among the Muslims. On the scientific plane, one might have thought that the works devoted to animals by Aristotle [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS], the founder of rational zoology, would have allowed those Arab scholars who were willing to use the results of Greek learning to make great progress in the knowledge of the animal kingdom and to introduce zoology among the disciplines cultivated by the Muslims, on a level with, for example, scientific geography, mathematics or medicine. But, in spite of Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ's translation of Aristotle's *Historia animalium* (2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries), zoology has never been a very popular discipline and the increasingly limited place which it occupies in the various theoretical classifications of the sciences is significant in this respect. In the classification of Aristotle it forms an integral part of "physics", linked with psychology, and it is still found with the soul (*nafs*) among the physical and natural sciences (*al-ʿilm al-ṭabīʿī*) in al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, ed. ʿUthmān Amīn, Cairo 1949, 99 (see L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introd. à la théol. mus.*, 106); it appears as an independent science among the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Gardet-Anawati, 109), is classed among foreign sciences in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-Khʷārizmī (Gardet-Anawati, 111), but is no longer found in the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī (Gardet-Anawati, 117), or in the *Prolegomena* of Ibn Khaldūn (Gardet-Anawati, 123-4). It does not seem either to have interested al-Ḳalḳashandī, who does not cite any work of zoology proper among *Les classiques du scribe égyptien* (G. Wiet, in *St. Isl.*, xviii, 50-3).

This growing indifference to zoology shown by Arab thinkers and writers is very difficult to explain

when one considers the interest taken in animals by Muslim law, but is probably due in great part to the absence of organized research and specialist works of truly scientific character, although zoological gardens (*ḥayr al-waḥsh*) in which the rarest and fiercest species of animals had been assembled at great expense (see A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 383; Eng. tr., 404-5, where also organized combats are mentioned) ought to have aroused the curiosity of scholars and encouraged them to undertake thorough studies. But zoology among the Muslims remained at the literary, or perhaps one may say the religious stage; it cannot even be called descriptive in the works of those authors who have made efforts to give some order to previously discovered facts and to produce alphabetical catalogues. The innocent cause of this deficiency is very probably al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], the author of a monumental *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* in seven volumes, the confessed aim of which is not the scientific study of the animal species but the demonstration of the existence of the Creator through the observation of His creation (ii, 109 ff., iii, 209 ff.) and the glorification of the Divine Wisdom which has created nothing completely useless or harmful: dangerous or malicious animals (which it is permissible to kill, i, 307-8) are in fact a trial (*miḥna*) imposed on men by God (iii, 300). Al-Djāḥiẓ is perfectly well acquainted with Aristotle and allows himself on occasion to criticize him (*e.g.*, vi, 17) and quotes from him quite extensively (see Ṭ. al-Ḥādjirī, *Takhrīdj nuṣūṣ arisṭaṭāliyya min Kitāb al-Ḥayawān li 'l-Djāḥiẓ*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Alexandria 1953 ff.), but he is convinced that he has no need of recourse to Greek ideas, given that practically all that is found in the zoological works of the "philosophers" is known already to the Bedouins (iii, 268); thus, though an admirer of the *Ṣāḥib al-Manṭiḳ*, he deliberately ignores Aristotle's principles of classification, admittedly rather negative and difficult to grasp (see *Parties des animaux*, tr. J.-M. Le Blond, Paris 1945, i, 66), in order to adhere to a rudimentary empiricism.

After having stated (i, 26) that created things are divided into three categories: *muttafiḳ* (similar), *mukhtalif* (different), *mutaḍādd* (opposite), al-Djāḥiẓ, after some hesitation as to the place to give to the stars, the four elements, etc., distinguishes on the one hand inorganic (*djamād* = inert) and on the other organic matter (*nāmin* = growing). He then divides the organic section into two "kingdoms": animal (*ḥayawān*) and vegetable (*nabāt*); the animal kingdom is in turn subdivided into four branches according to the way in which the animal moves: walking (*mā yamshī*), flying (*mā yaṭīr*), swimming (*mā yasbaḥ*), crawling (*mā yansāḥ*); this classification, which is based simply on current observation, is the same as the Biblical division (I Kings, IV, 33: "[Solomon] spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes") and corresponds to one of the Platonic criteria of classification. Starting from these "classes", al-Djāḥiẓ experiences some embarrassment, for not only does he admit that his own division is not a rational one since he is obliged to exclude the ostrich from the "class" of birds while including the bat, but he has to give up the attempt to adopt too rigid subdivisions because of inability to pass from the particular to the general in defining the fundamental attributes of the species and the genera. Finally, he mixes functional criteria and habits of life to determine the species, and though he has a vague idea of what were to be the "orders", "families" and "genera" in the modern systematic classification, he adheres in general to the species which he divided into the four categories mentioned above:

1. animals which walk: men (*nās*), the *bahā'im* (*i.e.*, non-carnivorous quadrupeds, either domestic or wild), the *sibā'* (fierce animals, *i.e.*, carnivores, domestic or wild), insects (*ḥasharāt*) without wings.

2. animals which fly: of these there are only three "orders": (a) carnivorous birds (*sibā'*) which in turn are subdivided into "noble" (*aḥrār*, *i.e.*, large birds of prey such as the eagle, the vulture, etc.), "common" (*bughāth*, less equipped with means of defence), and little birds which feed on insects; (b) the birds which are *bahā'im*, *i.e.*, in general the grain-eaters which protect themselves by fleeing; (c) the *hamadj*, winged insects.

In the course of his work he distinguishes many different species of reptiles, but he does not suggest any classification. Similarly he does not venture to classify the fish (among which he includes intentionally mammals such as the whale), and in any case he says that he has not found in early poetry enough reliable evidence, the accounts of sailors being untrustworthy (vi, 16).

The *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, which is a work of *adab* of religious character and not of natural science, is characterized by the greatest disorder. Its sources are varied, but the most important are the literary data collected by the investigators of the 2nd and 3rd/8th and 9th centuries, enriched by oral traditions, by information obtained from conversations and current observation, and also by little experiments performed by the author himself or by his Mu'tazilī friends, *e.g.*, that which concerns the effect on animals of spirituous drinks (ii, 228-9), or his researches on spontaneous generation (iii, 348), of which he is a convinced supporter (iii, 372, v, 371, etc.) against those who deny it and claim that an animal can be begotten only by an animal (v, 349). Al-Djāḥiẓ takes a particular interest in hybrids and devotes to the mule [see BAGHL] a treatise which follows the *K. al-Ḥayawān*. On another plane, following the method of Aristotle, who links zoology with the study of the soul, he scatters throughout his work pertinent notes on the psychology of animals (*e.g.*, vi, 69 ff. on pride) and, considering the influence of environment to be of major importance, he sketches a doctrine of evolution which is not without interest. In all, nearly 350 animals are examined in a manner more or less profound but always unsystematic, and to find one's bearings use must be made of the excellent index to the edition of 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn; it is thus possible to gauge the zoological knowledge of the early Arabs and to gain an idea of the opinions which they held on certain animal species. Being a good Mu'tazilī, who submits everything to the criterion of reason, al-Djāḥiẓ makes an effort in passing to demolish some legends (e.g. ii, 14) and mingles with the traditions which he relates thoughts of his own which, if they were not so chaotically expressed, would earn him an honourable place between Aristotle and Buffon.

While his *Bayān* has been to a certain extent systematized and presented in a more orderly form by al-'Askarī [*q.v.*] in his *K. al-Ṣinā'atayn*, the *K. al-Ḥayawān* and zoology in general have hardly inspired later writers. At the time when *adab* flourished, Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*] in his *'Uyūn al-akhbār* (tr. L. Kopf, *The natural history*, etc., Paris and Leiden 1949) and a little later Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*] in his *Imtā'* (tr. L. Kopf, in *Osiris*, xii (1956), 390-466) devoted some space to animals but without bothering about scientific classification. Similar

treatment is given in the popular encyclopaedias of which the *Mustaṭraf* (ch. lxii) of al-Ibs̲h̲īhī [*q.v.*] is a typical example. The Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ, on the other hand, set out clearly, at the end of the second part of their *Rasāʾil*, the hierarchy of created things which comprises, in ascending order: minerals, plants, animals, man, the heavenly bodies; in each of these categories the highest rank is close to the lowest rank of the next category; thus the palm-tree, which belongs to the highest rank among the vegetables, is very little removed from the snail (*ḥalazūn*), which possesses only the sense of touch because the Divine Wisdom does not endow an animal with organs of which it has no need. The top of the scale among animals is occupied by the monkey, who is close to the uncivilized human, placed on the lowest rung of the next subdivision. Man constitutes a separate category because he alone possesses all the privileges which are granted only separately to animals.

It was not until the 7th/13th century that al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283 [*q.v.*]) made systematic use of earlier ideas and inserted a treatise on zoology in his *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-mak̲h̲lūḳāt*; he divides living things into three "kingdoms", places animals at the top of the scale and attaches considerable importance to their methods of defence which he uses as the criterion of classification:

1. animals which repel their enemies by their strength, such as the lion or the elephant;
2. those which protect themselves by fleeing, *e.g.*, the gazelle, the hare, birds;
3. those which are equipped with a special means of defence, like the hedgehog;
4. those which live in a protective fortress (*ḥiṣn*), *e.g.*, rats or snakes.

But he then divides animals into seven categories: (1) man; (2) *d̲j̲inns*; (3) "mounts" (*dawābb*: horse, mule, donkey); (4) domestic animals (*naʿam*); (5) wild animals; (6) birds; (7) insects, reptiles, etc. In the last three parts of his treatise, he devotes to animals notes in alphabetical order in which some general and completely non-scientific remarks are followed by the magic or medicinal properties (*k̲h̲awāṣṣ*) of the different organs of the animal. In comparison with al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, this was a distinct decline.

The same can be said, on the truly scientific plane, of the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā* of al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405 [*q.v.*]), who does not put forward a new classification but limits himself to reproducing (s.v. *ḥayawān*) that of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, but brings together usefully, in alphabetically arranged notes, philological remarks, various traditions, the juridical status of the animal concerned (with the arguments of the jurists of the various schools), the proverbs to which it has given rise, the magical or medicinal properties of its different organs, and finally the interpretation of dreams in which it appears.

On occasion physicians or naturalists such as Ibn Bak̲h̲tīs̲h̲ūʿ (*K. Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān*, see above, § 6), Ibn al-Bayṭār [*q.v.*] or al-Anṭākī [*q.v.*] took an interest also in animals, but the only branches of zoology which have really been the subject of profound and systematic studies are hippology [see FARAS], farriery [see BAYṬĀR, K̲H̲IYĀLA] and also ornithology in its application to hawking [see BAYZARA].

Outside the strictly Arabic field, so far as is known to the writer, no original work is found. A. Adnan Adıvar (*Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 15, 76, 91) mentions only one Turkish translation of the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, with some additions, by a contemporary of al-Damīrī, Meḥmed b. Süleymān (MS Topkapı Sarayı, Revan Köşkü, 1664), the *Tuḥfat al-zamān wa-k̲h̲arīdat al-awān* of the Turkish encyclopaedist Muṣṭafā b. ʿAlī al-Muwaḳḳit, which contains a system of zoology based on al-Damīrī and al-Ḳazwīnī, and finally a Persian translation of the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* made for Selīm I by Ḥakīm S̲h̲āh Ḳazwīnī. Finally, a book of zoology, *K̲h̲awāṣṣ al-ḥayawān*, was compiled in the 12th/18th century by the Persian writer Ḥazīn [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Apart from the references in the text, A. Malouf, *Arabic zool. dict.*, Cairo 1932, is a useful manual for the identification of the names of animals; glossaries for particular areas are found in A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, Paris 1893, i, 208 ff. (the fauna of Kabylia); J. B. Panouse, *Les mammifères du Maroc*, Tangiers 1957, 191 ff.; V. Monteil, *Faune du Sahara occidental*, Paris 1951. See also A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 429-31 (Eng. tr. 455-8) and *passim*; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni*, Rome n.d., index, ii, 665; J. J. Rivlin, *Gesetz im Koran, Kultus und Ritus*, Jerusalem 1934; Maswani, *Islam's contribution to zoology and natural history*, in *IC*, xii (1938), 328-33; on a fragment of a hitherto unknown work on zoology, see A. J. Arberry, in *JRAS*, 1937, 481-3. On the so-called "Twelve animal" calendar, see TAʾRĪK̲H̲ and L. Bazin, *Remarques sur les noms turcs des "Douze animaux" du calendrier dans l'usage persan*, in *Mélanges H. Massé*, Tehrān 1963, 21-30.

(CH. PELLAT)

ANIMAL STORIES IN PERSIAN LITERATURE

In looking for the origin of the animal story in Persian literature, we are handicapped by the virtual absence of secular works prior to the 4th/10th century. The earliest extant literary sources in which animal stories occur (if we except the surviving fragments of Rūdakī's (d. 329/940-1) *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and *Sindbādnāma*) are Abu 'l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh's translation of the former, made in 538-9/1143-5, and Ẓahīrī Samarḳandī's version of the latter, composed in 556-7/1160-1. Of these, while *Kalīla wa-Dimna* is certainly from India, the *Sindbādnāma* has been convincingly demonstrated by B. E. Perry (*The origin of the Book of Sindbad*, Berlin 1960) to be of Persian origin, though probably not earlier than the 2nd/8th century. The *Hazār afsāna*, the presumed Persian original of the *Alf layla wa-layla*, can be traced back to roughly the same period. The Pahlavi translation of the Sanskrit *Pančatantra* can on the other hand be quite safely assigned to the 5th century A.D., and even Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's Arabic version of this is earlier than the *Sindbādnāma*. Is this, then, when and how the animal story entered into Persian literature? According to Ibn al-Nadīm, author of the *Fihrist* (c. 400/1008), "the first who made separate compilations of *k̲h̲urāfāt* and made books in which to put them and laid them up in libraries and in some gave speaking parts to beasts were the early Persians" (Maḳāla 8, Fann 1, translated by D. B. Macdonald, *The earlier history of the Arabian Nights*, in *JRAS*, 1924, 364-5). In the context, the last term refers to the first two Persian dynasties, and the passage is at any rate evidence that by the 4th/10th century the view was current that the telling of stories about animals was buried deep in Persian tradition. Theodor Benfey (*Pantschatantra*, Vol. I, p. xxi, Leipzig 1859) put forward the theory that fables in which animals play the rôle of human beings are of Indian origin, while

those in which they act as animals are "Aesopic", that is, Near Eastern.

In the classical Persian literature the animal tale is introduced primarily to illustrate moral or mystical points, notable examples being the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* of Sanā'ī (d. 525/1130), the *Tafsīr* of Abu'l-Futūḥ Rāzī (d. 538/1143), the *Asrār-nāma* and the *Ilāhī-nāma* of ʿAṭṭār (d. *ca.* 627/1229), and above all the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273-4). More directly in the tradition of the earliest animal story collections are the *Marzbān-nāma* of Warāwīnī (622/1225), the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* of Nakhshabī (730/1330), the 8th "garden" of Djāmī's *Bahāristān* (893/1487) and the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* of Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504-5). These are followed by the *Laṭā'if al-ṭawā'if* of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī (d. 939/1532-3), the *Djāmiʿ al-tamthīl* of Muḥammad Djabalarūdī (1054/1644), and other similar collections that have no particular moral intent. Aside from all this, there still remains much fresh material to be recovered from the current oral literature.

We may tentatively classify the animal tales of Persian written and oral literature as follows:

(i) Moral tales, in which animals behave much as human beings, and serve as types.

(ii) Tales in which both animals and humans are involved, the animals often showing human characteristics such as speech.

(iii) Adventure stories and romances, in which humans play the major rôles, while animals appear in helpful or hostile capacities, usually with magic powers.

(iv) Stories involving mythical animals.

In the oral literature, as against the written, the last two categories are the more common. Examples include the Ḥātim Ṭā'ī, Rustam, Ḥusayn-i Kurd, and Shīrūya cycles.

The list of animals that figure in the tales is extensive. Many are identified with particular characteristics. The lion is the symbol of majesty, both tyrannical and beneficent; the bear is stupid, selfish and kindly, the wolf simple and kindly, the fox cunning, the jackal shrewd, the peacock and the hoopoe vainglorious, the parrot worldly-wise, the elephant clumsy and gullible. However, even unclean animals like the dog and the pig may be found playing sympathetic rôles.

Bibliography: Apart from the texts and references mentioned above, the following folk-tale collections may be consulted for examples of animal stories: Amīr Ḳulī Amīnī, *Dastānhā-yi amthāl*, Iṣfahān 1945; A. Christensen, *Contes persans en langue populaire*, Copenhagen 1918; Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī, *Pānzdah afsāna-i rūstā'ī*, Tehrān 1955; D. L. R. and E. O. Lorimer, *Persian tales*, London 1919; Ṣubḥī Muhtadī, *Afsānahā*, Tehrān 1945, 1946; idem, *Afsānahā-yi kuhan*, Tehrān 1949, 1954. See also H. Massé, *Les versions persanes des contes d'animaux*, in *L'âme de l'Iran*, Paris 1951, 127-49. (L. P. Elwell-Sutton)

Animals in Turkish traditions

In various Turkish languages, the Turkicized forms of the Arabic *ḥayawān* (*hayvan, ayvan, ayban*, etc.) indicate the animal species, excluding man; the Kïrghïz word *djanïbar*, with the same meaning, is made up of a Persian element, *djān* (soul) and a Turkish element, *bar* (there is, has); *djanavar* (= *canavar*) in the Turkish of Turkey (from the Persian *djānwar*, "possessing a soul") has a more particular meaning: wolf, wild boar, fierce animal, wild beast, monster; the words *djanlï*, *djandïḳ*, etc. derived from the Persian *djān*, and *tirig, diri, tïnlïg*, etc., from Turkish roots, are used to indicate all animate beings, including man.

Many Turkish tribes had animal names; others, as for example the 24 clans descended from Oghuz Kaghan, each had a bird emblem; many Turkish personal names are derived from names of animals; furthermore a large number of beliefs and practices, which are today tinged by Islamic features, are survivals of an animal cult which formed one of the important elements of the religions of the Turks before they were converted to Islam. The wolf has a specially important place in these: according to an account attested in a 7th century A. D. Chinese source, the Tou-K'iu were descended from the union of a she-wolf with a man [see ergenekon]; vestiges of an ancient wolf cult are still attested in Anatolian folklore (see Ali Rıza, *Anadolu'da Bozkurt*, in *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri* (= *HBH*), i, 1930, 200 f., ii, 1930, 32 f.). The bear is also the main subject of many stories which are related today (at least in Turkey) as true adventures, but which are nevertheless the scarcely discernible remains of ancient myths (see P. N. Boratav, *Histoires d'ours en Anatolie*, in *FFC*, no. 152, Helsinki 1955). In the same category of survivals of an animal cult can be classed the stories of eponymous heroes reared by a lioness (see *Kitāb-i Dede Ḳorḳut*, ed. and tr. E. Rossi, Vatican 1952, 193; Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aybak, *Kanz al-durar*, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, ms. Ahmed III 2932, vol. vii, 173 f.).

Among the accounts in oral tradition concerning animals (animal stories of the fable type and stories of marvels with animal heroes are treated separately in the article hikāya), a number, aetiological in type, are part of the international repertoire; among them are those which form part of the cycle of the Flood and those which are related to the Hoopoe of Solomon. The source of these must be Biblical and Ḳur'ānic traditions (commentaries and apocrypha). But a great number of aetiological legends concerning various animals are certainly either original creations of Turkish folklore or original re-castings of themes borrowed from the traditions belonging to the countries which the Turks had occupied. The horse occupies first place, through its importance in narrative literature; there are recounted legends concerning its supernatural origins: a race of horses said to be descended from a stallion which inhabited the depths of the waters, one of winged steeds, or a race of horses whose ancestor, tamed by an eponymous hero, was called the "horse of fire" (for this last race see Abū Bakr, *op. cit.*, vii, 180 f.). In the epics and other heroic tales, the horse is represented as a devoted companion of the hero; it is endowed with speech and is able to converse with its master in order to give him advice and warn him of dangers. The veneration of the horse seems to have conferred on it, in certain circumstances, an aura of saintliness. The tomb of the horse of Sultan ʿOthmān II at Üsküdar became a place of pilgrimage; it was known as At-Ewliyāsï ("Saint of the horses") and sick horses were brought to it (see *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. At Mezarı).

From a more general point of view, popular superstitions attribute to certain animals magical powers because they are considered capable of embodying evil spirits [see djinn]. The metamorphosis of men into animals and, less frequently, of animals into men, belongs, apart from the repertory of stories of the fantastic, to the field of miracles performed by saints.

Some animal species have their patron saints; these usually take the form of the animals which they protect. The superstitions, legends and practices connected with these supernatural beings can be traced for the most part to rites belonging to hunting and the beliefs attached to them. Originally the guardian spirit was identical with the animal itself; this explains the designation, among the Kirghiz for example, of the animal species by the name of the patron saint: Oysul Ata (<Uways al-Ḳaranī), patron saint of camels, also "camels", Kambar Ata, patron saint of horses and "horse", etc. In Turkey the stag is still considered sacred and the patron saint of stags (sometimes a woman) is believed to strike the hunters who pursue them (see Y. Z. Demircioğlu, *Yürükler ve köylülerde hikâyeler, masallar*, Istanbul 1934, 115 f., 120 f.). There are also legends describing saints metamorphosed into stags or riding on them (cf. the legend of Abdāl Mūsā, in S.N. Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, Istanbul n.d., i, 166-9, and that of Geyikli Baba, in A. Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve tasavvuf*, Istanbul 1961, 10-3).

The saints also possess the power of charming animals, including wild animals and fabulous beasts such as dragons. There is a wealth of legend providing edifying examples of their kind actions towards domestic and wild animals. The ox, being used for ploughing, has acquired, more particularly in the rural districts of the ʿAlawī-Bektashīs, an especial veneration; several episodes of the legendary biography of Ḥādjdjī Bektash are stories inspired by this notion (*Vilâyetnâme* of Ḥādjdjī Bektash, ed. Gölpınarlı, 53 ff., 83, tr. E. Gross, Leipzig 1927, 90, 93; *Vilâyetnâme* of Ḥādjim Sulṭān, ed. R. Tschudi and G. Jacob, Berlin 1914, 28, 32). Shepherds are considered to have certain supernatural powers, generally interpreted as proofs of sanctity; many stories of folklore stress the intimate understanding between them and their animals and a part of their magic powers was manifestly due to the animals.

Turkish art—even in the Islamic period—has been fairly rich in animal themes. In weaving, embroidery and knitting a number of stereotyped figures are stylized representations of animals. On one kind of prayer rug—the most ancient types of this ritual accessory—the only decorative element is the reproduction of animal skins: sheep, stag, goat, bear. It appears that this type represents the transitional stage between the use of an actual animal skin and that of a prayer rug with ornamental figures of a secular character (see Yusuf Durul, *Türkmen, Yürük, Afşar halı ve kilim motifleri üzerinde bir araştırma*, in *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, ii (1957), 65-6, pl. XL and XLI).

In the imagery of popular anonymous works and in the works of known artists (of drawings, paintings and miniatures), animals are depicted as often by motifs which are stylized, often to the point of being abstract, as by a very realistic representation situated in the context of everyday life: scenes of hunting, stock-rearing, training, etc. (see S. Eyuboğlu and M. Ş. Ipşiroğlu, *Sur l'Album du Conquérant*, Istanbul n.d.; Malik Aksel, *Anadolu halk resimleri*, Istanbul 1960).

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article, see J.-P. Roux, *La faune et la flore dans les sociétés altaïques*, doctoral thesis, in the press; Ahat O. Bikkul, *Topkapı Sarayında has ahır*, in *Güzel Sanatlar*, vi (1949), 118-31; Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish arts*, Istanbul n.d.; H. Z. Koşay, *Hayvancılık*, in *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, iii (1958), 5-59; for the legends, beliefs and practices relating to the animal world, see the series of reviews of the Turkish periodical *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* by P. N. Boratav, in *Oriens*, x (1957) onwards, and the same author's bibliographies at the end of the chapters *L'épopée et la "ḥikâye"* and *Le conte et la légende*, in *Ph.T.F.*, ii, 38-44 and 62-7.

(Pertev Naili Boratav)

ḤAYḌ, menstruation. The laws of purity concerning menstruation are less complicated and less severe in Islam than in Judaism, but much more so than in Christianity. A discharge which exceeds the legal duration fixed by the doctors of the Law for the menses is called *istiḥāḍa*; these irregular losses involve only minor impurity, *ḥadath* [*q.v.*]. Contact with a woman who is menstruating does not result in impurity (contrary to the laws of Judaism) and although the Ḳurʾān (II, 222) forbids sexual relations with her, the violation of this taboo is not penalized in this world. Menstruation being one of the circumstances which, involving a major impurity, invalidate the state of purity, a *ghusl* [*q.v.*] (complete washing of the body) with water which is legally pure is necessary to re-establish that state of purity in which the performance of the *ṣalāt* etc. is valid. To those in this state of major impurity, in addition to the consequences of *ḥadath*, the following prohibitions apply: they may not recite the Ḳurʾān (except for one or two verses only to ward off the Devil) nor remain in the mosque (or even walk through it). Furthermore the Ramaḍān fast and the *ṣalāt* performed by those menstruating are not valid, and the fast is even forbidden to them. The regulations concerning the *nifās* (lochia) are almost the same as those concerning menstruation: thus the *ghusl* of the woman who has given birth takes place when there is no more discharge, the fixed interval of forty days (*Leviticus*, *Zend-Avesta*) being unknown, at least in theory. The casuistical differences between the various schools on this subject may be omitted here.

The *ḥayḍ* plays an equally important part in family law: it determines the prescribed period of waiting (*ʿidda*) before a widow or a divorced wife may remarry. It determines also the legitimacy of certain children (the theory of the child asleep in the womb), *fiḳh* conceding that long periods of gestation may occur.

Bibliography: The collections of *ḥadīths* (cf. Wensinck's *Handbook*) and the books of *fiḳh* all discuss the question, near the beginning (see ḤADATH).

(G. H. Bousquet)

ḤAYDAR, "lion" [see AL-ASAD]; by-name given, particularly by the Shīʿīs, to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*].

ḤAYDAR, Shaykh, the 5th Ṣafawid *shaykh* in line of descent from Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Isḥāḳ, the founder of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa*. The son of Djunayd [*q.v.*] and Khadīdja Begum, the sister of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan, Ḥaydar succeeded his father as head of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa* at Ardabīl in 864/1460.

Ḥaydar, by his marriage to Ḥalīma Begī Āghā (or Marta; better known as ʿAlamshāh Begum), the daughter of Uzun Ḥasan and Despina Khātūn, the latter the daughter of Calo Johannes, the Emperor of Trebizond, maintained the close alliance with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu which had been formed by his father Djunayd. Ḥaydar was thus at once the nephew and the son-in-law of Uzun Ḥasan, and the brother-in-law of Yaʿḳūb, who ruled the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu empire from 883-96/1478-90.

With the overthrow of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire by Uzun Ḥasan in 872/1467, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu-

Ṣafawid alliance, based as it was solely on considerations of political expediency, broke down as Ṣafawid political and military ambitions came into conflict with those of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Before making a trial of strength with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, however, Ḥaydar decided to blood his forces against the "infidels" of Circassia and Dāghistān—probably the Christian Alāns (Ossetes) living north of the Darial pass (Bāb al-Lān), and the Kabard Circassians. To reach these regions, Ḥaydar, like his father in 863/1459, had to cross the territory of the Shīrwānshāh. He led three expeditions against the Čerkes: in 888/1483 (thus Hinz, based on Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārikh*; the *Tārikh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi Amīnī* has 891/1486: see V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, London 1957, 69; 117 ff.); 892/1487; and 893/1488. The Shīrwānshāh Farrukhyasār seems to have allowed the first two Ṣafawid expeditions to cross his territory unopposed, but in 893/1488, when Ḥaydar turned Ṣafawid arms against Farrukhyasār himself, and sacked the town of Shamākhī, Farrukhyasār appealed for help to his son-in-law, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu sultan Yaʿḳūb. The detachment of troops sent by Yaʿḳūb, under the command of Sulaymān Bidjan-oghlu, was the decisive factor in the defeat of the Ṣafawids on 29 Radjab 893/9 July 1488 at Ṭabarsarān on the river Rūbās, south-west of Darband. Ḥaydar was killed; his body was recovered in 915/1509 by Shāh Ismaʿīl I and interred in the Ṣafawid mausoleum at Ardabīl. Ḥaydar thus died only a short distance from the place where his father Djunayd had been killed thirty years earlier, but the essential point of difference between the Ṣafawid expedition of 863/1459 and that of 893/1488 is that, whereas the former was repulsed by the unaided efforts of the troops of Sharwān (Shīrwān), in the latter case Aḳ Ḳoyunlu intervention was required. This suggests that Ṣafawid strength in 893/1488 was greater than in 863/1459, and this is borne out by subsequent events. Yaʿḳūb's action gave formal recognition to the fact that from this time on the Ṣafawids constituted the principal threat to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu empire.

Ḥaydar left three sons by ʿAlamshāh Begum: ʿAlī, who succeeded him as head of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa*; Ibrāhīm; and Ismaʿīl (later Shāh Ismaʿīl I). It was Ḥaydar who devised the distinctive Ṣafawid red headgear (*tādj*), with twelve gores or folds (*tark*) commemorating the twelve Shīʿī imāms. This earned his followers the soubriquet of *ḳizilbash* or "redheads" —a term of abuse in Ottoman mouths, but used with pride by the Ṣafawids.

Bibliography: The Persian and Turkish MSS listed in W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin and Leipzig 1936, and pp. 72-89 of this work; V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, London 1957, 61, 65-82, 117-9. (R. M. SAVORY)

ḤAYDAR B. **ʿALĪ** ḤUSAYNĪ RĀZĪ, Persian historian, b. ca. 993/1585, date of death unknown; author of a large history of the world, which in the manuscripts is sometimes called "*Madjmaʿ*" and sometimes "*Zubdat al-tawārīkh*", and is generally known as "*Taʾrīkh-i Ḥaydarī*". The work is arranged according to geographical divisions in five *bābs*: 1. the Arab world; 2. Persia; 3. Central Asia and the Far East; 4. the West; 5. India, each of which is arranged chronologically. They deal with political history and frequently reach into the time of the author, so that occasionally otherwise inaccessible accounts have been preserved. (Ch. Rieu's view that the work is nowhere original is based on an error.) A second part which was to deal with philosophers, learned men and poets was apparently not written (in any event it is not known.) The work does not contain a dedication to a prince and only portions of it have been published; otherwise it has been used only in manuscript form. Its value lies particularly in the information it gives on Central Asia.

Bibliography: Storey, i/2/1, 124, 1241 (Manuscripts, partial editions); Richard Gosche, *Über die Chronik des Haidar Ben Ali* ..., (monograph with selections), in manuscript, see Rieu, *CPM*, iii, 887b. (W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

ḤAYDAR ʿALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR rose to power in Mysore (Mahisur) during the second half of the 18th century. His family claimed descent from the Ḳuraysh and to have migrated to India from Mecca at the end of the 10th/16th century. He was born in 1721 at Dodballāpur, 27 miles north-west of Bangalore. When he was five years of age his father, Fatḥ Muḥammad, a soldier of fortune, lost his life while in the service of the Nawāb of Sira. Left an orphan, Ḥaydar was brought up by his cousin, Ḥaydar Ṣāḥib, an officer in the Mysore army.

Ḥaydar first entered the service of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, brother of Nawāb Muḥammad ʿAlī of Karnāṭaka, and then secured a small command in the Mysore army. Having distinguished himself in the siege of Devanhullī (1749), he received the title of *Khān* from Nandjarādj, the *dalawāyī* (commander-in-chief) and the most powerful man in Mysore. He then fought in the Carnatic wars, and Nandjarādj, much impressed by his abilities, made him *fawdjdār* of Dindigul (1755). In 1758 Ḥaydar was rewarded with the fort and district of Bangalore for reconciling Nandjarādj with the Rādjā and discharging the arrears of pay to the soldiery. He then received the title of *Bahādur* for repelling a Marāṭhā invasion; and when shortly after Nandjarādj retired from politics (June 1759), he took his place. But in August 1760 his *dīwān*, Khande Rāo, with the support of the Rādjā, plotted his overthrow. Ḥaydar, however, defeated Khande Rāo and put him into a cage. But he forgave the Rādjā and allowed him to continue as a figurehead on the throne.

Ḥaydar's energy and ambition, and his conquest of Sira, Bidnūr, Sundā and the Malabār (1761-6) aroused the hostility of his neighbours. Between 1764 and 1772 the Pēshwā Madhav Rāo thrice invaded Mysore and annexed some of the districts. But he died in 1772, and Ḥaydar, taking advantage of this, occupied all the Marāṭhā territory south of the Kistnā.

On 12 November 1766 the English and the Niẓām formed an alliance to overthrow Ḥaydar, and jointly invaded Mysore. But Ḥaydar managed to win over the Niẓām, and with his help carried the war into the Carnatic. Although after a year the Niẓām deserted him, he fought alone and succeeded in concluding a favourable peace (4 April 1769). But the English refusal to help him against the Marāṭhās and to enter into a fresh treaty made him hostile towards them and drew him closer to the French. The English attack on Māhe, a French possession under his protection, furnished him with a *casus belli*; and in July 1780 he invaded the Carnatic, ravaging the countryside and conducting a vigorous compaign against the English. But he died on 7 December 1782 at Narasingarāyanpeṭ, near Chittoor, leaving his eldest son, Tīpū Sulṭān, to continue the war.

Ḥaydar was tall, robust and of fair complexion.

Brave and resourceful, he never despaired in defeat. Though illiterate, he was an able ruler. He was harsh but just, ruthless to his enemies but kind to his friends. He appointed Hindūs to positions of responsibility, endowed temples and, in deference to Hindū sentiment, retained the Rādjā on the throne of Mysore, himself remaining only as *dalawāyī* and Nawāb of Sira, a title conferred on him by Baṣālat Djang and confirmed by the Mughal Emperor.

Bibliography: Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān Kirmānī, *Nishān-i Ḥaydarī*, Bombay 1307/1890; transl. by W. Miles in 2 vols., London 1842, 1846; J. Michaud, *Histoire des progrès et la chute de l'Empire de Mysore sous les règnes d'Hyder-Ally et Tippoo Saib*, 2 vols., Paris 1801; Wilks, *History of Mysore*, ed. M. Hammick, 2 vols., Mysore 1930; Bowring, *Ḥaidar ʿAli and Tipu Sulṭān*, Oxford 1893; N. K. Sinha, *Ḥaidar ʿAli*, Calcutta 1949; J. van Lohuizen, *The Dutch East India Company and Mysore*, The Hague 1961.

(Mohibbul Hasan)

ḤAYDAR MĪRZĀ (his real name was Muḥammad Ḥaydar; as he himself says, he was known as Mīrzā Ḥaydar; Bābur calls him Ḥaydar Mīrzā), a Persian historian, author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, born in 905/1499-1500, died in 958/1551 (for his descent see DŪGHLĀT); through his mother he was a grandson of the Čaghatāy Khān Yūnus and a cousin of Bābur. Most of our knowledge of his life is gleaned from his own work; Bābur (ed. Beveridge, p. 11) devotes a few lines to him; the Indian historians Abu 'l-Faḍl and Firishta give some information about his later years.

After the assassination of his father (914/1508) he had to flee from Bukhārā via Badakhshān to Kābul, which he reached in 915/1509. Received like a son by Bābur, he took part in the victorious campaigns against the Özbeks and in the reconquest of Bukhārā and Samarḳand, but abandoned his benefactor in 918/1512, betook himself to Farghāna to the Mongol prince Saʿīd Khān, received from him the title Gurgān (son-in-law) and accompanied him against Kāshghar and Yārkand. In the Mongol empire as restored by Saʿīd Khān he held a prominent position; by the Khān's orders he carried out several campaigns to distant lands like Badakhshān, Kāfiristān, Ladak and Tibet. On the Khān's death in 939/1533 and the accession of his successor ʿAbd al-Rashīd, who was no friend of the house of Dūghlāt, Ḥaydar Mīrzā had to leave the country and go over to the Tīmūrids, against whom he had fought as recently as 936/1529-30 in Badakhshān. In 948/1541 he succeeded in conquering Kashmīr and founding a practically independent kingdom for himself there, although his coins were struck first in the name of the native prince Nāzuk Shāh and later in the name of the Emperor Humāyūn; in 958/1551 he was slain during a rising of the native population.

It was while ruler of Kashmīr that Ḥaydar composed his work, which was called after his former sovereign ʿAbd al-Rashīd. The second part, which describes the vicissitudes of the author's life and the events of his own time, was written as early as 948-50/1541-4, the first (history of the house of Čaghatāy from the accession of Khān Tughluḳ Tīmūr in 748/1347-8) not till later (951-3/1541-4). As Bābur testifies, the author had received a good literary training, and this is also apparent in his work; the book had a great success not only among Ḥaydar's compatriots (it was twice translated into Eastern Turkish) but in other countries also (India, Turkestan and Persia) and was used as an authority by all later geographers and historians who have discussed Chinese Turkestan and the events of the 10th/16th century. The historical narrative as well as the geographical sections inserted in it (descriptions of various provinces, towns, etc.) give a wonderful picture of the conditions of his time. In Russia extensive excerpts from the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* have been published, in particular by Velyaminov Tsernov (*Issledovanie o kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevičakh*, ii, 130 f.) and C. Salemann (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, ix, 321 f.); while in Western Europe the work is known particularly through the English translation made by E. Denison Ross and edited with notes by N. Elias (*The Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt*, London 1895; cf. the review by W. Barthold in *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, x, 215 ff.). See also Elliot, *History of India*, v, 127 ff. No complete edition of the text has yet been published. In addition to the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, Ḥaydar Mīrzā has been identified as the author of a narrative poem in eastern Turkish, apparently composed during winter campaigns in Tibet and Badakhshān in 935/1528; the concluding section, which was added later, is dated Radjab 939/Jan.-Feb. 1533. The work is preserved in manuscript in the Martin Hartmann collection in Berlin. The author is not named, but has been identified on internal evidence (Ahmet-Zeki Validi [Togan], *Ein türkisches Werk von Ḥaydar-Mirza Dughlat*, in *BSOS*, viii/4 (1937), 983-9).

Bibliography: in the article; see further Storey, 273-6 and 1273.

(W. Barthold*)

ḤAYDAR-OGHLU, more correctly Ḳara Ḥaydar-Oghlu, **MEḤMED**, sometimes given the title of "Beg". His father, Ḳara Ḥaydar, is mentioned in the sources simply as a brigand; according to Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iv, 472-3, and cf. Naʿīmā, iv, 240) he took to the mountains in about 1050/1640 and began to plunder caravans in the passes between Eskishehir and Izmir (Smyrna). During the Grand Vizierate of Ḳara Muṣṭafā (and hence before 1052/1643, when the vizier was executed), a *nefīr-i ʿāmm* against Ḳara Ḥaydar was proclaimed in Anatolia, *i.e.*, the civilian population was impressed in the hunt. He was surrounded near Uluborlu and killed.

The first mention of the son in the sources (Naʿīmā, *loc. cit.*) refers to the autumn of 1057/1647, but he was presumably active before this, engaged in brigandage in the passes between Ankara, Ṣarukhan and Ḥamīd-eli, *i.e.*, on the main caravan routes from Persia, the Arab countries and Izmir to Bursa and Istanbul. His headquarters were at Sögüd-ḍaghī (north of Eskishehir), and all the notorious bandits of the day were in his following (Ewliyā encountered them at Balīḳ-ḥiṣār near Ankara and mentions their names, ii, 418-26); the most prominent of them was Ḳatīrdjī-oghlu [*q.v.*]. These brigands, called in the sources *eshḳiyāʾ* and *djelālī* [*q.v.*, in Supp.], were from time to time joined by substantial numbers (700, in 1058/1648) of the vagabond troops of Anatolia called *sekbān*, *sarudja* (*sarīdja*), or more generally *levend* [*qq.v.*]; when they could not find employment with a pasha or in the service of the state, these wandering soldiers would attach themselves to a rebel leader and support themselves by brigandage (see Ç. Uluçay, *Saruhan'da eşkiyalık ve halk hareketleri*, Istanbul 1944; M. Akdağ, *Celâlî isyanları, 1550-1603*, Ankara 1963; M. Cezar, *Osmanlı tarihinde Levendler*, Istanbul 1965). At one point Ḥaydar-oghlu, wishing to enter the service of the state with his following, asked for appointment

as a *sandjaḳ-begi*; but in spite of the substantial bribe which he sent to the Grand Vizier (Naʿīmā, iv, 249, 347), this was refused. Thereupon he attacked the great Pilgrim caravan between Akshehir and Ilghun. He was in control of all the roads, and obliged the local people, peasantry and notables, to enter his service. The vizier Ibshir Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], *beglerbegi* of Karaman, was then appointed *serʿasker* and ordered to suppress Ḥaydar-oghlu in co-operation with the *beglerbegi* of Anatolia, Ibrāhīm Pasha (by a firman dated Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1057/ December 1647, see Ç. Uluçay, *op. cit.*, doc. 120; cf. Naʿīmā, iv, 270). All the troops of all categories which were left in Anatolia (the absence of so many on the campaign in Crete had left the brigands a clear field) were put under his command. Although Ibshir Pasha hemmed in Ḥaydar-oghlu at Söğüd-daghi, he was unable to capture him (letter to Istanbul of 25 Ṣafar 1058/21 March 1648), and the brigand escaped because Ibshir Pasha received new orders to march against the rebellious *wāli* of Sivas, Varvar ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] and because of the momentous events at the capital—the deposition of Sultan Ibrāhīm. The new sultan, Meḥemmed IV, sent against Ḥaydar-oghlu the young and inexperienced new *beglerbegi* of Anatolia, Aḥmed Pasha, who was defeated near (Afyon-)Ḳaraḥiṣār (Shaʿbān 1058/ August-September 1648) and killed by Ḳatirdji-oghlu. The pasha's untrustworthy *ṣarudja* and *sekbān* troops went over to Ḥaydar-oghlu. Ḥaydar-oghlu's prestige and power now became the main preoccupation of the authorities: Ketendji ʿÖmer Pasha-zāde Meḥmed Pasha was appointed *beglerbegi* of Anatolia and given unlimited powers (*istiḳlāl*) as commander of the operations against him; in the firman of appointment he was warned that the capture of the brigand was *aḳṣā-yi murād-i humāyūn*, and all the available troops of Anatolia and Karaman and the *sandjaḳ* of Bolu were placed at his disposal (for the firman, dated 1 Ramaḍān 1058/19 September 1648, see Uluçay, doc. 124; his letter to the *ḳāḍīs* of Ṣarukhan, doc. 123). A renewed offer by the brigand to submit if he was granted an office was again rejected, whereupon he plundered Ḳaraḥiṣār, and then marched upon Isparta. Near there he was ambushed and wounded and taken prisoner by the *mütesellim* of the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥamid-eli, Abaza (in Ewliyā: Ḳodja) Ḥasan Agha (Naʿīmā, iv, 374-5 and, a slightly different version, Ewliyā, ii, 474). He was brought before the Grand Vizier in Istanbul who ordered him to be hanged at Parmaḳ-ḳapi (details in Ewliyā, ii, 474-9).

Even in his lifetime Ḳara Ḥaydar-oghlu, like other brigands, was romanticized as a popular hero who had taken to the mountains to avenge his father's death. A *türkü* on him written by Kātib ʿAlī was set to music and widely sung (see Ç. Uluçay, *Üç Eşkiya türküsü*, in *TM*, xiii (1958), 87-90).

Bibliography: In the text.

(Halil İnalcik)

ḤAYDARĀBĀD (*a*) the name of a city in the Deccan (Dakhan) of India, situated 17° 22′ N., 78° 27′ E., now the capital city of the Indian state of Āndhra Pradēsh, and formerly the capital successively of the later Ḳuṭb Shāhī kings of Golkondā, of a Mughal *ṣūba* after Awrangzīb's conquest of the Deccan, of the Niẓām, and of the state of Ḥaydarābād after the independence of India; (*b*) the name of a former state of the Indian Union, now absorbed within the provinces of Āndhra Pradēsh, Mahārāshtra, and Mysore (Mahisur); formerly the territory of H.E.H. ('His Exalted Highness', a British title conferred in 1918) the Niẓām.

a. Ḥaydarābād City

The site of the present city was selected in 997/1589 by the fifth Ḳuṭb Shāhī dynast, Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, on the right bank of the river Mūsī, a tributary of the Krishna, some 11 km. east of the fortress of Golkondā [*q.v.*], and at first given the name of Bhāgnagar after a Hindū dancing-girl named Bhāgmatī, one of the sultan's concubines. A city quickly grew up on this site, since there was no room for expansion in the overcrowded Golkondā where, moreover, the water-supply was inadequate. The exact date of the transfer of the seat of government from Golkondā to Ḥaydarābād is not known, although this seems to have taken place within a dozen years of the foundation; Ḥaydarābād was not at first fortified, Golkondā remaining as the citadel of the capital. At this time North India was in the hands of the Mughals, and envoys from Akbar were well received in 999/1591; the Ḳuṭb Shāhī sultan sent valuable presents to Akbar which were accepted as tribute, and his domains were left unmolested. The new city prospered, some of its finest buildings dating from this time (see below), until the intervention of the Mughal prince (later the emperor) Awrangzīb in the dispute between Mīr Djumla [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh in 1065/1655 when Ḥaydarābād was plundered before the sultan bought peace; but the peace was uneasy, and Ḥaydarābād again fell to the Mughals under Awrangzīb four years before the great siege of Golkondā in 1098/1687. After the conquest Ḥaydarābād became the residence of the *ṣūbadārs* of the Deccan, under the last of whom, Čīn Ḳilič Khān, Niẓām al-Mulk, the governor Mubāriz Khān commenced the fortification of the city by a stone wall. After the important and decisive battle of Shakarkheldā [*q.v.*] in 1137/1724, by which the Niẓām al-Mulk crushed the plan of his deputy Mubāriz Khān to usurp power in the province, Ḥaydarābād became the capital of the now independent Deccan province under the Niẓām al-Mulk, who received the title of Āṣaf Djāh from the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh; the titles Niẓām al-Mulk and Āṣaf Djāh henceforth became hereditary in his family. The new province which Āṣaf Djāh thereby acquired—roughly co-extensive with the modern state of Ḥaydarābād before its dissolution, plus the northern province of Barār and the so-called Northern Sarkārs—is described below. The political history of the city thereafter is little different from that of the state. The city has grown continually as it became the centre of an increasingly organized state, its suburbs soon spreading on both sides of the river Mūsī far beyond the old city walls completed by the first Āṣaf Djāh. The central district of the state, called Aṭrāf-i balda, is the *ṣarf-i khāṣṣ* or 'crown' assignment around Ḥaydarābād city itself, and was constituted, with the other districts, in 1865; the municipality of Ḥaydarābād, with four divisions in the city proper and five in the suburbs (now much extended), was created in 1869; the suburbs include the important cantonment of Sikandarābād ('Secunderabad'), named after Mīr Akbar ʿAlī Khān Sikandar Djāh, the sixth Niẓām, which now has its own city corporation. Ḥaydarābād is an important communications centre (road, rail and air), with a modern hospital, important museums, one of the best equipped astronomical observatories in India, and the flourishing ʿUthmāniyya (Osmania) University (1918). With a population of well over a million, it is the sixth largest city in India. Textiles,

including fine velvets, carpets, red earthenware, glass and paper are produced by industries within the city, and excellent cigarettes are made in Ḥaydarābād from local tobacco.

Monuments. — The old city is surrounded by a bastioned wall, completed by the first Āṣaf Djāh, with thirteen gates and a number of smaller posterns. The city is connected to the northern suburbs by four bridges, the oldest of which (*Purānā pul*) was built by Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh in 1001/1593. The same ruler was responsible for the buildings in the central focal point of the city, notably the Čār mīnār, Čār kamān, Čār sū kā ḥawḍ, all around a crossing of four roads leading to the four quarters of the old city; also the Dār al-shifā', ʿĀshūr-khāna, and Djāmiʿ masdjid. The Čār mīnār, 'four minarets', is a triumphal archway, 30 m. square in plan, its ground storey consisting of four great arches of 10.8 m. span, each facing a cardinal point; above this is an arcaded triforium running round the building supported on carved corbels, with a smaller arcade and a perforated marble screen above it; at each corner stands a minaret 55.8 m. in height from the ground level, each decorated with a double arcaded balcony at the level of the triforium supported by a continuation of the corbel course; a further single arcaded balcony encircles each shaft above roof-level (this is the characteristic feature of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī architecture); and each minaret is topped by yet another such balcony supporting a round kiosk with an ogee dome foliated at its base in the Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*] manner. The small rooms inside the upper storey are said to have been used for instruction by *shaykhs*; but, from the strictly ceremonial and royal nature of the use of this building under the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs and Āṣaf Djāhīs, this story may be doubted. (See *Annual Report Arch. Dept. Hyderabad State 1917-18 AD* (*1327 F.*), Plate IIa; *ibid*, *1918-19*, 3-4 and plans on Pl. III-IV.) The Čār kamān, 'four bows', (*ARADHyd 1918-19* (*1328 F.*), 4), are four wide arches near the Čār mīnār built over the four roads leading to the four quarters of the city, near to which stands the Čār sū kā ḥawḍ, 'carfax cistern'; near this once stood Muḥammad Ḳulī's Dād maḥall, 'palace of justice', destroyed by a powder explosion in 1771 (described by the French traveller Tavernier in 1062/1652). West of this complex is the Makka masdjid, the principal mosque of the city, commenced by ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh, continued by his successor Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the last Ḳuṭb Shāhī sultan, and completed at Awrangzīb's order; the *līwān*, with two large domes, is 67.5 m. long and 54 m. deep, standing behind a vast *ṣaḥn* 108 m. square; the tombs of Niẓām ʿAlī Khān and later Āṣaf Djāhīs stand in the mosque. The old remains of a contemporary *ḥammām* stand in its courtyard. In the north of the old city is the ʿĀshūr-khāna, 'room of the tenth [of Muḥarram]', still in use for the Muḥarram ceremonies, with fine Persian faience decorating its walls. The Dār al-shifā', also built by Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, is in the north-east quarter of the city, a large building with arcaded chambers for the care of the sick, lying all round a paved quadrangle, formerly in use also as a school for the Yūnānī system of medicine; a mosque, built at the same time, stands opposite its entrance. Many other buildings of Ḳuṭb Shāhī times stand in the city and suburbs, notably the Tolī masdjid of the time of ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh (inscription in *miḥrāb* giving date of 1082/1671 by *abdjad*); description in *ARADHyd. 1916-17 AD* (*1326 F.*), 3 ff., Plate IIb and c, plan on Plate IIIa; also the mosque and other buildings of the Shaykhpet suburb, see *ARADHyd. 1936-37 A.C.* (*1346 F.*), 2 ff., with an inscription of 1043/1633, cf. *EIM*, 1935-6, 21-2 and Pl. XIII. Between Ḥaydarābād and Golkonḍā, on the ʿUthmān Sāgar road, surmounting two small hills, are the *bārādarī* of Tārāmatī, a Hindū concubine of Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, and the elegant but incomplete (no minarets) mosque of 'Pēmmatī', d. 1073/1662, for which see *ARADHyd. 1924-25 AD* (*1334 F.*), 2-4 and Plates III-VI. Of the other Ḳuṭb Shāhī monuments the Gosha maḥall stands north of the old city, a palace built by the last sultan with an extensive pleasure-park for the *zanāna* and an ornamental tank, now dry and used for football matches. The Dā'ira-yi Mīr Mu'min is a burial ground east of the city consecrated by a Shīʿī saint who came to Ḥaydarābād from Karbalā' in the reign of ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh; the cemetery, now used for Sunnīs as well as Shīʿa, contains many fine tombs and gravestones, including the fine domed tomb of the Mīr himself in Ḳuṭb Shāhī style (for which see GOLKONḌĀ *ad fin.*).

There are also in and around Ḥaydarābād many palaces and other buildings of the Āṣaf Djāh dynasty, from the Purānī Ḥawelī of the first Niẓām, the Čawmaḥalla palace in the centre of the city which is the principal city residence of the Niẓāms, modelled on a royal palace in Tehrān, the palace of Sir Salar Jung now used as a museum, to the late 19th century Falaknumā palace outside the city on the south-west, with a Corinthian façade, Louis XIV reception hall, and other exotic features.

The city water supply depends on tanks, to which modern waterworks are now attached, excavated in former times. The Ḥusayn Sāgar, about 8 sq. miles (2100 hectares), lies between Ḥaydarābād and Sikandarābād, the road between the two cities running along the *band* on its east; it was originally excavated by Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb Shāh in 983/1575 as a reservoir for Golkonḍā and was filled by a channel cut from the Mūsī. South-west of the city is the Mīr ʿĀlam tank, built by French engineers in the Niẓām's service early in the 19th century, while the Mīr Djumla tank to the south-east, now no longer used, was constructed in 1035/1625.

Of European monuments the old British Residency of 1803-8, now a women's college, and the tomb of the French soldier M. (Michel Joachim Marie) Raymond (corrupted locally to 'Mūsā Raḥīm'!), d. 25 March 1798, are worth notice.

b. Ḥaydarābād State.

When the old sultanates of the Deccan [see DAKHAN] fell one by one to the Mughal emperors Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb in the 11th/17th century (the Niẓām Shāhī sultanate of Aḥmadnagar, to which the former ʿImād Shāhī sultanate of Barār and the Barīd Shāhī sultanate of Bīdar had already been attached, in 1042/1633; the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultanate of Bīdjāpur in 1097/1686; and the Ḳuṭb Shāhī sultanate of Golkonḍā in 1098/1687) their lands eventually became one great Mughal province—except for those tracts which had been taken by the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*]—under a single *ṣūbadār*, uniting in this office the governorships of the former six Deccan provinces (the five sultanates mentioned above, plus Khāndēsh), with headquarters at Awrangābād. The confusion in the affairs of the Mughal empire after the death of Awrangzīb in 1118/1707 was certainly reflected in the affairs of the Deccan *ṣūba*, until the appointment in 1132/1720 of Ḳamar al-Dīn Čīn

Ḳilič Khān, entitled Niẓām al-Mulk, set the internal administration in order (he had indeed been *ṣūbadār* of the Deccan some six years earlier, but had then had insufficient time at his disposal to reorganize the province). This noble, the ablest man in the Mughal empire, was after two years recalled to Dihlī to become chief minister, but retained his Deccan appointment, leaving Mubāriz Khān to govern as his agent at Ḥaydarābād. The latter, instigated by Niẓām al-Mulk's enemies, opposed him on his return to the Deccan to combat a Marāthā invasion, but was decisively defeated at the battle of Shakarkheldā [*q.v.*; later named Fatḥkheldā] on 22 Muḥarram 1137/11 October 1724, the date usually taken as the beginning of Niẓām al-Mulk's dynastic rule over the Deccan, although his independence had been virtually complete two years earlier when he led the opposition against the Mughal kingmakers, the Sayyid brothers of Bārha. After his victory he marched for Ḥaydarābād, which he made his capital; the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh, wise enough not to oppose him further, sought rather to conciliate him by the award of the further hereditary title of Āṣaf Djāh.

Āṣaf Djāh had soon to recognize the power of the Marāthās in the Deccan, to whom the Mughal emperor had in 1130/1718 granted the right to levy the cess known as *čawth*, one-fourth of the land revenue; their demands were met by Āṣaf Djāh's agreement to pay this tribute from his own treasury—thus excluding the Marāthā tax-collectors from the necessity of entering his dominions—while abolishing the unauthorized *sardeshmukhī* and *rāhdārī* extortions [for these taxes see MARĀTHĀS]. The agreement was concluded on behalf of Shāhū, the Marāthā ruler; but the Marāthā Peshwā Bādjī Rāo, now rising to a position of great power, pursued a more aggressive policy towards Āṣaf Djāh, who in 1140/late 1727 invaded Mahārāshtra against him. Bādjī Rāo's light guerilla cavalry eventually completely out-manœuvred Āṣaf Djāh, who did not receive the expected support from the Peshwā's rivals, and the campaign ended with the cession of several border forts to the Marāthās. Local conflicts, however, continued, until eventually by a secret agreement between Āṣaf Djāh and the Peshwā the Marāthās left the Deccan undisturbed except for the levy of *čawth* on condition that Ḥaydarābād remained neutral during the Marāthā invasions of the Mughal empire to the north; but at last, when the Marāthās were at the gates of Dihlī, Āṣaf Djāh went to the aid of the Mughals. In the years he was away from the Deccan (1150-3/1737-40) he gained no success in the north, and returned to find not only increased Marāthā depredation in his own dominions but a plan on behalf of his son Nāṣir Djang to usurp the Ḥaydarābād government. The rebellion was suppressed, and Āṣaf Djāh turned his attention to Arkāt («Arcot») in the Madras district (usually erroneously described by European writers as the "Carnatic"; see KARNĀTAKA), where the local Nawwāb, having failed to pay compensation to the Marāthās and tribute to Ḥaydarābād, had been supplanted by a powerful Marāthā army and his province had virtually fallen into anarchy. Āṣaf Djāh in 1156/1743 expelled the Marāthās, deposed the Nawwāb and installed his own agent as the new Nawwāb, and returned to Ḥaydarābād laden with treasure.

The first Āṣaf Djāh died in 1161/1748, having by his character, integrity and capacity made the single viable state of Ḥaydarābād out of the old disorganized medley of the Mughal Deccan provinces. His dominions had been enriched by his patronage of theologians, scholars and poets (he himself left two volumes of Persian poetry); among his buildings are the city walls of Burhānpur and Ḥaydarābād, the canal at Awrangābād, and the city of Niẓāmābād. For further details of his life, including his career before coming to the Deccan, see NIẒĀM AL-MULK.

On Āṣaf Djāh's death the succession was disputed between his second son Nāṣir Djang, and his daughter's son Muẓaffar Djang; the latter was supported by the French under Dupleix, and on Nāṣir Djang's death in 1164/1750 he obtained the throne, engaging many French mercenaries for his army. But Muẓaffar Djang was killed within two months, and the French support was transferred to Ṣalābat Djang, Āṣaf Djāh's third son. His succession was opposed by the Marāthā Peshwā Bālādjī Rāo, who supported Āṣaf Djāh's eldest son, the mild and scholarly Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān, who had been his father's representative at the Mughal court—doubtless hoping thereby to be able to rule the Deccan as his deputy. Ghāzī al-Dīn marched from Dihlī with a strong Marāthā escort; but Bussy, the commander of Ṣalābat Djang's French contingent, entered into a treaty with the Peshwā by which the latter would defend the Deccan against all comers in exchange for the cession of much of Khāndēsh and other western districts. Ghāzī al-Dīn's death by poison in late 1165/1752 secured Ṣalābat Djang's succession—but to a reign in which he was a puppet in the hands of a succession of unscrupulous regents (although the best of them, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Shāh Nawāz Khān, the author of the Mughal biographies in the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, in his four years of office 1167-70/1753-7, brought financial stability out of the previous insolvency), and in which he was completely dependent for protection on his French mercenaries. Shāh Nawāz Khān was overthrown by French intrigue, and in the ensuing confusion the Marāthās again attacked the west; Niẓām ʿAlī Khān, the fourth son of Āṣaf Djāh, obtained the regency and negotiated a treaty with the Marāthās in which further western districts were ceded to them, including the fort of Naldrug [*q.v.*]. The British successes in the Seven Years' War under Clive in the "Carnatic" (*i.e.*, the Madras coast) caused the French influence in Ḥaydarābād to decline, and a promise of British support to Niẓām ʿAlī Khān caused the dismissal of most of the French troops. Ḥaydarābād's sudden military weakness caused a further full-scale Marāthā invasion, with the early loss of Aḥmadnagar and Udgir and later invasion of the central districts; in the peace treaties of 1173/1760 much of Awrangābād province, Bidjāpur district, Bīdar district, and the forts of Asīrgaṛh, Dawlatābād, Bidjāpur and Burhānpur were ceded to the Peshwā; but within a year the Marāthās had been utterly defeated at Pānīpat [*q.v.*], the Peshwā Bālādjī Rāo had died and been succeeded by a minor son, and internal dissensions had reduced the southern Marāthā power to frailty. Niẓām ʿAlī Khān had in turn invaded Mahārāshtra and regained nearly half of the previous losses; on his return he imprisoned Ṣalābat Djang and assumed the government himself at the end of 1175/July 1762, his reign of over forty years at last bringing peace and stability to the state of Ḥaydarābād.

In 1178/1765 the coastal districts north of Madrās (the "Northern Circars" [*i.e.*, *sarkārs*] of the older histories) were ceded to the British by the Mughal emperor, having been previously under French administration. Niẓām ʿAlī considered these tracts to be a portion of his dominions, and in the following

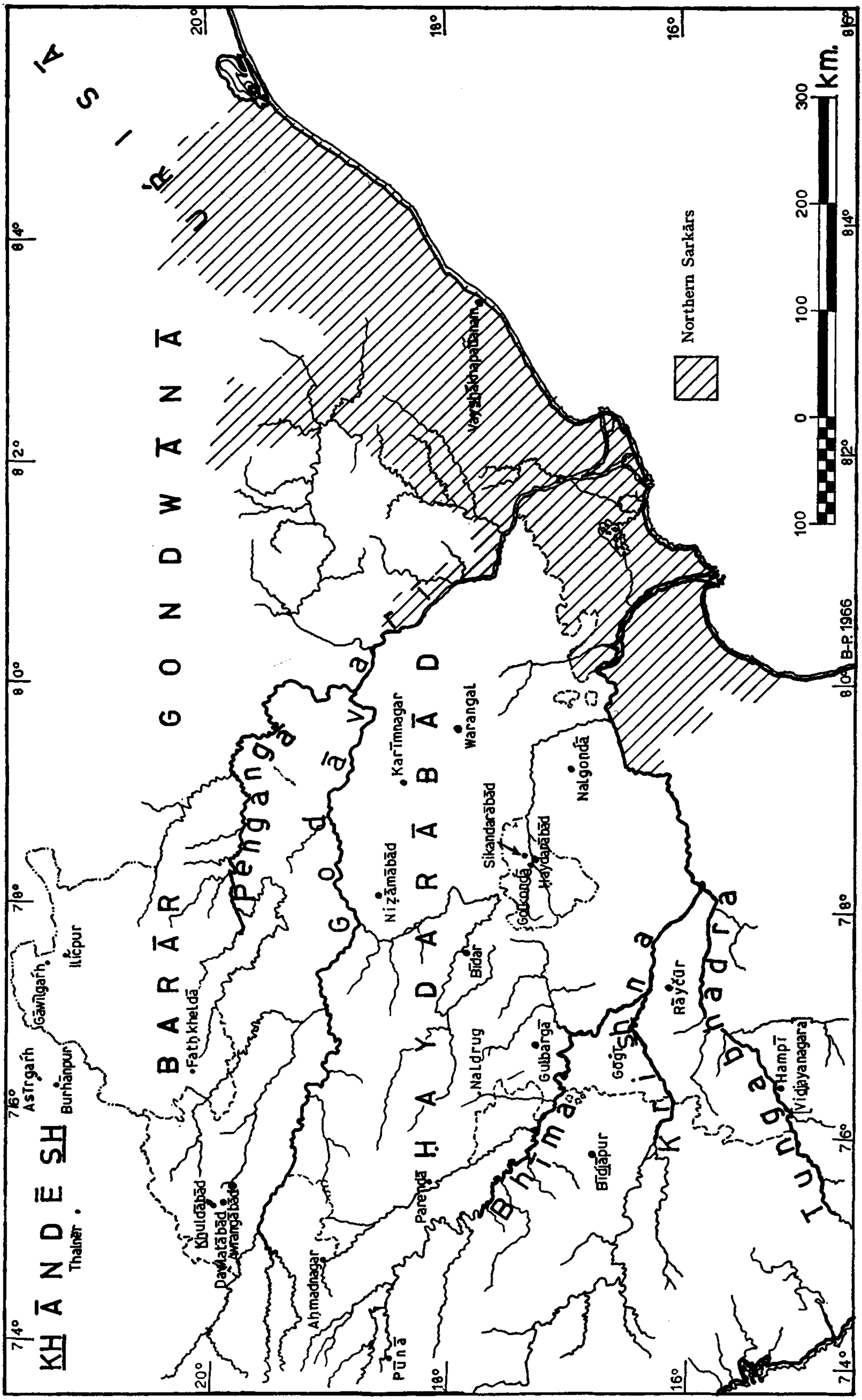
KHĀNDĒSH
BARĀR
GONDWĀNĀ
ḤAYDARĀBĀD
Northern Sarkārs
Thalnēr
Astrgaṛh
Burhānpur
Gāwilgaṛh
Ilič̣pur
Fatḥkheldā
Khuldābād
Dawlatābād
Awrangābād
Aḥmadnagar
Pūnā
Parendā
Naldrug
Gulbarga
Bīdar
Nizāmābād
Karīmnagar
Warangal
Sikandarābād
Golkonḍā
Ḥaydarābād
Nalgonḍā
Bīdjāpur
Gōgī
Rāyčūr
Hampī
Vidjayanagara
Bhīmā
Kistna
Tungabhadra
Godāvarī
Pengangā
km.
B-P. 1966

year advanced to recapture them, but without success; the British negotiated a treaty whereby they retained the districts and undertook to maintain a body of troops for employment by Ḥaydarābād whenever required; the treaty was extended in 1768 to include the Nawwābs of Arkāt in the obligations to assist the Niẓām. In 1790, when war broke out between Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.v.*] and the British, a tripartite offensive and defensive agreement was concluded between Ḥaydarābād, the Marāthās, and the East India Company, who shared the land ceded by Tīpū when he sued for peace. In 1798 by further treaty the Company agreed to assign a subsidiary force of infantry and artillery to the Niẓām, who was to pay a subsidy of 24 lākhs of rupees for its maintenance; later a contingent of cavalry was added; but Ḥaydarābād was aided also by mercenary troops under French, American and Irish commanders, the Frenchman, Raymond, by his able suppression of an attempted revolt by the heir-apparent ʿAlī Djāh, having attained a position of some eminence; he died, however, in 1798, but the presence of so many French troops was a source of anxiety to the British, who were able to compel their surrender and their dismissal from the Niẓām's territories; their excellent equipment, together with the foundries and arsenals established in Ḥaydarābād by Raymond, fell into the Ḥaydarābād contingent's hands. This force was soon in action with the East India Company against Tīpū Sulṭān at Shrīrangapattanam ("Seringapatam") near Mysore; after the victory most of the conquered territory was divided between the Company and the Niẓām; a further treaty shortly afterwards fixed the river Tungabhadrā as the frontier between the Niẓām's and the Company's territories. In 1802 a commercial treaty provided for the admission of Ḥaydarābād produce into British territory, and *vice versa*, on payment of a 5 per cent duty.

In 1803 Niẓām ʿAlī's health was failing, and the Marāthā rādjās Holkar and Sindhiā, dissatisfied alike with the reinstatement by the British of Bādjī Rāo II as Peshwā and the possible accession in Ḥaydarābād of the pro-British heir-apparent Sikandar Djāh, prepared to invade the Niẓām's dominions. The British and Ḥaydarābād campaign under Wellesley against the dissident Marāthā forces culminated in the battles of Āse ("Assaye") and Argāwn which crushed the southern Marāthā ambitions and secured the safety of the Niẓām's dominions. Sikandar Djāh duly succeeded as Niẓām in the same year; during his reign of twenty-six years the Peshwā was overthrown (1818) and the British, who had thereby technically succeeded to the right of exacting *čawth*, released the Niẓām from the obligation to pay it. Sikandar was succeeded in 1829 by his son Nāṣir al-Dawla, who reigned for twenty-eight years with a rare spirit of religious toleration. The notable events of his reign included the suppression in 1839 of a Wahhābī [*q.v.*] conspiracy, in which the late ruler's brother Mubāriz al-Dawla was implicated; serious Shīʿī-Sunnī riots in 1847, which did not abate until the Niẓām's government made a pro-Sunnī settlement; the assignment in 1853 of the districts of Barār, ʿUthmānābād (Naldrug) and the Rayčūr *dōʾāb* to the British who in turn agreed to maintain a British auxiliary force, not part of the Niẓām's army, of 5000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and four field batteries of artillery, and to release the Niẓām from the unlimited obligation to provide service and assistance in the event of war; and, perhaps the most significant event in the modern history of Ḥaydarābād as a state, the accession of Nawwāb Sālār Djang [*q.v.*] as minister in 1853.

When Nāṣir al-Dawla died in May 1857 his eldest son Afḍal al-Dawla succeeded to the throne at a critical period in Indian history, for it was feared that if Ḥaydarābād joined the Sepoy Mutiny the whole of Bombay and Southern India would follow suit; but Ḥaydarābād adhered to the British cause, and in consequence of the Niẓām's services in the revolt the districts of ʿUthmānābād and the Rayčūr *dōʾāb* were restored and the "assigned districts" of Barār became a British trust territory. Nāṣir al-Dawla died in 1869 and was succeeded by his three-year-old son Mīr Maḥbūb ʿAlī with (Sir) Sālār Djang as regent and administrator. The latter set about constituting Ḥaydarābād as a model state with an administrative system parallel to that of the British territories in India, his immediate task being to improve the finances of the state by suppression of the extortion of the local Arabs and Rohillas, by abolishing the system of revenue-farming and establishing a new revenue survey and settlement operated by government collectors, by abolishing revenue payments in kind, and by continued efforts to restore government credit from the local money-lenders (*sāhūkārs*); corruption among government officials was ruthlessly stamped out, and four young nobles of integrity were appointed to the judicial, revenue, police and "miscellaneous" ministries under the guidance of Sālār Djang, who at first retained direct control over the army, treasury, postal, diplomatic and other departments; later the revenue ministry took over, besides the land revenues, customs, forests, posts (including a postage stamp department from 1869), the mint (many private mints were suppressed; the *ḥālī sikka* rupee was introduced as the standard coin of the realm in 1854, its rate of exchange against the British rupee fluctuating considerably at first, but greatly stabilized with the introduction of the new *maḥbūbiyya* rupee in 1904. See further SIKKA), and the treasury. The "miscellaneous" department had care of public works, including irrigation, the coalfields, education (schools were set up in the chief village of each *taʿalluḳ*; by 1872 there were already 125 such schools outside the capital, which had a further 16 including the Church of England school (1834) and the Oriental College (= *Dār al-ʿulūm*) of 1854, which acted as a teachers' training college; higher education was provided at the Anglo-Vernacular school of 1857, renamed Hyderabad College in 1880 and affiliated to Madras University, and at the Civil Engineering College established in 1869 in connexion with the Public Works department), workshops and stores, and later also the municipalities and the medical department (many dispensaries were established throughout the state, with surgeons and dispensers at all district headquarters; almost all of these were trained at the Ḥaydarābād medical school established in 1846 under the direction of successive surgeons to the British Resident—the first, MacLean, having already trained 16 Muslims as surgeons and physicians by the time he retired in 1854); this department later took on responsibility for the State Railway opened in 1874. Sir Sālār Djang died in 1883, leaving a sound and generally efficient administration which was modified only in detail by his successors; the experience gained under him was the basis of the official code (*ḳānūnča-i mubārak*) promulgated in 1892 for the guidance of the prime minister, reinforced the following year by the establishment of a council composed of all the ministers of the state. Mīr Maḥbūb ʿAlī Khān attained his majority in

1884, and was succeeded by his son, the present Niẓām Mīr ʿUthmān ʿAlī Khān Bahādur Fatḥ Djang, in 1911. Under both these rulers the process of modernization of the state continued, with notable improvements in sanitation, education, communications and other public works; further departments parallel to those of British India were introduced, including a government department of publications, and the excellent department of archaeology which, besides assuming responsibility for the preservation of the archaeological monuments of the state, undertook an extensive programme of research and publication in which much attention was given to Hindū and Buddhist material (for example the caves at Adjantā, Elurā [*q.v.*] and Awrangābād; the corpus of Telugu inscriptions, etc.) as well as to Muslim history and monuments. Muslim learning in a wide field was represented by the Ḥaydarābād journal *Islamic Culture* (1927). The political boundaries of the state remained more or less unchanged, except that administratively the Assigned Districts of Barār were leased in perpetuity to the British government in 1902 at an annual rental of 25 lākhs of rupees; while the titular sovereignty of the Mughal emperor at Dihlī had been theoretically recognized by Ḥaydarābād until the deposition of the last emperor in 1858, and recognized by the inscriptions on coinage from the Ḥaydarābād mint, the paramountcy of the government of India was not recognized in Ḥaydarābād until it was explicitly asserted by Lord Reading in 1926. The British title of "Exalted Highness" was conferred on the Niẓām in 1918 in recognition of Ḥaydarābād's contribution to the allied war effort, and in 1936 Barār was added to his title, the heir-apparent being styled "Prince of Berar".

At the time of the partition of India into the new dominions of India and Pākistān the Niẓām's government opted for accession of the state to Pākistān; the state was, however, forcibly integrated into the Indian Union in 1948, although maps published in Pākistān continued to show Ḥaydarābād as a part of Pākistānī territory for long afterwards. The Indian States Reorganization Commission's recommendations resulted in an Act whereby from 1 November 1956 the former state of Ḥaydarābād was redistributed on a linguistic basis between Bombay [now Mahārāshtra] (Marāthī), Mysore (Kannaḍa) and Āndhra (Telugu), Ḥaydarābād city becoming the capital of Āndhra Pradesh. The Muslim population was much depleted by emigration to Pākistān, although there has been no official discrimination against Muslims in the new predominantly Hindū state; Ḥaydarābād is still an important Islamic cultural centre, with Urdū the common language of Muslim intercourse.

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For the later history of the state, especially the reforms of Sir Sālār Djang: Syed Hossain Bilgrami and C. Willmott, *Historical and descriptive sketch of His Highness the Nizam's dominions*, 2 vols., Bombay 1883-4; *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, Bombay 1884; on these are based the various series (Main and Provincial) of the later editions of the *Imperial gazetteer of India*, with revised information being continually added from Census reports and the communications of local administrative officers. Of biographies by officials resident in Ḥaydarābād that of Col. Meadows Taylor, *Story of my life*, 2 vols., London 1877, is notable. See also bibliography to SĀLĀR DJANG.

Further material relevant to Ḥaydarābād will be found in the following articles: AWRANGĀBĀD, BERĀR, BĪDAR, BĪDJĀPUR, DAKHAN, DAWLATĀBĀD, ELURĀ, GOLKONḌĀ, GULBARGĀ, KARNĀTAKA, ḲUṬB SHĀHĪS, MARĀTHĀS, NALDRUG, PARENḌĀ, RAYČŪR, UDGIR, WARANGAL. On the coinage, land tenures, and language, see respectively SIKKA; TENURE OF LAND; URDŪ. See also the general articles on India under HIND. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḤAYDARĀBĀD (Sind), a town in the former province of Sind (West Pakistan) situated between 25° 23′ N. and 68° 20′ E. and covering an area of 36 sq. miles, is the third largest city in West Pakistan after Karachi and Lahore, pop. (1961) 434,537 (of which the Muslims numbered 422,786). Built on the site of the ancient Nīrūṅkoṭ, which fell to the arms of Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim al-Thakafī at the time of the first Muslim conquest of Sind in the 2nd/8th century, the town is of comparatively recent origin, having been founded in 1182/1768 by Ghulām Shāh Kalhōṛā, the then ruler of Sind, whose capital Khudābād in the district of Dādū had been partially destroyed by floods in 1171/1757. He constructed a large brick-fort, covering 36 acres, on a ridge locally known as Gandjo Ṭakar and renamed the town Ḥaydarābād (after ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, also known as Ḥaydar). Ghulām Shāh died in 1187/1773 and was buried in the Hīrābād quarter of the town near the modern Central Jail, in the complex known as the Tombs of the Mīrs. The town passed into the possession of the Tālpurs in 1198/1783, on the overthrow of the Kalhōṛā dynasty, who also made it their capital. The new ruler Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān made many changes and rebuilt the town after his own liking. The Tālpurs continued to rule till 1259/1843 when, after the battle of Miyānī, the town passed into the possession of the British along with the entire province of Sind. For strategic, political and commercial reasons the new rulers transferred the capital to the port of Karachi, which gained in prosperity at the cost of Ḥaydarābād.

The old town, built in a haphazard way, consists of narrow lanes and bystreets lined with dingy, old-fashioned, many-storeyed houses. A peculiar feature of these houses is that they carry on their roof-tops strange-looking contraptions for catching the sea-breeze blowing from Karachi. These wind-catchers deceived Sir Charles Napier, during his victorious march on Sind, into taking them for small guns. The main street known as S͟hāhī Bāzār is slightly wider but is crowded at all hours of the day. The citadel built by G͟hulām S͟hāh is now practically in ruins; it was inhabited till recently by Muslim refugees from India who have now been moved to the new colonies constructed for them. In earlier days the fort was surrounded by a ditch, now completely filled with debris, which separated it from the old town (for a full description of the town and the fort as they stood in 1836, see the *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, "B" volume II, Hyderabad District, Bombay 1920, 40-4). In April 1906, an explosion in the ammunition stored in the fort destroyed many buildings and shops both within the fort and outside. Thereafter the fort was handed over to the civil authorities. In the compound of the blown-up magazine were buried many British officers who fell in the battles of Miyānī and Dubba.

Among the notable buildings in the town are the tombs of the Mīrs, the former rulers of Sind, at the northern extremity of the ridge on which the town stands. While the tombs of the Kalhōṛās are fine specimens of Sindhī architecture, those of the Tālpurs are a poor imitation of modern styles. All the tombs are richly decorated with coloured tiles set in geometric and floral patterns, but both the colours and designs are of inferior workmanship. Under the Tālpur rule, the tombs of their vanquished rivals, the Kalhōṛās, suffered greatly from neglect; indeed they still lie neglected although they are now in the midst of a very busy district and are protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. With the moving of the University of Sind to this town in 1954 and in 1962 of the Sindhī Adabī Board, established by the Government for the development of Sindhī language and literature and for the publication of works in Persian or Arabic by earlier authors of Sindhī origin, it has become a prospering centre of cultural activities. The town also houses the recently established S͟hāh Walī Allāh Academy, devoted to research on the philosophy of S͟hāh Walī Allāh [see AL-DIHLAWĪ] and his contribution to Islamic religious and theological thought.

The town has considerably expanded in recent years and two new suburban townships—Laṭīfābād and the Industrial Trading Estate—have sprung up, adding to the amenities of the town. The languages spoken are Urdu and Sindhī, and the population consists of many ethnic elements, such as Balōčis, Sayyids, Rād͟jpūts, pure Sindhīs of D͟jāṭ and Mēd origin and the Mewātīs.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ḤAYDARĀN, an ancient place-name in south-east Tunisia—which may be located in the neighbourhood of Gabès on the road leading from that town to Ḳayrawān—where, on 11 D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 443/14 April 1052, the Ṣanhād͟ja forces under the command of the Zīrid *amīr* al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs were annihilated by the Hilālī hordes, to whom the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo had handed over Ifrīḳiya as a reprisal for its recognition of the ʿAbbāsid caliph of Bag͟hdād. There were not two battles at Ḥaydarān, taking place, at one year's interval, on the same day and in the same place, as a misinterpretation of a passage in the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿId͟hārī has suggested. After fondly entertaining the hope of enrolling the Banū Hilāl and minimizing the importance of an invasion whose causes are perhaps as much demographic as political, the Zīrid staked all to stop the barbarian flood. Ḥaydarān commemorates the collapse of the Zīrid power, the end of the civilization typified by Ḳayrawān and the start of a new era for the whole Mag͟hrib, which thereafter, progressively from East to West, was to suffer from an increase in nomadism so serious that its effects are still visible today.

Bibliography: H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, i-ii, Paris 1962.

(H. R. IDRIS)

ḤAYFĀ, modern Haifa, a port at the foot of Mount Carmel. The name does not occur in the Bible, but appears frequently in the Talmud and in later Jewish sources, and is mentioned by Eusebius as ʿΕφα. In the early Muslim centuries Haifa was overshadowed by ʿAkkā [*q.v.*], and is first described by Nāṣir-i K͟husraw, who was there in 438/1046. He speaks of the palm-groves and numerous trees of this village (*dih*), and mentions the nearby sands of the kind used by Persian goldsmiths and called by them Makkī sand. He also found shipwrights who, he said, made the large, sea-going ships called D͟jūdī (*Safar-nāma*, ed. and Fr. trans. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, text 18, trans. 60; ed. Kaviani, Berlin 1340 s., 26; English version in *PPTS*, iv, 13).

The Crusaders on their way south at first by-passed Haifa. They soon turned their attention to this useful port, perhaps still containing a shipyard, and *ca.* S͟hawwāl 493/August 1100, after a siege of about a month, captured Haifa with the help of a Venetian fleet. According to Albert of Aix (vii, 22-5, *RHC.Occ.*, iii, 521 ff.) the population were Jews, who inhabited this place with a special grant from the Fāṭimid Caliph, for which they paid tribute, and who defended it in arms, with the help of Muslim troops. After the capture, the Jewish and Muslim garrison and population, apart from a few who escaped, were assembled and massacred.

Under Frankish rule Haifa acquired some importance, and was often a subject of dispute between the Frankish barons. Idrīsī, whose account belongs to this period, describes it as an excellent anchorage and as the port of Tiberias (ed. Gildemeister, in *ZDPV*, viii (1885), Supp.). During the wars between the Crusaders and the Muslims, the fate of Haifa, like other ports on the Palestine coast [see ARSŪF, ḲAYSARIYYA, YĀFA], was linked with that of ʿAkkā.

In 583/1187, after the fall of ʿAkkā, Haifa, with other places, was occupied by Saladin's forces (Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, ed. G. Shayyal, Cairo 1964, 79; Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*¹, ii, 88; Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, ed. P. A. Gryaznevič, Moscow 1960, fol. 92 b; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, ed. G. Shayyal, ii, Cairo 1957, 202. In view of the evidence of the Muslim sources, the statement of some Frankish sources, repeated by most modern Western historians of the Crusades, that Haifa was captured *before* the fall of ʿAkkā must be rejected (see W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, Cambridge 1907, 250). In 587/1191, anticipating the Frankish recovery of ʿAkkā, Saladin demolished the walls and fortifications of Haifa, before abandoning it to the Franks. Haifa now remained in Frankish hands, and was refortified by King Louis IX of France *ca.* 1250-1. In 663/1265 it was abandoned by its inhabitants before the advance of Baybars, who razed its fortifications to the ground. It was later recovered by the Franks, and was finally reconquered by the Mamlūk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl in 690/1291, after the reconquest of ʿAkkā.

In the Mamlūk period Haifa was affected by the general policy of keeping the Palestine coast in a state of devastation, as a precaution against a return by the Crusaders. Ḳalḳashandī mentions it only as a ruin (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 155 = Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 124). The first Ottoman survey registers of the conquest [see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ] do not list Haifa among the inhabited places. At about the same time Pīrī Reʾīs, in his description of the Palestine coast, mentions only a ruined castle (U. Heyd, *A Turkish description of the coast of Palestine in the early sixteenth century*, in *IEJ*, vi/4 (1956), 206 and 210-1). By 1019/1611, however, a Turkish document speaks of Frankish merchants who "used to come" to the port (*iskele*) of Haifa. They had stopped coming because of molestation, which was therefore to cease (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, 129). In this period Haifa seems to have formed part of the possessions of the Ṭarabay [*q.v.*] family. In 1032/1623 it was besieged by Fakhr al-Dīn II Maʿn [*q.v.*], who offered to raise the siege if Aḥmad Ibn Ṭarabay would undertake not to attack the Ṣafad area. The latter, however, preferred to destroy Haifa rather than risk its falling into the hands of his enemy (I. Ben-Zvi, *Ereṣ-Yisrāʾēl we-yishūvāh biyyēmē ha-shilṭōn ha-ʿOthmānī*, Jerusalem 1955, citing E. Roger, *La terre sainte*, Paris 1664, 76-7; P. Carali, *Fakhr al-Din II*, i, Rome 1936, Italian 80, Arabic 83; Aḥmad al-Khālidī, *Lubnān fī ʿahd al-amīr Fakhr al-Dīn . . .*, ed A. J. Rustum, Beirut 1936, 197-8). More frequent mention by travellers confirms the increasing use of Haifa during the 17th and 18th centuries, though the population seems to have remained very small. During the late forties or early fifties of the 18th century Haifa and its surroundings came into the possession of Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar [*q.v.*]. In Shawwāl 1174/May 1761 ʿOthmān Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Damascus, having been authorized by the Sultan to annex Haifa and its surroundings to his province, sent thirty soldiers on a French ship from Beirut to Haifa, with orders to seize the village and fortress by a sudden attack. Forewarned by his spies, Shaykh Ẓāhir was able to drive the ship away by gunfire. After this incident he destroyed the existing village and built a new one, some two kilometres to the north-east, to which he transferred the inhabitants. He called the new village *al-ʿimāra al-djadīda*, the "new construction", but it came to be known as Ḥayfā al-djadīda, new Haifa. It was defended by walls with round towers on the three land sides and by a rectangular, two-storey fortress, armed with guns, overlooking the village and the harbour. Mikhāʾīl Ṣabbāgh remarks that this fortress was built allegedly for defence against infidel (?Maltese) pirates, but actually against possible attacks from Nābulus. It was called Burdj Abū Salām or Burdj al-Salām. Some ruins remain on the hill which is still called al-Burdj. (U. Heyd [then טייה], *Dāhir al-ʿUmar* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1942, 29-30, 39-40, 94, citing Nuʿmān Ḳasaṭli, *Mulakhkhaṣ taʾrīkh al-Zayādina*, in *Madjallat al-Djinān*, 1877, 851; ʿAbbūd al-Ṣabbāgh, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī taʾrīkh Ḍāhir*, Ms in American University Library, Beirut, fol. 9a and b; Mikhāʾīl Niḳūla al-Ṣabbāgh, *Taʾrīkh al-Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar al-Zaydānī = Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du patriarcat melkite d'Antioche*, iv, ed. P. Constantin Bacha, Ḥarīṣā n.d. [? 1927], 45-6).

The new village built by Shaykh Ẓāhir was the nucleus of modern Haifa. After his fall it was ruled by Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha, and in 1799 was captured by the French, who, however, abandoned it after their failure to take ʿAkkā. In 1837 it was captured by Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt, and in 1840, with ʿAkkā, suffered damage when the two ports were bombarded by Turkish, British, and Austrian ships.

The gradual silting up of the port of ʿAkkā had resulted in a diversion of traffic to Haifa, which began to grow in size and importance. The Jewish population was increased by newcomers from Morocco, Turkey and later from Europe. A new element was the Templars, a group of German Protestants from Württemberg who settled in Haifa in 1868. Though their purpose in coming was pious, they inaugurated the modern economic development of Haifa. They built roads, introduced four-wheeled carriages, and established regular passenger services to ʿAkkā and Nazareth. Among other activities, they built a steam-mill, planted vineyards, and introduced modern agricultural methods. Another group of religious settlers were the Bahāʾīs [*q.v.*], the followers of Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] who died in exile near ʿAkkā in 1892. The tomb of his precursor the Bāb [*q.v.*] and of his son ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ, known as ʿAbbās Efendi, are in a mausoleum on the slopes of Mount Carmel; Haifa is the administrative centre of the Bahāʾī religion.

In 1886 work was begun on a government carriage road from Haifa to Tiberias and Djanīn; in 1898, on the occasion of the visit of the German Emperor and Empress, a pier was built, and a carriage road was constructed from Haifa to Jaffa. Despite these developments the population remained small. Towards the end of the 19th century Turkish estimates put it at about 6000 souls, most of them Muslim; by the outbreak of war in 1914 they had risen to between 10,000 and 12,000, of whom about half were Muslims, and the rest Catholic and Orthodox Christians, with a few hundred each of Jews and of German Templars (for a Turkish impression of the German and Jewish settlers, and their work, see Bereketzāde Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, *Yād-i māḍī*, Istanbul 1332/1914, 132 ff.). In late Ottoman times Haifa was the seat of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sandjaḳ* of ʿAkkā in the *wilāyet* of Bayrūt.

On 23 September 1918 Haifa was occupied by British troops and, as part of the mandated territory of Palestine, entered on a phase of intensive growth and development. A new era in the economic life of

the town had already begun with the opening, in 1905, of the Darʿa-Haifa branch of the Ḥidjāz railway [*q.v.*]. This, by linking Haifa with Damascus and Ḥawrān as well as with Arabia, had given a great impetus to its development as a port. The low freight charges, made possible by the gift capital of the Ḥidjāz railway, gave it an immediate advantage over both Jaffa and Bayrūt. In 1918 a new line linked Haifa with Southern Palestine and Egypt; the port was improved in 1921, and a major expansion completed in 1933, by which date the tonnage entering Haifa harbour had quadrupled in ten years. The completion of the oil pipeline from ʿIrāḳ in 1933 and of the refinery in 1939 also contributed greatly to the economic growth of the city. These developments helped and were helped by a considerable Arab immigration into the city, and, especially in the thirties and forties, by the immigration of large numbers of Jews, chiefly from central and eastern Europe. Censuses held under the Mandate show the following population figures: 1922: 9,377 Muslims, 8,863 Christians, 6,230 Jews, 164 others; 1931: 20,324 Muslims, 13,824 Christians, 15,923 Jews, 332 others. By the end of the Mandate, in 1948, the population of Haifa was estimated at 120,000, two-thirds of whom were Jews and the rest Arabs.

On 21 April 1948 the general commanding British troops in Haifa informed Arab and Jewish leaders that he was going to concentrate his forces in the port area and the roads leading to it, and withdraw them from the rest of the city. This announcement was followed by a swift struggle, which left the city in Jewish hands, and, after abortive negotiations for a surrender, by the departure, by sea to ʿAkkā and Lebanon or overland to Nazareth, of the greater part of the Arab population. The circumstances of this departure remain obscure and controversial (for varying accounts, see ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *al-Nakba*, i, Beirut 1956, 206-23; R. E. Gabbay, *A political study of the Arab-Jewish conflict*, Geneva-Paris 1959, 94-5; J. and D. Kimche, *Both sides of the hill*, London 1960, 115-6, 118-24; G. Kirk, *The Middle East 1945-1950*, London 1954, 261-3; Walid Khalidi, *The fall of Haifa*, in *Middle East Forum*, December 1959, 22-32; Muḥammad Nimr al-Khaṭīb, *Min athar al-nakba*, n.p. [? Damascus] 1951; N. S. Lorch, *The edge of the sword*, London and New York 1961, 97-100; H. Sacher, *Israel, the establishment of a state*, London 1952, 241-5; R. D. Wilson, *Cordon and search*, Aldershot 1949, 167 ff. and 190).

At the present time (1965) there is an Arab population of about 10,000 in Haifa, including Muslims, Druzes, Bahāʾīs, and Christians. Most of the Muslims live in the Wādī Nisnās quarter, on the slopes of Mount Carmel. The Great, or Djarayna Mosque, damaged during the fighting in 1948, was repaired and brought into use again in June 1949. The Carmel village of Kabābīr, inhabited by Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*], is now also within the city limits of Haifa.

Bibliography: in addition to that given in the article, Le Strange, *Palestine*, 446; A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 58; L. A. Mayer and J. Pinkerfeld, *Some principal Muslim religious buildings in Israel*, Jerusalem 1950, 39-40 of English text, 35-6 of Arabic text; Palestine Exploration Fund, *Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs*; R. Guérin, *Description de la Palestine, Samarie*, ii, Paris 1876, 251-9, *Galilée*, i, Paris 1880, 499-50; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, Paris 1938; E. T. Dawling, *The town of Haifa*, in *QSPEF* (1914), 184-91; L. Oliphant, *Haifa, or Life in modern Palestine*, London 1887; J. J. Rothschild, *History of Haifa and Mt. Carmel* (popular outline), Haifa 1934. (Ed.)

ḤĀYIL or **ḤĀʾIL**, chief town (pop. 20,000 in 1385/1965) of the district of Djabal Shammar in Central Arabia, former capital of the Rashīdī dynasty of Nadjd, after 1340/1921 a provincial capital of the enlarged realm of the House of Suʿūd (since 1351/1932 the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia). Djabal Shammar, bounded on the north by the basin of the Great Nafūd, forms the natural northwestern limit of Nadjd, although residents of the Ḥāʾil area sometimes refer to al-Ḳaṣīm as the northernmost district of Nadjd proper. Ḥāʾil, situated at an altitude of 979 metres near the eastern edge of the granite massif of Adjaʾ, lies at the heart of the *dīra* of Shammar [*q.v.*] (of Ṭayyiʾ of the classical historians), dominant tribe of the area. The hill of Samra, also known locally as al-Mawḳida, bounds the town on the east; the ridge Umm Arḳab forms a barrier on the north. The name Ḥāʾil was first applied to the *wādī* that runs near the edge of the settlement, itself originally known simply as al-Ḳurayya. Ḥāʾil was mentioned by the poets Imruʾ al-Ḳays and Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd. Sprenger identifies Ḥāʾil with the Arre Kome of Ptolemy.

The Shammarī inhabitants of Ḥāʾil submitted to Wahhābī [*q.v.*] rule in 1201/1786-7, and the early years of the 13th/19th century were marked by disputes between the Houses of Ibn ʿAlī and Ibn Rashīd for local authority. The forces of Ibrāhīm Pasha, commander of the Turco-Egyptian expeditionary force, exacted tribute from Ḥāʾil after the fall of al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] in 1233/1818. Occupation troops entered the town again in 1253/1837. In 1251/1835 the House of Rashīd became firmly established as rulers of Ḥāʾil under the suzerainty of Āl Suʿūd. Independent Djabal Shammar reached the height of its power under Muḥammad Ibn Rashīd, ruler of Ḥāʾil between 1289/1872 and 1315/1897. The town then had a population of about 20,000 in four quarters around the market square, al-Mashaba. On the northeast was Barzān fortress, the construction of which was begun by Muḥammad Ibn ʿAlī early in the 13th/19th century. The Lubda quarter was on the south; al-Maḳīẓa on the west; and Afnān on the northwest. Commerce was in the hands of 80 merchant families from al-Nadjaf in Iraq. At the mosque in Barzān was the religious law school of al-Marshadī, and the Lubda quarter had a similar institution. Muḥammad b. Bānī, an armourer at Ḥāʾil during this period, was famous throughout Arabia for his decorated weapons. Ḥāʾil and its environs were stricken by an epidemic *ca.* 1288/1871, when many of the townsmen died. Doughty estimated the population to be only about 3,000 at the time of his visit in 1294-1877. After the death of Muḥammad in 1315/1897, large parts of the town were destroyed during a period of dynastic disputes that weakened the House of Rashīd. The successors of Muḥammad received active assistance from the Turks against ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd, who finally took Ḥāʾil on 1 Rabīʿ I 1340/2 November 1921.

The economy of Ḥāʾil is based on small-scale farming and commerce. Staples long grown in the area, such as dates and grains, have been supplemented by a wide variety of vegetables and citrus fruits. Ḥāʾil lay on the pilgrim track from Iraq, but the economic benefits of this traffic were often lost owing to the lack of public security in the district before 1340/1921. Overland pilgrim traffic was diverted, *ca.* 1383/1963, to the north through the district of

al-Djawf [*q.v.*]. Muḥammad Ibn Rashīd was known for the quality of his horses; he kept some 500 head in the Ḥā'il area as cavalry mounts and for export. Horses were no longer raised there in significant numbers in 1385/1966.

Important quarters in the modern town, in addition to those mentioned above, are al-Djudayyida, al-Zabāra, and al-Wusayṭā. The garden suburb of al-Suwayfila is now contiguous with Ḥā'il, and the formerly barren tract known as al-Nuḳra, between Ḥā'il and Ḳufār, is cultivated. The Amīr of Ḥā'il in 1385/1966 was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Musāʿad b. Djilūwī, who was installed *ca.* 1341/1923 by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd. He administers an area of some 160,000 square kilometres including the towns of Ḳibā, Taymā, and Khaybar.

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(J. Mandaville)

al-ḤAYMA, a district in the Yaman mountains southwest of Ṣanʿā'. The district, which is divided into al-Ḥayma al-Khāridjiyya (Outer or Western al-Ḥayma) and al-Ḥayma al-Dākhiliyya (Inner or Eastern al-Ḥayma), straddles the main route to Ṣanʿā' from the seaport of al-Ḥudayda. Ascending from Tihāma, one passes through the district of Ḥarāz [*q.v.*] to reach al-Ḥayma. Manākha, the capital of Ḥarāz, lies *ca.* 2300 m. above sea level. Eastwards the way drops some 800 m. into the sink or graben of Mafḥaḳ ,named after the main town of Outer al-Ḥayma. Glaser identifies Hamdānī's Dhāt Djirdān with Mafḥaḳ, where Harris speaks of "the strange fortress . . . grandly situated on a pinnacle of rock some five hundred feet above the valley". Approaching Inner al-Ḥayma, the way rises again; Sūḳ al-Khamīs (Khamīs Madhyūr) is over 2300 m. and Ḳarn al-Waʿl ("the Horn or Peak of the Mountain Goat", not "deer-antlers" or "Deer-Horn" as in *EI*¹, ii, 220, and iv, 144) to the north is over 2900 m. The main town of Inner al-Ḥayma, al-ʿUrr (pronounced al-ʿIrr), which has been identified with Hamdānī's al-Ṣayad, is not far west of Ḥaḍūr Shuʿayb [*q.v.*], the great mountain dominating the separate district of Ḥaḍūr.

In the north al-Ḥayma extends to the upper basin of Wādī Surdud, and in the south to the land of Anis and Wādī Sahām. In the east the land of Banū Maṭar lies south of the district of Ḥaḍūr. Among the northern valleys of al-Ḥayma are al-Rabūʿ, Mafḥaḳ al-Shamālī, and Ṣayʿam, all of which flow into Surdud. In the south Marḥab, which runs down from Djabal al-Manār near Sūḳ al-Khamīs, and Mafḥaḳ al-Djanūbī flow into Sahām.

Contrary to the statement in *EI*¹, ii, 220, a good deal of coffee is grown in al-Ḥayma. Harris describes one scene there: "What a wonderful valley it was, full of coffee-groves, and luxuriating in all the glories of gorgeous vegetation, amongst which banana-leaves could be plainly distinguished, waving their great green heads!" Glaser considered that the best coffee of al-Ḥayma came from the region of al-ʿUrr. Rathjens and von Wissmann mention fig trees, peaches, and large sycamores to provide shade. These two authors and Deflers give other details on the flora.

The district of al-Ḥayma is believed to be Hamdānī's land of the Akhrūdj, an offshoot of Hamdān. Today the district is regarded as a stronghold of Zaydism, even though the Ismāʿīlīs of the tribe of Yām in Nadjrān [*q.v.*] penetrated there during their advance on Ḥarāz in the 19th century. In the last years of the Mutawakkilite Kingdom of the Yaman and the first years of the Yaman Arab Republic, the People's Republic of China built a paved highway from al-Ḥudayda through al-Ḥayma to Ṣanʿā'.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in *EI*¹, see Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Wīsī, *al-Yaman al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1962; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1889; W. Harris, *A journey through the Yemen*, Edinburgh 1893; and C. Rathjens and H. v. Wissmann, *Südarabien Reise*, iii, Hamburg 1934 (maps and photographs). (G. Rentz)

ḤAYR [see ḥā'ir].

ḤAYS [see Supplement].

ḤAYṢA BAYṢA, nickname of the Arab poet Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Saʿd al-Ṣayfī al-Tamīmī. He was born c. 492/1098-9 and died at Baghdād on 6 Shaʿban 574/11 January 1179. He studied *fiḳh* under al-Wazzān al-Shāfiʿī at Rayy and *ḥadīth* under Abū Ṭālib Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Zaynabī and others, but turned to poetry and belles-lettres and gained fame by the elegance of his style. At Ḥilla he eulogized the Banū Mazyad. Then he went to Baghdād. In his odes he praised the caliphs, *e.g.*, al-Mustarshid, al-Muḳtafī, and al-Mustaḍīʿ, but also the Saldjūḳ sultans, *e.g.*, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad and his brother Masʿūd b. Muḥammad, after whose death he was imprisoned for a while by order of al-Muḳtafī. He enjoyed the patronage of the vizier Anūshirwān b. Khālid and especially of the latter's rival ʿAlī b. Ṭarrād al-Zaynabī. He also eulogized other grandees of his time, *e.g.*, al-Djawād Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, the Atābeg Ghāzī b. Zangī, and the Begteginid ʿAlī Küčük.

As a writer Ḥayṣa Bayṣa is a representative of the florid style in vogue in Arabic poetry and ornate prose from the 5th/11th century. His *Dīwān* and his *Rasā'il*, now lost, were studied by al-Samʿānī—probably in the thirties of the 6th/12th century—under the author's guidance. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sā'ir* (Būlāḳ 1282 A.H.), 251, 14 greatly admires the opening of one of Ḥayṣa Bayṣa's poems in honour of Ghāzī b. Zangī.

Ḥayṣa Bayṣa was very proud of his Arab lineage, claiming descent from Aktham b. Ṣayfī [*q.v.*]. He dressed himself like a Bedouin chief, riding on horseback through the streets of Baghdād fully armed. He also affected Bedouin speech, pronouncing the *qāf* like *g*; he was fond of obsolete words—he got his nickname from the expression *fī ḥayṣa bayṣa* "in straits and distress"—and addressed everyone in the classical language with all its grammatical niceties. The biographers give instances of the affected style of his private letters which made them nearly unintelligible to the addressee. These weaknesses made him an easy target for the satire of his enemies, *e.g.*, the physician Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān (d. 558/1163).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iii, 19 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 300; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 233 (in the article on Hibat Allāh b. al-Faḍl); Ibn Khallikān, no. 254; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, iv, 221; Damīrī s.v. *baʿāḍ*; Brockelmann S I 441;

ʿA. Dj. Āl Ṭāhir, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa-bilād al-ʿAdjam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdād 1961, i, 207-20 and index. A large selection from Ḥayṣa Bayṣa's poems and letters is to be found in ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī's *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, section on ʿIrāḳ, i, ed. Muḥ. Bahdjat al-Atharī, Baghdād 1355/1955, 202-366, and extracts from his *Dīwān* appear in MS 4314 of the Rampur library (= 3046 of the Institute of Arabic manuscripts).

(J. W. Fück)

HAYṬAL [see HAYĀṬILA].

AL-**HAYTHAM** B. **ʿADĪ** AL-ṬĀʾĪ, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, author of historical works (*akhbārī*) born at Kūfa ca. 120/738 in a family originally from Manbidj, died at Fam al-Ṣilḥ in 206, 207 or 209/821, 822, or 824. Of his life it is known only that he attended the ʿAbbāsid court more or less regularly from the reign of al-Manṣūr to that of al-Rashīd, that he was imprisoned by the latter after a criticism of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib that his wife's family had slanderously attributed to him, and that al-Amīn freed him on his accession. It is known also that he had disputes with poets, notably Abū Nuwās, who is said to have addressed satirical verses to him in which he accused him of having forged a false genealogy for himself. On the whole, he is blamed for an improper curiosity, and students of Tradition have no confidence in him, because he is thought to have fabricated *ḥadīths*; al-Djāḥiẓ himself, who, however, quotes him quite often in his works (see *Ḥayawān* and *Bayān*, index), seems to consider him as proverbial for the lack of authenticity of his stories (*K. al-Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 203); but of course he numbers him amongst the Khāridjīs. Nevertheless, al-Haytham is a source for al-Yaʿḳūbī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī and other historians. The author of the *Murūdj al-dhahab* considers him well-informed on the history of the Arabs and quotes him frequently, along with Ibn al-Kalbī, Abū Mikhnaf and other authors of the 2nd/8th century, most of whose works have been lost. The *Fihrist* (Cairo ed., 145-6) and Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, vii, 261 ff. = *Udabāʾ*, xix, 304 ff.) credit al-Haytham with some fifty works, which can be divided into several groups but which all relate to one branch of history:

Ancient history (*K. Buyūtāt al-ʿArab*; *K. Ḥilf Kalb wa-Tamīm*, etc.); general and Islamic history (*al-Taʾrīkh murattab ala 'l-sinīn*; *Taʾrīkh al-Furs wa-Banī Umayya*; *K. al-Dawla*, etc.); genealogy (*Nasab Ṭayyiʾ*, etc.); biographies (*K. al-Muʿammarīn*; *K. Wulāt al-Kūfa*; *K. ʿUmmāl al-shuraṭ li-umarāʾ al-ʿIrāḳ*; *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ wa 'l-muḥaddithīn*, etc.); monographs (*Akhbār Ziyād b. Abīh*; *Akhbār al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*; *K. Khawātim al-khulafāʾ* etc.); polemic between cities (*K. Fakhr ahl al-Kūfā ʿalā ahl al-Baṣra*); *mathālib* (*K. al-Mathālib al-ṣaghīr*; *K. al-Mathālib al-kabīr*; *K. Mathālib Rabīʿa*; *Asmāʾ baghāyā Ḳuraysh fi'l djāhiliyya*, etc.). Not one of his works has survived.

Bibliography: besides the sources quoted in the article: *Aghānī*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 384 (p. 533, he deals with another Haytham); ʿAskalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vi, 209-11; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, no. 44; Brockelmann, S I, 77, 213. (Ch. Pellat)

HAYŪLĀ, a technical term taken from the Greek ὕλη, "matter" as opposed to "form", *ṣūra* (εἶδος), or more precisely "primary matter" in the philosophical sense. The corresponding Arabic word is *mādda*; the sense that is sometimes very close to that of *ʿunṣur*, "element", should also be noted. In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, the term *hayūlā* is current in translations from the Greek, and in the researches and systems that draw their inspiration from these. According to the taste of the various schools and authors, *hayūlā* is sometimes substituted for *mādda*, and sometimes distinguished from it, as "primary matter" is distinguished from "secondary matter"; frequently, however, the two terms are considered as being virtually synonymous. In its slightly differing connotations, *hayūlā* belongs to the vocabulary (1) of the Shīʿī (particularly Ismāʿīlī) thinkers, and (2) of the "Hellenistic Philosophers" (*falāsifa*). We find it again in the treatises of *ʿilm al-kalām* which discuss the arguments of both of these groups.

A complete survey would be very extensive. The following constitute some points of reference:

1. In Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *al-hayūlā* is the third of the "Five Eternals (*i.e.*, Principles)", in its strict sense of "primary matter" (*Rasāʾil falsafiyya*, ed. P. Kraus, Cairo 1939, i, 195 ff.).—A recension and summary of al-Tāzī's arguments was made in Persian by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, and in Arabic by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. The "Second Eternal", the Universal Soul (*al-nafs al-kulliyya*), shook and agitated Matter in order to produce the world—without success; it needed the help of the "First Eternal", *al-Bāriʾ*, the Creator (*op. cit.*, 308). Matter is then subjected to Form.

2. Emanatist world-views, particularly in Shīʿism, take up the theme of Primary Matter, emanating or radiating from the Supreme Principle, and eternal. In Ḳarmaṭī cosmology, as well as, for example, in the *Kitāb al-Yanābīʿ* of the Ismāʿīlī Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī (4th/10th century), *al-hayūlā* is the third emanating Principle. According to al-Sidjistānī, it is when the First Intelligence imagines its "Follower", the Universal Soul, that Matter comes into being. The last "is powerless to manifest itself by itself; it needs the help of Form, that is Nature, since Matter is by definition that which can manifest itself only with the help of something else" (text and trans. *apud* H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, 62/85). We find an analogous cosmogonical process in Ibn Sīnā, but here *al-hayūlā* is replaced by the Celestial Body.

Three characteristics seem to be inherent in this Ismāʿīlī Matter: (a) it is pure virtuality vis-à-vis Form (cf. also Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, 4th/10th century); it can "manifest itself" only by means of Form; (b) it has, as it were, a positive desire for Form; (c) it nevertheless keeps its autonomous position as the third emanating Principle. Nāṣir-i Khusraw says that when all the souls of the sublunary world have found their true Homeland again, not only the Universal Soul, as Abū Bakr al-Rāzī would have it, but Matter also "will be liberated, released from its subjection to Form, just as it was in pre-eternity" (H. Corbin, introduction to the *Kitāb Djāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn* of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, Tehran-Paris 1953, 133). The "desire for Form", constitutive of Matter, therefore remains, as it were, ambivalent: it is a positive desire to be manifested in Being, but a desire that is also a subjection.

A tradition attributed to Empedocles had a great effect on the elaboration of Ismāʿīlī systems (cf. Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su Escuela*, Madrid 1914, chap. V, 54 ff.). In the extracts of pseudo-Empedocles reproduced by the *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal* of al-Shahrastānī (ed. Cairo 1320, ii, 168), the first, and thus the most noble "Thing Caused" is called *al-ʿunṣur*, "(primordial) Element", simpler than Intelligence, Soul, Nature and the Mixtures

(*murakkabāt*) that are "beneath it", but not completely simple (the Creator alone, *al-mubdi*ʿ, is absolutely simple), since it is compounded of love and discord. It may, however, be called "The First Simple Intelligible", *awwal al-basīṭ al-maʿḳūl*.

This *ʿunṣur*, the First of the Five Emanations (the same theory is found in the summary of Thales given by al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, 158), seems to have done much to foster the idea of a primordial spiritual or intelligible Matter (*al-hayūlā al-rūḥāniyya*). We find the influence of this again in Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī in Iran, in Ibn ʿArabī, and in Ibn Masarra in Andalus. In this sense, too, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī calls God the *hayūlā* of the Universe.

3. The *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* give us, as it were, an abridged (and sometimes rather clumsy) version of the Ismāʿīlī views on Primordial Matter. The *risāla* on "matter, form, time and place" (ed. Cairo 1347/1928, ii, 4 ff.) reaffirms clearly that the principle of individuation (contrary to the Aristotelian tradition) comes not from matter but from form. "All bodies are of one single genus—which is of one single substance and one single matter. Their differences come from form; this is why some are purer and nobler than others" (*op. cit.*, 6). It is *ṣūra*, not *hayūlā*, that is changeable and volatile (cf. *risāla* on "Intellect and the Intelligible", iii, 230-2).

The *risāla* on "Matter and Form" (ii, 4-5) explicitly states that *hayūlā* can be understood in four ways: (a) "the Matter of art", *hayūlā al-ṣanāʿa*, every substance that serves as material for the craftsman; (b) "Physical Matter" or "the Matter of nature", *hayulā al-ṭabīʿa*, that is the "four elements" of which all sublunary bodies are composed, and to which they return when they decay; (c) "the Matter of the Whole", *hayūlā al-kull*, "the absolute (*muṭlaḳ*) body from which the Cosmos emanates"; (d) "primary Matter" (or, here, rather "primordial Matter"), *al-hayūlā al-ūlā*, defined as simple, intelligible "substance" (*djawhar*), not perceptible to the senses, and as the "form" (*ṣūra*) of all Selfhood (*huwiyya*). The term *hayūlā*, then, is used for "secondary matter" (already formed), as well as for "primary matter"—or rather the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ do not refer to this classical distinction; their idea of *hayūlā ūlā* is not that of "pure potentiality". In fact, the hierarchy of four "Matters" that they evoke causes them to say that every existing thing is, in different respects, both "form" and "matter"; each one of the four classes of *hayūlā* is "form" with respect to the class above it. "... The Absolute Body is form in Primordial Matter ... The latter is a spiritual form emanating from the Universal Soul, which is itself a spiritual form emanating from the Universal Intellect, which emanates from the Creator" (*Rasāʾil*, iii, 230). According to the Ismāʿīlī idea of "form" (see above), all form, even spiritual form, can disappear, since it is limitation. The Creator (*al-mubdi*ʿ) alone remains (*op. cit.*, 231), and every existing thing returns to Him (*op. cit.*, 232).

This hierarchy of the four connotations of *hayūlā*, as synthesized by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, accords closely with the hierarchy subsequently adopted by Ibn ʿArabī. It is, in fact, probably its source, or one of its sources. In the *Futūḥāt*, a descending, no longer ascending, enumeration reproduces the essentials of this hierarchy, with one notable addition. A fifth connotation appears, mentioned first because it refers to the highest reality: *hayūlā* as intelligible matter, whether it be created or uncreated, coexistent with Being itself, and "The Reality of Realities", *ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* (see analyses and ref. *apud* Asín Palacios, *op. cit.*, 112-3).

4. Although it is Emanatist, the system of the *falāsifa* does not, in its turn, follow the Ismāʿīlī cosmogonies. Primary Matter loses its position, both as Primordial Element and First Emanation (lines of thought influenced by pseudo-Empedocles), and as Third Emanation (cf. al-Sidjistānī), in favour of an idea that is properly philosophical; primary matter is a pure potentiality (*ḳuwwa*), actuated only by form.

The words *mādda* and *hayūlā* both belong to the vocabulary of *falsafa*. The expression *al-mādda al-ūlā* for "primary matter" is frequent in al-Fārābī; it is found also in Ibn Sīnā (*e.g.*, *Shifāʾ*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo 1390/1960, 279). In his *Risāla fi 'l-ḥudūd* (*apud Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326, 84, French trans. A.-M. Goichon, *Introduction à Avicenne*, Paris 1933, 81) Ibn Sīnā gives *mādda* and *hayūlā* as exactly synonymous, while at the same time appearing to reserve for *mādda* the connotation of "secondary matter" (he does, however, use *hayūlā*, too, in this latter sense). Immediately after this he defines *ʿunṣur* (primordial element) as "the first principle of [those things which are] subjects of inhesion: that which, taken absolutely, denotes primary matter, *al-hayūlā al-ūlā*" (*op. cit.*, 84-5/82). *Al-ʿilla al-ʿunṣuriyya* in the sense of "material cause" should also be noted (*Shifāʾ*, *loc. cit.*, 278; *Nadjāt*, Cairo 1357/1928, 211). We are a long way here from the *ʿunṣur* of pseudo-Empedocles and "spiritual matter". What is more, in the *falāsifa*, it is no longer form that is the principle of limitation, and thus of individuation, but matter as being quantified: determinate in Ibn Sīnā (*Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, Leyden 1890, 46), indeterminate in Ibn Rushd.

Thus, in contrast to Ismāʿīlī cosmogonies, we find in the *falāsifa* (in a very Platonic and Neoplatonic manner) a kind of depreciation of *hayūlā* (or *mādda*). Al-Fārābī, in his *Maḳāla fī maʿānī al-ʿaḳl*, calls primary matter (here *al-mādda al-ūlā*) "the basest of objects" (ed. Dieterici, *Philos. Abhand.*, Leyden 1890, 46). In his sketch of an ontologically ascending hierarchy (*ibid.*), he proceeds from the lowest degree, which is primary matter, to the second, which is Nature (*ṭabīʿa*). This "is corporeal form residing in primary matters"; the text has *mawādd hayūlāniyya*, thus uniting in one single expression the two roots, Arabic and Greek. The superior degrees of being rise towards separate existences (*i.e.*, separate from all matter).

Matter is the place or receptacle (*maḥall*) of form. Ibn Sīnā says: "If it is by itself a receptacle, with no composition, it is called absolute primary matter, *al-hayūlā al-muṭlaḳa*" (*Nadjāt*, 300). *Hayūlā* (or *mādda*) and its correlative/opposite *ṣūra* are the terms used to express Aristotelian Hylemorphism, or rather a Hylemorphism remodelled on Neoplatonic lines. Matter exists for form, and, in sublunary beings, form for matter (*e.g.*, al-Fārābī, *al-Madīna al-fāḍila*, ed. Dieterici, Leyden 1895, 20-1; the term used is *mādda*, but in one example, *mādda wa hayūlā*: similarly in *Maʿānī al-ʿaḳl*, 46). Ibn Sīnā, in another connexion, stresses the interaction of matter and form, giving priority to form: "It is untrue that matter (*mādda*) is in some way the cause of form. Form alone is that by means of which matter necessarily exists" (*Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, 85). It follows from this that "form is anterior to matter (*hayūlā*); not that it always exists potentially of itself; but (in composition) it is actuated only by means of matter (*mādda*)" (*ibid.*, 88). On the following page (89): "Form exists only in matter (*hayūlā*)". It should be

noted here that the world of "material forms" (*ṣuwar māddiyya*, a common expression) is not confined to the corporeal world. Primary matter, *hayūlā*, can receive forms other than corporeal (*Ishārāt*, 98). Ibn Sīnā appears here to allude to the world of Celestial Souls, showing also, perhaps, some influence of the Shīʿī "spiritual matter". The world of Separate Intellects, however, is usually represented as free from all matter.

In the famous *Risāla fi 'l-ʿishḳ* (ed. Mehren, Leyden 1894, 5-7), it is the term *hayūlā* that denotes the first of the three simple Selfhoods that have no existence of themselves: matter, form, accident. They too are pervaded by the impulse of *ʿishḳ*, of "desire"; it is with an "innate" (*gharīzī*) desire, we might say "an ontological desire", that matter desires form, without which it does not exist, and form desires matter, as its substratum. We find here again the positive desire for form that we have already found in Ismāʿīlī systems.

Many other references to the *falāsifa* could be given. We should note in Ibn Sīnā (an Aristotelian line of thought, influenced by Alexander of Aphrodisias?) the idea of a "material intellect", *al-ʿaḳl al-hayūlānī*, conceived of as pure potentiality vis-à-vis all knowledge, and so called because "of its resemblance to primary matter, which by itself possesses no form, while being the subject for all existing forms" (*Nadjāt*, 165). The expression is not found in al-Kindī, or in the *Maʿānī al-ʿaḳl* of al-Fārābī. We find it again in Ibn Rushd.

5. To represent the idea of "matter", *ʿilm al-kalām* normally uses *mādda*. *Hayūlā*, however, occurs many times in the Ashʿarīs and the later Māturīdīs, who summarize and refute *falsafa*. From them the term passes into the normal philosophical vocabulary. Of very many examples which could be given, here are three. Al-Djuwaynī (*Irshād*, ed. and trans. Luciani, Paris 1938, 13/32) introduces *hayūlā* in connexion with the (refuted) thesis of the *mulḥida* ("heterodox"). He says that they call substances (*djawāhir*) "*hayūlā*" or "*mādda*", and accidents "form" (*ṣūra*). The ideas in questions are represented better by the "modern" Ashʿarīs. In his *Muḥaṣṣal* (Cairo n.d., 83), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī gives a clear summary of the thought of Ibn Sīnā; bodies are composed of matter and form (*hayūlā* and *ṣūra*); *hayūlā* is the receptacle of form. Finally, in his *Taʿrīfāt* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 279), al-Djurdjānī defines *hayūlā* as "a Greek word" denoting "foundation" (*aṣl*) and "matter" (*mādda*). He says that the "technical sense" is "substance" (*djawhar*) which, in a body, is in a state of receptivity to everything that happens to the body; *hayūlā* is the "receptacle of corporeal and specific forms". (The notion of *djawhar* is itself open to discussion at this point.)

Bibliography: (apart from works cited in the article): L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallâj*, Paris 1922, 630 ff.; S. van den Bergh, *Die Epitome des Metaphysik des Averroes*, Leyden 1924, *passim*; A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, nos 736-8 and 439, 11; Abū Rīda, *Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, introduction to the *Risāla fi 'l-ʿaḳl*, especially 319-31; H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Paris 1958, 220-1; idem, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 196, 308-10.

(L. Gardet)

ḤAYY, Arabic name for the "clan", that is to say of the primary grouping in nomadic life, excellently described by Nöldeke as one of warriors who bivouac at the same encampment and move about together. The bond between its members is regarded as a blood relationship, and entails their collective responsibility for any murder committed by a fellow-tribesman, as well as the imperative obligation to avenge bloodshed. An alliance between two clans is cemented by magico-religious rites involving the mingling of blood, and the swearing of an oath while dipping the right hand into a vessel originally filled with blood is taken from this ceremonial. These facts, brought to notice by Robertson Smith in 1885 in his famous work on kinship and marriage in ancient Arabia, still entirely retain their validity, but his interpretation of the Semitic social institutions as being totemism was challenged as early as 1886 by Nöldeke in his critical study of the work. Although this theory of totemism today appears to have lost some of its attraction, the hypothesis of a matriarchal period preceding the patriarchal one is supported by numerous arguments. The terminology for the sections of tribes includes several names of parts of the body, such as *baṭn* "stomach", *fakhidh* "thigh", etc., which are explained by Robertson Smith, not without probability, as metaphors originally signifying the uterine parent, and then, after the change to the patriarchal system, the male organs symbolized by the knees, kidneys or thighs. Comparable features will be found in Germanic and Indo-European vocabularies. Even the term which designates kinship in the clan indicates clearly enough that this must previously have been one of maternal filiation, for *raḥim* is nothing but the name of the uterus. As for the word *ḥayy*, it seems natural to include it in the same series, noting that the root *ḥyw*, clearly apparent in *ḥayawān* "animal" and in the Ḳurʾānic spelling of *ḥay[w]āt* "life", certainly attained this abstract sense only after having previously borne a concrete meaning that is revealed by the substantive *ḥayāʾ* "vulva", from which the secondary abstract meaning of "modesty, shame" also derives. This symbol of fecundity must have been common Semitic. However, in Hebrew the corresponding root *ḥayāh* has only the meaning "to live", but the name of Eve, the mother of the human race, Ḥawwāh, which is explained in Genesis (III, 20) by a Piel form "who gives life", could well represent the concrete starting point of the same semantic derivation.

In certain modern dialects the word *ḥayy* denotes a quarter in a town or settlement, more precisely a quarter inhabited by the same ethnic or tribal element [see MADĪNA, MAḤALLA].

Bibliography: Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885; Nöldeke, review of the preceding, in *ZDMG*, xl (1886), 176; J. Henninger, *Le problème du totémisme chez les Arabes après quatre-vingts ans de recherches*, in *Actes du VIe Congrès intern. des sc. anthr. et ethn.*, Paris 1964, ii, 401-4; idem, *La société bédouine ancienne*, in *L'Antica società beduina* (Univ. di Roma, Studi Semitici, 2), Rome 1959, 69-93; *Bible du Centenaire*, Paris (Société Biblique) 1941, i, 4, n. *f*.

(J. Lecerf)

ḤAYY B. YAḲẒĀN, the name of the principal character of two philosophical allegories, one by Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳiṣṣat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, and the other by Ibn Ṭufayl, *Risālat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān fi asrār al-ḥikma al-mushriḳiyya* (L. Gauthier's vocalization; Hourani gives it as *mashriḳiyya*). Until the end of the 19th century the *Risāla* of Ibn Ṭufayl was much better known than Ibn Sīnā's short work, the contents of which if not the title were unknown. The similarity in titles led to the belief that there was a

close kinship of thought, and at times that the one was a translation of the other. Mehren, *Traités mystiques*, i, 7-8, translates the title given in 1299/1882 to the *Risāla* published in Istanbul: "*Traité Ḥayy ben Yaqẓān sur la philosophie orientale, que l'Imam Abou Djafar ben Thofeil a tiré des ouvrages précieux du grand maître Abou Ali ben Sînâ*", the last page containing a note: Ibn Khallikān attributes this treatise to Ibn Sīnā; "perhaps he wrote it in Persian, and so we may have an Arabic translation of it, made by Ibn Thofeil". De Goeje, in Leiden, was the first to notice, on examining a manuscript, that Ibn Sīnā's work was in fact written in Arabic and that the title was all it had in common with the other. Its authenticity is now indisputable and it figures in all the bibliographies, but the text was only established and published two centuries after that of Ibn Ṭufayl.

I. — *Ḳiṣṣat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, by Ibn Sīnā, who wrote it while imprisoned in the fortress of Ferdadjān, probably in 414/1023, as it seems likely that his captivity took place between 412/1021-2 (when the Būyid prince Samā' al-Dawla succeeded his father Shams al-Dawla, who, at the time of his death, still had Ibn Sīnā as his doctor) and 414/1023-4 (when the town of Hamadān was captured by ʿAlā' al-Dawla, whose minister he was). The *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* is mentioned by Djuzdjānī in his bio-bibliography of Ibn Sīnā, which is repeated by all the Arabic notices. Ibn Sīnā's work inspired the poetic allegory *Ḥayy ben Meḳiṣ*, by the Spanish Hebrew author Abraham ibn ʿEzra (1092-1167).—Critical editions: 1) Mehren, *Traités mystiques*, i, 1889, the text preceded by a kind of paraphrased résumé which is not a translation, and accompanied by extracts from the commentary written in Arabic by Ibn Zayla, a disciple of Ibn Sīnā. 2) Corbin, 1952, with a translation which does not follow the Arabic text exclusively, but takes into account the Persian translation and even the Persian commentary. These accompany the text and are also printed *in extenso*; both were written at the request of prince ʿAlā' al-Dawla in the five years following Ibn Sīnā's death, by an anonymous writer who may be Djuzdjānī (Corbin, *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*, ii, 151). The division into paragraphs by the Persian commentator gives great clarity to a text which in itself is very difficult. The French translation does not attempt to render the text either integrally or exclusively; moreover, the copious notes which accompany it and the *Étude sur le cycle des Récits avicenniens* profess to elucidate it almost exclusively by means of Iranian and gnostic traditions, often of much later date than Ibn Sīnā. However, Suhrawardī wrote that he saw no allusions to these in the *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* and that Ibn Sīnā had no knowledge of ancient Persian sources (Corbin, *Le Récit d'initiation et l'hermétisme en Iran*, in *Eranos Jahrbuch*, xvii, 124 and 135, and *Cycle des Récits avicenniens*, 48-9).

Mehren manifestly did not understand the *Account*, which he judged to be written in "an obscure and involved rhetorical style", with "a terminology so mystical" that the meaning is lost. Indeed, the paraphrase conveys almost no meaning and does not give any hint of any of the sources which reveal themselves to the attentive reader. His lack of knowledge of the doctrine expounded in Ibn Sīnā's main works was for him an insurmountable obstacle.

To the reader familiar with Ibn Sīnā, however, the *Account* brings a wealth of echoes of themes already discussed, to such a point that the French translation published by A.-M. Goichon in 1959 is illustrated with a continuous commentary drawn from these very works of philosophy and medicine, thereby following the Persian commentator's advice. Indeed, the latter concluded his work with these words: "It must be realised that a simple statement has been given here of each of the questions discussed in this epistle. A complete exposé of them can be found in the major works. The Master Avicenna has himself discussed them . . ." (following Corbin's translation).

Adhering as closely as possible to the Arabic text, this new translation was checked by comparing all the ideas expressed, phrase for phrase and often word for word, with the passages in the great works that they called to mind. This method allows the meaning of the *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* to be fully appreciated, both in the general sense and in detail. It is then seen to be a poetic narrative, related in form to the celebrated *Poem of the Soul* and similarly based on a philosophic doctrine which, beneath the decorative imagery, remains very precise.

This philosophical meaning was confirmed by research into the sources. These were discovered in Aristotle, Plato, Porphyry, Galen, Ptolemy, Fārābī, in the Ḳur'ān, in popular Semitic and Iranian legends and the Arab geographers. But certain chapters are specifically Avicennist, in particular the three most beautiful ones which conclude the *Account*.

The unity of the work can then be grasped: it is that of the theory of forms taught by Ibn Sīnā. Alike given by the active Intellect which is the last of the pure Intelligences, the material forms constitute the terrestrial world, whilst on the other hand the intelligible forms permit the knowledge of the universe peculiar to the human spirit which, with their help, can pass beyond the attainments of the senses. The material forms of the astral bodies and those of the pure Intelligences are above the active Intellect and the sublunar world, but can also be known. The *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* is thus found to include the Avicennist theory of knowledge even as far as its loftiest reaches, the Prime and Necessary Being.

The name given to the work is then easily explained. *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* is the proper name of the active Intellect; "Living", since Ibn Sīnā places perfection in life in intelligence and action, "son of the Wakeful One", because he emanates from the penultimate pure Intelligence which knows neither sleep nor inattention. This name is closely connected with the theory of creative emanation professed by Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. The active Intellect is also, through knowledge surpassing the perceptible world, the soul's guide towards its prime Principle, the Being that shines forth over all others.

We now give an outline of the *Account*:

The human soul, mastering its sensual faculties, comes with these, as it were while walking, to the edge of intellectual knowledge. A splendid Sage, whose beauty is unassailable by time, appears before it, and the soul desires his acquaintance. He is the first to speak (it is he who gives the intelligibles), a conversation develops; the Sage gives his name—Living, son of Wakeful. "My profession", he said, "is to travel through all the countries of the world, to be able to embrace them all in an exhaustive knowledge (it is he who possesses all the intelligibles). My face is always turned towards my Father (the Wakeful), and I have received from him the keys to all knowledge". Looking at his interlocutor, the soul

with its human nature, he tells it that its features reveal it to be the possessor of the best of the natures in the terrestrial world; but it must beware of its evil companions. These are the taste for carnal pleasures, violence and giddy imagination, that retails both true and false. It is, however, impossible to remain aloof from these on earth; it is necessary at least to compel them to obey, to preserve a balance, and not to let them take control.

With this warning, the soul reflects and is then quite ready to learn how to keep these difficult companions under restraint. It would be very happy to travel like the Sage. He replies that, in its present condition, it can only make a journey punctuated with halts. And the soul replies by questioning him about the regions that he knows and about which he has undertaken to acquire complete information.

He then sketches out for the soul a metaphysical geography of the world. One of the regions, bounded by the East and the West, is well known and a subject of study; it is there that forms are to be seen in matter, it is the world as ordinarily presented to man. The latter can only penetrate into the other two regions by means of a strength not entirely natural to him, since it must have the help of the active Intellect. Ibn Sīnā here makes use of popular geographical data about the terrible Ocean which none can cross, and describes it as the home of matter, the region in the West where the material forms come for refuge, to lose themselves, just as the sun disappears over the horizon. Symmetrically, the East is the place of origin of the light which the forms, whether material or intelligible, carry with them. A description which takes its features from the mountain of Ḳāf reveals the land of the intelligibles, reached by the human spirit after a dreadful ascent. To walk above the abyss, to climb ever higher towards more perfect forms, is possible only by means of a vigour renewed by fresh, ever-flowing water from a spring near the motionless source of the living Being. The two commentators have seen logic in this ever-moving water with which the human intelligence was to revivify itself; as for the source of the living Being, it is motionless because the intelligible form, which is in the active Intellect at the origin of the material form, is quite certainly removed from all mobility. With the help of logic, the reasoning soul can traverse the deserts and darkness of the unknown, the sea of matter, and scale the mountains of the intelligibles. After the darkness of the unknown the soul, still fortified by logic, reaches a great light. It is the light arising from the explanations given by Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān.

Under the symbolical form of a band of émigrés fighting against the inhabitants, the Sage explains to the soul the incessant changing of forms in matter. Many of the terms recur in the *Epistle on Love*, the *Poem of the Soul*, the soul which little by little becomes accustomed to being in contact with "the ruin deserted" by previous forms, which has become its body.

The forms are the light which creeps into the obscurity of matter, given, according to the latter's requirements in its dark preparation, by the luminous active Intellect. It is for this purpose that Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān must know all beings and all circumstances perfectly. But the corruptible world can only be a ruin temporarily decked out. "Every animal and every plant has come by night into this country", for every form comes invisibly. "Joy and beauty are taken from a distant place", the place whence come the forms which are the light, whether material in beings, or intelligible in the spirit.

Between this living, immaterial Orient and the world of corruptible matter is located the world of incorruptible matter, that of the astral bodies, nearer than our own to the "window of light". It is the Region of stability and peace, for there the forms are not driven away from matter. The heavens are described as spaces populated with inhabitants whose features express the physical characters of the astral bodies according to Ptolemy. The Empyrean, the ninth sphere, is described as the dwelling of the pure Intelligences. "Beyond there is no more inhabited land". The elements are outstripped, the vast earth, the mass of water, winds imprisoned, flaming fire . . .

How can these forms, which have just been shown us under their aspect of substantial forms, be possessed by intelligence as intelligible forms? They are first captured by the five senses, then handed over to the general or common sense which is as it were a guardian responsible for the five paths taken by the watchers for news. It hands over all its prizes to the memory; this places them at the disposal of the intelligence, which gives fecundity to the intelligible forms (that is to say universality), if imagination has not previously spoilt them. Like a sun, intelligence rises between the senses and the imagination, despite the satanic rule that they enact upon it, insinuating themselves through the breath into man's inmost parts. If it succeeds in holding them in a harmonious, submissive state, intelligence lives in a sense in the realm of the angels. It mounts upwards to regard the pure Intelligences themselves, the primordial creation through the medium of which being descends from the prime necessary Being, down to the very lowest creatures. The soul contemplates the Intelligences, each in its own immutable place, grouped round the supreme King like children around their father, in a region without matter.

Above all these, and above all expression, is the King, the prime and necessary Being, in an absolute unity, with none of the divisions that our language attributes to him, "all countenance through his beauty, all hand through his generosity", so dazzling that he is veiled by his own radiance. Some men, those the best, leave the baseness of this world to make their way in solitude towards him.

Here the Sage, the active Intellect, directlyi ntervenes; he reveals that to awaken a human soul to these lofty realities is his own way of serving the King, and adds: "If you wish, follow me towards Him". This invitation is the last episode in the *Account*.

The links between this work and Ibn Sīnā's other writings appear to be extraordinarily numerous, close and precise. If certain translations have failed to grasp them, it is because they have minimised or paraphrased the unexpected terms, while they are in fact the key to the passage in which they occur. On consideration, it is impossible to see a dream, a fancy or theosophy, in these pages; one can only admit that they present the philosopher's thought in a new and poetic, but faithful and coherent, form. A philosopher is not forbidden to be a poet. On several occasions Ibn Sīnā showed that he had the ability to be one, and he did not remain dryly didactic, but enriched by his own sensibility the discoveries of his intelligence. The highest knowledge open to the human soul, that of the pure Intelligence which is the King creator, is expressed with a tone of undeniably personal emotion, which is repeated

when the other works speak of knowledge through the depth of the heart, the *sirr*. This is the point that is the most profound, the closest to mysticism in the true sense, in Avicennan literature. It is to be noted that, in the *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, the poem of the intelligibles concludes before the union with God, which in fact surpasses them.

At the beginning of the minor work *Fi 'l-ḳaḍā' wa 'l-ḳadar*, Ibn Sīnā refers to a s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ who resembles Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān and who may not be far removed from being this character himself.

II. — *Risālat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān fī asrār al-ḥikma al-mus̲h̲riḳiyya*, written by the Andalusian philosopher and doctor Ibn Ṭufayl, the protector of Ibn Rus̲h̲d, very probably between 565/1169 and some years before 581/1185, the date of the author's death. The *Risāla* is his best known work and the only one to survive intact today. List of the manuscripts and editiors: 1) Gauthier, *Ibn Thofaïl*, 43-51; 2) Gauthier, *Ḥayy ben Yaqdhân*, 2nd ed., XXII-XXXIII, completing the brief list included in the ed. of 1900. The *Risāla* was published for the first time in 1671, with a Latin translation, by Edward Pocock at Oxford (reprinted 1700), followed immediately by two English translations and one Dutch made from the Latin, and also a German one in 1726. Translations from the Arabic text: Hebrew, by an unknown author, with Hebrew commentary by Moses of Narbonne in 1349; then from the text established by Pocock: English, Ockley, London 1708 and 1731; German, Eichhorn, Berlin 1783; Castilian, Pons Boigues, Saragossa 1900 (repr. Cairo 1905). It is possible that Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, the first part of which appeared is 1719, owed something to Ockley's translation of Ibn Ṭufayl. Another English translation by P. Brönnle appeared in London in 1904 (revised A. S. Fulton 1929). Three editions of the text alone in Cairo 1882, 1921; two in Constantinople, one in Beirut (1936). Critical edition of the text with French translation: Gauthier, Algiers 1900, followed by a new edition of the text, improved by the use of new manuscripts and accompanied by a new translation, Algiers 1936. Russian translation, Kuzmin, St. Petersburg 1920; Spanish, González Palencia, Madrid 1934, from the text established by Gauthier.

Without any doubt, Ibn Ṭufayl borrowed the title from Ibn Sīnā; but curiously enough, it was to introduce a philosophical thesis entirely contrary to that writer's. We have just seen that the very name of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān and his rôle were inspired by the theory of emanation, which makes the active Intellect the last of the separate Intelligences. By attributing to it the gift of the intelligibles to the human soul, Ibn Sīnā deprived the latter of its highest intellectual function, namely the abstraction of the intelligibles. Ibn Ṭufayl, says González Palencia in his introduction (22-3), teaches that one cannot apply to separate essences either our categories of thought or our ways of reasoning, and he raised the question of the unity of human intellect. In our opinion, Ibn Ṭufayl went further; for he returns to the name which denotes the active Intellect to attribute it to a man. This man, the *Philosophus autodidactus* as Pocock called him in the title of his translation, succeeds precisely in discovering, quite alone, the sciences and philosophy, and clearly by means of abstraction. That is to say, he appears as "the incarnation in man of the active Intellect", as Gauthier puts it (*Ibn Thofaïl*, 89), or better still as the personification of the specifically human active Intellect. Its true function is thus restored to man's intelligence. This is a fundamental change in the doctrine described above, presented in the form of imaginative writing. This work sums up the controversies which continued for two centuries in the West; for it implies the theory that St. Thomas Aquinas put forward nearly a hundred years later, that the perfection of human nature requires that the active intellect should not be external to man (*In Aristotelis librum de Anima commentarium*, §§ 730 and 734).

The prologue to the *Risāla* refers expressly to Ibn Sīnā in regard to the choice of this name and those of Asāl and Salamān which occur in the narrative. On some particular points it refers to his doctrine and to that of al-G̲h̲azālī, which are studied and compared with "opinions expressed in our own time", as words which have made it possible to isolate the truth (1936 ed., 6-7). Four long textual quotations from the *Is̲h̲ārāt* (ed. Forget, 202-4, French trans. 493-7) leave no doubt that Ibn Ṭufayl approved of Ibn Sīnā's exposé of the Ṣūfīs' states, their asceticism and the beginnings of ecstasy, and probably also the ending of his *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* which, however, is not quoted verbatim. This harmony of views is all the more evident in that the freedom with which he handles his source is also more marked, as well as the dissatisfaction which Fārābī and the *S̲h̲ifā'* inspire in him, no less than the Andalusian scholars (trans. 10-11 f.). No kind of allusion to any esoterism in Ibn Sīnā is made.

Ibn Ṭufayl's story has often been summarized, among others by Carra de Vaux, *EI*[1], art. IBN ṬUFAIL, and more briefly by Gauthier himself (*Ibn Thofaïl*, 62-3) as follows:

"On a deserted Indian island situated on the equator, and thus under particularly favourable conditions, from amidst the ferment of the surrounding clay a child was born, with neither father nor mother. According to another version, the author tells us, he was brought to the island by a current, in a chest which the mother, a persecuted princess dwelling on a neighbouring island, had been compelled to entrust to the waves to save her child's life. This child was Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān. He was adopted by a gazelle which suckled him and acted as his mother. He grew up, observed and reflected. Possessing a superior intelligence, he was not only able to supply all his needs with ingenuity but, through a combination of observation and reasoning, he soon discovered by himself the highest physical and metaphysical realities. The philosophical system which he finally evolved, which was naturally that of the *falāsifa*, led him to try to find in mystical ecstasy the intimate union with God which constitutes at once the plenitude of knowledge and sovereign, continual, eternal felicity. Withdrawing to a cave where he succeeded in fasting for forty days on end, he trained himself to separate his intellect from the external world and from his own body by exclusive contemplation of God, to unite himself with his Lord; in this he finally succeeded. At that moment, he met Asāl, a devout man who had come from the neighbouring island to devote himself in peace to the ascetic life on this little island which he believed uninhabited. Asāl teaches language to this companion as singular as unexpected, and he is astonished to find in the philosophic system discovered by Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān a transcendent interpretation of the religion that he himself professes, as well as of all the revealed religions. He takes him to the neighbouring island which is ruled by the devout king Salamān, and commissions him to disseminate the

sublime verities that he has discovered. But the project fails. Our two philosophers finally have to recognise that pure truth does not at all suit the vulgar, enslaved by the senses; to penetrate those materialistic intelligences, to act upon those rebellious wills, it is obliged to clothe itself with the symbols that constitute the revealed religions. They therefore left these poor people for ever, recommending them faithfully to observe the religion of their fathers; and they returned to their desert island, to live the superior and truly divine life which very few are privileged to achieve" (*Ibn Thofaïl*, 62-3; another more detailed resumé, 101-13). Ḥayy, Asāl and good king Salamān represent respectively Philosophy, Theology and simple Faith (*Ibn Rochd*, 20).

The book can also be divided, under a more schematic form traced out by G. F. Hourani (*The principal subject* ..., 40), as follows: 1. The author's introduction, sources of knowledge on mystical philosophy. — 2. Unassisted, Ḥayy progresses from the most elementary knowledge to the loftiest mystical state. — 3. Harmony of Ḥayy's philosophy with the religion which Asāl claims to be revealed. — 4. Attractions of the external aspects of religion for the majority of men. — 5. The author's conclusion.

According to Gauthier, the book's essential purpose is to show "the harmony between religion, principally the Muslim religion, and the philosophy of the *falāsifa*" (*Ibn Thofaïl*, 89, repeated in *Ibn Rochd*, 20). Every reader seems to have interpreted the work in his own way. Munk: a simple treatise of natural philosophy; Pocock: the history of an autodidactic philosopher, whose life traverses the whole ascent possible for human reason; Renan: Ṣūfī mysticism (cf. *Ibn Thofaïl*, 64-6); Mehren: intuition can lead man to the same development as civilization, etc.

Gauthier's interpretation was rejected by E. García Gómez, who discovered a popular story bearing some analogies with Ibn Ṭufayl's work; he claimed to find in it a proof of a source common to both Ibn Ṭufayl and B. Garcian who, in the 17th century, wrote an allegorical novel in which Gauthier sees an imitation of Ibn Ṭufayl. The opinion expressed by García Gómez would change the whole perspective of the novel; but this hypothesis does not explain the references to the philosophers clearly indicated by Ibn Ṭufayl, still less the numerous passages inspired by their works and those of the physicians, without any indication of source but still very recognizable.

Gauthier's thesis is challenged on grounds more in keeping with the subject by G. F. Hourani, who points out (*The principal subject*, 42) that the prologue, following Ibn Sīnā, announces the description of a mystical state, which in fact is dealt with in the second part, that of Ḥayy's progress, and presented at the end of the book as the object of all his desires, since he abandons men in order to come back to it.

To the reader, it certainly seems that the book's purpose is to show the capacity of the human intelligence. It is capable not only of discovering the sciences and the existence of the soul, but also of sensing God, beyond the corruptible world, and of attaching itself uniquely to Him when He has been found. The journey made by Ḥayy is necessarily described in terms of the scientific knowledge and philosophy then understood, and at the same time an answer is given to the great preoccupation of the *falāsifa*, by confirming the harmony between philosophy and religion. It is a kind of consummation of the experience of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān, but it is very difficult to believe that the latter had been imagined in order to provide proof of it. The result however, when acquired, was to be compared by Gauthier and Hourani with the more exclusively philosophical theory of this harmony as expounded by Ibn Rushd, particularly in the *Faṣl al-Maḳāl*.

Bibliography: I. — Ibn Sīnā. Manuscripts noted particularly by Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie avicennienne*, 1950, no. 219, and Mahdavi, *Bibliographie d'Ibn Sina*, 1954, no. 65. — A. F. Mehren, *Traités mystiques*, fasc. I, Leiden 1889, *L'allégorie mystique Hayy ben Yaqzân*, preceded by an article with the same title in *Muséon*, 1886. — *Risālat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, 91-113 in the collection *Djamiʿ al-badāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1917, Istanbul 1937, 41-53 in that of Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān li-ʾbn Sīnā wa-ʾbn Ṭufayl wa ʾl-Suhrawardī*, Cairo 1952; but the very short work published under this name and attributed to Suhrawardī is in reality the 'Story of the exile from the West', *Ḳiṣṣat al-gharība al-gharbiyya*, written to supplement what he considered to be a lacuna in the *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* of Ibn Sīnā, which makes no mention of the great Mount Sinaï in the esoteric sense. — Critical text, Persian translation, Persian commentary, French translation by H. Corbin, *Le récit de Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, vol. i of *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*, Tehran 1952, followed by vol. ii, *Étude sur le cycle des récits avicenniens*, 1954. — A.-M. Goichon, *Le récit de Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān commenté par des textes d'Avicenne*, Paris 1959, French translation, with explanatory comments taken from other works of Ibn Sīnā, and notes; eadem, *Le prétendu ésotérisme d'Avicenne dans le Récit de Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, communication to the XXIVth Congress of Orientalists, Munich 1957, published *in extenso* in *Giornale di metafisica*, 1959, 538-46; eadem, *La théorie des formes chez Avicenne*, in *Atti del XII Congresso internazionale di filosofia*, ix, 131-8; eadem, *Le Sirr, l'intime du cœur, dans la doctrine avicennienne de la connaissance*, in *Mélanges Jan Bakoš*, Prague 1965.

II. — Ibn Ṭufayl. For editions and translations, see the text and Brockelmann, I 460, II 704, S I 831. Also the 1952 edition by Aḥmad Amīn, already referred to, and a French translation by Quatremère, in ms. at the Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Léon Gauthier, *Ibn Thofaïl, sa vie, ses œuvres*, Paris 1909; idem, *La théorie d'Ibn Rochd (Averroes) sur les rapports de la religion et de la philosophie*, Paris 1909, particularly 168-74, analogy of thought between Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd; idem, *Ibn Rochd (Averroes)*, Paris 1948; E. García Gómez, *Un cuento arabe, fuente común de Abentofáil y de Gracián*, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 1926; George F. Hourani, *The principal subject of Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, in *JNES*, xv (1956), 40-6; idem, *Averroes on the harmony of religion and philosophy*, London 1961.

(A.-M. Goichon)

ḤAYYA (a.) "snake", generic name of the ophidians, embracing all kinds of reptiles (*mā yansāḥ*) from the most poisonous to the most harmless, the viper (*afʿā*) appearing to be the most clearly distinguished species among them. Terms such as *ḥanash*, *aym*, *thuʿbān*, *aswad*, *raḳshāʾ*, *ṣill*, etc. are given in classical Arabic to species which are not always easily identifiable from the descriptions in the early zoological works, there being a certain amount of confusion in this field; and present-day terminology is still far from being precise even in dialects and for the species which actually live in the Arabic-speaking countries (see *e.g.*, V. Monteil, *Faune du Sahara*

occidental, Paris 1951, 81-8); it is desirable that some fresh researches should be made.

There are various ideas on the origin of the snake: some present it as a creature of Satan, others as the result of a metamorphosis, while others hold that it was created by God, Who, when He drove it from Paradise, made it fall at Iṣfahān or at Sidjistān (whence the great number of vipers in this region). The word *ḥayya* appears only once in the Ḳur'ān—in the description of Moses's staff being changed into a serpent (XX, 21/20).

There naturally exist in folklore monstrous or fabulous serpents, the most enormous of which is probably the *tinnīn* (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, s.v.); here it need be noted only that these animals have an important place in popular beliefs, for they are one of the forms in which *djinn*s most often choose to appear.

The *ḥayya* enjoys an extraordinarily long life, never dying a natural death; twice a year, in spring and autumn, it casts its skin and gains fresh strength. When mating, snakes curl themselves one round the other; the female lays 30 eggs (the same as the number of her ribs and of the days of the month), but only a few are hatched because ants gather on the eggs and destroy most of them. The eggs are of elongated shape and of various colours. The female stays with the eggs until the young are hatched, while the male constantly crawls round about.

The tongue of the snake is so deeply split that some believe it to have two tongues. Snakes feed on birds, mice, frogs, young chickens and pigeons, eggs, meat, grass, etc., but never on dead animals, and if no food is available they can live on air. They swallow food without chewing and break down any bones in their stomachs by coiling themselves tightly round a tree. They need no drink, but once having started to drink they may absorb an excessive amount of liquid and die of it; they are particularly fond of milk.

They have eyes like nails, fixed and immobile in their heads, which grow again if torn out in the same way as their fangs, or their tails if cut off. A snake which has become blind or has come blinded from below ground regains its sight by rubbing its eyes against fennel. They are attracted by fire but flee from naked men. They possess extraordinarily strong backs and, although they have neither claws not limbs with which to cling, they are able to withstand a man's attempts to drag them from their holes unless he charms them. All snakes except the viper can swim, but they are unable to climb up walls.

The snake is friendly to the spider, the fox and some other animals, but is very hostile to man, pigs, and weasels. Cats, wolves, eagles, hedgehogs, pigs, etc. all eat snakes and sometimes die of it; in pre-Islamic times some tribes ate them, and this custom is a favourite theme of the satirical poets. In Islam it is as meritorious to kill a snake as to kill an infidel.

Snakes are widely used in medicine. Widely varying interpretations are put upon their appearance in a dream.

For protection against snakes and their poison [see SUMM], there exist various forms of incantation [see RUḲYA] used by the *rāḳī* or *raḳḳā'*, who may also be a snake-charmer (*ḥāwī* [*q.v.*] or *ḥawwā'*).

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥawayān*, index; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjā'ib*, s.v.; these works contain material which might profitably be used as the basis for a monograph.

(J. RUSKA*)

ḤAYYĀN B. **KHALAF** [see IBN ḤAYYĀN].

HAZADJ [see ʿARŪḌ].

HAZĀRA [see Supplement, and ĪRĀN-Languages].

HAZĀRA, name of a district in West Pakistan, lying between 33° 44′ and 35° 10′ N. and 72° 33′ and 74° 6′ E. at the base of the western Himalayas with an area of 6,292 sq. miles, and a population of 1,050,374 (1961), of whom the overwhelming majority, *i.e.*, 99.98%, are Sunnī Muslims, with many accretions and deviations from othodoxy as the entire population is under the influence of the local *mullās*. In shape the district is like a long tongue, 120 miles in length, extending from the south-west to the north-west, its tip, the Kāghān valley, running up between Kashmīr and the mountainous regions that drain into the Upper Indus. This Kāghān valley with the hamlet of Balakote was the scene of a battle in 1831 between the forces (*mudjāhidīn*) of Aḥmad Barēlwī [*q.v.*] and the Sikhs, in which the former were routed and their leader killed.

The etymology of Hazāra is obscure; it is said to be the Persian version of the Mongol *ming* and refers to the 'thousands' in which the invading Mongol armies were divided (cf. Hazāradjāt). In 802/1399 Tīmūr [*q.v.*], on his way back from his invasion of India, settled a number of Ḳārlugh Turks in this district (cf. Abu'l Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Engl. transl. by Blochmann, Calcutta 1870, 454; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Engl. transl., Rogers and Beveridge, ii, 126). However, during the Mughal times a large part of this country was known as the Pakhlī Sarkār, whose inhabitants were mostly Turks. Their descendants, although greatly diminished in number, still exist up to this day. In pre-Muslim times the country was a stronghold of Buddhism, with the ancient city of Taxila as one of the flourishing centres. Three rocks with Asoka's famous edicts inscribed on them can still be seen one mile from Mānsehra. From the 1st/7th to the 6th/12th century this country remained under Hindu domination. Ruins of ancient villages and settlements, forts, stupas and citadels are still found scattered all over the land. In the time of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang it was known as Wu-lāshi, by which name it is frequently mentioned in *Rādjatranqinī*. It is inhabited by various tribes, some of them doubtless of exotic origin, like the Tarīns and Mashwānīs. Finding their own country too small, the Afghān and Paṭhān tribes living beyond the Indus, especially the Swātīs, invaded and occupied the area sometime in the 11th/17th century. The Ḳārlugh Turks were dispossessed and driven out. In this game of inter-tribal possession and dispossession, the Gūdjars [*q.v.*], one of the ancient tribes living in the area, were great sufferers. They were dispossessed by the Pathan tribes of Tarīns and Utmānzais. There are no written records relating to this period when the law of the survival of the fittest was in full operation and a weaker tribe was harassed, attacked and consequently displaced by a stronger tribe. Unable to defend itself the weaker tribe called in its neighbours for help in return for land, consequently losing its possessions to the rescuers. Real history in this district, however, begins with the invasion of the Pandjāb by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in 1166/1752, when close attention was paid to a reorganization of the local administration. This was again tribal in character, the chiefs of the various tribes living in the area being made responsible for the collection of land revenue in return for allowances fixed by the Kābul government. With the enfeeblement of Durrānī rule, these chiefs became unruly and shook off Kābul suzerainty. Notable among them were Saʿādat Khān, chief of the Swātīs, who founded Gaṛhī Saʿādat, later called Gaṛhī Ḥabībullāh, one of the scenes of battle between the *mudjāhidīn* of

Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlwī and the Sikhs; Dja'far Khān, chief of the Khānpur Gakkhaṙs [*q.v.*] from 1789-1801; Gulshīr Khān, head of the Tanawlīs, and Nadjīb Allāh Khān, chief of the Tarīns who held sway over a great part of the Hazāra plain up to 1799 and later his widow Bafī Bēgam till the beginning of the Sikh rule in 1818.

Taking advantage of internal dissensions, the Sikh governor of Rawalpindi, Makhkhan Singh, invaded Hazāra, occupied the country and built a fort at Sarāy Ṣāliḥ (Serai Saleh). Emboldened by the Sikh occupation of Kashmīr, Makhkhan Singh pressed the Tarīn chief, Muḥammad Khān, also for revenue. This was resented by the tribe, who attacked the Sikh force, overcame their resistance and murdered the governor. The defeated Sikhs vacated the fort of Sarāy Ṣāliḥ and retired to the stronghold of Attock built by the emperor Akbar. This reverse was followed by a number of skirmishes between the Hazāra tribes and the Sikhs, in which the Sikhs practically always lost. The repeated Sikh reverses brought prince Shēr Singh, eldest son of Randjīt Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Pandjāb, to the scene: he established himself in the Harīpur plain and built a fort at Tarbela. Not satisfied with the measures taken by Shēr Singh, Randjīt Singh deputed Harī Singh Nalwa, the governor of Kashmīr, to subdue the refractory tribes. Harī Singh, known for his ferocity, fell on the tribes and cut them down mercilessly. Nalwa celebrated his victory by building a fort at Nawāṅshahr and then marched on to lower Hazāra. As a reward for his exploits Randjīt Singh conferred on him the governorship of the country. His rule, which lasted from 1822 to 1837, was marked by unprecedented barbarity and is still remembered by the residents with horror. It was during the governorship of Harī Singh, founder of the town of Harīpur which now houses the biggest telephone equipment manufacturing factory in Pakistan, that the followers of Aḥmad Barēlwī infiltrated into the district and rose against the oppressive Sikh rule, but were defeated and crushed (1828) and finally routed in 1831 at the historic battle of Balakote. That very year Harī Singh brought the semi-independent tribes of the Gakkhaṙs, and the Ḍhunḍs under his control. Gradually Harī Singh succeeded in subjugating the entire country and bringing under his sway the various tribes who had refused to recognize his authority. His rule ended with his death at the battle of Djamrūd, at the mouth of the Khaybar pass, in 1837. The Sikhs, however, continued to hold Hazāra till 1847 when it was ceded to the British by Rādja Gulāb Singh, ruler of Kashmīr, in exchange for a part of Djammū district. In May 1847 a British officer, Maj. James Abbott, was deputed to administer and organize the country. For a number of years he remained in Hazāra, occupying positions of control and responsibility. He established a fine administration ushering in an era of peace and prosperity for the country. As a tribute to his services the flourishing hill-station of Abbottābād was founded in 1853 and named after him. "Among the people of Hazāra he left a name which will not die". The country-wide military revolt of 1857 also had its repercussions in this district but the disturbance was soon brought under control. Thereafter it remained practically peaceful except for the agrarian riots of 1868 and 1888 in the Agror valley. It suffered great scarcity in the widespread famine of 1783, and again in 1877-8, 1896-7 and 1899-1900, the last two being not so severe as the previous ones. Hazāra has made considerable progress during the post-Independence period and with the construction of new roads and marked improvement in the means of communications a new era of increased prosperity has been opened for the district. With the merger of the feudal states of Phūlṙa and Amb in 1950 with the district and the establishment of the new capital of Pakistan at Islāmābād in 1959, the district is likely to develop rapidly.

Bibliography: *Gazetteer of the Hazara District*, London 1908 (contains much useful information especially with regard to the activities of the *mudjāhidīn* of Aḥmad Barēlwī, although now partially outdated); *District Census Report, Hazara* (issued by the Government of Pakistan), Ḳarachi 1961, 1-8 to 1-13; Abu'l Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Engl. transl. by Blochmann, 504, 563; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Engl. transl. by Rogers and Beveridge, ii, 126; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xiii, 76-8; O. Caroe, *The Pathans*, London and New York 1962, index (supplies much useful information not found elsewhere); M. A. Stein, *Ancient geography of Kashmir*, Calcutta 1899, 130; McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander*, Westminster 1896, 129; H. F. Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan*, 's-Gravenhage 1962, 110 ff. (only for the etymology of Hazāra); Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, *Sargudhasht-i Mudjāhidīn*, Lahore 1956, 463-84; Mahtāb Singh, *Tawārīkh-i Mulk-i Hazāra*, Ethé 506: Becher, *Mutiny report* (*Hazara*), MS. in the Central Record Office, Peshawar.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

HAZĀRASP (Persian: "a thousand horses"), a town in Khwārizm, near the left bank of the Oxus [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ] at the outlet of a navigable canal, a day's journey from Khīwa and 10 *farsakh* from Gurgandj (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 179 ff.). The town had wooden gates and was surrounded by a moat (Muḳaddasī, 289), which almost entirely enclosed it, so that in 616/1219 there was only one entrance. Hazārasp was a strong fortress, and at the same time an important trading centre with large bazaars, lying on the trade route from Āmul on the Oxus to Khwārizm (Yāḳūt, iv, 471 = Beirut 1957, v, 404). As a result of its military importance, Hazārasp was fought over at various times in the Middle Ages: in Muḥarram 408/June 1017, Maḥmūd of Ghazna defeated the Khwārizmians here and occupied their country; in Djumādā I-II 542/October-November 1147 the town was besieged by Sandjar in his struggle with the Khwārizm-shāh Atsïz [*q.v.*] (Djuwaynī, ii, 8 f.). In 599/1203 the Khwārizm-shāh Muḥammad II defeated the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] who had advanced up to this point, and forced them to retreat (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 122; Zak. Ḳazwīnī, ii, 55). After the Mongol invasion the town declined in importance. It continued to exist, however, and today is a *ḳïshlaḳ* and the centre of the Hazārasp area in the district of Khorezm/Özbegistān, on the road from Čārdjūi to Urgenč, with a railway station; cotton is produced, and vines, melons, vegetables and silkworms are cultivated in the district.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 450-2, 472; Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; *BSE*[2], xlvi (1957), 23; S. S. Balsak and others, *Die Republiken Mittelasiens*, German edition, Berlin 1944, 62 (Wirtschaftsgeographie der UdSSR, x). (B. Spuler)

HAZĀRASPIDS, one of the local dynasties characteristic of Persian mediaeval times, which after the downfall of the Saldjūḳ empire succeeded in maintaining their position in the hot, humid and mountainous regions of Iran throughout the Mongol period and to some extent into Tīmūrid times, and

which thus contributed to the preservation of a native Persian individuality even under foreign dynasties.

From their capital Īdhadj [*q.v.*], the Hazāraspids ruled over eastern and southern Luristān [*q.v.*] from about 550/1155-6 to 827/1424, though the extent of their domains varied greatly. They were descended from a Kurdish chieftain, Faḍlōē, and were known also as the "Faḍlawī dynasty" after him. The tribes grouped around this chieftain had left Syria (when?) and after wandering through Ādharbāydjān had reached the district round Ushturān-Kūh in Luristān in the early 6th/12th century. Here in about 550/1155-6 Faḍlōē's descendant in the ninth generation Abū Ṭāhir (no. 1 below) gained independence from the Salghūrids [*q.v.*] in the area round Kūh-i Sīlūya, and assumed the title "Atabeg" [*q.v.*]. His son Malik Hazārasp, however (no. 2), after whom the dynasty is named, makes his appearance in history only at the beginning of the 7th/13th century. By driving out the Shul tribe [*q.v.*] and extending his domain to just west of Iṣfahān, he became the real founder of the small principality. He was clever enough to remain neutral between the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] and the Khwārizm-Shāh Muḥammad II [*q.v.*]. In this he was helped by the not inconsiderable forces (infantry and cavalry) which he had been able to assemble round him from Iranian and Arab tribes also recently arrived in the area. On the other hand, his successor Takla (no. 5), having won many victories over the Salghūrids, finally quarrelled with the Mongols; Hülägü had him executed in Tabrīz in 655/1257. But in this case as in others the Īlkhāns [*q.v.*] left the local dynasty undisturbed. It was obliged from that time on to bow to their authority, contribute troops and from time to time render homage to successful Īlkhān rulers (such as Arghun in 1284 and Gaykhatu in 1291). In return the Hazāraspids were granted various territories, including Khūzistān. When Afrāsiyāb I (no. 8) tried to go even further and seize Iṣfahān, Hamadān and Fārs (690/1291), he finally paid for the attempt with his head in 1296. His successor (no. 9), who grew up at the Īlkhān court, adapted himself remarkably well to their wishes, paid an annual tribute of 91,000 *dīnārs* and even tried to introduce Mongol laws in his territory, without, however, falling out with the *ʿulamāʾ* and the dervishes, on whom he bestowed lavish presents. Nor did he discontinue local customs, according to the description given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 30 ff.; tr. Gibb, ii, 287 ff.) of his visit to the country.

After the disintegration of the Īlkhān empire (736/1335) Luristān was repeatedly subjected to attacks by the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*]. They made many incursions, and also interfered in disputes between individual members of the family. More dangerous were the attacks of Tīmūr, who finally in 798/1395-6 carried off Pīr Aḥmad (no. 14) and two of his brothers to Samarḳand. But it was not until about 827/1424, after renewed troubles, that his grandson Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] b. Shāhrukh ended the Hazāraspid dynasty.

Many details in the history of the Hazāraspids are uncertain, and there are many contradictions in the accounts passed down, so that all sorts of chronological problems arise. The following list of rulers can therefore be given only with reservations:

1) Abū Ṭāhir [Ibn ʿAlī] ibn Muḥammad, 543/1148-9 to 556/1161.

2) Malik Hazārasp, son of the above; the dynasty is named after him. Mentioned from about 600/1203-4. The date of his death is given as 626/1228-9 or 650/1252-3.

3) ʿImād al-Dīn, d. 646/1248-9, son of no. 2.
4) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Kalḥa, d. 649/1251-2, brother of no. 2.
Nos. 3 and 4 only appear in Ghaffārī (cf. below), fol. 137 f.; in other sources Malik Hazārasp's reign is reported as continuing until 650 (cf. above).

5) Tikla (Takla), son of Hazārasp, mentioned from 655/1257; executed probably in 657/1259.

6) Shams al-Dīn Alp Arghūn, brother of no. 5, 657/1259 to 673/1274-5.

7) Yūsufshāh I, son of no. 6, 673/1274-5 to about 687/1288.

8) Afrāsiyāb I, son of no. 7, about 687/1288 to 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 695/26 October 1296.

9) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad, brother of no. 8, beginning of 696/end of 1296 to 730 or 733/1329-30 or 1332-3.

10) Rukn al-Dīn Yūsufshāh II, son of no. 9, 733?/1332-3? to 740/1339-40.

11) Muẓaffar al-Dīn Afrāsiyāb II (Aḥmad), son (or brother, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 30 f.) of no. 10, 740/1339-40 to 756/1355.

12) Nawr-i Ward, son of no. 11, ruled only briefly, 756/1355.

13) Shams al-Dīn Pashang, cousin (or nephew) of no. 12 (? presumably a descendant of Yūsufshāh II), 756/1355 to 780/1378-9.

14) 15) Civil war between his sons: Malik Pīr Aḥmad, 780/1378 to 811/1408-9 (with interruptions); Malik Hūshang, soon killed.

16) Abū Saʿīd, son of Pīr Aḥmad, 811/1408-9 to about 820/1417.

17) Shāh Ḥusayn, son of no. 16, about 820/1417 to 827/1424.

18) Ghiyāth al-Dīn, grandson of Hūshang, 827/1424; deposed by the Tīmūrids, who thus put an end to the dynasty.

Bibliography: Sources: Apart from the general histories of the time (Rashīd al-Dīn; Mīrkhwānd), particularly Waṣṣāf, lith. Bombay 1269/1852-3, 249-67; *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, i, 537-47, 723 ff., 745 (dependent on this is Shams [al-Dīn] Bitlisī, *Sharaf-nāma*, St. Petersburg 1860-2, i, 23-52 (trans. Charmoy, 2 vols., 1868-97); Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Shabānkāraʾī (ca. 734/1342-3), *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* (Storey, i, 84 f.), appendix; Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī (ca. 972/1564-5), *Nusakh-i djihān-ārā* (Storey, i, 116, 1240). Accounts: V. Minorsky, in *EI*[1], s.v. Lur-i Buzurg; Spuler, *Mongolen*[2], 161-3; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl (Eghbal), *Taʾrīkh-i mufaṣṣal-i Īrān*, Tehrān 1933, 442-8; older accounts: A. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*[2], Amsterdam 1852, iii-iv (Index); H. H. Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, London 1876-88, iii, 751-4. List of rulers and genealogical table in Zambaur, 234.

(B. Spuler)

HAZĀRFANN [see ḤUSAYN HEZĀRFENN].

ḤĀZĪ [see KĀHIN].

ḤĀZIM B. MUḤAMMAD B. (AL-)ḤASAN B. KHALAF B. ḤĀZIM AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-ḲARṬĀDJANNĪ ABU 'L-ḤASAN, poet, grammarian and theorist of rhetoric, born in 608/1211 in Cartagena, in a family of Awsī ancestry. From his father, who was *ḳāḍī* of the town, he received an education oriented towards grammar, the Arabic language, tradition and Mālikī *fiḳh*; he continued his studies in Murcia,

and then in Seville and Granada and came under the influence of al-Shalawbīn [*q.v.*], who inspired him to study Greek philosophy through the medium of the works of the philosophers writing in Arabic, above all Ibn Sīnā. After his father's death (632/1234), he went to Marrākush where he shared in the literary activity in the entourage of the Almohad caliph al-Rashīd (630-40/1032-42); he then crossed the Maghrib to take up the position of secretary in the chancellery of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyā' I (625-47/1228-49). His immense learning in the fields of grammar and rhetoric, his "reasoned knowledge (*dirāya*), even more profound than his erudition (*riwāya*)" (Ibn Rushayd) won him great authority among his contemporaries and disciples, among whom were such figures as Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, Ibn Sa'īd, Ibn Rushayd, al-Tidjānī and many others. He died in Tunis on 24 Ramaḍān 684/23 November 1285.

The work of Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī is concerned with three main fields. His poetic writings, partly preserved in manuscript (especially Escorial, 382, 454) and in contemporary or later works (see *Bibl.*) deals with the customary subjects and reveals the influence of al-Mutanabbī, so evident in Muslim Spain; in particular, it includes panegyrics of the sovereigns of Marrākush and Tunis, the longest (1006 verses) and most remarkable of which is his *urdjūza* known under the name *al-Maḳṣūra* and dedicated to the Ḥafṣid al-Mustanṣir (647-75/1249-77); "among the conventional themes, which include abandoned encampments and the descriptions of storms and camels, amid this long "pastiche", the creative flame sometimes springs up, as [E. García Gómez] notes; the eulogy of the Ḥafṣid caliph, his victories, his palaces and his armies, is too imprecise, but it has strength and grandeur; youthful regrets about Spain are felicitously combined with the lament for captive Spain and the appeal to the caliph, who alone would be able once again to wrest it from the Christians" (cf. R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 407); E. García Gómez, *Observaciones sobre la "Qaṣida Maqṣūra" de Abū l-Ḥasan Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājanni*, in *al-Andalus*, 1933, 81-103 has drawn attention to the documentary value of this poem, which contains interesting autobiographical facts and details of a historical and geographical nature; it has been the subject of several commentaries, the only one of which to have survived being that of al-Gharnāṭī (*Raf' al-ḥudjub al-mastūra 'an maḥāsin al-Maḳṣūra*, Cairo 1344/1925, 2 vols.; the text of the *Maḳṣūra* is also contained in ms. Escorial 382).

In the field of grammar, Ḥāzim is the author of an unfinished didactic poem and of an attack on the *Muḳarrib* of Ibn 'Uṣfūr [*q.v.*] entitled *Shadd al-zunnār 'alā djaḥfalat al-ḥimār*; this work is lost.

Lastly, it is as a theorist of rhetoric that Ḥāzim is particularly deserving of interest. He is the author of a *Kitāb al-Tadjnīs* and of a treatise on prosody, which have not survived, of a *Kitāb al-Ḳawāfī* and, above all, of the *Minhādj al-bulaghā' wa-sirādj al-udabā'* (= *al-Manāhidj al-adabiyya*), only the last three parts of which survive; these have recently formed the subject, on the basis of the unique manuscript of the Zaytūna (now in the Library of the Univ. of Tunis), of a critical edition by M. H. Belkodja (Tunis 1966); the third *manhadj* had already been published by 'A. Badawī in *Mélanges Taha Husain*, Cairo 1962, 85-146. In this work, each part is curiously divided into *ma'lam*s and *ma'raf*s themselves sub-divided into paragraphs called alternately *iḍā'a* and *tanwīr*; the use of this elaborate terminology is an indication of Ḥāzim's inclination towards a logical and subtly graded categorization, an extended analysis with a view to the elaboration of an original theory. Compared with similar treatises of Arab rhetoric, the *Minhādj al-bulaghā'* is notable for the place held in it by Aristotle, whom Ḥāzim knew mainly from the chapters on the art of oratory and poetry in the *Shifā'* of Avicenna, and for the efforts of the author to try to apply the theory of Greek philosophy to Arabic literature; in this respect, the *Minhādj* occupies a very special place in the history of literary criticism.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, ii, 633, no. 1650; Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Ḳidḥ al-mu'allā*, Cairo 1959, 20-1, no. 3; 'Abdarī, *Riḥla*, ms. Zaytūna (Tunis) 5093, 155b-157b; Ibn Rushayd, *Riḥla*, ms. Escorial 1735 etc., *passim*; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1377/1958, 184; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ed. 'Inān, i, 208; Damāminī, *al-Ḥawāshī al-hindiyya*, i, 189-90; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 214; idem, *Itḳān*, Cairo 1278, ii, 119-20; idem, *Muzhir*, i, 188-9; idem, *Iḳtirāḥ*, Delhi 1313, 11; Zarkashī, *al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1957-9, i, 59, 60, 311, 491, ii, 101, 408, iii, 71, 105, 288, 314, 407; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, ed. Allouche, Rabat 1934-6, i, 137, no. 381; Maḳḳarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, iii, 171-82; idem, *Analectes*, index; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 323, 352-3; 'Ayyāshī, *Riḥla*, ed. Fās, ii, 254; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, Tunis 1287, 219, 303; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr*, Cairo 1350, 197, no. 667; M. 'Allām, *Abu'l-Ḥasan Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī wa-fann al-Maḳṣūra fi'l-adab al-'arabī*, in *Ann. Fac. Lettres 'Ayn Shams*, 1951, 1-31; M. H. Belkhodja, ed. of the *Minhādj al-bulaghā'*, Tunis 1966, with an introduction from which the present notice has been taken. (ED.)

ḤAZĪN, MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, known by the name Shaykh 'Alī Ḥazīn, claimed to be a descendant of the *shaykh* Zāhid-i Gīlānī who was spiritual director to the *shaykh* Ṣafī al-Dīn, ancestor of the Ṣafawids. His father had left Gīlān to settle in Iṣfahān, where Ḥazīn was born in 1103/1692. In 1722 the Afghān invasion condemned him to a wandering existence for some years: he travelled to Mecca, went to Baghdād, and thence to Persia; but political and military events made him decide to emigrate to India (1734) where he spent the rest of his life in spite of his distaste for that country, to which he devoted only two of the 48 chapters of his *Memoirs* (*Ta'rīkh-i aḥwāl*, ed. with English tr. by F. C. Belfour, London 1830). He died in Benares in 1180/1766, esteemed alike by the Muslims, the Hindus and the British. His *Memoirs* are notable for the ease and relative simplicity of the style and contain a profusion of significant material relating to the events and leading men of that troubled period. They are markedly superior to his other works: his *Dīwān*, consisting of a variety of poems, in style lies midway between the classical style and the so-called Indian style [see SABK-I HINDĪ]; besides the *Tadhkirat al-mu'āṣirīn* (on the contemporary Persian poets), he also wrote a treatise on farriery (*Faras-nāma*) and a treatise on zoology (*Khawāṣṣ al-ḥayawān* or *Tadhkira Ṣaydiyya*).

Bibliography: *Kulliyyāt*, Lucknow 1293; Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 310; Rieu, *Catal. Persian Mss. Brit. Mus.*, 372 b; *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, 615; *Riyāḍ al-shu'arā'*, fols. 138-50; *Naghma 'andalīb*, fols. 65-70; Storey, i/2, 840-9.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN-[H. MASSÉ])

HAZĪRĀN [see TA'RĪKH].

HAZMĪRIYYŪN, Moroccan religious bro-

therhood, founded by the two brothers Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, sons of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Hazmīrī. The Hazmīra to which they belonged formed part of the confederation of the six tribes of the Dukkāla.

The first of these brothers died, at a very great age, at Fez, in 706 or 707/1306-8 and the second, at Āghmāt, in 678/1280, at the age of 60. In view of these dates, the brotherhood can have been founded at the earliest only during the second quarter of the 7th/13th century.

Ibn Ḳunfudh al-Ḳusanṭīnī (740-810/1339-1407), in his *Uns al-faḳīr*, listed the principal brotherhoods which existed in Morocco during the period in which he was conducting there his researches on the saint Abū Madyan Shuʿayb and his disciples, *i.e.*, between 759/1358 and 777/1376. He counted six main ones: the *ṭāʾifa* of Abū Shuʿayb of Azemmour, the Shuʿaybiyyūn; the Ṣanhādjiyyūn which, in the *ribāṭ* of Tīṭ, situated about 12 km. south-west of Mazagan, comprised the Banū Āmghār; the Māgiriyyūn, the *ṭāʾifa* of Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, founder of the *ribāṭ* of Āsfī (Safi), who was himself one of the Banū Māgir; the Ḥudjdjādj, whose members had to have performed the Pilgrimage to the Holy Places; the Ḥāḥiyyūn, settled in the Atlas to the south of Marrākush. The last one mentioned, and the most recent, was that of Abū Zayd al-Hazmīrī. The author specifies that it was that of the Ghamātiyyūn (its centre was indeed at Āghmāt).

The first two of these brotherhoods grew out of the teaching of Abū Shuʿayb Ayyūb, who died at Azemmour in 561/1165, and his disciple Abū Yaʿzā who is said to have lived for some 130 years (438-572/1046-1176). In view of the fact that the Ḥāḥiyyūn and the Hazmīriyyūn were inspired by the teaching of Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, himself a direct disciple of Abū Madyan, and that the Ḥudjdjādj were created and organized to fulfil the precepts of the great saint of Āsfī, who considered that he must encourage his fellow Berbers to perform the Pilgrimage to Mecca, it may be concluded that of the six brotherhoods listed by Ibn Ḳunfudh, four are connected with the school of Abū Madyan.

In the actual case of the Hazmīriyyūn and of the other brotherhoods linked to Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, it is clear that the main object of these corporations was to Islamize the Berbers, who were too much inclined to form their own and even local brand of Islam, and to keep them in contact with the sources of orthodox Islam. It is worthy of note that the promoters of this missionary movement represented a generation of cultured Berbers who had a sound knowledge of Arabic and who were very different from Abū Yaʿzā, for example, who was an uncouth and completely illiterate Berber. Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ had travelled in the East and spent twenty years at Alexandria. Abū Zayd and his brother Abū Muḥammad taught at Āghmāt and their *ḥalḳa* was very well attended. The famous Ibn al-Bannāʾ of Marrākush was one of the disciples of the first of these in Ṣūfī matters: mounted on his mule, he came most regularly to consult his master at Āghmāt whenever he needed explanations from him on geometry (*handasa*) or other subjects. Ibn Ḳunfudh relates that another such person who was interested in prosody (*ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*) was able, much to his surprise, to obtain the information he needed from Abū Zayd.

Abū Zayd enjoyed as great a reputation for holiness as for scholarship. We hear of his travelling to Marrākush, secured to his mount as a precaution because of his great age, surrounded by his servants and by a crowd of devotees who thronged round him, each of them trying to rub his face with a piece of his clothing. His fame must have reached the sultan, since he ventured to go to the ruler, who at this time was the Marīnid Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, in order to induce him to raise the blockade of Tlemcen. His mission having been unsuccessful, he was making a retreat in the mosque of the Ṣābirīn at Fez when news reached him of the death of the sultan and the raising of the siege. But he did not have time to return to his native Āghmāt, as he died almost immediately after this.

His tomb is at Bāb al-Futūḥ, in the central section of the burial ground which is known as *rawḍat al-anwār* because of the large number of saints buried there.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh seems to have led a more secluded life than this brother, but its piety and the harsh mortifications which he inflicted on himself earned him a reputation which survived long after his death. Ibn Ḳunfudh visited his tomb, perhaps in about 769/1367-8, when he was *ḳāḍī* in the country of the Dukkāla. "Crowds flock to it" he says "to obtain the divine blessing". These pilgrimages, it seems, continued well after the 9th/15th century. Among the important pilgrims who were faithful to the memory of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Hazmīrī were the Saʿdī sultan Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (d. 1603), and the ʿAlawī sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1790).

The brotherhood of the Hazmīriyyūn probably continued to exist until the 9th/15th century, that is until the period when the teaching of al-Shādhilī, taken up by al-Djazūlī, was to grow into the Marabout movement and Sharīfism, resulting in the formation of new brotherhoods, based in various ways on Djazūlism. The earlier pre-Shādhilī brotherhoods, bereft of their missionary zeal and fearing the return of the heresies, which had in fact contributed widely to the Isalmization of the rural population, had fulfilled their rôle in history and prepared the way for the many popular religious movements which were to have a profound influence on Moroccan history during the following centuries.

Bibliography: On the biography of the two saints and their *manāḳib* there exists a manuscript work of one Ibn Tīdjlāt, of whom nothing is known apart from the fact that he was a *faḳīh* who was still living at Marrākush in 719 or 720/1320, and who may therefore have known the two men. It is entitled *Athmad al-ʿaynayn wa nuzhat al-nāẓirayn fī manāḳib al-akhawayn Abī Zayd wa Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Hazmīriyyayn*, and ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Sūda mentions that there is a copy in the library of the Fāsiyyīn (see *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Tetuan 1950, 209); on the documentary value of this manuscript and the bibliography of these two saints, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 223-4. In addition see ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥall Marrākush wa Āghmāt min al-aʿlām*, Fez 1937, iii, 162-92; the text of Ibn Ḳunfudh, *Uns al-faḳīr wa ʿizz al-ḥaḳīr*, established by Muḥammad al-Fāsī and A. Faure has just been published (Rabat 1965); there are several manuscript copies of it in the Rabat Public Library and one in the Ḳarawiyyīn.

(A. Faure)

HEADGEAR [see libās].

HEBRON [see al-khalīl].

HEGIRA [see hidjra].

ḤEKĪM-BASHĪ, (Ḥakīm-bashī), "Chief of the Physicians", in the Ottoman Empire the title of the chief Palace physician, who was at the same

time head of the health services of the state : besides being in charge of all the Palace physicians, surgeons, oculists, pharmacists, etc., he exercised supervision over all the physicians of the Empire, Muslim or non-Muslim; it was he who appointed and dismissed all physicians, surgeons and pharmacists, who kept a check on them, who examined aspirants to these professions, and who appointed and promoted worthy candidates.

Physicians were employed in the Palace, whether permanently or temporarily, probably from the earliest times. In the reign of Meḥemmed II the skill of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad, the former physician of Abū Saʿīd the Timurid, procured his appointment as head of all the physicians of the Ottoman court, who at that time included Shukr Allāh Shirwānī, Khʷādja ʿAṭāʾ Allāh ʿAdjamī, Lārī, and others. His daily stipend was 500 *aḳčes*, which remained in later years the usual salary of the Ḥekīm-bashī; there were also the perquisites of official gifts of summer and winter garments, and personal gifts as well.

The Ḥekīm-bashī counted as one of the officers of the Khāṣṣ-oda. He resided in the Bash Lala Ḳulesi, built under Meḥemmed II [see SARĀY]; he was to some extent subordinate to the Bash Lala (Chief Preceptor of the sultan, see LALA). When the sultan fell ill, his was a most important responsibility; if his patient died, he was usually dismissed. The medicines which he prescribed were made up under his supervision by the Palace pharmacists in the pharmacy situated in the Bash Lala Ḳulesi; they were placed in vessels sealed by the Ḥekīm-bashī and the Bash Lala and administered to the royal patients as required.

From the time of Meḥemmed II onwards, such famous and skilled holders of the post as Yaʿḳūb Pasha [*q.v.*], Lārī Čelebi, Akhī Čelebi and Ghars al-Dīn-zāde were also highly favoured intimates of the Sultan. In later years, on the eve of the (solar) New Year (21 March), the Ḥekīm-bashī made a special electuary called Newrūziyye, which he presented to the Sultan and to the high officers of the Palace and of the government. One indication of the high esteem which they enjoyed is that their status and comfort were increased by the grant of *arpalıḳs* [*q.v.*] in the form of fiefs usually situated near Edirne, Tekirdaghī and Gelibolu.

From the 10th/16th century onwards, the Ḥekīm-bashī was known also as Reʾīs al-aṭibbāʾ (for his *elḳāb*, see Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*² i, 12). Archive documents of this period show that he controlled the appointments, transfers and promotions of the Chief of the Palace surgeons (Djerrāḥ-bashī) and the surgeons, physicians, herbalists (*ʿashshāb*) and compounders of beverages (*sherbetdji*), by submitting recommendations to the *Dīwān*; he also attended to the staffing of the hospitals of Bāyezīd I at Bursa and of Meḥemmed II at Istanbul, and to the appointment of physicians to such institutions as the Palace of Ibrāhīm Pasha and Ghalaṭa-sarāyī [*q.v.*], filling vacancies when necessary with *kul-oghullarī* [*q.v.*] who had "practised the art of herbalism in Frengistān and the Arab lands" or "acquired the art of surgery in Frengistān". When he retired, he continued to receive his stipend.

The Ḥekīm-bashī belonged in principle to the *ʿilmiyye* career; he was sometimes promoted to the rank (*pāye*) of *defterdār* or vizier. In the 11th/17th century the post was still of importance : according to a *rūznāmče* register of 1013/1604 and the *risāle* of ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, the Ḥekīm-bashī then had under him over 20 Muslim and over 40 Jewish physicians; Ewliyā Čelebi records (i, 530) that in the middle of this century the Ḥekīm-bashī held a *mewlewiyyet* [*q.v.*] of 500 *aḳčes* and had a hundred servants.

Thereafter the post became less important; at the end of the 12th/18th century it began to be reckoned as one of those depending on the Aghas of the Dār al-Saʿādet and came completely under their influence, the holders of the post being frequently changed. From 1836 onwards appointments to the post were made from the *mülkiye* branch of the administration. The title was changed in 1844 to Ser-Ṭabīb-i Shehriyārī, and with the establishment of the Ministry of Medical Affairs (Ṭibbiyye) in 1850 the holder's duties were limited to those of private physician to the Palace.

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(M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN)

HELL [see DJAHANNAM].

HENNA [see ḤINNĀʾ].

HEPHTHALITES [see HAYĀṬILA].

HERALDRY [see HILĀL, RANK, SHIʿĀR].

HERAT [see HARĀT].

HEREKE [see ḲĀLĪ].

HERESY [see BIDʿA, GHULĀT, ILḤĀD, TAKFĪR, ZANDAḲA].

HERĪ RŪD [see HARĪ RŪD].

HERMES [see HIRMIS].

HERSEK [see BOSNA].

HERSEK-ZĀDE, AḤMED PASHA, (b. 860/1456, d. 932/1517), whose Slavonic surname was HERCEGOVIĆ, Ottoman statesman, Grand Vizier of the sultans Bāyezīd II and Selīm I, was the youngest and favourite son of the duke Stjepan Vukčić-Kosača (1405-66), a great Bosnian vojvoda and lord of south-east Bosnia; from his title "*herceg* (duke) of St. Sava" his domains were named Hercegovina and his descendants Hercegović. Aḥmed Pasha's mother was named Barbara; she was the daughter of a certain "dux de Payro" (d. 1459). Aḥmed Pasha was born in Herceg-Novi (Castel Nuovo) in early May 1456 or mid-July 1459. He spent his childhood there and was for some time at school in Dubrovnik. In Christian countries he was known as Prince Stjepan. Under that name he is found in his native country until the end of 1472. After having quarrelled with his brother the *herceg* Vlatko

because the latter had seized his share of their father's estate, he went to Istanbul, embraced Islam and received the name of Aḥmed, under which name he is mentioned for the first time in 1474. As early as 882/1477 he is mentioned in a firman of Meḥemmed II as the "servant of my kingdom Aḥmed Beg". The reason for his going to Turkey and embracing Islam is shrouded in tales and legends which have been diligently recorded by Ewliyā Čelebī (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 4, vi, 421, 423-4; see also J. Radonić in *Vatroslav Jagić-Festschrift*, Berlin 1918, 406-14). In the following year (883/1478) he is found in the retinue of Meḥemmed II in the Albanian campaign as the sultan's *mīr-i ʿalem*.

Before 14 December 1481 he was married to the princess K͟hündī K͟hātūn, daughter of Bāyezīd II, and became first *sand͟jaḳbegi* of Bursa and then *beglerbegi* of Anatolia. In this capacity he fought against Prince D͟jem (D͟jumādā I 887/July 1483) and helped his father-in-law to strengthen his position on the throne. As *beglerbegi* of Anatolia he was appointed, in the first ten days of Rabīʿ I 891/7-16 March 1486, as commander-in-chief of the expedition whose aim was to avenge the Turkish defeat in Syria (889/1484), in which the sultan's son-in-law, Ferhād Beg, had been killed, and to take from the Mamlūks of Egypt the towns of Adana and Tarsus; but he was defeated, wounded, captured (Ṣafar 891/6 February-6 March 1486) and taken to Cairo (D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 891/November 1486). In Muḥarram 892/January 1487 he was released from captivity and sent back to Turkey. Already at the end of the following month he is mentioned as vizier. Before 3 Rabīʿ II 893/17 March 1488 he had become *kapudān pas͟ha*, for on that date he led the Ottoman fleet in an operation, carried out in co-operation with the land forces, against the Mamlūk army, but his fleet was all but destroyed in a storm, and also the Ottoman land forces were defeated at Ag͟ha Čayïrï (8 Ramaḍān 893/16 August 1488). After this unfortunate expedition, Aḥmed Pas͟ha remained on his *tīmār* at Gallipoli until the autumn of 1489, when he was again appointed *beglerbegi* of Anatolia. When the Mamlūks besieged Ḳayṣari [*q.v.*], Aḥmed Pas͟ha, in Rabīʿ II 895/February-March 1490, was sent against them for the third time as commander-in-chief. The outcome of this campaign is not absolutely clear, but it is certain that Aḥmed Pas͟ha was not taken prisoner by the Mamlūks either then or at any time later, but only on the one occasion in 1486, and it is to his captivity at that period that the Arabic inscription in Cairo published by Van Berchem (see *Bibl.*) relates. In the spring of 1493 and in D͟jumādā II 901/February 1496 Aḥmed Pas͟ha is referred to as *beglerbegi* of Anatolia. On 4 Rad͟jab 902/8 March 1497, or some days later, he became for the first time Grand Vizier; but in the following year (after 19 August 1498) he was dismissed and appointed *kapudān pas͟ha* and *sand͟jaḳbegi* of Gallipoli. In this capacity he took part in the following year in the attack on Aynabak͟htī [*q.v.*], which was taken on 19 Muḥarram 905/26 August 1499. In the spring of 1500 he became vizier and in this capacity, in the autumn of 1501, commanded the Ottoman fleet in the fighting against France and the defence of Midilli [*q.v.*]. Shortly before December 1502 he again became Grand Vizier, concluded a treaty of peace with Venice (13 D͟jumādā II 908/14 December 1502) and a truce with Hungary (25 Ṣafar 909/20 August 1503). He remained in office until 18 Rabīʿ II 912/7 September 1506, in a period of great difficulty and unrest, when the country was afflicted by famine and plague, and also by general insecurity on sea and land. It is probable that he was subsequently again appointed *kapudān pas͟ha* and *sand͟jaḳbegi* of Gallipoli, although he is mentioned in the sources in this office only in the spring of 1509, with the title of vizier. In September 1510 he became effectively vizier and in Rabīʿ II 917/July 1511 he became for the third time Grand Vizier (upon the death of K͟hādim ʿAlī Pas͟ha), but at the end of D͟jumādā II 917/end of September 1511 he was dismissed at the insistence of the Janissaries, who had mutinied and who regarded him as the chief obstacle to the accession to the throne of prince Selīm. Before that, they had looted his residence and he only just escaped with his life. As the new Grand Vizier, Ḳod͟ja Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha, was very soon executed (918/1512), Aḥmed Pas͟ha, who was then Second Vizier, was again appointed Grand Vizier and in that capacity took part in Selīm I's victorious campaign against Persia (battle of Čaldirān [*q.v.*]). He remained in office until 9 Ramaḍān 920/28 October 1514, when he was dismissed and sent into retirement. As his successors, Dukagīn-zāde Aḥmed Pas͟ha and K͟hādim Sinān Pas͟ha, very soon incurred the displeasure of the ruthless and hot-tempered Sultan Selīm, Aḥmed Pas͟ha became Grand Vizier for the fifth and last time on 29 Rad͟jab 921/8 September 1515. Seeing how easily the officers of Selīm I could lose their lives, he attempted to avoid the appointment, pleading old age, illness, and exhaustion, but consented at the insistence of the sultan and the other viziers. Suffering torments from rheumatism, he rarely attended the *dīwān* but dealt with affairs in his own house. The following incident demonstrates that it was by no means easy for him to serve Selīm. At the end of April 1516 the news was received at the Porte that the Ṣafawīs were besieging Diyārbakr. On learning this, the sultan became extremely angry and vented all his wrath on his viziers. Then Aḥmed Pas͟ha suffered one of the worst days of his life: the sultan summoned him to the *dīwān* and in anger seized him by the throat and began to strike him about the head so that all his turban became unwound. He was immediately deprived of his office and his liberty, and, together with the vizier Pīrī Pas͟ha, escorted to Yedi Ḳule (23 Rabīʿ I 922/26 April 1516), but, on the intervention of the new Grand Vizier, K͟hādim Sinān Pas͟ha, both of them were pardoned and set free on the same day. At the time of Selīm's campaign against Egypt Aḥmed Pas͟ha was *muḥāfiẓ* of Bursa, and after the victory went to Cairo to congratulate him. On 9 D͟jumādā II 923/23 June 1517 he was received in a last audience by the sultan and given a reward. He died on 2 Rad͟jab 923/21 July 1517 while returning from Egypt in the Ḳïzïl Čol mountains on the borders of D͟hu 'l-Ḳadr. He was buried beside the mosque which he had built in the village of Dil, near Yalova, which is called Hersek after him. Here he built also an *ʿimāret* and an aqueduct. His mosque in the village of Dil was a masterpiece of Ottoman architecture. He built another mosque in the village of Rūs near Kes͟han (in the *sand͟jaḳ* of Gallipoli); he made over a number of villages to his *waḳf*s.

Having spent forty years in the service of three important sultans, Aḥmed Pas͟ha played a prominent role in the Ottoman empire. Even while he was the sultan's *mīr-i ʿalem* he had so much influence with Meḥemmed II that through his invervention Gedik Aḥmed Pas͟ha was released from prison. He enjoyed still greater prestige with his father-in-law, Bāyezīd II. He was remarkable for his wise and independent

opinions in the *dīwān*, which he bravely maintained even before Selīm I. He was a friend and protector of the republic of Dubrovnik. His foreign contemporaries also thought highly of him. The Venetian ambassador, Andrea Gritti, describes Aḥmed Pasha as "*valentissimo di buon animo e ingenuo*". He was a courageous, but not very successful, general. He excelled as a skilled diplomat and politician.

Aḥmed Pasha had a daughter named Humā (who died after 1551) and two sons, Alī Beg and Muṣṭafā Beg, both of them born before 1509, in which year they were circumcised. ʿAlī Beg distinguished himself as a lyric poet and wrote under the *makhlaṣ* Shīrī. He is mentioned until 1545, and Muṣṭafā Beg until 1582. With him the Muslim branch of the Hercegović family died out.

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(H. Šabanović)

HEYBELI ADA [see MARMARA].

HEZĀRFENN [see ḤUSAYN HEZĀRFENN].

HEZĀRGHRAD, Ottoman name of Razgrad in north-east Bulgaria, on the Beli Lom. A prehistoric settlement, it is the site of the classical Abritus, in whose ruins a Slavo-Bulgar township grew up. No details are known of its fate during the Ottoman expansion; it was probably occupied in the course of Čandarlï ʿAlī Pasha's campaign of 790/1388. It begins to be mentioned only towards the middle of the 10th/16th century as a village, variously named Yeñidje, Hezārghrad-i Djedīd and Kayadjik, belonging to the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Černovi (Červen). The Ottoman name Hezārghrad is a deformation of a pre-Ottoman name Hrazgrad. With three other villages it was, in the 10th/16th century, incorporated in the *waḳfs* of the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha.

In the second half of the 10th/16th century it is mentioned as a *ḳaṣaba* [*q.v.*], the administrative centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sandjaḳ* of Nicopolis. The town and the district around contained a significant population of Turkish colonists, *yürüks* [*q.v.*] among them. In the middle years of the century there were over 400 Muslims in the town (Turks, and also many converted Bulgarians), and about 1300 Christian Bulgarians. In 1050/1640 there were in the town 800 Bulgars (and 10 Catholics, immigrants from Dubrovnik). In 1069/1659 there were no more than some 350 Bulgars, while the Muslim population had increased to 7000 (with 30 Catholics). Later there were also some Jewish and Armenian inhabitants.

Situated in a fertile district, Hezārghrad rapidly became a vigorous commercial town, where numerous crafts flourished, one of the chief centres for the export of raw hides to Dubrovnik. There were over 300 shops in its commercial quarter. A code of regulations for its market was in existence in the 10th/16th century (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS a.f.t. 85, fol. 118 v). In the 19th century there was in the town a Government saltpetre factory.

A pleasant town, it contained several mosques, the best known being those of Ibrāhīm Pasha and Meḥmed Pasha. There were 12 *khāns*, some *medreses*, a clock-tower, baths, fountains, and a bridge over the river. The sources mention two churches in the 11th/17th and 19th centuries. The town suffered many disasters, attacks by brigands, and massive emigration between the 16th and 19th centuries. The Bulgarian inhabitants of the town played an active part in the political and religious struggles for independence in the 19th century.

Bibliography: Neshri, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ*, i, Ankara 1957, 245-59; J. Leunclavius, *Hist. Mus.*, Frankfurt 1591, 266-76; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat nāme*, iii, 310-11; J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 41; E. Fermendžin, *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica*, Zagreb 1887, 75, 263; J Bongars, in *Rad Jugoslavenske Akad. Znanosti i Umjetnosti*, cxxx (1897), 107; Sestini, *Viaggio da Constantinopoli a Bukoresti fatto l'anno 1779*, Rome 1794, 45; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien . . .*, iii, Hamburg 1837, 173; R. Walsh, *Narrative of a journey. . .*, London 1828, 166; Sofia, National Library, oriental section, Fonds 117, 20, no. 261g, OAK 217/8; F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte . . .*, Vienna and Munich 1944, 31, 33; A. Yavashov, *Razgrad, negovoto arheologičesko i istoričesko minalo*, Razgrad 1930; B. Cvetkova, *Sur l'aspect démographique de certaines régions dans la Bulgarie du nord-est aux XVe-XVIe siècles*, in *Bull. du Musée de Kolarovgrad*, Varna 1965; B. Nedkov, *Sur le nom Razgrad*, in *Bălgarski Ezik*, xii/3(1963).

(B. Cvetkova)

HIBA, one of many Arabic words used to express the concept of "gift", and the preferred legal term for it, see following article.

The giving of gifts, that is, the voluntary transfer of property, serves material and psychological purposes. In the pre-history of man, it probably antedates the contractual payment for goods and services. In Islam, it has retained its inherited functions as an important component of the social fabric and has exercised a considerable influence on political life. Literature (in the narrow sense of the term) tells us more about gifts than it does about commercial transactions.

A Muslim definition of "gift", attested for the 5th/11th century and reported by the Ottoman jurist Ibn Nudjaym, speaks of it as "something to which no condition is attached" (in contrast to bribes, cf. E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organization judiciaire*, Leiden 1960, 289; F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.* (below), 136, n. 8). The latent or obvious purposiveness of all gifts was, however, fully realized. In one of the many attempts made to distinguish between the different Arabic words for "gift", which were arbitrary from the etymological point of view and rarely obtained the sanction of usage, *hiba* is considered the transfer of property from a more highly placed person to one on a lower level of society (and, therefore, also as applicable to God's gifts to man); *hadiyya*, on the other hand, implies an effort on the part of a person on a lower level of society to get into the good graces of a recipient of a higher social status (and the word, therefore, is not and cannot be used in connexion with God) (Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *al-Furūḳ al-lughawiyya*, Cairo 1353, 138, but contrast, for instance, Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo [reprint] 1964, iii, 38, who finds no inherent distinction of social levels in *hadiyya*). The purposiveness of giving is above all indicated by special linguistic usage. Thus, the Arabic vocabulary knows a meaning of the root *m.n.n* (*minna, mannān*) which implies an objectionable insistence by the giver upon the obligations created for the recipient as a result of gifts received. The Ḳurʾān, LXXIV, 6, using the verb *istakthara*, warns against giving (*m.n.n*) in the expectation of receiving a larger gift in return, this being the widely, if not generally, accepted interpretation of the passage (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xxix, 80 f.; *Wörterbuch der klassischen arab. Sprache*, 64b). The third and tenth conjugations of *gh.z.r* are noted as special terms for the procedure, which, in the minds of some lexicographers, is a custom preferably associated with strangers, in accordance with an alleged *ḥadīth* (cf., for instance, Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1322, iii, 181; *LA*, vi, 326, and the commentators on *sūra* LXXIV, 6).

Generosity was acknowledged to be one of the primary virtues of the pre-Islamic Arabs, among whom it naturally found its principal expression in hospitality, and the generosity shown in Islam to guests remained a custom much remarked upon. The ideal of a wasteful, spendthrift generosity as exemplified by Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī [*q.v.*] was to some degree counteracted by the Aristotelian definition of generosity (*ḥurriyya, sakhāʾ*) as a subdivision of moderation (*sōphrosynē, ʿiffa*), involving the prudent balancing of income and spending; in this sense, the giving of gifts as an expression of generosity required taking into account the appropriate size of the gift and the deserving character of the recipient (cf., for instance, Abu 'l-Ḥasan [al-ʿĀmirī], *Saʿāda*, ed. M. Minovi, Wiesbaden 1957-8, 87 f.; Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb*, Cairo 1322, 8). However, the philosophical virtue blended well with the traditional appreciation of the liberal spender. The admiring reports in literature of anecdotes about outstanding generous men (*djawād*) and their acts of generosity (*djūd*) never ceased to interest Muslim readers. The lively discussion of the opposite vice, stinginess (*bukhl* [*q.v.*]), is merely another way of illustrating the Muslim esteem of generosity. To pre-Islamic and Classical tradition, Muslim religious tradition further added the concept of generosity shown to the needy, charity (*ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*]), as a virtue of great merit.

The giving of gifts was viewed as an activity among equals and an expression of friendship. Characteristically, Ibn Ḳutayba discusses the subject of gifts within the larger context of friendship, and in the eyes of the religious authorities, the giving of gifts helps toward the establishment of better personal and communal relations. Gifts were exchanged on joyous personal occasions, such as weddings or circumcisions. Special occasions for the exchange of small gifts among relatives and friends were various holidays, among them the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* [*q.v.*] as well as the festivals of *nawrūz* and *mihrdjān* [*qq.v.*] (Mez, *Renaissance*, 400 ff.). The latter festivals were, however, also used at times as occasions on which the people had to present major "gifts" to their ruler. Gifts on festive occasions, as well as other gifts, were often accompanied by appropriate verses deemed worthy of preservation in literature, or by messages in artistic prose.

From the personal sphere of generosity and friendship, where the motivation was primarily psychological, there was a short step to the—broadly speaking—politically motivated giving of gifts by or to persons holding positions of authority in the community. The higher a person was placed within the power structure, the more he was expected to dignify his status and secure his position by frequent manifestations of largesse. The lavish gifts of caliphs and powerful *wazīrs* are often mentioned and commented upon. They were correctly interpreted as a sign of firmly established power and political success. Obviously, such "gifts" were as a rule expected forms of remuneration. The rich rewards bestowed upon poets and artists, and the unhappy occasions on which such rewards were not forthcoming, were the result of the sponsorship of the arts felt to be part of the duties of the government. Gifts by rulers were in a way the more spectacular extension of regular government spending, and they fascinated writers and readers more than the routine character of the latter.

Gifts to persons in positions of authority were usually proffered for the purpose of engaging or rewarding their services. At times, this came to be customary procedure, and officials (occasionally even those in the highest places) depended on it for their income. It was an obvious source of moral corruption and political decay, and was, in turn, nourished by them. It is difficult for us to judge how much harm was done in Muslim history by what in one setting was but a generally accepted and approved method of doing business, and, in another, a cancer corroding the very structure of society. However, the great dangers inherent in the acceptance of gifts by officials in the course of their official duties and, in particular, by officials of the judicial administration were often noticed and complained about. The borderline between gifts that, however undesirable, were legally permissible, and forbidden bribes (*rashwa* [*q.v.*]) was hard to define in theory and even more difficult to preserve in practice. The problem was realized and constantly investigated. The solutions suggested show awareness of its urgency, but, as is only natural, they were not really effective (cf. F. Rosenthal, *Gifts and bribes*, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cviii (1964), 135-44; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1933, ii, 136-8; Kātib Chelebi (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), *The balance of truth*, trans. G. L. Lewis, London 1957, 124-7).

Finally, the exchange of gifts occupied an important role in international relations as a custom regularly observed wherever diplomatic contact took place. Gifts were exchanged between Muslim rulers

and between Muslim and non-Muslim rulers through their ambassadors or through persons who functioned, or presumed to function, as such; usually, participants in the lower ranks were not left out. The value of the gifts was determined by considerations of the status and the prestige of both giver and recipient, as well as by political expediency and the purpose to be achieved. The descriptions of diplomatic gifts often mention unusual objects and permit us to gauge the value attached to rare luxury items and other possessions. More important, they throw some light upon economic conditions and regional products in the countries of giver and recipient and upon their relative standing as to wealth and industrial development.

As in the societies preceding Islam and contemporary with it, the personal giving of gifts came under the scrutiny of the law (see below). The propriety of diplomatic gifts and of gifts to officials was occasionally questioned by jurists. Rules were proposed to govern the tender and acceptance of such gifts. Presumably, they were disregarded most of the time (cf. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, and, for an apparently complete copy of Taḳī 'l-Dīn al-Subkī, *Faṣl al-maḳāl fī hadāyā al-ʿummāl*, Ms. Chester Beatty 4870, fols. 1-5).

In addition to human giving, we find the concept of God as the giver of gifts, which concerned Muslim theology. All existence, including that of man himself, is a gift of God's kindness (*niʿma*), and so are all special benefits, talents, and achievements of man. Ṣūfism quite generally tends to describe every spiritual breakthrough by the mystic toward the achievement of his mystic striving as being given by God, and every material manifestation of saintliness in the form of miracles as possible only through some divine gift (*mawhiba*). While God's gifts are unselfishly given and cannot be matched or requited in any way, human beings are expected to show their gratefulness (*s̲h̲ukr* [*q.v.*]) by obeying the divine commands and doing what is right in the eyes of God; yet, their gratefulness can never exhaust the depth of their obligation to their Maker. The role of God as the unique Giver requires mention here, because it does have implications for the attitude toward human giving. It propounds an example that cannot be reached by man. He has the choice of either imitating it as the ideal of true, moral giving, or of using it in order to condone as human frailty the moral failures often accompanying human giving.

Bibliography: In the article, and in the individual sections following. See further BAK̲H̲S̲H̲ĪS̲H̲, INʿĀM, PĪS̲H̲KAS̲H̲. (F. ROSENTHAL)

i.—The Caliphate

The giving of presents was a practice which permeated all levels of mediaeval Islamic society, its aim being to cement the bonds of obligation and dependence which ran through the structure of that society. At the highest level, the exchange of presents was an integral part of diplomacy. In ch. xxi of the *Siyāsat-nāma*, Niẓām al-Mulk refers briefly to the diplomatic use of presents, and Fak̲h̲r-i Mudabbir Mubāraks̲h̲āh devotes a whole chapter of his treatise on war and statecraft to the despatching of ambassadors and the gifts which they should bear (*Ādāb al-mulūk*, India Office MS 647, *bāb* xii, fols. 46b-52a). Also, the general works on secretarial practice (*kitāba*) often refer to the letters which should accompany presents or which should be sent in thanks for them. Thus Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābiʾ's *G̲h̲urar al-balāg̲h̲a* has a chapter on *hadāyā* (cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 14-15). Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī gives several examples of the correspondence involved on the occasion of gifts of robes of honour, horses, hunting falcons, game, fruits, etc. (*mukātabāt al-tahādī wa 'l-mulāṭafa*) and when seeking gifts (*istihdāʾ*), in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, viii, 339 ff., 351-6, ix, 100-24.

The most important non-Islamic power with which the Caliphs had to deal was, of course, Byzantium. The Emperors themselves had long appreciated the value of careful diplomacy, of impressing envoys by the splendour of their court and of using costly gifts to mollify opponents; and for the luxury textiles and mechanical contrivances which were the staple presents, the Emperors had the productions of the state workshops to call upon (cf. W. Ensslin in *Byzantium, an introduction to East Roman civilization*, ed. Baynes and Moss, Oxford 1948, 306-7). The Caliphs, for their part, exerted themselves equally to impress Christian ambassadors. The Frankish chronicler Einhard speaks of the rich gifts sent to Charlemagne by Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd in the course of their celebrated diplomatic exchanges, involving the textiles and aromatics of the Islamic world and such exotica as an elephant and a water clock (*Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. and tr. L. Halphen, Paris 1923, 47). In 305/917-18 al-Muḳtadir staged an especially lavish reception in his palace for the envoys of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the course of which rich gifts were exchanged (cf. Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb al-d̲h̲akhāʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf*, 130 ff.). Many of the Bag̲h̲dād-Constantinople diplomatic exchanges revolved, as did this last mission, around the making of truces on the Anatolian frontiers and the ransoming of prisoners. Just over a century later, Constantine Monomachus in 441/1049-50 sent an embassy with presents to the Sald̲j̲ūḳ Sultan Ṭog̲h̲rïl seeking for peace and for the ransoming of the Georgian prince Liparit Orbeliani; when Ṭog̲h̲rïl, on the intercession of the Marwānid ruler Naṣr al-Dawla Ibn Marwān, released Liparit without a ransom, the Emperor sent further presents and allowed the construction of a mosque in Constantinople (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 380).

When the Caliphs and other Islamic rulers delegated their military or civil authority to subordinate rulers or governors, presents were invariably bestowed on the recipient of the office, as a material sign of the grantor's favour. In an age when dress was so decisively an indication of official or social status, and when wealth was often stored in the form of textiles, it is not surprising that richly-embroidered or bejewelled robes of honour are the most constant element in these presents [see K̲H̲ILʿA]. Such centres of manufacture as Damascus, Bag̲h̲dād, Mawṣil, Iṣfahān, Rayy, Nīs̲h̲āpūr and Marw, all produced luxury textiles for these robes, and in some cases, rulers had special workshops producing luxury goods for court consumption or for bestowal as gifts; Nars̲h̲ak̲h̲ī mentions the *bayt al-ṭirāz* at Buk̲h̲ārā, whose products were taken each year to Bag̲h̲dād in lieu of taxation (*The history of Bukhara*, tr. Frye, 19-20; see also ḤARĪR and ṬIRĀZ).

In 284/897 al-Muʿtaḍid was compelled to invest ʿAmr b. Layt̲h̲ with Transoxania in succession to the Ṭāhirids, who had exercised an overlordship in that region. He sent with the investiture diploma seven robes of honour, a crown set with sapphires and other gems, eleven horses with golden accoutrements and bejewelled caparisons, and chests of clothing and luxury articles (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-ak̲h̲bār*, ed. Nāẓim, 17). In 369/979 ʿAḍud al-Dawla demanded from al-

Ṭāʾiʿ that he should be crowned in Baghdād, should have further honorific titles and should be given robes of honour. The feeble Caliph had to assent to the Būyid Amīr's coronation at Baghdād, and invested him with the robes and two swords; three days later he further sent a linen tunic, a gold dish and a crystal vessel and goblet (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vii, 98-100). In 513/1119 the supreme Saldjūḳ Sultan Sandjar appointed his nephew Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad ruler of ʿIrāḳ and Djibāl and, in addition to the usual robes of honour, sent a horse with luxurious equipment and an elephant with a bejewelled litter (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 170). The presents sent by the Caliph al-Mustarshid in 527/1133 to Masʿūd b. Muḥammad, when he recognized him as Sulṭān in the western Saldjūḳ lands, included seven ceremonial *durrāʿas* or tunics of various materials and colours, one being in the ʿAbbāsid colour of black, a jewelled crown, two arm bracelets (*siwār*), a gold collar, two swords and two banners (Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥusaynī, *Akhbar al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, 102). Victorious military commanders were honoured in the same way when they entered the capital; on Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kātib's return from Raḳḳa and a victorious campaign against the Ḳarmaṭīs, al-Muktafī presented him and other commanders with robes of honour, a gold collar and two arm bracelets (ʿArīb, 3, under 291/904; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 131; Eng. tr., 133).

The bestowal of lesser honours, those of a social rather than a military or political nature, was likewise accompanied by presents. In 321/933 al-Ḳāhir made Ibn Muḳla a *nadīm* or boon-companion in the Caliphal entourage, and at the same time gave him robes of honour, began calling him by his *kunya* or his patronymic, and added further gifts of a silver-gilt dish of ambergris, perfumes and musk, a second dish, a crystal decanter and goblet and a silver washbowl. Five years later, the Turkish general Bečkem was honoured in similar terms when he became al-Rāḍī's *nadīm* (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, i, 258-9, 396, tr. iv, 293-4, 440).

On the other hand, the grant of honours and awards from the Caliph usually involved the recipient in much reciprocal expense. Even when the secular authority of the ʿAbbāsids was at a low ebb, such as the period of Būyid and early Saldjūḳ domination in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, their moral and spiritual influence was still very important. They alone could legitimize *de facto* power, and for the privilege of this approval, the provincial ruler who sought an investiture diploma (*ʿahd*, *manshūr*) or a grant of honorific titles (*alḳāb*) had to be prepared to pay. The sale of honours and the seeking of presents were, indeed some of the means by which the Caliphs augmented their meagre resources during these lean years. According to Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, the requiring of presents from those who had been invested with office or who had received some honour from the Caliphate was a comparatively recent practice, dating only from the period of Caliphal penury, *i.e.*, from early Būyid times; but in his own time, presents were required not only for the Caliph but for the secretaries and the court retinue (*Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. M. ʿAwwād, Baghdad 1383/1964, 100).

Much protocol was involved in the exchange of presents, and a definite tariff, according to the occasion, was recognized. This tariff (*rasm*) is mentioned in the Ghaznavid historian Bayhaḳī's *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, when Sultan Masʿūd discussed with his vizier Maymandī the presents which were to be sent from Ghazna to Baghdād to greet the new Caliph al-Ḳāʾim; in return, the Sultan sought confirmation of his claim to his father's conquests and diplomatic support against the Ḳarakhānids (a sidelight on the diplomatic value of presents is that Masʿūd wanted to extract from the Caliph a promise that robes of honour and presents should never be sent direct to the Ḳarakhānids but only through his own intermediacy). It was agreed that the Caliph personally should receive 20,000 *mans* of indigo and his court circle 5,000 *mans*, and personal presents were also given to the Caliphal envoys (details in Bosworth, *The imperial policy of the early Ghaznawids*, in *Islamic Studies*, i/3 (1962), 65). Ṭoghrïl's acquisition of the title *Malik al-Mashriḳ wa 'l-Maghrib* in 449/1058, the date of his first meeting with the Caliph in Baghdād, cost him 50,000 *dīnārs*, 50 of the finest available Turkish *ghulāms* with appropriate horses and arms, a quantity of cloth, etc.; for his marriage at Tabrīz in 454/1062 with al-Ḳāʾim's daughter, presents had to be distributed not only to the Caliph himself, but also to his chief wife, to the *walī al-ʿahd* ʿUddat al-Dīn (the later al-Muḳtadī) and to the princess's own mother (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 436-7; Bundārī, 22).

It was the custom to exchange gifts at such festivities as weddings (cf. the munificence of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl when his daughter Būrān married al-Maʾmūn at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, described in, *e.g.*, Ṭabarī, iii, 1081-5, Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. de Jong, 73-4, Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, 98-101, and Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī, *Čahār maḳāla*, Browne's revised tr., 21-2), circumcisions and the old Iranian festivals of Nawrūz and Mihrdjān, the observance of which early became general in the central and eastern parts of the Caliphate. We hear, too, of personal gifts from subjects to rulers; doubtless some private advantage was often sought. A Zoroastrian *mōbedh* presented a flask of precious ointment to al-Mutawakkil; and a landowner of the Ghazna district, one Mānk ʿAlī, had the custom of annually presenting the Ghaznavid Sultans with pickles, savouries, dried meats and fine cloth (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 229; Bayhaḳī, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 128-9).

The goods and products most frequently given as presents have emerged through the examples given above, with fine textiles, aromatics and spices, and jewels, to the fore. However, the gifts sent westwards by governors and rulers on the eastern fringes of the Islamic world usually included some of the specialities of those eastern regions and even of the Indian and Chinese worlds beyond. Very prominent were Turkish slaves from the Central Asian steppes, greatly in demand for the new professional armies of the Caliphs and provincial rulers [see GHULĀM i. The Caliphate, and ii. Persia]. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, the tribute and presents forwarded by the Ṭāhirid governors of Khurāsān and then by the Sāmānid Amīrs of Khurāsān and Transoxania always included large numbers of Turkish slaves. In a very detailed list in Bayhaḳī, 416-17, of the presents sent to Hārūn al-Rashīd by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān (governor of Khurāsān 180-91/796-807) are 1,000 each of Turkish male and female slaves, and other Central Asian specialities mentioned in it include hawks and falcons for hunting, Badakhshān rubies, Nīshāpūr turquoises and Ṭukhāristān horses. Particularly interesting is the inclusion of 200 pieces of Chinese porcelain (*čīnī faghfūrī*), which already at this early date were making the long and hazardous journey across Asia (on this product see P. Kahle, *Chinese porcelain in the lands of Islam*, in *Opera minora*, Leiden 1956, 326-61). Elephants sporadically appeared in

ʿIrāḳ and Persia in early ʿAbbāsid times as presents from Makrān, Sind and the eastern parts of Afghānistān; beasts captured in the Kābul region were sent by the Ṣaffārids, and Maḥmūd of Ghazna regularly sent them to the Caliph among presents from the plunder of his Indian campaigns. Finally, it may be noted that the presents which were despatched to Baghdād from the corners of the Islamic world were not all exotic and luxury articles; in 327/938 al-Rāḍī, hard pressed in his capital, was glad to receive from the Ḥamdānid ruler of Mawṣil Nāṣir al-Dawla al-Ḥasan boatloads of flour, barley and livestock (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse*, i, 405, tr. iv, 449).

Bibliography: given in the article. Reference may also be made to the section on the giving of presents in Spuler, *Iran*, 367-9, and also to the section in Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, 100-3, headed "The presents which should be offered to the Caliph when a person is invested with an office or honoured with being called by his *kunya* or with honorific titles", with examples from the Būyid period. Of outstanding interest is the *K. al-Dhakhāʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf* of the Fāṭimid official Ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Zubayr, ed. Muḥ. Ḥamīd Allāh, Kuwait 1959, which dates from *ca.* 463/1071. *Inter alia*, the author describes here famous offerings of gifts amongst rulers in pre-Islamic and Islamic times, with many examples from ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid history.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ii — Mamlūk Egypt

The presentation by Muslim rulers of costly and often exotic gifts to European heads of state, for long a common practice, accounted in large part for the mediaeval western view of Islam as a world of luxury and splendour. This view was nourished nowhere more abundantly than in Mamlūk Egypt, whose rulers staged lavish receptions for foreign envoys and outdid themselves in bestowing upon them expensive presents to be carried back home to their sovereigns (see Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, ii, 679 n. 7; and *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), esp. 202, n. 3). Despite the well-known laconism of Muslim chroniclers regarding foreign embassies to Cairo, they almost invariably mention the exchange of gifts (*hadiyya*), accompanied usually by some estimate of their value (*e.g.*, Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 599, vii, 6, 112-13, 215-16; idem, *Ḥawādith*, 471-3, 699; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 17, 25, 62, 145-46, 248, 292-93, iv, 55, 257, 269, 284, v, 9-11). In the archival material more detailed descriptions are to be found, either in the texts of letters or in separate lists appended to these (*e.g.*, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, viii, 122; Alarcón y Santón—García de Linares, *Documentos*, nos. 146, 149; Capmany y de Montpalau, *Memorias*, iv, 73-5). Such descriptions appear also in the diaries and "relazioni" of European envoys, often in great detail (*e.g.*, Catellaci, in *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, Ser. 4, viii (1881), 173 ff.; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, iii, 119 (Cron. Zancaruola); Schefer, *Voyage d'Outremer*, 147-226). The importance of these gifts was such that omission of them attracted attention and appears to have been a calculated insult, as in the Mamlūk embassy to Venice in 913/1507 (*BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 516 n. 3).

Possibly the most celebrated instance of gifts from a Mamlūk sultan to a European ruler was Ḳāitbāy's dispatch in 892/1487 of an embassy to Lorenzo de' Medici, of which there are several contemporary Florentine accounts in prose and one, somewhat later, in oil by Giorgio Vasari in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence (see *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern, Oxford 1965, 39-41, 43 and Frontispiece). In this case it was the bizarre collection of animals (especially a giraffe) which aroused the curiosity and aesthetic sensibilities of the Florentines.

Among the correspondence of the Mamlūk sultans with other rulers, both Muslim and Christian, one finds examples of special requests for gifts, apparently of articles obtainable only in the lands of the proposed donor; such are the letters from the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh in 833/1429 requesting copies of Ibn Ḥadjar's commentary to Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and of Maḳrīzī's *Sulūk* (*Nudjūm*, vi, 650); and from Sultan Shaʿbān to Galeazzo Visconti in 768/1366 seeking white gerfalcons (Iorga, iv, 6-11; and art. bayzara). A more unusual instance of this is the letter from James II of Aragon to the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn asking for some relics of St. Barbara reputed to have been among his treasures (Golubovich, *Biblio. Terra Sancta*, iii, 233; and cf. A. S. Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon*, 42-52).

In addition to rare animals and unusual wares from the further Orient the gifts of the Mamlūk sultans to foreign envoys and their principals included precious and elaborate stuffs of local manufacture, presented sometimes as cloth not made up, sometimes as robes of honour [see khilʿa], a practice also observed at European courts in diplomatic relations with Mamlūk Egypt (see Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 63-4; and *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 518 n. 2).

Occasionally the gifts brought to Cairo by foreign envoys played a decisive rôle in determining the amount of attention the Sultan and/or his officials might be prepared to devote to an embassy, as in 918/1512 when the Venetians, French, and Ṣafavids among others were contenders for the favours of Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī (Schefer, *loc. cit.*; Sanuto, *Diarii*, xv, 193-208; Ibn Iyās, iv, 225 ff. who remarks (pp. 268-9) that at that moment there were no fewer than 14 ambassadors in Cairo!), or in 894/1489 when Florence was eclipsed in the eyes of the dragoman Taghrībirdī by Venetian wealth and prestige (cf. *Docs. Isl. Chanc.*, p. 44).

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(J. Wansbrough)

iii. — In the West

1. The term *hadiyya* is commonly used with the restricted meaning of "a sumptuous gift solemnly offered to a sovereign", either by another sovereign (his equal or a vassal) or by a group of some kind, or —much more rarely—by an individual of high rank.

The circumstances in which such gifts were offered or exchanged were many: embassies intended to form political, economic or matrimonial links, or sent to deliver congratulations on the occasion of an accession or a great victory. In the rare cases of presents being offered by individuals, these were important dignitaries (minister, chamberlain, etc.) wishing to retain or to regain the favour of their sovereign; this was the case notably, at the court of the Umayyads of Cordova in the 4th/10th century, with the *wazīr* Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad Ibn Shuhayd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and with the *ḥādjib* al-Muṣḥafī and al-Ḥakam II (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, index s.v.). These gifts nearly always consisted of several articles and included both objects of great value and curiosities (*ṭuraf, tuḥaf, gharāʾib*) peculiar to the country of the sender.

In the former category we find gold and silver, either in ingots, as coins, or made up into vessels; pearls and precious stones; sumptuous cloths (brocades, etc.) in the piece or made up into gar-

ments; carpets, arms and armour (notably the famous shields of leather made from the skin of *lamṭ* [*q.v.*], a type of antelope peculiar to the western Sahara); harness; state tents; furs; perfumes; ambergris, musk; thoroughbred horses; falcons; slaves. More rarely there were presented copies of the Ḳurʾān, of historic value or richly bound and ornamented with precious stones. In an exceptional case we hear of the prince of Genoa sending to the Marīnid sultan Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, in 691/1292, "a tree in gilded metal bearing birds which an ingenious mechanism made to sing", similar to that which had been made for the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil (see Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, lith. Fās 1305, top of p. 281). Among the curiosities are found particularly African animals: elephants, giraffes, zebras, lions, civet-cats, parrots speaking various languages.

The reception of these gifts and of their bearers was an occasion of great ceremony. The exotic animals were paraded in a procession for the people to admire. When such gifts were offered by Christian rulers, the Muslim recipients chose to regard them as tribute. In fact these *hadiyya*s were considered by the European states as essentially intended to enable them to obtain favourable commercial treaties, to protect themselves against the Barbary corsairs, and to facilitate the ransom of prisoners. In addition to clocks and watches and Chinese porcelain, the Muslims particularly appreciated cannons and muskets, gunpowder, sulphur and lead, wood and rope for building and the rigging of warships, although the export of such items to the infidels had many times been prohibited by the Papacy.

The practice of sending these *hadiyya*s of tribute disappeared only during the first half of the 19th century, following the French occupation of Algiers (1830) and the defeat of the Moroccans in the wādī Islī (1844).

2. In Morocco especially, and particularly, it appears, from the time of the beginning of the ʿAlawid dynasty, the *hadiyya* was an obligatory gift made to the sultan by his subjects; from being the spontaneous homage of gratitude and of vassal status it ended as a supplementary tax.

Particularly at the time of the two canonical feasts and of that of the *mawlid* (coll. *mūlūd*), but also on the occasion of certain festivities (a sultan's accession, his solemn entry into a town, etc.), the inhabitants of town and country had to offer to their sovereign, together with their homage and their good wishes, a *hadiyya*, the nature and the amount of which were fixed by the government.

In the towns, the costs of the *hadiyya*, in money and in kind, were divided by the governor among the quarters of the town and the guilds. The Jewish community had its own *hadiyya*, often consisting of items of gold or silver work. In the rural areas, the *ḳāʾid* of each tribe was charged with the division and with the collecting of the sum imposed. To it were very often added local products: sumptuous cloths, carpets, horses, slaves, etc. The whole was taken to the town where the sultan was residing at the time by delegates (*haddāya*), escorted by their *ḳāʾid*.

The presentation of the *hadiyya*s to the sultan began on the day following each of the three feasts and lasted for several days. It took place in the open and was the occasion for picturesque ceremonies, often described by European travellers.

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(G. S. Colin)

iv. — Persia

The exchange of presents on the occasion of ambassadorial visits is a very ancient custom, common throughout the Orient; it survived into Islamic times in Persia and indeed is continued today, even if in a different form more adapted to modern diplomatic practice. There is now a distinction between different classes of gifts, with precisely defined terminology: presents to equals (*hadiyya*), from inferiors to superiors (*pīshkash*), and from superiors to inferiors (*inʿām*, usually of money) (E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1950, 73 ff.). Firdawsī appears still to use *hadiyya* indiscriminately for any kind of present (F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, s.v. *Hadye*; the term *hiba* does not appear here). At least from the Mongol period onwards, presents from governors etc. are described as *pīshkash* [*q.v.*], a form of tribute. In the Ṣafawid chronicles, there are descriptions of rulers' accessions to the throne and similar ceremonies, where *pīshkash wa tuḥaf wa hidāyā-yi mulūk-i aṭrāf* were offered (Firdawsī knows *tuḥfa* only in the sense of "rarity, marvel"). *Bilāk* (T. *belek*, cf. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat, i, 322; pseudo-Arabic plural *bilākāt*) is also found as a description of presents from the Tīmūrids to the Ak Koyunlu. *Hadiyya* (and also *tuḥaf*) has become the normal expression for the exchange of presents on diplomatic missions. The fact that at the Ṣafawid court these gifts were recorded by the *pīshkash-niwīs* (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. Minorsky, *GMS*, n.s. xvi, London 1943, 156) simply indicates a broadening of this clerk's duties.

Islamic rulers practised this exchange of gifts not only on the signing of treaties and at their accession, but also on family occasions such as the circumcision of a son. Niẓām al-Mulk had an already quite Machiavellian conception of the principal purpose of diplomatic missions: it was to profess subservience to the opponent by the presentation of rich gifts, lull him into security, and reconnoitre his strength or weakness in the event of a war (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 90, tr. 133; tr. Schowingen, 198; tr. Darke, 98-9, 101).

The type of presents exchanged between Islamic rulers varied little from the early Middle Ages until modern times: jewellery, brocade and other costly stuffs, which were given to the Caliph by the famous Byzantine mission of 937 A.D., continually recur in the lists of presents given by Persian rulers too; also included were money, weapons, perfumes, saddle-horses, slaves, and many other things. The Turks quickly adopted Iranian customs: Toghrīlbeg, on the occasion of one mission to the Caliph, sent 10,000 *dīnār*s, precious stones and precious cloths. A famous exchange of gifts was that between Maḥmūd of Ghazna and Ḳadr Khān: Maḥmūd presented gold and silver dishes, precious stones (or pearls), "Baghdād" vessels, beautiful clothing and carpets, weapons (battle-axes and Indian swords), horses with costly trappings, ten elephants, camels with luxuriously appointed litters, sandalwood and ambergris, leopard-skins, falcons and eagles, and slave girls. Ḳadr Khān responded with a large sum of money, horses, slave-girls, falcons and products of Turkestan (weasel, squirrel and fox pelts) and, significantly, *objets d'art* of Chinese origin (brocade, articles made

of horn, etc.). Similar presents were given by the Īlkhāns to foreign rulers: money, armour, precious stones, cheetahs, silverware, musk, and garments of green and white wool. No doubt some symbolic significance attached to a throne of rattan-wood (*čūb-i khayzurān*) with canopy (*sāyabān*), which an Ak Koyunlu ruler received from India. The renowned Kūh-i-Nūr diamond came briefly to the Ṣafawid Court in 1544 when Humāyūn [*q.v.*] sought refuge in Persia. Costly Frankish robes and other European products came into the possession of the Ṣafawids before 1600, principally from the Turks. Arab horses, always much coveted, were given by the Ṣafawid Shāh to the Ottoman mission in 968/1560-1, as well as the usual robes of honour (*khilaʿ* [*q.v.*]) and gilded saddles and harness. For India, Persia was a transit country useful as a source of Arab horses; Shāh ʿAbbās I once sent the Emperor Akbar (as well as costly stuffs) 100 stallions and mares of Arab and Georgian stock. From the Indian court came elephants and exotic beasts (tigers, leopards, gazelles, rhinoceroses, parrots and hippopotamuses), but also (perhaps originally from Europe?) optical instruments, as well as armour set with jewels. A valuable sabre presented by Akbar must have had symbolic significance (victory over the enemies of the Ṣafawids). Even in the very lively diplomatic exchanges with European courts after 1600 A.D., the Ṣafawids confined themselves to the traditional list of presents (slaves naturally did not figure here). Anthony Sherley was commissioned by the Shāh to take to various European rulers presents of sabres, bows and arrows, turban silk, belts of pure linen and broad woollen belts. The Persian embassy to Louis XIV in 1715 presented 106 small pearls, 280 turquoises and two gilded boxes of mummy balm [see MŪMIYĀ].

From the Crusades onwards, Europeans were well acquainted with oriental customs and preferences, and also, through trade with the East, they were well provided with objects suitable for presents. We therefore find that in the lists of presents of European missions to the Īlkhāns, apart from tents, leopards and hunting dogs, precious stones, etc., there are included silk, purple dye, velvet, canopy material, and parasols decorated with precious stones. When in the Ṣafawid period relations between Europe and Persia were renewed and intensified to a hitherto unparalleled extent, technical equipment found its way to Persia along with the presents previously customary. Moreover, gifts began to be chosen more to suit individual tastes; specialities of particular countries gained prominence; and firearms were on some occasions delivered in numbers which already approximated to a kind of 'military aid'. The embassy from Philip III of Spain in 1617 brought to Shāh ʿAbbās I brocade, dishes and vessels of silver-gilt, harness and armour, but also surgical instruments, locksmiths' and carpenters' tools (the Shāh was in some way a forerunner of the Czar Peter the Great in his interest in carpentry), as well as portraits of the Infanta of Spain and the Queen of France (European paintings also came into Persia by way of the Armenians of Djulfa). Portraits were then very often offered by other embassies too. From France came spy-glasses, crystal chandeliers and crystal mirrors, and (the result of Far East trade) porcelain from China, veils from India, and tea; but there were also cannons of the most modern design, and carpets of silk and gold thread from the Savonnerie factory (near Paris). A coach and four, which the East India Company wished to present to the Shāh in 1621, was not greatly welcomed in Persia, where there were no roads; on the other hand the Shāh accepted with enthusiasm 1,500 arquebuses from the same mission, whereas he criticized armour as unserviceable in war. A Russian mission also had little luck later with a carriage drawn by six horses, which was brought only with the greatest difficulty from Djulfa to Iṣfahān. More welcome were the valuable Russian sables and the barrels of vodka, which the Shāh greatly appreciated. An embassy from Holstein brought among other things amber caskets. The gifts offered by the Dutch ambassador in 1652 were equally conventional, if more luxurious: 2,000 ducats (only gold coins were accepted, as Tavernier states; silver coins, not to speak of forged coins, the Shāh rejected), scarlet cloth, a large mirror, ambergris and amber boxes, Hindustani metal bowls, Japanese lacquer wares and exotic birds. Clocks in costly cases were also favourite articles for presents. The Russian embassy of 1817 had already fallen in with the standards of the other European countries in its choice of presents. The gifts included a set of cut-glass, a set of St. Petersburg porcelain, toilet mirrors, a clock in the form of an elephant, guns, pistols and sabres from the renowned arms factory of Tula, two wall mirrors, diamonds and rings, as well as the traditional sables. The gifts of the British mission of 1812, on the other hand, seem to have been chosen more to suit the personal tastes of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh: several coaches (kindly received but never used), a pianoforte (the Ṣafawids had once received an organ from Moscow), a large mahogany dining table and 70 mirrors. Most of these, however, were broken on the difficult journey from Būshīr to Tehrān.

Christian clergy, too, who were sent as envoys of the Pope or of their Orders, did not present themselves at the Ṣafawid Court without presents, but in these cases even less costly gifts were accepted with indulgence. A Capuchin presented nautical and astronomical instruments (a compass and an astrolabe), a Dominican a clock and "*petites nippes de peu de valeur*" (as Chardin puts it). A Carmelite mission from the Pope had the extreme naïveté to present Shāh ʿAbbās I with a costly crucifix, at which, however, the Shāh took no offence. Ṣafī I received from the Vicar-Provincial of the Carmelites an edition of the Psalms in an Arabic translation, together with a few water-melons, and from the Bishop of Baghdād a portrait of Urban VIII. Innocent XII sent Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn in 1700 Venetian brocade, striking clocks, a few pictures, mirrors with filigree frames, a microscope and a magnifying glass, and a block-and-pulley. Organs, spectacles and lifting-gear, also intended for the Shāh, were left behind in Aleppo. An Archbishop, on the other hand, presented himself before Nādir Shāh in the traditional manner with a splendidly bridled horse as a gift.

The presentation of gifts was accompanied by a solemn ceremonial. Here it was of the utmost importance to make as great an impression as possible. Thus the presents of Philip III of Spain in 1617 were borne in by not less than 600 servants. Individual missions would arrive in the Persian capital with a baggage train including hundreds of persons. On the other hand, the relatively few presents given by ʿAbbās I to Anthony Sherley were transported on 32 camels. For the Persian embassy to Louis XIV things were simpler: the interpreter carried the presents (pearls and turquoises) in a casket which, like the ambassador's credentials, was

wrapped in gold brocade. On Persian soil the ambassadors and their often numerous retinue were entertained at the expense of the Shāh, and provided with saddle- and baggage-horses. On top of this there would be personal presents, for the ambassador himself usually a robe of honour, horses with trappings, and other gifts, and for his suite presents of more or less value according to rank. Provincial governors were also in the habit of honouring passing ambassadors with presents. Johann Cunaeus, on returning to Holland, was permitted to keep robes of honour and sabres, and one of 15 horses given to him, and for the other gifts he received compensation on account of the expenses incurred by him personally. At the beginning of the 19th century ambassadors were already receiving decorations (the Lion and Sun Order), but in addition still received the traditional robes of honour.

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v. — Ottoman Empire

The giving of presents had some curious ramifications in the Ottoman Empire. During the centuries in which their armies stood at the gates of Central Europe, the Sultan and his viziers were well aware of their power. Accordingly they could expect considerable sums of money to be spent on providing the "presents" which were offered to them by ambassadors.

The justification for expecting such presents was to be found in the case of the Turks (as with other Muslims) in their regarding foreign ambassadors as guests of the Sultan and the Government. Since they were given hospitality and entertainment, it was expected at the Ottoman Court that they would pay their respects with "guests' presents". It was also considered necessary that foreign ambassadors should receive presents. These included gifts for the ruler of the land to which the envoy was returning after the discharge of his mission (see elči and, for a general discussion of diplomatic practice, safīr). The usual presents for this purpose were fine materials and clothing, finely wrought bows, and spices. The ambassador himself almost invariably received the *khilʿa* [*q.v.*], which had the same significance as a European Order.

The presents brought by the envoys also consisted in the majority of cases of examples of their native arts and crafts, or the natural products or animals of their homeland. In the case of Western and Central Europe, typical gifts were goldsmiths' work, textiles, richly ornamented clothing, or chandeliers. Great Britain would also send mastiffs, and Poland greyhounds. The Slav countries, Poland and Russia, would often present "Nordic wares" as they were called, and as they were known to Arab geographers of the early Middle Ages: furs, especially sables, falcons and other birds, walrus tusks for making trinkets, and also medicines; but equally they included products of native industry: chandeliers, clocks, dishes and so on. The extensive collection of porcelain in the present-day Topkapı Sarayı Museum (especially celadon) originates largely from presents from China at the time of the Manchu dynasty (1644-1912).

It is a fundamental truth of human nature that these presents should be prized not only for their ideal, but also for their material value, and that the circle of those who expected such gifts should grow continually. In the course of time it embraced not only the Grand Vizier and his ministerial colleagues but many dignitaries, the Agha of the Janissaries, the Governors of particular provinces, especially those which the ambassadors had to traverse on their journeys to and from the Court, but most important of all the interpreter of the Sublime Porte [see tardjumān] and his assistants, upon whom ambassadors unversed in the language were almost entirely dependent. According to Islamic social custom, any gifts explicitly destined for ladies were unacceptable, and indeed their existence was hardly acknowledged in diplomatic life at the Ottoman Court at that time. Naturally one might indulge the hope that some present or other might come into their possession by indirect means, and arouse their interest in the donor's country.

As ambassadors came into direct contact with the leading Government officials and even the Sultan only at the presentation of their credentials, at official meetings and on taking leave, whilst at the same time they must attempt somehow to exert some influence during their sojourn of months or even years at the Sublime Porte if they were to safeguard the interests of their own countries, "presents" proved a useful means of attracting notice. They could indeed play a decisive rôle, and many a vizier

or interpreter was not above demanding presents—even with threats. These gifts naturally involved the envoy in considerable expense, and it was understandable in view of the frequent changes among the influential officials, especially in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, that many ambassadors delayed for a time before sending a present. It was always possible that a newly-appointed official might be very quickly relieved of his office, as in the case of Surnāzen Meḥmed Pasha, who was Grand Vizier for only four hours on 6 March 1656. On the other hand, such a swift reversal of fortune did not occur, as in if the case of Aḥmed Köprülü [see KÖPRÜLÜ] five years later, it could have highly unpleasant consequences for the dilatory ambassador (French in this case).

It goes without saying that under such circumstances these so-called "presents" acquired more and more the character of bribes for officials, and that the representatives of the various Powers continually tried to outdo one another in the extravagance and frequency of their gifts. Equally there can be no doubt that the interests of the Ottoman Empire were not always served by this custom (as on the Pruth in 1711; see BALTADJĪ, at end). The side-effects of present-giving, therefore, undoubtedly contributed to the ruin of the Ottoman Empire and the decline of its moral standards.

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(B. SPULER)

HIBA, gift *inter vivos*, transfers the ownership of a thing during the lifetime of the donor, and with no consideration payable by the donee. The term *ṣadaḳa* is used to designate charitable donation, which does not require offer and acceptance and which, moreover, is always irrevocable. As for the term *hadiyya*, this is preferably applied to the donation of a movable object, given as a present; according to certain Shāfiʿīs it would be valid even without acceptance on the part of the donee.

Gift is a contract. It is formed, say the scholars, by *idjāb wa-ḳabūl*, by offer and acceptance; though this mutual agreement, however indispensable (barring exceptional circumstances), does not have the same juridical value in all the schools.

(a) According to the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfiʿīs, mere acceptance by the donee not only does not transfer ownership as in sale, it does not even create any obligations binding on the donor. Transfer of ownership is effected only by the donee's taking possession, when this has been authorized by the donor. Until this taking of possession (*ḳabḍ*), the donee can neither compel the donor to deliver the subject of the gift, nor put himself in possession against his wishes. The death of the donor or of the donee before possession is taken terminates the agreement. It is true that the Shāfiʿīs admit subrogation of the heirs in the rights of the propositus, but since the latter had no right at all, this subrogation does not lead to a situation very different from that resulting from the Ḥanafī solution.

(b) In Mālikī law, mutual agreement or, if preferred, the acceptance of the donee added to the offer of the donor, creates a true contract which, even if it does not transfer ownership—this is acquired only by *ḳabḍ*, taking possession—does procure some very great advantages for the donee. Indeed the latter has the right to compel the donor to effect delivery of the thing given, and consequently the transfer of ownership, a right which then passes to the heirs of the donee if the latter dies before taking possession. It should be added that in Mālikī law the donee could dispose of the thing given, even before delivery, in case of the donor's decease, provided he took care to have his act officially recorded by the *ḳāḍī*.

(c) Of the four Sunnī schools it is the Ḥanbalī alone which attributes to the mutual agreement the effect of transferring ownership, at least when it is a question of gifts of things which are not measured by capacity or weight (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, v, 591). Where the latter are concerned (precious metals, foodstuffs, grain), taking possession again becomes indispensable.

Since gift is a "necessarily impoverishing" act, it can be performed only by individuals whose capacity is complete. Hence it is forbidden even to the semi-incompetent, the prodigal, the weak-minded, even if attended by his guardian (*walī*). But it is permissible for the person of full capacity to donate *inter vivos* the whole of his property, despite the fact that such an act is morally reprehensible if it is aimed at depriving prospective heirs or at favouring some over others. To this rule the jurists add three qualifications, the first two common to all schools, the third peculiar to the Mālikīs. The bankrupt (*muflis*) cannot dispose by gift of goods acquired by him before the sentence of interdiction. Gifts made by an individual at the point of death (*fī maraḍ al-mawt*) are assimilated to bequests. In other words a person suffering from a fatal disease, or one who finds himself in danger of death, although enjoying all his mental faculties, cannot give more than a maximum of one third of his property, with the further condition that the donee should not be one of the heirs. Finally, in Mālikī law the married woman, although considered fully competent as in the other schools, is not entitled without her husband's authorization to give more than one third of her possessions, the husband alone being entitled to contest the validity of a gift in excess.

Broadly speaking, everything susceptible of being sold can be donated. However, this assimilation applies fully only in Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī law. The Ḥanafīs are stricter in gift than in sale, prohibiting as a general rule the gift of undivided property (*mushāʿ*) when it is divisible by nature; this is an important reservation, for a share in property indivisible by nature (slave, animal, tiny house) can always be donated, the taking of possession, of course, being total in such cases (*Hidāya*, iii, 164). The Mālikīs, on the other hand, display a more liberal attitude towards gift than towards sale, authorizing the gift of something future, uncertain, or insufficiently defined as to kind, quality or value. In their view the exigencies of the law with respect to sale are dictated by an anxiety to avoid risk and illicit profit; they lose their *raison d'être* in the case of acts of liberality, since these call for no consideration from the side of the donee.

Revocation of gifts: this is a point where the differences between the schools seem quite arbitrary, despite the efforts of the jurists to explain these differences in the light of certain *ḥadīth*s which the proponents of the two conflicting doctrines invoke, in opposite directions of course. Thus on the one hand we have the Ḥanafī doctrine, according to which the donor is normally entitled to revoke his gift (barring impediments), unless he is related to the donee within the degrees where marriage is forbidden, or is the

spouse of the donee; and on the other hand, the contrary doctrine according to which every gift is normally irrevocable unless it is made by the father (Ḥanbalī doctrine), by the father and possibly the mother (Mālikī doctrine), by any male ascendant (Shāfiʿī doctrine), in which cases it can be revoked, barring impediments.

The right to revoke, more or less liberally accorded by the various schools in terms of the quality of the donor, disappears in the presence of one of the following impediments:

(a) The death of the donor, revocation being a right attaching to the person, or the death of the donee, since the property then passes from his ownership;

(b) Alienation by the donee of the thing given, with or without consideration;

(c) Its loss or destruction, whether due to the passage of time, to accident, or to the act of the donee himself;

(d) Changes produced in the thing given also create an obstacle to revocation. It is not necessary that these changes be such as to have modified the nature of the thing, or even its physical appearance; it is enough for an animal to have grown bigger or fatter, a slave to have become more handsome, a house to have been whitewashed, etc. One would suppose that this kind of impediment would be most often invoked in order to render a gift irrevocable.

(e) In three schools, the Mālikī, Ḥanbalī and Shāfiʿī, revocation is impossible where it could harm the creditors of the donee; for the first two of these schools, everyone who became a creditor after the gift would be damaged by the revocation, since in allowing credit to the donee he took into account the totality of his assets; all this severely restricts the field where revocation applies in the Mālikī and Ḥanbalī systems. It should be remembered that *ṣadaḳa*, charitable donation, is always irrevocable, in the opinion of all jurists.

Besides gift proper (*hiba*), the essential characteristics of which have just been outlined, there are certain special forms of donation about which a few words may be said, if only to establish the degree to which they are valid.

ʿUmrā, as defined by the Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī schools, is gift with full ownership but as a life interest, the donee undertaking to restore the property on his death, at the latest. The condition is treated as void and the *ʿumrā* assimilated to an ordinary gift. But in the Mālikī school, *ʿumrā* is a gift of the usufruct and as such valid; thus it becomes very hard to distinguish from *ʿāriyya* or loan for use.

As for gift with consideration, *hiba bi-sharṭ al-ʿiwaḍ*, whereby the donee undertakes to compensate the donor, this is treated by most schools as a simple sale or barter, and consequently subject to the rules governing contracts of transfer for valuable consideration. The Ḥanafīs give it a hybrid character : an act of liberality in view of the conditions of its formation, a sale in view of its effects; the transformation coming about at the moment of taking possession; this is why gift for consideration is never revocable.

With the exception of India, Pakistan and the Muslim countries of the Arabian Peninsula, where gift is still governed by the rules of *fiḳh* without modification, most of the Muslim countries which have embarked on the process of codification have moved the whole subject into their civil codes of obligations and contracts (not including personal status). In Egypt, for instance, gift is regulated by arts. 486 to 504 of the Civil Code of 1948; in Syria by arts. 454 to 472 of the Civil Code of 1949. Although in this they have broadly followed the rules of Islamic law, the withdrawal of gift from the domain of personal status, where it was traditionally placed, has been accompanied by many changes in the rules of Ḥanafī law. Indeed it is in the countries of Ḥanafī persuasion that this phenomenon is especially apparent. For instance, nearly all these countries have purely and simply abandoned the restrictive and complicated ruling of their school relative to the gift of undivided or jointly-owned property. The Sudan gave the lead on this point with its Judicial Circular no. 13 of 1913. Likewise, there is a tendency no longer to demand taking possession as a condition of validity, provided the gift is effected by an authentic deed (Egyptian Civil Code art. 490; Syrian Civil Code art. 458). Lastly, the Mālikī principle that the donor binds himself immediately to ensure delivery of the thing given has been substituted in most places for the Ḥanafī rule under which no obligation rests on the donor before possession is taken (Egyptian Civil Code art. 493; Syrian Civil Code art. 461).

Bibliography: All works of *fiḳh*. See, *inter alia*, Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, ed. Ḥalabī, 1937, iii, 164 ff.; Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, Būlāḳ ed.,[2] v, 91-105; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀbidīn, *Ḳurrat ʿuyūn al-akhbār*, Būlāḳ ed.[2], 1326, ii, 298 ff. for Ḥanafī law. Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj*, ed. Ḥalabī, v, 405 ff. for Shāfiʿī law. Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, iii, 150 ff.; commentaries by Dardīr-Dasūḳī, ed. Ḥalabī, iv, 97 ff. for Mālikī law. Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*[3], Cairo 1367, v, 591 ff.; Shawkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*[2], Cairo 1344, v, 246 ff. (221 ff. of the commentary) for Ḥanbalī law. O. Pesle, *La donation dans le droit musulman* (Mālikī school), Rabat 1933; Linant de Bellefonds, *Des donations en droit musulman*, Cairo 1935; A. A. A. Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan Law*[3], Oxford 1964, 208-63 (for India). (Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

HIBAT ALLĀH b. DJAMĪʿ [see ibn djamīʿ].

HIBAT ALLĀH b. MALKĀ [see abu 'l-barakāt].

HIBAT ALLĀH b. MUḤAMMAD b. al-Muṭṭalib Madjd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī, vizier of the caliph al-Mustaẓhir. Hibat Allāh was appointed vizier in Muḥarram 501/August-September 1107, but he was dismissed in Ramaḍān under pressure from the Saldjūḳ sultan Muḥammad b. Malikshāh. It is true that the caliph soon restored him to office, forbidding him to employ any *dhimmī*s [*q.v.*], but in 502/1108-9 or 503/1109-10 Hibat Allāh was once again dismissed and he and his family were forced to seek the protection of the sultan.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, x, 305, 309, 318, 330, 335. (K. V. Zetterstéen)

ḤIBR [see kitāba].

ḤIBRĪ, *makhlaṣ* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan (b. Edirne 1012/1603-4, d. Serez 1087/1676), historian of Edirne. His father, 'Sal-bash' or 'Khabbāz-zāde' Ḥasan Efendi, held a series of posts in the *ʿilmiyye* career, dying in 1039/1630 as a *müderris* at the Ṣaḥn in Istanbul (ʿAṭāʾī, 733). Ḥibri, after studying at his native Edirne and at Istanbul, followed the same career: he held a series of posts as *müderris*, mostly at Edirne, but after 1070/1659 was appointed *ḳāḍī* of various places, the last being Serez, where he is buried.

His minor works are (1) a version in Turkish, entitled *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, of the "40 *Ḥadīth*s" of Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ [see kāshifī] (see Abdülkadir Karahan, *Islam-Türk edebiyatında Kırk Hadis*, Istanbul 1954, 228-30); (2) a book of *muḥāḍarāt* entitled *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-djinān*, composed in 1040/1630-1 (see F. E. Karatay,

Topkapı Sarayı .... türkçe yazmalar kataloğu, ii, Istanbul 1961, no. 2728); (3) a concise History of the Ottomans, from the beginnings to the reign of Ibrāhīm I, with lists of viziers, etc., entitled *Defter-i akhbār*; it is of some importance for the events of his own time (see *Ist. küt. tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, i/2, Istanbul 1944, no. 40); (4) and (5) short accounts of Murād IV's conquests of Baghdād and Rewān (A. S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler* ..., Ankara 1956, 111); (6) a *risāle* on the times of prayer, composed in 1067/1656-7; (7) a small *dīwān*.

He is remembered for his *Anīs al-musāmirīn*, completed in 1046/1636-7 (but added to in later years), a history and description of his native town. In the tradition of earlier 'histories of cities' in Arabic and Persian literature (but apparently for the first time in Ottoman literature, if a few panegyrics of Istanbul are excluded), he describes in detail the mosques and other public buildings and records the famous men of the town. It was used by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa for the relevant section of his *Djihānnümā* (tr. J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 1-15), and was revised and considerably expanded by Bādī Aḥmed Ef. (d. 1908) as *Riyāḍ-i belde-i Edirne* (unpublished: 3 vol. autograph MS in the library of the Selimiye mosque, Edirne). The so-called *Taʾrīkh-i Djewrī Čelebi*, 2 parts, Istanbul 1291-2, appears to consist, in part at least, of extracts from the *Anīs al-musāmirīn* and the *Defter-i akhbār* (see Babinger, 214).

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, x, 691-2: Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, iii, 97-8 (Bādī Aḥmed Ef. at iii, 31); Babinger, 212-4; Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne hakkında yazılmış tarihler ve Enîs-ül müsâmirîn*, in *Edirne (armağan kitabı)*, Ankara 1964, 77-117 (full biography and summary of contents of the work).

(V. L. Ménage)

ḤIDĀʾ [see GHINĀʾ].

ḤIDĀD [see ʿIDDA, LIBĀS].

HIDĀYAT, ṢĀDIḲ (b. 17 February 1903; d. 9 April 1951) was perhaps the most revolutionary of modern Persian writers. The variety of his literary output is represented by works of diverse interest, but it is essentially as a writer of fiction, especially of the short story, that he enjoys his real position. His daring experiments in technique and in thought have exercised a powerful influence on the development of modern Persian fiction.

Apart from his early education, Hidāyat does not seem to have pursued any regular course of studies. He held various minor jobs at different times including one as translator in the Faculty of Fine Arts at Tehran University. His first book, *Fawāʾid-i giyāh-khʷārī* (Benefits of vegetarianism), was published in 1928 in Berlin by the journal *Iranschähr* (Iranschähr Publications Series 2, No. 21). He visited Europe and India, and was staying in Paris when he committed suicide.

A writer of sensitive imagination, Hidāyat's personality is vividly reflected in his serious themes, which almost invariably tend towards melancholy situations and characters with clearly marked physical and psychological traits. The tone ranges from solemnity to irony and is dominated by a sense of isolation and misery often culminating in the death motif. No one who reads Hidāyat for the first time can fail to be struck by his sympathy for individual suffering, mental and physical, his interest in the irony of human contradictions, and his concern for the frustrated and deformed. His language reveals a masterly use of colloquialism with all its expressive richness. The influence of Western literature is unmistakable, and Hidāyat in his best known work, *Būf-i kūr* (The blind owl), which is a mixture of fantasy and realism, evokes a certain affinity with writers such as Franz Kafka, Edgar Allan Poe and Gérard de Nerval.

Bibliography: Works: Vincent Monteil, *Sādeq Hedāyat*, Tehran 1952; *ʿAḳāyid u afkār dar bāra-i Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat*, Tehran 1333; P. N. Khānlarī in *Nukhustīn kungra-i nawīsandagān-i Īrān*, Tehran 1325; Henry D.G. Law in *Life and Letters*, vol. 63, no. 148, December 1949; *Cassell's Encyclopaedia of Literature*, ii (under *Hidāyat, Ṣādiq*), London 1953; G. Scarcia, *Haği Āqā e Būf-e Kur* ..., in *AIUON*, n.s. viii (1958), 103 ff.; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 393-5; A. Pagliaro and A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 866-9; *La chouette aveugle* (French translation of *Būf-i kūr* by Roger Lescot), Paris 1953; *The blind owl* (English translation by D. P. Costello), London 1957.

(Munibur Rahman)

ḤIDHĀʾ [see LIBĀS].

HIDJĀʾ, Arabic term often translated by "satire", but more precisely denoting a curse, an invective diatribe or insult in verse, an insulting poem, then an epigram, and finally a satire in prose or verse. The etymological sense of the Arabic root *h.dj.w* may perhaps be deduced from the Hebrew root הגה the basic sense of which is "to utter a sound in a low voice, to murmur" and hence "to meditate" (so too in Syriac), but also "to pronounce incantations in a low voice" (see L. Koehler, *Lexicon in Vet. Test. libros*, 1949, 224; König, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch*, 75; Genesius, *Lexicon*, Leipzig 1833, 266; Jastrow, i, 331). It is by a curious approximation or a premature resemblance that Mattā b. Yūnus [*q.v.*] translated the Greek κωμῳδία by *hidjāʾ*, while he rendered τραγῳδία by *madīḥ*, in his Arabic version of the *Poetics* of Aristotle (the respective equivalents of these terms in modern Arabic are *malhāt* and *maʾsāt*; see ʿA. Badawī, *Arisṭūṭālīs, Fann al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1953, 85 and *passim*). In fact, *hidjāʾ* was the antonym of *madḥ/madīḥ* [*q.v.*] and the synonym of *dhamm*, provided that the insulting criticism was expressed in verse; in consequence, the poetic genre known as *hidjāʾ* was to stigmatize the failings that were the antithesis of the qualities glorified by *madḥ/madīḥ*. This genre has been widely cultivated by the Arabs ever since the pre-Islamic period, either in separate and generally very short pieces, or as the thematic element of a *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] of traditional structure. It appears, however, to have taken as its successive forms the *sadjʿ*, the *radjaz* and finally the *ḳaṣīda*, according to I. Goldziher, who is the first orientalist to have undertaken any serious research into the significance and social value of the pre-Islamic *hidjāʾ*; in his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (i, Leiden 1896, *Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Hiğâʾ-Poesie*, 1-105), he has formulated a theory which may be summarized as follows (i, 27): "The *hidjāʾ* is in origin an incantation, a curse ... The origins of the *hidjāʾ* are perhaps connected with the old conception according to which the utterance pronounced in solemn circumstances by those who have the mental aptitude and requisite qualities exercises an ineluctable influence upon the persons (and also things) to whom this utterance is addressed. In the primitive *hidjāʾ*, the poet thus appears with the magic force of his utterance inspired by the *djinn*"; I. Goldziher (i, 42) quotes the words which Balak caused Balaam to be ordered to pronounce (*Numbers*

XXII, 6) as the earliest instance of *hidjāʾ*. Following him, several orientalists have also regarded it as an incantation, a curse which the ancient Arabs hurled at the enemy (see, *e.g.*, Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1912, i, 99; I. Guidi, *L'Arabie antéislamique*, Paris 1921, 40-1; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le monde musulman jusqu'aux Croisades*, Paris 1931, 62; idem, *Ibn Qotaïba, Introduction au Livre de la poésie et des poètes*, Paris 1947, XVIII). After recalling in this last work that *hidjāʾ* "takes its origin, as Goldziher has shown, from the curse that a man, with the aid of a potent phrase, hurls against some person or tribe", Gaudefroy-Demombynes adds, however, that the poetic *hidjāʾ* is not entirely identical with the imprecation that Muḥammad casts, together with a handful of sand, to align the cohort of angels against the enemy; "but, by uttering insults according to the inspired rhythmic formulae of his verse, [the poet] knows that they must produce formidable results. It is not only his own anger and personal rancour that he incorporates in his verse, but also those of his tribe whose honour (*ʿirḍ*) he has in his hands; ... he knows how to hurl an insult that is at once poetic, virulent and crude and that brands an individual or group of men for ever". Although Gaudefroy-Demombynes thus attenuates Goldziher's too rigid thesis, it is because B. Farès (*L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 214-8 and *passim*) had in the meanwhile discussed the magic character attributed to *hidjāʾ*. Noting that the imprecations quoted by Goldziher in support of his theory are in rhyming prose (*sadjʿ* [*q.v.*]) and come from the mouth of the *kuhhān* [see KĀHIN], B. Farès shows that "the poet, on the battle-field, hurls no imprecations whatever", but rather invective against the adversary, and endeavours to secure his downfall by calling down on his head his "elements of dishonour", his *mathālib* [*q.v.*] and his reverses of fortune, while all the time threatening him with destruction, to which threats later critics were incidentally to give the name *tahdīd*, linking them with *fakhr* [see MUFĀKHARA]; it was because it humiliated that the *hidjāʾ* was regarded as an instrument of war; and thus the poet was called *midrah al-ḥarb al-ʿawān*. B. Farès adds: "it is by the very violence of the insult that the enemy is brought low and, in this combination of action and reaction, there is indeed some element of magic ... Thus, while differing in respect of character and form, the *hidjāʾ* and the *kāhin*'s formula for imprecation are in agreement from the functional point of view". It is indeed undeniable that, without resorting to magic to the same degree as the *sadjʿ* of the *kuhhān*, the *hidjāʾ* has a very pronounced impressive character and that it is readily associated with the supernatural practices and spells intended to weaken the adversary physically, if not to annihilate him. The Prophet himself was not insensitive to the attacks to which he was subjected and in which he saw evil omens; though valuing magnanimity and commending forbearance to his followers, he did not hesitate to curse some of those who had satirized him.

In any case, the *hidjāʾ*, taking the adversary's honour as its target, dishonoured and, what is more, humiliated him; it marked its victims for all time and, even when it was defamatory and calumnious, its effects were difficult to escape; numerous anecdotes are told regarding the lasting consequences of an original insult; how many bad reputations have been created thus, and how many nicknames, insulting but permanently adopted, have resulted from deliberate or jocular invective (see Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe*, in *JA*, 1907). The Shuʿūbīs [*q.v.*] had practically no difficulty in finding weighty arguments against the Arabs in the *mathālib* of the tribes, for the most part based on verses of *hidjāʾ*, and Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] is reputed to have taken infinite pains to investigate and group together in monographs all the particulars that might serve to enrich the dossier of the Arabs' adversaries.

In all the circumstances of war and peace, reactions to *hidjāʾ* were generally violent; when occasion offered, the victims sometimes went so far as to cut out the tongue of the slanderer and to kill him; in other cases, the insults provoked armed conflicts, but when the man slandered was not compelled by his *ḥilm* [*q.v.*] to pardon, he generally limited himself to jousting (*tahādjī*), an echo of which is provided by the *Ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*]. In a later period, when manners had become milder, the rôle of insulter was not always without its dangers, to such an extent that some poets whose function it was hesitated to make use of it (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Qotaïba, Introduction*, 57-8).

During the pre-Islamic period, whilst the poet who practised *madḥ* glorified the elements of the *ʿirḍ* of the tribe or person to whom the eulogy was addressed, the man who devoted himself to *hidjāʾ* did all he could to outrage the adversary's *ʿirḍ*, in a poetic form. A searching analysis would make it possible to draw a distinction between the individual *hidjāʾ* and the collective, *hidjāʾ* depending on whether it attacks the *ʿirḍ* of a group or that of an isolated individual; it is certain that originally it was collective, but the differences are made less evident by the fact that poets did not scruple to attribute to the whole tribe the culpable characteristics of a single member, in general one of its chiefs, or on the contrary to credit the latter with the faults traditionally attributed to the whole group.

Generally speaking, all the real or imaginary failings of the person under attack were stigmatized: avarice, refusal to provide hospitality for travellers, lack of intelligence, cowardice, timidity, failure to keep his word, lack of *ḥilm*, the obscurity of his forebears, mixed blood, etc. Collectively, they were charged with the smallness and weakness of the group, the mediocrity of its poets and orators, the defeats suffered, the undistinguished ancestors and the falsification of the chiefs' genealogies, the abandoned conduct of some women, various detestable habits, as when certain members of the clan were charged with having one day eaten the flesh of a dog or human flesh, etc. The grossness of the accusation was already a measure of its success, and in certain insulting formulae one could trace a recollection of unnatural practices long since vanished.

To examine the matter more closely, it seems much more difficult to compose a credible panegyric than an abusive poem, for it is not necessary to possess much critical sense to discern the extravagance of the eulogy, whereas the more excessive the attacks the more acceptable they appear, at least in the eyes of the poet's friends, and the *hidjāʾ* seems to some extent to be more appropriate to a milieu where hatred was deeper and more frequent than sincere and disinterested friendship. This perhaps is the explanation of the reflection of Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Shākir, 217) who directly relates the richness of the poetic output to the frequency of conflicts and maintains that, in the

pre-Islamic period, "poetry was abundant only in regard to wars between the clans ... If Ḳuraysh had little poetry, it was because they harboured no hatreds and were never at war".

It is in the struggles that took place between Muslims and polytheists that we see the important part played by *hidjāʾ*, and the verses of the Ḳurʾān (XXVI, 224-7) condemning poets, except for those who were believers, are a retaliation against the attacks to which the nascent Islam was subjected; the Prophet himself had to resign himself to using the services of several poets to combat his adversaries with the appropriate weapons to dishonour and vilify them, even going so far as to pledge his supporters the aid of Gabriel (see Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 181); the most celebrated and virulent of these champions of Islam is Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*], but we should also note at least Kaʿb b. Mālik [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [*q.v.*], who is less mordant but perhaps more effective in the mockery with which he overwhelmed the incredulity of the Meccans. If *hidjāʾ* had not been so influential in Arabia, the Prophet, who disavowed it, would certainly not have gone so far as to incite the poets against the infidels; incidentally he said that the shafts they shot were more potent than arrows.

Under the first caliphs, *hidjāʾ* was rejected as being contrary to the teachings of the new religion, but to a certain extent it continued to be practised, feared and encouraged, for religious, political and racial reasons. It was primarily cultivated in what C. A. Nallino (*Raccolta di scritti*, vi, Rome 1948, 110 ff.; French trans., *La littérature arabe*, 170 ff.) calls the poetry of the troops (delle milizie). Feeble when the enemy was non-Arab, it reached the vivacity and verve of the ancient *hidjāʾ* as soon as the adversaries present could understand (see, *e.g.*, the accounts of the Battle of the Camel [see DJAMAL]). Perhaps of greater interest are the poems inspired by the politico-religious hatreds born or inflamed during the early days of Islam, an especially eloquent echo of which can be found in the works of the Khāridjīs [*q.v.*] and in isolated poets like al-Aʿshā of the Banū Hamdān [*q.v.*] or Ibn Mufarrigh [*q.v.*].

Hidjāʾ was also practised in a quasi-official manner, in that sovereigns tended to surround themselves with poets able to defend their glory and attack their enemies; thus al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*] hurls invectives at all his master's foes, while at the same time insulting his own rivals, Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*qq.v.*], who heaped abuse upon each other and set out to procure each other's destruction in *Naḳāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*] which remain a characteristic example of *hidjāʾ* of the Bedouin type—but of a *hidjāʾ* henceforward deprived of its social character and reduced to a punishment in the form of an insult delivered by opinion (represented in this case by the poet) upon anyone who failed to conform with the modes of existence, outlook and behaviour inspired by the sentiment of honour.

This character is even more markedly absent from another form of *hidjāʾ*, of the most sordid sort, which came into being at the very beginning of Islam: for the poet, it consists in earning himself a reputation for foulness of speech, with the aim of extorting nothing less than blackmail from potential patrons. Thus, for al-Ḥuṭayʾa [*q.v.*], that "eroder of honours" (*miḳrāḍ al-aʿrāḍ*), invective was a means of subsistence, for the terror inspired by his reputation won him a stream of gifts. This extortionate poet had a crowd of emulators in the 2nd/8th century, and a certain rhymester reached the point of simply writing on his stick the object of his desire, so great was the dread of his comments in verse [see AL-ḤAKAM B. ʿABDAL].

In the same period, *hidjāʾ* became epigrammatic in the hands of poets of greater or lesser renown who respected nothing and took malicious pleasure in denigrating their opponents, and sometimes even their friends, by addressing crude and obscene observations to them; the *Aghānī* teems with verse of this type, the writers being Bashshār, Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, Ibn Munādhir, Diʿbil [*qq.v.*] and many others; amongst which the *ḳiyān* [see ḲAYNA] were never behindhand, since the epigram had become a pastime of the upper classes.

The indecent *hidjāʾ* underwent a relative eclipse in the 3rd/9th century when neo-classical poetry flourished, although Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] became a past-master of the art of abuse, and a quantity of satirical verses is to be found in Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, and then in al-Mutannabī [*q.v.*]. They are, however, in no way comparable with the writings of the 2nd/8th century, nor with the works of later poets such as Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj or Ibn al-Habbāriyya [*qq.v.*]; the propensity of these last poets for *sukhf* [*q.v.*] inspired them to write virulent, gross and obscene epigrams which they addressed to patrons whom they held to be too miserly; the principal themes were avarice, meanness of spirit, and lowly origin, but more and more insinuations crept in, not to say accusations, of homosexuality and other deviations.

The theorists had, however, endeavoured to restrict the subject-matter of *hidjāʾ* by restoring greater moderation; for them, it consisted essentially in refusing every praiseworthy quality to the person under attack and attributing to him defects of a purely moral order such as avarice, greed, lack of courage, etc. Physical defects should not be taken into consideration, nor, for some, even the smallness of the group (see al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 105); Ḳudāma [*q.v.*] and other critics stood up against the grossness of the *hidjāʾ* and recalled the remark of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*]: "the best *hidjāʾ* is that which can be recited by a girl without loss of modesty", but Ibn Rashīḳ [*q.v.*] admits that it should be adapted to the milieu for which it was intended, although he prefers the discreet and subtle allusion to over-emphatic assertion (see A. Trabulsi, *Critique poétique*, Damascus 1955, 228-30). In Muslim Spain, where the eastern tradition was faithfully followed, Ibn Bassām [*q.v.*] stated in his *Dhakhīra* (vol. iii, still unpublished) that he had not included any *hidjāʾ* in his anthology, in order not to spoil it; Ibn Bassām lived in an austere period, which explains his scruples, but his contemporary al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [*q.v.*] and others as well did not refrain from attacking their fellows, though without exceeding the limits permitted by decency, at least as understood by Arab authors.

In regard to style, the literary form of the *hidjāʾ*, which is very supple, allows the use of generally clear and simple language; only the subtlest epigrams appear obscure on account of the allusions that they contain.

This genre being exclusively poetic in origin, one would hardly expect to find any *hidjāʾ* in prose; and yet, from the 3rd/9th century, simple prose tends to replace certain functions of poetry, and al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*] does not disdain to include in his *Kitāb al-Tarbīʿ wa 'l-tadwīr* some satirical pages in the best vein, and even to create satire with a portrait of

Muḥammad b. al-Djahm al-Barmakī ([*q.v.*]; ed. T. al-Ḥādjirī, in *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī*, February 1947, 55-62) and some *rasāʾil* in which he pokes fun at his closest friends, though without malice. In the following century his emulator, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*] further developed the genre with the *Mathālib al-wazīrayn* (ed. I. Kaylānī, Damascus [1961]) and, in the 5th/11th century, the Andalusī writer and poet Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*] drew satirical portraits of great subtlety (see Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, *passim*); here we are concerned with an intellectual and literary *hidjāʾ* which has nothing in common with the writings in verse described above. Perhaps we should also mention the *Maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*], which again contain a large proportion of true satire; it is only here that the translation of κωμῳδία by *hidjāʾ* is strictly justifiable. Satire of manners, which has scarcely been cultivated in Arabic [see AL-DJĀḤIẒ, and ḤIKĀYA] has not resulted in comedy any more than *maḳāma*, but it will be noted that comedy made its entry into the Arab theatre before the other dramatic genres [see MASRAḤ].

Hidjāʾ in verse, of more or less the classical type, has not disappeared even at the present day; leaving aside its too unfamiliar survivals in dialectal Arabic, we find in many poems invectives which would not be disowned by the ancient poets, although the subject matter has for the most part changed; now the themes are mainly colonialism, imperialism, foreign (even Arab) governments, and hostile political parties, which are the target for attacks in verse by poets, and pamphlets too are renewing the ancient tradition; the great difference lies in the fact that gross insults are mostly banished from this verse, the best examples of which recall the wittiest and subtlest writings of certain poets of the 2nd/8th century.

Bibliography: in addition to the sources given in the article: Poems of *hidjāʾ* occur throughout the *dīwāns* of the ancient poets and the great collections such as the *Bayān* of Djāḥiẓ, the *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ* of Ibn Ḳutayba, the *Aghānī*, etc.; certain anthologies devote to it a chapter entitled *bāb al-hidjāʾ*, in particular the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, the *ʿIḳd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, the *Mustaṭraf* of Ibshīhī, etc.; in the same way, the critical works generally contain a *bāb al-hidjāʾ*, particularly the *Naḳd al-shiʿr* of Ḳudāma, the *ʿUmda* of Ibn Rashīḳ, etc.—The principal works of orientalists were named at the beginning of the article; to them should be added: W. Ahlwardt, *Ueber die Poesie und Poetik der Araber*, Gotha 1856, 51-2; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Fi 'l-adab al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1927, 122-40, 171-81; F. Gabrieli, *Estetica e poesia arabica*, in *RSO*, xii (1930), 293-300; ʿAbbās M. al-ʿAḳḳād, *Ibn al-Rūmī*, Cairo 1932, 217-43; M. Ḥusayn, *al-Hidjāʾ wa 'l- hadjdjāʾūn*, Cairo 1947; E. J. Webber, *Comedy and satire in Hispano-Arabic Spain*, in *Hispanic Review*, xxvi (1958), 1-11; R. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 380-2, 417-25.

(CH. PELLAT)

ii.—PERSIA

Though *hidjā* is more specifically "satire", this section of the article will contain general considerations on Persian humour.

Persian humour finds its expression in various literary genres: *hadjw* (satire), *djawāb* (parody) etc. Amongst the rhetorical figures most widely used to obtain humourous effects are *taḍmīn* or "quotation", where a poem by another author is taken as the basis and inserted in one's own poem, macaronic verses (*mulammaʿāt*, a mixed composition of Arabic, Persian and sometimes Turkish elements), etc. Humorous or jocose poetry is moreover defined by classical Persian literary critics under various headings, with reference to its contents rather than to its form. So we have *ṭayyibāt* (jocose poems), *kufriyyāt* (blasphemous or heretical poems), *khamriyyāt* (wine-poems), *hazaliyyāt* (facetious poems) etc., and in prose the *laṭāʾif* (pl. of *laṭīfa*), *i.e.*, facetiae.

It would be impossible here to make even a sketchy history of Persian humour. Almost all the poets of the classical tradition wrote at least some verses in this style, which was already present in the Arabic literature of the early ʿAbbāsid period, from which Persian took so many forms and ideas. One of the oldest Persian specialists in humorous verses was Sūzanī of Nasaf (d. 569/1173-4 or 574/1179) who founded a sort of school of this kind of poetry in Transoxiana: Abū ʿAlī Shatrandj of Samarḳand, author of the "Stork Ḳaṣīda" or *ḳaṣīda-yi laklak*, Djannatī of Nakhshab, Lāmiʿī of Bukhārā. By far the greatest of Persian parodists and satirists is however the contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ, ʿUbayd-i Zākānī of Ḳazwīn (d. *ca.* 772/1371), whose masterpiece is the *Akhlāḳ al-ashrāf* ("Ethics of the Aristocracy"), in prose mixed with verses, composed in 740/1340; the authorship of his famous long *ḳaṣīda Mūsh u gurba* ("the Cat and the Mouse"), is now doubtful (Mīnovī). In the following century Abū Isḥāḳ or Būsḥāḳ of Shīrāz (active in the first decades of the 9th/15th century), called *Aṭ ima* (foods), specialized in writing jocose poems concerning food (*Kanz al-ishtihāʾ*, "Treasure of Appetite"; *Dīwān-i Aṭʿima*, etc.). It is significant that he, a carder of cotton, was connected with the mystical order of Shāh Niʿmat Allāh of Māhān (near Kirmān) and showed some *malāmatī* tendencies (parodies of his own master's mystical poems). A specialist in "cloths" was Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ḳārī of Yazd (first half of 9th/15th century), author of the *Dīwān-i Albisa* ("Sartorial Poems"). For later times, we mention only Yaghmā (1782-1859), also coming from a poor family, a very popular poet of the Ḳādjār period. But, as has been said above, almost all the great classical poets (*e.g.* Saʿdī, and, later, Ḳāʾānī and others) indulged in writing *ṭayyibāt* or *hazaliyyāt*.

A special aspect of Persian humour is that represented by folk verses or folk tales, which are not generally included in the traditional histories of Persian literature. Their central character is that of the "fool of God" of the type of the Italian Bertoldo, with a different name in different places. In Iran we find Mullā Naṣr al-Dīn, Mullā Du-Piyāza, Shaykh Buhlūl, Mullā Mushfiḳī etc. He is rather a panislamic than a typically Iranian character (Sī Djuḥā in Arab countries, Nasrettin Hoca in Turkey, Bīrbal in Muslim India, Pak Pandir, Pak Kadok and others in Malaya and Indonesia etc.).

As regards classical Persian humour we must never forget that its stylistic background remains that (definable in general as decorative-symbolic) of all classical Persian literature. The abrupt insertion of ultra-realistic elements into this stylistic background produces by contrast a singular *vis comica*. One of the most comic passages of Zākānī is, for instance, a *naẓm* in Firdawsian style inserted in the chapter of the *Akhlāḳ al-ashrāf* devoted to chastity; in the static decorative style of the *Shāhnāma* when it describes battles and duels, accompanied by a couple of moralizing verses, Zākānī describes here, in the most direct and asymbolical way, the homosexual intercourse between two famous heroes of the

Shāhnāma, Rustam and Hūmān. The stylized majestic decorativeness of the verses of Firdawsī applied to such an incongruous object creates almost automatically a powerful *vis comica*. We should also keep in mind that the stylistic bases of our Western humour generally differ from those of the classical Persian literature; a verse of the famous *ḳaṣīda* in *-an* by Amīr Muʿizzī, where the poet in love is compared to a chicken roasting on a spit, invariably produces laughter in an unprepared Western reader, who interprets this purely static image in a dynamic way. One of the elements of classical Persian humour is however simply the exaggeration of the background style. For instance in Zākānī's works in prose mixed with verses the background style is that of Saʿdī's *Gulistān*: but the exaggeration in the use of this style is clearly visible, *e.g.* the continuous interruption of even short sentences through minute "commentaries" in verse form.

Another element often present in Persian comical works is the dynamic personification of inanimate objects which, for obvious reasons, plays only a secondary rôle in our modern Western humour. The complete lack of mythological trends in the Muslim world, the highly developed Neoplatonic static symbolism of its style may explain—by contrast—the comic force of such a stylistic device. The pots that become pregnant and give birth to infant pots in the famous *laṭīfa* of Mullā Naṣr al-Dīn, or the personified "beard" of Zākānī's *Rīshnāma* might produce only a smile in a Westerner, but in the stylistic world of classical Persian literature the abrupt appearance of a ribald old character called Rīsh al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maḥāsin ("Beard of the Religion", "Father of Virtues" [*maḥāsin*, also "beard" in Persian]) out of a hole in a wall is so uncommon "stylistically" that it creates laughter. And—here is another element of Persian classical humour—the *vis comica* is even augmented by the irreverent macaronic play on words implicit in the name of this character (*rīsh*, Persian for "beard" is macaronically combined with *dīn* through an Arabic *iḍāfa*). The use of courtly and religious Arabic words or elements together with the most common, and often vulgar, Persian names (*e.g.* the Arabic article *al-* in the humorous "Dictionary" by Zākānī, called *Taʿrīfāt*, one of his most remarkable productions) creates a humorous effect not easily understandable by people living in different stylistic milieus. This contrast is even emphasized when, as is often done, the satirical author applies solemn Ḳurʾānic passages, or *ḥadīth*s or classical Arabic verses, to quite common or vulgar actions, as a commentary on them. This is especially possible in such an excessively mixed language as that of classical Persian style, but it is not lacking even in folk tales of the Mullā Naṣr al-Dīn type.

The whole may give sometimes the impression of social criticism or realism, but we should always keep in mind the stylistic motives that lie at the basis of all this. Generally speaking, classical Persian humour seems to be the by-product of highly refined urban milieus that contrast with the ignorant *mullā*s on one side, but, on the other side, also with the equally ignorant peasants (so often criticized by Zākānī); we are in a palaeo-bourgeois and rather bookish world, creating a sort of "clerks' humour" equally anti-mystic and anti-popular.

This does not mean, of course, that social and sometimes even bitter social criticism is absent from Persian humour. Numerous elements of it are present, especially in Zākānī's *Akhlāḳ al-ashrāf* and even more in the works of recent satirists. Last but not least, Persian writers of this genre supply us with extremely important information—not yet sufficiently studied—concerning the common life of the people of their time, on food, clothes, customs, social institutions, etc., which is so difficult to obtain from other, more serious, contemporary sources.

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(A. Bausani)

iii.—Turkish Literature

The characteristic of *hidjā* (*hidjw*, mod. *hiciv*) in Turkish literature is that, with rare exception, it is blended with humour. It has been expressed both in verse and in prose and was not confined to any particular literary genres.

In Ottoman Turkish literature the earliest example of satire is the famous *Khar-nāme* (the Book of the Donkey) by the 9th/15th century poet Sheykhī [*q.v.*] of Germiyān (?-833/1430?). This is a poem of about 124 couplets (the number varies in the different manuscripts) in *mathnawī* form and in *khafīf* metre, which is included in most *dīwān*s (a good copy is in Istanbul Un. Lib., T.Y. 2408, fols. 60b-63b, which is better than that of the text in the *dīwān* published in facsimile by the Türk Dil Kurumu, Istanbul 1942, 63-70). A donkey, tired, broken down and emaciated by hard labour and ill-treatment, is one day allowed by his master to graze in the meadow. There he sees well-fed oxen enjoying life, and particularly envies their horns, which are like crowns on their heads. He goes to an old and experienced donkey and asks him the reason for this injustice. The old wise donkey explains to him that the reason why oxen are so privileged is that they work in the corn and barley fields whereas all that donkeys can do is to carry wood. Inspired by this explanation, the donkey rushes to a cornfield and begins to devour the green corn with delight. When he has eaten his fill he rolls on the ground and brays loudly. Thereupon the owner of the field appears, gives him a thorough beating and cuts off his tail and his ears.

This short poem contains in miniature all the elements of a classical *mathnawī*. The sources do not agree to whom the work was dedicated. Although some MSS mention Murād II in the introductory part, the evidence is stronger for Meḥemmed I, who was treated and cured in Ankara by Sheykhī, a physician by profession, during the sultan's Karaman campaign (818/1415). The Sultan rewarded the poet by giving him the fief of the village Ṭoḳuzlar or Ṭoḳuzlu. As Sheykhī was on his way to the village, the former

owners of the region held him up, beating him and wounding him badly, and took away everything he possessed. The *Khar-nāme* is an indirect complaint about these enemies, jealous of the imperial favours Sheykhī enjoyed. The tidy composition, the simple and straight-forward style without the usual Persian-type conceits and plays on words, the strong satire couched in subtle humour make this little poem a masterpiece almost without parallel in this genre until Ḍiyā (Ziya) Pasha's *Ẓafer-nāme* in the Tanẓīmāt period.

During the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries many *dīwān* poets wrote satirical *ḳiṭʿas* against their rivals and enemies, but the famous name for *hidjā* in the classical period is Nefʿī [*q.v.*]. This outstanding *ḳaṣīda*-writer composed a special book of satires, *Sihām-i ḳaḍā* (Arrows of Fate), which contains violent satirical poems in the forms of *ḳaṣīdas* and *ḳitʿas* against leading personalities of his time, viziers, scholars, poets, government officials and his own father. The majority of these satires contain gross invectives and obscenities and reflect the violent and arrogant temperament of the poet. Nefʿī thus takes vengeance on his victims by exposing their vices and enumerating the injustices they had made him suffer. Nefʿī was very popular at the courts of Aḥmed I and particularly of Murād IV, who enjoyed reading his vitriolic attacks on personalities also known to him. It is not surprising that this made Nefʿī many enemies. According to an anecdote reported in most contemporary sources, Murād IV, on a stormy day in 1039/1630, was reading the *Sihām-i Ḳaḍā* in the Beshiktash Palace when lightning struck nearby. Drawing an evil omen from this, the sultan tore up the book and forbade Nefʿī to write any more satires. But the poet could not resist the temptation very long. He wrote in 1044/1634 a violent *hidjwiye* against Bayram Pasha, who was then deputy Grand Vizier. According to one of the various versions of the story (reported by Shāriḥ al-manār-zāde, reproduced in Naʿīmā, iii, 235) the Sultan asked Nefʿī whether he had anything new, and the poet produced his satire. The sultan showed it to Bayram Pasha and the angry vizier obtained the poet's execution.

Nefʿī's contemporaries, mostly victims of his invectives, and many poets of the 12th/18th century, particularly Ḥashmet (d. 1182/1768), occasionally wrote satirical *ḳitʿas*, but the next outstanding name in *hidjā* after Nefʿī is the Tanẓīmāt poet and writer Ḍiyā (Ziya) Pasha (1825-1880) whose *Ẓafer-nāme* (1868), a very subtle satire on his enemy ʿĀlī Pasha (1815-1871), the famous statesman, is a most original composition. It consists of three parts: (1) a *ḳaṣīda* in praise of the 'victorious' completion of ʿĀlī Pasha's mission in Crete (1867), supposedly written by Fāḍil Pasha, the *mutaṣarrif* of Izmit; (2) a *takhmīs* of this *ḳaṣīda* by a certain clerk Khayrī Efendi, a supporter of ʿĀlī Pasha; (3) a prose commentary on this *takhmīs* supposedly by Ḥüsnü Pasha, the head of the Police. In the whole work, written in a refined style with a careful choice of words and similes, ʿĀlī Pasha, most of his great and minor supporters, and the abuses of the time are made the subject of a very subtle irony. Although all the classical niceties of *dīwān* literature are used in this work, Ḍiyā Pasha succeeded in giving it a very personal and original touch.

Various Tanẓīmāt writers and their successors produced in poetry, plays, novels and newspaper articles many examples of social and at times political satire. Because of the strict censorship, some of this had to be published outside the country. Most of the political satire aimed at the person of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] and his autocratic rule, like Tewfīḳ Fikret's famous poems *Sis* (the Mist, 1901) describing Istanbul during this reign and *Bir laḥẓa-i teʾekhkhür* (One moment's delay, 1906) about the unsuccessful plot against the life of the Sultan, or his sarcastic poems *Doksan beshe doghru* (Towards Ninety-five, *i.e.*, A.D. 1878, when the parliamentary régime was brought to an end, 1912) and *Khʷān-i Yaghma* (The Table of loot, 1912), against the lawless rule and abuses of the Union and Progress governments, after the Constitution of 1908.

In the novel, social satire produced an interesting genre: several writers took 'the westernizing snob', the blind imitator of European manners and customs, as the central figure of their work and tried to kill by ridicule this new and, in their view dangerous, type of Turkish society. Aḥmed Midḥat's (1844-1912) *Felātūn Bey ile Rāḳim Efendi* (1875) and later *Vah* (1882) and *Ḳarnaval* (1881) began the series; they were followed by Redjāʾīzāde Ekrem's (1847-1914) *ʿAraba Sevdāsī* (1889, published 1896) and Ḥusayn Raḥmī's (1864-1944) *Shīḳ* (1897), *Shīpsevdi* (1900) and ʿÖmer Seyf al-Dīn's (1884-1920) *Efrūz Bey* (1919). At the turn of the century *hidjā* in Turkish poetry is brilliantly represented by Meḥmed Eshref (1847-1912) who, after a year's imprisonment for his political activities, went to Egypt (1903) and wrote there his famous satirical *ḳaṣīdas* and *ḳiṭʿas* in which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, his pashas, and his régime are mercilessly attacked in a very personal style where irony and sarcasm dominate.

A number of poets developed after the revolution of 1908 a new genre of satire in the form of pastiches or *naẓīres*, with the same metre and rhyme as well-known *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals* of the great classics, particularly of Fuḍūlī, Nefʿī and Nedīm. Two names stand out: Fāḍlī Aḥmed Aykaç (born 1884), the author of the *Dīwānče-i Fāḍil* (1913), and Khalīl Nihād Boztepe (1882-1949), the author of *Sihām-i ilhām* (1923). These two poets and a few other minor writers of this school wrote humorous satire mainly of a political nature, generally aimed at the individuals playing a prominent part in Turkey during the years 1908-1923.

Between 1908 and 1920 the essayist, short-story writer and humorist Refīḳ Khālid Karay [*q.v.*] (1888-1965) produced the best specimens of political satire in prose. In many essays he attacked and ridiculed the governments of the Committee of Union and Progress, their leading personalities, and Istanbul society during the First World War and immediately after. His mastery of the language and his colourful, vivid and flowing style, always scintillating with subtle irony, remained unrivalled in modern Turkish until a new prose style was developed by the generation of young writers following the language reform movement of the 1930's. Most of his satirical essays have been collected in the following works: (1) *Saḳın aldanma inanma ḳanma* (1915, in Roman script 1941); (2) *Kirpi'niñ dedikleri* (1916, 1940); (3) *Agho Pasha'nıñ khāṭırātı* (1918, 1939); (4) *Istanbul'uñ ičyüzü* (1920; in Roman script as *Istanbul'un bir yüzü*, 1939); (5) *Ghughuklu sāʿat* (1922, 1940); (6) *Tanıdıḳlarım* (1922, 1941).

In contemporary Turkish literature, several writers make use of humorous satire to combat extreme traditionalism, bigotry and political intolerance. The most popular and successful writer of this school is Aziz Nesin (b. 1915), the prolific short story writer, novelist, essayist and playwright (for a list

of his main works see Behcet Necatigil, *Türk edebiyatında isimler sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1964, 157), who is essentially known as a humorist but who actually aims at killing by ridicule social and political prejudices and the shortcomings of a society in transition.

In Turkish folk-literature social and political satire is one of the principal themes, and the tales of Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja and Bektashī anecdotes, folk tales, the stories told by *meddāḥ*s (public story-tellers) abound in satirical criticisms of public figures and social prejudices. Satirical interpolations in the improvised conversations on set themes in the Ortaoyunu and the Karagöz [*qq.v.*] are very frequent. These public performances have often been censored and at times temporarily suspended when the element of satire was thought to be dangerous.

In folk poetry a special satirical genre called *tashlama* has been developed. *Tashlamas* may have a great variety of subjects, but social injustices are one of their main targets (see İlhan Başgöz, *Türk halk edebiyatı antolojisi*, Istanbul 1963, 16 and 129).

In Eastern Turkish (Čaghatay) literature the great 9th/15th century poet and writer ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī is the most outstanding representative of satire. In many of the *ghazal*s and *rubāʿī*s in his four *dīwān*s there are powerful satirical passages against hypocrites and bigots. In a typical *ghazal* he addresses the *wāʿiẓ* (the preacher) in these terms: 'What lies, what ridiculous behaviour, O preacher! Are you not ashamed of the community? They asked you to moderate people's uncouthness by counsels; who told you to kick and break the pulpit?... The tears on my cheeks are because of my hidden suffering and not because of the effect of your sermon, O preacher! To drink wine at night, and by day to tell people not to drink it, these are really nice virtues, O preacher!' (*TDED*, xii (1962), 43-4). Examples of interesting social satire of minor literary value have been given by some late Eastern Turkish poets in Turkestan like Makhmūr (end of the 18th century), Muḳīmī (d. 1903) and Furḳat (d. 1909).

In Ādharbaydjānī Turkish two writers stand out in *hidjā* : Mīrzā Fetḥ ʿAlī Akhund-zāda (1812-1878), a leading modernist and the first Turkish playwright, who in his plays severely criticized, in humorous style, the feudal society of his day, superstitions, social and religious prejudices (see A. Caferoğlu, *Die aserbeidschanische Literatur*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 671-4). But the best representative of the satire proper is Mīrzā ʿAlī Ekber Ṣābir (1862-1911), who, together with some minor poets and writers of the humorous and satirical review *Molla Nasreddin* (founded in Tiflis in 1906), waged a relentless campaign against fanaticism and ignorance, and the conventional concepts of the old *dīwān* literature.

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iv. — Urdu

Early Urdū poetry cultivated by the Ṣūfī poets of Gudjarāt and the court poets of Dakkan is free from satirical elements, which begin with Djaʿfar Zattallī, a late 11th/17th century poet who makes a speciality of obscene themes and phraseology. In his Persian satires also he uses Urdū colloquial and obscene vocabulary.

With Mīrzā Rafīʿ Sawdā (1713-1780) [*q.v.*], the greatest *hadjw* (*hidjā*) writer in Urdū poetry, satire suddenly reappears and attains a developed form. Sawdā's satires are social as well as personal. His social satires such as *Ḳaṣīda-i shahr āshūb* and *Mukhammas-i shahr āshūb* are 'complaints' of the life and times at a juncture when owing to the rapid decline of Mughal power the feudal order of Dihlī's society was disintegrating; and life in the city was precarious and undignified on account of the depredations of the Marāthas and the Djāts and the invasions of Nādir Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī. Most illustrative of the decadence and decline of the feudal society in Dihlī are Sawdā's *Ḳaṣīda-i taḍḥīk-i rūzgār*, a satire on a nobleman who had fallen on evil times, and *Mathnawī dar hadjw-i Siddī Fūlād Khān, kotwāl-i Shāhdjahānābād*, which is also full of some personal venom. Sawdā's personal satires such as those directed against a satirist of lower calibre, Mīr Ḍāhik, tend to be incisive, sardonic and vulgar. The most criticised of Sawdā's personal satires is *Ḳaṣīda dar hadjw-i shakhṣī ki mutaʿaṣṣib būd*, written from a Shīʿī polemical viewpoint against the theologian Walī Allāh Dihlawī [*q.v.*].

Sawdā's great contemporary Mīr Taḳī Mīr (1722-1810) [*q.v.*] had a lyrical genius suited to the writing of *ghazal*s, but the element of social satire is also present in his 'complaints' like the *Dar hadjw-i khāna-i khud*.

Hadjw developed in the Lucknow school of poetry, but its use was limited. Here, in comparatively secure social conditions, social satire is rarely found. Instead we have personal exchanges between poets like Inshā (1756-1817) and Muṣḥafī (1164-1824). Inshā, the better satirist of the two, had a frivolous virtuosity which his more dignified contemporaty lacked.

The satirical heritage of the Lucknow school produced a striking synthesis with counter-modernism under the impact of Western ideas and institutio s in the verse of Akbar Allāhābādī (1846-1921), the pre-eminent social and political satirist of modern times.

Thematically Akbar's satire is anti-West. It aims to ridicule, in isolated verses as well as in short poems like *Dihlī Darbār*, *Barḳ-i kilīsa* and *Curzon Nāma*, the glamour of British Indian life and institutions, and beyond it the very essence of Western civilization. He often directed his satire against Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*] and the modernism of the ʿAligarh movement. Akbar achieves his satirical effect by an intelligent cynicism, by reducing the sublime and the scientific to the ridiculous, by an amazing inventiveness in the interplay of rhymes, by coining and establishing a symbolical satirical vocabulary of his own, by an instinct for playing to the conservative gallery and by a passionate though pessimistic faith in the values of the Muslim past.

The tradition of political satire established by Akbar soon became a broad movement. The freedom movements organized by the Indian National Congress, the Khilāfat Conference and the Muslim

League produced a school of more sustained and topical satire. Its outstanding representative was Ẓafar ʿAlī K͟hān, a political leader of shifting loyalties and the editor of the *Zamīndār*. During and since the 1920's topical political satire became one of the regular and attractive features of Urdū journalism.

Prose satire in Urdū had its beginnings in the *dāstān* literature of the early nineteenth century, especially in the *Ṭilism-i hūs͟hrubā*. From the prose *dāstān* the satirical elements travelled to the modern novel and are discernible in *Ibn al-Waḳt*, a novel in which Nad͟hīr Aḥmad (1836-1912) seems to ridicule Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān's adoption of the Western style of living. Sars͟hār's (1845-1903) novels have also an element of social satire. Caricature, bordering on generalized satire, forms the subject matter and details of the novels of Sayyid Sadjdjād Ḥusayn, founder and editor of the humorous journal *Awadh Panč*.

Awadh Panč, modelled on *Punch*, was published in Lucknow in 1877 and continued until 1912. It was conservative in social outlook and opposed Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān's loyalism and modernism. Much of its satirical content is directed against the ʿAligarh movement and Western institutions. *Awadh Panč* established the tradition of prose satire in Urdū journalism, which is traceable in a number of journals that have succeeded it as well as in the columns of caustic political comment which are a permanent feature of Urdū newspapers.

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(Aziz Ahmad)

AL-**HIDJĀʾ**, **ḤURŪF** [see ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ].

ḤIDJĀB (A., from the verb *ḥadjaba* "to hide from view, conceal") is used of any veil placed in front of a person or an object in order to conceal it from view or to isolate it. In medicine, it is a membrane which separates certain parts of the organism: *al-ḥidjāb al-ḥādjiz* or *ḥidjāb al-djawf* "diaphragm", *al-ḥidjāb al-mustabṭin* "pleura" and *ḥidjāb al-bukūriyya* "hymen" (al-Tahānawī, *Kas͟hs͟hāf*; *LA*; Dozy, *Suppl.*).

Scarcely anything is known of the pre-Islamic use of this word; but the Ḳurʾān, though it is found there only seven times, provides as valuable information on the basic and metaphorical meaning of the term as it does, to a certain extent, on its evolution. In general *ḥidjāb* in the Ḳurʾān means a separation: it is the veil or the curtain behind which Mary isolated herself from her family (XIX, 17); it is also the separate establishment (later the gynaeceum) which was imposed at first only on the wives of the Prophet (XXXIII, 53; cf. XXXIII, 32), apparently on the advice of ʿUmar. On the Day of Judgement, the saved will be separated from the damned by a *ḥidjāb* (VII, 46), which is glossed as wall (*sūr*) by the commentators, who deduce this interpretation from Ḳurʾān LVI, 13. "It belongs not to any mortal that God should speak to him, except by revelation, or from behind a veil" (XLII, 51), a veil apparently intended to protect the elect from the brilliance of the Divine countenance. *Ḥidjāb* is finally a sort of veil which envelops, either actually (the sun which vanishes behind the veil of the night, Ḳurʾān, XXXVIII, 32) or in a mystic sense, people and things. This last meaning is particularly worthy of note. The unbelievers say to the Prophet "our hearts are veiled ... ; and in our ears is a heaviness; and between us and thee there is a veil (XLI, 5). "We place between thee, and those who do not believe in the world to come, a curtain obstructing (*ḥidjābᵃⁿ mastūrᵃⁿ*)" (XVII, 45). The commentators do not agree on the meaning of the expression. It is considered to be either an invisible curtain sent by Allāh to conceal the Prophet from the eyes of those who sought to kill him (*Djalālayn*) or a veil which dimmed the intelligence of renegades so that they were incapable of understanding the recitation of the Ḳurʾān (al-Bayḍāwī). The latter interpretation is to be compared with Ḳurʾān, LXXXIII, 14 f., where it is stated that profits "rust" the heart so that truth cannot penetrate it.

In a *ḥadīt͟h* reported by Abū D͟harr, *ḥidjāb* is used as a synonym for the veil of death. "Allāh", the Prophet is reported to have said, "will pardon His servant so long as the veil has not fallen"—"O Messenger of God, what does the *ḥidjāb* consist of?" —"It is", he said, "when the soul dies while it is *mus͟hrika* (one who "associates" other gods with God)".

In classical and contemporary Islam, *ḥidjāb* seems to have developed, often starting from its Ḳurʾānic bases, in four different directions.

I. The separation, which was imposed at first only on the wives of the Prophet, was later extended to all free Muslim women. The wearing of the veil marks the transition from childhood to puberty, and from spinsterhood to marriage. It is true that the material used to cover the head and face is usually referred to by the words *lit͟hām*, *ḳināʿ*, *burḳuʿ* (Dozy, *Dict. des vêtements*); but *ḥidjāb*, while meaning also the veil itself, refers particularly to an institution.

Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry proves that the custom had already been observed before the time of Muḥammad, the veil having been the prerogative of women of a certain rank, who used for this *naṣīf*, *sitr*, *sidjf*, etc. (ʿAlī al-Hās͟himī, *al-Marʾa fi 'l-s͟hiʿr al-djāhilī*, 79-80, 146). The verses of the Ḳurʾān in which the wives and daughters of the Prophet are commanded "to draw their veils close to them" (XXXIII, 59 — *djilbāb*, *djalābīb* —) and "to the believing women ... to cast their veils over their bosoms" (XXIV, 31) probably date from the year 5 (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii, 173-4). Nevertheless ʿĀʾis͟ha is said to have worn the veil from the time of her marriage with Muḥammad (*ibid.*, viii, 59), which took place in S͟hawwāl in the year 1 (al-Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, i, 403).

It is certain that this custom was very little observed in Medina. The Ḳurʾān justifies it in fact on the ground that thus "it is likelier [the believing women] will be known and not hurt" (XXXIII, 59). But with the expansion of Islam the custom spread rapidly in Arabia and elsewhere. It was adopted by almost all the women in towns, especially those belonging to the leisured classes; but neither the Bedouins nor the peasant women nor working women adopted it completely.

The wearing of the veil, being general in the towns,

where intellectual movements developed and spread, contributed to a large extent to the keeping of Muslim women in a sort of seclusion. At the end of the 19th century, however, under the influence of the reformist ideas of the Khedive Ismāʿīl, who founded in Cairo in about 1290/1873 the first school for girls, some Egyptian women abandoned the veil. But the real champion of feminism was Ḳāsim Amīn. In his work *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, in which is apparent the influence of *Shaykh* Muḥammad ʿAbduh's liberal interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, he denounced the keeping of women in a state of subjection, stated their right to education and stressed the evils of the veil, which he considered to be "the vilest form of servitude". Nevertheless, he did not demand that it be totally abolished, but simply proposed that it should conform only with the strict demands of religion. As a jurist, he stated that there is in fact in Islamic law no text which justifies the use of the veil in the way which was then current. This opened the battle for the emancipation of women. Ḳāsim Amīn also returned to the charge in his other work, "The new woman". These works shocked Egypt and feelings ran high on the subject. Ṭalʿat Pasha Ḥarb, who led the opposition, wrote in reply two works in which, also in the name of religion, he defended the old system of education. The women were evidently on the side of Ḳāsim Amīn. Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif, better known by her pseudonym Bāḥithat al-Bādiya, edited his *Nisāʾiyyāt*, and Mayy Ziyāda wrote a series of articles on the problem which she dedicated to her colleague. In 1925 the Egyptian feminist movement was born. Its president, Madame Hudā Shaʿrāwī Pasha, formally abandoned the veil in 1926, and her gesture has been imitated increasingly by other Muslim women.

II. *Ḥidjāb* signifies also the curtain behind which caliphs and rulers concealed themselves from the sight of their household. This custom, which appears to have been unknown to the early inhabitants of the Ḥidjāz, seems to have been introduced in Islam by the Umayyads, probably under the influence of the Sāsānid civilization. The partition is also known as *sitāra* and *sitr*, but the custom is the same, and it finally developed into an institution (to be distinguished from the *ḥidjāba*, sometimes also called *ḥidjāb*, which indicates the office of chamberlain [see ḤĀDJIB]).

According to the Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, Muʿāwiya and the majority of his successors were separated from their household by a curtain (*sitāra*) so that none of the latter could see the actions of the caliph when, under the influence of drink, he was no longer in control of himself (*Le livre de la couronne*, tr. Ch. Pellat, 59). The behaviour of the ʿAbbāsid rulers was sometimes less discreet: al-Amīn in particular preferred the company of his courtiers and familiars to being isolated behind a hanging (*ḥidjāb*) (*ibid.*, 70).

Introduced into Andalusia, North Africa and Egypt, this institution grew more complicated as court life developed, particularly among the Fāṭimids, where there gradually became established an elaborate ceremonial comparable with that of Byzantium (M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fatimite*). It should be mentioned that, although it was always the same institution, with the Fāṭimids, influenced as they were by Shīʿī ideas concerning the divine nature of the Fāṭimid imām (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 456, where he is compared to the Deity), it seems to have been prompted by other considerations and to have responded to different needs. The caliph, considered as the hypostasis of the Active Intelligence of the world, was almost the object of worship. Because of this he was expected to hide himself as far as possible from the eyes of his faithful followers, who were thus protected from the radiance of his countenance.

In Cairo, the official in charge of the curtain was called *ṣāḥib al-madjlis* (al-Ḳalḳashandī *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 485; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 386), a different office from that of *ṣāḥib al-bāb*, or master of the door, who was the same as the Great Chamberlain. He was called also *mutawallī 'l-sitr* (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 411) and *ṣāḥib al-sitr* (M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 374; *Alf layla wa-layla*, i, 147, ed. of Imprimerie catholique, Beirut 1956). He was the Chief Eunuch and sometimes combined with the office of Master of the Curtain that of Chamberlain (M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 374 n.). During receptions it was his particular duty to inform the vizier when the caliph was installed in his place and to give the order to his two assistants to raise the curtain in front of the ruler. The latter then appeared seated on his throne and facing the gathering. At the end of the audience the curtain was lowered and he then returned to his apartments (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, iii, 499 f.). A *sitr* was also suspended in front of the door of the audience chamber when the ruler wished to ride in procession on the occasion of the New Year. The vizier and the important dignitaries waited outside, near to the sovereign's mount. At the proper moment the curtain was raised and the caliph came out, preceded by his eunuchs, and mounted his horse (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, i, 506).

The use of the *ḥidjāb* was current in Fāṭimid receptions and solemnities, and its use during Ramaḍān should be particularly mentioned. On the second, third and fourth Fridays of this month, the caliph visited the mosque. On his arrival he ascended the *minbar* and sat under the cupola (*ḳubba*). At his invitation, the vizier also ascended, approached him, publicly kissed his hands and his feet, and closed the curtains. The ruler was thus hidden as though in a litter (*hawdadj*). He then pronounced a short sermon, after which the vizier opened the curtains (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, iii, 511; al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 451 ff.). On the day of *ʿīd al-fiṭr* [*q.v.*], after the solemn prayer, the *ḳāḍī*, from the *minbar*, named one by one the dignitaries who had been granted the honour of mounting the steps and of occupying the places on the left and the right of the sovereign. At a signal from the vizier, everyone veiled himself and then the caliph, also veiled, began to speak. At the end of the address they withdrew their veils (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, iii, 514).

At the Shīʿī ceremony of mourning for the death of Ḥusayn, the caliph, his face veiled, on a seat without a cushion, received the dignitaries, who were also veiled (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 431).

Ibn Khaldūn distinguished several sorts of *ḥidjāb* which a state adapts to its needs as it develops. The first is adopted when nomadism is abandoned and the sovereign, giving up primitive customs, separates himself from the people and allows only his intimates to cross his threshold. With the development of the state and of the complexity of its workings, a second *ḥidjāb* is instituted: this allows only those who are initiated into the customs and etiquette of the court to have any communication with the sovereign. In their turn the ruler's familiars and intimates also place a *ḥidjāb* between themselves and the people. Finally, as the state declines, the dignitaries who have placed on the throne the heirs of the reigning dynasty sometimes seek to seize for

themselves the privileges of power. The dictator then sequesters the sovereign: he isolates him from his family and from his councillors by a *ḥidjāb*, making him believe that his dignity demands that he be separated from them (*Muḳaddima*, ii, 100-3, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 111-3).

III. In the eyes of the mystics, *ḥidjāb* represents everything that veils the true end (al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 86), all that makes man insensitive to the Divine Reality. "It is a curtain interposed between the novice and his desire, between the marksman and his target" (Massignon, *Ḥallâj*, 699). It is produced by the impression, on the heart, of the images of the tangible world, which hinder the manifestation of the truth. The man who is "veiled" (*maḥdjūb*) is he whose heart is closed to the Divine light, because his awareness is dominated by sensual or mental passion. "Your veil is your infatuation", said al-Ḥallādj (Massignon, *op. cit.*, 699). In fact there are many causes of this veiling. The more man's natural tendencies are fed with food, the stronger does his lower soul become, and passion spreads impetuously through his limbs; and in each vein a different sort of veil comes into being (al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf*, 325). The realization of the mystical union is impeded equally by the internal feelings which are centred on the soul, the reason and the spirit. The veil of the *nafs* is the passions and the desires, that of the heart is all observation which has no foundation, and that of the reason is its dwelling on intelligible meanings (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, i, 276).

The opposite of the *ḥidjāb* which is characterized by the contraction (*ḳabḍ* [*q.v.*]) of the heart is the *kashf* (revelation), which means, by contrast, its expansion (*basṭ* [*q.v.*]), its spreading open. *Ḳabḍ* and *basṭ* are two involuntary states which no human effort can produce or destroy, for they proceed from God (al-Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 374). However, when the lower soul is so weakened that it is incapable of overcoming obstacles, and when passion is annihilated, then all vain desires are effaced in the manifestation of the truth. The veil is rent and he who seeks God attains the fullness of his desire (al-Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 325).

IV. Finally, *ḥidjāb* is a mystical separation, a supernatural isolation, a supra-terrestrial protection, in fact an amulet [see ṬILASM] which renders its wearer invulnerable and ensures success for his enterprises. A *shaykh* or a *faḳīr* writes cabbalistic signs and Ḳur'ānic verses on a sheet of paper which, for a small sum, he gives to petitioners. These writings are considered to be most efficacious and to have the power to attract a husband's love, to cure a sick person, to render a barren woman fertile and even to protect from bullets. They are worn round the neck and must never be taken off (Jaussen, *Moab*, 35 f. and 381; the same use of the word *ḥidjāb* is found in Syria and among the nomads of the Negev who have recently been the object of a study by J. Chelhod).

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ḤIDJĀBA [see ḤĀDJIB].

AL-**HIDJAR** (sing. *hidjra*), settlements established by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd (d. 1373/1953), then Sultan of Nadjd, to promote the sedentarization of the Bedouins of Saudi Arabia during the first quarter of this century.

During the first decade of his career, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd attempted to revive the old religious enthusiasm among the virile, but often volatile, Bedouins as a basis for the recovery and the control of his realm. After the *muṭawwiʿūn* (preachers) had spread religious enlightenment and prepared for the idea of an agricultural, settled life, the first and most successful *hidjra*, or Bedouin settlement, was established in 1330/1912 at al-Arṭāwiyya, between al-Kuwayt and Nadjd, in the *dīra* (tribal territory) of Muṭayr. This settlement was soon followed by another at al-Ghaṭghaṭ in the *dīra* of ʿUtayba. In both settlements members of various tribes constituted the fraternity of Ikhwān [*q.v.*], though the mixing of tribes was not practised in most of the colonies.

The prospect of conflict with both Āl Rashīd of Ḥā'il and the Sharīfs of Mecca gave impetus to the process of settlement, and eventually there were about 130 such colonies in al-Ḥidjāz and Nadjd. So successful was the movement in arousing the religious ardour of its members that some of the Ikhwān became more zealous than ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz himself and turned against him in rebellion. In the final crushing of the Ikhwān rebellion (1348/1930) some of their settlements were razed to the ground. The King then set out to create the nucleus of a modern, standing army which proved its worth in establishing peace throughout the length and breadth of his Kingdom.

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(A. H. Kamal)

AL-ḤIDJĀZ, the birthplace and still the spiritual centre of Islam, is the north-western part of the Arabian Peninsula. As the site of the Kaʿba, as the home of the Prophet Muḥammad and the scene of Allāh's revelations to him (*manzil al-waḥy*), and as the capital district of the early Islamic state, al-Ḥidjāz is for Muslims as much the Holy Land (*al-bilād al-muḳaddasa*) as Palestine is for Jews and Christians. Muslims are, in fact, even more zealous in guarding the inviolate character of their chief shrines; the areas surrounding Mecca (Makka) and Medina (al-Madīna al-Munawwara) are sacred preserves (*ḥarams*) which only Muslims are allowed to enter, and restrictions have often been placed on the penetration of non-Muslims into other parts of al-Ḥidjāz.

While agreeing in general that al-Ḥidjāz means "the barrier", the Arabic sources differ in interpreting its application. The commonest view is that the barrier is the mountain chain of al-Sarāt [*q.v.*] separating the lowland of al-Ghawr or Tihāma [*qq.v.*] along the Red Sea from the interior uplands of Nadjd [*q.v.*]. Another view holds that the barrier stands between al-Shaʾm in the north and al-Yaman in the south, and modern geological research has shown that the mountains of these two regions lie beyond the Arabian Shield [see (djazīrat) AL-ʿARAB] to which al-Sarāt belongs.

The concept of al-Ḥidjāz as an obstacle also derives from the fact that much of its area is covered by lava tracts (*ḥarras* [*q.v.*]), which make it "a black barrier" (Yāḳūt, *s.v.*). Among the best known *ḥarras* in the early Islamic period were those bearing the names of Laylā, Wāḳim, al-Nār, and Banū Sulaym. Further research needs to be done on identifying these and on determining the correct forms of the modern names. On a visit to Tabūk, for example, the author learned that the *ḥarras* to the south are called al-R.hāt (vowelling uncertain) and ʿUwayriḍ, not al-Raḥā and al-ʿUwayriḍ as often given on maps.

No substantial agreement exists on defining the geographical limits of al-Ḥidjāz. Although Tihāma is, strictly speaking, not a part of al-Ḥidjāz, it is often included in the region. Mecca in the hills has been called Tihāmiyya, and Medina half Tihāmiyya and half Ḥidjāziyya. In the east al-Ḥidjāz is sometimes carried as far as Fayd near Adjaʾ [*q.v.*] and Salmā, but this is an extreme interpretation, as is the one that extends al-Ḥidjāz northwards into Palestine. The most circumscribed version of the northern extent excludes Madyan and its hinterland Ḥismā from al-Ḥidjāz. In the south al-Ḥidjāz once marched with al-Yaman, but in recent times ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] has been interposed between the two. As treated in this article, al-Ḥidjāz corresponds in general to the Western Province of the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

For descriptive purposes al-Ḥidjāz may be divided into three sections: northern, central, and southern. The central section, by far the most important for the history of Islam, is dealt with first.

The central section may be taken as bounded in the south by the lands in the vicinity of al-Ṭāʾif, Mecca, and Djudda [*qq.v.*], and in the north by the lands in the vicinity of Medina and Yanbuʿ [*qq.v.*]. From the verge of Medina a vast *ḥarra* runs along al-Sarāt for about 300 km. almost to Mecca.

The old road from al-Ṭāʾif went north to the valley of al-Nakhla al-Yamāniyya, down which it descended towards Mecca. In this valley was Ḳarn al-Manāzil, the early *mīḳāt* [see IḤRĀM] for pilgrims from southern Nadjd and Oman; the present *mīḳāt* is a place called al-Sayl al-Kabīr in the same valley. In al-Nakhla al-Shaʾmiyya was Dhāt ʿIrḳ, the *mīḳāt* for pilgrims from northern Nadjd and Iraq coming along Darb Zubayda, the route which the consort of Hārūn al-Rashīd provided with cisterns and other amenities. Dhāt ʿIrḳ is often mentioned as the limit of al-Ḥidjāz in this direction. A paved highway now winds down the mountains from al-Ṭāʾif directly to Mecca, so that the long loop to the north is avoided. The two Nakhlas, now called simply al-Yamāniyya and al-Shāmiyya, empty into Wādī Fāṭima (classical Marr al-Ẓahrān), the fertile bed of which is crossed by the road from Mecca to Djudda.

Throughout the history of Islam travellers between Mecca and Medina have had a choice between two ways, one following the coast (al-Ṭarīḳ or al-Darb al-Sulṭānī) and the other running east of the great *ḥarra* (al-Ṭarīḳ or al-Darb al-Sharḳī), with variations in the itinerary for each way. Before the introduction of motor vehicles those choosing al-Ṭarīḳ al-Sulṭānī usually by-passed Djudda in order to save time. Three hours out of Mecca were the domed tomb and mosque of the Prophet's last wife, Maymūna [*q.v.*], in Sarif, where she was married. North of Wādī Fāṭima the road went through ʿUsfān, the scene of the Prophet's raid on the tribesmen of Liḥyān [*q.v.*]. Next the road traversed the cultivated area of Khulayṣ set back some distance from the coast. Not far beyond al-Ḳadīma the Red Sea would be sighted. Rābigh, though a port, had no proper harbour; ships anchored well away from the shore and transferred their cargoes to local sailing craft. As the *mīḳāt* for pilgrims coming overland from Syria, Egypt, and al-Maghrib, Rābigh succeeded the now ruined village of al-Djuḥfa, which lies in a valley reaching the sea just south of Rābigh. Pilgrims coming down the Red Sea enter into *iḥrām* as their ship passes Rābigh. North of Rābigh is the reputed burial place of the Prophet's mother, Āmina, at al-Abwāʾ [*q.v.*], now called al-Khurayba.

From Rābigh secondary routes ran northwards through the mountains to Medina, providing a more direct but more difficult approach than al-Ṭarīḳ al-Sulṭānī, which continued to hug the coast. From the port of Mastūra an alternate route known as "the detour" (al-Malaff) turned inland, but the main road did not do so until it reached Badr Ḥunayn [*q.v.*], where the Prophet humbled Ḳuraysh on the battlefield. The road from Yanbuʿ, which has taken the place of al-Djār [*q.v.*] as the principal port for Medina, joins the road from the south at Badr, whence al-Ṭarīḳ al-Sulṭānī ascends Wādī al-Ṣafrāʾ towards Medina. In this valley ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿūd of Nadjd won a signal victory over Aḥmad Ṭūsūn and his army from Egypt in 1226/1811.

Now that an asphalt highway joins Mecca and Medina via Djudda, Rābigh, and Badr, it is easier and faster not to take the short cuts through ʿUsfān and the mountain passes farther north.

The usual course for al-Ṭarīḳ al-Sharḳī runs northwards down ʿAḳīḳ Dhāt ʿIrḳ [see AL-ʿAḲĪḲ]. Sometimes it goes through the old oases of Ḥādha and Ṣufayna on the eastern edge of the *ḥarra*, and at other times it passes a little to the east of them. The oasis of al-Suwāriḳiyya (modern al-Suwayriḳiyya), also on the eastern edge of the *ḥarra*, is even farther off the road. North of the modern mine of Mahd al-

Dhahab, now abandoned, al-Ṭarīḳ al-Sharḳī proceeds for a space down another valley named al-ʿAḳīḳ south-east of Medina, which is different from the "blessed valley" of al-ʿAḳīḳ west of the city.

The main route from Medina to Nadjd forks just after the oasis of al-Ḥanākiyya, one branch continuing eastwards to al-Ḳaṣīm and the other heading northwards to Ḥāʾil. The main route east from Mecca (Darb al-Ḥidjāz) now runs from al-Sayl al-Kabīr via al-Ḳāʿiyya and al-Dawādimī to al-Riyāḍ, replacing the old pilgrim trail via al-Ḳunṣuliyya and al-Ḳuwayʿiyya.

The northern section of al-Ḥidjāz may be taken as extending to the boundary between Saudi Arabia and Jordan, which stretches from a point south of al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] over to the range of al-Ṭubayḳ. The occupation by the state of Israel of a position on the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba has made it impossible for pilgrims to follow the old overland route from Sinai via al-ʿAḳaba. Among the small ports are Haḳl and Maḳnā on the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba, and al-Muwayliḥ, Ḍabā, al-Wadjh, and Amladj (orthography uncertain) on the Red Sea. From al-Wadjh tracks cut across the mountains to meet the interior highway at or near al-ʿUlā.

During the past century the heaviest traffic in the northern section of al-Ḥidjāz has been over the routes east of al-Sarāt, first the old Syrian pilgrim road through Tabūk and al-ʿUlā [*qq.v.*] and then the Ḥidjāz Railway [*q.v.*], which in most places followed the pilgrim road closely. The railway was damaged during the First World War, and reconstruction did not begin until 1383/1964. In the meantime a paved highway was being built north from Medina to Tabūk and the Jordan boundary. The highway runs through Khaybar and Taymāʾ [*qq.v.*], both of which lie a considerable distance east of the pilgrim road and the railway.

The southern section of al-Ḥidjāz has higher mountains, more rainfall, and much more cultivation than the other two sections. A road parallels the coast from Djudda through the ports of al-Lith, al-Ḳunfudha, and Ḥaly (Ḥaly Ibn Yaʿḳūb [*q.v.*], once regarded as the southern limit of al-Ḥidjāz) to al-Ḳaḥma, now reckoned as the beginning of Tihāmat ʿAsīr. The lower parts of the valleys that flow seawards furnish good areas for agriculture.

A highland road from al-Ṭāʾif leads to the oasis of al-Khurma (not Khurma, as shown on the map in *EI*[1], i, 708) on the far side of the range of Ḥaḍn (this range is often given as the limit of al-Ḥidjāz in these parts). Another highland road links al-Ṭāʾif with Turaba (or Taraba), also on the other side of Ḥaḍn, and a third takes a more direct course to Bīsha [*q.v.*], beyond which lies Tathlīth at the southeastern end of al-Ḥidjāz. Eastward-bound travellers use tracks from the border areas to al-Riyāḍ, Wādī al-Dawāsir, and other places in Nadjd. Agriculture in the highlands is concentrated in the eastern oases and along the crest of al-Sarāt.

The map in *EI*[1], i, 891, shows the principal tribes in al-Ḥidjāz in the time of the Prophet, apart from Ḳuraysh of Mecca and al-Aws and al-Khazradj [*qq.v.*] of Medina. These three have long since disappeared from al-Ḥidjāz as important tribal aggregations, their members having been absorbed into the broader Islamic community. The populations of Mecca, Medina, and Djudda have become cosmopolitan; many non-Arabs are resident there, and the importance of tribal connexions is dwindling. Dispersed remnants of Ḳuraysh remain in al-Ḥidjāz, mainly as small tribes or clans claiming descent from the Prophet [see SHARĪF], some of whom have adopted the Bedouin way of life. Ḳuraysh has been the mother of sovereigns and dynasties, producing the Rāshidūn Caliphs, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the Umayyads, the ʿAbbāsids, and a number of lesser ruling houses in al-Ḥidjāz itself, foremost among them being the Hāshimids [*q.v.*] of Mecca. Other noteworthy survivors of Ḳuraysh in al-Ḥidjāz are Banū Shayba [*q.v.*], the hereditary custodians of the Kaʿba.

The map also does not show the three Jewish tribes of the Medina area, Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ, Banū Ḳurayẓa, and Banu ʾl-Naḍīr [*qq.v.*], all of whom seem to have disappeared leaving no trace.

From the central section of al-Ḥidjāz the tribes of Sulaym and Hilāl [*q.v.*], a branch of Hawāzin, took part in the mass migration of Bedouins to Egypt and on to al-Maghrib in the 5th/11th century. Their place has been occupied by Ḥarb [*q.v.*] as the dominant tribe in the area between the two Holy Cities.

In the vicinity of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif four ancient tribes still exist: Hudhayl [*q.v.*], from whose ranks sprang an array of poets; Thaḳīf [*q.v.*], the early masters of al-Ṭāʾif; Fahm, the tribe of the brigand bard Taʾabbaṭa Sharran [*q.v.*]; and Saʿd b. Bakr, the tribe that is reported to have introduced the young Muḥammad, the future Prophet, to Bedouin ways while he was in the care of the nurse Ḥalīma [*q.v.*] (the people of Saʿd are today all settled in villages). Among the more modern tribes are the Djaḥādila along the coast south of Djudda and ʿAdwān in the mountains south of al-Ṭāʾif, whose chief, ʿUthmān al-Muḍāʾifī, played a prominent role in the struggle involving the *sharīf* Ghālib of Mecca, the House of Suʿūd, and Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt during the early 13th/19th century.

In the northern section of al-Ḥidjāz the tribes of ʿUdhra and Djudhām [*qq.v.*] have vanished, their ranges now being occupied in a general way by al-Ḥuwayṭāt [*q.v.*] towards the coast and Banū ʿAṭiyya in the interior. Muzayna [*q.v.*], Fazāra, and Saʿd Hudhaym have dissolved, but Balī [see *EI*[1] and *EI*[2], s.v. AL-BALAWĪ] and Djuhayna [see *EI*[2], Suppl.] remain as flourishing entities based respectively on al-Wadjh and Yanbuʿ.

The tribes shown on the map for the southern section of al-Ḥidjāz have given way to the great confederations of Zahrān and Ghāmid [*qq.v.*] in the highlands and numerous other tribes in their neighbourhood and in Tihāma.

The borderlands between al-Ḥidjāz and Nadjd are occupied by elements of the modern tribes of Muṭayr, ʿUtayba, the Buḳūm, and Subayʿ [*qq.v.*], who have replaced such older tribal groups as Ghaṭafān and Hawāzin [*qq.v.*]. In the far south is the tribe which bears the hoary name of Ḳaḥṭān [*q.v.*].

As the history of al-Ḥidjāz is intimately bound up with the history of Mecca and Medina and the many other places and the various tribes referred to above, it will not be recounted here. Suffice it to say that since the beginning of time al-Ḥidjāz was the official name of an independent polity for less than ten years, under the reign of King al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī from 1334/1916 to 1343/1924. Since 1344/1925 the whole of al-Ḥidjāz has belonged to the domains of the House of Suʿūd.

Always a poor land inhabited by a people who chafed under the restraints of law and order, al-Ḥidjāz is now in many ways coming upon brighter times. The rapaciousness of the tribes, which for centuries made the overland pilgrimage a perilous undertaking, has been curbed and intertribal feuding

brought to an end. Impressive improvements in communications by land, sea, and air; closer ties with the outside world; and developments in education, public health, and other fields are bringing an easier life to many of the inhabitants. The revenue received by the Saudi Arabian government from the petroleum industry has freed al-Ḥidjāz from its former dependence on the bounty of Muslims abroad.

Bibliography: See the bibliographies for Djazīrat AL-ʿARAB, MAKKA, and AL-MADĪNA. The topography of al-Ḥidjāz is depicted with a relatively high degree of accuracy on detailed maps (1 : 500,000) published by the United States Geological Survey (1958-62). Toponyms are given in the Latin and Arabic scripts, but the standard of accuracy for these does not match that of the topography. The areas discussed in this article are covered by geographic maps I-200B, I-204B, I-205B, I-210B, I-211B, I-216B, and I-217B in the series entitled "Miscellaneous Geologic Investigations". Corresponding geologic maps are also available. The data on the 1 : 500,000 maps are summarized on a map of the Arabian Peninsula (1 : 2,000,000) issued in separate English and Arabic versions by the USGS (2nd ed., 1963).

(G. RENTZ)

ḤIDJĀZ RAILWAY, one of the two major railway projects (the other being the Baghdād Railway) of the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. Its ostensible purpose was to facilitate the *ḥadjdj* by means of a railway laid between Damascus and the Holy Cities, and its construction was used to further the Pan-Islamic policies and propaganda of the Sultan. It also served the more practical strategic and military purpose of transporting troops to the often turbulent Arabian provinces of the Empire and thus establishing effective control over them. It had been contemplated for a long time. In May 1900, the Sultan, by an Imperial *irāde*, created two Commissions, one supervisory at Istanbul under ʿIzzet Pasha, a Damascene who was a member of the palace staff, and the other executive at Damascus under the *wālī* of Syria. At the same time ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, himself donating a gift of £ T. 50,000, appealed to Muslims all over the world for subscriptions. But not all contributions were voluntary: civil and military officials of the Empire were ordered to contribute a part of their salary and a special stamp duty was levied on all classes and creeds. The balance sheet generally showed a surplus, and the scheme never suffered from lack of finance. Included in the project was a branch line from Darʿa to Haifa, for which the concession had been granted to a British firm in 1890 but which the firm had failed to complete. The few miles of line actually laid by the firm and the building material were purchased by the Ḥidjāz Commission. Two other branch lines, one from Zarḳāʾ to the phosphate mines near al-Ṣalt and another from Maʿān to ʿAḳaba (later abandoned in 1905, in consequence of the frontier dispute between Egypt and Turkey), were also planned. In 1901, the Italian engineer, La Bella, originally entrusted with the construction work, was replaced by the German engineer, Meissner, under whose direction the construction was completed, though beyond al-ʿUlā only Muslim engineers were employed. The Damascus-Medina line was surveyed by Mukhtār Bey, a Turkish engineer; it generally followed the old pilgrim and caravan road, deviating only occasionally to avoid hills and unsuitable ground. Its construction through a country mostly waterless, vividly described in T. E. Lawrence's *Seven pillars of wisdom* as an area of 'thronging suns' and 'feverish winds' where attacks of dysentery were a frequent curse, was a remarkable feat. Water supply presented the greatest difficulty and was partly overcome either by constructing wells and working them by steam-pumps or windmills or by bringing water in railway-trucks. Considerable engineering difficulties were encountered near ʿAmmān with its steep gradients (where the train while ascending to Kesir had to be taken up in two sections), and near al-ʿAḳaba al-Ḥidjāziyya, where the line reached a height of over 3,700 ft. above sea level and immediately afterwards descended through sharp curves in the wild ravine known as Baṭn al-Ghūl. Construction was made possible through the employment of military labour—three regular *Niẓām* battalions and two specially enrolled battalions raised by conscription—totalling about 5,650 men, who received a special additional allowance for their work. Military labour was confined to simple navvying and the laying of the permanent way, while the more difficult work like constructing the bridges, station buildings, culverts and tunnels was given to Italians, Greeks and Montenegrins.

The railhead reached Zarḳāʾ (203 km. from Damascus) in 1902, Ḳaṭrāna (326 km.) in 1903, Maʿān (459 km.) in 1904, Dhāt al-Ḥadjdj (610 km.) in 1906, al-ʿUlā (993 km.) in 1907, and Medina (1320 km.) in 1908. The Darʿa Haifa section (160 km.) was completed in 1905. The railway cost about £ 4,000,000, including the purchase of rolling-stock and construction of necessary buildings (Consular Reports). Between 1904 and 1917 the Darʿa-Haifa section was extended to Boṣrā, and branch lines from ʿAkkā to Balad al-Shaykh (17 km.), ʿAfūla to Ludd (100 km.), Wādī al-Sūr to al-ʿAwdjāʾ (155 km.), al-Tīn to Bayt Hanum (39 km.) were added (Foreign Office Handbook, *Syria and Palestine*, London 1920, 69). The laying of the main tract (Damascus-Medina, Darʿa-Haifa), which averaged 182 km. a year—a rate of progress not achieved even by the Anatolian Railway—was the quickest in the history of the Ottoman Railways. With the exception of a few carriages which were made at the marine arsenal, the entire material was purchased from abroad; rails and sleepers were supplied by Belgian, German and American firms and the rolling-stock by Belgian and German firms only. The length of trains was usually determined by the weight the engine could haul up the steep gradients of the ʿAmmān and Yarmūk valleys. Originally hand-brakes were used but Hardy's system of automatic brakes was gradually introduced (Consular Reports). The gauge being 1.05 m., the carrying capacity of the railway was never great, and was considerably diminished by the necessity of taking large supplies of wood (originally coal was used) and water on each train. An additional problem was that boiler tubes were often damaged by the minerals in the desert water. In consequence, in 1914, only 15 engines were reported to have been fit for service (*Admiralty Handbook, Arabia*, London 1917, ii, 37-41). Only a small percentage of pilgrims, some 16,000 a year, used the railway (the great majority being Syrians and Kurds), for the bulk of the pilgrim-traffic passed through Djudda. The journey from Damascus to Medina took about 62 hours, at an average speed of 23 km. an hour. The single fare was £ 3.10 sterling for third class passengers (Consular Reports). The main stations were Damascus, Darʿa, Haifa, Ḳaṭrāna, Maʿān, Tabūk, Ḳalʿat al-Muʿaẓẓam, Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, al-ʿUlā, Hadiyya and Medina. Generally the stations were about 20 kilometres apart and were used as 'garrison forts', for

protecting the line against the constant Bedouin attacks. During 1908, 128 attacks were reported; Bedouins cut telegraph wires, destroyed rails, damaged station buildings and robbed passengers. The railway, 'the unholy Frankish thing' as they called it, threatened their vested interests in the pilgrim traffic in which the Grand Sharif and the *wālī* of Ḥidjāz were also involved (Consular Reports). Their combined hostility, the Young Turk Revolution and the Turco-Italian war brought construction to a standstill and the original plan for railway extension to Mecca could not be carried out. The project for a line between Djudda and Mecca, for which a survey had been made in 1911, was shelved for the same reasons.

The Ḥidjāz railway 'belied the political hopes of its projectors'. Far from being the 'backbone of Ottoman territory in Arabia', it marked its uttermost eastern fringe. Expensive to build and difficult to maintain, it hardly contributed to the economic growth of the peninsula or to any appreciable increase in population along its course (Foreign Office Handbook, *Arabia*, London 1920, 26). However, it proved to be a great boon to the development of Haifa, which prior to the opening of the Darʿa-Haifa line was a small port outshone by its rival Jaffa. With the opening of the railway, Haifa developed steadily, diverting from Beirut the export of grain from the Ḥawrān and the import trade with Damascus and Arabia. In 1907, the total value of Haifa's exports was £ 270,000; in 1912 it increased to £ 340,000; in 1907 its total imports excluding railway material amounted to £ 240,000; in 1912 it grew to £ 375,100 (Admiralty Handbook, *Syria (including Palestine)*, London 1919, 304, 492). The entire railway was in operation until World War I, when Lawrence successfully damaged parts of the section between Maʿān and Medina which since then has remained out of operation. After the war, the ownership of the railway passed to the territories through which it ran, Syria owning Damascus-Darʿa, Darʿa-Samakh; Palestine owning Haifa-Samakh; Transjordan, Darʿa-Maʿān and Saudi Arabia, the Maʿān-Medina sections. (This was confirmed by the arbitral award of 18 April 1925, by the Swiss Professor M. Eugène Borel appointed by the League of Nations). Between 1923-39, Britain and France, the mandatory Powers, made efforts to restore the Maʿān-Medina section (others sections being already in operation) but failed because of Ibn Suʿūd's insistence on treating the railway as a *waḳf* and thereby demanding the proprietorship of the entire line on behalf of the Muslims. When, in January 1923, the problem was discussed at the Lausanne Conference, Britain and France, desiring to recognize the religious character of the railway, declared their readiness for the formation of a Muslim consultative body, representing the four States, to advise on the upkeep of the railway and the improvement of pilgrim conditions. On 6 August 1928, a conference was held at Haifa to tackle the problem of restoring the Maʿān-Medina section but failed because of Ibn Suʿūd's demand for the ownership of those parts of the line which were in mandated territories as a preliminary to the restoration of the railway. In November 1928, the Permanent Mandates Commission received petitions from certain Muslims of Syria and Transjordan to transfer the entire control and operation of the railway to a Muslim Commission (*League of Nations, Permanent Mandates Commission, Minutes of the Fifteenth Session*, 189-90, 262, 279-80). This being refused, the Muslim Congress held at Jerusalem in December 1931 discussed the issue and reiterated the demand made in the earlier petitions. Meanwhile, Ibn Suʿūd had modified his former attitude and was willing to discuss the technical problems of re-opening the railway without pressing his own claim to ownership forthwith, while reserving his rights. In 1938, the British Government, desirous of winning the good-will of Ibn Suʿūd in view of the situation in Palestine, was prepared partly to finance the repairs of the section lying in his territory and proposed the holding of a conference in the following year. The outbreak of the Second World War once again shelved the issue. The section between Maʿān and Medina is being rebuilt (1966) under a contract given to British firms.

Bibliography: A detailed account of the railway is available in the Consular Reports preserved at the Public Record Office, London: F.O. 78, 195, 368, 371, 424; Auler Pasha, *Hedschasbahn*, Gotha 1906; H. Guthe, *Die Hedschasbahn von Damaskus nach Medina: ihr Bau ihre Bedeutung*, Leipzig (Eduard Gaeblers Geographisches Institut) n.d.; Muhammad Inshaullah, *The history of the Hamida Hedjaz Railway project* (in Urdu, Arabic and English), Lahore 1908; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd-i Thānī we dewr-i salṭanatī*, Istanbul 1327/1911, 718-23; Saʿīd Pasha, *Saʿīd Pashanīn khāṭirātī*, Istanbul 1328/1912, ii, 376-9; *Times Index*, s.v. (Z. H. ZAIDI)

AL-ḤIDJR, ancient ruin site in north-western Saudi Arabia (approx. 37° 50′ E. and 26° 45′ N.) near the small settlement of Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, some 70 miles (110 km.) south-west of Taymā. It has been identified as the Ἔγρα of Strabo and the Hegra of Pliny. The name al-Ḥidjr has fallen into disuse and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ has been substituted. As used by the Bedouins of the region, the name refers to a flat area, about 3 km. from North to South and 2 km. from East to West, its northernmost point being the land surrounding the Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ station of the Ḥidjāz railway. The plain, in which are located several Bedouin water wells, is surrounded by, and dotted with a number of sandstone cliffs and buttes. The tracks of the Ḥidjāz railway cross the plain from North to South. The quite extensive ruins of the ancient commercial town of al-Ḥidjr are approximately in the centre of the plain, where the railway tracks take a southwesterly direction. A large field of potsherds as well as remains of buildings and part of the town wall testify to the importance of al-Ḥidjr in antiquity. Much more impressive than the ruin field, however, is the large number of structures carved into the cliffs all around the plain, and in particular on the rock called Ḳaṣr al-Bint. Most of these structures are family tombs, with *loculi* generally sunk into the floor, but occasionally carved out of the sides of the main chamber. Many of the tombs have elaborately carved façades, with finely chiselled pillars, lintels and cornices, sometimes ornamented with urns or representations of birds, often topped by a double set of steps ascending from the centre, almost indistinguishable from some of the tombs found in Petra. In the complex of rocks called Djabal Ithlib, at the eastern edge of the plain, is another series of rock carvings consisting mostly of small niches with carved columns, urns, or bird figures, which probably had religious significance. At the entrance to a narrow canyon in Djabal Ithlib is also a very large hall, referred to as Dīwān or Madjlis al-Sulṭān, carved into the sandstone—about 10 metres wide, by 12 metres deep and 8 metres high —which also is considered to have been connected

with religious ceremonies. At the opposite end of the canyon, where the walls separate, there is a long channel carved in the north face of the cliff, which is believed to have been used to bring water into the site.

Vast numbers of inscriptions have been found in al-Ḥidjr: in Arabic, Aramaic, Thamudic, Nabatean, Minaean, Lihyanite, and even in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. No archaeological excavations have as yet (1966) been conducted in Madā'in Ṣāliḥ, but from what evidence is available it is held that al-Ḥidjr was second only to Petra in importance during the Nabatean period [see NABAṬ]. The Ḳur'ān relates (VII, 71 ff.) that this region was inhabited by a godless people, the Thamūd [*q.v.*], who carved their houses out of rock. God sent the prophet Ṣāliḥ to exhort them to mend their ways, but the people of Thamūd not only persisted in their idolatry, but also slew the camel which the prophet Ṣāliḥ had miraculously conjured out of a cleft in the rock to give evidence of his divine mission. God then sent an earthquake that destroyed the town and its people. This story was the origin of the name Madā'in Ṣāliḥ (Ṣāliḥ's towns) now given to the area Geologists see no evidence of an earthquake in Madā'in Ṣāliḥ; some believe that, because the Arabic term for earthquake can also be rendered as a "calamity from God", the town and its people may have been destroyed by another sort of disaster, such as a plague. There are other references to al-Ḥidjr, or Madā'in Ṣāliḥ, in Arab legends: one mentions that this is the place where God ordered the patriarch Abraham to abandon Hagar and her son Ishmael, who are both said to be buried here. Another legend relates that when the Prophet Muḥammad was going through the area with his army, on the occasion of the raid on Tābuk (9/631), he would not permit his soldiers to refresh themselves at the wells, because this was an accursed spot. After having flourished during the Nabatean period, the site of al-Ḥidjr seems to have declined rapidly. In the first half of the 4th/10th century al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions it as being only a village with few inhabitants.

The first European to visit al-Ḥidjr, and to bring back a well illustrated description of its monuments, was C. M. Doughty. Al-Ḥidjr was later also visited by J. Euting, C. Huber, and (more recently) by H. St. J. B. Philby. The most complete account of the monuments of Madā'in Ṣāliḥ is that of J. A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, who visited the region in 1907.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, i, 898 f.; Yāḳūt, ii, 208; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*; J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, Leiden 1896, 1914; A. Grohmann, *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients, Arabien*, Munich 1963; C. Huber, *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie*, Paris 1891; J. A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Paris 1909; H. St. J. B. Philby, *The land of Midian*, London 1957. (F. S. VIDAL)

HIDJRA, latinized as Hegira, the emigration of Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina in September 622. The first stem of the verb, *hadjara*, means "to cut someone off from friendly association" (cf Ḳur'ān IV, 34/38) or "to avoid association with" (LXXIII, 10); there is often an explicit or implicit reference to a sexual relationship, as in the first Ḳur'ānic verse. The third stem *hādjara* refers to a mutual ending of friendly relationships. Thus *hidjra* properly does not mean "flight" as it has been traditionally translated but connotes primarily the breaking of the ties of kinship or association (cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Twee populaire Dwalingen verbeterd*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn 1923, i, 297-305, esp. 305; also *LA*, vii, 110-8).

The reason for Muḥammad's leaving Mecca is the loss of support from his clan on the death of Abū Ṭālib (about 619) and his replacement as chief of the clan by Abū Lahab, who had commercial relationships with some of Muḥammad's bitterest opponents. From the fact that after his visit to al-Ṭā'if (in 619 or 620) Muḥammad had to seek the protection (*djiwār*) of the clan of Nawfal before entering Mecca, it is to be inferred that Abū Lahab had refused protection (Ṭabarī, i, 1203 from Ibn Isḥāḳ; in Ibn Hishām, 251, but only as a note by Ibn Hishām himself). After various attempts, including the visit to al-Ṭā'if, to find a suitable sphere for continuing to propagate his religion, Muḥammad negotiated successfully with representatives of all the main Arab clans of Medina, finally concluding an agreement with them at al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] during the pilgrimage of 622 (June-July). This agreement is known as "the pledge of war" (*bayʿat al-ḥarb*), since the men of Medina agreed to defend Muḥammad by force of arms, if necessary. Even before this agreement Muḥammad had begun to encourage his Meccan followers to go to Medina, and in all about seventy went in small parties, until of those willing to go only Abū Bakr, ʿAlī and Muḥammad with their womenfolk were left.

By this time Ḳuraysh are said to have become suspicious, and this was probably the case (though by no means all the stories which became attached to the Hidjra are to be believed). Ibn Isḥāḳ says that at a meeting of most of the clans it was agreed that chosen young men, one from each clan, should simultaneously attack Muḥammad with their swords and kill him; in this way, since so many clans were involved, Hāshim could not exact revenge but would have to be content with blood money. The young men assembled at Muḥammad's house, but he slipped away secretly, leaving ʿAlī in his bed to make them think he was still asleep. Whether this story is accepted or not, Muḥammad must have slipped out of Mecca secretly in the company of Abū Bakr, since a later passage of the Ḳur'ān reminds men of it (IX, 40): "If you do not give him support, still God already supported him when the unbelievers drove him out as the second of two; the two were in the cave, and he was saying to his companion, Do not grieve; God is with us . . .". They spent three days in the cave, then accompanied by ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, a freedman of Abū Bakr, and a nomad as guide, and mounted on two camels, made their way by an unusual route to Medina. Their arrival at Ḳubā' in the south of the oasis of Medina is dated Monday 12 Rabīʿ I by Ibn Isḥāḳ, which in the accepted calendar corresponds to 24 September 622, but is a Friday. The reason for their going into hiding and avoiding the main road is presumably that when Muḥammad left Mecca he would cease to be under the protection of Nawfal, but until he reached Medina he would not come under the protection of his followers there.

In the document sometimes called the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, 341-4) those who had thus made the *hidjra* with Muḥammad appear as the "emigrants (*muhādjirūn*) of Ḳuraysh", and have collectively a position comparable to that of one of the Arab clans of Medina. As time went on the status of *muhādjir* (fem. *muhādjira*) came to be greatly prized, perhaps sometimes placing people in a higher category in the *dīwān* or stipend-list; and the status

was granted to others than those who had actually journeyed from Mecca to Medina in 622. Members of nomadic tribes could pledge themselves to Muḥammad with the pledge of migration (*bayʿat hid̲j̲ra*) (Ibn Saʿd, iv/2, 66, line 3); they then settled in Medina, presumably as his clients (*mawālī*; cf. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Manāḳib*, 2), thus counting as belonging to the "clan" of *muhad̲j̲irūn*. Those who went to Abyssinia about 615 and remained there until fetched to Medina by Muḥammad in 7/628 were counted as having made a *hid̲j̲ra*, *viz.* to Abyssinia; perhaps this was part of the inducement to go to Medina. A consequence was that those who had gone to Abyssinia, returned to Mecca before 622 and then made the *hid̲j̲ra* with Muḥammad could claim two *hid̲j̲ras* (cf. Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 79 line 8; viii, 205 foot). The tribe of Muzayna was given the status of *muhad̲j̲irūn* without actually settling in Medina (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 38, 11-4); Aslam and K̲h̲uzāʿa were in a similar position. There is also evidence of other uses of the status of *muhād̲j̲ir* (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, 220; tr. Fagnan, 270).

Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ, leader of the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī sect of the Azāriḳa, held that only those who actively supported him were genuinely Muslims, and spoke of them as *muhād̲j̲irūn*, who made the *hid̲j̲ra* to his camp, which was *dār al-hid̲j̲ra* (al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, i, 86-9).

Muslim dates are normally given according to the era of the *hid̲j̲ra* (see TAʾRĪK̲H̲) which may be distinguished by the initials A.H. (= Anno Hegirae). This era does not begin on the date of Muḥammad's arrival at Medina, but on the first day of the lunar year in which that event took place, which is reckoned to coincide with 16 July 622. This result is based on the assumption that intercalary months did not occur after the Hid̲j̲ra, but this is by no means certain (see further TAʾRĪK̲H̲).

Bibliography: Ibn His̲h̲ām, 323-35; Ṭabarī, i, 1228-35; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 137 f., ix, 39, 53, 87; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 191-5; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 145-51; idem, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 242, etc.; F. Krenkow, *The topography of the Hijrah*, in *IC*, iii (1929), 357-64.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

HID̲J̲RA [see HID̲J̲AR].

ḤIFẒ [see ḲIRĀʾA and ḲURʾĀN].

ḤIKĀYA (A.), verbal noun of *ḥakā*, originally meaning "to imitate", but which, in consequence of a readily explained semantic evolution, came to acquire the meaning of "to tell, to narrate"; similarly the noun *ḥikāya*, starting from the meaning of "imitation", has come to mean more specifically "mimicry", and finally "tale, narrative, story, legend". In classical Arabic the intensive form *ḥākiya* meant a "mimic" and modern Arabic has adopted the active participle *ḥākⁱⁿ* to translate "gramophone".

The radical *ḥ.k.y./w.* is not represented in the Ḳurʾān but it is found in *ḥadīt̲h̲* with the primary meaning of "to resemble" or "to imitate" (see *LA*, s.v.), a meaning expressed and retained up to the present in the 3rd form, *ḥākā*; this is the only meaning given to it in the classical dictionaries; the *Lisān*, which makes no mention of the meaning of "to relate" for the verb and "story" for the noun, states that both the first and the third forms have a slightly pejorative shade of meaning: "to try to imitate, to ape". The problem is therefore to discover by what process *ḥakā* and *ḥikāya* have acquired the meaning which they now usually have; then we shall try to draw up a classification of stories and to establish the place occupied by those which are now called *ḥikāya* in the Arabic narrative or recreational literature.

I. — Once again al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ provides a convenient starting point. In a well-known passage of the *Bayān* (ed. Hārūn, i, 69-70), he discloses that there existed imitators (*ḥākiya*) able, he says, not only to copy the mannerisms, gestures, the voice and the habits of speech of the different ethnic groups which formed the population of the empire, and more particularly of the capital, but also to reproduce with the most exact fidelity the demeanour and bearing of various types of people, the blind for example, and finally to imitate the calls of wild and domestic animals. Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ adds that these imitators created real types whom they endowed with all the characteristic traits of the groups that they were mimicking. This gift of imitation, which demands no ordinary power of observation, had long been exploited in the East by professional and amateur entertainers (see J. Horovitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen in Orient*, Berlin 1905), and we find for example in the "Book of the crown" of the Ps.-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (tr. Pellat, 149), an anecdote of a courtier who managed to restore himself to favour with a Persian king by means of a stratagem based on mimicry of the cries of various animals. A. Mez (*Abulḳâsim, ein bagdâder Sittenbild*, Heidelberg 1902, xv-xvi) has already remarked that the proliferation of mimics and the development of a form of entertainment much favoured by monarchs was certainly helped by the existence of Arabic dialects very different from one another and by the more or less successful attempts made by the non-Arab populations to speak the language of the conquerors. There were often mimics among the entertainers and the jesters who were regularly or occasionally admitted into the presence of the sovereigns, and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, viii, 161 ff.; cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 386-7, Eng. tr., 408) confirms this in relating the success with al-Muʿtaḍid of one Ibn al-Mag̲h̲āzilī who mimicked (*yaḥkī*, *yuḥākī*, *ḥikāya*) all kinds of people, with an accompanying patter of humorous anecdotes (*nādira*). The *ḥikāya*, in fact, could not be a silent mimicry, and the performer was obliged to compose a little recitation or think up a story to add piquancy to his imitation. Thus one must be well experienced to avoid translating *ḥikāya* in such cases by "story", although one can understand that this term, originally applied solely to the imitation, later covered the gestures and the words, and finally the words alone, especially when authors began to commit to writing the words recited by the *ḥākiyas*. This evolution, further encouraged by the carelessness of writers over the exact use of words, hides to a large extent the fact that the mimics persisted, proof of which, however, is to be found throughout the Middle Ages; A. Mez (*Renaissance*, 399; Sp. tr. 505; the English translation, p. 423, misses the point) mentions one in 415/1024 and it is worthy of note that the performance in question entailed also shadow plays (*k̲h̲ayāl*). Although the modern theatre takes its origins from abroad, its historians have not failed to find antecedents for it precisely in the *ḥikāya* and the *k̲h̲ayāl* (cf. J. Landau, *Studies in Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958, 1 ff.); they have also been induced to take into account the existence, in Turkey, of the *meddah* (*maddāḥ* [*q.v.*]) or *mukallit* (*muḳallid*, corresponding exactly to the *ḥākiya*) who related anecdotes while performing amusing imitations and expressive mimicries and even

dressed up in accessories symbolic of the characters that he wished to imitate. This profession seems to have declined in Turkey as in other Muslim countries, particularly in Egypt where, at the beginning of this century, a certain Aḥmad Fahīm al-Fār had formed a company which presented in Cairo plays which were very popular, thanks to his skill in imitating the cries of animals and in reproducing different scenes (see J. Landau, *op. cit.*, 3-4 and bibl. quoted). On the *maddaḥ* of North Africa see MADDĀḤ. We cannot omit to mention here that it is again a derivative from the root *ḥ.k.y./w.*, *ḥkāwāti*, which is used in the East for a teller of tales, whose mimicry is closely related to that of the early *ḥākiya*.

From the 4th/10th century onwards elements of mimicry (see J. Horovitz, *op. cit.*, 21-7) appear in the genre of the *maḳāma* [*q.v.*], which however the literary efforts of Badīʿ al-Zamān and his successors have separated from the *ḥikāya* proper. On the other hand it was at the same period or at the beginning of the 5th/11th century that there appeared a work, unique in Arabic literature, which calls to mind the *maḳāma* while differing from it quite clearly in its technique—the *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī (ed. A. Mez, *Abulḳâsim*). It marks a new though brief phase in the semantic evolution of the term *ḥikāya*. In his preface the author reproduces the very passage of al-Djāḥiẓ mentioned above, and this reference justifies in his opinion the creation of a new type of work which would put on the stage a single character, typifying the mentality of the inhabitants of the capital; in his introduction Abu 'l-Muṭahhar promises also a *ḥikāya badawiyya*, a picture of Bedouin manners, which has not survived. In the text which has come down to us, the scene is Baghdād, in a bourgeois milieu. The hero, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, is a sort of vagrant who entertains this society and reels off jokes and sarcastic remarks in doubtful taste; after the evening meal the revellers sink into a drunken stupor, awaking only at the call of the muezzin; then Abu 'l-Ḳāsim harangues them and castigates their impiety, urging them to repent (cf. F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xx (1942), 33-45). The quotation from al-Djāḥiẓ enables us to see the meaning that the author wanted to give to this *Ḥikāya*, which is a realistic presentation of the manners of Baghdād, a picture borrowed from real life, and this is why A. Mez has translated the title of this play by *ein bagdâder Sittenbild*, it being quite impossible to translate *ḥikāya* by "story". In attempting to produce a "type", Abu 'l-Muṭahhar displays a certain advance on al-Djāḥiẓ, who in his studies of manners, notably in the "Misers", merely put together anecdotes without achieving a synthesis.

Nevertheless, this *Ḥikāya* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar, who does not seem to have been imitated, raises several problems; on the one hand its links with the *maḳāma* are not clear, given that the author, details of whose life are not known, certainly seems to be later than Badīʿ al-Zamān; no doubt he wished to create a distinct genre. On the other hand, D. B. Macdonald (in *EI*¹, art. ḤIKĀYA) considers that the cause of the evolution which ended in the *Ḥikāya* must be sought in the influence of the Aristotelian doctrine of μίμησις in art (Poetics, i-iv); indeed Mattā b. Yūnus, in his translation of the *Poetics*, (ed. Badawī, in *Fann al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1953, 86 et passim) uses the word *ḥikāya* to translate μίμησις (where Badawī in his new translation uses the third form *muḥākāt*); it is certainly possible that the idea of literary art as an "imitation" of life might have produced the genre represented by Abu 'l-Muṭahhar, but the reference to al-Djāḥiẓ suffices to a large extent to explain this innovation which, by its scenic depicting of life, in any case marked a new stage in the development of the previous form of *ḥikāya*.

In the course of the following centuries we sometimes find the verb *ḥakā* with the meaning of "resemble", "imitate", but it is so archaic that the commentators have to explain it, particularly when it appears in the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (ed. de Sacy², ii, 420) who, moreover, uses it together with *ḥaddatha*, *akhbara*, *rawā*, with the meaning of "tell", "narrate", at the beginning of the *maḳāmāt*. The use of *ḥakā* with the preposition *ʿan* as a synonym for *rawā* "report something on the authority of somebody" had long been current (*e.g.*, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, § 57) and the *Aghānī* (viii, 162) even provides one example of its use with the meaning of "to tell"; it can be deduced from this that the semantic evolution of the verb was more rapid than that of the noun *ḥikāya*, which is found however in al-Ḥuṣrī (*Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, 4) with the meaning of "a reported anecdote" and at least once in al-Ḥarīrī (ed. de Sacy², i, 13) to signify the fables (*amthāl*) of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, while in the same passage the author remarks that his *maḳāmāt* are also *ḥikāyāt*, that is, a reproduction of contemporary life. Thus when *ḥikāya* later comes definitively to mean "tale, story, legend", the word forms a complete contrast with its primary meaning, since that applied exclusively to the present and could not indicate an imitation of the past; we must consequently suppose that before being used of all kinds of stories it went through a phase of meaning a story which was invented, but which was borrowed from real life, or was at least true to life; we have no proof of this, but the *Ḥikāya* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar provides a sufficiently strong link in the chain, and we shall see that in Morocco *ḥkāya* has retained the meaning of a story which is more or less truthful so long as it is not unlikely.

It should not be forgotten that the term *ḥikāya* belongs also to the terminology of the sciences of tradition and that the expression *ḥakaytu ʿanhu 'l-ḥadītha ḥikāyatan* implies a literal quotation, a verbatim reproduction; in grammar *ḥikāya* means the use in a narrative of the verbal form which would have been used at the time when the event narrated took place; the expression *ḥikāyat ṣawt*, "onomatopoeia", preserves the primitive sense of the term; *ḥikāyat iʿrāb*, or simply *ḥikāya*, means the exact repetition of a word used by a speaker with a vowel of declension no longer appropriate to its function in the new context, *e.g.*, "*raʾaytu Zaydan*"—"*man Zaydan?*" (instead of *Zaydun*), but this *ḥikāya* is not permissible when the noun is followed by a qualifying element (see L. Machuel, *Voc. des principaux termes techniques de la grammaire arabe*, Tunis 1908, 27). The word appears again for example in the *Fihrist* (Cairo ed., 422, 429, 445, etc.) to indicate a textual copy as well as an account of the facts, equivalent here to *riwāya*. The same meanings are found in Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (ed. Gottwald, 17, 64, 65, 201) and in the *Aghānī* (notably i, 4), although in this last passage *ḥikāya* is used of the reproduction of words heard, without any claim to verbatim quotation. On the other hand, al-Zamakhsharī (*Asās al-balāgha*, s.v.) says that the Arabs use *ḥikāya* in the sense of "language", which they consider to be an imitation or a representation,

and this explains why in the Syrian and Lebanese dialects the verb *ḥakā* is normally used for "to speak". In Spain, Dozy (*Suppl.* s.v.) notes *ḥikāya* also in the sense of "model", but for him it is already primarily a "story".

Thus it seems that it was from the 8th/14th century onwards that *ḥikāya*, whose primary meaning is now considered archaic, acquired the general meaning of "tale, story, narrative, legend"; it is current in the *Thousand and one nights* and appears in the title of the *Kitāb al-Ḥikāyāt al-ʿad̲j̲ība wa 'l-ak̲h̲bār al-g̲h̲arība* edited by H. Wehr, Damascus-Wiesbaden 1956, from a MS of the beginning of the 8th/14th century; in this last collection however each separate story is still called *ḥadīt̲h̲*, which is one of those general terms whose technical meaning tends to obscure its other uses. Thus we have here significantly combined three words which are evidently interchangeable: *ḥikāya*, *k̲h̲abar*, and also *ḥadīt̲h̲*, which it might be profitable to restore to the group of words used in Arabic for "story".

The Ḳur'ān contains a certain number of narratives which are of a religious character and are to serve for the edification of the Believers; in the Holy Book "to narrate, tell" is expressed by *ḳaṣṣa*, *ḥaddat̲h̲a*, and *nabba'a*, three terms which tend later to become specialized, forming with their derivatives and those of other roots a collection of lexicographic material which deserves examination. In fact the diversity of the words used in the first centuries of Islam would seem to indicate that tales, legends and stories of all kinds were in vogue and that they were distinguished from one another with great precision; on the other hand, each of them through the centuries has undergone an evolution distinctive enough to merit a special article, so that we need not attempt to discuss here the history of all narrative literature:

—*ḳiṣṣa* is used of every kind of story, but this word has been applied particularly, through the use of the verb *ḳaṣṣa* and the noun *ḳaṣaṣ* in the Kur'ān and of the professional *ḳuṣṣaṣ* [see ḲIṢṢA], to edifying tales and stories of the prophets. It is to be noted however that nowadays it has been adopted to mean a novel, its diminutive *uḳṣūṣa*, pl. *aḳāṣiṣ*, being in its turn used for a short story.

—[*usṭūra*] is Ḳur'ānic in the expression *asāṭīr al-awwalīn* "the fables of the Ancients" (vi, 25, viii, 31, xvi, 26/24, xxiii, 85/83, xxv, 6/5, xxvii, 70/68, xlvi, 16/17, lxxxiii, 13), which has a distinctly pejorative connotation when used by unbelievers inclined to compare the revelation with fables and old wives' tales to which no credence should be given. The difficulty which lexicographers have in finding the singular of *asāṭīr* proves that this term, probably deriving from the Greek ἱστορία or the Latin *historia*, had served to form a pejorative plural (cf. *abāṭīl*) and that the corresponding singular had been forgotten or had never existed. Nowadays the term has been reinstated in the singular form *usṭūra* with the particular meaning of legend or myth.

—*naba'* has in the Ḳur'ān the meaning of "news", "announcement" which it has retained until the present day (vi, 66/67, xxvii, 22, xxxviii, 67, xlix, 6, etc.) but it is also found there with the meaning of an edifying tale, a story of a prophet (ix, 71/70, v, 30/27, vi, 34, etc.); in this sense it has been completely replaced by *ḳaṣaṣ* and *ḳiṣṣa*.

—*k̲h̲abar* [*q.v.*] is also Ḳur'ānic, with a meaning similar to that of *naba'*: "information, an account of someone or something". In later literature this word was to have a great vogue and to be applied to a narrative of historical or biographical character. Although a *k̲h̲abar* need not necessarily be authentic in the eyes of the critics, in principle the term could not be used of a story presented as fictitious; it appears however parallel with *ḥikāyāt* in the title of the collection, edited by H. Wehr, cited above.

—*sīra* [*q.v.*] is found in the Ḳur'ān only with the meaning of "state" or "appearance", but in literature it has also that of "conduct", "way of life", "biography" (especially of the Prophet); it is the term used for the romantic biographies of famous characters of antiquity or of the Islamic era [see ʿANTAR, BAYBARS, etc.].

—*ḥadīt̲h̲* [*q.v.*] as used in the Ḳur'ān can be translated by "discourse", but it means also an edifying story (*e.g.*, that of Moses, xx, 8/9, lxxix, 15); on the other hand, *aḥādīt̲h̲* (plural of *uḥdūt̲h̲a* rather than of *ḥadīt̲h̲*) is used of legendary tales (xxiii, 46/44, xxxiv, 18) and, in a general way, of lying talk. Independently of its technical meaning in the science of Tradition, *ḥadīt̲h̲* is in general use for a story, a tale, a narrative; it is found so used in the *Ag̲h̲ānī*, the *Fihrist*, the stories published by H. Wehr and elsewhere.

—*mat̲h̲al* [*q.v.*] in the Ḳur'ān is not only an image or a likeness, but also an example (xviii, 52-54, xxv, 35/33, etc.), indeed even a parable (xii, 72, xviii, 43/45). In later usage it is a proverb as well as a story invented to illustrate a doctrine or explain a circumstance of life; it is used to describe the apologues of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] and, in general, fables of animals.

Outside the Ḳur'ān we find in literature the following:

—*riwāya* [*q.v.*], oral transmission of a *ḥadīt̲h̲*, a poem or a story; this term, which retained this connotation in the technical language of tradition, grammar and criticism, was sometimes synonymous with *ḥikāya* in the sense of transmission and account of facts. In modern Arabic it has been adopted to mean a story, a novel, a play or a film.

—*nādira* [*q.v.*] has been used since the early Middle Ages for a witticism, an anecdote, especially a humorous one; the genre of the *nādira* contains enough typical characteristics to justify a separate article. In the article NĀDIRA will be found the rules which narrators were supposed to follow.

—*samar*, pl. *asmār*, is primarily a conversation, an evening gossip, for it comes from a root meaning "to chat in the evening" (cf. Ḳur'ān, xxiii, 69/67), but it is one of Ibn al-Nadīm's favourite words for stories told at an evening gathering and, in general, stories, for, contrary to what Mūsā Sulaymān maintains (*al-Adab al-ḳaṣaṣī*², Beirut 1956, 16-7), stories can in principle be related only at night (see *infra*). It seems that *samar* is used mainly of tales of the supernatural, but also of reports, since Ibn al-Nadīm sometimes refers to authentic *siyar* and *asmār* (*asmār ṣaḥīḥa*, Cairo ed., 424). After *ḥikāya* came to be used in a general sense, *samar* regained its earlier meaning of conversation at an evening gathering.

—*k̲h̲urāfa*, finally, is said to be the name of an ʿUd̲h̲rī who was carried off by demons and who on returning related his adventures; nobody had believed him and the expression *ḥadīt̲h̲ K̲h̲urāfa* "story [worthy] of K̲h̲urāfa" had acquired the meaning of "entirely fictitious talk", "humbug"; however the Prophet himself vouches for the existence of the character and the authenticity of his statements (see al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 301, vi, 210; al-Maydānī, s.v. *ḥadīt̲h̲ K̲h̲urāfa*). With the dropping of the first element of the expression, and through contamination by the root *k̲h̲.r.f.*, "to talk nonsense", *k̲h̲urāfa* became a common noun applied to a fabulous

story. It is the word used by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 89 f.), in a well-known passage on the nucleus of the *Thousand and one nights*, to translate the Persian *afsāna* and indicate stories in general. The *Fihrist*, which makes great use of it, seems to contrast it with *samar*, apparently attributing to it a more fictitious character. This term has remained current until the present with the meaning of "superstition", "fairy tale", "legend". It is interesting to note that in certain Moroccan dialects *ḥkāya* denotes a story more or less truthful, but in any case probable, *khurāfa* a story of marvels and *ḳəṣṣa* a historical account (see L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, 163-4). In Tunisia (see W. Marçais, *Glossaire de Takroûna*, s.v.), we notice *khrāfā* with the meaning of "baseless talk" and *khrāyfi* "boaster, humbug", while *kharrāf* still denotes a story-teller; elsewhere (cf. G. Boris, *Lexique du parler arabe des Marazig*, Paris 1958, s.v.), *khoṛṛāfa* is a story and *ḥkāyā* a short tale or anecdote.

II. — It would perhaps be rash to claim that the early Arabs, preoccupied solely with poetry and rhetoric, paid no attention to the tales of marvels and to the legends which are the common heritage of primitive man, but the brief semantic study given above certainly does not prove that they took a great interest in them, for, in fact, only the plural *asāṭīr*, and that a probable borrowing from a foreign language, is attested in the Ḳurʾān. Further, it was by Persian legends learned at al-Ḥīra that al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith [*q.v.*] replied to the stories in the Holy Book, treating them as *asāṭīr al-awwalīn* (see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo ed. 1375/1955, i, 300), which caused him, it is said, to be alluded to personally in some verses (notably lxviii, 15). In fact, these edifying stories introduced in the Ḳurʾān would seem to show that the early Arabs were familiar with stories and legends, but it is probable that the sanctification of Ḳurʾānic statements which were held to be historical truths, particularly on things concerning the annilated peoples of ʿĀd, Thamūd, etc., resulted in a certain mistrust of narrative literature or at least of that part of it which could not immediately be Islamicized to illustrate the Ḳurʾān and edify the faithful.

It is certain that, generally speaking, where the pre-Islamic period is concerned, the sphere of the legend is not distinguished from that of history and the historians of the first centuries did not hesitate to reproduce, quite uncritically, ideas originating in folklore which entered the stream of universal history [see TAʾRĪKH]; an examination of the Ḳurʾānic vocabulary, however, reveals a dividing line between that which is to be considered in any case as authentic and contributing to the edification of the Muslims: *ḥadīth*, *ḳaṣaṣ* (or *ḳiṣṣa*), *khabar*, *nabaʾ* and *mathal*, and that which is a fictitious story, useless, even dangerous and in any case unworthy of a Believer: *asāṭīr* and its synonyms: *asmār*, *khurāfāt*, which were later to be comprehended under the name *ḥikāyāt*.

A part of the materials constituting the narrative literature seems to have been reduced to writing as early as the 1st/7th century, and the names of ʿAbīd/ʿUbayd b. Sharya [*q.v.*], Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*] and of the *Kitāb al-Tīdjān* immediately spring to mind; it is interesting that these were legends of southern Arabia that could be turned to account by Islam, in the same way as the stories of a Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*]. Other secular data received an Islamic flavour through being associated with famous people who were above suspicion, such as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās to whom is attributed for example the legend about the *ʿanḳāʾ* [*q.v.*]. From the 2nd/8th century the situation changes in the sense that the searchers are led by their boundless zeal and curiosity to collect everything which they find, no longer distinguishing between ideas which have a religious or truly scientific value and what is merely secular literature. It seems to have been at this time that there were collected love stories, of which the *Fihrist* provides a very full list [see ʿISHḲ], tales intended to explain proverbs [see MATHAL], historical traditions [see AYYĀM AL-ʿARAB, TAʾRĪKH], stories of animals and aetiological legends [see ḤAYAWĀN], witty stories [see NĀDIRA] and probably also tales of the supernatural, since certain of these found in the later collections are of Arab origin. At the same time the centre of the Islamic world was inundated with translations from Persian which provided scholars with elements deriving from Persia and India [see especially BILAWHAR AND YŪDĀSAF], while translations from Greek also brought their share of mythological material. Thus, in the 3rd/9th century there was available to the public a very rich narrative literature which in later centuries was to be further enriched by various types of gestes which it would be an exaggeration to call epics [see ḤAMĀSA, SĪRA].

Mūsā Sulaymān, in his study of narrative literature (*al-Adab al-ḳaṣaṣī*) already cited and his anthology (*Yuḥkā ʿan al-ʿArab*[2], Beirut 1955-6, 2 vols.) which illustrates it, covering a wider field than that outlined above, draws up a classification which deserves mention. In his view this literature is divided into two broad categories: 1. the borrowed *ḳaṣaṣ*, represented chiefly by the *Thousand and one nights* and *Kalīla wa-Dimna*; 2. the genuinely Arab *ḳaṣaṣ* which can be subdivided into: historical (*akhbārī*: stories concerning musicians and singers, tales of love, traditions about *fakhr*, *hidjāʾ*, etc.); heroic (*buṭūlī*: ʿAntar, Bakr and Taghlib, al-Barrāḳ, etc.); religious (*dīnī*: *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, etc.); lexicographical (*lughawī*: the *maḳāmāt*); philosophical (*al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ* of Ibn Shuhayd, the *Risālat al-Ghufrān* of al-Maʿarrī, *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* of Ibn al-Ṭufayl, *al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāghim* of Ibn al-Habbāriyya). From this classification it appears that for one thing the author does not take account of all the relevant literature, that for another some of his interpretations are mistaken (particularly about Ibn Shuhayd), and finally that he denies that the Arabs possessed any original stories of the supernatural. It is best therefore to refer to the essential source for information on this literature in the first centuries of Islam, the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, who gives to the first *fann* of his eighth *maḳāla* the title: *akhbār al-musāmirīn wa 'l-mukharrifīn wa-asmāʾ al-kutub al-muṣannafa fi 'l-asmār wa 'l-khurāfāt* (the copyist uses at this very point the expression *ḥikāyat khaṭṭ al-muṣannif* to indicate that he is copying verbatim); he first lists there the works concerning the *asmār* and the *khurāfāt*, treating separately the translations of texts of Persian, Indian and Greek origin; he includes in this *fann* traditions about Babylon and the Arsacids, then the love tales, the stories of the supernatural in which appear djinns [*q.v.*] who have amorous dealings with humans [see also GHŪL], and finally accounts of the wonders of the sea [see ʿADJÂʾIB]. Ibn al-Nadīm states that the first to compile collections of *khurāfāt* were the Persians of the first period, *i.e.*, the Kayānids, and adds that this material went on growing until the Sāsānids;

later these tales were translated into Arabic, and Arabs added stories of their own. It is at this point that Ibn al-Nadīm speaks of the *hazār afsān* which were to form the nucleus of the *Thousand and one nights* [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA] and of the attempt of Djahshiyārī [*q.v.*] to collect a thousand tales (*samar*)—Arabic, Persian, Greek, etc.—by calling upon story-tellers (*musāmir*) and making use of written collections, but retaining only those which seemed to him the most interesting.

M. F. Ghazi (*La littérature d'imagination en arabe du IIe/VIIIe au Ve/XIe siècle*, in *Arabica*, iv/2 (1957), 164-78) has tried to make use of these pages of the *Fihrist*, but his work is not free from errors and the result is rather disappointing, for the titles listed by Ibn al-Nadīm are not established with certainty and are liable to give rise to erroneous interpretations. It is evident that the great majority of the collections mentioned have not survived, having either been absorbed into the *Thousand and one nights* or relapsed into oral tradition where they have become more or less part of the folklore of the various Arabic-speaking countries. Here we have something rather strange. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (ed. Gottwald, 41-2) declared that about 70 books of entertainment were very much read in his time; some decades later, Ibn al-Nadīm gives a still longer list of them, asserting that the *asmār* and the *khurāfāt* were very popular in the ʿAbbāsid period and especially under al-Muḳtadir, which encouraged the bookseller-copyists to reproduce them and perhaps themselves to collect new tales. A. Mez (*Renaissance*, 242-3; Eng. tr. 253; Sp. tr., 311-2) attributes this infatuation for narrative literature, and for stories which a critic as experienced and informed as Ibn al-Nadīm considers feeble and lacking in vigour, to the decline of pure Arab taste and the vogue for things foreign; as this decline increased we would expect to find a continuing success for this form of narrative literature; yet, although the works of *adab* [*q.v.*] continue to include short anecdotes and although collections for entertainment are still composed in great numbers by little-known *udabāʾ* [see NĀDIRA], complete disdain is evinced for the tales of the supernatural. We know what has happened to the *Thousand and one nights*, which Arab scholars have never been able to consider worthy of the slightest esteem, seeing in it merely a trivial diversion incompatible with the tastes which a true Believer should profess. In other words this masterpiece of world literature, which was revealed to the Arabs themselves by orientalists, has remained foreign to Arab literature even though, while of foreign origin, it contains authentic ʿIrāḳī and Egyptian elements (see N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits*, Beirut 1949, 47 ff.). The disdain felt by the educated classes for stories amply explains why Arab folklore has developed in a completely different way from that of other parts of the world, and why the phase of its being handed on in written form, in the golden age of Arabic culture, was followed by a return to an exclusively oral tradition, even though chapbooks, hawked in the markets, continue to circulate at popular levels. It is also remarkable that myths and legends never inspired Arabic writers, while a Firdawsī, although he had no more direct access than they to the original tradition, succeeded in employing materials equally well-known to the Arabs to create so superb an epic as the *Shāhnāma*. We must on the other hand refer here to the influence exercised in the West by the so-called Arabic stories, and we shall merely recall that, in imitation of Galland, several orientalists collected in their turn stories generally drawn from literary works or from popular works which echoed them: Pétis de la Croix and his *Mille et un jours*, Paris 1830, Gaudefroy-Demombynes and *Les cent et une nuits*, Paris 1911, and above all R. Basset, the eminent folklorist who in his *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1924-6, has made such instructive comparisons.

III. — To be fair, it must be said that some modern Arabic authors are trying hesitantly to revive the ancient themes in order to make of them truly literary works, but it is quite certain that, on the whole, folklore hardly inspires contemporary writers, who are more interested in imitating the West, neglecting this traditional material. The choice would not in fact be an easy one, for the world of today is more attracted by the *ḥikāya* in the sense in which Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī understood it than by the myths of antiquity, and one even has the impression that the ordinary people have less and less the time to listen to the stories and tales which delighted their ancestors—at least when they did not consider it beneath their dignity to be interested in them.

The observation of present or recent conditions in North Africa and elsewhere gives us an idea of what may have occurred formerly in Arab countries, and R. Blachère (in *Semitica*, vi (1956), 83-4) has put forward the hypothesis that the Ḳurʾānic term *asāṭīr* was applied to stories which were told by men, while *khurāfāt* indicated those reserved for women. This is quite possible, but the two spheres are not everywhere so neatly distinguished as the observations of H. Basset (*Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, *passim*), which inspired R. Blachère's interesting hypothesis, would lead us to believe. Although, in general, adult men affect to disdain old wives' tales, they are often prepared to produce from the depths of their memory stories heard in their youth and ostensibly forgotten. There are some who do not refuse to yield to the insistence of the researchers and to relate, even in the day-time, fantastic or supernatural tales; thus the author has been able to collect, both in North Africa and in the Middle East, examples from friendly storytellers, whose memories, however, were sometimes at fault. But such a search does not reproduce normal conditions and it can be said that traditionally two fields are to be distinguished: the tales of the supernatural, the ancient *asmār* which correspond to the German *Hausmärchen*, are told by women, especially old women, while the heroic tales and historical legends are the province of men.

Women famous as story-tellers were booked long in advance and gathered round them each evening, after supper, in a village- or town-house, an audience consisting especially of women and children; the ceremony took place preferably in winter, but in certain hot regions gatherings of this sort were suited to the coolness of the long summer evenings. Tradition forbade story-telling during the day, perhaps because everyone had work to do, but primarily because to tell a story is an act which savours of magic; according to popular belief, any infringement of this prohibition was penalized by a supernatural punishment, the nature of which varied from place to place; in one place, the woman who told stories during the day would give birth to dwarfs or monsters, in another her offspring would be killed by wild beasts, or she would be threatened with having children with ringworm, unless by

chance one could, as was believed at Fās, count eleven beams in the ceiling. Several ways existed of escaping the punishment, but in most cases the prohibition was respected, for the story-teller felt that she was embarking on a dangerous action. It is true that every story had to begin with a sacred formula intended to create the right atmosphere and to attract the attention of the audience, but it seems that this formula was in essence propitiatory. The *kān mā kān* of the male and female story-tellers of the East is only a survival without any apparent meaning, but elsewhere we discover more explicit formulas, whether they have retained their pagan character or become islamicized; the following is one which is given by M. El-Fasi and E. Dermenghem, *Contes fasis*, 16: *kān ḥəttā kān, ḥəttā kān Ḷḷāh f-kull mkān, mā takhwa mənno lā ʾarḍ wā-lā mkān, ḥəttā kān l-ḥbəḳ wə-s-sūsān f-əḥjer ən-nbi ʿalīh əṣ-ṣālvtū w-əs-sālām, ḥəttā kān* ... ('there was and there was Allāh in every place; no earth and no place is empty of Him; and there was basil and lily in the lap of the Prophet—upon him be prayer and greeting; and there was ...'). In the same way, when the story was finished, a formula at the end repelled evil influences, if need be, as in Kabylia, making them pass into the body of an animal. In general all these formulas tend to become reduced in length without in the least losing their prophylactic character; in Berber for example, the story-teller says at least "Our tale is finished, but the wheat and the barley are not finished". And even in such an abbreviated formula as this: *tūtā tūtā, khəlṣət 'l-ḥaddūtā*, "mulberry, mulberry, end of our story", heard in Syria, something of magic survives.

As for men, R. Le Tourneau (*Fès*, 555-6) has observed the story-tellers (*fdāwi*, pl. *fdāwiya* or *fdāwa*) of Fās who "intoned to the rhythm of a square tambourine the deeds of Arabs of former times; the majority of the listeners (about fifty in winter, up to two hundred in summer) knew the stories already and rebuked the narrator or prompted him if by chance his memory failed him, but they took great pleasure in hearing for the hundredth time the story of journeys, of single combats, of deeds of treachery and daring, and allowed themselves to be lulled or moved by the endless repetition of stereotyped formulas". The same writer relates that a shoemaker famed for his talent as a story-teller would take up his place on a chosen site between the *ʿaṣr* and *maghrib* prayers and "recited day after day a long story which he was able to make lively and sometimes poignant". His repertoire however consisted of only three stories: *ʿAntar*, which lasted a year, the story of the Ismāʿīlīs (*i.e.*, the Fāṭimids), which lasted six months, and the romance of Sayf Dhu 'l-Yasal (*sic* = Yazan), which lasted four months. At the end of the session, a member of the audience made a collection and handed it over to the story-teller.

It is not possible within the scope of this brief article to study the popular tales which are gathered together wholesale in the cycle of the *Thousand and one nights* on the one hand and the great romances of chivalry on the other, and it is desirable that those collected up to now and those still to be collected should be submitted to an investigation at least as far-reaching as that which H. Basset has devoted to the Berber field; such a study would certainly bring to light new sources and perhaps lead to a solution of the numerous problems which remain unanswered. Mention should be made of the recent work of Mia I. Gerhardt, *The art of story-telling, a literary study of the Thousand and One Nights*, Leiden 1963.

Bibliography: The main sources are given in the text; see also: Carra de Vaux, *Les penseurs de l'Islam*, i, Paris 1921; V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*, iv, Liège 1892; Pearson, 23806-914, suppl., 6339-52; ʿA. ʿAbdel-Meguid, *A survey of story literature in Arabic from before Islam to the middle of the nineteenth century*, in *Isl. Quarterly*, i (1954), 104-13; idem, *A survey of the terms used in Arabic for "narrative" and "story"*, *ibid.*, 195-204.—E. Montet, *Le conte dans l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1930; R. Blachère, *Regards sur la littérature narrative en arabe au Ier siècle de l'hégire (VIIe s.J.-C.)*, in *Semitica*, iv (1956), 75-86, contains some original ideas of which use has been made in this article.—The bibliography of R. Basset, *Mille et un contes* ..., contains a long list of Arabic works which contain various stories.—For the field of Arabic dialects, see ʿARABIYYA, iii, 2-3, adding especially Artin Pasha, *Contes populaires inédits de la Vallée du Nil*, Paris 1895; E. Littmann, *Modern Arabic Tales*, i, Ar. text, Leiden 1905; S. Bencheneb, *Les contes d'Alger*, Oran 1946; Dresse Legey, *Essai de folklore marocain*, 1926; G. Marchand, *Contes et légendes du Maroc*, Rabat 1923; M. El-Fasi and E. Dermenghem, *Contes fasis*, Paris 1926; idem, *Nouveaux contes fasis* Paris 1928; see also H. Pérès, *L'arabe dialectical algérien et saharien, Bibliographie analytique*, Algiers 1958, index, s.v. *Contes*; the bibliography of W. Fischer, *Die demonstrativen Bildungen neuarabischen Dialekte*, The Hague 1959, is almost exhaustive and consequently contains all the stories in Arabic dialects which have been published.—For the Berber field, see BERBERS, vi.

(CH. PELLAT)

ii. — PERSIAN LITERATURE

The term *ḥikāya* is regarded here as referring in classical Persian literature to the short prose story, which cannot be said to form a true literary genre in Persian tradition, since *ḥikāyāt* are inserted in many other types of literary composition (history, mystic writings, satire, etc.) in addition to the collections of *ḥikāyāt* properly so-called. Thus the *ḥikāya* is of different types according to the various works in which it is used: hence we have the imaginary fable, the allegorical moral tale, the semi-realistic anecdote, the mystic "*fioretto*", etc., and each of these sub-groups of *ḥikāyāt* may have a different origin and history.

One type of *ḥikāya* of particular importance is the fable of Indian origin. There is no doubt at all that this is the origin of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] collection which, starting from the Arabic translation made by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 142/759) from the Pahlavi version of an Indian original, appeared in many neo-Persian translations, both in verse and in prose. Already at an early date all these translations were superseded by that of Abu 'l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (538/1143-4), already in a rather flowery style, but considerably exceeded in ornamentation by the later recension by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504-5) under the title of *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (The Lights of Canopus). Yet another imitation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* was the *Marzbān-nāma* of the prince Marzbān b. Rustam b. Shahriyār, originally written in the 5th/11th century in the dialect of Ṭabaristān and re-written in ornate neo-Persian in the *Marzbān-nāma* of Saʿd al-Dīn of

Varāmīn (622/1225) and in the *Rawḍat al-ʿuḳūl* of Muḥammad b. Ghāzī of Malatya (end of the 7th/13th century).

Other cycles of very popular fables also had remote Indian origins and underwent developments similar to those of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Notable among them were the *Sindbād-nāma* (Book of Sindbād, which should not be confused with Sindbād the Sailor of the Thousand and One Nights; this is the framework story of the Forty Viziers or of the Seven Viziers), the *Bakhtiyār-nāma*, similar to the preceding work (Book of the Ten Viziers), the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (Book of the Parrot), all of them moralizing works, whereas the *Ḳiṣaṣ-i čahār darwīsh* (Stories of the Four Dervishes) are pure fiction. All of these texts were re-written several times by various authors in prose and in verse.

The ornamental style which, in these stories, varies with the contents, becomes purely an aesthetic sport in one literary genre which might be classed as *ḥikāya*, namely the *maḳāma* [*q.v.*]; the first *maḳāmāt* in Persian, those of Ḥamīd al-Dīn (d. 559/1164), are simply translations from the Arabic of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, who was however himself of Persian birth.

The task of collecting as many *ḥikāyāt* as possible and classifying them under various different rubrics was fulfilled in the enormous collection of Muḥammad ʿAwfī [see ʿAWFĪ], *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt wa-lawāmiʿ al-riwāyāt*, which collects together more than 2,000 stories and anecdotes (first half of the 7th/13th century); it was inspired by such Arabic works as *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda* of al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994), which was re-written in Persian by ʿAwfī himself and others.

Anecdotes of the humorous type were collected also by ʿUbayd-i Zākānī (8th/14th century), whose *Risāla-yi Dilgushā* is merely a collection of *ḥikāyāt*, often obscene, in Arabic and in Persian.

The unequalled master of the *ḥikāya* is Saʿdī [*q.v.*] in his *Gulistān* (656/1258), which is basically only a collection of light moralizing *ḥikāyāt* in prose interspersed with verse, divided according to subject; it has been imitated more than once, among the best of the imitations being the *Bahāristān* of Djāmī (d. 898/1492) and the *Kitāb-i Parīshān* of Ḳāʾānī (d. 1270/1854).

This brief survey excludes the "novel", which, although it possesses some of its characteristics, cannot be classed as *ḥikāya*. The novel in its modern sense is practically non-existent in the classical literature, where its place is taken by long fabulous stories (*dāstān*) (generally not very highly thought of by the classical historians of literature), the earliest example of which is the *Samak ʿAyār* (585/1189) of Ṣadaḳa b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim Shīrāzī, full of the imaginary adventures of cavaliers who aspire to the hand of the princess, daughter of the emperor of China. This romance was followed by many others, some of them midway between learned and popular literature, which relate the extraordinary adventures of various heroes (*e.g.*, of Amīr Ḥamza [see ḤAMZA], uncle of the Prophet) and which were particularly popular in India.

It is possible to consider as collections of *ḥikāyāt* also the *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* or semi-legendary "biographies" of saints, the most famous of which, in Persia, is that of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (6th/12th century).

What all this heterogeneous material has in common is primarily a matter of style: the narrative style of the short tale, which in general appears in two main forms, the straightforward and the ornate. In the first case the narrative is advanced by extremely simple stylistic and syntactical means, with very rare use of subordinate clauses, or none at all, in a series of statements expressed in brief sentences which follow each other without any links. The attempts to make such a disjointed narrative more "complex" generally took the form of an elaboration in ornamentation. If the rhetorical ornaments are removed however, the basic style is found to be straightforward. The development is not necessarily from the plain to the ornate and the two styles may be found together in works of the same period and sometimes of the same author.

Thus, on the eve of the modern era, Persian narrative art found itself somewhat at a disadvantage when faced with the powerful influence of European novels and short stories, which in the West had a long history behind them: among the most difficult and fascinating tasks of modern Persian writers is to create a complex realism which surpasses the earlier realism attempted in the *ḥikāyāt* and a narrative style which, rejecting the use of complicated ornament, achieves a simplicity which is not merely straightforward narration; and they have sometimes produced some noteworthy results in this direction (*e.g.*, Djamālzāda, Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat, Ṣādiḳ Čūbak, etc.).

Bibliography: J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959 (which contains references to the principal editions of the texts cited and further bibliography). (A. BAUSANI)

iii. — THE NARRATIVE GENRES OF TURKISH LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE.

The word *ḥikāye*, attested also in the form *ḥikāyet* (< Ar. *ḥikāya*) in Ottoman texts, means, when it is used with the auxiliary verb *et-*, "to relate", "to narrate". It means a story, when it is accompanied by simple or compound verbs such as *de-*, *söyle-*: "to say", *naḳlet-* : "to relate". As a generic term, the word has not had, in the Turkish of Turkey, any specific sense, but has indicated each and all of the narrative genres : tale (*masal* < Ar. *mathal*), legend (*menḳabe, efsāne*), anecdote (*laṭīfe, fıḳra*), story, novel, romance. It is only in recent scientific terminology that it has acquired the value of a precise technical term to indicate three clearly defined genres: in oral tradition, a lengthy story in prose alternating with verse passages (the *ḥikāye* of the *ʿāshıḳ*, see below), or a mimed story in prose performed by professional story-tellers (the *ḥikāye* of the *meddāḥ*s [*q.v.*]; in modern written literature, a novel (see below).

In the modern Turkish of Turkey, the word *efsane* (< P. *afsāna*) is used as a technical term to mean a legend; but, in the current language, past as well as present, it can have, with the words *masal* (< Ar. *mathal*) and *hurafe* (< Ar. *khurāfa*), the pejorative sense of "a completely fantastic story, fabricated or superstitious".

There should also be mentioned the uses, which nowadays have completely disappeared, of certain other terms. First the words compounded with *nāme* (Pers. *nāma*) added to the name of the hero or to the word denoting the main theme, to indicate large scale narrative works, usually in verse but sometimes also in prose : *Iskender-nāme* (the "Romance of Alexander"), *Ḥamza-nāme* (the "Geste of Ḥamza"), *Ghazawāt-nāme* ("Stories of holy wars"), *Fetḥ-nāme* ("Stories of conquest"), *Wilāyet-nāme* ("Hagiography"), *Oghuz-nāme* ("Stories about the Oghuz"),

etc. This latter term has, in the Book of Dede Ḳorḳut, which, in the recension which has survived, was probably compiled in the 9th/15th century (see P.N. Boratav, *Dede Korkut hikâyelerindeki tarihî olaylar ve kitabın te'lif tarihi*, in *TM*, xiii (1958), 31-62), the meaning of "epic episode composed and declaimed in honour of the main hero of the adventures related". In the same work are found also two terms, *boy* and *soy*, used together with the verbs which are derived from them : *boy boyla-*, *soy soyla-*; the former has the meaning of "to relate, in the epic style, a story which describes the memorable deeds of a hero", the second "to declaim (or sing or chant) the verse sections of an epic narrative". The term *boy* is, in addition, used in the titles of the twelve episodes found in one of the two manuscripts (that of Dresden, which is nearest to the lost original) of the Book of Dede Ḳorḳut; it accompanies the name of the hero and means simply "episode" : *Bamsı Beyrek boyı*, "Episode of Bamsı Beyrek"; *Basat Depegözi öldürdügi boy*, "Episode [in which is related how] Basat killed Depegöz", etc. *Boy* and *soy*, synonyms, mean strictly "tribe", "clan", "family"; they were probably originally used to denote the stories and songs recounting the memorable deeds of a clan (cf. the term *toy*, "feast", "banquet", "wedding ceremonies", used also for "wedding song"; see P. N. Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikâyeciliği*, Ankara 1946, 52, 117, 120, 294-7). In the sense of "episode", the word *boy* has been replaced in the later epic narrative tradition of eastern Anatolia by the word *ḳol* ("arm", but also "branch", "detachment") ; it denotes an episode in the great narrative corpus of the adventures of the noble bandit Köroghlu : *Demirdjioghlu ḳolu*, *Ayvaz ḳolu*, etc. In the second, and more Ottomanized, manuscript (that of the Vatican) of the Book of Dede Ḳorḳut, the term *boy* is replaced in the titles by *hiḳâyet* : *Ḥikâyet-i Bamsı Baryik*, etc.; even the title of the book (*Kitāb-i Dedem Ḳorḳut* in the Dresden manuscript) is, in that of the Vatican: *Ḥikâyet-i Oghuznāme-i Kazan Beg ve ghayrih.*

The terms *ḳiṣṣa* (pl. *ḳıṣaṣ*) and *menāḳib* (sing. *menḳabe*) have been used in the same sense as the words formed with *-nāme*, but more often for prose works dealing with epico-religious themes; from the first is derived the word *ḳıṣṣakhʷān*, the equivalent of the Arabic *ḳaṣṣāṣ*, used of the teller (or "reader") of stories about the pre-Islamic prophets, the champions of Islam or the great mystic figures: *Ḳıṣaṣ-i enbiyā*, *Menāḳib-i ghazawāt-i Seyyid Baṭṭāl*, *Menāḳib-i Ḥādjı Bektash*, etc.; *siyer* (sing. *sîret*; Ar. *sîra*, pl. *siyar*) is the term reserved for stories of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. As an example of technical terms used for specific genres of narrative literature there should also be mentioned *maḳtal* which means, in the tradition of Shīʿī circles, the account of the death of Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ.

From about the beginning of the 10th/16th century, there spread through the territories of the Ottoman empire a tradition of popular poetry, that of the *ʿāshıḳ*s [*q.v.*] (literally "lovers"). These poet-singers of the same type as the troubadours of the mediaeval West were the successors of the *ozan* ("bards") of Oghuz poetic tradition. They composed and disseminated lyric poetry but they also carried on the epic tradition. They transformed the heroic epic into a new genre called *ḥikāye*. This *ḥikāye* retained certained formal and thematic elements from the ancient tradition, but it was enriched either by borrowings from foreign literatures or by original contributions from the new social conditions. This narrative tradition has survived until the present day; it is still represented by story-teller singers in the provinces of Kars, Artvin and Erzurum in eastern Turkey. The *ḥikāye*s with heroic themes such as those of the Köroghlu cycle and the *ḥikāye*s like those of Kerem, of Gharīb, etc. which tell love stories have the same formal and stylistic patterns : the narrative and the ordinary dialogues are in prose; the "pathetic" monologues and dialogues, in verse, are intercalated in the narrative, sung to the accompaniment of the *saz* (an instrument of the lute type) by the *ʿāshıḳ*-storyteller himself. A number of these stories are romanticized biographies of *ʿāshıḳ*s who have really existed, but even in this case a certain measure of the supernatural and the legendary is introduced. Nevertheless, in comparison with the tales of marvels, the romances of chivalry (such as the *Geste* of Baṭṭāl) and the hagiographies, the *ḥikāye* shows a clear tendency to realism. In the biographies of the *ʿāshıḳ*s, the poems inserted are from the works of the poet in question, reproduced more or less faithfully. The *ḥikāye*s which do not belong to this category of "romantic biographies" are, in both the prose and the poetry section, the works of *ʿāshıḳ*-"writers" who, starting with themes drawn from oral or written sources, and sometimes even from some event in their immediate circle, develop them according to the rules and conventions of tradition, inserting poems of their own composition at the points of the narrative which seem most suitable. The various processes and the successive phases of such a production—in part improvised while it is being recited—have been observed among *ʿāshıḳ*-"writers" (= *muṣannif*) of the present day (see P. N. Boratav, *op. cit.*, 130-86, and more particularly 158-63).

A number of *ḥikāye*s in the Anatolian repertoire are common to other Turkish-speaking peoples; to mention only a few examples : the episode of Beyrek in the Book of Dede Ḳorḳut has spread beyond the Oghuz area among the Karakalpaks, the Özbeks, the Kazakhs, and the Altais; various episodes from the Köroghlu cycle exist in Ādharbaydjānī, Türkmen, Özbek and Tobol Tatar versions (and even non-Turkish versions : Armenian, Georgian, Kurdish, Tādjik) ; the romantic biographies of the *ʿāshıḳ*s such as Kerem and Gharīb are known in Ādharbaydjān and Turkmenistan, and the romance of the loves of Ṭāhir and Zühre in these two countries and in Özbekistan (see P. N. Boratav, *L'épopée et la "ḥikâye"*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 11-44).

The *ḥikāye*s vary in length. Those of Köroghlu form a vast cycle in which each episode (*ḳol*) is related independently and is in general of the same length as a full-scale *ḥikāye*. When recited by a skilled story-teller a lengthy *ḥikāye* may entertain his audience for several sessions (evenings), each lasting 3 or 4 hours. If in addition he is encouraged by an enthusiastic audience of connoisseurs, a good story-teller can always find a pretext to prolong his recital as much as he wishes, filling it out artificially with non-narrative additions: musical sections (instrumental and vocal) added at the beginning and in the middle of the story (when "pauses" are reached), anecdotes and short tales (= *ḳaravelli*) introduced at random, etc.; the sessions may also be prolonged by interventions sung by talented members of the audience. The shorter *ḥikāye*s (lasting one or two hours) are known as *serküshte* (< *sergüzesht*) or *ḳaṣîde*.

There are some written recensions of the *ḥikāye*s of the *ʿāshıḳ*s. Some 19th century manuscripts exist (see P. N. Boratav, *op. cit.*, 206-10); also in the 19th

century, some lithographed editions were produced, very probably baseed on manuscripts; however, editions based on oral versions are also possible, without the intervention of copies circulating in manuscript : some quite recent editions (in Latin characters, hence printed since 1928) produced by this process are known (see P. N. Boratav, *op. cit.*, 212-3).

There should also be mentioned the classical themes such as Leylā and Medjnūn, Ferhād and Shīrīn, etc., which, without being completely assimilated to the *ḥikāyes*, particularly in their verse sections, have nevertheless become part of the repertoire of popular *ḥikāyes* which are distributed in the form of books sold in the streets by pedlars, first in lithographed then in printed form.

The classics of Arabo-Persian narrative prose such as *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Ṭūṭīnāme*, and the Thousand and One Nights have, since the beginnings of the Islamic Turkish literatures, existed in written recensions recorded in the various Turkish-speaking areas. The culmination of this literature, in the Ottoman area, at the end of the 18th century, is the famous collection *Mukhāyyelāt-ı ledünn-i ilāhī* of ʿAzīz Efendi (see A. Tietze, in *Oriens*, i (1948), 248 f.). But very few examples are known of the true popular story which has passed into a written version: there may be mentioned a *Dāstān-ı Aḥmed Ḥarāmī* (written version in verse, of the folk-tale type no. 153 in the Turkish catalogue, no. 956B of the international catalogue of Aarne-Thompson), an anonymous work, probably 8th/14th century; a short verse tale by ʿĀshıḳ Pasha (7th/13th century), which corresponds to the folk-tale type no. 1626 of the international catalogue. The collection *Billūr Kösk*, containing 13 stories drawn from oral tradition, is a fairly recent compilation, probably of the 19th century. On the other hand, the comic narrative literature, which seems to have drawn a large part of its subject matter from oral tradition, has appeared much more frequently in written versions. The collections of amusing anecdotes of Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja [*q.v.*] begin from the 10th/16th century to supplant the others because of their popularity. More recent anecdotes such as those of Bekrī Muṣṭafā or Indjili Čavush, both of them actual persons of the 11th/17th century, which at first were transmitted orally, were also to appear in modern editions in books peddled in the streets. The anecdotes concerning the adherents of heterodox sects (*e.g.*, the Takhtadjī and the Ḳızılbash), and also the "discriminatory" stories which different racial, regional or religious communities tell against one another, remained until fairly recently exclusively oral. Nevertheless there are to be found in some 11th/17th and 12th/18th century manuscripts jokes about the Rāfiḍīs which appear again later, attributed to the Bektashīs.

In Turkey, the modern novel and short story began as a kind of negation of the ancient narrative traditions, both classical and popular. It is nevertheless true that the first modern novels and stories were deeply influenced by works of these two ancient traditions. Although they succeeded in eliminating all irrational and supernatural elements, yet so far as style, forms of expressions and construction are concerned, the old narrative techniques of the story-tellers of scholarly literature and of the *meddāḥ*s were to survive for a long time, right up to the period of the realist-naturalist novel of the beginning of the 20th century, for example in the works of the great novelist Ḥusayn Raḥmī [Gürpınar] [*q.v.*] (1864-1944), who here follows his master Aḥmed Midḥat (1844-1913), the father of the modern novel in Turkey. The very titles of the early novels which appeared at the same time as the first works of Aḥmed Midḥat are significant in this respect : *Müsāmeretnāme* (1872-5) by Emīn Nihād, *Siyer-i Sırvinār* (1873-4) by T. ʿAbdī. At this time works of this genre were called "*roman*", but also *ḥikāye*, as is illustrated by the title of an anonymous novel *Ḥikāye-i Ferdāne Khanım* (1872-3); thus the word *ḥikāye* acquired a new meaning and it was thereafter to be reserved for the "story" in written educated literature. The composite term *küçük hikâye* (short story) refers only to the length of the story.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article, see Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Türklerde khalḳ ḥikāyedjiliğine ʿāʾid baʿdī māddeler*, in *TM*, i (1925), 1 ff.; O. Spies, *Türkische Volksbücher*, Leipzig 1929; Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede roman*, Istanbul 1935; Ilhan Başgöz, *Turkish folk stories about the lives of minstrels*, in *Journal of American Folklore*, lxv (1952), 331-9; W. Eberhard, *Minstrel tales from southeastern Turkey*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1955. Bibliographies in the above works and in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965; the latter work gives, in the relevant chapters, accounts of the narrative genre in the literatures of all the Turkish-speaking countries, followed by extensive bibliographies. For Turkish tales see the catalogue by W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953. (Pertev Naili Boratav)

iv. — Urdu

Urdū prose developed much later than Urdū verse. The prose *ḥikāya* is therefore shortlived in Urdū and gave place to the Westernized forms of the novel in the later nineteenth and of the short story in the early twentieth century [see urdū]. Most of the *ḥikāya* literature in Urdū consists of translations from Persian; but these translations have often a literary, and certainly a historical value, which their originals lack.

The *ḥikāya* made its first appearance in the *mathnawīs* [*q.v.*] written in the courts of Bidjāpūr and Golkunda in the Dakkan, and were later rewritten in prose when it developed in the north in the early nineteenth century. The outstanding prose work of this genre written in the Dakkan is Mullā Wadjhī's *Sabras* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Awrangabad 1932). It is a prose allegory adapted from Muḥammad ibn Sībak Fattāḥī Nīshāpūrī's (d. 852/1448) *Dastūr-i ʿushshāḳ* (ed. R. S. Greenshields, Berlin 1926). Its theme is the quest of the elixir of life, and it has certain unexplained thematic similarities with the *Roman de la Rose*. The quest motif is interwoven in a pattern of allegorization of the conventions of love familiar in Islamic poetry, in the story of the love of Prince *Dil* (heart) for the Princess *Ḥusn* (beauty) with the personification as characters of all the symptoms of desire in the lover and of 'rigueur' and resistance in the beloved. The allegorical story has certain magical elements linking it with the prose *dāstān* literature rendered into Urdū in the early nineteenth century. It is written in rhyming prose, blending literary idiom with Dakkanī colloquialism.

In Islamic India the *dāstān* was a form written in prose as well as orally recited. *Dāstāns* were narrated by professional story-tellers in the houses of noblemen or in special gatherings at Delhi, Lucknow, Benares and Ḥaydarābād. The art of *dāstāngūʾī* in speech and writing survived well into the 1930's with Mīrzā Bāḳir ʿAlī.

The basic material of the *dāstān*-literature was the cycle of Amīr Ḥamza, written and recited in most Muslim countries from Turkey to Indonesia. *Dāstān* characters fell broadly into three categories: the hero, the heroine and their chivalrous friends; 'tricheurs' (*ʿayyār*) who supported them and supplied some comic relief in the narrative; and the sorcerers or magicians (*djādūgar*) who were their adversaries. The *dāstān* has a repetitive pattern of almost identical stock situations in which heroes aided by *ʿayyār*s challenge sorcerers in a magical landscape with a labyrinthine monotony which drags on to enormous lengths.

The authorship of *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza* is attributed apocryphally to Akbar's [*q.v.*] poet-laureate Fayḍī: It was rendered into Urdū from Persian by Ashk under the auspices of the Fort William College in 1215/1801. The entire *dāstān* runs into seventeen volumes divided into a number of series. The first of these series is *Nawshīrwān Nāma*. The most popular series is the seven-volume *Ṭilism-i Hūshrubā*, the first four volumes of which were translated from a Persian original by Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn Djāh, and the remaining three by Aḥmad Ḥusayn Ḳamar.

An imitation of the Ḥamza cycle is the *Bustān-i khiyāl*, a *dāstān* of 4,000 pages composed in Persian by Mīr Taḳī Khān under the patronage of the decadent Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1131/1719-1161/1748). It was translated into Urdū by Khʷādja Amān Dihlawī and Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAskarī among others. In stylistic quality the *Bustān-i khiyāl* is inferior to the Ḥamza group, though both rely on linguistic cadence, rhymed sentences and ornate phraseology.

Fasāna-i ʿadjāʾib (1824), Mīrzā Radjab ʿAlī Bēg Sarūr's (1787-1867) short volume of inter-related stories, is thematically descended from the *dāstān*s and has the same involved magical elements, but it is distinguished from them by its brevity, its occasional reflection of the actual life of the period and its primary pre-occupation with the concentrated decorativeness of style. These new characteristics, especially the last, were inherited by Pandit Ratan Nāth Sarshār (1846-1902) in his novels, which also reflect the influence of *dāstān*s in love scenes and certain conventional situations.

Čahār darwīsh, originally a collection of inter-related stories in Persian, has wrongly been attributed to Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*]. It was composed probably during the 11th/17th century. It has been rendered into Urdū in two literary versions of considerable importance. One of these was Muḥammad Ḥusayn ʿAṭā Khān's *Naw ṭarz-i muraṣṣaʿ* compiled in 1798 in a highly Persianized style. It was rendered into simpler and idiomatic Urdū prose by Mīr Amman Dihlawī at the Fort William College in 1801, under the title *Bāgh-u bahār*. Both these works constitute landmarks in the development of Urdū prose. Another *Naw ṭarz-i muraṣṣaʿ* of inferior literary quality was compiled at the Fort William College by Zarrīn in 1801.

Sayf al-mulk wa Badīʿ al-djamāl, a story from the *Arabian Nights*, was first rendered as a *mathnawī* by the Dakkanī poet Ghawwāṣī in 1035/1625. It was written as a prose romance by Manṣūr ʿAlī in the early nineteenth century.

Other remarkable specimens of the *ḥikāya* literature of the early nineteenth century include *Ḥayāt al-ḳulūb*, Walī Muḥammad b. Ḥāfiẓ Mirān's rendering of Bāḳir Madjlisī's work on the stories of the prophets; Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad ʿUthmānī's *Sayr-i ʿIshrat, djāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (1825), an imitation of Saʿdī's *Gulistān*; the *Haft gulshan*, a collection of Nāṣir ʿAlī Khān Wāsiṭī's translated from Persian into Urdū by Mīrzā Luṭf ʿAlī Wilā; Benī Narāyan's *Čar gulshan*, translated from Persian in 1811; and two collections of prose tales *Mor pankhī* and *Rashk-i parī* composed by Aḥmad ʿAlī about 1241/1825. Ashk, the translator of *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza*, also wrote a prose romance, *Gulzār-i Čīn*, in 1219/1804. Ḥaydar Bakhsh Ḥaydarī's (d. 1833) *Ārāʾish-i maḥfil* belongs, like several other tales written in the early nineteenth century, to the Ḥātim Ṭāʾī cycle. Ḥaydarī is also the author of *Laylā Madjnūn* and *Gulzār-i dānish*, which is a translation of Shaykh ʿInāyat Allāh's *Bahār-i dānish* containing stories of feminine wiles and infidelity.

Ḥaydarī's most famous work *Totā kahānī*, compiled in 1215/1801 at the Fort William College, belongs to another group in the *ḥikāya* literature, that of stories of Indian origin. Ḍiyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī Nāma* (731/1330) is the Persian version of a Sanskrit collection of seventy stories, *Śuka saptati*. The central plot around which the stories are clustered evolves around a faithful parrot who keeps an unfaithful wife, whose husband is away on a distant journey, from adultery by relating to her a series of stories to keep her absorbed and out of mischief. A simpler abridged version reducing the number of stories to thirty-five was compiled in Persian in 1049/1639 by Muḥammad Ḳādirī. Ghawwāṣī's Urdū *mathnawī Ṭūṭī Nāma* (1049/1639) is based on Nakhshabī's version, while Ḥaydarī's prose *Totā kahānī* is based on Ḳādirī's abridgement.

Other stories of Indian origin compiled at the Fort William College include *Singhāsan Battīsī* by Kāẓim ʿAlī Djawān and Lallū Lāl; and *Baytāl Pačīsī* translated into Urdū by Luṭf ʿAlī Wilā with the help of Lallū Lāl. Wilā also translated a Hindi romance, *Mādho Mal*.

Inshā's (1756-1817) *Kahānī Rānī Kētakī awr Kanwar Udaybhān kī* (1803) is a story of Indian origin in which not a single word of Arabic or Persian origin has been used.

A famous Indian cycle is of the quest of a rare flower *Bakāwalī*, which is also the name of a woman. The story was rendered into Persian in 1124/1712 by ʿIzzat Allāh Bangālī, and from this version it was translated into Urdū by Nihāl Čand Lāhorī (eds. Calcutta 1815, 1827; Garcin de Tassy's French summary in *JA*, 1836). Earlier versions of this romance were written in Dakkanī verse in 1035/1625 and 1151/1738. The most famous Urdū version of the Bakāwalī romance is Dayā Shankar Nasīm's *mathnawī Gulzār-i Nasīm* composed in 1254/1838.

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(Aziz Ahmad)

v. — Malaya

Hikayat in Malay as in Arabic means 'story, tale, narrative, historical account'. It occurs in the titles of two Sumatran works of the early 9th/15th century, the history of the rulers of Pasai (*Ht. Raja Raja Pasai*) and *Ht. Iskandar Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn*, the story of Alexander the Great as a missionary of Islam derived from a Perso-Arabic source. Probably a little later and done in the Javanese quarter of 15th century Malacca are a *Ht. Pĕrang Pandawa Jaya* (or *Bharatayuddha*), a *Ht. Sang Boma* (or *Bhaumakawya*) and a number of *hikayat* based on the Javanese shadow-play cycle (ca. 750/1350) of Panji tales. To the same period belongs a *Ht. Sĕri Rama* or Malay version of the Ramayana. But the "Malay Annals" (15th-16th cent. A.D.) say that when d'Albuquerque conquered Malacca in 1511 A.D., the Malays had a *Ht. Amīr Ḥamza* and a *Ht. Hanafiah* (*Ḥanafiyya*)—both from the Persian. Another early Malay *hikayat* is a *Ht. Yūsuf*.

Tales of the Prophet, which also date from the early Indo-Persian phase of the Malays' Islamic culture, all bear the name *hikayat*, *e.g.*, the stories of the mystic light (*nūr*) of Muḥammad, of the moon splitting at his command, of his shaving and of his death.

The name is applied to versions of famous cycles of tales from Muslim sources. The Persian *Ṭūṭī-nāme* was translated under the names *Ht. Bayan Budiman* (Tale of the wise parrot) or *Ht. Khoja Maymūn* (Tale of the lucky merchant):a lady in 15th century Malacca was named Sabariah (Ṣabariyya, Patience) after one of its characters. Two versions of the History of the Seven Viziers (*Ht. Bakhtiyār*), the *Ht. Ghulām* (or *Ht. Raja Aybakh*) from the Arabic, and a complete version of the *Ht. Kalīla wa-Dimna* all date from the 11th/17th century. The most recent version of the last was translated *ca.* 1825 from the Tamil by Raffles' clerk, Munshi ʿAbd Allāh, and called *Ht. Pancha Tanderam.* The same translator termed his own autobiography the *Ht. ʿAbd Allāh.*

Down to the first half of the 19th century the Muslim Malay continued to enjoy many *hikayats* translated from Indian sources, where princes and princesses of divine origin triumph over every wile of demon, giant and man and where invulnerable heroes defeat monsters with the bow of Arjuna or the sword of Japhet and solve riddles with the help of spirits, genii, and sages both Hindu and Muslim. The advent of Islam saw the Hinduized legends of Muslim India turned into *hikayat* embellished with reminiscences from Persian tales, allusions to heroes of the *Shāhnāma* like Ḳobād, Djamshīd and Bahrām, episodes from the Alexander legend, references to Baghdād, Medina, Egypt and Byzantium and (as in the *Ht. Shāh-i Mardan*) expositions of Ṣūfī mysticism. One of the last was a *Ht. Bustamman.*

Malay history began with imitations of the Javanese historico-romance and though a Malay scholar ascribes the differentiation of history from fiction to the publication by the British education department of a *Kitab Tawarikh Melayu* (2nd ed., 1921), Malay historians have often preferred to *hikayat* words like *sejarah* (annals), *salsilah* (genealogies) or names like *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (Garden of Kings) or *Tuḥfat al-nafīs* (Precious gift) as titles for their works.

Catalogues list more than a hundred and fifty works in classical Malay that are termed *hikayat.*

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ḤIKMA, wisdom, but also science and philosophy. The ancient usage of the word lent itself to this evolution, which was favoured by the meaning of the Greek σοφία. On the purely Arabic side al-Djurdjānī, who gives the word *ḥukm* the primary meaning of "to set the thing in its place" (*Taʿrīfāt*), seems thereby to suggest the sense of equilibrium and stability that Léon Gauthier found and that is well fitted to express the force and maturity of wisdom. The Ḳur'ān calls it *al-ḥikma al-bāligha* (LIV, 5), wisdom which has attained its maturity. It uses *ḥikma* many times in the current sense of "wisdom", a wisdom, however, which implies knowledge of high spiritual truths. "The Book and wisdom" together often constitute a single gift (II, 123/129, 231, III, 75/81, IV, 57/54, 113, XXXIII, 34). Wisdom was granted to David, to Jesus, to Muḥammad, even to Luḳmān (II, 252/251, XXXVIII, 19/20; V, 110, XLIII, 63; II, 146/151; XXXI, 11/12). It is a great asset (II, 272/269); it is linked with the idea of purity (II, 123/129). The *Taʿrīfāt* understand it not only of every word that accords with the truth, which implies knowledge, but also of science and action, of the science of the licit and the illicit, of the sciences of the religious law, and also of the secrets that elude common knowledge, that is to say the secrets of the Divine Essence. It is then *al-ḥikma al-maskūt ʿanhā*, "the science about which one remains silent".

On the Greek side, "wisdom" from the beginning extended to the sense of "science", since the seven Sages included several scholars, Thales certainly being among them. The astronomer Cleostratos was a philosopher, as was Anaximander, said to be the author of the first book about nature. The Sages were called φυσιολόγοι Science and philosophy were founded at the same time, in a study of nature which at the start made no distinction between them. It extended to things in themselves and to actions which it was desired to render perfect. A reflection of this original unity appears in Ibn Sīnā's fine definition: "Wisdom (*ḥikma*) is the passage of the soul of man to the perfection possible for him within the two bounds of science and action". It includes, on the one hand, justice and on the other the perfecting of the reasoning soul, inasmuch as it comprises the theoretical and practical intelligibles (*Burhān*, 260).

Distinctions became established in proportion as increasing knowledge called for specialization, but they were recognized as forming part of a whole. Thus the beginning of the *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn* presents *ḥikma* as the main stock from which spring directly the *uṣūl* or *al-ʿulūm al-aṣliyya*, the fundamental sciences, such as the study of the world and logic, while medicine, agriculture and the other individual sciences are derived sciences, branches, *furūʿ*. The lost work, of which the *Manṭiḳ* is a fragment, was entitled *al-Ḥikma al-mashriḳiyya*, but we do not know what sciences it covered. Djurdjānī tells us only that the *ḥukamā' ishrāḳiyyūn* were under the leadership of *Aflāṭūn* (*Taʿrīfāt*), Plato? Plotinus? Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī follows Ibn Sīnā and leaves the individual sciences, medicine, agriculture and the others, in their subordinate place.

The tradition of the inclusion of the sciences in wisdom seems indeed to have remained unbroken

from the Greeks to the Arabs. A short manual of medical ethics which forms part of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* affirms that "the physician who is at the same time a philosopher is the equal of the gods". Similarly, ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, a Persian physician of the 3rd/9th century, wrote in Arabic a compendium of medicine which is one of the oldest in that language, entitled *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, "Paradise of wisdom". Its arrangement is inspired by Oribasius and Paul of Aegina, not by al-Rāzī or Ibn Sīnā; the sources quoted are: Hippocrates, Galen, Aristotle and Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], a contemporary of the author. This little book also deals with the natural sciences, and concludes with a sketch of medicine in India; it was quoted by E. G. Browne, *Arabian medicine*, Cambridge 1922, and analysed by Meyerhof. Djābir b. Ḥayyān said on the subject of the [supposed] founder of alchemy: "Know that successive philosophers have made science benefit from a long evolution and have given it an extraordinary power, thus attaining their objective" (cf. the translation of Kraus, 54-5), This alchemist was known as the Wise. Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, a Christian of Greek origin, was a physician and philosopher, and at the same time a mathematician and astronomer. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī applies the term *ḥukamāʾ* to all the celebrated men whose biographies he gives in his *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, among them Ptolemy, Hippocrates, etc.; he even describes Galen as *al-ḥakīm al-faylasūf*. For Ibn Sīnā, the opinion of the *ḥukamāʾ*, as being wise and learned, does not derive from the same origin as that of ordinary men. The former are concerned with truth and seek for it, the latter with the everyday outlook.

Ibn Sīnā's treatise on the classification of the sciences appears in the same line, *ḥikma* taking the place of the root and trunk, its ramifications covering the whole field of the sciences then explored. The work begins with a description of wisdom-science: "it is the art of observing, by means of which man acquires the realisation (actuation, *taḥṣīl*) within himself [through the knowledge] of everything that has being and of what he must necessarily practise in order to elevate and perfect himself and become an intelligible world, similar to the existing world" (104-5). *Ḥikma*, he continues, is divided into a theoretical part, seeking for certain knowledge of the beings whose existence is not dependent on man, tiuth thus being its objective, and a practical part, which aims at the good which can be procured by man's actions. In the first part, forming the various branches of wisdom, are found the natural sciences, mathematics and the "divine science" relating to *tawḥīd*, divine unity; in the second, ethics, domestic economy, politics, social relations in the city,—all this in the framework of Aristotle's work. Each of the fundamental sciences named is in its turn sub-divided, sometimes remaining in the Aristotelian line, from metaphysics to mineralogy, and sometimes going beyond it, particularly in the spheres of derived wisdom-science, *al-ḥikma al-farʿiyya*: here, in the ramifications of the natural sciences, are to be found medicine, astronomy, magic, the last-named having as "its aim the mingling of [incorporeal] forces with the substances of the terrestrial world", chemistry with its use of the properties of mineral substances, etc. Algebra is a science (*ʿilm*) derived from mathematics, as is hydraulics, etc. Finally, wisdom includes the nine sections of *Manṭiḳ*, that is to say the sciences of expression in speech, firstly logic, then rhetoric and poetry.

In this classification, *ḥikma* embraces that which belongs to science (*ʿilm*) following the terminology of the *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, the classification used by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, al-Fārābī, al-Khawārizmī, al-Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn (tables and references collected by Gardet and Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, 108-23). In another short work, *ʿUyūn al-ḥikma*, "the Sources of wisdom", Ibn Sīnā expresses himself in a manner very closely allied to that of *Aḳsām al-ʿulūm*, to such a degree that the only part published deals with purely scientific subjects under the name *al-ḥikma al-ṭabīʿiyya*, natural sciences, physics, with motion, time, the proof of the incorporeal Prime Mover, the soul, the source of voluntary motion. Ibn Sīnā uses *ḥikma* as the synonym of *ʿilm*, but seems to prefer the richer meaning of *ḥikma*. This last is not restricted to the sense of "philosophy", or even of "philosophy considered as wisdom" (in the words of Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, 18, 30). In the same perspective, medicine appears as a *ḥikma* applied to the behaviour of the human body and, through it, of the soul.

Ḥikma appears as a lofty spiritual conception of the world, penetrating all knowledge within the grasp of man, and even attaining to faith in God in revelation. It goes beyond *falsafa*, which denotes only Hellenistic philosophy; it transcends science, *ʿilm*: "Science consists in grasping those things which it appertains to human intelligence to grasp in such a manner that no error enters into it [...] and if this is done by means of certain proof and actual demonstrations, this is called *ḥikma*" (*ʿAhd*, 143). By bringing absolute rectitude, both in his search and in the application, "The truly Wise Man is he who, having formed an opinion on a question, speaks to himself as to others, which signifies that he has spoken the truth faithfully" (*Safsaṭa*, 6).

Averroes seems to take *ḥikma* rather in the limited sense of "philosophy", as against "religion" (*Faṣl al-maḳāl*); nevertheless he calls it "the supreme art", *ṣināʿat al-ṣanāʾiʿ*; *ibid*, 5, line 7).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: P. Brunet and A. Mieli, *Histoire des sciences*, i, 113-4, 117-8, 158, 223; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, 65, 72, 602; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, II, *Jābir et la science grecque* (*Mém. Inst. d'Egypte*, xlv, 54-5); ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, ed. M. Z. Siddiki, Berlin 1928, analysis by Meyerhof, in *Isis*, xvi (1931), 1-54; Fārābī, *Catalogo de las ciencias*, ed. and tr. A. González Palencia, Madrid ²1953; *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, ed. ʿUthmān Amīn, Cairo 1949; Ibn Sīnā, *Shifāʾ*, Cairo, 1956 and 1958, *Manṭiḳ*, v, *Burhān*, 260, and vi, *Safsaṭa*, 6; *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, Cairo 1328/1910, 5; in the collection *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1329/1908, *Aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya*, 104-18; *ʿUyūn al-ḥikma*, 2-4; *Fi 'l-ʿahd*, 143; *Mubāḥathāt*, in A. Badawi, *Arisṭū ʿind al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, 234-6; Ibn Rushd, *Faṣl al-maḳāl*, ed. and tr. Gauthier, Algiers ³1948, s.vv. "philosophie", "sagesse"; ed. G. F. H. Hourani, Leiden 1959; English transl., G. F. Hourani, *Averroes on the harmony of religion and philosophy*, GMS, N.S. xxi, London 1961; J. Stephenson, *The classification of the sciences according to Nasiruddin Ṭūsī*, in *Isis*, v (1923), 329-38; L. Gauthier, *La racine arabe ḤKM et ses dérivés*, in *Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 435-54; A. M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, no. 177.

(A. M. Goichon)

ḤĪLA [see ḥiyal].

HILĀL, the new moon, the crescent.

i. — In Religious Law

The new moon is important in Islamic religious law because, in the Islamic lunar calendar [see ta'rīkh], it determines, among other things, the date of the pilgrimage [see ḥadjdj], and the beginning and the end of Ramaḍān [*q.v.*], the month of fasting [see ṣawm].

The Ḳur'ān refers to the new moon in *sūra* II, 189 (a verse of indeterminate date; *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 181): "They ask thee about the new moons; say : 'They are fixed times (*mawāḳīt*) for the people and for the pilgrimage.' " Another relevant passage is *sūra* II, 183 f. (to be dated shortly before the Ramaḍān of the year 2; *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 178): "O ye who believe, fasting is prescribed for you as it was prescribed for those before you—maybe ye will show piety—during a certain number of days (*ayyām^an ma'dūdāt*)." As the observation of the new moon even in a clear sky is subject to chance, as described, for instance, by Ibn Djubayr (162), whereas the terms *mawāḳīt* and *ma'dūdāt* in the Ḳur'ān seem to refer to an exactly determined date or period, it seemed indicated that the beginning of the month should be determined by calculation, and several systems of calculation came into being. An argument in favour of calculation (*ḥisāb*) was also drawn from *sūra* X, 5 (belonging to the third Meccan period; *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 158) which reads: "He it is who has made the sun a glow and the moon a light, and has given it determined stations (*wa-ḳaddarahū manāzil*), that ye may know the number of the years and the reckoning (*ḥisāb*) [of time]." Calculation was, however, rejected by the Sunnīs, the Ibāḍīs, the Zaydīs, and the "Twelver" Shī'īs, whereas the Ismā'īlīs adopted it, and whilst traces of it are found in the literature of the other schools, it has become a distinguishing feature of these last (and of the present-day Bohras). It is, of course, generally agreed that the actual observation of the new moon at the beginning and at the end of Ramaḍān is decisive, and the difference comes down to this, that if the new moon has not been observed on the evening of the twenty-ninth day the majority consider the thirtieth day as still belonging to the month in question, so that both Sha'bān and Ramaḍān may have thirty days, which can never happen under the rule followed by the Ismā'īlīs.

There is an arbitrary interpretation of the words *ayyām^an ma'dūdāt* as referring to a fast of three days in each month which had allegedly preceded as a religious duty the fast during Ramaḍān; the interpretation aims at eliminating the seeming implication of the words in favour of calculation; the traditions in which it is expressed (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1323, ii, 76) can be dated between 'Aṭā' (d. 114 or 115/732-33) and Ibn Abī Laylā (d. 148/765). The commentators Ṭabarī, Djaṣṣāṣ, Ibn al-'Arabī, and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Istanbul 1307, ii, 170 ff.) reject this interpretation, and Ḳurṭubī (*al-Djāmi' li-aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1353/1934, ii, 256,) does not even mention it.

The opinion of the majority is expressed in a tradition from the Prophet which occurs in the six classical collections and in many other works of *ḥadīth* (for detailed references, see Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.vv. Fast(ing) and Ramaḍān; further, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, iv, nos. 6060 ff.); its main *isnād* goes through Mālik—Nāfi'—Ibn 'Umar, and it can therefore be dated in the first half of the second century of the *hidjra* (cf. my *Origins*, 176 ff.). A typical version of it (in Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'*, *Kitāb al-Ṣiyām*) runs: "The Prophet spoke of Ramaḍān and said: 'Do not fast until you see the new moon, and do not break the fast until you see it; but when it is hidden from you [by cloud or mist], give it its full measure (*fa-ḳdurū lahū*).' " Because the expression *fa-ḳdurū lahū* could be taken to mean not only the computation of thirty days from the last new moon but also the calculation of the mansions of the moon, it was replaced in other versions by *fa-'akmilu 'l-'idda*, "complete the reckoning" (an expression taken from *sūra* II, 185), or by "count thirty".

According to another tradition, going back (through Nāfi') to Ibn 'Umar only, which occurs in the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd as a corollary to his version of the tradition from the Prophet, Ibn 'Umar on the twenty-ninth of Sha'bān used to have the new moon looked for, and if it was seen that was that; if it was not seen in a clear sky, he continued to eat on the following day, and if there were clouds or dust in the sky he started fasting; but he finished his fast [at the end of Ramaḍān] together with the rest of the people and did not follow that method of counting. This reflects two early, not necessarily conflicting, attitudes, the meticulousness typical of the pious and the desire to follow the community, *i.e.*, the orders of the *imām*, and both have left other traces in traditions. It was as a counter-move against this tradition that the (later) tradition from the Prophet was provided with the *isnād* Mālik—Nāfi'—Ibn 'Umar. The Ḥanbalī school has essentially adopted the doctrine attributed to Ibn 'Umar, whereas the other orthodox schools of law follow the implications of the tradition from the Prophet. (That one ought to start fasting after the 29th day of Sha'bān, if the view of the new moon was obscured by clouds, is also the doctrine of the "Twelver" Shī'īs, expressed, *e.g.*, in a tradition from Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ in Ṭūsī's *Tahdhīb*.)

Questions of detail concerning the observation of the new moon began to be discussed at an early date, *e.g.*, what to do when it is seen in the forenoon or in the afternoon at the end of Ramaḍān; see Abū Yūsuf, *Āthār*, no. 819, for a normative statement of Ibrāhīm Nakha'ī (presumably authentic); *Muwaṭṭa'*, *Kitāb al-Ṣiyām*, *bāb* 1, tradition 4, for the doctrine of Mālik; *Kanz al-'ummāl*, iv, nos. 6614 ff.; Shams al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma, in *al-Mughnī wa 'l-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, iii, 6.

There were, however, in the words of Ibn al-'Arabī, "some ancient authorities" (*ba'ḍ al-mutaḳaddimīn*) of the Sunnīs who "erred by resorting to calculation, *i.e.*, determining through study of the mansions of the moon that it would be visible if the sky were clear" (*Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1331, i, 35). A detailed discussion of this opinion which, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, was held by members of the highest group of Tābi'īs, is found in the commentary of 'Aynī on Bukhārī, on the tradition from the Prophet mentioned before (ed. Istanbul 1308 ff., v, 182). Among the somewhat later upholders of it are mentioned Muṭarrif b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yasār (d. 220), a companion of Mālik (Ibn Sa'd, v, 325; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab*, s.v.), Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276), and Ibn Suraydj (*sic*, not Ibn Shurayḥ; d. 306), a famous Shāfi'ī scholar (Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ii, 87-96; Ibn Hubayra, *K. al-Ifṣāḥ 'an ma'ānī 'l-Ṣiḥāḥ*, Aleppo 1347/1928, 111); this last is said to have attributed a similar opinion to Shāfi'ī. But it was felt that astrologers should be given no part in determining the incidence of a religious duty, and an author as early as Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321), in his *Sharḥ Ma'ānī 'l-Āthār*, where we should expect him to discuss it, does not mention this point at all.

For the final doctrines of the orthodox schools, see their authoritative handbooks and : Ibn Rushd al-Ḥafīd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Istanbul 1333, i, 196 f.; *Kitāb al-Fiḳh ʿala 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Ḳism al-ʿIbādāt, 2nd ed., Cairo 1349/1931, 514 ff.; also: *Sommario del diritto malechita*, transl. I. Guidi and D. Santillana, i, Milan 1919, 207 ff.; Juynboll, *Handleiding*⁴, 100 ff.; H. Laoust, *Le Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, 65 f.; idem, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de ... B. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 336 f.—For the Ibāḍīs: Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfiyāsh, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Nīl*, ii, Cairo n.d., 179 ff. — For the Zaydīs: al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Siyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr, Sharḥ Madjmūʿ al-Fiḳh al-Kabīr*, Cairo 1350, ii, 503 ff.

The "Twelver" Shīʿīs insist on the principle of observation of the new moon even more strongly, and reject calculation even more forcefully than the Sunnīs. Their main authoritative traditions, found in their four classical collections, are: "The people of the *ḳibla* are only bound by observation (*ruʾya*), the Muslims are only bound by observation" (from Djaʿfar al Ṣādiḳ), and: "When you see the new moon fast, and when you see it break the fast; it is not done by assumption and surmise (*wa-laysa bi-'l-raʾy wa-la 'l-taẓannī*)" (from Muḥammad al-Bāḳir). The same doctrine is formulated in their authoritative works of *fiḳh*, from the spurious *Fiḳh al-Riḍā* (Teheran 1274; the *imām* al-Riḍā d. 202), through the *Muḳniʿ* and the *Hidāya* of Ibn Bābūya al-Ṣadūḳ (d. 381; in *al-Djawāmiʿ al-Fiḳhiyya*, Teheran 1276), the *Muḳniʿa* of al-Mufīd (d. 413; Teheran 1274), and the *Mabsūṭ* and the *Nihāya* of Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa al-Ṭūsī (d. 459; the first Teheran 1271, the second in *al-Djawāmiʿ al-Fiḳhiyya*), to the *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām* of al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī (d. 676) and later works.

At the same time, the older sources admitted various methods of calculation as alternatives if the new moon could not be observed on the evening of the 29th Shaʿbān on account of cloudiness. One method consists of counting from the day of the week on which fasting has started in the preceding year, and starting to fast on the fifth (or in a bissextile year, the sixth) day of the count; this method, which takes the length of the lunar year of 354 days into account, is said to have been checked over fifty years and found correct, but is available only to him who knows chronology and the incidence of bissextile years. Another method consists of counting 59 days from the new moon of the month of Radjab if it has been visually observed, and starting to fast on the sixtieth day. Traditions authorizing these methods by the authority of the *imām*s of the "Twelver" Shīʿīs are found in the *Kāfī* of Kulīnī (d. 328; Teheran 1315) and in the *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍurhu Faḳīh* of Ibn Bābūya (Lucknow 1307) as well as in the *Fiḳh al-Riḍā* and in Ibn Bābūya's *Muḳniʿ* and *Hidāya*. A third method consists of estimating the age of the new moon when it becomes visible for the first time, and determining the beginning of the month retrospectively; a rule concerning this is related, on the authority of *imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, in Kulīnī's *Kāfī*, the *Fiḳh al-Riḍā*, and other works. To the same context belongs the doctrine that Ramaḍān has always 30 (and Shaʿbān always 29) days; this is expressed in traditions from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ in Kulīnī and elsewhere (but not accepted by Ibn Bābūya in the *Muḳniʿ*), and it has its parallel in a Sunnī tradition from the Prophet to the effect that Ramaḍān and Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja are never short (*lā yanḳuṣān*; see Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Ramaḍān), which was made innocuous by interpretation.

By the middle of the 5th/11th cent., however, the doctrine of the "Twelver" Shīʿīs had become definitely hostile to all traces of the method of calculation, and Ṭūsī, the Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa (d. 459), in the *Tahdhīb* (Teheran 1307) and in the *Istibṣār* (Lucknow 1307), engages in sharp polemics against it, referring to those who use calculation (*aṣḥāb al-ʿadad* or *ʿadadiyyūn*) as deviationists (*shudhdhādh al-Muslimīn*), explaining away or rejecting outright as unreliable the traditions in its favour, and adducing counter-traditions, *e.g.*, traditions from Muḥammad al-Bāḳir and particularly from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ to the effect that Ramaḍān may have 29 days only, a tradition which makes ʿAlī reject the procedure of *ḥisāb*, and a tradition from the Prophet, transmitted by Muḥammad al-Bāḳir from ʿAlī, which expresses a doctrine identical with that common to the orthodox schools. In the *Mabsūṭ*, Ṭūsī mentions the "reports" (*riwāyāt*) concerning the methods of counting five or sixty days objectively, but adds that a person using them must formulate the intention of a voluntary fast, as if the day in question still belonged to the month of Shaʿbān; the only concession he is prepared to make is that if no new moon has been observed during the whole year, the method of counting five days may be used. Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī, too, in the *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām* (transl. A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, i, Paris 1871, 195), explicitly rejects all kinds of calculation, and the modern commentator Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Bāḳir (d. 1268/1851; *Djawāhir al-Kalām*, ii, Tabrīz 1324, 212 ff.) argues at length against it and tries to eradicate all its traces; he engages in pointed polemics against opponents in the present time (whom he does not name but who are obviously the Bohras) whose Ramaḍān is one or two days short (p. 214). Both the forceful rejection of calculation from the early sources onwards and the recrudescence of polemics against it at a later period would seem to derive from the need the "Twelver" Shīʿīs felt to differentiate themselves from the Ismāʿīlīs.

The method of calculation became a distinguishing feature of the Ismāʿīlī movement at an early date. The Zaydī *imām* al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860) says of them that they start fasting and break the fast two days early, and count the month from one disappearance of one moon to the next—an erroneous rationalizing (*K. al-Radd ʿala-'l-Rawāfiḍ*, MS Berlin 4876 (Glaser 101), 105 r, quoted by W. Madelung, *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 47). Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), under the year 278, in speaking of the Ḳarmaṭians, describes the doctrine of what is obviously an heretical group of Ismāʿīlīs, and quotes a *sūra* which they recite at the opening of their ritual prayers; it contains the passage, a variation on the Ḳurʾān, *sūra*s III, 189 and X, 5: "Say: 'The new moons are fixed times for the people, their outward aspect (*ẓāhiruhā*) (serves) to make known the number of years, calculation (*ḥisāb*), months and days, and their esoteric meaning (*bāṭinuhā*) is My intimates who make known My way to My servants'" (*Annales*, iii, 2129; cf. Madelung, *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959), 41). The method of calculation was introduced by the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya in 331, and in Cairo, after the conquest of Egypt, in 359 (*REI*, 1935, 178, with reference to Abū Bakr al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*; and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*). There is no statement of principle on calculation in the *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* of the Ismāʿīlī *ḳāḍī* Nuʿmān b. Muḥammad (d. 363/925), though he regards the actual observation of the new moon as decisive on the basis of traditions from ʿAlī which are common to him and

to the "Twelver" Shī'īs; but he emphasizes the rule which alone was of practical importance to him, that if the *imām* is present or can be reached, he is the one who decides when to start and when to break the fast (ed. A. A. A. Fyzee, i, Cairo 1370/1951, 323); there may be some desire not to alienate the non-Ismā'īlī masses here. The author of the *Madjālis al-Mustanṣiriyya* (ca. 450/1058) argues at length in favour of the principle of calculation (*madjlis* 19, 30, and 31; ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo n.d., 128 and note 64, 131, 133 f.); he says that *ru'ya* implies *ḥisāb*, just as the *ẓāhir* points to the *bāṭin*; only the *imām* combines them both, and it is a miracle that the *ḥisāb* has worked perfectly in the 150 years since the Mahdī introduced it (as the Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh died in 322, this cannot be taken literally if the date 331 given for that event (see above) is correct); for the author, calculation comes down to the regular alternation of months of 30 and of 29 days, Ramaḍān having always thirty. This is also the practice of the contemporary Bohras (Musta'lian Ismā'īlīs), and it results in their celebrating the Muslim festivals one day, or sometimes two days, earlier than the others (cf. Sh. T. Lokhandwalla, in *Stud. Isl.*, iii, 1955, 132). The question does not arise for the Khodjas (Nizārian Ismā'īlīs), whose fast is essentially different from that of the other Muslims (cf. Syed Mujtaba Ali, *The origin of the Khojāhs and their religious life today*, (thesis Bonn) Würzburg 1936, 68 f.; J. N. Hollister, *The Shī'a of India*, 389 f.).

Bibliography: in the article.

(J. Schacht)

ii. — In Islamic art.

The crescent appears first as an emblem in the Islamic period in combination with a five- or six-pointed star on the obverses and reverses of Arab-Sāsānian coins, such as the anonymous coins, including one probably struck for 'Abd al-Malik in Damascus in 75/695 (G. C. Miles, *Miḥrāb and 'Anazah*, in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, Locust Valley 1952, 156-71, pl. 28, No. 3; Fig. 1), the more numerous ones struck for the Umayyad governors of the East, till ca. 84/698, and for the 'Abbāsid governors in Ṭabaristān, till ca. 197/812 (J. Walker, *A catalogue of Arab-Sassanian coins*, London (British Museum) 1941, 130-60; G. C. Miles, *Rare Islamic coins*, New York 1950, 1-15; idem, *The iconography of Umayyad coinage*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1959), 208-10, pl. 1, nos. 1-6; idem, *Some new light on the history of Kirman in the first century of the Hijrah*, in *The world of Islam. Studies in honour of Philip K. Hitti*, London-New York 1959, 98). This usage is due to the adaptations of pre-Islamic coin types, mostly those of Khusraw II, but also of Yazdigird III and Hormuzd IV, where this marginal element had been customary. A crescent alone occurs also occasionally on the reverse of Arab-Byzantine coins (J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umaiyad coins*, London (British Museum) 1956, Nos. 78-9, 81; Miles, *Iconography of Umayyad coinage*, pl. 1, Nos. 7-9, 12-4; Fig. 2). While this was the first official use of the *hilāl*, it had no historical consequences.

Another early use of the *hilāl* is to be found in the mosaics of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra in Jerusalem of 72/691. It occurs there as the customary finial of Sāsānian-type crowns and, more frequently, as an element suspended from Byzantine-type crowns where it is combined with a large pearl usually placed just beyond the horns (K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1932, i, pls. 11, 16-8; Fig. 8). Since this building seems to have been originally a victory monument (O. Grabar, *The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1959), 33-62), these crowns, as symbols of the defeated enemies of Islam, reflect a pre-Islamic usage now introduced into a Muslim context. However, the preserved crowns, which had been placed in churches as *ex-votos*, show as the main suspended element a cross (H. Schlunk, *Arte Visigodo* ..., in *Ars Hispaniae*, ii (Madrid 1947), 312-6, figs. 328-30); as this could not be represented in a Muslim shrine, it had to be exchanged for another, more innocuous motif which had also a royal association (*Sakrale Gewänder des Mittelalters. Ausstellung im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum*, Munich 1955, 17, No. 17, colour pl.). It is significant that the crescent has here a non-Muslim connotation.

The use of a *hilāl* as a decorative emblem on royal horses is also a continuation of a Sāsānian custom (*A survey of Persian art*, ed. A. U. Pope, London-New York 1938-39, iv, pls. 176C, 202B, 229B; F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin 1925, pl. 99). In these instances the emblem is made of valuable material or at least executed in fine workmanship. Possibly the earliest preserved example is one made of rock crystal, with the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ẓāhir li-i'zāz Dīn Allāh, 411-27/1021-36, which was later incorporated into a Gothic monstrance of about 1350, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (cf. C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, Berlin 1929, i, 213, No. 21, ii, pl. 75; Fig. 7). The usage continues into the Seldjūḳ period (6th-7th/12th-13th centuries) when bronze crescents are decorated with other designs (Fig. 10). The *hilāl* as equine decoration survived till the Ottoman period, as an example composed of two boar tusks mounted in gold was captured in the Battle of Slankamen in 1691 (E. Petrasch, *Die Türkenbeute* ... *Trophäensammlung des Markgrafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden*, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 1956, pl. 15).

The emblem also had early decorative uses in a human context. Its heavy-set shape with the points nearly touching each other is to be found as gold and gilt silver jewelry (earrings or pendants), decorated with filigree and cloisonné enamel, the latter showing bird designs. This type of trinket was made in the 5th/11th or 6th/12th century, both in Egypt (where such work was found in al-Fusṭāṭ) and Spain (Marvin C. Ross, *An Egypto-Arabic cloisonné enamel*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii (1940), 165-67; Mohamed Mostafa, *The Museum of Islamic Art, a short guide*, Cairo 1955, 36, 112, fig. 28; *Katalog, Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truninger, Luzern*, Kunsthaus Zürich 1964, pl. 131; Fig. 9). The same shape is to be found among the tooled decorations on Mamlūk bookbindings (8th/14th century; Fig. 6). The *hilāl* occurs also together with a seven-pointed star, as inlaid stone work, on the walls of Saint Sophia of Trebizond (Fig. 5), built by the Emperor Manuel I (1238-66). This Byzantine Church shows strong Seldjūḳ influence in its wall decorations; so far no crescents of such an elaborate nature have, however, been found on contemporary Muslim buildings or objects of Anatolia, although a crescent-shaped element occurs in the pseudo-Kūfic border of a Seldjūḳ "Konya-carpet" (Istanbul, Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, Nos. 692/3, see Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish arts* ..., Istanbul 1961, pl. VII) and there are a few crude masons' marks of that shape on the stones of caravansarays (K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1961, i, 82, 134,

177). The occurrence in Trebizond in a near-Muslim context is significant, as it is the earliest so-far-known use of the crescent and star in what is now Turkish territory since the Islamic conquest of Asia Minor (T. T. Rice, *Decorations in the Seljukid style in the Church of Saint Sophia of Trebizond*, in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens. In Memoriam Ernst Diez*, ed. O. Aslanapa, Istanbul 1963, 112 and pl. 8; examples from Anatolia of the pre-Islamic period are given in Fevzi Kurtoğlu, *Türk bayrağı ve Ay Yıldız*, Ankara 1938, chapter III, figs 15-6, 19, 21-8). A function with a possibly royal connotation is implied by the use of a brilliant golden "moon" above a jade lion on the top of a black umbrella held over the head of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. This is reported by the mid-7th/13th century Chinese author, Chau Ju-kua, in his account of Baghdād. The translators and commentators of the text have cogently argued that this moon must have been a crescent, since a circular emblem would have been taken for a sun (*Chau Ju-kua; on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, tr. by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg 1911, 135 and 137, n. 3).

Another use of the crescent started in the 6th/12th century when symbolical personifications of the planets, including that of the moon (*ḳamar*), were widely applied to metal objects. The earliest dated example so far found is on a magic mirror, dated 548/1153, in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo (D. S. Rice, *A Seljuq mirror*, in *Communications ... First International Congress of Turkish Art, Ankara, 1959*, Ankara 1961, 288-9, pl. 224). Here the emblem consists of a human figure seated cross-legged and holding a crescent whose two points meet before the face. Such representations of the crescent-shaped moon appear on many brass or bronze objects, where six planets are usually grouped around the central sun; they are inlaid in silver, usually placed on the bottoms of large trays, basins, on the covers of large vessels or pen-boxes and even on the back of astrolabes of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, made in Iran, the Djazīra (Mosul), Syria, and Egypt (F. Sarre-Max van Berchem, *Das Metalbecken des Atabeks Lulu von Mosul in der Kgl. Bibliothek zu München*, in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, i (1907), 22, 27, figs. 1 and 13; G. Wiet, *Objets en cuivre*, Cairo 1932, pl. XLVII; M. S. Dimand, *Unpublished metalwork of the Rasulid Sultans of Yemen*, in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, iii (1931), fig. 2, etc.). The crescent appears also at least as early as the second half of the 6th/12th century in connexion with the pertinent figures of the Zodiac, namely, in combination with Cancer as its domicilium, or with Taurus as the exaltation of the Moon and with Scorpio as its dejection. In the case of the planets' exaltations and dejections, the dragon symbolism of Djawzahr, the pseudo-planetary node of the moon's orbit, is also introduced (Fig. 13); (W. Hartner, *The pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit in Hindu and Islamic iconography*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 113-54, figs. 1, 2, 12-20; idem, *Zur astrologischen Symbolik des 'Wade Cup'*, in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel*, Berlin 1959, 239, figs. 4 and 14; D. S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Paris 1955, 17-20, figs. 14b/5, pl. VIIb). From the 7th/13th century on, illustrations of the seven planets appear in cosmographical works, such as al-Ḳazwīnī's *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, C. arab. 464, fol. 10 r., dated 678/1260 or the late 8th/14th-century "Sarre Manuscript", Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, No. 54. 33r. (Fig. 11); F. Saxl, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellung in Orient und Occident*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 152-5, figs. 4 and 8). Here the figure appears seated, with or without a crown, with or without a long sword on its lap, but always holding up a crescent moon which frames its face. The representations here and on the metal objects are analogous to the personifications of the sun, which has a radiating hollow disc before or in place of its face. The iconography reflects the explanation in the text which compares the sun to a king and the moon to the vizier or heir apparent.

Isolated figural representations of the *hilāl* appear in various media. Possibly the earliest example is on a piece of lustre pottery of the Fāṭimid period, 11th-12th century, from Syria or Egypt, now in the Musée du Louvre; here (Fig. 12) two female busts are framed by the horns of a crescent moon (R. Koechlin-G. Migeon, *Islamische Kunstwerke*, Berlin 1928, pl. 8), representing an iconography rather like the Roman one as found for instance on the cult image of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias (*Illustrated London News*, 5 Jan. 1963, 21, fig. 5). The motif appears also on coins of Saladin (Mayyāfāriḳīn, 587/1191) and of the atabegs of Mosul, al-Djazīra, and Sindjār, between 585 and 657/1189 and 1258 (Figs. 3, 4), where they form parallels to other astronomical coins of the period showing the figural symbols of the Sun, Mars, and Sagittarius (S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum*, London 1877, iii, Nos. 529-33, 567-9, 589-92, 645-51, pl. X, 568, XI, 646 and Behzad Butak, *Resimli Türk paraları*, Istanbul 1947, Nos. 75, 81, 94, and 114). A whole series of the isolated, personified *hilāl* appears also quite frequently on silver-inlaid brass and bronze vessels of the 7th/13th century, in which cases they form parallels to the sun symbol on other pieces, while an abbreviated form of the crescent moon figure presents only a crowned head within the crescent as the centre of an animated arabesque decoration (Fig. 14). Formerly it was thought that the inclusion of the full crescent moon figure on inlaid metal pieces represented a tell-tale hallmark of the famous Mosul production of inlaid metalwork, being either the coat of arms of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ or the emblem of the city. D. S. Rice marshalled all the pertinent reasons why this cannot be so, and he also pointed to the fact that the motif is not restricted to Mosul but appears in Egypt and Syria as well (*Inlaid brasses from the workshop of Aḥmad al-Dhakī al-Mawṣilī*, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii (1957), 321). The specific reason why the isolated symbol was so popular has not been established, although it seems very likely that it had an astrological or magical basis.

A crescent-shaped figure constitutes also a blazon in the Mamlūk period of the late 7th/13th and first half of the 8th/14th centuries. Although the emblem occurs fairly frequently on pottery vessels and sherds (L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, Oxford 1933, 25, pls. XI-XIIa; J. Sauvaget, *Poteries syro-mésopotamiens du XIVe siècle*, Paris 1932, pl. 31, 36, No. 121), it appears rarely in connection with specific persons. It is found as a simple charge on undated coins of al-Manṣūr Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad (on top of a bird), or (alone) on those of al-Ashraf Nāṣir al-Dīn Shaʿbān II and al-Manṣūr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, or as part of a composite blazon on those of al-Ẓāhir Sayf al-Dīn Barḳūḳ and of al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Abu 'l-Saʿādāt Faradj (P. Balog, *The coinage of the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt and Syria*, New York 1964, Nos. 395, 471, 506, 507, 598, and 659). It can be specifically associated with only four persons below the rank of sultan, *i.e.*, (1) and (2) Sunḳur al-Aʿsar, and, after his death in 1309, his daughter Fāṭima (D. S. Rice, *Studies in*

Islamic metalwork, I, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1952), 564-78); (3) ʿAlī b. Hilāl al-Dawla (died 739/1338); in this case Mayer thought of the possibility of a canting coat in view of his father's name (Mayer, *Heraldry*, 25, 54, pl. XLII, 15); (4) Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAḳīl al-S͟hihābī (Mayer, *op. cit.*, 25, 122, pl. XLII, 3 and XLVII, 2); here Mayer considered the possibility that the emblem did not represent actually a crescent, but an oriental horseshoe, which looks like a circle enclosing a tangental oval or circular area. He refers to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ who states that the emblem of the Master of the Stable (*amīr ak͟hūr*) is the horseshoe (ed. J. J. Reiske, iv, 380). Since a blazon corresponded to the symbol of the office a Mamlūk received when he was dubbed *amīr* and was then kept for life, and there is evidence that the crescent was given to persons who occupied an office other than that of the *amīr ak͟hūr*, this interpretation seems unlikely. Furthermore, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ speaks of conditions under the K͟hʷārizms͟hāh Muḥammad b. Takas͟h and not of those of Mamlūks, closely related as they may have been. The context of the same horseshoe-like design used by the Ottoman Turks also makes it clear that in the 10th/16th century it was understood as the crescent moon.

The *hilāl* occurs also in the coinage of the Rasūlid al-As͟hraf Ismāʿīl (about 781-83/1379-81); here the sultan's name is placed on the large crescents whose circular sections between the horns are filled with a seated figure, three swords, a chalice, or a lion with a raised tail (H. Nützel, *Münzen der Rasuliden* ..., in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xviii (1892), 129-38, Nos. 35, 38, 52, 54). Balog is probably correct when he says that in this and other instances the Rasūlids imitated the Mamlūk heraldic tradition (*Coinage of the Mamlūk sultans*, 19), especially since their decorative art, too, was strongly influenced by Egypt.

The *hilāl* was also used in religious settings. W. Barthold states after N. Marr that when in the 5th/11th century the Cathedral of Ani was converted into a mosque the cross on its dome was replaced by a silver crescent, which could imply a symbolical value or at least a cultural identification for this emblem (W. Barthold, *Contribution au problème du croissant comme symbole de l'Islam*, in *Bull. de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, 1918, No. 6, 476, quoted in A. Sakisian, *Le croissant comme emblème national et religieux en Turquie*, in *Syria*, xxii (1941), 66). Later evidence of the custom is provided by the *ḥadjdj* certificate for a lady pilgrim, dated 836/1432 (Fig. 15), where all domed and gabled structures in a schematic miniature showing the Kaʿba and the surrounding buildings have a *hilāl* finial (British Museum, Add. 27,566; R. Ettinghausen, *Die bildliche Darstellung der Kaʿba* ..., in *ZDMG*, xii (1934), 115, fig. 2). This usage is corroborated by a painting, apparently based on careful observation by Gentile Bellini (or a member of his school), which shows that the dome and minarets of the Mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus were decorated with *hilāl* finials (J. Sauvaget, *Une ancienne représentation de Damas au Musée du Louvre*, in *BÉt. Or.*, xi (1945-46), 5-12, pl. 1). The same conclusion can be drawn from a miniature showing the Süleymāniye Mosque in Istanbul in a manuscript dealing with the history of the reign of Süleymān, written in 987/1579 (V. Minorsky and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *A catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts and miniatures. The Chester Beatty Library*, Dublin 1958, No. 413, pl. 12) or from a representation of the Kaʿba of 1151/1738 (*ibid.*, pp. 78-80, pl. 36). Such an architectural finial (*ʿalam*) of gilded metal with the name of the Mamlūk Sultan al-Muʾayyad Abū Naṣr S͟hayk͟h (815-24/1412-21) has been preserved in the Armour Collection of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi. Unlike these examples, which have at least a *terminus ante quem*, the large collection of such emblems on domes and minarets compiled by Riza Nour is to a large extent of doubtful value, as we do not know when most of these finials were made and applied (*L'histoire du croissant*, in *Revue de Turcologie*, i, book 3 (1933), 232-74, pls. 1-17; Tahsin Öz, *Istanbul camileri*, Ankara 1962, 13-5, figs. 13 and 18). A sacred context of the *hilāl* in Ottoman Turkey is also provided by its use on the domed cover of the reliquary containing the Cloak of the Prophet [see K͟HIRḲA-I S͟HERĪF] made by order of Murād III and now in the Treasury of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi or by the decorative rendering of a prayer in a manuscript attributed to the 10th/16th century (Minorsky and Wilkinson, *Turkish manuscripts* ... *Chester Beatty Library*, 52, pl. 27). On the other hand there cannot have been a strong religious association with the *hilāl* in the Muslim world, as the emblem occurs also on secular buildings, *e.g.*, in the representation of garden pavilions on a brass bowl of probable Mamlūk workmanship of the 9th/15th century (D. S. Rice, *Studies in Islamic metalwork, IV*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1953), 502-3 pl. X), and on military flags and textiles as well (see below). There are also many renditions of mosques and other buildings dating from the 10th/16th century to the 12th/18th century which lack the crescent finial, and the motif plays no rôle on prayer rugs or on tiles applied to the walls of mosques (K. Erdmann, *Kaʿba-Fliesen*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1959), 192-7, where only two of eight illustrated examples show the *hilāl*: figs. 3 and 4). This indicates that in Muslim eyes, and in particular during the Ottoman period, the *hilāl* was not of great importance. It certainly does not seem to have had a major religious significance and was apparently applied mostly for decorative purposes.

The *hilāl* occurs on the flags of Selīm I (Fig. 18), of K͟hayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, the latter being later used as his tomb cover (both in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi), and on those captured during the battle of Lepanto in 979/1571 (Fig. 17). It had then no standardized form, for it appears both as a thin sickle, the ends of which are still a slight distance from each other, and as a heavy, circular form with the ends touching each other and covered with religious formulas; both shapes enclose either a star or the names of the Prophet or of the first four caliphs. It is significant that the crescent occurs on each flag several times, and even then it is only one of several motifs used, which include other celestial bodies (the sun and stars); weapons (the legendary sword of ʿAlī, the double-pointed *D͟hu 'l-Faḳār* [*q.v.*], which in turn can have a crescent-and-star pommel, swords with blades showing wavy edges, daggers); and religious slogans such as the *s͟hahāda* and *Sūra* LXI, 12 (many examples in Fevzi Kurtoğlu, *Türk bayrağı ve Ay Yıldız*, figs. 47-52, 54-5, 64-5, 69; Sakisian, in *Syria*, xxii (1941), fig. 1, flag in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice; *Du*, May 1962, flag in the Chiesa San Stefano dei Cavalieri, Pisa; Fig. 17). Such a combination of victory-proclaiming symbols, including a series of *hilāls*, occurs also on the flags captured at the siege of Vienna in 1683 (Sakisian, fig. 2, flag in St. John Lateran, Rome; Kurtoğlu, fig. 60, in the Municipal Museum, Vienna) or in the battle of Slankamen of 1691 (Fig. 19; Petrasch, *Türkenbeute*, fig. 1, a combination of *hilāl*, star, *D͟hu 'l-Faḳār* and hand). The flag on a state barge in Wehbī's *Sūrnāme*, written ca. 1720-25 for Aḥmed III, shows a row of three large

suns, each separated from the other by two small crescent moons (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, MS Ahmed III 3593). Other Turkish flags, too, present the *hilāl* only occasionally in small size and places of lesser importance or no *hilāl* at all (Riza Nour, pl. XXIII, Kurtoğlu, figs. 53A-B, 56-60, 80, 88). However, a number of flags from the 10th/16th to the end of the 12th/18th centuries display three, four, or even six *hilāls* on a red or green ground, and in each case without a star or any other emblems (Riza Nour, pls. XVIII-IX, XXIV, and XXX; Kurtoğlu, figs. 71, 73-6, 78, 86-7). On the other hand a flag as late as that made in 1793 for Selīm III, in the Deniz Müzesi, shows only the imperial *tughra* and the Dhu 'l-Faḳār (Kurtoğlu, fig. 58; Sakisian, in *Syria*, xx (1941), 73).

A number of Turkish pole arms, horsetail standards (*tugh*) and ship lanterns of the 10th/16th century in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice have crescent-shaped finials, although contemporary Ottoman miniatures seem to indicate that these military and naval objects often lacked this emblem.

The earliest datable textile with a *hilāl* is a pair of silk trousers made for Sultan Süleymān (Fig. 16), a context which precludes any religious significance of the emblem at that time; here, the heavy, fully circular crescent encloses a sun (or a large star) and the whole is surrounded by other stars (Tahsin Öz, *Türk kumaş ve kadifeleri*, Istanbul 1946-51, i, pl. XXVI). The motif continues to be used by subsequent sultans in varied forms, *e.g.* the crescent in combination with flowers; a triangular arrangement of three heavy crescents, each filled with one or two smaller identical shapes; or a sickle-shaped form covered with floral patterns enclosing several stars (Öz, i, pls. XXIX, XXX, XXXII-III; ii, pls. XLIII, L, LXV, LXXIV, LXXX, LXXXV-VI).

The *hilāl* was also occasionally used to decorate a *fermān*; for instance, one of Meḥemmed IV, which has a crescent filled with flowers on the onion-shaped top of the *tughra* (Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, T. 2242).

It has been claimed, for instance by B. V. Head, in his *Historia numorum. A manual of Greek numismatics*, Oxford 1911, 269-70, that the frequent use of the crescent and star among the Ottoman Turks was the result of Byzantine inheritance. Bronze coins of Byzantium, especially of Imperial times, are said to have applied this emblem on the reverse as a symbol of Artemis-Hekate, because this moon goddess let her light shine unusually bright during a critical siege. There the crescent and star, however, is only one of many emblems found on the coins of the city under Roman domination from the 1st century B.C. to the early 3rd century A.D. (R. Stuart Poole, *Catalogue of Greek coins. The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, etc.*, London (British Museum) 1877, 105, No. 99); it occurs also on the coins from Pontus of Mithradates II (240-190? B.C.) and Mithradates Eupator (121-63 B.C.) and on those from Carrhae (Ḥarrān), a place famous for its cult of the moon god Sīn, from Marcus Aurelius (161-180) to Gordian III and Tranquillina (240-244). In view of the enormous time gap between the early numismatic and later Ottoman examples, it seems unlikely that the pre-Islamic usage could have exerted an influence, particularly as the *hilāl* is also to be found in the Islamic world before its use by the Ottomans. Byzantine influence is more likely in the case of the *hilāl*-shaped Fāṭimid earrings, especially if the generally held assumption that the very similar Byzantine examples date from the 6th to the 10th century should prove to be correct (cf. *Early Christian and Byzantine art, an exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, 1947*, pl. LXII, Nos. 445, 488, LXIV, No. 488a, and *Byzantine art. Ninth exhibition of the Council of Europe, Athens, 1964*, Nos. 417-8, 420, 434, 437, 440, 442-3, with *Sammlung E. and M. Kofler-Truninger, Luzern*, Kunsthaus Zürich 1964, pl. 131).

While the *hilāl* remained one of many Turkish motifs and was till the end of the 12th/18th century never a formalized, official symbol, its rôle in the Western world was quite different. From the middle of the 15th century on, views of Oriental cities like Jerusalem, Istanbul and Algiers show the major buildings capped by a crescent (typical examples in many paintings of Carpaccio). Even more frequent was its use on Turkish flags and boats in pictures of military engagements (examples given by Sakisian, *Syria*, xxii (1941), 66-7; *Du*, May 1962). It was also given as a finial on the sceptres held by various Turkish sultans (Sakisian, fig. 5). Another use was as watermarks in European paper manufactured for the Levant in the 17th and 18th centuries, for instance, the combination of three crescents known in Venice as *trelune* (C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, Paris, ii, 314-5, Nos. 5374-5; see also W. Nikolaev, *Watermarks of the medieval Ottoman documents in Bulgarian libraries*, Sofia 1954), which has actually been found in a Maghribī Ḳur'ān discovered in Nigeria (N. Abbott, *Maghribī Koran manuscripts of the 17th and 18th centuries*, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, lv (1938), 62). The crescent appeared even in fireworks, as in that arranged by Louis XV in 1132/1720 for the Turkish Ambassador Yirmi Sekiz Meḥmed Efendi [*q.v.*], who to his surprise was told that since each country was symbolized by a special emblem, a crescent—in this instance placed on a fiery tripod and surmounted by a crown—represented his *pādishāh* and Turkey (*Sefāretnāme-i Fransa*, Istanbul 1283, 76; *Paris sefāretnāmesi*, Istanbul 1306, 138).

It was only in the early 19th century, when Selīm III created a military organization [see NIẒĀM-I DJEDĪD] in imitation of European troops, that an imperial flag consisting of a crescent and star on a red ground was officially adopted for the Turkish army and navy, analogous to the official flags of Europe. When this sultan was dethroned in 1807, his new army was abolished and its flag given up (but not by the navy). After the massacre of the Janissaries in 1826, the modern-type army was re-established by Maḥmūd II and in 1827 the flag instituted by Selīm III was once more given to the army (Yacoub Artin Pacha, *Contribution à l'étude du blason en Orient*, London 1902, 158-9). An ornamental rendition of this sultan's *tughra* shows therefore a crescent and six-pointed star next to the name, but, characteristically, even here the design of a sun occurs elsewhere in the panel (Ankara, Etnoğrafya Müzesi, No. 7603; Fig. 20). The flag of the Ottoman Empire was retained when Turkey became a republic in 1923.

The next country to adopt the *hilāl* for its flag was Tunisia. Under Ḥusayn I (1824-35) a red flag was adopted, bearing in its centre on a white circle or oval a red crescent turned away from the hoist and containing a six-pointed star. From the end of the reign of Aḥmad I (1253-71/1837-55) on, a five-pointed star was substituted. Egypt used the white crescent on a red ground while the country was under Ottoman rule, but in 1923 the royal government selected a green ground and had the upright white crescent filled with three white stars between its horns. This

design, with a horizontal crescent containing the three stars in a green circular field, was also placed in the centre of the national coat of arms consisting of a displayed eagle, which was adopted when the country became a republic in 1953. The national flag with the crescent and stars was used until the founding of the United Arab Republic in 1958. Pakistan took the so-called Muslim League flag in 1947 which was formed by a white crescent on the slant, turned away from the hoist, and a white five-pointed star on a green field; to this a broad white stripe along the hoist was then added. In 1951 Libya chose the flag of Cyrenaica (used there since 1947) which consisted of a white upright crescent facing away from the hoist and a five-pointed white star on the broad central stripe of a tricolor—red, black, and green. Malaya adopted in 1950 a flag for the new federation, which displays a golden upright crescent facing away from the hoist together with a golden eleven-pointed star on the dark blue field of the canton, while the main part of the flag consists of eleven white and red horizontal stripes. Some of its constituent states, such as Selangor, Johore, Kelantan, and Trengganu also had the crescent and star in characteristic colours, compositions, shapes and positions. With the founding of Malaysia in 1963, the scheme of 1950 was enlarged to a crescent with a star of 14 points and 14 red and white bars. The next Muslim country to follow the pattern was Mauritania, which, since its independence in 1960, has used a horizontally placed golden crescent and a five-pointed star on a green ground. The latest major Muslim country to adopt the *hilāl* was Algeria, which places a red crescent on the inner green area of its flag so that only its horns project into the outer white field, which also carries a red five-pointed star. This flag was officially adopted in 1962 but had already been in use during the War of Liberation. Even this list does not exhaust the countries which have adopted the *hilāl* for their flag. For instance the national flag of the Maldive Islands carries a white crescent turned away from the staff and placed on a green rectangle which is framed by a red stripe and edged by a narrow black and white stripe along the hoist. The sultan's flag has the crescent combined with a white star. In Muslim countries (with the exception of Iran) a red *hilāl* on a white ground was also adopted for the equivalent of the Red Cross symbol, being placed near the staff and turned away from it; and there are many other major or minor Muslim organizations which also make use of the symbol, *e.g.*, the Mahdī flag of the Sudan, in which a crossed spear and *hilāl* are superimposed on three horizontal stripes of green, orange and black. All this indicates that since the beginning of the 19th century the *hilāl*, usually combined with a star, has become the Muslim emblem *par excellence*.

Owing to the new symbolical importance of the *hilāl*, the emblem was also used on postage stamps of most Muslim countries. It was first introduced in Turkey in its first stamps, issued in January 1863.

In view of the present-day identification of Islam with the *hilāl* and star, the Department of the Army of the United States Government has designated this emblem as the appropriate symbol for the top of headstones which are furnished for Muslim veterans buried in national cemeteries, analogous to the Christian Cross, the Jewish Shield of David, and the Buddhist Wheel of Righteousness. For the same reason, a white five-pointed star and crescent turned away from the hoist on a red rectangular central field, surrounded by a wide white frame, with the words "Islam, Equality, Justice, Freedom" set on a slant in the corners, has been taken by the "Black Muslims" of America as their symbol.

Outside this official context the *hilāl* continues to be used for decorative purposes in more recent times. It is occasionally found on carpets (Amos B. Thayer, *Turcoman rugs*, New York 1940, pl. 21) and in Maghribī jewelry (Paul Eudel, *Dictionnaire des bijoux de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1906, 34-5, 52, 57, 91, 141, 181, 199, and 239). Rather crude versions are also at times used as camel brands, marks of ownership, or tribal marks (*wasm*), see Artin Pacha, *Contribution à l'étude du blason en Orient*, 202-20, 242-4; Henry Field, *Camel brands and graffiti from Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Iran, and Arabia*, Suppl. to *JAOS*, xv (Oct.-Dec. 1952), with extensive bibliography.

Bibliography: So far there has been no general treatment of all the aspects of the subject. Publications on specific themes are given in the article.

(R. Ettinghausen)

HILĀL, eponymous ancestor of the tribe of the Banū Hilāl whom the Arab genealogists trace back to Muḍar according to the following lineage: Muḍar → ʿAylān → Ḳays → Khaṣafa → ʿIkrima → Manṣūr → Hawāzin → Bakr → Muʿāwiya → Ṣaʿṣaʿa → ʿĀmir → Hilāl. Its three main divisions were the Athbadj, the Riyāḥ and the Zughba. This tribe naturally played its part along with the other groups of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa in the pre-Islamic tribal struggles or *Ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*] and in the affairs connected with the beginning of Islam such as that of Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*]. It is likely that it did not support Islam until after Muḥammad's victory over the Hawāzin at Ḥunayn (8/630), but, like the other ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, it did not participate in the *ridda*. It remained in the Nadjd, its initial habitat, longer than the other tribes of the same group who also inhabited it as their primitive domain. Although renowned for its courage, it did not win any particular fame during the conquests. During the first half of the 2nd/8th century, some of the Banū Hilāl (and Banū Sulaym) were invited to emigrate to Egypt where they soon became numerous. This exodus did not, however, diminish their turbulence, which increased considerably under the ʿAbbāsids, especially when, in the 4th/10th century, these brigands joined with the Ḳarmaṭīs to bring about a state of anarchy. After defeating and driving back the Ḳarmaṭīs (368/978), the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muʿizz, seeking no doubt to deprive his defeated enemy of their best allies, had a large number of the families of the Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaym deported into Upper Egypt. Moreover this move was in accord with Egypt's rôle as a centre of attraction for the nomads of Arabia and Syria. Continuing to pillage and to fight amongst themselves, the new emigrants had to be confined to the Ṣaʿīd and forbidden to cross the Nile. But when the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs had broken with his suzerain al-Mustanṣir (439/1047) and recognized the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, al-Yāzūrī, the Fāṭimid minister, advised his master to take revenge on the Ṣanhādja by handing over Ifrīkiya to the horde of the Banū Hilāl, of whom, at the same time, he would rid himself. The chief organizer of the invasion of the Banū Hilāl, of which he also assumed command—and the man who reconciled the Riyāḥ and the Zughba—was probably the *amīr* Amīn al-Dawla wa-Makīnuhā Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Mulhim.

Better than the saga of the Banū Hilāl, upon which however he also draws, Ibn Khaldūn gives the fullest information on the composition and the principal leaders of the invaders. The most important

Fig. 1 (a and b). Anonymous Umayyad *dirham* in Arab-Sāsānian style with *miḥrāb* and *ʿanaza* (?) on reverse. New York, American Numismatic Society.

Fig. 2 (a and b). Anonymous Umayyad *fals* from Ḥimṣ in Arab-Byzantine style. American Numismatic Society.

Fig. 3. Copper "*dirham*" of the Zangid Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Mosul, 627/1229. American Numismatic Society.

Fig. 4. Copper "*dirham*" of the Zangid ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd I. Mosul, 585/1189. American Numismatic Society.

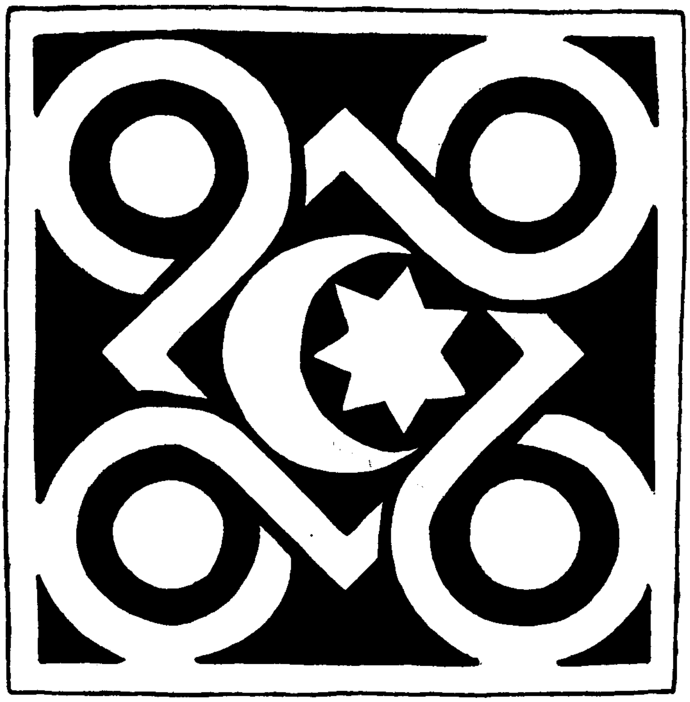

Fig. 5. Inlaid-stone composition. Trebizond, Church of Saint Sophia. Middle of 7th/13th century (After photograph of Prof. David Talbot Rice. Drawing by Frank A. Haentschke).

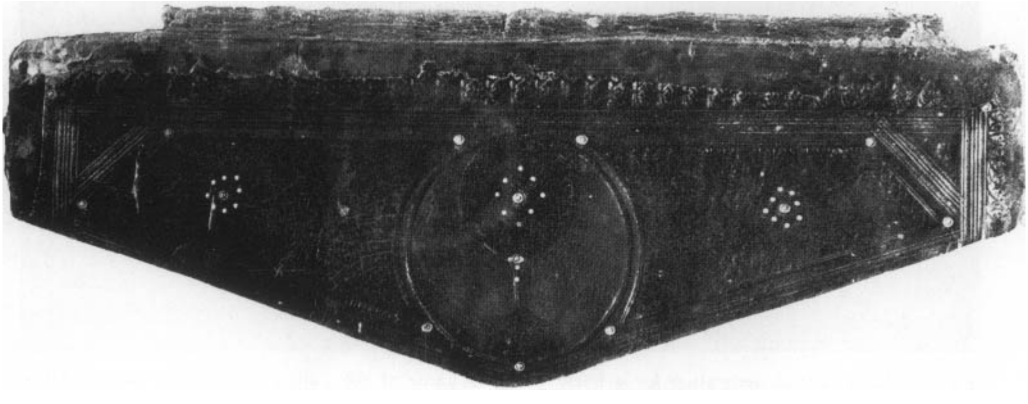

Fig. 6. Flap of Mamlūk leather binding with gold and blind tooling. New York, A. Minassian Collection.

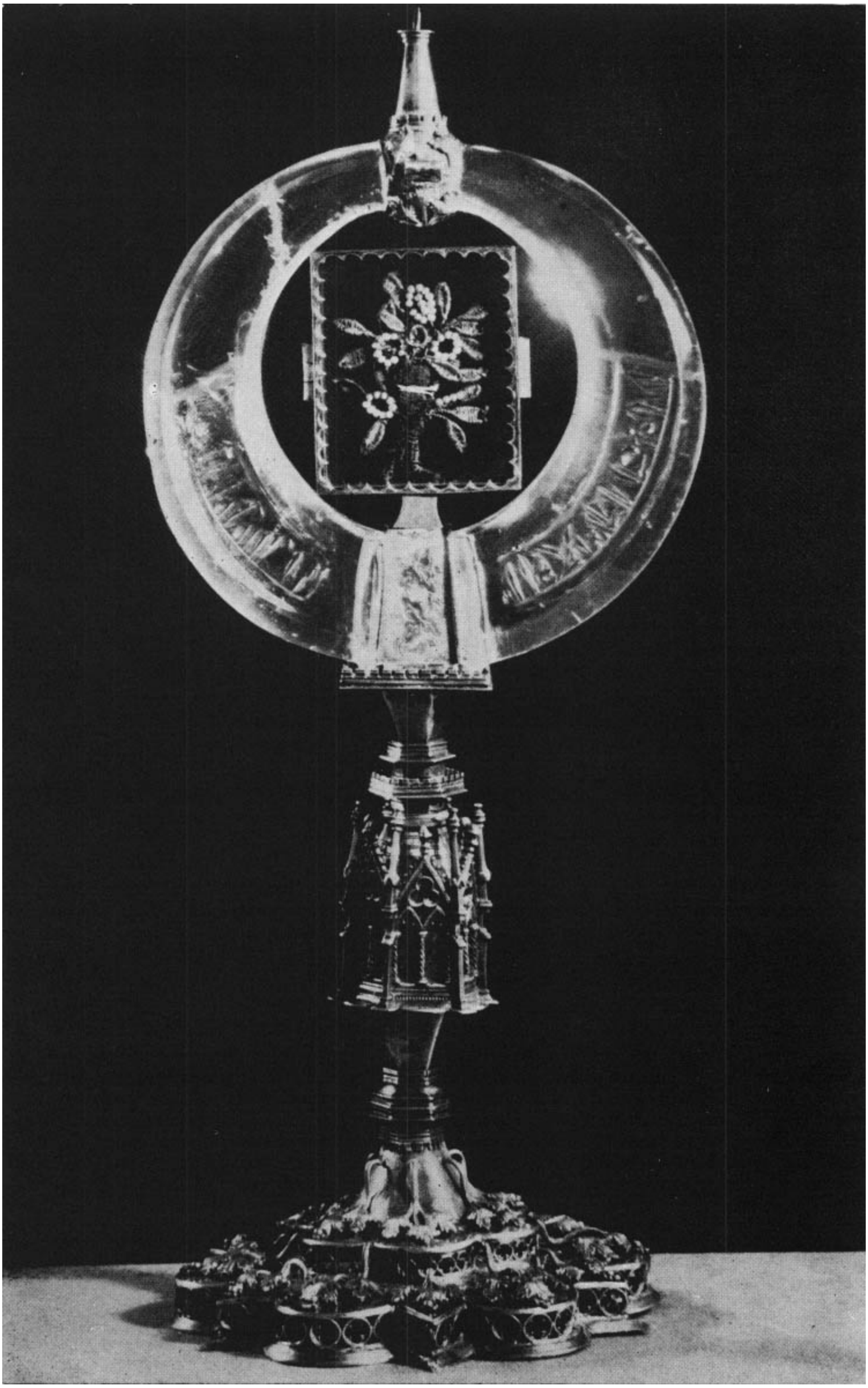

Fig. 7. Rock crystal decoration for a horse with the name of the Caliph al-Ẓāhir li-iʿzāz dīn Allāh. Egypt, Fāṭimid period, 411-23/1021-32 (now mounted in a Gothic monstrance, Venice, ca. 1350). Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, KG. 695.

Fig. 8. Mosaic with a Byzantine-type crown. Jerusalem, Ḳubbat al-Ṣak͟hra, 72/691.

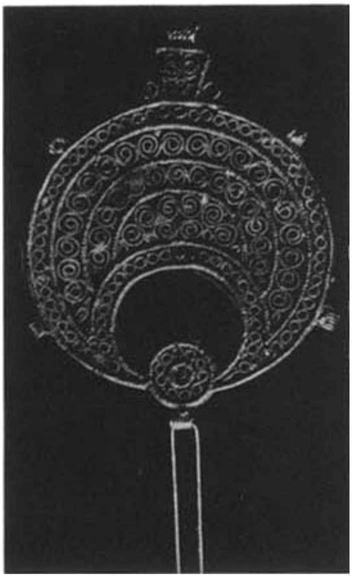

Fig. 9. Gold jewelry with filigree work. Egypt, Fāṭimid period. 5th-6th/11th-12th century. Paris, Musée du Louvre, MAO 139.

Fig. 10. Bronze ornament, probably for a horse. Iran, Seld̲j̲ūḳ period. 6th/12th century. Washington, Private Collection.

Fig. 11. Figure of *Ḳamar*, from an illuminated manuscript of *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-mak̲h̲lūḳāt* by al-Ḳazwīnī ("Sarre Manuscript"). Probably ʿIrāḳ, D̲j̲alāʾirid period. End of 8th/14th century. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, No. 54.33 recto.

Fig. 12. Pottery bowl with lustre decoration. Egypt or Syria, Fāṭimid period, 5th-6th/11th-12th century. Paris, Musée du Louvre, No. 7872.

Fig. 13. The Moon with the zodiacal figure of Cancer as its *domicilium* and two menacing double-headed animal heads as symbols of the eclipse-producing *Djawzahr* dragon. Detail from the "Vaso Vescovali". Eastern Iran, Seldjūḳ period, about 600/1203. British Museum.

Fig. 14. Arabesque composition with the abbreviated figure of *hilāl*. Syria or Egypt, Mamlūk period. Early 8th/14th century. Modena, Museum, No. 2062

(Photograph by courtesy of the late Professor D. S. Rice).

Fig. 15. *Ḥadjdj* certificate in scroll form for the pilgrim Maymūna bint Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zardālī 836/1432. British Museum, Add. 27,566.

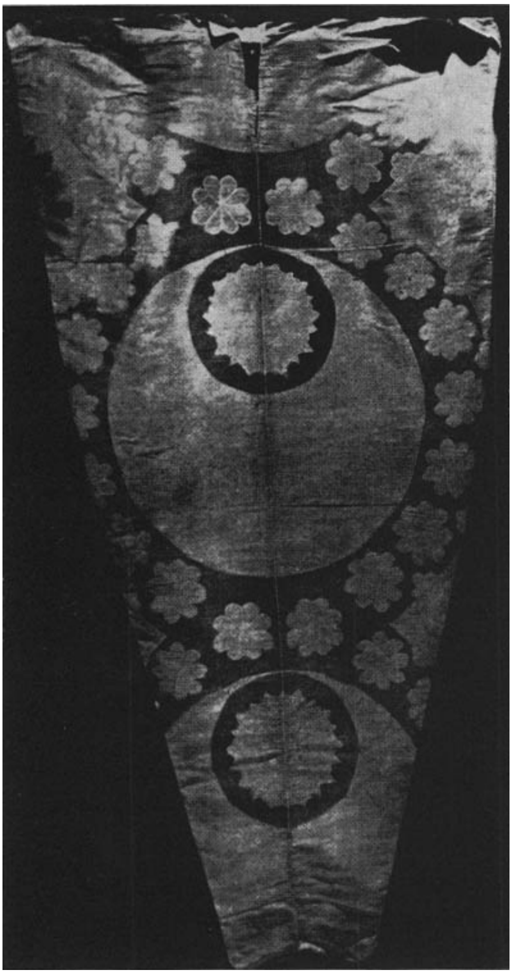

Fig. 16. Trousers (*shalvār*) of Sultan Süleymān, the Magnificent, made of light blue silk with gold and silver decorations. Topkapı Sarayı Müsezi, No. 4414 (After Tahsin Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve Kadifeleri*, i, pl. XXVI).

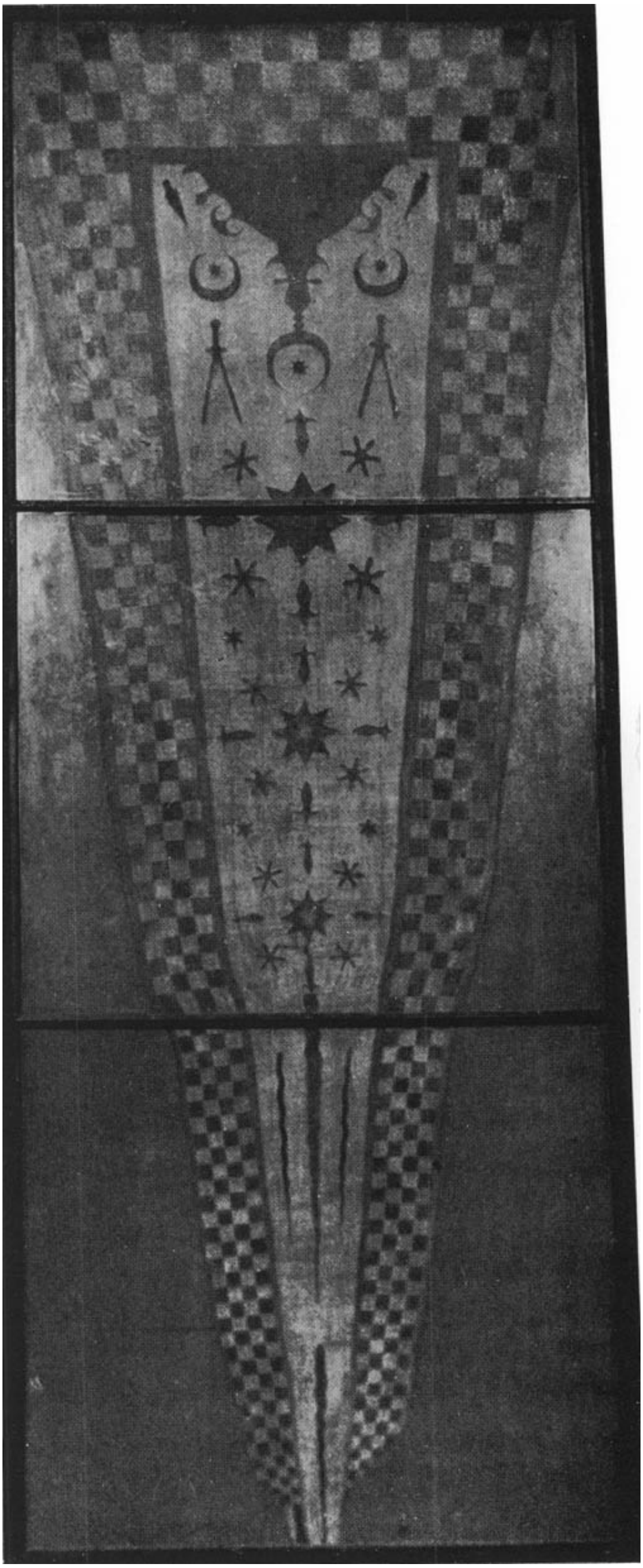

Fig. 17. Turkish flag used in the Battle of Lepanto, 1571. Pisa, Chiesa San Stefano dei Cavalieri. Photograph by courtesy of Mrs. Lilly Stunzi.

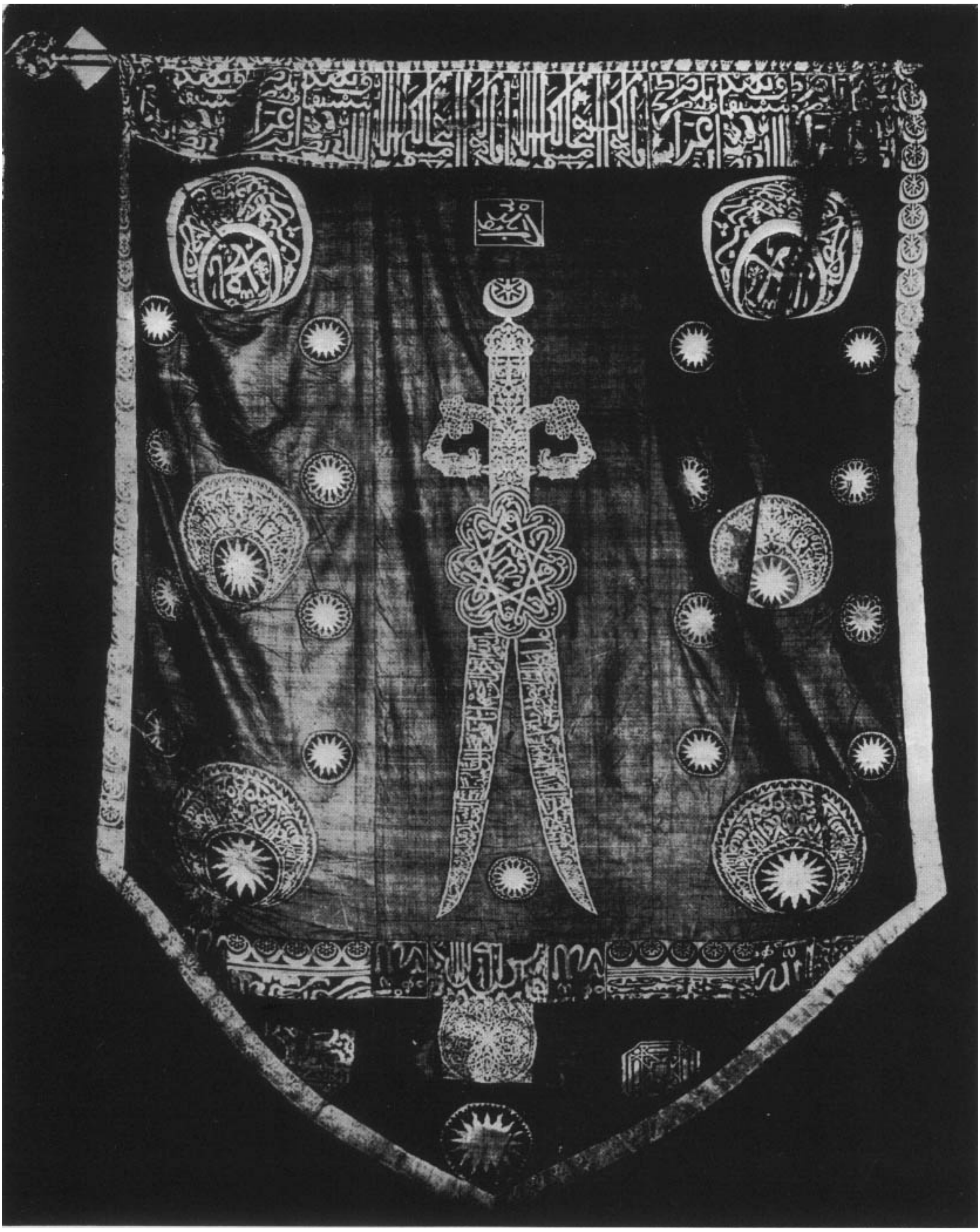

Fig. 18. Flag of Sultan Selīm I. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, No. 824.

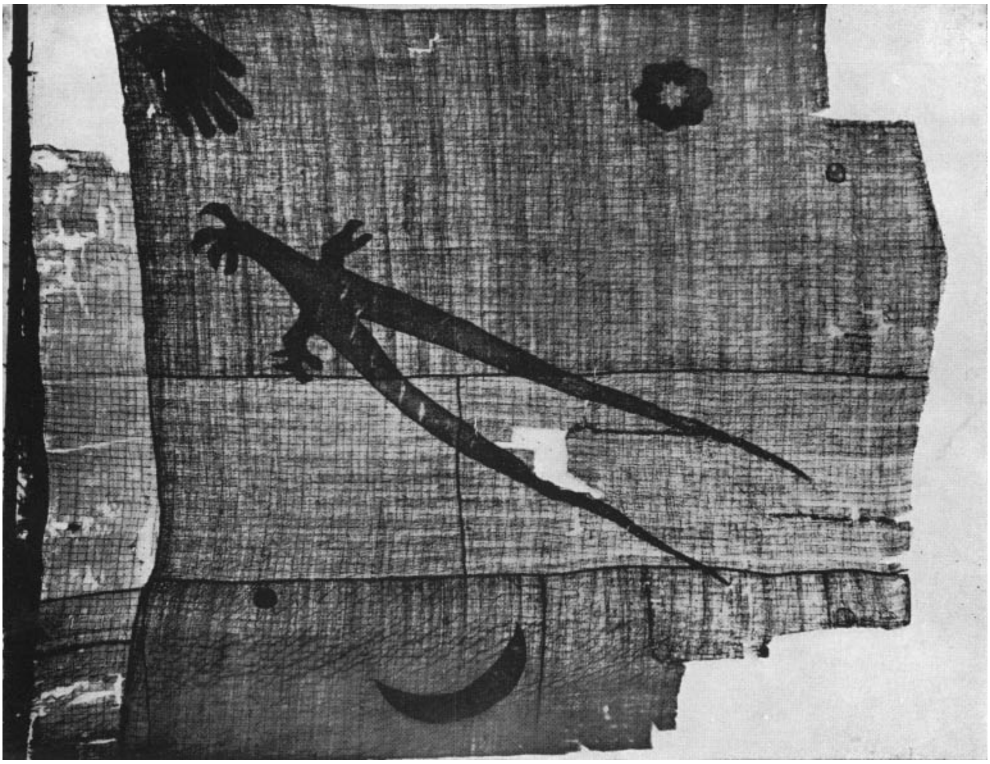

Fig. 19. Turkish flag used in the Battle of Slankamen, 1691. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, No. D. 23. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. Ernst Petrasch.

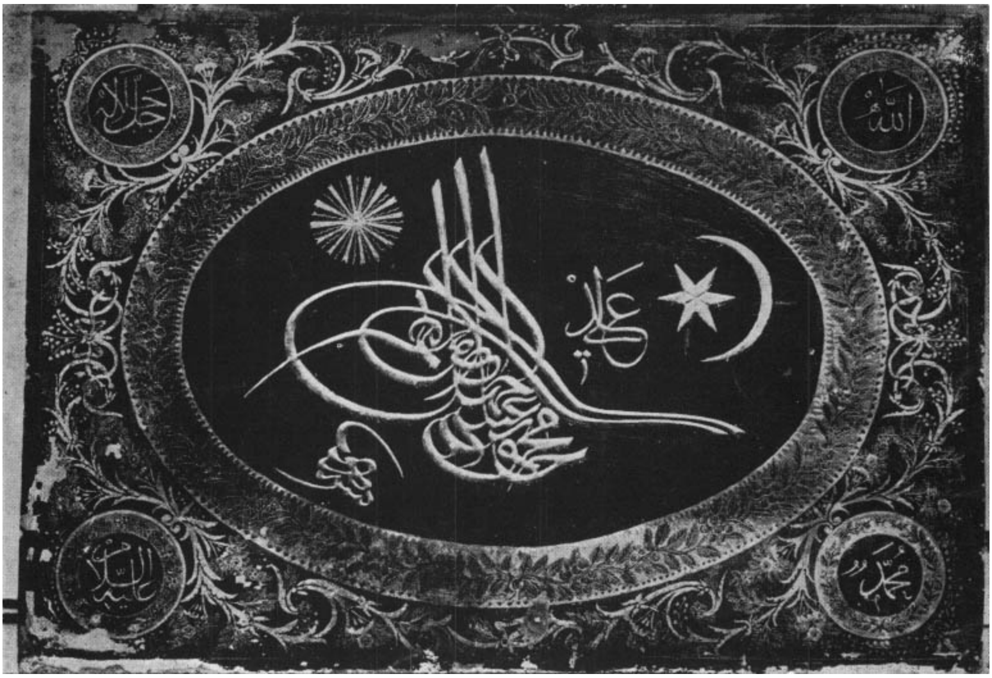

Fig. 20. *Tughra* of Sultan Maḥmūd II (1223-55/1808-39). Ankara, Etnografya Müzesi, No. 7603. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. Hâmit Zübeyir Koşay.

tribe, that of the Athbadj, comprised the Durayd and the Karfa. The Banū Mirdās formed the main division of the Riyāḥ. To the Zughba, whose divisions are unknown, must be added the ʿAdī, also (according to Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Bassām) descendants of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Towns and provinces are said to have been allotted in advance by al-Mustanṣir to the various tribes and their leaders, but it was really only a matter of legitimizing *a posteriori* subsequent appropriations, in the form of an anticipatory grant of a domain yet to be conquered. The Banū Hilāl, setting out in 442/1050-51, at first ravaged the province of Barḳa, which they left to the Banū Sulaym who had followed them, and they did not approach Ifrīḳiya until the beginning of the 7th/13th century. Ibn Khaldūn compares the wave of half-starved nomads to a cloud of locusts. Al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs did not immediately recognize the extent of this unforeseeable scourge; lacking an effective army, he even tried to enlist the invader into his service by marrying one of his daughters to the chief of the Riyāḥ. But the ever-increasing pillaging destroyed this hope, and military action became necessary. The Zīrid army tried to stop the nomads at Ḥaydarān [*q.v.*] in the region of Gabès (443/1051-52) but, in spite of its numerical superiority, it was utterly routed. The countryside, the important villages and soon the towns fell into the hands of the nomad chiefs. Anarchy and insecurity spread further and further. While the pressure of the Banū Hilāl round Ḳayrawān was increasing (446/1054-55), the capture of Béja by Muʾnis b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣinnabarī al-Mirdāsī consolidated the seizure of the valley of the Médjerda. Tripoli and its province had fallen to the Zughba. Al-Muʿizz married three of his daughters to Arab *amīrs* but this did nothing to check the continual devastation and was no more effective than was a return to Fāṭimid obedience in 446/1054-55. Finally, on 27 Shaʿbān 449/29 October 1057, the Zīrid took refuge at al-Mahdiyya with his son Tamīm. On 1 Ramaḍān 449/1 November 1057, Ḳayrawān was sacked by the Banū Hilāl, a disaster from which it never recovered. The presence of the Athbadj and the ʿAdī is attested shortly afterwards in the central Maghrib where, allied to the Ḥammādid, they fought against the Zanāta. Gradually the Athbadj established themselves as auxiliaries of the Ḥammādids, and the Riyāḥ, of the Zīrids. In 457/1065, the Ḥammādid al-Nāṣir, at the head of a large coalition of Berbers and Banū Hilāl (Ṣanhādja, Zanāta, Athbadj and ʿAdī) formed against the other Arab groups (Riyāḥ, Zughba and Sulaym), suffered a defeat at Sabība which was as serious for his dynasty as that of Ḥaydarān had been for the Zīrids. The consequences, however, were less abrupt and less immediate owing to the relief of the Central Maghrib, which was much less favourable for the expansion of the nomadic Banū Hilāl than the plains of Ifrīḳiya. But, by 461/1068-69, the grip of the Banū Hilāl was such that he had to abandon his capital, the Ḳalʿa, for Bougie (Bidjāya) which he had just founded. In about 466/1073-75 the Zughba, driven from Ifrīḳiya by the Riyāḥ, went to put themselves at the service of the Ḥammādids; before this they had proceeded to the "sale of Ḳayrawān", a phrase which symbolizes well the discomfiture of the Ṣanhādja. The Banū Hilāl were too closely involved in the history of the last Zīrids and Ḥammādids to be spoken of separately. In the general anarchy, certain of the chiefs of the Banū Hilāl set themselves up as independent rulers, from simple condottieri like Muḥriz b. Ziyād, who made himself a lair in the ruins of Carthage at La Malga (al-Muʿallaḳa), to dynasties such as those of the Banu ʾl-Ward at Bizerta and the Banū Djāmiʿ at Gabès. After recovering the latter town in 489/1095-96, the Zīrid Tamīm was forced to yield it to the Zughba—whose expulsion had not been complete—and they later lost it to the Riyāḥ. Maggan b. Kāmil b. Djāmiʿ, *amīr* of the Munāḳasha, a division of the Dahmān who, together with the Fādigh/Fādiʿ formed the Riyāḥid tribe of the Banū ʿAlī, established himself there as master. In 491/1097-98, it was the turn of the ʿAdī to be driven from Ifrīḳiya by the Riyāḥ, apparently towards the west. The conquest of the littoral of Ifrīḳiya by the Normans (543/1148) had scarcely any influence on the position of the Banū Hilāl, whose grip on the country was on the contrary greatly strengthened until the arrival of the Almohads. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin seized the Ḥammādid states without difficulty and in a single expedition (547/1152), but, before he could return to Morocco, he had to put down a serious uprising of the Arabs of the Central Maghrib who had been driven back towards the Sahara or nominally subjected. Aware of the deep-seated incompatibility between the peace imposed by the Almohads and their own mode of existence, they united en masse, determined to put all to the stake. The Arab wave (Athbadj, Riyāḥ, Zughba, ʿAdī, Ḳurra), after massing in the region of Béja, spread out in the Constantinois, but was routed on the plain of Sétif (1 Ṣafar 548/28 April 1153). Some of the conquered chiefs were taken to Marrākush and released, others were able to go there later to look for their families, who had been transported there and well treated. This behaviour was the first sign of a policy of enrolling contingents of the Banū Hilāl. The presence of Arabs, probably members of the Banū Hilāl, is attested in the army with which Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, the son of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, tried in 552/1157 to take Tunis from the Khurāsānid; he was prevented by the Riyāḥ of the lord of La Malga, Muḥriz b. Ziyād. Since the disaster of Sétif, the Arab *amīrs* had often gone to the court of the Almohad, who loaded them with gifts. According to official Almohad letters of 551/1156, it is they who requested the Caliph to nominate his eldest son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad as governor of Ifrīḳiya and heir presumptive. Before he left Ifrīḳiya, which he had just conquered in a single campaign (555/1160), ʿAbd al-Muʾmin wanted to transfer the Banū Hilāl to Spain, to wage the Holy War there. He informed the *amīrs* of the Banū Riyāḥ of his intention, demanding of them 10,000 men, and the agreement was concluded. But the Caliph had scarcely begun the return journey when the Arabs defected. The Almohad forces routed them in Rabīʿ II 555/end of April 1160, at Djabal al-Ḳarn, south of Ḳayrawān. The conquered *amīrs* were permitted to go to Morocco to recover their captured wives, who were returned to them. In eastern Barbary the Banū Hilāl always rallied round the banner of rebels against Almohad rule, such as Ḳarāḳūsh and the Banū Ghāniya and played an important and active role in Ḥafṣid history, the vicissitudes of which are too long to recount even briefly. The Marīnids also had to cross swords with the Banū Hilāl who had been settled on the Atlantic plains by the Almohads. From the 7th/13th century it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish the Hilāl from the Sulaym and other nomadic Arab tribes who followed them and pursued their work of devastation.

The invading Banū Hilāl, probably, like most Arab nomads, little concerned with religion, made less contribution to the islamization of Barbary—

in fact they themselves were rather re-converted to Islam by the strength of religious influences in the Maghrib—than they did to strengthening its Arab character. Indeed, whereas the Arabs of the conquest had been absorbed in the Berber population, especially in the towns—Islam is essentially urban—those of the 5th/11th century led, in all fields, to a promotion of nomadism which was absorbed so little that almost all the Arabic-speaking Bedouins of the present-day Maghrib are their descendants. Also, many large villages and towns have come under their influence in consequence of the necessary *modus vivendi* which was soon established between the sedentary population and the nomads. In the East as in the West, neither ethnography nor dialectology have yet made it possible to discern a type specifically belonging to the Banū Hilāl, and it is perhaps too late to do this.

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THE SAGA OF THE BANŪ HILĀL

The movement of the Banū Hilāl into Africa and the battles they had to fight in order to conquer the country form the historical basis for a collection of tales of heroism and love, the romance, or rather the saga, of the Banū Hilāl (*Sīrat Banī Hilāl*), which has come down to us in two versions (*al-Sīra al-Shāmiyya* and *al-Sīra al-Ḥidjāziyya*) and in three cycles.

The first cycle tells the story (more properly the *Sīra*) of the Banū Hilāl in the Bilād al-Sarw wa-ʿUbāda: Hadhbāʾ and ʿAdhbāʾ, the two wives of Hilāl's son al-Mundhir, give birth in the same night to two sons, Djābir and Djubayr. The latter goes away with his mother and later becomes sultan of the Nadjd. In the Bilād al-Sarw reign the *amīrs* Ḥāzim and Rizḳ of the line of Djābir. Rizḳ marries al-Khaḍrāʾ, the daughter of the *sharīf* of Mecca, whom he assists against the king of Rūm. He has a son by her, the swarthy Barakāt, later named Abū Zayd (Zēd). Ḥāzim's successor is his son Sirḥān (Sarḥān), who is succeeded by his son Ḥasan, who marries Kharmā, queen of the Yemen, after conquering the fire-worshippers of the land of Bardhakhā, against whom Kharmā had invoked his aid. With the aid of Abū Zayd, India is then conquered, after which Ḥasan passes with Kharmā into the Bilād al-Sarw wa-ʿUbāda.

The second cycle deals with the migration (*riḥla*) of the Banū Hilāl into the country of Nadjd; because of a famine, the Hilāl go from the Bilād al-Sarw into the Nadjd, where they are warmly welcomed by the prince Ghānim and his son Dhiʾāb (Diyāb, of the line of Djubayr) and by their tribe the Banū Zughba. The Hilāl triumph over the prince al-Haydabī, who is the foremost of the seven rulers of the Nadjd; Ḥasan, who marries al-Nāfila, the sister of Dhiʾāb, then reigns over the Nadjd with several viceroys. A struggle occurs between Dhiʾāb, who kills two of Ḥasan's brothers, and Abū Zayd; Dhiʾāb yields and peace is restored.

The subject of the third cycle is the migration of the Ḥilāl towards the West (*taghrība*) and their wars with the Zanātī ruler of Tunis; in the year 460/1068 Abū Zayd marches with his followers towards Tunis, in order to find a better place of abode than the Nadjd, where famine is widespread. Saʿdā, the daughter of the Zanātī ruler, who is particularly attracted to Mirʿī (Marʿī), one of the companions of Abū Zayd, works on their behalf. Abū Zayd then returns to the Nadjd and the Banū Hilāl start to move westwards. After several adventures (the journey through the land of the Persians with the seven sultans and their battles in this country, the capture of al-Māriya, the daughter of the *ḳāḍī* Budayr, battles with al-Ghaḍbān, king of the Kurds and the Turkomans, with al-Bardawīl b. Rāshid (i.e. Baldwin I, 1110-1118), al-Sarkasī Ibn Nāzib, al-Firmend, ruler of Egypt, al-Māḍī, king of Bilād al-Ṣaʿīd, etc.), they enter the territory of the Zanātī caliph. The latter marches against the Hilāl and kills two brothers of Dhiʾāb. After al-Zanātī has been killed with the aid of Dhiʾāb, the struggle begins for possession of the seven thrones and the fourteen strong castles of the land of the west. Ḥasan and Abū Zayd are then treacherously killed by Dhiʾāb. Their orphans try to avenge these assassinations. Under the leadership of Burayḳiʿ, son of Ḥasan and nephew of Dhiʾāb, and of al-Djāziya, sister of Ḥasan, they march against Dhiʾāb and kill him, after he has stunned al-Djāziya with a kick. Burayḳiʿ, who then seizes power, governs tyrannously and provokes a general uprising of the Banū Zughba, in which he is killed by Naṣr al-Dīn, a son of Dhiʾāb.

Of the two principal heroes of the legend, Abū Zayd and Dhiʾāb, the latter had an historical existence; but he played only an insignificant role, thus resembling Roland, the main hero of the poem of the Carolingian cycle.

This short résumé records only the characteristic features of this tale, which is of the highest importance for the history of language and civilization, and which contains a great number of separate narratives.

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HILĀL B. AL-MUḤASSIN B. IBRĀHĪM AL-**ṢĀBIʾ**, secretary and writer of the Buwayhid period, belonging to a family of Sabean scholars and secretaries which had come from its native Ḥarrān to settle in Baghdād and which included among its members the historian Thābit b. Sinān.Hilāl's grandfather, Abu Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm [see AL-ṢĀBIʾ], was director of the Chancery at Baghdād and it was in his service that Hilāl (b. at Baghdād in 359/969) began his

career in the time of the *amīr* Ṣamṣām al-Dawla (*K. al-Wuzarā᾿*, 151). Little is known however of the details of his career, except that he became in his turn the Director of Chancery under the vizier Fakhr al-Mulk during the reign of the *amīr* Bahā᾿ al-Dawla; it was at this time, in 403/1012, that he embraced Islam, being the first member of his family to do so. When his master fell into disgrace (407/1016-7) Hilāl is said to have received from him 30,000 *dīnārs* which he was allowed to keep under Mu᾿ayyid al-Dawla, and it was on this capital that he lived until his death in 448/1056.

His administrative duties and his rank at the court of the Buwayhid *amīrs* allowed Hilāl al-Ṣābi᾿ to write works which, while often adhering faithfully to the genre of *adab*, constitute, because of the documents of which their author has made use and the evidence reproduced in them, valuable sources of information. Hilāl is known particularly for his *Kitāb al-Wuzarā᾿* which he wrote in the time of the vizier Ibu Māfinā, *i.e.*, during the latter part of his life, and of which there is preserved only the beginning, which concerns the viziers of the caliph al-Muḳtadir. But the *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, published in 1964, which deals with questions of protocol at the court and in official correspondence, also provides extremely important documentation. Of his *History*, which was a continuation of that of Thābit b. Sinān and covered the period up to 447/1055, there survives only a short fragment covering the years 389-93/999-1003. Finally the *Ghurar al-balāgha* is a collection, still unpublished, of models of private and official letters and containing also some texts of brevets of appointment. There are attributed to Hilāl various works which have not survived, notably a *Kitāb Akhbār Baghdād*, cited by Yāḳūt, and a collection of anecdotes entitled *al-Amāthil wa 'l-aʿyān* which seems to have been different from the *K. al-Wuzarā᾿* though part of its content was similar.

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(D. Sourdel)

HILĀLĪ, Badr al-Dīn, Persian poet of the late 9th/15th—early 10th/16th centuries, of Turkish origin, born in Astarābād. While a young man he went to Herāt and enjoyed the patronage of ʿAlī Shīr Nawā᾿ī. Sām Mīrzā, who gives the fullest account of Hilālī, states that although he was known as a Sunnī, he was executed as a Shīʿī heretic by ʿUbayd Allāh Khān in 936/1529-30. Apart from his *dīwān*, consisting mainly of *ghazals*, he composed three *mathnawīs*. These are, in chronological order: (a) *Shāh u Darwīsh*, the content of which Bābur criticized on moral grounds (*The Bábar-náma*, GMS, i, 181b), but which Ethé, who translated it into German verse, regarded as a mystical poem (*Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 302): (b) *Ṣifāt al-ʿāshiḳīn*, an ethical poem; (c) *Laylā u Madjnūn*, which Hilālī considered superior to his earlier *mathnawīs* and which is distinguished from the versions of his predecessors by having a happy ending. A recently published *baḥr-i ṭawīl* in Turkish (E. R. Rustamov, *Uzbekskaya poeziya v pervoy polovine XV veka*, Moscow 1963, 20 ff.) displays also Hilālī's ability in his mother tongue.

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(T. Gandjeï)

ḤILF, etymologically "covenant", "compact", "friendship" and, by extension, "oath", the *ḥilf* being generally confirmed by an oath (*ḳasam, yamīn*). The term is used of three different varieties of institution, all of which originate in the customs of pre-Islamic Arabia.

In a primary sense, *ḥilf* merges with the institution of *walā᾿*, which consists of the admission of an individual to a clan, by an agreement with one of the members of this clan or by collective assent. This individual, known as *mawlā*, is generally accorded the same social and juridical position, from the standpoint both of rights and of obligations, as the original members of the tribe. There is even established a right of succession between him and the member of the tribe with whom the agreement is made [see MAWLĀ].

The second type of *ḥilf* consists of the agreement between the clans within one tribe through which they settle on a common line of conduct in the general interest. Such was probably the case with the *Ḥilf al-fuḍūl* [*q.v.*].

A *ḥilf* may also be arranged between opposing clans within one group, or between different groups, for the accomplishment of a particular object such as a war or the pursuit of a *tha᾿r*,—and which is dissolved when the object is accomplished. In this instance it is of an accidental and temporary nature. Hence the term *ḥilf* came to mean an alliance in the modern sense of the term. Of this type were the two *ḥilfs* arranged on the occasion of the disagreement which arose between the clans of Ḳuraysh on the subject of the allocation of the ritual offices of the Kaʿba and of the Pilgrimage: *ḥilf al muṭayyabīn* for the former, *ḥilf laʿaḳat al-dam* for the latter.

Ḥilf properly so-called however is the compact which, entered into between quite separate tribes, is, in principle, very general in scope and conduces to the amalgamation of these tribes.

It was concluded with solemn formalities, as indeed were the other types of *ḥilf*. The parties gathered around a great fire, "the fire of the *ḥilf*", where they exchanged their reciprocal undertakings, calling down anathemas on the party which broke them. Other rituals were still in use. The *Aghānī* mentions the custom by which those assembled plunged their hands into a leather bottle filled with perfumes, blood or ashes. There are mentioned other rituals, of a religious character, which took place during the conclusion of *ḥilfs* between the clans of a single tribe. The pre-Islamic sources do not appear to mention on these occasions the formal taking of an oath, but there was implicit throughout the ritual the sense of such an oath in the minds of those taking part.

In principle, the *ḥilf* did not diminish the autonomy of the tribes or the degree of equality between them; and they retained their respective dwelling places and their grazing-grounds. Its object was, as well as establishing a permanent state of peace between the tribes, also to unite them for purposes of common defence, for enterprises of *ghazw* [*q.v.*], for vengeance (*tha'r*), for mutual aid in the payment of settlements to third parties and for the common use of pasturage. The agreement was sometimes accentuated by the fact that the two tribes adopted a common dwelling place or, more often, that one of the groups came and settled on the other's territory. The effects of this latter practice, reinforced by the continuation of the compact and by community of interests, usually led to the amalgamation of the groups. This was later sealed by the adoption of a common eponym, either real or invented. According to the author of the *ʿIḳd*, the Arab tribes which had not originally been made up of disparate elements united by a *ḥilf* were very rare.

The *ḥilf* in this sense was to be condemned in Islam, as a result of the pronouncement attributed to Muḥammad: "There is no *ḥilf* in Islam". It was indeed contrary to his principle, which was that all the ancient tribal distinctions should be fused into a single community and that this community must inevitably oppose all others, in order to absorb them or at least to subjugate them (the obligation of the *djihād*). It is true that another saying is reported which announces the survival of the *ḥilf*, but it must refer only to the *ḥilf-walā'*, which is in any case no longer permitted except between Muslims, or perhaps to the maintenance of those *ḥilf*s which had been concluded earlier.

It is not clear to what extent the new principle is adhered to in the specifically Arab milieus which continue to live according to the ancient traditions of tribal organization. There may however be mentioned the use among the Arabs of Transjordania of forms of agreement known as *ben-ʿamma*, the object of which is to establish a state of peace between tribes. One of these forms implies the recognition by the contracting parties of a common ancestral origin such as may lead, as in the ancient *ḥilf*, to their being united.

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ḤILF AL-FUḌŪL, a famous pact concluded between several Ḳurayshī clans a few years before the Prophet's mission, more precisely, according to certain authorities, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda on the return from the war of Fidjār [*q.v.*]. The traditions concerning the events which brought it about are divergent, but can be reduced to the following outline: a merchant of Zabīd (or elsewhere, or even the poet al-Ṭamaḥān al-Ḳaysī) sells merchandise to a leading man of the clan of the Banū Sahm who proves to be a bad payer and wants to harm the merchant. The latter climbs up the Djabal Abī Ḳubays and, complaining loudly of the treatment he has received, appeals to the Ḳurayshīs to see justice done to him. This appeal, together with the fears of extermination which they felt as a result of the supernatural punishments which had smitten the Banū Sahm, brought about the conclusion of the *ḥilf al-fuḍūl*. The circumstances of it are differently reported, but it seems likely that al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān [*q.v.*] played the principal roles; in the latter's dwelling the representatives of the following clans are said to have gathered: Banū Hāshim, Banu 'l-Muṭṭalib, Banū Zuhra, Banū Taym al-Lāt and Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā (this last clan is replaced in al-Masʿūdī by the Banu 'l-Ḥārith b. Fihr), to conclude the pact; after washing the Black Stone and drinking the rinsings, the participants, standing with one hand held above the head, vowed to be all "like a single hand with the oppressed and against the oppressor", to have justice done to all victims whatever their origin and their situation and to afford mutual aid and assistance.

The name of this pact has given rise to widely differing interpretations: for some, a similar agreement had been concluded by several Djurhumīs [*q.v.*] of the name of al-Faḍl (or bearing names derived from this root); for others, it originates from the undertaking of the participants not to leave the outstanding debt (*faḍl*) to the recalcitrant debtor; and for others, some clans which did not participate in the pact saw in it something superfluous (*fuḍūl*); according to al-Djāḥiẓ, it owes its name to the outstanding virtues and advantages it presents, so that the tribes who took part in it were called al-Fuḍūl.

The multiplicity of explanations put forward proves that the reason for this name was forgotten very early, even though Islam did not repudiate the agreement. The Prophet is said moreover to have been present when it was concluded and to have said later: "I was present in the abode of ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān at such a pact that I would not wish [to exchange] for the "red cattle" (*ḥumr al-naʿam* = the best camels), and if I were invited to [agree to it], now that we are in Islam, I would accept willingly". The pact ended with the death of the last of the participants, but it was sometimes effectively recalled down to the Umayyad era and on certain occasions threats were made to bring it into operation. In the 3rd/9th century, al-Djāḥiẓ drew arguments from it to prove the superiority of the Hāshimīs over the ʿAbd Shams (= Umayyads), who had not participated, and he considers it to be the noblest pact ever concluded by the Ḳurayshīs. Recently M. Hamidullah (who had at his disposal a manuscript of the *Munammaḳ* of Ibn Ḥabīb) has taken into account the tradition that there existed among the Djurhumīs a *ḥilf al-fuḍūl*, which lasted for several centuries and, regarding it as an "order of chivalry", has attributed its restoration to the remorse felt by al-Zubayr after the war of the Fidjār.

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AL-ḤILLA, a town situated on the Euphrates midway between al-Kūfa and Baghdād near the ruins of ancient Bābil. Not to be confused with several like-sounding places, it is sometimes called Ḥillat Banī Mazyad or Ḥillat al-Mazyadiyya after Sayf al-Dawla, Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr b. Dubays b. ʿAlī b. Mazyad al-Asadī, who founded the town in 495/1102 (Ḳazwīnī gives the date 436/1044, but this is an error) on the west bank of Nahr Sūrā, the main

subsidiary of the Euphrates. In later times (6th/12th century) this waterway came to be known by the name of the parent stream, the former name gradually going out of use. An earlier settlement called al-Djāmiʿān existed on the intensively cultivated east bank, but the major built-up area was the new town across the river. At a spot which Yāḳūt describes as having hitherto been a gathering place for lions, Dubays settled with his troops, building magnificent dwellings and palaces. The town also contained a wide variety of markets and gave every indication of being prosperous. This prosperity continued well after the death of the founder, for after the decline of Ḳaṣr b. Hubayra, in the 6th/12th century, it became the half-way town along the pilgrim route linking al-Kūfa and Baghdād. A large bridge of boats was constructed in order to facilitate movement across the river, presumably to take the place of the great Sūrā Bridge which was located at the above-mentioned site. Ibn Djubayr describes this bridge as having been moored by iron chains tied to wooden posts on each bank of the river. He found the town to be large and prosperous, of oblong shape, and protected only by mud walls. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, writing two centuries later, was also struck by this magnificent bridge, and by the prosperity of the town in general. His contemporary Ḳazwīnī adds that the population was made up of Twelver Shīʿīs and that a religious shrine was situated there. The town continues to exist in modern times.

Bibliography: Ibn Djubayr, 214; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 322 ff.; iii, 861; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 97, tr. Gibb, ii, 324 f.; Ḳazwīnī, 138; Le Strange, 71.

(J. Lassner)

AL-ḤILLĪ, (1) Djamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Muṭahhar, called ʿAllāma-i Ḥillī (the sage of Ḥilla) after his native city Ḥilla [*q.v.*], which was for a long time the recognized centre of the Shīʿīs when Sunnī rulers were in authority in Baghdād. He was born on 19 Ramaḍān 648/15 December 1250, eight years before the capture of Baghdād by the Mongols, and died 11 Muharram 726/18 December 1325. He came of a great family of Shīʿī theologians, which produced in a comparatively short period ten *mudjtahids*. He studied religious subjects with his father and uncle, and philosophical subjects with the great philosopher, astrologer and theologian Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*].

ʿAllāma-i Ḥillī is said to have written as many as five hundred books and treatises on every branch of Islamic learning, seventy-five of them specifically named in the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ* and the *Amal al-Āmil*. The modern Shīʿī writers ʿĀmilī and Agha Buzurg (see bibliography) name many private libraries in Iraq and Persia where original manuscripts are to be found. Only eight of al-Ḥillī's works are published, however, and are regarded by the Imāmī Shīʿa as the most authentic expositions of their dogma and practice. Two of them, *al-Bāb al-ḥādī ʿashar*, together with its commentary by Miḳdād-i Fāḍil (English tr. by W. M. Miller, Oriental Tr. Fund, N.S. xxix), a recognized creed of the Ithnā-ʿasharīs, which has superseded every other in modern times, and *Sharḥ Tadjrīd al-iʿtiḳād*, on scholastic theology, have become classics of the Imāmī faith, and are universally taught in all the Shīʿī *madrasas* as fundamental texts.

ʿAllāma-i Ḥillī moved to Persia, in about 705/1305, and is said to have successfully conducted many debates with the leading Sunnī theologians of his time in the court of Öldjeytü [*q.v.*], the eighth Īl-Khānid ruler of Persia, who, after renouncing Christianity, became a Sunnī Muslim, but was ultimately converted by ʿAllāma-i Ḥillī into a staunch Imāmī Shīʿī. It was perhaps at his suggestion that Öldjeytü ordered the names of the Twelve Imāms and especially the formula, *ʿAlī walī Allāh*, to be engraved on the coins (see S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum*, London 1881, vi, 44 ff.); hence it may be said that through ʿAllāma-i Ḥillī's efforts Imāmī Shīʿism was for the first time declared the state religion of Persia (see H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1888, iii, 559). His services were so much appreciated by the Shīʿīs that soon after his death his grave in Mashhad became one of the centres of veneration for those who go on pilgrimage to the tomb of Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

(2) Another eminent jurist-theologian of Ḥilla, often described as Muḥaḳḳiḳ-i Ḥillī and also known as Muḥaḳḳiḳ-i awwal, is Nadjm al-Dīn Djaʿfar b. Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā, born 638/1240-1, died 726/1326. He distinguished himself as the author of *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, which came to be recognized as the authoritative work on Shīʿī law (Fr. tr. by A. Querry, Russian tr. by Kasembeg).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: (1) Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, lith. Tehrān 1320 h., 40; Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Tunakābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehrān (latest edition 1954), 355 ff.; Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, Tehrān 1888, 171 ff., 235; Muḥsin al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, Damascus 1946, xxiv, 277-334; Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-Shīʿa li-ʿulūm al-Islām*, Baghdād 1951, 270, 313 and 397 ff.; Agha Buzurg al-Tihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1959, xiii, 117 and 133, and other volumes, as he describes books in alphabetical order; Shaykh Yūsuf Karakūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥilla*, Nadjaf 1965, i, 87-8, ii, 32-4; Brockelmann, II, 164; Browne, iv, 406; W. M. Miller *op. cit.*, pp. xi-xiv; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shīʿite religion*, London 1933, 268 f. and 296.

(2) al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *op. cit.*, 34; Khwānsārī, *op. cit.*, 145; Tunakābunī, *op. cit.*, 364 ff.; ʿĀmilī, *op. cit.*, xvi, no. 3059, 371-91; Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *op. cit.*, 305; Agha Buzurg, *op. cit.*, xiii, 47 ff. and other volumes, *passim*; Karakūsh, *op. cit.*, ii, 20 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 406; S I, 711-2; Browne, iv, 405; Donaldson, *op. cit.*, 295 f.

(S. H. M. Jafri)

ḤILM (a.), a complex and delicate notion which includes a certain number of qualities of character or moral attitudes, ranging from serene justice and moderation to forbearance and leniency, with self-mastery and dignity of bearing standing between these extremes. The term, which is sometimes linked with *ʿilm*, more however from stylistic considerations and a taste for paronomasia than from any conceptual association, is basically contrasted with *djahl* [see djāhiliyya] and *safah* or *safāha*; a derivative from the latter root appears in the expression *saffaha 'l-aḥlām*, which can be translated "to put the most imperturbable out of countenance, to make them lose their temper". The Arabic dictionaries give only fragmentary definitions of *ḥilm*; in the *LA*, it is "levelheadedness and reason", whilst *ḥalīm* is glossed by "patient"; for the *TA*, *ḥilm* consists of controlling oneself and not allowing any violent emotion or anger to burst out; for the *Muḥīṭ*, it is "the state of the soul which preserves its calm and does not easily allow itself to be carried away by anger" (see also Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, iv, 290, 335

and *passim*). From these definitions it emerges that the lexicographers consider the basic element of *ḥilm* to be self-mastery, dignity, detachment (though without the last of these going as far as the *ataraxia* of the Greeks, as T. Izutsu suggests in *The structure of the ethical terms of the Koran*, Tokyo 1959, 26; revised version under the title: *Ethico-religious concepts in the Qurʾān*, Montreal 1966, 31, 69); but they make no reference to the pardoning of offences, whilst in the modern period (as probably for many centuries) the word *ḥilm* generally connotes the qualities associated with patience, leniency, understanding (cf. H. Wehr, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.), or even gentleness (*ibid.*; Beaussier, s.v.). In a recent work, S. H. al-Shamma (*The ethical system underlying the Qurʾān*, Tübingen 1959, 7) gives it simply the meaning of "good conduct".

The problems posed by this word are however not so simple. I. Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, i, 319 ff.; analysis by G.-H. Bousquet, in *Arabica*, vii/3, 246-9), in studying the concept of *dj̲āhiliyya*, very justly contrasts *dj̲ahl* with *ḥilm*, which implies "an idea of physical solidity, and then of moral integrity and solidity, of calm dispassionate reflexion and gentleness in social intercourse. The *ḥalīm* is the civilized man", as opposed to the *dj̲āhil*, the "barbarian". Goldziher adds that *muruwwa* [*q.v.*] allowed it to be known in what cases it was permissible however to resort to *dj̲ahl*, that is to say to allow oneself to be carried away by a somewhat crude spontaneity, for *ḥilm* could be a mark of weakness (cf. al-Maydānī, i, 220; *al-ḥalīm maṭiyyat al-dj̲ahūl*).

Now B. Farès (*L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, XXI), who had used only the second volume of *Muh. Stud.*, makes *ḥilm* one of the four elements of honour, along with generosity, intelligence and courage (*op. cit.*, 56). While noting (*ibid.*, 55) that *ḥilm* "consisted in not giving way to one's anger", this writer recognizes that it sometimes went beyond simple moderation to "become identical with forbearance; in that case, the chief willingly suffered insults and refrained from avenging them, regardless, strange as it may seem, of his own honour". For this attitude, so much at variance with the toughness of the ancient Arabs, B. Farès finds an explanation in the fact that dishonour provoked by the practice of *ḥilm* enhanced the group's prestige, while the tyranny of the chief was averted. In reality this form of *ḥilm*, the scorning of insults, cloaks a considerable moral force, since indifference can, if he possesses a certain nobility of character, administer a more profitable lesson than a physical penalty to the guilty man, but it can only be an aristocratic virtue. Tradition indeed relates numerous anecdotes in which important personages can be seen turning a blind eye to faults of greater or lesser gravity, while in similar circumstances, according to the writers, men of the common sort would be carried away and take to fighting. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (*Dīwān*, 286-7, verses 3 ff.) relates *ḥilm* to silence (*ṣamt*), "in which the *ḥalīm* finds a protection against all that might injure his honour (*ʿirḍ*)". Before Islam, therefore, *ḥilm* seems to have been compounded of a mixture of characteristics which conferred upon those who possessed them, and who were *sayyid*s, an incontestable moral authority.

With Islam, if one is to judge by the interpretations of it that have been given, *ḥilm* was to change its character entirely, at least in principle. The word itself is absent from the Ḳurʾān, and the adjective *ḥalīm*, qualifying Allāh (*passim*), Abraham (IX, 115/114, XI, 77/75), Isaac (XXXVII, 99/101) and S̲h̲uʿayb (XI, 89/87), is generally rendered by "long-suffering", "patient", "gifted with tolerance", "slow to punish"; it is also the 33rd of the *asmāʾ ḥusnā* [*q.v.*]. Thus the Ḳurʾān does not appear to impose the virtue of *ḥilm* on the Muslims; but in strict logic, granted that Islam is opposed to *Dj̲āhiliyya* and that *dj̲ahl* is the fundamental characteristic of that period, it follows that *ḥilm* must be the essential feature of Islam. This is the reasoning that is followed by Goldziher (*op. cit.*), for whom the new religion "desired the triumph of a *ḥilm* superior to that known by Arab paganism". This original opinion has recently been revived and developed by T. Izutsu (*op. cit.*, 25), who thinks that "Muhammad's whole work on its ethical side may very well be represented as a daring attempt to fight to the last extremity with the spirit of *jāhiliyyah*, to abolish it completely, and to replace it once for all by the spirit of *ḥilm*". Indeed, the notion of *ḥilm* is simply implicit in Islamic ethics and can be deduced *a contrario* from the use of the word *dj̲ahl* and its derivatives in the Ḳurʾān; but it also emerges from certain verses, the most characteristic of which is certainly the following (XXV, 64/63): "The [true] servants of the Beneficent are those who walk the earth modestly and who, when addressed by the *dj̲āhil*, answer 'peace!' ". In fact, to eradicate the tendencies of the Arab people, it was fitting to substitute a "civilization" for the "barbarism" of the *dj̲āhiliyya*, to make the Arabs civilized men, capable of holding their instincts in check and of pardoning insults, in short of spreading abroad the virtue of *ḥilm* hitherto restricted to an élite; this reform of manners was to be favoured by the belief in the Last Judgement, which imposes a rule of life on earth, and in Allāh, Who combines in Himself all the elements of *ḥilm* and of responsibility for avenging men by chastising the guilty.

This analysis of Muslim ethics, suggested by Goldziher and restated more systematically by Izutsu, does not provoke any major objection, except that the Muslims do not appear to have consciously made *ḥilm* a directing principle of their conduct, even though their behaviour in fact corresponded with the definition of this multiple virtue and, in practical life, a true Muslim is necessarily *ḥalīm*.

The proof of the survival of the pre-Islamic notion of *ḥilm* without any Muslim admixture is to be found in the first place in the facts put forward to explain the origin of the saying (al-Maydānī, i, 229): *aḥlam min al-Aḥnaf*. This noble Tamīmī (d. 67/686-7 [see AL-AḤNAF]) still represents the typical pre-Islamic *sayyid*, and the *ḥilm* which has made him proverbial contains the following elements: self-mastery, leniency in respect of his enemies, repression of anger, inclination towards the serious, discretion, and hostility to denunciation. After him, the man who seems to have been regarded as most *ḥalīm* is Muʿāwiya; but, on the one hand, this caliph belonged to a dynasty which had not yet shed all its bedouin character and, on the other hand, an analysis of his *ḥilm* shows that he had made of it a political principle: he succeeded through his leniency in disarming certain of his enemies, and through his liberality in securing the submission of others, saying that war is more costly than generosity; such a *ḥilm* can in no way be regarded as a Muslim virtue (cf. H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿāwia I*). Al-Dj̲āḥiẓ, who of all the ancient authors took the greatest pains to analyse sentiments and traits of

character, has no difficulty (*Faḍl Hās͟him ʿalā ʿAbd S͟hams*, in *Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, 104) in destroying the legend of the *ḥilm* of al-Aḥnaf and Muʿāwiya by observing that neither of them fulfilled the conditions of a true *ḥalīm*, who must in fact possess a combination of qualities which he enumerates, notably in a fine passage in the *Kitmān al-sirr* (ed. Kraus-Ḥād͟jirī, 40), and which incidentally have nothing specifically Muslim about them. The *adab* writers subsequently name various other great men renowned for their *ḥilm*, in particular al-Maʾmūn (see al-Ibs͟hīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo n.d., i, 262), but in general they base themselves primarily on tradition, either pre-Islamic or dating from the very first centuries of Islam (see particularly Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, *passim*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 75). Even in al-D͟jāḥiẓ, in the passage just referred to, there appears a new element, but one to be expected from a Muʿtazilī: it is reason which must curb the passions. In his *Tahd͟hīb al-ak͟hlāḳ* (25), Miskawayh lists *ḥilm* among other qualities and defines it (232) as "the consultation of reason" (*istis͟hārat al-ʿaḳl*); al-G͟hazālī, in his *Iḥyāʾ* (book xxv) brings together anger, hatred and jealousy, but links *ḥilm* with anger and defines it as the plenitude of reason, the mastery of self, the subjection of the passions to reason. Ibn Sīnā introduces it into the system of Greek philosophy [see FALĀSIFA, at p. 766b]. Al-Harawī (*K. al-Tad͟hkira al-harawiyya fi ʾl-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya*, ed.-tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, in *BÉt.Or.*, xvii (1961-2), 236, 246) regards *ḥilm baʿd al-ḳudra* as one of the qualities of the ruler. The author of a popular encyclopaedia such as al-Ibs͟hīhī in the 36th chapter of his *Mustaṭraf* (i, 252-65) groups together pardon, *ḥilm*, good-nature and the repression of anger, and quotes a certain number of memorable sayings which all go back to the first centuries of Islam, with the conclusion that each must try to acquire these qualities and to imitate the Prophet who was the most *ḥalīm* of men.

Thus it appears that *ḥilm* is naturally regarded as a praiseworthy quality but not as a cardinal virtue in Islamic morality; in popular estimation generally restricted to self-control and the forgiving of insults, it is a quality whose effects are turned outwards; however, the thinkers and moralists tend to make it a sort of internal restraint, of mastery over the passions, thanks to the intervention of reason, which must decide the conduct to be followed in any particular circumstance.

Bibliography: in the article. Also, Ch. Pellat, *Concept of ḥilm in Islamic ethics*, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Isl. St.*, nos. 6 and 7 (Aligarh 1962-3).

(CH. PELLAT)

HILMAND (HELMAND), name of a river (the Etymandrus of Arrian, the Erymanthus of Polybius, the Haētumat of the Avesta, the Hīd͟hmand of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*) which, with its five great tributaries (K͟hūd Rūd, Tirīn, Arg͟handāb, Tarnak, Arg͟hasān) drains all south-west Afg͟hānistān (see map at i, 222 above). Rising in a valley at the convergence of the Kūh-i Bābā and Sangak͟h ranges, the river flows in a southwesterly direction through Hazārad͟jāt and Dihrāwat to K͟hʷād͟ja ʿAlī, where it turns westward, and finally north, to lose itself in the lakes of Sīstān. It is navigable downstream from the important crossing on the Ḳandahār-Harāt road at Giris͟hk. The waters of the lower Hilmand have been used for irrigation since antiquity; after the Second World War an ambitious project was undertaken to use the waters of the Hilmand and its tributaries for irrigation west of Ḳandahār, but it has encountered many difficulties.

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(M. E. YAPP)

AḤMED **ḤILMĪ** EFENDI, 19th century Turkish translator. Born in Üsküdar, he was trained in the language chamber [see TERD͟JÜME ODASÏ] of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and subsequently held a number of official appointments. He is mentioned as having been Ottoman Consul in Tabrīz and a member of the Embassy in Tehrān, and in 1876 was elected a deputy in the first Ottoman parliament. He died in 1878 of typhus, contracted while caring for refugees from the Russo-Turkish war, and was buried at the Karacaahmet cemetery in Üsküdar.

Aḥmed Ḥilmī played a pioneer role as a translator of books on history and economics. His major historical enterprise was a Turkish translation and adaptation of an English book (*Chambers's Historical questions with answers. Embracing ancient and modern history*, London and Edinburgh 1865). Entitled *Taʾrīk͟h-i ʿumūmī*, this work appeared in 2 vols. in Istanbul in 1285/1868-9; a second, expanded edition was published in 6 volumes in 1293-4/1876-7. The second edition contained more extensive treatment of Islamic history, drawn from the *Ṣaḥāʾif al-ak͟hbār* of Müned͟jd͟jimbas͟hī [*q.v.*]. Though not the first Turkish translation of a European historical work [see TARD͟JAMA], the *Taʾrīk͟h-i ʿumūmī* was the first modern work on world history published in Turkey; its appearance, which was followed by the publication of numerous other translations and adaptations of works on European and world history, introduces a new phase in the Turks' awareness of history and their own place in it. It was published under the auspices of the official Translation Committee appointed in 1865, of which Aḥmed Ḥilmī was a member (on this committee see Mahmud Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*, 1308; Ş. Mardin, *The genesis of Young Ottoman thought*, Princeton 1962, 239). In addition, Aḥmed Ḥilmī is said to have published a book entitled *Taʾrīk͟h-i Hind*, and consisting, according to *ʿOt͟hmānlī müʾellifleri*, of a translation of a history 'written in the ancient language of India'.

Besides history, Aḥmed Ḥilmī was also interested in economics, and in 1286/1869-70, according to *ʿOt͟hmānlī müʾellifleri*, published *ʿIlm-i tedbīr-i t͟herwet*, an economic treatise translated from the German.

Bibliography: Babinger, 364-5; *ʿOt͟hmānlī müʾellifleri*, iii, 49; E. Kuran, *Ottoman historiography of the Tanzimat period*, in Lewis and Holt, *Historians*, 424; B. Lewis, *History-writing and national revival in Turkey*, in *MEA*, iv (1953), 219.

(B. LEWIS)

AḤMED **ḤILMĪ**, known as S͟hehbenderzāde, a Turkish journalist who first achieved prominence after the revolution of 1908, when he returned to

Istanbul from exile in Fezzan, and started a periodical called *Ittiḥād-i Islām*. He also contributed to *Iḳdām*, *Taṣwīr-i Efkār*, and, later, the weekly *Ḥikmet* [see DJARĪDA, iii], and wrote a considerable number of books, some of which were published. These include a history of Islam and books on the Sanūsī order and on Ibrāhīm Gülshanī [*qq.v.*]. He died in 1913.

Bibliography: Babinger, 397; *ʿOthmānlï müʾellifleri*, ii, 156-7. (ED.)

TUNALÏ ḤILMĪ, Turkish writer and politician. Born in Eskidjuma in 1863, he became involved in illegal political activities while still a medical student. After serving a brief term of imprisonment, he fled to Europe in 1895, and joined the Young Turk group in Geneva, where in 1896 he founded, with others, the Ottoman Revolutionary Party (*ʿOthmānlï Ikhtilāl Fïrḳasï*); he was particularly effective as a writer and propagandist with a simple and direct popular appeal. In 1900, together with ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet and Isḥāḳ Sükūti [*qq.v.*], he made his peace with the Sultan and was appointed Secretary at the Ottoman Embassy in Madrid, but later reverted to opposition. Returning to Turkey in 1908, he held various official positions and became a member of parliament. Later he joined the Kemalists and was a member of the first Grand National Assembly in Ankara. He died in 1928.

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ḤILMĪ PASHA [see ḤUSAYN ḤILMĪ PASHA; IBRĀHĪM ḤILMĪ PASHA].

ḤIMĀ (A., literally "protected, forbidden place"), an expanse of ground, with some vegetation, access to and use of which are declared forbidden by the man or men who have arrogated possession of it to themselves. The institution, which dates back to pre-Islamic Arabia, seems to have a secular origin. To protect their flocks from the ill-effects of drought, the powerful nomadic lords used to reserve to themselves the grazing and watering rights in certain rich pasturages. The story is well-known of the famous Kulayb b. Rabīʿa who, having appropriated certain meadows, fixed as the limits of his *ḥimā* the points within earshot of his dog's bark. A strange she-camel having strayed into the middle of his herd, he shot an arrow which wounded it mortally. In reprisal, Djassās killed Kulayb. Such is said to have been the origin of the celebrated war of Basūs.

The *ḥimā* was often placed under the protection of the tribal deity. It was then assimilated with the *ḥaram* in whose privileges it participated. Its fauna and flora were protected, and it enjoyed the right of asylum. The inviolability of the *ḥimā*s of the idols Fals and Djalsad is well-known. The animals consecrated to them grazed there safely, and no-one dared to kill or steal them. The straying animal that crossed over the boundary was lost to its owner, for it then came under the god's tutelage.

The Ḳurʾān, which recognizes only the *ḥaram* (XXVIII, 57, XXIX, 67), does however make a discreet allusion to the institution of *ḥimā* when it evokes the history of the prophet Ṣāliḥ: "O my people, this is the camel of Allāh, which is for you a sign. Leave it to graze on the land of Allāh" (XI, 64, VII, 73). This apparently refers to a consecrated animal which had to live in freedom on the territory of the god. Nevertheless Islam, which turned against *wasm* and the consecration of animals to divinities (V, 103, VI, 138 f.), intended to put an end to these pagan practices. Henceforward, the sole territory to be strictly sacred was Mecca, its inviolability having been decreed by Allāh Himself (Ḳurʾān XVII, 91; al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmda*, v, 89 and 92). By extension, under the terms of a special measure made on its behalf by the Prophet, Medina enjoyed the same religious prerogatives as the Meccan *ḥaram*. But the institution of *ḥimā* was not suppressed as such: Islam simply reduced it to its secular applications. It was, accordingly, to this practice that Muḥammad and the first caliphs resorted in reserving for the mounts of the Muslim armies, both for the camels acquired by the Treasury and for the smaller herds belonging to the poorer Muslims, the use and possession of certain pasturages (in the places called Naḳīʿ, Rabadha, Sharaf).

The Muslim jurists dispute the validity of the measures taken by Muḥammad's successors for, according to a celebrated *ḥadīth*, "there is no *ḥimā* save for Allāh and His messenger".

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*; Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, Būlāḳ 1284, i, 427; Yāḳūt, Beirut 1956, ii, 307, iii, 24, 330, 336, 457, iv, 282, v, 301; ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-ḳāriʾ*, *ad locc.*; Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab fī maʿrifat ʿaḥwāl al-ʿArab*, iii, 31 ff.; Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 178 ff. (ch. XVI), Cairo n.d.; Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, 60-70. (J. CHELHOD)

ḤIMĀR (A.), donkey (fem. *atān* and *ḥimāra*). The Arabs make a distinction between the domestic donkey (*ahlī*) and the wild donkey (*waḥshī*, *faraʾ*, *ʿayr al-ʿāna*). Domestic donkeys are used to turn mills, as beasts of burden and as mounts, but although the Prophet is said to have owned one, named Yaʿfūr, and although the animal has been esteemed by famous persons, it is not ridden by Arabs of high rank, who even employ a formula of apology (*ḥashā-kum*, *aʿazza-kum Allāh*, etc.) when they utter its name. The zoological works provide details of its characteristics: it is able to find its way even if it has travelled a road only once before; it is sharp of hearing; its braying, provoked by the sight of a demon (whereas when a cock crows it is said to have seen an angel), carries a great distance, and is so disagreeable that a dog howls with pain on hearing it; in order to prevent it braying a stone should be attached to its tail; if it sees a lion it either stops or runs towards it, and this saves it; it is not very prone to illness but is very sensitive to cold; if someone who has been stung by a scorpion sits back to front on its back the pain felt is transmitted to the donkey. The uses made of the different parts of its body are innumerable. From the juridical point of view it is not generally permitted to eat its flesh [see ḤAYAWĀN, iv] and it is forbidden in principle to mate a mare with a domestic ass [see BAGHL].

Wild asses are all so similar to one another that there is nothing to distinguish among them. The stallion is so jealous that it tears off with its teeth the testicles of young asses; for this reason the she-asses do not rejoin the herd until their young are strong enough to run away. As the herd usually does not separate, it is very easy to hunt the wild ass: the hunter hides in a ravine and kills the first one

to pass; the others, instead of turning back, stay together and are easily killed; but this detail does not correspond with the data of poetry collected by G. Jacob (*Studien in arab. Dichtern*, iii, 115). It is permitted to eat the flesh of the wild ass, except for the Ḥanafīs.

Wild asses are considered to live much longer than domestic ones (up to 200 and even 800 years!), and the breed which enjoys the greatest longevity is that known as *akhdariyya*; it owes its name to *al-Akhdar*, the stallion of Ardashīr which, having reverted to a wild state, is said to have been the founder of this breed which is considered to be the most beautiful.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ Ḥayawān, index; idem, *Bighāl*, index; Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 376; Damīrī, s.v.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, in Leclerc. *Notices et extraits*, i, 458; Polak, *Persien*, ii, 99; Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter*, 73; V. Monteil, *Faune du Sahara occidental*, Paris 1951, 32; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest africain au moyen âge*, Dakar 1961, 282-3, 359-6.

(J. Ruska*)

ḤIMĀYA, term used of practices and institutions of "protection" which are almost unrecognized by *fiḳh* but which were in fact important in classical Islamic society.

In one sense, where the synonym *khafāra* [*q.v.*] is usually employed, *ḥimāya* has meant, from the pre-Islamic period, the protection given, in return for financial compensation, by a nomadic tribe or group to the settled inhabitants or more particularly to travellers who are in the territory controlled by them; this *khafāra* may be conceded in a regular manner by a head of state or may be seized by the group concerned.

In a second sense, which concerns more broadly the whole social structure of the mediaeval East, *ḥimāya* is related to certain practices or institutions of Byzantium or of the late Roman Empire. There existed in the Muslim world, as in these empires, relations between patron and client; but we are not here concerned with the personal forms of this relationship (which in the early centuries of Islam were usually called the *walā'* of the *mawlā* [*qq.v.*]) but rather with certain practical forms of "protection" of the property of men whose personal status was unaffected. In this case *ḥimāya* is the aspect of protection by a superior which corresponds to the practice which from the point of view of the inferior is called *taldjiʾa* or *ildjāʾ*. *Fiḳh* recognizes *taldjiʾa* in a limited sense, which for it consists of "a fictitious sale resorted to by a person who wishes to protect his possessions from possible confiscation" (cf. Y. Linant de Bellefonds, in *Revue Internationale de Droit Comparé*, x (1958), 513). More generally, in the practice of the first three or four centuries of Islam, *taldjiʾa*, literally "putting under protection", consisted of the "commending" by an inferior (who might be either a humble person or a person of some importance) to a superior of a possession of which the former remains the legal owner but for which, by virtue of a tacit agreement, the latter is to be responsible vis-à-vis the administrative authority and more particularly the tax authorities. It is true that the inferior rewarded by a fee the service rendered by the superior, but it must be admitted that, in accordance with the conditions under which the payment of the tax was made, he might often still find this advantageous. The right to receive this fee was itself the property of the superior and a *ḥimāya* might be inherited like anything else which counted as property. It can thus be seen how in fact this could result in a sort of sharing of property between the two parties to the contract, and even, when the inferior party was a person of humble rank, in actual dispossession: the contract being merely a tacit agreement, it was impossible for the victim to prove his ownership against the assertion of a superior who appealed to the tax registers. And it can readily be understood how *ḥimāya*, in this instance imposed by force or as a way of repaying debts, was one of the methods used by those in power to build up for themselves vast domains, in which the former owners of the separate estates were now merely share-croppers. Although from the 4th/10th century onwards there is no further mention of *taldjiʾa* or of *ḥimāya* in this sense, this is not because small estates were better protected, but on the contrary because on the one hand fewer of them remained and on the other the concession in new forms to the officers of the new military aristocracy of *iḳṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*] granting them all the administrative and fiscal rights over a district rendered useless to both sides the intermediate practice which until then had been current.

There existed at the same time as this *ḥimāya* of land another which resembled, in greater or less degree according to circumstances, both *taldjiʾa* and *khafāra*. Important persons received or assumed the "protection" of a territory, essentially of the crops and the roads, against bandits; for this they needed a police force, and they received a fee which was commonly called simply *ḥimāya*. In this case too they might be acting by virtue of an official concession or have arrogated to themselves a responsibility which might or might not be recognized. The members of the newly arisen military aristocracy in the 4th/10th century developed this type of *ḥimāyāt* to their own profit, though the Būyid dynasty, which grew from the military aristocracy, tried to regulate and discipline the practice. In the following century these *ḥimāyāt* also disappeared as the result of the strengthening of the great governmental *iḳṭāʿ*s which conferred on the military chiefs more complete powers over their territories.

The name *ḥimāya* was, however, to remain in use for several centuries longer as the designation of another, narrower, institution. Sometimes in towns undisciplined groups such as those of *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] imposed on the merchants, for example, their "protection". But, in general, the term *ḥāmī*, plur. *ḥumāt*, was used for the chief of police of a quarter in a large town like Baghdād or Cairo, or of a small town; this official naturally levied for his services a *ḥimāya* tax, the legitimacy of which was contested by the early jurists (on the grounds that the ordinary taxes were intended among other things precisely to meet the expenses of ensuring public order), but which had now become a tolerated custom. In the same way little local potentates continued to "protect" bridges, passes etc.

Bibliography: Sources and studies are given in Cl. Cahen, *Notes pour l'histoire de la Himaya*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, i (1956), 257-303; see also Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Jérusalem*, i, no. 107, and the note by G. Wiet in *JESHO*, v (1962), 39.

(Cl. Cahen)

Post-Classical

i. — The Middle East

The term *ḥimāya*, as meaning "protection", has been used in various contexts. In a popular sense, in the field of power politics, France for instance considered herself the "protecting" European power

of all Catholics in the Levant, while Russia claimed a similar role over all Eastern Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Sultan [see KÜČÜK KAYNARDJA, Treaty of]. The term referred also to the status of those members of the non-Muslim communities (Christian and Jewish) in the Ottoman Empire, especially in its Levant provinces, who in the nineteenth century enjoyed the consular "protection" afforded by a number of European powers, *e.g.*, Austria, Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia [see BERĀTLĪ, IMTIYĀZĀT].

More specifically, *ḥimāya* refers to various bilateral treaty arrangements, particularly those contracted between Great Britain and the shaykhly rulers of states on the western seaboard of the Persian Gulf, from Muscat (Masḳaṭ) and Oman (ʿUmān) to Kuwayt (the so-called "Trucial" Coast), in a system built up in the course of the nineteenth century on the basis of the general Treaty of Peace of 1235/1820. In return for British protection, rulers were bound by treaty to desist from acts of piracy or of war with one another. In concluding these bilateral arrangements, which gave Great Britain some jurisdiction over defence and the conduct of the external affairs of these states and principalities, the British government was motivated by the desire to protect and secure its maritime interests in the Gulf. Only since the end of the nineteenth century did other factors play a part, such as a strategic threat from the hinterland of Arabia or from other European powers (*e.g.*, France). See the articles on the individual states: AL-BAḤRAYN, DUBAYY, AL-ḲAṬAR, KUWAYT, MASḲAṬ, SHARDJA, ʿUMĀN, etc.

Similar bilateral agreements exist between Great Britain and the rulers of states in South Arabia—what are referred to today as the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates. Here too Britain's treaty obligation is to protect the independence of the various rulers who have such a relationship with her; the rulers on their part undertake not to cede any portion of their territories to another state or power, or to enter into agreements with them without consultation with Great Britain [see ʿADAN—iii, and cross-references there].

The protection exercised by Great Britain over Egypt was based not on a bilateral agreement but on a unilateral British act following the outbreak of the First World War: the Declaration of 18 December 1914 formally terminated Ottoman suzerainty over Egypt (until then an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire, ruled by the dynasty of Muḥammad ʿAlī but recognizing the Ottoman Sultan as its suzerain) and legalized the status of the British occupation begun in 1882. The new status was subsequently recognized by article 147 of the Treaty of Versailles. The Protectorate was ended, as it had begun, by a unilateral Declaration of the British Government (22 February 1922). See MIṢR.

Bibliography: J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, a documentary record*, 2 vols., Princeton 1956; J. B. Kelly, *The legal and historical basis of the British position in the Persian Gulf*, St Antony's Papers no. 4, Middle Eastern affairs no. 1, London 1958; Sir Tom Hickinbotham, *Aden*, London 1958; Lord Lloyd, *Egypt since Cromer*, 2 vols., London 1932.

(P. J. VATIKIOTIS)

ii. — NORTH AFRICA

(I) In North Africa, in the modern period, this term has been used officially of the protection exercised by a foreign Christian power over certain individuals, then over states.

(a) In Tunisia, the principle of the protection of individuals arose from the earlier system of the Capitulations (*imtiyāzāt*) granted to various European powers throughout the Ottoman Empire.

In Morocco, so far as France was concerned, this right of protection goes back to the treaty concluded in 1767 between Louis XV and the ʿAlawid sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. The protected persons were those natives (Muslims and Jews) who were in the service of the French consuls (secretaries, interpreters, guards) and of the French merchants (brokers, rural agents). This protection conferred absolute freedom of movement, exemption from dues and taxes and a guarantee against any arbitrary action by the local authorities.

During the 19th century, several agreements of the same type were concluded with other European powers, beginning with England and Spain. In 1880, Morocco was forced to accept the Convention of Madrid which laid down definitively the conditions of the protection. This applied to diplomatic personnel and to the employees of European merchants: brokers (*simsār*) and agricultural agents (*mukhāliṭ*). One so protected was described as *ḥimāya*, whereas a Moroccan was only *raʿiyya*, "subject to the common law".

Those possessing this privileged status were able to escape from the normal taxes and from the judicial system, and were protected from arbitrary action and the extortion of money; thus they formed a sort of state within the state. For their part, the foreign powers desired only that the protection should be used to increase their political following. Thus we see the protection extended to wealthy individuals, high officials and even to ministers. In 1883, the powerful *sharīf* of Wazzān [*q.v.*], al-Ḥādjdj ʿAbd al-Salām, leader of the great religious brotherhood of the Tuhāmiyya-Ṭayyibiyya (*dār al-ḍamāna*), requested and obtained the status of French-protected persons for himself and for his family. When he introduced protection in 1767, the only aim of the great statesman, the sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, was to protect trade in his kingdom with foreign nations and thus to increase the revenue from customs. As he saw it, the benefit of protection was to be restricted to a small number of people living in the few ports which were open to trade with the Christian countries. But the gradual increase in the number of protected persons, in the country as well as in the towns, and their evasion of their responsibilities to the state, was an important factor in the decay of the Moroccan state which reached its final stage at the beginning of the 20th century. Thus the protection of individuals prepared the way for the establishment of a protectorate over the state itself.

(b) The French protectorate in Tunisia lasted from 1881 to 1956 and that in Morocco (apart from a zone conceded to Spain in the north) from 1912 to 1956. During these periods the other foreign powers gradually renounced their rights of protection over individuals.

Bibliography: Michaux-Bellaire, *Le Gharb*, in *Arch. Mar.*, xx, 201; G. Kampffmeyer, *Weitere Texte aus Fes und Tanger*, in *MSOS*, xvi (1913), ii, 70-1; Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, 178.

(II) Among the Berbers and Arabs (especially nomads) of North Africa there existed numerous forms of protection, occasional or permanent, exercised over individuals or groups, the latter more especially in the regions (*blād əs-sība*) where the government was unable to ensure security.

(a) Protection of individuals. (1) Here, as

everywhere, a guest was accorded protection for three days [see IDJĀRA]. (2) If a stranger, generally a merchant, wished to cross safely a tribe's territory, he addressed himself to a dignitary, often a descendant of the Prophet (*s̲h̲rīf*) or of a saint (*mrābəṭ*), who would give him one of his servants as an escort, in return for a fee, or gave him to carry an object well known in the region as belonging to him: an iron-tipped staff, a burnous, a rosary, etc., which served as a kind of passport for the traveller. The same form of paid protection was also applied to the periodical trading caravans which plied, for example, between Tāfīlālt and Fez and Marrākus̲h̲. This protection was agreed, by contract, by the whole of a tribe which supplied an armed escort.

The name of the iron-tipped staff, *məzrāg* (= classical *mizrāḳ*) was ultimately used of all forms of protection, and it was said: *X fī-məzrāg-Y*, "X is under the protection of Y". The Berbers of Morocco used in the same circumstances the word *āmūr*, "hunting spear".

If a burnous was given, the Moroccans called the protector *kāsī*, literally "one who has clothed" or *zəṭṭāṭ*; *zṭāṭa* referred both to the protection and to the fee. These last two terms derive from the Berber *āzəṭṭa/tāzəṭṭa*, "cloth".

In mediaeval Arabia there existed a similar method of protection in which the protector gave to the person protected a turban or a cap (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 354; Eng. tr. Gibb, i, 220).

In Morocco the protector was also, though less commonly, known as *rəffād*, "he who supports", or *duwwāz*, "ferry-man" (root *d̲j̲-w-z*). Another general term for protection was *ʿnāya* (= classical *ʿināya*, "care"), and it was said *X fī-ʿnāyət-Y*, "X is under the protection of Y". In all cases a protector who proved false was publicly exposed to ignominy.

(3) Another type of protection was when a person under a threat begged a dignitary to grant him shelter and assistance. One case would be that of a man who, as the result of a crime, had been forced to flee from his tribe in order to escape the vengeance of the family of his victim. He would present himself before the man whose protection he desired in the ritual attitude of the supplicant: prostrating himself on the ground, with bare feet, a knife between his teeth and his arms crossed behind his back like a bound prisoner. He was thus in a state of *zwāg* and said to the dignitary: *āna mzāwəg fīk* "I implore your help". These terms come from the Berber where the verb *zūg* has the double sense of "banish" and "implore assistance".

Another procedure was that of the *ʿār*. A person who was the victim of an arbitrary action (*maẓlūm*) requested a protector to intervene to put an end to his miserable state. During a ceremony consisting of various rites, the supplicant said: *ʿārī ʿlīk*, "let my disgrace be yours [if you do not see that I obtain justice]", or: *āna fī ʿārək*, "my disgrace is yours". This procedure of a formal summons to act, under threat of the transfer of the *ʿār*, often came to resemble a sort of blackmail in which the person entreated could not, without incurring dishonour, refuse to intervene. The same method of intimidation was also employed when begging the protection of saints.

In serious cases such as that of the defeated imploring the mercy of their conquerors, the ritual of supplication was often accompanied by the sacrifice of a valuable animal: a bull, a camel or a horse; its throat was cut (*d̲h̲bīḥa*), or it was hamstrung (*tʿargība*, from the classical form *ʿurḳūb*).

Finally, surrounding the *zāwiyas* [*q.v.*] covering the tomb of an important saint, there existed an area of sanctuary (*ḥorm*, *ḥmā*, see ḤIMĀ), where persons who were being pursued could find a sure refuge.

(b) Protection of groups. From the time of the second Arab invasion in the middle of the 5th/11th century, the group of the Maʿḳil [*q.v.*] gradually occupied the pre-Saharan zone up to the Atlantic coast. They imposed their protection on the settled Zanāta in the oases and the *ḳṣūr*, extorting a tribute (*iṭāwa*) known as *k̲h̲afāra*, "protection due" or *ʿināya*. Until the 20th century their example was followed by powerful nomadic Berber tribes in southern Morocco: Ayt-K̲h̲abbās̲h̲, Ayt-ʿAṭṭa. From the first quarter of the 7th/13th century, during the period of anarchy which preceded the disappearance of the Almohads, a Zanāta nomad tribe, the Banū Marīn, had overrun northern Morocco and imposed on the settled population a *k̲h̲afāra* in return for ensuring their protection and the safety of the roads.

(c) There existed also institutions of mutual protection. In the majority of the regions in which the authority of a central power was not effective, the tribes were divided into two opposing groups, historically stable, known as *ṣəffs* or *ləffs*. When a tribe belonging to a specific *ləff* was attacked by a tribe of the opposing *ləff*, it automatically received help from the other tribes of its *ləff*.

There existed also pacts (*ʿahd*) of mutual protection between two groups which were usually already ethnically linked. These were solemnized by a ritual fraternization marked either by a solemn exchange of items of clothing (burnous or sandals), or by a co-lactation (usually symbolic only) making each member of one group the foster-brother of those in the other. The latter procedure was known as *ṭāḍa/ṭāṭa*, from the Berber verb *ṭṭəḍ* "to suck".

It should be noted that the majority of these forms of protection were found in early Arabia and that many of them were condemned by Islam. It would, however, be rash to conclude from this that these practices were all imported into North Africa by the Arab conquerors. Any coincidence is due to independent, but parallel, efforts made by separate peoples to impose a minimum of order and justice in anarchical societies.

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(G. S. Colin)

ḤIMṢ (Latin Emesa, French and English Homs, Turkish Humus), town in Syria (36° E. and 34° 20′ N.) 500 m above sea level on the eastern bank of the Orontes (Nahr al-ʿĀṣī), in the centre of a vast cultivated plain which is bounded in the east by the desert and in the west by volcanic mountains. Situated at the entrance to a depression between the mountains of Lebanon and the Dj̲abal Anṣāriyya, Ḥimṣ benefits from the climatic influences of the sea which come through this opening and enjoys a less continental climate than the rest of Syria; it has an average annual temperature of 16° C. It has also the heaviest rainfall, which averages annually 600 mm, while nearby Ḥamāt [*q.v.*] has only 350 mm.

The varied soil, made up of alluvium and disintegrated basaltic coulées, favours agricultural and pastoral activity thanks to the richness of its water resources. Already in the 2nd millennium B.C. the Egyptians had dammed the Orontes and were perhaps the first to organize the irrigation system which has been perfected in the course of time. In the Middle Ages a canal led the water of Salamiyya to irrigate the cultivated land on the east of the town. A modern irrigation system was constructed in 1938 below the lake. A canal leads off from the dam and branches out into several secondary canals which permit irrigation between the Orontes and Ḥimṣ.

Ḥimṣ is on an important crossing of routes. It is situated on a shelf, the Ḥimṣ gap, which is the easiest passage from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean via Palmyra and which since remotest antiquity has been the channel for the produce of Mesopotamia and nowadays enables the pipelines from Kirkūk to run petroleum to Tripoli and Bāniyās; it is situated also midway along the route joining Aleppo and Damascus. Before the construction of the railway the journey to Damascus took five days on horseback. The single-track D.H.P. railway, built in 1902, ensures connexions with Bayrūt [*q.v.*] through Rayak. Under the Ottoman Empire this railway had a strategic rôle, as was shown before 1914 by a very important military platform at Ḥimṣ.

History

Human settlement on this site has been conditioned for five thousand years by irrigation, the origin of which goes back to the most distant times. In the 2nd millennium B.C. Ḥimṣ still had only an obscure rôle, the principal towns of the region being Kades̲h̲, which the Hittites occupied in the time of Rameses II, and Ḳatna, the present Mis̲h̲rifé. Yāḳūt says that the name of the town is attributed to an eponym: Ḥimṣ b. al-Mahr b. Ḥāf b. Muknīf al-ʿAmāliḳī, and that the town was founded by the ancient Greeks who planted there the Palestine olive. Ḥimṣ must be among the towns founded by Seleucus Nicator or among those to which he gave a Greek name, but up to the present it has not been identified. In 64 B.C., when Pompey made Syria a Roman province, Ḥimṣ fell within the orbit of the Empire. There is no doubt that Roman town-planning left its mark on Ḥimṣ, for one can still trace a town built on a square plan with a citadel in the south-west corner, but in the present-day network of streets the *decumanus* and the *cardo* are scarcely discernible. Well before Islam, numerous Arabs settled in the area and, from 81 B.C. until 96 A.D., a local Arab dynasty reigned at Ḥimṣ. The most illustrious of these princes was Sampsigeramus, who preferred to dwell at Rastān (Arethusa) where he controlled one of the routes over the Orontes. The pyramidal mausoleum which this prince built at Ḥimṣ in 78 A.D. was destroyed in 1911. With its temple of the Sun, worshipped in the form of a block of black basalt, Ḥimṣ rivalled Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*] in ancient times.

The crossroad of empires, Ḥimṣ emerged from obscurity when, in the time of Domitian, it received the name of Emesa. Under Antoninus Pius, in the 2nd century A.D., Ḥimṣ began to strike coins, but the town did not occupy a leading position among the towns of the Roman Orient until the young high-priest of the Sun Heliogabalus was made Emperor by his troops (217 A.D.). Ruling under the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, he had as successor another citizen of Ḥimṣ, his cousin Alexander Severus who fought the Sāsānians. In 272 Ḥimṣ saw the defeat of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, conquered by the Roman legions.

The paucity of Christian inscriptions at Ḥimṣ attests to the existence of a pagan majority, elements of which were to persist down to the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, since the beginning of the 5th century, Christianity had been firmly implanted at Emesa, which was a bishop's see in the ecclesiastical province of Lebanese Phoenicia, dependent on Damascus. Later, with the discovery of the head of St. John the Baptist near the town (452), Emesa became an ecclesiastical metropolis. Among the Arab tribes which were then settled in the area were the Banū Tanūk̲h̲.

At the time of the Arab conquest numerous semi-nomadic Arab tribes came from the south to settle in the area. Ḥimṣ then became an important Yamanī centre and was included in the area of the Banū Kalb, who were great horse-breeders. After the battle of the Yarmūk, the Emperor Heraclius abandoned Ḥimṣ. When the Muslim army, under the command of Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Dj̲arrāḥ [*q.v.*] accompanied by K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], appeared before the walls of the town, the population asked for *amān* and agreed to pay a ransom of 71,000 *dīnārs*. The Muslims entered Ḥimṣ without bloodshed in 16/637 and turned the church of St. John, which was then one of the largest in Syria, into a mosque. It is related that almost five hundred Companions of the Prophet came to live in the newly-occupied town. Under the Caliph ʿUmar the governor was Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir. In 26/647, Muʿāwiya took Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrīn and included them among the provinces of Syria; then, when the latter was divided into five military districts, Ḥimṣ became the capital of one of these *dj̲und*s [*q.v.*]. During this Muslim period, this *dj̲und* comprised all the region north of Ḥimṣ where Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*] and the ʿ*Awāṣim* were situated. The *k̲h̲arādj̲* of the *dj̲und* brought 800,000 *dīnārs* into the Treasury. The caliph appointed as governor the *amīr* S̲h̲uraḥbīl, who proceeded to share out the houses, the Muslims occupying the districts and houses abandoned by the Christians. At the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] in 37/657, the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ took the side of ʿAlī and for a long time S̲h̲īʿism held a preponderant position in this area.

In 41/661, under Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], the *dj̲und* was deprived of its northern region which went to form a new *dj̲und* with Ḳinnasrīn, Aleppo and Manbidj̲ as its main centres. The boundary between the two seems to have been a line passing through Bāniyās, Ṭarṭūs, Dj̲isr al-S̲h̲ug̲h̲ur, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Apamea, S̲h̲ayzar, Ḥamāt, Rastān, Salamiyya, Ḳaryatayn and Tadmur.

On the death of Yazīd the governorship of Ḥimṣ

is said to have been conferred on al-Nuʿmān b. Bas̲h̲īr (d. 65/684), but many authors maintain that it went to his son K̲h̲ālid b. Yazīd who had built a palace at Ḥimṣ. In 126/744, on the death of Yazīd III, Marwān II [*q.v.*] intervened in Syria with the support of the Ḳaysīs. He attacked Sulaymān b. His̲h̲ām, who was assisted by the Kalbīs. In 127/754, Sulaymān, defeated, fled to Ḥimṣ and from there to Kūfa. Ḥimṣ held out for a time against Marwān II but he finally took the town. In order to prevent the town, whose *d̲j̲und* then numbered 20,000 Yamanīs, from being used as a base of operations for the Kalbīs, he razed the walls. In 128/746 order was restored.

In 132/750 there appeared in Syria ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī [*q.v.*], who was to overthrow the last Umayyad, Marwān II. From that date Syria fell under the control of ʿIrāḳ. In 137/754, the ʿAbbāsid caliph gave Aleppo, Ḳinnasrīn and Ḥimṣ to Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās. The ʿAbbāsid period was a dark one in the history of the town; the population, mostly of Yamanī origin, rose up against the Ḳaysīs and provoked numerous punitive expeditions from the time of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd (170/786-193/809) onwards. Ḥimṣ was prosperous at that period, for its revenues, according to al-D̲j̲ahs̲h̲iyārī, amounted to 320,000 *dīnār*s and 1000 camel-loads of grapes. The last punitive expedition took place under al-Mustaʿīn who, in 250/864, put Aleppo, Ḳinnasrīn and Ḥimṣ under the same governor.

When the ʿAbbāsid caliphate weakened, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], the governor of Egypt, extended his authority over Syria in 264/878. The Ṭūlūnid power was to maintain itself until 282/896. In 269/883 Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn named as his representative the *amīr* Luʾluʾ who imposed the authority of the sovereign upon Ḥimṣ, Aleppo, Ḳinnasrīn and the Diyār Muḍar. The Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*] appeared at this period and sowed trouble throughout the region. In 290/903 their leader Ḥusayn, known as Ṣāḥib al-S̲h̲āma, came to Ḥimṣ from Damascus. In order to avoid extortions the townspeople agreed to the reading of the *k̲h̲uṭba* in the name of the new master. The latter seized Ḥamāt, Salamiyya and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān before reaching Aleppo, where the Ḥamdānids took up arms against him.

In the middle of the 4th/10th century Ḥimṣ sought the support of the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo to avoid falling into the power of the Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īdid governors of Damascus. In 333/944 the Ḥamdānids were victorious at the battle of Rastān on the Orontes and Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] seized Ḥimṣ, which was to remain in the hands of his dynasty until 406/1016. In 356/967, on the death of Sayf al-Dawla, Ḥimṣ had been governed for a year by Abū Firās [*q.v.*]. The illustrious poet attempted a rebellion against Saʿd al-Dawla but was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed on 2 D̲j̲umādā I 357/4 April 968.

In the following year Nicephorus Phocas occupied Ḥimṣ during his victorious campaign in Syria, transformed the great mosque into a church, had divine service celebrated there, and then set fire to it. In 362/973 Nicephorus Phocas departed and the Ḥamdānids governed the town again. In Rad̲j̲ab 364/March-April 975, the Byzantine general John Tzimisces succeeded in occupying a large part of Syria and levied tribute from Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Bayrūt and Baʿlabakk. At this time there appeared a Turkish *amīr*, Alptakīn Bakd̲j̲ur, who revolted at Ḥimṣ against the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo; having failed to receive the Byzantine reinforcements on which he was counting, he was forced to withdraw. Three years later Saʿd al-Dawla granted him Ḥimṣ as a fief. The memory of this *amīr* has been preserved by a Kūfic inscription, the sole remaining trace of a minaret which was demolished in 1912. Ḥimṣ remained one of the stakes in the Arabo-Byzantine rivalry and was set on fire by the Greeks in Rabīʿ II 373/September 983.

In 385/995 the Emperor Basil II established his authority over Aleppo, S̲h̲ayzar and Ḥimṣ. This town was taken only after a lively resistance; it was devastated and then placed under the authority of the Byzantine duke of Antioch. In 389/999, on the orders of the *basileus*, the town was burnt.

In 406/1016 Ḥamdānid power came to an end and Aleppo fell to the Mirdāsids [*q.v.*]. Ten years later Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās [*q.v.*], *amīr* of the Banū Kilāb, was in control of Ḥimṣ, then, in 420/1029, S̲h̲ibl al-Dawla Naṣr b. Mirdās governed the town.

From the middle of the 5th/11th century the Fāṭimids extended their power into Syria, and Ḥimṣ did not escape them. A pro-Fāṭimid *amīr*, K̲h̲alaf b. Mulāʿib [*q.v.*], was in command at Ḥimṣ in 475/1082 and caused much trouble by his brigandage and depredations. In 483/1090, in response to a complaint about him from the Seld̲j̲ūḳ princes and commanders in Syria, the sultan Malik S̲h̲āh wrote instructing them to attack and remove him. Ḥimṣ was taken after a siege. K̲h̲alaf was captured and sent to Iṣfahān. The town was given to Tād̲j̲ al-Dawla Tutus̲h̲. Then in 487/1094 it passed to his son Riḍwān, ruler of Aleppo. Riḍwān's *atabeg*, the *amīr* D̲j̲anāḥ al-Dawla Ḥusayn, after quarrelling with his ward, took refuge at Ḥimṣ and made himself independent there in 490/1097. Later, when the Franks arrived, he was to join forces with Duḳāḳ against them.

After the capture of Anṭākiya (491/1098) the Crusaders made a first attack southwards; they sacked Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān but besieged Ḥimṣ in vain. The town was then under the *amīr* Ḳarad̲j̲a, a former *mamlūk* of Malik S̲h̲āh, representing D̲j̲anāḥ al-Dawla. Contrary to a legend accepted by d'Herbelot and later by Pococke and Le Strange, the Franks did not succeed in capturing the town, which they named "La Chamelle". They merely cut off the port of Ṭarṭūs [*q.v.*]. In the middle of 496/May 1103, D̲j̲anāḥ al-Dawla was assassinated by three Ismāʿīlīs inside the great mosque of Ḥimṣ. Prompt action by Duḳāḳ, the ruler of Damascus, forestalled a Frankish attempt to take advantage of the situation by attacking Ḥimṣ, and brought the city under Damascene control. Ibn al-At̲h̲īr's story, which puts the murder of D̲j̲anāḥ al-Dawla a year earlier than all the other sources, and thus places it at the moment when D̲j̲anāḥ al-Dawla was preparing to attack Raymond of Saint Gilles, together with his account of Raymond's immediate attack on Ḥimṣ, may be dismissed. The following year Duḳāḳ died and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Tug̲h̲takīn succeeded him, leaving Ḳarad̲j̲a as governor of Ḥimṣ. From this period Ḥimṣ became a huge military camp against the Franks, an assembly-point for troops, an arsenal, a depot for heavy siege equipment and in addition it supplied large contingents for the war.

In 506/1112, K̲h̲ayrk̲h̲ān (Ḳarak̲h̲ān) succeeded his father as master of Ḥimṣ. Two years later Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Īl G̲h̲āzī appeared outside Ḥimṣ but K̲h̲ayrk̲h̲ān overcame his opponent in S̲h̲aʿbān 508/January 1115.

In 512/1118 Ẓahīr al-Dīn Tug̲h̲takīn b. Būrī [*q.v.*] took Ḥimṣ and imposed his suzerainty upon K̲h̲ayrk̲h̲ān. Five years later the *atabeg* of Damascus

attacked Ḥimṣ once again but had to retreat before Khayrkhān, who had received reinforcements.

In Rabīʿ II 520/May 1126 the Franks invaded the territory of Ḥimṣ and laid it waste, but ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd b. Aḳ Sunḳūr came from Aleppo and relieved the town. In 524/1129, Zangī [*q.v.*] had in the ranks of his army the ***amīr*** Khayrkhān, but he dismissed him, made him a prisoner and laid siege to Ḥimṣ, demanding that the population should surrender the town. In order to encourage the besieged townspeople to surrender, he inflicted the most excruciating tortures on their *amīr* Khayrkhān before their eyes, but the town did not yield. A few years later, when the ***amīr*** Khumartash was governing Ḥimṣ in the name of the sons of Khayrkhān, Zangī came once more to besiege the town, which was one of the best fortified and had an impregnable citadel. Khumartash called in the aid of the ***amīr*** of Damascus Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd. The sons of Khayrkhān negotiated the cession of Ḥimṣ to the prince of Damascus in Rabīʿ I 530/December 1135, the latter giving the governorship of the town to the chamberlain Yūsuf b. Fīrūz.

In Ramaḍān 531/May 1137 Zangī again drew up his forces outside Ḥimṣ, where Anar offered a vigorous resistance. A few months later, during another siege which was to last three months, correspondence was exchanged between Zangī and Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd which resulted in a matrimonial alliance, the prince of Damascus marrying a daughter of Zangī, while the latter took as wife Ṣafwat al-Mulk, queen-mother of the prince, who brought him Ḥimṣ as her dowry. The governor of the town, Muʿīn al-Dīn Anar, received Bārīn, Lakma and Ḥiṣn al-Sharḳī by way of compensation. Two years later, on the death of Zangī, Anar lost no time in re-establishing his suzerainty over the governor of Ḥimṣ. Al-Raḥba, on the Euphrates, and Tadmur depended upon this place. An important point in the struggle against the Franks, a rallying-point for Muslim troops, sheltered from surprise attacks on the right bank of the Orontes, Ḥimṣ was one of the operational bases in the centre of a line running from north to south, from Aleppo through Shayzar and Ḥamāt towards Damascus, Boṣrā and Salkhad. Nūr al-Dīn installed himself there in 544/1149. At the time of the siege of Damascus by the Franks of the Second Crusade, Ḥimṣ served as a rallying-point for the troops of Nūr al-Dīn and for those of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī.

The contemporary geographer al-Idrīsī describes Ḥimṣ as a town with active markets and paved streets, notes that it possesses one of the largest great mosques in Syria and mentions particularly the numerous canals which irrigated orchards and gardens. In 548/1153 Nūr al-Dīn encamped at Ḥimṣ and prevented supplies from being taken into Damascus, hoping to bring about the surrender of that town. When, a few months later, Nūr al-Dīn succeeded in taking Damascus on 10 Ṣafar 549/25 April 1154, he gave Ḥimṣ in compensation to Mudjīr al-Dīn Abak, the defeated ***amīr*** who, however, was able to remain there for only a short time.

The successive earthquakes of the year 552/1157 sorely tried Ḥimṣ and the other towns of northern Syria, and, with the earth tremor of 565/1170, the already weakened defence works suffered heavy damage.

After the first expedition of Syrian troops into Egypt (559/1164), the ***amīr iṣfahṣalār*** Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh received Ḥimṣ as an ***iḳṭāʿ*** from Nūr al-Dīn, together with al-Raḥba and Tadmur. This was the origin of the Asadī dynasty of Ḥimṣ. In 564/1169 Shīrkūh died and Nūr al-Dīn reclaimed the town from his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, to award it to another ***amīr***.

In the middle of 570/beginning of 1175, Saladin took Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt. Four years later, when he reorganized northern Syria, he gave back the town to his cousin Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shīrkūh. Re-installed in Ḥimṣ, the Asadī dynasty's task was to keep in check the Franks of Tripoli, who were increasing the frequency of their raids into the rich agricultural region around Ḥimṣ where they also made off with horses. Ibn Djubayr, who passed through Ḥimṣ in 580/1185, notes the good condition of the walls round the town.

In 581/1186, al-Malik al-Mudjāhid Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh II succeeded his father at Ḥimṣ. In 602/1205 he fought the Hospitallers of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [*q.v.*]. In 604/1207, he had to appeal to the Ayyūbid prince of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī for aid. The following year al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm took command at Ḥimṣ; several times he had to push back the Provençaux of Tripoli and the Hospitallers of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, and to assure a better defence he supervised the maintenance of the town walls and restored the Bāb al-Masdūd.

In 623/1226 Ḥimṣ took part in the quarrel of the Ayyūbid princes, Ibrāhīm being the ally of al-Malik al-Ashraf of Aleppo. The town was attacked by al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā, prince of Damascus.

In 640/1242 Ibrāhīm with troops from Ḥimṣ overcame the Khwārazmians who had come from the East. He died in Damascus in 644 and his remains were transferred to Ḥimṣ where his son al-Ashraf Mūsā succeeded him. In 646/1248 the Ayyūbid of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, took Ḥimṣ and temporarily interrupted the control of the Asadī dynasty over the town. In Ṣafar 658/February 1260 the town was taken by the Mongols, Mūsā recovered his possessions and fought alongside Hūlāgū's troops at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*]. After the defeat, on 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260, he obtained the ***amān*** of Ḳuṭuz and resumed his post at Ḥimṣ. A short while afterwards a Mongol army was routed near Ḥimṣ by the prince of that town in co-operation with the prince of Ḥamāt. Baybars [*q.v.*] came to power in Cairo in 659/1261 and repaired the citadel at Ḥimṣ, supplying it with provisions so that it might resist any eventual return by the Mongols. Al-Ashraf Mūsā died in 661/1262, and with him the Asadī dynasty, which had ruled at Ḥimṣ for almost a century, was extinguished. The town lost its independence; from this time forth it was commanded by a deputy governor and was sometimes dependent on the ***amīr*** of Ḥamāt and sometimes on the ruler of Damascus.

In 680/1281 Ḥimṣ witnessed the victory of Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] over a coalition of Armenians and Mongols. From the reign of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn onwards Ḥimṣ played no further political rôle; it was governed by an ***amīr*** of a thousand troops and, later on, the command was given to an ***amīr*** of ***ṭablkhāna***. None of these governors left any lasting impression on the history of the town. In the citadel, the ***nāʾib*** was a ***mamlūk*** of the Cairo sultan. At this time an official pigeon-house was installed at Ḥimṣ to ensure postal contact with Ḳarā in the south and Ḥamāt in the north. In Rabīʿ I 699/December 1299 Ghāzān crushed the Mamlūks at Ḥimṣ but did not remain in the district. According to the geographer al-Dimashḳī, Ḥimṣ was at that time the smallest governorship in Syria and comprised Shamsīn,

Shumaymis and Salamiyya; the *niyāba* of Ḥimṣ was included in that of Damascus. The anarchy prevailing in Syria in the 9th/15th century does not seem to have arrested the economic life of Ḥimṣ, if the Mamlūk decrees of 817/1414 and 844/1440 are to be believed, for these indicate the important position held by the weavers in this town where wool and especially silk had been worked for centuries, rivalling Alexandria in the quality and beauty of its products. Tīmūr Lang [*q.v.*], after taking Aleppo in 803/1400, seized Ḥamāt and Ḥimṣ before occupying Damascus. During the following century no event of importance occurred at Ḥimṣ, the territory of which was exposed to the depredations of Bedouins. In 916/1510 the town was menaced by the powerful tribe of the Āl Faḍl b. Nuʿayr; it was relieved with the assistance of Sībāy, the governor of Damascus, who on this occasion seized an abundant booty consisting particularly of camels and sheep. When, in 922/1516, the Ottoman sultan Selīm had subjected Syria, Ḥimṣ became one of the five *liwās* attached to Ṭarābulus. On the death of the Sultan in 926/1520, the governor of Damascus, Djanbirdī al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*], proclaimed himself independent and seized Ṭarābulus, Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt. The post of governor of Ḥimṣ was given to the *muḳaddam* Ibn al-Ḥarfūsh. We have a picture of Ḥimṣ in the 10th/16th century by Pierre Belon, who describes it as a town with good walls of hewn stone and with a citadel built, he says, by the Romans. Although the surrounding walls were almost intact, the town within the walls was quite ruined. Within the walls, says the French traveller, "there is nothing beautiful to be seen except the bazaar and the bazestan in the Turkish style". Under Süleymān I and Selīm II several surveys of lands, of the adult male population, and of the tax-returns were made for the towns and provinces of Syria (for Ḥimṣ, see B. Lewis, *The Ottoman archives as a source for the history of the Arab lands*, in *JRAS*, 1951, 152-3). Through the Ottoman fiscal regulations we have information on the economic activity of Ḥimṣ at this period. The yoghourt brought to the town by the Turkomans was exported as far as Damascus; the watermills for corn and sesame were numerous, and the oil-presses were very busy. Grapes remained one of the country's main resources. There were good harvests of rice which had just been added to the products of the cultivated marshland for feeding the town. The main industry was weaving. Ḥimṣ was one of the largest centres for silk, the neighbouring mulberry trees feeding the silkworms, and here were made mottled fabrics, run through with gold thread, which were exported as far as Istanbul. At Ḥimṣ, camels and cattle in transit from Damascus towards Aleppo met the flocks of sheep and goats coming down from Aleppo and Ḥamāt for Damascus.

In the course of the centuries, the Ottomans destroyed the gates in the town walls one after the other and in 1785 Volney could describe Ḥimṣ as "a town, formerly strong and well populated, now no more than a fairly large ruined village, where there are no more than 2,000 inhabitants, partly Greeks and partly Muslims. There resides an *agha* who holds on sub-lease from the pasha of Damascus all the countryside as far as Palmyra. The farming lease was given to the pasha for 400 purses or 500,000 livres, but it brings in four times as much" (cf. *Voyages*, 1823 ed., iii, 18-9). The *agha* was of a local family.

In 1246/1831 Ḥimṣ was seized by adventurers and then fell into the power of Ibrāhīm Pasha who, until 1256/1840, was to represent the authority of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Syria. At this time a particularly serious revolt flared up in the town, and the Egyptian troops had difficulty in repressing it; one of its consequences was the almost total demolition of the Citadel. After 1840 the town was again under Ottoman rule.

At the present time Ḥimṣ is an important agricultural centre and an active industrial city; the Military School is there. The chief town of a *muḥāfaẓa*, it had a population of 50,000 inhabitants in 1920 and more than 130,000 in 1962, one-fifth of whom are Christians, mostly Greek Orthodox. The plain of Ḥimṣ produces cereals, notably barley and corn, with extensive cultivated areas in the east. All around Ḥimṣ numerous ruins of *ḳanayāt* bear witness to the efforts made by man for centuries to exploit the earth; with state encouragement many new villages are being built upon the ruins of old settlements, and one of the original features of the region is peasant ownership, the cultivator being the owner of the ground he is working. Moreover, the technique of the rural economy is attaining there a very high degree of perfection. Besides barley and corn are to be found maize (declining since 1940), lentils, and cotton (encouraged since 1940), as well as sugar-beet, which has been cultivated since 1949. Trees grown include poplar, lime, cypress, and fruit trees such as the apricot, pomegranate, pear, apple and plum. The vine, grown east of Ḥimṣ beyond the marshland and in the basaltic area of Waʾar on the left bank of the Orontes, has been one of the principal resources of the country since antiquity. Its wine was praised by the poet al-Akhṭal in the days of the Umayyads. It is a most economical crop; the vines are neither treated with copper sulphate nor stummed; they are not staked up and the branches grow along the ground. The grapes are sold fresh or dry or turned into *dibs* (molasses).

Around Ḥimṣ the cultivated marshlands and the market-gardens covering nearly 1,200 hectares form the greatest patch of green in the Orontes valley. It is the most intensively cultivated part of the valley's irrigated zone. Nowadays these gardens are made up of small properties (*ṣayfiyya*) of an average area of 30 *dunums*, mostly owned by one family, and represent the fruit of man's diligent and meticulous labour over centuries. As the meeting-point for the agricultural area, Ḥimṣ is an important market. The townsmen have few relations with the western plateaux but prefer to trade with the Bedouin tribes, since no obstacle separates them from the desert. In summer the Bedouin comes up to the Orontes to buy in the markets while the townsman takes the dairy produce and entrusts to the nomad the flocks he owns. An important centre of consumption, Ḥimṣ takes the agricultural products and in return supplies the country with clothes and manufactured goods. For centuries there has been developing in the town a processing industry; corn and barley are treated for the starch necessary for finishing in the textile industry. There is a considerable manufacture of *dibs* (molasses) and at a recent date 16 presses were still in existence. In 1949 there were two factories treating sesame to make *sirādj* or *ṭaḥīna* (an emulsion of oil mixed with seed-pulp). The most important industry and trade is still weaving; since the early Middle Ages the fabrics and silks of Ḥimṣ were renowned in the markets of the world. Before 1914, 4,000 looms employed 30,000 workers; in 1933 there were more than 4,300 looms; nowadays silk and cotton goods are exported to Egypt and ʿIrāḳ. Modern factories have been built at Ḥimṣ and in the area; there are two flour-mills (1938), a distillery,

a starch-works, a glucose factory, a sugar factory (1949) and a vegetable-oil factory which treats cotton and sunflower-seed (1951). Finally, from the far distance can be seen the petroleum storage-tanks shining in the sun, while tall chimneys indicate the presence of an important oil refinery. The oil is transported by pipe-line from Kirkūk to Ṭarābulus or Bāniyās but, to meet the needs of the country, some of it is refined at Ḥimṣ.

Situated at the crossing of important routes, an agricultural and industrial centre, Ḥimṣ plays a leading rôle in the Syrian economy.

Archaeology

The rectangular enceinte of antiquity had almost entirely disappeared in 1895 when M. van Berchem passed through Ḥimṣ. Of the gates only the names remain, a few stones still indicating the position of some of them. Starting from the north-east there are around the town the following gates: Bāb Tadmur, where a ramp incorporating Hellenistic remains emerged from the town. Southwards a deep wide ditch followed the defensive wall which was reinforced by round and square towers, the remains of which can still be seen. Bāb al-Durayd survives only in the name of the district situated in the south-east corner of the town. In the south large blocks of stone indicate the site of the Bāb al-Sibāʿ; not far away was the Bāb al-Turkmān. The Bāb al-Masdūd, on the western side, restored several times during the Middle Ages, still bears the appearance of a well-maintained fortified work with the remains of the bases of columns; a square tower stood on each side of the gate. The road which leads back in a northerly direction is called S̲h̲āriʿ al-K̲h̲andaḳ, thus preserving the memory of the vanished moat. Another gate, the Bāb Hūd, opened into the wall before one arrived at the north-west corner, which was marked by three round towers that are still standing. Finally, in the north face near the great mosque there opened the Bāb al-Sūḳ which no longer exists.

The Citadel: In the south-east corner of the town, dominating the town with its silhouette, the citadel rose up on a mound 275 m in diameter. The origin of this *tell*, which seems to be artificial, is thought to be Hittite or Aramaean. Numerous travellers described it, up to the beginning of the 19th century. During the Egyptian occupation (1831-40), Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a destroyed it and left inside only the D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Sulṭān which has now disappeared. On the north front a particularly important tower, repaired in 1952, exists in part and bears two inscriptions of 594/1198 and of 599/1202 in the name of the Asadī al-Malik al-Mud̲j̲āhid S̲h̲īrkūh. There remain of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk citadel only a few stones of the glacis, a huge cistern, stretches of the walls and the half-ruined square towers overlooking the moat.

The mosques: Most of the ancient mosques in Ḥimṣ and particularly the Great Mosque and the mosques of Abū Lubāda, al-Faḍāʾil, al-ʿUmarī and al-Sirād̲j̲ share three characteristics: the minaret, the prayer-hall and the *maṣṭaba*. The minaret is square and about twenty metres high; at the base there are foundations consisting of huge stones together with re-used column bases and stones, some carrying fragments of Greek inscriptions. Higher up the basalt foundations become less massive. At the top, on each face, there opens a high double-bay surmounted by an octagonal drum, which itself bears a whitewashed cupola. The prayer-hall, roofed with a series of ribbed vaults and having within it facilities for the minor ablutions, opens through large doors into the courtyard. At the north of the courtyard a raised area, the *maṣṭaba*, partly shaded by a vine, is used for prayer in the open air.

The Great Mosque of Nūr al-Dīn is situated in the north of the town amidst the *sūḳ*s. The "continuity of site" of sanctuaries leads us to suppose that this mosque is built on the site of the Temple of the Sun and of the cathedral of St. John, the fore-court of which was once occupied, it is said, by the original mosque. The mosque is a huge rectangular edifice with the main axis running east-west. It has two entrances: the western entrance leads from the road into the courtyard; the southern entrance opens into the Bāb al-Sūḳ quarter and leads by a long vaulted corridor to the prayer-hall. This latter is 99 m long by 17 m wide and has two long bays, each covered by 13 ribbed vaults. Each of three *miḥrāb*s in the south wall is framed by two columns of white marble. The central *miḥrāb* still bears in its conch a gilded mosaic which could be earlier than the 5th/11th century. To the left of this *miḥrāb* a door opens into a square room lit by a lantern and reserved for the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya [*q.v.*]. The prayer-hall opens out into the courtyard through eleven wide doors. This oblong courtyard has a dais (*maṣṭaba*) paved with black and white marble, with a small basin for ablutions; an ogival stone sharply incurved, in which a hole has been made, serves as a *miḥrāb*; to the north, beneath a pillared portico, open seven rooms, while the western part of this *riwāḳ*, having taps, is used for ablutions.

Near the Great Mosque, in the market to the west, there was formerly a cupola surmounted by a weather-vane in the form of a copper statuette standing on a fish. This cupola was regarded as a talisman against scorpions.

There are at the present time about fifteen *ḥammām*s which are still in use, the most frequented being the Ḥammām Ṣafāʾ, the Ḥammām ʿUt̲h̲mānī, the Ḥammām al-Sirād̲j̲ and the Ḥammām Ṣag̲h̲īr. The latter, situated in the *Sūḳ* of the goldsmiths, is a *waḳf* of the Great Mosque. From its lay-out it seems to be the oldest bath in Ḥimṣ.

From the age of caravans Ḥimṣ still preserves about twenty *k̲h̲ān*s, some of which have been made into bus garages. Although the K̲h̲ān al-Sabīl, where the traveller Ibn D̲j̲ubayr stayed, seems to have disappeared, there remains a K̲h̲ān Asad Pas̲h̲a and a K̲h̲ān al-Ḥarīr, which is in fact a *ḳaysāriyya* where silk has been sold for centuries.

The *Sūḳ*s, paved in the Middle Ages, are now tiled, and not only the cloth bazaar but also those of the goldsmiths and of their neighbours the chest-makers are very busy. The *sūḳ* of the pastry shops is in the centre, while the vegetable and dairy-produce markets are on the edge of the commercial area, together with the basket-makers, the saddlers, the metal-workers and the blacksmiths.

Places of pilgrimage are numerous outside the old town (see al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 8-9); the most frequented is the D̲j̲āmiʿ K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd situated in the northern suburb. The fame of this sanctuary goes back at least to the Ayyūbid era and retained its attraction under the Mamlūks. K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd, who died at Medina, and his wife Faḍḍā are said to be buried there; Yāḳūt wonders whether this is not rather the tomb of K̲h̲ālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya who built a palace nearby or even that of K̲h̲ālid b. ʿIyāḍ b. G̲h̲anm, the Ḳuras̲h̲ī who

conquered the Djazīra [*q.v.*]. The original mausoleum was situated by the side of a mosque; it was altered by Saladin, then by sultan Baybars in 664/1265; al-Malik al-Ashraf Khālid b. Sayf al-Dīn Ḳalāwūn had works carried out there in 691/1292. In 1326/1908 it was all demolished and rebuilt in the Ottoman style on the model of the mosques of Istanbul by Nāẓim Pasha, the governor of Syria. The sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd devoted 6,000 *dīnārs* to works which were completed in 1331/1913. The prayer-hall is almost square (32 m × 30 m) covered by nine cupolas, of which the central cupola, which is 12 m in diameter, rises to 30 m and rests on four strong pillars. A public park has recently been made of the vast cemetery which surrounded the monument. Some of the burials date back to Roman times, as is testified by the sarcophagi found there.

Among the *mazārs* may be mentioned, outside the Bāb al-Durayd, the *maḳām* of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, which is a mosque on the upper floor; in the neighbouring cemetery there is a fairly large square building with a cupola: it is the Maḳām Djaʿfar; further on, amidst whitewashed basalt tombs, a sizeable arch indicates the Maḳām ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

At Ḥimṣ there are also the tombs of two Ayyūbid princes, the Masdjid al-Khiḍr to the south of the town, where al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm is buried (d. 644/1246 at Damascus) and, within the walls, the *turba* of al-Malik al-Mudjāhid Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh II, a very dilapidated cubic edifice dating from 637/1239, surmounted by an octagonal drum with a brick cupola.

The exigencies of modern town planning have led to the disappearance, in 1960, of a convent of *Mawlawiyya* derwishes, formerly situated west of the town near the present Government House and dating from 840/1437. Finally, the existence of two large ruined dwellings may be indicated: the Bayt al-Zahrāwī and the Bayt Mallāḥ, vestiges of former prosperity.

Of the ten churches at present in Ḥimṣ, none presents any great archeological interest, neither the Greek Orthodox church of Mār Elyān nor the former seat of the Syrian Catholic Patriarch Umm al-Zannār, since the buildings are modern.

Outside the walls many water-mills grind grain on the Orontes; the most ancient are the Ṭāḥūn al-Sabʿa, dated by an inscription of 824/1421, the Ṭāḥūn al-Khuṣūba, dated to 975/1567 by a Turkish inscription, and the mill of al-Mīmās which lacks an inscription.

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(N. Elisséeff)

ḤIMṢ (The battle of). The first great trial of strength between the Mamlūks and the Mongols took place more than twenty years after the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] at Ḥimṣ in 680/1281. Though this battle was won by Ḳalāwūn, the real architect of the victory was undoubtedly Sultan Baybars [*q.v.*], who, in the seventeen years of his rule (658/1260-676/1277), built a war-machine which, in spite of the decline it underwent during the four years following his death, proved to be strong enough to break one of the mightiest armies which the Mongol Īlkhāns ever put into the field.

In the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt the Mamlūks were a new and unknown enemy to the Mongols, who were, therefore, taken by surprise. By the time of the battle of Ḥimṣ, however, the Mongols had become well acquainted with this army by a long series of encounters, so that they came to Ḥimṣ very well prepared. As Baybars al-Manṣūrī justly remarks, never before had the Mongols marched on Syria with such huge armies; hence the victory of Ḥimṣ was far more remarkable than the preceding ones (fol. $117a_{12-17}$).

The battle was fought out at the depression (*waṭāʾ*) of Ḥimṣ near the tomb (*mashhad*) of Khālid b. al-Walīd. The Mongol army numbered 80,000, of whom 50,000 (according to one version) or 44,000 (according to another) were Mongols. The rest were Georgians, "Rūmīs", Armenians, Franks and Muslim apostates (*murtadda*). As they advanced, the flank of their *maymana* reached as far as Ḥamāt and that of their *maysara* as far as Salamiyya. Their *ḳalb* of 44,000 soldiers was composed solely of Mongols. They intended to launch a heavy attack on the *ḳalb* of the Mamlūk army. The *maymana* of the Mongols was also extremely strong. (On the eve of the battle a Mongol deserter gave the Mamlūks valuable information about the strength of the Mongol army; earlier a Mamlūk deserter had given the Mongols similar information about the Mamlūk army). The numerical strength of the Mamlūk army is not mentioned in the sources. It was divided into *maymana*, *maysara*, *ḳalb*, *djanāḥān* and *djālīsh*. The *maymana* consisted of the Ayyūbid prince of Ḥamāt

Plan of Ḥimṣ

Key

Walls:

1.— Bāb Tadmur
2.— Bāb al-Durayd
3.— Bāb al-Sibāʿ
4.— Bāb al-Turkmān
5.— al-Bāb al-Masdūd
6.— Shāriʿ al-Khandaḳ
7.— al-Arbaʿīn mosque and tower

Citadel: 8.

Mosques:

9.— Great Mosque al-Nūrī
10.— al-Lubāda
11.— al-Faḍāʾil
12.— al-ʿUmarī
13.— al-Sirādj
14.— al-Ṭalāʾiʿ
15.— Khālid b. al-Walīd
16.— Bāzir Bāshī

Ḥammāms:

17.— al-Ṣaghīr
18.— al-Pāshā
19.— al-Ṣafāʾ
20.— al-Sirādj
21.— al-ʿUthmānī
22.— al-Sayatī

Khān al-Ḥarīr: 23.

al-Takkiya al-Mawlawiyya (site of): 24.

Maḳāms:

25.— Kaʿb al-Aḥbār
26.— Abu 'l-Hawl

Turba:

27.— al-Malik al-Mudjāhid Shīrkūh

Mansions:

28.— Bayt al-Zahrāwī
29.— Bayt Mallāḥ
30.— Bayt al-Kurdī

Churches:

31.— Mar Elyān
32.— the Forty Martyrs
33.— Jesuit Fathers

and of a number of Mamlūk *amīrs* with their private armies. At its head were placed the bedouins of Syria under the command of ʿĪsā b. Muhannā. The *maysara*, strengthened as a result of the warning of the Mongol deserter, consisted of the Ẓāhiriyya of Baybars under the command of Sunḳur al-Ashḳar, and of a number of Mamlūk *amīrs* with their private armies. At its head were placed the Turcomans and the troops of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. The *djālish*, which served as the vanguard of the *ḳalb*, consisted of the viceroy (*nāʾib al-salṭana*) and other *amīrs* with their private armies, as well as an unspecified number of Ḳalāwūn's *mamlūks*. Sultan Ḳalāwūn was in the *ḳalb*, under the Royal banners, having with him 4,000 picked soldiers of the *ḥalḳa*, 800 Royal Mamlūks and an unspecified number of his own *mamlūks*. The composition of the *djanāḥān* is not mentioned in the sources. Shortly before the battle the Sultan chose 200 of his own *mamlūks* and, leaving his banner, went with them to the top of a hill overlooking the battlefield. Any *ṭulb* [*q.v.*] which had been shaken received by his orders a reinforcement.

The *maysara* of the Tatars dealt at first a heavy blow to the Muslim *maymana*, but could not shake it. The Egyptian *maymana* counter-attacked quickly, and routed the Tatar *maysara*. On the other side of the battlefield the *maymana* of the Tatars succeeded in inflicting a heavy defeat on the Egyptian *maysara*, and with it was routed the left part of the centre (*djanāḥ al-ḳalb al-aysar*). Both the defeated Mamlūk wing and the victorious Tatar wing had no idea of what was going on at the other end of the field, and they went on with their flight and pursuit. Part of the routed Mamlūk *maysara* reached Ṣafad another part reached Damascus, and a third part arrived as far as Gaza. The pursuing Tatars halted after a while, dismounted and waited for the rest of the Mongol army to join them, but as their fellows did not appear, they decided to go back to the battlefield. (The features common to all battles between the Mamlūks and the Mongols are discussed above, s.v. ḤARB, pp. 187-8). There the Muslims went on winning, but their strength was already failing. Fortune was, however, on the side of the Muslims, for the Mongol commander, Mankutimur, wrongly concluded that the army confronting him was still very strong. In fact, however, Ḳalāwūn was left with only 300 horsemen (according to one version) or 1,000 (according to another). With this small force Ḳalāwūn attacked the Tatars and defeated them. Meanwhile the victorious *maysara* of the Tatars returned to the battlefield. In order to conceal the whereabouts of his army from the returning Tatars, Ḳalāwūn ordered his drums to be silenced and the Royal banners folded. His ruse succeeded, for the Tatars passed by him without noticing anything. As soon as they had their backs to him he attacked them from the rear, and inflicted upon them a heavy defeat. The number of the Tatars killed during their retreat far exceeded the number of those who died in the field of battle.

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(D. AYALON)

ḤIMYAR [see YAMAN].

AL-ḤIMYARĪ [see IBN ʿABD AL-MUNʿIM; AL-SAYYID AL-ḤIMYARĪ].

HINĀ, BANŪ (HINĀWĪ), a settled tribe of inner ʿUmān, southeastern Arabia, in earlier times of considerable political and military importance and, since Shaʿbān 1373/May 1954, again prominent by one of its members, Ghālib b. ʿAlī b. Hilāl, becoming an Ibāḍī Imām of ʿUmān. Banū Hinā (mostly Ibāḍīs) were one of the two leading factions in the civil warfare of the early 12th/18th century in ʿUmān. Led by Khalaf b. Mubārak (known as al-Ḳuṣayyir, "the Short") they and their allies were opposed by a group led by the Banū Ghāfir (mostly Sunnīs). Since that time all the tribes of ʿUmān have aligned themselves with these factions as Hināwīs, usually groups of traditionally southern descent, or as Ghāfirīs, generally tribes of northern ancestry.

The chief settlements of Banū Hinā are al-Ghāfāt, residence of the shaykhly section known as Awlād Zakrī, and Balad Sayt. A section known as al-Makhārīm inhabit the Djabal al-Kawr area, while other members of the tribe share the village of Sayfan with the Banū Shukayl. The paramount *shaykh*, ʿAlī b. Zāhir b. Ghuṣn, is established at Muḍaybī, the chief village of al-Ḥubūs tribe [*q.v.*], where in 1384/1965 he was acting as *wālī* of the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. Many of the group of Banū Hinā who occupied the lower section (al-Sufāla) of Nazwa moved to al-Ghāfāt after the events of 1377/1957 (see ʿUMĀN).

Nearly all the members of the Banū Hinā make their living on small agricultural holdings in inner ʿUmān. Lucerne and wheat are the principal crops grown in addition to the date palm.

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(J. MANDAVILLE)

ḤINĀṬA (A.), embalming. The root is common to the Semitic languages and meant at first "to change colour", especially in ripening fruit (hence *ḥinṭa*, "wheat") and then the stain left by fragrant oils etc. Both senses are preserved in Arabic and Hebrew. *Ḥannāṭ* (Ar.) is explained as one who follows the trade of *ḥināṭa*; Samʿānī explains both *ḥannāṭ* and *ḥannāṭī* as corn-chandler. Aramaic alone seems to have *hannāṭā* meaning embalmer. *Ḥanūṭ* is perfume or scented unguent, but always in connexion with death; "when Arabs prepared to fight, they put *ḥanūṭ* on themselves and made themselves strong for death" (ʿAbīd b. al-Abras, (1913), 17). Thābit b. Ḳays, who carried the flag of the Anṣār, anointed himself, put on grave clothes, dug a hole in which he sank to his shins and fought from it till he was killed. This custom is thrown back to Thamūd; when they knew that destruction was certain, they anointed themselves and put on skins as grave clothes. The practice was not confined to fighters, for a poet says "every one alive will be anointed (for death)"; it was not entirely utilitarian, for when a man is at the point of death there should be some

perfume "to honour the angels". Martyrs, including a pilgrim killed by a fall from his camel, were not anointed. The Gospel story provides parallels, "she has anointed my body for the burial" and the spices carried to the tomb.

Ḥanūṭ was of different kinds; "the best *ḥanūṭ* is camphor" is contradicted by "camphor and *ḥanūṭ*" and "put *ḥanūṭ* on my head and beard and camphor on the places of prostration", which are the parts of the body that touch the ground during prayer, the forehead (forehead and nose), palms of the hands, knees and toes. *Ḥanūṭ* consisted of *dharīra*, which is either sweet rush or some mixture, musk, *ʿanbar* (probably saffron), camphor, Indian reed and powdered sandal wood. Some insisted on dry camphor and others forbade saffron for males. As a scent with the dead, musk is more pleasant than camphor but the latter is better for drying the body, keeping it cold, hardening it and keeping away insects. Camphor should not be put in the water with which the body was washed but on the body after it had been dried. Some said that *ḥanūṭ* must be put on the body; some that it might be between the grave clothes but not on them; others allowed it on the clothes and on the bier. How was *ḥanūṭ* to be used? All the terms employed are ambiguous but there are so many that there is no doubt as to what is meant. It was put on the eyes, nose and ears, on the belly and under the chin and armpits, on the navel, between the thighs, behind the knees and on the soles of the feet.

Some would close the orifices of the body with cotton wool, some put it in the anus and one writer adds that the object is to keep out worms. A theorist forbade the extravagant use of cotton wool, for the corpse should look like one and not like a bundle. But cotton wool should not be put in the nose, throat or anus. There was a custom of putting a knife or weight on the belly lest the heart should swell or the belly burst before interment.

These practices do not amount to what is now called embalming. A man was killed in Baṣra during the revolt of the Zandj in 257/871 but his body was not found till two years later; it was not changed (had not putrefied) but the skin had stuck to the bones and the belly had no slit in it. A possible explanation of the last phrase is that the Arabs were familiar with the evisceration of the dead. Some ruled that exhumation was not lawful, in the Yemen for example, but reburial was so common as to call for no remark. "His bones were dug up and reburied" is probably to be taken literally. Later *ṣabara*, from *ṣabir*, meaning aloes or some other bitter vegetable substance, was used as equivalent to *ḥanaṭa*. Aloes seems to be mentioned by Arabic writers only in the story of Thamūd; otherwise it is found only in a Syriac lexicon. Many stories presuppose embalming. In 559/1164 a man died in Mosul and the body was taken by Baghdād, Ḥilla, Kūfa with excursions to Karbalāʾ and Nadjaf, to Mecca and ʿArafāt, where it was treated as a pilgrim, and at last to Medina to be buried in the *ribāṭ* which the man had founded. In 615/1218 the lord of Damascus died; his death was kept secret, the body embalmed, placed in a litter with a slave to fan it, and taken to Damascus. In 665/1257 a man died in Baghdād and his body travelled with the pilgrims, but they had to return home so the body was left with some bedouin till the following year. These examples suggest that embalming was effective and prevented decay. On the other hand Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 313; tr. Gibb, ii, 447) says that a son of Ṣārūkhān was embalmed, put in a coffin and placed in a chapel without a roof so that the stench might escape; this was apparently in 731/1331.

When Sayf al-Dawla died (356/967) the body was washed several times with water and various essences, and anointed with myrrh and camphor; 100 *mithḳāl* of *ghāliya* was put on the cheeks and neck, 30 *mithḳāl* of camphor in the ears, eyes, nose and on the back of the neck. The grave clothes were worth 1000 *dīnārs*; then the body was put in a coffin and camphor strewn over it. When Ibn Killis died (380/990) the caliph gave the grave clothes, 50 pieces of *dabīḳī* linen, each weighing 30 *mithḳāl* because of the gold thread, and *ḥanūṭ*, a box of camphor, two flasks of musk and 50 *man* of rosewater, the whole worth 10,000 *dīnārs* (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (1270), ii, 7; *ḥanūṭ* seems here to be a collective name for the perfumes).

Bodies brought to Karbalāʾ and Nadjaf for burial may be in rough coffins or wrapped in matting, and any embalming is rudimentary for the stench is horrible. Modern dictionaries give the meaning 'embalm' but *LA* says that *aḥnaṭa'l-rimth* means 'turned white'. Now in Tunisia *ḥanūṭ* may be pistachio-resin, cloves and *boutons de rose*.

Bibliography: *LA* and *TA*, s.v.; Dozy, *Supplément*, *s.v. ṣabara*; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (*djanāʾiz*), and commentaries; the Sunnī law books; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *al-Madkhal*, 1929, iii, 237-272; Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, 371. For the practice of embalming among the Turks, see TAḤNĪṬ.

(A. S. TRITTON)

HINĀWĪ [see HINĀ; ʿUMĀN].

HIND, the name currently employed in Arabic for the Indian sub-continent. The current names in Persian were Hindūstān, Hindistān, "land of the Hindūs" [*q.v.*], whence Ottoman Turkish Hindistān. The present article comprises the following sections:

i. the geography of the sub-continent as described by the mediaeval Muslim geographers;
ii. the ethnography of the sub-continent at the present day;
iii. its languages;
iv. a survey of its history, with cross-references to the individual rulers, dynasties, etc., treated separately;
v. the spread of Islam, the distribution of Islamic sects, the activities of Muslim scholars;
vi. Islamic culture;
vii. Indo-Muslim architecture;
viii. music.

For Anglo-Muhammedan law, see SHARĪʿA; for political parties, see ḤIZB; for the development of the apparatus of modern government, see ḤUKŪMA; for the events leading to partition and for the history of Pakistan since independence, see PĀKISTĀN.

(ED.)

i. — THE GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA ACCORDING TO THE MEDIAEVAL MUSLIM GEOGRAPHERS.

(a) The term "*Hind*": The Muslim geographers of the mediaeval period generally used the term "Hind" to denote regions east of the Indus. It was also applied to practically all the countries of South-East Asia, when used imprecisely in such phrases as 'the Kings of Hind', or 'the lands of Hind', which included not only India but also Indonesia, Malaya, etc. The term 'Sind' as used by them referred to Sind, Makran, Baluchistan, portions of the Panjab and the North-West Frontier Province. Thus no single term covered the whole of India. Only 'Hind' and 'Sind' used together denoted the whole of mediaeval India. The geographical accounts of India in Arabic and

Persian literature are therefore covered under two separate headings, namely, 'Sind' and 'Hind'.

(b) Geographical position, boundaries and area: Muslim geographers, following Claudius Ptolemy, divided the inhabited quarter of the earth (*al-rubʿ al-maskūn*) into seven climes, each running parallel to the equator from east to west, and covering the area north of the equator up to the Island of Thule as described by Ptolemy. India was usually placed between the first and the third climes. In the Iranian system of climes, which divided the 'inhabited world' into *kis̲h̲wars* by drawing seven circles of equal size and placing six of these around the fourth in such a way that they touched each other, India was placed in the second *kis̲h̲war* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, i, 181). Although the Muslim geographers were acquainted with the Greek division of the land-mass into three continents: Asia (*Āsiyā*), Europe (*Urūfa*) and Africa (*Lūbiyā*), they did not use it much. Al-Bīrūnī, however, describes India as part of "the northern continent" (meaning thereby Asia) and bordering on the 'Great Ocean' (*al-Baḥr al-Aʿẓam*, the Indian Ocean) (*A.I.* [for this abbreviation and others employed in this article, see *Bibl.*], i, 197; *Ṣifa*, 5). His image of India was of a plain surrounded on three sides (north, west and east) by lofty mountains forming a part of the long range of mountains that extended from China in the east and crossed the whole of Asia and Europe latitudinally, reaching as far as the lands of the Franks and the Galicians. India was placed to the south of this long range and the waters (rivers) of this range flowed down through the Indian plains (*A.I.*, i, 198). Al-Bīrūnī was the only Muslim geographer who conceived of India as having been a sea in the geological period and perhaps the first scientist to present this concept. He arrived at this conclusion by observing the different types of stones, round and big, near the mountains (of the north) and both above and under the surface of the earth, but becoming smaller further away and finally getting pulverized into sand near the mouths of the large rivers and near the sea. He says, "... if you consider all this, you could scarcely help thinking that India has once been a sea which by degrees has been filled up by the alluvium of the streams" (*op. cit.*, i, 198).

Again, according to the Muslim geographers and navigators India lay on the great mediaeval sea-route between the Persian Gulf and China. The Arab navigators of the early Middle Ages divided, for navigational convenience, the seas lying along this route into 'the seven seas'. These were: (1) Baḥr Fārs (the Persian Gulf); (2) Baḥr al-Lārwī (after the ancient name of Gujarat, *Lār* [*Larike* of Ptolemy], from Sanskrit *Lāṭa*, see Sauvaget, *Ak̲h̲bār*, 35, note 4.3); this was the portion of the Arabian Sea stretching between Oman and the Laccadives; (3) Baḥr Harkand (Bay of Bengal, from Sanskrit *Harketiya* representing Eastern Bengal; *kand* may be due to the influence of the Iranian *kand* meaning 'town'; in M. Filliozat's view it may have some relation with the Tamil word *arikandam*, one of the nine divisions of the world as regarded by the Indians, see Sauvaget, *Ak̲h̲bār*, 35, note 4.2); (4) Baḥr Kalah (the Strait of Malacca; *Salahat*, from Malay *selat*, *salat*, meaning 'strait', see *Ak̲h̲bār*, 4); (5) Baḥr Kardand̲j̲ (Panduranga?); (6) Baḥr Ṣanf (the Sea of Champa; the Kingdom of Champa lay between the sea and the mountain all along the eastern coast of Indo-China, see *Ak̲h̲bār*, 44-5); (7) Baḥr al-Ṣīn (the Sea of China).

(c) Maps of India: Muslim geographer-cartographers like al-K̲h̲uwārizmī [*q.v.*] and al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*], who followed Ptolemy in their world cartography, committed grave mistakes in incorporating their contemporary data in the framework of maps that were conceived and drawn by Marinos and Ptolemy a thousand years earlier. Ptolemy's maps of India erred in depicting wrong courses of the rivers, *e.g.*, the Ganges flowed south instead of east and discharged itself into the Arabian Sea at the south-western coast; peninsular India was shown much smaller than its actual size, and Ceylon was highly exaggerated. These and other defects of the Ptolemaic charts were handed down to the Muslim cartographers, who did not try to improve upon them. Thus, the configuration of India is confused on the maps of al-K̲h̲uwārizmī (his sectional maps of the world have recently been reconstructed by S. Razia Jafri, of Aligarh Muslim University, on the basis of the latitudes and longitudes given by him in his work *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*) as well as on those of al-Idrīsī. The geographer-cartographers of the Balk̲h̲ī School of geography, like al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī and Ibn Ḥawḳal [*qq.v.*], who probably followed some ancient Iranian traditions of cartography, likewise do not show peninsular India on their world maps. Their regional maps of Sind are useful, but one does not get any idea of the shape of the country from these maps. Al-Bīrūnī's description of south India, when represented on paper, does result in the shape of a peninsula but not quite as large as it actually is. His 'map of the seas' also shows the peninsula in a limited way.

(d) Boundaries and area: For the Merchant Sulaymān, India was more extensive than China, in fact twice its size (*Ak̲h̲bār*, 26; cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 14), and according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, India extended from the region of China in the east up to Daybul in Sind, and from ʿIrāḳ up to the Arabian Sea and Ḥid̲j̲āz (i, 93). Al-Masʿūdī [*q.v.*] describes India as a vast country comprising land, water and mountainous regions. The limits of India, according to him, extended up to 'the kingdom of the Maharād̲j̲' (Sumatra) in one direction and adjoined K̲h̲urāsān, Sind and Tibet in the other. Sind was the borderland between 'the kingdom of Islam and Hind' (*Murūd̲j̲*, i, 162-3, 349); its boundaries are described as follows: the Ocean in the east, the Arabian Sea (in the west), Daybul (to the south) and the regions adjacent to China in the north (*Tanbīh*, 32). Al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī gives the measurement of India's length from Makrān, across Kannawd̲j̲ up to Tibet as being about four months' journey, and its width, from the Sea of Fārs across Kannawd̲j̲, as being about three months' journey (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūra*, 16). As for its boundaries, to the east lay the Sea of Fārs, to its west and south 'the Kingdom of Islām' and to its north, China. Tibet, according to this author, lay between China and India, (the land of) the K̲h̲arluk̲h̲s and the Tog̲h̲uzg̲h̲uzz and the Sea of Fārs. Part of it was in India and part in China (al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 16, 19). Sind, according to al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, included Makrān, Ṭūrān and al-Budha. To the whole of its east lay the Sea of Fārs and to its west Kirmān, the desert of Sid̲j̲istān and its districts. To its north lay the country of al-Hind and to its south a desert stretching between Makrān and al-Ḳufṣ, on the rear side of which lay the Sea of Fārs. The Sea of Fārs encircled these lands on the eastern side and to the south of this desert, because the sea stretched from Ṣaymūr (Chaul, in the Kolaba district of Bombay) towards the east roughly up to Tīz of Makrān; then it turned round this desert until it formed an area around Kirmān and Fārs (Jafri, 7). Exactly the same boundaries of

Sind are given by Ibn Ḥawḳal (Jafri, 11), who included in India, Sind, Kas͟hmīr and a portion of Tibet (*Ṣūra*, 9). Describing India's boundaries, he says that to its east lay the Sea of Fārs, to its west and south K͟hurāsān and to its north China (*Ṣūra*, 11). According to him parts of Tibet lay in India and parts in China (*Ṣūra*, 15).

An exaggerated account of India's limits and boundaries is, however, found in Marvazī who says: "Their lands are numerous, with extensive areas, and the outlying parts of them are far-flung, stretching as they do down to the limit of habitation where cultivation and procreation cease and the existence of animals comes to an end" (*Marvazī*, 39). The anonymous author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* gives the following boundaries of Hindustan: east of it lay the countries of China and Tibet; south of it, the Great Sea, west of it the river Mihrān (Indus); north of it, the country of S͟haknān and some parts of Tibet (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 86); and the boundaries of Sind given by him are: east of it is the river Mihrān; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the province of Kirmān; north of it a desert adjacent to the Marches of K͟hurāsān (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 122).

The apparent disparity between al-Iṣṭak͟hrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal on the one hand and the author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* on the other as noticed in the above accounts with regard to the boundaries of India, is not actual but due only to a difference in the way of looking at the maps used or drawn by them. Generally speaking, if the maps and the descriptions are read correctly, the Sea of Fārs or the Great Sea (Indian Ocean) lies to the south of India; China and Tibet to the north and east; Kirmān, Sid͟jistān, K͟hurāsān, etc. to the west; and the relative positions of Sind and Hind are correct. Again, according to the reckoning of al-Iṣṭak͟hrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, the length of India from the borders of Makrān up to Tibet would be about 3600 Arabian miles or 3840 geographical miles (counting 1 day's journey to be an average of 30 Arabian miles). Similarly, the width of India from the Indian Ocean (Sea of Fārs) across Kannawd͟j would be about 2700 Arabian miles or 2880 geographical miles.

(e) Regions: The western, north-western, southern and eastern regions of India were thoroughly surveyed by the early Muslim geographers and travellers both for political and for commercial reasons. Among the early writers Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, the Merchant Sulaymān, al-Balād͟hurī, al-Masʿūdī, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ḳudāma b. D͟jaʿfar, Ibn Rusta, Ibn al-Faḳīh, al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, Ibn Ḥawkal, al-Muḳaddasī, al-K͟huwārizmī and al-Idrīsī give topographical accounts of western and southern India. Of these, those of al-Balād͟hurī, al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī are of special importance with regard to Sind and the Panjab. They not only furnish us with information on important cities and towns of these regions, but give distances and describe roads; their maps of these regions are of great value. The majority of the later Muslim writers seemed to have borrowed from them. The itineraries given by al-Bīrūnī cover a wider region of India and some new areas not mentioned by the Muslim writers up to his time. Al-Bīrūnī was critical of the Indian method of measuring distances; so he uses the *farsak͟h* for his measurements. The Arab geographers also used the (Arabian) mile in their topographical accounts. Al-Bīrūnī gives the distances between important towns and ports of India and gives an approximate idea of the coastal regions by naming the important ports. From his topography one can get a sufficiently clear idea of the road-systems of India of this period. His information covers practically the whole of northern and central India as well as the western and eastern regions and parts of southern India. Moreover, his account is original and covers for the first time a detailed account of Kashmir. From the accounts of the Muslim geographers some idea about the regions of the country may be formed. Roughly speaking the following regions are described by them: (1) Sind, covering the region between Daybul, al-Manṣūra and Mūltān, including the lower course of the Indus; (2) Ṭūrān (covering parts of Baluchistan); (3) Makrān (along the coast of Sind and Baluchistan; (4) al-Ḳas͟hmīr al-suflā or al-Ḳas͟hmīr al-k͟hārid͟ja (the Panjab and the Himachal Pradesh); (5) D͟jazīrat al-Mayd͟h and *Kač* or *Kīs͟h* (Kachh and Kathiawar); (6) 'the land of al-D͟jurz or D͟jazarāt or Lāra-deśa' (Gujarat and parts of Rajasthan); (7) Mālwā (central India); (8) al-Kumkam (Konkan, Maharashtra); (9) Malībār or Manībār (Kerala); (10) Kanara (Kanada); (11) al-Ag͟hbāb or al-Ak͟hwār (the region facing Ceylon on the Indian coast); (12) al-Maʿbar (the Coromandal Coast, Madras); (13) Ūrīsīn or Uwarihār (Orissa); (14) Bankala (Bengal); Kāmrū or Ḳāmarūb (Kamarupa, Assam); (15) Gangāsāyara (mouth of the Ganges); (16) Assam; (17) Naypāl (Nepal); (18) 'the mountains of sulphur' or *Himāmanta* (the Himalayan ranges); (19) Ḳas͟hmīr al-dāk͟hila or al-Ḳas͟hmīr al-ʿulyā (Kashmir Valley); and (20) 'the country of Kanōd͟j' or 'al-Ḳinnawd͟j', or 'Madhyadeśa'. It was so called because it was the centre of India from the geographical point of view in that it lay halfway between the sea (Indian Ocean) and the mountains (the Himalayas), and was in the middle of the hot and the cold provinces and also between the eastern and the western frontiers of India (*A.I.*, i, 198).

(f) Ports and towns: Some of the important ports on the western coast of India with which the Arab navigators were acquainted and which are described by Arab geographers and travellers in their accounts are: Daybul (mediaeval main port of Sind, near modern Karachi), Barūd͟j or Barūṣ (Broach), Sindān (Sand͟jān, 50 miles north of Thana, Bombay), Sūbāra (Sopara, near Bassein, in the Thana district of Bombay), Tāna (Thana), Ṣaymūr (modern Chaul, in the Kolaba district of Bombay), Sindābūr (the Island and the bay of Goa, cf. Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 363-4; but Nainar identifies it with Shadāshivagad (Nainar, 74)), Hannaur (Honavar), Mand͟jarōr (Mangalore), Hīlī (the name of the mediaeval kingdom, Ili or Eli, has left a trace in Mount Delly. The mediaeval port is probably now represented by the village of Nileshwar, a few miles north of the promontory, cf. Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 364), Fandarayna (identified with Panderani by Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 234; with Pantalayini, Pantalayini Kollam, north of Quilandi, by Nainar, 35), Kūlam Malay (Quilon, Malabar).

The main sea-ports of the east coast of India described by the Muslim geographers are: Ballīn (probably Negapatam; it was from here that the Arab sea-route to the east bifurcated. Arab boats lay at anchor here for some months; then, those bound for China sailed straight to the Nicobar Islands, and others, going to Bengal and Assam, sailed north), Kand͟ja (Conjeevaram) and Samundar/Sumundar (an important mediaeval Indian port visited by the Arabs. V. Minorsky places it south of Baruva and north of Ganjam, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 241. However, the more probable identification is with the Sunur

Kāwān (Sonargaon) of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, see Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 271).

The Coromandel Coast was called *al-Maʿbar* ('the place of crossing') because it was from here that the boats of the Arabs sailed or crossed over from India to China, probably at the port of 'Ballin'.

The number of inland cities and towns described by Arab writers is too large to be mentioned here fully. We may, however, enumerate some of the more important towns: Manṣūra/Manṣūriyya (the Arab capital of Sind; ruins of the town 47 miles to the north-east of Ḥaydarābād, Sind), Nīrūn (at the site of the present Ḥaydarābād, Sind), Multān, Ḳannawdj, Nahrwāra/Anhalwāra (Patan, Gujarat), Asāwal (Āśāpalli, near Ahmedabad, Gujarat), Kanbāya (Cambay) and Mālwā (Mandu or Udjdjain); then, Tanjore, Rāmēshar (Rameshwaram), Mandarībīn (Mandūrpattan, Mandapam), Somnāt (Somnath), Dhār, Uzayn (Udjdjayn), Mēghār (Mewar), Mahūra (Mathura), Kālandjar, Kwālīr (Gwalior), Kadjūrāha (Khadjūrāho), Adjūdha (Adjudhya), Bānārasī (Varanasi), Bātlīputra (Patna), Munkērī (Monghyr), Ḳuzdār (Khozdar), Arūr (Rohri), Parāswar (Peshawar), Djēylam (Jehlum), Sālkūt (Sialkot), Radjkīrī (Radjgiri), Sunnām, Mīrat (Merut), Tānēshar (Thanesar) and Adhistān (Srinagar); then Uwarīhār (Uriyadēśa), Prayāk (Allahabad), and Vayhind (Ohind, which lay between the Indus and the Kabul river, just above their confluence, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 253-4); then, Dillī (Delhi), Dawlatābād the proposed capital of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 204), Hansī, Sūdkāwān (Satgaon), Sunurkāwān (Sonargaon), Koel (old Aligarh) and Maitra (Madura).

(g) Islands: The word *djazīra* was used by the Muslim geographers both for an 'island' and a 'peninsula'. Thus, al-Maydh (Kathiawar), Kūlam Malay (Quilon), etc. are described by some as 'islands'. Among the islands of India, the Maldives (*al-Dībadjāt*) (meaning 'the Islands' from Sanskrit *Diva* with the Perso-Arabic plural termination *-adjāt*), the Andaman and the Nicobar (*Lankabālūs*) islands are described in great detail. The Maldives were famous for boat-building activities and for the craftsmanship of their artisans. These islands were ruled by a queen who along with her husband lived on the Island called *Anb.riya* (probably Ptolemy's *Eiréné*, see al-Idrīsī, *India*, 24 and [comm.] 114).

Arab merchant boats on the way to China also called at the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The inhabitants of the former are described by Sulaymān as cannibals, having curly hair, ugly faces and long legs and those of the latter as being white in colour and having scanty beards (*Akhbār*, 5, 8).

(h) Climate, Soil and Crops: On the basis of the information provided by the Muslim geographers one can form a rough idea of the climatic conditions, the soil and other topics relating to physical geography. The climate of India is generally described as hot and some geographers compare it to that of Ethiopia and describe the common features between them. Al-Bīrūnī describes the Hindu division of the year (*A.I.*, i, 357-8): the people of Kathiawar divided the year into three parts; 1. *Varshakāla*, beginning with the month of *Āshāḍha*; 2. Śitakāla (*i.e.*, the winter); and 3. *Ushnakāla* (*i.e.*, the summer). But his actual description of the climatic conditions seems to pertain mainly to northern India. He says, 'the rains are the more copious and last the longer the more northward the situation of a province of India is, and the less it is intersected by ranges of mountains". Multān had no rains but in Bhātal and Indravēdi (Antarvedi, the old name of the lower Doab, extending from about Etawah to Allahabad, *op. cit.*, annotation, 321) it rained for four months heavily and incessantly, beginning from Āshāḍha, as though buckets full of water were being poured out. Around the mountains of Kashmir up to the peak of Djūdarī it rained heavily for two and a half months, beginning with Śravaṇa; on the other side of this peak, there were no rains. Hence, Kashmir had no *varshakāla* but continuous snowfall during two and a half months, beginning with Māgha, and shortly after the middle Chaitra continuous rains set in for a few days, melting the snow and cleaning the earth. This rule, he says, has an exception; however, a certain amount of extraordinary meteorological occurrance was peculiar to every province of India (*op. cit.*, i, 211-2). The rainy season was considered to be the most important season of India by almost all Muslim geographers. Sulaymān describes the rains as being very heavy (*Akhbār*, 26).

The soil of India is usually spoken of very highly by the Muslim geographers. Passages relating to cultivated lands and agriculture are also found in their writings, as are those pertaining to waste-lands, mountainous regions and deserts.

Seasonal crops are also described by Muslim geographers. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, describing those of northern India, mentions the following as the grains of the *kharīf* crop: *al-kudhrū* (a kind of millet) in abundance; *al-shāmākh*, *Panicum frumentaceum*, (called to-day *sāṅwā* or *sāṅwāṅ* in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, and *sāṅwak* in its western districts and in Panjab); it was cooked with buffalo milk and formed the food of 'the good and poor people'; *al-māsh* (Indian peas); *al-mūṅdj* (moong); *lūbyā* (haricots); *al-mūt* (mooth); and barley. The grains of the *rabīʿ* crop were: wheat, chick-peas and lentils. Rice had three crops in the year and India produced a type with large grains. Sesame and sugar-cane were cultivated in the *kharīf* season. Referring to the food of the people of Nahrwāra (Patan, Gujarat) al-Idrīsī says that it consisted of rice, chick-peas, beans, haricots, lentils, Indian peas, fish and animals that died a natural death (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 60-1).

(i) Mountain ranges: Not all the Muslim geographers had an overall view of the mountain ranges of India, though many of them describe ranges that they knew either through first-hand knowledge (which was very rare) or through earlier original sources. The Himalayas, the mountains of Kashmir, the Kamarupa Mountains (*Ḳāmarūn*), the ranges of the Western Ghats, the hills of Kathiawar (Girnar Hills, *Marvazī*, 43), the mountains of Thana (*Tāna*) and a few other mountain ranges of India were known to many, but few go into the details of these ranges or describe their exact locations or directions. A very early attempt, though based on Ptolemy's account, was made by al-Khuwārizmī, who gives the geographical positions of many of the Indian ranges (see *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*). Following the same Ptolemaic system and sources, al-Idrīsī also gives the Ptolemaic names of some of the Indian mountains (*e.g.*, Ūndiran, Gr. *Ouindion* = Vindhya Mountains) and adds some additional ones known to the Arabs.

A clear picture of India's mountain ranges is, however, presented by al-Bīrūnī and by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*. Al-Bīrūnī describes mainly the mountains of the north, north-west and the north-east. Describing the Himāvanta (Himalaya) he says that the mountains formed the boundaries (north, north-west and east) of India. In the middle of the snowy

Himāvanta lay Kashmir, and they were connected with the country of the Turks. "The mountain region becomes colder and colder till the end of the inhabitable world and Mount Meru" (*A.I.*, i, 258). Al-Bīrūnī conceived of the Himalayas as extending longitudinally; the rivers that arose on their northern side flowed into the Caspian Sea, the Aral Sea, the Black Sea or the Baltic, whereas those that arose on the southern slopes passed through India and some flowed into 'the great ocean' (Indian Ocean), either singly or jointly (*op. cit.*, i, 258). The mountains of Kāmrū (Kamarup, Assam), according to him, stretched as far as the sea (i, 281). He also describes some Tibetan ranges, on the authority of a certain traveller. From *Bhōteshar* (*bhauṭṭa-īśvara*, lord of the *bhauṭṭas*, or Tibetans, *A.I.*, annotations, i, 318) to "the top of the highest peak is 20 *farsakh*. From the height of this mountain, India appears as a black expanse below the mist, the mountains lying below this peak like small hills, and Tibet and China appear as red. The descent towards Tibet and China is less than one *farsakh*" (*op. cit.*, i, 201-2). He describes Kashmir as being surrounded by "high and inaccessible mountains" (i, 206). Kulārdjak mountain is described as a cupola, and here the snow never melted (i, 207-8). The Djūdarī peak was situated between Dunpūr and Barshāwar (i, 211). The author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* conceived of the Central Indian ranges as "starting from the western coast of India, stretching eastwards and then splitting into two so that its outer ramification . . . comprises the Himalaya, Karakorum, Pamir and the ranges north of the Oxus, while the inner ramification . . . comprises the part of the Himalaya immediately north of Kashmir which is then connected with the Hindu Kush &c." (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, commentary, 196).

(j) Rivers: Of the rivers of India, the best known to the Muslim geographers were those of the north and north-west. References are, however, found to the rivers of the eastern and the south-eastern regions. Al-Bīrūnī conceived of the rivers of India as rising either from "the cold mountains in the north or from the eastern mountains, both of which in reality form one and the same chain, extending towards the east until they reach the great ocean, where parts of it penetrate into the sea at the place called the *Dike of Râma*" (*A.I.*, i, 258).

The Indus and its tributaries and the rivers of the Panjab are the best described, and many details pertaining to their sources and courses can be found in the works of the Muslim geographers. According to al-Bīrūnī the river Ghorvand fell into the river Sindh (Indus) near Gandhāra (Ohind); the rivers Biyatta, known as Djaylam (Jhelam), the Candarâha, the Biyâh (Beas), the Irâva, and the Shatladar (Satlej) all united below Multan at a place called Pañcanada and formed an enormous watercourse. After it passed Aror as a united stream, the Muslims called it Mihrân (Indus); see *A.I.*, i, 259-60 and cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 278, who says that it was called Mihrān after it passed (to the south) the town of Shākira. The earliest reference to the Mihrān is found in Ibn Khurradādhbih (62, 173-4) and al-Khuwārizmī (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 131) who describes 'the Lesser Mihrān' (*Mihrān al-Ṣaghīr*) and 'the Greater Mihrān' (*Mihrān al-Kabīr*), of which the former seems to stand for the Narmada and the latter for the Indus (see also *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 72, 196, 198, 210, 236). The mouth of the river, according to the Muslim geographers, was divided between two points, one near Lohrânî (near Karachi) and the other in Kachh (*A.I.*, i, 260). The river has since changed its course. Again, al-Manṣūra (the Arab capital of Sind) was encircled by a branch of the Mihrān, forming an island. But this branch of the Indus no longer exists today. A branch of the Ravi, according to these writers, flowed past Multan.

The Ganges (variously described as *Djandjis*, or *Kank*) was the second best known river to these writers. It was well-known as the sacred river of the Hindus, where they practised self-immolation and other religious rites. According to al-Bīrūnī it arose in a place called Gaṅgâdvâra and flowed into the sea at a place called Gaṅgâsâyara (Gaṅga-sagar) (*A.I.*, i, 199-201). Those Arab geographers who followed the Ptolemaic description of the Ganges, like al-Khuwārizmī and al-Idrīsī, depict this river on their maps as flowing south (!) instead of following its true eastern course. Again, some Muslim geographers do not distinguish between the Yamuna and the Ganges, thus causing great confusion and misplacement of the towns along its banks. But al-Bīrūnī calls the Yamuna "Djawn" (*A.I.*, i, 261).

Besides these two main river-systems, among the other large rivers of India described by the Muslim geographers are: the Narmada, Sarsutī (*A.I.*, ii, 105); the Godavari (*Kūdāfarīd*); the lower course of the Brahmaputra; the Meghna, called "the Blue river" by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 271); a Nahr al-Ṭīb is also mentioned by some (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 111-2, tentatively identified by me with the Godavari or the Kistna). There are many other smaller rivers and rivulets described by them, the details of which it is not possible to give here.

(k) Flora: Among fruits, the citron is specially described (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 438). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sweet oranges were found in abundance in India, but the sour variety was rare. There was a third variety with a taste between sweet and sour and about the size of a citron (*al-līm*) (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 128). Jack-fruit (Ar.: *al-shakī wa 'l-barkī*, Malayalam: *chakka*; Hindi: *kaṭhal*) is mentioned (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 34; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 127). Mango (Ar.: *al-ʿanbā*, Hindi: *ām*; Marathi: *amba*) and the condiments prepared from it are described in detail (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 34, 35; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 125-6; Iṣṭakhrī, 173; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 320; al-Muḳaddasī, 482). It is compared with peach in taste. *Mahuwā* (*Bassia latifolia* or *longifolia*) was, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 129), found in abundance in Delhi and some other parts of India. *Jāman* (Ar.: *al-yamūna*, *Eugenia jambolana*) is described by many Arab geographers (Iṣṭakhrī, 173; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 320; al-Muḳaddasī, 482; al-Idrīsī, *India*, 42; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 128). Figs and grapes were rare in India according to the Arab writers. Among some fruits mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 125-9) are *tēndū* (*tenda* is *Diospyros ebenum* or *glutinosa*); *kasīrā* (*kaseru* is a fibrous root eaten as a fruit, *Scirpus-kysoor*, see Fr. tr. at iii, 129). Al-Ḳalḳashandī (Spies, 49) describes several fruits: sugar-cane, bananas, date-palms, peaches, mulberries, jujube, quince, pears, apples, and green and yellow melons. Sugar-cane (*ḳaṣb al-sukkar*) is usually described by the writers on Sind and Makrān, where sugar-candy (Ar.: *al-fānīdh*, Sanskrit: *phāṇita*) was manufactured from it in abundance.

Of the plants and woods, bamboo (*al-ḳaṣb* or *khayzurān*) is described as growing in abundance in the mountains of Thana (Maharashtra), see al-Idrīsī, *India*, 62-3; the plant whose bark was used by the ancient Indians as paper is called by al-Masʿūdī *kādhī* (*Murūdj*, ii, 202), but al-Bīrūnī gives the correct spelling, *tārī* (*tāṛ*, *Borassus flabelliformis*),

A.I., i, 171. This was not the same as *bhojpattar-bark* which came from a tree said to be a kind of birch (*Betula bhojpatra*) used in making *ḥuḳḳa*-snakes (Shakespeare, s.v.).

The betel leaf (Ar.: *tanbūl*, Hindi: *pān*; leaf of *Piper bettle*) was according to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 84) very popular with the Arabs of Yemen and Ḥid̲j̲āz, and especially in Mecca. The coconut tree and the pepperplant (*al-filfil*) are described by many. *Al-baḳḳam* (Brazil-wood, *Caesalpinia sappan*) was found in abundance in south India (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 63-4). Indian cotton is described as being superior to that grown in Baghdad (al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, Spies, 93). Aloes-wood (*al-ʿūd*) grew in abundance in the mountains of Kamarup (Assam) (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 64) and the Indian variety is described as the best in the world. It was called *Bankālī* (of Bengal) and *Samandarūk* (of Samundar, see above), see al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣifa*, 128. The banyan tree is mentioned by many writers (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 81-3).

A variety of vegetables and aromatic plants are mentioned, *e.g.*, cucumber, pumpkin, egg-plant, turnip, carrot, asparagus, ginger, onion, garlic, fennel, thyme, cardamom, tamarind (Ar.: *t̲h̲amar hindī*, 'the Indian fruit', Hindi: *ʾimlī*), etc. (see al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, Spies, 49-50).

Of the flowers, rose, nenuphar, violet, narcissus, jasmine and the blossom of henna, etc., are mentioned (al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, Spies, 50).

(l) Fauna: A variety of Indian wild and domestic animals are mentioned, but the elephant occupies the most important place in the geographical accounts for its various qualities and its great size (Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 67; al-Idrīsī, *India*, 36; Ibn Rusta, 134; *Marvazī*, 46-7; Buzurg b. S̲h̲ahriyār, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, 163-5; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iii, 11-26). The Indian rhinoceros (*al-karkaddan*) is also described for its commercial value. Its horn was a very precious commodity used for making ornaments, etc. Strange stories connected with it are also mentioned (see Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 67-8; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, i, 385-7; al-Idrīsī, *India*, 30-1). Among other animals, the two-humped camel of Sind (Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 176; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 323) and *sharava* (probably a wild boar) found in Konkan, Maharashtra (*A.I.*, i, 203) are mentioned. Among the domestic animals, water-buffaloes, cows, goats and sheep, two types of horses (the Arabian and the pack-horse), mules and donkeys are mentioned (al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, Spies, 47-8). Some fishes and water-animals are also mentioned, *e.g.*, *al-mīzara* (probably the eels belonging to the *moray* family of the order of Apodes, al-Idrīsī, *India*, 72, 132), crocodiles, *grahu* (an Indian alligator or a shark?) and a fish called *burlū* (al-Bīrūnī thought it was the dolphin, *A.I.*, i, 204); another dangerous water animal, *graha jalatantu* or *tanduwā*, is described by al-Bīrūnī (*A.I.*, i, 204); this may be the octopus.

Of the Indian birds, peacocks, pigeons, the domestic fowl, cranes, *bulbul* (probably the shrike, *Lanius boulboul*, see Shakespeare, *s.v.*) are mentioned.

(m) Commercial products: Of the commercial commodities of India, the Muslim geographers mention especially the cotton cloth of Bengal as early as the 3rd/9th century (Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 67; *Ak̲h̲bār*, 13; *Marvazī*, 48). Shoes manufactured in Cambay, Indian swords, aloes-wood from Assam, diamonds from Kashmir, gold from Kamarup (Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 67; *Marvazī*, 48), pearls from Thana (Bombay) (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 55), sugar-candy from Sind, are mentioned as commercial commodities.

Bibliography: in the text, where it has been convenient to employ the following abbreviations (further to those listed at the beginning of the volume): *Ak̲h̲bār* = *Ak̲h̲bār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind. Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde rédigée en 851*, Ar. text with Fr. tr. and notes by J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948; al-Bīrūnī, *A.I.* = *Alberuni's India*, by E. Sachau, repr. New Delhi 1964; al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣifa* = *Ṣifat al-maʿmūra ʿala 'l-Bīrūnī. Bīrūnī's picture of the world*, ed. A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Memoirs* of the *ASI*, no. 53, New Delhi 1941; Buzurg b. S̲h̲ahriyār, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib* = *K. ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-Hind. Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, Ar. text ed. P. A. van der Lith with Fr. tr. by L. Marcel Devic, Leiden 1883-6; Gibb, *Ibn Battúta* = *Ibn Battúta, travels in Asia and Africa*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, London (Broadway Travellers Series) 1927 (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of India was translated into German by H. von Mžik, *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indien und China*, Hamburg 1911); al-Idrīsī, *India* = *India and the neighbouring territories*, tr. with commentary by S. Maqbul Ahmad, Leiden 1960; Jafri = S. Razia Jafri, *Description of India (Hind and Sind) in the works of al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, Ibn Ḥauḳal and al-Maḳdisī*, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Islamic Studies*, v (Aligarh 1961), 1-67; al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, Spies = O. Spies, *An Arab account of India in the 14th century*, Stuttgart 1936; al-K̲h̲uwārizmī, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* = *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. H. von Mžik, iii, Leipzig 1926; al-Muḳaddasī = *K. Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aḳālīm*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, Leiden 1906 (*BGA*, iii²); *Marvazī* = *S̲h̲araf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, Ar. text ed. with Eng. tr. and commentary by V. Minorsky, London 1942; Nainar = S. M. H. Nainar, *Arab geographers' knowledge of southern India*, Madras 1942; Shakespeare = J. A. Shakespeare, *Dictionary of Hindustani and English, and English and Hindustani*, London 1849. (S. Maqbul Ahmad)

ii.—Ethnography

The Indian sub-continent has been divided since 1947 into the two nations of India and Pākistān, with populations of 439,234,771 and 93,720,613 respectively (all statistics refer to 1961). The 82,556,634 Muslims of Pākistān comprise 89% of the total population (97% in West Pākistān and 80% in East Pākistān), the only sizeable minority being the 4,386,623 caste Hindūs and 4,993,046 scheduled castes in the latter Province. India's population contains 46,939,357 (10.69%) Muslims. The proportion of Muslims is greatest in the areas of earliest Muslim penetration, viz., the northern States (Assam 23.29%, West Bengal 20.0%, Bihār 12.24% and Uttar Prades̲h̲ 14.63%, only the Pand̲j̲āb showing a small proportion (1.94%) owing to the emigration of Muslims at the time of Partition), and Kerala (17.91%). The remaining States have proportions of between 4% and 9%, except for Orissa's 1.23%. D̲j̲ammū and Kas̲h̲mīr contains 2,432,067 (68.3%) Muslims.

The population of the sub-continent increased over the decade 1951-61 by 22% in India and 23% in Pākistān, that is, by an average of some 9½ million annually. Densities vary widely with ecological conditions. East Pākistān, with an average density of 922 per sq. mile, has a pattern similar to that of those valley and coastal areas of India where live the majority of Indian Muslims. West Pākistān, with an average density of only 138 per sq. mile, contains both highly populated irrigated areas (*e.g.*, Sargodha and Mardan districts) as well as the arid zones of

Balūčistān and Sind, where the density is often less than 10 per sq. mile, matched in India only in western Rādjāsthān. The net increase in population, and the consequent high densities in certain regions, pose the most severe problems of land shortage and create a need for urgent economic development.

Several physical types can be distinguished in the sub-continent. There are few Muslims amongst the Mongoloid peoples in the Himālayan region or amongst the Veddoid tribal peoples in the hills of central and eastern India; most are either of the short-statured, brachycephalic type associated with the pre-Āryan population, or of the taller, fairer and dolichocephalic Mediterranean type. These latter types are mixed in the various regions, though the former predominates in the south and the latter in the north-west, and it would be erroneous to give the terms Dravidian and Āryan to them, these being best used for the two main families of languages spoken in the sub-continent.

Muslims in each language area speak the regional tongue, but many also have a knowledge of Urdū, particularly in West Pākistān, the Gangetic plain, and those parts of India where Muslim princes ruled before 1947. Diacritical features, such as dress, headgear and type of beard may distinguish Muslims from others; so may diet, styles of poetry and music and other secular cultural traits. On the other hand, some social features are common to all inhabitants of both nations.

The overwhelming majority of the population of the sub-continent is rural (82% in India and 87% in Pākistān). Pastoralists are found in the more arid zones; estates growing rubber, tea and coffee exist in both countries and have an economic importance as gainers of foreign exchange which far outweighs the area they cover and the numbers they employ; there is some shifting cultivation and settlement amongst tribal people; but, for the most part, settlement is in villages of between 200 and 5,000 people, depending on ecological and historical factors. In Kerala, the Himālayan foothills and the Bengal delta, however, settlement is of scattered homesteads; and in those more arid areas of India and West Pākistān without canal irrigation homesteads are encountered wherever there is a well. Upon the size of the settlement depends the number of non-agricultural specialists, larger villages having a full complement of agricultural, household and religious services available, and smaller villages or isolated homesteads calling on specialists from outside.

The major food crops grown include rice, mainly in the coastal areas of south India and in Bengal and Sind, and wheat, sorghum, maize and other grains elsewhere. Each crop requires a different amount of labour, this being supplied by the farmer and his family, by labourers and, at times of peak activity, by neighbours on a co-operative basis. Women of poorer families work in the fields except where the rules of purdah prevent them. Labourers may be paid with daily wages; or they may, like the specialists, be under annual contracts and be paid in kind at each harvest. The trend in recent years has been to make payments in cash, and this is part of a move from a largely subsistence economy towards a greater dependence on cash crops such as sugar cane, jute, cotton and groundnuts. This has resulted in stronger links with urban markets and with wider price and demand fluctuations; and this, together with the increase in the demand for manufactured articles, has been a factor breaking down the social as well as the economic isolation of villages.

The structure of rural political power rests on the interconnected bases of control of land and political statuses. In many areas, land is held by individual farmers (*ra^ciyyat*; see RA^cIYYA) on direct engagement with the State; in some regions, especially in former princely states and in parts of Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Pandjāb and Sind, there are large landlords (*zamīndār*, *djāgīrdār*, *ta^callukdār*) whose holdings are now diminished to varying extents under legislative restrictions in both countries; and in a few areas, notably western Pandjāb, land is held by a coparcenary lineage, with shares distributed amongst members (*pattedār*). Economic power in *zamīndārī* and *pattedārī* villages is focussed on the landlords, and in *ra^ciyyatwārī* villages members of several families and castes may hold land, though there is usually a dominant group here too. Economically subordinate are the occupancy tenants, tenants-at-will, labourers and artisans [see TENURE OF LAND].

The system of village government is similar in most parts of the sub-continent, standardized as it has been by the Mughal and British administrations. There is a headman, responsible for the collection of land revenue and the maintenance of law and order, a village accountant responsible for the land records, and village watchmen under the headman. The headman's office may be divided between its revenue and police functions. It is usually a hereditary post, and may be divided among land holding lineages, or held by an absentee landlord's bailiff. In the tribal areas, especially among the Paṭhāns of north-west Pākistān, there has always been a large degree of autonomy, and here political control operates mainly through the balanced oppositions within the segmentary lineage systems around which the tribes are organized. Since 1947, programmes of community development and of decentralization of administration (known as Pančāyatī Rādj in India and Basic Democracies in Pākistān) have led to the emergence of locally elected committees from the village to the district level. These have taken over many of the headman's duties, especially in India, and the office of headman has correspondingly declined in importance.

Muslims participate in the above political and economic activities. In India, their importance varies partly with the statuses of the Hindū castes from which many were converted, and partly with the degree to which they have been able to maintain and wherever necessary adapt economic and political positions acquired before and during the period of British rule to conditions in independent India. In Pākistān, of course, Muslims fill virtually all economic and political rôles.

The urban population lives both in small towns which function as markets and administrative centres, and in the larger cities. Pākistān has three of these, viz., Karachi (1,916,000) [see KARĀČĪ], Lahore (1,297,477) [see LĀHAWR] and Dacca (556,712) [see ḌHĀKA]. India has 12 cities with over half a million inhabitants of which the largest are Bombay (4,152,056) and Calcutta (2,927,289). The process of industrialization has produced a growing managerial and professional middle class and a skilled labour force drawn from different strata of the rural population. This is larger in India than in Pākistān, where industrialization started to a large extent only after 1947, and it supplements the traditional urban classes of traders and entrepreneurs, among Muslims notably those of the Memon, Bohorā and Khōdja communities, whose members play an important

part in the economy of western India and Pākistān.

The most important social distinction among Muslims is between the As̲h̲rāf, Muslims of foreign ancestry, and those descended from local converts. The division among As̲h̲rāf between Sayyid, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, Mug̲h̲al and Paṫhān is recognized throughout the sub-continent. Sayyids are those reckoning descent from the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima; S̲h̲ayk̲h̲s are said to be descended from the early Muslims of Mecca and Medina; the Mug̲h̲als entered the sub-continent in the armies of the dynasty of that name; and the Paṫhāns are members of Pas̲h̲tō-speaking tribes in north-west Pākistān and Afg̲h̲ānistān. Members of these divisions are found all over both countries. Other groups of foreign descent, such as the Sīdīs [see ḤABS̲H̲Ī], Persians and Ḥaḍramawtīs are highly localized and are negligible in numbers and influence.

The non-As̲h̲rāf population is not usually designated by a single name, although Aṭrāf or Ad̲j̲lāf and Arzal are terms sometimes used for its higher and lower strata. It consists for the most part of converts from Hinduism, and embraces people of many statuses and occupations. People belong to named populations (*ḳawm*) of traditionally landholding groups (*e.g.* Bhaṫṫī, D̲j̲and̲j̲ūā), farmers (*e.g.* Arāīn), artisans (*e.g.* Tarkhān or carpenter and Pind̲j̲ārā or cotton carder) and service groups (Muṣallī or sweeper). It is debatable whether these *ḳawm* should be called 'castes' or not. Here a distinction can be drawn between the nature of the *ḳawm* in India and in Pākistān. Non-As̲h̲rāf groups in Indian villages appear to be sociologically similar to the Hindū castes which encapsulate them. They have ascribed occupations associated with status (whether they practise them or not); they are endogamous; they observe rules of restricted interdining with other Muslim and Hindū groups which they consider lower than they are; and their decisions are enforced by councils of prominent men. It is therefore possible to argue that they are strata in the caste system. The As̲h̲rāf divisions are less clear-cut. Whilst retaining hierarchical notions, there is some inter-marriage between divisions, much of it hypergamous. Moreover, there is an upward movement from non-As̲h̲rāf into As̲h̲rāf groups, especially into the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ division. It would thus be better to see As̲h̲rāf divisions more as status categories than as castes.

Social distinctions in Pākistān, as well as being between As̲h̲rāf and non-As̲h̲rāf are also between groups of different socio-economic status, especially between landowners and artisans. The Sayyid is given the highest social status and the Muṣallī the lowest according to values attached to their occupation and descent; but there are no ritually-based restrictions on social intercourse of the kind existing in the society which surrounds Muslims in India. Hence, stratification in Pākistān is based more clearly than it is in India on statuses in which economic and political factors are dominant.

Some features of Muslim social organization cut across orthodox Islamic behaviour. An important example is the prohibition in northern India of cross- or parallel-cousin marriage amongst many non-As̲h̲rāf groups. Consequently, kin ties are widespread and this, combined with territorial exogamy, makes for an extended kin-group of the type characteristic of north Indian Hindū organisation. In Pākistān, by contrast, the Islamic practice of both types of cousin marriage, subject to equal or hypergamous status (*kafā'a*), exists everywhere except, for the moment, amongst some refugee groups. Consequently, local lineages themselves become intra-marrying (though not formally endogamous) units, resulting in a pattern of small local kin-groups. Another variation is met with among the Māppillas [*q.v.*] of Kerala, who stem from intermarriages of Arab traders with local women as well as from conversion; for Māppillas in north Malabar are organized in matrilineally-defined groups, in which marriage is matrilocal.

Again, the pattern of inheritance has not always been fully Islamic. Instead of property being divided amongst both sons and daughters, customary procedure has normally excluded daughters in favour of male collaterals, except when the former have themselves married agnates. Pākistān law has now started to replace such customary law by Islamic personal law in this and other domestic contexts. For example, new provisions safeguarding divorce and polygamous marriages support, by a liberal interpretation of Ḳur'ānic injunctions, a general policy in favour of increased women's rights.

The vast majority of Muslims are members of the Sunnī sect, and of these some two-thirds of the Muslim population of both countries adheres to the Ḥanafī legal school, those belonging to the S̲h̲āfiʿī being found mainly among Māppillas; Sunnīs with Wahhābī tendencies exist in Uttar Prades̲h̲, East Pākistān, and in the northwestern areas of West Pākistān. There are, in addition, smaller groups of Sunnīs, of which the most important are the Memons, to be found in the major cities on the west coast, the Mahdawīs of Gud̲j̲arāt and the D̲h̲ikrīs of Balūčistān. Lastly, mention must be made of the Aḥmadiyya sect whose two branches, the Lāhawrī and the Ḳadiyānī (the latter now settled in Rabwah, West Pākistān) are proselytizers overseas and active in the educational and social fields at home. Of the S̲h̲īʿīs, the bulk of the It̲h̲nā-ʿas̲h̲ariyya division is found in Uttar Prades̲h̲ and thereabouts, with Lucknow (Lakhna'ū) as the main centre. Of the Ismāʿīlīs, Bohorās and K̲h̲ōd̲j̲as (including the Ag̲h̲a K̲h̲ānī sect) are found in most major cities, especially in western India and in West Pākistān.

At a different level from these divisions lies the network of allegiances held by a very large number of Muslims to *pīr*s. Some of these *pīr*s are members of *bā-s̲h̲arʿ* Ṣūfī orders, of which the most important are the Čis̲h̲tiyya, the Suhrawardiyya, the Ḳādiriyya and the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya [*qq.v.*]; others are members of *bī-s̲h̲arʿ* orders [see IBĀḤATIYYA]; and yet others are not formally adherents of any order, but are simply ascetics with personal followings. The orders are centred at major shrines, such as those of K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Muʿīn al-Dīn at Ad̲j̲mēr and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Farīd al-Dīn S̲h̲akargand̲j̲ at Pāk Paṫṫan for the Čis̲h̲tī order; but besides these there are many minor shrines whose guardians (sometimes the descendants of the person buried there) have taken on the duties of a *pīr*. These include the instruction and spiritual guidance of disciples (*murīd*) who may enter the order or may remain as lay disciples, and the provision of aid for secular problems such as illness and family difficulties to both disciples and other followers. The rôles of spiritual guide (*murs̲h̲id*) and of general helper are combined in the *pīr*, but a person can have only one *pīr* as his *murs̲h̲id*, whereas he can go to various *pīr*s for aid of some kind. As a result of this twofold rôle, *pīr*s have considerable spiritual and secular influence, particularly in West Pākistān where many

of the main shrines are situated, and where Ṣūfism first entered the sub-continent.

Distinct from these activities is the worship at the mosque. Most villages in Pākistān have a *mullā* and there are often several mosques, one of which is used for the Friday prayers. In many cases, however, the *mullā* has less influence than has the *pīr*. Formerly, there was considerable syncretism of Hinduism and Islam, particularly in the Pandjāb and its environs and among the less educated; there are references to the mixed composition of devotees at shrines and to the way in which saints were given both Hindū and Muslim aspects. Since 1947, however, this pattern has greatly diminished, though examples of it are still to be found in rural India.

Detailed ethnographies of the Muslims of the subcontinent are rare, and a great deal of research needs to be carried out before an authoritative account can be given of the social organization and culture of Muslims there and of their relations to fellow citizens of other religions.

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(A. C. Mayer)

iii. — Languages.

The presence of four great language families in the sub-continent is due to several waves of invasion by different ethnic groups in prehistoric and early historic times. The oldest such family appears to be the Muṇḍā (which, with Khasī spoken in the Assam hills and classified with the Mon-Khmer family, is sometimes regarded as "Austro-Asiatic"; but not enough is known about the affiliations of Muṇḍā for this interpretation to be acceptable to all scholars), spoken by over 6 million speakers, of whom the Santālī, with over 3 m. speakers, are the most numerous. Small though the numbers are, the Muṇḍā languages are important in Indian linguistic history, partly as providing the linguistic substratum for some languages now classified in other families, and partly as a source of borrowed words and constructions in other, more important, languages. These languages have had no connexion with Islam.

The Dravidian (Sanskrit *Drāviḍa-*) family extends mainly over southern India, and its original connexions with language families outside India have not been determined. It is generally assumed that the Dravidian speakers occupied a much more extensive area of India, including the north and north-west, before the Aryan invasions; both the presence of a pocket of Dravidian speakers, the Brāhūī, in Balōčistān, and the linguistic evidence of early Dravidian influences on Sanskrit, are consistent with this assumption. (The problem of the language of the inscriptions of the seals found in the Indus Valley civilizations of Harappā and Mohendjoḍāro is not at present soluble; internal philological evidence from the Rigveda suggests that these cities were those overrun by the early Aryans *ca.* 1500 B.C., but this neither proves nor disproves that their civilization was Dravidian.) There are now some 108 m. speakers of Dravidian languages: 30 m. Tāmil, in Madrās; 17 m. Malayālam, in Kerala; Kannaḍa (Kanarese) 17 m., in Mysore; 38 m. Telugu, in Āndhra; rather under 1 million speaking Tuḷu, and another 3 m. speaking the "tribal" Dravidian languages in north Madrās, Uṛīsā, and districts of central India, of which Gonḍī, with 1½ m. speakers, is the most important; recent figures for Brāhūī are not available, but there are probably less than 50,000 speakers. Of these languages Tāmil, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayāḷam alone have any written literature, but in these four the literature is rich and, at least in the case of Tāmil, goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era. Brāhūī is the only Dravidian language to be spoken exclusively by Muslims; some others are spoken by small Muslim minorities, *e.g.*, Malayāḷam by the Māppilla [*q.v.*] community in Kerala; Tāmil by some Muslims in Madrās state and in Ceylon, having a small Islamic literature [see tāmil]; Kannaḍa and Telugu to a lesser extent in Mysore and in the former Hyderabad state [see ḥaydarābād], where the preferred language of Muslims is Urdū or Dakhnī (see further below).

The Indo-Aryan languages [*q.v.*], the Indian branch of Aryan or Indo-Iranian, the most easterly representative of the Indo-European language family, were introduced into India during the Aryan conquest of the second millennium B.C. The earliest literary remains show little difference between the Indian side, as represented by the hymns of the Rigveda, and the Iranian side, as represented by the Gāthās of the Avesta. The Rigveda represents a north-west Indian linguistic development; a more central variety of the Indo-Aryan speech became elaborated and "purified" (*sam-s-kṛta*) into (classical) Sanskrit, the language of the sacred texts of Hinduism. The position of Sanskrit in India has been comparable to that of Latin in Europe: a language cultivated for religious and literary purposes, and consequently enjoying a high prestige; its artificial form has been preserved to the present day, and its influence has been considerable and constant on all the other languages of India, Dravidian as well as Indo-Aryan. Sanskrit has had a little importance for Islam in India: several rulers have patronized Sanskrit poets and Sanskrit learning; translations have been made at their orders from literary and religious works [see, for example, dārā shukōh]; and a few Sanskrit inscriptions refer to the works of Muslim rulers and others. From colloquial dialects originally contemporary with Sanskrit arose the Prākṛt ("natural") speeches (including the language of the Aśokan inscriptions; Pālī, one of the sacred languages of Buddhism; Śaurasenī and Arddhamāgadhī, the languages of Jainism), which by about the end of the first millennium A.D. had become the early stages of those different modern Indo-Aryan languages which are now spoken all over north India and Pākistān.

There are some 320 million speakers of Indo-Aryan languages in India. The following figures, reduced to round millions, are based on the 1961

census returns: Marāṭhī, with Konkaṇī, 35 m.; Uṛiyā, 16 m., the three main Bihārī speeches 17 m., Assamese 7 m., Bengali 34 m.; Hindī 134 m., Urdū 23 m.; Pandjābī 11 m.; Gudjarātī 20 m., Bhīlī 2½ m., Rādjāsthānī dialects 15 m.; Pahāṛī speeches 4½ m.; Sindhī 1½ m. These figures do not, of course, include speakers of Urdū, Bengali, Pandjābī and Sindhī in Pākistān. For most of the languages the areas in which they are spoken is obvious, as since 1956 India has been organized on a system of "linguistic states": thus, Gudjarātī is the language of Gudjarāt, etc. Hindī [*q.v.*] above includes both Western Hindī and Eastern Hindī, which properly belong to different groups of the central speech; Urdū [*q.v.*] is linguistically a form of Western Hindī, separated by higher vocabulary and by script (see further below); Western Hindī, written in the form of script called Nāgarī or Devanāgarī, is now the official language of the Indian Union, and it may be suspected that the figure given above has been somewhat inflated by Indians anxious to show the national language as their mother-tongue, as the 1961 census seems to have been carried out without any discrimination on the part of the recorders. Hindī and Urdū [see also the art. HINDUSTĀNĪ] have as their homeland the western U.P. (United Provinces [scil. of Āgrā and Awadh] = Uttar Pradesh), especially the upper Ganges *dōʾāb* around Mīraṭh ("Meerut"); but they, or their lowest common denominator Hindustānī, are spoken over the whole of northern and western India and western Pākistān as a *lingua franca*, and Urdū (or, in the south, its archaic sister Dakhnī) is the common language of Indian Muslims. All these Indo-Aryan languages, Urdū not excepted, are influenced to a greater or less degree by borrowings from Sanskrit. The most important of these languages, in an Islamic sense, are firstly Urdū and Bengali, national and official languages of West and East Pākistān, both with a considerable amount of Muslim literature of all genres; Sindhī is most usually written in a modified variety of the Persian script by Sindhī Hindūs as well as by the Muslims of Sind, but has little literary cultivation; Hindī, on the other hand, although thought of usually as a "Hindu" form of language, has a considerable Muslim element in its extensive literature, both mediaeval under Ṣūfī inspiration and modern under 19th and 20th century Muslim writers, and indeed some modern writers have published virtually the same works in Hindī and Urdū forms; Pandjābī is used beside Urdū as the speech of Muslims in the Pandjāb, although the bulk of Pandjābī writing is Sikh inspired and in the Gurmukhī script; Gudjarātī is the common speech of Muslims in Gudjarāt as well as an impure Urdū with many Gudjarātī loans, but except for a little religious and sectarian literature is not much cultivated by local Muslims for literary purposes; Gudjarātī is also the Indian language adopted by the Pārsī community.

The Iranian branch of Indo-Iranian is represented in Pākistān by Balōčī [see BALŪČISTĀN] with perhaps ½ m. speakers, an archaic variety of Persian; and by Pashtō [*q.v.*], with about 2 m. speakers in Pākistān and many more in Afghānistān, with a considerable literature of its own in a script modified from that of Persian, and in some use also as a *lingua franca* in the north-west; it has borrowed much from Indian sources. There are also a few minor Iranian tongues, known collectively as Ghalča, in the Pāmir region. By far the most significant of the Iranian languages in India, however, is Persian itself. Nowhere now a mother-tongue of any community in the sub-continent, it was for long the medium of communication of the Muslim élite and the major literary vehicle of Islam in India, the official language of the Mughal court as long as it lasted and of some independent states (*e.g.*, Ḥaydarābād) until the present century, and in the late 18th century even the proceedings of the English courts of the East India Company were recorded in Persian; it was a necessary subject of study for the educated Hindū as well as for the Muslim until English became the ascendant language in India, and it was probably through the Hindū scribes—mostly of the Kāyasth class—employed in the Mughal administration that large numbers of Persian words and expressions became current in north Indian languages; the Indian contribution to Persian literature is considerable [see ĪRĀN, Literature], the various histories compiled under the Muslim rulers being the prime source of Indian history for the mediaeval period. Persian is also the usual language of Muslim inscriptions in India, except for the pre-Mughal period in Bengal [see KITĀBĀT]. Besides its importance in its own right, Persian has exercised a deep influence on the vocabulary of all Indo-Aryan languages (and indeed to a lesser extent Dravidian languages also), most especially Hindī and Urdū; but whereas Hindī, especially the mixed variety which emanates from Indian official sources, draws its culture-words and expressions of modern abstract concepts from Sanskrit, Urdū continues to draw on Persian for such expressions, including a vast corpus of words borrowed or derived from Arabic. The effect of these progressive changes has been to make modern Hindī and Urdū almost mutually unintelligible, although they are essentially the same language; Hindī has probably advanced further than Urdū in the direction of unintelligibility to the uneducated peasant. Urdū, and to some extent Bengali, Pandjābī, and Gudjarātī, have also borrowed from Persian certain of its literary genres; the *ghazal*, for example, is not known in Hindī or Marāṭhī literature.

Of other Indo-Iranian languages, lying between the Iranian and the Indo-Aryan branches, are the Dardic and Kāfir languages [*q.v.*], although the former are probably to be looked at as a group of Indo-Aryan languages which, isolated from the innovations of IA in the plains, have developed on their own. They are confined to the mountainous regions in the north-west of Pākistān and Kashmīr, are numerically insignificant, and have no literature, except for Kashmīrī [*q.v.*] itself, which has 2 m. speakers in India and perhaps ¾ m. more in Pākistān.

The fourth language family represented in the sub-continent is the Tibeto-Burman, introduced particularly in north-eastern India by migration rather than by invasion. It includes Tibetan itself and some closely related Himālayan languages, a group of eastern 'pronominalized' Himālayan languages with a Mundā substratum, the Boro and Nāgā groups in Assam. These are all minor tribal languages of no numerical significance and of no importance for Islam, except only for Bāltī spoken by Muslims in the north of Kashmīr and written in a form of Persian script.

One language spoken in the extreme north of Pākistān has not yet been related to any other language family; this is Burushaskī [*q.v.* in Supplement].

Of the non-Indian languages spoken in the sub-continent by far the most extensive is English, which, introduced by the East India Company, quickly became the important language of commerce and later of general communication for the educated

Indian. It is still an official language of government in both Pākistān and India, is the general vehicle of higher education and hence the vehicle for the diffusion of European culture and ideas in both dominions, and is indeed the only pan-Indian language (the known English has more appeal than the unknown Hindī for the south Indian). There is extensive publication in English in both India and Pākistān, including a vigorous daily press; there are many specialist and popular Islamic publications, and probably English is of more account than are Persian and Arabic in maintaining touch with the doings of the rest of the Islamic world. In the 18th century Portuguese was an important language of trade, which lingered on in Bengal, in the face of heavy English competition, until the 1820s (T. W. Clark, *The languages of Calcutta, 1760-1840*, in *BSOAS*, xviii (1956), 453-74); it was in use also in the ports on the west coast of India, and was in official use beside Konkaṇī in Goa until the departure of the Portuguese; there is a considerable Portuguese loan-word element in most Indian languages. French was used as a language of administration in the former French possessions, but had very little effect on Indian languages beyond providing for some a window on European culture; this aspect has in fact been extended in independent India through the French cultural centre in Pondicherry.

The Arabic element has been referred to above in connexion with Persian, which is linguistically the source of most of Arabic borrowing; but Arabic is of considerable importance in its own right as the language *par excellence* of Islam. It has been studied in the *madrasas* as the essential linguistic tool of Islamic studies since the first establishment of Islamic power in India, and has been the vehicle of much writing in India on Ḳur'ānic exegesis, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, *taṣawwuf*, and grammar. The earliest inscriptions of the Dihlī sultanate are in Arabic, and Arabic was used in preference to Persian in the inscriptions of pre-Mughal Bengal; but it never seems to have been used as the language of an élite as was Persian, and as a spoken language seldom went beyond the purpose of theological discussion. The exception was among the bands of Arab mercenaries who were maintained at some courts. Some Semitic or Hamitic language was presumably once spoken by the Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] community, but no study of the modern Ḥabshī communities, even at Djandjīra, has been made by a competent scholar to determine the affinities of their present language.

Indian languages are little spoken outside the subcontinent (Ceylon, of course, is taken as belonging to the Indian linguistic area; the main language is Sinhalese, an Indo-Aryan language, and the Dravidian Tāmil is spoken by Indian immigrants in the north) except by emigré communities: Gudjarātī and some Hindī/Urdū by Indian communities in East Africa, a dialect of Eastern Hindī by Indians in Fiji, Pandjābī by Sikhs in various parts of the world but especially in south-east Asia and eastern Īrān, Tāmil by some labouring communities in Malaya, while Sanskrit and Pālī are studied, if not spoken, in east and south-east Asia and the East Indies as the sacred languages of Buddhism. The only Indian language to have reached Europe is the Gipsy or Romani, with European, Armenian and Syrian branches; whether recent Indian and Pākistānī immigrants to Europe and America will retain anything of their own cultures after another two generations is doubtful.

Scripts.—The native Indian scripts are all arranged on the same principle: they are syllabaries, not alphabets, in that each unit of writing is either a vowel or a consonant (or consonant-cluster) followed by a vowel; all vowels other than *a* are expressed by signs above, below, before or after the consonant-characters; where consonant-characters are written without vowel-sign the vowel *a* is considered to be inherent in the character. There are thus three categories of symbol: vowel-character, vowel-sign, and consonant-character; there are also modifiers by which nasality as a feature of the vowel may be indicated, or which replace a nasal before a consonant of the same class, or which indicate that a consonant is to be pronounced without the inherent vowel. Since consonant-articulations may be clustered and consonant-characters cannot be written in series without implication of a separating vowel, it follows that consonantal ligatures are a feature of the writing system: thus the Sanskrit *kārtsnya-* 'totality' is written with two characters, *kā* and *rtsnya*. The Indian syllabaries have been arranged since antiquity in an order based on strict phonetic principles (see W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in ancient India*, Oxford 1953).

All these Indian alphabets are written from left to right. Two main graphic varieties of the script, Nāgarī and Śārdā, have been responsible for the main forms of the characters in the modern scripts, with much mutual influence, and regional development has altered the form of the characters, and introduced a few new principles, so that now many scripts in use for contiguous languages are mutually unintelligible. The simplest form, Nāgarī or Devanāgarī, is in use for Hindī, Marāṭhī, Nepālī and generally for Sanskrit; Gudjarātī is a modified cursive form of this; Bengali and Assamese differ somewhat in appearance from Nāgarī, many characters having a Śārdā origin; and Pandjābī in the Gurmukhī script has even more of the Śārdā element. All these have the appearance of being written below a straight line which forms the head-stroke of the characters. Other scripts, as a result of having been early written on palmyra leaves, have developed a cursive form to avoid splitting the writing material with straight lines: such are Uṛiyā and the southern scripts, all different, used for Tāmil, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayālam; the Sinhalese script is a near relation of these, and the scripts in use for most south-east Asian languages (Burmese, Mon, Siamese, Cambodian, Javanese, Cham), and for Tibetan, are all Indian in origin. Specimens of most of these scripts are illustrated by Grierson, and their palaeographic relations described by Bühler (see Bibliography).

The Perso-Arabic script entered India with the conquest and has been, of course, studied by Muslims in all ages for its value in the literature of Islam; at first, however, it was used only sporadically for writing in the languages of India (*e.g.*, the Hindī poems of Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*]). Necessarily modified to embrace the peculiarities of the Indian consonantal system [see, for example, DĀL, DJĪM, HĀ', WĀW, YĀ'] it later became used for some Indian languages in common use by Muslims, especially Urdū, Pandjābī, Kashmīrī, Pashtō, Sindhī; a very small amount of writing in this script in Bengali is known, Bengali Muslims normally using the same script as the Bengali Hindūs; and it has hardly ever been applied to Gudjarātī. There are some works in Hindī in this script—their language and subject-matter having prevented them from being regarded as works of

Urdū literature. In addition to the articles on the individual languages, see further KHAṬṬ.

Bibliography: Indian languages have been widely studied in the last two centuries, and there is an enormous literature. References to the languages most germane to Islam will be found in the individual articles on these in this Encyclopaedia, especially BENGALI, GUDJARĀTĪ, HINDĪ, HINDUSTĀNĪ, KASHMĪRĪ, PASHTŌ, SINDHĪ, TĀMIL, URDŪ. For the linguistic affiliations of these see DARDIC AND KĀFIR LANGUAGES, INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES, ĪRĀN — Languages.

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iv. — HISTORY

This article aims at being no more than a guide to the numerous articles on individual topics of the Muslim history of India and Pakistan to be found elsewhere in the *Encyclopaedia*, and to relate these to a chronological framework

The pre-Muslim history of India is mostly outside the scope of this *Encyclopaedia*; aspects of the culture of this period, however, are relevant in the development of Muslim scientific knowledge and in the peculiarly Indian developments in Islam and Islamic institutions. For the scientific aspect an account of the relevant culture of pre-Muslim India will be found in DJUGHRĀFIYĀ, iii; for its religions, Hinduism and Jainism, see HINDŪ and DJAYN, and for the Indian aspects of mysticism which are relevant to Islam see TAṢAWWUF. References to the state of the land at the time of the various occasions of Islamic conquest will of course be found in the articles on the major Muslim powers and regions of India, especially DIHLĪ SULTANATE, BANGĀLA [in Supplement], GUDJARĀT, SINDH, DAKHAN.

Muslim history in the sub-continent begins with the Arab invasion and capture of Sind in 92-3/711-2, which thereby came under first the Umayyad and later the ʿAbbāsid caliphates; this period is, however, no more than a curtain-raiser, since caliphal authority was almost extinct by 257/871, although two Arab principalities in Sind endured for a little longer. For this period see SINDH; MUḤAMMAD B. ḲĀSIM; and references under AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ and UMAYYADS. For the Arab principalities see MANṢŪRA and MŪLTĀN, and also under DAYBUL.

Hindū rulers in the west and north-west of India were not slow to see the dangers to themselves in the establishment of an active Muslim state at Ghazna in the 4th/10th century; the first conflict between Hindū and Muslim powers came when a ruler of the Pandjāb invaded the territory of the Ghaznawid Sebüktigīn, but the balance of power was soon reversed and Sebüktigīn became the aggressor, compelling the cession of Kābul. Sebüktigīn's empire was consolidated and extended by his successor Maḥmūd, who between 389/999 and 417/1027 entered India fifteen times on marauding raids, the chief towns plundered being Wahind, Mūltān, Nardīn (Tarāʾōrī), Thānesar, Baran, Mathurā, Kannawdj, Gwāliyar, Kālindjar and Sōmnāth, although permanent occupation of the captured territories never seems to have entered his mind, and in consequence Islam was not established there; except in the Pandjāb which became the Ghaznawids' frontier province and in which, in Lāhawr (Lahore), they established their capital after losing Ghazna to the Ghūrids. For the history of these years see especially the articles GHAZNAWIDS, SEBÜKTIGĪN, MAḤMŪD B. SEBÜKTIGĪN, GUDJARĀT, and PANDJĀB.

The Ghaznawids' successors, the Ghūrids, were the next pre-eminent Muslim power to harass India from the north-west, although at first the ruler of their eastern province, Shihāb al-Dīn (later Muʿizz al-Dīn) Muḥammad b. Sām, merely continued the *ghāzī* tradition of Maḥmūd of Ghazna by making rapid local incursions: thus in 571/1175-6 he supplanted the Ismāʿīlī rulers of Mūltān by an orthodox governor, and later took the fortress of Uččh [*q.v.*]; in 574/1178-9 he marched through Mūltān and Uččh to Pāṭan in Gudjarāt, where his exhausted army was defeated. Sind and Daybul were acquired the next year, and in 582/1186-7 Lāhawr was finally added to the Ghūrids' territories, this last conquest ending Ghaznawid rule in India and placing the Ghūrids in a favourable strategic position for an assault on upper India. A Ghūrid army was defeated in 587/1191 at Tarāʾōrī [*q.v.*] by a Čawhān force under Prithvīrādja, but a further Ghūrid army was successful at the same place in the following year and Hānsī and Dihlī (Delhi) [*qq.v.*] were occupied. Mīraṭh and Koyl (the modern ʿAlīgaṛh) [*qq.v.*] and the territory south-west as far as Adjmēr [*q.v.*] soon capitulated to the invaders under their local commander Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, and Muʿizz al-Dīn returned in 592/1195-6 to take Bayānā. Thereafter affairs were left in Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak's hands, and he, after defeating attacks by local Hindū rulers, occupied Badāʾūn in 594/1197-8, Kannawdj the following year, Gwāliyār in 597/1200-1 and Kālindjar in 599/1202-3; he was appointed *walī ʿahd-i Hindūstān* by Muʿizz al-Dīn shortly before the latter's death in 602/1206. The political rôle of the Ghūrids in India was still limited, and Aybak was more concerned after Muʿizz al-Dīn's death with maintaining his position *vis-à-vis* Tādj al-Dīn Yïldïz, the Ghūrid governor in Ghazna, than with extending, or even consolidating, the Ghūrid possessions in India; indeed, at this time certain local Hindū rulers were accepted as tributaries. But the Ghūrids nominally controlled wider possessions in India than those administered by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, for two other local governors, who like Aybak

were Turkish slaves, were established in remoter provinces: Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča in Multān and Sind and Muḥammad b. Ba<u>kh</u>tiyār <u>Kh</u>al<u>dj</u>ī in Lakhnawtī in Bengal. At Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak's death in 607/1210 he was succeeded by his son Ārām <u>Sh</u>āh, but Aybak's son-in-law Iletmi<u>sh</u> was set up at Dihlī by a group of army officers; after he had overcome initial opposition he was able to consolidate his Indian position to the extent of severing the political connexion with Af<u>gh</u>ānistān, where the <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm-<u>Sh</u>āhs had supplanted the <u>Gh</u>ūrids and in turn were being harassed by the Mongols under Čingiz <u>Kh</u>ān, and by securing the main strategic points of north India. Under him Islamic government received a settled form in north India, and he may be regarded as the founder of the Dihlī sultanate. For events in this period see especially GHŪRIDS, MUḤAMMAD B. SĀM; UČČH, LĀHAWR, HĀNSĪ, ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AYBAK, DIHLĪ and DIHLĪ SULTANATE. For events in Bengal see BANGĀLA [in Supplement], LAKHNAWTĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. BAKHTIYĀR, and KHALDJĪ. For events in Multān and Sind see SINDH. For the establishment of the Dihlī sultanate see DIHLĪ SULTANATE and ILETMISH.

For the rule of Iletmi<u>sh</u> at Dihlī see DIHLĪ SULTANATE. For his early struggles for possession see also NĀṢIR AL-DĪN ḲABĀČA and TĀDJ AL-DĪN YÎLDÎZ; by his victory over Ḳabāča, Iletmi<u>sh</u> established his authority over Sind in 623/1226; he also recovered Bengal, where the successors of Muḥammad b. Ba<u>kh</u>tiyār had for some time enjoyed virtual independence. He was succeeded in 634/1236 by his daughter, the only female ruler in Muslim India [see RAḌIYYA], and later by his third son Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] (644-64/1246-66), although in this reign *de facto* power was exercised by <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u> al-Dīn Balban as *nāʾib*. The latter, who later succeeded as sultan, was engaged in ceaseless military activity to consolidate Dihlī as the principal power in north India against the local Hindū dynasties, especially those of Mēwāt; he suppressed an attempt at independence by the Bengal governor Tu<u>gh</u>ril in *ca.* 680/1281-2; and had to maintain constant strong garrisons on his north-western frontiers, where skirmishes with the Mongols, although not a serious threat to India, were frequent. Sind, however, seems to have remained virtually independent under its local rulers, the Sūmrā dynasty, who gradually became converts to Islam. The so-called 'House of Balban' was never a real dynastic power in the Dihlī sultanate, although Balban was succeeded for a time by his grandson Muʿizz al-Dīn Kayḳubād (and theoretically by his great-grandson Kayūmar<u>th</u>), and his second son Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Bu<u>gh</u>ra <u>Kh</u>ān, followed in turn by his son Rukn al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs, assumed the title of sultan in Bengal. For this period of the history of India see DIHLĪ SULTANATE; BANGĀLA [in Supplement]; MĒWĀT. For the rise of the local Sind dynasty see SINDH and SŪMRĀS.

A coup by <u>Kh</u>al<u>dj</u>ī Turk officers led to the establishment of the next dynasty of the Dihlī sultanate. <u>Dj</u>alāl al-Dīn assumed the royal title in 689/1290, succeeded after six years by his nephew ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, under whom the sultanate assumed an imperial character. Attacks by the Ča<u>gh</u>atay Mongols were repulsed; Gu<u>dj</u>arāt was conquered in 697/1298, several victories in Rā<u>dj</u>āsthān subdued most of that area in the early 8th/14th century, the Yādava kingdom of Devagiri was taken in 707/1307, the Kākatīya kingdom of Tilingānā was laid under tribute two years later, and even the southern Pāndya kingdom was invaded and plundered. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn entered into matrimonial alliances with defeated Hindū rulers' families, and was a shrewd administrator whose principal concern in this field was the regulation of prices. The <u>Kh</u>al<u>dj</u>ī dynasty lasted only four years after his death; the last sultan, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak, was assassinated by his favourite slave, a Hindū convert, who usurped the throne as Nāṣir al-Dīn <u>Kh</u>usraw; a brother of the first sultan was, however, an ancestor of the <u>Kh</u>al<u>dj</u>īs of Mālwā (see below). For the events of this period see KHALDJĪ; ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD KHALDJĪ; MALIK KĀFŪR; NĀṢIR AL-DĪN KHUSRAW; AMĪR KHUSRAW; also references under DAWLATĀBĀD, GUDJARĀT, RĀDJĀSTHĀN, TILINGĀNĀ. For Bengal, where from about 696/1297 the province had been divided into an eastern and western part with capitals at Sonārgāwn and Lakhnawtī respectively and where Dihlī had not reasserted its suzerainty, see BANGĀLA [in Supplement], LAKHNAWTĪ, SONĀRGĀWN.

With Islam threatened by the excesses of Nāṣir al-Dīn <u>Kh</u>usraw, a *djihād* was declared against him by <u>Gh</u>āzī Malik, the governor of Dīpalpur, who succeeded to the sultanate as <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u> al-Dīn Tu<u>gh</u>luḳ in 720/1320. An account of the events leading to the Tu<u>gh</u>luḳ succession is given in GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN TUGHLUḲ I; see also NĀṢIR AL-DĪN KHUSRAW. Further military activity consolidated and expanded the territory of the sultanate: the Pāndya kingdom of Madurā (Maʿbar) was annexed, <u>Dj</u>ā<u>dj</u>nagar in Orissa (Uṛīsā) invaded, and Bengal, then suffering from civil war, partly re-annexed; for this expansion see MADURĀ, TILINGĀNĀ, UṚĪSĀ, WARANGAL. Tu<u>gh</u>luḳ's son <u>Dj</u>awna <u>Kh</u>ān, entitled Ulu<u>gh</u> <u>Kh</u>ān, who succeeded his father in 725/1325 as Muḥammad b. Tu<u>gh</u>luḳ, was the general who brought about this consolidation; yet after his accession his oppressive rule led to many rebellions, some of which resulted in a permanent loss of hegemony: Maʿbar (735/1334-5), Gulbargā (740/1339), Warangal (746/1345-6), and Dawlatābād, which he had earlier attempted to make a second capital, in 748/1347. This last loss led to the proclamation of an independent sultanate under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahman <u>Sh</u>āh in the Deccan. By the close of his reign (752/1351) Bengal was again independent [see FAKHR AL-DĪN MUBĀRAK SHĀH], and the Sūmrā dynasty in Sind had been succeeded by the Sammās [*q.v.*]. For the events of these reigns see, in addition to the articles already cited, MUḤAMMAD B. TUGHLUḲ; TUGHLUḲIDS; DĀR AL-ḌARB, iii (for Muḥammad b. Tu<u>gh</u>luḳ's token currency); DAWLATĀBĀD; for Madurā see also DJALĀL AL-DĪN AḤSAN SHĀH; for events in the Deccan see DAKHAN and BAHMANIDS, and references under VIDJAYANAGARA. For Ka<u>sh</u>mīr, where Islam had been introduced *ca.* 715/1315 by <u>Sh</u>āh Mīr or Mīrzā, who later became the first Muslim ruler of the country, see KASHMĪR and SHĀH MĪRZĀ.

Muḥammad b. Tu<u>gh</u>luḳ's nephew Fīrūz <u>Sh</u>āh (usually conveniently but inaccurately differentiated as Fīrūz <u>Sh</u>āh Tu<u>gh</u>luḳ) succeeded in 752/1351 to a reduced domain. He early led expeditions to restore the Dihlī hegemony over Bengal, in 754/1353-4 and 760/1359; but that province, reunited since 753/1352, retained its independence under Ilyās <u>Sh</u>āh [*q.v.*], whose successors remained in power for another half-century. His prolonged expedition to Sind against the Sammās of Ṭhaṭṭhā restored Dihlī's suzerainty over Sind for a short time only, although in expeditions against Kāngṛā and Iṭāwā [*qq.v.*] he was more successful. His reign was generally peaceful and prosperous—particularly in the hindsight of historians writing after the Tīmūrid invasions of the end of the 8th/14th century—and he is remembered

as an innovator in agriculture and especially irrigation, a remitter of the harsher taxes (but as an upholder of the necessity of levying *djizya* from Brāhmaṇs: see ḌARĪBA, 6 a.), and as a constant public builder; but he was mild to the extent of culpable leniency, and his delegation of authority to his subordinates eventually weakened the royal power. For his reign see FĪRŪZ SHĀH TUGHLUḲ, DIHLĪ SULTANATE, and TUGHLUḲIDS; for the events in Sind see SINDH and THAṬṬHĀ; for events in Gudjarāt see GUDJARĀT (*b*); for the position in Bengal see specially ILYĀS SHĀH and SIKANDAR B. ILYĀS; for his agricultural policies and irrigation works see FILĀḤA, V; NAHR; and references under DJAMNĀ; for his buildings and other public works see DIHLĪ, DIHLĪ SULTANATE (ART), DJAWNPUR, ḤIṢĀR FĪRŪZA, SARHIND.

Some half-dozen kings of the Tughluḳ line followed Fīrūz after his death in 790/1388, none (except the last: see below) for more than a year or two. The Dihlī sultanate was in a state of political disintegration, and many provincial *muḳṭāʿ*s achieved virtual independence at this time. Even before Fīrūz's death the *muḳṭāʿ* Malik Rādjā of Karwand near Thālnēr had been able to act independently of Dihlī after about 784/1382 [see FĀRŪḲIDS, KHĀNDESH]. The Bahmanīs of the Deccan strengthened their independence and enlarged their dominions, the second sultan, who succeeded in 759/1358, bringing in careful and extensive administrative reforms; for these see MUḤAMMAD SHĀH I BAHMANĪ. The constant skirmishing with the neighbouring Hindū kingdom of Vidjayanagara flared up in 766/1365 in the first major battle between Hindūs and Deccani Muslims; accounts vary, but it seems that the boundaries drawn between the rival powers were more in Vidjayanagara's favour and that consequently the Bahmanīs cannot have had the better of the argument. For this campaign and the conflicting evidence see VIDJAYANAGARA. Some five years later the Vidjayanagara ruler extinguished the Muslim dynasty of the small southern sultanate of Madurā [*q.v.*]. In Mālwā [*q.v.*] the governor, Dilāwar Khān, had failed to remit to Dihlī the revenue collections of the district since 795/1392, although he did not declare himself independent until 804/1401 [see DILĀWAR KHĀN]. In the eastern provinces of the sultanate, disaffected Hindūs were rejecting all obedience to Dihlī when the (Ḥabshī?) eunuch Malik Sarwar, Khʷādja Djahān, was sent there in 796/1394 to control them; having done this he occupied Djawnpur as *sulṭān al-sharḳ* and there made himself independent of Dihlī [see DJAWNPUR, SHARḲIDS; also ITĀWĀ, KOYL]. Disorder had similarly arisen in Gudjarāt, where Ẓafar Khān had been sent by Dihlī in 793/1391 to establish the Tughluḳ authority; he pacified the province, but remained there as a virtually independent ruler during the confused Tughluḳ rivalries in the north; yet he did not assume the royal prerogatives until 810/1407 (although his son Tātār Khān had had himself proclaimed king five years previously); for these events see GUDJARĀT and MUẒAFFAR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ I.

In 800/1398 Pīr Muḥammad, governor of Kābul and grandson of Tīmūr, attacked India, capturing Uččh and Mūltān [*qq.v.*]; the chiefs and nobles of Dīpālpur had also submitted to him, but later revolted and killed his governor. This seems to have been made a *casus belli* by Tīmūr in 801/1398-9: Dīpālpur and Bhaṭner, where the rebels had taken refuge, were sacked, and Tīmūr proceeded through Pānīpat to Dihlī, chastising the Djāṭs [*q.v.*] on the way: the sultan (Maḥmūd Tughluḳ) fled, Dihlī was occupied, and was given up to pillage, plunder and wholesale massacre. On his withdrawal in the spring of that year, the Dihlī sultanate was left in virtual anarchy and moral, political and financial bankruptcy, although Maḥmūd Tughluḳ had returned to his 'capital city without an empire' after the Tīmūrid armies had withdrawn; *de facto* authority seems, however, to have been exercised by Maḥmūd's minister Mallū Iḳbāl Khān [*q.v.*]. The Sayyid Khiḍr Khān held Mūltān, Lāhawr, Dīpālpur and other localities as governor owing allegiance to Tīmūr or to his son Shāh Rukh. In addition to the now fully independent Muslim states mentioned in the last paragraph, many minor Muslim governors had become more or less independent, and the local Hindū chieftains, particularly those of the Dōʾāb, had thrown off all pretence of recognizing the suzerainty of Dihlī. Maḥmūd Tughluḳ's military governor of the Dōʾāb, Dawlat Khān Lōdī—who after the death of Mallū came to occupy the same position in the state as Mallū had—gained some small success in re-asserting the authority of Dihlī over the neighbouring states; he and Khiḍr Khān were the chief contenders for power in the north, and after the death of Maḥmūd Tughluḳ in 815/1412 or 1413 (the evidence on this point is conflicting) Dawlat Khān was raised by the nobles to the Dihlī throne. In about 806/1404 Islam had suffered a setback in Bengal with the defeat of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Aʿẓam Shāh by Rādjā Gaṇesh of Dinādjpur; and this Hindū minister continued to wield power (and, according to some Muslim historians, persecuted Muslims; but their accounts are not well authenticated and may be tendentious) until his death in 818/1415. Apparently he never assumed the royal title; but a succession of minor Muslim kings were puppets in his hands. He was succeeded by his son, who had been converted to Islam as Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. For the events of these years in north India see TĪMŪR; MAḤMŪD TUGHLUḲ; KHIḌR KHĀN; DAWLAT KHĀN LŌDĪ [in Supplement]; for encroachments by the Djawnpur sultan Ibrāhīm see IBRĀHĪM SHĀH SHARḲĪ and SHARḲIDS; for Rādjā Gaṇesh see BANGĀLA [in Supplement].

In the Bahmanī kingdom the fifth ruler, Muḥammad Shāh II [*q.v.*], a liberal and enlightened sultan, enjoyed a long reign (780-99/1378-97) undisturbed by foreign campaigns, and showed his administrative ability in his famine relief measures during 789-97/1387-95. On his death, one Tughalčin, chief of the Turkish slaves, seized power and installed a puppet ruler; but Fīrūz and Aḥmad, two grandsons of the first sultan, resenting the degradation to which the royal family was being subjected and being assured of support, rose to power; Fīrūz succeeded as the next sultan in 800/1397, his brother Aḥmad becoming Amīr al-Umarāʾ and Khān-khānān. Fīrūz reorganized the administration, in which Brāhmaṇs came to be extensively employed—probably to balance the high proportion of influential 'foreigners' (Īrānīs and ʿIrāḳīs) whom previous sultans had favoured. He was three times involved against Vidjayanagara (800/1398, 809/1407, 820-2/1418-20), possession of the Rāyčūr [*q.v.*] *dōʾāb* being the main point of contention; in 802/1399, after the foundation of the new city of Fīrūzābād on the river Bhīma, he was engaged against the Gond *rādjā* of Kherlā [*q.v.*], and shortly afterwards against Tilingānā. About 803/1401 he is said to have sent an embassy to Tīmūr and to have obtained from him a brevet of sovereignty over the Deccan; this is not recorded by historians of

Tīmūr's reign, but its truth seems confirmed by the actions of other southern rulers: an understanding of mutual assistance between the rulers of Gudjarāt, Mālwā, Khāndesh and Vidjayanagara against the Bahmanī kingdom, and a demand from these rulers to Fīrūz to keep the peace. Fīrūz was able to maintain excellent relations with the Hindūs of the Deccan, taking wives from several prominent Hindū houses, not excluding Vidjayanagara (being persuaded, although a Sunnī, to contract *mutʿa* alliances in this respect: Shīʿī doctrines were at this time penetrating the Deccan). Opposition to Fīrūz towards the end of his reign centred around the Čishtī saint Gīsū Darāz [*q.v.*], who favoured his brother Aḥmad; and to the latter Fīrūz assigned the throne in 825/1422. For this period in the Deccan see, in addition to the references above, BAHMANIDS, VIDJAYANAGARA, ILIČPUR.

In Dihlī the sultanate had fallen to Khiḍr Khān in 817/1414, who, however, never assumed the royal title. He and his house, the so-called Sayyid dynasty, ruled Dihlī until 855/1451; their rule was never strong, and military force was always necessary for the mere collection of the revenues; their military expeditions were undertaken in attempts to maintain the small prestige remaining to the sultanate: *e.g.* 817/1414 Katahr [*q.v.*]; 818/1415-6 Nāgawr [*q.v.*], which was being approached by Aḥmad Shāh of Gudjarāt; 821/1418 Badāʾūn; 823/1420 Mēwāt, Gwāliyar and Iṭāwā [*qq.v.*]; 826-32/1423-8 constant trouble with Bayānā; and unhappy relations with most of the neighbouring states. The sultanate was menaced by uprisings of disaffected Turkish nobles (the 'Turkbaččas'), the Khōkars of the Pandjāb, and, in the 830s/1430s in the reign of Mubārak Shāh, Mughals from Kābul; and the rulers of the new Muslim sultanates of western India and the Deccan had become strong enough to attack some of the possessions of the Dihlī sultanate, such as Gwāliyar by Hūshang of Mālwā in 826/1423, Kalpī in 834/1431 by Mālwā and Ibrāhīm Sharḳī of Djawnpur simultaneously. During the reign of the third Sayyid, Muḥammad Shāh (838-49/1434-45), the governor of Sirhind, Malik Bahlūl Lōdī, gradually came to control the whole of the Pandjāb; Bahlūl defended the Sayyid kingdom in 844/1440-1 against the invasion of Maḥmūd Khaldjī of Mālwā, probably to keep Dihlī secure for himself; and the last Sayyid king, ʿĀlam Shāh, who had moved his court to Badāʾūn, voluntarily resigned the throne to Bahlūl in 855/1451. For this period of the Dihlī sultanate see KHIḌR KHĀN, MUBĀRAK SHĀH, MUḤAMMAD SHĀH B. FARĪD, BAHLŪL LŌDĪ; KHŌKAR; MUGHAL; KALPĪ; and references under MĀLWĀ and SHARḲIDS.

In Mālwā, Dilāwar Khān had been succeeded by his son Hūshang Shāh [*q.v.*] in 808/1405, who was accused of parricide and attacked and carried off by Muẓaffar Shāh of Gudjarāt [see DHĀR]; he was reinstated in 811/1408, and thenceforth transferred his capital from Dhār to Māndū [*q.v.*]. He invaded Gudjarāt several times in the early part of his reign, although when in 824/1421 Hūshang in search of elephants invaded Ur̤īsā his dominions were in turn invaded by Gudjarāt armies; in 831/1428 he supported the rādjā of Kherlā [*q.v.*] against the Bahmanīs but was badly beaten by a Bahmanī army; in 834/1431 he attacked Kalpī [*q.v.*] at the same time as Ibrāhīm Sharḳī of Djawnpur and, gaining possession of it, left a governor there, who, being at some distance from Mālwā, was soon able to assert a considerable degree of independence. On Hūshang's death in 838/1435 [?] the barbaric rule of his eldest son Muḥammad Shāh caused Maḥmūd Khān, a former general and counsellor of Hūshang and son of his minister Malik Mughīth [*q.v.*], to remove Muḥammad and, Mughīth having declined it, assume the throne as Maḥmūd Shāh Khaldjī in 840/1436. In spite of an attempt by Aḥmad Shāh I of Gudjarāt to secure the throne for Masʿūd, a son of Muḥammad Ghūrī, Maḥmūd consolidated his position and during his long reign (33 years) the Mālwā sultanate reached its greatest extent. He several times attacked Čitawr in Mēwār [*q.v.*], eventually compelling its ruler, Rāṇā Kumbha, to acknowledge his suzerainty (858/1454); he exacted tribute from the rulers of minor Hindū states to the north of his dominions (Bundī, Koṭā, Kumbhalgaṛh, etc.) and, while engaged in the conquest of Mandasor, 'recovered from the idolaters' the city of Adjmēr [*q.v.*] (861/1457); disputes over Kalpī led to occasional war with the sultanate of Djawnpur; he caused the *khuṭba* to be read in his name in Bayānā; several times he invaded the Deccan to attack the domains of the Bahmanī minor Niẓām Shāh, once (865/1461) being utterly defeated, but able later to despoil Barār and to defend his outpost at Kherlā [*q.v.*]; and even Dihlī, as noticed above, was not safe from his ambition (844/1440-1). But he was a good Muslim and a great builder and patron of the arts, and in his time Mālwā acquired renown as a centre of learning. For the details of his reign see, in addition to the references above, MAḤMŪD SHĀH I KHALDJĪ, MĀLWĀ, MĀNḌŪ; ČANDĒRĪ; also references under GUDJARĀT.

The Gudjarāt sultanate had, at much the same time, similarly profited by a long reign. Aḥmad I had succeeded his grandfather Muẓaffar I in 813/1410 and spent much of his reign in hostilities with neighbouring Rādjpūt princes, especially Īḍar [*q.v.*], Čāmpānēr [*q.v.*] and Djūnāgaṛh [*q.v.*], and with his Muslim neighbours; his interest in Mālwā has been described above, but he was also involved against Khāndēsh and the Bahmanīs. He founded the new capital of Aḥmadābād [*q.v.*] in 813/1411, Aḥmadnagar *ca.* 830/1427, and consolidated Islam throughout Soraṭh [see DJŪNĀGAṚH; although this town itself did not become a centre of Islamic propaganda until *ca.* 874/1470 in the reign of Maḥmūd], where Islam was already well established in the coastal towns [see for example MANGRŌL]. He extended the Gudjarāt dominions southwards into the northern Konkan coast from 834/1431 by the capture of Thānā [*q.v.*] from the Bahmanīs [see also MAHĪM]. His strict but impartial justice, and through him the example of the religious teachers of Baṭwā and Sarkhedj near Aḥmadābād, did much to establish the firm rule of Islam throughout Gudjarāt in the early 9th/15th century. The policy of constant pressure on Gudjarāt's Hindū neighbours was maintained under Muḥammad I (846-55/1442-51) and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh (855-62/1451-8), the latter having once entered into a Muslim alliance with Maḥmūd of Mālwā against Čitawr. With the accession of Maḥmūd I in 862/1458 Gudjarāt entered the period of its greatest prosperity; for the attempt at usurpation by Shams Khān Nāgawrī before Maḥmūd's accession see NĀGAWR. For the general history of Gudjarāt in this period see, in addition to the references above, GUDJARĀT.

The small state of Khāndēsh, where Malik Rādjā (= Rādjā Aḥmad) had been appointed to an *iḳṭāʿ* by Fīrūz Shāh and where he had established himself sufficiently to act independently of Dihlī since *ca.* 784/1382, early sought alliance with Mālwā through a royal marriage; but on the temporary division of the state between Malik Rādjā's two sons on his

death in 801/1399 the elder brother, Naṣīr, dissatisfied with lack of support from Mālwā against Aḥmad I of Gudjarāt who had intervened on behalf of the younger brother Ḥasan, had to recognize the overlordship of Gudjarāt, 820/1417. A Khāndēsh attack on Nandurbār in 833/1429 provoked Gudjarāt reprisals, and an alliance with the Bahmanīs was sought by marriage: but when his daughter complained that her husband was neglecting her, Naṣīr Khān invaded the Bahmanīs' northern territories; however, his army was defeated and only the threatened assistance of Gudjarāt led to a Bahmanī withdrawal. ʿĀdil Khān (d. 844/1441) and Mubārak Khān (d. 861/1457) accepted Gudjarāt suzerainty, but in 904/1498 ʿĀdil Khān II failed to pay tribute and was chastised by Maḥmūd Bēgṛā. After the death of ʿĀdil Khān II in 907/1501 a disputed succession caused the intervention in Khāndēsh of the stronger neighbouring powers. None of the Fārūḳī rulers was recognized as equal by the sultans of Gudjarāt, Mālwā, Aḥmadnagar or the Deccan, and were known as Khān rather than Shāh. For Khāndēsh in this period see FĀRŪḲIDS and KHĀNDESH, and references under GUDJARĀT and MĀLWĀ.

Bengal, where rival sultanates had been established in the late 7th/13th century at Lakhnawtī (capital later transferred to Pāndua) and Sonārgāwn, had been reunited about 753/1352 under Ilyās Shāh, and after Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ's vain attempts to recover the province (see above) was never again molested by Dihlī. The Ilyās Shāhī succession had degenerated into a number of puppet kings under the influence of the Hindū minister Rādjā Gaṇesh of Dinādjpur, and was terminated by the accession of Gaṇesh's son the Muslim convert Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad in 818/1415; his reign seems to have been a time of peace and prosperity for Bengal, to judge by the magnificence of the monuments and the evidence for the growth of sea-borne trade with China; and he has the rare distinction of receiving praise for his justice and equity from both Muslim and contemporary Hindū sources. There was, however, a continual threat to the western regions from the Djawnpur sultans, and the existence of coins dated Śaka 1339-40 (= 819-20/1416-18) of Danudjamardana-deva and Mahendra-deva perhaps shows the temporary rise of local Hindū chiefs to power in regions away from the capital. He was succeeded by his son Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh in 836/1432, in whose reign Bengal was invaded by Ibrāhīm Sharḳī of Djawnpur, against whom Aḥmad Shāh sought help from Tīmūr's son Shāh Rukh. On his assassination a year later the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty was restored, and with the Djawnpur rulers continually engaged with the Dihlī sultans the removal of the western threat brought some peace; although Arakanese disturbances on the east led to the loss of Čāṭgām [see CHITTAGONG]. However, the sultanate was extended south to Bāgerhāṭ and westward to Bhagalpur (now in Bihār). One of the many changes in the course of the river Ganges [see GANGĀ] caused the transfer of the capital from Pāndua back to Gawṛ-Lakhnawtī. In the reign of the second sultan of the restored dynasty, Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak (864-79/1459-74), the Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] slaves are first known to have become prominent, and it was they who finally superseded the Ilyās Shāhīs in 892/1486. For this period in the history of Bengal see specially BANGĀLA (in Supplement), ILYĀS SHĀHIDS, NĀṢIR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD I, RUKN AL-DĪN BĀRBAK; and references under SHARḲIDS and ḤABSHĪ.

Some of the incidents between the sultanate of Djawnpur and its neighbours have been mentioned above. Its first ruler, Malik Sarwar, left at his death in 802/1399 a kingdom extending from Koyl (ʿAligaṛh) in the west to Tirhut and Bihār in the east. It early received tribute from the sultans of Bengal, for whom it obviously represented a buffer state between the Dihlī sultanate and themselves; but later, as its strength grew, it was all too often the aggressor against Bengal. The reign of Malik Sarwar's adopted son and successor, Mubārak (802-4/1399-1402), was distinguished only by the last Tughluḳ attempt to regain Djawnpur; but the long reign of Ibrāhīm (804-44/1402-40) established the Sharḳī sultanate as one of the major powers of northern India. His campaigns against his neighbours have been mentioned above; but his reign was distinguished by his patronage of art, letters, and religion, and by the great building activity in the capital. Ibrāhīm's son Maḥmūd (844-61/1440-57) continued the indecisive hostilities with Mālwā and unsuccessfully besieged Dihlī in an attempt, inspired by malcontents in that city, to oust Bahlūl Lōdī in 856/1452; an uneasy peace resulted, for Bahlūl saw that Djawnpur constituted a greater threat to the Dihlī sultanate than the petty campaigns in which he was involved in the Pandjāb. Maḥmūd seems to have had greater success against Čunār, south of Banāras, shortly after this, and Muslim historians credit him also with a successful incursion into Uṛisā. In 861/1457 he died and was succeeded by Muḥammad Shāh, whose initial successes against Bahlūl were wasted by disturbances in Djawnpur provoked by his cruelties; he was killed in the following year and succeeded by his brother Ḥusayn. Ḥusayn overran Tirhut and successfully raided Uṛisā with the not uncommon aim of capturing elephants; his army was at that time possibly the strongest in India, and he made several attempts to take Dihlī, instigated by his wife, the daughter of ʿĀlam Shāh the last Sayyid king of Dihlī. He was finally decisively defeated by Bahlūl in early 884/spring 1479, and Dihlī annexed the Djawnpur territories; Ḥusayn retired to Bihār, and in spite of fomenting dissensions between the Lōdī princes after the death of Bahlūl he never recovered his kingdom. For the history of this region see SHARḲIDS, DJAWNPUR; BIHĀR, IṬĀWĀ, KALPĪ; IBRĀHĪM SHARḲĪ, MAḤMŪD SHARḲĪ, ḤUSAYN SHARḲĪ; and references under DIHLĪ SULTANATE, MĀLWĀ and UṚISĀ.

Mūltān recognized the suzerainty of Dihlī until 847/1443-4; the first Sayyid king of Dihlī, Khiḍr Khān, had in fact been appointed governor of Mūltān by Tīmūr, but under the weaker later Sayyids Mūltān was left without a governor. Shaykh Yūsuf Zakariyyāʾ Ḳurayshī was elected governor, but was soon dispossessed by a Langāh chief of the district of Sibi who proclaimed himself as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. Yūsuf took refuge in Dihlī and persuaded Bahlūl Lōdī to send an army to recover Mūltān, but the province remained in Langāh hands under its first two able rulers Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (d. 864/1460) and Ḥusayn (d. 908/1502); under the next ruler, Maḥmūd, the affairs of the province became troubled, rule eventually passing to Shāh Ḥusayn of the Arghūn dynasty of Sind, with Mughal support, in 932/1525. For this region see MŪLTĀN, LANGĀHS, and references under SINDH.

In Sind itself at this time the Sammā dynasty was still ruling, isolated, independent, and little troubled by or for their neighbours; Sind history for long is purely local with no great concern either for the rest of India or for Islam, and until the late 9th/15th

century few details of it are known beyond the list of its kings—and even here the chronology is uncertain. The later Sammās were, however, connected by marriage with the sultanate of Gudjarāt. Mughals of the Arghūn clan began to exert some influence in lower Sind in the last quarter of the 9th/15th century, in the long reign of Nandā, Djām Niẓām al-Dīn (*ca.* 866-914/1461-1508); and in *ca.* 876/1472, on a report that 40,000 rebels had risen against the Djām, Maḥmūd I of Gudjarāt marched against them. On a previous report of persecution of Muslims by Hindūs in Sind, Maḥmūd had intervened there, to be informed that the Sind Muslims knew little of Islam and married freely with Hindūs. In 898/1493 Shāh Beg Arghūn of Ḳandahār occupied some forts in northern Sind, and eventually, after the death of the last of the Sammā Djāms in 933/1527, the Arghūns became rulers of Sind. For details of this period see SINDH, SAMMĀS, ṬHAṬṬHĀ.

Kashmīr, like Sind, had at first little connexion with other Islamic powers in India, although the reign of Shihāb al-Dīn (755-74/1354-73?—here again the chronology is uncertain) saw the arms of Islam victorious over most of Kashmīr's immediate Hindū neighbours and the rise of Kashmīr to the status of a great power, although the rule within its borders was characterized by religious toleration. Under Sikandar (*ca.* 791-815/1389-1413), however, a fierce policy of persecution of Hindūs, banishment of Brāhmaṇs, iconoclasm, and immigration of Muslims from other regions made the country a predominantly Muslim state, earning for Sikandar the title of Butshikan ("Breaker of Idols"). That policy was strikingly reversed under the greatest of the Kashmīr sultans, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (823-75/1420-70), who recalled the exiled Brāhmaṇs and permitted the observance of Hindū practices by that community provided the ordinances of their sacred books were observed; he abolished the *djizya* and also illegal taxes and cesses, and was active in building public works, including bridges and canals; he was a patron of the arts, especially literature and music. Kashmīr was still little involved with other kingdoms of India, although the sultan maintained friendly relations with Indian and other rulers, Hindū and Muslim alike. After his death the power of the royal line declined and the nobles manipulated the throne with a succession of puppet kings; several tribes obtained great power at this time, one of whom, the Čakk, later usurped the throne. For the region at this time see, besides KASHMĪR, the articles SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, SIKANDAR BUTSHIKAN, ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN; also SRĪNAGAR and, for the wooden bridges of Kashmīr, references under ḲANṬARA.

To revert to Dihlī: Bahlūl Lōdī, who had peacefully acquired the Dihlī throne in 855/1451, at first gained by this more in prestige than in territory, for he was already master of the Pandjāb and Sirhind and the area of the sultanate under the Sayyids had been of little extent. On his early expedition to repossess Mūltān from the Langāhs, some of the old nobles of the last Sayyid king invited Maḥmūd of Djawnpur to attack Dihlī; the attack was repulsed on Bahlūl's prompt return, but Djawnpur remained the most powerful threat to Dihlī over the next quarter-century, with major conflicts in 856/1452, 861/1457, 878/1473-4, 881/1476, and 884/1479. On the last occasion Bahlūl's victory was decisive; he recovered all the Djawnpur territories for Dihlī, and established his son Bārbak Shāh on the Djawnpur throne. Many of Bahlūl's tribe of Afghāns came to India during his reign, and, by dividing his territories before his death among his relations and most influential nobles, he wrought the Dihlī sultanate into an Afghān confederacy. Sikandar Lōdī, who succeeded his father in 894/1489, was soon compelled to intervene in Djawnpur, where his ineffective elder brother was incapable of dealing with large-scale rebellion by the Hindū *zamīndārs* fomented by Ḥusayn Sharḳī from his exile in Bihār; Bārbak was replaced, and Sikandar forced Ḥusayn to flee to Bengal; he had brought Bihār again within the sphere of influence of Dihlī by 899/1494. After occupying Sambhal [*q.v.*] and holding court there for four years he turned his attention to the subjugation of the smaller Rādjpūt states near Dihlī, especially the territories of Gwāliyar, founding a new capital at Āgrā [*q.v.*] the better to conduct his campaigns: thus Dholpur fell in 907/1502, Mandrāyl in 910/1505, Utgīr in 911/1505, Narwar in 914/1508; Čandērī [*q.v.*] was virtually governed as a dependency of Dihlī (although nominally on behalf of the pretender to the throne of Mālwā, Ṣāḥib Khān "Muḥammad Shāh") from late 919/1513 after Sikandar's intervention in the Mālwā domestic struggles, although it later passed into Rādjpūt hands. Sikandar Lōdī, perhaps the greatest king of the dynasty although his fierce intolerance of Hindūs and destruction of their temples was hardly the way to command popular support, died in Āgrā (922/1517) and was succeeded by his eldest son Ibrāhīm; but at the suggestion of a prominent faction of the nobility the small kingdom was partitioned and Ibrāhīm's younger brother (?) Djalāl Khān was established on the revived throne of Djawnpur. The moderates, however, condemned this policy, and Djalāl Khān became the figurehead of a rebellion against Dihlī fomented by members of the Lōḥānī and Farmūlī clans in Bihār and Djawnpur. Djalāl Khān, before his surrender and death, had fled for refuge to Gwāliyar, giving Ibrāhīm the pretext for annexing it in 923/1518; but the rebellion had caused Ibrāhīm to suspect even the loyal nobles, whom he dismissed and degraded indiscriminately. Disaffection spread; and when the son of Dawlat Khān Lōdī, the powerful governor of Lāhawr, reported to his father the iniquities of Ibrāhīm's rule Dawlat Khān applied to the Mughal Bābur for help. A similar request had come from Ibrāhīm's uncle, ʿĀlam Khān Lōdī, who had hopes of gaining the Dihlī throne. It soon became plain that Bābur's intervention in Indian affairs was prompted more by his own interest than that of the Lōdīs; ʿĀlam Khān failed to take Dihlī on his own, Dawlat Khān died in flight having been dispossessed of Lāhawr by Bābur, and Bābur's army moved on through the Pandjāb to encounter and defeat the Dihlī Afghāns at the battle of Pānīpat in 932/1526. Within the next four years the whole of north India had become subject to the Mughal power. For this period see DIHLĪ SULTANATE; LŌDĪS, BAHLŪL LŌDĪ, SIKANDAR LŌDĪ, IBRĀHĪM LŌDĪ; MUGHALS; BĀBUR; LĀHAWR, PĀNĪPAT, PANDJĀB, SIRHIND.

In the Deccan the last of the Bahmanī kings had fled from Bīdar a year after the victory of the Mughals in the north, although the old Bahmanī sultanate had been partitioned nearly forty years previously. Its history from the reign of Aḥmad Shāh Walī is largely one of faction between local and foreign Muslims. Aḥmad soon (826/1423) devastated Vidjayanagara, and then annexed Warangal, whose rādjā had assisted Vidjayanagara against the Bahmanīs; but probably the threat of the proximity of Vidjayanagara to Gulbargā caused Aḥmad to move his capital to Bīdar [*q.v.*] shortly thereafter. Three

northern campaigns between 829/1426 and 831/1428 brought Māhūr [*q.v.*] under subjection and secured also Gāwilgaṙh [*q.v.*]; and the fort of Narnālā [*q.v.*] was rebuilt, thus strengthening the Bahmanīs' northern frontiers for an assault on Mālwā in pursuance of the empty claim on that kingdom and on Khāndēsh and Gudjarāt on the ground of Tīmūr's "grant" of them to Fīrūz: Mālwā had in fact provided the Bahmanīs with a *casus belli* by demanding allegiance from the rādjā of Kherlā [*q.v.*], a Bahmanī tributary. A Mālwā army was defeated in 832/1429, and an alliance with Khāndēsh was effected by a marriage between the two houses; but a rash attack on Gudjarāt the next year led to a Bahmanī defeat and the loss of Thānā [*q.v.*]. Aḥmad died in 839/1436; towards the end of his life he had shown great partiality for foreigners, especially Persians, and he seems to have accepted Shīʿī beliefs under the tutelage of Khalīl Allāh "Butshikan" [*q.v.*]. He was succeeded by his eldest son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad, under whom the foreigners rose to greater power after their victory over an invasion from Khāndēsh. In 847/1443 the Vidjayanagara forces—in which large numbers of Muslim mercenaries had recently been recruited—invaded the Deccan but were eventually overcome. Three years later the foreigners were inveigled into a disastrous campaign in the Konkan and, through Dakhnī treachery at court, many of them (including 1200 *sayyids*) were butchered in the massacre of Čākan. Before the king's death in 862/1458 the Deccan had been twice more invaded by Mālwā, and an attempted rebellion in Tilingānā crushed by a recently arrived foreigner, Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*]. The next king, Humāyūn, in a reign of three and a half years, endeavoured to strike a balance between Dakhnīs and foreigners and to consolidate the kingdom; his ruthless persecution of adherents of his rebel brother earned him the title of Ẓālim, "the Tyrant", apparently unjustly. A regency followed until *ca.* 870/1466 with Maḥmūd Gāwān as *wazīr*, not without further trouble from Mālwā when the infant king's dominions were defended with the help of Maḥmūd Begṙā of Gudjarāt. Maḥmūd Gāwān was sent on an extensive campaign in the Konkaṇ coast between 874/1469 and 876/1472, where local Hindū chiefs were causing heavy loss to Muslim merchantmen and pilgrim-vessels by piracy—probably with encouragement from Vidjayanagara; the country was laid under tribute, and as a sort of bonus to the campaigns the Vidjayanagara port of Goa [see SINDĀBŪR] was taken by the Bahmanīs in 876/1472. Tribute was also exacted from Uṙīsā in 882/1478; a mutiny in the eastern provinces with Vidjayanagara support was quashed, and the Vidjayanagara lands were invaded, in 885-6/1480-1. A conspiracy between some Dakhnīs and Ḥabshīs led to Maḥmūd Gāwān's murder in the latter year and consequent political chaos. Muḥammad III died in 887/1482, and his successor Maḥmūd's reign of 25 years saw the gradual decline of the state. The ruler became completely subservient to Ḳāsim Barīd in the capital, and the provincial governors became increasingly autonomous: thus Malik Aḥmad Niẓām al-Mulk in his new city of Aḥmadnagar, Fatḥ Allāh ʿImād al-Mulk in Barār, and Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān in the western province (Gulbargā and Bīdjāpur) all broke away from the Barīdī ascendancy at Bīdar in about 895/1490, still, however, acknowledging Bahmanī suzerainty; since all were succeeded in their territories by their sons they may be considered as the founders of new dynasties. Sulṭān Ḳulī Hamadānī, governor of Tilingānā, was appointed to Golkoṇḍā in 903/1498 with the title of Ḳuṭb al-Mulk; after about 924/1518 he ceased to send tribute to Bīdar and became virtually independent. When Ḳāsim Barīd died in 910/1505 he was succeeded as chief minister by his son Amīr Barīd; Bahmanī sultans occupied the throne until 934/1528, but as no more than puppets of the Barīds; and the Barīd family succeeded to the Bīdar throne when the last Bahmanī ruler fled. Perhaps the last concerted action of the Bahmanī state was the expedition in 898/1493 to punish Bahādur Gīlānī, the refractory governor of Goa who, having turned pirate, was plundering ships of the Gudjarāt fleet: it was in the interest of all the provincial governors to avoid giving Maḥmūd Begṙā of Gudjarāt an excuse for an invasion of the Deccan, and their combined force defeated the rebel. For the Deccan during this period see DAKHAN; BAHMANĪS, GULBARGĀ, BĪDAR, GĪSŪ DARĀZ, MAḤMŪD GĀWĀN, HUMĀYŪN SHĀH BAHMANĪ; references under MĀLWĀ, VIDJAYANAGARA, GUDJARĀT, FĀRŪḲĪDS, KONKAṆ, SINDĀBŪR; for the political factions see also ḤABSHĪ, and for Shīʿī-Sunnī tensions see SHĪʿA. For the establishment of the five successor sultanates see ʿĀDIL SHĀHĪ and BĪDJĀPUR, BARĪD SHĀHĪS, ʿIMĀD SHĀHĪS, ḲUṬB SHĀHĪS, NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS.

In Mālwā Maḥmūd Khaldjī had been succeeded in 873/1469 by his eldest son Ghiyāth al-Dīn, a religious, simple and peaceable man, whose reign was devoid of external incident. His eldest son Nāṣir al-Dīn succeeded to the throne on his father's abdication in 906/1500, and in his earlier years continued an old struggle with the Hindū rāṇā of Mēwāṙ. His tyranny caused his elder son to revolt in 916/1510; on his death in the following year his third son was enthroned as Maḥmūd II, the succession being disputed by the second son Ṣāḥib Khān, who was proclaimed as Muḥammad II by a rival faction. Maḥmūd eventually became established through his Hindu ministers, especially Mēdinī Rāī [*q.v.*], in spite of interventions against him by Sikandar Lōdī of Dihlī and Muẓaffar II of Gudjarāt; but Mēdinī Rāī's growing power caused Maḥmūd to flee to Gudjarāt later for protection. Muẓaffar took Māndū in 924/1518, massacred the Rādjpūt garrison, and restored Maḥmūd. Mēdinī Rāī and the Rāṇā of Mēwāṙ later invaded Mālwā, defeated the army and captured the king, who was generously restored to Māndū; but the northern part of Mālwā was annexed by Mēwāṙ. Maḥmūd offended Bahādur, the new sultan of Gudjarāt, by sheltering a rival; Bahādur captured Māndū in 937/1531, and annexed Mālwā to Gudjarāt. In 941/1535 Māndū was taken by Humāyūn in his war with Bahādur, but the following year a former officer of the Khaldjīs, Mallū Khān, assumed the royal title as Ḳādir Shāh. The latter was dispossessed by Shēr Shāh Sūr, who left Shudjāʿat Khān as governor of Mālwā in 952/1545; his son Bāyazīd, known in popular legend as Bāz Bahādur, succeeded him in 962/1555 and, refusing to acknowledge the restored Humāyūn, assumed the royal title; he surrended Mālwā in 968/1561 to an army sent by Akbar. For this period see MĀLWĀ, MĀNḌŪ, and references under GUDJARĀT, BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ, MĒWĀṘ, HUMĀYŪN, SHĒR SHĀH SŪR.

In Gudjarāt the 54 years reign of Maḥmūd I, 862/1458-917/1511, brought the sultanate its greatest prosperity and extended Islam into southern Rādjpūtānā, Sōraṭh and the northern Konkaṇ: in 865/1461 he secured ʿUthmān Khān in Djālor [*q.v.*], in 871-4/1467-70 overcame Djunāgaṙh [*q.v.*], extended Islam into Sindh and Kaččh in 875/1472 and next put down piracy in Dwārkā [*q.v.*]; in 887/

1482 the campaign was opened against Pāwāgaṙh and Čāmpānēr [*q.v.*]. In 913/1508 he was allied with the Mamlūks of Egypt in a naval campaign against the Portuguese, who had arrived in the Indian Ocean in 1498. Muẓaffar II, who succeeded in 917/1511, was soon involved in a clash with Mālwā (capturing Māndū in 924/1518 from a Rādjpūt faction and restoring Maḥmūd II there) and with Rāṇā Sangrām of Čitawr in Mēwāṙ [see IDAR]; there was some diplomatic intercourse with the Portuguese, now established at Goa, who first sought permission to build a fort at Dīw (Diu) and later twice tried to take Dīw by force. Bahādur Shāh, 932-43/1526-37, attacked the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar in 935/1528 to settle a territorial dispute with Khāndēsh, conquered Mālwā in 937/1531, lost Bassein to the Portuguese in 941/1534 and the following year gave them permission to build a fort at Goa; from 941/1534 he was engaged in a long war with Humāyūn until the latter returned to face the Sūr threat. After Bahādur's murder by the Portuguese in 943/1537 the history of the sultanate is largely one of puppet monarchies and rival factions of nobles. In 944/1538 an Ottoman fleet attacked the Portuguese at Dīw, but received only lukewarm support from Gudjarāt; the Portuguese power increased, and the Muslims of Dīw and Bharoč [*q.v.*] were massacred in 953-4/1546-7. After this time the Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] community rose to some power, as did the Mīrzās [*q.v.*], who had taken control of Sūrat, Baṙodā, Bharoč and Čāmpānēr; they were defeated in Akbar's conquest of Gudjarāt in 980-1/1572-3. For this period see, in addition to the references given above, GUDJARĀT, BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ, MĀLWĀ, HUMĀYŪN; for the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean see ṢINDĀBŪR, also KHĀDIM SÜLEYMĀN PASHA.

In the neighbouring state of Khāndēsh a disputed succession eventually led to ʿĀdil Khān III being installed as ruler in 914/1509 by Maḥmūd Bēgṙā, who had overcome the opposition by the Niẓām Shāhī forces supporting a rival claimant. ʿĀdil Khān married the daughter of the next Gudjarāt sultan, Muẓaffar II, and their son Muḥammad I (926-43/1520-37) co-operated in many campaigns with his uncle Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, received from him the title of Shāh, and was designated his heir-apparent; he died, however, before he could reach Gudjarāt and claim his second throne. The reign of his successor Mubārak II saw in 969/1562 a defeat of a Mughal army and in 972/1564 the compulsion to accept Mughal overlordship: chaos in Gudjarāt, the annexation of Mālwā by the Mughals, and the growing concern of Aḥmadnagar with her southern neighbours, had so altered the balance of power between the great sultanates that the position of Khāndēsh as a buffer state was no longer tenable. Khāndēsh at first connived at the Mughal manipulation of the Aḥmadnagar throne, and joined the Mughals in the siege of Aḥmadnagar in 1004/1596, but later the Mughals, having been opposed by the last Khāndēsh ruler Bahādur Shāh, besieged him in Asīrgaṙh and Khāndēsh became a Mughal province in 1009/1601. For this period see FĀRŪḲIDS, KHĀNDĒSH, BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ, ASĪR, BURHĀNPUR, THĀLNĒR, and references under AKBAR.

In Bengal a succession of Ḥabshī rulers had succeeded the Ilyās Shāhīs in 892/1486, of whom the second, Sayf al-Dīn Fīrūz (d. 895/1489), re-established order; but later Ḥabshī rule became intolerable, and a Tirmidhī *sayyid*, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn, was brought to the throne in 899/1493. He disbanded the Hindū infantry, expelled the Ḥabshīs, and transferred the capital from Gawṙ to Ikdālā; he recovered the provinces lost in the six preceding reigns, and in 904/1498 was able to annex part of Assam: his army had been reinforced by the influx of the disbanded Djawnpur forces after Sikandar Lōdī had driven Ḥusayn Sharḳī from Bihār to the protection of Bengal. In the years 918-22/1512-6 there were extensive military campaigns in the Tripura and Arakan regions as well. Ḥusayn Shāh's reign saw also a great development of Bengali literature, a liberal attitude towards the Hindūs and the growth of the syncretistic Satyapīr [*q.v.*] sect. In the reign of his son and successor Nuṣrat Shāh (925-38/1519-31) many Afghāns arrived in Bengal from Dihlī after Bābur's defeat of Ibrāhīm Lōdī. After 934/1528 there were clashes with the Portuguese on their first appearance in Bengal [see CHITTAGONG]. His brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who had usurped the throne from his nephew in 939/1533, was early faced with a rebellion by a brother-in-law who leagued himself with the Afghān Shēr Khān [see SHĒR SHĀH SŪR] and defeated the governor of Monghyr (Mungēr [*q.v.*]). Shēr Khān later invaded Bengal, whose army pressed Portuguese captives into service; but on the fall of Gawṙ in 945/1538 Shēr Khān assumed the royal title in Bengal—only to lose it later that year to Humāyūn. For details of Bengal in this period see BANGĀLA (in Supplement), DIHLĪ SULTANATE, ḤABSHĪ, ḤUSAYN SHĀH, LAKHNAWTĪ, LŌDĪS, SHARḲIDS.

In north India after Pānīpat Bābur's first task was consolidation and extension of his authority, for many who had supported him as an ally against Lōdī oppression turned against him when it became obvious that he intended to remain. Thus he first occupied Dihlī and Āgrā in 932/1526, moved his forces eastwards down the Ganges to Djawnpur and, by his defeat of Rānā Sanga of Čitawr, secured his western territories against Rādjāsthān the next year; by the defeat of an eastern Afghān force in 935/1529 he extended his paramountcy up to Bengal. For the events of his reign, his character and his Indian policies, see BĀBUR. After his death in the following year he was succeeded by his son Humāyūn, whose first act on his accession was to assign Kābul, Ḳandahār and the west Pandjāb to his brother Kāmrān [*q.v.*], and to make smaller assignments to his younger brothers. A force of Afghān supporters of Maḥmūd Lōdī, brother of the last Lōdī king, which had taken Djawnpur in 937/1531, was defeated, although the ablest soldier among them, Shēr Khān the future Sūrī emperor, was enabled to continue his preparations against the Mughal power through Humāyūn's preoccupation with again securing his western front against the ambitious Kāmrān. A brother-in-law, Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, gave Humāyūn further trouble in offering his services to Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, and the latter's refusal to surrender the rebel led to war between the Mughals and Gudjarāt, and to their first conquest and occupation of that province in 942/1535-6. For details see BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ; GUDJARĀT; HUMĀYŪN; MĀNDŪ; MUGHALS. A rebellion to put a younger brother on the Mughal throne caused Humāyūn's return to the centre, whereupon Mallū Khān profited by his withdrawal to proclaim himself ruler of Mālwā as Ḳādir Shāh [see MĀLWĀ]. Humāyun continued to be troubled by rebellious or independent-minded relations after his return to the centre [for these see MĪRZĀS], and Shēr Khān was able to consolidate his position and occupy all the south of Bihār [*q.v.*]; he was soon able to besiege Gawṙ, the Bengal capital,

but by the time Humāyūn had at last made up his mind to crush Shēr Khān the latter had occupied Rōhtāsgaṛh [*q.v.*]. Humāyūn marched to Gawṛ and occupied a deserted city, and then found that Shēr Khān had cut his line of communication to Dihlī; on his retreat he was defeated first at Čawsā in 946/1539, later near Kannawdj the following year, and fled towards Sind since he found no welcome in his brother Kāmrān's territories. Expelled from Sind by the Arghūn ruler, Shāh Ḥusayn, he eventually arrived at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp [*q.v.*] of Īrān for the start of his fifteen years' exile. For details of all these events see AFGHĀNISTĀN, V, 2; HUMĀYŪN; MĪRZĀS; MUGHALS; SHĒR SHĀH SŪR.

Meanwhile, Shēr Shāh had assumed sovereignty over Humāyūn's former possessions, and had regained the Pandjāb by driving Kāmrān back to Kābul, establishing a fortress at the northern Rōhtās [*q.v.*]. In 948-9/1542 he conquered Mālwā from Ḳādir Shāh, who fled to Gudjarāt, and in the next year laid waste Rāysen in revenge for its rādjā's massacre of Muslims at Čandērī [*q.v.*] and established his authority in Rādjāsthān, being killed in an explosion there at Kālindjar in 951/1545. During his periods at the capital he set about reorganizing the revenue system of the country. His reforms are described s.v. ḌARĪBA, 6 b. He was succeeded by his younger son Islām Shāh, who took stern measures to suppress the adherents of his elder brother. This revived tribal strife among the Indian Afghāns. The Niyāzī tribe, in particular, rebelled in the Pandjāb and at first allied themselves with the malcontent Gakkhaṛ [*q.v.*] community, but later intervened in Kashmīrī affairs and were killed by the Čakk tribe there, Islām Shāh having regained the Pandjāb. A revolt of a different kind was suppressed by the execution of one Shaykh ʿAlāʾī, a follower of the teachings of Sayyid Muḥammad of Djawnpur [see AL-DJAWNPŪRĪ], which put an end to the Mahdawī [*q.v.*] movement in India. On Islām Shāh's death in 961/1554 he was succeeded by an infant son who was within days murdered by his mother's brother Mubāriz Khān. The latter ascended the throne as Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh, and retained it only by the generalship of a Hindū administrator named Hēmū; two other Sūrī nobles, cousins of Shēr Shāh, contested the throne by rising in rebellion in their own provinces, and all three were calling themselves Sultan—ʿĀdil Shāh in Mālwā and the tract from Āgrā to Djawnpur, Sikandar from Dihlī to Rōhtās in the Pandjāb, and Ibrāhīm in a Pandjāb region further north still—when Humāyūn, who had regained Kābul, took advantage of the tribal squabbles among the Sūrs to reconquer his former empire. The army of Sikandar was defeated at Sirhind in 962/1555, and Humāyūn went on to reoccupy Dihlī without opposition. Within six months he had died after a fall from a height, and his elder son Akbar, then not fourteen years of age, succeeded to the Mughal throne. For details of this complicated period see DIHLĪ SULTANATE; HUMĀYŪN; ISLĀM SHĀH SŪR; SHĒR SHĀH SŪR; SIKANDAR SHĀH SŪR; SŪRS; and, for domestic affairs under the Sūrī dynasty, also DIHLĪ; NĀRNAWL; RŌHTĀS; RŌHTĀSGAṚH; SAHSĀRĀM.

On Akbar's accession the three Sūrī ex-monarchs were still active, although Muḥammad ʿĀdil was shortly afterwards killed in a clash with Bahādur Shāh of Bengal; Sikandar was the most dangerous, although Muḥammad ʿĀdil's old minister, Hēmū, was also campaigning against the Mughals, ostensibly on behalf of his former master but privately on his own account. Hēmū soon occupied Dihlī, but was killed in the battle between his followers and Akbar's smaller force at the familiar plain of Pānīpat in 964/1556. Sikandar Sūr resisted until mid-964/1557 before surrendering. The Mughal generals quickly recaptured Adjmēr, Gwāliyar and Djawnpur [*qq.v.*], the young emperor remaining under the influence of the "*ḥaram* party", his former nurses and foster-mother and their husbands and children, at Āgrā. Since Akbar's tutor, the general Bayram Khān [*q.v.*], was a Shīʿī he was unpopular at the court, and in 967/1560 Akbar, doubtless under the persuasion of the "*ḥaram* party", announced that he was assuming charge of the government; within two years he was able to free himself from the *ḥaram* influence as well. Mālwā had been occupied in 968/1561, rebelled the following year, and was finally subdued by Akbar in person in 971/1564; his generals in that year crushed an attempt at Afghān resurgence in Bihār. In the next few years Akbar had to contend with rebellions on the part of an Uzbek faction at court, and of his distant relations, princes of the house of Tīmūr, the Mīrzās [*q.v.*] of Katahr (later Rohilkhanḍ), who had received small assignments after the Mughal restoration; the latter invaded Mālwā and made their way to Gudjarāt, where in the local disorder they possessed themselves of much land, especially in its southern provinces. Meanwhile the Rādjpūts were defeated in Čitawr (975/1568) and, in the two following years, Ranthambor and Kālindjar. The heir, Salīm (later Djahāngīr), was born in 977/1569 at Sīkrī, where in 979/1571 Akbar founded his new capital, later known as Fatḥpur Sīkrī [*q.v.*]. Next Gudjarāt was conquered —one party in the civil strife had invited his assistance, and the sultanate was showing itself incapable of dealing with the Portuguese threat on its coast and its interference with the Mecca pilgrim traffic— in 980/1572-3. Good relations were established with the Portuguese to protect the pilgrim traffic; but about this time Akbar began to have his doubts about the sufficiency of Islam.

Soon after this, Dāʾūd Khān Kararānī [*q.v.*], who had succeeded to the Bengal throne, refused to acknowledge Akbar's supremacy, and invaded Bihār. Akbar marched against him, drove his Afghān army out of Bihār, and invaded Bengal; Dāʾūd surrendered, but later rebelled and was finally defeated and killed in 984/1576. For the affairs of Bengal and Bihār at this time see BANGĀLA (in Supplement), and references under DĀʾŪD KHĀN KARARĀNĪ. Khāndesh, the buffer state between the Mughal empire and the Deccan, was occupied in 985/1577. In 988/1580 the first Jesuit mission reached Āgrā; religious toleration was preached in the court, largely as a result of the influence of Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī and his brother Fayḍī [*qq.v.*], but that toleration now appeared to exclude Islam. Many Muslims, believing their faith in danger, supported the idea of replacing Akbar by an orthodox sovereign; first Bihār and later Bengal, where a faction of Ḳāḳshāl Turks had become prominent, rebelled and the Ḳāḳshāls proclaimed Akbar's younger brother Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the ruler of Kābul, as their sovereign. The latter indeed marched on Hindustān, but was repulsed by Akbar and made his submission, and the rebels in the east were put down gradually by Akbar's generals. In 990/1582 he promulgated his syncretistic faith, the Dīn-i Ilāhī [*q.v.*], and two years later introduced an Ilāhī [*q.v.*] era. The year 994/1586 saw the annexation of Kashmīr, and a first abortive attempt on Aḥmadnagar. By 1001/1593 Sind, Uṛīsā and Kāṭhīāwāḍ had made their submission, and within

another three years Barār, the first of the Deccan provinces which were the object of Mug̲h̲al ambition, had been ceded to Akbar; the fortresses of Gawilgaṛh and Narnāla followed, in 1009/1600 Aḥmadnagar was taken by storm, and the following year Asīrgaṛh [*q.v.*] fell. Akbar died in 1014/1605, his last few years having been clouded by disagreement with Salīm, the heir-apparent. For India in Akbar's time see AKBAR, MUG̲H̲ALS, MUḤAMMAD ḤAKĪM, and references under the various cities and provinces mentioned above. For his revenue system see ḌARĪBA, 6 b, and ṬOḌAR MALL. For religious tolerance in his reign see D̲J̲AYN and PĀRSĪ, as well as ABU 'L-FAḌL ʿALLĀMĪ, FAYḌĪ and DĪN-I ILĀHĪ. For the art and literature fostered in his court see HIND, Architecture; HINDĪ; ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM, K̲H̲ĀN-I K̲H̲ĀNĀN; TAṢWĪR, India.

Salīm succeeded, as D̲j̲ahāngīr, to a powerful empire, and was soon challenged by his own son, K̲h̲usraw [*q.v.*]; his rebellion was promptly put down and the rebels severely punished—including the Sikh [*q.v.*] leader Guru Ard̲j̲un Singh, whose execution provoked the constant hostility of the Sikhs to the Mug̲h̲al power. In the north S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] of Persia laid claim to Ḳandahār, and D̲j̲ahāngīr moved to Kābul to be near the potential trouble, at the same time sending armies against the Rānā of Mēwāṛ; operations were also commenced against the Deccan from Burhānpur, but the former Ḥabs̲h̲ī slave Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*] developed guerilla tactics for use against the Mug̲h̲als by trained bands of Marāthā soldiers, and by 1019/1610 had recovered Aḥmadnagar and expelled the imperial forces. Further attacks on the Deccan proved useless and the Mug̲h̲als in fact lost more territory, which was not regained until 1030/1621 when prince K̲h̲urram, the future S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān, who had been placed in command of the Deccan force, met with some success at last. The following year Ḳandahār fell to S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās, and K̲h̲urram, ordered to retake it, went into open rebellion against his father; he moved quickly through Central India and Uṛīsā to Bihār, and Malik ʿAnbar profited from the disorganization by taking Bīdar. K̲h̲urram's activities in the distant provinces of the empire led him at one point to join forces with Malik ʿAnbar against the imperial forces, but he was eventually reconciled to his father. D̲j̲ahāngīr died in 1037/1627 and was buried in Lāhawr, which he had raised to the status of a capital city. For details of his reign see D̲J̲AHĀNGĪR, MUG̲H̲ALS, and NŪR D̲J̲AHĀN, and also ĀGRĀ and LĀHAWR, and references under MALIK ʿANBAR; for his great artistic interests see HIND, Architecture; BŪSTĀN, KAS̲H̲MĪR, S̲H̲RĪNAGAR; for his elaborate coinage see SIKKA, and for paintings in his reign, TAṢWĪR, also MANŌHAR, MANṢŪR.

S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān's reign too started with a war of succession, and after that a rebellion on the part of K̲h̲ān D̲j̲ahān Lōdī [*q.v.*], who defected to Aḥmadnagar; this led to a renewed conflict with the Deccan kingdoms, Aḥmadnagar being invaded in 1039/1630 and finally surrendering to the Mug̲h̲als with the capture of Dawlatābād [*q.v.*] three years later. The Mug̲h̲als now had to take account of the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*], some of whom had now joined the Mug̲h̲al forces but who were always a potential source of danger. Attempts to take Bīd̲j̲āpur were at first unsuccessful, but a peace was concluded with that kingdom, in exchange for the promise of tribute, in 1045/1636. Shortly afterwards Prince Awrangzīb was appointed viceroy of the Deccan, and S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān returned north, where he began building his new Dihlī. In 1047/1638 Ḳandahār was ceded to the Mug̲h̲als by its governor ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān and held for eleven years, after which it was retaken by the Persians; three attempts to recover it failed between 1059/1649 and 1063/1653. Before these an attempt to subdue Balk̲h̲ had been a failure. After these northern campaigns the Mug̲h̲als again directed their efforts to the conquest of the Deccan until the sickness of S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān in 1067/1657 led his four sons to quarrel among themselves for the throne. The third son, Awrangzīb, was victorious over his brothers Dārā S̲h̲ukōh, S̲h̲āh S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ and Murād Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ [*qq.v.*], and assumed the imperial title, with the regnal name of ʿĀlamgīr, placing his father in confinement in the court of Āgrā where he died in 1076/1666. For S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān's reign see S̲H̲ĀHD̲J̲AHĀN, MUG̲H̲ALS, and references under MARĀṬHĀS; for events in the north see also ḲANDAHĀR; for the Deccan see DAKHAN, also BĪD̲J̲ĀPUR, NIẒĀM S̲H̲ĀHĪS, and references under ḤAYDARĀBĀD; for Awrangzīb's early career as governor of the Deccan see AWRANGZĪB. For S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān's buildings see, in addition to HIND, Architecture, ĀGRĀ, DIHLĪ, LĀHAWR, TĀD̲J̲ MAḤALL.

Before Awrangzīb had assumed the throne, the western Deccan had already been troubled by S̲h̲ivād̲j̲ī [*q.v.*] the Marāṭhā adventurer, who had encroached more than once on the imperial dominions, and had met with success against the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhī armies as well. He was attacked by the Mug̲h̲al armies, to whom he surrendered in 1076/1666, concluding a treaty which gave him the right to collect one-fourth (*čawth*) of the revenues in Bīd̲j̲āpur; this was no doubt agreed by Awrangzīb with a view to weakening the Bīd̲j̲āpur resources, but its effects were far-reaching as the right to *čawth* was arrogated by S̲h̲ivād̲j̲ī's Marāṭhā followers wherever they later conquered; for details see MARĀṬHĀS, also references under ḤAYDARĀBĀD, ii. When various Afg̲h̲ān tribes (Yūsufzays, Afrīdīs) rebelled beyond the Indus in and after 1082/1671, Awrangzīb went to Ḥasan Abdāl [*q.v.*] for two years, which gave S̲h̲ivād̲j̲ī even more scope to continue his depredations in the Deccan. He assumed the insignia of royalty, and abandoning an alliance with the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhīs, he joined forces with the Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhīs to invade the Madrās coastal tracts (the "Carnatic" of British historians; see KARNĀṬAKA) and Mahisur ("Mysore") in 1085/1647, taking from the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhīs a number of their southern districts. When he died, six years later, he had created a nation out of the Marāṭhās who had been the former subjects of the Aḥmadnagar and Bīd̲j̲āpur sultanates, and who were to be Awrangzīb's strongest and most persistent rivals for the rest of his life—indeed, of the Mug̲h̲al empire as long as it lasted as a power, and of the British in India as well. Awrangzīb moved to the Deccan in 1093/1682, and remained there in constant warfare until his death 25 years later. After exacting a peace treaty with Golkonḍā he captured Bīd̲j̲āpur in 1097/1686; Golkonḍā fell next after a siege of nearly a year; and within the next few years all the former forts of the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhī and Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī sultanates had been taken, and many forts recovered from the Marāṭhās, to enlarge the Mug̲h̲al empire to its greatest extent. The years 1101-9/1690-8 were spent trying to wear down the fortress of D̲j̲ind̲j̲ī ("Gingee"), where Rād̲j̲ā Rām, son and successor of S̲h̲ivād̲j̲ī, had set up new headquarters; years of petty sieges against minor Hindū kings followed, but the army was becoming exhausted and a retreat was at last made to Aḥmadnagar, where Awrangzīb died in 1118/1707. For his reign see AWRANGZĪB, MARĀṬHĀS, MUG̲H̲ALS,

SHIVĀDJĪ; references to his bigotry under DJIZYA, iii; for the important digest of Muslim law made at his orders see AL-FATĀWĀ AL-ʿĀLAMGĪRIYYA. For his buildings see HIND, Architecture, DIHLĪ and LĀHAWR.

The Deccan sultanates, the last two of which were extinguished by Awrangzīb, grew out of the chaotic Bahmanī empire, its provincial governors having gradually asserted their autonomy since about 895/1490. Their history is a record of continuous strife among them, with occasional uneasy alliances but rarely the community of interest to combine against their common foes. The immediate successors of the Bahmanīs in Bīdar were the Barīd Shāhīs, whose domination over the later Bahmanīs has been noticed above. Their sultanate was gradually whittled away in the north and west by Bīdjāpur, against whom they were allied on several occasions with the neighbouring sultanates. The Rāyčūr [*q.v.*] *dōʾāb* was a continuous bone of contention between Bīdjāpur and Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*], and the only occasion on which the four southern sultans seem to have been united in a common cause is in 972/1564-5 when their confederacy finally crushed the power of Vidjayanagara at the battle of Tālīkoṭa [*q.v.*]. Bīdar was finally annexed by Bīdjāpur in 1028/1619. For details of this sultanate see BARĪD SHĀHĪS, also BAHMANĪS and BĪDAR.

The ʿImād Shāhī sultanate of Barār was remote enough to stand aside from part of the Deccan conflicts, although there were occasional border clashes with the Niẓām Shahīs of Aḥmadnagar. In 933/1527 Barār was invaded by the Niẓām Shāhīs and the Barīd Shāhīs; the ruler, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād Shāh, fled to Khāndēsh from where he invited the help of Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, who promptly invaded the Deccan [see BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ]. The ruler was restored, and Barār was for some time left unmolested while the larger sultanates were quarrelling among themselves. In 969/1561-2 Daryā ʿImād Shāh, the son of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, had been succeeded by his infant son Burhān, and the minister Tufāl Khān took *de facto* control over the sultanate. The latter stood aloof from the confederacy which defeated the Vidjayanagara kingdom, and plundered the Niẓām Shāhī dominions while their ruler was at Tālīkoṭa; the ʿĀdil Shāh and Niẓām Shāh sultans invaded Barār in 973/1566 to punish Tufāl, but strife between them saved the ʿImād Shāhī state from destruction at that time. Eventually the Niẓām Shāhīs, intent on strengthening their position to match that of the ʿĀdil Shāhīs who had annexed many former Vidjayanagara possessions in the south, again invaded Barār in 981-2/1574-5, capturing Tufāl Khān in Narnāla and forcing the surrender of Gawīlgaṛh; with the imprisonment of Tufāl Khan and Burhān ʿImād Shāh, the Barār sultanate was extinguished and absorbed in the Niẓām Shāhī dominions. For the detailed history of this sultanate see ʿIMĀD SHĀHĪS, GAWĪLGAṚH, ILIČPUR, NARNĀLA, as well as references under NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS.

The Niẓām Shāhīs, like the Barīd Shāhīs and ʿImād Shāhīs, were Sunnīs, although after about 944/1537 Burhān I adopted Shīʿism. The ancestral home of the Niẓām Shāhī kings was at Pathrī in Barār, the claim to which led to several Niẓām Shāhī raids on ʿImād Shāhī territory. For the most part, however, the Niẓām Shāhīs were in a constant state of dispute with their larger neighbours, the ʿĀdil Shāhīs and the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs, in turn, one sultanate always eventually being compelled to intervene in a war between any two others lest the balance of power be upset to the disadvantage of the non-belligerent party. In this strange way the rival sultanates were in fact able to keep going where the Bahmanīs had failed, and to destroy the powerful Vidjayanagara kingdom to their south. To give an account of these three sultanates *seriatim* would involve unnecessary repetition and, since the political history of each is so closely bound to that of its neighbours, would fail to show clearly the events in the Deccan in relation to a chronological framework; the purely domestic affairs of each sultanate are less relevant to the history of Islam in India, for each "produced more history than it could consume locally."

Yūsuf, the founder of the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty, had been a Shīʿī and established that form of Islam in his dominions. On his death in 915/1510 his son Ismāʿīl was a minor, and a regent reintroduced the Sunnī faith; this was politically to the disadvantage of the "foreigners", who were as powerful a faction in Bīdjāpur as they had been in the Bahmanī sultanate, and were on this occasion successful in returning to power and reintroducing Shīʿism. But the state was torn by political rivalry, and was not powerful enough to prevent the Portuguese from capturing Goa [see ṢINDĀBUR] later that year. Their troubles with Vidjayanagara immediately followed when that state, in 916/1510, annexed the Rāyčūr [*q.v.*] *dōʾāb*. Four years later Bīdjāpur was strong enough to defeat Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, who had established a provincial governor at Gulbargā—now virtually part of the Bīdjāpur state—on behalf of the puppet Bahmanī king. Shortly after this the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultan, in reward for extricating a Persian ambassador from detention at Bīdar, had received recognition of his royal title from Shāh Ismāʿīl, the Ṣafawī sultan. By 927/1521 Bīdjāpur was in a position to try to recapture the Rāyčūr *dōʾāb*, although the attack failed; the Hindū king had been incited to take the *dōʾāb* by Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, against whom Bīdjāpur sought an alliance with Aḥmadnagar, marrying the sister of the Bīdjāpur king to the Niẓām Shāhī sultan. But the princess's dowry, the fort of Shōlāpur [*q.v.*], was never ceded to Aḥmadnagar, and so in 931/1525 the Niẓām Shāhīs, in alliance with Barār and Bīdar, invaded Bīdjāpur but were defeated and driven out. The invasion of Barār by Bīdar and Aḥmadnagar, which resulted in the Gudjarāt sultan Bahādur Shāh's attack on the Deccan, has already been mentioned; Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpur were on this occasion united against the invader, but even on this occasion Amīr ʿAlī Barīd had tried to interfere between them and Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh marched to Bīdar to punish him. Bīdar fell, but was restored to the Barīd Shāhīs on condition that Kalyānī and Ḳandhar [*qq.v.*] were ceded to Bīdjāpur, and that assistance should be given to recapture the *dōʾāb*. Rāyčūr and Mudgal were regained shortly, but the Barīd Shāhīs did not in fact cede the two northern forts. In 937/1531 Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt had annexed Mālwā and Burhān Niẓām Shāh, alarmed by his growth of power, offered allegiance to him and obtained from him recognition of his royal title; Bahādur's aim was to enlist Burhān's support against the Mughals, but secretly Burhān suggested to Humāyūn an attack on Gudjarāt. Later that year Burhān's insolence to Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh, who was attempting to force the promised cession of Kalyānī and Ḳandhār, led to further Aḥmadnagar-Bīdjāpur war, in which the Niẓām Shāhīs were defeated; but next year, 938/1532, an agreement was reached between these two powers permitting Aḥmadnagar to annex Barār and Bīdjāpur to annex

Golkondā. The campaigns started, but were cut short by the death of Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh, in 941/1534, upon which first Mallū Khān and shortly afterwards Ibrāhīm succeeded to the Bīdjāpur throne. Ibrāhīm reintroduced the Sunnī faith, dismissed the "foreigners", and introduced Kannaḍa and Marāṭhī as court languages in place of Persian—thus allowing the employment of many Hindūs in the administration. A few years afterwards Burhān Niẓām Shāh was converted to Shīʿism, and consequently relations worsened between him and Ibrāhīm; in 947/1540 Burhān marched again on the ʿĀdil Shāhī kingdom and annexed Shōlāpur, then drove Ibrāhīm out of Bīdjāpur, occupied the town, and set off in pursuit of Ibrāhīm; the latter received reinforcements and drove the invaders to Dawlatābād, where Burhān bought peace by relinquishing his claim to Shōlāpur. Smarting under his defeat he persuaded Djamshīd Ḳuṭb Shāh and the rādjā of Vidjayanagara to join a confederacy against Bīdjāpur in 950/1543. These three powers, together with ʿAlī Barīd, invaded Bīdjāpur that year and the next without success; on a third attempt ʿAlī Barīd decided to support the Sunnī Ibrāhīm rather than the Shīʿī Burhān, causing the latter to invade Bīdar and taking three strongholds on the Bīdar-Bīdjāpur border. In the consequent troubles in Bīdjāpur a disaffected minister and the king's younger brother, ʿAbd Allāh, sought the aid of the Portuguese at Goa, who were claiming the Konkan coast. A rebellion in the Konkan was crushed by Ibrāhīm. Further attacks on ʿĀdil Shāhī territory were made by Burhān, with Vidjayanagara support, in 954/1547 and 959/1552, the Rāyčūr *dōʾāb* again being annexed to Vidjayanagara on the latter occasion. In 961/1553 Burhān died and eventually his son Ḥusayn gained the Aḥmadnagar throne after a war of succession. Djamshīd Ḳuṭb Shāh had similarly been succeeded by his youngest brother Ibrāhīm. At this time the ʿĀdil Shāhīs actually turned to Vidjayanagara for assistance in 962/1555, against a rebel noble Sayf ʿAyn al-Mulk, and alone waged war against the Portuguese in the northern Konkan. Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh died in 965/1558 and was succeeded by his son ʿAlī, who re-established the Shīʿī faith and readmitted the "foreigners". On ʿAlī's enlisting Vidjayanagara aid again, this time for the recovery of Shōlāpur, his kingdom was again attacked by the Niẓām Shāhī and Ḳuṭb Shāhī forces; but the Ḳuṭb Shāhī opposition was suddenly withdrawn: the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs could not risk supporting a Sunnī state against a Shīʿī one. ʿAlī's demands for the return of Shōlāpur and Kalyānī became more insistent, and in 967/1559 it was Aḥmadnagar which was invaded, by the ʿĀdil Shāhīs, Ḳuṭb Shāhīs, and a large Vidjayanagara contingent; a Barār army soon joined in, invading Aḥmadnagar from the east. The Ḳuṭb Shāhī ruler later withdrew and the ʿImād Shāhī contingent changed sides, but still Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh had to sue for peace from the Vidjayanagara commander who had now become the dominant party in the confederacy. Bīdjāpur and Vidjayanagara continued the campaigns for the next few years; but the Hindū army of Vidjayanagara offended allies and enemies alike by their excesses on their campaigns, including desecrating mosques and violating and enslaving Muslim women; their arrogant rādjā now demanded large tracts of land from both Golkondā and Bīdjāpur. On this the Muslim rulers sank their differences, and in 972/1564-5 marched on Vidjayanagara and defeated an enormous army at the battle of Tālīkoṭa [*q.v.*]. The Vidjayanagara empire was destroyed and its lands divided among the victors. The Muslim alliance did not last long: the Niẓām Shāhīs, where Ḥusayn had been succeeded by Murtaḍā, and the ʿĀdil Shāhīs were soon at war again, although in 977/1569-70 they again united against a common enemy, the Portuguese. The ʿĀdil Shāhīs attacked Goa, the Niẓām Shāhīs Čewal ("Chaul"); but the Portuguese were so adroit at manipulating dissensions in their opponents' forces, and in playing off one enemy against the other, that both towns held fast against overwhelming odds and the attackers were forced to conclude peace treaties. ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh turned to the former Vidjayanagara territories for easier conquests, and it was this aggrandisement of the Bīdjāpur lands which caused similar ambitions on the part of Aḥmadnagar, whose ruler annexed Barār in 981-2/1574-5, as mentioned above. A general state of warfare persisted between Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpur for some years to come, not without internal troubles such as the rebellion of a Niẓām Shāhī prince in 987/1579 who fled to Akbar; later wars of succession in Aḥmadnagar between 996/1588 and 999/1591 ended in the accession of that prince as Burhān II. In Bīdjāpur the minor Ibrāhīm II had succeeded ʿAlī I, and the Ḥabshī Dilāwar Khān rose to supreme power, re-establishing the Sunnī faith (for the Ḥabshī factions in both sultanates see ḤABSHĪ); during the Bīdjāpur internal struggles, the Aḥmadnagar forces contested Naldrug [*q.v.*], a border fort between the two states. Before the accession of Burhān II in Aḥmadnagar the effective control of the state had been in the hands of one Djamāl Khān, a Mahdawī, who persecuted Sunnī and Shīʿī alike, which led to the intervention of Bīdjāpur and the defeat of Djamāl Khān a few months before the millennium. At least four contending factions in Aḥmadnagar after the death of Burhān II in 1003/1595 led the minister to appeal for help from Murād [*q.v.*], Akbar's second son, governor of Gudjarāt; Burhān II, though once in Akbar's service, had refused to swear fealty to the Mughals, and in fact the Mughal armies in Gudjarāt and Mālwā were already preparing for an attack on Aḥmadnagar when the appeal arrived. The city of Aḥmadnagar was soon under siege, and in 1004/1596 Čānd Bībī, sister of Burhān II and widowed queen of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh I, purchased its liberty by the cession of Barār. The fortresses of Gāwīlgaṛh and Narnālā held out, only to fall to the Mughals two years later, and after another two years Aḥmadnagar itself was finally taken by storm. For the Mughals in the province after that date see above. Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*] held the state together for another twenty-five years, ousting the Mughals and restoring a nominal Niẓām Shāhī dynasty; but Aḥmadnagar was disintegrating under Mughal pressure, and Bīdjāpur was able to acquire more of Aḥmadnagar territory. In 1046/1636 the Mughals at last invaded Bīdjāpur and forced a peace by which Mughal suzerainty was acknowledged, and the region was comparatively peaceful for the next twenty years; Shāhdjahān objected to the succession of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh II in 1068/1656 and ordered the invasion of the kingdom, but his illness stopped operations. Bīdjāpur now faced danger from another quarter, the Marāṭhā armies who had risen under Shivādjī; and Marāṭhā depredations slowly nibbled away the kingdom on the north and west until its remains fell to Awrangzīb in 1097/1686. The Ḳuṭb Shāhī kingdom of Golkondā was less troubled than its neighbours after the battle of Tālīkoṭa, and knew a long period of peace and prosperity under Muḥammad Ḳulī

Ḳuṭb S͟hāh during which the city of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] was built and adorned; for six years (1101-7/1603-9) a Persian embassy from S͟hāh ʿAbbās resided in Ḥaydarābād. That peace was preserved under Muḥammad Ḳuṭb S͟hāh, 1020-35/1611-26, although in 1024/1615 the Dutch established themselves at Masulipaṭam, on the Madrās coast, and the English there seven years later. The next ruler, ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb S͟hāh, was able to extend his dominions to the south, with the help of his minister Mīr D̲j̲umla [see MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD]; but the Mug͟hals were already active to the north, and in 1045/1635-6 S͟hāhd̲j̲ahān forced the payment of tribute from Golkonḍā. Mīr D̲j̲umla became increasingly powerful in the eastern provinces, and in a quarrel between himself and the king appealed for aid from prince Awrangzīb; this led to the first Mug͟hal siege of Golkonḍā in 1066/1656, which was bought off. In 1078/1667 the Marāṭhā S͟hivād̲j̲ī exacted tribute, and was indeed provided with money and troops to recover some of the Ḳuṭb S͟hāhī forts which had been annexed by Bīd̲j̲āpur. The accession of the last king, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḳuṭb S͟hāh, in 1083/1672, was followed by the rise to power of two Brāhman ministers; their position in a Muslim kingdom, the assistance given by Golkonḍā to Bīd̲j̲āpur against the Mug͟hals, and the fact that it was in any case a S͟hīʿī kingdom, were all sufficient cause for Awrangzīb to renew the attack in 1096/1685; the capital, and the kingdom, fell to the Mug͟hals two years later. Awrangzīb had conquered the Deccan, but destroyed the balance of power; for Bīd̲j̲āpur and Golkonḍā no longer stood between the Mug͟hals and the Marāṭhās, and the southern states became an easy prey for disaffected adventurers from the north. This enormously complicated phase of Indian history is partly covered by the articles ʿĀDIL S͟HĀHS, BARĪD S͟HĀHĪS, BĪDAR, BĪD̲J̲ĀPUR, DAKHAN, DAWLATĀBĀD, GAWĪLGAṚH, GOLKONḌĀ, ḤABS͟HĪ, ḤAYDARĀBĀD, ILIČPUR, ʿIMĀD S͟HĀHĪS, KALYĀNĪ, ḲANDHĀR, ḲUṬB S͟HĀHĪS, MARĀṬHĀS, MUḌGAL, MUG͟HALS, MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD Mīr D̲j̲umla, NALDRUG, NARNĀLĀ, NIẒĀM S͟HĀHĪS, RĀYČŪR, S͟HŌLĀPUR, ṢINDĀBŪR, TĀLĪKOṬA, VID̲J̲AYANAGARA; some references under S͟HĪʿA; and articles on the major dynasts of the five Deccan sultanates.

The Mug͟hal empire lasted barely five years as an empire after Awrangzīb's death. There was again a war of succession, culminating in the accession of Bahādur S͟hāh I, whose five years' reign was a constant struggle to retain the Mug͟hal authority in his dominions: Kām Bak͟hs͟h, a younger brother, usurped Ḥaydarābād; the Rād̲j̲pūts, especially in Mārwāṛ [see D̲J̲ŌD͟HPŪR], were in rebellion against Mug͟hal authority; a rebellion of Sikhs [*q.v.*] broke out in the Pand̲j̲āb; and he provoked resentment in Dihlī and Lāhawr by commanding the introduction of S͟hīʿī forms in worship. The emperor D̲j̲ahāndār S͟hāh [*q.v.*] succeeded in 1124/1712, soon to be supplanted by Farruk͟hsiyar [*q.v.*] supported by the Sayyid brothers of Bārhā [*q.v.* in Supplement], the effective kingmakers of the Mug͟hal empire for some years to come. Attempts to quell the rebellions of the Rād̲j̲pūts and Sikhs were partly successful; the D̲j̲āṭs [*q.v.*], near Dihlī and Āgrā, and the Marāṭhās, too strong to be attacked, received revenue concessions. Farruk͟hsiyar attempted to remove the Sayyids, and was consequently deposed by them in 1131/1719. Neither Rafīʿ al-Darad̲j̲āt nor Rafīʿ al-Dawla retained the throne for more than a few months before the Sayyids produced Muḥammad S͟hāh [*q.v.*]; but there was so little faith in the monarchy, and less in the Sayyids, that provincial governors and nobles were able to assume independence of Dihlī more or less as they desired. Ḳamar al-Dīn Čīn Ḳilič K͟hān, entitled Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], opposed to the Sayyids, abandoned his province of Mālwā and established himself first at Asīrgaṛh; for a time he returned to Dihlī as minister, but retired again to the Deccan ostensibly on hearing of Marāṭhā depredations there. His deputy in the Deccan had been ordered by Dihlī to oppose him; he defeated this deputy at the battle of S͟hakarkheldā [*q.v.*] in 1137/1724, and made himself independent in the Deccan with Ḥaydarābād as his capital. Dihlī could only conciliate him in his position of great strength with the title of Āṣaf D̲j̲āh, since then borne as a hereditary title by his descendants, the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād. The Marāṭhās—who were supported in their activities against Dihlī by the Niẓām—appeared now in Mālwā, Gud̲j̲arāt, and Bundelkhanḍ. The D̲j̲āṭs grew in power, and an imperial officer, ʿAlī Muḥammad K͟hān, had become practically independent in Katahr (later Rohilkhanḍ [*q.v.*]) to the east of Dihlī. Bād̲j̲ī Rāo, the Pes͟hwā [*q.v*] of the new Marāṭhā empire, was recognized as governor of Mālwā in 1148/1735, and constantly demanded from the Mug͟hals fresh territory and tribute. Shortly after this Nādir S͟hāh [*q.v.*], who had become ruler of Persia, raided Afg͟hānistān and occupied Kābul, and large numbers of Afg͟hān refugees took refuge with the pro-Afg͟hān ʿAlī Muḥammad K͟hān in Rohilkhanḍ. Nādir S͟hāh's advance on India continued, and in 1131/1739 Dihlī was sacked by his army and a general massacre of the inhabitants began; after collecting what treasure he could—enough to keep Persia free of taxes for three years!—he restored Muḥammad S͟hāh to his throne and left, annexing Kābul and the trans-Indus provinces on the way. Dihlī was left stupefied and desolate.

The province of Bengal was less disturbed than the centre. Its government after the time of Awrangzīb, together with the provinces of Bihār, Uṛīsā and Allāhābād, was held first by D̲j̲aʿfar K͟hān, known better as Murs͟hid Ḳulī K͟hān [*q.v.*]; his son-in-law S͟hud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla [*q.v.*] after him had handled the province well; but the successor of S͟hud̲j̲āʿ, Sarfarāz K͟hān, a weakling, was supplanted in early 1153/1740 by ʿAlīwirdī K͟hān [*q.v.*], who was twice successful in repelling attempted Marāṭhā invasions of Bengal. The Marāṭhās were, however, successful in Uṛīsā, which was surrendered to them in 1164/1751. ʿAlīwirdī K͟hān was succeeded in 1171/1756 by Sirād̲j̲ al-Dawla, who was defeated the following year by Clive at Plassey.

Nādir S͟hāh was murdered in 1160/1747, and an opportunist commander of his, Aḥmad K͟hān, took over the royal possessions and the royal title as Aḥmad S͟hāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], and advanced with an army through the Pand̲j̲āb to Dihlī; defeated by an imperial army, the Afg͟hāns retreated. They returned two years later to besiege Lāhawr, and the revenue of part of the Pand̲j̲āb was ceded to them. A third invasion, in 1165/1751, brought them Multān and the remainder of the Pand̲j̲āb; in 1170/1757 a fourth invasion took Dihlī and ransacked it; two years later a Durrānī army came to expel the Marāṭhās from the Pand̲j̲āb, and by 1174/1761 the Marāṭhā power in the north was broken at the third battle of Pānipat in which the Durrānīs were joined by Mug͟hal, Awadh and Rohilla troops. These Rohillas, the Afg͟hāns of Rohilkhanḍ, had more than once risen against Dihlī and the virtually independent province of Awadh, and had been on a previous occasion subdued by Marāṭhā troops invited by Dihlī.

The Durrānīs on their numerous visits had acted as the rulers of the Mughal empire; when they were absent the real power was manipulated by the governor of Awadh, Ṣafdar Djang [q.v.], the nephew and successor of Saʿādat Khān [q.v.], a Persian Shīʿī. The titular monarch at the time of Pānīpat was Shāh ʿĀlam II, who had tried to gain control of Bihār and Bengal without success. He came under British protection from 1765 to 1771 when he was recalled to Dihlī after the Marāṭhās had again risen to power; but Awadh, under Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, the Djāṭs of Bharatpur, and the Rohilla leader Nadjīb Khān held the balance of power, rather than any remnant of Mughal authority. On an occasion when the Marāṭhās were engaged elsewhere the Rohilla Ghulām Khān, in 1788, attacked Dihlī and seized and blinded Shāh ʿĀlam II, and the Marāṭhā leader Sindhia continued his virtual domination of Dihlī. In 1803 the Marāṭhā army was thoroughly defeated by the British general Lord Lake, and under British protection Shāh ʿĀlam II was restored to his barren title and hollow empire: although titular monarchs remained until the deposition of Bahādur Shāh II in 1857 after the Mutiny, the Mughal empire had ceased to exist. For the period of the later Mughals see MUGHALS, BAHĀDUR SHĀH I, DJAHĀNDĀR SHĀH, FARRUKHSIYAR, MUḤAMMAD SHĀH, SHĀH ʿĀLAM II, BAHĀDUR SHĀH II; DJĀṬS, MARĀṬHĀS, RĀDJPŪTS, SIKHS; NIẒĀM AL-MULK; NĀDIR SHĀH; AḤMAD SHĀH DURRĀNĪ; ROHILLAS; PĀNĪPAT. For Awadh see AWADH, SAʿĀDAT KHĀN, ṢAFDAR DJANG, LAKHNAʾŪ. For the events in the Deccan after 1137/1724 see NIẒĀM AL-MULK and ḤAYDARĀBĀD. For Bengal see BANGĀLĀ (in Supplement), MURSHID ḲULĪ KHĀN, ʿALĪWIRDĪ KHĀN, SIRĀDJ AL-DAWLA, MĪR DJAʿFAR, also CALCUTTA, ḌHĀKĀ, MURSHIDĀBĀD.

To the south-west of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād's dominions, in Mahisur ("Mysore"), a ruler who established himself about 1750 was Ḥaydar ʿAlī [q.v.], who fought against the local Marāṭhās, against the Niẓām, with the Niẓām, or with the French, against the British, and carved out for himself a large kingdom. He died in 1782 and was succeeded by his son Tipū [q.v.], who was killed in a British attack in 1799. For this region and its events see ḤAYDAR ʿALĪ, TIPŪ SULṬĀN, MAHISUR, SHRĪRANGAPAṬṬANAM.

After 1857 there was in effect no Muslim rule in India. For the history of the Muslim community thereafter see MUSLIMS. The community was educationally backward and thus at a disadvantage in matters of government in comparison with the Hindūs. For aspects of the betterment of the community see especially AḤMAD KHĀN, ʿALĪGARH, DEOBAND, DJAMʿIYYA, DJĀMIʿA, TADRĪS; also DJARĪDA, India (in Supplement). For Muslim involvement in politics see ḤIZB, India; INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS; MUSLIM LEAGUE. For events leading up to the division of what has hitherto been called India in this article into the two dominions (later republics) of India (Bhārat) and Pākistān, see PĀKISTĀN, also DJINĀḤ, MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ; LIYĀḲAT ʿALĪ KHĀN; MUḤAMMAD IḲBĀL; for the constitution and government of Pākistān see DUSTŪR xiv and ḤUKŪMA V.

It is perhaps not quite correct to say that there was no Muslim rule in the sub-continent before 1947, since the British government did recognize independent "Native States", some of which were under autonomous Muslim rulers, where the British retained the right to intervene if requirements of public safety demanded it and were represented by Residents officially appointed. Ḥaydarābād was the largest of the Muslim states, but there were many smaller ones. See, for example, BAHĀWALPŪR, BHOPĀL, DJUNĀGAṚH, KASHMĪR (under a Hindū Mahārādjā but with a predominantly Muslim population), KHAYRPŪR, RĀMPUR. See also BALŪČISTĀN.

Bibliography: A separate bibliography to cover the various aspects of the Muslim history of the sub-continent would be enormous and would duplicate the detailed bibliographies of the many entries referred to above; reference should therefore be made to the special bibliographies given under each article. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

V. — ISLAM

(a) *Growth of Muslim society*

The growth of Muslim society in India took place through four processes—conquest, conversion, colonization and migration. It is difficult to say what proselytizing agencies worked in Sind, but we are told that on the instructions of the Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz an announcement was made that whoever embraced Islam in Sind would be accorded all the rights enjoyed by the Arab rulers themselves. Some tribes of Sind consequently embraced Islam, Dāhir's son, Djay Singh, being one of them. But when the Umayyad political control weakened in Sind, they went back to their original faiths. Muḳaddasī found that the impact of Islam was confined to only a few towns. In Makrān, he writes, the people were Muslims only in name.

The rise of Ghazna under Sultan Maḥmūd (388-421/998-1030) marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Indian Islam, yet Maḥmūd's invasions created a gulf between Islam and Hinduism. Notwithstanding the fact that the ruler of Baran, Rai Hardat, had embraced Islam with 10,000 of his followers at the hands of Maḥmūd (ʿUtbī, 305; ʿUnṣurī, 141), the general effect of his invasions was not favourable (al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind*, tr. Sachau, 22).

The establishment of the Ghaznavid hold on the Pandjāb linked India with the cultural centres of mediaeval ʿAdjam. However, the real growth of Indo-Muslim society took place after the Ghūrid conquest of northern India. References to conversions at the hands of Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī (d. 602/1206) or of his slave-officers are few and far between (Minhādj, 152; Firishta, i, 59). The Sultans of Delhi did not devise any agency for conversion, and minor acts of royal favour, as recorded by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 179; tr. von Mžik, 82), could hardly act as incentives to change one's faith. When Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725-52/1325-51) embarked upon his Deccan experiment, one of his objects was to prepare the ground for the spread of Islam in that region (Niẓāmī, *Salāṭīn-i Dihlī kāy madhhabī rudjḥānāt*, 338-45). He exhorted the saints and the *ʿulamāʾ* to go to different parts of the country to propagate Islam. But if Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ helped in the expansion of Islam in the south or in the growth of Muslim society in that region it was done indirectly. Muslim society grew in India through conversions which took place voluntarily at tribal levels, and often through the peaceful persuasion of Muslim mystics.

The social set-up of India in the 5th/11th and the 6th/12th centuries was based on the principle of caste. According to al-Bīrūnī the caste Hindus lived within the city walls and enjoyed all the privileges of city life, the non-caste people were compelled to live outside the city walls and were denied all civic amenities, as the idea of physical pollution was one of the basic principles of the Hindu social system.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ā	Āgrā
Adj	Adjmēr
Ahd	Aḥmadābād
Ahn	Aḥmadnagar
ʿAl	ʿAlīgaṛh
Ald	Allāhābād
Am	Amritsar
Ar	Arkāt
As	Asīrgaṛh
Āṭ	Āṭak (Attock)
Aw	Awrangābād
Ay	Ayodhyā (Ajodhya)
B	Bīdar
Ba	Bahrayč
Bd	Badāʾōn
Bdj	Bidjāpur
Bg	Bāgerhāṭ
Bh	Bharōč
Bhdj	Bhūdj
Bhp	Bhōpāl
Bhṭ	Bhaṭindā
Bl	Balkh
Bn	Banāras
Bp	Bahāwalpur
Br	Barēlī
Bṛ	Baṛawdā (Baroda)
Bu	Burhānpur
By	Bayānā
Ca	Calcutta
ČhP	Čhoṭā Pānduā
Či	Čitōṛ
Čl	Čewal (Chaul)
Čm	Čāmpānēr
Čn	Čandērī
Co	Colombo
Čṭ	Čāṭgāwn (Chittagong)
D	Dihlī (Delhi)
Daw	Dawlatābād
Dbd	Deoband
Dh	Dhār
Ḍh	Ḍhākā (Dacca)
Dhk	Dhōlkā
Dhp	Dhōlpur
Djg	Djunāgaṛh
Djin	Djindjī (Gingee)
Djl	Djalandhar
Djn	Djandjīrā
Djp	Djaypur
Djr	Djālor
Djw	Djawnpur
Dp	Dipalpur
Dw	Dīw (Diu)
FS	Fatḥpur Sīkrī
Fd	Fayḍābād
G	Gawṛ, Lakhnawtī
Gb	Gulbargā
Gdj	Gudjrāt
Gg	Gāwilgaṛh
Gh	Ghazna
Gk	Gōlkondā
Go	Goa (Ṣindābūr)
Gw	Gwāliyar
Ḥ	Ḥaydarābād (Dakhan, Sind)
Ha	Hānsī
HA	Ḥasan Abdāl
HF	Ḥiṣār Fīrūza
Hr	Harāt
I	Iṭāwā
Id	Īdar
Il	Iličpur
Iṭ	Īṭā (Etah)
K	Kalpī
Kb	Kābul
Kdj	Kannawdj
Kg	Kāngṛā
Khm	Khambāyat
Khp	Khayrpur
Kk	Kaṭak (Cuttack)
Kl	Kalindjar
Km	Kāṭhmāndū
Kn	Kandahār
Knl	Karnūl (Kandenavolu)
Kp	Kānpur
Kr	Karāčī
L	Lāhawr (Lahore)
Lkh	Lakhnaʾū (Lucknow)
M	Mūltān
Ma	Madura
Md	Mudgal
Mg	Mungēr (Monghyr)
Mh	Mahisūr (Mysore)
Mi	Miraṭh (Meerut)
Mm	Maḥmūdābād
Mn	Māndū
Mnṣ	Manṣūra
Mr	Murshidābād
Ms	Madrās
Mth	Mathurā (Muttra)
My	Myobaung
Nd	Naldrug
Ng	Nāgawr
Nn	Narnālā
Nnl	Narnawl
Nw	Nawānagar (Djāmnagar)
P	Pānduā
Pk	Pākpaṭṭan
Pl	Pālanpur
Pn	Paṭnā
Pp	Pānīpat
Pr	Parendā
Psh	Parashawar (Peshawar)
Pṭ	Pāṭan (Anhilwāḍa, Nahrwālā)
Pū	Pūnā (Poona)
R	Rāmpur
Rč	Rāyčūr
Rg	Rōhtāsgaṛh
Rm	Rādjmaḥal
Rn	Ranthambōr
Rt	Rōhtās
S	Shrīnagar
Sh	Shōlāpur
Sk	Sakhar (Sukkur)
So	Sonargāwn
Sr	Sirhind
Srg	Shrīrangapaṭṭanam
Ss	Sahsarām
Sū	Sūrat
T	Tarāʾōrī
Th	Thānēr
Ṭh	Ṭhaṭṭhā
Thn	Thāna
Tr	Tribenī
U	Uččh
Udj	Udjdjayn
V	Vidjayanagara (Hampi)
Ve	Vellūr
W	Warangal
AD	*Āmū Daryā (Oxus)*
B	*Biyās (Beas)*
Bh	*Bhīmā*
Br	*Brahmaputra*
Čm	*Čambal*
Čn	*Čanāb*
Dj	*Djamnā*
DjB	*Djamnā (Bengal)*
Djh	*Djhlam (Jhelum)*
G	*Gangā (Ganges)*
Gg	*Ghāgrā (Gogra)*
Gm	*Gōmtī*
Gn	*Gandak*
Go	*Godāwarī*
H	*Hilmand*
HR	*Harī Rūd*
K	*Kistna*
Kā	*Kāverī (Cauvery)*
Kb	*Kābul*
L	*Lūnī*
M	*Māhī*
Mn	*Mahānadī*
N	*Narmadā*
Pg	*Pengangā*
Pn	*Pennēr*
R	*Rāwī*
Rg	*Rāmgangā*
Rp	*Rāptī*
S	*Sindhu (Indus)*
Sā	*Sābarmatī*
So	*Sōn*
Sr	*Sarsutī (Saraswatī), Ghaggar*
St	*Satladj*
T	*Tāptī*
Tu	*Tungabhadra*
W	*Wayngangā*

Land over 500 m.

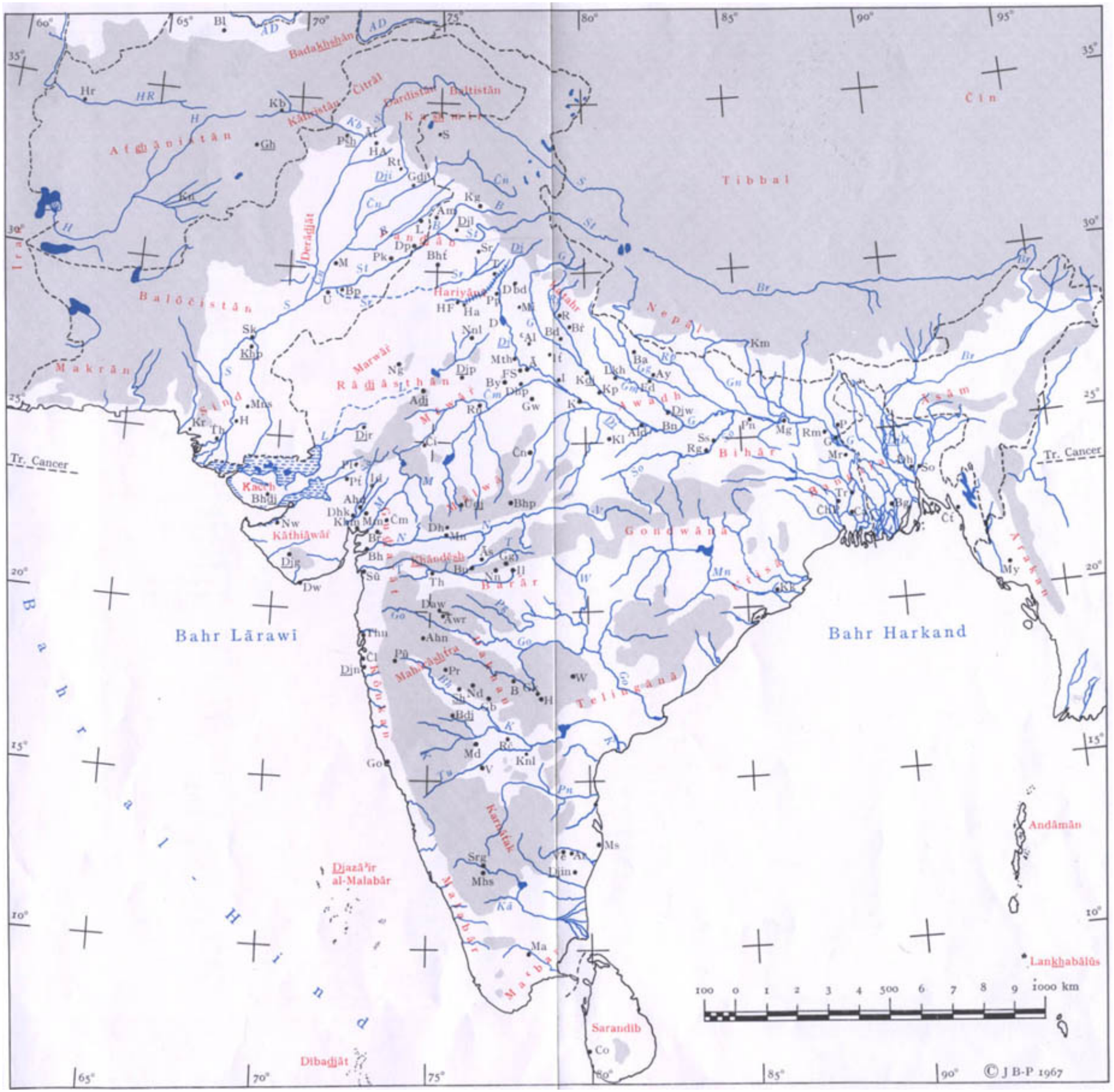

When the Muslims conquered these caste-cities they threw open their gates to everybody, with the result that the egalitarian principles of Islam attracted large number of non-caste Hindus and professional groups to the fold of Islam. It was this conversion of the lower caste population to Islam which swelled Muslim society in this country. The Muslim saints handled the problem of conversion with great sympathy, understanding and love. The Čis͟htī saints, for instance, attracted the Hindus to the Muslim way of life, without demanding formal conversion (*Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, 182-3, 153), taught the *d͟hikr* to them without demanding initiation into the mystic fold (*Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, 74, 25), and when any Hindu desired that his conversion be not disclosed to his family or tribe, they readily agreed. This sympathetic and comprehending attitude enhanced the effect of their persuasion. According to Abu ʾl-Faḍl and Dārā S͟hukōh, S͟hayk͟h Muʿīn al-Dīn Čis͟htī converted large numbers of non-Muslims to Islam (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ed. Sir Sayyid, 207; *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ*, 93). Farīd al-Dīn Gand͟j-i S͟hakar converted to Islam numerous tribes living in and around Pāk-patan. Even as late as the 10th/16th century, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī saw S͟hayk͟h Dāʾūd of Lahore converting 50 to 100 Hindus and their families to Islam every day (*Muntak͟hab al-tawārīk͟h*, iii, 34-5). This process continued throughout the mediaeval period. Arnold (*The preaching of Islām*, 255-93) has thrown revealing light on the rôle of mystics in the expansion of Muslim society in India.

In addition to this, population pressure and disturbed conditions in Central Asia and Persia drove large numbers of Muslim families to India during the 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries. Later the Afg͟hān rulers invited many Afg͟hān families to come and settle in India. Many S͟hīʿa families migrated from Persia and settled in the south. The process of Muslim settlement under the Hindu *rād͟jās*, which had begun with the Arabs, continued also later. There are references to the presence of Muslims at Kannawd͟j, Bahrāič, Badāʾūn, Benares and Ad͟jmīr and some other towns of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar before the establishment of Muslim political power in these areas (Niẓāmī, *Religion and politics in India during the 13th century*, 76-8). With the establishment of Turkish rule, these early Muslim settlements turned into great religious and cultural centres.

The *masd͟jid*, the *madrasa* and the *k͟hānḳāh* sustained the community life of the Indian Muslims and contributed to its expansion. The *masd͟jid*s sustained the external structure of the faith; the *madrasa*s supplied the intellectual nourishment, while the *k͟hānḳāh*s ensured that the fervour of spiritual life did not freeze in the day to day life of the community.

(b) *Growth of Muslim religious thought*

Muslim religious thought during the 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries was exercised within the framework of classics produced outside India on the different branches of religious sciences. In *tafsīr*, the *Kas͟hs͟hāf* of Zamak͟hs͟harī and the *Tafsīr* of Imām Nāṣirī, in *ḥadīt͟h* the *Mas͟hāriḳ al-anwār*, in *fiḳh* the *Hidāya* and the manual of al-Ḳudūrī, and in *taṣawwuf*, the *Rūḥ al-arwāḥ*, the *Kimiyā-i saʿādat* and the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* dominated the scene and the general trend—produced by the spectacle of the dissolution of the Muslim social and political structure of mediaeval ʿAd͟jam at the hands of the Mongols—was to preserve existing knowledge rather than to explore new avenues of thought and enquiry. A subtle conflict between the As͟hʿarī and the Muʿtazilī attitudes is, however, discernible in the religious thought of the period.

With the introduction of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works (*Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* and *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*) in India during the 7th/13th century there was a stir in Muslim religious thought. Since the pantheistic ideas of the Great S͟hayk͟h were in consonance with the spirit of the *Upanishads*, they became identified with the movement of rapprochement between the Hindu and the Muslim religious attitudes. The rise of mystic poetry in G͟hazna at this time and the composition of the *mat͟hnawī* of D͟jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]—which was first quoted in the mystic gatherings of S͟hayk͟h Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāg͟h (675-757/1276-1356)—further strengthened the influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought. Eminent scholars, like Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī (d. 786/1384), S͟haraf al-Dīn Dihlawī (d. 795/1392), and S͟hayk͟h ʿAlī Mahāʾimī (d. 835/1431), wrote commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, and S͟hayk͟h ʿAlī Mahāʾimī even attempted a commentary on the Ḳurʾān (*Tabṣīr al-Raḥmān wa taysīr al-Mannān*) in the light of Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas. It became the theme of Masʿūd Bak's (d. 800/1397) poetic compositions and inspired also his prose-work, *Mirʾāt al-ʿārifīn*. Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas had become fairly popular in Muslim religious circles when Ibn Taymiyya's teachings reached India through one of his pupils, Imām ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ardabilī (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 252; tr. von Mžik, 128), and Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ came under its influence. It found its reflection in the Tug͟hluḳ sultan's attitude towards different problems of religion and politics, particularly his relations with the mystics. As was inevitable, there ensued a conflict between the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī and those of Ibn Taymiyya. The orthodox section of Muslim society had so far tolerated the acceptance of pantheistic ideas by the mystics as a basis for their spiritual experience, but now that it became the basis for the organization of small social groups—as one finds in the *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz S͟hāhī* (Aligarh ed., 8-10)—they viewed it as a serious threat to the very structure of the *s͟harīʿa* and its function as the regulator of the Muslim conscience. The *ʿulamāʾ* and the Tug͟hluḳid sultans began to combat the tendencies released by the pantheists. The production of an enormous literature on *fiḳh* during the 8th/14th century—more than in any other period of Indian history—was inspired by a desire to provide a defensive ideological apparatus against the upsurge of pantheistic ideas which seemed to weaken the external structure of faith.

While accepting *waḥdat al-wud͟jūd* as the basis of all spiritual experience, S͟hayk͟h Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāg͟h emphasized close adherence to the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna* and discontinued many mystic practices (*e.g.*, prostration before the *s͟hayk͟h*), which did not conform to the externals of the *s͟harīʿa*. He did not agree with many of the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya (*K͟hayr al-mad͟jālis*, intr. 29-31), but he met the challenge of the time by making a serious effort to bridge the gulf between the formalist scholars and the mystics. That a mystic of his eminence should be styled "the second Abū Ḥanīfa" shows the extent to which in his own person he had succeeded in bridging the gulf. His disciple Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz criticized the thought of Ibn al-ʿArabī, and even planned to write a book in refutation of his ideas (*Maktūbāt-i S͟hāh Muḥibb Allāh*, Aligarh University MS, 90).

For some time the balance seems to have been in favour of Ibn Taymiyya's school of thought, but the

views of Ibn al-ʿArabī, which provided the necessary ideological meeting-ground for Islam and Hinduism, made a deeper impact and the stream of religious thought began to flow in that direction. The 9th/15th and the 10th/16th centuries saw a mushroom growth of new sects, ideologies, philosophies and attitudes in India, most of them based on a pantheistic approach to religion. The Bhakti movement, the Shaṭṭārī order, and the Rawshaniyya sect were the expressions of the same attitude, which laid greater emphasis on the spirit than on the form of religion. Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwāliyār translated *Amrit Kund* into Persian, and thereby introduced Hindu mystical ideas and Yogic practices into the Ṣūfī discipline. Bāyazīd Anṣārī, the founder of the Rawshaniyya movement, laid greater emphasis on the interiorization of religious rites and practices than on outward conforming to the externals of religion. When Akbar appeared on the Indian scene, the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī held sway. In his eagerness to evolve a common religious outlook, Akbar made certain experiments with the ideological support of pantheistic philosophy, which hurt the religious susceptibilities of the orthodox section and produced fears that in the process of evolving an amalgam of different religions the individuality of Islam might be jeopardized. Had Akbar not intervened, Indo-Muslim religious thought would probably have proceeded on entirely different lines, but Akbar's attempt to assume the leadership of these syncretic forces provoked a severe reaction, which expressed itself on one side in the production of *ḥadīth* and juristic literature by scholars like Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith and on the other side gave birth to the powerful movement of the Naḳshbandī Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*], popularly known as Mudjaddid-i Alf-i Thānī.

Under the influence of his teacher Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Muttaḳī, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ had followed a very cautious and non-committal policy towards the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī (*Akhbār al-akhyār*, 263), but Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī published abroad his tirade against Ibn al-ʿArabī's pantheistic approach to religion and mysticism. He considered it an expression of an immature spiritual experience, fraught with great dangers to Muslim society and religion, as it facilitated the absorption of ideas and practices by Muslims which ran counter to the monotheistic ideals of Islam. He condemned on that account the religious experiments of Akbar. Drawing his inspiration from the Ḳurʾānic verse, "For you yours, and for me my religion" (CIX, 6), he declared against an admixture of Muslim and non-Muslim—Hindu, Buddhist, Djayn and other—ideas by Akbar. He succeeded in winning over large numbers of Mughal nobles to his side, and through them he sought to bring about a change in the atmosphere of the court. Djahāngīr had to give up Akbar's policy of meddling in religion and making religious experiments, while Shāhdjahān and Awrangzīb came definitely under the impact of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī's ideas. Shāh Kalīm Allāh of Delhi (1060-1142/1650-1729) wrote to a disciple, who was trying in vain to influence the thought of Awrangzīb, that the Emperor was completely under Naḳshbandī influence and could not be converted to any other point of view. However, in the 11th/17th century two definite ideological schools—one in favour of and the other against the doctrine of pantheism—were in the field. Dārā Shukōh, Miyān Mīr, Mullā Shāh, Sarmad, Shāh Muḥibb Allāh of Allāhābād stood for pantheistic ideas; Awrangzīb, Khwādja Maʿṣūm (son of Shaykh Aḥmad), and others stood for the religious and spiritual concepts adumbrated by Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. The conflict assumed such proportions that even a foreign traveller, like Bernier, noticed this conflict (ed. Constable, 345-7). So much so, that when the war of succession broke out between the sons of Shāhdjahān it was not merely a conflict between the two sons of an Emperor, but a clash of ideals between the spirit of Mudjaddid's *Tawḥīd-i shuhūdī* and the spirit of Akbar's *Dīn-i ilāhī*. Dārā Shukōh had written the *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* and had translated the *Upanishads*, Awrangzīb concentrated his energies upon the compilation of *Fatāwā-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (for the personal supervision of the work by the Emperor, see Shāh Walī Allāh, *Anfās al-ʿārifīn*, Delhi 1917, 24). Notwithstanding the great impact of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī's thought on the contemporary religious attitude, the dynamic element of Muslim religious thought in India found some of his views spiritually untenable and socially inconsistent with Indian conditions—particularly when the atmosphere created by Akbar's religious experiments no longer existed—and two eminent saints associated with his own school—Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī and Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i Djānān—took up an attitude which completely altered the Naḳshbandī position with reference to pantheism (*Fayṣala*, cited below) and Hinduism (*Kalimāt-i ṭayyibāt*, 37-40). During the 12th/18th century, Muslim scholars were concerned with effecting a compromise between the conflicting ideas and concepts of the preceding era. Shāh Walī Allāh wrote a small treatise, *Fayṣalat waḥdat al-wudjūd wa 'l-shuhūd* (Delhi 1324), and contended that there was no substantial difference between the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī: both meant really the same thing, and their difference was nothing more than that between two metaphors. He also said that it was his mission to reconcile the two concepts whose underlying reality was one and the same. Though some other followers of the Mudjaddid, like Khwādja Mīr Nāṣir ʿAndalīb (*Nālā-i ʿAndalīb*, Bhopal 1310), Khwādja Mīr Dard (*ʿIlm al-kitāb*, Delhi 1308), and Ghulām Yaḥyā (*Kalimāt al-Ḥaḳḳ*, MS, Aligarh), did not agree with his point of view, Shāh Walī Allāh, so far as he was concerned, closed the controversy which had been raging in Indian Muslim thought for several centuries. Shāh Walī Allāh's son Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn rebutted the arguments of Ghulām Yaḥyā in his *Damgh al-bāṭil* (MS no. 1699 Bankipore), and paved the way for the return of pantheistic ideas as the basis of spiritual experience.

Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (d. 1763) was a seminal personality in the intellectual life of the Indian Muslims. He exercised a profound influence on the religious thought of his contemporaries, and many of the religious movements of the period, though differing in their approach, drew inspiration from his outlook and insight. On one side the orthodox school of Deoband, which aimed at resuscitating the traditional and classical values of early Islam, clung to his ideology, on the other hand Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, who stood for a complete reorientation of religious thought in the light of Western rationalistic tendencies, looked to him for support and guidance.

Shāh Walī Allāh was the last great thinker of the Middle Ages who realised the need of re-interpreting Islamic thought in the light of reason and pointed out that the codification of *sharīʿa* laws should be related to the specific requirements of a particular

region and should take into consideration the social, religious and legal practices of the society concerned. This dynamic religious approach opened fresh avenues for the re-interpretation of the basic religious values. On being asked which of the four schools of Sunnī *fiḳh* he belonged to, he said: "I try my best to combine all the points of agreement in all the schools, and in matters of variance I adhere to what is proved by the genuine *ḥadīth*—which, thank God, I can do. If anybody asks me for a *fatwā*, I give it according to whatever school he wishes". This liberal method of recourse to any school of Sunnī law which suited the circumstances was of great significance to the succeeding generations. It may be pointed out that in its attempt to bring its laws into consonance with the spirit of the modern world, Egypt was guided by this very principle.

The new spirit of *idjtihād* which Shāh Walī Allah wanted to awaken could be possible only if religious thought was extricated from narrow and sectarian controversies. With this aim in view he translated the Ḳur'ān into Persian and his two illustrious sons—Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir and Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn—translated it into Urdu, so placing the main source of Muslim religion within the reach of all Indians. Besides, he and his sons popularized the study of *ḥadīth* and prepared many thought-provoking commentaries on them. He was thus responsible for the revival of religious learning in India which had an impact on the entire Muslim world.

The impact of Wahhābī ideology was felt in India in the beginning of the 19th century when Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī (1201-46/1786-1831) returned from the Ḥidjāz, influenced by the thought of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of Nadjd. He trenchantly criticized the adoption of non-Islamic ideas by the Muslims and advocated purification of Muslim religious ideas in the light of the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*. The literature produced by his followers, particularly Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Shahīd (d. 1831), breathes the spirit of Wahhābī ideology.

The infiltration of western influences into Muslim society created a stir in the Muslim mind in the 19th century. The superiority of the West in technique, science, and industry was an established fact, but the British Government was considered to be the supplanter of the Mughal rule in India and could not, therefore, be accepted. This created a conflict in the Muslim mind which is revealed in the strange but significant position taken up by Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the eldest son of Shāh Walī Allah. On the one hand he praised English efficiency in art and industry (*Malfūẓāt*, 51) and permitted the study of the English language (*Fatāwā-i ʿAzīzī*, 195) and on the other side he issued a *fatwā* declaring all land under British occupation as *dār al-ḥarb* (*Fatāwā-i ʿAzīzī*, 17). This position was not, however, maintained by the succeeding generations. Those who studied the English language and sciences willingly accepted British rule, and those who refused to accept British rule totally refused to learn the English language and literature. As was inevitable, two diametrically opposite tendencies developed in Muslim religious and social attitudes, one represented by the ʿAlīgarh movement under Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1817-98) and the other by the Deobandī school of thought under Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḳāsim (1832-1880). It is, however, significant that both Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḳāsim were pupils of Mawlānā Mamlūk al-ʿAlī (d. 1850), a pupil of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's pupil Mawlānā Rashīd al-Dīn Khān.

The Christian missionary activity which started in the wake of the establishment of British rule in India found a reaction in contemporary Muslim thought. Many eminent scholars like Mawlānā Raḥmat Allāh Kayrānawī, Mawlānā Āl-i Ḥasan, Dr. Wazīr Khān and Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḳāsim turned to the production of *munāẓara* literature (religious disputations) in order to combat the Christian missionary propaganda. The atmosphere of casuistry thus created continued to absorb the attention of religious-minded Muslims, and in Amritsar a great centre of theological discussions and *munāẓara* rose up under Mawlānā Thanā' Allāh. In the second half of the 19th century theological controversies within the fold of Islam itself made their appearance. The *ahl-i ḥadīth* advocated recourse to *ḥadīth* as the chief source of guidance and discouraged adherence to juristic schools; the *ahl-i Ḳur'ān* laid greater emphasis on direct recourse to the Ḳur'ān in all matters, instead of seeking guidance from the Traditions of the Prophet or the formulations of the jurists; and the Brēlwī school, under Mawlānā Aḥmad Riḍā Khān, trenchantly criticised and condemned the Wahhābī approach towards religion.

The greatest challenge to Muslim religious thought, still in the meshes of mediaevalism, was posed by Western thought and civilization. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān was the first to react to this new situation. "Today we are, as before, in need of a modern *ʿIlm-i Kalām* (new scholasticism)", he declared in 1884, and in fact he himself laid the foundations of modern scholastic thought in Islam. He fought mediaeval obscurantism through his journal *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* and advocated a rational approach to religion. He rejected *taḳlīd*, blind adherence to religious law, and asked for a re-interpretation of the Ḳur'ān in the light of reason, to suit the new trends of the time. Furthermore, he took the first momentous step towards a comparative study of Islam and Christianity by writing a commentary on the Bible (*Tabyīn al-Kalām*, Aligarh 1862). In his *Khuṭabāt-i Aḥmadiyya* (Aligarh 1900) he rebutted the teachings propounded by the Christian missionaries. Amongst those who followed Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's example of reconstructing religious thought in Islam, the names of Mawlawī Čirāgh ʿAlī (d. 1895), author of *The proposed political, legal and social reforms*, and Sayyid Amīr ʿAlī (1849-1928), author of *The spirit of Islam*, stand out pre-eminent in the history of Muslim religious thought of the period.

Amongst those who sought a reorientation of Muslim religious thought in a way different from that of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, the names of Mawlānā Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād (1888-1958) and Dr. Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1876-1938) are particularly noteworthy. Mawlānā Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād was deeply influenced by Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī (d. 1897), Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905) and Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935), and he enthusiastically broadcast through his journals *al-Hilāl* and *al-Balāgh* the same spirit of religious enquiry and dynamism which Afghānī and his school of thought had tried to infuse into the Middle East. But the greatest contribution of the Mawlānā is his incomplete commentary on the *Ḳur'ān* (*Tardjumān al-Ḳur'ān*, 2 vols.), which marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Muslim exegesis. The Mawlānā discarded the apparatus of philosophic disquisition of the Muʿtazilites and the spirit of ratiocination developed by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and others of his school of thought. He commended a natural, direct and unsophisticated

approach to the study of the Ḳur'ān and declared all attempts at resolving the conflict between religion and science as irrelevant, since scientific problems, according to him, were not the domain of religion. But it was difficult for the Mawlānā to escape the spirit of the age in which he lived. His humanistic approach and theosophic attitude give an idea of the mental climate of the period.

Dr. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, who had made an intensive study of western and eastern religions and philosophies, emphasized the reconstruction of Muslim religious thought in the light of the problems posed by the modern world. He looked upon religion as a powerful factor in the evolution of a man's personality and the betterment of human society. "His Islam", writes Smith, "repudiated the conception of a fixed universe dominated by a dictator God and to be accepted by servile men. In its place he would put a view of an unfinished growing universe ever being advanced by man and by God through man". He criticized those ecstatic elements of religious thought which made man parasitical and indolent. He preached a life of self-assertion and self-realization. "The moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation", he declared. Iḳbāl's thought had a very deep impact on the contemporary Muslim religious attitude.

Another great conflict in Indo-Muslim religious thought took place in 1938 when Mawlānā Ḥusayn Aḥmad Madanī (1879-1957), who taught *ḥadīth* at Deoband for several decades, attempted a reconciliation of religious thought with the national trends in the country and declared that religion did not constitute any basis for separate national individuality and that the Hindus and the Muslims of India were one nation. Dr. Muḥammad Iḳbāl opposed this view and the controversy (*Maʿraka-i dīn wa waṭan*, ed. ʿAbd al-Waḥīd Khān, Lucknow n.d.) continued for years and found reflexion in political life also.

(c) *Muslim religious movements*

A number of Muslim religious movements have appeared in India during the last 700 years. Abu'l-Faḍl refers to 14 mystic orders, and the author of *Dabistān al-madhāhib* to a number of religious groups, sects and movements which have flourished there. Significantly enough, most of these movements were inspired by mystic ideas and even where orthodoxy initiated them, it was often through the medium of mysticism that they reached the people. Considered as a whole and from the broad point of view of their impact on Indian life, these movements reflect four distinct attitudes and tendencies: from the 6th/12th to the 10th/16th century they aimed at the "expansion" of Muslim religion and society in India; during the 11th/17th century they were concerned mainly with the "reform" of Muslim religion and society; in the 12th/18th century "regeneration" was attempted, while movements that sprang up in the 19th century mainly strove for "reorientation", either in the light of classical traditions of Islam or in the light of Western thought.

Movements for Expansion: Five important mystic orders—the *Čishtiyya*, the *Suhrawardiyya*, the *Firdawsiyya*, the *Ḳādiriyya* and the *Shaṭṭāriyya* —worked during this period. Though these mystic orders differed from one another in certain points of detail—*e.g.*, their attitude towards the state, to *samāʿ* (audition parties), the relative value of the life of *sukr* (intoxication) and *ṣaḥw* (sobriety), and the degree of emphasis on the *sharīʿa* laws etc.—they all agreed that the leitmotif of the mystical spirit was to strive for the moral and spiritual uplift of man through the expansion of Islamic ideas. They tried to adjust and adapt themselves to the mental and emotional climate of the regions in which they worked and adopted many Hindu and Buddhist rites, like the practices of bowing before the *shaykh*, presenting water to visitors, circulating *zanbīl*, shaving the head of new entrants to the mystic circle, audition parties (*samāʿ*) and the *Čilla-i-maʿkūs* (the inverted *čilla*). This identification with the surrounding conditions helped them in attracting non-Muslims to their fold. Besides, almost all the principal saints of these *silsila*s were believers in the pantheistic thought which also provided common ground for intellectual contact with the Hindus.

Movements for Reform: In the 11th/17th century the general drift and direction of the Muslim mind was towards the reform of Muslim society from within. The Naḳshbandī *silsila*, which was introduced in India by Khwādja Bāḳī bi'llāh (971-1012/1563-1603) during the closing years of Akbar's reign, reached its high-water mark under his principal disciple, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, whose disciples, according to Djahāngīr, operated in every important town and city of India. The efforts of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī were directed towards the reform of Muslim society. He was not concerned, as were the mystics of the preceding era, to expand the faith amongst non-Muslims. He aimed at consolidating it by reforming it and removing its un-Islamic trappings. An uncompromising monotheist, he did not agree with those religious experiments of Akbar which he had made with the ideological support of the pantheistic thinkers and which had elements which ran counter to the very basis of the orthodox Islamic concept of *tawḥīd*. He condemned the prevalence of *bidʿa*s (innovations), which meant to him dissuasion from looking to the Prophet as the source of all religious guidance and inspiration. He permitted the exercise of *ḳiyās* and *idjtihād*, provided it was within the framework of the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*. He condemned those *ʿulamā'* and *ṣūfī*s of his day who encouraged deviations from the *sunna* under the garb of *idjtihād*. He approached the rulers, the *ṣūfī*s and the *ʿulamā'* in order to bring about a change in their outlook on life. It was due to his efforts that Djahāngīr abandoned Akbar's policy of making religious experiments, the *ṣūfī*s came closer to the *sharīʿa* and rejected the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, and the *ʿulamā'* turned to the revival of religious learning.

Era of Regeneration: The 12th/18th century was an era of regeneration in Indian Islam. Shāh Walī Allāh (1114-76/1703-63) and Shāh Kalīm Allāh (1060-1142/1650-1729) were the two outstanding figures who attempted to revive the original teachings of Islam—one at the intellectual, and the other at the spiritual level. Shāh Walī Allāh gave a new impetus to the revival of the religious sciences. He laid the foundation of a new school of scholastic theology; bridged the gulf between the jurists and the mystics; softened the controversy between the exponents and the critics of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* and awakened a new spirit of religious enquiry. He addressed all sections of Muslim society —rulers, nobles, *ʿulamā'*, mystics, soldiers, traders, etc.—and tried to infuse a new spirit of dedication in them. His seminary, Madrasa-i Raḥīmiyya, became the nucleus of a revolutionary movement for the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam and scholars flocked to it from every corner of the

country. His concentration on *fiḳh* and *taṣawwuf* and his attempt to make them complementary was determined by his conviction that through a dynamic use of these two active principles both the structural and the spiritual aspects of Muslim religious life could be resuscitated and a healthy balance (*tawāzun*) between the form and the spirit—which had been shattered during the preceding years—could be maintained. His work was continued by his sons and successors. The extent to which he and his family contributed to the revival of Muslim religious sciences may be judged from the fact that the majority of Muslim institutions all over India from the 12th/18th century onwards owe their existence to their efforts. S͟hāh Kalīm Allāh's work was in a different direction. He revived and revitalized the Čis͟htī [*q.v.*] order on the lines of the saints of its first cycle, checked the growth of esoteric tendencies, and sent his disciples near and far to propagate the Čis͟htī mystic ideals. The rise of a number of Čis͟htī *k͟hānḳāh*s in the Pand͟jāb, the Deccan, the North West Frontier, and Uttar Pradesh was due to the efforts of his spiritual descendants (Niẓāmī, *Ta'rīk͟h-i mas͟hā'ik͟h-i Čis͟ht*, Delhi 1953).

Era of Reorientation: The 19th century saw the reorientation of Muslim religious thought as demanded by the new problems arising out of the impact with Western thought and culture. Three different reactions to this situation are discernible in the religious movements of this period—(i) to reorientate religious thought on traditional lines, or (ii) to evolve a new *ʿIlm-i Kalām* to meet the situation and to accept whatever the West could give; or (iii) to attempt to steer a middle course. The Wahhābī and the Farā'iḍī movements were inspired by a desire to resuscitate classical Islam through the reform of Muslim society and the restoration of its political power. The movement initiated by the *ʿulamā'* of Deoband aimed at revitalizing Muslim society through the revival of religious learning, and looked with a feeling of distrust towards western thought and learning. The ʿAlīgarh movement, organized by Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān, tried to meet the challenge of the time by accepting Western education and giving a new orientation to Muslim social, educational and religious ideals. There was considerable opposition to Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān and his social and educational ideals and religious views, but ultimately the movement succeeded, and it was through ʿAlīgarh that Indian Islam became acquainted with the West and its achievements in the realm of thought. The establishment of the *Nadwat al-ʿulamā'*, which stood for effecting a compromise between the excessive "this-worldliness" of ʿAlīgarh and the excessive "other-worldliness" of Deoband, was in fact an off-shoot of ʿAlīgarh, and Mawlānā S͟hiblī (1857-1914), who played a prominent part in its establishment, was one of those who were closely associated with the ʿAlīgarh movement. S͟hiblī's idea of writing a series entitled "Heroes of Islam"—which included G͟hazzālī, the caliph Ma'mūn and Abū Ḥanīfa, and which was responsible for reviving interest in the history of Islam—was inspired by Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān, who also asked Ḥālī, another friend of his, to write a *musaddas*, in order to awaken the Indian Muslims from their stupor by presenting a vivid story of their rise and fall. The Dār al-Muṣannifīn of Aʿẓamgarh, which has published a number of outstanding religious works, is an offshoot of the *Nadwa* and is run mainly by its alumni.

The *D͟jamāʿat-i Islāmī*, an organization of considerable religio-political significance, established by Mawlānā Abu 'l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī in 1941 with a view to providing guidance to both the modernists and the classicists (Mawdūdī, *Tafhīmāt*, Lahore 1947), has checked the permeation of Communist ideas in Muslim youth, but its attitude towards the jurists and the *ṣūfīs* of Islam has been resented in Muslim religious circles.

Towards the end of the 19th century a new religious movement was initiated by Mīrzā G͟hulām Aḥmad (1839-1908) from Ḳādiyān, known as the Aḥmadiyya, and it soon assumed the shape of a new sect of Islam. The Mīrzā claimed to be an *avatar* of Kris͟hna as well as Jesus returned to earth and the *Mahdī*; also the *burūz* (reappearance of Muḥammad). The movement has spread to various parts of the world, with a small band of converts in Britain, on the continent of Europe and in the United States.

The purely religious and spiritual movements of the Indian Muslims during this period centre round three great figures, S͟hāh G͟hulām ʿAlī of Delhi (1156-1240/1743-1824), Mawlānā As͟hraf ʿAlī of Thāna Bhawan (d. 1943), and Mawlānā Muḥammad Ilyās of Delhi (d. 1944). The influence of S͟hāh G͟hulām ʿAlī reached distant parts of the Muslim world (*Āt͟hār al-ṣanādīd*, chapter iv, 18), through his disciples, such as S͟hayk͟h K͟hālid al-Kurdī. Mawlānā As͟hraf ʿAlī has many works to his credit, big and small, dealing with various aspects of Muslim life (ʿAbd al-Bārī Nadawī, *D͟jāmiʿ al-Mud͟jaddidīn*). He also strove to popularize and strengthen the Čis͟htī order. Mawlānā Muḥammad Ilyās set up a centre for moral and spiritual instruction at Delhi, and started a brisk religious activity. His movement (Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Nadawī, *Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā Muḥammad Ilyās aur un kī dīnī daʿwat*, Lucknow 1947) has spread to different Arab countries, and his followers, who go about far and near in small groups known as *d͟jamāʿat*s, concern themselves only with the purification of religious life. The Mawlānā first applied his methods of religious persuasion to the Maywātīs (*Gazetteer of Ulwurr*, London 1878), an illiterate and half-converted tribe living in the eastern regions of Delhi. This is, in fact, the only significant Muslim religious movement in India at present.

(d) *The S͟hīʿīs: It͟hnā-ʿas͟harīs and Ismāʿīlīs*

Long before the influence of the It͟hnā-ʿas͟hariyya [*q.v.*] spread in India, the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] entered the country and started brisk religious propaganda. In the last quarter of the 4th/10th century, Fāṭimid political power was established in Multan, and was overthrown by Sultan Maḥmūd of G͟hazna in 396/1006. Undeterred, the Ismāʿīlī missionaries spread out into Sind, the Pund͟jāb and Gud͟jarāt, and by their strenuous efforts retrieved much of their lost political prestige. When S͟hihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad of G͟hūr appeared on the Indian scene, he found the Ismāʿīlīs quite powerful. In 571/1175 he dislodged them from Multan and many of them "went underground living in the guise of Hindus" (Ivanow, *Brief survey of the evolution of Ismailism*, 20). Embittered and annoyed, the Ismāʿīlīs entered into an alliance with the Khokars and assassinated S͟hihāb al-Dīn (602/1206) at Damyak on the Indus. The Sultanate of Delhi found itself committed to an anti-Ismāʿīlī policy, and when Iletmis͟h secured a *mans͟hūr* from the ʿAbbāsid Caliph the secret Ismāʿīlī opposition became open and aggressive. During the reign of Raḍiyya (634-7/1236-40), a Ḳarmaṭī preacher—Mawlānā Nūr Turk—gathered together his supporters from Gud͟jarāt, Sind and the Doab and organized a *coup d'état* to establish Ismāʿīlī power

at Delhi (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 189-90). The Sultans of Delhi adopted stern measures against all forms of Ismāʿīlism. The Ibāḥatīs (Amīr Khusraw, *Khazāʾin al-futūḥ*, ed. M. Waḥīd Mīrzā, Calcutta, 20; *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Aligarh, 7-8), whom some consider Ismāʿīlīs (M. Ḥabīb, *The Campaigns of ʿAlāuddin Khaljī*, 12; Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, 282-3; I. H. Qureshi holds a different view, see art. IBĀḤATIYYA and references there given), were severely dealt with by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1316) and Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (752-90/1351-88). According to ʿIṣāmī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī had punished the Bohorās also (*Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, 301). Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ refers to some extreme Shīʿī groups of Delhi as *Rawāfiḍ* and says that they reviled the first three Caliphs and Ḥaḍrat ʿĀʾisha, the wife of the Prophet, and considered the Ḳurʾān as *mulḥaḳāt-i ʿUthmānī* (*Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 7). Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, popularly known as Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān (d. 785/1384), has given an account of some Shīʿa sects in his conversations embodied in *Sirādj al-Hidāya* (MS India Office D.P. 1038). Though some Shīʿa families trace their pedigree to him, he himself, like Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz of Gulbarga (*Djawāmiʿ al-kalim*, 10, 20, etc.), seems to have been opposed to Shīʿa doctrines. The *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (MS Bankipore vii, 547) also deals with some Shīʿa sects known in India during the 8th/14th century.

In the 9th/15th century appeared the Shīʿa states of the Deccan—the ʿĀdil Shāhīs of Bīdjāpūr (895-1083/1489-1686), the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar (896-1043/1490-1633), and the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs of Golkonda (917-1083/1512-1687)—and their rulers propagated Shīʿa teachings and practices in the south. Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh was the first *marthiya-gū* (reciter of elegies) in Urdu. Shīʿa influence increased in northern India when the Ṣafawid power was established in Iran (907/1502) and particularly after the return of Humāyūn (962/1555) from that country. The emigration of Shīʿīs from Persia to India continued during the reign of Akbar and reached a significant stage when Djahāngīr came to the throne. The great Shīʿī scholar and divine Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī was flogged to death by the order of Djahāngīr for writing his *Iḥḳāḳ al-Ḥaḳḳ*. The propagation of some of the Shīʿī views created resentment in the mind of the Sunnī scholars and there appeared a large number of works—such as *Risāla Radd-i Rawāfiḍ* by Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, the *Izālat al-khafāʾ*, by Shāh Walī Allāh, the *Radd al-Shīʿa* by Mulla Muḥammad Muḥsin of Kashmīr (d. 1191/1777), the *Radd-i Rawāfiḍ* by Shāh Kalīm Allāh and *Tuḥfa Ithnā-ʿashariyya* by Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—in which some of the basic concepts of the Shīʿī were subjected to criticism.

During the 12th/18th century Shīʿa states were established at Murshidābād (in Bengal), Awadh and Rāmpūr (in Uttar Pradesh) and Khayrpur (in Sind) and these states played a very important rôle in the spread of Shīʿism in India and the popularization of its various religious practices. Separate Shīʿa congregational prayers and their distinct corporate religious life began with the efforts of Sayyid Dildār ʿAlī of Naṣīrābād (d. 1235/1819). The Shīʿas of India commemorate the martyrdom of the Imām Ḥusayn by exposing *taʿziya*s (miniatures of the tomb of Imām Ḥusayn), holding *madjlis*es in *imāmbārā*s, and reciting elegies during the first ten days of the month of Muḥarram. The *imāmbārā*s have a very important place in the cultural and religious life of the Indian Shīʿas. (For accounts of Shīʿas in India, see Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Muẓaffarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1352 A.H., 232-60; J. N. Hollister, *The Shiʿa of India*, London 1953).

Of the Shīʿī religious literature produced in India, the *Iḥḳāḳ al-ḥaḳḳ wa ibṭāl al-bāṭil* and the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn* of Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī, and the *ʿImād al-islām* and *al-Shihāb al-thāḳib* of Sayyid Dildār ʿAlī deserve particular mention (for a comprehensive list, see ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *al-Thaḳāfa al-islāmiyya fi ʾl-Hind*, Damascus 1958, 217-22).

The Khōdjās and the Bohorās [*qq.v.*] represent the best-organized Shīʿa communities in India (see also S. C. Misra, *Muslim communities in Gujarat*, Asia Publishers, 1964). They emphasize esoteric (*bāṭinī*) discipline and believe in an hierarchical system which controls and regulates the entire life of the community. The Khōdjās, according to their own tradition, originally belonged to the Lohana caste of Hindus. A Persian Ismāʿīlī missionary, Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, converted them to Ismāʿīlism. Among his successors, who organized the Ismāʿīlī communities in the Pundjāb, Sind and Kashmīr, were Seth Sham Das, Trikam and Seth Tulsi Das respectively, all bearing Hindu names and enjoying the title of *mukhī* (chief). Ṣadr al-Dīn called the Prophet of Islam the *avatar* or incarnation of Brahma, Adam the *avatar* of Shiva and ʿAlī the *avatar* of Vishnū (S. Nanjiani, *Khoja Vrttant*, Aḥmadābād 1892, 208; Bartle Frere, *The Khojas, the disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain*, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, xxxiv (London 1876), 431-4). The majority of the Khōdjās —who are Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs—are followers of the Āghā Khān.

The principal source of Ismāʿīlī *fiḳh* is Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* (ed. A. A. Fyzee, 2 vols., Cairo 1951-60). Contrary to the Ithnā-ʿashariyya, the Ismāʿīlī law rejects *mutʿa* marriage as invalid. On the question of bequests to heirs (A. A. A. Fyzee, in *Bombay Law Reporter, Journal*, 1929, 84; *JRAS*, 1930, 141; *The Ismaili law of wills*, London 1933 and) *mutʿa* (*Bombay Law Reporter, Journal*, 1931, 30; *JBBRAS*, 1932, 85), the Ismāʿīlī law agrees with the Ḥanafī school.

(e) *Growth of Muslim religious sciences and literature*

The Muslim religious literature produced in India does not merely furnish the indispensable background to the active religious life of Muslim India, but it also supplies the key to an assessment of the influence of Indo-Muslim religious thought on the Muslim world.

Ḳurʾānic studies, particularly *ḳirāʾāt* and *tadjwīd*, have been very popular in India even so early as the 6th/12th century, when in small places like Aror (near Multan) one could receive instruction in reciting the Ḳurʾān according to its seven recognized methods of recitation (*Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, 103). Referring to three experts in *ḳirāʾāt* during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1315) Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī says that "their equals were not to be found in Khurāsān or ʿIrāḳ". This Indian tradition of specialization in *ḳirāʾāt* continued throughout the ages. Dārā Shukōh (1024-69/1615-59) found more than five thousand *ḥāfiẓ* living in a single quarter of Lahore (*Malfūẓāt-i Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*). But *tafsīr* literature made little progress in India during the early period, as the works produced at the time catered for limited tastes; some were written for the *ʿulamāʾ*, others for the *ṣūfīs*; thus the *Tafsīr al-Raḥmān wa taysīr al-Mannān* of Shaykh ʿAlī al-Mahāʾimī was inspired by a desire to find Ḳurʾānic support for the pantheistic ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī, and the *Baḥr-i mawwādj* of Shihāb al-Dīn Dawla-

ṭābādī [*q.v.*] was an essay in rhetoric, beyond the comprehension of the ordinary man. A disciple of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā, K̲h̲wād̲j̲a Ḳāsim, is reported to have written the (lost) *Laṭāʾif al-tafsīr* with the specific purpose of making the thought-content of the Ḳurʾān popularly intelligible (*Siyar al-awliyāʾ*, 207). It was S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh, through his Persian rendering of the Ḳurʾān, and his sons, S̲h̲āh Rafīʿ al-Dīn and S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, through their Urdu translations, who popularized Ḳurʾānic learning and made its thought-content available to the people. His *al-Fawz al-kabīr*, on the principles of *tafsīr*, was the first work of its nature written in India. In this he protested against subjective commentaries on the Ḳurʾān and laid down the principles which should guide one who undertakes this task. S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh having prepared their ground, many commentaries on the Ḳurʾān appeared in India during the succeeding centuries. A comparative study of his works—*Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*, *al-Fawz al-kabīr* and *Ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲at Allāh al-bālig̲h̲a*—with the literature on exegesis produced in India, and even elsewhere, during the last two centuries, would reveal the extent of S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh's influence on Muslim religious thought.

It was in the sphere of *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature that Indian Islam made a remarkable contribution. According to Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, India revived and resuscitated the science of *ḥadīt̲h̲* in the 10th/16th century when it was dying out in the Arab world. The earliest contribution of India to *ḥadīth* literature is the *Mas̲h̲āriḳ al-anwār* of Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣag̲h̲ānī; then comes the *Kanz al-ʿummāl* of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī Muttaḳī (d. 975/1567) in which Suyūṭī's *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-D̲j̲awāmiʿ* has been more scientifically rearranged. According to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī: "The whole world of learning is indebted to ʿAllāma Suyūṭī, but Suyūṭī himself is under obligation to S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī Muttaḳī". The systematic study of *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature in India was initiated by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddit̲h̲ of Delhi and was developed by S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh. S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh's main emphasis was on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Imām Mālik because it fitted in with his juridico-theological thought and was of great value in deciding matters relating to the *fiḳh*. Consequently he rearranged the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* according to the order of chapters given in the books of *fiḳh*.

Apart from *ḥadīt̲h̲*, Indian Islam produced two very important works on the life of the Prophet—the *Madārid̲j̲ al-nubuwwa* (Persian, 2 vols., Delhi 1269) of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddit̲h̲ and the *Sīrat al-Nabī* (Urdu, 6 vols., Aʿẓamgarh 1918-39), by S̲h̲iblī and Sulaymān Nadawī.

Besides a large number of commentaries on different classics on *fiḳh*, like the *Hidāya*, *Talwīḥ*, *Ḥusāmī*, *Manār*, etc., Indian scholars produced independent works on *fiḳh*, like *Fatāwā-i Tātār K̲h̲āniyya* (MSS, Zubayd Aḥmad 269) by Mawlānā ʿAlīm b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn during the reign of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh Tug̲h̲luḳ (752-90/1351-88) and the *Fatāwā-i ʿĀlamgīrī* [*q.v.*], by a board of scholars under the personal supervision of the Emperor Awrangzīb (1027-1118/1618-1707). If the *fatāwā* collections made in India throughout the centuries were properly edited and their contents analysed, the religious aspirations of the Indian Muslims throughout the ages could be more specifically studied. While the law books seem to ignore completely the specific problems of Muslims in the Indian environment, the *fatāwā* collections throw considerable light on this aspect. On *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the *Musallam al-t̲h̲ubūt* of Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī (d. 1119/1707) is a work of great merit.

Probably on no other aspect of Muslim religious life was more literature produced in India than on mysticism. The *malfūẓ* literature (collections of conversations of mystic teachers)—*e.g.*, *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, *K̲h̲ayr al-mad̲j̲ālis*, *Maʿādin al-maʿānī*, *Sirād̲j̲ al-hidāya*, *Laṭāʾif-i Ḳuddūsī*, *Durr al-maʿārif*, *Anwār al-Raḥmān*—is a mine of information on the religious life and attitudes of the Muslim community as shaped in the Indian milieu. The earliest Persian work on Islamic mysticism, *Kas̲h̲f al-mahd̲j̲ūb* of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī Hud̲j̲wīrī, was produced in India, and the place it enjoyed in religious thought may be judged from the remark of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ that for one who had no *pīr*, the *Kas̲h̲f al-mahd̲j̲ūb* was sufficient guidance. The letters of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Sirhindī, known as *Maktūbāt-i Imām Rabbānī*, have a place of their own in the Muslim mystic literature of the world. The S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ gave a new depth and a new content to mystic terms, which he explained and elucidated in the light of his own spiritual experience. The fact that these letters were translated into Turkish and Arabic shows the reception they had in the Muslim world. On the theoretical aspects of mysticism, works like the *Ṭawāliʿ al-s̲h̲umūs* of Ḳāḍī Ḥamīd Nāgawrī, the *Asmāʾ al-asrār* of Gīsū Darāz, the *Maʿrifat al-nafs* of ʿAbd al-Awwal and the *ʿIlm al-Kitāb* of Mīr Dard, have a value of their own.

In the sphere of scholastic theology the *Ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲at Allāh al-bālig̲h̲a* of S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh of Delhi may be considered one of the most original contributions of Indian Islam to Muslim religious thought. Its impact may be traced in the works of D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Afg̲h̲ānī, Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā. In this work he made a serious attempt to rethink the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past. "Perhaps the first Muslim", remarks Dr. Iḳbāl, "who felt the urge of a new spirit in him was S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh of Delhi" (*Reconstruction of religious thought in Islam*, 97). His other work, *Izālat al-k̲h̲afāʾ*, is another outstanding contribution to a clear understanding of the significance, historical rôle and religious meaning of the institution of *k̲h̲ilāfa*. He looked upon the patriarchal caliphate as normative and wanted to see its spirit working as an operative principle in the social and political life of the Muslims.

(f) *Influence of Islam on India and vice versa*

Islam made a deep impact on the religious thought and social behaviour of Indians. The development of monotheistic ideas and the consequent re-orientation of Hindū religious thought—as evinced in the Bhaktī, the Sikh and the Arya Samād̲j̲ movements—was greatly inspired by Islam. It is true that monotheistic ideas were present in some Hindū scriptures also, but they were covered by a polytheistic veneer. Islam made possible the transition of Hindū thought from polytheism to monotheism. Another significant change in the religious behaviour of the Hindus brought about by contact with Islam was the belief that every individual could approach God without the help of intermediaries. The saints of the Bhaktī—Kabīr, Nānak, Dādū, Čataniya, Pīpā, Sena etc.—who claimed direct contact with the Ultimate Reality received encouragement from Muslim religious thought and behaviour. The sacred book of the Sikhs, *Gurū Granth*, contains numerous references to Muslim mystics, particularly S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Farīd Gand̲j̲-i S̲h̲akar, which indicates also the source for the infiltration of monotheistic ideas into the Sikh scriptures. Besides, the idea that religious knowledge

and learning should be available to all without any discrimination is the result of Islamic influence. The Hindū social system had refused to the common man any access to religious texts. Islam encouraged the universalization of religious knowledge amongst the Hindus. The emphasis on congregational prayer amongst the Muslims had its effect on the Hindus also. The Hindu temples constructed before the advent of Islam provided space for individual prostration before the deity; while the temples constructed subsequently contain more space and seem to have been influenced by the Muslim idea of congregational prayer. Hinduism, as we know from the account of al-Bīrūnī, was not a proselytizing creed. In fact, it was more inclined to excluding people than to admitting them into its religious fold. From the 8th/14th century onwards we find that Hinduism also adopted proselytizing methods.

Islam was also, in its turn, deeply influenced by Indian surroundings and Indian religious attitudes. Many of the mystic practices—meditation, concentration, control of breath, *taṣawwur-i shaykh* etc. —were borrowed from the Hindū Yogis and the Buddhists. Through his *Baḥr al-ḥayāt* and the *Djawāhir-i khamsa*, Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwāliyār popularized Yogic practices amongst the Muslim mystics. Some of these adjustments to Indian conditions were necessitated by the circumstances in which the saints had to inculcate their mystic doctrines among the masses. For instance, it is stated that Shaykh Farīd permitted some of his disciples to practice *dhikr* in the Pandjābī language (*Kashkūl-i Kalīmī*, Delhi 1308, 25); Shāh Fakhr al-Dīn of Delhi (1126-99/1717-84) said that in India the *khuṭba* before the Friday congregation should be read in "Hindawī" (*Fakhr al-ṭālibīn*, Delhi 1315, 23), and Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz considered Hindī poetry emotionally more effective in his audition parties than Persian poetry (*Djawāmiʿ al-kalim*, 173). At another popular level we find excessive faith in magic, sorcery, miracles, grave-worship, and the superstitious belief that epidemics could be averted through the performance of certain practices inconsistent with Islamic teachings. Since there was always a danger of idolatrous habits entering the religious life of the Muslims, Muslim religious leaders—both the *ʿulamā'* and the *ṣūfīs*—frequently warned the people against adopting such practices. Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz objected to the adoption of Yogic practices and Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī directed his powerful and incisive criticism against all kinds of innovations. The fear underlying this attitude was that the idolatrous background of many Hindu institutions would affect the monotheistic character of Islam. When a Hindu wrote to Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī that *Rāmā* and *Raḥīm* were the same, he objected to it and said that *Rāmā* was a human being and could not therefore be considered identical with the Allāh of Islam. Shāh Walī Allāh and Shāh Ismāʿīl Shahīd fought against the adoption of all those Hindu practices with which idolatrous leanings and ideas were associated. An attempt at synthesis at a higher level of Hindu and Muslim religious thought was made by Dārā Shukōh. As an individual scholar of comparative religion, Dārā Shukōh occupies an unrivalled place in Indian history, but his thought did not make any great impact on the contemporary Muslim religious attitude.

It was in the sphere of social life and customs that the influence of Hinduism on the Indian Muslims was the most far-reaching. Since most of the people were converts from Hinduism, it was not possible for them to break away completely from their social background. In varying degrees and at different levels the Hindu traditions and customs were consequently continued among the Muslims. In certain rural areas, where conversion was not complete, many of the social customs, even some religious practices of Hinduism which had become a part of their social life, were accepted. In ceremonies connected with birth, marriage, mourning etc. the impact of Hindu traditions was quite remarkable. In certain Muslim families of Awadh and the Pandjāb, the Muslim law of inheritance was ignored in preference to the customary law. Though Islam had softened the caste ideas of Hindus, considerations of family and *kafā'a* in matrimonial matters found ready acceptance in Muslim society also. If a survey is made of the forces and factors which have brought Indian Islam closer to Hindu society, it will be found that the pantheistic thought of the Muslim mystics, which found its affinity in the religious thought of the *Upanishads*, has invariably brought Islam and Hinduism closer, while the idolatrous connotations and concepts associated with many Hindu institutions pulled them apart. This was to some extent implicit in the situation. "The *Upanishads*", writes S. Radhakrishnan, "no doubt, shattered the authority of these gods in the world of thought, but did not disturb their sway in the world of practice" (*Indian philosophy*, i, 453). Similar has been the case with reference to Hindu festivals and many of the heroes of ancient India. In the case of many of the festivals, —though based on Indian climatic changes—the Indianising process has forced their acceptance by the Muslims, but their polytheistic religious associations have made them subject to the criticism of the orthodox.

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(K. A. Nizami)

vi. — Islamic Culture.

The transplantation of Islamic culture on the Indian sub-continent began with the incorporation of Sind into the Umayyad Caliphate after 95/713, and came to be represented by such scholars of *ḥadīth* as Abū Maʿshar and Abū Turāb (c. 171/788), and by the poet Abu 'l-ʿAṭāʾ.

Sind became the main channel of Indian studies in the early ʿAbbāsid times, especially through the active interest of Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. The fragmentary renderings of Hindu scientific works touched, however, merely the periphery of the external Arab equipment of learning; their influence on the Arab *lexique technique* was slight; and the movement of translations from Sanskrit, which in any case had completely ignored the total corpus of Hindū scriptural and speculative literature, came to an end as the political grip of the ʿAbbāsids over Sind loosened. The transmission of Hindū mystical ideas into Ṣūfism has been argued for and against, through the controversial Abū ʿAlī al-Sindī [*q.v.*] and al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] who travelled through Sind. Not much evidence of a recognizable form of the culture of Sind under the Ismāʿīlī influence (c. 366/977) has survived.

Parallel to the conquest and occupation of Sind were the peaceful commercial and missionary activities of Arab traders on southern Indian coasts; and theories have been hazarded of the possible inspiration of the Muslim presence on the great Hindū movements led by Shankarāčārya (788-850) and Rāmānudja (d. 1137). These may be discounted in the absence of any direct evidence, and because every element of the teachings of these Hindū thinkers can be traced to purely Hindū sources.

With the occupation of the Pandjāb by the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] (c. 381-582/1001-1186) Lahore as a centre gave Muslim Indian culture the Persian contours it has largely preserved throughout the centuries, continually accepting and modifying certain additional Indian features. The pattern of Ghaznawid culture as it developed on the Ghazna-Lahore axis shows a transition from an Arabic intellectual base (al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*], al-ʿUtbī [*q.v.*]) to Persian (Bayhaḳī, Gardīzī and al-Hudjwīrī) and a shift of emphasis to ṣūfistic and theological studies (Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, d. 450/1058). The Ghaznawid tradition of Persian poetry was cultivated in Lahore by Masʿūd Saʿd Salmān [*q.v.*] (437-515/1046-1121) and Abu 'l-Faradj Rūnī (d. 484/1091). This period also marks the phase of incubation, if not of actual early growth, of Urdū [*q.v.*].

After the Ghūrid conquest of Lahore the cultural scene shifted to Iletmish's Dihlī and Ḳubāča's Mūltān. In these courts literary history established itself with ʿAwfī [*q.v.*] (c. 617/1220), political thought with Fakhr-i Mudabbir, and historiography with al-Djūzdjānī (c. 658/1260) and Ḥasan Niẓāmī (c. 614/1217) who, with their successors, form the chief link in Persian between the early Ghaznawid and the Il-Khānid historians. About this time two major Ṣūfī orders established themselves in India, the Suhra-

wardiyya in Multān and the Čis̲h̲tiyya [*q.v.*] in Dihlī/Ad̲j̲mēr. A balance was maintained by Iletmis̲h̲ between the s̲h̲arīʿa and the ṭarīḳa, inaugurating a tradition of the tolerant co-existence of the two religious disciplines which Islamic culture in India subsequently tried quite successfully to preserve. Refugees fleeing before the Mongol onslaught brought to India fresh waves of Islamic traditions from Central Asia and northern Persia, emphasizing conservative trends in an atmosphere of external (Mongol) threat and internal (Hindū) challenge. The institution of the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] was introduced under the 'Slave' sultans, and works of al-G̲h̲azālī [*q.v.*] and al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] were translated into Persian.

The *élite* of the court, at first purely Turkish, opened its ranks under various pressures to Afg̲h̲ān and later to indigenous converted elements. Under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī (695-715/1295-1315) external religious conformity was enforced on the Muslim population, whereas the writings of Amīr K̲h̲usraw [*q.v.*] reflect the borrowings into Islamic culture from Hindū ways of living, popular vocabulary and music. Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ's (725-52/1325-51) policies of re-establishing political and intellectual links with the Dār al-Islām, his patronage and employment of a foreign Muslim *élite* and his early proclivities towards rationalism and eclecticism paved the way in the growing Indo-Muslim culture for certain intellectual trends such as Ibn Taymiyya's [*q.v.*] fundamentalism imported during this period by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ardabīlī, pre-Taftāzānī rationalism, and an intellectual curiosity relating to certain elements of the Hindū complex of religions such as D̲j̲aynism and *yōga*, emphasizing in general a movement towards exoteric and political rather than esoteric and mystical Islam. Enigmatic intellectualism, imported from Central Asia by Badr Čāč, became the fashion in Persian poetry. In the reign of Fīrūz Tug̲h̲luḳ (752-90/1351-88) [*q.v.*] the state became a traditionalist theocracy, providing certain social welfare elements for the Muslims, and abolition of torture and cruel punishments for all elements of the population. His reign saw the establishment of the disciplines of *fiḳh* and lexicography in India, but painting and even poetry were discouraged.

The complete Persianization of the administration by Sikandar Lōdī (849-923/1488-1517) introduced the Hindū official into the intellectual sphere of Islam, and this in due course of time led to the specific cultural development of certain communities like the Kāyasthas, the Khatrīs, the Kās̲h̲mīrī Brāhmans and the ʿĀmils of Sind, who retained their Hindū religion but identified themselves culturally with the Muslims.

The successor states of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] mark a regionalization of Muslim culture in India. In Bengal a number of Hindū social and religious institutions were integrated into the Muslim way of life, and the Bengali language and literature show a simultaneous series of borrowings from Sanskrit and Persian sources. In the Dakhan (Deccan) a regional form of Urdū was developed into a rich literary language. The maritime states of Gud̲j̲arāt and the Dakhan balanced Hindū cultural borrowings with fresh re-orientations from the external Dār al-Islām.

During the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries Ṣūfī proselytization achieved mass appeal, and Hindū resistance to it developed in the form of various *bhakti* movements, borrowing from Islam its emphasis on the Unity of God and its egalitarianism, but fortifying, against its spiritual, economic and social pull, a reformed and latitudinarian Hindūism among the lower castes. The *bhakti* movements in their attitudes, receptive and resistant, towards Islam ranged from the syncretism of Kabīr and Dādū Dayāl to the counter-conversionist trends of Čaytanya.

Tīmūrid cultural elements from Samarḳand and Harāt were introduced into India after Bābur's [*q.v.*] conquest (932/1526). For a short while the Turkish language assumed at court the position of literary supremacy, only to be finally displaced by Persian during the Sūrī interregnum (946-62/1539-55) and after Humāyūn's [*q.v.*] return from Persia which also marks in India the establishment of the Mug̲h̲al school of painting [see TAṢWĪR].

Akbar's [*q.v.*] (963-1014/1556-1605) policies of integrating the Hindūs into the political and social life of Muslim India influenced the attitude of the Muslims in the direction of eclecticism. These policies also evoked an orthodox reaction represented by theologians like ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, who re-introduced in India an emphasis on the study of *ḥadīth*, and Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya Ṣūfīs like S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] who brought Indian Ṣūfism very close to orthodoxy. The programme initiated by Akbar, and earlier by Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn of Kas̲h̲mīr (822-75/1420-76) of translations of Hindū religious and literary classics marked the beginning of a more liberal understanding of Hindūism. Co-existent with these internal eclectic features was the constantly flowing cultural stream from Persia and Transoxiana bringing an administrative *élite* which developed into the Īrānī and Tūrānī factions in the Mug̲h̲al court, rationalist trends, artists and architects, and chiefly poets. During the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries India rather than Persia was the focus of Persian poetry, and the 'Indian Style' (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]) assumed its highly intellectualized and curiously stylized features in the tradition of Fig̲h̲ānī S̲h̲īrāzī.

Akbar's eclectic tradition remained the cultural denominator of the reigns of his successors D̲j̲ahāngīr [*q.v.*] and S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān [*q.v.*] with a slight focal adjustment in favour of orthodoxy. The 11th/17th century marks the culmination of the growth of syncretic sects, some of them rooted in Hindūism but borrowing liberally from Islam such as the Kabīr Panthīs, Vayrāgīs, Lingāyats, Ḥusaynī Brāhmans, etc., others rooted in Islam with converse borrowings such as Madārīs, Pāgalnāthīs and others, others again developing into independent religions like Sikhism which has a strong anti-Muslim bias. The conflict of the eclectic and orthodox trends of Mug̲h̲al culture is to some extent reflected in the essentially personal trial of strength between Dārā S̲h̲ukōh [*q.v.*] and Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] resulting in the latter's victory (1069/1695) and the establishment of a theocratic régime, discriminatory against the non-Muslim elements, and in the compilation of the encyclopaedic juridical work *Fatāwā-i ʿĀlamgīrī*.

In the political and economic anarchy that followed the rapid decline of the Mug̲h̲al empire in the early 12th/18th century mass syncretization followed, borrowing extensively from Hindū institutions. The leadership of the Muslim community for the first time passed on to the *ʿulamāʾ*, especially S̲h̲āh Walī-Allāh [see AL-DIHLAWĪ, S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh], his successors, and his militant followers of the early nineteenth century, the *Mud̲j̲āhidīn*. Parallel movements in Bengal, aimed at clearing Indian Islam from borrowed accretions, show Wahhābī influences. The Muslim *élite* of Dihlī and Lakhnaʾū

(Lucknow), decadent and economically bankrupt, developed a new creative impetus by using Urdū instead of Persian as the language of poetry. Like the Persian poetry written in India, Urdū poetry, except in *mathnawīs*, tended to ignore the Indian life and background totally in theme and image alike. The aftermath of the Mutiny of 1857 marks the sharp turning point of Indo-Muslim culture towards modernism represented mainly by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and the ʿAlīgarh movement. Cultural trends inclined towards separatism and were dominated by a fear of cultural and possibly religious submergence of Indian Islam into the religion and culture of the Hindū majority. This fear of submergence is reflected in the Urdū-Hindī controversy (c. 1870 onwards), revivalism, pan-Islamism and finally in the movement for the achievement of a separate state, Pākistān [*q.v.*]. The official cultural orientation in Pākistān has been to play down the glories of Muslim architecture and literature in the areas outside the present frontiers of Pākistān, and to substitute instead a new concept of cultural heritage derived from regional literatures and local monuments situated within the geographical limits of Pākistān.

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vii.—ARCHITECTURE

At the time of the Muslim conquest, India was a land with a rich artistic tradition: temples and monasteries abounded, Hindū shrines of all descriptions and sizes were found by almost every hillside and spring, cities were rich and well-planned, Hindū rulers had built for themselves forts and palaces, and the remains of earlier phases of Indian civilization —such as the Hindū, Buddhist and Djayn cave-temples, and the Buddhist *stūpas* and monasteries— were numerous. Architecture was characteristically of stone, its construction derived from timber prototypes: beams and lintels were supported on columns or brackets, and roofs tended to a stepped pyramidal shape, through having been built in diminishing horizontal courses. Domical shapes were known, often carried on octagonal bases, but were often solid and in any case had little structural affinity with the true voussoir-built dome. The northern temples usually had curvilinear towers, again often solid; these, and some of the domical forms, had a characteristic crowning feature which later became part of the Indian Islamic dome decoration, a ribbed ring known as *āmalaka* (from the fruit it resembles, the Emblic Myrobalan, *Phyllanthus emblica*) surmounted by a pot-shaped moulding, the *kalaśa* (lit. 'water-jar'); to these a base of stone foliations in the form of lotus-petals might be added. The entire ornamental feature was on occasions supported by ribs on the curvilinear towers, and it has been suggested that at least part of the origin of ribbed domes in India is to be found in this device. The arch is not known at all as a structure, and only rarely as a decorative form; but recesses used freely on both internal and external walls lead to a proliferation of vertical lines and to unnecessary horizontal plinths and mouldings. Window-openings were rare: the interior of the Hindū temple was poorly lighted, its kernel being the secret shrine of an idol god whose mysteries were known only to a few initiated priests and were not for public display. The exterior, however, was as luxuriant and prolix as the interior was esoteric and recondite, for all its surfaces were covered with a profusion of exuberant sculpture of iconographic significance, in which the human form preponderated. Free-standing statuary was also known, with the human form again dominant; but frequent also were the vehicles and attendants of the Hindū gods, especially Shiva's bull, and also the *linga*, the representation of the phallus as the generative principle of the world. The Indian painting tradition must also be mentioned as part of the artistic heritage; but there is as yet insufficient evidence for an unbroken tradition of Indian painting from the

Adjanṭā frescoes to the period of the pre-Mughal hill schools. Of the other arts, metalwork, especially cast bronze, had reached a high degree of refinement at the time of the conquest; coins were heavy and fairly crude, but certainly some of the northern coin-designs were appropriated by the early Muslim rulers [see further SIKKA]; and there were fully developed indigenous arts of music (see viii, below) and dance (implicit in much of the sculptural evidence), which do not concern us here.

There is as yet insufficient archaeological evidence of the first Islamic buildings on Indian soil which must have been produced by the conquest of Sind in the 2nd/8th century, although excavation at present being undertaken at Bhambōr and elsewhere may eventually reveal the site of Daybul [*q.v.*]; for a further account of these see SINDH, and see also MANṢŪRA. The buildings after the 6th/12th century conquest of the north, however, show the Muslims' reaction to indigenous building very plainly; for the traditions of the idol-temples, with their plethora of florid figure representation, their gloom and secrecy, and above all the nature of the worship they implied, were not only anathema to Islam but were its direct antithesis. The earliest phase of Muslim building is in Delhi [see DIHLĪ], and is here represented by the re-use of pillaged material from Hindū and Djayn temples; destruction of the religious buildings of the enemy is known, of course, in many religions other than Islam, and indeed in India there is more than one record of a Hindū king doing just this to his neighbour's lands. Reutilization of the pillaged material is a feature of the initial phase of Muslim occupation in many regions of India, for example, at Adjmēr and Djālor [*qq.v.*] in Rādjāsthān; Bharōč, Khambāyat and Pāṭan [*qq.v.*] in Gudjarāt; Djawnpur [*q.v.*]; Bīdjāpur, Dawlatābād and Warangal [*qq.v.*] in the Deccan; Lakhnawtī, Pānḍuā and Tribēnī [*qq.v.*] in Bengal; Dhār and Māndū [*qq.v.*] in Mālwā; and many other sites. The first example, the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām at Dihlī ([*q.v.*] for description and plan), is in fact built on a temple plinth, and some twenty-seven temples were pillaged to provide columns, walls, roofing materials, and paving; sculptured figures were mutilated or were so set in walls that the unworked sides of the stones were all that could be seen. This mosque was at first a plain enclosure, but in 595/1199, eight years after its foundation, a large *maḳṣūra* screen was erected between the western *liwān* and the courtyard, and the arch appears for the first time: but these arches are corbelled out, not voussoired, and it appears that the work was done by Hindū artisans working under general Muslim direction and as yet having no mastery over the alien architectonic forms; moreover, the courtyard side of the *maḳṣūra* is covered with carving, mostly typical Hindū floral motifs and ornaments, but also some bandeaux of *naskh* calligraphy, in such a way as to suggest that local workmanship was being employed. In the south-east corner of the mosque buildings the minaret known as the Ḳuṭb Mīnār presents a stylistic contrast, as its tapering fluted storeys develop the polygonal outline of the *mīnār*s at Ghazna which must be its immediate prototype, and features of typically Hindū derivation are almost entirely absent.

The extension of the Ḳuwwat al-Islām mosque and the first completion of the *mīnār* were carried out by Iletmish in the early 7th/13th century, and to his reign belong the Aṛhā'ī din kā djhōmpṛā mosque at Adjmēr [*q.v.*], his own tomb of *ca.* 632/1235, and his son's tomb of 629/1231, the earliest monumental tomb in India (there are earlier dated tombstones: see HĀNSĪ); also minor buildings at Dihlī and Badā'ūn ([*q.v.*]; the Djāmiʿ Masdjid has been so much repaired and rebuilt that scarcely any of Iletmish's fabric is visible), at Bayānā, and at Nāgawr [*q.v.*]. In none of these buildings is there a true arch or dome, although all the masonry has well-dressed surfaces, often elaborately carved. The tomb of Iletmish's son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, stands within an octagonal cell which seems to be the earliest use of the octagon in Muslim India; it appears next as the phase of transition in Iletmish's own square tomb, to support, presumably, a dome of which there is now no trace (and which, one must imagine, was also corbelled and not voussoired). In the latter tomb the octagon is formed by simple corbelled squinch arches across each corner. These early buildings are of so heterogeneous and, often, of so makeshift a nature that there is little of a coherent style about them. The buildings of the emperor Balban, similarly, are few and largely uninteresting, except for the significant appearance of the true voussoired arch in his tomb, now a mere unprepossessing lump of decaying masonry.

With the Khaldjī dynasty, however, a distinct if short-lived style appears, the keynote of which is provided by ʿAlā' al-Dīn's southern doorway into the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām complex and known as the ʿAlā'ī Darwāza. This, like other examples of the style, is built with specially quarried stone and not improvised from Hindū materials; its chief characteristic is the shape of the arch, which is voussoired and of the pointed horseshoe shape and, in the case of external arches, has on the intrados a fringe of conventionalized stone spear-heads. The masonry is well finished and jointed, decoration in the form of bandeaux of calligraphy and a running merlon-like ornament being now more prominent than the diaper and rosette patterns in basso-relievo with which the earlier builders were wont to cover entire walls. At the ʿAlā'ī Darwāza, but not in the other examples of Khaldjī work, the entire surfaces are so treated, and in addition show the use of white marble bandeaux of inscriptions, pilasters and architraves. Works of similar style exist at Dihlī (the so-called Djamāʿat-khāna mosque at the shrine of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā') and Bayānā, near Agra; but other buildings of the Khaldjī period are found as far afield as Djālōr [*q.v.*] in Rādjāsthān, at Bharoč, Khambāyat, Pāṭan and Siddhpur [*qq.v.*] in Gudjarāt, at Bhīlsā in Mālwā, in Dawlatābād in the northern Deccan, and elsewhere, many of these incorporating much pillaged temple material but showing also many of the characteristics mentioned above, and most significant in pointing out the expansion of this early Sultanate style.

Under the Tughluḳ dynasty the Dihlī empire was greatly extended, and with the expansion came the spread of the Dihlī style to all parts of that empire. Of the works of the first ruler, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ, there are insufficient remains to show how early the Tughluḳian traits developed: besides the ruins of his capital city, Tughluḳābād, only his own tomb. But a major work for which he was responsible before his accession to the Dihlī throne is the mausoleum of the saint Rukn-i ʿĀlam at Mūltān [*q.v.*], originally intended as his own tomb. Some features of this, especially the batter of the walls and the sloping corner turrets, are reflected in the walls of Tughluḳābād and in the strong batter of Tughluḳ's tomb; and perhaps the profile of the dome also is closer

to the pointed Mūltān model than to the shallow domes of the ʿAlāʾī Darwāza and the Djamāʿat Khāna of the preceding dynasty. The characteristic Mūltānī features of raised tile-work and wooden structural courses, described below when the Pandjāb style is considered, are however absent in the extant Dihlī examples; nor is the octagonal shape retained. Tughluḳ's son Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] shortly after his accession conceived the grandiose idea of forming a second capital at Dawlatābād [*q.v.*] and transporting there the élite population of Dihlī, and the necessary services. The old Hindū fort, the former Dewgiri, at the new capital was much extended, and it seems likely that the Khaldjī mosque there was modified at this time since its rear wall has tapering angle turrets, although its interior arrangements seem undisturbed. Muḥammad's occupation of Dawlatābād was only for about five years, after which he returned to Dihlī, where most of his building projects were carried out. His administration seems to have impoverished the royal treasury, and the fine stone-work of earlier reigns almost disappears and is replaced by cheaper material, plaster over a rubble core; but, from the sudden appearance in the 8th/14th century of buildings in the Deccan which are obviously close to the earlier Dihlī styles, it is to be supposed that many of the artisans taken to Dawlatābād drifted away from that centre and formed other allegiances: certainly the earliest Bahmanī tombs at Gulbargā (see further below) would support this view. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's royal palaces at Dihlī, the Bidjay Manḍal and the Hazār Sutūn, are now in too ruined a state to permit of certain conclusions as to architectural style; the majority of the remains of his period in Dihlī are in fact more commonplace works: the fort walls of ʿĀdilābād and Djahānpanāh, and the interesting sluice or water-regulator called Sāt pulā. The only significant innovation is to be found in the Bidjay Manḍal remains: the earliest Indian example of intersecting vaulting. Some ceramic fragments are known from the ʿĀdilābād excavations.

Under Muḥammad's nephew Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ the building art received an enthusiastic patron. Not only did he build extensively on his own account, but he arranged for the renovation or restoration of many of the monuments of his predecessors. But a strict economy had now to be practised, and plans and costings for each projected undertaking came first under the scrutiny of the *Dīwān-i wizāra*. Red sandstone and marble were no longer used, and in Dihlī the favourite materials were the local quartzite for columns, jambs, arches and reveals, with the other elements built of compact plaster, usually whitewashed, over a random rubble core. Ornament is generally reduced to a minimum, and where it exists it is more usually of moulded plaster than of carved stone. The sombre and ascetic effect of this architecture produced under conditions of financial stringency is in marked contrast to the exuberance of plastic ornament of the preceding régimes, and was certainly foreign to the instincts of the traditional Indian craftsman. But aspects of the Hindū tradition are certainly found in buildings of this phase, exemplified in the use of beam-and-bracket construction for many of the openings—a main doorway tends to show a large arched opening in which a smaller opening of lintel-and-bracket construction is recessed; but this device is met with earlier in Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ's tomb—and in the use of sloping eaves (*čhadjdjā*) supported on corbels, which now appears for the first time. An innovation which seems to be of extra-Indian provenance, however, is the machicolation which now appears in fortified works [see BURDJ, iii]. There seems also to have been some experiment in the planning of mosques: the courtyards of the Sandjar mosque at Nizamuddin and the mosque at Khiṙkī village are both partially covered. Several mosques are now built on a high plinth over a *tahkhāna* storey and are approached by flights of steps, and a frequent device is the flanking of a gateway or a *miḥrāb* buttress by a pair of tapering pillars; roofs now begin to show a multiplication of domes, and domed corner turrets appear in many works (those in Sulṭān Ghārī, the tomb of Iletmish's son, are most probably to be attributed to Fīrūz Tughluḳ's renovations). One innovation, in the mosque of Begampur, is a feature of many later styles and was probably introduced from the region of Djawnpur after Fīrūz's conquest of that region: the central bay of the façade of the western *līwān* is occupied by a tall arched pylon which completely conceals the large central dome from the courtyard. Most of the tombs of the period are of the square type, including Fīrūz's own, but of great architectural significance is that of his *wazīr* Khān-i Djahān Tilingānī, d. 770/1368-9, which is octagonal; the tomb-chamber is surrounded by a veranda with a shallow dome-like cupola and three arched openings on each of the eight sides, continuous eaves, and a single central dome crowned by the *āmalaka* motif. The tomb is surrounded with a fortified enclosure. Other buildings of Fīrūz Tughluḳ are known from Djawnpur [*q.v.*], Fatḥābād, where a pillar in the fort records Fīrūz's lineage [see KHAṬṬ, KITĀBĀT], and Ḥiṣār Fīrūza [*q.v.*]; many of these, reflecting a stage of new conquest or refoundation, are improvisations from Hindū material, but show in addition some regional trends not apparent in the buildings of the capital: thus the now destroyed Čihil Sutūn at Djawnpur ([*q.v.*] for illustration) was entirely trabeate, was roofed on its upper storey with a curvilinear ribbed pyramid, and was decorated with stone stringcourses, parapets and plinth. Two buildings of the end of the Tughluḳ period show perhaps a reaction to the Fīrūzian austerity: the tomb of Kabīr al-Dīn Awliyāʾ at Dihlī, a poor and half-scale copy of the tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ, showing a revival of polychromatic work in red sandstone and white marble, and the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Irič [*q.v.*], entirely arcuate with some good stonework, and exhibiting in its façade arches and squinches a recession of planes, a familiar device under succeeding dynasties.

The sack of Dihlī by Tīmūr in 801/1398-9 left the sultanate with little resources and less prestige, and for many years the building art in the region of the capital is represented almost entirely by tombs. The tombs of the so-called "Sayyid" rulers are octagonal, continuing the tradition of the Tilingānī tomb with structural improvements, especially in raising the springing of the dome by a tall drum; and the shallow domes over the octagonal arcade have been replaced by small pillared kiosks (*čhatrīs*, lit. 'umbrellas')—the beginnings of a feature which later is to characterize the architecture of many schools, including the Mughal; and the batter of the outer walls is retained. The Lodī monuments show the gradual rehabilitation of the building art, although indeed most of these also are tombs. There is a series of monumental tombs, mostly anonymous, in the plain to the south of Dihlī, all of a square type not previously known in the north, since all their upright lines are truly vertical and there is no

batter. The area of their ground-plans is less than that of the octagonal tombs, but their height is greater; and their side walls are often broken up to the eye by dividing each façade with deep string-courses with sunk blind arches above and below to give the impression of two or three storeys, although the interior is a single square cell; frequently a central bay of each side is extended upwards to enclose a main arch of nearly the whole height of the wall, the actual doorway being set in this arch with a lintel-and-bracket; and the west wall is usually closed to accommodate a *miḥrāb*. But Lōdī tombs also exist in the octagonal style, including—apart from numerous octagonal pillared pavilions—the fine tomb of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam, the largest of the series, at Tidjārā, and the tomb of Sikandar, *ca.* 924/1518, at the Dihlī suburb of Khayrpur. The latter perhaps represents the link between the former habit of placing tombs in a fortified enclosure, of which the Tilingānī tomb is the last extant example, and the Mughal practice of surrounding the mausoleum by a garden; for this tomb stands in a large walled enclosure with decorative corner turrets and an ornamental doorway. Part of the west wall is built upwards and buttressed to form an additional external *miḥrāb*, and is presumably a *ḳānātī* mosque; the feature is known in other tombs of this period. Here, as in some of the square tombs, part of the external surface is embellished with glazed tiles, mostly blues and greens; and the dome, as in the earlier tomb of Shihāb al-Dīn Tādj Khān, *ca.* 906/1501, has an inner and outer shell. Two mosques of the period are particularly significant in the development of a style which persists until well into the Mughal period; the mosque of Abū Amdjad at Khayrpur, of 899/1494, has massive tapering pillars at each rear angle, and also flanking the buttress of the *miḥrāb*, each with a band of vertical fluting alternately angled and rounded as in the lowest storey of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār, the central bay of the façade projected outwards and upwards, a succession of receding architraves and soffits in each arched opening, and incidentally the finest cut-plaster decoration in Dihlī (Goetz, *op. cit.* below, considers it second only to that of the Alhambra palace at Granada). The other mosque approaches more nearly the type of the early Mughal and Sūrī periods; this is the Mōṭh kī masdjid of *ca.* 911/1505, where the tapering buttresses are confined to a position flanking the *miḥrāb* projection on the west wall, and the rear angles are furnished with two-storeyed open octagonal towers. The pylon-like frame of the central arch, and the recession of planes in the arch outlines, are similar to those of the Khayrpur mosque; but as well as fine cut-plaster the decoration includes coloured tilework and the contrasting use of red sandstone and white marble. The interior is also remarkable for the stalactite pendentives which support the side domes (the main dome is carried on squinch arches). This mosque design is continued in the Djamālī mosque of 943/1536—thus in the reign of Humāyūn; but this is the date of completion—where the stonework is of very high quality; the central archway of the façade of the west *līwān* is very much taller, so that its arch reaches above the parapet level of the side aisles, and the fluted buttresses appear flanking this pylon on the courtyard side; and the intrados of that arch is decorated with the spearhead fringe. Beside the mosque is the tomb of Djamālī [*q.v.*], externally unpretentious but still containing the finest coloured decoration in the whole of Dihlī. The Djamālī mosque is the immediate model for the mosque built by Shēr Shāh Sūrī in the citadel of his new city of Dihlī, where every feature is elaborated and refined, and polychromatic faience takes its place in the external ornament. Outside Dihlī there is a small amount of Lōdī work, much of it still inadequately studied, especially of the time of Sikandar Lōdī, who made Āgrā [*q.v.*] his capital; especially noteworthy is the large mausoleum called Čawrāsī Gumbad at Kalpī [*q.v.*]. One mausoleum at Dihlī, that of ʿĪsā Khān Niyāzī, shows the persistence of the octagonal variety of tomb well into the Sūrī period (954/1547-8), its construction being almost identical to that of Muḥammad Shāh erected over a hundred years before; but here there are more traces of encaustic tile decoration, and a large separate mosque stands on the western wall of the outer enclosure, its central dome flanked by two *čhatrīs* over the side bays. This octagonal style goes further: in Dihlī it peters out in the tomb of Adham Khān, but receives its supreme developments in the Sūrī monuments at Sahsārām in Bihār [see further below].

The regional styles of Indian Muslim building.

At least a dozen major regional styles may be distinguished before the expansion of the Mughal empire brings about a certain degree of unification throughout the sub-continent; and many of these styles must be further sub-divided. A variety of factors is responsible for this diversity: for example, brickwork predominates in the Pandjāb and Bengal styles, where there is little building stone obtainable locally; in Gudjarāt, where the local stonemasons had shortly before the Muslim conquest been producing exquisitely carved temples for the Djayns, Muslim art retains the tradition of elaborate stonework; in Bīdar and Dawlatābād the presence of foreign craftsmen has produced a few buildings in a pure Persian tradition; and so on. These new styles for the most part develop after independence from a central authority has been achieved by the regions to which they belong, although in some cases, as at Gulbargā, the Dihlī traditions have persisted for some time.

i. — The Pandjāb. — Lahore was a dependency of the Ghaznawids and the Ghūrids long before the conquest of Dihlī. No monuments of this early period have survived, although some pieces of woodcarving from doorways in the city, now in the Lahore museum, retain features derived, through the Ghazna tradition, from Saldjūḳ ornament. The earliest extant monuments are in Mūltān and Uččh [*qq.v.*], a series of tombs of local saints. The earliest, that of Shāh Yūsuf Gardīzī, of 547/1152, is a solid oblong building covered with blue-and-white tiles to form a plane external surface; but the later buildings are all tall domed buildings, from the tomb of Bahāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ, d. 660/1262, a square battered base surmounted by an octagonal drum and the earliest true dome in the sub-continent, to the magnificent mausoleum of Rukn-i ʿĀlam, which Marshall (*op. cit.*, below) describes as "one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in honour of the dead"; this resembles the previous examples in being built of baked brick but with some structural bonding courses of wood in addition, with a lofty second storey which forms an octagonal drum, with a hemispherical dome, and with pinnacles at each external angle, but differs from them in its lowest storey which is also an octagon, with battering faces and engaged tapering buttresses terminating in pinnacles at each outer angle. The external decoration

is worked out in stringcourses of tile-faced brick and bands of raised diaper pattern, bands of calligraphy in carved brick, and the typical Mūltān tilework (known also at Uččh but nowhere else) wherein the main geometrical patterns are raised as much as 2 cm. above the tile background; this adds greatly to the richness of the tilework by adding depth and a constant effect of light and shade where the sheen of a plane surface would have become dulled by the dust which pervades Mūltān in the summer. The interior decoration includes fine wood-carving in *shīsham* wood, with the six-pointed star (a common Ghaznawid motif, but otherwise rare in India until early Mughal times) in the spandrels of the wooden *miḥrāb* and scrolls of arabesque ornament similar to that of the *maḳṣūra* of the Ḳuwwat al-Islām mosque at Dihlī.

ii. — Bengal. — Stone in the Bengal provinces is almost confined to the black basalt of the Rādjmaḥall [*q.v.*] hills in the Māldā district; but the fine alluvial clay is freely available, the material for the characteristic Bengali bricks and terracottas. The earliest buildings, at Tribeni [*q.v.*] and Čhōṭā Pānḍuā [see PĀNḌUĀ, Čhoṭa] are mostly adaptations of pillaged Hindū temple material, using pillars built of large stones without mortar, and shallow corbelled domes; the tomb of Ẓafar Khān Ghāzī, of 698/1298, shows an early use of the arch, and *miḥrāb*s in finely moulded terracotta. The greatest of the early buildings, after the independence of Bengal, is the large Ādīna mosque at Ḥaḍrat Pānḍuā [see PĀNḌUĀ], of 776/1375, in which again use was made of Hindū materials, although it appears that some of the stonework was original work executed by Hindū craftsmen in Muslim employment; it is enclosed by a multiple arcade which carried nearly 400 small domes, and has a large central *aywān*-like hall in the western *līwān*, with an elaborate stone *miḥrāb* and *minbar*, of which the roof has fallen; the stonework is mostly a thin ashlar veneer over a brick core. In a somewhat later phase, represented by the Ēklākhī mausoleum at Pānḍuā, the other characteristics of the Bengal style make their first appearance, notably a curve on each cornice of the square tomb-chamber which derives from a local method of constructing huts with bamboo rafters, octagonal corner butt-resses, and ornament in terracotta and glazed tile; here the interior of the enormously thick chamber is an octagonal room which directly supports the single hemispherical dome. Some similar buildings were erected at Gawṛ [see LAKHNAWTĪ] after the 9th/15th century under the later Ilyās Shāhī and the Ḥusayn Shāhī rulers; the decorations became especially lavish, some domes being gilded; besides the square buildings with a curved cornice on each side appears the oblong pitched-roof building with the curved cornice on the long sides and gables at the short sides—a type later taken to northern India at the time of Shāhdjahān. Some buildings of the mid 9th/15th century at Bāgerhāṭ, built by one Khān Djahān, a renegade from the Dihlī court, show corner turrets and lintel-and-bracket doors set within pointed arches very similar to those of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlūḳ's buildings in Dihlī of a century earlier (see above), although retaining the local curved cornice. Many of these local features persist in the Bengali architecture of the Mughal period.

iii. — Djawnpur sultanate. — The early buildings of Djawnpur and its suburb Ẓafarābād are adaptations of the time of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, who laid the foundations of a large mosque on the site of a temple to Aṭalā Devī. This was completed, however, under the Sharḳī kings, with four other mosques of similar style—all the other buildings of this once magnificent city were destroyed by Sikandar Lōdī. Again, Hindū remains were freely utilized in the construction; but the building is in coursed stone, with no plaster facing as in Dihlī, and there is an abundance of stone carving of high skill. The special characteristic of the Djawnpur mosques is the immense pylon which fills the central bay of the western *līwān*, completely concealing the large dome behind it (see illustration s.v. DJAWNPUR), in some cases three times as high as the other bays of the *līwān*. The trabeate construction is used freely within the prayer-halls and in the side arcades, although the *līwān* façades are arcuate, and are freely ornamented with recessed arches which are either blind or carry thick window grilles; and the intrados of the arch is usually decorated with the spearhead fringe. All these mosques are well finished externally, especially the *miḥrāb* walls, and the tapered buttress, so familiar in the Dihlī sultanate buildings, is used freely at the external angles. Similar mosque styles are to be found at Banāras, Iṭāwā, and Kannawdj [*qq.v.*].

iv. — Gudjarāt. — The very rich stone-building tradition of the Hindū and Djayn craftsmen was appropriated by the Gudjarāt Muslims, and made Gudjarāt at once the richest and the most distinctive of the regions in architecture. The artisans appear to have been less bound here than were their fellows in other regions to the whims of individual rulers or to rigid prescriptions by punctilious *ʿulamāʾ*, and indeed it often appears that the requirements of Islamic building rather emancipated them from the dogma of the schools of temple architecture, for of all the styles of Indian Islamic building that of Gudjarāt is the most Indian, and its purely local characteristics are obvious, even in the earliest stages where pillaged temple material was being used under the orders of governors of the Dihlī Khaldjīs. The earliest surviving Muslim building, the tomb of Shaykh Farīd at Pāṭan [*q.v.*] of *ca.* 700/1300, is merely a converted temple, and very little more organization appears in the Ādīna mosque there, of the same time, where over a thousand rich temple pillars are assembled to a mosque plan (the building has now fallen almost entirely). In Bharōč [*q.v.*] only a little later the Djāmiʿ Masdjid is a planned construction and not a mere improvisation, for the outer walls are obviously constructed of stone cut for the purpose; but the western *līwān* is of three bays which appear to be three temple *manḍapa*s used unaltered except for the obliteration of figure iconography in the ornament. The arch is not used, so that the *līwān* has an open pillared façade with no *maḳṣūra*-screen—a mosque-type more frequent in Gudjarāt than in other regions. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Khambāyat (Cambay), however, of 725/1325, does have an arched wall closing the *līwān*. The walls of this mosque, of alternate deep and shallow courses, are uncharacteristic of Gudjarāt and recall the Khaldjī workmanship of Dihlī. A feature appearing here for the first time which later becomes a favourite device in Gudjarāt is a semicircular engrailed arch, of no structural significance, carried between two pillars inside the central arch of the façade; this directly copies the *toraṇa* doorways of the local Hindū and Djayn temples. This Khambāyat mosque has an entrance porch which is almost an exact copy of that of a temple at Modhērā built three centuries before, as is that of Hilāl Khān Ḳāḍī's mosque at Dhōlkā

(733/1333); but here there is another significant innovation: the façade is ornamented with two tall turrets flanking the central arch. These are in fact solid, but are the obvious types from which the Gudjarāt minarets are derived (isolated *minārs*, for example the Ḳuṭb Minār at Dihlī, are not unknown elsewhere in India, but the Gudjarāt mosques present their first systematic use). Other buildings of this first phase of Gudjarāt building are to be found at Mangrol [*q.v.*] and Petlad. A second phase is represented by the buildings of Aḥmad Shāh I in his new capital at Aḥmadābād, although even there the earliest buildings, Aḥmad Shāh's first mosque and the mosque of Haybat Khān, follow the pattern of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Khambāyat; but soon after them the mosque of Sayyid ʿĀlam, of 814/1412, shows several elements which are developed and perfected in the later Aḥmadābād buildings, including heavy projecting cornices, well-built and projecting bases for the minarets with internal stairs (the tops of the minarets above the parapet level of the roof have fallen), and an elevated portion of the roof forming a clerestory to admit more light to the central chamber. Aḥmad's *chef d'œuvre* is his Djāmiʿ Masdjid of ten years later. The western *līwān* has its central chamber flanked by a bay on each side raised above the level of the more distant bays of the western façade by a clerestory roof supported on an open colonnade, the central chamber itself having a second such clerestory carrying the main dome; the light thereby admitted to the central chamber has first to pass through carved stone screens, which are another typical feature of the Gudjarāt architecture. The side *riwāḳs* are all of the simple pillared construction without arches. This mosque, with Aḥmad Shāh's own tomb and a screened enclosure containing the tombs of the queens, form part of Aḥmad Shāh's careful town planning, all lying on a central royal way to his palace, on which stands a triple-arched triumphal gateway. All these buildings are in the same harmonious style, which was continued in Aḥmadābād under his immediate successors, Muḥammad and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad. Muḥammad's reign saw the beginning of building at Sarkhēdj [*q.v.*] with the mosque and tomb of Shaykh Aḥmad Khattū, the former a vast hypostyle hall with an enormous courtyard, the latter a large square building with arches on all sides filled with stone screens, the central tomb-chamber itself being further surrounded by pierced brass screens. This Gudjarāt practice of using perforated screens round a tomb-chamber is imitated in later periods in remoter parts of India. Two buildings of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad's time are in sharp contrast to other local architecture, the tomb of Daryā Khān in Aḥmadābād and Alif Khān's mosque at Dhōlkā; both are in brick, with arches throughout on heavy piers, with none of the usual Gudjarāt ornament, and seem to have been built by foreign workmen. They are isolated specimens and had no influence on the local style.

A third stage in Gudjarāt architecture appears in and after the time of Maḥmūd I Begṛā [*q.v.*], from the middle of the 9th/15th century. The mausoleum of Sayyid ʿUthmān in a village across the river from Aḥmadābād shows in the tomb a greater competence in handling the dome, which is carried by pillars in the form of a dodecagon, than previous examples; and the attached mosque, which is entirely of the open-faced trabeate variety, shows minarets for the first time in this type of mosque, placed at the two ends of the prayer-hall. The arcuate mosques of this time, those of Miyān Khān Čishtī of 860/1456 and Bībī Ačut Kūkī of 876/1472, show the minarets still centrally placed, flanking the middle bay of the prayer-hall—but by now rather over-elaborate and dominating the structure. An innovation is a type of oriel window, carried on brackets and fitted with a perforated stone screen, set in the *līwān* façade. The Shāh ʿĀlam mausoleum, of 880/1475, shows an increased use of the arch in tomb-buildings, again with outer and inner perforated screens. Some five years later the tomb of Ḳuṭb al-ʿĀlam, at Baṭwā, 10 km. to the south of Aḥmadābād, is not only arcuate throughout but of two storeys; but there are irregularities in the construction, as though the builders were still experimenting with the arch as a structural device. The defects have been remedied in the tomb of Sayyid Mubārak (889/1485) at Maḥmūdābād, where perhaps an architect from outside Gudjarāt was concerned, for the parapet and the clerestory roof bear *čhatrīs* similar to those of the Lōdī buildings in Dihlī; but the Gudjarātī feature of the pierced screens round the tomb-chamber continues. *Čhatrīs* also appear over the entrance porch of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid in Maḥmūd's new city at Čāmpānēr [*q.v.*]. This mosque is very similar in plan to the Djāmiʿ Masdjid built at Aḥmadābād a hundred years earlier, and has a similar double clerestory; but the decoration is richer, particularly externally: the rear wall of the *līwān* shows seven *miḥrāb* buttresses of design similar to the bases of the *minārs*, and the four corners bear straight octagonal towers resembling small *minārs* without balconies; the oriel windows carried on rich corbels add to the exterior richness, as do the smaller pierced screens in every opening. Other mosques in Čāmpānēr are of similar design but smaller and with only a small central clerestory; in particular the Nagīna Masdjid, which has panels of carved tracery at the bases of the *minārs* in the form of intertwining plants. Other works of the time of Maḥmūd include his palaces at Sarkhedj and his own tomb there by a lake—which has, in addition to various pavilions, a set of sluices carved with the same attention to detail as the *minārs* of Gudjarāt mosques—and other buildings at Aḥmadābād, of which the mosque of Muḥāfiẓ Khān, *fawdjdār* of the city, is the finest; this is an example of the arcuate style of mosque with the *minārs* at the ends of the *līwān*. Towards the end of Maḥmūd's long reign the tomb and mosque of Rānī Sabarī shows the usual decorative, almost jewel-like, ornament and tracery to its best advantage by being built on a smaller scale than most of the buildings so far considered; but here the mosque minarets have ceased to be functional, becoming merely slim tapering pinnacles. Other outstanding works, of a different class, are two step-wells (Gudj. *vāv*), described s.v. BĀʾOLĪ.

The common Aḥmadābād mosque style, with arcuate *līwān* and central *minārs*, is continued by buildings towards the close of the Gudjarāt sultanate, for example Rānī Rūpāwatī's mosque of *ca.* 921/1515. One late example, from 980/1572-3, the year before Akbar's conquest of Gudjarāt, is an exquisite mosque built by Shaykh Saʿīd al-Ḥabshī [see ḤABSHĪ], the tympana of the arches on the western side filled with stone traceries of filigree-like delicacy, representing palm-trees and creepers, the finest in the Muslim world, of which perhaps the blind traceries of the Nagīna Masdjid at Čāmpānēr are the immediate ancestor.

After the Mughal conquest it would appear that many of the skilled craftsmen were taken by Akbar

to north India; certainly there are many features of Gudjarātī workmanship in Akbar's Fatḥpur Sīkrī (see below).

v. — Mālwā. — In contrast to Gudjarāt, the contiguous province of Mālwā was comparatively uninfluenced by a prior Hindū artistic tradition. There were certainly temples, for the earliest buildings, at the end of the 8th/14th and beginning of the 9th/15th centuries, are built of temple spoil. These are three mosques at Dhār [*q.v.*], all of trabeate construction; but the portico of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid shows an interesting attempt to interpose pointed arches between the columns, without any structural significance. The two earliest mosques at Māndū [*q.v.*], Dilāwar Khān's of 808/1405-6 and Malik Mughīth's of 835/1432, have similar *līwān*s, but the latter is raised on a high basement in which there is a range of arched cells; here the pillars of the *līwān* have some pointed arches interposed, as at Dhār, but also with the resulting spandrels filled in with plate tracery. The *līwān* is domed, but the phase of transition is crudely effected by lintels and their octagon bases are irregular. There are two domed turrets at the angles of the east (entrance) walls; these, and the shape of the *līwān* domes, recall those of Fīrūz Tughluḳ's time in Dihlī. This second mosque is of the time of Hūshang Shāh [*q.v.*], whose own complex of buildings dominates the centre of Māndū: the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, the *madrasa* (later nicknamed Ashrafī Maḥall), and his own tomb. The mosque is built on a tall (4.5 m.) plinth, with arched cells on either side of the entrance porch; these and a few open arches, at courtyard level, perhaps originally filled with screens, and two restrained stringcourses, are the only external decoration, except for a band of merlon-like decoration, of a type already noticed at Dihlī, above the *čhadjdjā*. The *līwān* and side aisles are built entirely of true arches on plain slender columns. The *miḥrāb* arches show the spearhead fringe, recalling the Dihlī Khaldjī style, and the *minbar* is covered by a large stone canopy of obvious Hindū temple design. Hūshang's tomb, a little earlier (the mosque was completed by Maḥmūd I in 858/1454), is a square domed structure of white marble throughout (the earliest building to be so treated) except for sparing ornament of deep blue glazed tiles, standing in a large enclosure. At each corner of the dome is an engaged domed turret, a common feature in the Māndū tombs and already present over the entrance to the Djāmiʿ Masdjid. The domes are characteristic of Mālwā—a tall cylindrical drum carries the haunch without any intervening structure or decoration, while above the haunch the dome may be developed as a hemisphere or smaller spherical section or as a shallow cone. Later buildings at the capital (described s.v. MĀNḌŪ) become elegant, and in the final stages even meretricious: palaces, pavilions, fountains and water-channels, kiosks and balconies. The open *čhatrī* appears, and some of the domes are ribbed. In one building, known now as Gadā Shāh's house, there are the remains of some wall-paintings.

A northern manifestation of the Mālwā style is found at Čandērī [*q.v.*], where the Djāmiʿ Masdjid shows the characteristic stilted domes; the convoluted brackets supporting the *čhadjdjā* are a somewhat exaggerated form of a type seen in Māndū as early as Hūshang's tomb, a form which becomes exaggerated and elaborated further in Fatḥpur Sīkrī (see below).

The general characteristics of the Mālwā style are, in addition to the stilted dome, the fine masonry of walls and doors, very restrained ornament, and the frequent use of engaged domical turrets round a central dome. The *mīnār*, so prominent in the neighbouring provinces of Gudjarāt and Khāndēsh, is not used.

vi. — Khāndēsh. — This small province had a building art with a character of its own, although the mixed origins of that art are to be found in the neighbouring provinces of Gudjarāt, Mālwā, and the Deccan. The Fārūḳī [*q.v.*] khāns ruled first from Thālnēr [*q.v.*] and later from Burhānpur [*q.v.*], and their buildings are mostly at these two places and at Asīrgaṛh and Čikaldā. The Thālnēr tombs are not dissimilar to the typical square Māndū mausolea in general plan, but the dome is usually carried on a separate octagonal drum, and over the wide *čhadjdjā* there is a high decorated parapet; the door and window openings are better spaced than in the Māndū examples, and there is more external decoration. An octagonal tomb is covered with fine basso-relievo carving in geometric patterns, and its arches bear on the intrados the spearhead fringe. All these tombs date from the first half of the 9th/15th century. Little remains of the palace at Thālnēr and the Bādshāhī Ḳilʿa at Burhānpur, and the next significant buildings are two late 10th/16th century mosques at Burhānpur. The Djāmiʿ mosque has an arcaded façade with *mīnār*s at the ends, while the Bībī kī masdjid has two heavy *mīnār*s flanking the central arch as in the Čāmpānēr mosque in Gudjarāt; the design of these *mīnār*s, however, is original: from octagonal bases they pass to a hexadecagon, above which is a circular storey with oriel windows facing each cardinal point, with a hemispherical dome forming a fourth stage; balconies on heavy brackets separate these four stages. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Asīrgaṛh, although built after the Mughal conquest, perpetuates the Gudjarātī tradition. At Čikaldā an enormous gateway (Baṛā Darwāza) has an arch of the wide Gulbargā style (see below) but is decorated with the lion-and-elephant motif of the Gond kings (cf. similar devices at Gāwilgaṛh [*q.v.*]).

vii. — The Bahmanī sultanate. — The principal phases of Bahmanī architecture are to be found at Gulbargā and Bīdar [*qq.v.*], although the kingdom was early provided with a powerful system of fortifications and many of the Bahmanī strongholds contain important buildings; for these see especially DAWLATĀBĀD, GĀWILGAṚH, ILIČPUR, MĀHŪR, MUDGAL, NALDRUG, NARNĀLĀ, PARENDĀ, RĀYČŪR, and WARANGAL.

The Djāmiʿ Masdjid in the old citadel of Gulbargā, although of a type not reproduced later, since its *ṣaḥn* is completely roofed over, shows nevertheless some features that were to characterize Bahmanī architecture and to spread some of the styles of the successor sultanates. The arches of the outer arcade are specially noteworthy: of obtuse angle at the apex, of wide span, and springing from very low imposts. An earlier mosque in the city is a mere compilation of temple spoil, as are the two early mosques at Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*] built by the Bahmanī governors. The earliest group of tombs at Gulbargā, all of the second half of the 8th/14th century, are similar to contemporary examples at Dihlī with weak semi-circular domes and battering walls. A later group of tombs, the Haft Gunbad, shows similar sloping walls and domes, but with a refinement of decoration. The outer faces are divided into two apparent storeys with blind arches in each, these arches being of the type which comes to typify the

Bahmanī style, stilted above the haunch with straight tangential projections to the apex. Some of these tombs are double— *i.e.*, there are two tomb-chambers with continuous walls but separate domes, standing on a common plinth—and show a few features of Hindū decoration. The tomb of Gīsū Darāz [*q.v.*], built after the transfer of the court to Bīdar, is a single square building with upright sides but otherwise similar to the other Gulbargā tombs. At Bīdar the early Tug͟hluḳ influence has been added to by features of Persian inspiration: thus the early royal palace, the Tak͟ht Maḥall, while retaining the Bahmanī arch, was profusely decorated with encaustic tiles, including a tiger-and-rising-sun device. The foreign element is most pronounced in the *madrasa* of Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] of 877/1472, which has a prototype in the *madrasa* of K͟hargird in K͟hurāsān; its internal façades surrounding a central courtyard show a single arch of the height of the building on each of the three-storeyed sides, the Persian *aywān* pattern. The circular *mīnār* is also of a Persian pattern, as is a detached *mīnār* built *ca.* 840/1437 at Dawlatābād. The entire surface of the *madrasa* is covered with multicoloured tiles. The royal tombs at Bīdar, ranging over a period of some 80 years from the first example of 839/1436, show the progress of the Bahmanī style. The stilted arches are in general retained, although one tomb unusually shows arches struck from four centres rather like the Mug͟hal arch of north India or the English Tudor arch. Some of the tile-work of these tombs is superb, and includes some historically and hagiographically important inscriptions. The domes progress from a hemispherical type stilted over an octagonal drum to a type which, being greater than a hemisphere, shows a tendency towards the bulbous pattern which develops in some of the successor sultanates, and the parapets progress from a line of shield-shaped merlons to a line of stone trefoils. All these tombs have a single entrance doorway, the other sides being either solid or closed by screens, with *miḥrāb*s in the western walls; none of them has turrets or *čhatrī*s in addition to the central dome.

viii. — Barīd S͟hāhī, ʿImād S͟hāhī, Niẓām S͟hāhī. — The Niẓām S͟hāhīs [*q.v.*] of Aḥmadnagar, although independent there from the beginning of the 9th/15th century until the Mug͟hal conquest, evolved no distinctive architectural style of their own but perpetuated something like the middle Bahmanī style with decorative borrowings from Hindū art (and later from the style of Bīd͟jāpur); such of these buildings as are worthy of note are discussed s.v. NIẒĀM S͟HĀHĪS. Nor was the ʿImād S͟hāhī style of Barār significantly different from its Bahmanī parent except for the use in the mosque façades of a pylon at each end of the *līwān* bearing a square *čhatrī* with deep eaves, heavy brackets, and stone screens in each side; see further GĀWILGAṘH, also ILIČPUR, NARNĀLĀ. The buildings of the Barīd S͟hāhīs, however, the successors of the Bahmanīs in Bīdar, do show some notable independent characteristics. The typical Bahmanī stilted arch continues, but the dome becomes even more bulbous, usually three-quarters of a sphere. A frequent tomb-pattern is a square domed cell with an open arch on all four faces; thus, since there is no integral *miḥrāb*, a small mosque is built beside the tomb. The trefoil parapet is commonly used. A common feature of the decoration is a chain-and-pendant motif in plaster, but good tile-work is still a frequent ornament. The latest buildings tend to become over-ornate, and the influence of the Hindū mason becomes more apparent.

ix. — ʿĀdil S͟hāhī. — The style of the ʿĀdil S͟hāhī buildings at Bīd͟jāpur [*q.v.*] is the most developed and the most original of the Deccan sultanates. The earliest dated ʿĀdil S͟hāhī building, a mosque of 918/1512-3, already shows features which characterize this style throughout: the base of the dome surrounded by a ring of vertical foliations, so that the dome resembles a bud surrounded by petals; and a three-arched façade in which the central arch is much wider than the flanking arches. Another early mosque reveals another Bīd͟jāpur speciality in its arch spandrels, a medallion supported by a bracket-shaped device, moulded in plaster. The works executed before the death of ʿAlī I in 987/1579 are mostly in rubble covered with dense and durable plaster, and include the city walls and gates (most of these with the typical wide centre arch flanked by two narrow ones), many palaces and audience halls, and some notable mosques. One of these, in memory of the *sayyid* ʿAlī S͟hahīd Pīr, which unusually has a transverse wagon-vaulted roof, shows the (equal) façade arches surrounded by an outer band of cusping, remarkably similar to that of the recently-discovered D͟jurd͟jīr mosque in Iṣfahān [*q.v.*]. This device recurs in the other buildings, for example the D͟jāmiʿ Masd͟jid of 985/1576, where it decorates only the central arch of seven, which also bears the medallion-and-bracket device; the great dome of this mosque is supported by an original system of vaulting by which two intersecting squares, both oblique to the square chamber underneath, form an octagon; this system is later used to great effect in the colossal mausoleum of Muḥammad ʿĀdil S͟hāh. This mosque also shows a feature made much of by later Bīd͟jāpur builders, an elegant exterior. The domes in this early phase are hemispherical; *mīnār*s are not used, although bases for them exist in the D͟jāmiʿ Masd͟jid; small ornamental pinnacles (*gul-dasta*), however, are freely used at angles of the parapets and over *miḥrāb* buttresses, of a type found on some of the Bahmanī tombs at Bīdar.

After 987/1579, under Ibrāhīm II and later sultans, fine sculptured stonework replaces the earlier rubble-and-plaster. The dome becomes a three-quarter sphere; the cornices and eaves are supported by intricate carved brackets, often with the added decoration of hanging stone chains and locket-like pendants (is there a connexion between these and the chain-and-pendant plaster device of the Barīd S͟hāhīs?), and the parapets become delicate lace-like borders. But many of the earlier features persist: the band of foliations at the base of the dome, the occasional cusping of a central arch, the medallion-and-bracket motif, now often carved in stone, the characteristic wide central and narrow flanking arches, and the love of vertical projections above the sky-line; but these have often become pseudo-*mīnār*s, in that they appear over solid bases and rise at the sides of mosque façades where in other styles true *mīnār*s are found, although they are slender and solid and hence can only be decorative; they frequently carry miniature domes, and fascicular clusters of minuscule minarets along their shafts, in each case with the petal-like foliation. The enormous mausoleum of Muḥammad (d. 1067/1656), known as the Gol Gunbad͟h, reverts to the hemispherical dome, and has a large staged octagonal turret of the height of the building at each corner; but the prototype of these is the small octagonal pinnacles found in the earliest buildings. In tombs of the closing years of the dynasty, there is a tendency to exaggerate an intermediate stage, a square storey between the

parapet of the tomb-chamber and the drum of the dome, so that in extreme cases the globular dome appears almost separated from the ground floor. The best of the vast number of buildings at the capital are described s.v. BIDJĀPUR; but some Bidjāpur characteristics are encountered far afield, for example in two mosques standing outside Naldrug [*q.v.*] fort, and at the great entrance arch to the *dargāh* of Gīsū Darāz at Gulbargā.

x. — Ḳuṭb Shāhī. — The style of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī buildings, first in Golkondā and later in the city of Ḥaydarābād [*qq.v.*], is distinctive more on account of its luxuriant ornament than any originality in structure. The principal building material is stone, usually grey granite or trapstone, but rather than being carved this is ornamented with stucco and encaustic tiles. The tombs of the dynasty at Golkondā, and the mosques and gateways there and at Ḥaydarābād, show the comparative fixedness of the style over a century and a half from the time of Sulṭān Ḳulī's independence in 924/1518. The tombs are almost all square in shape and constructionally resemble the Bahmanī tombs in Bīdar; the earlier ones are single-storeyed, and only once is the outer face divided into two apparent floors by an upper row of blind arches; some of the later tombs have two storeys, the lower one forming a projecting arcade around the building. The domes are all bulbous, usually a three-quarter sphere, and are foliated at their bases in a similar way to the Bidjāpur domes; but the later buildings develop this into a double or triple band of foliation. The Ḳuṭb Shāhī buildings emphasize especially the upper parts of walls between the eaves and the parapet, and the rich ornament here is sometimes projected out from the façade to form a balcony carried on brackets. The parapets are crenellated with trefoil-shaped merlons, as in the later Bahmanī and Barīd Shāhī styles, and are frequently interrupted by small *guldastas*; at the corners these may be replaced by small *mīnārs*. The Ḳuṭb Shāhī *mīnār*, whether decorative or functional, has its shaft encircled one or more times with an arcaded gallery, and bears a miniature dome with the characteristic foliations. Designs of Hindū provenance are not infrequent in the ornament, especially in the later periods; but these were accepted in the earliest period, as they occurred freely in the Kākatīya work taken over in the old Bahmanī province of Warangal—for example, in the Bālā Ḥiṣār *darwāza* at Golkondā.

xi. — Kashmir. — The architecture of this region is remarkably different from that of all other countries of Islam, as it is essentially in wood: great logs of *dewdār* (*Cedrus deodara*) laid horizontally and joined by crude carpentry, and used also as piers to support any superstructure; the interstices between courses may be filled with brickwork or plaster covered with glazed tile. There is of course a constant fire risk, and many buildings have undergone repeated rebuilding, usually, however, reproducing the form of the original structure. The typical Kashmīrī Muslim building is the tomb-shrine (*ziyārat*) of a local saint: a cubical ground floor (sometimes set on a stone or brick plinth), covered by a pyramidal roof which may be in several tiers, topped by a long and slender wooden *flèche*. The same type with flanking courtyards may be used for mosque buildings, with the addition of a square open pavilion between roof and *flèche* to form a platform for the *mu'adhdhin* (the minaret is not used). Such a pattern is used in the mosque of Shāh Hamadān in Shrīnagar, a two-storeyed building on the plinth of a Hindū temple, with projecting wooden balconies and the eaves supported on a log cornice; the pyramidal tiered roof is covered with an impervious layer of birch-bark and then with turves planted liberally with irises and tulips, above which rise the *ma'dhīna* platform and the *flèche*. The Djāmi' Masdjid in Shrīnagar, dating from the end of the 8th/14th century, but three times rebuilt, is the most ambitious example of pre-Mughal Kashmīrī architecture: a vast square courtyard is surrounded on each side by a wide arched wing which carries a central *ziyārat*-like structure, that on the west having a tall central brick arch. Much of the lower walling is in brick, but the surrounding colonnades are composed entirely of *dewdār* trunks on stone plinths. Some fine stone tombs of the 9th/15th century exist, constructed from temple spoil, but domed and covered with glazed tiles. For these, and for later Mughal work in Kashmīr, see KASHMĪR and SHRĪNAGAR.

xii. — Sind. — The building style of Sind, while not so egregious as that of Kashmīr, stands apart from other provincial Indo-Muslim styles since it has many affinities with the building art of eastern Persia, and where Indian motifs appear they often seem to be used with neither organization nor fluency in their use. They are represented especially by the remaining tombs at Thaṭṭhā [*q.v.*], where some building stone was available, although the characteristic medium of the country was brick. The stonework of one of the earliest remaining tombs, that of Djām Niẓām al-Dīn (d. 915/1509), is in stone which seems to have been carved by Hindū workmen who were not good enough to find work in Gudjarāt; perhaps they came across the Rādjāstān desert with only the memory of the designs, or were the local employees of the Sammās, recent converts to Islam but with rather faded memories of a dilute Hinduism. The carved Arabic inscriptions are in excellent *thulth*, incongruously set next to bandeaux carved with the geese of Hindū mythology. Other stone tombs are ornamented with shallow and often curiously discontinuous geometrical carving. The brick tombs certainly show a great familiarity with the material; solid dense bricks, after all, were known in Sind at the time of the prehistoric Mohendjodāro. They are built on stone foundations, to counteract the destroying effects of the high salinity of the Thaṭṭhā soil, and their surfaces are covered with the tilework for which Sind is renowned. Common tilework patterns include dark blue rectangles outlined with white, to give the effect of an imitation mortar-joint; the tiles themselves are of hand-baked terracotta, very heavy, and the glazes are generally white, light-blue, turquoise, and dark blue, very occasionally also yellow. Generally the design is continuously worked in multicoloured tiles, but occasionally very small tiles, like tesserae, each of one colour, are built up to form a mosaic. The design of the tombs, especially their domes, and the few remaining mosques, is essentially Persian rather than Indian, although this may be due to early Mughal influence. Certainly some of the Thaṭṭhā buildings of later times revert to a trabeate style in sandstone, such as the mausoleum of 'Īsā Djān Tarkhān the younger, d. 1054/1644, which recalls the buildings of Fatḥpur Sīkrī (see below) and also is the only building in which the intrados of the arch is embellished with a spearhead fringe.

The Mughal schools.

Shortly after Bābur's arrival in India in 932/1526 he ordered buildings to be erected; he was unimpressed with Indian edifices, and disgusted with the

lack of the formal gardens to which he was accustomed. Most of his works were, therefore, secular, consisting of terraced gardens with pavilions and summer houses, hardly anything of which has survived. Two of his mosques exist, one in Pānīpat and one in Sambhal: works large but utterly undistinguished. Little more can be said about the buildings of Humāyūn's reign (except those works of a previous period now completed, described above); but Humāyūn's importance is in the craft traditions imported with him after his exile rather than the ideas of his own.

In point of time, the Sūr sultan Shēr Shāh [*q.v.*] followed Humāyūn although his buildings are a continuation of pre-Mughal styles. There is, indeed, little characteristic architecture remaining of the first part of Humāyūn's reign from which a comparison might be made, since Shēr Shāh systematically destroyed Humāyūn's city of Dihlī called Dīnpanāh. In his tombs at Sahsarām [*q.v.*] in Bihār, Shēr Shāh perfected the octagonal pattern, and may indeed have planned these buildings in the decade before he came to power. The earliest (*ca.* 941/1535) of these, the tomb of his father Ḥasan Khān, is experimental: there is no plinth, and the drum is a bare wall without fenestration or *čhatrīs*. Unlike the Lōdī examples, the Sahsarām tombs have vertical, not battered, walls. The next tomb, that of Shēr Shāh himself, is amplified not only from this but also from the Dihlī models; it is in five stages, rising to 50 m., and set in the middle of an artificial lake connected to the shore by a causeway to which access is given by a domed guardroom; the lowest stage is a square plinth rising out of the water, the next a vast square platform with a *čhatrī* at each corner, on which stands the octagonal tomb chamber in three further stages, the two lower with *čhatrīs* at the corners. The roof is crowned with a massive lotus finial. The tomb of his successor Islām Shāh also stands within a lake, but smaller; the better preservation of its causeway shows this to have been constructed on a cantilever principle, each pier with projecting balconies and carrying a *čhatrī*. In Nārnawl Shēr Shāh built the tomb of his grandfather Ibrāhīm Khān, a square building not unlike the square Lōdī tombs, but finished in better stone and with a shallower dome.

After Shēr Shāh's accession in 947/1540 he started building at Dihlī, fortifying first the Purānā Ḳilʿa and adding an exquisite mosque, with the corner turrets already noticed in the Mōṭh kī Masdjid and the Djamālī mosque, and with a refined form of the recessed arch: a lower arch set back from a taller one. The arches are struck from four centres, and the spearhead fringe is again in evidence. The stonework is very finely jointed, enriched with fillets of white marble, with fine coloured inlay patterns of a type similar to that later found in Akbar's mosque at Fatḥpur Sīkrī. The interior decoration is similar to that of the Mōṭh kī Masdjid, but with every part refined. Other important building products of Shēr Shār were at Rōhtāsgaṛh [*q.v.*] in Bihār [*q.v.*] and his new fortress of Rōhtās [*q.v.*] in the Pandjāb, as well as many single buildings at other towns.

The first major building to be erected during Mughal rule is Humāyūn's mausoleum, not begun until 976/1568-9, and erected, not in his lifetime after the usual practice, but by his widow. The cenotaph-chamber, which stands on a vast high plinth, is essentially square in plan, with each corner of the square chamfered off and with a recessed central bay in each side. Each of these bays contains a deep arch, as high as the walls on either side of the bay, constructed as a half-dome, and smaller arches of varied height and levels fill the remaining façades of each wall. The central chamber is surmounted by a tall drum, which carries a high double dome, with a *čhatrī* of Lōdī type, open and on slender pillars, at each corner, and two smaller square *čhatrīs* over each central arch. The dome is slightly curved at its base, but its general shape echoes that of the arches below; the arches introduce a new shape to north India, as their curves are struck from four centres. The building is in red sandstone with white and grey marble inlay (sparing use of other colours as well), executed in star-shaped designs at the drum below the dome, well inlaid but not polished *in situ*: this inlay work is to be classified as *opus sectile* rather than as the finely polished marquetry-like *pietra dura* of later Mughal periods. A smaller tomb of not dissimilar design is that of Akbar's foster-father, Atga Khān, at Nizamuddin; but Humāyūn's tomb gains enormously in effect not only by the vast plinth (which contains the true tomb immediately below the cenotaph) but by the vaster garden in which it is set—a great square, subdivided into squares and squares again by paths, flower-beds, and parterres. It marks immediately the advent of a new style in India, and is of great importance as the immediate Indian prototype for other monumental mausolea. A fuller description, with plan, is given s.v. DIHLĪ. See also BŪSTĀN.

Akbar's building projects, many and varied, reflect something of the man. They start at Āgrā [*q.v.*] fort, on the trace of the previous Lōdī fort, with the gateways: a half-octagon flanking tower on each side of the four-centred arch of the gate, the towers decorated with blind arches below and open arches on the upper storey, with *čhatrīs* over towers and gateway; internally, the arch carried a spearhead fringe of a more elaborate and conventionalized form than that of previous reigns; the whole is decorated in *opus sectile*. Palaces inside the fort are in much the same style, and include projecting balconies supported on richly carved corbels, with much beam-and-bracket workmanship; some of the brackets, in sandstone, seem to have been borrowed directly from wood-building techniques. Similar buildings were commenced, in very similar styles, at Lāhawr and, on a smaller scale, at Allāhābād. The new capital, at Fatḥpur Sīkrī [*q.v.*], is a sandstone city. The palaces are for the most part built in the trabeate style, with shallow domes and heavy eaves recalling Lōdī work, occasional arches with the spearhead fringe, carved brackets resembling those of Rādjāsthān temples, and superb carving. There is some inlaid *opus sectile* work in white marble, especially on the mosque; the inside of the mosque, however, is of finely polished marble mosaic inlay, the first attempt towards the technique of *pietra dura*. Some buildings in the city, such as the Dīwān-i khāṣṣ, with an extraordinary bracketed central column supporting a platform in the middle of the single room, and the Pānč maḥall, a five-storeyed pyramidal open pavilion, are unique structures, part of Akbar's personal whimsy, with no significance in the development of the Mughal style; but one of interest and archaeological significance is the tomb of Salīm Čishtī, after 979/1571, a square chamber with an outer verandah which is screened with marble lattices on the outside: a feature characteristic not of north India at all, but familiar in the tombs of Gudjarāt (see above). The eaves are supported on convoluted brackets which have a prototype in

Čandērī [*q.v.*]. Another Gudjarāt feature, apparently, is the reservoir which lies beneath the *ṣaḥn* of the great mosque (on these features see J. Burton-Page, *Fatehpur Sikri*, in R. E. Mortimer Wheeler (ed.), *Splendours of the East*, London 1965, 143-53).

Of Akbar's reign in Dihlī is the last of the octagonal tombs, that of Adham Khān, of 969/1562; it is without the wide *čhadjdjā* which characterizes the earlier octagonal tombs, and, being also without *čhatrīs*, looks curiously insipid. Of about the same time is the Masdjid Khayr al-Manāzil, with a four-centred arched façade, an imposing gateway with *opus sectile* decoration, and corner turrets at the rear of the *līwān* similar to those on the Lōdī Moṫh kī Masdjid and the Sūrī mosque in the Purānā ķilʿa. At Djawnpur [*q.v.*] is a fine bridge, with screened pavilions over each pier, across the river Gomtī, and at Gwāliyar is the tomb of Muḥammad Ghawth, which has the typical Gudjarātī screened arcades. For provincial Mughal architecture in Bengal and Gudjarāt, see MUGHALS.

Djahāngīr's interest was more in miniature painting [see TAṢWĪR] than in architecture, and there are few examples of the buildings of his reign; although it is known that he extended Akbar's buildings at Āgrā and Lāhawr forts, beginning at the latter a "picture wall" in mosaic tiles showing hunting, polo and court scenes, and completed the building of Akbar's tomb: a four-storeyed pyramidal building, over-ornamented with *čhatrīs*, with a large half-dome archway in each face, *opus sectile* ornament, and an open square with a cenotaph, all in marble, at the top, standing in a vast *čār-bāgh* garden. The entrance gateway is imposing, with a tall white marble *mīnār* at each corner—the first appearance of this feature in the north. The two most important buildings of Djahāngīr's reign are the tomb at Āgrā, begun 1031/1622, of his father-in-law Mīrzā Ghiyāth Beg entitled Iʿtimād al-Dawla, in marble inlaid in Persian motifs (cypresses, vines, flowers, vases, wine-cups) in true *pietra dura*, with four short corner towers, and fine marble tracery screens; and the tomb of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān [*q.v.*], similar to that of Humāyūn's tomb but without the corner chambers. The former tomb heralds the decorative techniques of the Tādj Maḥall; the latter is the immediate prototype of its design. For other buildings of Djahāngīr see PALAMAʾŪ.

Shāhdjahān's buildings show the Mughal style at its height, although the earliest, the completion by Nūrdjahān of Djahāngīr's tomb at Shāhdara, near Lāhawr, continues the *opus sectile* tradition; it is of only a single storey, with a lofty *mīnār* at each corner, again in an immense garden; it is more important for its decoration than for its structure, not only on the surface of the building, but in the *pietra dura* of the cenotaph, in white marble, calligraphy (the ninety-nine names of God) appearing in delicate *pietra dura* here for the first time. Shāhdjahān himself replanned the buildings at Āgrā and Lāhawr forts, replacing some of the earlier sandstone structures with marble ones; these are characterized by engrailed arches, tapering supporting columns and *pietra dura* ornament, especially on walls and at the feet of columns and their plinths; and the marble was delicately channelled and carved. There appear at Āgrā, for the first time in north India, two oblong pavilions with a Bengali-style curved cornice to the roof; and at Lāhawr fort also is a pavilion in the style of a Bengali *čawčalā* hut. These works were perhaps a preliminary essay for Shāhdjahān's own grandiose fort, the Lāl ķilʿa (from its red sandstone enclosure walls; see BURDJ, iii) in his new city at Dihlī [*q.v.*] called Shāhdjahānābād. The palace buildings are distinguished for their symmetrical planning along an ornamental marble canal, with chutes and cascades; in structure they are similar to those at Āgrā, except that the columns tend to be thicker, and the *pietra dura* work and the marble carving are of the highest quality. Before the fort was begun, however, the construction of the mausoleum of his queen, Mumtāz-i Maḥall, had been started. This building, known to everyone by its corrupted title of Tādj Maḥall [*q.v.*], is in the village now called Tādjgandj outside Āgrā, on the opposite bank to the fort: a complex of buildings with a square mausoleum with a tall *mīnār* at each corner of its plinth, and a red sandstone mosque and an identical *djawāb*, used as a *mihmān-khāna*, flanking it on a platform at the river end of the great oblong garden; the garden divided by paths and parterres, with central crossing water-channels, and an imposing gateway. The entire mausoleum, plinth, and the four *mīnārs* are worked in white marble with *pietra dura* in semi-precious stones, and there is a tall white marble dome, surrounded by four marble *čhatrīs*; the dome is slightly bulbous. This is the perfect culmination of the tomb-type starting with Humāyūn's tomb of a century earlier, through ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān's tomb, with decoration of the type started in the tomb of Iʿtimād al-Dawla and perfected at the forts of Āgrā, Lāhawr and Shāhdjahānābād. In Dihlī the plans for the city were completed with the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, 1057-9/1648-50; the *līwān*, in red sandstone with white marbles, has a large central half-dome arch, with five smaller flanking arches on each side, all engrailed; two *mīnārs* at the courtyard ends of the *līwān*; and three bulbous marble domes. A similar mosque, much smaller, was built in Āgrā at about the same time for his daughter Djahān Ārā [*q.v.*]; here the arches revert to the plain (not engrailed) four-centred type. Another important building of Shāhdjahān's reign, of a different type, is the mosque of Wazīr Khān in Lāhawr, of about 1044/1634; here the ornament is more akin to the arts developed in Persia, consisting of true mosaic tile decoration on the external surfaces, floral, calligraphic, geometrical, especially with the cypress (*sarw*) and the plane (*čīnār*) (for the nature and technique of this art see KHAZAF); the internal surfaces are painted in tempera and cut-plaster [see DJIṢṢ]. Other buildings of Shāhdjahān are at Adjmēr (two marble lakeside pavilions) and Kashmīr (terraces in the Shālimār gardens, laid out by Djahāngīr).

In the reign of Awrangzīb the building art began to lose its vitality, although the Mōtī (pearl) Masdjid he added to the fort of Shāhdjahānābād, *ca.* 1070/1660, retains the delicacy of earlier craftsmanship (the too-large bulbous domes are a later addition). The effeteness is starting to be apparent in the great Bādshāhī Masdjid of *ca.* 1085/1674 added to the west of Lāhawr fort, with four tall *mīnārs* at the corners of the courtyard, four short ones at the corners of the *līwān*; the three domes are a little over-bulbous, and the *līwān* façade presents too many blank spaces. A few years later the tomb of Awrangzīb's wife, Rābiʿa Dawrānī, was built at Awrangābād; it stands in a walled garden, which is its best feature; for it is a half-scale copy of the Tādj Māḥall, with a thin engrailed central arch, bulbous dome, disproportionately heavy *mīnārs*, a cramped skyline with insufficient room for the corner *čhatrīs*, attenuated *guldastas*, which combine to give it an air

of assiduous mediocrity. Awrangzīb's mosques at Banāras and Mathurā, on the other hand, are orthodox and well-proportioned, so it must be assumed that he played no personal part in their construction. A far better tomb building is the last of the great square mausolea, the tomb of the *wazīr* Ṣafdar Djang [*q.v.*] at Dihlī (d. 1166/1753), of good proportions, even if the dome is a little too bulbous, in finely worked fawn sandstone, and in the last great *čārbāgh* garden.

The Nawwābs of Awadh, in their capital of Lucknow, became the artistic successors to the Mughals. Their earlier buildings are similar to the Awrangzībī buildings, large and impressive, but over-decorated; their later ones, produced in a sort of bastard château style under the influence of a French adventurer with magnificent vision and no taste, mix up Corinthian capitals, fluted domes, compositions of round romanesque arches, ogee arcades, and odd ideas gathered from the Mughals, Ancient Greeks, and the European "Palladian" school. The Sikh style of the Pandjāb is at least of consistent late-Mughal extraction, but tends to over-proliferate *čhatrīs* and the fluted dome, and to be too partial to the Bengali cornice. Some of the Rādjpūt palaces have preserved better elements of late Mughal style, especially at Amber and Djaypur, and have combined it with an excellent masonry technique.

In the south a strange hybrid Islamo-Vidjayanagara style was evolved at Hampī [*q.v.*], and later scions of the Vidjayanagara house, after the dissolution of their empire, remembered some elements in their palace of Čandragiri. The few buildings of the Mahisur sultanate of Ḥaydar ʿAlī and his son Tipū are less bizarre, particularly the tomb of the dynasty at Shrirangapaṭṭanam [*q.v.*]. Other local Muslim styles are more aberrant: for example, the 19th century tombs at Djūnāgaṛh, which appear to translate the fancy knobs of a Victorian bedstead into stone, not without skill.

Bibliography: There is as yet no single comprehensive work of professional standard on Islamic building in India, nor can there be until the historical development of certain aspects of structure and decoration is fully worked out. Information is still most inadequate on foundations, coursework and bonding in masonry and brickwork, and the methods of setting out; on plasterwork, incised, moulded, fresco-painted and polished; on ceramic decoration and its relation with some types of plasterwork; on fenestration; on woodwork, carved or inlaid; on decorative techniques involving polished stone: *opus sectile* and *pietra dura*; and on the development of such features as kiosks (*čhatrīs*), merlons and parapets, *zanāna*-galleries, even on major structural works such as bridges, riparian buildings such as landing-stages and *ghāṭs*, and domestic architecture. A "grammar of ornament" is also an urgent necessity. There are, it is true, many brilliant works in which most of these points are dealt with over a short period or in a limited region; but they are outnumbered by the lacunae. Of general works the most comprehensive is Percy Brown, *Indian architecture (Islamic period)*, Bombay n.d. (1943?); good shorter accounts are H. Goetz, *Arte dell' India musulmana e correnti moderne*, in *Le civiltà dell' Oriente*, Rome 1962, iv, 780-882; Y. D. Sharma, *Islamic monuments*, in A. Ghosh (ed.), *Archaeological remains: monuments and museums*, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, Delhi 1964, ii, 241-328; M. S. Briggs, *Muslim architecture in India*, in G. T. Garratt (ed.), *The legacy of India*, Oxford 1937, 223-55; J. H. Marshall, *The monuments of Muslim India*, in *Cambridge history of India*, Cambridge 1937, iii, 568-640; Percy Brown, *Monuments of the Mughal period*, *ibid.*, iv, 523-76; for a general account with particular reference to Pakistan: R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, *Five thousand years of Pakistan*, London 1950, specially 61-128; idem, *Splendours of the east*, London 1965, 68-71. A tendentious account, written in support of the untenable thesis that all Indian art springs directly from Indian roots, by E. B. Havell, *Indian architecture; its psychology, structure and history from the first Muhammadan invasion* ..., London 1913. Older works: J. Ferguson, *History of Indian and eastern architecture*, London 1876; revised ed. by J. Burgess and R. P. Spiers, 2 vols., London 1910 (esp. ii, 186-335); V. A. Smith, *History of fine art in India and Ceylon* ..., Oxford 1911, 391-420. There is much material available on local aspects of Muslim building, especially in A. Cunningham, *Archaeological survey of India*, xxiii vols., Simla and Calcutta 1873-87; various authors, especially J. Burgess, in *Archaeological Survey of western India*, Old series, ii, iii, iv, 1875; vi, 1877; viii, 1879; xi 1885; xi a, 1890; *Archaeological survey of India, New Imperial series* (combining New Series of some provincial surveys, from 1876); also Progress reports of circles of the Survey, from 1890; after 1902-3 superseded by *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports*, supplemented by monographs entitled *Memoirs of the archaeological survey of India*. Detailed lists of contents of all volumes relevant to Islam in K. A. C. Creswell, *Bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam*, Cairo 1961, *passim*; individual articles after 1905 listed also in Pearson. Since Indian independence many articles in *Ancient India*, from 1946. Some articles of archaeological importance in *EIM*. Critical bibliography, before 1948 only, in *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology*, i-xv, of the Kern Institute, Leiden.

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(J. BURTON-PAGE)

viii. — MUSIC

The first detailed account of secular Indian music occurs in the *Nāṭyashāstra* by Bharata, which has been dated variously from the 3rd century B.C. to the 5th century A.D. Although this work is primarily devoted to drama and stagecraft, music is an important topic in it. Musical theory had, by this time, already reached a high state of development and is described in considerable detail. The melodic system is based on modes (*djāti*) which are constructed on heptatonic series of notes (*mūrčhanā*) beginning on the successive degrees of two parent scales, *Shaḍḍjagrāma* and *Madhyamagrāma*. These scales were composed of 3 different sized intervals, comparable to the major wholetone, minor wholetone and semitone of "just intonation". These were expressed (approximately) in terms of their highest common factor, about a quartertone, called *shruti*. Thus the intervals are described as containing 4, 3 and 2 *shruti*s respectively. An interval of 1 *shruti* was not considered musical.

Cultural exchanges between India and the outside world included music and musical instruments before the advent of Islam. Greco-Roman influence is clearly evident in the Gandhārā sculptures and the musical instruments depicted corroborate this. Furthermore, Roman singing boys are said to have been imported into India in about the 2nd century A.D. (*Periplus of the Erithraean Sea*) and 12,000 Indian musicians are said to have been sent to Bahrām Gūr in Sāsānid Persia (Thaʿālibī, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, tr. Zotenberg, 1900, 566-7).

During the next few centuries it appears that Indian music underwent considerable change. In Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeshī*, of about the 3rd/9th century, a new technical term, *rāg* (= Skt. *rāga*), was introduced. The essence of the concept of *rāg* was the recognition that certain combinations of notes were endowed with particular sentiments, *ras* (= Skt. *rasa*). These *rāgs*, which had crystallized from the ancient modes (*djāti*), formed a melodic basis for the composition of songs (*gītī*). Gradually, as the *rāgs* completely displaced the *djāti*s, the two original parent scales lost their significance. In the *Saṅgīta Ratnākara* (607/1210-645/1247) it is stated that 264 *rāgs* were currently in use. This important Sanskrit treatise, composed by Shārṅgadeva at the court of the Yādava dynasty in the Deccan before the Muslim conquest of this area, discusses *saṅgīta* in its three aspects, vocal music, instrumental music and dance. Although Shārṅgadeva attempted to follow the earlier theorists, he was obliged to admit that much of the ancient music was extinct.

Indian music was known and held in high regard in the Islamic world in the 3rd/9th century, when it was praised by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Sūdān*, ed. van Vloten, 84; ed. Hārūn, *Rasāʾil*, i, 223; cf. M. Z. Siddiqi,

Studies in Arabic and Persian medical literature, Calcutta 1959, 32), and in the 4th/10th century, al-Mas'ūdī, evidently referring to the emotional impact of *rāgs*, reports that Indians "frequently hear songs and musical performances, and they have various sorts of musical instruments which produce on man all shades of impressions between laughing and crying ..." (*Murūdj*, i, 169 = tr. Pellat, § 177). Indian musical theory, too, was not entirely unknown, for the Caliphs of Baghdād are said to have ordered the translation of a number of Indian treatises, among which was one on Indian music entitled *Biyāphar* (*Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, *ca.* 595/1198) which has been interpreted as *Vidyāphala* "fruit of science", but has not yet been traced (H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous essays*, London 1873, ii, 460).

In several respects Indian music was probably similar to Persian and Arabic music, especially as all three were modal systems based on melody rather than harmony. Each of them was concerned with the cosmic implications of music as well as its power to influence the individual. In India, the modes are ascribed to specific periods of the day, and are further associated with seasons, colours and, of course, the Hindu deities. Similar associations, at first attached to the strings of the lute (al-Kindī) and later extended to include the modes, are also found in Arabic musical treatises.

Thus the conquering Muslims encountered in India a musical system which was not entirely alien, and their reaction to it appears to have been favourable. The poet Amīr Khusraw, who was expert in both Indian and Persian music at the court of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī (695/1296-715/1316), states, without equivocation, that "Indian music, the fire that burns heart and soul, is superior to the music of any other country. Foreigners, even after a stay of 30 or 40 years in India, cannot play a single Indian tune correctly" (M. W. Mirza, *Life and works of Amir Khusrau*, Calcutta 1935, 184). Amīr Khusraw is credited with the introduction into Indian music of a number of Persian and Arabic elements which include new vocal forms, as well as new *rāgs*, *tāls* (= Skt. *tāla*, time measure) and musical instruments. Of the vocal forms, two are of particular importance; *ḳawl*, which is said to be the origin of *ḳawwālī*, at present a form of religious song, and *tarāna*, a song composed of meaningless syllables, both of which are prominent today.

From this time until well into the Mughal period, foreign music, particularly from Īrān, was frequently heard in the Indian courts along with Indian music. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that there were numerous attempts to introduce new elements into Indian music. Many of these were subtle rather than drastic innovations, but they nevertheless brought about modifications in the character of Indian music without actually changing its basic form.

Music flourished in Islamic India in spite of the puritan faction which believed that music was unlawful in Islam. The impetus was supplied by the rulers, some of whom were not only patrons but excellent musicians in their own right. Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (726/1325-752/1351), although a ruler of strong religious convictions, yet kept 1,200 musicians in his service and had, in addition, 1,000 slave musicians (Mahdi Hussain, *Rehla of Ibn Batuta*, Baroda 1953, 50-1). Sultan Zayn al-'Ābidīn of Kashmīr (819/1416-872/1467) encouraged literature, painting and music and ordered the writing of a treatise on music which is, unfortunately, not extant (Abdul Halim, *History of Indo-Pak music*, Dacca 1962, 79). Ḥusayn Shāh Sharḳī (863/1458-935/1528) [see SHARḲĪS], initially of Djawnpur, was an incomparable performer and an innovator second only to Amīr Khusraw. His most important contribution was the introduction of a new form of song, *khayāl*, which gave much greater scope for technical virtuosity than did the traditional and austere *dhrupad*. The rivalry between the advocates of these two forms of song and their respective styles of singing has continued until recent times, when the *khayāl* finally gained supremacy.

This was a period of great musical activity. Sultan Sikandar Lōdī [*q.v.*] (895/1489-923/1517) took a keen interest in music in spite of his religious orthodoxy. Under his patronage, probably the first treatise on Indian music in Persian, the *Lahdjat-i Sikandar Shāhī*, was composed. This was a traditional work based on Sanskrit treatises. In Gwalior, however, Rādjā Mān Singh Tonwar (891/1486-922/1516) was responsible for the formulation of a more progressive treatise in Hindi entitled *Mān Kawtūhal*. This work was compiled by the leading musicians of his court and incorporated many of the innovations that had been introduced into Indian music since Amīr Khusraw's time. In spite of this endeavour, traditional Indian musical theory continued to be expressed, for the most part, in Sanskrit treatises which bore less and less resemblance to court music as time went on. To some extent, the traditional Indian music has been preserved in South India, but here too the music has evolved, albeit in its own direction.

Patronage of music reached its peak under the Mughal Emperors, Akbar, Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān. The lists of the leading musicians, both Hindu and Muslim, who were attached to their courts is impressive, and included such famous musicians as Tānsen, his son Bilās Khān, and Bāz Bahādur. Bāz Bahādur was the last Muslim ruler of Mālwā, whose tragic affair with Rūpmatī, a singer and dancing girl, has become legendary. In the later part of his life, after he had lost his empire, he became one of the leading musicians in Akbar's retinue. It is interesting to note that nearly all the vocalists attached to these courts were Indian, while many of the instrumentalists were foreigners, some of whom came from Mashhad, Tabrīz and Harāt (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873, i, 611-3). In addition to this court music, large orchestras (*nawbat*), consisting of wind and percussion instruments, were maintained. These usually played at regular periods in the *naḳḳār-khāna* or *nawbat-khāna*, which were located in the gateways of palaces and shrines (*ibid.*, i, 50-1). A similar tradition, *nawba*, had been known in Arabia several centuries earlier (H. G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 153-4).

In the beginning of the 11th/17th century, music flourished in the Deccan under the patronage of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, a renowned poet. The *Kitāb-i Nawras* contains a collection of his poems intended to be sung in different *rāgs*. These are, however, referred to as *maḳāms* and give an indication of the similarity between the Indian and Arabic musical systems.

Under the Emperor Awrangzīb (1068/1658-1118/1707) music suffered a temporary set-back, for, although he was fond of music and was skilled in its theory, he relinquished all pleasure and chose a life of asceticism early in his reign. The cause of Indian music was, however, revived under the later Mughals, Bahādur Shāh (1118/1707-1124/1712) and Muḥammad

Shāh (1132/1719-1161/1748). The latter was a famous singer who composed many *khayāls*, some of which can still be heard. In 1137/1724, an important Sanskrit musical text, *Saṅgīta Pāridjāta*, was translated into Persian and the manuscript bears the seal of Muḥammad Shāh's state librarian (O. C. Gangoly, *Rāgas and Rāginīs*, Bombay 1948, 63). The original work was written by Paṇḍita Ahobala in 1076/1665 and contains the first Indian attempt at measuring intervals in terms of string lengths.

With the decline of the Mughal Empire, music was maintained in the provincial courts, but not on such a lavish scale An important Hindi treatise, entitled *Saṅgīt Sār*, was compiled by the musicians of Mahārādjā Pratāp Siṃha of Djaypur at the beginning of the 19th century, while in 1813, Muḥammad Riḍā ("Rezzā"), a nobleman of Paṭnā, composed a treatise entitled *Naghmāt-i Āṣafī*, a work which is considered to be the beginning of modern musical theory in North India. Whereas in the mediaeval period many new *rāgs* had been introduced and the prevailing system of classification in terms of *rāgas* (masculine modes) and their *rāginīs* (female consorts) had been extended to include *putras* (sons) and *bhāryās* (wives of sons), a system which does not appear to have had any musical basis, in the *Naghmāt-i Āṣafī* a new system based on classification in terms of scale (*thāṭ*) was advocated. This basis for the classification of *rāgs* is generally accepted in the present period.

The process of integrating musical theory and musical practice still continues. At the beginning of this century great strides were made in this direction by the efforts of V. N. Bhatkhaṇḍe, who was both a musician and a Sanskrit scholar. His theories are based on songs which he collected from a number of eminent musicians, many of whom were Muslim and could trace their ancestry to the Mughal court musicians. Bhatkhaṇḍe's system can be briefly outlined as follows:

The octave is composed of twelve approximately equal semitones, but the intonation of these, with the exception of the perfect 4th and 5th of the standard tonic or drone note, *sā*, may vary from *rāg* to *rāg* and from musician to musician. More than 200 *rāgs* are extant, most of which are classified in 10 groups on the basis of scale (*thāṭ*). These are:

Kalyān	C	D	E	F♯	G	A	B	C
Bilāval	C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C
Khamādj	C	D	E	F	G	A	B♭	C
Bhayrav	C	D♭	E	F	G	A♭	B	C
Pūrvi	C	D♭	E	F♯	G	A♭	B	C
Mārvā	C	D♭	E	F♯	G	A	B	C
Kāfī	C	D	E♭	F	G	A	B♭	C
Āsāvari	C	D	E♭	F	G	A♭	B♭	C
Bhayravī	C	D♭	E♭	F	G	A♭	B♭	C
Toṛi	C	D♭	E♭	F♯	G	A♭	B	C

A performance of classical or art music generally consists of two parts; *ālāp*, introductory improvisation establishing the melodic features of the *rāg*; and *bandish*, the composition, which in vocal music may be *khayāl*, *dhrupad*, *tarāna* or one of several more modern forms, and in instrumental music as played on the stringed instruments, *sitār* and *sarod*, is generally *gat*. This composition is set in a particular *tāl*, a cyclic time-measure punctuated by a stress pattern which is marked on a pair of drums, *ṭablā*. The composition is generally short and is used as a springboard for improvised variations dependant on the creative ability and the virtuosity of the performer. While the variations maintain the interest of the audience, a deeper emotional impact is achieved through the gradually increasing tempo and the progressive complexity of the music which finally culminates in a powerful climax.

Bibliography: The secular music of pre-Islamic India in Sanskrit treatises, notably: Bharata, *Nāṭyashāstra*, especially chapters XXVIII-XXXIII, text and translation Man Mohan Ghosh, Calcutta 1961; Mataṅga, *Bṛhaddeshī*, Trivandrum 1928; Shārṅgadeva, *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*, Madras 1945, Eng. trans., i, ch. 1, C. Kunhan Raja, Madras 1945.

For the Islamic period; M. W. Mirza, *Life and works of Amīr Khusrau*, Calcutta 1935; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873, i, 50-1, 611-3; *op. cit.*, tr. H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1894, iii, 245-58; Nazir Ahmed, *Lahdjat-i Sikandar Shāhī*, in *IC*, xxviii (1954), 410-7; idem, *Kitāb-i Nauras*, in *IC*, xxviii (1954), 333-71; Ahobala, *Saṅgīta Pāridjāta*, Hathras 1956, with Hindi translation; V. N. Bhatkhande, *A short historical survey of the music of Upper India*, Bombay 1917; idem, *A comparative study of some of the leading music systems of the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th centuries*, Bombay 1941; Abdul Halim, *History of Indo-Pak music*, Dacca 1962. There are, in addition, a number of unpublished manuscripts of the mediaeval period, some of which are mentioned in *History of Indo-Pak music*.

Miscellaneous works on Indian music; J. Grosset, *Inde: histoire de la musique depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours*, in Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique* ..., Paris 1921, i, 257-376; A. Bake, *The music of India*, in *The new Oxford history of music*, London 1957, i, 195-227; idem, *Indische Musik*, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Bärenreiter 1952, vi, 1150-86; A. H. Fox Strangways, *Music of Hindostan*, Oxford 1914; O. C. Gangoly, *Rāgas and Rāginīs*, Bombay 1948; H. A. Popley, *The music of India*, Calcutta 1950; G. H. Ranade, *Hindusthani music*, Poona 1951; H. L. Roy, *Problems of Hindustani music*, Calcutta 1937; V. N. Bhatkhande, *Hindusthānī saṅgīt paddhatī*, Hindi tr., Hathras 1956-7, 4 vols.; idem, *Kramik Pustak Mālikā*, Hindi tr., Hathras 1954-9, 6 vols.; A Fyzee-Rahamin, *The music of India*, London 1925; Swami Prajnanananda, *Historical development of Indian music*, Calcutta 1960; Baburao Joshi, *Understanding Indian music*, London 1963. (N. A. JAIRAZBHOY)

HIND BINT AL-KHUSS, or simply BINT AL-KHUSS, name by which is known a woman of the pre-Islamic era, whose eloquence, quickness of repartee and perspicacity became legendary. According to al-Shiblī (*Ākām al-murdjān*, Cairo 1326, 71), the word *khuss* denotes the son of a man and of a *djinniyya* (while *ʿamlūk* is applied to the offspring of a *djinn* and a woman), and thus we perceive the origin of the legend which arose probably from the belief of the intervention of *djinns* in the generation of human beings endowed with exceptional gifts. In spite of affirmations such as that of *LA* (s.v.) in respect of al-Khuss: "well-known member of the Iyād", the historicity of this man and his daughter is open to serious doubt; nevertheless it is significant that some authors call the daughter Hind bint al-Khuss b. Ḥābis b. Ḳurayṭ al-Iyādī (al-Iyādiyya), while they give to another woman, presented as her sister, the name of Djum(a)ʿa bint Ḥābis b. Mulayl. Furthermore, they give her also the nickname al-

Zarḳā' and it is possible that in the welter of legends collected in the first centuries of Islam this Hind was more or less confused with Zarḳa' al-Yamāma. It is thus for instance that Karam al-Bustānī, in his edition of the *Dīwān* of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī (Beirut 1953, 45), calls "Zarḳā' al-Yamāma bint al-Khuss" the one who solved the problem posed by the poet in a poem in *-di*, where the question is raised of finding the number 66; here the commentators are divided, some according the merit of the solution to Zarḳā' al-Tamāma, others to Bint al-Khuss. Finally al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 312-3) and others after him mention the hesitation of Ibn al-Aʿrābī (al-Khuss, al-Khuṣṣ, al-Khusf) and the decision of Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (al-Akhass). Only the author of the *Bayān* seems to put in doubt (*Tarbīʿ wa-tadwīr*, § 63) the existence of this woman, of whom it is said that she used to go to ʿUkāẓ, serve as arbiter and give her opinion about camels, horses, marriage, men, women, and express in refined words opinions of great simplicity. Some of her answers, in rhyming prose, became proverbs, probably at an early date, because the first evidence for her name is in a verse of al-Farazdaḳ which does not seem to figure in the printed *Dīwān*; her "sayings" have been collected by philologists and cited as *shawāhid* and as examples of very trenchant statements.

Although she is said to have refused to marry, her conduct was not blameless, and it is to her that people attribute the proverb *ḳurb al-wisād wa-ṭūl al-siwād* "nearness of the pillow and length of confidences" (= opportunity makes the thief).

It is interesting to note that the legend of Bint al-Khuss, probably brought by the Banū Hilāl, remains very much alive in Algeria, where some "sayings", very similar to those found in the classic works, are attributed to her, and where she passes as the leader of a tribe or the daughter of an Arab king.

Bibliography: sayings in rhyming prose, proverbs and repartees of Bint al-Khuss are found scattered in Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 214; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, i, 199, ii, 218, 235, 256, 257, iii, 107, 119; Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Tahdhīb al-alfāẓ*, Beirut 1896, 353; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Tayfūr, *Balāghat al-nisā'*, 58; Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ii, 31; Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v.; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1320, 320; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ii, 40 and *passim*; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn*, 222-3 (in the margin of Ṣafadī, *Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿAdjam*, ii, 179-80); they are assembled in larger quantity in Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 333-6 (bad translation in Perron, *Femmes arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris-Algiers 1858, 43-6).—The only study is that of R. Basset, *La légende de Bent El-Khass*, in *R Afr.*, 1905, 18-34 (with numerous references).

(Ch. Pellat)

HIND BINT ʿUTBA b. Rabīʿa, mother of Muʿāwiya; this Meccan woman, who belonged to the clan of the ʿAbd Shams (see the list of her maternal ancestors in Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 19), had married as her third husband Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, to whom she bore other children besides the future caliph. Traditions hostile to the Umayyads draw an extremely repellant portrait, apparently something of a caricature, of this short, stout woman who quite certainly had a highly passionate temperament and who on different occasions made violent utterances that have remained famous. Her hatred of Muḥammad was increased still more by the fact that Ḥamza [*q.v.*] killed her father in the battle of Badr. With other women, she accompanied the Meccans on their expedition against Medina in 3/625, and was one of the most ardent in urging on the men to the fight; when Ḥamza perished in the battle of Uḥud, she is said to have mutilated his corpse and bitten his liver. According to some authors, she was condemned to death by the Prophet at the time of the capture of Mecca (8/630; see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, index s.v. Fartanā), but it is more probable that she was present—however unwillingly—to see the homage paid to the victor (see *Muḥabbar*, 408). Later, she had every reason to be satisfied with events when her son became governor of Syria and, according to one account, she took part in the battle of Yarmūk with undiminished ardour, exhorting the Muslims to circumcise their uncircumcised adversaries with their swords. In the end, Abū Sufyān divorced her, for which action she is said to have avenged herself by different intrigues. Some traditions place her death in the reign of ʿUmar, others under ʿUthmān, so that she did not live to see her son's exalted destiny.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 466, 536-7, 557, 562-3, 580 ff., 815; Wellhausen, *Wāḳidī*, 102, 128, 133, 324, 334, 344, 350; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/1, 98, viii, 4; Ṭabarī, i, 1348, 1386, 1400-1, 1415-6, 1642-3, 2766-7; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 48, 61; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, iv, 820-2; Nawawī, *Biog. Dict.*, 856; M. al-Ḥafnāwī, *Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb*, Cairo 1959.

(Fr. Buhl*)

Mīrzā **HINDĀL**, Abū Nāṣir Muḥammad, surnamed Hindāl, the name by which he is known to history, since he was born during his father's campaign to India, the youngest surviving son of the emperor Bābur [*q.v.*], by his wife Dildār Bēgam, the mother of Gulbadan Bēgam [*q.v.*]. He was born in Kābul in 925/1519 and educated there under the care of his foster-mother Māham, the first wife of Bābur and the mother of Humāyūn [*q.v.*]. At the time of Bābur's death in 937/1530 he was in Badakhshān fighting against the Özbeks, deputizing for Humāyūn who was away in Kābul. On the accession of Humāyūn he returned to India and received Alwār [*q.v.*] in *djāgīr* as well as 2,000 rupees in cash from the family treasury.

In 940/1533, when he was only 14 years old, he was sent against Tātār Khān, a powerful noble, who had rebelled against Humāyūn and joined hands with Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt (933-944/1526-1537).

During the battle of Čawsa (Chausa) in 946/1539, in which Humāyūn suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Shēr Shāh Sūr [*q.v.*], he, in league with Kāmrān [*q.v.*], the rebel brother of Humāyūn, played an ignoble rôle and deserted Humāyūn at a very critical juncture. Similarly during Humāyūn's campaign in Bengal (945/1538-39) he acted rather treacherously and, taking advantage of his royal brother's absence in Gawr, unfurled the banner of revolt at Āgra [*q.v.*]; he occupied the Imperial palace and, assuming kingship, began to issue firmans. Shaykh Buhlūl, the elder brother of the celebrated saint Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior, who was sent by Humāyūn to make Hindāl see reason and dissuade him from pursuing his rebellious activities, was executed by the orders of Hindāl on the charge of treason (cf. Gulbadan Bēgam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, 134-5; al-Badā'ūnī, i, 459; *Akbar-nāma*, i, 338). Humāyūn felt grieved at the Shaykh's death but did not consider it prudent to punish his rebel brother. It was in Hindāl's camp at Rōhrī, near Bhakkar [*q.v.*], that Humāyūn first saw Ḥamīda Bānū Bēgam in 948/1541 and decided to marry her.

This match was resented by Hindāl, in whose entourage Ḥamīda happened to be. On Humāyūn's refusal to give up, Hindāl felt offended and without the royal permission left for Ḳandahār which he seized from Kāmrān's men. Even this act of open revolt was condoned by Humāyūn, who allowed him to retain his newly gained possession. The territory of Badakhshān was conferred on him for gallantry during the battle of Ḳunduz in 953/1546. He was killed on 21 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 952/21 November 1551 in a surprise attack by Kāmrān's men while engaged in reconnoitring operations at night in the vicinity of Djū-yi Shāhī in eastern Afghānistān, where he was temporarily buried. His coffin was later removed to Kābul and interred near the grave of his father, the emperor Bābur. He was more faithful to Humāyūn than his other ambitious brothers, Kāmrān and ʿAskarī. He was married to Sulṭānim Bēgam, a sister of Sayyid Mahdī Khwādja, husband of Bābur's sister, Khānzāda Bēgam. His daughter Ruḳayya Bēgam was Akbar's first wife but bore him no children. She died at the advanced age of 84 on 7 Djumādā I 1035/19 January 1626 at Āgra (cf. Gulbadan Bēgam, 274).

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HINDĪ, the national language of the Republic of India, is now generally regarded as that form of the central north Indian speech which draws its erudite vocabulary from Sanskrit and its culture from Hinduism, and for literary purposes as including not only the standard dialect (Khaṛī bolī) but also the eastern Awadhī, the central Bradj, and the bardic poetry of Rādjāsthān [see also hind, Languages]. Formerly, and as late as the 19th century, it was also used to describe the speech of north Indian Muslims, those of *Hind* as opposed to *Dakhan*, the speech of the Hindūs being distinguished as *Hindawī*. The term has now been replaced entirely in its Muslim sense by *Urdū* [*q.v.*]; in the remainder of this article the term *Hindī* is used in its Hindū sense.

The relevance of Hindī to Islam is threefold: there is a small but important corpus of Hindī works by Muslim writers; Muslim rulers and nobles have been active patrons of Hindī poetry; and there has been a considerable Muslim influence on Hindī vocabulary, with a more limited influence on grammar (including phonology, morphology and syntax) and on style.

The Muslim poets' interest in Hindī began early, long before the emergence of anything resembling Urdū as an Indian Muslim language; thus under Ghaznawid rule in Lahore in the 6th/12th century Masʿūd b. Saʿūd Salmān is credited with a Hindī *dīwān* as well as *dīwāns* in Arabic and Persian (ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 246). The first Muslim poet of Hindī whose works have come down to us is, however, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.v.*], who wrote at the Khaldjī and Tughluḳ courts in the late 7th/13th and early 8th/14th centuries; his Hindī output is small beside his prolific Persian works: a few riddles and macaronic Hindī/Persian verses, and the short rhyming Persian-Hindī dictionary, the *Khāliḳ-bārī*, an important early vehicle for the diffusion of common Persian words in north India.

The north Indian *bhakti* movement—sometimes seen incorrectly as a Hindū reaction seeking to strengthen Hinduism against the advancing pressure of conversions to Islam; in fact its origins date from long before the conquest and its early growth was in regions of slight Muslim influence—saw little Islamic theological and philosophical influence, although the number of Arabic and Persian loanwords used in the Hindī of its exponents is noteworthy. The poet Kabīr [*q.v.*], of a Muslim weaver (*djulāhā*) family from Banāras (Benares), is unquestionably most strongly influenced by the Hindū *bhakti* tradition, even though his theology is a deistic monotheism with Vedāntic affinities; but his preaching appears to be directed as much to Muslims as to Hindūs, and his followers, the Kabīrpanthīs, have both Hindū and Muslim branches. His exact chronology is most uncertain, but he does seem to have been a contemporary of Sikandar Lōdī; Kabīr criticism is bedevilled by the fact that his followers composed verses in his name, and the true Kabīr and the pseudo-Kabīr sometimes overlap disconcertingly. Some of the authentic Kabīr poetry is collected in the *Ādi Granth*, the Sikh scriptures put together in 1012/1603, which shows clearly the formative effect of Kabīr on Nānak [*q.v.*], his younger contemporary. Nānak's writings in the *Granth* show him to have been somewhat closer to Hinduism than was Kabīr; perhaps both show, especially in their emphasis of the worship of the Name of God and in the importance they attach to the teacher, the influence of the Pandjābī Ṣūfī teachers of the previous centuries starting with Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd [*q.v.*], two of whose verses in a sort of "Pandjābized" Hindī (perhaps modernized by later redactors) occur in the *Granth*.

An important school of writing in Awadhī (Eastern Hindī) known as *prem-gāthā* (lit. 'love song'), of Ṣūfī inspiration, depends entirely on Muslim authors. The works are all narrative love stories, some of them owing much to the poetic conventions of the Sanskrit romances; but the love stories of two humans are to be taken as allegories of the soul's love for God and its ultimate union with Him. The earliest such work is the *Čandāyan* of Mawlānā Dāʾūd, of about 771/1370, on a popular romantic tale which appears to have been known as far east as Bengal (cf. Rai Krishnadas, *An illustrated Avadhi MS of Laurchanda in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras*, in *Lalit Kalā*, 1955-6, 65-71). Some of the *Čandāyan*'s successors of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries are now known only by their names, although the stories on which they are based are still current in folk-literature (cited by Djāyasī in *Padmāwat*, xxiii, stanza 17; see further Gaṇesh Prasād Dwiwedī, *Hindī mẽ prem-gāthā awr Malik Muhammad Djāyasī*, in *Nāgarī Pračāriṇī Patrikā*, xvii/1, 61 ff. (in Hindī)); but in the extant *Mṛgāwatī* of Shaykh Ḳuṭb ʿAlī of

Djawnpur, known as Ḳuṭban, the allegorical element seems slight in spite of Ḳuṭb ʿAlī's having been a *murīd* of Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn of Kalpī (composed 909/1503-4). Slightly later (*ca.* 936/1530) is the *Madhu-mālatī* of Mīr Sayyid Mānḍjhan, who was later a luminary of the Sūrī courts; although incomplete, the work is one of the finest Hindī romances of pre-Mughal times, with a well-constructed allegory and a striking description of the beauties of nature. By far the most prominent writer of this school is Malik Muḥammad Djāyasī [*q.v.*], b. 900/1494, whose *Ākhirī kalām* (930/1523) is a short poem on the Day of Judgment, and whose *Akharāwaṭ*, of about the same period, is an acrostic on the characters of the Devanāgarī script of Sanskrit and Hindī to which mystic significance is attached; his *magnum opus* is the *Padmāwat* of 947/1540, a *prem-gāthā* partially based on the siege of Čitawr in 689/1290 by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, in which the poet sees the hero Ratansen as man's soul, the elder queen Nāgmatī as worldly care, the young queen Padmāwatī as wisdom, Čitawr as the body, the parrot who brings the message of Padmāwatī's beauty to Ratansen as the true teacher, Rāghaw Četan the Brāhmaṇ, who betrays Padmāwatī to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, as Satan, and the sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn himself as illusion, this *taʾwīl* being explicitly stated in the closing verses. The *Padmāwat* has formed a model for later Awadhī Ṣūfī poets (and, further afield, for the Bengali [*q.v.*] poet Ālāwal), the most notable of whom is Sayyid ʿUthmān of Djawnpur, a Niẓāmiyya Čishtī of a *silsila* very similar to that of Muḥyī al-Dīn, Djāyasī's teacher; his *Čitrāwalī* of *ca.* 1022/1613 shows a Nepalese prince marrying first the princess Kamalāwatī and then renouncing her to conquer princess Čitrāwalī: the allegory is the necessity for the renunciation of ignorance in order to attain true knowledge. Similar are the *Gyān-dīp* of Shaykh Nabī of *ca.* 1028/1619, the *Hans-djawāhir* of Ḳāsim Shāh of Daryābād of 1143/1731, Nūr Muḥammad's *Indrāwatī* of 1157/1744, and a *Yūsuf-Zulaykhā* by Shaykh Niṣār of Shekhūpur of 1200/1786. All these works have in common, besides the allegorical treatment of a love-story, a poetic form closely resembling the traditional *mathnawī* but couched in purely Indian metrical forms; and all, though the language is Awadhī, use the Persian script (although Devanāgarī recensions are also known).

With the coming of the Mughal courts, the Indian vernaculars flourished under royal patronage. Even Bābur is known to have composed a verse in Hindī (cf. T. Grahame Bailey, *Early Urdū conversation*, in *BSOS*, vi/1 (1930), 205-8; although Urdū *stricto sensu* had not at that time come into being), and certainly had admitted a large number of Hindī words to the Turkī of his autobiography (list in M. A. Ghani, *History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal court*, Allahabad 1929, i, 59). His grandson Akbar, who was thoroughly Indianized, is known as the author of several Hindī couplets, in which he signs himself *Akabbar sāhi* (= Shāh), but most of all for the patronage he extended to Hindī poets, Muslim and Hindū alike. And the liberality of his age created conditions for the writing of the finest Hindī devotional poetry by Sūr Dās and Tulsī Dās, who were in no way dependent on court patronage; they were poets of Hindū *bhakti*, devotion to a personal god who for the love of his worshippers was incarnated in human form: Krishṇa in the case of Sūr and his followers, Rām in the case of Tulsī. Naturally there are no Muslim poets of this school, for the implicit theology is the antithesis of Islam; the one Muslim name among its writers, Sayyid Ibrāhīm called Ras Khān (b. 980/1573), is an apostate. The Krishṇa-cult, however, had in some writers an aspect capable of secular interpretation in the stories of the boy-god's dalliance with the cowherd girls of Brindāban, especially with the principal Rādhā; and while with devotees the Rādhā-Krishṇa stories were no more than symbolic of the longing of the human soul for union with the divine, in the hands of others they could provide a convenient peg on which to hang erotic verses. Eroticism in Indian poetry had a long and refined tradition and was closely linked with Indian theories of poetics, and it was this deliberately cultivated display of the poetic art which came into great favour at the Mughal courts as the indigenous counterpart to Persian court poetry. At Akbar's court Hindī verses were written by rādjā Ṭodar Mall [*q.v.*], by Bīrbal of Djaypur, to whom many witty and humorous apophthegms are ascribed (the modern *Bīrbal-nāmas* preserve perhaps the spirit but certainly not the words of the genuine Bīrbal), the brothers Abu 'l-Faḍl and Fayḍī [*qq.v.*], and above all by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān [*q.v.*], entitled Khān-i Khānān, who wrote under the *takhalluṣ* Raḥīm. His *Satsaī* is a collection of seven hundred couplets (*dohās*) on a variety of themes, each a neatly polished pen-picture, in which the essential philosophy and experience of this cultivated soldier is everywhere apparent; in his *Nayikā-bhed*, a conventional *genre* of Indian poetry which depicts the various types of heroine, he has used the *barwayya* metre which he did much to popularize; some of his *barwayyas* are written in Persian or in Persian and Hindī mixed, some verses in other metres are Sanskrit/Hindī macaronics, and a treatise on astrology is in Persianized Sanskrit; he is also remembered as the translator into Persian of Bābur's Turkī memoirs, and as the patron of the Hindī poet Gang Kavi. On Raḥīm see specially V. Vidyalankar, *ʿAbdur Raḥīm Khānkhānān and his Hindi poetry*, in *IC*, xxiv/2 (1950), 123-33.

The same traditions continued under Djahāngīr and Shāhdjahān, both emperors taking an active interest in Hindī poetry, rewarding poets, and causing Hindī works to be transcribed into Persian characters; and Mīrzā Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad's *Tuḥfat al-Hind*, written for Awrangzīb, shows his interest in the vernacular: an introduction dealing with the Devanāgarī script and the grammar of Bradj-bhāshā is followed by chapters on prosody, rhyme, rhetoric, *ars amoris*, and music (Syed Masud Hasan Rizavi, *The Tuhfatu'l-Hind*..., in *Jhā commemoration volume*, Poona 1937, 309-14). The Mughal courts set the fashion for the provincial courts of Hindū kings, and in particular Orčhā, Djaypur, Gwāliyār, Nāgpur, Bundī and Satārā patronized Hindī poetry; in the Mughal court Awrangzīb's third son Aʿẓam Shāh is particularly known as an enthusiastic patron, and a special recension of Bihārī Lāl's *Satsaī* (composed 1073/1662, the highest point of Hindī court poetry, a natural descendant of Raḥīm's) was made in his honour. Other poets who should be mentioned here are Ghanānand, a Kāyasth, for some time an amanuensis of Muḥammad Shāh, one of the most personal and idyllic of love-poets, killed in Nādir Shāh's sack of Dihlī; and Sayyid Ghulām Nabī Bilgrāmī, known as Raslīn, who in the 1150s/1740s produced a learned work on rhetoric and a most felicitous treatment on the beauty of heroines; and the Brāhmaṇ convert ʿĀlam, in the service of prince Muʿaẓẓam (later the emperor Bahādur Shāh), who with his wife—now known by no other name than

S͟hayk͟h—jointly composed hundreds of light epicurean verses.

Prose literature in the modern Indian languages is little known before the 19th century. With the founding of Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800, for the purpose of instructing the servants of the East India Company in Indian languages, an impetus was given to the development of prose, especially in Hindī and Urdū, by the commissioning of translators; although one work of Hindī prose, *Rānī Ketkī kī kahānī*, had already been completed in 1800 by Ins͟hā' Allāh K͟hān [*q.v.*], who was in the service first of S͟hāh ʿĀlam II in Delhi and later of Saʿādat ʿAlī K͟hān in Lucknow and was an accomplished Urdū poet. The Hindī produced under these auspices was in fact the Khaṛī bolī dialect, that is to say virtually the same dialectal standard of the northern speech as in the case of Urdū, the literary form of which was by now well established; and herein lies the innovation of the Fort William school of Hindī writing, for previously only Awadhī and Bradj had attained literary status, although Khaṛī bolī had for centuries been the *spoken* norm in the Delhi region; and in practice this new literary language was little more than the language of Urdū-speaking Hindūs, in which words of Arabic and Persian origin had been replaced by words either Sanskrit or of Sanskrit origin. Although its chief exponent, Lallūdjī Lāl [*q.v.*], was also an Urdū writer, he went to the extreme of using Sanskrit words of learned rather than popular currency, and the new Hindī was accepted in consequence by a militant orthodox Hindū element rather than by the Hindū element as a whole. The Christian missionaries in Madras and Bengal had, in their Hindī translations of the Christian scriptures, naturally preferred to use religious terms already familiar to the Hindū mind, and thus increased the Sanskritic element. Macaulay's appointment in 1834 as President of the Committee of Public Instruction nearly visited this Hindī with its death-blow, by his insistence on the value of Western education for Indians and his vigorous but uninformed and injudicious denials that classical Indian learning had anything to offer; Persian continued as the language of the courts until 1837, when Urdū replaced it; and, when the question of the medium of instruction in the schools arose after the report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1854, the adoption of Hindī was vehemently opposed by Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān [*q.v.*] on the grounds that it was a rustic tongue and the language of idolators (in this view he was supported by the French Professor Garcin de Tassy). But at this time Rādjā S͟hiw Prasād (not a rādjā in the traditional sense; the title of rādjā was a British conferment) became an inspector of schools in the Department of Public Instruction and produced some sixteen text-books for school use in a language not far removed from Urdū, but in Devanāgarī script, which allowed the use of Hindī in the schools' curricula; in a preface to one of these he condemns those "who always urge the exclusion of Persian words, even those which have become our household words . . . and use in their stead Sanskrit words quite out of place and fashion, or those coarse expressions which can be tolerated only among a rustic population"; and he endeavoured to bring this Hindī to a wider public through his newspaper *Banāras Ak͟hbār*. But the form of the language he used was felt to offer too many concessions to Muslim usage, and the more militant orthodox Hindū politicians, especially Rādjā Laks͟hmaṇ Singh, gradually brought about the rejection of S͟hiw Prasād's Persianized diction in favour of a more highly Sanskritized style. Hindū-Muslim tension was thus reflected on a linguistic plane.

The subsequent growth of Hindī into a literature rather than merely a written language, first by the efforts of Bhāratendu Haris͟hčandra and later by Mahāwīr Prasād Dwiwedī, does not concern us here, as the linguistic and stylistic differences between Hindī and Urdū became greater and Muslims found in Hindī an expression to which they could not give their allegiance. Authors who used both Hindī and Urdū as literary vehicles are very rare —Premčand [*q.v.*] is a notable exception. Community feeling and nationalism have preserved the Hindū-Muslim linguistic dichotomy in both Hindī and Urdū (in a way which has not affected Bengali), the short-lived Hindūstānī Movement [see HINDŪSTĀNĪ] having commanded little popularity; but the protagonists of the Sanskritized Hindī, which now has the blessing of the Government of India, have not had things all their own way: shortly after partition, village communities near Delhi and in the Indian Pandjāb preferred to listen to the news broadcasts of Pakistan Radio from Lahore, finding their Urdū more comprehensible than the Hindī broadcasts of the All-India Radio. Recently there have been signs of an increased acceptance of Hindī by some north Indian Muslims.

The above account has excluded Dakhnī, which will be treated under URDŪ. It must be mentioned, however, that many old Dakhnī texts are now being published in Devanāgarī transcription in India, often under the name of "Dakhnī Hindī", and it is probable that before long Dakhnī will be studied in India as part of Hindī literature (cf. Bābūrām Saksenā, *Dakkhinī Hindī*, Allāhābād 1952).

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(J. BURTON-PAGE)

SABK-I **HINDĪ** [see SABK-I HINDĪ].

HINDŪ, the name given to the largest religious community of India, conquered by the Muslims in the 6th/12th century. Early Muslim knowledge about the religious belief of India was very small: and no wonder, for Hinduism is utterly different from Islam in most of its ways. It is essentially polytheistic, has no official scripture (although many sacred books), no canon, many different schools of belief and of philosophy and yet really no orthodoxy, and above all no prophecy; it tolerates the worship of idols, which are nevertheless not a necessity; it knows no organized worship, although it has temples—but devotion in these is optional and individual; its

religion is inseparable from its concepts of society and of state; and its goal is not the release of the soul to a paradise and to a physical resurrection, but the release of the soul from a particular body for the purposes of rebirth until eventually the soul is freed from the necessity of transmigration. What, perhaps, impresses the oldest Muslim writers, the Arab geographers, most about Hinduism is its utter difference from Islam, and its social strictures and exclusiveness —the way, for example, certain people were excluded from eating with, or taking food from the hands of others. Its beliefs were not investigated for Islam before al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] compiled his *K. Taʾrīkh al-Hind* in Ghazna in the 5th/11th century; this deals, however, mostly with the beliefs of the Brāhman community, the highest grade in the Hindū social order [see BARĀHIMA], a rigid system (although divided into six more orthodox schools, and a number of less orthodox ones) communicated by oral tradition from father to son or from hereditary teacher to selected and initiated pupil, based on the Vedas (the hymns to the gods composed by the Āryan people in their migrations to India in the 2nd millennium B.C.) and their later mythological accretions and their philosophical interpretations. Al-Bīrūnī, though he mentions many popular practices, does not seem to have gone so far as collecting material on "popular" Hinduism, the beliefs of the non-Brāhman population: a plethora of superstitions, taboos, local godlings including snakes, propitiation of ancestors, magical spells, sacred objects and places, and a system of ritual exclusiveness and restrictive practices far in excess of the system of the Brāhmans. For the Brāhmans, the priests of the community, are the descendants of the upper grade in the original Āryan hierarchy who have kept their old beliefs most pure; the lower grades intermarried more freely with the Dravidian and aboriginal inhabitants of the country they conquered, and absorbed more of the indigenous beliefs. To the Muslim conquerors all these shades of Hindū belief were anathema; their practitioners were not *Ahl al-Kitāb*, and therefore in theory they could not be beneficiaries of the *dhimma* [see DHIMMĪ], and be given the choice of paying the *djizya* [*q.v.*]; the alternatives were Islam or death. This, however, is not easy for a minority to impose on a majority, and there is early evidence (from the *Čač-nāma*, a Persian work of *ca.* 613/1216 said to be a translation of an Arabic account of the conquest of Sind) of the Sindhīs being allowed the status of *dhimmī*. There are references to *djizya* early in the chronicles of the Dihlī sultanate, but these may relate to the payment of tribute by Hindū chieftains.

The rulers of India seem to have taken little interest in the belief of their subjects before the reign of Akbar. That ruler introduced many forms drawn from Hindū worship (as from that of the Djayns and Pārsīs [*qq.v.*] and from Christianity) into his personal devotions, and later into his own syncretistic faith the Dīn-i Ilāhī [*q.v.*]; how much these meant to the orthodox Muslim of the time is illustrated by Badāʾūnī's scathing comments in the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*. Akbar's religious curiosity was followed by that of his great-grandson, Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*], in whom it was perhaps more dangerous to Islam in India as he saw the mixing of the two seas (*madjmaʿ al-baḥrāyn*; cf. Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 59-60) of Muslim and Hindū pantheistic mysticism as a scholastic counter to orthodoxy, and sought in this the common factors of Hinduism and Islam. He was correct in identifying these common factors, for the mysticism of the pantheism which developed from polytheism in the Hindū philosophers, particularly those of the Vedāntic schools, is little different theologically from the pantheistic mysticism of, say, Ibn al-ʿArabī; however, the consensus of the Muslim community on Dārā's beliefs was certainly that he was guilty of heresy.

Although the apparent rapprochement of Islam to Hinduism in the writings of the Indian *ṣūfī*s suggests that Islam in India may have come under Hindū influence, this does not in fact appear to have been the case; although some trends in Hindū mysticism may have stimulated the *ṣūfī* mystics. This mysticism was in Ṣūfism long before its arrival in India, and indeed al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] is not far from the thought of the Upanishads. The real union of Islamic and Hindū notions comes rather from the Hindū side, in the syncretistic movements of north India in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries: Kabīr [*q.v.*], in spite of his name, is more in the Hindū tradition than the Muslim, and indeed his Islam appears to have been learnt at second-hand; what singles him out from other Hindū preachers is his uncompromising monotheism, expressed pantheistically, rather than the usual mediaeval Hindū monotheistic expression which is a henotheism and susceptible of compromise. The later Islamic influence in some of the syncretistic cults, such as the Prān-nāthīs, the Kabīr-panthīs, the Dādū-panthīs, and not excluding the Sikhs [*q.v.*], stems directly through Kabīr's monotheism.

Hindū influences on some of the Muslim writers of Hindī [*q.v.*] are rather literary than religious. When Indian literature began to be studied as an art-form in the Mughal courts and under Mughal patronage a whole additional repertory of image and metaphor, already couched in Hindū terms, became available to the Muslim poet; indeed, we know that much of this repertoire was already familiar to the *ṣūfī* poets of Awadhī [see MALIK MUḤAMMAD DJĀYASĪ]. But its acceptance by Muslim poets such as Raḥīm [see ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM KHĀN-I KHĀNĀN] certainly does not involve the acceptance of the theology; indeed, it does not seem to involve it on the part of many Hindū writers.

There do, however, seem to have been some Hindū influences on Muslims in social rather than in religious practices. The Hindū conception of caste (*djāt*, *djāti*), a pre-Āryan social division of society which, by being grafted on to the Āryan concept of social order (*varṇa*), has acquired Brāhmanical sanction and consequent sanctification, has certainly spread to Muslim minority communities in some of the remoter districts of India. Caste is, for example, usually endogamous, and some Muslim communities have adopted similar restrictive endogamic patterns to those of their Hindū neighbours; in some cases even community of worship has ceased to be observed, and commensality has been replaced by mutually restricted eating groups. This is particularly noticeable among recent converts from Hinduism, especially from the lower caste Hindūs or from the so-called "untouchables"; it applies also to converts to Christianity in districts where a competent ministry is only rarely available. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

HINDŪ KUSH, extensive range of mountains in northern Afghānistān, which forms the watershed between the river systems of the Amū Daryā and the Indus [*qq.v.*]. The range extends in a westerly direction from the junction of the Mustagh and

Sariḳol ranges in the region of the Pāmirs to where it is extinguished among the low hills of the Paropamisus range. The Kūh-i Bābā mountains are not so much an extension of the Hindū Kush as an overlapping range, separated from the Hindū Kush itself by the Bāmiyān valley. The origin of the name Hindū Kush is obscure. Popular etymology derives it from the Persian *kushtan*, "to kill", and according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 84) it refers to the death of slaves being carried from India to Turkestan.

The range may be divided into two sections. The westerly section, to which the name Hindū Kush is locally confined, stretches from near Bāmiyān to the Khawāk pass. This part contains a large number of passes, some of which have formed the traditional routes of merchants, pilgrims and conquerors between Turkestan and India. The eastern section from the Khawāk pass to near the Kilik pass, which links Hunza with Yārkand, separates Badakhshān and Wakhān on the north from Nūristān (Kāfiristān), Hunza and Čitrāl on the south. Because of the greater difficulty of the country to the south, the passes in this area, among which are the Dora, linking Čitrāl with Badakhshān, and the Baroghil, have never been used to the same extent as those in the western section. Until the later part of the nineteenth century they were little known to Europeans, but in the course of the last quarter of that century a great deal of exploration was done on behalf of the Government of India, especially in connexion with the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1885.

Although the range presents substantial difficulties to north-south communications, they have never been found insuperable. The main routes are all open for six months of the year. Historically the most used routes between Kābul and the north were that via the Pandjshīr valley and the Khawāk pass (11,650 feet), which was used by Alexander the Great and by Tīmūr, and the route up the Bāmiyān valley over the Aḳ Ribāṭ Pass (12,500 feet), which was used by the early Buddhist pilgrims and by Čingiz Khān. The first motor road, completed in 1933 with the aid of German engineers, followed neither of these routes, however, but turned north down the Bāmiyān valley from Shikārī. Like its predecessors it involved an extensive detour. In the reign of Amān Allāh Russian engineers had suggested a more direct route across the difficult Sālang pass (11,700 feet). In 1956 this project was again taken up and by 1964 a new road had been completed involving the construction of a tunnel, one and a half miles long, beneath the Sālang Pass. This new road shortened the journey between Kābul and the north by 125 miles, a fact of great economic and political importance.

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(M. E. YAPP)

HINDŪ-SHĀHĪS, a native dynasty of northern India who were the first great opponents of Ghaznawid and Islamic expansion into the Pandjāb. Bīrūnī in his *Taḥḳīḳ mā li 'l-Hind* describes them as originally Turks from Tibet who ruled in the Kābul river valley; it is possible that these "Turks" were Hinduized epigoni of the Kushans and Kidarites pushed eastwards by the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA]. During the 4th/10th century these first Hindū-Shāhīs were replaced by a Brāhmanic line. In the time of the first Ghaznawids Sebüktigin and Maḥmūd [*qq.v.*], the Hindū-Shāhīs constituted a powerful kingdom stretching from Lāmghān to Mūltān and the southern foothills of Kashmīr and based on Udabhāṇḍapur or Wayhind (modern Und near Attock).

In the course of his campaigns down the Kābul valley, Sebüktigin attacked and twice defeated the Hindū-Shāhī Rādjā Djaypāl. Maḥmūd intensified the struggle; Djaypāl was captured and sold as a slave in Khurāsān, and by 399/1008-9 his successor Ānandpāl had been driven out of Peshāwar and Wayhind. Despite the efforts of Ānandpāl's son Triločanpāl to rally the support of other threatened princes, the "Turuṣkas", as the Ghaznawids' Turks appear in Indian sources, drove him into the eastern Pandjāb. With his death in 412/1021-2, the dynasty ceased to exist as a major impediment to Ghaznawid penetration towards the Ganges-Djumna basin, although some Hindū-Shāhī princes took refuge in Kashmīr and others founded minor independent principalities in the mountains of Čitrāl and Gilgit.

Bibliography: Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. Sachau, London 1888-1910, ii, 10-14; M. A. Stein, *Zur Geschichte der Śāhis von Kabul*, in *Festgrüss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart 1893; M. Nāẓim, *The Hindu Shāhiyya kingdom of Ohind*, in *JRAS*, 1927, 485-95; idem, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 86-97, 194-6; H. C. Ray, *The dynastic history of Northern India (early mediaeval period)*, Calcutta 1931-6, i, 55-106; N. Dutt *et al.*, eds., *Gilgit manuscripts*, i, Srinagar 1939, Introd., 34-6.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

HINDŪSTĀN [see HIND].

HINDUSTĀNĪ, also HINDŪSTĀNĪ, HINDOSTĀNI, is or has been used in India, confusingly, to mean at least three different forms of language, the first two of which are common.

i.—As a synonym for Urdū [*q.v.*] as spoken in North India; *i.e.*, the Muslim speech of Hindustān as opposed to the Deccan; antonym Dakhnī.

ii.—As a name for that speech which is the common denominator of Urdū and Hindī [*q.v.*], coloured neither by recondite loanwords from Persian nor by loanwords from Sanskrit: the sort of language in which a Muslim villager might converse with a Hindū villager, and *vice versa*; in this sense, also the customary simplification of speech made by an educated Muslim or Hindū to an uneducated person of his own community. In this form common Persian loanwords are used freely by both Hindūs and Muslims. In this sense may be included also a common bazaar speech of north India which may extend west to Bombay and east to Calcutta, a sort of Hindī/Urdū without genders and *sine flexione*.

The spoken norm of the district round about Mīraṫh ('Meerut') is described by Grierson in the *Linguistic survey of India* as 'Vernacular Hindustani';

but this term is now not in use by linguists, and has never been an Indian usage.

iii.—A conscious attempt, made for political purposes, at a language acceptable to both Muslims and Hindūs in speech and in writing, especially the written language of the "Hindustānī movement" of the 1930s and early 1940s; one may see in this movement, which arose within the Indian National Congress [*q.v.*], a political attempt to placate both the Muslims within the Congress party and also the Muslim League. This was virtually Urdū, shorn perhaps of its more recondite Persian loanwords, written in the Devanāgarī script used for Hindī, indicating the Urdū letters *ḳ*, *kh*, *gh*, *z* (including *ḍ*, *dh*, *ẓ* and possibly *zh*) and *f* by modifications of the Devanāgarī characters *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *ja*, and *pha*. By some Hindūs this form was spelt *Hindusthānī* (Sanskrit *sthāna* is cognate to Persian *-stān*). Any hopes the movement had of establishing this hybrid as a national language for India were never high, and seemed to recede completely during the 1939-45 war; afterwards there was no necessity for its resuscitation. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

HINGLĀDJ [see LAS-BĒLA].

ḤINNĀʾ, henna (known to botanists as the *Lawsonia alba* of Lamarck, a name preferable to the *L. inarmis* of Linnaeus, which corresponds only to the young form of the plant, the adult form being *spinosa*), shrub whose leaves possess medical properties and are used as a dye. In Arabic, the word most commonly used is *ḥinnāʾ*, but in the earlier language there were used other words which, however, were applied also to other dye-producing plants: saffron (*zaʿfarān*), safflower (*ḳurṭum*, *ʿuṣfur*) and curcuma (*kurkum*); these are *yarannā* and *raḳūn*, *riḳān*, *irḳān*; the three last are perhaps connected with *yaraḳān* "jaundice" and with the root *ḳnʾ* which conveys the idea of "to dye dark red", but which has no corresponding noun.

The whitish flower of henna was called *fāghiya* or *faghw*. It has a sweet and strong perfume which is reminiscent of that of mignonette (in Cairo today mignonette bears the unexpected name of *tamr ḥinnā*) and it is for this perfume that henna is cultivated in the gardens of the Near East. The flower was used to make a scented oil (*duhn al-faghw*).

Henna and its uses are known from the Atlantic to the Ganges. It was not grown in Muslim Spain. In Africa it is cultivated in semi-desert regions around the Sahara: Sūs, Darʿa, Tuwāt, Bilād al-Djarīd, Ḳābis, Tripolitania, Egypt, Nubia, Nigeria. In Morocco, surprisingly, henna is grown in abundance, much further to the north, in the suburb of Azammūr [*q.v.*] at 33° 17′ N.; it was probably introduced by the Shtūka, moved there from Sūs.

In Asia, henna is cultivated throughout the Near East (that of ʿAsḳalān [*q.v.*] was famous at the beginning of the Middle Ages), in Iran and in western India. It appears to be a native of the last two regions.

In medicine, the astringent properties of the leaves were used, in a decoction, for treating burns, thrush and swelling accompanied by inflammation. Applied as poultices to the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, they closed the pores and reduced perspiration. But it is as a cosmetic that henna is most generally used and has finally acquired a ritual use as a prophylactic. Its dried leaves, finely crushed or ground, then sieved, are mixed to a paste with a little water; this paste, applied as a poultice overnight, dyes a reddish orange colour of varying intensity. Old men use it to dye their beards and both sexes to dye their hair a tawny blonde. Young women use it, mixed with other ingredients (tan, indigo, etc.) to dye their hair black and to strengthen it. Women also, to make themselves attractive, decorate with henna their nails, the backs of their hands and the tops of their feet on all festive occasions. Almost everywhere throughout the Muslim world, one of the feast days preceding the consummation of a marriage is set aside for the ritual dyeing of the bride's hands and feet with henna; a parallel but simpler ceremony may take place for the bridegroom. It is also not uncommon to see a fine horse with its forelock, mane, tail or feet dyed with henna; or perhaps a fine sheep destined for sacrifice.

In all these cases the true aim of the dyeing is probably less to embellish than to protect against the evil eye: there is considerable evidence that prophylactic powers are attributed to the colour red.

So long as the henna is not applied so as to form designs similar to tattooing (parts of the skin being left undyed by masking them) Islam readily permits it and its virtues are proclaimed in many *ḥadīths*.

The Arabic name for henna has spread to most of the Muslim languages. In Persian it is pronounced *ḥinā*, without *shadda*; in Turkish it is *ḳına*. The Spanish *alheña* (with the stress on the *e*) derives from a form with a shortened final vowel: *ḥinnat* which has become general in dialectical Arabic. It should be mentioned that here and there, in North Africa, the euphemism *ḥannet əl-bḳər* "henna of the cattle" indicates a mixture of dung and chaff used as plaster for threshing-floors, walls, etc. In Hindi, henna is called *mehndī* (*meṅhdī*) from the Sanskrit *mendhika*.

The properties of the leaves and the flowers of henna were known and used by the ancient Egyptians and by the Hebrews.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Traité des simples*, tr. Leclerc, i, 469, no. 719; Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, index, s.v. *Ḥennà*; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, index, s.v. *Ḥenna*; idem, *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914, index s.v. *ḥenna*; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, i, 399-400, ii, 959-62 (plus the many references given in these last two works); G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Dichtern*, iii, 50: V. Loret, *La flore pharaonique*, 2nd ed., 80. (G. S. COLIN)

HINTĀTA, a famous Berber confederation in the central Moroccan High Atlas, of the stock of the sedentary Maṣmūda [*q.v.*]; according to Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, French trans. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, ii, 281), *Intī* was the current ethnic designation of these mountain-dwellers. During the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries they played an important part in securing the success of the Almohad movement and in strengthening the Muʾminid dynasty by being the first to support the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*]. Their chief Faska-u-Mzal then received the name of a Companion of the Prophet, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar [*q.v.*]. This eminent figure held a leading position in Almohad history and his grandson, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, later founded the Ḥafṣid dynasty in Tunis, in 625/1228 [for the Hintāta of Tunisia see ḤAFṢIDS]. The Hintāta fought on every battlefield in the cause of the Almohads, and provided the dynasty with chiefs of real worth and unassailable fidelity. Those who remained in the country settled down permanently in the upper valleys of the Wādī Drāʿ. After the tragic events that marked the end of the Almohads in 667/1269, the family of the Awlād Yūnus, whose origin seems to have been connected with Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, gave their support unreser-

vedly to the Marīnids, and for a long period played an important political and fiscal part in South Morocco. It was among them that sultan Abū ʿInān found refuge and solace, in 759/1358, before his death. Their representatives acted as more or less independent viziers under the Marīnid princes who were appointed as governors of Marrākush and its neighbourhood. One of these, ʿAmīr, had a distinguished career (Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote his praises) and ruled at his pleasure over vast territories. Intoxicated by power, he married the widow of a sultan and finally led a revolt. He was besieged in his mountains, captured after a long siege, brought to Fās and flogged to death in 771/1370. In conformity with an old Berber tradition, his family did not lose its authority but continued to command the town and the tribe. Funerary inscriptions found at Marrākush, in the royal metropolis of the *Ḳaṣaba*, confirm that at the very time when the Portuguese settled at Safi, the kings of Marrākush were the actual descendants of the Hintātī *shaykh*s. From Portuguese sources we can see that, when the Marīnids finally lost their authority, the chiefs of the Hintāta received a share of the power thus vacated in South Morocco and quietly established themselves in the ruined *Ḳaṣaba*. The same sources confirm that, even at the time of their fullest power, the "kings of Marrākush" never had any great authority outside the town and its suburbs. Their relations with their mountain kinsmen were far from cordial, and they won no renown in their encounters with the Portuguese who, after the conquest of Azammūr [*q.v.*], had made Marrākush the avowed object of their ambitions. Nuno Fernandes of Ataide attacked the town on 23 April 1515, but unsuccessfully, as a result of the help brought to the town's defence by the Saʿdid *sharīf*s. Ten years later these same Saʿdids seized Marrākush for themselves by securing the assassination of the last known Hintātī *amīr*, Muḥammad b. al-Nāṣir Bū-Shantūf. From that date, the Hintāta vanished from Moroccan history. Even their name has disappeared.

Bibliography: R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930; P. de Cénival, *Les émirs des Hintata, "rois" de Marrakech*, in *Hesp.*, xxiv/4 (1937), which gives the complete historical bibliography; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, 2 vols., Casablanca 1949-50; Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā*, new edition Casablanca 1954-6, vols. ii, iii and iv; French trans. by A. Graulle, G. S. Colin and I. Hamet, in *AM*, xxxi (1925) and xxxii (1927); G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956; idem, *Marrakech, des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959; A. Huici, *Historia politica del Imperio almohade*, 2 vols., Tetuan 1957; *Sources inédites*, 1st series, Portugal, in the index published with vol. v (R. Ricard), Paris 1955.

(G. DEVERDUN)

HIPPOCRATES [see Supplement, s.v. BUḲRĀṬ].

HIPPODROME [see MAYDĀN].

HIPPOLOGY [see BAYṬĀR, FARAS, FURŪSIYYA].

ḤIRĀʾ also written ḤARĀʾ, and without *hamza*), a mountain three Arabian miles to the north-east of Mecca, often mentioned along with another mountain opposite, Thabīr [*q.v.*]. It was near the *shiʿb* or quarter of the family of al-Akhnas, on the left of the pilgrim road to ʿIrāḳ.

Muḥammad is said to have been in the habit of spending a month each year in a cave on Ḥirāʾ engaged in *taḥannuth*, presumably some form of religious devotion, and to have been visited here by an angel (Ibn Hishām, 152; cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1147 f., 1155); this experience is sometimes identified with the beginning of revelation; and hence the present name Djabal al-Nūr, "The Mountain of Light". He is also said to have gone to Ḥirāʾ on his return from the visit to al-Ṭāʾif in about A.D. 620, and to have waited there until he was assured of protection in Mecca (Ibn Hishām, 251).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 228; F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, 426, 493; iii, 447; iv, 332; Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 65; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i, 320 f.

(T. H. WEIR-[W. MONTGOMERY WATT])

AL-**ḤĪRA**, name of the capital of the Lakhmids [*q.v.*].

The name is comparable with Syriac *ḥirtā* "encampment", and the locality was no doubt so named from having been at first a camp settlement; several of the legends about the beginnings of Ḥīra, summarized in Yāḳūt's *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, imply that this was so. This sense of the word is not extant in classical Arabic, but is found in the Epigraphic South Arabian *ḥrt*/*ḥyrt* (see A. F. L. Beeston in *Le Muséon*, n.s. lxvii (1954), 311-3), while the Classical lexica record analogous senses for the verb *taḥayyara* (= *aḳāma*) and the noun *ḥayr*.

(A. F. L. BEESTON)

The facts of geography—salubrious air, a fertile neighbouring region, and proximity to the Euphrates—all adequately explain the choice of the site for the settlement, which was located to the south-east of present-day Nadjaf in ʿIrāḳ. But it was a political factor which transformed al-Ḥīra from a relatively obscure locality to the most important Arab city in the Fertile Crescent during the three centuries preceding the rise of Islam, namely, the emergence of the powerful Lakhmid dynasty, who made it their capital and advanced it to a position of dominance which became still more apparent with the decline of Hatra, Edessa, and Palmyra, in the 3rd century A.D. Al-Ḥīra became so much a Lakhmid city that it was referred to as "Ḥīra of Nuʿmān" after one of the Lakhmid kings. These adorned the city and its environs with castles and palaces, *e.g.*, al-Khawarnaḳ and al-Sadīr, while Christian princesses of the Royal Family founded some famous monasteries, *e.g.*, Dayr Hind. The city reached its heyday during the reign of the illustrious Mundhir III (A.D. 503-554) when it became the centre of political, diplomatic, and military activities in which Persia, Byzantium, and the Arabian Peninsula were involved. For the Sāsānids, however, it remained a fortress for the protection of Mesopotamia against the raids of the nomads and a caravan city of vital importance for the transit trade between Persia and the Arabian Peninsula.

Owing to its geographical location, al-Ḥīra became the confluence of three interacting cultural currents: the Persian, the indigenous pagan Arab, and the Byzantine, represented mainly by Nestorian Christianity; and herein lies its more enduring significance. It was most probably at al-Ḥīra that the Arabic script was first developed. As the seat of a Nestorian bishop, it was a centre whence Christianity was transmitted to the Arabian Peninsula. As the capital of the Lakhmids, it attracted to their royal court Arab poets from the Peninsula, *e.g.*, ʿAbīd, Ṭarafa, and al-Nābigha, and thus gave an impetus to the cultivation and perfection of the Arabic panegyric. It also produced a major pre-Islamic poet, ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*], who belonged to its famous Christian community, the *ʿIbād*, and whose poetry reflects the various facets of Ḥīra's urban culture.

Although it was captured and ravaged by the

Ghassānids [*q.v.*] twice in the 6th century A.D., it was with the decline of the Lakhmids and their eventual downfall that the city started to lose its importance and prestige: after the death of Nuʿmān III in A.D. 602, it received a Persian governor; in 12/633 it capitulated to a Muslim army under Khālid and undertook to pay tribute. As the pre-Islamic world to which it belonged came to an end, the city with its Christian associations and monuments led a precarious and anachronistic existence, witness the events which affected it during the reigns of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786/809) and al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32). Al-Kūfa, the new Muslim foundation, totally eclipsed it, and finally, it vanished from the face of the earth. But for the Arab poet it remained an example of fallen greatness and *vanitas vanitatum*, even as late as the 4/10th century, when it inspired a famous ʿAbbāsid poet, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, to compose two elegies.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 821 ff., 858, 2016 ff., 2038 ff.; iii, 645-6; Index, 698; Yāḳūt, ii, 375-9; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, esp. 12-40; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, American Geographical Society, New York 1927, 99-118, 283-314; D. Talbot Rice, *The Oxford excavations at Ḥīra*, in *Ars Islamica*, i/1, 51-73; Irfan Shahīd, *Byzantino-arabica*; *the Conference of Ramla, A.D. 524*, in *JNES*, xxiii/2, 115-31. (IRFAN SHAHÎD)

HIRAḲLA [see EREGLI].

ḤIRBĀʾ (A.), chameleon. Triptote with the meaning of "the head of nails joining the links of a coat of mail", this word, because of its ending, is often treated as diptote and feminine, although it is masculine and for its feminine form has *ḥirbāʾa*. However, the female chameleon is most often called *umm ḥubayn*, while the male is referred to by a number of *kunya*s, of which the most frequent in Muslim Spain, *abū barāḳish*, often leads translators into error (see E. Lévi-Provencal, *En relisant le Collier de la colombe*, in *al-Andalus*, xv/2 (1950), 353).

This reptile, which is classified with the *aḥnāsh* and is close to the *ḍabb* [*q.v.*], is well known to the Arabs, among whom it is proverbial for its "chameleonism" (*talawwun*), its ability to become invisible by turning the same colour as that of any object on which it happens to be. Its natural colour is grey when it is young, and yellow when adult, but it becomes green in sunlight. It lives by warmth, and can be seen, from morning to night, following the path of the sun (in order, it is said, to shade its body with its head); thus the poets compare it with the adherents of various religions, who turn to pray in different directions. At midday, when the ground is too hot, it climbs to the top of a tree, and is then compared to a monk in his cell; but when the sun is at its zenith, it appears to go mad because it can no longer see it. Since it is slow-moving, God has given it an eye which can move in all directions and enables it to look out for its prey without having to move. Thanks to its tongue, which is rolled up in its throat but which can stretch a cubit or three spans when it is extended, it snaps up insects coming within its reach without needing to make any other movement, so much so that it immediately resumes an immobility so complete that it seems to be part of whatever it is sitting on. However, it mostly hunts its food at night. Should a man disturb it, it swells up and appears threatening, but is in fact quite harmless. It has four paws and a hump similar to that of a camel, but the physical description of the animal is scarcely touched on in zoological works.

Besides its "chameleonism", it is proverbial also for its caution (*ḥazm*), for it will not let go of one branch until it has a firm grip of another when moving about.

It is not forbidden to eat the flesh of this animal, but it is scarcely sought after. Certain parts of its body have medicinal properties, and a chameleon seen in a dream portends various happenings.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index; Damīrī, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, s.v.; see also ABŪ ḲALAMŪN and the bibliography to the article ḌABB. (CH. PELLAT)

ḤIRFA [see ṢINF].

HIRMIS (HARMAS, HARMĪS, HIRMĪS), Hermes Trismegistus, that strange god incarnate, on the one hand the Hellenistic name of the Egyptian god Thoth, on the other hand the author of philosophical, scientific and magical works (see Pauly-Wissowa, art. Hermes Trismegistos, by W. Kroll), passed in both of his capacities into Islam. Islam, it is true, transformed the god into one of the heroes of olden times, who, according to his name Trismegistus (*al-muthallath bi 'l-ḥikma* and the like), appears divided into three individuals. The "first Hermes" is identified with Akhnūkh (Enoch) and Idrīs. He lived in Egypt before the Flood and built the Pyramids (see HARAM, their name being connected with his) and other sanctuaries (*barābī*); on their walls he wrote down the scientific achievements of the first men, in order to preserve them from destruction and loss by the Flood. The second (*al-Bābilī*) lived after the Flood in Babylonia and revived the study of the sciences, but migrated, according to one version (*Fihrist*, 352, see below), to Egypt. The third wrote after the Flood in Egypt about various sciences and crafts.

This relation originates from Abū Maʿshar's *K. al-Ulūf* (Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, Ms. Br. Mus. Or. 9033, fol. 32v: *Akhbār al-umam*) and is reproduced by Ibn Djuldjul, *Ṭabaḳāt* (written 377/987-8), ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, 5 f. (with ample annotation), Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, 18 f., 38 f., Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Lippert, 6 f., 346 ff., and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, 16 f. A different report is given in the *Fihrist* (238 f.) on the authority of Abū Sahl b. Nawbakht; at 351 ff. he spokes of the Babylonian Hermes only, whom he obviously confounds with the "First Hermes", cf. J. W. Fück's annotated translation, *Ambix*, iv, 1951, 89 f. The origin from ancient Babylonia of the main lines of Abū Maʿshar's report, as well as the endowment of the three Hermes with features deriving from the earliest history as related in the Bible and Apocrypha, was shown by M. Plessner, *St. Isl.*, ii (1954), 45 ff. The difficulty of admitting that the Flood had taken place in Egypt too, was evaded by al-Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam*, ed. Badawi, 7 f., where he separates the pre-flood Hermes from the Egyptian, and assumes two floods, the second of which "drowned the inhabitants of Egypt only", obviously a reminiscence of the Exodus of the Children of Israel.

A variant of Abū Maʿshar's account appears in the alchemical *K. Dhakhīrat al-Iskandar*. Hermes hid the writings on pre-flood science in a tunnel (*sardāb*) near the sea-shore, from whence they were recovered by Balīnūs [*q.v.*], to be passed on to Aristotle; he in his turn presented them to Alexander, who before his death ordered Antiochus I to conceal them in the wall of a monastery in Amorium (ʿAmmūriya [*q.v.*]), where the book was discovered after the conquest of the town by al-Muʿtaḍid. Yet another

account, which does not mention the Flood, is given in the introduction to the *K. Sirr al-khalīka* by Balinūs. The thaumaturgist, incited by the inscription on a statue of Hermes, digs beneath it and meets the threefold Sage in a subterranean crypt as an aged man holding an emerald tablet in his hand and having by his side the book eventually published by Balinūs; this book ends with the text on the table. Both the last-mentioned works have been analysed by J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, 1926, cf. M. Plessner, in *Isl.*, xvi (1927), 77-113; the story of the discovery as told in the *sirr* served as a pattern for further Hermetic writings in Arabic. A new translation of the story and the tablet text was published by F. Rosenthal, in *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, 1965, 332 ff.

Abū Maʿshar's account has survived in Latin translation in several texts (*e.g.*, J. Ruska, *AGMNT*, xi (1928), 28-37) and influenced other texts, *e.g.*, the *Summa philosophiae* by Ps.-Robert Grosseteste, ed. L. Baur, 1912, 275 ff.; cf. L. Thorndike, *History of Magic*, ii, 1923, 449, and the Breslau doctoral thesis by August Bertsch, *Studien zur Summa philosophiae des Pseudo-Robert Grosseteste*, Brunswick 1929 (typescript), 37. On the survival of the story in mediaeval Hebrew literature see M. Plessner, in *St. Isl.*, ii, 53 f.

Traces of the story of three Hermes also occur in the legendary history of ancient Egypt as reported by numerous authors on the authority of the still puzzling Ibn Waṣif Shāh (Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 39 calls him al-Waṣīfī). G. Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, 1953, 19, points to that Hermes who lived under al-Būdashīr b. Ḳufṭarīm; see now the references and parallels in *Picatrix*, tr. H. Ritter and M. Plessner, 1962, 322 ff. The connexion with the Alexander Romance, already recognizable in the above-mentioned *Dhakhīrat al-Iskandar*, is still further elaborated in other Arabic Hermetica; the ps.-Aristotelic *Sirr al-asrār* (*Secretum secretorum*) also contains the *Tabula Smaragdina*. The Hermetic book *al-Iṣṭamākhīs* (see below) appears as the *vademecum* given by Aristotle to Alexander in which some talismans to help the king on his expedition to India are enumerated; the main contents of the text have been incorporated by al-Makīn [*q.v.*] in the Alexander portion of his history, cf. also M. Plessner, in *OLZ*, 1925, 912-20.

In the stories about the Ṣābiʾans, Hermes appears partly as a god (*e.g.*, *Fihrist*, 322,24), partly as a prophet with philosophical features, cf. the analysis of the account of the *Fihrist*, 318 ff., by F. Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Saraḫsī*, 1943, 41 ff. (at p. 47 add D. Chwolsson, *Ueber die Ueberreste der babylon. Literatur in arab. Uebersetzungen*, 1859, 93 ff., and against it A. von Gutschmid, in *ZDMG*, xv (1860), 42 ff. [*Kleine Schriften*, ii, 1890, 694 ff.], where the influence of the account on Ibn Waḥshiyya's *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* is implicitly discussed).

The large number of extant Arabic writings bearing the name of Hermes, and the still larger number of quotations from Hermetic books not preserved induced L. Massignon to exaggerate the rôle of "Hermes" as the promotor of the Hellenistic tradition in Islam; he also claims for some books a Hermetic character which are simply Neoplatonic or gnostic (A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, I, Appendice III, 384-400: *Inventaire de la littérature hermétique arabe*, cf. his Addenda in the second edition, 438-9). Unfortunately, his paper read to the *Eranos-Tagung* 1942 and alluded to at the beginning of the *Inventaire* has never appeared. So long as Hermes is not explicitly quoted, we have no right to style books as Hermetic simply because of their general character as described by Massignon, 388-9; it is the make-up of these books as revelations that constitutes their belonging to the Hermetica. About the list of alchemical books (p. 391) cf. now Fück, *l.c.* Here are given a few comments on Massignon's list of extant books (pp. 393 ff.).

III A 1: The books of Crates and al-Ḥabīb contain sermons from the *Turba Philosophorum*, as stated by Ruska (*T.Ph.*, 1931), but are not its sources, rather its derivates (cf. M. Plessner, *Vorsokratische Philosophie und griechische Alchemie in arabisch-lateinischer Ueberlieferung*, to appear shortly).

III B 2: The books containing philosophical and ethical sayings of Hermes are much more numerous; to the collections in Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and al-Shahrastānī quoted by Massignon, add Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, *Ādāb al-falāsifa*, part II, Ch. 13 (supplement to Loewenthal's translation in K. Merkle, *Die Sittensprüche der Philosophen*, 1921, 45 f.), Miskawayh, *Djāwīdān khirad*, ed. Badawi, 1952, 214-6, Ibn Durayd, *Mudjtanā*, 1342, 75, al-Mubashshir, *l.c.*, 7-26, Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī, *l.c.*, fol. 32v-34v. A great many sayings are common to all or almost all these sources; every text has, however, sayings not shared by the others. A comparison, also with Greek anthologies, is badly needed. In al-Mubashshir's account Hermes shows strong monotheistic features similar to those described by al-Sarakhsī (see above), but more elaborate and more specific.

III B 4: The talismanic texts are to be supplemented by the magical stone-books [see ḤADJAR]. An example is MS Berlin, Wetzstein II 1208 (Ahlwardt 6216, cf. A. Siggel, *Katalog der arab. alch. Handschriften Deutschlands: Berlin*, [1949], 135 f.). For these texts and the astrological ones (III B 5) see now the introduction and indices to *Picatrix*, tr. H. Ritter and M. Plessner, 1962, and the forthcoming volume of studies on the book by the author of this article. Certain passages of the cosmology found in *al-Iṣṭamāṭīs* are quoted in al-Masʿūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān*, 1938, 7 f. = *Abrégé des marveilles*, tr. Carra de Vaux, 13.

V A: The sayings of Hermes quoted by Ibn Umayl have been translated and discussed by H. E. Stapleton, G. L. Lewis and F. Sherwood Taylor in *Ambix*, iii, 1949, 69-90.

The so-called Postumus (Festugière, 340, and addition, 436 f.) has been published by G. Levi Della Vida, *La dottrina e i Dodici Legati di Stomathalassa, uno scritto di ermetismo popolare* (*ARANL*, Memorie, VIII, iii, 8), 1951. A number of Arabic hermetical texts and accounts have appeared in English translation in vol. iv of W. Scott, *Hermetica*, 1936. According to al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, ed. De Goeje, 31, Hermes assumed the existence of seven southern *climata* corresponding with the northern. The influence of Arabic Hermetica on Renaissance thought is in part discussed by Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic tradition*, 1964. An attempt to explain Kyot's account of Flegetanis in Wolfram's *Parzival* with the help of Arabic Hermetica in order to strengthen the hypothesis of the hermetical character of the epic has been made by H. and R. Kahane, *The Krater and the Grail: Hermetic sources of the Parzival*, 1965.

Bibliography: In the article and in L. Massignon's *Inventaire*; see also A. E. Affifi, *The influence of Hermetic literature in Muslim thought*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 840-55; J. Kraemer, *Das arabische Original des "Liber de pomo"*, in *Studi*

orientalistici in onore di G. Levi Della Vida, i, 484 ff.; A. Siggel, *Das Sendschreiben das Licht über das Verfahren des Hermes der Hermesse*, in *Isl.*, xxiv (1937), 287-306; F. Rosenthal, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fâtik*, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), esp. p. 145; al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, index.

(M. Plessner)

ḤIRZ [see TAMĀʾIM].

ḤISĀB, "account to be rendered to God". Although the Ḳurʾān sometimes uses *ḥisāb* in the sense of computation (X, 5 and XVII 12), it is very often used by antonomasia as the "reckoning" which God will require from a man on the Day of Judgement. The expression *yawm al-ḥisāb* (XL, 27; XXXVIII, 16, 26, 53; cf. XIV, 41), "the Day of the Rendering of Accounts", is synonymous with *yawm al-dīn*, "the Day of Judgement". The eschatological *ḥisāb* is to be given to God alone (XIII, 40; XXVI, 113); He will require it from all men, but especially from the ungodly (LXXXVIII, 26; XIII, 18 and 21; XXIII, 117). And God "is prompt in demanding an account" (II, 200; III, 19 and 199, etc.). Each man will receive a "book" which is a statement of accounts, a "roll" on which his actions are inscribed. If the good deeds outnumber the bad, he will receive it "in his right hand" and the *ḥisāb* will be in his favour (Ḳurʾān, LXXXIV, 7-10; LXIX, 19-20; cf. XVII, 71); those to whom the account is unfavourable will receive it in their left hand (LXIX, 25-6), and will be punished.

These Ḳurʾānic statements may be compared with many earlier traditions, Iranian, Jewish and Christian. The rendering of accounts and the weighing of actions was known to Mazdaism (see J. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian doctrine of a future life*, New York 1929, and P. J. de Menasce, *Škand-Gumānīk Vičār*, text and French tr., Fribourg (Switzerland) 1945, 58-9). Approximate equivalents are found in post-Biblical Judaism (*Aboth* III and IV; cf. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 266) and in early Christianity (analysis and references *apud* Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, in *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, 1925). Later, certain Ḳurʾānic commentaries and in particular certain works of popular edification drew for this subject on Jewish or Christian accounts, *isrāʾīliyyāt* and *masīḥiyyāt*, which were clearly recognized as such. Each religious milieu, however, developed and applied to its own spirit this common basis of eschatological ideas (cf. the remarks of Tor Andrae, *op. cit.*, 255). The imagery used in their descriptions is irrelevant to our discussion of the treatment of these matters by the Muslim theological schools (*ʿilm al-kalām*).

To survey all these data would involve a comprehensive discussion of the whole problem of the "retribution for deeds", of "promise and threat" (*al-waʿd wa'l-waʿīd* [*q.v.*]) in the next world. We select for treatment here only some problems which concern the nature of the *ḥisāb* itself, or its forms, and give a brief indication of the general solution given by the different schools.

1. The "weighing" (*al-wazn*). The very term *ḥisāb* evokes the ideas of counting, measuring, evaluating. The majority of the Muʿtazilīs, and to an even greater extent the *Falāsifa*, gave it a metaphorical meaning. The "Pious Men of Old" and, with certain reservations, the As̲h̲ʿarīs, adhered to the literal meaning (see below): the just Judge will present everyone with an account of his deeds, which will be "added up" and "weighed". With the "book" (*kitāb*) containing the statement of the account, as mentioned above, there then appears the "balance" (*mīzān*), with reference to Ḳurʾān, XLII, 17; LV, 6-8; LVII, 25. The "Reckoning" of the Last Day is also "the weighing", *al-wazn* (VII, 8): good deeds will be heavy and bad deeds light (VII, 8-9).

2. The question of "merit" (*al-istiḥḳāḳ*). Every human act is repaid by God with either a reward or a punishment. For the Muʿtazilīs, a good deed thus of necessity "merits" reward and a bad deed punishment. On the day of the Reckoning, the "merits" attached to the deeds are either added or subtracted. The majority of the Muʿtazilīs and K̲h̲āridjīs believe that the evaluation is qualitative, considering that one single "great sin" (*kabīra*) may render void the "merit" earned by any earlier good deeds, and be punished with eternal fire. However the later Muʿtazilīs of Baṣra, al-Djubbāʾī and his son Abū Hās̲h̲im, believed that a quantitative evaluation is concerned, in which good and bad deeds are set against and cancel out each other. The group which prevails in number and in "weight" necessarily determines the reward, in the case of good deeds, and the punishment, in the case of bad (for summary of arguments see, *e.g.*, Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., 173).

As̲h̲ʿarī tradition, on the other hand, holds that there is no "merit" attached to human deeds (al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, 172-3; al-Djurdjānī, *S̲h̲arḥ al-mawāḳif*, Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 305 ff.); and that it is impossible for one set of acts to cancel the other. For, as the Ḳurʾān says (XCIX, 7-8): "Whoso has done an atom's weight of good shall see it, and whoso has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it". The value of faith would never be compromised by sins, however grave and numerous, in view of the famous *ḥadīth*, "Those whose heart contains even one atom of faith will come out of hell" (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Īmān*, 33). Furthermore, every good deed of the believer will be "multiplied" simply by the freely-given grace of God, while each of his bad deeds counts "as one only". In fact all rests in the hands of God. And it is known, thanks to the promises which He has given, that God will not condemn the believer, even if he is sinful, to eternal hell. He can either condemn him in His justice to a limited period in hell, or, in His mercy, grant him complete pardon. It is therefore not *certain* that there are, even temporarily, any sinful believers in hell.

This is a point upon which the Ḥanafīs-Māturīdīs disagree with the As̲h̲ʿarīs (cf. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī, *Naẓm al-farāʾid*, Cairo n.d., 2nd ed., 38-9). For the Māturīdīs indeed, God may certainly pardon this or that sinner, but not all. "It is obligatory that some of those who have committed a great sin should be punished" by a period in hell (al-Laḳānī, *Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Luciani, Algiers 1907, verse 117). For God has attached a punishment to great sins (*kabāʾir*)—a temporary punishment if the sinner is a believer—and God's "promises" cannot be "vain".

This question of retribution for deeds, the very object of the *ḥisāb*, leads to the two related questions of repentance (*tawba* [*q.v.*]) and of the intercession of the Prophet (*s̲h̲afāʿa* [*q.v.*]).

3. Method by which the Account will be rendered. As we have seen, the Ḳurʾānic verses mention, in connexion with the *ḥisāb*, the "book", a statement of his deeds, which will be given to every man on the Day of Judgement; and tradition makes the *mīzān*, the Ḳurʾānic "balance", the instrument for the "weighing" of the deeds. The Muʿtazilīs and some later As̲h̲ʿarīs interpret both in a metaphorical sense. The "book" is "the knowledge of the debit and credit" which God will make clear to every man

at the time of the resurrection, while the "weighing" of the deeds symbolizes the justice and equity of God; but God has no need of a "real" weighing to pronounce His sentence. And human actions, since they are only transitory accidents, are unable to "return again" to existence once they have been "reduced to nothing" (for a summary of this argument see *e.g.*, al-Ghazālī, *Iḳtiṣād*, Cairo n.d., 8, and al-Djurdjānī, *op. cit.*, 321). Furthermore they cannot possess the attributes of lightness or weight which the act of weighing presupposes (al-Djurdjānī, *ibid.*). Abu 'l-Hudhayl of Baṣra and Ibn al-Muʿtamir of Baghdād state, however, that the existence of the Balance is "possible", but they make no pronouncement on its factual reality.

On the other hand, Ḥanbalīs, Ḥanafīs-Māturīdīs, and the great majority of the Ashʿarīs, relying on the *ḥadīth*s and "the religion of the Ancients", agree in recognizing the existence of these eschatological *entia*. The Balance in particular is called "reality" (*ḥaḳḳ*) in the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, the *Fiḳh Akbar II*, and later the *Fiḳh Akbar III* (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, index), as well as in the profession of faith of al-Ashʿarī (*Ibāna*, Cairo n.d., 9) and the various Ḥanbalī creeds (cf. H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 95 and note 2). The Wahhābī profession of faith adds to it "the registers of actions" (H. Laoust, *Ibn Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 621). The Ḥanbalīs state that it is a question of real things; but the Ashʿarīs and Māturīdīs qualify this by saying that we cannot know the exact conditions under which they exist. It is vain to try to discover whether "the weighing of deeds" is useful or not: God acts as He wills. And al-Ghazālī adds (*Iḳtiṣād*, 89) that it will be of use not to God but to man, who will thus understand the just Divine decision.

There are many traditional accounts which expound and elaborate this basic eschatology with a very abundant imagery. A résumé of them is found in al-Bādjūrī's popular manual of *kalām*, *Ḥāshiya ... ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1352/1934, 101-6. A subsidiary part in the Reckoning is also played by "the witness of the members" (Ḳur'ān, XXIV, 24) and the test of the Bridge, the *Ṣirāṭ* (XXXVI, 66; XXXVII, 23-4).

The third form of the root *ḥsb* was to be used in Ṣūfism, in a sense which is no longer eschatological but spiritual, to indicate the account of his conscience which the devout person presents to God. Hence arose the by-name of al-Muḥāsibī given to Ḥārith b. Asad: "he who excels in the examination of his conscience".

Bibliography: in the article. To this may be added many *ḥadīth*s, devotional works or works of popular preaching, and various manuals of *ʿilm al-kalām*, in the chapters on "The Last Things" (*al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd*). (L. Gardet)

ḤISĀB, in the sense of "arithmetic", "mathematical calculation" [see ʿILM AL-ḤISĀB]; in the sense of "accountancy" [see MUḤĀSABA].

ḤISĀB AL-ʿAḲD (— AL-ʿUḲAD, — AL-ʿUḲŪD, — AL-ḲABḌA BI 'L-YAD, — AL-YAD), dactylonomy, digital computation, the art of expressing numbers by the position of the fingers. Some indications prove that the ancient Arabs not only at times used to show their outstretched hands, bending down one or more fingers when necessary, to indicate some small numbers (see I. Goldziher, in *Arabica*, viii/3, 272), but also had the ability to express larger numbers by holding their fingers in a given position (see G. Levi Della Vida, in *Isl.*, x (1920), 243), and it is not impossible that certain gestures used by the Prophet were described or interpreted by his contemporaries as indicating numbers according to a system already in use (cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, x (1920), 154-6), particularly the position of his hand in the *tashahhud* [*q.v.*], although the traditional accounts are far from agreeing with later practice (see I. Goldziher, *op. cit.*). The practice of dactylonomy in Persia is mentioned by Plutarch (Fr. tr. Ricard, *Vies*, ii, 514, n. 25); and from the first centuries of Islam, Arab or Persian poets would for example make a subtle and veiled allusion to some person's lack of generosity by saying that his hand made 93 (the figure indicated by the closed hand, the sign of avarice), which suggests that the system of which we possess later descriptions was known at a very early stage, perhaps through the medium of the Persian scribes. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī credits Ibn Sīnā with having invented, in 420/1029, calculation by dactylonomy, and thus freed accountants from the bother of using counters; thus al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946) wrote in his *Adab al-kuttāb* (Cairo 1341/1922, 239): "The scribes in the administration refrain, however, from using these [Indian] numerals because they require the use of materials [writing-tablets or paper ?] and they think that a system which calls for no materials and which a man can use without any instrument apart from one of his limbs is more appropriate in ensuring secrecy and more in keeping with their dignity; this system is computation with the joints (*ʿaḳd* or *ʿuḳad*) and tips of the fingers (*banān*), to which they restrict themselves". Nearly a century earlier this method of calculating on the fingers must have been already in use, for al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) advises schoolmasters (*K. al-Muʿallimīn*, B. M. MS, Rieu 1129, 13r.) to teach the *ḥisāb al-ʿaḳd* (*al-ʿuḳad*) instead of the *ḥisāb al-Hind*, i.e. calculation by means of the "Indian" numerals; the same author placed among the five methods of expression (*bayān*) what he called *ʿaḳd* (or *ʿuḳad*, according to the reading of G. E. von Grunebaum, who identifies it with digital computation [see BAYĀN]), and which for him is a calculation (*ḥisāb*) needing "neither spoken word nor writing"; now, the verses of the Ḳur'ān (VI, 95, 96, X, 5, XVII, 13/12, LV, 4/5) which he quotes in support of his affirmation of the virtues of *ḥisāb* (*Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, i, 80; see also i, 76; *Ḥayawān*, i, 33) all refer to the cycle (*ḥusbān*) of the sun and moon, to the calculation of years and to computation; thus it might perhaps refer to counting on the fingers, following a method curiously reminiscent of that expounded by the Venerable Bede in the 7th century A.D., in *De temporum ratione* (in Migne, *Patrol.*, xc, 295; text and trans. in J.-G. Lemoine, 14-7).

What makes this hypothesis quite probable is that the same English writer, in the first chapter (*De computa vel loquela digitorum*) of the work named, expounds a system of dactylonomy almost exactly identical with that contained in the very much later Muslim treatises of al-Mawṣilī, Ibn al-Maghribī, Ibn Shuʿla, Ṭaybughā, and Ibn Bundūd (see *Bibl.*), which did not seem earlier than the 8th/14th century, and also in the *Farhang-i Djahāngīrī* (between 1005 and 1017/1597-1608), which reproduces a text of ʿAlī Yazdī (d. 850/1446) in Persian, but in the Arab tradition.

Under this system, the figures are represented as follows:

1, by bending down the little finger;

2, by also bending down the third finger;

3, by adding the middle finger to them;

4, by bending down the third and middle fingers only;
5, by bending down the middle finger only;
6, by bending down the third finger only;
7, by bending the little finger very low;
8, by bending both the little and the third fingers very low;
9, by adding the middle finger to them;
10, by placing the tip of the forefinger on the middle of the thumb;
20, by extending the thumb and forefinger simultaneously;
30, by putting together the tips of the thumb and the forefinger;
40, by stretching out the thumb over the base of the forefinger;
50, by bending down the thumb at right angles;
60, by curling the forefinger round the thumb;
70, by placing the tip of the thumb on the central joint of the forefinger;
80, by placing the tip of the forefinger on the thumbnail (but there are variations);
90, by placing the tip of the forefinger on the base of the thumb;
100, by opening the hand (but there are variations);
"the gesture which, in the right hand, serves as a sign for units from 1 to 9, in the left hand indicates the same number from 1,000 to 9,000; ... and what, in the right hand, serves as a sign for tens from 10 to 90, in the left hand indicates hundreds from 100 to 900". From 10,000, the system described above differs fairly considerably from Bede's, but on the whole the two methods are practically identical; it has been possible to establish that the figure 1 is not obtained by stretching out the forefinger, as Muslim tradition would have us believe.

This system was known in the West from antiquity, but it was no longer used after the early Middle Ages; in the East, it is very probable that it was known to the scribes of whom al-Ṣūlī speaks (see above) and that it remained in use until quite recently, being practised to perform arithmetical operations (apart from division). No ancient description of the method being available, here is one still known to old men in Tunisia (communication by M. Souïssi): to multiply, e.g., 6 by 8: bend the little finger of the hand (= 6) and the first three fingers of the right hand (= 8); the total of the bent fingers (1 + 3 = 4) indicates the tens and the product of the fingers unbent (4 × 2 = 8) the units.

On the other hand, another method is also used for certain commercial transactions involving rare and very costly merchandise, especially pearls, when buyer and seller do business in the presence of witnesses and do not wish to reveal the terms of the transaction concluded. The two negotiators, sitting face to face, have their right hands hidden under a covering, and touch each other's fingers according to a precise code; although the units in the different numerical series are not distinguished, those concerned know what is meant:

1, 10, 100, 1,000 are indicated by taking hold of the forefinger (which here retains its value; see above);
2, 20, 200, 2,000: by taking the forefinger and middle finger;
3, 30, 300, 3,000: by taking the forefinger, middle and third fingers;
4, 40, 400, 4,000: by taking all four fingers;
5, 50, 500, 5,000: by taking the whole hand;
6, 60, 600, 6,000: by pressing twice on the forefinger, middle and third fingers (3 × 2);
7, 70, 700, 7,000: as for 4 and then as for 3 (4 + 3);
8, 80, 800, 8,000: by pressing twice on all four fingers (4 × 2);
9, 90, 900, 9,000: as for 5 and then as for 4 (5 + 4).

This system, recorded by Ṭās̲h̲köprüzāda, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Ḥaydarābād, i, 329-31 (reproduced by Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, cf. von Hammer, *Encyclopädische Übersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients*, 315) and by Niebuhr, (*Description de l'Arabie*, French trans., 1779, i, 145, in particular), is still practised in the island of Baḥrayn, in the Red Sea and probably elsewhere (cf. Père Anastase, in *Machriq*, 1900; H. de Monfreid, *Secrets de la mer Rouge*, Paris 1931, 100). H. Fisquet, *Histoire de l'Algérie*, Paris 1842, 171, records it for Algeria. A similar procedure, in use in Bengal, utilises the joints and not the whole finger, but it has not been recorded in the Middle Eastern countries.

The origin of the systems briefly described above is obscure; in any case, those which are, or were, in use in the Arab countries do not seem to be in any way indigenous (see I. Goldziher, *op. cit.*) or at least do not go back to Arab antiquity; on the other hand, tesserae found in Egypt indicate the numbers according to the method of bending the fingers, and it is not unreasonable to see in this the possible origin of the system described by the Arabic and Persian sources. In another connexion, the terms employed raise a difficulty, for although *ḥisāb al-yad* or *ḥ. al-ḳabḍa bi 'l-yad* are clear, this is not the case with words taken from the root *ʿḳd* which, apparently, denote the knuckles and joints, but also signify "contract". In the last analysis it is possible that an earlier method than those of which records have been preserved may have consisted of counting on the finger joints and that the terminology was later applied to other systems.

Bibliography: The chapter of the *Farhang-i D̲j̲ahāngīrī* of D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ind̲j̲ū has been translated by S. de Sacy, *De la manière de compter au moyen des jointures des doigts usitée dans l'Orient*, in *JA*, iii (1823); by A. Rödiger, *Über die im Orient gebräuchliche Fingersprache für den Ausdruck der Zahlen*, in *ZDMG*, 1845, 112-29; and by S. Guyard, *Chapitre de la préface de Farhangi Djihangiri sur la dactylonomie*, in *JA*, 1871, 106-24. The *ḳaṣīda* of Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Mawṣilī *fī ḥisāb al-ḳabḍa bi 'l-yad* (MS. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 4441) has been published by Père Anastase, *ʿUḳūd*, in *Machriq*, iii (1900), 169 ff. (see also 119 ff.), and translated in A. Marre and Boncompagnoni, i, 309: *Manière de compter des anciens avec les doigts de la main* (comment. of Aḥmad al-Ṭarābulusī published and trans. by H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, x (1920), 154-6, 243 ff.). The texts of Ibn al-Mag̲h̲ribī, Ibn S̲h̲uʿla and Ṭaybug̲h̲ā al-As̲h̲rafī al-Baklamis̲h̲ī al-Yūnānī have been published by J. Ruska, *Arabische Texte über das Fingerrechnen*, in *Isl.*, x (1920), 87-119. The chapter entitled *Fī maʿrifat ʿaḳd al-aṣābiʿ* of the *Maḳālāt* of Ibn Bundūd has been translated by G. S. Colin, in *REI*, 1932/1, 59-60. — Studies: I. Goldziher, *Über Gebärden- und Zeichensprache bei den Arabern*, in *Zeits. für Völkerpsychologie*, xvi (1866), 369-86 (analysis by G.-H. Bousquet, in *Arabica*, viii/3 (1961), 269-72) deals generally with sign-language; idem, in *ZDMG*, lxi (1907), 756-7; the principal work on the question examined in the present article is that of J.-G. Lemoine, *Les anciens procédés de calcul sur les doigts en Orient et en Occident*, in *REI*, 1932/1, 1-58; see also M. B. al-At̲h̲ārī, in *MMIA*, v (1925), 70-9; A. Fischer, *Über Finger-Zahlen-*

figuren bei den Arabern, in *Islamica*, vi (1934), 48-57, as well as the art. ISHĀRA.

(CH. PELLAT)

ḤISĀB AL-DJUMMAL, method of recording dates by chronogram. It consists of grouping together, in a word (significant and appropriate) or in a short phrase, a group of letters whose numerical equivalents, added together, provide the date of a past or future event. Such a chronogram is known as a *ramz*, and in Turkish a *taʾrīkh* [*q.v.*].

A more complex variety is called *mudhayyal*; here the principal chronogram is completed by a supplementary chronogram (*dhayl*) and it is the sum of the two which provides the date.

For the correct interpretation of these chronograms it is of course necessary to take into account the difference in numerical value which, for certain letters, exists between the *abdjad* [*q.v.*] of the East and that of the Maghrib (including Muslim Spain). It has been noticed that this involves six of the characters which, in the Cadmean order, come after the *nūn*: *sīn, shīn, ṣād, ḍād, ẓāʾ* and *ghayn*. In Persian and in Turkish, the letters which are peculiar to those languages (P, Č, Ž, G) have the same numerical value as the Arabic homographs.

The *tāʾ marbūṭa* may be counted as a *hāʾ* or as a *tāʾ* according to whether it occurs in pause (*waḳf*) or in liaison (*dardj*). The doubled (*mushaddada*) letters may be counted as one or as two. Similarly, the initial and terminal *alifs* may be added in or ignored, as necessary.

These chronograms are commonly employed in inscriptions (generally in verse) commemorating a foundation. They are equally common in didactic historical summaries of the *urdjūza* genre, particularly in obituaries (*wafayāt*).

In epigraphical texts, the chronogram is sometimes painted in a colour which stands out from that of the rest of the inscription. In manuscripts it is found written in larger letters. The phrase which constitutes the chronogram is nearly always announced by the preposition *fī*, "in", or by one or other of the words *ʿāma*, or *sanata* "in the year . . ."

In Morocco it was in the 11th/17th century, during the period of the Saʿdid dynasty [*q.v.*], that particularly frequent use began to be made of chronograms, not only in inscriptions on monuments but also in obituaries.

The principal author in the latter category was the secretary and court poet, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maklātī (d. 1041/1631), the author of a *lāmiyya* which was a continuation of a similar work by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Fishtālī (d. 1021/1612).

In the following century, Muḥammad al-Mudarraʿ (d. 1147/1734) composed an *urdjūza* of the same type on the notabilities of Fez. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ādarrāḳ (d. 1159/1746) was the author of another, on the saints of Meknès.

Wide use has been made of all these rhymed obituaries with chronograms by the historians and biographers of Morocco, notably Muḥammad al-Ḳādirī (d. 1187/1773) in his *Nashr al-mathānī*, and Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī (d. 1339/1920) in his *Salwat al-anfās*.

The process of adding the numerical value of all the letters forming a word (in this case a proper name) is the basis of a divinatory procedure, known as *Ḥisāb al-nīm*, by which it can be predicted which of two rulers at war will be the victor and which the vanquished. This process has been described at length by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Prolegomena* (see ed. Quatremère, 210-4; Fr. tr. De Slane, i, 241-5; Eng. tr. Rosenthal, i, 234-8); see further SĪMIYĀʾ and ZĀʾIRADJA).

Bibliography: The subject has been treated very briefly by Carra de Vaux at the end of his article TAʾRĪKH in *EI*[1]; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, 79-80 (see also, in the index to his work, the names of the writers mentioned above); Ufrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, tr. Houdas, 28, 55, 66, 82, 168, 190, 191, 195, 234, 265, 341, 451; Salāwī, *al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, Cairo 1312/1894, i, 179-80; iv, 281; G. S. Colin, *Une nouvelle inscription arabe de Tanger*, in *Hesp.*, iv (1924), 94.

(G. S. COLIN)

ḤISĀB AL-GHUBĀR "calculation [by means] of dust", method of calculation borrowed from Persia which owes its name to the use of a small board (*takht*) on which the calculator spread, by shaking a cloth or by another method, a fine layer of dust; he then used a small stick to draw the figures known as *ghubār* numerals and eliminated a partial

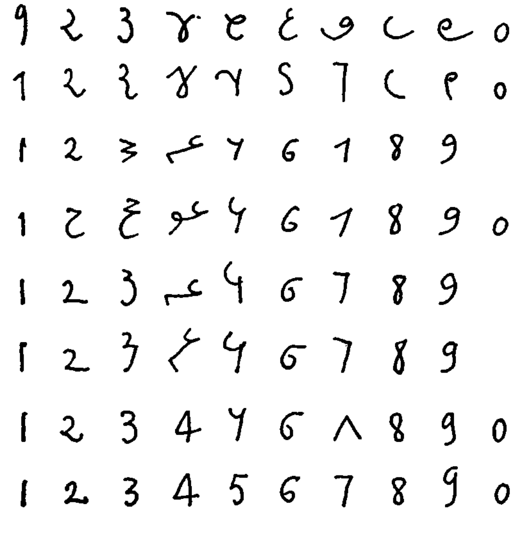

I. 4th/10th century

II. *ca.* 340/950

III. Ibn al-Bannāʾ, *Maḳālāt* (8th/14th century)

IV. Commentary on the *Talkhīṣ* (1082/1671)

V. *Kashf al-djilbāb*

VI. Bashlawī 1020/1611)

VII. J. A. Perez, following *Los libros del saber de astrónomia*

VIII. R. Ball, European numerals *ca.* 1400 A.D.

result by covering it with a little dust, which he then gathered up for use again when he had finished his operation. On the various operations thus performed, see ʿILM AL-ḤISĀB.

This procedure supplemented those already known to the Arabs: dactylonomy (*ḥisāb al-ʿaḳd* [*q.v.*]), counting by means of pebbles (*ḥaṣā*, whence *iḥṣāʾ*; cf. *calculus*), and mental calculation (*ḥisāb maftūḥ* or *hawāʾī*), etc., but little is known of its origin and in particular the question arises whether the use of dust is not the accidental result of a mistranslation of a Persian or other term, the tablet originally having been plastered with clay, a material on which figures could much more easily be engraved and erased by means of a stylus flattened at one end.

In any case this procedure was possible only from the time when figures became known. The *devanagari* figures were introduced in Baghdād in about 155/770, but it is known that although Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī (d. *ca.* 232/846) helped to spread *al-ḥisāb al-hindī*, the mathematicians, astronomers, etc. for long preferred to continue using the old system of referring to numbers by the letters of the alphabet [see ABDJAD, ḤISĀB AL-DJUMMAL]; on the other hand the *ghubār* figures which derive from *al-ḥisāb al-hindī* seem to have spread fairly soon to the Maghrib and to Spain, where they were adopted by the mathematicians, and the history of their development finally became blended with that of the numerals known as "Arabic", which are used in Europe. The table opposite shows the development of the *ghubār* numerals up to the point where they passed into use in the Christian West.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Bannāʾ, *Maḳālāt fi 'l-ḥisāb*, MS Tunis 10301; Ḳalaṣādī, *Kashf al-astār* (*al-asrār*) *ʿan ḥurūf al-ghubār*, MSS Tunis 3292, 3934, 4775; idem, *Kashf al-djilbāb ʿan ʿilm al-ḥisāb*, MS Tunis 2043; Sharīshī, *K. al-Talkhīṣ baʿd al-sabk wa 'l-takhlīṣ* (treatise on mental calculation), MS Tunis 2046; Bashlawī, *Risāla fi 'l-ḥisāb al-maftūḥ*, MS Tunis 2043; Rouse Ball, *History of mathematics*, Cambridge 1889; J. A. Sanchez Perez, *La aritmética en Roma, en India y en Arabia*, Madrid-Granada 1949, 120 ff.; M. Cohen, *La grande invention de l'écriture*, Paris 1958, 385. (M. SOUISSI)

ḤIṢĀR, siege. The following articles deal with siegecraft and siege warfare. On fortification see BURDJ, ḤIṢN, ḲALʿA and SŪR.

i. — GENERAL REMARKS

Siege warfare was one of the essential forms of warfare when it was a matter of conquest, and not merely of plundering raids, in countries in which, from ancient times, most of the large towns had been protected by walls and where, during the Middle Ages, the open countryside was to an ever increasing extent held by fortresses [see ḤIṢN and ḲALʿA]. Although the forces available were rarely sufficient to impose a complete investment, they blocked the normal ways of access to the stronghold under siege and thus brought about its surrender by famine or threat of famine, unless relief brought from outside or a sortie by the besieged dispersed the assailants; nevertheless, their stocks of supplies made it possible for the besieged to hold out for quite a long time, if their morale was strengthened by the hope of rescue and by devotion to their prince, and it sometimes happened that the besiegers, being ill-prepared for lengthy operations [see ḤARB] or sceptical of the advantages to be gained by others than the prince, lost heart and gave up the struggle. The nomads, who had no siege engines at their disposal and who attached little value to cultivation, sometimes secured the surrender of important towns by devastations that brought lasting ruin to the inhabitants; but the regular troops, who realized the advantage that lay in safeguarding the revenues from the land and who shared the general opinion as to the enormity of the crime of actual destruction in countries where physical conditions rendered any rapid recovery impossible, generally abstained from destroying plantations of trees and irrigation works; apart from military operations properly speaking, their chief aim was to secure some complicity inside the stronghold or, by means of a ruse, the capture of a local lord whose liberation would be made conditional upon the surrender of the stronghold.

The actual operations were carried out with the help of siege machines—apart of course from the personal weapons—which, while continuing ancient traditions, had nevertheless achieved some measure of technical progress and, during the latter half of the Middle Ages, were employed far more extensively than hitherto. At first, whenever possible, they tried to fill in part of the moat, so that it could be crossed. In the case of towns, attempts might be made, either by a surprise attack or as the result of treachery, to scale the walls with the help of ladders, when the first to enter would run to open a gate for those following, a manœuvre that had no serious chance of success except at night. More usually, when the nature of the ground allowed it, they tried to push forward to the foot of the fortifications wooden towers with several storeys—*burdj*, *dubbāba*—from the top of which the assailants could fight their opponents on the walls and ultimately leap down on them. Above all, they made efforts to breach the ramparts of towns, or to pierce openings in castle walls or make them collapse, by the use of either mines or engines. Mines (*naḳb*), in the use of which the Khurāsānīs appear to have had an enduring aptitude, were excavated from points situated outside the ramparts and if possible hidden from the sight of the defenders; supported by wooden props, they were extended forwards until they came underneath the chosen target; the wood was then set alight, as a result of which the ground subsided (if it was not solid rock), and with it the building standing above; the besieged defended themselves by digging countermines, in time to intercept the route taken by the enemy sappers. Siege engines were, roughly speaking, of two categories: some caused a certain point in the wall to be battered by direct blows, these being the battering-rams (*kabsh*, *sinnawr*) known throughout the Middle Ages; others hurled a missile, these in turn being divided into three groups, according to the method of propulsion—mangonels (*mandjanīḳ* [*q.v.*]), in which the swinging of a beam forced back by a team of men or (as in the Western "trébuchet") worked by a counterpoise, struck the missile with great force and thus propelled it against the point under bombardment, light ballistas (*ʿarrāda* [*q.v.*]), in which the same effect, with a less heavy projectile, was obtained by the twisting of a cord; and lastly, from the end of the 6th/12th century, the huge "wheel cross-bow" (*ḳaws al-ziyār*), operated like the ordinary cross-bow to shoot a powerful arrow, but requiring several men to operate it. For most of the time, these engines were built or at least assembled

almost on the spot, on account of difficulties of transportation, and wheeled forward on wagons to the exact place required; for their successful use, certain conformations of ground were obviously necessary, and these conditions were often absent from fortresses in mountainous country.

The defenders protected themselves by showering arrows on the soldiers operating the siege engines, and these then had to be protected by huge shields and palisades. When they were at the foot of the walls, they threw down stones, pitch, etc. onto them. Above all, they tried to set fire to the machines by throwing naphtha [see NAFṬ], with such success that the machines, and especially the towers which offered a large area for attack, had to be covered with hides rendered fire-proof by vinegar. For the construction or adjustment of these machines it might happen that engineers were used who (strictly speaking not being combatants) were non-Muslim, particularly in the early centuries.

Bibliography: see DJAYSH and ḤARB, in particular the work of K. Huuri and the notes by Cl. Cahen to the *Traité d'Armurerie*. All the chronicles contain descriptions of sieges, which have not been the subject of any systematic analysis; of particular interest are those referring to the wars between Saladin and the Franks and, in the following century, to the Mongol conquest and the Mamlūk counter offensive. Artillery in the age of fire-arms has been omitted from this article; for this subject, see BĀRŪD. (CL. CAHEN)

ii.—MUSLIM WEST

The methods of warfare used by besiegers and besieged were basically the same in the West as in the East; the differences were mainly those of vocabulary. For basic details see E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xe siècle*, 1932, 150; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, ii, 533; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, 87.

Among siege engines, the mangonels of the Marīnid period had become very powerful. During the famous sieges of Tlemcen for example, they were capable of bombarding the town with cannon-balls made of marble, some of which have been found there, the largest with a circumference of two metres and weighing 230 kilograms, whereas at the siege of al-Mahdiyya (601/1204) by the Almohad Sultan al-Nāṣir, the largest of the projectiles weighed only 120 pounds (*al-Ḳirṭās*, tr. Beaumier, 329). During the Marīnid period there appeared also a new engine: the *ḳaws al-ziyār*, which seems to have been a huge ballista or sling; it took eleven mules to carry it when dismantled. The small ballistas (*raʿāda*, *ʿarrāḍa*, for the classical *ʿarrāda* [*q.v.*]) became more numerous: the besiegers used them on the platforms of their approach-towers while the besieged used them for throwing fire-balls to set fire to these towers.

As regards portable arms, it is noted that, from the first half of the 5th/11th century, the besiegers were liberally armed with very deadly crossbows (*ḳisī ʿaḳḳāra*) with which they prevented the besieged from appearing at the loop-holes to shoot at the sappers. To enable him to supervise the operations, the leader of the besieging army had an observation post (*marḳaba*, *daydabān*, more rarely *shirāʿ*).

Exact details of the siege operations themselves are rare. There exist interesting passages on the siege of Barbastro in 457/1065 (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii, éd. Lévi-Provençal, 227), on the siege of Saragossa in 512/1118 (*al-Ḳirṭās*, tr. Beaumier, 233, Rabat ed., ii, 88), on the two sieges of Gafsa by the Almohads (Ibn ʿIdhārī, section on the Almohads, ed. Huici, 1963, 165-8; *Hespéris*, xxviii (1941), 45, 62), on the two sieges of Tlemcen by the Marīnids (Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, vii, 94, 221, 257, tr. de Slane, iii, 373, iv, 143, 221) and on that of Almeria in 709/1309 (*al-ʿIbar*, vii, 249, tr. iv, 204).

A most unusual procedure was employed by the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, in 540/1146, to demolish a part of the ramparts of Fez: he built a dam upstream on the river which flowed through the town, then, when enough water had accumulated, broke the dam so that the resulting torrent swept away the ramparts (Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, 164 and note 1).

Some sieges lasted for several years: the Marīnid Sultan Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb blockaded Tlemcen for eight years and three months, and the siege ended only when the besieging ruler was assassinated, this causing his army to disintegrate. In fact the surrounding wall of a town would enclose not only buildings but also extensive open spaces which could be cultivated or serve as pasture land. There exist some details of the prices which the besieged inhabitants of Valencia (*al-Andalus*, xiii (1948) 140) and of Tlemcen (*al-ʿIbar*, vii, 96, tr. de Slane, iii, 377) had to pay for food.

The very long duration of some sieges led to the besieging army transforming its military camp (*maḥalla*) into an actual town with its own fortified walls, its Great Mosque, its baths and its markets. The best known of these were al-Manṣūra [*q.v.*] (or rather al-Manṣūriyya) in front of Tlemcen, and Santa Fé, built in 1491 by the Catholic Monarchs during the siege of Granada, but many others are mentioned by the historians. (G. S. COLIN)

iii.—PERSIA

The techniques of investing fortresses and the use of siege machinery were certainly known in pre-Islamic Persia, for there were skilled engineers in the armies of the Sāsānids (cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], 212-13), and it was, of course, allegedly a Persian, Salmān al-Fārisī, who showed the Muslims how to build a defensive trench (*khandaḳ*) on the western side of Medina against the attacking Ḳuraysh in 5/627. Moreover, the Persians had built defensive walls against outside barbarians in several strategic zones, such as at Darband on the western shore of the Caspian and at Čālūs and Ḳazwīn against the depredations of the Daylamīs (cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 196-7, on Anūshirwān's wall-building activity, and also *ibid.*, ix, 5 ff.), and this tradition was kept up in Islamic times (cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 1275, on the walls built at Tamīshā in Gurgān by a local Iranian commander in 224/839).

The Arabs of the desert were almost total strangers to the use of siege techniques—within the Arabian peninsula, only al-Ṭāʾif had any defensive walls—and had the psychological dislike common to nomadic peoples of solid walls and buildings. Yet as they advanced eastwards into the Islamic world, it was necessary for them to acquire these skills, for Persia abounded in castles and fortified places, above all in such regions as Ādharbaydjān, Fārs, the Caspian region and Khurāsān (cf. Spuler, *Iran*, 499-502). Further east still, and not to be reached by the Arabs for some decades, were the fortified villages and estates of Khwārazm, recently revealed by Soviet archaeology (see S. P. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 73 ff.). When the Arabs attacked Ctesiphon in 16/637, the Persians

employed heavy catapults or mangonels (*madjānīḳ*, sing. *mandjanīḳ*) and lighter ones (*ʿarrādāt*) against the Arab forces, but a man named Saʿd Shīrzād built twenty *mandjanīḳs* for the Arabs, and thirteen years later the Arabs were using mangonels at the siege of Iṣṭakhr (Ṭabarī, i, 2427; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 396; Balādhurī, 389).

During the Umayyad period, the sources frequently mention the Arabs' use of siege techniques against the city walls and strong points of the Iranian east. In 92/710, the governor of Khurāsān, Ḳutayba b. Muslim, besieged Shūmān in Khuttal, using a powerful mangonel called *al-Faḥdjāʾ* "the wide-legged", whose stones fell in the local ruler's palace and killed a man; and at Samarḳand two years later, Ḳutayba's Arabs destroyed the city walls with catapults (Ṭabarī, ii, 1230, 1244-5; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 437, 453). As is implied by the Sāsānids' use of catapults against the attacking Arabs at Ctesiphon, these machines—or at least the lighter and more mobile ones—could be used in normal, open fighting, as well as in sieges. Thus it is recorded that in 121/739 the Tamīmī and Azdī troops of Naṣr b. Sayyār were opposed by two *ʿarrādas* of the rebel al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj (Ṭabarī, ii, 1692; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 178).

In the ʿAbbāsid period, techniques became more complex, and many new ways were developed in the fighting with the Byzantines on the Anatolian frontiers, where heavily-fortified strongholds abounded [see ʿAWĀṢIM]. It was probably here that the use of flaming naphtha, hurled either in pots from slings or by mechanical means into the enemy's positions, was learnt, and corps of specialist soldiers for hurling naphtha, *naffāṭūn*, are often mentioned. They were employed, for instance, by al-Muʿtaṣim's general al-Afshīn in the campaigns against the Khurramī rebel Bābak [*q.v.*] in the difficult and mountainous terrain of Ādharbaydjān, especially at the siege of Bābak's stronghold of Badhdh (Ṭabarī, iii, 1211, year 222/837); and in the next century, Caliphal troops in Fārs hurled spears to which pots of naphtha were attached (*mazārīḳ al-naft*) against the incoming Daylamīs (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, i, 282, tr. iv, 321, year 322/934). More of terror value than anything else must have been the sacks of serpents hurled by means of catapults into the enemy's camp by the Ṣaffārid Amīr Khalaf b. Aḥmad in 354/965 when he was besieged by rebels in one of the strongholds of Sīstān (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, i, 101).

The Ghaznavid army, as developed by the great Sultan Maḥmūd, was probably the most highly-developed fighting machine ever known in the Islamic world, and we would expect it to be suitably equipped for siege warfare. Heavy machinery was drawn along by elephants, and these beasts were themselves fitted with rams for battering down walls and buildings (for a slightly later, similar use of these beasts, see Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 360, when elephants captured from the Khʷārazmian army were used by the Ḳarā Khiṭāy to batter down the gates of Balāṣaghūn). Specialist personnel such as engineers, sappers and miners were used in the Ghaznavid army to work the catapults and to mine beneath walls. Their skills were particularly necessary during the campaigns of Maḥmūd and his son Masʿūd in Ghūr in central Afghānistān, where the local chiefs' resistance was centred on towers and strong points. These towers were bombarded with rocks, and mines were driven beneath them; Bayhaḳī says further that lassoes were thrown up to the battlements of one fortress so that the Ghaznavid troops might scale the walls (see C. E. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 65, 68; *idem*, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 118, 121).

The Saldjūḳs, as a Turkish steppe people, had to learn the techniques of siegecraft when they entered the Islamic world, and for some time they retained a respect for solid buildings and fortifications. Bundārī, 37, mentions Alp Arslan's admiration for the walls of Āmid in Diyār Bakr, which were celebrated for their strength (cf. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Dabīrsiyāḳī, Tehrān 1335/1956, 9); he touched the walls with his hands and then passed his hands over his breast in order to acquire for himself something of the walls' strength (*li 'l-tabarruk*). The Saldjūḳs overran Persia and drove the townspeople there into submission by cutting them off from their agricultural supply regions rather than by direct assault, but Ṭoghrïl in 442/1050 kept up the siege of Iṣfahān for nearly a year till the Kākūyid Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz surrendered (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 384-5). The army of the Great Saldjūḳs soon acquired a special division for siege warfare, with engineers, sappers and naphtha-throwers; as in the ʿAbbāsid period, contact with the Byzantines doubtless hastened this process. During Alp Arslan's Georgian campaign of 456/1064, the Sultan used his corps of *naffāṭūn* against the wooden barricades of Ānī, and then pushed westwards from there into Anatolia. In the course of sieges there, he constructed platforms from sacks filled with straw and earth for his archers, crossbowmen and naphtha-throwers, and he also built a wooden tower with an awning of felt soaked in vinegar to protect the attackers on the tower from having boiling liquids and fire hurled at them; from this tower, the Saldjūḳ troops battered down the walls (Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, 39-40). In the early part of Malik Shāh's reign, after the suppression of Ḳāwurd's rebellion in 465/1073, the Sultan gave special charge of the mangonels and siege machinery of the army to one of his foremost commanders, the slave eunuch ʿImād al-Dīn Sāwtigin (Bundārī, 49).

The sources are particularly full of information on siege techniques during the period of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs, Ghūrids and Mongols (6th-7th/12th-13th centuries), when the science reached the peak of its development in mediaeval Islam. It was recognized that bombarding a town with catapults not only pounded down the walls—which in the Iranian world were usually only of sun-dried brick anyway—but also had a psychological effect, making life inside the town insecure from the continual hail of missiles. It was by such a process of spreading despair and terror that the Khʷārazmians brought the Ghūrid defenders of Harāt almost to surrender in 600/1203 (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 320-1). Coming as they did from a low-lying region intersected by canals and river channels, the Khʷārazmians had an eye for the skilful utilization of rivers and waters in sieges. After the Ghūrid Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad's death in 602/1206, the Khʷārazmian army again invested Harāt. The attackers dammed up the Harī Rūd so that the city walls became surrounded by water, and carried on the onslaught from boats. When the Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad arrived in person, he ordered the dam to be broken down and the pent-up waters released; the rushing floods caused a long section of the walls to collapse, and after some fighting the city was taken by the Khʷārazmians. Shortly afterwards, the governor of Harāt, Ḥusayn Kharmīl, rebelled against the Khʷārazm-

Shāh, so this time the latter had the Harī Rūd diverted into a moat round the city, whose banks were artificially raised by tree-trunks and débris. The increased water-level soaked the foundations of the walls; then the water was let out from the moat with a rush, causing part of the walls to collapse, and the attackers were able to climb across the débris to the city gates (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, i, 259-60; Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 335). An interesting example of the Trojan horse technique occurred on the death of the Ghūrid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd in 609/1212, when rival members of the dynasty intrigued for possession of the capital Fīrūzkūh; eighty men were smuggled into the city inside treasure-chests, but the plot was betrayed and the men seized and killed (Djūzdjānī, *op. cit.*, i, 408-9).

It is well-known, both from Islamic sources and from the accounts of European travellers within the Mongol dominions, that the Mongols developed the techniques of siege warfare to a high degree. Čingiz Khan's corps of *mandjanīḳīs* or mangonel-operators, headed by the Nōyīn Ābaḳā, is said to have numbered several thousands (*ibid.*, ii, 1047), and the personnel here included many Chinese and some Europeans. Hülegü's army included Chinese *mandjanīḳīs*, naphtha-throwers and men to operate multiple-shooting bows (*čarkh-andāzān*). It was the Mongols who brought the multiple-shooting bow (*čarkh-kamān*) into the Islamic world for the first time; some of these were used by Čingiz for his attack on Nīshāpūr in 618/1221. Concerning foreign specialists in Mongol service, Marco Polo mentions a Nestorian Christian and a German artillery master employed by Ḳubilāy; and for the invasion of Khurāsān, Čingiz had a renegade Persian soldier from the district of Ustuwā in northern Khurāsān, who was in charge of the catapults and the deployment of infantry (Nasawī-Houdas, 53-4, tr. 90-1). The Mongols' siege machinery was usually transported on carts, and John of Plano Carpini says that a standard item in the Mongol soldier's equipment was ropes for dragging this machinery along, *funes ad machinas trahendas* (cf. K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen*, Helsinki-Leipzig 1941, 123-4, 180-92).

In their siege tactics, the Mongols showed considerable resourcefulness. They usually began by herding together as cannon-fodder a group of the local population (*ḥashar*), who were then used as a protective shield behind which the Mongol soldiers could fight or as carriers of ammunition for the catapults (cf. Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 92-3, siege of Khodjand, and *ibid.*, i, 107, attack on Dabūsiyya and Samarḳand). The catapults and heavy artillery would then be brought as close to the invested walls or fortifications as possible; at Djand in 616/1219 the defensive moat had first of all to be filled in, after which the catapults, battering-rams and scaling-ladders could be used (*ibid.*, i, 89). At Multān, the Mongol general Törbei Toḳshīn apparently mounted his mangonels on rafts in the Indus river (*ibid.*, i, 142), and at Nīshāpūr, the Mongols are said to have set up 200 mangonels in a single day; they used timber felled in the nearby, well-wooded oasis of Būshtaḳān to build protective bulwarks and to construct catapults, testudines (*dabbābāt*) and battering-rams (Nasawī-Houdas, 54, tr. 91-2). Where there were no stones available as ammunition for the catapults, *e.g.*, at the siege of Gurgāndj in Khʷārazm in 617-18/1220-1, blocks of mulberry wood were soaked in water and then used; at the same time as this bombardment, the moat was filled with débris and a peasant *ḥashar* was pushed forward in a crescent formation to demolish the defensive earthworks.

The use of gunpowder and artillery in the Islamic world naturally had a profound effect on siege techniques; for a consideration of these new methods in Persia, see BĀRŪD. v.—The Ṣafawids.

Bibliography: Material has largely to be gleaned from the historical sources extending over the whole period, but there are specific sections on siege warfare in Spuler, *Iran*, 493-4, 499-502, and idem, *Mongolen*, 413-16. Quatremère's notes on the use of *naft*, on peasant *ḥashars* and on catapults and engines of war in his *Hist. des Mongoles de la Perse*, i, 132-7, 204-5, 284-92, are still valuable. Finally, Huuri's work (see above), esp. 123 ff., 180-92, should be consulted for the technical details of the various types of catapult and mechanical bow. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

iv.—THE MAMLŪK SULTANATE

The history of siege warfare in the Mamlūk Sultanate has to be dealt with against the following background.

Most of the great wars of the Sultanate were fought in the early decades of its existence. These wars were conducted mainly against the Crusaders, where siege warfare was the decisive, indeed almost the only, factor, and against the Mongols, where field battles were the decisive factor [see ḤARB], though sieges played a by no means negligible rôle. Thereafter the Mamlūks fought only minor wars; the two notable exceptions were the war against Tīmūrlang, where siege warfare had some importance, and the final war against the Ottomans, where it had none. In the minor wars sieges were very numerous, but these conflicts were too trivial to promote the development of siege methods and siege instruments.

During most of the Mamlūk period, the main machine employed for throwing heavy missiles in sieges was the *mandjanīḳ* [*q.v.*], but its heyday was in the 7th/13th century, particularly in its closing decades. With the final expulsion of the Crusaders, or shortly after that date, the great history of that machine comes to an end.

For seventy to eighty years after the end of the Crusades the heavy siege artillery of the Mamlūks consisted solely of *mandjanīḳs*. During the sixties of the 8th/14th century, however, the revolutionary weapon of gunpowder was introduced into the Mamlūk Sultanate, which was one of the first Muslim countries to employ it. The Mamlūks used artillery, up to the end of their rule, solely as a siege weapon; yet in spite of its revolutionary character, it served for a very long time only as an auxiliary to the *mandjanīḳ*. Only towards the end of Mamlūk rule did it succeed in superseding it, and even then not completely. Some time during the second half of the 9th/15th century firearms became the main siege weapon, but never reached the point, as in parts of contemporary Europe and the Ottoman Empire, of breaking the immense superiority which defence had enjoyed over attack in siege warfare in the later Middle Ages. (For additional information see D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamlūk Kingdom—a challenge to a mediaeval society*, London 1956, and art. BĀRŪD).

What is characteristic of siege warfare under the Mamlūks is that a machine hurling missiles, whether it was the *mandjanīḳ* or artillery, was in fact the only really important siege machine which they used.

Other siege instruments, like the penthouse (*dabbāba*), the moveable tower (*burdj*) and naphtha (*naft*) had their heyday in the pre-Mamlūk period. In the Mamlūk period they did not count for very much (see below). During the early decades of their rule the Mamlūks employed in their sieges very frequently, and with considerable success, the system of mining (*naḳb*) side by side with their extensive use of the *mandjanīḳ*.

Despite the lack of direct evidence, there are many indications that counterpoise *mandjanīḳ*s were extensively used by the Mamlūks (and also, though perhaps on a much smaller scale, by other Muslim and Eastern states).

One of the outstanding features of the employment of the *mandjanīḳ* in Syria and Egypt in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, particularly in the struggle against the Crusaders, is the great increase in their numbers in the sieges of the Mamlūks in comparison with the sieges of the Ayyūbids. The Ayyūbid Sultans, including Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, used a maximum of ten *mandjanīḳ*s in a single siege, and very frequently much fewer: one, two or three such engines are a common phenomenon (*al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, 331; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 120, 320, 331; xii, 6, 34, 42; Abū Shāma, ii, 129, 135, 184, 192, 235; *RHC, Hist. Or.*, iv, 254; *Sulūk*, i, 84; Deschamps, *Les châteaux des Croisés*, ii, 52, 64. For a notable exception see Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 37). For additional information on the employment of *mandjanīḳ*s under the Ayyūbids see *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, 154; Sibṭ, 435, 447; *Sulūk*, i, 95, 96, 97, 243). Towards the end of Ayyūbid rule a certain increase may be noticed (*Sulūk*, i, 331; *Nudjūm* (ed. Cairo), vi, 329). The only rulers within the boundaries of the Islamic territories who came near the Mamlūks in the extensive use of *mandjanīḳ*s were the Ilkhānid Mongols of Persia, who quite frequently used twenty to twenty-five of these engines in a single siege (Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 234, 269; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd* (in *PO*), xii, 437; Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 41; *Sulūk*, i, 426, 475. See also Huuri, 191-2, where some exaggerated numbers are included, and note 4 on p. 191). The numbers of the *mandjanīḳ*s which the Mamlūks employed against the Crusader castles were similar, though in all probability some of these engines were of a more developed type than those of the Mongols (see below) (*Sulūk*, i, 565-6; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 16; Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 313, 327; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xiv, 553; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 80, 136; *Sulūk*, i, 608, 778, and note 2; Djazarī, 16; the best description of the distribution of Mamlūk *mandjanīḳ*s in a siege is that concerning Ḳalʿat al-Rūm). But all the former records were broken in al-Ashraf Khalīl's siege of Acre (690/1291). Abu 'l-Fidā', who witnessed the siege of Acre, states that it was besieged by a greater number of big and small *mandjanīḳ*s than any other town ever was (Abu 'l-Fidā', iv, 24). According to some of the Mamlūk sources they numbered 92; according to others, 72 (al-Djazarī, Sauvaget's tr., 5; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 111, 112; *Sulūk*, i, 764; *Nudjūm* (ed. Cairo), viii, 5-6 (and note on p. 6); *Manhal*, iii, fol. 62 b; Ibn Iyās, i, 123). The numbers of Mamlūk *mandjanīḳ*s in that siege quoted by Barhebraeus (300) or by the anonymous writer of *Excidium Acconis* (666) (cf. Huuri, 173, note 3; see also J. Prawer, *A history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1963, ii, 529) should be regarded as a gross exaggeration, to be explained perhaps by the desire of the Christian authors to inflate the power of the besieging Muslims. In 671/1272-3 Baybars I, who expected a Frankish attack by sea, fortified the port of Alexandria with 100 *mandjanīḳ*s (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 175; *Sulūk*, i, 608). It should be noted in this connexion that the sources mention much more often the number of *mandjanīḳ*s of the besiegers than of the besieged. For numbers of *mandjanīḳ*s in sieges see also Huuri, 164-5, 172-3 (some of the numbers quoted there are certainly exaggerated). For references on the use of *mandjanīḳ*s in the Crusading period cf. *ibid.*, 156, note 1.

After the expulsion of the Crusaders from Syria and Palestine the Mamlūk sources quote only very rarely the number of the *mandjanīḳ*s taking part in sieges, although they were used frequently. There are, however, some clear indications that their numbers declined considerably (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 213, 281, 282; also *ibid.*, 203-9). Whereas our information on the number of *mandjanīḳ*s participating in a siege in the Mamlūk Sultanate is fairly rich, that on the number of cannons employed in sieges is very meagre; this is one of the greatest drawbacks in the study of the history of firearms under the Mamlūks (Ayalon, *Gunpowder and firearms* . . ., 30).

The characteristic feature of the sieges of the 7th/13th century is the great increase in the number of missile-throwing machines, as well as the considerable variety of their types in comparison with the past. The new type, the trebuchet, developed into several kinds of machines based on the same principle. The Muslims often hurled naphtha by means of trebuchets which seem to have been of the lighter kinds of this type of machinery.

The Mamlūk sources speak of four kinds of *mandjanīḳ*s: "Frankish" (*frandjiyya*), Maghribine or "Western" (*maghribiyya*), "black bullish" (*ḳarābughāwiyya*) and "devilish" (*shayṭāniyya*). These types are mentioned far more frequently under the Mamlūks than under the Ayyūbids, and perhaps more frequently than under any other Muslim mediaeval ruler. Before the 7th/13th century these names are hardly mentioned in the sources, and quite shortly after the end of that century they disappear completely or almost completely from them, or at least from the chronicles. This fact reflects the abrupt halt, indeed decline, in the development of the *mandjanīḳ*, when the great challenge of the Crusaders' presence in Muslim territory was removed. The sources do not explain the differences between these four types, but certain important conclusions can be drawn from the information they furnish (see further MANDJANĪḲ).

Mining (*naḳb*), a system of siege warfare which had been known for many centuries but which had been used quite rarely before the 6th/12th century, reached the peak of its success in the late 6th/12th and in the 7th/13th centuries, used particularly by the Muslims. It was carried out in the following way. An underground tunnel (*naḳb*, pl. *nuḳūb*, and much more rarely *sirb*, pl. *asrāb*, or *surūb*) would be started a certain distance from the fortification or wall, and would be dug towards it. Immediately under the fortification, it would be widened, deepened and strengthened with timber props; then it would be filled with brushwood, straw and other combustible materials, and the whole construction would be set alight. The wooden props, together with all the combustibles, would be burnt, and the undermined fortification would collapse. Mines were, of course, effective mainly against fortifications built on a more or less soft soil; they were much less effective on those which were built on rock foundations, or were surrounded by deep water (for an interesting attempt to overcome the hardness of the soil, see Abū Shāma,

RHC, Hist. Or., iv, 254-5). The great advantages of this system were that the sappers were completely safe from the missiles and naphtha of the defenders, to which the *burdj* and the *dabbāba* were so dangerously exposed, and that the besieged garrison, unaware of the operation, was frequently taken by surprise. The best defence against such attack was for the besieged to dig a counter-tunnel, and, when the enemy's line of approach was discovered, to dig into it, kill the miners or smoke them out, and to destroy their work. Mining was used in Syria during the Crusades much more frequently than in Europe and by the Muslims much more often and more systematically than by the Crusaders: Richard the Lion Heart employed, in his siege of Dārūm in 1192, highly skilled Muslim miners from Aleppo, whom he had captured in the siege of Acre (Grousset, ii, 86, and references in note 3). It is noteworthy that Saladin, in his siege of Ṣahyūn in 584/1188, had with him many Aleppine foot soldiers who were famous for their bravery (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 5-6). It may well be no accident that Saladin had in his service an élite of miners and foot soldiers, trained in siege warfare, both from the same town. The Mamlūks employed mining on a far larger scale than the Ayyūbids, and especially in their sieges of the last Crusaders' castles (*Mir'āt al-zamān*, 225, 462, 467, 474; al-Djazarī (Sauvaget's tr.), 16; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xii, 470, 490; *Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 152; Ibn al-Dawādārī (ed. Roemer), ix, 131, 261; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's tr.), 492-3; al-Yūnīnī, ii, 317-8; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 80, 112; *Sulūk*, i, 69, 84, 489, 491, 498, 747, 767; al-ʿAynī, *RHC, Hist. Or.*, ii/1, 242; *Nudjūm* (ed. Cairo), v, 36, 40; vii, 138; viii, 6; *ibid.* (ed. Popper), vi, 407, 462, 467; vi, 52, 370. See also Quatremère, *Mongols*, 252-5, note 81; Rey, *Études sur les monuments* . . ., Paris 1871, 36, 37 and *passim*; Oman, i, 134; ii, 50-2; Grousset, ii, 550; iii, 703-4, 743, 755, 762; Deschamps, ii, 66; Fedden, 38-9; Prawer, ii, 50, 452, 456-7, 460, 488, 539, 541).

The sappers were called *naḳḳābūn* (more rarely *naḳḳāba*). The act of mining was called *naḳaba* or *naḳḳaba*. Those engaged in extracting stones from the fortifications were called *ḥadjdjārūn*. Carpenters (*nadjdjārūn*) were also employed in the mining operations. The act of setting the combustible material alight was called *ʿallaḳa* (rarely *aḥraḳa*). (In addition to the above references see also *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, 166; *Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 89; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 80; *Sulūk*, i, 1003; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 6; *ibid.* (ed. Popper), v, 407; Quatremère, *Mongols*, 284 note 95; Anṣārī (ed. Scanlon), 92). After the Crusades the employment of *nuḳūb* declines considerably, though it by no means disappears (see the references pertaining to the post-Crusade period quoted above). Of particular interest and importance are the descriptions of the *nuḳūb* dug by the Mamlūks in their sieges of Arsūf (663/1365) (*Sulūk*, i, 528-9), and al-Marḳab (684/1285) (Abu 'l-Fidā', iv, 27; *Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 78-9; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 17-8. See also *Nudjūm* (Cairo), vi, 40).

One of the reasons for the Mamlūks' success in their mining operations was that, in their sieges of the Crusaders' coastal fortresses, they were free to use their siege methods more thoroughly and with less restraint than under ordinary conditions, because they did not intend to keep or repair these fortresses after their capture, but to raze them to the ground.

The two main siege weapons by means of which the Mamlūks succeeded in capturing the castles of the Crusaders, and thus bringing to an end their rule in Syria and Palestine, were the *mandjanīḳ* and the *nuḳūb*.

Mamlūk siege warfare and naval power. One of the greatest weaknesses of the Mamlūks in their sieges of the Crusaders' coastal towns and fortresses was that they could never invest them completely, for the sea was always open to the besieged. In the whole Mamlūk offensive against the Crusaders there was not a single case of a simultaneous siege from land and sea, not even in the reign of Baybars I, when the Mamlūk navy was at its peak. All the Mamlūk sieges along the coastal strip were carried out almost as if a Mamlūk navy did not exist at all. Never in a Muslim offensive against the Crusaders was the weakness of the Muslim navy so apparent as in the great and final offensive.

In the siege of Acre Frankish warships, specially protected against fire, attacked the besiegers from the sea (Abu 'l-Fidā', iv, 25; *RHC, Hist. Or.*, i, 164); and Mamlūk warships did not hinder the Franks from bringing reinforcements, evacuating refugees from besieged or captured fortresses, or landing them in ports which were still in Crusader possession (see *e.g.*, Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 321; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xii, 539-40; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 80, 112; *Sulūk*, i, 747, 764, 765; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 8, 11; see also Prawer, ii, 454-541, *passim*, and the evidence and instances below. For a rather isolated and feeble intervention of the Mamlūk navy see Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, 355). The Mamlūk navy would certainly have been unable to impede the landing of a Frankish expeditionary force at any point of the Syro-Palestinian coast, including the besieged fortresses, had such a force been sent. It was even less capable of doing so than in the time of Saladin, when, after the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*], the Muslims were within sight of a total expulsion of the Crusaders, but lost their chance because of European naval supremacy.

The capture of Crusader towers or fortresses built in the sea gave the Mamlūks particular difficulty. Such structures were in front of Sidon (the famous Château de Mer), Maraḳiyya, Lādhiḳiyya and Ayās (in the Gulf of Alexandretta); there was also the fortified island of Arwād, northwest of Tripoli.

Ayās and Arwād were left to be dealt with after the expulsion of the Crusaders. Sidon's "sea-castle" was handed over to the Muslims almost without fighting, when the capture of Acre made the position of the Crusaders hopeless (Deschamps, i, 64, 73-6; ii 17, 18, 227-30, 253-4; Grousset, iii, 762, and note 2; Prawer, ii, 498, 544). As for Maraḳiyya, the fortress or tower (*ḥiṣn*, *burdj*) which commanded the entrance of its port constituted its main fortification. It rose in the sea at a distance of two bowshots from the shore and was strongly fortified. Sultan Ḳalāwūn decided that "the siege of this fortress is impossible, because it is in the sea, and ***because the Muslims have no ships*** to cut off its provisions and to stop those who want to enter or leave it" (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, Cairo 1961, 88). This statement reflects the ineffectiveness of the Mamlūk navy, not only in the case of Maraḳiyya, but also in all the other sieges of the Frankish coastal fortifications. No less revealing is an episode which occurred during the capture of Tripoli: a group of Franks took refuge on the small islet of St. Thomas situated opposite the town, "which could be reached only by ships", but "because of the eternal good fortune of the Muslims (*al-saʿāda al-azaliyya li'l-muslimīn*)" an exceptionally low ebb enabled the attackers to reach the islet on foot and horse, and round up the fugitive Franks (Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 115-21; for a

corroborative, though somewhat different version, see Abu 'l-Fidā', iv, 23, and cf. Grousset, iii, 744). This reflects the chronicler's feeling that but for divine intervention the Muslims would have been incapable, even in the flush of victory, of coping with such a small defenceless target, so near the shore.

Unable to conquer the sea-fortress of Maraḳiyya by his own means, Sultan Ḳalāwūn brought pressure to bear on Bohemond of Tripoli, who forced its defenders to hand it over to the Mamlūks. It was destroyed with great difficulty by a joint effort of the Mamlūks and the Franks (683/1285) (*Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 87-90; see also *Nudjūm* (Cairo), vii, 315-7; Grousset, iii, 704). The tower (*burdj*) protecting the entrance to the port of Lādhiḳiyya could be captured only because it was damaged by an earthquake (*Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 151-2; see also Grousset, iii, 734). The island of Arwād was the only stronghold which was captured (702/1302) by a naval operation (warships from Egypt and army from Tripoli) (Abu 'l-Fidā', iv, 47; Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 80; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 108; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xx, 21; *Sulūk*, i, 923; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 154-7; Ibn Khaldūn, v, 416; *Durar*, iii, 269; *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 195). The fortifications of Ayās [*q.v.*] included a fortress and three towers, the strongest of them a sea-tower one and a half bow-shots from the shore; it was captured (722/1322) only after a bridge 300 ells long was built between it and the shore (the same method was employed in the capture of the Lādhiḳiyya tower: *Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 152; see also Deschamps, ii, 231, concerning the capture of Sidon's "sea-castle"; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 150, 194; Abu 'l Fidā', iv, 91, 115, 119; Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 102; *Sulūk*, ii, 420-1, 429-30, 436; *Manhal*, ii, fol. 11b; Ibn Khaldūn, v, 430). See also BAḤRIYYA and D. Ayalon, *The Mamlūks and naval power—a phase in the struggle between Islam and Christian Europe*, in *Proceeding of the Israel Academy of sciences and humanities*, i/8 (Jerusalem 1965).

The *dabbāba*, the *burdj* and the *naft*. These three siege weapons, which earlier played a very important role in the struggle between the Muslims and the Crusaders, were of small significance in the final stages of that struggle, or in the period that followed the expulsion of the Crusaders.

The *burdj* and the *dabbāba* were mainly Frankish weapons (Cahen, *Traité*, 57, note 2), which were not really adopted by the Muslims, or, at best, adopted by them on a very limited scale. Because these two machines were only little known to the Muslims when they appeared on the scene of battle, and because they caused, for a certain time, great fear and admiration, they were described in the Muslim sources in greater detail than the *mandjaniḳs*. The best descriptions of the *dabbāba* are from the siege of Alexandria by the Sicilian navy in 570/1174 and from the siege of Acre in 586/1190-1 (see, *e.g.*, Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, i, 235; ii, 162-4, 166, 180, 185; *Sulūk*, i, 56-7; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 272; xii, 33; *JA*, (1849), 225; Quatremère, *Mongols*, 284-6, note 95). The best descriptions of the *burdj* are from the siege of Acre in 586/1190-1 and the sieges of Damietta in 615/1218 and 647/1249 (see Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 28, 42; Abū Shāma, i, 98; ii, 153 ff., 162; *Sulūk*, i, 103, 104, 189, 207, 339, 348 and note 6; *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 215-6; Quatremère, *Mongols*, 286, note 95; *JA*, (1849), 225; Reinaud, *Extraits*, 291; Joinville, 47, 52; see also Cahen, *Traité*, 18-9). Only on extremely rare occasions did the Muslims employ this kind of siege machine against the Crusaders either in the Ayyūbid or the Mamlūk period. Saladin used *dabbābāt* in his siege of Karak in 580/1184-5 (*RHC*, *Hist. Or.*, v, 254-5) and one *dabbāba* in his siege of Tyre in 583/1187, several months after the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 366; see also Deschamps, ii, 66, on the siege of Karak in 1184). In the siege and capture of Caesarea and Arsūf by Baybars I in 663/1265 *dabbābas* were employed (*Sulūk*, i, 526-7; Prawer, ii, 450, 452). In all the big sieges of the Crusader castles which followed the siege of Caesarea and which sealed the fate of the Crusaders, there is hardly any mention of either the *dabbāba* or the *burdj* amongst the siege machines of the attackers. (In Frankish sources additional instances of the use of these two weapons by the Muslims may be found, but the fact that the Muslim sources hardly mention them indicates their minor rôle. For Muslim protective measures in the siege of Acre see Prawer, ii, 542-7. On Crusader siege machines see *ibid.*, 47-50.) More than a century was to pass before the ephemeral re-appearance of this kind of siege machine took place. Tīmūrlang used a "wooden fortress" or "tower" in his siege of Damascus in 803/1400, which was burnt down by the defenders. He built another which served him no better (*Nudjūm* (ed. Popper), vi, 65; *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ*, iii, 48). Sultan Barsbāy erected a *burdj* when he laid siege to Āmid in 836/1433, but it was ineffective (*Nudjūm* (ed. Popper), vi, 705). Neither Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) nor al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) mentions the *burdj* or the *dabbāba* in their chapters on siege machines (*Taʿrīf*, 207-9; *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 136-8), though they include a number of obsolete weapons in their descriptions.

A siege machine which seems to have been similar to the *dabbāba* or the *burdj* and which was called *zaḥḥāfa*, was used by Baybars I in his siege of Caesarea [see above]. Its use by the Mamlūks is mentioned occasionally at later dates (*Sulūk*, ii, 428, 429; *Ta'rīkh Bayrūt*, 38). This machine is thus described by Ibn Ṣaṣrā, whose chronicle covers the period 786-99/1384-97: *zaḥḥāfāt tadjrī ʿalā 'l-arḍ mithla 'l-ʿadjal wa-ʿalayhā djulūd* (*al-Durar al-muḍiyya*, ed. W. M. Brinner, text, 81, Eng. tr., 113). For a description of *ālat al-zaḥf*, which seems to have been identical with *zaḥḥāfa*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; for the mention by Abū Shāma of *abrādj al-zaḥf*, see Huuri, 158 note 1.

The rise of naphtha (*naft* [*q.v.*]) as a major weapon in siege warfare during part of the Crusading period was caused primarily by the appearance of the *burdj* and the *dabbāba* on the scene of action; it was the Muslim answer—and a most effective one—to the great menace caused by these new Frankish weapons (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Shaddād, *RHC*, *Hist. Or.*, iii, 221-2; *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, 227; *Sulūk*, i, 57, 103-4; Sibṭ, 498; *Duwal al-Islām*, ii, 117; Joinville, 47, 52; *JA*, (1850), 219, 244; Oman, ii, 46, 48-9; also most of the references given above for the *burdj* and the *dabbāba*, many of those given below in this section and in general NAFṬ. On the different versions concerning the origin (Damascus or Baghdād) of the Muslim naphtha employed in the siege of Acre in 1189-91, see Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 29; Abū Shāma, ii, 153; Ibn Shaddād, 102).

One of the main reasons for the decline of naphtha, together with the *burdj* and the *dabbāba*, was that it was such an effective counter-measure to them; another was that since the castles of the Crusaders were built of stone, with hardly any wood in them (Smail, *Crusading warfare*, 228), the effective use of naphtha as an offensive weapon, during this period when the initiative passed definitely and finally from the Franks to the Muslims, was precluded. At

that period it is mentioned rarely (for its mention as an offensive weapon by the Mamlūks in their struggle against the Crusaders, see Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 46; viii, 80; *Sulūk*, i, 747) and (in contrast to the near past) no particular importance is attached to it. On its decline and almost complete disappearance after the Crusaders, see *Gunpower and firearms*, 12-3, and NAFṬ.

The arbalest. The heavier types of arbalest or crossbow were employed in siege warfare (both by the attackers and the defenders), in sea warfare and in naval attacks on coastal fortifications. It could hurl both non-inflammatory and inflammatory missiles (lighter types were used in field battles, particularly by the infantry). The commonest name in Arabic in the Mamlūk period for the crossbow type of weapon was *ḳaws al-ri̱d̲j̱l wa'l-rikāb* (often shortened to *ḳaws al-rid̲j̲l*), which seems to have been given to crossbows of various sizes, including those employed in sieges. The arbalest does not seem to have been a very important weapon in Mamlūk battles either against the Crusaders or against the Mongols. For a full discussion, see ḲAWS.

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(D. AYALON)

v.—OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottomans at first, in the 8th/14th century, had little of the knowledge and few of the means needed for siege warfare. Their acquisition of such towns as Bursa (1326), Nicea/Iznik (1331) and Nicomedia/Izmid (1337) was the result not of formal siege, but rather of prolonged blockade. The Ottomans sought—and with success—to cut off each of these towns from contact with the outside world. Towards the population of the adjacent lands the Ottomans adopted an attitude of *mudārā*, *i.e.*, of mildness and restraint designed to reconcile them to Muslim rule, to win, if possible, their co-operation and also to demonstrate to the beleaguered towns that submission would not mean ruin (on "*vire*", *i.e.*, the surrender of a fortress, as carried out later between the Ottomans and the Christians in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries see, *e.g.*, (i) L. Bonelli, *Il trattato Turco-Veneto del 1540* (in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, 2 vols., Palermo 1910), ii, 353 ff., also P. Wittek, *The Castle of Violets: from Greek Monemvasia to Turkish Menekshe*, in *BSOAS*, xx (1957), 604 ff. and M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Venedik arşivindeki vesikalar külliyatında Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri belgeleri*, in *Belgeler* (*Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*), i/2 (1964), Ankara 1965, 203 ff.—all on the surrender of Monemvasia and Napoli di Romania to the Ottomans in 1540; (ii) Bosio, iii, 618 (a brief truce during the siege of Malta in 1565); (iii) Pečewī, ii, 181 ff. (on the fall of Gran to the Imperialists in 1595); and (iv) Anticano, *Frammenti*, 173, 318 (the surrender, to the Ottomans, of Canea and Retimo during the Cretan war of 1645-69).

As the Ottoman state grew in size and resources, so its command increased over the techniques and instruments of siege-craft as elaborated and brought to high perfection during and following the time of the Crusades—, *e.g.*, mantlets, moveable towers, mangonels, ballistas, etc. (cf. in general, K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen*, Helsingfors 1941; also Kananos (Bonn 1838), 460, 462, 469 on one of the earlier examples of Ottoman siege warfare, *i.e.*, the unsuccessful attempt of Murād II to take Constantinople in 1422. As late as the sieges of Candia (1667-9) and of Vienna (1683) the Ottomans would seem to have made use of the sling (Scheither, 77) and of the "pioulitza" (Cacavelas, 138, 139, 177), a device (perhaps the catapult?) for the throwing of bombs and stones).

The art of siege warfare was changing, however, even as the Ottomans acquired these older techniques. Gunpowder and cannon had begun to exert an influence more and more decisive on the conduct of sieges. None the less, the Ottomans long continued to use, side by side with newer modes of procedure, techniques derived from the practice of an earlier age (cf., *e.g.*, (i) mantlets at Otranto in 1480 (Foucard, 163), at Malta in 1565 (Cirni, 113r, 114v), at Nicosia in 1570 (Lorini, 71: "palchi di tavole, coperti con pelle di bufali a guisa di testuggine, per difendersi da' fuochi") and also at Hamadān in 1724 (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafavī Dynasty . . .*, Cambridge 1958, 269); (ii) wooden towers at Malta in 1565 (Bosio, iii, 673, 684: "un'altra Machina di legnami . . . in modo di Torre", furnished with a platform designed to hold five or six arquebusiers and to be raised or lowered at will); and (iii) "trabuchi" at Rhodes (Sanuto, xxxiii, 573 and xxxiv, 67) during the siege of 1522). The Ottomans also retained the old method for bringing down the walls of a fortress, *i.e.*, to dig approach trenches, to excavate the foundation of the walls, wooden beams being employed to support the stone-work, and then to set fire to the beams, so that the walls would collapse, once the timber was burnt through (cf., at Rhodes in 1522, Bosio, ii, 574 and Tercier (1759), 754; also Montecuculi, 345).

The offensive weapons prominent in earlier times—*i.e.*, the ram and the bore, the ballista, the mangonel and the trebuchet—began to decline in importance, as the gun was elaborated into an effective means of siege warfare. Guns, it would seem, came into use amongst the Ottomans in the reign of Meḥemmed I and perhaps even at an earlier date (cf. BĀRŪD, 1061). Artillerists recruited from the German and Italian lands, from Serbia and Bosnia (cf. BĀRŪD, 1062) soon made available to the Ottomans an efficient train of siege guns. Experts of European origin would indeed constitute a major and enduring element in the Ottoman technical services (cf. BĀRŪD, 1062) connected with siege warfare—the artillerists (*Ṭopd̲j̲ular*), the transport corps (*Ṭop ʿArabad̲j̲ïlar*), the

bombardiers (*Khumbaradjilar*) and the sappers (*Laghïmdjïlar*).

At first the Ottomans often carried into the field not the ponderous guns indispensable for siege work, but supplies of metal for the casting of cannon, as need dictated in the course of a given campaign (cf. Barletio, ii, 306r, 307r; Promontorio-de Campis, 61, 85; da Lezze, 103; Sanuto, xxxi, 86; also BĀRŪD, 1061). Guns cast before a fortress might be broken into pieces at the termination of a siege, the metal being carried off for re-use on a future occasion (cf. N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades ...*, 4e sér., Bucarest 1915, iv, 368). These modes of procedure, in due course, fell into desuetude. A late example, however, can be seen in the Cretan War of 1645-69, when the Ottomans, transporting clay for the moulds from Kāghïdkhāne to ʿInādiyye, found it more convenient to cast some at least of their cannon in the field than to bring them whole from the mainland (cf. Siliḥdār, i, 307, 467, 481; Rāshid, i, 198, 205-6; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 312-3). The Ottoman Grand Vizier Aḥmed Köprülü, in the course of the siege of Candia (1667-9), ordered guns to be made, in Crete, of a calibre which would allow the *topdjular* to use the cannon-balls that the Venetians had fired from the fortress (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 310).

Ottoman siege guns, in the time of Meḥemmed II and for long thereafter, tended to be of vast weight and size (on the large cannon of Meḥemmed II cast in 868/1464 and now preserved in the Tower of London see BĀRŪD, 1061, 1065). Abundant evidence can be gathered about these guns from the sources which describe the great Ottoman sieges—, *e.g.*, of Constantinople in 857/1453 (Barbaro, 21, 27, 35, 39, 44), of Skutari (Ishkodra) in 883/1478-9 (Barletio, 310r-v, 313r, 314r-v), of Rhodes in 885/1480 (*Germanicarum rerum scriptores varii*, ed. Freher, ii, Frankfort 1602, 158, 159; C. Foucard, *Fonti di storia Napoletana nell'Archivio di Stato in Modena. Otranto nel 1480 e nel 1481*, in *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletane*, vi/1 (Naples 1881), 135 ff.; Vertot, ii, 308, 602); of Otranto in 885/1480 (Laggetto, 23) and of Diu in 945/1538 (Ribeiro, 255 ff.). One of the large *badjalushka* guns that the Ottomans carried to Malta in 973/1565 weighed "ciento y ochenta quintales de metal, y tira una bala de un quintal de peso de hierro colado" (*Verdadera relacion*, 21r-v; Cirni, 125r; Bosio, iii, 534-5, 695). The power of a *badjalushka* was notable indeed: there is mention at the same siege of "quatro basiliscos, que el uno dellos passava veynte y un pues de terrapleno de claro en claro" (*Verdadera relacion*, 78r)—and the shot fired from them still entered to a depth of "sette palmi", even after the Christians had devised an ingenious means to make their defences less penetrable (Cirni, 98r-v; Bosio, iii, 545, 625).

The Ottomans also made use of mortars: *hawāyī* (Ibn Kemāl, facs. 50, 307, 496 = transcr. 45, 289, 448; *Fâtih ve Istanbul*, i/3-6 (1953-4), 307; Selāniki, 8; BĀRŪD, 1063) or *ḥawān* (Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 398; Siliḥdār, i, 244, 443, 485 and ii, 395; Marsigli, ii, 30-1). Of these mortars there is frequent mention—, *e.g.*, at Belgrade in 860/1456 (L. Wadding, *Annales minorum ...*, Rome 1731, xii, 344); at Negroponte in 874/1470 (dalla Castellana, 435: "xxx mortali, cioè bonbarde, tanto larghe quanto lunghe ... la petra di ciascuna dugiento rotoli, che monta libre siecento, e butavano in aere, e al cascare cascavano entro la terra"); at Skutari (Ishkodra) in 883/1478-9 (Barletio, 313v, 314r: a mortar throwing shot of "mille e dugento libbre in aria"); at Rhodes in 928/1522 (de Bourbon, 13r-v: mortars hurling "pierre de marbre" and "boulletz de cuyvre ou bronze pleins d'artiffice de feu"); and at Malta in 973/1565 (Cirni, 125r and Bosio, iii, 512, 613: "due Morlacchi Petrieri, l'uno de'quali tirava la palla di due palmi di diametro, e l'altro di tre palmi").

On the rate of fire the sources offer no more than scattered and incomplete data. At Skutari (Ishkodra) in 1478-9 the Ottomans, with eleven great guns in action, fired per diem on different occasions 178, 187, 183, 168, 178, 182, 194, 131, 193 and 173 shots against the fortress (Barletio, 310r-v, 313r-v; da Lezze, 104). Twelve basilisks, at Rhodes in 1522, are said to have fired 130 times in all per diem (Fontanus, in Lonicerus, ii, 390). A large Ottoman gun, throwing shot three quintals in weight, was discharged 20 times per diem at the siege of Napoli di Romania in 1538 (Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, v, 285).

Information about the range of the Ottoman siege guns is rare. At Malta in 1565 some of the Ottoman batteries (later moved closer to the fortress walls) fired at first from a distance as great as "mil passos, y mas de Sant Ermo" (*Verdadera relacion*, 31v, 39v, 41r; cf. also Bosio, iii, 534: "in distanza di 180. canne da Architetto, secondo la nota, che ne lasciò Girolamo Casser, Ingegniere della Religione". M. Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, London 1958, ii, 228, note 3, suggests that 720 metres would be a liberal estimate for the effective range of large cannon in the 16th and the 17th centuries). Also infrequent are references to the range of the arquebus. Ulloa, describing the Djerba campaign of 1560, observes of the Ottoman "schioppettieri" that "quei loro schioppetti erano si lunghi, che tirando arrivavano a cinquecento passi" (Ulloa, 8v). Ottoman arquebusiers fighting at Malta in 1565 and using "las escopetas del largor de ix. palmos de cañon, y las q̃ menos de siete" maintained an accurate fire at a distance of "seyscientos passos" (*Verdadera relacion*, 34v, 68r; also Bosio, iii, 597, referring to "archibusoni da posta").

The gunpowder that the Ottomans used was often excellent. It gave off, at Malta in 1565, a white smoke—an effect of its fineness—clearly distinguishable from the black smoke of the Christian powder (*Verdadera relacion*, 102v; Cirni, 85r; Bosio, iii, 614). Montecucculi also praised it for an excellence which revealed itself in "le bruit, la force et la longueur des coups" (Montecuculi, 283-4). Ewliyā Čelebi describes the "*ʿothmānlï bārūtlarï*" as moist and inclined to befoul the touch-hole of the cannon, whereas the powder from Egypt and Baghdād was well made—indeed he compares it on a number of occasions with the gunpowder obtained from the English (Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 413; vi, 314; x, 175, 454, 727. Much powder—some of it among the best at their command—came to the Ottomans from Europe and in particular from the English and the Dutch: cf. BĀRŪD, 1063). A passage in the *Tuḥfat al-kibār* notes, however, of the gunpowder from Egypt that it was not over-clean, had no great propulsive force and did harm, moreover, to the touch-hole of the cannon (*Tuḥfat al-kibār*, 71r; also Naʿīmā, iii, 52; other adverse comments of much later date, in *Peter Businello Staatsekretärs der Republik Venedig historische Nachrichten... der osmanischen Monarchie*, in C. W. Lüdeke, *Beschreibung des Türkischen Reiches*, Zweyter Theil, Leipzig 1778, 131, and in Schels, 306-7).

The cannon-balls fired from the Ottoman guns might be of stone, iron, lead and even bronze (cf., at

Rhodes (1522), Sanuto, xxxiv, 64, 78; at Gran (1543), Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, v, 372; and at Malta (1565), *Verdadera relacion*, 121v). Often, where possible, the cannon-balls would be collected after firing for further use against a fortress (cf., at Malta (1565), Cirni, 104r and Bosio, iii, 636). With problems of windage in mind the Ottomans often wrapped their shot in sheepskins, thus ensuring a better effect from the explosiòn of the charge (Montecuculi, 280-1). At Malta in 1565 the Ottoman gunners, in preparing the charge for their cannon, used sacks of powder proportionate in size to the range and to the result which it was desired to achieve (cf. Bosio, iii, 614). The great size of their siege cannon and the thickness of the gun-barrels led the Ottoman *ṭopdjular* at times to fire the guns without giving them sufficient time to cool (cf. *Verdadera relacion*, 40v, 68r; and, on the cooling of guns, Ducas (Bonn 1834), 273 and Foucard, 165).

The Ottoman gunners—a large proportion of whom came from Europe—made use of their cannon in accordance with methods practised in the armies of Christendom: *e.g.*, concentrated fire from batteries directed at one particular section of a fortress wall (Anticano, 147-8: Crete, 1646; cf. also Pečewī, ii, 193—on the Christian gunners at Gran, 1595); cross-fire from various batteries of guns (Bosio, iii, 538-9: Malta, 1565); and, in addition, the use of medium cannon to cut deep into the walls of a fortress and then of the heavier guns to bring down the stone-work through the violent impact of large cannon-balls (Collado, 24v-25r; Stella, in Schwandtner, i, 610-1; also BĀRŪD, 1062. On the methods practised in Europe cf., *e.g.*, Mendoça, 51r-v and Marsigli-Veress, 29-30). Sometimes the Ottomans fired groups of guns in a regular sequence (Bosio, iii, 309: Tripoli in North Africa, 1551). A number of batteries might combine to cover the defences of a fortress with a "curtain barrage" destined to be raised at, but not before the precise moment when the Ottoman forces stormed the walls (Bosio, iii, 648: Malta, 1565). A device employed at Malta in 1565 was the placing, close to the fortress walls, of "alcune picche ... havendo nella cima certo fuoco artificiato", the Ottoman gunners being thus enabled to maintain an accurate cannon-fire at night-time (*Verdadera relacion*, 98r; Cirni, 113r-v; Bosio, iii, 628, 676. The sources for the same siege note, too, the superb skill and precision of the Ottoman arquebusiers, even when firing in moonlight: Viperanus, 10v; Bosio, iii, 539-40, 561, 611).

Much care and effort was given to the siting of the siege guns: there are references, *e.g.*, to emplacements with "doors" opening and closing, as the cannon fired at the fortress (Barletio, 310r: Skutari in 1478-9); to "bastioni di terra, chiusi e serrati di vimine e virgulti, intorno à grossi pali contesti" (Bosio, ii, 330: Rhodes in 1480); and to "mantelletti foderati di fuori di grossi tavoloni di legno incastrati con travi, e dentro erano pieni di terra, molto ben pestata e battuta" (Bosio, ii, 553: Rhodes in 1522—cf. also Fontanus, in Lonicerus, ii, 390). Where earth was lacking (as in rock-bound Malta), "sacas de lana, gumenas viejas, tiendas viejas, y velas" might be used to build "bestiones, trincheas, y hinchir fossos" or "cueros de bueyes para reparos, y muchos de cabras ... para hazer bestiones" or even "paglia con del lino a fare ripari da piantare l'artiglieria" (*Verdadera relacion*, 22v, 23r and Cirni, 53v: Malta in 1565). There is mention, too, of pre-fabricated materials and devices, *e.g.*, at Malta in 1565: (i) wooden frames filled with earth and employed as "cestones para las piecas" (*Verdadera relation*, 37v); (ii) "tronere di legno fatte à posta per piantare l'artiglieria, le quali fermavano con certi chiodi grossissimi" (Cirni, 46v); and (iii) "i fusi di ferro, i ceppi, le piatteforme, i gabbioni, e le troniere di legnami, tutte fatte, e pronte" (Bosio, iii, 512). At Rhodes in 1522 some of the Ottoman guns, set on "tavoloni", fired on the fortress at night, being covered over with earth and sand in the day-time, so that the Christians might not locate them (Bosio, ii, 554). Each gun emplacement was furnished, it would seem, with flags equal in number to the cannon established there (*Verdadera relacion*, 77v-78r and Cirni, 53v: Malta in 1565). The Ottomans also built defences for the protection of their arquebusiers—, *e.g.*, during the Djerba campaign of 1560, "tre bastioni in forma rotonda, à modo di torrione, di legname fortemente con travi incatenati, terrapienati di fascine, e terra" (Ulloa, 36v) and, at Szigetvár in 1566, "certi bastioni di molte sacca di lana, e bambace, dietro a' quali stando i Gianizzari, senza pericolo assaltavano le mura" (*Impresa di Zighet*, in Sansovino, 454r-v). How great was the forethought given at need to the exact location of the guns and of the arquebusiers can be inferred from the fact that Meḥemmed II—with the siege of 1480 in mind—caused drawings to be made beforehand of the fortifications at Rhodes (Bosio, ii, 315).

The Ottomans had at their command instruments of siege warfare other than guns and mortars. Amongst them was the *khumbara* (*ḳumbara*), *i.e.*, bombs and grenades of various kinds—, *e.g.*, "*khumbara ḥawānlarī*" (Siliḥdār, i, 244 and ii, 47); a large *khumbara* weighing 70 okkas (Siliḥdār, i, 595); "*ḳazān* (*ḳazghān*) *ḳumbara*" (Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 398, 414); "*sepet khumbarasī*" (Siliḥdār, ii, 395, also *Nusretnâme*, ed. İ. Parmaksizoğlu, i/1-3, Istanbul 1962-4, i, 81); "*fıçı humbarası*" (*Nusretnâme*, i, 81); "*čömlek ḳumbarasī*" (Ewliyā Čelebi, v, 191); and "*shīsheden maʿmūl khumbaralar*" (Naʿīmā, iv, 140. Cf. also on the *khumbara* BĀRŪD, 1063). As for hand grenades (*e.g.*, of glass (*sirča* (*shīshe*) *el ḳumbaralarī*) or of bronze (*tundj el khumbarasī*)—cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 119 and viii, 414, 432; Rāshid, i, 208; also Cacavelas, 138, 139 and BĀRŪD, 1063) much use was made of them, above all in 1667-9 during the siege of Candia in Crete (Rāshid, i, 208: the Ottomans manufactured per diem in the course of the siege 1000 bronze hand grenades—cf. also Siliḥdār, i, 484 and Scheither, 77. Marsigli, ii, 33 observes, however, that the Ottoman "granata da mano, pure mal fatta, è di effetto assai tenue").

The sources mention quite often other techniques and devices that the Ottomans used in their siege warfare—, *e.g.*, (i) the firing, from their cannon, of small shot, lengths of chain (Ewliyā Čelebi, x, 676; Siliḥdār, i, 337: "*ṣačma ve demir zendjīrler*" and i, 705: "*zendjīr dolu ṭoplar*") and also pieces of iron (A. N. Kurat, *Prut Seferi*, ii, Ankara 1953, 752: "*demir parčalarī*"—cf. in addition the *Lettera scritta ... da Venetia*: "un Pezzo di Bronzo carico di Lanterne, e Balle da Moschetto". Bosio, iii, 641-2 mentions that the Ottomans, at Malta in 1565, constructed a "barile cerchiato di ferro" and furnished with an explosive charge and a fuse, the inside being full of "scaglie di ferro, di pezzi di catene, e di sassi"); (ii) the use of "*günderlü khumbara*" (explosive and combustible devices affixed to long poles or pikes: Selānīkī, 40—cf. also Bosio, iii, 562) and of *khumbara* filled with iron fragments (Naʿīmā, i, 304); and (iii) the employment of "palle di fuoco" compounded of resin, pitch, sulphur, wax, oil and the like (Barletio,

313), of "boulletz de cuyvre ou bronze plains d'artiffice de feu" (de Bourbon, 13r-v) and of gunpowder in "peaux de chevre" furnished with a mêche or fuse (Marsigli, ii, 34). The Ottomans made use, moreover, of "*naft, ḳaṭrān, kaynar ṣu*" and of "*kol, kireč, naft ve ḳaṭrānlı pačavra ve yorg͟han parčalar*" (Ewliyā Čelebi, v, 191, 201; cf. also Naʿīmā, iv, 140: "*naft ile bulas͟hmis͟h baʿḍı kirbās parčalar*").

There is frequent reference to the Ottoman use of "sacchi di polvere" provided with a fuse and intended to be thrown at close quarters—cf., *e.g.*, *Verdadera relacion*, 252v; Cirni, 60r, 65r-v; Bosio, ii, 571 and iii, 559 ("certi sacchetti loro di fuoco artificiato, ne' quali era una pignattina di terra fragilissima piena di fuoco, la quale nel percuotere in terra, o ne' capi de' nostri rompendosi, accendeva, s'infiammava una mistura, che tenacissimamente attaccandosi, fin al ferro istesso voracemente, et efficacemente ardeva, e consumava"), 628, 643; Veress, *Campania Crestinilor*, 59; Brusoni, *Candia*, ii, 162; Dietz, 62; Marsigli, ii, 33 ff.; Röder von Diersburg, i, 207 ("dass schlimmeste aber ist Ihr verfluchtes pulver, welches sie ... in säckhen werffen": letter of Ludwig von Baden, dated 1686). Inflammable materials also served as smoke-screens covering the Ottoman forces engaged in the digging of trenches (Anticano, *Frammenti*, 83; Brusoni, *Candia*, i, 26; Ferrari, 132), as fire-balls intended to give illumination at night (de La Solaye, 77-78) and as poisonous mixtures useful in combat underground in the galleries of mines and counter-mines (Brusoni, *Candia*, ii, 157: "misture malefiche, e velenose, che col fumo, e col fetore ammazzano"). Against the artificial fire and other combustibles of the Christians oxhides, sheepskins and goatskins offered protection to the Ottoman forces in their siege operations (*Verdadera relacion*, 98r; Bosio, ii, 572; *Éphémérides Daces*, ii, 266).

Other devices and stratagems are noted in some of the sources. It was in the course of the long Hungarian war of 1593-1606 that the Ottomans came to know the "*ag͟hadj̲ ṭop*", *i.e.*, the petard (Pečewī, ii, 212-3; Naʿīmā, i, 190; Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 312-3; Brusoni, *Candia*, i, 42; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, vii, 353). Ropes and hooks served at times to pull down the defences of a fortress (Cirni, 103r, 114v; Bosio, iii, 556, 644, 679; Vivonne, 248). Bombs might be thrown with increased effect in groups, when the sun was in the eyes of the foe, and grenades could be used at long range, if cast from slings (Scheither, 75, 77). Examples are not wanting, moreover, of false attacks at night with the intention to wear down the resistance of the besieged forces (*Verdadera relacion*, 49v, 79v), of feigned sounds of marching (drums, pipes, etc.) and the astute placing of "padiglioni finti" to draw off hostile gun-fire (Brusoni, *Candia*, i, 26) and of cannon firing blank shot in order to deceive a beleaguered garrison (*Verdadera relacion*, 85v).

The Ottomans—over and above guns and ammunition—took with them perforce into the field large supplies of equipment: *e.g.*, pick-axes, shovels, crow-bars, axes, anvils, bellows, timber, ropes, nails of various kinds, cauldrons, stores of pitch, tar, linseed oil and petroleum, of iron and lead, of wool and cotton, quick-match (*fitil*), saltpetre, sacks, hides of oxen, sheep and goats—all relevant to siege warfare (cf., *e.g.*, the supplies gathered for the siege of Candia in 1667-9 (Rās͟hid, i, 204-5) and for the campaign of 1683 against Vienna (Grzegorzewski, 265 ff., nos. 2 and 30; cf. also Ch. Boethius, *Ruhmbelorbter und Triumph-leuchtender Kriegs-Helm*, Nürnberg 1686, i, 153; *Assedio di Vienna ... 1683 ... Racconto Istorico ... di L. A*[nguisciola?], Modena 1684, 77; Cacavelas, 138 ff.; and Zenarolla, 99 ff. for the spoils which fell to the Christians at Vienna in 1683 and at Alba Regalis (Stuhlweissenburg) in 1688). On the munitions that the Ottomans assigned to some of their Hungarian fortresses cf. *Magyarországi Török Kincstári Defterek* (A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Torténelmi Bizottsága. Forditottá Dr. Laszlofalvi Velics Antal), 2 Köt., Budapest 1886-90, i, 189 ff. and ii, 3 ff. (Buda, Gran, Pécs, Siklos, Szeged, etc.) and also Veress, *Gyula Város Oklevéltára*, 452 ff.

The actual investment of a fortress involved the digging of approach trenches (*sıčan yolları*) vertical to the walls, but sinuous rather than rectilinear, in order to give protection from the fire of the besieged foe; lateral trenches (*meteris*) parallel to the walls branched off from the *sıčan yolları*; and redoubts ("domus dame") covered with timber and earth had to be constructed on the outer rim of the fosse, over against the glacis of the fortress (de La Feuillade, 45-6, 56; de La Solaye, 325; Marsigli, ii, 138-9). At times ingenious devices seem to have been used for throwing earth excavated from the trenches forward into the fortress ditch (Bosio, iii, 614: Malta in 1565). Bridges or ramps of wooden beams plastered with wet earth as a defence against artificial fire aided the assault forces to cross the ditches and storm the walls (cf., at Rhodes in 1480, Bosio, ii, 327; and, at Malta in 1565, Cirni, 56v, 68r, also Bosio, iii, 547-8, 568, 609-10, 611).

The subterranean mines (*lag͟hımlar*) hollowed out beneath the walls of a fortress might consist of several galleries each with its terminal chamber, often containing a large amount of gunpowder (cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 424: a mine with three galleries and three chambers; Naʿīmā, iv, 143: 150 *ḳanṭārs* of powder in a single mine; Montecuculi, 345: "des mines simples, doubles et triples l'une sur l'autre ... très profondes ... de 120 et de 150 barils de poudre et davantage". See also, however, Scheither, 72, who, in writing of the Ottoman mines at Candia in 1667-9, observes that "massen sie nicht den vierdten Theil so viel als die Unserige gesprengt so auch nur Vocaten gewesen und die meisten ohne sonderlichen Schaden abgelauffen"). Numerous data on Ottoman mines are to be found in the sources for the war in Crete (1645-69)—cf. BĀRŪD, 1063; further references in Ewliyā Čelebi, v, 135 ("*pusḳurma barutlu lag͟hımlar*"); Rās͟hid, i, 143 ("*ḳubūrlar ve pusḳurmalar ve lag͟hımlar*"); also Bosio, iii, 618-9; J. D. Barovius, *Commentarii de rebus Ungaricis*, in M. G. Kovachich, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum minores hactenus inediti*, Buda 1798, ii, 370; István Szamosközy, *Történeti Maradványai*, ed. Sandor Szilágyi, Masodik Kötet (1598-9), in *Magyar Történelmi Emlékek: Írók*, xxviii (Budapest 1876), 176-7; *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, i, 623-4; Marsigli, ii, 37 ff.; and J. B. Schels, *Militär-Verfassung des türkischen Reiches*, in *Oestreichische militärische Zeitschrift* (Zweyte Auflage der Jahrgänge 1811 und 1812, Bd. 2, Vienna 1820), 322-3.

Ottoman siege warfare—practised with remarkable success at Constantinople (1453), at Rhodes (1522) and, although without ultimate triumph, at Malta (1565), all fortresses of vast defensive strength—reached perhaps its culmination in the siege of Candia (1667-9). The techniques exemplified in this siege warfare derived in general from the procedures and methods current in Western Europe, experts of Christian origin holding from the first a vital rôle in

the transmission, to the Ottomans, of the siege lore familiar to the armies of Christendom (cf. BĀRŪD, 1062, 1063-4)—at Candia, *e.g.*, the Dutch, the English and the French did much to bring about the final success of the Ottoman forces (I. Dujčev, *Avvisi di Ragusa. Documenti sull'Impero Turco nel secolo XVII e sulla guerra di Candia* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, no. 101), Rome 1935, 159; Brusoni, *Candia*, i, 23: "numero grande d'Ingegnieri Francesi e Fiaminghi"; and N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Le Relazioni degli Stati Europei lette al Senato dagli Ambasciatori Veneziani nel secolo decimosettimo, ser. 5: Turchia*, Venice 1866-71, ii, 231-2: a statement of Giovanni Morosini di Alvise, formerly bailo of Venice at Istanbul, that the bombs and grenades which the English supplied to the Ottomans and which the Dutch, in particular, taught them how to use with the best effect had contributed "sommamente alla caduta di Candia").

The success of the Ottomans at Candia and elsewhere also rested, however, on factors enabling them to excel in the practical and manual aspects of siege-craft such as the digging of trenches and emplacements or the preparation of mines—, *i.e.*, on their command over large resources of human labour (*e.g.*, *ʿazab* troops and levies amongst the local populations) and on the existence, within the empire, of skilled mining communities available for use in war (cf., in general, R. Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im osmanischen Reich* (Istanbuler Schriften, nos. 2, 14 and 14a), Istanbul 1943-5; also BĀRŪD, 1063). Of like importance, moreover, was their access to vast quantities of the munitions (gunpowder, metals, timber, etc.) indispensable for siege warfare on the grand scale (cf. *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, i, 623).

And yet these factors tended to diminish in value. The 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries saw, in Europe, a rapid development in the art of warfare. There was, through the efforts of men like Vauban, a marked advance in the science of fortification. Austria, having acquired Belgrade in 1718, fortified the town anew. Among the French officers present with the forces of the Sultan before Belgrade in 1739 the common view was that the Ottomans, with their accustomed methods of siege warfare, would not be able to capture the fortress (de Warnery, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs*, Leipzig and Dresden 1770, 51-2). Even more significant was the growth, in Europe, of better techniques for the manufacture of cannon. The disasters which befell the Ottoman armies during the Hungarian war of 1683-99—at the siege of Buda in 1686 no less than on the field of battle as at Zenta in 1697—must be ascribed in no small degree to the effectiveness of the Christian field-guns (cf. *Mémoires du Maréchal de Villars*, ed. de Vogüé, i, Paris 1884, 380, where the Maréchal writes of the Austrians that "leur artillerie de campagne est très belle et très bien servie, et c'est peut-estre ce qui a le plus contribué aus aventages qu'ils ont remportés pendant cette guerre sur les Turcs"). At a later date Maurice de Saxe, bearing in mind perhaps the recent advances in fortification and also the appearance—as in the last phases of the Austrian Succession War (1740-8)—of cannon powerful enough to overcome the new defences (cf. G. von Scharnhorst, *Handbuch für Offiziere, Erster Theil: Artillerie*, Hanover 1804, i, 18), was constrained to observe of fortresses in general that "tous les anciens ne valent rien, les modernes ne valent guère mieux" (Maurice Comte de Saxe, *Mes rêveries*, ed. Pérau, Amsterdam and Leipzig 1757, ii, 11). The old tradition of siege warfare was in fact becoming obsolete. It was imperative that the Ottomans acquire the latest techniques evolved in Europe—but it was also difficult for them to abandon methods which had for long been crowned with great and undeniable success. Of their grave misfortunes in war against Austria and Russia between 1683 and 1792 it can, with justice, be said—as it was indeed said of their operations before Belgrade in 1739—that "ils ne se laissent pas gouverner des Chrétiens, et ne se fient pas assez à eux, pour suivre leurs conseils" (de Warnery, 51-2).

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vi. — INDIA

Walled towns and fortifications had existed in India long before the beginning of the Christian era; they increased in number from the 6th century A.D. onwards because of the lack of a central government, the increasing dominance of the local chieftains, and the peculiar administrative system of the Rādjpūts, which in many ways resembled the European feudal system. In the north Indian plains, where the ground was level, these fortifications were built on artificial mounds, the earth for which was obtained from the foot of the site, thus providing an enclosure of a ditch or a large pond for the protection of the fort. Thick jungles and impenetrable screens of bamboos made them inaccessible. A number of smaller forts which stood on the route of the march of the Ghaznawid and Ghūrid armies were levelled to the ground by them while the strongholds of Multān, Thāneswar, Lahore, Delhi, Ḳannawdj and Adjmēr, which offered stubborn resistance, were blockaded, stormed and captured. In the Deccan, the forts constructed on the precipitous rocky hills or boulderstrewn hills with wide moats defending the curtain were impregnable for the siege engines and the devices of those days. Similarly numerous summits of the hill range running north-east through the south of Rādjasthān and the hills of Mālwā are provided with strong fortifications, which even in their present condition are most imposing structures.

Strongholds were defended by the garrison from the thick outer walls, at places 31 to 35 feet wide (Bīdjāpur), with bastions, parapets and battlements. Gateways in some cases were defended by barbicans and loopholed crenellations and machicolations at parapet level (Golkondā). They were provided with strong guard-rooms, which existed at other strategic points. Considerable improvements were made by the Turks and the Mughals to the existing fortifications and new ones were also added. Flame-shaped battlements were introduced by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī in the fortified town of Sīrī, lying two miles north-east of Old Delhi, which was built for checking the Mongol invasions. Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ made arrangements of defence from three tiers carried all round the walls and bastions in his Tughluḳābād. The internal faces of the walls of ʿĀdilābād, built by Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, are constructed with continuous wall arcades, which provide ample posts for guards and have the additional advantage of localizing any breach made by the besiegers. Most of the strongholds of the Deccan built under the Bahmanids or their successors were a bulwark against huge armies from the north. The defensive works of Mālwā, when occupied by the provincial dynasties, were further fortified by them and imposing citadels added.

The gateways bore the main brunt of the enemy's onslaught. The curtain walls of hill fortresses are reached by sinuous paths or through long serpentine loops, protected by a strong wall on one side and the precipitous hills on the other. The gateways of the forts on level ground, often eight in number (Fatḥpur Sīkrī), are flanked by a bastion on either side and were defended by two or more tiers of guard rooms or a strong barbican, which in some cases took the form of a large bastion. Forts built on the bank of a river were defended on one side by the river and on the other by ditches with draw-bridges at the gates. Parapets, barbicans, bastions and battlements not suited to the use of artillery were later remodelled to adjust them to artillery fire. The citadels of most of the old fortifications rebuilt by the Muslims are formidable structures with powerful double walls and strongly fortified gates.

Siegecraft offered little scope for the genius of the Turkish or the Mughul method of warfare, which lay more in the active work of attack. It was only as a last resort that the Turks, Mughuls or Rādjpūts took refuge in their strongholds. Even then they did not seek to tire out the patience or the resources of the besiegers but often rushed out to give battle on a slight provocation from the assailants. Generally with no openings near the ground to be battered in, the forts had an almost endless capacity for passive resistance. Even a small garrison could hold out so long as its provisions lasted or it was not demoralized. Fakhr-i Mudabbir, the earliest Turkish authority, who wrote on warfare under Iletmish, attached the utmost importance to the use of stratagem and treachery and to winning over the besieged by promises. Shēr Khān in his early career obtained possession of Rōhtās (945/1538) by treachery. Bands of soldiers were deputed by the besiegers to ravage the neighbourhood and the garrison was isolated from the outer world by cutting off supplies. Starvation was the one form of siege craft which the garrison was wholly unable to withstand. Scaling-ladders, though of little use against an efficient defence, were the most convenient of all the tools for capturing a fort. Attempts were made to fill the moat round the fort by throwing in stones, logs, sand-bags etc. Rope-ladders and nooses remained in use till the end of the

12th/18th century. Three hundred assailants scaled the ramparts of the Čampānīr fort on a moon-lit night by driving spikes into a smooth surface of the wall of the fort at a place discovered by Humāyūn himself, who had seen a party of grain dealers emerging from the thicket which surrounded the fort (943/1536). Only very active espionage or a sheer stroke of luck saved the garrison from the disastrous consequences of such surprises. Attempts were made to secure entrance by battering a way in with the help of elephants provided with a frontlet of steel, for the outer gates were generally made of very heavy timber about 6 inches thick, plated and studded with sharp iron spikes of different shapes 3 to 13 inches long, arranged in horizontal tiers and further strengthened by large battens behind.

Along with the above devices *pās͟hīb* and *gargad͟j* were constructed by the besiegers to breach the fortress with *mand͟janīḳ*s or *ʿarrāda*s, and later with mortars. The *pās͟hīb* was a raised platform constructed by filling the space between the top of the fort wall and the base of the besieger's camp below, with bags of sand or earth. *Gargad͟j*es were movable towers, such as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn used in the siege of Ranthambor. They were similar to the *sarkob* or *muḳābil kob* which Rūmī K͟hān constructed on large boats on the Ganges (945/1538) for battering in the walls of Čunar, as it could not be captured from the parts lying on the land-side. These towers were very strong structures with solid beams covered by raw hides, tiles, or earth to protect them from the liquid combustibles thrown by the garrison. They could be destroyed only by hurling heavy stones or by a sortie. *Sābāṭ*, which is also mentioned by Amīr K͟husraw, "is a word", according to Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bak͟hs͟hī, "used to express two walls, the foundations of which are laid at a distance of about one musket-shot (from the fort), and under the protection of planks, which are fastened together by raw hides, and are made strong, and forming something like a lane are carried to the wall of the fort". Ten hoisemen could ride abreast inside the *sābāṭ* which was carried forward from Akbar's battery for the conquest of Čitor (975/1567-8). A man mounted on an elephant and with a spear in his hand could pass inside it. *Mand͟janīḳ*s and *ʿarrāda*s were the engines which the assailants and defenders both used, before they were gradually replaced by artillery, though Akbar during the siege of Asīrgarh used *mand͟janīḳ*s too. They were of different varieties. *Mand͟janīḳ i-ʿarūs* hurled stones in all directions. The *mand͟janīḳ-i dew* (gigantic *mand͟janīḳ*), *mand͟janīḳ-i rawān* (*mand͟janīḳ* which threw missiles briskly), *ʿarrāda-i yak-rūy* (simple *ʿarrāda*), *ʿarrāda-i gardān* (rotating *ʿarrāda*), *ʿarrāda-i k͟hufta* (stationary *ʿarrāda*), *ʿarrāda-i rawān* (*ʿarrāda* throwing missiles briskly) mentioned by Fak͟hr-i Mudabbir are nowhere described and their nature can be guessed only from their names. They worked on the principles of torsion or counterpoise and consisted of two stout posts joined by a double or quadruple set of ropes, which untwisting themselves hurled the rock or ball with a high elliptic trajectory. *Mag͟hribī* was another variety of *mand͟janīḳ* or *ʿarrāda*, and was used by both the besiegers and the besieged. The *Mand͟janīḳ-i ʿarūs* which Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim used in the siege of Dēbal [see DAYBUL] in Sindh (92/711-2) is said to have required five hundred men to work it. The *k͟harak* (drill) was identical with the ram in construction. The workers drew its chain or rope back as far as they could and then released it to dash the sharp iron point against the wall. The *čark͟h*, identical with the ballista, was a magnified form of cross-bow, and was used for discharging heavy bolts and long shafts at objects out of the range of ordinary arrows and spears. The *zambūrak* and *nīm čark͟h* were varieties of the above. The *toda* (heap) ensured a more perfect use of the bows and arrows; mantelets, shields and a temporary wall of planks or earth protected the workers who were employed to work the siege-engines from the fire or stone hurled by the besiegers. *Falāk͟han*s or *gōphan*s (slings) were also used for discharging stones and lighter missiles. Other implements required by the besiegers were palisades, fire-shovels, pick-axes and spades. Besides stones, boiling pitch, naphtha and darts were generally used as missiles.

The use of artillery in the 10th/16th and the 11th/17th centuries did not greatly lighten the task of besiegers. At the siege of Čandīrī (934/1528) the stone discharge of the mortar could produce no tangible result. During the assault on Ray Sēn (950/1543) all the brass that could be procured from the bazaar and the tents of the besiegers (pots, dishes and drinking vessels) had to be used for mortars, which bombarded the fort from all directions. Though Akbar had, at the siege of Ranthambor, had *sābāṭ* prepared, fifteen culverins, each of which could discharge boulders weighing five maunds and seven maunds and *haft d͟jos͟h* (made of seven metals) balls, were carried by 500 labourers to the top of the hill and were placed opposite the fort for bombarding the citadel. The defending garrison, along with musket and cannon fire, rolled down large masses of stone from hill fortresses, which bounded along with great velocity and crushed to pieces all those on whom they fell, and the assailants were swept down.

Mining was certainly the most effective of all the devices for capturing a stronghold not situated on solid rocks or high ground. Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim sought to demolish the walls of Rāwar Fort in Sindh (92/712) through mining. Amīr Masʿūd had mines sprung at five places in the walls of the fort of Hānsī before it could be stormed (428/1037). The best device which the besieged could employ against mining was to counter-mine and fill up the cavity. Ḳambar Dīwāna, who was besieged in the fort of Badāūn at the end of Humāyūn's reign (962/1555), was able to detect the mine that was being dug from outside the fort by putting his ears to the ground, exactly at the spot where the finishing touches were being given to it by the besiegers, and so thwarted their efforts. Before the invention of gun-powder the cavity was filled with straw, wood and other combustible material. When the beams which supported the cavity were burnt, the wall collapsed into the hole, and a breach was produced. Subsequently the mine was filled with gun-powder and fuses were laid. Often more than one mine was laid to ensure speedy reduction of the fort, but the process was nevertheless fraught with grave risks. At the siege of Čitor (December 1567), Akbar had two mines laid under the bastions which were close to each other. Fire was set to both simultaneously but the match of one, being shorter, exploded earlier, hurling that bastion into the air. The Mug͟huls rushed forward to force their entry through the breach. At that moment, the fire reached the other mine and the second bastion was also blown up, killing a large number of the imperial forces. The countermining done by the officers of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the ruler of Golkondā, proved highly disastrous to the Mug͟huls, who had carried three mines from the siege trenches under the bastion. The garrison quietly abstracted all the powder with the fuses from one

mine and leaving some powder in the other two, filled them with water. The explosion from the two mines caused terrible havoc to the imperial forces, while the firing of the third mine was a fiasco.

Bibliography: Besides the works cited in ḤARB; Anonymous, *Ḥukm-nāma* (Asiatic Society Bengal, Ivanow 1648); Sidney Toy, *The strongholds of India*, London 1957; J. Burton-Page, *A study of fortification in the Indian subcontinent from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century A.D.*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii/3 (1960), 508-22. (S. A. A. RIZVI)

ḤIṢĀR, in Turkish 'castle, fortress, citadel, stronghold', a common component of place-names in Turkey. The best-known are the two castles which control the narrowest point of the Bosphorus [see BOGHAZ-IČI]: on the Asiatic side Anadolu Ḥiṣārī [*q.v.*], also called in earlier times Güzel Ḥiṣār ('beautiful castle'), on the European side Rumeli Ḥiṣārī [*q.v.*], also called Boghaz-Kesen ('the barrier of the Bosphorus'). The former, situated between Kandilli and Kanlıca, was built by the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I in 797/1395 in preparation for the siege of Constantinople which he was planning; the latter, situated between Bebek and Emirgân, was built by Meḥemmed II in 856/1452 at the beginning of his reign and for the same purpose, to block the passage through the Bosphorus of grain ships from the Crimea.

Ḥiṣār is further found as a component of numerous place-names in Anatolia, notably: Karacahisar, a ruined site south of Eskişehir; Afyonkarahisar ('Opium black castle'), in earlier times also Ḳara-ḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib (so called after the Seldjūḳ vizier Fakhr al-Dīn); Şebinkarahisar ('Alum black castle') in north-east Anatolia (in the *vilâyet* of Giresun); Develikarahisar (*vil.* Kayseri); Güzelhisar Aydın (nowadays called only Aydın, chef-lieu of the *vilâyet*), the ancient Tralles; Akhisar ('White castle', *vil.* Manisa); Koçhisar ('Rams' castle', near Tuz gölü, *vil.* Ankara); Eski Hisar, a ruined castle near Gebze, which occupies the site of the ancient Lybissa; Koyulhisar on the Kelkit (*vil.* Sivas); Sivrihisar ('Pointed castle', *vil.* Eskişehir); Uchisar ('Frontier castle') and Ortahisar ('Middle castle'), places in the cave-district of Ürgüp-Göreme (*vil.* Kayseri). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions (ii, 269 = tr. Gibb, ii, 424) a Ḳulḥiṣār (*i.e.*, probably Gölḥiṣār, 'Lake castle') in the district around Egridir, but the exact location is not known; in older sources there frequently appears mention of a place Ḳaraḥiṣār-i Behrāmshāh (F. Taeschner, *Wegenetz*, index), which must have been situated in the bend of the Halys (Kızıl Irmak) in central Anatolia; Yarhisar, not far from Bilecik, is mentioned in the early Ottoman chronicles.

In Rumeli was Aladja Ḥiṣār, the Ottoman name for Kruševac in Yugoslavia. Hisarcık ('Little castle') is a village near Alacam (*vil.* Samsun); Hisarlık in the *vilâyet* of Çanakkale marks the site of Troy. (CL. HUART-[FR. TAESCHNER])

ḤIṢĀR, main town of a district in Transoxania, is situated on the Khānaka, a tributary of the Kāfirnihān, 675 metres above sea level, in a fertile but humid and unhealthy region, bounded by the Zarafshān and the Ḳïzïl Ṣu (cf. Cleinow and R. Olzscha, *Turkestan*, Heidelberg 1942, 187; illustration of the town at the beginning of the 19th century in Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg/Br. 1900, 233).

At the time of the Arab conquest of Transoxania early in the 2nd/8th century, the place was called Shūmān and constituted a small independent principality, which later came under the rule of Čaghāniyan [*q.v.*] (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 74, 185). In early Islamic times, the place was well known for its cultivation of saffron, which was widely exported (Iṣṭakhrī, 298 = Ibn Ḥawḳal, 477; Muḳaddasī, 284, 289 f.). The inhabitants were considered prosperous, but unruly and inimical to stable government; this was a matter of some seriousness, since Shūmān remained for centuries a last bulwark against the Turks of Central Asia (Yāḳūt, iii, 337 = Beirut ed. 1957, iii, 373 f., s.v. Shūmān; also, *ibid.*, iii, 88, iv, 196). At this period Ḥiṣār was smaller than Tirmidh [*q.v.*] and formed one community with Wāshgird.

It was only at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, in the time of Tīmūr [*q.v.*], that the name Shūmān was replaced by that of Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān, or simply Ḥiṣār(ak). This name has survived ever since. In the middle of the 8th/14th century Ḥiṣār had a local Beg (*amīr*), and later became one of Tīmūr's armouries (*zarrādkhāna*) (ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Ilāhdād, Calcutta 1885-88, ii, 49, 52, 450, 452, 464; Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1956, ii, 14). Thereafter Ḥiṣār formed part of the territory ruled by the Tīmūrids [*q.v.*], amongst whom Maḥmūd Mīrzā (873/1469-899/1494), a son of Abū Saʿīd, was particularly outstanding. His influence extended as far as the Hindū Kūsh (*Bābur-nāma*, ed. A. S. Beveridge, *GMS*, i, 26 b, 56b). During the battles which raged repeatedly back and forth between Bābur and the Shaybānids [*q.v.*], Ḥiṣār was greatly devastated in the winter of 917/1511-12; starvation drove the people to cannibalism, and only 600 inhabitants are said to have survived (*Taʾrikh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Denison Ross, 260-3). After the collapse of the Shaybānids Ḥiṣār fell into the hands of the Turkmen tribe of Yüz and—like four other *begliks*—was able to maintain what was to all intents and purposes an independent position in relation to the *Amīrs* of Bukhārā. The town was at this time surrounded by strong walls. Only after the Russian conquest of Bukhārā in 1868 was the town (transcribed in Russian *Gissar*) and its hinterland really subject to the *Amīrs*. Nevertheless the district continued to be an independent province, in which Özbeks, Tādjīks (on the mountain slopes) and gipsies lived (Schwarz, 47). It enclosed the southern part of the Amīrate of Bukhārā on the lower reaches of the Wakhsh and on the Kāfirnihān, and had its own governors, these being at times princes of the ruling family. The region was first opened up for scientific investigation by a Russian expedition in 1875. The last of its governors, Ibrāhīm Beg, of the Tādjīk tribe of Lakai, remained loyal to his overlord even after the overthrow of the dynasty by the Bolsheviks in 1920, and defended Ḥiṣār against them until 1923. Then in 1926 he retreated through Tādjīkistān to Afghānistān (A. Z. V. Togan, *Bugünkü Türkili*, Istanbul 1942-7, 206, 255 f., 438 f., 466 f.; B. Hayit, *Turkestan*, Darmstadt 1956, 182, 519). Since 1924 Ḥiṣār has formed part of Tādjīkistān (a Republic of the USSR from 1929). The ancient saffron industry has died out. In the 19th century corn and flax were the principal crops. In the 20th century there was a substantial production of silk and silk poplin, and of cutlery. The southern border of the *beglik* of Ḥiṣār extended to the Alai mountains; thus the southern watershed of the Zarafshān valley acquired the name of Ḥiṣār mountains (with elevations of up to 5700 m.).

Bibliography (further to works mentioned in the text): Le Strange, 440; Spuler, *Iran*, index; P.P. Ivanov, *Očerki po istorii Srednej Azii* (*XVI—sered. XIX v.*) (*Sketches of the history of Central Asia, from the 16th to the mid-19th centuries*),

Moscow 1958; W. Leimbach, *Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, 40, 72 (mountains); Brockhaus-Efron, *Enciklop. Slovaŕ*, viii A = 16, 764 f. (also mountains and exploration); *BSE*², xi (1952), 441 f. (contour map, with illustrations). (B. SPULER)

HİSAR, ʿABD AL-ḤAḲḲ SHINĀSĪ (mod. Turkish Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar), 1888-1963, Turkish writer, born in Rumelihisarı, a summer village on the European shores of the Bosphorus. His family were of the upper-class Ottoman Civil Service. His father Maḥmūd Djelāl al-Dīn was an enlightened modernist of his day having had two years' education in Paris and being the editor of various literary magazines, particularly of *Khazīne-i Ewrāḳ*, to which leading writers of the Tanẓīmāt School and their followers contributed. An ardent supporter of modernism, he named his eldest son ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Shināsī, a combination of the names of the pioneer Tanẓīmāt writers (Ibrāhīm) Shināsī and ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳ Ḥāmid [*qq.v.*]. (His second son Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, 1891-1945, was the author of well-documented books on the history of the Turkish theatre and printing).

Abdülhak's mother was a descendant of Ottoman pashas. Her grand-father was the last commander of the Fortress of Belgrade. His childhood was spent in turn in their *yalı* at Rumelihisarı, or on Büyükada, the island resort of the Marmara, and on the slopes above Çamlıca, where he witnessed all the fading splendour of the Ottoman upper-classes at the turn of the century, which he was later to evoke so vividly in most of his works. In 1894 he went to Beirut to join his father, temporarily exiled there by the Sultan as Director of Education, because of his progressive ideas. Abdülhak was put in the charge of a French governess, who later accompanied the family back to Istanbul. The young Abdülhak was educated at the Imperial Lycée of Galatasaray, where most of the teaching was in French. In 1905, like many of his contemporaries, he escaped to Paris where he made friends with many of the Young Turks there and became acquainted with French poets and writers of the day, and for three years attended the courses of the École Libre des Sciences Politiques.

On the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, like most exiles, he returned to Istanbul; thereafter he devoted himself to literature, making his living as an employee in various foreign and Turkish private firms.

From the 1930's onwards he accepted various Government posts in Ankara, mainly in an advisory capacity, on foreign affairs. He retired in 1948 and settled in an apartment in Beyoğlu (his *yalı* in Rumelihisarı had been burnt down in the 1920's). He died in 1963.

Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar is, in many ways, a very unusual writer. Although he started his career as a poet at the end of the First World War and wrote many critical articles and essays, he was appreciated only among a limited circle. By 1920 his contemporaries had already made their names as novelists or poets. But in 1941, at the age of 53, he swept to fame overnight, upon the publication of his first novel *Fahim Bey ve biz.*

Apart from many essays, short stories and articles published in various newspapers and reviews, particularly in *Ileri*, *Dergâh*, *Yeni Mecmua*, *Akşam*, *Varlık*, *Türk Yurdu* (New Series), most of which have not yet been collected in book-form, he is the author of the following works: (1) *Fahim Bey ve biz* (1941), German tr. by Fr. von Rummel *Unser gute Fahim Bey* (Copenhagen 1954), French tr. by B. de Siyèves (Paris 1961). It won third prize for the best novel competition in 1942 (the first prize went to Halide Edib, the second to Yakub Kadri). This is a powerful character study of an Istanbul type at the turn of the century, a weak, inefficient and dreamy civil servant turned businessman, who is an utter failure in real life but who lives in an imaginary world where he realizes his dreams; (2) *Boğaziçi mehtapları* ('The moonlight on the Bosphorus' 1942), an evocative description and detailed narrative of the traditional moonlight processions of rowing-boats on the Bosphorus, originating in the 17th century, which consisted of Oriental music and serenades and which were held on three or four occasions each summer; (3) *Çamlıcadaki eniştemiz* ('Our brother-in-law at Çamlıca' 1944), a series of sketches loosely connected in the form of a novel about life on the Çamlıca hillside overlooking Istanbul and the Bosphorus, with picturesque descriptions of landscape and the character study of a strange man with Oriental tastes and habits, his superstitions and love affairs in a Tanẓīmāt villa, which comes to life with all its decor, furniture and people; (4) *Ali Nizami Beyin alafrangalığı ve şeyhliği* (1952), the story of a young westernizing snob, a bon-vivant who in the early 1900's, after spending a reckless life in the cosmopolitan society of Büyükada, ruins himself and becomes unbalanced, ending up as a Bektashi 'Baba' in a tumble-down 'convent' on Çamlıca Hill; (5) *Boğaziçi yalıları* (1954), a description of these typical summer residences on the Bosphorus and the care-free and relaxed life of the Ottoman upper-classes in them, with personal reminiscences of some of the most famous sea-side villas of the period; (6) *Aşk imiş her ne var âlemde* (1955): the title is taken from the famous couplet of Fuḍūlī: *ʿAshḳ imish her ne var ʿālemde/ʿIlm bir ḳīl u ḳāl imish andjaḳ* ('[I realized at last that] everything in the world is nothing but Love, and Learning is but gossip'), an anthology of popular quotations (single verses or couplets) mainly from *dīwān* poets on topics of love, beauty, wine, separation, etc.; (7) *Geçmiş zaman köşkleri* (1956), the description of some typical old Ottoman villas where the author had lived as a child in Büyük ada and Çamlıca and his reminiscences about the life, customs, people and setting of these villas; (8) *Geçmiş zaman fıkraları* (1958), a collection of anecdotes, mostly humorous, on the Ottoman period, covering mostly the 19th century; (9) *Istanbul ve Pierre Loti* (1958), a guide with bibliography to the well-known French Turcophile writer's works on Turkey, his life among the Turks and the memories associated with him; (10) *Yahya Kemal'e veda* ('Farewell to Yahya Kemal', 1959) and (11) *Ahmed Haşim* (1963), the author's personal reminiscences and appreciation of these two leading poets, who were his contemporaries and with whom he was closely associated.

Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar's complete works are now (1966) being published by the Istanbul publishers Varlık.

Bibliography: S. S. Uysal, *Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar*, Istanbul 1961; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*³, Istanbul 1966; Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Gençlik ve edebiyat hatıraları*, in *Hayat*, August 1965 (valuable new data on Hisar's youth, which shed light on his later work). (FAHİR İZ)

ḤIṢĀR FĪRŪZA, (now simply known as Ḥiṣār; Anglo Indian: Hissār), a citadel town in the Indian Pandjāb, situated in 29° 10′ N. and 75° 44′ E. on the railway from Lahore to Delhi via Bhaṭinda

[*q.v.*]. It is the headquarters of the district, of the same name, which lies in a dry sandy plain, known from ancient times as Harīāna. It was founded by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (reigned 752/1351-790/1388) in 757/1356, after whom it takes its name, on the site of two villages known as Kadās Buzurg and Kadās Khwurd (cf. Shams Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1891, 24), close to the deserted town of Agrōha, which had been depopulated by the terrible famine of 736/1335. Frequented by merchants and travellers from ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān on their way to Delhi, it was irrigated by two canals, cut by the orders of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ from the Ghaggar, which flows past Ambāla [*q.v.*], and the Djamuna. One of these canals still exists and is known as the Western Djamuna Canal. The fortress, surrounded by a lofty wall built by Fīrūz Shāh, came to be originally known as the Ḥiṣār-i Fīrūzābād, with a large tank within the enclosure, which drained off into a moat girdling the citadel. It soon grew into a large and prosperous town with palaces, mansions and kiosks and residential blocks constructed by the various nobles and grandees of the kingdom. It took $2^1/_2$ years to build, with fruit and vegetable gardens laid out all over the city. In 809/1407 it was captured by Khiḍr Khān, the Sayyid governor of Multān, who had rebelled against Maḥmūd Tughluḳ (*reg.* for the second time, 801/1399-815/1413), but was recovered in 811/1408 by the sultan in person. In 817/1414, on Khiḍr Khān's proclaiming himself king of Delhi, Dawlat Khān Lōdī (*reg.* 815/1413-817/1414), the deposed ruler, was held here as a prisoner. It remained in the possession of the Sayyid dynasty till *ca.* 840/1436, when it was seized by Buhlūl Lōdī from Muḥammad Shāh, the Sayyid ruler of Delhi (*reg.* 837/1434-847/1444). It was in this town, where his father Ḥasan Khān was stationed as a private soldier in the employ of the local *djāgīrdār*, that Farīd Khān (*scil.* Shēr Shāh Sūr) was born (cf. ʿAbbās Khān Sarwānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Shēr Shāhī*, Dacca 1964, 9). Early in 933/1526 it fell to Bābur's army under Humāyūn, who defeated the Lōdī *shiḳḳdār*, Ḥamīd Khān, with a great slaughter of his troops. It was later assigned by the emperor to Humāyūn for his maintenance, and he, soon after his accession to the throne, formally bestowed it on his brother Kāmrān, who had seized it (cf. *Indian Antiquary*, cliii (1941), 219-24). It was, however, resumed by Humāyūn and assigned to Shams al-Dīn Atka, the foster-father of Akbar, for the maintenance of the young prince. Under Akbar it was constituted into a separate *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Dihlī; comprising 27 *maḥalls*, it yielded an annual revenue of 52,554,905 *dāms*. A well-known centre of horse- and cattle-breeding, it supplied *ghee* (clarified butter) for the imperial kitchens. Long a place of strategic importance, it remained a mint-town where copper coins were struck during the rule of Humāyūn, Shēr Shāh and Akbar [*q.v.*]. Towards the closing years of Awrangzīb's reign Nawwāb Shāhdād Khān, a Khweshgī Paṭhān of Ḳaṣūr [*q.v.*], was the *nāẓim* of the *sarkār* of Ḥiṣār, and under his rule, from 1119/1707 to 1150/1737, peace and prosperity prevailed. It was sacked and ravaged by Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*] in 1152/1739, during his victorious march to Delhi, and on his withdrawal to Iran it became the scene of a triangular sanguinary struggle between the rising Sikh power of the Pandjāb, the local Bhaṭṭī Rādjpūts and the enfeebled Delhi empire. During this anarchical period it was held by the Nawwābs of Farrukhnagar (district Guṛgāon), who ruled as the vassals of the Mughal emperor till 1175/1761. As a result of the marauding raids of Ālā Singh Djāṭ, the founder of the former princely state of Paṭiāla, it suffered heavily and was badly sacked in 1171/1757. By 1188/1774 after many encounters with the imperial troops, it passed into the possession of the chief of Paṭiāla, Amar Singh. On his death in 1197/1781 it reverted to the Mughals, in accordance with an agreement reached between the Sikhs and the Delhi government. After the devastating famine of 1198/1783 it relapsed into anarchy and was seized in 1212/1797 by a European military adventurer, George Thomas, who held it for three years and built a fort named Georgegaṛh (corrupted by the illiterate local people into Djāhdj), for consolidating his gains. However, in 1217/1802 he had to surrender it finally to the Marāṭhas under Sindhia's French general Perron. The very next year the Marāṭhas had to vacate it in favour of the British, who took another 15 years firmly to establish their rule. During the military uprising of 1857 the district was badly disturbed; all the Europeans who could not escape were murdered and Ḥiṣār was temporarily lost to the British. After the Mutiny, peace was restored and Ḥisār was made a part of the newly-formed province of the Pandjāb. During the disturbances that occurred in the wake of Partition, the entire Muslim population of the district migrated to Pakistan. A famous centre of cattle-raising, the stud-bulls of Ḥiṣār are in great demand for breeding purposes. The only antiquity of note is the fortress built by Fīrūz Shāh, which is now in a sad state of neglect and disrepair.

Bibliography: Shams Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Calcutta 1891, 24 ff.; Niʿmat Allāh, *The Taʾrīkh-i-Khān Jahānī*, (ed. S. M. Imām al-Dīn), Dacca 1960, i, 54 (intro.), 61 (intro.), 133-4, 261-2; ʿAbbās Khān Sarwānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Shēr Shāhī*, Dacca 1964, 9; Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Eng. transl. Blochmann, Calcutta 1939, i, 32, 60, 338, ii (transl. Jarret), Calcutta 1949, 112, 285, 298-9; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xiii 145-7, 153, 155-6; P. J. Fagan, *Hissār District Gazetteer*, Calcutta 1892; A. Anderson and P. J. Fagan, *Settlement Report of Hissār*, Calcutta 1892; *Cambridge History of India*, iii, 153, 175 f., 190, 203-4, 215, 222, 225, 234, 587, 625; iv, 12, 22, 45, 67, 74; Ishwari Prasad, *The life and times of Humayun*[2], Calcutta 1956, 14, 45-6, 322-3, 341; *Bābūrnāma* (Memoirs of Bābur), transl. A. S. Beveridge, London 1921, index; Storey, i/2, 677 (5); Edward Thomas, *The Chronicle of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871, 274; *TA* under the root *Ḥ.Ṣ.R.*; Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Eng. tr. K. K. Basu, Baroda 1932, 130-2, 155, 182-3, 186, 200, 213, 221, 250-1 (much new and useful information); Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1927, i, 230-1; al-Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Bibl. Ind., i, 293; W. Francklin, *The military memoirs of Mr. George Thomas*, London 1805; L. Hutchinson, *European freebooters in Moghul India*, Bombay 1964, 108-12, 179 (full description of the Georgegaṛh fort); Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* (*Taʾrīkh-i Firishta*), Lucknow 1281/1864, 146.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ḤISBA, non-Ḳurʾānic term which is used to mean on the one hand the duty of every Muslim to "promote good and forbid evil" and, on the other, the function of the person who is effectively entrusted in a town with the application of this rule in the supervision of moral behaviour and more particularly of the markets; this person entrusted with the *ḥisba* was called the *muḥtasib*. There seems to exist

no text which states explicitly either the reason for the choice of this term or how the meanings mentioned above have arisen from the idea of "calculation" or "sufficiency" which is expressed by the root.

i.—General: Sources, Origins, Duties.

The duality in the meaning of *ḥisba* is the reason why information on it is found in such a diversity of sources. Apart from the allusions to *muḥtasibs* which can be found in chronicles, biographical dictionaries, etc., information on one meaning of *ḥisba* is found in all that has been written on public morality and against *bidaʿ* (such as the *Madkhal* of Ibn Ḥādjdj), and in all that has been written on trade or commercial law. We shall limit ourselves here to mentioning those works of which *ḥisba*, in one or the other of its meanings, is the primary and formal subject. They can be divided broadly into two categories, which do, however, overlap to a certain extent. Some works deal in a general way with the content of the virtue of *ḥisba*, the obligations arising from it for the *muḥtasib*, and the religious and juridical aspects of his office; the others set out mainly to enlighten the *muḥtasib* on the practical and technical details of the supervision which he must exercise; and, since this supervision applied principally to the various crafts and trades, these works are practical guides to the administrative control of the professions. We shall attempt to give a detailed list of the latter works, whereas for the former a very general mention will suffice.

The works which include a general examination of the *ḥisba* are in fact very numerous, but it is remarkable that they first appear only in the 5th/11th century, *i.e.*, two centuries after the appearance of the office. The two principal works are *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* of al-Māwardī, ch. xx, chiefly juridical (which, however, refers, though sometimes to refute it, to an earlier treatise by the Shāfiʿī *muḥtasib* of Baghdād at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, Abū Saʿīd al-Iṣṭakhrī), and the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazālī, ii, 269 f., which is chiefly moral. Among the other writers there should be mentioned the early and Spanish Ibn Ḥazm (*al-Faṣl fi ʾl-milal*, iv, 171 f.); and then, later: under the Mamlūks, the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya (*al-Risāla fi ʾl-ḥisba*, cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur ... Ibn Taymiyya*, index), al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāya*, vi), Ibn Djamāʿa, al-Subkī (*Muʿīd al-niʿam*), al-Ḳalḳashandī, al-Maḳrīzī, etc.; in Central Asia, the *Niṣāb fi ʾl-iḥtisāb* of al-Sināmī (?), the title of which refers to the author's own position as *muḥtasib* (7th/13th century?), and which, to judge by the number of manuscripts (cf. K. ʿAwād, in *RAAD*, xvii (1942), 433 f.), must have had a considerable success in Irano-Turkish countries; and in the West, the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, iii, 31.

The works in the second category are of a different type. As has been said, they are not only devoted to the technical details of the supervision which must be exercised, particularly over the trades, but they are treatises intended specifically for the *muḥtasib*, and, while they are of course in agreement with the Law, are of an administrative and not a juridical character. The *Aḥkām al-Sūḳ* of the Mālikī of Ifrīḳiya, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar (second half of the 3rd/9th century) is often considered as the oldest work of this type (the basic text, surviving in a later compilation, ed. Maḥmūd ʿAlī Makkī, in *RIEEI*, iv (1956); Spanish tr. by E. García Gómez, in *al-Andalus*, xxii (1957); two complete direct manuscripts exist in Tunisia: Zaytūna 3137, and one in a private collection); but, apart from the fact that the word *ḥisba* is not mentioned in it, it is in fact more a chapter consisting of a collection of juridical consultations on the *sūḳ* etc. than an administrative treatise for the use of the *muḥtasib*. A little nearer to the genre with which we are concerned, and containing the word *ḥisba*, is the Zaydī manual published by R. B. Serjeant, in *RSO*, xxviii (1953) (composed *ca* 300/910); it is probably not accidental that a treatise of this sort was produced among the Zaydīs, who attached such importance to the precise interpretation of the Law, but its contents suffer from the backwardness of the economic and social situation of Ṭabaristān within the framework of which it was conceived.

There exists no real treatise of *ḥisba* in the exact meaning of the word until the end of the 5th/11th century in the West (particularly in Spain) and the end of the 6th/12th century in the East (Syria and Egypt); none has been recorded earlier than these or in any other countries. Those which are known are the following:

(A) In the West: The *K. fī ādāb al-ḥisba* of al-Saḳaṭī of Malaga (about 500/1100; ed. E. Lévi-Provençal and G. S. Colin, in *JA*, 1931) and the *Risāla fi ʾl-ḳaḍā wa ʾl-ḥisba* of Ibn ʿAbdūn of Seville (6th/12th century, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, in *JA*, 1934; reprinted in his *Trois traités hispaniques de hisba*, 1955; with Fr. tr. by E. Lévi-Provençal in *Séville Musulmane au début du XIIe siècle*, 1947; Spanish tr. in collaboration with García Gómez, *Sevilla musulmana*..., 1948; Italian tr. by F. Gabrieli, in *Rend. Lin.*, 6th series, xi, 1935). Next, in the same *Trois traités*..., come Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf and al-Djarsīfī, Fr. tr. by Rachel Arié in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i (1960), Engl. tr. of the former by G. M. Wickens, in *IQ*, iii (1956) (but see J.D. Latham in *JSS*, v (1960), 124 f.). The following are partly in the genre of a treatise on *ḥisba* and partly in that of *nawāzil*—juridical consultations: the chapter *ḥisba* in the *Tanbīh al-ḥukkām fi ʾl-aḥkām*, of Ibn al-Munāṣif (563-620/1168-1223), MS Zaytūna 1919, and the *Tuḥfa* of Muḥammad al-ʿUḳbānī of Tlemcen, Zaytūna 2978 and 6234, Algiers 1353, analysed by Muḥammad Talbī, *Quelques données sur la vie sociale en Occident au XVe siècle*, in *Arabica*, i (1954).

(B) In the East: Several eastern treatises, slightly more substantial than those of the West, have as their prototype the *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr al-Shayzarī (d. 589/1193) (ed. with Fr. tr. under the name of Nabrawi by Bernhauer, *Les institutions de police chez les Arabes*..., in *JA*, 1860-61; good modern ed. by al-ʿArīnī, Cairo 1946); these are, first, the longer treatise of the same title by Ibn Bassām (7th/13th century, composed in Syria or Egypt), analysed by Cheikho in *al-Mashriḳ*, x (1907), and, still more detailed, the *Maʿālim al-ḳurba fī aḥkām al-ḥisba* by the Egyptian Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (beginning of the 8th/14th century, ed. with abridged Engl. tr. by R. Levy, *GMS*, N.S. xii (1938)); then a series of other works, the majority of which are apparently only worked-over editions of the works just mentioned, sometimes attributed to false authors (al-Māwardī), but the manuscripts of which, being still unpublished and not studied, cannot at present be classified: see the articles by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes in *JA*, ccxiii (1938) and K. ʿAwād, in *RAAD*, xviii (1943) and, for the *K. al-Ḥisba* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503), the note by Ḥabīb Zayyāt in *al-Khizāna al-Sharḳiyya*, ii (1937), 112. For the

Zaydīs see R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strasburg 1912, 90 ff.

In addition to these treatises, there exist some diplomas of appointment of *muḥtasib*s, which have not received the attention they deserve: one, from the 4th/10th century, included in the *in*s͟h*ā*ʾ collection of the *Ṣāḥib* Ibn ʿAbbād, 39, others, Irano-Turkish of the 6th/12th century, in the *Rasāʾil* of Ras͟hīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, 80, and the *K. ʿAtabat al-kataba* (in Persian) of Muntad͟jab al-Dīn Badīʿ Atābek al-D͟juvaynī, Tehran 1329s., 82 ff., and finally others, from Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Syria and Egypt, in the correspondence of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn b. al-At͟hīr (see *BSOAS*, xiv/i, 38) and the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿ*s͟h*ā* of al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, x, 460 (by the *ḳāḍī* al-Fāḍil), xii, 339, and extracts *passim*; probably many others could be found.

Such are the sources on which a study of the *ḥisba* can be based. In its broad sense this is therefore the obligation incumbent in principle on every Muslim to promote good and to combat evil. He may do this in the normal course of events by information and remonstrance,more particularly by legal intervention, and, in special circumstances, in the case of absence of public authority, by constraint if he is able to do so—even, according to Ibn Ḥazm, in the case of a public authority which is not valid, by revolt against it. In reality the obligation is only theoretical, subordinate to the duty of the Muslim to do as well as possible in the situation, and he is forbidden to set himself up in place of the public authority when this exists. The idea of *ḥisba*, therefore, although it can play a certain rôle in social behaviour, has in practice only an insignificant influence and it is difficult to understand in what conditions its theory nevertheless developed.

The origin, apparently very old, of the office of *ḥisba* is no clearer. Originally neither the word *ḥisba* nor *muḥtasib* was used, but instead the term *ṣāḥib* (or *ʿāmil*) *al-sūḳ* for the latter. Thus there are two questions: that of the origin of the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ* and that of his transformation into the *muḥtasib*. It is generally admitted that the former was the successor of the *agoranomos* of the Hellenistic cities: his duties were broadly similar and the Arabic expression can be seen as a translation of the Greek term. However, there exists no record of the *agoranomos* in the Greek inscriptions for three hundred years before the Arab conquest (Pauly-Wissowa; West and Johnson, *Byzantine Egypt*, 1955, index), and it is possible that both the office and the name were introduced in the Muslim period without there being any connexion: the name may have survived in popular use (as is suggested by its appearance in the Talmud), and the old towns probably retained their early institutions, whatever they may have been, but this is no reason to insist that at Baṣra, Kūfa, etc., which (like Mecca and Medina) had their *sūḳ*, a *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ* could not have appeared without inspiration from outside.

However this may be, about the time of the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ* was replaced by the *muḥtasib*, a name which until then had been used only of a private individual who practised the virtue of *ḥisba*. This change in nomenclature evidently took place within the framework of the Islamization of institutions carried out by the ʿAbbāsids, particularly during the period of the Muʿtazila; but it is difficult to tell to what extent there really took place a transformation in the spirit and the content of the office of *ḥisba*. The change having occurred in the East after the split in the Muslim world between East and West, the title of *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ* remained predominant in the Mag͟hrib and in Spain, where the idea of *ḥisba* was adopted primarily by the lawyers (explicit reference to this is found in Ibn Bas͟hkuwal, and many examples, among others, in the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿId͟hārī). But from the time that it is possible to describe the details of the office, there appears no great difference between the two halves of the Muslim world.

The classical *muḥtasib* then was characterized by the integration of his task as controller of the market within the wider duty, basically religious, of maintaining the seemly ordering of social life.

The division between his duties and those of the *ḳāḍī* and the chief of the *s͟hurṭa* [*q.v.*] was not strictly defined, and the difference lay, in certain matters, less in their intrinsic nature than in the method by which they were approached: the *ḳāḍī* judged matters concerning which there had been a complaint and held an inquiry to discover the truth, and the *s͟hurṭa* intervened over offences and crimes which demanded police action; the *muḥtasib*, on the other hand, concerned himself only with obvious and incontestable facts: he did not hold an inquiry, but intervened of his own accord, without waiting for a complaint. The questions with which he had to concern himself were in general decided at a fairly early date by a usage which has scarcely varied up to the present day; none of them was purely formal but it goes without saying that, apart from the affairs of the *sūḳ*, the way in which he carried out some of his obligations depended very much on the social background and on his own personal character. Apart from the *sūḳ*, they can be divided into three groups: the *muḥtasib* had to supervise the performance of religious obligations (public attendance at the Prayer, the proper use and upkeep of the mosques), the propriety of the behaviour between the sexes in the streets (and at the baths), and finally the application of discriminatory measures against the *d͟himmī*s. And cases are cited of a courageous *muḥtasib*'s even criticizing *ḳāḍī*s who had judged wrongly or denouncing doctors guilty of teaching which did not conform with the *id͟jmāʿ*.

As far as the public is concerned however the basic and permanent duty of the *muḥtasib* was the control of the *sūḳ*. This duty above all came to be formally defined right from the beginning in the diploma of nomination: he had to check the weights and measures which, being so complex and diverse, readily permitted fraud. More generally, he had to watch for and combat all the types of shortcomings and dishonesty which could arise both in the manufacture and in the sale of commodities (and on which there exists—apart from the consideration given to them in *fiḳh*—a whole specialist literature, the best known example of which is the *Kas͟hf al-asrār* of al-D͟jawbarī, 7th/13th century). The manuals of *ḥisba* in the strict sense list then the principal trades, and for each of them provide the *muḥtasib* with the technical information which enables him to test the quality of the products and to trace malpractices or bad workmanship—all of this being most important documentation for the study of economic conditions. The *muḥtasib* might even, when there existed no special officer in charge of this, test the genuineness of coins. In addition he had to ensure that merchants and agents did not resort to dissimulation, nor use practices calculated to deceive the customer over the merchandize or the price charged for it. He also made sure, from the point of view of the law, that the merchants did not

indulge in any operation which was connected with the prohibited practice of usury (*ribā*). His competence extended even to professions which we should not nowadays normally consider as being connected with the *sūḳ*: he thus controlled apothecaries and physicians, and in the schools warned or punished any masters who were excessively severe. The *muḥtasib* did not go beyond the limits of the town however, and consequently the *tudjdjār*, or traders with other districts, did not come under his control.

There is one point concerning this economico-moral activity which should be stressed in relation to the economic traditions of Islam: the *muḥtasib* checked prices but he did not normally have power to fix them. He reprimanded and even punished the merchant whose prices were higher than the accepted rate and, particularly in periods of scarcity, he dealt severely with hoarding; but the Law considers that prices are determined by God, *i.e.* are beyond the scope of human authorities. In a period of famine, however, at the end of the Middle Ages, there was a growing tendency to official price fixing [see NARKH, TASʿĪR].

Linked with these tasks was another which has caused modern scholars to stress the view that the traditions of antiquity concerning the councillors of the town were perpetuated in the duties of the *muḥtasib*. He had to ensure that, in the building and repair of houses and in the erection of shops, nothing was done which was prejudicial to public safety or which impeded the passage of pedestrians or vehicles. He was responsible for the cleansing of the streets and, if necessary, for the repair of the city walls, for ensuring the supply and regular distribution of water, etc... All these are duties which have sometimes caused the *muḥtasib* to be considered as a (and in Islam the only) municipal official: however he was no more one than was the *ḳāḍī* by nature of his office, since he was not appointed by any urban or professional organization; yet in fact he was concerned specifically and exclusively with urban matters.

The *muḥtasib* was appointed by the State, sometimes directly, more often through the governors or the *ḳāḍīs*, to whom it delegated officially the function of *ḥisba*, not, in principle, in order that they should perform it themselves, but so that they might ensure that it was carried out. The *muḥtasib* had to be a man known for his moral integrity and for his competence in matters concerning the Law; he was therefore usually a *faḳīh*, but, although this was less often insisted upon, the experience of professional life which he had to have caused him also to be chosen when possible from among the merchants. In any case, in the division of occupations into political and religious, the *ḥisba*, like the post of *ḳāḍī*, was a *dīniyya* office. The recruitment for and the performance of this office presented difficulties concerning the sphere and the methods of action of the *muḥtasib*. In cases where he was unable personally to supervise a large area he designated for each trade an *amīn* or *ʿarīf* belonging to that profession; in addition, he had a number of subordinate officers who enabled him to be represented rapidly anywhere, to summon delinquents, etc. Nevertheless these methods were rarely adequate, and it was essential for there to be collaboration between the *muḥtasib*, the *ḳāḍī* and the *shurṭa*. For the same reason it often happened that there were joined together in the same person either the offices of *ḳāḍī* and *muḥtasib* or of *ḥisba* and *shurṭa*; in spite of the breadth of his field of action and the religious quality of his office, the *muḥtasib* was in general considered as a specialist subordinate of the *ḳāḍī*, and the recruitment of the holders of *ḥisba* was made from among persons of lesser importance, the post being less esteemed than that of *ḳāḍī* (for which it sometimes served as a preliminary step).

In the majority of Muslim states the *muḥtasib* of the capital was invested with a certain responsibility for the supervision of those of the provincial towns. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the caliph al-Nāṣir, within the framework of his general policy of a theoretical and religious unification of Islam under his own guidance, tried to establish, at least in the Near East, a general control over the *ḥisba*, which however did not really materialize (see *Oriens*, vi (1953), 21).

The penalties which the *muḥtasib* could inflict without resort to other juridical authorities were normally, after a reprimand, beating and a parade in disgrace through the streets; incorrect weights and measures and faulty products might be confiscated; in exceptional cases, repeated offenders might be forbidden to continue to exercise their profession or even be banished.

At the end of the Middle Ages, with the economic decline and the social crises then existing, the office of *muḥtasib* often declined in esteem. Under the Mamlūks, it was, like other offices, obtained by payment, the purchaser recouping himself from the merchants by means of illegal taxes. There were frequent quarrels between the candidates, an example being the well-known one between al-Maḳrīzī and al-ʿAynī; and it sometimes happened that, for mercenary reasons or out of concern for efficiency, the post was given, against all tradition, to a member of the military class.

The *muḥtasib* continued to exist throughout the greater part of the Muslim world until the reforms of the modern period; he still existed for example at the beginning of the 20th century in Morocco and at Bukhārā. From the Saldjūḳid period, in Irano-Turkish territory and occasionally elsewhere, the office was more usually called *iḥtisāb*, the name of *ḥisba* being reserved for the virtue which the holder must exhibit (see next section). The Latin East which arose from the Crusades adopted it in a limited and lay form called the "mathessep".

Bibliography: The sources and the modern works about them have been mentioned in the article. There is as yet no general and thorough study of the subject as a whole. The main work, chiefly juridical, is that of E. Tyan in the final chapter of his *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en Islam*, ii, 1943, together with the reviews of it by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Journal des Savants*, 1947, J. Sauvaget, in *JA*, ccxxxvi (1948), 309-11, and J. Schacht, in *Orientalia*, xvii (1948), 518. See also the prefaces by E. Lévi-Provençal and Maḥmūd ʿAlī Makkī to their editions and the recent restatement by J. Schacht in his *Introduction to Islamic Law*², 1966, index, and bibliography pp. 231-2. There is a useful chapter by A. Darrag in *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, 1961, 76-82. N. Ziyāda, *al-Ḥisba wa 'l-muḥtasib fi 'l-Islām*, 1963, is of value chiefly as a collection of texts. Imāmuddīn, *al-Ḥisba in Spain*, in *IC*, 1963, gives biographies of Andalusian *muḥtasibs*. See also the article *muḥtasib* in *EI*¹ (R. Levy). The works devoted to the Muslim town of course mention the *muḥtasib*; they cannot all be cited here but from our point of view there should be mentioned especially G. Marçais, *Con-*

sidérations sur la ville musulmane et le muhtasib, in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, vi (1954), and the excellent monograph by R. Le Tourneau on Fez. For Bukhārā, P. I. Petrov, *Bukharskiy mukhtasib*, in *Problemî Vostokovedeniya*, 1959/1, 139-42. On the Latin East, Cl. Cahen, *La féodalité et les institutions politiques de l'Orient Latin*, in *Accad. Naz. d. Lincei, XII Convegno Volta*, 1956, 22-3.

(Cl. Cahen and M. Talbi)

ii.—Ottoman Empire

The term *ḥisba* does not occur in the registers and documents of the Ottoman administration; instead, we find *iḥtisāb*, an official term used both in the capital and in the provinces, its basic meaning being the levying of dues and taxes, both on traders and artisans and also on certain imports. However, the word *iḥtisāb* finally came to denote the whole aggregate of functions that had devolved upon the *muḥtasib* or *iḥtisāb āghāsî* (more rarely *iḥtisāb emīni*); it has often be translated as "market police", which implies a restrictive meaning; in the same way, the *muḥtasib* has been regarded as an "inspector of markets", but his exact responsibility went beyond that of merely superintending and inspecting markets and members of the trade-guilds. The regulations concerning the duties of the *muḥtasib* were codified in the *iḥtisāb ḳānūnnāmeleri*, in which that official could find everything relating to this duties of supervision, inspection, punishment and, particularly in regard to the provinces, of the levying of taxes. These regulations included on the one hand a list of the prices (*narkh-i rūzī*—see narkh) which had to be observed for the sale of commodities, manufactured or other articles, the permitted profit margins, and the penalties to be exacted from delinquent traders and artisans; they also gave the total amount or the percentage of the taxes, dues, charges and other contributions collected in the name of *iḥtisāb* and levied on the members of the trade-guilds. A reminiscence of the original function of the *muḥtasib* is to be found in certain articles in these regulations, in which it is stated that he must supervise behaviour and morality in public or sacred places and the respect shown by Muslims for their religious duties. It was he also, at least in Istanbul, who superintended the division of merchandise between wholesalers, traders or artisans. In the collection of taxes the *muḥtasib* was assisted by agents called *ḳol oghlānlarî* (15 in number in Istanbul in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, the number subsequently being raised to 56) and by 16 *mulāzim*s (candidates) known as *senedli* [*q.v.*], holders of an official warrant of nomination. The office of *muḥtasib* or *iḥtisāb āghāsî* was farmed out annually (*iltizām*), the holder receiving a *berāt* of nomination after approval by the *ḳāḍī* (to whom the *muḥtasib* was directly responsible), the Grand Vizier or the governor of the province, and after he had paid a certain sum called the *bedel-i muḳāṭaʿa* or cash-value of the right to farm.

The first known *iḥtisāb* regulations go back to sultan Bāyazīd II (886/1481-918/1512), at the beginning of the 10th/16th century; later, other regulations were enacted by sultans Selīm I, Süleymān I, Selīm II, Murād III, Murād IV, Meḥemmed IV, etc. . . .; for the provinces, regulations concerning *iḥtisāb* were included in the wider regulations for the administration of the provinces, the *ḳānūnāmes*, the oldest of which date from the reign of Bāyazīd II; it is not impossible that other regulations of this kind had been promulgated earlier. In certain provinces annexed to the Ottoman Empire in the 10th/16th century, the sultans, immediately after the conquest, had at first contented themselves with enforcing the earlier regulations, as for example in Damascus.

In the financial sphere, the *muḥtasib* levied those taxes that derived from *iḥtisāb* properly speaking (*iḥtisāb rüsūmu*), but also some taxes which might be described as import or entry taxes, and lastly the tax (*yewmiyye-i dekākīn*) paid by shop-keepers to provide emoluments for the *muḥtasib* and his subordinates. In Istanbul, the town was divided into 15 tax areas for this last tax. The *iḥtisāb* taxes, in Istanbul and in the principal cities of the Ottoman Empire, were as follows:—*bādj-i pāzār* [see bādj], market tax, already in existence in the time of the Saldjūḳids and Īlkhānids, but the regulations governing it seem to go back to Meḥemmed II; this tax was levied on all merchandise coming from outside and sold in a market in the town; *bitirme*, an annual tax levied on merchants in foodstuffs; *dāmgha resmi*, stamp or brand duty [see tamgha] levied on textiles and metals, whether precious or not; *ḥaḳḳ-i ḳapan* or *resm-i ḳapan* or *ḥaḳḳ-i ḳanṭār* [see ḳapan] weighing dues paid in kind on cereals and dried vegetables, and in cash on other produce; according to certain authors, these weighing dues were also known as *mīzān* (scales dues), *ewzān* (dues for weights and measures) and *ekyāl* or *keyyāliyye* (dues for measuring grain). According to the locality, other *iḥtisāb* taxes could be imposed, such as (in Istanbul) the *rüsūmāt-i iḥtisābiyye* or entry dues on merchant shipping, *ḥaḳḳ-i ḳapî* or dues levied at the Edirne Gate, and *bāyiʿiyye* or dues on sales which mainly appeared in the 18th and 19th centuries. Certain abusive taxes imposed by *muḥtasib*s were on occasion cancelled by the sultans, on the grounds that they constituted blameworthy innovations prejudicial to the population.

The system of farming out the *iḥtisāb* was abolished in Istanbul in 1242/1826 and replaced by an administration (*iḥtisāb naẓāreti*) controlled by an *iḥtisāb nāẓiri*, a government official. In 1271/1854 the office of *iḥtisāb nāẓiri* was abolished and passed into the hands of the *shehir emīni*.

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(R. Mantran)

iii.—Persia

The *muḥtasib* and his office, the *ḥisba* (or *iḥtisāb*), together with many other offices of the religious institution, continued to be found in the various empires and kingdoms formed in Persia after the break-up of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. It did not finally disappear until the 19th century. Public morals and the due performance by Muslims of their religious duties were under the general care of the *muḥtasib*. He was also charged with the oversight of what might be called public amenities. He was not to allow slaves to be ill-treated or animals over-burdened. It was also his duty to see that *dhimmīs* complied with the regulations imposed upon them to distinguish them from Muslims. His main task, however, was to oversee the markets and prevent dishonest dealing by merchants and artisans and to exercise supervision over the guilds and corporations. He was empowered to inflict summary punishment on offenders (see further R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 334 ff.).

Niẓām al-Mulk states that a *muḥtasib* should be appointed in every city to oversee weights and prices, to watch over commercial transactions, to prevent the adulteration of goods and fraud, and "to enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil". The sultan and his officials should support the *muḥtasib* because, if they did not, "the poor would be in trouble and the people of the bazaar would buy and sell as they liked, middle-men (*fadla-khwur*) would become dominant, corruption open, and the *sharīʿa* without prestige" (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Persian text, 41). Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1505), who wrote under the Timurids, regards the existence of the *muḥtasib* as a guarantee that public life would be conducted in accordance with the precepts of Islam. He writes, "Every sultan who strives to put into practice the precepts of the *sharīʿa* and to execute the decrees of religion is the deputy of God and His shadow upon earth. But since the sultan, by virtue of the multiplicity of state affairs, cannot look into the details of this matter [the execution of the decrees of religion] he must appoint *muḥtasibs* in his kingdom. The *muḥtasib* must be strong in the faith and powerful in his zeal for Islam, and distinguished by virtue (*ʿiffat*), abstinence, trustworthiness, uprightness, and lack of greed. Whatever he does he should do for the strengthening of religion, and he should be free from ulterior motives, hypocrisy, self-seeking, and lust, so that what he says may impress itself upon the hearts of men" (*Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī*, ed. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Tādjir Shīrāzī, lith., Bombay 1308, 159). Muḥammad Mufīd, writing in the 11th/17th century, also emphasizes the importance of the *ḥisba* as one of the offices of religion (*Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehrān 1340s., iii, 380-1).

The holder of the office of *muḥtasib* was normally a member of the religious classes. A number of documents for the appointment of the *muḥtasib* survive. One, issued from the *dīwān* of Sandjar, the last of the Great Seldjūḳs, is for the appointment of a certain Awḥad al-Dīn to the office of *muḥtasib* of Māzandarān. He is commanded to enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil, to exert himself in the equalization and control of weights and measures, so that no fraud would be committed in buying and selling and that Muslims would not be cheated or suffer loss; to ensure that the requirements of the *sharīʿa* were duly carried out in mosques and places of worship, and that the *muʾadhdhins* and other officials performed their duties in the proper way and at the stated times; to strive for the suppression of corrupt persons and for the prevention of notorious conduct in public by them, the open commission of vice, and dealing in intoxicating drink in the neighbourhood of mosques, burial places and tombs; to cause the *dhimmīs* to wear distinguishing clothing to mark their inferiority to Muslims; and to prevent women mixing in the assemblies of the *ʿulamāʾ* (*madjlis-i ʿilm*) or listening to homilies (Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ Atābeg al-Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehrān 1950-1, 82-3; see also H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 97, 161-2; and 112-3 and 162 for documents belonging to the Khwārazmshāh period).

During the Īlkhān period the *muḥtasib*, like other officials of the religious institution, either continued to exist or was re-appointed after the conversion of the Īlkhāns to Islam. When Ghāzān Khān decided to unify weights and measures throughout the kingdom, he ordered this to be done in every province in the presence of the *muḥtasib* (Rašīd al-Dīn, *Geschichte Ġāzān-Ḫāns*, ed. K. Jahn, GMS, 1940, 288). In Timurid times the functions of the *muḥtasib* and the qualities required for his office were broadly the same as in Seldjūḳ times. Three documents for the appointment of the *muḥtasib* are preserved in the *Sharaf-nāma* of ʿAbd Allāh Marwārīd (see H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 53-7, 150-2). One of these documents, appointing a certain ʿAbd Allāh Kirmānī *muḥtasib* of Herāt, states that he was to hold the office jointly with a certain Rukn al-Dīn ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla (*ibid.*, f. 24a).

Under the early Ṣafawids there was a *muḥtasib* in most, if not all, of the large cities. He performed the traditional functions of the office, but with the difference that the orthodoxy which he now supported was Shīʿism of the Ithnā-ʿasharī rite. In a diploma for the office of *muḥtasib* of Tabrīz dated 1072/1662 the official appointed was charged with the preservation of public morality, including the prevention of drinking, gambling, and other offences against the *sharīʿa*, the collections of *khums* and *zakāt* and the distribution of the proceeds of these taxes among those who were entitled to them, and the upkeep of mosques, schools, and charitable endowments; he was also enjoined to control weights and measures, to see that passage along the streets was unimpeded, and to supervise certain groups and guilds, such as the *mullās*, *muʾadhdhins*, and washers of the dead. The *kalāntars*, *kadkhudās*, *dārūghas*, and

officials administering customary law (*ʿummāl-i ʿurf*) were ordered to refrain from interfering in the fixing of prices and to see that the *muḥtasib* was paid the customary dues of his office (see A. K. S. Lambton, *Islamic society in Persia*, (inaugural lecture), London (S.O.A.S.), 1954).

The chief *muḥtasib* of the kingdom was known as the *muḥtasib al-mamālik*. This office under Ṭahmāsp was held by an Astarābādī, Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī, who was also the *khaṭīb* of the royal court, and later by a Ṭabāṭabāʾī *sayyid*, Mīr Djaʿfar, who was succeeded on his death in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās by Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn, formerly the *kalāntar* of Tabrīz (Iskandar Beg, *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, lith., Tehrān 1896-7, 111-2). According to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* an undertaking from the elders of each guild concerning the prices of the goods they sold was submitted month by month to the *muḥtasib al-mamālik* for his approval. He then sent this to the *nāẓir-i buyūtāt* (the superintendent of the royal workshops) for his confirmation so that documents for the purchase of goods might be drawn up. Contravention of this price-list was visited by heavy penalties (ed. V. Minorsky, GMS, Persian text, ff. 79b-80a). Chardin, who travelled in Persia in late Ṣafawid times, states that prices were fixed in Iṣfahān every Saturday by the *muḥtasib* and that any vendor exceeding the prices fixed was liable to heavy penalties. But he also alleges that there was corruption over the settling of prices and that vendors gave the *muḥtasib* presents to induce him to fix prices at a high level (*Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, x, 2 ff.). The *muḥtasib al-mamālik* appointed deputies to act on his behalf to ensure that the guilds sold their goods in each place at the prices fixed (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, f. 80b). He was paid 50 *tūmān*s per annum and in addition levies on various provincial towns, totalling some 253 *tūmān*s 3,000 *dīnār*s, were made in his favour (*ibid.*, ff. 90a-b).

After the Ṣafawid period the office of *muḥtasib* appears to have declined and to have become increasingly secularized. Those of his functions which were concerned with the administration of *sharʿī* law were in effect removed from his competence and administered by the *marādjiʿ al-taḳlīd*. These functions included the collection of *khums* and *zakāt*, the administration of inheritances and wills, and the appointment of guardians for minors and others, matters which were known collectively as *umūr-i ḥisbī*. The *marādjiʿ* issued *idjāza*s for the supervision on their behalf of the *umūr-i ḥisbī*. The qualifications required by the recipient of such an *idjāza* were that he should be a believer (*muʾmin*), 'just' (*ʿādil*), and instructed in the decrees (*aḥkām*) of the *sharīʿa*. He was permitted to retain from the sums he collected by way of *khums* and *zakāt* enough for his subsistence; the remainder was to be handed over to the *mardjaʿ* who had issued his *idjāza* for its distribution among those who had a right to it.

So far as the *muḥtasib*'s functions in relation to the guilds in the large cities and to the cleanliness of the city were concerned, they were to some extent taken over by the *dārūgha* and the *kalāntar*. His duties were increasingly restricted to the regulation of prices and the inspection of weights and measures but in this he was subject to the orders of the *dārūgha* (cf. E. Scott Waring, *A tour to Sheeraz*, London 1807, 68-9). Tancoigne, like Chardin, alleges that the *muḥtasib* was not inaccessible to bribery and often consented to sell his protection to dealers (*A narrative of a journey into Persia*, London 1820, 239-40). During the course of the 19th century the *muḥtasib* disappeared in most cities. Binning, writing about 1857, states that the office had recently been abolished in Shīrāz (*A journal of two years travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.*, London 1857, i, 337-8). In Iṣfahān the office had ceased to be in effective operation by 1294/1877-8 (Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Djughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. M. Sutūdeh, Tehrān 1963, 80). The traditional dues levied for the payment of the *muḥtasib* nevertheless continued to appear in the tax-rolls for many years after the office had, in effect, disappeared. By the law of 20 Ādhar 1305/1926 an item of 150 *ḳirān*s levied on the guild of butchers in Tehrān for the *muḥtasib* was abolished (*The second yearbook of the municipality of Tehrān: statistics of the city of Tehrān for the years 1925 to 1929*).

There is mention of an *iḥtisāb-āḳāsī* in Tehrān in the year 1853. His functions were *inter alia* to issue lists of prices for foodstuffs and other goods (cf. *Rūznāma-i Waḳāyiʿ-i Ittifāḳiyya*, No. 127, 29 Ramaḍān 1269/1853). The office to which he belonged was known as the *iḥtisāb* and its main duty was the cleaning of the streets. Shortly after a police administration on modern lines was set up by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1298/1880 the *iḥtisāb* was placed under its jurisdiction (Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Rūznāma*, under dateline 5 Ṣafar 1299/1881, ms. in the library of the Shrine of the Imām Riḍā at Mashhad). In 1312/1894-5 the *iḥtisāb* department in Tehrān consisted of a director, two deputy-directors, and a number of subordinate officials, *farrāsh*es, stablemen, and water-carriers, etc. (Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Taʾrīkh wa Djughrāfiyā-yi Sawādkūh*, lith., Tehrān 1311, appendix). An item in the newspaper *Tarbiyat*, No. 58, 26 Shaʿbān 1315/30 January 1898, addressed to Munaẓẓam al-Salṭana, the *wazīr-i naẓmiyya wa iḥtisābiyya*, praises him for his efforts to clean the streets, to facilitate passage through them, to modify prices, to prevent evil conduct and theft, and to prevent the ill-treatment of [pack] animals. Thus, by the end of the 19th century the *muḥtasib* as an official of the religious institution in charge of the public conscience had ceased to exist, and such of his functions as survived were taken over by the police administration.

The *umūr-i ḥisbī* continued to be administered during the 19th and early 20th centuries under the supervision of the *marādjiʿ al-taḳlīd*, but after the institution of modern courts during the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī the *umūr-i ḥisbī* were restricted to the collection of *khums* and *zakāt*; such matters as the administration of inheritances and wills, the care of minors, appointment of guardians, etc., were transferred to the courts (see the law entitled *Ḳānūn-i umūr-i ḥisbī*, dated Tīr 1319/1940).

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(A. K. S. Lambton)

iv.—The Indian Subcontinent

The institution of *ḥisba* in the strict classical sense did not exist in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent during the period from the 5th/11th century to the 13th/19th century. The main obstacle was the complexion of the population, the majority of whom consisted of non-Muslims. Except for Balban (664/1266-686/1287), Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (752/1351-790/1388), Sikandar Lōdī (894/1489-923/1517) and Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr [*q.v.*], and they too only in certain respects, none of the Muslim rulers of India ever attempted to enforce the *Sharīʿa* law, either for fear of disaffecting the local Hindu population or by way of political expediency, of which the many

heretical measures adopted by Akbar [*q.v.*] are a glaring example. From the very beginning of their rule in a country held mainly by conquest, the Sultans (7th/13th-10th/16th century) realized that the Muslims, situated as they were in India, could not be allowed to grow lax in religion or morals except at the expense of the solidarity, integrity, and, at times, the very existence of their newly established state. Hence, wherever a Muslim colony was established or a town garrisoned, a *muḥtasib* and a *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*] were invariably appointed (cf. Minhādj-i Sirādj, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 175; al-ʿUtbī, *Taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī*, 288; *Tādj al-maʾāthir*, fol. 85a). Balban, who considered an efficient *ḥisba* department to be a primary necessity of good government, did not neglect, as his predecessors had done, even small and insignificant places. We read in the *Safar-nāma-i Ḳāḍī Taḳī Muttaḳī* (Bidjnor 1909, 2 ff.), of Iletmish (608/1211-633/1236) having appointed a *ḳāḍī* at Ambāla [*q.v.*], which was then no more than a hamlet of a few hundred houses of mixed population. During the Sultanate period the functions of the *muḥtasib* and the *ḳāḍī*, and the relations between them, were much the same as in the central lands (see above, i).At times the Sultan intervened personally to deal with customs or innovations considered heretical or un-Islamic or in matters which lay beyond the ordinary jurisdiction of the *muḥtasib*. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, for instance, forbade many popular practices which he regarded as irreligious (cf. *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūzshāhī*, ed. Sh. Abdur Rashid, Aligarh 1954, 6-11). However, the stronger and the more religiously-minded a Sultan was, the greater was his anxiety to promote the moral and religious welfare of his people. Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*] speaks highly of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's *ḥisba*, as being especially concerned with the flow of supplies and the control of food prices. This Sultan rigorously suppressed drinking, gambling and other social and moral vices, believing that unless public morals were tightened up the deterrent punishments meted out to various offenders against the *Sharīʿa* would be meaningless. Muḥammad Tughluḳ (725/1325-752/1351) in his own days inflicted these punishments with unwonted severity. He was so keen to enforce *iḥtisāb* that at times he personally acted as the *muḥtasib* and examined Muslims on the elementary rules of their faith. Under him, the *muḥtasib* was an officer of great dignity and, according to al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 94; partial Eng. trans. by O. Spies, Stuttgart 1936, 72) and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (*Masālik al-abṣār*, partial Eng. tr. by Sh. Abdur Rashid, Aligarh 1944, 32), enjoyed a monthly salary of 8,000 *tankas*. The Sultan paid special attention to the regular saying of prayers. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 292; tr. von Mžik, 149), a lady of the royal household found guilty of adultery was stoned to death. Similarly, drunkards received the full measure of *ḥadd* punishment in addition to three months' solitary confinment. Both Baranī (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 441) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*loc. cit.*) testify to the high level of *ḥisba* maintained by the Tughluḳ Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn (720/1320-725/1325). His son Muḥammad Tughluḳ did not brook any laxity in the observance of religious rites even at his court. Sikandar Lōdī was equally keen on enforcing *ḥisba* throughout his kingdom. He boldly did away with a popular and time-honoured custom of carrying 'lances' (*nīzas*) to the tomb of the legendary hero Ghāzī Masʿūd Sālār [*q.v.*] and revived Fīrūz Tughluḳ's ordinance prohibiting women from visiting tombs and graveyards. It must at the same time be stressed that *iḥtisāb* was enforced only in the case of Muslims, the non-Muslims being subject to their own religious or personal laws or the common law of the land.

Another important function of the *muḥtasib* was to uphold orthodoxy and to suppress heresy. Teachers and professors in religious institutions as well as popular preachers had to be very cautious in their lectures and utterances for fear of the *muḥtasib*. The Ḳarmaṭīs, who created great disturbances in Delhi during the reign of Raḍiyya (634/1236-637/1240), were successfully combated by Fīrūz, as we hear no more of their activities subsequently. We do not hear much of the *muḥtasib* during the rule of the Lōdī or the Sayyid dynasties, but that does not mean that he had by then completely ceased to exist. While Shēr Shāh Sūr (945/1538-952/1545) was largely occupied with the consolidation of his kingdom and with administrative reforms, his successor Islām Shāh (952/1545-960/1552) paid due attention to religious matters. For instance he took very strong measures against the Mahdawīs, *i.e.*, followers of Sayyid Muḥammad al-Djawnpūrī [*q.v.*], whom he regarded as a heretic, and had two of his disciples, ʿAbd Allāh Niyāzī Sirhindī and Shaykh ʿAlāʾī, severely punished—the former being almost beaten to death while the latter was put to death. (Cf. A. S. Bazmee Ansari, *Sayyid Muḥammad Jawnpūrī and his movement*, in *Islamic Studies* (Karachi), ii/1 (March 1964).

As against this, some modern historians are of the opinion that while theoretically speaking it is correct to say that state policy during the Sultanate period was directed towards enforcing the *ḥisba*, in practice little attention was paid to the dictates of the *Sharʿ*. For instance Baranī is quoted as saying that the punishments awarded to the Muslims went against the Ḳurʾānic laws. Similarly, the injunctions governing the use of *ḥalāl* (permissible) and *ḥarām* (prohibited) things were seldom observed. Amīr Khusraw also is reported as saying that the charging of interest was a common practice in his day, and that when a written contract between the parties existed even the *ḳāḍī* had to recognize the fact (cf. Muḥammad Habībullah, *The foundation of Muslim rule in India²*, Allahabad 1961, 349). But these are solitary instances, which may be the exception rather than the rule.

During the anarchy following the death of Shēr Shāh, the institution of *ḥisba* appears to have collapsed, and the Mughals, for both personal and political reasons, did not consider it expedient to revive the institution, which consequently suffered a heavy set-back. Bābur was a great lover of wine; Humāyūn was addicted to opium; Djahāngīr too was no exception, wine being his greatest weakness. His son and successor Shāhdjahān, although of sober habits, did not have the courage either to break away completely from the traditions of his family or to enforce *ḥisba* strictly. During one of his visits to the Pandjāb, when it was brought to his notice that certain Hindus in Gudjrāt had married Muslim women, he ordered the annulment of these marriages and the restoration of the women to their families (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, ii, 57-8). It was only Awrangzīb who showed the highest respect for religion and strictly enforced *ḥisba*. He included a specific provision in his penal laws (cf. M. B. Ahmad, *The administration of justice in Mediaeval India*, Aligarh 1941, Appendix C, 6-7) for the punishment of persons found guilty of drinking or using narcotic drugs such as hemp and opium. He ordered the execution of Sarmad (d. 1070/1659),

a convert to Islam and an eclectic *ṣūfī*, on the ground that he had refused to cover his nudity—a serious offence against public morals. In fact there is little ground to differ from the statement "that the Mughal emperors (never) strictly adhered to the Islamic principles ... in the case of certain crimes their punishments were practically the same as prescribed by the Quran. In other matters they greatly departed from the Quranic laws and the reasons for this departure were that firstly, there were many cases which did not come exactly within the ambit of the Quranic law, and secondly, in many cases social and political needs and the attendant circumstances demanded a different treatment" (cf. P. Saran, *The provincial government of the Mughals*, 381-2). Moreover, there is every reason to believe that the *muḥtasib* of the Sultanate period came to be replaced by the *kōtwāl* [*q.v.*], a secular officer whose duties resembled very closely those of the *muḥtasib*, the only difference being that while the former dealt with all sorts of crimes and offences, the latter was primarily concerned with offences against Islamic law. The Mug͟hals found it administratively convenient to entrust the duties of the *muḥtasib* to the *kōtwāl*, with harmful effects first on the religious and moral welfare of the Muslims in India, then on their social and cultural life, and ultimately on their rule.

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HIS͟HĀM, tenth caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, who reigned from 105 to 125/724 to 743. He was born in Damascus in 72/691, son of ʿAbd al-Malik and of ʿĀʾis͟ha bint His͟hām, of the clan of the Banū Mak͟hzūm, who named him after her father. Preceded in the order of succession by his older brothers (al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazīd II) and kept from the throne by the unexpected accession of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz, he was finally nominated heir in 101/720 by Yazīd, ascended the throne on the latter's death in S͟haʿbān 105/ January 724, and reigned until his death on 6 Rabīʿ II 125/6 February 743. His long reign, which equalled in length those of Muʿāwiya and of ʿAbd al-Malik, marks the final period of prosperity and splendour of the Umayyad caliphate.

On his accession, he appointed to the post of governor of ʿIrāḳ K͟hālid al-Ḳasrī, a versatile and skilful man, who lacked the fierce energy of al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j, but possessed the same devotion to the caliphs of Damascus. During the fifteen years he was in office, he devoted himself primarily to the agricultural and economic development of the country, continuing the work of providing a pure water supply which had been begun by al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j, though this did not insure him against incurring hatred and rancour, in his own province and even at the caliph's court, which finally led, in 120/738, to his dismissal. His rival and successor, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-T͟haḳafī, had to suppress in 122/740 the S͟hīʿī revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī, who was killed in arms at Kūfa after a brief affray, a small enough episode in itself, but one which was to enrich S͟hīʿī martyrology and re-kindle the propaganda of the Hās͟himī opposition. Apart from this revolt and some other small S͟hīʿī and K͟hārid͟jī acts of sedition, the internal peace of the empire under His͟hām was not seriously threatened, although the underground work of the *daʿwa* continued unabated. It was rather in the frontier regions of the empire that the most outstanding events of this caliphate took place.

To the east the Arab offensive had, under Ḳutayba b. Muslim, made its final advance. After that, it was a matter no longer of further progress but of retaining and consolidating the positions gained, and particularly of containing the pressure of the Turkish counter-offensive which was carried on with vigour at this time. The many successive governors whom His͟hām appointed to K͟hurāsān (among them As͟hras al-Sulamī, D͟junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī, Asad al-Ḳasrī, brother of K͟hālid, and the courageous Naṣr b. Sayyār) all had to face the menace of the Türges͟h under the command of the intrepid leader Bog͟hā Ṭark͟hān (the "Ḳūrṣūl" of the Arabs) and of the K͟hāḳān Su-lu. After suffering many setbacks and even risking disaster (*yawm al-s͟hiʿb* in 112/730, *yawm al-at͟hḳāl* in 119/737) the Arabs finally broke the Turkish offensive at K͟harīstān, near S͟huburḳān to the west of Bal͟kh (119/737) and, under Naṣr b. Sayyār, advanced in the following year as far as the Jaxartes. By a wise taxation policy, Naṣr was even able to achieve in his province a certain degree of pacification, the ephemeral nature of which however was to be revealed a few years later by the outbreak of the ʿAbbāsid revolt.

The empire experienced another grave threat during this period, from the north, with the irruption of the K͟hazar Turks in Armenia and in Ād͟harbayd͟jān (defeat of D͟jarrāḥ b. al-Ḥakam at Ardabīl in 112/730). The invaders were driven back however by the intervention of massive reinforcements led by skilled captains such as Saʿīd al-Ḥaras͟hī, and later Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Marwān b. Muḥammad. There followed a whole series of campaigns which led the Arabs beyond the Caucasus as far as the mouths of the Volga (foundation of Derbend by Maslama in 113/731), without however achieving any stable conquest to the north of the Caucasus. Further west, the hostilities with the Byzantines continued throughout His͟hām's reign, but without any large-scale operations: the great offensive of the Arabs had spent itself with the siege of Constantinople by Maslama in 98/716-7, and operations were limited to *ṣawāʾif*, in which the Muslims were not always the conquerors (defeat of Akroinos, 122/740, and death of the famous *g͟hāzī* al-Baṭṭāl [*q.v.*], destined to become later the hero of romance of this frontier-war).

Events on a large scale, however, were taking place in Africa and in Spain, undermining in these distant provinces the direct domination of the central power. The harsh régime of fiscal exploitation under the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb (116-23/734-41) provoked, in 123/740-1, a great revolt of the Berbers, who inflicted a first crushing defeat on an Arab army near Tangier (the *ghazwat al-ashrāf*, so called from the great number of Arab warriors who lost their lives there). Upon the news of this disaster, the caliph Hishām himself assembled and sent from Syria a second army, under the command of Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ, who was hacked to death by the Berbers on the banks of the Sebū. While Kulthūm's nephew, Baldj, succeeded with the remnants of this army in reaching Ceuta and then in crossing into Spain, the whole of the Maghrib was plunged into anarchy and revolt, in which Berber ethnic loyalty was allied with Khāridjī heresy: and it was the task of a new governor sent by Hishām, the Kalbī Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], to recover in a despairing effort (battle of al-Aṣnām near Ḳayrawān, 124/742) what could still be saved of Arab hegemony and of Umayyad power in Ifrīḳiya. From this time, the direct authority of the caliphs of Damascus (and later of Baghdād) does not seem to have extended beyond the boundaries of present-day Algeria. The crisis in the Maghrib involved the new province of Spain, whose governors had up to then been answerable to the governors of Africa: whereas before 122/740 the Arabs of Spain had carried out their razzias beyond the Pyrenees (battle of Poitiers and the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiḳī, 114/732), after 122/740 they wasted their strength in internal quarrels, aggravated by the arrival of the Syrians under Baldj; these were finally ended, fifteen years later, by the foundation of the Umayyad emirate under a nephew of Hishām who had fled to the west from the ruin of the Umayyad dynasty.

It is not easy, among all the facts briefly sketched here, to distinguish the part played personally by the ruler, who was living sometimes several hundred miles away and who limited himself in general (if we follow the literal interpretation of the texts) to appointing and dismissing the governors, who are presented in the sources as the leading figures in events. It is possible however to discern several main lines which can be traced to the supreme authority of the empire and are characteristic of its policy. This policy appears as one of recovery and of conservation of the immense patrimony of the conquests, which reached its greatest extent thanks to the demographic, economic and spiritual forces of the Arab element but which, while still retaining its vitality and vigour as a coherent Muslim society, was destined to disintegrate as an Arab empire. Hishām seems to have been aware of this danger, and to have acted, together with a chosen group of capable and devoted assistants, so as to confront it and to delay it as much as possible. This seems to be proved particularly in the policy which he followed (unlike his brothers who had reigned before him) of maintaining an equilibrium between the rival tribal groups of the Muḍarīs and the Yamanīs, both of whom he skilfully used to staff the administration, in order to forward the interests of the State. Some scholars, such as H. A. R. Gibb, even go so far as to attribute to this caliph the initiative in a general reform and reorganization of the tax system in answer to the complaints of the *mawālī*, although the sources provide details only of local measures which were taken, probably with the caliph's consent, by governors in their own provinces (for example the work of Ashras al-Sulamī and of Naṣr b. Sayyār in Khurāsān and in Transoxania, and the harsh tax policy of ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb in Ifrīḳiya). In fact there has survived no explicit documentation which would lead us to attribute to Hishām, as to ʿUmar II, measures which in principle applied throughout the empire; it cannot however be denied that he was aware of the problem and applied himself to its solution, particularly as the sources agree in describing him as a strict administrator, sober and frugal almost to the point of meanness, and paying great attention to the regular ordering of the revenues and the expenditure. The only ostentatious facet of his character, which he shared with the other members of his family, was his enthusiasm for building: there dates from his reign a whole series of castles, palaces and even "towns" in the Syrian desert, some of which have been known for a long time and other only recently revealed by excavation; of some of them he was actually the founder. First, the two Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr to the east and to the west of Palmyra (it has been suggested that the former, Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī—and not the Christian Sergiopolis—is the real Ruṣāfat Hishām; in the latter, Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, there has been found, among the splendid remains of its decoration, perhaps the portrait of the caliph himself); and in addition Ḳaṣr al-Milḥ, Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*], Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūbā, etc. There is hardly any Umayyad ruin discovered or excavated in Syria and Jordan in recent years which is not connected, by epigraphical evidence or by fairly probable conjecture, with Hishām's reign and with Hishām himself.

The final years of his reign were clouded by troubles concerning the succession: after trying in vain to get one of his own sons recognized as his heir (at first his elder son Muʿāwiya and, after his premature death, his younger son Maslama), he resigned himself to considering as his successor his nephew al-Walīd b. Yazīd, who had already been nominated by Yazīd II and whose character, tastes and education were the complete opposite of his own. But he wrangled with him and embittered him in every way, thus undermining the solidity of his own political and administrative achievements, which his offended successor was to lose no time in overthrowing. The accession of al-Walīd II, when Hishām died from a heart attack in his residence at Ruṣāfa after a reign of twenty years, in fact saw the beginning of the *fitna*, which was fatal for the dynasty. But the long reign of the fourth son of ʿAbd al-Malik may nevertheless be considered as a period which on the whole was glorious for the Arabs and fruitful in the development of Islamic faith and culture. In this connexion there should be mentioned the strict orthodoxy of Hishām (who was the friend of the great traditionists al-Zuhrī and Abū Zinād and the persecutor of the Ḳadarī heretics, though at the same time tolerant towards the Christians), and in addition his interest in the historical and administrative traditions of the Sāsānids, and the elaboration among his entourage (Abrash al-Kalbī and his pupil ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā) of the Arabic chancery style, which was to have such a great development during the first years of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate.

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HIS̲H̲ĀM I, Abu 'l-Walīd, called al-Riḍā, the second Umayyad ruler of Muslim Spain, succeeded his father ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I [*q.v.*] on 1 D̲j̲umādā I 172/October 788, or according to Ibn al-Abbār one year earlier. He was then 30 years old, having been born in Cordova in 139/757, *i.e.* after his father's arrival in al-Andalus. Though the designated heir, His̲h̲ām I was obliged to fight for his inheritance and campaigned successfully in person against his elder brother Sulaymān and another brother, ʿAbd Allāh al-Balansī, 'the Valencian', in 172 and 173/788-89 and 789-90. At the same time or later, disturbances at Saragossa on the Upper Frontier (*al-t̲h̲ug̲h̲r al-aʿlā*) and a Berber revolt in Tākurunna (region of Ronda) were dealt with by others. So also in the campaigns against the Christians of the North, which became feasible owing to the generally peaceful internal conditions (cf. Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, ii, 68), His̲h̲ām relied on his generals, among whom Abū ʿUt̲h̲mān ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUt̲h̲mān and the brothers ʿAbd al-Karīm and ʿAbd al-Malik, sons of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Mug̲h̲īt̲h̲, are the most notable. From 175/791 the military activity of the Umayyad government was practically continuous. Every year until the end of the reign expeditions were sent out against the Christians, several times north to Alaba (Alava) and al-Ḳilāʿ (Old Castile), several times north-west to D̲j̲alīḳiya ('Galicia', *i.e.*, the Asturias) as far as Oviedo, which was sacked in 178/794, and once north-east to Gerona (Ifrand̲j̲a, D̲j̲arunda) and Narbonne (Arbūna). This appears to have been the last occasion on which Narbonne was attacked by a Muslim army (177/793). The campaign is represented as a great victory: the fifth part of the captives taken, *i.e.*, their price when sold, amounted to 45,000 gold pieces. According to al-Maḳḳarī (i, 218), earth from the wall of the French city was brought to Cordova and used in the construction of a mosque. We hear of His̲h̲ām's additions to the Great Mosque at Cordova and of his repairing an ancient bridge over the Wādī al-Kabīr ([*q.v.*], Guadalquivir), which had been damaged by the current. The funds for both undertakings, says Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (43), were provided by the fifth of the spoils of Narbonne.

His̲h̲ām I, whose public and private conduct was guided by religion, has been compared to his relative ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*]. With his encouragement, the new Mālikī school began to make headway in al-Andalus. He died in Ṣafar 180/April 796 after a comparatively short reign of 7½ years.

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HIS̲H̲ĀM II, al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh, Umayyad Caliph of Cordova, son of al-Ḥakam II [*q.v.*] and a Basque mother. He succeeded in Ṣafar 366/October 976, at the age of 10 years. The Slav officers of the palace tried to secure the election of the boy's paternal uncle al-Mug̲h̲īra, with His̲h̲ām as heir-presumptive. The plan miscarried. Al-Mug̲h̲īra was killed on the orders of the *ḥād̲j̲ib* Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], who subsequently used the authority of His̲h̲ām for his own ends and held him in tutelage which proved permanent. From 370/981 al-Manṣūr ruled openly on his own account, and it is in this period that his numerous and successful expeditions against the Christians of the north took place. In 386/996 His̲h̲ām, by then a man of thirty but principally urged on by his mother, attempted unsuccessfully to assert his authority, and had to remain dependent on al-Manṣūr till the latter's death in 392/1002. Al-Manṣūr's place as the effective ruler of al-Andalus was taken by his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], who outwardly recognized His̲h̲ām's authority, but the Caliph in fact remained a political nonentity, rarely appearing in public and occupying his leisure with the collection of relics (Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb). Al-Muẓaffar died in 399/1008 and was succeeded by a younger brother, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, also called S̲h̲and̲j̲ūl (Sanchuelo). Forsaking the traditional policy of his family, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān associated himself closely with the Caliph, who conferred on him the honorific title al-Ma'mūn, referred to himself as his maternal uncle (their mothers were both Basques) and soon, on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's urgent requesting, proclaimed him as his heir. This act of unprecedented rashness, at a stroke transferring the Caliphate of Cordova from the Umayyad to the ʿĀmirid house, raised immediate indignation and opposition in the capital, and proved fatal not only to the ʿĀmirid hegemony but also indirectly to the Spanish Caliphate. For now began the *Fitna*, or period of troubles, which continued for more than 20 years and ended only with the deposition of the last of the Caliphs of Cordova [see his̲h̲ām iii]. An Umayyad claimant, Muḥammad b. His̲h̲ām b. ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, rose in Cordova, and in the absence of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān on a military expedition gained control of the city. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, deserted by his men, was murdered before he could reach Cordova (399/1009). When requested, His̲h̲ām was willing to abdicate, and even sent Muḥammad clothes to wear when he was inaugurated as Caliph with the title al-Mahdī [*q.v.*]. Muḥammad al-Mahdī gave out that His̲h̲ām was dead (the so-called 'first death'). Later, when threatened in Cordova by Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam and the Berbers, he produced the ex-Caliph from obscurity in a vain attempt to rally the people. Sulaymān occupied the capital in 400/1009-10, and was proclaimed Caliph as al-Mustaʿīn. Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who had fled to Toledo, reappeared with Wāḍiḥ, the governor of that city, and a large army, including a large Christian contingent. Sulaymān yielded to necessity and left Cordova. When al-Mahdī was again proclaimed, His̲h̲ām is said to have been the first to take the oath. But Sulaymān returned and besieged his enemies in Cordova. It proved impossible to dislodge the Berbers, and under the stress of siege Wāḍiḥ determined to have done with al-Mahdī and restore His̲h̲ām. The ex-Caliph again received the oath of allegiance (D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a

400/July 1010), and Muḥammad al-Mahdī appeared before him to answer for his conduct, before being removed for execution. Hishām then nominally ruled, with Wāḍiḥ as his *ḥādjib* and the real power. The siege dragged on, since Sulaymān would have none of Hishām as Caliph, till 403, when after the attempted flight and death of Wāḍiḥ and further unavailing resistance, Cordova surrendered on 26 Shawwāl/9 May 1013. The entry of the Berber army and the subsequent sack were the virtual end of Umayyad Cordova [see KURṬUBA]. Hishām did not long survive the disaster to his capital. He was killed by a son of Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 403/May 1013 (Ibn al-Khaṭīb). This was the 'second death'. (There was also a 'third death' much later, in 451/1059, when the ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*] ceased to make prayer for Hishām, whose existence he and his father by a convenient fiction had maintained for many years.)

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HISHĀM III, AL-MUʿTADD BI'LLĀH b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al -Raḥmān III, the last of the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordova. Born in 364/974-75, he is said to have been the elder brother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV, al-Murtaḍā [*q.v.*], whom he accompanied in the rout at Granada in which the latter was killed (408/1018). Hishām escaped to Ḳaṣr al-Bunt (Alpuente) in the province of Valencia, where he was received by the ʿĀmirid *mawlā* ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳāsim al-Fihrī. Proclaimed Caliph by the Cordovans in Rabīʿ II 418/June 1027, he remained at Ḳaṣr al-Bunt for more than 2 years, making his official entry into Cordova only in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 420/December 1029. Owing principally to his *wazīr* Ḥakam b. Saʿīd al-Ḳazzāz, a man of obscure origin, whose financial measures were supposed to favour the Berbers, the Caliphate of Hishām III soon became unacceptable to the Cordovans. The disaffection resulted in the murder of the unpopular *wazīr*, and Hishām was at the same time deposed (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 422/November 1031). But this time no new Caliph was elected. A council of notables headed by Abu 'l-Ḥazm b. Djahwar took control. The last Umayyad Caliph was allowed to retire, and ended his days at Lārida (Lerida) in Ṣafar 428/December 1036. A new era of Spanish Muslim history had begun—that of the Party Kings (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, *reyes de Taifas*). The governor of Lerida with whom the last Umayyad found refuge was Sulaymān b. Hūd [see HŪDIDS].

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HISHĀM B. ʿAMR AL-FUWAṬĪ (or AL-FAWṬĪ), a Muʿtazilī of Baṣra, where he was the pupil of Abu 'l-Hudhayl [*q.v.*]. After having probably been a wandering propagator of *Iʿtizāl* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Fück, in *Prof. Muḥ. Shafīʿ presentation volume*, Lahore 1955, 68-9), he went to Baghdād during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn and died there at a date not known exactly, but probably before 218/833.

His personal doctrine, which had a certain influence on al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], differs appreciably, according to Ibn al-Nadīm (*op. cit.*), from the teachings of the other Muʿtazila, but the data given by the heresiographers are not always in agreement. Thus, according to al-Baghdādī (*Farḳ*, 150), he forbade murder of any kind, whereas according to al-Shahrastānī (*Milal*, on the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, i, 94) he allowed the assassination of opponents of *Iʿtizāl* and in that respect showed a fanaticism unusual among the Muʿtazila. Al-Shahrastānī (*op. cit.*, i, 91) emphasizes the extremism of his theory of free-will, for al-Fuwaṭī denies the intervention of God in the affairs of man, even when a verse of the Ḳurʾān states that God caused men to do such and such a deed. "Things" not being eternal, God cannot know them before having given them existence (al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. Ritter, 157, 488, 489; al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, i, 94), for a "thing" is the realization of the essence within existence, that which has been created by God. He rejects the doctrine that God can be seen 'with the heart' (al-Ashʿarī, *op. cit.*, 157) and holds that it is not the accidents that prove that God is creator, but material things (al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, i, 92; al-Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. and trans. A. Nader, Beirut 1957, text 49, trans. 54), that is to say the substances which are realized when God gives them existence. Al-Fuwaṭī regards as infidels those who believe that heaven and hell already exist, since these are for the moment unnecessary (al-Baghdādī, *op. cit.*, 150; al-Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*, 375; al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, i, 93). In politics, he tends to the Sunnī view; he holds that the *imām* ought to be elected, but he would allow this only in a time of calm and order, which al-Shahrastānī (*op. cit.*, i, 93) considers a sign of hostility towards the caliphate of ʿAlī (cf. al-Baghdādī, *op. cit.*, 150; idem, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 271; Pellat, in *St. Isl.*, xv, 39).

The basic points of the doctrine of al-Fuwaṭī are now known only from the heresiographers, but Ibn al-Nadīm attributes to him the following works: *K. al-Makhlūḳ*; *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-Aṣamm fī nafy al-ḥarakāt*; *K. Khalḳ al-Ḳurʾān*; *K. al-Tawḥīd*; *K. Djawāb ahl Khurāsān*; *Kitāb ilā ahl al-Baṣra*; *K. Uṣūl al-khams* (*sic*); *K. ʿala 'l-Bakriyya*; *Kitāb ʿalā Abi 'l-Hudhayl fi 'l-naʿīm.*

Bibliography: in the article; see also A. N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956, index and bibliography there given. (CH. PELLAT)

HISHĀM B. AL-ḤAKAM ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, the most prominent representative of Imāmī *kalām* [*q.v.*] in the time of the Imāms Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ and Mūsā al-Kāẓim. A client of the tribe of Kinda, he was born and raised in Wāsiṭ, but later lived in Kūfa among the Banū Shaybān. He is said to have been a Djahmī before his conversion to Shīʿism by the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. Other accounts, however, point to his early association with representatives of dualist religions, notably with Abū Shākir al-Dayṣānī. It is certain that after his conversion to Shīʿism he held disputations with Abū Shākir and

other dualists, and some of his conceptions of physics are evidently influenced by their doctrines. He became closely associated with Imām Dja'far and then with Mūsā al-Kāẓim, whom he, unlike many other Shī'ī leaders, recognized immediately after Dja'far's death (148/765). In Kūfa he owned a shop together with the Ibāḍī scholar 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd, with whom he maintained a close partnership all his life despite their doctrinal differences. In his later life Hishām belonged to the circle of theologians who held disputations in the presence of Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī and apparently presided over some of the discussions. He lived and carried on his trade in al-Karkh. He was accused by some Shī'īs of having been partly responsible for the arrest of Mūsā al-Kāẓim. The Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd is said to have taken an interest in his views and then, finding them dangerous, reacted by ordering the arrest of the imām. Hishām was forced to go into hiding and died shortly afterwards in the year 179/795-6. Other accounts, which state that his death occurred either shortly after the downfall of the Barmakids (186/803), or in the year 199/814-5, or during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, do not appear reliable. In any case, there are no reports indicating any activity of his during the imāmate of 'Alī al-Riḍā (183-203/711-818).

The theory of the imāmate which Hishām elaborated has remained at the basis of the Imāmī doctrine. It rests on the idea of the permanent need for a divinely guided imām who could act as the authoritative teacher of mankind in all religious matters. The imām thus was the legatee (*waṣī*) of the Prophet. He was infallible (*ma'ṣūm*) in all his acts and words, but unlike the prophets did not receive divine messages (*waḥy*). In contrast to the later generally accepted Imāmī doctrine, Hishām held that the prophets, since their acts could be criticized by divine messages, did not have to be infallible, and that Muḥammad and the other prophets had, indeed, at time committed acts of disobedience. Muḥammad had installed 'Alī as his legatee and lieutenant (*khalīfa*) by explicit appointment (*naṣṣ*). The whole community with only a few exceptions, such as al-Miḳdād, Salmān, Abū Dharr and 'Ammār, had apostasized by turning away from 'Alī and accepting Abū Bakr as caliph. The imāmate was to be transmitted among the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima until the day of the resurrection. Each imām installed his successor by an explicit appointment. Whoever obeyed the imām was a true believer, whoever opposed or rejected him, an infidel (*kāfir*). To safeguard the faith and the community of believers, the imām and his followers in case of necessity were permitted or obliged to practice dissimulation (*taḳiyya* [*q.v.*]) concerning their religious beliefs. The imām was not expected to revolt against the existing illegal government, and rebellion without his authorization was unlawful.

Hishām defined God as a finite, three-dimensional body (*djism*) and as radiant light. God had been in no place, then He produced space by His movement and came to be in a place, namely the Throne. The doctrine that God was a body was based on Hishām's general view that only bodies have existence. At the same time Hishām rejected the doctrine of other contemporary Imāmī theologians like al-Djawālīḳī and Mu'min ("Shayṭān") al-Ṭāḳ that God had a shape like that of man. He thus represented a rather anti-anthropomorphist attitude within the contemporary Imāmiyya, and only from the perspective of the Mu'tazila and the later Imāmiyya could he be accused of gross anthropomorphism (*tashbīh* [*q.v.*]). Hishām held that God did not know things or events before they came into being and argued that God's knowing them from eternity would entail their existence from eternity. The objection that this view would necessitate God's being originally ignorant and knowing only through a knowledge produced in time was met by Hishām with his general theory concerning the attributes of God. Knowledge, power, life, sight, hearing etc. were descriptive attributes (*ṣifāt*), rather than accidents (*a'rāḍ*), and could not be further described as being eternal or produced. Since these attributes could not be described as being either God, or part of Him, or other than Him, Hishām by this view also evaded the problem raised by the Mu'tazilīs concerning the multiplicity of God's accidents, which threatened the concept of His unity. By considering the Ḳur'ān as a descriptive attribute of God, he could furthermore maintain that it was neither creator, nor created, nor uncreated. This neutral position in the dispute concerning the createdness of the Ḳur'ān tallied with a statement attributed to Imām Dja'far. The reciting of the Ḳur'ān, however, according to Hishām's view was created.

In agreement with the Muslim predestinarians Hishām considered the acts of men as created by God. With the majority of contemporary Imāmīs he thus upheld the doctrine of divine determinism (*ḳadar*). On the other hand, he attempted to maintain man's responsibility by defining his acts as being in one respect his choice (*ikhtiyār*), resulting from his will, and as being in another respect compulsion, because of the need for an additional efficient cause. He also supported the distinctively Imāmī doctrines of the return (*radj'a* [*q.v.*]) of the dead before the day of the resurrection, the admissibility of a change of God's decisions (*badā'* [*q.v.*]) and of the suppression and corruption of parts of the Ḳur'ān in the official version. His views on physics, such as the rejection of atomism, the opinion that two particles may interpenetrate each other (*mudākhala*), that a particle may pass from one place to another without passing through all intervening places (*ṭafra* [*q.v.*]), and his identification of man with the spirit (*rūḥ*) to the exclusion of the body have influenced the views of the Mu'tazilī al-Naẓẓām.

After Hishām's death his doctrine was propagated and defended by his disciple Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 208/823-4), by Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Sakkāk, and later by the Nīsābūrī al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (d. *ca.* 260/874-5). He and his school were opposed on some points by rival Imāmī schools of *kalām* and on principle by Imāmī traditionists opposed to *kalām* in general. With the progressive adoption of Mu'tazilī theology, particularly from the 4th/10th century, Hishām's school became extinct. Although many of his opinions were highly objectionable from the point of view of later Imāmī doctrine, the Imāmī attitude toward him has generally remained favorable.

Of Hishām's many writings listed in the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm none is extant. His *K. Ikhtilāf al-nās fī 'l-imāma* was probably used by al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī as the basis of his own *K. Firaḳ al-shī'a*. Hishām's discussions with other theologians and heretics are frequently quoted in both Sunnī and Shī'ī works.

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150, 153 f.; al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, index; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-33, index; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 443 f., vii, 232-6; *Fihrist*, 175 f.; *WZKM*, iv, 226; al-Kashshī, *Ridjāl*, al-Nadjaf n.d., 220-38; al-Malaṭī, *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-radd*, ed. S. Dedering, Leipzig 1936, 19 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317-27, iv, 185; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, i, 14; Ibn Dāʾūd al-Ḥillī, *al-Ridjāl*, Tehrān 1342, 367 f., 525; Nūr Allāh Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, lith. Tehrān 1299, 153-9; al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehrān 1376, x, 234-9. There are only inadequate expositions of his doctrine: M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 170-8; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 74-8. On the influence of dualistic systems on his doctrine and his own influence on al-Naẓẓām: O. Pretzl, *Die frühislamische Atomenlehre*, in *Isl.*, xix (1931), 119-29; idem, *Die frühislamische Attributenlehre*, Munich 1940, 16-9, 38 f., 48 f.; S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, 4, 16-20, 101 f. On his doctrine concerning predestination: M. Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Islam*, London 1948, 116-8. W. Madelung, *Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur*, in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 37-52. (W. MADELUNG)

HISHĀM B. MUḤAMMAD AL-KALBĪ [see AL-KALBĪ].

ḤIṢN (A.), "fortress", is a fairly common element in place-names, *e.g.*, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, Ḥiṣn Kayfā [*qq.v.*], etc. This article surveys, so far as the present state of knowledge permits, the development of fortifications in certain areas of the Islamic world. Some aspects of this subject, the military architecture of the donjon and the bastion, are treated s.v. BURDJ and others s.vv. ḲALʿA and SŪR. Offensive operations, the techniques of siege-craft, are dealt with in general s.v. ḤIṢĀR; for siege-engines employed before the invention of gunpowder, see ʿARRĀḌA, ḲAWS and MANDJANĪḲ; for the use in defence of "Greek fire", etc., see NAFṬ; for the use of cannon in warfare generally see especially BĀRŪD, and also ṬOPČI. In view of the lack of substantial general monographs for many areas, this article covers only (i) the Western territories of the Islamic world, Spain and the Maghrib, (ii) Persia, (iii) Central Asia, and (iv) Indonesia and Malaysia. The Editors hope to make good the deficiencies in the Supplement, s.v. ḤIṢN. Readers will, however, find much information in the articles dealing with individual fortresses, *e.g.*, the "Crusader castles" (ḤIṢN AL-AKRĀD, MARḲAB, ṢĀFĪTHĀ, etc.), the citadels of major cities, Ottoman fortress-towns, etc. (ED.)

i.—MUSLIM WEST

The detailed forms, and the evolution, of military architecture in the Muslim West have been dealt with in the article BURDJ. In this article we shall see how the Muslim West solved the major problems of fortification, and how the various types of fortified works—town enceintes, isolated castles, fortified ports or arsenals—are laid out and organized; we shall see also how it overcame the difficulties of flanking, of gates, and, from the 8th/14th century, of modifications for guns.

Town enceintes. Since the period of the Late Empire, unfortified towns had become rare in the western world. Because of unrest caused by invasions, urban centres had been fortified with ramparts, thereby in many cases reducing their original extent. However, many cities in the Berber country which were primarily agricultural markets remained unwalled. The disturbed history of the Muslim dynasties, especially in the Berber country, led to the fortification of towns or the maintenance of their walls in good repair. From the very beginning dynastic foundations always provided for a rampart. The need for a fortified wall round every town of any size led to the maintenance of the Late Empire practice, perforce universal in the early Middle Ages.

The plan of the enceinte. In Spain and Africa Muslim walls sometimes adopted the general trace of a former enceinte, making use of the bases and other parts of it, as at Karmūna and at Cáceres. The prosperity of certain state or provincial capitals often led, in the Middle Ages, to the enlargement of town walls to take in important suburbs.

On level ground, town enceintes were often modelled on the trace of a pre-existent settlement. In new foundations they are more regular in shape, with long alignments of ramparts. On uneven sites modification to suit the terrain was effected very simply: the principle was to use towers sparingly while the curtain wall ran along rocky outcrops, following them as closely as possible; salients and marked re-entrants are rare. Most enceintes are in the form of an irregular, but convex, polygon.

In many cases, however, it was necessary that the nearest points of high ground, which could have commanded the ramparts, should also be held. The town wall of Granada, in the 5th/11th century, extended as far as two small fortresses guarding the slopes and the summit of the Alhambra hill. At Shāṭiba (Játiva) ramparts ran up to two small fortresses on the crests of high ground dominating the town from above. It was equally important to ensure protected access to water supplies: walls terminating in a bastion ran down to the river at Badajoz (Baṭalyaws). At Seville such a terminal tower has become, as the Golden Tower, a powerful bastion.

The *ḳaṣaba*, the residence of the ruler or his government, usually occupies the higher part of the town, from which it is separated by a rampart; but if its site is distinct from that of the town settlement, then walls join the two enceintes, as at Almeria (al-Mariyya). At Malaga, where the Alcazaba was in the centre of the city, it had its own enceinte, and the town was connected by long ramparts to the outer citadel of Gibralfaro; similarly at Jaen (Djayyān).

When the *ḳaṣaba* achieved the dimensions of a governmental town, it would have its own separate system of fortification, whether or not in contact with the residential and commercial quarters. The Alhambra was distinctly separated from Granada, as was Fās al-Djadīd from Fās al-Bālī. On the other hand, the Almohad *ḳaṣaba* at Marrākush, and the palaces of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl at Meknès, while partly constituting a fortified whole, are in contact with the town itself. In every case, two fortified systems are either close to each other or are juxtaposed.

Certain *ḳaṣaba*s were built to house garrisons to keep under surveillance a town where there was some apprehension of disturbances. Such was the case with the "Conventual" of Marīda, built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. In the 10th/16th century the Saʿdids kept such a watch over Fez by the north and south *burdj*es.

Plans of the enceinte.—The double wall enclosing a narrow corridor is to be found at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. Long passages between high ramparts are

frequent in the palaces of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl at Meknès. The outer wall, well known in Byzantine fortification, seems not to have been employed in Muslim fortresses in the early Middle Ages. It became almost the rule in the walls of Spanish fortresses from the 5th/11th century. It existed also at al-Mahdiyya. In the Maghrib it remained rare. However, it is found at Tlemcen and Taza, and a continuous outer wall surrounded the ramparts of Fās al-Djadīd. These outer walls, of variable height, were generally furnished with towers. The ditch was common from the beginning of the 5th/11th century in Spanish Muslim fortifications. Elsewhere it remained very exceptional. These were generally dry ditches, designed to stop cavalry and to make sapping operations more difficult. In dry and often broken country the ditch could not be, as in flat and wet countries, the best of defences.

Isolated castles. — The functions of isolated castles were very variable. A certain number were frontier castles marking out the battlefronts: so in Muslim Spain, from the end of the 3rd/9th century, where the frontier long remained on the line of the Duero and was until the end of the kingdom of Granada guarded by a continuous line of fortresses on the west and north, which were subject to Castilian attacks. Under the *reyes de taifas* the rivalries among the local *amīrs* also led to the construction of lines of fortifications. In the Berber country there was hardly any definite frontier between the Muslim states; it was considered sufficient to fortify only those places possession of which was likely to be disputed; however, the ʿAbd al-Wādids did set up the Soummam line against the Ḥafṣids. These frontier castles could not, in wars in which rapid destructive and pillaging expeditions were the commonest operations, prevent completely the passage of enemy troops. But although they allowed the razzias to pass, they required, for any lasting conquest, long and costly siege operations. They were often, especially in the Granada period, built on scarped peaks; they could not block the entry routes, but they were ideal for keeping the country under surveillance and were difficult to take by storm.

In Spain, in the rich plains exposed to enemy raids, were to be found castles of refuge, usually dominating a village. The Naṣrids increased their number in the richest parts of the country, which were menaced by Castilian incursions.

On the north African coasts, in particular those of Tunisia and to a less extent the Atlantic coast, *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*] were built, *i.e.*, fortified enclosures where pious Muslims, while leading a very strict religious life, could prepare for the holy war. The Ifrīḳiyan *ribāṭs* are doubtless explained by Sicilian expeditions of conquest; there was then no Christian danger threatening the Tunisian coasts. On the other hand, the *ribāṭs* of the Atlantic coast of Morocco and certain Andalusian *ribāṭs* seem indeed to have originated from fear of Norman invasions. But it seems that there was never any warfare with an outside enemy under the walls of these *ribāṭs*; they were not true maritime fortifications, but gathering places for soldiers of the faith, afterwards becoming rather centres of ascetic, even mystic, life. Certain Moroccan *ribāṭs*, such as the first *ḳaṣaba* of the Ūdāya at Rabāṭ and the enceinte of Tīṭ, seem to have guarded the northern and southern limits of the heretic confederation of the Barghwāṭa.

Under the Almohads, Rabāṭ acquired the dimensions of a city through the activities of the third caliph Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, and was the gathering place for warriors whose destination was Spain.

Sometimes castles were grouped together or formed a line to keep watch over countries where rebellion was threatening, or to block the routes of parties of open rebels. Thus, the Almoravids guarded the Rif by the stronghold of Bani Tawda and the castle of Amergo. When the Almohad revolt had reached the great mass of the Moroccan Atlas, they built castles for obstructing the enemy on the foothills or at the mouth of a mountain defile. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, faced with Berber dissensions in the Middle Atlas region and the Rif, also built lines of *ḳaṣabas*.

This same sovereign engaged in the military occupation of his own states, and built, even in the subjugated plains, castles where his garrison troops, the *ʿabīd*, were quartered. Their main rôle was to raise taxes, both in money and in kind. The enceintes of these castles contain, besides the governor's house and a mosque, great silos.

There were numerous castles built to ensure the security of the major trade routes, to accommodate travellers at the end of a day's journey, and sometimes also to provide for the relay stages of a system of official couriers [see BARĪD], where a fortified town could not fulfil these functions. The routes leading from Cordova to the larger towns in Muslim Spain were so marked out by castles built a day's stage apart. Sometimes secondary fortresses and watch-towers guarded mountain defiles.

Naturally, bridges over large rivers were under the protection of a fortress, often an important one. Thus the Conventual of Marida guarded the Guadiana crossing as well as the town. Almost all the bridges of the Tagus were guarded by a castle or at least by a tower.

The plan of the castle. — The Roman and Byzantine tradition is often continued in the plans of these castles, and also sometimes those of the Umayyad castles of Syria, themselves strongly indebted to the *castella* of Rome and Byzantium. On flat ground the plan of the fortresses is always very regular, square or oblong, with angle bastions and intermediate flanking towers varying in number. The very geometric forms of ancient fortification were faithfully followed in Moroccan official buildings, and also in Berber architecture.

But many castles were built on hill-tops or on rocky outcrops. In such cases modification to suit the terrain was necessary. The perimeter of the castle is very variable, in size as well as shape. Sometimes above escarpments the curtain-wall needed no towers. In very mountainous country the necessity of finding firm foundations resulted in an irregular spacing of the towers. Abrupt changes of direction are frequent, the trace often appearing as a zigzag. The double enceinte scarcely appears at all except in Naṣrid fortification under Christian influence, and the outer wall remains very rare.

It is exceptional for a Muslim castle to include a reduit or a donjon. However, the *ribāṭs* of Ifrīḳiya often have watch-towers, and the citadel of Sūsa also has one. At the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād the great bastion of the *manār* formed a sort of reduit. In Naṣrid fortification the use of the donjon, sometimes surrounded by a reduit, was introduced in the 7th/13th century in imitation of Christian castles. But in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries the Naṣrid castles returned more and more to the classical forms of Hispano-Moorish fortification.

Fortified ports and arsenals. — These were

both known to western Islam. The port of Tandja Bāliya, to the east of Tangier, might date from the Muslim period. It included an interior dock, now filled with sand, defended by a bastioned enceinte. The entry to and exit from the port were by two large gates flanked by towers; but of this complex there are now only remains at ground level. On the other hand, the maritime arsenal of Salé, now filled in, preserves its two gates with their towers. This arsenal occupied one of the corners of the town enceinte. From the 4th/10th century a similar solution had been adopted at al-Mahdiyya. The enceinte embodied an interior port, the entrance to which was defended by two towers between which a chain could be stretched. A large arch of carved stone gave access to the port of Ḥunayn, built in the 8th/14th century; likewise at the port or arsenal of Bougie (Bidjāya) and at the arsenal of Malaga. The great arch under which shipping passed would seem to belong to the Spanish tradition.

Building material. — Ashlar often persisted in the Aghlabid fortification of Ifriḳiya. It was often used for the entire curtain wall, and always for the more important works. The rubble walls themselves were bonded with dressed stone. The Umayyad fortifications of Spain, in its most beautiful works, used bonding of regularly alternating headers and stretchers. But in African fortification, up to the 6th/12th century, rubble was by far the most frequently used material. It was often bonded with dressed stone, and also on many occasions trimmed and bedded in regular courses, sometimes even with alternation of thick and thin beds. In Almoravid fortresses the joints which surround the large rubble stones are dotted with small black pebbles.

In Spain rubble was often used in the building of secondary fortresses, sometimes with lacing courses and snecks of brick; this last use is particularly frequent in the Toledo school. Sometimes false joints extend the angle bonding courses into the rubble facing. In the Naṣrid period imitation of Christian fortresses increased the use of rubble.

Large fortifications of brick are rare in the Muslim west. However, the ramparts of Ḳayrawān were from the beginning built of brick. Those of Baṣra [*q.v.*], in the north of Morocco, were so in part. In Spain brick was not used throughout buildings except in comparatively late Mudéjar work. But in gates of ashlar or rubble, whether combined with concrete or not, brick was generally used for certain arches and for vaults, sometimes even for façades of doorways where the basic framework was constructed entirely of concrete.

From the 4th/10th century, the building material most frequently used in Spanish fortresses was a concrete made from a clayey or pebbly soil, more or less rich in lime, tamped in shutterings about 80 cm. thick. This method came to the Maghrib in the 6th/12th century and persisted until the 20th. The use of concrete brought about a simplification of forms, and thus came the pre-eminence of the rectangular tower. Brick was associated with it for arches and their jambs, for vaults, and sometimes for the façades of doorways.

Problems of flanking. — It is very rare for the projections and re-entrants of the curtain wall to be in themselves sufficient to provide good flanking. Hence it was necessary to rely on towers and bastions flanking the enceinte wall. Bastions on enceintes on flat ground are never spaced more than 30 m. apart, in order to leave between two towers no area uncovered by missiles. But towers could be closer together than this. In Spain in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries towers of small dimensions and very close together were often used.

The circular or almost circular tower is met with only rarely: this shows Christian influence. The semicircular tower was employed in Aghlabid fortification, where it marks an eastern influence: it is found in certain Umayyad castles in Syria, and it is common in ʿAbbāsid building. Most frequently, in Spain as in north Africa, the oblong tower, of greater length than projection, is used. Towers set cantwise are rare. Bastions of irregular quadrilateral form are sometimes found at the corners of enceintes. The polygonal bastion appears in Spain in the 6th/12th century, but was little used in the Maghrib. Altogether Muslim architecture in the west shows little variety in the form of the bastions. In most of the Hispano-Moorish enceintes, series of similar towers are spaced along the line of curtain walls.

In the 7th/13th century Muslim Spain invented a new tower, the *albarrana* or exterior tower, which is detached from and in front of the curtain wall, to which it is connected by a projecting element of wall. The tower and its base are connected with the chemin-de-ronde of the rampart. In such a case the outer wall of the defences would pass round the foot of the *albarrana*. Sometimes also the *albarrana* is thrown far forward, at the end of a section of the curtain wall with a double parapet. This innovation, later adopted often in Mudéjar fortification, does not seem to have reached the Maghrib.

On the whole these towers contain only a minimum of fittings. Sometimes they have a plain base and a crenellated platform, sometimes an interior room at the level of the chemin-de-ronde and an upper platform consisting of a floor carried on joists, to which a ladder gives access. However, from the 6th/12th century, the large polygonal bastions have two or three floors of vaulted rooms and an internal staircase. These large towers are almost all *albarranas*. They contributed greatly to the defence at the more vulnerable points of the enceinte.

Gates. — Barbicans and chatelets are never found in front of the principal gateway. Until the 5th/11th century there is only, in Spain as in the Berber country, the system of gateways opening between two towers, with a vaulted corridor of varying length and pilasters supporting the entry (sometimes also the exit) arch and protecting the hinges of the leaves of the doors.

In the 6th/12th century there appears in Spain the simple bent entrance, known in Byzantine fortification; this passed into the Maghrib in the 6th/12th century together with the other forms of the Hispano-Moorish fortress, and in the 7th/13th century to Tunisia. Some of these gates have an open passage instead of a central vaulted hall. These gates open sometimes between two towers, sometimes on the flank of a massive bastion. In the 6th/12th century gateways with a double or treble bent entrance appear under the Almohad caliphs. The interior way consists of a series of vaulted halls almost always broken by an open passage. The leaves of the entry and exit doors are rebated between two pilasters which support the archways.

All these entrances with angle passages open between two towers. In the Almohad period towers and façade are constructed in stone and covered with a richly carved decoration. In the Marinid and Naṣrid entrances brick replaces stone, and the decoration of the façades is much more restrained. The thick mass of construction which forms these

doorways projects behind the inner face of the rampart; only the two towers which flank the entrance archway stand out in front of the curtain wall, not greatly larger in dimensions than the rest of the towers. The great Almohad entrances, whose value is as much decorative as functional, are among the most perfect creations of Hispano-Moorish architecture; they are probably among the most beautiful and certainly the most rich of the whole of Islam.

The doorway with a long corridor, of oriental type, is found in the 4th/10th century only at the principal entry of the Fāṭimid town of al-Mahdiyya, the Saḳīfa al-Kaḥlā'. This form does not appear to have had any imitation in the Muslim West.

The portcullis is rare in Muslim Spain, and has never been reported from the Maghrib. The simple bent entrance remained in use at all periods, from Spain to Ifrīḳiya.

Modification for cannon. — The Naṣrids did no more than furnish low platforms as cannon emplacements at the feet of certain towers and certain doorways of the Alhambra. In Morocco the Saʿdid sultans, in the 10th/16th century, made use of two systems. In the enceinte of the *ḳaṣaba* of Marrākush, which was likely to be attacked only by tribes who did not possess cannon, it was sufficient for them to enlarge the dimensions of the oblong towers flanking the curtain wall in order to house a small mortar in the defensive chamber of each. Elsewhere, at the Bastyūn of Taza and at the north and south *burdj*es of Fez, they imitated (thanks no doubt to information from renegades) European fortresses with vaulted casemates, with thick and often battered walls, sometimes even of a star-shaped plan. These imitations of European fortresses were in use in all the coastal regions of north Africa, in Morocco as well as in the two Ottoman provinces, where European reprisals were to be feared. They were intended to do no more than stand up to a bombardment from the sea and to reply to it. These works were set fairly high up; low-level fortification, in the Vauban manner, was never employed. The defences were simple enough, merely a wall and a ditch with a ramp of earth forming a counterscarp.

Beside these more or less modern fortresses, the old style of fortification of the Middle Ages, under its most simple forms, was continued throughout the Berber country.

Thus the Muslim West remained faithful to the tradition of the Later Empire and to Byzantium. The only additions to this tradition by the creation of new forms were Spanish. The *albarrana* tower, and the entrance with a series of bends and with an open passage, appeared in Muslim Spain. Influences from the Christian world were unable to stimulate Naṣrid fortification. The more or less skilful imitations of European fortifications which were erected on the Barbary coasts in the modern period did not prevent north African fortification from remaining generally archaic and sketchy.

Bibliography: There is no general work dealing with the military architecture of the Muslim West. Numerous studies, by country and by period, will be found in: H. Terrasse, *L'art hispano-mauresque des origines au XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1932; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954; M. Gómez Moreno, *Arte árabe español hasta los Almohades, Arte mozárabe*, Madrid 1951 (*Ars Hispaniae*, iii); L. Torres Balbás, *Arte almohade, Arte nazarí, Arte mudéjar*, Madrid 1949 (*Ars Hispaniae*, iv); idem, *Arte hispano-musulmán hasta la caída del Califato de Córdoba*, Madrid 1957. (H. Terrasse)

ii.—Iran

Fortified sites of the mediaeval period are extremely numerous in Iran. According to the author of the *Fārsnāma* (G. Le Strange, *Description of the province of Fars in Persia*, 74) there were more than 70 notable castles in the Province of Fārs alone, of which 20 are described in the text. Yet despite this wealth of remains, the military architecture of Muslim Iran has been little studied, no doubt because the poor preservation of many of the structures makes them uninformative. Taking advantage of the mountainous terrain, many of these fortresses depended more for their protection on a strong natural position than on man-made fortifications. For example, according to Yāḳūt, iii, 490, the fortress of Ṭāḳ in Ṭabaristān, the stronghold of the Iṣfahbad Khurshīd (120/738-149/766) was surrounded by unscaleable mountains, and entered only by a long tunnel. The entrance was closed by a stone so large that 500 men were required to move it. Inside the fortress was a stream of water. Ṭāḳ was regarded as impregnable, but eventually capitulated to the Arabs on account of an outbreak of plague. Awliyā' Allāh Āmulī, *Ta'rīkh-i Rūyān*, 45, states that in later years Ṭāḳ was known as ʿĀyisha Kargīlī Diz, and that it stood to the south of Sārī, beyond the gorge of Kūlā.

For such hill-top castles a reliable water-supply was an important need. Thus a few possessed springs, or wells of water—as in the case of the Ismāʿīlī castle of Girdkūh, near Dāmghān, which assumed major importance only after the appearance of water in a previously dry well, as the result of an earthquake. However, the majority had to depend on water stored in cisterns, the remains of which are often visible at the present day. At Bahmandiz, some 50 miles south of Shāhrezā in Iṣfahān Province, the castle crowned a precipitous rocky bluff in the centre of a great plain. The only entrance was by crawling through a crevice between two rocks, and water was stored in two large cisterns outside, and below, the castle. At this site an Arabic inscription, apparently the earliest known in Iran, records the construction of the fortifications by Khāzim b. Muḥammad in 265/878-9.

In the mountains, fortifications had generally to be adapted to the lie of the ground, but those in the plains more often had a geometrical ground-plan. In the Gurgān plain a characteristic layout consists of a square perimeter with a smaller square keep in one corner (cf. E. F. Schmidt, *Flights over ancient cities of Iran*, Pl. 61, 67 and 68). To judge by the example at the site of the mediaeval town of Tammīsha at Kharābshahr in Gurgān Province, such fortifications may date from the eighth or ninth centuries A.D. Also in Gurgān Province are linear systems of fortification designed to guard against incursions from the steppe. One of these is the famous Sadd-i Iskandar ('Alexander's Barrier'), whilst a lesser wall, situated near Kharābshahr, consisted of a baked-brick curtain wall running along the crest of an earthen rampart, and strengthened by semi-circular or semi-elliptical towers. Both these lines of defence appear to have been built by the Sāsānid king Khosraw I (A.D. 531-579) before the advent of Islam.

Amongst the best-studied Islamic fortresses of Iran are the castles of the Ismāʿīlī sect in the Alburz range, for example Alamūt [*q.v.*], Lamasar and Maymūndiz to the north of Ḳazwīn; and Girdkūh, near Dāmghān. These strongholds are sited on precipi-

tous crags, and have ingenious arrangements for water-supply. At Maymūndiz, recently located near Shams Kilaya, off the Alamūt Valley, a spring was found on the summit of the castle spur, and three more on the side of the feature; whilst a stream had been diverted to bring water to the foot of the castle, details all reported by Djuwaynī (tr. J. A. Boyle, ii, 627). At Lamasar, there is a catchment area with cisterns on the summit of the rock. In addition, Willey describes a tunnel 600 yards long leading to a tower which overhangs the river Naina Rūd. From this tower water could be drawn up out of the river with buckets. Ivanow, however, gives a slightly different description of this feature.

All the major cities of Iran were in the middle ages protected by walls, few of which survive to the present day. Pope describes the walls of Yazd, still partly extant. They are of mud-brick, guarded by circular bastions, and provided with machicolations (Persian *sang-andāz*), and an entrance-tower which performs the function of a barbican. The elaborate mud-brick fortifications of the citadel also survive at Bam.

As an element in place-names Ḥiṣn is somewhat rare in Iran. The Arab geographers refer to a settlement called Ḥiṣn Mahdī on the Kārūn below Ahwāz, but the site has not been identified in modern times. Ḥiṣn al-Ṭāḳ in Afghān Sīstān (not to be confused with the previously-mentioned castle of Ṭāḳ in Ṭabaristān) was a powerful fortress situated about 22 miles south of Zarandj (modern Nād ʿAlī). Le Strange (*Eastern Caliphate*, 343) was in error in stating that this site lay north of Zarandj. It is correctly identified by G. P. Tate, *Seistan, a memoir of the history, topography, ruins and people of the country*, Calcutta 1910-12, 225, with the group of ruins known at the present day as Sar-o-tar (or Tar-o-sar), which stand on the high plain overlooking the valley of the Helmand. The site was investigated by J. Hackin in 1936, and consists of a massive mud-brick keep surrounded by two outer perimeters. A particular feature of these fortifications is the use of the bent entrance. It was at Ṭāḳ that the Ṣaffārid Khalaf b. Aḥmad (352/963-393/1002) withstood a siege by his rebellious son Ṭāhir, and subsequently prepared to receive the onslaught of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, to whom, however, he finally surrendered on terms.

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(A. D. H. Bivar)

iii.—Central Asia

Light is thrown on the long development of mud-brick fortification in Central Asia by the researches of S. P. Tolstov in the territories of ancient Khʷārazm. The earliest fortified sites are the so-called 'wall-dwelling settlements' of about the 6th century B.C., in which the living-quarters are formed by a series of vaulted corridors extending along the inner face of the wall. The ground-plan of the fortifications is usually rectangular, as at the site of Kalaly-Gyr, and the walls are provided with numerous spear-shaped arrow-slits, and occasional square towers or salients for enfilade fire. The main purpose of these enclosures appears to have been for the safeguarding of flocks and herds, since the internal court-yards were not built up with houses.

Fortresses of considerably greater sophistication were, however, developed in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., when Chorasmia (Khʷārazm) came to constitute an independent state. There was some variation in the ground-plans at this period. Thus at Koi-Krylghan-Kala there was a circular perimeter with semicircular towers, enclosing a circular keep. This whole lay-out is reminiscent of fortifications of the Parthian period in Iran, for example the cities of Dārābgird and Gūr (Fīrūzābād) in Fārs. At Djānbas Ḳalʿa the more traditional rectangular ground-plan is used, without flanking towers but once more well-provided with arrow-slits, and with specially-constructed oblique arrow-slits to protect the corners of the wall. The most remarkable feature of this site is however an outwork which screens the gate, and forms a species of bent entrance. Creswell argued from its occurrence at Djānbas Ḳalʿa that this refinement of fortification was first developed in Central Asia, reaching the Muslim and Mediterranean worlds only in the eighth century A.D.

In the second and third centuries A.D. under the local dynasty of the Afrīghids a new type of fortification became general in Khʷārazm. The main feature in this case, within one or two rectangular perimeters with rounded towers, was a massive square central keep with battered walls, standing on a solid base of mud-brick, and entered from the perimeter gate-house by a bridge at the first storey. These fortifications are interpreted by Tolstov as the residence of a local nobility, the *dehḳāns*. Similar principles of fortification persisted into the Muslim period in Central Asia. Ground-plans remained basically rectangular, but there was a tendency to adapt the lay-out to the contours of the ground. Where extensions were required, it became customary to enlarge the perimeter here or there on an *ad hoc* basis, rather than to adhere throughout to a predetermined geometrical plan. Powerful flanking towers remained an important feature of the defences, and gates were furnished with semicircular outworks having a single entrance so arranged as to oblige the attackers to present their unshielded right sides to the missiles of the defenders. It was in the 12th and 13th centuries that the art of fortification reached its fullest development with the massive structures of the Khʷārazm-shāhs.

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(A. D. H. Bivar)

iv.—Indonesia and Malaysia

In the sense in which historians of Muslim architecture understand the word *ḥiṣn*, it is absent from Indonesia and Malaysia. Though these countries, and their several components, were converted to Islam at various times from the end of the 7th/13th century onwards, the habits of fortification and defence had already been formed by local requirements of site, materials and tactics rather than by conventional architectural principles.

Thus, though the Javanese, for instance, built superb and very large stone temples from as early as the 10th century, by the time Islam reached them 500-600 years later, their society was already based on maritime and coastal trade rather than war on

land. Their forts, and others in Sumatra, Malaya and Borneo, were usually sited to control river-mouths and junctions, or in defence against pirates. They were often occupied only temporarily—for a few days or weeks at a time—and usually consisted of earth or turf walls and ramparts strengthened with timber and surrounded by ditches, wooden stockades or calthrops. Sometimes stone, locally-made brick and rubble were used, but timber was the commonest material, apart from earth, as it was everywhere available in quantity, while stone was relatively rare.

These structures are called either *kota* (from Sanskrit) or *kubu* in both Indonesian and Malay. Both words mean 'fort', the former type being larger and more permanent than the latter and more likely to be made of stone.

Some forts mounted cannon from before 1500 A.D. but exchange of shot was often a ritual performance containing little rancour: real fighting was by sword, spear and *kĕris* at close quarters and in conditions where fortification was irrelevant. In these circumstances, and in terrain often thickly covered with jungle, the Middle Eastern style of military architecture deriving from long-range archery, sieges and mounted sorties was accordingly never called into existence.

The defences of royal cities were grander and more substantial, according to early travellers' accounts, and included towers and great gates but, so far as is known, there was nothing specifically Islamic about them.

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(J. C. Bottoms)

ḤIṢN AL-AKRĀD ("Fortress of the Kurds"), a castle in Syria known in Europe by the name of "Crac des Chevaliers". The castle crowns a rounded and almost isolated summit, mount Khalīl, the last southerly inclination of the Djabal Anṣāriyya, some 60 km. to the north-west of Ḥimṣ. Situated like an eagle's nest at a height of 750 m. on a spur flanked by two ravines on the north-east and north-west, it overlooks from a height of 300 m. the plain of the Buḳayʿa [*q.v.*] which extends eastward and south-eastward. In the Frankish period this very fertile cultivated region contained numerous farmsteads in its fields shaded by fig-trees and olive-trees. Ḥiṣn al-Akrād commands the ridge between the Djabal ʿAkkār and the Djabal Baḥrā' which allows of communication between the coastal plain to the north of Tripoli, crossed by the Nahr al-Kabīr (the Eleuthera) which flows at the foot of the castle, and the plain of Ḥimṣ, which is watered by the ʿĀṣī (Orontes). This strategic position permits the interception of any movement between Tripoli and Ḥimṣ, and also observation of the northern outlet of the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*]. The castle also defended the frontier of the County of Tripoli to the north-east and constituted a forward position threatening Muslim territory. Two roads passed by here, already in use in Roman times, that from Ḥamāt to Tripoli and that from Rafaniyya to Ṭarṭūs.

Ḥiṣn al-Akrād was in communication with some of the neighbouring fortresses by visual signals or by flares. From the top of the castle the square keep of Ṣāfīthā and Ṭarṭūs [*qq.v.*] by the sea can be seen very clearly to the west; to the south-east, beyond the plain of the Buḳayʿa, the lake of Ḥimṣ and the fringe of the Palmyra desert can just be seen. Towards the south liaison was easy with the castle of Ḳulayʿa in the coastal plain of Tripoli and with the castle of ʿAkkār on the foothills of the Djabal ʿAkkār, which is snow-capped for most of the year.

Since the very earliest times the site of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād has been occupied by a fortress. According to ancient Egyptian texts, a township called Shebton or Shabtuna occupied the site at the time of the invasion of Rameses II. Its earliest mention in Arabic texts appears in the first half of the 5th/11th century, when the Mirdāsid prince of Aleppo, Shibl al-Dawla Naṣr, settled a military colony of Kurds there in 422/1031, giving them the adjacent fields in return for the protection of the roads from Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt towards Tripoli against attacks from the west. There seems to have been no more than a simple tower surrounded by a rampart: this was the "castle of the Slope", *Ḥiṣn al-Safḥ*, of which no trace remains. On the arrival of the Kurds the site came to be known as Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. The etymology of the mediaeval Frankish name "Crac de l'Ospital" is uncertain. The term *akrād* was probably the origin of the Frankish *cratum*, later *crat* and then *crac*: but this latter might also be derived from *karak*, the origin of which is the Syriac *karkā*, "fortress". The expression "Crac des Chevaliers" is modern, and in no way corresponds to the modern Arabic name *Ḳalʿat al-Ḥiṣn*, an obvious pleonasm.

First Frankish period, 503-37/1110-42. During the first Crusade, Raymond of Saint-Gilles seized the Crac in Ṣafar 492/January 1099. The capture of the castle had some repercussions, and Raymond received ambassadors from Ḥimṣ and Tripoli; but the Franks remained there for only a few days, since then the principal objective was Jerusalem. In Djumādā II 495/April 1102 Raymond attempted to recapture the place. After the capture of Tripoli (end of 502/July 1109) the Franks encountered Tughtakīn [*q.v.*], the *atabeg* of Damascus. Their negotiations resulted in the Muslims' surrendering a third of the harvests of the Buḳayʿa and the castles of Munayṭira and ʿAkkār, in return for which the Franks were no make no attempts against Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, which was compelled to pay them tribute. Shortly afterwards, at the end of 503/June 1110, Tancred of Antioch appeared and seized the castle from the Kurdish *amīr* Ḳaradja and installed a Frankish garrison. On the death of Bertrand of Saint-Gilles, in Shaʿbān 505/February 1112, Tancred took Pons, the grandson of Raymond, into his care, and granted him the Crac as an appanage. The end of 508/spring 1115 saw the first Muslim attack; the *amīr* Alp Arslan marched from Aleppo and besieged Ḥiṣn al-Akrād in vain. No other significant event occurred before 536/1142.

Second Frankish period, 537-670/1142-1271. The *atabeg* Zangī [*q.v.*] had just captured Bārīn and Rafaniyya, and the Muslim threat was now taking shape. Raymond II, son of Pons, made over the Crac to the Order of the Hospitallers, with all its surrounding territory and the nearby small forts and observation posts, and surrendered to them also fishing rights in the lake of Ḥimṣ. William of Cratum, the feudatory of the castle, was compensated, and the villagers of the neighbourhood remained under Frankish protection. In Radjab 552/August-September 1157 a violent earthquake shook the castle; the damage was quickly repaired by Raymond of Le Puy, Grand Master of the Hospitallers, who had received a handsome donation from Wladislas II,

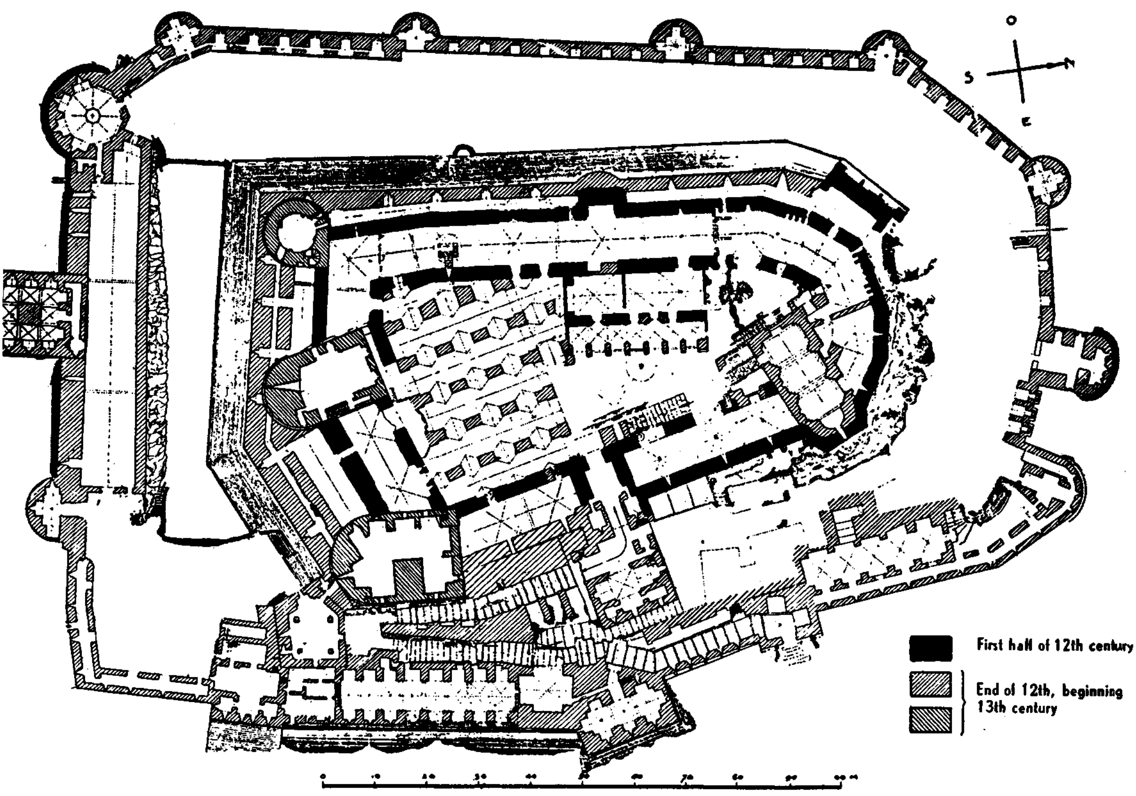

king of Bohemia. It was the old Kurd castle, enlarged by the castellan, on which Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] set eyes in 557/1163 before being obliged to flee towards the lake of Ḥimṣ in the siesta hour. In 565/1170 the place suffered severely from a second earthquake, as a result of which important repair works were undertaken, which were sufficiently advanced in 584/1188 to resist Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Further earthquakes in 597/1201 and 598/1202 made extensive repairs necessary, and the general appearance of the castle dates from this period. The first thirty years of the 7th/13th century were the heyday of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. In 613/1207 the Knights repulsed an attack by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr; in 624/1218, during the fifth Crusade, the army of al-Malik al-As͟hraf came from Aleppo to camp beneath it. In the same year King Andrew II of Hungary made an assignment of revenue for the upkeep of the fortress where he had been a guest. Frederick II excluded the Hospitallers and the Crac from the peace treaty concluded in Rabīʿ I 626/February 1229 with the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*]; the latter tried in vain to seize the place in D̲j̲umādā II 626/May 1229.

At this time the masters of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād exacted a tribute of 4,000 *dīnār*s from the principality of Ḥamāt, 800 *dīnār*s from the canton of Abū Ḳudays, and 1,200 *dīnār*s and 100 *mudd* of wheat and barley from the Ismāʿīlī territory (*bilād al-daʿwa*). They had to forgo this income in 665/1266 after the signing of a ten years' peace treaty with Baybars [*q.v.*] (Maḳrīzī, ed. Quatremère, *Hist. Maml.*, i, 2, 32, 42).

The Crac, which in normal times had a garrison of some sixty Knights of St. John, was used as an assembly point for the expeditions which were often made against Ḥamāt. In 630/1233 more than 2000 combatants gathered at the castle: 100 Knights of Cyprus, 80 of Jerusalem, 30 of Antioch, and 100 Hospitallers, as well as 400 serjeants and 1500 infantrymen.

It was after the failure of the seventh Crusade at al-Manṣūra [*q.v.*] in 647/1249 and the departure of Saint Louis that the first difficulties began, since there were no further reinforcements coming from Europe. Moreover, the Muslims were gaining in strength; at the end of 649/beginning of 1252 a Turkoman army from S͟hayzar [*q.v.*] invaded the region, although its attack on Ḥiṣn al-Akrād failed.

In 658/1260, after the Muslim victory over the Mongols at ʿAyn D̲j̲alūt [*q.v.*], a new champion of Islam emerged, Baybars I [*q.v.*]. From this time onward disaster followed disaster for the Christians. In D̲j̲umādā II 668/January 1270 the sultan sent out a reconnaissance party of 40 cavalry; in Ṣafar 669/September-October 1270, learning of the death of Saint Louis and being no longer threatened from the west, he led a powerful expedition into Syria. Baybars appeared before Ḥiṣn al-Akrād; on 19 Rad̲j̲ab 669/3 March 1271 he occupied the forward defences and battered the outer enceinte; on the 21st, after the arrival of reinforcements from Ḥamāt, he captured the first barbican (*bās͟hūra*); ten days later, on 1 S͟haʿbān/15 March, the second barbican, at the elbow of the access-ramp, also fell, and finally, on 15 S͟haʿbān/29 March, an entry was forced into the central courtyard and the besieged defenders withdrew into the donjon. Baybars attacked with ballistas; on 25 S͟haʿbān/8 April the keep surrendered, and the Knights were allowed to withdraw, under safe-conduct, to Tripoli. The spurious letter from the Grand Master of the Order calling on the Knights to surrender, a letter which was said to have been forged

by Baybars, seems to be a legend given currency by al-Nuwayrī. Baybars himself directed the repair work, and left the castle on 15 Ramaḍān/27 April having appointed Ṣārim al-Dīn Ḳaymāz as governor. In 680/1281, after the capture of Tripoli by Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, mentioned by al-ʿUmarī as still being an important fortress, lost its importance, but a garrison was kept there to guard against any attack from Europe or Cyprus on Ṭarṭūs or Tripoli.

Being remote from the major communication routes, the region was sheltered from attack, and was untouched by the invasion of Tīmūr Lang [*q.v.*] in 803/1401 just as it was by the Ottoman conquest more than a century later.

In 1859, at the time of Rey's first journey, the castle was still almost intact, but van Berchem records that in 1895 it was already occupied by a village. In November 1933 Ḥiṣn al-Akrād was ceded to France by the ʿAlawī state, the village was evacuated, and restoration work was begun in earnest. In 1947 the restored castle was returned by France to Syria. Today it is one of the wonders of mediaeval military art, and its present appearance recalls what it was like seven centuries ago.

Description. The general outline of the castle, which occupies a surface area of two and a half hectares (just over six acres), is in the shape of a trapezium of which the smaller base is to the north and the obliques on the eastern and western fronts. The outer enceinte broadens from north to south. The main entrance is on the east front in an oblong salient in the outer enceinte; this enceinte, the layout of which is dictated by the terrain, includes round or square towers at intervals according to the exigencies of defence. The east front has three oblong salients protected by brattices rebuilt by the Muslims in the 7th/13th century. The north front includes a postern and is protected by two square towers, the salient parts of which were rounded off at the time of Baybars. Five Frankish towers, dating from the end of the 6th/12th century, are connected by curtain walls which, retaining their crenellated chemin-de-ronde and their brattices, bring a fine architectural beauty to the western front. The south front, where there are no natural defences, was protected by a triangular outwork surrounded by three ditches, of which the trace remains. The powerful rampart of the Frankish period, behind which there extends a hall sixty metres in length, was reinforced in the Muslim period by a rebuilding of the great angle towers and by the construction in the middle of the wall of a huge square structure, the work of Baybars.

An arched ramp, in two sections, leads from the main entrance and is defended at its elbow as well as at its two ends; it gives access either to the entrance leading to the interior court or to the terreplein between the two enceintes. This system of a double concentric enceinte seems to have been borrowed from the Byzantine tradition. The inner enceinte corresponds to the ramparts of the original Frankish fortress which, between 1110 and 1142, had replaced the small Muslim castle of the 5th/11th century; it enclosed a small hill and was originally furnished with square towers, some of which were later rebuilt as round towers. This enceinte, which commands all the exterior defences, may be described as follows: the east front has a square tower defending the entrance and a salient which corresponds with the chevet of the chapel. This salient and the neighbouring curtains are in a rusticated bond of moderate size, which indicates the oldest parts of the construction. At the north-west corner a large square tower forms a rectangular salient, the face of which carries three machicolations on large arches. Machicolation had been known in the east since Greco-Roman times, as the brattices of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-G̲h̲arbī [*q.v.*] show, although this system of defence spread in Europe only after the end of the 6th/12th century. The small north side of the salient has a side entrance which is bent, on the classical Byzantine model, to the right, to allow better protection for defenders carrying shields. The west front has only a single tower. On the south front, which because of the nature of the terrain is the most exposed, there is an impressive group of three tall towers scarfed into the batter and joined by two curtains; this formidable redoubt was used as a donjon. The south-west tower, the hall of which was decorated with fine sculpture, is known as the "Master's Lodging". The central tower was the best defended, its wall, over 6 metres thick, being pierced by two long embrasures. Finally, to the south-east, beside the corner tower, there stands between the two enceintes a pentagonal structure, rebuilt by Baybars, which was a control-point for intercommunication between the two enceintes, and which overlooks the great moat and commands the access ramp to the interior court. The inner enceinte underwent modifications at the beginning of the 7th/13th century after the earthquakes which had shaken the fortress. A massive battered embankment was built up against the wall, which in addition to its rôle as a buttress provided resistance against further seismic shock. The round towers are set in this powerful revetment, whilst at the foot of the original enceinte, which can be recognized by the nature of its rusticated stonework, runs a narrow corridor pierced by loopholes. On the south front a great masonry reservoir (*birka*) fed by a small aqueduct and serving for men and animals, affords additional protection between the two enceintes.

All the works of the interior defences and the guard-rooms, which are equipped with latrines and drains, date from the Frankish period. They are situated in the wall, and open out onto a vast central courtyard which is reached by a ramp in the east front. The southern half of this courtyard is occupied by vaulted store-rooms, the roofs of which form a vast terrace. Opposite the entrance, to the west, there is a large council-room with an elegant portico of pointed arches which are "a gem of Rayonnant Gothic art". To the north is a Romanesque chapel, barrel-vaulted and with a semi-circular apse, dating from the end of the 6th/12th century. It was converted into a mosque by Baybars, and has three *miḥrāb*s, one of which is in the apse, and a massive stone *minbar*.

All daily necessities were available in the interior of the enceinte. Rain-water was led into cisterns through earthenware channels, and supplemented the well in the central courtyard. In the southern part of the outer enceinte large stables were built, 60 m. long by 9 m. wide, which also served to shelter cattle during sieges. The north-west tower had a windmill. Barns and storehouses for reserve rations, silos for grain, cellars for oil and wine, millstones, wine-presses, and an oven provided for the victualling of the garrison under any circumstances.

Lower down the hill a terraced village called Ḥiṣn houses a farming community which cultivates the surrounding land and depends on cereal-crops, pasture-lands, fruit-trees and vegetables. Ḥiṣn, which was enclosed by a wall with two gates in the

Middle Ages, is divided into two quarters, the Ḥārat al-Turkmān to the south, and the Ḥārat al-Sarā'ya. In the latter is the principal mosque, a former church which was adapted for Islam by Baybars. The minaret dates from the 8th/14th century, probably from the time of the governor Baktakīn (719/1319). In the cemetery there are still the tombs of two *amīrs* of Baybars killed during the assaults, and the mausoleum of one of the sultan's grooms who was killed at his side.

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(N. Elisséeff)

ḤIṢN AL-GHURĀB, name ("Crow Castle") of a mountain bearing on its summit the ruins of an ancient castle, situated on the southern coast of Arabia in the territory of the Wāḥidī [*q.v.*] sultanate at the eastern end of the South Arabian Federation, near the small town of Bīr ʿAlī (14° N., 48° 19′ E.). The mountain, which is of volcanic origin like several small islands in its vicinity and has its name because of its conspicuous blackish brown colour, is connected with the mainland, as it was already in the 1st century A.D., by a low strip of sandy ground. In the form of a promontory it covers from the south-west a small bay, in the north-east corner of which lies the trade port Bīr ʿAlī, a walled place of modest dimensions. This bay offers the best harbour on the coast of South Arabia east of Aden. Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb stands at about 4 km. from Bīr ʿAlī; not there, but on the flat ground immediately adjacent to the mountain on its northern side are the remains of constructions in stone, identified as the ruins of *Cane Emporium* (Κανὲ ἐμπόριον) of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy, *ḲN'* of the South-Arabian inscriptions, the port and place of transit to overland traffic in the incense trade and the trade between Egypt and India in Ptolemaean and Roman times. Some, and recently H. von Wissmann, have suggested the possibility that this port is also meant by *Ḳanne* in Ezekiel xxvii, 23; but no remains that might bear this out have been found in recent, superficial archeological surveys.

On top of the mountain are the ruins of a castle, several cisterns, and the traces of a watch-tower and various other buildings. A zig-zag path connects the site of the ancient port with the castle, and along its upper part are the inscriptions, first discovered by Lt. Wellsted in 1834, testifying to the ancient name of mountain and castle, *ʿUrr MWYT*, and to the close connexion between this and Cane (*ḲN'*). It is now generally accepted that the site of Cane is at Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb, and not at Bal-Ḥāf to the west nor at Madjdaḥa, 10 km. to the east of Bīr ʿAlī.

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(J. Schleifer-[L. O. Schuman])

ḤIṢN KAYFĀ, town in Turkey (Hasankeyf in modern Turkish) situated in Djazīra (Upper Mesopotamia) on the right bank of the Tigris (37° 40′ North and 41° 30′ East) about halfway between Diyār-Bakr and Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar (Cizre), which in the Middle Ages was reputed to have an unhealthy climate.

The word Kayfā appears to be of Syriac origin (*Kifo* = rock), in which case the town would take its name from its castle, built on the rock which overhangs the Tigris. The historians of the Roman period refer to it under the name of Κιφας or *Cepha* and *Ciphas*. According to Taylor (see *Bibl.*), in early Arab traditions it was called *Sabʿat Aghwāl* which refers to the caves hollowed out in the seven converging ravines. Yāḳūt mentions it under the name of Ḥiṣn Kaybā, which he takes to be an Armenian word; according to Taylor, the place was known in ancient Armenian as Kentzy. The modern name, Hasankeyf, is obviously merely a deformation of the name Ḥiṣn Kayfā. The various Turkish etymologies: *Ḥasan keyfi* = Ḥasan's pleasure, *hüsnü keyf* = good humour and *ḥiṣn-i keyf* = castle where cares are forgotten, are fantasies of popular interpretation.

The region has been inhabited from very early times. Many grottoes and caves cut out of both banks of the river and in the neighbouring ravines date from the Chaldean period. Taylor found there many Parthian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Arab coins. But no precise information on these early settlements is available.

During the Roman period, the castle of Ḥiṣn Kayfā marked the frontier between the Roman and Persian territories. Because of its remarkable situation on the edge of the regions of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, which guards communications with the region of the Diyār Rabīʿa, and being at a point on the route between the valleys of the Batman Su and the Nahr al-Sarbaṭ, this castle was for centuries of great strategic importance.

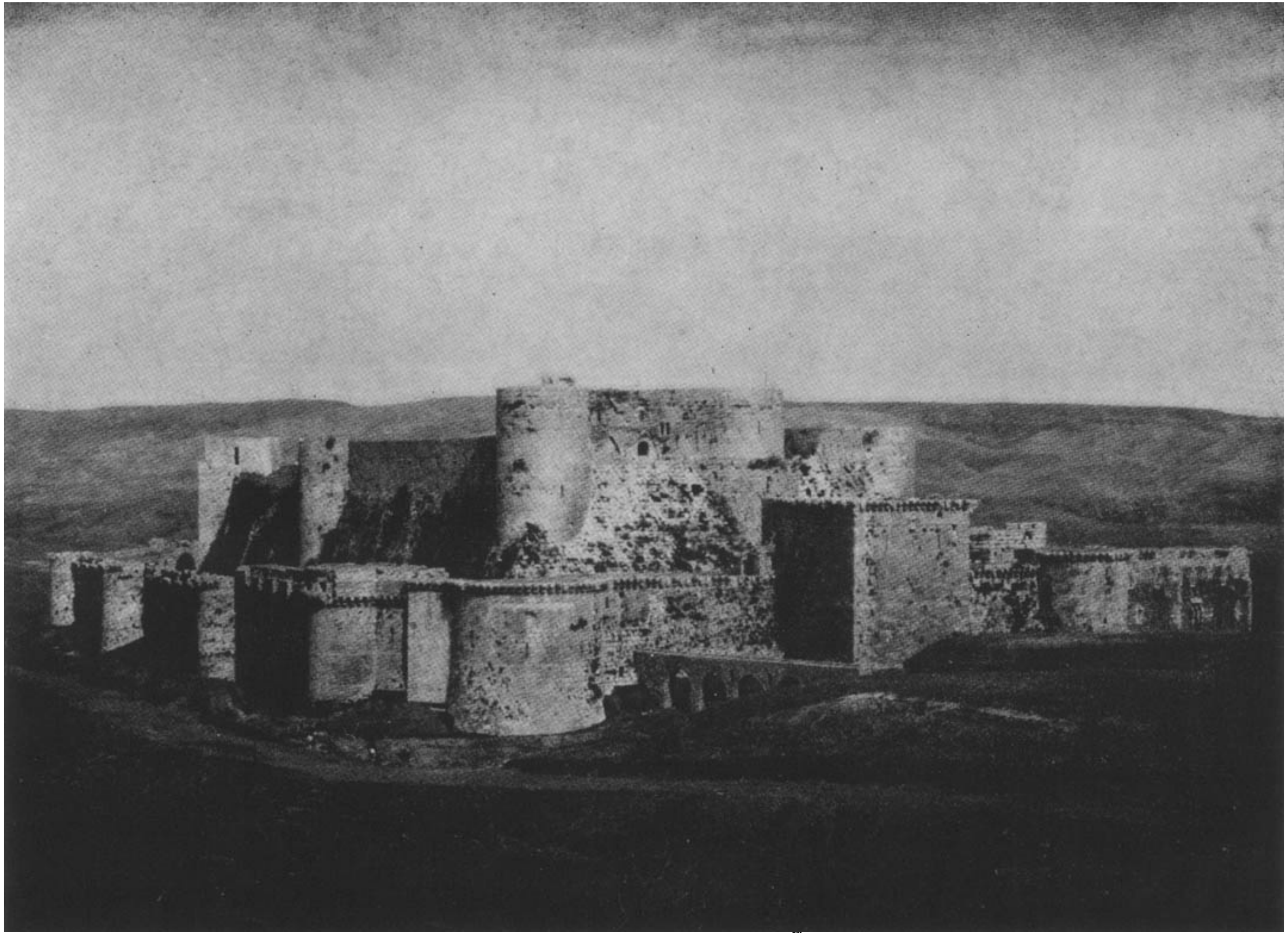

Ḥiṣn al-Akrād — View from the south-west

(photograph by N. Elisséeff)

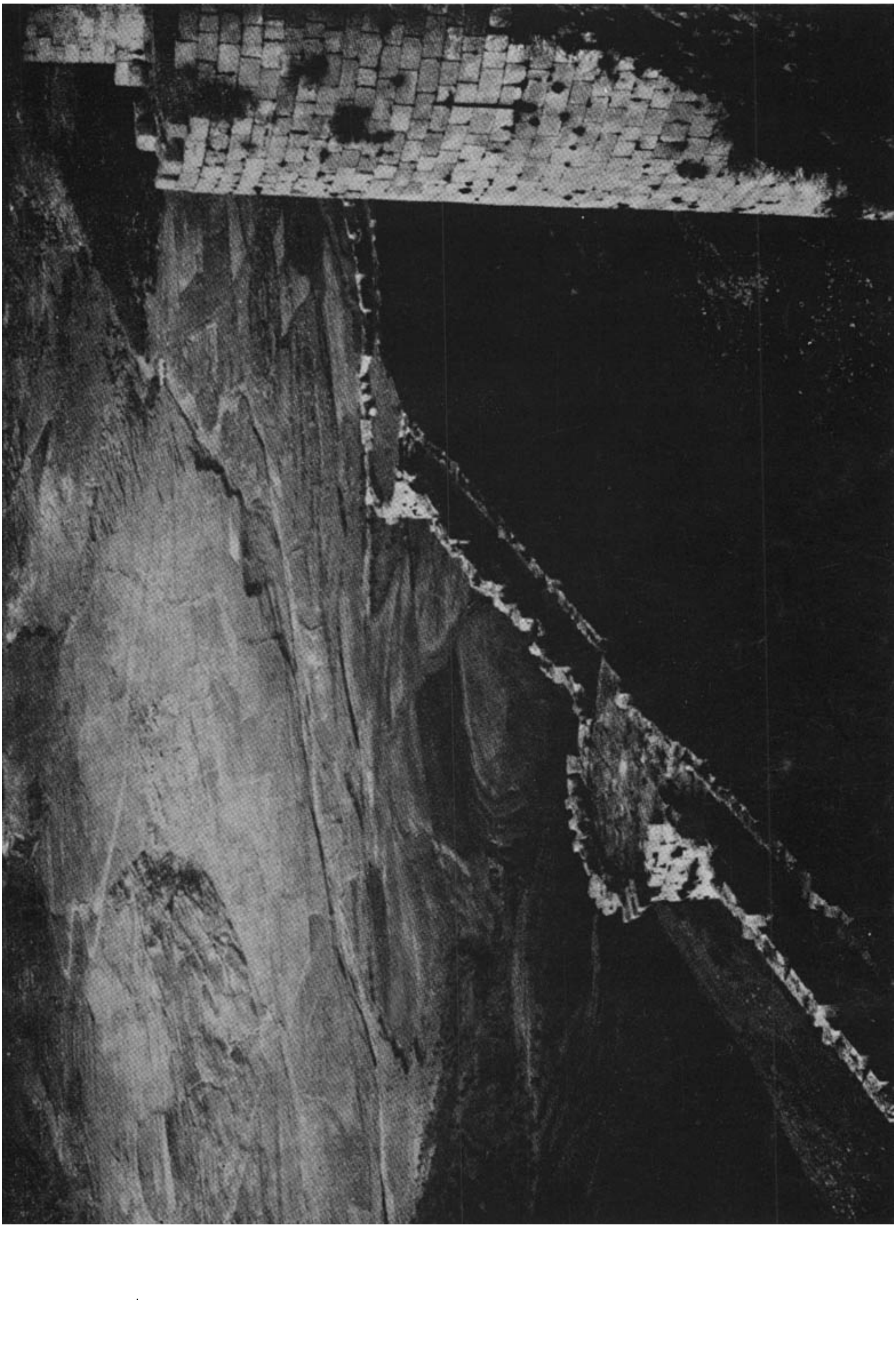

Ḥiṣ al-Akrād — View looking north-west (photograph by N. Elisséeff)

In the 5th century A.D. the town was the seat of a Nestorian bishopric and possessed many churches; indeed there were always many Christians there. At the beginning of the Artuḳid dynasty they possessed considerable influence, which was reinforced by the resistance of the Arabs and the Kurds to the Turcoman invasion. It was not until the 6th/12th century that the district of Diyār Bakr became involved in the movement of Muslim reaction aroused by Nūr al-Dīn. Nevertheless the Christian element did not entirely lose its importance, and in the 7th/13th century Ḥiṣn Kayfā was joined to the district of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn to form a patriarchate independent of that of Mardīn.

No details exist of the Arab conquest of the Byzantine fortress of Ḥiṣn Kayfā With the decline of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty the town came under the domination of the Ḥamdānids, as did the whole of the Diyār Bakr, in which Sayf al-Dawla was particularly interested, making long and frequent visits to Mayyāfāriḳīn. The Marwānids supplanted the Ḥamdānids and were themselves driven out by the Seldjūks; the Diyār Bakr became an integral part of the empire of Malikshāh. It was at this time that there appeared a new dynasty of Turcoman origin, that of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*] under whom Ḥiṣn Kayfā flourished. Sukmān b. Artuḳ, in the service of the Seldjūks, made his masters give him this town in 495-6/1102 and Ḥiṣn Kayfā, which thus became the seat of a princely dynasty, was for more than a century the political centre of a state which, though nominally a vassal of the Seldjūk sultanate, was in fact almost totally independent. Dāwūd b. Sukmān suceeded his father and was himself replaced on his death by his son, Ḳara Arslan, to whom is attributed the restoration, in 510/1116, of the famous bridge over the Tigris which will be mentioned later. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son and successor of Ḳara Arslan, was more or less the vassal of the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn. On his death the Artuḳid princes became increasingly the dependants of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. In 629/1232 they were completely dispossessed of Ḥiṣn Kayfā by the Ayyūbids. In 658/1260, the town, captured by the Mongols, was pillaged and partly destroyed, though the branch of the Ayyūbids in Ḥiṣn Kayfā survived for more than two centuries under the Mongols and their successors; it even survived the upheaval of Timur's invasion, maintaining in the declining town a centre of Arabic culture. The Ayyūbid dynasty succumbed to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*], who imposed their rule on Ḥiṣn Kayfā but rebuilt it from its ruined state, particularly under the sons of Uzun Ḥasan. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century the Persians invaded the region and defeated the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Ḥiṣn Kayfā then coming under the sovereignty of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl. The final capture of the region in 922/1516 by the Ottomans caused no change in the condition of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, which gradually dwindled to a small and unimportant town (pop., 1960: 1058). Today it forms part of the *vilâyet* of Mardin but is very little visited because of the poor communications.

During its period of prosperity, Ḥiṣn Kayfā was a flourishing commercial centre, its situation on the Tigris making it an important entrepôt on the river route linking Diyār Bakr and Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar. The town was surrounded by several suburbs with prosperous markets.

The present ruins of the town bear witness to its importance in the Middle Ages. Among the monuments still existing should be mentioned: (1) The castle built on an enormous rock overlooking the Tigris on its north side and surrounded on its three other sides by ravines. Access to it is by the north-east side of the ravine along a ramp provided with fortified gates. This castle contained, according to Ibn Shaddād, palaces (of which some remains may still be seen), a mosque (on which there survives an inscription of 796/1394), some other buildings, a hippodrome and some ground which was cultivated. To the north of the castle was a first suburb with *sūḳs*, *madrasas*, baths, cemeteries and mausoleums of the Marwānid and Artuḳid princes. The town had no walls but possessed a fortress on a rock. (2) The Djāmiʿ al-Rizḳ to the north-west of the town on the banks of the Tigris. Built in 811/1409 by the Ayyūbid Sulaymān, this mosque has an imposing minaret 30 metres high with a cylindrical shaft and square base, ornamented with a cornice of stalactites and crowned by a lantern. (3) The Djāmiʿ Sulaymān, a little further inside the town, with a varied arrangement of cupolas and a richly decorated dome. The minaret, of the same type as the preceding one, is divided into four storeys by bands of moulding. Several inscriptions are still to be read: 752/1351, 809/1407. (4) The Ḳoč Djāmiʿi, a vast ensemble dating from the end of the 8th/14th and the beginning of the 9th/15th centuries and consisting of a number of buildings grouped around a rectangular court; only the southern wing exists today. (5) A small mosque probably founded by the Ayyūbid Sulaymān b. Ghāzī. (6) A mausoleum of the 9th/15th century. (7) The convent of the *imām* ʿAbd Allāh on the summit of a mound on the left bank of the Tigris, bearing an inscription which refers to a restoration and is dated 883/1478 in the name of ʿAlī, son of Uzun Ḥasan. A porcelain plaque with the formula of benediction of the twelve *imāms* proves that it was a Shīʿī sanctuary, perhaps of the Shīʿī Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, the rivals of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, who themselves were Sunnīs. (8) The tomb of Zaynal Beg, son of Uzun Ḥasan, on the left bank of the Tigris, a mausoleum with a cylindrical exterior and octagonal interior. (9) Finally, the bridge over the Tigris, which Yāḳūt described as one of the most beautiful works he had ever seen. Its decoration, similar to that on the walls of the castle, would seem to prove its Artuḳid origin. According to the account of the traveller Barbaro, who saw it still complete in 1510 and who is the last so to describe it, this bridge had five arches. Today there remain standing only three masses of masonry: the beginning of the abutment pier with an arch and parts of the first pier, the second pier and the third pier.

There may also be mentioned the many rock dwellings, more numerous here than anywhere else in Mesopotamia.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *indices*; Ibn Hauqal, *Configuration de la terre*, tr. Kramers and Wiet, Beirut and Paris 1964, i, 218-9; *Hist. Or. des Croisades*, *indices*; Ibn Shaddād, *apud* Gabriel; Yāḳūt, ii, 277; Le Strange, 113; Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, i, 333-4; I. G. Taylor, *Travels in Kurdistan*, in *Journal of the Royal Geog. Society*, xxxv (1865), 34-6; *Travels to Tana and Persia by J. Barbaro and A. Contarini*, tr. W. Thomas and S. A. Roy, London 1873, 139-207; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 373 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935, index s.v. Cefa, 246; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i, 1910, 374-80, 537; M. Streck, in *ZDMG*, lxvi, 308-10; H. Pognon, *Inscr. sémitiques de la Syrie* . . ., Paris 1907, index and specially Aramaean

Plan of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (based on the plan by A. Gabriel)

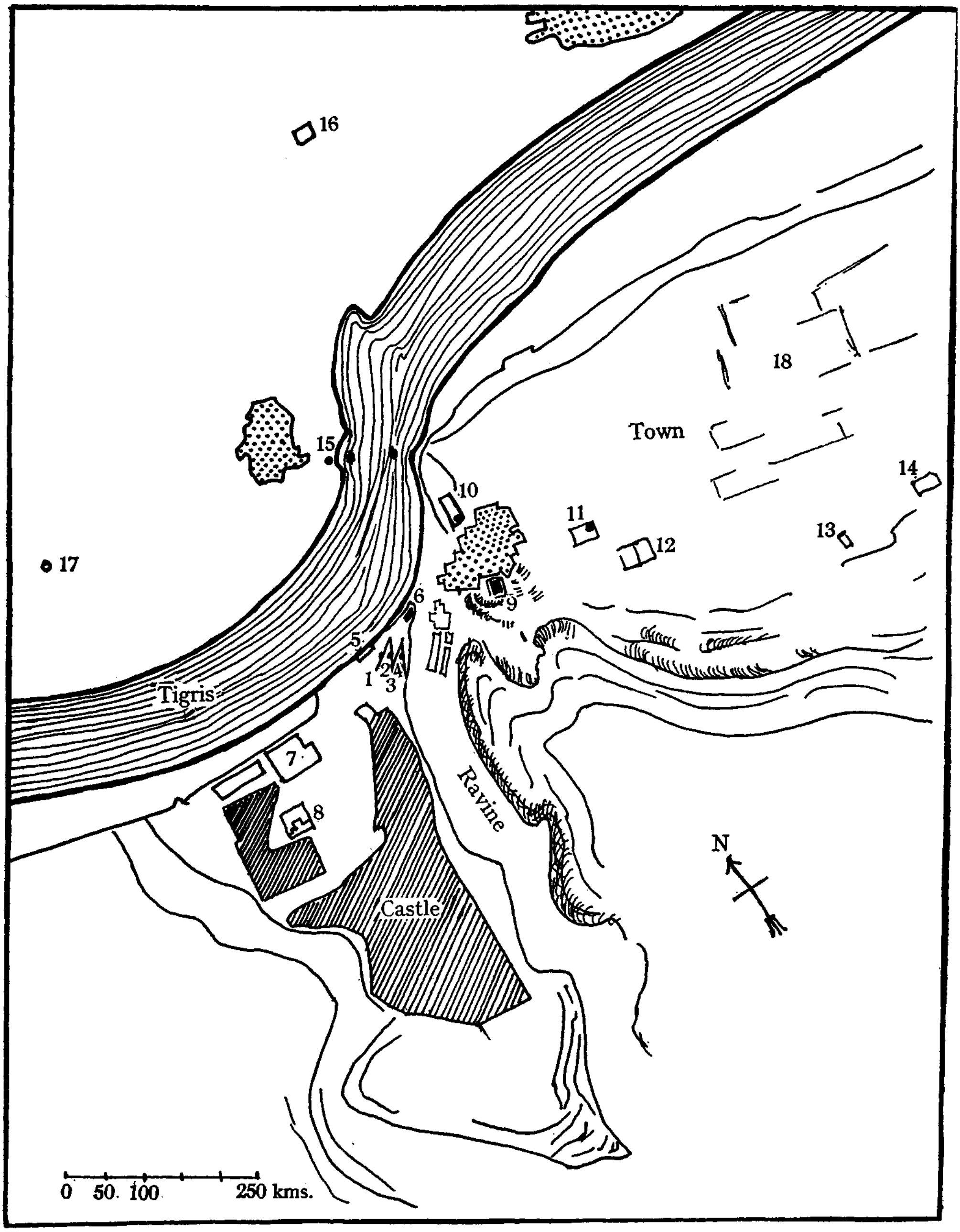

Modern buildings
1. Access ramps
2, 3, 4. Fortified gates
5. Steps down to the Tigris
6. Small palace
7. Great palace
8. Great Mosque
9. Fortress
10. Djāmiʿ al-Rizḳ
11. Djāmiʿ Sulaymān
12. Ḳoč Djāmiʿi
13. Small mosque
14. Mausoleum
15. Bridge over the Tigris
16. Imām ʿAbd Allāh
17. Tomb of Zaynal Beg
18. Traces of buildings

inscr., 113, no. 61; Nöldeke, in *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxi, 384; Socin, in *ZDMG*, xxxv, 238-9; M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, Paris 1910, index; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord* . . ., Paris 1940, index; idem, *Le Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, in *JA*, ccxxvii (1935), 219-76, *passim*; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, i, Algiers 1961, 84; A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, Paris 1940, 55-82; *IA*, s.v. Hısn Keyfâ (by Besim Darkot).

(S. Ory)

ḤIṢN MANṢŪR [see ADIYAMAN].

ḤIṢN ZIYĀD [see KHARPŪT].

ḤISS (A.), "sense-perception", but sometimes appearing to be used with the meaning of *ḥāssa*, pl. *ḥawāss* = "(individual) sense". A distinction, not always observed, also exists between *ḥiss* and *iḥsās*, the former being a mechanical, the latter a conscious operation. This distinction is perhaps best illustrated by the definitions given by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā': "*Al-ḥiss* is the change produced in the temperament of the senses by their contact with the sensibilia; *al-iḥsās* is the consciousness of the sensory faculties of these changes in the quality of the temperaments of the senses" (*Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Bombay 1305, ii, 261).

The Islamic philosophers, in general, follow the Aristotelian theory of sense-perception as far as what they term the "external" (*ẓāhira*) senses are concerned. The sensibilia are apprehended by means of the change caused by them in the appropriate sense organ. This change, however, is not merely a passive one, but rather an actualization in the organ of a quality, corresponding to the quality perceived, which already exists potentially in that organ. Ibn Sīnā describes the process as an *istikmāl* = "a perfecting" (*Avicenna's De Anima*, ed. F. Rahman, London 1959, 66).

Al-Kindī, in his *Risāla fī 'l-ʿaḳl*, describes the process as follows: "The image that is in matter is that which is actually sensible . . . When the soul apprehends it, it is in the soul. The soul apprehends it only because it is potentially in the soul. When the soul comes into contact with it, it is then actually in the soul; it is not present there like something in a container, or like an image in a body, for the soul is incorporeal and indivisible: it is in the soul, and the soul is one thing . . . In the same way the sensory faculty is nothing other than the soul: it is not in the soul like a member in a body—it is the soul, which is that which senses . . . In the soul, then, that which is sensed is that which senses (*fa-idhan al-maḥsūs fi 'l-nafs huwa 'l-ḥāss*)" (*Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1950, 354-5).

No sense organ perceives by direct contact with the sensibilia, and indeed it cannot do so: it operates through an intermediary, which for most of the senses is either air or water. The Islamic philosophers, however, unlike Aristotle, make an exception of touch in this respect, regarding the flesh as the organ, rather than as the intermediary, of this sense. Even Ibn Rushd, in his *Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-ḥāss wa-'l-maḥsūs li-Arisṭū*, excepts touch, and taste as a form of touch: "*wa-yakhuṣṣ ḳuwwat al-lams wa-'l-dhawḳ annahā lā taḥtādj fī fiʿlihā ilā mutawassiṭ*" (ed. Badawī, Cairo 1954, 193); "*wa-ammā ālat al-lams fa-hiya 'l-laḥm*" (*ibid.*, 194).

It is, however, in their descriptions of the operation of what they call the "internal" (*bāṭina*) senses that the Islamic philosophers really diverge from Aristotle. These are the faculties of the soul that receive the percepts of the "external" senses, more or less divorced from their material attachments, retain them, consider them, combine them, discriminate between them and recognize, from their former experience, the other attributes of their objects. The various philosophers differ somewhat in the number of faculties that they recognize, the functions that they assign to these faculties, and indeed the terms by which they refer to them; it will be sufficient to touch on a few aspects of this confusing subject here.

The Aristotelian *sensus communis* appears nominally in most of the Islamic theories (*al-ḥāssa al-mushtarika* or *al-ḥiss al-mushtarik*), but is divested of many of its Aristotelian functions, for it serves merely to coordinate the percepts of the individual "external" senses. It is true that it may be said to apprehend the "common sensibilia"—for example, it observes the motion of a body in a straight or a curved line, since it retains the various images of the body in the series of positions that make up this motion (*Al-Fārābī's philosophische Abhandlungen*, ed. F. Dieterici, Leiden 1890, 75; Ibn Sīnā, *Tisʿ rasā'il*, Cairo 1908, 64 (word for word copy of al-Fārābī); Ibn Sīnā, *Avicenna's De Anima*, 44-5)—but it does not retain these percepts for any length of time, or form judgments about them; these functions belong to *al-ḳuwwa al-muṣawwira* (or *al-khayāl*) and *al-ḳuwwa al-mufakkira* (or *al-mutakhayyila*), to which the percepts are transmitted in turn. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' list *al-ḥāssa al-mushtarika* in the index to the *Rasā'il* (i, 8), but omit it in the actual *Risāla* (ii, 258-70), where *al-ḳuwwa al-mutakhayyila* assumes its function, in addition to its own.

Al-Fārābī appears to assign a somewhat different role to this faculty: "*fi 'l-ḥadd al-mushtarik bayn al-bāṭin wa-'l-ẓāhir ḳuwwa hiya tadjmaʿ ta'diyat al-ḥawāss wa-ʿindahā bi-'l-ḥaḳīḳa al-iḥsās*" (*op. cit.*, 75), *i.e.*, that of coordinating the percepts of the senses and those of *al-wahm* = "imagination" (the "internal" faculty of animals, whereby, for example, a sheep confronted by a wolf realizes that it should run away, since the wolf is an enemy). This "true perception", however, can mean little more than that all the individual percepts are, in fact, united, for they are immediately transmitted to *al-ḳuwwa al-muṣawwira* (the "store-house" for the percepts of the senses) and *al-ḳuwwa al-ḥāfiẓa* (the "store-house" for the percepts of the imagination).

In al-Fārābī *wahm* appears to operate on a similar level to that of *ḥiss*; in Ibn Sīnā *al-ḳuwwa al-wahmiyya* (the highest faculty of judgment in animals) seems to be ranked above *al-ḳuwwa al-mutakhayyila* (corresponding to the human *ḳuwwa mufakkira* = "cogitative faculty"), and also, incidentally, to perform a function of the Aristotelian *sensus communis* that is disregarded in the other Islamic theories, that of perceiving the fact that perception is taking place. Ibn Rushd rejects as unnecessary the concept of *wahm* in animals, and maintains that *al-ḳuwwa al-mutakhayyila*, as an active faculty, is capable of performing the function assigned to *wahm* (*Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 546-7).

The clearest and most systematic of the Islamic theories are those of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (*loc. cit.*) and Ibn Sīnā (*loc. cit.*). See also MAḤSŪSĀT.

Bibliography: in the article.

(J. N. Mattock)

ḤIṢṢA, ḤIṢṢE [see TĪMĀR, WAḲF].

HISSAR [see ḤIṢĀR].

HISTORIAN, HISTORIOGRAPHY, HISTORY [see MAGHĀZĪ, RŪZNĀMEDJI, SHĀHNĀMEDJI, SĪRA, ṬABAḲĀT, TA'RĪKH, WAḲʿA-NŪVĪS].

HĪT, town in ʿIrāḳ situated in about 33° 35′ N. and 42° 48′ E. on the right bank of the Euphrates, on a hill which may be man-made. The mediaeval Arab travellers estimate the distance between Hīt and Baghdād at 33 parasangs (*ca.* 130 miles) or $5^1/_2$-6 days' journey, cf. M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, i, 8. Some Arab geographers (al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal) include Hīt in the Djazīra; it was generally considered, however, to be a frontier town of ʿIrāḳ. In al-Muḳaddasī's time (4th/10th century) it was of some importance; at the beginning of the 7th/13th century Yāḳūt describes it as a small place; at the beginning of the 19th century Olivier estimated the number of its inhabitants at about 1000, Černik about 70 years later at 2000; Chesney counted 1500 houses; ʿAlī Djewād put the population at 3000. The Ottoman *Sālnāme* of 1323 lists 500 houses, about 10 shops, 1 *djāmiʿ*, 2 *masdjids*, 1 *madrasa* and 1 *khān* (243-4). The population of the *nāḥiya* in 1957 was 6,892. The situation of Hīt is picturesque; the walls and two gates have survived; otherwise there is no prominent building. Ibn Ḥawḳal (227; French trans. 222) and Yāḳūt mention the tomb of the distinguished jurist ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak who died in Hīt in 181/797; cf. also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 294, 503, and the reference in Yāḳūt, vi, 508.

Hīt is a very ancient settlement, being mentioned under the name Id as early as the beginning of the 9th century B.C. in an Assyrian inscription. Herodotus and apparently also Isidorus Characensis knew the town as Ἴς; in Zosimus it is called Σῖθα. Hīt is the Syriac form of the name, which was adopted by the Arabs; the name is apparently derived from its most characteristic product, asphalt (Assyr. *iddū*, *ittū*). Hīt was occupied by the Arabs in 16/629; it was the scene of a battle against the Carmathians in 315/927, and seems to have been absorbed by the Ḥamdānids in the mid-4th/10th century. Ottoman from the 10th/16th century, it was occupied by British troops in March 1918, and became part of the modern state of ʿIrāḳ.

Hīt is a town of some commercial, industrial, and, in earlier times, strategic importance. The fact that caravans trading between ʿIrāḳ and Syria, particularly between Baghdād and Aleppo, crossed the Euphrates here gave rise to a flourishing transit trade. Even in ancient times the district of Hīt was famous for its asphalt and naphtha [see NAFṬ]. A small river which flows into the Euphrates near Hīt carries down with its current many lumps of asphalt. Bitumen was used in different ways in Hīt: ships were caulked with it or it was burned in kilns for lime (from ancient times asphalt has been used in Babylonia as cement). There was a considerable export of bituminous products from Hīt; they were carried down the river in boats and the busy shipbuilding trade of Hīt was also directly due to the asphalt. Bitumen is still collected in Hīt and there is some boat-building, but neither activity is nowadays of great importance. South of Hīt are several quarries which were worked even in ancient times. The mediaeval Arab geographers also note the wealth of date-palms and the extensive cultivation of cereals around Hīt. It was further noted for its excellent wine; cf. the poems of Abū Nuwās (ed. Kremer, no. 12, p. 46), and the *Mā bukāʾu* of al-Aʿshā (ed. R. Geyer, in *SBAk. Wien*, cxlix/6, p. 145, l. 14). Near Hīt a ruined area, called Ulāya al-Maḳlūba (= "the transformed city"), is pointed out; there is a legend attached to it which, as Mez points out (*Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, xxiii, 220), strikingly recalls the Frau Hitt legend in Innsbruck.

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ḤIṬṬĪN or **ḤAṬṬĪN**, in the Talmud Kefar Ḥaṭṭiye, a village to the west of and above Tiberias on a fertile plain, the southern border of which is formed by a steep limestone ridge. At both the western and eastern ends of the ridge there is a higher summit called Ḳurūn Ḥaṭṭīn. A tradition, known in the 6th/12th century, the origin of which is uncertain, places the tomb of the prophet Shuʿayb (Jethro) here; the little chapel, which has been rebuilt in modern times and is still annually visited by the Druzes, lies on an elevation in a rocky valley at the western summit. On the uneven tableland south-east of the rocky ridge was fought the battle which destroyed the power of the Crusaders, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn won a great victory over the Christians on 5 July 1187. After some of the Frankish troops, tormented by heat and thirst, had been cut down, and others put to flight, the remainder retired to the eastern summit, where many were thrown over the steep southern side. In memory of this the victor built a small chapel on the summit, called Ḳubbat al-Naṣr.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 450 f.; T. Robinson, *Palästina*, iii, 483. For the battle see (besides the general histories of the Crusades by Grousset and Runciman, and that edited by Setton (Philadelphia), etc.): Marshall W. Baldwin, *Raymund III of Tripoli*, 1936, 96 f.; Jean Richard, *An account of the battle of Hattin*, in *Speculum*, xxvii (1952), 148 ff.; R. C. Smail, *Crusading warfare*, 1956, 189-97; J. Prawer, *La bataille de Hattin*, in *Israel Exploration Journal*, xiv (1964) (with photographs); P. Herde, *Die Kämpfe bei den Hörnern von Hittin*, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, lxi (1966), 1-50, one map and eight photographs. (FR. BUHL-[CL. CAHEN])

ḤIYAL, plural of *ḥīla* (A.), artifice, device, expedient, stratagem, a means of evading a thing, or of effecting an object. The word is used in several technical meanings.

1. *Ḥiyal* is a technical term for stratagems in war (synonyms are *makāʾid* and *ādāb*). The use of stratagems in war is justified by a saying attributed to the Prophet, really an old proverb, *al-ḥarb khudʿa*, "war is deceit". The term occurs in the titles of works on military art, as well as in their text. The earliest of these works known to us is the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal* of a certain al-Harthamī al-Shaʿrānī who dedicated it to the caliph al-Maʾmūn; the *Fihrist* (314, lines 23-27)

gives detailed information on its arrangement but unfortunately not on its contents. A popular work of a later period is ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī's *al-Tadhkira al-Harawiyya fi 'l-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya* (Brockelmann, S I, 879; the author died 611/1215), which was analysed by H. Ritter, together with other works on the art of war, in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 144 ff. It was edited, with an important introduction and a French translation, by J. Sourdel-Thomine, in *BEO*, xvii (1962), 105-268. Popular, too, was the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal fi 'l-ḥurūb wa-fatḥ al-madāʾin wa-ḥifẓ al-durūb*, spuriously attributed to Alexander the Great but the work of a Muslim author, earlier than 622/1225; see Ritter, *loc. cit.*, 151 ff.; cat. Leiden[1], 1914 and 1915 (P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, 116 f.). See also the second section of the last chapter in Ibn al-Naḥḥās al-Dimashḳī (d. 814/1411), *Mashāriʿ al-ashwāḳ ilā maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ* (Brockelmann, II, 91 f., S II, 83).

2. *Ḥiyal* denotes, secondly, mechanical artifices, automata, etc. The two most popular works on this subject are the *K. al-Ḥiyal* of the sons of Mūsā b. Shākir (2nd half of the 3rd/9th century; Brockelmann, I, 241, S I, 383, where "Isis" is to be corrected into "*Isl.*"), and the *K. fī maʿrifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya* of Ibn al-Razzāz al-Djazarī (wrote 602/1205; Brockelmann, I, 651, S I, 903; see *Isl.*, xi (1921), 214, n. 1, for a list of translations of sections of this work; K. Weitzmann, *The Greek sources of Islamic scientific illustrations*, in *Analecta Orientalia . . . Herzfeld*, New York 1952, 244-6; R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, 1962, 93, 95 f.). We may mention, too, the treatise on geomantics called *K. al-Ḥiyal al-rūḥāniyya*, falsely attributed to al-Fārābī (Brockelmann, I, 234, no. 6).

3. In a literary genus which merges into the preceding one, *ḥiyal* denotes the tricks of beggars, conjurers, forgers, etc. This was the subject of a few treatises by al-Djāḥiẓ (Brockelmann, S I, 244 f., nos. 55, 66; cf. *Arabica*, iii/2 (1956), nos. 95, 111, and al-Djawbarī (wrote about 622/1225; Brockelmann, I, 655, S I, 910), in his *Kitāb al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār* (detailed table of contents in Ahlwardt, cat. Berlin, no 5563; see also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 118 f ., no. 4657, *Isl.*, xv (1926), 227, n. 14), from which many extracts were made, wrote the main work exposing them. Tricks, and witty solutions of dfficulties of all kinds, play, of course, a prominent part in the literature of *adab*, with Abū Yūsuf as a prominent performer (*Isl.*, xv (1926), 228); this reflects the deep impact which the legal *ḥiyal* made on early Islamic society. (See also several sections of the *Kitāb al-adhkiyāʾ* of Ibn al-Djawzī, d. 597/1200).

4. The legal devices, which form an integral part of Islamic law as applied in practice, can be described as the use of legal means for extra-legal ends, ends that could not, whether they themselves were legal or illegal, be achieved directly with the means provided by the *sharīʿa*. They enabled persons who would otherwise have had no choice but to act against the provisions of the sacred Law, to arrive at the desired result while actually conforming to the letter of the law. For instance, the Ḳurʾān prohibits interest, and this religious prohibition was strong enough to make popular opinion unwilling to transgress it openly and directly, while at the same time there was an imperative demand for the giving and taking of interest in commercial life. In order to satisfy this need, and at the same time to observe the letter of the religious prohibition, a number of devices were developed. One, very popular, device consisted of a double sale (*bayʿatān fī bayʿa*), of which there are many variants. For instance, the (prospective) debtor sells to the (prospective) creditor a slave for cash, and immediately buys the slave back from him for a greater amount payable at a future date; this amounts to a loan with the slave as security, and the difference between the two prices represents the interest; the transaction is called *mukhāṭara* (from which the term *mohatra* of the medieval law merchant is derived) or, more commonly, *ʿīna*. Euphemistically, it is also called *muʿāmala*, "transaction", and the money-lender *tādjir*, "trader", because traders also acted as money-lenders. This custom prevailed in Medina as early as in the time of Mālik (d. 179/795). There were hundreds of these devices, many of them concerned with highly technical points, but all with a scrupulous regard for the letter of the law. The acknowledgement (*iḳrār* [*q.v.*]) plays a very important part in the construction of numerous *ḥiyal*, because it creates an abstract debt and is therefore particularly suitable for their purpose.

The first and simplest *ḥiyal* were presumably thought out by the interested parties who felt the need for them, the merchants in particular, but it was quite beyond them to invent and apply the more complicated ones; they had to have recourse to specialists in religious law, and these last did not hesitate to supply the need. The inventors of *ḥiyal* had to calculate the chances of legal validity to a nicety if the *ḳāḍī*, who was bound to apply the sacred law, was not to upset the real effects of the business transaction which their customers, the merchants, had in mind, effects which depended upon the validity of every single element in an often complicated series of formal transactions. The activity of the authors of *ḥiyal* who catered for the practice, is intrinsically parallel with that of the early specialists who had first elaborated the theory of Islamic law. The early specialists had warned their contemporaries against acts incompatible with the Islamic way of life; the authors of *ḥiyal* helped theirs not to conclude contracts which would be considered invalid by the fully developed system of Islamic law. The *ḥiyal* are a natural outcome of that cleavage between theory and practice which has accompanied Islamic law from its very beginnings, and one of our most important sources for the knowledge of the legal practice of the Muslims in the middle ages.

Written documents often formed an essential element of *ḥiyal*. (Cf. Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxx, 150, l. 16 ff., on Ibn Abī Laylā; Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, *Rasāʾil*, iii, 155.) The more complicated *ḥiyal* normally consisted of several transactions between the parties concerned, each of which was perfectly legal in itself, and the combined effect of which produced the desired result. Each transaction was, as a matter of course, recorded and attested in a separate document. Taken in isolation, a document recording a single transaction or an acknowledgement made by one of the parties might be used by the other party to its exclusive advantage and for a purpose contrary to the aim of the whole of the agreement. In order to prevent this happening, the official documents were deposited in the hands of a trustworthy person (*thiḳa*) or intermediary, together with an unofficial covering document which set out the real relationship of the parties to each other and the real purport of their agreement. (This kind of document is technically called *muwāḍaʿa*, "understanding".) The intermediary, then, acting on the contents of the covering document, handed to each party only those papers which they were entitled to use at any given stage,

and prevented the unauthorized use of any document by producing, if necessary, the document of a compensating transaction or acknowledgement which had been prepared and attested beforehand for this very purpose.

A special branch of *ḥiyal* is concerned with the evasion of obligations undertaken under oath, to which Islamic law assimilates undertakings with a self-imposed penalty for non-fulfilment and, in general, declarations by which a unilateral disposition is made dependent on the occurrence of a certain event, such as "if I do such and such a thing, or if such and such a thing happens, my wife is repudiated, or my slave is manumitted". Islamic law has the tendency to interpret declarations restrictively in this case, to mitigate the resulting religious and legal obligation, and the *ḥiyal* take full advantage of this. The use of ambiguous terms and expressions is often suggested, and it is justified by a saying attributed to ʿUmar: *inna fī maʿāriḍ al-kalām la-mandūḥa ʿan al-kadhib*, "ambiguous expressions obviate (outright) lying" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, adab* 116). The social need for this kind of evasion appears from the fact that the poet and philologist Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933) composed the *Kitāb al-Malāḥin*, a treatise on equivocal expressions, for the benefit of people who were forced to take the oath against their will. The legal attitude is expressed in the maxim, transmitted by Shaybānī—Abū Yūsuf—Abū Ḥanīfa—Ḥammād—Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, *i.e.*, with the official *isnād* of the school of Kūfa: "If a man is put to the oath whilst he is treated unjustly (*wa-hwa maẓlūm*), his oath is ruled by what he (himself) means, but if he is put to the oath whilst he (himself) is acting unjustly (*wa-hwa ẓālim*), his oath is ruled by the intention of the person who makes him take it". Abū Ḥanīfa, Ḥammād and Ibrāhīm are credited with numerous *ḥiyal* of this kind, and Ibrāhīm is reported to have recommended the use of this kind of *ḥīla* to his own visitors when he was in hiding from the government (a standing feature in the biographies of ancient authorities). Even farther goes a saying attributed to the Prophet: "Every lie is counted as a lie except in three cases: if a man lies to make peace between two men, if he lies to his wife by making her promises, and if he lies in war" (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 632, l. 5 ff.). Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889), who, as an extreme partisan of the Traditionists, was strongly opposed to the *ḥiyal* developed by the systematic lawyers (see below), nevertheless vigorously defended the lawfulness of the kind of mental reservation in question, expressed in a saying of Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, a famous Companion of the Prophet: "I buy (or we may translate : I sell out) part of my religion for another lest it may disappear altogether" (*Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, 27, 42 ff.; transl. G. Lecomte, Damascus 1962, 25, 38 ff.). Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), too, who regarded certain *ḥiyal* in legal transactions as forbidden and invalid, approved and even recommended verbal *ḥiyal* and mental reservations in order to evade the effects of an undesirable oath (*Streitschrift*, 73-80; H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, i, 80). This attitude to declarations and engagements under oath in Islam derives directly from that of the pre-Islamic and the early Islamic Arabs (*e.g.*, Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, ed. Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, 2, 5; Djarīr, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 754, 3; see also J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strassburg 1914, esp. 191 ff., 217 ff., 228 f.).

There are certain differences of degree in the attitudes of the several schools of Islamic religious law towards the *ḥiyal*. The Ḥanafīs are the most favourably inclined, and it was they, in fact, who produced the first special works on *ḥiyal*; these are the treatises of Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and of Shaybānī (d. 189/805); the treatise of Shaybānī has survived, and it incorporates long extracts from that of Abū Yūsuf. It was edited and commented upon several times, among others by Shams al-Aʾimma al-Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090) in his *K. al-Mabsūṭ*, and by several reputed Ḥanafī scholars of the 5th/11th and the 6th/12th centuries, extracts from whose works exist in the detailed chapter of the *Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya* on *ḥiyal*, in which the legal devices from the more important works of the school are collected. (A shorter collection of this kind, though without mention of the sources, is found in the fifth *fann* of the *K. al-Ashbāh wa-'l-naẓāʾir* of Ibn Nudjaym, d. 970/1563). Shaybānī's treatise was more or less plagiarized by Khaṣṣāf (d. 261/874), the court lawyer of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Muhtadī, who became the most reputed author on *ḥiyal* in the Ḥanafī school of law. But his reputation was based on an extensive treatise on *ḥiyal* which was presumably written in ʿIrāḳ in the 4th/10th century and attributed to Khaṣṣāf; this, too, was commented upon several times. Shāfiʿī, and the first few generations of his school after him, regarded the *ḥiyal* as forbidden or reprehensible, although the majority recognized them as legally valid. The success of the *ḥiyal* in the Ḥanafī school, however, caused several Shāfiʿī authors, from the 4th/10th century onwards, to compose books on *ḥiyal*, of which that of Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 440/1048) has been preserved, and a distinction was made between *ḥiyal* which are allowed (and which form the great majority) and those which are reprehensible or forbidden. The legal validity of all *ḥiyal* was strongly and definitely upheld by the great Shāfiʿī authority Ibn Ḥadjar (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, 423-5). Mālik strongly disapproves (in effect, declares forbidden) the particular *ḥīla* of the double sale, mentioned above (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *k. al-buyūʿ, mā djāʾ fī bayʿ al-ʿurbān*), without considering the question of its validity; the Mālikī school admits some *ḥiyal* and rejects others, but generally regards them as valid.

The Traditionists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*), in keeping with their general approach to questions of religious law, rejected *ḥiyal*, and Bukhārī (d. 256/870) devoted a whole "book" (no. 90) of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to combating them; the commentators ʿAynī and Ḳasṭallānī point out that Bukhārī's polemics go beyond the wording of the traditions which he adduces, and corfirm that they are directed against Abū Ḥanīfa and his school. In this connexion, Bukhārī gives 14 quotations from the writings of his opponents, one at least taken either from the work of his contemporary Khaṣṣāf or from its source, the work of Shaybānī. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), another traditionist and a follower of the Shāfiʿī school, did not fail to include in his unsympathetic biographical notice on Abū Ḥanīfa alleged sayings of the Traditionist ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), who declared that the author of the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal* attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa and its users were unbelievers and apostates, etc. (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 426-8). Some Ḥanbalīs, too, are on record as opponents of *ḥiyal*. The *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā (d. 458/1066) wrote a *Kitāb Ibṭāl al-ḥiyal* (H. Laoust, *Méthodologie canonique*, 170, n. 1). Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), in a special work of his (*Iḳāmat al-dalīl ʿalā ibṭāl al-taḥlīl*), attacked and declared invalid the *ḥiyal* in general and the so-called *taḥlīl* in particular; this last aims at removing the impediment to remarriage between the former hus-

band and wife after a triple repudiation by arranging for the marriage of the woman to another husband with the understanding that this marriage would be immediately dissolved after (real or pretended) consummation (see also Laoust, *Essai*, 454 f.). Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350), in his *Iʿlām al-Muwaḳḳiʿīn* (iii, 103-109, 119-377), discusses the *ḥiyal* at great length with numerous references to the works concerning them; he distinguishes *ḥiyal* which are lawful, by which a lawful end is to be achieved by lawful means, from those which are forbidden and which he declares invalid; the first group comprises numerous devices in the field of commercial law. (Summary and part translation in J. P. M. Mensing, *De bepaalde straffen*, Leiden 1936, 121-7).

The Ḥanafīs, on their part, whilst they state that *ḥiyal* which cause prejudice to another are forbidden, and are loth to suggest *ḥiyal* which comprise acts that are in themselves reprehensible, let alone forbidden, are not really concerned with the moral evaluation of *ḥiyal* in detail, and they take their being legally valid for granted. According to them, many *ḥiyal* are not even reprehensible, for instance those which aim at evading the incidence of the right of preemption (*shufʿa*); and the device of *taḥlīl* has been widely practised, by Ḥanafīs, Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs, down to the present generation (cf., *e.g.*, the short story *El Mohallel*, in Yvonne Laeuffer, *Oeil pour Oeil*, Cairo 1930; B. Board, *Newsgirl in Egypt*, London 1938, 117). The legal thought of modernist Muslims is not favourable to *ḥiyal* because they are part of the traditional doctrine of *fiḳh*.

The works on *ḥiyal*, together with works on written documents and other subjects of importance for the application of Islamic law in practice, form part of a well-defined branch of the literature of the Ḥanafī school of religious law.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, 68 f.; J. Schacht, editions of Khaṣṣāf, *K. al-ḥiyal wa'l-makhāridj*, Hanover 1923; of Ḳazwīnī, *K. al-ḥiyal fi 'l-fiḳh*, Hanover 1924; and of Shaybānī, *K. al-makhāridj fi 'l-ḥiyal*, Leipzig 1930; *Die arabische ḥijal-Literatur*, in *Isl.*, xv (1926), 211-32; further in *Revue Africaine*, xcvi (1952), 322-7; *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 78-82, 83 f., 242. (J. Schacht)

ḤIZB (A., pl. *aḥzāb*) means primarily "a group, faction, a group of supporters of a man who share his ideas and are ready to defend him", and this is why the term has been adopted in modern Arabic to mean a political party (see below); it means also "part, portion" and it is from this meaning that it has come to indicate a portion of the Ḳurʾān as well as a group of liturgical formulae.

In this meaning the term is probably a borrowing from Ethiopic (see Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachw.*, 59, n. 8) for, in Arabic, the verb *ḥazaba* means "to happen (speaking of a misfortune); to be painful". In the Ḳurʾān, the expression *ḥizb Allāh*, "the party of Allāh" is used twice (V, 61/56, LVIII, 22) but in the other examples the word is used in a bad sense, in the singular (XXIII, 55/53, XXVIII, 14/15, XXX, 31/32), in the dual (XVIII, 11/12 where it has the sense of *farīḳ*) and also in the plural (XI, 20/17, XIII, 36, XIX, 38/37, XXXVIII, 10/11, 12/13, XL, 5, XLIII, 65). *Sūra* XXX, *sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, deals with the siege of Medina by the Jewish tribes allied with those of Mecca, Nadjd and Tihāma; in verse 31/30 of *Sūra* XL, the "day of the factions" alludes to the Battle of the Ditch [see AL-KHANDAḲ], while in verses 11-12/12-13 of *Sūra* XXXVIII, the *aḥzab* are the people of Noah, the ʿĀdīs, Pharaoh, the Thamūd, Lūṭ and the *aṣḥāb al-Ayka*.

From the meaning of "part, portion" there derives the technical use of the term to indicate first a definite portion of the Ḳurʾān (see *LA*, s.v.) which a believer binds himself to recite. This practice led the Muslims of certain countries (*e.g.*, in Egypt, see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. XXVII; in North Africa, see W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 189, n. 2), to divide the Ḳurʾān into 60 *ḥizb*s, which are thus half the length of the 30 *djuz*ʾs attested from a very early period (see R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, 137); this division appears to be comparatively recent, for al-Ghazālī, in the part of his *Iḥyāʾ* in which he deals with the recitation (*tilāwa*) of the Ḳurʾān (1st quarter, book viii, *bāb* 2), mentions the 30 *djuz*ʾs but refers only to the seven *aḥzāb* of the Companions. Among the Muslims of India and Pakistan the division in question is not made, and the word *ḥizb* does not appear in either the *Dict. of Islam* by Hughes or in the *Dict. of technical terms*. The division into *ḥizb*s is intended to facilitate the individual or collective recitation of the Ḳurʾān in certain circumstances, particularly during the nights of the month of Ramaḍān. In Algeria, *ḥazzāb*s, placed under the authority of a *bāsh-ḥazzāb*, were attached to certain mosques; they had to recite each day a *ḥizb* at noon and another in the afternoon, so as to achieve a complete recitation of the Ḳurʾān in one month; the pupils of the Ḳurʾān schools also came to recite what they had learned, under the supervision of the *bāsh-ḥazzāb* (see J. Desparmet, *Coutumes, institutions, croyances*, ii, 145). Generally speaking, a collective recital of a *ḥizb* takes place once or several times a day after certain prayers; when the payment of the *ḥazzāb*s was not provided for by a pious foundation, this pious work was carried out by devout *ṭolba*. Some Moroccan scholars considered the recital of the *ḥizb* as a *bidʿa* (see Muḥ. b. ʿAlī Djannūn (Gennūn) on al-Rahūnī, on ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Zurḳānī, on Khalīl, Būlāḳ 1306, ii, 47).

The edition of the Ḳurʾān published in Cairo in 1342/1923 under the patronage of King Fuʾād gives in the margins the two divisions into *djuz*ʾs and into *ḥizb*s. This innovation was perhaps due to the influence of the Egyptian religious fraternities, with which the word *ḥizb* was closely associated.

In Egypt, in effect, each fraternity is a *ḥizb* (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. XVIII) but this term means also the "office" of each fraternity, which consists of the recital, during the Friday service (*ḥaḍra* [*q.v.*]) in the *zāwiya* or the *takiyya*, of long extracts from the Ḳurʾān and of other prayers [see DHIKR]. It is from this that there seems to spring a narrower meaning of the word, namely its application to formulae of "supererogatory liturgy" [see DUʿĀ] at a fairly late date, for this use of the word *ḥizb* is found for the first time in ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (d. 561/1166); it is found again in Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276), al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), etc. The most famous of all these *ḥizb*s is the *Ḥizb al-baḥr* of al-Shādhilī, also called *al-Ḥizb al-ṣaghīr* to distinguish it from another, longer but less well known, by the same author; it is recited in particular by travellers who are crossing the sea, because its chief aim is to "subject" (*taskhīr*) it to them; it was composed in the very year that the author died (656/1258), and he is reported to have said that the Mongols would not have taken Baghdād if this *ḥizb* had been recited; it is poor devotionally, but the Ḳurʾānic citations and the use of the mysterious letters which appear at the beginning of certain *sūra*s confer a talismanic character upon this prayer,

which has become very popular (the most complete text is given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 40-4; Engl. tr. H. A. R. Gibb, i, 25-7; cf. *ZDMG*, vii, 25). According to Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der ar. Handschriften zu Berlin*, iii, 407-14, these prayers were called *ḥizb* because "in them the invocations to God are divided into certain groups", but he does not state on what this explanation is based.

Bibliography: in the text.

(D. B. MacDonald*)

ḤIZB, 'political party'. The use of the word *ḥizb* in the sense of a political party is a recent one, dating from the beginning of the twentieth century or thereabouts, but this modern usage was in a way a natural and legitimate extension of the traditional and classical one (see preceding article). This traditional sense is the one found in the nineteenth-century dictionaries. Thus Kazimirski's *Dictionnaire* (1860) defined *ḥizb* as a 'troupe d'hommes'; Lane's *Lexicon* (1863 *et seq.*) as a 'party or company of men, assembling themselves on account of an event that has befallen them'; Bustānī's *Muḥīṭ* as a *ṭā'ifa*; Dozy's *Supplément* (1881) records an interesting variant, where it lists among the meanings of the word, 'ordre religieux'. Later dictionaries begin to record the political connotation which the word was beginning to acquire: Badger's *English-Arabic Lexicon* (1881) translates 'party' as *ḥizb* and Hava's *Arabic-English Dictionary* (1899) translates *ḥizb* as 'party of men, confederacy, division'.

The following articles deal with political parties in Muslim countries. For associations, see also anḎjuman and Ḏjamʿiyya.

i.—The Arab Lands

Literary evidence, in support of the lexicographical, does tend to show that in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, *ḥizb*, though it was not yet a fully recognized part of the political vocabulary, was coming, albeit slowly, unconsciously and hesitatingly, to have a certain political connotation. An excellent illustration of this ambiguous and fluctuating usage occurs in the minutes of Aḥmad ʿUrābī's trial at Cairo in 1882. ʿUrābī was asked how he allowed himself to be described on a document as *ra'īs al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*; he replied that it was well-known that Egypt was inhabited by different races (*adjnās*) and that every one of these races may be considered a *ḥizb*, 'and further, the natives of the country are a *ḥizb* on their own, denominated *fallāḥīn* in order to humble them (*kamā inna ahl al-bilād ḥizb ḳā'im bi-dhātihi yuṭlaḳ ʿalayhi lafẓ fallāḥīn idhlālan lahum*)'. But ʿUrābī went on to say that every people had *aḥzāb* engaged in preserving their liberty and defending their rights (Salīm Khalīl al-Naḳḳāsh, *Miṣr li'l-miṣriyyīn*, vii, Alexandria 1884, 44-5). It is clear that in this passage *ḥizb* stands in ʿUrābī's mind for two different meanings, which he cannot clearly distinguish, *viz.* the older and general one of a group, and the later and specific one of a political party. A saying attributed to ʿUrābī's contemporary Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] during his sojourn at Istanbul (1892-1897) indicates a use of the word *ḥizb* more definitely in the sense of a political party. He is reported as saying that there should be nothing to prevent the oriental from joining one party after another (*al-ḥizb baʿd al-ḥizb*) until individuals appeared in the East—as they have in the West—who would consider death for the sake of their *waṭan* a gain (Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī, *Khāṭirāt Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī al-Ḥusaynī*, Beirut 1931, 86-7). Finally, an illustration drawn from the first decade of the twentieth century shows how *ḥizb* has come to be stabilized in meaning and to signify unambiguously a political party. In an article of 1906, discussing whether a nationalist party can be said to exist in Egypt, Faraḥ Anṭūn states that a *ḥizb* signifies in politics 'the organized struggle of one group against another owing to a difference of opinions and interests between the two sides (*ta'allub djamāʿa ʿalā djamāʿa ukhrā li-'khtilāf ārā' al-farīḳayn wa maṣāliḥihim*)', and he goes on to say that by *ta'allub* he means that the group would become a single, solidary entity working to attain its aim, '*idjtimāʿuhā ʿiṣba wāḥida wa taʿāḍuduhā tawaṣṣulan ilā bulūghm urādihā*' (*Ḥizb al-nāsyūnālist fī Miṣr*, in *al-Djāmiʿa*, New York, v/6 (1906), 224).

In the article just cited, Faraḥ Anṭūn came to the conclusion that, on his definition, there was no nationalist party in Egypt for the reason that the crucial element of organization was lacking. His conclusions may be considered to apply generally to the Arabic-speaking areas for the greater part of the period in which people became accustomed to think of parties as a usual political phenomenon. There is no doubt that they came so to think as a result of contact and familiarity with European politics, in which parliaments and estates, having continuously existed since mediaeval times, provided a natural context and an indispensable setting for parties and party organization. Such representative institutions were absent in the Muslim world, and it is therefore not surprising that it is only contact with Europe which made organization into parties for political action familiar and attractive. Familiar and attractive, that is, to the small minority which was open to European influences, and which was therefore critical of native and traditional institutions. Parties were therefore at first usually organized or inspired by radicals who were intent on drastic reforms, and because such parties had, in the absence of representative institutions, little scope to manoeuvre, their radicalism became intensified; this very radicalism alienated the authorities who, often trying to suppress these parties, forced them underground. In short, all these factors meant that parties in the Arabic-speaking areas were, at the outset, small groups of people, influenced by European ideas, who were or affected to be dissatisfied with existing political conditions, whose organization was loose and ephemeral, and whose action was usually clandestine.

Egypt.—One of the earliest of such groupings in Egypt—calling itself, however, not a *ḥizb* but a *djamʿiyya* [*q.v.*]—was *djamʿiyyat ittiḥād Miṣr al-fatāt*, which existed in Alexandria in 1879 at the beginning of the reign of Khedive Tawfīḳ. It would seem to have been the outcome of Afghānī's political teachings and to have been formed by his followers. A letter to Afghānī from his follower Ibrāhīm al-Laḳḳānī dated Beirut 7 Rabīʿ II 1300/15 February 1883 explains that the Young Egypt Society consisted of members of the Sursuḳ, Ḳitta, Zughayb and Mukhallaʿ families—all Syrian Christians—who had induced some Muslims to join them and published an Arabic-French newspaper preaching Afghānī's views and calling on the Khedive to institute political reforms. Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ Pasha, then Chief Minister, banned the newspaper; the Group tried to publish a second one, but the Muslim members seceded and, according to Laḳḳānī, even tried to harm the Syrian Christians, who thereupon gave up in disgust, saying that they had no personal interest in the matter—since they were all protected by European Powers—

but had merely wished to serve the Egyptians (Iraj Afshar and Asghar Mahdavi, eds., *Documents inédits concernant Seyyed Jamāl-al-Din Afghani*, Tehrān 1963, plates 106-117).

Another early grouping in Egypt was that known as *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*, which also seems to have been organized in 1879 after Tawfīḳ's accession. This group was also opposed to the Khedive and his minister Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ, but seems to have had no connexion with the Young Egypt Society. Its members were ex-ministers, like Muḥammad S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a, who were Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ's rivals and who disliked his administrative reforms; some of them worked for the restoration of the ex-Khedive Ismāʿīl, and some to advance the claims of ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Pas̲h̲a, the last surviving son of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, to the Khediviate which he had long desired. This group became connected with the officers who under Aḥmad ʿUrābī's leadership, and moved by military grievances, carried out a *coup d'état* against Tawfīḳ and his government on 9 September 1881. The ostensible aims of this *ḥizb* weie a constitutional and parliamentary régime for Egypt and the cessation of foreign interference. These aims were taken over by ʿUrābī and his followers when, the *coup d'état* having demonstrated their power, they supplanted S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a and the other notables in political leadership. These officers in fact became *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*, and with their defeat by the British Army in 1882 the party ceased to exist.

There is no trace of party activity in Egypt until after the accession of the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī in 1892. ʿAbbās tried in the early years of his reign to break loose from British control, and one of his methods was to inspire political agitation by young Egyptians, graduates of European universities or European-type schools in Egypt. Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid has recorded that in 1896, when he had just graduated from the Law School, ʿAbbās saw him in audience, and he was afterwards enrolled in a secret society of which the Khedive was the President and the members of which included Muṣṭafā Kāmil and Muḥammad Farīd; this group, according to Luṭfī al-Sayyid, was the nucleus of what came to be later known as *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī* (*Ḳiṣṣat ḥayātī*, Cairo 1962, 36). Of this group, the most prominent was Muṣṭafā (1874-1907). As his letters to the Khedive's Arabic Secretary (published in 1962 by M. Anīs) show, his political activities at the outset of his career were directed and financed by ʿAbbās. From a letter cited by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī in his biography of Muṣṭafā Kāmil, it appears that relations between him and the Khedive remained very close until 1904. Thereafter Muṣṭafā Kāmil seems to have worked on his own, and increasingly in opposition to ʿAbbās. In 1907 he formally launched a party which was called *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*, dedicated to securing the British evacuation of Egypt. At the first annual conference of the party he was elected president for life, but he died soon afterwards. His successor was Muḥammad Farīd (1868-1919), who in 1912 left Egypt to avoid imprisonment for alleged subversion against the Khedive's government. It is difficult to see that the Nationalist Party had much influence on Egyptian politics. When it was founded in 1907, the influence of Muṣṭafā Kāmil, after his parting with the Khedive, was already on the wane. The Party, after his death, had some reputation and influence based on the newspapers which Muṣṭafā Kāmil had started in the days when he had the Khedive's support, namely *al-Liwāʾ*, *The Egyptian Standard* and *L'Étendard Égyptien*; the Party also attracted many sympathizers among the intellectual and official classes: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī gives a long list of Muṣṭafā Kāmil's sympathizers and disciples (*Muṣṭafā Kāmil*, 364-8); of these the majority cannot have been actual members of the Party, while the best known of those who were, *e.g.*, Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās, Ḥāfiẓ ʿAfīfī, Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī, had, in their active political careers after the first World War, nothing at all to do with the Nationalists. It is quite symbolic of the Party's fortunes that a statue of Muṣṭafā Kāmil which it had made after his death remained shut up in a school until 1938, because no Egyptian government could be induced to offer a public site for its erection (*Muṣṭafā Kāmil*, 301-2). The Party's rôle in Egyptian parliamentary life under the Monarchy (1923-1952) was insignificant. The Party were occasionally allotted a handful of seats in the preliminary bargaining between politicians in Cairo which often determined the exact composition of Egyptian Parliaments. This handful of seats represented such influence and power as the Party still had and which it exercised in coalition with other parties against the *Wafd*. Nationalists very rarely exercised political office. Ḥāfiẓ Ramaḍān, the president of the Party, was a Minister in Muḥammad Maḥmūd's second ministry (30 December 1937-5 April 1940), in Ḥasan Ṣabrī's ministry (27 June 1940-14 November 1940), in Aḥmad Māhir's first and second ministries (5 October 1944-24 February 1945), and in Maḥmūd Fahmī al-Nuḳrās̲h̲ī's first ministry (25 February 1945-26 November 1945); but in holding office in these administrations, Ḥāfiẓ Ramaḍān was acting against the wishes of his Party colleagues, and may therefore be considered more as an Independent than as a Nationalist representative. In 1946, the breach between him and his colleagues was healed, and three Nationalists accepted office in two subsequent administrations as the avowed representatives of their Party: Muḥammad Zakī ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṣūfānī in Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Hādī's ministry (28 December 1948-25 July 1949), and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī together with Muḥammad Zakī ʿAlī in Ḥusayn Sirrī's third ministry (26 July 1949-3 November 1949). The Nationalist Party, in common with all other Egyptian political parties, was dissolved and its financial assets confiscated by decree of the Revolutionary Command on 18 January 1953.

Muṣṭafā Kāmil's foundation of the Nationalist Party in 1907 was followed in the same year by the foundation of other groups, calling themselves parties, which proved to be more ephemeral and to be even less organized than *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*. The first which falls to be mentioned is *ḥizb al-umma*, which was founded in September-October 1907, and which consisted of a group of notables and landowners, who promoted the publication of the newspaper *al-D̲j̲arīda*. The common denominator of the group, as ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād put it, was that they were under the Khedive's displeasure (*mag̲h̲ḍūb ʿalayhim*) and that they could hope therefore to curry favour with the British Residency (*Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl*, Cairo 1936, 152-3). Whether this was so or not, the fact is that the British presence enabled them to express opposition to the Khedive's ambitions. Some of the prominent members of this Party became associated with *ḥizb al-aḥrār al-dustūriyyin*, which was founded in 1922. The name of another party to be recorded is that of *ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ ʿala 'l-mabādiʾ al-dustūriyya*, which again came to be spoken of in 1907. It is difficult to say that it was more than a label invented by the Khedive's men to counteract the effect of Muṣṭafā Kāmil's founding of the Nationalist Party; it seems,

in fact, possible to associate only one name with it, namely that of ʿAlī Yūsuf, the editor of *al-Muʾayyad*, which, after Muṣṭafā Kāmil's defection, became the Khedive's main newspaper organ. J. M. Landau records the names of four other so-called Parties, which existed after 1907 and which seem to have been, in fact, one-man affairs disappearing from the scene soon after their foundation was proclaimed; these were *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-ḥurr*, founded by Muḥammad Waḥīd al-Ayyūbī, the Party of Nobles (*sic*) associated with Ḥasan Ḥilmī and Thabāt Faradj al-Djirdjāwī, the Party of Independent Egyptians (*sic*) founded by the Copt Akhnūkh Fānūs, and the Young Egypt Party (*sic*) founded by Idrīs Rāghib.

The end of the first world war inaugurated a new chapter in the history of Egyptian political parties. Widespread agitation in Egypt for some three years was finally successful in persuading the British government to abolish the Protectorate which it had assumed over Egypt in 1914. This was done by the unilateral Declaration of 28 February 1922, one of the consequences of which was the transformation of the Sultanate into a constitutional Monarchy and the setting up of a parliament composed of a house of representatives elected by indirect suffrage and a senate partly elected and partly appointed. The general scheme of the Egyptian Constitution—promulgated by a Royal Rescript in 1923—was that a cabinet drawn from the majority in Parliament would hold office so long as it retained the confidence of this majority. Such a state of affairs gave obvious scope for the creation and the functioning of parties on the European model. The first of these parties which must be considered is the *Wafd*, which has its origin in the struggle which led to the abolition of the Protectorate. In this struggle Saʿd Zaghlūl (1857-1926), who came to lead and indeed embody the *Wafd*, had taken, by the play of circumstance and his own considerable shrewdness, a leading part. The appellation *Wafd* originated in a demand which Zaghlūl, together with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fahmī and ʿAlī Shaʿrāwī, put before the British High Commissioner on 13 November 1918, to be allowed to proceed in a delegation (Ar. *wafd*) to Great Britain to discuss Egypt's relations with the Protecting Power and her constitutional future. This demand was made with the knowledge and approval of Sultan Fuʾād and his Ministers, but the three personalities who lent their names to it came inevitably to be the focus of the political agitation which followed its rejection and the repressive action taken by the British authorities. Between 1919 and 1923 many Egyptian public men were associated with Zaghlūl in the political movement which came to be known as the *Wafd*, but Zaghlūl managed to capture the public sentiment and to be exclusively identified with the successful struggle against Great Britain. His earliest and most prominent associates broke with him and became his fierce opponents. Of the three personalities who saw the British High Commissioner in November 1918, ʿAlī Shaʿrāwī resigned formally from the *Wafd* in 1921 and played no further part in politics, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fahmī became a Liberal Constitutionalist and later entirely forsook politics. Others, such as Muḥammad Maḥmūd, Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī, ʿAlī Māhir, Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿAllūba, became declared opponents of the *Wafd*. By 1923, Zaghlūl was surrounded by younger men who were little known and newcomers to Egyptian politics, necessarily very much under his domination: his nephew Muḥammad Fatḥ Allāh Barakāt, Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās, who had been a magistrate in Ṭanṭā and who had been delegated by the Nationalist Party to represent them in the original *Wafd*, William Makram ʿUbayd who had been a civil servant, Muḥammad Nadjīb al-Gharāblī, Aḥmad Māhir, Maḥmūd Fahmī al-Nuḳrāshī, ʿAlī al-Shamsī, all of whom came to be prominent in the Wafdist movement at one time or another between 1924 and 1952. The *Wafd* as a formal body was organized in 1919 at the inception of the anti-British agitation. It took the form of a central committee composed of public men, the ostensible business of which was to direct from Cairo the collection by provincial committees of signatures to a petition praying the British authorities to allow an Egyptian delegation to proceed to London. It is not known how effective such a country-wide organization was, and there is a suspicion that the *Wafd* committees benefited, at the outset at any rate, from the support of the Sultan and his government. After 1921, the prominent members of the original *Wafd* left it and Zaghlūl became the undisputed leader of those who remained, the committee being his creature and instrument. But Zaghlūl then and later refused to be considered as the leader of a mere faction, holding that he was the sole authorized delegate of the Egyptian people, and that it was his opponents who were guilty of factionalism. A characteristic claim of his, made in a speech of 2 July 1924, was 'I am not the president of a party, but the delegate of a nation (*wakīl umma*)' (Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Djazīrī, ed., *Āthār al-zaʿīm Saʿd Zaghlūl*, i, Cairo 1927, 211). His followers indeed acclaimed him as the *zaʿīm*, the Leader (a title which devolved on his successor Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās), his house came to be called *bayt al-umma*, and his wife Ṣafiyya *umm al-miṣriyyīn*.

Zaghlūl won the elections held in December 1923 under the new Constitution, and his followers constituted the overwhelming majority of the House of Representatives. He formed a government almost half the members of which—it is interesting to note—were non-Wafdists. This is not how the constitution was supposed to work, and it is generally explained by the fact that the King's and the administration's influence had been exerted on Zaghlūl's behalf during the elections, because the King did not wish the latter's rivals, the Liberal Constitutionalists, to win, and that one of the conditions of his cooperation was the appointment of a number of his nominees to ministerial posts in Zaghlūl's cabinet. The importance of this incident is to underline what henceforth became a feature of Egyptian politics under the monarchy, namely that the decisive struggles for power occurred outside parliament, the composition and working of which merely ratified decisions reached elsewhere. This meant that Egyptian parties could not have the same character or function in the same way as those found in the normal kind of representative and constitutional régimes. The subsequent history of the *Wafd* shows this clearly. Zaghlūl's overwhelming majority did not prevent him from resigning when assassins, who were later shown to be Wafdist sympathizers, murdered Sir Lee Stack in Cairo in November 1924. The parliament elected at the beginning of the year was dissolved by royal rescript in December. New elections were held in March 1925, but, the Wafdists being in the majority in the new parliament, Aḥmad Zīwar Pasha, the Prime Minister, dissolved it. This election was perhaps the only one in the political history of Egypt under the constitutional monarchy when an election went against the wishes of the effective authority in the country. The reason is not absolutely clear, but it would seem that Aḥmad Zīwar's adminis-

tration had had little time to dismantle the network of Wafdist committees in the countryside which Zag̲h̲lūl in his year of power must have overhauled and strengthened. Zīwar dispensed with a parliament until the British High Commissioner, fearing unfettered palace rule, which Zīwar's ministry in effect signified, pressed for new elections. The palace being checkmated, the electorate ratified its defeat by electing a Wafdist parliament in May 1926. But since Zag̲h̲lūl, the leader of the *Wafd*, was not acceptable to the British authorities as Prime Minister, the normal play of party politics in a constitutional and representative régime was again frustrated, and ʿAdlī Yakan, the Liberal Constitutional leader, took office at the head of a coalition of Wafdists and Liberal Constitutionalists. The coalition subsisted until March 1928, when the Liberal Constitutionalist ʿAbd al-K̲h̲āliḳ T̲h̲arwat, who succeeded ʿAdlī in April 1927, having failed to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain, found his position untenable and yielded his place to Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās—on whom had fallen Zag̲h̲lūl's mantle—who formed the first wholly Wafdist administration. Al-Naḥḥās soon found himself at loggerheads with both the King and the British authorities; in June 1928 the King dismissed al-Naḥḥās, dissolved parliament, and called on Muḥammad Maḥmūd, now president of the Liberal Constitutionalist Party, to form a government. The new Prime Minister obtained from the King authority to suspend elections and parliamentary government for a period of three years. But in 1929, a new government in London having made clear that it would negotiate only with a Wafdist government (whom it regarded as the only legitimate representative of Egypt), Muḥammad Maḥmūd resigned and new elections took place; they ratified the decision of the British government and returned a Wafdist government, which took office on 1 January 1930. Negotiations between al-Naḥḥās and the British government having failed, and the King disliking a Wafdist government, he dismissed it in June of the same year, commissioned Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī to form an administration, dissolved the parliament and promulgated a new constitution and a new electoral law. Elections under the new dispensation were held on 1 June 1931, and a new parliament was returned with a satisfactory governmental majority. A complicated series of events in 1935-6 forced the King to seek an accommodation with the Wafdists. He re-established the constitution which he had abrogated in 1930. This was a victory for the Wafdists, and the elections which were held in May 1936 ratified it by returning a parliament with an overwhelming Wafdist majority. King Fuʾād died in April 1936, to be succeeded by his son Fārūḳ, who attained his majority in July 1937. A clash between him and the *Wafd* was not long in coming. In December 1937 he dismissed al-Naḥḥās and shortly afterwards dissolved the parliament. The new parliament had an insignificant Wafdist minority, thus ratifying the victory of the King. This parliament itself was also dissolved as a result of an extra-parliamentary clash of power. By the *coup d'état* of 2 February 1942, the British authorities forced a Wafdist government on the King. This government dissolved the parliament of 1938 and obtained an overwhelming majority at the subsequent elections. It ruled until October 1944, when the King found the power to dismiss it and dissolve its parliament. The ensuing elections were boycotted by the *Wafd*, and the parliament elected in January 1945 was wholly anti-Wafdist. This parliament was dissolved in November 1949, and the election of January 1950 gave an overwhelming Wafdist majority; the course of events which led to this result is still very imperfectly known, but there is reason to suppose that it was the outcome of a reconciliation between the King and the *Wafd*. The Wafdist government lasted until January 1952, when it was dismissed by the King. Its parliament, the last under the constitutional monarchy, was dissolved shortly thereafter.

The course of events here briefly set out indicates that in the Egyptian parliamentary régime, contrary to the intentions of its founders, and indeed to its normal working elsewhere, it was the government—or rather the actual effective authority in the country at any given time—which determined the character and composition of a parliament, and not the other way round. This had a fundamental bearing on the character and functions of the political parties. These could not function as coherent parliamentary and electoral organizations dedicated to the acquisition of popular support and the exercise of political power within a legislative assembly. These so-called parties could rather more intelligibly be described as either movements or factions. The *Wafd* was clearly a movement; Zag̲h̲lūl claimed to be above all parties and interests, to be the representative and the leader of the nation; he thus inaugurated a new style of politics of which appeal to the mass was the most significant characteristic. This new style, which depends on a leader with a hypnotic popular appeal who is the ultimate depositary of unfettered power, was made possible by the disintegration of traditional society, the erosion of traditional authority, the increase of literacy, the improvement in communications, and the existence of a new urban amorphous mass of recent migrants from the countryside, leading lives of material poverty and spiritual disorientation. All these created new conditions of political action, new possibilities of canalizing hitherto untapped sources of political power by organizing the passive and malleable mass into a formidable phalanx round a leader and his slogans. It is evident that the *Wafd* under Zag̲h̲lūl and al-Naḥḥās attempted this. They were only intermittently successful, and they ultimately failed. The reasons for their failure may possibly have been an imperfect grasp of the new techniques, the presence of British power and influence as a check and a disturbing factor, the existence of other, more traditional, forms of authority which still had some life in them and, of course, sheer accident. But the *Wafd* again and again tried to create various organizations for the recruitment and control of their supporters. Foremost among these, and the least known in their detailed working, are the *Wafd* committees which spread over the whole country. When the *Wafd* was either expecting or exercising power, it attempted to create specialized organizations to cater for different sections of the population, particularly students, industrial labour, etc. The example of Fascists and Nazis no doubt stimulated the creation of a Wafdist para-military group, *al-ḳimṣān al-zarḳāʾ*, which functioned in 1936-7 and which had some analogy in both name and function with Blackshirts and Brownshirts. The *Wafd* were not the only ones to experiment with these new possibilities; one writer has indeed claimed that the Nationalist Party was the first to organize Blueshirts, and that the *Wafd* filched the idea from it (Muṣṭafa al-Ḥifnāwī, *al-Sifr al-k̲h̲ālid*, Cairo n.d. [after 1936], 5-6). Be this as it may, the Nationalist Party never succeeded in becoming a movement, and remained what may be called a faction. One organization which from the outset attempted to be a movement was

Miṣr al-fatāt, founded by Aḥmad Ḥusayn in 1933, it is claimed at the inspiration of King Fu'ād (P. Graves, *The story of the Egyptian crisis*, in *The nineteenth century and after*, March 1938). Its slogan was *Allāh, al-waṭan, al-malik*, and it attempted to organize its adherents into Greenshirts (*al-ḳimṣān al-khaḍrā'*), which frequently clashed with the Blueshirts. Another organization which became a political movement had, at its inception, quite a different character. *Al-Ikhwān al-muslimūn* [*q.v.*], founded in 1928 by Ḥasan al-Bannā' [see AL-BANNĀ'], was at the outset dedicated to a renewal of the religious life, to the fight against laxity, scepticism and unbelief prevalent among Muslims as a consequence of European influence. Some ten years later, the Brotherhood was an extensive organization covering a large part of Egypt. Because Islam is *dīn wa-dawla*, and because the circumstances after 1940 became propitious, the Brotherhood under its *murshid* came to play an increasingly political rôle. Al-Bannā''s political transactions are still quite obscure, but the Brotherhood was a formidable weapon which he and his successor Ḥasan al-Huḍaybī could use in pursuance of their aims in the troubled years between the end of the second world war and the final dissolution of the Brotherhood by the Egyptian Revolutionary Command in January 1954. The tight organization of the Brotherhood enabled al-Bannā' and his collaborators to set on foot a secret terrorist apparatus (*al-djihāz al-sirrī*) which was used to enforce the wishes of those who controlled it until an attempt on the life of Colonel Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir in October 1954 resulted in the arrest and trial of the most prominent Brethren—al-Huḍaybī included—the execution of six of them, and presumably the final destruction of the apparatus.

In contrast to these organizations, which may be called political movements, other groupings in Egyptian politics under the constitutional monarchy may be termed factions. They consisted of people who, by virtue of their educational attainments or an inherited position, were members of the official classes and therefore had the necessary knowledge and connexions for filling political office and exercising power. Such men were loosely grouped under party labels which they acquired by accident at some point or another. They may be called factions rather than movements, because they seldom or never sought to involve the masses in politics in the manner of the *Wafd* or the Muslim Brethren, and yet were not strictly parties, since the constitutional régime in Egypt worked in such a fashion that parties could not function, let alone flourish. These groupings may not therefore all be dismissed as a mere collection of placemen eager for office and ready to do the bidding of whoever gave them office; but whatever their original aims and motives were, the situation was such that if they desired to take part in politics they had to acquiesce in measures and combinations quite remote from their proclaimed principles. A good case in point is the Nationalist Party, which started with an articulate ideology, but the activity of whose leaders under the constitutional monarchy had, as has been seen, little to do with this ideology. Another party between whose activities and principles a great gap opened was the Liberal Constitutionalist Party (*ḥizb al-aḥrār al-dustūriyyīn*). The Party was formed in October 1922 as an answer to Zaghlūl and the *Wafd* by some of the most prominent of Egyptian statesmen who earlier that year, in collaboration with Allenby and his British advisers, had induced the British government to issue the Declaration of 28 February. The President was ʿAdlī Yakan and the main leaders were ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Tharwat, Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fahmī, Ismāʿīl Zuhdī and Muḥammad Maḥmūd. Some of them had belonged to the pre-war *Umma* Party, and some had, from the end of 1918 to the end of 1921, formed themselves into a group, *al-ḥizb al-dīmūḳrāṭī*, which included Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, Manṣūr Fahmī, Maḥmūd ʿAzmī and ʿAzīz Merhom. This small group of educated men looked forward to an Egypt where the rule of law would be supreme, and where political liberty and economic equity would be assured. Most of this group passed into the Liberal Constitutionalist Party and greatly influenced the formulation of its objectives and policies. But we find that, in fact, sheer political expediency very frequently determined the *ministrables* of the Party in taking office, and that this opportunism was on the increase as time went on. Liberal Constitutionalists took part in Zīwar's second ministry of 1925-26, but when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fahmī was dismissed as Minister of Justice following the ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ affair (see E. Kedourie, *Egypt and the Caliphate, 1915-1946*, in *JRAS*, 1963), his two Liberal Constitutionalist colleagues resigned in protest. But it was a Liberal Constitutionalist, Muḥammad Maḥmūd, who took office when King Fu'ād dismissed al-Naḥḥās in 1928 and who, regardless of his Party's principles, governed without a parliament for fifteen months. Again, it was Muḥammad Maḥmūd who took office when King Fārūḳ dismissed al-Naḥḥās in 1937 and for some eighteen months, until the King dismissed him, presided over a government which, whatever its exact label, was in fact purely one of King's men. The further history of the Liberal Constitutionalists until their extinction in 1952 is that of a faction enjoying office and power as and when they could. Five other such factions remain to be enumerated, two specifically set up as organizations providing support for governments chosen and inspired by the King, and three formed out of seceders from the *Wafd*. The first two were *ḥizb al-ittiḥād* set up in 1925 as an organization of King's men during Zīwar's administration, and *ḥizb al-shaʿb*, a similar organization created in 1931 during Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī's administration. Both parties effectively disappeared from the scene as political circumstances changed. The three organizations of seceders from the *Wafd* were *al-ḥizb al-saʿdī*, formed when Ḥāmid al-Bāsil seceded from the *Wafd* in 1930, which proved quite ephemeral; *al-hay'a al-saʿdiyya*, formed when Maḥmūd Fahmī al-Nuḳrāshī and Aḥmad Māhir fell out with the *Wafd* in 1937, which went on as a political grouping until 1952 and which provided three Prime Ministers and other ministers in anti-Wafdist governments; and *al-kutla al-wafdiyya al-mustaḳilla*, formed when Makram ʿUbayd was expelled from the *Wafd* in 1943, which consisted of his own personal following and provided two or three ministers in three coalition governments which succeeded the *Wafd* government of 1942-44.

The Ottoman Empire.—The earliest parties in the Arabic-speaking areas of the Ottoman Empire were in their origin and character somewhat similar to the earliest Egyptian parties. They were groups of young men touched by Western influences and discontented with what they considered to be the constricting and stagnant conditions of the Empire under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*]. In those years there was little scope for overt political action, nor were the generality of the subjects much inclined to

question the established and traditional order. Such groups were small, clandestine and ephemeral. One of the earliest of these groups was one formed by some Christian students at the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut in the early 1880s; they had fallen under the influence of a Maronite who taught French at the College and who was imbued with French libertarian and revolutionary ideas. These young men conceived the project of fomenting a movement to end Ottoman supremacy in the Lebanon. They went so far as to write and surreptitiously post up in public places placards in this sense, but as no response was forthcoming the group dissolved itself in 1882-3. Another group was the one which came into being at Damascus in the early years of the twentieth century. It was composed of young Muslims who were disciples of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ṭāhir al-D̲j̲azā'irī, who was Inspector of Education in the Damascus *wilāyet* and who lived in Damascus from 1880 to 1905. The group is known as *ḥalaḳat Dimas̲h̲ḳ al-sag̲h̲īra*, and it included S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Bīṭār, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Salīm al-Buk̲h̲ārī. These were among the original members, who were joined by younger men including Muḥibb al-Dīn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Zahrāwī, S̲h̲ukrī al-ʿAsalī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-S̲h̲ābandar, Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, Fāris al-K̲h̲ūrī and Salīm al-D̲j̲azā'irī. The circle apparently discussed literary, religious, and increasingly, when the younger men joined it, political questions. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-K̲h̲aṭīb was apparently the mainspring of this later development. Some of the younger members of the circle went to Istanbul in about 1905, and in 1906 Muḥibb al-Dīn al-K̲h̲aṭīb and his friend ʿĀrif al-S̲h̲ihābī founded there a secret society, *d̲j̲amʿiyyat al-nahḍa*, and asked two friends still in Damascus, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī and Luṭfī al-Ḥaffār, to found a branch in the city. The *d̲j̲amʿiyya* consisted entirely of a small group of young educated Damascenes, and in spite of its foundation at Istanbul Damascus was its centre. After the Young Turk Revolution, the *d̲j̲amʿiyya* applied for permission to function openly, and interested itself for a few years thereafter in spreading knowledge of Arab history and Arabic literature and in providing a local forum for discussing such political issues as it was safe to raise publicly. Another group, or at any rate the name of a group which existed at the beginning of the twentieth century, falls also to be recorded. It is the *Ligue de la patrie arabe*, founded by Nad̲j̲īb ʿAzūrī, a Syrian Christian who had studied in Paris and then become an official in the Jerusalem *wilāyet*; this post he left in apparently suspicious circumstances and he was condemned to death *in absentia* by an Ottoman court in 1904 for treasonable activities in Paris. Who, apart from the French retired official E. Jung (who has chronicled his activities) collaborated with him, and whether he was the agent of one or more European powers, is obscure. The programme of his *Ligue* was the creation of an Arab empire extending over Mesopotamia, Arabia and the Levant and the creation of a 'spiritual' Caliphate. But the *Ligue* seems to have been of little consequence and to have sunk into obscurity when his periodical, *L'Indépendence Arabe*, of which eighteen numbers came out in 1905-6, ceased publication.

It was only after the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908 that many Arab parties were formed, and became quite active for a time. Because of the vicissitudes of the Ottoman parliamentary régime of 1908-14, these parties could not function as normal parliamentary parties, nor could they, owing to the state of society then obtaining, aspire to enlist mass support. They were small, ephemeral factions made up of members of the official classes and such others as had access to European ideas. It is commonly agreed that the first of these groupings was *d̲j̲amʿiyyat al-ik̲h̲ā' al-ʿarabī*, founded by the Damascene S̲h̲afīḳ al-Mu'ayyad and other, mainly Syrian, officials and notables in Istanbul in 1908. A report in *The Arab Bulletin* (24 May 1918) records that the group came into being as a consequence of the 1908 Parliament refusing to accept Yūsuf S̲h̲itwān as member for Benghazi and S̲h̲afīḳ al-Mu'ayyad as member for Damascus. The group seems to have lasted for a few months and then to have been dissolved in April 1909. In this year was founded in Istanbul *al-muntadā al-adabī*, which was ostensibly a cultural club for Arab youth in Istanbul, but many of the activities of which were political. It was shut down by the Ottoman authorities in 1915, at which time its secretary, the Syrian ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim al-K̲h̲alīl, was accused of treason and executed. Two groupings dating from this period, among Syrian and Lebanese living in Egypt, may be noticed. The first is an ephemeral group called *d̲j̲amʿiyyat al-ik̲h̲ā' al-ʿut̲h̲mānī*, which apparently lasted for only a few weeks, among the members of which were Rafīḳ al-ʿAẓm, Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, Yaʿḳūb Ṣarūf, D̲j̲urd̲j̲ī Zaydān, Naʿūm S̲h̲uḳayr and Dā'ūd ʿAmmūn. The second grouping was *al-ittiḥād al-lubnānī* (*l'Alliance libanaise*) formed by Maronite notables in Cairo in November 1909. It was founded by Iskandar ʿAmmūn, Anṭūn al-D̲j̲umayyil and Dā'ūd Barakāt. Before the war, its programme consisted in demanding better commercial facilities within the Empire for Mount Lebanon, widening the suffrage for its assembly, increasing the number of its members and widening its powers, and annexing the Biḳāʿ, Tripoli and Beirut to Mount Lebanon, to form what came to be known under the French mandate as the Grand Liban. This last point came to form the main issue for which the *ittiḥād* worked after the outbreak of war, when the partition of the Ottoman Empire became a possibility. The *ittiḥād*—the president of which from 1917 was Auguste Adīb—lost its *raison d'être* with the French occupation of the Lebanon. Apart from these groups which functioned publicly, a number of secret groupings are also recorded. Towards the end of 1909, there was formed in Istanbul a secret group composed of officers and university students mainly from Syria, *al-d̲j̲amʿiyya al-ḳaḥṭāniyya*. The group was dedicated to the encouragement of Arab nationalism, and among its prominent members were the two officers Amīn Luṭfī Ḥāfiẓ and Salīm al-D̲j̲azā'irī, nephew of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ṭāhir, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-K̲h̲alīl and ʿĀrif al-S̲h̲ihābī, all of whom were executed for treason by the Ottomans in 1915-16. Another secret grouping was one founded by students, again mainly Syrian, in Paris in 1909. This was *d̲j̲amʿiyyat al-umma al-ʿarabiyya al-fatāt*, which was founded by Aḥmad Ḳadrī, ʿAwnī ʿAbd al-Hādī and Rustum Ḥaydar. The aim of the society was Arab independence. It is of course difficult to know the extent and effectiveness of the operations of a secret society, but the members of *al-fatāt* are said to have taken the initiative in calling for an Arab Congress (which met in Paris in June, 1913), and seem to have carried on conspiratorial activities against the Ottomans in the Levant until the end of the first world war; many of them became prominent later on in Syrian, Palestinian and Iraqi politics. Another secret society was *al-ʿalam al-ak̲h̲ḍar*. It was founded by students in Istanbul in September 1912,

but seems to have been more ephemeral than most and there is no record of any activity for which it was responsible.

The internal and external vicissitudes to which the Ottoman Empire was subject in the years immediately preceding the first world war created fears and tensions and afforded occasions for political action and openings for political ambition, so that in 1912 and 1913 new Arab political groupings come into being. Of these new groups, the best-known was *ḥizb al-lāmarkaziyya al-idāriyya al-ʿuthmānī*, which was founded in Cairo in December 1912, and which, as its name showed, was dedicated to the achievement of administrative decentralization and provincial self-government in the Ottoman Empire. The founders were again Syrians, the most prominent among them being Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Rafīḳ al-ʿAẓm, Shiblī Shumayyil, Iskandar ʿAmmūn and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb. The programme of the Party was obviously akin to the ideas of Prince Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn and the *Ḥürriyet we iʾtilāf firḳasī* [*q.v.*] in Istanbul, which was opposed to the Committee of Union and Progress. It may well be that the activities of *ḥizb al-lāmarkaziyya* are to be understood not so much in terms of their formal programme as of the complicated struggle of Istanbul politics, which eventually led to the complete hegemony of the Committee of Union and Progress. Again, their programme cannot explain, rather contradicts, their activities at the beginning of the 1914-18 war when they seem to have organized spying in Syria and Mesopotamia on behalf of the British authorities in Egypt (see E. Kedourie, *England and the Middle East*, 1956, 47 and 62). The same political struggle between Iʾtilāfists and Unionists would seem to account for a similar development in Beirut, where a number of notables, both Christian and Muslim, were encouraged by Kāmil Pasha's government towards the end of 1912 to form a group, *al-djamʿiyya al-ʿumūmiyya al-iṣlāḥiyya*, to work for decentralization and provincial self-government; but when the Committee of Union and Progress took power at the beginning of 1913, it set itself to eradicate any influence its opponents might have, and the Unionist *wālī* of Beirut, who had replaced the Iʾtilāfist one, declared the Society illegal and dissolved it on 4 April 1913. Kāmil Pasha's government attempted to organize support for itself in Damascus as well, but Unionist influence was there strong enough to prevent the formation of a *djamʿiyya* like the Beirut one. The same attempt was made at Baṣra, where the Iʾtilāfist leader was Sayyid Ṭālib al-Rifāʿī al-Naḳīb. Sayyid Ṭālib had attempted, without success, to be recognized as the Unionist boss in Baṣra; he was merely returned as deputy for Baṣra in the Istanbul parliament, and there earned the gratitude of Kāmil Pasha by his attacks on the Committee of Union and Progress (*The Arab Bulletin*, no. 17). At the beginning of 1913 the same conjunction of events which led to the creation of *ḥizb al-lāmarkaziyya* and the Beirut *djamʿiyya* led also to the formation by Sayyid Ṭālib of a similar group in Baṣra, which he also called *al-djamʿiyya al-iṣlāḥiyya*, ostensibly dedicated to the same objects. He attempted to extend his activities to Baghdād and Mosul; in the former a group of his followers led by Muzāḥim Amīn al-Pačadji formed *al-nādī al-waṭanī al-ʿilmī* which, in spite of its name, was a mere adjunct of the Baṣra group; to the latter he sent his follower Sulaymān Fayḍī in an attempt to drum up support for the Iʾtilāfists. In neither city was the attempt very successful, and the Unionist government found little difficulty in snuffing it out. It was otherwise in Baṣra, where Sayyid Ṭālib's family was powerful and influential and where he himself was acquainted with local men and issues, and moreover had no hesitation in employing hired assassins to enforce his desires. But the Unionists eventually succeeded in gaining him over and at the outbreak of the first world war he and they were friends.

The period between the Italian conquest of Tripoli and the outbreak of the first world war saw also the creation of two secret Arab groups. The first of these was *djamʿiyyat al-ʿahd*, which was founded on 28 October 1913 by Binbashi ʿAzīz al-Miṣrī. Its members were army officers and included Salīm al-Djazāʾirī, Nūrī al-Saʿīd, Yāsīn al-Hāshimī, his brother Ṭāhā, Djamīl al-Madfaʿī, Taḥsīn ʿAlī, Mawlūd Mukhliṣ, Amīn Luṭfī, ʿAlī Djawdat al-Ayyūbī and ʿAbd Allāh al-Dulaymī. Its official programme was to promote autonomy for the Arabic-speaking countries of the Ottoman Empire, and to transform the Empire into a dual monarchy on the lines of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. But the fact that it was a secret society composed of army officers ready to take action in support of their political views and that many of the members deserted from the Ottoman army before and during the first world war is at least as important as the tenor of the official programme. The other secret grouping was that formed by Rashīd Riḍā under the name of *djamʿiyyat al-djāmiʿa al-ʿarabiyya*. Rashīd Riḍā has stated (*Āthār Rafīḳ al-ʿAẓm*, i, p. viii) that the group was founded following the Ottoman defeat in the Balkan wars when 'the founders decided that the strength of the Arabs lay in their peninsula, and that this strength would be useless unless the rulers of the peninsula were united in an alliance'. Rashīd Riḍā seems to have enrolled various potentates of the peninsula in this Society, but apart from a long and fearsome oath (reproduced in Amīn Saʿīd, *al-Thawra al-ʿarabiyya al-kubrā*, i, 49-50) no activity by the group is recorded.

When the Ottoman Empire entered the war in November 1914, political activity by Arab groups and parties, such as it had been in the six years from 1908, virtually came to a stop. It was only at the end of the war, in 1918, that a new grouping came into being in Cairo known as *al-ittiḥād al-sūrī*. This comprised a number of Syrians who had become opposed to Ḥusayn, Sharīf of Makka and King of the Ḥidjāz, whose ambitions in Syria they mistrusted. Their views are to be gathered from the memorial they addressed to the British government in the summer of 1918, which elicited the reply known as the Declaration to Seven Syrians (E. Kedourie, *England and the Middle East*, 113-5). The group included Michel Luṭf Allāh as president, Rashīd Riḍā as vice-president, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shābandar and Salīm Sarkīs as joint secretaries. When eventually Sharīf Fayṣal was installed in Damascus at the head of an Arab government, the conditions in Syria became such that the grouping had no longer a *raison d'être* and, in fact, its members are later found adopting a variety of positions in Syrian politics.

The short-lived Sharīfian régime in Syria (November 1918-July 1920) was characterized by an active, not to say turbulent, political life. The *fatāt* society was reconstituted, with some of the most prominent Sharīfians, such as ʿAlī Riḍā al-Rikābī, Yāsīn al-Hāshimī, Aḥmad Ḳadrī and Nasīb al-Bakrī as leaders. But the *fatāt* never seems to have made its existence or membership public; instead a political party was organized to work in public for the aims

of the secret society: this was *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl al-ʿarabī*, the declared purpose of which was the liberation of all Arab countries from foreign domination. The pan-Arab inclinations of the leaders of the *istiḳlāl* and the *fatāt*, many of whom were then young, unknown, and with no local standing in Damascus, evoked some opposition among Damascene notables, who organized *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-sūrī*, the secretary of which was Muḥammad al-Sharīḳī and the declared aim of which was to work for a Syria 'independent within its natural frontiers'. Another group concerned with the political future of Syria was one organized by some Syrian Christians in Cairo in 1919 to work for a United States mandate in Syria. The group was called *al-ḥizb al-sūrī al-muʿtadil*, and its members included Fāris Nimr, Saʿīd Shuḳayr, Yaʿḳūb Ṣarrūf and Ilyās ʿĪsāwī. The group delegated two of its members, Fāris Nimr and Khalīl Khayyāṭ, to put its views before Charles Crane of the King-Crane Commission which visited the Levant in the summer of 1919. When it became clear that there was no possibility of the U.S.A. accepting such a mandate, nothing more was heard of the group.

The aftermath of war saw Mesopotamia, which was under British occupation, in an unsettled condition. The tribes and cities of the Middle and Lower Euphrates, predominantly Shīʿī, were in effervescence, as were the Kurdish areas; Baghdād was full of disgruntled ex-Ottoman officials and officers, and the Sharīfian régime in Syria encouraged warlike activities against the British authorities. The Sharīfian officers in Syria who had been members of the pre-war *ʿahd* sent emissaries to Baghdād, and secretly constituted a group of their sympathizers under the name of *djamʿiyyat al-ʿahd al-ʿirāḳī*. This was a predominantly Sunnī group. Some Shīʿī leaders of Baghdād and Kāẓimayn formed their own secret political society to protect Shīʿī interests in the anti-British struggle. The society was known as *djamʿiyyat ḥaras al-istiḳlāl*. Its founders included ʿAlī al-Bāzirgān, Shaykh Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Shabībī, Hādī Zwayn, Muḥammad Djaʿfar Abu'l-Timman and Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ṣadr. With the installation of Fayṣal as King of Iraq in 1921, new issues and new groupings led to the disappearance of both the *ʿahd* and the *ḥaras*.

Iraq.—The Kingdom of Iraq was supposed to be a constitutional, parliamentary monarchy [see DUSTŪR]. But as in Egypt, though here the circumstances and reasons were quite different, parliament never functioned in a normal or representative fashion but was rather the instrument of whatever effective authority existed in the country at any moment. Parties therefore during the monarchical régime (1922-1958) may be described as more or less factions composed of politicians manoeuvring on the restricted and artificial political scene of the capital. The first parties to be formed under the monarchy were *ḥizb al-nahḍa al-ʿirāḳiyya* and *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*, both founded in August 1922. They were composed of public men who were dissatisfied with the second ministry of Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Naḳīb and who were prepared to adopt an intransigeant stance towards the mandatory power. The leaders of the *nahḍa* group included Ḥamdī al-Pačadji and Nādjī al-Suwaydī, whilst *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī* was, and remained until the mid-thirties, when it disappeared from view, identified with Muḥammad Djaʿfar Abu 'l-Timman whose following it in fact constituted. Al-Naḳīb's government also organized its supporters in a party known as *al-ḥizb al-ḥurr*, which disappeared from view when al-Naḳīb finally relinquished power in November 1922. The *nahḍa* seems to have disintegrated some time between 1924 and 1925. The next party to be recorded is *ḥizb al-taḳaddum*, formed in June 1925, which was in fact the following of ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Saʿdūn who formed his second administration at that time; the party disappeared when this ministry fell in November 1926. Another party, even more ephemeral, dating from this period, was *ḥizb al-shaʿb*, which Yāsīn al-Hāshimī formed in November 1925 in order to muster opposition to the government. Parties are no more heard of until 1930 when an Anglo-Iraqi treaty was being negotiated, and political rivalries and passions were at a high pitch. Nūrī al-Saʿīd was Prime Minister—in his first administration—and in order to muster support for his policies formed *ḥizb al-ʿahd*—appropriating the name of the secret society of which he had been a member in Ottoman times; this party stayed in being until Nūrī al-Saʿīd relinquished power in October 1932. The chief opponent of the administration, Yāsīn al-Hāshimī, also formed a party in 1930, which was known as *ḥizb al-ikhāʾ al-waṭanī*. The *ikhāʾ* group included Rashīd ʿĀlī al-Gaylānī, Ḥikmat Sulaymān, Nādjī al-Suwaydī, ʿAlī Djawdat al-Ayyūbī, Kāmil al-Čadirdji and ʿAbd al-Ilāh Ḥāfiẓ. The group remained in being until April 1935 when it voluntarily dissolved itself, its leader Yāsīn al-Hāshimī having just then formed his second administration. The group played an important rôle in Iraqi politics, organizing conspiracies and fomenting tribal rebellions in the Euphrates against the governments then in power. During the brief administration of Nādjī Shawkat (November 1932-March 1933) an ephemeral parliamentary group, *al-kutla al-barlamāniyya*, was formed in order to support the government, and the group went out of existence when it fell. A similar group, similarly ephemeral, was *ḥizb al-waḥda al-waṭaniyya*, which was formed to support the first administration of ʿAlī Djawdat al-Ayyūbī (August 1934-February 1935). From the *coup d'état* of General Bakīr Ṣidḳī al-ʿAskarī (October 1936) until April 1946, Iraqi politicians did not seem to find it necessary or feasible to group themselves into parties, but in this period two political groups deserve mention because they embody ideological trends which were to reappear after the second world war. The first of these groups was *djamʿiyyat al-iṣlāḥ al-shaʿbī*, formed in November 1936, the founders of which were Kāmil al-Čadirdji, Yūsuf Ibrāhīm, Nādjī al-Aṣīl, and Muḥammad Djaʿfar Abu 'l-Timman. The tone of the group was set not by its founders but by a younger group of members who held socialist views and who had been informally associated since 1931 round the newspaper *al-Ahālī*, and who were therefore known as *djamāʿat al-Ahālī*; this younger group included Ḥusayn Djamīl, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Ismāʿīl and his relative ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad Ḥadīd and Khalīl Kanna, all of whom had some rôle to play in Iraqi politics after 1945 and all of whom, except for the last-named, remained faithful to the socialist ideology. This younger group in *djamʿiyyat al-islāḥ al-shaʿbī* seem to have been in hopes that their ideas would be adopted as the official programme of the government, but the resignation of three of their founders from the Ḥikmat Sulaymān administration in June 1937, and the fall of Ḥikmat Sulaymān shortly thereafter, spelt in fact the end of the society and its activities. The other group worth mentioning in the period 1936-1946 is *nādī al-Muthannā*, which existed from about 1937 to the collapse of Rashīd ʿĀlī al-Gaylānī's *coup d'état* in May 1941. The Club was dedicated to the spread of pan-Arabism; its

ideas were influential at the time and many of its members participated in Iraqi politics after 1945, notably in *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl.*

After the second world war, the Regent ʿAbd al-Ilāh in a speech of December 1945 gave an impulsion to the formation of political parties, and in April 1946 five parties were licensed: *ḥizb al-aḥrār, ḥizb al-istiḳlāl, al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-dīmūḳrāṭī, ḥizb al-s͟haʿb* and *ḥizb al-ittiḥād al-waṭanī. Ḥizb al-aḥrār* was founded by eight men, none of whom was prominent in politics; it does not seem to have had any noticeable political activity, and it decided to 'freeze' itself in December 1948, after which date nothing more was heard of it. *Ḥizb al-istiḳlāl* was formed by a group which included Muḥammad Mahdī Kubba, K͟halīl Kanna and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ẓāhir; it was pan-Arab in its views and included many of those who had followed or sympathized with Ras͟hīd ʿĀlī al-Gaylānī's *coup d'état* of 1941. The Party remained active in opposition to successive governments until it went out of existence in September 1954, when a decree was issued at the beginning of Nūrī al-Saʿīd's twelfth administration dissolving all existing associations and clubs in Iraq. *Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-dīmūḳrāṭī* was formed by some of the old members of *d̲jamʿiyyat al-iṣlāḥ al-s͟haʿbī*; the founders included Kāmil al-Čadird̲ji, Muḥammad Ḥadīd, Ḥusayn D̲jamīl, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Mird̲jān and Ṣādiḳ Kammūna; it declared itself dedicated to the reform of land tenure, equality, social welfare and economic planning. The Party was active in opposition to successive governments, but it decided to suspend activities between December 1948 and March 1950 when it considered that the repressive policy of the authorities allowed it no scope to function; the government dissolved it in September 1954. The founders of *ḥizb al-s͟haʿb* included ʿAzīz S͟harīf, Tawfīḳ Munīr and ʿAbd al-Amīr Abū Trāb; the Party was socialist and more to the left than *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-dīmūḳrāṭī*; it was banned for subversion in September 1947. The founders of *ḥizb al-ittiḥād al-waṭanī* included ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad Mahdī al-D̲jawāhirī; it too, was leftist in sympathies and was also banned for subversion in September 1947. It will be observed that contrary to the pattern of Iraqi political parties in the nineteen-twenties and thirties, these five parties were not combinations of politicians competing among themselves for power, but were rather—except for *ḥizb al-aḥrār*—ideological groups who remained strangers to political power, and whose weapons—mostly ineffectual—were the public speech, the newspaper article and the occasional demonstration.

But the more usual kind of Iraqi political party is also met with after 1945. Sāmī S͟hawkat and a few of his associates formed a party, *ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ*, in November 1949; this group was not successful in attaining office and amalgamated in July 1951 with *ḥizb al-umma al is͟htirākī*, which Ṣāliḥ D̲jābir and his associates had formed the previous month to act as a rival grouping to Nūrī al-Saʿīd and his associates. The latter had himself formed a party in November 1949 (which he voluntarily dissolved in August 1954) and gave it the name of *ḥizb al-ittiḥād al-dustūrī*. It remains finally to notice a hybrid group of politicians and ideologists which was formed in May 1951 under the name of *al-d̲jabha al-s͟haʿbiyya al-muttaḥida*. The founders included Ṭāhā al-Hās͟himī, Muzāḥim al-Pačad̲ji, Muḥammad Riḍā al-S͟habībī, Naṣrat al-Fārisī, Ṣādiḳ al-Baṣṣām, Burhān al-Dīn Bās͟haʿyān, Maḥmud al-Durra, Nad̲jīb al-Ṣāyig͟h and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-S͟hayk͟hlī. The *d̲jabha* was dedicated to the principle of neutralism in foreign policy; it therefore opposed the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of Alliance and the governments who were in favour of upholding it. It was not a homogeneous group, being composed of politicians hoping for office and using the front as a lever for their ambitions, and of ideologists whose hopes of office were remote; rifts between members appeared, and in August 1954 the front ceased all activity.

Syria.—The early years of the French mandate in Syria show little party political activity. Syrian nationalists protested now and again at French rule in Syria, but until 1925 such protest was little organized. In May of that year, the Syrian leader ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-S͟hābandar founded, together with other Syrian nationalists, including Ḥasan al-Ḥakīm, Luṭfī al-Ḥaffār and Fāris al-K͟hūrī, *ḥizb al-s͟haʿb*; but this Party was short-lived, since the French authorities banned it the following August on suspecting it of involvement in the Druze rebellion which had just started. In the anti-French troubles which followed, S͟hābandar took a prominent part, and when the French were successful in pacifying the country, he went into exile and remained absent from Syria until 1937. The next Syrian political grouping was *al-kutla al-waṭaniyya*, formed in about 1929, which was organized formally at a meeting in Ḥimṣ in November 1932. The National Bloc was dedicated to the attainment of Syrian independence and Arab unity; it was led by Ibrāhīm Hanānū and Hās͟him al-Atāsī, and among its prominent members were Saʿd Allāh al-D̲jābirī, D̲jamīl Mardam, S͟hukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kayyālī, Luṭfī al-Ḥaffār, Edmond Rabbath, Fak͟hrī al-Bārūdī and Mik͟hāʾīl Ilyān. The Bloc was the main political grouping in Syria in the nineteen-thirties. Its leaders were influential in the country and frequently enjoyed a considerable following in their localities; the Bloc was essentially a coalition of notables united by struggle against the French, but here and there, now and again, they succeeded in mobilizing the mass and organizing it in towns like Damascus, Ḥamāt and Aleppo, but only by fits and starts. Their success in this enterprise was greater between 1936 and 1939 when they exercised power with French help and consent, dominating the legislature and dispensing administrative patronage; in this period, they organized a paramilitary youth movement, *al-s͟habāb al-waṭanī*, the uniform of which was an iron-grey shirt. Along with the *kutla*, there were in the nineteen-thirties a variety of evanescent political groups which came and went depending on French encouragement, political rivalries or foreign (whether European or Iraqi) inspiration. Of the groups, the best known are *ʿuṣbat al-ʿamal al-ḳawmī, ḥizb al-waḥda al-ʿarabiyya, ḥizb al-inḳād͟h, al-d̲jabha al-waṭaniyya al-muttaḥida*, and *al-hayʾa al-s͟haʿbiyya*, which constituted S͟hābandar's own political following when, on his return to Damascus in 1937, he fell out with his colleagues of the Bloc. Overt political activity in Syria ceased between the outbreak of the second world war and 1943, when parliamentary elections were held, but in 1941 a small political group dedicated to the support of Ras͟hīd ʿĀlī al-Gaylānī in Iraq was formed by two Damascus schoolteachers, Michel ʿAflaḳ and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bīṭār; the group was known as *d̲jamāʿat nuṣrat al-ʿIrāḳ*; it was the nucleus of what later became *ḥizb al-baʿt͟h al-ʿarabī*, which in 1953 amalgamated with a group founded in the late nineteen-forties by Akram al-Ḥawrānī, *al-ḥizb al-ʿarabī al-is͟htirākī*, in order to become *ḥizb al-baʿt͟h al-ʿarabī al-is͟htirākī*, dedicated to pan-Arabism and socialism and oper-

ating not only in Syria but also in the Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq as well, and, with the support of sympathetic army officers, actually exercising power in both Syria and Iraq. The elections of 1943 resulted in an overwhelming majority for the National Bloc, which took power and, with British support, succeeded in securing French departure from Syria. The Bloc, a coalition of politicians, suffered from fissiparous tendencies; this was the case in 1936-39, when jealousy and dissensions between different leaders and areas were already visible, and also after 1943, when the very extent of its victory aroused jealousies and cupidities. In 1947 some politicians seceded from the Bloc and formed *ḥizb al-sha*ʿ*b*. Another group of politicians, constituting the following of Khālid al-ʿAẓm, was formed in 1955 under the name of *al-kutla al-dīmūḳrāṭiyya*. But political factions such as the National Bloc, the People's Party and the Democratic Bloc, became of little importance when after 1949 army officers constantly intervened in politics. It was these officers who increasingly determined the character of political life in Syria after 1949.

The Lebanon.—Political activity in the Greater Lebanon, which the French authorities constituted in 1920, was somewhat different in character from that obtaining in the autonomous *mutaṣarrifiyya* of Mount Lebanon. In Mount Lebanon the main political problem arose out of the rivalries and mutual fears of Druzes and Maronites; whereas in Greater Lebanon, the presence of a sizeable Muslim contingent predominantly Sunnī meant that political rivalries and combinations were more complex, but the parliamentary institutions as devised by the mandatory government (see P. Rondot, *Les institutions politiques du Liban*, Paris 1947) ensured that the political divisions between parties did not reproduce, reflect and hence exacerbate religious differences. An early political grouping which was more like a discussion group than a political party proper was *ḥizb al-taraḳḳī*, which existed for a few years after 1920. It was headed by the Marquis de Freij and included among its members Émile Edde, Bishāra al-Khūrī, Yūsuf al-Djumayyil and Michel Shīḥā. It was, however, not until the early nineteen-thirties that a stable and relatively long-lived political grouping came into being. This was *al-kutla al-dustūriyya*, which was a grouping of deputies in the Chamber elected at the beginning of 1934 headed by Bishāra al-Khūrī who, for the next decade, was to contend for office and power with his fellow Maronite Émile Edde. *Al-kutla al-dustūriyya* was so called because one of its members had asked before the elections of 1934 for the restoration of constitutional and parliamentary government. Émile Edde's supporters were grouped in *al-kutla al-waṭaniyya*, which in 1945 changed its name to *ḥizb al-sha*ʿ*b*. Other factions composed of politicians and their clients appeared after the withdrawal of French authority in 1943; they were all ephemeral, coming into being under particular circumstances and disappearing with their disappearance: thus a group calling itself *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl* came into being in 1944 to oppose Riyāḍ al-Ṣulḥ, then in office; it included ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Karāme, Ṣā'ib Slām, ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāfī and Henry Pharaon; in 1946 another such group, calling itself *kutlat al-iṣlāḥ*, was formed by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Karāme, Yūsuf Karam, Kamāl Djunblāṭ, ʿUmar Bayhum and ʿUmar al-Dāʿūḳ to oppose Sāmī al-Ṣulḥ, then in office; 1947 saw still another group, *kutlat al-taḥarrur al-waṭanī*, similar in aim and slightly different in composition. Besides these political factions, the Lebanon has seen other political groupings. In 1932, Anṭūn Saʿāda formed *al-ḥizb al-sūrī al-ḳawmī al-idjtimāʿī*; this was an ideological movement dedicated to the formation of a political entity embracing the Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan, Palestine, Iraq and Cyprus, this area being, according to the founder, the homeland of the Syrian nation. Anṭūn Saʿāda attempted—with some success—to create a mass movement in Syria and the Lebanon which inclined to violence and conspiracy in politics; the Party consequently had many ups and downs both in Syria and the Lebanon before and after Anṭūn Saʿāda's execution in July 1949 after his conviction before a Lebanese military court for taking part in armed rebellion. 1936-7 saw the formation of two movements with paramilitary features: *ḥizb al-nadjdjāda*, which grew out of the Muslim Boy Scout movement, and *ḥizb al-katā'ib al-lubnāniyya* (*les Phalanges libanaises*) founded by Pierre Djumayyil for the protection of Maronite interests. Finally, in 1949, Kamāl Djunblāṭ founded *al-ḥizb al-taḳaddumī al-ishtirākī*, which advertized a socialist ideology, but which remained, by and large, a group consisting of the founder's personal following.

Palestine.—Zionism was the main issue in terms of which the Arabic-speaking population of Palestine had to define its political divisions and rivalries. Leadership in the anti-Zionist struggle was disputed between two prominent families, the Ḥusaynīs and the Nashāshībīs. A member of the former family, Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, became early in the nineteen-twenties *muftī* of Jerusalem and president of *al-madjlis al-islāmī al-a*ʿ*lā*, which was set up by the Mandatory authorities to supervise and administer Muslim religious endowments and establishments in Palestine. A member of the latter family, Rāghib al-Nashāshībī became mayor of Jerusalem. These two personalities became the focus round which their respective followers were gathered, and in the nineteen-twenties Arabic-speaking Palestine was divided between two factions, the *madjlisiyyūn*, who constituted the Ḥusaynī following, and the *mu*ʿ*āriḍūn* who opposed them. In 1931, a number of politicians who believed in Pan-Arabism formed *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl*; the group included Akram Zuʿaytar, Ṣubḥī al-Khaḍrā, ʿAwnī ʿAbd al-Hādī, Muḥammad ʿIzzat Darwaza, Muʿīn al-Māḍī and ʿAdjdjādj Nuwayhiḍ; in December 1934, the Nashāshībī faction was formally constituted into a Party, *ḥizb al-difā*ʿ *al-waṭanī*, and in April of the following year the Ḥusaynī faction also constituted itself into a Party, *al-ḥizb al-*ʿ*arabī al-filasṭīnī*, the president of which was Djamāl al-Ḥusaynī. In June of the same year Dr. Ḥusayn al-Khālidī (hitherto in opposition to the *muftī*) organized his following into *ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ*, and, opposing the Nashāshībī faction, captured the office of mayor of Jerusalem. In October 1935 a Nablus group formed itself into *ḥizb al-kutla al-waṭaniyya*. All these different groupings proved quite ephemeral, for in April 1936, at the beginning of the long drawn-out Palestine troubles, they agreed to form a body, *al-ladjna al-*ʿ*arabiyya al-*ʿ*ulyā*, in which they were all represented, in order to coordinate the struggle against the Mandatory Power. The subsequent events in Palestine between 1936 and 1948 allowed no further opportunity for the formation of party groups. But some of the parties formed earlier, notably *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl* and *al-ḥizb al-*ʿ*arabī*, resumed their activities between 1943 and the end of the Mandate.

The Sudan.—Political parties in the Sudan were quite late in making an appearance, and when they did, their activities were governed by their connexion with the heads of the two leading *ṭarīḳas*, the Khāt-

miyya and the Anṣār, and the attitude they adopted toward union with or separation from Egypt. In March 1938 the formation of a group, *mu'tamar al-khirrīdjīn al-ʿāmm*, was announced, the aim of which was to promote the general welfare of the country and its graduates (by the term 'graduate' was meant someone who had finished school at the intermediate grade or above). The group wished for a greater share in government to be given to the Sudanese. A split in the ranks of the Congress led after 1942 to the formation of another group, the *ashikkā'* led by Ismāʿīl al-Azharī, which was allied with the Khātmiyya *ṭarīḳa* and dedicated to unity with Egypt. Opposing them was *ḥizb al-umma*, which called for the complete independence of the Sudan, and was backed by the Anṣār. In August 1949 another group, *al-djabha al-waṭaniyya*, was formed which aimed at Dominion status for the Sudan under the Egyptian crown. To this group Khātmiyya support was given for a time. In 1951 a group dedicated to the formation of a Sudanese republic immune from Mahdist influence was formed: it was called *al-ḥizb al-djumhūrī al-ishtirākī*; it never had much influence. In 1952 the *ashikkā'* and the *djabha* combined to form *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-ittiḥādī* which, led by Ismāʿīl al-Azharī, proclaimed unity with Egypt as its objective. This group came to power in January 1954 and remained in office until the *coup d'état* of 1958 put an end to party political activity. In spite of its professed aims, the Party, when in power, found that it had to acquiesce in separation from Egypt.

Tunisia.—The French Protectorate of Tunisia dating from 1881 was the framework within which organized Tunisian political activity took place. This Protectorate facilitated the settlement of Frenchmen and other Europeans in the country and slowly led to increasing French control over Tunisian administration. Such a situation led a small number of educated Tunisians to form a group in 1907 known as the *Parti Jeune Tunisien*, whose aim was to work for a constitution and a greater scope for Tunisians in public affairs. The group included ʿAlī Bāsh Ḥamba and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Thaʿālibī. At the end of the First World War, the group came to be known as the *Parti Tunisien*. It presented a memorandum to President Wilson in April 1919 and published a book in Paris in 1920, *La Tunisie Martyre*, which was written by Thaʿālibī and Ahmad Saḳḳā and which set out Tunisian grievances. In June of the same year, the *Parti Tunisien* changed its name to *Parti Libéral Constitutionnel* (*al-ḥizb al-ḥurr al-dustūrī*), commonly known thereafter as the Destour. Towards the end of the nineteen-twenties the Party became revitalized through the efforts of a younger generation of members, including Habib Bourguiba (al-Ḥabīb Abū Ruḳayba), al-Shādhilī Khayr Allāh and Maḥmūd Māṭirī. The younger men led by Bourguiba soon clashed with their elders, and at the Party Congress of Ḳaṣr Hilāl in March 1934 Bourguiba captured the organization, which he continued henceforth to lead in spite of many challenges and vicissitudes. The Party came henceforth to be known as the neo-Destour to indicate the rejection by the new leaders of the ideas of those whom they called '*archéos*'. Under Bourguiba's leadership, the neo-Destour stood for Tunisian independence. Bourguiba also transformed the Party into a mass movement with a country-wide organization and a pyramidal chain of command with himself at the apex. The Party was composed of branches (*shuʿab*) of two kinds: territorial (*shuʿba turābiyya*) and non-territorial (*shuʿba ghayr turābiyya*), the latter being found in a large city like Tunis, and comprising members from the same home-town or locality. The Party also organized the youth in special formations, *al-shabība al-dustūriyya*, and controlled the Tunisian trade union movement, *al-ittiḥād al-ʿāmm al-tūnisī li'l-shughl*. The new technique of canalizing mass emotions for political ends is described in a remarkable passage by one of Bourguiba's prominent followers, in which he says that when Bourguiba made speeches orator and audience became as one flesh, the mass responding to the inflexions of the speaker's voice 'being moved by his emotion, angered by his anger, and reflecting if he compelled it to think' (ʿAlī al-Bahlawān, *Tūnis al-thā'ira*, Cairo 1954, 73.) After the attainment of Tunisian independence, the neo-Destour consolidated its position in the country, and is today the only political organization in Tunisia.

Algeria.—It is only after the First World War that purely Algerian organized political activity emerges. And it emerges not in Algeria itself, but among the Algerian proletariat in France. In 1926, the French Communist Party tried to organize Algerian workers into a grouping known as the *Étoile Nord-Africaine*; in 1927 this grouping came to be led by the Algerian Meṣṣālī al-Ḥādj who had served in the French army and been demobilized in France. The *Étoile* was a left-wing anti-colonial proletarian organization which operated in France, not in Algeria. It had many ups and downs, its leaders were repeatedly prosecuted and the association itself banned for alleged subversion. In 1936, Meṣṣālī al-Ḥādj, having fled to Switzerland to escape the police, met there the Amīr Shakīb Arslān and, under his influence, gave up his Communist sympathies and began to work for an Arab Islamic Algeria. In 1937 he founded the *Parti du Peuple Algérien* which recruited its members and organized them in cells in Algeria itself, and worked for Algerian independence. On the outbreak of the second world war, the authorities banned the Party and imprisoned its leader. In 1946, having been allowed to return to Algeria, he organized his followers into a new party, the *Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques*, which called for a sovereign Algerian republic and for the unity of the Maghrib. The *Mouvement* was the public and legal front of the *Parti du Peuple Algérien*, which had worked underground since its banning in 1939. An even more secret grouping which was set up by Meṣṣālī al-Ḥādj and his colleagues was the paramilitary *Organisation Spéciale*, the head of which was Aḥmad bin Bella. In April 1954, he and eight of his colleagues set up in Cairo the *Comité Révolutionnaire d'Unité et d'Action* which organized insurrection against the French authorities in Algeria. The *Comité* launched the *Front de Libération Nationale*, to whom the French Government eventually conceded Algerian independence. The Front has become the only political movement in the Algerian Republic.

Other political groupings appeared on the Algerian scene in the nineteen-thirties and forties. In 1934, Muḥammad Ṣalāḥ bin Djilūl (Ben Djellul) organized the Muslim local representatives of the *département* of Constantine into a *Fédération des Élus musulmans du département de Constantine*. Other *fédérations* were also set up and these groups, loosely organized as they were, did attempt to adopt a common line of policy towards the authorities. What they desired was a lessening of Algerian disabilities and a greater share in government. Algerian independence was not an objective of theirs; neither was it the objective of the *Rassemblement franco-musulman algérien*, which bin Djilūl organized in 1938, or of the *Union Populaire al-*

gérienne which Farḥāt ʿAbbās set up in the same year. Neither of these groups was destined to have a long life. In March 1943 Farḥāt ʿAbbās addressed a manifesto to the Governor-General of Algeria entitled *L'Algérie devant le conflict mondial. Manifeste du peuple algérien*, asking for justice for the Algerian Muslims and Algerian autonomy. In 1944 Farḥāt ʿAbbās organized *Les Amis du Manifeste et de la Liberté*, which he designed as a mass movement to take the place of the *Parti du Peuple Algérien*. Whether or not his methods in 1944-5 contributed to the rising of May 1945 in the Constantinois, the authorities did arrest him and dissolved his organization. On his release in 1946 he organized the *Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien*, forsaking mass agitation, his watchword being: 'Ni assimilation, ni nouveaux maîtres, ni séparatisme'. In April 1956, he joined the National Liberation Front.

Morocco.—Organized political party activity in Morocco dates from the nineteen-thirties. Its origin lies in the protest organized by some young Moroccans in 1930 against the Berber dahir [see ẓahīr] and French policy, which they took to aim at separating the Berbers from the Moroccan polity. A group of these young men produced in 1934 a *Plan de réformes marocaines*, and organized themselves into a *Comité d'action marocaine*. The group included Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Wazzānī and ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, who were the two most prominent members, ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Djalīl, Muḥammad al-Makkī al-Nāṣirī, Maḥmūd al-Yazīdī and Muḥammad Duyūrī. The *Comité* was banned in March 1937 and reconstituted the following month as the *Parti national pour la réalisation du plan de réformes*, which also was banned the following October. In April 1937 Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Wazzāni, who had fallen out with his fellow-members of the *Comité*, organized a political group under the name of *Action nationale marocaine*, which was likewise banned in October 1937. These early political groupings were much influenced by the political ideas of Shakīb Arslān, who had visited Tetuan in 1930 and to whom Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Wazzānī had for some time acted as secretary; they were also encouraged in their activities by the sympathy of some French socialists, notably Robert-Jean Longuet who had started the periodical *Maghreb* in Paris in 1932.

Between October 1937 and 1943 there was little political party activity in the French zone of Morocco. In the Spanish zone, the Spanish Civil War starting in 1936 had a direct and important influence on the character of political party activities. The Spanish Nationalist authorities, who speedily came to control the zone, wished to secure political support among the Moroccans and encouraged the formation in June 1936 of a party led by ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Ṭurays (Torrès) under the name of *ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ al-waṭanī*. In February 1937 Makkī al-Nāṣirī was encouraged to form a rival group, *ḥizb al-waḥda al-maghribiyya*. The two groups remained in existence until the end of the Protectorate, intermittently enjoying the favour and support of the authorities.

Towards the end of 1943, conditions inside and outside Morocco making political activity in the French zone once more possible, the *Istiḳlāl* Party was formed. It was led by the same group who had formed the *Comité d'action marocaine* and the *Parti national*; its most prominent members were Aḥmad Balāfridj, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm bū ʿAbid, Muḥammad al-Yazīdī and ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Djalīl. But the *Istiḳlāl* Party differed from earlier groupings by the fact that it succeeded in organizing from 1945 onwards a countrywide network of cells (*djamāʿāt*, sing. *djamāʿa*) with a pyramidal chain of command; it could thus mobilize the masses in the struggle against the French Protectorate which ended successfully in 1956. The *Istiḳlāl* Party during the period 1945-1956 thus functioned as a movement. Alongside it there were a number of groupings which were more in the nature of factions: Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Wazzānī organized in 1946 the *Parti démocratique de l'indépendance* (which after independence became the *Parti démocratique constitutionnel*); the *Sharīf* Mūlāy Idrīs organized in 1947 the *Parti démocrate marocain des hommes libres*, and in 1948 Bashīr Zimrānī formed the *Parti du peuple marocain*. These two latter parties supported the Protectorate and in turn enjoyed official protection.

After independence the *Istiḳlāl* party emerged as the most powerful political organization in the country, but in 1959 there was a split in its ranks, and two of its leaders, Mahdī bin Barka and ʿAbd Allāh Ibrāhīm, led a new party with leftist leanings, the *Union nationale des forces populaires*, which seems to enjoy some mass support.

Communist Parties.—From the end of the first world war, small, usually clandestine, groups of communists have existed in the Arab East; their formation has sometimes been assisted or influenced by emissaries of the Third International, by communists in the Palestine Jewish settlement or by Armenian refugees with leftist sympathies. Details concerning them are found in W. Z. Laqueur, *Communism and nationalism in the Middle East*, London 1956, which, for Iraq, should be supplemented by John Batatu, *Some preliminary observations on the beginnings of communism in the Arab East*, in J. Pennar, ed., *Islam and Communism*, Munich 1960. In the Maghrib, communist parties were rather offshoots of the French Communist Party which gradually separated off from it; details of their activities may be found in the works of Le Tourneau, Rézette and Robert listed below. On communism in Arab countries, see further shuyūʿiyya.

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(E. Kedourie)

ii.—Ottoman Empire and Turkey

Political parties became a regular feature of Turkish political life only after the revolution of 1908. Their precursors were coteries engaged in conspiracy within the Ottoman Empire or in agitation from exile [see djamʿiyya]. These included societies formed among non-Muslim or non-Turkish groups aiming at autonomy or independence and groups of Ottoman Muslims dedicated to a change of rulers or of the constitution—*e.g.*, the *Ethnike Hetairia* (Odessa 1814, later headed by Alexander Hypsilanti) which prepared Greek independence; the Social Democrat Hunchakian (or Hinčak) Party (Geneva 1887, the name dates from 1898) and the Dashnaktsutiun Committee (Caucasus 1890) (see L. Nalbandian, *The Armenian revolutionary movement*, Berkeley 1963); the *Fedāʾīler Djemʿiyyeti* ('Society of Zealots'), which attempted to depose ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in the Kuleli Incident of 1859; *Yeñi ʿOthmānlılar Djemʿiyyeti* ([*q.v.*] Istanbul 1865), whose members after a period in exile played prominent rôles in the constitutional revolution of 1876; and the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* ([*q.v.*] Istanbul 1889, subsequently in exile and founded anew in Salonica in 1906). This last group, known to Europeans as the Committee of Union and Progress or more loosely as the Young Turks, was responsible for the restoration of the constitution in July 1908 and the suppression of the counter-revolutionary movement in April 1909 (*Otuz-Bir Mart Waḳʿasi*).

The revolution of 1908-9 was a triumph of conspiracy and of party; yet the C.U.P. remained somewhat in the background and did not fully seize power until the *coup d'état* of January 1913. Meanwhile a large number of parties were formed inside and outside of the parliament, mainly among opponents or dissidents of the C.U.P. who objected to its intense partisanship and to its increasing Turkish nationalist bias; the most notable of these was the *Ḥürriyet we Iʾtilāf Firḳasi* [*q.v.*] or *Entente Libérale* of 1911. Secret conspiracy also resumed, *e.g.*, among the *Khalāṣkār Ḍābiṭān* who forced the appointment of an anti-C.U.P. cabinet in 1912. After the assassination of Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha in June 1913, however, the C.U.P. government suppressed all opposition, sending the leading liberals into banishment or exile.

Intense party activity recommenced after the armistice of October 1918. In Istanbul the C.U.P., whose leaders had fled [see enwer pasha], reconstituted itself as the *Tedjeddüd Firḳasi* or Renewal Party; others revived various anti-C.U.P. groupings, promoted separatist interest (*e.g.*, the *Kürdistān Teʿālī Djemʿiyyeti* of Seyyid ʿAbd al-Ḳādir); advocated close collaboration with the British (the *Ingiliz Muḥibbler Djemʿiyyeti* of Saʿīd Molla); or invoked national self-determination for the Turks (the *Wilson Prensipleri Djemʿiyyeti* of Khālide Edīb and others). These manoeuvres, however, remained without much consequence because in Istanbul power was in the hands of the occupying forces and in Anatolia of the nationalists. Nationalist organization in the peripheral provincial towns (Edirne, Adana, Izmir, Erzurum, etc.) formed around local C.U.P. leaders and other notables; its aim was to resist encroachments by Allied authorities or non-Turkish groups. The local societies were coordinated in a series of regional congresses and in a national congress at Sivas (4-11 September 1919) under Muṣṭafā Kemāl [Atatürk], at which they merged in the *Anadolu we Rūmeli Müdāfaʿa-i Ḥuḳūḳ Djemʿiyyeti*, or Society for the defence of rights of Anatolia and Rumelia. This group dominated the first Grand National Assembly at Ankara, although a more conservative faction, the so-called "Second Group", informally organized and opposed to Muṣṭafā Kemāl's personal leadership, split off in 1922 (one of its leaders was Djalāl al-Dīn ʿĀrif [*q.v.*]). In 1923, Kemāl transformed the *Müdāfāʿa-i Ḥuḳūḳ* into the Republican People's Party (R.P.P., or *Djumhūriyyet Khalḳ Firḳasi* [*q.v.*]), which dominated the Turkish political scene until 1950.

The one-party period was briefly interrupted by the appearance of two opposition parties. The first of these, the Progressive Republican Party (*Teraḳḳīperver Djumhūriyyet Firḳasi*) was formed late in 1924 among Kemāl's early close collaborators, including ʿAlī Fuʾād [Cebesoy], Kāẓim Karabekir, Raʾūf [Orbay], and Bekīr Sāmī, rallied a total of 28 deputies, and was dissolved under the Law for the restoration of order (*Taḳrīr-i sükūn ḳānūnu*) on 3 June 1925. The other, called the Free Republican Party, was founded and dissolved at Kemāl's behest by his good friend ʿAlī Fetḥī [Okyar] (12 August-

18 December 1930). The transition to a multiparty system was announced by President Ismet Inönü in his speech of 19 May 1945, and as many as 27 parties were founded by 1950. The most prominent among these were the Democratic Party (*Demokrat Parti*), founded in 1946 by Celâl Bayar, Adnan Menderes, and other R.P.P. dissidents; and the Nation Party, formed in 1948 by Fevzi Çakmak [*q.v.*], Osman Bölükbaşı, and other dissidents from the D.P. The Democrats campaigned for a liberalization of the economy, for agricultural development, and a relaxation of the R.P.P.'s secularism; the Nation Party took a more intransigent tone of opposition toward the R.P.P. and later the D.P. and favoured religious conservatism.

tween 1961 and 1965 a number of coalition governments were formed, and for a time the military hierarchy continued to play an important political rôle behind the scenes; but the political contest increasingly has turned into one between the R.P.P. and the Justice Party, and in 1965 the chief issue between them was socialism versus free enterprise.

Bibliography: The leading work, Tarik Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyede siyasî partiler 1859-1952*, Istanbul 1952, contains a complete listing of all parties and similar groups founded during this period, together with the names of their founders and copious reprints from programmes and other documents. See also Frederick W. Frey, *The Turkish political élite*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965; K. H. Karpat,

The following table indicates the strength of the parties since 1946.

	1946(a)	1950	1954	1957	1961(b)	1965
% of eligible voters participating		89.1	88.8	77.2	81.8	71
% of votes						
Republican People's Party		40.0	35.3	40.9	36.7	53
Democratic Party		53.5	56.6	47.7		
Justice Party					34.8	29
Nation Party		3.3	4.9	7.2	14.0	8(d)
Others		3.2	3.2	4.2	14.5(c)	10
Republican People's Party	397	67	31	178	173	134
Democratic Party	59	416	504	424		
Justice Party					158	240
Nation Party		1	5	4	54	42
Others	6	3	1		65(c)	34
Total	462	487	541	610	450	450

Notes to Table: (a) No election figures available. (b) National Assembly only. (c) New Turkey Party 13.7% and 65 seats. (d) Nation Party and Republican Peasants' Nation Party.

Party organization, which between 1908 and 1945 had been limited to the cities and the educated class, since then has spread to the small towns and villages. It would appear that traditional local factions (*e.g.*, old residents versus recent migrants or clients of rival leading families) are easily absorbed into national parties. Election participation has been higher than in many Western countries, and the tendency has been toward a two-party system, both under the multiple-member plurality system that prevailed until 1960 and under the proportional system in effect since then. The suffrage, which had been limited to taxpayers under the Empire, was extended to all adult males in 1924 and females in 1934; and after 1946 the ballot became secret and direct. The elections of 1946 were held before the opposition had a chance to organize fully, and the count was not honest; those of 1954 and 1957 were marred by systematic harassment of the opposition; and in 1961 martial law prevented criticism of the governing junta. But the elections of 1950 and 1965 were free and honest, and the developments since the 1950's show that even mounting severity does not always suffice to suppress party division.

The D.P. was dissolved in 1960 and its leaders put on trial, Menderes and three others being executed. But the party revived in 1961 in the form of the Justice Party, which soon absorbed the smaller New Turkey Party. The Nation Party has changed its name and composition a number of times; in 1965 one of its offshoots was joined by Colonel Türkeş, the leader of the authoritarian dissidents of the 1960 junta. The Turkish Workers' Party (*Türkiye Işçi Partisi*) has attracted some intellectuals and trade union leaders and espoused a programme of radical or even revolutionary social and economic reform. Be-

Turkey's politics: the transition to a multi-party system, Princeton 1959; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968; Ş. Mardin, *The genesis of Young Ottoman thought*, Princeton 1962; A. T. Payaslıoğlu, *Political leadership and political parties: Turkey*, in R. E. Ward and D. A. Rustow, eds., *Political modernization in Japan and Turkey*, Princeton 1964, 411-33; E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: prelude to the revolution of 1908*, Princeton 1957; D. A. Rustow, *Political parties and ruling élites in Turkey*, in J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner, eds., *Political parties and political development*, Princeton 1966; T. Z. Tunaya, *Elections in Turkish history*, in *Middle Eastern Affairs*, v(1954), 116-9; *Türkiyede siyasî dernekler* (vol. ii only), Ankara (Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü), 1951; W. F. Weiker, *The Free Party of 1930 in Turkey* (Ph. D. dissn., Princeton 1962).

(D. A. Rustow)

iii.—Persia

The history of the emergence of political parties in Persia does not conform to the general Western liberal concepts of a polarization of communities of interest into organizations formed to carry out political action, which then enter the political arena via a variety of already established or revolutionary routes. In the writings and speeches of the reformers and modernizers of the last quarter of the 19th century—particularly those who were active outside Persia—there is a general awareness of the desirability of concerted group organization and action in order to achieve political goals, but there is no definition or advocacy of political parties, and the term *ḥizb* retains its traditional religio-sectarian connotation. Although the communities of interest which agitated

on behalf of the Constitutional Movement and participated in it can be differentiated and identified, the nature of the preparations which they made and the associations which they formed had neither the form nor the substance of "party" activity. Both the notions and the rudimentary formations of political parties in Persia emerged after the initial phases of the constitutional régime within the parliamentary framework which the constitution had created; and only to a limited degree had they any generic relationship to the various groups existing prior to the constitutional era. But even in the early years of the constitutional régime, when proto-partisan factions were developing in the *Madjlis*, it is difficult to ascertain the beginning of the accepted political usage of the term "*ḥizb*". Not until the period of the First World War and its immediate aftermath did *ḥizb* become the exact and commonly understood term for "political party" in Persia, and the acceptance of this usage coincides with the appearance of embryonic political parties having some semblance of a public base and an organizational apparatus, as distinct from mere parliamentary factions.

The factional lines were already emerging towards the end of the first session of the *Madjlis* (1906-8); and after the military conquest of Tehrān by the Constitutionalist forces in 1909 and the inauguration of the second session in the same year, two distinct groups known as *Dimūkrāt-i ʿĀmmiyyūn* ("Popular Democrats") and *Idjtimāʿiyyūn-i Iʿtidāliyyūn* ("Social Moderates") were formed. Although in their pronouncements and in the newspapers supporting them the terms *djamʿiyyat*, *firḳa*, and occasionally *ḥizb* were used interchangeably by these groups to describe themselves, their formal parliamentary organizations went by the French term *fraction*. The Democrats saw themselves as the revolutionary group, and were, in general, composed of Western-educated bourgeois elements. Their platform included general and vague references to: (1) 'separation of religion and politics', (2) 'distribution of land among the peasantry', (3) 'preference for indirect over direct taxation', and (4) 'opposition to the *Madjlis-i Aʿyān* (House of Notables)'. Some direct and residual influence of the Caucasian Social-Revolutionaries of 1905, as well as generally recognized western ideological influences, were present in this group. Their chief spokesmen were Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳizāda and Sulaymān Mīrzā. They were the minority *fraction* in the second *Madjlis*, numbering 28. The Moderates were made up of the aristocracy and the influential *ʿulamāʾ*; they were led by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Ṭabāṭabāʾī and were supported by the Regent himself. With 36 members and 38 supporters, they were the effective majority in the second *Madjlis*. In the same period several smaller "parties"—including one with the evocative name of *Ittifāḳ wa Taraḳḳī* ("Union and Progress")—appeared on the scene but made no impact.

The Democrats were defeated in their attempt to retain the American financial adviser Morgan Shuster, and the second *Madjlis* was dissolved in 1911 as a result of Russian pressure. In the three-and-a-half-year hiatus between the second and the third *Madjlis*, the Democrats underwent a subtle transformation. Their vague social revolutionary objectives receded in the crisis of national integrity and survival. And in the absence of a parliamentary stage on which to play their liberal rôle at the capital, they became the focus of the growing nationalistic sentiment in provincial towns. Inevitably they looked to the Central Powers as the source of hope and support against Russia and Britain. The presence of a number of Democratic leaders in Berlin and Istanbul helped the spread of this sympathy. The elections for the third *Madjlis*, the outbreak of the Great War, the end of the regency of Nāṣir al-Mulk, and the early reverses of the Allies are the factors that brought the Democratic party once more to the forefront of Persian politics. The stage was now set for the most drastic and symbolically the most significant, but in reality the completely futile step taken by that party, namely the establishment in 1915 of a Committee of National Defence, first in Ḳumm, and later at Kirmānshāh. This was in fact an attempt to set up a rival government in defiance of the Allies and in close contact with the Central Powers. The Great War brought about a virtual collapse of order and authority in Persia, but this period saw also the spread and intensification of nationalism. The Democratic party stood to benefit from the rising nationalist temper, but, being split by factionalism, it dissipated its opportunity. In the fourth *Madjlis* (1919-21) it forfeited its majority and, by dividing over the ratification of the proposed Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919, it paved the way to its own dissolution.

The decisive event affecting the development of political parties in Persia—immediately and in the years to follow—was the October Revolution in Russia. The first avowedly communist party, *Ḥizb-i ʿAdālat* ("Justice Party"), was formed among the Persian nationals working in the oilfields of Baku soon after the October Revolution, and was imported into Soviet-dominated Gīlān in 1920. Its first congress was held in May 1920 in Enzeli (now Pahlavi) during the Bolshevik occupation of that city. Although *ʿAdālat* remained the only official communist party of Persia and was affiliated to the Comintern, yet, except for giving some impetus to an embryonic trade union movement, it did not make a significant and genuine penetration of the Persian scene. After the suppression of the Kūčik Khān revolt in Gīlān in 1921, *ʿAdālat* went underground and its membership dwindled. In 1927 it held its second congress jointly and in secret with the Turkish communist party in Urmiya (Riḍāʾiyya). It had already virtually withdrawn from Persia by 1931, when communist parties (*aḥzāb-i ishtirākī*) were formally outlawed.

Between 1921 and 1923 there emerged a number of pro-Soviet parties with socialist programmes, having a small popular base but with some influential journalists as their leaders. Under the leadership of Sulaymān Mīrzā (the former leader of the Democratic Party) and Riḍā Rūstā (both later members of the *Tūda* Party), these groups joined in a *Djibha-yi Millī* ("National Front") and took a vigorous part in the elections for the fifth *Madjlis*. They were severely suppressed by the government and only a few *Djibha-yi Millī* deputies were elected.

With the rise to power of Riḍā Khān, there appeared a few nationalist parties of the centre and the right, such as *Īrān-i Djavān* ("Young Iran") and *Ḍidd-i Adjnabī* ("Anti-Foreign"), led by his supporters but often acting as instruments of their personal intrigues. During the reign of Riḍā Shāh, political parties were proscribed. On one occasion in the 30's, probably in emulation of the Turkish model, it was decided to create a party as an aid for étatist propaganda and control, but preparations were interrupted in mid-course and the plan was dropped. In 1937 53 men were convicted for communist conspiracy. Their leader, Dr. Taḳī Arānī, was a German-educated

professor of physics at the University of Tehrān, who died in prison. Among the group were a few veterans of the leftist parties of the early 20's, but the majority, including Arānī, were intellectuals with no political and party experience. They later played a part in the formation of the *Tūda* ("Masses") Party in 1941.

The abdication of Riḍā Shāh, caused by the entry of British and Soviet troops into Persia in September 1941, brought about a revival in political life. The first reaction in the *Madjlis* and in the press was to view the last twenty years as an unhappy interlude. Outside the *Madjlis*, however, a development of true political parties was taking place. On 20 September 1941 the *Ḥizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān* was organized, and was launched publicly on 2 February 1942. Its platforms and propaganda characterized it from the start as a "democratic bourgeois national liberationist" party; its organization was strictly on communist models, although it was not until 1959 that the *Tūda* Party, from its exile in East Germany, officially called itself the Communist Party of Persia. By August of 1944, when its first congress was held in Tehrān, it claimed to have some 30,000 members. From 1942 to 1944 a number of parties were founded by various political figures. These all had liberal nationalistic programmes, very similarly worded, but in fact they ranged over the political spectrum from the socialistic Anti-Fascist League to the pro-Nazi *Ḥizb-i Milliyyūn-i Īrān*. In between were to be found *Ḥizb-i Hamrāhān, Ḥizb-i Sosyālist, ʿAdālat, Mardān-i Kār, Millat, Millī, Mīhan-parastān, Āzādī-khʷāhān, Istiḳlāl*, and *Paykār*. None of these parties had any influence on the government and its policies, and they were little more than extensions of the political ambitions and intrigues of their leaders. Late in 1943, Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, the leader of the 1921 *coup d'état* which had brought Riḍā Khān to power, returned from exile and served as the focus of attempts to create an anti-*Tūda* party, which was first called *Waṭan* and was re-named *Irāda-yi Millī* in 1945. The *Tūda* was the only party to take part as an organized party in the electoral campaigns and the inauguration of the fourteenth *Madjlis* in 1944, eight of their members being elected. Shortly after the opening of the fourteenth *Madjlis*, two nationalist bourgeois parties were formed: *Ḥizb-i Īrān*, with a leftist intellectual membership, and *Ḥizb-i Mardum*, with a traditionalist leadership.

The years 1944-6 were a period of rapid growth and consolidation for the *Tūda*, owing to the growing power of the Soviet Union. By 1946 it claimed to have approximately 100,000 members. Meanwhile, more immediate Soviet support created separatist movements, which were spearheaded by *Ḥizb-i Djangal* in Gīlān, *Firḳa-yi Dimūkrāt* in Ādharbaydjān, and *Ḥizb-i Kōmala* (also called *Firḳa-yi Dimūkrāt*) in Kurdistān.

On 23 June 1946 the *Ḥizb-i Dimūkrāt-i Īrān* was founded by Aḥmad Ḳawām, then Prime Minister. The apparatus of the state and bureaucratic patronage were used to foster the rapid development and organizational spread of this party. First Ḳawām co-operated with the parties of the left, to the extent of including three *Tūda* members in his cabinet, and brought about the disintegration of *Irāda-yi Millī* and other rightist splinters. The collapse of the separatist régimes in Ādharbaydjān and Kurdistān, and in general the thwarting of Soviet aims in Persia in December 1946, were crucial factors in the decline of the *Tūda*, which was seriously weakened by loss of membership and by the defection of an anti-Soviet nationalist faction led by Khalil Malikī in 1947. Ḳawām and the *Ḥizb-i Dimūkrāt-i Īrān* entered the fifteenth *Madjlis* in near complete triumph. His only opposition came from Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ who, together with a few remnants of *Ḥizb-i Īrān* and *Ḥizb-i Mardum*, formed the *Djibha-yi Millī* in the fifteenth *Madjlis*. The *Ḥizb-i Dimūkrāt-i Īrān* was split, and disintegrated just as rapidly as it had grown. From the end of 1947 began another period of general fragmentation and insignificance of political parties in Persia. *Tūda* efforts at regaining strength suffered another eclipse when, following an attempt on the life of the Shāh, it was formally outlawed in February 1949.

When the first disagreement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company served as the magnet of new nationalistic groupings and political activity, a new group of the extreme right, *Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām* [*q.v.*], took the limelight from the left as being the most radical anti-imperialist force in Persia. This was essentially a religious secret organization led by Nawwāb-i Ṣafawī. It first appeared in 1948 and drew its support mainly from some sections of the *ʿulamāʾ* (the most prominent of whom was Kāshānī), the urban proletariat, and traditional elements in the *bāzār*. Its distinctive political feature was the employment of terrorist gangs, which were successfully used against politicians accused of pro-British ties.

On 24 October 1949, during the electoral campaign for the sixteenth *Madjlis*, the *Djibha-yi Millī*, previously formed as a parliamentary *fraction*, was re-organized as a partisan political coalition. It included the *Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām*, and Muṣaddiḳ was only one of the leaders. Large numbers of their supporters, with the widespread support of nationalist bourgeois elements, were elected, and the stage was set for the virtual control of governmental policy by the *Djibha-yi Millī*. On 15 March 1951, the *Madjlis* passed the oil nationalization law; shortly afterwards a cabinet, composed mainly of *Djibha-yi Millī* members headed by Muṣaddiḳ, was formed and began efforts for the implementation of that law.

There followed another period of relatively free and vigorous political activity in Persia. A number of left-of-centre parties, the most important of which were *Nirū-yi Siwwum* ("Third Force"—the *Tūda* dissidents led by Khalīl Malikī) and *Ḥizb-i Zaḥmatkashān-i Īrān* ("The Toilers' Party of Iran") led by Dr. Baḳāʾī, appeared and joined the *Djibha-yi Millī*. A group of leftist front organizations also developed; this included the *Djamʿiyyat-i Ṭarafdārān-i Ṣulḥ* ("Partisans of Peace"), who demonstrated against the Korean war and United States advisers in Persia, and collected 50,000 signatures for the Stockholm Proclamation, and the *Djamʿiyyat-i Millī-yi Mubāriza bā Istiʿmār* ("League of Struggle with Imperialism"), which demanded the legalization of the *Tūda* Party. The *Tūda* itself made a comeback in support of nationalization policies. Although its chances of popular support were pre-empted by the *Djibha-yi Millī*, it succeeded in strengthening its secret structure and its striking ability among its civilian and military supporters. In 1953, when a number of nationalist supporters of Muṣaddiḳ moved to oppose him, the *Tūda*, though remaining ostensibly loyal, was acting to gain control of Muṣaddiḳ. Arrayed against the forces of the left, apart from the *Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām*, which split in two in 1951, were a number of ultra-nationalist and fascist-type parties, such as the Pan-Iranists and the *Sūmkā*.

The fall of Muṣaddiḳ in 1953 drove the *Djibha-yi Millī* into a circumscribed and largely futile opposition. The organization of the *Tūda* was broken and

its membership was decimated as much by suspicion of its anti-national rôle as by the vigilance of the new régime. The party was proscribed; some of its leaders were seized and others were sent into exile. Its central organization has been maintained in East Germany since the mid-50's. A number of extreme right parties: *Fidā'iyyān-i Shāh, Khalḳ, Āryā, Dhu 'l-Fiḳār*, and *23 Murdād* flourished briefly after 1953.

The development and activity of political parties in Persia has, by and large, been in recess since 1953. In 1960, attempts to create a loyal two-party system, of *Ḥizb-i Mardum* led by Asad Allāh ʿAlam and *Ḥizb-i Milliyyūn* led by Manūčihr Iḳbāl, failed. Since 1965 a *Ḥizb-i Īrān-i Nuwīn* ("Modern Iran") has been discreetly promoted more as an informal motivational framework for the members of the government than as a political party.

In general, it may be concluded that the period for the true political significance of parties in Persia has not arrived. Only the *Tūda* Party in certain stages of its history and Ḳawām's *Ḥizb-i Dimūkrāt-i Īrān* for a brief span have succeeded in creating the structure and organization of political parties of a totalitarian nature, and only the *Tūda* has had the element of ideological popular appeal. No broadly based, liberally oriented, loosely organized, viable party has developed. The ruling classes have continued to assume that the form of an institutional borrowing is conducive to the content desired. The interaction of the newly emerging phenomenon of political parties in Persia with the patterns of the exercise of power and the pull of tradition has profoundly affected the configurations and rôles of these parties. The electoral system and practices in Persia reflecting traditional patterns of power have rendered political parties largely irrelevant; while political traditions have often made the parties indistinguishable from personal schemes and functional tools of a recognizable traditional mould. As such, they have proved inadequate levers.

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iv. — RUSSIAN AZERBAIJAN

No political parties existed in Transcaucasia until the last quarter of the 19th century. Before then, opposition had taken the form of peasant uprisings or conspiracies by the nobles against Russian rule. Modern political activity began in the reign of Alexander II (1855-81) in Georgia and Armenia, as a development from the cultural revivals, with strong nationalist overtones, which had grown up there in the middle of the century.

In comparison with Georgia and Armenia, Azerbaijan was politically backward. Only in Baku, a boom town, was there political activity, conducted mostly by Russians and Armenians. Never having been a nation, Azerbaijan was at a disadvantage. Its rising middle class and the intelligentsia had to solve the problem of their national identity before they could act.

Every Russian political party was represented in Baku, but none attracted a native following. Some wealthy Azerbaijanis associated themselves with the Constitutional Democrats (*Kadets*), while simultaneously promoting Muslim organizations.

In 1904 a small group of Bolsheviks made a conscious effort to attract Muslim workers in the Baku oil industry. Though they considered it most unorthodox to form a party on ethnic-religious lines, the Bolsheviks organized one, naming it *Hemmat* ("Endeavour", = *Himmat*, Russ. *Gummet*). This was essentially a front organization. Most of its early leaders were foreign Bolsheviks such as S. Shaumian, I. Stalin, and A. Japaridze. The *Hemmat* never assumed much importance and disappeared after the Sovietization of Azerbaijan in 1920.

During the revolution of 1905 the Muslims of the Volga, Crimea, Azerbaijan, and Turkestan formed a loose political party named *Ittifāḳ-i Muslimīn* (Union of Muslims). Its chairman was an Azerbaijani, ʿAlī Mardān Bek Topčibashev, who was politically close to the Russian *Kadets*. The *Ittifāḳ-i Muslimīn* elected Topčibashev to the first Duma in 1906. In the second Duma, Azerbaijanis were represented by Muslims who were members of the Russian *Kadet* party. On the whole *Ittifāḳ-i Muslimīn* accomplished very little, though some of its members later held important positions in the government of independent Azerbaijan.

The most important Azerbaijani party was the *Musāwāt* (Equality), founded in 1911 by a group of Azerbaijani intellectuals who had been previously associated with the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party. The leader of the *Musāwāt* was the journalist Muḥammad Amīn Rasūlzāde, who had taken part in the Persian revolution against Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh Ḳādjār. Like many of his contemporaries, he had been exposed simultaneously to European nationalism, Russian Marxism, and the Pan-Islamism of Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī. The *Musāwāt*'s programme reflected all these irreconcilable theories: the unity of all Muslims irrespective of nationality or sect, the restoration of the independence of all Muslim peoples, aid to all Muslims, the development of Muslim economic life.

In spite of its ideological and organizational weakness, the *Musāwāt* emerged as the strongest force in Azerbaijan (but not in Baku, where the Bolsheviks and the Dashnaks predominated) after the collapse of Russian authority in 1917. It participated, though unenthusiastically, in the formation of the Transcaucasian Federation and, in spring 1918, proclaimed the independence of Azerbaijan. The *Musāwāt* was the strongest party in the government which was established in Baku in September 1918 after the Turks had occupied the city.

The rule of the *Musāwāt* was brief. The party was beset with insoluble problems. It failed to implement its promises of land reform, but did open a university in Baku. Neither the *Musāwāt* nor anyone else could defend Azerbaijan against Soviet Russia. In April 1920 the Red Army occupied Baku and the *Musāwāt* ceased to exist.

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v. — Volga region and Central Asia

Before 1905, in European Russia as in Central Asia, the formation of organized political parties was as difficult among the Muslims as among the Slav inhabitants. Nevertheless, their possession of a common language and creed (almost all the Muslims were Turks, except for a few Caucasian tribes and the Tādjiks; and, except for the Ādharbaydjānīs, almost all of the Muslim inhabitants were Sunnīs) had already in the 19th century led to the formation of a strong community feeling on a common basis, which was to prove a solid foundation within the framework of the party structure. Furthermore the number of Muslims and Turks was greatly increased through the Russian conquests in Central Asia in the second half of the 19th century; old ties were revived between those lands and the Volga region with the possibility of mutual influences. This led to a great increase in the self-assertion of the Muslims.

The political revolution of 1905 with the formation of an imperial Duma unleashed a powerful movement among the Muslims. Under the leadership of prominent citizens, among whom the Tatars very soon played a leading rôle, it was decided on 8 April 1905 to convene a "First all-Russian Muslim Congress" in Nižniy Novgorod (now Gor'kiy) for 15 August 1905; this was followed by two further congresses in 1906 and 1907. They were of great importance also for the formation of parties, since at them the representatives of all the individual peoples, and also of all political opinions, met together and discussed common action. They concerned themselves mainly with the publication of newspapers and periodicals, with the establishment of elementary and secondary schools of truly Turkish-Muslim character and free from interference from the Russian authorities, with questions of cultural autonomy, and with relations with the Russian state and people.

There emerged, however, two basic schools of thought which, although they were fundamentally in agreement over many issues, yet led to the formation of two parties: (1) progressive-minded clerics, merchants, landowners and others formed the group of the "Muslim Union" which occupied itself principally with the furthering of national and religious interests and which (since they thought that among them they would most readily find understanding of their aims) inclined towards the "Constitutional Democrats" (generally abbreviated to "*Kadets*"), a bourgeois leftist-liberal group consisting of the educated Russian middle-classes and many professors; (2) a number of younger representatives, among them teachers, lawyers and publicists, rejected co-operation with any Russian political party, since they would thus bind themselves ideologically, and advocated—at least as an objective—complete independence and socialist ideals; this policy, which they tried to carry out chiefly against the Russian government, led them into the company of the Russian social-revolutionaries. Many of their leading personalities later, especially during the emigration, became ardent nationalists. In the first Duma (10 May-22 July 1906), with a majority of "*Kadets*", the Muslims were represented by 25 members, of whom six had signed the "Viborg manifesto" of the socialists. In the second Duma (5 March-16 June 1907), there were 35 Muslim members, among them 29 members of the "Union". The remaining six constituted the "Muslim Work Group" (*Müsülmānlarnïñ khidmet ṭā'ifesi*) which, under the leadership of Ayāz Isḥāḳī, represented socialist ideas, while recognizing Islam and "Turkishness" as the basis of their national life. After the sweeping limitation of the franchise the third Duma (14 November 1907-1912) included only nine Muslim members (3 from Ufa, 2 each from Kazan and the Caucasus, one each from Orenburg and the Crimea; the inhabitants of Central Asia had lost their right to vote). The fourth Duma (1912-1917) included only seven members, six of whom were members of the "Islamic group" and one Lesghian.

On the whole the Muslims very rarely got a hearing during the proceedings and furthermore met with the rejection by the Russians of their claims, especially in the third and fourth Dumas. Nevertheless there was the possibility of joint discussion, the activity of a press (though frequently suppressed by the Russian censorship) and the ventilation of topical questions of concern to Muslims. The Muslims became conscious of their numbers and their influence, and began gradually to break away from their hitherto characteristic alignment with Ottoman Turkey and to concentrate on coming to an arrangement with the Russians from whom, as the bearers of European ideas, they also learned and adopted much. Yet a part of the Muslim clergy (who opposed all Western ideas as being harmful to Islam) supported complete isolation.

In any case the Muslims in Imperial Russia gained the principle of equality of rights when the two revolutions of 1917 gave a new status to all the population. Among the Turks in the Volga region there came into prominence at the "National Congresses" of 1917 and 1918 the question of whether they should advocate merely cultural autonomy or also a territorial autonomy (within the frame of the Idel-Ural state: Idel is the Tatar name for the Volga), and also the question of relations with Communism. In addition to this there was the question of a choice between an amalgamation of Tatars, Bashkirs and possibly Čuvashes, and their separate organization. In the Crimea the "National Party" (*Millī Firḳa*), as representatives of the Crimean Tatars, who were a minority, came to an agreement in 1917 with the Ukrainians, whose leading rôle was recognized also for the Crimea. In addition, efforts which had been made during 1918, partly in co-operation with German troops which had arrived there, to achieve a territorial secession of the Crimea broke down in November 1918, and ceased entirely, as did all other party-political activity, with the occupation of the Crimea by Bolshevik troops in November 1920.

In Central Asia, the two 1917 revolutions gave rise to various movements which were directed as much against the Russian settlers or the Russian administration as against the conservative Muslim clergy or the rule of the *amīrs* in Khīva or Bukhārā. Among the Ḳazakhs, the National Council (*Alash-Orda*) strove in several congresses for a merely federal incorporation into the new Russia and turned against the Bolsheviks. But as early as 1919-20 the country was subdued by the Russians (= Bolsheviks). In Turkestan, the conservative and the progressive (*Djedīd*) circles united in discussions which went on for months on the formation of a "Decentralization Party", which rejected the Russian policy of centralization and obtained from the Bolsheviks guarantees of their religious and national freedom, of the reten-

tion of private property and of a Sharīʿa system of jurisdiction; until, in 1922, the Bolsheviks prevailed in fierce struggles against the Basmačī [*q.v.*] movement and had also brought under their control the two emirates, where the "Young Bukhāran" party co-operated with them.

For both the Volga region and Central Asia, the victory of Bolshevik rule within the former boundaries of Imperial Russia (which were finally fixed in 1895) meant the sole rule of the Communist Party. Within the framework of its changing policy, which during the 1920's was quite open with regard to national claims, there were repeated political struggles, which finally led the the eradication of the so-called "National Deviations" (named Sultangalievshčina after one of the prominent Tatar leaders, Sultan Galiev [*q.v.*]) and to the establishment of the Communist Party also in the Muslim districts in the federative states of that time. However, since national aspirations remained alive and had to be accommodated to the demands of the state party, the leadership of the Communist Party in these districts had frequently changed. The very responsible position of Second Secretary remained for the most part in the hands of a Russian or a Ukrainian, while the party leadership was usually given to a native inhabitant (for 1966, see the lists published in *Ost-Probleme*, xviii/10 (Bonn 1966), 318 f.). There cannot, however, after this be said to have been any independent party-political activity among the Muslims of the U.S.S.R.

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(B. Spuler)

vi.—India and Pakistan

The word *ḥizb* in the sense of political party occurs almost exclusively in compound expressions modelled on Arabic and Persian. The opposition party would be *ḥizb-i mukhālif* or *ḥizb al-ikhtilāf*; similarly *ḥizb al-aḥrār*, *ḥizb al-ʿummāl* and *ḥizb al-mustabiddīn* would denote respectively the Liberal party, the Labour party and the Conservative party. But in the general sense of political party, the current expression is *siyāsī djamāʿat*, although we also find the term *pārṭī*, taken directly from English.

In India, the modern notion of a political party is relatively recent and, before the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947, two major parties represented the two political groups which led to the creation of the new India (*Bhārat*) and Pakistan: the Congress Party, with nationalist, pan-Indian tendencies, and the All-India Muslim League which favoured the re-grouping of Indian Muslims in an autonomous territory.

The All-India Muslim League was set up on 30 December 1906 at Dacca on the suggestion of the Agha Khān. At the start it constituted a cautious move in the attempt to obtain recognition by the British authorities of certain political rights for the Muslims. When the Agha Khān and Amīr ʿAlī, alarmed by the nationalistic demands of the Muslim League, withdrew from the party, a reconciliation took place between the Congress Party and the Muslim League: after 1915, the two organizations held their annual meetings simultaneously and in the same town. It was at that point that Muḥammad ʿAlī Djināḥ tried to make himself the representative of Indian unity and to reconcile the somewhat divergent points of view of the Congress Party and the Muslim League. This tactical unity lasted throughout the whole period of effervescence caused by the abolition of the Caliphate but, from the end of 1927, the two organizations grew apart, never again to combine their efforts for Indian independence. Djināḥ therefore realized that the Muslim League must become a popular movement, and no longer remain a clique of landed proprietors and the rich if it wished to attain its avowed objectives—the defence of the Muslim element among hostile surroundings (mainly Hindu), the establishment of separate electoral colleges, and the setting up of an Islamic nation in the Indian sub-continent. The resolution adopted by the Muslim League in 1940, during the special session held at Lahore, called specifically for the partition of India on a religious basis in order to safeguard the interests of the Muslim community; and in 1942 the Muslim League could claim to be the only organized party capable of leading an effective political course of action in favour of an Islamic State still unborn. Until 1947, the three expressions Muslim League, Islam and Pakistan were to be practically synonymous for the majority of the Muslims of North India.

After the partition of India, the *Ḳāʾid-i Aʿẓam* Muḥammad ʿAlī Djināḥ, President of the Muslim League, became the first Governor-General of Pakistan and Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān the Prime Minister. These two men made it possible for the new State, in its first months, to overcome the considerable obstacles posed by a deficient economy and a social situation rendered tragically critical by the influx of Muslim refugees. After the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī Djināḥ in 1948 and that of Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān in 1951, the Muslim League lost its dynamism and suffered severe electoral defeats, especially in East Pakistan. Until 1956, the leaders of the party did in fact hold the reins of government. Early in 1956 the new President of the Muslim League, Sardār ʿAbd al-Rabb Nishtār, followed by the other party leaders, decided that in future ministers could no longer hold office within the party and asked the deputies of the provincial Assembly of West Pakistan who were members of the Muslim League to form themselves into a parliamentary party. Despite these salutary measures, the Muslim League was unable to regain its earlier popularity. It was, however, disbanded like the other political parties when martial law was proclaimed in October 1958.

The Aḥrār Party was organized in 1930 with the aim of enabling a Muslim group to participate directly in the Civil Disobedience campaign launched by Gandhi. For several years it took a part in the struggle alongside the Congress Party, but its activities were for the most part limited to the province of the Panḏjāb, where it showed itself to be fiercely anti-British and attempted to deprive the Muslim League of a section of its electoral supporters. Its success depended too greatly on the personality of its leaders, outstanding among whom was ʿAṭāʾ Allāh S̲h̲āh Buk̲h̲ārī, a brilliant orator and consummate demagogue. From 1942, when the Muslim League had become a popular party, the influence of the Aḥrār Party declined rapidly, and many of its followers rejoined the ranks of the Muslim League. In 1947, at the time of the Partition, the Aḥrār Party disappeared almost completely. It was only in 1953, during the riots directed against the Aḥmadiyya community, that it reappeared for a time and appealed, with some success, to popular religious emotions.

Among the groups representing Islamic nationalism, the K̲h̲āksār movement had a brilliant period between 1930 and 1942. Its undisputed leader, ʿAllāma Mas̲h̲riḳī, imposed an extremely rigid discipline upon it; military training and social service were the two essential characteristics of the party. The imprisonment of ʿAllāma Mas̲h̲riḳī and a large number of its members almost entirely crippled the movement which, after 1945, existed only in theory.

The party of the K̲h̲udāʾī K̲h̲idmatgār (Servants of God) exerted any real influence only in the North-West Frontier Province, where it gave support to the Indian Congress Party. Its leader, ʿAbd al-G̲h̲affār K̲h̲ān, turned it into a religious movement that was destined to organize and discipline Pathan nationalism. Its members were familiarly known as "Red Shirts". After Partition, the movement lost much of its prestige when ʿAbd al-G̲h̲affār K̲h̲ān asked his followers not to take part in the struggle for Kashmir.

The Kris̲h̲ak Praḏjā Party (Peasant Party) was founded by Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ as early as 1927, and was always confined to the province of Bengal. In 1937, Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ became Prime Minister of a coalition government in Bengal, but as the Congress Party did not give him the overall support that he demanded, he decided to abandon his party and to join the Muslim League, which however expelled him at the end of 1941. In May 1944 his government was compelled to resign, and it was then that the Muslim League came to power in Bengal. Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ became a member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in 1947, and then Advocate-General for East Pakistan in 1951. In September 1953 the opponents of the Muslim League formed the Kris̲h̲ak Srāmik Party (Labour and Peasant Party), once again headed by Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ, who demanded the provincial autonomy of Bengal within the framework of Pakistan. Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ, now over eighty, was once again appointed Prime Minister of Bengal in 1954, but the central government dismissed him shortly afterwards. Minister of the Interior in the central government in 1955, and then Governor of East Pakistan, Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ was once again forced to resign. The Kris̲h̲ak Srāmik Party, believing his personality to be indispensable, invited him to resume leadership of the party some time before the proclamation of martial law in October 1958.

The ʿAwāmmī League (People's Party) owes its existence to the repeated efforts of Ḥusayn S̲h̲ahīd Suhrawardī to organize a parliamentary opposition group of the Western type. Despite the establishment of parties with almost the same title in the North-West Frontier, Panḏjāb and Sind provinces, and despite the congress held in Lahore in December 1952 to set up the Ḏjināḥ ʿAwāmmī Muslim League, it was in fact only in Bengal that the movement was able to play a very significant part. Its social aims included the abolition of the great landed estates, nationalization of the jute and tea industries, and the rapid development of education and social services. Politically, it called for the autonomy of Bengal within the framework of Pakistan, and also the recognition of Bengali as a national language. When Suhrawardī became Prime Minister of the central government in September 1956, the President of the organization, Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd K̲h̲ān Bhas̲h̲ānī, gave up his position as a protest against Suhrawardī's political manoeuvre whereby he went straight from the opposition to power. Mawlānā Bhas̲h̲ānī even formed a new party with the name National ʿAwāmmī Party, which, as a result of the banning of political parties in October 1958, had only a brief existence.

The Republican Party was set up in April 1956 by Dr K̲h̲ān Ṣāḥib to take advantage of the conflicts among the various factions of the Muslim League in West Pakistan. Its programme, which throughout its two congresses held in September 1956 and September 1958 was far from precise, called for a democratic and liberal policy on the part of the government. These good intentions were belied by the actions of the Republican Party when in power. By its devious tactics, first in coalition with the Muslim League and then with the ʿAwāmmī League, it precipitated the crisis which was to lead the army to seize power in October 1958. The bloodless revolution carried through by Field-Marshal Ayyūb K̲h̲ān put an end to the corrupt parliamentary régime, which threatened to provoke a national catastrophe in Pakistan.

The political parties, banned in Pakistan from 1958, were able to reappear on 14 July 1962, on which date the National Assembly voted an amendment to the Constitution of 1 March 1962. This amendment stipulated that no political party should prejudice the Islamic ideology, the stability or the integrity of Pakistan, or receive any aid whatsoever from a foreign country.

The Muslim League immediately resumed its activities, but the two provincial sections of the movement disagreed over certain points: while the Western group intended to bring younger blood into its organization, thereby following the advice given by Field-Marshal Ayyūb K̲h̲ān, the Head of State, the Eastern group wished to adhere to the tradition of the old Muslim League. The first party congress was held in Karachi on 4 and 5 September 1962; it nominated K̲h̲alīḳ al-Zamān as chairman of the organizing committee of the League. A second congress was held in Dacca on 27 October, attended by a certain number of former "counsellors" of the party, who elected as president K̲h̲ʷāḏjā Naẓīm al-Dīn, the former Governor-General and Prime Minister.

Furthermore Suhrawardī, who had been arrested on 30 January 1962 on a charge of treason, was released from prison and, on 4 October 1962, he succeeded in forming the Democratic National Front which included among its members various former politicians of both East and West Pakistan.

Finally, Field-Marshal Ayyūb K̲h̲ān, Head of State of Pakistan, who since the promulgation of the Constitution of March 1962 had made clear his wish

to remain above party, decided to become a member of the rejuvenated Muslim League: he joined it on 22 May 1963.

After the Partition of 1947, the All-India Muslim League ceased to play an essential part in politics in the new India. An Indian Muslim League does however exist, which is of some slight influence in the South only, in the states of Madras and Kerala. In 1960, this Muslim League conducted a victorious electoral campaign in co-operation with the Congress Party and the Indian Socialist Party to prevent the Communists from returning to power in the state of Kerala.

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(A. Guimbretière)

vii.—Indonesia

In the years before independence, Indonesia did not succeed in developing any equivalent of the Indian National Congress. Political parties came into existence, splintered, coalesced and disappeared, in numbers and with a fertility reminiscent of the Indonesian islands themselves. The first party to achieve a mass following was *Sarekat Islam* [*q.v.*] (Islamic Union), founded, on the basis of an earlier and more limited association of Muslim merchants, in 1912. Its following grew rapidly on the tide of Muslim revival and anti-colonialism, but it was increasingly penetrated and controlled by more secular political elements, and its influence and popular backing thereafter declined. Its place was to some extent taken by the Islamic reform organization *Muhammadijah* and the Islamic traditionalist organization the *Nahdatul Ulama*. In 1920 the more radical Marxists founded the Communist Party of Indonesia (*PKI*), which, until its eclipse following an abortive coup in the years 1926 and 1927, took up the running. In 1927, leading Indonesian nationalists, including Dr. Sukarno, founded the Nationalist Party of Indonesia (*PNI*), in the hope of creating a united nationalist movement. In this they were unsuccessful, but the name and the initials survived as important political symbols, to be resurrected in the post-independence period. Under the Japanese, as under the Dutch, political movements proliferated and were characterized by impermanence, but one significant move was the welding together of *Muhammadijah* and *Nahdatul Islam* into one Muslim organization, *Masjumi*.

Independence was declared on 17 August 1945, and all significant groupings rallied to Dr. Sukarno as President of the new Republic of Indonesia. It was at first intended that there should be a single political organization, but calls soon arose for the legalization of political parties. When this was permitted, three assumed prominence. These were the *Masjumi* (Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims), partly based on the earlier war-time organization; the Indonesian Nationalist Party (*PNI*), many of whose leaders had once been active in the old *PNI*; and the Socialist Party, which was soon to split into a democratic wing taking the name of the Socialist Party of Indonesia (*PSI*), and a left wing. The latter was largely absorbed in a re-formed *PKI*, but this, like its precursor, was to have a short effective life, for it was again suppressed after an unsuccessful coup (1948).

After the Dutch conceded independence, in 1949, there followed a period of experiment with constitutional democracy on the Western pattern. At first two parties—the *Masjumi* and the *PNI*—dominated the governing coalitions, and by and large the *PSI* was sympathetic to their aims, which were moderate. After 1953, however, new alignments began to emerge. The recovery of the *PKI* had become noticeable after 1952, and it tended to throw its weight behind the more radical wing of the *PNI*, thus detaching it from *Masjumi* and the *PSI*. The new coalitions, supported by the communists, included the *PNI*, the *Nahdatul Ulama* (which had broken away from the *Masjumi* in 1952; being more strongly anti-Western, it could reconcile more conservative religious attitudes domestically with more anti-imperialistic policies externally), and a number of minor nationalist and Islamic parties. After the first, and so far the last, general election in 1955, four main parties emerged—the *PNI*, *Masjumi*, *Nahdatul Ulama* and the *PKI*. An attempt was made to govern by means of coalitions embracing all the major non-communist parties, but this failed. The parties continued to show themselves incapable of constructive co-operation and, outside the *PKI*, incapable of sustaining even internal cohesion. In the years 1956 to 1958, the existing Parliamentary system was replaced by "Guided Democracy", in which real power ebbed away from the parties and lodged instead in the President and the Army. The *PKI*, however, continued to play a crucially important rôle, enabling President Sukarno to maintain his own position in relation to the armed forces.

The 1945 Constitution was re-enacted by Presidential decree in July 1959. This temporarily put an end to an ideological debate which had racked the young republic from the beginning, and had underlain many of the political divisions, namely what was to be the rôle of Islam in a predominantly Muslim country. Ninety per cent of Indonesians were said to be Muslims, but on the other hand there was a clear distinction inside this majority between the devout and the nominal. President Sukarno had consistently argued and manœuvred against making Indonesia an Islamic state, on the grounds that all opinions represented in the republic must be tolerated and embraced. The 1945 Constitution was based, largely on his insistence, not on Islam, but on his own *panča šila* ("five foundations", see dustūr, p. 663), of which the first was, not acceptance of Islam, but simply belief in one God. Parties wishing to retain a legal position under Guided Democracy had to be prepared to acknowledge and accept the *panča šila*, and this a handful of parties, including paradoxically the *PKI*, did. The *PKI*, which had earlier in its career antagonized Muslims by a dogmatically Marxist position vis-à-vis religion, was now guided by leaders who had drawn the moral of the two disasters of 1926-27 and 1948, and were con-

vinced that the only way to power was through slow and careful building up of support by legitimate means throughout the country without risking further suppression. The *Masjumi* and the *PSI* were, in contrast, banned in 1960, partly as a result of the complicity of a number of their leaders in the anti-Sukarno revolt of 1958 in Sumatra. In 1961 and 1962, a number of troublesome Islamic revolts were also crushed, including a major one, led by *Darul Islam*, a fanatically Muslim organization, which had lasted for thirteen years in West Java. A National Front was formed in August 1960, in which the surviving parties were obliged to participate, for example by helping to disseminate Sukarnoist ideas. As compared with the pre-1958 period, the parties had suffered badly by the introduction of Guided Democracy in respect of their freedom of political action and movement. The banning in 1965 of *Partai Murba*, a left-wing nationalist but anti-communist party, continued the process of political simplification and polarization.

However, Islam continued to play a vital political rôle in the opposition which its organized manifestations put up at all levels, from the village to the Governmental, and in all social organizations and strata, to the steady accretion of strength to the *PKI* and its various "front" organizations. Clashes between Muslims and communists were common, and culminated in the aftermath of the "September 30 Affair". This was an attempted pre-emptive left-wing coup in the face of threatened suppression of the *PKI* by the Army in 1965, and its failure precipitated nation-wide massacres in which untold thousands of communists and their supporters were killed. At the time of writing (March 1966), it is not yet clear what the attitudes of the new Army leaders in Indonesia will be either to Islam or to the political parties, but already the *PKI* has been banned.

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(J. A. M. Caldwell)

ḤIZḲĪL, the biblical prophet Ezekiel. His name does not occur in the Ḳur'ān, but traditional exegesis regards him as that prophet of the people concerning whom the Ḳur'ān speaks in these words (II, 243/244): "Hast thou not regarded those who went forth from their habitations in their thousands fearful of death? God said to them "Die!", then He gave them life" (tr. A. J. Arberry). According to exegetic tradition, this took place in the time of the prophet Ḥizḳīl b. Būdhī (or Būzī, corrupted into Būrī; in the Bible בוזי Buzi—Ezekiel, I, 3); the immediate cause of this mortality was an outbreak of plague (*ṭāʿūn*); and the description given of the resurrection (a temporary one, until the predetermined term of life—*adjal* [*q.v.*]) of these people is manifestly inspired by Ezekiel, XXXVII, 1-10, amplified by rabbinical narrations (see especially Babylonian Talmud Sanhedrin 92b). In certain recensions the episode is dated to the intermediate period between Joshua and David; others place it in the reign of Daḥḥāk [see ZUHĀK] or even in the time of the prophet Daniel.—Ḥizḳīl (his name is also written Hizḳīl) is said to have been *ibn al-ʿadjūz*, a child born late in life to a mother who, at a very advanced age, invoked God, begging for offspring, and whose prayer was answered (a garbled reminiscence of the birth of Samuel). A tradition of obscure origin gives the name Ḥizḳīl (or Ḥirbil) to the "believer in Pharaoh's family" left unnamed in the Ḳur'ān (XL, 28/29). This man is said to have constructed the casket in which Mūsā [*q.v.*] was entrusted to the river.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. S. ʿUkāsha, 51; Ṭabarī, i, 2, 53-540; idem, *Tafsīr*, new ed., v, 266 (old ed., ii, 365) ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 103 ff. (Pellat, i, 42 ff., § 97); *K. al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 4/5 and 98/100 (cf. index, s.v. Ezéchiel); Balʿamī, *La Chronique de Ṭabarī*, i, 44, 408; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, Cairo 1371, 103, 148 f.; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, 415; B. Heller, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vi, col. 881-2.

(J. Eisenberg-[G. Vajda])

ḤMĀD U-MŪSĀ (Sīdī), great saint of southern Morocco and patron saint of Sūs, was born about 864-5/1460 at Bū Merwān in the territory of the Ida u-Semlāl, at the western extremity of the Anti-Atlas. He died, after living more than a century, in 971/1563, and is buried in the region of Tazerwalt where crowds still come to venerate his tomb.

Ḥmād u-Mūsā adhered to the *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] founded in the 9th/15th century by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Djazūlī [see AL-DJAZŪLĪ]. This last had devoted himself to spreading the teaching of al-Shādhilī (7th/13th century), himself a disciple of the famous ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [*q.v.*], whose master was the great Andalusian *ṣūfī*, Abū Madyan [*q.v.*].

Al-Shādhilī's school recalls, in some aspects of its teaching, that of the unworldly Franciscans. It forbids monasteries and bids its members lead a wandering and contemplative life, without resorting to begging. This suited Ḥmād u-Mūsā, who enjoyed travelling. In the course of his stormy youth, he liked to wander across the country in cheerful company. Touched by divine grace, he undertook the classic journey to the East and went as far as Baghdād. On his return to Morocco, he visited Marrākush, Taroudant, and finally Bū Merwān, his native village. Then he gave up these lengthy journeys to found a *zāwiya* in the Tazerwalt region, situated at the south-west edge of the Anti-Atlas.

By a kind of transmutation well known in the Maghrib, and upon which there is no need to elaborate here, the saint became a Marabout, spiritual head of a community and father of a vigorous dynasty destined to reign in the Tazerwalt, which became a kingdom independent of the Makhzen.

In the 10th/16th century, Ḥmād u-Mūsā supported the Saʿdī Shorfa who were fighting the Portuguese; but very soon his successors cut themselves off from the central power and founded the kingdom of Tazerwalt with Iligh as its capital.

The first half of the 11th/17th century was the

apogee in the history of this kingdom. Sīdī ʿAlī, grandson of the Marabout and the foremost member of the dynasty, felt strong enough to make a bid for the S̲h̲arīfian throne against Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's successor. However, towards the end of his reign, the power of Ḥmād u-Mūsā's descendants, which extended greatly beyond the boundaries of Tazerwalt, was threatened by the progress of the ʿAlawī S̲h̲orfa of Tafilelt. The second half of this century brought the temporal power of the Marabout's descendants to an end for at least a hundred years. Indeed, the kingdom was unable to withstand the strength and energy of the ʿAlawī sultans, Mawlāy al-Ras̲h̲īd and Mawlāy Ismāʿīl.

Between the end of the 18th century and the end of the 19th, the Ulād Sīdī Ḥmād u-Mūsā regained their power, but the Sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1290-1311/1873-94) took it from them again.

From then on, although the princes of Tazerwalt had lost their kingdom, yet their spiritual authority, thanks to Ḥmād u-Mūsā, still remained intact down to the beginning of the 20th century. Large crowds continue to assemble for the three annual pilgrimages (March, April and September) around the tomb of Ḥmād u-Mūsā, who has remained the patron saint of travellers and the great saint of the Sūs.

Bibliography: A few lines on him can be found scattered among a dozen or so pages (see index s.v. Ahmad Ou Mousa) in R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930. In the first place one should consult: L. Justinard, *Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle*, in *AM*, xxix (1933); Dj. Jacques-Meuniz, *Greniers-Citadelles au Maroc*, Paris 1951 (the chapter *Chronique du royaume de Tazeroualt*, 198-217, very clearly expressed, is an excellent résumé of the history of the house of Tazerwalt from the 16th to the 20th century); L. Justinard concluded his research on the kingdom of Tazerwalt by publishing his notes as a small treatise called *Un petit royaume berbère, le Tazeroualt, un saint berbère Sidi Ahmed ou Moussa*, Paris 1954; the author gives here the Arabic manuscript sources for the life and legends concerning the saint. (A. Faure)

HOCA [see K̲h̲ᵂĀD̲J̲A].

HODH [see ḤAWḌ].

HODNA [see ḤUḌNA].

HOLY PLACES [see MAKKA, AL-MADĪNA, KARBALĀʾ, AL-ḲUDS, NAD̲J̲AF, etc. For the custodianship of the Christian Holy Places in Jerusalem see KANĪSAT AL-ḲIYĀMA].

HOMILETICS [see WAʿẒ].

HONOUR [see ʿIRḌ, MUFĀK̲H̲ARA].

HORDE, term originating from the Turkish *ordu*, via the Russian *ordá* and Polish *horda*, and assimilated into European languages from the 16th century onwards, is the name given to the administrative centre of great nomad empires, particularly also to the highly adorned tent of the ruler (cf. the Golden Horde); then to such nomad confederacies themselves, insofar as they formed a tenuous association linked to no particular place, substantially different in their way of life and government from the settled population, and inflicting considerable damage on this population by their marauding attacks. In the Islamic world it was mainly the Turkish and Mongol conquerors of the 7th/13th century onwards who ruled their empires from a tented encampment. The rulers of such states often remained for decades in this non-sedentary life, migrating with their court and the nucleus of their people according to the rhythm of the seasons, between northern and southern (high and low-lying) areas. Their tents, not only living quarters, but mosques and churches, as well as the harem, were transported on carts (*araba*). The wanderings of such a horde (for the Golden Horde, see BATUʾIDS) were described in detail by the Flemish traveller William of Rubruck, 1254-56, and by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] in 1333 (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 379-87, 398-412, trans. Sir Hamilton Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962, 481-5, 490-8; condensed in Spuler, *Horde*², 264-6). When the peoples of these nomad empires gradually became sedentary, they grew accustomed to a particular place of residence and to permanent wooden or stone houses, and their rulers built themselves palaces (Sarāy, Tabrīz, Sulṭāniyya, Ḳara Ḳorum, K̲h̲ānbalik = Peking, Ḳars̲h̲i in Central Asia, etc.; see these articles). Thus the original "horde" gradually disappeared from the Islamic world from the 11th/17th century onwards; nevertheless, the raids of the Crimean Tatars in Podolia and Wolhynia (well into the 12th/18th century) and the marauding attacks of the Turkmens into northern Persia as late as the 19th century kept alive the memory of this kind of state. For a long time, too, in Islamic states, military units were quartered in tented encampments or barracks, which (like the Roman Pretorian Guard or the bodyguard of the ʿAbbāsids) were situated at some distance outside the capital and other large cities, to prevent their becoming a danger to the rulers or the population, or lending support to insurrections. Soldiers in such military encampments (to which too the name of *ordu* was given) could usually be quickly installed (cf. the Janissaries). A lingua franca often developed amongst them. In these camps in central and western Asia in the 8th/14th century, Turkish replaced Mongol as the language of the nomad invaders and of the court. A similar function was fulfilled by the military encampments of the Muslim rulers of Northern India, particularly the Great Moguls. The language which developed here, a mixture of Hindu, Persian and Arabic elements, was recognized after 1947 as the official language of Pakistan, and still bears today the name which reveals its origin, Urdu [*q.v.*].

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HORMUZ [see HURMUZ].

HOROLOGY [see SĀʿA].

HOROSCOPE [see ṬĀLIʿ].

HORSE [see FARAS].

HORSEMANSHIP [see FURŪSIYYA].

HOSPITAL [see BĪMĀRISTĀN].

HOSPITALITY [see DAK̲H̲ĪL, ḌAYF, D̲J̲IWĀR, ID̲J̲ĀRA].

HOSTELRY [see FUNDUḲ, K̲H̲ĀN].

HŌT [see BALŪČISTĀN].

HOTIN [see K̲H̲OTIN].

HOUSE [see DĀR].

HUBAL, an Arabian god whose worship was fostered in Mecca by the K̲h̲uzāʿī ʿAmr b. Luḥayy [*q.v.*] in the first half of the 3rd century A.D. Represented at first by a baetyl, like most of the Arab deities, it was later personified, with human features, by a statue made of cornelian, with the right arm truncated (cf. Judges III, 15, XX, 16) and which the

Ḳurayshīs are said to have replaced by a golden arm (al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1858, 74). It was from a town with thermal springs (*ḥamma*) that it was apparently brought to the Ḥidjāz. Having come there to bathe in the waters and thereby being cured of a serious illness, ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, it is said, had taken back this statue with him. As to its place of origin, tradition hesitates between two towns. For al-Azraḳī (31, 58, 73), this town is Hīt in Mesopotamia, a town situated on the Euphrates, and on the edge of the desert (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 328; Yāḳūt, 997-8; cf. R. Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Paris 1955, 86, n. 2), and today still renowned for its springs of bitumen (cf. E. Dhorme, *Recueil*, Paris 1951, 749); for others (Ibn Hishām, 51; al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, iv, 46; Yāḳūt, iv, 652 ff.; al-Shahrastānī, 431), it is Maʾāb, in the district of al-Balḳāʾ, in Transjordania.

Having asked the local inhabitants what was the justification of their idols, ʿAmr b. Luḥayy is said to have received the following reply: "These are the lords (*arbāb*) whom we have chosen, having [simultaneously] the form of the celestial temples (*al-hayākil al-ʿulwiyya*) and that of human beings [cf. Iamblichus, *De Myst.*, III, 30]. We ask them for victory over our enemies and they grant it to us; we ask them for rain, in time of drought, and they give it to us" (al-Shahrastānī, *loc. cit.*).

In the Kaʿba, Hubal must have preserved this original character of a stellar deity; but his most characteristic role was that of a cleromantic divinity. Indeed, it was before the god that the sacred lots (*istiḳsām* [*q.v.*] *bi 'l-azlām*) were cast. The statue stood inside the Kaʿba, above the sacred well which was thought to have been dug by Abraham to receive the offerings brought to the sanctuary (al-Azraḳī, 31). Another somewhat surprising fact indicates a connexion with Abraham: in the mural paintings of the pre-islamic Kaʿba, Hubal, represented as an old man holding arrows, seems to have been assimilated with Abraham (al-Azraḳī, 111).

The earliest mention of the name Hubal occurs in a Nabataean inscription (*CIS*, ii, 198), in which it appears as an associate of Manawāt. According to al-Azraḳī (73), its cult was the best organized in the Kaʿba: a *ḥādjib* guarded the idol; he received the offerings and sacrifices that were brought; he shook the arrows of divination before it. When a Meccan returned from travelling, he used to go to give thanks to the god before going to his own home. In the field of popular piety at least, it eclipsed the other deities in the Meccan pantheon, to such an extent that there has been some speculation whether the unanimity regarding this cult did not help to prepare the way for Allāh (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste*², Berlin 1897, 75; Dussaud, *op. cit.*, 143 ff.; an opinion disputed, though wrongly, by Lammens, *Les Chrétiens à la Mekke*, in *BIFAO*, xiv (1918), 24).

Bibliography: In addition to the authors referred to in the text, see Yāḳūt, iv, 949-50. The essential facts concerning this deity will be found in T. Fahd, *Une pratique cléromantique à la Kaʿba préislamique*, in *Semitica*, viii (1958), 55-79, particularly 58 ff., 73 ff. (T. FAHD)

ḤUBAYSH B. **MUBASHSHIR** [see DJAʿFAR B. MUBASHSHIR].

ḤUBB [see ʿISHḲ].

ḤUBUS [see WAḲF].

AL-**ḤUBŪS** (ḤABSĪ), a tribe, for the most part settled, of al-Sharḳiyya district in ʿUmān, south-eastern Arabia. Al-Ḥubūs belong to the Hināwī political faction (see HINĀ, BANŪ) of ʿUmān, and members of the tribe are adherents of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*]. They, together with al-Ḥirth and al-Hadjariyyūn, formed the tribal block upon which the Imāmate relied in al-Sharḳīyya until the events of 1377/1957 [see ʿUMĀN].

Al-Ḥubūs are settled in a group of villages, known collectively as Balādīn al-Ḥubūs, in upper Wādī ʿAndām. Their tribal capital is Muḍaybī, which since 1377/1957 has been administered by a *wālī*, ʿAlī b. Zāhir al-Hināwī. Other important villages of Balādīn al-Ḥubūs are al-Rawḍa, Samad, al-Fatḥ, Muṭayliʿ, al-Wāfī, al-Radda, al-Shāriḳ, al-Zāhib, and al-ʿAynayn. Muḥammad b. Saʿūd b. Muḥammad of the Awlād Rushayd section, residing in al-Fatḥ, was paramount *shaykh* of al-Ḥubūs in 1384/1965. Final authority in the area, however, rested with the appointed governor. Important tribal sections of al-Ḥubūs are al-Ghanānima, al-ʿAsāsira, Awlād Ḥaban, and Āl Shabīb. Al-Djawābir and al-Shamāṭira are Bedouin sections that share the northern part of Ramlat Āl Wahība with Āl Wahība.

Bibliography: G. P. Badger, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, London 1871; Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-17; Arabian American Oil Company, Relations Department, Research Division, *Oman and the Southern Shore of the Persian Gulf*, Cairo 1952 (English and Arabic); J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOmān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15; J. B. Kelly, *Eastern Arabian frontiers*, London 1964. (J. MANDAVILLE)

HŪD, the name of the earliest of the five "Arab" prophets mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Ibrāhīm, Shuʿayb and Muḥammad). In his history, which is related three times (on this repetition, see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, i, 105) in slightly different forms (in chronological order: XXVI, 123-40, XI [*Sūra* of Hūd], 52-63/50-60, VII, 63-70/65-72, XLVI, 20/21, merely a restatement), the Ḳurʾān represents him as an ʿĀdī sent to this people [see ʿĀD] to exhort them to adore the One God; but, like Muḥammad later in Mecca, he found only incredulity and insolence among the people and his followers were few; God therefore punished the ʿĀd, destroying them with a "roaring wind" (XLI, 15/16, LIV, 19, LXIX, 6). Later tradition adds that, having suffered three years of drought, the ʿĀd sent a deputation to Mecca to pray for rain. God made three clouds appear in the sky, one white, one red and one black. One of the deputation, called Ḳayl, was given the choice of one of the three by a voice from heaven. He chose the black one, with the result that a terrible storm broke over the ʿĀd and destroyed the whole people with the exception of Hūd and his followers; they went to settle in Mecca, where the prophet stayed until his death at the age of 150 (according to another tradition, he did not make the pilgrimage to Mecca and until his death never left his people; Ibn Rusta, 26, trans. Wiet, 24).

There exist several traditions concerning the genealogy of Hūd, going back to ʿĀd b. ʿŪṣ b. Aram b. Sām b. Nūḥ; but he is sometimes assimilated with ʿĀbar (the biblical Heber, ancestor of the Hebrews) or regarded as a son of the latter. Since the word Hūd is also, in the Ḳurʾān, a collective noun denoting the Jews (II, 105/111, 129/135, 134/140) and that the root *h.w.d.* there has the meaning "to practice Judaism, to profess the religion of the Jews" (II, 59/62, IV, 48/46, etc.), the proper name certainly appears to be derived from this root, which would also confirm the identification of Hūd with the

ancestor of the Jews; thus Hirschfeld is perhaps correct when he calls Hūd an allegorical figure (*Beiträge z. Erklärung des Ḳorān*, Leipzig 1886, 17 n. 4).

The South Arabian tradition transmitted by Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*] gives other details about Hūd, making him a brown-skinned merchant with handsome features and flowing hair.

The *Ḳabr Hūd*, situated at the mouth of the Barhūt [*q.v.*], in the Ḥaḍramawt, is a place of pilgrimage still frequented. R. B. Serjeant (*Hūd*, 129) verified on the spot the facts related by al-Harawī (*Ziyārāt*, 97/220-1), who described, at the gate of the mosque, on the west side, the rock onto which Hūd climbed to make the call to prayer and mentioned, at the bottom of the ravine, the well (or rather grotto) of Balhūt.

As often happens, however, the grave of Hūd is located in several places. For example, it is said to be between the well of Zamzam and the angle of the Kaʿba (al-Harawī, 86/198) or in the south wall of the mosque at Damascus (al-Harawī, 15/38; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 205, ii, 203 [trans. H. A. R. Gibb, i, 128, ii, 386] adds that there is an inscription stating "This is the tomb of Hūd b. ʿĀbar", but he thinks it more likely that his tomb is in the Aḥḳāf [*q.v.*]); another tradition even makes the prophet the builder of the walls of the Great Mosque of Damascus (see J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Pèlerinages damascains*, in *B Ét. Or.*, xiv (1952-4), 75, n. 7; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 205, speaks only of the south wall); this is certainly the reflexion of a local tradition, giving proof of the interest which the Muslims attached to the prophet of the ʿĀd.

Bibliography: Commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, on VII, XI, XXVI; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 28, 56; Ṭabarī, i, 231 and index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 1290 ed., 63 ff.; Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, i, 37 ff., viii (ed. N. A. Faris), index; Maracci, *Refutationes*, 1698, 282 and older works there cited; Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen*[2], 111 ff., English trans., *Judaism and Islam*, Madras 1898, 88 ff.; R. B. Serjeant, *Hūd and other pre-Islamic prophets of Hadramawt*, in *Le Muséon*, xlvii (1954), 121-79. (A. J. Wensinck-[Ch. Pellat])

HŪD, Banū [see hūdids].

HUDĀʾ [see ghināʾ].

HÜDĀʾĪ, Maḥmūd b. Faḍl Allāh b. Maḥmūd, better known under his *makhlaṣ* Hüdāʾī, born at Ḳočḥiṣār in 950/1543-4 (Hüdāʾī, *al-Tibr al-maskūk*, Istanbul, Selim Ağa, Hüdayi collection no. 250, vol. i, fol. 71v., 81v., 87r.; *op. cit.*, Bursa, Orhan, Ulu Cami collection no. 1753, fol. 258v., 290r., 404v.). Almost nothing is known of the first twenty-seven years of his life except that he was an orphan from early childhood (*op. cit.*, Selim Ağa, Hüdayi collection, no. 250, vol. i, fol. 76v., vol. ii, fol. 64v.), and that he spent a number of years at Sivriḥiṣār where he was in contact with the disciples of *shaykh* Baba Yūsuf (*op. cit.*, vol. i, 27v., vol. ii, 15v., 69v.). In 978/1570-1, he entered the service of Nāẓīrzāde, in the *medrese* of Selīm II at Edirne (ʿAṭāʾī, *Dhayl al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, Istanbul 1268, 760, cf. 241). He followed his master when the latter was appointed *ḳāḍī*, first at Damascus, then at Cairo and finally at Bursa (Muḥarram 981/May-June 1573). He was given the post of *ḳāḍī*'s deputy (*nāʾib*) in the tribunal of the old mosque (*Djāmiʿ-i ʿatīḳ*), and of teacher (*müderris*) at the Farhādiyya *medrese* (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 760, cf. 241). There then followed a period of misfortune which coincided with a religious crisis. He lost his position as *nāʾib*, perhaps because of an error which he made over a legal matter (Ismāʿīl Belīgh, *Güldeste*, Bursa 1302, 335). When his patron was transferred to Edirne, on 4 Radjab 983/9 October 1575, he remained at Bursa and on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 984/18 January 1577 he became the disciple of Shaykh Üftāde, the founder of the Djilwatiyya [*q.v.*] order. At the end of 986/1578, he also lost his post at the *medrese* and fell into poverty. His period of initiation under Üftāde lasted for three years. On Saturday, 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 987/19 December 1579, only a few months before Üftāde's death in 988/1580 (see I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Scheich Üftāde, der Begründer des Ǧelvetijje-Ordens*, Munich 1961, 131 f.), the latter sent him on a mission to Sivriḥiṣār. Other journeys followed (ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Sharḥ-i Tadjalliyāt-i Hüdāʾī*, Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, I. S. Sencer collection, i/3515, fol. 2v.). He settled finally at Istanbul, on the Asiatic side, at first in the district of Čamlîdja and later at Üsküdar. In Djumādā II 1002/February-March 1594, he was appointed preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) in the mosque of Meḥemmed II through the good offices of the *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rumeli, Ṣunʿ Allāh, and received 100 *aḳče* from the foundation (Pečewī, ii, 36; ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 761). On the completion of his own mosque, in 1003/1594-5, he resigned from this post. Instead, he preached on Thursdays in the Mihrimāh mosque and, from 1020/1611-2, on the first Monday of each month in the Sultan Aḥmed mosque (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 761). He died in 1038/1628-9. His *türbe* is adjacent to his mosque.

Hüdāʾī enjoyed a very great prestige in his own day. His convent was a refuge for dignitaries who had fallen out of favour (Pečewī, ii, 357; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, 1280, ii, 155, 159; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, viii, 168, 233, 251, 272). Although Üftāde must be considered as the founder of the Djilwatiyya order, there is no doubt that it was due to Hüdāʾī that the order survived. Faithful to his master, Hüdāʾī gave it a firmly orthodox bias (cf. his attitude to the disciples of Badr al-Dīn: M. Sharaf al-Dīn, *Samāwna-ḳāḍîsî-oghlu shaykh Badr al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1340, 72).

There exist some poems by him of a mystic character and some short works relating to religious matters, some of which have been edited by M. Gülshen (*Külliyāt-i ḥaḍrat-i Hüdāʾī*, Istanbul 1338), some letters and a journal in Arabic which he began at the time he attached himself to Üftāde (and from which have been taken the main dates of his life). The section which runs from Muḥarram 985 to 9 Shawwāl 987/March-April 1577 to 27 November 1597, has the heading *Kalimāt*. . *ʿan al-Tibr al-maskūk fīmā djarā bayna ḥaḍrat al-shaykh wa bayna hādha 'l-faḳīr fī athnāʾ al-sulūk* (autograph: Istanbul, Selim Ağa, Hüdayi collection no. 250, 2 vols.). The section from 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 987 to Rabīʿ I 1021/19 December 1579 to May 1612, which is very fragmentary, is found in libraries under the title of *Tadjalliyāt*. A commentary was written on one part of this section by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. On the copies and translations, see I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *op. cit.*, 2-5, 10-21.

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185-8; Z. Tezeren, *Hüdaî, hayatı ve eserleri* (thesis, Istanbul 1939-40), Istanbul, Türkiyat Enstitüsü no. 114.

(I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr)

AL-ḤUDAYBIYA, or al-Ḥudaybiyya, a medium-sized village on the edge of the *ḥaram* or sacred territory of Mecca, one *marḥala* from Mecca itself. Both the village and the Mosque of the Tree (presumably on the site of the pledge described below) were unknown in the time of al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429). One authority says the name was derived from a dome-shaped or hump-like (*ḥadbāʾ*) tree, but this may be conjecture.

The village gave its name to an important Muslim expedition from Medina, led by Muḥammad, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda of the year 6 (March 628). Muḥammad had a dream (cf. Ḳurʾān, XLVIII, 27) in which he saw himself performing the rites of the lesser pilgrimage (*ʿumra*) at Mecca, and decided to make an expedition to Mecca for this ostensible reason, though in so doing he would also demonstrate to the pagans of Mecca that Islam was an Arabian religion and would not threaten the prestige of their sanctuary. Muḥammad hoped that the nomadic tribes near Medina would join him, but they saw little prospect of booty and were afraid the expedition might end in disaster. He set out with only about 1400 followers, mostly from Medina itself, and they had with them camels for the sacrifice. The Meccans, realizing that after the failure of their attempt to besiege Medina they would be considered weaklings if they let Muḥammad enter Mecca even as a pilgrim, sent out 200 cavalry to bar his way. These Muḥammad eluded by taking an unusual and very difficult route, and so reached al-Ḥudaybiya on the edge of the *ḥaram*. Here he decided to halt and negotiate.

A number of emissaries came and went between himself and the Meccans. Eventually a treaty to last ten years was agreed on, of which the following were the chief provisions: for the present, Muḥammad and his followers were to withdraw, but in the next year Mecca would be evacuated for three days to let them perform the *ʿumra*; there was to be no raiding between the two parties; Muḥammad was to send back to Mecca anyone of Ḳuraysh (presumably minor or woman) who came to him without permission of his or her protector; and others than Ḳuraysh were to be free to enter into alliance with either side. On the conclusion of the treaty Muḥammad and his followers sacrificed their animals and returned to Medina. Many were disappointed; some thought Muḥammad's policy mistaken. The expedition to Khaybar about six weeks later was in part to console them for this disappointment. A year after the original expedition Muḥammad performed the pilgrimage with a party of about 2000. The treaty continued in force for only about ten months more, because a quarrel between allies of the contracting parties led to Muḥammad's victorious entry into Mecca (Ramaḍān 8/March 630).

While the Muslims were at al-Ḥudaybiya negotiating, it came to be believed that one of their envoys, ʿUthmān b. al-ʿAffān, had been killed. Muḥammad then called on them to take an oath to support him, known as the Pledge of Good Pleasure (*bayʿat al-riḍwān*) or the Pledge under the Tree. It is usually said to have been an oath not to flee, but it is more likely that (as stated by one authority in al-Wāḳidī) it was an oath to follow Muḥammad in whatever he decided. If the latter, the oath marked an increase in Muḥammad's constitutional powers. *Riḍwan* is used because Ḳurʾān, XLVIII, 18 says God was "well pleased (*raḍiya*) with the believers when they pledged themselves under the tree".

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, ii, 222; al-Fāsī in Wüstenfeld, *Mekka*, ii, 83; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, second ed., 104; Ibn Hishām, 740-55; al-Wāḳidī (Wellhausen), 241-64; Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 69-76; Ṭabarī, i, 1528-51; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 285-92; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 46-52; H. Lammens, *La Mecque*, in *MFOB*, ix (1924), 132-7; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Ḥudaibiya.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

AL-ḤUDAYDA, name of the principal coast-town between Djudda and Bāb al-Mandab, in Tihāmat al-Yaman (14° 48′ N., 42° 57′ E.). It is the most important strategic and commercial seaport in the Yaman, and also the capital of its province (*liwāʾ*) of the same name. It is situated on the low sandy coast 10 km. south-east of the base of the peninsula stretching northward to Raʾs al-Katīb. Perhaps this place may be identified with the *Marsā al-ḥadīth* mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, although from a notice of al-Khazradjī under the year 797/1395 it would seem that at that time the name al-Ḥudayda referred merely to this part of the coast, where not even a village was in existence. As an inhabited place it is first mentioned in the chronicles of al-Daybaʿ and Abū Makhrama in connexion with the recognition of the first Ṭāhirid sultan in Aden (859/1454-5). It was raided by the Egyptian Mamlūk Sultan al-Ghūrī's expeditionary force in 921/January 1516, but had not yet any strategic importance then. It remained of secondary importance next to Mocha during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, when it functioned as the port through which part of the coffee produced in the region of Bayt al-Faḳīh [*q.v.*] was conveyed in coastal trade. When C. Niebuhr was there in 1763, a *dola* on behalf of the Imām resided in a small sea-side castle and took in a substantial amount of customs, but his jurisdiction was restricted to the town itself, the surroundings being under that of the *dola* in Bayt al-Faḳīh. Only in the course of the 19th century did al-Ḥudayda gain some new importance. After the Wahhābī uprising and its suppression by Ibrāhīm Pasha, the town was on various occasions occupied by forces of Egypt, ʿAṣīr, the Imām of Ṣanʿāʾ, and then the Turks, first in 1849 and more definitely in 1872. The sultan's *wālī* over the Yaman had al-Ḥudayda for his capital, but its facilities as such and as the sea-port for Ṣanʿāʾ and the country as a whole were hardly improved. The constructions undertaken in 1902 to install a modest harbour in the place of what was only an open roadstead, were inadequate, and the efforts made in 1911-3 to build a railway linking the port with Ṣanʿāʾ were abortive; but there was a telegraph line covering this distance. Lightly bombarded by the Italian navy in 1911 and by the British in 1918, the town was given by the latter in that year to the Sharīf of ʿAṣīr, but re-occupied by the Imām in 1925, and again in 1934 after a brief occupation by Saudi Arabian forces. It has been estimated that in 1961, 70 to 80% of the Yaman's overseas trade still went through Aden. In that year a new harbour under construction by Soviet Russian engineers since 1958 was completed, although by special order of the Imām, according to El Attar, it lacked the lighting system necessary to operate it at night; this was improved under the revolutionary régime in 1962. In the meantime, Communist Chinese technicians had finished the construction of a new road connecting al-Ḥudayda with Ṣanʿāʾ

(227 km.), thus replacing the old motor track by the country's first asphalt road. Besides its harbour, comprising quays to a length of 9.5 km. and a basin in which ships 140 m. long and drawing 8 m. of water can be accommodated, the town, with an estimated number of 50,000 inhabitants in 1964, has little in the way of modern equipment. Before the arrival of Egyptian troops there was one hospital, and a landing-ground for aircraft. To the traditional textile handicrafts were added in recent years some primitive cotton manufactories, in connexion with a rapid expansion of cotton cultivation in parts of Tihāma. An attempt to establish a modern cotton mill at Bādjil failed. Projects have been made for a cement factory in that place, and also for prospective oil drilling operations.

The population in the *liwā'* of al-Ḥudayda is estimated at 660,000. In addition to the district (*ḳaḍā'*) of the capital, it comprises those of Bayt al-Faḳīh, Bādjil, al-Zaydiyya, and Luḥayya.

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(L. O. SCHUMAN)

AL-ḤUḌAYN (not al-Ḥuṣayn) B. AL-MUNDHIR B. AL-ḤĀRITH B. WAʿLA AL-RAḲĀSHĪ AL-BAKRĪ, ABŪ SĀSĀN, a notable and poet of Baṣra ranking among the leading *Tābiʿūn* (d. *ca.* 100/718-9). His family was well-known even before Islam; some at least of its members had a reputation for avarice, which al-Ḥuḍayn seems to have justified, if we may judge by the words attributed to him by al-Djāḥiẓ, which leave no doubt as to his love of riches. While still quite young, he took part in the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] and fought bravely; he carried the standard of the Rabīʿa in the army of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, but owed this honour to the rivalries between the Bakrī notables who were seeking to secure the command. Subsequently, no further mention of him occurs except as a poet—in particular he sang the praises of the chief of the Bakr of Baṣra, Mālik b. Mismaʿ—and as a transmitter of secular traditions, some of which concerned the kings of Persia; his *kunya* Abū Sāsān would indeed appear to indicate that his family had been subject to some sort of Persian influence.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, ed. Ḥādjirī, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, v, 434; idem, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 169, 175, 190, iii, 108, 368; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 423; Ṭabarī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 375 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 88, 258; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1926, ii, 198; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 435 f.; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, i, 45; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 99, 248, 303, iv, 401, 402, v, 9, 12; *Aghānī*, xvi, 8; Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, 87 f.; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 255; Dhahabī, *al-Mushtabih fī asmā' al-ridjāl*, Leiden 1888, 166; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, Cairo 1365, 555; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Cairo ed., iv, 27; F. al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iv, 336.

(CH. PELLAT)

HUDHAYL, a tribe of Northern Arab descent in the vicinity of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if. Belonging to the branch of Muḍar known as Khindif, Hudhayl was closely related to Kināna and consequently to Ḳuraysh [*qq.v.*]. Since early times Hudhayl has occupied much of the territory immediately west and east of Mecca and on up into the mountains towards al-Ṭā'if; there is no tradition of its having migrated here from elsewhere. This territory, which has been called "the heart of al-Ḥidjāz", includes the valley of Baṭn Marr or Marr al-Ẓahrān (modern Wādī Fāṭima) between Mecca and the present port of Djudda and the valley's main tributaries, Nakhla al-Sha'miyya (or al-Sha'āmiyya) and Nakhla al-Yamāniyya [see AL-ḤIDJĀZ]. The tribe had a market, Dhu 'l-Madjāz, near ʿArafa.

According to Ibn al-Kalbī, the people of Hudhayl were the first among the descendants of Ismāʿīl to become idolators. At a place called Ruhāṭ they had the idol Suwāʿ. Although Ibn al-Kalbī locates Ruhāṭ in the environs of Yanbuʿ, it was more probably close to Mecca and may have been in Nakhla al-Yamāniyya (see Yāḳūt, *s.v.*, and al-Azraḳī, i, 78, n. 7; al-Sukkarī, i, 165, however, identifies Baṭn Ruhāṭ, the only Ruhāṭ mentioned by the poets of Hudhayl, as being in the land of Banū Hilāl, three nights from Mecca). The custodians of Suwāʿ were Banū Liḥyān [*q.v.*], a division of Hudhayl. Hudhayl also had ownership, or shared it with Khuzāʿa, of one of "the daughters of Allāh", Manāt [*q.v.*], a stone at Ḳudayd on the way from Mecca to Yathrib reputed to be the oldest of the Arab idols.

In the legendary accounts, Hudhayl plays a leading rôle in the visit of *tubbaʿ* Asʿad Kāmil (Abū Karib) to Mecca and in the expedition of Abraha [*q.v.*] against the town. During the pre-Islamic period Hudhayl engaged in numerous feuds with the neighbouring tribes. The famous ode of vengeance by Ta'abbaṭa Sharr^{an} [*q.v.*] of Fahm was directed against Hudhayl, who had killed his uncle. Hudhayl used to sell prisoners taken in battle as slaves in Mecca.

During the struggle between the Prophet and Ḳuraysh, most of the members of Hudhayl, with Liḥyān in the forefront, sided with their kinsmen of Mecca. The Muslim commander given a stick by the Prophet as guerdon for his victory over Hudhayl was ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays (not Uwais, as in *EI*[1], ii, 329) of Banū Wabra, known as al-Djuhanī. When the men of Hudhayl captured a handful of Muslims, they sold them to Ḳuraysh. After the conquest of Mecca, the Muslims obliterated the idols of Hudhayl. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ destroyed Suwāʿ, and various persons, including ʿAlī, were credited with the destruction of Manāt. Hudhayl joined Ḳuraysh in embracing Islam.

Although most of Hudhayl were slow in coming in, one man prided himself on being among the earliest converts. This was ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [see IBN MASʿŪD], who may have been a client of the tribe, though Ibn Ḥazm lists him as a Hudhalī by descent; he became a faithful companion and servant of the Prophet and a prolific traditionist. The historian al-Masʿūdī [*q.v.*] claimed him as an ancestor.

Hudhayl stands out among the Arab tribes for its bountiful poetry, its renown in this field being due in part to the fact that its tribal *dīwān* is the only one to have survived *in extenso*. Among the scores of poets of the stock of Hudhayl were Abū Dhu'ayb, Abū Kabīr, Abū Khirāsh, and Abū Ṣakhr [*qq.v.*]. Not many of the Hudhalī poets lived wholly in the Djāhiliyya; a number began life in that period and ended as Muslims.

Among the sparse references to Hudhayl given by al-Hamdānī in the 4th/10th century is the statement that in his time Hudhayl was driven from its accustomed range by Banū Saʿd (Saʿd b. Bakr?) with

the aid of ʿUdjdj b. Shākh (given in other sources as ʿUdjdj b. Ḥādjdj), whom al-Hamdānī calls "the Sultan of Mecca" (probably a Turkish slave of the ʿAbbāsids appointed to be governor of the Holy City).

Given the proximity of Hudhayl to Mecca, it is surprising that the chroniclers of the city provide very little information on the doings of the tribe. Hudhalīs often took part in the campaigns of the Hāshimid *sharīfs*, but in general the tribe had a bad name for harassing pilgrims. Out of fear of Hudhayl, travellers often chose the blistering road along the coast to Medina in preference to the cooler road east of the mountains of al-Sarāt.

In the 19th century J. Burckhardt gave these notes on Hudhayl: "They muster one thousand matchlocks, and are reputed the best marksmen in the whole country. They are a famous tribe, eminent for their bravery. The Wahabys killed above three hundred of their best men before the tribe would submit". The most attractive villages of Hudhayl were in the mountains west of al-Ṭāʾif, including Karā. Hudhalīs were settled in the Meccan quarter of al-Maʿābida, and the division of Liḥyān was established in Ḥaddāʾ and Baḥra, the main stations on the road from Mecca to Djudda.

Coming down the old road from al-Ṭāʾif to Djudda, Doughty met Hudhalīs: "Their skins were black and shining; and their looks (in this tropical Arabia) were not hollow, but round and teeming". Philby found members of the tribe along the same road, leading a hard life "in worsted booths ... perhaps not more than three or four feet in height, ... tending bees and sheep and doing a certain amount of cultivation on the torrent-irrigated terraces ...; they also rear camels of a diminutive and extremely hardy highland breed, of which it is said that they can climb up the steep flanks of the hills as surely as goats".

The old grouping of the tribesmen into Hudhayl al-Shaʾm and Hudhayl al-Yaman is still preserved. Perhaps the most important centre of the tribe is the oasis of al-Zayma at the point where the old road from al-Ṭāʾif leaves Wādī al-Yamāniyya (the modern name of southern Nakhla) to run southwards and then westwards to Mecca, though the oasis is likely to become a backwater now that a new and more direct paved road to Mecca is in use.

The people of Hudhayl are relatives and close friends of the Djaḥādila, whose range lies near the coast south of Djudda, with headquarters at al-Saʿdiyya. Yalamlam (now shortened to Lamlam), the *mīḳāt* for pilgrims coming overland from the south along the coast, is in the territory of the Djaḥādila.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*[2], ed. Ahmed Zeki, Cairo 1343/1924 (Eng. tr. N. A. Faris, *The book of idols*, Princeton, N.J. 1950); Ibn Hishām; Ṭabarī; Hamdānī; Yāḳūt; al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Rushdī Malḥas, Mecca 1352; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iii; idem, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], Berlin 1927; J. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829; idem, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, London 1831; C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, new ed., London 1936; Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; H. Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, London 1922; idem, *A pilgrim in Arabia*, London 1946; M. v. Oppenheim, E. Bräunlich, and W. Caskel, *Die Beduinen*, ii, Leipzig 1943.

For the poets of Hudhayl, see the references in Brockelmann, S I, 42, the bibliographies for the articles on the poets mentioned above, and the introduction and voluminous references in al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ ashʿār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrādj, Cairo 1384/1965, 3 vols., with elaborate indices.

For the dialect of Hudhayl, see ch. 8 of C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London 1961, and Farrādj's ed. of al-Sukkarī. (G. RENTZ)

HUDHUD, the hoopoe, belongs to the order *Scansores* and bears a remarkable tuft of feathers on its head. Only a part of what is related concerning its habits and character can be mentioned here. Its piety is particularly emphasized. In Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (ed. Schulthess, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, viii, 26, 84 f.; cf. also Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 279 f.) there is a story that the hoopoe enshrouded its dead mother and carried the body on its back and head till it found a resting-place for it; this is why its back is brown; but it is also related that the tuft of feathers was a reward for this act.—When its mate dies, the hoopoe does not look for a new wife.—When its parents grow old, it feeds them. It bears different *kunyas* in Arabic, *e.g.* *Abū ʿIbād*, *Abu 'l-Sadjdjāda*, after the numerous bows of its tuft as it walks. It makes its nest in dung so that it has an unpleasant smell. Its feathers, heart etc. are used in various ways. The Prophet is said to have forbidden it to be killed; hence, according to some, its flesh is forbidden (though other schools regard it as permissible). The hoopoe plays a prominent part in the legend of Solomon and Bilḳīs [*q.v.*], which was apparently already developed by Muḥammad's time as may be concluded from Sūra XXVII, 20 ff. In this passage we are told that Solomon assembled the birds and the hoopoe was missing. When he arrived late, he gave an account of the queen of Sabaʾ and was entrusted by Solomon with the bearing of a letter to the Sabaeans.

The later writers as a rule give the whole story as follows. The hoopoe possesses the power of seeing where water is through the earth. He was therefore used by Solomon on his pilgrimage to Mecca to find water. But on one occasion the hoopoe whom Solomon had appointed for this purpose, named Yaʿfūr, or Yaghfūr, while on the journey, took a trip to the south and reached the garden of Bilḳīs where he made the acquaintance of another hoopoe named ʿUfayr. The latter told him a great deal about the queen of Sabaʾ. In the meanwhile Solomon was looking in vain for water for his army (or according to another versions for ritual ablution). He sent the vulture (*nasr*) to assemble the birds and as the hoopoe was missing the eagle (*ʿuḳāb*) was sent to fetch him. But he was already on his way back and was brought by the eagle before Solomon, who talked to him severely but finally, after hearing his account of Bilḳīs, sent him with a letter to the Sabaeans.

Another version of the beginning of the story relates that Solomon on his pilgrimage was being carried with all his retinue on a carpet by the winds to Arabia. The birds were ordered to fly above the carpet in such a compact mass that those sitting on it should be entirely protected from the sun. But Solomon detected a little ray of light in one place; so he concluded that one bird was missing. He then held a roll-call and it was found that the hoopoe was absent; the story continues as before.

It is also related that the hoopoe once invited Solomon and his army to a feast on an island. When the guests had arrived, he threw a dead locust into the sea and said "Now eat, O thou Prophet of God! if

the meat be lacking, there is at least plenty of sauce". Solomon and his soldiers laughed for a year at this joke.

On the relationship of the Jewish hoopoe-legend to the Muslim, see M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893.

In North Africa, hoopoes are made out of silk, feathers, etc., and used for magical purposes (Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 270).

Bibliography: Damīrī, s.v. *hudhud*; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 425 f.; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 200 ff.; idem in *ZDMG*, xxxi, 206 ff.; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, 243 ff.; the commentaries on the Ḳurʾān to Sūra XXVII, 20 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 576 ff.; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 1290, 335 ff.; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, London 1859, i, 105 (with illustration); Salzberger, *Die Salomolegende in der semitischen Literatur*, Berlin 1907, i, 75 ff. (A. J. Wensinck)

HŪDIDS, in Arabic Banū Hūd, 'sons of Hūd', a family of Arab extraction, as rulers of Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa) among the more important of the Party Kings (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif, reyes de Taifas*) in 5th/11th century Spain. Hūd [*q.v.*] was well known as the name of a prophet sent to the people of ʿĀd (Sūra VII, 63 ff., etc.); his descendants, the Banū Hūd, are mentioned in legend (*e.g.* Ibn Khaldūn, Beirut ed., iv(v), 484). The ancestry of the historical Banū Hūd is traced to an eponymous Hūd, said to have been the first of the family to enter al-Andalus. He was, according to some, a great-grandson of Sālim, the freedman of Abū Ḥudhayfa, a famous Companion of Muḥammad. But Sālim is stated to have died childless (Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, 139), and, since the *nisba* of members of the family is regularly given as Djudhāmī, it seems slightly more probable that, as others claimed, the Banū Hūd of Saragossa were descended from the celebrated Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ al-Djudhāmī. The first Hūdid to come into prominence was:

1. Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Hūd al-Djudhāmī, later styled al-Mustaʿīn bi'llāh (al-Mustaʿīn I). Sulaymān is mentioned before the revolution which produced the Party Kings as a military officer on the Upper Frontier (*al-thughr al-aʿlā*). He supported the Tudjībids [*q.v.*] of Saragossa and took part in the disastrous campaign of the caliph al-Murtaḍā against Granada (408/1018). While governor of Lārida (Lerida) he entertained the unfortunate ex-caliph Hishām III al-Muʿtadd [*q.v.*] till the latter's death in 427 or 428 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 199, cf. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, 41). Shortly after the murder of the Tudjībid Mundhir II b. Yaḥyā, Sulaymān b. Hūd occupied Saragossa (Muḥarram 431/September-October 1039) and became ruler of an extensive kingdom which included most of the Ebro valley and, in addition to Saragossa itself and Lerida to the east, Huesca to the north, Tudela and Calatayud to the west, and territory to the south in the direction of Valencia. In 435/1043-44, according to Ibn Ḥayyān (quoted Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, iii, 219), Sulaymān was head of one of the political parties in Muslim Spain, and he blames him and Ibn Dhi 'l-Nūn [see dhu 'l-nūnids] for inviting the Christians to attack Muslim territory on the Upper and Lower Frontiers, which they did in 437/1045-46. Sulaymān survived his successful *coup* for only a few years. Having divided his possessions among his five sons, he died in 438/1046 and was followed at Saragossa by:

2. Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad I b. Sulaymān b. Hūd al-Muḳtadir. He set aside his brothers in turn, pursuing with the eldest, Yūsuf of Lerida, called al-Muẓaffar, an especially bitter struggle which went on till the last years of his reign. In 453/1061 al-Muḳtadir obtained control of Ṭarṭūsha (Tortosa), and in 468/1075-76 he expelled the ʿĀmirid ʿAlī b. Mudjāhid Iḳbāl al-Dawla from Dāniya (Denia) on the Mediterranean coast. Before this, his recapture of the important frontier fortress, Barbastro (which had fallen temporarily into Norman hands in 456/1064, see barbashturu), increased his reputation in the Peninsula. Though al-Muḳtadir is represented as constantly engaged in 'plying the wine-cups and plucking off the heads' (Ibn Saʿīd) he attracted to his court men of distinction, such as Abu 'l-Walīd al-Bādjī, who wrote a reply on behalf of al-Muḳtadir to the letter of a 'monk of France' inviting him to accept Christianity [see al-bādjī], and Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], the famous poet of Silves, who took refuge at Saragossa from Ibn ʿAbbād of Seville. The Aljaferia in Saragossa, the remains of which still stand, goes back to Abū Djaʿfar al-Muḳtadir. It is remarkable that this powerful ruler was at various times tributary to or under the protection of the Christians of the North, and shortly before his death (474/1081 or 475/1082) he invited the Cid to his court. He was succeeded by his son:

3. Abū ʿĀmir Yūsuf b. Aḥmad I b. Hūd al-Muʾtaman ('Almuctamam'), who reigned till 478/1085. He was a student, author of a book or books on mathematics (Ibn Khaldūn, also al-Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, 319), which are said to have attracted the favourable attention of Maimonides and his pupil, Ibn ʿAḳnīn.

4. Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad II b. Yūsuf b. Hūd, called, like his ancestor Sulaymān, al-Mustaʿīn bi'llāh (al-Mustaʿīn II), succeeded his father, and was distinguished for his warlike conduct against the Christians of the North (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 129, *s. a.* 484). In 487/1094 the enemy advanced on Washḳa (Huesca), near which al-Mustaʿīn suffered a great defeat (at Alcoraz, November 1096). Saragossa itself was attacked by the Castilians of Alfonso VI, but by this time Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn had crossed to al-Andalus, and the arrival of an Almoravid army near Saragossa caused the Christians to withdraw. It was in this reign that the Cid, who had been in the service of al-Mustaʿīn, as previously of al-Muʾtaman, became ruler of Valencia. Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn, who wished to retain the kingdom of Saragossa as a buffer state between himself and the Christians, left al-Mustaʿīn in possession, while removing the other Party Kings. Al-Mustaʿīn died fighting the Christians at the battle of Valtierra, near Tudela, on 1 Radjab 503/24 January 1110. The threat from the North had indeed gradually increased during the whole period of Hūdid rule, and now matters came to a crisis under:

5. Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Aḥmad II b. Hūd ʿImād al-Dawla. The new Almoravid ruler, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn, acting, it is said, on the advice of the *faḳīhs*, decided to take over the lands of the Upper Frontier. On 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 503/30 June 1110, the Almoravid *ḳāʾid* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādjdj entered Saragossa, and ʿImād al-Dawla withdrew, passing now or later to the stronghold of Rūṭa (Rueda de Jalón). For nine years the Almoravids held Saragossa, first under Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādjdj, then under Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Sahrawī, called Ibn Tīfalwīt, who ruled in princely style, and whose *wazīr*, the celebrated philosopher Ibn Bādjdja (Avempace), when on an embassy to ʿImād al-Dawla, was thrown into prison by him. The pressure from the north continued,

and on 3 Ramaḍān 512/18 December 1118 Alfonso I of Aragon, el Batallador, took Saragossa after a siege of 7 months (May-December). ʿImād al-Dawla held out in Rueda, while the Christians began to occupy the lands of the Frontier piecemeal. ʿImād al-Dawla died in Rueda in S̲h̲aʿbān 524/1130 (the date 513, frequently accepted, in the text of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn is a slip for 523, cf. Dozy, *Scriptorum Arabum Loci de Abbadidis*, ii, 144, n. 11). He was succeeded by his son, the last of the line:

6. Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Aḥmad III b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hūd Sayf al-Dawla ('Zafadola') al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh. In 534/1140 or earlier he exchanged Rueda with Alfonso VII for what Ibn al-Abbār calls 'half the city of Toledo', but more probably was territory in the province of Toledo and perhaps Estremadura (Codera, Prieto y Vives). In 539/1144, when the revolt against the Almoravids was general, al-Mustanṣir b. Hūd, as representing ancient native royalty, found himself with partisans everywhere in Muslim Spain, and, taking the field, occupied successively Cordova, Jaen, Granada, Murcia and Valencia. Ultimately, in a battle with the Christians in the east of Spain near D̲j̲and̲j̲āla (Chinchilla) in S̲h̲aʿbān 540/February 1146, al-Mustanṣir was defeated and killed, and with him the dynasty came to an end. (The account of the death of al-Mustanṣir given by Ibn K̲h̲aldūn with the date in the text, A.H. 536, is not right.)

It remains only to notice Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Hūd al-D̲j̲ud̲h̲āmī, called al-Mutawakkil, who claimed descent from al-Mustaʿīn b. Hūd. He was active and successful against the Almohads from 625/1228, and became Sultan in Granada.

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(D. M. Dunlop)

ḤUD̲J̲ARIYYA [see ḤUD̲J̲RA].

ḤUD̲J̲D̲J̲A (A.), pl. ḤUD̲J̲AD̲J̲, both proof and the presentation of proof. The term is Ḳurʾānic, and is applied to any argument—one that attempts to prove what is false ("worthless argument"), as well as one that attempts to prove what is true ("decisive argument"). Men should have no *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* against God (IV, 165); if they argue (*yuḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ūna*) against Him, this argument is worthless in His eyes (XLII, 16; cf. XLV, 25). It is to God that "the decisive argument" belongs (VI, 149), and it was God who gave Abraham the (decisive) argument against his people (VI, 83). In the sense of "proof", *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* is very close to *dalīl* [*q.v.*]; in the sense of "argument", it is very close to *burhān* [*q.v.*]. But whereas *dalīl* is, in the first place, the "indication", the "guide" that leads to certainty, *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* suggests the conclusive argument that leaves an opponent without a reply; and whereas *burhān* is, in the first place, as it were the clear evidence of an irrefutable proof, and, consequently, the correct reasoning that leads to it, *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* retains the idea of a *contrary* argument. "Dialectical proof" would perhaps be the translation that best renders the primary meaning of *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a*.

This shade of meaning, however, is often almost (but not quite) lost sight of. *Ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* also assumes a precise technical meaning in the "science of *ḥadīt̲h̲*", and moreover becomes one of the initiatory degrees of the Ismāʿīlī gnosis. When used by the *mutakallimūn* and the *falāsifa* (in treatises on logic or discussions of methodology), it remains, according to the authors' inclinations, somewhat imprecise. An exhaustive recension would be very long, but a few references may be given here.

Ibn Sīnā. In Avicenna *dalīl* may refer to any argument or demonstration; in a narrower sense it denotes the *burhān al-inna* (or *al-in*), the demonstration of existence. The meaning of *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* in Avicenna is very wide. The section of the *S̲h̲ifāʾ* that deals with logic takes it in a general sense as a process of argumentation, for it subdivides it into syllogism (*ḳiyās*), induction (*istiḳrāʾ*), analogy of like with like or parable (*tamt̲h̲īl*) and "other things". On the following page *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* is defined as the point of arrival (*mawḳaʿa*) of acceptance or judgment (*taṣdīḳ*) (cf. *al-S̲h̲ifāʾ, al-Manṭiḳ, i* (*al-madkh̲al*), Cairo 1371/1952, 18-9). It is characteristic that the old Latin translations should here have rendered *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* by *ratio* (cf. A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, no. 120). We find the same idea, contained in the plural form *ḥud̲j̲ad̲j̲*, in the *Is̲h̲ārāt*, and the same three-fold division (ed. Forget, 64 ff.); the *Manṭiḳ al-mas̲h̲riḳiyyīn* (Cairo 1328/1910, 10) also repeats the idea of the *S̲h̲ifāʾ* (*Madkh̲al*, 19): *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* is the point of arrival of judgment or acceptance. However, in the *Aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya* (in *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326/1908, 117) *ḥud̲j̲ad̲j̲* are distinguished from *burhān*, and resume the more precise meaning of "dialectical arguments" (*fi 'l-d̲j̲adal*), designed to convince an opponent. Alpago translates as *argumentatio* (cf. A.-M. Goichon, *ibid.*).

ʿIlm al-kalām. The object of the science of *kalām* being to reply to "doubters and deniers", the term *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* is often used in it, concurrently with *dalīl*, in the presentation of arguments (e.g. al-Baḳillānī, *al-Bayān ʿan al-farḳ bayn al-muʿd̲j̲izāt wa-'l-karāmāt*, ed. R. J. McCarthy, Beirut 1958, index). But it only rarely receives the force of an exclusively technical term. The "proof" of *ʿilm al-kalām* is primarily *dalīl* (pl. *adilla*), or *dilāla*, in several

Muʿtazilī texts as well as in al-Ashʿarī (*Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, ed. R. J. McCarthy, Beirut 1953, 6, 12; *Istiḥsān*, *id.*, 91). In the prefaces to the *Irshād* (ed. Luciani, Paris 1938, 5/18-9), al-Djuwaynī, after speaking of reasoning (*naẓar*), devotes a paragraph to "proofs": he uses *adilla*, and distinguishes between rational (*ʿaḳliyya*) proofs and traditional or authoritative (*samʿiyya*) proofs. Many other examples could be listed.

Al-Djuwaynī (*ibid.*) and al-Baḳillānī before him, define proof, *dalīl*, as giving knowledge of what is hidden. Now, al-Baḳillānī states in the *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* (ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 14) that this *dalīl*, which is also referred to as *dilāla*, and which is that by which something is proved (*mustadall*), is the *ḥudjdja*. In fact, the demonstration of that which is not immediately and necessarily known, the actual definition of *dalīl*, is that which, in the context of *kalām*, can convince an opponent, and be the decisive *ḥudjdja* against him. In speaking of "rational proofs" the *Tamhīd* sometimes uses *adilla* (13, 343), and sometimes *ḥudjadj* (102, 119). When, however, it is a matter of distinguishing clearly between rational (and "necessary") proofs and textual proofs, al-Baḳillānī prefers to use *adilla* (*Tamhīd*, 9, 12, 14).

In the methodology of his *Bayān ʿan uṣūl al-īmān* (MS 577 of *al-Maktaba al-ʿUthmāniyya* in Aleppo, communication of Shaykh Kawtharī and G. C. Anawati), Abū Djaʿfar al-Sumnānī, a disciple of al-Baḳillānī, faithfully following the "line of the Ancients", also uses *adilla* to denote the arguments for, and the proofs of, *kalām*. He defines "rational proof", however, as a *ḥudjdjat al-ʿuḳūl* which operates according to five processes: elimination, verification, attribution, generalization, and attribution and generalization simultaneously (cf. Anawati and Gardet, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 365-7); the last four processes are described as dependent on a *ḳiyās* in the primary sense of the word, an analogy of like with like. This, in *kalām*, is one of the clearest instances that we have of awareness of the "logic of two terms". One might say that *ḥudjdja* was here most definitely seen as dialectical argument.

Al-Ghazālī. The vocabulary of al-Ghazālī is often as it were at the meeting point between those of *falsafa* and *kalām*. He readily employs *dalīl*, *adilla*, in a sense very close to that used by Ibn Sīnā. At the beginning of the *Munḳidh* it is specifically stated that *dalīl* (here = reasoning) presupposes recourse to first principles. However, al-Ghazālī's personal attitude is known—he was, besides, influenced by Djuwaynī—as is his mistrust of recourse exclusively to *dalīl*, thus understood: it is *takāfuʾ al-adilla*, where proofs that balance each other disappear before an interior illumination of a different order. More often still, it is true, al-Ghazālī leaves to *dalīl* its primary meaning of a suggestive indication leading to manifest certainty. He who was to be called *ḥudjdjat al-Islām* certainly uses *dalīl* more than *ḥudjdja* to denote rational proof.

He does, however, use *ḥudjdja* with the common meaning of "convincing argument", which demands, or should demand, acceptance. Finally, using the term in a more technical sense, when he presents his own theses on formal logic, he repeats almost word for word the definitions and distinctions of the *Madkhal* of the *Shifāʾ*: *ḥudjdja*, which is used to mean any argumentative process, "is of three sorts: syllogism, induction, analogy of like with like or parable (*tamthīl*)" (*Miʿyār al-ʿilm*, Cairo 1346/1927, 86). Cf. also Farid Jabre, *La notion de certitude selon Ghazālī*, Paris 1958, index s.vv. *dalīl* and *ḥudjdja*.

In the methodology of *falsafa* and *kalām*, the term *ḥudjdja* receives fairly widely differing meanings, sometimes being almost identified with *dalīl*, and sometimes being distinguished from it; sometimes suggesting any process of argumentation, the syllogism (and induction) of three terms as well as reasoning of two terms, sometimes signifying rather the dialectical argument that confounds and convinces an opponent. It is apparently in this last case that it retains its most specific meaning. *Ḥudjdja*, as translated by H. Laoust (*La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 90, n. 2), is the *titre*, "title", that one produces against an opponent; it is the victorious proof, whether it is a matter of prophetic teaching, the merits of the Companions (*id.*, 116) or the dialectical effort of the human reson.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. Gardet)

In Shīʿī terminology

The notion that something or someone was visible "proof" of God's presence or will seems to have antecedents among monotheists before Islam. Among Shīʿīs, the term *ḥudjdja*, "proof", has been used in at least three ways. It refers most generally to that person through whom the inaccessible God becomes accessible, who serves at any given time as evidence, among mankind, of His true will; thus the Prophet was *ḥudjdja* of God. Very early, the term received a more specialized meaning: among some of the *Ghulāt* [*q.v.*], it referred to a particular function within the process of revelation, sometimes identified with the rôle of Salmān as witness to ʿAlī's status as imām. The term was also sometimes used to refer to any figure in a religious hierarchy through whom an inaccessible higher figure became accessible to those below.

In Ithnāʿasharī dogmatics, the first use of the term was systematized. It designates the category formed by prophets and imāms together, in that either a prophet or an imām must always be present as guide to God's will. Thus the section in Kulīnī's *al-Kāfī* dealing with prophethood and imāmate is entitled *ḥudjdja*. The argument is that if there were no representative of God among mankind, God would remain unknowable and human beings could not serve him; and there must always be such a representative, for records of a former representative, even the Ḳurʾān itself, will give rise to disputes and uncertainty unless there is an authorized interpreter. The present *ḥudjdja* is the hidden twelfth imām.

Among the Ismāʿīlīs, the term usually referred to a particular figure in the religious hierarchy, thought of as fulfilling a function in revelation. In Fāṭimid times, it was used for the chief *dāʿīs*, directing the ordinary *dāʿīs*. In numerological passages, the *ḥudjdja*s are twelve, presiding over twelve districts; or, occasionally, twenty-four—presumably twelve as *dāʿīs* in their districts and twelve at the court of the imām. A chief *ḥudjdja* is mentioned, identical with the chief *dāʿī*. The Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs (Bohras) have retained Fāṭimid usage in their dogmatics, but not in their organization. Among the Nizārīs, the term had a complex development. It was probably used for Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*] as visible head of the movement when the imām was hidden. Later, when the restored imām was treated as the locus of divine self-revelation, there was one *ḥudjdja* (identified with Salmān, the ideal believer), who alone, by divine inspiration, could fully perceive the reality of the imām. The exact rôle of this *ḥudjdja* passed through several phases as Nizārī teaching evolved;

eventually, the *ḥudjdja* was normally the imām's heir-apparent. In the present *ḥudjdja* lists of the Nizārīs (Khodjas), each imām is assigned a *ḥudjdja* as spokesman or visible token; the *ḥudjdja* need not be a man or even a person.

Bibliography: For the Ithnāʿasharī position, see Muḥammad al-Kulīnī, *Kitāb al-ḥudjdja*, in *al-Kāfī*. For earlier Ismāʿīlī usage, there is no one chief source; but Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Rawḍat al-taslīm* or *Taṣawwurāt*, ed. W. Ivanow (in The Ismaili Society Series A, no. 4, Leiden 1950) is especially useful for the later period (the translation is not dependable). H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, i, Paris 1964, discusses all usages (see index); on the Nizārīs, he is to be supplemented by M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, which traces the variations in the concept in various historical circumstances.

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

For legal proof see BAYYINA, IḲRĀR, SHAHĀDA.

ḤUDJR b. ʿAdī al-Kindī, a Shīʿī agitator of the earliest period of Islam. The oldest authorities deny that he was a Companion of the Prophet and reject the legend that he conquered the district of Mardj ʿAdhrāʾ, in Syria. Ḥudjr threw himself heart and soul into ʿAlī's cause and fought for him at the 'battle of the Camel' [see DJAMAL] and at Ṣiffīn. We later find him in Egypt with Muḥammad, son of the Caliph Abū Bakr, who was governing this province in ʿAlī's name. After ʿAlī's son Ḥasan had given up his claim to the Caliphate, Ḥudjr became the moving spirit in all the ʿAlid intrigues in Kūfa, but the governor Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] was reluctant to resort to violence to put an end to his intrigues. Mughīra's successor Ziyād apparently succeeded in bringing him to reason, but Ḥudjr still continued his agitation, particularly by inviting al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī to come to take command of his followers at Kūfa. During Ziyād's absence in Baṣra Ḥudjr attempted to stir up a revolutionary movement. Ziyād hurried back with all possible speed and endeavoured to settle the affair peacefully. But when the negotiations fell through, Ziyād had Ḥudjr arrested along with those leaders of the Shīʿa party who were most deeply compromised. The matter was taken to the courts and an indictment prepared and signed by the most prominent men in Kūfa; finally Ḥudjr was taken with his companions to Muʿāwiya in Syria. After the Caliph had arranged a new trial and asked the advice of the leading men of Syria, he sentenced Ḥudjr to death and had him executed in Mardj ʿAdhrāʾ near Damascus. His tomb there is still "indicated by a small ruined construction which the local people call Shaykh ʿUdī" (see J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, 27). His death opens the martyrology of the Shīʿa; hence the importance assigned, even in circles hostile to Shīʿī extremists (see, *e.g.*, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Nābita*, in *AIEO Alger*, x (1952), 315), to this rather everyday episode, which was really nothing more than an incident in the domestic troubles of ʿIrāḳ. Ziyād "throughout maintained a correct attitude and Muʿāwiya even inclined to the side of leniency" (Wellhausen), for he pardoned the majority of Ḥudjr's accomplices.

Bibliography: L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, Paris 1912, 569, gives the Arabic sources; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *Iṣāba*, no. 1629; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār ṭiwāl*, 233-4; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 229, 230, 273-5; al-Kindī, *Governors of Egypt*, 25; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, 151-4; Ṭabarī, i, 2462, 3151, 3155, 3174, 3337, 3371, 3447; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 264, 302, 410; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; *Aghānī*, xvi, 2-11 (Beirut ed., xvii, 78-95); Maʿarrī, *Ghufrān*, Cairo 1950, 89; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ii, 575-81; Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*; H. Lammens, *Ziād ibn Abīhi*, in *RSO*, iv, 70-4.

(H. Lammens*)

ḤUDJRA (A.), room, apartment, used (with the definite article) especially of the room of ʿĀʾisha where the Prophet and his two successors, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, were buried; it is now one of the holiest places of Islam [see AL-MADĪNA].

From the same word is also derived *Ḥudjariyya*, a term used in Egypt for the slaves who were lodged in barracks near to the royal residence. Under the Fāṭimids, these slaves were organized by al-Afḍal into a sort of military bodyguard under the command of an *amīr* who held the title of al-Muwaffaḳ. They consisted at this period of 3000 men (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 443). (Ed.)

See further KHALWA.

ḤUDJRIYYA (Ḥogariyya), name of a tribe, and of an administrative division (*ḳaḍāʾ*, district) in the Yaman, one of the four districts in the province (*liwāʾ*) of Taʿizz. It is to the east of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of al-Makhāʾ and to the south-west of Taʿizz, on the frontier of the South-Arabian Federation. The area is entirely mountainous, well-cultivated (coffee, cereals) and rich in livestock; according to Heyworth-Dunne it is famous for producing a kind of ass called *sawriḳiyya*. The number of inhabitants in this district was given by the same author in 1952 as 192,392, about one-third of the total population in the *liwāʾ* of Taʿizz. Its principal town is Turbat al-Dhubḥān, belonging traditionally to the important clan of the Shardjabīs (Shirdjāb); Von Malzan rated the number of its inhabitants at about 500, and that of the Jews among them at about one-fifth; the place has the remains of old Ḥimyar buildings. Another powerful clan is that of Ḥammād, whose town is called Dār Shawwār.

The Ḥudjriyya claim to be true descendants of ancient Ḥimyar, and are said to have at one time formed one tribe with the Ṣubayḥīs, who live to the south of their territory. Shāfiʿīs like all the other inhabitants in what is now the *liwāʾ* of Taʿizz, and having a tradition of political independence under a ruler of their own, they have become subject to the *imāms* of Ṣanʿāʾ only since the latter part of the 19th century, gradually and at first indirectly by being subjugated by the tribe Ḏhū Muḥammad, an offshoot of the Bākil of the country to the north of Ṣanʿāʾ, who established small garrisons in the Ḥudjriyya area. To escape this oppression, many of the Ḥudjriyya emigrated to Aden, where they earned a living as labourers.

Several features of the topography of Ḥudjriyya are mentioned by al-Hamdānī, such as the high mountain Ṣabir (Ṣabr). H. von Wissmann and Maria Höfner have established the identity of (Turbat al-) Dhubḥān with the ancient South-Arabian place Dhubḥān of Ḳashr and Shirgāb.

Bibliography: Admiralty, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, Oxford 1946, 358 (giving the names of the four administrative subdivisions [*nāḥiya*] of Ḥudjriyya and their principal towns); A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, 2 vols., Vienna and Brünn, Vienna 1922-33; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Al-Yemen*, Cairo 1952; Hamdānī, 76_{24}, 77_{6}, $99_{21, 23}$, 125_{5}, $126_{9, 16}$, 189_{24}, and index s.v. Ṣabir; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xxii, 787; H. von Malzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Brunswick 1873, esp. 390-7; C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de*

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(J. Schleifer-[L. O. Schuman])

HUDJWĪRĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī al-Ghaznawī al-Djullābī al-Hudjwīrī, Iranian mystic, born at Hudjwīr, a suburb of Ghazna (on the last page of the old Lahore edition of his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, he is named: Ḥaḍrat-i Dātā Gandjbakhsh ʿAlī al-Hudjwīrī). What is known of his life comes mainly from his own references to it in his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*. On his teachers in mysticism and his numerous journeys, see the introductions to the *Kashf* by Nicholson, pp. xvii-xviii, and by Žukovskiy, 4 ff. He appears to have lived for a time in ʿIrāḳ, where he first grew rich and later fell into debt. His married life was brief and unhappy (tr. Nicholson, 364). According to the *Riyāḍ al-awliyā'*, he ended his life at Lahore; he was imprisoned, and hindered during the composition of the *Kashf* by the lack of the books which he had left at Ghazna. Nicholson dates his death between 465 and 469/1072 and 1077 (for his arguments, see introd. xviii-xix). After his death he was revered as a saint and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage.

Of the ten or so works which he states that he wrote (see list in Nicholson's introd., xix-xx, and Žukovskiy's introd., 10-1), there remains only the *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* (entitled *Kashf al-maḥdjūb li-arbāb al-ḳulūb*, "The unveiling of that which is hidden, for people of heart", in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 215). There is disagreement over the date of its composition (see Žukovskiy's introd., 29), but it was probably written in Lahore, and thus during the last years of Hudjwīrī's life, in reply to questions put by a certain Abū Saʿīd al-Hudjwīrī. Its aim is to present the complete system of Ṣūfism, setting out and discussing its doctrines and its practices—a method of exposition which is found even in the biographies of Ṣūfīs (tr., 70-175). Before giving his own opinion, the author usually examines the opinions of earlier writers on the subject, refuting them if necessary; these discussions of the problems of mysticism are illustrated by examples drawn from the writer's own experience. Although he was a Sunnī and a Ḥanafī, he succeeded, like many other Ṣūfīs before and after him, in reconciling his theology with an advanced mysticism, in which the theory of annihilation (*fanā'*) holds a pre-eminent place; but he rarely goes to such extremes as would provoke an accusation of pantheism; he declares to be heretical the doctrine according to which the human person became absorbed in the Divine Being; he compares *fanā'* to combustion by a fire which changes the nature of everything into its own nature, but without changing the essence of the thing burned. He frequently and persistently warns his readers that no Ṣūfī—not even one who attains the supreme degree of sanctity—is dispensed from obeying the religious law. On other points—for example ecstasy provoked by music and singing, or the use of erotic symbolism in poetry—his judgement is more or less circumspect.

The most interesting section of the *Kashf* is the 14th: "Doctrines professed by the various Ṣūfī sects": he lists twelve of them and explains the doctrine of each. One only, that of the Malāmatīs, appears to be mentioned in older works on Ṣūfism; brief references to other sects found in later works (*e.g.*, the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*) are probably borrowed from it. It is not clear whether these sects actually existed or whether they were invented by Hudjwīrī in his desire to systematize the doctrine of Ṣūfism; but there is every reason to suppose that he often mingled his own personal views with his exposition of the doctrines which he attributed to the founder of each school. It is possible that the main source of the information in the *Kashf* was oral, but Hudjwīrī does mention a treatise on Ṣūfism, the *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* (in Arabic) of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj (d. 377 or 378/987-8), one of the earliest of this type (a passage from it is included in the *Kashf*, tr. 341); a comparison of the two works reveals that the plan of the *Kashf* coincides with that of the *Lumaʿ*; the *Kashf* includes references to three other mystic writers (tr. 26 and 114).

In the introduction to his translation of the *Kashf* (2nd ed., revised), Nicholson has this to say: "Though Hujwírí was neither a profound mystic nor a precise thinker, his work on the whole forms an admirable introduction to the study of Suffism: it ... has the merit ... of bringing us into immediate touch with the author himself, his views, experiences, and adventures, while incidentally it throws light on the manners of dervishes in various parts of the Moslem world. His exposition of Sufí doctrine and practice is distinguished not only by wide learning and first-hand knowledge but also by the strongly personal character impressed on everything he writes".

In addition, Žukovskiy, in his important introduction, gives a list of the works which Hudjwīrī consulted (21-5) and a list of the Muslim writers who used the *Kashf* (36 ff.); he examines carefully the peculiarities of the author's language (40-51) and gives a judgement of the book as a whole (31 ff.).

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(Hidayet Hosain-[H. Massé])

HUDNA, abstract noun from the root *h.d.n.* with the sense of "calm", "peace". Other terms which have the same meaning are *muwādaʿa*, *muṣālaḥa*, *musālama*, and *mutāraka*, the general meaning of which in Islamic law is the abstention of the parties concerned from hostilities against each other. The process of entering into a peace agreement with the enemy is called *muhādana* or *muwādaʿa*, but the instrument of peace is *hudna* (peace agreement).

In Islamic legal theory, normal relations between the *dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*] and the *dār al-ḥarb* [*q.v.*] were not peaceful, and there existed a state of latent or open hostilities which jurists nowadays call a state of war. Short intervals of peace were, however, permitted by divine legislation (Ḳur'ān VIII, 63; IX, 1 and others) and the Muslims could establish peaceful relationships with non-Muslims, individually and collectively, if such a peace was not inconsistent with the interests of the Muslims. On

the individual level, the *ḥarbī* (person from the *dār al-ḥarb*) could enter the *dār al-Islām* unmolested, provided he obtained an *amān* ([*q.v.*] see also MUSTAʾMIN) beforehand from any believer, whether in an official or an unofficial capacity. But as a territorial group, the unbelievers could obtain such a temporary status only by an official act, either directly or indirectly granted by the *Imām*, which conferred upon the inhabitants of the territory whose ruler entered into a peace agreement with the Muslims the benefits of the *amān* obtained by a single individual. It is clear that the *muhādana* or *muwādaʿa* is, as Kāsānī observes, a form of *amān*. But the *amān* is a temporary peace given to an individual *ḥarbī*, although his country is still in a state of war with Islam, while the *muhādana* is a temporary peace extended to a certain town or a country (including its people) by an official act. *Hudna* in Islamic law is thus equivalent to "international treaty" in modern terminology. Its object is to suspend the legal effects of hostilities and to provide the prerequisite conditions of peace between Muslims and non-Muslims, without the latter's territory becoming part of the *dār al-Islām*.

The Ḳurʾān provided for the Muslims not only the possibility of entering into a peace agreement with the enemy, but also the obligation to observe the terms of the agreement to the end of its specified period (Ḳurʾan IX, 4; XVI, 93), once the agreement was accepted by the Muslims. This is the principle *pacta sunt servanda*, stressed both in divine legislation and juridical writings. Thus *hudna* in Islamic law was established by practice (*i.e.*, agreement and consent of the parties concerned) and validated by authoritative sources. The treaty-making power rested in the hands of the *Imām*, but this power might be delegated to commanders in the field who were empowered to negotiate with the enemy if the latter was willing to come to terms with Islam. However, the *Imām* reserved the right to repudiate the treaty if it proved to be inconsistent with the interests of the Muslims. The *Imām*'s approval or ratification was, therefore, necessary to make the treaty binding upon the Muslim community. Even after the treaty was ratified, the *Imām* had the power to terminate the treaty by denunciation (*nabdh*), provided a prior notice was sent to the enemy to that effect. The Ḥudaybiya treaty, concluded by the Prophet Muḥammad with the unbelievers of Mecca in 6/628, provided a precedent for subsequent treaties which the Prophet's successors made with non-Muslims. Although this treaty was violated within three years from the time it was concluded, most jurists concur that the maximum period of peace with the enemy should not exceed ten years, since it was originally agreed that the Ḥudaybiya treaty should last ten years.

The Prophet and his successors concluded treaties with the People of the Book [see AHL AL-KITĀB], but these treaties were not temporary in nature, since both the people and the territory were incorporated in the *dār al-Islām* and the *ahl al-kitāb* became subjects of the *Imām*. Since these were not required to become Muslims, they were regarded as protected members of the state and called *dhimmīs* [*q.v.*]. The treaties with *ahl al-kitāb* were, accordingly, not strictly international treaties, but covenants (*ʿahd*) or a form of constitutional charters which fall under Islamic constitutional law, not under the Islamic law of nations (for a model text of such a charter, see Shāfiʿī, *al-Umm*, iv, 118-9).

An examination of the treaties concluded by the Prophet and his successors leads us to establish certain general characteristics which may be summed up as follows: (1) the treaties were, on the whole, brief and general, and no attempt was made to supply details as to their applications; (2) the preamble consisted of the *basmala* ("in the name of Allāh"), the names of the parties and their representatives, and their titles; (3) treaties were temporary agreements, the duration of which was specified, except those with *ahl al-kitāb*, although it was understood that a treaty might be renewed; (4) the provisions were stated in written form and most jurists are agreed that the text of the treaty must be written and signed by the parties and often the names of the witnesses were added at the end of the text. The writing as well as the signing and the dating of the treaty are not, strictly speaking, legal prerequisites; but Ḥanafī jurists insisted that treaties, in order to be binding, must be written and duly signed.

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(M. KHADDURI)

ḤUḌNA, current orthography HODNA, a low-lying region in the centre of the upper plains of Algeria, at the foot of the mountains of Wennougha, Hodna and Belezma, and lying open to the south-east towards the Saharan region of Zāb (Biskra). It covers an area of 8,600 sq. km and is made up of the hills of the Djerr in the north and east, immense alluvial plains in part flooded by water from the wadis that come down from the chain of mountains, a large *sebkha* of 760 sq. kms and, in the south, a sandy region, the Rmel. The country, which is very hot in summer and very dry (annual rainfall 200 to 300 mm), is a sub-desert steppe devoid of alfa-grass. It is quite well supplied with water, thanks to a number of springs which emerge from the limestone mountains, the abundant but very irregular flooding by the wadis (Oued el-Leham, el-Ksob, Selman, Magra, Barika, Bitham), and the high water-table (partly artesian) in the sub-soil. The Hodna has thus always been a country of both agriculture and stock-breeding, inhabited alike by a sedentary population and by nomadic herdsmen. In ancient times it formed part of the Roman *limes*, and a series of towns marks the route leading to the east and north from the Sebkha, while forts guard the south. In the early Middle Ages, along with Zāb it formed a military, political and economic march for Ifrīḳiya, facing the pastoral steppes of the central Maghrib and the Sahara. Fortified agricultural centres, often marking the site of ancient cities, are scattered throughout the nomads' pasturages—Tobna (Tubunae), Ngaous (Nicivibus), Maggara (Macri); Msila was founded in the 4th/10th century close to the ruins of Zabi; in the following century it was momentarily eclipsed by Ḳalʿa, a temporary capital set up in the mountains

by the Banū Ḥammād. The invasions of the Banū Hilāl in the 5th/11th century cut off Hodna from Ifrīḳiya but, with Zāb, it continued to be a zone of influence for the Ḥafṣid rulers of Tunis; its population was to some extent reinforced by the settling of Riyāḥ nomads, the Athbedj and the Dawāwida. Towns and cultivation disappeared, except for Msila and Ngaous. In the 10th/16th century the Turks brought Hodna into the Beylik of the East (of Constantine); it was to remain united with the province, and later with the French *département* of Constantine.—The principal tribes of Hodna are the Ouled (*awlād*) Madhi in the west and the O. Derrādj in the east; they are very heterogeneous; the O. Soltan and the O. ʿAlī from the mountains along the eastern border have remained Berber-speaking (Chaouïa). The essential feature of the economy still remains the breeding of sheep, goats and camels: summer migration to the upper plateaux of Constantine entails a semi-nomadism for most of the inhabitants. But the fields of wheat and barley covered by floodwaters from the wadis are increasing; so too are irrigated garden-orchards (of apricots, figs, olives; date-palms at Mdoukal). The collection and sale of the salt of the Djebel Metlili, in the south-east, and of the Sebkha, a little handicraft and, more particularly, temporary emigration towards the towns on the coast and in France help the people to exist. Hodna has 100,000 inhabitants, and its principal centres are Msila (8,500 inhabitants), Mdoukal (3,500) and Ngaous (2,000).

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ḤUDŪD, pl. of ḤADD [*q.v.*]; see also, for frontier-zones and frontier-warfare: ʿAWĀṢIM, GHĀZĪ, THUGHŪR; and for the delimitation of frontiers: TAKHṬĪṬ AL-ḤUDŪD.

ḤUDŪTH AL-**ʿĀLAM**, "the beginning of the world". *Ḥudūth* is the *maṣdar* of *ḥadatha*, which signifies: (1) to appear, to arise, to have come into being recently; (2) to take place, to happen. With Muslim thinkers the term has two meanings: one denotes the existence of a thing, after its non-existence, in a temporal extension: this is *al-ḥudūth al-zamānī*, to which temporal eternity (*al-ḳidam al-zamānī*) corresponds. For the *mutakallimūn*, *ḥudūth al-ʿālam* bears only the sense of a beginning in time. They take this "beginning" of the world as their basis for proving the existence of God. Al-Ghazālī, for example, establishes his syllogism as follows: every being that has a beginning in time (*ḥādith*) necessarily has a cause that brings it into existence; now the universe is a being that begins to exist; therefore it necessarily has a cause. A detailed analysis of this proof can be found in S. L. de Beaurecueil and G. C. Anawati, *Une preuve de l'existence de Dieu chez Ghazzālī et S. Thomas*, in *MIDEO*, iii (1956), 207-58.

The other meaning is that of the hellenizing philosophers, in particular Avicenna: *ḥudūth* denotes contingency, that is to say, the fact of a being's existing after not having existed, but in an ontological or essential extension, which does not necessarily involve time. This is *al-ḥudūth al-dhātī*. From this point of view the *falāsifa* affirm the *ḥudūth al-ʿālam* and its eternity. For details see the article referred to above, and also: *Dustūr al-ʿulamāʾ*, Ḥaydarābād 1333, ii, 5-8; Djuwaynī-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* (*al-mawḳif al-khāmis fi 'l-ilāhiyyāt, al-marṣad al-awwal*); Abu 'l-Bāḳī, *Kulliyyāt*, Būlāḳ 1281, 166. (G. C. ANAWATI)

HUELVA [see WALBA].

HUESCA [see WASHḲA].

ḤUFĀSH, high mountain in South Arabia, belonging to the al-Maṣāniʿ range of the Sarāt group, on the Wādī Surdud near Ḥarāz [*q.v.*]. It is often mentioned by Hamdānī, along with the adjacent large mountain of Milḥān (called after the Ḥimyarī Milḥān b. ʿAwf b. Mālik) the real name of which was Rayshān. In Hamdānī's time the latter was said to possess no fewer than ninety-nine springs and had a large mosque (called Masdjid Shāhir) on its summit, Shāhir. It was popularly believed (also according to Hamdānī) that not far away there lay a treasure which many Arabs sought but could never reach, as a snake barred the way in the shape of a high mountain, as soon as they tried to approach it. In Niebuhr's time, Ḥufāsh formed a separate district to which Djabal Milḥān also belonged. Among places of some importance in Ḥufāsh he mentions Sefekīn, a small town surrounded by a wall, the residence of the Dawla (Dōla) and the two villages of Bayt al-Nushēli and Bayt al-Shumma.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, 68_{25-6}, 32_{9}, 79_{11-19}, 113_{2-3}, 125_{8}, $126_{1, 5, 14, 17}$, $190_{22, 23}$; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, 249; *Pet. Mitt.*, xxxii (1886), Pl. 1. (J. SCHLEIFER)

AL-**HUFŪF**, or AL-HUFHŪF according to an older form, and in English most frequently Hofuf, a town in eastern Saudi Arabia, capital of the oasis of al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*]. The name derives from *haffa*, to hiss, or blow (of a wind), and was first given to a group of gardens near the old capital of al-Ḥasā. The population is estimated at about 80,000 inhabitants, some 40% of whom are Shīʿīs.

Until the 1370's/1950's, al-Hufūf was surrounded by a large wall with a number of defensive towers. Six gates gave access to the town. The wall enclosed the town's three main quarters: al-Kūt, al-Rifāʿa, and al-Naʿāthil. Al-Kūt, which contained the administrative offices, the garrison, and the homes of officers and functionaries, was itself fortified by another wall and surrounded by a moat. The gradual modernization of the town has necessitated the demolition of most of the walls, and to avoid overcrowding two extramural suburbs, al-Ṣāliḥiyya and al-Ruḳayyiḳa, have grown at the southern edges of al-Hufūf and have substantial populations.

Al-Hufūf succeeded al-Ḥasā, which itself had succeeded Hadjar, as the administrative centre of the oasis as well as of the region which since 1371/1952 has been called the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia. During the Turkish occupation, 1289/1871 to 1322/1913, al-Hufūf was the residence of the Mutaṣarrif Pasha, who governed the *sandjaḳ* of al-Ḥasā (misnamed Nedjd) under the jurisdiction of Basra. After the conquest of al-Hufūf by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd in 1322/1913, the town continued to be the provincial administration centre until 1371/1952 when the capital was moved to al-Dammām [*q.v.*].

Besides its administrative functions, al-Hufūf, as the capital of Saudi Arabia's richest and largest oasis, has long been an important trade and manufacturing centre. Its production of textiles, coffee-pots, weapons, and jewellery was long well known in the Persian Gulf, and its weekly Thursday market still attracts large crowds from the entire province. Al-Hufūf is now connected by asphalted road and by railroad with both the provincial capital at al-Dammām and the national capital at al-Riyāḍ.

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ḤUKM (A., pl. *aḥkām*), verbal noun of *ḥakama*, which originally means "to withhold, restrain, prevent", is used in a number of technical meanings in the field of religious law [see AḤKĀM], philosophy (see below, I), and grammar (see below, II). On the different meanings of the term *ḥukm*, see *Dict. of technical terms*, i, 372 ff.; L. Gauthier, *La racine arabe* حكم *et ses dérivés*, in *Homenaje a Don Fr. Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 435-54.

I. *Ḥukm* means in philosophy, the judgement or act by which the mind affirms or denies one thing with regard to another, and thus unites or separates them. According to al-Djurdjānī, it is "the act of establishing a relation between one thing and another by affirmation or denial" (*Taʿrīfāt*). Ibn Rushd explains the combining of certain concepts which are *judged* in relationship to one another, which is then accomplished by the mind, as an act of the reasoning faculty, which follows, by a necessity of this faculty itself, from the comprehension of the concept. The *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* had already noticed this necessity: "Judgement on things is the product of the intelligence. (. . .) A man may say the opposite of what he knows, but he cannot know the opposite of what he understands (*yaʿḳilu*)". The word *ḥukm* covers both the meaning of *taṣdīḳ*, a judgement that a certain statement is true and approved, and *takdhīb*, a judgement that a certain statement is false and denied.

Arab logic studies *ḥukm* not in itself, but in relation to the proposition, *i.e.*, a statement which expresses a judgement. Ibn Sīnā describes the proposition thus: "Any statement in which a relation is established between two things in such a way that either a truthful or an untruthful judgement follows from them" (*Nadjāt*, 17). And further: "The attributive proposition is of such a kind that, by uttering it, we enunciate a judgement either affirming or denying that a certain thing either is or is not another" (*Dāneshnāme*, 53, French trans., 36-7).

A judgement is expressed only in those propositions which demand either assent or denial, those in which the utterer of the statement can be called either truthful or untruthful; but this does not include someone who asks a question, makes a plea, or expresses a wish or hope. Three sorts of propositions formulate a judgement, "because the judgments (*aḥkām*) which are connected with assent (*taṣdīḳ*) are three in number": either the judgement refers to a *mufrad*, a simple [attribution], and is of the kind which some call *ḥamlī*, attributive [judgement]; e.g. "the body is—or is not—created". Or it refers to a fact dependent on a certain condition and is known as *sharṭī*, conditional. But this can occur in two different ways. In the first case, the condition involves only one consequence, either positive or negative: the judgement is then expressed in a conjunctive conditional proposition (*muttaṣila*); e.g. "if the sun rises it is daylight". In the second case, the consequent implies an alternative of which one member necessarily excludes the other; *e.g.*, "This number is either odd or even"; the statement of such a judgement is called a "disjunctive conditional proposition" (*munfaṣila*) (*Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, 60-1, see also 62). This passage is among the few which make of the judgement the central point of explanation; it is not even mentioned in a closely related text (*Ishārāt*, 22-3; Fr. trans., 114-6). This theory of conditional judgement and those of the proposition and syllogism which arise from it, are not of Aristotelian inspiration. Together with other indications, they pose the problem of other sources, notably Stoic, of Arab philosophy.

"The definite proposition has four forms" according as "the judgement applies to all by way of affirmation", then it is "a universally affirmative statement", or "applies to all by way of negation", "a universally negative one", or "applies to some by way of affirmation" or "to some by way of negation," particular propositions either affirmative or negative. Moreover "an indefinite judgement is the same as a particular judgement". According to another series of distinctions, the judgement expressed in any proposition is either necessary, possible, or impossible, the necessary being to some degree included in the possible (*Dāneshnāme*, 35-45, trans. 36-41; *Manṭiḳ*, 63 and *Nadjāt*, 19-20). *Nadjāt*, 18, explains the subject and the predicate in connexion with their place in the judgement.

Ḥukm means also sensory intuition, where assent of the mind immediately follows perception, *e.g.* "our judgement that fire burns"; the judgement of experience which follows repeated sensory intuitions, *e.g.*, "our judgement that a blow administered with a piece of wood is painful"; the practical judgement, *e.g.*, "our judgement that the sun exists"; the judgement which follows a strong intellectual intuition (the principle of the discovery of a scientific explanation); the judgement that follows on the fundamentals of what our education has taught us without that having compelling force on our intelligence as such, *e.g.* "our judgement that it is wicked to steal the property of another". But in order to distinguish judgements relating to first principles, by an absolute necessity of the human mind, Ibn Sīnā uses *ḳaḍāʾ*, which expresses the ineluctable character of the act, *e.g.*, "our judgement that the whole is greater than the part" (*Ishārāt*, 56-9, trans. 176-80).

In the statement of the attributive proposition, and therefore in the formulation of the judgement, there is an important difference between Persian, where the grammatical copula is explicit, as in European languages, and Arabic where it can be omitted. It nevertheless exists in the mind, and the two juxtaposed terms of the bipartite statement are set forth as a judgement and a proposition only if the copulative—verb or personal pronoun—is understood by implication (*Ishārāt*, 27, trans. 126-7).

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(A.-M. Goichon)

II. In grammar, *ḥukm* can be understood only if the term, in the world of thought of the Arab grammarians, is assigned its proper place in the whole grammatical system that they elaborated. In this system,

the Arabic language is considered as a logical and harmonious entity, subjected to the rules of wisdom, intelligence and justice. The organization of this entity has been achieved especially:

(a) by the establishment of hierarchies (see especially *K. al-Inṣāf*, 35, lines 14-6), of subordinations: the governing power of the verbs is the strongest; among the *ḥurūf*, the particles governing nouns, *ʿawāmil al-asmāʾ*, are stronger than the particles governing verbs (*op. cit.*, 233, 3), etc.; among the words, there are primary forms: a typical example is the *maṣdar*, called *maṣdar* because it is the "origin" of the other forms of the verb (see question 28 of the *K. al-Inṣāf*); we may also cite the singular considered as prior to and stronger than its corresponding internal plural or plurals. These last considerations influence the explanation of syntactical relationships.

(b) by the search for the *aṣl*, the base: the basic meaning of words, of grammatical constructions: "we [the Baṣrans] are attached to the *aṣl*, and he who is attached to the *aṣl* is exempted from establishing the proof (*al-dalīl*)" (*op. cit.*, 199, 1); pointing out this *aṣl* is as it were a conclusive argument (cf. in the *Lumaʿ al-adilla*, of the same author, 106, line 11). Examples: for *aw*, *Inṣāf*, 198, 19; for the vocative form *allāhumma*, *ibid.*, 151, 19. In the case of words, one determines its basic position, its *martaba* or *rutba*, that is to say its "rank". This rank is a consequence of the preceding factors, or may be simply an affirmation, sanctioned by the consensus (*idjmāʿ*) of the grammarians (of Baṣra), but it is a particularly important element of the system; for it is exactly at its *martaba* in which it is placed that the word exercises or has to exercise its *ḥukm*.—Besides this, there is an extensive use of *ḳiyās*.

As for *ḥukm*, it means: (i) the proper function which the word *performs* at its *martaba* in which it is placed, its activity; (ii) the proper function *to be performed* by the word at its *martaba* in which it is placed. It may be translated by "part played or to be played", but this translation gives no indication of the whole system in which *ḥukm* is involved. The distinction indicated may sometimes not be obvious in the use of *ḥukm* in the texts; there are times when it can be taken in the one sense or the other. The following examples allow this distinction to be clearly recognised:

For (i): (a) *Inṣāf*, 121, 19-24 (cf. 39, 20-1): *lawlā* (= *law* + *lā*) is compounded (*rukkibat*); the word loses the *ḥukm* (specific activity) of its components and acquires a new *ḥukm* (a new activity); therefore this is compared with the *adwiya*, remedies, which are compounded of various ingredients: their compounding annuls the *ḥukm* (efficiency) of each one in its separate state, and confers upon them a new *ḥukm* (power to act). According to the present example, it should be understood not to mean "intrinsic task in performance", but rather "faculty, power of acting in respect of some specific task", which would introduce an ontological aspect.

(b) *Inṣāf*, 178, 10-12: in an oath one can say *amu 'llāhi*. The *aṣl* is *aymunu 'llāhi*; *yāʾ sākina* has been suppressed, but, as this suppression was not necessary, its *ḥukm* (activity) remains.

(c) *Inṣāf*, 199, 11-12: to be astonished one must first know; this is why it can be said, in determining the meaning of *al-taʿadjdjub*: *mā ẓahara ḥukmuh wa-khafiya sababuh*, "its intrinsic task has not [yet] appeared and its cause is [still] hidden".

(d) *Inṣāf*, 123, 15-6: on the subject of *illā*, the particle denoting exception: *illā* cannot have the meaning of *wa-lā*, for *illā* with the meaning of "except" excludes the word following from the *ḥukm* (field of activity) of the preceding one; but *wa-* joins together; and in joining together it necessitates (*yaḳtaḍī*) the introduction of the word following into the *ḥukm* (task being performed) of the preceding one.

For (ii): (a) *Inṣāf*, 175, 12-3: in the construction *la-zaydᵘⁿ afḍalu*, the grammarians of Kūfa perceive a *lām* coming after an oath (*wa-'llāhi*) which is not expressed. The Baṣrans regard it as the *lām al-ibtidāʾ*. Their argument against the Kūfans is: if the *lām* in question were the *lām* of the oath (*djawāb al-ḳasam*), its *ḥukm* (task to be fulfilled) would be to cancel the governing influence of the verb *ẓanna*, when it is introduced into the phrase; one says *ẓanantu zaydᵃⁿ ḳāʾimᵃⁿ*, and with the *lām*: *ẓanantu la-zaydᵘⁿ ḳāʾimᵘⁿ*; now the *ḥukm* (task to be fulfilled) of the *lām al-ḳasam* (*lām* of the oath) *fī kull mawḍiʿ*, in any circumstances, is to exert no governing influence, either before or after it.

(b) *Inṣāf*, 173, 15: *a-'llāhi mā faʿaltu kadhā*. This form of oath can be used only with the divine name Allāh: *wa-'khtiṣāṣ hādha 'l-ism bi-hādha 'l-ḥukm ka-'khtiṣāṣ lāta bi-ḥīnⁱⁿ*, "and the particular use of this name for this *ḥukm* (task to be fulfilled = vocative with the particle *a*) is the same as the particular use of *lāta* with *ḥīna*."

(c) *Inṣāf*, 184, 23 and 185, 1: one says, *marartu bi-kilā akhawayka*, and *marartu bi-himā kilayhimā*, *wa-kadhālika ḥukm iḍāfat kiltā ila 'l-muẓhar wa-'l-muḍmar*, "so this is the *ḥukm* (task to be fulfilled) of the grammatical annexion (in an *iḍāfa*) of *kil(t)ā* to a noun (*muẓhar*) and a pronoun (*muḍmar*)".

Other examples can easily be found in grammatical literature; thus: al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Djumal*, 129, line 3, 312, foot; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*², § 517, title of § 667; Ibn Yaʿīsh, 187, line 13, 628, l. 3, 1144, ll. 20-1; Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr ṣināʿa*, i, 35, l. 2; Ibn al-Ḥādjib, in *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, i, 297, l. 4.

In determining the meaning of *ḥukm*, we have restricted ourselves to a single author, Ibn al-Anbārī, in a work of unique importance for the method of the Arab grammarians, his *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*. All the examples given refer to arguments of the Baṣrans; but at *Inṣāf*, 92, 18-21, it is the Kūfans who are speaking: "... because we say: that is permitted only because the *ḥurūf* (particles), when they are compound (*rukkibat*), have their *ḥukm* changed, after their being compounded, from what it was before they were compounded; do you not see that in the case of *hal* that which follows after it is not permitted to exercise a governing influence over what comes before it, whereas when it is compounded with *lā* and when the sense of exhortation (*maʿnā al-taḥḍīḍ*) has penetrated into it, this particular *ḥukm* is changed from what it was before the compounding; it is then permitted that what follows after it should exert a governing influence over what comes before it, and that one should say *zaydᵃⁿ hallā ḍarabta*". The first use of *ḥukm* can be compared with that of i (a). The second use of *ḥukm*, which refers to the behaviour of *hal* before the compound is formed, could have the meaning of "task being performed". But as the Kūfans do not accept the doctrine of the *martaba* or this system of Baṣra mentioned above (see G. Weil, *Einleitung*, 30-1), it is natural that they should understand *ḥukm* in a more ordinary sense, as when we translate it by "part to play".

The word in its *martaba* possesses a right, *ḥaḳḳ*, to give due weight to its *ḥukm*, according to whether it accomplishes its task partially or wholly. This is the

ḥaḳḳ al-ḥukm, as Ibn Yaʿīsh says (1071, l. 11), "the right of *ḥukm*". The word is thus endowed with a sort of juridical personality. A good example, the case of the *fāʿil* (*Muf.*[2], § 20), will help us to enter into this highly individual systematization: the *fāʿil* is that on which a verb or word comparable with a verb depends [*usnida ilayhi*] [this is its definition in grammatical logic], which is always placed before it [this is its *martaba*]: *ḍaraba zayd*[un]; *ḥaḳḳuh al-rafʿ*, "its right and its duty is to be put into the nominative"; and its *rāfiʿ*, the *ʿāmil* occasioning this use of the nominative, is that which depends on it—*al-musnad*, the verb itself. Thus we have, for the *fāʿil*: definition, *martaba*, right, *ʿāmil*. The *ḥukm* is not expressly indicated; according to the explanations of Ibn Yaʿīsh for this § 20 (89, lines 15-6), it is the grammatical rôle indicated above: to receive the *isnād* of the verb, in its position in the *martaba*.

The *fāʿil* must come after the verb, this is its fundamental place, its *aṣl*, its *martaba*, *liʾannahū kaʾl-djuzʾ minhu*, "because it is as it were a part of it" [this is the justification of the *martaba*]. Placed before the verb, the *fāʿil* has left its *martaba*: *zayd*[un] *ḍaraba*; its *ḥukm* is attained, and also the possession of its rights. The true *fāʿil* is then its representative: a pronoun, a *ḍamīr*, not expressed, but present in the verb: *fa-tanwī fī ḍaraba fāʿil*[an] *wa-huwa ḍamīr yardjiʿu ilā zayd*[in] (§ 21). [To understand this, it may help to compare the French turn of phrase "Zayd il a frappé"]. The *rafʿ* is no longer assured to this *fāʿil muḳaddam ʿalā fiʿlihī*, placed before its verb: it may be liable to undergo the *ʿamal*, the governing influence of a *ḥarf* assimilated to a verb, such as *inna*, which will put it in the *naṣb*: *inna zayd*[an] *ḍaraba* (see Ibn Yaʿīsh, 89, 17).

In other respects, in grammar, the *ḥukm* is an essential element in the system of the *ḳiyās*. Indeed the *ḳiyās* (see its definition in the *Lumaʿ al-adilla* of Ibn al-Anbārī, Damascus 1377/1957, 93) involves a communication of *ḥukm*, from the *aṣl* to the *farʿ*, in accordance with the recognized resemblance between the *farʿ* and the *aṣl*, by virtue of the principle (enunciated, *ibid.*, 109, lines 16-7) that the resemblance necessitates a similarity of *ḥukm*.

On this relationship between resemblance and *ḥukm*, see also the chapter of al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ashbāh waʾl-naẓāʾir fi ʾl-naḥw*[2], Ḥaydarābād 1359, i, 217-21. On some different behaviours of *ḥukm*, see Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, iii, 51-6, 59-67, 157-64, and the chapter of al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 221.

If such is the meaning of *ḥukm* in grammar, why then the choice of such a word for such a meaning? In fact, *ḥukm* is the infinitive of *ḥakama yaḥkumu ḥukm*[an] "to pronounce a sentence", with *bi-* "on", with *li-* "in favour of", with *ʿalā* "against". In law, *ḥukm* means "judge's decision, his judgement in a disputed question and also in a less litigious matter like the nomination of a guardian". *Ḥukm* in grammar, into which the concepts of law penetrate, must itself also imply the expression of an authoritative decision, a judgement. In the background of *ḥukm* there is indeed the idea of the divine origin of language, which is *waḥy wa-tawḳīf* "closed revelation" (see H. Fleisch, in *Oriens*, 1963) and, more particularly for the Muslim Arab grammarian, the belief in the Arabic language as the organ of expression of the divine Absolute in the Ḳurʾān, *kalām Allāh* (in this connexion, see, in *Mufassal*[2], § 522, Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1123, lines 14 ff., the audacity, *al-djurʾa ʿala-ʾllāh* [*Muf.*], *al-iḳdām ʿalā kalām Allāh* [I.Y.], which was alleged against al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf). In this *kalām Allāh*, this utterance of Allāh, the word can accomplish only the task allotted to it by the decision of the *Wāḍiʿ*, its sovereign Founder. *Ḥukm* "judgment" is to be understood in the passive sense, which the infinitive can have—judgement on the word in relation to its activity, the task it has to perform.

The plural of *ḥukm* is *aḥkām*, in the event of a plurality of *ḥukm*, *e.g.*, *Inṣāf*, 64, line 13, 76, line 4; or Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī, in the *Sharḥ* of his *Shudhūr al-dhahab* (Cairo 1371/1951, 416, line 7); but this seldom occurs in the current texts. It is not rare in chapter-headings, *e.g.*, al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Nuḳaṭ* (*Biblioth. Islam.*, iii), 140, 142, 144, 146, 147; Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, ii, Cairo 1374/1955, 108; al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Djumal*, 277, *aḥkām al-hamza fi ʾl-khaṭṭ* (cf. al-Dānī, *Muḳniʿ* (*Biblioth. Islam.*, iii), 63). The meaning can be expanded and so translated by "behaviour, situation, conditions", while in the previous example it would be "situation of the *hamza* in writing".

Bibliography: G. Weil, Abu ʾl-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī, *Die Grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufer*, Leiden 1913, *Kitāb al-Inṣāf fī masāʾil al-khilāf bayna ʾl-naḥwiyyīn al-baṣriyyīn waʾl-kūfiyyīn*, *Einleitung*, pp. 1-93, particularly 15; idem, *Zum Verständnis der Methode der moslemischen Grammatiker*, in *Festschrift Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 380-92; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, 1-18. In addition, the authors cited in the text. (H. Fleisch)

On the political and administrative use of *ḥukm*, see AḤKĀM, DIPLOMATIC, FARMĀN.

ḤUḲŪḲ, pl. of ḤAḲḲ [*q.v.*], legal rights or claims, and corresponding obligations, in the religious law of Islam. One distinguishes the *ḥuḳūḳ Allāh*, the rights or claims of Allāh, *e.g.*, the *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] punishments, and the *ḥuḳūḳ al-ādamiyyīn*, private, and essentially civil, rights or claims. Used of things, *ḥuḳūḳ* signifies the accessories necessarily belonging to them, such as the privy and the kitchen of a house, and servitudes in general; this term is of common occurrence in the legal formularies (*shurūṭ* [*q.v.*]). In contemporary terminology, *ḥuḳūḳ* means merely "law" in the modern meaning of the term, and *Kulliyyat al-Ḥuḳūḳ* is "Faculty of Law".—In the terminology of the Ṣūfis, *ḥuḳūḳ al-nafs* denotes the essential requirements for the existence of the soul, as opposed to any additional elements which are called *ḥuẓūẓ*.

Bibliography: Mīkhāʾīl ʿĪd al-Bustānī, *Mardjiʿ al-ṭullāb*, Beirut 1914, 39-41; J. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, index, s.vv. *ḥaḳḳ ādamī* and *ḥaḳḳ Allāh*; Tahānawi, *Dictionary of the technical terms*, s.v. *ḥuḳūḳ al-nafs*. (Ed.)

ḤUKŪMA, in modern Arabic "government". Like many political neologisms in Islamic languages, the word seems to have been first used in its modern sense in 19th century Turkey, and to have passed from Turkish into Arabic and other languages. *Ḥukūma* comes from the Arabic root *ḥ.k.m*, with the meaning "to judge, adjudicate" (cf. the related meaning, dominant in Hebrew and other Semitic languages, of wisdom. See ḤIKMA). In classical usage the verbal noun *ḥukūma* means the act or office of adjudication, of dispensing justice, whether by a sovereign, a judge, or an arbitrator, as for example in some enumerations of the hereditary functions of Ḳuraysh in Mecca (the Jerusalem concordance lists occurrences in *TA*, ix, 68, l. 9; *LA*, xiv, 95, l. 17, xv, 31, l. 24, 177, ll. 11 and 16, 304, l. 25; xvi, 41, l. 13; *Aghānī*[3], xi, 63, ll. 4-5, 165, l. 7; xiii, 134, l.1; references communicated by Dr. M. J. Kister. The last example is particularly clear: *fa-ʾinnaka ḳāḍ*[in] *biʾl-ḥukūmati ʿālim*. Other examples in Ibn Ḳutayba,

ʿUyūn al-akhbār, Cairo ed., i, 67, l. 11; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, § 20. Cf. the oft-cited dictum, attributed to the Prophet, that "an hour of justice in judgment [*not* government] is better than sixty years of worship"; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, i, Cairo 1953, 5).

In time, the root *ḥ.k.m* came to be used more and more frequently in the sense of political, as well as judicial, authority. Under the Seldjūks and after, the term *ḥukūma* (Pers. and Turkish *ḥukūmat*, *ḥukūmet*) denotes the office or function of governorship, usually provincial or local. In Ottoman times, in addition to the judicial sense, it is normally used to indicate the seizure, tenure or term of office (*müddet-i ḥukūmet*) of a governor. A special use occurs in the Kurdish lands, where we find a number of regions called *ḥukūmet* listed among the components of certain Ottoman *eyālets*. These are hereditary sanjaks, under Kurdish chiefs, with a large measure of political and financial autonomy (ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1280, 29-30; Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 245, 263-4, 277; Gibb and Bowen, i/1, 163, 203). By the end of the 12th/18th century the word seems to have acquired the more general sense of rule, the exercise of authority. Thus, in the letter of Menou to the *Dīwān* in Cairo, dated 15 Shaʿbān 1215/11 January 1801, he is described as the commander of the armies of the French republic (*dawlat djumhūr*) in the East, and the representative of its authority (*muẓāhir ḥukūmatihā*) in Egypt (Djabartī, *Muẓhir al-taḳdīs*, Cairo n.d., ii, 91). In the Turkish translation of Botta's *Storia d'Italia* (*Bonapart taʾrīkhi*, Cairo 1249/1834, repr. Istanbul 1293/1876, 4, 6, 10, 13, 16, 17, 33, etc.) *ḥukūmet* is commonly used in the senses of rule, political authority, dominion, and occasionally régime; it has the same meaning in the Arabic translation of the first part of William Robertson's *History of the reign of Charles V* (*Itḥāf al-mulūk* . . . , Būlāḳ 1258/1842; cf. Shayyāl, *Taʾrīkh al-tardjama*. . . , Cairo 1951, 221). This usage appears to have been new in Arabic. The unpublished Arabic translation of Machiavelli's *Prince* made in 1824-5, as cited by Shayyāl (*ibid.*, 216), still uses the words *siyāda* and *amīriyya*; and even Shaykh Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī, in his translation of the French constitutional charter, still renders 'gouvernement' by *tadbīr al-mamlaka* (*Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz*, [1st ed. 1250/1834], ed. Mahdī ʿAllām *et al.*, Cairo n.d. [? 1958], 142).

In the early 19th century the word acquired a new meaning, derived from Europe—government, in the sense of the group of men exercising the authority of the state. Ṣādiḳ Rifʿat, in his political writings, still frequently uses the word *ḥukūmet* in the sense of type of government, régime. In an essay written *ca.* 1837, he goes a step further, and speaks of *düwel-i Avrupa ḥukūmetleri*—the governments of the states of Europe (*Avrupaniñ aḥwāline dāʾir risāle*, 5, in *Müntekhabāt-i āthār-i Rifʿat Pasha*, Istanbul n.d.). Thereafter both Turkish and Arabic, following European practice, maintain this distinction between the state (*devlet*, *dawla*) and the government (*ḥukūmet*, *ḥukūma*), and at the same time continue to use the word *ḥukūma* in the general, abstract sense of government, régime (see Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*², i, Istanbul 1309, 17-20; Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī, *al-Kilam al-thamān*, Cairo 1298, 30-5). Persian, however, has not adopted this distinction, and still uses *dawlat* for both the state and the government, while *ḥukūmat* has the more general sense of political authority. (B. Lewis)

Government in the Islamic states before the 19th century is examined in the articles on KHILĀFA, SULṬĀN, WAZĪR, etc. The articles that follow here are concerned with the introduction and development of the modern apparatus of government in the 19th and 20th centuries. See further DJAMʿIYYA, DJUMHŪRIYYA, DUSTŪR, ḤIZB, etc.

i.—Ottoman Empire

The introduction of the modern European type of governmental apparatus in the Ottoman Empire began in the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], 1808-39. He came to the throne at a particularly critical period of Ottoman history, when the authority of the central government was almost non-existent. The *aʿyān* and *derebeys* [*qq.v.*] were supreme in the peripheral provinces of the Empire, while the Janissaries continued to terrorize the capital. Maḥmūd's first task, therefore, was to restore the authority of the centre, and in this he was largely successful during the first half of his reign. The Janissaries, who had become the main stumbling block to military reform—and all other reform was incidental to this, were suppressed in 1826, when they rebelled against the measure to establish a new style army. Their destruction marked the end of the purely military phase in Turkish modernization, and Maḥmūd was now able to proceed with the reform of institutions.

The Serʿasker replaced the Agha of the Janissaries [see BĀB-I SERʿASKERĪ]. He performed the functions of a commander in chief and Minister of War; by the end of the 19th century the Serʿasker was occasionally a civilian appointment (see Shaykh al-Islām Djemāl al-Dīn, *Khāṭirāt-i siyāsiyye*, Cairo 1917, 10-12). But it was only after the revolution of 1908 that the Serʿaskerate was transformed into the War Ministry. The religious institution was also bureaucratized and brought firmly under the Sultan's control. This was marked by the creation of an official office for the Shaykh al-Islām known as the *Bāb-i Mashīkhat* [*q.v.*] or *Fetwākhāne*. Maḥmūd ended the financial independence of the religious institution by setting up an inspectorate of the *waḳf*s, which later became a ministry. The Shaykh al-Islām was now no more than a civil servant with advisory and consultative functions. After the introduction of the cabinet system, he became a member of the cabinet, though he enjoyed the privilege of being appointed directly by the Sultan and not by the Grand Vizier.

In 1835 Maḥmūd turned his attention to the Sublime Porte [see BĀB-I ʿĀLĪ], for the past two centuries the very heart of Ottoman government. The old office of the *Kāhya* first became the Ministry of Civil Affairs (*Mülkiyye*) and later the Ministry of the Interior (*Dākhiliyye Neẓāreti*), while the office of *Reʾīs al-Küttāb* became the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Khāridjiyye Neẓāreti*). Two years later (1837) the *Defterdārlıḳ* was transformed into the Ministry of Finance. These ministers assumed many of the prerogatives traditionally belonging to the Grand Vizier, and the abolition of that title was, therefore, no more than the reflection of his declining position. On 30 March 1838 the Grand Vizier (*Ṣadr-i aʿẓam*) was given the modern title of Prime Minister (*Bashwekīl*) and in the Council of Ministers he became *primus inter pares*. But the new title was dropped in the following year; despite brief reappearances in the period 1878-82, it came into permanent use only after the fall of the Empire, when at times it took the form of *Başbakan*.

Maḥmūd's reforms and innovations in government

were not intended as an exercise in western governmental practice. Their prime aim was to centralize and consolidate in the person of the Sultan the power released by the break-up of the traditional order. As the central government grew stronger and more confident it increased its area of activity. The Ministry of Public Works was set up in 1839. With the steady secularization of government following the Imperial Rescripts of 1839 and 1856 [see TANẒĪMĀT] and the promulgation of the constitution of 1876 the government extended its control over areas which had been part of the religious domain. A Ministry of Education was set up in 1857 and a Ministry of Justice in 1879. Police duties had already been taken away from the *Serʿasker* in 1845, and in 1870 the Ministry of Police was established [see ḌABṬIYYA]. The Serʿaskerate was renamed Ministry of War in 1879, but this was soon dropped in the interest of tradition and was only re-adopted by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd on 22 July 1908 as a concession to the constitutionalists. The nucleus of a European type of governmental structure was formed by the creation of these departments. There were later additions, such as the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture [see FILĀḤA, iv, 908b], the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs [see POSTA], the Ministry of Marine [see BAḤRIYYA, iii, 948b], and in 1918 the Ministry of Food.

But the introduction of ministers and ministries with European titles did not at once lead to the practice of Western government with ministerial responsibility. Just as these modern institutions had emerged as a result of growing centralization and the increased power of the Sultan, so ministerial responsibility was to be the outcome of the Sultan's declining position and the emergence of a new bureaucratic élite, itself the child of centralization and determined to have a share in the government.

Consultation (*meshweret* [see MASHWARA]) has always been regarded as a fundamental principle of Islamic government. Its rôle in the Ottoman State, however, always depended on the relative strength of the Sultan and his ministers. Thus, under Maḥmūd, the Privy Council (*Medjlis-i Khāṣṣ*) represented little more than the Sultan's will; he appointed and dismissed its ministers. But the gradual modernization of the government and the growing complexity of the administration led to the formation of specialist bodies such as the Council of Justice, the Council of Reform and the Council of Military Affairs. All this increased the importance and independence of ministers and their committees, and in time, such ministers as Fuʾād Pasha [*q.v.*] and ʿĀlī Pasha [*q.v.*] were even able to challenge the authority of the Sultan.

It was the Constitution of 1876 which first gave legal recognition to a Council of Ministers presided over by the Grand Vizier and dealing with "all important matters of State, both internal and external" (article 28). Now for the first time there was a cabinet but no cabinet responsibility. The Sultan continued to appoint the Grand Vizier and the Shaykh al-Islām and to nominate the other ministers by Imperial *irāde* (article 27). All ministers were individually responsible to him (article 30). The principle of cabinet government had been firmly established; the support to make it a practical reality was still missing. Parliament was inexperienced and divided and the Sultan retained full control. He promulgated the Constitution in 1876. In 1877 he revealed his complete authority by proroguing parliament and putting the Constitution in abeyance for the next thirty years.

After the revolution of July 1908 the Imperial Charter (*Khaṭṭ-ı Hümāyūn*) of 1 August was an important landmark in the evolution of the cabinet system of Turkey. Article 10 of this Charter conceded to the Grand Vizier the right to appoint all ministers other than the Ministers of War and Marine, who, like the Grand Vizier and the Shaykh al-Islām, were to be appointed by the Sultan. The Young Turks, not satisfied with this concession, forced the Sultan to surrender his prerogatives of appointing ministers other than the Grand Vizier and the Shaykh al-Islām. The constitutional amendments of 1909 made the Grand Vizier responsible for forming the cabinet (article 27; amendments to the 1876 Constitution are given in A.S. Gözübüyük and Suna Kili, *Türk Anayasa metinleri*, Ankara 1957, 70-3; see also DUSTŪR). For the first time the principle of collective responsibility of the ministers for the overall policy of the government was stated (article 30). The Sultan became a figure-head and power passed into the hands of the ministers and parliament. Right through the decade (1908-18) the Young Turks struggled to define the legal relationship between the Cabinet, the Sultan and Parliament.

Perhaps the most important effect of the introduction of a modern governmental structure was the creation of a new civil service and the growth of a bureaucratic class. It was easy to establish a European type ministry; the real problem was manning it with officials having a modern outlook. And wherever a traditional institution was replaced by a modern one there arose the need for men with a modern education. Maḥmūd had opened the Translation Bureau (*Terdjüme Odasi* [*q.v.*]), where Turks learned the languages of Europe and replaced the traditional Greek dragomans. In the same way, trained revenue collectors had to be found to replace the old taxfarmer (*mültezim*) and provincial administrators to rule in place of the *aʿyān* and *derebeys*. A civil service school (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) was set up to provide men for the new ministries, but the problem of recruitment remained acute into the present century.

By the 1850s the civil service had become stratified. Recruitment was by patronage and apprenticeship, making the bureaucracy a closed shop. In many ways it soon became traditional in outlook, so much so that the present-day bureaucracy of Turkey seems to have inherited some of this traditionalism. But in the latter half of the 19th century, right up to the fall of the Empire, the new-style bureaucrat had replaced the soldier as the spearhead of modernization in the Ottoman Empire.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh-i Dewlet-i ʿOthmāniyye*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1309, and idem, *Taʾrīkh muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1340. The first is a general survey of the period, while the second work is a series of essays on personalities and events in the 19th and early 20th centuries. See also Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Luṭfī*, 8 vols., Istanbul 1290-1328 (not seen); Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netāʾidj al-wuḳūʿāt*, 4 vols., Istanbul 1294-1327; and Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha, *Tezâkir*, ed. Cavid Baysun (Ankara 1953-); idem, *Maʿrūḍāt*, in *TOEM*, 78-93. The best modern historical survey for the period 1826-1907 is Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, v-viii, Ankara 1947-62; in this work both Turkish and western sources have been extensively used. The volume *Tanzimat*, consisting of a collection of essays published in 1940 to commemorate the

100th anniversary of the first reform edict, is particularly valuable; E. Engelhart, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, 2 vols., Paris 1882-4, is a fundamental work. For the constitutional developments during this period see B. Lewis, article DUSTŪR, ii (slightly revised version in *Dustur*, Leiden 1966, 6-24) which gives an excellent comprehensive bibliography. Apart from articles mentioned in the text, see also BAŞVEKIL and DAFTARDĀR; articles *Bala* and *Defterdar* in *IA*; and *Bab-i Ali*, *Başvekil* and *Defterdar* in (*Inönü*) *Türk Ansiklopedisi*; all of them give additional bibliography. For the period after the 1908 revolution see Feroz Ahmad, *The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish politics 1908-13* (unpublished thesis, London 1966). Finally there are studies, both general and detailed, such as B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968; R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-76*, Princeton 1963; and N. Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964.

(F. AHMAD)

ii.—PERSIA

The administration of the Ḳād̲j̲ār dynasty, which came to power in 1779 and the last ruler of which was deposed in 1925, followed, until the constitutional revolution of 1905-6, the general pattern of medieval Persian administration, although certain changes, mainly of form, were introduced during the second half of the nineteenth century. The chief minister was known as the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* and in the early period held the title Iʿtimād al-Dawla (as had the chief minister in Ṣafawid times). The chief financial official was the *mustawfī al-mamālik* and the head of the chancery the *mun<u>sh</u>ī al-mamālik*. The number of ministers from the time of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (1797-1834) tended to increase. The shah was absolute, and elevated and degraded his ministers at will. A council of state composed of ministers, leading members of the Ḳād̲j̲ār tribe and others was occasionally summoned to discuss matters of importance and to submit its views to the shah. Its functions were purely advisory. It did not meet regularly and its composition was of an *ad hoc* nature. It was summoned, for example, when Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (1834-48) contemplated marching in person against Herāt in 1836, and advised against this (*Correspondence relating to Persia and Affghanistan*, London 1839, No. 25, Mr. Ellis to Viscount Palmerston, Tabreez, June 2, 1836). In 1859 Nāṣir al-Dīn set up a council called the *maṣlaḥat k̲h̲āna* under the chairmanship of ʿĪsā K̲h̲ān Iʿtimād al-Dawla, a leading member of the Ḳād̲j̲ār tribe. Its membership included ministers, *mustawfīs*, various other officials and members of the religious class. It was apparently intended that similar councils should be set up in the provinces but the project appears to have been abortive (Mustawfī, *S̲h̲arḥ-i zindagī-i man*, Tehrān 1945, i, 126; *Rūznāma-i waḳāyiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya*, No. 452, 21 Rabīʿ II 1276).

The two great obstacles to reform were the fear of successive shahs lest their power be curtailed and the tendency on the part of ministers, induced by centuries of irresponsible and arbitrary government, to accept the *status quo*. The shah interfered in the smallest details of the administration. If the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* succeeded (as some of them did) in obtaining some measure of power, this, like the power of the shah, was arbitrary and despotic, and in measure as it increased aroused the suspicion of the shah and the opposition of officials and others, and tended, moreover, to become increasingly venal. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, from the first exercised great influence over his master and eventually completely dominated him. He held besides the office of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, the ministries of foreign affairs, finance, and the interior, command of the artillery, charge of the foundry and arsenal, and the office of *nāʾib al-tawliyya* of the shrine of the Imām Riḍā at Mas̲h̲had. By the end of the reign of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh his administration had become highly unpopular and he fell on the death of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh. Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, who succeeded Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, was young and inexperienced and Mīrzā Taḳī K̲h̲ān Amīr Niẓām, his first *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, concentrated great power in his own hands. He had seen, when Persian commissioner on the Turco-Persian frontier commission, the introduction of the *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] in the Ottoman Empire and had earlier visited Russia with the mission of K̲h̲usraw Mīrzā, which was sent to that country after the murder of the Russian envoy Griboyedov. When he became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* confusion prevailed in almost every branch of the administration and he made vigorous efforts to abolish certain abuses, notably in the financial administration. He is generally regarded in Persia as the initiator of a movement of administrative reform, but he made no pretence of setting up any consultative machinery or of government by cabinet. The relative success of his efforts gave rise to opposition and intrigue, to which the shah eventually lent his support, and he was dismissed and murdered in 1851. The efforts and energies of his successor, Mīrzā Āḳā K̲h̲ān Nūrī, were also largely occupied in defeating the machinations of numerous rivals and in a contest with the shah for the sole exercise of power. In 1854 he threatened to resign because, unknown to him, the shah had entered into communication with the Russian mission on public affairs. On his urgent remonstrances the shah sent him an autograph stating that he would follow in future the policy of his minister. As time went on the administration of Mīrzā Āḳā K̲h̲ān became increasingly arbitrary and venal. He survived various intrigues to overthrow him but eventually fell in 1858.

By this time a belief, not yet clearly formulated, was beginning to spread that Persia's backwardness and weakness vis-à-vis Russia and Britain was perhaps due to her system of government. Nāṣir al-Dīn accordingly decided to abolish the post of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* and to appoint six ministers (interior, foreign affairs, war, finance, justice, and *awḳāf*) to carry on the government of the country. The announcement of this decision in the official gazette on 16 September 1858 stated that the various functions hitherto discharged by the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* would be carried out by a cabinet or council of ministers, each of whom would be directly responsible to the shah. A number of other ministries, including court, education, and commerce, were subsequently added. Under the new system the ministers still had no responsibility, collective or individual. Often public business was transacted by the shah over their heads; and already in 1858 Amīn al-Dawla, the minister of the interior, felt constrained to protest to the shah on this account.

Meanwhile Mīrzā Malkam K̲h̲ān Nāẓim al-Dawla, who in 1872 became Persian minister in London and after his dismissal in 1889 published in London the Persian newspaper *Ḳānūn*, had begun to write a series of political essays in which he advocated reform.

In an essay entitled *Kitābča-i g͟haybī yā daftar-i tanẓīmāt*, written between 1858 and 1860, he urged the separation of the legislative from the executive power. He pointed out that the institution of a council of ministers after the fall of Mīrzā Āḳā K͟hān Nūrī had, in fact, made little difference because of the failure to separate these two powers. He proposed that a council of eight ministers, presided over by the shah, should be set up. This would propose legislation to an assembly to be called the *mad̲j̲lis-i tanẓīmāt*. He also proposed that a civil service law and regulations for the organization of the various ministries should be drawn up (*Mad̲j̲mūʿa-i āt̲h̲ār-i Malkam K͟hān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Tehrān 1948-9). Malkam K͟hān sent this essay to Mīrzā Ḥusayn K͟hān Mus̲h̲īr al-Dawla, who became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* in 1871. In another essay, *Daftar-i ḳānūn*, Malkam K͟hān stated that the fundamental mistake of the Persian system of government was the failure to separate the legislative power from the executive. In *Tanẓīm-i las̲h̲kar wa mad̲j̲lis-i idāra yā intiẓām-i las̲h̲kar wa mad̲j̲lis-i tanẓīmāt* he stated that the greatest achievement of the Ḳād̲j̲ārs was the establishment of different ministries, but that this was not enough: a *mad̲j̲lis-i tanẓīmāt* was also needed, and in *Nidā-yi ʿadālat* he urged the need for the collective responsibility of ministers (*ibid.*).

In 1871 a council of state (*dār al-s̲h̲awrā-yi kubrā*) composed of sixteen members was set up on the orders of Nāṣir al-Dīn to carry on the affairs of government (Mustawfī, i, 152). On 12 December 1871 Mīrzā Ḥusayn K͟hān Mus̲h̲īr al-Dawla, who had been appointed minister of war with the title *sipahsālār-i aʿẓam* on 27 September 1871, became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, the office being filled once more after some thirteen years. He began a thorough-going reform of the administration. On 23 November 1872 an imperial decree was issued reorganizing the council of state, which was now called the *darbār-i aʿẓam* (though it subsequently reverted to its earlier title), and dividing the affairs of the kingdom into nine ministries (interior, foreign affairs, war, finance, justice, education, public works, commerce and agriculture, and court) under the presidency of the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, who was to be the leader of the government (*s̲h̲ak͟hṣ-i awwal-i dawlat*) and the president of the council of state (*raʾīs-i darbār-i aʿẓam*). The appointment and dismissal of ministers was to be by the order of the shah on the recommendation of the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*. There was also to be a council of ministers (*mad̲j̲lis-i wuzarā*) which the decree stated was "called a cabinet by Europeans"; it was to be presided over by the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, Each minister was to be in full control (*kāmil^{an} musallaṭ*) over his ministry and not to interfere in the affairs of other ministries. The ministers were to meet regularly to consult on all matters of concern to the government and were to be collectively responsible for the affairs of government. They were to report to the shah through the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, who was responsible to the shah (Mustawfī, i, 163 ff.). The council of ministers was opened on 3 December 1872.

Neither the council of state nor the council of ministers had in fact much in common with the cabinet of Western European constitutions. The council of state, perhaps, most closely resembled the Imperial Council of Russia, upon which it was probably modelled. It was a purely consultative body convened sometimes to advise the shah beforehand or, more commonly, to discuss the fulfilment of his orders when already delivered. The shah continued to be the sole executive.

Mīrzā Ḥusayn K͟hān was dismissed in 1873. His reforms proved largely abortive. In 1888-90 the council of state numbered thirty members, but in the later years of Nāṣir al-Dīn and under Muẓaffar al-Dīn (1896-1907) it seldom met. The number of ministers with and without portfolios varied. In 1900 there were ministers of foreign affairs, war, finance, the court (*darbār*), justice, commerce, education, telegraphs, posts, agriculture, crown lands, public works, *awḳāf* and pensions, publications, crown buildings, the shah's cabinet (*wazīr-i k͟halwat*), mines and industry, the mint, army accounts and the arsenal, the last two being subordinate to the minister of war. The *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* held the ministries of the interior, treasury and customs. Some of the ministries existed only in name and some of the ministers were rarely consulted.

Among those who campaigned for governmental reform in the early years of the nineteenth century little attention appears to have been paid to the powers and functions of the government. At a meeting of the *and̲j̲uman-i mak͟hfī* on 9 March 1905 a demand for the codification of the law was formulated; and in the code envisaged the duties of ministers were to be laid down, and limits set to the powers of governors (Nāẓim al-Islām, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Bīdārī-i Īrāniān*, Tehrān n.d., 182-3). It was not until the constitution was granted by Muẓaffar al-Dīn on 30 December 1906 that a fundamental change was brought about in the position of the council of ministers, who, although not members of the National Consultative Assembly, were made responsible to it and given the right to be present at its sessions and to speak (Fundamental Laws, arts. 29, 31, 40 and 42). The Supplementary Fundamental Laws of 7 October 1907 further laid down that no one could attain to the rank of minister unless he was a Muslim by religion, a Persian by birth and a Persian subject (Art. 58), and excluded from the office of minister princes of the first degree, *i.e.*, the sons, brothers or uncles of the reigning shah (Art. 59). The ministers were made individually responsible for the affairs pertaining to their own ministry and collectively responsible for one another's actions and affairs of a more general nature to the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate (Arts. 60, 61 and 65). Article 67 laid down that if the National Consultative Assembly or the Senate by an absolute majority declared itself dissatisfied with the Cabinet or with one particular minister, the cabinet or minister should resign their or his ministerial functions, and that ministers could not divest themselves of their responsibility by pleading verbal or written orders from the shah (Art. 64). The constitution thus marked the beginning of a new period in the government of Persia in which the ministers were no longer simply the servants of the shah, but were individually and collectively responsible to an elected assembly.

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iii.—Egypt and the Fertile Crescent

In Egypt, and in the countries of the Fertile Crescent (modern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq), the expansion of the administrative system, of the scope and function of government (*i.e.*, generally of the temporal power of the state), occurred under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans. In fact, long before the disintegration of the Islamic Empire and the sack of Baghdād by the Mongols in 656/1258, the political and military fragmentation of the realm had been a reality. Thus the caliph, the *imām* of the community, had not only been shorn of all temporal power, but his spiritual authority had been greatly compromised and, in fact, curtailed. Provincial governors in Egypt and Syria, for instance, had established their own autonomous governments and often founded independent dynasties. Government in Muslim lands became a plain monarchy, in which the will of the strong ruler was supreme. Government was more often than not tyrannical and harsh. Satraps who could legitimize their power by sheer might abounded everywhere. In the Fertile Crescent, traditional sectarian, ethnic and tribal differences and conflicts came to constitute once more the real substrata of politics and government.

The rise of a modern secular government and administration in Egypt is associated with the reign of Muḥammad ʿAli [*q.v.*] "the Great" (1805-49). He founded an autonomous modern state ruled by himself and his heirs after him. In addition to creating a strong, modern army modelled on European lines, Muḥammad ʿAlī established a powerful central administration that closely supervised and controlled all the affairs of state. From Europe he borrowed and applied two major—and for Egypt, novel—notions of government: rational-secular administrative techniques, and wide governmental functions and regulatory powers. The latter extended over every aspect of public endeavour: agriculture, commerce and trade, industry, and education. Only matters of personal status were left to the jurisdiction of the *Sharʿī* law and courts. Yet even this area of life was, under Muḥammad ʿAlī's policy of centralization, subjected to closer governmental control. Thus, there was the deliberate further bureaucratization of the *ʿulamāʾ*, the gradual administration reform of al-Azhar and its institutions, and the eventual fiscal control imposed by the government over *waḳf*s and other properties of religious institutions.

Very early in his reign, Muḥammad ʿAlī formed a governmental council, *al-Dīwān al-ʿĀlī*, to assist him in all the affairs of government and administration. The Council was headed by his deputy, the Katkhudā Bey, who had extensive powers in all governmental matters. This Council may be considered the forerunner of the modern Council of Ministers; for, until 1878, it was known as the Khedivial Diwan, or Council of Assistance (*Dīwān al-Muʿāwana*). Simultaneously, Muḥammad ʿAlī organized separate councils for each branch of government, *e.g.*, War (*Djihādiyya*), Navy (*Baḥriyya*), Commerce, Education, Public Works, and Foreign Affairs. These served as executive agencies, or departments, of the government's Council of State. The expansion of governmental functions led in 1834 to the creation of a new Higher Council of State consisting of the heads of the separate departmental councils. The ruler included in its membership *ʿulamāʾ* leading merchants, and notables from the provinces. A Consultation Council (*Madjlis al-Mashwara*) founded earlier in 1829 had no more than advisory functions and was intended by the ruler simply to associate with his régime a wider number of local, tribal and other native leaders of the country.

Most significant for the establishment of orderly government and systematic administration in the country (in addition to the ruler's successful imposition of public order) was the Organic Law of 1837, known as *Ḳānūn al-Siyāsatnāma*. This was actually a government reorganization measure, which defined the system of government and the area of responsibility as well as the functions of each department. It reorganized the government in seven councils, *i.e.*, departments, or incipient ministries. The original Higher Council of the State (which later became the Khedivial Diwan) possessed, in addition to its responsibility for general internal policy, judicial powers in certain criminal cases involving the maintenance of public order and security in Cairo, as well as responsibility for the administration of state buildings, hospitals, *waḳfs*, and other institutions. A department of revenue supervised all revenue from the provinces in Egypt, from Crete, the Sudan and other foreign territories. It was also responsible for customs revenues and had the authority to appoint provincial and other inspectors. In addition to the War and Navy departments, the Diwan of Schools supervised and controlled the new state school system, the state printing press at Būlāḳ, and related activities. A Department for "Frankish" Affairs was an embryonic ministry of foreign relations and commerce. Finally, a Department of Factories looked after state industrial enterprises.

Along with this sweeping reorganization, Muḥammad ʿAlī formed a Special (private) Council (*Dīwān Khāṣṣ*) to deal with general matters of policy, to initiate legislation, and to issue directives to all government departments. A special council in the department of finance and revenue dealt with fiscal policy matters.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's government reorganization and reform constituted the introduction of the first modern administration in the country. All departments of government and all councils had strictly executive functions and were responsible to him. Furthermore, he reorganized the administrative division of the country into seven provinces and five governorates, for which he appointed the first provincial and district governors as public officials of the central government. He also organized a modern police force headed by a governor, or commissioner, who had under his command officers stationed in the various parts of the country.

Even the judiciary was affected by Muḥammad ʿAlī's new system. Although this branch of government continued to be largely the function and responsibility of the religious institutions, Muḥammad ʿAlī had, by the 1830s, granted judicial powers to his Council of State. In 1842, he introduced a novel institution, *al-Djamʿiyya al-Ḥaḳḳāniyya*, a precursor of an Administrative Council of State, and empowered it to try higher government officials, and to deal with administrative offences referred to it by the various departments of government. He also founded a Commercial Court (*Madjlis al-Tidjāra*) to adjudicate commercial disputes among natives and between natives and foreigners. With this, the tentacles of modern, secular governmental power began to encroach further upon an area of state authority until then reserved for the *Sharīʿa*.

Another area where traditional authority was eroded was education. State secular schools, new colleges, trade and technical schools, and educational missions to Europe produced a new group of native Egyptian administrators and technicians in the employment of the state, who were to influence further the development of secular administration and modern government in Egypt.

The second major stage in the evolution of modern government in Egypt was under the Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] (1863-79). During this period there was a large influx of Europeans into the country. Ismāʿīl's development programme in all fields was too ambitious and rapid for the resources of the country. This was to lead to his indebtedness to European creditors, to his eventual bankruptcy, to the imposition of European financial and political control over the Egyptian government, and ultimately to the British occupation in 1882. All these factors, however, prompted further changes in the administrative system. The most significant of these was the establishment of a Council of Supervisors (*i.e.*, ministers), *Madjlis al-Nuẓẓār*, in August 1878, responsible for the administration of the country. What this meant was that an absolute ruler like Ismāʿīl was obliged, under pressure, to introduce a modified version of the European system of cabinet government. Members of this Council, or cabinet, were responsible for the policy and administration of their respective departments. They were also given control over all public officials, or civil servants, in these departments. The Council had a president, or chief minister, who was now responsible for the selection of the other ministers.

Until that time the Special Council had assisted the ruler of Egypt with the administration of the country. Its members as well as the heads of the various government departments were employees of the ruler without any responsibility of their own. With the new Council, the *dīwān*s, or departments (*e.g.*, Interior, Justice, War, Navy, etc.), became in effect ministries, and the Council superseded the old "Special Council" as the legal body recognized as the government of Egypt.

Ismāʿīl reorganized the administrative division of Egypt into 13 provinces and 8 governorates, a division which persists almost unaltered today.

The most far-reaching changes occurred in the fields of legislation and the judiciary. While matters of personal status remained within the jurisdiction of the *Sharʿī* and ecclesiastical courts, the encroachment of man-made law in all other areas became pervasive. Commercial, civil, criminal and penal codes modelled on European ones were prepared and promulgated. By the 1880s they became the basis of a national judiciary. Under Ismāʿīl a number of magistrate's courts and courts of first instance were organized throughout the country. The work for the creation of National Courts begun under Ismāʿīl was completed under Tawfīḳ Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1883. The Mixed Tribunals to deal with litigation between nationals and foreigners were founded in 1876. The new Ministry of Justice was responsible for the new National Courts and for all other grades of the judiciary in the country.

With the institution of Dual Control over Egypt's finances in 1876, direct European influence reached the Egyptian government and administration. Budgetary control, fiscal solvency and administrative efficiency became the most important areas of governmental reform for the next thirty years, and especially during the British occupation. A system of European—later British—advisers to key ministries, directors of public utilities, works and communications, and inspectors became an essential prop of Egyptian administration, particularly under Cromer.

From independence in 1923 to the overthrow of the *ancien régime* in July 1952, the administrative machinery in Egypt was substantially that first developed by Muḥammad ʿAlī and Ismāʿīl, and reformed under British tutelage. The rapid growth of population and the rise of a small native industry, and with it a small labour force, called for the further extension of governmental functions and regulatory powers. Most significant was the formation in 1939-40 of a Ministry of Social Affairs and within it a department of the Fellāḥ. This Ministry soon came to deal with matters of labour, social security and welfare, presumably on a national scale. The general working force increased during the Second World War so that a Ministry of Labour became inevitable. The War also produced a Ministry of Supply.

Perhaps because until recently Egypt's economy remained basically agricultural, and dependent on the proper distribution and utilization of the Nile waters, one of the most crucial functions of government has been since Muḥammad ʿAlī that performed by the Ministry of Public Works and Irrigation.

The political situation after the War was such as to create a wide gulf between the ruling classes of politicians, whatever their political persuasion, and the masses. The hardships of the War and subsequent unemployment raised new problems that called for administrative action. After the War the idea quickly spread that the major function of state and government is to provide social services and welfare on a grand scale. Moreover, state and government came to be viewed by the people as agencies for change and development. Meanwhile Egyptian governments were preoccupied with domestic squabbles involving the political parties and the king, as well as with the evacuation of the British forces from the Suez Canal area. In this interlude (1946-52), the police and security forces—one of the agencies of government most effectively organized and developed over the previous fifty years with British help—sustained the administration. Harassed by opposition, sometimes violent, from such groups as the *Ikhwān al-muslimīn* [*q.v.*], governments were using their security agencies and the various departments of the police to their maximum capacity.

When the parliamentary system collapsed and the monarchy was overthrown by the "Free Officers" in July 1952 and the following months, the latter simply took over the existing government services and placed them under military supervision. After the abolition of the monarchy in June 1953, a republic was proclaimed and by 1956 a presidential form of government was established. This has been characterized ever since by a strong and highly centralized executive power. With its emphasis upon and concern with economic development, social justice, and welfare policies, the new régime made radical changes in the administration in that its functions were greatly expanded. A number of new ministries emerged, as it were automatically, from the régime's commitment to national planning of the economy, rapid industrialization, and mass political mobilization (a small Ministry of Industry had existed before 1952; a Ministry of National Guidance and Culture, for instance, was an innovation).

The extensive nationalization of economic and commercial enterprises in 1961, which inaugurated a socialist policy, further transformed the functions

of government to embrace practically every field of national and private endeavour. Pursuance of a policy of agrarian reform, land reclamation, and the redistribution of land to peasants (with the resultant organization of farmers' and consumers' cooperatives) further expanded the activities of the government in these fields.

Although the state has been committed to free and compulsory education for all Egyptians since 1950-1, governmental activity in this area has recently increased greatly, especially at the higher levels of technical and university training.

The nationalization of the press in 1960 and the take-over of publishing houses by the government has rendered such organizations and occupations too agencies of the state and its administration. The governmental, or public, corporation has also appeared in Egypt under the present régime, of which the most prominent example has been the Suez Canal Authority. The Aswan Dam project, begun in 1960, has been so colossal as to require its own special ministry.

At present (1966) the cabinet in Egypt is strictly an administrative executive. The President, together with one or more vice-presidents whom he may choose to appoint, makes national governmental policy. Under the March 1964 Provisional Constitution, the cabinet is a presidential cabinet, that is, with no strictly independent juridical status. Cabinet ministers administer the affairs of government by guiding and coordinating the work of their respective ministries and by drafting legislation for the President's consideration. But the President in consultation with his government (the vice-presidents and cabinet ministers) draws up the general policy of the State. He issues all security regulations and orders, and supervises their implementation.

Since 1962, a mass political organization has been formed by the state to encourage the participation of the people in national programmes. The Arab Socialist Union is reported in 1966 to have 6 million members. It is organized on the local, the provincial and the national levels. The President is Chairman of its Supreme Executive Committee, whose members he appoints. On the other hand, local government arrangements still follow essentially the system that has evolved from the past. Local government officers are by and large public officials subject to the Ministry of the Interior.

The organization of the judiciary still follows the old pattern of a Court of Cassation, under which function six Courts of Appeal, several Primary Courts (*i.e.*, courts of first instance), and many more summary courts. One radical change was wrought by the new régime when it abolished the *Sharʿī* courts in 1955-6.

To govern Iraq had been for the Ottomans before 1914 both difficult and expensive. Even though the country was by then organized into four major administrative units, namely, the *wilāyets* of Mosul, Baghdād and Baṣra, and the *mutaṣarrifiyya* of Dayr al-Zōr, the authority and control of the various governors appointed from Istanbul were for long rather nominal. Inhabited by an ethnically and religiously fragmented society—Kurds, Turcomans, "Assyrians", Shīʿis, Yazīdīs, marshland and other tribesmen—Iraq was difficult to subject to a central authority or to its representatives in Baghdād. The development of some communications and postal services in the 19th century might ultimately have led to its pacification and subjection to central control.

It took the British occupation forces two years (1918-20) to impose some semblance of order and security throughout the country. A civil commissioner under the British Commander-in-Chief founded the nucleus of an administration to govern Iraq by creating new and modern departments of government in Baghdād. The most important were those concerned with public order and security, especially since several regions of the country were openly defiant of the authority of Baghdād. Important also were those dealing with agriculture, public works and irrigation, health and sanitation, not to speak of finance. The administrative authority of the new government departments was exercised throughout the country by means of a provincial organization. This was virtually the same as the system of administrative units which had existed before the First World War, sixteen in number. Today there are fourteen such units.

When military rule ended in October 1920, an Iraq Council of State was formed as the state agency responsible for administration, but advised by British officials. This system of an Iraqi cabinet government under a measure of British tutelage in all departments continued under the monarchy from 1922 to 1932, when Iraq achieved independence and was admitted to the League of Nations. The British Mandate was then formally ended and replaced by an Anglo-Iraqi Treaty.

The formation of a relatively strong army, air force, and police force in Iraq was essential for the governing of the country. By 1936, all three executive arms of the government were greatly advanced in comparison to those in other states of the Fertile Crescent. Equally essential was the development of a good judiciary, in view of the sectarian, tribal and ethnic divisions in the country. In fact, despite the greater centralization of power in Baghdād, special arbitration courts and administrative procedures for the tribes were maintained.

The development of national resources early became a government responsibility in Iraq, particularly in the fields of irrigation and agriculture. Municipalities were encouraged and financially aided to develop their localities (Municipal Law of 1929). As communications improved, direct government administration from Baghdād progressed at the expense of local and other forces, especially the tribal leaders.

The system of provincial courts of first instance closely resembles that in Egypt. In Iraq, however, the Ottoman Civil Code, *Medjelle* [*q.v.*], remained in force until 1951-2, when it was replaced by new codes. But as in Egypt, provincial administration in Iraq is controlled by the Ministry of the Interior, in the capital, so that local initiative remains limited. This is of greater importance in Iraq, where so many groups tend to challenge the authority of the central government. Nonetheless, over the years, a body of permanent civil servants was created, which has increased in number, as in other Arab states, and particularly since the military coups beginning in July 1958 which tended to incorporate wider welfare functions into the state administration. The civil service generally continues to absorb the largest number of educated Iraqis. A law in 1957 has improved Civil Service procedures and established a Public Service Council. As in Egypt, the administration of the labour and social security services became a state responsibility in 1939-40, and was further extended in 1956. A major governmental function since 1953 has been the rational utilization of revenue from oil royalties for major development projects.

Compulsory free education has also been a state responsibility administered by the government since 1940. Yet political instability, as reflected partly in the continuous involvement of the military in politics, various tribal uprisings in the past, and the current conflict between the government and the Kurds has adversely affected the smooth operation of administrative agencies. Efficient government has also been eroded since August 1958, when the Law against Conspiracy led to purges and with it to the rise of parliamentary organizations in political parties, popular militias and other such groups.

Since the 1958 coup d'état, there has been a greater tendency for the military to control the state and the government. This has resulted in a more haphazard functioning of governmental processes. The new Constitution of May 1964 introduced greater executive power (greater than under the monarchy) in a presidential system of government. The President appoints and dismisses cabinet ministers, and governs in conjunction with a National Defence Council. As in Egypt, a single state political organization, the "Iraqi Arab Socialist Union", has been announced. Moreover, there is a pronounced state commitment to planning which guides the national economy, a wider cooperative system, and recently a series of nationalizations of enterprises.

In Syria and Lebanon, just as in Iraq and perhaps indeed to a greater extent, political, social and ethnic fragmentation has hampered government at all times. The Ottomans had attempted to maintain some form of administration there, based on a varying division of the country into provinces. Yet, until the Egyptian invasion and occupation in 1831-3, Ottoman governors were able to administer directly only Damascus and other major towns. Elsewhere, tribal chiefs and local potentates ruled undisturbed. The short-lived Egyptian domination attempted to establish a strong central government and to impose regular taxation to counter these separatist local tendencies. As part of the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms, the Ottoman authorities introduced some measure of administrative reform in terms of regular payment of salaries to local officials, and extended the educational facilities. Soon afterwards European and American influence in the form of religious-educational missions entered the area. This coincided with the development of communications in the country.

Lebanon, or at least the Mountain part of it, was until the mid-19th century governed as a Principality of two powerful families. The last, that of the Shihābīs, was destroyed in 1842, and the Ottomans divided the province into a Druze and a Maronite district, each with a governor and administrative council representing the religious communities. This amounted to the informal recognition of the sectarian basis of government and administration in Lebanon, but it also led to serious trouble in the period 1856-60, culminating in the communal massacres and the intervention of the Powers. Consequently in 1861-4 an organic statute made Lebanon an autonomous *sandjak* with a non-Lebanese Christian as governor appointed by the Sultan and approved by the Powers; this governor administered the country with the aid of an elected administrative council. The latter again embodied the communal-sectarian principle of government and administration.

The French mandate in 1920 created the State of Greater Lebanon by adding the coastal areas of Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, Baalbek, Biḳāʿ and Beirut to the original *sandjak* of Mount Lebanon. The first constitution in 1926 also formalized the communal-sectarian basis of government, making the Lebanese President of the republic responsible for administration to the French High Commissioner. During the period 1926-32 a native Lebanese government carried out administrative functions but under French tutelage. The French High Commissioner appointed the government personnel of the four states into which Syria was initially divided in 1920 (see below). The French authorities, however, administered such services as the Customs and the Posts and Telegraphs directly and jointly for both Lebanon and Syria.

Since 1934, the President of the Lebanon has by accepted convention been a Maronite and the Prime Minister a Sunnī Muslim. The emphasis in government has been on a powerful executive authority residing in the President and exercised through the Council of Ministers. The President and Council can initiate legislation and actually issue laws. The machinery of the central government extends to the provinces, since the Minister of the Interior supervises and controls local or provincial administration. There are five administrative provinces (Beirut, North Lebanon, Mount Lebanon, South Lebanon, and Biḳāʿ). The governmental administration is highly centralized, so that provincial governors are actually representatives of the central authority and local councils have only advisory functions. Since 1955 there has been an attempt to decentralize the administration to some extent.

Because of the peculiar sectarian basis of Lebanese politics and government, there has been a popular tendency to view cabinet ministers and heads of government departments as representatives rather of communal interests than of the specialized activities of their respective ministries. The allocation of civil service posts, as of cabinet portfolios, has for long been based on the balancing of communal interests. Under the pressure of modern nationalist notions, administrative reform was attempted in 1958-9, and a Personnel Law was passed in 1959, which also set up a Public Service Council. The purpose of this new legislation is to set up generalized, impartial standards and criteria for appointments to the public service.

In many respects, the state in Lebanon governs by adjudicating between the interests of the various religious communities rather than by administering sanctions directly for the enforcement of its effective judgements. It also administers services. There is therefore much government by the "entourage" which one finds surrounding a President, a Prime Minister or a Cabinet Minister. As the President wields considerable power, the Chamber of Deputies (in an unicameral legislature) tends to be subservient to the executive.

In the field of the administration of justice, new civil and penal codes replaced the Ottoman laws as early as 1931-2. The Minister of Justice, however, has merely an executive function. Justice is administered by a Supreme Council of Justice, which has control over judges. Courts are organized much as in Syria and Iraq; that is, there are first instance courts, appellate courts in each major provincial centre, and a Court of Cassation in the capital. There is also a State Council to dispense administrative justice. Unlike the situation in Egypt, however, *Sharʿī* and ecclesiastical courts continue to function in matters of personal status.

Whereas the political history of Syria during and

since the French Mandate has been more turbulent, the administrative machinery of government followed similar lines, although it lacked the communal or sectarian basis which was formalized and tacitly accepted in the Lebanon. After separating what is now the Republic of Syria into four states (Latakia for the ʿAlawis, Aleppo, Damascus, and Djabal Druze), the French incorporated all of these into one state in 1936. They divided the new state into nine administrative provinces, in addition to the City of Damascus, administered by appointed governors who were assisted by local councils. The 1950 Constitution provided for a Cabinet government responsible to a unicameral legislature. In 1953, under the new Shīshaklī constitution, these were made responsible to the President, so that in Syria too the trend has been towards greater executive power. The State moreover, as in the other countries, took on greater responsibility for the organization and planning of the national economy.

During the brief union with Egypt in 1958-61, Syria was administered by a separate Regional Executive Council for the Northern Region (*i.e.*, Syria) of the United Arab Republic. Gradually an attempt was made by the central authorities in Cairo to streamline administration in both regions of the U.A.R. Efforts were made to impose greater control over the Syrian economy. After some political difficulties, Cairo virtually abolished the Regional cabinet in 1961, and Syria came to be administered by a sort of proconsul responsible to the President of the U.A.R. and/or his deputy in Syria.

The organization of the judiciary in Syria closely resembles that of Lebanon and Iraq, although in Syria there have been separate administrative courts and a Council of State. The 1950 constitution introduced a Supreme Court to test the validity of legislative acts and decrees.

Considering the frequent political upheavals in Syria, it is fair to conclude that at present (1966) the administration of the country is controlled by the military.

Jordan, as a constitutional monarchy, places the responsibility of government and administration upon a cabinet, whose members have been since 1952 (when the 1952 Constitution superseded that of 1947) responsible to the National Assembly. Further control of the Council of Ministers by the Assembly was introduced in 1955, especially as regards questions of votes of confidence in the government and its resignation in case of a dissolution of the Assembly.

Under the British Mandate (1922-46), the monarch ruled in Jordan (then the Emirate of Transjordan) with the assistance of a Legislative Council (set up in 1929 in accordance with the Organic Law of 1928) and an Executive Council. With independence in 1946, and the proclamation of a kingdom, the latter Council became the Council of Ministers.

As in Iraq, there were in Transjordan British advisers. The representatives of the British High Commissioner to Palestine resident in ʿAmmān advised the Transjordan administration on all important matters of policy. In fact, all decisions dealing with defence, finance, and external relations had to have his concurrence. The security forces and the Army in particular were, until 1956, organized and trained by British officers and financed by subsidies and loans from the British Government.

Until 1952, the monarch possessed extensive ruling powers, and governed with the help of his security forces. Until 1950, the judiciary largely retained its Ottoman stamp, using Ottoman commercial, civil, and penal codes. Since then, new codes have been promulgated and have come into use. There are now civil, religious, and special courts, in addition to a Special Council (*Dīwān Khāṣṣ*) which interprets laws.

While the new 1952 Constitution granted greater powers to the Cabinet and the Legislature, and thus curtailed those of the throne, there was, as a result of the incorporation of Central Palestine into the kingdom, a greater centralization of the administrative functions, and a rapid increase in the number of public officials. This was largely due to the large refugee population that came in with this incorporation, and all the new social and economic problems which it brought. Another consequence was that the membership of the cabinet expanded with the transformation of governmental functions. The need for social legislation and economic planning for development led to the organization of such official agencies as the Development Board, the Aqaba Port Authority, the Development Bank, and the Bank of Reconstruction.

The administrative division of the country now (1966) comprises eight provinces (*liwāʾ*), each administered by a governor appointed by the central government. These are in turn subdivided into districts administered by a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* or district officier, and into *nāḥiyas* of villages headed by a *mudīr*. Moreover, towns and cities usually have elected mayors and municipal councils. The districts have administrative councils.

In both Egypt and the countries of the Fertile Crescent a major feature of government has been the centralization of administration and the rapid transformation and expansion of government functions which has accompanied the greater need for public and welfare services.

Except for Lebanon, where a pluralist system permits the resolution of conflict through a compromise based on the delicate balancing of sectarian-communal interests, government in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and even Jordan, is highly centralized and ultimately dominated by the military. Whereas in Lebanon one observes a public preference for as little government as possible, this is not true of the other countries of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt. In all of these, to a greater or lesser extent, government is viewed as an agency of change and development, and one which must provide social services and economic benefits. Moreover, in Egypt, Iraq and Syria, government tends towards personal, authoritarian rule. Thus the constitutional provisions in these countries do not reflect accurately the ways of government and administration. Executive power seems to predominate over legislative assemblies wherever and whenever they exist. In the latter, there has lately developed the preference, especially in Egypt, for corporate (or occupational) representation. There is consequently no relation between the life of a cabinet or a government (especially today under presidential systems) and that of a legislature in these countries. In other words, executive power is hardly bound by the strictures of an elected legislative body so long as this power has the support of the army.

Neither in Syria nor in Iraq—and only to a slight degree in Lebanon—has government completely eroded sectarian, tribal, and parochial loyalties. With the exception perhaps of Lebanon, governments in these countries (Jordan being included for a different

reason, namely the Palestine Question) continue to depend rather on coercion than on persuasion for governmental action. The central rôle played by force in the government of these countries is perhaps reflected again in the rule of the state by the military; and failing that, in the mixture of military and civilian elements in their administrations.

Because of their social composition and ethnic and religious diversity, the principal function of government in Iraq and Jordan was, for many years, the imposition of public order and security; in other words, the major task of the central government was to ensure that its authority was widely recognized and accepted by all groups within the state. This was necessary also in order to achieve the more systematic collection of taxes, to provide the revenue essential for the development of agriculture and the execution of public works.

In Syria and Iraq especially, recent political instability, as reflected in coups, counter-coups and purges, has caused the work of their permanent administrative cadres to suffer greatly. A worse consequence has been the resultant public mistrust and suspicion of all administration, which in turn makes the work of any government more difficult.

All the countries considered here have experienced some form of British or French tutelage, which has affected their governmental structures and procedures, especially in the judiciary, in provincial administration, and in the administration of public education. Their real independence is so recent that one may assume that they are undergoing a period of transition. Yet the difference between government in these countries now and in the past is that, in addition to maintaining law and order, it has assumed new and wider functions of planning and, in certain instances, managing the national economy, as well as providing extensive social welfare to the populace.

A more recent development in some of these countries seems destined to lead to ever greater centralization of power and hence to stronger administrative regulation and control; this is the phenomenon of the single-party state political organizations such as the Arab Socialist Union in Egypt and the Iraqi Arab Socialist Union in Iraq. Thus, state control is not exercised only through the government and administration, but also through its mass political organization, which has no competitors since the latter are precluded by law from at least public existence.

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(P. J. Vatikiotis)

iv. — North Africa

The use in the Mag̲h̲rib of the word *ḥukūma*, with the meaning of "government", seems to have occurred only at a very recent date. According to an unpublished investigation by Father Demeerseman it is not found in the works of Tunisian writers until the second half of the 19th century, and then only rarely and in the restricted sense of a dependent government or a more or less autonomous province of a large state. It is only under Western influence that the term has acquired its meaning of government in the abstract. It is therefore another example of a strictly Arabic term which has gradually absorbed a Western concept.

Before the three countries of the Mag̲h̲rib had come under European domination, local rulers had made frequent attempts to introduce some modern methods into the administration.

To begin with, in Algeria, the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] attempted to organize a Muslim state against the French authority and especially to provide it with sufficient military strength to enable it if necessary to fight against the French troops. But circumstances obliged ʿAbd al-Ḳādir to devote his main attention to war and, from 1840, the action of Bugeaud forced him to be content with a nomad government which had of necessity to eschew all modern ideas.

In Tunisia, the first signs of modernism were due to the influence of the French who had settled in Algeria, and appeared during the reign of Aḥmad Bey (1837-55 [*q.v.*]). There also the reforms began in military matters, with the formation of an army and of a fleet which was to be based at Porto-Farina. But there very soon arose financial difficulties and Aḥmad Bey turned to financial and monetary reforms.

Aḥmad Bey's successor, Maḥammad Bey (1855-9), was forced by circumstances and by the pressure of several European consuls to introduce far more sweeping reforms. After instituting the S̲h̲arʿī Court to deal with questions of the law of inheritance and of landed property in 1856, he solemnly promulgated on 10 September 1857, an act entitled in Arabic *ʿahd al-amān* and in French *Pacte fondamental* [see dustūr, 638b]. In the following year there was set up in Tunis a municipal government consisting of prominent citizens.

It was Maḥammad Bey's successor, his brother Muḥammad al-Ṣadūk, who promulgated on 26 April 1861, after having consulted Napoleon III at Algiers in the previous year, a series of legislative measures which might be regarded as a constitution. Its rules concerning the succession to the throne remained unchanged until 1957. A ministry was formed, responsible to the Bey; a supreme council of 60 members appointed by the Bey and the government shared the responsibility for the development of the legal system and for voting the state budget; the independence of the judiciary was proclaimed. These reforms were introduced before public opinion in Tunisia, even among the ruling classes, was prepared for them. And since, in addition, the financial situation led to taxes being raised, in 1864 a section of the population rose in revolt. After this the 1861 constitution was suspended, in fact if not in law.

The last Tunisian to introduce reforms before the establishment of the French protectorate was the general Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who held the office of minister on several occasions, and notably that of Prime Minister from 1873-77. The belief in the need for reform was a result not of circumstances but of his own conviction as is proved by his book: *Akwām al-masālik fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik* (Tunis 1867). Once he was in power, he made great efforts to introduce his programme of modernization by European methods but within a completely Muslim framework. After four years the manifold intrigues which surrounded him and the inability of public opinion in Tunisia to understand his aims led him to abandon his efforts. After this, the financial collapse of the country, European intrigues, and the incompetence or the doubtful honesty of the new Tunisian rulers merely aggravated the crisis, which ended in the formation of the French protectorate.

The development in Morocco followed a similar pattern, though at a later date. It was not until the middle of the 19th century that Morocco came into closer contact with Europe, through a brief war with France (August 1844), the commercial treaty of 1856 with Great Britain and the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60.

The sultan ruling in 1860, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1859-73), realized that henceforward the state of Morocco could not remain as it was. Already in his father's lifetime he had attempted to introduce some reforms in the Moroccan army. When he became sultan, he tried to lead the country towards a modern economy and to curb the corrupt practices of some of the officials by paying them salaries. But his task was made very difficult by European intrigues and the Moroccans' failure to understand his aims; and the agricultural crisis of 1867-9 forced him to renounce his attempts.

His son al-Ḥasan (1873-94 [*q.v.*]), also aware of the need to transform the Moroccan state, decided, on his accession, to resume his father's economic and military projects: it was he who brought to Morocco European instructors for his army. However his reforms, limited in scope, perpetually hindered by European rivalries and weakened by the financial crisis which began to be apparent in Morocco in the last quarter of the 19th century, only succeeded in irritating Moroccan public opinion, not only in the towns but even among the dissident tribes. All that remained were a few fortifications on the coast, a few batteries of field artillery and much ill-feeling.

When his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1894-1908 [*q.v.*]) came to the throne, the situation was not favourable for reform: Morocco was retreating more than it was advancing. Until the death of his vizier and mentor Aḥmad b. Mūsā, the new sultan scarcely exercised any power, but once he found himself alone (May 1900), he wished to introduce reforms, partly because of the situation in Morocco but also because of his own modernist outlook. He brought a quantity of machines and equipment in Europe, intending to build a railway to Fez, but chiefly he envisaged a reform of the Moroccan finances by decreeing that all taxpayers were equally liable to pay land-tax (*tartīb*). The violent reactions of the Moroccan tribes and the exacerbated rivalry of several of the European powers plunged Morocco into such disturbances that in 1908 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was forced to abdicate without his attempts at reform having produced any result.

Before he had relinquished power, his elder brother ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ (1907-12 [*q.v.*]) was proclaimed sultan at Marrākush in order to resist European encroachment, and he finally mounted the throne in 1908. But he was confronted by a financial crisis, tribes who were in an excitable state and ready to revolt, and European powers with heightened ambitions in Morocco. Like his predecessors, he acknowledged the need for the reforms which he was being urged to make by a number of Moroccans, who saw in them the only means of escaping from the hold of the European powers. One of these groups, based in Tangier and reinforced by Syrians expelled from Tunisia, went so far as to draw up a draft constitution, dated 11 October 1908 and published in a Tangier Arabic journal, *Ṣawt al-Maghrib* (French translation of it published by J. Robert, in *La monarchie marocaine*, Paris 1963, 311-23). This constitution was not adopted by the Moroccan government and the failure of various successive plans for reform led to the signing of the treaty of protectorate on 30 March 1912 at Fez by the sultan and M. Regnault, as representative of France.

Thus it can be seen that the attempts of the rulers in the 19th century to modernize the government of their respective countries were in vain because local opinion was completely unprepared for these changes, which it believed (not without some reason) to be a result of European influence, which it mistrusted, and because no ruler was strong enough over a sufficiently long period to impose a new system of government.

The European occupation of North Africa, mainly French, resulted in considerable changes in the organization of the governments there.

In Algeria, after an inevitable long period of trial and error, the government of the Republic, by the decree of 9 December 1848, divided the country into three departments under the direction, as in France, of prefects; before this the French citizens resident in Algeria had been given the right to send deputies to the National Assembly. It can be said that, as from 1848, in spite of various vicissitudes of no great importance, the administrative assimilation was recognized as an accomplished fact.

All the same, because the administration of the native population presented its own problems, a special régime was introduced in Algeria. At first there was formed at an early date a real government of Algeria, consisting of a governor-general to whom were responsible for most of the time the various public services established locally. The office of governor-general was suppressed and replaced, from 24 June 1858 to 10 December 1860, by a minister for Algeria based in Paris. Then the government of the Third Republic, while restoring the governor-general,

made the various officials serving in Algeria directly responsible to their ministry in Paris. This experiment lasted until 31 December 1896, but proved so unsuccessful that the earlier system was restored. In both cases it had been apparent that overcentralization did not produce good results and that Algeria ought to be governed from within the country, under the authority of the French government and the control of the French parliament.

In fact it had been realized from the very first years after the conquest that the French administration could not be applied without modification, since the customs, the reactions and the innermost beliefs of the Muslim population differed so greatly from those existing in France. Thus, in spite of the prefects, the laws and regulations and all the French institutions which were transplanted into Algeria, there existed always two systems of government, because the one country contained two entirely different populations without enough in common for a unification to be considered. This system began with the Arab bureaus, a military organization responsible for the administration of the Muslim populations, and ended in the statute of 20 September 1947 instituting in Algeria two electoral colleges: one for the Europeans and one for the Muslims, very unequal in number and in composition, however, since Muslim women were not given the vote until 1958.

The staff of the governor-general's office and of the administrative departments under it were usually of French nationality, and it was not until after the Second World War that Muslim Algerians began to occupy a few posts of responsibility in them. Thus the administration of Algeria during the French period was a hybrid one in which the metropolitan French and the French of Algeria played a preponderant rôle, while the Algerians themselves were reduced to a completely secondary position, in spite of their claims, and especially from 1936 onwards.

In Tunisia, the convention of Ḳaṣr Saʿid, known as that of Bardo, of 12 May 1881, established a provisional French occupation which the convention signed at La Marsa on 8 June 1883 converted into a French protectorate. The Tunisian government and its administration still continued to exist, but the French Resident-General and his staff had the authority to control them and to establish alongside them modern technical administrative departments (of finance, public works, education, public health, etc.) in order to introduce in Tunisia the reforms envisaged by the convention of La Marsa.

Thus until the conventions of 3 June 1955, which established in Tunisia a régime of internal autonomy, two administrations existed side by side: a Tunisian administration working under the authority of the Bey and directed by Tunisian ministers, who were themselves under the control of French officials, and a modern administrative system, working in theory under the Bey's authority, but in fact acting under that of the Resident-General and of the Secretary-General of the government of Tunisia, who was always a Frenchman. It was not until 3 June 1955 that the Tunisian government regained its autonomy. It must be added that the technical administrative departments were at first staffed almost entirely by Frenchmen, since at that time very few Tunisians had received a modern education, and that they showed a marked tendency to remain mainly French, to apply French norms and to recognize in fact the authority only of the Resident-General and the French government. The result was that, in spite of official statements, the protectorate quickly turned into a direct administration.

In Morocco, there were two elements at least which favoured a strict application of the formula for a protectorate: the international situation and the personality of Lyautey. France in fact had succeeded in establishing its protectorate over Morocco only by accepting serious international mortgages and by agreeing that a part of Moroccan territory should be under Spanish protection. The majority of the signatories of the Act of Algeciras (7 April 1906) were not disposed to allow the protecting power to infringe any of the rights which this international conference had recognized as theirs. It is true that the First World War caused some of them, such as Germany and Austria-Hungary, to disappear, and that the U.S.S.R. did not continue the claims of Imperial Russia in this matter. But enough fairly vigilant signatories remained to ensure that France felt herself bound to the agreement, in relation not only to them, but also to Morocco. Lyautey, for his part, had a profound belief in the formula of the protectorate, having studied it in other territories and found it more flexible than the colonial system pure and simple, and also because he had for Morocco a high esteem and respect and wished to revive the country but not destroy it.

The treaty of protectorate of 30 March 1912 therefore in principle left the governmental and administrative framework of Morocco intact, while bringing it under the control of the authorities of the protectorate. The respect which Lyautey and his staff unfailingly showed to the Sultan and his Moroccan entourage proved with what sincerity this system was applied. Nevertheless, to an even greater extent than in Tunisia, because the Moroccan ruling classes were much less prepared for modern and western ideas, the French were obliged to begin to create technical departments, of necessity staffed by Frenchmen, so that the process already observed in Tunisia was repeated exactly in Morocco, where there gradually grew up a kind of French administrative "feudal system" beside the Moroccan officials and those they governed. In their plan for reforms in 1934, the Moroccan nationalists, at this date a young movement, demanded entry to the technical administrative departments for Moroccans and a strict limitation of the number of French officials, who should abandon any idea of direct administration, their rôle being limited to the supervision of the Moroccan agents and the performance of purely technical duties. This claim was unsuccessful, and the direct administration continued to be one of the main subjects of the propaganda of the Moroccan nationalist movement. The situation remained unchanged until the Franco-Moroccan declaration signed at La Celle Saint-Cloud on 6 November 1955, which announced "negotiations destined to render Morocco an independent state united to France by the permanent links of an interdependence freely agreed to and defined". Independence was proclaimed on 2 March 1956.

The present situation (December 1966). In accordance with the constitution of 30 July 1959, the Republic of Tunisia now has a presidential government. President al-Ḥabīb Abū Ruḳayba (Bourguiba), who was elected in November 1959, was re-elected for a second term on 8 November 1964 by an almost unanimous vote. In a decree of 12 November 1964 he appointed the members of his government, who are responsible to him: thirteen secretaries of state,

three under-secretaries of state, and two directors, one of the broadcasting service, the other of the presidential cabinet. The functions and personnel of this ministry have remained unchanged, except for the death of the Secretary of State for Internal Affairs, who was immediately replaced.

In Morocco there were six successive ministerial cabinets between 4 December 1955 and the promulgation of the constitution of 7 December 1962, the last two of them presided over by the kings Muḥammad V (26 May 1960) and Ḥasan II (2 June 1961). Once the institutions provided for by the constitution were established, King Ḥasan II appointed as Prime Minister Mr. Aḥmad Baḥnīnī, who formed a cabinet composed of fourteen ministers and five under-secretaries of state. After a re-organization of ministerial posts in 20 August 1964, a new government was formed on 8 June 1965 under the presidency of the king and its composition was slightly altered on 10 July. These arrangements were made after the king had decided, on 7 June, to proclaim a state of emergency as provided for by article 35 of the constitution of 1962. The present government (December 1966) is composed of twenty ministers, three directors of the royal cabinet and two under-secretaries of state. It is responsible only to the king, parliament having been suspended for an indefinite period.

In Algeria, after the confused political crisis which followed the granting of independence, the Assembly elected on 20 September 1962 instructed Mr. Aḥmad Ben Bella to form the Algerian government and to hold the office of Head of the Algerian State until a constitution should be worked out and promulgated. This government consisted of a vice-president and seventeen ministers. After the vote on the Algerian constitution, which took place on 28 August 1963, then its approval by the referendum of 8 September, and finally the election of Mr. Aḥmad Ben Bella on 15 September as President of the Republic, a legal government was immediately formed by the President on 18 September. In addition to the President of the Republic, who assumed also the title of President of the Council, it consisted of three vice-presidents, one of whom held a ministerial portfolio, and twelve ministers. A reorganization which took place on 2 December 1964 left only two vice-presidents, one of whom held a portfolio, but increased the number of ministers from twelve to fifteen plus a secretary of state. Following the coup d'état of 19 June 1965 in which Mr. Aḥmad Ben Bella was removed from office in favour of Colonel Houari Boumedienne (Hawwārī Abū Madyan), the latter formed, on 10 July, a government with himself as president and consisting of nineteen ministers.

In the constitutional decree it was laid down that the head of the government, the President of the Council, assumed in addition the office of Minister of National Defence; that the government functioned under the authority and control of the Council of the Revolution which had carried out the coup d'état of 19 June; that this Council could effect a total or partial reorganization of a ministry "by means of an Order in Council"; that the members of the cabinet were individually responsible to the head of the government and collectively responsible to the Council of the Revolution and acted with powers delegated to them by this Council; and, finally, that all governmental measures would be promulgated in the form of an order or decree. This government has several times been partly reorganized following the resignation or the dismissal of a number of ministers.

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(R. Le Tourneau)

v. — Pakistan

Before independence, the area which is now East Pakistan formed part of the province of Bengal. This was the earliest territory in India to come under British rule, and was divided into administrative districts of enormous size: for example, the population of Mymensingh District is larger than that of Switzerland. The Collector of the district was the principal official responsible for public order and the collection of taxes. A District Judge was the head of the judiciary. Away from district headquarters, the only representatives of the government were police officers. The Governor of Bengal was assisted by a Council, from which evolved a Legislative Council, out of which Ministers were selected from 1920 onward to take charge of the departments of the provincial government.

The area which is now West Pakistan had none of the uniformity of administration described above. There were three provinces—Punjab, Sind, and the North-West Frontier Province—divided up into administrative districts, which were on a much smaller scale than in Bengal. Because these provinces were the last to be added to British India, there was a frontier character about the administration. At first, all the functions of government in the district (including the judicial) were exercised by one British officer, the Deputy Commissioner, though later separate District Judges were appointed. The Deputy Commissioner was assisted by a strong corps of officials, stationed at the lesser centres of the district. However, only about half of the area now in West Pakistan was under direct British administration. There were also a number of princely states, the largest being Bahawalpur and Kalat together with Amb, Chitral, Dir, and Swat. These were recognised as having complete internal autonomy: Kalat was subdivided into dependent chiefdoms, among which Kharan was semi-independent. In addition, a large portion of the North-West Frontier Province, and a large part of Baluchistan (in which Kalat is situated) were treated as 'unadministered territory', in which the British law did not prevail. Here the tribes followed their own custom of long standing.

At the apex of the system, in charge of the whole of British India and in tutelary role over the princes, was the Governor-General. He was assisted in the

central administration by an Executive Council. The Members of Council each had charge of one or more departments of government.

Before the period of British rule, the Muslims had predominated in the administrative system. Gradually, the British substituted English for Persian as the language of higher administration while at the lower levels Persian and Urdu were replaced by the vernacular languages, such as Bengali. Also, appointment increasingly depended upon a competition in an open examination in which Western subjects of knowledge were preferred to the classical, oriental subjects. In consequence, the traditional Muslim administrative families found themselves increasingly at a disadvantage. Their loss of administrative and judicial office was most striking in Bengal. In the old Bengal Presidency (which included Bihar and Orissa, as well as Bengal proper) the Muslims formed 31 per cent of the population, but by 1880 they held only 8.5% of the 'gazetted' (*i.e.*, executive) posts. By contrast in Punjab, where Muslims formed 51% of the population they held 39% of the posts. However, the Muslims did succeed in retaining their position in some of the provinces. In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (today called Uttar Pradesh, in the Indian Union) Muslims formed 13% of the population but held 45% of the gazetted posts. Throughout India, they retained 20% of gazetted posts: not much less than their proportion to the population of India. The heads of districts (Collectors and Deputy Commissioners) and all their superiors were drawn from the Indian Civil Service. This service was wholly British until 1853, when it was opened to competition under stringent conditions. A candidate from a reformist Hindu sect gained a place in 1864, and thereafter a small but steady stream of Hindus gained admission. The first Muslim was not appointed to the I.C.S. until 1885. By 1915, there were a total of 1,371 members of the I.C.S. Of these, 1,305 were British, 3 were Eurasian, 41 were Hindu, 6 were Parsi, 7 were Indian Christians and 9 were Muslim. However, during the last 25 years of British rule, the Muslims did succeed in securing more places in the I.C.S. At the time of independence there were about one hundred Muslim I.C.S. officers. Of these one-third belonged to Punjab, and the remainder came from areas which were to form the Indian Union. There were none belonging to East Bengal, where the standard of education was low.

In addition, Muslims had secured a fair proportion of places in other higher echelons of the public services, especially in the Audit and Accounts Service. Among members of this service, one (Chaudhri Muḥammad ʿAlī) was to become Prime Minister and another (G͟hulām Muḥammad) the Governor General of Pakistan. From 1918, Indians became eligible for the officer cadre of the Indian Army, and Muslims also obtained a proportion of appointments and promotions commensurate with their total numbers, with a preponderance of officers from Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province.

After independence (1947), the élite character of the higher civil service was perpetuated. The I.C.S. was replaced by the C.S.P. (Civil Service of Pakistan). Recruitment is by a modified form of competition. The top 20% of places are filled by merit on the basis of open examination; the remaining 80% are allotted in equal numbers to the two 'wings': East and West Pakistan. By 1961, the C.S.P. numbered 357 officers (including 28 still under training). This service continued to supply the great majority of district officers and senior officials in departments and ministries.

The main task in government in the new state of Pakistan was to hold together the two wings, separated by over one thousand miles of Indian territory, and to bring East and West Pakistan into a reasonable balance. The administrative variety of West Pakistan complicated the problem. Gradually, the different elements were reduced to one. The princely rulers of Bahawalpur and Kalat were deprived of their powers. In 1955, the West Pakistan Act created one unit, or one province for the West wing, with its headquarters at Lahore. The tribal areas of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier, together with the little states of Amb, Dir, Chitral and Swat were excluded from the control of West Pakistan, as was Karachi, then the capital city. These remained directly under the central government.

The way was now open to producing a constitution for Pakistan. For the first nine years, the country continued to be governed under the Government of India Act of 1935, somewhat amended. This retained a Governor-General at the apex of the system with a large reserve of power in his hands. Ostensibly, the government was in the hands of a Prime Minister and Cabinet responsible to a national legislature, but actually power was largely exercised by the Governor-General (who, from 1951, was the former senior official, G͟hulām Muḥammad, followed by another senior officer, Iskandar Mīrzā). Under these men, the administrators and the police officers virtually governed Pakistan.

The 1956 Constitution introduced a number of limitations upon the head of the state, who was now designated President. But political instability continued, and in 1958 the President declared an emergency and abolished the constitution. Iskandar Mīrzā's successor, General (later Field Marshal) Ayyūb K͟hān further strengthened the position of the president, and under the 1962 constitution (Article 31) 'The executive authority of the Republic is vested in the President'.

In order to safeguard the armed forces, the constitution further provides (Article 238) that the Minister of Defence must be a person who has held the rank of Lieutenant-General, or its equivalent in the navy or air force. Otherwise, the President chooses his Council of Ministers without outside restriction. Ministers may participate in the proceedings of the National Assembly, but they are answerable to the President.

Shortly after the military revolution of 1958, the capital was moved from Karachi to Rawalpindi, pending the construction of a new capital, Islāmābād, nearby. The Ministry of External Affairs remained at Karachi; all other ministries moved to Rawalpindi. There are eleven ministries: Defence; External Affairs; Finance; Commerce; Home and Kashmir Affairs; Industries and Natural Resources; Communications; Education and Information; Law and Parliamentary Affairs; Agriculture and Works; Health, Labour and Social Welfare. Important agencies directly under the President include the National Planning Commission and the Bureau of National Reconstruction. The permanent official at the head of the department is termed Secretary to Government. The senior hierarchy is composed of Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries. In 1956, all 19 Secretaries belonged to the West wing, together with 38 of the 41 Joint Secretaries and 123 of the 133 Deputy Secretaries.

Resentment at alleged dominance by the West Wing causes constant agitation for wider autonomy for East Pakistan. Certain concessions have been made. The railways have been transferred from central to provincial control. The two provinces are administered by Governors, appointed by the President. The governors may be civil servants, army officers, or political leaders. Each province has a Secretariat, composed of the Departments which are under provincial control, such as education, public health, and agriculture. The provinces are divided up into major administrative areas called Divisions under Commissioners: there are four Divisions in the East and twelve in the West wing. The principal administrative area remains the district, under the Deputy Commissioner or Collector. There are 17 districts in the East and 51 districts and political agencies in the West wing.

An innovation carried out by President Ayyūb Khān is the creation of a consultative system of administration for economic, social and political development with its base among the people. Councils, known as Basic Democracies, are elected by the people at the village level and in the wards of the towns. These Union Councils send up members to sub-district councils (Thana or Taḥṣīl Councils) and these in turn contribute to District Councils. At the lower levels, the representatives of the people (the Basic Democrats) predominate, but higher up the infusing of administrators and the technical services becomes stronger. Above these come Divisional and Provincial Councils in which one-third of the members are drawn from the Basic Democrats.

A description of government in Pakistan would be incomplete without some reference to the rôle of the armed forces in government. Although the air force is modern and powerful, the main element is the army, with its armoured division and six (or more) infantry divisions. The army has many times been required to restore public order when the civil administration has lost control, while in times of public disaster (such as the cyclones which periodically devastate East Pakistan) the armed forces are the principal organizers of relief. Army officers have been called upon to administer the programme of the Basic Democracies, while the armed forces are authorized to nominate 10% of the candidates for the C.S.P., and in practice the percentage is often higher. Under these circumstances, it is important that the armed forces are, to an overwhelming degree, recruited from the West wing, mainly from Punjab and the North-West Frontier. In 1955, of the 900 army officers of the rank of Major and above, only 14 came from East Pakistan, and of the 680 air force officers, 40 came from the East.

This inbalance is unlikely to be altered for many years, and is a major cause of the movement for greater provincial autonomy which constantly agitates East Pakistan. However, it appears safe to predict that the two wings will not separate, and that Pakistan will remain a unique example of a single state and government resting upon the two sides of an interjacent state.

See further DUSTŪR-Pakistan, and PĀKISTĀN.

(H. TINKER)

vi.—INDONESIA

From its beginnings in the early 17th century, the United East India Company's authority in the Indies had been exercised by a governor general, assisted by a Council of the Indies (*Raad van Indië*), with full local legislative and executive powers, but with ultimate control being strictly exercised by the Company's governing board, the Gentlemen Seventeen (*Heren Zeventien*) in Holland. When the Crown assumed the Company's responsibilities in 1800, the governmental machinery in the Indies remained by and large unchanged, a state of affairs which, in fact, continued even when the Dutch parliament in the years after 1848 wrested control over colonial matters from the royal prerogative (in the East Indian Government Act of 1854 and the Accounting Act of 1864). Though henceforth responsibility for colonial government and the colonial budget lay with a Minister of Colonies accountable to the Second Chamber, parliamentary control proved, if anything, an even more centralizing factor on Indonesian affairs than had the King's or Company's authority in the past; in modern times, it was also rendered more effectual by improved communications between homeland and colony.

At the beginning of the 20th century, by which time Dutch control had come to extend to all parts of the archipelago, the Netherlands Indies embraced a wide variety of indigenous societies ruled under various constitutional and administrative arrangements. The colony's heartland, the densely-populated island of Java, for several centuries already under increasing Dutch control, was almost in its entirety directly administered, as were several important areas in the other islands—the Outer Territories (*Buitengewesten*)—, most notably parts of Sumatra. Elsewhere, the Dutch ruled indirectly, through existing indigenous chiefs and potentates. In part, this diversity was due to historical accident, to the exigencies of Western economic needs, but in part also to the various levels of social and political evolution of the colony's autochthonous peoples and societies. Dutch constitutional theory, moreover, to the very end adhered to the basic principle of divided authority, *i.e.*, to the principle of having natives wherever possible ruled by natives. Thus where in the greater part of the Outer Islands Dutch administrators were officially restricted to the rôle of advisers to princes and sultans tied to the Netherlands by means of contractual or treaty agreements, even in directly-ruled Java there was a double bureaucratic hierarchy, one Dutch the other Javanese. This dualism was paralleled by separate judicial codes, procedures, and courts for the different racial communities in the Indies.

But in practice the colonial realm constituted a strictly centralized and bureaucratically-dominated administrative entity closely directed from Batavia (Jakarta) in Java, seat of the colonial government. Besides the Governor General and the Council of the Indies, the colonial government consisted of several departments (their number increased with the growth of specialized services in the 20th century), whose directors were responsible to the Governor General, but who did not, together, form a 'ministerial' collegiate body parallel to that of the compact Council of the Indies. Paramount among governmental institutions was, next to the Governor General and the Council, the Department of Interior Administration (*Binnenlands Bestuur*) and also the Secretariat located at the viceroy's permanent official residence, Buitenzorg (Bogor) in West Java. In both central and territorial administration, Dutch officialdom occupied the dominant, policy-making positions, subject of course to the stringent, and in budgetary matters also detailed, supervision of the Ministry of Colonies in The Hague.

Sporadic efforts to diminish the home grip on colonial affairs, and at the same time to lessen the

virtual bureaucratic monopoly on the reins of colonial government having failed, the dichotomy between democracy at home and autocracy in the Indies continued until the turn of the 20th century. Beginning in 1903, a few cautious attempts at decentralization were made, and municipalities, in particular, henceforth came to enjoy a modicum of self-rule which, however, benefited the European settlers rather than the natives. It took almost another fifteen years for more far-reaching reforms to be introduced, commencing with the institution in Batavia of an advisory chamber, the *Volksraad* (People's Council), which opened in 1918. Shortly thereafter, and in part guided by the recommendations of a Commission appointed by the Governor General in 1918, the home government enacted more far-reaching decentralization legislation, providing an administrative and in part also political underpinning for the hastily-born central People's Council. At the same time, the new basic law for the Indies (*Indische Staatsinrichting*) of 1925 opened the way towards greater colonial autonomy vis-à-vis the metropolitan parliament, especially with regard to the budget. Decentralization within the Indies—limited to Java until the mid-1930's—attempted to free the native administrative corps, largely recruited from among the Javanese aristocracy, from the minute control of its European superiors in the *Binnenlands Bestuur*. New territorial corporate entities—Provinces and Regencies (*regentschappen*)—were called into being for purposes of administrative devolution, but also to provide lower-level conciliar bodies, the Provincial and Regency Councils; these were filled partly through appointments though to a larger extent through elections based on a rather narrow franchise. The 60-odd Regency Councils acted as electoral colleges for the island's three Provincial Councils which, in turn, served in the same capacity for the *Volksraad*.

The quasi-democratic scaffolding hastily if belatedly attached to the bureaucratic polity had barely two decades in which to be consolidated before the Japanese occupation of the Indonesian islands. Its success in that short period was uneven, greatest perhaps at the centre, where the *Volksraad* in spite of many and serious shortcomings—it was, *inter alia*, boycotted by many nationalist groups—provided some kind of schooling in modern political procedures. In the late 1920's it acquired a bare Indonesian majority and was also granted co-legislative powers, especially significant with regard to the annual budget. But the increasing radicalization of Indonesian political life, highlighted by armed revolts in 1926-7, and the subsequent strengthening of the bureaucratic apparatus, greatly reduced the usefulness of the *Volksraad*. Coming so soon after the sweeping decentralization measures had been introduced, the resurgence of bureaucratic power also considerably inhibited the proper functioning of the lower conciliar bodies. When administrative decentralization was extended to the Outer Territories in the late 1930's, it was almost wholly devoid of the political experimentation that had taken place in Java. Dutch rule thus bequeathed to Indonesia a basically centralized state structure still dominated by officialdom, and with only some incipient and frail features of democratic self-rule.

In spite of its brevity, the Japanese interregnum in Indonesia (1942-5) wrought several far-reaching changes in the Dutch system. Quite apart from the temporary dismemberment of the archipelago (the different islands were administered by separate military commands), the Japanese dismissed Dutch officials, replacing them by Japanese and Indonesians, and in the place of the Western-style, quasi-democratic deliberative bodies they provided appointive councils of extremely limited competency. It was in the field of agitational politics, however, that major changes occurred which, combined with Japanese organizational innovations, profoundly affected the population, most notably the younger generation. This rapid mobilization of Indonesian political life, sharpened by ideological cleavages and by the rise to political prominence of military and paramilitary forces, stood in marked contrast to the basically unaltered conservatism of the increasingly Indonesianized bureaucratic administrative machinery. Governmental authoritarianism, albeit in a more ruthlessly arbitrary form, was similarly unaffected by the change in colonial overlord.

Indonesian independence (proclaimed in August 1945) and the subsequent four-year struggle against Dutch military attempts at re-colonization sharply raised the politicization of Indonesian society. The first provisional constitution of the Indonesian Republic [see DUSTŪR], promulgated only three weeks after the Japanese surrender and still influenced by Japanese tutelage, provided for a presidential form of government. An elected legislative assembly was envisaged under the constitution, but owing to the revolution and continued armed conflict with the Dutch, national elections took place only in 1955. In the interim, an appointed Central Indonesian National Committee functioned as a legislature; its prestige was considerably heightened when late in 1945 cabinet responsibility was shifted to the (numerically augmented) Committee which very soon was greatly influenced by the emerging political organizations, prominent among them the Nationalist, Masjumi (Muslim), and Socialist parties.

The republican organs of government were only operational in some parts of Indonesia, most notably in Java and Sumatra. Elsewhere, the return of Dutch military forces and administrative personnel inaugurated a wide variety of semi-autonomous 'states' under the Dutch aegis, culminating in the late 1940's in sixteen distinct political entities (including the Republic). It was therefore to a federal, bicameral Republic of the United States of Indonesia that the Dutch transferred sovereignty in December 1949; but within less than a year the federal charter gave way to Indonesia's third provisional constitution (1950) which, in turn, remained in force for less than a decade. It established a unitary and parliamentary system. Cabinets were based on coalitions among the three major parties [see ḤIZB, vii] that had gained prominence (Nationalists, Masjumi, and Nahdatul Ulama [Muslim Scholars' Party]) before, but especially after, the general elections of 1955. The fourth important group, the Communist Party, remained outside the government coalitions, though wielding increasing influence at the centre and particularly among the electorate. During the initial period, the liberal-democratic system, though far from properly rooted in Indonesia's political culture, appeared to be working fairly smoothly, a beginning being made with political decentralization proper: regional and local government devolved on elective assemblies. But growing ideological polarization between Islamic and 'secular' groupings—particularly pronounced in the Constituent Assembly, likewise elected in 1955—, proliferation of parties coupled with lack of internal party discipline,

cabinet instability, continued international frustrations caused by the Netherlands' retention of West New Guinea (Irian Barat), economic deterioration coupled with regional discontent, but also increasing military interference in the political process—all these adverse factors helped to discredit constitutional government among members of the élite and wide sectors of the political public.

In the wake of widespread armed revolt and threatened secession in the outer territories, both the central military authorities and the chief executive embarked on a progressively authoritarian course. The president abrogated the deadlocked Constituent Assembly, proscribed some parties, most notably Masjumi, and from 1957 on gradually inaugurated a new political system, "Guided Democracy". The Republic's first provisional constitution of 1945, which was reinstated by presidential decree (July 1959), provided the legal basis for the new order. Parliamentary government had thus been forced to yield to a centralized system not too dissimilar, in substance, to earlier forms. The instrumentalities of Guided Democracy, created in piecemeal fashion and by no means clearly coordinated, before long overshadowed the parliament which—reflecting the steep decline of the political parties—was in fact reconstituted as a 'Mutual Aid' legislature on an appointive basis in 1960, its membership enlarged by several 'functional' groups, particularly the military. New and often unwieldy bodies with overlapping authorities and duties were rapidly added at the president's behest and choosing, including the High Advisory Council and the People's Provisional Consultative Assembly (both in fact provided for in the 1945 charter), as well as a National Planning Council, and for that matter a presidential cabinet comprising some 90 ministers. It was the Consultative Assembly (not the parliament), with a membership exceeding six hundred, that served as the nation's *de jure* supreme body, empowered to elect the chief executive who, in turn, was accountable to it.

The smooth working of Guided Democracy did not, however, overly depend on the formal structural arrangements that appeared to be lacking in cohesion. Actual political power had been drained from the ten or so political parties still permitted to exist, with the partial exception of the Communist Party whose massive organization constituted one of the real foci of political strength. It was paralleled and counterbalanced by the increasingly well-disciplined army, whose active participation in political and administrative matters had steadily grown as a result of internal disorder and foreign confrontations (with the Netherlands first, and the Federation of Malaysia thereafter). The army had also been the prime beneficiary of the nationalization of most foreign-owned enterprises, and of the dismantling of the political parties' strength in the decentralized organs of local and regional government. At the apex of Guided Democracy stood the president, its founder and ideologue *par excellence*, invested with lifelong executive powers during the Consultative Assembly's first session. By the early 1960's Indonesia had unmistakeably moved ever closer to a highly personalized if not autocratic system of government. Yet while the president's legal as well as extra-legal powers were very wide indeed, they were circumscribed less so formally than by the existence of other power factors.

A major political upheaval which started in October 1965 and whose causes and ramifications have remained partly obscured at the time of writing (mid-1966) may be expected to have profound effects on Indonesian government, even though the fragile constitutional framework of Guided Democracy has for the time being survived. One major result of these momentous events has been the decimation, if not the virtual destruction, of the Communist Party, achieved with the aid of militant Muslim groups. Another, though far less clearcut, result is a seeming diminution of the powers of the president, shorn of his lifetime incumbency by the fourth plenary session of the People's Provisional Consultative Assembly. As of the mid-1960's the army appeared to be the major beneficiary of the political restructuring, to all appearances wielding power in a barely less authoritarian and centralized manner than that of the immediately preceding system. Whether political democracy could, or would, once again be grafted upon this old-new structure and whether, if once more attempted, it would strike stronger roots than before, must remain open questions.

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ḤULĀ, "ornaments, personal jewellery" [see LIBĀS].

ḤŪLA, a town reported to be in Nadjd, Central Arabia. The description of this town published in *EI*¹, s.v., was apparently based only on a report by W. Palgrave (*Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, i, 361 and map). The name, of which there is no modern knowledge or historical record, is erroneous; Palgrave's description may actually refer to al-Ḥawṭa [*q.v.*], a town to the north of Ḥūla's reported location. (J. MANDAVILLE)

AL-**ḤŪLA**, present-day name of the lake in Israel (35° 40′ E. and 33° 10′ N.), to the south of Mount Hermon not far from the sources of the Jordan, which flow into it. This lake, triangular in shape and 5-6 km. long, issues in the river Jordan at its south-east corner. It is 80 metres above sea-level and thus 265 metres above the level of the lake of Tiberias. Its water is fresh and it is famed for its fish and its aquatic birds. The plain which surrounds it, *arḍ al-Ḥūla*, was formerly a vast swamp covered with papyrus, reeds and giant water-lilies. The marshes in this basin are now almost all drained as a result of the widening and deepening of the bed of the Jordan. Thus the region now comprises

extensive areas of cultivation. But irrigation raises the problem of the distribution of the water among the adjacent countries.

This lake has borne throughout the ages various names. The name al-Ḥūla seems to derive from the Aramaean *Oulatha*, a place mentioned by Josephus. This name was used in 23 B.C. by Caesar, when he made over to Herod the inheritance of Zenodorus, consisting of *Oulatha*, *Paneas* and the surrounding region. Josephus calls the lake *Semachonitis*, and the Talmud *Samakhi*. It is identified with the waters of Merom, where Joshua defied the army of Jabin, King of Hazor (Joshua, XI, 5-7). Arabic writers such as al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī and Abu 'l-Fidā' sometimes refer to it under the name of Lake of Bāniyās [*q.v.*], probably because of its proximity to the town of this name. They also mention it under the name of Buḥayrat Ḳadas, from the name of an ancient Hebrew town, the ruins of which are found on top of the mountain; Abū S̲h̲āma refers to the lake as al-Mallāḥa (a place to the north-west possessing a good spring), a name also used by William of Tyre. There should also be mentioned the name of Baḥr al-K̲h̲ayt, still in use by the local population today.

The names of al-Ḥūla and Buḥayrat Ḳadas have also been given to a lake situated between Ḥimṣ and Ṭarābulus, which is often confused with the Palestine lake. It is the lake at Ḥimṣ to which Abu'l-Fidā' refers when he writes that in 584/1188 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn made his camp on the shores of the lake of Ḳadas; al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī confuses the two localities: he refers to the lake of Ḳadas situated between Ḥimṣ and Mount Lebanon and adds that the town of Ḳadas, which gave its name to the lake, was taken by S̲h̲uraḥbīl b. Ḥasāna, whereas it was in fact the town in Galilee which the latter conquered.

Bibliography: *BGA*, iii, 154, 160, v, 105; Muḳaddasī, tr. A. Miquel, geogr. index; *Hist. Or. des Croisades*, indices under Qadas, al-K̲h̲ait and al-Mallaḥa; Yāḳūt, ii, 366; Le Strange, *Palestine*, index; A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géog. arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 58; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, Paris 1923, 20, 119; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 24, 102-3; *Guide Bleu*: *Syrie-Palestine*, 529; Abel, *Géogr. de la Palestine*, i, 162, 491-3; Ch. F. Pfeiffer, *Baker's Bible Atlas*, Edinburgh-London 1962, index; P. Birot and J. Dresch, *La Méditerranée et le Moyen Orient*, Paris 1956, index and especially 382. (S. ORY)

HŪLĀGŪ (HÜLEGÜ or rather HÜLE'Ü, the intervocalic *g* being purely graphic), the Mongol conqueror and founder of the dynasty of the Īl-K̲h̲āns [*q.v.*] of Persia, born *ca.* 1217, was the grandson of Čingiz-K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] by the latter's youngest son Toluy [*q.v.*]. Sent by his brother the Great K̲h̲ān Möngke at the head of an army against the Ismāʿīlīs and the Caliph, he left Mongolia in the autumn of 1253, proceeding at a leisurely pace along a carefully prepared route, the roads having been specially cleared and levelled and bridges built across the rivers for the easier passage of his forces. In S̲h̲aʿbān 653/September-October 1255 he encamped in the meadows of Kān-i Gul near Samarḳand, where he remained till the beginning of S̲h̲awwāl/November; and it was not till 1 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 653/1 January 1256 that he finally crossed the Oxus. Here he received the homage of most of the petty rulers of Persia and the Caucasus area; in the course of the year 654/1256 the greater part of the Ismāʿīlī strongholds were taken without difficulty; on the fall of the dynasty see ALAMŪT, NIZĀRĪS. On 10 Muḥarram 656/17 January 1258 the Caliph's army was routed in a pitched battle; on 15 Muḥarram/22 January Hūlāgū in person sat down before Bag̲h̲dād, which surrended on 4 Ṣafar/10 February; for details of the execution of the Caliph and the sacking of his capital see BAG̲H̲DĀD. An attempt made in 658/1260 to conquer Syria failed. Hūlāgū succeeded in taking Aleppo, and Damascus, deserted by its defenders, surrendered without a blow; but news of the death of the Great K̲h̲ān caused him to return to Persia and the army he had left behind was destroyed by the Egyptians at ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt [*q.v.*] in Palestine on 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260. On the unsuccessful war with the Golden Horde in 660/1262 see BERKE.

The petty kingdoms in D̲j̲azīra, Kurdistān and Asia Minor as well as the Christian territories south of the Caucasus were incorporated as vassal states in the kingdom founded by Hūlāgū so that his power stretched from the Oxus almost to the Mediterranean and from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean. The sovereign took the title of Īl-K̲h̲ān ("subordinate k̲h̲ān") and he and his successors down to G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] reigned in the name of the Great K̲h̲ān in Mongolia (afterwards in China). The Christian element amongst his subjects was particularly favoured by Hūlāgū, and especially by his Christian wife Doḳūz K̲h̲ātūn, often to the detriment of the Muslims. The towns destroyed during his wars were in part rebuilt even in Hūlāgū's time; he himself in times of peace delighted to live in north-western Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, particularly on the banks of Lake Urmiya, where many edifices, such as the famous observatory on a hill north of Marāg̲h̲a, a palace in Ala-Tag̲h̲, Buddhist temples in K̲h̲ōy, etc. were constructed. He restored a strong castle (on the earlier fortification cf. Yāḳūt, i, 513) on the mountainous island of S̲h̲āhū (now S̲h̲āhī). The remains still survive, according to the archaeologist E. F. Schmidt, "on the almost inaccessible summit of a great rock rising a thousand feet above the shore of the island." Here were kept the treasures won in battle in Persia and elsewhere, and here was the burial place both of Hūlāgū himself and of his successor Abāḳā. Hūlāgū died on 19 Rabīʿ II 663/8 February 1265. In accordance with the Mongol custom several beautiful young women were buried with him; this is the last occasion on which human victims are mentioned in connection with the funeral of a Čingizid prince.

Bibliography: D̲j̲uwaynī/Boyle, 607-640, 712-725; *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i Waṣṣāf*, ed. Hammer, 51 ff. (tr. 49 ff.); Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Alizade, 5-94; J. A. Boyle, *The death of the last ʿAbbāsid Caliph: a contemporary Muslim account*, in *JSS*, vi/2 (1961), 145-61 (contains a translation of the appendix to the *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i D̲j̲ahān-Gus̲h̲ā* of D̲j̲uwaynī by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī); M. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 134 ff.; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, Paris 1939, 426-42; Spuler *Mongolen*², 48-67; E. F. Schmidt, *Flights over ancient cities of Iran*, Chicago 1940; O. Spies, *Ein unbenutzter Bericht über die Mongolen in Bagdad*, in *Isl.*, xl (1965), 97-112 (annotated tr. of an account of the conquest of Bag̲h̲dād from the *Ṭabaḳāt al-S̲h̲āfiʿiyya* of Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn Subkī).

(W. BARTHOLD-[J. A. BOYLE])

HŪLĀGŪ, a Mongol noble of Lāhawr (Lahore), whose brief rise to power in that city in about 735/1335 was symptomatic of the general resentment felt at Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ's rule. When the sultan had left Dihlī for the south of India to put down the

rebellion of Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan [*q.v.*] Hūlāgū killed Tātār Khān, governor of Lāhawr, appointed Gul Čandra (?) the Khokar his minister, and proclaimed his independence. On the news reaching Dihlī, the *wazīr* Khʷādja Djahān, who had not yet followed the sultan south, marched to Lāhawr with an army and put down the rebellion; since 300 widows of the rebels were sent to imprisonment at Gwāliyār the rebellion must have been on a considerable scale. Nothing more is known of Hūlāgū; it seems that he was one of the many foreign nobles encouraged by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ to assist him to his ambition of conquering Persia and Transoxiana.

Bibliography: Almost the only account of the disorders is given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 332-3, who calls the rebel H.l'djwn and his minister Ḳuldj.nd. (J. Burton-Page)

al-**ḤULAL** al-**MAWSHIYYA**, Arabic chronicle considered until recently as anonymous; according to Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit's *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya* (2 vols., Fez 1336/1917), however, it is the work of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Maʿālī Ibn Sammāk, a contemporary of Muḥammad V of Granada, whom he eulogizes in the introduction to his work, which was finished on 12 Rabīʿ I 783/6 June 1381. It is a curious motley patchwork in which the author, without troubling himself with the differences of style or the historical value of his sources, has juxtaposed passages taken from the best-informed and best-known authors, such as Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, Abū Yaḥyā b. al-Yasaʿ, al-Baydhaḳ, and Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, with forged official letters, testimonies invented by the author, and ridiculous legends whose origins appear to be oriental. Although its full title, *al-Ḥulal al mawshiyya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-Marrākushiyya*, might lead one to think that it is concerned with the history of Marrākush, it is in fact a résumé of events under the Almoravid empire and an account of the beginnings of the Almohad movement up to and including ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. It then becomes a very brief account of the other Almohad caliphs, ending with a mere list enumerating the Marīnid sultans up to Abū Tāshfīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar in 783/1381. The first European historian to use the material in this chronicle was Conde, who used a Spanish translation of the 17th century (mentioned by R. Basset [*EI*¹, s.v.] as being in the Bibl. du Gouvernement Général, Algiers) far superior to those he made himself or used in other passages of his *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*. Dozy used the *Ḥulal* as one of his sources in his *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne* and in *Loci de Abbadidis*. Amari gives a brief extract from it in the appendix to the *Bibl. arabo-sicula*. Codera referred to it for his *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almorávides*. Lévi-Provençal quotes from it in his *Documents inédits* as does Huici Miranda in his *Historia política del imperio almohade* and *Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista*.

Bibliography: Two editions of the Arabic text have been published up till now: the first, Tunis 1329/1910, is completely unacceptable; the second, by I. S. Allouche, Rabat 1936, is executed with scrupulous care following a MS provided by Lévi-Provençal and anothei belonging to Algiers University, along with the fragments edited by Dozy in *Loci de Abbadidis* and *Recherches*, but without reference to the MSS in the libraries of Paris, Lisbon, and Évora, which Huici Miranda consulted for his complete translation, published as volume i of the *Colección de crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, Tetuán 1951. (A. Huici Miranda)

ḤULM [see taʿbīr al-ruʾyā].

ḤULMĀNIYYA, followers of Abū Ḥulmān al-Fārisī a native of Persia, educated in Ḥalab and later living in Damascus where he disseminated his ideas. He is recorded as a *ṣūfī*, *e.g.*, in Sarrādj (d. 378/988), *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ fi'l-taṣawwuf* (ed. Nicholson 1914), 289, where it is related that Abū Ḥulmān al-Ṣūfī once swooned on hearing the street-cry of a herbseller, the author seeing in this a testimony to the effect of *samāʿ* being dependent on the spiritual state of the hearer. But his ṣūfism is not generally acknowledged, and by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 729/1037), Hudjwīrī (d. 465/1072) *et al.* he and the Ḥulmāniyya are accused of two heresies: (1) They maintain the doctrine of *ḥulūl* and *imtizādj*, and in connexion with this they believe in the transmission of spirits, *intiḳāl*. With reference to *Sūra* XV, 29 f., they believe that God is embodied in every beautiful being and they therefore make *sudjūd* before a pretty form. This point is mentioned, without names, by al-Ashʿarī (d. 327/938) in *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* (ed. Ritter, Bibl. Isl., 1929, 214), and by Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī, *K. al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, ii (composed 355/966), ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1901, 91 (text) and 81 (tr.). (2) They feel themselves, by their professed knowledge of God, relieved of all prohibitions and thus advocate licentiousness.

Hudjwīrī says that they are connected with "the Sālimī sect of anthromorphists". These formed a philosophical *madhhab* in Baṣra in the 3rd/9th century. Ibn Sālim professed God's continued creation, for instance in the voices of reciters of the Ḳurʾān, and he had the idea that God on the Day of Judgement will appear in a corporeal human shape, visible to the human eye. There may be some connexion on this point, but the pretended tendency to *ibāḥa* of the Ḥulmāniyya does not harmonize with the earnest asceticism of Ibn Sālim and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, who calls him "our *shaykh*" (*Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1310, ii, 172, ll. 12-35) and who writes in his spirit. Al-Makkī does not mention Abū Ḥulmān, nor does al-Ghazālī, but he concerns himself with the ideas of the Ḥulmāniyya and refutes them in some of his works. Thus, in *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, iv, 218 f. (ed. Cairo 1322) he condemns people who claim to appropriate to themselves divine character and the embodiment thereof through *ḥulūl*, whereas God has reserved the perfect beauty for Himself. In *al-Maḳṣad al-asnā* (Cairo 1322, 110, 114 f.) al-Ghazālī speaks of ṣūfis who pretend to borrow (*istiʿāra*) God's names and *ṣifāt* and thus imply *ḥulūl*. And in *Mishkāt al-anwār* (Cairo 1322, 51) we find the interesting remark that the idea of God's manifestation in every kind of beauty, be it in man, animal or plant, to which the believers make *sudjūd* as to their gods, is to be found among "the farthest Turks who have no religion and no *sharīʿa*".

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Farḳ bayna 'l-firaḳ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 215, 241, 245 f.; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, trans. Nicholson, London 1936, 131, 260; L. Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, i, Paris 1922, 362; idem, *K. al-Ṭawāsīn*, Paris 1913, 171. (J. Pedersen)

ḤULŪL signifies etymologically, among other things, the act of loosing, of unfastening, of untying (a knot); of resolving a difficulty, and, with the accusative or with *bi* or *fī*, of alighting at a place. Hence its various meanings in the Muslim religious sciences and in *falsafa*.

(1) In grammar *ḥulūl* denotes the occurrence of the accident of inflexion (*iʿrāb*); (2) in law it denotes the application of a prescription; (3) in Hellenistic philosophy (*falsafa*) it denotes: (a) the inhesion of an accident in an object (*mawḍūʿ*; cf. A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, nos. 179 and 184); (b) the substantial union of soul and body: *ḥulūl al-rūḥ fi 'l-badan* (al-Fārābī, *Ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, Cairo 1906, 80); *ḥulūl al-lāhūt fi 'l-nāsūt* [cf. AL-ḤALLĀDJ]; (4) in theology (*kalām*) and mysticism (*taṣawwuf*) *ḥulūl* expresses "infusion", the indwelling of God in a creature (see further IMĀMA, TANĀSUKH); it is often a synonym for *ittiḥād* [*q.v.*].

The upholders of atomism, together with al-Ashʿarī, admit the *ḥulūl* of soul in body because they consider the *rūḥ* (the soul) to be a rarefied body, even in the case of angels and demons; but, like the other *mutakallimūn*, they reject *ḥulūl* in meaning (4).

Muslim authors give various descriptive definitions (*rusūm*) of *ḥulūl*. For some it is the appropriation of one thing by another, or the "infusion" of one thing into another, such that when one is described the other is also described, whether this identification be a true one (*taḥḳīḳan*), as in the case of the water that rises in the stem of a flower, or the case of the inhesion of accidents in bodies, or metaphorical (*taḳdīran*), such as the "inhesion" of sciences in immaterial beings. The following definition is also found: *al-ḥulūl* is qualifying appropriation (*al-ikhtiṣāṣ al-nāʿit*), that is to say the appropriate dependence of two terms which makes one the qualifier and the other the thing qualified. The first is called *al-ḥāll*, the second *al-maḥall*. An example is the dependence of the whiteness that covers a body. Finally, *ḥulūl* has also been defined as the existence of one thing in another in a dependent fashion (*al-ḥulūl ʿalā sabīl al-tabaʿiyya*), a definition that is virtually equivalent to the preceding one.

Two kinds of *ḥulūl* are distinguished: (1) one extensive (*al-ḥulūl al-sarayānī*), when the infuser (*al-ḥāll*) spreads to all parts of the receptive object (for example, the water rising in the stem of a flower); (2) the other localized (*al-ḥulūl al-ṭarayānī* or *al-djiwārī*), when the "infuser" takes up only a part of the object, for example, the water contained in a receptacle, or the point that ends a line.

These various precise definitions have enabled Muslim theologians to refute the idea of God's *ḥulūl* in creatures: (1) such a *ḥulūl* would exclude absolute necessity in God; (2) it would involve the existence of two eternals (God and the receptive object); (3) God would become divisible through the division of the receptive object, unless the latter were reduced to an atom, which is unworthy of God.

We see in al-Djurdjānī-Taftāzānī (*Sharḥ al-mawāḳif*, second *marṣad* of the *Ilāhiyyāt*, fifth *maḳṣad*) how the upholders of *ḥulūl* are classed: (1) the Christians (according to their various positions); (2) the Nuṣayrīs and the Ishrāḳiyya; (3) certain Ṣūfīs whose doctrine lies between *ittiḥād* and *ḥulūl*. Their position, says al-Taftāzānī, comes round again to that of the Christians.

Muslim authors normally call the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation *ḥulūl*, although Christian authors speak of *taʾannus*, *tadjassud*, and also of *ittiḥād*. They sometimes use the verb *ḥalla* to say that the Word "descended" into a human nature, or to speak of the descent of the Holy Spirit.

The Sunnīs and Shīʿīs condemn the following sects as *ḥulūliyya*, on the same grounds as the Christians: (a) the extreme Shīʿīs (*ghulāt*): Sabāʾiyya, Bayāniyya, Djanāḥiyya, Khaṭṭābiyya, Namīriyya (Nuṣayriyya), Muḳannaʿiyya, Rizāmiyya, Bāṭiniyya, ʿAzāḳira, Druses; (b) Sunnī Ṣūfiyya: Ḥulmāniyya, Fārisiyya [cf. AL-ḤALLĀDJ], Shabbāsiyya; (c) Monists: Ittiḥādiyya (Ibn Taymiyya refers to their *waḥdat al-wudjūd* as *ḥulūl muṭlaḳ*, cf. *tadjassud al-aʿmāl* according to al-Farghānī, *Muntaha 'l-madārik*, Cairo 1293, ii, 84-6; cf. IBN AL-ʿARABĪ].

Bibliography: Sulamī, *Ghalaṭāt al-ṣūfiyya*, MS Cairo, *Fihr.*, vii, no. 178 ff., 77-9; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, trans. Nicholson, 260-4; Ghazālī, *al-Maḳṣad al-asnā fī asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, Cairo 1324, 76; Ibn al-Dāʿī, *Tabṣira*, lith. Tehrān, 406, 419; Ibn Taymiyya, *Kawākib*, MS Damascus XXVI (extr. printed by Alūsī, *Djalāʾ*, 54-61); Haytamī, *Fatāwā ḥadīthiyya*, 238-9; Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifāʾ*, chap. IV, 3, n. 5, with the commentaries of Daladjī and Khafādjī; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. Sprenger, 349-52; Friedländer, in *JAOS*, xxviii, 34, 36, 65-72 and xxix, 13, 52, 90, 96; *Dustūr al-ʿulamāʾ*, Ḥaydarābād 1331, ii, 54; L. Massignon, *Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*[2], Paris 1964, 39, 115, 203, 253, 256; A. Abel, *Le chapitre sur le christianisme dans le "Tamhīd" d'al-Bāqillānī*, in *Mél. Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, 1-11; Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ, *Kulliyyāt*, Būlāḳ 1281, 161.

(L. MASSIGNON-[G. C. ANAWATI])

ḤULWĀN, in Greek χάλα, a very ancient town which was situated near the entrance to the Paytak pass through the Zagros range, on the famous Khurāsān highway. Its site has been identified with that of the present-day village of Sar-i Pul-i Dhuhāb, which is 33 km. east by south of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn [*q.v.*] (see H. C. Rawlinson, *Notes on a march from Zohâb to Khuzistân*, in *JRGS*, London, ix (1839), 40, and the *Guide Bleu, Moyen Orient*, Paris 1956, 697). In Assyrian times the town was known as Khalmanu. In those days the town was situated on the natural frontier between Babylonia and Media (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 388). According to an Arab tradition quoted by al-Ṭabarī (see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 138), the town was founded by the Sāsānian monarch Ḳavādh I (d. 531), but it is clearly far more ancient than that. From other Muslim sources it would seem that Ḳavādh established a land survey office in Ḥulwān, and that registers were kept there until after the Muslim conquest (A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 15, n. 3; cf. DAFTAR, 78a).

After the great victory of the Muslim Arabs at al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] in 16/637 and the subsequent evacuation of Ctesiphon by the Sāsānian court, Yezdigird took refuge at Ḥulwān for a time, before continuing his eastward flight. Ḥulwān fell into the hands of the advancing Arabs. Ḥulwān then and for some time after was a flourishing town in a fertile district producing much fruit. The town was surrounded by a wall which had 8 gates; the principal mosque was in the centre, inside an ancient castle. The Jews had a synagogue there. Towards the end of the 4th/early 11th century, Ḥulwān was ruled by a quasi-independent dynasty which had been founded by Muḥammad ibn ʿAnnāz and it became very well known under his son Abu 'l-Shawk [see ʿANNĀZIDS]. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (139) described Ḥulwān as 'a very pleasant town, traversed by a river. It produces figs which are dried and exported everywhere'.

Ḥulwān was taken by the Saldjūḳs in 437/1046, who set it on fire; its destruction was completed by an earthquake 3 years later. It was subsequently

rebuilt on a smaller scale and it is now known as Sar-i Pul-i Dhuhāb.

Bibliography: further to references in the text: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, index; Yāḳūt, ii, 316; Le Strange, 191; B. Spuler, *Iran*, index. (L. Lockhart)

ḤULWĀN, town situated twenty five kilometres south of Cairo, four kilometres from the right bank of the Nile and approximately 35 metres above bank level. Ḥulwān is linked by road and rail with Cairo and is a rapidly growing industrial complex, containing a large steel works and the electricity generating plant for south Cairo. At the 1960 census, its inhabitants numbered about 95,000.

Historically, Ḥulwān derives its fame from its mineral springs. It would appear that the site was settled in Pharaonic times, for during the excavations of 1946 graves and pottery dating from the First Dynasty were uncovered; remains of Roman baths were also discovered. However, it was not until the period following the Arab conquest and the governorship of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Marwān that substantial settlement occurred upon the site. According to al-Maḳrīzī, when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Marwān was forced to evacuate Fusṭāṭ during the disastrous flood of the year 70/690, he moved south towards what is now Ḥulwān. The position pleased him, possibly because of its proximity to Fusṭāṭ and its being above the level of the Nile flood. He set up his residence there, built palaces and mosques and planted palm gardens and vineyards. He also ordered the construction of a nilometer; this was replaced by the nilometer constructed on the island of Rawḍa in 96/715.

During the governorship of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Marwān, Ḥulwān continued to prosper and its fame was celebrated in verse by the poet Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt. After Umayyad times, its position declined and, by the Mamlūk period, the palaces and mosques had disappeared and the source of the mineral springs had become filled with sand. During the reign of the Khedive ʿAbbās, the springs were uncovered and a centre was established at Ḥulwān for the treatment of soldiers suffering from skin diseases and rheumatism. Under Ismāʿīl and Tawfīḳ, Ḥulwān continued to grow and Ismāʿīl built there a palace for his mother (*Ḳaṣr al-Wālida*). Baths were built at the springs in 1869 and, during the construction, the remains of the Umayyad baths were discovered. The present baths were completed in 1892. On the banks of the Nile, adjacent to Ḥulwān, King Farouk (Fārūḳ) built for himself a summer residence; this was subsequently known as Rukn Ḥulwān and became a museum and public park.

Bibliography: Aḥmad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Wuḍūḥ al-burhān fī faḍāʾil wa mazāyā Ḥulwān*, Cairo 1894; Fouad Farag, *Taʾrīkh al-mudun al-ḳadīma wa dalīl al-madīna al-ḥaditha*, Cairo 1943-6, 122 f.; *Ḥulwān*, Ministry of Social Affairs, Cairo 1964; Souad Maher, *al-Ḳāhira al-ḳadīma wa aḥyāʾuhā*, Cairo 1963, 117 f.; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1324, i, 337 f.; W. Popper, *The Cairo nilometer*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951, i, 10; Yāḳūt, ii, 321. (J. M. B. Jones)

ḤULWĀN, "douceur", "donative" [see INʿĀM, MĀL AL-BAYʿA, PĪSHKASH].

HUMĀ (P.), the bearded vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus*), the largest of the birds of prey of the Old World, which is usually found in the regions of perpetual snow; it carries off the bones of dead animals, breaks them on rocks and eats the fragments, which led the Persian poet Saʿdī to say that the *humā* was superior to all the other birds because instead of feeding on living flesh it ate only bones (*Gulistān*, i, story 15). It was thought that anyone who intentionally killed a *humā* would die within forty days. That this bird was considered to be of good omen is illustrated by another verse of the *Gulistān* (i, story 3): "Nobody will go to seek for the shadow of the owl, even if there were no *humā* in the world"; it was believed in the ancient world that the shadow of the *humā* falling on a person's head predicted his elevation to royalty: thus this verse of the *Būstān* (ed. Furughi, 26, v. 15): "I wished that, thanks to my fortunate star, the wing of the *humā* should be spread out over my head". Hence the epithet *humāyūn* [*q.v.*] meaning "august, royal, fortunate, of good omen", and *humāy* with the same meaning, which has become a proper name: *e.g.*, Humāy, the *mobadh* of Bahrām Gūr, and Humāy, daughter of Gushtasp (Wolff, *Glossar*, s.v.), Humāy, sister of the hero Isfandiyār (*Shāhnāma*, Tehrān 1935, vi, 1613-4, v. 2071; tr. Mohl, iv, 428), Humāy (Ar. Ḥumāya), daughter and wife of Bahman (Artaxerxes) son of Isfandiyār and mother of Dārāb (Tehrān ed., vi, 1755 ff.; tr. Mohl, v, 11-36; see DĀRĀB). Humāy is the name of the prince of Zamīnkhāvar and Humāyūn that of the princess of China in the verse romance by Khwādjū Kirmānī [see KIRMĀNĪ]. The *humā* is mentioned several times in Firdawsī's *Book of kings*: the royal crown is sometimes ornamented with *humā* feathers; a steed seems like a *humā* in full flight; the wings of the *humā* cover a fortress with their shadow; a place is so terrifying that even the *humā* is afraid to fly over it (for other examples, see Wolff, s.v.); in short, the poet makes use of the *humā* to create striking images, but does not attribute to it the magical powers which he gives to the *sīmurgh* [*q.v.*]. On the statement of the *Fihrist* that the *Thousand and one nights* were written for the queen Humāy, daughter of Bahman, see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA, col. 361a.

Bibliography: *Gr.Ir.Ph.*, ii, index, s.vv. Humāy, humāyūn; ʿAṭṭār, *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*, tr. Garcin de Tassy, 49; Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ, *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, Calcutta 1824, 363; A. Christensen, *Les Keyanides*, 149 (Arabic sources in notes). (Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

HUMĀM B. YŪSUF [see HAWWĀRA (Egypt and the Sudan)].

HUMĀM AL-DĪN B. ʿALĀʾ TABRĪZĪ, Persian poet of the Mongol period who was for some time vizier of Ādharbāydjān. He was held in great esteem by contemporary men of standing such as Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Djuwaynī, the *Ṣāḥib-Dīwān*. In 686/1287-8 he accompanied the latter to Rūm for the sequestration of the property of the *Parwāna* Muʿīn al-Dīn—an event to which he alludes in his poems. Towards the end of his life he became the disciple of Shaykh Saʿīd Farghānī, and after performing the *ḥadjdj*, retired to the *khānḳāh* which he had founded at Tabrīz with some financial assistance from the *Ṣāḥib-Dīwān*. Several sources state that he died in 713/1313-4 but in the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī* it is mentioned that his death took place in 714/1314-5 at the age of 116. His poems were collected on the instructions of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh and edited posthumously with a preface in which his age at the time of his death was given as 78. He was buried in his *khānḳāh* at Tabrīz.

Humām has left a *Dīwān* of 2,000 verses including some Arabic *ḳaṣīdas* in praise of Nadjm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, the *Ḳāḍī al-Ḳuḍāt* Muḥyī al-Dīn, Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamawī, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and the *Ṣāḥib-Dīwān*. Some of his Persian poems are in praise of Ghāzān Khān. His *ghazals*,

though elegant enough, show no outstanding originality but imitate for the most part the style of Saʿdī. In nearly all the biographical notices of Humām, his meeting with Saʿdī is mentioned but there is no evidence for this in the works of either poet. One of his *ghazals* appears to have been plagiarized by Saʿdī and many of his poems are responses to a single *bayt* of Saʿdī.

In addition to *ḳaṣīda*s and *ghazals*, Humām wrote a mystical *mathnawī* in the *Hazadj* metre entitled *Ṣuḥbat-nāma*. This was dedicated to Sharaf al-Dīn Hārūn, the son of the *Ṣāḥib-Dīwān*.

Bibliography: Browne, iii, 152-4; Dawlatshāh, 218-9; *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī* (ed. Farrukh), 22; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbāydjān* (Tehran 1314/1935-6 edition), 396-8 (containing an extract from the *Ṣuḥbat-nāma*); Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātishkada* (ed. Nāṣirī), 145-6; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā* (Tehran 1340/1961-2 edition), iii, 1449. Selections from the *Dīwān* have been twice published: (*a*) *Muntakhabāt* (Tabrīz 1309/1931); (*b*) *Dīwān-i Humām al-Dīn Tabrīzī* (ed. Muʾayyad Thābitī, Tehran 1333/1954-5).

(G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS)

HUMĀY, ḤUMĀYA [see HUMĀ].

ḤUMAYD B. ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD AL-ṬŪSĪ, ʿAbbāsid general who was chiefly responsible for the victory of al-Maʾmūn over Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī; he died, poisoned, in 210/825. His generosity and his magnificence were celebrated by several poets, in particular by ʿAlī b. Djabala [see AL-ʿAKAWWAK]. His sons, themselves poets though producing little (see *Fihrist*, Cairo ed. 235), became in their turn patrons, eulogized in particular by Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd, sent against Bābak [*q.v.*] and killed in 214/829, was lamented by Abū Tammām, over whose tomb his brother Abū Nahshal erected a cupola; al-Buḥturī dedicated to this Abū Nahshal fifteen poems and also wrote panegyrics on his brothers Abū Djaʿfar and Abū Muslim.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 421; idem, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; idem, *Shiʿr*, ed. De Goeje, 550-2 (Cairo ed., 840-3); Ṭabarī, index; *Aghānī*[1], xviii, 100-14, *passim*. (ED.)

ḤUMAYD B. THAWR, AL-HILĀLĪ, Arabic poet of the 1st/7th century. Aṣmaʿī (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, iv, 457) calls him a poet of (early) Islamic times, whose language is correct, but he does not consider him a classic. Marzubānī (*Muwashshaḥ*, 80), Djumaḥī (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 113) and Ibn Ḳutayba (*Shiʿr*, 230) call him *islāmī*. Amongst his poems is a dirge on the murder of ʿUthmān (Ibn ʿAsākir, 458) and verses addressed to the caliph Marwān. Later authorities, however, thought that he was a companion of the Prophet and died in the reign of ʿUthmān.

His poems (*shiʿr*) were collected by al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿAmr, al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, al-Ṭūsī and al-Sukkarī (*Fihrist*, 158, 7; see also Ḳālī, i, 252/248 and 133); they were still in the hands of Baṭalyawsī (*Iḳtiḍāb*, 475, 1), Ibn Khayr (*Fihrista*, 397, 19) and even ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (*Khizāna*, i, 9). Of his poetry we possess only fragments, *e.g.*, his famous descriptions of the wolf (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 231; Murtaḍā, iv, 121 with Shinḳīṭī's note; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa*, 207), of the sandgrouse (*ḳaṭā*, *Aghānī*[1], vii, 159 = *Aghānī*[3], viii, 260; ʿAynī, i, 178) and of the dove (Yāḳūt, *Geogr. Wtb.*, iv, 1006 f.).

Bibliography: in the article. His *Dīwān* was published by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, Cairo 1951.

(J. W. FÜCK)

ḤUMAYD AL-ARḲAṬ, an Arab poet of the middle Umayyad period. Little is known of his life besides what can be gathered from his verses. His lifetime is fixed approximately by his poems in praise of al-Ḥadjdjādj; one of them (Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, 649) in which he ridicules ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] must have been composed during the siege of Mecca in 72/691-2. Another poem (Ṭabarī, ii, 1137) refers to the war of al-Ḥadjdjādj against Ibn al-Ashʿath and was therefore written somewhere between 81 and 85 A.H. (cf. also *Proverbia Arabum*, ii, 326). He is also credited with a satire (*hidjāʾ*) against al-Ḥadjdjādj (Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 394) but this seems unlikely. His poems were collected by al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Sikkīt and al-Ṭūsī (*Fihrist*, 158). His *Dīwān* was still in the hands of Ibn al-Mustawfī (*Khizāna*[1], ii, 253). Ḥumayd was famous for his skill in writing *radjaz*-poetry. He is reckoned by the Muslim critics amongst the best *radjaz*-poets (Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 458, 10) and was a forerunner of al-ʿAdjdjadj and Ruʾba. His verses are not impromptus but carefully composed poems which deal with all subjects typical of Arabic poetry. He describes, *e.g.*, a horse (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 495), a hunting scene (*Ḥamāsa*, 795), a wild ass (Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Manṭiḳ*, 291), a lover's complaint (ibid. 496). There are some verses, referring to Sūra CV and the story of the Elephant, but they are also attributed to Ruʾba (no. 77 Ahlwardt). He also composed poems in other metres than *radjaz* (though some of them are also attributed to Ḥumayd b. Thawr, Lane, i, 2112). Amongst them are two (Maydānī, i, 427 and ʿAynī[1], ii, 82) in which he blames a greedy guest. This conduct which ran counter to all canons of Bedouin hospitality led to Ḥumayd's being counted as one of the world's greatest misers (*Aghānī*[3], ii, 163). Sometimes he is confused with his namesake Ḥumayd b. Thawr [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: in the article. (J. W. FÜCK)

AL-ḤUMAYDĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr Futūḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Futūḥ b. Ḥumayd b. Yāsil, Andalusian scholar of Arab origin. His family belonged to the Yemenī tribe of Azd. His father was born in al-Ruṣāfa, a suburb of Cordova, but moved to Majorca, where this son of his was born about 420/1029. Abū ʿAbd Allāh devoted himself to the study of theology, tradition, and law with different teachers and was a follower particularly of the Ẓāhirī school under the guidance of its most eminent exponent, Ibn Ḥazm, in his retreat at Niebla. He later emigrated to the East and by the gentleness of his character, his piety, and his erudition in his professorship at Baghdād (where he died in 488/1095), succeeded in avoiding the persecution and hatred provoked by the intemperance of his master and became one of the most admired scholars of his age. His biographer al-Ḍabbī and the latter's continuator al-Dhahabī, as well as al-Maḳḳarī, praise him in the most warm terms as a jurisconsult, traditionist, historian and poet, but the only work by him which we know, the *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis fī dhikr wulāt al-Andalus wa-asmāʾ ruwāt al-ḥadīth wa-ahl al-fiḳh wa-ʾl-adab wa-dhawi ʾl-nabāha wa-ʾl-shiʿr* (ed. Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Ṭandjī, Cairo 1953) demonstrates that he was better informed about traditionists than about historians, for he devotes a great deal of space to obscure scholars who were his colleagues but passes over in silence historians of the importance of ʿĪsā al-Rāzī and ʿArīb b. Saʿd. Given the reputation which he achieved by

his teaching, one might have expected a better book, but since he wrote it to please his admirers at Baghdād, who wished to know the state of letters in Spain, he relied solely upon his memory without having at hand reference works which might have helped him in his task. It is therefore not a matter for astonishment that the book contains many inexactitudes and is lacking in truly interesting information. In his dates he is content with approximations, which have been the cause of some confusion and even of serious errors in some cases. For the rest, as Dozy says in a severe judgement, he may be credited with a certain impartiality as an honest man; but nothing more, for his mind did not rise above the commonplace.

Bibliography: Ibn Bashkuwāl, 508, no. 1114; Ḍabbī, 113, no. 257; Ibn Khallikān, i, 485; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 17; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. XV, 9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 313; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1302/1884, i, 375; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1303/1885, x, 88; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1286/1869, ii, 218; Casiri, *Bibl. ar.-hisp. escur.*, ii, 134, 146; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, 74, no. 219; Pons Boigues, 164-7, no. 126; Dozy, *al-Bayān, Introduction*, i, 67; Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, 172; Brockelmann, I, 338, S I, 578. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

AL-ḤUMAYMA, ruined site in Jordan, situated in 30° N. and about 35° 20′ E., some 50 km. south-east of the town of Maʿān, halfway between there and the gulf of ʿAḳaba.

This place, mentioned by the Arab geographers as belonging to the *djund* of Dimashḳ and to the region of al-Sharāt, is famous in history chiefly as having been used as a residence by the ʿAbbāsid claimants between 68/687-8 and 132/749. It was after the death of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās at Ṭā'if in 68/687-8 that his son ʿAlī, who had given his support to the Umayyad caliphate, came to live at al-Ḥumayma, where he is said to have bought the "village" and built a fortified dwelling. It was there also that in 98/716, according to a widespread tradition, the son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*], as he was dying, transferred to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī his rights to the imāmate and the leadership of the secret revolutionary movement of which he was the leading spirit.

Situated on the route of the ancient road linking Aila and Petra, al-Ḥumayma was certainly built on the site of an ancient collection of dwellings, which some have identified with the town of Auara founded by the Nabataean king Obodas in 93 B.C. and listed in the Peutinger Table. There are to be seen on the site today the ruins of some walls, the remains of an aqueduct, and some fairly extensive ruins situated at the foot of an eminence called Umm al-ʿAẓam, but no building has survived.

Bibliography: F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, Paris 1938, 182; A. Musil, *The northern Heǧâz*, New York 1926, 59-61 and fig. 16-7; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 35, 347; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 57; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 326; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, 83, 284; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 228-9; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 347; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 338; Ṭabarī, index; *Arabskiy anonim*, ed. Gryaznevič, Moscow 1960, index. (D. SOURDEL)

HUMĀYŪN, as epithet of the ruler. The word *humāyūn* is frequently used in the *Shāhnāma* with the meaning of "fortunate, glorious, royal". Its specialized use for things or ideas connected with the ruler is already seen here in the designation of the legendary imperial banner as *dirafsh-i humāyūn*. It was only slowly, however, that the word penetrated into Persian chancery style. In the *inshā'* work *ʿAtabat al-kataba* of Muntadjab al-Dīn Djuwaynī, which was compiled towards the end of the Great Seldjūk period, the idea does not yet appear. It is only in the chancery of the Khʷārazmshāhs that we find it sporadically used, as in the *Wasā'il al-rasā'il*, ascribed to the poet and epistolographer Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, in the combination *alḳāb-i humāyūn* (royal honorific titles). The historian of the Timurids, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, makes much use of the epithet in combinations such as *rāyat-i humāyūn* (royal standard), *urdū-yi humāyūn* (royal army camp) and *ḥukm-i humāyūn* (royal command). It is perhaps no coincidence that this word is found comparatively often in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, since at the same time as he was writing in Herāt, on the orders of Baysonḳur, the grandson of Timur, there was undertaken at the court of Herāt a critical examination of the received text of the *Shāhnāma*. It was not until the Ṣafavid period that the term became really widely used: *raḳam-i humāyūn* (royal cipher, also the name of a type of document), *ḥukm-i h.*, *farmān-i h.* (royal command, especially in the introductory formulas of the various types of documents), and *muhr-i humāyūn* (royal seal). In addition there continued to appear terms like *ḥukm-i djahānmuṭāʿ* (a command, which the [whole] world obeys). In the 10th/16th century the epithet was transferred also to the person of the ruler: *nawwāb-i humāyūn-i mā* (our Royal Highness). *Humāyūn* referred also simply to the state, in the designation of the administration of the state- and crown-lands as *daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn wa khāṣṣa*. In the Ḳādjār period an extension was obtained through the use of the *yā-yi mushābih*: *darbār-i humāyūnī* (the royal court), *aʿlā ḥaḍrat-i humāyūnī* (the royal majesty). In recent years the epithet has become obsolete. The Shāh is referred to now as *Shāhanshāh-i āryā-mihr*.

With the spread of Persian culture and especially Persian chancery practice, the concept already in the Seldjūk period reached Asia Minor and in the Timurid period, with the Mughal rulers, as far as India. In India the word was used to about the same extent as under the Ṣafavids. In Asia Minor, among the Seldjūks of Rūm, it seems to have remained confined to introductory or concluding formulas in documents: *tawḳīʿ-i humāyūn* (the royal seal), or *ḥukm-i yarlīgh-i humāyūn čunānast ki* (the royal command is as follows). The same use is found as early as the beginning of the 9th/15th century among the Ottomans, who in chancery practice were linked firmly to Seldjūk traditions. In formulas such as *nishān-i hümāyūn we ṭughrā-yi meymūn ḥükmi oldur ki* (867/1462, Meḥemmed II) or *nishān-i hümāyūn we mithāl-i meymūn ḥükmi oldur ki* the interchangeability of the term with the Arabic *maymūn* is clear. The term *sharīf* also is interchangeable with *hümāyūn*. From chancery practice the word became transferred to things and ideas which belonged to the Sultan. The chroniclers refer to *murād-i hümāyūn* (the royal will) or *ḥuḍūr-i hümāyūn* (the royal presence; but also *ḥaḍrat-i ʿālampanāh*). The word was used of institutions, notably the *Dīwān-i Hümāyūn* [*q.v.*]; the main gate (dated 883/1478) to the Topkapi Palace is called *Bāb-i Hümāyūn* [see SARĀY]; and later, especially in post-*Tanẓīmāt* times, the word appears in the names of various offices, schools, etc., as a general equivalent of 'royal', 'imperial'.

In Transoxania also, among the khāns (later emīrs) of Bukhārā, whose administrative practice was completely modelled on the Persian, the idea is found

in the introductory formulas of documents: *ḥukm-i humāyūn s͟hud* (besides *ḥukm-i ʿālī ṣādir s͟hud*) and in addition in combinations such as *farāmīn-i humāyūn* in the *adhortatio* and, as among the Ḳād͟jārs, *farmūda-yi humāyūnī*.

Etymologically *humāyūn* is obviously connected with the Avestan *māyā* (joy, delight, happiness, blessing) and *hu-māyā* (blessed). This basic meaning has been retained also by the modern Persian *humāyūn*, as is clear from the above-mentioned interchangeability with *maymūn*. In addition, already in the Ṣafavid period the word was connected with *humā* (phoenix, royal eagle). Thus Sebastian Beck in bis grammar gives the definition *humāyūnī* "Phönixgleichheit, die kaiserliche Majestät".

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(H. Busse)

HUMĀYŪN, Nāṣir al-Dīn Humāyūn Pādis͟hāh, posthumously called D͟jannat Ās͟hiyānī, eldest surviving son of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādis͟hāh [see bābur], and second Mug͟hal ruler of Hindūstān and Kābul, was born at Kābul on 4 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 913/6 March 1508.

In 923-4/1517-8 he was left in nominal charge of Kābul, and administered Badak͟hs͟hān, 926-31/1520-5 and 933-5/1527-9. In Ṣafar 932/December 1525 he joined Bābur at Kābul for the invasion of India. He took part in the battle of Pānipat and himself blockaded Āgra, there receiving the great diamond afterwards presented to S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp. He led a force against the trans-Ganges Afg͟hāns, returned to Āgra in Rabīʿ II 933/January 1527 and on 13 D͟jumādā II 933/16 March 1527 commanded the right wing at Khānwa. In April he departed for Badak͟hs͟hān, where he campaigned indecisively against the Özbeks for the recovery of Samarḳand. In 935/1529 peace was made and he returned to India, falling gravely ill at Sambhal, but recovering. Possibly in spite of a plot to supplant him, the *k͟huṭba* was read in Humāyūn's name at Āgra three days after Bābur's death, on 9 D͟jumādā I 937/29 December 1530.

After bis accession his half brothers had to be satisfied. Kāmrān advanced from Kābul to Lahore. Humāyūn acknowledged the Pand͟jāb, Ḳandahār and Kābul as Kāmrān's *d͟jāgīr*: Hindāl received Mewāt and ʿAskarī received Sambhal. Humāyūn in 937/1531 subdued the Rād͟jā of Kālind͟jar, and conducted a campaign against the Afg͟hāns advancing from Bihār, led by Bāyazīd and Bibban, whom he defeated at Damoh. He also besieged S͟hēr K͟hān at Čunāṙ in 938/1532. He then returned to Āgra. In Muḥarram 939/August 1533 he founded the city of Dīn Panāh at Delhi, whose fortifications were completed in S͟hawwāl 940/May 1534, when he returned to Āgra again. Humāyūn next confronted the northward expanding power of Sultan Bahādur S͟hāh of Gud͟jarāt. In S͟haʿbān 941/February 1535 he set out from Āgra. In late March the two armies met, and Bahādur was besieged at Mandasawr. Two months later Bahādur abandoned his army and fled by Mandu (sacked by Humāyūn) and then onwards by Čampaner to Aḥmadābād and Cambay, hotly pursued by Humāyūn till he escaped by sea to Diu. Humāyūn besieged Čampaner and took it with much treasure in Ṣafar 942/August 1535. Humāyūn delayed at Čampaner till news of gathering Gud͟jarātī forces drew him to Aḥmadābād; at Maḥmūdābād he defeated the Gud͟jarātīs led by ʿImād al-Mulk. Humāyūn then departed to Mālwa, leaving Gud͟jarāt in charge of ʿAskarī, who abandoned it around May 1536, but was forestalled by Humāyūn in a race to capture Āgra. After one year in Āgra he set out in Ṣafar 944/July 1537 to combat the growing power of S͟hēr K͟hān Sūr in Eastern India. He took, after some months of siege, the fortress of Čunāṙ, while S͟hēr K͟hān was subduing Bengal. Humāyūn entered Bengal by Gaṙhī, while S͟hēr K͟hān escaped by D͟jhārkanḍ. In Humāyūn's absence in Bengal, Hindāl assumed sovereignty in Āgra, at which Humāyūn set out from Gawṛ in Bengal. S͟hēr K͟hān blockaded Humāyūn's return at Chausa on the south bank of the Ganges. Kāmrān then advanced from Lahore and displaced Hindāl at Āgra, at which Humāyūn negotiated peace with S͟hēr K͟hān: but S͟hēr K͟hān then attacked his unprepared army, routed it and drove it into the river on 9 Ṣafar 946/26 June 1539. Humāyūn barely escaped drowning and hastened to Āgra with a few horsemen. He remained there about six months negotiating with his brothers. Kāmrān retreated to Lahore, depriving him of many men, while S͟hēr S͟hāh (S͟hēr K͟hān) advanced up the bank of the Ganges. Humāyūn advanced to Kannawd͟j, near which after a month's confrontation his forces were defeated and driven into the river on 10 Muḥarram 947/17 May 1540. Humāyūn once more narrowly escaped drowning and fled through Āgra to Lahore, where a council of the royal princes and Čag͟hatāʾī *Begs* was held. Crossing the Rāvi at S͟hēr S͟hāh's approach, Kāmrān with ʿAskarī took the road for Kābul and Humāyūn turned towards Sind, with whose ruler, S͟hāh Ḥusayn Arg͟hūn, he negotiated from Bhakkar in 948. In Rad͟jab 948 he besieged Sehvān, but was harassed by S͟hāh Ḥusayn, who induced Humāyūn's cousin, Yādgār Nāṣir, with many soldiers, to desert him. Humāyūn then retired by D͟jaysalmer to D͟jodhpur and then to Amarkot, the Rānā of which offered hospitality. There on 5 Rad͟jab 949/15 October 1542 his son Akbar [*q.v.*] was born. Humāyūn then moved to D͟jūn, where he passed 6-9 months in desultory hostilities with the Arg͟hūn ruler. In Rabīʿ II 950/July 1543, with camels provided by the Arg͟hūns, Humāyūn set out for Ḳandahār, but ʿAskarī secured the town against him, and Humāyūn travelled westwards to Sīstān, narrowly escaping capture and obliged to seek the hospitality of S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp.

The year 951/1544 was passed in Iran. He was given a princely reception at Herāt, and travelled by Mas͟hhad (visiting the Imām Riḍā's tomb), Nīs͟hāpūr and Sabzawār to Ḳazwīn, from where he joined S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp at his summer camp, in D̲j̲umādā I 951/August 1544. Humāyūn gave Ṭahmāsp his great diamond and was forced to sign papers professing S͟hīʿism. He was treated with alternate hospitality and coldness and remained with the S͟hāh about 2 months. When he left, 12,000 Persian troops accompanied him to aid him. He visited Tabrīz and Ardabīl, and returned to Mas͟hhad in Ramaḍān/December. He reached Ḳandahār in Muḥarram 952/March 1545. In D̲j̲umādā II/September ʿAskarī surrendered the town, which was occupied by his Persian auxiliaries, but taken from them by Humāyūn one month later. He then marched on Kābul, taken from Kāmrān without a struggle in Ramaḍān 952/November 1545. Next spring he marched on Badak͟hs͟hān, and in the autumn fell ill there, which led to a wavering of allegiance. Humāyūn then concluded peace with Sulaymān Mīrzā and marched to Kābul in midwinter. Kāmrān, who had reoccupied the town with Arg͟hūn assistance, fled in April to seek aid from the Özbeks. Humāyūn was detained by dissensions among the Mug͟hal nobles till June 1548, when he went to combat Kāmrān in Badak͟hs͟hān. On 12 Rad̲j̲ab 955/17 August 1548 Kāmrān submitted, and Humāyūn returned to Kābul in October. In spring 956/1549 Humāyūn set out against Pīr Muḥammad K͟hān, but retreated after an indecisive stand outside Balk͟h and was himself attacked by the Özbeks. He reached Kābul in Ramaḍān 956/September 1549. In D̲j̲umādā II 957/June or July 1550 Humāyūn set out by G͟hūrband against the still rebellious Kāmrān, but was routed and wounded at the Ḳipčāḳ Pass. Kābul surrendered to Kāmrān; Humāyūn regrouped his forces at Andarāb, defeated Kāmrān within two months at ʿUs͟htargrām, and made his third victorious entry into Kābul. In 958/1551 Humāyūn marched out against Kāmrān, now in alliance with Afg͟hān tribes. On 21 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda/21 November, Hindāl, the most loyal of Humāyūn's brothers, was killed in a night attack. In spring 1552 Humāyūn defeated the Afg͟hān tribes, and Kāmrān fled to India. Kāmrān was handed over by Sultan Ādam Gakkar to Humāyūn and, on the insistent advice of the *Begs*, blinded, probably in Ramaḍān 960/August 1553. By this Humāyūn finally achieved ascendancy over the resources of his family.

In D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 959/November 1552 Humāyūn advanced to Bangash, and in 960/1553 beyond the Indus. He then prepared at Kābul for the invasion of Hindūstān, but was diverted to Ḳandahār by an unfounded report of Bayram Beg's disloyalty and passed the winter of 960-1/1553-4 there. In D͟hu 'l-Kaʿda 961/October 1554 he reached Kābul again, and in November set out for Hindūstān. In December he crossed the Indus and in Rabīʿ II 962/February 1555 entered Lahore. After an earlier success at Dīpālpūr, on 28 May Humāyūn's greatly outnumbered forces met the main body of Sikandar S͟hāh Sūr's army at Sarhind, and on 2 S͟haʿbān 962/22 June 1555 decisively defeated it. On 4 Ramaḍān/23 July Humāyūn entered Delhi and sat on the throne. On 7 Rabīʿ I 963/20 January 1556, Humāyūn, who had gone to the roof of his library to observe the rising of Venus, while kneeling to the evening call of prayer, fell down the staircase and died of his injuries, on 13-14 Rabīʿ I/26-7 January.

Humāyūn inherited no stable administrative system over the conquests in Hindūstān, and a family tradition of divided territorial inheritances. His 22 years of rule were a long struggle against his family, most of all Kāmrān, as well as external enemies, and in this he was often reduced to extremities. He lacked the strategic genius of his father, and in his early periods of success sometimes fell into heedless laziness and opium-eating. His career, like Bābur's, is a series of military adventures in different geographical areas, outside which he seldom succeeded in maintaining his control. After his Persian exile he showed a new resolution, and he had the courage and stamina to lead his forces to final victory and to a conquest which survived his son Akbar's minority. In his later years he was a humane monarch and was devoid of sectarian intolerance. He was a keen patron of mathematics and astronomy, wrote Persian verse, and carried books on the roughest of his travels.

Bibliography: Four contemporary productions (nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 below) shed incidental light on Humāyūn's reign, but the chronicles of it were produced a quarter of a century and more after his death, and half a century after his accession. The record of his early years of rule in India is sketchy and there are difficulties of chronology, some discussed by Hodivala and by S. Ray (see below). The most copious source and official biography is (1) the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, i, ed. M. Āḳā Aḥmad ʿAlī and M. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1877: English translation by H. Beveridge, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1897. The compiler was not one of the Central Asian nobility who had accompanied Humāyūn and he occasionally misunderstands information he has gathered. Next in importance are three memoirs compiled by those in close contact with Humāyūn, when the materials for (1) were being collected, *ca.* 1587 A.D.: — (2) *Humāyūn-nāma* of Gulbadan Begam, ed. with Eng. tr. Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., London 1902; (3) *Tad͟hkira-yi Humāyūn wa-Akbar*, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1941; translations by W. Erskine, British Museum MS, Add. 26,610: partial by B. P. Saxena, in *Allahabad University Studies*, iv/1 (1930), 71-148 and (1939), 1-82; (4) *Tad͟hkirat al-wāḳiʿāt* of D̲j̲awhar Āftābčī, Persian text unpublished, with considerable variations in the numerous manuscripts; these have been collated and the variant readings given by S. A. A. Riḍvī in his translation into Hindi in the work noted below (no. 11); Eng. tr. by Major Charles Stewart, Oriental Translation Fund, London 1832; (5) Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, i, ed. and tr. by B. De, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta, text 1913, translation 1913-27 (a succinct account of value); (6) K͟hʷāndamīr, *Ḳānūn-i Humāyūnī*, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1940, tr. Baini Prashad, Calcutta 1940; (7) Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dug͟hlāt, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ras͟hīdī*, text unpublished; Eng. tr., *A history of the Moguls of Central Asia*, by N. Elias and D. Ross, London 1895; (8) Sīdī ʿAlī Raʾīs, *Mirʾāt al-mamālik*, Turkish, ed. D̲j̲ewdet Pas͟ha, Istanbul 1895: Eng. tr. A. Vambéry, *Travels and adventures of a Turkish admiral*, London 1899; (9) Dattu Sarvāni, in *Laṭāʾif-i Ḳuddūsi*, Delhi 1890, 71-92; Eng. tr. by S. Digby, in *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, ii (1965); (10) Hādī Ḥasan, *The unique divan of Humāyūn Bādshāh*, in *IC*, xxv (1951), 212-76; (11) S. A. A. Riḍvī, *Mug͟hul Kālīn*

Bhārāt: *Humāyūn*, 2 vols, ʿAligaṙh, 1961: Hindi translation of Persian sources. In addition, other chronicles of Akbar's time, regional histories of Īrān, Sind and Gudjarāt, and collections of *inshā*ʾ shed light on aspects of Humāyūn's reign: see bibliographies in nos. (14), (15), (16) below and S. R. Sharma, *A bibliography of Mughal India*, Bombay n.d. [*ca.* 1939], 169-70. Secondary works: (12) W. Erskine, *History of India under the sovereigns of the House of Taimur*, ii, London 1854; (13) Banerji, *Humāyūn Badshah*, 2 vols, London 1939 and Lucknow 1941; (14) I. Prasad, *The life and times of Humāyūn*, Bombay 1955; (15) I. A. Khan, *Mirza Kamran*, Bombay 1964; (16) S. Ray, *Humāyūn in Persia*, Calcutta 1948; (17) K. Qanungo, *Sher Shah and his times*, Calcutta 1965. Difficulties of chronology are discussed in S. H. Hodivala's *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, 2 vols., Bombay 1939 and 1957, and by S. Ray in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, ʿAligaṙh 1960. Other articles in periodicals include S. Ray in *Proc. Indian History Congress*, 1958; S. Nuru 'l-Hasan, *ibid.*, 1944, and in *Medieval India Quarterly*, i (1950); Iḳtidār ʿĀlam (Khān) in *Proc. 36th Congress of Orientalists*, New Delhi 1964; K. A. Niẓāmi, in *Medieval India Quarterly*, i/2 (1950), 61-7. See also Pearson, p. 644; Storey, ii/3, pp. 536-40. (S. Digby)

HUMĀYŪN SHĀH BAHMANĪ, the eleventh Bahmanī dynast and the third of the line to rule from Bīdar, 862/1458 to 865/1461. He was the eldest son of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II, who designated him his heir shortly before his death, at the same time giving him shrewd if idealistic advice about the management of the kingdom (Niẓām al-Dīn Bakhshī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., Calcutta 1913, i, 421). Party faction was rife in the Deccan, and even before his accession, on rumours of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad's death in 859/1455, the king's brother-in-law Djalāl Khān had proclaimed himself king at Nālgōnḍa. On his accession as (ʿAlāʾ al-Dunya wa 'l-Dīn) Humāyūn Shāh, he had immediately to contend with the proclamation of his younger brother Ḥasan as king and with a hired mob outside his own residence waiting to plunder it: but he shouldered his way through the crowd, marched to the palace, and unseated Ḥasan personally; he then ascended the throne himself and, in his address to the nobles (recorded at length by Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, Ḥaydarābād ed., 89), appointed Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] as his chief minister.

During his reign no foreign expeditions were undertaken; his aim appears to have been to strike a balance between the contending factions, the Dakhnīs and the 'foreigners', and to consolidate his extensive kingdom. His own kinsmen caused him as much trouble as did the rival political groups: Sikandar Khān, son of the Djalāl Khān mentioned above, soon rebelled, apparently dissatisfied with his appointment as *sipāhsalār* of Tilangānā, and Humāyūn attempted to come to peaceful terms with him; but Sikandar insolently proposed a partition of the kingdom, battle was joined and Sikandar was killed by a fall from his horse; the life of the instigator of the rebellion, Djalāl Khān, was spared. A consequence of the rebellion was a punitive campaign by the royal forces against the *rādjās* of Tilangāna who had sided with the rebels, during which Humāyūn's brother Ḥasan was released from prison by a rebellious courtier and again proclaimed himself king. On this occasion he was defeated by Humāyūn's army, fled towards Vidjayanagara, and was captured by the governor of Bīdjāpur who sent him in chains to Humāyūn. The king decided to let matters get no further out of hand, and put to death Ḥasan and all those who had supported him, as well as others who were suspected of opposition, with systematic sustained ferocity; obviously some of his opposers remained, for he was killed by a maidservant while he slept on 28 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 865/4 September 1461 —according to the account of Firishta, which is generally tendentious; this chronicler generally denigrates Humāyūn's character, and gives him the sobriquet of Ẓālim; the author of the *Burhān-i maʾāthir* is less vitriolic, but still gives some account of Humāyūn's cruelty; and the poet Nāẓirī in a venomous chronogram gives *dhawḳ-i djahān* [= 865], 'delight of the world', as the year of his death. But all these authors were 'foreigners' in the Deccan sense, sympathizers with the punished party, and modern opinion is to regard them as grossly distorting the true picture. (T. Wolseley Haig, in *Cambridge history of India*, iii, 411-2, accepts their view uncritically). The unfavourable reputation, however, had obviously been so much fostered locally that it is the common belief at Bīdar that Humāyūn's tomb there was split in two when his body was placed in it, God refusing his remains protection: in fact the tomb was struck by lightning in 1300/1882. A very different opinion of Humāyūn is, however, expressed by his own minister Maḥmūd Gāwān—not a man given to idle flattery—in his letters, who praises his uprightness and kindness (*Riyāḍ al-inshāʾ*, Ḥaydarābād 1948, letters 49 (p. 187) and 145 (p. 399); also his letter to the ruler of Gīlān, *ibid.* no. 21 (p. 102), where he attributes to Humāyūn the improved stability of Deccan politics). Certainly there is nothing in the first two years of Humāyūn's reign for which to execrate his name; and his punishment of those seeking his throne (and no doubt his life also) was not unusually cruel for his time. It has been suggested that he enjoyed poor health, which was responsible for his early (natural) death and for his occasional petulance of character.

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(J. Burton-Page)

ḤUMS, people observing rigorous religious taboos, especially Ḳuraysh and certain neighbouring tribes. The word is the plural of *aḥmas*, "hard, strong (in fighting or in religion)", but one of the *Ḥums* is called *aḥmasī* (fem. *aḥmasiyya*). Ibn Hishām (126) thinks that *taḥammus*, the observance of the taboos in question, was an innovation of Ḳuraysh about the time of Muḥammad's birth, and some changes may have been made to emphasize the superiority of Ḳuraysh to other tribes; but the nature of the taboos makes it likely they are older. In particular the Ḥums, during the period of sanctification (*iḥrām*) for the pilgrimage, ate no cheese made from sour

milk, did not clarify butter, did not enter tents of camel-hair, did not enter or leave their houses by the doors, and did not leave the *ḥaram* of Mecca to take part in the ceremonies at ʿArafāt. The chief difference between the Ḥums and others was that the others, the Ḥilla, could not circumambulate the Kaʿba in ordinary clothes; they must either do so naked, or in clothes borrowed from the Ḥums; any ordinary clothes worn in circumambulation had to be discarded immediately afterwards, and became taboo for everyone (*laḳā*). The Ḥums connected with Mecca comprised, besides Ḳuraysh, the tribes of Kināna and Khuzāʿa, and certain small tribes connected with Ḳuraysh in the female line, notably descendants of Madjd bint Taym al-Adram. It is possible that there was some observance of *taḥammus* not connected with Mecca (cf. evidence in Wellhausen, *Reste*, 85 f.). Many South Arabian tribes belonged to the Ṭuls, a group with religious observances similar to the Ḥums in some points and to the Ḥilla in others. The Ḳurʾān forbids some of the practices mentioned: II, 189/5, not entering houses by doors; II, 199/5, not going to ʿArafāt; VII, 31/29, nudity in worship.

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HŪN [see SIKKA—India].

ḤUNAYN, (modern al-Sharāʾiʿ?), a deep and irregular valley with clusters of palm trees, situated a day's journey from Mecca on one of the roads to al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*], the scene of the famous battle, the second mentioned by name in the Ḳurʾān (IX, 25-26), fought early in Shawwāl 8/630 soon after the conquest (*fatḥ*) of Mecca. The confederate tribe of Hawāzin with its subsection of Thaḳīf began mobilizing its forces soon after the Prophet left Medina. The confederates apparently hoped to attack the Muslim force investing Mecca. As each side maintained spies in the other's camp, Muḥammad, about a fortnight after his conquest of Mecca, marched against Hawāzin with a force of twelve thousand men. The confederate commander, Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī [*q.v.*], brought Hawāzin's families and flocks along, though strong protests at their presence were made by Durayd b. al-Ṣimma al-Djushamī [*q.v.*], the venerable poet and warrior who fell in the ensuing battle.

On leaving the oasis of Ḥunayn, the road enters winding gorges, suitable for ambushes. Here Mālik b. ʿAwf awaited the Muslims, who little suspected the presence of an enemy thought to be encamped at Awṭās. Surprised by the precipitous charge of Bedouin cavalry, the Muslims retreated in disarray. From here on it is difficult to reconstruct the course of the battle for the various accounts of the Muhādjirūn, Anṣār, Hāshimids, and Shīʿīs differ. It appears that the Prophet on his grey mule was isolated for a time with few attendants and in grave danger. The Muslims, however, abandoned their unmanageable mounts, rallied, and attacked the enemy, who apparently was unable to exploit his initial success because of the congested and narrow battle-front. It is possible that Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], who commanded the Muslim cavalry, deserves the credit for turning the tide, also claimed for the Anṣārīs by the Medinese school. In any case, within a few hours the rout of the enemy was complete, as is testified by the negligible Muslim losses of some twelve killed, by the vast number of captives, including about 6,000 women and children and by the enormous booty of over 24,000 camels. The fleeing Bedouins, some of whom were pursued to Awṭās, sought refuge behind the ramparts of al-Ṭāʾif, where Muḥammad besieged them.

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(H. LAMMENS-[ABD AL-HAFEZ KAMAL])

ḤUNAYN B. ISḤĀḲ AL-ʿIBĀDĪ, the most important mediator of ancient Greek science to the Arabs. It was mainly due to his reliable and clearly written translations of Hippocrates [see BUḲRĀṬ, in Suppl.] and Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS], that the Arab physicians of the Middle Ages became worthy successors of the Greek.

Life: Ḥunayn was born in 192/808 in al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], where his father was a pharmacist. The *nisba* indicates that he was a descendant of the so-called *ʿibād*, *i.e.* Arab tribesmen who had once embraced Christianity and who after the rise of Islam remained faithful to the Syrian Nestorian church, refusing to adopt the new religion. Ḥunayn may be assumed to have been bilingual from his youth, for Arabic was the vernacular of his native town, and Syriac was the language of the liturgy and of higher Christian education. Later in life, when settled in Baghdād, he translated far more books into Syriac than into Arabic, in accordance with the wishes of his clients. He himself showed a certain predilection for the Syriac language at the expense of Arabic, which he blamed for its lack of an adequate nomenclature as compared with either Syriac or Greek or Persian (see a fragment of his *Kitāb al-Nuḳaṭ*, ed. L. Cheikho, in *Mashriḳ*, xx (1922), 373). But in their Arabic translations he and his school avoided mere transcriptions as far as possible, and thus helped to forge the Arabic scientific terminology. He was also at pains to acquire a sound knowledge of Arabic grammar; he is even said to have studied it at Baṣra and to have brought from there al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*. That he had the advantage of meeting the famous grammarian personally, as Ibn Djuldjul and others point out, is impossible for chronological reasons (see M. Plessner, in *RSO*, xxxi (1956), 244 f.). The Arab bibliographers unanimously attest that Ḥunayn was *faṣīḥ*.

How Ḥunayn acquired his astonishing knowledge of Greek is told by the eyewitness report of a certain Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm (see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, i, 185 f.), which does indeed sound very trustworthy. It relates that Ḥunayn began his study of medicine at Baghdād under Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh, the famous court-physician and director of the *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*]. But as Ḥunayn used to ask too many troublesome questions, he incurred the anger of his master, who eventually ordered him to leave his school. Ḥunayn then disappeared from the capital for more than two years. The narrator himself is silent upon his whereabouts, but some sources contend that he went to Alexandria, others that he was staying in *bilād al-Rūm*. When he came back, he was so thoroughly versed in the Greek language that

he could even recite from Homer. Afterwards he was reconciled with Ibn Māsawayh, who also encouraged him further to translate from the Greek (cf. *Les axiomes médicaux de Yohanna Ben Massawaïh*, ed. P. Sbath, Cairo 1934, 8, 33 f.).

Under the caliph al-Mutawakkil Ḥunayn was appointed chief physician to the court, but he had to suffer great hardships through the capricious behaviour of this Commander of the Faithful. One day he fell a victim to an intrigue of his Christian colleagues. As he was an enemy of image-worship, they induced him to spit on an icon during an audience. This provoked the indignation not only of the Nestorian *katholikos*, but also of the caliph. Ḥunayn was flogged, put in jail and deprived of his whole estate, including his library (for the historicity of this account see B. Hemmerdinger, in *Actes du XIIe Congr. Int. d'Étud. Byzant.*, ii, Belgrade 1964, 467-9, and G. Strohmaier, in *Klio*, xliii-v (1965), 525-33). After six months he was set free and reinstated in his office, which he held until his death in 260/873. He had two sons, Dāwūd and Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]. Both of them became medical practitioners; the latter, following in his father's footsteps, excelled in translating from the Greek, but concentrated more on philosophical works.

Translations: Ḥunayn is credited with an immense number of translations, ranging from medicine, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics to magic and oneiromancy. His Arabic translation of the Old Testament [see TAWRĀT], made after the Septuagint, was regarded as the best among other renderings (see al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 112). So far as his versions are conserved, they can help in establishing the Greek text, for Ḥunayn had Greek manuscripts at his disposal which were several centuries older than ours. They also represent a valuable substitute for some writings that are otherwise lost.

Thanks to the important edition of Ḥunayn's *Risāla . . . ilā ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā fī dhikr mā turdjima min kutub Djālīnūs bi-ʿilmih wa-baʿḍ mā lam yutardjam* by G. Bergsträsser (*Ḥunain Ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, Leipzig 1925, *Abh. K. M.* xvii/2), we possess a detailed report on the various translations of Galen that were available at his time. There exists a different recension of this *Risāla*, which was found some time later (see G. Bergsträsser, *Neue Materialien zu Ḥunain Ibn Isḥāq's Galen-Bibliographie*, Leipzig 1932, *Abh.K.M.* xix/2). Ḥunayn enumerates 129 titles, of which he himself translated about 100 into Syriac or Arabic or into both. The list is not exhaustive, however, for al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] wrote a special treatise *Fi 'stidrāk mā baḳiya min kutub Djālīnūs mimmā lam yadhkurhu Ḥunayn wa-lā Djālīnūs fī Fihristih* (see *Fihrist*, i, 300, cf. P. Kraus, *Épître de Bērūnī*, Paris 1936, no. 175). One must bear in mind that Ḥunayn wrote the *Risāla* after the complete loss of his library (see above), a fact to which he repeatedly refers in it (p. 1.11 f., 3.5-10, no. 95, cf. nos. 42 and 118). In the *Risāla* as well as in another tract *Fī dhikr al-kutub allatī lam yadhkurhā Djālīnūs fī Fihrist kutubih* (ed. G. Bergsträsser, in *Neue Materialien*, 84-98) he makes some statements about the spuriousness of several writings ascribed to Galen, and it is remarkable to see how his judgement coincides with the results of modern scholarship (see M. Meyerhof, in *SBPr. Ak. W., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1928, 531-48 and F. Kudlien, in *Rheinisches Museum*, cviii (1965), 295-9). Only the question of the commentary on the Hippocratic oath remains doubtful: Ḥunayn regarded it as genuine, but we have nowadays to rely on a few Arabic fragments (collected by F. Rosenthal, in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, xxx (1956), 52-87), whereas Ḥunayn had the full text before him.

In the *Risāla* he also gives some occasional remarks on his philological methods. They are not different from ours: he used to collect as many Greek manuscripts as possible and to collate them in order to get a sound textual basis for the translation (cf. nos. 3, 20, 74, 84). In search of manuscripts he travelled to Syria, Palestine and even to Egypt (cf. no. 115). But in one respect his philological principles deviate from the modern. Like other Christian translators he felt the obligation to eliminate all traces of paganism from the works of the ancients, *e.g.*, to replace the pagan gods by the one God and His angels, etc. Usually this did not impair the scientific value of his translations, but it did some harm to the rich mythological material found in the dream-book of Artemidorus (see G. Strohmaier, in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, v, Berlin, forthcoming).

The *Risāla* also contains valuable data on the translations of Galen made by Ḥunayn's predecessors and contemporaries. He does not spare them harsh criticism, if necessary, and he often had to revise their Syriac or Arabic versions. He himself translated either into Syriac for his Christian colleagues or into Arabic for the Muslim sponsors of his work [see BANŪ MŪSĀ]. It is remarkable that there is no word about the famous *bayt al-ḥikma*; the whole activity seems to have been based on a kind of private enterprise. He engaged two members of his family, his son Isḥāḳ, his nephew Ḥubaysh b. al-Ḥasan al-Aʿsam, and another pupil, ʿĪsā b. Yaḥyā, who also took part in translating Galen. Since Ḥubaysh and ʿĪsā did not understand Greek well enough, they made Syriac translations after Ḥunayn's Arabic (nos. 36, 38, 119) or, much more often, Arabic translations after Ḥunayn's Syriac. This could lead to some deterioration (cf. *Galeni Compendium Timaei Platonis*, ed. P. Kraus and R. Walzer, London 1951, 22-4), if Ḥunayn or Isḥāḳ did not have the opportunity to compare these new versions with the Greek original (cf. nos. 20, 49, 69, 86, 113, 126). Usually the colophons in the manuscripts of these second-hand versions mention Ḥunayn as the only translator, a fact which is already stated in the *Fihrist* (i, 128 and 289). The reason for this is not clear. Perhaps it is due to the modesty of the pupils themselves, or else they wanted to conceal the circumstance of the double translation, as Muslim intellectuals had been well aware of its shortcomings.

Unfortunately, there exists no corresponding *risāla* for the non-Galenic writings, and it remains to be proved by an analysis of the language and by possible mistakes resulting from ambiguities of Syriac words, whether the present Arabic versions were made by Ḥunayn directly from the Greek or by someone else after his Syriac translation. Nearly all of these Syriac versions are now lost (for the possible ascription of some fragments to Ḥunayn see G. Furlani, in *ZS*, iii (1924), 28 and J. Schleifer, in *RSO*, xviii (1940), 348).

Ḥunayn's own works: Besides his translations Ḥunayn composed numerous original works, mainly on medical, but also on philosophical, geophysical, meteorological, zoological, linguistic, and religious subjects. He is even credited with a history of the world from Adam down to al-Mutawakkil. His medical treatises are mainly epitomes and rearrangements of classical material. Many of them are written in the form of questions and answers, this curious

kind of literature being very common also in the biblical exegesis of the Nestorian church at this time (cf. E. G. Clarke, *The selected questions of Ishō bar Nūn on the Pentateuch*, Leiden 1962, 10-3). His main work in this field is *al-Masāʾil fi 'l-ṭibb* (numerous mss.), later translated into Hebrew and Latin. There also exists a so-called *Isagoge Johannitii ad parvam artem Galeni* (many Latin mss. and early printed texts). According to M. Steinschneider (*Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, 710) this is another recension of the same work.—The following titles show Ḥunayn's special interest in ophthalmology: *al-ʿAshr maḳālāt fi 'l-ʿayn* (ed. M. Meyerhof, *The book of the ten treatises on the eye ascribed to Hunain ibn Is-hâq*, Cairo 1928). This work appears in two different Latin versions, as the *Liber de oculis Constantini Africani* and *Galeni de oculis liber a Demetrio translatus* (see J. Hirschberg, in *SBPr. Ak. W.*, 1903, 1080-94).—For his sons Dāwūd and Isḥāḳ he wrote *al-Masāʾil fi 'l-ʿayn* (ed. P. Sbath and M. Meyerhof, *Le livre des questions sur l'œil de Ḥonain ibn Isḥāq*, Cairo 1938, *MIE* 36). —A little tract about the incorporeal nature of light *Fi 'l-ḍawʾ wa-ḥaḳīḳatih* shows Aristotle as his main authority in the field of physics (ed. L. Cheikho, in *Mas̲h̲riḳ*, ii (1899), 1105-13 and with French translation in *Actes du XI*ᵉ *Congr. Int. des Orient., Paris 1897, III*ᵉ *sect.*, Paris 1899, 125-42, German translation by C. Prüfer and M. Meyerhof, in *Isl.*, ii (1911), 117-28).

The often quoted *Nawādir al-falāsifa* are extant in later Arabic extracts, a mediaeval Hebrew translation of which has been edited by A. Loewenthal (*Sefer Mūsrē ha-Pilōsōfīm*, Frankfurt a.M. 1896, German translation by the same, Berlin 1896). The Arabic text remains to be edited (see K. Merkle, *Die Sittensprüche der Philosophen "Kitâb âdâb al-falâsifa" von Ḥonein ibn Isḥâq in der Überarbeitung des Muḥammed ibn ʿAlî al-Anṣârî*, Leipzig 1921; M. Plessner, in *Tarbiz*, xxiv (1954-5), 60-72, VI f.; J. Kraemer, in *ZDMG*, cvi (1956), 292-302). The book is mainly a collection of stories, letters, and sayings ascribed to the ancient Greek philosophers, mingled with Ḥunayn's own reflections. It is based on similar Byzantine florilegia and contains very old material (see G. Strohmaier, in *Hermes*, xcv (1967)). Part 3 deals with the death of Alexander the Great: its connexion with the Alexander Romance remains to be investigated.—A little apologetic tract *Fī kayfiyyat idrāk ḥaḳīḳat al-diyāna* is conserved in an abridged form (ed. L Cheikho, in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, i, Giessen 1906, 283-91, and P. Sbath, in *Vingt traités philosophiques et apologétiques*, Cairo 1929, 181-5). Some points in this treatise may be understood as an intelligent and cautious polemic against Islam.—Ḥunayn's bibliographical *Risāla* to ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā has been mentioned above; there also exists a short letter to his sponsor Salmawayh b. Būnān as an introduction to the translation of Galen's *De consuetudinibus* (German translation by F. Pfaff, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum Suppl.* iii, p. XLI f.) [see AFLĀṬŪN].

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(G. STROHMAIER)

HUNGARY [see BASHDJIRT, MADJARISTĀN].

HUNS [see HAYĀṬILA].

HUNTING [see BAYZARA, FAHD, ṢAYD; for hunting-songs see ṬARDIYYA].

HUNZA and **NAGIR**, two principalities in the extreme west of the Karakoram range of mountains, lie between Gilgit in the south, Ishkomān in the west, Afghān Wākhān in the north, and Chinese Turkistān in the north and east, *i.e.*, approximately between 74° 10′ and 75° 20′ E. and 36° 10′ and 37° N. The whole area is extremely rugged and mountainous and for the most part uninhabitable. Permanent settlements exist only in the river valleys where terracing and irrigation of the mountainsides is possible, principally along the Hunza river, which traverses Hunza from north to south and west, and its left tributary the Nagir river. The Hunza river falls into the Gilgit river, a tributary of the Indus, below Gilgit town. The road beside it, skirting Mt. Rakaposhī (25,550 ft./7,780 m.) in the Kailās range, provides the only access to the territory which does not entail crossing passes at 15,000 ft./4,500 m. or more. Although Hunza is much the larger of the two states, their populations are approximately equal, ca. 13,500 souls each (1931 census). Of these, two-thirds are Burusho, who speak Burushaski, a language with no known affinities. The remainder are Wākhīs, in the north west of Hunza, and Shiṇā speakers, in the south west of Nagir. The Nagirīs are Shīʿī Muslims, but the Hunzukuts have for the last four or five generations belonged to the Ismāʿīlī, or Mawlāʾī, sect led by the Āghā Khān.

The Mīrs, or Thams, of Hunza and Nagir are drawn from two closely related families of legendary origin. Their capitals are at Bāltīt (altitude 8,000 ft./2,400 m.) and Nagir (7,500 ft./2,250 m.) respectively. Hunza, reputedly the more vigorous of the two states, has maintained its independence since the earliest times, though occasionally paying nominal allegiance either to the Chinese or to the rulers of Gilgit. In the first part of the 19th century the Hunzukuts were responsible for a series of raids on caravans passing between Kāshghar and Kashmīr, many captives being sold into slavery in Badakhshān. When the Sikhs occupied Gilgit they attempted without success to subdue their troublesome neighbour. Only in 1869 did the Tham of Hunza, Ghazan Khān, agree to pay tribute to the Dogra Mahārādjā of Kashmīr, though no Kashmīrī was allowed to enter the valley. In 1891 the Tham was murdered by his son Safdar ʿAlī, who recommenced raids on Gilgit and accepted Russian overtures. This led to a small Indian force being sent into the states, which were thereafter included in British India. Safdar fled to Kāshghar and his brother Muḥammad Naẓīm was proclaimed Tham in his place. He was succeeded peacefully by his son Ghazan Khān in 1938. For recent history, see KASHMĪR.

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ḤŪR (A.), pl. of *ḥawrāʾ* and its masc. *aḥwar*, adjective from the root *ḥ.w.r.*, with the general idea of 'whiteness' (the root *ḥ.y.r.*, signifying 'perplexity' or 'astonishment', which has occasionally been suggested, is to be rejected); *ḥawrāʾ* is applied more particularly to the very large eye of the gazelle or the oryx, the clear whiteness of which arises from the contrast with the blackness of the pupil and the iris; by extension, *ḥawrāʾ* signifies a woman whose big black eyes are in contrast to their 'whites' and to the whiteness of the skin. The plural *ḥūr* is a substantival adjective used in the Ḳurʾān for the virgins of Paradise promised to the Believers, the houris; the latter term has entered European languages through the Persian singular (*ḥūrī* or *ḥūrī beheshtī*) and the Turkish *ḥūri*, whereas the Arabic noun of unity, a secondary formation from *ḥūr*, is *ḥūriyya*, pl. *ḥūriyyāt*.

The houris are mentioned in various verses of the Ḳurʾān dating from the Meccan period, that is to say the period when stress is laid upon the Last Judgement and when the delights of Paradise are contrasted with the torments of hell. The Holy Book announces to the Believers first that they will have as wives houris (LII, 20; cf. XLIV, 54) like "the hidden pearl", in recompense for their actions upon earth (LVI, 22-3/23-4); they will be "spotless virgins, amorous, like of age" (LVI, 34-9/35-40; cf. LXXVIII, 33, XXXVIII, 52) and will have "swelling breasts" (LXXVIII, 33); neither man nor *djinn* will have touched them (LV, 56, 74); they will keep their eyes modestly cast down (LV, 56, XXXVII, 47/48, XXXVIII, 52); resembling "ruby and coral", they will be enclosed in pavilions (LV, 58, 72). The only detail added during the Medinan period is that they will be "purified wives" (II, 23/25, III, 13/15, LXI, 12, IV, 60/57), which means, according to the commentators, that they are free alike from bodily impurity and from defects of character.

To these rather brief statements, tradition and traditional exegesis have added details giving a more precise form to the houris and a more sensual character to the pleasures promised.

Firstly, the verse saying that neither man nor *djinn* will have touched them suggests to some commentators that there are two classes of houris, one sharing the nature of men, the other that of *djinns*. As for the substance from which they are created, some believe that they are made of saffron, others of saffron, musk, amber and camphor, and that they have four colours: white, green, yellow and red. In any case their flesh is so delicate that the texture of the muscles of their legs can be seen, even through 70 silken garments. Their physical characteristics are described in general terms: their eyebrows are a black line upon light, their forehead is a crescent moon, and their shining faces reflect the divine light. On the breast of each are inscribed two names: one being a name of Allāh and one that of her husband. They bear their husband's name in the feminine (see above, FĀṬIMA, ii, 846b. On hands and feet they wear many jewels and precious stones.

They dwell in pavilions or castles hollowed out in a single pearl and furnished with 70 sumptuous beds and 70 couches of ruby covered with 70 rugs, and are surrounded by 70,000 maids of honour, who, at their husband's arrival loosen and hold up their 70,000 tresses. Their age is equal to that of their husbands, namely 33 years (the age of Jesus); their virginity is perpetually renewed. The Elect will have the bliss of deflowering them, and their pleasure will be a

hundred times greater than on earth; some—such as Jesus—will have a hundred houris at their disposal and will be able to have connexion with each of them as many times as he has fasted days in Ramaḍān and performed good works. The houri remains enclosed in her pavilion and walks gracefully to meet her husband; she strolls sometimes with him beside the streams of Paradise and drinks with him wine which produces no intoxication. Being purified, she knows neither the menstrual discomforts of women, nor human needs, nor the pains of childbirth, for she bears no children.

To complete the picture, we must consider the lot reserved for women-believers admitted to Paradise. According to the Ḳurʾān, the Elect will meet again those who were virtuous among their ancestors, their wives and their descendants (XIII, 23; cf. XL, 8; in XXXVI, 56 and XLIII, 70 only wives are mentioned). The commentators maintain that every women who was married and virtuous by nature will meet her husband in Paradise and become again his legal wife; those who had several husbands will be able to choose the one they prefer; while polygamous husbands will be allowed to keep all their earthly wives. The women among the Believers will be 70,000 times superior to the houris, will know none of the cares of earthly life and will spend their time enjoying pleasures of every sort. The commentators remain silent on the fate of virtuous women who have remained unmarried, and give the impression that the daughters of Eve are definitely at a disadvantage in comparison with men.

The traditional exegesis, although it readily admits all the concrete amplifications, does not always accept uncritically the popular materialistic and sensual idea of the houris and of the delights of Paradise in general which has become common. Al-Bayḍāwī himself (on II, 23) considers that there is no substantial identity between the foods, the women, etc. of Paradise and their earthly equivalents. A similar interpretation, leading to the *bilā kayf*, was to be widely developed by the *falāsifa* and the Ṣūfīs, who gave an esoteric meaning to the concrete statements of the Ḳurʾān, while modernist exegesis, it being impossible to reject these statements, tends to reduce the number of houris which the Elect will enjoy, rejects many *ḥadīth*s which are in greater or less degree canonical, and tries to confer a spiritual character on the promised delights, while recognizing the difficulty of convincing those of the Faithful who adhere to literal interpretations [see DJANNA].

Among Islamologists there are many who have tried to explain the picture which the Ḳurʾān gives of houris. Carra de Vaux, in the art. DJANNA in *EI*[1], suggests that in "some Christian miniatures or mosaics representing the gardens of Paradise ... the figures of angels [may have been interpreted] as being those of young men or girls", but it is not easy to arrive at the real origin of the sensual concepts set out in the Ḳurʾān and amplified by tradition. L. Massignon (*Mystique et continence en Islam*, in *Études carmélitaines*, 1952, 95) considers that "the symbolism of the *houris* of Paradise ... alludes basically to the simple regaining, by the human species, of the first Paradise, where sexual life was well established". On the other hand, Ch. J. Ledit (*Mahomet, Israël et le Christ*, Paris 1956, 117) observes that the Ḳurʾān takes account of certain domestic difficulties of the Prophet, considers the houris, and finds in Muḥammad's meditation "the compensation for a cruel situation, the sublimation of impulses which refuse to degrade themselves in slave delights, and at the same time, the allurement of the later fulfilments of Medina—in a word, all the benefits of the classical play of psychism in the course of purification." There is indeed practically no further mention of houris during the Medinan period when, in the sphere of human affections, the Prophet found his equilibrium.

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(A. J. Wensinck-[Ch. Pellat])

ḤURAYMILĀ, a town (est. pop. 3,000 in 1965) of al-Maḥmal district in Nadjd, Central Arabia; in the early 12th/18th century residence of the reformer and founder of Wahhābism [*q.v.*], Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Ḥuraymilā is said to have been founded by Āl Mubārak of Āl Abī Rabbāʿ, a group of ʿAnaza stock who left the town of Ushayḳir in al-Washm after a dispute with Banū Tamīm. In 1045/1635-6 they settled on the site of Ḥuraymilā, where the *shaʿīb*s now known as al-Shuʿba and al-Abraḳ join Wādī Abū Ḳitāda (variant Kidāda). The name Ḥuraymilā is conventionally spelled with *alif mamdūda*, although its meaning is explained as the diminutive singular of *ḥarmal*, a noxious shrub (*Rhazya stricta* Decne.) common in the area. Ḥuraymilā and the neighbouring villages of al-Ḳarīna and Malham are sometimes referred to collectively as al-Shaʿīb, the name locally applied to Wādī Abū Ḳitāda.

Āl Mubārak were still influential in Ḥuraymilā in 1965, although they shared the town with settled sections of Subayʿ, al-Dawāsir, Banū Tamīm, Banū Hādjir, Ḳaḥṭān, and other tribes. The *amīr*, who reported directly to the Amirate of al-Riyāḍ, administered the neighbouring towns and hamlets of al-Barīna, Malham, Sadūs, Ṣalbūkh, Ghiyāna, and al-Ḳarra. The *amīr*s appointed for Ḥuraymilā have usually not been natives of the town.

The economy of Ḥuraymilā, like that of other settlements of the area, is based on agriculture. Wheat, lucerne and, more recently, fruits and garden vegetables are grown in addition to the date palm. Sheep, goats, and cattle are fed on forage crops. A relatively dense growth of *ṭalḥ* (*Acacia* sp.) is protected in a *ḥimā* (pasture and forest reserve [*q.v.*]) in the *wādī* bed immediately southwest of Ḥuraymilā.

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(J. Mandaville)

ḤURḲŪṢ b. ZUHAYR al-SAʿDĪ, Companion of the Prophet, who conquered Sūḳ al-Ahwāz, took part in the siege of "the House" and became a Khāridjī. Although there is no source which gives the date of his conversion, it can be deduced that it took place at a fairly early date from the fact that he was among the Muslims who swore obedience to the Prophet "under the tree" (6/628) at al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*]. The name of Ḥurḳūṣ is mentioned for the first time in the works of the Arab historians in 17/638: as the Persian general al-Hurmuzān [*q.v.*], the defender of al-Ahwāz, was behaving in a threaten-

ing way in spite of a pact which had been concluded with the Muslims, ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, the governor of Baṣra, warned the caliph ʿUmar about this, and the latter immediately sent troops under the command of Ḥurḳūṣ; having collected their forces, the Muslims marched against al-Hurmuzān and defeated him above the bridge of Sūḳ al-Ahwāz (known more briefly as al-Ahwāz). It was Ḥurḳūṣ who took this town, imposed the *djizya* on the population of the territory, which extended as far as the outskirts of Tustar, sent to Medina the announcement of his victory and the fifth of the booty, sent Djazʾ b. Muʿāwiya in pursuit of al-Hurmuzān and, with ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, informed this general of the peace conditions which the caliph imposed on him and which he accepted. Ḥurḳūṣ had received from the caliph the title of *amīr* for the war (*ʿala ʾl-ḳitāl*) and that of *amīr* (governor) of the country which he was to conquer; but when the campaign against al-Hurmuzān was resumed, he took only a secondary part in the operations, for other leaders were put in charge of the troops of Kūfa and Baṣra. He appears again in 35/655-6 at Baṣra, for when a group set out from there for Medina to protest, together with the dissidents from Egypt and Kūfa, against the policy of the caliph ʿUthmān, he was their leader (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2955; Miskawayh, i, 487). In the episodes of the siege of "the House", the murder of ʿUthmān and the election of ʿAlī, Ḥurḳūṣ did not play an important part. He appears again at Baṣra, when ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, in revolt against ʿAlī, were approaching the town. He then joined with Ḥukaym b. Djabala, the chief of police at Baṣra, and with others who had been implicated in the murder of ʿUthmān, to prevent by armed resistance the forces of the three rebels from seizing the town [see AL-DJAMAL]. When the armistice between the governor ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf and the three enemies of ʿAlī was broken and Baṣra was completely occupied by the latter, an order was issued forcing the population to arrest all those who had taken part in the siege of "the House" (*nuffār*); Ḥurḳūṣ was the only one who, by fleeing and obtaining the protection of his tribe, the Banū Saʿd, was able to escape the ensuing massacre. The sources do not mention the presence of Ḥurḳūṣ at the Battle of the Camel; it is therefore reasonable to suppose that he followed the policy of his fellow tribesmen who, belonging to the ʿUthmāniyya, the party which was loyal to the caliph ʿUthmān, had no desire to fight for ʿAlī (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3168). He was, on the other hand, present at Ṣiffīn in the army of the caliph; al-Dhahabī is the only writer, so far as is known, to provide this information, but it seems very probable that Ḥurḳūṣ was at the battle, for al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] (the chief of the Tamīm of Baṣra, of which the Banū Saʿd were a sub-group), after having remained neutral in the war of the Camel, had then gone over with his followers to the side of the caliph. Later, Ḥurḳūṣ adopted an entirely different attitude from that of his tribe by adhering to Khāridjism; the sources mention his presence at Ḥarūrāʾ ([*q.v.*]; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 49), a fierce argument which he had with ʿAlī when the latter publicly announced his intention of remaining faithful to the convention of Ṣiffīn (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3360 f., etc.), his participation in the secret meetings of the dissidents at Kūfa, where they decided to assemble near the al-Nahrawān canal, and his two refusals to become their leader, and finally his death among the Khāridjīs at al-Nahrawān. Al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays, on the other hand, fought with 3,000 of his followers on the side of ʿAlī in this battle (Ṣafar 38/July-August 657).

Ḥurḳūṣ has been identified with a Tamīmī called ʿAmr Dhu ʾl-Khuwayṣira (or Dhu ʾl-Khunayṣira) al-Tamīmī, who was guilty of having been insolent to the Prophet during a sharing out of booty (Ibn Hishām, 884; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 376 f.; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1682; for the identification with Ḥurḳūṣ: Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 565; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, s.v. Ḥurḳūṣ; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, cited below). But he has even been identified with Dhu ʾl-Thudayya, who had an excrescence on his shoulder resembling a small breast (*thudayya*) and who, in his turn, is sometimes identified or confused with another individual called al-Mukhdadj, i.e. the One-armed. ʿAlī had a search made among the Khāridjīs killed at al-Nahrawān for one or the other of these persons in order to verify the truth of a prophecy which he had heard. The historical sources which relate this episode give no explanations about the prophecy, but some *ḥadīths* report it in terms which connect it either explicitly or by allusion to Khāridjism; in addition the *ḥadīths* state that a mysterious person called Dhu ʾl-Khuwayṣira or Dhu ʾl-Thudayya or al-Mukhdadj had given Muḥammad the occasion to predict this movement, so that it was natural that ʿAlī should seek to discover the mysterious personage among the Khāridjīs of al-Nahrawān, and that he should be identified sometimes with Ḥurḳūṣ and sometimes with other warriors who were killed in the battle (citations and details in Caetani, *Annali*, 8 A.H. § 169 & n. 1, 38 A.H. §§ 107, 112 & n. 2, 115, 119, 126, 129 (p. 111), 130, (p. 114), 139, 140, 150-3, 158).

The attitude of the biographers of the Companions towards Ḥurḳūṣ is worthy of note: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr ignores him in his *Istīʿāb*; Ibn al-Athīr and al-Dhahabī have accepted his Khāridjism as a fact; Ibn Ḥadjar informs us that there were doubts about the death of such a Companion among the Khāridjīs at al-Nahrawān and, since a *ḥadīth* excluded from Paradise one of the participants in the oath "under the tree", he adds that this excluded individual had been identified with Ḥurḳūṣ, but he does not accept the responsibility of asserting this.

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(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

HURMUZ (Old Persian: Ahuramazda, "wise lord"; Pahlavi: Auharmazd; Persian: Hurmazd, Hurmuzd, Hurmuz), supreme god of the ancient Iranians, whose name was later given to the planet Jupiter and to the first day of each month of the

Zoroastrian year. In the works of Muslim writers (especially the Iranians and particularly the poets) are found allusions which display a very imprecise knowledge of Mazdaism; although there occurs the name of Zoroaster (Zardusht), one searches in vain for the name of Hurmuzd (cf. M. Moïn, *Mazdayasna*, parts 7 & 8 and the introd. by H. Corbin); however, according to Wolff (*Glossar*, s.v.), it is found—once— in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī, who uses most often Yazdān and, less often, Īzad. On the other hand, the name Hurmuz(d) is found in the works written by the historians of religion: the *Bayān al-adyān* of Abu 'l-Maʿālī, a lucid but brief summary, in Persian, completed in about 485/1092; the *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal* of al-Shahrastānī (479-548/1086-1153); the *Tabṣirat al-ʿawāmm* of Shaykh Murtaḍā (7th/13th century); the *Dabistān al-madhāhib* (*ca.* 1064-7/ 1654-7). The author of the *Bayān* states (tr., 22) that the Persians called their supreme Divinity Hurmuzd, Īzad [Old Iranian Yazata], Yazdān [Old Iranian Yazatānām]; it was probably this text that al-Maḳdisī follows (*Livre de la création et de l'histoire*, ed. tr. Cl. Huart, i, 56); in chapter ii (tr., 35), he gives a clear but concise account of the beliefs of the Gabr and of the dualism of Yazdān and Ahriman. Al-Shahrastānī, describing the beliefs of the Zarvanīs, explains (ed. Cureton, 183; tr. Haarbrucker, i, 277) how Ahriman and Hurmuz were born of Zarvān (cf. Christensen, *Sassanides*, 145 ff.) and by what stratagem Ahriman became the eldest and seized (though not for ever) the dominant rôle from Hurmuz; then, explaining the doctrine of Zoroaster, he mentions again the dualism of Ahriman and Yazdān (no longer Hurmuz). The *Tabṣira* (several passages of which derive from the *Bayān al-adyān*) contains (chap. ii) an account of the opinions of the Magians (*madjūs*): here Hurmuzd is referred to as Yazdān; "the world has two creators: Yazdān, and Ahriman who is Satan (*shayṭān*); it is said that when the Almighty created the world, he had a disturbing thought and exclaimed: 'Let me have no adversary to become my enemy!' and the product of this thought was the devil. It has also been said that, the Almighty being alone, he was afflicted by sadness and there occurred to him an evil suspicion, the product of which was Ahriman"; this work next gives an account of various beliefs concerning the origin and the activities of the two principles, and the creation and the age of the universe. In the *Dabistān* is found verbatim the passage quoted on the creation of Ahriman (tr., i, 356-7) whereas on other pages (269 and 338) Yazdān appears under the name of Urmuzd. It should be added that Zartusht Bahrām, author of the *Zaratusht-nāma* (a life of Zoroaster in 1580 verses, written in 677/1278), mentions only Yazdān (*e.g.*, in verse 535), Lord (*khodāvand*) of the universe (ed. Rosenberg, Tehrān 1959).

The name Hurmuz was borne by five rulers of the Sāsānid dynasty. Hurmuz I, who reigned for only a year (272-3 A.D.), had been governor of Khurāsān and distinguished himself in the war against the Romans; he gave his protection to Mani as his father Shāpūr had done. Hurmuz II (302-9) is said to have persecuted the Manicheans, according to traditions preserved in some Coptic texts (Christensen, 195, n. 7); nevertheless he left behind him the reputation of having been a gentle and just ruler; he was killed by the Arabs after having defeated them; he had two sons, Shāpūr II and a prince Hurmuz who, after being a prisoner for thirteen months, escaped and made his way to Constantinople, where he accompanied the emperor Julian in his Persian campaign. Hurmuz III, during his brief reign, was forced to fight against his youngest brother who had obtained the support of the Hephtalites [see HAYĀṬILA]; he was defeated and killed. Hurmuz IV (579-90) is represented by the Byzantine historians as a proud man of mediocre intelligence; according to al-Ṭabarī on the other hand, his justice surpassed that of his father, Khusraw Anūshirwān, he being compassionate towards the common people but severe towards the nobles, which earned him the enmity of the latter and of a section of the Zoroastrian clergy; the hostilities continued, with the Byzantines gaining the advantage; Hurmuz having dismissed his best general Vahrām Čubīn following a defeat, the latter led a revolt which became general; as a result Hurmuz was deposed and executed; this revolt and the love story of this king and Shīrīn form part of the subject of several great Persian poems. Hurmuz V, having striven to gain power, was executed on the orders of the last of the Sāsānids (632 A.D.). The name of Hurmuz was borne by other persons who appear in the indices of al-Ṭabarī, Yāḳūt and other writers; the most important was Hurmuzān [*q.v.*].

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(CL. HUART-[H. MASSÉ])

HURMUZ (HORMUZ, ORMUS). The original town, or Old Hormuz, as it has been called to distinguish it from its island offshoot, was situated on the mainland of Persia on the east side of the entrance to the Persian Gulf, at the head of a creek which has now largely silted up; the existing town of Mināb (27°09′ N., 57°05′ E.) stands on its site. Nearchus and his fleet, when on their way from the estuary of the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf, anchored at the mouth of the Anamis river (now the Mināb creek), in the district of Harmozeia (Hormuz) (see William Vincent, *The voyage of Nearchus and the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, London 1809, 52, and idem, *The commerce and navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, London 1807, i, 328-30). Ptolemy mentions the town as Harmuza, but gives its position incorrectly. It is possible that it may have been identical with Ammianus Marcellinus's Hermupolis (XXIII, 6, 49). Ardashīr I, the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, has been credited with the foundation of the town, but it was probably in existence long before his time.

In the 4th/10th century, (Old) Hormuz was already the seaport for the provinces of Kirmān, Sīstān and Khurāsān (see Yāḳūt, iv, 968; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 124; Le Strange, 318). Marco Polo, who visited Hormuz in 1272 and again in 1293, after expatiating on the flourishing and widespread trade of the town, stated that it was a sickly place and that the heat of the sun in summer there was tremendous

(see *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. by Sir Henry Yule and revised by Henri Cordier, London 1905, i, 107). A few years after Marco Polo's second visit, repeated raids by marauding tribes became so serious that Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Tahamtan the King of Hormuz, in 700/1300, abandoned the site and moved all the inhabitants and their possessions to the small island of Djarūn, 60 km to the west and 6 km south of the nearest point on the mainland. A good harbour was constructed at the sheltered northern end of the island, and before long an exceedingly flourishing town came into being. This town was called New Hormuz, but by degrees the epithet 'new' was dropped and the island and its town were thenceforward known as Hormuz. The name Djarūn was transferred to the small town and port of Surū or Shahrū on the mainland 17 km to the north-west, where goods in transit to or from Hormuz were transhipped; this name became corrupted to Gamru and was further corrupted by Europeans into Gambrun, Gombrun and Gombroon. In 720/1320 King Ḳuṭb al-Dīn captured the island of Ḳays, which had up till then enjoyed great commercial prosperity, and also subdued Baḥrayn. Later in the reign of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn the intrepid Moorish traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Hormuz, which he described as a large and fine city, with busy markets, as it was the port from which the wares from India and Sind were despatched to the ʿIrāḳs, Fārs and Khurāsān (see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 230 ff. = Eng. tr., H.A.R. Gibb, ii, 400 f.: see also the account by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's contemporary, Friar Odoric of Pordonone, in *Cathay and the way thither*, by Sir H. Yule, revised by Henri Cordier, London 1913, 112).

For the next three centuries Hormuz was extremely prosperous, despite its lack of fresh water and vegetation and the extreme heat in summer. The Russian traveller Afanasii Nikitin, who visited Hormuz in 1472, stated that it was a vast emporium where there were peoples and goods of every description from all parts of the world; however, he qualified his praise by complaining of the high duties there (*Khoženie za tri Morya*, Moscow 1958, 21). The Venetian J. Barbaro, who also visited Hormuz some years later, likewise praised it as a commercial centre (*Travels of Josafa Barbaro*, tr. William Thomas, London 1873, 79).

In 1507 a Portuguese fleet under the great Albuquerque appeared off the island. Realizing its great strategic importance owing to its situation at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, Albuquerque seized the island, but a mutiny of his men forced him to withdraw. Seven years later, however, Albuquerque returned, and this time the Portuguese occupation of the island was permanent. Occupied as he was with his great struggle with the Ottoman Turks, Shāh Ismāʿīl I could do nothing except protest at this violation of his territory. Under Portuguese rule, Hormuz continued to prosper, but the fact that the island was in foreign hands was always deeply resented by Persia. The kings of Hormuz, who had hitherto been vassals of the Persian monarch, became subordinate to Portugal. The Venetian jeweller Gasparo Balbi, who was in Hormuz in 1580, described it as: una città non molto grande, ma popolosa, posta in un' isola di trenta miglia di grandezza, ma è la piu sterile di quante mai io n'habbia viste; perciò che in esse non si trova altro che sale e le legne e le altre cose al vito necessarie vi vengono portate dalla costa di Persia, ch'è distante da questa citta da 6 miglia; evise ne conducono in tanta quantità, que la città ne resta copiosamente fornita (see Balbo's *Discrittione di Ormus*, in *Il Nuovo Ramusio iv*: *Viaggi di C. Federici e G. Balbi alle Indie Orientale*, ed. O. Pinto, Rome 1962, 118). The Englishman, Ralph Fitch, who was in Hormuz three years later, described it as 'the dryest island in the world, for there is nothing growing in it but salt' (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, London 1625, Part II, 1731).

After Shāh ʿAbbās I had consolidated his power, it became obvious that to so nationalistic a monarch the continued presence of the Portuguese in Hormuz would soon precipitate a crisis. Already, by 1602, Allāhwerdi Khān, the Governor-General of Fārs, had wrested Baḥrayn from the feeble hands of the King of Hormuz, who, like his predecessors since 1514, was merely a vassal of Spain and Portugal. In 1614 the Persian forces occupied Gamru (Gombroon), the last foothold of the Portuguese on the mainland, thereby depriving the garrison and inhabitants of Hormuz of one of their sources of supply of water. Eight years later, Shāh ʿAbbās, by putting strong pressure on the English East India Company, forced it to allow a number of its ships to co-operate with the Persian land forces in an assault on Hormuz. Despite strong resistance by the Portuguese, the Persians, with the assistance of the English vessels, forced the garrison to surrender and to evacuate the island. Hormuz was soon deserted and many of its buildings were demolished in order to provide material for the erection of new buildings in Gamru, which was renamed Bandar ʿAbbās in honour of the Shāh. The part played by the English East India Company on this occasion not unnaturally aroused the anger of the Portuguese. The late Sir Arnold Wilson, in his book *The Persian Gulf* (Oxford 1928, 149), stated that it was difficult to discover what the East India Company gained from this action. It seems clear, however, that if the Portuguese had been allowed to remain in Hormuz, the East India Company would never have been able to compete with the flourishing Portuguese entrepôt at Hormuz, while its establishments on the coast and also its vessels would have been always in jeopardy from their ships based on that island.

At the present time the population of Hormuz is small and fluctuating. In the cooler months, the numbers increase when the salt and iron oxide deposits are worked, but in the summer many migrate to the mainland, especially to Minā. The only relatively stable elements of the population are the fishermen.

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See also BANDAR ʿABBĀS. (L. LOCKHART)

HURMUZ, BĀ, a South Arabian *mas͟hāyik͟h*-family, to which belongs the Ḥaḍramī *ṣūfī* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar Bā Hurmuz al-S͟hibāmī al-Ak͟hḍar (b. in S͟hibām 840/1436, d. in Haynan 914/1508). He was the spiritual father of the famous *ṣūfī* scholar and poet ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad Bā Mak͟hrama (d. 952/1545; see MAK͟HRAMA, BĀ) and is said to have made beautiful women sing and dance before him. Serjeant (*v. infra*) has seen a work by a certain "Bā Hurmuz", other names not given, entitled *al-Durra al-muḍīʾa fi 'l-nisba al-Hurmuziyya*.

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(O. LÖFGREN)

AL-**HURMUZĀN** (in Persian Hörmiz(d)ān), Persian toparch and general, defender of K͟hūzistān from the end of 16/637, or more probably the beginning of 17/638, to 19/640 or perhaps 21/642, who was taken prisoner by the Arabs at Tustar and killed by ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*] at Medina (end of 23/November 644); the Persian officer who fought at D͟hū Ḳār and whom al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, ii, 228, calls al-Hurmuzān was really called Hāmarz [*q.v.*]. Al-Hurmuzān commanded the right wing of the Persian army at al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] (D͟jumādā I 16/June 637) and when the tide of the battle turned against the Persians, he retreated with other generals to Bābil; after putting up a feeble resistance there, he withdrew to the Ahwāz (= K͟hūzistān), having some possessions at Mihrid͟jānḳad͟haḳ and in the districts of the Ahwāz. According to al-Balād͟hurī (*Futūḥ*, 380; cf. al-Dīnawarī, 136 f.), he also took part in the battle of D͟jalūlāʾ (probably in D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 16/November-December 637), and, from Nahr Tīrā, he harassed the Muslim frontier fortresses of the Maysān and of the Dast-i Maysān. The Muslims, having obtained the help of the tribe of the Banu 'l-ʿAm (a sub-group of the Tamīm) then inflicted on him, between Nahr Tīrā and Duluth, a crushing defeat, as a result of which he withdrew to the east of the Dud͟jayl, crossing the river by the bridge of Sūḳ al-Ahwāz (= the town of al-Ahwāz) and obtained peace by abandoning to the invaders Manād͟hir, Nahr Tīrā and the part of the territory of Sūḳ al-Ahwāz which they had already seized. But the peace did not last. Pressed by the king Yazdad͟jird, who was fleeing from Ḥulwān to Iṣfahān and thence to Iṣṭak͟hr, al-Hurmuzān once again took up a threatening attitude, which, it is said, forced the Muslims to resume the offensive. After one or two campaigns the course of which is not clear (the most detailed account is that of the traditionist Sayf b. ʿUmar) al-Hurmuzān entrenched himself in Tustar (S͟hus͟htar) on the upper Dud͟jayl. The Muslim forces subjected this town to a long (2 years or 18 months) and bitter siege. Al-Hurmuzān, after the besiegers had taken by assault the trenches defended by the troops of Fārs, D͟jibāl and al-Ahwāz, retreated into the town and, when this was occupied through treachery, into the fortress. Finally he surrendered to the caliph and was led to Medina with twelve other Persians by the Companion Anas b. Mālik. Al-Hurmuzān's arrival in Medina is described with a number of details which seem to bear a romantic stamp (and which have provided subjects for the novels *Harmosan* and *Hormusan* by Platen and by Schwetschke: see A. Muller, *Der Islam*, i, 244, n. 1): the Persians clad in luxurious gowns of brocade with gold belts, bracelets, etc., and al-Hurmuzān with his diadem, astonished the inhabitants of Medina; the conversation between ʿUmar and al-Hurmuzān was a dramatic one; the latter obtained *amān*, thanks to a ruse; he was stripped of his clothing and his ornaments and the Companion Surāḳa b. Mālik b. D͟juʿs͟hum, who was as thin as he was, put them on, on ʿUmar's orders. Al-Hurmuzān was invited to embrace Islam but refused, and the caliph, on ʿAlī's advice, decided to banish the whole group of prisoners to Syria (or Egypt); during the voyage they were shipwrecked and the Persians, having been saved, embraced Islam; ʿUmar then recalled the prisoners to Medina. Apart from these stories, the basic facts of which have evidently been embroidered, the sources supply other information which there seems no real reason to doubt: al-Hurmuzān became ʿUmar's adviser on Persian affairs (the pension of 2000 *dirhams*, which, according to several sources (Ibn Saʿd, al-Balād͟hurī, Yaḥyā b. Ādam, etc.) the caliph assigned to him as well as to other *dihḳans*, was perhaps in reward for their services); he was a person of some consequence at Medina (otherwise his murder would not have become a state matter); he embraced Islam (the sources agree on this point, even though his sincerity is sometimes held in question); often the difference is stressed between al-Hurmuzān, who had become a Muslim, and Abū Luʾluʾa (the murderer of ʿUmar) and D͟jufayna (also killed by ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar), who remained Christian; al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 457 f. and Yaḥyā b. Ādam assert that he pronounced the formula professing the faith of Islam when he saw that he was wounded, but it is possible that by this detail the traditionists wished to stress his firm adherence to Islam in the face of death rather than to delay his conversion to the final moments of his life. The doubt concerning his conversion rests in fact only on the phrase which ʿUt͟hmān is said to have uttered: "they [those whom ʿUbayd Allāh had killed] were in our *d͟himma*". But the facts which above all have made al-Hurmuzān famous in the annals of Islam are the following: when the Persian slave Abū Luʾluʾa stabbed the caliph ʿUmar in the mosque at Medina and was killed as he attempted to make a way for himself through the crowd, the suspicion spread that he had had accomplices. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf (or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr) remembered a few days earlier having seen Abū Luʾluʾa conferring with his compatriots al-Hurmuzān and D͟jufayna (the latter was a Christian from al-Ḥīra whom Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ had brought to Medina); the three men,

he said, having got up as he approached, there had fallen between them a dagger of a special type which resembled that which Abū Luʾluʾa had used to wound the caliph. ʿUmar's son, ʿUbayd Allāh, had threatened to make those guilty pay dearly if his father died from his wound. The words of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf confirmed him in the idea that the Persians who had been seen in conversation with Abū Luʾluʾa had taken part in the attempt on ʿUmar's life, and when ʿUmar finally died (26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 23/3 November 644), he not only killed Abū Luʾluʾa's wife and a young daughter who was a Muslim, but having made a pretext to call al-Hurmuzān aside, he wounded him mortally with his sword, and killed Djufayna in the same way. In his great anger he cried out that he was going to kill all the foreign slaves living in Medina (or all the Persians: al-Masʿūdī iv, 353) and also others, alluding to some *Muhādjirūn* (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 257) or to some of the *Muhādjirūn* and the *Anṣār* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2795). He was held back and threatened, but continued to shout thus. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ took his sword away from him; Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, who had hastened to the scene, laid hands on him, and they had to be separated. While awaiting a decision on his fate, Saʿd imprisoned ʿUbayd Allāh in his house, (or it was Ṣuhayb, the Companion who had been charged with the leading of the prayer after the attempt on ʿUmar's life, who put him in prison). As soon as he was elected caliph, ʿUthmān concerned himself with the matter and, in spite of the vigorous opposition of several *Muhādjirūn* and *Anṣār*, decided to pardon ʿUbayd Allāh and to pay blood money from his own revenue to the families of the victims. This action, for reasons which are not clear, later became a charge of indictment against ʿUthmān, and it is probably the resulting polemic concerning his intervention and his decision which gave rise to the divergent accounts of the sources on who were the persons competent to solve the question: it is related that ʿUthmān handed over the murderer to the son of al-Hurmuzān, but that the latter renounced his right to vengeance and that, because of this generous act, he was carried home in triumph (*Usd*, etc.); but it is also related (Ibn Kathīr) that al-Hurmuzān had no heirs; it is reported that he had wished to embrace Islam at the hands of al-ʿAbbās, whence the right of the Banū Hāshim to have a say in the question of the revenge (al-Ṭabarī-Zotenberg) or that he had a brother-in-law (*ṣahr*) among the Ṭālibīs (al-Iṣṭakhrī).

Al-Hurmuzān was nicknamed *ʿurfuṭ*, but the reason for this is not clear, *ʿurfuṭ* being the name of a thorny shrub which exudes an evil-smelling resin.

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(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

ḤURR (1) in the legal sense, "free" as opposed to "slave" [see ʿABD]; (2) with social and ethical extensions, "generous", "gentlemanly" [see ḤURRIYYA, i]; (3) in modern usage, used for both "free" and "independent" [see ḤURRIYYA, ii and ISTIḲLĀL].

AL-ḤURR B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-THAḲAFĪ, nephew of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] and cousin of his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He was appointed governor of al-Andalus by the Arab *wālī* of Ḳayrawān, Muḥammad b. Yazīd, in 97/716. He arrived in the Peninsula accompanied by 400 noblemen of Ifrīḳiya, among whom were the first men of eminence to enter al-Andalus. One of his first measures was to transfer the capital of his government to Cordova, considering that the position of Seville was now too remote in view of the extension which the conquest of the country had acquired. Being a Ḳaysī by origin, and so an enemy of the Yemenīs, he established a form of government full of arrogance and intransigeance towards his co-religionists and of harshness towards the vanquished Hispano-Romans. Since he embarked upon a policy with regard to the latter which was so different from that followed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Nuṣayr, it would appear that it was the Ḳayrawānī *ʿulamāʾ* who had come with him who began the thankless task of redistributing the lands and property confiscated from the vanquished. It would be during his term of office, which lasted until Ramaḍān 100/March-April 719, that the Spanish Reconquista began with the proclamation of Pelayo and the episode of the siege of Covadonga, although it is still impossible, for lack of sure documentation, to fix the exact date. Al-Ḥurr was deposed by the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who appointed as his successor al-Samḥ b. Mālik and charged him personally with the task of establishing justice, governing mildly, and exacting the "Fifth" from the conquered lands.

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(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

AL-ḤURR B. **YAZĪD** B. NĀDJIYA B. KAʿNAB B. ʿATTĀB B. AL-ḤĀRITH B. ʿAMR B. HAMMĀM AL-RIYĀḤĪ, AL-YARBŪʿĪ, AL-TAMĪMĪ came at the head of a troop of 1000 horsemen from al-Ḳādisiyya as a vanguard of the forces sent by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, the governor of al-ʿIrāḳ against al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]. The latter was advancing at the time with a group of his kindred and followers in the direction of al-Kūfa. Al-Ḥurr was ordered to follow closely the group of al-Ḥusayn so as to bring him to ʿUbayd Allāh in al-Kūfa; he was however not told to fight. Accordingly he kept close to the camp of al-Ḥusayn and prevented him from turning back to al-Madīna, but agreed that he should proceed in a direction other than al-Kūfa. The relations between al-Ḥurr and al-Ḥusayn were not at first hostile: he even prayed behind al-Ḥusayn; he denied at the same time having any knowledge of the letters sent by the people of al-Kūfa to al-Ḥusayn.

Rigidly adhering to a new order received from ʿUbayd Allāh (2 Muḥarram 61/2 October 680) he prevented al-Ḥusayn and his followers from arriving at a settled place, compelling them to pitch their camp in the barren spot of Karbalāʾ.

When ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, heading the forces dispatched by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, rejected the proposals of al-Ḥusayn and decided to fight him, al-Ḥurr decided to join al-Ḥusayn, although knowing that the latter's situation was desperate. He expressed his regret, went over with a small group of his followers to al-Ḥusayn and the latter promised him God's forgiveness. He fought bravely, killed 2 warriors of the force of ʿUmar b. Saʿd and was finally killed (10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680).

The tradition about the repentance of al-Ḥurr, his audacity in the encounter and his heroic death became a part of the story of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn.

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AL-ḤURR AL-**ʿĀMILĪ**, *laḳab* of the *ithnā-ʿasharī shaykh* MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-ʿĀMILĪ AL-MASHGHARĪ (also of his brother, the historian Aḥmad who died in 1120/1708-9 and who succeeded him in Mashhad as *shaykh al-Islām*, before being invited to Iṣfahān by *shāh* Sultan Ḥusayn in 1115/1703-4). He was born on Friday 8 Radjab 1033/26 April 1624 at Mashghar in the Djabal ʿĀmil, where he completed his first studies with his father, his paternal uncle, the *shaykh* Muḥammad, his maternal grandfather, the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad, and one of his father's maternal uncles, the *shaykh* ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd; at Djabʿ, in the same Djabal, he was also the pupil of the *shaykh* Ḥusayn Ẓahīr and of Zayn al-Dīn, a great-grandson of *al-Shahīd al-thānī* [*q.v.*]. After remaining 40 years in the Djabal, during which he twice made the pilgrimage to Mecca, Muḥammad visited the shrines of Arab ʿIrāḳ, whence he journeyed to Iran to settle in Mashhad and to remain there as the *shaykh al-Islām* of the sanctuary of Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā. In the course of another *ḥadjdj*, he passed through Iṣfahān, where he was favourably received by Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī [*q.v.*]. The latter presented him to Shāh Sulaymān, who also offered him his patronage although, it appears, he showed some surprise at first at the simplicity and lack of savoir-faire of the *shaykh*. He died at Mashhad, where he had soon returned, and was buried in the sanctuary, near the *madrasa* of Mīrzā Djaʿfar.

As a pupil of Zayn al-Dīn, who himself had been the pupil of Muḥammad Amīn Astarābādī (but who was also the grandson of such a well qualified representative of the *uṣūlī* school as *shaykh* Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, the author of the *Maʿālim al-uṣūl* [see UṢŪLIYYŪN]), it is not surprising to find him among the *Akhbāriyyūn*, whose methodology he strove to justify with arguments considered "more subtle than a spider's web" (*awhan min bayt al-ʿankabūt*). His principal work is indeed a vast collection of *ḥadīth*, the *Tafṣīl wasāʾil al-Shīʿa ilā aḥkām al-sharīʿa* (even his opponents admire the breadth and erudition of this work although they criticize its faults in juridical elaboration), which makes him the second of the "three great Muḥammads of recent centuries" (the first being Muḥsin-i Fayḍ and the third Madjlisī). The great work, composed over 18 years, was lithographed at Tehrān in 1323-4 (3 vols.) and was "completed" quite recently by Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī Ṭabarsī, a very polemical disciple of the *shaykh* Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī and the master of the contemporary *ʿālim* Āḳā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, who died at Nadjaf in 1320, with his *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil wa mustanbaṭ al-masāʾil* (3 vols., lith. Tehrān 1311-1321). The second great work of the *shaykh* al-Ḥurr on *ḥadīths*, *Djawāhir al-saniyya fi 'l-aḥādīth al-ḳudsiyya*, which also was printed in Tehrān, 1302, is regarded as the first collection of *ḥadīth ḳudsī*. But the second Muḥammad shared with the third (and this separates them both from the first) that hatred for Ṣūfism which inspired his *Ithnāʿashariyya fī radd al-ṣūfiyya*. He also worked in the field of *ʿilm al-ridjāl*, composing a biographical *khātima* for his *Wasāʾil*, and especially his very well-known *Amal al-āmil fī ʿulamāʾ Djabal ʿĀmil* (lith. Tehrān 1302) on the scholars of his native land, with a section devoted to the *ruwāt*, and a continuation on the "non-ʿĀmilī" scholars from the time of *shaykh* Ṭūsī down to his own day: *Tadhkirat al-mutabaḥḥirīn fī ʿulamāʾ al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*. The *Amal al-āmil* was "completed" by the *sayyid* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī Shabbāna al-Baḥrānī (fellow pupil of the *shaykh* Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī at the school of the *shaykh* Ḥusayn al-Māḥūzī, d. 1180/1766) with a *Tatmīm Amal al-*

āmil, devoted also to the poets "from the time of al-Farazdaḳ down to our own day" and to the *ʿulamāʾ* of Baḥrayn; it has been further enriched recently by the *Takmilat Amal al-āmil* by the *sayyid* Ḥusayn Ṣadr al-Dīn. Among the numerous works of *shaykh* al-Ḥurr (who was quite prepared to collect the *ḥadīth*s of the *Ahl al-Sunna*) there is also a *dīwān* of 20,000 verses, according to his contemporary, the *sayyid* ʿAlī Khān Madanī Shīrāzī in his *Sulāfat al-ʿaṣr*.

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ḤURRIYYA, "freedom," an abstract formation derived from *ḥurr* "free" corresponding to Hebrew *ḥōr*, Aram. *ḥēr* (*ḥērūtā*), widely used also in Muslim languages other than Arabic. Already in pre-Islamic times, "free" was known not only as a legal term denoting the opposite of "unfree, slave" (*ʿabd* [*q.v.*]) but also as an ethical term denoting those "noble" of character and behavior. The legal concept of "freedom" continued to be used as a matter of course by Muslim jurists, who were inclined to give preference to the presumption of a free status for individuals in doubtful cases [see ʿabd] but otherwise accepted the existence of slavery and the deprivation of a section of humanity of their freedom without questioning, at least openly, the moral foundations. In the ethical sense, the superiority of the *ḥurr*, showing in his gentlemanly behavior, his generosity, his readiness to suffer for a noble cause, was constantly extolled in poetry and prose. The Greco-Arabic translation literature introduced the Muslims to some sayings illustrating Greek thinking on the problem of freedom; at the same time, it helped to reinforce the equation of "free" and "noble" and added some confusion of its own through the use of *ḥurriyya* to translate *eleutheriotēs* "generosity" in the Aristotelian canon of virtues. Furthermore, the writings of philosophers such as al-Fārābī and Ibn Rushd took some limited cognizance of "freedom" as a political term. In Muslim metaphysical speculation, *ḥurriyya* came to occupy a rather significant position through Ṣūfism. It appears as one of the guideposts on the mystic path in the *Lumaʿ* of al-Sarrādj and in the *Risāla* of his successor al-Ḳushayrī. Through the *Risāla* in particular, it gained a firm place in Ṣūfī literature. For the mystic, "freedom" is basically the freedom from everything except God and the devotion to Him. It is the recognition of the essential relationship between God the master and His human slaves who are completely dependent on Him, "freedom," as Ibn ʿArabī expresses it, "being perfect slavery" (*al-Iʿlām bi-ishārāt ahl al-ilhām*, Ḥaydarābād 1362, 8). However, one also hears about the existence of men who defended the necessity of "absolute freedom" (O. Pretzl, *Die Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Ibāḥīja*, in *SBBayer. Ak.* 1933, text 27 f., trans. 51).

Ḥurriyya, although much discussed, did not achieve the status of a fundamental political concept that could have served as a rallying cry for great causes. Only this much can be stated with assurance. Beyond it, any evaluation of the situation prevailing in mediaeval Islam with regard to "freedom," in the way in which the term is generally if loosely used in the contemporary West, depends on the particular view one holds of "freedom" and the definition one chooses to give to the concept. Obviously, the actual situation varied greatly over the vast expanse of Muslim history, but some basic lines may be said to define the general picture: The individual Muslim was expected to consider subordination of his own freedom to the beliefs, morality, and customs of the group as the only proper course of behaviour. While he valued his personal freedom and was proud of it, he was not supposed to see in it a good to be defended at all costs against group demands. Politically, the individual was not expected to exercise any free choice as to how he wished to be governed. At times, he did stress his right to be considered and treated as an equal by the men in power. Under special circumstances, there was extensive community participation in the government (as, for instance, in early Islam or among certain sectarians), or, at least, a certain degree of wider distribution of the political power among the population (as, perhaps, in city states such as Seville). In general, however, governmental authority admitted of no participation of the individual as such, who therefore did not possess any real freedom vis-à-vis it. On the metaphysical level, the question of how much freedom could be vouchsafed to human beings in view of the omnipotence of God has occupied the Muslim mind from the very beginnings of Islam [see ikhtiyār]. Whatever concessions were made, however, were not made in the name of any kind of individual freedom, but in order to assure a better regulated society. Moreover, the widely adopted Ashʿarī solution of the free will dilemma, no less than all the others, was far too subtle for the masses to understand; at any rate it failed to impress them with the importance of the element of human freedom it contained.

Bibliography: F. Rosenthal, *The Muslim concept of freedom*, Leiden 1960. For modern Muslim works on freedom which also pay some attention to the historical background, see the bibliography to the following section.

(F. Rosenthal)

ii.—Modern Period

The Ottoman Empire and after. The first examples of the use of the word freedom in a clearly defined political sense come from late 18th century Turkey. The word used is not *hurriyya* but *serbestiyyet* (later also *serbestī*), pseudo-Arabic and pseudo-Persian abstracts from *serbest*, an established Ottoman term connoting the absence of limitations or restrictions (thus, *serbest tīmār* means a fief in which all the revenues go to the timariot, as against an ordinary *tīmār* in which certain revenues are reserved to the imperial exchequer [see tīmār]). In its first known appearance in an official document, the word *serbestiyyet* denotes collective rather than personal freedom—*i.e.*, independence rather than liberty in the classical liberal sense. This is in the third article of the treaty of Küčük Kaynardja [*q.v.*] (1774), establishing the short-lived independence of the Crimean Tatars from both Turkey and Russia. The two states agree to recognize the Tatars as "free and entirely independent of any foreign power"; the Sultan is regarded as their religious head, "but without thereby compromising their political and civil liberty as established". The forms of words in the Italian original

of the treaty for these two phrases are "liberi, immediati, ed independenti assolutamente da qualunque straniera Potenza" and "senza pero mettere in compromesso la stabilita libertà loro politica e civile"; this is rendered in Turkish as *serbestiyyet we g͟hayr-i taʿalluḳ mustaḳill wud͟jūhla ed͟jnebī bir dewlete tābiʿ olmamak üzre* . . . and *ʿaḳd olunan serbestiyyet-i dewlet we memleketlerine k͟halel getirmiyerek* (Turkish text in D͟jewdet, *Taʾrīk͟h*², i, 358-9; *Med͟jmūʿa-i muʿāhedāt*, iii, 254; Italian in G. F. de Martens, *Recueil des traités* . . ., iv, Göttingen 1795, 610-2).

The French Revolution gave the word *serbestiyyet* a new meaning. Moralī El-Seyyid ʿAlī Efendi, the Ottoman ambassador in Paris under the *Directoire*, uses it several times in his *sefāretnāme* to translate *liberté*, chiefly in relation to symbols and ceremonies (*e.g.*, *TOEM*, no. 23 (1329 A.H.), 1458, 1460. On the display of the 'symbols' of freedom by Frenchmen in Turkey, see D͟jewdet, *Taʾrīk͟h*², vi, 182-3). The *Reʾīs al-Kuttāb* ʿĀṭif Efendi, in his memorandum of 1798 on the political situation resulting from the activities of revolutionary France, shows a clearer understanding of the new political content of the term, and of the danger that it represented to the established order, in the Ottoman Empire as elsewhere. In his introductory account of the Revolution, he tells how the revolutionaries had enticed the common people (*ʿawāmm-i nās*) to follow them with promises of equality and freedom (*müsāwāt we serbestiyyet*) as a means of obtaining complete happiness in this world. More specifically, he is alarmed by the actions of the French in the former Venetian possessions which they had acquired—the Ionian islands and four towns on the mainland. By evoking the forms of the government of the ancient Greeks and installing a form of liberty (*serbestiyyet*), the French had made clear their hostile intentions (D͟jewdet, *Taʾrīk͟h*², vi, 395, 400; cf. B. Lewis in *J. Wld.Hist.*, i (1953), 120 ff. (revised version in G. S. Métraux and F. Croizet, eds., *The new Asia*, New York-London 1965, 47 ff.), and *Slavonic Review*, xxxiv (1955), 234-5).

Before the end of the year the French had landed in Egypt, where General Bonaparte, on arrival, addressed the Egyptians on behalf of the French Republic, "founded on the basis of freedom and equality" (*ʿalā asās al-ḥurriyya waʾl-taswiya*: versions in D͟jabartī, *Muẓhir al-taḳdīs*, Cairo n.d., i, 37; Niḳūlā al-Turk, *Mud͟hakkirāt*, ed G. Wiet, Cairo 1950, 8; the text also appears in D͟jabartī, *ʿAd͟jāʾib*, iii, Cairo 1879, 4; Ḥaydar al-S͟hihābī's *Lubnān*, etc.). The word used for freedom is *ḥurriyya*, which, however, was still far from being a commonly accepted equivalent to the European term in its political sense. Ruphy's French-Arabic wordlist, printed in 1802, renders *liberté* by *ḥurriyya*, but with the restriction "opposé à l'esclavage"; in the sense of "pouvoir d'agir" he prefers *sarāḥ* (J. F. Ruphy, *Dictionnaire abrégé français-arabe*, Paris, An X [1802], 120). As late as 1841 the Phanariot Handjeri renders "liberté civile" and "liberté politique" by *ruk͟hṣat-i s͟herʿiyye* and *ruk͟hṣat-i mülkiyye* respectively (*Dictionnaire français-arabe-persan et turc*, ii, Moscow 1840-1, 397, with explanations and examples).

Early references to freedom in works of Muslim authorship are hostile, and equate it with libertinism, licentiousness, and anarchy. A significant change can, however, be seen in a passage in the chronicle of S͟hānīzāde ([*q.v.*] d. 1826) under the year 1230/1815, discussing the nature of council meetings (*keyfiyyet-i med͟jālis-i mes͟hweret*), which became frequent at this time. S͟hānīzāde is careful to base the holding of such consultations on Islamic precedent and ancient Ottoman practice, and to give warning against its misuse; at the same time he points out that such consultations are normally held, with beneficial effects, in "certain well-organized states (*düwel-i muntaẓama*)"—a striking euphemism for the states of Europe—and attributes to the members attending the councils a representative quality entirely new to Islamic political thought. The members of the councils consist of two groups, servants of the state and representatives of the subjects (*wükelā-i raʿiyyet*); they discuss and argue freely (*ber wed͟jh-i serbestiyyet*) and thus arrive at a decision (S͟hānīzāde, *Taʾrīk͟h*, iv, Istanbul 1291, 2-3; cf. B. Lewis, in *BSOAS*, xxix (1966), 385-6).

In the decades that followed, the notion of political freedom became more familiar through discussions of European affairs and translations of European works (*e.g.* the Turkish version of Botta's *Storia d'Italia*, Cairo 1249/1834, repr. Istanbul 1293/1876, which abounds in references to liberal principles and institutions). It was also discussed and developed by several Muslim writers, who were influenced more especially by the rather conservative constitutionalism of the post-Napoleonic era—the idea of the *Rechtsstaat*, or state based on the rule of law, in contrast both to the unbridled absolutism of Napoleon and the licence of the Revolution. One of the most important of these was the Egyptian S͟hayk͟h Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*], who lived in Paris from 1826 to 1831. His account of what he saw and learnt was first published in Būlāḳ in Arabic in 1834 and in a Turkish version in 1839; it includes a translation with commentary of the French constitution and a description of parliamentary institutions, the purpose of which is to secure government under law and the protection of the subject from tyranny. What the French call freedom (*ḥurriyya*), says S͟hayk͟h Rifāʿa, is the same as what the Muslims call justice and equity (*al-ʿadl waʾl-inṣāf*)—that is, the maintenance of equality before the law, government according to law, and the abstention of the ruler from arbitrary and illegal acts against the subject (*Tak͟hlīṣ al-ibrīz fī talk͟hīṣ Bārīz*, ed. Mahdī ʿAllām, Aḥmad Badawī and Anwar Lūḳā, Cairo n.d. [1958 ?], 148). S͟hayk͟h Rifāʿa's equation of *ḥurriyya* with the classical Islamic concept of justice [see ʿADL, INṢĀF and ẒULM] helped to relate the new to the old concepts, and fit his own political writings into the long line of Muslim exhortations to the sovereign to rule wisely and justly, with due respect for the law and due care for the interests and welfare of the subjects [see RAʿIYYA and SIYĀSA]. What is new and alien to traditional political ideas is the suggestion that the subject has a *right* to be treated justly, and that some apparatus should be set up to secure that right. With remarkable percipience, S͟hayk͟h Rifāʿa sees and explains the different rôles of parliament, the courts and the press in protecting the subjects from tyranny—or rather, as he points out, in enabling the subjects to protect themselves. What is far from clear is the extent to which he felt these ideas and institutions to be relevant to the needs of his own country. In his later writings there is little suggestion of any such relevance; even his commendation of the Khedive Ismāʿīl for setting up a consultative assembly in 1866 shows a traditional concern with the duties of the ruler—justice and consultation—rather than a liberal concern with the rights of the ruled. In his *al-Murs͟hid al-amīn* (Cairo 1862, 127 ff.), he defines freedom under five sub-headings, the last

two of which are civic (*madanī*) and political (*siyāsī*). Both are defined in relation to social, economic and legal rights, without any specific reference to *political* rights in the liberal sense. The first three sub-headings are natural, social (*i.e.*, freedom of 'conduct') and religious. Political freedom is the assurance of the state to the individual of the enjoyment of his property and the exercise of his 'natural' freedom (*i.e.*, the basic innate power of all living creatures to eat, drink, move etc., limited by the need to avoid injury to himself or to others) (see L. Zolondek, *Al-Ṭahṭāwī and political freedom*, in *MW*, liv (1964), 90-7.)

Shaykh Rifā'a's Turkish contemporary Ṣādiḳ Rif'at Pasha [*q.v.*], though vaguer in his theoretical notions of the meaning of freedom, is more specific on its immediate application at home. In an essay first drafted while he was Ottoman ambassador in Vienna in 1837—and in close touch with Metternich —he discusses the essential differences between Turkey and Europe, and those respects in which Turkey might profitably seek to imitate Europe. Ṣādiḳ Rif'at is deeply impressed by European wealth, industry and science, in which he sees the best means of regenerating Turkey. European progress and prosperity, he explains, are the result of certain political conditions, of stability and tranquillity, which in turn depend on 'the attainment of complete security for the life, property, honour and reputation of each nation and people, that is to say, on the proper application of the necessary rights of freedom (*ḥuḳūḳ-i lāzime-i ḥürriyyet*)'. For Ṣādiḳ Rif'at, as for Shaykh Rifā'a, freedom is an extension of the classical Islamic idea of justice—an obligation of the ruler to act justly and in accordance with the law; but it is also one of the "*rights* of the nation" (*ḥuḳūḳ-i millet*), and the establishment of these rights in Turkey is a matter of "the most urgent necessity" (text in Ṣādiḳ Rif'at Pasha, *Müntekhabāt-i āthār*, Istanbul, *Awrupaniñ aḥwāline dā'ir* .. *risāle*, 4; cf. ibid., *Idāre-i hukūmetiñ ba'ḍ-ï ḳawā'id-i esāsiyyesini mutaḍammin* .. *risāle*, *passim*; another version in 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Ta'rīkh muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1340, 125 f.). Similar ideas are expressed by another Turkish writer, Muṣṭāfā Sāmī, a former Embassy secretary in Paris, who in an essay published in 1840 speaks with admiration of the political and religious liberties of the French. Such ideas find official expression in the first of the great reforming edicts—the ferman of the Rose-chamber (*Gülkhāne*) of 1839, which recognizes and seeks to establish the rights of the subject to security of life, honour and property, and to government under law. There are two specific references to freedom— in the clause guaranteeing that "everyone shall dispose of his property in all freedom (*serbestiyyet*)", and in the clause concerning the Councils, in which everyone present "shall express his ideas and observations freely (*serbestče*) and without hesitation." (Text in *Düstūr*, first series, i, 4-7; in modern script, in A. Şeref Gözübüyük and S. Kili, *Türk anayasa metinleri*, Ankara 1957, 3-5; English trans. in Hurewitz, i, 113-6).

These ideas of freedom are still very cautious and conservative; one would expect no other from Shaykh Rifā'a, the loyal servant of the rulers of Egypt, or from Ṣādiḳ Rif'at, the disciple of Metternich and coadjutor of Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*]. The subjects were to be treated justly by the government; Indeed, they had a right to be treated justly, and laws should be promulgated to secure such treatment. But there is still no idea that the subjects have any right to share in the formation or conduct of government—to political freedom, or citizenship, in the sense which underlies the development of liberal political thought in the West.

While conservative reformers talked of freedom under law, and some Muslim monarchs even experimented with councils and assemblies [see DUSTŪR, MADJLIS, MASHWARA], government was in fact becoming more and not less arbitrary and oppressive. The modernization of government and the abrogation of intermediate powers at once strengthened the autocracy of the state, and removed or weakened the traditional limitations on its functioning. More authoritarian government provoked more radical criticism; the newly created and rapidly expanding press [see DJARĪDA] provided a medium for its expression; 19th century Europe offered a wide range of inspiration and example.

The suggestion has been made that some of the Lebanese movements of the periods 1820-1 and 1840 may have been inspired or influenced by French Revolutionary ideologies of national liberation and political democracy. The documents on which these suggestions rest (Philippe and Farīd Khāzin, *Madjmū'at al-muḥarrarāt al-siyāsiyya wa'l-mufāwaḍāt al-duwaliyya 'an Sūriyya wa-Lubnān*, i, Djūniya 1910, 1 ff.) are few and uncertain, and may reflect the activities of French agitators more than any genuine local movement. A more definite expression of libertarian ideas occurs in an account of the revolt of the Maronites of Kisrawān in 1858-9, led by Ṭanyūs Shāhīn [*q.v.*]; he is said to have aimed at "republican government" (*ḥukūma djumhūriyya*), probably meaning some form of representative government (Anṭūn al-'Aḳīḳī, ed. Yūsuf Ibrāhīm Yazbak, *Thawra wa-fitna fī Lubnān*, Damascus 1938, 87; English trans. M. H. Kerr, *Lebanon in the last years of feudalism* . . ., Beirut 1959, 53. See further P. K. Hitti, *The impact of the West on Syria and Lebanon in the nineteenth century*, in *J.Wld.Hist.*, ii (1955), 629-30).

The intensification of Western influence during and after the Crimean War on the one hand, and the growing internal political and economic pressures on the other, both helped to bring a revival of libertarian thought and activities in the eighteen sixties. In Turkey, Shināsī [*q.v.*] stressed the importance of freedom of expression in the introductory editorials both of *Terdjumān-i Aḥwāl* (no. 1, 1277/1860) and of *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* (no. 1, 15 June [O.S.] 1278/1862). In Syria, the Christian author Francis Fatḥ Allāh al-Marrāsh [*q.v.*] wrote an allegorical dialogue (*Ghābat al-ḥaḳḳ*, Beirut 1866, repr. Cairo 1298/1880-1), which includes a philosophic and political discussion of freedom, and of the conditions that are required to maintain it. More directly political in content was the work of a Muslim author, the famous Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*], one of the authors of the Tunisian constitutional enactment of 1861 (*Aḳwām al-masālik fī ma'rifat aḥwāl al-mamālik*, Tunis 1284-5/1867-8; French trans. *Réformes nécessaires aux états musulmans*, Paris 1868; Turkish version, Istanbul 1296/1879). In this rather conservative programme of reform, Khayr al-Dīn examines the sources of European wealth and power, and finds them in the political institutions of Europe, which secure justice and freedom. Identifying the two, he makes some cautious and rather obscure recommendations on how to secure them in the Islamic state without violating or departing from Islamic traditions and institutions, by reliance on 'consultation' [see MASHWARA], since the consultation of ministers,

ʿulamāʾ, and notables is the authentic Islamic equivalent of the European system of representative and constitutional government. It may be noted that neither as chief minister in Tunisia in the years 1873-7, nor as Grand Vizier in Turkey in 1878-9, did he do anything to restore the constitutions which had been suspended in both countries.

Already in 1856, in an ode addressed to Re<u>sh</u>īd Pa<u>sh</u>a on the occasion of the Reform Edict of that year, <u>Sh</u>ināsī tells the reforming Pa<u>sh</u>a "You have made us free (*āzād*), who were slaves to oppression (*ẓulm*)" and continues: "Your law is an act of manumission (*ʿitḳnāme*) for men, your law informs the Sultan of his limits (*bildirir ḥaddini*)."

The radical implications of these words—the replacement of justice by freedom as the antithesis of tyranny, and the suggestion of a constitutional restriction of the sovereign's powers—were developed and made clear in the late sixties and seventies by the group of liberal patriots known as the Young (strictly "new") Ottomans [see YEÑI ʿO<u>TH</u>MĀNLÏLAR]. The political ideas of the Young Ottomans, though couched in Islamic terms and related, sometimes with visible effort, to Islamic traditions, are of European origin, and express an Ottoman-Islamic adaptation of the liberal patriotism current in Europe at that time. Their ideal was the British parliament at Westminster, their ideology was drawn from the liberal teachings of the French enlightenment and revolution, their organization and tactics were modelled on the patriotic secret societies of Italy and Poland. In the political writings of the Young Ottomans the two key words are *Waṭan* [*q.v.*]—fatherland, and *Ḥürriyyet*—freedom. The latter was the name of the weekly journal which they published in exile (London, June 1868-April 1870; Geneva, April-June 1870). In this journal, and in other writings, the Young Ottoman ideologists, above all Nāmïḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*], expounded their interpretation of liberty—the sovereignty of the people, to be secured by constitutional and representative government (see for example the article from *Ḥürriyyet* published by M. Colombe in French translation in *Orient*, no. 13 (1960), 123-33). For Kemāl as for earlier Muslim writers, the primary duty of the state is still to act justly—but justice means not only care for the welfare of the subject, but respect for his political rights. These rights must be safeguarded by appropriate institutions: "To keep the government within the limits of justice, there are two basic devices. The first of them is that the fundamental rules by which it operates should no longer be implicit or tacit, but should be published to the world . . . The second principle is consultation (*me<u>sh</u>weret*), whereby the legislative power is taken away from the government" (Nāmïḳ Kemāl, *Ḥuḳūḳ-i ʿumūmiyye*, in *ʿIbret*, no. 18, 1872; repr. in Ebü'l-Ḍiyā Tewfiḳ, *Nümūne-i edebiyyāt-i ʿO<u>th</u>māniyyeʾ*, Istanbul 1306, 357-8, and, in the new Turkish script, in Mustafa N. Özön, *Namık Kemal ve Ibret gazetesi*, Istanbul 1938, 96-7; English trans. in Lewis, *Emergence*, 140). Like his predecessors, Nāmïḳ Kemāl tries to present these imported ideas as natural developments from traditional Islamic notions; in this way justice grows into freedom and consultation into representation. Thus far, Nāmïḳ Kemāl and his associates had been anticipated by earlier 19th century writers, and even to some extent by rulers, who had summoned councils and issued edicts [see DUSTŪR, MAD<u>J</u>LIS, MA<u>SH</u>WARA]. But the Young Ottomans, both in thought and actions, went far beyond their cautious forerunners. For Nāmïḳ Kemāl, a consultative assembly, even an elected one, is not enough. The essence of the matter is that this assembly be the exclusive possessor of the legislative power, of which the government would thus be deprived. This doctrine of the separation of powers, to be expressed in and maintained by a written constitution, is supported by the even more radical idea of the sovereignty of the people, which Nāmïḳ Kemāl identifies with the classical *bayʿa* [*q.v.*]. "The sovereignty of the people (*ḥākimiyyet-i ahālī*), which means that the powers of the government derive from the people, and which in the language of the *<u>Sh</u>arīʿa* is called *bayʿa* . . . is a right necessarily arising from the personal independence (*istiḳlāl-i <u>dh</u>ātī*) that each individual by nature possesses." (Nāmïḳ Kemāl, *Ḥuḳūḳ-i ʿumūmiyye*, loc. cit.). He was not deceived by the apparently liberal and constitutional aspects of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. The reform edict of 1839 was not, as some had claimed, a fundamental constitutional charter (*<u>Sh</u>arṭnāme-i esāsī*), but a measure of administrative westernization. "Had the Rescript not confined the general precepts of law set forth in its preamble to personal freedom (*ḥürriyyet-i <u>shakh</u>ṣiyye*) alone, which it interpreted as security of life, property and honour, but also proclaimed such other basic principles as freedom of thought (*ḥürriyyet-i efkār*), sovereignty of the people, and the system of government by consultation [*i.e.*, representative and responsible government], then only could it have taken the character of a fundamental charter . . ." (*ʿIbret* no. 46, 1872, cit. Ihsan Sungu, *Tanzimat ve Yeni Osmanlılar*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 845; English trans. in Lewis, *Emergence*, 167).

In 1876, with the promulgation of the first Ottoman constitution, the liberal and parliamentary programme of the Young Ottomans seemed to be on the point of realization. Article 10 of the constitution lays down that personal freedom is inviolable, and subsequent articles deal with freedom of worship, the press, association, education, etc., as well as with freedom from arbitrary violations of the rights of the person, residence and property. In its political provisions, however, the constitution is less libertarian. It derives not from the sovereignty of the people but from the will of the sovereign, who retains important prerogatives and all residual powers; it gives only perfunctory recognition to the principle of the separation of powers. Its effective life was in any case brief. In February 1878 parliament was dissolved; it did not meet again for thirty years.

Under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd freedom was a proscribed word, and the ideals which it connoted became all the more precious. For Turkish modernists of that generation, the fountainhead was the West, which provided both material examples of the benefits of freedom, and intellectual guidance on the means of attaining it. "When you look upon this fascinating display of human progress", wrote Saʿdullāh from the Paris Exhibition of 1878, "do not forget that all these achievements are the work of freedom. It is under the protection of freedom that peoples and nations attain happiness. Without freedom, there can be no security; without security, no endeavour; without endeavour, no prosperity; without prosperity no happiness . . ." (Saʿdullāh Pa<u>sh</u>a, *1878 Paris Ekspozisyonu*, in Ebü'l-Ḍiyā Tewfiḳ, *Nümūne* . . ., 288; English trans. in B. Lewis, *Middle East* . . ., 47). As an earlier generation had turned to Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu, so the new generation read the writings of Haeckel, Büchner, Le Bon (specially favoured because of his sympathy for Islam), Spencer, Mill and many others. "If there

are today", wrote Ḥüseyn Raḥmī in 1908, "men who can think, can write, and can defend freedom, they are those whose minds were enlightened by these sparks [of European culture]. In those dark and melancholy days, our friends, our guides were those intellectual treasures of the West. We learned the love for thinking, the love for freedom, from those treasures" (Preface to *Shipsevdi*, Istanbul 1912, English trans. in Niyazi Berkes, *Secularism*, 292). In more practical political terms, freedom meant constitutional and representative government—the ending of autocracy, the restoration of the constitution, and the safeguarding of the rights of the citizen by free elections and parliaments. But freedom was no longer a purely political matter. For some, the exponents of materialist and secularist ideas, it involved an intellectual liberation from what they saw as the shackles of religious obscurantism. Perhaps the first to conceive of liberation in social and economic terms was Prince Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who sought to lead Turkey from a collectivist to an individualist social order by a policy of federalism and decentralization and by the encouragement of private enterprise. In 1902 he founded a society dedicated to the achievement of these purposes. Similar ideas inspired the Liberal Entente (*Ḥürriyyet we Iʾtilāf* [*q.v.*]), which appeared in 1911 as a rival to the Union and Progress Party [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ]. An interesting example of the use of the word in a social and individualist connotation is in Ḳāsim Amīn's [*q.v.*] famous book *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, the liberation—*i.e.*, emancipation—of woman (Cairo 1316/1898 and 1905; Turkish versions: Cairo 1326/1908, Istanbul 1329/1911, and, in Northern Turkish, Kazan 1909).

After the revolution of 1908 the establishment, for a while, of effective freedom of thought and expression initiated a period of vigorous discussion, in which the problem of freedom, with others, was examined, analysed, and discussed from many points of view; political, social, economic and religious freedom all find their exponents and defenders. But as the bonds of autocracy and censorship were wound tighter by the Young Turks, the debate dwindled into insignificance. In the new Turkey that emerged under the first and second republics, the discussion of freedom does not differ significantly from that of Europe, and need not be considered here.

Ottoman subjects from the Arab lands played a certain rôle in the libertarian movement almost from the beginning. On 24 March 1867, the Egyptian prince Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] published in the French newspaper *Liberté* an open letter to the Sultan, advising him to grant a constitution to the Empire (reprinted in *Orient*, no. 5 (1958), 29-38). Besides endowing them with their first manifesto, the Pas̲h̲a also helped the Young Ottoman exiles financially, and was later succeeded in this by his brother the Khedive Ismāʿīl, who saw in them a useful instrument of his political purposes. In Hamidian times, one of the first libertarian journals published in exile was started by Salīm Fāris, a son of Aḥmad Fāris al-S̲h̲idyāḳ [*q.v.*]. Published in London in January 1894, it was entitled *Ḥürriyyet*—a significant evocation of the earlier Young Ottoman weekly. He was later induced by agents of the Sultan to cease publication. Other exiles included the Lebanese *amīr* Amīn Arslān, who published an Arabic journal called *Kas̲h̲f al-Niḳāb* in Paris in 1895, and a former Syrian deputy in the Ottoman parliament of 1876, K̲h̲alīl G̲h̲ānim [*q.v.*], who became active in Young Turk circles. The ideas and arguments of the Young Ottomans and of the Young Turks found their echoes also in Arabic publications, which at this period tend to offer a provincial adaptation of ideas circulating among the Turkish ruling groups. Thus, the much discussed appearance of the motto *Ḥubb al-waṭan min al-īmān*—"love of country is part of the faith"—on the Syrian fortnightly *Al-Dj̲inān* in 1870 follows its regular use in the Young Ottoman weekly *Ḥürriyyet* from 1868 to 1870; the growth of federalist groups among the Ottoman Arabs must be related to the federalist movement among the Turks.

In Egypt, under Khedivial and then British rule, political thought evolved along different lines, more directly influenced by Europe, and less directly affected by events and movements in the Ottoman Empire—though even here these had their effect. Many of the leaders of thought were Arabic-speaking emigrés from the Ottoman lands; the occasional presence and activity in Egypt of such Turkish personalities as Prince Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn and ʿAbd Allāh Dj̲ewdet [*q.v.*] cannot have passed unnoticed. Walī al-Dīn Yakan [*q.v.*], of Turkish origin and a participant in Young Turk politics, wrote extensively in Arabic on political and social problems. A work of some influence was Dj̲ewdet's Turkish translation of Vittorio Alfieri's *Della tirannide*. Entitled simply *Istibdād*, it was first printed in Geneva in 1898 and reprinted in Cairo in 1909. This translation appears to underlie the famous Arabic adaptation of Alfieri's book by the Aleppine exile in Egypt, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī [*q.v.*], entitled *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-istibdād*, Cairo n.d. (Sylvia G. Haim, *Alfieri and al-Kawākibī*, in *OM*, xxxiv (1954), 321-34; E. Rossi, *Una traduzione turca dell'opera "Della Tirannide" di V. Alfieri*, *ibid.*, 335-7).

One of the earliest discussions of freedom—little noticed at the time—in Egypt, after S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Rifāʿa (see above) is that of the Azharī S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī. In his *Risālat al-kalim al-t̲h̲amān*—"Essay on eight words", published in Cairo in 1298/1881, he examines and interprets, for the benefit of "the intelligent young men of these times", eight political terms "current on the tongues of men" (p. 2). One of them is *ḥurriyya* (pp. 36-7), which the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ explains in natural and social terms—the difference between men and beasts, the human habit of social specialization and association, and hence the need for social cooperation and the mutual recognition of rights. The S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ recognizes the necessity of freedom in this natural and social sense, but rather obscurely warns his young readers against untoward extensions of the concept into the realm of politics.

Despite such warnings, the influence of European liberal political thought continued to grow, and found frequent expression in Arabic as well as Turkish writings. The merits of freedom are variously presented and defended. For some, a vaguely understood freedom is still the secret talisman of Western prosperity and power; its adoption is therefore desirable in order to achieve the same results. For others, freedom means the overthrow of tyranny, usually identified with Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, and the establishment of a constitutional régime in its place. Perhaps the last and most cogent exposition of the classical liberal position in Arabic is that of the Egyptian Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid (1872-1963). A declared disciple of J. S. Mill and other 19th century liberals, Luṭfī al-Sayyid gives a central position to the problem of liberty in his political thought. Freedom, basically, means the rights of the individual—his inalienable natural freedom,

defined and safeguarded by civil rights, which in turn are secured by political and legal arrangements and institutions. The action and interference of the State must be kept at the minimum; the freedom of the individual and of the nation must be secured by a free press, an independent judiciary, and a constitutional régime guaranteeing the separation of powers.

Luṭfī al-Sayyid is concerned not only with the freedom of the individual, but also with that of the nation, which has corporate natural rights distinct from and additional to the aggregate of the rights of the individuals composing it. Rejecting pan-Islamism and disapproving of Arab nationalism, he sees the nation as Egypt, and argues for her liberation from both foreign rule and native authoritarianism.

The liberal interpretation of freedom continued to find exponents, particularly after the Young Turk revolution of 1908 and again after the military victory of the democracies ten years later. But in the meantime a new interpretation of freedom was gaining ground, resulting from the spread of imperialism and the rise of nationalism. In nationalist usage, freedom is a synonym for independence—the sovereignty of the nation state, untrammeled by any superior, alien authority. In the absence of any such subordination to aliens, a nation is called free, irrespective of the political, social and economic conditions prevailing within it. This interpretation of freedom had less impact among the Turks, whose independence, though threatened, was never lost, than among the Arab peoples for whom the main theme of political life was the ending of alien rule. During the period of British and French domination, individual freedom was never much of an issue. Though often limited and sometimes suspended, it was on the whole more extensive and better protected than either before or after. The imperial régimes conceded freedom but withheld independence; it was natural that the anti-imperialist struggle should concentrate on the latter and neglect the former. In the final revulsion against the West, Western democracy too was rejected as a fraud and a delusion, of no value to Muslims. The words liberty (*ḥurriyya*) and liberation (*taḥrīr*) retained their magic, but were emptied of that liberal individualist content which had first attracted Muslim attention in the 19th century. A few voices still spoke of personal, individual rights, and some writers used a word from the same root, *taḥarrur*, to denote psychological self-liberation, or emancipation (from the shackles of tradition etc.). But for most users of the word freedom was a collective, not an individual attribute; it was first interpreted politically, as independence, and then, when this by itself proved inadequate, reinterpreted in quasi-economic terms, as the absence of private or foreign exploitation.

On nationalism, see ḲAWMIYYA; on independence, ISTIḲLĀL; on socialism, IS͟HTIRĀKIYYA; on communism, S͟HUYŪʿIYYA; on autocracy, ISTIBDĀD; on tyranny ẒULM.

Bibliography: (a) Turkey: the most comprehensive account in a Western language of the history of ideas in Turkey is Niyazi Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964. For a general history of contemporary thought in Turkey, see Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiyede çağdaş düsünce tarihi*, Konya 1966. On particular topics and periods, see Şerif Mardin, *The genesis of young Ottoman thought*, Princeton N.J. 1962; idem, *The mind of the Turkish reformer 1700-1900*, in *The Western Humanities Review*, xiv (1960), 413-36; idem, *Libertarian movements in the Ottoman Empire 1878-1895*, in *MEJ*, xvi (1962), 169-82; idem, *Jön Türklerin siyasî fikirleri 1895-1908*, Ankara 1964 (including an expanded Turkish version of the preceding article); E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks; prelude to the revolution of 1908*, Princeton N.J. 1957; T. Z. Tunaya, *Hürriyetin ilânı: ikinci Meşrutiyetin siyasî hayatına bakışlar*, Istanbul 1959; idem, *Türkiyenin siyasî hayatında batılılaşma hareketleri*, Istanbul 1960. For briefer discussions of political thought in the context of events see B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968.

(b) Arab lands: the pioneer work on modern Arab political thought is the much-used and insufficiently acknowledged anthology of Raʾīf al-K͟hūrī, *al-Fikr al-ʿArabī al-ḥadīt͟h*, Beirut 1943, a collection of excerpts, with an introduction, illustrating the influence on Arab thought of the French Revolution. The subject of freedom is discussed in a number of works on nationalism and related topics: H. Z. Nuseibeh, *The ideas of Arab nationalism*, Ithaca N.Y., 1956; J. M. Ahmed, *The intellectual origins of Egyptian nationalism*, London 1960; N. Safran, *Egypt in search of political community*, Cambridge Mass. 1961; Sylvia G. Haim, *Arab nationalism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962; Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, *The Arab rediscovery of Europe*, Princeton N.J., 1963. Arab liberalism receives special attention in A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age 1798-1939*, London 1962.

(c) General: L. Gardet, *La cité musulmane: vie sociale et politique*, Paris 1954; W. Cantwell Smith, *Islam in modern history*, Princeton N.J. 1957; W. Braune, *Der islamische Orient zwischen Vergangenheit und Zukunft*, Berne-Munich 1960; G. E. von Grunebaum, *Modern Islam: the search for cultural identity*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962; B. Lewis, *The Middle East and the West*, London-Bloomington Ind. 1964.

(B. LEWIS)

ḤÜRRIYET WE IʾTILĀF FİRḲASİ ("Freedom and Accord Party"), also known as *Entente Libérale* ("Liberal Union"), Ottoman political party, formed on 21 November 1911. It succeeded a number of other liberal-conservative political parties formed after the 1908 revolution in opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ D͟JEMʿIYETI], including the *ʿOt͟hmānlı Aḥrār Fırḳasi* (1908), the *Muʿtedil Ḥürriyetperverān Fırḳasi* (1909), the *Ahālī Fırḳasi* (1910), and the *Ḥizb-i D͟jedīd* (1911). It advocated a policy of administrative decentralization, opposition to radical social reform, and a *laissez-faire* economy as opposed to state intervention. In the Chamber of Deputies the Liberal Union rallied all those who had belonged to the *Ahālī Fırḳasi* as well as dissidents from the CUP.

The party was founded during the Turco-Italian war, when Unionist prestige was low. As in the past, personalities such as Dāmād Ferīd, Kāmil Pas͟ha and Prince Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn continued to provide leadership and inspiration. The success of Ṭāhir K͟hayr al-Dīn, the Liberal candidate, in the Istanbul by-election on 11 December 1911 seemed to suggest that the tide had turned in favour of the Liberals (*Yeñi Iḳdām*, 12 Dec. 1911; and the memoirs of Cavit (D͟jāwīd [*q.v.*]) in *Tanin*, 30 Oct. 1943). Liberal hopes were dashed in the 1912 elections, which the Unionists manipulated ruthlessly, and this led the Liberals to turn to unconstitutional means to assume power.

Thus in July 1912 the *Khalāṣkār Ḍābiṭān Grubu* (the "Group of Saviour Officers"), a military extension of the Liberal Union, intervened, brought down Saʿīd Pasha's cabinet (17 July), set up an anti-Unionist régime (21 July), and had the Chamber dissolved (5 August).

The Liberals assumed power at an unfavourable moment. Turkey was at war with Italy and on 16 October the Balkan War broke out. This war proved disastrous for Turkish arms, and as a result the government was discredited. On 23 January 1913, when Kāmil Pasha was thought to be ceding Edirne to the Bulgars, the Unionists overthrew the cabinet in the so-called "*Bāb-i ʿĀlī Waḳʿasī*" and set up a government of their own.

This marked the virtual end of the Liberal Union, though the party was never officially banned. Some of its members, however, were either bullied or bribed into leaving the country, ʿAlī Kemāl going to Vienna, Riḍā (Rıza) Nūr to Paris and Kāmil to Cairo. In May-June 1913 the Liberals attempted to restore Kāmil, and in connexion with this abortive plot Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha [*q.v.*] was assassinated on 11 June. Hereafter the opposition was ruthlessly crushed; some were hanged, some exiled to Sinob, while others fled abroad. Colonel Ṣādīḳ went first to Cairo then to Paris, from where the Liberal organisation under Sharīf Pasha continued to plot against the CUP (see Tunaya, 285-94; and Albert Fua and Refik-Nevzad, *La trahison du gouvernement Turc*, Paris 1914).

A second *Ḥürriyet we Iʾtilāf Fırḳasī* was formed on 22 January 1919, and once again the party was the last and most comprehensive attempt at rallying anti-CUP sentiment. In the post-armistice situation, the party advocated collaboration with Britain and the other occupying powers and strenuously opposed the nationalist movement in Anatolia under Muṣṭafā Kemāl. Among the founders were ʿAlī Kemāl; ʿAbd al-Ḳādır, a Kurdish senator; Muṣṭafā Ṣabrī; Riḍā Tewfīḳ [Bölükbaşı]; and Meḥmed ʿAlī; all five of these entered the cabinet of Dāmād Ferīd in March 1919, which has appropriately been described as a "Freedom and Accord cabinet" (I. M. K. Inal, *Son sadrıazamlar*, 1940-1953, p. 2039), although Dāmād Ferīd himself did not take any office in the reconstituted party. A few former liberals such as Riḍā Nūr by 1920 were firmly aligned with the Anatolian nationalists. In May 1919, upon the Greek occupation of Izmir, Ṣabrī, Riḍā Tewfīḳ, and Meḥmed ʿAlī left the cabinet and the party, forming a dissident *Muʿtedil* ("moderate") *Ḥürriyet we Iʾtilāf Fırḳasī*. The party was reunited later under the chairmanship of Colonel Ṣādīḳ. Its influence remained limited to Istanbul, and the elections of the fall of 1919 amounted to a repudiation of its policy not only in Anatolia but also in the capital. Its last general meeting was held in May 1920.

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(F. Ahmad and D. A. Rustow)

ḤURŪF (ʿIlm al-), "the science of letters", is a branch of *djafr* [*q.v.*] which was originally concerned with onomatomancy in the strict sense; but, among some esoteric sects, it became a sort of magical practice, to such an extent that Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 137-61, Fr. tr. 188-200, Rosenthal 171-82) gave it the name of *sīmiyāʾ* (σημεῖα), which is usually reserved for white magic. It is based on the occult properties of the letters of the alphabet and of the divine and angelic names which they form. Three basic elements are involved in onomatomantic interpretation: arithmomancy or gematria (*ḥisāb al-djummal* or, according to Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 209-13, Fr. tr. 241-5, Rosenthal, 234-8, *ḥisāb al-nīm*), the knowledge of the natural properties of the letters (*ʿilm al-khawāṣṣ*), based on alchemy, and their astrological conjunctions (*ḳirānāt*). In this it is related to the talismanic art from which Ibn Khaldūn considers it derives.

The twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet are divided into four categories, each of seven letters, corresponding to the four basic elements. We give here the classification favoured in the East, with the Western variants: fire: ʾ, *h*, *ṭ*, *m*, *f*, *sh*/*s* (west) and *dh*; air: *b*, *w*, *y*, *n*, *ṣ*/*ḍ* (west), *t*, *ḍ*/*ẓ* (west); water: *dj*, *z*, *k*, *s*/*ṣ* (west), *ḳ*, *th*, and *ẓ*/*gh* (west); earth: *d*, *ḥ*, *l*, ʿ, *r*, *kh*, *gh*/*sh* (west). It can readily be seen that it is a matter of dividing the Arabic *abdjad* [*q.v.*] into seven groups of four letters as follows: *ʾbdjd*, *hwzḥ*, *ṭykl*, *mnsʿ* (west *mnṣʿ*), *fṣḳr* (west *fḍḳr*), *shtthkh* (west *stthkh*), *dhḍẓgh* (west *dhẓghsh*); the first letters of each of the seven groups are the fire letters, the second the air letters, the third the water letters and the fourth the earth letters. It is in short a kind of *taksīr*, "transposition", a procedure which performs a basic function in all forms of *djafr*. There should also be mentioned the harmonious division of the so-called "lunar" and "solar" letters.

The numerical value of the letters is established as follows: from *alif* to *ṭ*, the units (1 to 9); from *y* to *ṣ*, the tens (10 to 90); from *ḳ* to *ẓ*, the hundreds (100 to 900); and *gh* is the equivalent of 1,000. In the Maghrib, given the divergencies in the order of the letters, *s* equals 300, *ḍ* 90, *ẓ* 800, *ṣ* 60, *gh* 900 and *sh* 1,000; the four-letter group *ʾyḳsh* summarizes this system (see, for the Eastern system, *R. Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Beirut 1957, i, 51 f.; P. Kraus, *Jâbir Ibn Ḥayyân*, ii, Cairo 1942, 224; for the Western system, Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 211 ff.; Fr. tr., 242 ff.; Rosenthal, 236 ff.; cf. F. Rosenthal, 173, n. 809).

Starting from the principle of alchemy that, by analysing the letters which make up a word, it is possible to establish the qualitative and quantitative structure of the thing which it describes (cf. Kraus, *loc. cit.*), the literature of *ḥurūf* developed in two opposite directions: the first consists of combining the letters so as to obtain a whole possessing particular properties, which are supposed to lead to the required result (divination or magical effect), the second, with the same aim as the first, consists of splitting up certain names to which an esoteric character is attached, often because they are taken

from a sacred book, in this case the Ḳurʾān, in order to apply to their consonantal elements a complex treatment based on numerical, qualitative, quantitative, astrological and theurgical factors.

It is thus that between the letters and their numerical values there exists a series of relationships which reverberate from group to group. For example, the connexion between *b* (2), *k* (20) and *r* (200), which represent the different positions of the number 2, is reinforced by the groups *d* (4), *m* (40), *t* (400) and *ḥ* (8), *f* (80), *ḍ/ẓ* (800), which are multiples of 2; similarly with the group *dj* (3) and its multiples *h* (6) and *ṭ* (9) (on the properties of the numbers, cf. *R. Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, i, 56 ff.).

Arising from their distribution among the four elements, the "fire" letters, in divination and in magic, ward off any evils connected with cold, increasing the influence of heat wherever this is desired, whether in the physical or the astrological plane. Thus, for example, it is possible during a war to increase the influence of Mars by theurgic combination of the fire letters.

In the same way, the "water" letters are used to predict and to ward off all the ills associated with heat, such as the various kinds of fever, and to increase the influence of cold wherever this is required, on the physical or on the astrological plane. Thanks to them it is possible for example to make lunar influences prevail. And similarly for the other letters.

Apart from these conventional elements of numerical equivalents and co-ordination with the four elements, the science of letters consists only of pseudo-mystical experiments which have absolutely no logical foundation. Al-Būnī (d. 622/1225 ?), the chief authority on the matter (see especially his *K. Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt*, lith. Cairo 1317), says on this subject: "It must not be imagined that the secret of letters can be discovered with the aid of logical reasoning; it can be reached only through vision and with the aid of a divine intervention" (cited *apud* Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, iii, 140; Fr. tr., 191; Eng. tr., 174). This is why certain types of exalted mystics (*ghulāt*) have sought in it "the unveiling" (*al-kashf*). This was the main reason for the great expansion of onomatomantic and arithmomantic techniques in Islam. It was thought that by experiments based on the occult properties of the *ḥurūf* the secrets of God could be penetrated and the divine realities perceived. The 99 Beautiful Names of God [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ] form the chief material for this type of speculation; the principles governing the science of *ḥurūf* are applied to them and they are used to arrive at the *kashf*. Some verses of the Ḳurʾān and some prayers (*awrād* and *aḥzāb*) have filled a similar rôle.

The science of *ḥurūf* leads to three conclusions: the first is that the perfection of the onomatomancy proceeds from the meeting of the spirits which preside over the celestial spheres and the stars; the second is that the nature of the letters and their secret properties are communicated to the names which are formed from them; the third is that, in the same way, the names reveal the occult properties of created beings, through the various phases of their existence, and can thus reveal their mysteries. Hence they endow perfect souls with the power to act on nature and to reveal its secrets, in the past, the present and the future (see Ibn Khaldūn *op. cit.*, iii, 137 f.; Fr. tr., 188 f.; Eng. tr., 171 f.).

Thus, by virtue of its object, the "noble science of *ḥurūf*" occupies a privileged place among the divinatory techniques of Islam, for it is closely connected with "spiritualia" (*al-rūḥāniyyāt*) and astrology (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 50). Its nobility arises also from its close connexion with arithmetic, which the scholars of the ancient world considered to be the main pillar of knowledge. "To understand the mystery of numbers is to penetrate that of the Divine Intelligence, to understand the mystery of *ḥurūf* is to penetrate that of the Holy Spirit", says the anonymous author of a treatise on the properties of letters (Istanbul, MS Belediye, O.52, fol. 1). According to Ibn Kamāl Pasha (d. 940/1534) in his *Sharḥ al-miʾīn* (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, MS Ahmet III 1609/3, fol. 46), these sciences were practised by the greatest spirits of humanity such as Hermes (= Idrīs), Plato, Pythagoras, Thales and Archimedes. There have even been attributed to Aristotle two works, one on *ḥurūf*, entitled *K. Kunūz al-mughramīn fī asrār al-ḥurūf wa-'stiʿmālihā fi 'l-umūr wa 'l-ḥādjāt* (Istanbul, MS Hacı Beşir Ağa, 659, fols. 96r-103r, *taʿlīḳ* of 1117/1705) and the other on arithmomancy, called *K. al-Ittisāʿ yuʿraf minhu 'l-ghālib wa 'l-maghlūb* (Istanbul, MS Reisülküttab Mustafa Ef. 1164/3, fol. 93v-96v, *naskhī* of 850/1446-7). Their origin must be sought in the 9th and 10th *maḳālas* of the pseudo-Aristotelian work called *K. al-Siyāsa* (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, in *Fontes Graecae doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum*, Cairo 1954, i, 65-171).

Bibliography: in addition to the authors cited above, see the bibl. of the art. DJAFR. There exists a vast literature, most of it unpublished, dealing with *djafr*, *ḥurūf*, *asmāʾ ḥusnā* and *khawāṣṣ* which cannot be listed in detail in this article. A list of the manuscripts is found in T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Strasbourg 1966, at the end of the chapter on divination by lots. See also I. Goldziher, *Kitāb Maʿānī al-nafs, Buch vom Wesen der Seele*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.F., ix/1, Berlin 1907, 26-8. Facts and references on letters and numbers are found in studies on the talismanic art and on the "magic square"; see especially: H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischer Zauberei*, in *Studien zur Gesch. u. Kultur d. isl. Orients*, vii, Berlin 1930; W. Ahrens, *Studien über die "magischen Quadrate" der Araber*, in *Isl.*, vii (1917), 186-250; idem, *Die "magischen Quadrate" al-Būnī's*, in *Isl.*, xii (1922), 157-77; see also *Isl.*, xiv (1925), 104-10; E. Wiedmann, in *Isl.*, viii (1918), 94-7; G. Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten* (complementary to the art. by Ahrens), in *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 227-35; art. WAFḲ, in *EI*[1].

(T. FAHD)

ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ, "letters of the alphabet". *Al-hidjāʾ* is defined in *LA*, xx, 228, l. 17, xv, 353b, l. 4-5, as *taḳṭīʿ al-lafẓa bi-ḥurūfihā*. This follows Ibn Sīda, who in his *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (xiii, 3 end) attributes this definition to the Ṣāḥib al-ʿAyn (al-Khalīl): "cutting up the word into its *ḥurūf*", that is, "spelling". Contemporary or recent dictionaries of the Arab world (*Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, *al-Bustān*, *Aḳrab al-mawārid*, *al-Mundjid*) define it more precisely as *taḳṭīʿ al-lafẓa wa-taʿdīd ḥurūfihā maʿa ḥarakātihā*: "cutting up the word and enumerating its *ḥurūf* with their *ḥarakāt*". As for the verb used to render the sense of "to spell", one can say: *hadjawtu 'l-ḥurūf hadjwᵃⁿ* or *hidjāʾᵃⁿ*, or *hadjdjaytuhā tahdjiyatᵃⁿ* or *tahadjdjaytuhā tahadjdjiyᵃⁿ*. Therefore, instead of the expression *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ*, one may find *ḥurūf al-tahdjiya* or *ḥurūf al-tahadjdjī*, though the first is by far the most commonly used at the present day. Thus, *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ* signifies the letters

of the alphabet; and "to arrange alphabetically" is normally expressed as *tartīb ʿalā ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ*. The dictionaries already mentioned also record the expression *aḥruf al-mabānī* (*Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, radicals *h dj w*; *al-Bustān*, radicals *b n y*), *ḥurūf al-mabānī* (*Akrab al-Mawārid*, radicals *b n y*; *al-Mundjid*, radicals *b n y*); but they record *ḥarf al-mabnā* (*Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* and *al-Mundjid*, under *ḥarf*) in the sense of one *ḥarf*, a letter of the alphabet. See also *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, i, 319, line 1.

Al-Zadjdjādjī devoted four chapters to *al-hidjāʾ* (*al-Djumal*, 269-77). Throughout he is concerned with orthography, but he begins the 2nd *bāb* (271) by distinguishing two kinds of *hidjāʾ* : one *li 'l-samʿ* "for hearing", the other *li-raʾy al-ʿayn* "for seeing with the eye". Of the first he says only : *huwa li-iḳāmat wazn al-shiʿr*, "it is to establish the metre of poetry". The *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (*loc. cit.*) says nothing of this. It is probably a question in the verse scansion (*taḳṭīʿ al-bayt*) of division between *ḥurūf mutaḥarrika* and *ḥurūf sākina* in order to identify or verify the component units (*adjzāʾ*).

Spelling presupposes recognition of the identity of the *ḥarf* and its pronunciation in accordance with the accompanying *ḥaraka*; thus *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ* includes the designation of the sound of which the graphic sign is the symbol. In phonetics, Arab grammarians use *ḥarf*, pl. *ḥurūf*, to mean the articulations of the Arabic language, the phonemes; they recognize 29 principal articulations (*aṣl*). The *ḥurūf al hidjāʾ*, of course, offer only 28 signs, but it must be borne in mind that *alif* serves for two : the *hamza* and *alif layyina* [see HAMZA].

An expression related to *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ* is *ḥurūf al-muʿdjam*. Ibn Djinnī (*Sirr ṣināʿa*, i, 38-45) discussed its meaning and grammatical construction. *Al-muʿdjam* is an infinitive, here in grammatical annexation, of the same form as the *nomen patientis* (see *Traité*, § 94 n) of a fourth-form verb *aʿdjama*, the denominative of *ʿudjma* "obscurity, lack of clarity" with a privative meaning : "to make the lack of clarity disappear". The *ḥuruf al-muʿdjam* are the *ḥurūf* which are the object of this action. One must bear in mind the earliest form of Arabic writing, without diacritical marks, and the obscurity which shrouded most of the signs. The enlightenment in question was achieved by the addition of the diacritical points which made clear the value of each *ḥarf* in a common ductus. The *ḥurūf al-muʿdjam* are thus properly those *ḥurūf* with diacritical points. In order to avoid any mistake in writing over the identification of a *ḥarf* the ancient writers follow it with a gloss : *muʿdjama* signifies the *ḥarf* with point, *muhmala* the unpointed *ḥarf*, *e.g.* *ghayn muʿdjama*, *ʿayn muhmala*. This is the invariable usage of the *Dictionary of Technical Terms* (see *Bibliography*). For further details, see Wright, *Ar. Gr.*[3], i, 4. In practice, the expression *ḥurūf al-muʿdjam* has become a synonym of *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ*, to designate "the letters of the alphabet", but it refers solely to writing (see M. Bravmann, *Materialien*, 8).

The *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ* include all the articulations of the Arabic alphabet; we should therefore give here a brief account of the phonetic doctrine of the Arab grammarians concerning them and of the distinctions which they draw. The grammarians simply list these distinctions consecutively; the paragraph titles below have been added to relate them to European phonetics.

I. The genesis of the *ḥurūf*. The point of departure is the *ṣawt al-ṣadr*, the resonance emitted from the chest. This *ṣawt* is an *ʿaraḍ*, "an accident", that is, something which exists in something else : the *nafas*, "the [expiratory] breath", its *markab*, "vehicle", as Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī says (*Sharḥ al-Shāfiya*, iii, 259, line 7). For this combination: *ṣawt al-ṣadr* + *nafas*, the Arab grammarians, in this genesis of the *ḥurūf*, keep the simple name of *ṣawt*; with it they contrast *nafas*, the simple expiratory breath, treating them as two not only distinct but totally different realities. This contrast between *ṣawt* and *nafas* is fundamental.

The *ḥarf* is the product of a *maḳṭaʿ*, "cutting", in this *ṣawt* as it rises in the throat, then in the mouth, wherever the articulatory organs oppose this *maḳṭaʿ* to the moving *ṣawt*. What properly constitutes the *ḥarf* is its particular sound : *djars* (pl. *adjrās*), the result of the application of the articulatory organs to the place of the *maḳṭaʿ*; the *adjrās* differ according to the different *maḳāṭiʿ*; for each *maḳṭaʿ* there is a *djars*, a *ḥarf*, and one might say a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ*.

The *ḥarf*, produced in this *ṣawt* as it moves, naturally makes a *madjhūra*, for the pronunciation of which the absence of *nafas* is essential. The articulation of a *mahmūsa*, on the other hand, only modifies the *nafas* at the *makhradj* of the *ḥarf*; it is produced with and in the *nafas*. The question then arises, how one passes from one to the other? The Arabs, from the definitions given by Sībawayhi in the *Kitāb* (ii, 453, l. 21-2 and 454, l. 2-3) onwards, have seen the answer in the energy of the articulation : in strong articulation (*ushbiʿa 'l-iʿtimād*), the *nafas* is stopped, held back, there is nothing but *ṣawt* for and in the *ḥarf* and the *ḥarf* is *madjhūr*; in weak articulation (*uḍʿifa 'l-iʿtimād*), the way remains clear for the *nafas*: *djarā 'l-nafas maʿahu* [*al-ḥarf*], "there is *nafas* with it", the *ḥarf* is *mahmūs*.

The consideration of the articulatory force is thus very important, indeed the central pillar of the theory, beside the fundamental contrast between *ṣawt* and *nafas*. But in constructing their system so, the Arab grammarians introduced the weakest element : since how could a difference in articulatory force cause the presence of *ṣawt* alone in the one case and of *nafas* alone in the other? We have tried elsewhere (*Examen*, 204-5) to demonstrate what phenomena could have led the first Arab theoreticians to establish such a misleading distinction. However that may be, it should be noted from what a special angle they examined articulatory force : as stopping or allowing free passage to the *nafas*. Their point of view is totally different from that of modern phonetics; we cannot therefore look to Arab theory for arguments against the modern doctrine of voiced consonants when we try to apply this to the sounds of Arabic.

In the genesis of the *ḥurūf*, we must refer to the particular case of three *ḥurūf* called *al-ḥurūf al-muʿtalla* (or *ḥurūf al-ʿilla* or *al-iʿtilāl*), the "sick"; these are *alif layyina*, *wāw ḥarf al-madd*, and *yāʾ ḥarf al-madd*. All three are *sākina* by nature. Their *makhradj* has the peculiarity of being *muttasiʿ*, "wide"; the *makhradj* has such amplitude that the *maḳṭaʿ* has no longer any means of existence; it takes on the dimensions of the *makhradj* and loses all efficacy, becoming a word without significance. The *ṣawt* flows in this *makhradj* continuously and uninterruptedly : these are the *ḥurūf al-madd* or *al-madd wa 'l-istiṭāla*; a soft flow without rough friction; these are the *ḥurūf al-līn*. These *ḥurūf al-muʿtalla* are thus the continuous or soft *ḥurūf* and their *ṣawt* designates a true vocalic element: the sound *a* for *alif layyina*, the sound *u* for *wāw sākina*, the sound *i* for *yāʾ sākina*. But what is

it that is flowing with this *ṣawt*? It is air (*hawāʾ*). They are thus *fi ʾl-hawāʾ*, or *hawāʾiyya* as al-Khalīl said several times [see HĀWĪ].

Consideration of the *maḳṭaʿ* thus introduced a double division into the *ḥurūf* : between these three *ḥurūf al-muʿtalla* which lack any action of the *maḳṭaʿ* and the others, the *ḥurūf al-ṣaḥīḥa* which have a normal *maḳṭaʿ*. The first three are *sākina* by nature. What will happen if they become *mutaḥarrika*? *Alif layyina* changes its identity and becomes another *ḥarf*, the *hamza*, a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ*. The other two, strengthened by the advent of the *ḥaraka*, acquire the similitude of a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ* and thereby the power to act like one. Each remains in origin *ḥarf muʿtall*; they have simply become *like* a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ*. The division of the *ḥurūf* is thus complete. The *ḥaraka* is not a *ḥarf* and has no place here; but its description as a "little *ḥarf*" permits its integration into the whole system of the *ḥarf*.

II. The *makhāridj* or points of articulation. There can be no question of giving here another full account of all the *makhāridj*. One is easily accessible in the *Cours* of J. Cantineau (19-20) or in H. Fleisch, *Traité* (§ 44 b-g). The following notes will suffice :

Al-Khalīl alone established terms by which to designate the *ḥurūf* according to their articulatory region. They are to be found in a text of which al-Azharī is one of the earliest known transmitters (*Le Monde Oriental*, xiv (1920), 45, lines 7-12).

al-ḥalḳiyya, literally "the gutturals", are for us the laryngeals. Among these al-Khalīl includes only ʿ, *ḥ*, *h*, *kh*, *gh*, while Sībawayhi includes also *hamza* and *alif*. These, with *wāw* and *yāʾ*, are described by al-Khalīl as *djūf* (pl. of *adjwaf*) "because they emerge from the *djawf*, the hollow of the chest", without any articulatory region to which they can be assigned except this *djawf*; thus he sets them on one side, apart from the *ḥurūf* with a normal *makhradj*. This affected the order of the letters which he adopted in his *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, as well as the arrangement of those lexicographical works whose authors followed the practice of al-Khalīl (see *al-Muḥkam wa ʾl muḥīṭ al-aʿẓam* of Ibn Sīda, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā and Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, i, Cairo 1958/1377, Introduction, 16).

The teaching of the whole grammatical tradition is that *kh* and *gh* are among the *ḥalḳiyya*. Modern phonetics considers them as velar, or, more exactly, postvelar [see GHAYN].

al-niṭʿiyya, "prepalatals" : *d*, *t*, *ṭ*, whereas Sībawayhi, followed by grammatical tradition, places the tongue "at the base of the central incisors" [see DĀL].

al-dhawlaḳiyya : *r*, *l*, *n*, and *al-asaliyya* : *z*, *s*, *ṣ*. The terms indicate articulation with the tip of the tongue but specify only the form of the tongue : flat and thinned at the tip for the first group and pointed for the second (see *Traité*, § 43d); they make no mention of the position taken up for articulation.

al-shadjriyya : *ḍ*, *sh*, *dj*; from *shadjr*, "corner of the lips", this might be understood as "lateral", which fits the ancient *ḍād* [see ḌĀD], but not *sh* or *dj*. The term remains obscure.

It is clear from the foregoing notes that differences existed on the subject of phonetics between al-Khalīl and Sībawayhi, but, curiously enough, they found no echo in the *Kitāb*. There is an obscure point here in the origins of Arab phonetics.

III. The manner of articulation. (1) *madjhūra—mahmūsa*. *madjhūra*, "striking", and *mahmūsa*, "stifled", express directly the acoustic impression as received and assessed. In reality there can be no doubt that they signify the manner of articulation acknowledged by modern phonetics as voiced and unvoiced. The theory of the genesis of the *ḥurūf* as set out above is sufficient of itself to demonstrate that the Arabs ordered them according to the correlation of their sonority. The definitions of Sībawayhi express the result of the test proposed for distinguishing a *madjhūra* from a *mahmūsa*, the former a *ḥarf* having only *ṣawt*, the latter being a *ḥarf* with *nafas*; they also express the discriminatory part played by articulatory force. These are the definitions :

"The *madjhūra* is a *ḥarf* for which the pressure [of the articulatory organs] on the place [required] is made fully and which prevents the presence of [pure] breath with it, until the pressure [applied] for it is concluded and the sound [of this *ḥarf*] is produced".

"The *mahmūs* is a *ḥarf* for which the pressure [of the articulatory organs] on the place [required for this *ḥarf*] is made weakly, so that there is [pure] breath with it."

The *ḥurūf al-madjhūra* are: *hamza*, *alif*, *ʿayn*, *gh*, *ḳ*, *dj*, *yāʾ*, *ḍād*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *ṭ*, *d*, *z*, *ẓ*, *dh*, *b*, *m*, *wāw*.

The *ḥurūf al-mahmūsa* are: *h*, *ḥ*, *kh*, *k*, *sh*, *s*, *t*, *ṣ*, *th*, *f*. The *Mufaṣṣal* brings them together in the mnemonic : *satashḥathuka khaṣafah*.

All the *mahmūsa* correspond with the unvoiced consonants of modern phonetics; but the presence among the *madjhūra* of *hamza*, *ṭ* and *ḳ* is noteworthy. As regards the first of these, the difficulty has been dealt with under HAMZA. For *ṭ*, it was certainly a voiced consonant in the pronunciation described by Sībawayhi : an emphatic *dāl*; one text of his is decisive (ii, 455, l. 9), where he distinguishes between *ṭ* and *d* only by the *iṭbāḳ* "the velarization". For *ḳ* : a voiced pronunciation of *ḳāf* must have existed, at least in part of the ancient Arab world; if not, it would be difficult to explain why it should be precisely the manner in which this phoneme is pronounced which at the present time has become a distinguishing mark between nomadic dialects (voiced) and sedentary dialects (unvoiced) (see *Traité*, § 46 h). On the history of the question, see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 21-2, *Esquisse*, 187 and Fleisch, *Traité*, § 46, b-c.

(2) *muṭbaḳa—munfatiḥa*. Ibn Djinnī (*Sirr ṣināʿa*, i, 70, l. 12), taking up the main point of the explanations given by Sībawayhi (ii, 455, l. 5-7), describes *al-iṭbāḳ* as an elevation of the back of the tongue towards the upper palate, the latter acting as a *ṭabaḳ* (lid) over this part of the tongue (cf. *Dict. of Tech. Terms*, i, 323, l. 16-8). This movement, which presupposes the depression of the front part of the tongue, is in fact produced towards the soft palate or velum; *iṭbāḳ* is well translated as "velarization" and *muṭbaḳa* as "velar". *Munfatiḥa*, literally "open, disengaged", designates the *ḥurūf* without *iṭbāḳ* : it may be translated "non-velar".

The *ḥurūf al-muṭbaḳa* are: *ṣ*, *ẓ*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*. All the other *ḥurūf* are *munfatiḥa*, but we shall have to distinguish those among them which are *mustaʿliya* (see (3)).

The *ḥurūf al-muṭbaḳa* are often called "the emphatic consonants"; but emphasis can exist in different forms. In the type of emphatic in the Semitic languages of Ethiopia, there is no velarization, but glottalization : occlusion of the glottis and audition of a *hamza* with the articulation of the emphatic (see the details in J. Cantineau, *Consonantisme*, 291). Ph. Marçais, studying by radioscopy the *Articulation de l'emphase dans un parler maghrébin* (in *AEIO Alger*, vii (1948), 5-28), discovered another form of

emphasis : pharyngalization. But discoveries in this field may well not be completed. We therefore consider valid the type of emphatic described by the Arab grammarians (see *Traité*, § 46 i-k).

(3) *mustaʿliya—munkhafiḍa*, "raised-lowered". The *ḥurūf al-mustaʿliya* are the four *muṭbaḳa* just discussed and *ḳ*, *gh*, *kh*; the other *ḥurūf* are *munkhafiḍa*. The elevation of the back of the tongue for the *muṭbaḳa* makes these *mustaʿliya* "raised". But for *ḳ*, *gh*, *kh* the elevation of the tongue does not go so far as to make the palate a *ṭabaḳ* over the tongue, according to Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī (*Sharḥ al-Shāfiya*, iii, 262, l. 8-9). For him, it is therefore a matter of a diminished velarization or of the beginning of a velarization. The interest of these *mustaʿliya* lies in the fact that they prevent *imāla*, as Sībawayhi already observed (ii, 285, l. 20). They retain their interest for the student of modern dialects, where they are connected with questions of *tafkhīm*. See J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 23-4; *Traité*, § 48b.

IV. The degree of aperture: *shadīda—rikhwa—bayniyya*.

The *ḥurūf al-shadīda* are: *hamza*, *ḳ*, *k*, *dj*, *ṭ*, *t*, *d*, *b*.

The *ḥurūf al-rikhwa* are : *h*, *ḥ*, *gh*, *kh*, *sh*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *z*, *s*, *ẓ*, *th*, *dh*, *f*.

The *ḥurūf al-bayniyya* are : *ʿayn*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *wāw*, *yāʾ*, *alif*.

The *Mufaṣṣal* gives the following mnemonics for the first class : *ʾadjadta ṭabaḳaka* or *ʾadjiduka ḳaṭabta*; and for the last : *lima yarūʿunā* or *lam yarʿawnā*.

bayniyya means "intermediary"; the term is recent but convenient; it is used by Muḥ. Makkī in his *Nihāya*, completed in 1305/1887 (quoted in M. Bravmann, *Materialien*, 19). The ancient practice was to use a periphrasis, e.g. *Muf.* (§ 734) : "those which are between the *shadīda* and the *rikhwa*".

By their division into *shadīda* and *rikhwa*, the Arabs made the same point in fact as modern phonetics does by its own division into occlusive and constrictive. But the terms themselves do not express directly the physiological standpoint presupposed by the terms occlusive and constrictive, but rather greater or less firmness in articulation : *shadīda* "energetic", *rikhwa* "relaxed".

In the *bayniyya* the Arabs saw neither a normal occlusive nor a normal constrictive. There is something to be said for this view (see Cantineau, *Cours*, 22-3; *Traité*, § 47 c-d), except for *ʿayn*, where one can see nothing to set it on one side. But the peculiarities of the *bayniyya* do not justify a general third class. Of the explanations of them given by the Arabs, the clearest appear to be those given in *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* (iii, 260, l. 18 f.) repeated in *Dict. of Techn. Terms* (i, 322, l. 20 f.).

Other minor divisions of the *ḥurūf* have been established by the Arabs. It is sufficient to note here : the *ḥurūf al-ḳalḳala*: *ḳ*, *dj*, *ṭ*, *d*, *b*; the *ḥurūf al-dhalāḳa*: *l*, *r*, *n*, *f*, *b*, *m* (see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 24; *Traité*, § 48 a and c). See further the *Dict.* already quoted, under *ḥarf* (i, 320-5).

For the numerical values of the *ḥurūf* see ABDJAD; for the use of these *ḥurūf* in magic, see ḤURŪF.

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AL-ḤURŪF AL-MUḲAṬṬAʿA/ĀT [see AL-ḲURʾĀN].

ḤURŪFIYYA, unorthodox Muslim sect of gnostic-cabalistic tendencies founded by Faḍl Allāh of Astarābād in Iran at the end of the 8th/14th century.

Its founder was born at Astarābād in 740/1340, and, according to some sources, was named ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; he began his career as a Ṣūfī famed particularly for the care he took to avoid eating any unlawful food, so much so that he was known as *ḥalāl-khor*. He was a *sayyid* (descendent of ʿAlī) and the son of a chief justice (*ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*) who died while he was still an infant. From childhood he showed a great inclination to mysticism and to ascetic practices and while still young he possessed the gift of prophetic dreams and of the interpretation of dreams. At the age of 18 he performed his first pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return stayed for some time in Khwārazm. He then decided to make a second pilgrimage, but during the long journey he was persuaded by a dream to make a detour to visit the tomb of the *Imām* Riḍā at Mashhad whence he went to Mecca and then again to Khwārazm. After various dreams (in one of which there were revealed to him the names of four especially holy mystics, Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī, Sahl Tustarī and Buhlūl), he learned in a particularly significant dream what his mission was to be: a star rose in the east and a brilliant ray from it penetrated into Faḍl Allāh's right eye until the whole star was absorbed. It was revealed to him that "this is a star which rises only every few centuries". When he awakened, Faḍl heard the birds singing and partly understood their language. He acquired his first disciples by means of his penetrating interpretations of dreams; they consisted of a baker, Sayyid Muḥammad Nānvāʾī, a certain Darwīsh ʿAlī, a Darwīsh Bāyazīd and others. Faḍl then went to Khurāsān where he found another disciple, and then to Iṣfahān where he settled in the mosque of Tūḳčī. Here there became his follower the *Ṣūfī* Muʿīn al-Dīn Shahrastānī, who brought to him other "seekers for God" such as Mawlānā Muʿīn al-Dīn, Mawlānā Muḥammad, Shaykh ʿĪsā, Mawlānā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Radjāʾī, Naṣr Allāh Nāfadjī, the author of a *Khwāb-nāma* (book of dreams), valuable for the biographical information on Faḍl Allāh which it contains, and others. The group increased in number and also many from other countries were attracted by Faḍl Allāh's gift of interpreting dreams and by the simple and upright life which he and his followers led, supporting themselves by their own work, mostly manual (Faḍl himself was a maker of hats), and refusing donations and gifts. In addition to the Ḳurʾān, Faḍl Allāh had a thorough knowledge of the Jewish and Christian sacred books (the Torah, the Psalms and the Gospels) which he quotes frequently in his *Djāwīdān-nāma*. Faḍl's "interpretations of dreams" consisted chiefly of phenomena of "thought-reading" through dreams: he often told the dreamer his thoughts even before he had related his dream. Unlike other mystics of the period, Faḍl Allāh does not seem to have made use of music and dancing. At the age of about 40, while he was at Tabrīz, he had a new experience: there was revealed to him the hidden meaning of letters and the significance of Prophecy (*nubuwwa*). After three days and nights of ecstasy, he heard voices asking: "Who is this young man? Who is this moon of the earth and the sky?" and a voice which replied: "It is the Lord of Time (*ṣāḥib al-zamān*), the Sultan of all the Prophets: others attain faith by imitation and learning, whereas he attains it by an inner and clear revelation (*kashf wa ʿiyān*)". From being a Ṣūfī, Faḍl Allāh now became the founder of a new religious movement. Returning to Iṣfahān, he lived for a time alone in a cave and, shortly afterwards, a dying dervish announced to him that, following the period of prophecy, there had now arrived the time of the revelation of the divine glory (*ẓuhūr-i kibriyāʾ*). The sources give various dates for this manifestation of the divinity in Faḍl Allāh ("Grace of God"), the most likely being 788/1386 or 789/1387. In the same year Faḍl is said to have written his main work, the *Djāwīdān-nāma-yi kabīr*. Like other "divine manifestations" before and after him, Faḍl Allāh seems to have sought to convert to his doctrine the princes and rulers of his time. According to Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī (his contemporary, in *Inbāʾ al-ghumr fī abnāʾ al-ʿumr*), he invited Tīmūrlang to embrace his religion, and it is certain that he dreamed of marrying the daughter of Ṭoḳtamīsh, the *khān* of the Golden Horde. He spent the last part of his life at Shirwān (now Baku) where he had taken refuge with the prince Mīrān-shāh, son of Tīmūrlang, from Tīmūrlang's sentence against him issued at Samarḳand after a meeting with the orthodox jurisconsults of that city. Mīrān-shāh, however, instead of helping him, had him arrested. From Shirwān, where, in prison, he wrote his *Waṣiyyat-nāma* (Testament), Faḍl Allāh was taken to the fortress of Alandjaḳ near Nakhčiwān, where he was executed in 796/1394. The place of his execution (*maḳtal*) at Alandjaḳ became for some time the Mecca of his followers, and Mīrān-shāh became the Antichrist of the new religion (the Ḥurūfī texts refer to him as Mārān-shāh, "king of the serpents").

The first *khalīfa* of Faḍl Allāh was his disciple ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, author of various Ḥurūfī books, whose ambition was to win to Ḥurūfism the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu prince Ḳara Yūsuf, who had defeated Mīrān-shāh. He was executed in 822/1419 after having spread Ḥurūfī doctrine in the country of Rūm (Anatolia), where he appears as early as 802/1400, and having helped to instil Ḥurūfī ideas into the community of the Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*]: he did indeed visit the *tekke* of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh at Ḳirshehir. His propaganda reached as far as Edirne, the Ottoman capital at that time, and to the territory of the Laz and to Trebizond. In 848/1444 a Ḥurūfī missionary was the guest at Edirne of the heir to the throne, Meḥemmed (the future conqueror of Constantinople), who showed an interest in his doctrines; but he was burnt alive as a heretic. In Anatolia the Ḥurūfī doctrines survived, along with others, in the strange fraternity of the Bektāshīs, and Turkish literature contains several good Ḥurūfī poets, notably Nesīmī [*q.v.*] (flayed alive at Aleppo in 807/1404).

In spite of the relatively short period during which it was an organized movement, the Ḥurūfī sect suffered from heresies and schisms, the chief of these being that of the Nuḳṭawiyya founded by an "ex-communicated" former follower of Faḍl Allāh, Maḥmūd Pasikhānī, from Gīlān.

There are three principal works by Faḍl Allāh, the *Djāwīdān-nāma*, in prose, written half in Persian and half in the Persian dialect of Astarābād (a poetic

version was produced by ʿAlī al-Aʿlā in 802/1400), the *Muḥabbat-nāma* and the *ʿArsh-nāma* (in verse); they are still only in manuscript. These works are interesting also from the point of view of dialect. There exist numerous Ḥurūfī treatises, short tracts and poems written by various followers of the founder of the sect, but of particular importance are the works of his *khalīfa* and recognized interpreter, ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, *i.e.*, the *Istiwā-nāma*, the *Maḥshar-nāma* (in prose) and the four *mathnawī* poems *Bashārat-nāma* (written in 803/1401), *Tawḥīd-nāma, Kursī-nāma* (written in 810/1408), and *Ḳiyāmat-nāma* (written in 814/1412).

Doctrines: Stress has been laid on the cabalistic character of Ḥurūfism, which has in fact taken its name from this feature (*ḥarf*, pl. *ḥurūf* = "letter"). This is certainly its most obvious characteristic but it would be wrong to consider it the central point of its doctrine. The most important problems of Ḥurūfism are its doctrines on prophecy and on man. The first arose fairly clearly in the following way: Muḥammad may truly be called the "Seal of the Prophets" because with him prophecy ends and there begins a new cycle, superior to that of prophecy, that of sainthood (*wilāya*) which in its turn, with the appearance of Faḍl Allāh, was superseded by that of the revelation (*ẓuhūr*) of the Divine in man. The world is eternal, since creation/emanation is a continual process, the divine attributes (including that of "creator") being identical with the essence of God, which in itself is inaccessible (*kanz-i makhfī*, hidden treasure). The Divine revelation moves in cycles (according to one text, each of 1360 years) and in each cycle are repeated events and persons from the preceding cycles, in a sort of "eternal return" ("the walnuts of this year are different from and yet the same as those of the harvest last year"), a completely different conception from the Indian theory of metempsychosis (to which Sunni-Islam has always been hostile [see ḤULŪL and TANĀSUKH]).

The second problem, that of the relationship between man and God, is solved not, as some would have it, in a pantheistic sense, but by an exact and continual theophany of the inaccessible divine treasure in man (and especially in the Man *par excellence*, Faḍl Allāh) on whose face is written in clear letters the actual name of God, Allāh, the nose being the *alif*, the two lobes of the nose two *lām*s, and the eyes having the form of *hāʾ*. The traditional eschatological ideas are, however, rejected by the Ḥurūfīs and the Ḳurʾānic anthropomorphism is explained in the sense that God can be represented only in Man. What other meaning could the following *ḥadīth* have: "Soon you will see your Lord as you see the moon when it is full; you will not be deprived of the sight of Him"? Man, naturally, is understood to be the particularly pure and holy man, in this case Faḍl Allāh. Nesīmī asserted that "God is none other than the son of Adam. The thirty-two letters are the words of the speech of God. Know that all the world is God himself—Adam is the soul and the sun is the face".

This leads us to Ḥurūfī cabalism. The fundamental idea is that God (as we have seen, impossible to grasp in His essence) reveals Himself in the Word (Faḍl Allāh was well acquainted with the beginning of St. John's Gospel). Now the Word is made up of sounds, and sounds are always—in Islamic tradition —identified with "letters" (*ḥurūf*). The whole total of letters (and of their numerical value according to the *abdjad*) is thus the total of all the emanating and creative possibilities of God, and is God Himself made manifest. Hence the enormous importance given to letters and to "interpretative" calculations made with them, the various methods of which are too complicated for examples to be given here: it resulted in their having their own cabalistic *tafsīr* of the Ḳurʾān; one phrase is changed into another (of the same numerical value) which indicated its "true" meaning in the same way that the elements of the world are transformed ceaselessly in the infinite cycles of its existence. Every atom moreover, said Faḍl Allāh, "is a tongue which speaks". In the same way are explained the reasons (Ḥurūfism attaches great importance to the *ʿaḳl*, "intellect") for the number of *rakʿa*s in each canonical prayer, of the number of the canonical prayers themselves, of the limbs and of the human face, etc., in a kind of grand and unitarian ontological nominalism.

As has been stated above, the Ḥurūfīs had at first an organization of their own as an autonomous religion, with their own rites and prayers, described in an important chapter of the *Istiwā-nāma* of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā. The *adhān*, for example, included formulae such as the following: *ashhadu anna lā ilāha illā F-ʾ-H* ("... that there is no God but FʾH", the cabalistic formula for Faḍl Allāh); *ashhadu anna Ādam khalīfat Allāh* ("that Adam [= Man] is the vicar of God"); *ashhadu anna Muḥammadan rasūl Allāh* ("that Muḥammad is the messenger of God"). The pilgrimage to the place where Faḍl Allāh was killed took place in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda (the month in which he was killed) and, according to the same *Istiwā-nāma*, "... after 28 *ṭawāf* (circumambulations) around the door of the *maḳtal*, they (= the Ḥurūfīs) name 40 Knowers of God in the East and in the West of the world, go into the bed of the river, pick up three times twenty-one pebbles, *i.e.*, 63: 21 for the Earth, 21 for Water, 21 for the Air, and throw them into the Fire, which is the origin of Satan, with their faces turned towards the fortress of the accursed and foul Mārānshāh (the king of the serpents = Mīrānshāh) which is opposite the gate of the fortress of Alandjaḳ—may it be preserved from disasters and calamities—and is called "the fortress of Sandjar"; then they take off the pilgrim's dress ...".

When it began however, it was not intended that Ḥurūfism should be merely a secret or esoteric religion but that it should become also (a premature ambition at that time) a visible religious organization, with autonomous rites; it was hoped that it would gain some rulers as its adherents. It did not succeed in this, but its doctrines penetrated into various quarters, not only into Bektāshism but also into certain aspects of Persian Ṣūfism, from some of whose doctrines (and from the ever-present undercurrent of Ismāʿīlī/gnostic beliefs) they had been in large part derived.

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(A. BAUSANI)

AL-ḤUSĀM B. ḌIRĀR, ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀR, a Kalbī aristocrat of Damascus, who arrived in Spain as governor in the year 125/743 to replace the

successor of Baldj, Thaʿlaba b. Salāma al-ʿĀmilī, who had been mortally wounded at Aqua Portora. He managed to keep the unruly Syrian djundīs away from Cordova by giving them fiefs in the regions of Elvira-Granada, Reiyo (Archidona and Malaga), Jaen, the Algarve (south Portugal), and the district of Tudmīr (Murcia), though it appears that this conciliatory measure was taken on the advice of Ardabasto, the son of Witiza and chief of the Christian *dhimmīs*, who had been given the task of collecting the *kharādj* from them. But soon his Kalbī partisanship overcame his political prudence and he provoked an implacable war through his bias against his enemies. The opposing Ḳays faction allied themselves with the Lakhm and the Djudhām under the command of Ṣumayl who from this moment began to show a considerable activity, making himself little by little the justification of the government's policy and even, ten years later, playing an important rôle in the rise of the Hispano-Muslim emirate with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. His coalition plan having received the approval of his allies, he succeeded in gaining the adhesion of Écija and Morón, to whose Djudhāmī chief Thawāba b. Salāma he shrewdly offered the command of the coalition. The revolt broke out in Andalusia, and the rebels concentrated in the district of Sidona in Radjab 127/April 745; a little later they encountered Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār, who had hastened up with his troops, on the banks of the Guadalete. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār was defeated and taken prisoner and Thawāba b. Salāma, on his triumphant arrival in Cordova, proclaimed himself governor of Spain. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār did not long remain in prison; his followers attacked by night the prison in which he was being kept and carried him off to Niebla, from where he strove to re-group his followers, but he failed to get the upper hand over the coalition which had displaced him. As for his good relations with the vanquished Christians, we know only that when Sāra, the granddaughter of Witiza, arrived in Damascus to complain to the Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik of the dispossession of which she had been victim at the hands of her uncle Ardabasto, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār was ordered to return her hereditary property.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, 46-9; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, Cairo, ed. M. ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, i, 108-9; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 48-50, 358-9; Dozy, *Recherches*[2], ii, 79-80; Simonet, *Hist. de los Mozárabes*, iii, 197-8.

(A. Huici Miranda)

ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN [see TIMURTASH].

ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN, Abu 'l-Shawk [see ʿANNĀZIDS].

ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN ČELEBI, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Akhī Turk (d. 683/1284), favourite disciple and second *khalīfa* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], was born of a family which had come from Urmiya to settle at Konya (Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 759; tr. Huart, ii, 242). Since he became a *murīd* of Djalāl al-Dīn as a young man and knew Shams al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī (d. 642/1244), it may be assumed that he was born in about 623/1226 (cf. *op. cit.*, ii, 738; tr. ii, 223). His father and grandfathers were prominent *akhīs* of Anatolia. Ḥusām al-Dīn lost his father at an early age, but was cared for by various notables of the day. When he reached puberty his beauty captivated all beholders (*op. cit.*, ii, 738; tr. ii, 224). At this time he went with all his servants and young companions to Djalāl al-Dīn, became his *murīd*, and released all his entourage from the duty of serving himself. He gave away all his wealth, down to his household goods, to benefit Djalāl al-Dīn and his circle. His devoted attachment and probity impressed Djalāl al-Dīn, who gave him the superintendence of the *waḳf* revenues which accrued to him and of the gifts which he received from various persons. All these sums were sent to Ḥusām al-Dīn, who would distribute them first to Djalāl al-Dīn's family and then among the members of his circle according to their degrees (*op. cit.*, ii, 777; tr. ii, 255). He quickly became prominent among the *murīds* for his piety and his devotion to Djalāl al-Dīn, whose regard for him was increased by the fact that he, unlike the others, showed great respect for Shams al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī and then for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb (*op. cit.*, ii, 782; tr. ii, 259). It was evidently at this time or shortly afterwards that Djalāl al-Dīn made approaches to the officers of the government to procure Ḥusām al-Dīn's appointment as *shaykh* of the Khānḳāh-i Ḍiyā and the Khānḳāh-i Lālā at Konya (see *Mektubât-i Mevlânâ Celâleddin*, 128-9), approaches which were successful (cf. Aflākī, i, 558, ii, 754 f., 758; tr. ii, 73, 237 f., 241). Five years after the death of Shaykh Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (657/1258), Djalāl al-Dīn appointed Ḥusām al-Dīn as *khalīfa* in his place. It was within these five years that the first volume of the *Mathnawī* was written (659/1260-1), at the prompting of Ḥusām al-Dīn who acted as amanuensis. When this first volume was finished, Ḥusām al-Dīn's wife died. This loss distressed him, so that he did not urge Djalāl al-Dīn to proceed with the *Mathnawī* (*Mathnawī*, ii, 247; Aflākī, ii, 742-4; tr. ii, 228). Two years later he married again and work on the *Mathnawī* was resumed. Until Djalāl al-Dīn's death (672/1273), he acted as his *khalīfa* and amanuensis, and after that, on Djalāl al-Dīn's nomination, was his *khalīfa* for the remaining twelve years of his life (see Sulṭān Walad, *Walad-nāma*, 122 f.; Sipahsālār, *Risāla*, 146 f.; Aflākī, ii, 746 f.; tr. ii, 231); men of all classes were attracted to him by his optimistic outlook, his generosity and his fine character. He died at Konya in 683/1284, according to Aflākī (ii, 779; tr. ii, 256) on 22 Shaʿbān/3 November but according to his tombstone (see A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, 28) on 12 Shaʿbān/25 October. He is buried in the *turba* of Djalāl al-Dīn.

Ḥusām al-Dīn, who himself composed no works, owes his fame to the help he brought to the writing of the *Mathnawī*. Djalāl al-Dīn acknowledges this in various books of the *Mathnawī*, praises him under various titles and honorifics, and even calls the work *Ḥusāmī-nāma* (see *Mathnawī*, i, 3, iv, 278_{1-6}, vi, 271_{1-3}; Sipahsālār, 142 f.; Aflākī, ii, 742-3; tr. ii, 227 f.). Whenever and wherever Djalāl al-Dīn found an occasion for dictation, Ḥusām al-Dīn would take the verses down and read them back to him (Aflākī, ii, 740, 742; tr. ii, 226, 228). The work, suspended for two years after the completion of the first book, was resumed in 672/1263-4 and finished shortly before Djalāl al-Dīn's death (see A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Celâleddin*, 120 f.). The portions taken down at various times were corrected and explained as Ḥusām al-Dīn read them back (Aflākī, i, 496-7; tr. ii, 19), the copy written on the basis of these corrections and explanations later being rightly regarded as one of the most reliable texts (*loc. cit.*); some manuscripts transcribed from this copy exist in the libraries of Konya and Istanbul (see Nihâd M. Çetin, *Maṯnawī'nin Konya Kütüphanelerindeki eski yazmaları*, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, iv (1961), 96-118). Ḥusām al-Dīn's second contribution to the Mawlawī way of life, later to develop into a *ṭarīḳa*, was to establish its 'rules' (*ādāb*): thus he made it

the regular practice that the *samā*ʿ [*q.v.*] took place after the Friday prayer and that the *Mat̲h̲nawī* was read after the Ḳurʾān had been read (Aflākī, ii, 777; tr. ii, 255). It was during his headship of the movement also that D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn's mausoleum was built, so that it possessed a focal point and centre, what might be called a Mawlawī *ḳibla* (cf. A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, 24).

Bibliography: Sulṭān Walad, *Walad-nāma*, ed. D̲j̲alāl Humāyī, Tehrān n.d., 120-39; Farīdūn b. Aḥmad-i Sipahsālār, *Risāla*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehrān 1325 s., 141-8; S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1959-61, i, 496 f., ii, 738-83; tr. C. Huart, *Les saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, Paris 1918-22, ii, 19 ff., 223-60, and index; D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Maktūbāt*, ed. M. N. Uzluk and Ahmed Remzi, Istanbul 1937, 128 f. and index; D̲j̲āmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, Turkish tr. by Lāmiʿī, Istanbul 1289, 532-5; A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Celâleddîn*, Istanbul 1952, 113-22; idem, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, Istanbul 1953, 21-8.

(TAHSIN YAZICI)

SULṬĀN **ḤUSAYN** MĪRZĀ B. MANṢŪR B. BAYḲARA was born in Harāt in Muḥarram 842/June 1438. At the age of 14 he entered the service of Abu'l-Ḳāsim Bābur. In 858/1454, when Abu'l-Ḳāsim Bābur made peace with Abū Saʿīd, Ḥusayn Mīrzā entered the service of the latter, but was imprisoned by him. After his release through the intervention of his mother, he returned to Abu'l-Ḳāsim Bābur, with whom he remained till his death (861/1457). He then joined Muʿizz al-Dīn Sand̲j̲ar, who held Marw, Māk̲h̲ān and D̲j̲ām, and married his daughter; his eldest son, Badīʿ al-Zamān, was born of this marriage. A period of struggle with Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] and his sons now began. Immediately after the death of Abū Saʿīd, Ḥusayn Mīrzā went to Harāt and ascended the throne on 10 Ramaḍān 873/25 March 1469. With one brief intermission, he remained the undisputed ruler of K̲h̲urāsān until his death (911/1506). Ḥusayn Mīrzā showed S̲h̲īʿī inclinations at the beginning of his reign, but abandoned these entirely under the influence of Nawāʾī and others. He was a brave soldier, fighting personally in many battles.

Ḥusayn Mīrzā's long reign in K̲h̲urāsān is more important from the cultural than from the political point of view. Under his rule relatively peaceful conditions were established in K̲h̲urāsān and the province enjoyed a period of prosperity. His capital of Harāt became an important cultural centre. Poets, men of letters and of learning enjoyed the patronage of both Ḥusayn Mīrzā and his close friend the Turkish poet Nawāʾī, the last great classical Persian poet D̲j̲āmī, the historian Mīrk̲h̲wānd, the miniature painter Bihzad [*qq.v.*] and the calligrapher Sulṭān ʿAlī Mas̲h̲hadī being among the most famous personalities of the court. Ḥusayn Mīrzā himself composed poetry in Turkish and Persian, using the *mak̲h̲laṣ* Ḥusaynī. His Turkish *Dīwān* contains *g̲h̲azal*s composed throughout in one and the same variant of *ramal*, namely – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ –, the most popular metre of the period. In spite of the high praise given them by Nawāʾī, these poems are of no more than average quality (the fact that the Ṣafawid Sultan Ḥusayn ordered a translation of a selection of them into Persian (cf. British Museum, Or. 3379) is to be attributed rather to the importance of the person of the poet than to the intrinsic value of his poetry). He is also the author of a brief treatise in Turkish, a sort of *apologia pro vita sua*, which is interesting for its exposition of the ideals and conceptions of a mediaeval Muslim Turkish monarch. The *Mad̲j̲ālis al-ʿus̲h̲s̲h̲āḳ*, which is ascribed to him by Sām Mīrzā, is in fact, as Bābūr and K̲h̲wāndamīr stated, by Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Gāzurgāhī.

Bibliography: K̲h̲wāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay 1847, iii, 201 ff.; *The Bábar-náma*, ed. Beveridge, GMS i, Leiden 1905, 163v ff.; Nawāʾī, *Mad̲j̲ālis al-nafāʾis*, Tashkent 1961, 208-56; idem, *Muḥākamat al-lug̲h̲atayn*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1841, 34 ff.; Dawlats̲h̲āh, *The Tad̲h̲kiratu'sh-Shuʿará*, ed. E. G. Browne, London and Leiden 1901, 521-41; Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehrān 1314s, 11-2; V. V. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, translated from the Russian by V. and T. Minorsky, iii, Leiden 1962, 1-72; *Divan-i sultan Hüseyn Mirza Baykara "Hüseynî"*, ed. I. H. Ertaylan, Istanbul 1946; T. Gandjeï, *Uno scritto apologetico di Ḥusain Mīrzā, Sultano del Khorāsān*, in *AIUON*, v (1954), 157-83. See further TĪMŪRIDS.

(T. GANDJEÏ)

ḤUSAYN, who was known until his accession to the throne as Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, was the eldest son of S̲h̲āh Sulaymān, the Ṣafawid monarch who reigned 1077-1105/1666-94. Ḥusayn, who was born in 1079/1668, was by nature quiet and studious, with an inclination in his earlier years to austerity. Having been brought up in the harem, in accordance with the pernicious practice inaugurated by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I, Ḥusayn was completely ignorant of state affairs and, indeed, of the world in general when, at the age of 26, he succeeded his father on the latter's death. Ḥusayn soon showed himself to be of weak character, and the court eunuchs took advantage of this fact to assume control over the government of the country, but intense rivalry soon developed between them and the *mud̲j̲tahid*s and *mullā*s. Although at first violently against the drinking of alcohol, the S̲h̲āh was, by means of a subterfuge, induced to become addicted to it (see Krusinski, *The history of the revolution of Persia taken from the memoirs of Father Krusinski ...... by Father du Cerceau*, Dublin 1729, 54-6). Moreover, the S̲h̲āh by no means neglected the pleasures of the harem; thus his early tendency to austerity soon became a thing of the past.

The first few years of the reign were uneventful, but peace and calm were to prove transitory. Trouble first arose in Balūčistān, but it was soon quelled by the able and forceful Giorgi XI, the King of Kartli and *Wālī* of Georgia; he was known to the Persians as Gurgīn K̲h̲ān and also as S̲h̲āh Nawāz K̲h̲ān. A more serious revolt then occurred in Ḳandahār, under the leadership of the astute G̲h̲alzay chieftain Mīr Ways [see G̲H̲ALZAY]. For once taking a sensible course, the S̲h̲āh sent Gurgīn K̲h̲ān with a strong force to quell the revolt. Gurgīn K̲h̲ān successfully carried out his task and sent Mīr Ways under strong guard to Iṣfahān, with a warning that he was a dangerous man. Mīr Ways, who was a subtle and able man, however, ingratiated himself with the simple S̲h̲āh and intrigued with Gurgīn K̲h̲ān's numerous enemies at the court, with the result that he was soon freed and allowed to return to Ḳandahār. Soon afterwards Mīr Ways, after having Gurgīn K̲h̲ān murdered, defeated the Georgian garrison. Although several attempts were subsequently made to subdue Mīr Ways, they all failed and he remained virtually independent for the rest of his life. After Mīr Ways's death in 1126/1715, his brother and successor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (erroneously named ʿAbd Allāh in certain sources) attempted to make peace

with the Persian court, but he was soon assassinated by Maḥmūd, Mīr Ways's ambitious and brutal elder son.

Encouraged by the success of the Ghalzays, the Abdālī tribe, whose main centre was at Herāt, also revolted and frustrated all attempts by the Persians to subdue them. Trouble also occurred in the Persian Gulf, where the Muscat Arabs, under Sultan Ibn Sayf II, captured the islands of Baḥrayn, Ḳishm and Larak in 1717. Two years later the turbulent Lezgis of southern Dāghistān ravaged Shīrwān and parts of Georgia. When Wakhtang VI, the *Wālī* of Georgia and nephew of the late Giorgi XI (Gurgīn Khān), had gathered his forces together and was about to crush the Lezgis, he received orders from the Shāh to stay his hand. Wakhtang obeyed this order, but he was so enraged that he vowed never to take action in defence of Persia again. Late in the same year Maḥmūd of Ḳandahār, with a force of some 11,000 men, invaded Persia and captured Kirmān. He remained in occupation of the town for several months, but was then forced to withdraw to Ḳandahār to quell a revolt there (the story that Maḥmūd was forced to withdraw after being heavily defeated by Luṭf ʿAlī Khān, the nephew of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Dāghistānī, the Shāh's *iʿtimād al-dawla*, though given in a number of sources, has no basis in fact).

In December 1720, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Dāghistānī's enemies at the court procured his arrest on a trumped-up charge of treason and had him disgraced and blinded; his nephew Luṭf ʿAlī Khān, the commander of the only well organized force in the country, was also disgraced and thrown into prison. It was at this juncture that a Turkish envoy named Dürrī Efendi arrived at the Persian court. Rumours of the impending disintegration of Persia had reached the Turkish Government and it had sent Dürrī Efendi to ascertain whether or not these rumours were well-founded. In his report Dürrī Efendi predicted that the Ṣafawid régime was apparently near its end, as there were no men in Persia who were capable of governing it (*Relation de Dourry Efendy*, Paris 1810, 54-5). Likewise very interested in the situation in Persia was Peter the Great of Russia. His envoy Volynsky, who had been in Persia from 1715 to 1717, had brought back disquieting reports of the situation in that country. In order to glean further and more recent information, Semeon Avramov, the Russian Consul at Rasht, went on Peter's orders to the Persian court, where he arrived just after the departure of Dürrī Efendi. At the same time Peter the Great sent Captain Baskakov secretly to Gilan to make a military report on the terrain. Avramov reported in much the same sense as Dürrī Efendi (see P. G. Butkov, *Materiali dlya Novoy Istorii Kavkaza, 1722-1803*, St. Petersburg 1869, i, 6).

The dismissal and cruel treatment of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Dāghistānī, who was a Lezgi and a Sunnī, so enraged his compatriots and co-religionists in Dāghistān that they again invaded Shīrwān, where they sacked the town of Shamākhī. Among those to suffer severe loss on this occasion were a number of Russian merchants. The rebels then appealed to the Sultan of Turkey for protection, who accepted them as his subjects. The news of this outrage at Shamākhī gave Peter the Great his excuse for invading Persia, which he did in the following year, advancing as far as Darband.

Meanwhile, Maḥmūd, having put down the revolt in Ḳandahār, had once again invaded Persia. After occupying Kirmān again, he boldly advanced on Iṣfahān. Although greatly inferior in numbers, his men overwhelmed the royal forces near the village of Gulnābād, 30 km east-north-east of Iṣfahān. Three days later, Maḥmūd resumed his advance and soon encircled the capital. With Luṭf ʿAlī Khān disgraced and in prison, the only leader capable of defeating Maḥmūd and driving him back to Ḳandahār was Wakhtang VI of Georgia; in view, however, of his vow, he refrained from action. Although Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā, the heir to the throne, escaped from the doomed capital during the siege, he made no serious attempt to raise forces to relieve the city, with the result that, after many thousands of the inhabitants had died of disease and starvation, it capitulated in October 1722. Maḥmūd, having received the insignia of royalty from the unfortunate Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, entered the capital in triumph and mounted the throne.

Meanwhile, after Peter the Great had staged his invasion, Turkey also invaded the unfortunate country. War between Russia and Turkey then nearly ensued, but it was averted by the efforts of the Marquis de Bonnac, the French Ambassador to the Porte. He managed with great skill to arrange for a treaty to be signed by Turkey and Russia for the partition of much of northern and western Persia in 1724.

After his deposition, Sultan Ḥusayn was kept in confinement in Iṣfahān. In February 1725, Maḥmūd, during a fit of insanity, murdered, largely with his own hands, most of the Ṣafawid princes. He wounded the ex-Shāh himself, when he endeavoured to ward off a savage blow aimed at one of the young princes. Soon afterwards, Maḥmūd, who had become completely insane, either died a natural death or was murdered by his cousin Ashraf, the son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Ashraf thereupon mounted the Persian throne.

In the following year war broke out between the Ghalzays and the Ottoman Turks. In the late autumn of 1726 Ashraf, on receipt of a rude message from Aḥmad Pasha, the Turkish commander-in-chief, that he was going to restore Sultan Ḥusayn to the throne, sent emissaries to Iṣfahān, who put the unfortunate ex-Shāh to death.

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(L. Lockhart)

AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ, Bey of Tunis (1705-35), founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty. The son of a

Greek renegade recruited into the ranks of the *odjaḳ*, Ḥusayn was *āghā* of the *sipāhis* at the time of the war between Algeria and Tunisia (1704-5). Proclaimed Bey after the capture of Bey Ibrāhīm by the Algerian troops, Ḥusayn first repulsed the Algerians, then got rid of the Dey, Muḥammad Khodja, who was supported by the army, and finally also of Bey Ibrāhīm after he had been set free. Ḥusayn was recognized by the Ottoman Sultan, who gave him the title of *Pasha* with the rank of *Beylerbeyi*, governor of the province of Tunisia (1708); he omitted from the list of his titles *dāyī* (Dey), which from that time on was given to an official of lower rank. While recognizing Ottoman suzerainty, Ḥusayn at the same time persuaded the council of the highest military officers to grant him hereditary power, to be passed on to his descendants by the order of primogeniture in the male line (1710). Thus was founded the Ḥusaynid dynasty, which continued to reign over Tunisia until 1957.

From 1705 until 1729 Ḥusayn's reign was peaceful; his relations with the European powers were very good, and were distinguished by the conclusion of treaties with France (1710 and 1728), England (1716), Spain (1720), Austria (1725), and Holland (1728). Nevertheless the behaviour of the Tunisian privateers caused the French fleet to stage demonstrations off La Goulette in 1728 and 1731.

Internal political life was severely shaken in 1729 by the revolt of Ḥusayn's nephew, ʿAlī Pasha, who, deprived of political power, raised the central tribes with the help of his son Yūnus and, when defeated, fled to Algeria. After at first being interned there, ʿAlī Pasha was later on supported by the Dey of Algiers, Ibrāhīm, and they invaded Tunisia together. Beaten in turn at Smendja (4 September 1735), Ḥusayn retreated to al-Ḳayrawān, while ʿAlī Pasha was proclaimed Bey in Tunis. Ḥusayn endeavoured to take the offensive again, but failed before Tunis and retired once again to al-Ḳayrawān, where he continued his resistance for five years. The town was finally taken by Yūnus on 16 Safar 1157/25 May 1740, and Ḥusayn was captured and executed a short time later.

During the first twenty years of his reign, Ḥusayn showed much creative activity: he restored the walls of al-Ḳayrawān and built *madrasas* at Sousse, Sfax and Gafsa. In Tunis itself he was responsible for putting the aqueducts into good repair and for planning the saddlers' quarter (*Sūḳ al-sarrādjīn*), for building the dyers' mosque (*Djāmiʿ al-djadīd*), the *madrasas* al-Nakhla, al-Ḥusayniyya and al-Djadīda, and the mausoleum of the Dey Ḳara Muṣṭafā. In his reign, ʿAzīza ʿUthmāna, grand-daughter of the Dey ʿUthmān and famous for her pious foundations, died. She was buried near the *Madrasa* al-Shammāʿiyya. Furthermore, it was Ḥusayn who transferred the centre of Tunisian government to the Bardo.

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(R. MANTRAN)

ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ, Amīr and "Grand Sharīf" of Mecca and the Ḥidjāz from 1326/1908 to 1335/1916, and King of the Ḥidjāz from 1335/1916 to 1343/1924, was the elder son of the second son, ʿAlī, of the first Sharifian Amīr of Mecca of the ʿAbādila family of the ʿAwn branch of the Meccan Sharīfs, the famous Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muʿīn b. ʿAwn, who died in 1275/1858. In spite of almost-successful attempts by the long-dominant Zayd branch of the Sharīfs to regain the Meccan amirate, the descendants of Muḥammad ibn ʿAwn in fact retained it until its disappearance.

Ḥusayn, born in Istanbul in 1270/1853 or 1273/1856, passed his youth partly in the Ḥidjāz and partly in Istanbul, where he was, after 1311/1893, a permanent resident and political *détenu*. Bilingual in Turkish and Arabic, an abundant and mellifluous talker and writer, combining obstinacy with ambiguity and a dominating temper with outstanding charm, he was prominent in local society and developed the qualities which he was later to demonstrate in high office. His four sons (ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh, Fayṣal and Zayd [*qq.v.*]) were all Turkish-educated, but all, by order of their authoritarian father, passed prolonged periods also in Arabia. Ḥusayn himself was appointed to the Ottoman Council of State, and moved acceptably in the highest official and Court circles.

One effect of the Turkish revolution of 1326/1908 was to displace into exile the ruling Amīr of Mecca, ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh, first cousin of Ḥusayn. The succession fell to the latter's uncle, ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, but, already old, he sustained a fatal stroke before leaving Istanbul. After some days of eager canvassing between ʿAwn and Zayd interests, the candidate of the former, Ḥusayn, secured the backing of the (reputedly Anglophile) Grand Vizir, Kāmil Pāshā, and was appointed by the Sultan (cf. Hilmi Kâmil Bayur, *Sadrazam Kâmil Paşa*, Ankara 1954, 287 ff.). He was received with great pomp at Djidda and at Mecca in the last days of 1326/1908.

In a situation of extreme delicacy vis-à-vis the Turkish *wālī* of the Ḥidjāz *wilāyet*, the new Amīr displayed at first every sign of loyalty to his Sultan-Caliph. He took up arms against Idrīsī rebels in ʿAṣīr, occupied Ibhā, and carried out a partial though unsuccessful invasion of Ḳaṣīm, to assert tribal rights. Nevertheless he was, during these years, simultaneously formulating certain ambitions of his own highly inconsistant with loyalty to Turkey, and was insisting on all, or more than all, the privileges of his own position. He obstructed, and in the end through tribal action prevented, the extension of the Ḥidjāz Railway southward from Madīna, successfully resisted Turkish attempts to normalise the administration of the province and to impose conscription, enhanced his personal position by daily entertainment on a lavish scale, and even, though invisibly, placed himself in touch with Arab secret societies in Syria and Egypt working for home-rule for the Arab provinces. His second son, ʿAbd Allāh, held tentative conversations with the British in Egypt.

On the outbreak of the First World War in 1333/1914, the last-mentioned contacts were resumed, and Ḥusayn's ideas for Arab, and personal, aggrandisement took shape. He temporised over the Turkish demand for the raising of Arab forces to aid his suzerain, and found himself unable to support the proclamation, in the Holy Cities, of Holy War for the Caliph. Closer contact was made with Damascus, through his son Fayṣal, and with the British in Cairo through secret messengers. The latter negotia-

tions resulted in the "McMahon Letters" exchanged with Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt: letters which seemed to express a broad Anglo-Arab agreement but later became famous and disastrous from their inconclusive ambiguities. The impulse to proclaim an Arab uprising against the Turks was increased by Turkish anti-Arab repression in Syria, and not less potently by British promises of immediate aid, in arms and money, for such a revolt. In mid-summer 1335/1916 the Arab revolt was proclaimed by Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, military operations (in desert-Arab style) began, the Turks were expelled from Mecca, and soon afterwards from Djidda, the smaller Red Sea ports, and with little delay from almost the whole of the Ḥidjāz except Madīna. In the late autumn Ḥusayn announced himself as "King of the Arab Countries" —a title unacceptable, however, to the Powers (Britain, France, Italy), who substituted that of "King of the Ḥidjāz".

When military operations moved beyond the Ḥidjāz, and particularly when British participation in officers, supplies, money and staffwork became all-important in the Arab forces, King Ḥusayn could no longer control, or even appreciate, the course of events or plans, and perforce he ceased, except by distant criticism and in some degree through influence over his active sons ʿAbd Allāh and Fayṣal, to take any part. He stayed in Mecca, locally a dominant figure, eloquent, irritable, increasingly remote from realities, and of little weight in an Arab world less interested in him than he supposed. The end of the war in 1918 found him still hoping for a united Arab kingdom under his rule; but he was soon disillusioned by the course of events in the Levant and by the Allied attitude to his wide claims, though this could not have been entirely unknown to him. The Allied military occupation of all (geographical) Syria and ʿIrāḳ and the arrangements embodied in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 precluded effective Arab rule. This agreement was published by the Bolsheviks in November 1917; at least the general terms had already been communicated to him by the Allies in May of that year (Dawn, *The Amir* ..., 131). Ḥusayn was powerless to influence these developments or even the acts of his own sons; he was still more at sea in all that was reported to him of the peace-making at Versailles, where Arab claims received little attention. King Ḥusayn was in fact unable to play any rôle in affairs outside the Ḥidjāz from 1337/1918 onwards.

In his own Kingdom, his maladministration became notorious. He failed to extend his rule over any other part of Arabia, and, angrily rejecting the Mandates applied to the northern Arab territories, declined to ratify the Peace treaty. He quarrelled with Egypt over arrangements for the Ḥadjdj ceremonial, and, still more dangerously, with the central-Arabian power of Ibn Suʿūd over tribes, oases and refugees. His assumption of the Caliphate itself, while on a visit to ʿAmmān, in 1343/1924, when that title and office was abolished by the Turks, was a crowning mistake; he was accepted as Caliph by only a small minority even of Arabs, aroused powerful opposition, and added nothing to his prestige (cf. the attack of Rashīd Riḍā, cited by E. Kedourie in *JRAS*, (1963), 215).

The end came from the Wahhābī followers of Ibn Suʿūd, whom he had needlessly offended. These, with strong iconoclastic religious emotions and many old scores to pay off, invaded the Ḥidjāz only six months after the assumption of the Caliphate. They swept to the walls of Mecca and forced the old King to abdicate in favour of his eldest son ʿAlī, and retire to Djidda, and thence by British steamer to ʿAḳaba. He took with him his whole personal fortune, amounting, according to general belief, to some millions of pounds sterling, mainly in gold coins packed in petrol tins.

After some months passed at ʿAḳaba the King was removed by British cruiser to Cyprus, where he lived quietly in a villa at Nicosia. He was accompanied by his youngest son Zayd, and visited periodically by the others. His mood was one of disillusion and bitterness, but he had pleasure in conversation and in his horses. After sustaining a stroke in 1930 he moved—or was moved—via Beirut to his son ʿAbd Allāh's court at ʿAmmān, and died there in mid-summer 1931. He was buried in the Ḥaram al-Sharīf at Jerusalem

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(S. H. Longrigg)

AL-ḤUSAYN b. al-Ḥusayn, the last dey of Algiers, was born at Izmir and ruled from 1818 to 1830. When his predecessor ʿAlī Khodja died of the plague on 1 March 1818 Ḥusayn was occupying the high office of *khodjat al-khayl* (tribute collector). Ḥusayn was raised to the dignity of dey without having sought it, and being of a moderate disposition opened his reign by gestures of clemency. His reward was two attempts at assassination. Thereafter he remained mostly in the kasbah, which dominated the city of Algiers, surrounded by Kabyle guards.

There was unrest in Algeria: the beys of Constantine and Oran were faced with serious local rebellions which were maintained, especially in the Oran area, by religious groups. Thanks to his patience and the

activity of competent and devoted collaborators, Ḥusayn finally re-established calm in 1826 in the east, and in 1828 in the west.

Nevertheless external affairs were dominant during his reign. He had to send vessels and men to help the Ottoman government against the Greek insurgents. Previously he had been invited by the European powers, after the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, to suppress piracy and abolish slavery. As he was evasive, a Franco-British naval demonstration had taken place off Algiers in September 1819.

Later, when he was using forceful measures against Kabyle rebels, the British consul stubbornly refused to hand over to him the Kabyle servants whom he employed. The dey retorted by expelling the consul, so Great Britain sent a fleet to bombard Algiers in June 1824. The effects of these reprisals were slight.

The affair of France's debt to the Jewish merchants Bacri and Busnach and the dey himself, which had been simmering long before Ḥusayn had come to power, occupied him for the whole of his reign and caused his downfall. It was in connexion with this affair that he struck the French consul Deval with his fly-whisk on 30 April 1827 in the course of a very animated interview. As he refused to make the apologies demanded by the French government, the French fleet set up a blockade along the Algerian coast. Then there came the incident of 3 August 1829, when the Algerine coastal batteries fired upon the vessel bearing a French plenipotentiary. Ḥusayn had not given the orders for this, but refused to satisfy French demands for reparation. As a sequel the French government decided to organize an expedition to destroy the power of the deys, and on 4 July 1830 Ḥusayn was handed the capitulation proposals from the commander of the French expeditionary force. He set his seal upon them on the morning of the 5th.

He left Algiers for Italy, where he lived for several years, then retired to Alexandria, where he died in 1838.

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AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿABD ALLĀH [see IBN SĪNĀ].

AL-ḤUSAYN B. AḤMAD [see ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-SHĪʿĪ; IBN KHĀLAWAYH].

AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ [see IBN MĀKŪLĀ; AL-MAGHRIBĪ; AL-ṬUGHRĀʾĪ].

(AL-)ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, grandson of the Prophet and son of Fāṭima [*q.v.*], famous because of his revolt which ended tragically at Karbalāʾ on 10 Muḥarram 61/October 680.

Childhood and youth. (Al-)Ḥusayn was born at Medina, according to the majority of the sources in the beginning of Shaʿbān 4/January 626. He was thus still a child when the Prophet died and could therefore have very few memories of his grandfather. A number of *ḥadīth*s mention the affectionate phrases which Muḥammad is said to have used of his grandsons, *e.g.*, "whoever loves them loves me and whoever hates them hates me" and "al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are the *sayyid*s of the youth of Paradise" (this statement is very important in the eyes of the Shīʿīs, who have made of it one of the basic justifications for the right of the Prophet's descendants to the imāmate; *sayyid shabāb al-djanna* is one of the epithets which the Shīʿīs give to each of the two brothers); other traditions present Muḥammad with his grandsons on his knees, on his shoulders, or even on his back during the prayer at the moment of prostrating himself (Ibn Kathīr, viii, 205-7, has collected a fair number of these accounts, drawn mainly from the collections of Ibn Ḥanbal and of al-Tirmidhī). A number of traditionists have added to these life-like and charming little pictures some details which, to the non-Muslim, appear curious or, when they include angels, fanciful, but which do not appear so to Muslims, with their belief in the frequent visits of Djibrīl to Muḥammad; it is in other accounts, on which see below under The Legend of Ḥusayn (col. 611a), that the Shīʿī influence is apparent. During his youth, Ḥusayn lived in the shadow of his father, obeying his orders (see, *e.g.*, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 271, 279, 281 etc.) and taking part in his campaigns.

Attitude towards Muʿāwiya. Even after the death of ʿAlī, Ḥusayn still does not stand out as a personality; an example of this is seen in his relationship with Muʿāwiya: he reproached his brother Ḥasan for having renounced power, but himself submitted to the *fait accompli*, accepting an appanage of one or two million *dirhams*; he also went often to Damascus where he received further largesse. Several times, even before Ḥasan's death, the Shīʿīs suggested that he should revolt (*e.g.*, Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*]), but the reply was always the same: "so long as this man [Muʿāwiya] lives, nothing can be done ... the directive is to think continually of future revenge, but to say nothing about it" (al-Balādhurī, 634r-v, 636r, etc.). Muʿāwiya, although informed by his governor at Medina, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, of how the Shīʿīs frequented Ḥusayn, was not alarmed by it; he prudently counselled Marwān to avoid a clash with Ḥusayn and sent the latter a letter in which he mingled generous promises with the advice not to provoke him. The incident closed with a proud written reply from Ḥusayn, which seems not to have worried Muʿāwiya (Ibn Kathīr, viii, 162). There were only two occasions when Ḥusayn acted boldly: when he defended against some powerful Umayyads his right to certain possessions (*Aghānī*, xvi, 68-70) and when Muʿāwiya asked the high officials of state to recognize his son Yazīd as his successor; Ḥusayn was then among the five persons who refused to submit to this claim, which introduced a new principle in the succession to the caliphate [see WALĪ ʿAHD].

Further refusal of the *bayʿa* to Yazīd after the death of Muʿāwiya and consequences of this. Immediately after the death of Muʿāwiya (Radjab 60/March-April 680), the governor of Medina, al-Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān, on the orders of Yazīd, invited to the palace at an unusual hour Ḥusayn and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] with the intention of obliging them to pay homage to the new caliph. Both of them realized that Muʿāwiya was dead and, having decided to stand by their refusal to make the *bayʿa*, feared for their lives. Whereas Ibn al-Zubayr fled the following night to Mecca, Ḥusayn went to the palace, but accompanied by his supporters, and, after offering his condolence, asked that the *bayʿa* should be delayed, under the pretext that, in order to be valid, it must be made in public; he succeeded in delaying it for two days and finally escaped at night with his family to Mecca, without however taking an

indirect route. Al-Walīd b. ʿUtba, although urged by Marwān to resort to violence, was unwilling to take serious measures against the grandson of the Prophet and paid for his inactivity with dismissal from his office. The situation created in Mecca by the arrival of Ibn al-Zubayr and Ḥusayn cannot have been a very easy one. The inhabitants of Mecca liked to attend on Ḥusayn, and Ibn al-Zubayr, who was already harbouring secret ambitions, was suspected of jealousy towards him (see al-Ṭabarī, ii, 276).

The sources on al-Ḥusayn's revolt and on his tragic end. Unless some of the manuscripts in the Berlin Library attributed to Abū Mikhnaf [*q.v.*] (see Ahlwardt, 9028-9, 9031-8)—which the author of this article is in the process of examining —prove to be entirely or partly authentic, the most important texts on Ḥusayn's enterprise and its tragic sequel at Karbalāʾ remain al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī. The former relates (1) a great number of traditions on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf (d. *ca.* 157/774) with *isnāds* going back to contemporary witnesses; (2) other fairly numerous traditions of Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, most of them received from his master Abū Mikhnaf; (3) a small number of traditions transmitted with their *isnād*s by other traditionists, which, however, add few variants to the preceding ones and most of which are unimportant. Al-Balādhurī almost always used the same sources as al-Ṭabarī, but often made résumés of them, introducing them by *ḳālū*; and he provides some additional verses and details. Al-Dīnawarī, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, etc. add almost nothing to our knowledge since they based almost the whole of their continuous accounts on Abū Mikhnaf. So great was the respect accorded even among the Shīʿis to the work of this sympathizer of Ḥusayn that it is chiefly from his collection of traditions that their earliest writers (*e.g.*, al-Mufīd, d. 413/1022), or those endowed with enough critical faculty to enable them to eliminate fantastic additions (*e.g.*, the modern Uways), have drawn their narrative of Ḥusayn's enterprise (their Shīʿism showing itself elsewhere). It was only much later (apparently beginning in the 7th/13th century) that the narrative of Ḥusayn's enterprise was partly modified by the introduction of romantic accounts (single combats in which the enemies of Ḥusayn were killed by the dozen, Ḥusayn defending himself like a lion and slaughtering his assailants, and other such fables). The exaggerations and the misrepresentations of the Shīʿis were severely criticized by Ibn Kathīr (viii, 201 f.).

Invitation from the Kūfans. Mission of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl to Kūfa. The news of the death of Muʿāwiya was greeted with satisfaction at Kūfa, the majority of whose inhabitants were Shīʿis. Soon there were sent out from there letters and messengers inviting Ḥusayn to make his way to this town which could no longer tolerate the Umayyad régime, which they regarded as guilty of having seized the *fay*ʾ [*q.v.*], allowed the possessions of Allāh to pass into the hands of the powerful and the rich, and killed the best men (an allusion to Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī and his supporters) while allowing the worst to remain alive (see letter of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāʿī and of other Shīʿis: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 234 f., etc.). Ḥusayn replied that he understood their hope of uniting themselves, thanks to him, in the right way and in the truth. "The Imām", he added, "must not be other than a man acting according to the Book of God, taking [his subjects' money] with honesty, judging with truth, devoting himself to the service of God." Nevertheless, before making a decision he thought it prudent to send his cousin, Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*], to Kūfa to test the ground. Muslim soon gathered thousands of pledges of support and was even able to preside over an assembly from the *minbar* in the mosque (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 257 f.; al-Dīnawarī, 252). But his intrigues were reported to the caliph Yazīd who, no longer trusting the governor of the town, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī, gave the control of Kūfa to the son of Ziyād, ʿUbayd Allāh [*q.v.*], then already governor of Baṣra, with orders to go there himself immediately to quell the disturbances. Ibn Ziyād arrived at this destination in disguise and took energetic measures which terrified Ḥusayn's sympathizers. Muslim, after attempting in vain to organize an immediate revolt, fled and went into hiding; he was discovered and put to death (9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 60/11 September 680). Unfortunately for al-Ḥusayn, he had written a very optimistic letter on the success of his propaganda and, it seems, had even sent to him the thousands of pledges signed by the inhabitants of Kūfa.

Ḥusayn's departure for Kūfa. Already Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya at Medina (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 220 f.), then ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, when they met him on the road from Medina to Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 223), and others also, had warned Ḥusayn against the dangers of a revolt: Ibn ʿAbbās had reiterated his advice, and with great insistence, at Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 274 f.; al-Balādhurī, 638v-639r, etc.). Even ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr had attempted to dissuade him from the enterprise, but hypocritically, since he was in fact very pleased that Ḥusayn should leave the field free for him at Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 274-6, etc.). In spite of all this advice, Ḥusayn did not abandon his project. He performed the *ʿumra* [*q.v.*] instead of the *ḥadjdj* and took advantage of the absence of the governor, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*], who was completing the rites of the Pilgrimage on the outskirts of the town, to slip away together with his own group: about fifty men —relatives and friends able to bear arms—women and children (8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 60/10 September 680, the day of the *tarwiya*). The names of the places where he stopped on the way from Mecca to Kūfa are all recorded by al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī; Wellhausen has noted them.

Informed of Ḥusayn's departure, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd sent in pursuit of him a party of men under the command of his brother Yaḥyā, but all that took place between the two groups was a clash with whips and sticks. At al-Tanʿīm, not far from Mecca, Ḥusayn met a caravan coming from the Yemen and considered that he had a right to seize its load which consisted of cloaks and plants for dyeing destined for the caliph. On the way, Ḥusayn met several people: the poet al-Farazdaḳ who, when questioned, told him frankly that the hearts of the ʿIrāḳīs were for him but that their swords were for the Umayyads (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 277 and 278, etc.), and his cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar who, having obtained from the governor ʿAmr b. Saʿīd a letter granting him *amān*, had come to read it to him. But Ḥusayn's decision was unshakeable; his replies to any who attempted to deflect him from his enterprise were always more or less in the same vein: "God does as He wishes .... I leave it to Him to choose what is best .... He is not hostile to him who purposes the just cause (*al-ḥaḳḳ*) ...". Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn al-Badjalī, who was a supporter of ʿUthmān, and while journeying had avoided pitching his tents at the same place as Ḥusayn, did on one occasion have to make his camp

near to him; invited by Ḥusayn to visit him, he changed his opinion during the interview with him and from then on became one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Ḥusayn.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād had stationed men on the roads leading from the Ḥidjāz to Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 285 and 288) and had given orders forbidding all persons to enter or leave the territory bounded by them. Ḥusayn learned of this order from the Bedouins, but was not alarmed by it and continued his journey. It was at al-Thaʿlabiyya that he first heard, from some travellers, the news of the execution of Muslim and of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa [*q.v.*] at Kūfa. He would then have turned back, but the sons of ʿAḳīl, determined either to avenge their brother or to meet the same fate, made him change his mind. Then, at Zubāla, he learned that his messenger (Ḳays b. Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī or ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḳṭur, his foster brother: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 288, 293, 303), sent from al-Ḥādjiz to Kūfa to announce there his imminent arrival, had been discovered and killed. Ḥusayn then read to his supporters a proclamation in which, after informing them of the doleful news he had received and of the treachery of the inhabitants of Kūfa, he invited them to leave him. Those who had joined his group during the journey did depart, and there remained with him only those who had followed him from the Ḥidjāz.

Parties of horsemen were scouring the region. When they appeared on the horizon, Ḥusayn changed his direction towards Dhū Ḥusm (or Ḥusam) and there pitched his tents The horsemen, who were under the command of al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī al-Yarbūʿī, approached and, as the weather was hot, Ḥusayn gave orders for them to be given water. The situation at this time was still so free of tension that al-Ḥurr and his squadron took part that day in two prayers led by Ḥusayn (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 297, 298) and, later, four Shīʿīs who had come from Kūfa were able to join the insurgents in spite of al-Ḥurr's attempt to oppose this (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 302 f.). After each of the two prayers, Ḥusayn explained to his adversaries the motives which had caused him to set out: "You had no ***imām*** and I should have been an instrument of union in the hand of God ... We are more qualified to govern you than those others who claim things to which they have no right and who act unjustly ... But if you have changed your minds ... I shall go away" (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 297 f.). Al-Ḥurr knew nothing of the letters which the inhabitants of Kūfa had sent to Ḥusayn but he did not change his attitude when the latter showed him two sacks full of them; he had received the order to take the rebel, without fighting, to Ibn Ziyād and he endeavoured to persuade Ḥusayn to follow him; when Ḥusayn continued his march, he did not dare to oppose him but instead made some suggestions to him: to follow a route leading neither to Kūfa nor to Medina and to write to Yazīd or to Ibn Ziyād; at the same time, he himself would write to Ibn Ziyād in the hope that he would receive a reply which would allow him to avoid a painful ordeal. But Ḥusayn would not agree to his proposals and al-Ḥurr therefore followed him closely, uttering warnings from time to time: "I remind you of God for your own sake ... if there is a battle you will be killed ...". But Ḥusayn did not fear death. When a halt was made in the district (***nāḥiya***) of Nīnawā (forming part of the ***Sawād*** of Kūfa) a horseman arrived from Kūfa; without greeting Ḥusayn, he gave al-Ḥurr a letter from Ibn Ziyād ordering him not to allow the rebels to make a halt except in a desert place without fortifications or water. Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn then suggested that Ḥusayn should attack al-Ḥurr's small detachment and occupy the fortified village of al-ʿAkr, but Ḥusayn refused to open the hostilities.

On 2 Muḥarram he made his camp at Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*], a place belonging to the ***nāḥiya*** of Nīnawā; on the 3rd the situation worsened: there arrived from Kūfa an army of 4,000 men under the command of ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ who, appointed ***nāʾib*** by Ibn Ziyād at Rayy, was to have gone to Dastabā to put down a revolt of Daylamīs, but had been recalled by Ibn Ziyād in order to subdue Ḥusayn. He had tried in vain to escape from the hateful task, but, threatened with the loss of his post, was finally forced to obey. Having arrived at Karbalāʾ, he learned, through a messenger, that Ḥusayn now intended merely to retreat, but Ibn Ziyād, on receiving this information from him, insisted that all the rebels should render homage to Yazīd; meanwhile they were to be prevented from reaching the river. ʿUmar b. Saʿd placed ʿAmr b. al-Ḥadjdjādj al-Zubaydī with 500 horsemen on the route leading to the Euphrates, so that for three days Ḥusayn and his party suffered terribly from thirst; a daring group led by Ḥusayn's brother al-ʿAbbās made a sortie to the river, but succeeded in filling only a few water-skins. Meanwhile Ibn Saʿd was still trying to reach an agreement and was holding talks at night with Ḥusayn; although there was nobody present at these talks it was rumoured that Ḥusayn had made three proposals: that he should be permitted either to go and fight against the infidels as an ordinary soldier in a frontier region, or to rejoin Yazīd, to whom he would accord the ***bayʿa*** in person, or to return whence he had come (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 287, 314, 436; al-Balādhurī, 644r, etc.). On this occasion Ibn Ziyād was given evil advice by Shamir [*q.v.*] (usually known as Shimr by the Shīʿīs) b. Dhi 'l-Djawshan (an ex-supporter of ʿAlī who had fought with him at Ṣiffīn: al-Ṭabarī, i, 3305); the governor would otherwise have been accommodating, but he was persuaded that he ought to force Ḥusayn to submit to him, Ibn Ziyād, since he had arrived in the territory which was under his jurisdiction. Ibn Ziyād therefore gave orders to Ibn Saʿd either to attack the rebel, if the latter refused to comply with the conditions laid down, or to hand over the command of the troops to Shamir, who was the bearer of this order (al-Ṭabarī, 315 f.). He is said even to have added that, if Ḥusayn fell in the fighting, his body was to be trampled on, because the man was "a rebel, a seditious person, a brigand, an oppressor and he was to do no further harm after his death" (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 316). Ibn Saʿd cursed Shamir, accusing him of having envenomed an affair which otherwise would have ended peacefully; he was sure that Ḥusayn would not submit, for "there is a proud soul in him".

On the evening of 9 Muḥarram, Ibn Saʿd advanced with his men towards the group of insurgents. Ḥusayn was seated in front of his tent, leaning upon his sword, his head nodding drowsily; he had a vision in which the Prophet announced that he would soon be joining him. Warned by his sister Zaynab that the soldiers of Ibn Saʿd were advancing, he sent his brother al-ʿAbbās to find out the reason for their approach. While the messenger's return was awaited, warnings, reproaches and insults were hurled from both sides. When al-ʿAbbās returned, Ḥusayn, having learned Ibn Ziyād's demand, requested a respite of one night; this being granted, he delivered

to his relatives and supporters a discourse which his son ʿAlī, the only male of his family to escape from the massacre, was later to recall: "I give praise to God Who has honoured us with the Prophethood and has taught us the Ḳurʾān and the religion . . . I know of no worthier companions . . . than mine nor a more devout family than mine . . . May God reward you all. I think that tomorrow our end will come . . . I ask you all to go away. I do not hold you back. The night will cover you. Use it as a steed . . ." (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 320 f.). With a few exceptions, his supporters showed a complete devotion to his cause. Ḥusayn, after reviving and comforting his sister Zaynab, who had fainted in despair, went out to prepare the defences: the tents were brought close together, and tied to one another with ropes, wood and reeds were heaped up in a ditch ready to be set alight when necessary to prevent an attack from behind, and they passed the rest of the night in prayer (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 317-24, 326). The next day, after the *ṣubḥ*, hostilities commenced.

The battle of Karbalāʾ. Main episodes. If we accept that Ibn Saʿd tried to oblige the rebels to surrender by forcing them to suffer thirst and to capture the Ṭālibīs by surrounding them (which is what an impartial study of the traditions would seem to suggest), we may accept also that the battle of Karbalāʾ was prolonged from dawn until the afternoon in a series of single combats, of attacks and partial repulses, of periods of inaction, of skirmishes in defence of the tents, etc., and that it was not until nearly sunset that Ibn Ziyād's troops, exasperated by the rebels' resistance, and determined to put an end to it, fell upon the surviving Ṭālibīs and massacred them. In such an encounter, which began as a sort of deadly tournament with only a small number of combatants and a large number of spectators and soldiers on guard, some of the dialogues between adversaries which the sources recount could have taken place. Lammens (*Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, 169) attributes great importance to a concise tradition of Abū Mikhnaf according to which the fighting lasted as long as a siesta (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 374 f., etc.) and from this he deduces that: "The tragedy of Karbalāʾ instead of lasting for weeks consisted of only one action and was over in an hour . . .". Now among the accounts given by Abū Mikhnaf there are certainly some which are invented, but taken all together they form a coherent and credible narrative; consequently to select one single tradition in so far as it differs or appears to differ from the bulk of others is a critical method of disputable value, particularly as, in the present case, the traditionist is the same and as the tradition in question may be interpreted either as the boasting of a combatant before the caliph or as the description of the last act of the tragedy.

On the morning of 10 Muḥarram, Ḥusayn drew up his supporters (32 horsemen and 40 foot-soldiers with Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn in command of the right wing and Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir of the left) in front of the tents, and having entrusted the standard to his brother al-ʿAbbās, ordered them to set fire to the heaps of wood and reeds. He had had pitched for himself a tent inside which he coated himself with a depilatory paste and perfumed himself with musk diluted in a bowl. Then, on horseback and with the Ḳurʾān in front of him, he invoked God in a long and beautiful prayer (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 327) and pronounced a discourse to his enemies in which, having declared that God was his *walī*—and God protects the devout—he invited them to consider well whether it was lawful for them to kill him, reminded them of Muḥammad's statement that he and his brother were the lords of the youth of Paradise, reviewed the great merits of the family of the Prophet, once again reproached the inhabitants of Kūfa for having summoned him, and asked to be allowed to make his way to a country which would offer him safety. When it was repeated to him that first of all he must submit to his cousins, he replied that he would never humiliate himself like a slave (other, longer, versions of his discourse are given in Muḥsin al-Amīn, 255-60). He then dismounted and commanded that his horse should be hobbled, intending by this to signify that he would never flee.

If the numerous accounts of episodes of secondary importance are removed, the phases of the battle can be followed fairly clearly. After Ḥusayn's speech, it was Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn who exhorted their adversaries to follow Ḥusayn; as he received in reply only insolence and threats, he requested them not to kill him (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 331 f.). Then they began to shoot arrows and duels took place (*ibid.*, 335-7); the right wing of the government troops, led by ʿAmr b. al-Ḥadjdjādj, attacked, but withdrew on meeting resistance, and the leader ordered his men not to engage in any more single combats (*ibid.*, 337, 342 f.); they preferred to go on shooting arrows from a distance. An assault and an encircling manoeuvre made by the left wing on the orders of Shamir led to losses, and the commander of the cavalry asked Ibn Saʿd for help from the foot-troops and archers (*ibid.*, 344); Shabath b. Ribʿī, a former supporter of ʿAlī who in this action was in command of Ibn Ziyād's foot-troops, when asked to attack, made it plain that he had no wish to do so (*ibid.*, 344 f.) and it was the cavalry on armoured horses and 500 (*sic*) archers who went into action. Ḥusayn's horsemen, having hamstrung their horses, fought on foot (*ibid.*, 345). As Ḥusayn and the Ṭālibīs could be approached only from the front, Ibn Saʿd sent some men towards the tents, from the right and from the left, to dismantle them, but the supporters of Ḥusayn, slipping in among the tents, defended them energetically. Ibn Saʿd then gave orders to burn the tents and this was done, at first to the advantage of Ḥusayn because the flames prevented the attackers from advancing on that side (*ibid.*, 346). Shamir, who had approached the tent of Ḥusayn and his wives, would have set fire to this also, but even his comrades reproached him for this and he went away ashamed (*ibid.*, 346 f.).

At noon, Ḥusayn and his followers performed the prayer of the *ẓuhr* according to the rite of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, 347 f., 350). It was in the afternoon that Ḥusayn's party became narrowly encircled; his supporters fell fighting in front of him (*ibid.*, 351-4, 355 f.) and the way lay open through to the Ṭālibīs who, until this moment, had not entered the field of action, and their massacre began. The first to be killed was ʿAlī al-Akbar, the son of Ḥusayn (*ibid.*, 356 f.), then it was the turn of a son of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl (*ibid.*, 357 f.), of the sons of ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar and of ʿAḳīl, then of Ḳāsim, the son of Ḥasan, whose death is related in touching terms: he was young and beautiful; mortally wounded, he called for help to his uncle who swooped like a falcon on the assailant and struck him with his sword; but it was not Ḥusayn who killed the attacker but the horses of Ibn Ziyād's soldiers who knocked him down and trampled him with their hooves. When the dust cleared, Ḥusayn could be seen to take the corpse of his nephew in his arms, cursing

his murderers, and to carry him in front of his tent, where the bodies of ʿAlī al-Akbar and other victims were already laid (*ibid.*, 358 f.).

The details of the death of al-ʿAbbās, Ḥusayn's brother, are not given in the texts of al-Ṭabarī or of al-Balādhurī, who limit themselves to relating (the former on p. 361, the latter on fol. 657r) that Ḥusayn, overcome by thirst, made his way towards the Euphrates, but was prevented from reaching it; he then prayed to God that he who had prevented him from achieving his object should die of thirst (and of course his prayer was answered); wounded in the mouth and on the chin, he cast upwards towards heaven the blood which he had collected in his cupped hands, complaining to God of the suffering which was being inflicted on the son of the daughter of His Messenger. But there must certainly have existed also some traditions concerning al-ʿAbbās, who definitely also fell at Karbalāʾ, and al-Mufīd (240) links them with that concerning Ḥusayn; he relates that the two brothers went forward together towards the river, that al-ʿAbbās, surrounded by enemies and separated from Ḥusayn, fought courageously and was killed on the spot where later his tomb was erected (al-Mufīd, 243).

By now Ibn Ziyād's soldiers were quite close to Ḥusayn, but for some time nobody dared to raise a hand against him. Finally a Kindī, Mālik b. al-Nuṣayr, wounded him in the head, and Ḥusayn's hood was filled with blood. While he replaced it by a *ḳalansuwa*, wrapping a turban round it, Mālik seized the burnous, but it did him little good, for he was followed for the rest of his life by poverty and disgrace (*ibid.*, 359). Another pathetic episode is the death of a child whom Ḥusayn had placed on his knees (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 290 f., explains the presence of this child on Ḥusayn's lap at such an unsuitable moment by the fact that it had just been born). An arrow pierced the child's neck and Ḥusayn on this occasion also collected the blood in his cupped hands and poured it on the ground, invoking God's wrath against the evil-doers (*ibid.*, 359 f.).

The slaughter continued. Finally it was Shamir, the cursed of the Shīʿīs, who advanced with a small group of soldiers against Ḥusayn, but even he did not dare to strike him, and there merely ensued an altercation between the two of them (*ibid.*, 362 f.). At this moment Ḥusayn emerged from his inertia and prepared to fight (when considering the reason for his unwarlike attitude it should be remembered that he was nearly fifty-five years of age and that he had been ill). A boy placed himself bravely beside him, deaf to the order to return to the tent and to Zaynab's calling him back, and had his hand cut off by the stroke of a sword; Ḥusayn comforted him, assuring him that he would soon meet his ancestors in Paradise. There were not more than three or four rebels surviving, and Ḥusayn attacked the enemy. He was wearing well-made drawers of a shining material, but had rent them in advance because he feared that they would be looted from him after his death, a precaution which proved useless, for he was to be left naked on the field of battle (*ibid.*, 364, 366). Ibn Saʿd having approached, Zaynab spoke to him: "ʿUmar b. Saʿd, will Abū ʿAbd Allāh (the *kunya* of Ḥusayn) be killed while you stand and watch?". Tears flowed from the eyes of Ibn Saʿd (*ibid.*, 365). Ḥusayn fought vigorously. There are some sources (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 291, and other Shīʿī sources) which state that he killed many enemies, even dozens, but one tradition states that if his enemies had wished they could have killed him at once (*ibid.*, 365). Finally, in spite of his last threat of Divine vengeance, he was wounded in the hand and the shoulder and he fell with his face to the ground (*ibid.*, 366). It was Sinān b. Anas b. ʿAmr al-Nakhaʿī who, after striking him yet again, cut off his head, since Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī, whom he had ordered to do so, was trembling too much to be capable of it. Sinān gave the head to this Khawalī, who then carried it to Ibn Ziyād.

The combat having thus ended, the soldiers turned to pillage; they seized Ḥusayn's clothing, his sword and his baggage, his dye-plants and the Yemenī cloaks, and they seized from the women their ornaments, and their cloaks (*ibid.*, 366). A sick boy was lying in one of the tents and Shamir would have killed him also, but was restrained; Ibn Saʿd came up and forbade anyone to enter this tent (*ibid.*, 367), and this boy, ʿAlī, who was to be given the name of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn [*q.v.*], was the only one of Ḥusayn's sons to survive the massacre; as a sign of Divine favour, there were descended from him all the numerous line of the Ḥusaynids. The martyrs of Karbalāʾ or of al-Ṭaff—they are known also by this toponym [*q.v.*]—numbered 72, 17 of them Ṭālibīs (for a critical analysis of the other figures, see Muḥsin al-Amīn, 352); 88 soldiers of Ibn Ziyād fell on the field of battle (*ibid.*, 368 f.). The latter total is given also by Muḥsin al-Amīn, although it is difficult to reconcile this figure with the notes scattered throughout his book (138, 267, 268, 269, etc.) on the number killed by this or that combatant: 40 by al-Ḥurr, 30 by Burayr, 12 or 13 by Nāfiʿ etc., and a great number killed by Ḥusayn.

Minor episodes of the battle. The account of the battle is filled with a large number of episodes; we give here the references for those which have formed the subject of the longest narratives and which have become fairly well-known (the figures in parentheses refer to al-Ṭabarī, ii): the repentance of al-Ḥurr, his fighting beside Ḥusayn and his death (332-4, 341, 345, 349 f.); the murder of a Kalbī and his wife for Ḥusayn's cause (335, 336 f., 344, 346); death of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥawza following a prayer by Ḥusayn (337 f.); Nāfiʿ wounded, taken prisoner and executed (341 f., 350 f.); brothers fighting on opposing sides (341); ʿĀbis, an old and valiant fighter, killed by stones (353 f.); a supporter who fled (354 f.); heroes who fell in duels: Muslim b. ʿAwsadja, a warrior who had taken part in expeditions against the infidels (343 f.), Burayr, the *sayyid* of the readers of the Ḳurʾān (338-40), Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir (348 f.), Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn (349 f.), and others *passim*.

Events after the battle. Ḥusayn's body, covered with wounds (*ibid.*, 366), is said to have been trampled by the horses of ten men who volunteered to inflict this final indignity on the grandson of the Prophet. After Ibn Saʿd's departure, the headless body was buried with those of other "martyrs" by the Asadīs of the village of al-Ghāḍiriyya in the spot where the massacre had taken place (*ibid.*, 368) (on the sanctuary which was erected there in their honour, see KARBALĀʾ). Ḥusayn's head, with those of other Ṭālibīs, was taken first to Kūfa, then to Damascus. Ibn Ziyād and Yazīd, when it was placed in front of them, each reacted differently: the former was insulting, knocking out some teeth with his switch, while the caliph, according to most of the traditions, was respectful and appeared to regret the haste with which his governor had acted,

going so far as to curse "the son of Sumayya"; he is reported to have declared that if Ḥusayn had come to him he would have pardoned him. The Ṭālibī women and children were also taken first to Kūfa, then to Damascus, where the caliph in the end treated them kindly, although at the beginning of his interview with them he addressed them harshly, to which Zaynab and ʿAlī replied in a similar manner. The women joined Yazīd's wives in their laments for the dead; they received compensation for the property stolen from them at Karbalāʾ and a few days afterwards were sent back to Medina with a reliable escort. ʿAlī, who had run the risk of being executed because it was stated that he was already an adult, was treated by Yazīd with an almost affectionate courtesy and instructed to accompany the Ṭālibī women to Medina.

There are diverse accounts on the place where Ḥusayn's head is buried: (1) beside his father ʿAlī, *i.e.*, at al-Nadjaf; (2) outside Kūfa but not beside ʿAlī; (3) at Karbalāʾ with the rest of his body; (4) at Medina in the Baḳīʿ; (5) at Damascus, but exactly where is unknown; (6) at al-Raḳḳa; (7) in Cairo, where it was allegedly transferred by the Fāṭimids [see ʿASKALĀN], and exactly in the place where there was built the mosque which bears his name (Muḥsin al-Amīn, with many details, 390-4).

On the repentance of the inhabitants of Kūfa and their "revenge" in 64-5/683-5, see SULAYMĀN B. ṢURAD AL-KHUZĀʿĪ and TAWWĀBŪN; for the ceremonies commemorating the battle of Karbalāʾ, see MUḤARRAM; for the Persian popular dramas of which Ḥusayn is often either the protagonist or a character, see TAʿZIYA.

THE LEGEND OF ḤUSAYN

In the legend of Ḥusayn, a first distinction may be made between those beliefs in which the element of cosmogony predominates and an important part is played by "light", those which have an eschatological character and finally those (the most numerous) in which Ḥusayn remains the historical personality known to us, but endowed with a halo of marvels which elevate him above the common run of human beings. In the first group, Ḥusayn has in general a function linked with that of the other members of the *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*] and completely equal to that of his brother Ḥasan. For a detailed study of these beliefs, arising from the influence of metaphysical systems of a much earlier date than Islam and elaborated by the extremist Shīʿīs (*ghulāt*), see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, UMM AL-KITĀB. We give here an example (Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī, 59): 7,000 years before the creation of the world, Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, figures (*ashbāḥ*) of light, praised and glorified the Lord before His throne. When God wished to create their forms (*ṣuwar*) He forged them like a column (*ʿamūd*) of light, then threw them into the loins of Adam and made them pass from thence into the loins and the wombs of their forbears. They are not tainted by polytheism or heterodoxy. Among the eschatological accounts is the following (which should perhaps be connected with the beliefs of the Shīʿī sect of the Mughīriyya founded by al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd al-ʿIdjlī, d. 119/737), (Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī, 78): Ḥusayn went to the Raḍwā mountains where he will remain on a throne of light, surrounded by the Prophets, with his faithful followers behind him, until the coming of the Mahdī; then he will transfer himself to Karbalāʾ, where all the celestial and human beings will visit him. Others of these eschatological accounts belong to the cycle of those which promise to the members of the *ahl al-bayt* a privileged position in Paradise; for example (Ibn Shahrāshūb, iii, 229) Muḥammad, during his *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*], saw a castle made of white pearl and learned that it was intended for Ḥusayn; as he advanced, he saw an apple, grasped it and cut it in two; from it there emerged a young girl, with the corners of her eyes like those of eagles, also destined for Ḥusayn.

Marvels. (Sigla for the authors cited: Bal. = al-Balādhurī; Ṭ. = al-Ṭabarī, ii; IRṬ = Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī; Muf. = al-Mufīd; ISh. = Ibn Shahrāshūb, iii; IKath. = Ibn Kathīr, viii; Muḥs. A. = Muḥsin al-Amīn. Details of later stories of a fabulous nature will be found in the book by Muḥammad Mahdī al-Māzandarānī al-Ḥāʾirī which sometimes mentions as a source the *Biḥār al-anwār* of al-Madjlisī, but also some recent texts).

Marvels concerning the birth and childhood of Ḥusayn. (IRṬ, 71; ISh., 209, 231, 237) Ḥusayn was born three months prematurely and survived this very early birth—an extraordinary circumstance which occurred only to ʿĪsā and, it is said, also to Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ. (ISh., 209, 239) Muḥammad cared for him for 40 days, putting his thumb or his tongue or his own saliva into his mouth. (IRṬ, 79; ISh., 228 f.; parallel account: IRṬ, 73; ISh., 213) The number of angels who descended from heaven to rejoice, with Muḥammad, at his birth, was about a thousand. (IRṬ, 72; ISh., 209; Muḥs.A., 163) Djibrīl brought to Muḥammad at the same time the congratulations and the condolences of God. (Muḥs. A., 163) He gave him a handful of earth from Karbalāʾ. (ISh., 229) He dandled Ḥusayn while his mother was asleep. (IRṬ, 49; ISh., 228 f., etc.) An angel benefited from Ḥusayn's birth: banished by God to an island as punishment, with his wings broken, he saw passing over him the band of angels on their way to offer their congratulations to Muḥammad; having begged them to take him with them, he mended his broken wings simply by rubbing them against the newly-born child; he was pardoned through Muḥammad's intercession and took his place again in Paradise, from then on being called the *mawlā* of Ḥusayn. (IRṬ, 79) It is he who takes note of the visitors to Ḥusayn's tomb at Karbalāʾ. (ISh., 234 f.) Muḥammad had on his knees his son Ibrāhīm, and Ḥusayn; having learned through Djibrīl that God would not leave both of them alive and that he could redeem the life of one of them with that of the other, he, in tears, gave up Ibrāhīm in order not to make ʿAlī and Fāṭima weep.

Marvels connected with his death: When Ḥusayn fell on the battlefield (Bal., 661r; Muf., 251; ISh., 212 f.; Muḥs.A., 302 f., 305 f.) the day became dark and the stars were visible, etc., the sky became red etc. (Bal., 660v; Muḥs.A., 303 f.) It rained blood, which left traces on the heads and the garments of people as far as Khurāsān etc. (Bal., 667v; ISh., 212, 218, 238; Muḥs.A., 304 f.) Blood appeared beneath the stones in Syria and elsewhere (similar accounts: ISh., 213, etc.). (Muḥs.A., 304) Blood exuded from the walls. (ISh., 213, 236; IKath., 200 f.; Muḥs.A., 163) On the night of Ḥusayn's death, Umm Salama [*q.v.*] or Ibn ʿAbbās saw in a dream Muḥammad with his head and his beard soiled with earth, pouring blood into a phial. (IRṬ, 73; Muf., 250 f.; ISh., 213; IKath., 199, 200 f.) The earth of Karbalāʾ which Djibrīl or another angel had given to Muḥammad and which Umm Salama had preserved, turned into blood on the night following Ḥusayn's death. Umm Salama realized that the tragedy was accomplished and cried out; she was the first to cry out at Medina

(all these accounts which show Muḥammad collecting the blood of the martyrs of Karbalāʾ or receiving a handful of the soil of Karbalāʾ etc. are presented in the form of *ḥadīth*s, with different *isnād*s and many variants, especially in the *musnad*s (canonical and non-canonical); for a collection of them arranged by subject see al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, cited in bibl.). (ISh., 219; IKath., 200, 201; Muḥs.A., 306 f.) The *djinn*s wept and recited poems; the wives of the *djinn*s uttered funeral lamentations; Umm Salama and other women heard them. The angels wept when Ḥusayn's head was taken to Damascus. (ISh., 238) Even the wild beasts and the fishes wept. (Muḥs.A., 164 f.) ʿAlī knew that his son would be killed at Karbalāʾ and, when he passed by this place, halted and wept and recalled Muḥammad's prophecy. He interpreted the name of Karbalāʾ: *karb wa-balāʾ* (affliction and trial). (IKath., 199) The martyrs of Karbalāʾ will enter Paradise without any accounting for their actions. (Ṭ., 385) An unknown person, heard by all but seen by none, recited during the night before the battle threatening verses.

Marvels of the severed head: (ISh., 217 f.) While the head was being transported, a mysterious quill wrote threatening verses on a wall. The same verses had been written in a church of the Rūm, built 300 years before Muḥammad's mission. The head emitted a perfume; and a monk, impressed by the miraculous light emanating from it, paid a sum of money to be allowed to keep it in his cell; during the night the head spoke and the next day the monk embraced Islam; the *dirhams* which he had paid changed into stones. A snake crawled into one nostril of the severed head and out of the other. (IRṬ, 77 f., etc.) The head recited verses of the Ḳurʾān. (Ṭ, 369; ISh., 217 f.) Khawalī having taken it to his house on the night of his arrival at Kūfa and having put it under an urn, a column of light descended from the sky and a white bird circled around the urn.

Punishment of those who had insulted and wounded Ḥusayn. All those who had wronged Ḥusayn were visited by some immediate or eventual misfortune: (ISh., 214-6; Muḥs.A., 348-51) there are mentioned: murder, blindness, various maladies (*e.g.*, leprosy, unquenchable thirst, hands as dry as wood in summer, damp in winter), death from burns, stings from scorpions, loss of vigour, poverty, a man driven from his house by his own wife (some of these misfortunes are related by al-Ṭabarī, *passim*). Those who stole property belonging to Ḥusayn were also punished: he who put Ḥusayn's turban on his own head was afflicted with madness; he who put on his cloak, with poverty; he who used his perfume, his dye-plants and his clothes, with leprosy or the falling out of his hair. The items stolen underwent changes which made them unusable or caused them to lose their value: (ISh., 215, 218) The meat of the camels became bitter or caught fire; the dye-plants and the perfumes changed into blood, the gold into copper or fire in the hands of the goldsmiths; the saffron caught fire. On the marvels of the tombs, see KARBALĀʾ.

Supernatural attributes of Ḥusayn which caused marvels. (ISh., 230) His forehead was so white that people could find their way to him in the dark. He was able to cure sickness: (IRṬ, 77) he caused a white mark between the eyes of a devout woman to vanish by blowing on it; (ISh., 210) he cured a sick person of his fever. He detached the hand of a man which had become fixed to a woman's arm because he had touched her during the rite of circumambulation of the Kaʿba; the *faḳīh*s had already decided to cut off the hand. Ḥusayn's extraordinary faculties also enabled him (ISh., 210 f.) to make a foster-child speak so as to reveal the name of his true father, to allow anyone who asked it of him to be present at events which had happened in the past in very distant places (ʿAlī and Muḥammad in the mosque of Ḳubā), (IRṬ, 75, 77, 78) to obtain for his son grapes and bananas out of season, to make a barren palm bear fruit, to quench the thirst of all his followers by putting his thumb into their mouths, and to feed them with celestial food on the day of the battle, (ISh., 209) to make water spring up, by shooting an arrow, near to the tent of his wives at Karbalāʾ. (IRṬ, 74 and cf. 72) He made a sign towards the sky and a band of angels came down ready to fight for him, but he chose to sacrifice himself. He was able to see into the future and to know secrets. In general it is Muḥammad who had informed those close to him or who informs Ḥusayn in a dream of the fate which awaits him (he told the Five (ISh., 240) that Ḥusayn would be unjustly killed and his brother also and that their descendents would be exempt from the rendering of accounts on the Day of the Resurrection), but it is a wild animal which reveals to Ḥusayn the feelings of the Kūfans towards him. He knew in advance that ʿUmar b. Saʿd would be in command of the enemy troops (and predicted his death (Muf., 251; ISh., 213) shortly after his own), that his own head would be taken to Ibn Ziyād and that the bearer of it would receive no reward; (see also Muf., 251) he forbade a group of his servants to leave on a certain day, and as they did not obey and were killed, he revealed to the governor the names of the murderers.

Names and by-names of Ḥusayn. (IRṬ, 73; ISh., 232) In the Tawrāh God called Ḥusayn Shubayr and in the Gospels Ṭab. Hārūn, the brother of Moses, having learnt the names which God had given to the sons of ʿAlī, gave the same names to his own sons. For a long and interesting list of the by-names of Ḥusayn, in the form of a litany, see ISh., 232. Ḥusayn and his brother are often referred to as the "Proof (*ḥudjdja* [*q.v.*]) of God" on earth (see, *e.g.*, Muf., 198).

Verses of the Ḳurʾān interpreted by the Shīʿis as referring to Ḥusayn. For a series of these verses, see ISh., 206 f., 236 f.; cf. Muf., 199. An example is verse XLVI, 14/15, which speaks of the pregnant mother bearing her child with suffering and giving birth to him with pain; it is interpreted as an allusion to Fāṭima, who, having conceived Ḥusayn, was much distressed when she heard from Muḥammad that he had received God's condolences on the fate of his future grandson. The mysterious letters K.H.Y.ʿ.Ṣ., with which *sūra* XIX begins, had been explained by God to Zakariyyāʾ as follows: K = Karbalāʾ; H = *halāk al-ʿitra*; Y = Yazīd; ʿ = *ʿaṭshuh*; Ṣ = *ṣabruhu*. This explanation is merely a detail in a rather involved narrative (ISh., 237) forming part of a group of curious comparisons between the fate of Ḥusayn and that of Yaḥyā, the son of Zakariyyāʾ (perhaps owing to the motif of the severed heads placed on a dish): Zakariyyāʾ, who had learned the names of the Five from Djibrīl, was astonished by the fact that when he uttered the name of Ḥusayn his eyes filled with tears, while when he uttered the others he felt joy. God then revealed to him the destiny of Muḥammad's grandson, and Zakariyyāʾ wept and sobbed, asking God to give him also a son who could cause him to endure a sorrow similar to that which He was to inflict on his beloved Muḥam-

mad. God granted him a son, Yaḥyā. At each stage of his journey from Mecca to Kūfa, Ḥusayn recalled Yaḥyā. According to another account (ISh., 238, cf. 234), Ḥusayn's blood will boil as that of Yaḥyā had done, and in order to quieten it God will kill 70,000 hypocrites, unbelievers and wicked believers, as he had also done for Yaḥyā.

Judgements on Ḥusayn. Throughout the Muslim world there was sympathy and a high regard for Ḥusayn. It was only the adherents of the Umayyad movement who presented him as a *bāghin baʿda inʿiḳād al-bayʿa*, that is as a rebel against the established authority, and thus condoned his murder by Yazīd, but their opinion was opposed not only by those who despised the Umayyad régime (for an echo of the protests of the latter and their denial of the validity of the *bayʿa* to Yazīd, see al-Muḳram, 12-6, and Muḥsin al-Amīn, 67), but also by those Muslims who refused to recognize that the murderers had acted according to their consciences and at the same time sought pretexts to refrain from blaming either the rebel al-Ḥusayn or the Companions and the *tābiʿūn* who had remained neutral in order to avoid civil war (see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Būlāḳ 1284, 177, 181, *faṣl fī wilāyat al-ʿahd*). In this almost universal exaltation of Ḥusayn due to his descent from the Prophet and to the conviction that he had sacrificed himself for an ideal, it is not possible to make a clear distinction between the opinions of the Sunnīs and those of the Shīʿīs, except in the case of certain privileges and attributes which only the Shīʿīs accord him. The very favourable attitude of the Sunnīs was probably strongly influenced by the pathetic accounts which Abū Mikhnaf collected, either directly or with a very short *isnād*, mainly from the Kūfans who repented of their behaviour towards the Prophet's grandson; it was these traditions, suffused with the sentiments of the Kūfans and marked by the notoriously pro-ʿAlid character of Abū Mikhnaf's collection, which formed the basis of the account of the later historians and through them spread throughout the Muslim world.

As there exists no work which can serve as a guide to the ideas of all the groups of Shīʿīs concerning Ḥusayn, we limit ourselves here to the following notes: Ḥusayn in his capacity as *imām* [see IMĀMA] shares the various privileges accorded to the *imāms* (see Bausani, *La religione* . . ., 346 f.) by the Twelver Shīʿīs [see ITHNĀ-ʿASHARIYYA], the Ismāʿīlīs [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA], the Zaydīs [see ZAYDIYYA], etc.; like the other *imāms*, he is a mediator with God for those who call on him; it is through his intercession (*tawassul*) that his faithful followers obtain guidance and attain salvation. As a member of the holy Five he received the same divine grace as his brother Ḥasan [see AHL AL-BAYT, AHL AL-KISĀʾ. FĀṬIMA, MUBĀHALA, etc.]. As a grandson of the Prophet he had the right to receive reverence (*ḥurma*). In addition he possessed personal qualities, above all the attribute of piety, demonstrated by his 25 pilgrimages on foot from Medina to Mecca and the 1,000 *rakʿas* which he performed each day (on this number, which is considered to be exaggerated, see Muḥsin al-Amīn, 124 f.). It was because of his lengthy devotions that he had little time to spare for his wives and consequently had few children. Other qualities which he possessed were generosity (there are several stories to illustrate this), forbearance (*ḥilm*), humility, eloquence (as a proof of this there are mentioned speeches and poems by him), and finally the qualities which may be inferred from his actions, such as his contempt for death, disdain for a life of humiliation, his pride, etc. (see, *e.g.*, Muḥsin al-Amīn, 125-39, 152, 156 f.). But the basis of the exaltation of Ḥusayn by the Shīʿīs is found in the noble motives for which he sacrificed himself and of course in the moving fact of his edifying exploit. From the belief that the *imāms* know all that was, that is, and that is to come, and that their knowledge does not increase with time, it is inferred that Ḥusayn knew in advance the destiny which awaited him and his followers; he thus set off from Mecca towards Kūfa aware of his imminent sacrifice and yet without any hesitation or any effort to escape from God's will. A tradition according to which he was invited by God to choose between sacrifice and victory (helped by an angel) gives yet more value to his enterprise, since it makes of it a voluntary action, and hence of great significance. The question arises as to his aim in thus sacrificing himself. The Shīʿī texts are very clear on this point: Ḥusayn gave his person and his possessions as an offering to God to "revive the religion of his grandfather Muḥammad", "to redeem it", and "save it from the destruction into which it had been thrown by the behaviour of Yazīd"; furthermore, he wished to show that the conduct of the hypocrites was shameful and to teach the peoples the necessity of revolt against unjust and impious governments (*fāsiḳs*), in short he offered himself as an example (*uswa*) to the Muslim community (see, *e.g.*, Muḥsin al-Amīn, 136, 152 f.). The idea that his intention was to redeem men from their sins by his blood and to save them, that his action was a redemptive sacrifice for the salvation of the world, is, in these actual terms, foreign to Shīʿī beliefs; at least the writer of this article has found no trace of it in the texts consulted. It is possible that it penetrated later into the *taʿziyas* and into recent poems, since the transition from *tawassul* to this idea is an easy one and it may have been helped by the influence of Christian ideas.

Among western Islamic scholars, Wellhausen and Lammens have formed judgements on the character of Ḥusayn after careful study of the sources available to them. The former, guided by his subtle intuition of historical facts, painted a fine picture of the situation and the characters; he denies that Ḥusayn had any religious motives for his exploit, seeing it merely as the bid of an ambitious man for supreme power. The latter has no sympathy with the adversary of the chivalrous Yazīd; he regards Ḥusayn as a frivolous man (this had also been the opinion of Muʿāwiya: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 197), and completely improvident. Neither of these scholars attached any importance to the speeches and phrases which Ḥusayn is said to have uttered on various occasions, obviously considering them to be later forgeries. But although it is probable that the traditionists have re-cast or modified this material, it must nevertheless be admitted that there emerges from it as a whole and, more important, from the facts themselves, the figure of a man impelled by an ideology (the institution of a régime which would fulfil the demands of the true Islam), convinced that he was in the right, stubbornly determined to achieve his ends, as in general are all religious fanatics, and admired and encouraged by supporters who were also convinced that their cause was just. This interpretation may not be a true picture of Ḥusayn as an individual; it was nevertheless that which the following generation, for motives either of sentiment (respect, pity for his death), or of politics (the campaign against the Umayyads), gave of him, which was shared by the

later Arabic historians and which led to his exaltation and his legendary position among the Shīʿīs.

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Modern Shīʿī sources; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, iv, Beirut 1367/1948, 121-405 (an account covering more events than that of al-Ṭabarī, making some fairly balanced attempts at criticism and indicating many Sunnī and Shīʿī sources (but without giving exact references); in the account of Ḥusayn's enterprise there appear only a few details of a Shīʿī tendency; marvels on pp. 302-10, 348-51); Fahmī ʿUways, *Shahīd Karbalāʾ al-imām al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, Cairo 1948, 100-217; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Mūsawī al-Muḳram, *Maḳtal al-Ḥusayn ʿalayhi al-salām aw ḥadīth Karbalāʾ*, Nadjaf 1376/1956 (with quotations from the sources); Muḥammad Mahdī b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Māzandarānī al-Ḥāʾirī, *Maʿālī al-sibṭayn fī aḥwāl al-Ḥasan wa 'l-Ḥusayn*, Nadjaf 1380/1960, i, 60-465, ii, 468-804 (work containing many legendary accounts).

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(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ, ṢĀḤIB FAKHKH, ʿAlid who led a revolt at Medina during the caliphate of al-Hādī ila 'l-haḳḳ [*q.v.*] and was killed at Fakhkh on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 169/11 June 786 (the date 170 suggested in some sources is incorrect, since al-Hādī died on 16 Rabīʿ I 170/15 September 786, and it is certain that the insurrection took place in the last months of the year). His father was the ʿAlī al-ʿĀbid (or al-Khayr or al-Agharr), famous for his piety and his noble sentiments, who wished to share the fate of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā (= ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]) and the group of his relatives when they were

imprisoned first in a *dār* at Medina (140-1/758) and then in a horrible prison at Kūfa (144/762) by the caliph al-Manṣūr, who rightly mistrusted ʿAbd Allāh's sons, Muḥammad, known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*], and Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī al-ʿĀbid was an example to his companions in misfortune by his piety and his fortitude in the prison, where he died in 146/763. (The biography of this ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan "al-Muthallath" = al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, is to be found in the *Maḳātil* of Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, 190-5). Al-Ḥusayn's mother, Zaynab [*q.v.*], who was also very devout, was the daughter of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā. Al-Ḥusayn thus grew up in an atmosphere of extreme piety and of secret hatred for the ʿAbbāsids. There exist many anecdotes about his love for the poor, his charity, his inability to understand the value of money and his boundless generosity (there is a collection of them in the *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, 408 f.). The revolt which he led, after having had fairly friendly relations with the caliph al-Mahdī, who gave him sums of money and, on at least one occasion, acceded to his request by freeing an ʿAlid prisoner, had for its immediate motive the insulting treatment which the deputy of the governor of Medina, a descendant of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (often called simply al-ʿUmarī), inflicted on the Ṭālibīs of that town in 169/786 (the governor, Isḥāḳ b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, had gone to Baghdād to the court of the caliph, who had just succeeded to the throne). Al-ʿUmarī, having learned that some Shīʿī pilgrims (70, it is said) had had secret meetings with al-Ḥusayn and other ʿAlids during their halt at Medina, tried to impose controls on the presence in the town of all Ṭālibīs and decreed that each of them should be vouched for by a relative. Meanwhile the situation was aggravated by the following incident: three men, among them the ʿAlid Abu 'l-Zift al-Ḥasan, son of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, were found drinking wine. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī and Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā maintain that this was a calumny spread by al-ʿUmarī to serve as a justification for his persecutions, but certain details prove that the accusation was well-founded. After having had them flogged (the ʿAlid, according to the law, received eighty strokes while the others received far fewer, which was in itself an injustice), al-ʿUmarī exposed them to public ridicule and put them in prison. He was, however, forced to set them free because not only al-Ḥusayn, who was at that time the most eminent of the ʿAlids, but also other Hāshimīs showed indignation at this insult to a member of their family. The official whose task it then was to watch the Ṭālibīs more strictly noticed that Abu 'l-Zift did not answer the daily roll-call in the mosque (he had in fact left the town three days before) and his guarantors, al-Ḥusayn and Yaḥyā, a half-brother on the father's side of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, were ordered to appear before al-ʿUmarī; the exchange of insults, threats and mockery during this stormy interview are reported in the sources. Yaḥyā as well as al-ʿUmarī uttered oaths, which presumably led to dire consequences. Al-Ḥusayn, after the interview, reproached Yaḥyā for his rashness: "this will ruin our cause" he exclaimed, and al-Ṭabarī explains these words by the fact that an agreement had been made between the ʿAlids of Medina and their foreign supporters to begin the revolt at Minā during the *ḥadjdj*. By now, however, the situation had become so tense that al-Ḥusayn decided to act immediately.

At dawn of a morning in the first half of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, probably the 13th, a group composed of 26 ʿAlids, of a certain number of their *mawālī* and of ten pilgrims took possession of the mosque and forced the muezzin to pronounce the *adhān* according to the Shīʿī usage: "*Ḥayya ʿalā khayr al-ʿamal*"; hearing this call, al-ʿUmarī guessed that a revolt had begun and, after asking for "two grains of water" (*ḥabbatay māʾ*, whence his family's surname), he fled; he hid himself so successfully that, when people sought him to tell him that Abu 'l-Zift was there, in the mosque, and that Yaḥyā had fulfilled his oath, they could not find his hiding-place. Al-Ḥusayn, after leading the prayer, made a speech and received the homage of the rebels, suggesting that they use the formula of *bayʿa* which is discussed below. Some Shīʿīs (*imāmīs*; see Muḥsin al-Amīn, xvi, 404) have attempted to prove that he had no claims to the rank of *imām* or of caliph, because he merely invited them to obey the Book of God, and the *sunna* of God's Messenger, and to please the family of the Prophet (*ʿalā 'l-kitāb, wa 'l-sunna wa 'l-riḍā min ahl al-bayt*), but their argument is not a strong one; al-Ḥusayn even assumed a by-name, al-Murtaḍā, as was the custom of the caliphs and the heirs to the caliphate (al-Ṭabarī, 554). Two ʿAlids refused to support him: one of them was Mūsā b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], the Ḥusaynid known as al-Kāẓim, who is considered by the Twelvers to be the seventh Imām; a similar case had occurred when the Hāshimīs, at a secret meeting, had decided that Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya was to be the future caliph and the most eminent of the Ḥusaynids, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, had abstained. This may have been because the Ḥusaynid branch was jealous of the Ḥasanid branch; but there were Ḥusaynids among the followers of al-Ḥusayn Ṣāḥib Fakhkh. It may have been through the conviction that the exploit was destined to fail. This seems to be proved by the words by which Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ advised ʿAbd Allāh not to expose his son Muḥammad to the danger, and those addressed by Mūsā al-Kāẓim to Ḥusayn ("you will be killed").

The revolt was not a general one. It is related that some persons, having come into the mosque for the morning prayer and seen on the *minbar* al-Ḥusayn wearing a white tunic and turban, guessed what his intentions were and turned back; when the news of the event had spread, a number of the town's inhabitants closed the doors of their houses; 200 of the governor's soldiers and some volunteers who supported the ʿAbbāsids immediately attempted to re-occupy the mosque, and although at first they dispersed because their leader had been killed by Yaḥyā and Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh, they later took part in further fighting; hence the whole town did not fall into the hands of the rebels, whose situation became so precarious that, after having provided themselves with food and drink, they camped in the mosque and remained there for eleven days. Abu 'l-Faradj does not mention this active and passive resistance at Medina, nor certain actions of the occupiers of the mosque which shocked other Muslims when they learned of them (the mosque was so filthy that it had to be thoroughly washed out, curtains were cut up to make kaftans), but it is evident that these things did happen. Finally, on 24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, al-Ḥusayn decided to extricate himself from this situation, which had reached an impasse, and, at the head of a group of 300 armed men who were joined en route by reinforcements from Mecca, he marched towards that town. Several members of the ʿAbbāsid family (notably al-ʿAbbās

b. Muḥammad, the uncle of al-Mahdī, and his son ʿUbayd Allāh, Sulaymān b. Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr and his sons Muḥammad and Mūsā, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā and his brother Ismāʿīl) were that year in the district of Mecca to perform the Pilgrimage; the group of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān had an escort to protect it from any attacks by Bedouin. Al-Hādī ordered them to assemble all their forces and to march against Ḥusayn, which they did after the *ʿumra* and a parade in the town, obviously intended to intimidate those who might have considered joining the rebellion. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī similarly passes over the details of this reaction by the ʿAbbāsids, and our information is found in al-Ṭabarī and other authors (*e.g.* Ibn Khaldūn).

The battle between al-Mubayyiḍa [*q.v.*] (= "those clothed in white", ʿAlids and their supporters) and al-Musawwida (= "those clothed in black", ʿAbbāsids and their supporters) took place at Fakhkh, six miles from Mecca. (A curious detail is that some ʿAbbāsid supporters made use of soot to colour their garments black). During the encounter al-Ḥusayn was offered *amān*, but he refused it proudly and fought until he was killed. More than 100 men fell at his side and for three days their corpses lay a prey to wild beasts. Abu 'l-Zift (or ʿAbd Allāh b. Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm?) who, wounded in one eye, had accepted the *amān* offered him by his uncle Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, was nevertheless killed by ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās at the instigation of his father and of Mūsā b. ʿĪsā; this murder led to a great quarrel between Muḥammad and the others. Two ʿAlids, one (Sulaymān) the brother and the other (al-Ḥasan) the son of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, were later executed at Mecca. Some supporters of al-Ḥusayn were led as prisoners to al-Hādī, who killed at least three of them and cast others into prison. Al-Ḥusayn's head was first taken to al-Hādī, who showed no pleasure at this, and then sent to Khurāsān to serve as a warning to the Shīʿis of this region. Many rebels saved their lives by mingling with the pilgrims, notably two ʿAlids who were later to become famous: Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] and Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]. When the news of al-Ḥusayn's defeat reached Medina, al-ʿUmarī emerged from his hiding-place and, having returned to office, burned the houses of the ʿAlids and of some of the supporters of al-Ḥusayn (he even burned some palm trees) and confiscated their possessions as being war booty (*ṣawāfī*).

Thus ended the revolt which, in the number of ʿAlids killed, was surpassed only at Karbalāʾ. The sources give as its motive the events at Medina mentioned above, except for al-Yaʿḳūbī who connects it with Shīʿī unrest in Khurāsān which was caused, he says, by the harsh measures of the governor appointed by al-Hādī and fomented by the local Ṭālibīs; his information is most probably correct, since it was on reinforcements from the pilgrims going to Mecca that the organizers for the revolt were relying, and an agreement to this end had already been established; but, as there is too little time between the accession of al-Hādī (22 Muḥarram 169/4 August 785) and hence the appointment of his governor, the appeals of Shīʿī pilgrims and the beginning of the revolt at Medina, these troubles and the reaction of the central government must be traced back to the final years of the caliphate of al-Mahdī, particularly since there exists evidence of a reversal of the policy of this caliph, who at first adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Shīʿis and later became hostile, at least to the Zaydīs; al-Hādī merely pursued this hostile policy more vigorously. The Shīʿī sources (see Muḥsin al-Amīn, xvi, 403) describe al-Ḥusayn's rebellion as "Zaydī", and rightly, in the sense that it had a social character, as did certainly that of the founder of the Zaydī movement Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], killed in 122/740 (whereas that of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his brother was primarily of a legitimist character). There are resemblances between the formula of the *bayʿa* proposed by this Zayd to his adherents and that which al-Ḥusayn proposed to his: in the former, Zayd promised to defend the oppressed, to give [benefices] to whoever had been excluded from them (*al-maḥrūmīn*) and—what is more striking—to share fairly the *fayʾ* [*q.v.*] (his revenues or the *fayʾ* itself?); al-Ḥusayn also promised justice and equal shares, and, although he did not specify which resources were to be distributed, it may be guessed that he too was referring to the *fayʾ*, since one of his first actions in his capacity as *imām* was to distribute the money which he found in the treasury of the town and 10,000 *dīnār*s which remained from the *ʿaṭāʾ*. In addition it is interesting to note that, in his *bayʿa*, the duty of the subjects to obey him depended on his keeping the promises which he had made and that a similar condition is found in the appeal of the founder of the Zaydī state in the Yemen, al-Hādī ilā 'l-ḥaḳḳ (Van Arendonk, 122 f.). Another fact which proves that he intended to make social concessions is that the propaganda of his adherents was addressed also to slaves; it was proclaimed at Mecca that those who joined the revolt would be granted their liberty, and there were some slaves who took advantage of this opportunity; all the same al-Ḥusayn had to return some of them to their masters who demanded them back (since the law did not permit an emancipation of this type).

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(AL-) **ḤUSAYN** B. AL-**ḌAḤḤĀK** AL-BĀHILĪ, ABŪ ʿALĪ, with the nicknames Ashḳar and, more particularly, al-Khalīʿ "the Debauched", a Baṣra poet who spent almost the whole of his life in the entourage of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and who can be regarded as the perfect type of court poet, at least at a court dominated by the taste for pleasure, indeed for debauchery. His family, which originated in Khurāsān, had for a long time been connected with the

mawālī of the Bāhila when Ḥusayn was born, probably in the 150's, since he could remember an incident that occurred in 160/775. With his childhood friend Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] he studied the "classics" in his native town, but, more important, he was present at gatherings of men of letters; he thus learnt the poet's profession, and awaited a favourable opportunity for the realization of the aspiration of all Baṣrans who, if they felt themselves to possess any talent, wished to receive the approbation of the capital. Abū Nuwās was the first to leave to try his fortune in Baghdād, and reports of his success soon spurred Ḥusayn to follow him. He seems quite rapidly to have won sufficient renown to guarantee a secure existence, though he was obliged to content himself with singing the praises of a certain number of exalted persons without ever securing admission to intimate acquaintance with al-Rashīd; however, he entered the service of a dissolute prince, Ṣāliḥ b. al-Rashīd, whose life of pleasure he shared and who thereafter, despite some passing shadows, always remained an active patron of the poet in times of difficulty. At the same time he also attached himself to another of the caliph's sons, Muḥammad, the future al-Amīn, whose constant companion he was until the end. On the latter's death (198/813), in spite of the advice of the probably more astute Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*q.v.*] to moderate his grief in order to safeguard his future, he allowed it to burst forth in a series of threnodies which caused al-Maʾmūn to take umbrage; this fidelity to the dead caliph—which even included a refusal to believe in his death—and the graceless allusions which he made to the rival at the time of the conflict between the two brothers alienated al-Maʾmūn who, on his entry into Baghdād, struck Ḥusayn off the list presented to him and refused him admittance to the court. Traditions concerning the poet's fortunes during al-Maʾmūn's caliphate are not very clear, but it is certain that al-Khalīʿ returned to Baṣra, where the affluence that he owed to al-Amīn al-Makhlūʿ allowed him to wait for happier days, and he made various attempts to be reconciled with the caliph who did indeed recognize his talent; the intervention of Ṣāliḥ b. al-Rashīd and of various courtiers hardly seems to have influenced him, but it is possible that, as a result of a particularly successful panegyric, al-Maʾmūn gave orders that the regular payment of his pension should be resumed.

On his accession (218/833), al-Muʿtaṣim recalled him to court and rewarded him for his first panegyric by filling his mouth with pearls, which he then had made into a necklace so that no-one might remain unaware of the esteem in which he held the poet. He took him with him to Syria and provided a house for him at Sāmarrā. Ḥusayn was once again a privileged courtier, as is clearly shown on the accession of al-Wāthiḳ whom he saluted with a long *ḳaṣīda* without joining in the throng of poets who had come forward to proclaim their self-interested praises. He remained in al-Wāthiḳ's service throughout his caliphate, taking his turn of duty both by night and day in response to his master's whims, playing backgammon with him, accompanying him on hunting expeditions, taking part in his royal potations and writing incidental poems on varied but mostly frivolous subjects.

On the accession of al-Mutawakkil (232/847), the poet, who had now reached a very advanced age, seems to have kept aloof from the court, though still continuing to lead a dissolute life; the caliph, who also appreciated his talent, called upon him to give proof of it and was able to affirm that old age had in no way diminished the perversity of his tastes. He survived al-Mutawakkil, whose death he mourned, and himself died shortly afterwards, probably in 250/864, almost a hundred years old.

Ḥusayn al-Khalīʿ maintains with a certain simplicity that all the successive caliphs, from al-Rashīd to al-Wāthiḳ, struck at him, either through jealousy or because he had a pernicious influence on their children, and it can be understood that he should have been looked upon as a dangerous companion for the ʿAbbāsid princes, since he could not fail to encourage the strong tendency that they already possessed towards frivolity and debauchery. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, who is certainly lavish with scandalous details, reports numerous anecdotes concerning the dissolute nature of this man who spent the greater part of his time drinking with caliphs, princes or others of exalted rank, listening to singing girls and dallying with young men.

The attraction of Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk's company resided in his light-hearted and original character, and also in the facility with which he tackled the poetic forms favoured in his day. In the fraction of his work which has survived, we find first of all *ḳaṣīdas* of a "modernist" type in praise of the caliphs; written in relatively simple language, these panegyrics naturally lay stress upon the qualities, whether real or imagined, of the personages to whom they are adressed, and in them can be observed the recurrent idea that God has chosen the best of men to govern Islam. It is only in these circumstances that he mentions the name of God, and one cannot fail to be struck by his utter detachment from matters of religion while noting that, unlike Abū Nuwās and other dissolute poets, he seems to have written hardly any *zuhdiyyāt* in preparation for the after-life, although he did make the pilgrimage to Mecca. His bacchic poems are not lacking in originality, and tradition has it that Abū Nuwās was sometimes rather put out by them, but, when not shamelessly plagiarizing them, he consoled himself for their success and felicities with the thought that posterity would not fail to attribute to him, Abū Nuwās, the best of his friend's bacchic verses. His *ghazals* are in general not obscene although he devoted them at least as much to young men as to women, and Abū Nuwās recognizes his talent in this genre. Satire hardly appears in his writings, and as a characteristic example there are only two lines to be quoted, about a female singer whose career was finally broken. On the other hand, the occasional verse and intimate court scenes reveal a sure gift for improvisation, and the descriptions of flowers herald a genre that was to flourish in the following century.

The success of Ḥusayn al-Khalīʿ as a court poet seems to have been entirely deserved, for in those genres which constituted the ornament of princely assemblies he was able to appeal to an original inspiration and to avoid the perils of routine. For proof of this there is the unusually large number of his poems which attracted the attention of singing-girls, were set to music and earned for the writer a detailed notice in the *Aghānī*. But it should be noted that the critics regarded him as a minor poet and that Ibn Ḳutayba, for example, did not consider him to be worthy of the merest mention.

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Zahr, index; idem, *Djamʿ*, 171; Brockelmann, S I, 112; Pellat, *Milieu*, 163-5; Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 44-7. (CH. PELLAT)

ḤUSAYN B. ḤAMDĀN B. ḤAMDŪN B. AL-ḤĀRITH... AL-ʿADAWĪ AL-TAGHLIBĪ, the first member of the Ḥamdānid family [see ḤAMDĀNIDS] to play an important part in the history of the caliphate at the end of the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th century who, unlike his father Ḥamdān, was active not only locally in the Djazīra but also in Baghdād and in other regions of the empire of the caliphs. At first a Khāridjī, he began his career by an opportunist support of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid by giving up to him in 282/895 Ardumusht, whose defence his father had entrusted to him as he fled, and becoming a valued ally of the caliph. In the following year, placed by the latter at the head of a large body of troops, he was chiefly responsible for the capture of the Khāridjī Hārūn al-Shārī, which enabled him to secure the liberation of his father who had been captured, the lifting of a tribute imposed on the Taghlibīs and the command of a body of 500 Taghlibī horsemen.

He next distinguished himself in the operations against the Dulafid of the Djibāl, Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad b. Abī Dulaf, probably in 283/896; this is alluded to in a verse of the *ḳaṣīda* which Abū Firās devoted to the glory of the Ḥamdānid family.

During the caliphate of al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8), in 291/903, as lieutenant of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, *ṣāḥib dīwān al-djaysh*, he gained in Syria a brilliant victory over the Ḳarmaṭī Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh (the *Ṣāḥib al-khāl*), who fled and was soon afterwards captured. With the same Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, he took part in the re-conquest of Egypt from the last Ṭūlūnid in 292/904-5, as commander of the vanguard. It was he who first made contact with the conspirators who were plotting to rid themselves of the Ṭūlūnid and who pressed him to march on Fusṭāṭ. According to one tradition, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān offered him the governorship of Egypt, but he refused, preferring to return to Baghdād, taking with him a considerable amount of booty.

In 293/905-6, he was put in command of an army sent against the Kalbīs of Syria who had revolted at the instigation of the Ḳarmaṭīs. He forced them to flee to the desert, but was unable to pursue them as they had filled in the wells, and had to return to the Euphrates at Raḥba, which allowed the Kalbīs to advance as far as the Lower Euphrates, where they defeated an army of the caliph at Ḳādisiyya and robbed the Pilgrim caravan, at the end of 906.

The Kalbīs and the Ḳarmaṭīs were finally put to flight by an operation directed from Baghdād, and the remnants of their armies, attempting to return to Syria by the Ṭarīḳ al-Furāt (the Euphrates route), were annihilated by Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān (Djumādā II 294/March-April 907).

After this, Ḥusayn had to deal with some rebel Arab tribes, mainly Kalbīs, between the Euphrates and Aleppo, then, in 295/907-8, with the Tamīm who had come to pillage in Djazīra: he drove them back into Syria and defeated them near Khunāsira.

All these operations brought fame to Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, gaining him respect among the secretaries and putting him in a position to exercise political influence when, in 295/908, the question arose of the succession to al-Muktafī. He gave his support to the group which, having failed to get Ibn al-Muʿtazz nominated, attempted to substitute him by force for the young al-Muḳtadir (son of al-Muʿtaḍid) who had been appointed caliph. He undertook, or was instructed, to remove the vizier al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan al-Djardjarāʾī who, unlike the secretary Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. al-Djarrāḥ, uncle of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, had approved al-Muḳtadir's accession. With two other conspirators he attacked and killed al-ʿAbbās on 20 Rabīʿ I 296/17 December 908 and tried to assassinate the young caliph, but unsuccessfully, for the latter had already left the hippodrome where Ḥusayn was intending to take him by surprise and had shut himself in the palace. After the conspirators had proclaimed Ibn al-Muʿtazz caliph, Ḥusayn went to the Ḥasanī Palace to force al-Muḳtadir to leave it, it being assumed that he would readily accept his dethronement. But Ḥusayn encountered the resistance prepared by the chamberlain Sawsan and the two Muʾnis (al-Khādim and al-Khāzin). Although he set fire to the gates of the palace, he was unable to force a way in. Al-Muḳtadir's party triumphed and Ḥusayn fled to Mosul, then to Balad and spent some time wandering with his adherents in the Djazīra. His brother ʿAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ was sent in pursuit, but it was Ḥusayn who surprised and defeated his pursuers. Encouraged by this success, Ḥusayn, through his brother Ibrāhīm, asked the vizier Ibn al-Furāt for *amān* and although, with Muḥammad b. Dāwūd and the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Muthannā, he had been one of the main conspirators, he was restored to favour; but, to remove him from the capital, he was appointed governor of the districts of Ḳumm and Kāshān in the Djibāl. As governor of this region, he gave support to the caliph's troops under Muʾnis al-Khādim against the Ṣaffārid al-Layth b. ʿAlī who had made himself master of Sidjistān and of Fārs, then against the latter's general, Subkarā, who, after abandoning al-Layth's party and joining Muʾnis against him, had risen in rebellion at the instigation of his lieutenant al-Ḳattāl. In 298/910-11 the two rebels were defeated and, while Subkarā took refuge with the Sāmānid, al-Ḳattāl was taken prisoner, by Ḥusayn himself according to the *ḳaṣīda* of Abū Firās.

This same *ḳaṣīda* states that Ḥusayn was offered the governorship of Fārs, which he refused. In any case he returned to Baghdād. The vizier Ibn al-Furāt, who seems to have mistrusted him, sent him away again, to be governor of the Diyār Rabīʿa. In this capacity, he waged a campaign against the Byzantines in 301/913-4. For reasons which are not clear, perhaps because the vizier had deprived him of the financial administration of the province, perhaps because Ḥusayn did not fulfil scrupulously his financial obligations, or perhaps because he aspired to independence, a conflict arose between him and the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and he came out in open rebellion, probably in 302/914-5. A first army sent against him met with defeat, and it was Muʾnis, recalled from Egypt, who took him prisoner while he was attempting to reach Armenia, in Shaʿbān 303/February 916. He was taken to Baghdād and exhibited dressed in a cap of shame (*burnus*) and a long brocade tunic, made to ride on a camel all the way from Bāb al-Shammāsiyya to the Palace, and then imprisoned under the guard of Zaydān, the intendant of the Palace. He remained in prison for over two years and was executed in Djumādā I 306/October-November 918, on the orders of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, for reasons which are not clear.

Very probably his execution was connected with the revolt of the governor of Ādharbaydjān and Armenia, Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj; it also coincided strangely with the dismissal of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt.

It appears that at one point either Muʾnis or the vizier Ibn al-Furāt may have suggested that Ḥusayn be released in order to put him in charge of the war against Yūsuf, which he refused. It may be that the caliph suspected an alliance between Yūsuf and Ḥusayn against him and gave the order for Ḥusayn's execution. Or Ibn al-Furāt may have been involved in a conspiracy designed to further the Shīʿī cause to which both he and Ḥusayn were devoted. Ideas on this matter can only be hypothetical. In any case the caliph must have feared that if Ḥusayn were released he would once again start a revolt, either through a desire for independence or as a Shīʿī. In order to avoid attempts by those (probably numerous) who desired his release to secure it by force, the caliph preferred to take a measure which put a stop to all intrigue.

Among the generals of the caliph of this period, Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān stands out more clearly than the supreme commander Muʾnis or any other military leaders. But his valour and the service he gave by his action in many battles are not enough to cancel the memory of the spirit of rebellion which too frequently possessed him, and his pride and ambition. It appears nevertheless that even in his acts of revolt his motives were disinterested and honourable. He seems to have thought that it was necessary to support Ibn al-Muʿtazz in order to bring about a beneficial change in the system of administration and a reform in the government. Like many who had Shīʿī sympathies at this time, his ambition was to see prevail an ideal Muslim government which for many people the ʿAbbāsids no longer represented and which it was possible to imagine realized only by the imminent or future accession to power of a family glorified by the sacrifice of so many martyrs and endowed with real or imaginary qualities which contrasted with the "vices" of the ʿAbbāsids.

Certain characteristics of Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān show him to have been an unusual man. In addition to the prestige of his Arab birth, which distinguished him among the *mawālī* of all races, and to the native qualities of his Taghlibī family, he seems to have had an open-mindedness not possessed by the other military leaders, and an understanding of the great ferment of ideas which was disturbing the Muslim world at this time. It was certainly not an accident that he was in communication with the famous mystic al-Ḥallādj and that the latter dedicated a political work to him.

The founder of the Ḥamdānid dynasty was not Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān but his brother, ʿAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, but he was the first member of the family who really brought glory to it, inculcating in it the realization of its valour and strength and developing in it the ambition for glory and power. All this is attested in the verses of Abū Firās.

Bibliography: A biography of Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān is found in Ibn ʿAsākir, iv, 291-2. See also the historians Ṭabarī, ʿArīb, Miskawayh, Kamāl al-Dīn, Ibn al-Athīr, index. See also Ibn al-Dawādārī, 80, 81. For further details on his historical rôle, see M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides* i, 307-40 and the sources mentioned in the notes. The great *ḳaṣīda* of Abū Firās to the glory of the Ḥamdānid family (ed. S. Dahan, ii, 103 ff., 154 ff.) with the commentary by Ibn Khālawayh on the verses relating to Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān (*ibid.*, 126-30, 150, 165-7) provides details which are sometimes lacking in the historians. On his political rôle at Baghdād, see also D. Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbâside*, 370-1, 373, 389, 403-13.

(M. Canard)

AL-ḤUSAYN B. MANṢŪR [see AL-ḤALLĀDJ].

AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD [see AL-RĀGHIB AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ].

AL-ḤUṢAYN B. NUMAYR, of the Kindī tribe of the Sakūn, a general of the Sufyānids. At Ṣiffīn, he fought in the Umayyad ranks. On the accession of Yazīd I, he was governor of the important district of Ḥimṣ. He then had to intervene with Yazīd for Ibn Mufarrigh [*q.v.*], who had been imprisoned by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. When the expedition against the holy cities of the Ḥidjāz was planned, Ḥuṣayn was appointed lieutenant of the commander-in-chief Muslim b. ʿUḳba al-Murrī [*q.v.*] and, in this capacity, distinguished himself at the battle of the Ḥarra [*q.v.*]. During the march on Mecca, the dying Muslim, in order to carry out the orders of Yazīd, but unwillingly, entrusted to him the command of the expedition. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī, he massacred some days later all the inhabitants of al-Mushallal (the place were Muslim had died), who were guilty of having dug up the body of the commander-in-chief and stoned it. He laid siege to Mecca for two months, bombarding it with stones and with pieces of rock; it was during this time that the burning of the Kaʿba took place. Ḥuṣayn was about to take Mecca when operations were suspended by Yazīd's death. After attempting in vain to persuade Ibn al-Zubayr to accompany him to Syria in order to have himself proclaimed caliph there, Ḥuṣayn returned there with his army. There he played an important part in the accession to the throne of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, since he persuaded his fellow tribesmen to recognize Marwān instead of the young Khālid b. Muʿāwiya.

Sent to Mesopotamia on the orders of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, he defeated at ʿAyn al-Warda the Shīʿīs, who, repenting of their behaviour towards Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, had revolted under the leadership of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad (24 Djumādā I 65/6 January 685). Two years later, he fell at the hands of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar [*q.v.*] at the battle of Khāzir (9 or 10 Muḥarram 67/5 or 6 August 686).

A Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī as having pacified the Ḥadramawt during the *ridda*. H. Lammens (*Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, 259 n. 3) refuses to accept this as the same person.

According to al-Dīnawarī and Ibn al-Athīr, a Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Tamīmī, whom Müller confused with the Sakūnī, captured, when he was ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād's chief of police, Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*], the emissary of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] at Kūfa, intercepted a letter sent by Ḥusayn from Baṭn al-Rumma to the ʿIrāḳīs, and, during the battle of Karbalāʾ, shot Ḥusayn in the mouth as he was drinking.

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Das arabische Reich, Engl. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, 150, 157-8, 165-7, 174, 176, 185-6; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, 259-60, 266, 269. (H. LAMMENS-[V. CREMONESI])

ḤUSAYN B. AL-ṢIDDĪḲ AL-AHDAL [see AL-AHDAL].

ḤUSAYN ʿAWNĪ PASHA, Ottoman general and Grand Vizier under Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, was born at Gelendost, a village of the *sandjaḳ* of Isparta (*wilāyet* of Konya) in 1236/1820-1; his father was a poor peasant named Aḥmed Agha. He came to Istanbul at the age of sixteen and entered the *Mekteb-i Ḥarbiye* (Military Academy), from where he was promoted to staff captain in 1264/1848. After a few years of teaching at the same institution, on the outbreak of the Crimean War (1853) he joined the army with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He distinguished himself on the Balkan front, especially at the battle of Četate and participated later in the Mingrelian campaign as chief of general staff of the *serdār-i ekrem* ʿÖmer Pasha. On the conclusion of the war (1856), he was appointed director of the *Mekteb-i Ḥarbiye*; during the war with Montenegro (1862) he commanded a division. Back in Istanbul he was nominated, early in 1863, to the presidency of *Dār-i Shūrā-yi ʿAskerī* (High Military Council) and promoted to *mushīr* (general commander) in Ṣafar 1280/July-August 1863; during the second grand vizierate of Fuʾād Pasha [*q.v.*], he was appointed *serʿasker ḳāʾim-maḳāmī* (interim War Minister), a position he kept until his dismissal on 5 Shaʿbān 1282/24 December 1865. He was sent to Rumelia in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1283/April 1867 as commander of Yanya and Yeñi-shehr, but he left for Crete when, on 16 Djumādā II 1284/15 October 1867, he was entrusted with suppression of the Cretan revolt. His success in crushing the revolt resulted in his nomination, on 29 Shawwāl 1285/12 February 1869, to the office of *serʿasker* in ʿĀlī Pasha [*q.v*]'s last cabinet. The military reforms he accomplished on the Prussian model, during his first period of office in the War Ministry which lasted two and a half years, rightly established his reputation as the re-organizer of the army. But the death of ʿĀlī Pasha on 20 Djumādā II 1288/6 September 1871 and the appointment of his enemy Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha [*q.v.*] to the grand vizierate, brought about his dismissal and banishment to Isparta. Recalled from exile in Djumādā I 1289/July 1872, he was sent to Izmir in Ramaḍān/November of the same year as *wālī* of the province of Aydīn. Shortly after that, on 26 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1289/25 January 1873, he was appointed Minister of the Navy in the cabinet of Müterdjim Meḥmed Rüshdī Pasha and transferred, on 17 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/15 February, for a second time to the office of *serʿasker* when Esʿad Pasha became Grand Vizier. A year later, on 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1290/15 February 1874, he replaced Shirwānīzāde Meḥmed Rüshdī Pasha in the grand vizierate, while continuing to hold the portfolio of War Minister. His period of office was marked by an economic crisis due to bad harvests coupled with financial troubles which were to lead the Ottoman Treasury to bancruptcy in October 1875. He lost both offices on 19 Rabīʿ I 1292/25 April 1875 probably at the instigation of Khedive Ismāʿīl Pasha [*q.v.*] and was nominated again to the governorship of Aydīn. Appointed *serʿasker* for the third time, on 19 Radjab/21 August, he was dismissed by Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha when the latter returned to the grand vizierate (25 August). The following year, he was recalled from Bursa, where he had been sent as *wālī*, and was nominated on 17 Rabīʿ II 1293/12 May 1876 to the office of *serʿasker* for the fourth time. He played the principal part in the deposition of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which took place on 7 Djumādā I/30 May as a result of his collaboration with the Grand Vizier Müterdjim Meḥmed Rüshdī Pasha, the Shaykh al-Islām Ḥasan Khayr Allāh Efendi and Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*]. He was shot dead by a young officer called Čerkes Ḥasan, seemingly for a personal grievance, on the night of 15-16 June 1876, at a ministerial council held in Midḥat Pasha's *konak* in the Bāyezīd quarter and was buried in the courtyard of the Süleymāniyye Mosque.

An intelligent and authoritarian soldier, he favoured absolutism; his collaboration with the constitutionalist Midḥat Pasha was due to his personal hatred for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz fostered since his exile in 1871, probably mixed with a sincere desire to save the Empire from misgovernment.

Bibliography: Contemporary sources: Murad Efendi, *Türkische Skizzen*, Leipzig 1877, ii, 145 ff.; Charles Mismer, *Souvenirs du monde musulman*, Paris 1892, *passim*; Midḥat, *Tabṣira-i ʿibret*, Istanbul 1325, 165-178; Süleymān, *Ḥiss-i inḳilāb*, Istanbul 1326, *passim*; Maḥmūd Djelāl al-Dīn, *Mirʾāt-i ḥaḳīḳāt*, Istanbul 1326-7, i, 100 ff., 127 ff.; Meḥmed Memdūḥ, *Mirʾāt-i shuʾūnāt*, Izmir 1328, 65-98; *Khāṭira-i ʿĀṭif*, in *TTEM*, xiii (1341), 48-51.

Modern studies: H. Turhan Dağlıoğlu, *Hüseyin Avni Paşaya ait bazı hatıra ve notlar*, in *Ün*, vii (1940), 1093-1102, viii (1941), 1229-1232; Ibnülemin M. Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrazamlar*, Istanbul 1940-53, 483-593; M. Zeki Pâkalın, *Hüseyin Avni Paşa*, Istanbul 1941; I. Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1946, 178 f.; İ. Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1947-61, iv, index; E. Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1947-62, vii, index; R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*, Princeton 1963, index. For his murder see I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Çerkes Hasan vak'ası*, in *Belleten*, ix (1945), 89 ff.

(E. KURAN)

ḤUSAYN BAYḲARA [see ḤUSAYN].

ḤUSAYN DJAHĀNSŪZ [see DJAHĀN-SŪZ].

ḤUSAYN DJĀHID (mod. Turkish HÜSEYİN CAHİT YALÇIN, 1874-1957), Turkish writer, journalist and politician. His parents were from Istanbul. He was born at Balıkesir while his father ʿAlī Riḍā was serving as government accountant in the province. He attended the primary school at Serres in Macedonia and the lycée at Istanbul. On completing his studies at the School of Political Science (*Mülkiye*) in 1896 he became a civil servant in the Ministry of Education. In the meantime he had taught himself French. He taught Turkish and French in various schools and became the headmaster of the *iʿdādī* school of Merdjān, one of the leading lycées of the time.

Upon the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, which put an end to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's despotic rule, he entered political life, joined the Committee of Union and Progress, and founded the newspaper *Ṭanīn*, which he made the organ of the Committee. He was elected a member and later president of the Parliament. During the Mutiny of 31 March/13 April 1909, a counter-revolution by the reactionary elements, his printing-house was raided and destroyed by the rebels and another deputy, mistaken for him, was killed. He later served as creditors' delegate to the Administration of Ottoman Public Debts. Soon after the armistice of 1918 he

was exiled to Malta by the British, together with a number of leading Turkish intellectuals and politicians; there he learned English and Italian, and on Gökalp's advice translated historical works (see below). On being released from Malta he resumed the publication of *Ṭanīn* (1922) and began to criticize violently the new Ankara régime of Mustafa Kemal.

During the first years of the Republic his unsympathetic attitude towards the authoritarian administration of the government, which was carrying out a series of radical reforms, was considered defeatist and he was twice tried by the Tribunal of Independence. His indignation as an 'advocate of freedom and democracy' protesting against the 'arbitrary rule' of the Nationalist government were found 'grotesque' as coming from a man who for years had defended and excused the many abuses and crimes of the Unionist régime of the pre-1918 period. He was first aquitted but in the second trial he was sentenced to banishment to Čorum in Central Anatolia; on being set free in 1926, he retired from politics.

In 1930, during the First Turkish Language Congress which had been proposed by Mustafa Kemal himself in order to initiate the government-sponsored language reform, he was the only prominent writer publicly (and in Atatürk's presence) to oppose the project, maintaining that it would do more harm than good and that the language should be left to its own course of natural development.

Until 1938 Ḥusayn Djāhid's publications were confined to non-political matters. After Atatürk's death he re-entered political life, was a deputy (1939-50) and resumed the publication of his newspaper *Tanin*. Later he was made the editor of *Ulus*, the organ of the Republican People's Party. His violent criticisms of the Democrat Party government caused his arrest and imprisonment for a few months (1954), but he was set free because of his advanced age. He died in 1957 in Istanbul.

Ḥusayn Djāhid's career may be divided into two distinct periods, before and after 1908. Before the Second Constitution he was a prominent member of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] literary movement and was known as a novelist, short-story writer and particularly as a critic. After 1908 he gave up literature and became active as an ambitious politician and a combative journalist, with more tranquil intervals as a prolific translator and author of didactic magazine articles.

As a child Ḥusayn Djāhid was particularly impressed by the novels of Aḥmed Midḥat [*q.v.*]. At the age of fourteen he wrote his first novel *Nādīde*, which was a successful imitiation of the 'Master's' genre, with sickly sentimentalism, endless moral exhortations and philosophic remarks. By spending all his savings he was able to publish this enormous volume.

Under the influence of French authors, whom he constantly read and translated, and of his writer friends of the *Therwet-i Fünūn*, he soon got over this early enthusiasm and became a staunch defender of the modernist movement of the *Edebiyyāt-i Djedīde* (New Literature). His only other novel *Khayāl ičinde* (In a Dream, 1901) and his short stories (collected in three volumes: *Ḥayāt-i mukhayyel* (A Dreamed Life, 1899), *Ḥayāt-i ḥaḳīḳiyye ṣaḥneleri* (Scenes of Real Life, 1910), and *Ničin aldatīrlarmīsh?* (Why do they Deceive?, 1924), where realism is mixed with sentimentalism and sympathy for the poor and the weak, cannot be reckoned among the best productions of the school; but they impress by their unadorned, natural language and style, as compared with the very involved, *recherché* language of the leading members of the movement such as Tewfīḳ Fikret, Djenāb Shehābeddīn and Khālid Ḍiyā. But this characteristic of Ḥusayn Djāhid, shared by his novelist friend, Meḥmed Ra'ūf (and later by Khālide Edīb of the following generation), was not a matter of policy but was due simply to the fact that these writers, having an insufficient background of Arabic and Persian, were incapable of handling the involved Ottoman Turkish. Ḥusayn Djāhid himself confessed that the 'naturalism' of his style, admired by later critics, was due simply to his 'ignorance' (see *Edebî hatıralar*, 133).

Ḥusayn Djāhid's real contribution to the movement was his articles on criticism, which defined the aims of the *Edebiyyāt-i Djedīde* writers, and his defence of them against the ceaseless attacks of various hostile groups which accused them of destroying the old *dīwān* tradition in literature, of being blind imitators of French writers, of ignoring the splendours of the old Arab-Muslim culture, or of being too exclusive, even 'decadent'. Most of Ḥusayn Djāhid's articles on literary criticism, which are of documentary importance for the literary history of the period, have not been published in book form and are scattered in many reviews and newspapers (particularly *Mekteb*, *Ṭarīḳ*, *Ṣabāḥ*, *Therwet-i Fünūn* and *Ṭanīn*). Some of his polemics have been collected in the volume *Ḳavghalarīm* (My Polemics, 1910).

After 1908, Ḥusayn Djāhid gave up his literary interests and became an uncompromising 'Unionist', which he remained all his life, devoting most of his time and energy to defending the principles and actions of the Comittee. Hence his hostile attitude towards the early Republican régime, which liquidated the last vestiges of the Union and Progess Committee.

Ḥusayn Djāhid's contribution to Turkish culture as a translator is remarkable. Apart from hundreds of articles on literary criticism and social and political problems, mostly published in reviews and newspapers, particularly in his weekly *Fikir Hareketleri* (1933-40, 364 numbers), which he filled single-handed, he translated from French, English and Italian a great number of important works on history, sociology, political science and literature.

Ḥusayn Djāhid is also the author of the first Turkish grammer which is not based on the method of the Arab grammarians (*Türkče ṣarf ve naḥw*, 1911), an adaptation of the French grammar to Turkish. His biography of the Unionist leader Ṭalʿat Pasha (*Talat Paşa*) is not unbiased. From the 1930s onwards, apart from his valuable literary memoirs (*Edebî hatıralar*, Istanbul 1935), Ḥusayn Djāhid serialized his memoirs in various papers and reviews, which have not yet been published in book form: *Malta adasında*: *esaret hatıraları*, in *Yedigün*, nos. 87-121, 1934; *On yılın hikâyesi*: *1908-1918*, in *Yedigün*, nos. 120-250, 1935-37; *Meşrutiyet hatıraları*: *1908-1918*, in *Fikir hareketleri*, nos. 71-224, 1935-38; *Meşrutiyet devri ve sonrası*, in the daily *Halkçı*, nos. 170-375, 13 June-31 December 1954; *Mercan'dan Babıâliy'ye*, in *Yedigün*, nos. 267-81, 1938. These memoirs, although somewhat tendentious because of his 'Unionist' approach to most events and problems, are of great documentary value, as he had first-hand knowledge of Turkish literary and political history during his lifetime.

Bibliography: The best source for Ḥusayn Djāhid's life and works is his memoirs listed in the

article; Ismāʿīl Ḥabīb, *Türk tedjeddüd edebiyyātî taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1340, 536-40; Mustafa Nihat, *Metinlerle muasır Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1934, 359-67 and 608-12; Kerim Sadi, *Edebiyat-ı Cedide'nin kahramanları ve Hüseyin Cahit'e cevap*, Istanbul 1935; Suat Hizarcı, *Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın*, in the *Varlık* series, Istanbul 1957; Hilmi Yücebaş, *Büyük mücahit Hüseyin Cahit*, Istanbul 1960; Kenan Akyüz, in *Ph. T. F.*, ii, 536-9 and 541-3; Nevin Ogan, *Hüseyin Cahid Yalçın'ın roman ve hikâyeleri*, 1953, unpublished thesis, Istanbul University Library no. 2328.

(Fahir İz)

ḤUSAYN DJAJADININGRAT, see Supplement.

ḤUSAYN Efendi, known as **DJINDJI KHODJA**, preceptor and favourite of the Ottoman Sultan Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], was born at Zaʿfarānborlīsī (Safranbolu, now a *kaza* of the *vilâyet* of Zonguldak), the son of a certain Sheykh Meḥmed, son of Sheykh Ibrāhīm; he claimed to be descended from Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳonewī [*q.v.*]. He came to Istanbul and entered one of the *medreses* of the Süleymāniyye, supporting himself by practising sorcery, which he had learned from his father at Safranbolu; this gained him the nickname Djindji ("sorcerer"). He was not an able student, but he more than compensated for this failure by the political influence and the material wealth which his skill at sorcery obtained for him (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 273-4). His mother's claim that he would be able to cure Ibrāhīm's insanity won him the protection of the Sultan's mother, the powerful and unscrupulous Kösem [*q.v.*], and the confidence of the Sultan himself. He was granted the rank of *müderris-i Ṣaḥn*, for which he had neither the capacity nor the education, and soon afterwards was appointed *khodja* to the Sultan. In spite of the opposition of the Shaykh al-Islām Yaḥyā Efendi, he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Ghalaṭa with the rank (*pāye*) of Istanbul, a post for which he was completely unfitted, on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1054/19 January 1645 (Istanbul, Müftülük arşivi, Galata sicilleri, No. lxii, p. 68; Shaykhī, *Waḳāyiʿ al-fuḍalāʾ*, Istanbul University Library, MS T 81, pp. 191, 214). In alliance with Sulṭānzāde Meḥmed Pasha (later Grand Vizier, 1053/1644-1055/1645) and the *rikābdār* Yūsuf Agha (later, as second vizier, commander in Crete, exec. 1055/1646)—"ein mächtiges Triumvirat" (Hammer-Purgstall, v, 323)—he procured the fall of Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha (1053/1644). With the approval of the Sultan he married the daughter of Ḳara-Čelebizāde Maḥmūd Efendi (Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, 341; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-āthār*, ii, 123). On 12 Rabīʿ I 1054/19 May 1644, he was appointed Ḳāḍī-ʿasker of Anadolu, and proceeded to use this post to amass wealth for himself by the selling of offices. He was removed from the post several times, but for short periods only; on 1 Radjab 1057/2 August 1647, he was dismissed for the fourth time, and exiled briefly to Gelibolu. Upon the accession of Meḥemmed IV in Radjab 1058/August 1648, he was one of the persons whose wealth was marked for confiscation in order to meet the expenses of the accession donatives. After a month's imprisonment in the palace of the Grand Vizier, all his wealth and property were expropriated. He was again sent into exile, to Mikhalič, where he was executed in Shawwāl 1058/September 1648. A few days before his execution, his famous palace in Üsküdar (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 323, 472) had been given to a princess married to Faḍlī Pasha.

Bibliography: Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, 291, 328, 340-1; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 273-5, 323, 472; Ḳara-Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Dhayl-i Rawḍat al-abrār*, Istanbul University Library, MS T 3272, fols. 27a, 28b; ʿAbdī Pasha, *Waḳāyiʿnāme*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, MS Koğuşlar 915, fol. 3a; Naʿīmā, iv, 33-4, 64, 71, 174, 331-9; Wedjīhī, *Taʾrīkh*, Hamidiye Library, MS 917, fol. 31a; Sheykhī, *Waḳāyiʿ al-fuḍalāʾ*, Istanbul University Library, MS T 81, 191, 213-4; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 191; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-āthār fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, ii, 122-3; Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, Istanbul 1314, 19; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1957, 217, 230; Hammer-Purgstall, v, 323-6, 336, 338 f., 385-7, 405, 446, 458-61; H. J. Kissling (ed.), *ʿUšâqîzâde's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter* . . ., Wiesbaden 1965, no. 89. For a popular account of the period, see Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Samūr dewri*, Istanbul 1927 and idem, *Ḳadinlar salṭanatī*, Istanbul 1332.

(Cengiz Orhonlu)

ḤUSAYN (Ḥuseyn) Efendi, known as **HEZĀRFENN** ("[man of] a thousand skills", *i.e.*, "polymath"), Ottoman man of letters of the 11th/17th century, was the son of a certain Djaʿfer, a native of Cos (Turkish: Istanköy). After completing his education in Istanbul he was for a time in government service as a Treasury official, and then devoted himself to writing and teaching. The generally accepted date for his death, 1103/1691-2, appears to rest solely on a deduction of G. Flügel (*Handschriften ... Wien*, ii, 104); since he was already about 70 years old in 1671 (Babinger, 228, n. 2), the date given by Meḥmed Ṭāhir, 1089/1678-9, is more likely.

His works are intrinsically of secondary importance, but Hezārfenn himself is of some interest in that for his History (no. 1 below) he used Greek and Latin sources (as had Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*] some years earlier): he had no knowledge of the languages, but persuaded two dragomans of the Porte to translate for him (see *TM*, x, 368, n. 14). Furthermore he was known to various European diplomatists and orientalists resident in Istanbul: the French ambassador de Nointel and Antoine Galland (1646-1715), the translator of the "Arabian Nights" (*Journal d'Antoine Galland*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, ii, 150-1 and (?) 58); and Count Marsigli (1658-1730), who used his *Talkhīṣ al-bayān* (no. 2 below) when compiling the *Stato militare del impero ottomano* (Amsterdam 1732), spoke of him as "persona che passava per il più letterato di Costantinopoli" (Babinger, 228, n. 2, and E. Rossi, in *OM*, xi (1931), 416, and cf. 420).

His principal works are: (1) *Tanḳīḥ tawārīkh al-mulūk*, a fairly short universal history, composed between 1081/1670 and 1083/1673; mainly abridged from the works of Djenābī [*q.v.* in Supp.], Mīrkhwānd, ʿĀlī, and Kātib Čelebi [*qq.v.*], it is in nine sections (contents listed in Hammer-Purgstall, ix, 184 f.); the part of section four dealing with the Dānishmandids is translated by A. D. Mordtmann in *ZDMG*, xxx (1876), 468-71; section five, on the Ottomans, reaches to 1083/1672; section six, on Ancient Rome, contains a chapter on the 'sayings' of the philosophers (see H. F. v. Diez, in *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, i, 71 ff.); section seven deals with the history of the Byzantine Empire, section eight with China, the East Indies and Ceylon, and section nine (very short) with the discovery of America. MSS are numerous: Babinger, 229-30; *Ist. Küt. TCYK*, i/1,

no. 11; Karatay, nos. 827-33; see also B. Lewis, in *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 186 f.). The work was used by Demetrius Cantemir (1673-1723) for his *History of the growth and decay of the Othman Empire* (Eng. tr. from Latin, London 1734) (see F. Babinger, in *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, p. 56, n. 27).

(2) *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī ḳawānīn Āl ʿUthmān*, a memorandum in 13 chapters, composed in 1080/1669-70, on 'good government', partly based on the treatises on the same subject by Luṭfī Pasha [*q.v.*] and ʿAyn-i ʿAlī and on the *Dustūr al-ʿamal* of Kātib Čelebi; selections ed. R. Anhegger, in *TM*, x (1951-3), 365-93; for the MSS, summary of contents, and refs. to Fr. and It. translations, see Babinger, 230 f., and Anhegger, 368 f.; for its place in this genre of writing, see B. Lewis, *Ottoman observers of Ottoman decline*, in *IS*, i/1 (1962), 71-87, esp. 81 f.

(3) *Anīs al-ʿārifīn wa-murshid al-sālikīn*, composed in 1090/1679, is a collection of moral and political precepts illustrated by anecdotes; the unique (?) MS, in the Vatican, is described in E. Rossi (*Elenco* ..., 76-7). (4) *Djāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, a collection of 38 tales (Karatay, no. 2773), may be identical with (3). In the field of medicine he wrote (5) *Tuḥfat al-adīb al-nāfiʿa* (MS: Nuruosmaniye 3466) and (6) *Lisān al-atibbāʾ fī lughat al-adwiya*, an Arabic-Turkish dictionary of medical terms (see Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 137 f.). Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir mentions also *Fihris al-arwām* (a medical dictionary, similar to (6)), a *Terdjüme-i lughāt-i Hindī*, and two treatises on mystical subjects, Hezārfenn being an adherent of the Naḳshbandī order.

Bibliography: further to references in the text: Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, iii, 243-5; Babinger, 228-31 (with further references); Bombaci, *StLT*, 401 f. (V. L. Ménage)

ḤUSAYN ḤILMĪ PASHA (Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa), twice Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, was born in Mitylene (Midilli) in 1855. He came from a modest background, being the son of Kütahyalīzāde Muṣṭafā Efendi, an ordinary merchant. After receiving a traditional education—first in a *medrese*, then in a *rüshdiye* (secondary school), and learning *fiḳh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and French from private tutors—Ḥilmī entered the local bureaucracy in 1874.

He remained in Mitylene for a further nine years and then saw service in Aydīn (1883), Syria (1885) and Baghdād (1892); he became governor (*wālī*) of the Yemen in 1898. In 1903 he was appointed Inspector-General of Macedonia, as one of the officials implementing the scheme to reform that province. In this post Ḥilmī won a reputation for honesty, efficiency, independence and liberal ideas, both among Europeans and among the Young Turks.

After the constitutional revolution of 1908 Ḥilmī became Minister of the Interior in Kāmil Pasha's cabinet. But as a protest against the latter's action in dismissing and appointing two ministers without consultation with his colleagues in the cabinet, Ḥilmī resigned on 30 January (O.S.)/12 February (N.S.) 1909. However, Kāmil himself was ousted from power and two days later Ḥilmī became Grand Vizier.

Ḥilmī's first term in office lasted only one month and 27 days. He resigned when an insurrection, engineered by the Liberal Union (*Aḥrār Fırḳasī*) and reactionary elements against the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyeti* [*q.v.*]), broke out on 31 March (O.S.)/13 April (N.S.) 1909. He was offered, but refused, a post in the new cabinet (Danişmend, *31 Mart vak'ası*, 30-31). This insurrection was crushed by an army from Macedonia [see HAREKET ORDUSU] and Ḥilmī was restored to office on 22 April (O.S.)/5 May (N.S.) 1909. His second term as Grand Vizier was as inauspicious as the first. This time the Committee and the army obstructed his government, and he therefore resigned on 15/28 December 1909, after making a vain attempt to establish his independence from the Committee (Uşaklıgıl, ii, 29-30).

Ḥilmī Pasha spent the next two and a half years in the political wilderness. He made a brief return as Minister of Justice in Ghāzī Aḥmad Mukhtār Pasha's cabinet in July 1912, but resigned because he considered its anti-Unionist policy to be inexpedient while the Empire was at war with Italy and faced the threat of war with the Balkan states. He was then appointed ambassador to Vienna. It seems that the Sultan wanted to recall Ḥilmī Pasha to the Grand Vizierate after the assassination of Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha [*q.v.*] on 29 May/11 June 1913, but the CUP objected and their will prevailed (Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, 406). Ḥilmī remained in Vienna throughout the war and died there on 21 March/3 April 1922.

It has been said that Ḥilmī Pasha's career suffered because of his modest background and education (Inal, 1965). Yet the evidence hardly bears this out; he rose to high position under both the Palace and the constitutional régimes. His career was, however, handicapped by his non-partisan and independent political attitude. As Inspector-General he antagonized the Palace and the conservatives; under the new régime his political aloofness lost him the support of all groups. Ḥilmī Pasha's detachment would have been a great asset in less turbulent times, but in the chaos which followed the re-establishment of the constitution, his many talents were destined to be wasted and go unrecognized.

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ḤUSAYN KĀMIL (1853-1917), Sultan of Egypt under the British Protectorate from December 1914 to October 1917. A son of Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], he was born in Cairo. When he was eight years old, he entered the school at the Manyal Palace specially opened by his father for his sons and the sons of notables. In 1867, he accompanied his father to Istanbul on a visit to the Ottoman Sultan. Soon afterwards he visited Paris, and stayed at the court of Napoleon III. He returned briefly to Egypt for

the official opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, after which he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, in Florence. In 1870, he returned to Egypt for good and was given a succession of posts in the administration. As Inspector of the Delta, he lived for a while in Ṭanṭa and supervised the improvement of irrigation canals in that area. He also served at various times in the ministries of Education, Waqfs, Public Works,. Interior and Finance.

In 1879, upon the deposition of his father, Ḥusayn Kāmil went with him into exile to Naples, where he stayed for three years. He returned to Egypt after the revolt of ʿUrābī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in 1882.

During the reigns of Khedive Tawfīḳ (1882-92) and of his nephew Khedive ʿAbbās II (1892-1914) he devoted most of his time to his private business and agricultural interests. He served on the boards of many foreign companies such as the Delta Railways. His greatest contribution, however, was to the improvement of Egyptian agriculture. He founded the Khedivial Agricultural Society, which played an important rôle in the organization of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1913. Earlier, he had organized agricultural exhibitions in Alexandria (1896) and Cairo (1898), as well as a joint industrial-agricultural exhibition in 1900. With the help of privately subscribed funds, he opened an industrial trade school in Damanhūr. He was also active in the organization of agricultural syndicates. He served briefly as President of the Consultative Legislative Council and the General Assembly, but resigned from both in 1909 over the crisis regarding the extension of the Suez Concession. Until his appointment as Sultan of Egypt in December 1914, Ḥusayn Kāmil was occupied primarily in the management of his extensive agricultural holdings and his work for several charitable organizations such as *al-D̲j̲amʿiyya al-K̲h̲ayriyya al-Islāmiyya* and *D̲j̲amʿiyyat al-Isʿāf*.

Turkey, the suzerain power over Egypt, declared war on Great Britain in November 1914. Suspicious of the young Khedive ʿAbbās II's sympathies with Turkey and familiar with his past activities in support of anti-British nationalists in Egypt, the British authorities proceeded on 18 December 1914 to declare a Protectorate over Egypt [see ḤIMĀYA]. With this declaration, Turkish sovereignty over Egypt was for all practical purposes terminated. At the same time, Britain deposed ʿAbbās, then in Turkey, from the Khedivial throne of Egypt, and appointed Prince Ḥusayn Kāmil, the oldest male member of the family of Muḥammad ʿAlī, Sultan of Egypt.

The acceptance of the sultanate by Ḥusayn Kāmil in these conditions was, from his point of view, a dangerous political step. It met with the opposition of the nationalist elements in the country who considered Ḥusayn's acceptance of the sultanate under the conditions of a British occupation, military government, and protectorate as constituting a national humiliation. Many among them viewed his acceptance as an act of treason against the Muslim Ottoman Empire at war with infidel Britain. However, Ḥusayn's refusing the post could have endangered the survival of the ruling house in Egypt.

This situation, together with the difficulties of wartime conditions, led to a deterioration of public security in the country. A series of terrorist political acts aimed against members of the Egyptian government and the Sultan himself were committed in 1915. Both the Sultan and the wartime Egyptian government of Ḥusayn Rus̲h̲dī Pas̲h̲a were considered by the extreme nationalists as mere tools in the hands of the British occupation authorities to be used for the prosecution of the War. They were viewed, moreover, by these nationalists as having left the pale of the Islamic community and its consensus (*k̲h̲arad̲j̲ū min al-id̲j̲māʿ*). As greater hardships and privations caused by the necessities of war affected greater numbers of Egyptians, especially in 1916-7, so the public became increasingly alienated from this government and from the Sultan.

Soon after his assumption of the duties of Sultan, Ḥusayn Kāmil proceeded to remove the remaining vestiges and institutional manifestations of Turkish sovereignty in Egypt. Thus, when he was presiding over a meeting of the Egyptian Council of Ministers on 21 December 1914, the decision was taken to abolish the office of Ḳāḍī of Egypt (the Ḳāḍī had always been appointed by the Ottoman Sultan in Istanbul).

Yet Ḥusayn Kāmil's relations with the British authorities in Egypt were not always amicable or close. The British in Egypt looked askance at the Sultan's frequent visits to schools and institutions of higher learning, and at his tours of the provinces, suspecting that he sought to strengthen his links with a nationalist movement. The Sultan on his part felt that the material and human demands of the British military authorities and the burdens which they placed upon the country were too great and that they caused undue hardship to a poor people. Another cause of this deterioration in the relations between Ḥusayn Kāmil and the British authorities in Egypt was the frustration the Sultan experienced under the strong hand of a wartime British government, that was prompted in its policy perhaps solely by the needs of the Great War. Thus while the British disapproved of the Sultan's attempts to project the image of a popular leader, the Egyptian public disapproved of him as a tool of the British.

Ḥusayn Kāmil's health began to deteriorate in 1916; he was ill for most of 1917, and died on 9 October 1917. Earlier his son, Prince Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, had publicly renounced his right to succeed to the Egyptian throne. Thus Prince Aḥmad Fuʾād succeeded Ḥusayn Kāmil, later to become King of Egypt (1922-36) [see FUʾĀD AL-AWWAL].

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(P. J. VATIKIOTIS)

ḤUSAYN AL-K̲H̲ALĪʿ [see (AL-)ḤUSAYN B. AL-ḌAḤḤĀK].

ḤUSAYN NIẒĀM S̲H̲ĀH, the third ruler of the Niẓām S̲h̲āhī sultanate of Aḥmadnagar, *reg.* 961-72/1554-65. He was the eldest son of Burhān I Niẓām S̲h̲āh, whose example he followed in adopting the S̲h̲īʿa forms of worship (for the political implications of this in the Deccan see NIẒĀM S̲H̲ĀHĪS); he succeeded him as al-Muʾayyad min ʿind Allāh Ḥusayn S̲h̲āh (regnal title from *Burhān-i maʾāt̲h̲ir*; no coins of this reign are known) without difficulty, having been able to remove other possible claimants from Aḥmadnagar city during his father's lifetine, but was soon faced with further claims on the succession from other sons of Burhān S̲h̲āh, especially ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who had refused to accept S̲h̲īʿism and was supported by the Dakhnī faction at court. Mīrān S̲h̲āh Ḥaydar, a younger half-brother, also made an attempt to seize the throne, supported by

his father-in-law Khwādja Djahān of Parendā; defeated by Ḥusayn, both eventually took refuge with the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultan in Bīdjāpur, whom they induced to attack Aḥmadnagar repeatedly. Eventually the candidature of a fourth prince for the Aḥmadnagar throne, Mīrān Shāh ʿAlī, was espoused by Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, who also coveted the fortresses of Kaliyānī and Shōlāpur [qq.v.]. Thus began an almost constant warfare between the ʿĀdil Shāhī and the Niẓām Shāhī sultanates; the other sultanates, Barār, Golkondā and Bīdar, were drawn into the conflicts by one side or the other—alliances were flexible—, but more significant was the participation of the ruler of Vidjayanagara, Rām Rāy, brought in by the Bīdjāpur ruler to strengthen his hand against Aḥmadnagar. The excesses of this Hindū ruler and his troops against Islam, and his demands from his allies after each campaign, caused Muslim rivalries to be set aside, and Ḥusayn entered into an offensive alliance with the other Muslim rulers of the Deccan whereby Rām Rāy was beaten, and the Vidjayanagara empire broken up, at the battle of Tālīkōṭa [q.v.] in 972/1565; here the centre was commanded by Ḥusayn, whose courage won the day against enormous odds. Half a year later Ḥusayn died in his capital.

His whole reign was spent in almost continual warfare, mostly with Bīdjāpur, and little could be done to stabilize the internal affairs of the kingdom; he was undoubtedly a courageous and intelligent soldier, and he left behind him a reputation also for piety and justice. There is little evidence of cultural progress in Aḥmadnagar during his reign, although it is known that after the defeat of Vidjayanagara the Aḥmadnagar court was enriched by the migration of poets and painters from Hampī, encouraged no doubt by Ḥusayn's brilliant daughter Čānd Bībī.

Ḥusayn Niẓām Shah ii, the fifth sultan of the dynasty, succeeded his insane father Murtaḍā I in 996/1588, after having brought about his death by confining him in an overheated bathroom. He was a drunkard, debauched and bloodthirsty, and effective power was in the hands of Mīrzā Khān the *wakīl*. The following year Ḥusayn was deposed in favour of his cousin Ismāʿīl.

Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh iii, the last sultan, was raised to the throne in 1041/1632 as a boy of ten by the Ḥabshī Fatḥ Khān. He was captured by the Mughals in the fall of Aḥmadnagar and imprisoned in Gwāliyar.

Bibliography: See bibliography to niẓām shāhīs. (J. Burton-Page)

Deli **ḤUSAYN PASHA** (d. 1069/1659), Ottoman general, was probably born at Yeñishehir (near Bursa). While serving in the Palace as a *baltadji* [q.v.], he attracted the attention of Murād IV by a display of physical strength (Naʿīmā, vi, 399 f.); he became an intimate (*muḳarreb*) of the Sultan and rose to be first Küčük and then Büyük Mīr-akhōr (Grand Master of the Horse, see mīr-akhōr). On 4 Muḥarram 1044/30 June 1634 he was appointed Grand Admiral (Ḳapudān Pasha [q.v.]), with the rank of vizier, and as such was present on the Erivan (Rewān [q.v.]) campaign of 1045/1635. On the way back, at Diyārbekr, he was appointed governor of Egypt (Djumādā 1045/October 1635, see Ṣolaḳzāde, 763). He was recalled in Rabīʿ I 1047/July-August 1637, charged with maladministration, and his property was confiscated (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 179); but he soon recovered his old influence over the Sultan, who, on the march to Baghdād (1048/1638), appointed him *beglerbegi* of Anadolu. He distinguished himself during the siege, and after the army's return to Istanbul Murād IV made him a "vizier of the dome" (*ḳubbe wezīri* [q.v.]) in order that he might continue to enjoy his company. Engaging in the intrigues at the capital he helped to procure the fall of (Ṭabanī-yaṣṣī) Meḥmed Pasha [q.v.], whom he succeeded as *ḳāʾimmaḳām* ([q.v.], deputy of the Grand Vizier) on 20 Shaʿbān 1049/16 December 1639 (Naʿīmā, iii, 421 ff.). He prudently avoided any action which might arouse the hostility of the Grand Vizier, Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, and upon the accession of Sultan Ibrāhīm was again appointed Ḳapudān Pasha, in Shawwāl 1049/February 1640 (Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, 221), and seven months later military governor of Oczakow (Özi [q.v.]). In 1051/1641 he was in command at the unsuccessful siege of Azov (Azaḳ [q.v.]), then held by the Cossacks. He was thereafter appointed in succession *wālī* of Bosnia (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1051/February 1642), Baghdād (in 1054/1644), and Budin (from Shaʿbān 1054/October 1644).

After the outbreak of the war with Venice he was sent to Crete as *muḥāfiẓ* of the fortress of Canea (Khānya), where he landed on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1055/2 January 1645. On the death of the Ottoman commander-in-chief in Djumādā II 1056/August 1646, Ḥusayn Pasha was appointed to succeed him. Before the year was out he captured the important town of Rhethymnos/Resmo, and next spring (Rabīʿ I 1057/April 1647) he embarked on the investment of Candia [see ḳāndiya], which was to last 22 years. During his thirteen years in Crete he distinguished himself by his personal courage and prudently sought to win over the Greek population of the island. On 2 Djumādā I 1066/28 February 1656 Ḥusayn Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier and the seal of office was despatched to him, but the appointment was cancelled as a result of the Janissary mutiny a week later (the so-called Čīnar Waḳʿasī, see meḥemmed iv), and in late 1068/middle of 1658 Ḥusayn Pasha was recalled from the command in Crete. The Grand Vizier Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha, hoping to rid himself of a popular rival, alleged that he had misappropriated military funds and shown lack of energy in the siege of Ḳāndiya, but Ḥusayn Pasha's own supporters procured his appointment, for the third time, as Ḳapudān Pasha (14 Shawwāl 1068/15 July 1658). On 7 Rabīʿ I 1069/3 December 1658 he was made *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli, but within weeks, as a result of the intrigues of his enemies, was recalled to Istanbul to face a charge of extortion; he was imprisoned in Yedi-ḳule and executed.

Bibliography: the Ottoman chronicles: Naʿīmā, iii-vi, *passim*; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, and *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh*, *passim*; Pečewi, ii, 438, 440, 447; Hammer-Purgstall, v and vi; Zinkeisen, *GOR*, v and vi; *IA*, s.v. Hüseyin Paşa, pp. 650-4 (of which the above is an abridgement), with further references. (Ismet Parmaksizoğlu)

ʿAmūdja-Zāde **ḤUSAYN PASHA** (d. 1114/1702), Ottoman Grand Vizier, was a nephew of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha [see köprülü], his nickname ʿAmūdja-zāde, T. ʿAmdja-zāde "uncle's son", being given to him by his cousin Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha. He was present on the campaign against Vienna in 1094/1683 (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 67), but after the defeat and execution of the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha he, with other officials, was sent under guard to the Porte (*op. cit.*, ii, 123); he was appointed governor of Shehr-i Zūr (*op. cit.*, ii, 125), but very soon afterwards was transferred as military governor (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Čardaḳ, opposite Gallipoli. In

Shaʿbān 1100/May 1689 he was appointed *muḥāfiẓ*, with the rank of vizier, of Sedd al-Baḥr at the entrance to the Dardanelles (*op. cit.*, ii, 433). In Shaʿbān 1102/May 1691 he was summoned to Istanbul to act as *ḳāʾimmaḳām* ([*q.v.*], deputy for the Grand Vizier) (*op. cit.*, ii, 570); in Djumādā I 1103/January-February 1692 he was dismissed and sent back to his Dardanelles post, but was recalled to serve as *ḳāʾimmaḳām* again from Djumādā I-Shawwāl 1105/January-June 1694 (*op. cit.*, ii, 738).

In Djumādā I 1106/December 1694 he was appointed Ḳapudān Pasha (Grand Admiral) and ordered to proceed immediately to recover Chios (T. Saḳîz [*q.v.*]), recently occupied by the Venetians (Ṣafwet, *Ḳapudān Mazamorṭa Ḥusayn Pasha*, Istanbul 1327, 87 f., 93 ff.; Silâhdar Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, ed. I. Parmaksızoğlu, i/1, Istanbul 1962, 10). In two engagements fought off the Ḳoyun Adaları (Spalmadori Islands) in the Bay of Chios in Djumādā II-Radjab 1106/February 1695 he defeated the Venetians, who immediately abandoned the island (M. Galibert, *Histoire de Venise*, Paris 1847, 431 f.; *Nusretnâme*, i/1, 11-18). At the end of Ramaḍān 1106/May 1695, Ḥusayn Pasha was appointed *muḥāfiẓ* of Chios, but a few months later (in Rabīʿ I 1107/November 1695) was sent as governor to Adana and after one year (in Rabīʿ I 1108/September-October 1696) he appears as *muḥāfiẓ* of Belgrade. The advice which he gave in the council of war held there in Muḥarram 1109/August 1697 was overridden; but after the disastrous battle of Zenta [*q.v.*] and the death of the Grand Vizier (Elmās) Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], Muṣṭafā II summoned him to the Ottoman camp to succeed him.

Next year, while the peace negotiations were proceeding at Carlowicz [see KARLOFČA], Ḥusayn Pasha remained with the army at Belgrade, prepared for action in case of a breakdown in the discussions. After the conclusion of peace (Radjab 1110/January 1699), Ḥusayn Pasha remained in office for less than three years: the growing influence over the Sultan of Fayḍ Allāh Efendi [see MUṢṬAFĀ II] and his own poor health led him to resign office on 11 Rabīʿ II 1114/4 September 1702. He retired to his estate at Silivri, where he died very shortly afterwards (29 Rabīʿ II/22 September).

The sources agree that Ḥusayn Pasha was an honest and efficient statesman (P. Lucas, *Voyage au Levant*, The Hague 1709, ii, 154; Marquis de Bonnac, *Mém. hist. sur l'ambassade de France à Constantinople*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1894, 114, 116) and a patron of learning (to whom Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] dedicated his History). His summer residence (*yalî*) at Anadolu Ḥiṣār (see H. Saladin and R. Mesguich, *Le yali des Keupruli à Anatoli-Hissar*, Paris 1915), the oldest surviving wooden residence of Istanbul, forms one of the sights of the Bosphorus. He built a mosque and a *medrese* at Sarādjkhāne in Istanbul (*Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 91 f.), beside which he is buried; the library of this foundation (456 MSS) is now kept at the Süleymaniye.

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(ORHAN F. KÖPRÜLÜ)

ḤUSAYN PASHA (KÜČÜK ḤÜSEYIN PASHA) (1758-1803), Ottoman *Ḳapudān Pasha* of Circassian origin. Since he was 46 years old at his death in 1803, he must have been born in 1758. He was presented to Sultan Muṣṭafā III by the *Silāḥdār* Ibrāhīm Pasha, in 1181/1767-8. Although it has been asserted that he was the foster-brother of Selīm III (*Kharīṭa-i Ḳapudānān-i deryā*, 105), it seems more likely that his first duty in the palace was in the service of Prince Meḥmed (b. 1767), the brother of Selīm III (Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, MS Ali Emiri (Millet Kütüp.) 609, fol. 197a; Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, vii, 266).

Küčük Ḥüseyin was for a long period one of the servants of the sultan's Privy Chamber and was then transferred to the treasury department. On the day of Selīm III's accession (7 April 1789), he was transferred to the Privy Chamber as chamberlain (*mābeyndji*) and six months later became Head Valet (*Bash čoḳadār*). Attracting the attention of Selīm III during the course of the discussions with the French Ambassador, Sébastiani, and Isḥāḳ Pasha about the establishment of the "New Order" (*Niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*]) Ḥüseyin Agha was appointed Lord High Admiral with the rank of vizier in place of Giridli Ḥüseyin Pasha on 10 March 1792. On 29 May 1792 he married Esmā Sulṭān, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I.

During the twelve years in which Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha held the office of *Ḳapudān Pasha*, he strove to reform the Ottoman navy. He brought about a classification of the flagships, an increase in captains' salaries, an ordering of the hierarchy of ranks, a system for the education of non-commissioned officers, who remained on the ships in the winter season, the creation of a body of skilled workmen and the training of captains in navigation and naval science. With the help of English and French engineers and technicians he endeavoured to make the Ottoman navy and dockyards comparable to those in Europe. For all this he has been accounted the founder of the new Ottoman fleet.

Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha is remembered also for the struggle which he waged against the Mediterranean pirates, who molested Turkish merchantmen and from time to time attacked the western Anatolian coasts. He set out with the fleet in spring 1792 to the Aegean for the purpose of bringing to account Lambro Canziani (Katsoni), a Knight of St. George, who was operating in the Mediterranean with 15 ships. Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha intended to catch him at Lagia (Porte-Kale). His first encounter on this expedition was with one of the pirates, Kara-Katzanis (Ḳaraḳačan), in the neighbourhood of the islands of Milos (Değirmenlik) and Hydra (Čamlîdja) (Nejat Göyünč, *Kapdan-i derya Kücük Hüseyin Paşa*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, ii/3-4 (1952), 35-50). Having taken prisoner Kara-Katzanis and 23 of the pirates with him, he then blockaded Lambro on the coast of Maina in the Morea, but was unable to take the pirate chieftain, who escaped to the island of Cerigo (Čuha). Finally, at the end of September 1792, he returned to Istanbul with some pirate ships, equipment and prisoners. Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha pursued these activities in the Mediterranean until the autumn of 1797. During the course of the battles with the corsairs of Malta in the neighbourhood of Crete, he attacked many of the small islands as well.

Although Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha was much in favour with the sultan and the people, his harsh, rough temperament annoyed the Grand Vizier ʿIzzet Meḥmed Pasha and certain other leading men, who procured that he was sent away from Istanbul, as commander of the forces at Vidin against the rebel

Pāzvandoghlu ʿOthmān [*q.v.*] (10 April 1798). Under his command on this expedition were some of the leading men of Anatolia, such as Ḳara ʿOthmānoghlu and Djabbār-zāde, as well as the *wālīs* of Rumelia and Anatolia, and Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pasha. Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha first captured the places in the vicinity of Vidin which had fallen into the hands of Pāzvandoghlu and finally besieged Vidin itself, both by land and, with a small fleet, from the Danube. He met with unexpected resistance, however, and through lack of men and supplies and inability to receive money in time, he failed to bring the siege to a successful conclusion. Finally, when Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha was himself wounded and no longer able to prosecute the siege of Vidin because of the French landing in Egypt, Pāzvandoghlu ʿOthmān offered his submission to the Ottoman government. Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha then returned to Istanbul. He sailed to Alexandria, with the fleet which he had prepared, in the summer of 1799. Although not showing much activity at first, he joined with the British fleet in the next year in transferring troops to Egypt; and following the signing of the agreement of 20 June 1801, whereby the French were to evacuate Egypt, he entered Cairo on 10 July 1801. He caused the *khuṭba* to be read in the name of Selīm III and was active in the punishment of some Mamlūk *beys*. Although this latter activity lead to coolness in his relations with some of the British admirals, the affair was closed by his return to Istanbul.

Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha went out on Mediterranean campaigns in 1802 and 1803, but in November of the latter year illness forced him to return to Istanbul. He died on 7 December 1803, in the residence of Esmā Sulṭān at Ḳuručeshme on the Bosphorus, and was buried by the tomb of Mihrishāh Wālide Sulṭān in Eyyūb. His epitaph was written by the chronicler Wāṣif Efendi. Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha built a fountain (*česhme*) in Ḳāsimpasha in 1797.

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(MÜNIR AKTEPE)

AGHA **ḤUSAYN PASHA**, Ottoman vizier noted for his leadership in the suppression of the Janissaries in 1826, was born at Edirne in 1190/1776-7. His father, Hādjdjī Muṣṭafā, believed to be from Rusčuk [*q.v.*], moved to Bender [*q.v.*], where Ḥusayn enlisted in the 9th Janissary *bölük* [*q.v.*] and reached Istanbul in 1203/1788-9. He had begun his career as a porter, then took part in the campaign against Russia in 1807-12. Ḥusayn became an *usta* (sergeant) and associated with (Silāḥdār) ʿAlī Pasha, who recommended Ḥusayn to Maḥmūd II between 1811 and 1817 when ʿAlī was the sultan's sword-bearer (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, xii, 72; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 561-2). Thanks to ʿAlī Pasha's influence and despite the enmity of Ḥālet Efendi [*q.v.*], Ḥusayn became *zaghardjï bashï* [*q.v.*] and colonel of the 64th regiment, *i.e.*, the third most senior of the Janissaries, on 23 Ṣafar 1238/10 November 1822, three days before Ḥālet Efendi's dismissal. Benefiting from Maḥmūd II's promotion of trustworthy officers, he rose to be *ḳul ketkhudāsï* on 10 Rabīʿ II 1238/25 December 1822 and *Agha* (commander) of the Janissaries on 14 Djumādā II 1238/26 February 1823. Ḥusayn had great influence as *Agha* during the Grand Vizierate of his patron Silāḥdār ʿAlī Pasha (from 10 March-13 December 1823). He soon banished, retired or executed many subversive Janissaries, and won others to his cause. Made a Vizier for these services in the autumn of 1823, he became known as Agha Pasha. To shield him from reprisals by the Janissaries, Maḥmūd II replaced him as *Agha* on 20 Ṣafar 1239/26 October 1823, and appointed him governor of Bursa and Kodjaeli and commander of the European Bosphorus forts, so that he was available nearby in case of need.

Ḥusayn strongly supported reform, including Maḥmūd II's abortive *Eshkindji* [*q.v.*] reorganization of the Janissaries in May-June 1826. He led the loyal artillerymen and infantry who quickly shattered the resistance of the Janissaries along Dīwān Yolu and at their barracks in Et Meydānï, and finally put an end to their uprising on Thursday 15 June 1826.

Ḥusayn, retaining his positions, also became *serʿasker* [*q.v.*] of the new army (*ʿasākir-i manṣūre-i muḥammadiyye*) whose formation was decreed simultaneously with the Janissaries' abolition on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1241/17 June 1826. Replaced as *serʿasker* by Khusrew Pasha [*q.v.*] on 9 May 1827, Ḥusayn regained command on 20 May 1828 and set out with the new army for the Russian front four days later. He defended his headquarters at Shumla, but was unable to prevent the loss of the forts of the lower Danube to Russia. Reshid Meḥmed Pasha took command in the spring of 1829, when Ḥusayn became *muḥāfiẓ* (fortress commander) of Rusčuk, then governor of Edirne. He was again *serʿasker* (with the style of "governor of Egypt, Abyssinia and Crete") from 12 April to 31 August 1832, but was dismissed after his forces were defeated by Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] of Egypt at Ḥimṣ on 8-9 July and at the Baylān [*q.v.*] pass on 29 July 1832. As he was friendly with Milosh of Serbia, he served twice as *muḥāfiẓ* of Vidin, from 4 August 1833 to early February 1844, and from October 1846 until his death on 25 April 1849. In October 1839 Ḥusayn sought his guest H. von Moltke's advice on new fortifications there. After 1878, his son ʿAlī Shewket Pasha had his remains removed from the fortress of Vidin and reburied in the Topkapu cemetery in Istanbul.

Ḥusayn was powerfully built, fearless and intelligent, and, despite his illiteracy, favoured reform. Among the buildings he commissioned are the Serʿaskerate fire tower (now in the grounds of

Istanbul University), military hospitals in Edirne and Vidin, a fountain in Khāṣṣköy, a stone clock tower at Mirgūn, the water system and a stone bridge at Shumla, and a mosque and school in Silistre.

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(H. A. REED)

ḤĀDJDJĪ **ḤUSAYN PASHA**, known as **MEZZOMORTO**, Algerian corsair and Ottoman admiral (d. 1113/1701); he owes his Italian nickname "half-dead" (in Turkish 'mezemorṭa') to the fact that as a young man he had been wounded, apparently fatally, in a sea-fight with the Spaniards.

Nothing certain is known about his origin: according to A. de La Motraye (*Voyages*, La Haye 1727, i, 206) he was born in Majorca. He first appears, as a well-known corsair, in 1674 (Grammont, *Relations entre la France et la Régence d'Alger au XVII*[e] *siècle*, Algiers 1955, 52), and gradually made himself one of the most prominent figures of Algiers. When the French fleet under Duquesne bombarded Algiers in the summer of 1683, Ḥusayn, with other corsair captains, was handed over as a hostage by the Dey (*dayi*) Baba Ḥasan, but he persuaded the French admiral to send him back on shore. He led an insurrection against Baba Ḥasan, killed him, and had himself elected Dey. Opening fire on the French fleet, he obliged Duquesne to raise the blockade; in 1684 he made peace with Louis XIV (Grammont, 83; E. Plantet, *Correspondance des Deys d'Alger avec la cour de France, 1579-1833*, Paris 1889, 84; Zinkeisen, *GOR*, v, 51 f.).

In 1686 the Ottoman government summoned him, as *beglerbegi* of Algiers, to send ships for the campaign in the Morea. The peace with France was soon broken, and when the French fleet bombarded Algiers again in 1688, Ḥusayn retaliated by attacking the French coasts and shipping. In 1689, the Porte had decided to appoint Ḥusayn Pasha Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet (*Ḳapudan Pasha* [*q.v.*]); but before the summons reached Algiers, Ḥusayn Pasha's power there had been seriously shaken by internal dissensions; he was obliged to flee to Tunis, and thence to Istanbul (and the post of *Ḳapudan Pasha* was given to Mısırlızāde Ibrāhīm Pasha).

In 1101/1690 Ḥusayn Pasha was appointed to command the Danube fleet, with orders to support the operations for the recovery of Vidin [*q.v.*]; he later commanded in the Black Sea; and in 1104/1691, a time when anxiety was growing over the threat of Venetian action in the Aegean, was made *sandjaḳ-begi* of Rhodes, with command of the Imperial galleons (*ḳalyūn*). When in 1106/1694 the Venetians occupied Chios (Turkish: Saḳız [*q.v.*]), Ḥusayn Pasha played a prominent part in the two engagements (Radjab 1106/February 1695) which led to the recovery of the island (Ṣafwet, *Ḳoyun Adalarî önündeki deñiz ḥarbi ve Saḳîzîñ ḳurtarîlîshî*, in *TOEM*, i/3 (1326), 150-77).

In Ramaḍān 1106/May 1695 Ḥusayn Pasha was rewarded with the post of Ḳapudan Pasha, in succession to (ʿAmūdjazāde) Ḥusayn Pasha [*q.v.*] (Silâhdar Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, ed. I. Parmaksızoğlu, i/1, Istanbul 1962, 28-9), and turned all his efforts to the expulsion of the Venetians from the Aegean: in Ṣafar 1107/September 1695 he defeated, off Lesbos (Midilli), a Venetian fleet bound for Chios and Cos; in the course of operations in the Morea in 1696 he brought the Venetian fleet to battle between Andros and Euboea; on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1108/5 July 1697 he defeated a Venetian fleet under Alessandro Molino off Tenedos and again, on 14 Ṣafar 1109/3 September 1697, off Andros. On 15 Rabīʿ I 1110/21 September 1698 he brought the Venetian fleet under Giacomo Cornaro to battle off Lesbos: Western sources (Zinkeisen, *GOR*, v, 183) depict the engagement as a Venetian, Turkish sources (Silāḥdār; Rāshid, ii, 440) as an Ottoman victory.

Ḥusayn Pasha did not live long after the conclusion of the peace of Carlowitz: in 1113/1701 (the exact date is uncertain; his successor as Ḳapudan Pasha, ʿAbd al-Fettāḥ Pasha, was appointed in Rabīʿ I 1113/August 1701) he died on the island of Paros and was buried on Chios (Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri no. 111, p. 644; A. de La Motraye, i, 210).

Ḥusayn Pasha's services to the Ottoman Empire were not confined to the winning of battles; he also played an important part in the reform and strengthening of the Ottoman fleet and in the regularizing of the naval service by a code of regulations (*ḳānūn-nāme*) which he drew up (see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, Ankara 1948, 498-9, 523, etc.).

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Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 377, 392 f., 417, xiii, 14, 67 f., 72; Ṣafwet, *Ḳapudan Mezemorṭa Ḥusayn Pasha*, Istanbul 1327; Aziz Sâmih Ilter, *Şimâlî Afrika'da Türkler*, Istanbul 1937, ii, 7, 10 ff., 143; Fevzi Kurdoğlu, *Türklerin deniz muhârebeleri*, Istanbul 1940, ii, section 6; *IA*, s.v. Mezemorta Hüseyin Paşa (of which the above is an abridgement), with further references. (C. Orhonlu)

ḤUSAYN RAḤMĪ, in modern Turkish Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpinar (1864-1944), Turkish novelist and short story writer, who although outside all the literary currents and movements of his time, remained the most popular writer from the 1890's until the late 1920's.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī was born in the Ayaspaşa quarter of Istanbul on 17 August 1864, the son of Meḥmed Saʿīd Pasha, an aide to Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The family came originally from Aydîn. He lost his mother at the age of three, when his father was serving in Crete. He attended primary and secondary schools in Istanbul and later the *Makhredj-i aḳlām*, where government clerks were trained. At the same time he was taught French by a private tutor. In 1878 he entered the School for Political Science (Mülkiye), but left after two years because of ill-health. He became a government official and served in the Ministries of Justice and Public Works until 1908, when he resigned to devote all his time to literature. In 1912 he moved to Heybeliada, where later he built a villa from the income of his novels (an unprecedented event in the Turkish world of letters); there he lived a secluded life until his death in 1944, interrupted only by a trip to Egypt in 1933 and by occasional periods in Ankara, where he was a deputy between 1936-43.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī began his first experiments as a writer at the age of twelve and saw his first writing in print at the age of twenty (*Bir genč kîzîñ āvāze-i shikāyeti*, in *Djerīde-i Ḥawādith*, of 24 November 1884). He published his first short story, *Istanbulda bir Frenk* in the same paper, on 29 November 1889.

He wrote his first novel *Shîḳ* in 1886 and sent the first part to Aḥmed Midḥat, the leading popular novelist, publicist and journalist of the time, who immediately recognized his talent and invited him, by a flattering open letter published in his newspaper *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat*, to come and see him in his office. He urged him to complete the novel, which was serialized in the newspaper in 1887 and then published in book form in 1889. Aḥmed Midḥat took him onto the staff of his newspaper and the young writer began to fill the columns of the paper with a flood of articles (mainly didactic), short stories and novels, mostly translated from the French (Paul Bourget, Emile Gaboriau, Paul de Kock, etc.). In 1894 Ḥusayn Raḥmī left the *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat* and joined the staff of the *Iḳdām*, where several of his novels were to be serialized.

After the publication of his novel *Mürebbiye* in 1897 in *Iḳdām* his distinct literary personality was recognized by the critics and his popularity was secured. This occurred, strangely enough, just at the time when the exclusive and fashionable *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] literary movement with its slogan 'art for art's sake' was at its zenith.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī is the author of some 40 novels, several volumes of short stories, a few minor plays and a number of translations. Most of his articles, polemics, criticisms and a few short stories and novels published in various newspapers have not yet appeared in book form. His major novels, typical of his genre are: (1) *Shîḳ* (The Snob, 1888), his first novel, a sketch on the type of some of his later novels (nos. 4, 6, 8) where the 'Westernizing snob', the blind imitator of European manners and customs, is ridiculed; (2) *ʿIffet* (1897), the story of a well educated young girl who, falling into great poverty, struggles to save her honour in the face of most difficult circumstances; (3) *Muṭallaḳa* (The Divorcee, 1898, German translation *Die Geschiedene* by Imhoff Pascha, 1907), describes the tragic consequences of chronic quarrels between a daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law; (4) *Mürebbiye* (The Governess, 1898): Dehrī Efendi, a retired civil servant and a blind admirer of 'Western ways of life' hires a Frenchwoman to 'educate' his two sons and his grandson. She settles in his sea-side villa and soon dominates and disrupts the whole household by seducing all the male members of the family, ending up with Dehrī Efendi himself; (5) *Bir Muʿādele-i Sewdā* (A Love Equation, 1899) is a strong social criticism directed against the traditional custom of parents choosing their future sons- and daughters-in-law without regard for their children's wishes; (6) *Metres* (The Mistress, 1900), another satire against 'Westernizing snobs' of the turn of the century with the unusual inclusion of a woman snob; (7) *Teṣādüf* (Chance Meeting, 1900) exposes with satirical humour all the tricks of the traditional fortune-teller who used to pester the lower and lower-middle class families of Istanbul; (8) *Shîpsevdi* (Always in Love, serialised partly in *Iḳdām* in 1901, suspended by the censor, published in full in *Ṣabāḥ* in 1908, first published in book form 1912, German translation *Der Liebeskranke Bey* by Muhsiné, 1916) usually considered his masterpiece, is a further development of the theme already treated in his earlier novels. This is a powerful character study of a snob. Meftūn Bey is a flippant young man. On his father's death, his rich uncle sends him to Paris, where he learns only to live the life of Parisian idlers. When his uncle dies, he has to rush to Istanbul, to be the head of a crowded *konak* in the country. He immediately begins to reorganize the house *alla franca* ('*Alafranga*' was the original title of the novel when it was first partly serialized in *Iḳdām* in 1901) and to re-educate the whole houshold, imposing on them European dress, food, manners, etc.; (9) *Ghūl Yabānī* (The Ogre, 1912) and (10) *Djadî* (The Witch, 1912), both satirizing the superstitious beliefs and naive credulity of some people of the period; (11) *Tebessüm-i Elem* (A Sad Smile, serialization in *Iḳdām* suspended in 1914, published in book form 1923), an interesting analysis of awkward relations between men and women of the period; (12) *Son Ārzū* (The Last Wish, 1918), the unhappy life of a young girl forced to marry a man she does not love; (13) *Djehennemlik* (The Damned, 1919), against the marrying of young girls to elderly men; (14) *Ḥaḳḳa Sîghîndîk* (God Preserve Us!, 1919), the sufferings of the lower and lower-middle classes during the years of the 1914-18 War in Istanbul; (15) *Tutushmush Gönüller* (Hearts Aflame, 1922) and (16) *Billūr Ḳalb* (A Heart of Crystal, 1924), both on the problem of the emancipation of women in post-war Istanbul; (17) *Meykhānede Ḥanîmlar* (Ladies in a Tavern, 1924), a warning against the 'excesses and misunderstanding' of the emancipation of women; (18) *Ben Deli Miyim?* (Am I Mad?, 1925) where most of the controversial philosophical topics of the post-war period are discussed; (19) *Utanmaz Adam* (The Shameless Man, 1930), a social satire in the form of a character study of a man who succeeds in life by completely ignoring all rules of the moral code.

Ḥusayn Rahmī's short stories (about 70) have been collected in eight volumes.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī occupies a unique place in the history of pre-Republican Turkish literature. Unlike most of his contemporaries he did not follow any earlier Turkish or French model; but assimilating very soon various influences he developed a powerful independent literary personality. As an admirer of the prolific popular writer Aḥmed Midḥat (1844-1912) he owes a great deal in his narrative technique, conversation, imitation of the minorities, handling of certain episodes, even for the preference of certain topics, to the traditions of the Turkish popular arts and literature (*i.e. karagöz, meddāḥ, ṭulūʿāt* technique in *ortaoyunu* and folk tales of various kinds). Whereas in Aḥmed Midḥat these elements are used freely and loosely with a mixture of such French influences as Alexandre Dumas père, Ḥusayn Raḥmī polishes them and assimilates them for his own purpose, blending them successfully with the technique of the French realists and naturalists, particularly Maupassant and Zola. This combination of the cólourful Turkish popular tradition of story telling, the careful study of the naturalist technique, an accurate observation of the life and types of Istanbul lower and lower-middle class families, a penetrating analysis of the burning social problems of his time, an acute sense of humour and satire, made Ḥusayn Raḥmī the most original of all Turkish novelists until the 1930's.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī's novels and short stories are almost of documentary value. The everyday life of families and individuals and their development witnin the disintegrating Ottoman society and all the social problems arising from the impact of western ideas and customs are meticulously studied, with the addition of humorous, satirical and grotesque elements. The tendency to imitate blindly everything Western, the inferiority complex vis-à-vis Europe, the demoralizing influence of Levantine Beyoğlu (Pera), and social problems of every type are all treated many times in his works.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī's technique is unequal. Most of his novels consist of a series of powerful sketches loosely connected by (mostly irrelevant) passages of philosophical or didactic remarks and observations which rather spoil the unity of the narrative. This is the only important weakness in the manner of Aḥmed Midḥat which he has not been able to cast out. His style, too, although much more polished than that of Aḥmed Midḥat, suffers from the same defect: when he reproduces direct speech he is masterly. He uses the most natural, fluent spoken Turkish, but when he begins to argue or elaborates some social or philosophical theory he falls back to the type of flowery style which he himself condemned in his various writings. However, he noticed this shortcoming in the 1920's, after the triumph of the 'New Language' movement and, like most of his contemporaries, began to simplify the style of his novels and short stories in their later editions. His complete works are being edited with some alterations in the language, in the light of recent changes, and there are signs that a revival of Ḥusayn Raḥmī's popularity is possible in spite of the radical change in theme and scope in the Turkish novel since the 1930's.

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ḤUSAYN S̲H̲ĀH (1), Sayyid al-Sādāt ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar S̲h̲āh Ḥusayn Sulṭān (to quote his full titles) b. al-Sayyid As̲h̲raf al-Ḥusaynī al-Makkī, the founder of the Ḥusayn-S̲h̲āhī dynasty of Bengal, claimed descent from the *S̲h̲arīf*s of Mecca. His father migrated from Tirmid̲h̲ [*q.v.*] and settled in Rādh, a small village in the district of Čāndpūr, where he received his education from the local *ḳāḍī*, whose daughter he later married. After completing his education he entered the service of the Ḥabs̲h̲ī Sultan S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Muẓaffar S̲h̲āh (*reg.* 897/1491-899/1493) and by dint of his ability and personal character rose to the rank of minister. Leading a revolt against his tyrannical master, he succeeded in defeating and killing him after a four-month siege of the fortress of Gaur (cf. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., iii, 270; Firis̲h̲ta's statement (Lucknow ed., ii, 585) that Muẓaffar S̲h̲āh perished in a sortie from the citadel is not supported by other authorities). On Muẓaffar's death in 899/1493 he succeeded to the throne of Bengal. For reasons of state he transferred his capital from Gaur to Ikdālā, and commenced his reign by ruthlessly punishing refractory soldiers, 12,000 of whom were said to have been put to the sword (cf. *Riyāḍ al-salāṭīn*, 132). Next he disbanded and dispersed the *payks*, *i.e.*, the Hindu palace-guards, who had grown insolent and unreliable and were suspected of having secret loyalties to the fallen royal family whom they had long served. He then turned to the next possible danger to the throne, the *ḥabs̲h̲ī*s, who had grown unruly and powerful during the previous régime, and banished them from his kingdom. In 900/1495 Ḥusayn S̲h̲āh S̲h̲arḳī [*q.v.*] of D̲j̲awnpūr, on his final defeat by Sikandar Lōdī (*reg.* 894-923/1517), fled from his retreat in Bihār and sought refuge in Bengal, whose ruler was his kinsman. The S̲h̲arḳī Sultan was hospitably received by Ḥusayn S̲h̲āh and lived at Kahlgāōṅ (Colgong) in retirement till his death in 905/1500. Ḥusayn S̲h̲āh shrewdly forestalled a possible invasion of Bengal by Sikandar Lōdī by entering into a non-aggression pact with the invader. The work of internal consolidation over, he embarked on a campaign of conquest in 904/1498 against the neighbouring kingdoms of Kāmrūp and Assam, which were both soon overwhelmed. He then extended his dominions as far as Orissa (the exact

date of its conquest is yet to be established). An enlightened and liberal ruler, he treated his Hindu subjects with generosity and appointed many of them to high offices. He built mosques, alms-houses, *madrasas* and other buildings of public utility, for whose maintenance he created endowments. He "was unquestionably the best, if not the greatest of the medieval rulers of Bengal ... and had almost become a national institution...". He died in 926/1519 and was succeeded by his son Nuṣrat Shāh.

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ḤUSAYN SHĀH (2), b. Maḥmūd Shāh Sharḳī (*reg.* 840/1436-862/1458) was the last of the line of the Sharḳī Sultans of the independent kingdom of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*], who ascended the throne in 863/1458 after the death, in an armed conflict, of his elder brother Muḥammad Shāh, at that time engaged in hostilities against Buhlōl Lōdī [*q.v.*], the king of Delhi. Ḥusayn, immediately on his accession, concluded a four-year truce with Buhlōl. He utilized the respite by leading a powerful army into Tirhut and Orissa, both of which he reduced, compelling the Hindu ruler of Orissa to pay a huge ransom. In 871/1466 he laid siege to the fortress of Gwāliyar [*q.v.*] held by the Rādjpūt prince Mān Singh, who also purchased peace by paying an indemnity. Urged by his favourite queen Bībī Khʷunza (not Djalīla, as given by the *Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, iii, 231, 255, which is a misreading for *ḥalīla*, cf. Firishta, Lucknow ed., ii, 602), entitled Malika-i Djahān, a daughter of the fugitive Sayyid king of Delhi, 'Alā' al-Dīn, to regain her father's lost possessions, he marched against Delhi in 878/1473, taking advantage of Buhlōl's absence in the Pandjāb. Buhlōl, his army vastly outnumbered, sued for peace, but this offer was contemptuously rejected by Ḥusayn. In the ensuing conflict the scales turned against him and he had to flee for his life, the ladies of his *ḥarīm*, including the queen, falling into the hands of the victor. In order to avenge his defeat he attacked Eṭāwah, held by Ḳuṭb Khān Lōdī, in 879/1474. He again suffered defeat; a third attempt met with the same fate. In 883/1479 Ḥusayn by his skilful military tactics succeeded in defeating the Lōdīs. But while the victorious army was retreating, Buhlōl fell upon it from behind and compelled Ḥusayn to cede Kāṅplī, Paṭiālī and certain other towns in the Doāb. Smarting under the blow Ḥusayn soon after engaged Buhlōl at Sunhar (dist. Eṭāwa) in 892/1486 but suffered a crushing defeat. Djawnpūr was captured and entrusted first to Mubārak Khān and later to Buhlōl's son Bārbak Shāh. In utter despair Ḥusayn had to flee into Bihar, closely pursued by Buhlōl, who chased him as far as Haldī on the Ganges. From his retreat in Bihar he continued to indulge in intrigues trying to sow discord between Bārbak Shāh, who held Djawnpūr, and his brother Sikandar Lōdī [*q.v.*], who now occupied the throne of Delhi. Sikandar, however, outmanoeuvred and overcame Bārbak, who was taken captive, and absorbed his principality into the Lōdī kingdom of Delhi. Ḥusayn, losing all hope of recovering his lost possessions, repaired to Kahlgāōṅ (Colgong) in Bengal where he continued to enjoy the protection and hospitality of his relative the Pūrbī Sultan, 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh [*q.v.*], as Firishta calls him, till his death in 905/1500. With him the Sharḳī line of kings of the independent kingdom of Djawnpūr came to a close. In accordance with his will, his coffin was transferred to Djawnpūr and interred in the family grave-yard, within the *khānḳāh* of Shaykh 'Īsā Tādj b. Aḥmad 'Īsā, close to the Great Mosque of Djawnpūr "al-Djāmi' al-Sharḳ". This mosque, completed during Ḥusayn Shāh's reign in 852/1448, is the best specimen of Sharḳī architecture.

A liberal patron of the fine arts, Ḥusayn Shāh was himself a great musician. He is credited with having invented the melody known in Indian musical terminology as the *Khayāl*, in addition to many other compositions, *e.g.*, Djawnpūrī Tōḍī, Djawnpūrī Basant, Djawnpūrī Asāwrī, Ḥusaynī Kānhṛa. His skill and proficiency in music, both instrumental and vocal, earned him the title of Nā'ik, *i.e.*, a master musician (cf. *Ta'rīkh Shīrāz-i Hind Djawnpūr*, 548-55).

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ḤUSAYN SHĀH ARGHŪN (also known as Mīrza Shāh Ḥasan) b. Shāh Bēg Arghūn, the founder of the Arghūn dynasty of Sind, was born in 896/1490 most probably at Ḳandahār which was then held by his father. On Bābur's occupation of Ḳandahār in 913/1507 Shāh Bēg came to Sind and occupied the adjoining territories of Shāl and Sīwī (modern Sibī). In 921/1515 Ḥusayn Shāh fell out with his father and joined the service of Bābur, with whom he remained for two years. The domestic quarrel having been patched up he returned to his father. In 926-27/1519-20 he was deputed by Shāh Bēg to help Djām Fīrūz, the ruler of Thaṭṭa, whose territory had been invaded by his rival Djām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, whom he defeated and killed in battle. On the death of his father in 928/1521 Ḥusayn Shāh was proclaimed the ruler of upper Sind at Naṣrpūr where he was then

camping. Soon afterwards he marched against Thaṭṭa, as Djām Fīrūz had refused to recognize his suzerainty, defeated him in a closely contested battle and occupied the town. The Djām fled to Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] where he died in exile.

In 931/1524 Ḥusayn Shāh marched against Multān [*q.v.*], capturing and destroying the forts of Siwrā'ī, Ma'ū and Uččh [*q.v.*] on the way. The latter place was given to plunder and the timber and débris of the fort carried to Bhakkar [*q.v.*]. Hearing of the invasion Maḥmūd Khān Langāh, the ruler of Multān, marched out to meet the enemy with an army 80,000 strong but at the very first stage of the expedition fell ill and died. His successor Sultan Ḥusayn Langāh II [*q.v.*] considered it prudent to make peace with the invader. Frustrated and baulked of his booty Ḥusayn Shāh marched against the desert fort of Ḍērāwar (in the former Bahāwalpūr state) which was said to contain a huge hidden treasure. After a stiff resistance the fort surrendered and the treasure was secured. Burning with ambition and anxious to extend his rule Ḥusayn Shāh again thought of conquering Multān. Towards the end of 932/1526 he set out on his campaign and laid siege to the town which dragged on for a year. Unable to stand the terrible famine during which even dogs and cats were used as human food, the garrison ultimately surrendered. The city was ruthlessly devastated; all the inhabitants between the ages of seven and seventy were either made prisoners or put to the sword and a very large booty fell into the hands of the invader. According to Firishta (*Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, ii, 321), Ḥusayn Langāh was also taken prisoner and the government of Multān entrusted to Khʷādja Shams al-Dīn Māhūnī (cf. *Ta'rīkh-i Maʿṣūmī*, 160).

After his victorious return to Bhakkar, Ḥusayn Shāh learnt that Rāy Khangār of Kutch (Kačhčh) was preparing to attack Thaṭṭa. Ḥusayn Shāh immediately left for that town, engaged the enemy in battle and completely routed him. Humāyūn [*q.v.*] on his arrival in Sind in 947/1540, after his defeat at the hands of Shēr Shāh Sūr [*q.v.*], sought the help of Ḥusayn Shāh in the hope that as a former servant of his father he would not hesitate to come to his help. Ḥusayn Shah, however, doubting Humāyūn's intentions and sincerity, procrastinated. Enraged at his cold behaviour Humāyūn occupied the fort of Bhakkar [*q.v.*] and appointed his uncle Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, as its commandant. On a rapprochement being effected Ḥusayn Shah agreed to render some help to Humāyūn but as soon as the latter left Sind, he promptly drove Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā out of Bhakkar and reoccupied the fort.

In 962/1554 the Arghūns and Tarkhāns of Thaṭṭa conspired and rose in revolt against Ḥusayn Shāh, who had been ailing for long and was unable to discharge the functions of state. A compromise was, however, effected and the revolt consequently fizzled out. Enfeebled and paralysed Ḥusayn Shāh did not live long and died at the village of ʿAlīpōtō on 12 Rabīʿ I 962/4 February 1555 after a rule of 34 years, aged 66.

He was first buried under a dome in the Maklī necropolis, near Thaṭṭa, but after a lapse of two years the coffin was transferred to Mecca where it was interred near the grave of his father. A grand building was erected over his grave which is no more in existence.

A brave and cultured ruler, Ḥusayn Shāh was well-versed in the traditional sciences and held the *mashā'ikh*, *ʿulamā'* and scholars, on many of whom he had settled stipends, in great esteem. A poet in Persian, he used to compose verses occasionally under the *nom de plume* of Sipāhī. He had two wives, one of whom was his cousin Māh Bēgam, a daughter of his uncle Muḥammad Muķīm Mīrzā b. Shāh Bēg. Her daughter Čūčak Bēgam was married to prince Kāmrān, who had been blinded by Humāyūn, and in spite of her father's entreaties, remained firm in her resolve to accompany her ill-starred husband to Mecca, where he had been exiled.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

Nāṣir al-Dīn **ḤUSAYN SHĀH ČAKK** [see kashmīr].

ḤUSAYN SHĀH LANGĀH I, son of Rāy Sahrā entitled Kuṭb al-Dīn, the founder of the Langāh dynasty of Multān, who had usurped the throne by treacherously ousting his son-in-law, Shaykh Yūsuf Ķurayshī, succeeded to the rule on the death of his father in 874/1469. Adventurous by nature, he began his reign by launching a succession of campaigns against the neighbouring forts of Shōr (modern Shorkōṭ), Činiōṭ [*q.v.*] and Kahrōṛ (modern Kahrōṛ Pucca), which he easily reduced. At this time Shaykh Yūsuf Ķurayshī, who had taken refuge with Buhlōl Lōdī, the king of Delhi, persuaded his protector to march against Ḥusayn Langāh and assist him in recovering his lost kingdom. Buhlōl set out twice from Delhi with the intention of conquering Multān, but had to abandon the attempt owing to the threatened invasion of his capital on both the occasions by the Sharķī sulṭāns, Maḥmūd and Ḥusayn Shāh [*q.v.*]. It is difficult to fix the exact dates of these two abortive attempts as the authorities widely differ. The third time, when Ḥusayn Langāh was occupied with quelling the rebellion of his brother, who had assumed the title of Shihāb al-Dīn and proclaimed himself king at Kahrōṛ, which had been assigned to him, Buhlōl deputed his son Bārbak Shāh to reduce Multān. He was joined *en route* by the forces of Tātār Khān Lōdī, the governor of the Pandjāb. Ḥusayn Langāh, hearing of the invasion and having completely crushed the revolt of Shihāb al-Dīn, reached Multān by forced marches and gave battle to the invaders, who suffered a crushing defeat and fled to Delhi. It was during his reign that Ismāʿīl Khān and Fatḥ Khān, the two Balūč brothers and founders respectively of Ḍēra Ismāʿīl Khān and Ḍēra Fatḥ Khān [see ḍēradjāt] came from Mukrān [*q.v.*] and joined his service. This event marks the settlement of the Balučs in large numbers in the neighbourhood of Multān. In his old age Ḥusayn

Langāh abdicated in favour of his son Fīrūz, a dissolute and worthless youth, who was poisoned by the prime minister ʿImād al-Mulk to avenge the death of his son Bilāl whom Fīrūz had executed. Ḥusayn resumed the reins of power and in his turn avenged the death of his son by executing ʿImād al-Mulk. On the death of Buhlōl Lōdī in 895/1489 he sent his condolences to his son and successor Sikandar Lōdī and concluded a treaty of peace with him, thus putting an end to the designs of Shaykh Yūsuf, the pretender to the throne of Multān.

A cultured and accomplished man, Ḥusayn Langāh promoted education and learning by erecting colleges staffed by such eminent scholars as the brothers ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAzīz Allāh of Ṭulańba, a small village near Multān. A contemporary of Djām Niẓām al-Dīn *alias* Ninda, the ruler of Ṫhaṫṫa, he was on very good terms with him and both the rulers often exchanged gifts and presents. He died in 908/1502 after a rule of 36 years.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ḤUSAYN SHĀH LANGĀH II, son of Maḥmūd Langāh (*reg.* 904/1498-9—931/1524-5), the ruler of Multān, was still a minor when he succeeded to the throne on the death of his father in 931/1524-25. Taking advantage of the ruler's minority and prompted by Bābur [*q.v.*], Ḥusayn Shāh Arghūn [*q.v.*], the ruler of Sind, set out against Multān. Maḥmūd Langāh marched out to defend his kingdom, but while he was only one or two stages away from his capital he suddenly died, poisoned, it was believed, by Langaŕ Khān Langāh, the commander of his army, who later deserted to Ḥusayn Shāh Arghūn. Ḥusayn Langāh, a boy of only three who had been proclaimed king, was protected by the regent and prime minister, Shudjāʿ al-Mulk Bukhārī, a son-in-law of Maḥmūd Langāh, who decided to resist Ḥusayn Shāh Arghūn, and against the advice of his commanders, decided to stand a siege which dragged on for more than a year. The city, after suffering a terrible famine and untold misery, vividly described by both Niẓām al-Dīn and Firishta, fell to the invader in 932/1526. The young ruler was taken prisoner, his uncle Shudjāʿ al-Mulk Bukhārī was insulted and tortured to death, the famished inhabitants were ruthlessly massacred and those who escaped the sword were indiscriminately taken prisoner. These included the well-known scholar of the day Shaykh Saʿd Allāh Lāhorī and his aged father, both eye-witnesses of the great siege. Multān was annexed to Sind and one Khʷādja Shams al-Dīn Māhūnī was appointed governor, who was shortly afterwards removed by the traitor Langaŕ Khān, who in his turn was replaced by Mirzā Kāmrān, the second son of Bābur. The independence of Multān was lost for ever and it became, shortly afterwards, a dependency of the Mughal empire.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ḤUSAYN WĀʿIẒ KĀSHIFĪ [see kāshifī].

ḤUSAYNĀBĀD, called Ḥusaynābād the Great (*buzurg*), is to be distinguished from two other Ḥusaynābāds, one of which existed in the modern Murshidabad district and the other in the 24 Parganas. Ḥusaynābād the Great was a town, now in the Malda district of West Bengal, which flourished during the times of the Bengal sultans Ḥusayn Shāh, Naṣrat Shāh, Fīrūz Shāh and Maḥmūd Shāh III. The name appears on the coins and inscriptions of Ḥusayn Shāh, but only on the coins of the other three sultans. It is not certain if it was identical with Gaur, in which case it was named after Ḥusayn Shāh, or if it was a suburb of the city actually built by the Sultan himself. The latter opinion, however, appears to be more probable. According to Ghulām Ḥusayn Salīm, Ḥusayn Shāh transferred his seat of government to Ekdālā adjoining the city of Gaur. This Ekdālā was situated near the village of Ramkeli on the western outskirt of the city. It is possible that this Ekdālā was later re-named by Ḥusayn Shāh as Ḥusaynābād the Great. Besides being the metropolis during Ḥusayn Shāh's reign, Ḥusaynābād the Great also appears to have been the capital of the western region (*iḳlīm*) of the kingdom. The capital of the eastern region was probably Muʿaẓẓamābād (near Mymensingh).

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(A. B. M. Husain)

ḤUSAYNĪ DĀLĀN, a Shīʿī shrine in the old city of Dacca, seems to have been originally built in 1052/1642 by one Sayyid Murād during Prince Shudjāʿ's governorship of Bengal. Prince Shudjāʿ, although himself a Sunnī, was eager to preserve and patronize Shīʿa institutions. The tradition is that Sayyid Murād, having seen al-Ḥusayn in a vision erecting a *taʿziya-khāna* (house of mourning), was inspired to raise the building, which he named

Ḥusaynī Dālān. The original building may have been a small structure, expanded to its present form in later times. It was repaired in 1807 and in 1810 by the East India Company, and a portion of the building was reconstructed after the earthquake of 1897.

The building stands on a high platform ascended by a flight of steps on the east side, and consists of two main halls placed back to back. The *s̲h̲irnī* hall, facing south, is coloured black to indicate sorrow and mourning for the death of al-Ḥusayn, and the *k̲h̲uṭba* hall, facing north, has a *minbar* with seven wooden steps. In the latter hall are hung several religious symbols. To these two halls have been added subsidiary halls in two storeys on the right and left, probably meant for women. The southern façade of the building is flanked by two three-storey polygonal hollow towers, crowned by domes. The parapet of the building consists of coloured merlons, and over its four corners are four kiosks. The building, as a whole, gives a modern appearance with remnants of older architecture here and there.

From the first to the tenth day of Muḥarram, the Ḥusaynī Dālān becomes the chief attraction of the city. Mourners, including Sunnī Muslims, assemble there, listen to sermons and join in passion plays [see TAʿZIYA]. On the ʿĀs̲h̲ūrāʾ [*q.v.*], a great procession parades through the main streets of the city to a place in the western part of the city called Karbalāʾ.

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(A. B. M. HUSAIN)

ḤUSAYNĪ SĀDĀT AMĪR, popular name of ḤUSAYN B. ʿĀLIM B. ABI 'L-ḤASAN AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, an eminent mystic writer and a distinguished disciple of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ of Multān [*q.v.*]. Born at Guziv, a village in G̲h̲ur, he subsequently migrated to Harāt. He came to Multān with his father and joined the Suhrawardī order. According to a tradition quoted in *Laṭāʾif-i As̲h̲rafī*, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bahāʾ al-Dīn married one of his daughters to him. D̲j̲amālī says that he visited Delhi with his spiritual master during the reign of Iletmis̲h̲ (606-633/1210-35). Owing to disturbed conditions in his homeland, he seems to have spent a considerable time in Multān during the reigns of Balban (664-86/1266-87) and D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Fīrūz S̲h̲āh K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī (689-95/1290-96) (some of his verses in praise of the latter are given in *Rāhnumā-ye Kitāb*, see *Bibl.*). He died in Harāt after 729/1328 (the date given by D̲j̲āmī, 16 S̲h̲awwāl 718/November 1318, is obviously wrong, as he completed his work *Zād al-musāfirīn* in 729/1328) and was buried near the tomb of ʿAbd Allāh b. D̲j̲aʿfar Ṭayyār.

Ḥusaynī was a notable mystic thinker; he, ʿIrāḳī and Awḥadī form that famous Suhrawardī trio which played a very prominent part in popularizing mystic ideas through their works—*Lamaʿāt*, *Tard̲j̲īʿ* and *Zād al-musāfirīn*. Dawlat S̲h̲āh calls him a second D̲j̲unayd in scholarship and eminence; a modern literary critic places him next to Saʿdī and Rūmī in the history of Persian literature (*Rāhnumā-ye Kitāb*). He possessed a unique gift of communicating mystic ideas through the medium of stories and fables. His works embody mystic reactions to the social and moral anarchy that came in the wake of the Mongol invasions. Of his works, the *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* (Mud̲j̲tabāʾī Press, Delhi; commentaries by ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Ibrāhīm Bilgrāmī, MS Bodleian 1257; and by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Buddh, MS personal collection), the *Ṭarab al-mad̲j̲ālis* (MS I. O. Ethé no. 1829), the *Zād al-musāfirīn* (Newal Kishore 1884, where the name of the author is wrongly given as Mullā Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ al-Kās̲h̲ifī), and the *Kanz al-rumūz* (MSS Brit. Museum, Rieu, *CPM*, ii, 845 b; I.O. nos. 1830-31) are well known. A poetical collection *Haft gand̲j̲* has recently come to light (*Rāhnumā-ye Kitāb*). Copies of other works, like the *dīwān*, *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm*, *ʿAnḳāʾ mug̲h̲rib*, *Rūḥ al-arwāḥ* and *Sirrnāma*, probably perished as the result of the Mongol cataclysm. For some stray prose and versified compositions reference may be made to *As̲h̲ʿār-i mutafarriḳa*, MSS I.O. Ethé no. 1747, fol. 68 a; Bodleian 1212, fol. 107a; *Ḳalandar nāma*, MS Brit. Museum Add. 7611, fol. 549b; Brit. Museum, Rieu, ii, 834a; *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ins̲h̲āʾ*, ed. Muḥ. Amīn-i Banī Isrāʾīl, MS I.O. Ethé no. 2122.

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(K. A. NIZAMI)

ḤUSAYNIDS, a dynasty which reigned in Tunisia from 1705 until 25 July 1957, when the Tunisian republic was proclaimed. The founder of the dynasty was al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] who came to power in 1705, after the defeat and capture by the Algerians of the Bey Ibrāhīm al-S̲h̲arīf. Proclaimed Bey and later recognized as *Beylerbeyi* (governor) of the province of Tunisia by the Ottoman Sultan Aḥmed III, Ḥusayn persuaded his Council of military leaders to adopt a system of hereditary succession within his family by primogeniture on the male side. The greater part of his reign passed without problems, but the end was troubled by the successful revolt of his nephew, ʿAlī, who, with the help of the Algerians, dethroned him and was created Bey in his place (1735-56).

For nearly twenty years, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a ruled without incident but in 1752 he was faced with the revolt of his son Yūnus, and, more serious, in 1756 with that of his cousin Muḥammad, son of Ḥusayn, who conquered Tunis with the help of Algerian troops. These sacked the town which was poorly defended by native soldiers whom ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a had recruited in the place of the Turkish Janissaries.

Muḥammad (1756-9) was succeeded by his brother, ʿAlī Bey (1759-82), who returned to the earlier policy of recruiting his forces in the Levant. While recognized by the Ottoman Sultan only as Governor of the province of Tunisia, the Bey, in fact, enjoyed an autonomy close to complete independence; for the Turkish government did not interfere at all in Tunisian internal affairs, at any rate until 1835, and the Bey was able himself to sign treaties with European powers. Differences of opinion between Tunisia and France first arose under ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a in 1741-2 concerning the Africa Company and, much more seriously, in 1769-70, under ʿAlī Bey, in connexion with the annexation of Corsica by France and the monopoly of coral-fishing. Thanks to the intervention of the Bey's son-in-law and Chief Minister, Muṣṭafā K̲h̲od̲j̲a, the dispute was settled, and from that time on a French Consul-General was established in Tunis.

The next Bey, Ḥamūda Pas̲h̲a (1783-1814), found himself in violent conflict with the Venetians (1784-92), who bombarded Sousse and Goletta, and with the Algerians, who twice, in 1807 and 1813, invaded Tunisian territory. In Tunis itself, Ḥamūda Pas̲h̲a had to deal with a revolt of the Janissaries. With the help of Yūsuf, *ṣāḥib al-ṭābaʿ* (guardian of the state seals) and in effect Chief Minister, he was able to put down the rising and finally dissolved the Corps of Janissaries (1811). Ḥamūda Pas̲h̲a was responsible for the construction of the Dār al-Bey near the *ḳaṣba*, as well as of the palace of Mannūba.

After the brief reign of ʿUt̲h̲mān Bey (September-November 1814), his brother Maḥmūd (November 1814-March 1824) returned to the practice of recruiting Janissaries in the Orient in order to repel the Algerian attacks; finally, however, he made peace with the *od̲j̲āḳ* of Algiers in 1821. Most important of all, he had to suppress the privateer raids upon the demands of the European powers after the Congresses of Vienna and of Aix-la-Chapelle (1819); this meant an important loss to the Tunisian economy. Ḥusayn Bey (1824-35) supported the Ottoman Empire in the various phases of the "Eastern Question", the result of which was the destruction of the Tunisian fleet at Navarino [*q.v.*]. He thought also of intervening in Tripolitania following the incidents which occurred there between 1832 and 1835, but when the Turkish government once again made Tripolitania a province directly administered by Ottoman officials, he gave up these pretensions. Under Muṣṭafā Bey (1835-37) and Aḥmad Bey (1837-55), tension grew between Tunis and Istanbul. The Sultan, supported by Great Britain, tried to bring Tunisia back to more strict obedience, while Aḥmad Bey, upheld by France, endeavoured to protect its autonomy. Finally, the Bey succeeded in his refusal to pay the tribute claimed by the Porte, received the titles of *wālī* and *mus̲h̲īr*, but was obliged to continue the practice of receiving firmans of appointment to office and confirmation in it. Furthermore, Aḥmad Bey showed his allegiance to the Sultan by sending a Tunisian expeditionary force to Turkey during the Crimean War. He was also the first to introduce certain reforms into Tunisia and to launch great public works. All this involved enormous expense, and caused the Bey to contract debts, which mainly profited European businessmen and the Minister of Finance, Muṣṭafā K̲h̲aznadār, and involved levying new taxes. In addition, Aḥmad Bey abolished slavery and did away with the statute which had kept Tunisian Jews in an inferior position.

Muḥammad Bey (1855-59) and his brother Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ (1859-82) were determined reformers, but often badly advised. The first instituted the *mad̲j̲bā*, a poll tax, and issued the "Pacte Fondamental" (Fundamental Law) on 10 September 1857, on the model of the Ottoman *K̲h̲aṭṭ-i hümāyūn* of February 1856 [see TANẒĪMĀT]. This pact gave all Tunisians equality, liberty of conscience, and freedom in commercial matters. It also allowed foreigners to acquire property in Tunisia and to take part in every kind of economic activity. The administration was re-organized on the European model and in 1861, Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ promulgated a constitution [see DUSTŪR, i] which made the country a hereditary monarchy ruled by the Bey with the assistance of a Legislative Council of sixty; in addition, regular law-courts were established. The disastrous state of the country's finances, combined with the malpractices of Muṣṭafā K̲h̲aznadār, led the Bey in 1863 to seek a loan from the banker Erlanger, at an excessive rate of interest. Lacking the means of repaying this, Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ decided to double the *mad̲j̲bā*; this action provoked in 1864 a revolt of the central tribes and then of the cities of the Sahel under the leadership of ʿAlī b. G̲h̲adāham. The rebellion was suppressed, but Tunisia was ruined. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ contracted a new loan in 1865 on terms as heavy as the first. Near to bankruptcy, he was obliged in 1869 to consent to the creation of an international financial commission (Tunisia, France, England and Italy) which brought to light at last the nefarious behaviour of Muṣṭafā K̲h̲aznadār.

The attempts of the new Chief Minister, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn, to strengthen again the ties between Tunisia and the Ottoman Empire were cancelled out by the opposition of France and Italy. French pressure grew stronger and stronger and after the Treaty of Berlin (1878) the intervention of France became inevitable, despite some tardy efforts on the part of Italy. Using as their pretext the incursions of the K̲h̲roumir tribes into Algeria, the French government on 4 April 1881 decided to send a punitive expedition into Tunisia, despite Turkish protests and Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ's attempts at conciliation. On 12 May 1881, French troops arrived at the Bardo and Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ was obliged to sign the treaty of Ḳaṣr-Saʿīd, by which he gave up his external sovereignty to France and was forced to accept the presence of a resident French minister. Two years later, the Convention of La Marsa (8 June 1883), imposed on ʿAlī Bey (1882-1902), established the Protectorate in full. Following successive encroachments on the part of the French administration, the Beys Muḥammad al-Hādī (1902-6), Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (Naceur Bey, 1906-22) and Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb (1922-9) were reduced to more or less honorary positions, although Muḥammad al-Nāṣir had supported the activity of the Destour party in order to give Tunisians a greater part in the political life of the country. After 1934, it was the Néo-Destour party under Ḥabīb Bourguiba (Abū Ruḳayba) which gave new strength to the strong political feelings of the country, while Aḥmad Bey (1919-42) followed the directives of the Residents-General.

However, during the Second World War, Munṣif (Moncef) Bey (19 June 1942-13 May 1943) retrieved some of the prestige of the Beys' throne by putting himself at the head of the nationalist movement, at that time deprived of its other leaders. During his short reign, he showed himself an energetic sovereign, who rallied the bulk of the population around him and caused his dynasty to be regarded as a kind of guarantee and repository of national sovereignty.

Munṣif Bey was forced to abdicate shortly after the reconquest of Tunis by the allied armies and was replaced by his cousin, al-Amīn (Lamine) Bey (13 May 1943-25 July 1957). He did not possess his cousin's strength and energy of character, and after the war political initiative returned to Ḥabīb Bourguiba and the other leaders of the Néo-Destour. From 1952 to 1954, Lamine Bey tried rather timidly to resist French demands, and his passive resistance, combined with the militant behaviour of the Néo-Destour, brought the French government to agree first to internal autonomy (3 June 1955) and then to full independence (20 March 1956).

A short time after this, the family of the Beys ceased to enjoy any special privileges and, by a decree of 3 August 1956, the exercise of power was taken away from the Bey and given to the First Minister. On 25 July 1957, the Constituent Assembly proclaimed the fall of the Ḥusaynid dynasty and the establishment of a republican régime. For a short time placed under house arrest near Tunis, Lamine Bey was later given complete freedom. He died in 1964.

The Ḥusaynid dynasty, although of foreign origin, was able at times to give—though never to a very marked degree—the impression of being the national dynasty of Tunisia. Turkish in origin, it preserved the traditions of the Ḥanafī school of law, marriage to Ottoman princesses, and recognition (until 1881) of the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan.

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(R. MANTRAN)

ḤŪSH, country of the *djinns*, beyond the sands of Yabrīn, into which no human ventures, and also a fabulous kind of camels, which are the issue of a cross between ordinary camels and *djinn* stallions or descended from the camels of the Wabār [*q.v.*], whose country they alone occupy. At times the males leave these desert wastes to attack herds and mate with female domestic camels; it is thus, it is thought, that famous species such as the *mahriyya* [see IBIL] or the *ʿasdjadiyya* are born.

Ḥūsh appears to be a doublet of *waḥsh* [*q.v.*] "wild", and *ḥūshī/waḥshī* is a technical term in rhetoric [see MAʿĀNĪ WA-BAYĀN].

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index; idem, *Tarbīʿ*, s.v.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 291; Damīrī, s.v.; Maydānī, i, 365; *LA*, s.v.; Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache*, Bonn 1861, 169; *WRKM*, vii, 239. (ED.)

HŪSHANG, mythical king of Iran who appears in several of the *Yasht* of the Avesta; the first lawful king and the protégé of the gods, he reigned over the seven climes of the world, over the demons and the sorcerers; according to these texts, he resided in the countries situated to the south of the Caspian Sea. His place in the series of the mythical kings (Pīshdādiyān) is vague: sometimes he is the contemporary of Ṭahmūrath [*q.v.*], sometimes his successor; sometimes Gayumard comes before both of them. The Pahlavi texts add little to the Avestan texts. The Arabic texts, which supply much detail, also disagree over the place of Hūshang in the series of the Pīshdādiyān, but recognize him as the first civilizer: al-Ṭabarī-Balʿami, then al-Thaʿālibi, attribute to him the initiative in the building of houses, the working of mines and the use of iron, in the foundation of Babylon, Susa and Rayy, and in the organization of agriculture. According to an anecdote related by al-Bīrūnī (and, later, by Firdawsī), he was the inventor of fire. These various aspects of his activity, mentioned also by the later Arab writers, probably have for their source the *Khwatāy-nāmak*, as re-cast by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, whereas Firdawsī bases himself on the early Iranian edition of this work [see FIRDAWSĪ, col. 918b]. Thus the recension followed by the Arabic authors attributes to him a reign of forty years, whereas Firdawsī has only thirty. Firdawsī makes him the grandson of Gayumard (the first man) and the avenger of his own father Siyāmak; to the enterprises of Hūshang mentioned above, he adds the creation of canals to water the land; he is the only one to relate the details and circumstances of the discovery of fire, as a result of the clash of two stones, one of which was thrown by Hūshang at a dragon "and he gave orders that prayers should be said facing a fire, saying: It is the spark given by God (Īzad); worship it if you are wise"; completely contrary to this account, Abu 'l-Maʿālī, the author of a *Bayān al-adyān* in Persian (485/1092), declares (perhaps under the influence of Islam) that Hūshang was a promoter of idolatry, because he went into a

state of contemplation before a statue of his deceased daughter. Al-Ṭabarī and other early writers in Arabic wished to introduce Gayumard and Hūs͟hang into the genealogy of the personages of Biblical antiquity, the former being Adam and the latter Mahalaleel (Genesis, v, 12-7) or his son, or else Heber the descendant of Noah. Some writers stressed the proofs of wisdom given by Hūs͟hang, to whom they attributed a collection of moral sayings (*D̲j̲āvidān k̲h̲irad*, "The eternal wisdom").

Bibliography: A. Christensen, *Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, 1st part, in *Archives d'études orientales Lundell*, Stockholm 1917, has made a detailed study of Hūs͟hang with citations of Avestan, Pahlavi, Arabic and Persian texts; Abu 'l-Maʿālī, *Bayān al-adyān* (ed. Ch. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, i, 146; ed. Abbas Eghbal, Tehrān 1312/1934, 19; tr. H. Massé, in *RHR*, 1926, 38); on the *D̲j̲āvidān k̲h̲irad*, see MISKAWAYH, and H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, i, 246. (H. MASSÉ)

HŪS͟HANG S͟HĀH G͟HŪRĪ, ruler of Mālwā [*q.v.*] from 808/1405 to 835/1432. He is first mentioned as Alp K͟hān, the eldest son of Dilāwar K͟hān [*q.v.*], by Firis͟hta, who represents him as ambitious for Mālwā's independence from Dihlī and resentful of his father's homage to Maḥmūd K͟hald̲j̲ī of Dihlī when the latter was a fugitive in Dhār from the Tīmūrid invasion in 801/1398; indeed, during Maḥmūd's presence at Dhār he withdrew from the court to Māndū [*q.v.*] where he put in order the fortifications of the old Paramāra stronghold, and after Maḥmūd's return to Dihlī in 804/1401 he encouraged his father to assert his independence. When Dilāwar K͟hān died suddenly in 808/1405 Alp K͟hān succeeded to the throne as (al-sulṭān al-aʿẓam) Ḥusām al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Mud̲j̲āhid Hūs͟hang S͟hāh (cf. H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Oxford 1907, ii, 246-7); suspecting that Dilāwar K͟hān's sudden death was the result of poison administered by orders of his son, Muẓaffar I of Gud̲j̲arāt marched on Mālwā the following year to avenge his death, captured Hūs͟hang, and took him off prisoner to Gud̲j̲arāt. Hūs͟hang was later restored to his kingdom, but found a cousin, Mūsā K͟hān, had usurped his power in Māndū; but he regained that stronghold by collecting the revenues of the kingdom before Mūsā had the chance to do so, and thus deprived Mūsā of the means of paying an army.

After his restoration (at the hands of Aḥmad K͟hān, the grandson of Muẓaffar I of Gud̲j̲arāt; later Aḥmad S͟hāh I) he was soon engaged in repeated hostilities with Gud̲j̲arāt from 813/1410 to 819/1416. In 820/1417 Hūs͟hang supported Naṣīr K͟hān of K͟hāndēs͟h [*q.v.*] against his younger brother Ḥasan in that divided kingdom (he had previously married their sister); Ḥasan was championed by Aḥmad I of Gud̲j̲arāt, whose dominions were invaded by Naṣīr at Hūs͟hang's instigation. Hūs͟hang gave Naṣīr only lukewarm support, and the latter was obliged to swear fealty to Aḥmad; on discovering Hūs͟hang's complicity Aḥmad retaliated by invading Mālwā in 822/1419 and 823/1420, effecting little but the plunder of some outlying districts, but at the same time convincing Hūs͟hang of Gud̲j̲arāt's superiority in arms.

It was thus most probably to reinforce the strength of the army that Hūs͟hang set out on his most adventurous expedition, in 824/1421, against the *rād̲j̲ā* of D̲j̲ād̲j̲nagar in Uṙīsā [*q.v.*] in order to obtain elephants. The story of Hūs͟hang's strategy, in the disguise of a horse-coper, is told in full by Firis͟hta (Eng. tr. Briggs, iv, 178-9). During Hūs͟hang's absence Aḥmad S͟hāh again invaded Mālwā, but on this occasion the superiority was with the Mālwā army, and Mālwā thereafter experienced no trouble from Gud̲j̲arāt. (A Hindū source, the *Śivavilāsam* of Kommana, claims a victory over the 'sultan of Dhārā' by the Reḍḍi general Allāḍa, an ally of the *rād̲j̲ā* of Uṙīsā; this probably refers to the skirmish in which Hūs͟hang relieved the *rād̲j̲ā* of his elephants. See N. Venkataramanayya, *The Gajapati Bhānudeva IV*, in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, xiii (1950), 161).

It seems to have been on his return from Uṙīsā that Hūs͟hang overcame the Gōnd *rād̲j̲ā* of Khērlā [*q.v.*], a small principality to the north of Barār, and exacted tribute; this seems to have been Hūs͟hang's first serious attempt to extend his possessions. In 825/1422 he turned his attention to the north, capturing first Gāgrawn (24° 38′ N., 76° 12′ E., in south-east Rād̲j̲āsthān) and then besieging Gwāliyār [*q.v.*] until it was relieved by Mubārak S͟hāh the Sayyid king of Dihlī. In 831/1428 Hūs͟hang's new tributary the *rād̲j̲ā* of Khērlā was attacked by Aḥmad S͟hāh Bahmanī; Hūs͟hang marched to his relief, and pursued the retreating Bahmanī army for three days until the latter turned to give battle. Hūs͟hang at first succeeded, but an ambush put the Mālwā army to flight.

In 834/1431 Hūs͟hang attacked the town of Kalpī [*q.v.*] on the river D̲j̲amnā, a nominal possession of the Sayyid kings of Dihlī, simultaneously with Ibrāhīm S͟harḳī of D̲j̲awnpur who later withdrew. Hūs͟hang accepted the surrender of Kalpī from Ḳādir K͟hān, the governor, whom he appointed as his own governor. The details of his career after this are not clear, but it is known that he spent some time superintending the destruction of the Bhōd̲j̲asāgara dam at Bhōd̲j̲pur near Bhōpāl (the lake is said to have taken three years to empty, and its waters added an enormous area of fertile land to Mālwā), and it is assumed that at about this time he founded the city of Hōs͟hangābād in Barār. He died on 9 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 835/7 August 1432, and was first entombed in Hōs͟hangābād (note by Briggs to his translation of Firis͟hta, iv, 190).

Hūs͟hang's reputation rests on the military achievements of his twenty-seven years' reign, which saw the Mālwā territories extended northwards to Kalpī and southwards to Khērlā, involving conflict with Dihlī, D̲j̲awnpur and the Bahmanī kingdom as well as the old rival Gud̲j̲arāt. He had a fine taste for architecture, which made Māndū a magnificent city (for his works there, especially the D̲j̲āmiʿ masd̲j̲id, the Dihlī darwāza, and his own tomb, see MĀNḌŪ) as well as an impregnable stronghold. He was well served by his ministers (especially his cousin Malik Mug̲h̲īt̲h̲ and Mug̲h̲īt̲h̲'s son Maḥmūd K͟hān, the later Maḥmūd I K͟hald̲j̲ī [*qq.v.*]), seems to have been an impartial ruler (for the dedication of D̲j̲ayn images in his reign see Campbell, *op. cit.* below, 163), and was popular with his subjects, his tomb acquiring sanctity after his death with a yearly *ʿurs* in his honour, still held in 1844 when the 'Bombay subaltern' was writing.

He was succeeded by his eldest son G͟haznī K͟hān as Muḥammad S͟hāh, who exterminated his collaterals and alienated his nobles and was promptly poisoned; for a few days his son Masʿūd K͟hān was raised to the throne, but Maḥmūd K͟hān, having first offered the crown to his father Malik Mug̲h̲īt̲h̲, ascended the throne himself, and the G͟hūrī line came to an end

(for the *nisba* Ghūrī, see under DILĀWAR KHĀN).

Bibliography: in addition to the references above: Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, *passim*; Eng. tr. J. Briggs, *History of the rise of the Mahommedan power* ..., London 1829; Niẓām al-Dīn Bakhshī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, ed. and trans. Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1913-41; J. M. Campbell, *Mândú*, in *JBBRAS*, xix (1896), 154-201; E. Barnes, *Dhar and Mandu*, in *JBBRAS*, xxi (1904), 339-91; *A description of the ruined city of Mandu ... by a Bombay Subaltern*, Bombay 1854; G. Yazdani, *Mandū*: *the city of joy*, Oxford 1929, 8-13. See also bibliographies to MĀLWĀ and MĀNḌŪ.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḤUSN AL-KHĀTIMA [see INTIHĀʾ].

ḤUSN AL-MAḲṬAʿ [see INTIHĀʾ].

ḤUSN AL-MAṬLAʿ [see IBTIDĀʾ].

HÜSNÜMANSUR [see ADIYAMAN].

HUSREV [see KHUSREV].

AL-ḤUṢRĪ, the name of two men of letters of the same family, who take their *nisba* from al-Ḥuṣr, a village near Ḳayrawān: I.—ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ B. TAMĪM AL-ḲAYRAWĀNĪ, died near Ḳayrawān at al-Manṣūriyya in 413/1022. Little is known of his life, which appears to have been passed peacefully at Ḳayrawān, then a flourishing centre of Arabic culture. A famous poet and man of letters, he became a central figure for the young people of Ḳayrawān—especially Ibn Rashīḳ and Ibn Sharaf [*qq.v.*]—who profited from his vast erudition in matters of literary tradition and from his ideas concerning the concept of *adab*. Although we possess a number of his verses which, incidentally, mainly reveal his technique but which are not without a fine sensibility, his fame rests chiefly on his prose works, entitled *Zahr al-ādāb*, *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, *Nūr al-ṭarf wa-nawr al-ẓarf*, and *Kitāb al-Maṣūn fī sirr al-hawā al-maknūn*.

1. *Zahr al-ādāb wa-thamar al-albāb* was printed first on the margin of the *ʿIḳd* and then edited by Zakī Mubārak; ʿAlī Muḥ. al Badjāwī finally published a more complete and reliable edition in Cairo in 1372/1953. This work is an anthology, in which al-Ḥuṣrī, faithful to the fundamental principle of *adab*, which involves instructing but never boring the reader, used only varied and relatively short texts, so that they could be better learned and used as models. The book passes from serious to pleasant matters, and from poetry to prose, although prose forms the main subject-matter. The author strives, however, to achieve a certain homogeneity, especially in his constant endeavour to draw almost exclusively on representative extracts of the rich and "flowery" style in the works of the "moderns". The book was put together in 405/1014-5 at the request of a secretary to the Chancellery, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Sulaymān, to whom also the two following works seem to have been dedicated, and who had brought back from the East a vast collection of contemporary literary data. The author recognized that his function was limited to making a choice from this, but this nevertheless indicates the qualities of the man who made it and reveals a -Ḥuṣrī's individual conception of the literary form, *adab*, and his own didactic methods. He ignores everything that is too well-known and, like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, confines himself to eastern material, which he wanted first to reveal and then to make familiar to his young disciples. This too-much neglected work was known in Spain and formed part of the curriculum of literary studies (see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, i, 380; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 28 and index; Ibn Barrī, among others, made an abridged version of it).

2. *Djamʿ al-djawāhir fi 'l-mulaḥ wa 'l-nawādir*, first published in Cairo under the title *Dhayl Zahr al-ādāb*, then in 1372/1953 by ʿAlī Muḥ. al-Badjāwī under its real name, is comparable to the *Zahr al-ādāb* in the method followed, but differs from it by the choice of material, which is more limited and homogeneous, although it comes from the same collection brought from the east by al-Ḥuṣrī's patron. It is, in fact, essentially a collection of anecdotes, of "bons mots", jokes and tales about fools, from which, however, anything indecent is omitted, the author's aim being to teach the art of conversation which is amusing and refreshing, without ever causing offence or becoming boring.

3. *Nūr al-ṭarf wa-nawr al-ẓarf* (Escurial², 392, Gotha 2129; *Kitāb al-Nawrayn* according to Yāḳūt), is conceived in the same spirit and drawn from the same sources as *Zahr al-ādāb*, which it could replace for a reader with too little time or knowledge to use it. Far from merely repeating themselves, these works form a real trilogy which shows admirably al-Ḥuṣrī's conception of the literary form *adab*. Although this is on the whole identical with that of traditional *adab*, for him it is more strictly defined in its characteristics, and above all in its practical and didactic aim. *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, in fact, fills a lacuna in *Zahr al-ādāb*, in which the pleasant, light, indeed sometimes licentious side of this literary form was thought to be incompatible with the seriousness of the "great" work (*al-kitāb al-kabīr*). Furthermore, the student, the apprentice *adīb*, the future writer, needs to be prepared gradually for a fruitful use of this perfect work; *Nūr al-ṭarf*, written like *Djamʿ al-djawāhir* after *Zahr al-ādāb*, answers mainly practical and didactic needs.

4. *Kitāb al-Maṣūn fī sirr al-hawā al-maknūn* (Leiden Or. 2593/463), which might, to a certain extent, be linked with *adab* because of the literary detail in which it abounds, reveals an aspect of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī's literary activities hitherto unknown. The work deals with the sentiment of love in general and principally with its manifestations in a thousand different aspects in spite of a desire, conscious or not, to conceal it. It is a monograph of encyclopaedic character, which endeavours to be "technical" or even scientific on matters concerning love. In contrast to al-Ḥuṣrī's other works, where information and subject-matter are for the greater part second-hand, the development of the theme here, apart from quotations in prose and verse, is the author's own work. The authorities cited are not all Arabs—names of Greek thinkers, scholars and philosophers recur frequently—and the whole conception of the work in dialogue form suggests Hellenistic inspiration. Al-Ḥuṣrī also contemplated a work on the "classes" of poets, probably of Ḳayrawān, but he seems to have abandoned the project after the virulent protests of Ibn Rashīḳ, who, as the youngest, did not want to be "classed" last.

By his direct teaching, by the didactic aspects of his work, the originality of his concept and his method in dealing with *adab*, above all by his vast knowledge, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī while still young—he was to die in the prime of life—asserted himself as a master whose influence transcended the limits of Ifrīḳiya and, in a short time, had a profound effect on the astonishing progress in the art of letters in the Muslim West in the 5th/11th century. His example as a writer and his anthologies, which are not unlike those of al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*], contributed to the

spread of a taste for a compressed and artistic prose style. He introduced into Ifrīḳiya the literary form of the *maḳāma*, which was soon to be developed so successfully by at least one of his pupils, Ibn S͟haraf. His project, too quickly abandoned through a weakness of character manifested in other ways, of a work on the "classes" of poets, probably inspired the *Unmūdhadj* of another of his pupils, Ibn Ras͟hīḳ. Finally, it seems very likely that the *Kitāb al-Maṣūn* had a direct influence, whether profound or not, on the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* of Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova. But traditional *adab*, based on respect for its ancient Arabian core, was to triumph in that same 5th/11th century and al-Ḥuṣrī little by little fell into obscurity, the victim of his own revolutionary impulsiveness (cf. al-ʿUmarī who quotes Ibn Bassām. See *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, ii, 94-7, 169; Ibn K͟hallikān, Cairo 1948, i, 37-8 (where the passage saying that al-Ḥuṣrī was dead in 453 is certainly an interpolation; cf. ed. de Slane, Paris-London 1848, i, 35 n. 4); Tudjībī, *al-Muk͟htār min s͟hiʿr Bas͟hs͟hār*, Cairo (?) 1934, 89, 129, 147, 157, 179; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, xvii, ms. Paris 2327, fols. 87-8; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, v, ms. Tunis (Zaytūna) 4844, 68-9; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 374; Ḍabbī, *Bug͟hya*, 209; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *al-Ḥulal al-Sundusiyya*, Tunis 1287, i, 98-9; Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in the review *al-Badr*, Tunis 1340, ii, 310-6; idem, *al-Muntak͟hab al-madrasī*², Cairo 1944, 60-2; Nayfar, *ʿUnwān al-arīb*, Tunis 1351, i, 43-4; Brockelmann, I, 267 (where no. 5 and probably also no. 4 are by ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī and not by Ibrāhīm), S I, 472 (where no. 6 concerns ʿAlī and not Ibrāhīm); H. R. Idris, *Zirides*, Paris 1959, ii, 780-1 and index; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Yāg͟hī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān wa-mawḳif Ibn Ras͟hīḳ minhā*, Beirut 1962, 151-3; Muḥammad al-Marzūḳī and Djīlānī b. Ḥādjdj Yaḥyā, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḳayrawānī*, Tunis 1963, 21-2; Ch. Bouyahia, in *Annales de l'Université de Tunis*, i (1964), 9-18.

II.—ABU L'-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ʿABD AL-G͟HANĪ AL-FIHRĪ, celebrated blind "reader" and poet, born at Ḳayrawān about 420/1029. Probably the nephew, rather than the cousin of al-Ḥuṣrī, he left his native city in 449/1057-8, at the time of the invasion of the Banū Hilāl and, after a stay in Ceuta, went to Spain about 462/1069-70 in response to a long-standing invitation from al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād, ruler of Seville, and lived there until approximately 468/1075-6. Courted by the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if*, who outbid one another in generosity towards him, and fleeing the envy and numerous enemies aroused by the favour of princes towards him, his poetic talent, the extent of his knowledge, his arrogance, his little-disguised contempt for Spain and some of its petty kings, its people and its scholars, not to mention aggressive and bitter satires, he moved from one place to another in the peninsula. He stayed mainly in Malaga, Dénia, Valencia, Alméria and Murcia, before finally settling in 483/1090-1 in Tangiers, where he died in 488/1095.

He was well-versed in the Ḳu'rānic sciences, which he taught all his life and in which he acquired the reputation of a great master (*al-ustādh al-aʿlā* according to Ibn Diḥya in particular). He was a letter-writer, a talented poet of astonishing virtuosity, combining all this with a vast knowledge of Arabic and complete mastery of versification. ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī is thus considered one of the greatest representatives of the startling literary progress which took place under the Zīrids, whose brilliance he, along with other Ifrīḳiyan exiles, helped to spread into Spain, where he was regarded as a literary leader (*zaʿīm djamāʿa*, according to Ibn Bassām).

His works, apart from his epistles (most of which have been lost), consist of the following:

1. A didactic poem of more than 200 lines on the Ḳur'ān "readings" of Nāfiʿ (in ms. at Tunis, according to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī, 67, n. 4. See *Bibl.*).

2. *al-Mustaḥsan min al-as͟hʿār*, a collection of his panegyrics of al-Muʿtamid, which he offered in a supreme and touching homage to his former patron when this deposed king passed through Tangiers in 484/1091-2 on his way to exile. (This might perhaps be the *Kitāb al-Ḳaṣā'id* which Ibn Ḳunfudh attributes to him).

3. *al-Muʿas͟hs͟harāt* (this is No. 5 in Brockelmann attributed wrongly, as is also No. 4, to Ibrâhîm; published in *Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī*, 212-40); it consists of "ten line stanzas" in which each letter of the alphabet is used for the rhyme and for the beginning of the ten lines which make up each of these 29 short poems, *lām-alif* counting as one of the letters. ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī is said to have invented this form. The poet here laments an unhappy love in the pure tradition of the perfect *udhrī* lover; a great sense of desolation emanates from these poems, caused by the infidelity of a beautiful woman. The unity of tone and subject-matter and the evident sincerity of the sentiments, seem to point to the abandonment of the ageing poet by his young and beautiful wife, whom he loved passionately. If this is so, because of their personal lyricism and despite the dazzling technical virtuosity of their art, these "ten-line stanzas" form one of the most beautiful love-poems in all Arab poetry.

4. *Iḳtirāḥ al-ḳarīḥ wa-'djtirāḥ al-djarīḥ* (published in *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī*, 256-490) was written upon the death of his favourite son, which probably occurred in 475/1082-3 after a grave illness, and the flight of his mother, the unfaithful wife. It was put together five years later. This work includes, apart from three introductions: (a) one part in ornate prose (confused by the authors of *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī* with the third introduction): there is a homily, sermon and expression of hope in God after his heavy trials; (b) another part in verse comprising poems ingeniously arranged by the rhyme according to the letters of the alphabet; there are about 2,600 lines and they are the only ones of his enormous production which al-Ḥuṣrī decided to collect for preservation. These poems are a most valuable documentary source for the biography of the author. By their extent, their moving expression of the father's profound sorrow, these poems, where the poetic skill of al-Ḥuṣrī, without stifling his sensibility, reaches its highest point, are likewise the most successful examples of the poetic form of threnody and, together with *al-Muʿas͟hs͟harāt*, assure ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī's place as one of the greatest of Arabic elegiac poets.

5. Among the fragments and poems preserved in books of *adab* (collected partly in *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī*) appears the most famous of all, *Yā layl al-ṣabb*, which has continued to inspire imitators up to the present day. Finally, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (*Dār al-ṭirāz*, 39) includes him as one of the writers of *muwas͟hs͟haḥāt*; but these, like the greater part of his satires and panegyrics, have not come down to us.

The extraordinary virtuosity ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī showed in the construction of his poems, the structure of his lines, his use of the inexhaustible resources of the Arabic language in ornate style and complicated rhymes, have caused him to be compared with al-Maʿarrī. Like him, al-Maʿarrī was a blind poet

whose *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* he imitated extensively in matters of rhyme and in his defiant attacks, in the form of charades in verse, on the scholars of his time.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, iv/1, 192-216; ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, Cairo 1949, 144-6; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xiv, 39; Ibn Khallikān Cairo 1948, iii, 19-21; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 13, 20, 74, 79, 81, 84, 94; Ibn Saʿīd, *ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt*, ed. and trans. Mahdad, Algiers 1949, 5; Ibn Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, i, 550-1; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 385-6; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwa*, 296; al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, xii, MS. Paris 3331, fols. 16b-17b; ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, xvii, MS. Paris 2327, fol. 129b-130a, 180; Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, 73, 213; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, s.v.; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 562-3, ii, 642; Ibn Nādji, *Maʿālim*, iii, 250; Ibn Ḳunfudh, 39; Nayfar, *ʿUnwān*, 55-6; Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in the review *al-Badr*, Tunis 1340, ii, 166-75; idem, *al-Muntakhab al-madrasī*, 84-6; H. Pérès, *Poésie Andalouse*, index; H. R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, ii, 797; M. al-Marzūḳī and Dj. b. Ḥādjdj Yaḥyā, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḳayrawānī*, Tunis 1963 (a biographical study followed by the known works of ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī); Ch. Bouyahia, in *Annales de l'Université de Tunis*, 1964/1, 125-41. (Ch. Bouyahia)

AL-ḤŪT [see nudjūm; yūnus; zīdj].

AL-ḤUṬAYʾA, nickname of the Arab poet Djarwal b. Aws, who traced back his genealogy sometimes to the ʿAbs, sometimes to the Dhuhl, but who, in reality, was probably the natural son of a woman named al-Ḍarrāʾ; his nickname probably derives from his ugliness and appears to signify "deformed". He belonged to the *mukhaḍramūn* [*q.v.*], and Ibn Sallām places him in the second class of the poets of the *djāhiliyya*; since he is regarded as the *rāwī* of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā [*q.v.*], he must have been born about forty years before the *hidjra*, and his earliest poetic activities probably date from a time well before Islam, but the major part of his surviving work belongs to the Islamic period. His conversion to Islam appears to have been merely superficial, since he apostasized at the time of the *ridda* [*q.v.*] which took place during Abū Bakr's caliphate; his reconversion scarcely seems to have been sincere, if we are to place any credence in traditions regarding his "testament", which depict him as refusing to follow the Islamic rules in respect of the apportionment of inheritance between boys and girls.

The character of al-Ḥuṭayʾa is presented in a very unfavourable light; his avidity (see Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 50), avarice (he ranks as one of the four Arab misers [see bukhl]) and venality constitute the principal elements motivating his literary career; his malice was so dreaded that men gave him gifts to safeguard themselves from it. Passing from tribe to tribe, and changing his genealogy according to whether he was satisfied or displeased with the treatment accorded him, he appears as an itinerant mendicant poet, lavishing dithyrambic poems on any liberal patron but threatening the less generous with his vituperation.

During the *ridda* he violently attacked Abū Bakr, and later, under the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he poured invective upon the governor of Medina, al-Zibriḳān b. Badr, though not without also attacking the caliph, who threw him into prison and released him only on the intervention of Ḳuraysh notables; at the same time he heaped panegyrics upon an eminent member of the Banū Anf al-Nāḳa, Baghīḍ b. ʿĀmir. It is not known with certainty in what year he died, but his connexion with Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, governor of Medina after 41/661, confirms the tradition that he survived into the reign of Muʿāwiya.

Arab critics place great emphasis upon the talent of al-Ḥuṭayʾa and his skill in the successful handling of invective, panegyric, personal glorification and *nasīb*; the author of the *Aghānī* held him in high esteem, Ibn Sharaf regarded him as an immortal poet, and later poets looked on him as a distinguished precursor (see *ZDMG*, xlvi, 41; al-Kumayt, ed. Horovitz, no. 4, v. 11; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr, ed. Palmer, 217) and he has been held up as a model for imitation in modern times, since critics recognize that his poetry, which he wrote with great ease, is flawless.

Ḥammād, the grandson of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, wrote his biography under the title *Akhbār al-Ḥuṭayʾa*, but this work is lost, while the works of philologists of the 2nd and 3rd/8th-9th centuries who set out to collect his *Dīwān* have survived in part. The recension of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī and Ibn al-Aʿrābī, which dealt very leniently with the apocryphal parts of the *Dīwān* which had suffered from interpolations at an early date, notably by Ḥammād al-Rāwiya, has survived in its entirety, while the recension of Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, who took a stricter attitude towards suspect passages, has survived only in fragments.

The *Dīwān* of al-Ḥuṭayʾa was published in Istanbul in 1890, and subsequently by I. Goldziher (in *ZDMG*, xlvi-xlvii and reprint, Leipzig 1893) with an introduction and explanatory notes; Aḥmad al-Shinḳīṭī produced a new edition in Cairo in 1905 with al-Sukkarī's commentary and glosses; the edition of ʿĪsā Sābā, Beirut 1951, although providing notes, is rather more commercial, while that of N. A. Ṭāhā, published in Cairo in 1958, with the commentaries of Ibn al-Sikkīt, al-Sukkarī and al-Sidjistānī and notes partly based on the apparatus criticus of Goldziher, is of an informed scientific character.

There were at least two persons in the 6th/12th century who bore the name al-Ḥuṭayʾa (see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, iv, 234, 279).

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, *Bayān* and *Bukhalāʾ*, index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, index; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 93 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; *Aghānī*, ii, 41-59, xvi, 38-40 (Beirut ed., ii, 130-69, xvii, 154-8); Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 408-12 (Cairo ed., ii, 355); Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr* and *Djamʿ*, index; Ibn Sharaf, *Masāʾil al-intiḳād*, 21; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 706; Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī, *Djamhara*, 153; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 338; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 1991; Ibn Shadjarī, *Mukhtārāt*, Cairo 1306, 109-56; Abkāryūs, 84-92; Brockelmann, S I, 71; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Fī 'l-adab al-djāhilī*, 325-31; Nallino, *Letteratura*, 47 (French trans., 75-6); Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 119-26; A. Trabulsi, *Critique poétique*, index; R. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 327-9, and bibl. cited there. (I. Goldziher-[Ch. Pellat])

HUTAYM is properly the name of a pariah tribe with its main centre in northwestern Arabia, but Hutaym is also used imprecisely at times as a designation for any of the pariah tribes in the eastern Arab lands. The definite article prefixed to the name Hutaym in some Arabic and Western sources is incorrect; the initial radical is *h*, not *ḥ* as in *EI*[1], iv, 512; the usual pronunciation in Arabia is *ihtēm*; and the plural is Hitmān rather than the forms given in *EI*[1], ii, 348.

None of the many versions explaining the origin and lineage of Hutaym seems particularly plausible. About the only statement that can be made with

certainty is that the noble Arab tribes unanimously hold that members of Hutaym are not *aṣīl, i.e.*, they are outside the accepted Arab system of pure descent from Ḳaḥṭān or ʿAdnān [see *EI*², i, 544-6]. This, however, does not rule out the possibility that Hutaym may have originally been of Arab stock, as is suggested by the story that their lowly status goes back to a crime of incest committed by their ancestor Hutaym, presumably an Arab, with his mother [see *EI*¹, iv, 512 for a similar story on the origin of the pariah tribe of Ṣulayb].

Members of Hutaym acknowledge close kinship with the pariah tribe of the S̲h̲arārāt [*q.v.*]. These two tribes are generally considered to occupy a somewhat higher position in Arabian society than Ṣulayb [*q.v.*]. This distinction may derive from the fact that Hutaym and the S̲h̲arārāt raise excellent breeds of camels, whereas Ṣulayb with rare exceptions are primarily ass nomads. There is a tradition that Hutaym and the S̲h̲arārāt are descended from Banū Hilāl [see HILĀL].

The main body of the tribe of Hutaym proper lives in the vicinity of K̲h̲aybar north of Medina. The eastern part of the large lava field stretching from K̲h̲aybar towards Ḥāʾil is called Ḥarrat Hutaym (wrongly given by Doughty and *EI*¹, ii, 348 as Ḥarrat al-Et̲h̲nān). Doughty, who travelled with *rafīḳs* of Hutaym through this area in 1877-8, provides our most intimate account of the tribe. Beyond this centre elements of Hutaym spread southwards into Tihāma in the region of Mecca and D̲j̲udda, while others are found as far north as the sandy desert of the Great Nafūd. Some are settled in oases such as al-Mustad̲j̲idda south of Ḥāʾil.

Further research is needed to determine the exact relationship of two pariah tribes in eastern Arabia, the ʿAwāzim [*q.v.*] and the Ras̲h̲āyida, to the main body of Hutaym. In the time of Doughty there were ʿAwāzim in the west, "an old Heteym kindred", but they were nearly extinct (*Ar. Des.*, ii, 194-5). He was told of members of Banū Ras̲h̲īd of Hutaym established near Kuwait (*ibid.*, ii, 305).

Further research is also needed to fix the identity of people called Hutaym outside Arabia. In Sinai the D̲j̲ibāliyya, retainers of the monastery of St Catherine, are reckoned among their number; some of these retainers are said to be of Bosnian or Wallachian extraction. The name Hutaym occurs along the shores and on the islands of the Red Sea, in Lower and Upper Egypt, and in the eastern Sudan, where Hutaymīs have been engaged in the camel trade between Kasala and Egypt and Hutaymīs are reported to be intermingled with the Bed̲j̲a [*q.v.*].

Doughty found Hutaym in their homeland "commonly more robust than the hunger-bitten Beduw, and their women are often beautiful" (*Ar. Des.*, ii, 241). On the other hand, "They are not of so cheerful a temper, and they lack the frank alacrity of mind and the magnanimous dignity of Beduins" (*Ar. Des.*, ii, 86). Although a British source states that the men of Hutaym "are reputed to be timid and of no value as fighters", this source appears to contradict itself by telling of the "open resistance" of Hutaym to Ibn Ras̲h̲īd with raids up to the gates of Ḥāʾil (Admiralty, *Handbook*, i, 91 & 379). In hunting, Hutaym and the S̲h̲arārāt are regarded as more skilled than the Bedouins of noble descent but not quite up to the mark of Ṣulayb.

Members of Hutaym raise large flocks of sheep and goats as well as camels, and those near the Red Sea are expert fishermen. They sell livestock, cheese, butter, milk, honey, and fish in the towns of al-Ḥid̲j̲āz. Arabs of noble race, such as the neighbouring folk of ʿAnaza, Ḥarb, and S̲h̲ammar, do not intermarry with Hutaym. Although Hutaym in turn are not supposed to intermarry with negroes, Doughty found violations of this rule in certain villages of Nad̲j̲d.

The head of the section of Āl Barrāk, who in 1963 was Nāhī Ibn Barrāk, is the paramount chief of the tribe. Among the other sections are Āl Ḳalādān, Āl S̲h̲umaylān, the Maẓābira, the Nawāmisa, and the Fuhayḳāt.

Bibliography: ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *ʿAs̲h̲āʾir al-ʿIrāḳ*, Bag̲h̲dad 1937-56; Naʿʿūm S̲h̲uḳayr, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Sīnā*, Cairo 1916; Sulaymān al-Dak̲h̲īl, in *Lug̲h̲at al-ʿArab*, 1911; C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1936; Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; M. v. Oppenheim, E. Bräunlich, and W. Caskel, *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig and Wiesbaden 1939-52; A. Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, New York 1928; A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Paris 1909-22; H. Philby, *The land of Midian*, London 1957; G. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*, London 1935.

(G. RENTZ)

HUWA HUWA, literally "he is he", or "it is it", means:

A. in logic: what is represented as entirely identical, *e.g.*, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh" and "the Prophet". (Peano and the modern logicians express this equation by the sign $\equiv$);

B. in mysticism: the state of the saint whose perfect personal unity testifies to divine unity in the world.

Bibliography: G̲h̲azālī, *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa*, Cairo, 116; Ḥallād̲j̲, *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, 129, 175, 189; Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *Mā baʿd al-Ṭabīʿa*, Cairo, 12. See also HUWIYYA. (L. MASSIGNON)

AL-ḤUWAYDIRA [see AL-ḤĀDIRA].

AL-ḤUWAYṬĀT, tribe with its main centre in northwestern Saudi Arabia and southern Jordan. The tribal range extends from the vicinity of al-Karak in the north to the vicinity of Taymāʾ [*q.v.*] in the south, and from the Red Sea in the west to Wādī al-Sirḥān and al-D̲j̲awf [*qq.v.*] in the east. The eastern part of this range is properly the homeland of Banū ʿAṭiyya, with whom the Ḥuwayṭāt as good allies share watering and grazing rights. This whole area corresponds in a general way to that occupied by the tribes of ʿUd̲h̲ra and D̲j̲ud̲h̲ām [*qq.v.*] in the late D̲j̲āhiliyya and the early days of Islam [see the map in *EI*², i, 891].

According to a story current in the tribe, mankind originally consisted of three professions: tentmakers, farmers, and raiders, with the raiders being the Ḥuwayṭāt. The suggestion that the Ḥuwayṭāt are descendants of the Nabataeans [*q.v.*] seems to stem largely from the fact that the tribal range is roughly identical with ancient Nabataea. Equally improbable is the suggestion that the Ḥuwayṭāt are *s̲h̲arīfs* of the lineage of the Prophet. The genealogical table given by Oppenheim for the tribe shows the eponymous ancestor as Ḥuwayṭ b. Barakāt, Barakāt [*q.v.*] being a name common among the *s̲h̲arīfs* of al-Ḥid̲j̲āz. More weight may be given to the tradition that Ḥuwayṭ was an Egyptian who came to al-ʿAḳaba as a pilgrim and became associated with Banū ʿAṭiyya. Some members of the Ḥuwayṭāt name Ḥām rather than Barakāt as the father of their ancestor. It is not, however, likely that an Egyptian strain is dominant in the Ḥuwayṭāt of Arabia and Jordan. Despite the various suggestions of a non-Arab origin, the Ḥuwayṭāt are not classified as pariahs

like the Sharārāt [*q.v.*], some of whom roam in their range, or Hutaym [*q.v.*] in the area southeast of Banū ʿAṭiyya.

Since the 12th/18th century the Ḥuwayṭāt have been split up into several branches, which at times have come into conflict with each other. In the late Ottoman period the branch known as Ḥuwayṭāt Ibn Djāzī camped along the Syrian pilgrim route in the region of Maʿān in summer and farther east, in the region of Djabal al-Ṭubayḳ and Wādī al-Sirḥān, in winter. The Ottoman authorities paid these Bedouins to maintain security along their stretch of the pilgrim route, and the inhabitants of Kāf in Wādī al-Sirḥān, of al-Djawf, and of Taymāʾ paid them *khāwa* [*q.v.*] to refrain from raiding their oases.

The ʿAlāwīn, semi-nomads north and east of al-ʿAḳaba, used to protect Egyptian pilgrim caravans part of the way when they came overland. This branch of the tribe is also known as Ḥuwayṭāt Ibn Nidjād (wrongly given by Shuḳayr, Jaussen, Musil, etc. as Ibn Djād) after the name of its paramount chief. South and east of al-ʿAḳaba is the branch of Āl ʿImrān, along the coast where the port of Ḥaḳl lies. Its chief, Ibn Maḳbūl, owns palms in al-ʿAḳaba, as does Ibn Nidjād.

The southernmost branch is Ḥuwayṭāt al-Tahama (not al-Tihāma as in *EI*[1], ii, 349). Its members hold the coast of northern Madyan and the highlands of Ḥismā facing the sea; its *shaykh*, Abū Ṭuḳayḳa, has his headquarters in the Red Sea port of Ḍabā. In this area the Ḥuwayṭāt have almost entirely supplanted Banū ʿUḳba, descendants of Djudhām. Bordering the area to the south is the range of the tribe of Balī, traditional enemies of the Ḥuwayṭāt, but even here the aggressive Ḥuwayṭāt are sending immigrants in. Other old foes are Shammar to the east and Banū Ṣakhr to the north [*qq.v.*].

The Saʿīdiyyūn of the depression of al-ʿAraba south of the Dead Sea, now a virtually independent tribe, reveal their origin in their war-cry: *Ṣubyān al-Ḥuwayṭāt* (see Oppenheim, ii, 299 for the connection with the line of Ḥuwayṭ).

Even though the Ḥuwayṭāt may think of themselves as the world's first raiders, there are indications that the conversion of the bulk of the tribe to nomadism took place fairly recently. Doughty found some of the tribesmen subsisting as nomad herders, but others as "husbandmen of palms and sowers of grain". In his eyes the Ḥuwayṭāt resembled Syrian villagers much more than "the lithe-limbed and subtle-brained and supple-tongued Arabians of land-inward Nejd". After feasting with Ibn Nidjād and his men, Doughty thought that he "had not ever seen such a strange thick-faced cob-nosed cobblers' brotherhood" (*Ar. Des.*, i, 275, 276, 85).

When the Ḥuwayṭāt adopted nomadic ways, they did so with a vengeance. Two decades before the outbreak of the First World War, the chieftainship of Ibn Djāzī was challenged by the clan of the Tawāyiha. ʿAwda b. Ḥarb Abū Tāyih, who became head of the clan in 1325/1907, won fame as the most formidable Bedouin raider of modern times. T. E. Lawrence described him in 1917 as "tall and straight, loosely built, spare and powerful ... His lined and haggard face is pure Bedouin: broad low forehead, high sharp hooked nose ... The Howeitat pride themselves on being altogether Bedu, and Auda is the essence of the Abu Tayi. His hospitality is sweeping ..., his generosity has reduced him to poverty, and devoured the profits of a hundred successful raids. He has married twenty-eight times, has been wounded thirteen times, and in his battles has seen all his tribesmen hurt, and most of his relations killed. He has only reported his 'kill' since 1900, and they now stand at seventy-five Arabs; Turks are not counted by Auda when they are dead. Under his handling the Toweihah have become the finest fighting force in Western Arabia. He raids as often as he can each year ... and has seen Aleppo, Basra, Taif, Wejh, and Wadi Dawasir in his armed expeditions" (*Secret dispatches*, 112-3; cf. *Seven pillars*, 222-3).

Among the Ḥuwayṭāt, all the sections siding with one another in battle form an *ʿilm*, at the head of which is an *ʿalīm*. ʿAwda was the *ʿalīm* of one *ʿilm*, and Ibn Djāzī the *ʿalīm* of another.

In 1335/1917, before the capture of al-ʿAḳaba, ʿAwda joined the *sharīf* Fayṣal of Mecca in the Arab Revolt against the Turks and distinguished himself as a dashing commander in the field from then until the fall of Damascus in 1337/1918.

ʿAwda died in 1342/1924, not long after he had shown a leaning towards the cause of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd of Nadjd. When the Ikhwān of Nadjd thrust close to ʿAmmān less than a month after ʿAwda's death, Ḥuwayṭāt of Jordan joined in opposing them, and a nephew of ʿAwda's fell in the fight. The Jordanian Ḥuwaytāt continued to be embroiled with the forces of Āl Suʿūd for some years thereafter. In 1351/1932 Abū Ṭuḳayḳa of the southern Ḥuwayṭāt joined Ibn Rifāda of Balī in an unsuccessful rebellion against King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

In Sinai the range of the Ḥuwayṭāt is a wedge of inland territory southeast of Suez in the vicinity of Djabal al-Rāḥa. Of all the Arabs in these parts, the Ḥuwayṭāt are regarded as the most recent immigrants and they are said to be swarthier than the rest, perhaps because of a negro admixture (Murray, 243). The Ḥuwayṭāt of Sinai have especially close ties with the Ṭuḳayḳāt of Ḥuwayṭāt al-Tahama. In the dichotomy of Sinai tribes (Saʿd and Ḥarām) the Ḥuwayṭāt belong to the faction of Ḥarām, in which they are allies of the Ṭuwara, the Uḥaywāt, and the Tarābīn. The Tayāhā and others belong to the faction of Saʿd.

Elements of the Ḥuwayṭāt are scattered about in different places in Egypt. Some are nomads in the rugged country south of the road from Cairo to al-Ismāʿīliyya, while others have become fellahs near Ṭanṭā. The Ḥuwayṭāt of al-Ḳalyūbiyya were formerly suppliers of camels to the Egyptian pilgrim caravans, and the guides for these caravans hailed from this group. In Upper Egypt there are Ḥuwayṭāt in al-Fayyūm. If members of the tribe have penetrated into the Sudan, they would appear to have lost their identity there.

The Ḥuwayṭāt are not among the great camel-raising tribes, but in the past they have been active as camel merchants. One of their busy routes crossed the mouth of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba from the port of al-Shaykh Ḥumayd on the Arabian side to al-Nabak on the Sinai side, whence the journey to Suez took ten days or so.

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(G. Rentz)

ḤUWAYZA [see ḤAWĪZA].

HUWIYYA is one of the abstract words that were coined in order to express in Arabic the nuances of Greek philosophy. It has been translated in a number of ways, in mediaeval Latin as well as in modern European languages. "Ipseity" would seem to be the term with which it most precisely corresponds. In modern Arabic it is retained with the meaning "identity".

Huwiyya is formed from the pronoun *huwa* and the normal abstract termination *-iyya*, according to the explanation given by Ibn Rushd. He attributes this formation to a desire to avoid the ambiguity of the word *mawdjūd*, translating τὸ ὄν, as the Arabic participle has the original meaning of "found" (cf. Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, 242, note 2, referring to *Abrégé de Métaphysique*, beginning). The term was established early by the translators, for it already occurs frequently in the translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and is found also in the so-called *Theology* attributed to the same author. One, at least, of the translations of the *Metaphysics* was made by Usṭāth for al-Kindī (Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 187). A curious passage in a *Risāla* of al-Kindī (ed. Abū Rida, i, 161-2) exhibits the word assimilated into the language in the form of a triliteral root *H W Y*, which possesses a fifth form verb, with a *maṣdar*, sometimes given a plural, and a passive. The discussion concerns the One; among sensible things, a being is both one and many. "... If there were no unity there would be no multiplicity. Thus every multiple (being) is made what it is (or: is made itself) by unity: *tahawwī kull kathīr huwa bi-'l-waḥda*. If there were no unity the multiple would have no *huwiyya* (ipseity)". "The flux of unity that comes from the first and true One is the *tahawwī* of every sensible being", its establishment as an individual being, as it were. It is thus the One that is "the creator of all the *mutahawwiyāt* (all the beings that are constituted as individual beings, that are characterized). There is thus no *huwiyya* (ipseity), except because of the unity that is in it". Cf. also p. 123, line 5, and the explanation given at 129, note 4: "... a *huwiyya*, that is to say a thing subsisting by itself", and so a substance (referring to *huwa huwa*).

In the *Liber de Causis*, ed. Bardenhewer, 89, *huwiyya* is used in the singular and the plural with the meaning of "being", *ens* and *entia* (reference given by S. Afnan, *Philosophical terminology in Arabic and Persian*, Leiden 1964, 123, but four out of seven of the references indicated in notes are incorrect). The word is applied to "the first *huwiyya*, which established the things that have no limit", then to the intellectual and the sensible *huwiyyāt*; in other terms, to the first Being, to the beings that are pure intelligences and finally to the beings that possess sensibility.

The so-called *Theology* of Aristotle, the texts of which are now identified with long fragments of the *Enneads* (cf. *Plotini opera*, ii, ed. P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer, *Plotiniana arabica*, with English translation by G. Lewis, Paris-Brussels 1959), also uses *huwiyya*, generally translated by "identity", and more rarely by "own self" (383) and "being" (393). "Identity" translates ταυτότης, *huwiyya*, which is opposed to *ghayriyya*, "otherness", ἑτερότης (Lewis, 271, rendering *Theology*, ed. Dieterici, 109, lines 7-8, ed. Badawi, 112, line 11). At the beginning of chapter X of the *Theology*, however, the account of the first *huwiyya*, the *huwiyya* of intelligence, is not suited to the translation of αὐτός by "identity" (Lewis, 291, Dieterici, 136, Badawi, 134), for the accent is on the action produced by a substance. This is more precisely stated subsequently (Lewis, 293, Dieterici, 137, lines 13-16, Badawi, 135, lines 13-15), and it is difficult to allow the transposition: "The true One originates the *identity* of the mind because of the intensity of its repose. When that *identity* looks at the true One ...", etc. The discussion obviously concerns a substantial form, which is engendered by the true One and contemplates it. "Ipseity" therefore seems preferable.

In the translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* which accompanies the Commentary of Ibn Rushd, *huwiyya* is commonly used to render τὸ εἶναι and τὸ ὄν, "being"; in the plural, "beings" (cf. ed. Bouyges, *Index C a, principaux sujets traités*, pp. (38) and (97-8), and *Index D a, termes de sciences philosophiques*, p. (270), with references to the text and the commentary). These usages totally disregard the idea of identity, being concerned either with being, the supreme abstraction: *al-huwiyya wa 'l-wāḥid*, being and the one, translating τὸ ὄν καὶ τὸ ἕν (1001 a 4), or with beings, τὰ ὄντα, *al-huwiyyāt*, engendered from the elements (1001 a 16). In *Metaphysics* 1017 a 22, εἶναι, *huwiyyāt* is said to assume as many meanings as Aristotle has Categories (ed. Bouyges, 555, 2). The translator thus adopts it in order to render all the meanings of the word "being", whether applied to substance or to accidents. "Ipseity indicates what a thing and its truth are, *al-huwiyya tadull ʿalā inniyyat al-shayʾ wa-ḥaḳīḳatihā*" (1017 a 31, where the much-discussed term *anniyya* or *inniyya* is used to translate τὸ ἔστιν)

Ibn Rushd states that the word is applied to the Categories like the word *mawdjūd* (559, 15). It is, then, not an *ism mushtarak*, an *aequivocum* noun, giving several meanings according to what is generally understood by it, but a kind of *ishtirāk al-ism*, indicating here a relationship founded on reality, since the categories exist only through substance (805, 5-11; Ibn Rushd's expressions are very close to those of *Metaphysics* Γ 2, 1003 a 33-5). He points out another analogous use: "The noun *huwiyya* that denotes the essence of a thing is something different from the noun *huwiyya* that denotes what is true (actual, existing). It is the same with the word "being", *mawdjūd*" (561, 5). In other words the word has a conceptual, logical meaning, and an actual meaning, as explained by the commentator (739 d and 740 g) on *Metaphysics* 1027 b 18, trans. 736, 12, where he demonstrates the difference between the *huwiyyatayni*.

Ibn Rushd later uses *huwiyya* in an abstract meaning, different from that given by the translator. *Lafẓat al-huwiyya* denotes the use of the pronoun *huwa* as a copula. This is in connexion with *huwa* in the phrase "Socrates is not-white" (1017 a 34), translated as: ... *laysa huwa abyaḍ*. Ibn Rushd here distinguishes between *lafẓat al-huwiyya* indicating "the copula that is in the spirit, and (the word) indicating the essence that is external to the spirit", and so actual (561, last line—562, line 1). But contrary to the interpretation of S. Afnan (*op. cit.*,

122), the word *huwiyya* is not used as a copula, this role being reserved for the pronouns *huwa*, *hiya*, etc. Study of the passages indicated in Bouyges's Index is fundamental for determining the meaning of the word.

The terms that express identity are translated in the *Metaphysics* by *huwa huwa* or even *al-huwa huwa*, but not *huwiyya*. Sometimes the word is omitted: thus ταυτότης (995 b 21) does not appear, and only ἐναντιότης is rendered by *al-mutaḍādda*, contrariety (172, 14); the commentary does not rectify this omission, but later (178, 5-6) writes *al-huwa huwa wa-'l-ghayr*, "the same and (the) other". The fragment corresponding with another use of the same word (1018 a 7) is missing in the translation. The expressions ὁ αὐτός and τὸ αὐτό are always translated by *huwa huwa* or *hiya hiya*, for example in chapter I 3 (1054 a and b; trans. 1286-92), and the commentary follows this. *Shay' wāḥid*, the same thing (346, 2-3), is also found, but never *huwiyya*.

The Arabic-speaking philosophers thus found this word already well established. They used it without explaining it as Ibn Rushd was to do subsequently. Al-Fārābī begins his *Fuṣūṣ* with a distinction between conceptual essence and essence actualized in an existing individual: "We have accepted that every existing thing has a quiddity (essence) and an ipseity, *māhiyya wa-huwiyya*, but its quiddity is not its ipseity or even an integral part of it. If man's quiddity were his ipseity, the concept of man's quiddity would be the concept of his ipseity, and by conceiving what man is, *mā 'l-insān*, you would conceive: *huwa 'l-insān*, he is the man (in the sense of: there is a man), and you would recognize his existence". For al-Fārābī, then, *huwiyya* expresses man as nature actualized and existing. A. Nader gives "ipseity" as the translation of *huwiyya*, p. 158 of the glossary accompanying his edition of the *Kitāb arā' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, another work of al-Fārābī (Beirut 1959). The same translation is given by Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne* (Paris 1951, 167). But, quoting the *Liber de Causis* where the word is applied to the first Cause, he writes "l'Existant pur", "the pure Existing Being" (*ibid.*, 63-4).

From the examination of a certain number of uses of *huwiyya* in the texts of Ibn Sīnā, of which eleven are noted in A.-M. Goichon's *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, no. 735, the most precise equivalent of the term would seem to be "subject-substance, first substance, as opposed to *māhiyya*, quiddity, which denotes second substance, predicative substance. Its abstract form expresses 'being a first substance'". Again, *huwiyya* denotes "a concrete being considered universally" (introduction to the French translation of the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā, 48; cf. also 305 and 307, n.). The meaning "ipseity" is confirmed by al-Ghazālī in a line of argument designed to prove that the soul subsists by itself (*Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, Index C no. 826, and p. 321, 5).

he glossary accompanying the critical edition of the *Metaphysics* of the *Shifā'* (Cairo 1960, 477) gives three renderings of the word according to the mediaeval translation: *Id quod est, essentia, identitas*. This last seems somewhat ill-chosen in the following chapter heading: "Consequences of unity consonant with *huwiyya* (*identitas*) and its divisions . . ." (303). In the extant fragment of the Latin translation of the *Logic* it is also translated as *identitas* (Index ed. Cairo 1952, p. 157, on *Madkhal*, 13, 5 and 7). However, *al-huwiyya* is here joined with *al-waḥda*, and is thus connected with the usages considered above, where being and the one are inseparable; *identitas*, then, is unjustified. *Huwiyya* does not appear in the indices to the other volumes. According to that of the *Sophistics* (*Shifā'*, *Manṭiḳ*, vii, 132), the idea of identity is rendered by *huwa huwa*, with or without the article.

The ancient meaning of *huwiyya* refers to the peculiar characteristics of that being which is *huwa*, exclusively itself, rather than to a recognition, a comparison or an identification of such a being. The modern meaning does not involve an incorrect usage. *Huwiyya* is habitually used to translate into Arabic the expressions "identity card", *biṭāḳat al-huwiyya*, and "identity papers", *awrāḳ al-huwiyya* [see TADHKIRA]. *'Urifa huwiyyatuhu*, "to be identified", is also used. The modern meaning correctly refers to the idea of subject-substance, in order to denote precisely the person who exists specified by the card.

Bibliography: apart from the references in the text: Djuzdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*; this definition was cited verbatim by Dozy, ii, 767, who however was unable to identify it and refers only to the *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*. (A. M. Goichon)

HUWWĀRA [see HAWWĀRA].

ḤUWWĀRĪN or Ḥawwārīn, place in Syria between Damascus and Palmyra, half way between Ṣadad and al-Ḳaryatayn. On the site of an antique town, Ḥuwwārīn is known mainly for the fact that the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I had his residence, died and was buried there, as is attested by the poets of the period. A building still existing there, and still known today as Ḳaṣr Yazīd, may be considered as the partial remains of the residence of the caliph, who is known to have planned to irrigate the fertile area round Ḥuwwārīn by means of a canal which was never completed. Some vestiges of this canal, which according to the sources was intended to permit the development of the high plain of Saḥṣaḥān, have been identified within the boundaries of the region of Ḥims.

Bibliography: R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 280; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 456; Yāḳūt, ii, 355; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne de Mo'āwiya Ier*, Beirut 1908, 381-2, 400, 408, 417, 420; idem, *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, Beirut 1921, 471-2; J. Sauvaget, *Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades*, i, in *JA*, 1939, 54-9; idem, *Notes de topographie omeyyade*, in *Syria*, xxiv (1946), 105-10; Ṭabarī, ii, 203, 427, 488; Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṣalḥānī, 232-7; *Aghānī*, xvi, 88. (D. Sourdel)

HYDERABAD [see ḤAYDARĀBĀD].

HYDRAULICS [see MĀ'].

HYMN [see ILĀHĪ].

HYPERBOLE [see MUBĀLAGHA].

HYPOCRISY, HYPOCRITES [see MUNĀFIḲ, RIYĀ'].

HYPOSTASIS [see IMĀMA, TANĀSUKH].

I

ʿIBĀD [see NAṢĀRĀ].

IBADAN, town in the Western Region of Nigeria, originated during the 1820's on the site of an Egba village as a war encampment set up by groups of wandering Yoruba soldiers from the old Oyo Empire, Ile Ife and Ijebu. Those were times of great upheavals in Yorubaland. The Oyo Empire had been rapidly disintegrating as a result of serious internal cleavages and mounting external pressure. The Fulani had been pushing southward, using Ilorin as a base, and eventually in 1837 they forced the evacuation of old Oyo, whose inhabitants fled southward. Some of the refugees built up the new city of Oyo, about 100 miles to the south, while others settled in Ibadan. In southern Yorubaland a fierce strife went on among the Yoruba states over the capture of slaves and the control of trade routes to the coast.

Ibadan grew rapidly, as more and more refugees from both the north and the south of Yorubaland sought the protection of its hills and the military might of its soldiers. By the middle of the 19th century its population was estimated at between 60,000 and 100,000. In the 1911 census the population reached 175,000 and in that of 1952 459,196. To-day Ibadan is the largest city in tropical Africa. Except for a relatively small number of migrants from other ethnic groups (only about 5% in 1952) all of its population are Yoruba [*q.v.*], hailing from different sections of Yorubaland. Ibadan has often been described as a "city-village" because a large proportion of its population live from farming in the surrounding countryside.

In the course of the 19th century Ibadan developed an elaborate political constitution which was geared to war and defence and which differed markedly from that of the typical traditional Yoruba kingdom. By its military prowess and strong defences Ibadan succeeded in halting the Fulani onslaught and in repulsing all pressure on it from the southern Yoruba states and eventually became a great power in its own right with many vassal states around it.

That period of continual warfare came to an end when the British extended their control northwards from the coast and finally, in 1893, imposed a treaty, on Ibadan. Peace and British power undermined the authority of the city's chiefs. But with the development of Indirect Rule, the British placed Ibadan under the legal and spiritual authority of the Alafin of Oyo who, in collaboration with the British Resident, controlled the appointment of the chiefs. However, this subservience of Ibadan to a small and weak Oyo could not last for long, and in 1936 Ibadan became finally independent of Oyo and the Bale assumed the new title of 'Olubadan'. In 1952 Ibadan became the capital of the Western Region of the Federation of Nigeria.

Islam penetrated into Ibadan from the north early in its history through the activities of Muslim traders and itinerant *malams*. During the 19th century its military chiefs appointed Muslim *imāms* so that these would use their magic, prayers, charms, and blessing to secure victory in war. But the massive conversion to Islam in the city began only when the British came; it has since been progressing rapidly and peacefully, often at the expense of better organized and more adequately financed Christian churches and missions.

Apart from a relatively small number of people who are affiliated to the Aḥmadiyya sect, all the Muslims of the city are Sunnis who follow the Mālikī school. Some of these Muslims have adopted the Ḳādiriyya order but many more have joined the Tid̲j̲āniyya order [*qq.v.*]. There are in the city several formally organized Islamic associations, most of which are mainly concerned with the development of Islamic schools and the establishment and maintenance of mosques. There are also some Islamic missionary organizations. A council of *ʿulamāʾ* supervises and administers the affairs of the city's Central Mosque and selects the Chief Imām and his two assistants, though the formal appointment of the Chief Imām is officially made by the Olubadan in a special ceremony.

The Friday mid-day prayer at the Central Mosque is regularly attended by many thousands of men. Between 1942 and 1952 a series of bitter disputes arose between the city's Imāmate and the migrant Hausa community, when the latter decided to secede from the predominantly Yoruba Central Mosque and to hold the Friday prayer in a special mosque within their Quarter, which is locally known as 'Sabo'. Despite sustained opposition by the Olubadan and by the British officials, the Hausa have continued to hold a separate Friday prayer. A few other Muslim groupings have since done the same. To-day the only occasion on which all the Muslims of the city gather together is the massive, colourful, but brief ceremony held in the open just outside the city on the morning of the first day of each of the two Muslim feasts. This division of the Friday ritual congregagion, which is unknown in the Islamic cities of northern Nigeria, is symbolic of the fact that Islam in Ibadan is not formally associated with political authority.

Bibliography: Most of the publications which deal with the history of the Yoruba contain sections on the history of Ibadan. See S. Johnson, *The history of the Yorubas*, London 1921. A small book by the present Olubadan, I. B. Akinyele, *The outlines of Ibadan history*, Lagos 1946, is useful. *Ibadan*, edited by S. O. Biobaku, I.O. Dina and P. C. Lloyd, Ibadan 1949, contains some informative papers that were delivered at the Third International West African Conference (Ibadan). G. Parrinder, *Religion in an African city*, Oxford 1953, discusses various aspects of religion in Ibadan and gives some detailed information on the development and organization of Islam in the city. Akin Mabogunje, *The growth of residential districts in Ibadan*, in *The Geographical Review*, lii/1 (1962), 56-77, provides very useful information about the morphology of the city. Two Ph.D. theses deal directly and systematically with the history of Ibadan: B. Awe, *The rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba power in the nineteenth century*, Oxford University 1964; and G. Jenkins, *Politics in Ibadan*, Northwestern University 1964, the latter

beginning where the former leaves off. Both are now being prepared for publication. A collection of scholarly papers by a number of specialists dealing with many fields of life in the city, including one dealing specifically with Islam, is now published: P. C. Lloyd, A. Mabogunje, and B. Awe (eds.), *The city of Ibadan*, Cambridge 1967.

(A. Cohen)

ʿIBĀDĀT (pl. of *ʿibāda*), submissive obedience to a master, and therefore religious practice, corresponds, together with its synonym *ṭāʿa*, in the works of *fiḳh*, approximately to the ritual of Muslim law (we do not say "cult", see below), as opposed to the *muʿāmalāt* which include more or less all the rest (but which, in the strict sense, correspond to synallagmatic contracts only). The distinctions are elusive, as so often in these matters. *Ṣalāt* is quite certainly an *ʿibāda*, but some affirm that marriage is also one (which is the more remarkable in that the Muslim marriage does not imply any religious ceremony), and here it must be understood that it is a matter of a "pious practice". Moreover, distinctions between the different sections of *muʿāmalāt* are also discussed by the authors (see W. Heffening, *Zum Aufbau des islamischen Rechtes*, in *Festschrift P. Kahle*, Leiden 1935). In treatises of *fiḳh*, subjects are not set out in any uniform order, except that the *ʿibādāt* always appear at the beginning, while in treatises of *ʿamal* (judicial practice) this subject is obviously absent.

If we translate *ʿibādāt* as "cult" we are committing something of a theoretical error (Tor Andrae), for it has quite correctly been said that, strictly speaking, Islam knows no more of a cult, properly speaking, than (Snouck Hurgronje) it does of law; nor, we should add, of ethics. *Fiḳh* is, in fact, a deontology (the statement of the whole corpus of duties, of acts whether obligatory, forbidden or recommended, etc.) which is imposed upon man. Therefore, what we call "cult" is a part of the duties prescribed by Allāh and formulated in minute detail by learned writers in the works of *fiḳh*, whereas in other religions the object of the cult there is to bring the believer closer to the divine and into contact with it; it is not concerned solely, or even principally, with carrying out the divine will. This is purely theoretical; speaking sociologically and from the psychological point of view, the matter appears to be far less clear-cut: from both these points of view Islam is certainly familiar with a cult or forms of worship: to be convinced of this one need only interrogate, for example, the pilgrims who have performed the *ṣalāt* around the Kaʿba, an observance which, incidentally, in that place, is curiously enough not an obligation of the *ḥadjdj* (this demonstrates once again the difference between theory and reality; here, on two grounds).

In the books of *fiḳh*, the *ʿibādāt* precede the *muʿāmalāt*; questions of ritual purity (*ṭahāra*), a necessary condition for the valid performance of prayer, appear at the beginning. The remainder almost always come afterwards in the following order: prayer, *zakāt*, fasting, pilgrimage. The first "pillar" of Islam, the *shahāda*, which has to be pronounced at the time of prayer, is so simple a matter that the books of *fiḳh* make no mention of it.

In connexion with the *ʿibādāt* other subjects are dealt with, about which we must say a few words. Circumcision is, in theory, no more than recommended, although the sociological reality is quite different, and the scholars barely refer to it when considering the *ʿibādāt*. Here too may be mentioned the proper way of fulfilling natural needs, the veiling of nudity, and the attentions that have to be given to dress and body for the Friday prayer, etc. Everything relating to funerals is examined in relation to prayer (since prayer for the dead is considered in a special section). The spiritual retreat, or *iʿtikāf*, is studied in connexion with fasting. It is also possible to link with *ʿibādāt*, as scarcely belonging to the *muʿāmalāt*: the provisions relating to food and drink, whether licit or illicit, those dealing with hunting and ritual slaughter, vows and oaths (together with methods of expiation in the case of perjury). To give only one example, in the *Tanbīh* of al-Shīrāzī (Shāfiʿī), oaths in general are studied in connexion with repudiation (on account of such matters as *liʿān*, etc., which are linked with it). The holy war is not a *farḍ ʿayn* (it is an obligation which falls only on the community in general, provided that there are enough volunteers), nor is it one of the five fundamental obligations of Islam, but it has an obvious religious character. In the above-named work it occurs at the end (after criminal law); in the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl (Mālikī), on the other hand, it occurs among the *ʿibādāt*.

In their general outline, the provisions relating to *ʿibādāt* are the same, not only in the four Sunnī schools but also in the Shīʿī and Ibāḍī schools. There is thus no necessity to discuss them further in this general article on *ʿibādāt*. So much for the theory.

In regard to actual social practice, one of the most urgent and interesting present-day tasks that is still to be undertaken in this field, and indispensable for religious sociology in general, consists of studying the extent (which is extremely variable) to which the practices of a religion, in this case Islam, do in fact correspond to the requirements laid down by theory, in this case by *fiḳh* on the subject of *ʿibādāt*; this is to be done, particularly, according to the methods first demonstrated, for Catholicism, by Le Bras. In this field, from the start, facts of a qualitative kind will be discovered, and they will show us what the religious life there really is. Some of these studies, even the early ones, still retain their value—Lane, *Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*, for example, and Snouck-Hurgronje's *Mekka*, which are admirable. For Indonesia, one may consult G.-H. Bousquet, *L'Islam indonésien*, in *REI*, 1939. But, for future work, this stage ought to be regarded as superseded, as indeed it is. It is the quantitative, statistical stage that must now be reached. In this respect, Muslim sociology is very backward (some indications in this direction, though cautious and inadequate, can be found in G.-H. Bousquet, concerning religious practice in North Africa, especially Morocco, in *Études d'orientalisme . . . Lévi-Provençal*, ii, 1962, 495-502). As a very rough approximation, it can be suggested here that (1) ritual practice, considered as a whole, varies less from one country to another than does the practice of these duties envisaged singly; (2) in fact, in certain regions a fundamental obligation may be very much neglected, while in other parts it is scrupulously observed (for example, fasting in Java and North Africa respectively); (3) in backward regions, in the process of Islamization, practice comes to conform more closely with the standards of the Law; (4) on the other hand, it is relaxed in those countries where European civilization is developing (for example, increasing disregard of fasting in North Africa). Of course, external piety is only an indication, and often an insufficiently accurate one, of internal piety. However, religious sociology in general is not yet in a position, in this last instance, to be of assistance to Islamic studies.

Bibliography: The regulation of *ʿibādāt* has its somewhat restricted basis in the Ḳurʾān. It is developed very fully in the *Sunna* (cf. Wensinck's *Handbook* for the various terms used above). The same is true of the books of *fiḳh* of the various schools and in works of *ikhtilāf*. A more detailed bilbiography can be found by consulting such articles as ṢAWM, ḤADJDJ, etc. A general, clear, but necessarily brief survey is given in G.-H. Bousquet, *Les grandes pratiques rituelles de l'Islam*, Paris 1949.

(G.-H. BOUSQUET)

AL-**IBĀḌIYYA**, one of the main branches of the Khāridjis [*q.v.*], representatives of which are today found in ʿUmān, East Africa, Tripolitania (Djabal Nafūsa and Zuagha) and southern Algeria (Wargla and Mzab). The sect takes it name from that of one of those said to have founded it, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ al-Murrī al-Tamīmī. The form usually employed is Abāḍiyya; this is true not only of North Africa (*e.g.*, in the Djabal Natūsa, cf. A. de C. Motylinski, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1898-9, 41 and *passim*), where it is attested in the 9th/15th century by the Ibāḍī writer al-Barrādī (*Kitāb Djawāhir al-muntaḳāt*, Cairo 1302, 155), but also of ʿUmān (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, 1780, ii, 198); nevertheless, the contemporary Ibāḍī writers often use the first form as being more correct (cf., *e.g.*, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfiyyash al-Mīzābī, *Risāla shāfiya fī baʿḍ al-tawārikh*, Algiers, n.d., 49). Yet another form of the name is known: Ibāḍa (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884-91, i, 88). According to Neibuhr (*op. cit.*, ii, 198, 200, 201), the Ibāḍīs of ʿUmān had also the name of Béiasi, Beïasi or Béiadi (cf. also Badger, *History of the Imâms and Seyyids of Omân by Salîl-ibn-Razîk*, London 1871, 387). It appears that the last name (for Bayāḍī) is connected with *Mubayyiḍa*, a name given to the Khāridjis in general (see Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leiden 1884, 30, n.). The Ibāḍīs also give themselves the name of Shurāt [*q.v.*], which in fact refers to the first Khāridjis or al-Muḥakkima (al-Barrādi, *op. cit.*, 175; A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghir*, in *Actes du XIVᵉ Congrès Intern. des Orient.*, Algiers 1905, 81; cf. also al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 352).

According to the tradition recorded towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century by Abū Mikhnaf, this sect appeared in 65/684-5, when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ broke away from the Khāridjī extremists over the attitude to be adopted towards the other *ahl al-tawḥīd* (Brünnow, *op. cit.*, 60-1; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, 28-9), but in fact the origins of the Ibāḍiyya seem to be much older than modern scholars have thought. The present author's view is that the pre-history of this sect, together with that of another moderate Khāridjī sect, the Ṣufriyya [*q.v.*], should be connected with that group of the *ḳaʿada* (quietist, see Brünnow, *op. cit.*, 29; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 29) Khāridjīs which grew up towards the middle of the 1st/7th century at Baṣra around one of the men most venerated by the Khawāridj, Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayya al-Tamīmī. Ibāḍī tradition mentions Abū Bilāl among the precursors of the Ibāḍiyya, or even among the first *imām*s of the sect (al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 66 ff; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 167 ff.; al-Sālimī, *Kitāb al-Lumʿa al-murḍiya*, 1326, 187; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, University of Lwow, MS no. 1082, ii, 135, 664-5; it should be mentioned that the other writers have considered Abū Bilāl to be the *imām* of the Ṣufriyya, see, *e.g.*, al-Isfarāʾinī in Haarbrücker, *asch-Schahrastâni's Religionpartheien und Philosophenschulen*, Halle 1850, ii, 406). This tradition seems very probable, particularly if it is remembered that among Abū Bilāl's intimate friends there were several who were to become outstanding scholars of the Ibāḍiyya, as, for example, the real organizer of the sect, Djābir b. Zayd (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 79) and al-Walīd al-ʿAbdī, one of the leaders of the moderate Khāridjīs who broke away from the extremist Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 79). Furthermore, the doctrines preached by Abū Bilāl, such as, for example, the defence of *istiʿrāḍ* (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 25-6), are in large measure identical with Ibāḍī theories.

After the death of Abū Bilāl, who led a revolt in 61 and was killed in a battle one year later, it was probably ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ who became the leader of the moderate party (he is mentioned among the chief Khāridjī personalities in 64; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 77; cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 27), making a complete break with the Azraḳis in 65. The extremists pronounced a *khurūdj* against the Zubayrids and left Baṣra, while Ibn Ibāḍ, after some hesitation, remained there with his supporters (al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 155-6). Thus began the first period in the history of the Ibāḍiyya, which can be called the period of the *kitmān* (= secret, on this term see below and al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 156). Very little is known of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ. According to the Ibāḍī writings, he was the first scholar of the sect (*Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 74, 108). He is often called in Ibāḍī sources *imām ahl al-taḥḳīḳ*, *imām al-muslimīn* or *imām al-ḳawm* (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 77; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 108, 111; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*; P. K. Hitti, *al-Baghdādī's Characteristics of Muslim Sects*, Cairo 1924, 87). It seems that this title belongs only to the period in which Ibn Ibāḍ took part in the defence of Medina (64/683-4); the state of *kitmān* in which the Ibāḍīs lived after 65 seems to exclude the possibility of the existence of an imāmate in the political sense of the word. Perhaps also there should be seen in this title an allusion to his rôle as president in a sort of secret theocratic Ibāḍī government known as *djamāʿat al-Muslimīn*, which is mentioned by historians of the sect. This was a council composed of a number of the most important *shaykh*s (among them al-Walīd al-ʿAbdī) which may be compared to the council of the *ʿazzāba* of the North African Ibāḍīs after the collapse of the imāmate of the Banū Rustam. The *ḳuʿūd* (quietism) of Ibn Ibāḍ was probably prompted by the hope of reaching an understanding with the new Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/685-705). In fact, be succeeded in entering into correspondence with this ruler, and there are preserved in the Ibāḍī chronicles two *naṣāʾiḥ* (letters of good advice) from Ibn Ibāḍ which bear witness to their friendly relations; one of these letters is a reply from the Ibāḍī leader to a communication which had been sent to him by ʿAbd al-Malik through the intermediary of a certain Sinān b. ʿĀṣim (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 77; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 156-67; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 445-55; Sachau, *Religiöse Anschauungen der Ibaditischen Muhammedaner*, in *MSOS As.*, ii, 52-9). The first of these letters must have been written after 67/686-7, since it mentions the defeat of al-Mukhtār by Muṣʿab, the brother of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, which took place in that year (al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 163; cf. Brünnow, *op. cit.*, 86-90). The letters of Ibn Ibāḍ contain a brief account of Ibāḍī principles, which is the first of this type (see also on Ibn Ibāḍ's relations with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, R. Rubinacci, *Il califfo ʿAbd al-*

Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibāḍiti, in *AIUON*, n.s. v (1954), 99-121). According to al-Shammākhī (*op. cit.*, 77), Ibn Ibāḍ was also the author of *munāẓarāt* (polemical writings) against the extremist Khāridjis. The date of his death is not known; the Ibāḍī biographies reveal only that he belonged to the second *ṭabaḳa* of scholars. The opinion of al-Shahrastānī (*Milal*, ed. Cureton, 100) and of al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 37) that Ibn Ibāḍ was still alive as a very old man under Marwān b. Muḥammad (127-34/745-52) does not seem very convincing.

Ibn Ibāḍ's policy at Baṣra towards the Umayyad caliphs was continued by his successor Abu 'l-Shaʿthāʾ Djābir b. Zayd al-Azdī, the chief scholar of the Ibāḍī sect and an eminent traditionist. This scholar, who came from ʿUmān, from near the town of Nazwā (see *Siyār al-ʿUmāniyya*, 675; Yāḳūt, ii, 243-4), is considered by the Arab authors to be one of the chief Khāridjīs of the early period (al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, 102). His probable date of birth was 18/639, and the date of this death is given as 93, 96 or 103 (see al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 155; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 77; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 172; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 686). He was thus the contemporary of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ. Djābir b. Zayd was one of the best friends and disciples of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], from whom he received a number of traditions (Yāḳūt, ii, 156-7, 243-4; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 70, 96; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 151). It was probably owing to this fact as well as to his profound scholarship that Djābir was held in great esteem by all the Muslims of his time; al-Shammākhī (*op. cit.*, 70) mentions in this connexion the opinion of Mālik b. Anas. He was probably the author of the earliest collection of traditions. His work, called *Dīwān* and consisting of five parts, is now lost; the only copy of it was found in about the 3rd/9th century in the libraries of the ʿAbbāsids at Baghdād (al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 184; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers-Paris 1878, 181-5).

Among the pupils of Djābir there were several Sunnī traditionists, and Yāḳūt (*loc. cit.*) even calls him *aḥad aʾimmat al-sunna*. On the other hand, Djābir carried on a controversy with the Khāridjī extremists and he gave its definitive form to Ibāḍī doctrine (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 76). It is because of this that the Ibāḍī sources refer to him as *ʿumdat al-Ibāḍiyya* or *aṣl al-madhhab* (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 70; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, *passim*). He is also referred to as *imām al-Muslimīn* (*Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 111). It was probably he and not Ibn Ibāḍ who was really responsible for the organization of the sect. It can thus be seen that this eminent Ibāḍī scholar and traditionist, who was revered by all Muslims, was, so to speak, predestined to accomplish the task begun by his predecessor, that is to win over the caliphs to the Ibāḍī doctrine.

Indeed, the first years of Djābir's presidency were very favourable for the Ibāḍiyya. Djābir succeeded in forming friendly relations with the powerful governor of ʿIrāḳ, al-Ḥadjdjādj (76-95/695-714) [*q.v.*], through the good offices of the latter's secretary, the Khāridjī Yazīd b. Abī Muslim (al-Shammākhī *op. cit.*, 71, 74; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 56). He even received from him a salary. This was just at the time when al-Ḥadjdjādj was fighting against the Khāridjī extremists. For a long time relations between Djābir and al-Ḥadjdjādj were excellent. Even at a period after the foundation of the town of Wāsiṭ (83-6/702-5), the attitude of the governor of ʿIrāḳ towards Djābir was still very friendly (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 74).

But towards the end of the 1st/7th century relations between them deteriorated. It appears that one of the causes of this change was the death of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (86/705), who was, as mentioned above, fairly well disposed towards the Ibāḍīs. Another was that the Ibāḍiyya of Baṣra entered into dealings with the family of the Muhallabids, which the powerful governor of ʿIrāḳ detested. In fact among the most fervent Ibāḍīs of Baṣra was ʿĀtika, the sister of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the former governor of Khurāsān, who had been deposed through al-Ḥadjdjādj's efforts and imprisoned by him in 86/705; among the Muhallabids converted to Ibāḍism there was another woman, Halbiyya, who lived at Mecca in about the first half of the 2nd/8th century (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 88, 117; J. Périer, *Vie d'al-Hadjdjadj ibn Yousof*. Paris 1904, 221, 232). In addition to these two facts, a third should be mentioned: the increasing radicalism of the Ibāḍīs of Baṣra, among whom the revolutionary elements gained control, that is the supporters of the *khurūdj* who wished to change their position as *ḳaʿada* for that of *shurāt*. From the writings of the sect we know the name of one of the leaders of the revolutionary party: Bisṭām b. ʿUmar b. al-Musīb al-Ḍabbī, known also as Maṣḳala, a former Ṣufrī and supporter of Shabīb [*q.v.*], who, after Shabīb's defeat in 77/696, embraced Ibāḍism and settland at Baṣra. He was not only a famous warrior but also a *mutakallim* (theologian). It appears that the Ibāḍī zealots of Baṣra took part in the revolt of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath in 81-2/701-2; in fact we find in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's army a detachment composed of men from Kūfa and Baṣra and under the command of one Bisṭām b. Maṣḳala (probably identical with our Maṣḳala) who died in a battle with all his men (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 111; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 46-7; Périer, *op. cit.*, 173, 176, 184, 191-3). The activity of these Ibāḍī zealots led to the withdrawal of al-Ḥadjdjādj's support. The immediate cause of his definite break with Djābir was probably the murder, at Djābir's instigation, of one of al-Ḥadjdjādj's spies (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 75). He began a cruel persecution of the Ibāḍīs. The majority of the Ibāḍī leaders and notables were either exiled to ʿUmān (Djābir himself, for example, and another important Ibāḍī *shaykh*, Hubayra; cf. al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 76, 81) or imprisoned (on this see also *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 250). Among the Ibāḍī leaders imprisoned was the most scholarly of Djābir's pupils and his future successor as president of the Ibāḍī *djamāʿa* at Baṣra, Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma al-Tamīmī (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 87), who was probably the greatest, both as scholar and as statesman, of all the Khāridjī leaders known to us and who played an important political rôle under the last Umayyads.

Abū ʿUbayda was probably of Iranian origin (according to *Aghānī*, xx, 97, his personal name was Kūdīn; and according to al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, i, 133 and ii, 126, it was Karzīn or Kūrīn) and *mawlā* of the Arab tribe of the Banū Tamīm (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 83). He studied with Djābir and also with other famous Ibāḍī *shaykhs* of the second *ṭabaḳa*, such as Djaʿfar b. al-Sammāk al-ʿAbdī and Ṣuḥār al-ʿAbdī (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 79, 81). After the death of al-Ḥadjdjādj (95/714), who was succeeded by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, Abū ʿUbayda was released from prison with the other Ibāḍīs and appointed leader of the Ibāḍī community in Baṣra (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 87). The Ibāḍī writers refer to him as *imām al-Muslimīn* (*Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 111), but he seems in reality to have been, as was his predecessor

Djābir, only the president of the *djamāʿat al-Muslimīn* of Baṣra and the *muḳaddam* (leader) over the other members of this council such as Ḍummān b. al-Sāʾib, Abū Nūḥ and even over his former teacher, Djaʿfar b. al-Sammāk (see *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 672). Abū ʿUbayda was an eminent scholar and the author of a collection of the *ḥadīth*s transmitted by Djābir b. Zayd, Djaʿfar b. al-Sammāk and Ṣuḥār al-ʿAbdī (Lewicki, *Une chronique ibāḍite*, in *RÉI*, 1934, 72; see also al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 83; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 185). The Ibāḍiyya from all parts of the Muslim world came to study with him (see ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Bārūnī, *Risālat sullam al-ʿāmma wa 'l-mubtadiʾīn ilā maʿrifat aʾimmat al-dīn*, Cairo 1324, 6-8). Abū ʿUbayd's policy at first conformed completely with Ibn Ibāḍ's tendency to come to an understanding with the Umayyads. This was facilitated by the benevolent attitude of the new governor of ʿIrāḳ, Yazīd b. Muhallab, who was closely linked with the Ibāḍīs of Baṣra through his sister ʿĀtika, a fervent Ibāḍī as mentioned above. The hopes of the Ibāḍī *shaykh*s of winning the Umayyads to their cause increased with the accession to the throne of the devout caliph ʿUmar II (99-101/717-20). Abū ʿUbayda sent to this ruler an embassy, among whose members were Sālim al-Hilālī and the scholar *shaykh* Djaʿfar b. al-Sammāk who, because of his great learning, is referred to in the Ibāḍī sources as *imām al-Muslimīn*. This mission was still at the court of ʿUmar II at the time of the death of his son, ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmar (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 79-80; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 111, 665, 666). It should be added that the Ibāḍīs were not the only ones wishing to reach an agreement with ʿUmar II. It is known that another Khāridjī group, whose leader was Shawdhab (on him see Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 48) and which lived in the district of Rabīʿa in Mesopotamia, sent a mission to this ruler (see Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 434-5). The results of this Ibāḍī mission are not known; it may have been due to it that the Ibāḍī Iyās b. Muʿāwiya was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Baṣra (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 81). But this favourable state of affairs for the Ibāḍiyya did not last long. ʿUmar II died in 101/720, and his successor Yazīd II was unfavourably disposed towards the Muhallabids, the patrons of the Ibāḍīs of Baṣra. Details of the fortunes of the Ibāḍiyya of Baṣra during the first two decades of the 2nd/8th century are not known; there certainly took place at this period a complete change in their attitudes and there even appeared some revolutionary tendencies. Leaders of the revolutionary party which favoured direct action were Abū Nūḥ, the supporter of a definitive rupture with the caliphate, and a famous *khaṭīb*, Abū Muḥammad al-Nahdī, who, in his sermons delivered in the mosques of Baṣra, overtly incited the crowd to revolt against the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh (105-20/723-38) (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 88, 97; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 185). The activities of the zealots of Baṣra were facilitated by the attitude of indifference of the governor of this town, Bilāl b. Abī Burda al-Ashʿarī (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 97). Abū ʿUbayda was at first opposed to direct action since he still hoped to win the caliphs to Ibāḍism. He also saw that the chances of an Ibāḍī *khurūdj* similar to the revolts of the Azraḳī extremists were very slender; but in the end, after consulting the important members of the sect, he was obliged to change his attitude through fear of a *khilāf* (schism) among the Ibāḍiyya of Baṣra, the majority of whom wished to move from the position of *ḳuʿūd* to that of *ẓuhūr* (see below; cf. al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 83-8). Yet he adopted a line of action completely different from that of the other Khāridjī leaders. He did not wish the Ibāḍīs of Baṣra to leave the town in order to found an imāmate somewhere outside the capital, following the example of Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ; on the contrary, he planned to make use of the rich and numerous Ibāḍī community of Baṣra only as a base for Ibāḍī propaganda, which should embrace the whole of the Muslim world. He decided to provoke Ibāḍī insurrections in the various provinces and to create a universal Ibāḍī imāmate on the ruins of the Umayyad caliphate. In order to achieve this, Abū ʿUbayda formed a kind of revolutionary government in which he himself was in charge of everything concerning religious action and missions, and another eminent Ibāḍī *shaykh* of Baṣra, Ḥādjib al-Ṭāʾī, dealt with matters of war and of finance (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 92, 114; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 665). A *bayt al-māl* was formed; its assets must have been considerable since it is stated, for example, that a single rich Ibāḍī merchant, Abū Ṭāhir, paid a net sum of 10,000 *dirhams* (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 114-5). There was created at Baṣra a centre of learning where Abū ʿUbayda secretly trained for the task of being missionaries students who came to him from all the Muslim provinces. These missionaries were then sent out in teams (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*, "bearers of learning", or *naḳalat al-ʿilm*). At the head of such a team Abū ʿUbayda placed the candidate for the dignity of *imām* and the future *ḳāḍī*. These *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* were to spread propaganda in the various provinces of the caliphate and, after gaining a certain number of adherents, to pronounce the state of *ẓuhūr* (see Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 19, 20, 21; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 124; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 676; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 185). According to the Ibāḍī historians, Abū ʿUbayda sent such teams to the Maghrib, the Yaman, Ḥaḍramawt, ʿUmān and Khurāsān (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 114; al-Sālimī, *loc. cit.*). The operation had a tremendous success; in the midst of the general disorder which preceded the fall of the Umayyads, the influence of the Ibāḍī agitators spread widely. After only a few years, there broke out in various Muslim countries, the Maghrib, the Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān, several Ibāḍī revolts which constituted a greater threat to the caliphate than did the Azraḳī movements (see below).

During this period of Ibāḍī expansion, the Ibāḍiyya of Baṣra continued to live in a state of *kitmān*, keeping their beliefs secret. The advent of the ʿAbbāsids did nothing to change this situation except that the Ibāḍiyya succeeded in gaining the protection of some influential members of the family of the new caliphs. Among these should be mentioned especially the aunt of the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-86) and her husband ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabīʿ, whose son even became an Ibāḍī (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 107-8) It appears also that the caliph Abū Djaʿfar (136-58/753-75) was for a time fairly well disposed towards the Ibāḍīs; it is known, for example, that he was much in sympathy with Ḥādjib al-Ṭāʾī (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 91). Abū ʿUbayda and Ḥādjib both died during Abū Djaʿfar's reign (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 83, 91). The statement of the 5th/11th century Ibāḍī historian Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wārdjlānī that Abū ʿUbayda died during the reign of the Rustamid *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (168-208/785-823; cf. Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 51) should in our view be rejected.

After the death of Abū ʿUbayda there began the decline of the Ibāḍī community of Baṣra, as, if

we may believe the sectarian sources, had already been observed by the caliph Abū Dja'far (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 91). Nevertheless, under the presidency of al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī, who had succeeded Abū 'Ubayda as the spiritual leader of the Ibāḍiyya, the grand council of the sect still remained in Baṣra and there were even sent out from there new *ḥamalat al-'ilm* to 'Umān (*Siyar al-'Umāniyya*, 667; al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 186). The *mashāyikh* of Baṣra were arbitrators in the affair of the schism of al-Nukkār (see below) towards the end of the 2nd/8th century. This town remained a centre of Ibāḍī culture during the reign of the imām 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who bought books there for the sum of 1,000 *dīnārs* (al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 195). But soon after the affair of al-Nukkār, al-Rabī' and the other Ibāḍī *shaykhs* of Baṣra emigrated to 'Umān, where already al-Rabī''s successor, Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl, was resident (on al-Rabī' and Abū Sufyān see *Siyar al-'Umāniyya*, 667; al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 185, 186; Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 74, n. 2, 136-7; Lewicki, *Une chronique*, 70-2; idem, *Notice sur la chronique ibāḍite d'ad-Darǧīnī*, in *RO*, xi, 159-60).

THE IBĀḌĪ GROUPS OUTSIDE BAṢRA

(a) At Kūfa. In spite of the opinion of Wellhausen that the Khāridjīs of Kūfa disappeared completely after the massacre of 59/679, the available sources enable us to establish that the Ibāḍiyya remained in this town during at least the whole of the 2nd/8th century. In fact it was from Kūfa that there came the founder of the Ibāḍī sect of al-Ḥārithiyya (see below), which existed in the first half of the 2nd century. Among the Ibāḍī-Wahbī *faḳīhs* of Kūfa may be mentioned Abu 'l-Muhādjir al-Kūfī, one of the doctors of the second half of the 2nd/8th century (see Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 139 n.; al-Shammākhī *op. cit.*, 121; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 24).

(b) In the rest of 'Irāḳ, Ibāḍiyya, belonging to various groups of this sect, probably lived in villages on the road from Baṣra to al-Mawṣil (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 120-1).

(c) At al-Mawṣil Ibāḍīs were to be found. Among the Ibāḍī doctors of this town there should be mentioned, on the evidence of the Ibāḍī sources, one Abū Bakr al-Mawṣilī. It seems very probable that there were also some Ibāḍiyya among the Khawāridj mentioned by the authors of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries in the province of al-Djazīra, to the west of al-Mawṣil (al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 180; *Siyar al-'Umāniyya*, 667; al-Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, v, 230-1; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 140).

(d) Ḥidjāz. It appears that the Ibāḍīs were fairly numerous at Medina and Mecca and that even in the 2nd/8th century there were Ibāḍī *djamā'as* in these towns. Mecca was probably in the 2nd century one of the centres of very vigorous Ibāḍī propaganda. Remnants of the Ibāḍiyya still existed in Mecca in the 6th/12th century. Among the Ibāḍī doctors of Ḥidjāz in the 2nd and 3rd centuries were: Abu 'l-Ḥurr 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Anbari, Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Muḥammad b. Salma and Ibn 'Abbād al-Madanī (see Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 64, 121-3, 147; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 97-9; al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 183; *Siyar al-'Umāniyya*, 679).

(e) Central Arabia. Abū 'Ubayda seems to have sent *ḥamalat al-'ilm* towards the centre of the Arabian peninsula, perhaps to the Yamāma where there had existed shortly before a Khāridjī imāmate of the al-Nadjdiyya sect, linked to the doctrines of Ibn Ibāḍ (see al-Bārūnī, *Sullam*, 7; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 29-32; Brünnow, *op. cit.*, 61).

(f) Ḥaḍramawt and Yemen. The origins of Ibāḍism in the Ḥaḍramawt and the Yemen are rather obscure. They should perhaps be connected with activity by the first leader of the Ibāḍī sect, 'Abd Allāh b. Ibāḍ, who died, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (i, 37), in the canton of al-Mudhaykhira in the south-west of the Yemen. Ibn Ibāḍ's arrival in the Yemen was probably connected with the conquest of southern Arabia by the Khāridjīs, which took place between the years 65 and 73/685-92. The Khawāridj's control of this country did not last long and ended in 73. It appears, however, that Khāridjī tendencies persisted in southern Arabia, culminating, at the time of the decline of the Umayyad caliphate, in an Ibāḍī revolt. This revolt had been prepared by Ibāḍī agitators from Baṣra who excited the anti-Umayyad feeling which prevailed in southern Arabia under the régime of al-Ḳāsim b. 'Umar (Ḳuwaysim in the Ibāḍī chronicles), who had been installed as governor of Ṣan'ā' by the caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad, and that of Ibrāhīm b. Djabala b. Makhrama al-Kindī, the Umayyad governor of the Ḥaḍramawt and the subordinate of al-Ḳāsim b. 'Umar. The leader of the dissidents was 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī, known as Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ, *ḳāḍī* to the governor of the Ḥaḍramawt and a devout and energetic man. He made an agreement with Abū 'Ubayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma, who encouraged him to revolt against the Umayyad government. This appears to have taken place towards the end of 127 or the beginning of 128. At the same time, Abū 'Ubayda Muslim sent to 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā a group of prominent Ibāḍīs from Baṣra who were to help him to organize an imāmate in the Ḥaḍramawt; at their head were Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. 'Awf al-Azdī and Baldj b. 'Uḳba al-Uzdī. Having arrived in the Ḥaḍramawt, the Ibāḍī emissaries recognized 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā as imām, thus establishing the first Ibāḍī imāmate. The rebels occupied the capital of the Ḥaḍramawt and later, in 129/746-7, the town of Ṣan'ā', the capital of the whole of southern Arabia. Then 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā decided to occupy the two Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina. The Ibāḍī army, only 900 or 1,000 strong, and under the command of Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār, took Mecca with ease, and then Medina. The Arab chronicles have preserved the text of two *khuṭbas* which Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār pronounced in these two towns. After occupying the Ḥidjāz, the Ibāḍīs became an immediate threat to Umayyad rule in Syria, the centre of the caliphate, so that Marwān b. Muḥammad was forced to act with all speed against this aggression. He sent against the Ibāḍīs a strong army composed of 4,000 Syrian soldiers under the command of 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Aṭiyya al-Sa'dī, who re-conquered Medina and then Mecca. Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār was killed. On receiving news of this, 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā came from Ṣan'ā' at the head of the Ibāḍīs to prevent the Syrian army from penetrating into the Yemen. Not far from Djurash there took place an encounter between the two armies which ended in total defeat of the Ibāḍīs and the death of Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ. The rest of the Ibāḍīs took shelter in the fortified town of Shibām. Some time afterwards 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Aṭiyya received from Marwān b. Muḥammad an order to return to Mecca. He was thus forced to conclude a peace with the Ibāḍīs of the Ḥaḍramawt (he even agreed to recognize their independence). After the death of Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ, it was 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd al-Ḥaḍramī who was considered as the successor of this imām by the Ibāḍīs of the Ḥaḍra-

mawt and by the Ibāḍī *mashāyikh* of Baṣra. The Ibāḍī imāmate still existed in the 5th/11th century. According to al-Hamdānī, it was the town of Daw'an (Dō'an) which was the capital of this state in the 4th century. The last mention of the Ibāḍīs of the Ḥaḍramawt belongs to the second half of the 5th century.

Of the history of the Ibāḍīs of the Yemen after the defeat of the imām 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā almost nothing is known. Crushed in 130/748 by the army of 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Aṭiyya, they then became subjects of the 'Abbāsid state. Several Ibāḍī groups still existed in the Yemen at least until the middle of the 6th/12th century, according to the geographer al-Idrīsī. It seems that in the Middle Ages the population of Mahra, on the coast between the Ḥaḍramawt and 'Umān, also professed the Ibāḍī doctrine. The population of this country paid tithes to the imām of 'Umān at about the beginning of the 3rd century. There were also Ibāḍīs outside the former imāmate of Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ, on the island of Socotra, whose inhabitants were related to those of Mahra. According to al-Hamdānī, there was on this island a group of al-Shurāt (which is what this writer calls the Ibāḍīs) who were hostile to the Sunnīs of Socotra (on the history of the Ibāḍiyya of southern Arabia, see T. Lewicki, *Les Ibāḍites dans l'Arabie du Sud au moyen âge*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i (1959), 3-18).

(g) 'Umān. Another region in which the Ibāḍīs were active in Arabia was 'Umān. Not much is known of the origins of the Ibāḍiyya in this country. The prehistory of Ibāḍism there appears to be closely linked with the activity of the pre-Ibāḍī Khāridjī group of Abū Bilāl. It is known in fact that, towards the second half of the 1st/7th century, the inhabitants of 'Umān were fervent admirers of this Khāridjī hero. Moreover, for some time until the year 73, 'Umān belonged to an imāmate formed in Arabia by the Khāridjī sect of the Nadjadāt. From the end of the 1st/7th century, the Khāridjism of the inhabitants of 'Umān took on a purely Ibāḍī character, perhaps owing to the activity of Djābir b. Zayd, as well as to the influences of other Ibāḍī doctors of Baṣra who had been exiled there by al-Ḥadjdjādj. The modern Ibāḍī scholar Aṭfiyyash is thus right in stating that the history of the Ibāḍiyya in 'Umān begins with the period of the Tābi'ūn; but it is only in the first half of the 2nd/8th century that the more serious preaching of Ibāḍī doctrines begins, probably owing to the *ḥamalat al-'ilm* who were sent there at this time by Abū 'Ubayda. These missionaries were helped by a famous *faḳīh* of 'Umān, one Khiyār b. Sālim al-Ṭā'ī, and another doctor of the country, Mūsā b. Abī Djābir al-Azkānī. As a result of this preaching, an Ibāḍī revolt broke out in 'Umān in 132/750. At the head of the rebels was the descendent of the former princes of the country, al-Djulandā b. Mas'ūd (referred to by al-Barrādī as al-Kuland b. al-Djuland), who was elected imām. This Ibāḍī imāmate, which extended also to the Ḥaḍramawt and the Yemen, lasted only a short time and collapsed in 134/752 as the result of an 'Abbāsid expedition led by the general Khāzim b. Khuzayma; the imām was killed in a battle. The Ibāḍiyya of 'Umān seem to have been considerably weakened by this defeat, although the 'Abbāsid governor placed in the country by al-Saffāḥ appears to have been tolerant towards the sect's doctrine. But already towards the second half of the 2nd/8th century, as a result of new *ḥamalat al-'ilm* (in particular the famous al-Bashīr b. al-Mundhir) sent to this province by Abū 'Ubayda's successor, al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb, and of the activities of Mūsā b. Abī Djābir, the Ibāḍīs rose up again and recommenced their activities in 'Umān. The centre of this new movement was the town of Nazwā and it was there that, in 177/793, in a council held under the presidency of Mūsā b. Abī Djābir al-Azkānī, there was proclaimed imām of 'Umān Muḥammad b. 'Affān (known also as Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī 'Affān or Muḥammad b. Abī 'Affān), a member of the Azdī tribe of Banū Yaḥmad. It seems that under the reign of his successor, al-Wārith b. Ka'b al-Kharūṣī (179-92/795-808), the *mashāyikh* of Baṣra transferred themselves to 'Umān, which thus became the spiritual centre of the Ibāḍiyya. On the considerable rôle of 'Umān in the history of the Ibāḍiyya this Ibāḍī saying is significant: *bāḍa 'l-'ilmu bi-'l-Madīna wa-farrakha bi-'l-Baṣra wa-ṭāra ilā 'Umān*, "Knowledge was laid in Medina, hatched in Baṣra and flew to 'Umān" (see al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 183). It should be added that the identification of al-Wārith b. Ka'b al-Kharūṣī with al-Wārith b. Ka'b al-Ḥaḍramī, the Ibāḍī imām of the Ḥaḍramawt who lived in the second half of the 2nd/8th century, is very possible. Among the other Ibāḍī imāms of 'Umān should be mentioned Ghassān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Yaḥmadī al-Azdī (died 207/822-3), 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥāmid (who reigned for 18 years), and al-Muhanna' b. Dja'far (226-37/841-52). During the latter's reign, the Ḥaḍramawt formed part of the kingdom of 'Umān. His successor, al-Ṣalt b. Mālik, reigned until 273/887. One other Ibāḍī imām of 'Umān of this period is known: Rashīd b. al-Naḍr, who reigned immediately after al-Ṣalt b. Mālik. There had now already begun the period of discord and internecine strife (the war between the Nizārī and the Hināwī tribes). During the 3rd/9th century, certain Ibāḍī chiefs of 'Umān bore the title of *wālī* (governor) or of *mutaḳaddim* (chief), since during this period it was the Rustamids who were recognized as universal imāms of the Ibāḍiyya. Nevertheless, these Ibāḍī rulers of 'Umān were elected by the inhabitants of the country and not appointed by the imāms of the Maghrib. 'Umān was divided into several districts with governors in charge of them. The imāms or the *mutaḳaddim*s lived at Nazwā. In 280/893 'Umān was reconquered by the 'Abbāsids following a victory won by the 'Abbāsid general, Muḥammad b. Nūr, who was killed. 'Umān's dependence on the 'Abbāsid caliphate was only superficial; in actual fact the Ibāḍī imāmate continued to exist there without interruption. The Ibāḍī sources mention the names of several imāms who reigned in the 4th/10th century. During the first part of this century the Imāms of 'Umān continued to exercise their authority over the country of Mahra. For the later history of the Ibāḍīs of 'Umān reference may be made to the plentiful literature on this subject which is cited at the end of this section. It should be mentioned that the chronology of the facts mentioned above is not always certain and there will be found some discrepancies between facts given here and those in earlier works by this author.

Little is known on the precise distribution of the Ibāḍīs in 'Umān during the Middle Ages. From the chronicles of the country, such as *Siyar al-'Umāniyya*, *Kashf al-ghumma*, etc., it can be established that the most important Ibāḍī groups in 'Umān were found to the south of an imaginary line drawn between the towns of Ṣuḥār and Tawwām (now al-Tawwām or al-Bereyma). The Ibāḍiyya occupied particularly the district of al-Bāṭina and the surroundings of Rustāḳ, where are situated the majority

of the Ibāḍī cantons and districts mentioned in the sources. Among these places were: the former Ibāḍī capital of ʿUmān, Nazwā, with its suburbs ʿAḳr Nazwā and Samad Nazwā, then Azkā, Bahlā, Farḳ (the native town of Djābir b. Zayd), Manḥ, Faldj, Nakhl, Samāʾil, al-Ḥadjar and, on the coast opposite to Nakhl, the town of Wadām. There was also a fairly dense Ibāḍī population on the south-east coast of ʿUmān at Masḳaṭ, Ḳaryāt, Ṭaywa, Ḳalhat and in the southern cantons, Kharūṣ and Riyām. Almost nothing is known of the extreme south of ʿUmān; it seems that the main mass of the Ibāḍiyya did not extend much to the south of the borders of the districts of Kharūṣ and Riyām. In northern ʿUmān it is chiefly the canton of al-Sirr and the town of Djulfār (Djullafār) which are mentioned in the sources as having an Ibāḍī population. It will thus be seen that the limits of the area occupied by the Ibāḍīs were much narrower than those of ʿUmān itself, especially during its greatest period in the 3rd/9th century. Today Ibāḍism is the religion of the main fractions of the ʿUmān tribes of Ghāfirī and Hinā (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 78, 93 and *passim*; al-Dardjīnī, *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh*, MS no. 275 of the Cracow collection, f. 14v-15r; al-Barrāḍī, *op. cit.*, 170; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 174, 219, 277, 667, 676, 677 and *passim*; Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 136-43; al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān bi-sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, i-ii, Cairo 1347, *passim*; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 78, 81, 484, 501; Salîl b. Razîk, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman* ..., tr. G. P. Badger, London 1871, *passim*; E. Sachau, *Über eine arabische Chronik aus Zanzibar*, in *MSOS*, i, 1-19; C. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, ii, Paris 1913, 257-82; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*², 58-60; H. Klein, *Kapitel XXXIII der anonymen arabischen Chronik Kašf al-Ġumma al-Ǧāmiʿ li-aḫbār al-umma betitelt Aḫbār ahl-ʿOmān min auwal islāmihim ilā 'ḫtilāf kalimatihim* ... (thesis), Hamburg 1938; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *L'Imāmato ibāḍita dell' ʿOmān*, in *AIUON*, n.s. iii (1949), 245-82; T. Lewicki, *Les Ibāḍites dans l'Arabie du Sud*, *passim*; several references to the Ibāḍīs of ʿUmān are found also in the works of many Sunnī Arab geographers and historians).

(h) East Africa. The origins of the Ibāḍiyya on the east coast of Africa (the Bilād al-Zandj of the mediaeval Arabic authors) are unknown; the first to preach Ibāḍism there were probably merchants from ʿUmān, beginning apparently in the 3rd/9th century. Among the Ibāḍī *shaykhs* of the 6th/12th century is found an East African doctor, al-Walīd b. Bārik al-Kilwī al-Ibāḍī, from the town of Kilwa. The Ibāḍī element in the Bilād al-Zandj appears to have grown in the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries when the major part of the east coast of Africa was linked with ʿUmān. Today, the majority of the Ibāḍīs of East Africa live in Zanzibar (Salîl b. Razîk, *op. cit.*, 92, 205; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 671).

(i) Kishm. The inhabitants of this island, which was referred to by the mediaeval Arabic authors as Djazīrat Ibn Kāwān and is situated near to the coast of Kirmān opposite Ras Masandam, were still Ibāḍīs in the 6th/12th century (al-Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, i, 158).

(j) Persia. From the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, there existed an Ibāḍī group of considerable size in Khurāsān as a result of the activity of the *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* sent there by Abū ʿUbayda, and particularly of Hilāl b. ʿAṭiyya al-Khurāsānī, the first Ibāḍī missionary of this country. Among the other Ibāḍī doctors and scholars who were natives of Khurāsān should be mentioned in particular Abū Ghānim Bishr b. Ghānim al-Khurāsānī (3rd/9th century), the author of the famous work known under the title of *al-Mudawwana*. Ibāḍīs are also found at about the beginning of the 2nd/8th century in Fārs. It is not known whether the Ḥamziyya, whose existence in Persia is mentioned by al-Masʿūdī, were followers of the Ibāḍī sectarian Ḥamza al-Kūfī (see below) or were a sub-branch of the ʿAdjārida (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 87, 88, 113, 116, 118, 119; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 667; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 185, 186; al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, v, 230-1; al-Shahrastānī, tr. Haarbrücker, i, 144-5; A. de C. Motylinski, *Le nom berbère de Dieu chez les Abadhites*, in *RAfr.*, (1905), 146).

(k) India and China. The Ibāḍī chronicles of ʿUmān mention contingents of Indian (Hind) soldiers in the army of the imāms of this country from an early period. It was probably through these Indians as well as through merchants from ʿUmān, Persia and the Djazīrat Ibn Kāwān, that Ibāḍism penetrated into Sind. Remnants of the Ibāḍiyya still existed at al-Manṣūra, the capital of this province, in 445/1053, during the reign of Rāshid b. Saʿīd, the imām of ʿUmān, who sent them a *sīra* (letter); it is not known whether they were able to obtain political independence. The Khāridjīs whose existence in the coastal region between Kirmān and Sind in the 4th/10th century is attested by al-Masʿūdī may have been identical with these Ibāḍīs. It is also quite probable that there were Ibāḍīs among the Muslim colonists settled in China, a large number of whom came from the countries where Ibāḍism was a dominant belief, for example ʿUmān, the Ḥaḍramawt, etc. The books of the Ibāḍī sect mention two persons from ʿUmān and Baṣra who were at the same time merchants and Ibāḍī scholars, Abū ʿUbayda ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḳāsim al-Ṣaghīr and al-Naẓar b. Maymūn, who went to China in the 2nd/8th century (al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, v, 231; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 183; Salîl Ibn Razîk, *op. cit.*, 35; Lewicki, *Les premiers commerçants arabes en Chine*, in *RO*, xi, 173-86).

(l) Egypt. At a comparatively recent period, the Ibāḍī doctrine was spread also in Egypt, which soon became one of the main centres of Ibāḍī learning together with Baṣra and Medina. The Ibāḍī sources mention several scholars who were natives of Egypt, as for example, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 122; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 186).

(m) Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib. The Ibāḍī groups of North Africa played for a certain period a predominant rôle in the history of this sect. The first to preach the Ibāḍī doctrines there was Salāma b. Saʿīd (Salma b. Saʿd), a *shaykh* of Baṣra who appeared towards the beginning of the 2nd/8th century at Ḳayrawān accompanied by the Ṣufrī missionary ʿIkrima, a *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 107/725-6; cf. Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 3-4; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 98; al-Dardjīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 4v.). Salāma's activity appears to have been fairly successful, since we find in Tripolitania, about twenty years later, a fairly large Ibāḍī group under the leadership of a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd al-Tudjībī. This leader drew his support at first from the Berber tribe of the Hawwāra [*q.v.*], which in the Middle Ages occupied Tripoli and the region to the east of it as far as the *sebkha* of Tāūrgha. The authority passed next to two Ibāḍī chiefs, ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Ḳays al-Murādī and al-Ḥārith b. Talid al-Ḥaḍramī. Under these two leaders, who also depended on the Hawwāra, the remainder of what is now Tripolitania

came under the control of the Ibāḍiyya. Among the Berber tribes converted to Ibāḍism at this period were the Zanāta of western Tripolitania and the Nafūsa who were settled on that part of the Tripolitanian Djebel which today still bears their name. Al-Ḥārith is said to have been proclaimed *imām al-aḥkām*, but it is more likely that al-Ḥārith and ʿAbd al-Djabbār reigned together (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 244; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 170; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 175, 597; T. Lewicki, *La répartition géographique des groupements ibāḍites dans l'Afrique du Nord au moyen-âge*, in *RO*, xxi (1957), 308; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, i, 219). After the deaths of al-Ḥārith and of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who killed each other in 131/748-9 (or in 132/749-50), it was Ismāʿīl b. Ziyād al-Nafūsī (also known as Abu 'l-Zādjir Ismāʿīl) who was elected leader by the Ibāḍī Berber tribes of Tripolitania with the title of *imām al-difāʿ* (imām of defence). He captured the town of Ḳābis (Gabès) in 132 at the time of the accession of the ʿAbbāsids to the caliphate, but he was killed near this town in an encounter with the troops of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, the Arab governor of Ḳayrawān. His death took place soon after his election (T. Lewicki, *Études Ibāḍites nord-africaines*, part I, Warsaw 1957, 23, lines 1-2 and 127-8). It was probably at this time that there appeared the Ibāḍī (of Berber origin) ʿUmar b. Īmkaten. According to the early Ibāḍī chronicles he was the first to teach the Ḳur'ān in the Djabal Nafūsa, having learned it himself on the great coastal road which linked the Maghrib to the East, in the region of Maghmadās (the Macomades Syrtis of antiquity and the present day Marsa Zaʿafrān; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 142; Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, 55). After the death of Ismāʿīl b. Ziyād al-Nafūsī, the Ibāḍī state of Tripolitania collapsed, but the population remained Ibāḍī. It was from Tripolitania or from the neighbouring districts of southern Tunisia that, in the years after 140/760, several Berbers came to Baṣra to study under the president of the Ibāḍī *mashāyikh* there, Abū ʿUbayda al-Tamīmī. Among these persons, who later returned to preach the Ibāḍī faith in Tripolitania, were a certain Ibn Maghṭīr (Ibn Mughṭīr), a Nafūsī who was still alive in about 196 (Strothman, *Berber und Ibāditen*, in *Isl.*, xvii, 266; Lewicki, *Études berbères-nord-africaines*, 93, 95), ʿĀṣim al-Sadrātī, later mentioned among the Ibāḍī generals of the Maghrib (d. 155-772; Lewicki, *op. cit.*, 77), Abū Dāwūd al-Ḳibillī of Nafzāwa in southern Tunisia and Ismāʿīl b. Darrār al-Ghadāmisī. The last three, with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, a Persian who had originally settled at Ḳayrawān, and with an Arab from the South, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī al-Ḥimyarī (who was a *mawlā* of the tribe of al-Maʿāfira, cf. *Bayān*, i, 317), formed a team of missionaries (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*) similar to those sent by Abū ʿUbayd to ʿUmān and Khurāsān. They received from Abū ʿUbayda orders to form the Ibāḍīs of Tripolitania into an imāmate, and with his usual prescience he nominated Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb as the future imām. The activities of the *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* met with great success. In 140, the Ibāḍī dignitaries of Tripolitania, assembled in a secret council held at Ṣayyād, near Tripoli, raised Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb to the office of imām. The Ibāḍī Berber tribes of Hawwāra and Nafūsa and others, led by the new imām, conquered the whole of Tripolitania, together with the town of Tripoli, which became the residence of the imām, then, in Ṣafar 141/June-July 758, captured the town of al-Ḳayrāwān, the Arab capital of Ifrīḳiya which was then in the possession of the Ṣufrīs of the Berber tribe of Warfadjdjūma. As a result of these successes of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb there arose a fairly important Ibāḍī state, which included the whole of Tripolitania from the western frontier of Barḳa, Tunisia and the whole of the east of present-day Algeria, including the country of the Ketāma in the north of the department of Constantine. It even seems that Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb also exercised a certain influence over the Ṣufrīs of Sidjilmāsa (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 34; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 130 and *passim*; al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-'l-mamālik*, ed. de Slane, 149, tr. 285-6; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 375; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1875-81, i, 357; Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites-nord-africaines*, 112-4).

The imāmate of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb did not last long. It was destroyed in 144/761 by the ʿAbbāsid army under the command of Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī, the governor of Egypt, following a battle at Tāwarghā (Tāūrgha) to the east of Tripoli. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and several thousand of his supporters fell, and Ibn al-Ashʿath re-took al-Ḳayrawān (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 37-8; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 132; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, text 7, tr. 22; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 220, 374-5; Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 358-60; Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites-nord-africaines*, 113-4).

The remnants of the Ibāḍiyya either withdrew into the interior of Tripolitania or crossed into the central Maghrib. Gradually there arose new centres of resistance against the ʿAbbāsids. Thus ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, the former Ibāḍī governor of Ḳayrawān and one of the *ḥamalat al-ʿilm*, fleeing from the Arab army which had re-taken Ifrīḳiya, went (by way of Sūf Adjdjādj to the west of the Bilād al-Djarīd, where there had collected several Ibāḍī scholars from Tripolitania) towards the west of the present-day Algeria, where he founded (or rather rebuilt) the town of Tāhert. Soon several Berber Ibāḍī fractions (most of them probably emigrés from Ifrīḳiya), such as the Lamāya, the Lawāta and the Nafzāwa, rallied to this leader. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam seems to have been fairly powerful, since the leader of the Ibāḍiyya of Tripolitania after the death of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, the Hawwārī Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī, for a time sent him the *zakāt*, thus acknowledging his supremacy. In addition to these two leaders, there were others in North Africa at this time, as for example ʿĀṣim al-Sadrātī, who is even referred to as imām by the Ibāḍī writers, and al-Miswar al-Zanātī (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 40-2; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 133, 135, 138, 141; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, text 68, tr. 140; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 220, 221, 375, 380; Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 371).

As a result of the activity of these various leaders, there broke out in North Africa, in 151/768, an Ibāḍī revolt which the Ṣufrīs also joined. At the head of the rebels was Abū Ḥātim, who took the title of *imām al-difāʿ*. The Arabic sources provide details of this revolt, the most famous episodes of which were the capture of al-Ḳayrawān by Abū Ḥātim, who took it from the Arabs, and the siege of Ṭubna in the Zāb. After some years of fighting, Abū Ḥātim yielded to the army of the ʿAbbāsid general Yazīd b. Ḥātim, which had attacked him in the east of Tripolitania, and he died in 155 (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 41-9; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 135-8; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 221-3, 379-85; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 173; Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 364-80).

After the defeat of Abū Ḥātim and the collapse of the Ibāḍī imāmate of Tripolitania, there took place a migration towards the west of the Berber Ibāḍī fractions of Tripolitania and Tunisia. It was probably

as part of this migration that some Khāridjī fractions from Ifrīḳiya crossed into the country of the Ketāma in 156, as mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn. These emigrants probably joined ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, and the headquarters of the North African Ibāḍiyya became the town of Tāhert. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam was elected imām in 160 or 162 (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 49 ff.; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 138 ff.; A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghir*, 63-4). With this there began the consolidation of all the Ibāḍī groups of North Africa around the imāms of Tāhert. It was under the two successors of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, namely ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (168-208/784-823) and al-Allaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (208-58 ?/823-72 ?), that the Ibāḍism of the Maghrib reached its peak. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb succeeded, after long campaigns, in reuniting under his rule, towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, all the Berber Ibāḍī tribes of North Africa. It even appears that he almost conquered Ifrīḳiya proper. In fact it seems that the uprising of Nuṣayr b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ibāḍī, from the tribe of the Nafzāwa, which took place in Ifrīḳiya in 171-787-8 and in which 10,000 Ibāḍīs lost their lives (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 82; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 224; Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 384), had as its aim the annexing of this country to the kingdom of Tāhert. It was perhaps the failure of this revolt which led the imām of Tāhert to conclude a peace with Rawḥ b. Ḥātim, the Arab governor of al-Ḳayrawān on behalf of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. Indeed, the negotiations between Tāhert and al-Ḳayrawān began immediately after the disaster to the Ibāḍīs of Ifrīḳiya in the same year, 171 (Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 387). As a result of these negotiations, peace was restored in North Africa. The governors of al-Ḳayrawān and the Aghlabid *amīr*s took care not to disturb the Berber Ibāḍī tribes, who had been ruled by the Rustamids for about half a century. At this period, the boundaries of the imāmate of Tāhert included, according to Ibn al-Ṣaghīr (17, tr. p. 73), all the country between Tlemcen and Tripoli. To the west, the Rustamid state included the district around Tāhert, as well as the territory of Sersū inhabited by the Ibāḍī fractions of the Berber tribes of Lamāya, Sadrāta, Mazāta, Lawāta, Hawwāra, Nafūsa, Zawagha, Matmāta, Miknāsa, Azdādja and Ghumāra; the majority of these tribes abandoned Ibāḍism towards the end of the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th century. To the north-west, the frontier of the state of Tāhert reached the Mediterranean near to Marsā Farrūkh and Marsa 'l-Kharaz (between Arzew and Mostaganem, now La Calle) or near to Marsa 'l-Dadjādj (between Algiers and Bougie). To the south, the Rustamid imāmate included the oases of Wādī Rīgh and Wargla. A strip formed by a part of the Hodna and of the Zāb and the Djabal Awrās, and inhabited by Ibāḍīs, linked the western sections of the imāmate of Tāhert with the Ibāḍī districts of the present-day Tunisia and Tripolitania. These eastern domains of the Ibāḍī state included, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the whole of southern Tunisia, that is Ḳafṣa (Gafsa), the district of al-Sāḥil (present-day Sahel), the Bilād al-Djarīd (referred to by the mediaeval Ibāḍī writers as al-Ḳuṣūr) with its cantons: Ḳasṭīliya (Tozeur), Ḳanṭrāra, Nafzāwa and Ḥarth-Nafātha, the mountains of south-eastern Tunisia and the whole of Tripolitania, except for the town of Tripoli itself. It can thus be seen that the possessions of the Rustamid imāmate encircled the Aghlabid state on all sides. Aghlabid power was limited, still in the first quarter of the 3rd/9th century, to northern Tunisia and north-eastern Algeria.

It was not until 224/839 that the Aghlabids succeeded in breaking the Rustamid blockade and in partially occupying the Ibāḍī strip linking Tāhert with Tripolitania, that is the districts of Ḳafṣa, al-Sāḥil and Bilād al-Djarīd, by means of an expedition led by the Aghlabī general ʿĪsā b. Rayʿān al-Azdī. Ibn ʿIdhārī, who provides this information, says nothing on the doctrines professed by the Berbers of southern Tunisia, but merely states that they belonged to the tribes of Lawāta, Zawāgha and Miknāsa. In a battle which took place between Ḳafṣa and Ḳasṭīliya, these tribes were massacred, and this put an end to the Rustamid domination in southern Tunisia and caused the Ibāḍī territory of the Maghrib to be divided into two separate parts (A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghir*, tr. 74, 78, 102, 122; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, text, 55, 70, 72-3, 81-2, tr., 117, 144, 148, 164, 166; al-Dardjīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 102v; al-Wisyānī, *Taʾlīf*, MS 277 of the collection of Cracow, 33-4, 58, 140; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 346, 352, 353, 355, 356; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 154, 159, 161-5, 181, 194, 196, 203, 214, 275, 590, 596, 597; Ibn Khurradādhbih, text, 88-9, tr. 63; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *al-Buldān*, 79; M. Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale*, Paris 1927, *passim*; T. Lewicki, *La répartition géographique des groupements ibāḍites dans l'Afrique du Nord au moyen-âge*, in *RO*, xxi (1957), 301-43; idem, *Les Ibāḍites en Tunisie au moyen-âge*, Rome 1959; idem, *Un document ibāḍite inédit sur l'émigration des Nafūsa du Ǧabal*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i/2 (1960) 175-91, ii (1950), 214-6).

Outside North Africa, the Ibāḍī groups of Baṣra and throughout the East also recognized the supremacy of Ibn Rustam and of his successors and "dated with his name their books and their testaments" (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 53; A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghir*, tr. 65-71). This was probably the reason why the Ibāḍī rulers of ʿUmān sometimes, in the 3rd/9th century, bore the title of *wālī* (governor) or of *muṭaḳaddim* (leader) together with that of imām (see above).

Towards the second half of the 3rd century, the imāmate of Tāhert, split by the political schisms of al-Nukkār, of the Khalafiyya, of Ibn Maṣṣāla (who created an independent Ibāḍī state bear Tāhert) and others (see below), and cut into two separate parts because of the success of the Aghlabids in conquering the whole of southern Tunisia, was approaching ruin. Rustamid influence in Tripolitania was completely destroyed in 283/896, when the Aghlabid army defeated in the famous battle of Mānū (between Tripoli and Ḳābis) the powerful Ibāḍī Berber tribe of the Nafūsa, which had been the main support of the Rustamid state in Ifrīkiya (cf. al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 267-9; al-Dardjīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 31v; Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 194-202; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *op. cit.*, i, 129; Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 575; Vonderheyden, *op. cit.*, 44-5). The remains of the state of Tāhert continued to exist until 296/909, when it finally fell before the armies of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, who founded on the ruins of the Aghlabid, Rustamid and Midrārid states of Sidjilmāsa the new and powerful Fāṭimid kingdom. After Tāhert had been taken by the Fāṭimid army, the last Rustamid imām, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, fled, with his family and with the most important scholars and men of influence from Tāhert, to Sadrāta (in the oasis of Wargla) on the southern borders of the state of Tāhert, where for a time they dreamed of re-establishing the Ibāḍī imāmate in this locality (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 365;

Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 251-8; Fournel, *op. cit.*, ii, 52-95). This idea was abandoned, perhaps as the result of a Fāṭimid expedition in the direction of the oasis of Wargla (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 220-3). Moreover, a new Ibāḍī imāmate was already being formed in the Djabal Nafūsa, where the Fāṭimid army did not penetrate until very much later.

There should be mentioned here the activities of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā' al-Irdjānī. This leader, who is given in the Ibāḍī sources the title of *ḥākim* or of *imām mudāfiʿ*, and who lived in the Djabal Nafūsa, ruled for about fifteen years. This is the only example known of a North African Ibāḍī-Wahbī chief taking the title of imām after the fall of the imāmate of the Banū Rustam. His power did not extend beyond the limits of the Djabal Nafūsa, but he nevertheless succeeded in preserving the independence of this territory from the Fāṭimids. He died in 311/923-4. His successors, who bore the title of *ḥākim*, were also in fact independent of the Fāṭimid state. Later, one of the *ḥākims* of the Djabal Nafūsa was forced, in about 430-50, to recognize the supremacy of the Zīrids. The semi-independent Ibāḍī *ḥākims* (and later *shaykhs*) of the Djabal Nafūsa still existed in the 8th/14th century (T. Lewicki, *Ibāḍitica, 2: Les Ḥākims du Ğabal Nafūsa*, in *RO*, xxvi (1962), 97-123).

In the first half of the 4th/10th century, there took place a further unsuccessful attempt to re-establish the Ibāḍī state in North Africa. This time it was a member of the Nukkārī sect, Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydad (d. 335/946-7), who rallied round him the Ibāḍī tribes of Tripolitania, the Zāb and the other districts of the Maghrib (see *EI*[1], suppl., AL-NUKKĀR). Twenty years later, the Ibāḍiyya of the Maghrib made a further attempt, and declared in 358 a *khurūdj* against the Fāṭimids. This revolt, which broke out in the Bilād al-Djarīd, was led by two Ibāḍī-Wahbī *shaykhs* of the tribe of the Banū Wisyān: Abu 'l-Ḳāsim and, after his death, Abū Khazar (according to Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 542: Abū Djaʿfar al-Zanātī); it achieved for the Ibāḍīs temporary domination of Tripolitania, of southern Tunisia, of the island of Djarba, of the Zāb and of the oases of the Rīgh and of Wārdjlān (Wargla). The *wilāyat al-difāʿ* was proclaimed, governors were appointed for all the provinces and it was even contemplated that they might enter into relations with the Umayyads of Spain. Abū Khazar assembled an enormous army, the tribe of the Mazāta alone providing him with 12,000 horsemen. But this insurrection also failed, and, after the rout of the rebels at Bāghāy, the Ibāḍiyya of North Africa had to submit to the Fāṭimids (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 288-310; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 346-62; Fournel, *op. cit.*, ii, 349).

After this revolt, the Ibāḍīs of North Africa made no further attempts to restore an imāmate and they returned to the state of *kitmān*. Nevertheless, in the various parts of the Maghrib and Ifrīḳiya there were formed small Ibāḍī-Wahbī political organizations, independent or semi-independent of the Fāṭimids and of the Sunnī North African dynasties. There have been mentioned above the Ibāḍī *ḥākims* of the Djabal Nafūsa and the author has dealt in a special study (T. Lewicki, *La répartition géographique des groupements ibāḍites*) with the Ibāḍī groups of Tripolitania and of the Fezzān which survived from the Rustamid rule (which however in the majority of these provinces came to an end towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century). The history of the Ibāḍī groups in Tunisia at this time has been dealt with in T. Lewicki, *Les Ibāḍites en Tunisie au moyen-âge*. The oasis of Wargla was governed, towards the 4th/10th century, by a council of notables (*wudjūh, aʿyān, akābir*; cf. al-Dardjīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 38v; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 365). Later, in the 5th/11th century, there appeared among the Ibāḍiyya of North Africa (alongside the *ḥākim*, the *muḳaddam* and the *ra'īs*) a new form of government: a theocratic government formed by councils of recluses (*al-ʿazzāba*) presided over by a *shaykh* who exercised authority over the entire life of the Ibāḍī groups [see ḤALḲA].

As a result of civil wars and of the defeat of the rebels by the Fāṭimids, followed by the repression of these rebels by the Fāṭimids and other Sunnī rulers of North Africa, there began a decline of North African Ibāḍism which seems to have been accelerated after the migration of the Banū Hilāl. The North African Ibāḍīs withdrew, from the 6th/12th century onwards, into a few barely accessible regions where they have continued to exist until the present day. Thus the Ibāḍīs escaping from the central Maghrib at first joined the Ibāḍī groups in the oasis of Wargla and the Rīgh and thereafter even founded new colonies in the Mzab, to which there came later the remnants of the Ibāḍiyya of Wargla and of the Rīgh. The Ibāḍīs of Tripolitania were concentrated towards the end of the Middle Ages in the Djabal Nafūsa. Today Ibāḍism is practised in North Africa only in Mzab, in two-thirds of the island of Djerba, at Zuara on the coast of western Tripolitania and in half of the Djabal Nafūsa. They are still divided there into two main sects: the Wahbīs and the Nukkārīs, the last remnants of a once-powerful population which formerly played a very considerable rôle in the history of North Africa.

The Ibāḍī imāms and doctors of North Africa maintained fairly active relations with the *mashāyikh* of Baṣra and Mecca and with the scholars of ʿUmān. There are preserved in the Ibāḍī chronicles of the Maghrib several fragments of the letters exchanged by the North African Ibāḍiyya and their co-religionists in the East (cf., *e.g.*, Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 65-6). Also the Eastern Ibāḍīs often travelled or sent embassies to the Maghrib, especially during the rule of the Banū Rustam, *e.g.*, the journey made to the Maghrib by the Khurāsānī doctor Abū Ghānim (A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghir*, tr. 65-71; Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 51-3, 63-7, 74-5, 136-41). Conversely, scholars from the Maghrib often travelled to the East (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 180-5; A. de C. Motylinski, *op. cit.*, tr. 112). After the fall of the Rustamid imāmate, relations between the Ibāḍīs of North Africa and those of the East became less close. Nevertheless, as late as the 7th/13th century, the *mashāyikh* of ʿUmān sent to the Maghrib several Ibāḍī works written in the East, and one of the most important North African Ibāḍī writers, al-Dardjīnī, was commissioned to write a history of the North African Ibāḍiyya for the use of those of ʿUmān (T. Lewicki, *Notice sur la chronique ibāḍite d'al-Darğīnī*, in *RO*, xi (1936), 156). Still later, towards the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the Ibāḍī biographer of the Maghrib, al-Shammākhī, was in contact with a scholar of ʿUmān, a certain al-Samā'ilī (T. Lewicki, *Une chronique ibāḍite*, in *REI* (1934), 66).

(n) Western and central Sudan. In his important article *Sur la diffusion des formes d'architecture religieuse musulmane à travers le Sahara*, in *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, xi (1954), 11-27, J. Schacht has demonstrated that it was the Ibāḍīs of southern Tunisia, of Wargla and of the Mzab who brought the characteristic features

of Muslim religious architecture across the Sahara to the Hausa, the Kanuris and the Fulbe (Peuls). Thus the "staircase minaret" reached the Sudan from southern Tunisia via Wargla, the rectangular *miḥrāb* came from the Mzab, and the absence of a *minbār* among the Fulbe is due to the influence of the Ibāḍīs. According to J. Schacht, it was the Ibāḍīs also who introduced Islam itself into part of "Black Africa". The mediaeval Arabic sources, and especially the North African Ibāḍī sources, provide in fact many interesting and credible proofs of the activity of merchants, and probably also of Ibāḍī missionaries, in western and central Sudan, from the 2nd/8th to the 8th/14th century. The town of Tāhert, the capital of the Rustamid state, had become in the second half of the 2nd/8th century, soon after its foundation, the centre of intensive trade with the Sudan (probably with the towns of Awdag͟hust and G͟hāna) and, during the reign of the Rustamid imām Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (208-58), there was even an Ibāḍī ambassador at the court of the king of G͟hāna or of Gao. According to a passage in the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of al-Wisyānī (MS no. 277 of the Cracow collection, 59), Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb even wished, during the lifetime of his father (hence before 208/823), to make a journey to the district of D̲j̲awd̲j̲aw (Gogo, Gao) in the Sudan, but the journey did not take place, as it was forbidden by the imām, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Following the direction of the trade route which passed mainly through the town of Sid̲j̲ilmāsa and across the western Sahara, Ibāḍism first took root in Awdag͟hust (now Tagdaoust, in the south east of the present-day Mauritania), where there were found, towards the 4th-5th/10th-11th century, fractions of the Berber tribes of Nafūsa, Lawāta, Nafzāwa and Zanāta; it is known that these were Ibāḍī tribes. The mediaeval Ibāḍī sources mention several Ibāḍī merchants, most of them from the Bilād al-D̲j̲arīd, who went to G͟hāna during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. One of these merchants, the scholar Abū Mūsā al-Wisyānī, arrived, by way of the oasis of Wargla, at the town of G͟hayāra (G͟hayaro, Goundiourou, near to the present-day Kayés on the Senegal), where he died among "idolatrous people", as is stressed in the Ibāḍī chronicles. It is not impossible that the Muslim missionary who converted to Islam the pagan king of Mallel (Mālī) before 400 was an Ibāḍī. There may perhaps also be some truth in the anecdote related by al-Dard̲j̲īnī (7th/13th century) and al-S͟hammāk͟hī (10th/16th century) on the activity of the Ibāḍī missionary, ʿAlī b. Yak͟hlaf al-Nafūsī, a native of the Bilād al-D̲j̲arīd, who converted to Ibāḍism the pagan king of Mālī "in the heart of G͟hāna" in 575/1179-80. One effect of these contacts was the existence, as late as 753/1352, of an Ibāḍī group among the "whites", that is the Berber inhabitants, of the locality of Zag͟hārī (between Walāta and the Niger, the present-day Dioura or Ture-ssangha, south-south-east of Bacikounou).

It appears that there were also in the 3rd/9th century commercial relations between the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa and Takrūr, a negro kingdom situated in what is now Senegal (al-S͟hammāk͟hī, *op. cit.*, 273).

A whole series of data on the commerce between the North African Ibāḍīs and the Sudan in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries concerns the trade expeditions directed towards Tādemekket (Tādmekka), an important centre of trade in the southern Sahara, situated in the Adrar of the Ifog͟has, to the north-east of the bend of the Niger. The ruins of this town still exist, and are known as al-Sūḳ, "the market". It was there that there was born, in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Yazīd Mak͟hlad b. Kaydād, the future leader of the revolt of the Ibāḍī sect of the Nukkārīs against the Fāṭimids. According to al-Bakrī, the route from Tādmekka to al-Ḳayrawān, which was very important for Saharan trade, went through the (Ibāḍī) oasis of Wargla and through southern Tunisia, which also had a very numerous Ibāḍī population, as is known from other sources. There was also a caravan route which linked Tādmekka to the town of Tripoli and which passed through G͟hadāmes, a town which still had an Ibāḍī population in the 8th/14th century. The North African Ibāḍī chronicles provide various details particularly on the commercial relations between the oasis of Wargla, the Bilād al-D̲j̲arīd and the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa on the one side and Tādmekka on the other.

As for commercial relations between Ibāḍīs and the central Sudan (the environs of Lake Chad) those mainly interested were the merchants of Tripolitania and the Fezzān, particularly those of the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa and of the little Fezzān state of Zawīla (present-day Zouila), which had an Ibāḍī population as early as 145/762 and which was still Ibāḍī in the time of al-Yaʿḳūbī, the second half of the 3rd/9th century. Zawīla was considered as the gateway to the central Sudan, and it held a near monopoly of the slave trade in this country. Relations between the Ibāḍīs of the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa and the negro populations of the basin of Lake Chad were very close. The governor of the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa on behalf of the Rustamid imāms, Abū ʿUbayda ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-D̲j̲anāwunī (first half of the 3rd/9th century), spoke, in addition to Berber and Arabic, the Kanemi language, probably Kanouri. These commercial relations were in operation along a very ancient route which led across the Fezzān and the Kawār. According to modern Ibāḍī writers (al-Barūnī, *Risāla al-ʿāmma wa 'l-mubtadiʾīn*, Cairo 1324, 23-4), there were still supporters of Ibāḍism in the Sudan towards the end of the 19th century (J. Schacht, *op. cit.*, *passim*; T. Lewicki, *Quelques extraits inédits relatifs aux voyages des commerçants et des missionaires ibāḍites nord-africains au pays du Soudan occidental au moyen-âge*, in *Folia Orientalia*, ii (1960-61), 1-27; idem, *L'État nord-africain de Tāhert et ses relations avec le Soudan occidental à la fin du VIIIe et au IXe siècle*, in *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, ii/4 (1962), 513-35; idem, *Traits d'histoire du commerce transsaharien. Marchands et missionaires ibāḍites en Soudan occidental et central au cours des VIIIe-XIIe siècles*, in *Etnografia Polska*, viii (1964), 291-311).

(o) Spain and Sicily. From the Mag͟hrib, Ibāḍism penetrated at a comparatively late date into Spain. Among the six members of the *s͟hūrā* of Tāhert who had to choose the imām in 168/784-5, after the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, there were two of Spanish origin: Masʿūd al-Andalusī and ʿUt͟hmān b. Marwān al-Andalusī (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 54-9; al-S͟hammāk͟hī, *op. cit.*, 145). Remnants of the Ibāḍiyya still existed in Spain in the 5th/11th century (Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 179, 191). Similarly, there was an Ibāḍī-Wahbī colony in Sicily in the 4th and 5th centuries (al-Wisyānī, *op. cit.*, 159-60).

DOCTRINE

The Ibāḍiyya, together with another K͟hārid̲j̲ī sect, the Ṣufriyya, form the moderate branch of the K͟hawārid̲j̲. They differ from the K͟hārid̲j̲ī extremists, represented by the Azraḳīs [see AZĀRIḲA], on several

points, the most important of which is the belief that non-Khāridjī Muslims are regarded as *kuffār* (infidels) and not *mushrikūn* (polytheists), as is believed by the Azāriḳa. The consequence of this belief is the rejection of the *istiʿrāḍ* ([*q.v.*] assassination for religious reasons) widely used by the Khāridjī extremists, who considered it lawful to kill the wives and children of the heterodox. Similarly, it is not permitted to seize their goods, except for their arms. Marriage with non-Ibāḍīs is also permitted; it is known in fact that, for example, the daughter of the Ibāḍī imām ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was married to the Ṣufrī prince of Sidjilmāsa (see Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 262). As for the political theories of the Ibāḍiyya, it should be stressed that, in conformance with the theories of the *Muḥakkima* (the first Khāridjīs), they considered that the existence of an imāmate was not indispensable. The condition in which they were to do without one, because of unfavourable circumstances, was called by the Ibāḍī authors *al-kitmān* (the "secret"; cf. al-Dardjīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 3r.). To this condition, Ibāḍī doctrine opposes *al-ẓuhūr* ("manifestation"), that is the proclamation of the imāmate (al-Dardjīnī, *loc. cit.*). The transition from the state of *kitmān* to that of *ẓuhūr* depends on the decision of the Ibāḍī *mashāyikh* of the country (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 144, n.). An imām elected in the normal way was known as *imām al-bayʿa* (there exists one reference to *imām ẓuhūr*; see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 138), while an imām invested by the *ahl al-kitmān* (the people living in a state of secrecy) to defend them in misfortune was known as *imām al-difāʿ* (Imām of defence), and his reign was called *wilāyat al-difāʿ* (cf. al-Dardjīnī, *loc. cit.*; al-Bārūnī, *Risālat sullam ahl al-ʿāmma*, 10, n. 2). In addition to these titles there are found also the definitions *imām al-aḥkām* and *imām ahl al-taḥḳīḳ*. The Ibāḍī imāms were also often called *amīr*, *amīr al-muʾminīn*, *amīr al-muslimīn* (cf. Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 43, 53; A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghīr*, tr. 131; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 14; cf., however, al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, 100) or even *khalīfa* (cf. al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 262; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *op. cit.*, Ar. text, 87; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, 79). The Berber Ibāḍīs of North Africa even gave their imāms the title *malik* ("king"; cf., *e.g.*, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *Kitāb al-Sīra*, MS of the Cracow collection, fol. 12v.; cf. al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 170 on the question of *mulk* among the Ibāḍiyya); it must be stressed that this latter title is completely contrary to Khāridjī dogmas, according to which the idea of *mulk* (royalty) is impious. The imām was elected by a council of important lay persons or of *shaykhs*, held in camera, and was thereafter proclaimed before the people; the first imāms were usually nominated by the *mashāyikh* of Baṣra, the spiritual leaders of the sect, as for example Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. ʿAwf al-Azdī al-Sulamī, the emissary of Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma of Baṣra, nominated the imām Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 21-3, 51; A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghīr*, tr. 63-4; Badger, *op. cit.*, 30-1; Lewicki, *Les Ibāḍites dans l'Arabie du Sud au moyen-âge*, 7). Often the election was limited to one tribe or to one family (cf., *e.g.*, the Banū Rustam of Tāhert). The imām had to rule according to the Ḳurʾān, the Sunna of the Prophet and the example of the first imāms. An *imām al-bayʿa* was at the same time leader in war, judge and theologian. He reigned as an absolute ruler, applying the dogmas without changing them at all. Anyone trying to limit his power by *sharṭs* (conditions) was considered a heretic; this was how the affair of the schism of al-Nukkār came about. The imām could be deposed if he did not observe the dogmas; the judges who had to decide whether he was conforming with the doctrine were probably the *mashāyikh*, especially those of Baṣra (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 144-5, n.). It seems that custom allowed several Ibāḍī imāms to exist simultaneously in the different countries of the Muslim world; indeed, there were at the same time Ibāḍī imāms at Tāhert, in ʿUmān, the Ḥaḍramawt, etc. This principle was clearly expressed in the doctrine of the Ḥamziyya, a branch of the Khāridjī sect of the ʿAdjārida, according to which the simultaneous existence of several imāms was permitted until the whole world has been finally converted (see al-Shahrastānī, tr. Haarbrücker, i, 145). Nevertheless, there had been a tendency for the Ibāḍī world to form itself into a universal imāmate, which did in fact succeed towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, though only for a rather short period. We are referring here to the Rustamid imāms, who were recognized for a certain period by all the Ibāḍī groups of the west and the east, although of course, because of their distance from one another, these groups could neither unite nor achieve uniformity (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 51, 74-5). From the historical accounts, although they are rather uneven, it can be concluded that in addition to the imāmate there was also practised in certain cases another form of government—a sort of condominium, as in the case of al-Ḥārith and of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who were, according to the expression of al-Barrādī (*op. cit.*, 170) *mushtarikān fi'l-mulk*. It is true that this fact, which was a denial of the cardinal principles of Khāridjism, was an embarrassment to the doctors of the sect (see al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 170-2).

In general, the dogma and the politico-religious theories of the Ibāḍiyya resemble on certain main points those of the Sunnīs. The Ibāḍiyya differ from the Mālikīs on only a few points, among which their theory on the creation of the Ḳurʾān in the time of the Prophet must be considered as the most important (see Z. Smogorzewski, *Un poème abāḍite sur certains divergences entre les Mālikites et les Abāḍites*, in *RO*, ii, 260-8). There has also been pointed out the very close affinity between Ibāḍī dogma and that of the Muʿtazila (Goldziher, *Dogme*, 163, 281; C. Nallino, in *RSO*, vii, 455-60). Unfortunately the existing sources do not provide a clear outline of the historical process by which the Muʿtazilī elements mingled with the Ibāḍiyya. It must, however, be mentioned that this Muʿtazilī influence on Ibāḍī doctrine was so considerable that the Arab geographer al-Bakrī refers to the Ibāḍī sect as al-Wāṣiliyya-Ibāḍiyya (*op. cit.*, Ar. text, 72). The relations between these two sects even led to the foundation of a number of mixed sects.

It should be added that the Ibāḍīs were also eminent theologians. The earliest *mutakallim* known was an Ibāḍī of Baṣra, Bisṭām b. ʿUmar b. al-Musīb al-Ḍabbī (see above), who worked there between 77 and 81 (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 111; on the Ibāḍī *mutakallims* of the early period, cf. also *ibid.*, 83); the Muʿtazilī *mutakallims* considered by the Islamic scholars as the earliest do not appear until the 2nd/8th century (see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, 80). On Ibāḍī doctrine, see, in addition to the works mentioned in this section: al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*, 1309, i-iv; al-Djayṭālī, *Ḳanāṭir al-khayrāt*, 1307, 1-iii; al-Sadrātī, *Kitāb al-Dalīl wa-'l-burhān*, 1306; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (of the Beni Isguène), *Kitāb al-Nīl*, 1305, i-ii; Aṭfiyyash, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Nīl*; Zeys, *Législation*

mozabite, Algiers 1886; E. Sachau, *Muhammadanisches Erbrecht nach der Lehre der ibaditischen Araber von Zanzibar und Ostafrika*, in *SB Pr. Ak. W.*, 1894; idem, *Über die religiosen Anschaungen d. ibaditischen Muhammedaner in Oman und Ostafrika*, in *MSOS As.*, ii (1899), 47-82; A. de C. Motylinski, *L'Aqida des Abadhites*, in *Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publié en l'Honneur du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes*; A. Imbert, *Le droit ibadhite chez les musulmans de Zanzibar*, Algiers 1903; M. Mercier, *Étude sur le waqf abadhite*, Algiers 1927 and review by Z. Smogorzewski in *RO*, v, 243-58; M. M. Moreno, *Note di teologia ibāḍita*, in *AIUON*, n.s. ii (1949), 299-313; C. A. Nallino, *Rapporti fra la dogmatica muʿtazilita e quella degli Ibāḍiti dell' Africa Settentrionale*, in *RSO*, vii (1916-18), 455-60; R. Rubinacci, *La purità rituale secondo gli Ibāḍiti*, in *AIUON*, n.s. vi (1957), 1-41; E. Zeys, *Droit mozabite*, Algiers 1891.

Ibāḍī sects

The religious and political unity of the Ibāḍī sect was broken at a fairly early date by a number of schisms (*iftirāḳ*) and heresies (*khilāf*, *mukhālafa*), which resulted in the formation of numerous semi-political, semi-theological subdivisions (*firḳa*). These schisms were at first, during the period of *kitmān*, of a purely dogmatic nature. Later, from the first half of the 2nd/8th century, there arose other sects which were the result of political crises, which, in a theological system like that of the Ibāḍiyya, always appear as schisms. Among the political causes of the Ibāḍī schisms, two appear to have been of especial importance: the question of the condominium exercised by al-Ḥārith and ʿAbd al-Djabbār and, later, the affair of the *sharṭ*s (conditions imposed on the imām), which was the cause of the schism of the Nukkār, one of the main subdivisions.

The most important secondary branch of the Ibāḍiyya appears to be the sub-sect called al-Ibāḍiyya al-Wahbiyya. The Wahbī Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib call themselves *ahl al-madhhab*, "people of the vocation". Al-Ibāḍiyya al-Wahbiyya was the most numerous and the most important of all the Ibāḍī subdivisions, and it is this sect which has been almost the only one of all the Khāridjī branches to continue to exist until the present day. It forms the moderate branch of the Khawāridj.

Another Ibāḍī subdivision was the sub-sect of al-Ḥārithiyya. The founder of this sect must be considered to be a certain Ḥamza al-Kūfī, who lived towards the first half of the 2nd/8th century. He broke away from Abū ʿUbayda, the president of the Ibāḍī *mashāyikh* of Baṣra, by accepting Muʿtazilī opinions on the question of *ḳadar*. Among other Ibāḍī doctors who shared Ḥamza's opinions should be mentioned a certain al-Ḥārith b. Mazyad al-Ibāḍī, to whom the Ḥārithiyya owes its name.

Besides al-Ḥārithiyya, yet another Ibāḍī sect provides evidence of the influence of Muʿtazilī doctrine on the Ibāḍīs. This is the sect of "those who accept an obedience which is not directed towards Allāh", founded at a period after the middle of the 3rd/9th century.

In the period of Abū ʿUbayda there arose yet another difference of opinions among the Ibāḍīs: the heresy of an Ibāḍī *mutakallim* named Ṣāliḥ b. Kuthayr.

Nothing definite is known about the doctrines preached by a certain Sufyān, who revolted against the Ibāḍī doctrine of Abū ʿUbayda, but later repented.

Another sub-sect, the Ṭarīfiyya, was founded in southern Arabia by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭarīf, one of the companions of the imām Ṭalib al-Ḥaḳḳ, *ca.* 129/747. Its adherents were found mainly in the East, where it was, in the first half of the 3rd/9th century, one of the three main branches of the Ibāḍiyya in this region, the others being the Wahbī Ibāḍīs and the Shaʿbiyya (Nukkāris).

The Nukkāris [see AL-NUKKĀR] were one of the main branches of the Ibāḍiyya, who played an important rôle in the Middle Ages. They organized in North Africa, towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, an imāmate which was separate from that of Tāhert. There is even known the name of a Nukkārī imām who lived at this time: Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Aʿmā, the master of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād. Later Abū ʿAmmār was succeeded by Abū Yazīd, who was elected by the Nukkāris "*shaykh* of the true believers", and who ruled the Nukkārī imāmate with a council of twelve *ʿazzāba*. Abū Yazīd departed from Ibāḍī doctrine by authorizing *istiʿrāḍ*, or assassination for religious reasons, following the example of the Azraḳīs and the Maghribī Ṣufrīs. In the Arabic sources the Nukkāris have also other names: Shaʿbiyya, Yazīdiyya or Mistāwa. The adherents of this sect called themselves al-Maḥbūbiyyūn. They were numerous in the Maghrib but were found also in ʿUmān and in southern Arabia. Among their most outstanding doctors was a certain Hārūn b. al-Yamanī, referred to by Ibāḍī authors as Hārūn al-Mukhālif; a polemical writing by him against the Wahbiyya is preserved in the Ibāḍī collection from ʿUmān known as the *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya.*

The Ibāḍī sub-sect of al-Nafāthiyya (or al-Naffāthiyya) originated at Ḳanṭrāra in the Bilād al-Djarīd, probably towards the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. Its founder, Nafāth (or Naffāth), accused the Rustamid imām Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of neglecting the war against the Musawwida, that is the Aghlabids, and of leading a life of luxury. According to Nafāth, the *khuṭba* was an innovation and ought to be rejected. Nafāth's doctrines were set out in a work which was later refuted by Mahdī al-Nafūsī, an important Wahbī-Ibāḍī doctor of Ifriḳiya. Unfortunately neither of these works has survived. Adherents of Nafāth existed in the Djabal Nafūsa in the 5th/11th century and in the extreme south of Tunisia in the 8th/14th century. Remnants of this sect are found today in the Gharyān and in the Djabal Nafūsa under the name of Naffāti.

The Ibāḍī subdivision of al-Khalafiyya, which was purely political in origin, was founded in Tripolitania towards the end of the 2nd/8th century by Khalaf b. al-Samḥ, a descendant of the imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī al-Ḥimyarī; it was not until later that it assumed the character of a schism over dogma. This branch had many adherents, especially in north-western Tripolitania.

In the 3rd/9th century there took place another political schism among the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib. This was concerned with the usurper Ibn Maṣṣāla al-Ibāḍī, of the tribe of the Hawwāra, who founded an independent Ibāḍī state in the neighbourhood of Tāhert.

The Ibāḍī sect known as al-ʿUmariyya was founded probably in the first half of the 2nd/8th century by ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar (or ʿUmayr). The ʿUmariyya differed considerably from the Wahbī Ibāḍīs and, according to Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjilānī, the doctrines of these two sub-sects differed completely. In matters concerning the Ḳurʾān, the ʿUmarīs

followed the text of ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd. Their adherents were found only in North Africa.

Some of the doctrines of al-ʿUmariyya were similar to those of the Ibāḍī branch of al-Ḥasaniyya (or al-Ḥusayniyya). The name of this sub-sect, which was widespread only in North Africa, derives from its founder, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (al-Ḥasan) al-Aṭrābulusī al-Ibāḍī, who appears to have lived in the first part of the 3rd/9th century. His *dīwān* was known at Wargla towards the beginning of the 4th/10th century. Adherents of this branch still existed in the 6th/12th century in some districts to the east of the Djabal Nafūsa.

In the first half of the 4th/10th century, there was formed the Ibāḍī branch of the Farthiyya. Its founder, Sulaymān b. Yaʿḳūb b. Aflaḥ, a descendent of the Rustamid imāms who lived in the oasis of Wargla, forbade the eating of the large intestines of sheep (*farth*), hence the name of the sect. It may be that Sulaymān's opinions were also influenced by the *dīwān* of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṭrābulusī.

Nothing is known of the period when Sakkāk, the founder of another Ibāḍī sect, the Sakkākiyya, was teaching. This doctor considered that the communal prayer and the call to prayer were innovations; he also rejected the Sunna. The Wahbī Ibāḍīs described the Sakkākīs as *mushrikūn*. The adherents of this sect, which disappeared entirely towards the end of the 5th/11th century, were never very numerous; they seem to have been limited to the district of Ḳanṭrāra in the Bilād al-Djarīd.

The adherents of the Ibāḍī subdivision of the Ḥafṣiyya, founded at an unknown period by Ḥafṣ b. Abī 'l-Miḳdām, maintained that between *īmān* "belief" and *shirk* "polytheism" there exists *maʿrifat Allāh* "knowledge of God".

The sub-sect of the Yazīdiyya, adherents of Yazīd b. Abī Anīsa (or Yazīd b. Unays), and to be distinguished from another Ibāḍī subdivision of the same name which is identical with the Nukkārīs, held as one of their principal beliefs that God will reveal a new Ḳurʾān to a Persian prophet. It can thus be seen that Yazīd carried to great lengths the theory of the *faḍāʾil*, "eminent qualities", of the Persians and the Berbers in comparison with the Arabs, the seeds of which are found also among the Wahbī Ibāḍīs.

Relations between these various Ibāḍī subdivisions were in the main hostile. The Ibāḍī historians often mention wars waged by the different branches, particularly the Nukkārīs, the Banū Maṣṣāla and the Khalafīs, against the Rustamids. Nevertheless, there can be noticed from time to time, after the collapse of the imāmate of Tāhert, attempts at a reconciliation between several Ibāḍī branches. Thus, for example, the population of the district of Zīzū on the western coast of Tripolitania, composed of the adherents of the Ibāḍī subdivisions of the Wahbiyya, the Nukkār, the Khalafiyya and the Naffāthiyya, lived peacefully together under the direction of a common council, at the head of which in the first half of the 4th/10th century, was a Wahbī who had entrusted juridical decisions to a Nukkārī, the Ramaḍān prayers to a Khalafī and the call to prayers to a Naffāthī (T. Lewicki, *Les subdivisions de l'Ibāḍiyya*, in *Stud. Isl.*, ix (1958), 71-82).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see: ʿAlī Yaḥyā Muʿammar, *al-Ibāḍiyya fī mawkib al-taʾrīkh*, i-iii, Cairo 1384/1964; *Annals of ʿOman from early times to the year 1728 A.D., from an Arabic MS by Sheykh Sirha'n*..., tr. with notes by E. C. Ross, in *JASB*, xliii (1874), 111-96; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*; Chaikh Bekri, *Le Kharijisme berbère*, in *AIEO Alger*, xv (1957), 55-108; G. Crupi la Rosa, *I trasmettitori della dottrina Ibāḍita*, in *AIUON*, n.s. v (1954), 123-39; H. Klein, *Kapitel XXXIII der anonymen arabischen Chronik, Kašf al-ġumma al-ǧāmiʿ li-aḫbār al-umma*, Hamburg 1938; T. Lewicki, *Ibāḍitica, 1. Tasmiya šuyūḫ Nafūsa*, in *RO*, xxv/2 (1961), 87-120; idem, *Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes ibāḍites-wahbites de l'Afrique du Nord du VIIIe au XVIe siècle*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961-62), 1-134; idem, *Les Ibāḍites dans l'Arabie du Sud au moyen âge*, in *Akten des XXIV. Intern. Orientalisten-Kongresses*, 362-4; idem, *Mélanges berbères-ibāḍites*, in *REI*, 1936/3, 267-85; idem, *Quelques textes inédits en vieux berbère provenant d'une chronique ibāḍite anonyme*, in *REI*, 1934/3, 275-96; A. de C. Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, iii (Algiers 1885), 15-72; idem, *L'ʿAqida des Abadhites*, in *Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publié en l'honneur du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algeria 1905, 505-45; R. Rubinacci, *Il "Kitāb al-Ǧawāhir" di al-Barrādī*, in *AIUON*, n.s. iv (1952), 95-110; idem, *Notizia di alcuni manoscritti ibāḍiti esistenti presso l'Instituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, in *AIUON*, n.s. iii (1949), 431-8; idem, *Un antico documento di vita cenobitica musulmana*, *ibid.*, x (1961), 37-78 and tabl. i-ix; E. Sachau, *Über eine arabische Chronik aus Zanzibar*, in *MSOS*, i/2 (1898), 1-19; Sālimī ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān bi-sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, ed. Aṭfiyyash, i-ii, Cairo 1347-50; J. Schacht, *Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites*, in *RAfr.*, c/446-8 (1956), 375-98; idem, *Notes mozabites*, in *al-Andalus*, xxii/1 (1957), 1-20; Z. Smogorzewski, *Essai de bio-bibliographie ibāḍite-wahbite. Avant-propos*, in *RO*, v, 45-57; idem, *Zródła abadyckie do historii Islamu (w zarysie)*, Lwow 1926; idem, *Matériaux pour une bio-bibliographie ibāḍite-wahbite* (fragments of a larger work in manuscript); R. Strothmann, *Der religionspolitische und dogmatische Ort der Ibaḍiten*, in *Ephemerides orientales*, no. 31 (March 1927), 1 ff.; idem, *Literatur der Ibāḍiten*, *ibid.*, 9 ff.; idem, *Berber und Ibāḍiten*, in *Isl.*, xvii (1928), 258 ff.; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibāḍite*, in *AIUON*, n.s. iv (1952), 1-94, v (1954), 1-98; eadem, *Le vicende del ḫārigismo in epoca abbaside*, in *RSO*, xxiv (1949), 34 ff.; eadem, *Sulla denominazione "Ḫawāriǧ"*, in *RSO*, xxvi (1951), 41-6.

(T. Lewicki)

IBĀḤA (I) (A.), a verbal noun meaning originally "making a thing apparent or manifest", with the implication that the beholder may take it or leave it, and then "making a thing allowable or free to him who desires it"; it has become a technical term with several connected meanings in the religious law of Islam; *istibāḥa*, taking a thing as allowed, free, or lawful; *mubāḥ* (the contrary of *maḥẓūr*), "indifferent", *i.e.*, neither obligatory or recommended, nor forbidden or reprehensible; it is to be distinguished from its near synonym *djāʾiz*, "unobjectionable, valid, permitted"; the concept *ḥalāl*, *i.e.*, everything that is not forbidden, is wider.

The root does not occur in the Ḳurʾān. The earliest use of the word as a technical term, from Shāfiʿī onwards, seems to have been with regard to those things which every one is permitted to use or appropriate; this meaning of *ibāḥa* is expressed, though still without using the term, in a tradition from the Prophet according to which "the Muslims have equal

rights to three things, water and fodder and fire" (Ibn Mād̲j̲a and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; an earlier variant, in Abū Dāwūd, can be dated in the generation of Aʿmas̲h̲, d. 147 or 148/764-5). This has become a general rule of Islamic law, and also an article in the *Mad̲j̲alla* [*q.v.*]. In a narrower sense, the term may denote the authorization, given by the owner, to consume (part of) the produce of his property; this excludes appropriation and disposal in favour of a third person by the beneficiary; this rule, too, appears in the *Mad̲j̲alla*.

Ibāḥa with regard to acts is defined as "permission to carry out an act as the agent wishes" (D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī) or "a ruling which is not a request but gives the choice of acting or not" (Tahānawī); the performance of these acts is not meritorious, nor is their omission reprehensible. The details have been the subject of several controversies which in the works on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* are often discussed in the sections devoted to the interpretation of the Ḳurʾān (an arrangement already apparent in the *Kitāb Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* of K̲h̲uwārizmī, 2nd half of the 4th/10th cent.). The earliest of these controversies centred round the question whether the consumption of foodstuffs which had not been explicitly forbidden in the revelation was to be considered lawful or not. A tradition in Abū Dāwūd (*Aṭʿima*, 30) makes the Prophet say: "The pagans used to eat certain things and to abstain from certain things because they considered them unclean; now Allāh has sent His Prophet, has revealed His book, and has declared lawful and unlawful what is to be lawful and unlawful; therefore what He has declared lawful is lawful and what He has declared unlawful is unlawful, and what He has said nothing about is a lawful concession;" then he recited: "Say: I do not find in what has been revealed to me anything forbidden", etc. (Ḳurʾān, VI, 145). Also Ḳurʾān VII, 31 is taken to imply that all food and drink which has not been explicitly forbidden is lawful. Buk̲h̲ārī, in the heading of a chapter (*Iʿtiṣām*, 27), without directly contesting the principle, makes the point that prohibitions enunciated by the Prophet must be taken to be declarations of unlawfulness unless it can be shown that the act in question is *mubāḥ*.

A similar stage of doctrine is represented by the doctrines of the K̲h̲arid̲j̲is, and in particular the followers of Nad̲j̲da among them (al-As̲h̲ʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, i, 90, 10-15, 127, 4-6); they were of the opinion that for religious duties to be incumbent, they must have been proclaimed by a Prophet, and that the individual could regard as lawful everything the prohibition of which had not been proved to him, so that he was excused if he was ignorant of the prohibition; the group of the Bayhasiyya went so far as to say that wine was originally permitted and there was nothing (in the Ḳurʾān) to forbid drinking it, even to the point of drunkenness (*ibid.*, 117, 6f.).

In the controversies raised by the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*], this became a general discussion of the abstract quality of human acts, *i.e.*, whether human acts, before revelation (or in the interval between two revelations), were to be regarded, in principle, as allowed or forbidden. The Muʿtazila, starting from their premise that reason decided whether acts were good (useful) or bad (harmful), were divided on the question of how to consider acts in which the qualifications of good and bad were evenly balanced, so as not even to lead to a preference for performing or avoiding them; the majority, it seems, regarded them as indifferent (*mubāḥ*), others as forbidden (*maḥẓūr*), and others as left in abeyance (*mawḳūf*) until their qualification was settled by revelation; nevertheless, these acts, not being positively bad, might be regarded as belonging to the category of good (in a wider meaning of the term). Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], too, together with "all Ẓāhirīs and groups among the followers of *ḳiyās*", concluded on the basis of Ḳurʾān X, 59 and XVI, 116 that the qualification must be left in abeyance. The opinions within the orthodox schools of law and theology, which in any case hold that the religious and legal qualities of goodness and badness are known not by reason but only by revelation, and thereby deny the very basis of the reasoning of the Muʿtazila, are divided; sūra V, 1 and 4 are adduced in favour of the opinion that the acts in question are, in principle, forbidden, and sūras II, 29 and XX, 50 in favour of the opposite opinion; the majority of the Ḥanafīs hold that they are allowed; the prevailing opinion among the Mālikīs and the S̲h̲āfiʿīs is that it is meaningless to apply those categories before revelation; the Ḥanbalīs are divided.

All are agreed, however, that in the actual law of Islam, generally speaking, everything which is not positively forbidden (or reprehensible) and does not, on the face of it, involve causing damage, is *mubāḥ*. This general rule has often found expression, from an early period onwards, in sayings of the most highly esteemed authorities, although it does not play a significant part in the doctrine of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. But al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ uses the principle that "everything that is not forbidden in the Ḳurʾān or in the *sunna* of the Prophet is lawful and unrestricted" (*mubāḥ muṭlaḳ*) in an amusing way in order to show as legitimate the entertainment of male companies by singing slave-girls (*Risālat al-Ḳiyān*, ed. Finkel, Cairo 1926, 56; transl. Pellat, in *Arabica*, x (1963), 125).

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Tahānawī, *Dictionary of technical terms*, s.v.; al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, s.v.; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 8. 14; J. Schacht, *Introduction*, 121; S̲h̲āfiʿī, *Risāla*, Būlāḳ 1321, 49; Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *Bidāyat al-mud̲j̲tahid*, *K. al-buyūʿ*, chap. 5 (transl. A. Laïmèche, *Averroès. Livre des échanges*, Algiers 1940, 84); *Mad̲j̲alla*, arts. 836, 875, 1234; al-Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, *al-Mug̲h̲nī*, xvii, Cairo 1963, 144-8; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, ii, Damascus 1965, 868 ff. (section *al-Kalām fi 'l-ḥaẓr wa 'l-ibāḥa*); Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, i, Cairo 1345, 52 ff. (chapter 6); Fak̲h̲r al-Islām al-Pazdawī, *Kanz al-wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat al-uṣūl* (with the commentary *Kas̲h̲f al-asrār* of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Buk̲h̲ārī), Istanbul 1308, iii, 95 f. (*Bāb al-muʿāraḍa*); al-G̲h̲azālī, *al-Mustaṣfā*, Būlāḳ 1322, i, 63. 75 (*al-Ḳuṭb al-awwal, Fann* 1 and 2); Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma, *Rawḍat al-nāẓir*, Cairo 1342, i, 116-23 (section *Ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥukm, Ḳism* 3); al-Ḳarāfī, *S̲h̲arḥ Tanḳīḥ al-fuṣūl fi 'l-uṣūl*, Tunis 1328/1910, 77 f. (chapter 1, *Faṣl* 7), 119 f. (chapter 4, *Faṣl* 2); Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn al-Subkī, *D̲j̲amʿ al-d̲j̲awāmiʿ* (with the commentary of al-Maḥallī and the gloss of al-ʿAṭṭār), Cairo 1356/1937, i, 94 ff. (*al-Muḳaddimāt*), ii, 394 (book 5, *Masʾalat ḥukm al-manāfiʿ wa 'l-maḍārr*); al-S̲h̲āṭibī, *al-Muwāfaḳāt*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Darrāz, i, 109 ff. (*K. al-Aḥkām*, i, §§ 1-5); al-Suyūṭī, *al-As̲h̲bāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, Mecca 1331, 58-63 (book 2, *Ḳāʿida* 2); Ibn Nud̲j̲aym, *al-As̲h̲bāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, Cairo 1322, 26 f. (*Nawʿ* 1, *Ḳāʿida* 6); Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Radd al-muḥtār* (with the commentary of al-Ḥaskafī), Istanbul 1324-6, iii, 337 (*Kitāb al-d̲j̲ihād, Bāb istīlāʾ al-kuffār*); Ibn Badrān, *al-Madk̲h̲al ilā*

madhhab al-imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Cairo n.d., 64 f. (*al-ʿIḳd al-khāmis*); the works on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* in general; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, on Ḳurʾān VII, 31, XL, 17; Comte L. Ostrorog, *Droit public musulman*, i, Paris 1901, 64-6 (reprint, *El-Mawerdi. Le Droit du califat*, Paris 1925, 56-8); Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 59-63; K. Faruki, in *Islamic Studies* (Karachi), v (1966), 76 ff.

(J. Schacht)

IBĀḤA (II) "permission", a term commonly applied to antinomian teachings (or actions), especially as asserted among certain Shīʿī and Ṣūfī groups. Antinomian trends were strong among the more radical Shīʿī circles from an early date. "Allowing the forbidden", *ibāḥat* (or *taḥlīl*) *al-maḥārim*, is a constantly recurring accusation against certain groups on the fringe of the Shīʿa; it served, among other criteria, to class them among the *Ghulāt* [*q.v.*]. The heresiographers mention many such groups as belonging to, or splitting off from the movements tracing the imāmate through Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya or through Muḥammad al-Bāḳir.

Among these groups, knowledge of the imām, usually understood as gnosis of his true nature, was the most essential religious obligation, and so important as to reduce all other obligations to insignificance. The Ḳurʾānic legal injunctions were then often interpreted (*taʾwīl*) as signifying some act of loyalty to the *imām* or to the community of true believers, while the prohibitions referred to religious enemies. Or the legal prescriptions might be considered as "chains and burdens", as a punishment for those who refused to acknowledge the true imām. The charges of libertinism which were invariably levelled against such groups by the upholders of the *sharīʿa* have to be viewed with reserve.

Early Ismāʿīlism varied this pattern by holding that the era of Muḥammad and the validity of his law had come to an end with the appearance of the Ḳāʾim, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the master of the seventh era. The Ḳurʾān and its law were interpreted according to their inner meaning (*bāṭin*), which, in contrast to their exterior, literal meaning (*ẓāhir*), was of eternal validity. But this early antinomianism was strongly opposed by the official Fāṭimid *daʿwa*, which consistently maintained that both *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*, *sharīʿa* and *taʾwīl*, works and knowledge, were obligatory. It reappeared in movements which split off later from the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*, notably the Druze and the Nizārīs. (W. Madelung)

Among Ṣūfīs, antinomianism seems to have been later in developing; early Ṣūfīs were commonly rigorists in the cult and tutiorists in points of conscience. But when Islamic spiritual life began to flow largely through Ṣūfī channels, antinomian thinking appeared there too. Sometimes Ṣūfīs probably fell heir to the experience and even the language of earlier Shīʿī traditions.

For Ṣūfīs, as for Shīʿīs, the texts of Ḳurʾān and Ḥadīth concealed a *bāṭin*, a secret spiritual meaning; and some Ṣūfīs felt that following the *bāṭin* dispensed one from the literal prescription. But whereas Shīʿī antinomianism reflected the historical role of the imām and the élite community of his adherents, Ṣūfī mysticism, like any mysticism, suggested a more personal rejection of literally formulated prescriptions. The *bāṭin* was not an arbitrarily allegorical meaning of the letter, but rather an inner spirit to which the letter was an approximation, symbolization, or even exemplification, adapted to less spiritual minds. Accordingly, it could be expected that once this inner spirit was entered into, the actual letter was superfluous—the spirit would of itself call forth whatever act was needed.

This point of view took several forms. If God enlightened consciences directly, the scholastic interpretation of rules by *sharʿī* scholars was artificial in comparison; hence, even those Ṣūfīs who upheld the norms worked out by the *ʿulamāʾ* tended to argue on the basis of loyalty and exemplary zeal rather than claim that the *sharʿī ʿulamāʾ* really understood God's will better. Then Ṣūfīs believed that the advanced mystical devotee was the friend of God; and just as some Shīʿīs felt that whoever was devoted to the imām, even though not actually dispensed from *sharʿī* rules, would be forgiven his transgressions, so some Ṣūfīs believed that the friend of God was free—that even if he still ought to perform God's commands, he did them out of uncoerced love; and if he slipped, he would be forgiven. Some held that the perfected Ṣūfī saint could by his nature do no sin: whatever action he seemed to do must be understood otherwise.

Ṣūfī discipline itself made for tension with the *sharīʿa*. The devotee who had reached high spiritual states might be so wholly in God's hands that he was not responsible for his own actions: if he did perform the ritual worship, it might be unawares—God took care of his enraptured worshipper. Especially illegal utterances (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) were held blameless under these circumstances. In any case, the novice must agree to obey his *pīr* implicitly; many would add, even in seeming contravention of the *sharīʿa*. Moreover, Ṣūfī ways of worship often seemed opposed to the *sharīʿa*—music and dance; even, eventually, taking drugs, or gazing at beautiful figures. Ṣūfī apologists claimed that what was for a devotional purpose was exempted from the rules. Some of the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*], who made a point of concealing their virtues and not their vices, seem to have adopted vices on purpose to display them.

In all these cases, it was ordinary Ṣūfī teaching which, however cautiously couched, at the least gave to a Ṣūfī's obedience to *sharʿī* rules a distinctive flavour. But all Ṣūfism was esoteric: only the initiate could know the real truth behind what was taught. Hence radicals readily concluded that the *sharīʿa* rules did not really apply to initiates at all. (Moreover, as Ṣūfīs came to see all religions as equally legitimate —if not equally perfect—ways of approaching God, the rules of any one religion could seem little more than transient expedients.) Such radicals ranged from those who asserted antinomianism only as an esoteric principle, not to be actually practised, to those who, alleging some religious pretext, ignored social standards of all sorts. Normally, *ibāḥa* meant not unethical interpersonal behaviour, but the rejection of *sharʿī* norms for ceremonial acts and personal regimen (eating, sex, etc.). The upholders of the *sharīʿa* among the Ṣūfīs attacked all who accepted any sort of *ibāḥa* (sometimes under the name "*ibāḥiyya*").

Some *ṭarīḳa*s were noted for insisting on the *sharīʿa*—for instance, the Naḳshbandiyya and the Ḳādiriyya [*qq.v.*]; others, such as the Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*], notoriously flouted conventional standards. Such *ṭarīḳa*s were called, in Persian, *bī-sharʿ*. For some centuries, certain extreme antinomian dervishes were referred to as *Ḳalandar*s [*q.v.*]. But even within *sharīʿa*-observant *ṭarīḳa*s, individual *shaykh*s might take a *bī-sharʿ* position.

Shīʿī antinomianism sprang from chiliastic hopes: the hypocritically unjust world was to be transformed

and filled with justice by God's agent; what mattered was to dissociate oneself from the world and its ways and to stand ready to support the new order. Ṣūfī antinomianism sprang rather from a mystical experience and vision, in which an inner ethical responsiveness made all external rules seem trivial or arbitrary. But the two sorts of vision, chiliastic and mystical, were often combined, especially in the later medieval period, when a Shīʿī sect like the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs took on the aspect of a Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa*, while more than one Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa* was adopting a Shīʿī and more or less chiliastic outlook.

Bibliography: Most Ṣūfī writings, while upholding the *sharīʿa*, have displayed one or more of the tendencies toward *ibāḥa* cited; Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī* exemplifies most of them. Ghazālī's polemic against the *Ahl al-ibāḥa* is edited and translated, with a useful introduction, "Der Antinomismus der islamischen Mystik", by Otto Pretzl, *Die Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Ibâḥîja*, Munich 1933 (SB Bayer. Ak., Phil.-hist. Abt., Jahrgang 1933, Heft 7).

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

IBĀḤATIYA, Hindu sect. The Ibāḥatiya were, by some writers on Indo-Muslim history, confused with the *Ibāḥiyya* or *Aṣḥāb al-Ibāḥa*. As the Ismāʿīlīs are included among the latter, these writers have thought that the term *Ibāḥatiya* applies to them. A closer examination of the evidence, however, leads to the conclusion that the references are to a Hindu Tāntric sect, which was also known as *Vāma-mārgī* or *Vāma-čārī* ("followers of the left hand path") and formed a sub-section of the Shāktas. The Tāntras form the scriptures of the *Vāma-mārgīs*. The essential requisites of Tāntric worship are the five *mākaras*, wine, flesh, fish, mystical gesticulations and sexual intercourse. They worship the female principle. The form of this worship is promiscuous intercourse in the form of communal orgies. The women place their *čolīs* (bodices) in a jar. The male worshippers pick out a *čolī* at random and have intercourse with its owner (H. H. Wilson, *Religious sects of the Hindus*, 245-63). The ceremony is called *Bhairavī-čakra* (S. H. Hoḍīvālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, 342). The followers of this sect were specially strong in Orissa during the period of Muslim rule.

The *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūzshāhī* mentions that the *Ibāḥatiya* made an image and worshipped it. This was probably a symbolic representation of the female sexual organ. The *Sīrat-i Fīrūzshāhī* (p. 146) says that the *Ibāḥatiya* "have an appointed day when they gather at a place fixed for the purpose. They plaster the ground with cowdung and, in accordance with the custom of the idolaters, scatter rice and flour on it. They then ask the person whom they want to turn into a follower to prostate himself on the ground, and teach him formulas of infidelity to repudiate Islam and to say that he has become their follower. That night they collect their daughters, wives, mothers and sisters and give them pork to eat and wine to drink. Then the lamp is put out and they take off the garments of the women. Every one then pulls out a garment and cohabits with the woman to whom the garment belongs, even though she may be his own mother, sister or daughter". This is precisely what the *Vāma-mārgīs* did. The text clearly says later (p. 59) that the inhabitants of Djādjnagar (Orissa) "all are Ibāḥatīs, worship images and have temples in every town, their main place of worship being the temple of Djagannāth". In those days *Vāma-mārgī* Tāntrism seems to have been very strong in Orissa.

Bibliography: Fīrūz Shāh, *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūzshāhī*, British Museum, MS Or. 2039; *Sīrat-i Fīrūzshāhī*, MS Bankipore Public Library (page-references in the text are to a copy in Lytton Library, Muslim University, Aligarh); H. H. Wilson, *The religious sects of the Hindus*, Madras 1904; S. H. Hoḍīvālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, Bombay 1934; I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, Karachi 1958.

(I. H. Qureshi)

IBĀḤIYYA [see ibāḥa (II)].

IBB, formerly the capital of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of the same name in the *sandjaḳ* of Taʿizz in the Yemen; now, since 1946, a separate *liwā*ʾ, comprising the *ḳaḍā*ʾs Ibb, ʿUdeyn, Dhī Sufāl, Ḳuʿtaba and Yerīm. Besides the pronunciation with *i* peculiar to the Yemen, we find also Abb (in Niebuhr: Aebb). At an earlier period the walled town, with a population estimated at 4,000, belonged to the territory of Dhū Djibla. It is situated on the 'upper road' leading from ʿAdan to Ṣanʿāʾ. According to the proposals of the A. Beneyton mission of 1911 for the construction of a railway from al-Ḥudayda to Taʿizz, it was to form a station on this line, as it is now an important station on the motor-road from Taʿizz to Ṣanʿāʾ. But this project was never carried out, and the later development of motor-traffic made it superfluous. It lies, 2050 m. above sea level, in a fertile region where cereals and fruit are grown, and also coffee, *ḳāt*, indigo and *wars*. There are about 60 mosques within the town; the water-supply is provided by an aqueduct bringing water down from the mountains, which are about 3200 m. high. In the vicinity there was at one time a silver mine (photographs in the Islām-Stichting in Leiden).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 78; al-Hamdānī, 189; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 239; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients* (= *Abh. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Ges.*, iii/3, Leipzig 1864), 154; H. Burchardt, *Reiseskizzen aus dem Yemen*, in *ZG Erdk. Berl.*, 1902, 605; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, i, Vienna 1922, 165, 206, 213, 216, 223, 225, 230, 251 f.; ii, Brünn 1933, 129 f., 138, 141-3, 149; H. Scott, *In the High Yemen*, London 1942, Fig. 47-54; *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, Naval Intelligence Division 1946, 360, 574 f.

(A. Grohmann)

IBDĀʿ, absolute creation, primordial innovation. — The term itself is not Ḳurʾānic, but the Ḳurʾān calls God *Badīʿ*, Absolute Creator, Innovator. The two verses II, 117 and VI, 101 assert that God is "Creator (*Badīʿ*) of the heavens and the earth": we should obviously understand by this, of everything. The commentators emphasize that God is called *Badīʿ* by virtue of His (absolute) creation of the heavens and the earth, and *Khāliḳ* by virtue of His creation (*khalḳ*) of man ("made of clay", LV, 14).

There is another distinction founded on the Ḳurʾān: the text frequently contrasts "the first creation" with "the second", that of the resurrection of the body. In this case it is never the verb *badaʿ* or its fourth form *abdaʿ* that is used, but the expression *badaʾ al-khalḳ*, "He began to create" (*e.g.*, X, 4, 34; XXVII, 64, etc.; very frequent). Thus, while the root *bdʾ* suggests the idea of a "beginning" which involves a continuation, the root *bdʿ* implies, strictly, not a "first time", but a radical innovation, an absolute bringing into existence.

Taking its meaning from the divine name *Badīʿ*, the *maṣdar* of the fourth form comes to express, in the elaboration of Muslim thought, the actual act of God. *Ibdāʿ* belongs above all to the vocabularies of Shīʿism

(particularly Ismāʿīlism) and *falsafa*: its meanings here depend on the respective world-views. *ʿIlm al-kalām* gives it a further technical meaning consonant with the Sunnī idea of "creation".

References to Shīʿī thought. — *Ibdāʿ* is thought of in connexion with the divine *kun*, the "Be!" of the Word that brings into existence. "The Creator (*Badīʿ*) of the heavens and the earth, when He decrees a thing, He says to it only "Be!", and it is" (Ḳurʾān, II, 117). But "the heavens and the earth" of the verse are subject to interpretation. By His *ibdāʿ*, by His "primordial establishing", as H. Corbin translates it, God brings into existence the higher world of the *mubdaʿāt*, that is to say Intelligences capable of hearing the divine call, and of answering it (cf. in the 4th/10th century, Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Yanābīʿ*, § 40, *ap.* H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Teheran-Paris 1961). Such is the "world of the *ibdāʿ*", to be distinguished from the lower "world of the *khalḳ*". More precisely still, the divine *ibdāʿ* is addressed to the First Hypostasis, *al-mubdaʿ al-awwal*, in which the intelligible pleroma is contained. One might even say that, for al-Sidjistānī, the formulated and active (or *mubdiʿ*) *ibdāʿ is* the First Hypostasis. The same line of thought is found in Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

We later find the Imāmī Mullā Sadra Shīrāzī (10th-11th/16th-17th century) protesting against those who identify the radical Will (*mashīʾa*) with the divine Essence, and make the *ibdāʿ* into the First Emanation. For him, referring to the 8th Imām, ʿAlī Riḍā, no distinction exists between radical Will, act of Will (*irāda*) and *ibdāʿ*: they are three names for divine Activity. Now, divine Activity is God, but as manifested in the First Cause, Essence being God unmanifested. From the First Cause emanates the "Muḥammadan Reality", "the mass of primordial Light ... from which come the fourteen higher archangelical Lights" (cf. H. Corbin, introduction and notes to *Kitāb al-mashāʿir*, "Book of metaphysical Penetrations", Teheran-Paris 1964, 83, 121, 168, and *passim*). These various nuances of Shīʿī interpretation appear to represent various attempts to discern the absolute immediacy of the *ibdāʿ*, the creative Word *kun*, in an emanatist cosmogony where "nothing can come from the One but the one".

Falsafa. — Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Kindī, closer in this to the Muʿtazilīs than to other "philosophers", takes *ibdāʿ* in the sense of temporal creation *ex nihilo* (*Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Rida, i, Cairo 1369/1950, 207, 270; cf. R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 188-9). For later *falāsifa*, Ibn Rushd as well as Ibn Sīnā or al-Fārābī, *ibdāʿ* denotes the absoluteness of the creative (emanative) act in the production of beings that have no reason for existing in their own essence. Here too we find an emanatism of a neoplatonic kind, and the idea that "nothing can come from the One but the one"; the First Intelligence is the first of the *mubdaʿāt* (cf. al-Fārābī, *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, apud *Alfārābī's Phil. Abhand.*, ed. Dieterici, Leiden 1890, 58). But while Shīʿī thought as such puts the accent on the divine imperative *kun* and its immediacy, *falsafa*, whatever Shīʿī influences it may have undergone, emphasizes above all in the idea of *ibdāʿ* an absolute production of being. Here, as an example, is a brief analysis of Avicenna's vocabulary.

Two questions are found in Ibn Sīnā: (1) production of being; (2) the method of this production.

(1) — Production of being. In his explanatory and didactic works, Ibn Sīnā certainly uses *khalḳ*: "*Khalḳ* signifies first of all to make to receive being, whatever it is" (*tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326, 101). But in the texts that serve as a prelude to his *Ḥikma mashriḳiyya*, in which he expresses a more personal thought, *ibdāʿ* seems to him best to denote the absolute innovation, considered non-temporally, of a being not necessary in itself, which is really preceded by nothing, not even not-being, and which takes all that it is from the First; thus *Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 153. The First created thing, *al-mubdaʿ al-awwal* (*ibid.*, 431), is the first Hypostasis or the Intellect of the All. More clearly still, the "Commentary" (*sharḥ*) on the pseudo-"Theology of Aristotle" (ed. A. Badawī, Cairo 1947, 60) takes *ibdāʿ* as the correlative of *inbidjās*, the two terms together denoting creative emanation: "This process is called 'gushing out' (*inbidjās*) when the procession of beings from the first Being is considered, and 'creation' (*ibdāʿ*) when the relationship of the first Being to the other beings is considered". The accent is still laid on radical coming into existence brought about by *ibdāʿ* (*ibid.*, 64).

(2) — The method of production (cf. *Ishārāt, loc. cit.*; *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, 101-2, etc.). In a more limited sense *ibdāʿ* denotes the production, without any kind of intermediate pre-existence, of *incurruptible and eternal* beings, whether above all incorporeal, or corporeal (the celestial spheres): here again we find the "world of the *ibdāʿ*" (*dār al-ibdāʿ*) of Shīʿī thought. *Khalḳ* denotes rather the production, with or without an intermediary, of *corporeal* beings, whether incorruptible or corruptible; *takwīn* denotes the production, *with an intermediary*, of corruptible beings (in a sense that is quite close to that of *ṣunʿ*, another of Avicenna's words). Finally, *iḥdāth* should be noted; this term emphasizes the non-necessity of the final product; it could thus be applied to any being that is not necessary of itself, although it preferably implies a temporal beginning (cf. A.-M. Goichon, *La distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1937, 241-59). Thus, then, in Avicenna's texts, *ibdāʿ*, *khalḳ* and *iḥdāth* suggest above all, but in differing degrees, creative emanation proceeding from the first Being; *takwīn* and *ṣunʿ* are reserved for the production ("manufacture") of compound beings from pre-existing elements.

To conclude this brief (and fragmentary) lexicographical study: in Shīʿism as in *falsafa*, *ibdāʿ* puts the accent on the absolute power of the creative act (or gushing out). The way in which this term is applied to the beings thus produced, the *mubdaʿāt*, depends on the particular cosmology or world-view.

ʿIlm al-kalām. — It was apparently after the conflicts with *falsafa* (*e.g.*, al-Shahrastānī, etc.) that *ibdāʿ* was fully accepted into the vocabulary of the *mutakallimūn*. It bears the same fundamental meaning, but its connotations are certainly closer to those it has in al-Kindī than to those it has in Avicenna or the Shīʿīs. For the sake of brevity, we shall confine ourselves to referring to the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī (ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 5-6), which summarize with precision the usage of the school in this matter.

Ibdāʿ, then, denotes the bringing into existence (or the location in being, *īdjād*) of a thing, "without anteriority of matter or of time": such are the (separate) Intellects, the *ʿuḳūl*, al-Djurdjānī says, adopting the restricted meaning of Avicenna's *ibdāʿ*. *Ibdāʿ* is thus placed in correlative opposition to *takwīn*, defined as the production of being with anteriority of matter and time. The distinction between *ibdāʿ* and *khalḳ* is as follows: the former denotes bringing into existence with nothing preceding; the second, bringing into existence from an existing

thing. *Khalḳ* and *takwīn* are distinguished from one another, in that *khalḳ* emphasizes the idea of creating, whereas *takwīn* emphasizes that of forming or fashioning. Al-Djurdjānī does not mention here the general meaning of *khalḳ* proposed by Ibn Sīnā (and by the most widely used Arabic dictionary). He states in fact that *ibdāʿ* is "more general" than *khalḳ*. He cites, in this sense, the verses of the Ḳurʾān (cf. *supra*) where the divine Name *Badīʿ* is used for the creation "of the heavens and the earth", and the verb *khalaḳa* for the creation of man.

Bibliography: in the article.

(L. Gardet)

IBDĀL (a.), "replacement", "mutation", technical term in Arabic grammar indicating on the one hand morphological features involving a mutation of a phonetic character, the grammatical (*naḥwī*) *ibdāl* as in *ittaṣala* < **iwtaṣala* [see hamza, naḥw, taṣrīf, etc.] and, on the other hand, in its lexicographical sense, the doublets (*badal, muḍāraʿa, muʿāḳaba, naẓīr*, etc.) which are very common in Arabic and which differ from each other only by a single consonant: *madaḥa/madaha* "to praise", *ḳaṭaʿa/ḳaṭama* "to cut", etc.

This lexicographical (*lughawī*) *ibdāl* has intrigued the philologists, who from an early period have studied the phenomenon and especially have drawn up lists of examples, though generally neglecting to indicate their provenance. Two main problems presented themselves: first was the question whether doublets of this type existed in the same dialect with an identical meaning, and the second, whether the quality of the consonants in question played any part in their formation. Not all linguists have seen these problems very clearly and many have limited themselves to listing the examples which may be classed under the same rubric according to the "permutation" in question (*t/l, t/f*, etc.). A scholar such as Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) has no hesitation in stating that the Arabs have a habit (*min sunan*) of replacing one phoneme (*ḥarf*) with another (*Ṣāḥibī*, ed. Chouémi, Beirut 1383/1964, 203-4), and Ibn Sīduh (d. 458/1066) admits the existence of *muḍāraʿa* in the speech of one single tribe (*Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xiv, 19). On the other hand, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī (d. 351/962) certainly seems to consider that these doublets are not found within one single dialect (*K. al-Ibdāl*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, Damascus 1379/1960, i, 261) and he is even more categorical in his introduction, a passage from which has fortunately been preserved by Suyūṭī (*Muzhir*, i, 273; 2nd ed., i, 460): he does not see the phenomenon of *ibdāl* as intentional, but as consisting of the appearance of variants (*lughāt*), of paronyms used in different tribes. He does not, however, consider that this paronymy necessarily implies that the phonemes in question have adjacent points of articulation, for he cites cases of *ibdāl* which are very far from complying with this condition: *dj/ḳ, dj/ṣ, dj/d*, etc. Al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), however, had already considered it essential that they should be adjacent (*Kāmil*, Cairo 1308, ii, 97); Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) in his *Sirr al-ṣināʿa* (i, 197) and Ibn Sīduh (*Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xiii, 274) followed him on this point.

The examination of doublets was also to lead to the formation of a more general theory on the origin of language; Ibn Djinnī (*Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 46) had already not ruled out the fact that onomatopœic words formed a large part of the vocabulary, but it was Fāris al-Shidyāḳ [*q.v.*] in particular who developed this theory in his *Sirr al-layāl fi 'l-ḳalb wa 'l-ibdāl* (Istanbul 1248); he points out that the verbs which imply, for example, an idea of rupture, breaking, etc. offer many examples of doublets, and considers that the onomatopœic biliteral form with a long second radical (verbs known as "deaf") is the earliest (*e.g.*, *ḳaṭṭa* "to cut") and that the Arabs consciously replaced the second element of the doubled consonant in order to express a different shade of meaning (hence *ḳaṭaʿa, ḳaṭama*, etc.); obviously one is led to ask whether a biliteral has become a triliteral, and thus the whole question of biliterality is raised.

We cannot investigate in detail here the rules which the philologists have attempted to isolate. For example, al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) had stated that before *kh, gh, ḳ* or *ṭ*, the sibilant *s* changed to the emphatic *ṣ*; al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 520/1126) adds to this *ʿayn*; and al-Ḥarīrī, in the *maḳāma ḥalābiyya*, delights in collecting doublets in *s* and *ṣ*. In addition, the grammarians enumerate very carefully all the phonemes which permute in the type of *ibdāl* known as *naḥwī*, but they do not agree as to their number.

From another point of view, it is perhaps not without interest to mention the idea of the editor of the *K. al-Ibdāl* of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, who suggests (Introduction, 41-2) the use of doublets to enrich modern terminology and proposes, for example, *taʾrīth* "demarcation" and *taʾrīf* "land survey", or *mirḍakha* "walnut-cracker" and *mirḍaḥa* "hazelnut-cracker" (which would probably lead to a certain amount of confusion).

After allowances have been made for artifice and error (in particular (*taṣḥīf*, misreadings which have led to a fair number of *badals*), it would be useful to collect the examples cited in the monographs, to compare them with the roots of the other Semitic languages and submit them to detailed analysis. This would permit, to the extent that they can be localized, the production of maps showing the linguistic geography of ancient Arabia (cf. C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London 1951).

Bibliography: grammatical works generally contain a paragraph on *ibdāl*, but the most complete synthesis is that of Suyūṭī (*Muzhir*, i, 272-82; 2nd edition, i, 458 ff.) and the most profound study is that of ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, in his Introduction to *K. al-Ibdāl* of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, 5-42; see also B. Bustānī, in F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 84-90, and the bibliography cited there. Besides the *K. al-Ibdāl* already mentioned, the other ancient monographs which have been preserved are those of Ibn al-Sikkīt, *al-Ḳalb wa 'l-muʿāḳaba wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, ed. Tanūkhī (in the press).

(Ed.)

IBIL (a.), collective noun indicating the two main species of the *camelidae*, the *camelus dromedarius*, or dromedary, with a single hump, and the *camelus bactrianus*, or camel proper, with two humps. The latter species, common in Central Asia, in western China and in northern Persia, was known to the Arabs under the name of *fālidj* (pl. *fawālidj*); the crossing of two-humped stallions with Arab female camels (*ʿirāb*) produced the species called *bukht* (sing. *bukhtī*, pl. *bakhātī*) which did not breed and which was used mainly as a beast of burden (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 4-5; al-Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 110; al-Damīrī, s.v.; *LA*, s.v.; Leo Africanus, tr. Épaulard, ii, 556). As the history of the camel-owning tribes in Arabia and in North Africa has been covered at length in the art. badw (to the bibl. of which should now be added: F. Gabrieli (ed.), *L'Antica società beduina*, Rome 1959; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique* . . ., 287 ff. and bibl. there given), we confine ourselves here to

the *camelus dromedarius*, which lives in the area from the Indus valley to the Sahara and the Congo, and for convenience we shall call it "camel".

Early poetry and works of lexicography bear witness to the extraordinarily rich vocabulary which Arabic possesses to describe this animal, which provided the Bedouin with a large part of his food, his clothing and his shelter, and served as a mount and a means of transport (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, vii, 1-174; F. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern*, Leipzig 1879, notes more than 160 words); there are terms for the camel at different stages of growth (for the modern period, see, *e.g.*, Jaussen, *Moab*, 270), many descriptions based on physical characteristics, and equally numerous metaphors, but only four terms are really specific: *ibil* (fem.) indicates the species and the group, *baʿīr*, the individual, regardless of sex, *nāḳa* the female and *djamal* the male (sometimes used equally with *ibil* for the species; see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux domestiques en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, viii (25 May 1960), 95-9). There four terms are found in the Ḳurʾān, where *nāḳa* in particular appears in the edifying stories of Ṣāliḥ, the Thamūd, etc. (see VII, 71, 75, XI, 67, XVII, 61, XXVI, 155, LIV, 27, XCI, 13). *Djamal* seems to come from Hebrew גמל (*gimel* being a reminiscence of the form of its neck) and to be itself the origin of Greek κάμηλος and Latin *camelus*.

The Ḳurʾān certainly says (LXXVIII, 17): "What, do they not consider how the camel (*ibil*) was created?" but some interpret this verse as an allusion to the clouds. The popular belief that this animal is descended from demons (*shayāṭīn*) survived into Islam (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 297, 343; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, 163); moreover, it can happen that *djinns* take the form of a camel (E. Westermarck, *Pagan survivals*, London 1933, 6); according to a current legend, the camel urinates backwards because it was "modified" in order not to soil Abraham (see especially H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 187). The early Arabs believed that the descendants of the herds which had belonged to the annihilated peoples of ʿĀd, Thamūd, etc. had taken refuge in the country of Wabār [*q.v.*], where they lived in a wild state (*ḥūsh*); the males then bred with "Arab" female camels and produced the "méhara" (*mahriyya*), a species famed for its speed and the slimness of its limbs and body, as well as other less well-known species; this belief is perhaps a survival from the period when the camel lived wild in Arabia. It is worth noting also that the giraffe is considered either as belonging to the *camelidae* or as being the result of a cross between a camel and a panther or other animals (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, index, s.v. *zarāfa*).

The camel, unlike the horse, played an important rôle in sacrifices; before Islam, camels were ritually slaughtered at the time of the pilgrimage to Mecca (see J. Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, index s.v. *hady*). The enucleation of one eye was performed on a stallion as a rule when the herd numbered a thousand, and the second eye suffered the same fate when this number was exceeded (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 17); this practice, intended to ward off the evil eye, to avoid distemper, and to shield the herds from the attacks of hostile tribes, may be compared with the *ʿatīra* [*q.v.*]; ignipuncture was practiced on a healthy animal to cure animals afflicted with mange (*ʿurr*). The reception of guests by a generous host was always marked by the slaughter of a camel, and the unfortunate beast was also the victim in the game of *maysir* [*q.v.*]. Closely associated with its Bedouin owner during his lifetime, his camel often followed him in death [see BALIYYA] to serve him as a mount on the Day of Resurrection. Even recently a camel-owning tribe would make the animals take part in mourning by inducing the female camels and their young to emit cries resembling lamentations (see A. Dhina, *Nomadisme*, 427-8). The camel is one of the animals endued with *baraka* [*q.v.*], and to eat its flesh amounted to an act of faith (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 115, n. 2); in Morocco, the Prophet is made to say: "He who does not eat of my camels does not belong to my people" (Westermarck, *Survivals*, 105-6). Its flesh is indeed perfectly licit, whilst it is abominated by the Jews because its hoof is not cloven (Lev., XI, 4; Deut., XIV, 7). A camel seen in a dream is usually a good omen, but in Persia, if it falls asleep at the door of a house, the owner will die (H. Massé, *Croyances*, i, 193).

Pre-Islamic poetry gives pride of place to the she-camel, the Bedouins' favourite mount, and the *raḥīl* of *ḳaṣīdas* is the occasion for detailed descriptions accompanied by extremely eulogistic epithets; that of Ṭarafa, in his *muʿallaḳa*, is justly famous (Fr. tr. by Caussin de Perceval, *apud* L. Machuel, *Auteurs arabes*, Paris 1924, 45-7; Eng. tr. A. J. Arberry, *The seven odes*, London and New York 1957, 83-5), but many other poems contain lyrical passages on the camel, which seems to be so intimately linked with the very structure of the *ḳaṣīda* that some modern poets, who have rarely if ever seen riding-camels, feel that they too must conform artificially with the tradition. What the poets most esteem is the smooth gait, the speed, the sobriety and the endurance of the "ship of the desert" (*safīnat al-barr*; see I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xliv (1890), 165 ff., analysed by G. H. Bousquet, in *Arabica*, vii/3 (1960), 255-6). During their long journeys across the desert, the Bedouins loaded their water-supplies on camels specially kept for this purpose (*rāwiya*), but they sometimes had to tie up the mouths of some of their animals in order to prevent them from ruminating, and thus be able to find in their stomach, in case of need, water which was still drinkable (*fazẓ*; see *LA*, s.v.); at other times they cut the throat of a sacrificed animal to collect and drink its blood (*madjdūḥ*) (see *Arabica*, ii/3 (1955), 327). It was also said that camels prevented blood from being spilt, for they were used to pay blood-money (*diya* [*q.v.*]), and it was in camels also that a bride's dowry was paid; thus the *ḥadīth* (?): "Do not speak ill of camels for in them is found a means of avoiding bloodshed (*raḳūʾ al-dam*) and of paying the dowry of a woman of noble birth"; according to another *ḥadīth*: "Camels are a source of power for their owner, sheep a blessing, and good is attached to the forelock of horses until the Resurrection".

The character of the camel, its spiteful disposition (cf. H. Massé, *op. cit.*, 187), and its stubbornness have often been stressed; the rutting stallion (cf. Leo Africanus, ii, 557) has an extraordinary strength and will let no-one approach the herd of which he is the head; he makes the soft palate (*shikshiḳa*) project from his mouth, belling violently. Of the males, only those selected when young for breeding are kept uncastrated; this avoids fights to the death between stallions. Animals destined as mounts and those to be used as beasts of burden are also selected at an early age. Each tribe branded its herds with a red-hot iron, which gave occasion for ceremonies

whose significance has somewhat changed in the course of time [see MAWSIM].

The strength of the camel is admired, also the ease with which (thanks to its long neck, which serves as a balance) it can get up from the ground when laden with heavy burdens; in Islamic literary sources it is compared with the elephant, and it is in a sense the symbol of the Arabs just as the elephant is of the Indians.

For transport, the early Arabs used a rudimentary pack-saddle (*ikāf*) or a *ḳatad* of the size of the hump, which they placed on cushions (*ḥils*). The question of the riding-camel and of the position of the rider in relation to the hump has been studied by W. Dostal (in *L'antica società beduina*, 15 ff.); according to this writer, the practice of sitting behind the hump is earlier than that of placing the saddle directly on the hump, which dates from the beginning of the Christian era; Leo Africanus (i, 35) mentions the use of a saddle between the hump and the neck, corresponding to the *raḥla* of the present-day "méharistes" (troops mounted on fast camels)—a light saddle placed on the withers of the animal. The early Arabs must sometimes have ridden bare-back, but generally they used a saddle (*raḥl*), which was called *riḥāla* when it was adorned with skins; this saddle was made of wooden bows (*ḳatad*) joined together with leather thongs; it was separated from the hump by cushions and was held in place by girths passing under the breast (*ghurḍa*), the belly (*ḥaḳab*) and the loins (*rabaḍ*) of the animal. A rope threaded through a nose-ring (*khizāma*) made control of the animal easier than when the simple halter (*rasan*) was used, and a curved stick (*miḥdjan*) was used to guide it. Women of a certain rank rode in a palanquin (*hawdadj*) made of hoops arranged to form a dome and draped with hangings to screen the travellers from prying glances; one of these palanquins has remained famous in the history of Islam—that in which ʿĀʾisha sat during the Battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL]. Palanquins of this type are still in use nowadays, particularly during marriage ceremonies, and are called *ʿaṭṭūsh*, *bāṣūr*, etc.; moreover modern descriptions of the harnessing of camels correspond very closely with what we know of those used in earlier times, and the terminology itself has scarcely changed (see, *e.g.*, Jaussen, *Moab*, 272-3). Among the Touareg (Ṭawārik [*q.v.*]) of the Sahara, apart from the *raḥla* of the "méharistes" four kinds of saddle are in use: *tarik*, with a pommel in the form of a cross; *tamzak*, of the same shape but more luxurious; *tahyast*, simpler, with a pommel in the form of a rectangular batten; and *akhawi*, a woman's saddle, wider and heavier and provided with semi-circular hoops attached to the side (see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. touareg-français*, Paris 1951, ii, 547, 723, iii, 1273, iv, 1623).

Among tribes which are at least partly settled, the camel is still used for agricultural work—ploughing, threshing, etc. (see G. Boris, *Documents*, *passim*, with illustrations and vocabulary), and Leo Africanus (ii, 40) already mentions the custom throughout Numidia of ploughing with a team consisting of a horse and a camel. Nowadays the peasants of Cape Bon (Tunisia) often harness a camel to a two-wheeled cart, and in the streets of Karachi (Pakistan) tall camels may be seen drawing four-wheeled wagons.

Yet such work does not make the best use of the camel's attributes, which are perfectly adapted to the conditions of life in hot deserts and which are pre-eminently suitable for journeys across long stretches of desert and for forays [see GHAZW] in regions where the climate and the vegetation are unsuitable for the rearing of horses in great numbers. In the early period of Islam, the camel was used as a mount and as a beast of burden for long or short expeditions; during the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, the Persian commander himself was mounted on a dromedary, but it was on horseback that the warriors were accustomed to face their enemies in single combat; and it was also on horses, which until then had been led, that the mounted fighters formed themselves into line of battle to commence the attack (cf. the verb *tanāzala*: to dismount from a camel and mount a horse in order to fight). The historians relate that the rebels who went to meet ʿAlī at Baṣra had a certain number of camels [see AL-DJAMAL], but later, as the theatres of operations became more distant, the camel no longer appears except in the baggage-trains, and it is worthy of note that in the characteristic texts assembled by G. Wiet (*Grandeur de l'Islam*, Paris 1961) the camel is not mentioned after the battle of that name. Even when ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*] set off on the conquest of Fazzān [*q.v.*], he assembled a light force of 400 horsemen accompanied by 400 camels carrying 800 skins of water (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord*[2], ed. and tr. A. Gateau, Algiers 1947, 61). Historians and geographers give very large numbers when they speak of the herds of camels of the North African steppes (see R. Mauny, *op. cit.*, 289-91), and Ibn Khaldūn, for example (*Berbères*, ii, 70), tells how the Almoravids made off with 50,000 animals belonging to the government of Sidjilmāsa; such figures do not seem exaggerated when it is recalled that at the beginning of the 20th century there were 180,000 head of camels in the province of Oran alone. The Andalusians alone among the Arabic-speaking peoples were deprived of the familiar sight of riding- and pack-camels (cf. H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index). At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Leo Africanus devoted a substantial chapter to the camel (*Description de l'Afrique*, ii, 555-8). He rightly remarks that "all the Arabs who own camels are lords who live in freedom, for with these animals they can remain in the deserts". Some of his statements may be exaggerated, as for example when he says that "the camels of Africa can carry their burdens for forty or fifty days without its being necessary to feed them in the evening; they are unloaded and allowed to graze in the surrounding country on a little grass, thorns and a few branches", or when he gives distances which are patently excessive; he mentions moreover that the camel, after journeying five days without eating, loses the fat of its hump, fat of which the early Arabs were especially fond. He states that the camel drivers urge on the exhausted beasts by singing to them rhythmic chants (*ḥidāʾ*; see GHINĀʾ), and relates that in Cairo he saw a camel dance to the sound of a drum. Leo Africanus specifies that an animal in bad physical condition sold for a few *dīnār*s, and adds that 1000 ducats represented the value of 100 camels; a more precise figure cannot be expected, for the prices varied according to the condition of the animal, the district, and its suitability as a mount. He gives also some information on caravans [see ḲĀFILA].

The brief notes of Leo Africanus are still relevant today. Nowadays work-camels and pack-camels are still to be seen even in large cities, and these not necessarily on the edge of the steppe; they belong to camel-owning tribes whose stock consists of slow and sturdy transport-camels, while the riding-camel, the "méhari" (*mahrī*), is confined to the desert where, after a fairly simple training, it is used for swift

journeys. The gestation period of the *mahriyya* is twelve months, and when she has given birth her baby camel is lovingly cared for; for several days a wide belt is put round it to support its intestines and hold in its belly, and it is kept in the tent to accustom it to human company. In spring its hair is cut; only at the end of a year is one of its nostrils pierced—this is later threaded with an iron ring. At the same time a piece of pointed wood is inserted into it so that when it tries to suck, it pricks its mother, is kicked and abandons the udder for fresh grass. At the age of two years its training begins; it is first taught to stand motionless, not moving from one spot, then it is introduced to the saddle and the nose-ring, through which a guiding-rope is passed; it is taught to run as fast as possible by light whipping, and to kneel at the voice of its master. The conditioning of its reflex actions is made very easy by the sensitivity of its skin to the slightest blow. Its life-span is about 25 years. Its speed varies from 5-12 miles an hour, and it can cover 90 miles in 15 or 20 hours, but thereafter it must rest. The pack-camel walks at $2^1/_2$ or 3 miles an hour and covers distances of 15 or 20 miles at a stretch with an average load of 3 cwts. The sobriety and endurance of the "ship of the desert" are legendary; in its five "water buckets", it stores a considerable amount of water, and thanks to the fluctuations of its body-temperature, which ranges from 34° C. to 40.7° C., its perspiration is very slight; thus it can go without drinking for several days, and can suffice with eating only a little poor scrub; but, when it has spent a week without drinking, it has lost more than 200 pounds and it needs about 25 gallons of water, abundant food and a long rest in order to recover. Thus, though the Bedouin do not look after their camels as assiduously as they do their horses, from antiquity they have been constantly preoccupied by the search for pastures and water-places for their camels, and this has not infrequently led to clashes among them.

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IBLĪS, proper name of the devil, probably a contraction of διάβολος. A different etymology has been suggested by D. Künstlinger, in *RO*, vi, 76 ff.; the Arab philologists consider that *Iblīs* derives from the root *bls*, "because Iblīs has nothing to expect (*ublisa*) from the mercy of God". He is also known as ʿAduww Allāh (the enemy of God) and al-ʿAduww (the Enemy). Finally he is given the common name of *al-shayṭān* [*q.v.*].

In the Ḳurʾān he appears at two points in the story of the beginning of the world. (1) When God had created Adam [*q.v.*] from clay and had breathed into him the spirit of life, He ordered the angels to bow down before the first man, but Iblīs refused to bow down before this mortal "created from malleable clay" (XV, 30-3; XVII, 61; cf. VII, 11 and XXXVIII, 73-4); and God cried: "Then go thou forth hence; thou art accursed (*radjīm*)! Upon thee shall rest the curse, till the Day of Doom" (XV, 33-4). At his own request, the punishment promised to Iblīs is then deferred until the Day of Judgement, and he is given power to lead astray all those who are not faithful servants of God. (2) The first of his misdeeds was to tempt Adam and Eve in the Garden, to incite them to disobey God (II, 34-6), and to eat the fruit of the "Tree of immortality" (XX, 116-21). In these two accounts of the sin of Adam and Eve, Iblīs retains his proper name when it is a question of his refusal to bow down before Adam (II, 34; XX, 116); but when he is the tempter, he becomes *al-shayṭān*, "the demon".

The revolt of Iblīs and the scene in the Garden as described in the Ḳurʾān may be compared with Christian traditions. In the *Life of Adam and Eve*, § 15 (Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*), it is stated that the Archangel Michael had invited the angels to worship Adam. The devil objected that Adam was less than they were, and younger; he and his host refused to worship and were exiled to this Earth. According to the *Schatzhöhle* (ed. Bezold, 15-6 of the Syro-Arabic text), God gave Adam power over all creatures. All the angels therefore bowed before him, with the exception of the devil, who, overcome by jealousy, exclaimed: "It is he who should adore me, who am light and air, whereas he is only earth." He was then driven out from heaven together with his host, and was, from that moment, named Satan, Demon, etc.

Thus until the Day of Judgement God will allow Iblīs to tempt men, but not the true believers, the servants of God (Ḳurʾān, XV, 39-42; cf. XXXIV, 20-1). He is the "sly tempter" who whispers (*yuwaswisu*) evil thoughts into men's hearts (*ibid.*, CXIV, 4-6). The *hātif* [*q.v.*], so well known in Arabic literature, who is heard but never seen, has on several occasions been a manifestation of Iblīs. It was in this form that Iblīs is said to have warned ʿAlī not to wash the body of Muḥammad; but after this another *hātif* recalled the Prophet's son-in-law to the correct course (al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 44). This produces the problem of the "distinction of the spirits" on which many Ṣūfīs meditated.

At the end of time Iblīs is to be thrown into the fire of hell, with his host and with the damned: "then they (the false gods) shall be pitched into it, they and the perverse and the hosts of Iblīs, altogether" (Ḳurʾān, XXVI, 94-5; cf., XV, 43). This verse is reminiscent of Matthew, XXV, 41: "Then shall He say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." It is only a few Ṣūfīs of extreme tendencies who envisage a "pardon of Iblīs".

There are two questions which are the subjects of thought or meditation among Muslims.

1. The nature of Iblīs. Is he an angel or a *djinn* [*q.v.*]? We have seen that there are many

Ḳur'ānic texts which seem to count him among the angels: "All the angels bowed together, except Iblīs ...". But an angel is created "obedient" to God, he is endowed by nature with sinlessness (*ʿiṣma*) according to the most commonly followed tradition. How then can an angel disobey God and be cursed by Him? It is fairly frequently suggested that this is because Iblīs is a *dj̲inn*, *dj̲inn*s not being incapable of sin, but some being good and others evil. Thus al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī (*Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf*, on Ḳur'ān, XX, 116) teaches that Iblīs is merely *dj̲innī* and that the term "angel" refers at the same time to "angel" and *dj̲inn*. In fact, verse XVIII, 50, gives this variant: "And when We said to the angels, 'Bow yourselves to Adam', so they bowed themselves, save Iblīs; he was one of the jinns, and committed ungodliness against his Lord's command". Iblīs was thus a *dj̲inn* who happened to be there inappropriately among the angels. According to some commentators, the divine order: "bow down before Adam" was certainly not a "testing of the angels", but it was intended to produce the confusion and damnation of the arrogant *dj̲inn* who had slipped in among them. Furthermore, in another verse (VII, 12), Iblīs, presenting his defence, retorts to God: "I am better than he; Thou createdst me of fire, and him Thou createdst of clay". It is taught in *ḥadīt̲h̲* that the angels are created from light (*nūr*), while the Ḳur'ān states: "He created man of a clay like the potter's, He created the jinn of a smokeless fire (*mārid̲j̲ min nār*)" (LV, 14-5); or "of fire flaming" (XV, 27). Realizing that he was created from fire, Iblīs, for that very reason, declares himself to be a *dj̲inn*.

This interpretation, however, is far from being generally admitted. Al-Bayḍāwī for example suggests that Iblīs could belong to the angels so far as his hopes were concerned, but that his actions place him among the *dj̲inn*s. Others suggest a class of angels capable of sin, and able to propagate their species, as do men and *dj̲inn*s. And when Iblīs, in the Ḳur'ānic text, declares himself to be "created from fire" (*nār*) and not from light (*nūr*), this is because God intended that, by a *lapsus linguae*, he should in a sense utter his own condemnation.

Al-Ṭabarī, in his *Annales*, repeats many, and sometimes diverse, traditions. The *dj̲inn*s are a category of angels charged with the supervision of Paradise (*al-dj̲anna*), hence their name (*Annales*, i, 80). They were made of fire, not light (*ibid.*, 81). In the beginning, they inhabited the earth, but discord broke out among them and led to bloodshed. God then sent Iblīs—who at this time was still called ʿAzāzīl or al-Ḥārit̲h̲—with a legion of angels against the fomenters of trouble, who were thrown back into the mountains. Other traditions present Iblīs as one of the terrestrial *dj̲inn*s who was led captive to heaven by the avenging angels, he being still young at this time (*ibid.*, 84). The name of al-Ḥakam is also given to Iblīs before his fall, because God had appointed him judge over the *dj̲inn*s. He held this office for a thousand years. Then he became inflated with pride because of this name, and provoked among the *dj̲inn*s disturbances which in their turn lasted for one thousand years. God then sent a fire which destroyed them, but Iblīs took refuge in heaven, where he remained a faithful servant of God until the creation of Adam (*ibid.*, 85; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, i, 50 ff.).

We shall not enumerate all the "accounts" concerning Iblīs, either in the pre-eternity before the creation of man or when he played his part in the Garden of Eden. It can in any case be said that Muslim thought remains undecided as to whether he was an angel or a *dj̲inn*, and does not pronounce an opinion on the possibility of his being a "fallen angel".

2. The sin of Iblīs. On the other hand, tradition has no hesitation concerning the character of Iblīs, his disobedience, the divine curse upon him, and the character of "enemy of God and of mankind", of perpetual tempter, which will be his until the day of the Last Judgement.

The two sins which are constantly attributed to Iblīs are pride and disobedience. The origin of his revolt seems to have been pride: we have seen that he not only declared himself to be superior to Adam and refused to bow down before him, but, according to al-Ṭabarī (i, 83), he considered himself superior to the other angels. It is also said (*ibid.*, 79) that he was an angel and as such reigned over the *dj̲inn*s, on earth and in the lower heavens. It was after he had rebelled that he was called by God *al-s̲h̲ayṭān al-rad̲j̲īm*.

But the question then arises as to how he can have been so blinded by power as to have been confirmed in a perpetual state of disobedience and how he could justify to himself his attitude.

Some *mutakallimūn* and many Ṣūfīs meditated on the "disobedience of Iblīs": the reason why he disobeyed God and was thus placed among the unfaithful was that he did not submit to the unconditional Will of God, preferring the general Law which had been given ("to worship God alone") to the short-term Commandment "(bow down before Adam"). Al-Ḥallād̲j̲ makes him say: "No, I shall worship only Thee". Some suggest that he believed God was setting a trap for him and that his duty was to evade it by an affirmation of uncompromising monotheism. Even more: he preferred to risk incurring God's curse and to be in hell, and to be, even against God so to speak, the mysterious witness of the absolute Divine Unity. By the expedient of such analyses, Iblīs is accorded a certain grandeur, and there can sometimes be recognized in some of the Ṣūfīs a kind of secret sympathy for the one who was "forced to be disobedient", a victim of the incomprehensible and inscrutable Commandment of God.

But al-Ḥallād̲j̲ nevertheless firmly maintains that this disobedience certainly arose from pride. He devoted to the drama of Iblīs the very beautiful text of the *Ṭā sīn al-azal* (Arabic text ed. L. Massignon, *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, Paris 1913; Fr. tr. *apud* L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, Paris 1922, 864-77). Al-Ḥallād̲j̲ composed this text during his imprisonment in Bag̲h̲dād, in response, it seems, to the extremist S̲h̲īʿī al-S̲h̲almag̲h̲ānī. He used it as an occasion to denounce not only the limits but also the unwarrantedness of the proclamation of the Divine Unity (*tawḥīd*) flourished by Iblīs against God's Commandment; cf. in particular the dialogue between Moses, descending from the mountain where he received the Law, and Iblīs, the objector with a face blackened by God's curse.

Bibliography: in addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see the various commentaries on the Ḳur'ān, under the verses mentioned; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Müselmänner*, 12 f.; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 60-1; Diyārbakrī, *al-K̲h̲amīs*, Cairo 1283, i, 31 f.; Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*: *Bāb ṣifat Iblīs wa dj̲unūdihi*. (A. J. WENSINCK-[L. GARDET])

IBN (A.), son. The Arab grammarians and lexicographers, who tend to trace all words to three root elements, generally attribute *ibn* to a root **b.n.w*.

and consider that it derives from a hypothetical **banawᵘⁿ* by loss of the 3rd sonant radical. Others state that the root is *b.n.y.* and that the word *ibn* comes from the verb *banā/yabnī ʿalā* "set up [a tent] on", and, by extension, "marry". In reality, we have an ancient semitic biliteral, which is nevertheless triliteralized in the relative adjective *banawī* and in the abstract noun *bunuwwa*. The fem. *bint*, formed with the fem. indicator *-t*, has a rival in a secondary form *ibnatᵘⁿ*. In the pl., *banūnᵃ* and *abnāʾ* (the latter, however, being specialized [*q.v.*]) correspond to *ibn*, *banātᵘⁿ* to *bint*.

The word *ibn* is constantly employed in genealogical series, and then offers some grammatical peculiarities. On the one hand, the prosthetic *alif* disappears when it is preceded by the name (*ism*) of the person and followed by the appellative of his father (except at the beginning of a line), while it is maintained after a *kunya* or a *laḳab* and before an appellative referring to the mother or an ancestor of the person quoted immediately before, that is to say when *ibn* has become the first element of a true patronymic name (see below). On the other hand, the presence of the word *ibn* exerts a regressive effect on the preceding name; the *tanwīn*, where there is one normally, disappears (*e.g.*, *Muḥammadᵘ bnᵘ Aḥmadᵃ* instead of *Muḥammadᵘⁿ*), as if *ibn* "defined" this name, while in fact it is in apposition; in the vocative, an analogous regressive effect is optional, in the sense that the first name may be put into the accusative case like *ibn* itself or remain in the nominative, while a progressive effect is exercised obligatorily on the epithetic adjective, so that the latter need not be in the same case as the noun to which it refers (*yā Muḥammadᵃ* [or *Muḥammadᵘ*] *bnᵃ Aḥmadᵃ ʾl-ḥakīmᵃ* [never *ḥakīmᵘ*]).

Ibn enters into the composition of a certain number of names of animals or plants: *ibn ʿirs*, "weasel", *ibn awbar*, "sand truffle", etc., the pl. then being *banāt* (though *banū* is sometimes found). Equally, it is used in a sense similar to *dhū* or to *ṣāḥib*: *ibn ʿishrīn sana*, "20 years old", *ibn sabīl*, "traveller", etc. In these two uses it appears strongly expressive.

It occurs that certain persons are known by an appellative composed of *Ibn* and a woman's name; one might see a vestige of matriarchal society in this, but in the Islamic period these designations have a pejorative character and are designed either to humiliate the person so named or to emphasize that his father is unknown (Ibn al-Marāgha for Djarīr [*q.v.*], Ibn Sumayya for Ziyād [*q.v.*], etc.). The same principle of "*pater incertus, mater certa*" requires the use of the mother's, not the father's, name in magical invocations (cf. S. Reich, *Quatre coupes magiques*, in *BEO*, vii-viii, 165-6). In contrast, in the name of Ibn ʿĀʾisha for example, the reference is to ʿĀʾisha bint Ṭalḥa [*q.v.*] and is in no sense pejorative. But if the name is not to be pejorative, it is generally a man's name which appears after Ibn. In fact, a large number of personages who have played a part in the political, literary, or other history of the Arabs are known (*maʿrūf bi-*) or indeed famous (*mashhūr bi-*) under an appellative formed of Ibn followed by the *ism*, *laḳab*, or *nisba* of their father (Ibn ʿAbbās = ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās) or of an ancestor, sometimes celebrated, as in the case of Ibn ʿĀʾisha, but more often obscure, though a descendant has become famous: Ibn Rushd = Muḥammad b. Rushd, then his son Aḥmad, his grandson Muḥammad, etc. This is called *maʿrifa* or *shuhra* and it is in this manner that patronymic names have been constructed. One finds, particularly in Spain but also in the rest of the Muslim world, families known comprehensively under the name of Banū Fulān (*e.g.*, Banū Shuhayd), but of which each member is provided with a patronymic beginning with Ibn (Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, Ibn Maslama, etc.), with a *kunya* and with an *ism* (Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī Ibn Ḥazm; in this case it is preferable to write Ibn with a capital letter). It is after all only necessary to glance through the pages following this article or vols. ii-iv of the *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif* of F. al-Bustānī to see that a large number of historical personages may be designated by their *maʿrifa* or *shuhra*, although the choice of this appellative may provoke confusion. The authors of biographical collections generally indicate the *maʿrifa*, where it exists, of the persons forming the subject of the biographies, and take care to refer the reader in an index to the *ism* under which the biographies in question are placed. In this respect vol. vi of the *Lisān al-Mīzān* of al-ʿAsḳalānī, for example, is instructive, since it demonstrates the relatively small proportion of customary *maʿrifa*s compared with the *nisba*s and *kunya*s. Although the use of the *maʿrifa* is ancient, it does not seem to go back to the pre-Islamic period; in fact the clan was then known under the name of Banū Fulān, but each member, instead of calling himself Ibn Fulān, was called Akhū Banī Fulān or by a *nisba*.

On the juridical status of a son, see WALAD. On the structure of Muslim names, see ISM. (ED.)

IBN ʿABBĀD, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM AL-NAFZĪ AL-ḤIMYARĪ AL-RUNDĪ, the most important mystic writer of the 8th/14th century in the dominions of the Marīnids. Born in 733/1333 at Ronda, where his father was preacher in the mosque, he emigrated while still young to Morocco, whose famous *madrasa*s attracted many students. He studied first at Tlemcen with the famous al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī, who played a great part in the restoration of the Mālikī *madhhab* in the Maghrib; then he went to Fez, where al-Ābilī, al-Maḳḳarī, al-ʿImrānī, al-Fishtālī and others less famous were teaching. The basic works which he studied were the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, the *Tahdhīb* of al-Barādhiʿī, and the two *Mukhtaṣar*s of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. In Ṣūfism, which at that time was held in high regard in the religious circles of Fez, he began with the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of al-Makkī. Inclined to solitude and meditation, Ibn ʿAbbād soon abandoned legal sciences to devote himself to asceticism and mysticism. In about 760/1359 he reached Salé where, according to al-Ḥaḍramī (*Salsal*), Ṣūfī life flourished round Ibn ʿĀshir, an extraordinary personality whose influence extended throughout Morocco. It was through him that Ibn ʿAbbād's spiritual development was completed. When his master died, Ibn ʿAbbād paid a rapid visit to Tangier where he enjoyed *fatḥ* with Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik, then returned to Fez where, at the request of his friends Yaḥyā al-Sarrādj and Sulaymān al-Anfāsī, he wrote a commentary on the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh of Alexandria, which was a great success. The works of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ had just reached Morocco, and with them the Shādhilī *ṭariḳa*, whose spread in the Maghrib owed much to Ibn ʿAbbād. He returned once more to Salé, where he wrote almost all of the Letters which were collected and published by Yaḥyā al-Sarrādj. From then he was a Ṣūfī *shaykh*. In 777/1375, the sultan appointed him *imām* and preacher at the Ḳarawiyyīn, an office which he occupied until his death, in 792/1390. He was buried at Bāb al-Futūḥ where the place of his burial is still known although the tomb is no longer identifiable.

In addition to the commentary on the *Ḥikam*, Ibn ʿAbbād left some letters containing spiritual directions and collected in *Rasāʾil kubrā*, lith. Fez 1320, 262 pp.) and *Rasāʾil ṣughrā* (ed. P. Nwyia, 1957, 138 pp.) and some unpublished works: *Fatḥ al-tuḥfa* (a collection of *ḥadīths* in the form of an manual of devotion); *Duʿā bi 'l-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*; a collection of Friday sermons; a versification of the *Ḥikam*. Ibn ʿAbbād's work marks a return to primitive Ṣūfism (Muḥāsibī), for he did not like Ibn Sabʿīn and only rarely cites Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Bibliography: P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAbbād de Ronda*, Beirut 1961, 1-41, provides a complete list of the sources and studies, among which there should be specially mentioned M. Asín Palacios, *Un precursor hispano-musulman de San Juan de la Cruz*, in *al-Andalus*, i (1933), 7-79.

(P. Nwyia)

IBN ʿABBĀD, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbbād b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs, vizier and man of letters of the Būyid period, known as Kāfī 'l-kufāt or more frequently al-Ṣāḥib, an honorific title which he may have owed to his relations with Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd [see ibn al-ʿamīd, i], but more probably to his loyalty to the *amīr* Muʾayyid al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. Born probably at Iṣṭakhr on 16 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 326/14 September 938 (but the sources disagree on his date and place of birth), of a family of high officials (his father at least, known as al-Shaykh al-amīn, had been a *kātib* and then become vizier to Rukn al-Dawla; see Abū Ḥayyān, *Mathālib*, index; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 170-2), he spent his childhood at Ṭālaḳān (near Ḳazwīn), and then settled at Iṣfahān. After the death of his father (334 or 335/946 or 947), he attached himself to Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd, first as his devoted disciple and later as his secretary. In 347/958 he was chosen to accompany the *amīr* Abū Manṣūr (Muʾayyid al-Dawla) to Baghdād as a clerk, and it was at this period that his friendly relations with the Būyid prince began. He may even have been at about this time the tutor of another son of Rukn al-Dawla. On the latter's death (366/976), the governorship of Iṣfahān and its dependencies fell to Muʾayyid al-Dawla who confirmed the *kātib* Ibn ʿAbbād and the vizier Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-ʿAmīd, the son of al-Ṣāḥib's master [see ibn al-ʿamīd, ii], in their offices. Abu 'l-Fatḥ then began to engage in intrigues and to incite against the vizier the army of Rayy, with the result that Muʾayyid al-Dawla, with the help of ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], succeeded in getting rid of his vizier and replacing him by Ibn ʿAbbād.

It is not easy to study in detail the vizierate of Ibn ʿAbbād, whose political activity is confused by the chroniclers with that of his masters [see būyids, ʿaḍud al-dawla, fakhr al-dawla, muʾayyid al-dawla]. There does, however, exist a notable account, though unfortunately limited to the reign of Muʾayyid al-Dawla, in the sole surviving volume of the *Rasāʾil*, which consists exclusively of diplomas of appointment and official letters or of correspondence with the author's eminent personal friends. The matters with which they deal naturally extend beyond a single vizierate and thus cannot be listed here. But it is interesting to note the way in which precision is combined with style in the administrative communications written by Ibn ʿAbbād. The letters of course concern general politics, and also the policy of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the ruling head of the Būyid family, in his struggles against his cousin ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār, and against Fakhr al-Dawla, the Sāmānids, the Kurds, etc.; the letters also cover the matter of the Daylamī vassals of the dynasty and of its changeable relations with its Ādharbaydjānī vassals. Above all, the correspondence demonstrates a constant and efficient preoccupation with exactitude in the management of the finances and the maintenance of public order; on the second of these points the vizier appears to have been hostile to the urban *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]; on the first he pays attention to the efficient collection of taxes, but also to the orderliness of their administration and, when circumstances allowed, he was not unwilling to have taxes reduced. In the name of his master he appointed governors, *ḳāḍīs*, etc., setting out to them their duties; the comparison of the *Rasāʾil* on this point with, in particular, those of his contemporary, the caliph's secretary Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ, shows that there was an accepted basic form to which each of them could add only modifications of detail. The volume of the *Rasāʾil* examined scarcely mentions Ibn ʿAbbād's literary connexions or activities, which nevertheless also formed part of his "policy".

Al-Ṣāḥib's activity as vizier can be divided naturally into two sections, by the reigns of the two sovereigns under whom he served. Under Muʾayyid al-Dawla, he was the vizier of a vassal of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, and took care to make sure of his position by rendering homage also direct to the ruler: it is strange that ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who for himself had always refused to have only one vizier with full powers, should yet have encouraged his brother to grant his favour only to this all-powerful minister, in whom he had absolute confidence. After the death of ʿAḍud, soon followed by that of Muʾayyid, Ibn ʿAbbād acquired more completely autonomous power, his prince, Fakhr al-Dawla, being now the eldest of the family and no longer owing allegiance to anyone; but this prince continued to have full confidence in the vizier, who, after having fought against him while his brothers were alive had, against all expectation, summoned him to succeed the second of them. Ibn ʿAbbād had attempted to make him play the dominant rôle in the dynasty by his interventions first in support of Shams al-Dawla against Bahāʾ al-Dawla, then of the second against the first: this apparent volte-face is explained by the fact that the struggle between the two young princes had resulted in their territorial possessions changing hands and that in al-Ṣāḥib's view Fakhr al-Dawla should support the master of ʿIrāḳ against the master of Fārs, who might covet Iṣfahān. Naturally Fakhr al-Dawla, true to tradition, laid hands on the rich heritage of his minister, who had expected this, and no further member of his family is found among the high officials of the dynasty. But Ibn ʿAbbād himself is remembered as one of the great viziers of Muslim history, even by those who were his adversaries in doctrine (see, *e.g.*, Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, xl, 33 and xli, 21-6). Like the latter, he belongs to the category of ministers who, in the service of princes who were either not suited to or were indifferent to the tasks of administration, were able to acquire an almost autonomous personal power and to become temporarily the true masters of the State.

Ibn ʿAbbād would not, however, have gained such wide fame if he had not also occupied a foremost place in the history of Arab literature, as much through his own works as through his patronage of scholars and poets. In addition to being apprenticed in his youth to the profession of *kātib*, to which he appeared to be destined by his birth, he had the good fortune to have as his mentor Ibn al-ʿAmīd, who

possessed a strong traditional cultural background and no slight knowledge of theology and philosophy. During his stay in Baghdād he was able to frequent the literary circles there and to collect many traditions of which he was later able to make use. Finally, in addition to many chance teachers, he was in contact, at al-Rayy, with the grammarian Ibn Fāris [*q.v.*], modestly calling himself his pupil. These favourable circumstances allowed him to acquire an extensive knowledge in all the fields of Arabic culture, from exegesis and *ḥadīth* to history, and including grammar, literary criticism and dogmatic theology; like all *kātib*s worthy of the name he was a poet, and he handled prose with a skill which earned him lasting fame.

His very varied works may be classified under the following headings: (I) Dogmatic theology: *al-Ibāna ʿan madhhab ahl al-ʿadl bi-ḥudjadj al-Ḳurʾān wa'l-ʿaḳl*, a statement of some points of Muʿtazilī doctrine in contrast with other sects and schools (ed. M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, in *Nafāʾis al-makhṭūṭāt*, i, Nadjaf 1372, 20 pp.); *al-Tadhkira fi 'l-uṣūl al-khamsa*, a statement of the five Muʿtazilī principles (ed. M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, *ibid.*, ii, Nadjaf 1373, 9 pp.); *Risāla fi 'l-hidāya wa 'l-ḍalāla*, on predestination (ed. Ḥ. ʿAlī Maḥfūẓ, Tehrān 1374/1955). Among works which are not known to have survived, the following would come into this category: *K. Mukhtaṣar asmāʾ Allāh wa-ṣifātih*; *al-Imāma*, in which he proclaimed the superiority of ʿAlī while accepting the imāmate of his predecessors; *al-Zaydiyya*; *al-Ḳaḍāʾ wa 'l-ḳadar*; *Nahdj al-sabīl fi 'l-uṣūl.* (II) History: *Risāla fī aḥwāl ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Ḥasanī*, on an important descendant of ʿAlī (ed. M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, in *Nafāʾis al-makhṭūṭāt*, iv, Nadjaf 1374, 4 pp.); *ʿUnwān al-maʿārif wa-dhikr al-khalāʾif*, a short history of the life of the Prophet and of those who were proclaimed caliph, up to al-Muṭīʿ (ed. M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, *ibid.*, i, Nadjaf 1372, 29 pp.). Among the works which are lost, the following may belong to this category: *al-Anwār*; *al-Wuzarāʾ*; *Taʾrīkh al-mulk wa-'khtilāf al-duwal.* (III) Grammar, lexicography, etc.: *al-Iḳnāʿ fi 'l-ʿarūḍ wa-takhrīdj al-ḳawāfī*, a study of Arabic prosody, of the different metres and an explanation of the technical terms (manuscripts of this exist in Cairo, Paris, etc.); *al-Farḳ bayn al-ḍād wa'l-ẓāʾ*, a study of terms in which there is sometimes confusion between *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ* (MS Fatih); *al-Muḥīṭ bi 'l-lugha*, an Arabic dictionary in ten volumes arranged according to the point of articulation of the consonants (in the following order: ʿ, *ḥ, h, kh, gh*; *ḳ, k*; *dj, sh, ḍ*; *ṣ, s*; *z*; *ṭ, d, t*; *ẓ, dh, th*; *r, l, n*; *f, b, m*; *w*, ʾ, *y*; some incomplete manuscripts of this exist: Ahmed III, Baghdad Museum, Dār al-kutub; see J. A. Haywood, *Arabic lexicography*², Leiden 1965, index); *al-Amthāl al-sāʾira min shiʿr al-Mutanabbī*, proverbs collected from the work of the great poet (the text was published at Beirut in 1950, and it is found also in Ibn Maʿṣūm al-Madani, *K. Anwār al-rabīʿ fi anwāʿ al-badīʿ*, in *Muḳtaṭaf*, xxviii/10-11 and in *Thaḳāfat al-Hind*, v/1); the *K. al-Waḳf wa 'l-ibtidāʾ* appears to be lost. (IV) Literary criticism: *al-Kashf ʿan masāwī shiʿr al-Mutanabbī*, a criticism of the poetry of al-Mutanabbī (the text, forming part of the *Yatīma* of al-Thaʿālibī, i, 123-45, was printed separately in Cairo in 1349). (V) Poetry: *Dīwān* (an incomplete manuscript discovered by M. Ḥ. Yāsīn, was published by him, Baghdād 1965; the Aya Sofya MS attributed to Ibn ʿAbbād is in fact not by him); *al-Manẓūma al-farīda*, a poem taken from the *Dīwān*; *al-Safīna* was a poetic anthology. (VI) Belles-lettres: *al-Rūznāmadja* a collection of literary anecdotes made at Baghdād in 347/958-9 (a manuscript discovered by M. Ḥ. Yāsīn is to be published by him); *Akhbār Abi 'l-ʿAynāʾ*, a lost work which confirms the importance of Abu 'l-ʿAynā [*q.v.*]; *Rasāʾil*, especially the administrative correspondence (see above) (ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām and Shawḳī Ḍayf, Cairo 1953); *al-Aʿyād wa-faḍāʾil al-nawrūz* (lost). Finally there are a few works which it is impossible to classify precisely; *al-Taʿlīl*; *Djawharat al-djamhara*; *al-Ḥadjar* (?); *al-Shawāhid.*

The existence of works of a Muʿtazilī character raises the question which religious school Ibn ʿAbbād adhered to. There is no doubt that he was a good Muslim and an Arabophile, in spite of his non-Arab origin, but his biographers, his friends and his enemies disagree completely when it comes to specifying to which school he belonged. Some Shīʿīs like Ibn Bābūya (*ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 3) and others unhesitatingly claim him as one of them, and the Muʿtazilī *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār even accuses him of being a Rāfiḍī; others attach him to the Zaydīs, to the Ḥanafīs, to the Shāfiʿīs, or to the Ḥashwiyya, but in fact he considered himself to be a pupil of the Muʿtazilīs—thus following the example of his father, who had written a *K. Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*—and he admitted that he made propaganda for this school (*Rasāʾil*, 73); his *Ibāna* and his *Tadhkira* provide clear evidence of his opinions. However, like many of the members of the Muʿtazilī school at Baghdād (see Ch. Pellat, in *St. Isl.*, xv, 33) on the question of the imāmate he came down in favour of ʿAlī; furthermore, after having rejected the *naṣṣ* [*q.v.*] in the *Ibāna*, an early work, he came to consider that the caliphate was conferred by virtue of a *naṣṣ*, and thus allied himself with the Shīʿīs.

Such a contradiction is typical of the character of Ibn ʿAbbād, whose personality is presented by different authors under very different colours; thus Abū Ḥayyān paints a very severe portrait of him, but it is known that he is prejudiced. There is no doubt that he himself, being accustomed to receive praise, had a high opinion of his own worth and that his vanity was agreeably flattered by the "five hundred poets among the employees of the *dīwāns*" who sang his praises; it is even said that 100,000 couplets (some go so far as to say 100,000 poems) were devoted to his praise, but this eulogy was not enough for him, since he also wrote a panegyric on himself and ordered a poet to recite it in his presence. He did, however, possess a fair amount of *ḥilm* [*q.v.*] and knew how to behave humbly with those whom he regarded as his masters, and, although accused of avarice, he could on occasion show generosity, at least when he considered it opportune to do so.

As a writer, Ibn ʿAbbād shows a marked taste for rhymed prose, the long sentences in which the figures of *badīʿ* abound and which are thus very close to poetry, but his prose remains readable and, to a certain extent, light; it is in any case less precious than his poems, in which he makes use of all the ornaments and artificial characteristics of the poetry of the period. With Ibn al-ʿAmīd, al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*], and al-Khuwārizmī [*q.v.*], Ibn ʿAbbād is one of the main representatives of the school of literature which introduced rhymed prose first into the official correspondence and then into all types of writing; a *kātib* and poet from Spain, Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*], however, omits Ibn ʿAbbād and considers only al-Hamadhānī and Ḳābūs [*q.v.*] as really representing the new tendency (*apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 202).

Al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād died at Rayy on 24 Ṣafar 385/30 March 995.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, the contemporary of al-Ṣāḥib, devotes to him only a brief mention (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 194), but Thaʿālibī gives a good deal more (*Yatīma*, iii) and Yāḳūt provides a considerable amount of information (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 168-313; xiv, 206-10; xv, 113-5) partly taken, it is true, from the works of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, whose *Mathālib al-wazīrayn* is now published (ed. Ibrāhīm al-Kaylānī, Damascus 1961; ed. Ibn Tāwīt, Cairo 1965); see also, by the same author, *al-Imtāʿ wa ʾl-muʾānasa*, i, 55; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 397-401; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 113-5; Ibn Khallikān, i, 206-10; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 196-7; ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, i; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 364; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 413-6; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, i, 202; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt*, 109; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, index; A. Amīn, *Ẓuhr al-Islām*, i, *passim*; Sarton, i, 689; Brockelman, S I, 198; *Thaḳāfat al-Hind*, iv/4-v/1; Zuruklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 106; Mu'id Khan, in *IC*, xvii (1943), 176-205; M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, *al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād ḥayātuh wa-adabuh*, Baghdad 1376/1957 (very thorough study of the life and particularly of the works of Ibn ʿAbbād). On his activity as vizier, see especially: Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, vi; Abū Shudjāʿ, *Dhayl Tadjārib al-umam*, 163-70 and *passim*; Ibn al-Athīr, vii; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān* (unpublished); Ibn Isfandiyār, *Ṭabaristān*, index; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, index; see also the *Bibl.* of the article BŪYIDS. (CL. CAHEN and CH. PELLAT)

IBN ʿABBĀD [see ʿABBĀDIDS; AL-MUʿTAMID].

IBN AL-ABBĀR, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ BAKR B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. AḤMAD B. ABĪ BAKR AL-ḲUḌĀʿĪ, historian, traditionist, littérateur, and poet, belonged to a family which had its origin in Onda, the patrimony of the Ḳuḍāʿīs of Spain; he was born in Rabīʿ II 595/February 1199 at Valencia, where he passed his youth studying under the direction of several teachers whom he quotes in his *Muʿdjam*. For more than twenty years he was the disciple of the most learned traditionist in Spain, Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ b. Sālim, who persuaded him to complete the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl. He made several journeys in the Peninsula *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* and acted as secretary to the Muʾminid governors of Valencia. This town, after being taken by Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*], was besieged in Ramaḍān 635/April-May 1238 by James I of Aragon; thereupon Ibn al-Abbār was sent with a deputation to ask for the assistance of the Ḥafṣid sovereign of Tunis, Abū Zakariyyāʾ [see ḤAFṢIDS]; on 4 Muḥarram 635/17 August 1238, he recited a poem rhyming in *sīn* (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 651; idem, *Azhār*, iii, 307) in which he painted a moving picture of his besieged native city. He returned to Valencia, but left it a few days after it was captured by James I on 17 Ṣafar 636/28 September 1238 (Dozy, *Notices*, 190). Al-Ghubrīnī (*ʿUnwān*, 183) states that he stopped at Bougie before going to Tunis, where, received favourably by Abū Zakariyyāʾ, he was appointed chief of his chancellery, but was ordered to leave a blank in official documents in the place of the authentication for the *ṣāḥib al-ʿalāma* to fill in; Ibn al-Abbār did not carry out this instruction and was soon dismissed and put under arrest in his own house. However, he was pardoned and re-instated in his office.

When Abū Zakariyyāʾ died, his successor, al-Mustanṣir, kept Ibn al-Abbār close to him, but his attitude so much irritated the sovereign and his courtiers that he was ordered to be tortured. His writings were confiscated and a satire against the *amīr* was discovered among them. The reading of this piece enraged the *amīr* even more and he ordered Ibn al-Abbār to be killed by lance-thrusts. Ibn al-Abbār died on the morning of 20 Muḥarram 658/6 January 1260. On the following day his corpse, his books, his poetry, and his diplomas were burnt together on the same pyre.

We possess a certain number of official letters (Maḳḳarī, *Azhār*, iii, 211 ff.) and poems (idem, *Analectes*, i, 658, 868, ii, 762; idem, *Azhār*, ii, 223 ff.) of Ibn al-Abbār, who is the author of fifteen or so works (forming about 45 volumes) among which the following have been preserved:

(1) *K. al-Takmila li-K. al-Ṣila* (Continuation of the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*]), ed. Codera, 2 vols., Madrid 1888-9 (*BAH*, v, vi); a supplement, with variants and indices, was published by Alarcón and González Palencia in *Miscelánea de estudios y textos árabes*, Madrid 1915, 147-690; the beginning of the work (letters *alif-djīm*) was ed. by Bel and Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920. Biographical dictionary finished at Tunis. (2) *al-Muʿdjam fī aṣḥāb al-ḳāḍī al-imām Abī ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī*, ed. Codera, Madrid 1886 (*BAH*, iv). (3) *K. al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, partial ed. by R. Dozy in *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leiden 1847-51 (see also idem, *Recherches*[3] and *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*) and Müller, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der westlichen Araber*, Munich 1866-78; ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, Cairo 1963, 2 vols.; critical analysis and study on Ibn al-Abbār, by ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabbāʿ, *K. al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, Beirut 1962. Biographies of poets. (4) *Tuḥfat al-ḳādim*, concerning the poets of Spain, was abridged by Balfīḳī, *al-Muḳtaḍab min K. Tuḥfat al-ḳādim*, ed. A. Bustānī in *Machriq*, July-Sept. 1947, and Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, Cairo 1957. (5) *Iʿtāb al-kuttāb* (The secretaries' contentment), ed. Ṣāliḥ al-Ashtar, Damascus 1961. (6) *Durar al-simṭ fī khabar al-Sibṭ* (on the family of the Prophet and the ʿAlids), edition prepared by A. Ghedira, who has analysed and studied the text in *al-And.*, xxii/1 (1957) 31-54. In it the author shows himself to be violently hostile to the Umayyads and gives signs of Shīʿī tendencies.

Bibliography: Besides the works cited: Ghubrīnī, *ʿUnwān al-dirāya fī man ʿurifa min al-ʿulamāʾ fi ʾl-miʾa ʾl-sābiʿa bi-Bidjāya*, Algiers 1328/1910, 183; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Būlāḳ 1299/1881-2, ii, 226; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; idem, *Azhār al-riyāḍ fī akhbār ʿIyāḍ*, Cairo 1939, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, tr. de Slane, ii, 307, 347-50; Zarkashī, *Taʾrīkh al-dawlatayn*, tr. Fagnan, Constantine 1895, 36, 38, 48; Pons Boigues, 409; Gayangos, *Hist. of the Moh. dynasties in Spain*, ii, 528 ff.; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, index; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 294; Brockelmann, I, 340-1, S, I, 580-1.

(M. BEN CHENEB-[CH. PELLAT])

IBN AL-ABBĀR, ABŪ DJAʿFAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-KHAWLĀNĪ, an Andalusian poet who lived among the entourage of the early ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*] of Seville and died in 433/1041-2. Of his *Dīwān* only a few poems survive, in particular a panegyric of Ismāʿīl Ibn ʿAbbād, some occasional verse and some descriptions; floral poems seem to have occupied a leading part in his work, which drew its inspiration from the life of the Andalusian aristocracy of the time: wine, pleasures, country-walks, women—these for the most part are his favourite subjects, and an element of sensuality is visible in his poems. His

technique is excellent, metaphors and similes abound, and the *badīʿ* is applied with assurance and felicity. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, nos. 934, 2165, 2646 and 5159, appears to confuse this Ibn Abbār with the historian who is the subject of the preceding article.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ii; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 352; Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī, *Badīʿ*, index; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 44; Makkarī, *Analectes*, index; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 409; S. Khalis, *La vie littéraire à Séville au XIe siècle*, thesis Sorbonne 1953 (unpublished); H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 186; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 295. (M. Ben Cheneb*)

IBN ʿABBĀS [see ʿabd allāh b. (al-)ʿabbās].

IBN ʿABD ALLĀH, as patronymic of converts [see ism].

IBN ʿABD AL-BARR al-Namarī (al-Numayrī), appellative of a family of Cordovan scholars, the principal representative of which is Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh, born in 368/978. He studied in his native city under masters of repute, engaged in correspondence with scholars of the East and travelled all over Spain "in search of knowledge", but never went to the East. Considered the best traditionist of his time, he was equally distinguished in *fikh* and in the science of genealogy. After displaying Ẓāhirī tendencies at first, in which he resembled his friend Ibn Ḥazm, he later followed the Mālikī doctrine, not without some inclination towards Shāfiʿī teaching. He held the position of *ḳāḍī* at Lisbon and Santarem under al-Muẓaffar b. al-Afṭas, and died at Játiva in 463/1070.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr is the author of a considerable number of works of all kinds, of which there have been preserved especially:—*K. al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-Aṣḥāb*, biographies of the Companions of the Prophet, ed. Ḥaydarābād 1318-9, then on the margin of the *Iṣāba* of al-ʿAskalānī, Cairo 1323-5, and finally ed. ʿAlī Muḥ. al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1957-60, 4 vols. (for the abridgements of this work, see Brockelmann).—*Djāmiʿ bayān al ʿilm wa-faḍli-hi wā mā yanbaghī fī riwāyati-hi wa-ḥamli-hi*, Cairo 1346.—*al-Kāfī fi 'l-fiḳh*, a manual of Mālikī law (see Brockelmann, S I, 297, foot).—*al-Tamhīd li-mā fi 'l-Muwaṭṭaʾ min ai-maʿānī wa 'l-asānīd*, on the methodology of *ḥadīth* (see Brockelmann, S I, 298, top, 629).—*Kitāb al-istidhkār fī sharḥ madhāhib ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār*, a summary of the preceding (see Brockelman S I, 297, foot).—*al Istidrāk li-madhāhib al-aʿṣār fī-mā taḍammana-hu 'l-Muwaṭṭaʾ min maʿāni 'l-raʾy wa 'l-āthār*, commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*.—*Kitāb al-Intiḳāʾ fī faḍāʾil al-thalāthat al-aʾimma al-fuḳahāʾ*, on Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī, Cairo 1350.—*al-Inṣāf fī-mā bayn al-ʿulamāʾ min al-ikhtilāf*, ed. Cairo, in *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil al-munīriyya*.—*al Ḳaṣd wa 'l-amam fi 'l-taʿrīf bi-uṣūl al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam wa man awwal man takallama bi 'l-ʿarabiyya min al-umam*, on genealogies, Cairo 1350; French trans. A. Mahdjoub, in *RAfr.*, xcix (1955-7).—*al-Inbāh ʿalā ḳabāʾil al-ruwāh*, on the genealogies of transmitters, printed with *al-Ḳaṣd*.—*Bahdjat al-madjālis wa-uns al-mudjālis*, a book of *adab* composed in verse for al-Muẓaffar and abridged by Ibn Luyūn (see Brockelmann, S I, 629, with other titles).

Bibliography: Ibn Khayr, *Fihrasa*, index; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, ii, 640; Ibn Ḥazm, *Risāla* (see Ch. Pellat, in *al-Andalus*, xix/1 (1954), 7-9); A. González Palencia, *Literatura*, index; F. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 333-4; Brockelmann, S I, 297, 628-9 (with further bibliography). (Ch. Pellat)

IBN ʿABD AL-HĀDĪ [see yūsuf b. ʿabd al-hādī].

IBN ʿABD AL-ḤAKAM refers to the son and the four grandsons of ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (said to have died in 171/787-88), a wealthy and influential family of legal scholars and historians in 3rd/9th century Egypt. The Banū ʿAbd al-Ḥakam were among those who introduced Mālikism into Egypt. They were also intimately connected with al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*], providing the initial financing of his stay in Egypt. Al-Shāfiʿī is said to have died in their house (Ibn Farḥūn, 134), and he was buried in their family plot. Later, they dissociated themselves from his teaching. Their prominent position brought them the usual share of tribulations. Thus, they suffered persecution during the Muʿtazilī *miḥna* in 227/842, and in 237/851 they were among those accused of having misappropriated the confiscated property of a former high official that the central government claimed for itself. They were assessed the exorbitant sum of 1,404,000 *dīnārs*. Although they were speedily exonerated, they seem to have lost their former prominence and influence as a result of this affair.

1. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, who was born in 155/772 and died on 21 Ramaḍān 214/22 November 829, is said to have had direct contact with Mālik. He wrote a number of textbooks on Mālikī legal teaching. Of his writings, only the biography (*sīra* or *faḍāʾil*) of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is preserved (ed. A. ʿUbayd, Cairo 1346/1927). The work depicts ʿUmar as the ideal Muslim ruler by means of bringing together numerous edifying anecdotes, stories of his dealings with his contemporaries, his sermons, his prayers and his official correspondence, including a fiscal rescript clarifying his financial policies (H. A. R. Gibb, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 1-16). It exemplifies the deep influence of religio-legal thought upon Muslim historiography, and it is particularly valuable as the oldest preserved representative (apart from the *Sīra* of the Prophet) of Muslim biographical writing on the large scale in monograph form.

2. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, the eldest of ʿAbd Allāh's sons, died under torture during the misappropriation trial in November 851. Like Saʿd, who appears to have been the youngest of the four brothers, he did not leave much of a permanent mark.

3. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh was esteemed by his contemporaries as the outstanding member of the family. Born on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 182/27 January 799, he studied with al-Shāfiʿī but later wrote a "Refutation of al-Shāfiʿi where he was in contradiction to the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*." It was he who was summoned to Baghdād to subscribe to the dogma of the createdness of the Ḳurʾān, but he refused to do so and was sent back to Egypt. His works, none of them preserved, included polemical treatises directed against the ʿIrāḳīs and against Bishr al-Marīsī, as well as studies of special legal questions. In the manuscripts of his father's biography of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he is stated to be its transmitter (an addition in his name appears on pp. 121 f. of the edition). The date of his death is variously given as Wednesday, 4 or 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 268/26 May (Thursday) or 6 June (Wednesday) 882, or 269/882-83.

4. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh (born *ca.* 182/798-99, died 257/871) is famous for his work on "The Conquest of Egypt and the West" (*Futūḥ Miṣr*), the oldest preserved work on the subject (ed. C. C. Torrey, New Haven 1922; another old manuscript in Manisa, General Library 281, 2,

cf. A. Ateş, in *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes*, iv (1958), 20 f.). Two long appendixes deal with the chief judges of Egypt down to the year 246/860 and with the companions of the Prophet who came to Egypt, and the *ḥadīth*s transmitted there on their authority. The main body of the work consists of a history of Egypt that starts out with the legendary early beginnings and ends with the death of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, following throughout the chronological sequence of events. It then continues with the recital of the subsequent conquests of Northwest Africa and Spain. The author includes important information on such matters as the historical topography (*khiṭaṭ*) of Fusṭāṭ and the problems of financial administration. His point of view (like that of his sources) is that of the legal scholar rather than the historian. Characteristically, he begins with the admonition to respect the original Coptic inhabitants of the country. The section on the Western conquests has been translated into French by A. Gateau (Algiers 1942, 2nd ed. 1947 [1948]); for an analysis of this section as a historical source, cf. R. Brunschvig, in *AIEO Alger*, vi (1942-47), 108-55.

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(F. Rosenthal)

IBN ʿABD AL-MALIK AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, his full name being Abū ʿAbd ʿAllāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Awsī al-Anṣārī al-Marrākushī, chief *ḳāḍī* in Marrākush under the Marīnids, and author of a biographical dictionary indispensable for a knowledge of the illustrious men of the Muslim West. He was born, probably in Marrākush, on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 634/9 July 1237 and died in Tlemcen in 703/1303-4. His work, still in manuscript, comprises several volumes and bears the title *al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila li-kitābayni 'l-Mawṣūl wa 'l-Ṣila*, that is to say Sequel and Complement to the *Kitāb al-Mawṣūl fī taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Faraḍī [*q.v.*], who died in 403/1012-3, and to the *Kitāb al-Ṣila fī akhbār aʾimmat al-Andalus* of Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*], who died in 578/1182-3. It is one of the sources habitually used by Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], Ibn al-Ḳāḍī [*q.v.*], Leo Africanus [*q.v.*], etc. In the article devoted to him by ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm (see *Bibl.*) will be found a long list of his teachers and pupils and of his other writings, with numerous references, and even the names of some thirty personages who are of importance for the history of Marrākush and whose biographies are provided by Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik.

An edition of the *Dhayl* is in preparation in Rabat (Morocco).

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IBN ʿABD AL-MUNʿIM AL-ḤIMYARĪ (or rather *al-shaykh al-faḳīh al-ʿadl* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿAbd al-Nūr al-Ḥimyarī, author of the important Arabic geographical dictionary entitled *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī khabar al-aḳṭār*. Nothing is known of this writer apart from the facts that he came from the Maghrib and that he was a jurisconsult (*faḳīh*) and a *ḳāḍī*'s assessor or notary (*ʿadl*). E. Lévi-Provençal was responsible for the discovery and the publication of a large part of his work (*La péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Age, d'après le Kitāb ar-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār d'Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī*, Leiden 1938). In this edition, Lévi-Provençal used several manuscripts (of Meknès, Fez, Salé and Timbuktu) dating from the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. To these manuscripts there should be added two others found after 1938: one copy, preserved in the Nuruosmaniye library in Istanbul, written before the year 1045/1635-6, and another, made in 971/1563-4, and in the library of the *Shaykh al-Islām* at Medina. The Timbuktu manuscript gives the place and exact date of the compilation of the *Rawḍ*, *i.e.*, Djudda, 866/1461. The full introduction to Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī's geographical dictionary reveals that the author used as his main sources three important Arabic geographical works of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries: the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of al-Bakrī (ca. 460/1067-8), the *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fi 'khtirāḳ al-āfāḳ* of al-Idrīsī (548/1154) and the geographical treatise entitled *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī ʿadjāʾib al-amṣār* (ca. 587/1154), which is in fact only a rewriting of al-Bakrī's work with the addition of some personal observations by the author. It would seem that the *Rawḍ* might be important for any future edition of the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, since the extracts from the latter work which are dispersed in the dictionary of al-Ḥimyarī would, if put in order, give a fuller and at the same time a somewhat different version from that known from the editions of de Slane, Kunik-Rosen and Kowalski. Thus the description of the town of Brāgha (Prague), taken by al-Bakrī from the account of Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb al-Ṭurṭūshī (ca. 355/965-6), is completely different in the extract given by al-Ḥimyarī from the version published by Kowalski. The extracts from the *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, which are very numerous especially in the parts of al-Ḥimyarī's dictionary which deal with the Iberian peninsula, could also be used for a complete edition of al-Idrīsī.

The *Rawḍ* was not entirely unknown before its discovery by E. Lévi-Provençal. In fact it is mentioned, before 1067/1657, in the *Kashf al-ẓunūn* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel, iii, 490, no. 6597), under the title *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī akhbār al-aḳṭār*, as the work of one Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī, who died in 900/1494. E. Lévi-Provençal had already suggested that this

was the same work as that which he had discovered. This supposition seems to be entirely justified by the fact that the brief description of it given by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa corresponds exactly to *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* written in 866/1461 and known thanks to the six manuscripts mentioned above.

The work of Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī nevertheless presents a problem not easily solved. In fact, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa lists (iii, 491), immediately after *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, as no. 6598, a second work of the same title as that of no. 6597. The name of the writer of this second work—a writer of whom Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa tells us nothing—is almost the same: *al-shaykh al-ʿumda* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī. In his attempt to clarify matters, Lévi-Provençal comes to the conclusion that there must have been two redactions of the *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* written at different times by two members of the Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī family. A first redaction, which has now disappeared, dates from the end of the 7th/13th century. This hypothesis is supported by two facts: (1) that among the written sources used by al-Ḥimyarī, the great treatises of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries are lacking; (2) that the majority of the historical events mentioned in this dictionary do not go beyond the end of the 7th/13th century. The second redaction (of 866/1461) is represented by the numerous manuscripts mentioned above. It certainly seems to be the first, hypothetical, redaction to which the citations in al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) refer. It should, however, be stressed that the problem of the writing and of the author of the *Kitāb al-Rawḍ* still remains open and that it is not likely to be resolved before the publication of a complete critical edition of the work.

It should be mentioned that since 1938, in spite of the continual interest in it since Lévi-Provençal published the passages from it concerning the Iberian Peninsula and southern France (having published also, in 1935, the description of the Pharos of Alexandria), only very brief extracts from al-Ḥimyarī's dictionary have been published. Thus Ch. Pellat published in 1954 a description of Baṣra and in 1956 there appeared that of Crete, published by Lévi-Provençal, and that of the Italian islands and towns, by U. Rizzitano. T. Lewicki published, in 1959-60, the description of Prague (Brāgha) and of the Polish state of Mieszko I (Mishḳa) and in 1962-3 A. Małecka published that of certain places and coastal regions of East Africa. There should also be added the brief survey given by T. Lewicki in 1960 of all the information on Eastern, Central and Southern Europe scattered throughout the dictionary.

The work acquired a great popularity, albeit almost entirely within the Maghrib. Apart from al-Ḳalḳashandī, who reproduces passages from the earlier redaction, extracts from it are found in al-Maḳḳarī (11th/17th century), in Maḳdīsh (12th/18th century) and in al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī (13th/19th century). The *Djanī al-azhār min al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* of al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442), however, considered by some to be a rewritten version of al-Ḥimyarī's work, seems, as a result of more recent research, to be rather a résumé of the *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* of al-Idrīsī.

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(T. LEWICKI)

IBN ʿABD RABBIH, ABŪ ʿUMAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, Andalusian writer and poet, born at Cordova on 10 Ramaḍān 246/29 November 860, died in the same city on 18 Djumādā I 328/3 March 940. A *mawlā* of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, he was one of the official panegyrists of the Marwānid dynasty from the reign of Muḥammad I (d. 273/886) to the middle of that of al-Nāṣir (300/912-350/961). He was mediocre in his laudatory poetry, but showed more originality in the erotic verses which he wrote in his youth and to which in his old age he added ascetic poems in the same rhyme and metre called *mumaḥḥiṣāt* ("which efface sins"). His very abundant poetic production had been collected for al-Nāṣir, and al-Ḥumaydī (*apud* Yāḳūt, iv, 215) had seen more than 20 *djuz*'s of it; they included *muwashshaḥāt* [*q.v.*] and also a didactic *urdjūza* on the history of Islam, which is of little value and hardly tells anything new, even on Spain. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih placed this poem at the end of the 15th book of his principal work, in which he scattered a good number of his own productions, *al-ʿIḳd* "The Necklace", which copyists have entitled *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd* "The Unique Necklace". To justify his title he divided the work into 25 books (*kitāb*), of which each is divided into two *djuz*'s, and gave to each *kitāb* the name of a precious stone: (1) *al luʾluʾa*; (2) *al-farīda*; (3) *al zabardjada*; etc.; the 13th book is called *al-wāsiṭa* "the central (jewel)" and the last 12 books bear in inverse order the same names as the first twelve, but followed by *al-thāniya*; thus the 23rd is called *al-zabardjada al-thāniya*.

Fundamentally the *ʿIḳd* is a book of *adab*, for which the materials are drawn from the works of al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba, and other authors who had assembled the elements of Arab culture: it may thus be considered as a sort of encyclopaedia of the knowledge which is useful to a well-informed man and as a more or less successful attempt at orderly classification of the notions which constitute general culture: Book I: Government; II: War; III: Generous Men; IV: Delegations; V: How kings should be addressed; VI: Religious Knowledge and the Principles of Good Conduct (*adab*); VII: Proverbs; VIII: Homilies and Asceticism; IX: Condolences and Funeral Orations; X: Genealogies and Virtues of the Ancient Arabs;

XI: The Speech of the Bedouin; XII: Replies; XIII: Oratory; XIV: the Epistolary Art; XV: History of the Caliphs; XVI: Ziyād, al-Ḥadjdjādj, the Ṭālibīs, and the Barmecides; XVII: *Ayyām al-ʿArab*; XVIII: Virtues of Poetry; XIX: Metrics; XX: Music and Song; XXI: Women; XXII: Anecdotes; XXIII: Nature of Man and the Animals; XXIV: Food and Drink; XXV: Diverse Anecdotes.

A basic characteristic of this encyclopaedia is that, apart from a portion of the above-mentioned *urdjūza*, it contains absolutely no tradition of Andalusian origin and aims simply at acclimatizing in Spain some purely oriental data; the response of the Būyid vizier Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] is well known: after reading the *ʿIḳd*, which had been praised to him, he exclaimed in disappointment: "This is our merchandise which is given back to us!" And it is remarkable that Ibn Ḥazm, in his apologia for Muslim Spain, is completely silent about Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih; though it is true that his compatriot al-Shaḳundī, in his *Risāla*, makes him a "master of the *adab* genre" (tr. Luya, in *Hespéris*, xxii/2 (1936), 149).

There have been several editions of the *ʿIḳd*: Būlāḳ 1293/1876, Cairo 1303/1885-6, 1305, 1317, 1321, 1346/1927; Muḥammad Shafīʿ prepared indexes and concordances, Calcutta 1935-1937, which have been rendered less useful by the latest edition, of 1940-53, the first to be provided with an index. A certain number of passages relating to the ancient Arabs were translated by Fournel, *Lettres sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1836-8. The section on music was translated into English by H. G. Farmer, *Music: the priceless jewel*, Collection of oriental writers on music, ed. H. G. Farmer, v, Bearsden Scotland 1942.

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IBN ʿABD AL-ṢAMAD, YŪSUF B. ABI 'L-ḲĀSIM B. KHALAF B. AḤMAD, ABŪ BAḤR (sometimes called Abū Bakr, though certainly in error), Andalusian poet of the 5th/11th century, panegyrist of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], king of Seville. We have little information on his life, and the dates both of his birth and of his death are unknown. He belonged to a distinguished family, devoted to literature, which originated in the *kūra* of Jaen and was descended from al-Samḥ b. Mālik b. Khawlān, one of the first Arab governors (*wālī*) of al-Andalus. Various members of the family, which was very numerous, occupied important administrative posts in the time of the *Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* according to Ibn Bassām, who quotes in this connexion some satirical verses by an anonymous poet, also preserved by al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii, 359). Of his output in poetry and prose, which was very copious (*ka'smi-hi, i.e., ka 'l-baḥr*, according to Ibn Bassām), only a small portion has survived. When al-Muʿtamid, who had most generously favoured Ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, was deposed and thrown into exile, there began "an eclipse of poetry in Seville" (see E. García Gómez, in *al-Andalus*, x (1945), 284-343); to this period must belong several verses in which he bemoans the avarice of the new masters—the Almoravids, for whom he was now writing panegyrics—and his wanderings, in which he encountered no friends (*Analectes, loc. cit.*). The memory of the fallen al-Muʿtamid's generosity was to stay with him all his life and faithful, like Ibn al-Labbāna [*q.v.*], to the poet-king, he went shortly after the latter's death (488/1095) to Aghmāt, where he was so daring as to kiss his tomb and to recite, on a feast day, before a large crowd which was moved at the sound of his poetry, a long impassioned elegy in which he called him "King of Kings". This anecdote, of which we possess two similar versions (Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, Būlāḳ 1283, 30-1; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, Beirut 1956, 165-7, who has preserved more than a hundred lines) has been used by R. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, iii, 175, and by E. García Gómez, in *al-Andalus*, xviii (1953), 403-4.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, iii (ms.); Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ii, 203-4 (in which the editor points out some manuscript sources not used in the preparation of this article); Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 497; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index. (F. DE LA GRANJA)

IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB, Ḥanbalī theologian, founder of Wahhābism, was born in 1115/1703, in the centre of the Nadjd at al-ʿUyayna, an oasis which at that time was enjoying some prosperity. There had already been several representatives of Ḥanbalism in the Nadjd, and the young Muḥammad belonged to a family which had produced several doctors of the school. His grandfather, Sulaymān b. Muḥammad, had been *muftī* of the Nadjd. His father ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was *ḳāḍī* at ʿUyayna during the emirate of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muʿammar; he taught *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* in the mosques of the town and left several works of Ḥanbalī inspiration, which in part survive.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's education was begun under his father's guidance. He learned the Ḳurʾān by heart and first studied Ḥanbalī doctrine in the works of *shaykh* Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223) and in particular in the *ʿUmda*, which, according to *shaykh* Ibn Bishr, was regarded in the Nadjd at that period as having great authority (on this author and on the *ʿUmda* see H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, in the series *PIFD*, Beirut 1950).

The young theologian soon left ʿUyayna, in what circumstances it is not clear. It may be that he had already begun his teaching against the cult of saints and the paganism which was rife among the Bedouin, and that the *amīr* showed little inclination to follow him in this matter. It is also likely that, as the oasis of ʿUyayna offered relatively few intellectual resources, the young *shaykh* felt the need to go and complete his education in other centres.

Little is known of the chronology of his journeys "in search of learning". He performed the Pilgrimage, thus going first to Mecca, where he found the teaching disappointing. The stay which he made after this at Medina was decisive in shaping the later direction of his thought. At Medina, he met especially a Ḥanbalī theologian who was to have a decisive influence on him: *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Nadjdī, who had become a supporter of the neo-Ḥanbalism of Ibn Taymiyya and who had himself been the pupil of *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1071/1661); ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, a native of Baʿlabakk, had himself studied under al-Bahūtī [*q.v.*] and al-

Marʿī; he taught for a long period at Medina and then returned to Damascus, where he continued his teaching at the Umayyad mosque.

At Medina, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb met also, among other *ʿulamāʾ*, Muḥammad b. Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d. 1165/1751), a Ḥanafī, who does not seem to have had a great influence on him, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī (d. 1194/1780).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb went next (it is not known exactly at what date) to Baṣra, which was still an active centre of Islamic culture, and where he seems to have stayed for a fairly long time. The names are known of several of the teachers whom he met at that period, in particular that of Muḥammad al-Madjmūʿī, under whom he studied philology and the *sīra*. Probably also, in a town with such a mixed population as Baṣra, he had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of a wider circle of spiritual groups than that in which he had been educated, in particular the mystic fraternities and the Shīʿī sects. The spectacle of popular idolatry such as the cult of saints, with all its attendant practices which were not easily reconcilable with a strict interpretation of tradition, seems to have led the young *shaykh* to embark at this period on his campaign of reform. His departure from Baṣra, which seems to have occurred in 1152/1739, marks in any case the end of the period of his education and the beginning of his religious and political apostolate.

According to the anonymous author of the *Lamʿ al-shihāb fī taʾrīkh M. b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb* (ed. Aḥmad A. Abū Ḥākima, Beirut 1967), the legendary character of which seems evident on many counts, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, after spending four years at Baṣra, went to Baghdād, where he made a wealthy marriage and remained for five years. He next appeared in Kurdistān, at Hamadān and at Iṣfahān, where he arrived about 1148/1736 at the beginning of the reign of Nādir Shāh and studied philosophy and Ṣūfism. He next went to Damascus and to Cairo. Similar journeys had already been attributed to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

On leaving Baṣra, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb went to Huraymila, where his father (d. 1153/1740) had just settled. It was here that Muḥammad composed his first work on the unity of God (*tawḥīd*) and really began his apostolate, gathering round him his first disciples and thus encountering opposition from the ruling families of the oasis. Some traditions even state that he was disowned by his brother Sulaymān and by his father; these accounts should not, however, be accepted without some reservation, particularly since there exists a dissertation by his father against the cult of saints (*MRMN*, i, 523-5).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb left Huraymila in about 1153/1740 for ʿUyayna, where he spent four years. The oasis was at this time governed by another member of the Muʿammar, ʿUthman b. Bishr, who, like Ibn Suʿūd after him, tried to base his own power on the teachings of the *shaykh*. Muḥammad dreamt of the establishment of a theocratic state in which he would be the juridical adviser. He converted ʿUthmān b. Muʿammar to his ideas, urging him to cut down a number of sacred trees and to destroy some sacred tombs in the surrounding district. At the same time he extended his preaching to the oases of Darʿiyya, of Riyāḍ and of Manfūḥa. He even seems at this period to have gained a following in Darʿiyya, whose *amīr* was then Muḥammad b. Suʿūd; two brothers of the *amīr*, Mashārī and Thunayān, even became supporters of the reformer and took part in the destruction of tombs in the region of ʿUyayna. The Nadjd was at this time in close relationship with the inhabitants of al-Aḥsāʾ, among whom were many Shīʿīs, who tended to be alarmed by the *shaykh*'s preaching.

Because of their intervention (and also that of the Banū Khālid), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb left ʿUyayna. He went to Darʿiyya (near Riyāḍ, the present capital of Saudi Arabia), where he had acquired powerful protectors in some members of the family of the *amīr*, Muḥammad b. Suʿūd. After winning to his cause the *amīr*'s two brothers and his son, the future king ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1215/1801), he finally gained the support of the *amīr* himself, though not without some difficulties, since the hostility of the Banū Khālid was still to be feared. In 1157/1744, the *amīr* and the theologian swore an oath of mutual loyalty (*bayʿa*)) to strive, by force if necessary, to make the kingdom of God's word prevail. This pact, which was always faithfully adhered to, marked the true beginning of the Wahhābī state, which transformed a small Bedouin principality into a legally instituted theocracy. Henceforward it was impossible to separate the destiny of the *shaykh* from that of the Suʿūdī dynasty.

Until his death in 1206/1792, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb continued his activities in the religious as well as the political field. He taught at the mosque in Darʿiyya, wrote theological works and sent out numerous letters to win to his cause new supporters in the Nadjd and the neighbouring regions. He also remained the political counsellor of Muḥammad b. Suʿūd (d. 1178/1765) and, to a lesser degree it seems, of his successor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1765-1801).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's literary and doctrinal works, which have appeared in many editions for the use of Wahhābī missionary activity, are important. Most of his writings are fairly short, full of quotations from the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*s; the *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, his main work, often reprinted and the subject of many commentaries, sets out his teaching in the line of the strictest Ḥanbalī doctrine.

His *Kitāb al-Uṣūl al-thalātha*, written at the request of the ruler ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, is a type of official catechism, which is still esteemed. His *Kitāb Kashf al-shubuhāt*, more polemical in presentation, condemns Muslims who do not practise the true *tawḥīd*.

The *Madjmūʿat al-ḥadīth al-nadjdiyya* (Cairo 1346) mentions several other short treatises by the *shaykh* defining his conception of faith (*īmān*) and of Islam (*Uṣūl al-īmān*; *Faḍl al-Islām*; *al-Kabāʾir*; *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*).

Several of the sons or the descendants of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb carried on his work. His son ʿAbd Allāh, who accompanied Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1803-14) on his conquest of the Ḥidjāz in 1805-6 and supported his action in ʿIrāḳ, wrote an important refutation of the doctrines of the Twelvers and of the Zaydiyya, published in the *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa'l-masāʾil al-nadjdiyya* (iv, 47-222; the greater part of volume i of this collection consists of his writings). ʿAbd al-Wahhāb often mentions in his works non-Ḥanbalī Sunnī sources (among them Ibn Ḥazm).

Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the grandson of *shaykh* Muḥammad and also greatly devoted to the principle of reform, was *ḳāḍī* of Darʿiyya; he was violently hostile to the Ottomans and forbade all relations with them. He was sentenced to death by Ibrāhīm Pasha after the capture of Darʿiyya in 1233/1818, while his brother ʿAlī was pursued by the Egyptians and killed at Khardj. Sulaymān wrote a work which is interesting for the study of the relations

of Wahhābism with ʿIrāḳ, the *K. al-Tawḍīḥ ʿan tawḥīd al-Khallāḳ fī djawāb ahl al-ʿIrāḳ* (Cairo 1319).

The doctrine of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was very strongly influenced by that of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and, to a lesser degree, by that of Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350), but, beyond these two writers, it is still more closely linked to the formulation of Ḥanbalism as found in the works of earlier writers, such as the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903) or Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/924). Very hostile to the sects which had always been denounced by the Ḥanbalīs as incompatible with Sunnism (Shīʿa, Muʿtazila, Khawāridj, etc.), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb criticized, even within Sunnism, all the forms of *kalām* or of Ṣūfism which tended to introduce into the dogma or the law of Islam innovations (*bidʿa*) considered to be heretical or schismatic. He denounced no less violently the survival, particularly among the Bedouin, of practices going back even to the period of the Djāhiliyya. Although Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's doctrine was condemned or rejected by an important section of Muslim opinion, it was nevertheless to make a powerful contribution not only to a more profound Islamization of Arabia, but also to a general renewal of the Islam conscience immediately before the modern period of intrusion from the West.

Bibliography: Information on the life of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb is to be found in: Maḥmūd Shukrī Alūsī, *Taʾrīkh Nadjd al-ḥanbalī*, Mecca 1349, 6-89; Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, *Āthār al-daʿwa al-wahhābiyya*, Cairo 1354; H. St. J. B. Philby, *Arabia*, London 1930, 8-26; idem, *Saʾudi Arabia*, London 1955; see also Margoliouth, in *EI*[1], art. *Wahhābiyya*); H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taymiyya*, Cairo (IFAO) 1939, 506-40, and, for the author's place in the general history of Islam, *Les schismes dans l'Islām*, Paris 1965, 321-32; Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, London 1966, 196-201. (H. LAOUST)

IBN ʿABD AL-ẒĀHIR, MUḤYĪ 'L-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌL ʿABD ALLĀH B. RASHĪD AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-ẒĀHIR B. NASHWĀN B. ʿABD AL-ẒĀHIR B. NADJDA AL-SAʿDĪ AL-RAWḤĪ, born in Cairo 620/1223, died there 692/1292 (Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 366). He lived in Cairo under the Mamlūk sultans Baybars, Ḳalāwūn and Khalīl, most of the time as private secretary, *Kātib al-Sirr* or *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Inshāʾ* [see INSHĀʾ]. Maḳrīzī describes the rôle he played when Aḥmad al-Ḥākim bi-amri 'llāh was installed as ʿAbbāsid caliph in Egypt in order to legitimize al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars as sultan (661/1262). He composed the genealogy of al-Ḥākim, which was confirmed by the *ḳāḍī*, and read it in the assembly of dignitaries; he had also composed the *ʿahd* of Baybars which the caliph thereafter read (*Sulūk*, i, 477; for the *ʿahd* see Ḳasṭallānī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, x, 116 f.). In his office he had to read all incoming letters and to compose all important letters and documents. Thus he wrote an answer to the Abyssinian king who had asked the sultan to instruct the Coptic patriarch to choose him a worthy archbishop (*Sulūk*, i, 616, note); and when the Mongol chief Baraka sent an envoy to propose an alliance with Baybars, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir drew up the letter which confirmed the pact, and read it to the sultan and the *amīrs* (*Sulūk*, i, 497). He drew up the *taḳlīd* by which Baybars installed his son al-Malik al-Saʿīd as heir-apparent, *walī-ʿahd* (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, x, 162, 17 ff.) and the marriage document, *khuṭbat ṣadāḳ*, for this son and the daughter of Ḳalāwūn in 674/1275-6 (*op. cit.*, xiv, 300 ff.). Under Ḳalāwūn he drew up a document nominating as heir-apparent his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in 679/1280 (*op. cit.*, x, 173 ff.; cf. *Tashrīf*, 200 ff.) and then his son al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl (*op. cit.*, x, 166 ff., *Tashrīf*, 246-51). ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn died before his father in 687/1288, and some people said that his brother Khalīl had poisoned him (*Sulūk*, i, 744; *Tashrīf*, 288). There may be a connexion between this suspicion and the report that Ḳalāwūn had refused to put his name to the *taḳlīd* which Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir had prepared for Khalīl, and that he even declined again when it was submitted to him by the son and successor of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (*Sulūk*, i, 756 f.; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, viii, 3 f.). Indeed the name of Ḳalāwūn does not appear in the text. On the other hand Ḳalāwūn had earlier shown acknowledgement of Khalīl, as Khalīl at the truce in Armenia (in 684) swore the oath together with his brother and father (*Tashrīf*, 94), and after Ḳalāwūn's death (689) the army "renewed the oath of fealty" to him (*Sulūk*, i, 756). The author of the *Tashrīf* emphasizes the good relations between the two brothers, which appeared especially when ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn arranged the marriage of Khalīl. To Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil was a model, and he wrote a book about him. He himself became an authority, and many of his formulations were used by his followers. He also wrote poems in honour of his sovereigns and on the occasion of important happenings (see *Tashrīf*). Besides official documents he composed books, which were of use to later authors. *Kitāb al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya al-Ẓāhira fī Khiṭaṭ al-Muʿizziyya al-Ḳāhira* was much used by Maḳrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ*, chiefly for the time of the Fāṭimids (cf. Becker, *Beiträge*, 23, 30; Guest in *JRAS*, 1902, 120, 125), also by Ibn Taghribirdī (*Nudjūm*, iv, 24, 41, 102, etc.). He compiled biographies of the three Sultans of his time. His *Sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars* (parts survive in MS in the British Museum, Paris and Istanbul) was used by Maḳrīzī, Nuwayrī and Shāfiʿ al-ʿAsḳalānī, who made an excerpt, *Ḥusn al-manāḳib* (see Moberg, p. xvii). Ḳalāwūn is treated in the *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa 'l-ʿuṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. Murād Kāmil, Cairo 1961, cited above. The work is anonymous, and although no conclusive proof is adduced it seems probable that it is rightly attributed to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir by the editor (and Casanova), who supplied the edition with his biography and some of his documents. As for al-Ashraf Khalīl, the extant part of his biography is edited by Moberg (see below). He also wrote *Tamāʾim al-ḥamāʾim* about carrier-pigeons (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 231). According to *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 104, there were under Baybars three *kuttāb* in the *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ*, and of these Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir was the chief, named *Kātib al-Sirr* or *Ṣāḥib al-Inshāʾ*, and he continued in that position until Ḳalāwūn appointed his son Fatḥ al-Dīn to the office. On this matter there is some obscurity. Maḳrīzī relates (*Sulūk*, i, 682; *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 324) that in 679/1280, just after Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir had composed the *taḳlīd* in the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* for ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, it happened that Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Luḳmān was dismissed as *wazīr* and returned to the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* as its *ṣāḥib*. Ibn Taghribirdī says (*Nudjūm*, vii, 338) that Fakhr al-Dīn was *Kātib al-inshāʾ* under the last Ayyūbids and the first Turks until Ḳalāwūn made him *wazīr*, and on his recommendation Fatḥ al-Dīn, son of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, became his successor in the *dīwān* and continued in that post. Thus he ignores Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, and even states that Fatḥ al-Dīn was the first

kātib al-sirr (293, 333); so too does al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1321/1903, ii, 147, both of them referring to al-Ṣafadī (similarly too, Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, v, 382 and Ibn Iyās, i, 101). The reality in this seems to be that this office had earlier been subordinated to the *wazīr* or the *dawādār*, and Ḳalāwūn attached it (following a hint of Baybars) directly to the Sultan. That earlier rulers also had secret secretaries is confirmed for al-Mahdī (Ṭabarī, iii, 528 f.) and appears too from Ibn Taghribirdī's relation of earlier usage (*Nudjūm*, vii, 335-43).

It cannot be doubted that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir engaged in much official activity as secret secretary, and it is difficult to identify the rôle of Fakhr al-Dīn in his history. An interesting document is quoted by Ibn al-Furāt, a *taḳlīd* drawn up by the *ṣāḥib al-inshā'* Fatḥ al-Dīn in Rabīʿ I 679/July 1280 for Fakhr al-Dīn as commander of Syria (*Tashrīf*, 190 ff.). Fatḥ al-Dīn's activity in this post also is attested by a similar *taḳlīd* for another *amīr* in 678 (*op. cit.*, 26; cf. for 679 also 193, 198), and in other documents in the following years, among them a letter of *amān* to merchants of Sind, Hind, China and ʿIrāḳ in 687 (*op. cit.*, 236). Nevertheless, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir continued his activity during these years. In Djumādā II 679/October 1280 he drew up a *tafwīḍ al-salṭana* for al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ from Ḳalāwūn (*op. cit.*, 200 f.; *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, x, 173 f.); in Rabīʿ II 684/June 1285 he produced a decree about the leadership of the Jews (*Tashrīf*, 218; *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xi, 386 f.); in Rabīʿ I 691/March 1292 he wrote a decree for the initiation of the Kurd al-Hakkārī as a member of the *futuwwa* (text *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xii, 274 f., with German tr. Moberg, 70 ff.; Arabic, 64 f.; German tr. F. Taeschner, in F. Taeschner and G. Jäschke, *Aus der Gesch. d. islam. Orients*, Tübingen 1949). In the same year he wrote a *waḳf* document for al-Khalīl establishing legacies for the support of his *turba* and *madrasa* and for his father Ḳalāwūn's *ḳubba* (Moberg in *Le Monde Oriental*, xii, 1918). For the decree on the Jews the Sultan required and received three drafts, from the two Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhirs, and from a third *kātib*. It appears from all this that father and son were working together for a time in the *dīwān*.

Fatḥ al-Dīn, born in Cairo in 638/1240, served for a short time under Ḳalāwūn and then under al-Ashraf Khalīl, but died in 691/1292. He respected his father highly and built a mosque in his honour, the Djāmiʿ Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, in which the *khuṭba* was first pronounced in 683/1284. It was situated on *al-ḳarāfa al-ṣughrā*, and near it Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir was buried after his death in 692/1293. Also a road was named after him, the Darb Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, in the neighbourhood of his home. He was, as *Kātib al-Sirr*, "the last to stand out among his contemporaries and surpassed his colleagues" (Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, xiii, 334).

Bibliography: al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i-ii, Cairo 1270/1853, and *Sulūk*, i, Cairo 1934-6; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, i-xii, Cairo 1348/1929-1375/1956; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks par Makrizi*, Paris 1840-5; Casanova, *L'Historien Ibn ʿAbd Adh-Dhāhir* (Mem. publ. par les membres de la mission archéologique au Caire, tome vi, 493-505); A. Moberg, *Ur ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd eẓ-Ẓâhir's Biografi över Sultanen el-Melik el-Aśraf Ḫalîl* (Arabic and Swedish), dissertation, Lund 1902; E. Strauss in *WZKM*, xlv (1938), 191-202; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, i, Strasburg 1902; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928; J. Sauvaget, *Historiens Arabes* (Initiation à l'Islam), Paris 1946; Brockelmann, I, 318 f., S I, 551. A partial edition and translation of the life of Baybars is given in Syedah Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca 1956 (cf. reviews by Cl. Cahen in *Arabica*, v (1958), 211-2 and by P. M. Holt in *BSOAS*, xxii (1959), 143-5); a fuller text, preserved in MS Fatih 4367, was edited by Dr A. A. Khowaiter (London Ph.D. thesis 1960), and is to be published.

(J. Pedersen)

IBN ʿABDAL [see AL-ḤAKAM B. ʿABDAL].

IBN ʿABDŪN, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ibn ʿAbdūn al-Fihrī, was an Andalusian *kātib* and poet born in Evora. Early in life his talents attracted the attention of the governor of this city, ʿUmar Ibn al-Afṭas, and he became his secretary when the latter became ruler of Badajoz [see BAṬALYAWS] assuming the *laḳab* al-Mutawakkil, in 471/1078 [see AFṬASIDS]. After the fall of the dynasty and the capture of Badajoz in 487/1095 by the Almoravid general Sīr b. Abī Bakr, Ibn ʿAbdūn entered the service of the Almoravids and became *kātib* to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn and to his son ʿAlī. He died in Evora in 529/1134.

ʿIbn Abdūn had a high literary culture (he is said to have known the *Aghānī* by heart), and was much sought after on account of his learning (the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā [*q.v.*] and Ibn Zarḳūn are said to have been among his pupils). He is esteemed as a prose-writer and a talented poet, but there have survived only a few specimens of his official and private prose writings and of his verse, except for a well-known *ḳaṣīda* which made him famous. It is a *rā'iyya* known by the name of *al-Bassāma*, composed after the fall of the Afṭasids. After general observations on the vicissitudes of Fate (lines 1-8) and the enumeration of some great characters and races of antiquity who had a tragic destiny (ll. 9-21) the poet recalls the Muslim sovereigns who perished by a violent death (ll.22-44); he then embarks upon the period of the *Mulūk al-ṭawā'if* (ll. 45-47) and devotes the last lines to the Afṭasids (ll. 48-75). This *ḳaṣīda*, which sets out to call to mind all the kings killed since the beginning of mankind and is an elegy on the end of the Afṭasids, possesses a certain literary merit, yet real lyrical inspiration is missing and it is weighed down by the accumulation of proper names. Nevertheless, it is much admired by Arab critics, who consider it a veritable masterpiece.

In order to be intelligible, the poem needs precise explanations, as was realised by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī, better known by his *maʿrifa* Ibn Badrūn, who wrote a historical commentary on it. All we know of this Ibn Badrūn is that he came originally from Silves and was a contemporary of Ibn ʿAbdūn. His work, however, which draws largely on Oriental sources, particularly the *Murūdj* of al-Masʿūdī, has survived and been published, together with the text of the poem and abundant notes, by R. Dozy, as *Commentaire historique sur le poème d'Ibn Abdoun par Ibn Badroun*, Leiden 1846. Hoogvliet had previously published in Leiden, in 1839, the *Prolegomena ad editionem celebratissimi Aben Abduni poematis in luctuosum Aphtasidarum interitum.*

Bibliography: The text of Ibn ʿAbdūn's poem is to be found also in the *Muʿdjib* of Marrākushī (ed. Dozy, 53-60; Cairo edition 1368/1949, 76-87; French translation, E. Fagnan, *Histoire des Almohades*, 65-74; Spanish translation, Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 190-8); reproduced in F. Bus-

tānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 351-2; less complete text in Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, 37-40; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 216-8, [2]Beirut 1956, 186-9. On ʿIbn Abdūn: Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 831; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 1567; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1937, 42; Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, s.v.; Marrākushī, *op. cit.*, index; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Brockelmann, I, 271, S I, 480; H. Pérès, *Poésie*, index; Dj. al-Rikābī, *Fi 'l-adab al-andalusī*, Damascus 1957, index.—On Ibn Badrūn, Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 260 ff. (Ed.)

IBN ʿABDŪN, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Spanish author of a treatise of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] dealing with Seville. All that is known of him is drawn from his work itself, the two known manuscripts of which give the author's name in two slightly different forms (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nakhaʿī ʿAbdūn, and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūn al-Tudjībī). He was either a *faḳīh* or a *ḳāḍī* or a *muḥtasib*, who was perhaps born, and certainly spent a large part of his life, in Seville, in the second half of the 5th/11th and the first half of the 6th/12th centuries, since on the one hand he refers as a direct witness to the early years of the reign of al-Muʿtamid, and on the other speaks of the Almoravids as being already masters of the town. His short treatise, together with the similar work devoted to Malaga by his contemporary al-Saḳaṭī, is a most valuable source on urban, economic and social life in Muslim Spain at this period. The text edited by E. Lévi-Provençal (*JA*, ccxxiv (1934), 177-299; 2nd ed. in *Doc. arabes inédits sur la vie sociale et économique en Occ. mus. au moyen âge*, Cairo 1955, 3-65) has been translated into Italian by F. Gabrieli (*Il trattato censorio di Ibn ʿAbdūn sul buon governo di Siviglia*, in *Rend. Lin.*, 6th series, xi (1935), 878-935), into French by Lévi-Provençal himself (*Séville musulmane au début du XII siècle: le traité d'Ibn ʿAbdūn*, Paris 1947), and into Spanish by E. Lévi-Provençal-E. García Gómez (*Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII*, Madrid 1948). (F. Gabrieli)

IBN ʿABDŪS [see al-djahshiyārī].

IBN ʿABDŪS, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (202-60/817-73), *faḳīh* of Ifrīḳiya (Tunis). His life, study and thought can be considered typical for those of the generation that followed Saḥnūn b. Saʿīd (160-240/776-854) and tried to follow his example. This Ibn ʿAbdūs was the contemporary and sometimes the rival of Saḥnūn's son Muḥammad; as a learned man (*ʿālim*) he may be considered his superior. Between the two raged a controversy concerning *al-īmān* (the faith) which did much harm to Ibn ʿAbdūs: Ibn ʿAbdūs and his followers (*al-ʿAbdūsiyya*) said that man can be sure of his faith only for the past and present, but not for the future: if he were asked if he were *muʾmin* he should say "*muʾmin in shāʾa 'llāh*". Ibn Saḥnūn and his followers (*al-Muḥammadiyya*) held that this implied doubt and called the theory of Ibn ʿAbdūs *al-Shukūkiyya*. The majority sided with Ibn Saḥnūn, and Ibn ʿAbdūs was obliged to rectify his point of view and even deny that he ever held it. He was deeply pious and well versed in *fiḳh*. He was well-to-do and could dedicate his time to worship and study.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya*, ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1914, 132-3; French trans. by Ben Cheneb, *Classes des savants de Ifriqiya*, Algiers 1920, index; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī, *Tartīb al-madārik*, Ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, i, fol. 150; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-īmān*, Tunis 1350, ii, 90 ff.; Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* (ed. H. Monés), Cairo 1951, i, 360-3. (Hussain Monés)

IBN ʿABDŪS, Abū ʿAmir Aḥmad, notable and *wazīr* in Cordova during the regency of the Banū Djahwar (422-62/1030-70). Little is known about his life: he owes his fame to the part he took in the affairs of Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī [*q.v.*]. Jealous of Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*], Ibn ʿAbdūs sent her a woman go-between and he seems to have received encouragement. Ibn Zaydūn, enraged, wrote a long letter of insult known as "*al-risāla al-hazliyya*" (the satirical letter), using the signature of Wallāda, and sent it to Ibn ʿAbdūs by the same go-between. The *risāla* became immediately famous because it was an attack on one of the chiefs of the town. Ibn ʿAbdūs avoided any open contact with Wallāda, whose attitude to Ibn Zaydūn had been cooled by the poet's audacity; but after the latter left Cordova for Badajóz and then Seville, Ibn ʿAbdūs took over Wallāda completely, and she remained his mistress until her death. He died in 472/1079-80, at the age of 80.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 289 ff.; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, extracts published by A. Bel and M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920, no. 2440; Ibn Saʿīd, *Rāyāt* (ed. García Gómez), Madrid 1942, no. LVI; idem, *ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt*, Cairo, 61; A. Cour, *Un poète arabe d'Andalousie, Ibn Zaidoun*, Constantine 1920, 31-50; Ibn Zaydūn, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1957, 582, 634, 791; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn fī sharḥ risālat ibn Zaydūn*, Būlāḳ 1279, 6 ff. (Hussain Monés)

IBN ABĪ ʿĀMIR [see al-manṣūr].

IBN ABĪ ʿAṢRŪN, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Hibat · Allāh b. Muṭahhar al-Tamīmī al-Mawṣilī, later al-Ḥalabī and finally al-Dimashḳī, was the most important Shāfiʿī scholar of his time. He was born in Rabīʿ I 492 or 493/February 1099 or 1100 at Ḥadītha, studied at Mawṣil and then at Wāsiṭ, with Abū ʿAlī al-Fāriḳī, and at Baghdād, particularly with Asʿad al-Mayhanī and Ibn Burhān (see the list of his teachers in al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 400). From 523/1129, he taught at Mawṣil, then went to settle in the region of Sindjār and was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Sindjār, Niṣībīn and Ḥarrān. In 545/1150-1, Nūr al-Dīn invited him to come to Aleppo. After 549/1154, he accompanied the Zangid prince to Damascus where he taught in the Ghazāliyya *madrasa*, the lectures of which were given in the north-west section of the Great Mosque. He was also appointed administrator (*nāẓir*) of the *waḳf*s. He then returned to Aleppo, where he had had a *madrasa* built, and became again *ḳāḍī* of Sindjār, Ḥarrān and Diyār Bakr. Leaving his son Nadjm al-Dīn to succeed him at Aleppo, he returned to Damascus in 570/1174 to teach at the Ghazāliyya *madrasa* and also in his own *madrasa*. In 573/1183, in the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, he was appointed, after the death of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī, to succeed him as the chief Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī*, the most important juridical office in Syria. In 575/1179-80 he became blind and had to retire. He died at the age of over 93 in Ramaḍān 585/October-November 1189 and was buried in the *madrasa* he had built opposite his house in Damascus, to the west of Bāb al-Barīd.

Nūr al-Dīn had had built for him six *madrasas*: at Aleppo, Baʿlabakk, Damascus, Ḥamāt, Ḥimṣ and Manbidj. Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn wrote a number of works, which have been lost, but the titles of seven of them are mentioned by Ibn Kathīr, among them *Ṣafwat*

al-madhhab fī nihāyat al-maṭlab in seven volumes, *K. al-Intiṣāf*, and *Fawāʾid al-madhhab*.

His sons Nadjm al-Dīn and Muḥyī al-Dīn taught in the *madrasas* which he had founded at Aleppo and Damascus, followed by his grandsons and great-grandsons.

Bibliography: Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xii, 233; Ibn al-Shiḥna (tr. J. Sauvaget), *Perles*, 110-1; Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAdjamī (tr. J. Sauvaget), *Trésors*, 64-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 283; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iv, 237-9; Ibn Khallikān, *Dict.*, ii, 32-6; Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, i (Damascus, *MMIA*, 1948), no. 68, 398-406; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḳuḍāt Dimashḳ*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid (Damascus, *MMIA*, 1956), no. 83, 49-51; R. Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām*, iv, 279; N. Elisséeff, *Les monuments de Nūr al-Dīn*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-51), 11, 17, 28, 31, 32, 33; D. Sourdel, *Les professeurs de madrasa à Alep aux XII-XIIIe siècles d'après Ibn Shaddād*, in *BEO*, xiii, 86, 100, 108.

(N. Elisséeff)

IBN ABĪ ʿATĪḲ is the usual appellative of the great-grandson of the Caliph Abū Bakr, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad (= Abū ʿAtīḳ) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr. All that is known of him is that, after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, he married, among others, Umm Isḥāḳ, the daughter of Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh. He led an idle existence in Medina, dividing his time between meetings with poets such as ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] or Kuthayyir ʿAzza [*q.v.*] and seeking the company of wits such as Ashʿab [*q.v.*] or musicians and singers like Ibn ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*]. Being a member of the Ḳurayshī aristocracy, he was able in some measure to serve as a link between the rather stern members of the Prophet's family—he often appears with his great-aunt ʿĀʾisha—and milieus where more worldly pleasures were sought after. Authors who speak of him are careful to stress his virtue and irreproachable conduct, in order not to sully the reputation of Abū Bakr's descendants, but they do not hesitate to quote several amusing anecdotes of which he is the hero. It seems that he had little talent for poetry, but that he could appreciate it and on occasions criticise it, and so had no qualms over bursting into song when the circumstances called for it. He would also, it seems, give full rein to his taste for pleasantry. Indeed, his fame rests mainly on his subtle humour, his *ẓarf* and his ready wit. Thus, for example, when the governor of Medina had forbidden singing and revelry, he succeeded in making him alter his decision by cunningly causing the intervention of a woman singer Sallāma al-Zarḳāʾ and adding a few humorous sallies of his own, which made the stern official laugh. Similarly, he used artful means to reconcile ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa and al-Thurayyā. We may take it that his fame was well established, since two works at least were devoted to him, bearing the title *Kitāb Ibn Abī ʿAtīḳ*. It is difficult to judge the character of the first, by al-Madāʾinī (see *Fihrist*, Cairo edition, 1348, 148), for it forms part of a series of monographs on the Ḳurayshīs. There is, however, no doubt about the second, by Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī, which is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (212) among other writings by the same author on the women singers and *ẓurafāʾ* of Medina. Thus Ibn Abī ʿAtīḳ, who is considered the really outstanding *ẓarīf* of the Prophet's city, is cited to authenticate a number of amusing anecdotes which must have been collected in Abū Ayyūb's book and fragments of which are to be found in works of *adab*, but their authenticity is very much to be doubted. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*Kitāb al-Bighāl*, 23-5), whilst giving a lesson in criticism over an anecdote in which ʿĀʾisha appears, does not hesitate to accuse the Rāfiḍīs [*q.v.*], in their hostility to the Prophet's widow, of having invented it. Without going that far, we may legitimately suppose that the name of Ibn Abī ʿAtīḳ could well have served to justify the development of the genre of jokes that flourished so much in the early days of Islam [see al-djidd wa 'l-hazl, nādira].

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 66, 442; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 84; Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Le Livre de la couronne*, transl. Ch. Pellat, Paris 1954, 151-2; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 233; idem, *ʿUyūn*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 285; *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 148, 212; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940-53, ii, 291, vi, 207-8, vii, 22 ff.; *Aghānī*, index; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, i, 238, 247, 248; idem, *Djaʿm*, 4, 31, 52 ff., 177-8; Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 278; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 149; F. Rosenthal, *Humour*, 12, n. 1; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 317.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN ABI ʾL-ʿAWDJĀʾ, ʿAbd al-Karīm, a notorious crypto-Manichean (*zindīḳ* [*q.v.*]), belonging to a great family (he was the maternal uncle of Maʿn b. Zāʾida [*q.v.*]). According to the most reliable information, he lived first at Baṣra, where (although even this is doubtful) he is supposed to have been a disciple of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], from whom he parted on account of the latter's doctrinal inconsistency regarding the problem of freewill and determinism. What is more certain is that he frequented a very mixed milieu, rubbing shoulders with Muʿtazilīs such as ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd and Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ [*qq.v.*], with poets disapproved of by orthodox Muslims, such as Bashshār b. Burd and Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs [*qq.v.*] and with other suspect persons. Expelled from Baṣra, he went to live at Kūfa, where he was put to death by the governor Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, in 155/772 or perhaps two years earlier; it is difficult to accept the date 167/783-4 accepted by L. Massignon; it is also doubtful whether one should accept as entirely historical the Shīʿī accounts speaking of discussions carried on over a long period at Mecca between Ibn Abi ʾl-ʿAwdjā and Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*]; the arguments which, according to L. Massignon, would make him the compiler of the *riwāyāt* of the *imām* Djaʿfar are also far from convincing.

This much, however, is clear: the information on this personage supplied by Muslim historians and theologians of diverse tendencies depicts him as a man of dangerous heterodoxy, who, on his own admission, invented numerous traditions, falsified the calendar and spread Manichaean propaganda by means of insidious questions relating to the problem of suffering and of divine justice, and who was a believer in the eternity of the world and in metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*).

Bibliography: The sources have been gathered together and discussed in G. Vajda's study, *Les zindiqs en pays d'Islam au début de la période abbasside*, in *RSO*, xvii (1937-8), 193 (21)-196 (24), 223 (51)-225 (53); in addition al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, i, Tehran 1375/1955, 74 ff.; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, 1953, 219; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*[2], 1954, 182, 201, 205-6 (index to be corrected). H. Taḳīzāda and A. Afshār Shīrāzī, *Mānī ve dīn-i ū*, Tehran 1355 s./1956, index s.v. Ibn Abi ʾl-ʿAwdjaʾ (p. 540).

(G. Vajda)

IBN ABĪ ʿAWN, IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD ABĪ ʿAWN B. HILĀL ABI 'L-NADJM, man of letters who flourished in the 3rd/9th century. His *kunya* is variously reported as Abū Isḥāḳ, Abū ʿImrān (Baghdādī, *Farḳ*), Abū ʿAmr (colophon of the Medina MS of his *K. al-Tashbīhāt*, no. 4 below). The above genealogy, given by Yāḳūt (*Udabā'*) is confirmed by Baghdādī and by an entry in the Berlin MS of his *Lubb al-ādāb* (no. 6 below). His great-grandfather Hilāl was a well-known poet and secretary; his grandfather Aḥmad was a scholar and poet, whose verses are quoted in the *K. al-Tashbīhāt* (*al-ʿUmda*, i, 205) and the *K. al-Mikhlāt* (184). His father Muḥammad served Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir as chamberlain and was appointed governor of Wāsiṭ in 255/866, during the caliphate of al-Muʿtazz; he too was a poet, and verses of his addressed to Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] are quoted in *al-Muwashshah*, 349.

Ibn Abī ʿAwn, a client of the Banū Sulaym, was a native of al-Anbār, on the Nahr ʿĪsā; he followed the family profession of secretary, whence his designation as *al-Kātib al-Baghdādī*, and was for a time chief of the *shurṭa*. He was the friend of al-Muḳtadir's viziers Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] and Muḥassin b. al-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT]. He was an adherent of al-Shalmaghānī [*q.v.*], and is said to have been hanged for heresy in 322/933 (so *Fihrist*; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*; etc.). In view of the fact that his surviving works contain no sign of heretical beliefs, his execution may have been provoked by political intrigue.

Works: (1) *K. al-Dawāwīn*; (2) *K. al-Rasā'il*; (3) *K. Bayt māl al-surūr*; these have not survived. (4) *K. al-Tashbīhāt*, a dictionary of similes, ed. M. ʿAbdul Muʿīd Khān, GMS n.s. xvii, 1950. (5) *Lubb al-ādāb fī radd djawāb dhawī 'l-albāb* and (6) *K. al-Djawābāt al-muskita*, listed as separate works by the bibliographers, are probably alternative titles of a single work; extract from (6) publ. in *IC*, xvi (1942), 202-12. (7) *K. Nawāḥī 'l-buldān* (and variant titles), perhaps confused with the famous *K. al-Buldān* of Yaʿḳūbī (*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 147 (Cairo ed., 211); Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 296; Ibn Khallikān, no. 186; Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, i, 22, 123; al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iv, 274; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, index; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, v, 62; Brockelmann, I, 154, S I, 188 f.; F. Bustānī, *DM*, i, 365; Dj. Zaydān, *Ta'rīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*, ii, 175; *K. al-Tashbīhāt*, ed. M. Muʿīd Khān, GMS n.s. xvii, 1950, introduction; M. A. M. Khan, *Ibn Abī ʿAwn, a litterateur of the third century*, in *IC*, xvi (1942), 202-12.

(M. A. MUʿĪD KHAN)

IBN ABI 'L-ʿAZĀḲIR [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-SHALMAGHĀNĪ].

IBN ABI 'L-BAGHL [see MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ].

IBN ABI 'L-BAYĀN, Karaite Jewish physician of Egypt, whose full name was ABU 'L-FAḌL DĀWŪD B. SULAYMĀN B. ABI 'L-BAYĀN AL-ISRĀ'ĪLĪ. Born in the middle of the 6th/12th century, he studied with his co-religionists Ibn al-Nāḳid the oculist and Ibn Djāmiʿ, later the physician of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and became the private physician of the Ayyūbid al-ʿĀdil (589/1193-658/1218) and professor at the Nāṣirī hospital. One of his disciples was Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.v.*]. He died in 634/1236.

He left the following works: (1) *al-Dustūr al-bīmāristānī fi 'l-adwiya 'l-murakkaba*, ed. P. Sbath, in *BIE*, xv (1932-3), 13-80. It deals with various drugs, following Galen. Chapter 11, devoted to prescriptions for treating the teeth, has been analysed by M. Levey (in *Janus*, xlix (1961), 101-3) and O. Spies (in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, xlvi (1962), 168-70); (2) *R. al-Mudjarrabāt* (MS. in the Bodleian).

Bibliography: G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, 665-7; Brockelmann, I, 491, S I, 896; Leclerc, *Hist. de la médecine arabe*, ii, 218-9; Steinschneider, *Die arab. Lit. der Juden*, Frankfurt 1902, 195-6; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, ii, 118-25.

(J. VERNET)

IBN ABI 'L-DAM, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḤAMAWĪ, historian and Shāfiʿī jurist. Born in Ḥamāt on 21 Djumādā I 583/29 July 1187, he studied in Baghdād, taught in Ḥamāt, Aleppo, and Cairo, and finally was appointed judge in his native city. He went to Baghdād in 641 on an embassy for the ruler of Ḥamāt, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, and, in the following year, when he was again on his way to Baghdād to announce there the death of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, he was stricken with dysentery in al-Maʿarra and returned to Ḥamāt, where he died upon arrival on 15 Djumādā II 642/18 November 1244. He wrote two histories, one a brief annalistic work starting with the life of the Prophet and continued to the year 628, dedicated to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, and the other a large biographical work in six volumes, entitled *al-Ta'rīkh al-Muẓaffarī*. Only the former is preserved in manuscript (Ms. 1292b of the Municipal Library in Alexandria being another copy of it). He also wrote an often cited work on Muslim Sects (cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 51), as well as legal works on *Adab al-ḳaḍā'* (*-ḳāḍī, -ḳuḍāt*), on (it seems) the transmission of traditions *Tadḳīḳ al-ʿināya fī taḥḳīḳ al-riwāya*, and commentaries on al-Ghazālī's *Wasīṭ* (*Sharḥ mushkil al-Wasīṭ*, obviously identical with the *Īḍāḥ al-aghāliṭ*, mentioned by Brockelmann, S I, 753, no. 49 f) and on the *Tanbīh* (of Abū Isḥāk al-Shīrāzī, quoted by Damīrī, under *zarāfa*). A legal opinion from these works was still debated by the Subkīs.

Bibliography: Zaki 'l-Dīn al-Mundhirī, *Takmila* (quoted by Muṣṭafā Djawād in his edition of Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmila*, Baghdād 1377/1957, 295 f.); Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, iv, 480; Taḳī 'l-Dīn al-Subkī, *Fatāwī*, Cairo 1355-56, ii, 474 f., quoted by Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭab. al-Shāfiʿiyya*, v, 47; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (quoted by Muṣṭafā Djawād, *loc. cit.*, and Bankipore Catalogue, xv, 8); al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 232 f., 414, 436; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 213; articles in al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* (not available). Cf. also Brockelmann, I, 423 f. (the works from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries referred to there do not go back to Ibn Abi 'l-Dam, but to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī), S I 588; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, 57.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN ABĪ DĀ'ŪD [see AL-SIDJISTĀNĪ].

IBN ABĪ DĪNĀR, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-RUʿAYNĪ AL-ḲAYRAWĀNĪ, historian of Ḳayrawān. In 1092/1681 or in 1110/1698 he wrote a history of Tunisia entitled *Kitāb al-Mu'nis fī akhbār Ifrīḳiya wa-Tūnis*, printed Tunis 1286/1861-2; tr. Pellissier and Remusat, Paris 1845. It is a mediocre work. Though of interest for the period close to the date when it was written, it is hardly so for any others.

Bibliography: A. Bel, *Les Benou Ghânya*, Paris 1903, Introduction; Roy, *Extrait du catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Grande*

Mosquée de Tunis, Tunis 1900, no. 4960, 50; Brockelmann, II, 457, S II, 682; F. Bustānī, *DM*, ii, 305. (H. R. Idris)

IBN ABI 'L-ḌIYĀF, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, Tunisian chronicler born at Tunis in 1217/1802-3, died in the same town on 17 Shaʿbān 1291/29 September 1874. As secretary and counsellor to the beys, he was entrusted with the delicate missions to Istanbul in 1246/1830 and 1258/1842, and accompanied Aḥmad Bey to Paris in 1262/1846. He played an active part in the drawing up of the *Pacte Fondamental* and of the Constitution of 1861 [see dustūr]. After this date he seems to have fallen into partial disgrace, from which he was rescued only for a short time by Khayr al-Dīn, who was chief minister from 1873.

The work of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf consists essentially of a history of Tunisia from the Arab conquest up to 1289/1872, the *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān bi-akhbār mulūk Tūnis wa-ʿahd al-amān*. Up to the period of the Ḥusaynids, this chronicle is a summary devoid of originality, but it increases in extent and in interest as it approaches the events which were contemporary with the author.

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IBN ABĪ DUʾĀD [see aḥmad b. abī duʾād].

IBN ABI 'L-DUNYĀ, Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd b. Sufyān al-Ḳurashī al-Baghdādī, Arabic writer, born in 208/823 in Baghdād and died there in 281/894. Although he was a freedman of the Umayyads, he became the tutor of several ʿAbbāsid princes and in particular of those who were later to become caliphs as al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī. Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā was a learned teacher, highly respected for his exemplary way of life; he is counted as a "weak" traditionist only by the Shīʿis (Māmaḳānī, *Tanḳīḥ al-maḳāl*, 7028). He led a pious and ascetic life (*zuhd*), combined with an extensive teaching activity. His writings belong for the most part to the field of edifying literature: he preached patience, humility, penitence, trust in God, hospitality, vigils, silence, frugality, etc., and condemned envy, anger, drunkenness, the use of musical instruments, and "the World" (*al-dunyā*) in general; he treated also single themes such as the merits of Ramaḍān and of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (*yawm al-aḍḥā*), or general themes such as the moral characteristics which a man should seek to attain (*makārim al-akhlāḳ*), or Joy after Sorrow (*al-faradj baʿd al-shidda*); the titles of a few historical works are also recorded. Altogether Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā is said to have written over 100 works, some 20 of which have survived. Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī even speaks of more than 130 which were known to him. Indeed more than 100 titles can be traced, partly from Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, partly from "reading lists" (*fahāris al-shuyūkh*), in which later scholars, recording the works which they have studied, have mentioned also some by Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i, 185; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, i, 494 f.; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 89-91; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-8, vi, 12 f.; idem, *Taḳrīb al-Tahdhīb*, Cairo 1380, i, 447; Ibn al-Farrāʾ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, Damascus 1350, 139; al-Ishbīlī, *Fihrist*, ed. F. Codera and J. Ribera (*Bibl. Arabico-Hispana*, ix/1), 268; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 324; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, ii, Ḥaydarābād 1956, 677-9; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, ii/2, Ḥaydarābād 1372, 163; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (Paris ed.), viii, 209 f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, Cairo 1932, 86; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 71; Sakhāwī *Iʿlān*, see F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 327 f., 335, 354, 358, 426, 432; A. Wiener, in *Isl.*, iv (1913), 279-91, 413-20 (catalogue of the works of Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, not quite complete); Brockelmann, I[2], 160, S I, 247 f.; Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, in *MIDEO*, iii (1956), 349-58; F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, xv (1962), 35-42; Yūsuf al-ʿIshsh, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt Dār al-kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya, al-taʾrīkh wa-mulḥaḳātuh*, Damascus 1947, 82 f., 94 f., 219 f.; L. Nemoy, *Arabic manuscripts in the Yale University Library*, New Haven 1956, no. 1434, 1617, 1628; Luṭfī ʿAbd al-Badīʿ, *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, ii (*al-taʾrīkh*), Cairo n.d. [1957], 19, 209. (A. Dietrich)

IBN ABI 'L-ḤADĪD, scholar of wide learning in the fields of Arabic language, poetry and *adab*, rhetoric, *kalām* [*q.v.*] and of the early history of Islam; in addition he was an *uṣūlī* jurist [see uṣūl] and an eminent writer of prose and poetry. Born at al-Madāʾin on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 586/30 December 1190, he died at Baghdād in 655/1257 or 656/1258, *i.e.*, either immediately before or immediately after the capture of the city by the Mongols (20 Muḥarram 656/28 January 1258); since Ibn al-Fuwaṭī states that he was able to escape the massacre by the invaders by taking refuge in the house of the *wazīr* Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī, and was even appointed *kātib* of the *salla* (the archives of the *dīwān al-zimām*), the second date is the more probable. His full name was ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Abi 'l-Ḥusayn Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abi 'l-Ḥadīd al-Madāʾinī; there exists nevertheless a variant for his father's name which, according to the *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, was not Hibat Allāh, but Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ḥimāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (on the final page of vol. iv of the *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha* published in Cairo in 1329, his genealogy is given as follows: b. Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ḥadīd). His father was a *ḳāḍī*; of his two brothers mentioned in the sources, one, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī Aḥmad (or al-Ḳāsim), less gifted than ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (according to Ibn Kathīr), enjoyed a certain fame as a jurist, a man of letters and a poet; the other, Abu 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad, *kātib* of the *waḳf*s of the Niẓāmiyya and also a poet, died at the age of thirty-four in 598/1201 (Ibn al-Sāʿī, 88).

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd spent his youth in his native town, studied there the doctrines of *kalām* and showed a leaning towards Muʿtazilism; it was at al-Madāʾin, where Shīʿism was predominant, that he composed the seven *ḳaṣīda*s known as *al-ʿAlawiyyāt*, which are strongly Shīʿī in tone

He then went to Baghdād, where he mixed with scholars and moderated his opinions. He there enjoyed the patronage of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, from whom he received gifts, and occupied official positions: *kātib* in the *dār al-tashrīfāt* (office of protocol), then in the *Dīwān al-Khilāfa*, then *nāẓir* in the *bīmāristān* (hospital), and finally director of the libraries of Baghdād (according to Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl, in the introduction to his ed. of the *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*). Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd himself relates (Cairo ed. 1329, iv, 41) an episode which throws some light on his work as a civil servant, which did not, however, prevent his devoting himself enthusiastically to learning and to poetry. It was the last minister of the ʿAbbāsids, Ibn al-Alḳamī [*q.v.*], who showed him the greatest favour, there being political affinities (*tashayyuʿ*) and literary connexions between them.

Brockelmann gives information on only five of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd's scientific works, whose titles are given here with some additional information: (1) a criticism of *al-Mathal al-sāʾir fī ādāb al-kātib wa 'l-shāʿir* by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (Brockelmann, I, 297, S I, 521), produced on the orders of the caliph al-Mustanṣir and having the title *al-Falak al-dāʾir ʿala 'l-Mathal al-sāʾir*, which immediately gave rise to refutations (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, v, 373); begun on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 633/6 August 1236, this work was completed in fifteen days. (2) A commentary on the theological work *al-Āyāt al-bayyināt* (Brockelmann, I, 507, S I, 923) by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. (3) A commentary on *al-Manẓūma fi 'l-ṭibb* by Ibn Sīnā (Brockelmann, S I, 823). (4) A versification of the *Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ* of Thaʿlab (Brockelmann, I, 118, S I, 181); from the fact that Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd completed this work in twenty-four hours it may be deduced that he composed verses with great facility. (5) The commentary on the *Nahdj al-balāgha*, the famous collection made by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī [*q.v.*] (and not his brother, al-Murtaḍā) of fragments of speeches, letters, homilies and maxims etc., traditionally attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Brockelmann, I, 405, S I, 705). This *Sharḥ* in 20 *djuzʾ*, which may be justly described as monumental (four large quarto volumes in the Cairo 1329 ed.), is a mine of information of every sort, each fragment having been used by the author as a peg for explanations and digressions on lexicographical, philological, historical, theological, literary, biographical and other matters (attention should be drawn to the historical excursus, because the author has inserted in his commentary long passages from monographs either earlier than al-Ṭabarī or not used by him); because of its value this work deserves first of all a detailed and precise summary, then thorough studies of all the different subjects (its use will be made much easier by the new edition by Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 20 volumes of which have appeared in Cairo); the author spent more than five years on this work (from 1 Radjab 644/1246 to the end of Ṣafar 649/1251; see Catalogue of the Khedivial Library of Cairo, iv (1307), 288); it was presented by his brother al-Muwaffaḳ to the minister Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī and earned him a rich reward (100 *dīnārs*, a robe of honour and a horse). The Zaydī Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Hādī b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (Brockelmann, S II, 242) made an abridged version of it under the title *al-ʿIḳd al-nadīd al-mustakhradj min Sharḥ Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd*, which was translated into Persian (Brockelmann, S I, 705). To Brockelmann's list there should be added: (6) *al-Iʿtibār ʿalā Kitāb al-Dharīʿa fī uṣūl al-sharīʿa* in 3 vols.; the author of this *Dharīʿa* is said to be al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, thus probably al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (this work is not mentioned by Brockelmann). (7) *Intiḳād al-Mustaṣfā* (*i.e.*, al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*; see Brockelmann, I, 424, S I, 754). (8) *al-Ḥawāshī ʿalā Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal fi 'l-naḥw* (by al-Zamakhsharī; see Brockelmann, I, 291, S I, 509). (9) Some very critical glosses (*taʿlīḳa*) on *al-Maḥṣūl fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Brockelmann, I, 506, S I, 921). (10) A commentary (*sharḥ*) on the work *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaḳaddimīn wa 'l-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, a philosophical text by the same Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Brockelmann, I, 507, S I, 923). (11) A commentary on the *Mushkilāt al-ghurar* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan (or Abu 'l-Ḥusayn) al-Baṣrī on the *uṣūl al-kalām* (neither the work nor the author is mentioned by Brockelmann). (12) A theological, historical and literary miscellany under the title *al-ʿAbḳarī al-ḥassān*, in which the author has introduced also some pieces of his own prose and poetry. (13) A commentary on *al-Yāḳūt* by Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Nawbakht (Brockelmann, S I, 320). (14) *al-Wishāḥ al-dhahabī fi 'l-ʿilm al-abī*, on which no further details are known.

Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd was also highly thought of as a poet and sometimes described by antonomasia as *al-shāʿir al-ʿirāḳī*; commentaries on his poetry were written by a number of scholars. There are mentioned the following poems by him: (1) the *Dīwān* containing poetry of all types from panegyric to the *ghazal*, but with a predominance of Ṣūfī *munādjāt* and *mukhāṭaba* (several examples are included in the *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāghā*, iv, 29-30). (2) The *ḳaṣīda*s known under the name of *al-Ḳaṣāʾid al-sabʿ al-ʿalawiyyāt* or *Sabʿ al-ʿalawiyyāt*, on which there exist at least four commentaries (Brockelmann, I, 249 f., S I, 497) and the subjects of which are: (a) the capture of Khaybar; (b) the conquest of Mecca; (c) and (d) praises of the Prophet; (e) and (f) the murder of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; (g) praises of the Prophet. (3) The *Mustanṣiriyyāt* composed on the orders of the caliph al-Mustanṣir. Verses by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd are quoted by al-Ṣafadī and by Ibn Shākir in their biographical notices.

All the above information produces an image of a scholar of wide and complex intellectual interests, but not different from many other Muslim scholars. It is the details given by the *Rawḍāt al-djannāt* and confirmed by the *Rayḥānat al-adab* which show Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd to be a more interesting personality. These two sources show how difficult it was to class this author in one or other of the great religious and political movements of Islam; various judgements have been formed on him and, as his position was not clear, writers have resorted to making distinctions: Muʿtazilī for the *uṣūl*, but Shāfiʿī for the *furūʿ* (thus decidedly Sunnī in this field), but objective in his attitude to the *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*] and explicit in his affirmation of the rights of ʿAlī (therefore Shīʿī); or else it has been suggested that, at first a Muʿtazilī, he later became a Shīʿī; it has also been said that he was between the Shīʿī and the Sunnī parties (*bayn al-farīḳayn*), since he was inspired by a sense of equity (*inṣāf*); his position in relation to the Sunnīs has even been compared with that of ʿUmar b. al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] in relation to the other Umayyad caliphs. Concerning his Muʿtazilism, he has been described as "*Muʿtazilī Djāḥiẓī*", *i.e.*, "following the ideas of al-Djāḥiẓ" [*q.v.*]; and indeed, in the discussion on dogma which he sets out in his *Sharḥ Nahdj al-*

balāgha, he often states that he is in agreement with al-Djāḥiẓ. A thorough and impartial examination of the many polemical passages in his *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha* will be necessary before his thought can be better understood and a sounder assessment made of him; it may, however, now be taken as certain that he was not an Imāmī.

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IBN ABĪ ḤADJALA, Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Shihāb al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī, a poet and prose writer. He was born at Tilimsān in 725/1325 in the *zāwiya* of his grandfather, who is said to have been given the nickname Abū Ḥadjala (lit. 'partridge's father') because a partridge laid an egg on his sleeve. Ibn Abī Ḥadjala left Tilimsān for Cairo, then performed the Pilgrimage, after which he went to Damascus where he studied *adab*, in which he became proficient. He wrote a number of *maḳāma*s and many works in poetry and prose, a number of which are extant (see Brockelmann). He became head of a Ṣūfī monastery outside Cairo, but seems to have been more occupied with general literature than with mystical writing. He wrote *ḳaṣīda*s in honour of the Prophet imitating the style of the *ḳaṣīda*s of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, to whose views he was opposed. He belonged to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, but was inclined to the beliefs of the Ḥanbalī. Ibn Ḥadjar says he used to tell the Shāfi'īs that he was a Shāfi'ī, the Ḥanafīs that he was a Ḥanafī, and the traditionists that he was a traditionist. He died during a plague at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 776/May 1375.

Of his published works, the most important is his *Dīwān al-ṣabāba*, for which he used the material on "loves" and "lovers" of his predecessors and contemporaries, such as the *Dīwān al-'āshiḳīn* of Muḥammad b. Ziyād b. al-A'rābī [*q.v.*], the *Kitāb al-Zahra* of Ibn Dāwūd [*q.v.*], the *Tuḥfat al-ẓirāf* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nawkāṭī, the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* of Ibn Ḥazm, etc.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, i, 329-31 (No. 826); *Orientalia*, ii, 440; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, Göttingen 1882, No. 437; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 776 A.H.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, No. 335; J. Robson, *A chess maqāma in the John Rylands Library*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxvi (1953), 111-27. The other writings of Ibn Abī Ḥadjala which have survived are listed in Brockelmann, II, 14 (where no. 8, *al-Ṭibb al-masnūn fī daf' al-ṭā'ūn* is treated as a separate work, whereas it is in fact a summary of the *Daf' al-niḳma fi 'l-ṣalāt 'alā Nabī al-raḥma*, of S II, 6, no. 10) and S II, 5-6 (where the title of no. 11, *Durar al-zamān*, etc., should be corrected to *Dawr al-zamān*; the same mistake occurs in the Cairo catalogue, ²ivb, 48). On the sources of the *Dīwān al-ṣabāba* (several of which have been edited and summarized), the themes of the 31 chapters, and the response given by Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*] to the compilation (which was to provide him with the occasion for writing his *Rawḍat al-ta'rīf*), see U. Rizzitano, *Il dīwān aṣ-ṣabābah dello scrittore magrebino Ibn Abī Ḥağalah*, in *RSO*, xxviii (1953), 35-70. (J. Robson and U. Rizzitano)

IBN ABĪ ḤAṢĪNA, Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Djabbār b. al-Ḥaṣīna al-Sulamī, poet and prince belonging to the great Arab tribe of the Banū Sulaym, which traces its descent from 'Adnān. He was born at Ma'arra (Syria) in 388/998 and received his early education in his native town (which was at this time an important cultural centre), drawing on the same resources as al-Ma'arrī, then completed his education at Aleppo, frequenting the literary circles there.

At the age of barely twenty he met Thimāl b. Mirdās at Raḥba and dedicated to him a poem which demonstrated his poetic gifts. When the Mirdāsids became governors of Aleppo (from 414 to 478/1023-85) he enjoyed their special favour and continued throughout his life to celebrate their virtues and their exploits. Sent by Thimāl b. Mirdās on a mission to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, he visited Egypt in 437/1045 and dedicated to this caliph a first panegyric, then a second one in 450/1058. Al-Mustanṣir granted him a princely title, which permitted him to lead at Aleppo the life of an *amīr*. Ibn Abī Ḥaṣīna also visited Damascus, where he met its scholars, wrote of the beauties of its situation and composed a fine elegy on the occasion of the death of the *ḳāḍī* of the town, Abū Ya'lā Ḥamza b. al-Ḥusayn. Ibn Abī Ḥaṣīna, always loyal to the Mirdāsids, died at Sarūdj on 15 Sha'bān 457/22 July 1065. Ibn al-'Adīm (*Zubda*, ii, 73) attributes to him a poem written in honour of Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Ḳuraysh after the taking of Aleppo in 473/1080, but the author of this must be another man of the same name—or perhaps there is confusion with Ibn Ḥayyūs [*q.v.*].

He wrote panegyrics, love poetry, descriptive and elegiac poetry, but his main work was in the field of panegyric. He was distinguished by the quality of his language, his themes remaining the traditional ones.

Ibn Ḥaṣīna's *dīwān* was published in two volumes at Damascus in 1956 by Muḥammad As'ad Ṭalas. The first volume contains the poems, the second a commentary on them by Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, from which it may be deduced that he sent his poems to Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī for him to comment on them.

This edition is based on a manuscript in Baghdād (Iraqi Museum no. 1261) and on another in the Escurial, no. 275. It is evident that this edition does not contain the whole of the poet's work, since the commentary by Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī contains some first lines (*maṭla'*) of poems which are not found in the published collection.

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1951-4, i, 266, 271-2, ii, 73; Baghdādī (Ismāʿīl Pasha), *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, Istanbul 1945, i, 484; ʿĀmilī (Muḥsin al-Amīn), *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Damascus 1948, xxvi, 273-84; Zuruklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 212; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, iii, 237; Ḥ. Djāsir, in *MMIA*, xxiv, 526-36; M. Djawād, in *MMIA*, xxxii, 533-9, 681-4; ʿA. Maymanī, in *MMIA*, xxxii, 697; see also *EI*[1], s.v. *Mirdāsids*.

(J. Rikabi)

IBN ABĪ ḤUDHAYFA [see muḥammad b. abī ḥudhayfa].

IBN ABĪ KHAYTHAMA, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Zuhayr (= Abū Khaythama) b. Ḥarb b. Shaddād al-Nasāʾī al-Baghdādī, traditionist, genealogist, historian and poet, born at Nasāʾ in 185/801, died at Baghdād in 279/892 (the dates 205/820 and 299/911-2 are probably too late). The son of Abū Khaythama (d. 243/857), who was the author of a *K. al-Musnad* and a *K. al-ʿIlm* (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 321), he was the pupil of Ibn Ḥanbal in *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, of Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī in genealogy, of al-Madāʾinī in history and of Muḥammad b. Sallām in literature. The *Fihrist* mentions among his works *K. al-Muntamin* (?), *K. al-Aʿrāb*, *K. Akhbār al-shuʿarāʾ* and *K. al-Taʾrīkh*; the last, used by al-Masʿūdī, much admired by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and well-known in Spain, —see especially ibn ḥubaysh—has survived (for the manuscripts see Brockelmann; the edition planned in Ḥaydarābād does not seem to have been published). Nothing is known of Ibn Abī Khaythama's life except that he was accused of *ḳadar* and that he was in contact with ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*].

His son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (who died perhaps in 299/911-2) is the author of a *K. al-Zakāt* and of an unfinished *K. al-Taʾrīkh*.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 321; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 174; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, iv, 162-4; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iii, 35-7; Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, 22; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 156; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 208, 376 (= ed. Pellat, §§ 1971, 2129); Ruʿaynī, *Barnāmadj*, 43-4; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 302; Brockelmann, S I, 272; (Ch. Pellat)

IBN ABĪ KHĀZIM [see bishr b. abī khāzim].

IBN ABĪ LAYLĀ, appellation of two persons who figure in the early history of Islam.

I.—Abū ʿĪsā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā (= Yasār or Dāwūd) b. Bilāl b. Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ al-Anṣārī, *tābiʿī* of Kūfa, who was born in 17/638. He collected traditions which he heard from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and other Companions, was present, on ʿAlī's side, in the battle of the Camel [see al-djamal], and took part in the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*]. There are varying accounts of how he lost his life. In *isnād*s, where he figures as one of the first links after the Companions, he is often quoted under the name Ibn Abī Laylā al-Akbar.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 389-90; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 5192; Tirmidhī, ii, 189, 257; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 144. (Ch. Pellat)

II.—His son, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā, born in 74/693 (Ibn Khallikān), or rather in 76, because he was 72 years old (Ibn Saʿd) when he died in 148/765. He remembered little of his father. Shaʿbī and ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ [*qq.v.*] are named as his teachers (Bukhārī); later biographers give extended lists of his authorities and his disciples in traditions. But Ibn Abī Laylā took no part in circulating "legal" traditions; the few traditions in the *isnād* of which he appears, are "historical" or edifying in character (Wakīʿ, Ṭabarī). From an early period onwards, it was not his truthfulness but his memory and reliability as a transmitter of traditions that was impugned; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal preferred his *fiḳh* to his *ḥadīth*, and this judgment has remained typical. The descent of Ibn Abī Laylā from his ancestor Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ was questioned, apparently without reason, by Ibn Shubruma, his rival and predecessor as *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa, and by others, and satirical verses by Ibn Shubruma against him are quoted. Professional jealousy seems to have been at the root of this, and also of some hostility between Ibn Abī Laylā and Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*]. But the main anecdote explaining the origin of this hostility (in Wakīʿ and in Ibn Khallikān) is not historical because Ibn Abī Laylā refers in it to Abū Ḥanīfa, who was his contemporary, as a "youngster" (*shābb*). Other items in the biography of Ibn Abī Laylā in Wakīʿ are anecdotal, too, but it is presumably authentic that Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*] considered him and Ibn Shubruma to be the two great specialists in Islamic religious law in Kūfa.

Ibn Abī Laylā was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa by the recently appointed governor ʿĪsā b. Mūsā in 123/741, and he held this office under the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids, except for an interval, at his own request, under the Khāridjī usurper al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays, until his death. He based his judgments, as was customary in his time, on his own considered opinion (*raʾy*). A work on the law of inheritance (*farāʾiḍ*) went under his name (*Fihrist*). He was succeeded as *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa by his nephew, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĪsā, who, however, died soon afterwards. His distinctive doctrine in Kūfa still had followers in the time of Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820).

A treatise of Shāfiʿī (*Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, 87 ff., surprisingly called *Kitāb al-Asmāʾ wa ʾl-ḳabāʾil* in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 42, No. 9838) is concerned with the differences between Ibn Abī Laylā and Abū Ḥanīfa concerning technical details of legal doctrine. Ibn Abī Laylā represents, generally speaking, an older stage of doctrine than his contemporary Abū Ḥanīfa, that is to say, he is more conservative; he also pays more regard to judicial practice. Ibn Abī Laylā's doctrine, taken as a whole, shows a considerable amount of technical legal thought, but it is generally of a primitive kind, somewhat clumsy and untrained, and therefore shortsighted and often unfortunate in its results. The striving for systematic consistency, the action of general trends and principles pervade his whole doctrine. A rigid formalism is perhaps the most persistent and typical feature of his legal thought. Ibn Abī Laylā's practical, commonsense reasoning often takes material, and particularly Islamic ethical, considerations, into account. There are numerous traces of his activity as a *ḳāḍī* in his doctrine, last but not least his conservatism.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, 249; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-ʿIlal wa-maʿrifat al-ridjāl*, i, Ankara 1963, §§ 828 and 833; al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, i, No. 180; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, 7; Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, iii, 129-49, and index, esp. 95 f., 107, 108; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 248; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, index; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Djarḥ waʾl-taʿdīl*, iii, No. 1739; *Fihrist*, 202 f.; Ibn Khallikān, *s.v.*; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Hyderabad 1333, i, 162 (Ṭabaḳa v, No. 12); Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb*, ix, No. 501; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iv, 396 (end of No.

8967), v, 42 (No. 9838); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, i, 224; J. Schacht, *Origins*, index; idem, *Introduction*, 44. (J. Schacht)

IBN ABĪ MUSLIM [see yazīd b. dīnār].

IBN ABĪ RABĪʿA [see ʿumar b. abī rabīʿa].

IBN ABĪ RANDAḲA [see al-ṭurṭūshī].

IBN ABI 'L-RIDJĀL, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Shaybānī al-Kātib al-Maghribī al-Ḳayrawānī, was the tutor and astrologer of the Zīrid prince, al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (407-54/1016-62), who held his court at Ḳayrawān till 449/1057, and a leading official of his administration (H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, *passim*); he was also the patron of the most distinguished poet at al-Muʿizz's court, Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1064), who dedicated to him his *ʿUmda fī maḥāsin*. It is unlikely that he is identical with the Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Maghribī whom al-Ḳifṭī (*Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 351-3) lists among the witnesses to observations of the summer solstice and the autumn equinox in Baghdād in 378/988; and, though his tombstone is said to be dated 426/1034-5 (Idris, 810, n. 197), he must in fact have lived several years longer, as he mentions the death (in 1037) of the Kalbī *amīr* of Sicily, Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Ḥusayn (*Kitāb al-Bāriʿ*, iii, 22). In the same passage he refers to a Ḥabūs b. Ḥumayd, who may be identical with the governor of Nefta (Idris, 197) who was disgraced in 439/1047-8; and to an ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad of al-Manṣūriyya, who may be the son of the *ḳāḍī* (Idris, 560) who fled to Egypt in or shortly after 440/1049.

The *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ fī aḥkām al-nudjūm* which contains these references is Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl's most important scientific work. It is a vast compendium in eight books on four types of astrology: interrogations (1-3), nativities (4-6), catarchic astrology (7), and general (including political and historical) astrology (8). Besides some two dozen manuscripts of the Arabic text there exists an Old Castilian translation (only the first five books survive) made by Yehudā ben Moshē for Alfonso the Wise in 1254. This Old Castilian version was twice translated into Latin (which in turn was three times turned into Hebrew), and once into Old Portuguese; probably from the Latin are also derived the French and English versions. This prodigious quantity of material in European languages accounts for most of what interest has been shown in Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl in modern times; in fact, however, the *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ* is largely copied (often inaccurately) from astrological compilations of the 3rd/9th century which still survive in Arabic.

Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl's other astrological works include an *Urdjūza fi 'l-aḥkām* (the *Urdjūza fī dalīl al-raʿd* may be a part of this), which was commented on by Kamāl al-Tūrakānī in 755/1354 and by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. al-Ḳunfūdh al-Ḳusṭanṭīnī in 774/1372. His *Kitāb fi 'l-rumūz* and his *zīdj* entitled *Ḥall al-ʿaḳd wa-bayān al-raṣd* are lost.

Bibliography: The best (and virtually only) work referring to Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl's career in and influence on the court of al-Muʿizz is that by Idris cited in the text. His scientific career is even less studied. Some bibliographical and biographical material will be found in Suter, 100; Sarton, i, 715-6; and Brockelmann, I, 256 and S I, 401, which can be supplemented from the articles of Nykl and Hilty mentioned below. The only studies of Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl's use of sources are both by V. Stegemann: *Der griechische Astrologe Dorotheos von Sidon und der arabische Astrologe Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAli ibn abi 'r-Riǧāl, genannt Albohazen*, Heidelberg 1935, and *Astrologische Zarathustra-Fragmente bei dem arabischen Astrologen Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī i. abī 'r-Riǧāl (11. Jhdt.)*, in *Orientalia*, NS vi (1937), 317-36 (a substantial part of this latter article is reprinted in J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, Paris 1938, ii, 233-40). For the various translations of the *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ* consult the following: Old Castilian—A. R. Nykl, *Libro Conplido en los Juizios de las Estrellas*, in *Speculum*, xxix (1954), 85-99; and G. Hilty, *El Libro Conplido en los Iudizios de las Estrellas*, Madrid 1954 (edition of the text), and an article of the same title in *al-Andalus*, xx (1955), 1-74 (*contra* Nykl); Latin—the several Latin translations (along with the French and English versions), their many manuscripts, and their numerous editions are listed by F. J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1956, 150-4; Hebrew—M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, Berlin 1893, 578-80; and Old Portuguese—I. González Llubera, *Two old Portuguese astrological texts in Hebrew characters*, in *Romance Philology*, vi (1952-3), 267-72.

(D. Pingree)

IBN ABI 'L-RIDJĀL, Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, historian, theologian, jurisconsult and poet, of the Zaydī sect of the Yemen. He was born in Shaʿbān 1029/July 1620 at al-Shabaṭ, in the region of al-Ahnūm, to the west of Ṣanʿāʾ, and spent all his life in the Yemen; he died on the night of Tuesday 5 or Wednesday 6 Rabīʿ I 1092/24-5 or 25-6 March 1618 at the age of 62 years 7 months, and was buried at al-Rawḍa. The biography composed by his brother Muḥammad (MS Ambrosiana nuovo fondo 256, fols. 2-11) contains a wealth of minute details on the curriculum of his studies and provides evidence of the exceptional learning which he acquired, having as his teacher the most learned Zaydīs of his day (among them the *imām* al-Muʾayyad bi-'llāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim and the *shaykhs* Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Muʾayyadī, ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Durayb, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Imām al-Ḳāsim, Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Miswarī, Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Suḥūlī), as well as many doctors of various schools. His fame earned him the friendship of the *imām* al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḳāsim (d. 1087/1677), who employed him as secretary and court orator (*khaṭīb Ṣanʿāʾ*).

The work on which is rightly based his claim to fame is an alphabetically arranged collection of about 1300 biographies of famous Zaydīs, of military as well as literary importance, of ʿIrāḳ and the Yemen: (1) the *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr wa-madjmaʿ al-buḥūr*. This monument of doctrine, which until the beginning of this century was thought to be lost, is an almost unique source of information, and all the more valuable because the Zaydīs took especial care to remain silent on everything which concerned themselves; in addition, it contains a number of facts, drawn from sources which now exist only in part, which concern not only the history, but also the geography and the archaeology of the Yemen.

With a few exceptions, of the remainder of his works only the titles remain. They consist of: (a) biographical and genealogical works, such as (2) *Taysīr al-iʿlām bi-tarādjim tarādjimat al-tafsīr al-aʿlām* (biographies of Ḳurʾān commentators); (3) *Inbāʾ al-abnāʾ bi-ṭarīḳat salafihim al-ḥusnā djāmiʿ li-nasab Āl Abi 'l-Ridjāl* (the genealogy

of his own family); (4) *Taʿlīḳ* (gloss) on *al-Mushadjdjar* (genealogy of the Zaydī imāms) of Ibn al-Djalāl (MS Ambrosiana 68/1); (b) theological and juridical works: (5) *Iʿlām al-muwālī bi-kalām sādātihi al-aʿlām al-mawālī* (MS Br. Mus. Suppl. 217/2); (6) *Taysīr* (*Tafsīr*) *al-Sharīʿa* (MS Br. Mus. Suppl. 217/1); (7) *al-Riyāḍ al-nadiyya fī anna 'l-firḳa al-nādjiʾa hum al-Zaydiyya*; (8) *al-Mawāzīn al-radjīḥa li 'l-barāhīn al-ṣaḥīḥa*, commentary on *al-ʿAḳīda al-ṣaḥīḥa* by the *imām* al-Mutawakkil Ismāʿīl; (9) *Madjālis al-tafhīm*; (10) *al-Wadjh al-awdjah fī ḥukm al-zawdj alladhī ḍayyaʿ al-zawdja*; (11) *Madjāz man arād al-ḥaḳīḳa min murād al-ḥaḳīḳa*; (12) *al-Hadiyya ilā man yuḥibb wa 'l-hidāya ilā man yuḥabb*; (13) *al-Djawāb al-shāfī li 'l-ṣadā ilā ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḍamadī*; (14) *Tadhkirat al-ḳulūb allatī fi 'l-ṣudūr fī ḥayāt al-adjsām allatī fi 'l-ḳubūr*; (15) *Rasāʾil* on various subjects; (c) works of Ḳurʾānic exegesis, such as (16) *Bughyat al-ṭālib wa-sūluh fī sabab "innamā Waliyyukum Allāh wa-Rasūluh"* (Ḳurʾān, V, 60); (d) philological works, such as (17) *Ḥāshiya ʿalā lafẓ al-azhār*; (e) poetry: (18) *Dīwān*, consisting of poems of a mainly religious character, some fragments of which are contained in his biography, while several others are cited in the *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*.

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, i, 220; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348, i, 59-61, n. 36; E. Griffini, *Lista dei manoscritti arabi nuovo fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano*, in *RSO*, iv, 1046-8. (R. Traini)

IBN ABI 'L-SĀDJ [see MUḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-SĀDJ].

IBN ABI 'L-ṢAḲR [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ʿUMAR].

IBN ABI 'L-ṢALT [see UMAYYA B. ABI 'L-ṢALT].

IBN ABI 'L-SAMḤ [see MĀLIK B. ABI 'L-SAMḤ].

IBN ABĪ SARḤ [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAʿD].

IBN ABĪ SHANAB (in Algerian dialect Ben-Shneb and officially in French Ben Cheneb) Muḥammad b. al-ʿArabī, Algerian teacher and Arabist, born at Taḳbu, near Médéa (Algeria) on 10 Radjab 1286/26 October 1869 and died at Algiers on 27 Shaʿbān 1347/5 February 1929.

Some of his ancestors, who were natives of Bursa, were officers in the Turkish army stationed in Egypt, and at least one of them settled in Algeria. His grandfather, retired from the Turkish army, died at Médéa during the siege of this town (May-June 1840) by the *amīr* Abdelkader (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazāʾirī [*q.v.*]). His father was a small farmer on the outskirts of Médéa and his mother, a Bāshtarzī, was also of Turkish descent.

He was educated for a short time at the Ḳurʾānic school, then at the École Française, next at the Collège de Médéa (now the Lycée Ben Cheneb) and finally, for a year, at the teacher's training college at Bouzaréa near Algiers; in 1888, at the age of 19, he became a teacher at Tāmdjāret, in the *douar* of Wāmrī, in the mixed commune of Djendel, 30 kilometres from Médéa. Four years later he was transferred to the Fātaḥ school at Algiers; there he remained for six years, which were to be decisive in his development and his career. While teaching French to the Muslim children of the casba, he was himself attending lectures in the lycée, in the mosques and in the École des Lettres, as well as receiving private lessons. His teachers were the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm b. Smāya, a rabbi of Algiers, Ben Sedira, Cat, Fagnan, and René Basset. He studied also on the one hand Arabic rhetoric, formal logic, theology, *ḥadīth*, genealogy and Hebrew, and on the other, a little Latin, Spanish, German, Persian and Turkish. He passed successfully the first part of the *baccalauréat* and the *brevet* and the diploma in Arabic of the École des Lettres of Algiers. Having caught smallpox, he was prevented from taking the second part of the *baccalauréat*. With these qualifications, however, he was appointed as a replacement for a year for his master Ben Sedira at the École des Lettres.

On 22 May 1898, at the age of 29, he was appointed a teacher at the *madrasa* at Constantine and taught, for the first time, in Arabic *naḥw*, *ṣarf*, *adab*, *fiḳh*, to students little younger than himself. He remained at Constantine for less than three years, and his memories of it were not happy.

On 20 April 1901 he was transferred to the *madrasa* at Algiers, where he remained until 1926. In 1903, he was appointed to run simultaneously at the École des Lettres a course on Arabic prosody, and courses in the translation of legal documents and in colloquial Arabic. In 1904, he agreed to give in addition a course in *ḥadīth*, based on the collection of al-Bukhārī, at Djāmiʿ Safīr in the Casba of Algiers.

When in 1908 the University of Algiers was created, Ibn Abī Shanab was appointed to lecture in the Faculté des Lettres, while retaining his chair at the *madrasa*. It was at this time that he showed his abilities both as a teacher and in research. His excellent teaching gained him the attention and the veneration of an audience which increased daily. He published books and articles in increasing numbers. He travelled occasionally, notably to Oran and Constantine and to Tunisia and Morocco, presiding over boards of examiners, taking part in scientific congresses and discussions. He was in touch with many orientalists outside Algeria and corresponded with Codera and Miguel Asín Palacios in Spain, with E. Griffini in Italy, with Krachkovsky in Russia, with Aḥmad Taymūr in Egypt, with Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in Tunisia, with the members of the Arab Academy at Damascus, and with many *ʿulamāʾ* in Morocco and elsewhere.

His scholarship was recognized in 1920 by his election as a member of the Arab Academy at Damascus and, in 1922, the award of the degree of Docteur ès lettres d'État by the University of Algiers. In 1924, he was appointed professor in the Faculté des Lettres of the University of Algiers, succeeding to the chair of Arabic language and literature left vacant by René Basset. In July 1928 he represented Algiers University at the 17th International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford.

Such a career, rare even in France and elsewhere, was without precedent in Algeria, and even until the present there has been none to equal it. The man who achieved it was exceptional, endowed with a robust constitution and an inflexible will, which made him a tireless worker and a patient, stubborn and methodical scholar. His association with scholars like Fagnan and Basset had made him quick to seize the positive side of modern methods of work, based on scientific discipline, without leading him to underestimate the fundamental values of his background, to which he remained faithfully attached, refusing to change his style of dress or his personal beliefs and adhering scrupulously to his code of behaviour as a strict but enlightened Muslim.

His scholarly works are spread over about thirty years. They were prolific between 1906 and 1913, ceased for a period during the First World War, and were resumed between 1918 and 1928. They cover a very wide field, in many disciplines: pedagogy,

education, Muslim law, *ḥadīth*, popular poetry, proverbs, lexicography, grammar, poetry, metrics, sociology, and history. They show traces of the pedagogical training which he received at the École Normale and reflect the various subjects which he had to teach in the *madrasas*, in the mosque and in the Faculté des Lettres. They consist, in chronological order, of the following:

(1) Fr. tr. of al-Fāsī (Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir), *al-Taysīr wa 'l-tashīl fī dhikr mā aghfalahu 'l-shaykh Khalīl min aḥkām al-mughārasa*, under the title: *La plantation à frais communs en droit malékite*, in *Rev. algérienne, tunisienne et marocaine de droit et de législation*, Algiers 1895, 13 pages; (2) edition and Fr. tr. of an anonymous treatise entitled *Khātima fī riyāḍat al-ṣibyān wa-ta'dībihim wa-taʿlīmihim wa-mā yalīḳ bi-dhālika*, under the title *Notions de pédagogie musulmane*, in *RAfr.*, 1897, 267-85; (3) *Itinéraire de Tlemcen à la Mekke par Ben Msāyeb, poète populaire tlemcénien du XVIIIe s.*, text and Fr. tr. in *RAfr.*, xliv (1900), 261-82; (4) Fr. tr. of a "Treatise on the education of children" by al-Ghazālī (publ. Tunis 1314/1898), in *R.Afr.*, 1901, 101-10; (5) *Proverbes arabes de l'Algérie et du Maghreb*, 3 vols., Paris 1904; (6) *De la transmission du recueil de traditions de Bokhary aux habitants d'Alger*, in *Rec. de mém. et de textes publiés par les professeurs de l'École des Lettres et des Médersas d'Algérie*, Algiers 1905, 99-116; (7) *Revue des ouvrages arabes édités ou publiés par les Musulmans en 1322 et 1323 (1904-1905)*, in *RAfr.*, 1906, 261-96; (8) *Notice sur un manuscrit du Ve s. de l'hégire intitulé "Kitāb Ṭabaqāt ʿUlamā Ifrīqiya"*, in *JA*, 1906, 343-60; (9) *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'idjāza du cheikh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī*, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, Paris 1907, iv, 168-560 (360 scholars); (10) *La guerre de Crimée et les Algériens, poème populaire de Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl (poète algérois, 1820-1870)*, in *RAfr.*, 1907, 162-222; (11) *De l'origine du mot chéchia*, in *RAfr.*, 1907, 55-6; (12) edition of Ḳuṭrub, *Muthallathat ʿallāmat al-anām, ḳāmūs al-balāgha wa-nibrās al-afhām*, Algiers 1907 (cf. 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Ben Sedira, *Dictionnaire d'arabe parlé*, Algiers 1925; (47) edition of ʿAlḳama b. ʿAbada, *Dīwān*, with the commentary of al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī, Algiers 1925; (48) edition of ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, *Dīwān*, with the commentary of Ibn al-Sikkīt, in *Biblioteca arabica*, ii, Algiers 1926; (49) *Du nombre trois chez les Arabes*, in *RAfr.*, 1926, 105-78; (50) *Tuḥfat al-adab fī mīzān ashʿār al-ʿarab*, [1] Algiers 1906, [2] Algiers 1928, [3] Paris 1954, one vol., 112 pp.; (51) edition of al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Ǧomal*, [1] Algiers 1927, [2] Paris 1957; (52) *La Farisiya ou les débuts de la dynastie ḥafṣide par Ibn Qonfod de Constantine*, in *Hespéris*, 1928, 37-49; (53) *Ibn Khātima, poète arabe d'Espagne du VIIIe s. de l'hégire*, communication to the 17th Int. 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liyya fi 'l-lugha al-sāmiyya, in *Ifrīkiya*, 1928, and in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djīlālī, *op. cit.*, 45-50; (57) posthumous revised and corrected edition of M. Beaussier's *Dictionnaire*, Algiers 1931, Paris 1958.

In addition to these works: (a) 63 articles in *EI*[1]: 10 in vol. i, 42 in vol. ii, 11 in vol. iii and one in vol. iv; 49 of these are biographies of writers, the majority of them Maghribī, 13 are short notes on Arabic prosody, and one is a summary of the history of ʿAshīr; (b) three brief notes published in the *RAAD*, 1927, 224 (*Ghazzālī aw Ghazālī*); 1928, 690 (*Īḍāḥ wa-'stīḍāḥ*); 1929 (*al-Djazā'ir*); (c) various works in verse and in rhymed prose for Arab readers and reproduced from drafts by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djīlālī, *op. cit.*, 35 ff. It seems that Ibn Abī Shanab's poetry was written when he was between 30 and 40. His longest poem consists of 58 verses and its aim is to encourage the Algerians to educate themselves; another, of 21 verses, is in honour of René Basset. And finally it was in his private letters, addressed to educated Arab correspondents, that Ibn Abī Shanab felt himself obliged to conform to the old, but still admired, custom of writing in *sadjʿ* (rhymed prose).

His work thus consisted on the one hand of the editing of Arabic texts, often with a French translation and notes, and on the other of original studies in French in the style of the Arabists of the time but relatively brief, works in Arabic being the exception. He was clearly inspired in his preferences and guided in his choice of subject by the wish to make known, or to save from oblivion, the cultural heritage first of Algeria and then of the Muslim West.

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(M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN ABI 'L-SHAWĀRIB, name of the members of a family, the Banū Abi 'l-Shawārib, which played an important rôle during the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th centuries and provided the Muslim empire, which was at that time in a state of political disintegration but relatively stable doctrinally, with a succession of traditionists, jurists and *ḳāḍīs*. The family was of authentically noble Ḳurashī descent, descended from ʿAttāb b. Asīd [*q.v.*]. It was of Umayyad origin and ʿUthmānī inclination (on ʿUthmānism in the 3rd/9th century, see Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 188; see also *Arabica*, iii/3 (1956), 312). The family could enter upon the political scene only when the caliphate, with al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), renounced its Muʿtazilī and even pro-Shīʿī period and renewed its link with the Arab and Muslim past in its Sunnī form. The social rise of the Banū Abi 'l-Shawārib seems to have been one of the minor episodes which mark the reconciliation of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate with Sunnism, a reconciliation which was itself the prelude to the establishment of an equilibrium, achieved with difficulty, between the civil and religious powers and the formation of an official creed. In the history of this evolution there appear several persons named Ibn Abi 'l-Shawārib, at first traditionists and, increasingly, jurists and *ḳāḍīs*. They are:

(1) Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 244/858). (2) His son, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, *ḳāḍī* from 250 to 261/864-74. (3) ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who succeeded his brother Ḥasan on 1 Shawwāl 261/9 July 875; according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1908, this was also the year of his death, but Ibn al-Athīr (vii, 334), followed by Massignon, makes him die in 283. Both al-Ṭabarī and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī report that he remained in office for only six months. (4) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, *ḳāḍī* from 296 to 310/908-13. According to Ibn al-Djawzī (*Muntaẓam*, i, 97, followed by Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 401), he was replaced in 298 by his son Muḥammad, who is, however, not mentioned by the other historians (cf. ʿArīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus*, 39). (5) Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh, appointed *ḳāḍī* in 317/923 (ʿArīb, 13); the date at which he ceased to hold office is uncertain, as is the date of his death. ʿArīb, 120, seems to imply that he was still *ḳāḍī* in 320/932, but there is some doubt about this.

The first of these, Muḥammad, was mainly a traditionist, who, well versed in both Ḳur'ānic exegesis (he was the transmitter of Yazīd b. Zurayʿ) and in mystic *ḥadīth*, continued Abū ʿĀṣim al-ʿAbbādānī (*apud* al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, ch. Riḍā). He preserved the same strict principles adhered to by the "people of the Sunna" at the time when the latter were no longer in power: he advised his children to hold themselves aloof from public affairs. On the other hand his activities, devoted almost entirely to *ḥadīth*, brought him into contact with men like al-Baghawī, al-Bāghandī, Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā [*q.v.*], al-Ṭabarī, *i.e.*, the most eminent transmitters of the second half of the 3rd/9th century. Having contented himself with being an esteemed traditionist, he ended his days in his native town of Baṣra.

Very different was the career of his son Ḥasan, who, with his father, was the most distinguished member of the Banu 'l-Shawārib. At first, being the loyal servant of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, he was sent by this ruler on a mission to the Byzantine frontier. After the assassination of this caliph, he was out of favour under al-Mustaʿīn (248-51/862-6), who deprived him of his office as official counsellor in 250. With the accession of al-Muʿtazz, in 251/866, Ḥasan's fortunes were restored; it was now the turn of the Zaydīs, Djahmīs or Rāfiḍīs to be excluded from the judiciary. The subsequent rulers, al-Muhradī and al-Muʿtamid, retained their confidence in Ḥasan. On his death, his office was entrusted to his brother ʿAlī who, according to the most reliable source, held office for no longer than six months.

From then on the family no longer has a place among the traditionists, but so far as its political fortunes were concerned this was merely a temporary eclipse. Soon, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī was able to play a political rôle. He refused, on the death of al-Muktafī, to let himself be persuaded by the supporters of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who had perhaps thought of him because of the loyalty which his uncle Ḥasan had shown to al-Muʿtazz. This prudence was soon rewarded by al-Muktadir, who entrusted him with the judgeship of West Baghdād, a sort of perquisite which reverted at intervals to the family of the Banū Abi 'l-Shawārib.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (unless it was his son Muḥammad —see above) seems to have performed his office in a way which was very profitable to his own interests. Under al-Muḳtadir, a heavy tax was imposed on him by the vizier Ibn Th̲awāba. He seems on this occasion to have had connexions with the al-Mad̲h̲arāʾī family of financiers in Egypt.

His son Ḥusayn, the last of the Banū Abi 'l-S̲h̲awārib to play a part in history, took up again the traditional office of his family at the end of the reign of al-Muḳtadir. Observing the prudence and impartiality traditional in his family, he witnessed important events in public life, for which when necessary he was competent to draw up documents. He directed the funeral of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, who was killed in battle. It is not certain whether he was *ḳāḍī* after 317. He may have held office at the same time as the famous Mālikī *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿAmar (H. Bowen, *ʿAlī b. ʿĪsá, the good vizier*, 119), whose jurisdiction is said to have been limited to the western bank of the Tigris. This may have been the revenge of Abū ʿUmar, who had been in disgrace for precisely the period that ʿAbd Allāh was in office, from 296-300 (*Muntaẓam*, vi, 247), and who had been able to recover his post, in 301, only thanks to the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā.

The rivalries between families of semi-hereditary *ḳāḍīs* (Ibn Abi 'l-S̲h̲awārib, 4 and 5, against Abū ʿUmar and his son ʿUmar; see *Mantaẓam*, vi, 305) were probably reinforced by doctrinal disagreements and by struggles between clans within the palace of the caliph. It seems that the Banū Abi 'l-S̲h̲awārib became Ḥanafīs in ʿIrāḳ in spite of their Meccan origins (their ancestor was to be referred to, rather disparagingly, as *mad̲h̲hab ahl al-ʿIrāḳ*). The vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, as a S̲h̲āfiʿi, may have preferred to have a Mālikī at the head of the judiciary, and there may have been a similar reason, in about 317/929, for the dismissal of Ḥusayn, at the time when, as a result of an unsuccessful *coup d'état* by al-Ḳāhir, al-Muḳtadir's policy was taking a different direction. The arrival of the Būyids did nothing to harm the fortunes, now in their second century, of this family, which the people of Bag̲h̲dād attributed, according to al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī (v, 47) to the virtues and disinterestedness of the ancestor of the dynasty, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik. An Ibn Abi 'l-S̲h̲awārib (al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *ibid.*) was still chief *ḳāḍī* of Bag̲h̲dād during the reign of D̲j̲alāl al-Dawla (416-35/1025-44). He was preceded in this post by two earlier members of the family, who are not mentioned in *Ṭabaḳāt* works. The Banū Abi 'l-S̲h̲awārib provided (according to the same source) the Islamic judicial system with 24 *ḳāḍīs* of varying importance. On the whole, therefore, the biographies of the Banū Abi l'-S̲h̲awārib are to be seen against the still rather confused background of the doctrinal history of Bag̲h̲dād.

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IBN ABĪ S̲H̲AYBA, Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (= Abū S̲h̲ayba) b. ʿUt̲h̲mān al-ʿAbsī al-Kūfī, ʿIrāḳī traditionist and historian (159-235/775-849) who came of a family of religious scholars; his grandfather Abū S̲h̲ayba was already *ḳāḍī* of Wāsiṭ, but he is described as *ḍaʿīf* (Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vi, 395). Abū Bakr studied at al-Ruṣāfa, travelled "in search of learning" and died at Kūfa after having resided at Bag̲h̲dād. He had many pupils, among them Ibn Mād̲j̲a [*q.v.*], and wrote several works, which are listed in the *Fihrist*: *K. al-Taʾrīk̲h̲*, *K. al-Fitan*, *K. Ṣiffīn*, *K. al-D̲j̲amal*, *K. al-Futūḥ* in the field of history; *K. al-Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh*, *K. al-Tafsīr*, *K. al-Musnad*; the last, curiously known also as *K. al-Muṣannaf*, exists in many manuscripts (see Brockelmann, S I, 215; in S I, 260 there is mentioned a *Radd ʿalā Abī Ḥanīfa*, printed at Delhi in 1333 with a translation in Urdu), and parts of its five volumes have been printed in Multān. This work had a particular success in the Mag̲h̲rib and in Muslim Spain, where Baḳī b. Mak̲h̲lad [*q.v.*] himself gave an exposition of it on his return from the east, to the great anger of the *muftī* of Cordova Aṣbag̲h̲ b. K̲h̲alīl (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 477-8) and where it remained in use as a textbook for the *ʿulamāʾ* (see Ibn K̲h̲ayr al-Is̲h̲bīlī, *Fahrasa*, 131-3; al-Ruʿaynī, *Barnāmad̲j̲*, 44). In the Mag̲h̲rib the number of the canonical collections of *ḥadīt̲h̲s* had been increased from six to ten: al-Buk̲h̲ārī, Muslim, Mālik, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasāʾī, al-Bazzār, al-Dāraḳuṭnī, al-Bayhaḳī, Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba, probably by the early Almohads, and in any case before 621/1225, the date at which al-Marrākus̲h̲ī (*al-Muʿd̲j̲ib*, Cairo 1949, 279) relates that Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb gave orders that there should be extracted from *al-Muṣannafāt al-ʿas̲h̲ara* the *ḥadīt̲h̲s* on prayer and everything connected with it, in order to put an end to the supremacy of the Mālikī *mad̲h̲hab* (cf. I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 265).

Abū Bakr's brother, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿUt̲h̲mān, was also a traditionist; he compiled a *K. al-Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh*, a *K. al-Tafsīr*, a *K. al-ʿAyn* and a *K. al-Musnad*. He was born in 156/773 and died in 237 or 239/851 or 853.

ʿUt̲h̲mān's son, Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Muḥammad, died at Bag̲h̲dād in 297/909, after also compiling a *K. al-Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh* and a History of traditionists.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned: Ibn Saʿd, vi, 288; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, vii, 211; *Fihrist*, 229 (Cairo ed., 320); Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 183, 185; K̲h̲aṭīb Bag̲h̲dādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, x, 66-71; D̲h̲ahabī, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 19; idem, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ii, 71; Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī, *D̲j̲amʿ*, i, 259; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt*, ii, 85; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, vi, 2; *al-Andalus*, xix/1 (1954), § 17; Brockelmann, S I, 215, 260; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 314.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN ABĪ ṬĀHIR ṬAYFŪR, Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad, Bag̲h̲dādī littérateur and historian. Born in 204/819-20 into a family of Persian origin, he started out as a teacher and eventually took up residence in the bookmen's bazaar in the Eastern quarter of Bag̲h̲dād, embarking upon a literary career which brought him into contact with many of the outstanding littérateurs and high government officials of his time and resulted in the composition of about fifty works. He was also a poet whose verses provoked criticism—deserved or undeserved— in some quarters. Among other things, he wrote works in the *fürstenspiegel* tradition as well as on horsemanship and hunting, but above all, he wrote works of literary criticism, anecdotes, and other literary, mainly poetical subjects, including a series of anthologies of the work of individual poets. He is particularly famous for his History of Bag̲h̲dād which he continued down to the reign of al-Muhtadī. Only the section dealing with the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn

is preserved and was edited, together with a German translation, by H. Keller (Leipzig 1908; ed. ʿIzzat al-ʿAṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo 1368/1949). As far as we can judge, the work is a pioneering and highly successful effort in the field of political local historiography, leaning heavily toward literary and cultural matters. Its importance as a source is assured by its early date, its use of documents and sources now lost, and its author's sense for the interesting detail. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's treatment agrees widely with that of the later Ṭabarī. Numerous quotations in his name in the *Aghānī* show much agreement with the material found in the surviving section of the History of Baghdād, though they may also be related to the monographs he wrote on various poets (cf. also, for instance, *Aghānī*³, iii, 201, as possibly to be connected with his *Akhbār al-mutaẓarrifāt*). Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's only other surviving work is the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth parts of his large literary anthology, *Kitāb al-Manthūr wa-'l-manẓūm*; the section dealing with clever remarks of women was published by A. al-Alfī in Cairo, 1326/1908, and some excerpts were also published by M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1331/1913, 115 ff. The work was among the sources used by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī in his *Baṣāʾir* (Cairo 1373/1953, 6). His wide circle of acquaintances helped Ibn Abī Ṭāhir to obtain much of the information that went into his books, but in the highly competitive literary life of Baghdād he did not fail also to make prominent enemies, such as the poet al-Buḥturī (cf., for instance, al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Buḥturī*, ed. Ṣ. al-Ashtar, Damascus 1378/1958, 78, 112, 131 f.). Ibn Abī Ṭāhir died in the night Tuesday-Wednesday, 27-8 Djumādā I 280/14-15 March 893.

His son, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿUbayd Allāh, followed in his footsteps and became a highly respected but much less productive man of letters. He continued his father's History of Baghdād, adding the history of the reigns of the caliphs from al-Muʿtamid to al-Muḳtadir. He died during al-Muḳtadir's caliphate, in 313/925-26.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1375/1956, 416 f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 209; *Fihrist*, 146 f. (cf. also 125, 308); al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, Cairo 1343, 351; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 211 f., x, 348; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 152-57; Keller's introduction to his edition of the History of Baghdād; I. Kračkovskiy, *Izbr. Sočineniya*, vi, 333-36; Brockelmann, I, 144, S I, 210, 236; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 386, 424; J. Lassner, in *JAOS*, lxxxiii (1963), 460 f. For further specimens of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's poetry, cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 333 f.; al-Zadjdjādjī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1382, 110; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1305, ii, 174, 177, iii, 144, 292 (the last passage dealing with gifts, possibly to be connected with his book on the subject; however, stories on gifts are indicated expressly as being derived from the History of Baghdād and from the life of al-Muktafī in ʿUbayd Allāh's continuation in al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *al-Dhakhāʾir wa-'l-tuḥaf*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Kuwait 1959, 31 f., 51 f.); al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-ḳabas*, ed. R. Sellheim, Wiesbaden 1964 (*Bibl. Isl.* 23a), 126, 323, 339; al-Ḥātimī, *al-Risāla al-mūḍiḥa*, ed. M. Y. Nadjm, Beirut 1385/1965, 132, 161. He is cited in many contemporary and 4th/10th-century works in the fields of philology and literature, such as Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*; al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshah* (where ʿUbayd Allāh is also quoted); al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*; al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda*, ch. 13 end (quoting his *Faḍāʾil al-ward ʿala 'l-nardjis*); Abū Ahmad al-ʿAskarī, *Maṣūn*, etc. (For a ms. of the eleventh to thirteenth parts of the *Manthūr wa-'l-manẓūm*, cf. K. ʿAwwād, *Fihrist makhṭūṭāt* [of the Ḥikma University in Baghdād], Baghdād 1385/1966, 40 f.). (F. Rosenthal)

IBN ABĪ ṬAYYIʾ, Yaḥyā b. Ḥamīd al-Nadjdjār al-Ḥalabī (575/1180- *ca.* 625-30/1228-33), an important Shīʿī historian of Aleppo, and in particular the author of a universal History, *Maʿādin al-dhahab fi taʾrīkh al-mulūk wa 'l-khulafāʾ wa dhawi 'l-ratab*, which even the Sunnī writers, whether or not they acknowledge the fact, were unable to refrain from utilizing. Important extracts from it are to be found preserved in the History of Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] and the *Rawḍatayn* of Abū Shāma [*q.v.*], dealing with the first three-quarters of the 6th/12th century; it was known also to ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād [*q.v.*], among others, but with less certainty to the other great Aleppo historian, the Sunnī Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm [*q.v.*]. Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ continued his History with monographs on the reigns of Saladin and his son al-Ẓāhir of Aleppo, with whom he seems to have lived on friendly terms. It is more difficult to specify the titles and contents of his other works, several of which are perhaps merely adaptations of works by earlier writers. In any case, none of them attained the importance of the *Maʿādin*, which is of particular value as a history of northern Syria in the time of the Crusades, in view of the loss of the sources used (though they had also been drawn upon, but differently, by Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm) and of the Shīʿī point of view of their general content; the *Maʿādin* also contains useful accounts on the subject of Egypt and, occasionally, even the Maghrib; for ʿIrāḳ and Persia, Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ was, broadly speaking, content to borrow from ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī.

Bibliography: The only surviving bio-bibliography of Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ is that of Yāḳūt, his contemporary, quoted by Ṣafadī (MS. Süleymaniye 842, fol. 30 v.), but omitted in our version of the *Irshād*. Modern studies: Cl. Cahen, *Une chronique chiʿite au temps des Croisades*, in *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1935; H. A. R. Gibb, *The sources for the history of Saladin*, in *Speculum*, xxv (1950); these two articles may be corrected and completed by Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps des Croisades*, Paris 1940, 55-7. (Cl. Cahen)

IBN ABĪ ʿUMĀRA [see ḥafṣids].

IBN ABĪ UṢAYBIʿA, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim b. Khalīfa b. Yūnus al-Khazradjī, physician and bibliographer whose patronymic probably derives from the fact that one of his ancestors had a deformed hand. He belonged to a family of physicians and was born in Damascus, after 590/1194. He studied under the principal teachers of his time, notably Ibn al-Bayṭār [*q.v.*], who taught him botany; with his father (d. 649/1251) and al-Raḥbī (d. 631/1233) he studied medicine, which he practised in the Nūrī hospital in Damascus and the Nāṣirī hospital in Cairo, and then (634/1236) entered the service of the *amīr* ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Muʿaẓẓamī at Sarkhad, where he died in 668/1270.

He wrote various works on medicine which are now lost, but which are mentioned incidentally in his *ʿUyūn* or by his biographers; among them are: *Iṣābat al-munadjdjimīn*, *al-Tadjārib wa 'l-fawāʾid*, *Ḥikāyāt al-aṭibbāʾ fi ʿilādjāt al-adwāʾ* and *Maʿālim al-umam*. He is also the author of numerous poems;

but he owes his fame to his *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, a collection of 380 biographies which are of inestimable value for the history of Arabic science, in spite of a number of confusions, some long series of verses which have nothing to do with the main theme, and the one-sidedness of the choice of subjects: he provides no mention of persons such as Ibn Nafīs, who, like him, was a pupil of Ibn al-Da<u>kh</u>wār (d. circa 628/1230), but whom he disliked. He based his work on the bibliographical productions of his predecessors (Ibn Djuldjul for example), and a comparison between their texts and that of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa shows how he either copies them, very often literally, or summarizes them, and how this mass of raw material was amplified by successive additions; the biographies are arranged by country and by generation (*ṭabaḳāt*). The work appeared in two redactions: a major and a minor. The latter was completed in 640/1242 and, with the addition of new material drawn in part from the *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ* of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, it produced the major recension (667/1268). From the two redactions a not very careful copyist produced a re-written version after the author's death. The literary style of the *ʿUyūn*, which contains some features of a popular style, has been studied by A. Müller, who also prepared an edition of the text based on the two original redactions; but this work was so badly printed in Cairo (1299/1882) that he had to include a long list of corrections and to repeat the indices in a third volume which mainly contains the variants (*Ibn abi Useibia herausgegeben von August Müller*, Königsberg 1884). The *ʿUyūn* was later published in several commercial editions and was reprinted in Beirut (Dār al-Fikr, 1955-6) without any significant changes.

The importance of this text has been recognized by orientalists since the middle of the 19th century (Wüstenfeld, Leclerc): a French translation of part of it was published by Sanguinetti (in *JA*, 1854-6) and a German translation by Hamed Waly; recently (Algiers 1958), H. Jahier and Abdelkader Noureddine have edited, translated and annotated the chapter on the physicians of the Muslim West.

Bibliography: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, vii, 229. The other Arabic sources have been listed by Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 188-9; Nallino, *ʿIlm al-falak*, 64 ff. (= *Scritti*, v, 137-44); Brockelmann, I, 326, S I, 560; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 685; Wüstenfeld, *Arab. Aerzte*, 132; Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. arabe*, ii, 187; A. Müller, *Über Ibn abi Oçeibia und seine Geschichte der Aerzte*, in *Actes du VIᵉ Congrès int. des Orient.*, ii, 259-80; idem, *Über Texte und Sprachgebrauch von Ibn abī Uṣeibiʿa Geschichte der Aerzte*, in *SBBayer. Ak. Phil.Kl.*, 1884, 853-78

(J. VERNET)

IBN ABĪ ʿUYAYNA, name of two poets of Baṣra of the 2nd/8th century. (I) IBN ABĪ ʿUYAYNA the Younger or Abu 'l-Minhāl Abū ʿUyayna b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUyayna is the better known. He was a great-grandson of al-Muhallab and the son of a governor of al-Rayy under al-Manṣūr. Towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century he became known in Baṣra through his love poems addressed to Dunyā, the pseudonym of a distant cousin, Fāṭima, the daughter of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ (d. 153/770), who in spite of promises was refused to him and married to an ʿAbbāsid prince, ʿĪsā b. Sulaymān. He was living at Kūfa in 159/775-6, then went to Djurdjān, serving under his cousin <u>Kh</u>ālid b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim, with whom he very soon quarrelled. He was not released until the accession of al-Hādī in 169/785. He returned to Baṣra and assuaged his unhappy love and his hatred for <u>Kh</u>ālid by writing of his native town. He is mentioned under al-Ra<u>sh</u>īd. According to one tradition he was received by al-Maʾmūn, according to another, al-Maʾmūn banished him for his anti-Muḍarī opinions and he did not return to ʿIrāḳ until after this caliph's death.

From an output estimated to consist of 4,000 verses there have been collected up to now only 41 fragments totalling 325 verses, forming three groups: *<u>gh</u>azal* of Fāṭima, *hidjāʾ* of <u>Kh</u>ālid and descriptive poems about Baṣra. His themes are love, liberty and nature. He is considered as one of the four born poets among the *muwallads*.

(II) Ibn Abī ʿUyayna the Elder or Abū Djaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUyayna, brother of the above, is heard of shortly before the fall of the Barmakids (187/803) and particularly during the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. He played an important part in rallying Baṣra to the support of al-Maʾmūn in 196/812. In the same year, after the battle of al-Ahwāz, he came in contact with the general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn. For some time he was governor of Baḥrayn and of the Yamāma, then returned to Baṣra, where he took part in minor political intrigues. Later, falling out of favour with the general Ṭāhir, he remained faithful to the ʿAbbāsids and hostile to the ʿAlids. He is mentioned again in 204/819. He survived his brother and probably also al-Maʾmūn.

From a production as large as that of his brother, 26 fragments have been collected, totalling 206 verses. They consist mainly of *madḥ*, of *ʿitāb* and of *fa<u>kh</u>r*. He was more learned but perhaps also less gifted than his brother.

A third brother, Dāwūd, a very minor poet, died young before 169/785.

Bibliography: A. Ghédira, *Deux poètes contemporains de Baššar, les frères Ibn Abī ʿUyayna*, in *Arabica*, x, 154-87; idem, *Les diwans des frères Ibn Abī ʿUyayna*, in *B.Ét.Or.*, xix (1966) and bibl. there given.

(A. GHÉDIRA)

IBN ABĪ ʿUYAYNA [see MUḤ. B. ABĪ ʿUYAYNA].

IBN ABĪ ZAMANAYN, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿĪSĀ AL-MURRĪ, Andalusian poet and particularly jurist, born at Elvira in 324/936, died in the same town in 399/1009. The few verses of his which we have are of a somewhat religious nature and show a rather pessimistic attitude and a leaning to asceticism which is expressed in his *Ḥayāt al-ḳulūb*. However, he is principally known as an independent Mālikī jurist and author of several works, in particular a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, a summary of Saḥnūn's *Mudawwana*, a *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-sunna* and a formulary which has been used with others by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳaysī (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 242 n.). None of his works seems to have survived.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 160; Ibn <u>Kh</u>āḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, 49; Ibn al-Faraḍī, no. 1666; Ibn al-<u>Kh</u>aṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*², 52; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 374; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 98-9; González Palencia, *Literatura*², 61 and index; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 311; Brockelmann, I, 191; S II, 335.

(ED.)

IBN ABĪ ZARʿ, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD AL-FĀSĪ, d. between 710 and 720/1310-20 at Fez, where he was *imām*, composed a history of Morocco entitled *al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-ḳirṭās fī a<u>kh</u>bār mulūk al-Ma<u>gh</u>rib wa-taʾrī<u>kh</u> madīnat Fās*, a title often abbreviated to *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, or *Ḳirṭās*. The

text of this important work, several times printed and translated, has not yet been the object of a critical edition.

Texts of the *Ḳirṭās*: Tornberg, *Annales regum Mauritaniae*, Upsala 1843-6 (with Latin tr.); Fez, lithographed several times, *e.g.*, 1303/1885; ed. (badly) Muḥammad al-Hāshimī al-Filālī, 2 vols., Rabat 1355/1936.

Translations: Dombay, *Geschichte der mauritanischen Könige*, Agram 1794-7 (German); Moura, *Historia dos soberanos mahometanos*, Lisbon 1824 (Portuguese); Tornberg (Latin; see above); Beaumier, *Histoire des souverains du Magreb et Annales de la ville de Fès*, Paris 1860 (French); Huici, Valencia 1948 (Spanish).

Bibliography: A. Bel, *Les Benou Ghânya*, Paris 1903, introduction; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d'Occident*, Paris 1948, 33-4; E. F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord. Les siècles obscurs*[2], Paris 1942, 65-79; R. Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salouat al-Anfās*, Algiers 1905, 12-3; Brockelmann, II, 240-1, S II, 339; ʿAbd Allāh Kannūn (Guennoun), *Ibn Abī Zarʿ*, in *Mashāhīr ridjāl al-Maghrib*, no. 29, Beirut 1961. (H. R. Idris)

IBN ABI ʾL-ZAWĀʾID [see SULAYMĀN B. YAḤYĀ].

IBN ABĪ ZAYD AL-ḲAYRAWĀNĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ ZAYD ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN (310-86/922-96), head of the Mālikī school of Ḳayrawān. He came of a family from Nafzawa and studied at Ḳayrawān, his birthplace, where his knowledge, his literary gifts, his piety and his wealth very soon earned him considerable prestige throughout the Muslim world. He came under the influence of Ashʿarism, which had a large following in Ḳayrawān at that time, and also that of mysticism, against whose excesses, and especially that of miracle-working, he fought. By teaching, delivering innumerable *fatwās* and editing numerous works, he set in order, systematized and above all spread Mālikism among the people, and the triumph of Mālikism, made final by the rupture between the Zīrids and the Fāṭimids under al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, is due primarily to his activities and to those of his emulators and disciples, the most prominent of whom in continuing his work was al-Ḳābisī. Ibn Abī Zayd's many and varied works include numerous epistles. Among the works which have been preserved are a summary of Islamic dogma and liturgy, *al-ʿAḳīda aw djumla mukhtaṣara min wādjib umūr al-diyāna*, a *ḳaṣīda* on the resurrection (MS Paris, Bibl. Nat. no. 5675), a poem in honour of the Prophet (MS Brit. Mus. no. 1617), a collection of traditions (MS Brit. Mus. ii, 888); his famous *Risāla*, which he composed at the request of the pious al-Sabāʾi (d. 356/966) in 327/938, before the revolt of Abū Yazīd, when he was 17 years of age, is, in its present form, dedicated to his cousin Muḥriz b. Khalaf (d. 413/1022), who at that time was a schoolmaster and who later became, under the name of Sīdī Maḥrez, the patron saint of Tunis. This synopsis of Mālikism, a work of propaganda, the counterpart of the *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* of the famous Ismāʿīlī *ḳāḍī* Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, has from that time been the subject of continual study and commentary. It was published several times in Cairo, notably in 1323; text and partial English translation by A. D. Russell and Abdullah al-Mamun Suhrawardy, *First steps in Muslim jurisprudence*, London 1906; Fr. tr. by E. Fagnan, Paris 1914; Arabic text and Fr. tr. by L. Bercher, Algiers 1945, 1948, 1949. His main work, the summation of his knowledge, was the *Kitāb al-Nawādir wa ʾl-ziyādāt ʿala ʾl-Mudawwana*: the publication and study of what remains of this epitome of Mālikī *fiḳh* would be of great interest. His *Mukhtaṣar* of the *Mudawwana*, which was at first highly esteemed, was, however, soon eclipsed by that of al-Barādhiʿī. Ibn Abī Zayd, who has been called "Mālik the Younger", ranks with al-Abharī among the chief exponents of Mālikism. He was buried in his own house and his mausoleum, which very soon became a place of pilgrimage, still exists. His son, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Zayd, was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Ḳayrawān in 435/1043 by al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, who, as the result of an intrigue, had to revoke this appointment soon afterwards.

Bibliography: Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-īmān*, Tunis 1320, iii, 135-52; H. R. Idris, *Deux juristes kairouanais de l'époque zīrīde: Ibn Abī Zayd et al-Qābisī*, in *AIEO Alger*, 1954, 121-98; idem, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, i-ii, Paris 1962; Brockelmann, S I, 301-2. (H. R. Idris)

IBN ʿĀBIDĪN, patronymic which usually refers to two Ḥanafī jurisconsults who lived in Syria towards the end of the period of Ottoman rule. The first, Muḥammad Amīn b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿĀbidīn, born in 1198/1784 at Damascus, studied first Shāfiʿī law and later Ḥanafī law, of which he became one of the most distinguished scholars of his time; he died at Damascus in 1258/1842. His best known work is a commentary on the *Radd al-Muḥtār* of al-Ḥaṣkafī (d. 1088/1677, published in Cairo in 1299 and in Istanbul in 1307). The second, his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. ʿĀbidīn, went in 1285/1868 to Istanbul where he took part, under the direction of Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*], in the compilation of the *Madjalla* [*q.v.*]. He returned three years later to Damascus, where he died in 1306/1888.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 196, 310 and S II, 773-4; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iii, 380-6. (Ed.)

IBN ʿADHĀRĪ [see IBN ʿIDHĀRĪ].

IBN AL-ʿADĪM, KAMĀL AL-DĪN ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM ʿUMAR B. AḤMAD B. HIBAT ALLĀH, historian of Aleppo, born there in 588/1192, died in Cairo in 660/1262. A wealthy and prominent family of ʿIrāḳī Arab origin, the Banu ʾl-ʿAdīm acquired property in and around Aleppo, and a number of them rose to eminence or office under the successive dynasties that ruled in that city. For five generations they held the office of *ḳāḍī*; the historian's father was a chief *ḳāḍī* under Zangid and then Ayyūbid rule. He himself, after studies in Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Baghdād and the Ḥidjāz, served in Aleppo as a secretary, as a *ḳāḍī* and later as *wazīr* to the Ayyūbid rulers al-Malik al-ʿAzīz and al-Malik al-Nāṣir. As an official he was again able to travel extensively. In 658/1260, when the Mongols sacked Aleppo, he fled to Palestine, and thence to Egypt. Hülekü invited him to return to Syria as chief *ḳāḍī*, and the Mongol withdrawal enabled him to revisit Aleppo, but, finding it in ruins, he returned to Egypt where he died.

Ibn al-ʿAdīm is credited with a number of writings, some of them extant, of which the most important are his two historical works on Aleppo. The earlier and more extensive is the *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, a biographical dictionary in alphabetical order of men connected with Aleppo. Ten volumes survive in manuscript in Istanbul, additional manuscripts in Paris and Mosul. In these biographies Ibn al-ʿAdīm uses oral information, documents, and a great number of manuscript sources which are meticulously cited and for the most part lost. The

work is thus a major source of historiographical as well as historical information. Some extracts were published and translated by Barbier de Meynard in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades* (*RHC. Or.*, iii (1884), 695-732); the Istanbul manuscripts have been described, used, excerpted and summarized by Sauvaget, Cahen, Dahan, Lewis and Sevim, but the work as a whole still awaits an editor.

Ibn al-ʿAdīm's second historical book is the *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, a much briefer work giving the history of the city in chronological sequence, without much citation of sources, from early times to 641/1243. The Paris manuscript has for long been known to Western scholars, especially to historians of the Crusades, and was frequently cited or excerpted. Some passages were published and translated by Barbier de Meynard in *RHC. Or.*, iii (1884), 578-690, and others translated—not very well—by E. Blochet in *ROL*, iii-vi (1895-98). A critical edition was finally undertaken by Sāmī Dahān (*Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i (1-457/622-1064), Damascus 1951; ii (457-569/1064-1173), Damascus 1954; third and last volume in preparation in 1968).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I 332; S I 568-9; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 18-46 (including excerpts from his history of his own family); Sami Dahan, apud B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 111-3 and index; idem, introduction (in Arabic) to vol. i of his edition of the *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, Damascus 1951; idem, *Bughyat al-ṭalab li'bni 'l-ʿAdīm*, in *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, i/2 (1951), 207-25; J. Sauvaget, *Extraits du "Buġyat aṭ-Ṭalab"* . . ., in *RÉI*, vii (1933), 393-409; Cl. Cahen, *Les chroniques arabes* . . ., in *RÉI*, x (1936) 359; M. Canard, *Quelques observations sur l'introduction géographique de la Bughyat at'-t'alab de Kamâl ad-dîn ibn al-ʿAdîm d'Alep*, in *AIEO*, xv (1957), 41-53; Ali Sevim, *Bugyetü't-taleb fî târîh-i Haleb'e göre Sultan Alp Arslan*, in *Belleten*, xxx/118 (1966), 205-42; B. Lewis, *Three biographies from Kamāl ad-Dīn*, in *Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, Istanbul 1953, 325-44; idem, *Kamāl al-Dīn's biography of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān*, in *Arabica*, xiii (1966), 225-67; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 135 f., 147 f., and index; I. Kratchkovsky, *Avec les manuscrits arabes*, trans. M. Canard, Algiers 1954, 7-9. (B. LEWIS)

IBN ʿADJARRAD [see ʿADJĀRIDA].

IBN AL-ADJDĀBĪ, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭarābulusī, philologist, native of Adjdābiya (between Barḳa and Tripoli), who lived in the 6th/12th century and died in about 650/1251. He is the author of a number of works, of which reference is made particularly to his *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ* (ed. Damascus 1964, by ʿIzzat Ḥasan, as *al-Azmina wa'l-anwāʾ*) and to a short treatise on lexicography entitled *Kifāyat al-mutaḥaffiẓ wa-nihāyat al-mutalaffiẓ*, printed in Egypt in 1285/1868 and in Beirut in 1305/1887.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 130; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 178; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 54; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 328. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN ʿADJĪBA, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MAHDĪ IBN ʿADJĪBA AL-ḤASANĪ, Moroccan *Ṣūfī* of Sharīfian origin, was one of the most distinguished representatives of the mystical order of the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*]. He was born in 1160 or 1161/1746-7 at al-Khamīs, an important village of the Andjra tribe (Mediterranean coastal region of Morocco, between Tangier and Tetuan). Having been attracted from his childhood to devotional observance and religious learning, he studied assiduously the 'reading' of the Ḳurʾān, theology, holy law and philology, first with local *fuḳahāʾ*, then in Tetuan, where his tutors were ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ḳurrish, Muḥammad Djanwī and Muḥammad Warzīzī, and finally in Fez, where he gained licenses to teach (*idjāza*) from Tawdī Ibn Sūda and Muḥammad Bannīs. When about thirty years old, he returned to Tetuan and there taught *sharīʿa* and wrote works of *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, and his first commentaries on mystical works. Greatly impressed by reading the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] of Alexandria, he decided to devote himself to the way of mysticism and, in 1208/1794, became a disciple of *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Būzīdī (d. 1814), a direct pupil of Mawlāy Darḳāwī. He now made a dramatic break with his past life, renounced his office and his possessions, donned the patched garment (*muraḳḳaʿa*), became a beggar and a water-carrier, and was even thrown into prison for several days in Tetuan with other *fuḳarāʾ* charged with reprehensible innovations (*bidʿa*). After this time of trial, of which he has left a very vivid account in his autobiography (*Fahrasa*), he achieved enlightenment and the rôle of spiritual guide (*shaykh ṭariḳa*). He set out then to preach the "return to God" and the Ṣūfī path in the northern villages of the Djbāla, where he founded numerous *zāwiyas*. His literary output during these years was most prolific and it reveals a great pedagogic ability, in which the teaching of the *faḳīh* is harmoniously integrated in an original mystical experience, and in which exoteric knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-ẓāhir*) provides the basis for achieving esoteric knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-bāṭin*). It was Ibn ʿAdjība's mastery in treating allusions of a spiritual kind (*ʿilm al-ishāra*) which was to earn him his enduring fame. Struck down by plague, he died in his master's house, in Ghmāra, on 7 Shawwāl 1224/15 November 1809. His tomb, which dominates the hamlet of Zammīdj (20 kilometres south-east of Tangiers), is the focal point every year of a *mawsim* (14 September) celebrated by the Darḳāwa-ʿAdjībiyya.

Works: In his *Fahrasa*, Ibn ʿAdjība drew up a list of his works, which appears to follow approximately the chronological order of their composition. It is as follows, with the addition of a few details on the published works: (1) and (2) *Sharḥ al-Hamziyya* and *Sharḥ al-Burda* (al-Būṣīrī); (3) *Sharḥ al-Waẓīfa* (Zarrūḳ); (4) *Sharḥ al-Ḥizb al-kabīr* (Shādhilī); (5) *Sharḥ Asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*; (6) *Sharḥ al-Munfaridja* (Ibn Naḥwī); (7) *Sharḥ Tāʾiyya* (Djaʿīdī); (8) *K. fī ʿilm al-niyya*; (9) *K. fī dhamm al-ghība wa-madḥ al-ʿuzla wa 'l-ṣamt*; (10) *Taʾlīf fi 'l-adhkār al-nabawiyya*; (11) *Arbaʿīn ḥadīth*; (12) *al-Ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashara*; (13) *Azhār al-bustān* (*Ṭabaḳāt mālikiyya*); (14) *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Mukhtaṣar Khalīl*; (15) *Sharḥ Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn* (Djazārī); (16) *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam* (Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh) (pub. in combination with (17), Cairo 1331/1913, and separately, Cairo 1381/1961); (17) *Sharḥ al-Mabāḥith al-aṣliyya* (Tudjībī); (18) *Sharḥ Taṣliya* (Ibn Mashīsh); (19), (20), (21) *Sharḥ al-Fātiḥa* (3 separate commentaries on the first *sūra* of the Ḳurʾān, one of them short, another long, and the third very brief); (22) *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* (commentary on the Ḳurʾān in 4 volumes, of which i and ii at least have been published: Cairo 1375/1955 and 1376/1956); (23) *Sharḥ al-Khamriyya* (Ibn al-Fāriḍ); (24) *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīda* (*Rifāʿī*); (25) *Sharḥ Muḳaṭṭaʿāt* (Shushtarī); (26) *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīda fi 'l-sulūk* (Būzīdī); (27) *K. fi 'l-ḳaḍāʾ wa-l-ḳadar*; (28) *Sharḥ abyāt* (Ibn ʿArabī); (29) *Fi 'l-khamra al-azaliyya*; (30) *Fi 'l-ṭalāsim* (this work, and the preceding one, are

short metaphysical treatises in which the author propounds, without actually naming it, the theory of the oneness of existence: *waḥdat al-wudjūd*. In the first, he demonstrates how the Divine Essence remains identical to itself before and after its irradiation—*tadjallī*—in existence; in the second, he describes the existential veils behind which the one Essence conceals itself and through which it may be grasped according to three increasingly perfect modes of unity: *tawḥīd al-afʿāl, tawḥīd al-ṣifāt, tawḥīd al-dhāt*); (31) *Sharḥ Taṣliya* (Ibn ʿArabī); (32) *Sharḥ Nūniyya* (Shushtarī); (33) *Miʿrādj al-tashawwuf ilā ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-taṣawwuf* (glossary of technical terms of Ṣūfism; published Damascus 1355/1937 by al-Hāshimī [*q.v.*]; Fr. tr. by J. L. Michon, see *Bibl.*); (34), (35) *Sharḥ Tāʾiyya fi ʾl-Khamra* (two commentaries, one short and one long, on a poem by his master Būzīdī); (36) *Sharḥ al-Ādjurrūmiyya* (commentary on two levels, grammatical and esoteric, of the treatise on grammar by Ibn Adjurrūm; a *tadjrīd* giving only the esoteric commentary has been published, Istanbul 1315); (37) *Ḥāshiya ʿala ʾl-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (al-Suyūṭī); (38) *Dīwān* (4 *ḳaṣīda*s and various *tawshīḥāt*, about 200 verses in all). To this list must be added: (38) the *Fahrasa* itself and some works not mentioned therein, probably because they were composed not long before the author's death: (39) *Sharḥ ʿAyniyya* (al-Djīlī); (40) *Tabṣīrāt darḳāwiyya*; (41) *Taʿrīf Mawlāy Darḳāwī*; (42) *Fi ʾl-mawadda*; (43) *Aḥzāb* (*Ḥizb al-ḥifẓ, Ḥizb al-ʿizz* and *Ḥizb al-fatḥ*).

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal devoted a notice to Ibn ʿAdjība in *Les historiens des Chorfa* 336. In Arabic, several of his contemporaries painted glowing portraits of him: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Kūhin (see *ibid.*, 340) and in particular Būziyyān al-Mʿaskarī (*Ṭabaḳāt darḳāwiyya*). Sporadic references to his works are found in bibliographical compilations (F. Bustāni, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 358; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*, 169-70) and in manuscript catalogues (Allouche and Regragui, *Mss. Ar. Rabat*, i, *passim*). The contemporary historian Muḥammad Dāwūd accords him a prominent place in his *Taʾrīkh Tiṭwān* (see vol. iii, 1962, *passim* and vol. vi, to appear). These sources and data drawn from the author's writings have been gathered together in a study by J. L. Michon, *Ibn ʿAdjība et son Miʿrādj* (thesis, Paris 1966).

(J.-L. MICHON)

IBN ĀDJURRŪM, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. DĀWŪD AL-SANHĀDJĪ, Moroccan grammarian born 672/1273-4, died 723/1323 at Fez, where he taught grammar and the art of Ḳurʾānic recitation. Ibn Ādjurrūm is the author of a celebrated *Muḳaddima* which bears his name, a little treatise of a few pages in which he sets out the system of the *iʿrāb* of words. This summary syntax, easy to memorize, has enjoyed to the present day great popularity in all the Arabic-speaking countries, in the west as well as in the east. Because of its extreme conciseness, the *Muḳaddima* has provoked about 60 commentaries by subsequent grammarians, which testify to its wide diffusion among teachers. The *Muḳaddima* has been known in Europe since the 10th/16th century, being one of the first treatises available to Arabists for the study of the Arabic grammatical system. It has been published a dozen times and translated into most European languages. It is to be remarked that al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 102) considers Ibn Ādjurrūm to represent the Kūfa grammatical school, basing himself on the fact that he uses the term *khafḍ*, and that he considers the imperative to be *muʿrab* and the particle *kayfamā* to govern the *djazm*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 308-10, S II, 332-5; M. al-Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa*, Baghdād 1955, 117; G. Troupeau, *Trois traductions latines de la Muqaddima d'Ibn Ādjurrūm*, in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris 1962, 359-65. (G. TROUPEAU)

IBN AL-ʿAFĪF AL-TILIMSĀNĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ʿAFĪF AL-DĪN SULAYMĀN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-TILIMSĀNĪ, nicknamed AL-SHĀBB AL-ẒARĪF, "the witty young man", was a poet of great skill.

His father, ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī [see AL-TILIMSĀNĪ], was a mystic who had left Tlemcen and settled in the *khānḳāh* of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ in Cairo, where the poet was born on 10 Djumādā II 661/21 April 1263. While still young, Ibn al-ʿAfīf went with his father to Damascus, where he completed his education under the direction of his father and a number of other scholars. He very soon obtained the post of treasurer, and lived at the foot of Mount Ḳāsiyūn.

From his youth he had devoted himself to poetry, with the encouragement of his acquaintances. His literary fame spread quickly; he secured access to the important people of his time, presenting his panegyrics to them, and in particular wrote of the merits of al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, the Ayyūbid ruler of Ḥamāt.

His poetry, relaxed in style, was highly thought of, but his enemies, jealous of his success, conspired against him; for some time he resisted this, then finally decided to retreat from the world and shut himself away in his own house. He died while still very young, at the age of 27, on 14 Radjab 688/3 August 1289.

Ibn al-ʿAfīf led a free and easy existence. His poetic gifts find expression chiefly in poems of love and wine, which reflect the dissolute life of the period; he wrote also *dūbayt*s and *muwashshaḥāt*. His skill and facility of expression enabled him to avoid the mannered style in vogue in the poetry of his time. The love poems, generally addressed to men, could be given a Ṣūfī interpretation, but this is not very probable.

The *dīwān* of Ibn al-ʿAfīf, although rather short, has enjoyed a lasting fame; it has been published several times in Cairo (1274, 1281, 1308) and in Beirut (1885, 1891, 1907), but these editions are very mediocre (a critical edition is at present (1967) in preparation in Paris; on the manuscripts see Brockelmann, I, 300, S I, 458, adding MS Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya, no. 5126). There exist also some *Maḳāmāt* by him (MSS Paris 3176, 3947; Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı 2402; Berlin 8594), one of which has been published in Damascus, n.d., and two *khuṭbas* (MS Berlin 3953).

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 422; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, MS British Museum, Or. 53, fol. 62 v.; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, iii, 129-36; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 405; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vii, 381; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1786; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 21; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, x, 53; Brockelmann, I, 300, S I, 458. (J. RIKABI)

IBN (AL-)AḤMAR, byname of several poets, including an Iyādī (see Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 38), a Kinānī (*ibid.*), a Badjalī (*op. cit.*, 37; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 214) and a Bāhilī, who is the best known. The sources vary considerably with regard to the genealogy of this poet, but he seems to have been called Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb ʿAmr b. (al-) Aḥmar b.

al-ʿAmarrad b. Tamīm b. Rabīʿa b. Ḥirām b. Farrāṣ b. Maʿn b. Aʿṣur al-Bāhilī. He is included among the *mukhaḍramūn* [*q.v.*], embraced Islam, took part in the conquests in South-west Asia (in the course of which he lost an eye), settled in Syria and died during the caliphate of ʿUthmān. His poems do not seem to have been collected, but he is often quoted as an authority on the Arabic language, although he is criticized for having invented four words. Ibn Sallām, who places him in the third rank of Islamic poets, appreciates his language, but thinks that he uses too many rare expressions. Numerous apophthegms appear in his poems, and a description of sand-grouse (*ḳaṭā*) has remained famous.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, *Anwāʾ*, *Adab al-kātib*, index; idem, *Shiʿr*, 315-8; idem, *Maʿārif*, 587; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 187; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ii, 314; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, index; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 492-3; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ḳurashī, *Djamhara*, 158-60; Djawālīḳī, *Muʿarrab*, 104, 142; *Aghānī*, xiii, 144; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 37; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 214; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 53; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Aḍdād*, index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ ed., iii, 38-9; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 6466; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 300; Abkāryūs, 230-1; Maʿarrī, *Ghufrān*, index. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN AL-AḤNAF [see ʿABBĀS B. AL-AḤNAF].

IBN AL-AHTAM [see ʿAMR B. AL-AHTAM].

IBN ʿĀʾIDH, the author of a work on the Raids (*maghāzī* [*q.v.*]), used by such later authors as Ibn Sayyid al-Nās and al-Dhahabī. His given name was Muḥammad. His *kunya* is variously given as Abū ʿAbd Allāh or Abū Aḥmad, and his grandfather's name as Saʿīd or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Born in Damascus in 150/767, he died there on Thursday, 25 Rabīʿ II 233/8 December 847 (or in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 232/July-August 847, or in 234/848), having been the tax collector for the Ghūṭa under al-Maʾmūn. As a historian, he stands in the tradition of al-Walīd b. Muslim and al-Wāḳidī on the one side, and Abū Zurʿa al-Dimashḳī, Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī, and Yaʿḳūb b. Sufyān on the other. All this information is found in the rather lengthy biography in the *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* (Ms. Yale L-312 [Nemoy 1182], ii, 102a-103b), drawing together the older sources and, in turn, serving as the main or exclusive source for later biographers. The *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* further credits Ibn ʿĀʾidh with a work on the Muslim Conquests and the Summer Campaigns and quotes some non-historical statements in his name. Since that name is not infrequent, however, it is not impossible that Ibn ʿAsākir conflated one or more persons. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the *Fihrist*, 109, mentions a historian Ibn ʿĀbid (*sic*) as the author of a history of kings and nations, and this, in turn, obscures the relevance of the reference to a historian of the same name in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 11. If Ibn ʿĀʾidh left no mark in the earlier historical literature known so far, this may be due to his having represented a Syrian tradition unpopular at the time. It may be noted that (if we are dealing with one person) he was considered reliable as a transmitter, but he was also described as a Muʿtazilī (*ḳadarī*).

Bibliography: al-Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1, 207; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Djarḥ*, iv, 1, 52; (al-Dawlābī, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi, Ibn Mākūlā, all the preceding cited in *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*); al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii, 181; al-Dhahabī. *ʿIbar*, Kuwait 1960, i, 414 (copied by Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 78); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, i, 321-26; al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 320, 322, 430, 432, (509). (F. Rosenthal)

IBN ʿĀʾISHA, by-name of several persons, who may be distinguished as follows:

I. Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾisha, Abū Djaʿfar, Medinan singer of unknown father. A pupil of Maʿbad and of Mālik, he was regarded as the equal if not the superior of his masters, and celebrated for his skill at launching into a performance. He was highly respected at Mecca and at Medina, but, extremely vain, he would become very angry when asked to sing. He was invited to the court of Damascus, probably by al-Walīd b. Yazīd but during the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43), and died accidentally on the way back, at Dhū Khushub, when loaded with presents. Two monographs at least were devoted to him, one by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed. 1348, 202), the other by Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī (*ibid.*, 212).

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, Beirut ed., ii, 170-207; Ḥuṣrī, *Djamʿ*, 62, 162; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 330-4.

II. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām, known as Ibn ʿĀʾisha after his grandmother ʿĀʾisha bint Sulaymān b. ʿAlī. Having hatched a plot against al-Maʾmūn, he was put to death in prison by the caliph and his body was hung up in a street of Baghdād in 209/824-5.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1022, 1073, 1075; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 78-80; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 489; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 329.

III. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Taymī, Abū Bakr, genealogist, collector of traditions, and wit of Baṣra, who owes his by-name Ibn ʿĀʾisha (al-Akbar) to ʿĀʾisha bint Ṭalḥa [*q.v.*], from whom he was descended.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 12, ii, 155; idem, *Bayān*, i, 102, 320, ii, 290; Ṭabarī, index; *Aghānī*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 343.

IV. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b Ḥafṣ, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥman, the son of the preceding, from whom he takes his by-name Ibn ʿĀʾisha (al-Aṣghar) or al-ʿĀʾishī, or even al-ʿAyshī. Also a traditionist, a *rāwī* and a celebrated orator, he settled in Baghdād in 219/834. He was considered very learned and is often quoted in *isnāds*, and it is generally he who is meant when the name Ibn ʿĀʾisha alone is used. He reports very many historical and religious traditions on the authority of his father, and is even said to have been the author of an historical work. He died at Baṣra in 228/843.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 102, 194, 239, 320; idem, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 12; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 453, 523, 598; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 288; Shaʿrānī, *Ansāb*, 379; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, 45; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 329-30. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN ʿAḲĪL, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Hāshimī, born 694/1294 (or 698 or 700), died 769/1367, an important Shāfiʿī jurisconsult and grammarian. A native of Bālis [*q.v.*] in Syria, he arrived destitute in Cairo, where his ability was recognized by his teacher in grammar, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī [*q.v.*]. His main teachers in *fiḳh* were, among others, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ḳōnawī (Brockelmann, II, 105; S II, 101) and the Chief *Ḳāḍī* Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 238); having held various posts as substitute *ḳāḍī*

(*nāʾib*), he became the substitute of the Chief *Ḳāḍī* ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa [*q.v.*], but was dismissed by him on account of unseemliness in a discussion. Ibn ʿAḳīl, however, won the favour of the *amīr* Ṣarghitmish, and the *amīr* dismissed Ibn Djamāʿa and put Ibn ʿAḳīl in his place in 759/1358. But when Ṣarghitmish fell from power immediately afterwards, Ibn Djamāʿa was reinstalled, and the term of office of Ibn ʿAḳīl lasted only 80 days. Ibn ʿAḳīl's short term of office became memorable through his considerable distributions of charity to the poor and the students, including a legacy of 150,000 *dirhams* which he distributed in sums ranging from 1 to 10 *dīnārs*. He also showed concern for the interests of ordinary people in the matter of making valid legacies.

Ibn ʿAḳīl taught several subjects of religious learning in a number of institutions, including *tafsīr* in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn; his course took 23 years, and after that he started it again but did not live to complete it. His literary output does not seem to have been very considerable; he wrote a commentary on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*], on which al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] wrote a gloss, and another commentary on the same author's *Tashīl*, both of which have been preserved; he also started an extremely detailed work, variously called *Taysīr al-istiʿdād li-rutbat al-idjtihād* and *al-Taʾsīs li-madhhab Ibn Idrīs*, in which he set out the *ikhtilāf* and the various arguments, deciding in favour of the doctrine which he found best supported by traditions; four parts of it exist.

Ibn ʿAḳīl was very elegant in his dress, his food and his dwelling, and liked to mix in high society where he was well liked, but he was unreliable in business matters, though generous, and he died in debt. Sirādj al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī [*q.v.*] was his son-in-law.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ii, 266 ff. (no. 2157); Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, ii, 347 f.; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1321, i, 257 (a short notice among the grammarians); idem, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, 284 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vi, 214 (year 769); al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348, i, 386 (no. 171); Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt*, iii, 458; Catalogue Cairo[1], iii, 212; Brockelmann, II, 108, § 11 (at the end, read: Kairo[2] II, 121); S II, 104, § 12 (at the end, read: Kairo[2] II, 158). (J. Schacht)

IBN ʿAḲĪL, Abu 'l-Wafāʾ ʿAlī b. ʿAḳīl b. Muḥammad b. ʿAḳīl b. Aḥmad al-Baghdādī al-Ẓafarī, Ḥanbalī jurist and theologian (431/1040-513/1119), a great Sunnī personality whose life and writings shed light on one of the most important periods in the development of Muslim religious thought, and who stands at the head of a progressive movement within Sunnī traditionalism.

Family origins and early youth. Ibn ʿAḳīl was born in Baghdād, on the left bank quarter of Bāb al-Ṭāḳ (see his *Kitāb al-Funūn*, fol. 12b: "... Bāb al-Ṭāḳ, the quarter in which I was born"), in Djumādā II 431/February-March 1040. This fact, when added to others cited below, leaves little doubt that he belonged to a Ḥanafī family, not only on his mother's side (G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 387), but also on that of his father. Some of his earliest recollections went back to this quarter where the great Ḥanafī mosque-college was located, along with the Shrine of Abū Ḥanīfa and the great Ḥanafī cemetery. Muʿtazilism, during this period, had found a refuge within the Ḥanafī school of law, which helps to explain the interest Ibn ʿAḳīl took in Muʿtazilism, the independence of spirit which was never to leave him and which was to endow the Ḥanbalī movement with a new direction and renewed vigour.

Education. This precocious young man had broad interests ranging from Ḳurʾān and traditions, grammar and belles-lettres, asceticism and Ṣūfism, prosody and the art of letter-writing, to those subjects in which he particularly excelled, the art of the sermon, dogmatic theology, dialectics and legal studies. Of the twenty-three teachers he himself names as those under whom he studied, only two belonged to the Ḥanbalī School, Abū Yaʿlā and Abū Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (d. 488/1095). The others were Shāfiʿī, notably Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (d. 478/1085-6); Ḥanafī, including *Ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī (d. 478/1085-6); as well as Muʿtazilī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Barhān (d. 456/1064), Abū ʿAlī b. al-Walīd (d. 478/1086) and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. al-Tabbān (date of death unknown). He owed his interest in belles-lettres to the paternal side of his family who, in his own words, "were all writers, secretaries, poets and men of letters". His talent as a writer of prose is evident especially in his sermons and meditations.

For eleven years, Ibn ʿAḳīl pursued legal studies under the direction of the Ḥanbalī *ḳaḍī* Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ. These years fall between two of the most significant dates of his life: 447/1055-458/1066. The first date was linked in his mind with the entry of the Saldjūḳid hordes into Baghdād, when their ruthless pillaging of his quarter of Bāb al-Ṭāḳ forced him to move. His moving from Bāb al-Ṭāḳ coincided with the beginning of his adhesion to the Ḥanbalī school. At this time, the great Ḥanbalī merchant Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf (d. 460/1067-8) was playing an important political rôle behind the scenes in Baghdād. It was he who suggested to the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim the appointment of the Ḥanafī Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī (d. 478) as Chief *Ḳāḍī*, a political gesture to conciliate the Ḥanafī Saldjūḳids. In his later reminiscences, Ibn ʿAḳīl speaks of Abū Manṣūr as instrumental in increasing the membership of the Ḥanbalī school through his generous patronage. As Ibn ʿAḳīl was his protégé, it is very likely that Abū Manṣūr was instrumental in Ibn ʿAḳīl's joining the Ḥanbalī school at this time. Thus the event which marked the beginning of a new era for the ʿAbbāsid capital marked also the beginning of a new era in Ibn ʿAḳīl's life at the age of sixteen. The second date, that of the death of his teacher Abū Yaʿlā in 458/1066, marks the beginning of his troubles within the Ḥanbalī school.

Persecution and exile. Ibn ʿAḳīl's intellectual curiosity stubbornly resisted confinement within the limits of the traditional sciences held in honour in the Ḥanbalī school at this time. Before the death of his teacher Abū Yaʿlā in 458, he had already frequented the study circles of Muʿtazilī masters, had delved into the study of *kalām*, vigorously condemned by Ḥanbalism, and had become interested in the writings of the great mystic of *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*]. In one of his reminiscences, he remarks that his Ḥanbalī companions wanted him to abandon the company of certain scholars, and complains that it hindered him from acquiring useful knowledge.

His appointment to a chair in the Cathedral Mosque of al-Manṣūr after his teacher Abū Yaʿlā died in 458, an appointment made possible by his patron Abū Manṣūr, earned him the hostility of a group of Ḥanbalīs led by the *Sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar (d. 470). The latter, twenty years the senior of Ibn ʿAḳīl, apparently resented the early distinction conferred upon the young man. After the death of

Abū Manṣūr in 460 and the consequent loss of his protection, Ibn ʿAkīl had to go into hiding to escape the wrath of this group. From 460 to 465, he lived in exile in the quarter of Bāb al-Marātib under the protection of Abu ʾl-Kāsim b. Riḍwān, also a wealthy Ḥanbalī merchant, son-in-law of Abū Manṣūr.

Public retraction. On Monday 8 Muḥarram 465/24 September 1072, in the mosque of the *Sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar located in the quarter of Nahr al-Muʿallā, on the east side of Baghdād, Ibn ʿAkīl read the text of his retraction in the presence of a numerous gathering. The written retraction was then signed by five *shuhūd*-notaries, including two sons and two sons-in-law of the late Abū Manṣūr. Two days later, in another ceremony in the Caliphal *Dīwān*, Ibn ʿAkīl signed his retraction. In this document, Ibn ʿAkīl retracted writings in favour of Ḥalladj and of certain Muʿtazilī doctrines.

There is no doubt that the Ḥanbalī school as a whole was opposed to Muʿtazilism; and theie is no reason to doubt Ibn ʿAkīl's sincerity regarding his abjuration of Muʿtazilism. Although his later writings owe much to the spirit of inquiry he may have gained from his Muʿtazilī professors, he cannot be said to share their theological doctrines. Therefore, in so far as Muʿtazilism is concerned, Ibn ʿAkīl was thoroughly sincere in his retraction and remained afterwards true to Ḥanbalism.

However, as regards Ḥalladj, Ibn ʿAkīl's sincerity in retracting his veneration for him is, one may safely say, open to doubt. He was probably practising *taḳiyya*, prudent dissimulation, in renouncing his writings on the celebrated Muslim saint. In so doing he was not going against the teachings of his school; for Ḥanbalism's attitude towards al-Ḥallādj was, and remained long afterwards, divided. When the Ḥanbalī Ibn Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223) transmitted the text of Ibn ʿAkīl's retraction, he omitted the reference to al-Ḥallādj, undoubtedly because of his own Ṣūfī tendencies. The Ḥanbalī Ṭawfī (d. 715/1316), who abridged one of Ibn Ḳudāma's works, believed in the sainthood of Ḥallādj. Ḥanbalism was not opposed to Ṣūfism as such, since some of the greatest Ṣūfīs have come from its ranks, as for instance, al-Anṣārī al-Harawī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], founder of the first Ṣūfī brotherhood, the Ḳādiriyya. After the public retraction, the *Sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar is said to have had condemned writings of Ibn ʿAkīl returned to him with the understanding that he would destroy them himself. According to some he destroyed them, but others say that they appeared after his death. We have the testimony of Ibn al-Djawzī, who reported that he had in his own possession the autograph copy of a treatise of Ibn ʿAkīl written in praise of al-Ḥallādj: *Djuzʾ fī naṣr karāmāt al-Ḥallādj*.

Judgments of posterity. Ibn al-Djawzī, who was greatly influenced by the writings of Ibn ʿAkīl, especially in the field of sermon writing, attributes Ibn ʿAkīl's troubles to his intellectual curiosity, and believes that he repented of his innovating tendencies. The Shāfiʿī Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī also holds this view. The Ḥanbalī jurists Ibn Ḳudāma and Ibn Radjab, and the Shāfiʿī Ibn Kathīr, while not condemning Ibn ʿAkīl outright, believe that he never quite rid himself of his Muʿtazilī tendencies. On the other hand, the celebrated Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya held that Ibn ʿAkīl, who fell at first under the influence of Djahmism and Muʿtazilism, rallied in the latter part of his life to the purist form of orthodoxy.

Principal works. The works of Ibn ʿAkīl have not yet been critically edited and published, and therefore his thought cannot as yet be properly studied. G. Makdisi is now in the process of editing the followings works. (1) *Kitāb al-Funūn*; this is the most important work of Ibn ʿAkīl. Historians are not in agreement as to the extent of this work, the figures given ranging from two hundred to as many as eight hundred volumes; only one volume is known to be extant. An abridgment in ten volumes (not extant) was made by Ibn al-Djawzī. Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī reports having studied close to seventy volumes in the *waḳf* of the Maʾmūniyya in Baghdād. It is a journal of encyclopaedic range, covering all sorts of subjects and attesting its author's wide range of interests. (2) *Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*; a work on the methodology of law in three volumes; all extant. (3) A series of brief treatises on the nature of the Ḳurʾān, written in refutation of Ashʿarī doctrines. (4) *Kitāb al-Djadal*; a work on dialectics in one volume.

Among his other important works, now lost: *Kitāb al-Irshād fī uṣūl al-dīn*, on theology; *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Ahl al-Ḥadīth*, in defence of the traditionalists.

Bibliography: On the public retraction of Ibn ʿAkīl, see I. Goldziher, *Zur Geschichte der ḥanbalitischen Bewegungen*, in *ZDMG*, lxii (1908), 20-1; L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hosayn ibn Mansour al-Hallâj*, Paris 1914-22, 366, 367; for details of the affair, see G. Makdisi, *Nouveaux détails sur l'affaire d'Ibn ʿAqīl*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, iii, 91-126. For Ibn ʿAkīl in the history of Ḥanbalism, see H. Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous le Califat de Baghdad*, in *REI* (1959), 104-5. For bibliography and further details on Ibn ʿAkīl, see G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus (*PIFD*) 1963, esp. ch. V, and index s.v. (G. Makdisi)

IBN ʿALĪWA, Shaykh Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-ʿAlawī al-Mustaghānimī, *ṣūfī* and poet, born at Mostaganem in Algeria in 1286/1869 of a distinguished but at that time indigent family. He never went to school and his handwriting remained unproficient all his life, but he was taught to read and given lessons in the Ḳurʾān by his father, though even these had to be cut short owing to his family's poverty, which forced him, at an early age, to take to cobbling and then later to open a small shop. In his spare time he attended a course of lessons in the Islamic doctrine of Divine Unity (*tawḥīd*). His father died when he was 16, and not long afterwards he entered the ʿĪsāwī [*q.v.*] *ṭarīḳa*, where he became quite expert in the "wonder-working" practices of that order. He soon, however, began to have doubts about the spiritual value of these practices and gradually ceased to attend the meetings, but he continued, as he tells us, to charm snakes by himself until he came into contact with Muḥammad al-Būzīdī, a *shaykh* of the Ḍarḳāwī-Shādhilī *ṭarīḳa* [see darḳāwa], who told him one day to bring a snake and charm it in front of him. When this had been done, he told him never to revert to the practice again but to devote himself to mastering the far more poisonous and intractable snake of his own soul. Having received him into his *ṭarīḳa* he forbade him to continue attending the course of lessons, on the grounds that *tawḥīd* was too transcendent for purely outward or mental understanding, and that it requires inward or intellectual understanding, to awaken which he told him to concentrate on the invocation of the Divine Name, *dhikr Allāh*. Later he authorized him to resume the lessons. He made him a

muḳaddam, with authority to initiate novices into the order, at the age of 25.

On the death of the *shaykh* al-Būzīdī 15 years later, in 1909, the members of the order insisted that Aḥmad b. ʿAlīwa should be their *shaykh*. Some five years later he decided to make his *zāwiya* independent of the mother-*zāwiya* of the Darḳāwa in Morocco, and the new branch was styled *al-Ṭarīḳa al-ʿAlawiyya al-Darḳāwiyya al-Shādhiliyya*, whence he himself came to be known as the *Shaykh* al-ʿAlawī. One of the reasons for the "rupture", which seems to have taken place more or less amicably, was that he felt the need to introduce, as part of his method, the practice of spiritual retreat (*khalwa* [*q.v.*]) in an isolated cell under his close supervision rather than in the wilds of nature according to the traditional Darḳāwī-Shādhilī practice.

His fame spread over North Africa and a large *zāwiya* overlooking the sea was built at Tidgitt, the purely Arab quarter of Mostaganem. As perhaps the most eminent representative of Ṣūfism in his day, and looked upon by many as the *mudjaddid* (renewer) of Islam in its 14th century, he inevitably came into conflict with the enemies of Ṣūfism, in particular members of the "reformist" Salafiyya [*q.v.*] group. Partly as an antidote to their paper *al-Shihāb*, published at Constantine, he started a weekly review at Algiers, *al-Balāgh al-Djazāʾirī*, in which, in addition to his vindications of Ṣūfism, he attacked the so-called "reformers" for their continual yielding to the modern age at the expense of religion. For Muslims in general he stressed the importance of mastering classical Arabic, and inveighed against westernization and in particular against the wearing of modern European dress. Although he discouraged his fellow-countrymen from becoming naturalized French citizens, and although the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khaṭṭābī [*q.v.*] was among his disciples and in correspondence with him, the French authorities avoided taking any drastic action against him personally; but they were uneasy about him, on account of his great influence, and at least once his movements were restricted. By the time of his death in 1934, he was said to have more than 200,000 disciples; he had *zawāyā* all over North Africa and also in Damascus [see AL-HĀSHIMĪ], Jaffa, Gaza, Falūja, Aden and Addis Ababa, and in Europe at The Hague, Marseilles, Paris and Cardiff. His numerous Yemenī disciples, many of them seamen, established also other *zawāyā* at various ports.

Aḥmad b. ʿAlīwa was a great lover of poetry and music. According to one of the many Europeans who knew him, "a remarkable radiance emanated from him, an irresistible personal magnetism"; according to another, to meet him was like "coming face to face, in mid-twentieth century, with a mediaeval Saint or a Semitic Patriarch". As regards the title of A. Berque's monograph on him, *Un mystique moderniste* (*Revue Africaine*, 1936, 691-776), the "modernism" appears to have been nothing other than the breadth of his spiritual interests : "To the very end he remained a lover of metaphysical investigation. There are few problems which he had not broached, scarcely any philosophies whose essence he had not extracted". This intellectual amplitude went hand in hand with a profound conservatism and an implacable orthodoxy. Especially characteristic of him is his insistence on the ideal of doing justice to the religion of Islam as an indivisible triplicity, *islām*, *īmān* and *iḥsān* (corresponding to law, dogma and mysticism) by fulfilling, in the highest sense, each domain, so that they become respectively *istislām* (joyous submission to the law), *īḳān* (certainty of faith) and *ʿiyān* (beatific vision). One of the Ḳurʾānic verses most often quoted by him is : "He is the First and the Last and the Outwardly Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden", a verse on which, amongst others, is grounded the basic doctrine of Islamic mysticism, *waḥdat al-wudjūd* [*q.v.*], Oneness of Being. Most of his writings, and not least his poems, contain masterly formulations of this doctrine.

Apart from one tract, *Nūr al-ithmid*, which is confined to the domain of jurisprudence (concerning the posture of the hands in the ritual prayer), his other writings, about 15 in all, are directly or indirectly on Ṣūfism. Of special importance is *al-Minaḥ al-ḳuddūsiyya* written during his *shaykh*'s lifetime and with his encouragement, an extensive commentary on Ibn ʿĀshir's [*q.v.*] *al-Murshid al-muʿīn*. Here he expounds the inward or mystical significance of every feature of Islamic doctrine and ritual, including even details of the *sunna*. In *al-Unmūdhadj al-farīd*, using the symbolism of the letters of the alphabet, he treats of the highest aspect of the doctrine, expounding the relationship between the Divine Essence, Divine Being and the Supreme Spirit. The starting point for this treatise appears to be ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī's *al-Kahf wa 'l-Raḳīm*, but Aḥmad b. ʿAlīwa's treatment is the more subtle. In *Lubāb al-ʿilm fī Sūrat Wa-'l-Nadjm*, he explains the nature of the Prophet's two visions referred to in Ḳurʾān LIII, one with the heart (*fuʾād*) and the other with the eye (*baṣar*). These three works, together with his poems (the third edition of his *Dīwān* was published in Damascus in 1963), are perhaps the most profound of his writings. His earliest book in vindication of Ṣūfism, *al-Ḳawl al-maʿrūf*, first published in 1920, was followed up in 1927 by *Risālat al-Nāṣir Maʿrūf*, an anthology of pronouncements in praise of Ṣūfism by eminent jurists and theologians from the 2nd/8th until the present century. The first part of *al-Mawādd al-ghaythiyya*, his commentary on the aphorisms of Shuʿayb Abū Madyan, was published in 1942, but the second part has not yet been published, neither has his commentary on the *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* and the first 40 verses of the *Sūrat al-Baḳara*, in which each verse is given four different interpretations ranging from the literal to the purely spiritual. The unique manuscripts of these unpublished works are at Mostaganem.

Bibliography: in addition to the works already mentioned: *al-Shahāʾid wa 'l-fatāwī fīmā ṣaḥh laday al-ʿulamāʾ min amr al-shaykh al-ʿAlāwī* (collected by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bārī), Tunis 1925; F. Schuon, *Rahimahu Llah* in *Cahiers du Sud*, 1935; ʿUddah b. Tūnis, *al-Rawḍa al-saniyya fi 'l-maʾāthir al-ʿalawiyya*, Mostaganem 1936 (containing the *shaykh*'s dictated autobiography as far as 1910); A. Merad, *Le réformisme musulman en Algérie*, Paris and The Hague 1967, *passim*; M. Lings, *A Moslem Saint of the twentieth century*, London 1961.

(M. Lings)

IBN ʿALḲAMA, Tammām, the name of two prominent figures in Muslim Spain during the early ʿUmayyad amirate. (1) Abū Ghālib Tammām b. ʿAlḳama, *mawlā* (freedman) of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam (*i.e.*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Rabīʿa al-Thaḳafī, Muʿāwiya's governor of al-Kūfa in 58/678, Ṭabarī, ii, 181), came to al-Andalus in 123/741 with the vanguard (*ṭalīʿa*) of the Syrian contingent of Baldj b. Bishr al-Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*]. A Ḳaysī [see ḲAYS] through his connexion

with Thaḳīf, Tammām b. ʿAlḳama was one of the chiefs who supported ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, al-Dākhil [*q.v.*], in the latter's successful bid (138/755) to re-establish Umayyad rule in al-Andalus after its eclipse in the East. Perhaps the most notable exploit of Tammām b. ʿAlḳama was his share, with the *mawlā* Badr, in the reduction of Ṭulayṭula [*q.v.*] (Toledo) in 147/764. Thereafter he was governor of Washḳa (Huesca), Ṭurṭūsha (Tortosa) and Ṭarasūna (Tarazona), and died at an advanced age. towards the end of the amīrate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I's grandson, al-Ḥakam I. al-Rabaḍī (180/796-206/822).

(2) Tammām b. ʿAlḳama, more fully Tammām b. ʿĀmir b. Aḥmad b. Ghālib b. Tammām b. ʿAlḳama al-Thaḳafī, the direct descendant of (1), with whom he is often confused. He is said to have died at the age of 96 (lunar) years in 283/896, *i.e.*, his birth should fall in 187/803, but is given as 194/809-10 by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (cited Ibn al-Abbār). He served as *wazīr* to the Umayyads Muḥammad I [*q.v.*] (238/852-273/886), al-Mundhir [*q.v.*] (273/886-275/888) and ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] (275/888-300/912), the last of whom dismissed him. His celebrity is due, however, to his literary work, especially an *urdjūza* (poem in the *radjaz* [*q.v.*] metre), which according to Ibn al-Abbār dealt with the conquest of al-Andalus by the Muslims, gave the names of the Spanish governors and Caliphs (*sic*: the Umayyad *amīr*s from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I are apparently meant) and recounted the wars in al-Andalus from the entry of its conqueror Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] to the last days of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*] (206/822-238/852), at which time it was probably composed (Dozy). Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya's account of his ancestress, the Gothic princess Sarah (granddaughter of Witiza, the last ruler of the royal line of the Visigoths), appears to have come from the *urdjūza* of Tammām b. ʿAlḳama, which is now lost. The few lines of poetry attributed to Tammām by Ibn al-Abbār are in a different metre and belong to a different work. Ibn Diḥya [*q.v.*] cites Tammām b. ʿAlḳama for the story of Yaḥyā b. Ḥakam, known as al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*], stating that the former interrogated the latter, who was his older contemporary, on his journey to the court of the 'king of the Norsemen', but in view of the unreliable character of Ibn Diḥya this is not unexceptionable evidence either for the alleged journey, or for the existence of a work in prose by Tammām b. ʿAlḳama, in addition to those which have been mentioned.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarā'*, ed. Dozy (*Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leiden 1847-51), 77-8, ed. H. Munis, Cairo 1963, i, 143-4; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, Madrid 1868, 6, 101, 103; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, ed. Shawkī Ḍayf (*Dhakhāʾir al-ʿArab*, 10), i. 44; Ibn Khaldūn, Beirut 1954-61, iv, 266 (gives A. H. 149 for the capture of Toledo); Pons Boigues, 47-8; R. Dozy, ed., Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, i, introd. 14; idem, *Recherches*[3], ii, 268; idem, *Hist. mus. Esp.*, new ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, 1932, index. (D. M. Dunlop)

IBN al-ALḲAMĪ, Muʾayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad, the *wazīr* of al-Mustaʿṣim [*q.v.*], the last ʿAbbāsid caliph. He belonged to a Shīʿī family, which hailed, according to Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, from the town of Nīl on the canal of the same name. The *nisba* al-ʿAlḳamī was first borne by his grandfather, who was so called after a canal he had dug and not, apparently, Alḳamī [*q.v.*], the western branch of the Euphrates. According to Hindū-Shāh he held the post of *ustādh al-dār* at the time of al-Mustaʿṣim's accession. Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, a fellow-Shīʿī, speaks of his distinction as a scholar, calligrapher and bibliophile and praises him for his statesmanlike qualities; but even he is constrained to admit to his treasonable correspondence with the Mongols prior to the attack on Baghdād. His loyalty seems to have been alienated by the pillaging of the Shīʿī suburb of Karkh [*q.v.*]. The extent of his treason it is difficult to assess. He was certainly at loggerheads with the military leaders in advocating a conciliatory attitude towards Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] but on the other hand one cannot credit the statements of Djūzdjānī that he deliberately denuded Baghdād of troops or that he was personally responsible for the breach of the dyke which contributed to the disastrous defeat of the Caliph's army at Bashīriyya. According to Rashīd al-Dīn he was confirmed in his post as *wazīr* by the Mongols and, when he died on 2 Djumādā II 656/6 June 1258, was succeeded in that office by his son, Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī. On the other hand, Waṣṣāf speaks of his being passed over in favour of one Ibn ʿAmrān, a man of the people from Baḳʿūbā.

Bibliography: Djūzdjānī, ed. Ḥabībī, ii, 190 ff., transl. Raverty, 1229 ff.; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Alizade, 64; Waṣṣāf, ed. Hammer, 54 ff. (trans. 52 ff.); Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Kitāb al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 455 ff., trans. Amar, 580 ff.; Hindū-Shāh b. Sandjar Nakhdjiwānī, *Tadjārib al-salaf*, ed. Eghbal, 355 ff.; J. A. Boyle, *The death of the last ʿAbbāsid caliph: a contemporary Muslim account*, in *JSS*, vi/2 (annotated translation of an appendix to the *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-Gushāy* of Djuwaynī attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī); O. Spies, *Ein unbenutzter Bericht über die Mongolen in Bagdad*, in *Isl.*, xl (1965), 97-112 (annotated translation of an account of the conquest of Baghdād from the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya* of Tādj al-Dīn Subkī). (J. A. Boyle)

IBN al-ʿALLĀF, Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Bashshār b. Ziyād Ibn al-ʿAllāf (so called because his father was a seller of *ḳatt*) al-Nahrawānī, poet and traditionist who lived to be a hundred (218-318/833-930), becoming blind in his old age. He frequented the court at Baghdād and was an intimate particularly of al-Muʿtaḍid and Ibn al-Muʿtazz. He knew much poetry and composed a great deal himself, so much indeed that his works, collected by a member of his family and accompanied by accounts of his relations with the persons on whom he had written panegyrics, occupied four hundred *waraḳa*s, if the *Fihrist* reading (Cairo ed., 238) is reliable.

Ibn al-ʿAllāf's fame however is based almost entirely on a *ḳaṣīda* of 65 verses (metre *munsariḥ*, rhyme *-dī*), including here and there gnomic verses in which he laments the death of his cat, killed by neighbours because it was about to eat their pigeons. This poem, which greatly interested al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād when it was recited to him by the poet's son, Abu'l-Ḥasan, is considered to be in fact an elegy on the death of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who had been killed by al-Muḳtadir; it is also thought however that it alludes to the treatment inflicted on al-Muḥassin, the son of Ibn al-Furāt (see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index). or on a slave of Ibn al-ʿAllāf.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 170-1; Ibn Khallikān, i, 380; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, vii, 379; Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himyān*, 139-42; Damīrī, s.v. *hirr*; H. Bowen, *ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā*, Cambridge-London 1928, 81-2; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 388-9. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN AMĀDJŪR or **IBN MĀDJŪR**, name of a family of astronomers from Farghāna. The

family consisted of the father, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Amādjūr al-Turkī and of his son Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, and also of a freedman of the latter named Mufliḥ. They worked at Baghdād and at Shīrāz between 272/885 and 321/933, making astronomical observations which have been in part preserved by Ibn Yūnus. The son devoted much of his attention to the determination of the limits of the latitude of the moon, observing that it reached greater latitudes than those given by Hipparchus (2nd century B.C.) and finding considerable differences between his own various determinations; this observation, which implies a knowledge of the variation of the plane of the moon's orbit, demonstrates how exact was Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī's work. The three astronomers collaborated in compiling the tables called *al-Badīʿ*, *al-Mamarrat*, *al-Khāliṣ*, *al-Muzannar*, and a version of the *Sind-Hind*, now lost, and some tables for Mars according to Persian chronology. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh was the author of two other works: *Djawāmiʿ aḥkām al-kusūfayn* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 5894 and Leiden 1107) and *Zād al-musāfir* (quoted by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī).

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 280; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. J. Lippert, 220, 231; A. Sédillot, *Prolegomènes des Tables Astronomiques d'Oloug Beg*, i, Paris 1847, XXXV-XL; Brockelmann, S I, 397; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, Baltimore 1927, 630; H. Suter, 49 (no. 99), 211 (1900); idem, *Nachträge und Berichtigungen*, in *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften*, xiv (1902), 165; J. B. J. Delambre, *Hist. de l'astronomie au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1819, 139; E. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Transactions of the Amer. Philos. Soc.*, xlvi/2 (1956), nos. 8, 67, 78, 79, 90; C. A. Nallino, *ʿIlm al-Falak*, Rome 1911, 175; M. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, xxiv (1870), 378, no. 67.

(J. Vernet)

IBN AL-ʿAMĪD, the name of two viziers of the early Būyids, the first of them known also as a man of letters:

(1) Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad was the son of a pedlar or wheat merchant in the Shīʿī town of Ḳumm in central Iran who later became a *kātib* in Khurāsān, where he received the title of *ʿamīd* [*q.v.*] which was in this region usually given to high officials. He appears at Bukhārā (*Mathālib*, 232-6) at an unknown date, perhaps later than his appearance in 321/933 as vizier of Washmgīr [*q.v.*] in Rayy, and in 323 as one of the chief dignitaries of Mardāwīdj just before his assassination at Iṣfahān. It is not known under what circumstances his son became in 328/940 the vizier of one of the Būyids, the future Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*] (though it is known that the father was on friendly terms at Rayy with the latter's brother, the future ʿImād al-Dawla; but Abu 'l-Faḍl had quarrelled with his father). The chronicle does not mention his activity (whose double administrative and military character it emphasizes) until 339/950-1, when he foiled a conspiracy to set free the Musāfirid [*q.v.*] Marzubān, who had been imprisoned by Rukn al-Dawla; in the following year his intervention was chiefly responsible for the failure of the invasion of the Sāmānid general Ibn Ḳarategin; in 344/955-6 he organized the resistance to the invasion of Ibn Mākān, and in 435-6 to the revolt of the Daylamī Rūzbihān. Then again nothing is heard of him for ten years. For a time Rukn al-Dawla stationed him in Fārs with his young son, the future ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], and when the boy had grown up, Ibn al-ʿAmīd returned to Rayy to the now ageing Rukn al-Dawla. In this town, in 355/966, he succeeded in curbing the unruliness of an army of untrustworthy Khurāsānī *ghāzī*s passing through on their way to the Byzantine frontier; in 356 he reduced Ādharbaydjān to obedience to Rukn al-Dawla's ally, Ibrāhīm Sālār; he would however have preferred to persuade his prince to retain it and to make him its governor. Finally, in 359, he led an expedition against the Kurdish chief Ḥasanwayh [*q.v.*]. The illness which he contracted during it gave his son the opportunity to make demagogic overtures to the troops, disregarding his father's disapproval. He died at Hamadhān on 5 Ṣafar 360/9 December 970, having been vizier for 32 (lunar) years—a period whose length was to be exceeded later only by Niẓām al-Mulk.

Unfortunately practically nothing is known of his actual administration. Miskawayh, who had been his librarian, praises him, but in general terms only, for having been able to reorganize and maintain a regular system of administration in spite of the disorderly tendencies of the Daylamīs and of Rukn al-Dawla himself, and for having imposed discipline on the troops: it was probably because of his exceptional abilities in this last matter in particular that he enjoyed the apparently unshakeable confidence of his sovereign. The History of Ḳumm mentions during his period, though without naming him, measures in the stabilization of taxes which certainly correspond with his policy. According to Miskawayh, the letter which he wrote to Ibn Hindū on his appointment as governor of Fārs was a perfect summary of the duties and tasks of a good administrator.

Ibn al-ʿAmīd's reputation among his contemporaries and with posterity was not however due mainly to his administrative work but to the prestige which his intellectual and literary personality brought him among the circle of educated men which his office in effect permitted him to gather around him. The *Fihrist* lists only one genuine work written by him—a *K. al-Madhhab fi 'l-balāgha*, of which nothing is known; Abū Ḥayyān states that he has seen a *K. al-Khalḳ wa 'l-khulūḳ* by him but that it had not progressed beyond the stage of a rough draft. But his correspondence, if we are to believe Miskawayh, was so famous and considered so important as a model that there was scarcely a scribe who did not possess a copy of it: this makes it all the more strange that almost nothing of it has been directly preserved and that all that is known of it comes from quotations by Abū Ḥayyān, al-Thaʿālibī and Yāḳūt; even al-Ḳalḳashandī, though quoting so widely from his contemporary and rival Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ, seems not to have known of it. So little being known, there should be pointed out ms. no 412, p. 449 of the Bihar Catalogue, a short recently copied collection of some of Ibn al-ʿAmīd's letters, which deserves study and suggests that an earlier manuscript may exist somewhere in India or elsewhere. The critics' opinions on Ibn al-ʿAmīd's literary worth depended however on what the writer considered to be the stylistic ideal and perhaps also on his personal relations with Ibn al-ʿAmīd: while he is praised by Miskawayh, and in the *Yatīma* there is found the formula which was later so often repeated according to which style "began with Ibn al-Ḥamīd and ended with Ibn al-ʿAmīd", Abū Ḥayyān considers him as the first corruptor of the language of al-Djāḥiẓ and prefers to him his son Abu 'l-Fatḥ and his rival mentioned above, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ. On the whole,

the considerable influence exercised by Ibn al-ʿAmīd must have been due primarily to his prodigious memory in all matters, to his generosity (although Abū Ḥayyān accuses him also of avarice on various occasions), and to his friendly character. In letters, as in politics, he was the master less of his own son than of Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] and of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who always referred to him as *al-Ustādh al-Raʾīs*.

Bibliography: See BŪYIDS. Apart from the *Tadjārib* of Miskawayh (to be completed by the *Takmila* of Hamadhānī, ed. A. Y. Kanʿān), the main sources are: the *Mathālib al-Wazīrayn* of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, ed. Ibrāhīm Kaylānī, Damascus 1961 (especially 55-6, and from 212 to the end), to be completed by the *K. al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, especially vol. i (index); and the *Yatīma* of Thaʿālibī. Yāḳūt's biography of Ibn al-ʿAmīd has not survived; that of Ibn Khallikān (no. 707, de Slane, iii, 256 f.) is based mainly on the *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ* of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, of which this part is lost, and the *K. al-Tādjī* of his ancestor mentioned above, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ. The article by Amedroz, *Ibn al-ʿAmīd*, in *Isl.*, iii, 323-51, consists essentially of translations of the passages concerning him in the *Tadjārib* of Miskawayh, at that time unpublished. I have not been able to see the brochure of Khalīl Mardum, *Ibn al-ʿAmīd*, Aleppo 1931.

(2) ABU 'L-FATḤ ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD . . ., born 337/948-9, son and successor of the above, who accompanied his father on the Kurdish campaign during which he died and during which Abu 'l-Fatḥ attracted attention, in spite of his father's disapproval, by his courting of the troops. He had the same intellectual qualities as Abu 'l-Faḍl and some writers even consider him to be a superior stylist, but he had the rashness and inexperience of youth and made the princes uneasy when his incautious expenditure in an attempt to form a personal following affected the regularity of the administration. The exhausted Rukn al-Dawla, wishing only for a quiet life, allowed him to take over his father's office, but he soon attracted the jealousy of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and of his brother, al-Muʾayyid. In 363/974-5 he took part, on the orders of Rukn al-Dawla, in ʿAḍud al-Dawla's campaign in ʿIrāḳ in support of his cousin Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*]. The latter's obvious inefficiency gave them the idea of making ʿIrāḳ into an apanage held by ʿAḍud, under his father's suzerainty, with Abu 'l-Fatḥ as vizier of this region. Abu 'l-Fatḥ, sent to sound the aged ruler on the matter, had great difficulty in pacifying him, Rukn al-Dawla attaching great importance to family solidarity and loyalty; nevertheless, ʿAḍud having left, Abu 'l-Fatḥ remained behind at Baghdād where he amused himself, amassed possessions, improved his relations with Bakhtiyār and his vizier Ibn Baḳiyya [*q.v.*], and received from the caliph, without Rukn al-Dawla's having asked for anything, the *laḳab* of *Dhu 'l-kifāyatayn*, in short gave the impression of following his own personal policy against the interests of Rukn and of ʿAḍud. ʿAḍud used him again in 365/976 to settle with his angry father questions concerning the succession; but in 366, Rukn being now dead, ʿAḍud intervened in ʿIrāḳ, while Abu 'l-Fatḥ, who had remained at Rayy, quarrelled there with the influential counsellor of al-Muʾayyid, Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], whom he feared and tried to get removed and even killed, and finally, on the orders of ʿAḍud, al-Muʾayyid's suzerain, was arrested, tortured and put to death. The family, of whom no other members are known, does not seem to have played after this any role of importance.

Bibliography: See BŪYIDS and the above article on Abu 'l-Faḍl; there is a long biography on Abu 'l-Fatḥ in the *Irshād* of Yāḳūt, v, 347-73, based on the chronicle or the *K. al-Wuzarāʾ* of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, a *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ābī, and an account by Abū Ḥayyān which I have not been able to find either in the *Mathālib* or in the *Imtāʿ* (both of which include several paragraphs on Abu 'l-Fatḥ—see index); the life of Abu 'l-Fatḥ in Ibn Khallikān is also based on the *Wuzarāʾ*, and on the *Tādjī* of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ; see also the correspondence of the latter (ed. in part by Shakīb Arslan) and J. Chr. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAdud ad-Daulas*, 1965; the *Yatīma* contains nothing about him. (CL. CAHEN)

IBN AL-ʿAMĪD [see IBN AL-KALĀNISĪ; AL-MAKĪN].

IBN AL-AMĪN MAḤMŪD KEMĀL [see INAL].

IBN ʿĀMIR, ABŪ ʿUMAR ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿĀMIR AL-YAḤṢUBĪ, "reader" of the Ḳurʾān whose *ḳirāʾa* [*q.v.*] is counted among the seven canonical "readings". Of south Arabian origin, he belonged to the first class of the Tābiʿūn [*q.v.*], his guarantors being ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, Abu 'l-Dardāʾ [*q.v.*] and other less famous Companions. He settled in Damascus, where he was appointed *ḳāḍī* by al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and chief of police by Yazīd b. al-Walīd and Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd; his "reading" was adopted by the inhabitants of Damascus. He died in 118/736, having had as direct disciples his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and especially Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārith al-Dhimārī (d. 145/762), whom Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, 530) includes among the authors of canonical "readings", while mentioning Ibn ʿĀmir only incidentally. His reading was transmitted indirectly by ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Dhakwān (d. 241/856) and the *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, Hishām b. ʿAmmār al-Sulamī (d. 245/859).

Among others of the same name, the best known is ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, Cairo 1348, 43-4; Ibn Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, s.v.; Dānī, *Taysīr*, s.v.; idem, *Muḥkam*, Damascus 1960, 140, 188; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Munadjdjid, ii/1, 51; Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, v, 274; *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii; H. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, 120. (ED.)

IBN ʿAMĪRA, ABU 'L-MUṬARRIF AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, writer, poet and judge, who was born in Valencia (Spain) in Ramaḍān 580/December 1184, and died in Tunis in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 656 or 658/December 1258 or November 1260 (his grandfather's name is given as ʿUmayra in the *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās* of Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, 72). His family originated in Alcira (Djazīrat Shuḳr), near Valencia. He studied with the best Andalusian scholars and then travelled probably to the East where he acquired an immense knowledge of *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth* and literature, and also gained some acquaintance with certain branches of the speculative sciences (*maʿḳūlāt*), philosophy, *kalām*, etc.

On his return, he settled for a time in his native town, where he became one of the local dignitaries. It was there that he started a life-long friendship with Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*]. Shortly afterwards, he became a judge at Jativa, and he must have held the same position in Majorca in about 627/1229-30, for he was present in the island when it was conquered by James I of Aragon (Jaime el Conquistador); he wrote an account of the event in a book, the title of which is unknown and which is always referred to as *Kitāb ʿan kāʾinat Mayyūrḳa*; this is his most famous work, and al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*,

ii, 765-6) reproduces long passages from it. From there he must have returned to Valencia, where he witnessed the last years of its history as a Muslim town, until it surrendered, also to James I, nine years after Majorca (17 Ṣafar 636/28 September 1238). His native town being lost, he crossed the Straits to Morocco and entered the service of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Rashīd, the tenth Almohad caliph (630-40/1232-42), who appointed him secretary in the Chancellery. A little later, he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of the Hīlāna tribe, and then transferred to Salé; in the following reign he appears as a *ḳāḍī* in Meknès. Later, he moved to Ceuta and from there to Ifrīḳiya, where he entered the service of the Ḥafṣids, in Tunis. He was appointed *ḳāḍī*, first of al-Urbus, then of Gabès; al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh (647-75/1249-76) made him one of his advisers, and he became his favourite courtier until his death, on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 658/26 November 1260.

Ibn ʿAmīra was a prolific writer of both prose and verse; the sources named in the bibliography reproduce an abundance of material, mostly in the form of official State letters and letters addressed to friends. Even his book on the fall of Majorca was a *risāla* addressed to some particular person. His prose is sober, eloquent, beautiful and precise, but is surpassed in these qualities by that of his contemporary Ibn al-Abbār. His poetry is better than his prose. The only work to have survived under his name is *al-Tibyān fī ʿilm al-kalām* (MS Escorial 296), and it seems in fact that this and the work on Majorca are the only books that he wrote, although several others have been attributed to him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Muḳtaḍab min Kitāb Tuḥfat al-ḳādim*, Cairo 1957, 145-50 (an abridgement which omits most of the prose quotations); Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, ed. and trans. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique au moyen âge*, Leiden 1938, 33, 48-55, 103-4 of the Arabic text; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās*, Fās 1315, 72-3; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; idem, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, Cairo 1942, iii, 218; M. M. Antuña, *Notas sobre dos mss. escurialenses mal catalogados*, in *al-Andalus*, vi/2 (1941), 271-6; Brockelmann, I, 381; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 402; ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila*, MS Ḳarawiyyīn, i, 70 ff.; Muḥ. b. Sharīfa, *Abu 'l-Muṭarrif Aḥmad b. ʿAmīra al-Makhzūmī, ḥayātuh wa āthāruh*, Rabat 1966. (H. Monés)

IBN ʿAMMĀR, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, *faḳīh* and poet, known at the present time in Algeria under the name of Sīdī Ben ʿAmmār. It is not known where or when he was born and nothing is known of his childhood, his youth and his early studies. He is said to have learned *ḥadīth* from Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAḳīl (or ʿUḳāyl) al-Yāʿalawī (sic) or al-Bāʿalawī (probably al-Yaʿlāwī, *i.e.*, of the Banī Yaʿlā, a tribe of the lesser Kabylie) al-Makkī, who died in 1170/1756; he is said to have studied more particularly the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī under masters (?) whose line went back to Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Aḥmad al-Maḳḳarī, a former *muftī* of Tlemcen (928/1521-1011/1602). He is said, furthermore, to have been initiated into the precepts of the fraternity of the Shādhiliyya by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Munawwar al-Tilimsānī, a disciple of Mḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Darʿī, and to have received his mystical education from a second line of masters going back to the Egyptian ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-ʿAfīfī.

For his literary education and notably for the composition of *muwashshaḥāt* his masters are said to have been two well-known Algerians, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Mandjallātī and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known nowadays in Algeria by the name of Sidī Ben ʿlī.

In 1166/1752 he decided to perform the *ḥadjdj* and, six years later, after a stay in Cairo, withdrew to the Ḥidjāz to end his days there as a *mudjāwir* [*q.v.*]. According to certain indications, he was still alive in 1204/1789, and his death allegedly occurred in Mecca between this date and 1211/1796. This is all that is known of his life and studies. In Algiers he held the post of Mālikī *muftī* for a long time and taught *ḥadīth*.

Among his pupils or listeners is named Aḥmad al-Ghazzāl al-Djazāʾirī, who transmitted, in a *ḳaṣīda* of twenty verses, the memory left by the breadth of his knowledge and the quality of his teaching.

Of his written works the following titles are known: (1) a *dīwān* of verse; (2) *Liwāʾ al-naṣr fī fuḍalāʾ al-ʿaṣr*; (3) *Risāla fi 'l-ṭarīḳa al-khalwatiyya*; (4) *Niḥlat al-labīb bi-akhbār al-riḥla ila 'l-ḥabīb*.

Only the introduction of the last work has survived, and nothing more is known of it; it is principally from this introduction that we draw the preceding remarks on the personality and works of Ibn ʿAmmār, who, for his time, is indisputably both an *ʿālim* and a *faḳīh*, an *adīb*, a poet and something of a mystic. Without completely neglecting the "humanities" of the Middle East, his interest, in all fields, is obviously centred on the Arabo-Islamic West. As a *muftī* he willingly follows Ibn al-Djazarī [*q.v.*], Ibn Marzūḳ [*q.v.*], al-Raṣṣāʿ, al-Wansharīsī [*q.v.*]; as an *adīb* he admires al-Shaḳrāṭisī, al-Tanasī, Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, al-Ḳaysī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Zamrak, and he may be considered a disciple of al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAmmār, *Niḥlat al-labīb bi-akhbār al-riḥla ila 'l-ḥabīb*, Algiers 1320/1902; Warthīlānī, *Riḥla*, Algiers 1908; Joachim de Gonzales, *Essai chronologique sur les musulmans célèbres de la ville d'Alger*, Algiers 1886; Ḥafnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-ridjāl al-salaf*, 2 vols., Algiers 1328/1909; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa'l-athbāt*, Fez n.d.; M. Hadj-Sadok, *Le mawlid d'après le muftī-poète d'Alger Ibn ʿAmmār*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1957. (M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN ʿAMMĀR, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAmmār, poet and vizier of al-Andalus. Born in 422/1031 in a village near Silves, he belonged to a poor and obscure family and his claim to be of Yemenī origin is doubtful. After beginning his studies at Silves, he received at Cordova an advanced literary education and then tried to make his literary talent pay, travelling throughout Spain in search of patrons. Nothing appears to have survived of his first panegyrics, addressed, it seems without much success, to various Andalusian petty kings, especially as he is said to have himself destroyed the works of his youth. In 445/1053, he arrived at Seville and decided to present himself to the local ruler, al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*], who had just gained some military successes and was eager to have his exploits praised in writing. Seizing this opportunity, Ibn ʿAmmār addressed to him a panegyric in which he praised his valour and bravery, attacked his Berber enemies and expressed the desire that his own talent should be rewarded. Al-Muʿtaḍid, beguiled by these praises, appointed Ibn ʿAmmār a court poet and adopted him as a companion in his pleasures; this was for him the beginning of an eventful career, which was, however,

always linked with the ʿAbbādids. At the court he became the friend of the prince Muḥammad, accompanying him to Silves when the prince was made governor there; but as he pandered to the desires of his friend, disagreeable rumours began to circulate about the two young men and al-Muʿtaḍid, mistrusting their friendship, recalled his son to Seville in 450/1058 and commanded the poet to leave the kingdom. Ibn ʿAmmār then sought refuge in Saragossa, whence he addressed poems to the ruler of Seville and to his vizier, Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*], in a vain attempt to make them relent. He had to wait until the death of al-Muʿtaḍid and the succession of his friend Muḥammad (who took the title al-Muʿtamid) in 461/1069 before being recalled to Seville.

From then on Ibn ʿAmmār gave up poetry to some extent in order to devote himself to politics, in an effort to play a prominent part in Muslim Spain. Soon after his return he was appointed governor of Silves and later became al-Muʿtamid's chief minister. In 462/1070, he took part in the annexing to the kingdom of Seville of the town of Cordova, which became the seat of the court; the following year he got rid of Ibn Zaydūn, whom he considered as his rival, by sending him back to Seville; he struggled successfully against the favourite Iʿtimād, who was hostile to him, and succeeded in dominating the ruler completely and practically directing the state. He then advocated a policy of expansion based on the support of the Christians, *i.e.*, of Alfonso VI, with whom he strengthened the relations of Seville to such an extent that he was even considered a traitor. His manoeuvres to take Granada with the help of Alfonso VI failed however, and his first action against Murcia (Tudmīr) had no greater success. This attempt was part of a plan which he had conceived in order to gain possession of the town for himself personally; he therefore set himself up as independent governor of Murcia as soon as he had succeeded in taking possession of it, with the help of Ibn Ras̲h̲īḳ [*q.v.*], in 471/1078. Taking advantage of this victory, he turned to Toledo, leaving behind in Murcia Ibn Ras̲h̲īḳ, who in turn betrayed him and declared himself independent. Dispossessed of his short-lived conquest, Ibn ʿAmmār took refuge once again at Saragossa with Muʾtamin Ibn Hūd [*q.v.*], in whose name he took part in a number of successful expeditions; he was, however, captured at Segura in Rabīʿ I 477/August 1084, and, forced to abandon all political activity, returned to poetry. While in captivity, he wrote some moving poems in which he implores the help of al-Muʿtamid, but the latter had a score to settle and, instead of simply ransoming him, decided to make sure of his person by buying him. Ibn ʿAmmār was brought back to Cordova in chains and paraded on a donkey, then taken to Seville, where he suffered the most degrading humiliations. In spite of interventions on his behalf, al-Muʿtamid stood firm and did not allow himself to be swayed again by the pleas which Ibn ʿAmmār addressed to him from prison; nevertheless, the poems with which he tried to soften the heart of his former friend are marked by strong emotion and certainly such as to touch al-Muʿtamid's feelings, to the extent that he seemed at one time to be on the point of yielding and granting pardon, but his prisoner made a blunder which was skilfully exploited by his enemies, in particular by the son of Ibn Zaydūn, who had taken his father's place, and al-Muʿtamid in a passion of anger cut off Ibn ʿAmmār's head with one blow of an axe (479/1086).

As regards his character, Ibn ʿAmmār is accorded in Spain the fame which he deserves; his intelligence and especially his unbounded ambition made him a dangerous and much-feared person, who knew too well how to attract people by charm of manner and conversation. His behaviour towards al-Muʿtamid is judged with severity but does not prevent the critics from recognizing his poetic talent. His poetry, very personal in inspiration and composed with remarkable technical skill, is indisputably gifted and original, but his satires are bitter and his panegyrics often lacking in dignity.

His *Dīwān* was much read in Spain, where it appeared in the two recensions, now lost, of Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Tamīmī and of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-S̲h̲ilbī; besides, Ibn Bassām included the poems from it which were considered the best in his *Nuk̲h̲bat al-ik̲h̲tiyār fī as̲h̲ʿār D̲h̲i 'l-wizāratayn Ibn ʿAmmār*, which is also lost. Recently, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn K̲h̲āliṣ made an attempt to reconstruct it in a *thèse complémentaire* presented at the Sorbonne in 1953, also devoting to the poet a long chapter in his *thèse principale* on *La vie littéraire à Séville au XIe siècle*; the data thus collected were published in Bag̲h̲dād in 1957 under the title of *Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār al-Andalusī*.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les «Mémoires» de ʿAbd Allāh, dernier roi zīride de Grenade*, in *al-Andalus*, iii-iv (1935-6), index; Ibn Bassām, *D̲h̲ak̲h̲īra*, ii (MS); Ibn K̲h̲āḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, 88-99; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, apud Dozy, *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis* (Muʾnis ed., index); Ibn K̲h̲allikān, iv; Marrākus̲h̲ī, *Muʿd̲j̲ib*, index; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mug̲h̲rib*, index; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *K̲h̲arīdat al-ḳaṣr*, MS Paris 3330; Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*², iii, 83-117 and references there given; A. González Palencia, *Literatura*², 75-8; A. Ḍayf, *Balāg̲h̲at al-ʿArab fi 'l-Andalus*, Cairo 1342/1924, 111-20; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN ʿAMMĀR [see ʿAMMĀR, BANŪ; AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH; ṬARĀBULUS].

IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ [see AL-ANBĀRĪ, ABU 'L-BARAKĀT. Attia Amer has published in succession at Stockholm (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, ii, iii, vi) the *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ* (1963), the *Lumaʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-naḥw* (1963) and *al-Maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd* (1966)].

IBN AL-AʿRĀBĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ZIYĀD, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, philologian of the school of Kūfa, who is said to have been the son of a slave from Sind who became a *mawlā* of al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Hās̲h̲imī. Born at Kūfa in 150/767, he was the pupil principally of al-Kisāʾī [*q.v.*], of Abū Muʿāwiya al-Ḍarīr, of al-Ḳāsim b. Maʿn al-Masʿūdī (see *Fihrist*, Cairo, 103) and of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī [*q.v.*], who had married his mother and whose *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* he handed on; and he in his turn had many disciples, among them T̲h̲aʿlab [*q.v.*], Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī and Ibn al-Sikkīt [*q.v.*], besides Saʿīd b. Salm b. Ḳutayba, whose teacher he was. His biographers praise his learning in grammar, lexicography, genealogies and poetry, and he is said to have dictated from memory, without having to refer to any book, enough material to have loaded several camels. Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, who knew him at Bag̲h̲dād or at Sāmarrā, quotes him often as a *rāwī*, without, it seems, resenting his ill-natured attack on the Baṣra scholars Abū ʿUbayda and al-Aṣmaʿī, who, he maintained, knew nothing. He claims to have received from the mouth of the Bedouins many facts which contradict the affirmations of al-Aṣmaʿī, but

he himself indulges in fanciful interpretations and accepts curious grammatical rules, to the extent that his critics have easily been able to point out proofs of his ignorance, even in the domains where he is considered a master.

Afflicted with both a squint and a limp (Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb calls him also al-Aʿradj), he seems not to have had a very distinguished career, but his learning nevertheless met with some success, since audiences of more than one hundred crowded to his classes. At Sāmarrā, al-Wāthiḳ resorted to him for the solution of a philological problem, which proves that he enjoyed quite a wide reputation. In spite of his hostility towards the Muʿtazilīs, it was Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*] himself who led the funeral prayer at his grave, on 13 Shaʿbān 231/14 April 846 (but the date of his death varies from 230 to 233), at Sāmarrā.

About twenty works are attributed to him: *K. al-Nawādir*, *K. al-Anwā'*, *K. Ṣifat al-nakhl*, *K. Ṣifat al-zarʿ*, *K. al-Khayl*, *K. Taʾrīkh al-ḳabāʾil*, *K. Maʿāni 'l-shiʿr*, *K. Tafsīr al-amthāl* (*Fihrist*: *al-Ḳabāʾil*, but that is an error), *K. al-Nabāt*, *K. al-Alfāẓ*, *K. Nasab al-khayl*, *K. Nawādir al-Zubayriyyīn*, *K. Nawādir Banī Faḳʿas*, *K. al-Dhubāb* (transmitted by al-Sukkarī), *K. al-Nabt wa 'l-baḳl*, and others listed by Brockelmann. Only a few of these have survived, a *K. al-Fāḍil fi 'l-adab*, a collection of elegies published by Wright (*Op. ar.*, 97-122), a *K. al-Biʾr* (Cairo, vii, 652) [see BIʾR], and the *K. Asmāʾ khayl al-ʿArab wa-fursānihā*, which must correspond to the *K. Nasab al-khayl* mentioned above (ed. G. Levi Della Vida, *Les "Livres des Chevaux"*, Leyden 1928); on his recension of al-Akhṭal's *Dīwān*, see AL-AKHṬAL.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Muḥ b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 238; idem, *ʿUyūn* and *Adab al-kātib*, index; Ṭabarī, iii, 972, 1357; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; *Aghānī*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 117, vii, 162-4; *Fihrist*, Cairo, 102-3; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, index; Ibn Khallikān, i; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 282-5; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 189-96; Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal sāʾir*, 490; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 784; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 42-3; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Damascus 1953, iii, 79-80 (no. 993); Anbārī, *Nuzha*[2], 95-7; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1373/1954, 213; *Fihris al-muʾallifīn*, Tetuan 1952, 248; *al-Muḳtabas*, vi, 3-9; Fück, *ʿArabīya*, 49-51 (Fr. trans., 75-8) and index; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague 1954, 49 and index; Brockelmann, S I, 179-80; B. al-Bustānī, in *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 340-4. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-ʿARABĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-MAʿĀFIRĪ, a traditionist belonging to Seville; b. 468/1076, d. 543/1148. In 485/1092 he travelled with his father to the East, and spent periods studying in Damascus and Baghdād. In 489/1096 he performed the Pilgrimage, after which he returned to Baghdād and studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī and others. He then went with his father to Egypt and met traditionists in Cairo and Alexandria. After his father's death in 493/1100 he returned to Seville, where he was credited with encyclopaedic knowledge. He wrote books on a variety of subjects, including *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, *uṣūl*, Ḳurʾān studies, *adab*, grammar, and history. A long list of his writings is given by Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 483 f. Among them is *ʿĀriḍa al-Aḥwadhī*, a commentary on al-Tirmidhī's collection of traditions. Many of his works are no longer extant. In Seville he acted as *ḳāḍī* for a time, acquiring a reputation for severity towards evildoers and kindness towards humble people. He later resigned this post and devoted himself to scholarship, both teaching and writing. When the Muwaḥḥids entered Seville he and others were taken to Marrākush where he was imprisoned for about a year. He died while on a journey from Marrākush to Fez, where he was buried. Maḳḳarī says a *ziyāra* came to be held at his tomb, which he himself had visited several times. While Ibn al-ʿArabī was generally highly commended, everyone did not accept him as an authority on *ḥadīth*. He has been called *thiḳa* (trustworthy) and *thabat* (reliable), but the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā (d. 544/1149), a contemporary who heard traditions from him, said people criticized his traditions, and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1449) has called him *ḍaʿīf* (weak).

Bibliography: Ibn Bashkuwāl, No. 1181; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 477-89; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 86-90; Ibn Khayr, *Fihrisa*, 567 (Bibl. Arab.-Hisp., x); Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab*, Cairo 1329, 281-4; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, v, 234; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1275, i, 697 f., De Slane (Eng. trans.), iii, 12-14; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, 546 A.H.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, Index No. 2045; Brockelmann, I, 525, S I, 632 f., 732 f. (J. ROBSON)

IBN AL-ʿARABĪ, MUḤYI 'L-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ʿARABĪ AL-ḤĀTIMĪ AL-ṬĀʾĪ, known as al-Shaykh al-Akbar (560/1165-638/1240), was one of the greatest Ṣūfīs of Islam. He is usually referred to—incorrectly—as Ibn ʿArabī, without the article, to distinguish him from Ibn al-ʿArabī, Abū Bakr [*q.v.*]; in Turkey he is often referred to as "Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿArabī"; whereas some sources (*e.g.*, al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 487) give his *kunya* as Abū Bakr, in autograph notes he refers to himself only as Abū ʿAbd Allāh.

Life. He was born at Murcia on 27 Ramaḍān 560/7 August 1165 (see the note by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī, reproduced by A. Ateş, in *TV*, n.s. i/1 (16) (1955), Pl. XXV), of a family claiming descent from Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī [*q.v.*]; some Ṣūfī adepts were numbered among his near relations. When he was eight, his father moved to Seville, where Ibn al-ʿArabī began his formal education; as a young man he is said to have acted as *kātib* to various governors (al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 568). At an early age, in the course of an illness, he enjoyed a vision (*Futūḥāt*, iv, 552) which changed the course of his life, leading him to regard his earlier years as a period of *djāhiliyya* (*Futūḥāt*, i, 207); the genuineness of this "conversion" much impressed his father's friend the philosopher Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*], the *ḳāḍī* of Seville (*Futūḥāt*, i, 170). Although Ibn al-ʿArabī claimed that his *maʿrifa* was communicated to him with no intermediary, he notes in his works the names of many *shaykhs* whom he served and whose company he sought, among them: Abū Djaʿfar al-ʿUraynī (*Rūḥ al-ḳuds* [no. 8, below], fol. 41; *Futūḥāt*, iii, 589, 596, etc.); Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Ḳaysī, a disciple of Abū Madyan [*q.v.*] (*Rūḥ al-ḳuds*, fol. 43); Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAdawī, skilled at revealing the future; Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf, etc. (*Rūḥ al-ḳuds*, fols. 46-73), and two women: Fāṭima bint al-Muthannā and Shams Umm al-Fuḳarāʾ. Although he refers to Abū Madyan (d. 598/1193) as his "*shaykh*", in fact he never met him personally (*Rūḥ al-ḳuds*, fol. 66).

Ibn al-ʿArabī spent some ten years in various towns of Spain and North Africa with these teachers, but until 590/1194 Seville remained his home. In that year, at the age of 30, he went to Tunis to join a certain ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī (*Rūḥ al-*

ḳuds, fol. 33). In the next year he went to Fez, where in 594/1198 he wrote his *K. al-Isrāʾ* (no. 3, below). In 595/1199 he was in Cordova, where he attended the funeral of Ibn Rushd, and later at Almeria, where he wrote his *Mawāḳiʿ al-nudjūm* (no. 7 below) (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 576); in 598/1202 he was back in Tunis and then, travelling via Cairo and Jerusalem, set out to perform the Pilgrimage (*Rūḥ al-ḳuds*, fol. 63 v.). Deeply moved by the sight of the *Kaʿba*, for him the point of contact between the worlds of the invisible (*ghayb*) and the visible (*shuhūd*), he stayed for two years at Mecca, frequently performing the *ṭawāf*, reading and meditating, and enjoying many mystic visions and dreams. It was here that he wrote his *Tādj al-rasāʾil* (no. 6), his *Rūḥ al-ḳuds* (no. 8), and began, in 598/1202, his great *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (no. 1); here too he addressed to ʿAyn al-Shams Niẓām, the daughter of an Iṣfahānī resident in Mecca, the poems collected in a *dīwān* entitled *Tardjumān al-ashwāḳ* (no. 13).

In 600/1204 he met at Mecca a number of Anatolian pilgrims from Konya and Malatya, led by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī's father, Madjd al-Dīn Isḥāḳ, who was then living in Syria; he accompanied them on their homeward journey, via Baghdād and Mosul (where they stayed for some months), reaching Malatya by Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 601/June-July 1205. The Sultan of Konya, Kay-Khusraw I [*q.v.*], now restored to his throne, invited Madjd al-Dīn to re-join him (Ibn Bībī, facs. 91 f.; tr. Duda, 41 f.); the latter brought Ibn al-ʿArabī with him, and the Sultan loaded both with gifts (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 569; *Futūḥāt*, iii, 126, 255). In the next years we find Ibn al-ʿArabī again travelling—to Jerusalem, Cairo, and Mecca—but in 606/1209-10 he was back in Konya, where in that year he wrote his *Risālat al-anwār*. In 608/1211-2 he was again in Baghdād, perhaps accompanying Madjd al-Dīn, who had been sent to the Caliphal court to announce the accession of Kay-Kāʾūs I. To this new ruler Ibn al-ʿArabī addressed a letter of practical advice in religious matters (text in *Futūḥāt*, iv, 604 f.).

In the following years he visited Aleppo (where he began the *Sharḥ* (no. 14) to his *Tardjumān al-ashwāḳ*, completing it in Aksaray in 612/1215) and Sivas (where he had a dream foretelling Kay-Kāʾūs's re-capture of Antalya), but from 612/1216 onwards he lived mainly at Malatya. Here his son Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad was born, in 618/1221. The report that he married the widow of his old friend Madjd al-Dīn seems doubtful: at least the latter's son Ṣadr al-Dīn (b. 606/1209-10) and Ibn al-ʿArabī do not speak of each other as step-son and step-father.

It is not known why, or when, Ibn al-ʿArabī finally left Anatolia to settle at Damascus, where he is first found living in 627/1230. Here he probably experienced some discomfort, exposed to the criticisms of the orthodox but finding protectors in the Ibn Zakī family of *ḳāḍīs* (Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Cairo n.d., xiii, 156) and in members of the Ayyūbid ruling family. He led a quiet life of reading and teaching, composing, as the result of a dream in 627/1229, his most influential work, the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (no. 2 below), and completing and revising, from 630/1233 onwards, his *Futūḥāt*. A tradition (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 581, from al-Yāfiʿī [*q.v.*]) that towards the end of his life Ibn al-ʿArabī forbade the reading of his works is belied by the facts that he heard and approved the text of his *Kitāb al-Asfār* (no. 10) only 20 days before his death (A. Ateş, in *Bell.*, xvi/61 (1952), 87), and that his disciple Ṣadr al-Dīn, who was with him in his last days, spent his life in teaching and commenting on his master's works. Ibn al-ʿArabī died, in the house of the *ḳāḍī* Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ibn al-Zakī, on 28 Rabīʿ II 638/16 November 1240, and was buried in that family's *turba* on the slopes of Mount Ḳāsiyūn.

Ibn al-ʿArabī married several wives and presumably had many children, but only two of his sons are known: Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad, b. 618/1221 in Malatya, d. 656/1258 in Damascus, a poet (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ii, 325 (which, however, gives the date of his death as 686); *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 572; Brockelmann, I, 583), and ʿImād al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh, d. 667/1269 in Damascus (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, *loc.cit.*).

The Ottoman Sultan Selīm I, during his stay in Damascus after his Egyptian campaign (923-4/1517-8), ordered the rebuilding of the *turba* where Ibn al-ʿArabī was buried, and the construction nearby of a mosque and a *takkiyya* (H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas* ..., Damascus 1952, 148-50; cf. Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*[1], i, 404, 441, 444; Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 379); on this occasion a *fatwā* lauding Ibn al-ʿArabī was given by Kemāl-Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*] (text in *Shadharāt*, v, 195).

Works. Ibn al-ʿArabī was certainly the most prolific of all Ṣūfī writers; although Brockelmann (I, 571-82, S I, 791-802) lists no less than 239 works (perhaps with some duplication of works with differing titles), he was unable to avail himself fully of the rich resources of the libraries of Istanbul and Anatolia—the investigation of which still remains incomplete. Ibn al-ʿArabī himself did not know how many works he had written; at the request of his friends he endeavoured to draw up a list, of which three (conflicting) versions survive: (1) *Fihrist* (Konya, MS Yusuf Ağa 4989, pp. 378-89, on which see A Ateş, in *TV*, n.s. i/1 (16) (1955), 155-6), written by Ṣadr al-Dīn before 627/1230, is incomplete; (2) a MS of 1337/1918-9 (copied from one of 639/1241-2) lies behind Kurkīs al-ʿAwwād, *Fihrist muʾallafāt Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. ʿArabī*, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī*, xxix (Damascus 1954), 344-59, 527-36, xxx (1955), 51-60, 268-80, 395-410; this lists 248 works, some said to be uncompleted; (3) the *idjāza* which Ibn al-ʿArabī gave to the Ayyūbid Ghāzī b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in 632/1234 (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss* ..., iv, 77, no. 2992/4) mentions 289 works. [Osman Yahia (see bibl.) lists no fewer than 846 items.] Altogether there seems little doubt that Ibn al-ʿArabī is the author of some 400 works; some of these, as he himself said (K. al-ʿAwwād, *op. cit.*, xxix, 355, 527, 534), had been given away to others, some were in circulation, some he still retained, waiting for God's command to release them. Many of Ibn al-ʿArabī's books, both those written by himself and those owned by him, passed to Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī, who left them as *waḳf* to the library which he founded at Konya; in spite of later neglect, many of these survive in the Yusuf Ağa Library at Konya and in other Turkish libraries; and in what follows, especial emphasis will be laid on these and other exceptionally authoritative manuscripts.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's production was not only in the field of *taṣawwuf*, but his other works are not known to survive: among these are an abridgement of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and a *K. Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, a compilation of the traditions collected by Muslim and al-Bukhārī; an abridgement of Ibn Ḥazm's *al-Muḥallā* was apparently known to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ii, 1617).

Of his *ṣūfī* works, the most important are:

(1) *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya fī asrār al-mālikiyya wa 'l-mulkiyya* (Brockelmann[2], no. 10). The auto-

graph text of the second recension, in 37 volumes dated 633-7/1235-9, is preserved in Istanbul, MSS Türk-Islâm Eserleri Müzesi 1845-81; several printed eds.: 1269, 1294, 1329. The work was begun in Mecca in 598/1201 and finished (according to one tradition) in 629/1231. In six *faṣl* subdivided into 560 *bāb*, it contains a full exposition of the author's *ṣūfī* doctrine. A commentary on its difficult passages was written by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī (d. 832/1428; Brockelmann, S II, 283), and there are abridgements by (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb) al-Shaʿrānī [*q.v.*] (d. 973/1565): *Lawāḳiḥ al-anwār* ... (Cairo 1311); *al-Kibrīt al-aḥmar* ... (Cairo 1277); *al-Yawāḳīt wa 'l-djawāhir* ... (Cairo 1277, 1305, 1321).

(2) *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam wa khuṣūṣ al-kilam* (Brockelmann [2], no. 11). MS written by Ṣadr al-Dīn in 630/1232-3, read to and corrected by the author, in Istanbul, MS Türk-Islâm Eserleri Müzesi 1933. This summary of the teaching of 28 prophets from Adam to Muḥammad, dictated to the author at Damascus by the Prophet in a dream, has been frequently printed: Cairo 1252, Istanbul 1897, Cairo 1304, 1309, 1321, 1329, etc. Abridged Eng. tr.: Sahib Khaja Khan, *Wisdom of the Prophets* ..., Madras 1929; partial Fr. tr.: T. Burckhardt, *La sagesse des prophètes*, Paris 1955; Turkish tr. in the series Şark-islâm Klasikleri (no. 27), by Nûrî Genç Osman, Istanbul 1952. Brockelmann lists no less than 35 commentaries, the most important of which are (a) Ibn al-ʿArabī's own *Miftāḥ al-Fuṣūṣ*, (b) Ṣadr al-Dīn's *al-Fukūk fī mustanadāt Ḥikam al-fuṣūṣ* (see Osman Ergin, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, ii (1957), 75); those by (c) ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilamsānī (d. 690/1291; Brockelmann, I, 300), and (d) ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshānī (d. 736/1335; Brockelmann, S II, 280); (e) the *Maṭlaʿ Khuṣūṣ al-kilam* of Dāwūd al-Ḳayṣarī (d. 751/1350; Brockelmann, II, 299); (f) the *Naḳd al-nuṣūṣ* of Djāmī [*q.v.*], etc.

(3) *K. al-Isrā' ilā maḳām al-asrā* (Brockelmann [2], no. 15). MS Veliyüddin (Istanbul, Bayezid Public Library) 1628, dated 633/1235-6, was read to the author. Printed: Ḥaydarābād 1367/1948. A short work, written in rhyming prose (*sadjʿ*) in Fez in 594/1198, it describes Ibn al-ʿArabī's "*miʿrādj*" from the world of being (*kawn*) to the station (*mawḳif*) in God's presence. Commentaries by (a) his disciple Ismāʿīl b. Sawdakīn al-Nūrī (d. 646/1248; Brockelmann, I, 582), (b) Sitt al-ʿAdjam bint al-Nafīs, and (c) Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Munāwī.

(4) *Muḥāḍarāt al-abrār wa musāmarāt al-akhyār* (Brockelmann [2], no. 128). MS Istanbul, Topkapısarayı Ahmed III 2145 is dated 711/1311-2; printed: Cairo 1282 (lith.), 1305, 1324. This two volume collection of anecdotes contains some spurious additions, but the authorship of the basic work is certain.

(5) *Kalām al-ʿAbādila* (Brockelmann [2], no. 126). MS dated 641/1243-4: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4859/2; same date: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4817/1; MS dated 663/1264-5: Istanbul, Köprülü 713/3 (copied from the autograph); a collection of "sayings" attributed to numerous (imaginary) personages named "ʿAbd Allāh".

(6) *Tādj al-rasā'il wa minhādj al-wasā'il* (Brockelmann [2], no. 54). MS dated 613/1216-7 and 616/1219-20, "heard" by the author: Istanbul, Veliyüddin 1759/1; 764/1362-3: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4875, fols. 130-46; printed: Cairo 1328. A set of eight letters recounting his spiritual conversations with the Kaʿba while in Mecca in 600/1203-4.

(7) *Mawāḳiʿ al-nudjūm wa maṭāliʿ aḥillat al-asrār wa 'l-ʿulūm* (Brockelmann [2], no. 18); composed 595/1199 at Almeria; printed: Cairo 1325.

(8) *R. Rūḥ al-ḳuds fī munāṣaḥat al-nafs* (Brockelmann [2], no. 56). MS copied in Rabīʿ I 600/end of 1203, the month of composition: Istanbul University Library A 79; lith. Cairo 1281. A letter written from Mecca to his Tunis friend ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī, with criticisms of the wordly ways of *ṣūfīs* he had met and much information on the shaykhs whom he had known in Spain (this section discussed with Sp. tr. by M. Asín Palacios, *Vidas de santones en Andalucía*, Madrid 1933).

(9) *al-Tanazzulāt al-mawṣiliyya fī asrār al-ṭahārāt wa 'l-ṣalawāt wa 'l-ayyām al-aṣliyya* (Brockelmann [2], no. 100). Autograph MS dated 620/1223-4: Istanbul, Şeyh Murad (Süleymaniye) 162; MS read to the author by Ṣadr al-Dīn: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4861; MS read to the author: Istanbul, Murad Molla 1256; MS of ch. 4 dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868, fols. 46 ff. A work of 55 chapters, composed at Mosul, on the "inner" significance of religious duties.

(10) *K. al-Asfār* (not in Brockelmann). MS read to the author, dated 638/1240: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4859, fols. 4-38. On the three "journeys", to, from and in God.

(11) *al-Isfār ʿan natā'idj al-asfār* (Brockelmann, S no. 152); printed: Ḥaydarābād 1367/1948. Perhaps identical with no. 10.

(12) *Dīwān* (Brockelmann [2], no. 130). MSS written during the author's lifetime: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 5501, 5502; printed Būlāḳ 1271; lith. Bombay n.d.

(13) *Tardjumān al-ashwāḳ*, and (14) the commentary on it: *Fatḥ* (*Kashf*) *al-dhakhā'ir wa 'l-aʿlāḳ ʿan wadjh Tardjumān al-ashwāḳ* (Brockelmann [2], no. 129); Eng. tr. of text and part of comm.: R. A. Nicholson, *The Tarjumán al-Ashwáq, a collection of mystical odes*, London (Or. Trans. Fund., n.s. xx) 1911; commentary printed: Beirut 1312. The surviving text of the poems contains 61 love poems preceded by two, completely contradictory, prefaces: according to the first, the poems were written in love for Niẓām bint Makīn al-Dīn; according to the second, they are to be interpreted allegorically. The epilogue of the commentary recounts that it was written because the poems provoked gossip in Syria. The truth may be that the poems fall into two groups: those written in 598/1201-2 for Niẓām, with the first preface, and those written when Ibn al-ʿArabī was about 50, i.e. *ca.* 610/1213 (cf. poem 32), with the second preface, the two groups being combined when the sharḥ was undertaken.

(15) *Sharḥ Khalʿ al-naʿlayn* (Brockelmann [2], no. 103a). MS from Ṣadr al-Dīn's library, dated 640/1242-3: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4989, pp. 110-338. A commentary on the work by Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*].

(16) *K. Ḥilyat al-abdāl* (Brockelmann [2], no. 28). MS dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868/4; printed: Ḥaydarābād 1948; Turkish tr. Enwer, Istanbul 1326.

(17) *K. Tādj al-tarādjim fī ishārāt al-ʿilm wa laṭā'if al-fahm* (Brockelmann [2], no 65). MS dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868/5; 649/1251-2: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4817/3.

(18) *K. al-Shawāhid* (Brockelmann [2], no. 29). MS dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868/6; 649/1251-2: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4817/2.

(19) *K. Ishārāt al-Ḳur'ān fī ʿālam al-insān* (Brockelmann [2], no. 48). MS written during the author's lifetime: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4989/1.

For further details of MSS in Konya and Manisa, see A. Ateş, *Konya kütüphanelerinde bulunan bazı mühim yazmalar*, in *Belleten*, xvi/61 (1952), 49-130; idem, *Anadolu kütüphanelerinden* ..., in *TV*, n.s. i/1 (16) (1955), 150-7; idem, *al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*

fī maktabāt al-Anāḍūl, in *Madjallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya*, iv (Cairo 1958), 25 ff.

Among the spurious works attributed to Ibn al-ʿArabī may be mentioned: *Tafsīr al-Shaykh al-Akbar* (Brockelmann[2], no. 3); *al-Shadjara al-nuʿmāniyya fi 'l-dawla al-ʿUthmāniyya* (Brockelmann[2], no. 124); and a popular work on the interpretation of dreams (*Taʿbīr-nāma-i Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿArabī terdjümesi*, Istanbul 1309 etc.; most lately *Rüyâ tâbirleri*, Istanbul 1955).

Thought. With so many of his works still in manuscript, it is as yet impossible to give a complete conspectus of Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas. The following summary is based on only a few of his writings, mainly *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*.

Before his mystical ideas are examined, it is necessary to consider his epistemological outlook. Like almost all Muslim *ṣūfīs*, Ibn al-ʿArabī regards human reason as severely limited: in the introduction of the *Futūḥāt* (i, 33 ff. and cf. iii, 505), he divides the branches of knowledge (*ʿilm*) into three classes: (a) those which may be attained through reason (*ʿaḳl*); (b) the knowledge attained through "states" (*ḥāl*), acquired by perception of taste, colour, etc.; (c) knowledge of mysteries: this is the knowledge which the soul "blows" (*nafatha*) into the heart (*rūʿ*); it is in part like (though higher than) the knowledge provided by *ʿaḳl* and *ḥāl*; in part it is knowledge arising from "communications" (*akhbār*), *i.e.*, the revelations of prophets. This last "knowledge", coming from God, with or without the mediation of an angel, and acquired only after a profound mystic training, is *maʿrifa*. The true branches of knowledge are the *maʿārif*; and he who knows these knows everything.

The *maʿārif*, and particularly those relating to the "way" of God, are not to be acquired by reason, or by reason's most effective instrument *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*], for "every day [Allāh] is upon some labour" (Ḳurʾān, LV, 29). The truth of a statement depends on its source: the prophets recognized truths through inspiration (*ilḳāʾ*); these truths are to be received by faith and are not open to dispute. Ibn al-ʿArabī claimed a similar authority for his own teachings, since the *walī* [*q.v.*] is modelled upon and is the heir of the prophet; but he is far from claiming prophethood (*nubuwwa*) for himself (*Futūḥāt*, iii, 505).

Ibn al-ʿArabī's *maʿārif*, for which he claimed to have only a divine source, has in fact other sources, chief among them the Ḳurʾān, verses or words of which, or the letters prefixed to various *sūras*, he felt free to interpret in a manner unconnected with the context. He also studied the works of such mystics as Djunayd, Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī, al-Ḥallādj, and al-Ḳushayrī [*qq.v.*]. He was not uninfluenced by Muslim Neoplatonism: his relations with Ibn Rushd have been noticed above; and he accepted that truth was to be found in the sayings of such philosophers as al-Ghazālī and al-Suhrawardī [*qq.v.*]. Indeed, the comprehension of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings is made exceptionally difficult by the fact that he may use as interchangeable equivalents terms with different meanings taken from such varying sources as these.

Ibn al-ʿArabī believed that God is an Existence free of all attributes, using for this such terms as *ʿamāʾ muṭlaḳ*, *ghayb al-ghuyūb*, almost with the suggestion that God is unknowable. The emanation (*ṣudūr*) of other beings (*mawdjūdāt*) from this Being is explained in a very confused manner (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Khaldūn's *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil* . . ., ed. M. Tāvit al-Ṭancī, Ankara (Ank. Ün. Il. Fak. Yay. xxii) 1957), but agrees in essentials with the Neoplatonist, and hence the Bāṭinī, position (summary in *IA*, art. *Muhyi-d-Din Arabi*, pp. 549a-551a). Man makes various progresses, which are thought of as a series of journeys (*asfār*), in particular three: (1) from God, *al-safar ʿan Allāh*, by which a man having traversed the various worlds (*ʿawālim*) is born into this world, and is then thus furthest removed from God; (2) to God, *al-safar ila 'llāh*, by which, with the help of a guide, he makes the spiritual journey with the goal of reaching the "station of junction [with Universal Intelligence] after separation" (*maḳām al-djamʿ baʿd al-tafriḳa*); (3) in God, *al-safar fi 'llāh*. The first two journeys have an end, the third has no end: it is *baḳāʾ bi'llāh*. The traveller (*sālik*) who is making the third journey performs those precepts of the *sharīʿa* which are *farḍ*; externally, he is living with his fellows; but internally he is dwelling with God. Not every man is capable of more than the first journey; only those specially endowed (*khawāṣṣ*) may win to the vision of God, but even for them this depends on certain conditions (*shurūṭ*), some fulfilled by the traveller (*sālik*, *murīd*) himself, some provided by the *shaykh*. Even the Prophet had a *shaykh*—Gabriel. The *shaykhs* perform the function which the prophets had performed in their day, except that they do not bring a new *sharīʿa*.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's views on the "traveller" are expounded especially in his *Tuḥfat al-safara ilā ḥaḍrat al-barara* (Istanbul 1300; Turkish tr. M. Sālim, Istanbul 1303) and *Ḥilyat al-abdāl* (Turkish tr. Enwer, Istanbul 1306). The conditions he must observe are four: (1) silence (*samt*); (2) withdrawal from men (*ʿuzla*); (3) hunger (*djūʿ*) and (4) wakefulness (*sahar*). Through their observance with sincere intention (*ikhlāṣ*), there will be awakened in his heart a love (*maḥabba*), which grows to be a passion (*ʿishḳ*) quite distinct from selfish desires (*shahwa*). It is this passion which particularly brings men to God. On the journey the *sālik* experiences a series of "states" (*aḥwāl*), some continuing and hence called "resting-places" (*maḳām*, *manzil*), at each of which he learns various *maʿārif*. When the heart is thoroughly purified, the veil (*ḥidjāb*) of those "other" things which hide God (*mā siwāʾ Allāh*) is drawn aside; all things, past, present and future, are known; God grants the manifestation (*tadjallī*) of Himself; and finally union with Him (*waṣl*) is achieved.

Influence. Thanks to the protection of influential supporters, Ibn al-ʿArabī was only once in his lifetime in danger for his opinions; this was in Egypt (Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 580). Neither he in his lifetime nor his followers after his death founded a *ṭarīḳa*. The greatest influences in spreading his teaching were the works of his disciple Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī [*q.v.*] and Ṣadr al-Dīn's conventicle at Konya, where there foregathered learned *ṣūfīs* who —many of them in flight before the Mongols—had come to Anatolia. The most important of these was the poet ʿIrāḳī ([*q.v.*]; d. 686/1287), author of the *Lamaʿāt*: this abridged paraphrase in Persian of the *Fuṣūṣ* carried Ibn al-ʿArabī's teaching as far as eastern Iran (so that the *Lawāʾiḥ* of Djāmī [*q.v.*] is written in imitation of it). Others were al-Muʾayyad b. Maḥmūd al-Djanadī (Brockelmann, I, 588) and Saʿd al-Dīn al-Farghānī (Brockelmann, S I, 812; see also A. Ateş, in *TM*, vii-viii/2 (1945), 112 ff.).

Ibn al-ʿArabī's mysticism was widely taught in the Yemen, particularly at Zabīd, where it aroused much hostility; some *fuḳahāʾ* and *ḳāḍīs* sought the opinions of various doctors, and *fatwās* to the effect that Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas were *bidʿa* and that every word of the *Fuṣūṣ* was *kufr* were given by, *e.g.*, Ibn

Taymiyya [*q.v.*], Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 745/1344; Brockelmann, II, 106) and Badr al-Dīn b. Djamāʿa (d. 767/1366; Brockelmann, II, 86). Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], in his *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil*, mentioned above, examined Ibn al-ʿArabī's mystical thought, and found it meaningless and heretical. That he had numerous followers, however, is made clear by the writing of such polemical works as Ibn al-Ahdal's (d. 855/1451) *Kashf al-ghiṭāʾ* (Brockelmann, S II, 239) and the *Tanbīh al-ghabī ʿalā takfīr Ibn al-ʿArabī* of Ibrāhīm al-Biḳāʿī (d. 885/1480; Brockelmann, II, 179). It is only later that he found defenders, in the *Tanzīh al-ghabī* of al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*], the *K. al-Radd fī munkir al-Shaykh al-Akbar* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Idrīsī (d. 917/1511; Brockelmann, II, 152), and particularly in the *fatwā* delivered by Kemāl-Pashazāde [*q.v.*] when the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I ordered the restoration of his *turba* (see p. 708b above). Thereafter there were written two major works in his defence: *al-Ḳawl al-mubīn fī ʾl-radd ʿan Muḥyi ʾl-Dīn*, of al-Shaʿrānī ([*q.v.*] d. 973/1565; Brockelmann, II, 442) and *al-Radd al-matīn* ..., of ʿAbd al-Ghanī [*q.v.*].

The spread of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teaching in Persia and India was promoted particularly by Djāmī [*q.v.*], with his *Lawāʾiḥ*, an Arabic *Sharḥ al-Fuṣūṣ*, and a Persian *Sharḥ Naḳsh al-Fuṣūṣ*; but here too his doctrines were attacked, *e.g.*, by al-Taftazānī [*q.v.*], in his *al-Radd wa ʾl-taṣnīʿ ʿalā kitāb al-Fuṣūṣ*.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas had their most profound influence in Anatolia, thanks to the activities of Ṣadr al-Dīn's disciples, so that his works became "text-books" in Ottoman *madrasas*, commentaries being written by Dāwūd al-Ḳayṣarī (d. 751/1350; Brockelmann, II, 299), Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Izniḳī [*q.v.*] and Yazidji-zāde Meḥmed [see YAZIDJI-OGHLU]. Nevertheless, in spite of Kemāl-Pasha-zāde's *fatwā*, al-Ḥalabī ([*q.v.*], d. in Istanbul 956/1549) wrote a refutation of the *Fuṣūṣ* (*Niʿmat al-dharīʿa fī nuṣrat al-sharīʿa*); and a similar work was composed by ʿAlī al-Ḳārī (d. 1014/1605; Brockelmann, II, 519). From this time onwards, however, hostile writing ceases, and there appears a continuous stream of commentaries on and translations of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works, chiefly the *Fuṣūṣ*. A comparable influence in Anatolia was exercised only by Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; but the two great commentators of the *Mathnawī*, Ismāʿīl Anḳarawī ([*q.v.*], d. 1041/1631-2) and Ṣarī ʿAbd Allāh ([*q.v.*], d. 1071/1661), interpreted the whole text in the light not of Djalāl al-Dīn's teaching but of Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrines (see A. Ateş, *Mesnevî'nin onsekiz beytinin mânası*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 37-50); and from the 8th/14th century onwards this doctrine of monism (*waḥdat al-wudjūd* [*q.v.*]) became the main tenet of Anatolian ṣūfism and of the philosophy expressed in *dīwān* literature.

Ibn al-ʿArabī may have had some influence also on mediaeval Europe, notably on the Catalan missionary Raymond Lull (*ca.* 1235-1315) (see Carra de Vaux, *Penseurs*, iv, 223 ff.); and it has been suggested that his description of his *isrāʾ* influenced Dante (see M. Asín Palacios, *Islam and the Divine Comedy*, tr. H. Sunderland, London 1926, intr. and pp. 42-52) [on this question see further MIʿRĀDJ].

Bibliography: al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi ʾl-wafayāt*, ed. Dedering, Cairo 1958, iv, 173-8; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, Ḥaydarābād 1952, viii, 736; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, Cairo 1350, iii, 158 f.; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 478-82; al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, iv, 100 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa ʾl-nihāya*, xiii, 156; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, v, 311-5; Ibn al-Wardī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 336; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 329 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 190-202; al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, i, 149; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, Turkish tr. by Lāmiʿī, Istanbul 1270, 621-32; Muḥ. Radjab Ḥilmī, *al-Burhān al-azhar fī manāḳib al-Shaykh al-Akbar*, Cairo 1326 (with Turkish tr. in the margins).

M. Asín Palacios, *Mohiddin*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, Madrid 1899, ii, 217-56; idem, *El Islam cristianizado* ..., Madrid 1931, and his articles cited in Pearson, 2476-7; H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*, Leiden 1919; A. Rechid, *La quintessence de la philosophie d'Ibn Arabi*, Paris 1926; A. E. Afifi, *The mystical philosophy of Muhyiddîn-Ibnul ʿArabi*, Cambridge 1939; H. Z. Ülken, *Islâm düşüncesi*, Istanbul 1946, 149-67; Saffet Yetkin, *Muhyi'd-din Arabî ve tasavvuf*, in *Ank. Ün. Il. Fak. D.*, i (1952), 22-30; idem, *Kelâmdan tasavvufa, ibid.*, ii (1953), 1-22; H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Paris 1958; Osman Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, i-ii, Damascus (PIFD) 1964; Pearson, nos. 2475-84; *Supplement 1956-60*, 725-31; *Supp. 1961-5*, 727, 781.

[This article is abridged from the late Ahmed Ateş's contribution, s.v. *Muhyi-d-Dîn Arabî*, to *IA* (fasc. 85, pp. 533-55), where further references are given]. (A. ATEŞ)

IBN ʿARABSHĀH, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. IBRĀHĪM SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU ʾL-ʿABBĀS AL-DIMASHḲĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-ʿADJAMĪ, born in 791/1392 in Damascus, was taken with his family to Samarḳand in 803/1400-1, when Tīmūr conquered Damascus and carried off many of its inhabitants (cf. *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, Leeuwaarden 1767-72, ii, 143 ff.); there he studied with al-Djurdjānī, al-Djazarī and others, and learned Persian, Turkish and Mongol. In 811/1408-9 he went to Khaṭā in Mongolia where he studied *ḥadīth* with al-Shirāmī, later to Khwārazm and Dasht (at Serāy and Ḥādjdjī Tarkhān), where he still was in 814/1409-10 (*Vita Timuri*, i, 376). He came through the Crimea to Edirne, where he became a confidant of the Ottoman Sultan Meḥemmed I b. Bāyezīd. He translated several books for him into Turkish (al-ʿAwfī, *Djāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt wa-lāmiʿ al-riwāyāt*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 510; Abu ʾl-Layth, *Tafsīr*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 352; Dīnawarī, *Taʿbīr*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 312) and conducted, as *Kātib al-Sirr*, the Sultan's correspondence in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Mongol. In 824/1421 he went to Aleppo, in 825/1422 to Damascus, where he studied *ḥadīth* with his friend Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (cf. *Vita Timuri*, i, 32). In 832/1429 he performed the Ḥadjdj, in 840/1436 he migrated to Cairo and was there on friendly terms with Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, amongst others. He died in 854/1450. His chief work is the *ʿAdjāʾib al-maḳdūr fī nawāʾib Tīmūr* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 122 f.; editions in Brockelmann; tr. into Turkish by al-Murtaḍā Naẓmīzāde al-Baghdādī in 1110/1698, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 190; vi, 544), in which Tīmūr's conquests and the conditions under his successor are described. Tīmūr is represented as a cruel profligate and tyrant, but towards the end (ed. Manger, iii, 781 ff.) his great qualities are appreciated. The book contains valuable descriptions of Samarḳand and its learned world (iii, 855 ff.); Latin translation by Golius, Leiden 1636, French translation by Vattier, 1658, English translation by J. H. Sanders, London 1936. His *Fākihat al-khulafāʾ wa-mufākahat al-ẓurafāʾ* in ten chapters, written in

the month of Ṣafar 852/1448 (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 345) contains a mirror for princes and beast-fables, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa "like *Kalīla wa Dimna* and *Sulwān al-Mutāʿ*" (see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, ii, nos. 140-4), but, as Chauvin has shown (*op. cit.*, ii, nos. 145-9), it is actually a version of the Persian *Marzbān-nāma* in the recension of Saʿd of Varāvīn (cf. Houtsma in *ZDMG*, lii, 359 ff.; a selection in Freytag, *Locmani Fabulae*, 72 ff.; complete edition see below). The introductory portion of an edition of his *al-Taʾlīf al-ṭāhir fī shiyam ... Abī Saʿīd Djaḳmaḳ* was published as a posthumous work of S. A. Strong in *JRAS*, 1907, 395 ff. Ten works are mentioned under his name, among them a work on Arabic, Persian and Turkish, *Tardjumān al-murtadjim* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 278). See also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 158; iv, 190, 232, 270, 311; v, 479, and Freytag's work mentioned below.

Of his sons the following were authors: (1) AL-ḤASAN, wrote *Īḍāḥ al-ẓulm wa-bayān al-ʿudwān fī taʾrīkh al-Nābulusī al-Khāridjī al-Khawwān*, in rhymed prose, on al-Nābulusī and his tyrannical proceedings against Damascus, see Brockelmann, II, 30. (2) TĀDJ AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB, born 813/1411 in Ḥādjdjī Tarkhān, died 901/1495. He wrote a biography of his father and a work on Ḥanafī *fiḳh* (*Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 5; Brockelmann, II, 19, S II, 13).

Bibliography: Freytag, *Fructus Imperatorum et Jocatio Ingeniosorum*, 2 vols., Bonn 1832 (ed. of the *Fākiha*; pp. xxv-xxxiii sketch of his life based on al-Sakhāwī and Taghrībirdī); Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der arab., Hdschr. zu Gotha*, nos. 94/13, 1840, 1841, 2696; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, no. 488; Brockelmann, I, 196; II, 28-30; Browne, iii, 355 f.; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, 1 ff., Berkeley and Los Angeles 1952; *IA*, s.v. Ibn Arabşah, by Ibrahim Kafesoğlu; R. H. Roemer, in *CAJ*, ii, 221 f.

(J. PEDERSEN)

IBN ʿARAFA, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-WARGHAMMĪ (716/1316-803/1401), the outstanding representative of the Mālikī school in Ḥafṣid Tunisia. He was a Berber from south-eastern Tunisia, and had Tunisian and Marīnid teachers such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Ibn Salāma, Ibn Hārūn al-Kinānī, ʿUmar b. Ḳaddāḥ, Ibn al-Djabbāb, Ibn Andarās, and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Abullī. After becoming *imām* of the Great Mosque of Tunis and *muftī*, he exerted by his knowledge and virtue a considerable influence which extended outside the frontiers of his own country. His chief disciples were al-Ghubrīnī, al-Burzūlī, al-Ubbī, and Ibn Nādjī. He opposed the famous historian and sociologist Ibn Khaldūn. Like other Ḥafṣid *fuḳahāʾ* of his time, he strove to revivify Mālikism by reconciling law and custom. His treatise on "Definitions" (*Ḥudūd*), which has become a classic and is the object of a commentary by al-Raṣṣāʿ, testifies to his care in defining juridical ideas with precision. His great work on *fiḳh*, *al-Mabsūṭ* or *al-Mukhtaṣar al-kabīr*, which is still in manuscript, is now almost forgotten.

Bibliography: R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, Paris 1947, index; Ibn Maryam, *Kitāb al-Bustān*, Algiers 1908, Fr. tr. Algiers 1910, index. (H. R. IDRIS)

IBN AL-ʿARĪF, ABU'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MŪSĀ B. ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH AL-ṢANHĀDJĪ, a distinguished man of intellect and celebrated Ṣūfī, born according to Ibn Khallikān on Monday 2 Djumādā I 481/24 July 1088, died in Marrākush 23 Ṣafar 536/27 September 1141.

His father had once been *ʿarīf* in Tangier, that is to say he was employed as head of the guard responsible for keeping watch in the town at night. From this circumstance came his surname Ibn al-ʿArīf. Although naturally inclined to a studious life, the young Aḥmad was apprenticed to a weaver. However, his marked vocation for study became ever stronger and could not be resisted, in spite of constraints and threats. In the end, in Almeria, he was able to receive religious and philological instruction and to satisfy his taste for poetry. He earned a reputation as a traditionist, reader of the Ḳurʾān and poet. He taught in Saragossa, Valencia and Almeria.

It was in this last town that he had his greatest success. His exemplary life and his aptitude for asceticism and meditation enabled him to become a respected Ṣūfī, surrounded by many disciples. Almeria was at that time one of the most vigorous centres of Andalusian Ṣūfism, one of the focal points of opposition to the Almoravid *fuḳahāʾ*. It was there that a solemn condemnation was made, in a collective *fatwā*, of the destruction of the books of al-Ghazālī ordered by the *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, Ibn Ḥamdīn.

Ibn al-ʿArīf was initiated into Ṣūfism by Abū Bakr Ibn ʿAbd al-Bāḳī. The complete chain of the succession will be found in the text of his epitaph, published and translated by G. Deverdun. We may note in it in particular the name of one of the disciples of Djunayd (298/910), Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. al-Aʿrābī (d. 311/951-2), whom Ibn Masarra, according to M. Asín Palacios (*Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914, 35), was later to meet in Mecca. Now, it is known that the teaching of Ibn Masarra (269-319/883-931) exercised a profound and lasting influence on Andalusian Ṣūfī circles until the period of the dissemination, in the Muslim West, of the doctrines of al-Ghazālī, which seemed to infuse fresh, youthful blood into the old Spanish esoteric school, imparting to it a new vitality and, above all, a firm resolve to resist the persecutions of the *fuḳahāʾ*. Men such as Ibn Barradjān of Seville, Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī of Granada and Ibn Ḳasī, who rebelled in the Algarve, owed the greater part of their firmness and intransigence to the *Iḥyāʾ*.

The first-named appeared to the local authorities to be highly dangerous. Did he share his views with Ibn al-ʿArīf? Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Kitāb Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 286) writes that he was *naẓīruhu fi 'l-khulla*, his equal in the matter of friendship with God. Fragments of a correspondence exchanged between the two men, discovered and published by Father Nwyia, show that Ibn al-ʿArīf addressed Ibn Barradjān as though he were his master. There can be no doubt that they were closely linked together. In summoning them both to Marrākush, together with Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī, the Almoravid ʿAlī b. Yūsuf wanted to make it clear that he intended to have their case examined conjointly by his *fuḳahāʾ*. Ibn Barradjān was invited to give an explanation of certain statements of his which were considered heretical. Thrown into prison, he died there shortly afterwards. Ibn al-ʿArīf, on the other hand, was treated liberally. The sovereign ordered that he should be released from the chains in which he had been put at the instigation of his enemy, the *ḳāḍī* of Almeria, Ibn al-Aswad. He received him honourably at court and granted him liberty to go wherever he wished. But he had scant time to profit from this favourable treatment, for shortly after this unfortunate episode he died. It is supposed, though one cannot be certain of it, that Ibn al-Aswad had him poisoned. The renown for saintliness that he

enjoyed, his unanimously recognized noble reputation and the favourable treatment accorded him by the court show clearly that, although belonging to the opposition, Ibn al-ʿArīf was not as fully compromised by political activities as was Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī, who took to flight when summoned to Marrākush, or again as was Ibn Barradjān, whose body the prince ordered to be thrown onto the town dunghill.

The only work of Ibn al-ʿArīf known today is the short work entitled *Maḥāsin al-madjālis*, studied and translated by M. Asín Palacios. Ibn al-ʿArabī of Murcia found it extremely valuable—to quote the eminent Spanish scholar—"in justifying and vindicating the most daring theses of his immanentist pantheism".

The tomb of "Sīdī Bellʿarīf" is in Marrākush. His biographers record that he was buried near the ancient mosque of ʿAlī, in the centre of the town, in the funerary enclosure (*rawḍa*) of *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. Ḥammād.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿArīf Mūsā, *Maḥāsin al-madjālis*, Arabic text, trans. and comm. by M. Asín Palacios, Paris 1933 (the preface includes a detailed biography of Ibn al-ʿArīf, with references to numerous Arab sources); to the titles given by M. Asín Palacios may be added:—Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya*, Fās 1918, i, 109-12; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm, *Iʿlām bi-man ḥall Marrākush wa-Āghmāt min al-aʿlām*, Fās 1936, i, 160 ff. (containing a vast number of quotations from the works of the many biographers of the Ṣūfī); Tādilī, *al-Tashawwuf ʿilā ridjāl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958, 96 (a compilation dating from the 7th/13th century). In *Los Almorávides*, Tetuan 1956, 285 ff., J. Bosch Vilá traces the activities of the Andalusian Ṣūfīs in the historical context of the decline of Almoravid power. For his epitaph, see G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956, 17; the article by Father Paul Nwyia, *Note sur quelques fragments inédits de la correspondance d'Ibn al-ʿArīf avec Ibn Barrajān*, in *Hespéris* xliii (1956), 217-21, supplies new information concerning the relations between the two men.

(A. Faure)

IBN AL-ʿARĪF, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd b. Naṣr, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, Andalusian man of letters in the 4th/10th century. He was known principally as a grammarian, and was always called al-Naḥwī. He was brought up in Cordova, his native city, under the guidance of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya [*q.v.*], and in Ifrīḳiya under that of Ibn Rashīḳ. He spent several years in Egypt, where he outshone his brother al-Ḥasan, also known by the name of Ibn al-ʿArīf (d. 367/977-8), and, on his return to Spain, the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir appointed him tutor (*muʾaddib*) to his sons. He always took part in the literary gatherings (*madjālis*) of al-Manṣūr, and distinguished himself by his rivalry with the famous Ṣāʿid al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], of which biographers have collected several instances. Sometimes Ibn al-ʿArīf succeeded, by dishonest means, in confounding his rival before al-Manṣūr, but in the end the curious ʿIrāḳī personality prevailed.

Ibn al-ʿArīf wrote various literary works and grammatical treatises which have not survived. He died in 390/1000, during one of al-Manṣūr's last campaigns, that of Cervera, and was buried at Toledo.

Bibliography: Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis*, 182; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 653; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh*, no. 354; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 237; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 182-93; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 383-4. On his rivalry with Ṣāʿid see R. Blachère, in *Hespéris*, x (1930), 15-36, *passim*.

(F. de la Granja)

IBN ARṬĀṬ [see ibn sayḥān].

IBN ʿARŪS, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, Sīdī b. ʿArūs, (died 868/1463), the greatest Tunisian saint of the late Middle Ages. A native of Cape Bon, at first he performed menial tasks while educating himself, particularly in Ṣūfism, firstly in Tunisia and then in Morocco, where he lived for a long time. He settled finally at Tunis and there lived as a vagabond marabout and miracle-worker, indulging in the most scandalous excesses, and in *takhrīb*, or violation of moral and religious rules. In spite of the protests of some of the *fuḳahāʾ* he attracted the infatuation of the masses and the protection of members of the ruling house. He was buried in his *zāwiya*. The ʿArūsiyya brotherhood takes its name from him. His *Manāḳib*, composed by a disciple, ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Rāshidī, were printed at Tunis in 1303/1885.

Bibliography: R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, Paris 1947, index.

(H. R. Idris)

IBN ʿASĀKIR, the name of the members of the Banū ʿAsākir family, eminent figures who for almost two centuries, from 470 to 660/1077-1261, held an important position in the history of the town of Damascus and produced a dynasty of Shāfiʿī scholars.

Among the most illustrious members of this remarkable family it is fitting to mention al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh, who was born in 470/1077 and died at Damascus in 519/1125. A grammarian and jurisconsult of note, he allied himself by marriage to the family of the Banū Kurāshī, which traced its ancestry back to the Umayyads and which included numerous *ḳāḍīs* and scholars, one of whom was the historian Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*]. Al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh had three sons: al-Ṣāʿin, ʿAlī and Muḥammad, and a daughter. The eldest, al-Ṣāʿin Hibat Allāh b. Ḥasan, was born in Radjab 488/July 1095 and was an eminent lawyer. He taught in the Ghazāliyya *zāwiya* at the Great Mosque of Damascus and was himself a *muftī*; he died in Shaʿbān 563/June 1168 without issue, and was buried like the other members of his family in the cemetery of Bāb al-Ṣaghīr.

The youngest son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, who was Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, left six sons, all well versed in the science of *ḥadīth*. They assured for the family a long survival.

ʿAlī's sister, by her marriage to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Fatḥ al-Sulāmī, a professor at the Amīniyya *madrasa* after 564/1169, established close ties with another family of Shāfiʿī scholars in Damascus, the Banū Sulāmī. The Banū ʿAsākir, Banū Kurāshī and Banū Sulāmī composed in the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries a highly cultured and influential group of intellectuals.

The best known member of the family is the historian of Damascus Thiḳat al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dimashḳī al-Shāfiʿī al-Ḥāfiẓ. Born in Damascus at the beginning of 499/September-October 1105, ʿAlī Ibn ʿAsākir grew up during the reign of the *atabeg* Tughtakīn in a family of strict Sunnīs, hostile both to the Shīʿīs, who were supported by the Fāṭimids of Cairo, and to the Ismāʿīlī Bāṭinīs, then very active in Syria. Like all boys belonging to the wealthy classes of society, ʿAlī soon received the basis of a sound education. He began by learning the elements of grammar from

his maternal grandfather Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Kurās͟hī (d. 534/1139), then, in about 505/1111, he went to attend the teaching given by his elder brother at the Great Mosque. He learned to recite the Ḳur'ān and began to learn *ḥadīth*s with their *isnāds*. According to custom, he was permitted to transmit these traditions only after the age of puberty. ʿAlī also had as masters the *s͟hayk͟h* Abū Muḥammad al-Afkanī (d. 524/1129) and D̲j̲amāl al-Islām b. Muslim Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sulāmī (d. 533/1139). As a youth he was present at the inaugural lectures of al-Sulāmī at the S͟hāfiʿī *madrasa* which the *atabeg* Gümüs͟htegin had built in 514/1120.

On the death of his father, a new period began for ʿAlī, the period of travels across the East in search of *ḥadīth*s. In 520/1126, he went to Bag͟hdād with his brother al-Ṣāʾin, who went to the Niẓāmiyya to attend the lectures of the S͟hāfiʿī Asad al-Miḥānī (d. 527/1132) on *fiḳh*, and of Ibn Burhān, a pupil of al-G͟hazālī, on philosophy. In 521 ʿAlī made the pilgrimage. He passed some time at Mecca and Medina and stopped at Kūfa on his way back to Bag͟hdād, where he attended the lectures at the Niẓāmiyya; he attended the lectures of the Ḥanbalī Saʿd al-K͟hayr Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī, a pupil of al-G͟hazālī, and of the disciples of al-Barmakī, of al-Tanūk͟hī and of Abū Muḥammad al-D̲j̲awharī; he attended the lectures on *ḥadīth* of Abū Saʿīd Ismāʿīl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Ḳaramānī and Ibn al-Ḥusayn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. ʿAlī visited the region of Mosul and returned to Damascus in 525, the year of the assassination of Tād̲j̲ al-Mulk Böri. The young man seems to have married towards the end of this period, for his son al-Ḳāsim was born in 527/1133. The situation was becoming unsettled in Damascus and so ʿAlī returned to the East in 529/1134; he crossed K͟hurāsān, visited Iṣfahān, travelled in Transoxania and stayed in Marw, where he met Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī, with whom he went to Nīs͟hāpūr and Harāt. In 533/1139, Ibn ʿAsākir again passed through Bag͟hdād, and returned to Damascus two years later. In the course of his journeying through ʿIrāk, K͟hurāsān, the D̲j̲azīra and the Ḥid̲j̲āz, he collected a considerable number of *ḥadīth*s and became a *ḥāfiẓ*.

From the reign of Muʿīn al-Dīn Anar onwards, ʿAlī Ibn ʿAsākir never left his native town, where he devoted himself for forty years to learning and political activity, without neglecting poetry. Because of the eminent position of the Banū ʿAsākir in Damascus society and the personal prestige of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī as a *ḥāfiẓ* and lawyer, Nūr al-Dīn, on his occupation of Damascus in 549/1154, immediately established contact with him; the sovereign found in ʿAlī a valuable ally in successfully implementing his programme of Sunnī reaction in Damascus. For him Nūr al-Dīn built the first *dār al-ḥadīth*, known also as the *dār al-Sunna*. From then on it was the task of the Banū ʿAsākir to lead the struggle against the S͟hīʿīs and to spread traditional Sunnī teaching. As a follower of al-As͟hʿarī and combating ideas which cast a slur on the Sunna, Ibn ʿAsākir wrote a collection of forty *ḥadīth*s in support of the religious policy of Nūr al-Dīn: *Arbaʿīn fi 'l-id̲j̲tihād fī iḳāmat al-d̲j̲ihād*, exalting the virtues of the Holy War; to this period also belongs his *Faḍl ʿAskalān*, mentioned by al-D̲h̲ahabī (*Tad̲h̲kira*, iv, 124); the work exhorted the Muslims to recapture the town, which the Franks had just taken from them in 548/1153. Finally, Nūr al-Dīn encouraged ʿAlī to complete his great dictionary entitled *Ta'rīk͟h madīnat Dimas͟hḳ*. Ibn ʿAsākir witnessed the death of Nūr al-Dīn and was present at Saladin's entry into Damascus in 571/1175. He died a few months later, on 11 Rad̲j̲ab 571/25 January 1176. The Ayyūbid Sultan was present at his funeral in the cemetery of Bāb al-Sag͟hīr, where he was buried by the side of his father and other members of his family.

ʿAlī Ibn ʿAsākir left considerable works. His principal work, the *Ta'rīk͟h madīnat Dimas͟hḳ*, is a biographical dictionary conceived on the same plan as the dictionary of al-K͟haṭīb al-Bag͟hdādī. It consists of 80 books (*mad̲j̲allāt*) each of 10 sections (*d̲j̲uz'*) of 20 folios, the whole forming a manuscript in 18 volumes in the Ẓāhiriyya library. This dictionary seems to have been composed in three stages: begun in 529/1134, it consisted in 549/1154 of 57 books of 10 fascicules (*d̲j̲uz'*); at this time Nūr al-Dīn encouraged the author to continue his work. In 562/1167, when ʿImād al-Dīn came to Damascus, he saw a copy of 70 books of 10 fascicules (*kurrāsa*) of 20 folios. Finally al-Ḳāsim, the son of the author, speaks of a collection of 800 fascicules divided into 80 books. The work begins with a highly detailed historical topography of the town of Damascus. This section owes much to Aḥmad b. al-Muʿallā (d. 286/899) and to Ibn Ḥumayd b. Abi 'l-ʿAd̲j̲ā'iz, and was later used by Ibn S͟haddād in his *al-Aʿlāḳ al-k͟haṭīra* and by Ibn S͟hākir al-Kutubī for his *ʿUyūn al-tawārīk͟h*. The principal part of the work is a collection of biographies. approximating to the genre of *ṭabaḳāt*; after eulogizing the Prophet, the author enumerates in alphabetical order all the important people who dwelt in Damascus permanently or briefly. Widening his horizons, Ibn ʿAsākir also deals with celebrated persons who lived in Ḥalab, Baʿlabakk, Ramla or Ṣaydā. This excellent source for the history of Damascus has so far been only partially published by Badrān and Aḥmad ʿUbayd (7 vols., Damascus 1911-32, as far as part of the letter *ʿayn*). A new edition, promoted by the Arab Academy of Damascus, is in the course of production (2 vols. appeared in 1954, one volume (vol. x) appeared in 1965). It is very probable that this work of Ibn ʿAsākir inspired Ibn al-ʿAdīm to write the *Bug͟hya*.

Besides the two books mentioned, exalting the virtues of *d̲j̲ihād*, we may notice in the abundant production of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim two apologetic works: *Manāḳib as͟hʿariyya* and the *Tabyīn kad̲h̲ib al-muftarī ʿalā Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-As͟hʿarī* (ed. al-Kawt̲h̲arī, Damascus 1928). Finally, his poetic gifts caused him to be mentioned among the "scholar-poets" of Damascus by his contemporary ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (*K͟harīdat al-Ḳaṣr*, Damascus ed. 1955, 274).

His son, al-Ḳāsim Bahā al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad, was born at Damascus in 527/1132. He studied in his native town and in Cairo. He wrote a biography of his father, but this work, which was used by Yāḳūt and al-D̲h̲ahabī, is lost. His most remarkable work is *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-mustaḳṣā fī faḍā'il al-Masd̲j̲id al-Aḳṣā*. He died in 600/1203, and was buried on the slopes of Ḳasiyūn (see Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-S͟hāfiʿiyya*, v, 148; Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 38; Brockelmann, S I, 567).

Among the six nephews of the historian, it is fitting to mention Fak͟hr al-Dīn and Zayn al-Umanā'. Fak͟hr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAsākir Abū Manṣūr al-Dimas͟hḳī was born in 550/1155. He was the pupil of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Nīs͟hābūrī before becoming his son-in-law. As *s͟hayk͟h* of the S͟hāfiʿīs of Damascus he taught in several *madrasas* in the town. He died in 620/1223 and was buried in the cemetery of the Ṣūfīs (see Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 101).

Zayn al-Umanā', Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Ḥasan b.

Muḥammad Ibn ʿAsākir, the pupil of his uncle the historian, was appointed inspector of the Treasury and of the *waḳfs* in Damascus, then he devoted himself to asceticism and died in 627/1230, at the age of 93. He was buried by the side of his brother Fakhr al-Dīn (see Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 127).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 139-146; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, Ḥaydarābād 1951, i, 336; Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, Cairo [1]1287, i, 261, [2]1962, i/2, 667; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, 471, no. 414, trans. de Slane, ii, 252; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, Ḥaydarābād, iv, 122-7; al-Subkī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, iv, 273-7; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, xii, 294; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, iv, 239; Juynboll, *Orientalia*, 1846, 161, 163-7; Brockelmann, I, 331; S I, 566; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 126, 233; ii, 104, 130, 131, 187; vi, 143; S. Dahan, in B. Lewis & P. M. Holt (edd.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 112, 114-5. (N. Elisséeff)

IBN AL-ASHʿATH, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, descendant of a noble Kindī family of the Ḥaḍramawt, who became famous because of his insurrection against al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] in 80-2/699-701 or 80-3/699-702. He was the grandson of the famous al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] (see, further to the references given there, L. Caetani, *Annali*, 40 A.H. 501-5 for further information, an assessment of him and a very full bibliography; H. Lammens, *Moʿawia Ier*, 131, 150-2), and the son of Muḥammad [*q.v.*], who was less famous than his father al-Ashʿath but nevertheless played an important part in the events of his day. The mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath was named Umm ʿAmr and was the daughter of Saʿīd (see al-Ṭabarī, index) b. Ḳays al-Hamdānī (*Aghānī*, v, 153). The sources mention ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as assisting his father in his political activity. It was he who revealed to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād the hiding-place of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl (60/680), though this denunciation was in fact merely the consequence of a thoughtless act (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 231, 261). In 67/686, he fought beside Muṣʿab against al-Mukhtār (*ibid.*, 733), and it was probably from a desire to avenge his father that he either himself killed or encouraged Muṣʿab to kill the prisoners who were supporters of al-Mukhtār (*ibid.*, 739, 740, 749 f.). The sources do not mention him again until 72/691-2, a year when many very important events occurred: ʿAbd al-Malik defeated and killed Muṣʿab on the banks of the Dudjayl, near to the monastery of the Catholicos (Djumādā I or II 72/October 691; for the chronology of the battle, see Périer, *Ḥadjdjādj*, 34, n.1), and al-Ḥadjdjādj, probably in Djumādā II, was sent to fight against Ibn al-Zubayr at Mecca. As is known, al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v*] entered the service of the Umayyad caliph, who had defeated Muṣʿab, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān evidently behaved in the same way, since we learn that Bishr, the brother of ʿAbd al-Malik, put him at the head of 5,000 Kūfans intended for a campaign against the Khāridjīs under the command of the Umayyad Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd (72/probably the first months of 692). These Khāridjīs, who had approached the town of al-Ahwāz, withdrew after about twenty days before the superior forces of the government, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went to Rayy, of which he had been appointed governor by Bishr (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 826 f.). Between 72 and 76 there is again a gap in the sources on the activities of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. In 75/694-5, al-Ḥadjdjādj, recalled from Arabia and appointed governor of ʿIrāḳ, made his entry into Kūfa. Henceforward it was with the very difficult al-Ḥadjdjādj that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had to deal, since he was his superior. The war against the Azraḳīs was not yet over when another group of Khāridjīs, the majority of them belonging to the Banū Shaybān, spread terror in the territories on the borders of ʿIrāḳ and in ʿIrāḳ itself. This group, consisting of very few men, had inflicted on the government troops some extremely severe defeats (Périer, *op. cit.*, 109-29), when al-Ḥadjdjādj entrusted ʿAbd al-Raḥmān with an army of 6,000 horsemen with instructions to pursue Shabīb [*q.v.*]. Ibn al-Ashʿath, following the advice of the general al-Djazl ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd, who had had an unhappy experience of Shabīb's tactical skill (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 901-10), hastened in pursuit of the Khāridjīs, while taking every precaution to avoid an unexpected attack. As the campaign dragged on, the governor of al-Madāʾin, ʿUthmān b. Ḳaṭan, in a letter to al-Ḥadjdjādj criticized the way the war was being conducted; invited by al-Ḥadjdjādj to take the initiative, he attacked Shabīb, but could not withstand the Khāridjī counter-attack; he was killed with 1120 (or 720) of his soldiers, and the remnants of the defeated army fled to Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 930-7); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, unhorsed during the battle, was helped by a comrade (Ibn Abī Sabra) to escape and, after a number of adventures, also reached Kūfa, where he remained in hiding until al-Ḥadjdjādj granted him *amān* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 937-9).

Relations between the governor of ʿIrāḳ and Ibn al-Ashʿath had at first been friendly (al-Ḥadjdjādj's son, Muḥammad, married a sister of Ibn al-Ashʿath), but they soon deteriorated; in explaining Ibn al-Ashʿath's revolt, all the sources attach great importance to this change of attitude. It appears that Ibn al-Ashʿath, proudly conscious of his noble birth, made it clear that he considered himself to be the most worthy of all the *amīrs* to rule. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 407), he gave himself the title of *Nāṣir al-muʾminīn* (the Helper of the Believers, presumably setting himself up as the defender of the true Believers as against the Umayyads and al-Ḥadjdjādj, whom he condemned as bad Muslims); he also claimed to be the "Ḳaḥṭānī", *i.e.*, the person awaited by the Yemenīs as being he who would restore domination to them (G. van Vloten, *Recherches*, 61). Such arrogance annoyed the governor, who vigorously condemned Ibn al-Ashʿath's behaviour (*e.g.*, "Look how he walks! How I should like to cut off his head!"); when these remarks were reported to Ibn al-Ashʿath, he reacted violently (he is said to have shouted: "I shall have neither respite nor rest until I have removed him from power"; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1043 etc.). A mutual hatred seems to have taken possession of them (the *Anonyme Arabische Chronik*, 318, Ibn Kathīr and other writers stress this hatred). Things had reached this point when there occurred an event which evoked surprise in Kūfa. In Sidjistān [*q.v.*], which since 78/697-8 was, with Khurāsān, ruled by al-Ḥadjdjādj (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1032-4), it was the task of the local governor to keep in subjection the territory of the Kābulistān borderland, the ruler of which, referred to in the sources as Rutbīl [*q.v.*] (but probably to be read Zunbīl), offered resistance to the Muslims. A "Rutbīl" having inflicted on the governor appointed by al-Ḥadjdjādj, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra, a most severe defeat in 79/698-9, al-Ḥadjdjādj, anxious to put an end to this, prepared an army which, because of its splendid equipment, was called the Peacock Army (*djuyūsh al-ṭawāwīs*); to be in command of

it he appointed two generals in succession, choosing finally ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲. It was this appointment which aroused surprise in Kūfa; a paternal uncle of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān thought it advisable to warn the governor against the possibility that his nephew might revolt, but al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ refused to reverse his decision. According to al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1042), it is not known where ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was at this time; according to one tradition (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1046), he had been sent to Kirmān to put down the opposition of a military leader who had refused to help the governors of Sid̲j̲istān and of Sind when necessary, and the number of details given in this tradition point to its being the more reliable, although another passage suggests that he accompanied the Peacock Army (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1044).

In Périer's *Vie d'al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ad̲j̲*, there is given a very detailed account of the insurrection, with each incident supported by quotations from the sources and with translations of speeches, letters and poems; we give here a summary, emphasizing certain details which help to explain the causes and the development of this event, which came near to overthrowing the Umayyad caliphate. Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ arrived in Sid̲j̲istān in 80/699-700 (on the chronology see below). His first action was to force the troops who were garrisoned there to join the Peacock Army. After refusing an offer of peace from Rutbīl, he invaded Kābulistān, using very different tactics from those of Ibn Abī Bakra: as he occupied the villages and the fortresses, he established garrisons in them and linked the places he had captured by a service of couriers. When he had made himself master of the territory bordering on the high mountains, he returned to Bust, postponing any deeper penetration until the spring of 81/700. But when he informed al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ of this intention, the latter sent him a series of arrogant and offensive messages ordering him to penetrate into the heart of Kābulistān and there to fight the enemy to the death. The invitation to the troops to plough the land, which appears in his second message, and which might seem to be an acquiescence in delay (Périer, 162), should also be interpreted as a threat: he is ironically suggesting that the soldiers may as well start sowing crops since he will not be recalling them until after a total victory. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was certainly offended by the accusations of cowardice and inefficiency which al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ launched against him (he had already shown that he was sensitive to this type of imputation), but he did not act without taking the advice of his counsellors. Ibn Kat̲h̲īr (ix, 35) specifically mentions a meeting at which he informed the ʿIrāḳī leaders of the governor's orders and revealed to them his intention not to obey them. To the troops, he addressed himself in a more diplomatic fashion: after stating that he was concerned for their well-being, that the way in which he conducted the war had the approval of men of experience, and after informing them of the orders and accusations of al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, he announced that they were free to make a decision: "For myself", he said, "I am here only as your equal; if you march, I shall march; if you refuse, I shall refuse". The soldiers then shouted that they would not obey al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲. Abū Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāt̲h̲ila, a well-known poet, orator and traditionist, having proclaimed the deposition of the governor, and another orator having invited the troops to march towards ʿIrāḳ to expel from it the enemy of God, they swore an oath of loyalty to Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲. Revolt having thus been decided on, Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ proposed to Rutbīl an agreement, which he accepted: if Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ was the conqueror, he would grant Rutbīl certain facilities; if he were defeated, Rutbīl would grant him refuge. During the march to ʿIrāḳ, the poets who followed the rebel army celebrated the victory in advance; a poem of Aʿs̲h̲ā Hamdān is significant: it accuses al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ of having abandoned the Faith for oppression and apostasy and describes him as a friend of the devil; it adds that Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ had put himself at the head of the Ḳaḥṭānīs and the Hamdānīs against the Maʿaddīs and the T̲h̲aḳafīs (it thus gives expression to religious convictions and tribal hatred). On the rebels' arrival in Fārs, a new and important fact emerged: it was suddenly realized that the deposition of al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ would involve that of the caliph also and they acted accordingly: encouraged by the *ḳurrāʾ* and the zealots, the majority of the rebels swore to reject the "*imāms* of error" and renewed their oath of fidelity to Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲, who, in his turn, swore to them the *bayʿa*. Al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, informed of this development in the situation, went to Baṣra and asked ʿAbd al-Malik to send Syrian forces; the caliph sent him one detachment after another. Near Tustar, Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲'s advance guard inflicted on that of al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ a defeat and serious losses (9 or 10 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 81/24 or 25 January 701), and al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ withdrew speedily to Baṣra; such prudence was necessary since it is said that Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ had with him 33,000 horsemen and 120,000 infantry. As al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ could not have offered resistance in the town of Baṣra, he entrenched himself at al-Zāwiya. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān entered Baṣra on 29 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a, and there set up fortifications. After a month of skirmishes of varying severity, in which al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲'s soldiers in general came off worse (they also lacked provisions), a battle was finally joined (end of Muḥarram 82/early March 701). Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ was on the point of winning, but the courage and skill of the Syrian Sufyān b. al-Abrad reversed the situation. Many *ḳurrāʾ* (that is *ʿulamāʾ*, according to the explanation given by Ibn Kat̲h̲īr) were killed (the version of the events given by al-Wāḳidī and repeated by Ibn Kat̲h̲īr (ix, 40) attributes to this battle events which in fact occurred in the following battle of Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im [*q.v.*]). After this defeat, Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ went to Kūfa with his Kūfan soldiers and the élite of the Baṣran cavalry. His lieutenant at Baṣra, the Hās̲h̲imī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbbās, made efforts to maintain his position in the town, but the Baṣrans had lost no time in accepting the *amān* offered by al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (an equivocal *amān*, which did not prevent his killing a large number of opponents, 11,000 it is said), so with a group of Baṣrans he rejoined his leader at Kūfa. On his arrival at Kūfa, Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ had been obliged first to drive out from the citadel an officer of al-Madāʾin, Maṭar b. Nād̲j̲iya, who had taken advantage of the troubled situation to seize it; he succeeded in installing himself there only after a full-scale attack with scaling-ladders and other means of assault. At Kūfa, his forces increased, being joined by a large number of men who were discontented with Umayyad rule. Al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, leaving Baṣra to his cousin Ayyūb b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī ʿAḳīl, set off towards Kūfa (mid-Ṣafar 82/April 701), being harassed en route by detachments of cavalry under the orders of Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲. Reaching a wide plain near Kūfa, he set up his position at Dayr Ḳurra [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, leaving the town, encamped at Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im [*q.v.*] with his troops, who now number-

ed nearly 200,000 (100,000 were on the regular pay-roll, the others were *mawālī*). Al-Ḥadjdjādj's army was smaller and in an awkward situation because provisions reached it only with difficulty; in spite of this, Syrian reinforcements were able to join it. Both the armies dug trenches and for a time they engaged in skirmishes, as at al-Zāwiya. Since the dignitaries in Damascus wished to see a peaceful solution of the situation, ʿAbd al-Malik let himself be persuaded to open negotiations with the rebels, against the advice of al-Ḥadjdjādj. Through the agency of his brother Muḥammad and his son ʿAbd Allāh, he proposed to the rebels that he should dismiss al-Ḥadjdjādj and should give to the ʿIrāḳī soldiers the same pay as the Syrians, and offered to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān the governorship of any town in ʿIrāḳ he cared to choose. At a meeting of the leaders of the rebels these proposals were refused, in spite of a speech from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān inviting them to accept. They were convinced that their adversaries had stooped to negotiate only because they were in a difficult situation (in fact there was a famine in al-Ḥadjdjādj's camp) and that the final victory would be theirs. Hostilities being resumed, the two armies still remained for a long time facing each other—it is said that the trench warfare went on for 100 days or about four months, and that there were forty-eight engagements. Those who were the most bitter opponents of the governor were the *ḳurrāʾ*, fanatically convinced that they were fighting to defend the Faith threatened by the impiety of the Umayyads. They had formed themselves into a squadron under the orders of Djabala b. Zaḥr b. Ḳays al-Djuʿfī, and it was only after the death of this leader that their courage deserted them and they dispersed. Finally in Shaʿbān 82/September 701, a great battle was joined. At first the advantage was with the troops of Ibn al-Ashʿath, but shortly before sunset they scattered, and Ibn al-Ashʿath, after vain attempts to rally them, also took flight accompanied only by a few supporters. After visiting Kūfa to take leave of his family, he travelled in the direction of Baṣra. Meanwhile, al-Ḥadjdjādj returned to Kūfa, set up a tribunal there and executed a large number of rebel prisoners.

But Ibn al-Ashʿath was still not defeated. One of his supporters, Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, had taken possession of al-Madāʾin, a key position in ʿIrāḳ; another, the Ḳurayshī ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn Samura, had forced al-Ḥadjdjādj's lieutenant to give up Baṣra to him. After remaining at Kūfa for a month, al-Ḥadjdjādj continued his campaign and, at Maskin on the Dudjayl, where there were gathered the still impressive remnants of the rebel army, he inflicted on Ibn al-Ashʿath, after hostilities lasting about a fortnight, the defeat which finally put an end to his insurrection, the events which followed being only its death-throes. Guided by a shepherd across the scrub and marshes, a band of Syrians surprised the rebels in their encampment while al-Ḥadjdjādj attacked them from another side. Attempting to flee, a great number of rebels threw themselves into the river and were drowned. This was Ibn al-Ashʿath's third defeat. He fled with the survivors, this time towards Sidjistān. While fleeing he had again to fight some of al-Ḥadjdjādj's troops sent in pursuit of him under ʿUmāra b. al-Tamīm al-Lakhmī (according to Ibn Kathīr, ix, 47, b. Ghanm).

When he arrived at Sidjistān, he had further adventures: his *ʿāmil* at Zarandj refused to open the gates to him; the *ʿāmil* of Bust opened them, but took him prisoner and put him in chains in order to gain the favour of al-Ḥadjdjādj; it was Rutbīl, coming to meet al-Ashʿath, who forced the *ʿāmil* to release him, then, keeping his promise given some months earlier, took him with him to Kābulistān and showed him great honour. Meanwhile, about 60,000 fugitives had re-assembled in Sidjistān. Invited by them to resume the struggle, Ibn al-Ashʿath accepted (on his encounter with the treacherous *ʿāmil* and the events which followed, see also Ibn Kathīr, ix, 48 f., which records the version of al-Wāḳidī). But ʿUmāra, the general of al-Ḥadjdjādj, advanced, and the majority of Ibn al-Ashʿath's supporters, fearing that they would be unable to offer him resistance, wanted to cross the frontiers into Khurāsān, hoping to recruit new forces and to maintain themselves there until the death of either al-Ḥadjdjādj or ʿAbd al-Malik. Ibn al-Ashʿath was with them, but, as a group of 2,000 men led by ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn Samura had defected, he made the fact that there was no longer unity among his supporters a pretext to return again to Rutbīl with the group which preferred to follow him there. The forces remaining in Khurāsān chose as their leader the Hāshimī already mentioned (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbbās b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; in the version of al-Wāḳidī—Ibn Kathīr: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAyyāsh b. Abī Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib); shortly afterwards, engaged in battle by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, they suffered a crushing defeat and their leaders were sent prisoner to al-Ḥadjdjādj, who had most of them executed. While the ruthless governor was occupied in carrying out reprisals and even executing mass sentences, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was living at the court of Rutbīl. But, as it was always feared that he might again give trouble, al-Ḥadjdjādj sent continually to his protector letters in which threats alternated with tempting promises in an effort to get him extradited. In the end Rutbīl yielded. Different versions exist of the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: he is said to have been killed by Rutbīl himself or to have died of an illness, his severed head being sent to al-Ḥadjdjādj, who had asked for it; but the account which is generally accepted by the sources is different: put in chains and confined at ʿUmāra in order to be taken to al-Ḥadjdjādj, he threw himself from the top of a castle at Rukhkhadj, dragging with him in his fall the man to whom he was chained (85/704).

Chronology. This is not certain since, although the sources are in agreement on the days and months of some of the outstanding events, for example the battles of Tustar and al-Zāwiya, they are less so on the years. Wellhausen (*Ar. Reich*, 150 f., Eng. tr., 241 f.) has studied the question and given preference to the series of dates given above: 81 for the beginning of the revolt, 82 for the three defeats of Ibn al-Ashʿath, 83 for the troubles in Sidjistān and the fighting in Khurāsān. Al-Wāḳidī (in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1052 and 1101; cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 181 f.) dates the beginning of the revolt in 82, the battle of al-Zāwiya in 83, and then inconsistently gives the year 82 as the date of the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim, while adding that according to some it took place in 83 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1070); this chronology does not accord with the facts as well as the previous one. Equally unacceptable is the date 14 Djumādā II 83/15 July 703 given solely by a tradition of Abū Mikhnaf (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1094), since if one accepts the year 83 for the hostilities near Baṣra, this leaves too brief an interval between them and the final battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim; if one dates the hostilities near Baṣra in the year 82, it leaves an interval of too

great a length to be probable (cf. Périer, 186, n. 3). Ibn Kat͟hīr (ix, 42 and 47) lengthens the period of the trench warfare near Kūfa in order that it may fill out his account of the year 82, and transfers some of the skirmishes and the final battle of Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im to the year 83; he was evidently attempting to reconcile the divergent accounts, but his solution is not acceptable because he had to disregard the information which limits to about four months the period during which the two armies remained facing one another at Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im.

Causes of the revolt. The Arabic sources often have a tendency to explain historical events by incidents relating to persons; in the present case they lay stress, in recounting various episodes, on the mutual hatred of the two protagonists. The facts, however, seem to contradict the suggestion that such a hatred existed: the governor put Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ in command of an army to fight against the K̲h̲arid̲j̲is, he is said to have sent him to Kirmān to carry out other tasks, and finally he gave him nothing less than the command of the Peacock Army; the reason for his blindness may have been excessive confidence in the fear which he himself inspired (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1044), or he may have preferred to keep far from ʿIrāḳ a person who was an embarrassment to him and perhaps dangerous; but if he, as a plebeian, hated the nobly-born Kindī, as is suggested, it is unlikely that he would have shown him so much favour, and if he had been aware of Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲'s hostility to him, he would hardly have put into his hands the means of achieving his hostile intentions. It must also be conceded that Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ faithfully carried out the orders of his superior until the autumn of 81. Thus, contrary to the Arabic sources, it is advisable, if not to ignore personal feelings altogether, at least to attach less importance to them and to seek elsewhere the real reasons for the revolt. Von Kremer, in his *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge* (23 f.) and his *Culturgeschichte des Orients* (i, 172, followed by A. Müller and by van Vloten, 17, 26) links the revolt of Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ with the *mawālī* movement, and more precisely with the attempt made by those who had embraced Islam in Baṣra and Kūfa to obtain the same political rights as the Arabs who had been Muslims from an early date. Wellhausen (*Ar. Reich*, 151 ff., Eng. tr., 243 ff.), while recognizing that only a few years had passed since the fall of al-Muk̲h̲tār, who had been their protector, and that al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ had put into force measures which had made things very difficult for the new converts, does not accept the idea that the revolt of Ibn As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ was no more than a continuation of that of al-Muk̲h̲tār. He notes that the *mawālī* also fought in large numbers, but side by side with their patrons, according to the custom of the time, and that though they might certainly be hostile to the Syrian government, the supporter of Arabism, yet it was not their claims which lay at the root of the revolt. He considers that the basic cause was a rising of the Arab aristocracy against the imperious and arrogant representative of governmental authority, the plebeian al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲. The Arab clans followed their chiefs all the more willingly since their long service in wars and in the garrisons of distant provinces had caused them great hardship. Since not only the Yemenīs of Kūfa, who regarded Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ as one of their chiefs, but other clans and also those of Baṣra did not withhold their support, Wellhausen adds that there must be seen in the rebellion a new attempt by the ʿIrāḳīs to throw off the yoke of the Syrians and an uprising against the use of Syrian militia and the privileges which were granted to them. All these arguments of Wellhausen must be taken into consideration, but when he states that the rebellion had no religious motives, in spite of the vehement participation of the *ḳurrāʾ*, it seems that his judgement is open to criticism. There should perhaps be distinguished two phases in the rebellion: at the beginning, it was no more than a mutiny: the politician al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ set himself up as a strategist and presumed to give from a distance peremptory orders to someone with military experience, who knew that during the winter the mountains of Kābulistān are impassable and foresaw that any attempt to penetrate them would result in a disaster similar to that which two years earlier had overtaken the army of Ibn Abī Bakra. The reaction of the army is understandable. But during the march of the rebels towards ʿIrāḳ and after their arrival there, the revolt changed in character and the religious element became predominant. To assess this it is enough to compare the *bayʿa* of the soldiers to Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ while they were still in Sid̲j̲istān with the exchange of *bayʿa* between them and their leader in Fārs: on this occasion they swore an oath of obedience to him (*bāyaʿūhu*) and he replied to them "Undertake with me (*tubāyiʿūnī*) to depose al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, the enemy of God, to give me support and to fight with me until God expels him from ʿIrāḳ", and the people promised obedience (*bāyaʿahu*; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1055); at Iṣṭak̲h̲r (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1058), the ceremony was different: the people acknowledged the authority of Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ (*bāyaʿūhu*), but he replied to them with the following *bayʿa*: "You will swear an oath (*tubāyiʿūna*) [to defend] the Book of God and the *Sunna* of His Prophet, to depose the *imāms* of error, to fight against those who regard [the blood of the Prophet's kin] as licit (*al-muḥillīn*)". And it was when they said "Yes" that he made his *bayʿa* (*bāyaʿa*) (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1058; Ibn Kat͟hīr, ix, 36). One has the impression that later the control of the revolt slipped from his hands, although he retained the position of commander in chief; the most significant pointer to this diminution of authority is the rejection of his counsel to accept the offers made by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik to the assembly of the chiefs at Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1704 f.), but it is proved also by other indications: the sources do not report any speech by Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ urging the rebels to continue the struggle, but only orders such as might be given by any military leader to soldiers who were in disorder (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1095), whereas they do report violent speeches of *ḳurrāʾ* proclaiming the necessity of fighting against the heterodox, the innovators, who disregard the truth and practise oppression, or of defending both the faith and worldly possessions (*dīnakum wa dunyākum*) because if those people (obviously the Umayyads) conquered, they would ruin both the one and the other, or proclaiming that there are in the world no people more unjust than they (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1086 f., etc.). It is true that the traditionists may have had a predilection for speeches of this type, but their complete silence about any propaganda activities in support of the cause by the person who had begun the revolt is striking. Whereas the *ḳurrāʾ* swore to die and did die on the field of battle, Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ was inclined towards a compromise with the caliph and ready to lay down arms; he commanded the troops from behind and did not throw himself into the fray, as did many leaders when the cause was already lost; after the defeat at al-Zāwiya he withdrew, at Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im and at Maskin he fled; he refused to

continue the struggle in Khurāsān. It would seem as though the reason he continued to fight was that the die was cast and he feared that he would be punished for his revolt. He may have been discouraged or have realized that other motives had superseded those for which the chiefs of clans (the Arab aristocracy) and the 'Irāḳī soldiers had originally joined the campaign, and he did not approve of them. The fact that the scope of the revolt had been enlarged to include those who were discontented with the Umayyad régime and who found support for their recriminations in religious motives, and who were often *mawālī*, is proved also by al-Ḥadjdjādj's behaviour to the rebels who fell into his hands: it is said (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1097) that he spared all the Ḳurayshīs, all the Syrians, and all those belonging to the clans of the "two arbiters" (named at Ṣiffīn); furthermore he extorted from the captives above all a declaration that they had been infidel (*kāfir*; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1096; cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 358) and punished severely the Persian *mawālī* and the *Zuṭṭ* who had supported the revolt (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 373-4; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 286). The pardon granted to the Arabs and the punishments inflicted on tens of thousands of *mawālī* show that he saw the latter, after the revolt had been extinguished, as the most dangerous and most guilty of the seditious elements.

Bibliography: The main sources are Ṭabarī (ii, 1023-5, 1042-77, 1085-110, 1132-6 and index), who relied mainly on Abū Mikhnaf, traditionist and author of a monograph entitled *Kitāb Dayr al-Djamādjim wa khal' 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath* (*Fihrist*, 93) and the *Anonyme arabische Chronik* edited by Ahlwardt (308-10, 318-59). To these may be added the *Bidāya* of Ibn Kathīr because of the clarity of its continuous account and of a number of details drawn from Wāḳidī. The other sources either add nothing of importance or are confusing to the reader: a reputable author such as Dīnawarī (*Ṭiwāl*, 253, 322-5) offers an entirely deceptive account in which the revolt is the result of propaganda made at Kūfa, with religious arguments, by Ibn al-Ash'ath, and in which the rebels set out from this town (!); other authors, such as, for example, the author of *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, make use of the facts solely in order to introduce episodes and speeches of a literary character and probably apocryphal. There may also be consulted: Ṭabarī (Zotenberg), iv, 127-48; Ps.-Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, Cairo 1322/1904, ii, 51 f., 56-86; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 229, 260, 262 f., 276, iv B, 60 (events before the revolt); idem, *Futūḥ*, 67, 293, 323, 399 ff., 417; Ya'ḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 331-4; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 154, 155, 176, 654, 655; Ibn Rusta, in *BGA*, vii, 205, 229, 282 f.; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, in *BGA*, viii, 314-6; idem, *Murūdj*, v, 302-5 and index (with some incorrect information, *e.g.*, that Rutbīl was one of the kings of India); *Aghānī*, v, 153-5, 161, x, 110, 111, xix, 140, 154-6, and index; *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Bahār, Tehran 1935, 112-8; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ii, 224, iv, 26, 225, 280, 333-6, 365-7, 370-9, 383-9, 399-401 and index; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, 259r.-60r., 268r.-269v., 272r., 276v.-281r. (with some notices lacking elsewhere); Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-tawārīkh*, MS Paris, 3v.-5r., 6r. and v., 8r.-9r., 10r.; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, MS Bodl., fol. 107r.-v.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ix, 35-7, 39-42, 47-51, 52, 54, 55; Ibn Khaldūn, Būlāḳ ed. 1284, iii, 47-50, 52. For other references to Arabic sources, see L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 81 A.H., 970, 82 A.H., 980 f., 85 A.H., 1026; on a long satire by Farazdaḳ, see his *Dīwān*, ed. Hell, index, 19 and tr. Boucher, 623-33; G. Weil, *Geschichte d. Chalifen*, i, 449-65; J. Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich*, 145-56, 157-8, n. 1 (Eng. tr. Weir, 232-48, 252); A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 390-2; W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, 347-9; Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjâdj ibn Yousof*, Paris 1904, 129-32, 158-66, 167-204 and index. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

IBN AL-ASH'ATH [see ḤAMDĀN ḲARMAṬ].

IBN 'ĀSHIR, Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī, Ṣūfī of the Marinid period, patron saint of the town of Salé, where he died in 764 or 765/1362-3. He was a native of Jimena in Spain and, for unknown reasons, left there to settle in Algeciras. There he supported himself by teaching the Ḳur'ān, and seems to have been happy there until one of the holy men with whom he was acquainted, and in whom he had great confidence, advised him to flee from the country before the Christians arrived. He then undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return from the east he stopped at Fez, then went to visit one of his sisters at Meknès; but he probably did not find there what he was looking for, and, setting off again, he settled at Shālla, on the left bank of the Bou Regreg, having been offered by a Ṣūfī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Yāburī, whose disciple he became, a *khalwa* in the *zāwiya* which he had set up inside the cemetery. On the death of his master, he left this peaceful place, so conducive to meditation, for another *zāwiya* in Salé itself, on the right bank of the river, near the Great Mosque. Later, with some hard-earned savings, he acquired a small house in the west of the town, opposite the al-Mu'allaḳa gate which opens on to the cemetery where his tomb now stands.

Ibn 'Āshir, in spite of his learning, was neither an intellectual nor a pedant. He taught mainly the Ḳur'ān, still in order to support himself, for he always made it a strict rule to live by his own work. Ibn Ḳunfudh of Constantine relates that at the time that he met him at Salé in 763/1361-2, *i.e.*, about two years before his death, he was earning his daily pittance by copying a work of *ḥadīth*, the *'Umda*, which was one of his favourite books. It is said that he himself bound the copy he had made and sold it for exactly what the work had cost him. His dislike of the world earned him the reputation of being an eccentric solitary. In 757/1356, the Sultan of Morocco (it must have been Abū 'Inān the Marīnid) is said to have tried in vain to approach him, which is why his pleasant and relaxed manner, and the smile with which he greeted Ibn Ḳunfudh, caused general surprise among his disciples and the devout persons who were his followers.

His preference for solitude, silence and meditation increased with age. He had little liking for spiritual gatherings and he barely endured the meetings of *fuḳarā'*, at which he refused to preside and during which he spoke only rarely and with the utmost reluctance. Ibn 'Āshir at the end of his career was a man poorly clad, not easy to approach, gloomy, afflicted by a sort of chronic internal spasm, who kept company with the dead whom he visited in the cemetery behind the Great Mosque.

He belonged to no fraternity. According to Ibn Ḳunfudh, his *ṭarīḳa* was based on the strict, zealous, sincere and unreserved observation of the teaching contained in the *Iḥyā'* of al-Ghazālī. Always most anxious to distinguish exactly between what is *ḥalāl* and what is *ḥarām*, he was particularly careful

to accept nothing from anybody and to submit himself daily to a strict examination of his own conscience. One of his biographers, al-Ḥaḍramī, asserts that the *Riʿāya* of al-Muḥāsibī was one of the works which he constantly read.

Many Ṣūfīs gathered round Ibn ʿĀshir at Salé, which was a place suitable for meditation and appeared at that time to those who, aspiring to the mystic life, were fleeing from Fez as a haven of peace and security. Thus one of them, Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda [*q.v.*], came to spend several years there in the company of the saint, of whom he became a famous disciple.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Ibn ʿĀshir al-Ḥāfī (d. 1163/1750) wrote a monograph on his namesake entitled *Tuḥfat al-zāʾir bi-baʿḍ manāḳib sayyidī al-ḥādjdj Aḥmad b. ʿĀshir*, which has not been printed (see I. S. Allouche and A. Regragui, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, ii, Rabat 1958, no. 2303); for the list of the biographers of the saint see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 313-4. Ibn Ḳunfudh, *Uns al-faḳīr wa ʿizz al-ḥaḳīr*, ed. M. El Fasi and A. Faure, Rabat, 1965, 9-10. See also the excellent pages ou Ibn ʿĀshir in Paul Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAbbād de Ronda*, Beirut 1961, 55 ff.

(A. Faure)

IBN ʿĀSHŪR, patronymic of a family of Idrīsid descent and Moroccan origin which settled in Muslim Spain. It is said that ʿĀshūr, fleeing from religious persecution, came to settle in Morocco. His son Muḥammad was born at Salé in about 1030/1621 and it was with him that the family's importance in the history of Tunisia began, at first in the field of "mysticism", then in those of *fiḳh*, of teaching and of religious offices. Muḥammad b. ʿĀshūr, who was initiated into mysticism in Morocco by the *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Kudjayrī, distinguished himself at Tunis as the leader of a religious fraternity. He settled there, on his return from the Pilgrimage, at the age of about thirty, and carried on the trade of tarboosh-maker. At Tunis he came under the influence first of the *shaykh* ʿAlī al-Zawāwī, and on his death succeeded him as leader of the fraternity in the *zāwiya* which was named after him and which was situated in the district of Bāb Manāra (one of the gates of the capital which has only recently been demolished). Finally, however, he adopted the Way of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. Muḥammad b. ʿĀshūr did not seek power, but rather shunned it, and he led a life of strict poverty. There is attributed to him the following dignified remark: "We are not of those who perform the *dhikr* in expectation of payment" (*Dhayl*, 197). On his death in 1110/1698-9, he was buried in the *zāwiya* inherited from his master ʿAlī al-Zawāwī.

His son, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, whose birth was announced to him in a dream by the famous mystic of that name, succeeded him as leader of the fraternity. He was less sensitive than his father and in fact lived fairly comfortably. He is described as the wealthy leader of a *ṭarīḳa*, possessing a certain moral authority which he put at the disposal of any who asked for his protection, including the Jewish and Christian *dhimmīs*. He was visited by dervishes from India as well as from the East. He was still alive when Ḥusayn Khūdja was writing his *Dhayl*.

It was with ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's great-grandsons, Aḥmad (d. 1255/1839), Muḥammad, known as Ḥamda (d. 1265/1849), and in particular Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir (d. 1284/1868), that the family began to gain importance in the field of Islamic studies. Aḥmad

- ʿĀshūr
  - Muḥammad
    - ʿAbd al-Ḳādir
      - Muḥammad al-Shādhilī
        - Muḥammad
          - Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir
            - Muḥammad
              - Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir
                - Muḥammad al-Fāḍil
          - Muḥammad "Ḥamda"
          - Aḥmad
      - Abu 'l-Faḍl Ḳāsim

taught grammar and *fiḳh* in the Great Mosque al-Zaytūna, followed the profession of notary (*al-tawthīḳ*) and was buried in the *zāwiya* inherited from the *shaykh* ʿAlī al-Zawāwī. Muḥammad known as Ḥamda was also a teacher. Appointed, against his will, by the bey Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad (1253-71/1837-54) as *ḳāḍī* to the army, he appealed to the vizier Muṣṭafā Khaznadār to make the bey reverse his decision. He too was buried in the *zāwiya* of Sīdī ʿAlī al-Zawāwī which seems to have become the family burial-place.

The most famous of the three brothers was Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir, who gained renown as an *adīb*—there exist numerous examples of his prose and verse—as a grammarian and as a *faḳīh*. He produced a gloss (*ḥāshiya*) to the commentary on *al-Ḳaṭr* (which remained the basic work for the second year of teaching at al-Zaytūna until the reform of 1958), and an abridgement of the commentary on the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*] written by Ibn Marzūk. On 25 Radjab 1267/26 May 1851, he was appointed chief *ḳāḍī* of Tunis, and in 1277/1860-1 he left this office to become *muftī*. Shortly afterwards he combined this with the duties of syndic (*naḳīb*) of the *ashrāf*. He died on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1284/14 April 1868 and was buried in the same *zāwiya* as his two brothers.

The family tradition was carried on by his grandson, also called Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir (born 1296/1879) and by his great-grandson Muḥammad al-Fāḍil.

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(M. Talbi)

IBN ʿĀṢIM, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim al-Gharnāṭī, a famous Mālikī jurisconsult, grammarian and man of letters. He was born in Granada on 12 Djumādā I 760/11 April 1359 and died there on 11 Shawwāl 829/15 August 1426. He had a brother, who was also called Muḥammad but had the *kunya* Abū Yaḥyā, and a son who also had the *kunya* Abū Yaḥyā; this last was the author of a

Memorandum on the members of his family (Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl*, 285). Ibn ʿĀṣim came of a family of scholars which belonged to the intellectual aristocracy of Granada; Ibn Djuzayy, the famous commentator of the Ḳurʾān, was his great-uncle on the mother's side. He studied in Granada with numerous professors, including al-Shāṭibī [*q.v.*] (for a fuller list, see Ben Cheneb, in *EI* [1]), and is said to have exercised the profession of a bookbinder; he finally became Chief Ḳāḍī of Granada.

His biographers mention ten works, mostly in metrical form, on *fiḳh*, *ḳirāʾāt*, *naḥw* and *adab*; the following have survived:

1. *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām fī nukat al-ʿuḳūd wa'l-aḥkām*, a treatise of Mālikī law in 1698 verses of *radjaz*, often printed. This treatise, also called *al-ʿĀṣimiyya*, has become, together with the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd and the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*qq.v.*], one of the authoritative handbooks of the Mālikī school. Among its commentaries, those of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Mayyāra (d. 1072/1662), of Muḥammad b. Sūda al-Tāwudī (d. 1207/1792), of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tasūlī (d. 1278/1861), and of ʿUthmān b. al-Makī al-Tawzarī, a professor at the Zaytūna Mosque in Tunis (wrote 1339/1921), have been printed. The *Tuḥfa* was edited and translated into French by O. Houdas and F. Martel, Algiers and Paris 1882-93, and by L. Bercher, Algiers 1958.

2. *Murtaḳa 'l-wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat ʿilm al-uṣūl*, a short *urdjūza* on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*.

3. *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiḳ*, or *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-azhār*, a collection of stories and anecdotes, dedicated to the Naṣrid ruler Yūsuf II (793-4/1391-2).

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībādj*, Cairo 1329-30, 289 f.; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Cairo 1349, no. 891; Moh. Ben Cheneb, in *EI*[1], s.v. (J. SCHACHT)

IBN ʿASKAR, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MIṢBĀḤ, Idrīsid *sharīf* and Moroccan author of a highly esteemed hagiographic dictionary. He was born in Shafshāwān (Chechaouen) in 936/1529-30; his father is said to have suffered at the hands of the infidels; his mother, herself an Idrīsid, left a great reputation for saintliness. After moving from place to place in his country, he was appointed by the Saʿdid sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, in 967/1559-60, to be *ḳāḍī* and *muftī* of the little town of Ḳṣar Kutāma. In 969/1562 he made a long stay in southern Morocco, particularly in Marrākush, during which he devoted himself to the study of Ṣūfism. On the death of sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh in 982/1574, his son and successor Muḥammad, the future *al-Maslūkh* ("the flayed"), appointed him inspector (*naḳīb*) of *ḳāḍīs*. When his master was defeated by his uncle Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, Ibn ʿAskar faithfully accompanied his unfortunate patron to the Iberian peninsula. He returned and died with him in the ranks of the small Moroccan army that fought and was destroyed alongside the troops of Don Sebastian of Portugal in the famous battle of Wādi 'l-makhāzin in which the three rulers taking part all perished, on 30 Djumādā I 986/4 August 1578. The turbulent life and tragic end of Ibn ʿAskar allowed him to write only a single work of moderate size, but original, the *Dawḥat al-nāshir li-maḥāsin man kāna bi 'l-Maghrib min mashāyikh al-ḳarn al-ʿāshir*. As the title indicates, the author's intention was to commemorate the merits of the *shaykhs* who lived in Morocco in the tenth century of the Hidjra (1495-1592). The personages named as *shaykhs* were not all scholars, but to some extent they all died in an odour of sanctity. The *Dawḥa*, as Lévi-Provençal has pointed out, is the first history of the first disciples of the great saint of the period, al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*]. Ibn ʿAskar's work was continued by al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*], *Ṣafwat man intashar*..., and by al-Ḳādirī [*q.v.*], *Nashr al-mathānī*. Ibn ʿAskar's monograph is remarkably vivid and contains a great deal of information, especially about his native province in northern Morocco, the Djabal. Political history occupies almost no place in the work which, however, in Morocco, enjoyed an esteem that was largely merited by the author's sincerity. The *Dawḥa* was lithographed in Fās in 1309/1891 (104 pp.); an English adaptation was made by T. H. Weir, *The shaikhs of Morocco in the XVIth Century*, Edinburgh 1904; and an annotated French translation has been produced by A. Graulle, under the title *Daouhat en Nâchir de Ibn Askar*, in *AM*, xix (1913).

Bibliography: In addition to the works referred to above: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush*, iv, 174-5, Fās 1938; Brockelmann, S II, 678; I. Allouche and A. Regragui, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, 2nd series, Rabat 1958, 197. (G. DEVERDUN)

IBN AL-ʿASSĀL, Coptic family which came originally from the village of Sadamant in the Province of Beni Suef in Middle Egypt at an unknown date and settled in Cairo, where its members rose to wealth and high station at the Ayyūbid court during the 7th/13th century. They owned a residence in the capital and occupied a position of leadership in their own community. Though their history is obscure, they were reckoned among the most learned Copts in mediæval times.

Early modern historians of Egypt appear to have vaguely recognized in Ibn al-ʿAssāl only a single personality in mediæval Christian Arabic literature, until in 1713 Renaudot (pp. 585-86, work cited below) revealed that two different brothers had written independently under that name. Afterwards, while classifying some of their manuscripts in the British Museum in 1894, Rieu (p. 18) was able to establish the fact that they were three brothers instead of two. Then in 1905, from different sources (especially the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris), Mallon (*JA*, 1905, 509-29) confirmed Rieu's thesis and proved that the three attained great literary eminence under the collective name of Awlād al-ʿAssāl, *i.e.*, the sons of the honey producer or merchant, presumably the title and vocation of the founder of that family. Coptic historians, however, including Yaʿḳūb Nakhla Rufayla (p. 185) and the Commission of Coptic History (Ladjnat al-Taʾrīkh al-Ḳibṭī, 148-52) increased the number of "Awlād al-ʿAssāl" by two more—the father and a fourth brother—who also were high dignitaries in the Ayyūbid bureaucracy, though rich literary remains were left only by the other three. In 1943, Higgins (see ref. below) has laboured to establish a new thesis that two sets of Awlād al-ʿAssāl had lived—one at the beginning of the 5th/11th century and another in the 7th/13th century. Since this argument is based on a dubious date (500/1107) in the colophon of a single British Museum manuscript (Arab. e 163, f. 288 r.), we must for the present maintain that the 7th/13th century group is the only one convincingly established.

The full names of the Awlād al-ʿAssāl are as follows: (a) Abu'l-Faḍl b. Abī Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Abī Sahl Djirdjis b. Abī al-Yusr Yūḥannā b. al-ʿAssāl, the father, known as *al-kātib al-Miṣrī*, "the Egyptian scribe" or "secretary", who bore the title Fakhr al-

Dawla; (b) al-Ṣafī Abu'l-Faḍāʾil b. al-ʿAssāl, with the title Ṣafī al-Dawla; (c) al-Asʿad Abu'l-Faradj Hibat-Allāh b. al-ʿAssāl; (d) al-Muʾtaman Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAssāl, with the title Muʾtaman al-Dawla; (e) al-Amdjad Abu'l-Madjd b. al-ʿAssāl, who was Secretary of the important *Dīwān* of the Army. The last two were step-brothers of the preceding two, who are described as full brothers.

The literary figures in the list were al-Ṣafī, al-Asʿad and al-Muʾtaman. In spite of their apparent importance, our knowledge of their lives will remain meagre until further data are gleaned from their numerous works, the chief source for any study on the Awlād al-ʿAssāl. All had lived approximately in the tumultuous first half of the 7th/13th century, when Egypt resisted successive crusading attacks on its shores, culminating in the fall of Damietta (1248) and the ultimate discomfiture and imprisonment of King Louis IX of France at the famous battle of Manṣūra in 1350. The firm position of the Awlād al-ʿAssāl in the Ayyūbid administration during those years reveals the loyalty of the Copts to the reigning dynasty and their hostility to the Crusade — a movement which aimed at their humiliation as being schismatics, and thus worse than heretics.

Both al-Ṣafī and al-Asʿad are known from a citation by their third step-brother to have died before 658/1260. The major works of the three are believed to have been accomplished approximately in the decade 627-37/1230-40. All were men of great learning in both the humanities and science. All were masters of Arabic style and in addition well acquainted with Coptic, Greek and Syriac.

Until Ayyūbid times, Coptic was still in use as a language throughout Egypt, though it was increasingly felt that Arabic was becoming a serious menace to its survival. Hence arose a new class of scholars who concentrated on writing Coptic grammars in Arabic and compiled Copto-Arabic dictionaries to ensure the preservation of their ancestral tongue. The Awlād al-ʿAssāl distinguished themselves in this school, as may be witnessed from the enumeration of their works below. In addition to their excellence in Coptic philology, they made outstanding contributions to Coptic canon law, theology, philosophy, Christian polemics, homiletics, Biblical studies, exegesis and all manner of enquiry into their own religion.

The church must have meant a great deal to them, since, as archons or lay leaders of the community, they carried high the torch of reform at a moment when the Patriarchate itself fell into the hands of the ungodly. The infamous Cyril ibn Luḳluḳ (1235-43) occupied the throne of St. Mark by treachery and flourished on simony, while buying royal support by bribery. Finally in 1239 the prelates of the Church forced Cyril to convene a Synod, probably at the Muʿallaḳa Church in Old Cairo, which reviewed all ecclesiastical evils and prescribed total reform. It is noteworthy that al-Ṣafī was the secretary of that Synod and its moving spirit. The Bishops commissioned him to compile what became the greatest and most enduring digest of Coptic canon law and tradition from all the ancient sources available. This tome was named after him *al-Madjmūʿ al-Ṣafawī*, which remains an authority to this day.

The Awlād al-ʿAssāl's monumental contributions may be appraised from the number and nature of their manuscripts. The Coptic Museum alone has forty-nine, besides many more that are found in European collections, including the Vatican, Florence, the Bodleian, the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale and numerous others, public and private, the most elaborate survey of which we owe to the indefatigable diligence of the late Mgr. Georg Graf (see *Bibl.*).

Besides numerous religious and philological works, they also wrote some Arabic poetry of no mean quality, notably the *urdjūza* type for homiletics and the formulation of legal rules of inheritance. It may, however, be deduced from the above that al-Ṣafī was the canonist and philosopher, al-Asʿad the exegete and grammarian, and al-Muʾtaman the theologian and philologist. Their legacy appears to be the consummation of the Coptic culture in the Islamic Middle Ages, though our comprehension of the depth and breadth of their endeavour is still in its infancy.

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(A. S. Atiya)

IBN ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH, Tādj al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl (and Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, see Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1351, 70) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī al-Shādhilī, Arab mystic, follower of the doctrines of the mystic al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) as a disciple of the mystic Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Anṣārī al-Mursī (d. 686/1287). He wrote a biographical work on the life and teachings of both mystics, entitled *Laṭāʾif al-minan fī manāḳib al-Shaykh Abu 'l-ʿAbbās wa-Shaykhihi Abu'l-Ḥasan* (Tunis 1304/1886-87; Cairo 1322/1904, on the margin of Shaʿrānī's *Laṭāʾif al-minan*).

Originally from Alexandria, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh lived in Cairo and died there on 16 Djumādā II 709/21 November 1309 in the *madrasa* al-Manṣūriyya. Brockelmann (see *Bibl.*) lists twenty works by Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, principally on mysticism and asceticism, of which six are in print and the rest in manuscript. By far the most celebrated of his works is a collection of maxims of a distinct beauty of expression, *al-Hikam al-ʿAṭāʾiyya*, with numerous commentaries down to modern times, among them *Ghayth al-mawāhib al-ʿaliyya* (Būlāḳ 1285/1868) by the Spanish mystic Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī (d. 796/1394). He is also said to have written in the fields of Ḳurʾānic exegesis, traditions, grammar and the methodology of law (see *Dībādj*, 70).

Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh was one of the foremost adversaries of the renowned Ḥanbalī jurisconsult and theologian, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). When the

latter was arrested in Shawwāl 707/March-April 1308, it was Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh who made accusations against him for attacks which he had made against Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] and other mystics, but none of the accusations was substantiated (according to al-Birzālī [*q.v.*] in Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 45). Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh no doubt had reason to oppose Ibn Taymiyya, who condemns certain doctrines held by the mystics. Thus for instance, in his *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa ʾl-masāʾil* (5 vols., Cairo 1341-9), v, 86, Ibn Taymiyya condemns as an innovation (*bidʿa*) the formula of *dhikr* [*q.v.*] mentioning the name of God as a single term, either in the form of a noun or a pronoun (*al-ism al-mufrad muẓharan wa-muḍmaran*). Here, Ibn Taymiyya attributes it to al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*], but adds that some of his contemporaries were guilty of it (*wa-hādhā wa-ashbāhuhu waḳaʿa li-baʿḍi man kāna fī zamāninā*). We know that this applies to Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, among whose works is one entitled *al-Ḳaṣd al-mudjarrad fī maʿrifat al-ism al-mufrad* (Cairo 1930).

Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh was claimed by the Shāfiʿīs (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, v, 176) as well as the Mālikīs (Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 70). At his death he was interred in the Ḳarāfa Cemetery in Cairo where his tomb was for long the object of pious visits. It is located in the south-eastern group of tombs (see L. Massignon, *La Cité des Morts au Caire*, in *BIFAO*, lvii, 67).

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above, see Brockelmann, II, 143-4, S II, 145-7; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taimīya*, Damascus 1939, index, s.v.; Abu ʾl-Wafāʾ al-Ghunaymī al-Taftāzānī, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Sikandarī wa-taṣawwufuh* (with bibliography); Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Aʿlām al-Iskandariyya*, Cairo 1965, 213-22.

(G. MAKDISI)

IBN AʿTHAM AL-KŪFĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD IBN AʿTHAM AL-KŪFĪ AL-KINDĪ, Arab historian of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries, author of the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (composed 204/819), see Storey, i/2, 1260. The unique manuscript, in two volumes, is preserved in Istanbul, Ahmad III 2956. Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, i, 379) ascribes two other books to Ibn Aʿtham, both of which are lost. Although little is known about the author, his *K. al-Futūḥ* proves to be a major source for the early history of the Arabs, from the caliphate of ʿUthmān to that of Hārūn al-Rashīd, particularly for events in ʿIrāḳ, the conquest of Khurāsān, Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, the Arab-Khazar wars and Arab-Byzantine relations. The value of the work is enhanced by the list of Ibn Aʿtham's authorities, which include al-Madāʾinī, al-Wāḳidī, al-Zuhrī, Abū Mikhnaf, Ibn al-Kalbī and other lesser traditionists. Although Ibn Aʿtham explains that he combined their traditions into a connected historical narrative, he fortunately names his authorities for some significant traditions, al-Madāʾinī in this respect being the source most frequently noted. As a contemporary of al-Madāʾinī ([*q.v.*], 135-225/752-840), Ibn Aʿtham has the pronounced advantage of quoting this great master in his lifetime. Comparison of the narrative of Ibn Aʿtham with the traditions of al-Madāʾinī as related by al-Ṭabarī shows that Ibn Aʿtham not only provides a useful check to the traditions recorded in al-Ṭabarī, but also adds some important details preserved only in the *K. al-Futūḥ*.

It is true that al-Balādhurī in his *Futūḥ al-buldān* gives the most comprehensive account of the advance of the Arab armies into the Sāsānian domains and quotes further authorities, such as Abū ʿUbayda, not named by Ibn Aʿtham; nevertheless Ibn Aʿtham provides more details on the situation of the Arabs in the conquered lands, particularly Armenia and Khurāsān. Moreover, whereas al-Balādhurī was mainly interested in "conquests", Ibn Aʿtham goes further: his interest in the internal events of ʿIrāḳ reveals a wider historical perspective than al-Balādhurī's.

In 596/1199 Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Mustawfī al-Harawī translated into Persian the part of *K. al-Futūḥ* which covers events up to the death of al-Ḥusayn. Of this translation there are many copies (see, *e.g.*, Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, 151; Storey, ii/2, 207-9), and at least one published edition (Bombay 1300/1882). This Persian translation has been much discussed, but the real value of the book lies in the Arabic original.

Bibliography: For the Arabic original: A. N. Kurat, *Abū Muḥammad ... al-Kūfī'nin Kitāb al-Futūḥ'u*, in *AÜDTCF*, vii (1949), 255-82, and cf. idem, *ibid.*, vi (1948), 385 ff.; M. A. Shaban, *The social and political background of the ʿAbbāsid revolution in Khurāsān*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Harvard University, 1960. For the Persian translation: W. Ouseley, *The Oriental collection*, i, 63, 160, ii, 58; W. Pertsch, *Verzeichnis ... Gotha*, iii, 219; Browne, i, 363; H. Massé, *La chronique d'Ibn Atham et la conquête de l'Afriqiya*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45.

(M. A. SHABAN)

IBN AL-ATHĪR, a family name (borne by a number of apparently unrelated families) which was given great and deserved lustre by three brothers, Madjd al-Dīn, ʿIzz al-Dīn, and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, who achieved literary fame in the fields of, respectively, philology and religious studies, historiography, and literary criticism. Their father, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm (often but apparently incorrectly: Muḥ. b. *Muḥ.* b. ʿAbd al-Karīm), whose life spanned the largest part of the 6th/12th century, was a high official of the Zangids of Mosul, stationed in Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar (hence the *nisba* al-Djazarī). His three famous sons were born there. The family was, it seems, well-to-do, owning real estate in Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and Mosul and investing in commercial enterprises.

(1) MADJD AL-DĪN ABU ʾL-SAʿĀDĀT AL-MUBĀRAK was born in 544/1149. His entire adult life was spent in Mosul, where he worked for the government in the service of Ghāzī b. Mawdūd, Ghāzī's brother Masʿūd, and the latter's son Arslan Shāh. For a while, he was attached to Mudjāhid al-Dīn Ḳaymaz, who, formerly of Irbil, had moved to Mosul and been entrusted there by Ghāzī with the running of affairs. Though he was paralysed in his later years, his administrative services and advice were still very much in demand. However, an anecdote reported by his brother, the historian, depicts him as preferring the contemplative quiet of the invalid to the distractions of politics. He died on Thursday, 29 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 606/24 June 1210.

Of his works, a *ḥadīth* collection entitled *Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl* became a much used standard reference work (autograph copy of the first volume in Istanbul, Feyzullah 299, cf. H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 71-7). His dictionary of less common words and meanings occurring in the Prophetic traditions, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth* (Cairo 1322, also 1963-65), gained especially wide currency from the fact that it was incorporated in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*. He wrote on particular kinds of names in the *Kitāb al-Banīn wa-ʾl-banāt wa ʾl-ābāʾ wa ʾl-ummahāt wa ʾl-adhwāʾ*

wa 'l-dhawāt (= *Kitāb al-Muraṣṣa*ʿ, incomplete ed. by C. F. Seybold [Weimar 1896, *Semitistische Studien*, 10/11]). While his works on the *Musnad* of al-Shāfiʿi, on the pious men and women of early Islam (*al-Mukhtār fī manāḳib al-akhyār*, table of contents by O. Spies, in *MO*, xxiv (1930), 31-55), and, it seems, a collection of *Rasāʾil* (listed in Brockelmann as No. 5) are preserved, his major works on grammar and Ḳurʾān interpretation, together with a number of works on other subjects, have not yet been recovered.

(2) ʿIzz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī was born on 4 Djumādā I 555/13 May 1160. Like his elder brother, he spent most of his adult life in Mosul but in the capacity of a private scholar. He repeatedly visited Baghdād as a pilgrim or as an envoy of the ruler of Mosul. On at least one of these occasions, upon returning from the pilgrimage, we find him, together with Madjd al-Dīn, trying to use the opportunity for studying with a Baghdādī scholar. At the age of twenty-eight, he was with the armies concentrated under the command of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] for the fight against the Crusaders (*Kāmil, sub anno* 584), probably in the company of his brother Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn. Near the end of his life, in 626-28/1228-31, he spent some time as an honoured guest with the Atābak of Aleppo, interrupting his stay for one year to visit Damascus. In Aleppo, Yāḳūt [*q.v.*], just before he died, asked him to arrange for the transfer of his books and papers after his death to a foundation in Baghdād. He agreed but, we are told, handled the task ineptly. He himself died soon thereafter, in Shaʿbān or Ramaḍān 630/May-June 1233.

The circumstances of his life are certainly most imperfectly known as compared to the extent of fame and influence that were his on account of his works, which have been preserved and printed repeatedly. He wrote very successful improved compendia of al-Samʿānī's *Ansāb* and of some earlier collections of biographies of the men around Muḥammad, entitled, respectively, *al-Lubāb* and *Usd al-ghāba*. His more noteworthy contribution, however, has been to secular history. On the Zangī (Atābak) dynasty of Mosul, he wrote a comparatively short work, *al-Bāhir*, based on the first-hand knowledge of his father and himself. His great compilation entitled *al-Kāmil*, an annalistic history from the beginning of the world to the year 628, represents the high point of Muslim annalistic historiography. Distinguished by the well-balanced selection of its vast material, by its clear presentation, and by the author's occasional flashes of historical insight, it is somewhat marred, from the modern point of view, by its failure to indicate its sources and the restrictiveness of its annalistic form. A noticeable partiality for the Zangids, leading to some distortion and confusion, is, however, to be expected and is hardly a reason for belittling the great achievement of the historian.

(3) Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Naṣr Allāh, born on Thursday, 20 Shaʿbān 558/Wednesday, 24 July 1163, led the most active life of the three brothers and achieved the greatest prominence in politics, obtaining at some time the title of *wazīr*, which he retained. He joined Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in April 1191 (if not already once before, in 583/1187). Near the end of the year, given the choice, he joined Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's son, al-Afḍal, becoming his *wazīr* in Damascus after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death in 589/1193. In this position, he is said to have accumulated so much ill-will that when al-Afḍal had to give up Damascus, he was only with great difficulty able to escape, supposedly to Egypt (according to Ibn Khallikān). In fact, he took refuge in Mosul, where he found employment with Arslan Shāh. In 595/1199, he rejoined al-Afḍal in Syria and Egypt, and in 597/1201 moved with him through Syria to al-Afḍal's final destination in Sumaysāṭ. Travelling to Aleppo in 607/1211 with the intention to join al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, he almost immediately left for Mosul. In 611/1214, he took up residence in Irbil, then in Sindjār, and eventually, in 618/1221, settled again in Mosul, where he remained to the end of his life in the service of Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd b. Arslan Shāh and Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, as *kātib al-inshāʾ*. He died on an embassy to Baghdād on Monday, 29 Rabīʿ II 637/28 November 1239. A son, Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad (585-622/1189-1225), had begun to follow in his father's footsteps as a littérateur when he died prematurely.

Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn's works are all concerned with literary criticism. Those published are *al-Washy al-marḳūm* (Beirut 1298); *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* (ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād and Djamīl Saʿīd, Baghdād 1375/1956); and the most famous of all, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, which caused much attention already when it first appeared (on the editions and on old manuscripts of the work, cf. S. A. Bonebakker, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 186-94). Further, *al-Istidrāk fi 'l-akhdh ʿala 'l-Maʾākhidh al-Kindiyya* (Cairo 1958, on the dependence of al-Mutanabbī on Abū Tammām by the same Ibn al-Dahhān who was the teacher of Madjd al-Dīn, the author for his part of an improved version of Ibn al-Dahhān's *al-Fuṣūl al-adabiyya*), and one of the collections of his *Rasāʾil* (published on the basis of the manuscript Topkapısaray Ahmet III, 2630 [described by O. Rescher, in *RSO*, iv (1911-2), 725], by Anīs al-Maḳdisī [Beirut 1959], according to whom a manuscript in Beirut contains a partly different collection). These *Rasāʾil*, written to and on behalf of many of the important men of the time, dealing with all the topics on which an educated man had to be able to express himself in a literary fashion, and including such things as a preface for a treatise on the *ṣabūḥ* (morning drink) by a friend of his (*Rasāʾil*, 245 ff.), enjoyed hardly less of a reputation than those of his one-time colleague, the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil al-Baysānī. He also wrote, among other things, a long *Risāla* on Egypt (quoted by Ibn Khallikān), a handbook on *inshāʾ* (*al-Maʿālī al-mukhtaraʿa*), and a collection of the poetry of Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, Dīk al-Djinn, and al-Mutanabbī. The originality of his substantial contribution to Arabic literary criticism is reputed to be high but remains to be investigated.

Bibliography: Information about the father (from the works of the historian) is to be found in the introd. to the ed., by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir A. Ṭulaymāt, of ʿIzz al-Dīn, *al-Bāhir* (Cairo, n.d. [1382/1963]), and the ed. of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, *al-Djāmiʿ*; about other members of the family, in H. Ritter, *Oriens*, vi, 71 ff. Meḥmed Sherefeddīn (Yaltkaya), *Ibn Ethīrler* (Istanbul 1322) was not available.

For (1): Knowledge of Madjd al-Dīn's biography goes back mainly to information furnished by his brothers, ʿIzz al-Dīn (*Kāmil, sub anno* 606) as reported by Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 238-41, and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn in whose name the same information appears in Ibn al-Sāʿī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar*, 199-301 (Baghdād 1353/1934). How much of the probably quite limited biographical information from the works of other contemporaries such as Ibn Nukṭa Ibn al-Mustawfī (*History of Irbil*), and al-Mundhirī

is reflected in, for instance, Ibn Khallikān, no. 524, or Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 22 f., can as yet not be determined. Brockelmann, I, 438 f., S I, 305, 607-9.

For (2): ʿIzz al-Dīn achieved fame too late for inclusion in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, and we are basically restricted to the brief remarks in Ibn Khallikān, no. 433, who, at the age of eighteen, had met him in Aleppo. Later authors apparently had no new worthwhile material to add. For information on his teachers from the *Kāmil*, cf. the introd. of the ed. of *al-Bāhir* by ʿA. A. Ṭulaymāt (the *Bāhir* had previously been published under the title of *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul*, in vol. ii of the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, hist. or.*, Paris 1876). For the statement concerning Yāḳūt, cf. the references given by Muṣṭafā Djawād, in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ Madjmaʿ al-ādāb*, iv, I, 260 f. For the esteem he was held in during the Middle Ages, cf., *e.g.*, al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 332, 413. For some more recent critical judgments, cf. C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, 58-60; H. A. R. Gibb, in *Speculum*, xxv (1950), 58-72; H. L. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, Wiesbaden 1958, 6 f.; M. Hilmy M. Ahmad and F. Gabrieli, in Lewis and Holt (edd.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 88-90, 98 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 402, 422 f., S I, 565, 587 f.

For (3): In the absence of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn's biographies by his early contemporaries Ibn al-Mustawfī and Ibn al-Nadjdjār, we have to rely on Ibn Khallikān, no. 734, and the brief remarks in Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmila*, ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād, Baghdād 1377/1957, 4-6. Their information can to some degree be checked by the data derived from the *Rasāʾil* (cf. D. S. Margoliouth, in *Actes du Dixième Congrès Intern. des Or., Section III*, Leiden 1896, 9-21; C. Cahen, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 34-43). Cf., further (in the absence of the biographies of al-Dhahabī and al-Ṣafadī), Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 187-9. For his son, cf. *Rasāʾil*, 245, as well as Ibn Khallikān and the introd. to the ed. of *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr*. Brockelmann, I, 357 f., S I, 521. (F. Rosenthal)

IBN ʿATTĀSH, ʿAbd al-Malik, an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* who in the mid-5th/11th century was in charge of the *Daʿwa* in ʿIrāḳ and western Persia. Information about him is scanty. According to the autobiography of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*], he went to Rayy in Ramaḍān 464/May-June 1072, and enrolled Ḥasan in the *Daʿwa*. He is also said to have won over the Raʾīs Muẓaffar of Girdkūh, later one of the most active leaders of the Nizārīs. Ẓahīr al-Dīn and Rāwandī also allude to his relations with Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. According to this version, ʿAbd al-Malik, a resident of Iṣfahān, was accused of Shīʿism, and fled from that city to Rayy, where he joined Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. Ibn al-Djawzī gives a slightly different version, and adds further details: he had been a physician, and had been arrested and threatened with death by Sultan Toghrul Bey because of his faith. He made a show of repentance and, being released, went to Rayy, where he associated with Abū ʿAlī al-Nīsābūrī, the leading Ismāʿīlī there. He wrote an Ismāʿīlī book called *al-ʿAḳīḳa*, and died in the region of Rayy. Rāwandī and Ibn al-Athīr agree that he was a man of letters and a fine calligrapher; Rāwandī adds that there were many books in Iṣfahān written in his hand.

His son Aḥmad also played a rôle of some importance. According to Rāwandī he was believed in Iṣfahān not to share his father's religious beliefs, and was left unmolested at the time of his father's flight. He was, however, secretly working for the cause. Acting as a schoolteacher for the children of the Daylamī garrison of the fortress called Shāhdiz, he is said to have preached to the fathers and converted them, and thus gained control of the fortress. He held it for several years, and was finally defeated in 500/1107. After the capture of the castle, Aḥmad was paraded through the streets of Iṣfahān, and then flayed alive. His head was sent to Baghdād. Ibn al-Athīr suggests that he was an ignorant man, and that he owed his command to Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ's respect for his father.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, ix, Hyderabad 1359, 150-1; Bundārī-ʿImād al-Dīn, *Histoire des Seldjoucides* . . ., ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1889, 90-2; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshābūrī, *Saldjūḳnāma*, Tehrān 1332s, 40-2; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥ. Iqbal, London 1921, 155-6, 159-61; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Beirut 1908, 151-6; French trans. R. Le Tourneau, *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, Damascus 1952, 66-73 (victory-letter on the capture of Shāhdiz); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, x, 215-7; 299-302; Djuwaynī, iii, 189 = tr. Boyle, ii, 663; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, *Ḳismat-i Ismāʿīliyān* . . ., ed. Muḥ. Taḳī Dānishpazhūh . . ., Tehrān 1338/1959, 99, 116, 122 etc.; Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Kāshānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ismāʿīliyya* (extract from *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*), ed. Muḥ. Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, Tabrīz 1343s, 122; M. G. S. Hodgson, *The order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, index; Muṣṭafā Ghālib, *Aʿlām al-Ismāʿīliyya*, Beirut 1964, 144-5; Muḥ. Mihryār, *Shāhdiz kudjāst?*, in *Nashriyya-i Dānishkada-i Adabiyyāt-i Iṣfahān*, i (1343/1965), 115-6, 156-7; B. Lewis, *The Assassins*, London 1967, index. (B. Lewis)

IBN ĀWĀ (A.; pl. *banāt āwā*, rarely *abnāʾ/banū āwā*) denotes the jackal (*Canis aureus*, formerly *Thos aureus*) in a general sense (Persian *shaghāl*, Turkish *čakal*, French *chacal*). This small member of the canidae which, anatomically, is nearer the wolf (*dhiʾb*) than to the fox (*thaʿlab*), has never suffered the least confusion with the last-named among the Arabs; the elongated muzzle of the *ibn āwā*, the round pupil of the eye, not almond-shaped, its long and shining coat and its swifter pace than that of the fox were sufficient for the Bedouin observer to distinguish between them.

The jackal is a native of the whole of the zone with a steppe climate, as far as the northern and southern fringes of the deserts of Africa and Asia; for preference, it dwells in the grassy savannahs, where it is to be found as far as Cochin China. Its mainly nocturnal habits, its tendencies towards gregariousness, and a sharp and chronic hunger compel it to approach man; encampments and oases pay virtually no attention, at night, to the plaintive yelping (*ʿuwāʾ*, *waʿwaʿa*, *taḥawwub*, *ḥībūra*) of this constant visitor, for it contributes to public hygiene by removing household refuse and carrion. This natural cleansing agent of the wayside can, however, cause damage by the depredations which, from its greed, it is led to make in hen-houses, vineyards and orchards.

Each geographical region of the Arabic-speaking countries is familiar with a race of jackal, which it denotes by local names; thus, we find: (a) the *Canis aureus anthus* for North Africa (Maghrib: *dhīb/dīb*, confused with the wolf (*Canis lupus*) which does not exist there, *waʿwaʿ*, *waʿʿ*, *awwāw*, *tamrūr*, *bābā djaʿdān*, *Mḥammed al-djaʿīdāt*, *bū ḍbīḥa*, *ṭālib Yūsuf*; in Maghribī Berber, *ushshən*, tamashəḳ: *ibəgg*, *ibəggi*,

əggur); (b) the *Canis lupaster* for Egypt (*dīb*, taken to be a wolf); (c) the *Thos mesomelas* or Black-backed Jackal of Upper Egypt and the Sudan (*aws, uways*, Sudan *bā<u>sh</u>ūm, baʿ<u>sh</u>ūm, abū <u>sh</u>uʾm, <u>sh</u>uʾm/<u>sh</u>ūm*); (d) the *Canis aureus syriacus* for Syria and ʿIrāḳ (*wāwī*, Lebanon *<u>dj</u>aḳal*); and (e) the *Canis aureus indicus* for Persia and India (Pahlavi Arabized as *<u>sh</u>aʿhar, <u>sh</u>aʿbar, <u>sh</u>a<u>gh</u>bar, za<u>gh</u>bar*).

The sobriquet *ibn āwā* seems to go back to remote antiquity, in the dialects of Arabia which were very prone to make use of the construct form to create compound nouns in which *ibn/bint*, like *abū/umm* and *<u>dh</u>ū/<u>dh</u>āt*, deprived of their original meaning, become instruments denoting ownership or qualification. As for *āwā*, the Muslim philologists, impelled by the categorical requirements of triliteralism, attached it, on the pattern *afʿal*, to the root *ʾAWW/ʾAWY* with the idea of "to seek refuge and company in . . ."; thus they interpret *ibn āwā* as meaning "the one who responds to the appeal of his congeners to rejoin them". This explanation, valid enough in view of the characteristic behaviour of the jackal which it emphasizes, may be rather the result of the combination of the root *ʾAWW/ʾAWY*, which does not contain the idea of crying out, and of a Bedouin onomatopoeia *waʾwaʾ/wāwā*, a vocal imitation of its bark common to all these peoples. The closely related onomatopoeic root *waʿwaʿ* is still very much alive in present-day speech to evoke the wailing yelp of the jackal (see the different local names for the jackal given above and al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 288, on *waw-waw* = dog, in childish language).

The excessive cowardice of the jackal, which compels it to leave its lair only at night, its instinct as a "carrion-eater", its natural rebelliousness to training, its utter impurity in the eyes of Ḳurʾānic Law and the consequent ban upon the eating of its flesh have condemned it, if not to scorn, at least to total indifference on the part of those who might have been expected to give it their attention, such as huntsmen, naturalists and poets. Although recognizing it to possess the cunning of the fox, they usually refer to it only pro memoria, and, by way of archaisms denoting it, philologists can put forward only the figurative *<u>sh</u>awṭ barāḥ*[in] which can be interpreted as "luminous rays of the desert" (the exact meaning of *<u>sh</u>awṭ* here remains elusive, for this term signifies at the same time "long course made up of a single stage", "long journey", and "rays of light filtering through a sky-light"), and as the vestige of the Ḥimyaritic language, under its triple Arabic form of *ʿillaw<u>sh</u>/ʿillawḍ/laʿwaḍ*.

In the Ma<u>gh</u>rib, in particular, so little attention is paid to the proximity of the jackal that many so-called "douar dogs", of very variable and sometimes indefinable types, are considered to be mongrels of jackals (*barhū<u>sh</u>*) and reveal their essential characteristics.

In this instinctive shunning of the jackal by the Muslim peoples, an exception must be made in the case of the Touareg, who include it among their game and hunt it, either by driving it with beaters or by gin-traps or poison; being far from strict in their observance of Islamic precepts, they sometimes cook the flesh, but for the most part they use the fur for making saddle-bags. Among this people, as in pre-Islamic Arabia, different organs of the jackal are used in the local medicines. In general, in Barbary where it is still regarded with fear as the transmitter of rabies and devastator of hen-houses and sheep-folds, the jackal has become the principal hero of animal tales, in which it takes the part which otherwise falls to the fox (see H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 206-31).

In conclusion, it seems that in the mediæval West the jackal was the basis of an import trade from the Ma<u>gh</u>rib, through Muslim Spain and that, mixed and confused with the fennec [see FANAK] and the fox under the name *adive* (from *al-dīb*), it was esteemed in furriery. The *adive*, with its corruptions *adile, adire, adit, aduz*, and *ardit*, is mentioned in some very ancient chronicles, and in particular we can read in the *Mémoires* (ed. Paris 1924-6) of Philippe de Commynes (15th century) that: "... King Louis XI sent to search for ... strange beasts in all directions, as in Barbary, a species of small lions which are no larger than small foxes and called them *adits*". Finally, it will be noted that it is under the name *adive* that Buffon (*Hist. Nat.*, v, 214) speaks of the jackal.

The jackal therefore is no longer anything more than a pariah in the Islamic countries, whilst the Egyptians of the age of the Pharaohs dedicated a divine cult to it, as Anubis.

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IBN AL-ʿAWWĀM [see FILĀḤA, ii].

IBN BĀBAWAYH(I), ABŪ <u>DJ</u>AʿFAR MUḤAMMAD B. ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ḤUSAYN B. MŪSĀ AL-ḲUMMĪ, known as AL-ṢADŪḲ, is universally regarded among the I<u>th</u>nāʿa<u>sh</u>arī <u>Sh</u>īʿīs as one of their foremost doctors and traditionists. E. G. Browne says "the most important of these earlier divines are the three Muḥammads, al-Kulaynī (Md. b. Yaʿḳūb, d. 329/941), Ibn Bābawayhi (Md. b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. Mūsā, d. 381/991-2) and Ṭūsī (Md. b. Ḥasan, 460/1067)" (Browne, iv, 358-9). The first composed the *Kāfī*; the second *Man lā yaḥḍuru-hu 'l-faḳīh*, and the third the *Istibṣār* and *Tah<u>dh</u>īb al-Aḥkām*, which are known as the "Four Books" (*al-kutub al-arbaʿa*).

His name is fully discussed by Saʿīd Nafīsī in the Introduction to his edition of Ibn Bābawayhi's *Muṣādaḳat al-i<u>kh</u>wān* (Tehrān, no date; Introduction dated 7 Tīrmāh 1325), who says that the current pronunciation of his name is *Bā-ba-wayhi* (*bi-fatḥ-i wāw, wa sukūn-i yā, wa hāʾ-i i<u>sh</u>bāʿ <u>sh</u>uda-i <u>dj</u>alī talaffuẓ karda and*). Originally, it was *Bā-bū-yi* (Introduction, 4; Fyzee, *Shiite creed*, 8, n. 2). He is generally known as *<u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>-i Ṣadūḳ*. His place of birth is not mentioned either by Ṭūsī or Na<u>dj</u>ā<u>sh</u>ī, but Donaldson says that he was born in <u>Kh</u>urāsān (*Shiite religion*, 286) either in 311/923 or some years earlier (Nafīsī, Intr., 6). In 355/966 he went to Ba<u>gh</u>dād, apparently from <u>Kh</u>urāsān, and died at Rayy in 381/991. Ahlwardt mentions the date of his death as 391/1001, but there is no sufficient authority for it (Berlin Catalogue, nos. 1269, and 2721; and some others have followed him).

Of his life and character we know next to nothing; but of his birth an entertaining legend is preserved, according to which Ṣadūḳ was born as the result of a prayerful request to the Hidden Imām, and the great traditionist used to pride himself on the fact that he was begotten by order of the Imām (Fyzee, 9-10; Nafīsī, 5). His father ʿAlī was a rich merchant and had three sons, the eldest Ḥasan, the second Ḥusayn and the youngest Muḥammad al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūḳ (Nafīsī, 6, whose opinion is preferable to mine, see *Shiite creed*, 10). Muḥammad was apparently the son of a slave-girl, probably from Daylam. The eldest son Ḥasan was a theologian of a retiring disposition; Ḥusayn was a well-known jurist and theologian; Muḥammad, known simply as Ibn Bābawayhi, or Shaykh-i Ṣadūḳ among the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, was undoubtedly the most famous of all.

Ṣadūḳ taught at Baghdād and was a contemporary of the Buwayhid Prince Rukn al-Dawla, and entered into controversies on his behalf. He was pre-eminent in knowledge, memory, "justice", intelligence and reliability, and is universally recognized as a pillar of the Ithnāʿasharī faith. Although some have doubted his authority, the *Rawḍāt al-djannāt* declares him to be one of the greatest authorities (iv, 558). Ṣadūḳ came of a very illustrious family of learned men, fifteen of whom have been discussed by Saʿīd Nafīsī (*Muṣādaḳat al-ikhwān*, Intr., 4-17).

Works: Ṣadūḳ was a prolific author; of the earliest authorities, Ṭūsī mentions 43 works and Nadjāshī, 193; later authorities like the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ* mention 189 and the *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, after naming 17 works, says that the rest have not survived. A full list of his works will be found in the *Shiite creed*, 12 ff.; Nafīsī, 6-13, mentions 214 works. His most important extant books are: (1) *Man lā yaḥḍuru-hu 'l-faḳīh*, one of the "four books" (often printed; lith. Tehrān 1326 A.H.); (2) *Risālat al-iʿtiḳādāt* (see Fyzee, *Shiite creed*, containing an English translation and full notes); (3) *Ikmāl al-dīn*, ed. E. Möller, Heidelberg 1901; (4) *Kitāb al-Amālī*; (5) *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*; and (6) *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍāʾ* (for a full list and particulars see my *Shiite creed*, 12-17, and Saʿīd Nafīsī in his Intr. to Ibn Bābawayhi's *Muṣadaḳat al-ikhwān*, 11-13.

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Sources: al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 196; al-Ṭūsī, *List*, ed. Sprenger, nos. 661 and 471; Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317/1900; al-Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, iv, 557-60. There are numerous other references in books of *ridjāl*; space does not permit their mention here.

Modern works: Brockelmann, I, 187; S I, 321-2; D. M. Donaldson, *Shiite religion*, London 1933, 285-6: A. A. A. Fyzee, *The creed of Ibn Bābawayhi*, in *Journal of Bombay University*, xii (1943), 70-86 (a detailed examination of his creed, compared with the *Taṣḥīḥ al-iʿtiḳādāt* of Shaykh Mufīd); J. N. Hollister, *The Shīʿa of India*, London 1953, 25, 36, 50, 96; H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, Index.

(A. A. A. Fyzee)

IBN BĀDĪS (dialectal pron.: Ben Badīs), ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Muṣṭafā b. Makkī, founder of the orthodox reformist movement in Algeria, born at Constantine in 1889. After studying at the Islamic university of Tunis (al-Zaytūna), he devoted himself to private teaching in a mosque in his native town and led an unspectacular life until 1925, when he turned to journalism. He founded a newspaper, *al-Muntaḳid* ("The Critic"), which went out of circulation after a few months. Immediately afterwards he founded a new newspaper, *al-Shihāb* ("The Meteor"), which soon took the form of a monthly review and appeared regularly, with some success, until the end of 1939. Ibn Bādīs gave of his best to this publication, which he used as a platform for his reformist propaganda (social questions) and for his religious teaching (*tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*).

At first essentially reformist, *al-Shihāb* tried to spread in Algeria the doctrine of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*], obviously taking its inspiration from *al-Manār* of Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*]. But, from 1930 onwards, it dealt more and more with Algerian political questions (this being connected, apparently, with the official celebrations of the centenary of the French settlement in Algeria). From that time onwards the review based its propaganda on two issues—reform (*iṣlāḥ*) and nationalism, strongly tinged with Arabism. This policy led it to attack: (1) Marabout societies, accused of maintaining certain blameworthy forms of religious life, of favouring obscurantism, of profiting from popular credulity and even of being in collusion with the colonial administration; (2) Gallicization (naturalization and, as a necessary corollary, the abandoning of Islamic personal status, the exclusive adoption of French customs and culture, etc.). Moreover, in this review, Ibn Bādīs showed himself to be a passionate defender of the Algerian personality, which he considered to be inalienable from Islam and Arab culture.

Ibn Bādīs became president of the Association of Algerian Muslim *ʿUlamāʾ* (constituted in May 1931) and soon confirmed his position as one of the most representative members of the Algerian Muslim community. A tireless worker for his cause, he began the publication of *al-Shihāb*, and directed the organization for the free teaching of Arabic and the religious education of adults in the numerous cultural centres of his Association. He played an important political rôle alongside the other representatives of Muslim opinion, particularly after the formation of the Popular Front in France, the meeting of the Algerian Muslim Congress in Algiers (June 1936) and the discussion of the "Viollette project" (end of December 1936). During the last years of his life he was engaged in the exhausting work of political leader and of missionary of *iṣlāḥ* in Algeria. He died prematurely on 16 April 1940.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs is remembered with veneration as a master by many followers. His name is already wrapped in legend. Through his activities at the head of the Association of *ʿUlamāʾ* he was one of the most effective workers in the Arab-Islamic cultural renewal in Algeria between 1930 and 1940. His intellectual brilliance and his religious influence (chiefly his Ḳurʾānic exegesis published in *al-Shihāb*) make him incontestably the dominant figure of Algerian Islam in the first half of the 20th century. His ardent faith, devoid of all hatred and fanaticism, his disinterestedness and his extreme simplicity have caused his contemporaries to regard him as a saint. It suffices to quote of Ibn Bādīs these words which summarize his life's work: "I am a sower of love, but on a foundation of justice, equity and respect towards everyone of whatever race or religion" (*al-Shihāb*, August 1939, 346).

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IBN BĀDĪS [see mu'izz b. bādīs].

IBN BĀDJDJA (Latinized as Avempace), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ṣā'igh al-Tudjībī al-Andalusī al-Saraḳusṭī, a celebrated philosopher and *wazīr* in 6th/12th century Spain, and according to Ibn Khaldūn, who ranked him with Ibn Rushd (Averroes) [*q.v.*] in the West and al-Fārābī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) [*q.v.*] in the East, one of the greatest philosophers of Islam. Ibn Bādjdja was also well known as a poet, musician and composer of popular songs. Examples of his verses showing a real lyrical gift are to be found in the mediaeval Arabic accounts of the philosopher (see also in the Bibliography the work of Nykl).

Details of his life are obscure. There is an unconfirmed statement in Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] that the ancestors of Ibn Bādjdja were Jewish. Since he is said to have died young in 533/1139, he must have been born towards the end of the 5th/11th century (not later, for he was politically active in the first decade or so of the 6th/12th century), at or near Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa) [*q.v.*], where apparently also he spent his youth. We have no reliable information about his education. When in 503/1110 Saraḳusṭa fell to the Almoravids [see al-murābiṭūn], or earlier, Ibn Bādjdja for reasons which can only be surmised took service with the new rulers, and became *wazīr*, apparently while still in his twenties, to the Berber governor Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣaḥrāwī, known as Ibn Tīfalwīt. During this vizierate he undertook an embassy for Ibn Tīfalwīt to 'Imād al-Dawla b. Hūd, the former ruler of Saraḳusṭa [see hūdids], who still maintained his independence at Rūṭa (Rueda de Jalón). Ibn Bādjdja was thrown into prison, presumably as a traitor, and remained a prisoner for some months. On his release he seems not to have returned to Saraḳusṭa, and was at Balansiyya (Valencia) when news reached him of the death of Ibn Tīfalwīt (510/1117). Shortly after this the Christians finally captured Saraḳusṭa (Ramaḍān 512/ December 1118). Ibn Bādjdja prepared to retire to the west of Spain, but while passing through Shātiba (Játiva), he was again imprisoned by the Almoravid Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn on a charge of heresy, according to Ibn Khāḳān. Having gained his release, according to one account through the help of the father of Ibn Rushd (Averroes), more probably the grandfather, the celebrated *Ḳāḍī* Ibn Rushd, Ibn Bādjdja may have reached Seville. A second vizierate of twenty years to Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn), credited to him by several writers, perhaps began about this time. We find Ibn Bādjdja also at unspecified times at Granada and Wahrān (Oran), and at Ishbīliyya (Seville) in 530/1135 in the company of his friend Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Imām. He died at Fās (Fez) in Ramaḍān 533/May 1139, it is said (somewhat improbably) from the effects of eating a poisoned fruit provided by a servant of Abu 'l-'Alā' b. Zuhr (father of the famous Ibn Zuhr or Avenzoar [*q.v.*]).

Ibn Bādjdja's works survive in their original Arabic in a few manuscripts and in Hebrew translations. The late Miguel Asín Palacios considered it possible that there were fragmentary translations into Latin, but no early Latin version of any work of Ibn Bādjdja has come to light, though he is occasionally quoted in the Latin Averroes and (differently) in Albertus Magnus. The most important Arabic MSS are:

(1) Bodleian MS Pococke 206, which contains a collection of the works of Ibn Bādjdja made by the above-mentioned Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Imām. See J. Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae Cod. MSS Or. Catalogus*, i, 1787, 499.

(2) Berlin MS 5060, apparently lost since the second World War. For the contents see W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Hss. der königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, iv (1892), 396-99.

(3) Escurial MS 612, containing for the most part commentaries by Ibn Bādjdja on the logical works of al-Fārābī [*q.v.*]. It has been analysed by H. Derenbourg, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial, Publications de l'École des Langues orientales vivantes*, IIe série, Vol. X, Paris, 1884, 419-23.

(4) Another MS of collected works of Ibn Bādjdja was signalized by Dr. 'Umar Farrūkh, but has meantime passed out of the hands of its former owner, al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī of Baghdād.

The *Risālat al-Wadā'* (Letter of Farewell) and the later *Risālat Ittiṣāl al-'aḳl bi 'l-insān* (Treatise on the Union of the Intellect with Man) have been given good editions by Asín. Ibn Bādjdja's most celebrated work, the *Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid* (Rule of the Solitary), hitherto known only from Munk's French rendering of a Hebrew translation (in *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris 1859), was also edited by Asín from the unique Bodleian MS and published posthumously with a Spanish translation. In these three works, as also in various passages of his *Kitāb fi 'l-Nafs* (Book on the Soul), Ibn Bādjdja's interest is centred on the possibility of the union of the soul with the Divine, which he takes as man's highest activity and the ultimate felicity, as well as the final end of human existence. Instead of representing this union in a religious sense, to be attained by moral purity and acts of devotion, and as fully realizable only in the after-life, Ibn Bādjdja considers it as the last stage of an intellectual ascent, by means of a continuous process of abstraction from the impressions caused by sensible objects consisting of matter and form, through a hierarchy of 'spiritual forms' (*ṣuwar rūḥāniyya*) containing progressively less and less matter, which are intellected by the mind, till finally the Active Intellect is reached. This is devoid of matter and the same for all men (hence Ibn Bādjdja's metaphysical doctrine has been described as panpsychism). The Active Intellect is the highest conception which man can fully comprehend and then only in exceptional circumstances, and is represented not indeed as God, the One, the First Mover, or any aspect of Deity, but as an emanation of Deity, ranking immediately below the Separate Intelligences which move the spheres. These higher Forms are entirely beyond the comprehension of man in the sublunary sphere. Ibn Bādjdja is therefore necessarily concerned with the lower stages of the hierarchy of existence in its metaphysical aspect, but also with the psychological and ethical characteristics of the mind which makes the ascent, which derive according to him from the metaphysical characteristics of the successive stages. The Neoplatonic character of this *schema* is plain, and Ibn Bādjdja's 'spiritual forms' derive probably from a treatise of Alexander of Aphrodisias dealing specifically with them, which was available in Arabic.

Apart from the exposition in the *Risālat Ittiṣāl al-'aḳl bi 'l-insān* (cf. ed. Asín, § 23), Ibn Bādjdja made his most sustained effort to explain his thought in the *Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid*, which, however, was left incomplete at his death (Ibn Ṭufayl). Within Arabic

philosophy, the *Tadbīr* was evidently influenced by al-Fārābī, who in *al-Siyāsa* (*Siyāsāt*) *al-madaniyya*, speaks, like Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a, of the solitary 'plants', *i.e.*, philosophers in the unfavourable environment of existing imperfect cities, and in the *Fuṣūl al-madanī* states that it is the duty of the virtuous man or true philosopher to emigrate to the ideal cities if such exist in fact in his time, adding that if they do not exist, the virtuous man is a stranger in life and to die is preferable for him than to live (ed. Dunlop, § 88). Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a, who also envisages emigration for his sage, evidently faces the same situation and suggests the solution, *viz.* withdrawal to a life of speculation within the existing imperfect cities. The idea of the solitary sage may have suggested to Ibn Ṭufayl his philosophical romance *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* [*q.v.*], in which an orphan child growing up in solitude finds means of realizing man's highest development. The influence of Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a on Ibn Rus̲h̲d (Averroes) has also to be noted, though the latter was never the former's pupil, as has been stated (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa). When Ibn Rus̲h̲d mentions Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a it is usually in a somewhat critical tone, but he was evidently much interested in the idea of the union with the Active Intellect, and even projected a commentary on the *Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid*.

In addition to the fields which have been mentioned, Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a studied mathematics, astronomy, botany, etc.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, ii, 62-64; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert, 406; Ibn K̲h̲āḳān, *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān*, ed. S. al-Ḥarāʾirī, A. H. 1277, 346-53; Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, ed. L. Gauthier, Beirut 1936, text 5 ff., transl. 3 ff.; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Muḳaddima*, transl. F. Rosenthal, iii, 116, 443 ff.; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, transl. De Slane, Paris 1858, iii, 130-33; al-Suyūṭī, *Bug̲h̲yat al-wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, 207-8; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Islām*, Bodleian MS Laud Or. 304, fols. 17b-18a; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Leiden ed., ii, 254, 423; idem, Būlāḳ ed., iv, 612-616; Sibṭ b. al-D̲j̲awzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān* (A.H. 495-654), ed. Jewett, Chicago 1907, 105; Lisān al-Dīn b. al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *K. al-Iḥāṭa*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 242 ff.; M. Asín Palacios, *Avempace botánico*, in *Al-Andalus*, v (1940), 255-265; idem, *Tratado de Avempace sobre la unión del intelecto con el hombre*, in *Al-Andalus*, vii (1942), 1-47; idem, *La 'Carta de Adiós' de Avempace*, in *Al-Andalus*, viii (1943), 1-87; idem, *El Régimen del Solitario por Avempace, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Miguel Asín*, Madrid-Granada 1946; D. M. Dunlop, *Ibn Bājjah's Tadbīru 'l-mutawaḥḥid* (*Rule of the Solitary*), in *JRAS*, 1945, 61-81; idem, *The Dīwān attributed to Ibn Bājjah* (*Avempace*), in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 463-477; idem, *Philosophical predecessors and contemporaries of Ibn Bājjah*, in *Islamic Quarterly*, ii (1955), 100-116; idem, *Remarks on the life and works of Ibn Bājjah* (*Avempace*), in *Proceedings of the XXIInd Congress of Orientalists*, ii, Leiden 1957, 188-96; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábigo-española* [2], 1945, 207-8, etc.; P. J. de Menasce, *Arabische Philosophie*, Bern 1948 (short bibliography to date); E. Renan, *Averroès* [4], index; A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, Baltimore 1946, 251-4; ʿUmar Farrūk̲h̲, *Ibn Bājjah* (*Avempace*) *and the philosophy in the Moslem West*, [1]Beirut 1945, [2]Beirut 1952 (both in Arabic); Leo Africanus, *De viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes*, c. 15, in J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, t. xiii, 279; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *The Place of politics in the philosophy of Ibn Bājja*, in *IC*, xxv (1951), 187-211; M. Ṣag̲h̲īr Ḥasan al-Maʿṣūmī (ed.), Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a, *Kitāb al-Nafs*, Damascus 1960; idem, *Avempace—the great philosopher of al-Andalus*, in *IC*, xxxvi (1962), 35-53, 85-101.

(D. M. Dunlop)

IBN BADRŪN [see IBN ʿABDŪN].

IBN BAḲĪ, Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad (in some sources: Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān), Andalusian poet born at the end of the 5th/11th century. Although he is considered by Arab biographers and in some modern works to be from Cordova (al-Ḳurṭubī), Ibn al-Abbār, Ibn Saʿīd (whose grandfather knew him personally) and Ibn Bassām refer to him as al-Ṭulayṭulī, and the latter states that the disturbances at Toledo (*fitnat Ṭulayṭula*) forced him to leave this town. At this time, probably about 477/1085, the year during which Alfonso VI conquered the town, Ibn Baḳī was still young. Soon afterwards the poet began the journeys across Spain and Morocco which were to continue throughout his life. Always seeking a means of livelihood and unlucky in his fortune, he spent some time in Seville—complaining bitterly of it in his poetry as he was to do of all al-Andalus—then in Cordova. The times, the period of the Almoravids, were not propitious for men of letters who were "fighting against poverty and ignorance" as has been said by E. García Gómez, who has made a study of the period (*al-Andalus*, x (1945), 285-340). Ibn Baḳī was the friend of al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī and, in a poetry contest at Seville, after al-Aʿmā had recited his poem and gained the audience's admiration, Ibn Baḳī had not the courage to read his and tore up the paper on which he had written it. The two poets are rightly classed at the head of their contemporaries and it is surprising to find verses of one attributed to the other. Ibn Baḳī finally found refuge with the Banū ʿAs̲h̲ara, *ḳāḍīs* of Salé, some of whom he praises in his poems.

Of Ibn Baḳī's work there survive various court poems on classical themes which clearly demonstrate his greatness as a poet, which was recognized by his contemporaries and by the later critics. But it is primarily in the genre of *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥa* that his brilliance is apparent. His various *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥāt* which end in a Romance *k̲h̲ard̲j̲a* [*q.v.*] have recently aroused particular interest.

This "charmant poète, l'un des meilleurs que l'Andalousie ait eus", in the words of Dozy (*Hist. Mus. Esp.*[2], iii, 156), died in 545/1150-1 according to Ibn al-Abbār (*Takmila*, no. 2042). Yāḳūt and Ibn K̲h̲allikān, less reliable as being Eastern writers, give the date as 540/1145-6.

Bibliography: For the sources, see the very complete references given by H. Pérès, *La poésie à Fès sous les Almoravides et les Almohades*, in *Hespéris*, xviii (1933), 13, n. 4; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mug̲h̲rib fī ḥulā 'l-Mag̲h̲rib*, ed. S̲h̲awḳī Ḍayf, Cairo 1953, ii, 19-21, 25, 456; idem, *Kitāb Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn* (= *El libro de las banderas de los campeones*), ed. and tr. E. García Gómez, Madrid 1942, 48-9 (192-4 of the tr.); E. García Gómez, *Poetas musulmanes cordobeses*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba*, no. 25 (1929), 27-8; R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Baltimore 1946, 241-4; 241-4; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse* . . ., index. Ibn Baḳī as a writer of *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥāt*: Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, ed. Rikābī, Damascus 1949, index; E. García Gómez, *Estudio del "Dār aṭ-ṭirāz"*, in *al-Andalus*, xxvii (1962), 21-104, *passim*; K.

Heger, *Die bisher veröffentlichten Ḫarǧas und ihre Bedeutung*, in the *Beihefte* of the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, no. 101 (1960), 50; E. García Gómez, *Las Jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco*, Madrid 1965, general index.

(F. DE LA GRANJA)

IBN AL-BĀḲILLĀNĪ [see AL-BĀḲILLĀNĪ].

IBN BAḲIYYA, ABŪ ṬĀHIR MUḤAMMAD, vizier to the Būyid ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*], whose history is perhaps difficult to relate objectively since the chroniclers, who wrote from the point of view of the military or bureaucratic aristocracy, were *a priori* hostile to a parvenu such as he. Coming from a peasant family of Awana (Upper ʿIrāḳ), he had taken advantage of the disturbances during the first half of the 4th/10th century to organize a force which had seized control of the tolls on the Tigris at Takrīt. At the time of the conquest of ʿIrāḳ by the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla, when he was in fact in charge of provisioning the prince's kitchens in Baghdād, he had succeeded in holding his privileges as tax-farmer to the new government. A certain charm in conversation, combined with skill in intrigue between rivals bidding for power and in the adroit placing of gifts, finally secured him the favour of the vizier, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās al-Shīrāzī, and then of Bakhtiyār at the beginning of his reign; finally, in 362/972, he received the succession from al-Shīrāzī himself, probably without desiring it, and contrary to the customary practice whereby, for more than a century, viziers had been recruited from among the bureaucratic profession. Good fortune did not make him unmindful of his former companions, and it is one of the complaints brought against him by the chroniclers that he appointed men of low rank to numerous positions. It seems, however, that Ibn Baḳiyya was a clever manipulator rather than a true politician and he failed to compensate for his own inadequate administrative training by winning over the chief officials in the administration. He was unlucky enough to serve a fickle prince, and his final ruin was to result from the latter's overthrow.

Though bound up with the fortunes of Bakhtiyār, Ibn Baḳiyya, at the time of the first ʿIrāḳī campaign of his prince's cousin, ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], nevertheless perceived the usefulness of enjoying the favour of the latter (a man who today was the protector and tomorrow, it seemed only too clear, would be the redoubtable adversary of Bakhtiyār) and the favour too of the vizier to Rukn al-Dawla (father of ʿAḍud al-Dawla), Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*], who was lingering in ʿIrāḳ. From them, besides the vizierate, he received also the town of Wāsiṭ, as an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*]. In the end, however, the policy he had adopted of trying by means of gifts to win the attachment of certain forces, the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*] of Baghdād, the autonomous head of the Baṭīḥa ʿImrān b. Shāhīn who was always in semi-revolt against Baghdād, and others, aroused the suspicions of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, while at the same time Bakhtiyār continued to fear that Ibn Baḳiyya might utterly betray him for the sake of his powerful cousin. When the latter, now successor to Rukn al-Dawla, invaded ʿIrāḳ for the second time, Bakhtiyār attributed the responsibility for the defeat to his vizier and in the end had him arrested and blinded; then ʿAḍud al-Dawla occupied Baghdād, Ibn Baḳiyya fell into his power, and he had him trampled on by his elephants and impaled; the corpse had to await the death of the formidable Būyid before receiving burial (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 42).

Bibliography: See BŪYIDS, ʿAḌUD AL-DAWLA, BAKHTIYĀR and IBN AL-ʿAMĪD (Abu 'l-Fatḥ). The principal source is of course Ibn Miskawayh; several letters of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ (particularly in the Leiden MS) are addressed to Ibn Baḳiyya or concern him; the article devoted to him by Yāḳūt in the *Irshād* (vi) is in reality mainly concerned with the relations of Ibn al-ʿAmīd (Abu 'l-Fatḥ) with him; Ibn Khallikān, no. 709 (de Slane, iii, 272 ff.); F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 375-6; J. Chr. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAḍud ad-daulas*, 1965 (Index).

(CL. CAHEN)

IBN AL-BALADĪ, SHARAF AL-DĪN ABŪ DJAʿFAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. SAʿĪD, vizier of al-Mustandjid. In 563/1167-8 Ibn al-Baladī, who at that time was *Nāẓir* in Wāsiṭ, was appointed vizier. There was an old feud between him and the *ustād-dār* ʿAḍūd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. After the murder of the caliph in Rabīʿ II 566/December 1170 by ʿAḍud al-Dīn and the *amīr* Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, they forced his successor al-Mustaḍīʾ to appoint ʿAḍud al-Dīn vizier, whereupon Ibn al-Baladī was executed.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 426-9 (Eng. tr. Whitting, 305 f.); Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 216 ff., 230, 237.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

IBN BĀNA, ʿAMR, famous singer, poet and musician of Baghdād, *mawlā* of the Thaḳīf, died in 278/891 at Sāmarrā. His father was a famous secretary and a high official. His mother, Bāna, whose name he bears, was the daughter of Rawḥ, secretary of Salāma al-Waṣīf. Ibn Bāna was a very cultured, yet a very proud man. He was the supporter and protégé of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and among the most bitter enemies of Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, whom he accused of regarding music merely as a profession, whereas for him it was a source of delight. A mediocre musician, he did not play any instrument; nevertheless he excelled in the arts of singing, of improvisation, and of imitation and in teaching music. He wrote a work on music: *Kitāb Mudjarrad al-aghānī*. He was an intimate companion of al-Mutawakkil.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 145; *Aghānī*, xv, 269-85; Ibn Khallikān-De Slane, ii, 414; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* . . ., iv, 21; H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, 157-8.

(A. SHILOAH)

IBN AL-BANNĀʾ, ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-BAGHDĀDĪ (396/1005-471/1079), Ḳurʾānic scholar, traditionist and jurisconsult of the Ḥanbalī School in Baghdād; he studied law under the direction of the *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿAlī b. Abī Mūsā al-Hāshimī (d. 428/1037), and later under the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066). The available sources tell us nothing of his family origins; he apparently lived all his life in Baghdād, where he died on 5 Radjab 471/11 January 1079. His scholarship was the subject of criticism as well as praise by Shāfiʿites, beginning with al-Muʾtaman al-Sādjī (d. 507/1113) and carried on as late as the 9th/15th century with Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1448). His teaching career began in the lifetime of his teacher, the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā, on the east side of Baghdād, where he had two study circles, one in the Palace Cathedral Mosque (Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr) and another in the Cathedral Mosque of al-Manṣūr. He was commissioned by the wealthy Ḥanbalī merchant, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Djarada, to teach in a mosque-college built by the latter and known by his name, Masdjid Ibn Djarada. He was also a special tutor of this merchant's family.

Ibn al-Bannāʾ is said to have written as many as one hundred and fifty works (some say five hundred,

but this number appears to be a copyist's error). He wrote in the fields of history and biography, *fiḳh*, asceticism, *ḥadīth*, theology, philology, pedagogy and the interpretation of dreams. His biographer Ibn Radjab gives a list of his works wherein twenty-eight titles are cited. Four of his works are preserved in manuscript in the Ẓāhiriyya library in Damascus (one of which is not cited in Ibn Radjab's list).

Of great importance for the socio-religious history of Baghdād in the 5th/11th century is Ibn al-Bannāʾ's diary cited in Ibn Radjab's list as *al-Taʾrīkh*, the History, or Chronicle. This work is in fact a diary, in which the author recorded his personal observations of day-to-day socio-religious life in the ʿAbbāsid city. Unfortunately, only a small part of the diary has been preserved, a fragment dating from 1 Shawwāl 460/3 August 1068 and ending on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 461/4 September 1069. There is evidence that the author kept his diary until the year 470/1077-8, just one year before his death. We have no way of telling at present how early he began to keep it. In the history of Muslim historiography, Ibn al-Bannāʾ's diary is significant, in that regularly kept diaries were not generally thought to have existed at this early date (cf. F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 151). The surviving fragment of the *Diary* is devoted mainly to the Ḥanbalīs and their activities, this being the time when the celebrated Ḥanbalī Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*] was being persecuted by a certain group of his own school because of the interest he was taking in Muʿtazilī thought.

Bibliography: For the extant fragment of Idn al-Bannāʾ's diary, see G. Makdisi, *Autograph diary of an eleventh-century historian of Baghdād*, in *BSOAS*, xviii (1956), 9-31, 239-60, xix (1957), 13-48, 281-303, 426-43. For further details on his life and works, see *op. cit.*, xviii, 1-31; for further bibliography on Ibn al-Bannāʾ, see *op. cit.*, xviii, p. 1, n. 2. For the diary as a source on the affair of Ibn ʿAḳīl, see G. Makdisi, *Nouveaux détails sur l'affaire d'Ibn ʿAqīl*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, iii, 91-126.

(G. Makdisi)

IBN AL-BANNĀʾ AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Azdī, a versatile Moroccan scholar whose reputation rests mainly on his knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, astrology and occult sciences. Born in Marrākush on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 654/29 December 1256, he studied the traditional sciences—Arabic language, grammar, the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*—in his native town, where he was initiated into mathematics and medicine by masters whose identification is still in dispute, though he is known to have attached himself to the saint of Aghmāt [*q.v.*], Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Hazmīrī, who directed his knowledge of mathematics toward purposes of divination. Having been invited several times by the Marīnid sultans to go to Fās, he collected together, both in the capital and in Marrākush, a certain number of disciples, who had been drawn sometimes from far-distant places by his reputation as a scholar and Ṣūfī, and in particular he helped to maintain the tradition of mathematics and astronomy in the West; indeed, although he made some advances in arithmetic, especially in calculation involving fractions and square roots (new formula of approximation for

$$\sqrt{a^2 + r} \text{ (for } r > 0) : \sqrt{a^2 + r} \simeq a + \frac{r}{2a + 1}\Big),$$

he seems mainly to have been an excellent popularizer and one of the principal exponents of calculation in *ghubār* figures [see ḥisāb al-ghubār].

In all probability, he died on Friday 5 Radjab 721/31 July 1321 in Marrākush and soon became a legendary figure; he was regarded as a sort of magician, with the power to perform miracles by means of his scientific knowledge applied to divination and magic. Nevertheless, his biographers praise his piety, his noble character and irreproachable conduct.

The list of works attributed to Ibn al-Bannāʾ is considerable and includes over 80 titles, belonging to the most disparate branches of learning—Arabic grammar and language, rhetoric, exegesis, *uṣūl al-dīn* and *fiḳh*, the division of inheritances, logic, magic, divination, astronomy, meteorology and mathematics; they even include a résumé of the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī. Only a few of his writings have survived however (see Brockelmann), and only one has been published in its entirety, the *Risāla fi 'l-anwāʾ* (ed. and tr. H. P. J. Renaud, *Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâʾ de Marrakech*, Paris 1948). The best known is, beyond question, the *Talkhīṣ aʿmāl al-ḥisāb*, which has been the subject of several commentaries (see Suter and add Ibn Ḳunfudh, MS Rabat 531, attributed to Ibn Haydūr in Lévi-Provençal's catalogue), and which has been translated by A. Marre, in *Atti Ac. Lincei*, xvii (1864), also published separately, Rome 1865. Also to be noted are the *Rafʿ al-ḥidjāb ʿan ʿilm al-ḥisāb* (MSS. Tunis 10301, 206 R, 184 R; more detailed than the *Talkhīṣ*), the *Masāʾil fi 'l-ʿadad al-tāmm wa 'l-nāḳiṣ* (MS Tunis 2840), the *Ḳānūn li-faṣl* (*faḍl*?) *al-shams wa 'l-ḳamar wa-awḳāt al-layl wa 'l-nahār* (MS Escorial, 788/16) and some astronomical tables, *Minhādj al-ṭālib li-taʿdīl al-kawākib* (MS Escorial, 909/1; Algiers 1454/1). It is to be hoped that further work, in addition to the existing fragmentary studies, will be done on this scholar who is an eminent figure of the Maghrib and whose knowledge compelled the high esteem of Ibn Khaldūn.

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(H. Suter-M. ben Cheneb*)

IBN BARAKA, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Baraka al-ʿUmānī, Ibāḍī author born in the village of Bahlā in ʿUmān. The exact dates of his life are unknown. However, an Ibāḍī writer of ʿUmān, Ibn Mudād, regards him as a disciple and supporter of the *imām* Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥbūb, who was killed in 328/939-40. He himself played a considerable part in political life in ʿUmān and wrote several historical and juridical works, of which only the following survive: (1) *K. al-Djāmiʿ*, dealing with the principles of law; (2) *K. al-Muwāzana*, on the state of ʿUmān in the time of

the *imām* al-Ṣalt b. Mālik; in addition, it discusses certain questions of principles and their juridical solutions; (3) *K. al-Sīra*, in subject similar to the preceding work; (4) *Madḥ al-ʿilm*, a eulogy of learning and those who cultivate it; (5) *K. al-Taḳyīd*; (6) *K. al-Taʿāruf*; (7) *K. al-Sharḥ li-Djāmiʿ Ibn Djāʿfar*, no doubt a commentary on *al-Djāmiʿ*, the work of Abū Djābir Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Azkawī of ʿUmān dealing with questions of the application of principles.

Bibliography: Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān fī sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, i, Cairo 1332, 153, 166, 167; idem, *al-Lamʿa* (in a collection of six Ibāḍī works published in 1326 in Algeria), 210-1; *al-Siyar al-ʿumāniyya*, ms. Lwow, fols. 183b-198b and 271a; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 139, note; A. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bull. de Corr. Afr.*, iii, Algiers 1885, 19, nos. 19 and 20.

(T. Lewicki)

IBN BARRADJĀN, Abu 'l-Ḥakam ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī, an Andalusian mystic theologian, born in North Africa, who taught in Seville during the first half of the 6th/12th century.

His name is often associated with that of the celebrated Ṣūfī Ibn al-ʿArīf [*q.v.*], head of the Almeria school. With Ibn Ḳasī and Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī, these two men were indeed the leaders of the resistance movement directed against the Almoravids by the canonists and traditionalists and, in general, by those men of religion who, under the influence of the master al-Ghazālī, were then inclining towards *taṣawwuf*. But it is tempting to think that, far more than Ibn al-ʿArīf, it was Ibn Barradjān who was the most ardent and active inspiration of this Ṣūfī opposition to the inquisition of the Almoravid *fuḳahā'*. Ibn al-Abbār, his principal biographer, states that he was outstanding among his colleagues in merit and abilities, and that he was known as the Ghazālī of al-Andalus. This pre-eminence seems to emerge clearly from the fragments of correspondence between himself and Ibn al-ʿArīf that have been discovered. Finally, Ibn Barradjān appears to have been more involved in events than his companion and friend. He aspired to the *imāma*. According to al-Shaʿrānī (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 15), he was recognized as *imām* in 130 villages.

This advancement and the agitation which probably accompanied it aroused the suspicions of the Government's local agents. Alerted by them, the Almoravid prince summoned Ibn Barradjān, Ibn al-ʿArīf and Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī to Marrākush. The last-named managed to escape and took refuge in Bidjāya, travelling from there to the East where previously he had lived for a time. The other two both died in 536/1141, the year of their arrival in Morocco. This date is more generally accepted than the year 537/1142 given by Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

The two men were accorded very different treatment. To Ibn al-ʿArīf, the prince offered his belated but certainly sincere regrets. As for the unfortunate Ibn Barradjān, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf gave orders that his body should be thrown onto the town dunghill, without any prayers for the dead. The intervention of ʿAlī b. Ḥirzihim, a courageous Ṣūfī from Fās who was then passing through Marrākush, saved him from such a disgrace. Ibn Barradjān was buried in the corn-market square (*raḥbat al-ḥinṭa*). In the very year that followed his death, Ibn Ḳasī came out into open rebellion against the Almoravids in the Algarve.

Ibn Barradjān was versed in the science of *ḳirā'āt*, Tradition and *kalām*. As a Ṣūfī, he led an exemplary life of austerity, dedicated to worship. He wrote a commentary on the Ḳur'ān conceived in the spirit of his esoteric doctrine, and also a commentary on the names of Allāh. Among other miracles with which he was credited, he was said to have predicted in 520, with mathematical accuracy, the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, as well as the actual year in which that event took place, that is to say Radjab 583/1187. This aspect of his learning implies that Ibn Barradjān had a reputation for divination, of evident appeal to the popular imagination. When summoned to Marrākush, he had foreseen that only a short span of life was left to him, but also that ʿAlī b. Yūsuf too would die soon afterwards. In fact the prince's death occurred one year after his own.

Ibn Barradjān belongs to the great Ṣūfī tradition of the school of Ibn Masarra, but like the other Andalusian mystics of his time, he felt the influence of al-Ghazālī. Ibn Khaldūn places him in the category of men of the *tadjallī* (revelation, divine irradiation), whom he contrasts with the category of the theorists of monism (*waḥda*), for whom God is the totality of the manifested and non-manifested world, the sole reality (Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifā' al-sā'il li-tahdhīb al-masā'il*, ed. Khalifé, Beirut 1959, 51-2).

The memory of Ibn Barradjān seems to have remained alive for a long time among the populace. In Marrākush, he is still known by the name Sīdī Berridjāl (Sīdī Abu 'l-Ridjāl).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 1797; I Goldziher, *Ibn Barraǧān*, *ZDMG*, lxviii (1914), 544. M. Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914, chapter VIII, gives particulars regarding the Ṣūfī movement resulting from the teaching of Ibn Masarra, after the 5th/11th century; Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, in his *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya*, Fās 1918, i, 106, records the main points of his biography and lists some of the many authors who have devoted a notice to him, such as Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣā*, Nabhānī, *Djāmiʿ karāmāt al-awliyā'*, Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila*. It will be found rewarding to read the first pages of the biography of Ibn al-ʿArīf, written by M. Asín Palacios as a preface to the translated and annotated Arabic text of the *Maḥāsin al-madjālis*, Paris 1933; on the relations between Ibn al-ʿArīf and Ibn Barradjān, interesting details are given by Father Paul Nwyia, *Note sur quelques fragments inédits de la correspondance d'Ibn al-ʿArīf avec Ibn Barrajān*, in *Hespéris*, xliii (1956), 217-21.

(A. Faure)

IBN BARRĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ribāṭī, Moroccan scholar born in Taza in about 660/1261-2, died in the same town in about 731/1331. Deeply versed in the Islamic sciences, Ibn Barrī owes his renown to an *urdjūza* of 242 verses, *al-Durar al-lawāmiʿ fī aṣl maḳra' al-imām Nāfiʿ*, completed in 697/1298 and dealing with the "reading" of Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*]; this work, published several times in Cairo and Tunis in collections of treatises of Ḳur'ānic orthoepy and orthography, enjoyed a very great vogue in North Africa. From the same author has survived another *urdjūza* of 30 verses, *fī makhāridj al-ḥurūf*, on the points of articulation of phonemes (MS Berlin 548). See also the next article, beginning of final paragraph.

Of his life, all that is known is that after having been an *ʿadl* (a kind of notary) he was entrusted with the official correspondence of the government at Taza, and retained this post until his death.

Bibliography: Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Mārighnī al-Tūnisī, *al-Nudjūm al-ṭawāliʿ ʿala ʾl-Durar al-lawāmiʿ*, Tunis 1322; Brockelmann, S II, 350.

(M. Ben Cheneb*)

IBN BARRĪ, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Barrī b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Maḳdisī (so called after his family's place of origin) al-Miṣrī al-Shāfiʿī, Arab grammarian born at Cairo on 5 Radjab 499/13 March 1106 and died there 27 Shawwāl 582/11 January 1187. He studied under the masters of that period (see Ibn Khallikān, ii, 293); when he himself was a master, among his disciples was Abū Mūsā al-Djazūlī al-Naḥwī [*q.v.*].

During the whole of Ibn Barrī's life the Crusades were in progress (capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, 1099; disastrous defeat of the Crusaders at Ḥaṭṭīn, in the year of his death, 1187); but he himself was an absent-minded scholar, untidily dressed, who seems to have had no interest beyond his passionate interest in pure *ʿarabiyya*, although he himself made mistakes in *iʿrāb* while speaking, mistakes of which he was unaware. He held the reputation of having the greatest knowledge in his generation of the language, the grammar, and the vocabulary of Arabic and, like Ibn Bābashādh, was the literary reviser of official correspondence at the *Dīwān al-inshāʾ*. The author of the *Lisān* quotes him continually, *e.g.*: six times under *ḳ r n* (see his Preface, i, 3, line 10, i, 7, line 3 from the bottom).

This scholar showed his learning in writing on the works of other authors: by making annotations (corrections or additions): (1) to the *Muʿarrab* and to the *K. al-Takmila fī mā yalḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma* (MS Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya) of al-Djawālīḳī [*q.v.*]; (2) to the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī. These copious *ḥawāshī*, his chief work (in manuscript; see Brockelmann, I, 134), were collected into an independent work: the *K. al-Tanbīh wa ʾl-īḍāḥ ʿammā waḳaʿa min al-wahm fī K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (the title given in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 93, l. 9-10); according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, however, *ibid.*, l. 10, these annotations were begun by his master ʿAlī b. al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ, cf. Brockelmann, S I, 540 bottom, and, according to al-Ṣafadī (al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ii, 529, lines 8-9), Ibn Barrī continued them as far as *w ḳ sh*, a quarter of the work, and the rest was written by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Basṭī; (3) to the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī, according to Ibn Khallikān, ii, 293, l. 17, Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, 324, l. 5-6; by his defence of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī against the criticisms of Ibn al-Khashshāb [*q.v.*], printed under the title: *al-Istidrākāt ʿalā Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī wa ʾntiṣār Ibn Barrī* (Istanbul 1328) and as an appendix to the *Maḳāmāt* (Cairo 1326)—as well as by his *Sharḥ shawāhid al-Īḍāḥ* of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, in manuscript, Cairo[2], ii, 128. Of the personal writings of Ibn Barrī only two small works are known: the *K. Ghalaṭ al-ḍuʿafāʾ min al-fuḳahāʾ*, a criticism of the incorrect terms of the jurists, published by C. C. Torrey in *Orient. Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, i, Giessen 1906, 211-24; and *al-Masāʾil al-ʿashr al-mutʿiba li ʾl-ḥashr*, on some grammatical difficulties, in manuscript, Paris 1266 (no. 3), fols. 181-218.

It should be noted (1) that no. 6 of Brockelmann (S I, 530) is wrongly attributed: this *Sharḥ ikhtiṣār* (and not *iḳtiṣār*) *al-ʿarūḍ*, S. 282 (and not 252) is, as is indicated in the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the Escurial (H. Derenbourg, i, 1884, no. 410, 3°), to be attributed to Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn Barrī, the Ibn al-Barrī of Brockelmann, II, 248 and S II, 350. (2) No. 2 of Brockelmann, I, 302, the 13 verses on the meaning of the word *al-khāl* which *LA* attributes to Ibn Barrī (xiii, 246-7/xi, 232-3) are already cited by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005) in his *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn* (Istanbul 1320), 335-7 and there attributed to Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Thaʿlab. (3) On the question of the glosses or criticisms of Ibn Barrī to the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* and of his refutation of the criticisms of Ibn al-Khashshāb to this *Durra*, see C. C. Torrey's introduction to his edition of the *K. Ghalaṭ al-ḍuʿafāʾ* (*Orient. St.*, 212-3).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 301-2, S I, 529-30; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, iv, 233-4; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 278-9; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 292-4 (no. 326); Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt wa ʾl-lughawiyyīn*, MS Damascus Ẓāhiriyya 438 (*taʾrīkh*), 323-5; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāʾ al-ruwāt*, ii, 110-1, see 110, n. 2, where other references are given.

(H. Fleisch)

IBN BASHKUWĀL, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Khalaf b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Masʿūd b. Mūsā, b. Bashkuwāl b. Yūsuf b. Dāḥa b. Dāḳa b. Naṣr b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Wāḳid al-Anṣārī, an Andalusian scholar of Spanish origin, as his name "son of Pascual" indicates, was a native of Sorrión, an unknown village of the vega of Valencia, which is not to be confused with Sarrión in the province of Teruel. He was born in Cordova on 3 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 949/29 September 1101 and died there on the night of Tuesday-Wednesday 8 Ramaḍān 578/4-5 January 1183 at 83 (lunar) years of age. He received his first education at Cordova from his father and then at Seville, where he heard Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb, Abu ʾl-Walīd b. Rushd, Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī, and other celebrated scholars. Well-equipped with learning acquired from some 400 books, he became, according to his biographer Ibn al-Abbār, the doyen of the traditionists of Cordova and a scholar without peer in the literary history of al-Andalus. At first he became a member of the judiciary as a subordinate of the chief *ḳāḍī* of Seville, Ibn al-ʿArabī, and worked as a *ʿadl* in Cordova, but soon gave up this administrative career and devoted himself to his chosen vocation of teaching and research, in which he proposed to follow in the footsteps of Ibn al-Faraḍī, the great pioneer in biographical studies, which had had so great a success. Ibn al-Faraḍī, with his *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, had laid the foundations for a knowledge of literary history among the Spanish Muslims. Ibn Bashkuwāl, two centuries later, decided to continue so interesting a work and called his work *al-Ṣila* "the continuation". In it he was able to gather 1400 biographies of men of letters who had flourished in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. Although the information which he gives is above all literary and is excessively and aridly detailed in the lists of masters and disciples, he provides a great deal of new data for history, administration, and the toponymy of numerous towns and localities of Muslim Spain.

He is said to have composed 50 works, but of them, apart from the *Ṣila* (*Kitāb al-Ṣila fī taʾrīkh aʾimmat al-Andalus*), finished on 3 Djumādā I 534/27 December 1139, ed. F. Codera in *BAH*, i, ii, Madrid 1883, we know only the *Kitāb al-Ghawāmiḍ wa ʾl-mubhamāt min al-asmāʾ*, a dictionary of traditionists whose names are difficult to spell or easily confused with others (Berlin, *Verzeichn.*, no. 1673).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310/1892, i, 172; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 132 ff.; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Fez 1316/1898, 116 = Cairo 1351/1932, 114; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 179; idem, *Muʿdjam*, no. 70; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*,

ed. Wüstenfeld, xvii, no. 1; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 270; Pons Boigues, no. 200; Brockelmann, I, 340, S I, 580.

(M. Ben Cheneb-[A. Huici Miranda])

IBN BAṢṢĀL [see filāḥa, ii].

IBN BASSĀM, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Bassām al-Shantarīnī, Andalusian poet and anthologist, a native of Santarem. Forced to flee from his native town when it was taken by Alfonso V of Castile (485/1092-3), he went to Cordova for the first time in 493/1100 and, during the following years, undertook at Seville the compiling of his *Dhakhīra* and the collecting of the *dīwān*s of some great poets of the 5th/11th century: al-Muʿtamid, Ibn Wahbūn, Ibn ʿAmmār; he also collected the correspondence of the prince of Murcia, Ibn Ṭāhir, and collected in one volume his own satirical poems, which, however, he refrained from circulating. Although in order to support himself he had to accept a reward from those to whom he devoted an entry in his *Dhakhīra*, he behaved more honestly than his contemporary al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān [*q.v.*].

The only one of his works which has survived is the *Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Djazīra*, which is, however, enough to earn him enduring fame and the gratitude of all who are interested in the Arabic literature of Spain. Planning his anthology as a continuation of the *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiḳ* of Ibn Faradj al-Djayyānī [*q.v.*], Ibn Bassām (d. 543/1147) is reputed to have been concerned only with writers and poets who were his contemporaries or nearly so, but on many occasions he goes back as far as the beginning of the 5th/11th century and even to the end of the preceding century. He was so widely read that he could immediately detect the least obvious plagiarism, and he was irritated by the infatuation of his fellow countrymen for everything from the East—"if a crow croaked in that part of the world or if a fly buzzed on the far borders of Syria or of ʿIrāḳ, they would prostrate themselves as if before an idol", he writes in his preface; hence he was anxious to collect and preserve the verse and the prose works written in Spain, which he with his sound judgement was able to evaluate and to offer to posterity. He himself admitted that the compilation of his anthology had caused him immense trouble, and we have in general no possibility of verifying the authenticity of the texts which it contains. The work, which (according to Yāḳūt) consisted of seven volumes, is divided into four sections: I. Men of letters and poets of Cordova and its surrounding district; edition of 1st part, Cairo 1939, of 2nd part, Cairo 1942; II. the western part of al-Andalus (Seville, Portugal); III. the eastern part of al-Andalus; IV. foreign poets and men of letters living in al-Andalus; ed. 1st part, Cairo 1945. (An edition of the whole work is being prepared (1968) at Paris.) For the manuscripts of the unpublished sections see Brockelmann. The notices are of varying length; they contain in general some biographical data, in an ornate but intelligible prose, citations of earlier authors and historians, notably Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], and selected extracts in prose or verse; Ibn Bassām refrains, however, from including the more shocking satirical pieces, probably because of the rigorism which prevailed in his time. A shortened version of the *Dhakhīra* was made by Ibn Mammātī (542-606/1147-1209) under the title *Laṭāʾif al-Dhakhīra wa-ṭarāʾif al-Djazīra* (ms. in the Veliüddin Library, Istanbul).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xii, 275; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, ii, 304, iii, 184, 198; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 331; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 311 (Fr. tr. de Slane, i, 353, Eng. tr. F. Rosenthal, i, 350); Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 123 and index; Dozy, *Abbadidis*..., i, 189, 220, ii, 258, iii, 34 ff.; M. G. de Slane, *Note sur les historiens arabes espagnols Ibn Haiyân et Ibn Bessâm*, in *JA*, 1861, 259-68; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 208-16; González Palencia, *Literatura*², 199-206; Brockelmann, S I, 579.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN BASSĀM, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. Naṣr b. Manṣūr b. Bassām al-ʿAbartāʾī, poet and writer of Baghdād. His grandfather, Naṣr, had held high office during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim (see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 252), and he himself was at one time employed in the service of the *barīd* [*q.v.*]; he probably carried out other administrative duties, since his biographers attribute to him a collection of letters (*rasāʾil*) which are unlikely to have been of a private nature. However, his fame rests on his epigrams, very brief, for he was short-winded, but effective; many stories are told about his relations with the great men of his time, whom he treated with scant regard, attacking the caliphs and their ministers as well as his own family, so that Yāḳūt counts him among the unfilial (*ʿaḳaḳa*); he also managed to write verses on the most highly placed of his contemporaries and to attribute them to other poets, for example to Ibn al-Rūmī. Certain eulogies of Ibn al-Furāt or of Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] seem out of place in an almost exclusively epigrammatic output.

Ibn Bassām is besides the author of several works: *K. Akhbār ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa*, which Ibn al-Nadīm considers this poet's best monograph and for which Yāḳūt gives the many sources; *K. Akhbār al-Aḥwaṣ*; *K. Munāḳadāt al-shuʿarāʾ*; *K. al-Muʿāḳirīn* or *al-Zandjiyyīn*. He died in 302 or 303/914-6, aged over 70.

Bibliography: Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, etc., trans. M. Canard, 157; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 67, 75; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 256-72; Ṭabarī, iii, 2114; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, xii, 63; Thaʿālibī, *Khāṣṣ al-Khāṣṣ*, Cairo 1326/1909, 108; idem, *K. man ghāb ʿanhu 'l-muṭrib*, Istanbul 1302, 249; idem, *Aḥsan mā samiʿtu*, Cairo 1324, 87; *Fihrist*, 214; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xiv, 139-52; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā*, Cambridge and London 1928, 81-2; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 362-3. On confusions with Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī, see *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 119 ff.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN BAṬṬA, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUKBARĪ, more generally known under the name of Ibn Baṭṭa, Ḥanbalī theologian and jurisconsult, born at ʿUkbarā in 304/917. He received his early education at Baghdād, where he went while still very young, in 315 or 316/927 or 928, his principal teachers being, together with a number of less well-known *ʿulamāʾ*, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Khiraḳī (d. 334/945), the author of the famous *Mukhtaṣar*, and Abū Bakr al-Nadjdjād (d. 348/960), the renowned jurisconsult, traditionist and preacher, who gave his courses in the mosque of al-Manṣūr. He studied also under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/974), called Ghulām al-Khallāl, and also knew personally Barbahārī (d. 329/941 [*q.v.*]) the author of the *Kitāb al-Sunna*, whose sensational activity in the religious and political life of the period was one of the reasons for the condemnation of Ḥanbalism in 323/935 by the caliph al-Rāḍī.

After the years which he spent studying in Baghdād, Ibn Baṭṭa next stayed in Mecca, where he

became the friend of Abū Bakr al-Ādjurī (d. 360/970), the author of the famous *Kitāb al-Sharīʿa* (Cairo 1369/1950), and went on several other journeys in order to study in ʿIrāḳ (in particular in Baṣra), in the border regions between the Islamic countries and the Byzantine Empire, and also in Damascus, where he was anxious to meditate at the tomb of Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 330/942), the founder of a mosque situated outside the Bāb Sharḳī (cf. *Bidāya*, xi, 204-5). When he was about forty—thus about ten years after the arrival of the Būyids in Baghdād (334/945)—Ibn Baṭṭa returned to his native town, where, until his death on 10 Muḥarram 387/23 January 997, he led a secluded life, devoted, it is said, to fasting, meditation and study.

Ibn Baṭṭa wrote several works, listed by the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (d. 526/1132) in his *Ṭabaḳāt* (ii, 152). The two most important, which were to have the greatest influence, were his two professions of faith: his *ʿaḳīda* in the shorter version, the *Ibāna ṣaghīra*, which has survived, and the *Ibāna kabīra*, the text of which appears to be lost, but of which much use was made by the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066) and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). Apart from these two professions of faith, of *salafī* type, Ibn Baṭṭa's other works deal mainly with *fiḳh* or *ḥadīth*; in one of them he criticizes the legitimacy of the juridical subterfuges (*ḥiyal* [*q.v.*]) practised by the Ḥanafī school and among certain Shāfiʿīs.

Ibn Baṭṭa, through his doctrinal work and his sermons, belongs to the great tradition of Ḥanbalī polemic which was practised, during the century following the death of the founder of the school, by the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903), Abū Bakr al-Khallāl and Barbahārī. Like them, he denounced and forbade all the blameworthy innovations (*bidʿa*), which he considered had come to debase the religion founded by the Prophet, in the field of dogma as well as in those of worship, law or morals. His severity concerning *bidʿa* was such that he refused to distinguish, not only between good and bad *bidʿa*s but also between small and great. He saw as the only means of salvation a return to the primitive religion (*dīn ʿatīḳ*) exactly as it had been formulated during the lifetime of the Prophet and of the first three caliphs, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān.

Ibn Baṭṭa's first disciples were numerous (cf. H. Laoust, *La profession de foi* ..., intr., note 109) and he himself can be considered as an excellent example of the Sunnī opposition to the Būyid régime, which favoured Shīʿism and, to a lesser degree, Muʿtazilism and *falsafa*. His influence was profound and lasting. It is found, not only in the Ḥanbalī *Ḳādiriyya* which the caliph al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031) wished, in 409/1018, to make the official credo of the state, but also in the works of men such as the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā or the *sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar (d. 470/1078), Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalwadhānī (d. 510/1117) or ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī (d. 561/1166). Ibn Baṭṭa was severely attacked by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), a Ḥanbalī who had changed to Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism; he was defended, in his *Muntaẓam* (193-7), by Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), who was much influenced by him.

Under the Ayyūbids there was a revival of interest in Ibn Baṭṭa's dogmatic works with the Damascus traditionist ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maḳdisī (d. 600/1204) and also, but to a lesser degree, with the *shaykh* Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223). Under the Mamlūks, Ibn Taymiyya and several of his disciples or admirers such as al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), Ibn al-Ḳayyim (d. 750/1350) or Ibn Kathīr (d. 773/1371) were interested in the works of Ibn Baṭṭa, while later the Ḥanafism of the Ottomans was to be one of the factors which caused them to relapse again into semi-oblivion.

Bibliography: For the Arabic sources: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 371-5; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo ed., ii, 144-53; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 193-7 and *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, iv, 151; Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ii, 170; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 321-2; Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, i, 365; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 122; see also Brockelmann, I, 194 and S I, 334; L. Massignon, *Textes inédits*, 220; H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958 (PIFD), and in particular, for further bibliography, notes 97-202 in the *Introduction*. (H. LAOUST)

IBN BAṬṬŪṬA (sometimes BAṬŪṬA), SHAMS AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM B. YŪSUF AL-LAWĀTĪ AL-ṬANDJĪ, Moorish traveller born at Tangier on 17 Radjab 703/25 February 1304, died in Morocco in 770/1368-9 or 779/1377, after many lengthy journeys which make him one of the world's most famous travellers (*djawwāla*) and authors of travel-books (*riḥla*).

The chronology of his journeys may, in spite of some uncertainties of detail, be set out as follows: (1) Departure from Tangiers 2 Radjab 725/13 June 1325; North Africa; Egypt; Upper Egypt; Syria; departure from Damascus for Mecca in Shawwāl 726/September 1326. (2) Departure from Mecca 20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 726/17 November 1326; ʿIrāḳ; Khūzistān, Fārs and Djibāl; Tabrīz; Baghdād, Sāmarrā, Mosul, return to Baghdād; a stay in Arabia (with three Pilgrimages) from 727/1327 to 730/1330. (3) Red Sea, Yemen, Aden, Zaylaʿ, Mogadishu and the trading ports of East Africa; return by ʿUmān and the Persian Gulf; a further Pilgrimage in 732/1332. (4) Egypt, Syria; Asia Minor and the territories of the Golden Horde; visit to Constantinople and return to the territories of the Golden Horde; Transoxania and Afghānistān; arrival in the valley of the Indus on 1 Muḥarram 734/12 September 1333; stay at Delhi until Ṣafar 743/July 1342. (5) Stay of a year and a half in the Maldives; Ceylon and a second visit to the Maldives, Bengal, Assam, Sumatra; arrival at the Chinese port of Zaytūn: Ts'üan-chou (it is not certain whether Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reached Peking). (6) Return by Sumatra and Malabar (Muḥarram 748/April-May 1347); the Persian Gulf, Baghdād, Syria, Egypt; a further Pilgrimage. (7) Egypt, Alexandria; embarked in Ṣafar 750/April-May 1349 for Tunis; thence reached Sardinia in a Catalan ship; return by Algeria; arrival at Fez at the end of Shaʿbān 750/November 1349; visit to the kingdom of Granada and return to Morocco. (8) Departure from Sidjilmāsa at the beginning of Muḥarram 753/February 1352; journey across the Sahara; the country of the Niger; return to Sidjilmāsa in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 754/December 1353.

This chronology suffices to demonstrate the new dimensions which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gave to the genre of *riḥla*. Originating from the West, among Spaniards or Maghribīs who were curious to take note, while making the Pilgrimage, of the countries and the customs of the East (which had for long been regarded as the source of knowledge and the model of civilization), the traditional *riḥla* was centred round the visit to the Holy Places of Arabia. Although Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, especially in the beginnings of his work, conforms to this usage, by degrees the extent of his journeys finally blurs the initial object and raises

the *riḥla* to become in fact a description of the known world.

The documentary value of the *Riḥla* is closely linked to the history of its text, which was written down not by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa himself, but by a scholar, Ibn Djuzayy [*q.v.*], commissioned by the Marīnid ruler of the time, Abū ʿInān. The writing of it, from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's dictation, was completed on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 756/9 December 1357, and the definitive text appeared a few months afterwards, under the title of *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharāʾib al-amṣār wa-ʿadjāʾib al-asfār*. So far as can be judged, the literary form imposed, commencing with his preface, by Ibn Djuzayy's editing inevitably altered in some degree the original aspect of the work; in it are found descriptions which are pertinent, sober and sometimes succinct to the point of dryness, side by side with high-flown passages whose aim is less to give objective information than to produce stylistic exercises on "marvels" such as were then in favour with the educated public. The predilection for unusal details should perhaps not be attributed to Ibn Djuzayy alone, any more than should the exaggeration or the plagiarism: for this reason the problems raised by the voyage to the country of the Bulgars, by the description of China, by certain details concerning Syria and Arabia, clearly borrowed from Ibn Djubayr, and, in a general way, by all the other suspect passages, should not be solved each time by attributing them to the unnecessary intervention of Ibn Djuzayy, all the more since Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, having admitted that he had sometimes lost during his adventures the notes made on his travels and then re-written them from memory, may on occasion have been tempted to use his imagination to make good any failure of his memory. But that being admitted, it may all the same reasonably be considered that the editor systematically exaggerated in the direction of fantasy tendencies which in the original work were certainly more moderate. It is even more certain that the re-arrangement of several itineraries at the sacrifice of the logical chronology of the journeys, the poetical quotations and, above all, the use of an elaborate prose style, are attributable to Ibn Djuzayy.

Whether or not they are original, these weaknesses do not detract from the value of the work as a whole, which has long been recognized in particular for the descriptions of India, of the Turkish principalities of Asia Minor and of the lands of the Niger. The *riḥla* in the manner of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa thus appeared as one of the most typical forms of the literature of observation (*ʿiyān*). After the disintegration of the Muslim empire (*mamlaka*), the depiction of which had been the mainstay of the descriptive geography of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, the formation of the new territorial groupings of the Turco-Mongol period, facilitating the movement of merchandise and of people, made possible the appearance of an original form of *ʿiyān* in the *riḥla*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's place in the history of the genre is at the turning-point: by basing his account on his own travels, around which he builds his professional and even his family life, he goes further than Ibn Djubayr. But already the intervention of Ibn Djuzayy foreshadowed the final development of the *riḥla*; like all works of *ʿiyān*, it became part of a more literary tradition in which the facts were taken over and adjusted to the laws of scholarly prose and the tastes of *adab*. The structure and sequence of the *riḥla* thus correspond exactly to the chronology; in this respect Ibn Baṭṭūṭa follows Ibn Djubayr and differs from such later writers as al-ʿAbdarī or al-ʿAyyāshī, for whom the *riḥla* was merely the pretext for writings inspired mainly by literary or religious preoccupations.

The best edition of the text of the *Riḥla* is still that of C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (with Fr. tr.: Paris 1853-9, 4 vols.; a reprint is in preparation). It is the Arabic text of this edition which is followed both by the new Beirut edition (Dār Ṣādir-Dār Bayrūt, 1379/1960, with a short preface by K. al-Bustānī; see review by P. Masnou in *Arabica*, ix (1962), 211), and also, with important corrections, for the new translation into English by H. A. R. Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (Cambridge [Hakluyt Society] 1958-62, 2 vols., in progress).

Other principal translations: Turkish, by Meḥmed Sherīf Pasha, 3 vols., Istanbul 1333/1915; Persian, by Muḥammad ʿAlī Muwaḥḥid, Tehrān 1958; German (sections relating to India and China), by H. von Mžik, Hamburg 1911; English (on India), by Mahdi Husain, Baroda 1953; Italian (selections), by F. Gabrieli, Florence 1961; annotated Fr. tr. of sections relating to Africa by R. Mauny *et al.*, *Textes et documents* ..., Dakar 1966. For other editions and translations, cf. Brockelmann (cited below in *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: The most important, if not the only, Arabic source is Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1929-31, iii, 480-1. See also, in addition to the introductions by Defrémery-Sanguinetti and Gibb (*op. cit.*): A. Fischer, *Baṭṭūṭa nicht Baṭūṭa*, in *ZDMG*, lxxii (1918), 289; T. Yamamoto, *On Ṭawālisī described by Ibn Battûta*, in *Mem. Research Dept. Toyo Bunko*, viii (1936), 93-133; R. Hennig, *Terrae incognitae*, iii, Leiden 1938; H. F. Janssens, *Ibn Batouta, "Le voyageur de l'Islam", 1304-1369*, Brussels 1948; H. A. R. Gibb, *Notes sur les voyages d'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa en Asie Mineure et en Russie*, in *Et. Lévi-Provençal*, i, 1962, 125-33; I. Hrbek, *The chronology of Ibn Battuta's travels*, in *ArO*, xxx (1962), 409-86; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, x, 235-6; Brockelmann, II, 332-3 and S II, 365-6; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 416-30, Arabic tr. (chap. i-xvi published so far) by Ṣ. D. ʿUthmān Hāshim, Cairo 1963, 421-33; R. Blachère and H. Darmaun, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Age*, Paris 1957, 316 and 348-51; Pearson, Nos. 8896-8904, and *Supp.*, i, nos. 2271-4.

(A. Miquel)

IBN AL-BAWWĀB, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Hilāl, known also under the name of Ibn al-Sitrī, famous calligrapher of the Buwayhid period who died in Baghdād in 413/1022 (this date is more probable than 423/1031). He frequented the governmental circles of the period, as he was closely attached to the vizier Fakhr al-Mulk Abū Ghālib Muḥammad b. Khalaf at Baghdād and was for some time in charge of the library of the Buwayhid Bahāʾ al-Dawla at Shīrāz. He was also an illuminator (at least one outstanding example of his work surviving), a devout man who knew the Ḳurʾān by heart and is said to have reproduced sixty-four copies of it, and a man of letters who was well versed in the law and who wrote a treatise and a didactic poem on the art of writing. His real title to fame, however, according to the early Arab authors, was to have perfected the style of writing invented, about a century earlier, by his famous predecessor, the vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] and to have brought it to a degree of well-balanced elegance which was to be surpassed later only by the efforts of Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī [*q.v.*]. "The well-proportioned script" (*al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb*)

which he thus made famous in such a remarkable way, and whose basic geometric outlines E. Robertson and N. Abbott have tried to reconstitute by means of a system of theoretical measurement of the letters described in later treatises on calligraphy, has given rise to many different interpretations—particularly since its title itself means perhaps nothing more than a "fine script". It nevertheless seems likely that we are today in a position to evaluate the calligraphy of Ibn Bawwāb through the unique example of it in a Ḳur'ān in the Chester Beatty Library (MS K. 16), signed by Ibn Bawwāb and dated 391/1000-1, whose calligraphy is as splendid as its illuminations. The type of *naskhī* used in this work, as well as the style of its geometric and floral decorations, form the subject of a long study by D. S. Rice, who applied himself to demonstrating the authenticity of this specimen while revealing forgeries in the five other manuscripts hitherto attributed to the famous calligrapher (among them two copies of the *Dīwān* of Salāma b. Djandal preserved in Istanbul, which do indeed date from the 5th/11th century but which had had false signatures added).

Bibliography: The complete bibliography with references to the details found in the Arabic authors on Ibn al-Bawwāb's biography and to the recent works on his achievements in calligraphy is found in D. S. Rice, *The unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library*, Dublin 1955. On his school, see Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1908, 80-4. (J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

IBN AL-BAYṬĀR, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD AL-DĪN B. AL-BAYṬĀR AL-MĀLAḲĪ, botanist and pharmacologist, born in Malaga at the end of the 6th/12th century. He probably belonged to the family of the same name whose existence in Malaga is attested by Ibn al-Abbār (*Muʿdjam*, nos. 35, 165, 241). He studied in Seville and collected plants in the districts round the town with his teachers Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ and Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj. In about 617/1220 he emigrated to the East: after crossing North Africa (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia), he visited Asia Minor and Syria and, on his arrival in Egypt, he was appointed by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil as head of the herbalists (*ra'īs ʿalā sā'ir al-ʿashshābīn*). From Cairo he made several scientific expeditions; he next settled in Damascus, where his pupil was Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, with whom he collected plants. He died here in 646/1248.

His main works are: (1) *al-Mughnī fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*, dedicated to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, in which he gives the appropriate simples for each illness. (2) *al-Djāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdhiya*, with the same dedication (printed Cairo 1291/1874; good Fr. tr. by L. Leclerc in *Notices et extraits*, xxiii, xxv and xxvi (1877-83); German tr. by J. Sontheimer, Stuttgart 1840-2). In this work the author lists in alphabetical order some 1400 simples, animal, vegetable and mineral, basing it on his own observations and also on over 150 authorities including al-Rāzī, Ibn Sīnā, al-Idrīsī and al-Ghāfiḳī. Meyerhof and Sobhy (*The abridged version of the book of simple drugs of ... al-Ghafiqi by Gregorius Abu-l-Farag (Barhebraeus)*, Cairo, fasc. I (1932), 32-3) consider that the *Djāmiʿ* of Ibn al-Bayṭār is merely plagiarized from the pharmacopoeia of al-Ghāfiḳī with the addition of material obtained from the works of his teachers. Apart from this doubtful statement (particularly since the mediaeval idea of intellectual honesty was different from that of today), it should be mentioned that, of the total number of simples studied, about a thousand were already known to Greek authors. This work had a considerable influence both outside and within the Islamic world, for example on the Armenian Amir Dowlat. (3) *Mīzān al-ṭabīb*. (4) *Risāla fi 'l-aghdhiya wa 'l-adwiya*. (5) *Maḳāla fi 'l-līmūn*. (6) Commentary on Dioscorides, of which a manuscript has been found and which contains a list of 550 drugs which appear in the first four books of Dioscorides; the technical terms are frequently accompanied by their Latin and Berber equivalents (see *MMMA*, iii/1 (1957), 105-12).

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, ii, 133; the other Arabic sources are listed by Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 192; Brockelmann, I, 492, S I, 896; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 663; Wüstenfeld, *Arab. Aerzte*, no. 231; Fr. R. Dietz, *Analecta medica* ..., i/1: *Elenchus materiae medicae Ibn Baïtharis* ... pars prima (Leipzig 1883); L. Leclerc, *Etudes historiques et philologiques sur Ebn Beithar*, in *JA*, 1862, 433-59; idem, *Hist. de la médecine arabe*, ii, 225; on the translation by Sontheimer, see R. Dozy in *ZDMG*, xxiii, 183-200; R. Basset, *Les noms berbères des plantes dans le traité des simples d'Ibn Beïtar*, in *Giornale Soc.As.It.*, xii (1899), 53-66; E. Sickenberger, *Les plantes égyptiennes d'Ibn B.*, in *BIE*, 2nd series, x (1890); A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia arabica*, no. 61, p. 147; Meyerhof, in *al-Andalus*, iii (1935), 31; C. Dubler, *I. B. en armenio*, in *al-Andalus*, xxi (1956), 125-30. (J. VERNET)

IBN BĪBĪ, AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-DJAʿFARĪ AL-RUGHADĪ, known by the name of Ibn al-Bībī al-Munadjdjima (son of the "lady", the astrologer) or simply Ibn Bībī, is the author of *al-Awāmir al-ʿAlā'iyya fi 'l-umūr al-ʿAlā'iyya*, written in Persian, which was completed early in 680 A.H. (beg. 22 April 1281); it deals with the period from 588/1192 to 679/1280 and is an extremely important work for the history of the Seldjūks of Rūm in whose domains it was written. This work is neither a chronicle nor a pragmatical history in the strict sense. The author's intention was, as he himself states in the introduction (cf. MS Aya Sofya 2985 [henceforward referred to as *AS*] p. 11), to hand down what he himself had heard and seen, in the literary style of the time. The main part of Ibn Bībī's work may therefore be classed as memoirs, which gain especial value from the facts that Ibn Bībī was *Mālik-i Dīwān al-Ṭughrā* or *Amīr Dīwān al-Ṭughrā* at the court of the Rūm-Seldjūks, and thus in effect head of the chancellery of the Secretariat of State (cf. *Mukhtaṣar* [see below], 2 and 196), and that his father, Madjd al-Dīn Muḥammad Tardjumān (Sulṭān Walad in a *ḳaṣīda* refers to him as Madjd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, see *Divanı Sultan Veled*, ed. F. Nafiz Uzluk, Ankara 1941, 143, no. 240), was for a long time at the court of Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārazmshāh as *Munshī*, from 631/1233-4 worked as Secretary in the Seldjūk chancellery at Konya and was sent on a number of diplomatic missions (see *AS*, 482, 485, 542).

Practically all that is known of Ibn Bībī's life is what he himself relates about it in his work (cf. *AS*, 10, 442-3, *Mukhtaṣar*, vii ff. and 196-9). The exact date of his death is not known, yet it seems certain that he must have been still alive in the months between Shaʿbān 683/October 1284 and Shawwāl 684/December 1285 (cf. H. W. Duda, *Zur Geschichtsforschung über die Rūm-Seldschuken*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxix (1935) p. *19* f.). Ibn Bībī's mother, who

belonged to a distinguished family from Nīshāpūr, was highly skilled in astrology and a considerable authority on this subject. She was no longer alive in the last months of 679/early 1281. His father, who came of a prominent family of Djurdjān, died in Shaʿbān 670/March 1272 at an advanced age. In 628/1231, when Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh's power was waning, Ibn Bībī's parents had moved to the court of the Ayyūbid Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mūsā at Damascus, whence they were invited to Konya by the Rūm-Seldjūk sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳobād I, who had heard of the exceptional ability of Ibn Bībī's mother.

Ibn Bībī's work is preserved in three forms: (1) The above-mentioned original work—the Aya Sofya manuscript as written for the Seldjūk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III. For details of the facsimile edition of this manuscript and of the first volume of a printed edition, see *Bibl.* Ibn Bībī was commissioned to write this work by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik b. Muḥammad Djuwaynī [see DJUWAYNĪ], to whom he also dedicated it.

(2) An epitome (*mukhtaṣar*), also written in Persian, by an anonymous epitomizer while Ibn Bībī was still alive, between Shaʿbān 683/October 1284 and Shawwāl 684/December 1285, which omits a great part of the rhetorical padding of the original work and leaves out the mention of Djuwaynī. This epitome was edited from the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Supp. Persan 1536, apparently of the 9th/15th century) by M. Th. Houtsma as *Recueil*, iv, 1902 [see *Bibl.*].

(3) A paraphrase into Turkish, with occasional omissions and interpolations, of the original work *al-Awāmir al-ʿAlāʾiyya* ... by Yazîdjîoghlu ʿAlī in the third section of his *Oghuznāme*, often called also *Selčūknāme*, which he composed for the Ottoman sultan Murād II in 827/1423-4 or 840/1436-7 (for the date see H. W. Duda, *Zeitgenössische islamische Quellen und das Oğuznāme des Jazyğyoğlu ʿAlī zur angeblichen türkischen Besiedlung der Dobrudscha im 13. Jhd. n. Chr.*, in the *Spisanie* of the Bulgarian Academy, lxvi/2 (Sofia 1943), 138 and P. Wittek, *Miscellanea*, in *TM*, xiv (1965), 263 ff.). There are a number of more or less complete manuscripts of this *Oghuznāme* of Yazîdjîoghlu ʿAlī in the libraries of Ankara, Berlin, Istanbul, Leiden, Leningrad, Moscow and Paris (cf. Adnan S. Erzi in *IA* art. Ibn Bîbî, 716b, and P. Wittek in *Isl.*, xx (1932), 202). An edition by M. Th. Houtsma (*Recueil*, iii, see *Bibl.*) is based on two incomplete manuscripts (Leiden, Warner 419 and Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ancien fonds turc 62) of Yazîdjîoghlu ʿAlī's translation. This contains only about half of the section devoted to the Seldjūks of Asia Minor. There is also an epitome of the *Oghuznāme* made by Seyyid Loḳmān [see LOḲMĀN, SEYYID] in 1008/1599; the unique manuscript is in the Austrian National Library (see Flügel, ii, 225, no. 1001); it was edited and translated into Latin by J. J. W. Lagus (see *Bibl.*). H. W. Duda's *Die Seltschukengeschichte* ... (see *Bibl.*) is a complete German translation, with commentary, of Ibn Bībī's *Mukhtaṣar* (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iv) in which Houtsma's text has been supplemented on the basis of Ms. Aya Sofya 2985 and the *Oghuznāme* (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii, controlled by the manuscript of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Orient Quart 1823).

Bibliography: Storey, i 408-10, 1305; F. Tauer, *Les manuscrits persans historiques des bibliothèques de Stamboul*, Prague 1932; M. Th. Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure d'après Ibn Bibi* (= *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, iii), Leiden 1902; J. J. W. Lagus, *Seid Locmani ex libro turcico qui Oghuzname inscribitur excerpta*, Helsingfors 1854; M. Th. Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure d'après l'abrégé du Seldjouknameh d'Ibn Bibi* (= *Recueil* ..., iv), Leiden 1902; Ibn-i Bībī, *El-Evāmirü 'l-ʿAlāʾiyye fi 'l-umūri 'l-ʿAlāʾiyye*, with introd. and table of contents by Adnan Sadık Erzi, i, Tıpkıbasım (= facsimile of *AS*: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından I. Seri, no. 4a), Ankara 1956; Ibn-i Bībī, *El-Evāmirü 'l-ʿAlāʾiyye fi 'l-umūri 'l-ʿAlāʾiyye*, i (*II. Kılıç Arslan'ın vefatından I. ʿAlāʾuddīn Keykubād'ın cülûsuna kadar*), ed. Necati Lugal and Adnan Sadık Erzi (= Ankara Universitesi Ilâhiyat Fakültesi Yayınlarından no. 19), Ankara 1957; *IA*, art. Ibn Bîbî (Adnan S. Erzi); H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, Copenhagen 1959; K. Erdmann, *Ibn Bībī als kunsthistorische Quelle* (= Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul, xiv), Istanbul 1962. For the other references see *IA*, art. Ibn Bîbî, and H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte.* (H. W. DUDA)

IBN AL-BIRR, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤASAN (or al-Ḥusayn) AL-ṢIḲILLĪ, lexicographer and philologist born in Sicily towards the end of the 4th/10th century. After studying in the east (in 415/1024 he was at Alexandria and Mahdiyya with Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl al-Tudjībī al-Barḳī) he returned to the island at the end of the Kalbī period at the time when the country was split up by the greed of several *ḳāʾid*s. It was one of these *ḳāʾid*s, Ibn Mankūd (the sources do not agree on the spelling of this name), the ruler of Mazara, who welcomed him warmly. Ibn al-Birr devoted himself to teaching in his new residence and had occasion to meet there the poet Ibn Rashīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*]. But the "Sicilian's" addiction to drink obliged his patron Ibn Mankūd to send him away from Mazara; the scholar went to Palermo, where he continued to carry on his profession of philologist and remained there, according to Ibn Abbār, until 460/1067-8.

The sources, which mention no work by Ibn al-Birr, are unanimous in attributing to him three merits: (1) the transmission of the famous dictionary *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī (which he had received from his master Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Nīsābūrī) to his pupil Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ [*q.v.*], who is said to have helped to circulate the work in Egypt; but the chain Nīsābūrī-Ibn al-Birr-Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ is regarded as doubtful by certain biographers; (2) his contribution, in Egypt, to the survival of the poetic tradition of al-Mutanabbī (in which he had been initiated by his master Ṣāliḥ b. Rishdīn) as well as in Sicily, where the fame of the panegyrist of Sayf al-Dawla dated from the immigration into the island (in 375/985) of ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Baṣrī, *rāwī* of al-Mutanabbī; (3) the revision of the *Tathḳīf al-lisān wa-talḳīḥ al-djanān*, a work of Siculo-Maghribī dialectology compiled by his pupil Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Makkī [see IBN MAKKĪ].

Bibliography: To the sources indicated in U. Rizzitano, *Notizie bio-bibliografiche su Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ il "siciliano"*, in *Rend. Lin.*, ix/5-6 (1954), 269-70 and 280-1; idem, *Un commento di Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ il "siciliano" ad alcuni versi di al-Mutanabbī*, in *RSO*, xxx (1955), 208-9; idem, *Il tathqīf al-lisān wa-talqīḥ al-ǧanān di Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Makkī*, in *Studia Orientalia* (of the Centro di Studi Orientali della Custodia Francescana di Terra Santa), Cairo, i (1956), 194-207, should be added the information, particularly from the *Takmila* of Ibn Abbār,

which is found in Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *al-ʿArab fī Ṣiḳilliyya*, Cairo 1959, 109-10. (U. RIZZITANO)

IBN AL-BIRZĀLĪ [see AL-BIRZĀLĪ].

IBN BISHR, [see ʿUTHMĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH].

IBN AL-BIṬRĪḲ [see SAʿĪD B. AL-BIṬRĪḲ].

IBN BUHLŪL, AḤMAD B. ISḤĀḲ B. AL-BUHLŪL DJAʿFAR AL-TANŪKHĪ, born in 231/846 and died at Baghdād in 318/930, was primarily a Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī*. Trained in the doctrines of his *madhhab* by his father and Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Djawharī, he received also a very careful education in the fields of philology and of belles-lettres. He followed, in grammar, the school of Kūfa and had the reputation of being a judicious critic of poetry and of *adab*. Appointed in 276/889 by the regent al-Muwaffaḳ, during the caliphate of al-Muʿtamid (256-79/870-92), and on the advice of Ismāʿīl al-Bulbul, *ḳāḍī* of Anbār, Hīt and of the district of the Euphrates, Ibn Buhlūl then remained in the service of al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902), the son of al-Muwaffaḳ. Al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8) appointed him, in 292/904-5, *ḳāḍī* of the Djibāl. At the beginning of the reign of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32), Ibn Buhlūl, who had not yet taken up his new post, would have nothing to do with the plot of Ibn Muʿtazz's supporters against the new caliph in 296/909. ʿAlī b. al-Furāt, who then succeeded to the vizierate (296-99/909-12), appointed him *ḳāḍī* at Madīnat al-Manṣūr and, in 298/911, entrusted him in addition with the *ḳaḍāʾ* of al-Ahwāz. Without having the title of *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*, Ibn Buhlūl seems to have enjoyed all the prestige and the prerogatives of this post. He retained his offices throughout the reign of al-Muḳtadir, until 317/929.

Ibn Buhlūl, who was thus in the service of several caliphs and viziers, appears as a man of great independence of character. He refused to annul, at the request of the mother of al-Muḳtadir, a *waḳf* which she had founded; he was also able, while having served Ibn al-Furāt, to survive his disgrace and to defend him under Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās (306-11/918-23), and later to defend also ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā during the third vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt (311-2/923-4), when the Ḳarmaṭī policy of the "good vizier" was called into question.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 231-4; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 165; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsà*, Cambridge 1927, index; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside de 132/749 à 324/936*, Damascus 1960 (index).

(H. LAOUST)

IBN BUḲAYLA, ʿABD AL-MASĪḤ B. ʿAMR B. ḲAYS B. ḤAYYĀN B. BUḲAYLA AL-GHASSĀNĪ, legendary character who is supposed to have lived for 350 years (only 320 according to al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii, 44) and thus takes his place among the *muʿammarūn* [*q.v.*]. The name of his ancestor, who is credited with the construction of al-Ḳaṣr al-abyaḍ at al-Ḥīra, is often corrupted to Nufayla, but the correct reading is furnished by the tradition according to which this Buḳayla owed his surname to a green silk garment, which was the reason for his nickname of "little cabbage".

It is possible that Ibn Buḳayla was an historical person; no historian has cast doubt on this, and some Banū Buḳayla are mentioned at al-Ḥīra by al-Yaʿḳūbī. However, the traditions relating to him have, in addition to his longevity, many legendary characteristics. The strangest tradition is that which associates ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Buḳayla with the Djurhum [*q.v.*] and according to which ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān [*q.v.*] discovered his body in a catacomb near Mecca. This tradition is related by al-Hamdānī (*Iklīl*, viii, 161 ff.), who states elsewhere (153) on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī that the body of Ibn Buḳayla was discovered lying on a marble plinth in a catacomb reported this time as being close to al-Ḥīra. Elsewhere this character plays a part in two other traditions of Islamic origin. According to the first, he was sent by Parvīz II (or Anūshirwān) to the soothsayer Saṭīḥ [*q.v.*], who was related to him in the female line (!), to question him on the meaning of certain supernatural phenomena (dream of the grand *mobadh*, shocks to the Īwān etc.), which were interpreted as announcing the imminent coming of a prophet (see R. Basset, *La Bordah du Cheikh al Bousiri*, Paris 1894, 59-62). The second of these traditions relates that when Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] was besieging al-Ḥīra, he was attacked with projectiles of burning material and then asked the townspeople to send to him a mature and experienced man for him to question on their situation. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ was therefore sent before Khālid, whose questions, however, he took in a different sense from that intended by the general. Ibn Buḳayla's answers are similar to those found in folk-stories (see Montaignon and Raynaud, *Recueil de fabliaux*, Paris 1877-88, ii, 52). For example, the question, "The son of how many are you?", meaning, "How old are you?", was answered by "The son of only one man". Afterwards he made as if to poison himself, but Khālid took the poison from his hands and swallowed it without suffering the least inconvenience. This caused Ibn Buḳayla to advise his countrymen not to resist the Arab general any further. In one of his replies the old man declared that at one time the sea reached as far as the outskirts of al-Ḥīra, and al-Masʿūdī uses this to support his thesis on the movement of seas and continents, apparently convinced of the truth of such a tradition.

Finally, although ʿAbd al-Masīḥ was not converted to Islam, it is he at least who is said to have pointed out to Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*] a suitable site for the foundation of Kūfa.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, ed. I. Goldziher, in *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, 38; Ṭabarī, i, 981-4; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 243, 276; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 6; idem, *Buldān*, trans. Wiet, 141; Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, index; idem, *Bayān*, ii, 147; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 217-9, ii, 228; idem, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 310; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, i, 188; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 285; Maḳdisī, *Création*, v, 176; *TA*, s.v. *bḳl*; Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, ed. N. A. Fāris, 153, 163, 165; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, i, 224, ii, 207; tr. Rosenthal, i, 219, ii, 202; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, ii, 55-7; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms*, 56; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 935, iv, 657; R. Basset, *1001 Contes*, iii, 213-6.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN BULBUL [see ISMĀʿĪL b. BULBUL].

IBN BURD [see BASHSHĀR B. BURD].

IBN BURD, name of the members of an Andalusian family (the Banū Burd), of which two representatives in particular enjoy some fame.

I.—IBN BURD AL-AKBAR, Abū Ḥafṣ Aḥmad, was head of the Chancellery (*dīwān al-inshāʾ*) under al-Muẓaffar after the arrest and execution of Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Idrīs al-Djazīrī in 394/1004: with the chief *ḳāḍī* Ibn Dhakwān [*q.v.*], he paved the way for the recognition of Sanchuelo [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN IBN ABĪ ʿAMĪR] as heir presumptive to the caliphate, and it was he who drew up the act of investiture dated Rabīʿ I 399/November 1008; along with other dignitaries, he provided a deputy for Sanchuelo during the latter's absence, then, having

taken up office once again during the reign of al-Mustaʿīn, he was appointed *kātib* during the caliphate of Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī, became a minister in the cabinet formed by al-Mustaẓhir (414/1023), retired to Saragossa shortly before 417/1026 and died there in 418/1027, more than 80 years of age. Thanks to his perfect mastery of the office of *Kātib* and to his political prudence he was able to live through a troubled period in the history of Andalusia without mishap. According to Ibn Bassām (*Dhakhīra*, i/1, 84 ff.), there existed a *dīwān* containing all his correspondence, of which the author of the *Dhakhīra* has given some well chosen extracts; other specimens of his writing can be found in nearly all the sources dealing with this period. Not only do they show the characteristics of his prose and his talents as head of the Chancellery, but they are also indispensable documents for the study of the history and politics of the time. Unlike the majority of the *kuttāb* of his day, Ibn Burd al-Akbar is strikingly clear, precise and always to the point. His style is elegant, sober and flowing; he never uses out-of-the-way words and avoids the pedantic expressions so dear to his contemporaries; *sadjʿ* is even used with such skill that it hardly attracts one's attention. It should be observed that, in spite of the troubled times in which he worked, he was anxious to maintain the technical tradition of the Chancellery of the caliphs, insisting on the perfection with which official documents should be written and assigning great importance to paper, ink, writing, the address and its position, etc. In this respect he was the last Andalusian master of the Chancellery to keep up the great traditions of the Spanish Umayyads.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 86-102; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 72; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 387; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, 8, 23, 33, 43; al-Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, index; Makkarī, *Analectes*, index; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index.

II.—IBN BURD AL-AṢGHAR, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, grandson of the above, Andalusian author and poet of the first half of the 5th/11th century. Born about 395/1005 at Cordova, he died at Almeria in 445/1054. His father, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Burd, had remained almost unknown, and it was the grandson who revived the tradition of Ibn Burd al-Akbar.

It is highly probable that he left Cordova for Saragossa with his grandfather, shortly before 417/1026; after the death of the latter he went to Denia where he was employed in the chancellery of Mudjāhid [*q.v.*], but cannot have remained there for long, for he was at Cordova again in 426/1035, pronouncing the funeral prayer at the grave of Ibn Shuhayd (the Banū Burd were *mawālī* of the Banū Shuhayd). The following year, 427/1036, his name is quoted by Ibn ʿIdhārī as the author of a document proclaiming the reappearance of Hishām II al-Muʾayyad brought about by the astute Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl Ibn ʿAbbād with a view to promoting his own designs; this fact seems to prove that Ibn Burd was at that time head of the chancellery; Ibn ʿAbbād's ruse was discovered, and Ibn Burd gave up his position. After that he was to be found in Almeria in the service of Maʿn b. Ṣumādiḥ whose reign began in 433/1041, and he remained there till his death in 445/1054.

Aḥmad Ibn Burd al-Aṣghar was a prolific poet and writer whose art is known to us thanks once again to Ibn Bassām. His poetry is like that of most of his contemporaries, but his prose is different, for it follows the example, on the one hand, of his grandfather, and on the other, of Ibn Shuhayd. Ibn Bassām quotes long passages from his works: *Sirr al-adab wa-sabk al-dhahab* (i/2, 18 ff.); *Risālat al-sayf wa 'l-ḳalam* (i/2, 435 ff.) and *al-Risāla al-badīʿa fī tafḍīl uhab al-shāʾ ʿalā mā yuftarash min al-wiṭāʾ* (i/2, 446 ff.), besides a brief essay on the palm tree, *Risāla fī 'l-nakhla* (i/2, 441 ff.). The first of these texts is an unsuccessful imitation of the *Kitāb al-Akhlāḳ wa 'l-siyar* of Ibn Ḥazm, in which Ibn Burd tries to give specimens of his writing on different subjects; the second is a dialogue between the sword and the pen, in which he sometimes succeeds in giving the debate a faintly dramatic aspect; but he does not carry the comparison beyond the external merits of the two antagonists; the last two are ordinary essays with dialogues interspersed. Yāḳūt attributes two books to him: *al-Taḥṣīl fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* and *al-Tafṣīl fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, but we know nothing of what these were like.

Bibliography: Besides the names already quoted: Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 86-91; Makkarī, *Analectes*, ii, 413; Ḥimyarī, *al-Badīʿ fī waṣf al-rabīʿ*, ed. Pérès, Rabat 1940, index; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muktabis*, Cairo 1953, 107; Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, 103; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, Istanbul 1302, 24-5; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, 40; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 41-3; Ibn Saʿīd, *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*, ed. and trans. García Gómez, Madrid 1942, 141, 180; English trans. by A. J. Arberry, *The pennants*, Cambridge 1953; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, MS Dār al-kutub, Cairo, fol. 311; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 124; Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Baltimore 1946, 121-2 (confuses the two Ibn Burds); H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index; F. de la Granja, *Dos epístolas de Aḥmad ibn Burd al-Aṣgar*, in *al-Andalus*, xxv/2 (1960), 384-413; M. A. Makkī, *Wathāʾiḳ ʿan ʿaṣr al-Murābiṭīn*, in *RIEI* Madrid, vii-viii, 109-98. (H. MONÉS)

IBN BURGHŪTH [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR].

IBN BUṬLĀN, AL-MUKHTĀR (or Yuwānīs = Johannes) B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABDŪN B. SAʿDŪN B. BUṬLĀN, a Christian physician and theologian of Baghdād. He was the foremost disciple of the Christian priest, philosopher and physician, Ibn al-Ṭayyib [*q.v.*], and Ibn Buṭlān himself was certainly a Nestorian cleric and probably a priest. He used to teach medicine and philosophy in Baghdād, but left his native city in Ramaḍān 440/January 1049 for a journey which took him by way of Raḥba, Ruṣāfa, Aleppo, Antioch, Laodicea and Jaffa to Cairo, where he arrived in Djumādā II 441/November 1049. In Aleppo he was honoured by the Mirdāsid governor Muʿizz al-Dawla Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ (Zambaur, 33, 133), and he advised him on the healthiest location of a hospital which was to be built there; the governor also authorized him to regulate the worship of the Christians, but these last disliked the rules which he made. In Cairo, he became the target of the hostility of his Egyptian colleague, Ibn Riḍwān [*q.v.*], and there ensued a remarkable medico-philosophical controversy in which the two adversaries tried to exhibit their entire erudition, particularly in Greek medicine and philosophy. "Ibn Buṭlān was the more gracious in style, more spirited and more distinguished in literature and subjects connected with it" (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa). After a stay in Cairo of three or four years, he went to Constantinople where he arrived in the summer of 446/1054; his arrival there coincided with the crisis which led to the schism between the Greek and the Latin Church, and the Patriarch, Michael Cerularius, asked Ibn

Buṭlān to compose for him a treatise on the doctrine of the Eucharist, and in particular on the controversial point of the use of unleavened bread. Ibn Buṭlān stayed in Constantinople for one year and then returned to Syria, alternating between Aleppo and Antioch; he was for some time in the service of Abu 'l-Mutawwadj Muḳallad b. Naṣr b. Munḳidh (d. 450/1059), the great-grandfather of Usāma b. Munḳidh [*q.v.*]; in 455/1063 we find him supervising the building of a hospital in Antioch and at the same time engaged in literary work. Finally he became a monk and retired to a monastery in Antioch; he died on 8 Shawwāl 458/2 September 1066 and was buried in the church of the monastery.

The literary production of Ibn Buṭlān is distinguished by its originality. (1) His main work is the *Taḳwīm al-ṣiḥḥa*, a synopsis of hygiene and macrobiotics in the form of tables, an arrangement borrowed from works of astronomy; al-Ghazālī in the preface of his *Iḥyā'* refers to it as his precedent for using an arrangement familiar to the readers from another branch of learning, and it served as a model for the *Sulūk al-mālik fī tadbīr al-mamālik*, a "mirror for princes" by Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ (wrote 655/1256; cf. G. Richter, *Fürstenspiegel*, 1932, 106, n. 4; Brockelmann, I, 230; S I, 372; M. Plessner, Οἰκονομικός, 30-35). It was translated into Latin with the title *Tacuini Sanitatis Elluchasem Elimithar Medici de Baldath*, Argentorati 1531, second ed. 1533, and into German, by Michael Herr, with the title *Schachtafeln der Gesundheit*, Strassburg 1533; see E. Wickersheimer, *Les Tacuini sanitatis et leur traduction allemande par Michel Herr*, in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, xii (1950), 85-97. Facsimile editions of MSS of the Latin translation: *Il Tacuinum Sanitatis*, by Elena Berti Tosca, Paris 1937, and *Theatrum Sanitatis*, by L. Serra and S. Baglioni, 2 vols., 1940; see also *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed. G. E. von Grunebaum, Chicago 1955, 363 f. Another Latin treatise of hygiene is based on this work (see Brockelmann). (Add to the manuscripts mentioned by Brockelmann: Brit. Museum, Add. 3676; London, Royal College of Physicians, see Tritton in *JRAS*, 1951, 185, No. 24. On the title, see Thorndike and Sarton, in *Isis*, x, 489-93.) (2) *Daʿwat al-atibbā'*, "The Medical Dinner Party", written in 450/1058 and dedicated to Naṣr al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Marwān, the Marwānid ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn (401/1010-453/1060; Zambaur, p. 136), a witty skit on quacks, their ignorance and arrogance, with remarks on the ethics of the medical profession. A commentary by a Christian author of Baghdād dates from the 6th/12th century. Edition of the text, by Dr. Bishāra Zalzal, Alexandria 1901; study with summary in French, by Dr. Mahmoud Sedky Bey, *Un banquet de médecins*, Cairo 1928; on the miniatures in an illuminated manuscript of the Ambrosiana, dated 672/1273, (not mentioned by Brockelmann), see Dr. Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥriz, *Min al-taṣwīr al-mamlūkī: nuskha min Daʿwat al-aṭibbā' li-bn Buṭlān*, in *MMMA*, vii (1961), 75-80, and R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, 1962, 143 f. (Ibn Buṭlān's *Daʿwat al-ḳusūs*, "The Priests' Dinner Party", which was perhaps a counterpart to the *Daʿwat al-aṭibbā'*, has unfortunately not been preserved.) (3) *Tadbīr al-amrāḍ al-ʿāriḍa ʿala 'l-akthar bi-'l-aghdhiya al-ma'lūfa wa-'l-adwiya al-mawdjūda yantafiʿu bihā ruhbān al-adyira wa-man baʿuda min al-madīna*, a treatise on homely remedies, particularly for the benefit of monks. (4) *Risāla fī shirā' al-raḳīḳ wa-taḳlīb al-ʿabīd*, on how to buy slaves and how to detect bodily defects; extracts from the contents in Mez, *Renaissance*, 156-8; Spanish tr. by S. Vilá, *El Renacimiento del Islam*, Madrid 1936, 204-7; Eng. tr., 160-2. (5) Two treatises directed against Ibn Riḍwān [*q.v.*] dating from 441/1049-50, edited and translated by Schacht-Meyerhof, below; a third and final treatise, written after Ibn Buṭlān had left Cairo, and called *Waḳʿat al-aṭibbā'*, has not been preserved. (6) A report of Ibn Buṭlān, addressed at his request to the man of letters and minister, Hilāl al-Sābi' [*q.v.*], on his journey from Baghdād to Cairo; it was incorporated in Muḥammad b. Hilāl's *Kitāb al-Rabīʿ*, and considerable extracts have been preserved in the biography of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and the *Geographisches Wörterbuch* of Yāḳūt. These were translated into English by G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, London 1890, 370-5, and from English into German by R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Innsbruck 1901, 242-6. This report contains most valuable descriptions of Aleppo, Antioch, Laodicea and other cities at the time of Ibn Buṭlān's visit. The treatise, together with other indications, shows the kind of society in which Ibn Buṭlān moved. (7) Ibn Buṭlān's "Treatise on the Eucharist", *Maḳāl fi'l ḳurbān al-muḳaddas*, hastily written in the summer of 446/1054; extracts in text and translation by G. Graf, *Oriens Christianus*, xxxv (1938), 46-70, 175-91. (8) Quotations from his notes for an autobiography, with remarks on the epidemics which he witnessed, have been preserved by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. (9) Ibn Buṭlān's last recorded work, on which he worked in 455/1063, is a Discourse, *Maḳāla*, "on the reason why the skilled physicians have changed the treatment of most diseases which were formerly treated with hot remedies, advising in their place a cooling treatment, e.g. for plegia, facial paralysis, paresis and others, and why they disagree with the rules laid down by the Ancients in compendiums (*kanānīsh*) and pharmacopoeias (*aḳrābādhīnāt*), and how this new system has gradually gained ground in ʿIrāḳ and the neighbouring countries from the beginning of the year 377/988 down to the year 455"; Ibn Buṭlān refers to changes in climate and subsequent changes in vegetation; extracts have been preserved in the biographies of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and of al-Ṭabbākh, who quotes Abū Dharr al-Ḥalabī. Ibn Buṭlān's refusal to follow slavishly the doctrines of the Ancients, notwithstanding his deep knowledge of them, also appears from his controversy with Ibn Riḍwān. Further writings are mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and by Brockelmann. (The *ʿUmdat al-ṭabīb fī maʿrifat al-nabāt li-kull labīb*, attributed to Ibn Buṭlān in one of the two known manuscripts [the other is anonymous], is in reality the work of an Andalusian botanist and pharmacologist of the 5th/11th or 6th/12th century; see M. Asín Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances*, Madrid and Granada 1943.)

Bibliography: Usāma b. Munḳidh, *Kitāb al-iʿtibār*, ed. Derenbourg, text 135 ff.; transl. 488 ff.; ed. Hitti, text 183 ff., transl. 214 ff.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 294-315; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbā'*, i, 241-3; Barhebraeus, *Ta'rīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, 331-4; Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām al-nubalā'*, iv, 191-6 (quotes from the *Kunūz al-dhahab* of Abū Dharr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, d. 884/1479, Brockelmann, S II, 76); L. Cheikho, in *al-Machriq*, 1925, 659-64 = *Poètes*, iii, 266-77; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, Baltimore 1927, 730 f.; J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The medico-philosophical controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo* (Egyptian University,

Faculty of Arts, Publ. no. 13), Cairo 1937; idem, in *B Fac. Ar.*, iv/2, 1936 (issued April 1939), 145-8; Brockelmann, I, 636, S I, 885; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ii (*Studi e Testi*, 133), Città del Vaticano 1947, 191-4; V. Rosen, in *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xliv (1883), no. 1, 038-052; S. Pines, in *Arch. d'hist. doctr. et litt. du Moyen-Âge*, 1952, 18-20 (cf. A. M. Goichon, *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, no. 9, 1955, p. 22, n. 9).

(J. SCHACHT)

IBN DA'B, ABU 'L-WALĪD ʿĪSĀ B. YAZĪD B. BAKR B. DA'B AL-LAYTHĪ AL-MADANĪ, traditionist, genealogist, *rāwī* and poet of Medina who, after having been a schoolmaster, lived for a time at the court of al-Mahdī and longer at that of al-Hādī, from whom he received unusual favour, and died in 171/787. He owes his fame mainly to the elegance and delicacy of his speech and his manners, to the extent of his knowledge of genealogies and of early poetry, to his readiness in repartee and to his skill in finding verses apt for the circumstances, which made him an ideal companion for important persons, in spite of his pride and his sometimes rather offhand attitude to the caliph, who seems to have overlooked all this impertinence. There is an anecdote which, albeit presented differently by various authors (see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 123), shows that al-Hādī had no hesitation in offering him considerable sums for a few well-chosen verses.

In the field of the transmission of *ḥadīths*, of the historical traditions and of the works of the poets of the Ḥidjāz, Ibn Da'b was not very highly thought of; indeed, although such writers as al-Djāḥiẓ (though he does express doubts in *Bighāl*, § 14), Ibn Ḳutayba or Ibn Sallām see no harm in reproducing traditions on his authority, Khalāf al-Aḥmar and other transmitters accuse him of inventing *ḥadīths*; furthermore, Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlā' points out numerous mistakes in the poems which he transmitted, while others consider that he invented *akhbār* concerning the Arabs. These accusations may be due in part to jealousy, but they may not have been entirely unfounded.

The name of Ibn Da'b usually refers to ʿĪsā b. Yazīd, but many other members of his family are cited as transmitters of historical and genealogical traditions: his great-uncle Ḥudhayfa b. Da'b, his father Yazīd b. Bakr, his brother Yaḥyā b. Yazīd and his cousin Muḥammad b. Ḥudhayfa.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* and *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 537-8; Ṭabarī, iii, 593; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 172-3; *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 133; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, xi, 148; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 263-4 (ed. Pellat, § 2471); Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xvi, 152-65; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 408-10, v, 120; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iii, 51; F. Rosenthal, *Historiography*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-DABAYTHĪ [see IBN AL-DUBAYTHĪ].

IBN ḌABBA [see YAZĪD B. MIḲSAM].

IBN DĀNIYĀL, SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. DĀNIYĀL B. YŪSUF AL-KHUZĀʿĪ AL-MAWṢILĪ, b. *ca.* 646/1248, d. 710/1310, Arab writer in Egypt. Born in Mawṣil; from the age of 19, he lived in Cairo, studying and practising ophthalmology. In literary and colloquial Arabic poetry and versified prose, he wrote some of the earliest shadow-plays in mediaeval Egypt. He apparently composed some Arabic poems too, but he is mainly memorable for the keen observation reflected in his dramatic works. All three plays were actually intended for production, and the manuscripts were most probably intended to serve as guides rather than as binding texts; the producer could, and did, depart from them.

The three plays are: (1) *Ṭayf al-khayāl* (The shadow of imagination) relates the story of Wiṣāl, an erstwhile soldier, ensnared by the wiles of a matchmaker. The comic element is provided by his frustration, when he lifts the bride's veil after the wedding-ceremony, and discovers that she is a monster, in everything the opposite of the matchmaker's promises; (2) *ʿAdjīb wa-Gharīb* (ʿAdjīb and Gharīb) lacks a plot and is a parade of characters, common in the market-place, plying their odd or dishonest trades—mainly quack-doctors, animal-tamers, and performers; the play is named after two quick-witted rogues who appear at its start; (3) *al-Mutayyam* (The Enamoured) presents a succession of prizefights of cocks, rams and bulls, accompanied by comments and music, and loosely connected by a thin plot: al-Mutayyam and his rival-in-love initiate these prize-fights; and, at the play's end, a party is thrown open to all sorts of pathological characters, who come to feast on a slain bull.

While Ibn Dāniyāl's first play is a farce, the other two are comedies of manners. Ridicule is achieved by contrast, slapstick and obscenity. Lip-service to morals is paid to a limited extent in the second play (in a special ending), and more so in the epilogues of the first (the disappointed bridegroom decides on a pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz, to atone for his sins) and of the third (the Angel of Death makes an appearance). However, the plays' main asset lies not in their plot or literary quality, but rather in their reflexion of the times. They are a realist's description of *mores* in late 7th/13th century Egypt. Most mediaeval shadow-plays in Arabic were composed by the producers or their circle; Ibn Dāniyāl, however, was a physician by training and occupation, and it is an open question whether or not he incorporated into his plays earlier materials (owned by shadow-play producers), of which hardly anything is known today.

Bibliography: The three plays have been published together (not a complete version) by Muḥammad Taḳī'l-Dīn al-Hilālī, Baghdād 1948. On Ibn Dāniyāl and his work: Saʿīd al-Dīwahdjī, *Ibn Dāniyāl al-Mawṣilī*, in *al-Kitāb*, x (June 1951), 611-7; Fu'ād Ḥasanayn, *Muḥammad ibn Daniyāl*, in *al-Thaḳāfa* (Cairo), iv-v, nos. 208-210, 22 Dec. 1942-5 Jan. 1943; G. Jacob, *ʿAgīb ed-Dīn al-Wāʿiẓ bei Ibn Danijāl*, in *Isl.*, iv (1913), 67-71; idem, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, Berlin 1907, 34 ff.; idem, *al-Mutaijam ein altarabisches Schauspiel für die Schattenbühne bestimmt von Muḥammad ibn Dânijâl*, Erlangen 1901; P. Kahle, *The Arabic shadow play in Egypt*, in *JRAS*, 1940, 21-34; idem, *Muḥammed ibn Dānijāl und sein zweites arabisches Schattenspiel*, in *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensis*, ii/2 (1950), 151-67; J. M. Landau, *Shadow plays in the Near East*, Jerusalem 1948, xxviii-xxxiv; idem, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958, 18-24. The most recent work, which includes the three plays and a critical analysis, is Ibrāhīm Ḥammāda, *Khayāl al-ẓill wa-tamthīliyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl*, Cairo 1963.

(J. M. LANDAU)

IBN DARRĀDJ AL-ḲASṬALLĪ, ABŪ ʿUMAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ʿĀṢĪ B. AḤMAD B. SULAYMĀN B. ʿĪSĀ B. DARRĀDJ, Andalusian poet whose *nisba* derives from Ḳasṭallat Darrādj, a place which R. Blachère wishes to identify with Cacella (now in Portugal) but which more probably corresponds to Cazalilla or Castellar de Santisteban, in the province of Jaén. Born in Muḥarram 347/March

958, he belonged to a noble family of Ṣanhādja origin which had settled in Spain at the time of the Arab conquest. He seems to have studied at Jaén and to have become acquainted with literary circles in Cordova. Apart from this, nothing at all is known of his early life.

At the age of 35, he appeared as an already accomplished poet at the court of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir in 382/992. The poem with which he introduced himself (see *Dīwān*, no. 3), and which contains some details on his family life (for example that he had a daughter eight years old), was considered by the critics at the court to be too perfect to be by an inexperienced poet and some of them accused him of plagiarism. In order to test him, al-Manṣūr summoned him during the night of Thursday 3 Shawwāl 382/1 December 992 and invited him to improvise a description of a tray of apples surrounded by jonquils; the poet then wrote (see *Dīwān*, no. 149) and recited a poem (no. 100) in which he refuted the charges of plagiarism and claimed qualities as a poet and a prose-writer that entitled him to a position in the court. After this test Ibn Darrādj's fortunes began to rise. Al-Manṣūr rewarded him generously, had his name inscribed in the register of his official poets, and appointed him to a post in the *Dīwān al-inshāʾ*. For sixteen years he remained in the service of al-Manṣūr and of his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar; this period corresponds to the zenith of the splendour of Muslim Spain and to a period of military and political power such as it was never to know again. Under the ʿĀmirid dictatorship, Ibn Darrādj became the celebrator of the ʿĀmirids and their victories, the chronicler of their exploits and the most highly esteemed panegyrist of their court.

The assassination of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] in 399/1008 and the beginning of the *fitna* inaugurated a new phase in his life. During the first four years he lived at Cordova; he foresaw the dramatic change of régime which was to take place, but, unhampered by excessive moral scruples, he addressed his panegyrics to all those who followed one another on the throne: Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Mahdī, Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn, al-Ķāsim b. Ḥammūd, etc. Finally, despairing of seeing the situation return to normal, he decided to leave the capital. His first and only journey outside the Peninsula took him, in 404/1014, to Ceuta, at that time governed by ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd, the future founder of the first ʿAlid régime in Spain. Ibn Darrādj, with his opportunism as a court poet, addressed to him a poem feigning Shīʿī sympathies. However, he does not appear to have found at the Ḥammūdid court the serenity which he was seeking, since he was obliged to undertake, during four years, many journeys to various minor courts. Until 408/1018 he travelled through the kingdoms of Almeria, Valencia, Játiva and Tortosa, addressing his poems, without much success, to the Slavonic princelings. Finally he arrived, in 408/1018, in Saragossa, where he attached himself to the court of al-Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tudjībī; for about ten years Ibn Darrādj lived a relatively tranquil life, once again holding the positions of chief official poet and of secretary of the chancellery which he had held at the court of the ʿĀmirids, and serving as court poet to al-Mundhir (408-12/1018-22) and his son Yaḥyā (412-27/1022-36), to whom the third part of his *Dīwān* is dedicated. In material matters his life appears to have been completely comfortable, a poem (no. 57) revealing that he had acquired land and orchards. However, for reasons unknown, his relations with Yaḥyā b. al-Mundhir deteriorated considerably, and Ibn Darrādj found himself obliged to emigrate. In 419/1028 he appears at the court of Denia, addressing his poems to Mudjāhid al-ʿĀmirī [*q.v.*], and seems to have passed the final years of his life in this eastern town, since this is where al-Faḍl, his only known son, spent his life. Ibn Darrādj died on 16 Djumādā II 421/22 June 1030.

Ibn Darrādj is considered as one of the greatest poets of Muslim Spain and the main representative of the golden age of Arabo-Andalusian poetry at the end of the 4th/10th and the beginning of the 5th/11th century. Although he lived until the time of the *Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, he was a product of the Spain of the caliphs. Like Ibn Shuhayd, Ibn Ḥazm and al-Ramādī, this poet represents the period during which the character of al-Andalus itself was stamped on its literary production and on all the other manifestations of its culture.

Ibn Darrādj was not, however, a revolutionary poet as, to a certain extent, were those who cultivated *muwashshaḥ* and *zadjal*; he was, on the contrary, a neo-classic poet of the type of Abū Tammām and al-Mutanabbī—and in fact he is referred to by the critics as "the Mutanabbī of al-Andalus". Like these other poets, Ibn Darrādj adheres scrupulously to what the critics call *ʿamūd al-shiʿr*, the canons of classical poetry. His technique is very polished and he devotes much attention to the correct use of language and the choice of words. His poetry reflects a wide knowledge of Arabic literature and a complete mastery of its vocabulary. He may not achieve the intellectual level and the profundity of thought of Mutanabbī, his favourite model, but some of his compositions (see *e.g.*, nos. 32, 39, 44) are definitely superior to those of his master. The poems in which he describes the battles of al-Manṣūr are full of realism and life and reflect the people's sincere admiration for the leader whom they considered as the champion of Spanish Islam against Christianity; in this respect his poems have much in common with those which al-Mutanabbī dedicated to Sayf al-Dawla.

In the genre of floral poetry (*nawriyyāt*), Ibn Darrādj wrote various poems containing original imagery; in this he appears as the forerunner of such poets as Ibn Khafādja, Ibn al-Zaķķāķ and al-Ruṣāfī, who were to devote almost all of their poems to this genre.

A large part of his poetry, and this the most sincere and moving part, is devoted to the description of the horrors of the civil war which followed the overthrow of the ʿĀmirid dictatorship. These poems form an elegy for the Muslim Spain which the poet had known during the period of its greatest splendour. The lines in which he refers to his sad personal experience during this war, when he wandered continually from place to place with his large family of twelve, mainly females, deserve especial mention. Some of these poems (for example the description of a stormy voyage in a ship, poem no. 33) are particularly successful.

Because of the great care with which he wrote his poems, as much in their basic inspiration as in their form, without adopting the mannerism and the conventionalism of the oriental poets of his time who had a liking for rhetorical ornaments (*badīʿ*), Ibn Darrādj may be considered as the initiator, in the Arabic poetry of Spain, of a sort of "cultisme" similar to that which was to characterize, six centuries later, another Cordovan, Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561-1627).

His poetry, apart from its purely literary and

aesthetic value, is a very valuable documentary source on contemporary events in Spain and particularly on the relations of al-Andalus with the neighbouring Christian kings (on this aspect, see M. Makki, *La España cristiana en el dīwān de Ibn Darrāǰ*, in *Bol. de la Real Acad. de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, xxx (1963-4), 63-104).

Ibn Darrādj's prose is almost completely lost. It is known that he wrote some very famous official communiqués, such as that which he wrote in the name of al-Manṣūr on the occasion of the capture of Santiago de Compostella (387/992). But the fragments of this prose which are preserved in the *Dīwān* or in the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām are much inferior in quality to his poetry.

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IBN DARRĀDJ AL-ṬUFAYLĪ [see ṬUFAYLĪ].

IBN AL-DAWĀDĀRĪ, ABŪ BAKR B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AYBAK AL-DAWĀDĀRĪ, Egyptian historian. His father, Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, was in the service of the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Rūmī al-Ẓāhirī, the *Dawādār* of Baybars, whence the by-name Dawādārī. His grandfather, lord of Sarkhad, was tentatively identified by Ṣ. Munadjdjid as ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Ustādār al-Muʿaẓẓamī (d. 645/1247-8), the patron of the medical biographer Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.v.*]. The family is described, somewhat improbably, as of Saldjūḳid descent.

The author's family lived in Cairo, in the Ḥārat al-Bāṭiliyya. His father served for 11 years, until 710/1310, as *mutawallī* of Sharḳiyya province, the *wilāyat al-ʿUrbān*, and adjoining areas. Released from this post, he moved to Damascus, where he was appointed *mihmāndār*, and, later *mushidd al-dawāwīn*. He lost the latter post through a disagreement, but remained a *mihmāndār* until his death in 713/1313, in a riding accident at ʿAdjlūn. He was buried at Adhriʿāt, near the grave of his parents.

The dates of the author's birth and death are unknown. In his writings, he speaks of having lived in Cairo and moved with his father to Damascus, presumably as a child. He held some official post, which he does not specify. It seems to have been in Egypt, and an incident in 723/1323 (*Chronik*, ix, 310) suggests that it may have been connected with the *Barīd*. He wrote several works, of which two, an extensive universal chronicle (*Durar al-tīdjān*) and an abridgement (*Kanz al-durar*), survive. An autograph of the former, in 9 parts, exists in Istanbul. Parts 6 (on the Fāṭimids) and 9 (on the reign of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn) have been published. The author tells us that he began to make notes and drafts for his work in 709/1309, started his final autograph copy in 732/1331-2, and completed it in 736/1335.

Bibliography: Ahmed Zeki Bey, *Mémoire sur les moyens propres à déterminer en Egypte une renaissance des lettres arabes*, Cairo 1910, 13-15; Brockelmann, S II, 44; Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Türk edebiyātînda ilk mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 279, n. 2-282; C. Cahen, *Les chroniques arabes* ..., in *REI*, 1936, 343-4; *Fihris Dār al-Kutub*, v, Cairo 1930, 310; *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*, vi (ed. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Munaǵǵid, Cairo 1961; cf. *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 429-31), ix (ed. H. R. Roemer, Cairo 1960). (B. LEWIS)

IBN DĀWŪD, MUḤAMMAD B. DĀWŪD B. ʿALĪ B. KHALAF, famous Ẓāhirī jurist and first codifier of Arabic "courtly love", died in 294/909; nothing else is known of his life. Little is known of his Ẓāhirism: Ibn Dāwūd was the leader of a school, who took over the direction of the Ẓāhirī movement of Baghdād on the death of his father [see DĀWŪD B. ʿALĪ]. It is not clear in which direction he led it. It may have been in one less harsh and less uncompromising than that of Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], under whom Ẓāhirī intransigeance was to reach its peak (in the *Muḥallā* of Ibn Ḥazm the Ẓāhirīs as a whole are described by the term *aṣḥābunā* and it is not clear whether Ibn Dāwūd is included in this designation). There gathered around Ibn Dāwūd not only Ẓāhirī jurists but also an eclectic group of scholars and grammarians (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ẓāhirī al-Kātib, the Shāfiʿī Ibn Suraydj, Aḥmad b. ʿImrān, an impassioned admirer of the mystic Djunayd, the Malāmatī mystic Ruwayn, the traditionists Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd b. Nāṣiḥ, the principal informer of al-Washsha, and Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Dhāriʿ, the grammarians Thaʿlab and Niftawayh, both of them converts to Ḥanbalism, the second later becoming the transmitter of accounts concerning the death of Ibn Dāwūd). But Ibn Dāwūd was to give more serious contributions to Ẓāhirism: he wrote or transmitted an important number of Ẓāhirī works, a list of which is given in the *Fihrist*. (Among them is a refutation of Ibn Sharshīr, which may well have been a dialectical exposition of Ẓāhirism, the loss of which at an early date is much to be regretted). But Ibn Dāwūd's chief claim to fame is the *Kitāb al-Zahra*, his anthology of courtly love (translated variously as "Book of the flower" or "Book of Venus"). The *Kitāb al-Zahra*, which purports to be an anthology, is however a precursor of the "Trobarclus" of the West: it is difficult fully to comprehend its composition, its deeper purposes, and its guiding inspiration. It is possible that the *Kitāb al-Zahra* conceals the personal secret of Ibn Dāwūd. The following is as much as can be said with certainty, about a work which must be read between the lines, if one is to achieve any insight into the extremely complex personality of its author. The *Zahra* is made up of two parts: the first is a collection of love poetry, the second (MS Turin) is an anthology proper (different parts: panegyric, satire, drinking poetry, versification). The two parts together make up about fifty chapters, each containing a fairly

free selection of one hundred verses. Each chapter illustrates a maxim; these maxims are not of equal importance: they may concern fine points of literary style as well as more urgent matters and, perhaps, the most intimate details of the "secret" of love. The maxims are in rhyming prose—the elegant style of the jurist who had succeeded in delivering *fatwās* in this form. The logical arrangement of the first part is as follows: the first ten chapters are a kind of ethic of love (the *ḥadīth* of *ʿishḳ* gives the advice to put one's trust in a physician rather than in the beloved). The ten chapters which follow depict the various consequences of passion and the misfortunes which befall lovers (calumniators, slanderers and "exile"). Next, in the following ten chapters, are enumerated the obstacles of a deeper or more permanent nature which beset passion (*suluww*, "consolation"—a sort of interior movement which follows the "triumph" of the lover, separation with all its consequences). A further ten chapters (30 to 40) are devoted to situations which are reminiscent of the *nasīb*: the lover and the lightning, the lover on the day of separation, the lover haunted by the memory of the beloved, etc. At the very end of the first part, the ethical values return to the foreground, in particular that of the secret. The death of love is also dealt with. It will be obvious that everything in this work is problematical: it seems innocuous and soothing and yet it gave rise to passion and polemic. Its greatest originality was to have attempted to define a code of courtly behaviour independent of both religion and mysticism. This code seems to be based entirely on the principle: "He who loves, remains chaste, does not tell his love, and dies (or dies of it), dies as a martyr". This *ḥadīth*, transmitted on the authority of Dāwūd the father, sets two problems which long disturbed or annoyed Muslim moralists: *al-naẓar al-mubāḥ* (the lawfulness of glancing at young people or a "strange" woman) and *kitmān*, the obligation to refrain from speaking of one's love, even to the beloved himself. It was particularly among the Ḥanbalīs that the reactions were strongest and opposition to Ibn Dāwūd's ideas most bitter: a work like the *Dhamm al-hawā* of Ibn Djawzī contains a list of later re-wordings which have been proposed for the famous *ḥadīth*. Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.v.*] also inveighed against Ibn Dāwūd, doing his utmost to discredit him. On the other hand the Ḥanbalīs, from al-Kharāʾiṭī (Brockelmann, S I, 250, the author of an *Iʿtilāl al-ḳulūb*, Bursa, Ulu Cami 1535), attribute to the passions a sort of therapeutic action, based both on Islam and on common sense. It is true that, in his description of "courtly" love, Ibn Dāwūd did not admit that it could possess a providential therapeutic quality, and indulged neither in excessive systematization nor misplaced idealism. (He always refrained from confusing human passion and divine love; he attributed to love, and even to the memory of love, a theme dear to the *nasīb*, causes which are predominantly physical: the interaction of the "humours" on the thought and vice-versa). It is possible that he took this categorical attitude, discouraging both mysticism and human wisdom, in order to preserve intact the unimpaired character of "courtly" love. Whether this attitude was dictated by his Ẓāhirism, with its tendency to dispute the capabilities of the human reason, or by a negative mysticism based on *malāmatiyya*, Ibn Dāwūd is regarded by such scholars as L. Massignon, A. R. Nykl and H. Ritter as one of the initiators of the doctrine of "courtly love", both in its Western and in its Oriental manifestations.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Zahra* (first part), ed. A. R. Nykl, Chicago 1932 (second part: MS Turin 25); A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-arabic poetry*, Baltimore 1946, 370; Massignon, *Passion*, 167-81; H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xxi (1932); Brockelmann, S I, 249; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 256; *Fihrist*, 217 f.; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, no. 578; J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'hégire*, (in the press), index. (J.-C. VADET)

IBN AL-DĀYA, AḤMAD B. YŪSUF B. IBRĀHĪM, Ṭūlūnid historian. His father Yūsuf was a foster-brother of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim and an administrative assistant to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. As such, Yūsuf moved in the centre of intellectual life in Baghdād and Sāmarrā and counted among his acquaintances many littérateurs and physicians. After the death of Ibn al-Mahdī in 224/839 (and, presumably, in consequence of it), he left Sāmarrā for Damascus and, it seems, moved from there to Egypt where he thenceforth had his residence. Having connections with the ʿAbbāsid government and with Ibn al-Mudabbir, Yūsuf was under the suspicion of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, who imprisoned him but soon released him as the result of an intervention by his numerous friends. When Yūsuf died, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn had his son Aḥmad and the latter's brother arrested, and his files confiscated and searched for evidence of espionage, but nothing incriminating was revealed and the two brothers were released immediately. Yūsuf wrote a book of stories about his patron Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, which is certainly the source of the material on the subject transmitted in his name in the *Aghānī* (for instance, *Aghānī*³, i, 253, 268, ii, 353, iii, 29, iv, 337, 361, vi, 22, ix, 148, 173, xvi, 6, 249, etc.). Like his patron, he also wrote a book on cookery, and he seems to be meant by the Yūsuf b. al-Dāya mentioned in the *Fihrist*, 160, who published a collection of stories about Abū Nuwās together with an anthology of his poetry. He probably provided much material for the works of his son Aḥmad. His *Akhbār al-aṭibbāʾ*, cited by Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 124 (cf. F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xxxvi (1961), 246), and, presumably, the source for al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa when they quote Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm, would seem to be a case in point.

Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, known by preference as Ibn al-Dāya "son of the wet nurse" (although this nickname would seem to have been originally that of his father), belonged like his father to the class of government officials. A reasonable guess for the date of his birth would seem to be between 245-250/859-864, and he is said to have died between 330-340/941-951. Accurate details are lacking. He wrote a Biography of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, known from an abridgment in Ibn Saʿīd's *Mughrib* (ed. K. Vollers, Berlin 1894, *Semitistische Studien*, i). It was also used in a similar biography of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, written in the 4th/10th century by a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī (ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī, Damascus 1358), who nevertheless criticized Ibn al-Dāya's work as confused and incomplete and not the work of a professional historian. Biographies of Khumārawayh and Hārūn, including those of Ṭūlūnid lieutenants, are listed by Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 157-60, as separate works, but they very likely belonged together with the biography of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, in the same way as Ibn al-Dāya's *Ḥusn al-ʿuḳbā* is listed and cited as a work distinct from his *Kitāb al-Mukāfaʾa*, although it forms part of it. The *Mukāfaʾa* (ed. Cairo 1914, 1940, 1941) consists of three sections containing, respectively, stories about rewards for good deeds,

punishments for evil deeds, and timely escapes from difficult situations. The preserved text may not be complete (cf. F. Sayyid, in his edition of Ibn Djuldjul, *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbā'*, Cairo 1955, 72, n. 43). Two other biographical works, on physicians and on astronomers/astrologers, are not preserved. In the field of science, he wrote a commentary on the Pseudo-Ptolemaic *Centiloquium* (*al-Thamara*), which, in addition to the Arabic original, is also preserved (partially?) in Greek translation (*Cat. Codicum Astrol.*, ii, 74, iii, 11), as well as a lost *Compendium of Logic*, dedicated to the *wazīr* ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā.

The *Mukāfa'a* and the fragments of the biography of Ibn Ṭūlūn show that Ibn al-Dāya possessed a keen eye for the life around him and a good understanding of the nature of political leadership and all it involved. If he still felt any family animosity against Ibn Ṭūlūn, he never shows it. On the contrary, he displays considerable admiration for Ibn Ṭūlūn's great gifts. Contemporary culture, in terms of language, customs, and the expectations and emotions of individuals, is brought close to us in his works.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, is based upon Ibn Zūlāḳ and Ibn ʿAsākir (presumably, under Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm); Brockelmann, I, 155, S I, 229; A. Schaade, in *ZDMG*, lxxxviii (1934), 269-72; B. Lewis, in *Byzantion*, xiv (1939), 383-6; ʿA. Badawī, *al-Uṣūl al-Yūnāniyya*, Cairo 1954, 24-9.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN AL-DAYBAʿ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿALĪ WADJĪH AL-DĪN AL-SHAYBĀNĪ AL-ZABĪDĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, Arab historian and religious scholar, was born in 866/1461 in Zabīd and died there in 944/1537. Older biographers call him Ibn al-Daybaʿ, but al-Djirāfī refers to him simply as *al-Ḳāḍī al-Ḥāfiẓ* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Daybaʿ. Daybaʿ, said to mean "white" in Nubian, was the *laḳab* of his remote ancestor ʿAlī b. Yūsuf.

Ibn al-Daybaʿ, whose father died in India without having seen him, was brought up by his maternal grandfather in Zabīd [*q.v.*], the centre of Shāfiʿite learning in Tihāmat al-Yaman. He studied a little under this grandfather but more under his maternal uncle, the *muftī* of Zabīd, who taught him various branches of mathematics as well as religious subjects. Ibn al-Daybaʿ also studied *ḥadīth* in the town of Bayt al-Faḳīh [*q.v.*], which lies just north of Zabīd. He made the Pilgrimage several times, the first, according to al-Sakhāwī and al-Shawkānī, in 883/1479 (not 884 as in *EI*[1], ii, 369). In 897/1491 (not 896) he took lessons in the Ḥidjāz from the Egyptian Shāfiʿite al-Sakhāwī [*q.v.*]; in a verse quoted by al-Sakhāwī, Ibn al-Daybaʿ expressed the desire to become an *imām* of the *ḥadīth*, which he would recite at the feet of this master.

Born about eight years after the capture of Aden from the last Rasūlid by ʿĀmir I b. Ṭāhir, the inaugurator of the rule of the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] in the Yaman, Ibn al-Daybaʿ lived nearly sixty years under this dynasty. His chief patron was the fourth and last of the Ṭāhirids, al-Malik al-Ẓāfir ʿĀmir II b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. At ʿĀmir II's request he wrote a history of the dynasty, *al-ʿIḳd al-bāhir fī ta'rīkh dawlat Banī Ṭāhir*, now lost. ʿĀmir rewarded him with robes of honour, a palm-grove in Zabīd, and the post of teacher of *ḥadīth* in the great mosque, which ʿĀmir had built. The most important surviving history by Ibn al-Daybaʿ is *Bughyat al-mustafīd fī akhbār madīnat Zabīd*, which brings the story of the city down to 901/1495-6 and which closes with the author's autobiography. A number of MSS of *Bughyat al-mustafīd* are extant, but C. Th. Johannsen unfortunately relied on the defective Copenhagen copy for his Latin translation, *Historia Jemenae*, Bonn 1828, with introduction and notes. Ibn al-Daybaʿ composed two supplements to his history of Zabīd, *al-Faḍl al-mazīd fī ta'rīkh Zabīd* and *Ḳurrat al-ʿuyūn fī akhbār al-Yaman al-maymūn*, the second of which ends with 924/1518, the year after ʿĀmir II's death and the almost total destruction of Ṭāhirid power by Mamlūks from Egypt (Ibn al-Daybaʿ wrote a not entirely uncritical elegy of ʿĀmir II). There is no indication that Ibn al-Daybaʿ recorded events which took place in Zabīd during the last twenty years of his lifetime, the period when the Yaman was being made a province of the Ottoman empire.

Another historical work by Ibn al-Daybaʿ is *Aḥsan al-sulūk fī man waliya Zabīd min al-mulūk*, a *radjaz* poem, not the best vehicle for writing history.

Ibn al-Daybaʿ wrote a book on the merits (*faḍā'il*) of the Yaman and its people and at least two books on *ḥadīth*, *Taysīr al-wuṣūl* and *Tamyīz al-ṭayyib min al-khabīth*, which proved of benefit to students. Al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834) found his fame still widespread in the Yaman.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 400, and S II, 32, 238, 548; biographical sketches of Ibn al-Daybaʿ in al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ*, Cairo 1345, iv, 104-5; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348, i, 335-6; and al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*[2], Cairo 1374, iv, 91-2. A succinct account of the Ṭāhirids of the Yaman is given in al-Djirāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf min ta'rīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1367, 82-5.

(C. VAN ARENDONK-[G. RENTZ])

IBN DAYṢĀN [see DAYṢĀNIYYA].

IBN DHAKWĀN, name of the members of a family of Cordova, the Banū Dhakwān, which produced several *ḳāḍīs*.

(1) The first was ʿAbd Allāh b. Harthama b. Dhakwān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbdūs b. Dhakwān al-Umawī who, in 370/981, was appointed *ṣāḥib al-radd* (that is, his duty was to pronounce judgements on matters on which the ordinary *ḳāḍīs* were in doubt); see Ibn al-Faraḍī, no. 722; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 145.

(2) The most famous member of the family was the son of the above, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, who, after having been *ḳāḍī* of Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ, succeeded his father as *ṣāḥib al-radd* and was appointed chief *ḳāḍī* of Cordova in 392/1001. Possessing excellent diplomatic qualities, and popular among both the Cordovans and the Berbers, he played an important political rôle under al-Manṣūr, whose close confidant and trusted adviser he was. After the death of the *ḥādjib* (392/1002), he retained his post until 394/1004, then regained it from 395 to 401/1005-10. In 399/1009, he gave his sanction to the document drawn up by Ibn Burd [*q.v.*] to make ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo [*q.v.*] the successor of Hishām II on the throne of the Umayyads. He also supported the succession to the caliphate of al-Mahdī (399/1009). Exiled for a time to Almeria and to Oran, he soon regained his office under Hishām II, who returned to the throne in 400/1010. It was he who, in 403/1013, asked for *amān* from the Berbers who were investing the capital. He died in 22 Radjab 413/21 October 1022, and his funeral eulogy was made by Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 224; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, 19-20; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 63; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 174; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 210-1; Nubāhī, *Marḳaba*, 84-7 and index; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, index; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp.*

Mus., index; Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Shuhayd*, ʿAmmān [1966], 41; idem, *Dīwān Ibn Shuhayd*, 23-5; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 82-3.

(3) Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, brother of the above, was *mushāwar* and *ḳāḍī* of Firrīsh, then also *ḳāḍī* of Cordova and in charge of the *maẓālim*-court. He died in 414/1023. See Ibn al-Faraḍī, no. 1673; Nubāhī, *Marḳaba*, 86, 87; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 49; Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. d'Esp.*, iii, 209.

(4) Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, son of the chief *ḳāḍī* (2), was renowned for his virtue, his learning and his honesty. He was appointed vizier during the reign of Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī [see HAMMŪDIDS], became *ḳāḍī* of Cordova in 430/1039 and died on 3 Rabīʿ I 435/10 October 1043. See Ibn Bassām, i/2, 15; Ibn Bashkuwāl, 34; Nubāhī, 84; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 70; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 56.

Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad and Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan, sons of Abū Ḥātim (3), are also mentioned but played a less important rôle than the above. See in particular Ibn Bassām, iv/1, 28; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 160. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN DIḤYA [= Daḥya], ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Kalbī, also known under the name of Ibn al-Djumayyil, Andalusian poet, philologist, and traditionist, born probably in Valencia, in the middle of the 6th/12th century (the year of his birth is variously given as 544, 546, 547 or 548). His *kunya* was Abu 'l-Faḍl but he preferred to call himself Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and this is what he is generally called. In some sources he appears with the *laḳab* Madjd al-Dīn, but he used that of Dhu 'l-nasabayn (he who has two [illustrious] origins), since he claimed descent through his father from Diḥya b. Khalīfa [*q.v.*] and through his mother from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Other *kunyas* of his are known, which are hardly ever used, and various other *nisbas*: al-Dānī (from Denia), al-Balansī, al-Sabtī, al-Andalusī.

While still very young he began his journeys in search of learning, particularly in philology and *ḥadīth*, visited various towns in al-Andalus and the Maghrib and met famous teachers, among those in Andalusia being Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn Khayr and Ibn Maḍāʾ [*qq.v*]. He twice filled the office of *ḳāḍī* of Denia, which he was obliged to give up after being denounced for passing a sentence of extreme cruelty. After living for some time in North Africa —in 595/1198 he was expounding in Tunis the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim—he undertook the Pilgrimage to Mecca and on the way stayed in Egypt, to which he was to return later. He next visited Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Persia, and went as far as Nīsābūr in his eagerness to collect traditions and to meet the most famous masters in this subject. In 604/1207, when he was at Arbela, where the feast of the birth of the Prophet was being celebrated with much ceremony, he wrote a work for the occasion entitled *Kitāb al-Tanwīr fī mawlid al-sirādj al-munīr*, which ended in a long poem in praise of the *amīr* Muẓaffar al-Dīn al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, who rewarded him with a payment of a thousand *dīnārs*. On his return to Egypt, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-ʿĀdil appointed him tutor to his son; when the latter succeeded his father, under the title of al-Malik al-Kāmil, he founded the *Dār al-ḥadīth* and appointed Ibn Diḥya as director of it; but towards the end of his life (he died in 633/1235) he was dismissed by the sultan—one source even states that he was flogged and paraded in disgrace through the streets of the city—who appointed in his place the poet's brother, Abū ʿUthmān, who survived him for only a short time (d. 634/1237).

The judgements of his contemporaries on Ibn Diḥya's character and work are contradictory. Whereas the Andalusians in general praise him highly and refer to his great learning, the Eastern critics regard him as a charlatan because of his false claim to an illustrious genealogy, as a plagiarist (Ibn Khallikān states that the poem dedicated to Muẓaffar al-Dīn was written by Ibn Mammātī), or as a liar (which various sources consider to have been the reason for his expulsion from the *Dār al-ḥādīth al-Kāmiliyya*). The titles are known of about twenty of his works, of various types, the majority of which have not survived. There have recently appeared two editions of the work for which he is chiefly known, *al-Muṭrib fī ashʿār ahl al-Maghrib*, a vast anthology of Arabic poets of the West, compiled in Egypt and dedicated to his royal patron al-Malik al-Kāmil. The remainder of his surviving work is so far unpublished.

Bibliography: In addition to that given in Brockelmann, I, 310-2, S I, 544-5, see the study by M. Ghāzi, *Ibn Diḥya fī 'l-Muṭrib*, in *RIEM*, i (1953), 161-74, Sp. tr., *ibid*, 172-90, and the long introduction to the Egyptian edition of the *Muṭrib* published by I. al-Ibyārī, Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Madjid, and A. Aḥmad Badawī, Cairo 1954. Another edition of the same work was published in the same year, at Khartoum, by Muṣṭafā ʿAwaḍ. (F. de la Granja)

IBN DĪNĀR [see ʿĪsā b. dīnār; mālik b. dīnār; muḥammad b. dīnār; yazīd b. dīnār].

IBN DIRHAM, Djaʿd, heretic, was a native of Khurāsān but spent most of his life at Damascus; he was imprisoned and then put to death, on the orders of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], by Khālid al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*] on the day of the Feast of Sacrifices as a substitute for the ritual sacrifice of a sheep; the sources vary on the place and date of his execution: Kūfa or Wāsiṭ, 124/742 or 125/743. Very few facts are known on the doctrinal position of Djaʿd b. Dirham; it is, however, clear that anti-Marwānid political propaganda and theological propaganda directed against the Muʿtazilīs (whom their enemies wished to accuse not only of having non-Muslim ideologies but also of being influenced by the heretics of the early period of Islam) were in part the reason for the accusations directed at him during five centuries, from al-Dārimī to Ibn Taymiyya: he was accused of having advanced the doctrines, later specifically associated with the Muʿtazilīs, of the created Ḳurʾān and of free will, errors which he was said to have led Marwān b. Muḥammad to hold; of having professed a radiçal doctrine of denial of the Divine attributes (*taʿṭīl*, of which the Muʿtazilīs were also accused), whence probably the saying attributed to him by Khālid: "God did not speak to Moses, nor take Abraham as His friend"; he is described as a *dahrī* and appears prominently in the list of *zindīḳs* in the *Fihrist*; according to some verses quoted by al-Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī, the followers of Djaʿd's religion, beardless men (a characteristic borrowed from the portrait of the Manichean "Elect"), accuse the Prophet of lying and deny the resurrection. He is also associated with Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*]; it is certain, however, that the latter did not profess the doctrine of free will. Without casting doubt on the authenticity of the majority of these statements, the co-ordination of which is, however, difficult, it should nevertheless be noted that there is no mention at all of Djaʿd b. Dirham in sources as important as the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ṭabarī (where he appears, *Annales*, i,

1396, *sub anno* 102, only as the author of an entirely conventional lament), the *K. al-Intiṣār* of al-Khayyāṭ, the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of al-Ashʿarī, and *al-Sharḥ wa 'l-ibāna* ("Profession of faith") of Ibn Baṭṭa.

Bibliography: The earliest source at present known is the *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-djahmiyya* of ʿUthmān al-Dārimī (d. 282/895), ed. G. Vitestam, Leiden 1960, p. 4, lines 7-16, which gives, on the authority of a chain of transmitters, the version of the doctrine and the death of Ibn Dirham which was, in its essentials, repeated in the *Fihrist* and many later texts. See the details in the study by G. Vajda, *Les zindiqs en pays d'Islam*, in *RSO*, xvii (1937), 179[7]-181[9]; see also S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, 124, n. 3; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 54 f.; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², ii, 114; J. Bouman, *Le conflit autour du Coran* ..., Amsterdam 1959, 3-4; H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islām*, Paris 1965, 48, n. 48; R. M. Frank, in *Le Muséon*, lxxviii (1965), 396, n. 5-6; M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-Ašʿarī*, Beirut 1966, 154, n. 1. (G. Vajda)

IBN AL-DJADD, name of the members of a family (Banu 'l-Djadd) famous and influential in Muslim Spain during the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, the origin of which, according to Ibn Taghrībirdī (vi, 112), goes back to a certain al-Faraḥ b. al-Djadd al-Fihrī. They were established at Seville and Niebla, where they possessed vast territories. Four important members of this family are mentioned:

I.—Abu 'l-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Djadd (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 109 ff.; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 340; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo. no. 431). He had literary ability, but his passion for wine and his frivolity prevented him from reaching the heights he deserved. For some time he was a secretary (*kātib*), in the service of Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], during the brief period in which the latter reigned in Murcia.

II.—Of greater importance was his cousin and contemporary Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Djadd. He was one of the best representatives of the family and one of the authorities of his time on *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, literature and genealogy. Yazīd al-Rāḍī, the son of al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād, made him his *wazīr* when he was appointed governor of Algeciras by his father, and took him with him when he went to govern Ronda; Ibn al-Djadd remained with Yazīd till the latter's death at the hands of the Almoravids, in 484/1091 (Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, *apud De Abbadidis*, ii, 75; ed. Monés, ii, 71). He then retired to Seville; the inhabitants of Niebla then offered him the office of jurisconsult (*khuṭṭat al-shūrā*) of the town, which he accepted without enthusiasm, keeping his position till Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn made him *kātib* in the chancellery. He was still holding this office when he died at Marrākush in 515/1121 (Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 1149; Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, Cairo 1283, 109 ff.; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 341-2; al-Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, Cairo 1949, 173; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 190-2; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ms. Baghdad, ii, fols. 185-213). Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn al-Djadd is an excellent prose writer, his style being on a level with that of the eminent *kuttāb* of the time (Muḥ. b. Abi 'l-Khiṣāl and his brother Abū Marwān, Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ḳabṭurnu, etc.), which marks the apogee of prose writing in Muslim Spain.

III.—A third member of the family is Abū ʿĀmir Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Djadd, who was a grammarian of repute. He was arrested and executed by the agents of the Almohads in 550/1155, although he had taken no part in politics (Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 342-3; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 468; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 275).

IV.—The fourth and last representative of the family to be mentioned is Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. al-Faraḥ b. al-Djadd. the most famous in the history of the family. Ibn al-Abbār dedicates a long article to him in the *Takmila* (no. 825). Born at Niebla in Rabīʿ I 496/December 1102, he studied under the best teachers of the time, such as Ibn Rushd and Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī. The former advised him not to limit himself to the study of grammar, literature and *ḥadīth*, but to study *fiḳh* and *uṣūl*; he showed a special aptitude for these subjects and was not long in becoming the favourite pupil of Ibn Rushd. About 521/1127 he became a jurisconsult in Seville, and continued in this high office for 65 years, till his death in Shawwāl 586/Nov. 1190, at the age of ninety. Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-98) had a profound veneration for him, perhaps because he had undergone a certain amount of injustice in the reign of his predecessor, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (558-80/1162/84). During the troubled years which preceded the unfortunate campaign against Santarem (580/1184), he was among the Niebla dignitaries who were arrested and imprisoned (cf. A. Huici Miranda, *Hist. pol. del imperio almohade*, i, 255-309). He spent his whole life as a *faḳīh* and teacher. He has left no written work, but his position allowed him to increase his fortune; he was in fact the head of his native town of Niebla.

Bibliography: in addition to the sources quoted in the article: Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 243; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 302; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, Cairo 1350, iv, 286; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, photocopy Dār al-kutub, Cairo, iii/1, fol. 58; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 563; M. A. Makkī, *Wathāʾiḳ djadīda ʿan ʿaṣr al-Murābiṭīn*, in *RIEI* Madrid, vii-viii, 116, 182-6; E. Térès, *Linajes árabes en al-Andalus*, in *al-Andalus*, xxii/1 (1957), 55, 111, xxiv/2, 337-76. (H. Monés)

IBN DJAʿFAR, Abū Djābir Muḥammad b Djaʿfar al-Azkawī, Ibāḍī scholar of ʿUmān, d. 281/894. He was the author of an important work of *fiḳh* entitled *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ* and usually known as *Djāmiʿ Ibn Djaʿfar* to distinguish it from the other Ibāḍī works with the same title. This work is still unpublished; there are several manuscripts of it in the Mzāb, the earliest of them dated 914/1508. Ibn Djaʿfar also took part in the political events of his time as supporter of the *imām* al-Ṣalt b. Mālik.

Bibliography: A. de C. Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, iii (1885), 18, no. 16; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī, *al-Lumʿa al-murḍiya*, printed in a collection entitled *Madjmūʿ sittat kutub*, Algiers n.d. [1326?], 210, 211; Z. Smogorzewski, in *RO*, vi (1929), 7; J. Schacht, *Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites*, in *R.Afr.*, c/446-9 (1956), 381, no. 17. (T. Lewicki)

IBN DJAHĪR [see djahīr, Banū].

IBN AL-DJAHM [see ʿalī b. al-djahm; muhammad b. al-djahm].

IBN DJAMĀʿA, name of a distinguished Shāfiʿī family of the Mamlūk period, in Syria and Egypt, which produced a number of able jurists, notably Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Djamāʿa (639-733/1241-1333), his son ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (694-767/1294-1366), and his grandson Burhān al-Dīn Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (725-790/1325-1388).

Originally from Ḥamāt, in northern Syria, the

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BANŪ DJAMĀʿA

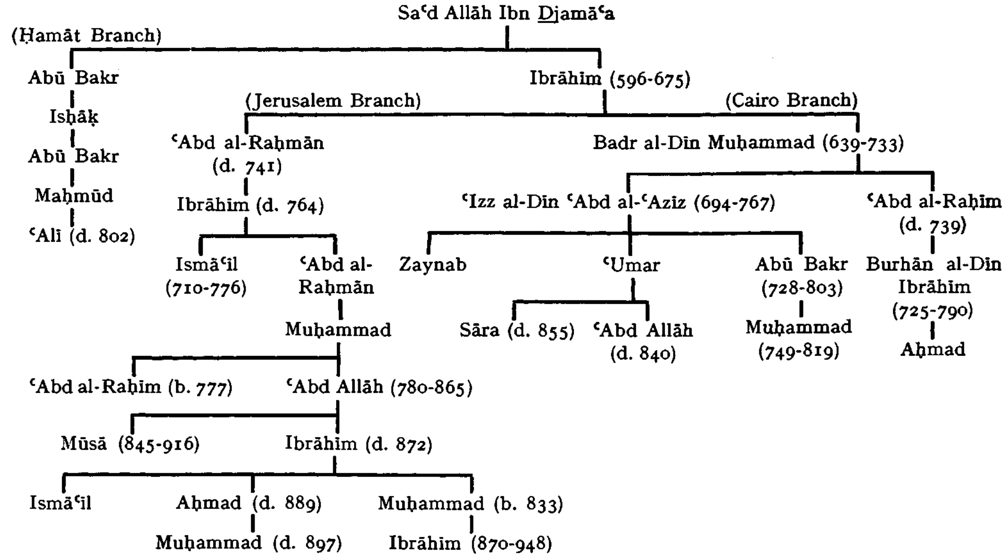

Banū Djamāʿa traced their descent to the North Arab tribe of Kināna. The first member of the family to gain a modest reputation for Islamic learning was Burhān al-Dīn Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd Allāh (596-675/1200-1277), who studied jurisprudence (*fiḳh*) and tradition (*ḥadīth*) in Damascus, lectured in his native Ḥamāt and elsewhere, and died in Jerusalem shortly after he had gone to settle there. The distinguished career of his son Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, who rose to become three times Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* of Egypt, and twice of Damascus, made the fortunes of the family and established it among the leading religio-judicial "dynasties" of the Mamlūk empire. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad was the author of numerous works, of which the most important is a book on constitutional law: *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām fī tadbīr ahl al-Islām* (ed. and German trans by H. Kofler in *Islamica*, vi (1934), vii (1935), *Schlussheft* (1938)). The position of *Khaṭīb* of the Aḳṣā mosque in Jerusalem, which he held before becoming chief *ḳāḍī* of Egypt in 690/1291, remained in the family until certainly the early 10th/16th century; it continued as the preserve of the descendants of Muḥammad's brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Djamāʿa, who formed the Jerusalem branch of the Banū Djamāʿa. As for the descendants of Muḥammad they came to form the Cairo branch of the family, which produced the distinguished ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm. The former, after holding the position of intendant of the treasury (*wakīl bayt al-māl*) of Egypt for eleven years, was appointed Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* of Egypt in 738/1340, and remained in this position, with one brief interruption, for 25 years, retiring shortly before his death. His nephew Ibrāhīm, after him, was twice chief *ḳāḍī* of Egypt, and died as chief *ḳāḍī* of Damascus. Between 690-784/1291-1383, the three Ibn Djamāʿa mentioned held the office of chief *ḳāḍī* of Egypt—the chief judicial position in the realm—for a total of 61 out of 92 years.

The fortunes of the Banū Djamāʿa declined after the death of Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, the family nevertheless maintaining a traditional importance in Jerusalem. After the Ottoman conquest the name of the family appears to have been forgotten.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, index, s.v. Ğamāʿa; K. S. Salibi, *The Banū Jamāʿa; a dynasty of Shāfiʿite jurists in the Mamluk period*, in *Stud. Isl.*, ix (1958), 97-109 (with full references to sources). (K. S. SALIBI)

IBN DJĀMIʿ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ISMĀʿĪL, famous singer and musician of Mecca. Of noble origin, he belonged to the clan of Sahm, one of the principal branches of the tribe of Ḳuraysh. A handsome man, well-versed in jurisprudence, *ḥadīth* and the Ḳur'ān, he had won the admiration of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yūsuf until the latter discovered that he was a singer. He was the pupil of Yaḥyā al-Makkī and of his father-in-law Siyyāṭ, with whom he went to Baghdād. Some time afterwards, he was expelled from there by al-Mahdī in order to separate him from his sons Hārūn and al-Hādī. He returned to Mecca, where he squandered his fortune on his two passions: gaming and dogs. After al-Mahdī's death, he returned to Baghdād and became, during the reign of al-Rashīd, the leader of a rival group to that of his former friend, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. With his tender, sensitive, stirring and expressive character, possessing a voice vibrant with emotion, Ibn Djāmiʿ embodied the typical image of a romantic musician of the period. The flautist Barṣawma said: "Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī is like an orchard in which the sweet and the sour grow side by side . . . Ibn Djāmiʿ is like a pot of honey all of which is delicious".

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, vi, 69-92; *ʿIḳd*, iii, 179; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, v, 324-6; Caussin de Perceval, *Notices anecdotiques* . . ., Paris 1874 (= *JA*, 1873); H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, 115-6. (A. SHILOAH)

IBN DJĀMIʿ (or DJUMAYʿ), ABU 'L-MAKĀRIM (ABU 'L-ʿASHĀ'IR) HIBAT ALLĀH (Nathaniel) B. ZAYN (al-Dīn) B. ḤASAN B. IFRĀ'ĪM B. YAʿḲŪB B. ISMĀʿĪL, Jewish physician who received the honorific titles of Shams al-ri'āsa and Ustādh zamānih. Born at Fusṭāṭ, he was the disciple of Ibn al-ʿAynzarbī (d. 548/1153), entered the service of Saladin, and died in 594/1198. One of his pupils was Ibn Abī 'l-Bayān al-Isrā'īlī (d. ca. 634/1236) and he became famous for having prevented a person in a cataleptic fit from being buried alive. He was the author of several works: (1) *al-Irshād li-maṣāliḥ*

al-anfus wa 'l-asdjād, a compendium of medicine which he dedicated to al-Baysānī, the vizier of Saladin, and which was completed by his son Abū Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl; it consists of four parts and deals with simple and compound medicines, with dietetics, hygiene, therapeutics, etc. (for manuscripts see Brockelmann). (2) *al-Maknūn fī tanḳīḥ al-Ḳānūn*, a commentary on Avicenna. He wrote also a certain number of *risāla*s of minor importance, on the description of Alexandria, on what to do when no physician is available, on the lemon and its sorbets, on rhubarb, etc. One of his treatises was used by Ibn al-Bayṭār [*q.v.*] and was translated into Latin by Alpagus.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 112; Brockelmann, I, 489, S I, 892; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 432; Wüstenfeld, *Arabische Aerzte*, 183; Leclerc, *Médecine arabe*, ii, 53-5; Steinschneider, *Arabische Literatur der Juden*, 178-81; Meyerhof, *Notes*, in *Isis*, xii (1929), 123. (J. VERNET)

IBN DJANĀḤ, ABU 'L-WALĪD MARWĀN (Hebrew name Yōnāh, Latin name Marinus [?]), Jewish physician and philologist, born at Cordova circa 380/990, died at Saragossa about fifty years later. His very important works, written in Arabic, as a grammarian and lexicographer of the Hebrew language do not concern us here. Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (whose notice was reproduced by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa), however, praises him as a logician and the author of an epitome of pharmacology, which is mentioned also by Ibn al-Bayṭār.

Bibliography: The study by S. Munk (who had correctly deduced the source of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa), *Notice sur Abou'l-Walid Merwan Ibn Djanah*, in *JA*, 1850 (also as a separate volume, Paris 1851), remains basic; Ibn Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. L. Cheikho, 89 (Cairo ed., 135), tr. R. Blachère as *Livre des Catégories des nations*, Paris 1935, 158 f.; Eng. tr. J. Finkel, in *JQR*, n.s. xviii (1927-8), 45 ff.; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*..., ii, 50 (tr. H. Jahier and A. Noureddine, Algiers 1377/1958, 48 f.); M. Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. Jud.*, § 81, 122-5; M. Zobel, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vi, cols. 84-91; S. W. Baron, *A social and religious history of the Jews*², vii, 24-6, 229. (G. VAJDA)

IBN AL-DJARRĀḤ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. DĀWŪD B. AL-DJARRĀḤ, secretary of state of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and uncle of the famous vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]. He belonged to a family of Iranian origin which had formerly been converted to Christianity and then embraced Islam. His father Dāwūd had been secretary under al-Mutawakkil and he himself began his career in government service during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaḍid and the vizierate of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān, whose son-in-law he became. He was director of taxes for the eastern provinces and accompanied the vizier to the Djibāl in 285/898; on his return from this expedition, he succeeded in getting his section (which until then had been attached to the office of the Palace directed by Aḥmad Ibn al-Furāt) formed into an independent department. This promotion enabled him, during the last years of the caliphate, to defend with varying degrees of success, against the firmly Shīʿī brothers the Banu 'l-Furāt, the Sunnī secretaries or governors whose accounts had been submitted to strict inspection.

He retained this office under al-Muktafī, then became secretary of the army, occupying this post when, in 294/906, the Pilgrim caravan was attacked by the Ḳarmaṭīs. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, who on the death of al-Muktafī had supported the succession of Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], was some months afterwards one of the promoters of the conspiracy to depose the young al-Muḳtadir, and for twenty-four hours he held the office of vizier to Ibn al-Muʿtazz (who was later known as the "caliph of one day"). After managing for a time to avoid the pursuit of his old enemy, Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*], who had become vizier when al-Muḳtadir returned to the throne, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd was finally captured and executed in 296/908.

An administrator whose competence was universally recognized, he was also a highly esteemed man of letters, the author of a poetic anthology, the *K. al-Waraḳa* (published in Cairo in 1953), as well as a *Book of viziers*, of which only a few fragments survive.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index (bibl., at p. 372, n. 3). (D. SOURDEL)

IBN DJARRĀḤ [see DJARRĀḤIDS].

IBN AL-DJAṢṢĀṢ, "the plasterer's son", the by-name of at least two persons who should be distinguished:

I.—ABŪ YAʿḲŪB ISḤĀḲ B. ʿAMMĀR AL-KŪFĪ, who handed down poetry and was very closely connected with the ʿAbbāsid prince ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 74-6 (= *Irshād*, ii, 232).

II.—ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH ḤUSAYN (or Ḥasan) B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-DJAṢṢĀṢ AL-DJAWHARĪ, a celebrated jeweller and financier of the ʿAbbāsid period. Originally a broker in attendance on the harem of the Ṭūlūnid Khumārawayh [*q.v.*], he seems to have owed the start of his fortune to a necklace; when he was ordered to reduce the bulk of the pearls in it, he merely replaced them by smaller ones, and the difference in value won him a considerable profit. When instructed by his master to negotiate the marriage of his daughter Ḳaṭr al-nadā to Muʿtaḍid's son, he himself brought the girl to Baghdād in 280/893—incidentally she became the caliph's wife—and settled in the ʿAbbāsid capital. Having taken Ḳaṭr al-nadā's jewels into his keeping, he retained them after her death, which occurred a few years later, and his fortune was correspondingly augmented. In 296/908 he was arrested and fined for giving refuge to Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], but the financial difficulties of al-Muḳtadir soon involved him in more serious straits; in 302/914-5, he was again arrested, his palace, situated in the Sūḳ Yaḥyā, and his other possessions, which had reached a fabulous total value (several million *dīnār*s), were confiscated, but he managed to safeguard part of his fortune and lived the rest of his life in comfort. He died in 315/927-8.

However, it was not his vast wealth and the unusual luxury in which he lived that have primarily brought this man to the notice of posterity; his fame in fact rests mainly on a series of anecdotes of which he is the hero and which present him as a feeble-witted fellow given to absurd and ridiculous observations; such characteristics certainly do not tally with his real personality and, insofar as these repartees are authentic, they were probably dictated by the desire of Ibn al-Djaṣṣāṣ, a particularly wily individual, to protect his fortune by passing himself off as an inoffensive creature. Certain anecdotes connected with his name are also attributed to other personages, but the essential point is to note this curious occurrence of his name among a class of jesters, in which financiers would hardly seem to belong.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 2133 ff.; Miskawayh, in Amedroz and Margoliouth, *Eclipse*, i, 8; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, ed. Amedroz, 23; ʿArīb, *Tab. cont.*, 28-9, 46; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī...*, trans. M. Canard, 64 and index; Ḥuṣrī, *Djamʿ*, 249 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 117-9, 283; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 18-32; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Ḥamḳā*, 30-41; idem, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 211-4; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; F. Rosenthal, *Humor*, 13; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 409-10. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-DJAWZĪ, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD ABU 'L-FARASH B. AL-DJAWZĪ, jurisconsult, traditionist, historian and preacher, was one of the most famous Ḥanbalīs of Baghdād, where he was born in 510/1126 and died in 597/1200 after a life of great intellectual, religious and political activity. He belonged to a fairly wealthy family and received a very thorough education.

Among his chief teachers (cf. *Dhayl*, i, 401) were some of the most famous *ʿulamāʾ* of his time: Ibn al-Zāghūnī (d. 527/1133), Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī (d. 532/1137-8), Abū Manṣūr al-Djawālīkī (d. 539/1144-5), who introduced him to *adab*, Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-Nāṣir (d. 550/1155), Abū Ḥakīm al-Nahrawānī (d. 556/1161) and Abū Yaʿlā the younger (d. 558/1163; grandson of the *ḳāḍī*, Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ). In addition to his direct teachers, Ibn al-Djawzī was much influenced by three men whom he did not know personally but whose work he admired and often made use of: the Shāfiʿī Ashʿarī Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038-9), the author of the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, the historian and traditionist al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1070-1), a Ḥanbalī who had changed to Shāfiʿism, and the Ḥanbalī Ibn ʿAḳīl (d. 513/1119-20), whom he followed in the majority of his works while at the same time criticizing or refuting his ideas (*Dhayl*, i, 414). Ibn al-Djawzī had only a slight knowledge of *kalām*, of which he was a severe critic.

Ibn al-Djawzī began his career in the reign of the caliph al-Muḳtafī (530-55/1136-60), mainly thanks to the patronage of the Ḥanbalī vizier Ibn Hubayra, whom the caliph al-Mustandjid (555-66/1160-70) retained in office until his death in 560/1165.

He began his teaching career as assistant to his teacher Abū Ḥakīm al-Nahrawānī, who taught *fiḳh* in his *madrasa* at Bāb al-Azadj and, in the year of his death, in a *madrasa* built for him at the Maʾmūniyya. On Nahrawānī's death, in 556/1161, soon after the accession of al-Mustandjid, Ibn al-Djawzī succeeded him as master of these two colleges (*Dhayl*, i, 404).

It was during the reign of al-Muḳtafī, however, with the encouragement of Ibn Hubayra, whose policy for the restoration of the caliphate and for a Sunnī revival he supported, that Ibn al-Djawzī began his career as a preacher (*wāʿiẓ*), holding each Friday a session of *waʿẓ* in Ibn Hubayra's own house (*Dhayl*, i, 402). The caliph al-Mustandjid, during whose reign there occurred Nūr al-Dīn's [*q.v.*] three interventions against the Fāṭimids of Egypt, in 559, 562 and 564, authorized Ibn al-Djawzī to preach sermons in the Palace mosque—sermons in which the famous preacher (*Dhayl*, i, 403) vigorously defended the *Sunna* and criticized, not only all those whom he considered to be schismatics, but also the *fuḳahāʾ* who were too blindly attached to their own *madhhabs*.

It was during the reign of al-Mustaḍīʾ (566-74/1171-9), who moreover did a great deal for the development of Ḥanbalism, that Ibn al-Djawzī, as much through his activity in the university as through his preaching, became one of the most influential persons in Baghdād. At the beginning of 567/1171-2, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (d. 589/1193) re-established the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba* in Cairo, Ibn al-Djawzī celebrated this event by a work which he presented to the caliph: the *Kitāb al-Naṣr ʿalā Miṣr* (*Dhayl*, i, 404). He wrote also, at a date which is not known, another work to the glory of this caliph: *al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍīʾ fī dawlat al-Mustaḍīʾ* (*Dhayl*, i, 420).

On 10 Muḥarram 568/1 September 1172—the day of *al-ʿashūrāʾ*—he preached a popular sermon of exhortation to a very large crowd; in the same year he was authorized by the caliph to preach in his presence a series of sermons at the Badr gate (*Dhayl*, i, 404-5). The year 569 was also one in which he preached many sermons, and in 570 both his teaching and his sermons continued to be received enthusiastically; he taught in two new *madrasas* and the caliph had a dais (*dakka*) constructed for him in the Palace mosque. In 571, the caliph conferred on him virtually inquisitorial powers: Ibn al-Djawzī then encouraged his hearers to denounce to him all those who, by their words or their attitude, impugned the reputation of the Companions—a measure aimed directly at the Shīʿism which still flourished in Baghdād (*Dhayl*, i, 407). In 572, during Ramaḍān, he preached in addition sermons in the mosque of al-Manṣūr and, in the caliph's presence, in the house of Ẓahīr al-Dīn, the *ṣāḥib al-makhzin* (*Dhayl*, i, 407-8). Again in 573 he preached many sermons.

The year 574/1178-9 marked the zenith of Ibn al-Djawzī's career at Baghdād. He was then directing five *madrasas* and had already written more than one hundred and fifty works; he enjoyed excellent relations with al-Mustaḍīʾ, and with the vizier, the *ṣāḥib al-makhzin* and the chief *ʿulamāʾ*. Under his influence, Ḥanbalism enjoyed great popular prestige in Baghdād; in 574 the caliph had an inscription engraved on the tomb of Ibn Ḥanbal, on whom he bestowed the title of *imām* (*Bidāya*, xii, 300), and erected a *dakka* for the Ḥanbalī jurisconsult Ibn al-Munā in the mosque of al-Manṣūr (*Dhayl*, i, 409). But the supporters of the other *madhāhib* complained, seeing this act as the result of Ibn al-Djawzī's influence over the caliph and the latter's growing sympathy with Ḥanbalism. In addition troubles broke out between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs (*Bidāya*, xiii, 300-1).

During the caliphate of al-Nāṣir (575-622/1179-1225), who gave a new turn to the policy of the caliphate but who had many Ḥanbalīs in his entourage or in his service, Ibn al-Djawzī, though by now old and less active, did not disappear from the political scene. He had, in particular, the support of the Ḥanbalī vizier Abu 'l Muẓaffar b. Yūnus (d. 593/1197), who also had been a pupil of Abū Ḥakīm al-Nahrawānī. He seems to have taken an active part in the condemnation of the *shaykh* Rukn al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī (d. 561/1166), who was accused of harbouring in his *madrasa* suspect books of philosophy and of *zandaḳa*, in particular the *Rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ (*Dhayl*, i, 425-6). The Djīliyya *madrasa* was taken away from Rukn al-Dīn and given to Ibn al-Djawizī.

The dismissal and arrest of the vizier Ibn Yūnus and the appointment to the vizierate of the Shīʿī Ibn al-Ḳaṣṣāb in 590/1194 marked the beginning of disgrace for Ibn al-Djawzī, who had written, it is not known precisely when, a refutation of al-Nāṣir's policy. In the same year, 590, Ibn al-Djawzī was arrested, without good reason it is said, put under the guard of a Shīʿī and sent to live under house arrest at Wāsiṭ. He remained in exile for five years

until he was set free in 595/1198-9 on the intervention of the caliph's mother, a very devout woman whose sympathy had been gained by one of the preacher's sons, the *shaykh* Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Yūsuf, who was to make his career in the service of the caliphate. But soon after his triumphant return to Baghdād Ibn al-Djawzī died, in 597/1200.

Ibn al-Djawzī was one of the most prolific writers of Arabic literature. Ibn Radjab, in his *Dhayl* (i, 415-20), lists more than 200 works (cf. Brockelmann, I, 659-66 and S I, 914-20). Ibn Taymiyya, moreover, when he was still in Cairo, had counted and been acquainted with more than 1,000 works, varying greatly in length, and later learned of still more. All the great Islamic disciplines are represented in this prodigious output, which includes some major works.

His *Muntaẓam*, part of which has survived (ed. Krenkow, Ḥaydarābād 1357-9/1938-40, 6 vols.), is an exceptionally rich source for the history of the caliphate from 257/871 to 574/1179. His *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa* (Ḥaydarābād 1355-6/1936-7), which makes great use of the work of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, is a well-documented history of Ṣūfism which aims to demonstrate that the true Ṣūfīs in Islam were primarily in fact those who set themselves to follow faithfully the teaching of the great Companions.

But his best historical work, inseparable from his sermons, is found, as Ibn Taymiyya emphasized, in his laudatory biographies (*manāḳib*); even the choice of subject is in itself instructive: the first four caliphs and the Umayyad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (with some Ḥanbalī *ṭabaḳāt*); also several *ʿubbād* or *zuhhād* such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Bishr al-Ḥāfī, Maʿrūf al-Karkhī and Rabīʿa al-ʿAdawiyya.

His zeal as a cataloguer of heresies and as a polemicist, which appears throughout his work and prompted him to write refutations of al-Ḥallādj and of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī, appears with particular intensity in one of the major works of Ḥanbalī polemic, *Talbīs Iblīs* (Cairo 1369/1950; Eng. tr. by D. S. Margoliouth, *The Devil's delusion*, in *IC*, ix (1935)-xii (1938)), in which he attacks not only the various sects more or less outside Sunnism (*khawāridj*, *rawāfiḍ*, *muʿtazila*, *falāsifa*, *bāṭiniyya*, etc.), but also, within Sunnism, all those whom he considered responsible for having introduced into the dogma or the law of Islam innovations which were to be condemned (*bidʿa*): *fuḳahāʾ*, traditionists, statesmen and, above all, *ṣūfiyya*, among whom men such as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, al-Ḳushayrī and al-Ghazālī, with many others, are vigorously attacked. Ibn al-Djawzī left, together with an excellent manual of Ḥanbalī *fiḳh*, several collections of sermons.

Ibn al-Djawzī had very many disciples and his influence on the Ḥanbalism of the Ayyūbid period was considerable. The traditionist ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maḳdisī (d. 600/1203-4) and the jurisconsult Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223) went to Baghdād to study under him or his disciples. Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) also had a profound knowledge of his works.

Bibliography: Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, Cairo 1372/1953, i, 399-434; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1351-8/1932-9, xii, 28-30; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 329-30; Brockelmann, I, 656-66 and S I, 914-20; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAlūdjī, *Muʾallafāt Ibn al-Djawzī*, Baghdād 1385/1965.

(H. Laoust)

IBN AL-DJAWZĪ, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf b. Ḳizoghlu, known as **SIBṬ**, famous preacher and historian (581/1185 or 582/1186-654/1256). Son of a Turkish freedman of the vizier Ibn Hubayra and of a daughter of the famous preacher and voluminous writer, Ibn al-Djawzī of Baghdād, from whom he derived the name by which he is known, the young Yūsuf was in fact brought up by this grandfather; after the latter's death (597/1201), he settled at Damascus, where he joined the Ayyūbid al-Muʿaẓẓam, then his successors al-Nāṣir Dāwūd and al-Ashraf. Although he abandoned the Ḥanbalism of his grandfather for Ḥanafism, the juridical school to which the Turks in general belonged, and in particular (an exceptional thing for Ayyūbids) al-Muʿaẓẓam and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, he nevertheless inherited Ibn al-Djawzī's eloquence as a preacher and it was essentially for this that he was known during his life-time, moving crowds and princes to tears, urging them to take part in the Holy War, protesting against the giving up of Jerusalem to the Franks, etc. However, his fame now rests primarily on his historical works.

Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī is the author of an immense Universal History, the *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, in which, while he borrowed from his grandfather's *Muntaẓam* the practice of adding for each year to the chronicle of events a section of obituary notices, he far surpassed it in the fullness of his documentation and the scope of the work. It is true that in this respect, and because of the simple information given in his account, he falls far short of his near contemporary Ibn al-Athīr, but, because he preserves *in extenso* and without criticism the versions of sources which often no longer survive, he is in these cases of inestimable value. Although (but this point might well be established more conclusively) his work is of little interest for the period covered by al-Ṭabarī, and for the 6th/12th century, where his sources (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, Ibn al-Djawzī, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and some other minor writers) are preserved, on the other hand it is of the greatest value not only for his own period but also for the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, for which he depended first on the almost completely lost history of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, then, particularly for the years 448-79/1056-86, on the detailed continuation of this work by al-Ṣābiʾ's son, Ghars al-Niʿma Muḥammad, which Sibṭ reproduces almost verbatim. Unfortunately the *Mirʾāt al-zamān* survives only in two forms which each contain slight alterations: it appears that the author's drafts cannot have been re-written in a definitive fair copy before his death, with the result that one whole group of manuscripts, which reproduce the full text of the passages which they preserve, contain lacunae, often actually in the middle of an account, and some confusions which make them difficult to use on their own. A complete and systematic edition, preserved in the other, more numerous, group of manuscripts, was made by the same Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī who, at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, wrote a continuation of it; in this edition, however, al-Yūnīnī has on the one hand inserted a number of additions (easily recognizable) and on the other hand cut out some lengthy passages (of little importance except when they contained the names of sources). It is much to be regretted that so far there exist only editions limited to the years 495-658 (the date of the end of the work) and these very mediocre: that of Jewett (Chicago 1907), which covers this period, is the facsimile of a manuscript of the group with lacunae (see Cl. Cahen, in *Arabica*, iv (1957), 911),

and it is still on this one alone that the printed edition of Ḥaydarābād is based (1952); in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades* a manuscript of the al-Yūnīnī group was used, but the part published (and translated) covered only about forty years, from the First Crusade onwards. The part based on Ghars al-Niʿma is still unpublished and little known, although an edition of it is planned by G. Makdisi and Cl. Cahen.

The *Mirʾāt al-zamān* is the basic source for all the wealth of the later historiography of Damascus as well as of various other historical works. It was the source in particular already of the Continuation of the Two Gardens by the contemporary of Sibṭ, Abū Shāma. Much used by al-Dhahabī, it was almost the sole source of Ibn Kathīr and of very large sections of the *Nudjūm* of Ibn Taghrībirdī. The *Mirʾāt* and the *Mufarridj* of Ibn Wāṣil alone between them provide nine-tenths of the information known to later writers on the Ayyūbids.

There are attributed to Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī a "Mirror for princes" written for al-Muʿaẓẓam and several other works including a treatise on ʿAlī, the ʿAlids and the ʿAlid *imāms* which, if it is really by him, raises a problem: *a priori* it would be considered as a polemical treatise against Shīʿism if al-Dhahabī, who knew the author, had not stated that he was suspected of Shīʿī tendencies; the existing manuscripts would repay study (see Brockelmann, S I, 589).

Bibliography: Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, Ḥaydarābād ed., i, 29-33; Abū Shāma, *Dhayl*, Cairo ed. 1947, 195; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS 1703, 121r.; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām, sub anno* 654. MSS of the *Mirʾāt*: G. Gabrieli, in *Rendiconti Lincei*, 5, xxv (1906); O. Spies, *Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, 1932, 66-9; Cl. Cahen, *Chroniques Arabes ... d'Istanbul*, in *REI*, 1936, 339; also Cairo, Taymūriyya, Taʾrīkh.

Studies: Brockelmann, I, 347 and S I, 589; Cl. Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 1940, 64-6; idem, *The historiography of the Seljuqid period*, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, 60-1; H. L. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kamil*, 9; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, index; F. Rosenthal, *Muslim historiography*, index. (Cl. Cahen)

IBN AL-DJAZARĪ, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Khayr Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Djazarī, *faḳīh*, "reader" and *ḳāḍī*, born in Damascus on 25 Ramaḍān 751/26 November 1350. After completing the traditional studies in his native town, with particular attention to *ḥadīth* and Ḳurʾānic "readings", he made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 768/1367 and then went to Cairo, where he continued the study of the *ḳirāʾāt*. Returning to Damascus, he devoted himself to *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, attending the classes of the pupils of al-Dimyāṭī, al-Abarḳūhī and al-Asnawī. He then returned to Cairo to study rhetoric and the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and, in Alexandria, came in touch with the pupils of Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām. He received the *idjāza* as *muftī* from Ismāʿīl Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*] in 774/1373, from Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn in 778/1376 and finally from the *shaykh al-Islām* al-Bulḳīnī [*q.v.*] in 785/1383. On his return to Damascus he devoted himself to the teaching of the *ḳirāʾāt*, and then was appointed *ḳāḍī* in 793/1391. However, when his property in Egypt was confiscated in 798/1396, he went to Bursa, where the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I had his court. After the battle of Ankara (805/1402) and Bāyazīd's capture, Tīmūr Lang sent him with other prisoners to Samarḳand, where he continued his teaching. Tīmūr died in Shaʿbān 807/February 1405; Ibn al-Djazarī then travelled to Khurāsān, thence to Herāt, Yazd, Iṣfahān and finally to Shīrāz; after teaching there for some time he was, against his wishes, appointed *ḳāḍī* of the town by Pīr Muḥammad. He next went to Baṣra and later, in 823/1420, to Mecca and Medina where he lived for some years before returning to Shīrāz, where he died on 9 Rabīʿ I 833/6 December 1429.

Ibn al-Djazarī left a great number of works, mostly relating to the "readings", *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*; some have been published, others are still in manuscript:—*Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, ed. Bergsträsser and Pretzl, Istanbul 1933-5, 3 vols.—*Ṭayyibāt al-nashr fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashr*, an *urdjūza* of 1,000 verses on the "ten readers" of the Ḳurʾān, completed in Shaʿbān 799/May 1396; ed. Cairo 1282, 2307.—*al-Durra al-muḍiyya fī ḳirāʾāt al-aʾimma al-thalātha al-marḍiyya*, a poem of 241 verses, completed in 823/1420; ed. Cairo 1285, 1308.—*Mundjid al-muḳriʾīn wa-murshid al-ṭālibīn*, on the difficulties of reading the Ḳurʾān; ed. Cairo 1350.—*al-Muḳaddima al-Djazariyya*, an *urdjūza* of 107 verses on the correct pronunciation of the Ḳurʾān; ed. Cairo 1282, 1307. The author's son, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, wrote a commentary on it under the title *al-Ḥawāshī al-mufahhima fī sharḥ al-Muḳaddima*, which was completed in 806/1403; ed. Delhi 1288, Cairo 1309.—*al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām Sayyid al-Mursalīn*, a collection of *ḥadīth* used for prayer; ed. Cairo 1279, 1315, Algiers 1328; Urdu trans., Delhi 1871.—*al-Zahr al-fāʾiḥ fī dhikr man tanazzaha ʿan al-dhunūb wa 'l-ḳabāʾiḥ*, Cairo 1305, 1310.—*al-Muṣʿid al-aḥmad fī khatm Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*, Cairo 1347/1929.

Among the works of Ibn al-Djazarī which have survived but not yet been published (for the manuscripts see Brockelmann), we may mention: a *Kitāb al-nashr fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashr*; a commentary on the *Taysīr* of al-Dānī [*q.v.*], *Taḥbīr al-Taysīr fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt*; a treatise on pronunciation, *al-Tamhīd fī ʿilm al-tadjwīd*, written by the author in his youth (769/1367); a *mukhtaṣar* of the *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ* (see above); a treatise on the technology of *ḥadīth*, *Muḳaddimat ʿilm al-ḥadīth*; a monograph on Ḳurʾān, XI, 46, *Kifāyat al-almaʿī fī āyāt "yā arḍu 'blaʿī"*; an *urdjūza* on the transmission of Ḳurʾānic pronunciation, *al-Hidāya ilā maʿālim al-riwāya*; a treatise on ethics, *Mukhtaṣar al-naṣīḥa bi 'l-adilla al-ṣaḥīḥa*; a short treatise on the art of writing, *al-Iṣāba fī lawāzim al-kitāba*; a short *urdjūza* on astronomy; several works on the Prophet: *al-Risāla al-bayāniyya fī ḥaḳḳ abaway al-Nabī*, on the subject of his parents' conversion; *al-Mawlid al-kabīr*, a biography of Muḥammad; *Dhāt al-shifāʾ fī sīrat al-Nabī wa 'l-khulafāʾ*, an *urdjūza* on the Prophet, the orthodox caliphs and the history of Islam up to the reign of Bāyazīd I.

Bibliography: *Ghayāt al-nihāya*, ii, 247 ff. contains some useful information on the author as recorded by one of his students; Ṭāshköprüzāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, in the margin of Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 39; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, xxiv, 5; Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, viii, 256 ff.; Ibn Khāwand-Shāh, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, Lucknow 1874, vi, 1234; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay 1273/1857, iii, 90; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1930, ii, 251; *Maʿārif* (Urdu monthly), Aʿẓamgaṛh, 81/v (Nov. 1957), 325-44, 81/vi (Dec. 1957), 441-52, 82/i (Jan. 1958), 62-76; Dhahabī, *Dhayl Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, Damascus 1347/1949, 377; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān Ḳannawdjī, *Itḥāf al-nubalāʾ al-muttaḳīn*, Cawnpore 1288/1871, 392; Brockelmann, II, 201-3, S II, 274-8; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 405-6. (M. Ben Cheneb*)

IBN DJAZLA, Abū ʿAlī Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā, Arab physician of Baghdād, known in the West under the names of Ben Gesla, Byngezla, Buhahylyha, etc. Of Christian origin, he embraced Islam under the influence of his teacher, the Muʿtazilī Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Walīd, on 11 Djumādā II 466/11 February 1074. He was secretary to the Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* of Baghdād and studied medicine with Ṣāʿid b. Hibat Allāh, court physician to al-Muḳtadī. He lived in the al-Karkh quarter, where he attended his neighbours and his friends without payment and even obtained the necessary medicines for them. He died in Shaʿbān 493/June 1100.

Ibn Djazla is the author of: (1) *Taḳwīm al-abdān fī tadbīr al-insān* (printed in Damascus in 1333/1914), which was translated into Latin by the Sicilian Jewish physician, Faradj b. Sālim (Magister Farachi) in 1280, under the title of *Tacuini aegritudinum* (printed at Strasbourg in 1532); this work consists of 44 tables describing 352 maladies and indicating the appropriate diets for them. It is possible that the author was inspired by the *Taḳwīm al-ṣiḥḥa* of Ibn Buṭlān; the work was later imitated by Ibn Biklārish and by the anonymous author of Salerno of the middle of the 12th century, and may have had an influence on the arrangement of the tables in the *Taḳwīm al-buldān* of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. (2) *Minhādj al-bayān fīmā yastaʿmiluh al-insān*, dedicated to the caliph al-Muḳtadī; this work, compiled after the *Taḳwīm*, consists of an alphabetical list of plants and drugs, simple or compound; there exists in manuscript a modern French translation of it by P. de Koning (see Dietrich, *Medicinalia*, p. 102, no. 41). (3) *Faḍāʾil al-ṭibb*. (4) *al-Radd ʿala 'l-Naṣārā*, a work in praise of Islam and criticizing Christianity and, in passing, also Judaism; it is apparent from the author's attitude that the basic reason for his conversion to Islam was his identification of Muḥammad with the prophet announced in the books of the Pentateuch and the Gospels. (5) *al-Ishāra fī talkhīṣ al-ʿibāra*. (6) *Mukhtār Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, a summary of the work of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, i, 255; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 365; Ibn Khallikān, no. 822; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 203; Brockelmann, I, 485, S I, 888; Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. arabe*, i, 493; Steinschneider, nos. 40 and 41; J. von Sontheimer, *Nachricht von einer arabisch-medicinischen Handschrift vermutlich des Ibn Dschezla*, in *Henschel's Janus*, ii (1847), 246-72 (reprinted 1931); E. Mittwoch, *P. de Konings Bearbeitung der Heilmittellehre von Ibn Ǧazla*, in *Quellen und St. zur Gesch. d. Nat. und Med.*, iii/4 (1933), 85-91. (J. Vernet)

IBN al-DJAZZĀR, Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Khālid, famous physician of Ḳayrawān, died at a great age in about 395/1004-5. His father was a physician, as was also his paternal uncle Abū Bakr. He made no journey outside Ifrīḳiya. A pupil of the celebrated Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī [*q.v.*], he was a philanthropist and led an austere life, caring not only for the great and rich but also for the poor, for whom indeed he composed a *Kitāb Ṭibb al-fuḳarāʾ* ("Medicine for the poor"), which is unhappily lost with all the rest of his medical works (about 20 titles) except for a *Risāla fī ibdāl al-adwiya* (on succedanea) and, especially, his famous *Zād al-musāfir* ("Viaticum"). The latter was introduced into Spain by his pupil ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Barīḳ, became known in Italy, and was translated into Greek during the author's lifetime. Later it was translated also into Latin and Hebrew. Several philosophical works of his are also cited. He composed three historical works: *Kitāb Maghāzī Ifrīḳiya* (on the Arab conquest), *K. Akhbār al-dawla* (on the Fāṭimid dynasty), and *K. al-Taʿrīf bi-ṣaḥīḥ al-taʾrīkh* (collection of biographies, consulted by Yāḳūt); probably also a *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳuḍāt* ("classes" of *ḳāḍīs*); and a geographical work: *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-buldān*. These books have not survived, but were used by the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, al-Bakrī, Ibn Ḥayyān, Abū Bakr al-Mālikī, and al-Ṣafadī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 238/274, S I, 424; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 117; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Istanbul ed., ii, 318; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Algiers 1958, 8-12; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 136; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. Shayyal, Cairo 1948, 132; Abū Bakr al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, Paris MS., fol. 97 r., 101 v.; Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, tr. R. Blachère, 119; Ibn Djuldjul, *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, Cairo 1955, 88-91 and n. at p. 88 (with references); A. Ben Milad, *L'école médicale de Kairouan*, Paris 1933; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, i-ii, Paris 1962, index.

(H. R. Idris)

IBN al-DJILLĪḲĪ [see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān].

IBN DJINNĪ, Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān, was born in Mosul before 300/913 (Pröbster, p. x, *ca.* 320), the son of a Greek slave belonging to Sulaymān b. Fahd b. Aḥmad al-Azdī. His teacher was the Baṣran Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, with whom he was associated for forty years till the latter's death, partly at the court of Sayf al-Dawla at Aleppo and partly at the court of ʿAḍud al-Dawla in Fārs; according to Yāḳūt, he held the post of *Kātib al-inshāʾ* at the court of the latter and of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. In both places he was on friendly terms with al-Mutanabbī, with whom he discussed grammatical questions and on whose *Dīwān* he wrote two commentaries; as they were merely grammatical, it was criticized by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī. He also sought other teachers (Rescher, 5 f.). He succeeded al-Fārisī in Baghdād and died in 392/1002. He devoted himself especially to grammar and is celebrated as the most learned authority on *taṣrīf*; he occupied a position midway between the Kūfa and the Baṣra schools. He founded the science of etymology (*al-ishtiḳāḳ al-akbar*), see I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xxxi (1877), 546. His most important works are *K. Sirr al-ṣināʿa wa-asrār al-balāgha* (on Arabic vowels and consonants) and *K. al-Khaṣāʾiṣ fī ʿilm uṣūl al-ʿarabiyya*: in Mosul he studied the language of the Bedouins, which he (like al-Fārisī) found fresh, but vitiated by offences against the classical rules (quotation from *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, in al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*², ii, 494). Besides other philological works he also wrote poems.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 131, S I, 191; *Fihrist*, 87; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 313 f.; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, 442 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 140 f.; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, 248-52; E. Pröbster, *Ibn Ginnī's Kitāb al-Muġtaṣab* (Leipziger Semitische Studien, i/3, 1904); O. Rescher, *Studien über Ibn Ginnī*, in *ZA*, xxiii (1909), 1-54; Ibn Khallikān, no. 423; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 15-32 (his works at 29-32); Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-ʿulamāʾ*, Baghdād 1909, 228-30; J. Fück, *Arabiya* (*Abh. Sächs. Ak. W.*, xlv), 89, 99, 116; H. Loucel, in *Arabica*, x/3 (1963), 262-81; B. Bustānī, in F. Bustānī, *DM*, ii, 415-20 (with a list of his works which have been printed and a bibliography).

(J. Pedersen)

IBN DJUBAYR, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Djubayr al-Kinānī, Andalusian traveller and writer, born at Valencia 540/1145, into a family which had settled in Spain in 123/740. He studied at Játiva, where his father was a civil servant, and received the traditional instruction of young men of his class, that is to say he learnt the rudiments of the religious sciences and of belles-lettres at the same time, but not without learning how to exercise his poetic skill. His talents won for him the post of secretary to the governor of Granada, Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, but having been induced to drink wine on a certain occasion, he repented bitterly, and to expiate this sin decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. His fame rests on his account of this fairly eventful journey, the *Riḥla*.

Leaving Granada on 19 Shawwāl 578/3 February 1183 in the company of his friend Aḥmad b. Ḥassān, he proceeded to Ceuta via Tarifa and there embarked for Alexandria on a Genoese ship, which took a month to reach its destination by way of Sardinia, Sicily, and Crete. At Alexandria Ibn Djubayr had to endure vexations at the hands of the Egyptian customs of which he gives a very lively picture. To reach Mecca he then had to pass through Cairo, Ḳūṣ, and 'Aydhāb, and then cross the Red Sea to Djudda. After staying for nine months in the holy city and performing the pilgrimage, he visited Medina and continued his journey across the desert as far as Kūfa; from there he went to Baghdād and Mosul, crossed the Djazīra to Aleppo, came down to Damascus, and went thence to Acre to wait for a ship to take him back to his native land. He embarked there, again in a Genoese vessel, on 10 Radjab 580/18 October 1184, bound for Sicily; he narrowly escaped with his life in a dramatic shipwreck in the straits of Messina. Re-embarking at Trapani, he arrived at Cartagena on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 580/15 March 1185 and returned to Granada on 22 Muḥarram 581/25 April 1185.

Four years later he undertook a second voyage to the east, which lasted from 585/1189 to 587/1191, but he has left no account of this journey. In 614/1217 he set off once more and stopped at Alexandria in order to teach there; it is there that he died on 27 Sha'bān 614/29 November 1217.

Ibn Djubayr's *Riḥla* is the first and one of the best of the works of this kind; it has served as model to many other pilgrims, and many later authors have borrowed from it shamelessly, beginning with Ibn Djuzayy [*q.v.*], the editor of the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*], who had no scruples in copying from it, especially some descriptions of towns; passages from it are also found in al-Sharīshī, al-'Abdarī, al-Maḳrīzī, and others. Ibn Djubayr records his journey day by day, describes the countries which he passes through and furnishes an abundance of information on the people among whom he stayed; all this makes his journey a precious source for the history of the Crusades, the state of navigation in the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages, the political and social condition of the countries through which he passed, the pilgrimage to Mecca, etc. His style, though in certain narrative passages lively and vivid in a way which recalls the manner of modern reporters, is over-florid and resorts to the devices of rhymed prose when giving generalities on a country, describing towns, and also in expressing the sentiments which storms inspire in this poet; on the other hand, he is skilful at seizing the characteristic and picturesque traits of an animated crowd, and on these occasions his colourful and simple style gives an entirely modern air to his narrative. The verses which have been preserved are of traditional type and of generally sententious character, this dedicated traveller sighing with homesickness for his native land and advising his contemporaries never to go abroad.

The *Riḥla* became known in Europe in the middle of the 19th century. A fragment was published and translated in *Les Historiens orientaux des Croisades*, iii, and M. Amari also edited and translated an extract under the title of *Voyage en Sicile sous le règne de Guillaume le Bon*, in *JA*, 1846. The whole text was not published till 1852, at Leiden, by the young W. Wright, then taken up again and emended by M. J. de Goeje, *GMS*, v, Leiden-London 1907; this last edition was the basis for a poor Egyptian edition, Cairo 1326/1908, but Ḥ. Naṣṣār produced a much better one at Cairo in 1374/1955. Three translations have been published: in Italian by C. Schiaparelli, *Viaggio in Ispagna, Sicilia, etc.*, Rome 1906; in English by R. J. C. Broadhurst, *The travels of Ibn Jubayr*, London 1952; in French by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 3 vols., Paris 1949-56.

Bibliography: See the introductions by Wright and the translators; Pons Boigues, 267 ff.; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ii; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; H. S. Nyberg, *En Mekkapilgrim på Saladins tid*, in *Kungl. Vetenskapsocietetens Årsbok 1945*, Uppsala 1945, 35-62; H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Battuta. Travels in Asia and Africa*[4], London 1957, index; H. Lammens, in *Machriq*, x (1907); R. Blachère and H. Darmaun, *Géographes arabes*[2], Paris 1957, 318-48; Brockelmann, I, 478, S I, 879; A. Gateau, *Quelques observations sur l'intérêt du voyage d'Ibn Jubayr*, in *Hespéris*, xxxvi/3-4 (1949), 289-312; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, in *Izbrannie sočineniya*, iv, Moscow and Leningrad 1957, 304-7 and index (French tr. by M. Canard, in *AIEO Alger*, xviii-xix (1960-1), 64-9).

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN DJUD'ĀN [see 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān].

IBN DJULDJUL, Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Ḥassān al-Andalusī, Arab physician, perhaps of Spanish extraction, born in Cordova 332/944, died after 384/994. He began the study of grammar and tradition in Cordova in 343/954, but already at the age of 15 turned to medicine, in which field ten years later he was an acknowledged authority. He was the personal physician of al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh Hishām (336-99/977-1009). It was during this period that he wrote most of his works, such as the *Tafsīr anwā' al-adwiya al-mufrada min kitāb Diyusḳūrīdūs*, composed in 372/982 (of which only extracts survive, in Ms Madrid 233) and the *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbā' wa 'l-ḥukamā'*, composed in 377/987 (ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, *Les générations des médecins et des sages*, Cairo 1955). Further works are: *Maḳāla fī dhikr al-adwiya allatī lam yadhkurhā Diyusḳūrīdūs* (perhaps extant in the manuscript of mixed contents Bodl. 573); *Maḳāla fī adwiyat al-tiryāḳ* (in Bodl. 573); *Risālat al-tabyīn fī mā ghalaṭ fīhi ba'd al-mutaṭabbibīn* (lost). Among these works the History of Physicians (*Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbā'*) can claim especial interest: firstly, it is, after the *Ta'rīkh al-aṭibbā'* of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn (ed. F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 55-80), probably the oldest collection of biographies of physicians in Arabic, and secondly it is the earliest example of the use of Arabic translations from Latin (Orosius, Chronicle of Hieronymus, *Etymologiae* of Isidorus of Seville).

Bibliography (in addition to works mentioned above): Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-anbā'*, ii, 46-8; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed Lippert, 190; Ṣā'id al-

Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, 80-1; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḳtabas*, ed. Ṭandjī, Cairo 1372, 208; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila ʿalā Kitāb al-ṣila*, Madrid 1915, 297 (most important source); Brockelmann, I², 272, S I, 422; G. C. Anawati, in *MIDEO*, iii (1956), 342-5. (A. DIETRICH)

IBN DJUMAYYIL [see IBN DIḤYA].

IBN DJUZAYY, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-KALBĪ, Arab writer, born in 721/1321 at Granada of a literary family. His father, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, was known particularly as a poet and as a *faḳīh*; born in 693/1294, he was one of the teachers of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb and died at the battle of Rio Salado in 741/1340 (cf. al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1367-9, 10 vols., viii, 28-31; Brockelmann, II, 342, S II, 377; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1376-81/1957-61, 15 vols., ix, 11). His three sons, Aḥmad, Muḥammad and ʿAbd Allāh, carried on the family's literary and juristic traditions (cf. Maḳḳarī, *ibid.*, 31 f.; Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, new ed. by M. ʿA. ʿInān, i, Cairo 1375/1955, 163-8, 411). Of the three, it was Muḥammad (Abū ʿAbd Allāh) whose fame chiefly survived. Having served as *kātib* during the reign of the Naṣrid Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf (733-55/1333-54), he then went to Fez, where the Marīnid Abū ʿInān (750-9/1349-58) commanded him to take down in writing the text of the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*]. Besides his redaction of this work, Abū ʿAbd Allāh wrote poems and various other works, particularly on history, law and philology. He died *circa* 756-8/1355-7.

Bibliography: Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, Cairo 1319/1901, 2 vols., ii, 186-95; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1348-50, 4 vols., iv, 165-6; Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, viii, 40 f.; G. de Slane, in *JA*, 4th series, i (1843), 244-6; Brockelmann, S II, 366; Kaḥḥāla, *op. cit.*, xi, 188; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, in *Izbrannïe sočineniya*, iv, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 420-3, 429, 430, Arabic tr. (chap. i-xvi so far published) by Ṣ. D. ʿUthmān Hāshim, Cairo 1963, 424-7, 432, 433. (A. MIQUEL)

IBN AL-DUBAYTHĪ, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SAʿĪD B. YAḤYĀ, an ʿIrāḳī historian, was born in Wāsiṭ on Monday, 26 Radjab 558/Sunday, 30 June 1163, and died in Baghdād on Monday, 8 Rabīʿ II 637/7 November 1239. His History of Wāsiṭ is not preserved. His History of Baghdād, variously called *dhayl* or *mudhayyal* and extant in individual manuscripts, continues the work of al-Samʿānī, which in turn was a continuation of the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* of the Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. It is strictly biographical, containing biographies of those who died after the death of al-Samʿānī (562/1166), with the addition of biographies which al-Samʿānī had failed to include. Many of the men listed in the work were known to Ibn al-Dubaythī personally. For the continuity of historical writing at the period, it is characteristic that he studied with an earlier historian of Baghdād, al-Ḳaṭīʿī, who taught him the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (*al-Mukhtaṣar al-muḥtādj ilayhi*, 20), and that among other historians who were his students, Ibn al-Nadjdjār, his junior by twenty years, continued his work. An abridgement of Ibn al-Dubaythī's *History* was made by al-Dhahabī for his own use (vol. i, comprising the biographies of those named Muḥammad to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, published by Muṣṭafā Djawād, Baghdād 1371/1951, under the title of *al-Mukhtaṣar al-muḥtādj ilayhi min Taʾrīkh ... Ibn al-Dubaythī*; vol. ii, Baghdād 1963, with a biographical introduction in which the editor argues for Dabaythī as the more original form of the *nisba* but gives the apparently wrong date 639 for the author's death).

Bibliography: al-Mustawfī, History of Irbil, as quoted by Ibn Khallikān, no. 633; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 199 f. (the same author's *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* and *ʿIbar*, not available); (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī), *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa*, Baghdād 1351, 135 f.; al-Subkī, *Ṭab. al-Shāfiʿiyya*, v, 26; al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 386 f., 406; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 185 f.; Brockelmann, I, 402 f., S I, 565. Another Ibn al-Dubaythī prominent at the time, Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar b. Aḥmad (558-621/1163-1224), is said to have been a paternal cousin, but the name of his grandfather does not bear this out (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ Madjmaʿ al-ādāb*, Baghdād 1962-, iv, 897 f.; Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmila*, Baghdād 1377/1957, 321, with a note by the editor Muṣṭafā Djawād). (F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN DUḲMĀḲ, ṢĀRIM AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. AYDAMUR AL-ʿALĀʾĪ AL-MIṢRĪ (the name is derived from the Turkish *toḳmaḳ* "hammer", cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 102), b. about 750/1349, was a zealous Ḥanafī and wrote a work on the *ṭabaḳāt* of the Ḥanafīs, *Naẓm al-djumān*, in three volumes, the first of which deals with Abū Ḥanīfa (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 136; vi, 317); on account of his depreciatory references to al-Shāfiʿī he was flogged and thrown into prison. His history of Egypt, *Nuzhat al-anām*, in about 12 vols. to the year 779, was of great importance (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 102; vi, 323). By command of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ he wrote a history of the rulers of Egypt to the year 805; he further wrote a separate history of this Sultan, *ʿIḳd al-djawāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ*, abbreviated under the title *Yanbūʿ al-maẓāhir* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 102; iv, 230; vi, 514). According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, his historical works were largely utilized by al-ʿAynī and al-ʿAsḳalānī (i, 442; ii, 118). He wrote a large work on ten cities of Islam, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ʿiḳd al-amṣār*, devoting one volume to each city; of these volumes the 4th and 5th describing Cairo and Alexandria are preserved in Cairo and have been published by Vollers (Cairo 1314/1893). According to Vollers (p. 5) he used better authorities than al-Maḳrīzī. The latter, for a time his pupil, seems not to have used his work. Ibn Duḳmāḳ also wrote a work on Ṣūfī biographies, *al-Kunūz al-makhfiyya fī taʾrīkh al-Ṣūfiyya* (Vollers, 4), also a book on the organization of the army, *Tardjumān al-zamān* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 277), and a book on the interpretation of dreams, *Farāʾid al-fawāʾid* (*op. cit.*, iv, 392). According to al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1321/1903, i, 266, he died in 790/1388, aged over 80; so also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 447; ii, 102, 277; but in any case he was still alive in 793 (see Vollers, *Introduction*) and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa elsewhere gives the date of his death as 809/1406 (ii, 149; iv, 230, 392; vi, 323, 357, 514), as does Ibn al-ʿImād.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, no. 457; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vii, 80 f.; Vollers, *Description de l'Égypte par Ibn Doukmak* (*Bibliothèque Khédiviale*), Cairo 1893; Brockelmann, S II, 50 f. (J. PEDERSEN)

IBN AL-DUMAYNA, one of the lesser poets of the late Umayyad and the early ʿAbbāsid

periods. His name was Abu 'l-Sarī ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad. He belonged to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Taym Allāh, a clan of the Khathʿam tribe. His mother was al-Dumayna bint Ḥudhayfa al-Salūliyya. His notoriety rests on the story of how he murdered the seducer of his wife, killed her and her little daughter, and was finally slain in the ensuing blood-feud. This story is told with many differences in the details and embellished with spurious poems in *Aghānī*[1], xv, 151-4.

In his verses he deals mainly with love and its sorrows in the sentimental way of Arabic erotic poetry. Owing to this affinity in style and sentiment, some of his verses and even whole poems are attributed to other authors, whilst he is reported to have usurped one *ḳaṣīda* from his contemporary Ibn al-Ṭathriyya (see Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, 490; cf. also *ibid.*, 49). Some verses of his (often interpolated) became popular love-songs (*Aghānī*[1], x, 161; xv, 151; xix, 82 f.; xxi, 252, 17). Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār collected *Akhbār Ibn al-Dumayna* (*Fihrist*, 111, 13; cf. *Aghānī*[1], xv, 151). Another work of the same title was written by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir (*Fihrist*, 147). His *dīwān* was published in Cairo in 1337/1918 (see *Machriq*, 1920 489) on the basis of two manuscripts of the Dār al-Kutub but the oldest known manuscript (Istanbul Aşir Ef. 950, see O. Rescher in *MFOB*, v, 515), containing the recension of Thaʿlab and Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, has been used as basis for a good edition by A. R. al-Naffākh, Cairo 1379/1960.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 80; Ibn Ḳutayba, 458 f.; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ii, 27, 19; Washshāʾ, 54; *Aghānī*[1], xv, 151-7; Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, 136, 264. Indexes to *Ḥamāsa*, Ḳālī, Yāḳūt.

(J. W. Fück)

IBN DURAYD, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Azdī, Arab philologist and lexicographer, born at Baṣra in 223/837 as son of a *raʾīs* of some standing and wealth. He was a pure Arab belonging to the Azd [*q.v.*] of ʿUmān and tracing his pedigree back to Ḳaḥṭān (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 195). He was educated by his uncle al-Ḥusayn b. Durayd who engaged for him as tutor the philologist Abū ʿUthmān al-Ushnāndānī (d. 288). During a voyage on the river, Ibn Durayd learned from his tutor some hundred difficult couplets together with their explanation, which he later transmitted to his own pupils; they form al-Ushnāndānī's *Kitāb Maʿānī al-shiʿr* (printed Damascus 1922), which is sometimes ascribed to Ibn Durayd himself (Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 366). Ibn Durayd also studied under Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. 255), al-Riyāshī (d. 257), Ibn Akhi 'l-Aṣmaʿī and other scholars of the Baṣra school. During the War of the Zandj Ibn Durayd, with his uncle, left Baṣra before it was sacked in Shawwāl 257 and fled to ʿUmān where he stayed twelve years. Little is known of his life during the next decades: once (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 492) he met the ruler of ʿUmān al-Ṣalt b. Mālik al-Ibāḍī of the Banū ʿUmāra (reigned 237-273, see Zambaur, 125). In one of his poems (*Dīwān*, pp. 101 ff.) al-Ṣalt's successor Rashīd b. al-Naḍr (reigned 273-277; Zambaur, 125) is mentioned as a foe of the poet's tribesmen. We also hear of his travels to the islands (in the Persian Gulf). Of his later years we know more, thanks to the information given by his pupil Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mīkāl (270-362; see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 343-6) to al-Ḥākim Ibn al-Bayyiʿ (and reproduced from the latter's *Taʾrīkh Nīsābūr* by Yāḳūt, l.c.) and to al-Salāmī (see Yāḳūt, vi, 490). Ismāʿīl's father was appointed governor of al-Ahwāz and Fārs by the caliph al-Muḳtadir (reigned 295-320); he invited Ibn Durayd, who was then living in ʿIrāḳ (see his *Maḳṣūra*, verse 95) to take charge of his son's studies. Ibn Durayd composed for his pupil his famous poem *al-Maḳṣūra*, ending it with a eulogy on the two Mīkālīs. In 297 (see Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, vi, 490) he dictated to Ismāʿīl his dictionary of the Arabic language, *al-Djamhara*. Some time later he left Fārs owing to the death of the elder Ibn Mīkāl and the return of his son Ismāʿīl to Nīsābūr. This must have happened somewhere between 297 and 301; for the ruler of Khurāsān Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Sāmānī to whom, after his return, Ismāʿīl paid his respects in Herāt was murdered on 23 Djumādā II 301/24 January 914 (Zambaur, 202). Ibn Durayd went back to ʿIrāḳ and settled in Baghdād. Al-Muḳtadir granted him a monthly stipend of 50 *dīnār* so that he could carry on his studies and his teaching. His profound knowledge of the language and poetry of the Arabs attracted many students. Among the more famous of his pupils are: Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (284-368), al-Marzubānī (297-384), Abu'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī [*q.v.*] (284-356), Abū ʿAlī al-Baghdādī al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*] (288-356), who made Ibn Durayd's works known in Spain (see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 348 f., 366, 398, 400), al-Zadjdjādjī (d. 337), Ibn Khālawayh [*q.v.*], Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*].

Ibn Durayd's chief work is his monumental dictionary *al-Djamhara* (Ḥaydarābād 1344), which contains some materials not to be found in our dictionaries; in it Ibn Durayd made use of the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of Khalīl—which gave his enemies a pretext for their slander—but in selecting and arranging the words he followed his own judgement. He included a large number of loanwords, tracing as far as possible their origins. His *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ* (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1854) was prompted by the assertion of some (non-Arabs) that the names of the Arabs had on the whole no meaning; therefore, Ibn Durayd gives in this book the etymology of their proper names, arranging them according to the genealogical system.—His *Kitāb al-Malāḥin* (Cairo 1347) contains about 400 ambiguous words for the benefit of such persons who, when unjustly forced to take an oath, want to take refuge in mental reservation.—The *Kitāb al-Mudjtanā* (ed. Krenkow, Ḥaydarābād 1342) is a miscellany of remarkable sayings of the Prophet and his successors. There are also some apophthegms of the ancient philosophers and a selection of didactic verses.—His *Kitāb al-Wishāḥ* (see J. Kraemer in *ZDMG*, cx, 259-73) deals not only with the bynames and sobriquets of poets but also with historical und genealogical topics.—Amongst his poems (*Dīwān*, collected by Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī, Cairo 1360/1946) we find verses *fi 'l-maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd* (pp. 29-31), a *Ḳaṣīda Lughawiyya* (pp. 87-97), an elegy on al-Ṭabarī, d. 310/923 (pp. 38-41) and two poems in honour of al-Shāfiʿī (pp. 77 f. and 109).

Ibn Durayd possessed the virtues of a *sayyid*; he was courageous, generous and kind. He was also a cultured man, enjoying good books (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 493) as well as singing and music. After two apoplectic fits, he died at the age of 98 in Baghdād on Wednesday, 17 Shaʿbān 321/13 August 933 on the same day as Abū Hāshim al-Djubbāʾī, the leading Muʿtazilī.

Bibliography: given in the article; see also *Fihrist*, 61 f.; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, 461 f.; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 195 ff.; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 322-6; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 483-94; Ibn al-Ḳiftī, *Inbāʾ*, iii, 92-100; Ibn Khallikān, no. 648; Ibn

Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 132-4; Brockelmann, I, 111; S I, 172; J. Kraemer, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 210 ff.; Mohammad Shafiʿ, *The sons of Mikal*, in *Proceedings of the Idára-i Maʿárif-i Islámia*, Lahore 1933, 107-168; A. Siddiqi, *Ibn Durayd and his treatment of loanwords*, in *Allahabad University Studies*, vi, Arts Section (1930), 669-750.

(J. W. Fück)

IBN DURUSTAWAYH, important grammarian born in 258/871, died at Baghdād in 346/957, all of whose works are lost, with the exception of a *Kitāb al-Kuttāb* (referred to in the *Fihrist* as *Adab al-kuttāb*). In accordance with the ideal of his time, his learning was very extensive; it embraced *ḥadīth*, in which he was a transmitter of the ancient masters ʿAbbās al-Dūrī and Yaʿkūb b. Sufyān al-Nasawī, and also of his contemporary, the famous al-Dārākuṭnī. These compilations still existed in the time of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (5th/11th century). Ibn Durustawayh was also an exegetist of the Ḳurʾān (cf. *Fihrist*): he had tried to find a compromise, in the matter of exegesis, between the theses of the Baṣran al-Akhfash and the Kūfan Thaʿlab [*qq.v.*]. He himself had written a *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*. It is not known exactly in what degree he was inspired in this work by that of Abū ʿUthmān al-Djarmī, of whom he was the transmitter. In spite of his relatively conciliatory attitnde to Thaʿlab in the field of exegesis, he was considered to be uncompromisingly "Baṣran" in pure grammar. He is said to have written a work refuting al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama and another in which he attacked the theses of Thaʿlab on the "divergences among grammarians". The lack of these works is particularly regrettable since very little is known of the polemic between Baṣrans and Kūfans and since from the time of Weil (*Abū l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī*, Leiden 1913) there has been a tendency to regard this quarrel simply as a literary genre worked up by the 4th/10th century grammarians of Baghdād, Ibn Durustawayh's contemporaries. The latter seems, in short, to have concerned himself with the theory of grammar (*Kitāb al-Hidāya*) in the manner of the neo-Baṣrans of Baghdād in his time (ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, Ibn al-Djinnī) whereas, in his written works of Ḳurʾānic exegesis or his collections of *ḥadīth*s, he was much more eclectic, even going so far as to take account of the contribution of the grammarians of Kūfa. His main work nevertheless remains the *Kitāb al-Kuttāb* (ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1927). In it he dwells on details of writing and spelling, in fact on all the material side of the art of writing (the question of the *hamza*, of the *alif maḳṣūra*, the dating of letters, obligatory additions and formulae at the beginning and end of letters, etc.). This work was of course intended for secretaries who wished to be provided with a set of rules for the practical details of their profession. It is not, however, free from grammatical speculations (*e.g.* the relations between the spelling and the structure of words).

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 64; Zubaydī, i, 127; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 425; Ibn al-Anbārī, ii, 113; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 388; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt*, s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar; idem, *Bughya*, 279; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 58-61; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, 19, 34, 49.

(J.-C. Vadet)

IBN FAḌL ALLĀH AL-ʿUMARĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, distinguished author and administrator of the Mamlūk period, who served al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] in the chancery of Cairo and Damascus and left important works on the organization and administration of the Mamlūk state.

Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Ḳurashī al-ʿAdawī al-ʿUmarī was born in Damascus on 3 Shawwāl 700/12 June 1301, of a Shāfiʿī family already distinguished in the Mamlūk civil service [see FAḌL ALLĀH]. His father, Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn Faḍl Allāh, was head of chancery (*kātib al-sirr*) first in Damascus, and after 729/1329 in Cairo, and Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad began his public career as an assistant in Cairo as his father advanced in years. A quarrel with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad brought about his dismissal from office and replacement by his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī. When Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā died in 738/1337 it was ʿAlī who was appointed to replace him as head of chancery in Cairo. As for Aḥmad, it was not long before he was thrown in prison, having further incurred the displeasure of the Sultan.

Released from prison in the early months of 740/1339, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad was soon after appointed head of chancery in Damascus, taking charge at the start of the next year. He remained in that office until 743/1342, when he was dismissed and replaced by his brother Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad. Aḥmad remained out of office until his death, of a fever, on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 749/1 March 1349. His principal works may well have been the product of the leisure of his last years, while he was living in retirement in Damascus.

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, as a government official, was not as successful as his father or his two brothers. Obstinate and outspoken, he was not the sort of man to win easy favour with a sovereign, and he was quick to make enemies of people with whom he dealt. It was the frequent complaints against him that finally brought about his dismissal from the chancery of Damascus. However, he outshone other members of his family by his brilliance as a writer and expert on a wide variety of subjects related to politics and administration. It is with these subjects that his principal works deal. The compendium *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf* (ed. Cairo 1312 A.H.) is a manual of administration which describes the organization of the Mamlūk empire in its various provinces and explains the manner of correspondence between the central chancery in Cairo and the other central and provincial offices. The book also explains the manner of correspondence with tribal chiefs, heads of Muslim and *dhimmī* sects, and foreign rulers. The encyclopaedic *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (vol. i, ed. Cairo 1924) touches on many subjects (literature, history, geography, religion and law, politics and administration), and is designed to serve the same purpose as *al-Taʿrīf*. The two works continued to be regarded as authoritative on the subject of administration during the Mamlūk period, and were imitated with due reference by al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*] in his well-known *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī kitābat al-inshā*.

Apart from *al-Taʿrīf* and *Masālik*, Aḥmad Ibn Faḍl Allāh left a history of his family (whose ancestry he traced to the second Caliph, ʿUmar, whence the *nisba* al-ʿUmarī), a number of minor essays and letters, and some verse of little importance. His over-ornate Arabic prose style was highly esteemed by writers of the Mamlūk period.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina*, Ḥaydarābād Deccan 1348-50 A.H.; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, 465 ff.; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 56 ff.; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nudjūm*; F. Taeschner, *Al-*

ʿUmarī's Bericht über Anatolien, Leipzig 1919; Quatremère, *Notices de l'ouvrage* ..., in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, Paris 1838; D. S. Rice, *A miniature in an autograph of Shihāb al-dīn Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1951), 856-67; R. Hartmann, *Die politische Geographie des Mamlukenreiches*, in *ZDMG*, lxx (1916), 1 ff.; G. Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Safi*, Cairo 1932, 217; Brockelmann, II, 141. (K. S. Salibi)

IBN FAḌLĀN, in full Aḥmad b. Faḍlān b. al-ʿAbbās b. Rāshid b. Ḥammād, Arabic writer of whose life nothing is known and who was the author of an account (incorrectly referred to as *Risāla* in Yāḳūt, *Kitāb* in the title of the work itself) of the embassy sent by the caliph al-Muḳtadir to the king of the Bulghārs of the Volga [see bulghār]. Ibn Faḍlān was a client of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, who seems to have been the same person as the Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, the *kātib al-djaysh*, who conquered Egypt from the Ṭūlūnids in 292/904. He was probably not an Arab by birth.

The embassy in which he took part was led by the eunuch Sūsan al-Rassī, a client of Nadhīr al-Ḥaramī (on the latter see M. Canard, *La relation* ..., 50, n. 31). Ibn Faḍlān's particular task was to read out the letter from the caliph to the king, to present gifts to him and to his entourage and to supervise the jurists and teachers whom the caliph had sent at the king's request to teach the Bulghārs the laws of Islam. The embassy left Baghdād on 11 Ṣafar 309/21 June 921, went to Bukhārā, where they were received by the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad, then to Khwārazm; they stayed at al-Djurdjāniyya (Gurgandj), which they left on 2 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 309/4 March 922, crossed the country of the Oghuz Turks, the Pečenegs and the Bashgird, and arrived at the capital of the country of the Bulghārs on 12 Muḥarram 310/12 May 922. Having accomplished their mission, the embassy returned to Baghdād, but neither the date nor the route of their return journey is known. This embassy from the caliph to the king of the Bulghārs is not mentioned by al-Masʿūdī or by any other writer of the period, nor is Ibn Faḍlān himself. The only information on it is provided by Ibn Faḍlān's account.

This account first became known in Europe only after the publication by Fraehn, in 1823, of the extracts from it which had been given by Yāḳūt (s.vv. *Itil*, *Bashghird*, *Bulghār*, *Khazār*, *Khuwārizm*, *Rūs*), in whose time several copies of it had been in circulation. Since the discovery of a manuscript at Mashhad, the account has been the subject of several editions, translations and studies, the most important of which are those of A. Zeki Velidi Togan (1939), I. Kračkovskiy and A. Kovalevskiy (1939), K. Czegledy (1952), and A. Kovalevskiy (1956).

Although the Mashhad manuscript is neither the original, which was perhaps an official report addressed to the chancellery at Baghdād, nor a complete text, since it lacks the account of the return journey, and although the quotations from it by Persian writers do not correspond to this text but to an abridged version thought to be the work of a Sāmānid vizier, the account, even so, is of great historical, geographical and ethnographic interest and shows that Ibn Faḍlān possessed extraordinary powers of observation and an enquiring mind, which led him to bring back a mass of extremely important information on the peoples, including the Rūs and the Khazars, whom he had been able to see himself or of whom he had heard accounts during his journey.

Bibliography: C. M. Fraehn, *Ibn Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, St. Petersburg 1823; idem, *Die ältesten arabischen Nachrichten über die Wolga-Bulgharen aus Ibn Foszlan's Reiseberichte*, St. Petersburg 1832; A. Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici* ..., 2 fasc., Christiana 1896-1928, i, 89-97 (reprod. of the text of Yāḳūt); *Puteshestvie Ibn Fadlana na Volgu, perevod i kommentariy*, under the direction of I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, Moscow-Leningrad 1939 (the unnamed translator is A. P. Kovalevskiy; the translation is reproduced in part in *Materiali po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, i, Moscow-Leningrad 1939, 155-64); A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlan's Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939 (Abh. K.M., xxiv); K. Czegledy, *Zur Meschheder Handschrift von Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, in *Acta Or. Hung.*, i (1950-1), 217-43; A. P. Kovalevskiy, *Kniga Akhmeda Ibn Fadlan o ego puteshestvii na Volgu v 921-922 gg.*, Kharkov 1956 (introd., tr. and comm., and photographic facsimile of the Arabic text); M. Canard, *La relation du voyage d'Ibn Faḍlān chez les Bulgares de la Volga*, Algiers 1958 (*AIEO Alger*, xvi, introd., tr. and notes).

Studies: J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 25, 82, 111; V. Rosen, *Prolegomena k novomu izdaniyu Ibn Fadlana*, in *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkh. Obshč.*, xv (1904), 39 ff.; R. Hennig, *Terrae incognitae* ..., ii, Leiden 1937, 215 ff.; idem, *Der mittelalterliche Handelsverkehr in Osteuropa*, in *Isl.*, xxii (1935), 240 ff.; H. Ritter, *Zum Text von Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, in *ZDMG*, xcvi (1942), 98-126; R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *Notes on the Risāla of Ibn Faḍlān*, in *Byzantina Metabyzantina*, i/2 (1949); D. M. Dunlop, *Zeki Validi's Ibn Faḍlān*, in *Die Welt des Orients*, iv (1949); idem, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 109-14 (tr. of Ibn Faḍlān's passage on the Khazars); A. Zajączkowski, *Deux nouveaux travaux russes sur Ibn Faḍlān*, in *Przeglad Orientalistyczny*, xxii (1957), 203-27; I. Kračkovskiy, *Izbrannie sočineniya*, iv, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 184-6. There are mentioned also in the above work of Kovalevskiy, 91 and 105 (cf. p. 299), other works on Ibn Faḍlān, by C. A. Holmboe, 1869, R. Dvořak, 1911, T. Y. Arne, 1941, chiefly on the funeral customs described by him. See also, at p. 105, a list of articles in Arabic, by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām in *Thaḳāfa*, 1943, Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, *al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn*, 1945, and in Hebrew by Poliak. There should also be mentioned a new edition of the text of the account by S. Dahhān, Damascus 1959 (in the series Publications of the Arab Academy of Damascus). (M. Canard)

IBN FAHD, an important Meccan family whose activities during a period of two hundred years in the 8th-10th/14th-16th centuries are known in quite considerable detail. The family claimed ʿAlid descent through Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. Its members were all well trained in the traditional subjects and learned mainly in Shāfiʿī but also in Ḥanafī law. Through four successive generations, they boasted of productive historians whose chief interest lay in local history and biography. Through marriage, the Banū Fahd were closely allied to many other influential Meccan families as well as to scholars from other countries who had come to settle in Mecca. Many of them made their living as merchants. Travel on business took them on frequent trips not only all over Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, but also as far as India and the Red Sea port of Suakin.

The judge Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad (*ca.* 735-770/1334(35)-1369) married Khadīdja, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf (677-750/1278(79)-1350), a Shāfiʿī scholar from Aṣfūn in Upper Egypt, who had taken up residence in Mecca (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, 350; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 168; Brockelmann, S II, 227). His son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had a son Yaḥyā (789-843/1387-1439), who engaged in the Indian trade (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, x, 233); he married the daughter of a Meccan merchant, al-Duḳūḳī (*Ḍawʾ*, v, 240 f.), and had a son named ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (829-888/1425-1484), a rather unsuccessful merchant, who died in Suakin on a business trip (*Ḍawʾ*, iv, 299). Another son of the judge Muḥammad, also named Muḥammad (*ca.* 760-811/1358(59)-1408) (*Ḍawʾ*, ix, 231), had a son ʿAṭiyya (804-874/1402-1469) (*Ḍawʾ*, v, 148 f.), who married Fāṭima, the daughter of a man of Indian ancestry (*Ḍawʾ*, ii, 167, no. 477). They had two sons, Ḥasan (843-922/1439-1516) (*Ḍawʾ*, iii, 105; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 107 f.) and Ḥusayn, who died as an infant in 849/1445 (*Ḍawʾ*, iii, 148). ʿAṭiyya's elder brother,

1. Taḳī ʾl-Dīn Muḥammad, born in Aṣfūn on Tuesday, 5 Rabīʿ II 787/ 16 May 1385, collected a very large library in Mecca and was a prolific author. He wrote on Muḥammad's biography, the stories of the prophets, the glories of the Ḳuraysh, the history of local scholars and the history of various places in and around Mecca, and many other subjects. A list of his works is said to be contained in his *ʿUmdat al-muntaḥil* (preserved in Cairo). Another of his surviving works deals with Djabal Thawr near Mecca (Brockelmann, S II, 538, where the work is listed, it seems wrongly, under his great-grandson Djār Allāh). His *Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ*, a continuation of al-Dhahabī's *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, has been published in Damascus 1347 (pp. 69-344); it consists of a number of biographies, interspersed with repeated brief notices of the dates of death of scholars in various regions of the Muslim world, and was transmitted by his great-grandson Djār Allāh through his grandson ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and al-Sakhāwī. Taḳī ʾl-Dīn died on Saturday, 7 Rabīʿ I 871/Friday, 17 October 1466 (*Ḍawʾ*, ix, 281-83; Brockelmann, II, 225, S II, 225, III, 1267, also S I, 604 [see G. Vajda, in *JA*, ccxl (1952), 28]). Of his children, Abū Bakr (809-890/1407-1485), married to the daughter of a wealthy Meccan merchant, Abū Bakr al-Tawrīzī (Tabrīzī) (*Ḍawʾ*, xi, 93), was very active as a copyist of manuscripts. He travelled widely and made two journeys to India (*Ḍawʾ*, xi, 92 f.); one of his sons, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (841-873/1437-1469), was born in Calicut (*Ḍaw*, iv, 70 f.). One of his daughters, Kamāliyya, later married her cousin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (No. 3). Abū Bakr's younger brother,

2. Nadjm al-Dīn ʿUmar (Muḥammad), born on Friday night, 29 Djumādā II 812/8 November 1409, also wrote many works, among them a continuation of al-Fāsī's [*q.v.*] History of Mecca and a History of Mecca entitled *Itḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār Umm al-Ḳurā*, which formed the basis of the History of Mecca by his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He was particularly interested in family history, writing on his own family and other Meccan families related to them by marriage, and in contemporary scholarly biography, writing *muʿdjam*s of his own and his father's teachers and the teachers of other scholars; his own *Muʿdjam* was completed in 861/1457 (Cat. Bankipore, xii, no. 727). For the stage Muslim scholarship had reached in his time, it is characteristic that he compiled a number of indexes to biographical works, including Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's History of Physicians. An example of ʿUmar's penmanship is the manuscript of Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Muʿdjam al-mufahras*, described by V. Rosen, in *Mél. Asiatiques*, viii (1881), 691-702. He died on Friday, 7 Ramaḍān 885/10 November 1480 (*Ḍawʾ*, vi, 126-31; Brockelmann, II, 225, S II, 225; al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, esp. 251, 355, 360, 369 f., 398, 403 f.). ʿUmar was married to the daughter of a merchant of Iṣbahānī origin known as al-ʿAdjamī (*Ḍawʾ*, v, 59). Of his children, a daughter, Umm Hāniʾ, continued the alliance of the Banū Fahd with other prominent Meccan families (cf. *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 169, no. 482; ix, 42, no. 112). His son Yaḥyā (848-885/1444-1481) wrote a work on *awāʾil* [*q.v.*], entitled *al-Dalāʾil ilā maʿrifat al-awāʾil* (*Ḍawʾ*, x, 238-40). His scholarly heir, however, was another son,

3. ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, born on Saturday, 26 Shawwāl 850/14 January 1447. He closely followed his father in collecting a *Muʿdjam*, making an index to al-Dhahabī's *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, and writing on the history of Mecca. He also compiled a history of Egypt as well as an annalistic history starting with the year 872/1467. Among manuscripts written by him is the *Muʿdjam* of his father in Bankipore (xii, no. 727) and the MS L-234 in Yale University Library. He died in 921/1515 (*Ḍawʾ*, iv, 224-6; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, ed. J. S. Jabbūr, i, 238 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 100-102; Brockelmann, II, 224, S II, 224). Of his children from his marriage to his cousin Kamāliyya bint Abī Bakr, Yaḥyā died as an infant (*Ḍawʾ*, x, 234). His successor as the family scholar,

4. Muḥibb al-Dīn Djār Allāh (Muḥammad) (891-954/1486-1547) appears to have done little original work, but he received much credit as the transmitter and continuator of the writings of his forefathers. He continued his grandfather's History of Mecca. He also wrote monographs on local history, the market-place ʿUkāẓ, the harbour of Djidda, the *faḍāʾil* of al-ʿAbbās and Wadjdj and al-Ṭāʾif, the history of the sanctuary in Mecca, a *Ḥusn al-ḳirā fī awdiyat Umm al-Ḳurā*, dealing with Mecca, Djidda, and al-Ṭāʾif (MS in Tarīm, cf. R. B. Serjeant, in *BSOAS*, xxi (1958), 254-8). He collected a *Muʿdjam* of his teachers, both scholars and poets, and wrote a work in connexion with the history of Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī, entitled *Taḥḳīḳ al-radjā li-ʿuluww al-maḳarr Ḳarādjā*(?). Short treatises on the days of the week (incomplete) and on the *ribāṭ* of al-ʿAbbās in Mecca (related to the work mentioned above?) are preserved, ostensibly in his own handwriting, in Yale University Library L-235 (Nemoy 1292, 1592) (*Ḍawʾ*, iii, 52; al-ʿAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, 241 f.; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, ii, 131; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 301; Brockelmann, II, 516, S II, 538, III, 1295). A son of Djār Allāh, Muḥammad, owned after him the manuscript written by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (no. 3) preserved in the Yale Library L-234 (fols. 1a, 128a, 166a, 183a).

A certain Taḳī ʾl-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Fahd, who died in 946/1539-40, also seems to have been a member of the family (al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, ii, 92; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 265).

Bibliography: In the article, which is based mainly on al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* (cf. also *Ḍawʾ*, xi, 265). More manuscripts of works by members of the family than are hitherto known will no doubt be identified in the future.

(F. Rosenthal)

IBN AL-FAḤḤĀM, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-

RAḤMĀN B. ʿATĪḲ B. KHALAF AL-ṢIḲILLĪ (422-516/1030-1122), *muḳriʾ*, was probably born in Sicily but soon emigrated to Egypt, where we find him in 438/1046-7, that is, in the time of al-Mustanṣir (427-97/1036-94) *fī ṭalab al-ḳirāʾāt*, say the sources, the traditional science for which he was able to follow the lectures of such scholars as Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Hāshim, Ibn Nafīs, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī b. Fāris and Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī al-Shīrāzī. His master in grammar was the famous Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. Bābashād [*q.v.*] and Ibn al-Faḥḥām had the distinction of transmitting one of the two redactions of the commentaries of the celebrated *Muḳaddima*, which the pupil had taken down at the master's dictation (the other commentary is connected with the name of Khalaf b. Ibrāhīm, d. 511/1117).

We know scarcely anything of his life in Sicily and nothing of the main phases of his long stay in Egypt, which he left in 504/1110-1 for an unknown destination. The biographers merely tell us that his fame in Alexandria as a master of *ḳirāʾāt* was so great that he acquired the title of *shaykh al-Iskandariyya*. Among his disciples in that town, two may be mentioned: Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī [*q.v.*] and another scholar of Sicilian origin, ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Saraḳūsī al-Ṣiḳillī, philologist and grammarian who lived in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries.

Ibn al-Faḥḥām is best known by his work on the science of *ḳirāʾāt*, which is entitled *al-Tadjrīd fī bughyat al-murīd*, while his *Mufradāt Yaʿḳūb* have been almost forgotten in the literature of the traditional Muslim sciences.

Bibliography: For the biographical sources, the MSS, commentaries, versifications etc., of the work of Bābashād, as well as for the argument and a summary of the chapters of the *Tadjrīd*, see U. Rizzitano, *Ibn al-Faḥḥām muqriʾ "siciliano"*, in *Studi Or. in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, ii, 403-24. (U. RIZZITANO)

IBN AL-FAḲĪH, Iranian author of a geography written in Arabic, who lived in the 3rd/9th century. Nothing is known of his life and only one of his works survives, in an abridged form. De Goeje introduced his edition of this work with an authoritative preface in which he reproduced the information, of varying reliability, which Ibn al-Nadīm and the geographer al-Muḳaddasī provide on Ibn al-Faḳīh. According to the *Fihrist* of the former (154), "he produced a *Kitāb al-Buldān* of a thousand folios, a compilation from various works, in particular that of al-Djayhānī, and another work on the best recent (Arabic) poets". Al-Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, ed. De Goeje, 4-5) attributes to him a work in five books which he criticizes for its imprecise geographical information and a number of irrelevant digressions. The short notice by Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, ii, 63) adds that Ibn al-Faḳīh and his father were well-known as traditionists.

Thus Ibn al-Faḳīh's original work seems to be lost, but there exist three manuscripts of the abridged version, plus a fourth discovered after the publication of De Goeje's edition. From the colophons of the three manuscripts, De Goeje deduced that the abridgement was probably made by Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar al-Shayzārī, who in several places altered the coherence of the text, suppressing important passages and retaining trivial ones (which accords with al-Muḳaddasī's criticism). Yāḳūt quotes, in his *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, a series of passages from Ibn al-Faḳīh which appear in a condensed form in the abridged version (introd. De Goeje, p. ix; Yāḳūt, index, 300), a proof that Ibn al-Faḳīh's work was more compact, since it is possible that Yāḳūt sometimes quoted him without giving the author's name.

Sprenger (*Post- und Reiserouten*, p. xvii f.) established that Ibn al-Faḳīh wrote in about 290/903; he mentions two events occurring during the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid in 287 and 288 (text, 53 and 319) and refers to him as "our caliph" (53); this passage must therefore have been written during al-Muʿtaḍid's reign; on the other hand he twice refers to his successor al-Muktafī (pp. 253 and 270); although he is reporting (270) an event which occurred before his accession, it may be concluded that Ibn al-Faḳīh completed his work after the death of al-Muʿtaḍid; this is confirmed by a passage relating that ʿAmr b. Layth was executed on the orders of al-Muʿtaḍid (p. 53, l. 17), since it is known from al-Ṭabarī (iii, 2208) that this caliph, on his deathbed, gave orders for the execution but that this was carried out after the caliph's death. Thus Ibn al-Faḳīh wrote his book in 289-90/902-3 (it contains no reference to any historical event after this date).

That Ibn al-Faḳīh was born at Hamadān is shown not only by his *nisba* (Hamadānī) but also by the details which he provides on this town and its district—a description followed by a digression on his native country. We give here the countries which he describes, arranged according to the space he devotes to them: Iran, Arabia, ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Egypt, Rūm, Djazīra, Nubia, Abyssinia; the Maghrib, Andalusia, and Sudan are given merely a brief résumé. The proportion devoted to each country was probably decided by the redactor of the abridged version; what should be noticed is the preponderance given to Iran. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, the title of the book was *Kitāb al-Buldān*, but this is not certain, since the title-page and preface no longer exist. The fourth manuscript (Library of the Mausoleum of the Imām Riḍā, Mashhad), the subject of a study in 1923 by Z. V. Togan, does not provide the answer to this question, the manuscript lacking the first and last pages; but Z. V. Togan has recognized that this manuscript contains a sizeable part of the original text, providing valuable extra material on ʿIrāḳ and the regions of Central Asia (making possible additions and emendations to De Goeje's ed.).

The digressions concerning *adab* which are criticized by al-Muḳaddasī are far from being lightweight or superfluous—they are a salient feature of the work: inserted among the geographical sections (which provide instances of the author's taste for buildings and for stories which are more or less fabulous), they demonstrate his intention of retaining the reader's interest by an alternation of documentary sections with literary pieces. Apart from the one in praise of his native country, the digressions are: the "passing from the serious to the sweet, from the jesting to the serious" (41), a debate between the Syrians and the people of Baṣra, and the superiority of the vine over the palm-tree (118), praise of building (151), the duties of an author and the virtues of a good book—a digression which could serve as an introduction to the whole work (193), in praise of fresh water (220), Allāh gives to each country a gift, to the exclusion of others (251). According to al-Muḳaddasī, Ibn al-Faḳīh borrowed a great deal from al-Djāḥiẓ (whom he mentions only three times: 116, 165, 253). But these digressions lead to the conclusion that, without borrowing directly from al-Djāḥiẓ, he was influenced by him.

The general content of the work may be described here in the assessment by De Goeje, who made a

profound study of it: "... I thought that some extracts would suffice, but a more detailed inspection made me change my mind: this work provides a very important contribution to the history of culture in the second part of the 3rd/9th century ...; it contains a number of geographical and historical details which were hitherto unknown or imperfectly known; it deserves study because Mukaddasī borrowed much from it and because it is among the main sources of Yāķūt". To this may be added the opinion of A. Miquel, the author of a penetrating study: "Chronologically, Ibn al-Faķīh occupies an essential place in the history of Arabic geography: appearing after the first, basically technical, works, ... on the one hand he reinforced the trend of technical geography towards an inclusion of the themes of *adab*, and on the other he helped to direct the interest of writers towards the world of Islam."

Bibliography: Ibn al-Faķīh, *Compendium libri Kitab al-boldan*, ed. M. J. De Goeje (= *BGA*, v), Leiden 1885; Brockelmann, I, 227, no. 4, S I, 405 no. 4—406 ("a new edition is in preparation by E. Bräunlich"); R. Blachère, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du moyen-âge*, 70 ff. ("Ibn al-Faķīh has reproduced a large number of the legends, beliefs and ideas concerning the geographical folklore of his time"); G. Wiet, *Introduction à la littérature arabe*, index; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Izbranniye sočineniya*, iv, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 156-9 (Ar. tr., 162-4); A. Z. Validov [= Z. V. Togan], *Meshkhedskaya rukopis Ibnu-l-Fakikha*, in *Izvestiya Russkoy Akad. Nauk*, 1924, 237-48 (reviewed in *JA*, cciv (1924), 149, by J. Deny; ccviii (1926), 146, by G. Ferrand); P. Kahle, *Zu Ibn al-Faķīh*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxviii (1934), 43-5; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du XIe siècle J.-C.*, Paris 1967, p. XXII, chap. v and index. A French translation based on the four manuscripts is now (1967) in the course of revision.

(H. Massé)

IBN AL-FARAḌĪ, Abu 'l-Walīd ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr al-Azdī b. al-Faraḍī, Andalusian scholar, was born at Cordova on the night of Monday-Tuesday 22-3 Dhu 'l-Ķaʿda 351/22-3 December 962. He studied law, Traditions, literature, and history in his native town, particularly with Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Mālik b. ʿĀʾidh and the *ķāḍī* Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kharrāz. In 382/992 he went to the east to perform the pilgrimage, and, when passing through Ķayrawān, attended the lectures of the jurisconsult Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ķayrawānī [*q.v.*] and those of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Ķābisī. He studied further at Cairo, Mecca, and Medina. On his return to Spain he taught for a time at Cordova, then was appointed *ķāḍī* of Valencia in the reign of the Marwānid Muḥammad al-Mahdī. He was killed in his house when Cordova was taken and sacked by the Berbers on Monday 6 Shawwāl 403/20 April 1013. For three whole days his body remained unburied, and then was discovered lying in a pile of refuse, so disfigured and decomposed that it was buried without being washed or wrapped in a shroud. It is reported that during his pilgrimage to Mecca he seized the covering of the Kaʿba and asked God to grant him a martyr's death.

Ibn al-Faraḍī was very learned in law, Tradition, literature, and history; in the course of his travels he had gathered together a rich library. Of his works we possess only the *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, *BAH*, vii-viii, Madrid 1891. The scrupulous exactitude of this work and the abundant information which it provides made Ibn al-Faraḍī the initiator of a series of biographical studies embracing the whole of the Iberian peninsula. These had a great success, being continued and amplified in the course of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries by Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*] with his *Ṣila*. Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*] in his turn supplemented this *Ṣila* with his *Takmilat al-Ṣila* down to the middle of the 7th/13th century and finally this series of supplements to Ibn al-Faraḍī's *Taʾrīkh* received a final revision in the 8th/14th century with the *Ṣilat al-Ṣila* of Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr, of which the incomplete manuscript belonging to the library of the famous bibliophile Sīdī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī was edited by Lévi-Provençal in a partial edition beginning with the letter *ʿayn*, Rabat 1937.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310/1892, i, 268; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 277; Maķķarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1302, i, 383; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 567; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Fez 1316/1898, 149 = Cairo 1351/1932, 143; Ibn Khāķān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*, Istanbul 1302/1884, 57; Ḍabbī, no. 888; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaķāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, xiii, 51; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 165; Pons Boigues, no. 71; Brockelmann, I, 338, S I, 577-8; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 130-2.

(M. Ben Cheneb-[A. Huici Miranda])

IBN FARADJ AL-DJAYYĀNĪ, Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, poet, anthologist and historian of Muslim Spain. The only information we have on his life is provided by the few lines inserted by al-Ḥumaydī in his *Djadhwat al-muķtabis* and reproduced by the other sources; all that is known is that he was among the poets attached to the court of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (350-66/961-76). Either his misfortune or his irascible nature led him to compose so wounding a satire on al-Ḥakam that the latter consigned him to prison for the rest of his life, where he continued to write poems and books. He had two brothers, also poets: Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān and Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, of whom we know only the names and a few verses.

Ibn Faradj al-Djayyānī owes his fame to a remarkable anthology of Andalusian poetry entitled *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiķ* (the Gardens) and quoted by all subsequent anthologists. The work itself has been lost, but the lengthy quotations made from it by other authors give some idea of its contents. He composed it to rival (*ʿāraḍa bi-hi*) the famous anthology of Eastern poets, *al-Zahra*, by Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*]; as the latter had a hundred chapters of a hundred lines each, Ibn Faradj decided to divide his book into two hundred chapters of two hundred lines. The *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiķ* is considered one of the earliest manifestations of cultural maturity in Muslim Spain, of the self-awareness it had acquired and of the tendency of its intellectuals to shake off the tutelage of the Muslim East.

A considerable amount of Ibn Faradj's own poetry has come down to us. His poetry is almost exclusively floral (*rawḍiyyāt*) or erotic (*taghazzul*) in character and reveals a delicate poetic gift.

Another book is attributed to Ibn Faradj, the *Taʾrīkh al-Muntazīn wa 'l-ķāʾimīn bi 'l-Andalus wa-akhbāruhum* (History of the insurgents and rebels in Muslim Spain); this book, now lost, must have been written in prison, and it probably expressed the bitterness Ibn Faradj felt towards the caliph.

Bibliography: Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwa*, Cairo 1952, 96; Ḍabbī, *Bughya* 140; Yāķūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 236; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, index; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*,

Cairo 1955, 56-7; idem, *Rāyāt*, Madrid 1942, 231; English translation by A. J. Arberry, *The pennants* ..., Cambridge 1953; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, 89; Ḥimyarī, *Badīʿ*, Rabat 1940, index; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*², Paris 1953, index; Elias Terés, *Ibn Faraŷ de Jaén y su Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiq*, in *al-Andalus*, xi/1 (1946), 131-57.

(H. Monés)

IBN FARAḤ AL-ISHBĪLĪ, whose full name was Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Faraḥ b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī al-Ishbīlī al-Shāfiʿī, born in 625/1228 at Seville (Ishbīliya [*q.v.*]), was taken prisoner in 646/1248 by the Franks (al-Ifrandj), *i.e.*, the Spaniards under Ferdinand III the Saint, of Castile (1217-52), at the conquest of Seville, but escaped and afterwards went, between 650 and 660/1252-62, to Egypt; after hearing the most celebrated teachers of Cairo, he studied under those of Damascus, where he settled and gave lectures in the Umayyad mosque, as a great authority on Tradition; yet he declined the professorship offered him in the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūriyya. Among those who heard him were al-Dimyāṭī ([*q.v.*] cf. al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ii, 17), al-Yūnīnī [*q.v.*], al-Muḳātilī, al-Nābulusī, Abū Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, al-Birzālī [*q.v.*], and notably the great authority on history and tradition al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*]. He died in the *turba* of Umm al-Ṣāliḥ on 9 Djumādā II 699/19 February 1300. Only al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn* (ed. Meursinge), no. 88, (wrongly) makes this Ibn Faraḥ the son of another, the author of the eschatological *Tadhkira bi-aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-umūr al-ākhira* and of the great Ḳurʾān commentary, *Djāmiʿ aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Faraḥ (al-Maḳḳarī, i, 600, wrongly b. Fardj) al-Anṣārī al-Mālikī al-Ḳurṭubī, died 9 Shawwāl 671/29 April 1273.

Ibn Faraḥ al-Ishbīlī's most celebrated work is the scholastic didactic poem on 28 technical expressions of the science of Tradition in 20 (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, vi, 190, wrongly gives 30) verses in *ṭawīl* metre in the form of a love-poem, so that it was described correctly by al-Ṣafadī in al-Maḳḳarī, i, 819, as a *Ḳaṣīda ghazaliyya fī alḳāb al-ḥadīth* (see Brockelmann, I, 372); it is usually called *Manẓūmat Ibn Faraḥ* or *Gharāmī ṣaḥīḥ* after the two opening words of the first verse.

The text of the *Ḳaṣīda* was first printed by Krehl in 1860 in al-Maḳḳarī's *Analectes*, i, 819 f. (from al-Ṣafadī) and again in *Madjmūʿ al-mutūn*, Cairo 1313, 51 f., and in al-Subkī's *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324/1906-7, v, 12 f., where only 18 verses are given. The commentary of ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Djamāʿa al-Ḳinānī, died 816/1413, *Zawāl al-taraḥ fī sharḥ Manẓūmat Ibn Faraḥ*, is published by Fr. Risch, Leiden 1885 (there is another MS in the British Museum, *Cat. Cod. Orient.*, ii, no. 169/2); in the notes there is also published almost the entire commentary of Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maḳdisī, died 744/1343 (see al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, xxi, no. 12) from the manuscripts of Leiden (*Cat. Cod. Or.*, iv, no. 1749) and Gotha (no. 578, see Pertsch, v, 20). We may also mention Berlin, *Verz.*, no. 1055, *Taʿlīḳ ʿalā Manẓūmat Ibn Faraḥ*, a gloss on Ibn Faraḥ's poem of the year 894/1489; Cairo, i², 250, contains the commentary of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl al-Tatāʾī (Boinet, *Dictionnaire*, 154 and 899) al-Mālikī, died 937/1530-1, *al-Bahdja al-saniyya fī ḥall al-ishārāt al-sunniyya*.

Besides Ibn Faraḥ's didactic poem there is also a commentary by him on al-Nawawī's [*q.v.*] 40 Traditions, *Sharḥ al-arbaʿīn ḥadīthᵃⁿ al-Nawawiyya*, Berlin, nos. 1488-9.

Bibliography: In the text.

(C. F. Seybold)

IBN FARḤŪN, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Yaʿmarī, Mālikī jurist. He was born about 760/1358 in Medina into a scholarly family of Andalusian origin. After travels in Egypt and Syria he was appointed to the *ḳaḍāʾ* in Medina in 793/1390 and is stated to have revived the Mālikī rite there. He died in 799/1397. Of the eight works (three unfinished) credited to him by Aḥmad Bābā five have survived, and of these two have been printed.

(1) *Al-dībādj al-mudhhab fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-madhhab* (printed several times; the most familiar edition is that combined with Aḥmad Bābā's *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, Cairo 1351/1932) is a biographical dictionary of Mālikī scholars. It contains some 630 entries and constitutes a prime source for the intellectual movement in Spain and North Africa up to his time besides providing a great deal of other miscellaneous information. It has the further interest of containing an introduction comprising an apologia for the Mālikī rite and a biography of Mālik himself, and a terminal passage in which Ibn Farḥūn lists the works from which he has compiled the *Dībādj*. The *Dībādj* has generated several supplements and abridgements, of which the best known is the *Nayl al-ibtihādj*.

(2) *Tabṣirat al-ḥukkām fī uṣūl al-aḳḍiya wa-manāhidj al-aḥkām* (printed on the margins of Muḥammad Aḥmad ʿIllīsh's *Fatḥ al-ʿalī al-mālik*, 2 vols., Cairo 1937) is a sort of manual for *ḳāḍīs* containing details of procedure, rules of evidence, etc., and displays a certain independence of mind as, for instance, where (ii, 142 f.) it attempts to justify the bringing within the *ḳāḍī*'s competence of powers theoretically belonging to the *ṣāḥib al-maẓālim*, *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*, etc.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībādj*, Cairo 1351/1932, 30; Brockelmann II, 226, S II, 226; on the sources of the *Dībādj*, Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la* Salouat el Anfâs, in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIVᵐᵉ Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, No. 11.

(J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN AL-FĀRIḌ, ʿUmar b. ʿAlī (Sharaf al-Dīn) Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Miṣrī al-Saʿdī, a celebrated Ṣūfī poet. The name al-Fāriḍ (allocator of shares in an inheritance) refers to the profession of his father (see *Dīwān*, Cairo 1319, 3), who belonged to Ḥamāt but migrated to Cairo, where ʿUmar was born in 576/1181. In early youth he studied Shāfiʿī law and *ḥadīth*; then came his conversion to Ṣūfism, and for many years he led the life of a solitary devotee, on the hills (al-Muḳaṭṭam) to the east of Cairo, in deserts among wild beasts, and afterwards in the Ḥidjāz, and he had a vision of the Prophet. On his return to Cairo he was venerated as a saint until his death (632/1235), and his tomb beneath al-Muḳaṭṭam is still frequented. The *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, though small, is one of the most original in Arabic literature. Possibly the minor odes, which exhibit a style of great delicacy and beauty and a more or less copious use of rhetorical artifices, were composed in order to be sung with musical accompaniment at Ṣūfī concerts (Nallino, in *RSO*, viii, 17); in these the outer and inner meanings are so interwoven that they may be read either as love-poems or as mystical hymns. But the *Dīwān* also includes two purely mystical odes: (1) the *Khamriyya* or Wine Ode, describing the "intoxication" produced by the "wine" of Divine Love, and (2) the *Naẓm al-Sulūk* or "The Poem of the

Progress", a poem containing 760 verses, which is often called *al-Tā'iyya al-kubrā* to distinguish it from a much shorter ode rhyming in the same letter, *t*. In this famous *ḳaṣīda*, nearly equal in length to all the rest of the *Dīwān* together, Ibn al-Fariḍ sets forth a penetrating psychological description of the whole series of mystical experiences, a unique masterpiece and an instructive work, in which the mystic's experiences are seen as a realization of Muslim orthodoxy. Among Ṣūfis the *Tā'iyya* occupies the position of a classic, and many commentaries have been written on it.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 262 and S I, 462 ff. A life of the poet by his grandson ʿAlī, the first editor of the *Dīwān*, has been printed as an introduction to the edition of Rushayyid b. Ghālib al-Daḥdāḥ, Marseilles 1853. See also Ibn Khallikān, no. 511; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v, Cairo 1351/1932, 149 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1321/1903, i, 246; and the references given by Di Matteo (see below) and Nallino, *loc. cit.*, p. 8. Other editions: Cairo 1319 (with two commentaries) and 1335 (with short notes). Translations of the *Tā'iyya al-kubrā*: Von Hammer, *Das arabische hohe Lied der Liebe*, Vienna 1854 (Arabic text and German verse translation; the latter is worthless); Di Matteo (Rome 1917); Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, ch. iii, "The odes of Ibn al-Farid", pp. 199-266 (with explanatory notes).—Tr. of the *Khamriyya*: Eng., by A. Sefi, in *BSOS*, ii (1922), 235-48; Fr., by E. Dermenghem, *L'éloge du vin*, Paris 1931 (with tr. of al-Nābulusī's commentary); Danish, in J. Pedersen, *Muhammedansk Mystik*, Copenhagen 1952, 54-133.—The fullest critical study of Ibn al-Fāriḍ is that by Nallino in his review of Di Matteo's version, in *RSO*, viii (1919-20), 1-106 and 501-62. See also, Pearson, nos. 23631, 23634.

(R. A. Nicholson-[J. Pedersen])

IBN FĀRIS, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyyā' b. Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, al-Shāfiʿī, later (in Rayy) al-Mālikī, al-Lughawī, Arab philologist. The date of his birth in unknown and the place uncertain: on the one hand, according to one of his poems (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 93) the place was a village, Kursuf, in the district of al-Zahrā', and from it an early *nisba*, al-Zahrāwī, is derived; in any case he was certainly of peasant origin (according to Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, 92, lines 12-3); on the other hand, Ibn Fāris himself, in his sources for the *Maḳāyīs* (his *Muḳaddima*, i, 5) names Fāris b. Zakariyyā' [his father] as the person who transmitted to him the *K. al-Manṭiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt (see also Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, 92, lines 6-7; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 153; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 220). Thus he was apparently the son of an educated *faḳīh* who was his first master; but it is strange that such a man should be settled in a village.

Ibn Fāris studied in Ḳazwīn, notably with ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳaṭṭān (d. 345/956), by then already in his old age (Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, xii, 220). From Ḳazwīn he received a second *nisba*, al-Ḳazwīnī, but for a particular reason, according to al-Ḳifṭī (*Inbāh*, i, 94, lines 4-5); in Zandjān he heard Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Khaṭīb, *rāwiya* of Thaʿlab. He studied also in Baghdād, and in Mecca when making the pilgrimage.

Ibn Fāris lived in Hamadhān and there acquired a great reputation as a scholar. Among his pupils were the future vizier al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād and Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, the author of the *Maḳāmāt*, who owed much to him but who later broke with his master as the result of a reprimand. Though renowned in Hamadhān, Ibn Fāris, who was attached to Ibn al-ʿAmīd (Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥ. and Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿAlī), was looked upon with disfavour in Rayy by al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, who had supplanted that family in the vizierate. Ibn ʿAbbād gave a cold reception to the gift of the *K. al-Ḥadjar* of Ibn Fāris; but when his reputation led to his being summoned to Rayy by Fakhr al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Rukn al-Dawla b. Buwayh to be tutor to his son Madjd al-Dawla Abū Ṭālib, his relations improved with the powerful vizier, who honoured and protected Ibn Fāris, or "*shaykhunā* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn", as he was pleased to call him; and the latter dedicated to him his work *al-Ṣāḥibī*. Ibn Fāris died in Rayy in 395/1004, according to the most generally accepted date. From his stay in Rayy he was called al-Rāzī.

Ibn Fāris is an attractive figure. He had a warm heart which is said to have led him to strip himself rather than send any beggar away empty-handed, and he had the gift of writing verses about his misfortunes which strike a touching personal note. But deeper internal conflicts can be discerned within him.

Ibn Fāris had an unbiased mind. It is remarkable that in the 4th/10th century, an age dominated grammatically by Sībawayhi and the Baṣrans, he should have returned to the freedom of thought of the Kūfans and should once again have introduced grammatical discussion in his *K. Kifāyat al-mutaʿallimīn fi'khtilāf al-naḥwiyyīn* (title from Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 85). The guiding principle of the *K. Maḳāyīs al-lugha* is interesting; inspired by al-Khalīl, its plan was novel—to link the meanings of words in their roots to *uṣūl*, basic meanings, and thereby to establish a semantic affiliation. On the other hand, in the matter of the origin of the language, he is one of the most obtuse of theorists: everything is *tawḳīf*, the subject of divine revelation, *aṣl* and *farʿ* alike (*al-Ṣāḥibī*, 96, lines 6-9), which excludes any kind of semantic evolution. It seems in fact that Ibn Fāris was restrained by religious scruples: the Ḳur'ānic verse (II, 29/31), *wa-ʿallama Ādama 'l-asmā'a kullahā*, showed him the universality of the *tawḳīf* (see *al-Ṣāḥibī*, 31-2).

Ibn Fāris had an open mind which was not afraid of innovation; thus, in his *Risāla* against Abū ʿAmr Muḥ. b. Saʿīd, he upheld freedom to follow the times in the Arab quarrel of Ancients and Moderns, and he compiled his *K. al-Ḥamāsa al-muḥdatha*. On the other hand, he appears to have been impervious and even hostile to philosophy, which was not merely useless but a danger to faith (according to *al-Ṣāḥibī*, 77, l. 12 ff., passages which besides are difficult to interpret exactly).

Ibn Fāris pursued his activities in many fields—grammar, poetry, *fiḳh*, *tafsīr*—but lexicography was his favourite domain and to the Arab world he remained *al-lughawī*. He wrote some forty works, both long and short; the most carefully prepared list is by the editor of the *Maḳāyīs* (i, 25-37): 11 works have been published, 2 of these in part only, 7 are still in manuscript; there are 24 of which only the title is known at present. We may particularly regret the *K. Kifāyat al-mutaʿallimīn fi'khtilāf al-naḥwiyyīn* and the *K. al-Intiṣār li-Thaʿlab* (perhaps the same as the first-named under another title) and his *Ḥamāsa*, referred to above and mentioned by the *Fihrist* (80). Published works: (I) *K. al-Mudjmal fi 'l-lugha*, published in part, Cairo, 1 vol., 1331 (according to the editor of the *Maḳāyīs*, i, 35), 1332/1914, 319 pp. (according to Sarkīs, 200); numerous MSS, see Brockelmann, I 130, I² 136, S I, 198. Ibn Fāris endeavoured to present the vocabulary in a clear and

authentic fashion (*al-wāḍiḥ, al-ṣaḥīḥ*), by means of brief definitions, illustrated with numerous poetic quotations; he postponed the task of grouping together the post-classical vocabulary (according to S I, 198) to the *Mutakhayyar al-alfāẓ* (quoted by al-Djurdjānī, *Mukhtār al-alfāẓ*). In the preface, he names al-Khalīl and Ibn Durayd as his authorities; a verse by Ibn Fāris (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 92) states that the *Mudjmal* supersedes the *K. al-ʿAyn* and the *K. al-Djīm*; like the latter, it is arranged according to the first radical consonant and begins with *hamza*; but the influence of al-Khalīl is further manifested by the arrangement in separate chapters, under each initial letter, firstly of the *muḍāʿaf* (Type 122), then of the triliteral, then the quadriliteral and quinquiliteral; al-Fīrūzābādī, who loved and praised Ibn Fāris, studied and criticised the *Mudjmal* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 407) and he must evidently have incorporated a certain amount of it into the *Ḳāmūs*. The work is certainly of great value and deserves a scholarly edition. (2) *K. Maḳāyīs al-lugha*, published by ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥ. Hārūn, 6 vols., Cairo 1366-71/1947-52; a detailed *Muḳaddima*, i, 3-47 (with independent pagination, used in this article). The guiding principle of this original dictionary has been described above, but for the quadriliterals and quinquiliterals Ibn Fāris often had recourse to another principle, *al-naḥt*, in which he saw a kind of *ḳiyās* (see the end of the *K. al-Bā'*, i, 328-36, for a description of his methodology). The arrangement of the vocabulary is the same as in the *Mudjmal*. (3) *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiḳh al-lugha wa-sunan al-ʿArab fī kalāmihā*, a mediocre edition, Cairo (1328/1910). This title has given rise to the mistaken belief that it designated two works, a *Fiḳh al-lugha* and also *al-Ṣāḥibī*; thus Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 84, Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, MS Damascus Ẓāhiriyya, no 438 (*Ta'rīkh*), 189-90, and others. The *K. al-Ṣāḥibī* is a new work of its kind, a small-scale *Muzhir*. For the first time, we see an author endeavouring to go beyond the purely grammatical or lexicographical framework in the study of the Arabic language, to reach the level of linguistic speculation and, in what is already a rather systematic general plan, to gather together the Arabs' ideas regarding language, their Arabic language, and any historical or other information that might throw light upon or enlarge his knowledge of it. It is fortunate that a new and careful edition has been published (see *Bibl.*). In this work, the *K. al-Ṣāḥibī*, Ibn Fāris clearly reveals his belief in the superiority of Arabic in the dispute with the Shuʿūbiyya, and provides the Arabs with weapons to use against their adversaries. (4) *K. al-Lāmāt*, the use of *la-*, *li-* in grammar, published by G. Bergsträsser, in *Islamica*, i (1925), 77-99; a short ch. in *al-Ṣāḥibī*, 112-6 (see the discussion of the two texts by Bergsträsser, *ibid.*, 97-9). (5) *Maḳālat* kallā *wa-mā djā'a minhā fī Kitāb Allāh* (mentioned in *al-Ṣāḥibī*, 162, l. 16), published by ʿAbd al ʿAzīz al-Maymanī (A. Memon) al-Radjakūtī, in *Thalāth rasā'il*, Cairo 1344. (6) *K. al-Itbāʿ wa 'l-muzāwadja*, a collection of words of the same pattern always used in pairs, published by R. Brünnow, in *Orient. Stud. Th. Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, i, Giessen 1906, 225-48. See the study by Ch. Pellat, in *Arabica*, iv (1957), 131-49 and ch. 28 of the *Muzhir* of al-Suyūṭī. (7) *K. Sīrat al-Nabī*, a short *sīra*, published under the title *Awdjaz al-siyar li-khayr al-bashar*, Algiers 1301, Bombay 1311. According to the editor of the *Maḳāyīs* (i, 31), the *K. Akhlāḳ al-Nabī* is a different work. (8) *K. Futyā faḳīh al-ʿArab*, a collection of questions, juridical riddles so to speak, based on a rare meaning of a word (a genre imitated by al-Ḥarīrī in his 32nd *Maḳāma*, cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*[3], i, 622-37); published by Ḥusayn ʿAlī Maḥfūẓ, Damascus 1377/1958, 52 pp. in 8°. (9) *K. Abyāt al-istishhād*, a collection of lines of verse which may serve as proverbs in relevant situations; published by the editor of the *Maḳāyīs*, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, i, 137-61 (2nd series, Cairo 1371/1951). Not mentioned in the historical sources under this title, it is perhaps the same as the *K. Dhakhā'ir al-kalimāt* of Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 84 (according to the editor, i, 138). (10) *K. al-Nayrūz*, an etymological study of this *muʿarrab* word and a study of the words of the pattern *fayʿūl* in Arabic; published by the same, *ibid.*, ii, 17-25, 5th series, Cairo 1373/1954. (11) Extract from the *Risāla* against Ibn Saʿīd and selection of verse in the *Yatīmat al-dahr* of al-Thaʿālibī, iii, 397-404 (ed. of Muḥ. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd).

For the works of Ibn Fāris in MS, see Brockelmann, I, 130 and S I, 198, nos. 3, 4, 11, 14, and 15. Note especially no. 14, *K. Ḳaṣaṣ al-nahār wa samar al-layl*, and no. 15, *K. Tamām faṣīḥ al-kalām* (for the MSS, see also *Maḳāyīs*, i, 27). In addition, no. 35 of Hārūn (*Maḳāyīs*, i, 35): *K. al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-mu'annath wa 'l-mudhakkar*, MS al-Maktaba al-Taymūriyya (Cairo), 265 (*lugha*), not listed by Brockelmann.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 130, I[2], 135-6, S I, 197-8; J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 215-26; Zakī Mubārak, *La prose arabe au IVe siècle de l'Hégire (Xe siècle)*, Paris 1931, 203-9, unreliable, should be checked; biographical notice at the beginning of the ed. of *al-Ṣāḥibī* and in the *Muḳaddima* of the *Maḳāyīs*, i, 3-47; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabā'*, iv, 80-98 = *Irshād*, ii, 6-15; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 153; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1367/1948, i, 100-1 (no. 48); Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā'*, Baghdād 1959 (1960), 219-21; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Cairo 1350, iii, 132-3; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 92-5, other references in note at p. 92.— On the *Mudjmal*, see J. Kraemer, *op. cit.*; *Maḳāyīs*, i, 21; Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, *al-Muʿdjam al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1375/1956, ii, 432-43. On the *Maḳāyīs*: the *Muḳaddima*, i, 39-45; H. Naṣṣār, *op. cit.*, ii, 401-31. On *al-Ṣāḥibī*: J. Kraemer, 215, and the references given. The new edition has been made by M. Chouémi (Bibliotheca Philologica Arabica, i), Beirut 1383/1964. References in this article are to this edition but its *Muḳaddima* was not available.

(H. FLEISCH)

IBN AL-FARRĀ', MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD B. KHALAF B. AḤMAD B. AL-FARRĀ', also known under the name of *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā, was one of the masters of the Ḥanbālī school in Baghdād towards the end of the reign of al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031) and during that of al-Ḳā'im (422-67/1031-75); born in Muḥarram 380/April 990, he died on 19 Ramaḍān 458/15 August 1066.

His father (d. 390/1000), who was a Ḥanafī and held the office of notary (*shāhid*), was said to have refused the office of *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* which had been offered to him by the caliph al-Muṭīʿ and the Būyid prince Muʿizz al-Dawla. It was in the Ḥanbalī doctrine, however, that the young Ibn al-Farrā' was trained after his father's death and it is said that he even became the favourite disciple of Ibn al-Ḥāmid, with whom he studied the famous *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī (d. 363/974).

He succeeded Ibn al-Ḥāmid on the latter's death in 403/1012, made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 414/1025 and, on his return, devoted himself to teaching *ḥadīth* and Ḥanbalī *fiḳh*. In 421/1030 or 422/1031,

he refused the post of *shāhid* to the Ḥanafī Chief *Ḳāḍī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Mākūlā (d. 447/1055), in spite of the persuasions of the *sharīf* Abū ʿAlī al-Hāshimī (d. 428/1037). He finally accepted this post, however, some years later, probably in 428/1037, as a result of the intervention of the great patrons of Ḥanbalism Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf (d. 460/1067) and Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Djarāda (d. 470/1077). In 429/1038 he was fiercely attacked by a group of Ashʿarī theologians, who accused him of having supported, in his *Kitāb al-Ṣifāt*, an anthropomorphist view of God (*Kāmil*, viii, 16 and 104). In 432/1040 (or, according to other sources, in 433/1041), he formed part of a large audience, which included the famous *zāhid* Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 442/1050), at the solemn reading of the *Ḳādiriyya* in the caliph's palace. He is also mentioned as being present, in 445/1053, at the meeting which was held in the Dār al-Khilāfa under the presidency of Ibn al-Muslima to define the official doctrine of the caliphate in matters of dogma, in particular on the Divine attributes and the uncreated nature of the Ḳurʾān. These details indicate that Ibn al-Farrāʾ was probably, like his Shāfiʿī contemporary al-Māwardī, a member of the entourage of the vizier Ibn al-Muslima.

It was in fact at the suggestion of Ibn al-Muslima and through the good offices of Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf that Ibn al-Farrāʾ, in 447/1055, after the death of Ibn Mākūlā, agreed to become *ḳāḍī* of the Ḥarīm, a section of the caliph's palace, but stipulating his own conditions: that he should not be expected to take part in official processions or to meet the important persons received by the caliph, and should be excused from attending in person at the palace; that he should be allowed to spend one day each month at Nahr al-Muʿallā and another at Bāb al-Azadj, nominating during his absence a deputy (*nāʾib*) at the Ḥarīm. To his duties there, was later added responsibility for Ḥarrān and Ḥulwān. Ibn al-Farrāʾ, who remained in office until his death, also taught *ḥadīth* each Friday in the al-Manṣūr mosque.

Ibn al-Farrāʾ produced many works. The principal ones are listed in the *Tabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila* (ii, 205; cf. Brockelmann, I, 502 and S I, 686) by his son, the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (d. 527/1133). His commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī has for long been highly esteemed. His treatise on public law, the *K. al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* (published in Cairo in 1357/1938) reveals some surprising similarities with that of al-Māwardī while nevertheless differing from it on many points; both similarities and differences may be explained by the fact that the two men belonged to the entourage of Ibn al-Muslima, but that one was Shāfiʿī and the other Ḥanbalī

Perhaps the most famous work of Ibn al-Farrāʾ is his *K. al-Muʿtamad*, of which he produced two redactions of unequal length (the shorter is preserved in manuscript at Damascus in the Ẓāhiriyya); the *Muʿtamad*, modelled on the treatises of *kalām*, with a preamble sketching a theory of knowledge, is one of the first great works of this type to be written by a Ḥanbālī. Ibn al-Farrāʾ was responsible also for several manuals setting out Ḥanbalī doctrine, both in the field of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and in that of the *furūʿ*.

Ibn al-Farrāʾ was much involved in the politico-religious struggles of his time and was the author of a great number of refutations, the echo of which is often apparent in the *Muʿtamad* but the manuscripts of which appear now to be lost: among them were refutations (*rudūd*) of the Karrāmiyya, the Bāṭiniyya, the Mudjassima, the Ashʿarīs and, in a general way, of the supporters of *kalām* such as Ibn al-Labbān (d. 446/1054). There should also be mentioned his *K. al-Īmān* (manuscript in the Ẓāhiriyya) and in particular his *K. Ibṭāl al-taʾwīlāt li-akhbār al-ṣifāt*, in which he contrasted the unquestioning faith (*taslīm*) of the Ḥanbalīs with the semi-rationalism (*taʾwīl*) of Ashʿarism (on this work, cf. *Ṭabāḳat al-Ḥanābila*, ii, 207 ff.; Ibn Taymiyya, in *MRK*, i, 445).

Most of the great Ḥanbalīs who died in the second half of the century followed, to varying extents, the teaching of Ibn al-Farrāʾ. Among them were the *sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar (d. 470/1077), who was one of the most obstinate opponents of the nascent Ashʿarism; Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Ḥarrānī (d. 476/1083), who was *ḳāḍī* of Ḥarrān and was killed, with his two sons, in his struggle against the Shīʿī *amīr* Muslim b. Ḳuraysh; Abu 'l-Faradj al-Shīrāzī (d. 486/1094), who worked actively in spreading Ḥanbalism in Palestine and Syria, with the support of the *amīr* Tutush. Abū Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (d. 488/1095), Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Ḥulwānī (d. 505/1112) and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalwadhānī (d. 510/1116), together with many others, are also often considered as followers of Ibn al-Farrāʾ.

Ibn al-Farrāʾ left three sons who are mentioned in the history of his *madhhab*. The most famous of them was the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (d. 525/1131; *Dhayl*, i, 212-4; Brockelmann, S I, 557), the author of *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*.

A brother of Ibn al-Farrāʾ, the traditionist Abū Khāzim Ibn al-Farrāʾ (d. 430/1039; *Muntaẓam*, viii, 102), is sometimes mentioned as being a Muʿtazilī. He should not be confused with his nephew, Abū Khāzim Ibn Abī Yaʿlā (d. 527/1133), known as a jurisconsult and traditionist.

Ibn al-Farrāʾ's prestige, within his school, was such that for three centuries, until the middle of the 8th/14th century, he was referred to by all the Ḥanbalīs simply as "*al-ḳāḍī*"; afterwards, however, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1222) grew in importance with his *Mughnī*, and the Ḥanbalīs of the end of the 9th/15th century tended to give the title of *al-ḳāḍī* to al-Mardāwī (d. 885/1480; Brockelmann, S I, 130).

Bibliography: Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 256 (no. 730); Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo 1371/1952, ii, 193-231 (with a list of works, 205); Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 243-4; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xii, 94-5; Nābulusī, *Kitāb al-Ikhtiṣār*, Damascus 1350/1932, 389-415; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 306-7; Brockelmann, I, 502 and S I, 686. See also: H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus (*PIFD*) 1958; idem, *Le ḥanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad*, in *REI*, 1959, 96-8; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle* (*Ve siècle de l'hégire*), Damascus (*PIFD*) 1963, index. (H. Laoust)

IBN FIRISHTE [see FIRISHTE-OGHLU].

IBN FŪRAK, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Fūrak al-Anṣārī al-Iṣbahānī, Ashʿarite theologian and traditionist, was born about 330/941, perhaps in Ispahan. In ʿIrāḳ, both at Basra and at Baghdad, he studied Ashʿarite *kalām* under Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bāhilī along with al-Bāḳillānī [*q.v.*] and al-Isfarāʾīnī [*q.v.*], and also traditions under ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar al-Iṣbahānī. From ʿIraḳ he went to Rayy, then to Nīshāpūr, where a *madrasa* was built for him beside the *khānḳāh* of the *ṣūfī* al-Būshandjī. He was in Nīshāpūr before the death of the *ṣūfī* Abū ʿUthmān al-Maghribī in 373/983, and probably remained there until shortly before his

own death in 406/1015, when he was summoned to Ghazna by the sultan Maḥmūd. This was probably at the instance of members of the Karrāmiyya sect, against whom he had been disputing in Nīshāpūr. They tried to prove to sultan Maḥmūd that he was a heretic, but he seems to have defended himself successfully, and to have been poisoned by the Karrāmīs on his way back to Nīshāpūr. The version according to which Maḥmūd was responsible for poisoning him, is improbable.

Writings. His main work in the eyes of later generations was *Kitāb Mushkil al-ḥadīth wa-bayānihi* (with many variants of the title). This attempts to explain difficult phrases in such a way as to avoid both anthropomorphism and a Muʿtazilī view (extracts with German translation, Raimund Köbert, *Analecta Orientalia 22*, Rome 1941; full Arabic text, Hyderabad 1362/1943; cf. R. Arnaldez, *Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Hazm de Cordoue*, Paris 1956, 30 f.). The titles of other extant works and stray references in heresiographers (Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 209, 214, 215, 224; al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 253; Abū ʿUdhba, *al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya*, 14, 44) show that he took a part in contemporary theological discussions on such questions as: the use of the *istithnāʾ* in respect of one's faith; whether a saint may know he is a saint (cf. also Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-mahdjūb*, tr. R. A. Nicholson, 214); the application of atomistic conceptions to man; the sinlessness of prophets; the relation of God's attributes and names to human attributes. Much of his disputation was against Karrāmīs in Nīshāpūr and Ghazna; but his views differed slightly at certain points from other Ashʿarites. He was a Shāfiʿī, but wrote a book on Ḥanafī *fiḳh*, and on the strength of this receives a brief notice (no. 185) in Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā's *Tādj al-tarādjim*.

Influence. It seems improbable that al-Ashʿarī was a mere eponym (as suggested by J. Schacht, in *Stud. Isl.*, i, 33-5), but the early development of Ashʿarite theology is obscure. A lost work by Ibn Fūrak entitled *Ṭabaḳāt al-mutakallimīn* is the main source for our knowledge of al-Ashʿarī and his writings, and was extensively used by Ibn ʿAsākir in his *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī* (esp. 123; cf. also R. J. McCarthy, *The theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, index). Since Ibn Fūrak's master al-Bāhilī was a pupil of al-Ashʿarī, and since Ibn ʿAsākir has other early sources, it would seem that Ibn Fūrak's material can be relied on. At Nīshāpūr Ibn Fūrak seems to have played a part in securing the adoption of Ashʿarite theology by a group of mystics (cf. L. Massignon, *Essai*², 315), which included al-Maghribī and al-Daḳḳāḳ; the famous Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*] was a pupil.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 175 f., S I, 277 f.; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn*, 178, 232 f.; al-Subkī, *Ṭabakāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, iii, 52-6 (cf. ii, 248); Ibn Khallikān, i, 610 (de Slane, ii, 673 f.); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 181 f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, 616.8; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 183 f.; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1963, 179, 187; also *MW*, l (1960), 8n., 11; L. Massignon, *Passion*¹, 585, 658, 711, 737, 739; M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs dans la doctrine d'al-Ašʿarī* ..., Beirut 1965, 326-9, etc.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

IBN AL-FURĀT, name of a number of persons who held the offices of secretary or vizier under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs or the Ikhshīdid *amīr*s and who belonged to a Shīʿī family. The earliest member of the family of whom anything is known is ʿUmar b. al-Furāt, who represented the ʿAlid ʿAlī al-Riḍā and was executed in Baghdād in 203/818-9, on the orders of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī at the time when the ʿIrāḳīs were in revolt against the Shīʿī policy of al-Maʾmūn. A certain Muḥammad b. Mūsā seems to have been the first to hold important administrative office, and it was his sons, the Banu 'l-Furāt, who appeared on the political scene at the end of the 3rd/9th century, in the entourage of the Shīʿī vizier Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul [*q.v.*].

(1) Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt, imprisoned at the end of the caliphate of al-Muʿtamid following the fall from favour of Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul, was set free by the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, who, at the beginning of his reign, commissioned him to restore the state finances, entrusting him with the direction of the land department of ʿIrāḳ, then, for some months, with the control of that of the whole empire. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, assisted by his brother Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, then proceeded to obtain financial statements from the Sunnī secretaries, particularly from the members of the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ. He retained his office under al-Muktafī but encountered the hostility of the new vizier al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh; he died, however, before the latter could take any action against him (291/904).

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(2) Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, born in 241/855, was several times vizier of the caliph al-Muḳtadir. At first deputy to his brother Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad under the caliphates of al-Muʿtaḍid and of al-Muktafī, he became the right-hand man of the vizier al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan, and then was himself chosen as vizier by the young al-Muḳtadir after the failure of the plot of Ibn al-Muʿtazz (Rabīʿ I 296/December 908). Ibn al-Furāt, all-powerful during this first period as vizier and controlled only from a distance by the group of the Dignitaries (*Sādāt*), which included in particular the caliph's mother and the chief eunuchs of the Palace, made the mistake of indulging imprudently, and on several occasions, in embezzlement of large sums, which led to his dismissal in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 299/July 912. He was re-appointed vizier in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 304/June 917, and this time became the victim of the difficulties caused by the revolt of the governor of Ādharbaydjān; he was again dismissed in Djumādā II 306/November 918. He was imprisoned in the Palace throughout the vizierate of his successor and released at the time of the revolution of Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], to be appointed vizier yet again (Rabīʿ II 311/August 923). This third and final vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt was to prove a particularly dramatic one: the minister, assisted by his son al-Muḥassin, had no hesitation in taking a brutal revenge on those who, in the preceding years, had treated him badly, nor in using violence to extort large sums of money from all those who had accepted office during his predecessor's vizierate.

The methods which Ibn al-Furāt and his son used this time soon aroused among the caliph's entourage high feelings, which were increased still more by the news of the attack on the Pilgrims by the Ḳarmaṭīs in Muḥarram 312/April-May 924. Under pressure from the chamberlain and some of the officers in charge of the guards, al-Muḳtadir therefore decided to arrest the vizier (Rabīʿ I 312/June 924). Ibn al-Furāt and his son were brought to trial, but the somewhat insolent attitude of the former minister had the effect of turning the caliph against him, while the newly-appointed vizier instigated some sections of the army to demand that the prisoners be executed without further ado. The caliph, yielding

to popular fury, gave orders to the Prefect of the Police, Nāzūk, to put them to death (Rabīʿ II 312/July 924).

Such was the ignominious end of a man who had been a prominent financier and a politician, but had never shown himself to be a loyal servant of the caliph. An educated man of great culture, an experienced administrator in the organization of the financial services, he had demonstrated his ability to solve rapidly what appeared to be the most complicated problems, restraining effectively when necessary the frauds which seem to have been very common at this time at the various levels of the central organization; remarks attributed to him indicate also that he had a clear grasp of the conditions of economic life in the ʿAbbāsid empire and of the measures which would permanently increase the resources of its Treasury.

Highly intelligent and of great eloquence, Ibn al-Furāt had gained the sympathy of the young al-Muḳtadir, whose mentor he had been and who showed, until the last moment, his admiration for a man who was always to exert a sort of fascination over him. He was moreover a perfect courtier, whose ostentatious generosity and seeking after luxury were part of a policy of enhancing his prestige. Concerned with his own personal glory, which at times coincided with that of the caliph, he restored the authority of the central government in a province such as Fārs, but was too often concerned primarily with increasing his own wealth, that of his collaborators and that of the members of the secret politico-religious party to which he belonged and which was an extremist sect of the Twelver movement.

Bibliography: L. Massignon, *Les origines shîʿites de la famille vizirale des Banû l-Furât*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 25-9; idem, *Recherches sur les Shîʿites extrémistes à Bagdad à la fin du troisième siècle de l'Hégire*, in *ZDMG*, xcii (1938), 378-82; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlî ibn ʿÎsà, the Good Vizier*, Cambridge and London 1928, index; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(3) ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀB DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD, brother of the above, was in 296/908 put in charge of the land department of the East and of the West, but died in 297/909-10.

(4) ABU 'L-FATḤ AL-FAḌL B. DJAʿFAR, called also IBN ḤINZĀBA (from his mother's name), son of the above and nephew of the vizier, replaced his father in 297/909-10 at the head of the land department for the East, where he remained until 299/911-2, and again held this office from 304/917 to 306/918 during the second vizierate of his uncle, then from 315/927 to 318/930, during the second vizierate of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] and the vizierate of Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*]; he was put in charge of the land department of the Sawād in 319/931, thanks to the influence of the *amīr* Muʾnis, then again of that of the East from 319/931 to 320/932, under the vizierate of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim, a minister of Shīʿī sympathies who surrounded himself with former collaborators of Ibn al-Furāt. He finally became himself vizier, in 320/932, but only for a few months. Unable to improve the very dangerous political and financial situation, he had to encourage the caliph to repel the advance of the commander-in-chief Muʾnis, who had then returned from Upper Mesopotamia, and to march at the head of his own troops against the rebellious leader: during the fighting which ensued the caliph was killed. Al-Faḍl was next, during the caliphate of al-Rāḍī, put in control of Egypt and Syria with the title of inspector; he then restored the emirate of Egypt to Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj, then was appointed to the vizierate in 325/937 by the chief *amīr* Ibn Rāʾiḳ, to whose daughter he married his son. In 326/937, he retired and left ʿIrāḳ for Egypt. He died and was buried at Ramla in Palestine in 327/938.

Bibliography: H. Bowen, *ʿAlî ibn ʿÎsà*, index; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; Ṣūlī, *Akhbâr ar-Râḍî billâh*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index, i, 154, n. 11.

(5) ABU 'L-FAḌL DJAʿFAR B. AL-FAḌL, son of the above, born in 308/921, was vizier of the Ikhshīdids of Egypt, in charge of the administration of the country in the time of the *amīrs* Anudjūr (334/945-6) and ʿAlī (349/960), then of the eunuch Kāfūr (355-7/966-8), who, after having been regent, succeeded in getting himself recognized as ruler by the caliph of Baghdād, but died soon after this. Djaʿfar remained in office during the eventful year between the death of Kāfūr and the arrival of the Fāṭimids, but he failed to remain in command of the situation created by the dynastic crisis and the threat from outside. Various extortions led to mutinies by the Kāfūrid and Ikhshīdid contingents, which took place on two occasions, ending in the pillage of Djaʿfar's palace and obliging him to go into hiding. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh, a relative of the new *amīr* and governor of Syria, thought it his duty to intervene and had Djaʿfar arrested. He was, however, released soon afterwards and appointed governor of Egypt. As such he received the emissaries of the Fāṭimid general Djawhar [*q.v.*] and facilitated the entry of the Fāṭimid troops into Egypt, but he later refused the vizierate which was offered to him. He died in 391/1001, during the reign of the caliph al-Ḥākim, who was to execute his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās in 405/1014-5 after having appointed him vizier for a few days.

Djaʿfar b. al-Faḍl left behind him the reputation of a generous patron of poets and scholars, having in particular invited to Egypt the traditionist al-Dāraḳuṭnī, but also that of an eccentric who had acquired a collection of snakes and scorpions which terrified his neighbours.

Bibliography: G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, in G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, Paris 1937, iv, 149-50, 153; Ibn Khallikān, i, 319 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 405-12: Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 119, 120; Ibn Taghrībirdī, index.

(D. SOURDEL)

IBN AL-FURĀT, NĀṢIR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM B. ʿALĪ AL-MIṢRĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ (735-807/1334-1405), Egyptian historian, author of a vast universal history, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal wa 'l-mulūk*, of which he finished completely only the volumes covering the years after 500/1106-7. The majority of the fragments which survive (mainly in Vienna) are autographs and the work does not seem to have been much copied, or indeed much valued in its own time (perhaps because of suspicions concerning its style and orthodoxy), although it was used by al-Maḳrīzī and others. Its value rests not only in its being very detailed, but also in the wide range of its sources, which are often cited side by side verbatim and chosen with great broad-mindedness, the Shīʿī Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ and the Christian Ibn al-ʿAmīd, for example, appearing together with writers of irreproachable Muslim orthodoxy. Not all the volumes are of equal interest today, their value varying according to whether or not the sources used themselves survive: the volumes covering the first two-

thirds of the 6th/12th century are of considerable interest owing to the wide use made of the lost chronicle of the Shīʿī of Aleppo, Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ, of the Egyptian Ibn Ṭuwayr, etc.; those covering the Ayyūbid period and that of the early Mamlūks are of less importance, though not without interest, while those concerning the period of the author's own life are once again important. Apart from a few extracts here and there, there have, up to now, been published only two volumes (vol. ix of Vienna) covering the years 789-99/1387-97 (by C. K. Zurayḳ, Beirut 1936 and, with Nadjla ʿIzz al-Dīn, 1938), and two others (vols. vi and vii) covering the years 672-96/1274-97 (same editors, 1939-42); nothing has been found on the period of over a century which separates them. There do exist, however, in addition to a few volumes on the early periods (Paris, London, Bursa), the whole of those for the years 500-65 and 585-696 (the lacuna which until recently existed between 625 and 638 has just been filled by the discovery of a volume in Morocco, of which photographs have been sent to the American University of Beirut, which published the volumes edited by Zurayḳ). Similarly, the years 563-8 and 585 (which come together in vol. iv of the Vienna MS) have been published by M. Ḥasan M. al-Shammāʿ, Baṣra 1967. The manuscripts for the 6th/12th, 7th/13th, and 8th/14th centuries all belong to the autograph series Vienna AF 814 into which may be inserted the MS Vatican V 720 (years 639-58) and the manuscript of Morocco. Al-Sakhawī (see, *e.g.*, F. Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 419) accuses Ibn al-Furāt of vulgarity of style, but this can apply only to the later years, the remainder of the work consisting of extracts from earlier writers.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 50, S II, 49; Cl. Cahen, in *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1935; idem, in *BIFAO*, 1937; idem, *Syrie Nord*, 85-6; C. Zurayḳ, in the preface to the first volume of his edition to appear (ix/1, 1936). Main extracts published in addition to Zurayḳ's ed.: Levi Della Vida, in *Orientalia* (on the Mongol invasion in Syria); Le Strange, in *JRAS*, 1900 (on the capture of Baghdād by the Mongols); Karabaček, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazyaditen*, Leipzig 1874, 117; Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, iv (by Reinaud, various extracts on the 13th century); the MS Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1596 contains the French translation, by Amable Jourdain, of passages relating to the early Mamlūks. (CL. CAHEN)

IBN AL-FUWAṬĪ, KAMĀL AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ B. AḤMAD, historian and librarian, born in Baghdād on 17 Muḥarram 642/25 June 1244. At the age of fourteen, he was imprisoned by the conquering Mongols and remained in this situation for, it seems, less than two years. In 660/1261-62, he joined the great scholar and *wazīr*, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], in Marāgha where he became the librarian of the Observatory Library. In 679/1280-81, he returned to his native Baghdād and was soon appointed director of the Mustanṣiriyya Library. Apart from occasional trips within ʿIrāḳ, he travelled to Ādharbaydjān in 704/1304-5 to the court of the Īlkhānid Öldjeytü and spent about three years in the various cities of the region. After a two-year stay in Baghdād, he again returned to Ādharbaydjān in 710-11/1310-12. Back in Baghdād in 712/1312-13, now approaching his seventies, he was dismissed from his position by the new administrator of *waḳf*s. In 716-18/1316-18, we again find him in Ādharbaydjān. He returned to Baghdād in 718/1318, where he died, after having been incapacitated by a stroke, at the beginning of the year 723/January 1323.

Established in two centres of a highly flourishing intellectual life, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī came to know the leading scholars of his time. He did much copying of manuscripts (for himself and, mainly, as a source of income), a few of which are preserved. His own literary labours, primarily in the fields of history and biography, were extensive, and the large works he commenced remained incomplete and largely unpublished. It was possibly their size and incomplete state that contributed to their having been comparatively little used by later generations and to their eventual loss. Their loss is particularly regrettable since they contained enormous amounts of information collected by an alert and open-minded scholar who did not fail to observe a painter illustrating the world history of Rashīd al-Dīn (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 258), and who, in keeping with an often followed practice, elicited much material personally, as, for instance, in the case of Ibn Kammūna (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 161; L. Nemoy, in *RÉJ*, cxxiii (1964), 507-10). The only, at least partly, preserved work is his large biographical dictionary arranged according to nicknames and honorary titles, entitled (*Talkhīṣ*) *Madjmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿdjam al-alḳāb*, a first-class reference tool, unique of its kind. About two-thirds of it survives in manuscripts written by the author himself, the fourth volume, from ʿIzz al-Dīn to Ḳayl, written in 712/1312 (Damascus Ẓāhiriyya, Cat. ʿIshsh, p. 165), and the fifth volume covering the letters *k*, *l*, and *m* (in Lahore, also an autograph). The latter has been published by M. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs al-Ḳāsimī in the *Oriental College Magazine* of Lahore (Suppl. 1939, and vols. xvi-xxiii, 1940-47). The edition of vol. iv by Muṣṭafā Djawād began to appear in Damascus in 1962.

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī also wrote a centennial history, apparently the first to be expressly designated as such in the title, *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa wa-'l-tadjārib al-nāfiʿa fī 'l-miʾa al-sābiʿa*. An annalistic history covering the years 626-700/1228-1301 was published as this work by Muṣṭafā Djawād in Baghdād in 1351. There is no manuscript authority whatever for the ascription of this published text to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, and more recently it has been shown by Muṣṭafā Djawād with incontrovertible arguments that this ascription cannot be correct. The work, which, in particular through its reports on unusual occurrences of daily life in Baghdād, is of very great interest, goes back to a contemporary or near-contemporary writer, but its true authorship remains to be ascertained. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī refers, in connection with an event of the year 712, to his annalistically arranged *al-Taʾrīkh wa-'l-ḥawādith* (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 139), which may be identical with *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa* (cf. Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 274-6: *Ḥawādith al-miʾa al-sābiʿa wa-ilā an māta*), or another more comprehensive historical work of his.

Other works, known by title or through rare quotations, are a poetical-biographical anthology, *Naẓm al-durar al-nāṣiʿa fī shuʿarāʾ ahl al-miʾa al-sābiʿa* (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 253, 424, 864, 1101; also, part 3, 151 f., 436, and, probably, 57, 62, 89), and a collection possibly of similar contents, *Durar al-aṣdāf fī ghurar al-awṣāf* (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 280). He wrote genealogical tables (*Kitāb al-nasab al-mushadjdjar*, *Talkhīṣ*, iv, introd. 59 f.), on the men named ʿAbd al-Karīm (*al-Durr al-naẓīm fī-man tasammā ʿAbd al-Karīm*, *Talkhīṣ*, iv, 1195), and on scholars with gentilics derived from the professions and crafts (like his own, "maker of *fuwaṭ*, cloth wrappers of various kinds") (*Badāʾiʿ al-tuḥaf fī dhikr man nusiba min al-ʿulamāʾ*

ila 'l-ṣanā'iʿ wa- 'l-ḥiraf, cf. *Talkhīṣ*, iv, introd. 60 f.), as well as a list of homonyms in tabular form (*al-Muʾtalif wa-'l-mukhtalif*), and other works. His earliest work, written while he was still in his teens, was in praise of wax candles (*fī waṣf al-shamʿa*, *Talkhīṣ*, iv, 45). Another early work written in Marāgha was, it seems, a handbook for those working in the Observatory there, *Kitāb Man ḳaṣada 'l-raṣad* (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 569).

Bibliography: In addition to all the later reference works in which Ibn al-Fuwaṭī is listed, the most accurate data on his life can be found in the *Talkhīṣ*, as was shown by Muṣṭafā Djawād in the detailed biography prefixed to his edition. See further: Brockelmann, II, 208, S II, 202 (contrary to S I, 590 f., there is no apparent connexion between Ibn al-Fuwaṭī and the *Mukhtaṣar akhbār al-khulafāʾ* of Ibn al-Sāʿī, Būlāḳ 1309); M. Iqbal, in *IC*, xi (1937), 516-22; Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī, *Muʾarrikh al-ʿIrāḳ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī*, 2 vols. (Baghdād 1370-78/1950-58); F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 414; Kūrkīs ʿAwwād, in *Sumer*, xiii (1957), 53 f.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN GABIROL, ABŪ AYYŪB SULAYMĀN B. YAḤYĀ (in Hebrew: Shelōmōh ben Yehudāh; the Latin Avencebrol; Gabirol, or rather Gebirol, is perhaps Djubayr plus the Romance diminutive suffix *-ol*), Jewish poet and philosopher, born at Malaga circa 411/1021-2, died at Valencia 450/1058 (but this date is not absolutely certain). In addition to his works, mainly poetry, written in Hebrew, which do not concern us here, Ibn Gabirol wrote in Arabic a short treatise on morals (*Iṣlāḥ al-akhlāḳ*), which summarizes without much originality (but adapting them to the needs of the Arabic-speaking Jewish public) the usual commonplaces of this literary genre [see AKHLĀḲ]; a collection of ethical sentences, which is preserved, apart from a few fragments, in a Hebrew version (*Mibḥar ha-penīnim* "Selected pearls"), the attribution of which is, however, uncertain; and, most important, a lengthy metaphysical treatise in dialogue form: the Arabic original of this, which, apart from a small number of quotations, is lost, most probably had as its title *Yanbūʿ al-ḥayāt*, *Fons vitae* in the Latin version made in the middle of the 12th century by the Toledan translator John of Spain with the help of Dominicus Gundissalinus. The Hebrew extracts, made by Shemṭōb Ibn Palḳera, are a century later; unlike the Latin version, which was well-known and used by the great Latin scholars such as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, etc. (who did not suspect that the author was Jewish but took him for an "Arab"), these extracts remained practically unknown until they were identified by Salomon Munk in the middle of the 19th century.

The philosophical system of Ibn Gabirol, so far as it can be deduced from the *Fons vitae*, which is only the first part of a work which was never completed, is characterized by the fact that it applies the distinction of form and matter to simple (non-material) substances. Although in the "Fountain of Life" Ibn Gabirol refrains from referring explicitly to any religious text whatsoever, in it he conceives the universe as a product of the Divine Will, on the nature of which it is difficult, however, in spite of the relative abundance of texts, to form an opinion. There is no doubt that Ibn Gabirol belongs to the Neoplatonist "intellectual group" which produced also such varied works as the "Theology of Aristotle", the "Liber de Causis", the texts attributed to the "Greek Master" (*al-shaykh al-yūnānī*), the fragments of the pseudo-Empedocles, Isaac Israeli, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Ibn Masarra and others [see ANBADUḲLĪS, AFLĀṬŪN, BURUḲLUS, IBN MASARRA, IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀʾ]. Nevertheless, in the present state of knowledge, it is not possible to assign to him definite sources or to establish with certainty the precise origins of his metaphysical concepts. Furthermore, in spite of the praise given to him by his compatriots, the Muslim Ibn Ṣāʿid and the Jew Moses Ibn ʿEzra, no echo of his philosophical thought is found in Islam, and indeed, it is very little known or esteemed among the Jews, who have forgotten Ibn Gabirol the philosopher as readily as they have carefully preserved his Hebrew secular and religious poetry. It is only through his poetry and in particular his meditation in rhymed prose "The Kingly Crown" (*Keter Malkūt*) that something of his philosophical doctrine has penetrated into subsequent Jewish thought; we are not concerned here with the traces, in any case weak and open to debate, which his speculations have left in Jewish mysticism (*Kabbala*).

Bibliography: The basic work is still S. Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris 1857 (the later editions are only unaltered reproductions of the first), 1-306; M. Steinschneider, *Heb. Üb.*, § 219, pp. 379-88, and *Arab. Lit. Jud.*, § 81, 125-9. Biographical notice by Ibn Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 89 (tr. R. Blachère, *Livre des catégories des nations*, Paris 1935, 159; Eng. tr. by J. Finkel in *JQR*, n.s. xviii (1927-8), 45 ff.); the notice by Moses Ibn ʿEzra has been translated into French by Munk, *Mélanges*, 263 f., and into Spanish by J. M. Millàs Vallicrosa, *Šelomo Ibn Gabirol como poeta y filósofo*, Madrid 1945, 13. Latin text of the *Fons vitae*, ed. Cl. Bäumker, Munster 1892-5; *Iṣlāḥ al-akhlāḳ*, Ar. text ed. S. Wise, New York 1901. To the bibliographical notices by Steinschneider and by G. Vajda, *Jüdische Philosophie*, Berne 1950, 14-6, may be added F. Brunner, *Ibn Gabirol-Avicembron, La Source de Vie, Livre III* (annotated Fr. tr.), Paris 1950; idem, *Fons Vitae d'Avicembron (Ibn Gabirol) livre III*, in *Studia Philosophica*, xii (1953), 171-83; *La Doctrine de la matière chez Avicebron*, in *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 1956, 261-79 (cf. *ibid.*, 285-93); *Études sur le sens et la structure des systèmes réalistes*, in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, i (1958), 295-317; the article in Hebrew by S. Pines, *Fragments of the Arabic original of Fons Vitae in Moses Ibn Ezra's work Arugat Habbosem*, in *Tarbiz*, xxvii (1957-8), 218-23; J. Schlanger, *Sur le rôle du "tout" dans la création selon Ibn Gabirol*, in *REJ*, cxxiv (1965), 125-35; the theses in progress by Jacques Schlanger: full Fr. tr. of the *Fons vitae* and *La philosophie de Salomon Ibn Gabirol*. See also E. Bertola, *Salomon ibn Gabirol (Avicebron), vita, opere e pensiero*, Padua 1953; J. Schirmann and J. Klausner, art. Ibn Gabirol in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. The Artemis Press, Zürich-Stuttgart, have now (1967) announced *Salomo ibn Gabirol und sein Kreis*, by F. P. Bargebuhr.

(G. VAJDA)

IBN GHALBŪN, Muwallad leader who, at the time of the *reyes de taifas*, emerged as ruler of Molina de Aragón, the small town situated at the highest point of the land lying between the Tagus and Jalón rivers, its territory belonging partly to Aragón in the north and partly to Castille in the south. El Cid, on settling at el Poyo de Calamocha, conquered Ibn Ghalbūn, who became his exceedingly loyal subject, as is related with striking emphasis by *el Cantar del mio Cid*.

He had been known hitherto only by his *ma'rifa*, but it is now known that his name was ʿAzzūn, since one of his two sons was called Abu 'l-Ghamr b. ʿAzzūn and the other ʿAlī b. ʿAzzūn, transformed into Gharrūn in the manuscript of *al-Mann bi 'l-imāma*. All these names are honorific additions in *-on*, so frequent in the Hispano-Muslim upper classes, such as Ibn Badrūn, Ibn Zaydūn, Ibn Khaldūn, and many others.

When Dona Jimena and her daughters went to Valencia to rejoin the Campeador, who had just conquered the city, ʿAzzūn b. Ghalbūn cordially welcomed the horsemen sent to escort the ladies and added two hundred cavalry to their retinue; from Medinaceli onwards, he honoured the wife and daughters of El Cid, with Alvar Fañez, and had them splendidly accommodated at Molina. When the Almoravid army took up its position in front of Valencia with the purpose of reconquering the city, Ibn Ghalbūn did not follow the example of the petty kings of Albarracín, Alpuente, Lérida and Tortosa, who complied with the order to join the army sent by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn against El Cid; the *Cantar* praises him yet again for the noble way in which he welcomed and accompanied the daughters of El Cid and the princes of Carrion on their unfortunate wedding journey, but the minstrel, instead of dealing dispassionately with this episode—so ill-fated in its outcome—cloaks it in a legend and, carried away by his manifest hatred when dealing with the courtly faction of El Cid's enemies, he derides the princes' cowardice at the battle of Cuarte and their panic before the lion let loose at the Valencian court, and lingers over the scene at Corpes, as cruel as it was unjust; such is his hatred that he goes so far as to ascribe to the princes the intention of killing Ibn Ghalbūn in order to steal from him the riches with which he had so splendidly regaled them; after the failure of this plan as a result of the denunciation of a Latinized Moor, he depicts El Cid's faithful friend as a perfect gentleman who cast their dishonourable conduct in their teeth, yet refrained from punishing them because they were the sons-in-law of his great friend El Cid to whom he restored his daughters.

So ends, in the *Cantar*, the passage through history of this Muslim leader, so highly praised for his loyalty and devotion to the Campeador, but we have strong reasons to tone down these eulogies, since the same person affirms: "Even if we wish him ill, we cannot do him harm, for his star is so favourable that, in peace as in war, he will always triumph; he is very dull-witted who does not recognize this truth". This realistic, indeed cynical approach has been clearly confirmed, for we now know that, once El Cid was dead and Valencia had been reconquered by the Almoravids, Ibn Ghalbūn saw the possibility of resisting and conquering the Aragonese on the battlefield; without hesitation, he hastened with his men to take part in the battle of Cutanda against Alfonso I, el Batallador, in the summer of the year 514/1120, alongside the governors of Lérida, Valencia and Granada, with the other local leaders who, like himself, had acknowledged and supported with their arms the rule of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf. This interesting unpublished item of information is revealed by *al-Bayān al-mughrib*.

Nothing more is known about Ibn Ghalbūn, as the territory of Molina de Aragón was before long occupied by the conqueror of Cutanda and subsequently became the domain of Enrique de Lara and his descendants. It is very probable that he retired to Andalusia where we find two of his sons who, at the collapse of the Almoravid empire, following in their father's footsteps, succeeded in setting themselves up as petty kings of *taifas* at Jerez and Ronda. The elder, Abu 'l-Ghamr ʿAzzūn, was quick to acknowledge the Almohades when they landed in Spain and gave them proofs of the sincerity of his allegiance, which were far greater and more effective than the gallant courtesies of his father towards El Cid. In contrast to the other petty Andalusian kings who rose up against ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, from the moment that he learnt of the revolt of al-Massī and of his first victory, he not only remained loyal, but also collaborated with Barrāz in the capture of Seville and with the brothers of al-Mahdī in expelling the Almoravids from Algeciras; he even accompanied them when they went to present themselves in Marrākush.

When Alfonso VII besieged Cordova, he contributed with great decisiveness and speed to the lifting of the siege by bringing into the stronghold the Almohad troops which were stationed in the *Sierra* of Cordova; finally, at the side of Sayyid Yūsuf, the son and future successor of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, he took part in the battle of Zaʿabula or Zaghabūḳa in Rabīʿ I 553/April-May 1158, in the region of el Viso and Mairena del Alcor, to the north of Alcalá de Guadaira, against the army from Avila commanded by the famous count Sancho Gimeno, the Hunchback; during the rout, this son of Ibn Ghalbūn died a martyr's death.

His brother Abu 'l-ʿAlā, who helped him to seize Ronda, as well as the descendants of both brothers, occupied high posts in the Almohade administration and distinguished themselves by their loyalty, to which the Caliph Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr bore witness most vividly when, in his testamentary speech, he recommended one of them as being "among the most intelligent and perfect men who have given their allegiance to the cause of Ibn Tūmart".

Bibliography: Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*[4], i, 498-9, 501; *El Cantar del mio Cid*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, verses 1517-28, 2635, 2659-88, 2978; Ibn ʿIdhārī, two unpublished folios of the Almoravid *Bayān* in the Library of al-Ḳarawiyyīn, Fez; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 98-9; A. Arenas, *Origenes del muy ilustre señorio de Molina de Aragón*, ch. IV-V, 83-136; A. Huici, *Historia politica del imperio almohade*, i, 383 and note 4; idem, *Un nuevo manuscrito de al-Bayān al-mugrib*, in *al-Andalus*, xxiv/1, 81-4. (A. Huici Miranda)

IBN GHALBŪN [see MUḤAMMAD B. KHALĪL].

IBN GHĀLIB, MUḤAMMAD B. AYYŪB AL-GHARNĀṬĪ, historian and geographer, living in Granada in the 6th/12th century. His fame rests on an excellent work entitled *Farḥat* (or *Fardjat*) *al-anfus fī taʾrīkh al-Andalus*; the text has been lost, but lengthy extracts have been reproduced by al-Maḳḳarī, Ibn Saʿīd, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and others, and an abridged version of the geographical part, *Taʿlīḳ muntaḳā min Farḥat al-anfus fī taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, has been preserved (ed. Luṭfī ʿAbd al-Badīʿ in *RIMA*, i/2 (1955), 272-310). The passages quoted by al-Maḳḳarī are numerous, but the most extensive (*Analectes*, i, 184-90) gives interesting details about the habitats of the Arab tribes in Spain. The abridged version of the geographical part is much more valuable, for it contains the most important passages of the "Description of Spain" by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī [see AL-RĀZĪ] the text of which E. Lévi-Provençal tried to reconstruct without being able to take advantage of Ibn Ghālib's work, which was still unpublished and unknown (see *La "Description de*

l'Espagne" d'Aḥmad al-Rāzī, in *al-Andalus*, xviii/1 (1953), 51-108).

It is this *Taʿlīḳ* which supplies some details on the life of Ibn Ghālib. From it we learn that he was in the service of Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, governor of Granada and of many other Spanish provinces on behalf of his father ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and of his brother Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, from 552/1160 till his death in 571/1175-6 (see A. Huici Miranda, *Hist. pol. del imperio almohade*, Tetuan 1957, ii, 618-9). Al-Khazradjī (*apud* al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, ii, 126) declares that Ibn Ghālib wrote a great historical work going from the Creation to the history of Spain under the dynasty of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, and adds that he left Spain in 565/1169-70. Thus the *Farḥat al-anfus* was a work on the history of al-Andalus, preceded by some chapters on universal history and on the geography of Spain.

Bibliography: besides the sources quoted: Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1953, index s.vv. Ibn Ghālib and *Farḥat al-anfus*; Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, Cairo n.d., 122 (F. Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 384); Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index, s.v. Ibn Ghālib; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 123-4 (confuses him with Tammām b. Ghālib). (H. Monés)

IBN GHĀNIM, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Salām b. Aḥmad b. Ghānim al-Maḳdisī al-Wāʿiẓ, author of works on mysticism or edification, of whose life little is known. He is said to have died in 678/1279. The best-known of his works is the *Kashf al-asrār ʿan (al-)ḥikam (al-mūdaʿa fī) al-ṭuyūr wa 'l-azhār*, published and translated by Garcin de Tassy, *Les oiseaux et les fleurs*, Paris 1821 (tr. reprinted in 1876 in *Allégories, récits poétiques*, etc.; German tr. Peiper, *Stimmen aus dem Morgenlande*, Hirschberg 1850; lith. text, Cairo 1275, 1280; Būlāḳ ed. 1270, 1290; Cairo 1280, etc.). There may also be mentioned: *Ḥall al-rumūz* (numerous manuscripts); *al-Ḳawl al-nafīs fī taflīs Iblīs*, Caire 1277, etc. (dialogue with Satan); and *al-Rawḍ al-anīḳ fi 'l-waʿẓ al-rashīḳ* (in manuscript).

Another Ibn Ghānim al-Maḳdisī, Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, was a Ḥanafī *faḳīh* born in Cairo in 920/1514, and died there on 18 Djumādā II 1004/18 February 1596. Among his works may be mentioned the *Bughyat al-murtād fī taṣḥīḥ al-ṣād* (printed with the *Muḳābasāt* of al-Tawḥīdī), and some *Ḥawāshī ʿala 'l-Ḳāmūs* (see Brockelmann, S II, 234, 395).

Bibliography: Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, iv, 190; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, s.v.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*; Cheikho, in *Machriq*, iv, 918-24; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 412; Brockelmann, I, 450, S I, 808-9. (Ed.)

IBN GHĀNIYA [see ghāniya, banū].

IBN GHANNĀM, Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Ghannām al-Ḥarrānī al-Numayrī al-Ḥanbalī al-Maḳdisī (d. 693/1294), is the author of a treatise on oneiromancy that was widely circulated, on account of its alphabetical arrangement which makes it rapid and simple to consult. He was thus the innovator of a system which, after his time, became widely adopted. His treatise, entitled *al-Muʿallam ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿdjam*, led oneiromancy away from the traditional paths by renouncing the plan inspired by that of the Book of Dreams of Artemidorus of Ephesus (ed. T. Fahd, Damascus 1964, *PIFD*) and sanctioned by Naṣr b. Yaʿḳūb al-Dīnawarī [*q.v.*] and by inaugurating the method of classification which was to be called the "key to dreams". The manuscript versions of this treatise are very numerous; the earliest that we have seen are: Istanbul,—Saray, Ahmet III, 3173 (729/1328-9) and 3172 (743/1342-3), Aya Sofya, 1730 (804/1401-2); Çorum, 3093 (826/1413-4); Istanbul Un. Lib. 4864 (920/1514-5) and Kastamonu, 2997 (954/1547-8). The Bursa manuscript, Ulucami 1986, is not dated, but it appears to be of considerable age; the end of the treatise is to be found on a leaf at the beginning of MS 1987, dated 745/1344-5; numerous lacunae in it have been filled in by a recent hand. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥ. al-Ḳudsī made an abridgement of it (cf. Saray, Ahmet III, 3164).

Another innovation is also owed to him, the versification of oneirocritical material in order to render it more easily memorized; indeed, he wrote a poem in *radjaz*, entitled *ʿArūs al-bustān fī 'l-nisāʾ wa 'l-aʿḍāʾ wa 'l-insān* (the poem entitled *Durrat al-aḥlām*, part of which follows his own poem in MS Berlin 4264 and which Brockelmann, II, 498, attributes to him, is by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī; cf. Süleymaniye-Yozgat, 788/1, fols. 1-52 r.) which is less widely distributed than *al-Muʿallam* (cf. Lâleli, 1636bis; Berlin, 4263); in it he tells us that he was the disciple of Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Sabtī al-Baghdādī. This procedure was to be developed by Zayn al-Dīn b. al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) in his *al-Alfiyya al-Wardiyya*, a youthful work, published in Cairo from 1285 A. H. onwards and with a commentary by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1621; cf. Lâleli, 1659; Istanbul Un. Lib. A 4240), Muḥ. b. Djābir al-Miknāsī al-Ghassānī (d. 827/1424), the author of a long *manẓūma fi 'l-taʿbīr* (cf. Lâleli, 1661; Aya Sofia, 1729; comp. Brockelmann, S II, 367) and Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Sakan al-Muʿāfirī al-Mufassir (cf. Köprülü, 1202, dated 911/1505-6; Saray, Ahmet III, 3162, dated 920/1514). We may note that this system was already known to the Byzantines (cf. the collections in verse attributed to Astrampsychos and Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, d. 829, ed. by N. Rigaltius, following the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus of Ephesus and those of Ἀχμὲτ υἱὸς Σηρείμ, Paris 1603).

Finally, according to Brockelmann, S I, 913, Ibn Ghannām is the author of a poem entitled *Ḳilādat al-durr al-manthūr fī dhikr al-baʿth wa 'l-nushūr*, ed. Cairo 1302, in the margin of the *Kharīdat al-ʿadjāʾib* of Sirādj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ibn al-Wardī (d. 850/1446).

Bibliography: in the text. (T. Fahd)

IBN GHANNĀM, Shaykh Ḥusayn b. Ghannām al-Iḥsāʾī, who died in 1225/1810 at al-Dirʿiyya, the first Wahhābī capital in Nadjd (Ibn Bishr, *ʿUnwān*, i, 149), was a faithful adherent of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*] and its first authentic chronicler. Little is known about his early life at al-Aḥsāʾ except that he studied theology and philology under the *ʿulamāʾ* there. He later moved to al-Dirʿiyya, where he at first attended the lectures of Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and thereafter taught Arabic and theology. The Shaykhs ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Sulaymān, the two famous *ʿulamāʾ* and grandsons of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, were among his pupils at al-Dirʿiyya (Ibn Bishr, *ibid.*). Ibn Bishr mentions *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn fī sharḥ Uṣūl al-dīn* as one among many theological works by Ibn Ghannām (*ibid.*). He does not name any of the others, but Ibn Ghannām refers in his *Rawḍa* (p. 45) to another work of his, *Rafʿ al-malām ʿan al-aʾimma al-aʿlām*. His most famous work is *Rawḍat al-afkār wa 'l-afhām li murtād ḥāl al-imām wa taʿdād ghazawāt dhawī 'l-islām* (British Museum MSS Add. 19799-800 and Add. 23344-5; lith. Bombay 1919; Cairo 1949). Both manuscripts and printed copies are very rare outside Saudi Arabia.

The *Rawḍa* is in two volumes:

(1) *Rawḍat al-afkār*, a theological exposition of Wahhābism divided into five chapters; the first reveals the religious situation in Arabia and the neighbouring Muslim territories where, according to the *Rawḍa*, Muslims are "sunk in the abyss of paganism, steeped in shame and defiled by the taint of corruption". Chapter two details the genealogy of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and his rise to fame. The *Rawḍa* differs markedly from another contemporary account, the *Lamʿ al-shihāb*. The comments of the author in the final three chapters reveal his vast theological knowledge. He is here commenting on some letters of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb sent to various dignitaries within and outside the Arabian peninsula. From internal evidence it is clear that the *Rawḍa* was written after the death of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

(2) *al-Ghazawāt al-bayāniyya wa 'l-futūḥāt al-rabbāniyya wa-dhikr al-sabab alladhī ḥamala ʿalā dhālik* is the earliest chronicle of the Wahhābī movement detailing its expansion in Arabia. It begins with the events of 1159/1746 and ends abruptly with the events of 1212/1797, despite the fact that the author lived until 1225/1810. It is an invaluable source for the 18th century history of Arabia, which surpasses in wealth of detail Ibn Bishr's *ʿUnwān al-madjd*. It is curious that the latter author, though a Wahhābī, does not mention Ibn Ghannām's History. Close examination of the two texts, however, reveals that Ibn Bishr modelled his work, which carries the Wahhābī history down to 1851, on Ibn Ghannām's *Ghazawāt* (with the principal difference that Ibn Bishr does not digress to describe religious matters).

Ibn Ghannām's *Ghazawāt* was used extensively by H. St. J. Philby and other writers in western languages, *e.g.*, Amīn al-Riḥānī, G. Rentz and R. B. Winder, in compiling their works on Arabia (cf. Bibl.).

Bibliography: Ibn Ghannām, *Rawḍāt al-afkār wa 'l-afhām li murtād ḥāl al-Imām wa taʿdād ghazawāt dhawī 'l-islām*, Bombay 1919; Amīn al-Riḥānī, *Taʾrīkh Nadjd al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1928; Ibn Bishr, ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh, *ʿUnwān al-madjd fī taʾrīkh Nadjd*, Mecca 1930, i, 149; H. St. J. Philby, *Arabia*, London 1930, pp. ix, x, 4; idem, *Saʾudi Arabia*, New York 1955, 5, 80, 117-8; G. S. Rentz, *Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and the beginnings of the first unitarian empire in Arabia*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California 1948; R. B. Winder, *Saʾudi Arabia in the nineteenth century*, London 1965, 20, 233, 244; A. M. Abu-Hakima, *History of Eastern Arabia*, Beirut 1965, 2-5; idem (ed.), *Lamʿ al-shihāb fī sīrat Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb*, Beirut 1967, 21-8; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Kuwayt*, i/1, Kuwait 1967, 22-8.

(A. M. Abu-Hakima)

IBN AL-GHARĀBĪLĪ [see ibn ḳāsim al-ghazzī].

IBN GHARSIYA, Abū ʿĀmir Aḥmad, Andalusian writer and poet, who spent his life at Denia in the service of the Slav (and former slave) Mudjāhid al-ʿĀmirī [*q.v.*], the ruler of this province from 400/1010 to 436/1044, and of his son ʿAlī Iḳbāl al-Dawla (436-68/1044-76). Both father and son had need of authors and poets to exalt the merits of the Slavs and to contest the alleged superiority of the other *reyes de taifas* of Arab origin; Ibn Gharsiya offered himself for this and, seizing the opportunity of an argument that had taken place between himself and a man of letters from Cordova called Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. al-Djazzār (or al-Kharrāz according to Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, 9; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 157, and al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 280, 327), he wrote a violent, insulting and bitter *risāla* against the Arabs, glorifying the Slavs, the Rūm and all the non-Arabs (*ʿadjam*); this *risāla* is perhaps the only real manifestation of Shuʿūbiyya in Muslim Spain; it takes up all the arguments against the Arabs put forward by all the Shuʿūbīs of the East, and presents them in a complicated style. This work brought fame to Ibn Gharsiya and provoked a number of contemporary authors to draw up even more violent replies in favour of the Arabs. Ibn Bassām reproduced the *risāla* and some of its replies in the *Dhakhīra* (iii, MS coll. Gayangos de la Real Acad. de la Historia, Madrid, no. 12, fols. 120 ff.); the text with some replies can be found again in MS 538 of the Escorial.

Besides the *risāla* we have some verses by Ibn Gharsiya, reproduced by Ibn Saʿīd, in praise of Iḳbāl al-Dawla (also called Muʿizz al-Dawla). According to Ibn Saʿīd (*Mughrib*, ii, 406-7) and Yūsuf b. al-Shaykh al-Balawī (*Alif bāʾ*, Cairo 1287, i, 350), Ibn Gharsiya was of Basque origin; having been taken prisoner in his childhood he was brought up in the Islamic faith. Although he was proud of his non-Arab origin he was a fervent Muslim, very much attached to the Arabic language. No further information has come to light about his life and work.

Bibliography: mentioned in the text. The *Risāla* was published for the first time by I. Goldziher with a study on the *Shuʿūbiyya* in Muslim Spain in his article: *Die Šuʿūbiyya unter den Muhammedanern in Spanien*, in *ZDMG*, 1898; ed. by ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1950, with the replies; ed. by Aḥmad Mukhtār al-ʿAbbādī in his essay: *al-Ṣaḳāliba fī Isbānyā* (publ. of the *IEI* Madrid), 1950, 31 ff.

(H. Monés)

IBN AL-GHASĪL [see ʿabd allāh b. ḥanẓala].

IBN GHĀZĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿUthmānī, Moroccan scholar of the 9th/15th century, was born at Meknès in 858/1454 and died in 919/1513 at Fez, where his tomb may still be seen. Of his many works (full list in *Chorfa*, p. 230, n. 2) the most useful to present-day scholars is *al-Rawḍ al-hatūn fī akhbār Miknāsat al-Zaytūn* (Fez 1326/1908; partial tr. Houdas, *Monographie de Méquinez*, in *JA*, i (1885), 101-47).

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 224 (full treatment).

(J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN GHURĀB, Saʿd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (ca. 779/1377-808/1406), was for ten years during the reigns of Sultan Barḳūḳ and his son Faradj an important figure in the civilian bureaucracy of the Mamluk state. In his brief lifetime, Ibn Ghurāb typifies, in some ways, the precarious career of a Mamluk bureaucrat. His grandfather, Shams al-Dīn Ghurāb, was a Copt who, after conversion to Islam, served as Controller (*nāẓir*) of Alexandria, a post he passed on to his son ʿAlam al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, the father of Ibrāhīm. From childhood Ibrāhīm was under the tutelage of the Majordomo (*ustādār*) of Sultan Barḳūḳ, Djamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who took him to Cairo and later entered him into his household service. Ibrāhīm is held responsible for Maḥmūd's fall from favour, imprisonment and expropriation, receiving as a reward first the post of Controller of the Special Bureau (*nāẓir al-dīwān al-mufrad*), and shortly thereafter that of Controller of Privy Funds (*nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*) in 798/1396, when he was not yet 20 years old. His career continued to flourish during the remaining years of Sultan Barḳūḳ's reign. In 801/1399 he added the position of Controller of the Army (*nāẓir al-djaysh*) to his

previous post and manoeuvred his less-talented older brother, Fakhr al-Dīn Mādjid (d. 811/1409), into the position of vizier. Owing to internal Mamluk squabbles after Barḳūḳ's death, Ibrāhīm and Mādjid were dismissed and imprisoned, then reinstated, but once again forced to flee Cairo during the year 802/1400. Reinstated once again in 803 as Majordomo, and adding the title of Emir of the Council (*amīr madjlis*) in 804, Ibrāhīm was again in trouble a year later but recovered his political position to such an extent that within a short time he became the real power in the state (cf. Ibn Iyās, i, 347). He was named Privy Secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) and Head of the Advisory Council (*ra's mashwara*). Temporarily blocked during the two and a half month period in which Sultan Faradj was deposed and his younger brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reigned, Ibrāhīm was instrumental in returning Faradj to the throne and was rewarded with the rank of Emir of the First Class. Shortly thereafter, he fell ill and died after a long illness, not yet thirty years old. At the time of his death he was referred to as "*al-ḳāḍī al-amīr* . . .".

The Arabic sources are sharply divided in their attitude towards Ibn Ghurāb. His personal generosity, especially during the great plague of 807/1405, is highly praised by Ibn Taghrībirdī (*Manhal*, i, 93) and Ibn Iyās (*Ta'rīkh*, i, 348), and his character is lauded (Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 277), but he is also sharply denounced as having ruined the countryside by his rapacious levies (cf. ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya*, i, 43) and his manipulation of the price of gold (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 420). His tomb in the desert north of Cairo still exists under the name of *turbat al-Shaykh Ghurāb* (*Bulletin du Comité de l'art arabe*, *Index Général*, p. 61) and a *khānḳāh* built by him in Cairo preserves a fragmentary inscription giving his titulary of the period 803-5/1401-3 (*CIA*, Egypte, i, 627).

Bibliography: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal* (ed. Nadjātī), i, 85-93; G. Wiet, *Les secrétaires de la chancellerie*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, i, 277-83; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 42, 62, 292, 396, 419-20; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 3, 6, 14, 72, 91-2, 109, 115, 152, 276-7; Ibn Iyās, i, 304, 316, 319, 321, 324-5, 330, 331, 339, 347-9; Ibn al-Furāt, ix/2, 411, 429, 442, 454, 477; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, i, 65-7 (referring to a detailed biography by al-Maḳrīzī in his unpublished *ʿUḳūd*).

For a brief biography of his brother Mādjid, see the obituary notice in Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 290; al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, v, 234. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN AL-HABBĀRIYYA, Abū Yaʿlā al-Sharīf Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbāsī al-Hāshimī, Arab poet of the Saldjūḳid period, a descendant of the ʿAbbāsid prince ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*], who is named after his maternal grandfather, a certain Habbār. He was born probably in Baghdād (though it is also said that he was born in Ādharbaydjān) before the middle of the 5th/11th century and followed the traditional pattern of study so thoroughly as to be included among the transmitters of *ḥadīth*, but he could not bring himself to take an interest in theological discussions and preferred to spend his time in the night haunts of Ḳuṭrabbul [*q.v.*] in the company of wits and the gilded youth of the time; his frequenting of these places led him to an inclination for sexual perversions, as he himself admits in his verses. However, his great poetic talent, his incisive wit, and his mastery in the use of the Arabic language saved him from complete degeneration by leading him to devote himself to poetry. In order to obtain the money necessary for his life of pleasure he was forced to sing the praises of the great men of his day, at first of the Djahīrids [see DJAHĪR] of Baghdād. But his inclination for satire made him unsuited to this kind of servile flattery and he soon fell foul of his patrons; when, for example, the young Ibn Djahīr became for the second time vizier of the caliph in 484/1091, he greeted this appointment with a biting satire which was soon on everyone's lips. His habit of attacking his contemporaries soon made him unbearable, and he was forced to go and try his fortunes in Iṣfahān, in the circle of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], who finally admitted him to his entourage; by his tactlessness, however, he incurred the wrath of his patron, who, after having ordered his execution, finally pardoned him thanks to the intervention of the *faḳīh* Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khushandī. He also enjoyed the patronage of Tādj al-Mulk and of Madjd al-Mulk, but a poem in which he expressed his rancour against all the important persons of the time—the caliph al-Muḳtadī (467-87/1075-94), Malikshāh (465-85/1072-92), Niẓām al-Mulk, and Tādj al-Mulk himself—earned him so many enemies that after the assassination of Tādj al-Mulk (in 486/1093), who had re-admitted him to his favour, he was forced to leave Iṣfahān and go, at a date unknown, to Kirmān; here he addressed his eulogies to the vizier Mukram b. al-ʿAlā' and particularly to the Saldjūḳid Īrānshāh [*q.v.*], who reigned there from 489 to 494/1096 to 1101. But it was to his former patron, Madjd al-Mulk, that he dedicated, between 489 and 492, his verse rendering of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* entitled *Natā'idj al-fitna fī naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna*; and it was to the Mazyadid Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr that, after the foundation of al-Ḥilla (495/1101-2), he sent his other book *al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāghim*. At this time he had not left Kirmān, where he died probably in 509/1115-6 (rather than 504/1110-1) at a very advanced age (95 years, it is said).

Ibn al-Habbāriyya left a *Dīwān* which must have been very extensive, since it consisted of three or four volumes, but there remain only a few extracts from it, which have survived thanks to ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (*Kharīdat al-Ḳaṣr*, MS Leiden Or. 21a); the genres most fully represented are *sukhf* [*q.v.*], satire, and next panegyrics and love poetry. In the first two genres the poet imitates Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], as ʿImād al-Dīn noticed, but he seems, like his model, to present a curious example of split personality, for he can on occasion compose more respectable poems and, what is more, set himself up as the preacher of a high moral standard. Ibn al-Habbāriyya is in fact the author not only of the verse rendering (in *radjaz* metre) of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* mentioned above (Bombay 1304/1886 and 1317/1899; Baʿabda (Lebanon) 1900, by Niʿmat Allāh al-Asmār, who took some liberties with the original text) but also of the *Kitāb al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāghim*, a collection of *urdjūza*s totalling 2,000 verses and consisting first of an episodic story where a character in a tale tells in his turn another tale, then of animal stories inspired by *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and finally of some moralizing passages; this work, on which the writer is said to have worked for ten years, is very popular in the East, where it has been published in three editions: Cairo 1292/1875-6, Beirut 1886, Cairo 1936. The *Fulk al-maʿānī* is a kind of anthology in 12 chapters consisting of anecdotes in prose and verse (see Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, MS Paris 1505, 281a-284a; Barthold, in *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Arkh. Obč.*, xviii,

0144 ff.). Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, vi, 297) mentions in passing a *K. al-Laḳā'it*, which was probably a work of lexicography. His *urdjūza* on chess formed part of the *Ṣādiḥ*; it is to be found at the end of the Paris manuscript of the *Kharīdat al-ʿadjā'ib*.

Bibliography: besides the references in the text: Samʿāni, *Ansāb*, 587b; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā'*, Cairo 1294, 437; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Nuṣrat al-fatra*, MS Paris 2146, 58a, 60a, 103a, 104-5; Yāḳūt, i, 555, 694, ii, 46, iv, 809; ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 367-8; Ibn Khallikān, i, 283, ii, 386-9, 484, iii, 435; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, i, 266-7; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Istanbul 1931, i, 124, 130-3; Sarkīs, 271-2; *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'hist. des Seldj.*, ii, 65 and index; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, ii, 171-4; F. al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iv, 116-7; Brockelmann, I, 252-3, S I, 440; A. Ḏj. Āl Ṭāhir, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa-bilād al-ʿAdjam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdad 1961, i, 124-45 and index. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN AL-ḤABḤĀB [see ʿubayd allāh b. al-ḥabḥāb].

IBN ḤABĪB, Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī, Andalusian scholar claiming descent from the Arab family of Sulaym b. Manṣūr; he was born at Ḥiṣn Wāṭ (identified by Simonet with Huétor Vega), about 180/796 and died at Cordova in 238/853. He studied at Elvira and Cordova, and after he had made the pilgrimage and become acquainted with the doctrine of Mālik [*q.v.*] at Medina became one of his most ardent propagandists in Muslim Spain, where the school of al-Awzāʿī [*q.v.*] had dominated until then. By virtue of his exceptional erudition he became known as the scholar of Spain *par excellence* and was compared with Saḥnūn b. Saʿīd [*q.v.*], the famous jurist of Ifrīḳiya. According to his own account, his works numbered 1050, but of them none remain but an unpublished manuscript preserved in the Bodleian at Oxford, which, despite its antiquity, is of little value. This account, in which he mingles Biblical history with that of Muḥammad and the first Caliphs, the history of al-Andalus with theological questions, is full of fabulous material. Travellers from Spain, greeted in the East as ignorant rustics, accepted as historical truth Egyptian legends which spoke of a country of djinns, of enchanted palaces, of moving statues, and of devils imprisoned in boxes by Satan, such as are reproduced in the History of the conquests of Egypt and the Maghrib by the Egyptian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, no. 1053; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'rīkh*, no. 814; Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamā' Ifrīḳiya*, ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1915, 80, 81 (tr. M. Ben Cheneb, *Classes des Savants de l'Ifrīqīya*, Algiers 1920, 151); Dozy, *Recherches*³, i, 28; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 56; Pons Boigues, 29 ff.; González Palencia, *Literatura*², 141; Brockelmann, I, 149-50, S I, 231. (A. Huici Miranda)

IBN ḤABĪB, Badr al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar al-Dimashḳī al-Ḥalabī al-Shāfiʿī (710/1310-779/1377), scholar and jurist, author of several historical, juridical, and poetic works, was born in Damascus. His father Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar (663/1265-726/1326) was appointed Market-inspector (*muḥtasib*) and teacher of tradition in Aleppo, and the family moved to that city. In 733/1332 and again in 739/1338, Ibn Ḥabīb made the pilgrimage to Mecca and during these journeys visited Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Hebron. He held judicial posts in Aleppo such as Scribe of the Judiciary (*kātib al-ḥukm*) and Scribe of the Chancery (*kātib al-inshā'*). He became a well-known writer in his own lifetime. In 755/1354 he visited Tripoli, where he was honoured and rewarded by the Mamluk viceroy of that town, Mandjak al-Nāṣirī, who persuaded him to remain there for two years. In 759/1358, after Mandjak became viceroy of Damascus, he invited Ibn Ḥabīb to that city from his home in Aleppo and the scholar, once more the centre of attention and respect, remained there for three years before returning to Aleppo, where he lived until his death in 779/1377.

Of his many works, largely in the form of poetry or rhymed prose, only ten are known to be extant. By far the most famous of these is his history (in rhymed prose) of the Mamluk Empire from its beginning to his own time, 648/1250-777/1375, called *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat (mulk) al-atrāk*. His son, Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir, continued the work from 778 to 801 (1376-1399). In 1846 H. E. Weijers and A. Meursinge published the Introduction, the first year, and excerpts from succeeding years, primarily the valuable biographical notes. In 1913 P. Leander published the Introduction and the first eight years in full. Another work, *Nasīm al-ṣabā*, consisting of poetry and rhymed prose about nature and human existence, has been reprinted at least three times during the past century. Some of his other extant unpublished works are a history of princes and prophets from ancient times to his day, *Kitāb al-Mushadjdjar fi 'l-ta'rīkh* (see Rosenthal, *Historiography*², 97); a history of the Mamluk sultan Ḳalāwūn and his sons (*Tadhkirat al-nabīh fī ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-banīh*); a formulary for juridical decisions (*Kashf al-murūṭ ʿan maḥāsin al-shurūṭ*); and several collections of poetry, mostly in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad.

A most critical evaluation of his work as an historian comes from Ibn Taghrībirdī, who wrote (*Nudjūm*, v, 331): "He was the paragon of his age in the scribal art (*insha'*) and in formulating judicial decisions (*shurūṭ*) . . . His History is in *radjaz*-metre and is of little worth and quite inexact. I have, therefore, cited it only rarely. If a rhyme did not please him he would omit a datum. This is not my way of writing history".

Bibliography: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal* (Wiet), no. 1720; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, 29; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamluks*, i/b, 204 (incorrect dates given there); Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 440; Brockelmann, II, 36; S II, 35; *Orientalia*, Leiden 1846, ii, 197-489; P. Leander, *Aus . . . bin Ḥabīb's* Durrat al-aslāk, in *Le Monde Oriental*, vii (1913), 1-81, 242-3. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN ḤABĪB, MUḤAMMAD [see muḥammad b. ḥabīb].

IBN AL-ḤADDĀD, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Ḳaysī, Andalusian poet from Cadix (Wādī Āsh), whence his *nisba*, al-Wādī Āshī; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 133, says that he was also called Māzin. He spent the greater part of his life at Almeria, as court poet to al-Muʿtaṣim (Muḥammad b. Maʿn b. Ṣumādiḥ, 443-90/1051-97). Towards 461/1068-9 he had to flee from Almeria and take refuge for some time in Saragossa in order to escape the wrath of Ibn Ṣumādiḥ, against whom he had written some satirical verses. Later he returned to Almeria where he remained till his death in 480/1088.

Ibn al-Ḥaddād was a poet, a prose writer and a scholar. His poetry is abundant, diverse, rich and full of agreeable images and subtle metaphors, but less so in his panegyrics than in his love poems. Well

known among his poems are those dedicated to a Christian nun called Nuwayra who, according to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (*Masālik al-abṣār*, Cairo 1924, i, 385), was a Coptic nun living in the convent of Rīfa, to the north of Asyūṭ, on the eastern bank of the Nile. Ibn al-Ḥaddād had seen her while going through Ḳūṣ to ʿAydhāb in order to embark for the Ḥidjāz; her beauty dazzled him to the extent that he forgot to make his pilgrimage and settled near the convent for a long time; she continued to inspire him long after his return to Spain. The odes addressed to Nuwayra are his best poetry. The *dīwān* of Ibn al-Ḥaddād was voluminous and the poems were even arranged in alphabetical order of the rhymes. He was particularly proud of a *ḳaṣīda* in *sīn* which he called *ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* (garden of truth) and of which we only possess two verses; they show his tendency to meditation and his liking for *ḥikma* poetry which he called *falsafiyyātī* (my philosophical poems). His prose is pedantic and encumbered with far-fetched images and expressions; most of the prose passages reproduced by Ibn Bassām show a deep unhappiness and a quarrelsome nature. Ibn al-Abbār attributes to him a work on prosody entitled *al-Mustanbaṭ*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 133; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 301-36; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1953, i, 143-5; idem, *Rāyāt*, Madrid 1942, 74-5/234-5; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1319, ii, 250-1; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, 80; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ii, 86; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1283, ii, 167; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, i, Cairo 1924, 384-6; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, MS Dār al-kutub, Cairo, xii, fol. 54; Ḳifṭī, *Muḥammadūn*, MS Dār al-kutub, fol. 32; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 338-9 and index; Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i, 253-6; Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Baltimore 1946, 194-5; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index. (H. Monès)

IBN ḤADJAR AL-ʿASḲALĀNĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholar, judge, and historian (773-852/1372-1449), whose life work constitutes the final summation of the science of *ḥadīth* and makes him one of the greatest and, at the same time, most typical representatives of Muslim religious scholarship. He himself did not know the origin of his family name Ibn Ḥadjar. The *nisba* ʿAsḳalānī was considered by family tradition to go back to 587/1191, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered ʿAsḳalān [*q.v.*] to be destroyed and its Muslim inhabitants resettled elsewhere. Ibn Ḥadjar's forebears went to Alexandria and eventually to Cairo, where Ibn Ḥadjar was born on 22 Shaʿbān 773/28 February 1372. His paternal grandfather seems to have been a cloth manufacturer in Alexandria. His father, who was in or approaching his fifties when Ibn Ḥadjar was born, had received a good legal training but had been forced to give up an incipient career in the judiciary. He was a devoted writer of occasional poetry. He published a collection of poetry in praise of the Prophet and the Sanctuary in Mecca as well as an *urdjūza* recounting those acts of divine grace of the holy man al-Ṣanāfīrī (d. 26 Shaʿbān 772/15 March 1371, cf. *Durar*, iv, 131 f.) which he had witnessed personally. He died on Wednesday, 23 (25) Radjab 777/19 December 1375. His son later remembered him only dimly "like some unreal phantom of the imagination" (cf. *Durar*, iii, 117, and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 252 f.). Ibn Ḥadjar was now a full orphan, as his mother Tudjdjār had died earlier. It seems to have been Tudjdjār who brought additional wealth and connexions into the family. She belonged to a certain Ziftāwī family, and her brother was a Kārimī [*q.v.*] merchant. She had been married before to Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muhaymin, an adherent of Ibn al-ʿArabī's mystic philosophy, and she left a considerable fortune to her son from this marriage (*Ḍawʾ*, ii, 184); thus, she must have been of independent means.

Ibn Ḥadjar's father had another son from a previous marriage, who was a promising scholar but died young. Tudjdjār bore him a daughter born in Arabia on the pilgrimage and appropriately named Umm Muḥammad Sitt al-Rakb (b. Radjab 770/February 1369, d. Djumādā II 798/February-March 1396). She was three years older than her brother and was "my mother after my mother's death." She later married Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of the well-known Kharrūbī family of Kārimī merchants, whose maternal grandfather Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bālisī represented another influential Kārimī family and who himself died in 833/1429-30 as a very wealthy man (*Ḍawʾ*, viii, 246 f.), although his father had managed to run through several fortunes and had died bankrupt (*Ḍawʾ*, vi, 92). For the young son, Muḥammad, and the daughter, Fawz, of Umm Muḥammad, their twenty-four year old uncle Ibn Ḥadjar solicited a number of *idjāzas* (cf. H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 82, and *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 116). Another Kharrūbī, Zakī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who, starting out as a scholar, had become extremely wealthy and the head of his family through repeated inheritances (*Durar*, i, 450 f.), entered Ibn Ḥadjar's life upon the death of his father who had designated Zakī al-Dīn as the principal guardian of his son. In 784/1382-3, Zakī al-Dīn took the eleven-year old Ibn Ḥadjar on the Pilgrimage to Mecca (where he had already been once before with his father). He returned with him in 786 and died soon after, in Muḥarram 787/February 1385. He is supposed to have been a second cousin of the Kharrūbī who married Ibn Ḥadjar's sister.

Ibn Ḥadjar's background was that of long established mercantile wealth and of the kind of usually non-professional but very intense interest in religious learning that was characteristic of the Muslim upper middle classes. The loss of his parents meant no material deprivation for him (for instance, he was able to stay in the house in which he was born until he married). It seems to have had a somewhat retarding influence on his early education inasmuch as he went to school only when he was five. He had memorized the Ḳurʾān by the age of nine. The sojourn in Arabia with Zakī al-Dīn meant no interruption of his studies. These began in earnest after his return to Egypt and Zakī al-Dīn's death. According to the custom of the time, he recorded his studies in the minutest detail, with the names of all his teachers and the books he read, in a series of works, such as *al-Muʿdjam al-mufahras* (autograph Istanbul, Murad Molla 603, cf. Ritter, *loc. cit.*; important mss. in Cairo, *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* 82, and in Leningrad, cf. V. Rosen, in *Bulletin de l'Acad. Impér. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, xxvi (1880), 18-26, reprinted in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, viii (1881), 691-702), the *Madjmaʿ al-muʾassas bi(li)-'l-Muʿdjam al-mufahras* (Cairo, *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* 75; M. Weisweiler, *Istanbuler Handschriftenstudien*, Leipzig 1937, no. 105), the *Maḳāṣid al-ʿaliyyāt* (*ʿaliyya*) *fī fihrist al-marwiyyāt* (*al-kutub wa-'l-adjzāʾ al-marwiyya*) (= ms. Berlin 10123; Y. al-ʿIshsh, *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya*, Damascus 1366/1947, 310), and the *Mashyakha* (Istanbul, Feyzullah 534, cf. Ritter,

loc. cit.), to which should be added his *Tadhkira* with the autograph *idjāzas* of his teachers (Istanbul, Aya Sofya 3139, cf. Ritter, *loc. cit.*). Another of Ibn Ḥadjar's guardians and early academic teachers, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, influenced the direction of his studies in an important respect. He introduced him to historical literature and stimulated his interest in the historical side of religious studies. When Ibn Ḥadjar decided to specialize in *ḥadīth*, Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 806/1404) became his principal teacher. He also seems to have profited greatly from his contact with ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa with whom he studied from 790/1388 until Ibn Djamāʿa's death in 819/1416. However, none of his teachers exercised upon him the overpowering influence which he himself came to exercise later on upon some of his students.

Ibn Ḥadjar took his first steps into scholarly *ḥadīth* research at the age of twenty. The decision to devote himself entirely to it came three years later, in 796/1393-4. In Shaʿbān 798/May 1396 his guardian and teacher, Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, arranged for him to marry a girl from a highly respected family, then about eighteen years old, Uns, a daughter of the Inspector of the Army (*nāẓir al-djaysh*) ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad. On her mother's side, she was a great-granddaughter of a daughter of Mankūtimur, who had inaugurated the College named after him shortly before his death in 698/1298. Ibn Ḥadjar moved into the family mansion of his wife, where he lived until he died. There were later marriages, but no other wife of his was ever brought into the house to live with Uns under the same roof. Uns herself survived him by almost fourteen years (d. Rabīʿ I 867/November-December 1462, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 10 f.) He had spent the months preceding his marriage in Alexandria, in study and research, and the following year, in Shawwāl 799/July 1397, he left for the Ḥidjāz and the Yemen on a journey which extended into 801/1398. The year thereafter, he studied in Palestine and Syria. Although he later went on the Pilgrimage several times, re-visited the Yemen in 806/1403, and undertook a lecture and study tour of Syria in 836-7/1432-3 in the entourage of Barsbāy [*q.v.*], his student travels ended when he returned from Syria in 803/1400. The last years of the eighth century also saw the beginnings of his work as an author. His earliest recorded publication was a paper on prosody written in 795/1392-3. A laudatory book-notice (*taḳrīẓ*) on al-Damāmīnī's *Nuzūl al-ghayth* dating from the same year is quoted by al-Sakhāwī, *Djawāhir*, fol. 190a. Much of the poetry in his highly esteemed *Dīwān* (preserved in manuscript) was also the product of his younger years. Many of his large later works were conceived and begun during this period.

His professional career followed the usual pattern of lecturer, professor and head of college, and, finally, judge, with many other activities, such as those of *muftī*, preacher, and librarian, included. There were some minor annoyances as well as the customary frequent interruptions in his tenure of the judgeship, but otherwise his career proceeded smoothly toward ever growing fame and success. His lectures on *ḥadīth* started in Shawwāl 808/March 1406 in the Shaykhūniyya. Later on, he gave lectures .lso in the renovated Djamāliyya when it was opened in Radjab 811/November 1408, and in the Mankūtimuriyya (Djumādā II 812/October 1409). His principal academic association was with the Khānḳāh al-Baybarsiyya. He was installed as its head in control of both educational and administrative matters (*mashyakha* and *naẓar*) on 3 Rabīʿ I 813/6 July 1410. In 816/1413, he lost the position but was re-instated in Rabīʿ II 818/June 1415, to retain the position for almost thirty-one years until he was ousted on 20 Djumādā I 849/24 August 1445. He transferred his teaching activities to the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Kāmiliyya, while all the time using his influence in attempts to regain control of the Baybarsiyya. On 2 Rabīʿ II 852/6 June 1448 his efforts were successful, and he taught again in the Baybarsiyya for the few remaining months before his final illness in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda of the same year (January 1449). An improvement introduced during his administration of the Baybarsiyya was an alphabetical filing system for the beneficiaries of the institution, which was imitated by other colleges and by the *Dīwān al-Djaysh*. In addition to other lecturerships in *ḥadīth* and, occasionally, in *tafsīr* and *fiḳh*, Ibn Ḥadjar held the office of *muftī* in the Dār al-ʿAdl from 811/1408-9 until his death, and that of associate preacher and *imām* in the Mosque of al-Azhar and the Mosque of ʿAmr. In 826/1423, he took over the administration of the library of the Maḥmūdiyya with its approximately 4,000 valuable manuscripts. During his librarianship, which lasted until his death, he compiled two catalogues, one arranged alphabetically and the other according to topics.

A judgeship, which he did not accept, was offered to him in the Yemen in his early years. Reluctantly, he had been holding an associate judgeship in conjunction with Djalāl al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī when his great opportunity came on 27 Muḥarram 827/31 December 1423 (*Djawāhir*: Saturday, 22 Muḥarram/Sunday, 26 December). He was dismissed for the first time less than eleven months later, but the office of Chief Judge of Egypt (and Syria) remained his for a combined total of about twenty-one years. He was re-instated on 2 Radjab 828/20 May 1425; dismissed on 26 Ṣafar 833/24 November 1429, and re-instated on 26 Djumādā I 834/9 February 1431; dismissed on 5 Shawwāl 840/12 April 1437, and re-instated on 6 Shawwāl 841/2 April 1438; dismissed in Muḥarram 844/June 1440, and re-instated on 26 Ṣafar 844/27 July 1440; dismissed on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 846/17 March 1443, and re-instated after two days (followed by another even briefer period out of office in Rabīʿ I 848/June 1444); dismissed on 11 Muḥarram 849/19 April 1445 (after the collapse of a minaret with much loss of life, when attempts were made to hold the office of the Chief Judge responsible for the safety of the structure), and re-instated on 5 Ṣafar 850/2 May 1446; dismissed in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 850/March 1447, and re-instated on 8 Rabīʿ II 852/11 June 1448. He lost the office finally on 25 Djumādā II 852/26 August 1448. A few months later, about an hour after the evening prayer in the night of Saturday, on 28 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 852/Saturday, 22 February 1449, he died. His last will and testament, with a variety of individual bequests, has been preserved (*Djawāhir*, fols. 324b-325b; also ms. Istanbul, Reis ül-küttap 498, fols. 173b-175a). His physical appearance and his qualities of character as well as his religious and moral behaviour are described by his pupil al-Sakhāwī as completely conforming to the ideal standards of Islam, and there seem to have been few dissenting voices among his biographers, al-Biḳāʿī being a notable exception (cf. *Ḍawʾ*, i, 104 f.). He was a good chess player, and he seems to have remained fond of poetry throughout his life.

Amidst all the success and acclaim which he found as a scholar, teacher, and official, his family life was not free of great disappointments. His wife,

Uns, bore him no living male children but only five daughters, and he survived all of them by many years. His eldest daughter, Zayn Khātūn (802-833/1399-1429/30, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 51), married a Mamlūk official, Shāhīn al-ʿAlāʾī (d. 860/1456, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, iii, 296). Their surviving son, Yūsuf (828-99/1425-93, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, x, 313-18; Brockelmann, S II, 76; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 370), made something of a name for himself as a scholar, but he hardly fulfilled Ibn Ḥadjar's hope for a successor. He aroused al-Sakhāwī's ire by presuming to correct alleged mistakes in the work of his grandfather. The second daughter, Farḥa (804-28/1402-25, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 115), barely lived long enough to be married to Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn al-Ashḳar (d. 863/1458-9). The third and fifth daughters, Ghāliya (807-19/1405-16, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 85) and Fāṭima (817-19/1414-16, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 88), did not even reach early maturity. The fourth, Rābiʿa (811-32/1408-28/29, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 34), was married at the age of fifteen to the elderly former judge Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Maknūn, who died soon after (779-829/1377-1426, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 208); in a second marriage, she married the widower of her late sister Farḥa, Ibn al-Ashḳar. A Tatar (Turkish) slave girl of Uns, whom he removed from his house by subterfuge, gave Ibn Ḥadjar his only surviving son, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (b. 18 Ṣafar 815/30 May 1412, d. 16 Djumādā II 869/13 February 1465, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, vii, 20). There is good reason to suspect that he was not qualified for the scholarly positions in which his father tried to place him, nor was he a good administrator of either college finances or his own. Of Ibn Ḥadjar's marriages in his later years, that to Laylā bint Maḥmūd b. Ṭūghān (d. about eighty years old in 881/1476, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 123), contracted in Aleppo on his journey to Syria in 836/1432, lasted until his death.

Ibn Ḥadjar's enduring fame was earned by his numerous works mainly on the science of *ḥadīth* and covering its entire range. Their volume alone presupposes the expenditure of a staggering and almost incredible amount of time and labour. Only some of the most famous ones can be mentioned here. In his lifetime, he was most admired for his work on al-Bukhārī. He securely established his scholarly reputation in his early thirties when, in 804/1401-2, he completed the draft of, and three years later published a work on the *isnād*s of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, entitled *Taʿlīḳ al-Taʿlīḳ* (*Djawāhir*, fol. 61a; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, i, 534 f., ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge, i, 552). The introduction to his great commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, entitled *Fatḥ al-bārī* (Brockelmann, S I, 262; Cairo 1959-63), was completed in 813/1410-11, and the commentary itself came gradually into being in lecture courses extending from 817/1414 to its final completion on 1 Radjab 842/18 December 1438. The fame of the work was so great that in 833/1429-30 the Timurid ruler of Fārs and Sidjistān, Shāh Rukh, asked Egypt's ruler Barsbāy to secure for him copies of the material published so far, as was done also by the Ḥafṣid Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from the other end of the Muslim world. Of Ibn Ḥadjar's large biographical dictionaries, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* (Calcutta 1856-93) deals with the men around Muḥammad, and the *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (clean-copied in part already in 807/1404-5, ed. Ḥaydarābād 1325-7) and the *Lisān al-Mīzān* (Ḥaydarābād 1329-31) with traditionists, the latter (finished in draft form in 847/1443-4) also including many men having very tenuous connexions with *ḥadīth*. The biographies of Egyptian judges, *Rafʿ al-iṣr* (Cairo 1957-61; a MS written by his grandson Yūsuf is preserved in Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Molla Çelebi 123), show Ibn Ḥadjar's literary interests in addition to his concern with his own position in history, while *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina* (Ḥaydarābād 1348-50), containing biographies of all the noteworthy individuals who died in the 8th/14th century, is the first of the all-inclusive centenary biographical collections. An annalistic supplement to the *Durar*, with the individual biographies arranged alphabetically within each year, was continued by Ibn Ḥadjar down to the year 832/1428-9 (ms. photo. Cairo, *taʾrīkh* 4767, possibly identical with the autograph known to al-Sakhāwī, *Djawāhir*, fol. 183b, as being in the possession of Ibn al-Lubūdī in Damascus). An annalistic history of noteworthy events from 773/1372, the year of his birth, to 850/1446 has the title *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (cf. O. Spies, *Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, in *Abh. K. M.*, xix/3 (1932), 85-7; Hasan Habashi, *Historical studies on the* Inbāʾ al-Ghumr *of Ibn Ḥajar*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, London 1955). Most of the above-mentioned works, and everything else he wrote, are admittedly to a large degree mechanical compilations; the bulk of their material (except for contemporary data) consists of excerpts from one or more similar compilations by earlier authors. However, Ibn Ḥadjar was extremely thorough and aimed at completeness. He was never quite satisfied with the amount of information he was able to gather. His approach was, within limits, critical. He always looked out for additional material with which to enrich and clarify the information furnished by his predecessors. In this spirit, he created handbooks of an enormous scope and laudable accuracy. They summarize practically all the earlier relevant literature and have remained indispensable reference works for present-day scholars.

Bibliography: Brief third-person autobiography in *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, i, 85-8.—Autobibliography used by al-Sakhāwī, *al-Djawāhir wa-ʾl-durar fī tardjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥadjar*. The *Djawāhir* is a truly comprehensive and informative biography. It has been used here as the basic source, following ms. Istanbul, Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III, 2991 (other MSS.: Paris 2105; Tarīm, cf. R. B. Serjeant, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1949-50), 307).—Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 36-40, where many contemporary biographies are mentioned (among them eight from the works of men who predeceased Ibn Ḥadjar). Only a few of these are preserved so far as is known, but excerpts from many of them are to be found in the *Djawāhir*.—See further, Brockelmann, II, 80-84, 676, S II, 72-6, III, 1252; *EI*[1] and *Supplement*, s.v. Ibn Ḥadjar.—For autograph mss. and *idjāza*s, see, for instance, O. Spies, *op. cit.*, 114 (autograph of *Tahdhīb*); H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 79-83; F. Ben Achour, in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Congress of Orientalists*, Leiden 1957, ii, 188; L. Nemoy, *Arabic manuscripts in the Yale University Library*, New Haven 1956, Pl. III.—Recent editions of hitherto unpublished works: *al-Khiṣāl al-mukaffira*, ed. M. Riyāḍ Māliḥ, Damascus 1383/1963; *al-Mashyakha al-bāsima li-ʾl-Ḳibābī*, ed. J. Sublet (unpublished diss., cf. *Annuaire 1964-5, École Pratique des Hautes Études*, 425 f.); *Tabṣīr al-muntabih*, ed. ʿAlī al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1965-. (F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN ḤADJAR AL-HAYTAMĪ, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ḤADJAR, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, AL-HAYTAMĪ (not al-Hay-

thamī) AL-SAʿDĪ (after the Banū Saʿd in the Sharkiyya province of Lower Egypt, where his family was originally settled), a famous scholar and prolific writer of the Shāfiʿī school. On account of the lawlessness in Sharkiyya, an ancestor, who was nicknamed Ḥadjar because of his taciturnity, moved to the village of Maḥallat Abi 'l-Haytam in Gharbiyya province, and there Ibn Ḥadjar was born towards the end of the year 909/1504 (some say in Radjab, the month in which he was to die). While still a child, he lost his father and then his grandfather, but his father's teachers, Shams al-Dīn b. Abi 'l-Ḥamā'il (d. 932/1526), a noted mystic, and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shanāwī, a disciple of this last, looked after his maintenance and education. Al-Shanāwī placed him in the sanctuary of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā and, after he had completed his elementary education there, sent him to the Azhar mosque in Cairo where he continued his studies from 924/1518, having a very hard time at first. His main teacher at the Azhar mosque was Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520; Brockelmann, II, 122, S II, 117). Ibn Ḥadjar studied the usual branches of Islamic and Arabic learning, and also medicine; lists of his teachers, many of whom, beginning with Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, were disciples of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī and of al-Suyūṭī [*qq.v.*], are found in the preface to his *Fatāwā*, in *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, and in *EI*[1]. At the end of 929/1523, while he was not yet 20 years old, his teachers gave him on their own initiative the *idjāza* to give *fatwās* and to teach. He married the niece of al-Shanāwī, at the suggestion of this last, in 932/1526, and performed the Pilgrimage in 933/1527, remaining in Mecca during the following year. During this stay in Mecca, he started writing on *fiḳh*, but not before Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī [*q.v.*] had appeared to him in his sleep and encouraged him. When he was still a student, Ibn Ḥadjar had expressed his ambitions as an author on *fiḳh* in a Freudian dream which he himself related (preface to the *Fatāwā*). Having returned to Egypt, he made a second Pilgrimage in 937/1531, again followed by a year's sojourn in Mecca. After a third Pilgrimage in 940/1533, he settled there permanently and devoted himself to authorship and teaching. Although his reputation spread far and wide, his authority in Mecca was not entirely undisputed (see al-Fākihī, in *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 56 ff.), and he engaged in a series of vigorous polemics with Ibn Ziyād, the Shāfiʿī *muftī* of Zabīd (d. 975/1568; Brockelmann, II, 532, S II, 555). He died on 23 Radjab 974/3 February 1567 and was buried in the cemetery of Maʿlāt. He seems to have been quite untouched by the political upheavals occurring during his lifetime.

Ibn Ḥadjar's main work is his commentary on the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* of al-Nawawī [*q.v.*], called *Tuḥfat al-muḥtādj li-sharḥ al-Minhādj*; he began writing it on 12 Muḥarram 958/20 January 1551. With the *Nihāya* of al-Ramlī [*q.v.*], it became one of the two authoritative textbooks of the Shāfiʿī school, and it has often been printed. Whereas the followers of Ibn Ḥadjar (chiefly in Ḥidjāz, Yaman, Ḥaḍramawt and East Africa) and the followers of al-Ramlī had at first disputed fiercely with one another, the opinion finally prevailed that both were to be regarded as equally authoritative and indispensable expounders of the correct Shāfiʿī doctrine. Of almost equal importance are his *fatwās* on *fiḳh*, *al-Fatāwā al-kubrā al-fiḳhiyya*, Cairo 1308, collected by one of his disciples; they include several lengthy treatises with separate titles, *e.g.* his two polemics against Ibn Ziyād; many of the *fatwās*, and also, incidentally, some of Ibn Ḥadjar's other writings, are concerned with contemporary problems. One of these writings is *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-muḥriḳa fi 'l-radd ʿalā ahl al-zaygh* (or *al-rafḍ*) *wa'l-zandaḳa*, a defence of the legitimacy of the offices of the first four Caliphs against the claims of the Shīʿa; this work, completed in Shawwāl 950/January 1544, grew out of lectures which Ibn Ḥadjar gave, in answer to numerous requests, in the Great Mosque of Mecca; it had an immediate success, spread in a few years "in innumerable copies to the remotest countries", and has often been printed. Another is the *Kaff al-raʿāʿ ʿan muḥarramāt al-lahw wa'l-samāʿ*, against music and games as practised in contemporary society. His *Kitāb al-Zawādjir ʿan iḳtirāf al-kabā'ir* (*editio princeps* Būlāḳ 1284) is the most important work in existence on the practical morality of Islam. Towards the end of his life, Ibn Ḥadjar in his *Thabat* (or *Muʿdjam*) gave an account of his teachers in traditions (*ḥadīth*) and their chains of authorities. For details on all this and other works, see Brockelmann.

Bibliography: Preface to the *Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1282; Preface to *al-Fatāwā al-kubrā*, Cairo 1308, i, 3-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 370-2; al-ʿAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, 287-92; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, ii, 427 (on Ibn Ḥadjar's maternal grandson); al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, i, 109; al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya*, 240 f., n. 3; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xv, 26 (on Ibn Ḥadjar's paternal grandson); Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, 81-4; al-Sharīf al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, i, 250-2; I. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šîʿâ und der sunnitischen Polemik*, Vienna 1874, 17-9 (= *SBAk. Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl. lxxviii, 453-5); Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii, 387 f., 423 f., iv/1, 105, and Index; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, index; C. van Arendonk, in *EI*[1], s.v.; Brockelmann, II, 508, S II, 527. (C. VAN ARENDONK-[J. SCHACHT])

IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ, name of several persons, including in particular a famous Mālikī jurist, four grammarians, two Andalusian men of letters of the Naṣrid period and a poet and theologian who wrote a commentary on al-Sanūsī.

The Mālikī jurist was ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ʿABDARĪ AL-FĀSĪ, born in Cairo in 737/1336. He is known especially for his *Madkhal al-sharʿ al-sharīf*, printed in Cairo in 1329. In it he appears as a scholar anxious to popularize his learning, as a jurist who was to a certain extent a director of conscience, being one who considered "knowledge" and "action" to be inseparable. He also based his work on the principles according to which "an act of worship without the exact *intention* cannot be in accordance with the Law", and he stated that "an act of worship consists of two parts: the first is the attitude of the body, the second the intention of the heart, but it is the second which is the more important". In this can be clearly seen the application of the principles of the *Iḥyā'* (he quotes al-Ghazālī, i, 12) to the Mālikī formalism which was very ready to identify, in the name of intention (*niyya*), the science of law with the analysis of spiritual matters.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 95; Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, ii, 428.

Among the grammarians was ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-AZDĪ AL-ISHBĪLĪ (d. 647 or 651/1249 or 1253). He was the author of a commentary on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh, of an abridgement of the *Mustaṣfā* of al-Ghazālī, of a work on the imāmate, etc.; see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 156.

SHĪTH B. IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAYDARA AL-KINĀWĪ AL-ḲIFṬĪ (d. 598 or 599 1002-3), was a poet, a wit and a traditionist as well as a grammarian. He was the pupil of Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī of Alexandria. He seems to have excelled in didactic poetry, which accorded particularly well with the wide extent of his learning. This specialist in *adab* and grammar, himself an eminent stylist, was the author of various treatises on philology as well as of a homily addressed to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He also wrote on Māliki law (see Yāḳūt, Cairo ed., xi, 278); cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 267.

Two 19th century grammarians were also called Ibn al-Ḥādjdj. They were ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-SULAMĪ (d. 1273/1856) and ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAMDŪN AL-SULAMĪ (d. 1274/1857). They both wrote commentaries on the classic *al-Alfiyya* (see Sarkīs, 70).

Among the Andalusians, ABU 'L-BARAKĀT MUḤAMMAD AL-BALĀFIḲĪ (d. 771/1370) was one of the persons who were most characteristic of his period. Mme. Soledad Gibert has written an exhaustive monograph on him in *al-Andalus*, xxvii (1963), 381-424. Ibn Djazarī considered him to be, in addition to his other talents, an outstanding "reader" of the Ḳur'ān (ed. Bergsträsser, no. 3391).

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Yaʿḳūb b. Saʿīd produced a poetic version of the little *ʿAḳīda* of al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*]; see Brockelmann, S II, 355; Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif* ii, 428. (J.-C. VADET)

IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-NUMAYRĪ, Andalusian scholar and poet of the 8th/14th century. Born at Granada in 713/1313, he left Spain in 737/1337 and did not return until 759/1358, having during his absence made two journeys to the East and served as *kātib* under the Marīnids and Ḥafṣids. Until his death in about 785/1383 he held the office of *ḳāḍī* and undertook various ambassadorial missions for the Naṣrids.

Of his literary output, known by twenty titles, nothing is known to remain but fragments of verse scattered through various anthologies, biographical dictionaries, etc. This corpus has yet to be examined in detail. It is divided into three distinct groups and it is not firmly established that they are all by the same Ibn al-Ḥādjdj.

Bibliography: J. F. P. Hopkins, *An Andalusian poet of the fourteenth century: Ibn al-Ḥājj*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 57-64. (J. F. P. HOPKINS)

IBN AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḤUSAYN B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD, a Shīʿī Arab poet in the time of the Būyids [*q.v.*]. Born in Baghdād in about 330/941-2, of a family of government officials and secretaries, he completed the traditional studies and was partly trained by Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi' (313-84/925-94 [see AL-ṢĀBI']) who made him take up an administrative career, but he very quickly perceived that his poetic talents could prove more profitable and resigned his post. At first he was connected with the vizier al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*] for whom he wrote a panegyric and a satire on al-Mutanabbī (see R. Blachère, *Abou ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî*, Paris 1935, 224-5), and whose death (353/963) he lamented. He next attached himself to the viziers Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās al-Shīrāzī and Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās, for whom he acted as a kind of entertainer, and fell out with a *ḥādjib* of ʿIzz al-Dawla [*q.v.*] as a result of which he was committed to prison for a time. Shortly afterwards, on the strength of a poem addressed to the last-named, he succeeded in getting himself appointed *muḥtasib* of Baghdād, under the vizierate of Ibn Baḳiyya (362-6/973-7 [*q.v.*]) and even in resuming this position after being compelled to surrender it. At this period he also came in touch with Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-ʿAmīd [see IBN AL-ʿAMĪD, II] who greatly admired his poetry, and then received some kind of pension from Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] and profited from the bounty of the Būyid rulers; but it was principally the viziers and other eminent persons whose company he sought, living very familiarly with them and enjoying their protection and liberality, and this appears to have been his real objective. He even received 1,000 *dīnār*s from a Fāṭimid whom he eulogized and who feared his attacks. Thus, by the practice of what was perhaps a kind of blackmail, he succeeded in amassing a fortune, which he was clever enough to make still more productive, purchased estates, and even farmed the taxes in certain villages; in short, he became an influential man of affairs, and lived in prosperity until his death, which took place on one of his estates in Djumādā II 391/May 1001; he was buried in Baghdād at the feet of Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*].

A *muḥtasib* and man of affairs, a family man devoted to his kin, such is one aspect of Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj's personality; but there is another, entirely different one which leaps to the eye as soon as one begins to read his poetry, so different indeed that some have found it possible to speak of a dual personality. But his poetry, very extensive since his *Dīwān* comprised ten volumes, also presents itself in two contradictory aspects: on the one hand, Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj wrote mediocre and traditional panegyrics, following the neo-classical line; on the other hand, and of greater importance, he made himself the champion of a new type of poetry characterized by what he himself called *sukhf* [*q.v.*], giving to this term the sense of obscenity in scurrilous and vulgar language, lewdness, insolent grossness, cynical and aggressive non-conformism; sexuality and scatology are the basic features of this poetry, which respects nothing, neither Islam, nor the most honourable personages, nor even the poet himself. This *sukhf* is either the sole component of a short piece, or else one of the elements of a poem apparently serious. In Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj there are thus two men, two poets, even two styles; in the traditional poetry, the expression is polished, the resources of *badīʿ* are called into play, while in the *sukhf* the poet abandons himself to his inspiration and does not hesitate to use gutter slang, which gives his work a completely original flavour and makes him the master of the genre; an innovator, he had scarcely any rivals, and Ibn al-Habbāriyya [*q.v.*], who might come to mind, is far from possessing his verve.

The *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj has always been very much sought after, to the point that certain authorities have had to forbid the reading of it (see *Machriq*, x, 1085), but it has not yet been published, despite the existence of a complete manuscript in Baghdād, in the Library of Waḳfs; other libraries possess odd volumes (Dār al-kutub, Cairo, Adab 7342, Maktaba Taymūriyya, 468, 606, 657; Brit. Mus. Or. 4591, Add. 7588; Göttingen, ar. 76). His contemporary and friend al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1116 [*q.v.*]) had made a selection of serious poems under the title *al-Naẓīf min al-sakhīf*, while al-Asṭurlābī (d. 534/1139-40) had concerned himself more particularly with the *sukhf*; his collection entitled *Durrat al-tādj fī shiʿr Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj* (MS Paris B.N., 5913) copied and glossed by Ibn al-Khashshāb [*q.v.*] was the subject of an unpublished work, presented as a *thèse complémentaire* at the Sorbonne in 1953, by ʿAlī Āl-Ṭāhir who introduced it

with a study on Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj. Finally, Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī (686-768/1287-1366 [*q.v.*]) also made a selection of poems under the title *Laṭāʾif al-taltīf* (MS Copenhagen, 260).

Bibliography: Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 30-102; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, i, 89; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 6-16 = *Udabāʾ*, x, 206-32; ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, Cairo 1326, i, 11, ii, 62 ff.; Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt*, 239-40; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 216; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1904, index; Ibn Khallikān, i, 155 ff.; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, viii, 14; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, index; Brockelmann, S I, 130; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 433-5.

(D. S. Margoliouth-[Ch. Pellat])

IBN AL-ḤĀDJIB, Djamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr al-Mālikī, Māliki *faḳīh* and grammarian who owes his popular name to the fact that his father, a Kurd, was chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) to the *amīr* ʿIzz al-Dīn Mūsak al-Ṣalāḥī. He was born at Asnā, a village in Upper Egypt, after 570/1174-5. He studied the Islamic sciences in Cairo with great success, particularly with al-Shāṭibī and Muḥammad al-Ghaznawī. After that, at least for some years, he must have lived and taught in Cairo, as is shown by the *Amālī* dated from that town, the earliest in 609/1212-3, the latest in 616/1219-20. Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (401) places his departure for Damascus in 617/1220-1; this is also the earliest date for the *Amālī* from that town. In Damascus, Ibn al-Ḥādjib taught in the Mālikī *zāwiya* of the Great Mosque. A dispute with the Ayyūbī Ismāʿīl al-Ṣāliḥ led to his expulsion from the town (639/1241-2 in Brockelmann, I², 367; 638/1240-1 in Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, 401). He returned to Cairo, and then went to settle in Alexandria, but died there shortly afterwards on Thursday 26 Shawwāl 646/11 February 1249. Among his pupils we find Ibn al-Munayyir, one of the masters of Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī.

Ibn al-Ḥādjib earned a reputation as a Mālikī *faḳīh*, but he is primarily known as a grammarian (*naḥwī*); as a jurist, he was the first to combine in his writings the doctrines of the Egyptian Mālikīs with those of the Mālikis of the Maghrib; as grammarian, his general method was one that had already been long practised—résumé and commentary. But he mastered his material to the point of being able to condense it into two very short works, *al-Shāfiya* for *ṣarf* (morphology treated in the Arab manner) and *al-Kāfiya* for *naḥw* (syntax). These two short works enjoyed very great fame and made the reputation of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. They provided material for a host of commentators. Moreover, by separating *ṣarf* and *naḥw*, here going beyond the *Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī, he returned to the tradition of Ibn Djinnī and al-Māzinī.

Works: (1) *al-Shāfiya*, printed several times, notably in Cairo. Ibn al-Ḥādjib naturally produced a commentary on it (mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 3). Of the numerous commentaries, the best is that of Raḍī ʾl-Dīn al-Astarābādhī. A very convenient edition, based on an old manuscript, has been produced in Cairo (1358/1939), 3 vols, plus one vol. for the *Sharḥ shawāhidī* by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī. (2) *al-Kāfiya*, printed for the first time in Rome in 1592; since then, many times, in Delhi, Cawnpore, Calcutta, Tashkent, Istanbul and Būlāḳ. Of the very numerous commentaries (among them that of the author, published in Istanbul 1311), the best is again that of Raḍī ʾl-Dīn al-Astarābādhī. This last has been published several times; the edition to be most recommended seems to be that of Istanbul 1275, 2 vols. But there is still no really convenient edition of this remarkable work, such as that of the *Sharḥ* on the *Shāfiya* referred to above.—On the commentaries and existing MSS, see Brockelmann, I², 367-8, S I, 531-5. (3) *al-Amālī*: his oral teaching, dictated to his hearers or to his son al-Mufaḍḍal. Brockelmann here distinguishes two series, including different dates (unpublished; MSS: I², 371-2, S I, 537): (a) on the Ḳurʾān, al-Mutanabbī and other poets, etc. (b) on some passages from the Ḳurʾān and especially on the *Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī. (4) *al-Ḳaṣīda al-muwashshaḥa bi ʾl-asmāʾ al-muʾannatha*, a versified enumeration (in *Kāmil*) of feminine nouns without a feminine termination; published in A. Haffner and L. Cheikho, *Dix anciens traités de philologie arabe* (2nd ed., Beirut 1914), 157; reproduced in *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif* of F. A. al-Bustānī, ii, 1958, 426. (5) *Risāla fi ʾl-ʿushr*, on the forms of the adjectives *awwal* and *ākhir* used with *ʿushr* "a tenth"; in MS, Berlin, 6894. (6) *Sharḥ al-Muḳaddima al-Djuzūliyya*; in MS, Fās, Ḳarawiyyīn (see Brockelmann, S I, 539 and 541). (7) *K. al-Maḳṣad al-djalīl fi ʿilm al-khalīl*: an account of Arabic prosody, versified (in the *Basīṭ* metre); in manuscript in several libraries (Brockelmann, I², 371, S I, 537); moreover (*ibid.*) references to the manuscripts of seven commentators. Freytag published this Arabic prosody in verse (334-43), with German translation, in his *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst* (Bonn 1830). (8) An *ʿAḳīda*: profession of Muslim faith; in MS (Brockelmann, S I, 539; for correction, Esc.² 1561, 6). (9) *Iʿrāb baʿḍ āyāt min al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, in manuscript at Aleppo, in the ʿUthmāniyya *madrasa* (and not in Mecca); see *MMIA*, xii, 470 and 471 foot. (10) *Muntahā ʾl-suʾāl wa ʾl-amal fī ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa ʾl-djadal*: a treatise on the sources of law according to the Mālikī school; in manuscript (Brockelmann, I², 372 and S I, 537). Ibn Ḥādjib made extracts from it: *ʿUyūn al-adilla* (MS, Paris, 5318) and an abridgement, *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā fi ʾl-uṣūl* (numerous MSS, Brockelmann, *ibid.*). This *Mukhtaṣar* was the subject of numerous commentaries (and then of glosses on the commentaries, and super-glosses; see *ibid.*). It has been published (Būlāḳ 1316-9), with the Commentary of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī (*al-ʿAḍudiyya*), and different glosses; also published, Cairo 1326. (11) *al-Mukhtaṣar fi ʾl-furūʿ* or *Djāmiʿ al-Ummahāt* or simply *al-Mukhtaṣar al-farʿī* (titles as given by Muḥ. Ben Cheneb, in *EI*¹, s.v. *Ibn al-Ḥādjib*). This compendium of Mālikī law is still in manuscript (see Brockelmann, I², 373 and S I, 538-9). It was commented on (*al-Tawḍīḥ*) by Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ al-Djundī (Sīdī Khalīl in Algeria) who, in regard to law, looked on Ibn al-Ḥādjib as his model; also in manuscript, as are the glosses (see Brockelmann, *ibid.*).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Brockelmann, I², 367-73 and S I, 531-9; M. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'idjâza du Cheikh ʿAbd el-Qâdir al-Fâsi*, Paris 1907, no. 191; M. Morand, *Le droit musulman algérien (rite malikite)*, *Les origines*, Algiers 1913, 9 ff. Arabic sources: first Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 323 and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo, ii, 413-4 (no. 386); then Taḳī ʾl-Dīn Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt wa ʾl-lughawiyyīn*, MS. Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya, 438 *taʾrīkh*, 401-2, and Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj*, Cairo 1329, 189-91; then Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 13-14 (tr. Rosenthal, iii, 18-19). Further, M. S. Howell, *Gr. of the Classical Arabic Language*, i, preface, XVIII-XIX. (H. Fleisch)

IBN ḤĀDJIB, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Nuʿmān, called Ibn Ḥādjib al-NUʿMĀN,

secretary, anthologist and wit of the Būyid period (340-423/951-1031). He came of a family of viziers and secretaries which was particularly in favour with the Būyids of Iran, who were probably the authors of his success. He also served the caliphs al-Tāʾiʿ and al-Ḳādir. He was a bitter rival of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ ibn Turayk, who at one time succeeded in supplanting him at the court of al-Ḳādir. He had a very wide knowledge of literature. According to the *Fihrist*, 116, he compiled a sort of anthology of the court poets, including viziers, secretaries and men of letters (from the Barmakids to his own period). Combining worldly tact with the polished learning of a man of letters, having only minor responsibilities which did not interfere with his life of cultured leisure, a "connoisseur" in both pleasure and *adab*, Ibn Ḥādjib was an example of the many dilettantes who at that time frequented the ʿAbbāsid and Būyid courts.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 166; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvii, 36. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr (or ʿĀmir) b. al-Ḥaḍramī, an agent of Muʿāwiya who is remembered for an incident in 38/658, during the period which followed the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] and the arbitration. After the occupation of Egypt by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], Muʿāwiya, turning his attention towards ʿIrāḳ, realised that he had to begin with Baṣra, where he could count on more adherents than in Kūfa. After consulting ʿAmr, he then decided to send Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī to Baṣra and gave him precise instructions: his agent was to base his propaganda on the recent successes of the Umayyads and the doleful memories of the Battle of the Camel [see djamal]; he was to distrust the Rabīʿa (ʿAbd al-Ḳays), win the friendship of the Azd and rely on the Muḍarīs (Tamīm) in order to secure acceptance of the arbitration and to try to withdraw the town from ʿAlī's authority. In fact, the Baṣrans were very divided, and their chief concern was to live in peace. Thus, from the time of his arrival, Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī encountered very strong opposition, and the neutrality of al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] was not unconnected with his final failure. Nevertheless he succeeded in rallying part of the inhabitants who were ready to "avenge the blood of ʿUthmān", to such good effect that the temporary governor, Ziyād b. Abīhi, was terrified and had to abandon the *dār al-imāra* to seek refuge with the Azd. Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī's supporters then tried to seize the governor's residence, but al-Aḥnaf intervened and order was temporarily restored. It was at that point that ʿAlī sent to Baṣra Aʿyan b. Ḍubayʿa al-Mudjāshiʿī, who, after a day during which the opposing groups had not been sufficiently inflamed for any fighting to break out, was assassinated, probably by the Khāridjīs. The lack of enthusiasm of the Azd, who refused to fight, delayed events still further, but the situation developed after the arrival of Djāriya b. Ḳudāma [*q.v.*], sent by ʿAlī. While the Azd were trying to bring Ziyād back to the *dār al-imāra*, Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī started to fight, but he was beaten and compelled to take refuge in the house of a certain Sunbīl who had given him hospitality at the time of his arrival. Djāriya, following up his advantage, surrounded and set fire to Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī's hiding-place, and he and his companions perished. Muʿāwiya, his hopes disappointed, had to wait until 41/661, when at last Baṣra was brought under his authority, through the energetic intervention of Busr b. Abī Arṭāt [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3413-7; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 290; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 556a; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 348-55 (which makes use of Wāḳidī and the *Kitāb al-Ghārāt* of Ismāʿīl b. Hilāl al-Thaḳafī); Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/1, 38-9; ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, no. 4840; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 210; Caetani, *Annali*, x, 151-67; see also Bibl. to djāriya b. ḳudāma.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN ḤAFṢŪN [see ʿumar b. ḥafṣūn].

IBN ḤAMĀDU (Ibn Ḥammād), Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbī Bakr al-Ṣanhādjī, a Berber *ḳāḍī* and historian related to the Banū Ḥammād [*q.v.*] and a native of a village near their Ḳalʿa [*q.v.*]. After studying at the Ḳalʿa and in Bougie, he was *ḳāḍī* of Algeciras and Salé (unless there is some confusion on the part of the writer of the *Mafākhir al-Barbar* (65), who gives him the *kunya* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, he was also *ḳāḍī* of Azammūr in 616/1219), and he died in 628/1231.

His *Kitāb al-Nubadh al-muḥtādja fī akhbār mulūk Ṣanhādja bi-Ifrīḳiya wa-Bidjāya*, which was used by several later historians, in particular Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, vii, 43) and the anonymous author of the *Mafākhir al-Barbar* (ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 51), appears to be lost, but there survives his short history of the ʿUbaydids, written in 617/1220 and preserved in manuscript in Paris (Bibl. Nat., 1868) and Algiers (1988, 3); it was first translated in part by Cherbonneau (in *JA*, 1862, ii, 470 ff., 1869, i, 199 ff.), and later was edited and translated in full by M. Vonderheyden (*Histoire des rois ʿobaïdites*, Algiers-Paris 1927). Ibn Ḥamādu also wrote poems, some specimens of which have been preserved by al-Tidjānī (*Riḥla*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1377/1958, 116-7).

Bibliography: Ghubrīnī, *ʿUnwān al-dirāya*, ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1910, 128-30; Amari, *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula*, 317-8; Ṣafadī, iv, 157-8, no. 1692; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 473-4; R. Brunschvig, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 156, n. 2; H. R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, p. XIX.

This Ibn Ḥamādu should not be confused with his homonym Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥamādu al-Burnūsī al-Sabtī who lived in the 6th/12th century and was the pupil of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*]; he is the author of a *Kitāb al-Muḳtabis fī akhbār al-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus*, now lost.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, trans. 314, n. 1; *Mafākhir al-Barbar*, 43, 46, 58, 64; E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Arabica*, i (1954), 25-6, n. 3; R. Brunschvig, in *Mél. Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, 156, n. 2; H. R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, p. XIX. (Ed.)

IBN ḤAMĀMA [see bilāl b. rabāḥ].

IBN ḤAMDĪS, ʿAbd al-Djabbār Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Azdī, Arab poet of Muslim Sicily. From the date of his death (527/1132-3) and some verses in which he refers to himself as an octogenarian, it may be deduced that he was born, at Syracuse, in about 447/1055, *i.e.*, just before the Christian conquest of the island, which was begun in 1060 and completed by the joint action of Robert and Roger d'Hauteville, called to Sicily by Ibn al-Thumna [*q.v.*], *amīr* of Catania.

Practically nothing is known of the period of his youth, which the poet must have spent in Sicily, but judging from allusions in his poems (*Dīwān*, ed. C. Schiaparelli, nos. 27, 110, 127, 157, 269, etc.) to revels and deep drinking, it seems to have been a gay one. And even allowing for the conventional use of these poetic motifs, which are found in almost all Bacchanalian Arabic poetry, one thing is clear: the poet's sincere nostalgia for certain places on the

island, objects of his longing, whose location remains unknown to us apart from Syracuse and Noto, which are occasionally mentioned in his poems.

Nor is it known whether the poet took part in some of the battles against the Normans before he left Sicily for Spain in 471/1078-9. At Seville he was received at the court of the prince al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād (*Dīwān*, 344), who attracted to himself poets and men of letters. In this first exile he was fortunate to live in a literary circle of which the prince was the patron and animating spirit, to take part in the gay life of the ʿAbbādid capital, and to follow the political and military events of that time, which are reflected, joyful or sad according to the circumstances, in some of his *ḳaṣīda*s. In this connexion should be mentioned the two works (*Dīwān*, nos. 277 and 283) in which Ibn Ḥamdīs celebrates the exploits of al-Muʿtamid at the famous battle of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*] in 479/1086, in which the Almoravids and the Andalusians were allied against the Christians under Alfonso VI.

When, following the conquest of his capital by the Almoravids (August 1091), al-Muʿtamid left Seville, Ibn Ḥamdis left for Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib; he then appears sometimes in Aghmāt, where the defeated prince was a prisoner (an occasion which gives rise to a touching exchange of verses between the two, *Dīwān*, nos. 152, 153 and 335), sometimes with the Zīrids of al-Mahdiyya or at Bidjāya, where the Ḥammādid al-Manṣūr b. Aʿlāʾ al-Nās (483-97/1090-1104) had settled with his troops and his court; it is one of the palaces built by this prince to which the poet's *ḳaṣīda* no. 347 refers.

Ibn Ḥamdīs had not yet left Tunisia at the time of the failure of the expedition mounted by Roger II of Sicily against al-Mahdiyya, which was placed under the command of George of Antioch. This was in July 1123: the Norman fleet was overtaken by a storm, with the result that only part of the troops reached the African shore; after an initial success the Normans were surrounded and massacred. For the poet the moment of exultation had arrived: fate had given him the joy of knowing that the Normans, who had overrun his "native land of Sicily", had been crushed by the Muslims, and the poet, though now almost 70, still found the energy to sing of their exploits (*Dīwān*, no. 143).

The exact place where Ibn Ḥamdīs died is not known: to judge from the remarks which precede the *ḳaṣīda* no. 301, it was Bidjāya, or, more probably, on the island of Majorca in 527/1132-2.

The poetical works of Ibn Ḥamdīs collected in his *Dīwān*, of which two manuscripts exist, consist of: some *ḳaṣīda*s of Sicilian inspiration, the principal themes of which are nostalgia for his birthplace and exhortations to his fellow citizens of Sicily to resist the Normans (*Dīwān*, nos. 75 and 270); poetic epistles and elegies (*Dīwān*, nos. 245, 297, 330, etc.); panegyrics, or occasional poems made for the *amīr*s, ministers and other personalities of the period with whom he came in contact: the ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtamid (*Dīwān*, nos. 86, 88, 101, 120, 127, etc.) and his son al-Rashīd (*Dīwān*, no. 58), the Zīrids Yaḥyā b. Tamīm (*Dīwān*, nos. 33, 34, 62, 132, 218, 228, etc.), ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā (*Dīwān*, nos. 63, 64, 134-41), al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (*Dīwān*, nos. 35, 142-4), the Ḥammādid al-Manṣūr (*Dīwān*, nos. 284 and 314); sententious moralizing and didactic *ḳaṣīda*s, or those expressing various states of the poet's soul (especially *Dīwān*, nos. 188, 189, 193, 220 and 238); Bacchic compositions (*Dīwān*, nos. 56 and 57), and finally a large number of *ḳaṣīda*s, or rather fragments, to be classified under the heading of *waṣf*, which are mainly about Sicily and Andalusia, or various subjects such as nature, war, animals, hunting, etc. (*Dīwān*, nos. 3, 6, 17, 21, 23, 31, 81, 116, 161). Ibn Ḥamdīs declares (*Dīwān*, no. 328) his aversion for satire and indeed no poems of *hidjāʾ* are found in the *Dīwān*.

Ibn Ḥamdīs's style and his use of poetic language are both unequal: in his poems, together with great verbal and syntactical simplicity, is found the frequent use of an excessively precious vocabulary and of constructions which are merely tricks of paronomasia and alliteration, puns used to mask the poverty of the thought behind them. In this respect it is fairly clear that Ibn Ḥamdīs succumbed to the charm, or rather the fashion, of the poetical neo-classicism represented by al-Mutanabbī, under whose influence the poet came, especially in panegyric; but his real poetic talent is seen more often in the descriptive fragments, which may have been influenced by the Andalusian poetic environment.

Bibliography: The first scholar to be interested in Ibn Ḥamdīs was M. Amari, who in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula* (Arabic text, Leipzig 1857; Ital. tr., Turin 1881-2) published a certain number of poems relating to Sicily, and in his *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², Catania 1933-9, ii, 592-602 collected information on the poet's life from different sources. Later, the whole of the *Dīwān* was edited, on the basis of the two surviving manuscripts, by C. Schiaparelli (Rome 1897) who prepared a complete Italian translation of it, which remains unpublished. A new edition, based on only one of the manuscripts (that of the Vatican) and with a certain number of emendations, was published at Beirut in 1960, by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, who was able to add to the first edition of the *Dīwān* about 100 verses from various sources. Translations into European languages of verses of Ibn Ḥamdīs are found in: A. von Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien und Sicilien*, Berlin 1855, ii, 16-33; L. Bercher, *Le palais d'El-Mansour à Bougie*, in *RT*, xxix (1922), 50-6; H. Massé, *Un chapitre des analectes d'al-Maqqari sur la littérature descriptive chez les Arabes*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, i, 235-58; F. Gabrieli, *Ibn Ḥamdīs*, Mazara 1948; idem, *Sicilia e Spagna nella vita e nella poesia di Ibn Ḥamdīs*, in *Dal mondo dell'Islam*, Milan-Naples 1954, 109-26; idem, *Il palazzo ḥammādita di Bigāya descritto da Ibn Ḥamdīs*, in *Festschrift für Ernst Kuhnel*, Berlin 1959, 54-8. Reference may also be made to: U. Rizzitano, *Il contributo del mondo arabo agli studi arabo-siculi*, in *RSO*, xxxvi (1961), 89-93; ʿAbd al-Mughnī al-Minshāwī and Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā, *Tardjamat Ibn Ḥamdīs al-Ṣiḳillī*, Cairo 1347/1929; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Sanūsī, *Fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī wa-dīwān Ibn Ḥamdīs*, Tunis 1952; U. Rizzitano, *Maʿ Ibn Ḥamdīs al-Ṣiḳillī*, in *Fikr*, vii/6 (March 1962), 563-70; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 469-71; *MMIA*, xxxvii (1962/3), 407-13.

(U. Rizzitano)

IBN ḤAMDŪN, name of the members of the family of the Banū Ḥamdūn, a line of "boon-companions" (*nudamāʾ*) of the caliphs, who flourished mainly in the first half of the 3rd/9th century. A great deal of information is available on Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Dāwūd b. Ḥamdūn, a contemporary of the caliphs al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Wāthiḳ and al-Mutawakkil, but very little on the other members of the family. Unfortunately the Arabic sources, accepting the claims of the Banū Ḥamdūn to noble descent, have endowed them with a disproportionately long genealogical tree in which it is difficult to distinguish

the fictitious persons from those who really existed. This is why Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm is given successively, in Yāḳūt, the names of Ibn Ḥamdūn and Ḥamdūn. The *Fihrist* mentions a "family of the Ḥamdūn" (*Āl Ḥamdūn*) in which it does not attempt to distinguish the various members. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥamdūn, again according to Yāḳūt, was also called Ibn Ḥamdūn. Finally, Ismāʿīl is referred to sometimes as the father of Ḥamdūn (Ḥamdūn b. Ismāʿīl) and sometimes as the grandfather of Aḥmad. When allowance is made for this genealogical pride of the "boon-companions", whose position made them the equal of favourites, scribes and even viziers, in matters concerning more particularly the Banū Ḥamdūn the following facts may be accepted: there existed originally an ancestor Ḥamdūn (*isnād*: Ḥamdūn → ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr of the *Aghānī*). This Ḥamdūn was certainly at the court of the caliph al-Rashīd. He was succeeded in office by his son or grandson, Aḥmad, who experienced changes in fortune under al-Mutawakkil, who, with his fickle moods, subjected him to some very strange treatment. His ear was cut off on the caliph's orders; certain manifestations of his artistic sensibility led to his being exiled for long periods in Ahwāz or Sind. From the tangled biographical history of the Banū Ḥamdūn there may be obtained an idea of the duties which devolved on the "boon-companions" of the ruler: to show appreciation of the merits of the court poets or favourites, to take part in their master's hunting parties, and to serve, on occasion, as the agent of those in power (cf. the connexion between Aḥmad and the vizier Fatḥ b. Khāḳān; the secret message sent from the ruler to Aḥmad during a riot in Baghdād). All these small details of life at court give the Banū Ḥamdūn a minor place in the history of Arabic literature.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 144; Ṭabarī, iii, 1314, 2164; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, ii, 204; *Aghānī*, index s.vv. Ḥamdūn, Aḥmad, Muḥammad (an Ibn Ḥamdūn whose rôle in history is not clearly defined, who served as transmitter to the first Ḥamdūn).

(J. -C. VADET)

IBN ḤAMDŪN, ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN, the author of a vast and highly informative collection dealing with a great variety of *adab* subjects and entitled *al-Tadhkira*, which enjoyed much popularity during the Mamlūk period. Born in Radjab 495/April-May 1102 as one of the sons of an official well versed in financial and administrative matters, of a family which claimed to be related to the Ḥamdānids' ancestor Ḥamdūn, he entered government service, attaining the offices of *ʿāriḍ al-ʿaskar* (Inspector of the Army) under al-Muktafī and *ṣāḥib dīwān al-zimām* (Director General of Internal Revenue, Minister of Finance) under al-Mustandjid. He did not occupy the latter post for very long. He was thrown into prison, where he died at the beginning of the year 562/October-November 1166 (but Ibn Khallikān reports also a later date, Tuesday, 11 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/29 August 1167). Family tradition indicated as the reason for his imprisonment the caliph's discovery of passages in the *Tadhkira* that he considered disrespectful to the government and dynasty, even though Ibn Ḥamdūn had been very circumspect in his writing, as his son Abū Saʿd al-Ḥasan told his friend Yāḳūt; Abū Saʿd (547-608/1152-1211), a great bibliophile who later in his life became impoverished, therefore refrained from publishing anything he wrote.

Bibliography: Al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda* (ʿIrāḳī section), Baghdād 1375/1955, i, 184 f.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, 221 f.; Ibn al-Dubaythī, *al-Mukhtaṣar al-muḥtādj ilayhi*, Baghdād 1371/1951, 33; Ibn Khallikān, no. 626, and later authors; further, Brockelmann, I, 333, S I, 493. For the biography of his son Abū Saʿd, cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iii, 215-17 (important correction in the Cairo ed., ix, 187), for those of his brothers, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad and Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ Madjmaʿ al-ādāb*, Baghdād 1962-, iv, 1161-3 and 1166 f. With the exception of Book Two of the *Tadhkira* (Cairo 1345/1927, *al-Rasā'il al-nādira*, 3), containing material on politics in the *fürstenspiegel* tradition, only small passages of the work have been published from time to time.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN ḤĀMID, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḤASAN B. ḤĀMID, killed in 403/1012 by Bedouins on his return from the Pilgrimage to Mecca, is one of the most prominent Ḥanbalī scholars of Baghdād under the Būyids. Among his teachers of *ḥadīth* or *fiḳh* were several famous traditionists or jurisconsults, such as Abū Bakr al-Nadjdjād (d. 348/959) and Abū Bakr al-ʿAzīz (d. 363/973), better known under the name of Ghulām al-Khallāl [*q.v.*].

In addition Aḥmad b. Sālim al-Khatlī taught him the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī (d. 363/973), which was to form part of the education of many generations of Ḥanbalī jurisconsults. Ibn Ḥāmid's main career was as a teacher; he is said to have enjoyed a certain esteem with the caliph al-Ḳādir (d. 422/1031) but he refrained from taking any active part in the political life of his time.

His biographers attribute to him a large number of works which appear today to be lost. The most famous is his *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ fi 'khtilāf al-fuḳahā'*, which seems to have been an outline of Ḥanbalī doctrine within the framework of an exposition of the divergences of the various schools. He also wrote a commentary (*sharḥ*) on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī, which was for long regarded as authoritative. Two others of his works are often mentioned in the literature of his school, one on dogmatic theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*), the other on legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*).

Among the best-known pupils of Ibn Ḥāmid may be mentioned the following: Abū Bakr al-Rawshanānī (d. 401/1011), who was also a pupil of Ibn Baṭṭa al-ʿUkbarī (d. 387/997); Abū Isḥāḳ al-Barmakī (d. 445/1054), a specialist in the law of inheritance; Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Fuḳāʿī (d. 424/1033), who taught in the mosque of al-Manṣūr; Abū Ṭālib Ibn al-Baḳḳāl (d. 440/1048), known as a jurisconsult and controversialist; and finally, and most important, the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1066), who succeeded Ibn Ḥāmid as a teacher and soon became recognized as the main teacher of Ḥanbalism in Baghdād in the first half of the 5th/11th century.

Bibliography: Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, vii, 303; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ii, 171-7; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 263-4; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 269; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 349; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 166-7; Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus 1339/1921, 26; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle (Ve siècle de l'hégire)*, Damascus (PIFD) 1963, 227-32.

(H. LAOUST)

IBN ḤAMMĀD [see IBN ḤAMĀDU].

IBN AL-ḤANAFIYYA [see MUḤAMMAD IBN AL-ḤANAFIYYA].

IBN ḤANBAL [see AḤMAD B. ḤANBAL].

IBN HĀNIʾ AL-ANDALUSĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. HĀNIʾ B. SAʿDŪN AL-ANDALUSĪ, famous court poet of the Banū Ḥamdūn, rulers of Masīla, and of the fourth Fāṭimid caliph, al-Muʿizz li-dīn Allāh; he belonged to the Yemenī tribe of Azd, who, ever since the conflict between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, many times supported the Shīʿī cause. His Ifrīḳiyan descent was in a direct line from one of the most illustrious *amīr*s of the famous family of the Muhallabids, Yazīd b. Ḥātim, who governed Ifrīḳiya for the ʿAbbāsids from 155 to 171/772-87, distinguishing himself by an energetic policy of pacification and administrative reorganization.

Nevertheless, hardly anything is known of the life of Ibn Hāniʾ. The information about him found in the Sunnī as well as the Ismāʿīlī sources is concerned almost exclusively with his career as a writer of panegyric poetry, at the court of Masīla and then at that of al-Manṣūriyya. The fact that he belonged to the Ismāʿīlī sect surrounded him, even in his own lifetime, with an aura of mystery which is very difficult to penetrate.

He was born in Seville in the reign of the first Umayyad caliph, al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh, probably between 322 and 326/934-8. His father, a native of Ifrīḳiya, seems to have settled at Seville after having lived at Cordova, probably at the time when the young *amīr* of al-Andalus, having pacified the kingdom of his ancestors, had just proclaimed himself caliph, while at the other end of Barbary the first Fāṭimid, al-Mahdī bi'llāh, was reasserting in his new capital of al-Mahdiyya, and after the failure of his two attempts against Egypt, his expansionist ambitions concerning the throne of Cordova. Such information as exists on the Fāṭimid propaganda seems to indicate that Hāniʾ, himself a poet, was one of the many missionaries (*duʿāt*) whom the Ismāʿīlī imām maintained in Muslim Spain after the foundation of the Fāṭimid anti-caliphate in 297/909-10. Ismāʿīlī agents had already been working for a long time among the Mozarab supporters of Ibn Ḥafṣūn and with the Arab nobles of Kalbī descent, settled in Seville and other fortified towns, whom ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, after his grandfather, the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh, had great difficulty in reducing. Hāniʾ, like the many other Fāṭimid agents disguised as merchants, ascetics or men of science and letters, must have found, from Seville to Elvira and even Cordova, a fertile field for the dissemination of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. In addition, the intellectual development of the young Muḥammad b. Hāniʾ, at first at Seville itself, then in Cordova and Elvira, demonstrates the Ismāʿīlī influence which his father must have had on him, as well as the philosophic teaching which the disciples of Ibn Masarra (d. 319/931) continued to disseminate. The future panegyrist of al-Muʿizz in fact pursued his studies in a period when the rationalist theories of Muʿtazilism and the metaphysical theories of Ibn Masarra, close to those of the Ismāʿīlī Bāṭiniyya, were spread among a heterogeneous population which was composed for the greater part of *muwallad*s and of Arabs of Yemenī extraction, hostile to the power of the Umayyads and susceptible to Fāṭimid propaganda. At Elvira (near to Bobastro, a fief of the Mozarabs who had for long been in revolt against Cordova) as at Seville (a bastion of the Banu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj and other great families of the Yemenī nobility), the young poet lost no time in expressing publicly in a region so hostile to the Umayyads his Ismāʿīlī convictions. But having made himself conspicuous by publishing his pro-Fāṭimid sympathies, at a time when in Cordova, thanks to the energetic support of al-Nāṣir, the strictest type of Sunnī orthodoxy, that of Mālikism, had gained the ascendancy, the young Ibn Hāniʾ was bound eventually to become the object of persecutions. Neither Seville nor Elvira, having finally submitted to the central power, could with impunity offer him protection, in spite of the great authority which its protectors, the Banu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj, had nevertheless retained.

Thus Ibn Hāniʾ was obliged to leave al-Andalus for Ifrīḳiya, particularly since, with the accession of al-Muʿizz in 341/952-3, the fortunes of the Fāṭimids, after a brief eclipse due to the Khāridjī insurrection of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], were once more enjoying a brilliant success.

In 347/958, the Fāṭimid army, on a campaign in the extreme Maghrib under the command of Djawhar, had arrived in northern Morocco. After this, Ibn Hāniʾ had no hesitation in leaving al-Andalus for good, to join, outside Ceuta, the Fāṭimid general, of whose glory he immediately began to write, vehemently condemning the "accursed" Umayyads. From this time there began for the young poet a brilliant career as a panegyrist, an ardent defender of the cause of the Fāṭimids, who were intensifying their imperialist propaganda in the West as well as in the Muslim East. The sources stress Ibn Hāniʾ's role as propagandist. Among the lords of Masīla, the brothers Djaʿfar and Yaḥyā (the former being the foster-brother of al-Muʿizz), Ibn Hāniʾ received a great welcome.

At the court of al-Manṣūriyya, where the talented poets included al-Fazārī and Ibn al-Iyādī, the young Ibn Hāniʾ distinguished himself by the zeal which he showed in praising the merits of the imāms and in composing very extravagant panegyrics to the glory of al-Muʿizz. His poems, which immediately became widely read, ensured that the imperial aims and the doctrines of the masters of Ifrīḳiya became widely known within their territories, and also beyond their frontiers as far as Cordova to the west and Baghdād to the east.

Thus his poetry is of documentary value in providing information on the political propaganda of the Fāṭimids, who were certainly planning to oust the ʿAbbāsid "usurpers" but who also never missed an opportunity of making known their claims in Muslim Spain, where their hereditary enemies, the Umayyads, were attempting to prevent the infiltration of their doctrines and to put a stop to their subversive intrigues. In addition to their considerable use to the historian of the Fāṭimids, those famous panegyrics dedicated to al-Muʿizz have also an undeniable literary value, despite the exaggerated condemnation of them by Maʿarrī and the more temperate criticism of Ibn Sharaf. There is no doubt that Ibn Hāniʾ is a great poet, the first great poet of the Muslim West. His taste for hyperbole and the secret of his symbolism can be explained by his Ismāʿīlī faith and the sincerity of his adoration for his imām. Ibn Hāniʾ's works may for this reason form an enigma for readers who do not possess the knowledge, albeit elementary, of Ismāʿīlī doctrine which is required to understand his poetry and appreciate its true value.

His death also is shrouded in mystery. The circumstances of it are confusing: it may have been a political murder carried out by agents in the pay of the ʿAbbāsids or the Umayyads, or perhaps a *crime passionnel* after a carousel. Even the date is uncertain. Ibn Khallikān states that he tried in vain to establish it with certainty and found it only in the *Ḳurādhāt*

al-dhahab of Ibn Rashīḳ (where it does not in fact appear). The generally accepted date in 362/973.

There has not yet been a critical edition or an exhaustive study of his poems. There have, however, been published several ordinary editions of the *dīwān* (which deserves more detailed attention)—at Būlāḳ and at Beirut, the latest in 1952.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, 130, no. 701; Ibn Abbār, 103, no. 350; Ibn Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1319, ii, 212; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii, 4; al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*, Istanbul 1302, 74; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1302, ii, 364 (reproduces only the *Maṭmaḥ*); Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1286, ii, 118; Amari, *Bibl. Ar. Sic.*, Arabic text, fasc. ii, 317; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, Jerusalem n.d. [1908], 62; Ibn al-Athīr, tr. Fagnan, 371; Fagnan, *Histoire des Almohades d'al-Merrâkechi*, 93, 193; von Kremer, *Ueber den shiʿitischen Dichter Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim Muḥammad ibn Hāniʾ*, in *ZDMG*, xxiv, 481-94; Pons Boigues, 74, no. 37; Brockelmann, I, 91; Cl. Huart, *Littér. ar.*, 96; Ibn Sharaf al-Ḳayrawānī, *Masāʾil al-intiḳād*, ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1953, 41-3; Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, ed. F. Dachraoui (in the press); Ibn Rashīḳ, *Ḳurāḍhāt al-dhahab*, ed. Bouyahia (in the press); Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1965; M. Canard, *L'impérialisme des Fāṭimides et leur propagande*, in *AIEO Alger*, 1942-7; ʿĀrif Tāmir, *Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī*[2], Beirut 1961. (F. DACHRAOUI).

IBN AL-ḤANNĀṬ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN AL-RUʿAYNĪ AL-ḲURṬUBĪ AL-KAFĪF, Andalusian poet and *kātib*, considered one of the greatest scholars of the early 5th/11th century in the field of Arabic language and literature. Son of a grain merchant (hence the name by which he was commonly known, often wrongly written Ibn al-Khayyāṭ), he owed his chance to study to a family of *ḳuḍāt* at Cordova, the Banū Dhakwān [see IBN DHAKWĀN], who had taken him under their care. He was afflicted from birth by a malformation of the eyes and lost his sight at an early age, but this did not prevent him from acquiring wide learning, interesting himself even in astronomy and philosophy, and towards the end of his life practising successfully the art of healing. During the first years of the 5th/11th century, he composed some poems in praise of the Ḥammūdids ʿAlī and al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd, and in some of his verses there can be traced pro-ʿAlid sentiments, but it does not seem that he should be considered as truly Shīʿī. Besides, he was appointed *kātib* by the Umayyad Hishām III (418-22/1027-31). According to his biographers, it was because of his interest in logic that he was accused of heresy and banished from Cordova; he took refuge with Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd (428-40/1036-48) at Algeciras, whence he followed the course of events, congratulating Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 434/1042), writing the funeral eulogy of Abu ʾl-Ḥazm Djawhar (d. 435/1043) and acclaiming the accession of al-Muẓaffar at Badajoz [see AFṬASIDS] in 437/1045, shortly before his death at the end of the same year.

In the literary field, his disputes with Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*] are well known, and indeed the two men held completely opposing ideas, Ibn al-Ḥannāṭ remaining the supporter of the style which is characterized by a sometimes immoderate use of *badīʿ* and of *gharīb*. His rhyming prose, with its relatively long clauses, is still pleasant to read.

Bibliography: The main source is Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 383 ff., who gives extracts from Ibn Ḥayyān as well as examples of the poetry and prose of Ibn al-Ḥannāṭ. See also Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Sh. Ḍayf, 121-4; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 67; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 122; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, 640; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index (s.v. Ibn al-Khayyāṭ); H. Massé, in *Mél. René Basset*, i, 256-7; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN ḤARB [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. SABAʾ; AL-KINDĪ, IBN ḤARB].

IBN HARMA, IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ B. SALAMA (b. ʿĀmir) B. HARMA AL-FIHRĪ, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ, Arab poet of Medina, born in 90/709, who, if his genealogy is authentic, belonged to the tribe of Ḳuraysh. Little is known of his life. A supporter of the ʿAlids, he attended and panegyrised ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*] and al-Ḥasan b. Zayd [*q.v.*], but he is said to have refrained from giving his support to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] when the latter revolted against the ʿAbbāsids. The *Aghānī* names several persons for whom he had occasion to exercise his poetic gifts, but it must be remembered that after singing the praises of some Umayyads—especially al-Walīd b. Yazīd—he tried in 140/757 to gain the favour of al-Manṣūr, who pardoned his past conduct; perhaps he also approached al-Mahdī, for it is possible that he lived until about 170/786. He was buried at Baḳīʿ [*q.v.*], but by then he had fallen into such complete obscurity that no writer is able to give the exact date of his death. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, however, wrote a *Kitāb Akhbār Ibn Harma* (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 161).

The physical and moral portrait of Ibn Harma is scarcely an attractive one. Ugly, small in stature, importunate and avaricious, he was furthermore addicted to drink, a vice which earned him some disappointments, although it is related that al-Manṣūr found a way to safeguard him by decreeing that he would be punished by 80 lashes of the whip if found drunk, but that the policeman who brought him before the governor of Medina would receive 100 lashes.

Of his poetry, handed down by his *râwī* Ibn Rubayḥ, and collected together by al-Aṣmaʿī, and later by Ibn al-Sikkīt, al-Sukkarī and al-Ṣūlī, all that survives is a small number of verses scattered through works of *adab*. His quite extensive *Dīwān* included *ḳaṣīdas* of Bedouin type, some satires, and some erotic and Bacchic poems, but it is important to note that al-Aṣmaʿī and Abū ʿUbayda described Ibn Harma as one of the poets who have "sealed (*khatama*) poetry" and represent the rearguard (*sāḳa*) of classicism; he is thus one of the last to be regarded by philologists as an authority on the subject of the Arabic language. Al-Djāḥiẓ gives particularly the text of his short fable of the lizard and the frog and, in another context, places him in the same rank as Bashshār [*q.v.*] for the use of *badīʿ* [*q.v.*]; indeed, he seems to have been one of the first poets to exploit the resources of the "trade", as is proved by a *ḳaṣīda* consisting solely of undotted letters.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, indexes; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 719-31; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* 68, 247; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 2-4 (notes); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 175-6; *Aghānī*, iv, 101-13 (Beirut ed., iv, 369-97); Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 88, 555, 824; idem, *Djamʿ*, 103; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, i, 203-4 (Cairo ed., i, 383-4); Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 353; Damīrī, s.v. *naʿāma*; Brockelmann, S I, 134; F. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 122-3 (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-ḤASAN AL-NUBĀHĪ [see AL-NUBĀHĪ].

IBN ḤAWḲAL, ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM B. ʿALĪ AL-NAṢĪBĪ,

Arab geographer of the second half of the 4th/10th century, one of the best exponents, with his contemporary al-Muḳaddasī [*q.v.*], of geography based on travel and direct observation (*ʿiyān*).

Ibn Ḥawḳal was born in Naṣībīn (Nisibis) in Upper Mesopotamia (al-Djazīra). He probably spent his early years in this region before beginning, on 7 Ramaḍān 331/15 May 943, an impressive series of journeys, the course of which it is possible to trace, at least in outline, by means of the few dates given in his work: North Africa, Spain and the southern edge of the Sahara (336-40/947-51), Egypt and the northern regions of Islam: Armenia and Ādharbaydjān (about 344/955), al-Djazīra, ʿIrāḳ, Khūzistān and Fārs (350-8/961-9), Khwārazm and Transoxania (about 358/969), and finally Sicily (362/973), after which we lose trace of him.

It may be said with fair certainty that Ibn Ḥawḳal was engaged in the activities of a merchant and missionary. As to the first, there may be noted the details (often with figures) of prices, products and of economic activity in general. As for his politico-religious sympathies, the Fāṭimid professions of faith which are found in his work indicate that he was at least sincerely in sympathy with the movement; although it is difficult to state categorically that he was a Fāṭimid *dāʿī*, with the convinced and militant attitude which this implies, the interest which he took in Fāṭimid policy certainly appears quite clearly. It is within this context that it is possible to explain, among other details, the passages on Nubia or on the history of North Africa, also Ibn Ḥawḳal's opinions on Umayyad Spain and Kalbī Sicily, his occasional complaints against the administration of Fāṭimid Egypt being explained by strictly commercial considerations.

Apart from a work on Sicily, which has not survived, Ibn Ḥawḳal's main work was a description of the Islamic countries, known under the titles *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* or *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*. It has so far been impossible to establish with certainty the history of the text; it nevertheless seems clear that it appeared in several successive redactions. The first is dedicated to the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla and is therefore earlier than 356/967, when this ruler died. The second, full of criticism of this dynasty and dedicated to a person who has not been identified, must have appeared in about 367/977. Finally, a definitive and complete version of the work must have appeared in about 378/988. The appearance of the work in successive versions is clearly the reason for some of the obscurities to be found in it and in particular those which appear on more than one point in the description of Sicily.

Another, and perhaps the most important, source of confusion is to be found in his plagiarizing, more or less closely, the text of al-Iṣṭakhrī [*q.v.*], which Ibn Ḥawḳal took as the basis for his own description. No detail can be extracted from Ibn Ḥawḳal's work and no judgement pronounced on it before the origin of the passage in question has been determined. Moreover, the patient and systematic comparison of the two texts has the advantage of illustrating Ibn Ḥawḳal's originality compared with his predecessor. It appears on the whole that, leaving aside certain alterations of style intended, in Ibn Ḥawḳal's opinion, to raise the tone, to amplify a phrase or to set his personal mark on al-Iṣṭakhrī's text, all the modifications made by Ibn Ḥawḳal certainly confer on his work a breadth and a personality incomparably larger than those of its predecessor, worthy though the latter was.

To begin with, Ibn Ḥawḳal probably intended nothing more than to make, in the form of corrections, his contribution to the corpus of the geographical school of al-Balkhī [*q.v.*]. To judge from the terms in which he describes his meeting with al-Iṣṭakhrī and the encouragement which the latter gave him, it was as a collection of maps of the Islamic world alone that Ibn Ḥawḳal first envisaged his geographical work. However, very soon the facts which he accumulated during his travels must have encouraged him to devote the greater part of his effort to the text itself, which in al-Balkhī, and even still at several places in al-Iṣṭakhrī, was only secondary, being initially merely a commentary on the maps in the old tradition of the *ṣūra Maʾmūniyya*. Ibn Ḥawḳal's innovation therefore was first to transform this commentary into a work in its own right, considerably expanded and independent of the maps.

Another modification was that, without in the plan of the work going beyond either the general framework of Islam or, in the description of details, the boundaries of each province (*iḳlīm*) dealt with one by one, Ibn Ḥawḳal, adopting in this an outlook of administrative geography as found for example in al-Djayhānī [*q.v.*], adds to his description remarks on various countries or peoples bordering on the Islamic world which he considers to be of particular importance: notable examples are the passages on the Turks, the Khazars, the towns of southern Italy, the Sudanese and the Nubians.

Within the Muslim region proper, he similarly provides additional facts, the important pages here being those devoted to the West (the Maghrib, Spain, Egypt, and Sicily) and the North-East (Khurāsān and Transoxania in particular). Nevertheless it would be wrong, however great their interest, to limit our attention to these pages. Everywhere, in fact, Ibn Ḥawḳal imposes on the work of his predecessor, even if only by corrections of detail or of the order of words or lines, the stamp of his own work, the main aim of which is to place the book firmly within his own period. His constant care to depict a region precisely in the state and at the date that he himself had seen it, and occasional references to the distant or more recent past, give to his text, besides a vividness of description and even a depth of feeling which sometimes appear, undoubted value for the historian. This is particularly true of the notes on economic matters, which form a complete break with convention; for one thing, Ibn Ḥawḳal is much less interested in rare or precious products than in the basic agricultural and manufactured products, and secondly he was able to study on the spot a given economic situation in relation to a particular period or with reference to an implicit norm. He was the only Arab geographer of the period who really sketched a vivid picture of production.

An edition of Ibn Ḥawḳal was published by De Goeje (Leiden 1873). This is now superseded by that of Kramers (Leiden 1938). A translation of the text which had been prepared by Kramers was published with revision by G. Wiet, *Configuration de la terre* (Paris-Beirut 1964).

Bibliography: In addition to the introductions by J. H. Kramers and by G. Wiet, we give here, from a relatively abundant bibliography, the most recent works, which discuss the points at issue: Brockelmann, I, 263, S I, 408; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, xi, 5; R. Blachère and H. Darmaun, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Age*, Paris 1957, 134-6; I. Yu.

Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 198-205; Ar. tr. (chap. i-xvi published so far) by Ṣ.D. ʿUthmān Hāshim, Cairo 1963, 200-5; F. Gabrieli, *Ibn Ḥawqal e gli Arabi di Sicilia*, in *L'Islam nella storia*, Bari 1966, 57-67 (reprinted from *RSO*, xxxvi (1961), 245-53); A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du XIe s.*, Paris 1967, 299-309 and *passim*. (A. MIQUEL)

IBN ḤAWSHAB [see MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN].

IBN AL-ḤAWWĀS, ʿALĪ B. NIʿMA, was one of the *ḳāʾids* who shared Sicily after the last Kalbī *amīr* al-Ḥasan—called al-Ṣamṣām—the brother of the *amīr* Aḥmad al-Akḥal (409/1019-429/1038), who was deposed in 444/1052-3 (according to Ibn Khaldūn: 431/1039-40). This was the most obscure and chaotic period of Muslim Sicily, racked by civil wars and the rivalries of the local leaders who sought at the same time to bring about Byzantine intervention and the landing in the island of a Zīrid army. In this disturbed atmosphere, the *ḳāʾid* Ibn al-Ḥawwās managed to remain lord of Agrigento, Castrogiovanni and Castronuovo with their surrounding districts, while his brother-in-law, Ibn al-Maklātī, occupied Catania, which was soon taken from him—together with his wife (Maymūna, Ibn al-Ḥawwās's sister) and his own life—by his rival Ibn al-Thumna [*q.v.*], lord of Syracuse.

Some time afterwards the two brothers-in-law fought each other over an entirely family matter; following his victory, near Castrogiovanni, over his adversary, Ibn al-Ḥawwās became the only powerful *ḳāʾid* in almost the whole of Sicily and he was able to retain this position until the arrival of the Normans, who had been invited by the defeated Ibn al-Thumna to cross the straits. They landed towards the end of February 1061, and Count Roger's first encounters with the Muslims were so unsuccessful that the Normans were obliged to withdraw. But some months later Messina fell into the hands of the attackers, who, reinforced by the troops of Ibn al-Thumna, attacked and defeated the Muslims near Castrogiovanni, without however succeeding in forcing their enemies, who were besieged in the fortress, to capitulate. Ibn al-Ḥawwās fell, two or three years after these events, in the fighting which broke out between his troops and the Zīrid Ayyūb, the son of Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz, who had landed in Sicily with the reinforcements coming from Ifrīḳiya to support the Muslims against the Normans.

Bibliography: The bibliography relating to the events in which Ibn al-Ḥawwās was principally concerned is almost all to be found in the sources noted by M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², Catania 1933-9, s.v., and published in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857; see also H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, index. (U. RIZZITANO)

IBN AL-HAYTHAM, ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ḤASAN (or Ḥusayn) B. AL-HAYTHAM AL-BAṢRĪ AL-MIṢRĪ, was identified towards the end of the 19th century with the ALHAZEN, AVENNATHAN and AVENETAN of mediaeval Latin texts. He is one of the principal Arab mathematicians and, without any doubt, the best physicist.

In respect of his biography we have numerous lacunae. He was born in Baṣra in about 354/965; during the reign of al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021) he went to Egypt where he tried to regulate the flow of the Nile. He abandoned this task when he realized its impossibility, in spite of his fears of the caliph's anger. On the death of the latter he returned to Cairo, where he earned his living by copying scientific, and particularly mathematical, manuscripts. He died in 430/1039.

His writings, consisting of more than a hundred titles, have been listed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. Most of these works—some of them very short—are devoted to mathematics and physics, but he also wrote on philosophical and medical subjects. Throughout these latter works can be seen his profound knowledge of the Greek authors, notably Ptolemy, whom he edited, studied and criticized (cf. Pinès, *Congrès Int. Hist. des Sciences*, x (1962), and M. Schramm, *Ibn al-Haythams Weg zur Physik*, 1963, bibliographical lists iii, 38 and iii, 64).

The works best known to us are:—(1) *Maḳāla fi 'stikhrādj samt al-ḳibla* (cf. C. Schoy, *Abhandlung über die Bestimmung der Richtung der Qibla*, in *ZDMG*, lxxv (1921), 242-53) in which he established the theorem of the cotangent:

$$\text{cotg. } \alpha = \frac{\text{sin. } \varphi_1 \text{ cos. } (\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) - \text{cos. } \varphi_1 \text{ tg. } \varphi_2}{\text{sin. } (\lambda_2 - \lambda_1)}.$$

(2) *Maḳāla fī hayʾat al-ʿālam* (which had two Hebrew translations, three Latin—one edited by J. M. Millás, *Las traducciones orientales* ..., 285-312—one Persian and one Castilian) on astronomy. This work had a great influence on later writers such as Averroes, al-Djaghmīnī, al-Ḳazwīnī and Peurbach (cf. W. Hartner, *The Mercury Horoscope* ..., 122-35). (3) *Kitāb fi 'l-manāẓir*, clearly commented on by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (died *ca.* 720/1320; ed. Ḥaydarābād 1347-8/1928-30). This work was translated into Latin and published in Basle in 1572 by F. Risner under the title *Thesaurus Opticus*. In the fifth *maḳāla* Alhazen's mathematical genius attained its highest development when he resolved the problem which today bears his name: two points, A and B, are fixed on the plane of a circle with centre O and radius R. Find in the circle (idealized in a mirror) the point M where the ray of light emitted by A must be reflected in order that it may pass through B. Alhazen's demonstration, which is very complex, leads to an equation of the fourth degree which he resolves by the intersection of an equilateral hyperbole with a circle. Leonardo da Vinci later became interested in the problem, which he could only solve mechanically, for lack of mathematical means. C. Huygens (d. 1696) finally gave the most elegant and simplest solution (cf. *Enciclopedia delle matematiche elementari*, i/2, 388-9). (4) *Maḳāla fi ḍawʾ al-ḳamar*, an important work on account of the ideas expounded on light, colours and the celestial movements. (5) *Fi 'l-marāyā 'l-muḥriḳa bi 'l-dawāʾir* (cf. Schramm, ii, 18 and iii, 8), translated by E. Wiedemann in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, x (1910), 293-307. (6) *Fi 'l-marāyā 'l-muḥriḳa bi 'l-ḳuṭuʿ* on parabolic mirrors (translated by J. L. Heiberg and E. Wiedemann, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, x (1910), 201-37). (7) *Fi anna 'l-kura awsaʿ al-ashkāl al-mudjassama allatī iḥāṭuhā mutasāwiya wa-anna 'l-dāʾira awsaʿ al-ashkāl al-musaṭṭaḥa allatī iḥāṭuhā mutasāwiya*, translated and commented on by H. Dilgan (*Actes IXe Congrès Internat. d'Hist. des Sciences*, 1959, 453-60). In it he demonstrates that "of two regular polygons inscribed in the same circle, that which has the greater number of sides has also the larger surface and the larger perimeter". (8) *Fī kayfiyyāt al-izlāl* (abridged translation by E. Wiedemann, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxxix (1907), 226-48). (9) *Fi athar alladhī fi 'l-ḳamar* (tr. C. Schoy, Hanover 1925). (10) *Fi 'l-ḍawʾ* (ed. J. Baarmann, in *ZDMG* xxxvi (1882), 195-237, ed. Cairo 1936). (11) *Fi 'l-makān* (abr. tr. by E. Wiedemann, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xli (1909), 1-25) which has no connexion with (12)

Fi 'l-makān wa 'l-zamān (cf. Schramm, ii, 2 and iii, 68). (13) *Fi 'rtifāʿ al-ḳuṭb* (tr. C. Schoy, in *De Zee*, x (1920), 586-601). (14) *Fī ṣūrat al-kusūf* (tr. E. Wiedemann, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlvi (1914), 155-69) in which is expounded for the first time the use of the camera obscura in the observation of solar eclipses. (15) *Fi 'stikhrādj masʾala ʿadadiyya* (tr. E. Wiedemann, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xli (1909), 11-3. (16) *Liber de crepusculis et nubium ascensionibus*, tr. Gerard of Cremona, published with the treatise *De crepusculis* of Pedro Nunnes (Lisbon 1542) and reprinted by Risner as an appendix to the *Thesaurus*. (17) *Fi 'l-maʿlūmāt* (translated in part by L. A. Sédillot, in *JA*, xxii (1834), 435-58). (18) *Fī tarbīʿ al-dāʾira* (ed. and tr. H. Suter, in *Zeitsch. für Mathematik und Physik. Hist. Abt.*, xlvi (1899), 33-47). (19) *Fī misāḥat al-mudjassam (al-djism) al-mukāfiʾ* (tr. H. Suter, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, xii (1912), 289-332).

Besides the contributions already mentioned, it should be noted that Ibn al-Haytham established that the astronomic twilight began or finished when the negative height of the sun reached 19° and, proceeding from there, he fixed the height of the atmosphere at 52,000 paces; he correctly explained atmospheric refraction and the augmentation of the apparent diameter of the sun and moon when they are near the horizon; like Ibn Sīnā and al-Bīrūnī, he established that rays of light start from the object to travel towards the eye, and not the reverse as Euclid, Ptolemy and al-Kindī maintained; he discovered spherical aberration—but he did not consider the caustic curve; he determined that the Milky Way was very remote from the earth and that it did not belong to the atmosphere, since it had no parallax. In the field of mathematics he neatly resolved the problem of al-Mahanī, wrote a treatise on magic squares and made some contributions to commercial mathematics (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über eine besondere Art des Gesellschaftsrechens nach . . .*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, lviii (1928), 191-6).

In his *Risāla fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr mumtazidja min al-Yūnānī wa'l-ʿArabī* (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 94), Ibn al-Haytham probably combined the Greek and Arab conceptions of literary criticism.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned above, see Brockelmann, I, 469, S I, 851; Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, i, 721; Steinschneider, *Aven Natan e la teoria dell' origine della luce lunare e delle stelle*, in *Bull. di bibliogr. e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche*, i, Rome 1868, 33-40; Muṣṭafā Nazīf Bek, *Ibn al-Haytham wa buḥūthuhu wa-kushūfuhu al-naẓariyya*, Cairo 1942-3, 2 vols.; H. J. J. Winster, *The optical researches of Ibn al-Haytham*, in *Centaurus*, iii (1954), 190-210; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 128-30. (J. VERNET)

IBN ḤAYYĀN, ABŪ MARWĀN ḤAYYĀN B. KHALAF B. ḤUSAYN B. ḤAYYĀN, without doubt the greatest historian of the Middle Ages in all Spain, both Muslim and Christian. The Arab biographers tell us little about his life or personality. He was born in Cordova in 377/987-8; his father, who was secretary to the vizier al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], must have greatly influenced his education and the formation of his strongly pro-Umayyad views; he had three teachers: the grammarian Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥubāb, the celebrated man of letters Ṣāʿid of Baghdād, and the traditionalist Ibn Nabal; we now know from his own admission that Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar, ruler of Cordova, rescued him from poverty by conferring on him the office of letter-writer in the government chancellery. We know with what extreme virulence he wrote of numerous personalities of his time, his bitterness towards the divisions and anarchy in the kingdoms of the *Ṭawāʾif*, and also at the scantiness of the sources at his disposal when he was writing the history of the *fitna*; however, living as he did at the culmination of the Middle Ages, he was able to draw on the work of his predecessors. to write the history of his own turbulent century and to set standards for subsequent chroniclers. He died in Rabīʿ I 469/October 1076.

Among the works attributed with greater or less certainty to Ibn Ḥayyān, two titles stand out: the *Muḳtabis* and the *Matīn*. In the most vivid and brilliant period of Hispano-Arabic culture, Ibn Ḥayyān undertook to write the history of al-Andalus on the grand scale. When dealing with events prior to his own time, he limited himself to the compilation of earlier accounts and laid no claim to originality. Such is the *Muḳtabis*, literally "plucking [a brand] from the fire" and hence metaphorically "the book of one who copies the work of others"; it is thus an assemblage of earlier writings, which are copied with indications, as in a modern edition, of the gaps found in the original.

The style is thus not his own but that of his sources; its merit is therefore variable. By gathering together quotations from works most of which are lost, he enables us to appreciate the annals of al-Andalus in an incomparable historical fresco which, although having as its central figure the person of the sovereign, may be regarded as an expression of reality —one however that cannot be corrected either by archive documents or by the writings of political and religious opponents of the Umayyad régime.

Ibn Ḥayyān's original work—the most important in the whole Muslim historiography of the Peninsula—is the *Matīn*, which covers the history of his own times, namely, nearly the whole of the 5th/11th century, in sixty parts or volumes with an admirable attention to detail and an exactitude which are highlighted by a rare political understanding of events. Although all the volumes of the *Matīn* are lost, the author's great admirer Ibn Bassām [*q.v.*] has preserved for us such numerous and extensive passages that, thanks to the (still incomplete) edition of the *Dhakhīra* published in Egypt, it has become possible to reconstruct—admittedly with difficulty—a large part of the vanished text; this arises from the scrupulous fidelity, rare in mediaeval literature, with which Ibn Bassām always indicates the beginning and end of the passages transcribed.

"Whenever one considers any particular aspect of Hispano-Umayyad history", states its most authoritative historian, E. Lévi-Provençal, "one is nearly always obliged to revert to Ibn Ḥayyān. Without his *Muḳtabis*, we should have no quotations from the two Rāzīs, nor from two other chroniclers of the 10th century, almost as important and of the same school, the Ḳurayshī Muʿāwiya ibn Hishām ibn al-Shabānisī and another Cordovan of Arab stock, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ibn Mufarridj. Without him, we should not be able to check, thanks to numerous quotations, the greater part of the chronicle of Ibn al-Ḳūṭīya and extensive passages from the writings of al-Khushanī and Ibn al-Faraḍī in less abridged versions than those which have been published. Lastly, without Ibn Ḥayyān the skeletal compilation (*talkhīṣ*) of Ibn ʿIdhāri [in *al-Bayān al-mughrib*] would never have seen the light of day, nor propably, as a result, would Dozy's history."

The third part of the *Muḳtabis* has been published by M. M. Antuña, under the title: *Chronique du*

règne du calife umayyade ʿAbd Allāh à Cordoue, Paris 1937, and has been translated into Spanish by Kh. Ghorayyib, in *Cuadernos de historia de España*, Buenos Aires 1952; E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez have published the *Textos inéditos del "Muqtabis" . . . sobre los orígenes del reino de Pamplona*, in *al-Andalus*, xix (1954).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 503; E. García Gómez, *A propósito de Ibn Ḥayyān*, in *al-Andalus*, xi, 395-423; M. Antuña, *Abenhayan de Córdoba y su obra histórica*, Madrid 1925; Dozy, *Loci de Abbadidis*, i, 218; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 152-3; Brockelmann, S I, 578; idem, in *OLZ*, 1941, 168-71; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 84-129; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 480.

(A. Huici Miranda)

IBN ḤAYYŪS, Abu 'l-Fityān Muḥammad b. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad b. Ḥayyūs al-Ghanawī, Syrian poet of the 5th/11th century. Born at Damascus in Ṣafar 394/December 1003, he seems to have been at first attached to the Banū ʿAmmār [see ʿammār] of Tripoli in Syria, although he is referred to as being in Aleppo in 429/1037-8; his sympathy with the Fāṭimids of Egypt caused him to fall out of favour with the Banū ʿAmmār, who had become independent, and in 464/1072 he was summoned to Aleppo by the Mirdāsid [*q.v.*] Maḥmūd b. Naṣr (457-67/1065-75), in whose praise he began to write. On the death of his patron, he wrote a *marthiya* which was also an eulogy of Naṣr b. Maḥmūd (467-8/1075-6). After the latter had been assassinated, Ibn Ḥayyūs remained at the court of his successor, Sābiḳ b. Maḥmūd, though this did not prevent his addressing praises also to Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, who captured Aleppo in 473/1080; as a reward Muslim gave him al-Mawṣil as a fief, but the poet died before he was able to take possession of it, in Shaʿbān 473/January-February 1081.

Ibn Ḥayyūs, who is considered as one of the greatest Syrian poets of the 5th/11th century after al-Maʿarrī, left a *Dīwān* which was published in Damascus by Khalīl Mardam in 1951 (2 vols.).

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IBN ḤĀZIM [see muḥammad b. ḥāzim].

IBN ḤAZM, patronymic of an Andalusian family, several members of which played an important rôle during the Umayyad caliphate. The most famous of them is without doubt Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī Ibn Ḥazm [see the following article], but some brief details on the Banū Ḥazm are given here, since confusions often arise.

(1) ʿAlī's father was Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Ḥazm b. Ghālib b. Ṣāliḥ b. Khalaf. A dignitary at the court of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir and that of his son al-Muẓaffar, he was greatly affected by the serious events which occurred in 399/1009 [see al-andalus] and died on 28 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 402/21 June 1012. See Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 40; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 412; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index; idem, *En relisant le "Collier de la Colombe"*, in *al-Andalus*, xv/2 (1950), 345-7.

(2) ʿAlī's elder brother, Abū Bakr, of whom only the *kunya* is known, was born in 379/989 and died at the age of 22 during the epidemic of plague which ravaged Cordova, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 401/June 1011. It was to him that Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*] dedicated his *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ*, which indicates the date at which this work was written. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. and tr. L. Bercher, 303, 309; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 64-5; idem, *En relisant . . .*, 346-7.

(3) ʿAlī's son, Abū Rāfiʿ al-Faḍl, entered the service of the ʿAbbādids of Seville and was killed at the battle of al-Zallāḳā [*q.v.*] in Radjab 479/October 1086. He is the author of a historical work entitled *al-Hādī ilā maʿrifat al-nasab al-ʿabbādī*. See Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, ed. Muʾnis, ii, 34.

(4) Another Ibn Ḥazm fairly often mentioned is ʿAlī's cousin Abu 'l-Mughīra ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥazm. Secretary to the administration and a wit, he was appointed vizier by al-Mustaẓhir during the brief caliphate of the latter (414/1023) and then entered the service of the petty kings of Saragossa; he was vizier of Mundhir b. Yaḥyā when the town fell, in 431/1040, and was imprisoned and then probably released after a ransom had been paid. He died in 438/1046. He had belonged to the group of young Cordovan aristocrats of brilliant literary talent, and his relations with Ibn Shuhayd were well-known; according to Ibn Khāḳān (*Maṭmaḥ*, 22 = al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 408-9), Ibn Shuhayd was not a good influence on Abu 'l-Mughīra, who led a more sober life after his friend's death. Ibn Ḥayyān (*apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 111), who thought very highly of his qualities as a poet and prose writer, states that he wrote in his youth a number of works, and adds that he always won any arguments with his cousin because of his ready wit and his learning. It appears that he enjoyed some degree of fame even beyond the frontiers of Muslim Spain, since it was to him that the Ḳayrawānī Ibn al-Rabīb [*q.v.*] addressed the famous epistle in which he criticized the Andalusians for not perpetuating the memory of their famous men; Abu 'l-Mughīra replied to these criticisms at some length, but Ibn Bassām (*Dhakhīra*, i/1, 113-6) did not consider it necessary to preserve the whole of the text of this reply, and in particular made the regrettable decision to suppress the list of Andalusian works with which it ended. It is known that ʿAlī Ibn Ḥazm also replied to this letter and that the text of his reply survives, probably in full [see ibn al-rabīb]. In addition Ibn Bassām and al-Maḳḳarī have reproduced a certain number of prose and verse texts by Abu 'l-Mughīra which clearly show considerable literary qualities. See Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 110-52; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. and tr. L. Bercher, 237; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, 22; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām*, 197; H. Pérès, *Poésie*, 14, n. 4, 57; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 334; Dozy, *HME*², ii, 330; Ch. Pellat, in *al-Andalus*, xix/1 (1954), 53.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN ḤAZM, Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, born at Cordova in 384/994, died at Manta Līsham in 456/1064, Andalusian poet, historian, jurist, philosopher and theologian, one of the greatest thinkers of Arabo-Muslim civilization, who codified the Ẓāhirī [see ẓāhiriyya] doctrine and applied its method to all the Ḳurʾānic sciences.

The life of Ibn Ḥazm and the political events of his time. E. García Gómez has pointed out that the period in which Ibn Ḥazm lived corresponds to the "most tragic moments of Muslim Spain" and to "the decisive crisis of Islam in Andalusia". His family origins are obscure; the most probable suggestion is that he was descended from Christian converts to Islam. His grandfather Saʿīd settled at Cordova; his father Aḥmad rose to a high position in the administrative hierarchy, becoming vizier to

al-Manṣūr and to his son al-Muẓaffar: he had enough skill and pliability to remain faithful to the Umayyad caliph, who was officially on the throne, without arousing the suspicions of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir.

Ibn Ḥazm spent his early years in the surroundings of the harem. Asín Palacios and García Gómez have stressed this point: "an impressionable child and abnormally highly-strung", the revelation of sexual matters and the discovery of the subtle feminine psychology were to have a profound influence on him. This is true; but Ibn Ḥazm should not all the same be regarded as having been a neurotic and morbidly amoral person. Until the age of fourteen the child led a pampered and easy life; but after that he was to suffer from the repercussions of the political struggles between Andalusians, Berbers and Slavs. His father fell into disgrace after the fall of the ʿĀmirids and the replacement of the caliph Hishām II by Muḥammad al-Mahdī; he was forced to leave his palace of Madīnat al-Zāhira. His affairs were not improved by the assassination of al-Mahdī and the return to the throne of Hishām, since the Slav general Wāḍiḥ had him imprisoned and confiscated his possessions. The family then established itself firmly in the service of the legitimist party. Aḥmad took part in an unsuccessful plot against the Slavs. It was in these unhappy circumstances that he died in 402/1012. A period of violence had begun; the house of Ibn Ḥazm's family at Balāṭ Mughīth was destroyed in 403/1013. He himself was forced to take refuge in Almeria, where he was able to enjoy a respite until 407/1016, the year in which the governor of this town made an agreement with the Berbers to overthrow Sulaymān. Ibn Ḥazm, suspected of carrying out pro-Umayyad propaganda, was imprisoned for some months and then banished.

Accompanied by his friend Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, Ibn Ḥazm found refuge at Ḥiṣn al-Ḳaṣr, which, according to García Gómez, is not the present day Aznalcazar near Sanlúcar, but was in the region of Malaga or of Murcia. The two friends did not remain there for long: having heard that an Umayyad claimant to the throne, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV al-Murtaḍā, who had been living in Valencia, was raising an army against the Berbers of Cordova, they set out to join him. Ibn Ḥazm became al-Murtaḍā's vizier and fought in his army before Granada. He was taken prisoner and then released. In about 412/1022, Ibn Ḥazm, who had retreated to Jativa, began to write the *Ṭawḳ al-hamāma*, which contains many autobiographical passages relating to the above events.

The Berbers retained Cordova until 414/1023, when al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd was overthrown. The new caliph, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V al-Mustaẓhir, appointed his friend Ibn Ḥazm as vizier; unfortunately, he was assassinated after seven weeks, and Ibn Ḥazm was once again put into prison. He reappears in 418/1027 at Jativa. According to al-Djayyānī, reported by Yāḳūt, he became vizier again under Hishām al-Muʿtadd. But his experience of political life had destroyed the ideals he had had in his youth. From now on he devoted himself, in semi-retirement, to intellectual work and study, to writing his books and teaching. His virulent attacks against the Mālikī *fuḳahā'* who, always supporting those in power, held sway in the schools and exerted their influence on political and social life, his stand against the ʿAbbādids of Seville whose impostures he denounced, in short his radical non-conformity, earned him the hatred of the official thinkers and the hostility of the rulers, who found such a person undesirable in their territory. This was the period of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if* (Reyes de Taifas), which began after the abolition of the caliphate of Cordova, so that the convinced legitimist could not avoid making enemies almost everywhere. Ibn Ḥazm withdrew to the country of his family at Manta Lisham. Little is known of the end of his life, apart from the fact that measures were taken to silence him: in order to make it difficult for him to teach, the formation around him of groups of students was forbidden; only a few disciples, among them the historian al-Ḥumaydī, were brave enough to seek him out and listen to him. He died in his village, leaving, according to his son Abū Rāfiʿ, 400 works.

Ibn Ḥazm and the cultural life of his time. Ibn Ḥazm received a very thorough education. In the *Ṭawḳ* and in his treatise on the merits of Muslim Spain he gives some information on his teachers and he demonstrates that he was truly a man of his time, well-informed on all the main currents of thought, interested in all that was written, and eager to learn. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Yazīd al-Azdī al-Miṣrī taught him traditions, grammar and lexicography, rhetoric, dialectic, and theology (*Ṭawḳ*, ch. 28). Abu 'l-Khiyār al-Lughawī, the jurisconsult, was his teacher for *fiḳh* (*Ṭawḳ*, ch. 26). Abū Saʿīd al-Fatā al-Djaʿfarī gave a commentary on early poetry in the Great Mosque at Cordova (*Ṭawḳ*, 21). For *ḥadīth* he was taught by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Djasūr (*Ṭawḳ*, 30). In his treatise on Spain, Ibn Ḥazm mentions, as his *ustādh* for philosophy, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Madhḥidjī, whose treatises he says were famous. In addition to these teachers there should be mentioned his relationship with the poets, scholars and men of letters who were his contemporaries. He refers to them in his works, often cordially. There exists a collection of Epistles addressed to important persons among his friends on religious or intellectual matters. It seems that Ibn Ḥazm was deeply concerned with the problem of spiritual education as a means of saving and promoting human culture (that is, the Arabic culture of his time), if we may judge by his *Risāla fī marātib al-ʿulūm*, which is a complete plan for education. In it he demonstrates that all sciences are related, that they demand researches which are not possible without renouncing a life of pleasure, and that their use is to lead man to victory and to well-being in the next world. There is no thinker more typical of his century than Ibn Ḥazm.

Character of Ibn Ḥazm. It would certainly be an exaggeration to claim that Arabic literature as a whole is impersonal: the great writer and the great thinker may always be discerned through his work. Ibn Ḥazm is no exception. For the modern reader, he is the author in the field of Arab Islam who remains the most alive and the most vigorous. Asín Palacios has shown that he had retained from his early years, passed among the women in the harem, an exaggerated sensitivity which later appeared as a very sensitive conscience: in matters concerning his personal loves, or in his political, social, scientific or religious life, he always regarded with repugnance any falseness, simulation or deceit. He realized that the human soul, if left to itself, spontaneously inclines towards dishonesty, and therefore he mistrusted those internal recesses of the soul in which are hidden unexpressed and unexpressible intentions, double meanings whose ambiguity leads to indecision. His experience as an adult of those in power or

seeking power confirmed in him a mournful scepticism. It may be said that the ideas which govern all his works were controlled by these basic reactions to the human vices as he saw them practised in his own day. He was taught by Islam that there is no refuge from such evils except in God and he adhered to this belief with all the force of his being. It should not be forgotten that he himself lived out his own belief with intensity before giving expression to it dogmatically in a vast system in which it is set out together with all its various consequences, and before defending it passionately against those people whom it exposed and who attacked it in their own defence.

Ibn Ḥazm confronted all these inconstancies of man and society as a man passionately convinced of the truth, and all his researches led towards a truth supported by incontrovertible evidence with incontestable proofs. This Truth is the God of Islam, Who is the foundation of all the other truths. The Muslim faith, in its authenticity, is the basis of a truly human life; but it must be purified of all that men have added, suppressed or modified. Although God is the basic refuge, Ibn Ḥazm, meditating in his own way on this faith, discovered in the statements of the law solid bases which can be relied on and used as arguments to combat error and deceit. First, in spite of, and perhaps even because of, his misanthropy, Ibn Ḥazm recognized friendship and gave it an important place in his ideal conception of human relations. He considered that true friendship is the source of truth, frankness, mutual understanding, and sincerity. It is in friendly relations that verbal statements may be taken at their face value, without any need to suspect something left unsaid or thoughts skilfully and shrewdly disguised. This strongly held opinion explains Ibn Ḥazm's religious respect for the language itself, in which his Ẓāhirī doctrine has its roots. In the same order of ideas, but at another level, Ibn Ḥazm was convinced that the supposedly rational arguments of the philosophers, of the theologians and of certain jurists merely revealed their passions, prejudices and personal preferences, all things unjustifiable in themselves but given a semblance of legitimacy by means of false reasoning. From them stem the innumerable deviations of those who, instead of listening to God, submit to the promptings of presumptuous human reason. This argument contains the origin of Ibn Ḥazm's system of logic, in which reason plays a part, but one rigorously defined, limited and subordinated to the teaching provided by the Word of God. Finally, Ibn Ḥazm relies on his acute sense of reality. The reality created by God has much to teach men, provided that they know this and are willing to observe it by following the advice of the Ḳur'ān. Exasperation often causes the writings of sensitive thinkers to tend towards morbidity, but nothing of this is found in Ibn Ḥazm; his works show not the slightest trace of schizophrenia. Although he cuts himself off from the world, he does not evade it; although he dreams of an ideal, he does not merely cultivate it secretly within himself. He remains a fighter, a man of action, whether he enters the field of politics or whether he carries on polemic in his books. The enemies he is fighting are men of flesh and blood, whose doctrines he studies with care and whose formulas he closely examines. He could perhaps be accused of making no attempt to understand his opponent thoroughly, of being content merely to point out illogicalities and inexact or fallacious expressions, and of using sometimes, to this end, rather specious arguments. But the fact is that he regards them as men not to be trusted, with whom it is not possible to engage in a true dialogue, since they distort language to make it fit in with their whims and force words to say what they do not naturally mean. Together with this search for precise terminology, which prevents his arguments from having any formal or abstract character, he displays a great power of observation, which is apparent especially in the choice of examples drawn from his personal experience or from enquiries which he has made himself. Thus, concerning the *zakāt* on agricultural products and its collection, he says a few words on agriculture in Spain; concerning the parable of the grain of mustard seed in the Gospel he has conducted researches on the size of the plant which grows from it; concerning measures, he mentions a *mudd* which he has seen in a family and establishes through whose hands it has passed in succession until he demonstrates, as in an *isnād*, that it came from Medina, dated from the time of the Prophet, and thus constituted an authentic standard measure. Many other such examples could be given.

But although he has a liking for concrete detail and precise information, Ibn Ḥazm is noted for his sense of synthesis. His great concern is to demonstrate the consistency of the numerous Ḳur'ānic and prophetic texts on which Muslim faith and practice are based. His theories of knowledge, language, logic and interpretation are always directed to this end. In carrying out his project he explains ideas and the relations between them with perfect clarity; his style is at the same time limpid, supple and vigorous. From this point of view, his works conform completely with the Western ideal. There may be mentioned his reference to "talkers of nonsense who embroider the truth, who arrogate to themselves the name of theologians, who string together in their drivelling talk thousands of words, the last of which cancel out the earlier ones". This judgement is typical of Ibn Ḥazm, and demonstrates the importance which he attached to coherence both in the sequence of ideas and in style. In fact he stresses, in the search for and the statement of the truth, the role played by the memory (as did Descartes later): the necessity of retaining in the mind the whole thread of the proof and the discourse; if there is a lapse of memory, error occurs. His personal genius is based on considerable powers of memory and of systematic construction, in which the mass of details, always well marshalled, never blurs the clear outline of the main arguments.

Ibn Ḥazm as psychologist and moralist. Ibn Ḥazm's temperament, his spiritual qualities and his powers of observation and analysis make him a very subtle psychologist and a notable moralist. This appears throughout his writings, but may be seen more particularly in two of his works: the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* and the *Kitāb al-Akhlāḳ wa 'l-siyar*. The first is a treatise on love and lovers. This subject was often treated by the commentators of the early poetry (*nasīb* of the *ḳaṣīda*; *ghazal*); in this sense Ibn Ḥazm had predecessors, the most important of whom were al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī. His treatise belongs to a literary genre which was to become much favoured, that which may be termed the "Code of Love" and which very soon became a collection of clichés, anecdotes and observations, illustrated, more or less aptly, by numerous poetic quotations. Already the *Kitāb al-Zahra* of Ibn Dāwūd may be criticized as being of this type, and Ibn Ḥazm does not seem to have avoided it entirely. But

although from the time the genre was first used the theme was fairly trite, skilled writers like al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn Ḥazm were able to give it an original twist. The bibliography in García Gómez lists the studies of the *Ṭawḳ* from this point of view. Here it may be mentioned that Ibn Ḥazm gradually detaches himself from the stereotyped productions of a light literature and that his discourse becomes increasingly serious. His secular subject becomes full of moral and religious reflexions; the use of more personal examples and of direct observation lends it progressively more depth and psychological truth, while at the same time a hint of pessimism and of bitterness becomes more apparent. It is probable that the work was not written all at the same time, and that it reflects a certain development in the author's experience. An example is the passage which begins with these words: *wa laḳad ra'aytu 'mra'atan kānat mawaddatuhā fī ghayri dhāt Allāh* (ed. L. Bercher, 348). In it can be felt a certain religious and human feeling, an existentialist dialectic of love. The chapter entitled *Ḳubḥ al-maʿṣiya* contains completely personal autobiographical details which have the ring of truth, together with some very vivid notes on feminine psychology. Ibn Ḥazm's gifts as a psychologist and a moralist are well enough demonstrated by some remarks on apparent resignation (ch. 24, ed. Bercher, 238), also by some remarks on the apparent and the hidden meaning in the words of lovers (p. 180), and remarks on the dialectic of consolation (*ḳunūʿ*), in particular among poets who attempt to satisfy themselves "by means of externalizing the passion which grips them (*gharaḍ*; on the meaning of this word, cf. Dozy, *Supp.*), by displaying their mastery of profound ideas and extraordinary designs: each of them speaks according to the strength of his nature, but they merely use the language in an arbitrary way (*taḥakkum bi 'l-lisān*), produce turgid discourses (*tashadduḳ fi 'l-kalām*), and revel in rhetoric (*istiṭāla bi 'l-bayān*), all of which is completely without authenticity"; they are demonstrated also by some remarks on the different motives which exist for apparently identical conduct and on the part played by ostentation (*riyā'*), and by many other passages of the same type. These remarks however also indicate the way in which Ibn Ḥazm made use of these abilities: in a ruthless analysis of the motives, intentions and secret meanings which reveals the reticences or dissimulations concealed under the cover of expression in speech. When a man speaks about himself, and in order to express himself, he does not follow the rules of a language which was made for accurate communication, but he distorts it to his own personal requirements to dissimulate and deceive. When Ibn Ḥazm, in the *Ṭawḳ*, uses the term *iẓhār*, it is always in a pejorative sense: a man does not show himself as he really is but adopts a mask. This is why, after criticizing human words, he seeks authentic truth in the Word of God. His basic argument is exactly the same as that of many Muslim mystics, but he has no confidence in man and is reluctant to search in the depths of human consciousness for a state of authentic sincerity in which is revealed the presence of Divine action. He considers that the artificial nature of consciousness always constitutes a barrier. He therefore exhorts man to escape from himself in order to submit to a purely objective reality, the text of the revealed Ḳur'ān and of the inspired *ḥadīth* taken "as it is", *i.e.*, in its *ẓāhir*. To be united with God is to listen to what He says and understand it in order to obey Him meekly and scrupulously. Man does not find truth and certainty in himself but in God, that is to say in the texts at whose level is achieved the only union possible: the union in understanding, *fahm*.

The *Kitāb al-Akhlāḳ wa 'l-siyar* fully confirms the above conclusions; we limit ourselves to referring to paragraph 267 (ed. and tr. N. Tomiche, 74/96), and, on the goal pursued, to paragraph 5 (13/8) which concludes: "Know therefore that there is only one object to be sought: to banish anxiety, and that one way alone leads to it: the service of God (*al-ʿamal li-'llāh*)". Thus all of Ibn Ḥazm's psychology and moral science concentrates on action, but an action purged of any internal motive and entirely determined by the thought of God.

Ibn Ḥazm as a theoretician of language. Lies and error are obviously linked to speech. It can be said, in brief, that for Ibn Ḥazm the evil in this consists in making use of language for personal ends instead of serving it. In fact there exists in language a reality: instituted by God (cf. Ḳur'ān, II, 31), it contains in itself a truth and is the only means of discovering the truth and of expressing it, so long as it is not cut off from its divine roots (*aṣl al-lugha*) in order to make of it the plaything of human passions, which results in destroying it in every language and in depriving it of any efficacity (*ibṭāl al-lugha*). In the use of a language, the speech ought never to become conventional (the theory of the *tawḳīf* opposed to that of the *iṣṭilāḥ*) nor enigmatic: it should say everything openly, since its function is to bring about mutual comprehension (*tafāhum*). This is why perfect speech (and this is eminently the case of the Word of God) must be expressed completely by its *ẓāhir*. Any attempt to discover a hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) is useless; it leads to arbitrary judgements and leaves room for the passions and the suggestions of the human soul. Thus, in the realm of pure grammatical theory, Ibn Ḥazm strongly opposed all the theories which explained syntax by "hidden meanings". The psychological intentions of the speaker or the listener should not interfere with the meaning of the speech, the only element which has any value. The words by themselves have a significant meaning (*dalīl*) or a designative meaning (*ishāra*); he who uses them must do so with their proper meaning and not alter it by substituting his own subjective one. The ideas of *maʿnā* and of *murād bihi* are therefore perfectly objective and are dependent only upon the structure of the speech and the language in which they come into existence. Similarly, there are basic categories of speech (*ʿanāṣir al-kalām*) which modify the general conclusion of every word spoken: the imperative, the indicative, and the interrogative among others, which are the internal moods of speech and which affect the linguistic material by enabling it to evoke from the listener or the reader a certain response. Ibn Ḥazm also considered, but with detachment, the problem of the origin of languages in reflecting on the language of Adam; but in fact he does not make a categorical statement on this. In short, what constitutes for him the value of Arabic is the fact that it is the language of the Ḳur'ān, the seal of Revelation. It should be added that Ibn Ḥazm had some interesting intuitive theories on this problem, in particular that of an evolution and of a relationship between languages; but he did not develop them, probably because he did not possess the means, and certainly he did not regard this as a central problem.

The logic of Ibn Ḥazm. Ibn Ḥazm's theory of speech is entirely directed towards the formation

of a system of logic capable of analysing the revealed and prophetic texts in the essence of their *ẓāhir* without the risk of debasing them by substituting for that which God means that which man wishes to understand. From this point of view, although he was acquainted with Aristotle and in spite of his own command of logic in the arguments which he advances against his opponents, his tendency is to reduce the importance and the range of application of logical procedures conceived as the instruments of an independent reason. He believes in the value of reason, but conceives its legitimate use only in the sense in which God makes use of it in the Ḳur'ān (cf. the verses which include the verb *yaʿḳilūn*); it is first the faculty of the necessary rational intuitions (the principle of contradiction, the principle that the whole is greater then the part, etc.). Next it is the faculty which understands the senses of creatures and, consequently, it must never in its use become divorced from the results of perception through the senses which it is its task to penetrate. It is reason also which understands words and to which the Word of God is addressed. Thus it has the power to distinguish the true from the false, but always in relation to a fact which is presented to it either by the experience of the senses or by speech. It has also the capacity to reach immediate inferences readily checked by the facts. But it has absolutely no power to discover a truth which has not been given to it, and still less to create or reconstruct one. It is unable to make any value judgement, particularly concerning the moral questions of good and evil. It does not carry with it any speculative or practical imperative which demands that God take it into consideration. Reason is not a ruler but a worker. Entirely subordinated to the service of the understanding of the "signs" of God, it is reason which performs *id̲j̲tihād*, but this personal effort contributes nothing, does not produce any material progress in knowledge; it must result only in a more perfect understanding of the revealed texts and in a knowledge of them which is formally more solid and clear.

Furthermore, Ibn Ḥazm does not recognize an area of logical realities consisting of genus and species, of specific differences, of characteristics. He does not abstain from using these terms, but he does so always in the sense which they have in language (*fi 'l-lug̲h̲a*) and never according to their technical acceptation, except in the case of polemic. Above all he refrains from building up a metaphysical system based on these so-called logical realities. There is no "Ḥazmian theory" of substance and accident, of act and power, of natures, etc. When he makes use of these words it is either in polemic, or to express a common idea, or in referring to the Ḳur'ān or to *ḥadīt̲h̲*. Thus, in his *Fiṣal*, there is a chapter in which he demonstrates that the word "nature" (*ṭabīʿa*) may be used because the Prophet used it in referring to the character of some of his contemporaries. This is very far from the philosophic doctrine of the "natures" as the *falāsifa* received it from the Greeks.

It is true that in his *Kitāb al-Taḳrīb* Ibn Ḥazm presents a summary of Aristotelian logic, but it should not be concluded from this that he understood it in the spirit of Aristotle. The examples which he gives and which he draws from the Ḳur'ān and from *ḥadīt̲h̲* are already an important indication of this. But nevertheless it is undeniable that, regarded in itself, the logic of Aristotle is closely connected with language; as an instrument for the analysis of linguistic expression it is natural for a Muslim to take an interest in it, and on this point Ibn Ḥazm's attitude is clear. In a dialogue preserved by al-Tawḥīdī between Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī and Mattā b. Yūnus, Abū Saʿīd rejects Aristotelian logic on the ground that it is linked with the Greek language and could not be of the slightest use to the Arabs. In this work Ibn Ḥazm makes a point of mentioning several times that what he obtains from Aristotle is common to all languages and hence can be of profit in the study of Arabic. If the transmission of logic is a grace (*luṭf*) of God, this is because this science is based on "the capacity for understanding which God has created in man". This leads to the central importance of *fahm*. It is thus, for example, that the scientific difference is not at all to be regarded as a constituent element of a concept and still less, beyond the concept, as a constituent element of a nature or of a metaphysical essence, but merely as a means of distinguishing (*tamyīz*) names and beings from one another.

Thus this recourse to Aristotle does not in the least contradict the logical conceptions set out elsewhere by Ibn Ḥazm (in particular in the *Kitāb al-Iḥkām*). It should however be remembered that several Muslim writers on logic have claimed that Ibn Ḥazm's conception of Aristotelian logic was not authentic, and indeed it is possible in one sense to say that he did not understand the full philosophical implications of Aristotle's work. It is probably more exact to say that he did not wish to attribute such wide implications to logic.

Ibn Ḥazm regarded logic as intended to extract the precise meaning of the texts on which the Muslim faith is based and also (and this is perhaps his chief aim) to reconcile the various texts of the Ḳur'ān and of *ḥadīt̲h̲* whose agreement is not immediately obvious and which sometimes appear flatly contradictory. It is therefore a matter of a logic of the *bayān*. The *ẓāhirī* conception of language led to a *ẓāhirī* system of logic which, in its turn, produced a *ẓāhirī* theology and system of law.

The basic rule is that it is necessary at first to consider all the elements in a text in their general meaning (*ʿala 'l-ʿumūm*). It applies in the first place to the *ʿanāṣir al-kalām*, which should be understood in their strongest sense: thus a verbal imperative has the general meaning of an obligatory command and should be so understood unless another text is found which is an indication (*dalīl*) that what is involved is not an order, but an invitation or a piece of advice. Similarly a negative imperative has the immediate meaning of a prohibition, and only secondarily, as the result of a *dalīl*, can it be considered as a dissuasion. In the second place words are to be understood in the widest sense of their lexicographical meanings. If it is necessary to restrict them to a particular meaning (*ʿala 'l-k̲h̲uṣūṣ*), a *dalīl* must be found. It can thus be seen that by "generality" Ibn Ḥazm does not mean a conceptional generality: in Arabic the various meanings of a word often have no semantic relation to one another; the *ʿumūm* is thus only the sum of the meanings of a word. If there is no restrictive indication, and if all the possible meanings equally apply, then all may be retained. If certain of them do not apply, then concrete experience plays the part of *dalīl*, providing sufficient indication that these should be excluded. It is also the relations between the *ʿumūm* and the *k̲h̲uṣūṣ* which are the basis of the theory of *istit̲h̲nā'* (exception). When two texts do not agree, the particular is discarded in favour of the general. These

are the basic principles of methodology which Ibn Ḥazm persistently applied to all the problems of *fiḳh* and *kalām*, adapting them with extreme ingenuity to each case.

Ibn Ḥazm and the sources of the law. As far as the Ḳurʾān is concerned, Ibn Ḥazm's interpretation is always a literal one and a wide one, according to his system of applying the rule of generalization in the understanding of texts. In this way he succeeded in deriving, from verses which appear to have only a limited application, ideas on which he built a whole juridical system. Thus (VI, 164): "*wa-lā taksibu kullu nafs^in illā ʿalayhā*" and (II, 286) "*lā yukallifu ʾllāhu nafs^an illā wusʿahā lahā mā kasabat wa ʿalayhā mā ʾktasabat*" are two verses proposed as the Ḳurʾānic foundation for the doctrine of association (*Kitāb al-S̲h̲irka*). It is true that in these matters Ibn Ḥazm is not the only jurist to show great skill in exploiting the texts. In other cases he takes the verses in a very limited sense; for example in the treatise on loans and pledges, on the principle that, in a contract, any condition which is not found in the Book of God is null, he takes the terms of *Sūra* II, 282 in a very narrow sense.

To *ḥadīt̲h̲* he applies very severe standards and, in his juridical controversies, he rejects the majority of those on which his adversaries rely. He applies moreover the ordinary rules of that criticism which he set out himself in his *Kitāb al-Iḥkām*, showing in this an undeniable sense of history.

He was, in contrast to the S̲h̲āfiʿīs, the great opponent of reasoning by analogy (*ḳiyās*), which he dismisses by demonstrating on the one hand the vagueness of the idea of resemblance and on the other the arbitrary element which exists in the wish to define a point of analogy. In his treatise on law (*Kitāb al-Muḥallā*), when he is attacking a *ḳiyās*, he always concentrates on stressing the inconsistencies which it produces: why make use of analogy in one case and not in another?

He also reduced the scope of *id̲j̲māʿ* by bringing it back to the consensus of the Companions, the only one which is possible and certain.

Ibn Ḥazm as a jurist. He is the most representative of the Ẓāhirī school. On the theoretical level he was a fierce opponent of Ḥanafism and to a lesser degree of S̲h̲āfiʿism. But on the theoretical and the practical levels his great enemy was the Mālikism which was strong in Spain in his time. It may even be said that Ibn Ḥazm espoused Ẓāhirism because he saw in it an effective means of opposing and of condemning the tyranny of the Mālikī jurists. In this sense his work as a jurist constituted a liberation of the faithful. There are five *aḥkām*: the prescribed and the forbidden, that which is advised and that which is reprehended, and the permitted. In order to claim that an act falls into one of the first four categories, it is necessary to adduce a text in its *ẓāhir*. If no text can be brought, it is clear that the act in question falls into the final category, that of the *mubāḥ*.

Insensible to the demands brought about by historical changes, Ibn Ḥazm applied himself to reconstructing a legal system stripped of all that he considered to be additions made by the jurists who came after the Prophet and the Companions. He therefore greatly simplifies the law on many points: particularly clear examples of this are found in the chapter on the *zakāt* in his *Kitāb al-Muḥallā*, where, for agricultural products, he retains only wheat, barley, dates and *zabīb*, eliminating all the other types of cereals, fruits and fresh vegetables, and plants used for textiles, dyes and medicines, which other schools had added. Similarly in the *muʿāmalāt*, he limits considerably the forms of association by strict application of the principle that to each person is returned the fruit of his labour. His treatise on sale is also a return to a legislation inspired by such elementary forms of commerce as those for which the Prophet had laid down rules. On certain points, this return to the situation of the past presents great advantages: for example, in his treatise on marriage Ibn Ḥazm takes a very liberal attitude, defending the rights of women as established by the Ḳurʾān and the Prophet and, in particular, reducing considerably the scope of the right of *d̲j̲abr*.

The reason that he did not see the need to develop the law as a consequence of political and social evolution was that he regarded the Law as being primarily a religious reality which gives man the opportunity to obey God and to submit to Him. It is also the link binding the *Umma*, in its religious form. As for the decisions to take and the conduct to follow at a certain time or in a certain place, it is permissible for a man to seek for the best solution, provided that it is not in any respect contrary to the basic rules established by God. But there is no question of extending these rules themselves. Ibn Ḥazm's juridical work therefore is based on the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, but in a special sense. He considers that in fact in the Ḳurʾān everything is *aṣl*: a Ḳurʾānic rule which could be regarded as of very specialized application is a principle in itself, exactly the same as a very general rule. One should not infer, as did al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, starting from what he regarded as a particular case, a general motivation (*ʿilla*) from which there could be drawn (by *taʿlīl*) new applications. The Laws of God do not obey any *ʿilla*; they were not formed either by virtue of any standards of value in themselves or with the intention of dealing with a particular situation of humanity at a certain moment in history. God acts as He wishes and pays regard to nothing but His own will.

Conceived in this way, there is a risk that the law becomes entirely unrelated to the present—which is a form of eternity. Ibn Ḥazm can be accused of this in many instances. Nevertheless, among these abstract and formal considerations, his genius is able to stress some important ideas: respect for the right to the fruits of labour, the obligation to increase the value of, and to develop, one's possessions in the common interest, respect for the law concerning land (clearly expounded in the treatises on *muzāraʿa* and *mug̲h̲ārasa*). Finally it should be noted that, although the law properly so-called is confined within narrow limits as being divine law, the field of the *mubāḥ* is correspondingly enlarged and admits of human initiative; and furthermore human relationships are not exclusively juridical: thus a disposition which may not be written in as a condition in a contract may perfectly well be adopted "through the goodwill" of one of the parties to the contract. Although this is not binding and confers no legal right, it is nevertheless a good action and one which God will reward.

Ibn Ḥazm as "historian of religious ideas". This is the description given to him by Asín Palacios in the important work which he devoted to his life, his works and in particular to the *Fiṣal*, which is actually an encyclopaedia of religious knowledge, concerning the different religions which had, or had formerly had, any connexion with Islam. The fullness and accuracy of its documentation certainly class it as a historical work. It is clear that

Ibn Ḥazm had read widely, and he reveals that he had himself carried out some of the enquiries and research necessary for it. This is certainly true of the information which he collected on the Jews and the Christians, and it can be seen especially from his polemic with Ibn Naghrila, a Jew of Granada. Thus he is well informed both on the past history of these religions and on their present states. He does not omit, for example, to point out when an ancient doctrine is still held in his time or when it has been modified. His qualities as a historian are undoubted, but the *Fiṣal* is not only the work of a historian: it is that of a man inspired by a theological ideal. Its general plan is a sign of this: Ibn Ḥazm begins with basic philosophical questions, those concerning knowledge and the possibility of attaining a truth, then he classifies the answers which have been given, eliminating that of the "Sophists", that is the sceptics, and retaining that which admits that it is possible for man to apprehend the truth. He then proceeds to study the problem of the eternity of the world and to reject those doctrines which teach this in favour of an examination of those which believe in a Creation; and by the same process, he deduces the truth of monotheism, and then the reality of a God Who sends to men a revelation through prophets. Thus by degrees he approaches the fundamental dogmas of Islam, whose features are stated more and more clearly as the errors are demolished. In pursuing this line Ibn Ḥazm examines, in order to criticize them, various philosophical and religious systems: speculations on time, space and bodily matter; the astral religions, dualism, metempsychosis, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, the various conceptions of prophecy in Judaism and in Christianity (concerning the person of Jesus). Finally, when it begins to deal with Islam, the *Fiṣal* becomes a treatise of heresiography which concentrates on theological and juridical ideas and not on the history of the sects. The various controversial problems of Muslim theology are considered and resolved according to the principles of a systematic Ẓāhirism. Two points should be mentioned: in discussing the non-Muslim religions, Ibn Ḥazm does not attempt to understand them in themselves; he is interested in them only in relation to dogmas or problems which enable him to compare them with Islam. Thus he attacks the Jews for their limited conception of Prophecy and of the Law, and he attempts to find out their opinions on "abrogation", an idea which is essentially Muslim. Similarly, he attacks the Gospels, demonstrating that they show no guarantee of being a revealed text, since they have not the nature of one (the Ḳur'ān being taken as the criterion), and that they do not even achieve the credibility of *ḥadīth*, since they are totally lacking in *isnād* (Ibn Ḥazm demonstrates this from the prologue to St. Luke's Gospel). The second point to be noted arises from the first: Ibn Ḥazm is always well informed, whether he is writing of non-Muslims or of Muslims whom he is criticizing. He sets out the positions of his adversaries honestly, accurately, and often in detail: this shows him to be a good historian of ideas. Unfortunately he never attempts to understand the importance and the gravity of the problems which occupy the men with whom he disagrees. Starting from the Ḳur'ānic principle that one may not question God, he regards philosophical and theological speculation as no more than the expression of the vain curiosity of a disobedient human spirit. Thus, from the beginning he has no sympathy with the basic steps which form the various points at issue. This is why his sole aim is to trap his interlocutors by means of his dialectic, to make them contradict themselves by processes which are merely splitting hairs over verbal expressions or disproving the validity of their ideas by confronting them with facts of experience which are striking rather than convincing. To give one simple example: he accuses the Muʿtazilīs, who set a limit to the power of God, of attributing to God a weakness greater than that ever experienced by bugs, fleas or worms. Although he does not always go to such extremes, Ibn Ḥazm often has a tendency to do so. This seems more likely to be a result of anger than of innate temperament. Behind these exaggerations there lies a state of mind, an outlook on the world, and a Ẓāhirī conviction. Ibn Ḥazm does not enter into the deeper thoughts of others but he is very well able to understand their methods of argument: he therefore skilfully makes use of the ***argumentum ad hominem.***

The Islam of Ibn Ḥazm and his theology. At the beginning of the *Kitāb al-Muḥallā* there is a chapter entitled *al-tawḥīd*, which consists of a summary of the *ʿaḳīda* of Ibn Ḥazm. The first obligation upon every man, without which there is no *islām*, is to know in his heart with certainty and complete sincerity, with a knowledge in which there remains no trace of doubt, and also to pronounce with his tongue, that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His Messenger. He does not consider the question of the *ʿaḳd bi 'l-ḳalb* as implying the development of an interior religious life. It is an "act of the soul" which, during religious worship, accompanies the actions of the body. This statement is based solely on the Ḳur'ān (XCVIII, 5). Ibn Ḥazm's thinking on this point is clearly shown in another passage, on the subject of the *niyya*, of which he states that in order for it to be authentic there is no necessity for it to be guaranteed by another earlier *niyya*, since then there would be an intention of the intention, and this would proceed to infinity. He mistrusts the recesses of the human conscience. It is not necessary to cultivate in oneself, in one's heart, a perfect purity of intention; the heart intervenes only in order to extend itself beyond its own confines, on hearing the word of God, to takeit s part in the prescribed external actions. The necessity for a verbal profession of faith is implied in the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "I have received the order to fight against men until they testify . . .". Only the tongue can be compelled by force; this being so, Ibn Ḥazm demonstrates by philosophic methods, by a study of temporality and of time, that the world is created (*muḥdath*), that it has a Creator (*muḥdith*, called also *khāliḳ*), and that this Creator is unique. He created the world without any reason forcing Him to do so (*bi-ghayri ʿilla awdjabat ʿalayhi*). The soul is created; it is no different from the spirit: it is the living part of man, the part endowed with sensibility and with speech. Some *ḥadīth*s refer indifferently to either the soul or the spirit as being in the hands of God when a person is asleep. The Throne is created, for it is said of God that He is the Ruler of the Throne (IX, 130), and whatever has a master is created. Finally, nothing may be likened to God.

Prophecy is a means by which true knowledge may be obtained. The proof of this is that there are many facts which we can know only if they are reported to us (knowledge by *khabar*). Muḥammad is the seal of the prophets: God by his *milla* has cancelled all the others and He requires all men and all *djinn*s to follow the Ḳur'ānic Law. There have

been other prophets, some mentioned in the Ḳur'ān and others not (IV, 149). It is an obligation (*farḍ*) to believe in them all. They are men created like all other men and are servants of God.

Paradise is a place of sojourn created for the believers. Hell is a created abode, but no believer remains there eternally. God decides which Muslims shall go there: those whose great sins (*kabā'ir*) outweigh their good actions. Later, through intercession (*shafā'a*), they are permitted to leave it and to enter Paradise. These two abodes are eternal. Those in Paradise eat, drink, have sexual relations, wear clothes and experience pleasure without ever knowing any suffering. Those in hell are submitted to the tortures which are described in the Ḳur'ān. All this is true literally, not metaphorically, for the Ḳur'ān is *tibyān li-kulli shay'* (XVI, 89); it is necessary to believe in the truth of all the invisible realities which are spoken of in the Book, even though the reader may not understand how they are so (*nu'minu bi-hā wa-lā nadrī kayfa hiya*). Anyone who refuses to accept one letter of the Ḳur'ān which is in the hands of the Muslims, from the *Fātiḥa* or *Umm al-Kitāb* right up to the two final *sūra*s (*al-mu'awwidhatān*), is a *kāfir*. No person possesses a secret concerning religion (cf. II, 159, 174 and III, 187). It is necessary to believe in the angels, in the *djinn*s, in the Resurrection, in the *ṣirāṭ*, in the scales, in the basin, in the pages on which the angels record the actions of men and in the final rendering of the account of those acts: all this is real. Examples of this account: if a man thinks of a good action and does not do it, this is recorded to his credit as one good action; if he performs it, it is recorded as ten; if he thinks of a bad action and refrains from committing it for God's sake, this is recorded for him as a good action; if he is forced to refrain from it or refrains for any other reason, it is not recorded at all; if he commits it, it is recorded against him as one single bad action. If an unbeliever commits a bad action, then becomes a Muslim and continues in this evil, account is taken in the next life of what he did in his *shirk* and in his *islām*; if he repents in his *islām*, that which he did in his *shirk* is disregarded; if he has done good while an unbeliever and then embraces Islam, he is rewarded for his good works done both while he was an unbeliever and while he was a Muslim; if he remains an unbeliever, he is rewarded in this world for the good he has done, but gains nothing from it in the next life.

If anyone, through his ignorance or misunderstanding of Arabic, is incapable of knowing all this, he must, when it has been explained to him, believe in his heart and utter with his tongue the profession of faith, adding that all which Muḥammad revealed is true and that all religions apart from his are false.

No person is allowed to refer to God by names other than those which He has used of Himself, nor to describe Him in different terms from those which He Himself has taught us. One may not use derivations (*ishtiḳāḳ*) in order to apply to Him a name which He has not given to Himself. Thus, He is seated on the Throne, but he may not be invoked by calling him the Seated. On His attributes, Ibn Ḥazm states that God's knowledge is *ḥaḳḳ*. It is eternal and extends to all that is and all that shall be. Similarly there are no limits to His power, which is capable of bringing about that which is impossible (*muḥāl*); God has power even over that which will never be (XIX, 35). It is He Who orders all that He has created, Who makes necessary the necessary (*awdjaba 'l-wādjib*) and Who makes possible the possible (*amkana 'l-mumkin*), etc. God possesses: *'izza, djalāl, ikrām, yad, yadāni, 'ayn, a'yun, kibriyā'*. All this is true. It stems from Him and from no-one else. It is not possible to identify, as the Mu'tazila do, God's knowledge with His essence, that is with Him Himself, since in no text is God referred to as Knowledge. The same reasoning applies to His other attributes. When men say "Knower", meaning "God", we understand exactly the same by the two names. But when we say that God is the knower of all things, we think of the things as being known by God. These names, in relation to God, are descriptions (*a'lām*) which are not derived from His attributes. Conversely, it is not permitted to derive attributes from them. In this, Ibn Ḥazm disagrees with the Ash'arīs who practice *ishtiḳāḳ*. Their mistake, he maintains, was to wish to preserve the reality of the names of God while remaining within the Mu'tazilī system of formulating problems. A careful reading of the Ḳur'ān reveals, as Ibn Ḥazm saw, that there is no risk of the attributes multiplying the Divine Essence, but that they are a sort of extension of the *tawḥīd* and of the *laysa ka-mithlihi shay'*: there is no knowledge except in God; there is no power except in God, since He is the one who knows and is powerful. And it is He from whom we learn this.

The vision which the faithful will have of God derives from a faculty (*ḳuwwa*) which they do not possess in this world. Certainly on earth man can see colours and forms, but God is far above this. Furthermore, unlike the sight of ordinary things, which may not be seen clearly or the sight of which may cause distress, the Prophet has stated that nobody will be harmed by his vision of God (*lā tuḍāmūna fī ru'yatihi*).

God created human actions, both good and bad. He must be regarded as the creator of free choice (*ikhtiyār*), of the will (*irāda*), and of knowledge (*ma'rifa*) in human souls. In the *Fiṣal* Ibn Ḥazm states that God created *istiṭā'a*. In short, man is created free in all his acts, and that wisely, for God puts each being in his rightful place. Freedom belongs to man while still remaining in the hand of God.

All these articles of faith, briefly set out in this chapter of the *Muḥallā*, are developed in the course of many controversies, in particular with the Mu'tazilīs and the Ash'arīs, in the *Fiṣal*.

Concerning the relations of faith with *istidlāl*, it is stated, in this *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, that he who believes firmly in his heart and who declares his faith with his tongue receives help from God, whether or not this is accompanied by recognizable indications. This question forms the subject of a very interesting *risāla*, on Faith, addressed by Ibn Ḥazm to his friend Ibn al-Ḥawwāth. In it Ibn Ḥazm studies the delicate problem of *taḳlīd* and demonstrates that to follow the teaching of the Prophet is not to imitate blindly.

It can thus be seen that the principles of the *ẓāhir* were extended from juridical methodology to theological. This simplifies the problems and may appear inadequate to a theoretician. But it is a fact that life has its own logic, which easily surmounts the insurmountable theoretical contradictions which defeat speculative logic. In following the teaching of language, which is the very expression of life, Ibn Ḥazm was able easily to deride the embarrassments of *kalām* and condemn it.

Ibn Ḥazm's political ideas. By tradition and through the events of his life, Ibn Ḥazm was a legitimist, a partisan of the Umayyads. It may seem

surprising that a religious thinker of such strict principles should have supported a dynasty which the Muslim historians have often reproached for its lack of fidelity to the spirit of Islam. Ibn Ḥazm's reasons probably arose mainly from personal motives of loyalty and friendship. In addition however, he seems to have regarded the Umayyads as representing Arabism. All his religious thought moves against an Arabic background. This appears in an unusual way in his work entitled *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*. He writes "God has said: *We have created you from a male and a female and We have divided you into nations and into tribes so that you shall recognize each other, but assuredly the most noble among you in the eyes of God is the most devout.* Although God has decreed that the most noble is the most devout, even if he be the son of a black prostitute, while the rebel and the unbeliever is placed at the lowest level, even if he be the son of prophets, He has nevertheless made it an aim, by creating us in nations and in tribes, that men should give recognition to each other. Consequently the science of genealogy is of necessity a science of great dignity". There are various types of genealogical research. Some are religious and obligatory for all Muslims, such as knowing the genealogy of the Prophet or making sure that the caliphate is in the hands of a Ḳurays̲h̲ī, or of ascertaining the family connexions of the person with whom one wishes to marry in order to avoid entering the prohibited degrees. Others are *farḍ ʿala 'l-kifāya*: thus it is necessary for the *Umma* to retain the memory of the genealogy of the *Muhādjirūn* and the *Anṣār*. Another application which he gives is: "Certain jurists make a distinction, in regard to the levying of the poll-tax and the right to take into slavery, between Arabs and non-Arabs. Thus they make a distinction between the status of the Christians of the tribe of Tag̲h̲lib and that of the remainder of the People of the Book . . .". This being so, Ibn Ḥazm generalizes: "God has related to us in the Ḳurʾān the issue of the generations from which the prophets have emerged. This constitutes the science of genealogy. The Prophet himself spoke of ancestral descent: 'We are', he said, 'sons of al-Naḍr b. Kināna'; and he recalled the subdivisions of the tribes of the *Anṣār*, when he assessed their respective merits . . .".

This justification for research into the genealogies of the Arabs clearly shows that Ibn Ḥazm attached to it great importance. He delights in comparing the character of the Spaniards and the Ḳurays̲h̲īs, in their good qualities and in their faults. The letter on the merits of the inhabitants of al-Andalus preserved by al-Maḳḳarī contains some significant details on this point, while at the same time it reveals in Ibn Ḥazm a certain chauvinism. He certainly praises Bag̲h̲dād and Baṣra, which were in advance of the other towns in raising the standard of learning. He adds: "As for our own countries, they are in this matter in the situation referred to in the proverb: the people to whom least attention is paid in a country are its inhabitants. I have read in the Gospels that Jesus said: No one is a prophet in his own country". There was no better way of saying that it was time for Spain to stop admiring the East and to think of appreciating its own glories. It seems that the three ideals which were held by Ibn Ḥazm were Ẓāhirism, Arabism and Umayyad Spain. When his political ideal was lost, it can be understood how he devoted all his energies to the other two, seeing in them the only hope of salvation, or at any rate a sufficient reason for continuing the struggle.

After his death, Ibn Ḥazm was attacked by the *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], who was much influenced by the thinking of al-G̲h̲azālī, in a work entitled *Ḳitāb al-Ḳawāṣim wa 'l-ʿawāṣim*. In the 6th/12th century, this great adversary of their school was attacked by some Mālikī theologians: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd Allāh and Ibn Zarḳūn (who wrote a *Ḳitāb al-Muʿallā*, against the *Muḥallā*). On the other hand, the botanist Ibn al-Rūmiyya and the great mystic of Murcia, Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], were supporters of Ibn Ḥazm. Ibn al-ʿArabī wrote, under the title of *Muʿallā*, a summary of the *Muḥallā*. He showed himself to be Ẓāhirī in matters of law, but, still more important, the concept of the *ẓāhir* played an important part in the mystic anthropology of Ibn al-ʿArabī, who is however classed among the greatest esoteric thinkers.

Today, as is demonstrated by numerous studies on him in Muslim countries, also by research and by editions of manuscripts, there is a renewed interest in Ibn Ḥazm. A study of him can certainly be of benefit to contemporary Islamic thought and help it to solve many problems.

Bibliography: An analytical and descriptive bio-bibliography is to be found in appendix II of the Spanish tr. of the *Ṭawḳ al-hamāma* by E. García Gómez: *El Collar de la Paloma*, Madrid 1952. This appendix is devoted especially to a bibliography of works concerning the *Ṭawḳ*. It is completed by the most recent bibliography given by N. Tomiche at the end of her translation of the *Kitāb al-Ak̲h̲lāḳ wa 'l-siyar*: *Epîtres morales*, Beirut 1961. There may be added: Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Ibn Ḥazm et le ẓāhirisme juridique*, in *Revue Algérienne* (Revue de la Faculté de Droit d'Alger), No. 1 (1960); R. Arnaldez, *La guerre saint selon Ibn Hazm de Cordoue*, in *Études d'orientalisme dédiés à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*; idem, *Sur une interprétation économique et sociale des théories de la "zakāt" en Droit musulman*, in *Cahiers de l'Institut de Sciences Economiques et Appliquées*: *L'Islam, l'Economie et la Technique*, no. 106 (October 1960) (Series v, no. 2); Fadhel Ben Ashour, *Un ouvrage inconnu d'Ibn Hazm*, in *Actes du 22ᵉ Congrès des Orientalistes (1951)*, ii (1957).

The works of Ibn Ḥazm: *Ṭawḳ al-hamāma*, ed. D. K. Petrof, Leiden 1914; English tr. by A. R. Nykl, Paris 1931 and A. J. Arberry, London 1953; Russian tr. by A. Salie, Moscow-Leningrad 1933; German tr. by W. Weisweiler, Leiden 1941; Italian tr. by F. Gabrieli, Bari 1949; French tr. by L. Bercher (with a new edition of the Arabic text), Algiers 1949; new ed. by Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1950. Historical works: *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948; *Naḳṭ al-ʿarūs*, ed. C. F. Seybold, in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su reino*, 1911; Spanish tr. by L. Seco de Lucena, in *Boletín de la Universidad de Granada*, 1941; ed. S̲h̲awḳī Ḍayf, Cairo 1951; *Risāla fī faḍāʾil ahl al-Andalus*, in Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 109 ff.; Fr. tr. by Ch. Pellat, in *al-Andalus*, xix/1 (1954). Works on morals, on law and on theology: *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī*, ed. Iḥsān Ras̲h̲īd ʿAbbās, Cairo; one of these epistles has been translated into Spanish by M. Asín Palacios, *Los caracteres y la conducta, tratado de moral práctica por Abenházam de Cordoba*, Madrid 1916; N. Tomiche has published a new ed. with Fr. tr.: *op. cit.*; on the history of the manuscripts and the text, cf. *Introd.*, xlviii f.; *Kitāb al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, Cairo 1345-8;

Marātib al-idjmāʿ fi 'l-ʿibādāt wa 'l-muʿāmalāt, Cairo 1357; *Mulakhkhaṣ ibṭāl al-ḳiyās wa 'l-ra'y, wa 'l-istiḥsān, wa 'l-taḳlīd, wa 'l-taʿlīl*, ed. Saʿid al-Afghānī, Damascus 1379/1960; *Kitāb al-Muḥallā*, Cairo 1347-52; *al-Taḳrib li-ḥadd al-manṭiḳ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbas (Manshūrāt Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt); *Kitāb al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal*, Cairo 1317; Sp. tr. almost complete, by M. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Cordoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*, Madrid 1927-32 (with an introduction on the life of the author, invaluable for information on Ibn Ḥazm and his time); Eng. tr., with commentary, of sections on the Shīʿa by I. Friedlander, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1907), 1-80 and xxix (1908), 1-183. (R. ARNALDEZ)

IBN ḤIBBĀN, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ḤIBBĀN AL-TAMĪMĪ AL-BUSTĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, traditionist. He was born at Bust [*q.v.*] *ca.* 270/883-4 into a family of Arab descent (see his pedigree in Yāḳūt, i, 613 and Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 114). He travelled in search of traditions through many countries from Transoxania to Egypt (list of places and scholars visited, in Yāḳūt, i, 613-5). Of his teachers none had a greater influence upon him than Abū Bakr Ibn Khuzayma al-Shāfiʿī of Nīsābūr who taught him how to ascertain the true meaning of a tradition and to deduce from it all its legal implications. After his return to Sidjistān he was opposed by some Ḥanbalīs because he taught that Allāh is infinite and rejected their anthropomorphic belief in *al-ḥadd li-'llāh* (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ii, 141 f.; i, 190; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 113). They even accused him of *zandaḳa* because he said that prophecy consists in knowledge and in action (*al-nubuwwa ʿilmun wa ʿamal*; Ibn Hadjar, *op. cit.*, v, 113, 12). So he went to Samarḳand, where, by his great knowledge of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* as well as by his sagacity and sound judgement, he won the favour of some influential persons and was appointed (*ca.* 320/932) judge of Samarḳand, where the *amīr* Abu 'l-Muẓaffar built for him and his many pupils a *ṣuffa* (see Idrīsī, d. 405/1014, *Ta'rīkh Samarḳand* quoted by Ibn Ḥadjar, *op. cit.*, v, 114). In this position he had many enemies; one of them, al-Sulaymānī (311-404/923-1014), asserts that Ibn Ḥibbān owed his appointment to Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Muṣʿabī, for whom he had written a book on the Ḳarmaṭīs, and that the people of Samarḳand drove him out (Yāḳūt, i, 619, 17). From his pupil Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim Ibn al-Bayyiʿ (331-405/933-1014) we learn (Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 126; Yāḳūt, i, 615) that he met Ibn Ḥibbān for the first time in Nīsābūr in 334/945-6 and served him as his *mustamlī*. Then Ibn Ḥibbān went to Nasā' as judge; in 337/948 he came back to Nīsābūr and built a *khānḳāh*. Three years later he left Nīsābūr for good and went back to Sidjistān. According to al-Sulaymānī (Yāḳūt, i, 619) he presented Ibn Bābū with his book on the Ḳarmaṭīs and was given a post in the administration. He died at Bust in his eighties on 21 Shawwāl 354/20 October 965. His tomb was still visited in the days of Yāḳūt.

Ibn Ḥibbān was a prolific writer, as is shown by some 40 books of his which al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī recommended for study. He had left his house and library at Nīsābūr as an endowment so that scholars might copy his works. But most of them had perished in the stormy times after his death (Yāḳūt i, 616, 6-618,5; 618,21-619,4). Few of them have come down to us; amongst them *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ ʿala 'l-taḳāsīm wa 'l-anwāʿ*; in it the traditions are more systematically arranged than in the books of his predecessors. It was still studied in the 19th century (Shawkānī, *Itḥāf al-akābir*, 69; see also Ibn Sālim al-Makkī, *al-Imdād*, 54, and Kūrānī, *al-Anam*, Ḥaydarābād 1328, 35). His (*Ta'rīkh*) *al-Thiḳāt* is an authoritative work on the trustworthiness of the transmitters of traditions, currently referred to by Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥadjar and other critics. A short extract of it is the *Kitāb Mashāhīr ʿulamā' al-amṣār*, ed. M. Fleischhammer in *Bibliotheca Islamica*, xxii (1959). We also possess one of his books on *adab*, the *Rawḍat al-ʿuḳalā' wa-nuzhat al-fuḍalā'*, Cairo 1328.

Bibliography: in the article; see also Brockelmann, I, 164; S I, 273. (J. W. FÜCK)

IBN ḤIDJDJA, ABŪ BAKR (or ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN) TAḲĪ 'L-DĪN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḤAMAWĪ AL-ḲĀDIRĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-AZRĀRĪ, one of the most famous poets and prose-writers of the Mamlūk period. Born in 767/1366 at Ḥamāt, he first practised the trade of a button-maker (*azrārī*), then applied himself to study, travelling for this purpose to Damascus, Mosul and Cairo. On his return from Egypt in 791/1389, he witnessed the great burning of Damascus during the siege by Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*], which gave him the theme for his first literary work, an epistle to Ibn Makānis (MS Berlin no. 9784). Thanks to the patronage of al-Bārizī, private secretary to the Sultan al-Mu'ayyad (815-24/1412-21), he held the office of *munshī* in the *dīwān* of Cairo; in 822/1419 he accompanied the *amīr* Ibrāhīm on his campaign into Asia Minor. After al-Bāzirī's death (in 830/1427), he returned to Ḥamāt, where he died on 15 Shaʿbān 837/27 March 1434.

Ibn Ḥidjdja left an important body of works, both in prose and in poetry. Of his poems, which he collected under the title *al-Thamarāt al-shahiyya fi 'l-fawākih al-ḥamawiyya wa 'l-zawā'id al-miṣriyya* (MSS: Cairo, Berlin, Escorial), the most famous is his *Badīʿiyya* (or *Taḳdīm Abī Bakr*), in praise of the Prophet; comprising 143 verses, it contains 136 figures of *badīʿ*, mentioned by name. On it, in 826/1433, the author wrote a commentary entitled *Khizānat al-adab wa ghāyat al-arab* (publ. Calcutta 1230 as an appendix to the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī; Būlāḳ 1273, 1291; Cairo 1301). As his *Badīʿiyya* was written to rival those of ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī and Ṣafī al-Dīn Ḥillī, he attempted to prove its superiority in *Thubūt al-ḥudjdja ʿalā 'l-Mawṣilī wa 'l-Ḥillī li-'bn Ḥidjdja* (MS: Berlin). His anthology of poetry and prose, *Thamarāt al-awrāḳ*, contains the account of the author's travels from Cairo to Damascus (publ. Būlāḳ, on the margins of the *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* of al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī; Cairo 1300, having on the margins his *Ta'bīl al-gharīb*; on the margins of al-Ibshīhī's *al-Mustaṭraf*, Cairo 1320-1). Another anthology, *Madjrā 'l-sawābiḳ*, contains verses of Ibn Ḥidjdja and Ibn Nubāta on horses (MS: Gotha).

His treatise on *badīʿ*, *Kashf al-lithām ʿan wadjh al-tawriya wa 'l-istikhdām*, was printed at Beirut in 1312. His *Yāḳūt al-kalām fī mā nāb al-Shām* was published in *MMIA*, xxxi (1956). Ibn Ḥidjdja also made new versions and synopses of several older works, notably Ibn al-Habbāriyya's *al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāghim* (see the synopsis in al-Shirwānī, *Nafḥat al-Yaman*, Cairo 1325, 161-7); but his most famous and most valuable work is his collection of official letters, diplomas and private correspondence written while he was working at the Mamlūk chancery, *Ḳahwat al-inshā'* (numerous MSS, notably Dār al-Kutub and Escorial).

Bibliography: Nuʿmānī, *al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir* (MS: Wetzst., ii, 289), fol. 80 v.; *Muntakhab min Ta'rīkh Ḳutb al-Dīn al-Nahrawānī* (MS: Leiden

2010), fol. 85 v.; Brockelmann, S I, 448, II, 8; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, ii, 436. See also BALĀGHA and AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA'L-BAYĀN.

(C. BROCKELMANN*)

IBN HINDŪ, ABU 'L-FARADJ ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-KĀTIB, secretary of the chancery, man of letters, poet and physician, a native of Rayy but educated at Nīshāpūr, where he was introduced to Greek science. He belonged at first to the *dīwān* of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, for whom he wrote a number of letters; he appears at Arradjān in 354/965 during the visit of al-Mutanabbī, and he seems to have remained in the service of the Buwayhids until his death, probably in 410/1019 rather than 420/1029.

In addition to a *Dīwān*, which is in part preserved in later anthologies, he was the author of a number of works, one of which, *Miftāḥ al-ṭibb*, is still in manuscript, and another, *al-Kalim al-rūḥāniyya min al-ḥikam al-yūnāniyya*, was published in Damascus in 1318/1900; there is attributed to him also a *K. al-Nafs*, *al-Maḳāla al-mushawwiḳa fi 'l-madkhal ilā ʿilm al-falak* (*al-falsafa*?), *al-Risāla al-mashriḳiyya*, *Unmudhadj al-ḥikma*.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥayyān, *Mathālib al-wazīrayn*, 253; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 20, 21, 212-4; idem, *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*, i, 134-44; idem, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 167; Bakharzī, *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr*, 113-5; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ*, xi, 547; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 323-7; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xiii, 136-46; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, s.v.; R. Blachère, *Motanabbi*, 237; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iv, 127-8; Brockelmann, S I, 425-6. (ED.)

IBN ḤINZĀBA [see IBN AL-FURĀT].

IBN ḤIRZIHIM, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ISMĀʿĪL B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, jurist and *ṣūfī* of the school of al-Ghazālī. He was a native of Fās. Al-Tādilī, his earliest biographer, does not give the date of his birth. It may however be conjectured that he was born during the second half of the reign of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn; he died in the last ten days of Shaʿbān 559/July 1164, that is to say about sixteen years after the fall of the Almoravid dynasty.

While quite young, he knew and associated with a *shaykh* by the name of Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Naḥwī (d. 513/1119-20), who was very devoted to the doctrine of al-Ghazālī. But it was above all to his paternal uncle, Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ḥirzihim, that ʿAlī owed his initiation into the Ṣūfism of al-Ghazālī. This relative (with whom he must not be confused) had made the journey to the East and stayed in Syria and Palestine, where he had the good fortune to meet the master Abū Ḥāmid. ʿAlī Ibn Ḥirzihim, in his turn, had the opportunity, when teaching in Fās, to confer the benefits of his learning upon such distinguished intellects as the young and attentive Abū Madyan Shuʿayb who, eager for instruction, travelled to Morocco in search of teachers.

During the difficult days when the Almoravid inquisition was becoming rigorous, Ibn Ḥirzihim remained faithful to his convictions. But, in the stifling atmosphere created by the intransigent Mālikism of the Almoravid *fuḳahā'*, he probably suffered agonies of doubt and fear. One day, he is said to have resolved to burn the copy of the *Iḥyā'* that he had been keeping in his house, in spite of the threats and demands of the authorities. He was then subjected, in a dream, to a severe beating, the effects of which he could still feel even after waking up. This divine warning proved salutory. Under various circumstances he indeed showed that he was not in the least afraid to risk his life and peaceful existence in order to defend and win respect for his opinions. He suffered imprisonment in Fās. The miraculous intervention of the still living saint Abū Yaʿzā, the Sīdī Bū ʿAzzā of the people, saved him. But it was the incident which marked the death of Ibn Barradjān which allowed Ibn Ḥirzihim to express with full force his condemnation of the persecution waged by the *fuḳahā'* against Ṣūfism and philosophical speculation.

ʿAlī b. Yūsuf having ordered the corpse of Ibn Barradjān [*q.v.*] to be thrown onto the town dung-heap, Ibn Ḥirzihim, who was staying in Marrākush at the time, made a vigorous protest against the degrading decree and, disregarding the prince's orders, caused the population of the capital to be publicly invited to do honour to the Ṣūfī scholar by a funeral that was worthy of him.

Ibn Ḥirzihim cannot be compared, for talent and intellectual lustre, with Ibn al-ʿArīf, Ibn Barradjān or even with Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī of Granada, the three representatives, with Ibn al-Ḳasī, of the Spanish Ṣūfism so implacably opposed to the Almoravid régime; nevertheless he belongs incontestably, like Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Naḥwī, with that group of *shaykhs*, few in number but courageous and at times brilliant, who, in Spain particularly and to a lesser extent in the Maghrib, had the courage and strength of character to make a solemn protest against the severities and abuses of the Almoravid inquisition, thus helping to prepare for the fall of the dynasty, which Ibn Tūmart, another *shaykh* claiming kinship with the school of al-Ghazālī, was to overthrow.

Sīdī ʿAlī's tomb stands some fifteen kilometres to the south-east of Fās, at Sidi Ḥarāzem, where there is a hot spring much frequented by the townsfolk.

Bibliography: ʿAlī b. Abī Zarʿ, Fās 1303/1886, 191; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās*, Fās 1309/1892, 293; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, Fās 1316/1899, iii, 69; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, Fās 1317/1900, 182; on the form of the name Ḥirzihim, see *El-Maqṣad* (*Vies des saints du Rif*), tr. with notes by G. S. Colin, in *AM*, xxvi (1926), 120, no. 385; Tādilī, *Tashawwuf*, ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958, 147 ff.; the first work to consult is this collection of the lives of saints, which constitutes the earliest biographical source concerned with the saintly personages who lived in the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries in the Maghrib, and more particularly in Morocco. (A. FAURE)

IBN HISHĀM, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-MALIK, a scholar best known for his work on the biography of Muḥammad. His family was usually said to be of Ḥimyarite origin, and had moved from Baṣra to Egypt, where he was born and spent his life. His knowledge of genealogy and grammar was outstanding. He died in Egypt on 13 Rabīʿ II 218/8 May 833 or in 213/828. His *Kitāb al-Tīdjān* on South Arabian antiquities is extant. He is chiefly famous, however, for his edition of the *Sīra* (Life of Muḥammad) of Ibn Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], which became the basic work on this subject. The *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ is not preserved as a single work, but passages from it, which have been omitted by Ibn Hishām, are preserved in the writings of historians like al-Ṭabarī and al-Azraḳī. Comparison shows that what Ibn Hishām has omitted was chiefly material not directly relevant to the career of Muḥammad. He also gave more accurate versions of some of the poems in the *Sīra*, and explained difficult words and phrases. This accounts for the great popularity of Ibn Hishām's edition. (The additions by Ibn Hishām can be conveniently studied in A.

Guillaume's translation of Ibn Isḥāḳ, where they have been separated from the main text.) Ibn Hishām derived his knowledge of Ibn Isḥāḳ's work from Ziyād al-Bakkāʾī (d. 183/799), who lived mostly in Kūfa, and may have travelled to ʿIrāḳ for purposes of study. (For al-Bakkāʾī, cf. Ibn Khallikān, no. 247; de Slane, i, 545). The chief transmitter of Ibn Hishām's work was a pupil of his called Ibn al-Barḳī (see al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffaz*, Ḥaydarābād 1955-8, class 9, nos. 45, 46). See also SĪRA.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 390, tr. de Slane, ii, 128; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 315; al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, ii, 77; Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Sīra*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Einleitung, xxxiv-xxxviii.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

IBN HISHĀM, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤ. ʿABD ALLĀH B. YŪSUF B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. YŪSUF B. AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-NAḤWĪ, *faḳīh* and grammarian, was born in Cairo in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 708/April 1310. There he studied the Islamic sciences, particularly under ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. al-Murahḥal, Tādj al-Dīn al-Fākihānī and Tādj al-Dīn al-Tibrīzī. From the Spanish grammarian Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī he heard only the exposition of the *Dīwān* of Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā. Thereafter he was hostile to him.

Ibn Hishām lived in Cairo; we know of only two journeys, made to Mecca in 749/1348 and 756/1355. A Shāfiʿī *faḳīh*, he became a professor of *Tafsīr* (Ḳurʾānic exegesis) at the Ḳubba Manṣūriyya. Being unable to obtain a professorship in a *madrasa* of his own *madhhab*, he went over to the Ḥanbalīs, who provided what he was seeking in one of their *madrasas* in Cairo (according to Brockelmann, II², 27); this was five years before his death. It is not clear why this celebrated man was kept in the background. The reason may have been jealousy. In any case, it is certain that his reputation was very great. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 249; Eng. tr., Rosenthal, iii, 289) recognized Ibn Hishām as one of those very rare men who, in the history of Arabic grammar, have succeeded in mastering the whole of their subject. He did indeed have an extremely good knowledge of its entire systematization. He for his part was not without envy: al-Shawkānī (i, 401) suggests that his hostility to Abū Ḥayyān was the result of a secret desire to gain recognition and greater eminence, by attacking a master with a great reputation for learning.

In grammar, Ibn Hishām's general method was one that had been long practised—résumé and commentary (or simply commentary). Just as Ibn al-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*] had composed and commented on *al-Shāfiya* and *al-Kāfiya*, Ibn Hishām wrote the *Ḳaṭr al-nadā* and the *Shudhūr al-dhahab* and commented on them; but he succeeded in producing a far-reaching work, with an unusual method of presentation, the *Mughnī 'l-labīb*, a description of syntax arranged to start from each particle, either conjunction, preposition or some other, in alphabetical order. This work won the complete admiration of Ibn Khaldūn (iii, 283; tr. Rosenthal, iii, 324-5).

Ibn Hishām died in Cairo while still quite young on Friday 5 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 761/18 September 1360, leaving a considerable number of grammatical works, several of which are lost—nos. 4, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 21, 24, 25 (list, *Tardjamat Ibn Hishām*, 7-8, by the editor of the *Sharh Shudhūr al-dhadab* and the *Sharḥ Ḳaṭr al-nadā*, see below).

Remarks: (1) In the Arabic historical sources on the question of Ibn Hishām's full name, two forms are to be distinguished, that of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, his earliest biographer, followed by Brockelmann II², 27, and S II, 16, and retained here; and that of al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 293, reproduced in *EI*¹ in the corresponding article: it suppresses b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh and adds the *nisba* al-Anṣārī. With the evidence at present available the question cannot be settled. (2) Ibn Taghrībirdī (v, 173) speaks of an Ibn Hishām who was at first Ḥanafī, then Ḥanbalī. Brockelmann (II², 27 and S II, 16) concludes from this that Ibn Hishām successively adopted the three *madhhabs*, Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī. This is not evident: Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions only two rites and he may have been mistaken about the first.

Works: (1) *Ḳaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-ṣadā* and its *Sharḥ*, translated into French by A. Goguyer (Leiden 1887). (2) *Shudhūr al-dhahab fī maʿrifat kalām al-ʿArab* and its *Sharḥ*. These both deal for the most part with syntax, and are developed at moderate length, the second a little more fully than the first (numerous commentaries). They have been published several times; note the very convenient edition of Muḥ. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 11th ed. 1963/1383 for the 1st; 5th ed. 1951/1371 for the 2nd. (3) *Mughnī 'l-labīb ʿan kutub al-aʿārīb*, the great treatise on syntax. A first draft made in Mecca (749/1348) was lost on the return journey; the present text was rewritten, also in Mecca (756/1355; see the beginning of the work). This treatise was printed several times, notably at Cairo in 1302 (2 vols. with the commentary of Muḥ. al-Amīr in the margin), 1305, 1307, 1317, and 1348; 1385/1965, 2nd ed. of Muḥ. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, the most practical one. Numerous commentaries are in existence; note *al-Fatḥ al-ḳarīb* of al-Suyūṭī, for the *Shawāhid*, published Cairo 1322, 1324, etc. (4) *al-Iʿrāb ʿan ḳawāʿid al-iʿrāb*, an introduction to the study of the Arabic sentence, published (73-92) and translated into French (155-223) by S. de Sacy in his *Anthologie grammaticale arabe* (Paris 1829), published (after the *Sharḥ Ḳaṭr al-nadā*) Būlāḳ 1253; several commentaries. (5) *Mūḳid al-adhhān wa-mūḳiẓ al-wasnān*, on some grammatical difficulties, Cairo 1279, in a *Madjmūʿa*. (6) *Awḍaḥ al-masālik ilā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, a commentary on this *Alfiyya* (also known incorrectly under the title *al-Tawḍīḥ*); printed several times, particularly Cairo 1304, 1316.

The four following studies, in manuscript, were included by al-Suyūṭī in *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir fi 'l-naḥw* (published Ḥaydarābād, 2nd ed., 4 vols., 1359-61), respectively at ii, 298-316, iii, 187-205, iv, 32-40, and 111-22; references omitted by Brockelmann.—(7) *Sharḥ al-Ḳaṣīda al-lughziyya fi 'l-masāʾil al-naḥwiyya*, commentary on versified grammatical puzzles. (8) *Risāla fi 'ntiṣāb* (*Iʿrāb*) lughat^an^ *wa*-faḍl^an^ *wa-iʿrāb* khilāf^an^ *wa*-ayḍ^an^ *wa 'l-kalām ʿalā* halumma djarr^an^, grammatical study on these expressions; it is the same as *Masāʾil fi 'l-naḥw wa-adjwibatuhā*. (9) *Masʾalat iʿtirāḍ al-sharṭ ʿala 'l-sharṭ*, discussion of a particular construction of conditional propositions. (10) *Fawḥ al-shadhā fī masʾalat kadhā*, a revised edition, on the question of *kadhā*, of the *K. al-Shadhā fī aḥkām kadhā* of Abū Ḥayyān. (11) *Al-ghāz*, a collection of grammatical difficulties, dedicated to the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 757/1356), printed Cairo 1304. (12) *Sharḥ Bānat Suʿād*, commentary on the poem of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr in honour of the Prophet, edited by I. Guidi (Leipzig 1871) and Cairo 1304, 1307.

In *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir* of al-Suyūṭī, referred to above, iv, 2-32 and 41-50, various grammatical studies of Ibn Hishām can also be read; we should note 2-9, on interrogation and its particles, 23-6

and 28-9, on some verses of the Ḳurʾān; then other studies, iv, 92-111. A list of the other works still in manuscript will be found under nos. 7, 8, 10, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, and 25 of Brockelmann; note no. 17 on a subject that is unusual for Ibn Hishām.

Note: Another edition of *Shudhūr al-dhahab* and its *Sharḥ* was published in Cairo 1381/1962, by ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: first, Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ii, 308-10 (no. 2248), Ḥaydarābād 1349; Suyūṭī refers to this and reproduces it, *Bughya*, 293 (except for the form of the name), in résumé *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 257, Cairo 1321; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 191-2, has simply copied the text of the *Bughya*; Ibn Taghrībirdī, v, 172-3, only adds *Ḥanafī* (see above) and the mention of the cemetery; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, i, 400-2, Cairo 1348, depends on Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī; the *K. al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir*, 148 v. of Nuʿmānī (in MS, Berlin 9886) could not be used; M. S. Howell, *Gr. of Cl. Ar. Lang.*, i, Preface, xxvi-xxviii; Brockelmann, II^2, 27-31 and S II, 16-20, provide information about existing manuscripts and commentaries. (H. Fleisch)

IBN HUBAL, Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, physician, born in Baghdād in about 515/1122, who at first studied grammar and *fiḳh* in the Niẓāmiyya but rapidly turned to medicine. He next became physician in ordinary to the Shāh-i Arman in Khilāṭ and acquired great wealth, then entered the service of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ in Mārdīn, and finally went to al-Mawṣil. At the age of 75 he had the misfortune to become blind, but lived on until 610/1213. His chief work is entitled *al-Mukhtārāt fi 'l-ṭibb* (ed. Ḥaydarābād, 4 vols., 1362-4/1943-4); De Koning has published two chapters of it in his *Traité sur le calcul dans les reins et dans la vessie*, 186 ff. Ibn Hubal, who was also a poet, left a son, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, who in his turn became a physician and practised at the court of the Saldjūḳid Kaykāwus, where he died.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, i, 304 ff.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 238-9; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, ii, 141 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 490, S I, 895; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, 430; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 116-7. (J. Vernet)

IBN HUBAYRA, name of two persons, ʿUmar b. Hubayra and his son Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, who were both governors of ʿIrāḳ under the Umayyads; they both belonged to the Ḳaysī party [see ḳays], that is to say that of the Arabs of the north in their struggle against those of the south. Involved as they were in the great struggles for the succession on behalf of the caliphs who were the candidates of one or the other party, opposing the Yemenīs solidly implanted in Kūfa, representing order in a very troubled period, induced to stir up the tribal rivalries of the populations which they governed—with so many facts to their discredit, the two Ibn Hubayras have not a very good record in history. Of the father ʿUmar it is known that after taking part in the Holy War against the Byzantines (97/713), he became governor of ʿIrāḳ under Yazīd II, the mortal enemy of the Yemenī party. In 102/720, a year after Yazīd II's accession, he succeeded Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and like him (having the same outlook as a result of having fought in his company on the Byzantine frontier) he was probably entrusted with the liquidation of the party of the Banu 'l-Muhallab. Khurāsān forming also part of the area of which he was in charge, he began by delegating his responsibilities there, at the express command of the caliph, to a Ḳaysī lieutenant, Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī, who was able to stir to enthusiasm the warriors of Islam and strike terror into the people of Ṣoghdiana, who were still hesitant to embrace the cause of their Arab conquerors. Nevertheless, Saʿīd b. ʿAmr was soon replaced by a Bakrī, Muslim b. Saʿīd b. Aslam b. Zurʿa. Ibn Hubayra remained firm in his support of the Arabs of the north, al-Farazdaḳ stating on one occasion that he was their glory and supreme support (*Dīwān*, ed. Ṣāwī, 416). Harsh in his treatment of those he conquered, Ibn Hubayra seems to have governed in the name of Arabism and Islam, regarded as a religion of the sword. His methods of governing, however, were not above reproach, although in fact this great Arab nobleman, proud of belonging to the Ghaṭafān, was accused more of cynicism than of corruption. One of the first acts of the caliph Hishām, on his accession in 105/724, was to replace Ibn Hubayra by the Yemenī Khālid al-Ḳasrī, who was well disposed towards the Ḳurayshīs.

Yūsuf, the son of ʿUmar b. Hubayra, was also governor of ʿIrāḳ, from 129-32/741-9; before being appointed to this office, he had, on the orders of the caliph Hishām, taken extremely severe measures against Khālid al-Ḳasrī, who had profited from his father's fall from favour. His triumph came too late however, and his term as governor was merely a lengthy struggle for a lost cause. He was obliged to conquer his province by degrees: he began by defeating the Khāridjīs at ʿAyn al-Tamr; in addition to thus pacifying the Sawād, he succeeded in regaining Ahwāz, the Djibāl and the Djazīra. He was less fortunate in his struggle against Abū Muslim, whose revolt occurred during his governorship. He did not hasten to the help of Naṣr b. Sayyār, the governor of Khurāsān. When Ibn Hubayra's troops finally went into action the cause of the Umayyad caliphate, represented by the caliph Marwān II, was already lost and Ibn Hubayra had to abandon Marwān to his fate. ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra, Ibn Hubayra's chief lieutenant, was killed at Djabalḳ; Yūsuf was unable to hold Kūfa, disturbed by the revolt of the Yemenīs, and fled to Wāsiṭ, where, after being besieged for over eleven months, he was forced to yield to Abū Muslim's lieutenant, Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba. He was brutally killed with the officers of his entourage. Like his father, Yūsuf defended to the end the cause of the Arab aristocracy, of the "Arab empire", against the *mawālī*, who had been able to win over to their cause a large section of the Yemenī party while deserting the leaders of this same party in favour of the new ʿAbbāsid propagandists. Although incapable of realizing the scope, and still less the development, of this conspiracy, the two Ibn Hubayras were not without energy or planning ability.

Bibliography: on ʿUmar b. Hubayra: Ṭabarī, ii, 1453, 1456, 1471, 1481, 1488; Yaʿḳūbī, iii (ed. Nadjaf, 52); Dīnawarī, 344; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ix, 223 and 229. On Yūsuf b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra: Ṭabarī, ii, 1944, 1984, iii, 2504, 2505; Yaʿḳūbī, iii, 59; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, reprint 1960, 336 and *passim*. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN HUBAYRA, ʿAwn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī al-Dūrī al-Baghdādī, *wazīr* for sixteen years without interruption, until his death, under the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs al-Muḳtafī (530/1136-555/1160) and al-Mustandjid (555/1160-566/1170). He was born in Rabīʿ II 499/Dec. 1105-Jan. 1106, in the village of Dūr in the

district of Du<u>dj</u>ayl, northwest of Ba<u>gh</u>dād, where he spent the early part of his youth. He went to Ba<u>gh</u>dād as a young man, and studied Ḥanbalī *fiḳh* under Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī (d. 532/1138) and *adab* under the renowned Ḥanbalī philologist al-<u>Dj</u>awālīḳī (d. 540/1145). He also studied traditions under several masters and was for some time the disciple of the ascetic preacher Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Zabīdī, with whom he roamed the streets of Ba<u>gh</u>dād proclaiming the incomparable attributes of God.

Under the caliphate of al-Muḳtafī, Ibn Hubayra entered government service and gradually worked his way up to be this caliph's *wazīr*. With Ibn Hubayra the influence of the last Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳids came to an end. He also had a hand in Nūr al-Dīn's conquest of Fāṭimid Egypt. The Ḥanbalī school flourished under his ministry and patronage, and its institutions of learning continued to multiply, a trend which had been taking place before his advent and which explains in part his accession to power. He had many enemies, who apparently succeeded in poisoning him through his own physician, who is said to have been killed six months later, also by poisoning. Ibn Hubayra died on 12 <u>Dj</u>umādā I 560/ March 1165.

During his lifetime, Ibn Hubayra was no less active in the field of learning than he was in politics. He composed a commentary in several volumes of the two canonical collections of traditions, those of al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī and Muslim, entitled *al-Ifṣāḥ ʿan maʿānī ʾl-Ṣiḥāḥ*. While commenting on one of the traditions which involved an explanation of the term *fiḳh*, he digressed into a long treatise on questions of law, both those concerning which the founders of the four schools of law were in agreement, as well as those upon which they disagreed. The idea so interested him that he caused specialized scholars of all four schools of law to be brought to Ba<u>gh</u>dād from outlying provinces at a reputed expense of over one hundred thousand *dīnār*s. This he allegedly did in order to be certain of the accuracy of his work; but this gathering of scholars from many parts of the Muslim world at the expense of the *wazīr* must have also had its political importance. Several copies were made of this work, which found its way into the libraries of governors and *wazīr*s of provinces, as well as those of the Caliph al-Mustan<u>dj</u>id and the Ayyūbid Sultan Nūr al-Dīn Zangī. This work, properly called *al-I<u>sh</u>rāf*, but also *al-Ifṣāḥ*, after the original and more voluminous work, was edited by Rā<u>gh</u>ib al-Ṭabbā<u>kh</u> (Aleppo 1929).

Ibn Hubayra has other works to his name: *al-Muḳtaṣaḍ*, a grammar for which Ibn al-<u>Kh</u>a<u>sh</u><u>sh</u>āb (d. 567/1172) wrote a commentary in four volumes; an abridgment of the *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt; *al-ʿIbādāt al-<u>kh</u>ams*, according to the Ḥanbalī school of law; *Ur<u>dj</u>ūza fi ʾl-maḳṣūr wa ʾl-mamdūd*; *Ur<u>dj</u>ūza fī ʿilm al-<u>kh</u>aṭṭ*.

His contemporary Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī (d. 597/1200) compiled a work based exlusively, it would appear, on statements which he had heard from Ibn Hubayra, entitling it: *al-Muḳtabas min al-fawāʾid al-ʿAwniyya* (*i.e.*, ʿAwn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayra). In another work, *Maḥḍ al-maḥḍ*, Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī compiled an anthology of highlights from Ibn Hubayra's original *Ifṣāḥ*, *i.e.*, the commentary on the traditions of al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī and Muslim.

Most of what we know of Ibn Hubayra comes to us from his contemporary Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, but more extensively from his biographer, the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Māristāniyya (d. 599/1202), from whose work, not extant, much of the <u>*Dh*</u>*ayl* of Ibn Ra<u>dj</u>ab is derived.

Bibliography: Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī taʾrī<u>kh</u> al-mulūk wa ʾl-umam*, Ḥaydarābād 1358/1939, x, 214-7; Ibn Ra<u>dj</u>ab, <u>*Dh*</u>*ayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. M. Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1952-3, i, 251-89; Brockelmann, I, 298, S I, 688-9, and bibl.; H. Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous le califat de Baghdad*, in *REI*, xxvii (1959), 109-10, and note 257 for bibl.; Ḥā<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>ī <u>Kh</u>alīfa, *Ka<u>sh</u>f al-ẓunūn*, s.vv. *Ifṣāḥ*, *Iṣlāḥ*, *Ur<u>dj</u>ūza*. (G. Makdisi)

IBN ḤUBAYSH, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Abī ʿĪsā al-Anṣārī al-Mursī, Spanish traditionist. Ibn Ḥubay<u>sh</u> was born in 504/1110 in Almeria of a family originally from <u>Sh</u>āriḳa (Jérica), Valencia. After preliminary studies in Almeria he passed to Cordova in 530/1135 for three years, and having returned to Almeria, was present when in 542/1147 that city fell to the Christians under al-Sulayṭīn, 'the little Sultan', *i.e.*, Alphonso VII of León. After an interview with the latter, during which he traced the genealogy of Alphonso back to the Emperor Heraclius, Ibn Ḥubay<u>sh</u> and his family were allowed to go free. He subsequently held posts in <u>Dj</u>azīrat <u>Sh</u>aḳr (Alcira), Valencia, for approximately 12 years. In or about 556/1161 he went to Murcia as preacher (<u>*kh*</u>*aṭīb*) in the principal mosque. Twenty years later he became *Ḳāḍī* of Murcia, and held the office till his death in 584/1188. One of his accomplishments, as recorded by a pupil (Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, ii, 574), was to have had by heart all or most of *al-Taʾri<u>kh</u> al-kabīr*, an extensive work on Ḥadī<u>th</u> by Ibn Abī <u>Kh</u>ay<u>th</u>ama (d. 279/893, cf. Brockelmann, I, 272).

Ibn Ḥubay<u>sh</u> appears to have planned a continuation of the *Kitāb al-Ṣila* of Ibn Ba<u>sh</u>kuwāl [*q.v.*], which was never carried out. However, his notes and materials came into the hands of Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*], who made use of them in his own *Takmila* ('Completion') of the *Kitāb al-Ṣila*. The literary work of Ibn Ḥubay<u>sh</u> by which he is principally remembered was the *Kitāb al-<u>Gh</u>azawāt*, or *Kitāb al-Ma<u>gh</u>āzī* ('Book of the Raids'), in full *Kitāb* (<u>*Dh*</u>*ikr*) *al-<u>Gh</u>azawāt al-ḍāmina al-kāfila wa ʾl-futūḥ al-<u>dj</u>āmiʿa al-ḥāfila al-kāʾina fī ayyām al-<u>kh</u>ulafāʾ al-ūlā al-<u>th</u>alā<u>th</u>a*. As the name indicates, this gave an account of the victorious expeditions in the first half of the 7th century A.D., for the most part, under the Caliphs Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿU<u>th</u>mān. Ibn Ḥubay<u>sh</u> received a commission for the book from the Almohad Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf [*q.v.*] in 575/1179-80 on the same day as he was appointed *Ḳāḍī* (see above), *i.e.*, when he was nearly 70.

The work survives in several manuscripts, and has been utilized by De Goeje (*Mémoire sur le Fotouh as-Shâm*, Leiden 1864; *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*², Leiden 1900) and by Caetani (*Annali dell' Islam*, Milan 1905), the latter in extracts made by J. Horowitz. More recently W. Hoenerbach has underlined the use made by Ibn Ḥubay<u>sh</u> of the *Kitāb al-Ridda* of Wāḳidī, a good early source (*Waṯīma's Kitāb ar-Ridda aus Ibn Ḥağar's Iṣāba*, *Akad. d. Wissens. u. d. Lit. in Mainz, Abh. d. Geistes- u. Sozialwissenschaftl. Kl.*, 1951, Nr. 4, 220 ff.). In general, though Ibn Ḥubay<u>sh</u> was acquainted with Ṭabarī's Annals (*Taʾri<u>kh</u> al-rusul wa ʾl-mulūk*), he disposed of further materials, and for the early period of the Islamic conquests is doubtless an authority who deserves to be consulted.

Ibn Ḥubay<u>sh</u>, called by Ibn al-Abbār the last of the great traditionists of Western Islam (*wa-kāna ā<u>kh</u>ira aʾimmati ʾl-muḥaddi<u>th</u>īn bi ʾl-Ma<u>gh</u>rib*), yet

had several pupils of at least respectable attainments, notably Ibn Diḥya (Brockelmann, I, 310, cf. 371; Pons Boigues, No. 238), the two brothers Ibn Ḥawṭ Allāh (Pons Boigues, Nos. 223 and 229) and al-Kalāʿī (Brockelmann, I, 371; Pons Boigues, No. 239). Al-Kalāʿī wrote a *Kitāb al-Iktifāʾ bimā taḍammanahu min maghāzī rasūl Allāh wa-maghāzī al-thalāthati ʾl-khulafāʾ*, in the second part of which he followed especially his teacher Ibn Ḥubaysh. Existing manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-Iktifāʾ*, which are rather numerous, may therefore be consulted for the text of the *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt* of Ibn Ḥubaysh.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 344, S I, 587; Pons Boigues, 253-54, No. 205; Ibn al-Abbār, ed. Codera, ii, 573-75, No. 1617; al-Ḍabbī, ed. Codera, 345-46, No. 988; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1369/1949, v, 207; W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, ix, 221, No. 9689 (gives detailed contents of the *K. al-Ghazawāt*); L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, ii, 550 (11 A. H., § 70) and indices; D. M. Dunlop, *The Spanish historian Ibn Ḥubaish*, in *JRAS*, 1941, 359-62. (D. M. DUNLOP)

IBN HŪD [see HŪDIDS].

IBN HUDHAYL, ABU ʾL-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-FAZĀRĪ AL-ANDALUSĪ, a man of letters and writer of Granada during the second half of the 8th/14th century, who lived at the court of the Naṣrids [*q.v.*] of Granada. At the request of sultan Muḥammad (V) b. Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl known as al-Ghānī (who reigned in 755/1354 and 763/1362), Ibn Hudhayl wrote his masterpiece, the *K. Tuḥfat al-anfus wa shiʿār sukkān al-Andalus* (MSS B. N. Madrid, no. 5095 and Escurial, Cod. 1652), a treatise on the "holy war" (*djihād*) aimed at convincing the Andalusian Muslims of the need to resume the profession of arms and to establish once again a cavalry worthy of comparison with that of their illustrious conquering ancestors [see FARAS and FURŪSIYYA]. It would seem that this first attempt at propaganda for the military career on behalf of the "noble cause" aroused almost no enthusiasm among the population of Granada, who preferred the peaceful pursuits of cultivating the land, commerce and the arts to the violence of warfare. Thus, some thirty years later, when the Christian peril was every day becoming more clearly defined, Ibn Hudhayl was once more urged to rouse their energies from torpor, this time, however, by prince Muḥammad VII al-Mustaʿīn (794-810/1392-1408), grandson of Muḥammad V; having no wish to compose a new work, he therefore produced an abridged version of his earlier work, under the title *K. Ḥilyat al-fursān wa shiʿār al-shudjʿān*.

The content and aim of these two treatises (which are in fact only one) are expressed clearly in the introduction by the author himself, who writes: "...the present work, devoted to combat and warfare, to war-horses and arms, to the features that must be looked for in the horse, to the spots that must be shunned and condemned, to everything that is concerned with the conditions of horses, and finally to the teaching of riding and its complements ... Thanks be to God, this work is adequate in the art that it expounds; in its spirit, it constitutes an efficaceous method, a memento for the man who concerns himself with warfare, a guide for the man who practises fighting with lance and sabre". This quotation follows the French translation of the *K. Ḥilyat al-fursān* made by L. Mercier, who has the distinction of being the discoverer, editor and translator of Ibn Hudhayl.

In addition to this master-work, which is of the highest importance for the knowledge of the equestrian and military arts in mediaeval Islam, we also possess several other works of Ibn Hudhayl, of less interest, and concerned with veterinary science in the *K. al-Fawāʾid al-musaṭṭara fī ʿilm al-bayṭara* (Madrid 1935), with belles-lettres in the *K. Maḳālāt al-udabāʾ wa munāẓarāt al-nudjabāʾ*, and with politics in the *K. ʿAyn al-adab wa ʾl-siyāsa wa zayn al-ḥasab wa ʾl-riyāsa*. Two other works, on piety, are also attributed to him, only the titles of which survive, the *K. Tadhkirat man ittaḳā* and the *K. Kamāl al-bughya wa ʾl-nayl*.

Although almost nothing is known of the life of Ibn Hudhayl, from the tenor of his writings it is easy to imagine him as the ideal type of Spanish Muslim gentleman at the end of the 8th/14th century, sprung from a noble family, of perfect education and highly cultured, the image of the man of gentle birth who differed from his Christian neighbour only in his faith.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 379; L. Mercier, *La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux de Ben Hodeïl el Andalousy* (Arabic text of *K. Hilyat al-fursān*), Paris 1922; idem, *La parure des cavaliers ...* (Fr. tr. with notes and commentary, and with critical appendices on the history of the thoroughbred, of equitation, and of the equestrian sports of the Arabs, in the Maghrib and in the East), Paris 1924; idem, *L'ornement des âmes et la devise des habitants d'el-Andalus, Traité de guerre sainte islamique* (Arabic text of *K. Tuḥfat al-anfus*), Paris 1936; idem, *L'ornement des âmes ...*, Fr. tr., Paris 1936; Ibn Hudhayl, *Ḥilyat al-fursān wa shiʿār al-shudjʿān*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan (Collection Dhakhāʾir al-ʿArab, vol. 6), Cairo 1951 (merely a reprint of the text published by L. Mercier in 1922). (F. VIRÉ)

IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ (BAR HEBRAEUS, Syriac BAR ʿEBHRĀYĀ) GᵉRĪGHŌR (YŪḤANNĀN) ABU ʾL-FARADJ, author of a history in Arabic, translator and the last classic in Syriac literature, was born in A.D. 1225-6 at Malatya; he owes to the Jewish descent of his father the nickname under which he became famous. During the Mongol invasion of 1243 Ibn al-ʿIbrī's father obtained the post of physician in the entourage of a Tatar general, and in the following year settled with his family at Anṭākiya, which was still in the hands of the Franks. The son was versed in Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew, and studied medicine and rhetoric as well as theology at Anṭākiya and Ṭarābulus (Syria). After having been a monk for about three years, he was ordained Jacobite bishop of Gūbbāsh near Malatya in September 1246, and was transferred to the neighbouring see of Laḳabbīn a year later. In 1253 he was appointed Metropolitan of Aleppo, a position that he succeeded in retaining during the serious rifts in the Jacobite hierarchy at that period. Ibn al-ʿIbrī was present at the capture of the city by the Tatars in January 1260. In 1264 he became Maphrᵉyānā, *i.e.*, head of the Jacobite church in the territories formerly under Persian rule. Thenceforward he travelled widely throughout his vast diocese, protecting the fortunes of his co-religionists during that troubled epoch. He made prolonged visits to Baghdād and to the Mongol court, where he was acquainted with princes and princesses; he had attended the Mongol ruler as physician in 1263. He commissioned the building of several churches and monasteries. When Ibn al-ʿIbrī died at Marāgha in Ādharbaydjān on 29 July 1286, Nestorians, Greeks and Armenians united with

Jacobites in paying tribute to his qualities of tolerance and energy and to his independence in the face of pressure by religious and political leaders. He was buried in the monastery of Mār Mattai at Mosul.

Ibn al-ʿIbrī's brother enumerates thirty-one works—and this is not an exhaustive list—by the polymath, on theology, philosophy, history, grammar and science in addition to poetry and belles lettres. His principal work in Arabic is ***Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-duwal*** (***Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*** authore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio, ed. E. Pocock, Oxford 1663, Suppl. 1672; ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī, Beirut 1890), compiled at the request of Muslim friends. It is an abbreviated translation of the first part of his Syriac *Chronography* treating of political history from the Creation to his own times; the Arabic version has additions on Bible history (which it was superfluous to incorporate in the Syriac original) and on the mathematical and medical literature of the Arabs. The first part of the Syriac *Chronography* itself uses Arabic and Persian sources for Islamic history, and quotes the Persian history of Shams al-Dīn Ṣāḥib-Dīwān (d. 683/1284) for the Mongol period. The second and third parts of the *Chronography*, dealing respectively with the history of the Western Jacobite church and that of the Eastern Jacobite and Nestorian churches, were not translated into Arabic.

The extent to which Ibn al-ʿIbrī adopted the literary tastes of his Muslim contemporaries is revealed by his *Keṯhābhā dheThunnāyē meghaḥḥekhāne* (*Laughable stories*, Syriac text with Eng. tr. by E. A. W. Budge, London 1897), a collection of anecdotes reminiscent of *adab* literature but unexpected from the pen of a distinguished Christian prelate; a translation into Arabic appears not to have survived. Ibn al-ʿIbrī's treatises on theology and philosophy are strongly influenced by Muslim authors, notably al-Ghazālī. He translated from Arabic into Syriac *Zubdat al-asrār* by his contemporary Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī, and he produced Syriac renderings of Ibn Sīnā's *K. al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt* and *ʿUyūn al-ḥikma*. Ibn al-ʿIbrī's remarkable *Keṯhābhā dheṢemḥē* ("Book of rays") on Syriac grammar follows the pattern laid down by al-Zamakhsharī; his medical works include a shortened translation into Syriac of al-Ghāfiḳī's *al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, while a translation of Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn* remained unfinished at his death.

Ibn al-ʿIbrī's writings are not distinguished by great ability or by originality of thought or style; his contribution to literature commands respect rather by its sheer bulk and the fidelity with which he reproduces earlier writers. He sought to transmit the work of Christians to an Arabic-reading public, but his immediate objective was the transmission of general culture, whether Hellenistic or Muslim, to his co-religionists in their own language. By the 7th/13th century, however, the revival of Syriac outside the liturgy was beyond even his erudition and sustained effort. He was, as has been indicated, himself largely under the influence of Arabic—this is strikingly shown too by the naive etymologies of his Syriac chronicles. It is significant that the inscription over Ibn al-ʿIbrī's grave at Mār Mattai is written in Karshūnī—the script is Syriac, but the language is Arabic.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 427; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ii, Vatican City 1947, 272; A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, ii, Bonn 1922, 312; C. Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac printed books and related literature in the British Museum*, 1962, s.v. (to this should now be added M. Albert, *Patrologia orientalis*, xxx, 1961, 271; A. Torbey, *ibid.*, xxx, 1963, 603; J. Khoury, *ibid.*, xxxi, 1965, 1); Th. Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern history* (tr. J. S. Black), London and Edinburgh 1892, 236-56; N. L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médicine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii, 147.

(J. B. SEGAL)

IBN ʿIDHĀRĪ, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿIDHĀRĪ AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, Maghribī historian, of whom all that is known is that he lived in the second half of the 7th/13th century and the first decades of the 8th/14th, that he was *ḳā'id* of Fez, and that in the year 712/1312-3 he was still writing his chronicle. To judge from his works, he must have possessed a good knowledge of the history of the caliphs, *imāms* and *amīrs* of the East, about whom he wrote in a work which he himself quotes but which has not survived. The extant chronicle of this historian is entitled *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī (ikhtiṣār) akhbār mulūk al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*. In this chronicle, which is divided into three sections, the author sets forth—in that part of the work which has been published—an account, in analytical form and in *talkhīṣ*, of the history of Ifrīḳiya from the conquest of Miṣr in the year 20/640-1 to the capture of al-Mahdiyya by the Almohads in 602/1205-6, with the various dynasties and principalities which followed one another during this period (first part); the conquest of the Iberian peninsula and the history of the emirate, caliphate and the kingdoms of the *taifas* occupy the second part; while accounts of the Almoravid dynasty and the Almohads in the Maghrib and in al-Andalus until their disappearance make up the third part. The text of the first part and of the first half of the second, up to the year 387/997, was published by R. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, Leiden 1848-51, 2 vols. (together with *Corrections sur les textes du Bayáno 'l-Moghrib*, Leiden 1883); this edition has been superseded by the one which G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Leiden 1948-51, 2 vols.) have made with the help of new, more complete, manuscripts. Translations have been made of the first edition, into Spanish by F. Fernández González (Granada 1860; somewhat defective) and into French by E. Fagnan (Algiers 1901-4, 2 vols.). The end of the second part, which covers the years 392-460/1002-1068 in the incomplete manuscript which has come down to us, has been the subject of an edition by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Bayān*, iii, Paris 1930, which should be used in conjunction with the *Observations sur le texte du tome III du Bayān d'Ibn ʿIḏārī*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1937, 241-58, also by E. Lévi-Provençal, who has published a translation of various fragments of this text in R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leiden 1932, appendix to vol. iii, and in *al-Andalus*, xiii (1948), 149-51 (trans. E. García Gómez). It is the third part of the *Bayān* which has particularly benefited from the discovery of new manuscripts in recent years. From the Almoravid *Bayān*, A. Huici has published and translated fragments relating to the earliest years of Almoravid society up to 541/1146, with gaps from 469-495/1076-1102 (*Un fragmento inédito de Ibn ʿIḏārī sobre los almoravides*, in *Hespéris Tamuda*, ii/1 (1961), 43-111), and E. Lévi-Provençal has published and translated fragments corresponding to the years 485/1092, 487/1094 and 496/1102 and relating to the conquest of Valencia by al-Mazdalī (the whole

translated by E. García Gómez in *La toma de Valencia por el Cid*, in *al-Andalus*, xiii (1948), 97-156). The text of the Almohad *Bayān*, more complete, is contained in *El Anónimo de Madrid y Copenhague*, Valencia 1917, which A. Huici has made known, in the *Notes d'histoire almohade*, iii (text and tr. by E. Lévi-Provençal), in *Hespéris*, x (1930), 49-90, and, in definitive and more complete form, in the *III parte de al-Bayān al-Mugrib por Ibn ʿIdārī*, edited by A. Huici, in collaboration with Muḥ. b. Tāwīt and Muḥ. Ibr. al-Kattānī, Tetuan 1963; A. Huici has published translations from the manuscript of the Almohad *Bayān* in *Colección de crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, ii-iii, Tetuan 1953-4 and, recently, in *Ibn ʿIdārī: al-Bayān al-Mugrib. Nuevos fragmentos almoravides y almohades*, Valencia 1963.

In short, the historical work of Ibn ʿIdhārī, in the light of the criticisms which his method has provoked, including, among others, those of Cl. Sánchez Albornoz (*En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo. Parte segunda: Los árabes y el régimen prefeudal carolingio. Fuentes de la historia hispano-musulmana del siglo VIII*, ii, Mendoza 1942, 327-35) and A. Huici (*Col. Crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, ii, pp. XI and XII), but also of the merits with which one may credit him when one analyses his sources, constitutes, as a compilation of chronicles many of which have been lost, a basic source containing sound and detailed information, indispensable to the historian of the Maghrib and of al-Andalus.

Bibliography: In addition to the bibliography quoted in this article, see the Preface by Dozy to his edition, i, 77-107 (still useful, though incomplete in its judgments); Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber*, no. 373, 151; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 414-5. More recent and useful are: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Alfonso VI y su hermana la infanta Urraca*, in *al-Andalus*, xiii (1948), 157-9, with an edition and translation of a very short fragment; A. Huici, *La salida de los almorávides del desierto y el reinado de Yūsuf b. Tāšfīn*, in *Hespéris*, xlvi (1959), in particular, 155-62; idem, *Un nuevo manuscrito de "al-Bayān al-Mugrib"*, in *al-Andalus*, xxiv (1959), 63-84; idem, *Nuevas aportaciones de "al-Bayān al-Mugrib" sobre los almorávides*, in *al-Andalus*, xxviii (1963), 313-30. (J. Bosch-Vilá)

IBN IDRĪS [I], name currently given to Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. Muḥammad al-Azammūrī al-ʿAmrāwī al-Fāsī, vizier and man of letters highly regarded in Morocco, whose fame went beyond the borders of his country. We do not know the exact date (1118/1784?) of his birth in Fās, where his family, of very modest situation, claimed to be of Sharīfī origin. After serious studies, Ibn Idrīs started to earn his living as a copyist and school-master, but his culture and talents were very soon observed by the great historian of the dynasty of the ʿAlawids, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zayyānī [*q.v.*], who urged him to polish his writings and presented him to the future sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, to whom he became secretary. On his patron's accession to the throne in 1237/1822, Ibn Idrīs was summoned to the vizierate, to replace his former fellow-student, the poet and historian Akansūs [*q.v.*]. As a result of calumnies, he fell into disgrace in 1247/1831 and was even tortured on his master's orders. In 1835 the sultan renewed his confidence in him and restored him to the office of vizier, with the additional post of *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*], which he held with distinction and skill until his death on 4 or 5 Muḥarram 1264/12 or 13 December 1847. He left an immense fortune to his son. He seems to have died as the result of brutalities inflicted on him at the command of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had been exasperated to hear that his vizier was trying to win the favour of the Algerian *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. It is also said that, after he had learnt of certain of the sultan's excesses, the latter apparently decided to do away with this embarrassing witness of acts contrary to Islamic morality.

It is to Ibn Idrīs that is due the renaissance in Morocco of the fine official epistolary style, which had fallen into decline. Possessing very sure taste, he successfully employed rhymed prose without either exaggeration or obscurity. As a poet, he was also highly esteemed by the Moroccan élite. He had a gift for improvisation. It was always with wit, and often with sincerity, that he wrote of the prince whom he served, the saints of his country, the feast of the *mawlid* [*q.v.*] or the gardens of Marrākush. He also wrote a long and violent poem against the French occupation of Algeria. His as yet unpublished *dīwān* is in the library of the royal palace at Rabat. His beautiful house, surrounded by a large park, is still known in Marrākush by the name *ʿArṣet ben Drīs*.

Bibliography: E. Fumey, *Choix de correspondances marocaines*, 1st part, Texts and notes, Paris 1903, 132; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, Fās 1916, ii, 362; Akansūs, *al-Djaysh al-ʿaramram*, Fās 1918, ii (especially 31 and 148-53); Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās...*, Rabat 1932, iv, 189-239 (long extracts from the work in verse and prose); ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Islām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush wa-Aghmāt min al-aʿlām*, Fās 1932-9, i, 324-9, v, 263-92; Mohamed El-Fasi, *La littérature marocaine*, in *Le Maroc* (ouvrage collectif sous la direction d'E. Guernier), Paris 1940, 425; J. Caillé, *Une mission de Léon Roches à Rabat en 1845*, Casablanca 1947, (*PIHEM*, xliii), index; Nacer El-Fasi, *Mohammed ibn Idris, vizir et poète de la Cour de Moulay Abderrahman*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, iii/1 (1962) (some translations); Nāṣir al-Fāsī, *Muḥammad b. Idrīs ...*, in *al-Baḥth al-ʿilmī*, no. i (January 1964). (G. Deverdun)

IBN IDRĪS [II], Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Idrīs, son of the above, was born in Fās where he made a serious study of literature. As private secretary to sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the French emperor Napoleon III. His task was to solicit his intervention with the Spanish government, in order to secure a reduction in the indemnity owed by Morocco after the unfortunate Hispano-Moroccan war of 1845. During July and August 1860, he spent six weeks in Paris where he left excellent impressions. From his journey he brought back an account (*riḥla*) entitled *Tuḥfat al-malik al-ʿazīz bi-mamlakat Barīz* in which, in elegant language, he described the French provinces through which he had travelled, the public buildings he had seen, the receptions he had attended, the customs he had observed, etc. This account was published in Fās in 1327/1907. Ibn Idrīs was entrusted with another diplomatic mission, to Spain; he died of the plague, in Rabat, on 14 Djumādā II 1296/5 June 1879.

Bibliography: H. de la Martinière, *Souvenirs du Maroc*, Paris 1922; Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās*, Rabat 1930, ii, 32-41; ʿAbd al-Salām b. Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Tetuan 1369/1950, 372, no. 1153; J. L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe (1830-1894)*, Paris 1961-, index. (G. Deverdun)

IBN AL-IFLĪLĪ (or simply al-Iflīlī), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Zuhrī, philologian, teacher and man of

letters, born in Cordova in 352/963 of a family from al-Iflīl, in Syria(?). After receiving a classical education, he acquired the reputation of a great connoisseur of Arabic poetry, grammar and *gharīb* [*q.v.*]; though he was ignorant, it is said, of prosody, he prided himself on his poetry, but al-Ḥidjārī (*apud* Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 73) criticizes his verse and prose compositions as too lifeless, and will not allow more than two verses of his to be acceptable.

To judge by a passage of the *Risālat al-tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ* (*apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 233 ff. = ed. B. al-Bustānī, 168 ff.) of Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*], he seems to have been thickset, to have limped and to have been afflicted with a very large nose. According to the same author (*apud* Ibn Bassām, i/1, 207-8 = Pellat, in *al-Andalus*, 1956/2, 283), it is this scarcely prepossessing physique which for a long time prevented him from following the profession of *kātib* [*q.v.*], for which he believed himself destined. However, during the *fitna*, he entered the service of the Ḥammūdids [*q.v.*] and was at last appointed *kātib* under al-Mustakfī (414-6/1024-5), but, according to Ibn Ḥayyān (*apud* Ibn Bassām, i/1, 241), he did not give satisfaction and was dismissed because he used a pedantic and affected style. Under Hishām III (418-22/1027-31) he was accused of impiety and imprisoned at the Muṭbaḳ [see ḲURṬUBA]; afterwards trace is lost of him until his death at Cordova on Sunday 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 441/9 April 1050.

Ibn al-Iflīlī, who taught grammar and *adab* in general, is severely criticized by Ibn Shuhayd (especially *apud* Ibn Bassām, i/1, 206-7) who strongly opposes the accepted teaching methods of his time; and he equally rebukes him for his obstinacy and vanity, which others have in their turn criticized. The fame of this philologian rests, however, on his teaching, which attracted many pupils, among whom al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī [see AL-SHANTAMARĪ] is probably the most famous, and on his commentary on the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī, an authoritative work in Spain (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 118 = Pellat, in *al-Andalus*, 1954/1, 84; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 35; al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, 314). In this commentary, of which a few scattered manuscripts survive (see R. Blachère, *Motanabbî*, 295, n. 8), each verse is briefly paraphrased and each poem preceded by an introduction on the circumstances of its composition.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 240-2; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 199; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 72-4; Ibn Bashkuwāl, no. 195; Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fahrasa*, 403-4; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 4-9; Ibn Khallikān, i, 12; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 34, 186; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; González Palencia, *Literatura*[2], 227; R. Blachère, *Motanabbî*, 295-6; F. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 347-8; Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī, ḥayātuh wa-āthāruh*, ʿAmmān [1966], 56-9.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-IKHSHĪD, ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. MAʿDJŪR, Muʿtazilī of Baghdād (270-326/883-938). He had a reputation for eloquence and command of the Arabic language and for generosity to scholars, to whom he made over the greater part of the revenues of a property which he possessed. In *ḥadīth*, he was a highly-esteemed transmitter, according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who makes no suggestion that he was a heretic. His authority was Djaʿfar al-Faryābī. In the field of *fiḳh*, he followed the Shāfiʿī school and was considered well-versed in its doctrines. In *kalām* he was said to be opposed to al-Kaʿbī and Abū Hāshim al-Djubbāʾī. He probably represented a form of Muʿtazilism which was more pietistic and more popular, more in accordance with his Shāfiʿī ideas and his knowledge of *ḥadīth* and of *tafsīr*. The *Fihrist* gives a list of his works, which include a commentary on the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī and a refutation of the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 173; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, iv, 31; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 231; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1961, 100, 110; A. Nader, *Muʿtazila*, 45, 46, 307; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 329.

(J.-C. VADET)

IBN AL-ʿIMĀD, ʿABD AL-ḤAYY B. AḤMAD, a Syrian teacher of the Ḥanbalī school (1032-1089/1623-1679), completed, in 1080/1670, a large biographical history, entitled *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, which is annalistically arranged and covers the Hidjra years one to 1000. Although historical events are occasionally mentioned, the work concentrates on obituary notices, often rather detailed. The author intended it to be a help for impecunious scholars like himself who were unable to acquire a large library of their own. Owing to its late date of composition and its comprehensive character, it is still useful as a preliminary source of information, and as such it is often referred to in these pages. The absence of a serviceable index in the available edition (Cairo 1350-51) is, therefore, most regrettable.

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284, ii, 340 f.; Brockelmann, S II, 403.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN AL-IMĀM AL-SHILBĪ, ABU ʿAMR ʿUTHMĀN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿUTHMĀN, an Andalusī man of letters, biographer and historian of the 6th/12th century; born in Silves, he studied in Cordova and Seville, where he became a disciple of Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī. As an admirer of his contemporaries Ibn Bassām [*q.v.*] and Ibn Khāḳān [see AL-FATḤ IBN KHĀḲĀN], he decided to write a sequel to their works, and to include the biographies that they had omitted and those of his contemporaries, as far as 550/1155-6 (he died shortly after that date). His work is now lost, but later compilers have preserved numerous extracts from it; the title appears in various forms but is generally abbreviated to *Simṭ al-djumān*, and the full title was probably *Simṭ al-djumān wa-saḳaṭ al-laʾālīʾ wa-siḳṭ al-mardjān*. In his *Mughrib* Ibn Saʿīd reproduces about 35 excerpts from the *Simṭ*, some of which are long enough to give an idea of its content and style. To judge by these extracts, the *Simṭ* is closer in style and character to the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām than to the *Maṭmaḥ* and the *Ḳalāʾid* of Ibn Khāḳān; his prose, which is not always in rhyme, occasionally provides valuable details of real historical importance (*e.g.*, *Mughrib*, i, 60-2). The specimens of poetry and prose reproduced by Ibn al-Imām are of the same type as those to be found in Ibn Saʿīd, and it may be said that a quarter of the *Mughrib* is taken from the *Simṭ*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 1833; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Shawḳī Ḍayf, Cairo 1953, ii, index; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, ii, 233, iii, 29, ix, 246; Gayangos, i, 476; Pons Boigues, no. 181.

(H. MONÉS)

IBN ʿINABA (form most common in ʿIrāḳo-Persian circles; variants: ʿUḳba, ʿUtba, ʿAnbasa) DJAMĀL AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ ... B. ʿINABA AL-DĀWŪDĪ AL-ḤASANĪ, Imāmī genealogist, the most highly esteemed of Ṭālibī *nassāba*. He was born circa 748/1347 (date calculated by reference to the fact that in 764, "at the end of adolescence", he

became the pupil of Ibn Muʿayyā) and died at Kirmān on 7 Ṣafar 828/29 December 1424. He was the pupil of the genealogist Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿUbaydī and, indirectly, of Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī and of Djalāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Fakhkhār. The person who had the greatest influence on his education was his father-in-law Ibn Muʿayyā (Tādj al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim). The latter, who was connected with the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], held an eminent position, as much because he had obtained *idjāza*s from thirty *ʿulamāʾ* (notably from Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Ibn Ṭāʾūs and Ibn Fakhkhār) as because he counted among his pupils *al-shahīd al-awwal* of the Twelvers, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī; for twelve years he was Ibn ʿInaba's teacher in law, *ḥadīth*, genealogy, mathematics, poetry, etc.

Ibn ʿInaba's work sets a complex problem. According to the list in the *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, it consists of: (1) *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib* (known as *al-kubrā*) completed in 814/1411-2 and surviving in a copy in the collection of the Taymūriyya; according to one tradition, the work is dedicated to Tīmūrlang, but it was in fact written for the Ḥusaynid Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmīd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sharaf Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Faḍl ʿAlī; this presumably corresponds to the edition of Bombay 1318/1900-1. (2) *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib ... al-ṣughrā*, dedicated to the Sayyid Muḥammad b. Fallāḥ al-Mushaʿshaʿī, al-Mahdī (or to his father); it is based, with some additions, according to the *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ṣūfī and the *Taʾlīf* of Abū Naṣr Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī. This distinction between the two *ʿUmda*s, denied by al-Kantūrī, who considers them to be identical, is supported by Khiyābānī and in the preface to the edition of Nadjaf 1918, in which the "little" *ʿUmda* is regarded as the only one to have survived; it appears in the manuscripts with slight variations in the title (*ansāb*, or *nasab* or *manāḳib*) and in the arrangement of the material, always, however, subdivided into five *faṣl*s, corresponding to the five sons of Abū Ṭālib. This *ʿUmda* seems to be that published in the Lucknow ed. (n.d. [1302/1884-5]), which dates it to 802/1399-1400, and in the undated but recent Beirut ed. (3) A *Kitāb fi 'l-ansāb*, probably in Persian; according to the editors of the Nadjaf text, it was an abridgement of the *ʿUmda*, which may have been the same as the *Kitāb Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib* mentioned in the *Dharīʿa*, but might also be identified with two other works mentioned in the *Dharīʿa* itself, *al-Tuḥfa al-djamāliyya* and the *Tuḥfat al-ṭālib*, which are mentioned also by other authors. The problem remains unsolved, particularly since Khiyābānī considers the two *Tuḥfas* to be only one work. (4) *Baḥr al-ansāb fī nasab Banī Hāshim*, consisting of a *muḳaddima* and five chapters, of which Dj. Zaydān mentions a manuscript in the Khedivial library in Cairo and to which the *Dharīʿa* and Khiyābānī also refer.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 119; S II, 272; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1943, 1167-68; al-Kantūrī, *Kashf al-ḥudjub wa 'l-astār*, Calcutta 1330/1912, 386, n. 2136; Āghā Bozorg Tehrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ʿalā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, iii, Nadjaf 1357/1938, 424-5, n. 1536, 448, n. 1627; ʿAbbās al-Ḳummī al-Nadjafī, *Kitāb al-Kunā wa 'l-alḳāb*, i, Nadjaf 1956, 391; Dj. Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*, iii, Cairo 1913, 174-5; preface to the ed. of Nadjaf 1918, 3-12; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī Khiyābānī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya wa 'l-laḳab*, Tabrīz, i, 1326 s./1947-8, 275, n. 680; iv, n.d., 96, n. 146; al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, xi, 149-52; B. Scarcia Amoretti, *Sulla "Umdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib" e sul suo autore Djamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ... ibn ʿInaba*, in *AIUON*, N.S. xiii (1963), 287-94; G. Levi Della Vida, *Secondo elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici*, Vatican 1965, 80-1, n. 1672.

(B. Scarcia Amoretti)

IBN ʿIRĀḲ, Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī, an astronomer and mathematician who flourished ca. 1000 A.D. (the date of his death is uncertain), best known as the teacher of al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*], was the student of Abu 'l-Wafā al-Buzdjānī [*q.v.*]. He was related to the Ibn ʿIrāḳ family that ruled Khwārazm before its conquest by Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], and this accounts for his titles: *al-amīr* and *mawlā amīr al-muʾminīn*.

He is also known for his revision, completed in 398/1007-8, of the Arabic version of Menelaus's *Spherics* (ed. and trans. by Krause, 1936), of which the original Greek text is lost. Fifteen shorter mathematical and astronomical treatises, found in MS Bankipore arab. 2468, were published in 1948. These include treatises on the astrolabe; discussions of various problems in earlier *zīdj*es (sets of astronomical tables); a solution of a difficulty in Euclid's *Elements*, Book XIII; and a treatise, *djadwal al-daḳāʾiḳ*, concerning special trigonometric functions.

In al-Bīrūnī's *Treatise on chords*, Ibn ʿIrāḳ is cited as the discoverer of several mathematical proofs; in al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology of ancient nations* (ed. and trans. C. E. Sachau) he is credited with a method for determining solar apogee from three arbitrary points on the ecliptic "which is as much superior to that of the modern [Islamic] astronomers as the method of the latter is superior to that of the ancient astronomers"; and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] cites his work in trigonometry.

Bibliography: M. Krause, *Die Sphärik von Menelaos aus Alexandrien in der Verbesserung von Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāq*, *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, 17, 1936: Krause refers to earlier works on p. 109 and then gives a list of Ibn ʿIrāḳ's known scientific works (5 mathematical, 17 astronomical); *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS in ... Bankipore*, vol. xxii, 1937; *Rasāʾil Abī Naṣr ila 'l-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad-Deccan 1948. There is a discussion of the second treatise of this collection by E. S. Kennedy and H. Sharkas, *Two medieval methods for determining the obliquity of the ecliptic*, in *The Mathematics Teacher*, lv (1962), 286-90. (B. R. Goldstein)

IBN ʿIRS (A.; pl. *banāt ʿirs*, rarely *abnāʾ/banū ʿirs*), denotes the weasel, *Mustela nivalis*, the smallest of the mustelidae (*sarʿūb*, pl. *sarāʿīb*), whose area of distribution includes almost all the countries of Islam. The geographical forms of the weasel, with *Mustela nivalis nivalis* and *minuta* in the North and *Mustela nivalis boccamela* and *subpalmata* in the Mediterranean zone, present only slight differences of coat and size, and the species possesses a character of uniformity which is also found in the dialectal names of *ʿirsa* in Egypt, *b-el-ʿirs* in Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and *ben-l-ʿirs* and *ʿarūsat al-firān* in the Maghrib. The terms *sunʿuba* and *kalkasa* are now entirely obsolete; and it is only in Palestine that it may be confused with the sable, *Mustela zibellina*, under the name *sammūr*, and in Algeria with the polecat, *Mustela putorius*, under the descriptive name *fārat al-khayl* (= "rat/mouse of horses").

The Arab authors, both encyclopaedists and naturalists, are very laconic on the subject of the weasel and for the most part are content to repeat, in this connexion, the fabulous inventions of the Greeks on its habit of dropping its young through the throat or ear, its precaution of chewing some rue (*sadhāb*) before attacking snakes (cf. Aristotle, *Hist. des animaux*, tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, ii, 601 and al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 228), the way in which it inserts itself into the crocodile's belly when the creature yawns, in order to devour its entrails, a practice which is also attributed to the ichneumon of Egypt (*nims*), and its determined pursuit of shrews and field-mice to the very end of branches of trees to make them fall off into the mouth of its companion which has remained on the ground.

The pelt of the weasel has never been an article of furriery, and certain translators have been mistaken in identifying it with the *fanak* [*q.v.*], confusing it with the fur of the stoat or ermine, *Mustela erminea*, in its summer coat, which at that season differs only in the black tip of the tail that is peculiar to itself and that it retains all the year round, in spite of its white winter coloration; *fanak* also denoted the furs imported from central Europe, of the mink, *Mustela lutreola*, and those of some canidae, such as the fennec, the jackal and the fox, from the Maghrib [see IBN ĀWĀ].

On the other hand, it is in the realm of hunting that the weasel has played a part in Islam, for it figures in the list of beasts of prey or carnivores that are "accredited" (*muʿallamāt*, *ḍawārʾⁿ*, *djawāriḥ*), recognised as lawful instruments of the chase, on the same footing as fowling-birds [see BAYZARA and FAHD]. Indeed, if we remember that the weasel was, with the beech-marten, *Martes foina* (*dalaḳ*, *sinsār*), and long before the domestic cat, with the civet, *Viverra civetta* (*zabāda*, *sinnawr zabād*), the genet *Genetta genetta* (*djarnīṭ*, *ḳaṭṭ al-zabād*, *kadīs*, *zuraykāʾ*) and the ichneumon or Egyptian mongoose, *Herpestes ichneumon* (*nims*, *fār Firʿawn*), a familiar guest attached to the hearth in all oriental and Mediterranean antiquity (for people sought, by adopting these quickly domesticated little animals, not only a faithful companion but also an effective means of destroying the rodents and reptiles that infested their dwellings), it is not surprising that the hunter very soon had the idea of taking advantage of the extremely bloodthirsty instincts of this miniature wild beast, its feline suppleness, its agility in creeping noiselessly into the narrowest fissure, the lightning speed of its leap, the inexorable vice-like grip of its jaws, its great aptitude for being trained, the few attentions that it required and the extreme ease of carrying it about on account of its small size. Numerous items of evidence can be found on the use of the weasel in hunting in the treatises of Muslim writers on hunting; thus Kushādjim (4th/10th century), in his *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid* (Baghdād 1954, 228-9) which, in the prose sections, is a compilation from sources more than a century earlier, devotes several lines to this form of hunting. For his part, the anonymous author of the *K. al-Bayzara* (Damascus 1953, 29), Master Falconer to the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz bi 'llāh (364-86/975-96), records that the weasel formed part of the hunting equipment of the kings of Persia and ranked with the hounds, cheetahs and falcons which these princes kept in great numbers. As for the famous gentleman hunter Usāma Ibn Munḳidh (d. 584/1188), lord of Shayzar, he notes in his "Recollections of war and the chase" (*K. al-Iʿtibār*, ed. Princeton 1930, chap. III, 213) that his venerated father, when leaving Iṣfahān, which he had visited for reasons of business, found himself presented by the local authorities with several trained falcons and a weasel trained (*ibn ʿirs muʿallam*) to retrieve game-birds from within impenetrable thickets or to flush them out so that they might be taken by the falcons; thus the puny weasel was successfully substituted for the retrieving-dog. The still unpublished source, the *K. al-Djamhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara* (Escurial-Madrid, MS ar. 903) of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī Ḥassān al-Asadī (7th/13th century) specifies that in this period, in Baghdād, the weasel, then called *barūraz* ("... *al-barūraz wa huwa ibn ʿirs* ...", fol. 29 v. and 76 r.-v.), was the indispensable aid in hunting wheatear (*faḳāḳ*) with the merlin (*yuʾyuʾ*), for these little birds, at sight of the falcon, darted into thorny bushes, and only the appearance of the weasel, held on a leash, forced them to fly out. This very diverting method of hunting was much appreciated since, being very inexpensive, it could be practised by the most impoverished and by children. Following the same procedure, the weasel, fastened at the neck or waist to a long leash, was used to dislodge the fox when it had gone to ground in its earth; terror made it take to flight, or else, its throat having been seized by these little jaws of steel, it was forcibly dragged out by the leash fastened to its assailant, which would never release its hold.

In the light of these texts, it can be said that the part taken by the weasel in hunting, in the East, was more important than that taken in the West by the ferret, *Mustela putorius furo* (*ibn miḳraḍ*; Maghrib: *nims* through confusion with the ichneumon), a form that, through domestic isolation, has degenerated from a race of polecats imported, as early as the Roman epoch, from the mountain massifs of the Maghrib. Moreover, the certainty of the essentially European origin of the ferret, provided by the scientific data of modern mammalogy, rules out any simple connexion between *ibn ʿirs* and this bastard member of the *mustelidae* which is incapable of living in freedom and, at most, is good only for driving rabbits out of their burrows.

The flesh of the weasel, like that of all carnivores, is forbidden as food in Islam, but early medicine recognized certain therapeutic properties in it, as also in the brain, blood and fat of this animal.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text: Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ii, 214; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, ii, 148; Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 99; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* (index, s.v.); Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Traité des simples*, tr. L. Leclerc, Paris 1877-83, i, no. 12; A. Maʿlūf, *An arabic zoological dictionary*, Cairo 1932, s.v. *Mustela*; H. B. Tristram, *The fauna and flora of Palestine*, London 1884; S. Flower, *List of animals in Giza*, Cairo 1910; *The Survey of Iraq fauna*, by members of the Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force, Bombay 1923; J. Ellerman and T. C. S. Morrison-Scott, *Checklist of Palaearctic and Indian mammals*, London 1961; R. Hainard, *Mammifères sauvages d'Europe*, Neuchatel-Paris 1948, ii, 189 ff.; R. Thévenin, *Les petits carnivores d'Europe*, Paris 1952, 12-43 and bibl.; idem, *Les fourrures*, Paris 1948; A. Cabrera, *La patria de "Putorius furo"*, Madrid 1930; idem, *Los Mamiferos de Marruecos*, Madrid 1932. (F. VIRÉ)

IBN ʿĪSĀ, MAḤAMMAD (sic) B. AḤMAD B. ʿĪSĀ AL-ṢANHĀDJĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, a Moroccan man of letters (to be distinguished from his homonym, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Maghribī, d. in Damascus in 1016/1607; Brockel-

mann, S II, 334). His father, who died in 955/1548-9, was also a renowned man of letters. Ibn ʿĪsā, "no mean poet and a superb prose stylist", was secretary of the sultans ʿAbd Allāh al-G̲h̲ālib bi ʾllāh (964-81/1557-74) and Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik (983-6/1576-8), became *wazīr al-ḳalam al-aʿlā*, "First Secretary of State", to the sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-D̲h̲ahabī ([*q.v.*], 986-1012/1578-1603), and was attached to the staff of the sultan's son Maʾmūn, governor of Fās from 986/1578. It was no doubt in the service of this sultan that he composed his *Kitāb al-mamdūd wa 'l-maḳṣūr min sanāʾ al-sulṭān Abi 'l-ʿAbbās al-Manṣūr*, the title of which al-Maḳḳarī admired. He was, nevertheless, imprisoned in Fās and his property was confiscated by Maʾmūn, who was notorious for his bad character, and he died, and was perhaps even killed, in prison in 990/1582-3. Maʾmūn was later reproached for this act. A fragment of an anonymous chronicle containing, among others, copies of documents composed by Ibn ʿĪsā, is either part of his work or derived from it; one report, addressed to the sultan in 988/1579-80, presages the fall from favour of the author.

Bibliography: G. Pianel, in *Hespéris*, 1949, 244 f.; 1954, 147-53; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 97; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥid̲j̲āl*, i, 51, no. 146 (on his father), 258, no. 656; al-Fis̲h̲tālī, *Manāhil al-ṣafā* (*Muk̲h̲taṣar al-d̲j̲uzʾ al-t̲h̲ānī*), Rabat 1964, 244 f.; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1949, ix, 289; *Chronique anonyme de la dynastie saʿdienne*, 84 f. (transl. E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, 422); al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, text, 163, 180; transl. 270, 290; Aḥmad b. K̲h̲ālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī, *K. al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, v, Casablanca 1955, 169; Fr. tr. by his son, M'hammed En Naciri, in *AM*, xxxiv (1936), 303 and n. 1; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm al-Marrākus̲h̲ī, *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥall Marrākus̲h̲ wa-Ag̲h̲māt min al-aʿlām*, iv, 191. (J. Schacht)

IBN ʿĪSĀ b. **MAD̲J̲D** al-**DĪN** [see aḳ ḥiṣārī].

IBN-i ISFANDIYĀR, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, Persian historian. Our knowledge of him is based almost entirely on the scanty information which he provides about himself incidentally in the introduction to his *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān*, a history of his native land, Ṭabaristān, and the only work of his known. He was attached to the court of the Āl-i Bāvand rulers of Ṭabaristān, and received generous patronage from Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardas̲h̲īr b. Ḥasan (567/1171-2—602/1205-6). In 606/1210, returning from Bag̲h̲dād to ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAd̲j̲am, he learned of the assassination of his patron's son and successor Rustam b. Ardas̲h̲īr. Grieved by this event, he spent two months in Rayy, where in the course of his reading he came across a copy of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Yazdādī's Arabic work (now apparently lost) on the history of Ṭabaristān. To make it more widely known, he decided to make a translation of it into Persian, supplementing it with an account of his patron, Ardas̲h̲īr, his ancestors and his descendants. Soon after preparing a first draft, however, he received a letter from his father, who entreated him to put an end to his wanderings and settle at home, apparently Āmul. His visit to his father was marred, however, by disturbances in the region, and following an urge to travel again, he soon left Āmul for K̲h̲ʷārazm, which he describes as a prosperous city and a great seat of learning. Here, after a sojourn of five years, during which he apparently gathered further material for his History, he found in a bookshop a copy of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's translation into Arabic of the epistle of Tansar [*q.v.*], the chief priest of Ardas̲h̲īr the Sāsānid, to D̲j̲usnasaf, the prince of Ṭabaristān. By including in his History a translation into Persian of the epistle, he has preserved for us this significant piece of Pahlavi literature (see A. Christensen, *Iran sous les Sassanides*, Paris 1944, pp. 58-9, and pahlavi).

The *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān*, which he was still writing in 613/1216-7, contains much useful historical, geographical and biographical information. It is also of literary interest, and preserves a number of verses in Ṭabarī dialect. A later and anonymous hand has brought the history of events from 606/1210, when the first domination of the Āl-i Bāvand ended in Ṭabaristān, up to *ca.* 750/1349, when their second domination came to an end. The added section, found in most manuscripts, is taken mostly from Awliyāʾ Allāh Āmulī's *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Rūyān*, completed apparently in 764/1362.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, Tehrān 1941, introd. and 1-8; *An abridged translation of the History of Ṭabaristān*, by E. G. Browne, Leiden and London 1905; Storey, ii/2, 359-61; Browne, ii, 479-80. (E. Yar-Shater)

IBN ISḤĀḲ, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Yasār b. K̲h̲iyār (according to some sources, b. K̲h̲abbār, or Kūmān, or Kūtān), one of the main authorities on *al-sīra al-nabawiyya*, along with Mūsā b. ʿUḳba and al-Wāḳidī. His *kunya* is variously given as Abū ʿAbd Allāh or Abū Bakr. On the whole, the former is the better substantiated and the confusion may have resulted from the fact that he had a brother called Abū Bakr (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 400). He was born in Medina in about 85/704, and, according to the majority of the sources, died in Bag̲h̲dād in 150/767 —alternative dates for his death are 151, 153 and, in one case (*Wafayāt*, i, 612), as early as 144/761-2. He was buried in the cemetery of K̲h̲ayzurān, near the grave of Abū Ḥanīfa.

His grandfather, Yasār, was among those taken prisoner at ʿAyn al-Tamr in 12/633-4 and, according to Yāḳūt and al-Bag̲h̲dādī, was one of the first captives sent by K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd to Abū Bakr in Medina. He became the slave of Ḳays b. Mak̲h̲rama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Ḳuṣayy and, having accepted Islam, was manumitted and became his *mawlā*, thus acquiring the *nisba* al-Muṭṭalibī. His three sons, Mūsā, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and Isḥāḳ, were all known as transmitters of *ak̲h̲bār*. Isḥāḳ married the daughter of another *mawlā* and from this marriage Ibn Isḥāḳ was born.

There are no details of his early life, but in view of the family nature of early *ak̲h̲bār* and *ḥadīt̲h̲* transmission, it was natural that he should follow in the footsteps of his father and uncles and become specialized in these branches of knowledge. He must have acquired an early reputation as a scholar for al-Zuhrī, who died in 124/741-2, to have spoken of him as "the most knowledgeable of men in *mag̲h̲āzī*" (*ʿUyūn al-at̲h̲ar*, i, 8). In 119/737 he came to Alexandria and studied under Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb. Subsequently, as Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar puts it, "he related on the authority of a group of the people of Egypt traditions which no one else related on their authority, so far as I know" (*Tahd̲h̲īb*, ix, 44). J. Fück has suggested that Ibn Isḥāḳ returned to Medina from Egypt, before departing finally for ʿIrāḳ. There are frequent references to his having left Medina "of old". This is substantiated by the fact that he has only one transmitter among the people of Medina, Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 399). His leaving Medina is usually attributed to the enmity of two men, His̲h̲ām b. ʿUrwa and Mālik b. Anas. His̲h̲ām b. ʿUrwa is said to have objected to Ibn Isḥāḳ relating traditions on

the authority of his wife, Fāṭima bint al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr. As J. Horovitz has pointed out, Yāḳūt was mistaken in identifying Hishām with the governor of Medina who ordered Ibn Isḥāḳ to be scourged for dallying with women at the rear of the mosque, since Hishām was governor of Medina for a four-year period up to 86/705, the approximate date of Ibn Isḥāḳ's birth; if the story has any validity, it might refer to Hishām's son, Ismāʿīl, who was governor from 106/724-5 (*op. cit.* in Bibl., 169).

The antagonism of Mālik towards Ibn Isḥāḳ was of a different order. It could have been due to professional jealousy, as the story related by ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs suggests: "I was with Mālik b. Anas when a man said to him: 'Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ says: Present to me the knowledge of Mālik, for I am the man to check it'. Mālik said: 'Look at this anti-Christ saying 'Present to me the knowledge of Mālik'" (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 400). Another possibility, as A. Guillaume has suggested (*Life of Muhammad*, Introd., xiii), is that differences may have arisen between them over the contents of Ibn Isḥāḳ's lost book of *Sunan*. This could well have been so, for although later authorities such as Ibn Ḥanbal did not accept Ibn Isḥāḳ as an authority on legal matters, the latter did lay claim to being an authority on *fiḳh*, as we can see from the reference in Ibn Ḥadjar: "Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd had, on the authority of Ibn Isḥāḳ, about 17,000 *ḥadīth*s on legal decisions, apart from *maghāzī*" (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 41). Another suggestion is that Mālik "objected to Ibn Isḥāḳ tracing the *ghazawāt* of the Prophet by means of the sons of Jews who had become Muslims and remembered the story of Khaybar and other matters" (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 45). Yet another explanation of Mālik's enmity towards Ibn Isḥāḳ is based upon the fact that Mālik objected to him on the grounds of his being a Shīʿī and a Ḳadarī (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 400; *ʿUyūn*, i, 9; *Tahdhīb*, ix, 42). The same charge was levelled against al-Wāḳidī and others ... "Aḥmad b. Yūnus said: The scholars of *maghāzī* were Shīʿī, like Ibn Isḥāḳ and Abū Maʿshar and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawwī and others" (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 400).

Having left (or been forced to leave) Medina, Ibn Isḥāḳ went first to al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, governor of al-Djazīra, then to Abu 'l-Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr at al-Ḥīra, before finally settling in Baghdād. These peregrinations are reflected in the different *riwāya*s of his *Sīra*. There are some fifteen of these, with Kūfa, Rayy and Baṣra figuring most prominently (Fück, 44) and with only a single Medina *riwāya*. In addition to the *Sīra*, he is credited with a *Kitāb al-Khulafāʾ*, which al-Umawwī related on his authority (*Fihrist*, 92; *Udabāʾ*, vi, 401) and a book of *Sunan* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1008).

As is usual in the literature of *djarḥ wa taʿdīl*, we find the early Muslim critics expressing diametrically opposed judgements on Ibn Isḥāḳ. In addition to the favourable assessment of al-Zuhrī referred to earlier, ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Ḳatāda was of the opinion that "knowledge will remain amongst us as long as Ibn Isḥāḳ lives" (*ʿUyūn*, i, 9; *Udabāʾ*, vi, 400; *Tahdhīb*, ix, 44). Shuʿba regarded him as "*amīr al-muʾminīn* in tradition" (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 44). Abū Zurʿa, al-Madīnī, Ibn Maʿīn and Ibn Saʿd regarded him as sound in tradition. On the other hand, al-Nisāʾī and Yaḥyā b. Ḳaṭṭān did not accept him in matters of *ḥadīth*. Al-Athram, Sulaymān al-Taymī and Wuhayb b. Khālid regarded him as a liar—a charge which relates to *ḥadīth* and is separate from the oft-quoted accusation contained in al-Djumaḥī, Ibn al-Nadīm and Yāḳūt that Ibn Isḥāḳ included verses in his *Sīra* knowing them to be forged. Al-Bukhārī and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr were not satisfied with his *riwāya*. Ibn Ḥanbal, whilst accepting him on matters relating to *maghāzī*, did not draw upon him for *ḥadīth* because he objected to his use of the collective *isnād*: "I see him relating on the authority of a group of people a single *ḥadīth* and he does not distinguish the words of this one from the words of that" (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 43). To single out Ibn Isḥāḳ on this score is an unfair stricture, since the use of the collective *isnād* is a not uncommon feature in the writings of the early authorities on the *sīra-maghāzī*.

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IBN ISRĀʾĪL AL-DIMASHḲĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. SAWWĀR B. ISRĀʾĪL B. AL-KHIḌR B. ISRĀʾĪL AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, Ṣūfī and poet (603-77/1206-78). Amidst the mediocre poetic talents prevailing in Egypt and Syria during the 7th/13th century, Nadjm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī Ibn Isrāʾīl occupies a place of distinction, while providing a typical example of the numerous writers of insipid poetry who flourished during that century. His life is perhaps of greater interest than his work; born in Damascus, where he studied, he embarked upon a strange career as a dubious mystic and pleasure-loving poet. He joined the suspect Ṣūfī order founded by Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 645/1247-8), whose character and doctrine were severely critized by orthodox authorities such as Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī The bad reputation of this *shaykh* cast a shadow of suspicion upon Ibn Isrāʾīl which was to persist throughout his life. However, Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī states that he received the *khirḳa* of the Ṣūfī from the hands of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, which is not possible, since the latter died in 579/1183.

Ibn Isrāʾīl began to travel up and down the land, in the manner of the poor Ṣūfīs (*ʿalā ḳadam al-fuḳarāʾ*), though he did not refrain from indulging in such passing pleasures (*ḳaḍāʾ al-awḳāt al-ṭayyiba*) as presented themselves. He frequented the company of the rich and influential, belonged to their coteries, wrote poems in their praise, etc. His *dīwān* is far more a reflexion of this worldly life than of his alleged mysticism, although it begins with a poem

in praise of his *shaykh* al-Ḥarīrī. He once claimed authorship of a poem by his contemporary and rival Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Khiyāmī (d. 685/1286), and the matter had to be submitted to the arbitration of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, who discovered the truth.

Bibliography: Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1283, ii, 269-74, 287-95; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1936, vi, 360, vii, 282-3, 369-70; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (MS Cairo Lib. 559), xiv-xv; *Dīwān*, Escurial 437; Brockelmann, I, 257; B. Lewis, in *Arabica*, xiii (1966), 257; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 335-6. (H. Monès)

IBN AL-IṬNĀBA AL-KHAZRADJĪ, ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Zayd Manāt (see his genealogy in Ibn Saʿd, viii, 264, 2 in the article on his granddaughter Kabsha bint Wāķid b. ʿAmr, wife of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [*q.v.*]), a pagan Arab poet named after his mother al-Iṭnāba, who belonged to the Banu 'l-Ķayn b. Djasr of the Khuzāʿa. He was leader of al-Khazradj [*q.v.*] in their feuds with al-Aws [*q.v.*], whose chief was Muʿādh b. al-Nuʿmān, father of the well-known Companion of the Prophet Saʿd b. Muʿādh. Ibn al-Iṭnāba restored peace between the Aws and the Khazradj by paying the blood-money after they had fought against each other at the fortress of Fāriʿ (Ibn al-Athīr, i, 500-2, where he is erroneously called ʿĀmir b. al-Iṭnāba). He was on friendly terms with Khālid b. ʿĀmir, the powerful leader of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa; when the latter was treacherously killed by al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim al-Murrī at the court of king Abū Ķābūs al-Nuʿmān III (reigned *ca.* 580-602), Ibn al-Iṭnāba reviled him for his cowardice, but al-Ḥārith took him by surprise, so that Ibn al-Iṭnāba had to ask his pardon (Ibn al-Athīr, i, 419 f.). In the fanciful account of this incident given in the *Aghānī*[1], x, 30 on the authority of Abū ʿUbayda, Ibn al-Iṭnāba is called "king of the Ḥidjāz" and represented as wearing a crown (*tādj*) and drinking wine whilst his slave girls were singing his invective against al-Ḥārith. After this quarrel Ibn al-Iṭnāba's friend Zayd al-Khayl al-Ṭāʾī (d. 10/631-2) raided the Banū Murra, took al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim prisoner, but pardoned him.

Ibn al-Iṭnāba's fame as a poet rests on some "incomparable" verses (Ibn Ķutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ii, 191, 10; 193, 3) on bravery on the battlefield, especially the line "And I say unto my soul, whilst it heaves (from fear) and is frightened: keep thy ground, and thou wilt be praised or else find rest". With these verses Muʿāwiya encouraged himself at Ṣiffīn, when he was at the point of turning his back (Ṭabarī, i, 3300; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 753, etc.). The Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (*Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1347, i, 154) adduce them as proof for the tremendous influence which poetry can have on man's actions. They belong to a poem (Ibn al-Athīr i, 501; *Early Arabic Odes* chosen ... by S. M. Husain, no. 12, etc.) which the poet probably composed whilst trying to mediate between the Aws and the Khazradj. In a *ķaṣīda* (given by Ibn al-Athīr, i, 502; see also Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa*, 52 f. and Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, 714 f.) the poet glorifies his clan and himself.

His invective, mentioned above, against al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim (*Aghānī*[1], x, 30) was set to music and sung by ʿAzza al-Maylāʾ [*q.v.*] (*Aghānī*[1], xvi, 14; x, 31).

Bibliography: in the article; see also Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Krenkow 203 f.; and for quotations of verses, A. Fischer and E. Bräunlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, 329. (J. W. Fück)

IBN IYĀS (also written Ayās), Abu 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Zayn (Shihāb) al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī al-Djarkasī al-Ḥanafī, born 6 Rabīʿ II 852/9 June 1448, died *ca.* 930/1524, historian of the decline and fall of Mamlūk rule in Egypt and of the first years of the dominion of the Ottoman Turks after their victory over the Mamlūks in 923/1517. Since early in the 19th century Ibn Iyās has been recognized as a prime source for the events of that period and his major work, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waķāʾiʿ al-duhūr* (Būlāķ ed., hereafter abbreviated Ibn Iyās) has appeared in several editions. Indicative, however, of the relatively unimportant position held by Ibn Iyās among his contemporaries—but also of the decline of historical writing in Egypt until the end of the 12th/18th century—is the fact that no biography of this author has been found. The few biographical data known must be gleaned from his own writings. What we learn from this source is important and sheds an interesting light on the history of at least one Mamlūk family during part of the Ķalāwūnid and the whole of the Circassian period.

A great-grandfather of the author, Özdemir (Azdamur) al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī al-Khāzindār (d. 771/1370) served in various functions under the sultans Ḥasan and al-Ashraf Shaʿbān. Among these were those of Emir of Arms (*amīr silāḥ*), 757, Viceroy of Tripoli, 764, then Viceroy of Aleppo, then again Emir of Arms in 768. He was imprisoned for a time and on his release was named Viceroy of Damascus but died before taking office (cf. Ibn Iyās, i, 221). A daughter of Özdemir married a young Mamlūk, Iyās al-Fakhrī, also called "min Djunayd" in reference to his first owner, and "al-Ẓāhirī," to indicate that he later passed into the possession and service of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barķūķ. Iyās (*ca.* 780-830/*ca.* 1378-1427) rose to the rank of Second Executive Secretary (*dawādār thānī*) under Sultan al-Nāṣir Faradj, the son of Barķūķ (cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, fol. 27b; Wiet, *Manhal*, no. 563).

The author's father, Aḥmad, as the grandson of one Mamlūk *amīr* and the son of another, was no longer eligible for inclusion among the military élite of *amīr*s but became one of the *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*] which, according to Ibn Iyās, was equivalent to the *adjnād al-ḥalķa* and served, in his time, as a sort of military reserve responsive to the Sultan's command. Ibn Iyās cites an instance, under Sultan Ķāʾitbāy, where each of the reservists was required to serve on an expedition or furnish either a substitute or 100 *dīnār*s (cf. Ibn Iyās, ii, 93). From his son's account, Aḥmad b. Iyās (824-908/1421-5102) seems to have been a prominent man closely related to many emirs and high officials. Of his 25 children, only three, two boys and a girl, survived him. The daughter married a Mamlūk, Ķurķmās al-ʿAlāʾī (d. 877/1472), who was Emir of the Horse (*amīr ākhūr*); one son was Warden of the Armoury (*zardkāsh*); and the other was the author (cf. Ibn Iyās, ed. Mostafa, iv, 47).

Of the few facts we know about the life of Muḥammad b. Iyās, perhaps the most important is that he studied under two prominent scholars of his time: the polymath al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) (cf. Ibn Iyās, ii, 119, 271, 307, 339, 392), for whom he seems to have had little respect, and ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl al-Ḥanafī (d. 920/1514), the Ḥanafī jurist and historian (cf. *ibid.*, 104, 105 and *passim*). The bulk of the corpus of Ibn Iyās's writings (six titles in all, cf. Brockelmann, S II, 405) is historical in nature. His aim seems to have been to write a complete history of Egypt beginning with the Pharaonic era down to his day. In essence, he has given us, in his major work

Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr, a perfunctory survey of all Egyptian history down to the Mamlūk period, followed by a brief year by year summary of events, growing progressively more detailed as he nears his own time. In the first published versions in three volumes (Cairo, 1301-06/1884-88; reprinted Būlāḳ, 1311-12/1894), the history of Egypt from the beginning to the year 815/1412 is covered in the first volume, the second deals with the years 815-906/1412-1501, the end of the reign of al-ʿĀdil Ṭūmān Bāy, and the third with the years 922-8/1516-22, the reign of the last Mamlūk sultan al-As̲h̲raf Ṭūmān Bāy, omitting the reign of Sultan al-G̲h̲awrī (906-21/1501-15). This brief résumé both indicates the disproportionate coverage allotted to various periods and points to the problem whether the entire work is to be attributed to Ibn Iyās. The account of al-G̲h̲awrī's reign, while missing from the manuscripts on which the Cairo-Būlāḳ editions were based, is found in other manuscripts and was included in a re-edition of the parts of the work dealing with the years 872-928/1467-1522, *i.e.*, that period of which Ibn Iyās was an eyewitness observer (3 vols. ed. by P. Kahle, M. Mostafa, M. Sobernheim, *Bibliotheca Islamica*, v, 1931-39; revised ed., M. Mostafa, 1960-63). While earlier portions of the work (from the reign of Ḳāʾit Bāy) are written in a brief, almost vernacular style, the final section, from 922/1516 onwards, is not only fuller and more detailed, but also more finished and polished in style, leading K. Vollers (in *Revue d'Égypte*, 1895, 544-73) to the conclusion that Ibn Iyās may not have been the author of this later section, a view disputed by M. Sobernheim (*EI*[1], ii, 414), who saw in this difference in style the possible conflation of two versions or the combination of a personal diary with a court circular. These later portions include detailed reports on life in Cairo, especially at the Mamlūk court, obituaries of famous men, poems (many of them by the author) in honour of scholars as well as men in power, accounts of civil calamities, records of prices and market trends, as well as details on *causes célèbres* of the day. The work is of great value, therefore, on a number of levels. As an eyewitness account, and, moreover, by a writer close to the ruling circles, it is similar to the work of Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī half a century earlier, although Ibn Iyās certainly lacks the historical sense and the style of the earlier author. It is of great value as an attempt by a contemporary observer to evaluate and explain the defeat of the Mamlūks by the Ottoman Turks. The author is highly critical of Sultan al-G̲h̲awrī, whom he blames for the financial plight of the state, and seems aware that corrupt administration, internecine strife in Mamlūk circles, and the neglect of artillery all contributed to the Mamlūk defeat. Finally, the language of portions of the text, reflecting the vernacular in Cairo of the author's day, is of value to students of Arabic dialectology.

The other works attributed to Ibn Iyās are: *Mard̲j̲ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, a popular history of the patriarchs and prophets, perhaps not by Ibn Iyās; *Nas̲h̲ḳ al-azhār fī ʿad̲j̲āʾib al-aḳṭār*, a cosmography with specific reference to Egypt, written in 922/1517 and much used by 19th-century scholars; a little-known work of which only one manuscript is extant: *Nuzhat al-umam fī 'l-ʿad̲j̲āʾib wa 'l-ḥikam*; extracts from *Badāʾiʿ*, entitled *D̲j̲awāhir al-sulūk*; and *Muntaẓam badʾ al-dunyā wa-taʾrīk̲h̲ al-umam* in three volumes (attribution uncertain, cf. C. Cahen, in *REI*, iii (1936), 358), these last two extant in one copy each in Istanbul.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 513; Brockelmann, II, 295; S II, 405; M. Sobernheim, *Ibn Iyās*, in *EI*[1], ii, 414; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* . . ., 3 vols., Cairo 1301-06/1884-88, Būlāḳ 1311-12/1894; *Fihris* . . ., ed. Muḥ. ʿAlī al-Biblāwī, Būlāḳ 1314/1896; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* . . ., 3 vols., ed. P. Kahle, M. Mostafa, M. Sobernheim, *Bibliotheca Islamica*, v, Istanbul 1931-9; *op. cit.*, 2nd rev. ed., ed. M. Mostafa, *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 5c-5e, Cairo 1960-63; *Indices*, ed. A. Schimmel, 1945. Translations: W. H. Salmon, *An account of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt*, Orient. Trans. Fund, N.S. vol. xxv, 1921 (the preface by D. Margoliouth is especially useful); the following French translation with index covers the years 872-928 (note change in title): G. Wiet, *Histoire des Mamlouks Circassiens*, ii, Inst. Fr. d'arch. or., 1945; idem, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, 2 vols., Bibl. gén. de l'École prat. des Hautes Études, 1955-60. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN ḲABṬŪRNU, (Ḳabṭūrna, Ḳubṭūrna or Ḳubṭurna), the name of three brothers, all Andalusī men of letters. They were natives of Badajoz, where their family was said to be one of the oldest and most illustrious in the whole western part of al-Andalus. To judge by the name, this family is of Iberian origin; Dozy (*Suppl.*, ii, 302) and Simonet (*Glosario*, 97) suggest that Ḳabṭūrnu represents the classical Latin *caput* followed by the mediaeval Latin *torno* ('I turn'); hence the tentative interpretation of E. García Gómez, *vuelvo la cabeza*, a family name which need not astonish us since we know the equally curious *Ibn Arfaʿ Raʾsu.*

Of the three brothers, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is the least known. Apart from a brief notice in the *Rāyāt* of Ibn Saʿīd (no. xxxv, Arabic text, 30, Spanish tr., 163) and two verses reproduced in almost all the anthologies, nothing is known about him.

Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is the most eminent of the three brothers. He is held in high regard both as prose-writer and as poet, and it is often said that ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd Ibn ʿAbdūn (d. 520/1126 or 529/1134) and he are the two greatest writers of the western part of al-Andalus. Yet the few specimens of his prose and poetry that we possess in no way justify this claim. On the contrary, his poetry is artificial and cold, while his prose is pedantic and superficial. Very probably he owes his fame to his wealth and political influence in his capacity of secretary to ʿUmar al-Mutawakkil, petty king of Badajoz (464-88/1072-94). With his brothers he was later employed in the chancellery of the Almoravids. He died in the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲fīn after 520/1126 (Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 1743).

His brother Abū Muḥammad Ṭalḥa was of even slighter talent and importance. He too was secretary in the chancellery and died before him (Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 259).

In spite of the tragic circumstances in which they lived, the Banū Ḳabṭūrnu enjoyed an easy and carefree existence, as if they were unaware of—or indifferent to—the tragic events of their time. Our sources portray the three brothers as irresolutely leading a somewhat decadent *dolce vita*, scenes from which they describe in short verses of rococo style. This child-like vision of an unbroken life of pleasure has ever since stimulated the imagination of later poets and writers and has led them to repeat, over and over again, verses similar to those of the Banū Ḳabṭūrnu.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources

already mentioned: Ibn Khāķān, *Ķalā'id*, 148-55; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ii, 468-80; Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, i, 367-8, ii, 88, 249-50; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 186-7; Marrākushī, *Mu'djib*, 124 (tr. Fagnan, 149); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ed. 'Abd Allāh 'Inān, Cairo 1955, i, 528-31; Maķķarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, ii, 160, iv, 250, v, 133, 148, 152, 367, vi, 48; M. 'A. Makkī, *Wathā'iķ ta'rīkhiyya djadīda*, in *RIEIM*, vii-viii (1959-60), 117, 196-8.

(H. Monés)

IBN AL-ĶĀḌĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abi 'l-'Āfiya al-Miknāsī, a Moroccan polygraph whose biographical works are highly regarded, was born in Fās in 960/1553, of a famous family belonging to the large tribe of the Zanāta [*q.v.*]. His father supervised his education and made him undertake serious study with the best teachers in the Maghrib, in particular with *shaykh* Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf al-Fāsī. After this he even won a certain renown as an expert on arithmetic and the division of inheritances. Being anxious to complete his education, Ibn al-Ķāḍī took advantage of his pilgrimage to Mecca to spend two years studying with the great doctors of the Muslim East. His return, in 986/1578, coincided with the accession of the Sa'did sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] with whom he became intimately acquainted. In 944/1586 he wished to return to the East by sea, but was captured by Christian pirates. After eleven months of painful experiences, almost certainly in Spain, his master ransomed him for 20,000 ounces. In gratitude, Ibn al-Ķāḍī dedicated all his works to his royal benefactor, in whose entourage he continued to live, apparently without any official duties. At some undetermined date he was appointed *ķāḍī* of Salā (Salé), but was recalled for an unknown reason. He then finally settled in his native town and devoted himself to teaching. His biographers record that at the end of his life he was expounding the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī [*q.v.*] and that he had the honour to have as his disciple al-Maķķarī [*q.v.*], the distinguished author of the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, who recited the prayer for the dead over his grave in Fās, on 6 Sha'bān 1025/19 August 1616 (or perhaps some months earlier in the same year).

Those works of Ibn al-Ķāḍī whose titles have been preserved are fourteen in number. The most famous are two collections of biographies of great documentary value: (1) *Durrat al-ḥidjāl fī asmā' al-ridjāl*, a dictionary of famous men of Morocco, including also a series of biographies of illustrious doctors of Islam, and intended to complete the *Wafayāt al-a'yān* of Ibn Khallikān [*q.v.*]; the work has been edited by I. S. Allouche under the title *Durrat al-hijal, Répertoire biographique d'Ahmad Ibn al-Qadi*, 2 vols., Rabat 1934-6; (2) *Djadhwat al-iķtibās fī man ḥalla min al-a'lām madīnat Fās*, as the title indicates a dictionary of the important personages and scholars who have lived in Fās, but also a very useful topographical guide to the town, where the work was lithographed in 1309/1892. Pleasant to read, it gives the first general picture of the literary movement in Morocco under the Marīnid and Sa'did dynasties.

Of his historical works, all of which are unpublished, we should mention *al-Muntaķā al-maķṣūr 'alā ma'āthir khilāfat al-Manṣūr* (var. *'alā maḥāsin al-khalīfa Abi 'l-'Abbās al-Manṣūr*); this panegyric of the great sultan is a literary anthology rather than a history of the sovereign and has been widely used by later writers, particularly by al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] and al-Nāṣirī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922 (essential); Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf a'lām al-nās* ..., i, Rabat 1929, 326-8; 'Abbās b. Ibrāhīm, *al-I'lām bi man ḥalla Marrākush* ..., ii, Fās 1936, 93-6; 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-aķṣā*, Tetuan 1950 (particularly nos. 61, 62, 466, 490, 840, 1362, 1363); I. S. Allouche and A. Regragui, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, ii, Rabat 1958.

(G. Deverdun)

IBN ĶĀḌĪ SAMĀWNĀ [see badr al-dīn ibn ķāḍī samāwnā].

IBN ĶĀḌĪ SHUHBA, an appellation of members of a family of religious scholars from Damascus called so after an ancestor who had been *ķāḍī* of Shuhba in Ḥawrān.

1. The most widely known member of this family is Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar, Taķī al-Dīn, known as an author of biographical works, although his main reputation during his lifetime rested on *fiķh*. He was born in 779/1377, and he died suddenly and painlessly in 851/1448. His most senior teacher was Sirādj al-Dīn al-Bulķīnī [*q.v.*]. He taught at a number of *madrasas* in Damascus, was an inspector of the Nūrī hospital there, became a *ķāḍī* and finally Chief *Ķāḍī* 842-44/1438-40 (with an interruption). He was a member of a delegation sent by Sultan Djuķmāķ to Shāh Rukh. His son relates that after his death he often appeared in good dreams. His most detailed existing biography is by his disciple, al-Sakhāwī (see *Bibl.*).

His main work is the important *Ṭabaķāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, arranged in 29 chapters covering 20 years each, until 840/1436; this was used by Wüstenfeld (see *Bibl.*); an edition is being prepared in Baghdād.

Bibliography: al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, xi, 21-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vii, 314; al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-'iķyān*, ed. Hitti, no. 51; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 269; F. Wüstenfeld, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xxxvi-xxxvii, 1890-91 (esp. vol. xxxvi, 24-7); Brockelmann, II, 63, S II, 50.

2. His son, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, d. 874/1470, wrote a biography of his father and a few other works which are mentioned in Brockelmann, II, 37, S II, 25. Badr al-Dīn's son, Taķī al-Dīn Muḥammad, is also attested as an author (Brockelmann, S II, 25).

3. The uncle of no. 1, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar, d. 789/1387, made extracts from the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* of Mūsā b. 'Uķba [*q.v.*]; cf. E. Sachau, *SBPr. Ak. W.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1904, xi, 6; Brockelmann, I, 141.

(J. Schacht)

IBN ĶALĀĶIS, Abu 'l-Fatḥ (var. Futūḥ) Naṣr (Allāh) b. 'Abd Allāh, an Arab poet, writer and letter-writer known by the familiar name of Ibn Ķalāķis (or also *al-Ķāḍī al-a'azz*). Born in 532/1137 in Alexandria, where he spent his childhood, he afterwards went to Cairo to study, and the sources record that he had Abū Ṭāhir al-Silāfī [*q.v.*] as his *shaykh*.

We do not know for what reason Ibn Ķalāķiṣ in about the middle of 1169 visited Sicily, where he lived until the end of the following year, but it may be conjectured that he went there at the invitation of certain friends who will be mentioned below.

Towards the end of 1169, or at the beginning of 1170, the poet was in the Yemen, at Aden and Zabīd, and also in 'Aydhāb on the Egyptian Red Sea coast, for reasons which may have been both commercial and political, as can be deduced from the fact that 'Umāra al-Yamanī [*q.v.*], the famous Fāṭimid poet, was among those who urged Ibn Ķalāķis to visit the

Shīʿī *wazīr* of Aden, Abū Bakr al-ʿĪdī. But on his return from his business journey or mission, he underwent the same experience as he had suffered in Sicily when embarking to return to Egypt—a shipwreck, which on this occasion obliged him to seek hospitality from the sultan of the Dahlak Islands in the Red Sea. He died in ʿAydhāb in 567/1172.

Ibn Ḳalāḳis has left a record of his stay in certain towns in Sicily (Termini, Cefalù, Caronia, Patti, Olivieri—rather than "Lipari", as M. Amari has preferred to read, see *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², Catania 1933, iii, 790—Milazzo, Messina and Syracuse), chiefly in *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī* (var. *min*) *awṣāf Ibn al-Ḳāsim*, which, to judge by the fragments in prose and verse brought together in the *Kharīda* of al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī (section devoted to the poets of Egypt, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Shawḳī Ḍayf and Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Cairo, i, 1951, 2nd ed. n.d., i, 145-65) must be regarded, at least in the *muḳaddima*, as a description of the poet's travels in Sicily as well as of his sojourn with a patron of the period, the *ḳāʾid* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd, known as Ibn al-Ḥadjar (see M. Amari, *op. cit.*, *passim*) to whom, as to his sons Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, the poet dedicated his *ḳaṣīdas*.

It still remains to identify the other persons encountered at Palermo and mentioned not only in the work named above, but also in his *Dīwān* (ed. Khalīl Muṭrān, Cairo 1905; a more comprehensive ed. has been prepared in Paris), and above all in his unpublished collection of letters (*Tarassul Ibn Ḳalāḳis*, MS of the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Taymūriyya, *Adab* no. 617). This consists of letters addressed to: (1) Djurdannā in *al-Zahr al-bāsim* (*Kharīda*, i, 165, where it is so vocalized by the editors; in the *dīwān*, it is زجرد), described as *wazīr* to the "*ṣāḥib Ṣiḳilliyya*", which suggests a "Giordano" (a very common name in the Norman period), one of William's ministers, a name not, however, mentioned in that king's entourage; (2) Ghārāt b. Djawshan or Djūshan (*Tarassul*, fol. 34), an eminent personage at the court of William; (3) al-Sadīd al-Ḥuṣrī (*ibid.*, fol. 47-8), which suggests the "Sedictus" mentioned in M. Amari, *op. cit.*, iii, 510 and n. 2; (4) Ibn Fātiḥ (*ibid.*, fol. 43), who is described as a *faḳīh*.

Bibliography: To the sources named by M. Amari, *op. cit.*, *passim*, Brockelmann, I, 261 and S I, 461 and in the article, add the references in Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *al-ʿArab fī Ṣiḳilliyya*, Cairo 1959, 287-94 (see the review by U. Rizzitano, in *Il contributo del mondo arabo agli studi arabo-siculi*, in *RSO*, vi (1961), especially 78-89).

(U. Rizzitano)

IBN AL-ḲALĀNISĪ, Abū Yaʿlā Ḥamza b. Asad ... al-Tamīmī (*ca.* 465-555/1073-1160), a member of an important family of Damascus, who for a time was *raʾīs* of that town, and above all was its historian for the period extending from the middle of the 4th/10th century to 555/1160.

The History of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, known simply by the title *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, consists of two parts, the limits being somewhat imprecise. The first part, the opening pages of which are lost, and which goes down approximately to the time of the author's youth, is based on earlier Syro-Egyptian archives and minor chronicles and not (or at least far less than has been thought) upon the lost History of Baghdād of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ. For the remainder, Ibn al-Ḳalānisī essentially reports, again in addition to information drawn from archives, the events which had been witnessed either by himself or by contemporaries who had given him first-hand accounts. The *Dhayl*, which has no literary pretensions, provides us with a personal account of politico-social life in Damascus and, around it, in central Syria and Palestine, that is not without partiality but is extraordinarily vivid, in comparison with the main body of Arab historiography. It is a work of very great merit, and the almost exclusive source of what Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī and Abū Shāma, as well as all the succeeding authors who depended on them, knew of the history of central Syria during the first half-century of the period of the Crusades. Unfortunately, having been discovered only at the beginning of this century and translated still later, it has been insufficiently exploited in the standard Histories of the Crusades and of the Latin East.

Bibliography: The *Dhayl* was published, from the unique manuscript, by Amedroz in 1908; an English tr. (with some intentional omissions) was made by H. A. R. Gibb for the years 490-555, under the title *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, 1932, and a partial French tr., under the title *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, by R. Le Tourneau, 1952, for the period indicated. The first of these translations is accompanied by an important preface. For the earlier part of the History, see Cl. Cahen, in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 156-67.

(Cl. Cahen)

IBN AL-KALBĪ [see al-kalbī].

IBN KAMĀL [see kemālpasha-zāde].

IBN KAMMŪNA, Saʿd b. Manṣūr, oculist and philosopher, lived in Baghdād in the 7th/13th century, under pagan Mongol rule. His works, mostly manuals of philosophy and commentaries on Ibn Sīnā and Suhrawardī, secured him a place in Islamic philosophical discussions.

A strong tendency toward rationalist deism pervades his *Tanḳīḥ al-abḥāth li 'l-milal al-thalāth*, in which the author, who was a Jew, discusses religion and prophethood in general (drawing on Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī, Maimonides, and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī), and devotes a separate chapter to each of the monotheistic faiths, treating the subject with a remarkable show of objectivity. Steinschneider considered the work "the most interesting tract of inter-religious polemics in Arabic". Most of it is devoted to Islam, and the cumulative effect of the discussion was hardly apt to please a Muslim. Written in 679/1280, the book served as a pretext for a mob outbreak against the author, who died shortly thereafter (683/1284-5).

The same qualities of calm discourse, a certain conscious pride in the capacity for adducing detachedly *pro* and *contra* arguments, an appeal to common sense and an appreciation of the essential good to be found in various creeds are evident in his treatise on the differences between Rabbinic and Karaite Jews.

Bibliography: see *Examination of the inquiries into the three faiths*, ed. M. Perlmann (Un. of Calif. Publ. Near East. St. 1967). (M. Perlmann)

IBN ḲASĪ, patronymic of the members of the Banū Ḳasī family which, according to the *Djamhara* of Ibn Ḥazm, is descended from a Visigothic count, Ḳasī; the latter gave his name to a long line of *Muwallad* descendants settled in the regions lying between the Pyrenees and the valley of the Ebro; their superficial Islamization allowed them to preserve old connexions and even family ties with the noble houses of Vasconia. The most outstanding member of this family was Mūsā b. Mūsā Ibn Ḳasī

who, from his fief at Tudela, declared war on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, forming an alliance with García Iñiguez of Navarre; after a series of submissions and rebellions, he was officially acknowledged lord of Tudela. At the request of the Umayyad *amīr* Muḥammad I, he led an expedition against Catalonia and, at the height of his power, succeeded in becoming known as the third king of Spain. As a protection against attacks from Asturias, he built the fortress of Albelda two leagues south of Logroño. He was attacked by Ordoño I, and was put to flight and severely wounded in the outskirts of Clavijo; he died shortly afterwards and was succeeded by his son Lope, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Ordoño I, himself dying soon after. His brothers, Muṭarrif and Ismāʿīl, had themselves proclaimed at Tudela and Saragossa, while Muḥammad b. Lope, grandson of Mūsā b. Mūsā, yielded to the authority of Muḥammad I; appointed governor of Saragossa, he rebelled again and then, under pressure from the Tudjībīs of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, submitted again to the Umayyads; he was eventually killed, after having made repeated attacks on the capital of the Ebro which was occupied by the Tudjībīs. From his death onwards, the numerous descendants of Mūsā b. Mūsā Ibn Ḳasī, divided and in rivalry, grew increasingly weak and ended in obscurity, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. A son of Muḥammad b. Lope, lord of Tudela, died in 303/915, the same year that his brother Muṭarrif was assassinated by his nephew Muḥammad, son of his brother ʿAbd Allāh. A princess of the same lineage, Urraca, married Fruela II, and the other members of this turbulent family were led to Cordova to serve in the army of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III or were converted to Christianity and frequented the courts of León and Navarre.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 314-8, 392-4, ii, 30; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 464; Dozy, *Recherches*², i, 214; A. Huici, *Crónicas latinas de la reconquista*, ii, 77; Sánchez Albornoz, *La auténtica batalla de Clavijo*, 115, n. 53.

(A. Huici Miranda)

IBN ḲASĪ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn, one of the many rebels who helped to precipitate the fall of the Almoravid dynasty in Spain, during the critical period which preceded the landing of the Almohad troops at Cadiz in 541/1146-7.

The scene of his exploits was in the South of what is now Portugal, in the Algarve, and more especially at Silves, the former capital of that region. Immediately outside the town he had had built a *rābiṭa* in which to assemble his followers, the *murīdūn* (aspirants to the mystical life), who were formed into religious militias. From this monastery of soldier-monks he spread his doctrine and published his claims to the *imāma*.

In his youth Ibn Ḳasī was a prodigal who pursued a life of pleasure, until, being suddenly touched by grace, he gave away his possessions and undertook long pilgrimages through Andalusia. From chance meetings on his travels he had gathered round himself a personal guard composed of individuals who were far from respectable (*dāʾirat al-sūʾ*). He professed to be a saint, represented himself as the *mahdī* and performed false miracles (*makhārīḳ*). These items of information that are so unfavourable to Ibn Ḳasī come to us from Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. According to this historian, his disciples were imbued with the doctrines of the Bāṭinī *ghulāt*, infatuated with the philosophic concepts spread by the Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, the author of the *Muʿdjib*, passes a judgement on him that is much more severe, but in fact it is too arbitrary and seems to bear little relation to reality. He depicts him as nothing more than a charlatan, a sly trickster (*ṣāḥib ḥiyal, rabb shaʿbadha*), and indeed not a subject of any interest.

To evoke a more exact idea of the man it is necessary to adhere to the facts.

On the question of his belonging to the clan of the declared anti-Almoravid Ṣūfīs, it can be accepted as established that Ibn Ḳasī had felt the influence of the Almeria school. This was directed by Ibn al-ʿArīf, who died at Marrākush in 536/1141, a victim of the suspicion and ill-will of the authorities, at the same time as Ibn Barradjān of Seville, who seems to have been his master rather than his disciple. If we are to believe al-Shaʿrānī, Ibn Barradjān claimed the title of *imām* and was recognized as such in 130 villages. Ibn Ḳasī apparently proposed to follow the example of this celebrated Ṣūfī, who was very opportunely arrested and thrown into prison on the orders of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn before he had had time to put his idea into practice.

Ibn Ḳasī's venture took place between the year 537/1142, one year after the tragic end of Ibn al-ʿArīf and Ibn Barradjān, and the year 546/1151, the date of his assassination, against a political background that was at first profoundly disturbed by the decay of the Almoravid power. Rebellion then became established in the towns; insecurity spread through the countryside. The roads were infested with brigands and footpads. An attack on the fortress of Monteagudo failed (538/1144). But on 12 Ṣafar 539/14 August 1144, a small detachment of 70 *murīdūn*, under the command of a certain Ibn al-Ḳābila, a brave and distinguished man, succeeded by a ruse in capturing the fortress of Mertola. Ibn Ḳasī took possession of the stronghold and established himself there, making his supporters recognize him as *imām*. As a result of two rebel chiefs, Ibn Wazīr and Ibn Mundhir, rallying to his cause, Evora, Béja, Huelva, Niebla and Silves joined Mertola to form the fragile kingdom over which Ibn Ḳasī, an ambiguous figure who wished to be both politician and Ṣūfī, was to endeavour to rule. But as early as 540/1145 differences arose, which brought him into conflict with his brother and Ibn Wazīr. He thought it a clever move to approach the Almohads. He succeeded in coming to terms with them and encouraged them to land in Spain. Immediately Jerez, Arcos, Ronda and Niebla recognized Almohad sovereignty; in the Algarve, Silves fell in its turn; next Béja, Mertola, Seville and Badajoz capitulated. Ibn Ḳasī's fortunes began to be jeopardized. The Almohad intervention which he had solicited and supported was the cause of his fall. To escape the clutches of his powerful allies he planned a rapprochement with the Portuguese of Coimbra. This manœuvre provoked the distrust of the people of Silves, for the consequences of such a policy might have been dangerous for their safety. A group of individuals decided to assassinate him; they approached him, struck him down and fixed his head on the end of the very lance that he had received as a gift from the Christians of Coimbra (546/1151).

Of the works attributed to him, only that entitled *Khalʿ al-naʿlayn* is generally mentioned. Ibn ʿArabī, born in Seville fourteen years after Ibn Ḳasī's death, a disciple and continuator of Ibn al-ʿArīf, has left a commentary on it.

Bibliography: M. Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914, 109-10; Ibn al-ʿArīf, *Maḥāsin al-madjālis*, Ar. text, tr. and comm. by

M. Asín Palacios, Paris 1933, 5; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 285 ff.; J. Bosch Vilá, *Los almorávides*, Tetuan 1956, 287 ff. (see note 4 which mentions, besides the works referred to above, also: Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, ii, 184; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, tr. Fagnan, 182; Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los almorávides en España*, 33-52; Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, 914-7; P. Nwyia, *Notes sur quelques fragments inédits de la correspondance d'Ibn al-ʿArīf avec Ibn Barrajān*, in *Hespéris*, 1956, 211-21. (A. Faure)

IBN AL-ḲĀSIM, Abu ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāsim b. Khālid b. Djunāda al-ʿUtaḳī, the most prominent disciple of Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*], and considered the most reliable transmitter of Mālik's opinions. He was a *mawlā* affiliated to the descendants of the ʿUtaḳā', a band of robbers who had been captured and subsequently manumitted by Muḥammad. He was born in 128/746 or, more probably, in 132/749 in Ramla, and died in Cairo in 191/806. He is reported to have studied with Mālik for twenty years, and he was the main agent in spreading Mālikī doctrine to Egypt and from there to North Africa and the Maghrib. A main work of the Mālikī school, the *Mudawwana*, is based on the answers which Ibn al-Ḳāsim gave, first, to Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] and, later, to Saḥnūn [*q.v.*]; the version of this last, properly called *al-Mudawwana wa 'l-mukhtaliṭa*, because its author had not been able to complete its revision and editing before his death, gained public acclaim and is commonly referred to as the *Mudawwana*, and only a few fragments of the version of Asad b. Furāt, called *Asadiyya*, have survived. The *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn was often commented upon by later scholars. Ibn al-Ḳāsim is also the author of one of the versions of the *Muwaṭṭa'* of his teacher, Mālik, and considerable portions of it have been preserved. He does not seem to have transmitted many traditions (*aḥādīth*), apart from the contents of the *Muwaṭṭa'*.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-īmān*, ii, 2 ff. (biography of Asad b. al-Furāt); Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, s.v.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, no. 500; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr*, no. 24; M. B. Vincent, *Études sur la loi musulmane*, Paris 1842, 38 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 186 (also 1st ed., 1898, I, 176 f.), S I, 299; W. Heffening, in *Muséon*, l, 86-97 (on an old manuscript of the *Mudawwana*, and comparison of its text with the two printed editions of Cairo 1323, in 15 vols., and Cairo 1325, in 4 vols.); J. Schacht, in *Études d'Orientalisme ... Lévi-Provençal*, i, 1962, 273, 281 f. (J. Schacht)

IBN ḲĀSIM [see muḥammad b. ḥāzim].

IBN ḲĀSIM AL-GHAZZĪ, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, also known as Ibn al-Gharābīlī, a Shāfiʿī scholar and commentator, d. 918/1512. He was born and grew up in Ghazza, and was a disciple of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459; Brockelmann, II, 138, S II, 140), but little else is known of his life.

The following works of his have survived:

1. *Fatḥ al-ḳarīb al-mudjīb*, or *al-Ḳawl al-mukhtār fī sharḥ Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*, a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar*, or *Taḳrīb*, or *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* of Abū Shudjāʿ [*q.v.*]; *editio princeps*, Būlāḳ 1271, very often reprinted, also Singapore 1310 with a Malay interlinear translation; ed. and transl. into French by L. W. C. van den Berg, Leiden 1894 (some corrections of this faulty translation in G.-H. Bousquet, *Kitâb et-Tanbîh*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université d'Alger, ii, xi, xiii, xv, Algiers 1949-52); numerous glosses, *e.g.*, that of al-Bādjūrī [*q.v.*].

2. A gloss on the *Fatḥ al-ghayth* of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāḳī, which is a commentary on his own *Alfiyya* or *Tabṣirat al-mubtadi' wa-tadhkirat al-muntahī*, based on the work of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ [*q.v.*], on the science of traditions.

3. A gloss on the commentary of al-Taftāzānī [*q.v.*] on the *ʿAḳā'id* of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*].

4. A gloss on the commentary of Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Djārabardī on the *Shāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*], on grammar.

5. *Manẓūma fi 'l-dāl wa 'l-dhāl*, a short *ḳaṣīda* containing pairs of words which differ from each other only by the one having the letter *dāl* and the other the letter *dhāl*; Cat. Berlin, 7027.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 492; S I, 677, II, 440; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, ii, 1416 f. (J. Schacht)

IBN KATHĪR, Abū Maʿbad (or Abū Bakr) ʿAbd Allāh b. Kathīr al-Dārānī al-Makkī, one of the "seven readers" [see ḳirā'a] of the Ḳur'ān. Born at Mecca, in 45/665, in a family of Iranian origin which had emigrated to the Yemen, he was a *mawlā* of ʿAmr b. ʿAlḳama al-Kinānī. He followed the trade of dealer in perfumes (*ʿaṭṭār*, in the Ḥidjāz: *dārānī*). His authorities were the Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sā'ib, Mudjāhid and Dirbās. His direct pupils were Ibn Abī Bazzā, or Bazzī, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, called Ḳunbul. Both of these became connected with the Shāfiʿī Ibn Mudjāhid, who procured Ibn Kathīr's recognition as a "canonical reader" (al-Subkī, i, 102). Bazzī and Ḳunbul are referred to under the name of Ḥaramiyyāni (al-Dānī, *Taysīr*, ed. Pretzl, 3). Ibn Kathīr had a definite influence on contemporary traditionists, Baṣrans as well as Kūfans, such as Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, the two Ḥammāds, and the grammarians al-Khalīl and al-Aṣmaʿī. The Baṣran reader Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā' is said to have been inspired by him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djazarī, ed. Bergsträsser, i, 443; *Fihrist*, 28; Nawawī, 363, 364; Dānī, *Taysīr*, 8, 73; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, v, 367; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iii, 477; Blachère, *Introduction*, 119. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN KATHĪR, ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr, born in Boṣrā *circa* 700/1300 and died in Damascus in Shaʿbān 774/February 1373, was one of the best-known historians and traditionists of Syria under the Baḥrī Mamlūk dynasty. Educated at Damascus, where he went to live with his elder brother in 706/1306, after the death of their father, he had as his main teacher, in *fiḳh*, the Shāfiʿī Burhān al-Dīn al-Fazārī (in 729), but next fell strongly, and very early, under the influence of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and his school. In addition, through his marriage with the daughter of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Mizzī (d. 742/1342) he became the son-in-law of one of the most famous traditionists of Syria.

His own career, as one of the Syrian *ʿulamā'*, was for long a modest one. Towards the end of the year 741/1341, after the death of Tankiz and before that of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, Ibn Kathīr took part in two enquiries which were held, under the presidency of the governor Alṭunbughā al-Nāṣirī, to pass judgement on a *zindīḳ* accused of incarnationism (*ḥulūl*) (*Bidāya*, xiv, 189-90; E. Strauss, *L'inquisition dans l'État mamlouk*, in *RDSO*, xxv (1950), 16-7).

In Muḥarram 746/May 1345, he was appointed *khaṭīb* in the mosque founded at Mizza by the *amīr* Bahā' al-Dīn al-Mardjānī (d. 759/1358; *Bidāya*, xiv, 216, 263). In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 748/February 1348, under

the governorship of Arghūn Shāh (d. 750/1349), he succeeded his teacher al-Dhahabī, who had just died, as teacher of *ḥadīth* at the *turba* of Umm Sāliḥ and, according to some sources, in 756 he obtained, for a very short time, the post of director of the *Dār al-ḥadīth* al-Ashrafiyya after the death of the *ḳāḍī* Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī. In 752/1351, after the failure of the revolt of the *amīr* Baybughā Urūs, he was received at the Dammāghiyya *madrasa* by the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 763/1361-2), who arrived in Damascus, accompanied by the four *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Egypt, to restore order there. Under the first governorship of ʿAlī al-Māridānī, Ibn Kathīr took part, in Djumādā II 755/June-July 1354, in the council which condemned to death a Shīʿī of Ḥilla, who, passing through Damascus, was accused of having publicly insulted at the Umayyad mosque the first three caliphs, Muʿāwiya, and Yazīd (*Bidāya*, xiv, 250). In Radjab 759/June 1358, the *amīr* Mandjak consulted him, together with other *ʿulamāʾ*, in order to ratify various decisions concerning the struggle against corruption (*Bidāya*, xiv, 261-2). During the revolt of the *amīr* Baydamūr in 762/1361 (*Bidāya*, xiv, 280-2), Ibn Kathīr, on being consulted with the other chief *ʿulamāʾ* of Damascus, seems to have prudently counselled, in his *fatwā*, a policy of conciliation and compromise. When Baydamūr returned to Damascus, after his dismissal, in Shaʿbān 766/April-May 1365, Ibn Kathīr was appointed to organize in his honour some readings of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (*Bidāya*, xiv, 312). In Rabīʿ I 767/November-December 1365, when the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, accused of various extortions, appeared before a council presided over by the governor Mankalī-Bughā, Ibn Kathīr defended his *ḳāḍī* energetically (*Bidāya*, xiv, 316-8). It was probably in gratitude for this that Mankalī-Bughā conferred on him, in Shawwāl 767/June-July 1366, a professorship in Ḳurʾānic exegesis at the Umayyad mosque (*Bidāya*, xiv, 321). The *amīr* Mandjak, appointed governor of Damascus in 770/1368-9, reorganized the defences of the Lebano-Syrian coast, threatened by the incursions of the Franks of Cyprus; Ibn Kathīr wrote, at his request, a short dissertation on the merits of the *ribāṭ*: *al-Idjtihād fī ṭalab al-djihād* (Cairo 1347/1928). Ibn Kathīr died a few years later and was buried in the cemetery of the Ṣūfiyya beside his master, Ibn Taymiyya.

By far the most important of Ibn Kathīr's works is his great history of Islam, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya* (Cairo 1351-8/1932-9, 14 vols.), the interest of which varies according to the periods treated but which is nevertheless one of the principal historical works of the Mamlūk period. The *Bidāya* begins with a *sīra* which, although it is late, is far from lacking interest. His history of the caliphate makes use, among other sources, of al-Ṭabarī, Ibn ʿAsākir, Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī, al-Dhahabī, etc. The *Bidāya* ends with a chronicle of the history of Damascus, which owes much to the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Birzālī (d. 739/1338-9) and his *Muʿdjam*. The popularity of the *Bidāya* is proved by the great number of historical works for which it, in its turn, was the basis, including those of Ibn Ḥidjdjī (d. 816/1413), Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1348) and especially Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1449), who wrote a continuation not only of Ibn Kathīr but of two of the latter's great teachers, al-Mizzī and al-Dhahabī. Al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451) was also indebted to the *Bidāya*.

Ibn Kathīr's contribution to the science of *ḥadīth* is also important. His *K. al-Takmīl*, which consisted of a catalogue of the first Muslim traditionists, used the *Tahdhīb* of al-Mizzī and the work of al-Dhahabī. But his principal work in this field is his *K. al-Djāmiʿ*, a monumental compilation in which were listed, in alphabetical order of the Companions who had transmitted them, the traditions contained in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, the "Six Books" and some other less well-known works. In addition, Ibn Kathīr summarized in his *Mukhtaṣar* (Cairo 1355/1937), the *Muḳaddima li-ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245). He himself refers, in the *Bidāya* (xi, 24), to a commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī on which he was engaged; this commentary was not completed, but the project was taken up again by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī. The latter states (*al-Durar al-kāmina*, i, 373) that Ibn Kathīr had also made a collection of the *ḥadīth*s quoted in the *Tanbīh* of al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083-4) and in the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 646/1248-9), a work which he himself had studied, at the beginning of his career, with al-Fazārī.

Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī also reports that Ibn Kathīr had begun work on a vast commentary on the Ḳurʾān. His *Tafsīr* (Cairo 1342/1923), essentially a philological work, is very elementary and foreshadows, in its style, that which al-Suyūṭī wrote later. His *K. Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān* (Cairo 1348/1929) is a short manual consisting of a summary of the history of the Ḳurʾān.

Ibn Kathīr was also interested in jurisprudence. He had planned to write a vast treatise of *fiḳh* based on the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, but did not get further than the chapter on the Pilgrimage, in the section on *ʿibādāt*. He also alludes, in the *Bidāya* (xii, 124), to a commentary on the *Tanbīh* of al-Shīrāzī. In his *fatwā*, mentioned above, on the *djihād*, he was inspired by the *K. al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* of Ibn Taymiyya. The *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya* are lost, but often mentioned in the obituaries of the *Bidāya*; they were continued and completed by Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba.

Bibliography: further to the references in the text: *Shadharāt*, vi, 231; Brockelmann, II, 60-1, S II, 48-9; H. Laoust, *Ibn Kathīr historien*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 42-88. (H. LAOUST)

IBN AL-ḲAṬṬĀʿ, ʿALĪ B. DJAʿFAR B. ʿALĪ AL-SHANTARĪNĪ AL-SAʿDĪ AL-ṢIḲILLĪ, anthologist, historian, grammarian and lexicographer (we have very little information about his work as a poet), who was born in Sicily in 433/1041, at a time when the island was ravaged by civil war. He devoted himself to the study of lexicography and grammar under the direction of such scholars as Ibn al-Birr [*q.v.*] who, according to the sources, made him familiar with the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī [*q.v.*]. But, as soon as the Norman forces began their conquest of the island in 1061, Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ, together with a certain number of the Muslim élite, left Sicily. After a short stay in Andalusia he proceeded to Egypt, where he is known to have been at the beginning of the 6th/12th century.

On the subject of his life in his new home we have only a few items of information, which tell us that he was soon chosen to be tutor to the sons of the Fāṭimid *wazīr* al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] and that he devoted himself to the teaching of prosody, grammar and lexicography; several distinguished pupils were educated at his school, among whom Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd Allāh b. Barrī [see IBN BARRĪ] is noteworthy. Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ died in Egypt in 515/1121 and was buried not far from the tomb of the *imām* al-Shāfiʿī.

Apart from a certain number of works named in

the various sources but thought to be lost (a list of these will be found in U. Rizzitano, *Notizie bio-bibliografiche*, see *Bibl.*), two of his writings have partially survived: the *Kitāb al-Durra al-khaṭīra min shuʿarāʾ al-Djazīra*, an anthology of Arabo-Sicilian poetry, of which there survive only extracts as a result of the activity of later compilers (see *Notizie bio-bibliografiche*, 275-80), and *al-Mulaḥ al-ʿaṣriyya*. His other writings have been transmitted in their entirety, but almost all are unpublished: they are the *Madjmūʿ min shiʿr al-Mutanabbī wa-ghawāmiḍihi* (a short commentary on some verses of the poet of Sayf al-Dawla, see *Bibl.*); a group of five short treatises on metre (see *Notizie bio-bibliografiche*, 282-4), the *Kitāb al-Afʿāl*, which was first noticed by E. Griffini (see *Centenario della nascita di M. Amari*, Palermo 1910, i, 431 ff.) and of which we possess an edition (Ḥaydarābād 1354), and lastly the unpublished *Abniyat al-asmāʾ* (see *Notizie bio-bibliografiche*, 285-92, where the *dībādja*, the list of chapters and the conclusion are published).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given by Brockelmann, I, 308, and S I, 540, see U. Rizzitano, *Notizie biobibliografiche su Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ "il siciliano"*, in *Atti Acc. Naz. dei Lincei*, 8th series, ix (1954), 260-94; idem, *Un commento di Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ "il siciliano" ad alcuni versi di al-Mutanabbī*, in *RSO*, xxx (1955), 207-27; idem, *Un compendio dell'Antologia di poeti arabo-siciliani intitolata ad-Durrah al-khaṭīrah min šuʿarāʾ al-Ǧazīrah di Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ "il siciliano"*, in *Atti Acc. Naz. dei Lincei, Memorie*, 8th series, viii (1958), 335-78. (U. Rizzitano)

IBN AL-ḲAṬṬĀʿ, ʿĪsā b. Saʿīd al-Yaḥṣubī, Andalusian vizier of humble extraction but of Arab origin. Although he was the son of a simple schoolmaster, he succeeded in raising himself in the social scale thanks to al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], who gave him important posts and even entrusted to him the command of an army sent to Morocco in 386/997 to bring Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya (cf. H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, 81) to reason. Al-Manṣūr's successor, his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], confirmed his appointment as vizier and left the administration of the state to him; he even gave his youngest sister in marriage to ʿĪsā's son (396/1005). But his rise made him many enemies, while he incurred the resentment of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the brother, and of al-Dhalfāʾ, the mother, of ʿAbd al-Malik, who had complete confidence in him. Anticipating a change in the wind, and urged on by the nobles jealous of the authority of the Slavs (*Ṣaḳāliba* [*q.v.*]), he hatched a plot to put an end to the domination of the ʿĀmirids to whom he owed so much, and to replace Hishām II by a grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār. However, al-Muẓaffar, informed from various sources of the plot against him, forestalled him and decided to have his vizier put to death. When attended by his gay companions, he summoned Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ and had him murdered by his men in his own *madjlis*. Ibn Ḥayyān gives a vivid description of this shocking act, which happened on 10 Rabīʿ I 397/4 December 1006. His goods were confiscated—but it was discovered that he was much poorer than had been commonly believed—and the vengeance of the *ḥādjib* was extended to the family, the friends and the subordinates of his victim.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 103-7 (see also 100-2); Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, index; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, index; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 459-60. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN AL-ḲAṬṬĀN, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Hibat Allāh b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Baghdādī, traditionist, oculist, and especially poet, of Baghdād, born in 478 or 479/1086, died 28 Ramaḍān 558/30 August 1163. Although he was the author of medical works which have not survived, and also transmitted *ḥadīth*s without incurring the reproof of critics, Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān is known chiefly for his vigorous satires which, as Goldziher says (*Muh. St.*, ii, 60), "spared neither the caliph nor anyone else", for his *mudjūn* and for his wit, as well as for his dealing with Ḥayṣa Bayṣa [*q.v.*]. He was one of the first to use the metre *fiʿlun/mutafāʿilun/faʿūlun* [*faʿilun*] characteristic of the *dū bayt* [see rubāʿī], with the omission of the final foot, as often used by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, 207; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 196; Ibn Khallikān, iii, 116-21; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt*, iii, 315; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 274, 285-8; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii, 293-5; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vi, 189; F. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 462-3; ʿA. Dj. al-Ṭāhir, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī ... fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdād 1961, index. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN ḲAYS AL-RUḲAYYĀT, ʿUbayd Allāh (not ʿAbd Allāh, which was the name of his brother) b. Ḳays b. Shuraykh, Arab poet of the Umayyad period. He belonged to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy, one of the lesser clans of the Ḳuraysh. He was born at Mecca, perhaps in the twenties (the anecdote *Aghānī*[3], v, 158, 20 which points to 12/633 is not authentic) and grew up in the Ḥidjāz. In 37/657 after the battle of Ṣiffīn he moved with some of his kinsmen to al-Raḳḳa in the Djazīra (Mesopotamia); amongst them was ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Saʿd, whose daughter Ruḳayya is the lady from whom together with some of her namesakes the poet took his strange surname (see Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik*, 29). He remained in Mesopotamia for about 30 years, making, however, occasional journeys to the Ḥidjāz. In 62/683 two sons of his brother ʿAbd Allāh and some other kinsmen of his were slain in the battle on the Ḥarra, and he mourned their loss (poems 40 and 41). Towards the end of the sixties, those of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy who dwelt in Mesopotamia became involved in the contest between the Umayyads and the Zubayrids. When Ḥarb b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, the brother of Ruḳayya, killed one of the Banū Sulaym, ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī (d. 70/690) raided the Banū ʿĀmir in the Wādi 'l-Aḥrār in the neighbourhood of al-Raḳḳa; on this occasion Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt was taken prisoner, but he was set free thanks to the intervention of two Sulamīs (poem 43). He then moved with his kinsmen to Syria; but already in 71/690 we find him in the ʿIrāḳ on the side of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. He took part in the battle of Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ near Maskin, where Muṣʿab fell (72/691). After the battle he fled to Kūfa and found shelter in the house of a lady hailing from the Khazradj, whom he calls in his poems Kathīra. This sojourn gave rise to a love-story about Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt and Kathīra (Ibn al-Washshāʾ, *al-Muwashshā*, 54, 15). After a year he ventured to return to Medina and found in ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib a generous patron. He now sang the praise of the Umayyads. ʿAbd Allah b. Djaʿfar interceded for him with ʿAbd al-Malik, and the caliph pardoned him, though he did not grant him his former annuity. So Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt went to the court of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, the governor of Egypt, and

composed panegyrics on him. In the dispute between the caliph and his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz he supported the latter's claim to the throne (poems III, 9.16 and LXI, 12). The year of the poet's death is unknown. Though a considerable part of the nearly 1000 verses of Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt which have come down to us consists of panegyrics, yet he belongs first and foremost to the erotic poets who flourished at his time in the Ḥidjāz. With ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, by whom he is otherwise easily surpassed, he has some traits in common; his style is lucid and fluent, he avoids uncommon words, he prefers the short metres, especially *khafīf* and *munsariḥ*. His language shows occasionally traces of the dialect of the Ḥidjāz, *e.g.*, *bi 'l-raʾi* instead of *bi 'l-raʾyi* in no. 39, 41. His verses were set to music by the great singers of Medina and later by those at the court of the ʿAbbāsids. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860) was probably the first who brought the poet's verses (*shiʿr*) together, and this collection has come down to us in the recension made by Abū Saʿīd al-Sukkarī (d. 275/888). Another collection or rather selection (*Ikhtiyār shiʿr ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt*) was made by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (*Fihrist*, 143, 3) who died in 280/893. The noted genealogist of the Ḳuraysh, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870), considered him the best poet produced by the Ḳuraysh in Islam; his *Akhbār ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt* is apparently the main source of the article on the poet in Abu 'l-Faradj's *Aghānī*, [1]iv, 155-67; [3]v, 72-100). Other books with the same title were written by Ḥammād b. Isḥāḳ, the grandson of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (*Fihrist*, 243, 2), and, along with selected poems, by Ibn al-Marzubān (d. 309/921).

Bibliography: al Sukkarī's recension of Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt's poems, extant in the Istanbul MS Aṣir Efendi 746 (of which the two Cairo MSS A and B are but copies), was published, with some further poems from other sources and accompanied by a German translation, notes and a valuable introduction, by N. Rhodokanakis (*Der Dīwān des ʿUbaid-Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt*, in *SBAk, Wien*, cxliv, 1902). It is to be noted that the readings of MS C are given in the Additions at the end of the book. See also the review by Th. Nöldeke in *WZKM*, xvii (1903), 78-92. On the edition of the *Dīwān* by Maḥmūd Yūsuf Nadjm see Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad in *Revue de l'Institut des MSS Arabes*, v, 379-93. Further references: Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. J. Hell, 137 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 343-5; *Aghānī*, Tables; Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, 186 f.; Fück, *Arabiya*, 28. (J. W. FÜCK)

IBN KAYSĀN, ABU 'L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. KAYSĀN AL-NAḤWĪ, Arab grammarian, the date and place of whose birth are unknown. He was a pupil of Bundār Ibn Lizza and, in particular, of al-Mubarrad (d. 285/998) and Thaʿlab (d. 291/904); under these teachers he acquired a knowledge of the two grammatical traditions of Baṣra and Kūfa. He lived in Baghdād and died there in 299/911, according to the generally accepted date, in 320/932 according to Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, xvii, 141). His teaching used to attract a great number of listeners, men of wealth or high rank; but whether richly dressed or ill-clad, it is said that they all received the same welcome from him. Among his pupils were Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān known as al-Djaʿd (al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 72) and Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Baḥr al-Ruhnī al-Shaybānī (Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, xviii, 32).

The historical sources all alike recognize his great philological knowledge, but they unanimously attribute to him (or reproach him for) the mingling of the grammatical doctrines of Baṣra and Kūfa. He counts as a good representative of the so-called eclectic school of Baghdād. In fact Ibn Kaysān appears to be an author of individuality, with a fine and penetrating intellect, who refused to take sides (see in particular al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 58, lines 1-3). But, in regard to method, as G. Weil says in the *Einleitung* (78) of his ed. of the *K. al-Inṣāf* of Ibn al-Anbārī (Leiden 1913), he was a Baṣran. Ibn Kaysān betrays himself by the title of his *K. al-Masāʾil ʿalā madhhab al-naḥwiyyīn mimmā 'khtalafa fīhi 'l-Baṣriyyūn wa 'l-Kūfiyyūn* (*Fihrist*, 81): to contrast Baṣrans and Kūfans in this way, one has to know what a grammatical system is, one has to be a Baṣran; the Kūfan Thaʿlab had given simply *Ikhtilāf al-naḥwiyyīn* as the title of his book which was the point of departure of these long grammatical controversies. Furthermore, Ibn Kaysān, by the title quoted above, is the first author known to have given this generic name *Kūfī* to all those who accepted the views of the grammarians of Kūfa.

The *Fihrist* (81) enumerates fifteen works of Ibn Kaysān; Yāḳūt (*op. cit.*, xvii, 139) adds the titles of four others. None of them has survived. They reveal the activities of the *naḥwī*, who dealt with the question of secretaries: firstly the *K. Ghalaṭ Adab al-kātib*, then the *K. Maṣābīḥ al-kuttāb*. He was also a lexicographer: *K. Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, and a Ḳurʾānist: *K. al-Ḳirāʾāt*, *K. Maʿānī 'l-Ḳurʾān*. Ibn al-Anbārī (*Nuzha*, 162, Baghdād, ed. al-Sāmarrāʾī) also mentions the *Sharḥ al-sabʿ al-ṭiwāl* [*al-djāhiliyyāt*]; of this *Sharḥ*, the ms. Berlin 7440 contains the commentary on the *Muʿallaḳāt* of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, Ṭarafa, Labīd, ʿAmr b. Kulthūm and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza. From it M. Schlössinger published the commentary for the *Muʿallaḳa* of ʿAmr (*ZA*, xvi (1902), 15-64) and F. L. Bernstein that for Imruʾ al-Ḳays (*ZA*, xxix (1914), 1-77). In addition, W. Wright published the *K. Talḳīb al-ḳawāfī wa-talḳīb ḥarakātihā*, in *Opuscula arabica*, 47-74 (Leiden 1859), mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, no. 3557, a treatise on rhyme.

Remarks. "Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kaysān," says the *Fihrist* (81), and it considers Kaysān to be a name (*ism*). "Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Kaysān," says Yāḳūt (*op. cit.*, xvii, 137), and regards Kaysān as a surname (*laḳab*), the name being Ibrāhīm. On the other hand Ibn al-Anbārī (*Nuzha*, 162; cf. Yāḳūt, *ibid.*; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 57) reports the formal statement of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-ʿUkbarī (d. 456/1064) that Kaysān is his father's surname. The situation is thus not clear. At the beginning of the present article the form of the name is given according to Ibn al-Anbārī (*Nuzha*, 162) and al-Zubaydī (*Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1373/1954, 170), as Brockelmann did (I^2, 111 and S I, 170).

In any case, a careful distinction must be made between Ibn Kaysān Abu 'l-Ḥasan and the other Kaysān, also a grammarian, who was taught by al-Khalīl and was a pupil of Abū ʿUbayda: namely Abū Sulaymān Kaysān b. al-Muʿarraf al-Hudjaymī (al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 195-6; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 38; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvii, 31-4; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 382).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Brockelmann, S I, 35; for the date of his death as 320/932, G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 98, 210; M. Schlössinger, in *ZA*, xvi (1902), 18. In the Arabic sources, information concerning Ibn Kaysān is collected together by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, xvii, 137-41 = *Irshād*, vi, 280-3, and later with

repetitions by Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, iii, Cairo 1374/1955, 57-60, Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt*, ed. S. Dedering, ii, Istanbul 1949, 31-2, and Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 8. Numerous other references are to be found, see Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, 57, n. 2, which are helpful in regard to the name and the date of death. Consult, however, al-Sīrāfī, *K. Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn al-baṣriyyīn* (ed. F. Krenkow, 1936), 108, lines 6-7.

(H. Fleisch)

IBN AL-ḲAYSARĀNĪ (the *nisba* refers to Ḳaysāriyya, Caesarea in Palestine; see Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, s.v. al-Ḳaysārī). The following persons are known under this name:

1. Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Maḳdisī al-Shaybānī, a specialist in traditions. He was born in Jerusalem in 448/1058, studied in Baghdād from 468/1075 onwards, and travelled widely in the eastern part of the Islamic world in order to collect traditions. Being an indefatigable walker, he made all his journeys in search of traditions on foot, and he refrained from asking for alms, accepting only what was offered to him, so that he often suffered hardship; he also earned money as a professional copyist of collections of traditions. He finally settled in Hamadhān where he built a house. He went to Jerusalem in order to take the *iḥrām* on what proved to be his last pilgrimage, and he died on the return journey in Baghdād in 507/1113.

Whilst the unequalled extent of his knowledge of traditions and his personal integrity are generally recognized, his reliability is judged variously by the critics. Al-Anṣārī al-Harawī [*q.v.*] is reported to have spoken well of him as a young man, and he was praised by Ibn Manda [*q.v.*], who related traditions from him, and by others. Other critics, however, such as Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Salāmī (d. 550-1155; cf. Ibn Radjab, *al-Dhayl ʿalā ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, i, Cairo 1372/1952, 225-9, no. 113; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iv, Ḥaydarābād 1334, 81-5, 16th *ṭabaḳa*; Brockelmann, S I, 200, no. 7, is to be corrected), denied or at least questioned his reliability. This may have been caused, in part, by some of the opinions he held; he adopted the Ẓāhirī *madhhab*, "for no particular reason", which may merely have been a rationalization of the tendency, common to many traditionists, to take literally the traditions from the Prophet (he is also called, erroneously, a Ḥanbali, which is another rationalization of the same tendency), and he was inclined towards extreme Ṣūfism and regarded music, as a means to produce mystical ecstasy (*samāʿ* [*q.v.*]), as permitted; he also wrote a treatise trying to establish that it was permitted to look at beardless youths.

He set his son, Abū Zurʿa Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad (b. 481/1088, d. 566/1170), to acquire particularly "high" *isnād*s, and although he was not a scholar himself he related these traditions in Baghdād, which he used to visit from Hamadhān.

Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Ḳaysarānī is the author of numerous writings, some of them substantial, concerned mostly with the technicalities of the transmission of traditions; those which have been preserved in manuscripts are listed in Brockelmann (see below), and the following have been printed: (1) *Kitāb al-Ansāb al-muttafiḳa fi 'l-khaṭṭ al-mutamāthila fi 'l-naḳṭ wa 'l-ḍabṭ*, with a Supplement by Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Iṣfahānī (d. 581/1185); *editio princeps* by P. de Jong, *Homonyma inter nomina relativa*, Leiden 1865; (2) *Kitāb al-Djamʿ bayn ridjāl al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (also with a longer title), Ḥaydarābād 1323; (3) *Tadhkirat al-mawḍūʿāt*, Cairo 1323, 1327; (4) *Shurūṭ al-aʾimma al-sitta*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, Cairo 1357.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 601 f. (s.v. *al-Maḳdis*); Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; al-Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 37-41, 15th *ṭabaḳa*; al-Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muḳaffā*, printed in the preface of de Jong, and at the end of the edition of the *Kitāb al-djamʿ* (by far the most detailed biography, with quotations from Abu 'l-Faḍl's poems); Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, s.v.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 18; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, i, 221 f.; Brockelmann, I, 436; S I, 603.

2. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. Ṣaghīr b. Dāghir b. Muḥammad b. Khālid, Sharaf al-Dīn, the prominent poet of Syria in the time of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī and rival of Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulusī al-Raffāʾ. He was born in ʿAkkā in 478/1085, was superintendent of the mechanical clocks in Damascus for some time, then lived in Aleppo, and died in Damascus, where he had been invited by the *amīr* Mudjīr al-Dīn (Zambaur, 30), ten days after his arrival in 548/1154. His studies included traditions; he was one of the teachers of Ibn ʿAsākir [*q.v.*], and al-Samʿānī [*q.v.*] mentions meeting him (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*, s.v. al-Ḳaysārī); he was also knowledgeable in astronomy, geometry and arithmetic. Much of his poetry consisted of panegyrics of princes and important people. Ibn Khallikān saw the autograph of his *dīwān* in Aleppo, and he quotes some lines from his poetry; more extensive quotations are given by Yāḳūt, and several of his *ḳaṣīda*s are quoted by Abū Shāma [*q.v.*] in the *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*. Only one copy (badly preserved) of his *dīwān* seems to have survived (Cairo², iii, 111).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 112-21; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 150; Brockelmann, S I, 455.

(J. Schacht)

IBN ḲAYYIM AL-DJAWZIYYA, Shams al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Zarʿī, Ḥanbalī theologian and jurisconsult, born at Damascus on 7 Ṣafar 691/29 January 1292 and died there in 751/1350. He was of humble origin, his father being the superintendent (*ḳayyim*) of the Djawziyya *madrasa*, which served as a court of law for the Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Damascus.

Ibn al-Ḳayyim's education was particularly wide and sound. There are mentioned, among his main teachers, the *ḳāḍī* Sulaymān b. Ḥamza (d. 711/1311) and the *shaykh* Abū Bakr (d. 718/1318), son of the traditionist Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, but in particular he was, from 713/1313, the most famous pupil of Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya, all of whose ideas he can be said to have absorbed and whose work he helped to popularize, while retaining his own personality. Well-versed, like his master, in all the main disciplines of the time—Ḳurʾānic exegesis, *ḥadīth*, *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *furūʿ*—and like him an adversary of the monist school (*ittiḥādiyya*) which had arisen from the teaching of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Ibn al-Ḳayyim was, unlike his master, much more strongly influenced by Ṣūfism.

He was interested particularly in the *Manāzil* of al-Anṣārī (d. 481/1089), who enjoyed great prestige under the Mamlūks. Much less of a polemicist than his master and much more a preacher (*wāʿiẓ*), Ibn al-Ḳayyim finally left behind him the justified reputation of a writer of great talent, whose eloquence contrasts with the incisive dryness of the succinct prose of his famous master.

In 726/1326, Ibn al-Ḳayyim was imprisoned in the citadel at Damascus, at the same time as Ibn Taymiyya, and was not released until 728/1328,

after the latter's death. In 731/1331-2, he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca; it is said that the Syrian caravan, which left Damascus under the leadership of the *amīr* ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak, contained a considerable number of jurisconsults and traditionists (Ibn Kat͟hīr, *Bidāya*, xiv, 154).

Ibn al-Ḳayyim's career was modest, and was hampered by the opposition which the neo-Ḥanbalism of Ibn Taymiyya encountered in the governmental circles of the Mamlūk state. On 2 Rad̲j̲ab 736/15 February 1336, he delivered for the first time the *k̲h̲uṭba* in the mosque which Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn b. K̲h̲ālik̲h̲ān had recently founded in the gardens of the G̲h̲ūṭa outside Bāb S̲h̲arḳī and Bāb Tūmā (*Bidāya*, xiv, 174). On 6 Ṣafar 743/11 July 1342, he gave his inaugural lecture at the Ṣadriyya *madrasa*, where he was to teach until his death (*ibid.*, xiv, 202).

On two occasions he was in disagreement with Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 777/1378), the S̲h̲āfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, on points of *fiḳh*, without however becoming involved in serious quarrels.

In Muḥarram 746/4 May-2 June 1345, he had a disagreement with al-Subkī on the question of whether a race or a contest of shooting (*musābaḳa*), in which each of the two competitors puts down his stake, is permitted without the participation of a third competitor (known as *muḥallil*) who himself takes part without contributing a stake and thus makes lawful an operation which otherwise might be regarded as constituting a game of chance (*ḳimār*); expressing the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-Ḳayyim maintained that the presence of this *muḥallil* was not necessary (*Bidāya*, xiv, 216). However, when summoned by the S̲h̲āfiʿī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*, he had to submit to the opinion of the majority.

A little later, in 750/1349, he was again in disagreement with al-Subkī, for having given some *fatwā*s on the problem of repudiation (*ṭalāḳ*) in conformity with the doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya (*Bidāya*, xiv, 235); the Bedouin *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn b. Faḍl reconciled him with his adversary.

Ibn al-Ḳayyim died at Damascus on 23 Rad̲j̲ab 751/26 September 1350; he was buried beside his mother in the cemetery of Bāb Ṣag̲h̲īr. His son D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 756/1355) succeeded him in his teaching at the Ṣadriyya.

Ibn al-Ḳayyim's doctrinal and literary output was considerable. A list of his works is given in the *D̲h̲ayl* of Ibn Rad̲j̲ab (ii, 449-50). For his *Fawāʾid*, and its place in the history of rhetoric, see BAYĀN, at 1116b. The *Madārid̲j̲ al-sālikīn* (Cairo 1333/1916, 3 vols.), which consist of a commentary on the *Manāzil al-sāʾirīn* of al-Anṣārī, can be considered as the masterpiece of Ḥanbalī mystic literature. The *Iʿlām al-muwaḳḳiʿīn* (Cairo 1325/1915, 3 vols.), or guide for the perfect *muftī*, is a treatise on juridical methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*) following the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya in this field. In politics, the *K. al-Ṭuruḳ al-ḥukmiyya* (Cairo 1317/1900 and reprinted since that date) is based on the ideas set out by Ibn Taymiyya in his *Ḥisba* and his *K. al-Siyāsa al-s̲h̲arʿiyya*. Finally, in the field of *uṣūl al-dīn*, there should be mentioned the *Ḳaṣīda nūniyya*, an important "profession of faith" in verse directed mainly against the Ittiḥādiyya, and also a polemical treatise against the D̲j̲ahmiyya, the *K. al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-mursala* (Cairo 1348/1930).

Several Muslim scholars of the Mamlūk period were among Ibn Ḳayyim's pupils or were in varying degrees influenced by him: among them were the S̲h̲āfiʿī traditionist and historian Ibn Kat̲h̲īr (d. 774/1373; cf. *Bidāya*, xiv, 234-5), Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Rad̲j̲ab (d. 795/1397), the last great representative of mediaeval Ḥanbalism, and Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ʿAskalānī (d. 852/1449). Indeed he is still today an author very highly esteemed not only among the Wahhābiyya, but also among the Salafiyya and in many circles of North African Islam.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given above, see also: Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, *D̲h̲ayl*, Cairo ed., ii, 447-53; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt*, vi, 168-70; Brockelmann, II, 127-9; S II, 126-8; H. Laoust, *Le ḥanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides*, in *REI*, 1960, 66-8; ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm S̲h̲araf al-Dīn, *Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya*, Cairo 1375/1956.

(H. LAOUST)

IBN K̲H̲AFĀD̲J̲A, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. ABI 'L-FATḤ AL-K̲H̲AFĀD̲J̲Ī, famous Andalusian poet, born in 450/1058 at Alcira (D̲j̲azīrat S̲h̲uḳr), in the present province of Valencia, whence his *nisba*s of al-D̲j̲azīrī and al-S̲h̲uḳrī.

Born into a wealthy family which owned property in the district, he did not seek favours nor respond to those who invited him to join their entourage, although he followed the custom of the time in singing the praises of important men, such as the Almoravid prince Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Tās̲h̲fīn, on the occasion of *ʿīd al-fiṭr* in the year 510/1117. Nevertheless he was far from being a court poet and preferred to live in his provincial retreat and to write of the exuberance of nature there, which he wholeheartedly appreciated. In his youth he knew the pleasures of love and enjoyed an uncomplicated life. He died at the age of over eighty in 533/1139.

Ibn K̲h̲afād̲j̲a, who appears in his poetry as a sensual man who enjoyed life, writes on all subjects, but it is especially when he writes of nature—his great source of inspiration—that he is at his best; it is moreover as a poet of nature that he is best known. His inspired and passionate descriptions of rivers, ponds, gardens, trees, fruits and flowers earned him the nickname of al-D̲j̲annān (the gardener).

Ibn K̲h̲afād̲j̲a's poetry, which received well-deserved fame in his lifetime, was collected in a *dīwān* (his *rāwiya* was Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Arkus̲h̲ī; cf. Ibn Saʿīd, *Mug̲h̲rib*, i, 316 and n.), one of the very few surviving complete *dīwān*s of Andalusian poets, and it is significant that at least a dozen manuscripts of it are in existence. The most important Andalusian anthologists, Ibn K̲h̲āḳān, Ibn Bassām, al-Ḥid̲j̲ārī, Ibn Diḥya and Ibn Saʿīd, gave him an important place in their works, and one of the most sensitive critics, al-S̲h̲aḳundī, included in his brief *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus* no less than eight extracts from his poetry. But perhaps nobody admired Ibn K̲h̲afād̲j̲a more than al-Maḳḳarī, who quotes him constantly and refers to him as the "al-Ṣanawbarī of al-Andalus" (*Analectes*, ii, 328). He was greatly admired in the East, and from the time of Ibn K̲h̲allikān, who devoted a notice to him, he appears in Eastern anthologies. The school textbooks of the Arab world contain a selection of his poems and recognize him as one of the best poets of al-Andalus.

Ibn K̲h̲afād̲j̲a wrote also rhymed prose; there exist some of his *Ik̲h̲wāniyyāt*, one of which, addressed to Ibn K̲h̲āḳān, was inserted by the latter into his *Ḳalāʾid*, and some *rasāʾil* in which he laments the loss of a friend (a theme also found in his poems but there treated sincerely), always with only superficial emotion, as when he expresses, in terms which may be called romantic, his emotion in the

presence of ruins, or when he recalls with nostalgia and melancholy the days of his youth with the well-known theme of repentance.

Ibn Khafādja drew much of his inspiration from Eastern poets such as al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Ṣūrī or Mihyār al-Daylamī, and probably also from al-Buḥturī and al-Ṣanawbarī, although in the case of the last two he does not admit it (cf. H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 36). He in his turn influenced a series of Andalusian poets, beginning with his nephew Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ, with whom, together with another poet, Ibn ʿĀʾisha, he is said to have competed, upon an occasion described by al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii, 424). He has been described as the creator of a "School of Levante". García Gómez states that the *khafādjī* style continued until the end of the kingdom of Granada.

Bibliography: In addition to references in Brockelmann, II, 272, S I, 480-1, see: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo ed. 1954, 111-7; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ii, 367-71; R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, 227-31; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index; E. García Gómez, *Poemas arábigoandaluces*, Madrid 1943, 35. The best edition of the *Dīwān* is that by Muṣṭafā Ghāzī, Alexandria 1960. (F. de la Granja)

IBN KHAFĪF, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī, also called al-Shaykh al-Kabīr or al-Shaykh al-Shīrāzī, famous mystic of Shīrāz, died 371/982 in his native town, it is said at a very great age (Yāḳūt, s.v. Shīrāz). His works (26 titles preserved in the *Shadd al-Izār*, 42-3) are lost, with the exception of some sentences transmitted mainly by al-Sulamī, Abū Nuʿaym and al-Kushayrī, from a biography written by his disciple, the Ḥallādjī "philosopher" Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Daylamī and later re-written and translated into Persian by Ibn Djunayd, the author of the *Shadd al-Izār* (*Sīrat-i Ibn Khafīf*, ed. A. Schimmel, with two professions of faith). But this work is more reliable for information on the life of the master than on his teaching.

According to al-Hudjwīrī (456/1063) however, Ibn Khafīf was the founder of an independent school of mysticism (*Kashf*, GMS, xvii, 247; cf. *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, ii, 135). He had a lasting influence on the Kāzerūnī movement (*Vita Kāzerūnī*, ed. F. Meyer, Istanbul 1943, 17), and he figures in the mystic genealogy of the Suhrawardiyya (Depont and Coppolani, *Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, 534). As a result, the name of Ibn Khafīf found a place in the genealogical trees of the *futuwwa* (Gölpinarlı, in *İktisat fakültesi mecmuası*, xi, 34). Rūzbahān Baḳlī (d. 606/1209), who was the author after Ibn Khafīf of a *Kitāb al-Ighāna* and who reproduces in his *Jasmin* (ed. Corbin, 9) a long extract from the *ʿAṭf* of al-Daylamī, receives the *khirḳa* at the hands of a descendant of the Banū Sāliba, who were formerly protégés of the Daylamī dynasty and among whom the office of *khafīfī* was handed on from father to son (*Shadd*, 299; *Shīrāz-nāma*, 113; cf. *ibid.*, 117; Massignon, *Passion*, i, 374). Finally, in the time of Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), the *ribāṭ* founded by Ibn Khafīf at Shīrāz was still flourishing (*Shadd*, 58). Ibn Khafīf's teaching, together with the more or less occult influence of Ḥallādjism, thus penetrated deeply into the mystic life of Fārs until just before the Mongol invasion.

The question arises as to whether the historical personality of Ibn Khafīf was such as to justify his filling such an important role. It is known for certain that he was Ẓāhirī in *fiḳh*, an Ashʿarī in *kalām*, and an anti-Sālimī in mystical theology (L. Massignon, *Essai*, 315). More simply, the life and the thought of this illustrious Shīrāzī can be said in principle to divide themselves into two successive periods. The first is dominated by the practical problems of the mystic life (*Muʿāmalāt*) which preoccupied greatly the ascetics of Fārs, who often showed definite tendencies to Ẓāhirism and particularly to nascent *Malāmatiyya* or *futuwwa* (examples are Abū ʿAmr al-Iṣṭakhrī, ʿAlī b. Sahl, Bundār b. al-Ḥusayn; al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sharība, 467, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Muzayyin, and especially Abū Djaʿfar al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, who enjoyed great prestige among them: *Shadd*, 96). The second period, which came under the Djunaydī influence of the Baghdād school, is more speculative; it was during this period that the master finally settled in Shīrāz, that his written work appeared and that he played a political role at the court of the Daylamī ʿAḍud al-Dawla (who was ruler of Shīrāz from 338/949), when his eminent position may have enabled him to offer protection to the Ḥallādjīs who were returning to their native country from ʿIrāḳ, where they had been persecuted. It seems preferable to suppose his thought to have developed in harmony with these two broad phases of his life, leading him towards increasingly intellectualist theses (Djunaydī and semi-Ḥallādjī), than to attribute to him an eclecticism as vague as it was persistent. There are various indications to corroborate this hypothesis: Ibn Khafīf used in turn two initiatory *isnād*s, the one purely Shīrāzī with the names of Djaʿfar al-Ḥadhdhāʾ (*Sīra*, 149, 178, 202) and of Abū ʿAmr al-Iṣṭakhrī (*Sīra*, 33, 35, 87, 152), the other artificially linked to al-Djunayd (L. Massignon, *Essai*, 129, rejected by the Kāzerūnīs, *op. cit.*, 25); Ibn Khafīf retracted at the reading of a dissertation of al-Djunayd (*ʿAṭf*, ed. Vadet, 3), he hesitated between the school of al-Djunayd and the teaching of his first Baghdādī master Ruwaym, a Ẓāhirī mystic of Malāmatiyya tendencies who had close links with Abū ʿAmr al-Iṣṭakhrī but was on rather bad terms with al-Djunayd (I. Goldziher, *Die Zâhiriten*, 179; al-Sulamī, *op. cit.*, 462; al-ʿAfīfī, *Malāmatiyya*, 60; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 431; cf. *Shīrāz-nāma*, 95-6).

The mystic theology of Ibn Khafīf, worked out from actual experience but rapidly codified at a later stage in a circle of theoreticians, reconciles after a fashion the two basic aspects of his life. It seems to have been governed by the following propositions: (1) The necessity of poverty (*faḳr*) and the pre-eminence of this poverty over wealth ("poverty" is an imitation of the Prophet, it is also "to rid oneself of one's attributes", *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, 131; hence it is like a negative realization of *tawḥīd*, "unification of the Divine names and attributes with verification in the heart", Abū Nuʿaym, x, 386). (2) The "poor man" is not *ipso facto* a *ṣūfī*, any more than the *ṣūfī* is himself a *walī*. (3) The impression of the "moment" (*ghalaba*) is not enough to constitute ecstasy (*wadjd*), just as the latter is an insufficient basis for sanctity (*wilāya*). (4) Sanctity is much more a condition, and one not clearly defined, than a transitory and unstable "state" (*ḥāl*). Certainly, in the eyes of Ibn Khafīf the "station" is preferable to the "state", in the same way that "sobriety" is of more worth than "drunkenness". It is difficult to say whether Ibn Khafīf gave anywhere in his works a valid definition of this "sanctity" which he considered to be the true end of "poverty". It has been defined for him by his Ḥallādjī disciples or pseudo-disciples on the basis of their conceptions of *ʿishḳ* and *maḥabba*. Ibn Khafīf contented himself with an incomplete

synthesis. This fact helps to explain both the universal fame of the master of Shīrāz and the almost total disappearance of his work.

The basic text remains the edition of the *Sīrat-i Ibn Khafīf* by Dr A. Schimmel (Ankara 1955, with introd. and bibl.). This text, however, unfortunately does not supersede the notices by the two historians of Shīrāz: Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Zarkūb (d. 734/1333; *Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Bahmān Karīmī) and Ibn Djunayd al-Shīrāzī (d. 791/1388, *Shadd al-Izār*). For Ibn Khafīf's "ḥallādjism" there may be consulted L. Massignon, *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1957, 38 and 81, also *Vie et œuvres de Rūzbihān Baklī*, in *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen* . . . , Paris 1953.

The life and doctrine of Ibn Khafīf are part of a group of wider questions which have not yet been sufficiently answered. These are: (1) The opposition between the Djunaydism of Baghdād and the practical mysticism of Persia and Khurāsān in the 3rd/9th century (the memory of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, *Malāmatiyya*, the insistence on "poverty" and "sincerity", *futuwwa*; for a summary of their doctrine, see Abū Nuʿaym, x, 387). (2) This opposition was not unconnected with the growing Ashʿarism and Ẓāhirism: at the time of Ibn Khafīf these were the two militant and opposing wings of Shāfiʿism, particularly that of ʿIrāḳ, with which the school of al-Djunayd finally became integrated. (3) It is only when these first two questions have been answered that Ibn Khafīf's rather ambiguous attitude to Ḥallādjism will be better understood, and with it perhaps the internal evolution of this doctrine, at least in Fārs.

Bibliography: in the text. (J. C. Vadet)

IBN KHAFĪF [see MUḤAMMAD B. KHAFĪF].

IBN KHĀḲĀN, name of several secretaries and viziers of the ʿAbbāsid period.

(1) Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān, secretary of Khurāsānī origin, was in the service of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*] under the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn and became, under al-Mutawakkil, secretary to the office for land-taxes, and then director of the *maẓālim*-court, when his son ʿUbayd Allāh became vizier.

(2) ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā was the first member of the family to become a vizier. Patronized by the caliph al-Mutawakkil, who had appointed him as his private secretary, he succeeded in about 236/851 in gaining appointment to the office of vizier, which had for some years remained vacant, and in obtaining important powers, notably those permitting him to nominate the main government officials and thus to eliminate any possible rivals. He was tutor to one of the princes; at the end of al-Mutawakkil's reign he exercised a considerable influence and seems to have encouraged the caliph in his anti-ʿAlid policy. Having withdrawn from political life after the assassination of al-Mutawakkil, he was exiled to Barḳa in 248/862, and did not return to Baghdād until 253/867. The accession of the caliph al-Muʿtamid led to his being appointed once again to the office of vizier, which he occupied from 256/870 until his death in 263/877.

(3) Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh, Abū ʿAlī, known as al-Khāḳānī, became vizier in the reign of al-Muḳtadir in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 299/July 912 and remained in office until Muḥarram 301/August 913. He succeeded Ibn al-Furāt, whose officials he dismissed, and attempted to replenish the treasury by imposing severe fines on these discredited officials. He also took measures against the Shīʿī elements in the population of Baghdād and attempted to satisfy the claims of the Ḥanbalīs, but his administration did not please the caliph's entourage. After his dismissal, he was imprisoned once by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and a second time by Ibn al-Furāt, who had returned to power n 304/917; he died in 312/924-5.

(4) ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, son of the above, had been secretary during his father's vizierate and succeeded Ibn al-Furāt in Rabīʿ I 312/June 924, but encountered serious internal difficulties with which he was incapable of dealing, so that he was dismissed in Ramaḍān 313/November 925 on the insistence of the *amīr* Muʾnis; after having been imprisoned and paying a fine, he died in 314/926-7.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, index; Abū Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, i, 204. (D. Sourdel)

IBN KHĀLAWAYH, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (but Muḥammad in Shīrawayh's History of Hamadhān, see Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 325, 12) b. Ḥamdān al-Hamadhānī, famous Arabic grammarian and *adīb*. He was born in Hamadhān [*q.v.*]. The exact year of his birth is not known but it must have been in the ninth decade of the 3rd century A.H., since he went in 314/926, while still young, to study in Baghdād, where he found eminent teachers. Among his teachers of the Ḳurʾān was the head of the Ḳurʾān readers of Baghdād, Ibn Mudjāhid (d. 324/936) and he studied grammar and lexicography not only with the representatives of the Kūfan school Ibn al-Anbārī [*q.v.*] and Abū ʿUmar al-Zāhid al-Muṭarriz Ghulām Thaʿlab (d. 345/956), but also with the famous Baṣran Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*] and the latter's pupil al-Sīrāfī [*q.v.*], and also with Nifṭawayh, who was already a representative of the mixed school (*khalaṭa 'l-madhhabayn*, *Fihrist*, 81, bottom; in Brockelmann, S I, 184 listed under the Kūfans; d. 323/935). Consequently he was himself an eclectic. There is named as one of his teachers of *ḥadīth* Muḥammad b. Makhlad al-ʿAṭṭār (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 310 f.; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 11th *ṭab.*, no. 40, where Aḥmad is incorrectly given instead of Makhlad; d. 331/942-3). Subkī lists him among the Shāfiʿīs (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 212 f.); according to Ibn Ḥadjar, however, he was an Imāmī, who pretended to be a Sunnī only in the presence of Sayf al-Dawla (*Lisān al-Mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1330, ii, 267; cf. also Krenkow in a postscript to Ibn Khālawayh, *Iʿrāb thalāthīn sūra*, 246). From Baghdād he went to Syria, and in Aleppo was admitted to the court of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who appointed him tutor to one of his sons. After Sayf al-Dawla's death he remained in the service of the Ḥamdānids. Ḳifṭī (*Inbāh*, i, 326, lines 5 ff.) records from the *Kitāb al-Utrudjdja* by Muslim b. Muḥammad al-Lahdjī that Ibn Khālawayh visited the Yemen, and Ibn al-Djazarī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, i, 237, bottom) also mentions the precise place, Dhimār. He died in 370/980-1 in Aleppo.

Already during his lifetime Ibn Khālawayh was famous. His reputation as an expert in all branches of *ʿilm* and *adab* brought to him many pupils from far and near. The sources mention explicitly the ʿIrāḳī *faḳīh* and man of letters al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyāʾ (d. 390/1000), the reader of the Ḳurʾān Ibn Ghalbūn (a native of Aleppo, d. 389/999) and al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Anṭākī (d. 399/1008-9) as well as the traditionist Ibn ʿAdī, known also as Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān (Brockelmann, I, 167; d. 360/971). He is reputed also to have been a poet of ability, Thaʿālibī (*Yatīma*, Damascus 1304, i, 76 f.) and Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, iv, 6) providing a few brief specimens of his work. The disputations which he is reported to have had with al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*] in the presence of Sayf

al-Dawla are said to have led to blows (Ibn Khallikān in his biography of al-Mutanabbī).

Of his works, the fullest lists of whose titles are given by Ḳifṭī, Yāḳūt and Ibn Khallikān (see also Flügel, *Grammat. Schulen*, 231), there survive: (1) *Kitāb Laysa*. This deals, in numerous but mainly short chapters, with subjects of Arabic morphology and lexicography. Its name *Laysa* comes from a stereotyped formula which begins almost every chapter: *laysa fī kalām al-ʿarab ... illā ...* The British Museum manuscript was published by H. Dérenbourg in *Hebraica*, x (1893-4), 88-105, *AJSL*, xiv (1898), 81-93, xv (1898-9), 32-41, 215-23, xviii (1901), 36-51; it contains 111 *abwāb* and breaks off in the 111th *bāb*. The text printed by Shinḳīṭī, Cairo 1327 (76 pp.), following an unspecified manuscript, contains the same text with the addition of 77 further *abwāb*. According to Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, *nawʿ* 40 at the beginning, the *Kitāb Laysa* consisted of three substantial volumes, and Ibn Khallikān refers to it as *kitāb kabīr*; the existing printed text can therefore be only a part of the whole work. Of the fifty or so quotations contained in the *Muzhir* about a third do not appear in the Cairo printed edition. (2) *Kitāb Iʿrāb thalāthīn Sūra min al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm* (deals with *istiʿādha, basmala, suras* 1 and 86-114), printed Cairo 1360/1941. (3) *Kitāb al-Badīʿ fī 'l-ḳirāʾāt*, a handbook of Ḳurʾān readings, canonical (the "Seven" and Yaʿḳūb al-Ḥaḍramī, the ninth of the "Ten" readers) and non-canonical, see A. J. Arberry, *Ignace Goldziher memorial volume*, i, Budapest 1948, 183-90. (4) *Mukhtaṣar shawādhdh al-Ḳurʾān min kitāb al-Badīʿ li-'bn Khālawayh*, an extract from no. 3, not made by the author himself, and containing only the non-canonical readings, ed. G. Bergsträsser, Cairo 1934 (*Ibn Ḫālawaih's Sammlung nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten = Bibliotheca Islamica* 7; with foreword by A. Jeffery); on this see A. Jeffery, *Marginalia to Bergsträsser's edition of Ibn Ḫālawaih*, *Islamica Schlussheft = Abh. KM*, xxiii/6, Leipzig 1938, 130-5. (5) *Kitāb al-Ḳirāʾāt*, MS Istanbul Murad Molla 85, see H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xvii (1928), 249 (it is possible that this is identical with the *Ḥudjdja fī ḳirāʾāt al-aʾimma* listed from information by P. Kraus in Brockelmann, S I, 943, 11 lines from bottom, I², 130, no. 1c). (6) *Sharḥ Maḳṣūrat Ibn Durayd*, for manuscripts see Brockelmann, S I, 172, I², 113. (7) *Kitāb al-Rīḥ*, ed. J. Kratschkovsky, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 331-43. (8) His recension of the *Dīwān* of Abū Firās with introduction and commentary, ed. Sāmī Dahhān, 3 vols., Beirut 1944. On his transmission of works by other authors, see Brockelmann, S I, 190.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I², 130, S I, 190; also Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāh ʿalā anbāʾ al-nuḥāh*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 324-7 (with further information at 324***); Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, i = *Bibliotheca Islamica* 8a, Cairo 1933, nos. 1083 and 1101 (p. 240); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1330, ii, 267; see also H. Dérenbourg's preface to his edition of the *Kitāb Laysa*. [From a book by R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa 'l-taṭawwur al-lughawī*, Cairo 1967, 184 f. (published after this article was in type) it appears that the *K. Laysa*, in its fragmentary form, has now been published again, by A. ʿAbd al-Ghafūr ʿAṭṭār, Cairo 1957; and furthermore that there is in Istanbul a MS (Şehit Ali Paşa 2143), a fragment of five *djuzʾ* in 171 fols., which is six times as long as the section printed and of entirely different content.] (A. SPITALER)

IBN KHALDŪN, WALĪ AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN (732-84/1332-82), one of the strongest personalities of Arabo-Muslim culture in the period of its decline. He is generally regarded as a historian, sociologist and philosopher. Thus his life and work have already formed the subject of innumerable studies and given rise to the most varied and even the most contradictory interpretations.

I. Life. Ibn Khaldūn's life may be divided into three parts, the first of which (20 years) was occupied by his childhood and education, the second (23 years) by the continuation of his studies and by political adventures, and the third (31 years) by his life as a scholar, teacher and magistrate. The first two periods were spent in the Muslim West and the third was divided between the Maghrib and Egypt.

At Tunis. Ibn Khaldūn was born in Tunis, on 1 Ramaḍān 732/27 May 1332, in an Arab family which came originally from the Ḥaḍramawt and had been settled at Seville since the beginning of the Muslim conquest (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 430), playing there an important political role. The family then left Seville for Ceuta immediately before the *Reconquista*. From there they went to Ifrīḳiya and settled in Tunis during the reign of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyāʾ (625-47/1228-49). Ibn Khaldūn's great-grandfather, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, who wrote a treatise on *Adab al-kātib* (see E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 280-8), was put in charge of the finances during the reign of Abū Isḥāḳ (678-81/1279-83). The usurper Ibn Abī ʿUmāra (681-2/1283-4) put an end to his career and to his life, having him strangled after confiscating his possessions and subjecting him to torture. His son, Muḥammad, also occupied various official positions, both at Bougie and Tunis, and died in 737/1337, after renouncing political life upon the fall of Ibn al-Liḥyānī (711-7/1311-7). The latter's son, the father of our Ibn Khaldūn, wisely avoided politics, leading the life of a *faḳīh* and man of letters (*Taʿrīf*, 10-15).

He was thus able to ensure that his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān received a very thorough education. The latter also attended courses given by the most famous teachers of Tunis, to whom he devotes lengthy sections in his autobiography (*Taʿrīf*). He thus received a classical education, based essentially on the study of the Ḳurʾān, of *ḥadīth*, of the Arabic language and of *fiḳh*. The Marīnid invasion (748-50/1347-9) resulted in the arrival in Tunis, with the sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan, of a large number of theological and literary scholars. This widened the horizons of the young Ibn Khaldūn, who was thus enabled, particularly under the supervision of al-Ābilī, to learn about the philosophy and the main problems of Arabo-Muslim thought. He was however to undergo much suffering. The Marīnid occupation ended in disorder and bloodshed, and in addition the terrible Black Death which ravaged the world in the middle of the century, coming from the East, claimed many victims in the country, among them Ibn Khaldūn's parents. He was at this time 17 years of age and was to retain all his life a memory of the horror of this event, which is reflected in many passages in his *Taʿrīf* and his *Muḳaddima*. This was the first traumatic experience of his life, which was later to have an undoubted influence on the direction of his thought. In addition, the departure of the Marīnid scholars left a great intellectual vacuum at Tunis, and it seems that at this time the sole aim of the young Ibn Khaldūn was to leave Tunis for Fez, then the most brilliant capital of the Muslim West.

He states (*Taʿrīf*, 55) that he had a great thirst for learning. His elder brother, Muḥammad, dissuaded him from his project, but not for long.

At the court of Fez. He was not yet 20 when, towards the end of 751/1350, the powerful chamberlain Ibn Tafrāgīn appointed him to the office of writer of the *ʿalāma* (the ruler's official signature) on behalf of the sultan Abū Isḥāḳ. He accepted, without, it seems (*Taʿrīf*, 561), the intention of remaining long in the post. The invasion of Ifrīḳiya by the *amīr* of Constantine, Abū Yazīd (753/1352), provided him with the desired opportunity. Under cover of the defeat, he parted company with his master, took refuge for a time at Ebba, then reached Tebessa, then Gafsa, before arriving at Biskra, where he spent the winter with his friends the Banū Muznī. Thus the second period of his life, which was both scholarly and adventurous, began with one of those changes of direction which were to recur on later occasions and which have been severely criticized by the majority of those who have made a study of his life and work. But it was in fact probably not a bad thing: intuitively, Ibn Khaldūn was refusing to be engulfed in an Ifrīḳiya which was then in the process of disintegration and whose court furthermore was far from providing an example of loyalty and good behaviour.

Meanwhile, the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan, after an unfortunate adventure, had been killed (752/1351), leaving the western territories of the Maghrib to his son Abū ʿInān, who in any case had not waited for his death before supplanting him in Fez. Once again the Marīnid hegemony seemed to be consolidating itself. Abū ʿInān seized Tlemcen (753/1352) and reduced Bougie again to submission. From Biskra, Ibn Khaldūn offered him his services. On his journey he met the Marīnid chamberlain Ibn Abī ʿAmr, appointed governor of Bougie, who invited him to his new residence, where he lived for some time (until the end of the winter of 754/1353-4), before being summoned to the court at Fez. He was officially part of the sultan's literary circle (*madjlisuh al-ʿilmī*) and soon afterwards also formed part of his secretariat (*kitābatuh*), though without much enthusiasm it seems, for such a post "was not in the family tradition"—that is to say it was beneath their dignity. This remark reveals a far-reaching ambition in a young man of barely 23 years. Somewhat disappointed, he therefore continued to occupy himself mainly with his studies. "I devoted myself", he writes (*Taʿrīf*, 59), "to reflection and to study, and to sitting at the feet of the great teachers, those of the Maghrib as well as those of Spain who were residing temporarily in Fez, and I benefited greatly from their teaching". In brief, his desire for learning still took precedence over his political interests. Nevertheless, it may be that, taking advantage of the sultan's illness, he took part in a plot aiming to liberate the former *amīr* of Bougie, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, and to re-install him in his former kingdom. He himself denies this and refers to intrigues, jealousy and malice (*Taʿrīf*, 67); he was certainly thrown into prison however, remaining there for two years (758-9/1357-8) until the death of Abū ʿInān. This was followed by disturbances, by clashes between the claimants to the throne, and by treachery and bloodshed. Ibn Khaldūn, now set free, took part in all this according to the custom of the time. Changes of loyalty were common and he was no exception and found himself appointed, in Shaʿbān 760/July 1359, to the office of Secretary of the Chancellery (*kitābat al-sirr wa 'l-tarsīl*) for the new sultan, Abū Sālim. In order the better to perform his rôle and consolidate his position, he even made the effort of becoming court-poet ("*akhadhtu nafsī bi 'l-shiʿr*", *Taʿrīf*, 70), and he quotes long extracts from his work as a panegyrist. But this was all wasted effort, since his fortune declined. Two years later he left the chancellery for a judicial post, the *maẓālim*. Then further disturbances resulted in the accession of a new sultan. Ibn Khaldūn changed his allegiance in time, and considered that he was unjustly deprived of any fruits of the victory. He did not hide his ill-humour, made enemies and, after many difficulties, he obtained permission to withdraw to Granada (autumn 764/1362).

At the court of Granada. In Ramaḍān 760/August 1359, a palace revolt had driven Muḥammad b. al-Aḥmar from the throne, so that, in Muḥarram 761/December 1359, he had taken refuge in Fez with his famous vizier Ibn al-Khaṭīb. There was formed at this time, between the latter and the young Ibn Khaldūn, a real friendship which, apart from inevitable spells of unpleasantness, was to withstand the test of time. In Djumādā II 763/April 1362, Muḥammad b. al-Aḥmar regained his throne and Ibn al-Khaṭīb his former rank. The friendship established at Fez ensured that Ibn Khaldūn, forced in his turn to flee to the other side of the Mediterranean, was received in Granada with the highest honours. At the end of 765/1364, he was even sent to Seville, charged with a delicate peace mission to Pedro the Cruel. This contact with the Christian world, then in the midst of a period of change, had an important influence on him. On his return, the Naṣrid *amīr* showered favours on him (*Taʿrīf*, 85). Ibn Khaldūn then sent for his wife and children to come to Constantine. But Ibn al-Khaṭīb felt some resentment at the success of his young friend and Ibn Khaldūn preferred not to take full advantage of his favoured position (spring 766/1365).

At the court of Bougie. It is true that at this time there arose a unique opportunity for him to satisfy his ambition. His friend, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, with whom he had already been in a conspiracy at Fez, had in fact regained his kingdom of Bougie, and offered him the office of *ḥādjib* (chamberlain), which was at that time the most important office in the state, and appointed to the vizierate his younger brother Yaḥyā [see next article]. Ibn Khaldūn held at the same time posts as teacher of *fiḳh* and as preacher. But this success was short-lived. In the following year, the *amīr* of Constantine, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, took the offensive and inflicted a crushing defeat on his cousin Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, who was killed in the battle. Ibn Khaldūn, refusing suggestions that he should continue the struggle in support of one of the younger sons of the dead ruler, handed over the town to the conqueror (Shaʿbān 767/May 1366) and himself entered his service. This was not to be for long, however. Ibn Khaldūn saw which way the wind was blowing: he resigned in time, and took refuge at first with the Dawāwida Arabs, then with his friends the Banū Muznī at Biskra, whereas his brother Yaḥyā was arrested. To the offer by the sultan Abū Ḥammū, in a letter of 17 Radjab 769/8 March 1368 (*Taʿrīf*, 102-3) of the office of *ḥādjib* at Tlemcen, he replied with a courteous refusal, sending him instead his brother Yaḥyā, who had in the meantime been set free. He explains his motives thus: "I was in fact cured of the temptation of office (*ghiwāyat al-rutab*). Furthermore I had for too long neglected scholarly matters. I therefore ceased to involve myself in the

affairs of kings and devoted all my energies to study (*al-ḳirā'a*) and teaching" (*Taʿrīf*, 103).

Thus at Biskra he attempted to lead the life of a man of letters. He carried on a long correspondence, much ornamented by rhetorical flourishes, with his friend Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Taʿrīf*, 103-30). However he could not resist intrigue. He gave his support, against Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, to the alliance between the Ḥafṣid of Tunis and the ʿAbd al-Wādid Abū Ḥammū of Tlemcen. He next took it upon himself to raise support for the Marīnid Abū Fāris. He was constantly on the move, attempting to form from the small tribal units a force capable of supporting a really great power. But on each occasion events upset his calculations. The claimants were simply too numerous, and this resulted in a new series of changes of front which were basically perhaps only his unsuccessful attempts to back the winner. But in the Muslim West of the 8th/14th century no winner existed. Furthermore his friends the Banū Muznī were beginning to object to the suspicious activities of their guest. Ibn Khaldūn tried once again to escape the lure of politics. He took refuge in the *ribāṭ* of Abū Madyan, "preferring", he writes, "to live in retirement and devote myself exclusively to learning, if only I might be left in peace" (*Taʿrīf*, 134). He was not left in peace, nor was he of a temperament to remain so for long. Thus, after some new setbacks in the central Maghrib, he met with failure in Fez (774/1372). Welcomed at first, he was later arrested, then released, and finally permitted to withdraw to Muslim Spain (spring 776/1375), where he wished "to settle permanently, withdraw from the world, and devote my life to learning (*ḳaṣd al-ḳarār wa 'l-inḳibād wa 'l-ʿukūf ʿalā ḳirā'at al-ʿilm*)" (*Taʿrīf*, 226). Yet again he was disappointed. He had become a political personality with a reputation which could not fail to arouse mistrust. He was henceforward condemned to offer his services for hire, and to be regarded with mixed feelings never entirely free from suspicion, whereas apparently his only ambition now was to be left in peace to work out the conclusions to be drawn from his tumultuous experience and to put his ideas in order.

At the castle of Ibn Salāma. Practically ordered to leave the kingdom of Granada, Ibn Khaldūn returned to the Maghrib and, after some difficulties, settled with his family at Tlemcen (1 Shawwāl 776/5 March 1375). In the meantime his friend, the vizier Ibn al-Khaṭīb, whom he had tried in vain to save (*Taʿrīf*, 227)—and this is what had earned him the enmity of the *amīr* of Granada—had been strangled in prison at Fez. Ibn Khaldūn may have seen this as a warning; he certainly seems after this to have made a firm decision to restrict himself to study and teaching. But the sultan of Tlemcen was willing to forget the past—Ibn Khaldūn had after all been in turn for him and against him—with the ulterior motive of making use of him once again. He entrusted him with a mission to the Dawāwida. Ibn Khaldūn pretended to accept, but as soon as he had left Tlemcen, he took refuge with the Awlād ʿArīf; they gave him a warm welcome and interceded on his behalf with the sultan of Tlemcen, who gave permission for his family to join him. For the next four years (776-80/1375-9) Ibn Khaldūn lived in the castle of Ibn Salāma, 6 km. south-west of the present-day Frenda, in the department of Oran (*Taʿrīf*, 228). This was a decisive turning-point in his life: really enclosed for the first time in his ivory tower, he informs us that he worked out the *Muḳaddima* "according to that original plan (*al-naḥw al-gharīb*) for which he received inspiration during his retirement" (*Taʿrīf*, 229).

Again in Tunis. After this, to enable him to continue his work, a vast amount of documentation became more and more necessary. Ibn Khaldūn was at this time 47 years of age. He dreamed of returning to Tunis, which he had left at the age of 20—Tunis, where "my ancestors lived and where there still exist their houses, their remains and their tombs" (*Taʿrīf*, 230). He wrote for, and obtained, the permission of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (771-96/1370-94), the architect of the Ḥafṣid restoration, with whom he had had connexions more than ten years earlier at Bougie. And thus, in Shaʿbān 780/November-December 1378, "he abandoned his traveller's staff" (*Taʿrīf*, 231) in his native town. There he followed his new career as a teacher and a scholar and completed a first redaction of his *ʿIbar*, the first copy of which, accompanied by a long panegyric (*Taʿrīf*, 233-4), he presented to the sultan. But the success of his teaching—which some considered subversive—and the favours which he received from the ruler, earned him many enemies. The formation of a cabal against him, the moving spirit in which was the famous Ibn ʿArafa, made him fear the worst. He decided to leave the Muslim West, where his awkward past followed him wherever he went. He made the pretext for this the Pilgrimage. The sultan granted him permission for this; there was a boat on the point of leaving for Alexandria; and Ibn Khaldūn embarked on 15 Shaʿbān 784/24 October 1382 (*Taʿrīf*, 245).

In Cairo. On his arrival in the Mamlūk capital, Ibn Khaldūn was truly dazzled. Students flocked to his courses at al-Azhar, and soon he was appointed teacher of Mālikī *fiḳh* at the al-Ḳamḥiyya *madrasa*. Some time afterwards he was also appointed Mālikī chief *ḳāḍī* (Djumādā II 786/July-August 1384). There then began for him a period of suffering: his family, finally given permission to join him through the intervention of the sultan al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ, was shipwrecked off Alexandria. At the same time his intransigeance and the intrigues of his enemies, who were furious at seeing one of the most important offices of the state entrusted to a "foreigner", caused him to be dismissed from his office as *ḳāḍī* (Djumādā I 787/June-July 1385). In 789/1387, he was appointed to the newly built al-Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa*, and then, on his return from the Pilgrimage, he was appointed teacher of *ḥadīth* at the *madrasa* of Ṣarghatmish. Ibn Khaldūn preserved in its entirety his inaugural course of lectures (Muḥarram 791/January 1389), devoted to the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik (*Taʿrīf*, 294-310). At the same time, he was placed at the head of the *khānḳāh* of Baybars, the most important Ṣūfī convent in Egypt. Then, after fourteen years devoted exclusively to teaching, he was once again appointed to the office of *ḳāḍī* (15 Ramaḍān 801/21 May 1399). He was again dismissed (Muḥarram 803/August-September 1400), and some months later (Rabīʿ II 803/November-December 1400) he was obliged to accompany al-Nāṣir on his expedition to relieve Damascus, which was being threatened by Tīmūr-lang, already master of Aleppo. Left in the besieged town—and abandoned without warning by al-Nāṣir, who suspected that a plot was being hatched in Cairo during his absence—he played a certain part in the surrender of the town under a false promise of *amān*, and has provided a detailed account of his interviews with the Mongol leader (*Taʿrīf*, 366-83). He may in fact have thought that he saw in Tīmūr-lang the man of the century who possessed enough

ʿaṣabiyya to re-unite the Muslim world and to give a new direction to history (*Taʿrīf*, 372, 382). Finally, after writing for Tīmūrlang a description of the Maghrib and having witnessed the horrors of the burning and sacking of Damascus, he returned to Cairo, having been stripped and robbed by brigands on the way. In spite of his compromising attitude towards Tīmūrlang (*Taʿrīf*, 378), he was well received at the court. Four times more he was appointed *ḳāḍī* and then dismissed. His last, and sixth, appointment to this office was in Shaʿbān 808/January-February 1406, a few weeks before his death on 26 Ramaḍān 808/16 March 1406.

During his stay in Cairo, Ibn Khaldūn did not sever relations with the Muslim West. He retained his Maghribī dress, a dark burnous. He also attempted to encourage the exchange of gifts between the sultans of Egypt and those of the Maghrib and to produce a climate of co-operation (*Taʿrīf*, 335-46). He sent a copy of his *ʿIbar* to the Marīnid Abū Fāris (796-9/1394-6), continued to correspond with his friends, and preserved in particular long passages, in prose and in verse, from the letters sent to him by the famous poet of Granada, Ibn Zamrak (*Taʿrīf*, 262-74).

Ibn Khaldūn's life has been judged variously, and in general rather severely. There is certainly no doubt that he behaved in a detached, self-interested, haughty, ambitious and equivocal manner. He himself does not attempt to hide this, and openly describes in his *Taʿrīf* his successive changes of allegiance. He has been accused of fickleness and a lack of patriotism. But for such judgements to be strictly applicable presupposes the existence of the idea of "allegiance" to a country, which was not the case. The very concept scarcely existed and was not to appear in Muslim thinking until it was affected by contact with Europe. The only treason was apostasy, nor was loyalty understood except in the context of relations between one man and another, and examples of felony were provided daily by those of the highest rank. Ibn Khaldūn was, moreover, readily pardoned by those who wished to use his services—he was in turn the enemy and the servant, now of one and now of another, in the same way that men were treacherously killed, with or without good reason, simply as a precaution. The struggles which rent the Muslim West in Ibn Khaldūn's time were merely a series of minor and abortive coups. He should therefore be judged according to the standards of his own time and not according to ours.

Furthermore, Ibn Khaldūn, as he proves in his *Muḳaddima*, was an astonishingly clear thinker. It is true that his behaviour was dictated by ambition, the desire of power, a taste for adventure and even a complete ruthlessness in political matters; but it is unlikely that this was all. It would be strange if the theoretician of *ʿaṣabiyya* did not envisage a plan, perhaps rather vague, for the restoration of Arabo-Muslim civilization which he saw—and he states this clearly—to be in its death-throes. His adventures could thus be seen as only the unfruitful and calculated search for an *ʿaṣabiyya* powerful enough to save Islam from ruin. Certain facts support this hypothesis, but Ibn Khaldūn states nothing explicity and his *Taʿrīf* (on which moreover opinions vary) provides no assistance. As has already been mentioned, it gives us no insight into the inner thought of the author himself and presents only his external character. There is thus no way of knowing what his real intentions were.

II. Works. Ibn Khaldūn is known primarily for his *Muḳaddima* and his *ʿIbar*, but he wrote other works which have not all survived.

In about his twentieth year, he attempted, under the influence of al-Ābilī, to make a résumé of the theologico-philosophical "summa" of al-Rāzī entitled *Kitāb Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaḳaddimīn wa 'l-mutaʾakhkhirīn min al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-ḥukamāʾ wa 'l-mutakallimīn* (Cairo 1905), an outline which is a condensation of all the Arabo-Muslim cultural tradition concerning the problems of dogma and its philosophical repercussions. This résumé, entitled *Lubāb al-Muḥaṣṣal fī uṣūl al-dīn* (Tetuan 1952; autograph manuscript dated 29 Ṣafar 752/28 May 1351, Escorial no. 1614), shows a direction of thought which Ibn Khaldūn was never to lose completely.

It should also be remembered that Ibn Khaldūn had stressed in his *Taʿrīf* the studious nature of his period at Fez and at Granada. During this period, that is between 752-65/1351-64, the date at which Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa* was finished (to which we owe the following information), he wrote five works: (1) a commentary on the *Burda* [*q.v.*] of al-Būṣīrī; (2) an outline of logic; (3) a treatise on arithmetic; (4) several résumés of works by Ibn Rushd, though unfortunately it is not known which ones; and (5) a commentary on a poem by Ibn al-Khaṭīb on the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. All these works are now lost, and indeed seem to have been quickly forgotten even during the author's lifetime. Ibn Khaldūn does not even mention them in his *Taʿrīf*, and his Egyptian biographers do not appear to have heard of them.

They seem moreover to have been of a traditional theologico-philosophical type, including the arithmetic which a *faḳīh* had to know. Nothing up to this time indicated that Ibn Khaldūn would go down to posterity as the brilliant founder of the science of history and of other disciplines. The flowering of his genius took place at the castle of Ibn Salāma, as the result of the fusion of the traditional disciplines in which he had been educated with the rich harvest of political experience which, through a bitter series of failures and impasses, had made him aware of the meaning and deep significance (*ʿibar*) of history. There then began, in the calm of the castle of Ibn Salāma, the work of analysing the passionate and disturbing human adventure, which certainly has its grandeurs but of which he had experienced mainly the miseries. Ibn Khaldūn really changed as a thinker: the pedestrian *faḳīh* which he might after all have been had become a historian of genius, and even the founder of a number of disciplines which were to become some of the most productive of the modern humanities. The first draft of his Introduction (*Muḳaddima*)—which contains the essence of his thought—to his universal history (*Kitāb al-ʿIbar*), as well as large sections of this history itself, were written between 776/1375 and 780/1379 during his retirement. He later continued without ceasing, until the end of his life, to re-write this basic work, and especially the *Muḳaddima*. The *Taʿrīf*, an autobiography which stops in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 807/May 1405 (ed. al-Ṭandjī, Cairo 1951), and the *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil*, a treatise on mysticism written towards the end of his life (ed. al-Ṭandjī, Istanbul 1958; and ed. I. A. Khalifé, Beirut 1959), are minor works compared with his masterpiece, and their main interest is in the light they throw on it. It should be mentioned that the problem of the authenticity of the *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil*, so important for the history of Ibn Khaldūn's thought, has not yet been definitively solved.

The Ottoman historian Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] (d. 1128/1716) praises Ibn Khaldūn in the introduction to his work

and gives a summary of his ideas. (The first translation into Turkish, of part of the *Muḳaddima*, was made by the Shaykh al-Islām Pīrī-zāde Meḥmed Ef. in 1143/1749 (see *IA*, s.v. *Ibn Haldûn*, col. 740b); the most recent, complete, translation is by Zakir Kadiri Ugan, 2 vols., Istanbul 1954.) Yet it was in Europe that Ibn Khaldūn was discovered and the importance of his *Muḳaddima* realized: by d'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale* 1697), by Silvestre de Sacy (*Chrestomatie arabe*, 1806), by von Hammer-Purgstall (*Ueber den Verfall des Islam . . .*, 1812) and especially by Quatremère, who, in 1858, produced the first complete edition of the *Muḳaddima*—another edition of it was published in the same year in Cairo by Naṣr al-Hūrīnī, based on another manuscript containing in particular the dedication to the sultan Abū Fāris of Fez (796-9/1394-7)—and by de Slane, who, some years afterwards, produced the first French translation of it (*Les Prolégomènes*, Paris 1863-8). Since then there has been a continual series of editions and studies on it, in both the East and the West, a proof of the increasing interest in Ibn Khaldūn's thought, and there have recently been so many of them that bibliographical works on them (by H. Pérès and W. J. Fischel) became necessary. The most recent translation, by F. Rosenthal (into English, 3 vols. New York-London 1958), has the advantage of having been made from the Istanbul manuscript (Atif Efendi 1936), which contains a note in Ibn Khaldūn's writing stating that it had been "scientifically revised" by the author. There should also be mentioned the Portuguese translation by Khoury, in 3 vols., São Paulo 1958-60; a French translation by V. Monteil is being published.

The *ʿIbar*, the Universal History itself, naturally aroused less interest. The first to produce an edition and translation of extensive passages from the *ʿIbar* was Noël Desvergers, under the title *Histoire de l'Afrique sous la dynastie des Aghlabites et de la Sicile sous la domination musulmane*, Paris 1841. Another partial translation was published some years later by de Slane under the title *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale* (4 vols., Algiers 1852-6), followed by an edition of the passages translated (2 vols., Algiers 1863). Next there appeared the complete Būlāḳ edition (7 vols., 1868), and since then there have followed also some partial translations. There has not yet appeared, however, a truly critical edition of either the *Muḳaddima* or the *ʿIbar*. The latest edition, that of Beirut (1956-9)—from which our references are taken—is a commercial one, which is however provided with useful indexes.

The criticism generally made of the *ʿIbar* is that it did not fulfil the promises made in the *Muḳaddima*. This is obvious, but it could not have been otherwise. No one man could write alone a universal history according to the demands of the *Muḳaddima*. But it has more serious shortcomings: Ibn Khaldūn at times demonstrates a surprising lack of learning, for example, concerning the Almohads and their doctrine: "In addition, precise dates are rarely given; the chronological details throughout the work are too often contradictory, and one is obliged to prefer on many occasions those provided in other more humble and much more succinct works" (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 392). Nevertheless, the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, through its intelligent arrangement of facts and the detail and scope of the account, remains, in the opinion of the specialist who has made most use of it, an incomparable tool, particularly "for the two centuries nearest to our author, the 13th and the 14th" (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, ii, 393). It should also be added that this work, often disappointing on the history of the East, is generally valuable especially for the Muslim West, and in particular for the Berbers.

But Ibn Khaldūn's main work, of universal value, is the *Muḳaddima*. In the author's intention, and as the title indicates, it is an Introduction to the historian's craft. Thus it is presented as an encyclopaedic synthesis of the methodological and cultural knowledge necessary to enable the historian to produce a truly scientific work. Initially, in fact, Ibn Khaldūn was preoccupied with epistemology. Then gradually, meditating on the method and the matter of history, he was led, in full consciousness of what he was doing, to create what he refers to as his "new science" (*ʿilm mustanbaṭ al-nashʾa*, 63), which itself turned out to contain more or less implicitly the starting points of several avenues of research leading to the philosophy of history, sociology, economics and yet other disciplines.

In his preface to the Introduction proper (*muḳaddimat al-Muḳaddima*, 1-68), Ibn Khaldūn begins by defining history—which he expands to include the study of the whole of the human past, including its social, economic and cultural aspects—defining its interest, denouncing the lack of curiosity and of method in his predecessors, and setting out the rules of good and sound criticism. This criticism is based essentially, apart from the examination of evidence, on the criterion of conformity with reality (*ḳānūn al-muṭābaḳa*, 61-2), that is of the probability of the facts reported and their conformity to the nature of things, which is the same as the current of history and of its evolution. Hence the necessity of bringing to light the laws which determine the direction of this current. The science capable of throwing light on this phenomenon is, he says, that of *ʿumrān*, "a science which may be described as independent (*ʿilm mustaḳill bi-nafsih*), which is defined by its object: human civilization (*al-ʿumrān al-basharī*) and social facts as a whole" (62).

All that follows, that is the main part of the *Muḳaddima* itself, is only the detailed exposition of this new and independent science which the author had perceived. In it he develops his argument, contrary to some opinions, according to a strict plan, the broad lines of which he states and clearly explains (68) before beginning his exposition. This exposition is divided into six long chapters which in turn are subdivided into many paragraphs of varying lengths and often mathematically arranged. Chapter 1: a general treatise on human society. In it Ibn Khaldūn makes an outline study of the influence of environment on human nature, an ethnological and an anthropological study. Chapter 2: on the societies of rural and, generally speaking, fairly primitive, civilization (*ʿumrān badawī*). Chapter 3: on the different forms of government, on states and institutions. Chapter 4: on the societies of urban civilization (*ʿumrān ḥaḍarī*), that is of the most developed and sophisticated forms of civilization. Chapter 5: on industries and economic affairs in general. Chapter 6: on scholarship, literature and cultural matters in general.

This plan clearly shows that Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muḳaddima* was inclined to concentrate on social phenomena in general. The central point around which his observations are built and to which his researches are directed is the study of the aetiology of decline, that is to say the symptoms and the nature of the ills from which civilizations die. Hence

the *Muḳaddima* is very closely linked with the political experiences of its author, who had been in fact very vividly aware that he was witnessing a tremendous change in the course of history, which is why he thought it necessary to write a summary of the past of humanity and to draw lessons (*ʿibar*) from it. He remarks that at certain exceptional moments in history the upheavals are such that one has the impression of being present "at a new creation (*ka'annahu khalḳ djadīd*), at an actual renaissance (*nash'a mustaḥdatha*), and at [the emergence of] a new world (*wa ʿālam muḥdath*). It is so at present (*li-hādha 'l-ʿahd*). Thus the need is felt for someone to make a record of the situation of humanity and of the world" (53). This "new world", as Ibn Khaldūn knew (866), was coming to birth in other lands; he also realized that the civilization to which he belonged was nearing its end. Although unable to avert the catastrophe, he was anxious at least to understand what was taking place, and therefore felt it necessary to analyse the processes of history.

His main tool in this work of analysis is observation. Fairly recently there has been stressed the realistic aspect of his thought. Ibn Khaldūn, who has a thorough knowledge of the sources on logic and makes use of it, particular of induction, greatly mistrusts speculative reasoning. He admits that reason is a marvellous tool, but only within the framework of its natural limits, which are those of the investigation and the interpretation of what is real. He was much concerned about the problem of knowledge and it led him finally, after a radical criticism, to a refutation of philosophy. "In casting doubts on the adequacy of universal rationality and of individual reality, Ibn Khaldūn at the same time casts doubts on the whole structure of speculative philosophy as it then existed" (N. Nassar, *La pensée réaliste d'Ibn Khaldūn*, 66). Having thus calmly dismissed Arabo-Muslim philosophy, he chose, in order to explore reality and arrive at its meaning, a type of empiricism which has no hesitation in "having recourse to the categories of rational explanation which derive from philosophy". In short, Ibn Khaldūn rejects the traditional speculation of the philosophers, which gets bogged down in fruitless argument and controversy, only to replace it by another type of speculation, the steps of which are more certain and the results more fruitful since it is directly related to concrete facts.

This new positive speculation which he suggests and of which he provides an example in the *Muḳaddima* is operated through a dialectical process which has been referred to in several studies (see in particular the recent works of Y. Lacoste and N. Nassar). He could not in fact penetrate to the heart of reality, describe the struggles and conflicts, the tensions and the successive failures of states and civilizations produced by their internal dissensions without encountering, and calling attention to, the process of dialectic, especially since he had encountered logic in his earlier years and since the ideas of contradiction, antithesis, opposition, the complementariness of opposites, of ambiguity, of complexity and of confusion had long been familiar to the Muslim thinking in which he had been educated. They are thus often evoked as operative concepts permitting understanding and explanation. In surmounting the contradictions dialectically, and in attempting to explain them and hence to resolve them, Ibn Khaldūn thus arrives at a dynamic conception of the dialectic development of the destiny of man, and at a system of history which is retrospectively intelligible, rational and necessary. His famous cyclic schema of historical interpretation, which in itself is not particularly original, must be included, in order for its true meaning to be seen, in this general view.

The wealth of the ideas provided in the *Muḳaddima* has enabled several specialists to find in it the early beginnings of a number of disciplines which have become independent sciences only very recently. There is of course no argument about Ibn Khaldūn's quality as a historian. Y. Lacoste writes: "If Thucydides is the inventor of history, Ibn Khaldūn introduces history as a science" (*Ibn Khaldoun*, 187). But he has been regarded also as a philosopher, and it is surprising in particular to discover in his *Muḳaddima* a very elaborate system of sociology. His "new science", his *ʿilm al-ʿumrān*, the discovery of which dazzled even himself, is basically, strictly speaking, nothing but a system of sociology,—conceived it is true as an auxiliary science to history. He considers that the basic causes of historical evolution are in fact to be sought in the economic and social structures. He therefore set himself to analyse them, elaborating as he did so a certain number of new operative concepts, the most pregnant of which is incontestably that of *ʿaṣabiyya* [*q.v.*]. It should be mentioned that this concept of *ʿaṣabiyya*, and that of *ʿumrān*, have given rise in modern times to many discussions—which cannot be enumerated here—regarding their interpretation (see M. Talbi, *Ibn Khaldūn et le sens de l'histoire*, in *SI*, xxvi (1967), 86-90 and 99-112). He was interested particularly in the influence of the way of life and of methods of production on the evolution of social groups. In a famous sentence, he states: "The differences which are seen between the generations (*adjyāl*) in their behaviour are only the expression of the differences which separate them in their economic way of life" (210). This sentence is often compared with an equally famous one of Marx: "The method of production in the material matters of life determines in general the social, political and intellectual processes of life". The similarity is indeed striking, and it is not the only one between them. Thus Ibn Khaldūn's thought is often interpreted, particularly in recent years, in the spirit of dialectical materialism. But, in spite of the undoubted similarities, it would be difficult to regard Ibn Khaldūn as a forerunner of materialism. Moreover the explanation he gives is not exclusively a socio-economic one but also psychological. "The *Prolegomena* do not contain only a general sociology but also a very detailed and subtle social psychology which may be divided into political psychology, economic psychology, ethical psychology and general psychology. The intermingled and closely linked elements of this social psychology and this general sociology form a whole complex which it is difficult to disentangle" (N. Nassar, *op. cit.*, 178).

There have been identified also, in this complex, economic doctrines sufficiently detailed to justify a study devoted to them, and a philosophy of history to which M. Mahdi has devoted an important work. It also provides ethnographic, anthropological and demographic information of real value.

Thus the atypical figure of Ibn Khaldūn in Arabo-Muslim culture has been unanimously considered, since his discovery in Europe, as that of an authentic genius, "un penseur génial et aberrant" (Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, ii, 391), whose *Muḳaddima* represents "one of the solemn moments of human thought" (Bouthoul). Certainly a "solitary genius", he does not belong to any definite current of Arabo-Muslim

thought, since his works are in fact the product of a multitude of agonizing enquiries. His thinking represents a radical change, which unfortunately remained as unproductive as his political misadventures. "Just as he had no forerunners among Arabic writers, so he had no successors or emulators in this idiom until the contemporary period. Although he had a certain influence in Egypt on some writers of the end of the Middle Ages, it can be stated that, in his native Barbary, neither his *Muḳaddima* nor his personal teaching left any permanent mark. And indeed the systematic lack of comprehension and the resolute hostility which this nonconformist thinker of genius encountered among his own people forms one of the most moving dramas, one of the saddest and most significant pages in the history of Muslim culture" (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, ii, 391).

Bibliography: Works on Ibn Khaldūn are too numerous to listed in full here. Reference should be made therefore to H. Pérès, *Bibliographie sur la vie et l'œuvre d'Ibn Ḫaldūn*, in *Mél. Lévi Della Vida*, ii, 308-29, and to the most recent bibliography 'compiled by W. J. Fischel and given at the end of vol. iii of the tr. of the *Muḳaddima* by F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, 27 pp. The following works however may be particularly mentioned: T. Hussein, *Étude analytique et critique de la philosophie sociale d'Ibn Khaldūn*, Paris 1917; G. Bouthoul, *Ibn Khaldoun, sa philosophie sociale*, Paris 1930; N. Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldūn, historian, sociologist, and philosopher*, New York 1930; M. A. ʿInān, *Ibn Khaldūn, ḥayātuh wa-turāthuh al-fikrī*, Cairo 1933, new ed. with additions, Cairo 1965; R. Brunschvig, an excellent summary in *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1947, ii, 385-93; C. Issawi, *An Arab philosophy of history*, London 1950; S. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Dirāsāt ʿan Muḳaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, Cairo 1953; M. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldūn's philosophy of history*, London 1957.

Since the publication of W. J. Fischel's bibliography, further studies and works have appeared. Examples are: E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in medieval Islam*, Cambridge 1958, chap. iv, 84-113; idem, *Islam in the modern national state*, Cambridge 1965, 16-27 and *passim* (the influence of Ibn Khaldūn on contemporary modernist Muslim thinkers); H. Simon, *Ibn Khaldûns Wissenschaft der menschlichen Kultur*, Leipzig 1959; S. M. Batsieva, *Sotsyal'nîye osnovî istoriko-filosofskogo učeniya Ibn Khalduna*, in *Pamyati I. Yu. Kračkovskogo*, Leningrad 1958; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn's use of historial sources*, in *SI*, xiv (1961); idem, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt, his public functions and his historical research (1382-1406)*, Berkeley 1967; E. Gellner, *From Ibn Khaldūn to Karl Marx*, in *Political Quarterly*, xxxii (1961), 385-92; *al-Fikr* (published in Tunis) devoted its March 1961 number to Ibn Khaldūn; A. Badawī, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Khaldūn*, Cairo 1962; A. al-Wardī, *Manṭiḳ Ibn Khaldūn*, Cairo 1962; *Aʿmāl Mahradjān Ibn Khaldūn*, Cairo 1962; R. Walzer, *Aspects of Islamic political thought: al-Fārābī and Ibn Xaldūn*, in *Oriens*, xv (1963), 40-60; Jitsuzo Tamura gives an economist's view on Ibn Khaldūn, in Japanese, in *Ajia kazai*, September 1963; H. A. Wolfson devotes several pages to Ibn Khaldūn in connexion with attributes and with predestination in his *Religious philosophy*, Harvard 1961, 177-95; *Colloque de Rabat*, May 1962, ed. Dar-El-Kitab, Casablanca; M. Atallah Berham, *La pensée économique d'Ibn Khaldūn*, University thesis, Paris 1964; N. Nassar, *Le maître d'Ibn Khaldūn: al-Ābilī*, in *SI*, xx (1964), 103-15; idem, *La pensée réaliste d'Ibn Khaldūn*, Paris 1967; G. H. Bousquet, *Les textes sociologiques et économiques de la Muḳaddima (1375-1379)*, Paris 1965; G. Labica, *Esquisse d'une sociologie de la religion chez Ibn Khaldūn*, in *La Pensée*, October 1965, no. 123, 3-23; R. Arnaldez, *Réflexions sur un passage de la Muḳaddima d'Ibn Khaldūn*, in *Mél. R. Crozet*, Poitiers 1966, 1337 ff.; Y. Lacoste, *Ibn Khaldoun, naissance de l'histoire, passé du tiers-monde*, Paris 1966 (a brilliant Marxist interpretation, to be used with caution: cf. review in *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 August 1968, p. 853); E. A. Myers, *Ibn Khaldūn, fore-runner of "new science"*, in *The Arab World*, New York, March 1966; M. Talbi, *Ibn Ḫaldūn et le sens de l'histoire*, in *SI*, xxvi (1967), 73-148; V. Monteil, in *La Rev. Hist.*, April-June 1967; Muh. Mahmoud Rabīʿ, *The political theory of Ibn Khaldūn*, Leiden 1967; J. Bielawski, *Aspect sociologique des opinions d'Ibn Ḫaldūn sur "les sciences de la langue arabe"*, in *Atti del terzo congresso di studi ar. e isl.*, Napoli 1967.

On his influence in Turkey, see Fındıkoğlu Z. Fahri, *Türkiye'de Ibn Haldunizm*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 153-63.

See further Pearson, *Index*, 10897-10923; *Supp.* I, 2872-2887; *Supp.* II, 2796-2805. (M. TALBI)

IBN KHALDŪN, ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀ' YAḤYĀ, brother of the above, was born in Tunis about 734/1333, died at Tlemcen in Ramaḍān 780/December 1378-January 1379. Like his brother and probably with him, he devoted himself industriously to study in his native town and was intimate with all the important scholars of his time in the Ḥafṣid capital. To judge from his book (on which see below), he seems to have had a special preference for poetry and belles lettres. We know very little of his personality; the references are scattered in various sources, especially ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's autobiography and that portion of the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* which deals with the history of the Berbers. This last book gives a detailed account of the murder of Yaḥyā in Tlemcen; Yaḥyā himself gives a few details of his career in his *Bughyat al-ruwwād*.

Yaḥyā's political life did not begin until 757/1356, when he was with his brother (who was soon afterwards imprisoned) at the court of Abū Sālim, sultan of Fez, and the latter sent two Ḥafṣid *amīrs*, his prisoners, from Tlemcen back to Bougie. He accompanied these two princes in place of his brother, as chamberlain to one of them, the *amīr* Abū ʿAbd Allāh. As the latter, in spite of a long siege, could not regain Bougie, he sent Yaḥyā to Abū Ḥammū II, king of Tlemcen, to ask for his assistance (764/1362). Yaḥyā found a kindly reception in Tlemcen and his request was granted. After the Mawlid festival, which he attended there and commemorated in a poem, he went back to his master to bring him to the ʿAbd al-Wādid court on 8 Djumādā II 764/26 March 1363. Both returned to Bougie with an expeditionary force sent by Abū Ḥammū.

In 767/1365-6, the Ḥafṣid *amīr* of Constantine, after taking Bougie, imprisoned Yaḥyā in Bona and confiscated his property; he escaped soon afterwards and went to Biskra to Ibn Muznī and his brother. It was probably at this time that he made the pilgrimage to the tomb of ʿUḳba, which he describes in his *Bughyat al-ruwwād*. In 769/1367 he returned from Biskra to Tlemcen at Abū Ḥammū's request, arrived there in Radjab 769/February 1368, and was appointed *Kātib al-inshā'*. When he learned that Tlemcen was threatened by the Marīnids, he forgot

the kindness shown him by Abū Ḥammū and left him (early 772/1370-1) to enter the service of the Marīnid sultan, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and afterwards of his successor Muḥammad al-Saʿīd. It was only after the capture of Fās al-Djadīd by Sultan Abu 'l-ʿAbbās in 775/1373 that Yaḥyā returned to Tlemcen, where Abū Ḥammū again welcomed him and gave him his former secretarial office. He soon won the king's confidence again but thereby aroused the jealousy of the other court officials, and notably of Abū Ḥammū's eldest son and probable successor, Abū Tāshfīn (II). The latter, with a few hired assassins, fell upon Yaḥyā as he was leaving the palace one night in Ramaḍān 780/1378 and murdered him. When Abū Ḥammū learned that his son had been the instigator of the crime, he had not the courage to take steps against the murderers.

Although Yaḥyā's political career was shorter and less brilliant than that of his brother, yet it gave him the opportunity to write a historical work of great learning, the *Bughyat al-ruwwād fī dhikr al-mulūk min Banī ʿAbd al-Wād*. It was much used by Brosselard and Bargès in their works on Tlemcen and A. Bel published the Arabic text with French translation under the title *Histoire des Beni ʿAbd al-Wād, rois de Tlemcen* (2 vols., Algiers 1904-13). His history of the kingdom of Tlemcen is particularly important for its information on the long and often brilliant reign of Abū Ḥammū II, whose secretary and trusted adviser the writer was. In this capacity he was no doubt able to consult original political documents and he even quotes some in full in his book. Although the book neither covers so wide a field as that of his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān nor shows such a lofty point of view or critical spirit, it is far superior in literary value. Yaḥyā reveals in it not only literary but also poetical skill, his elegant style is often elevated and his narrative is adorned with quotations from the best ancient Arab writers. He not only gives us a picture of the political history of the central Maghribī kingdom, but he also preserves for us in his work poems by contemporary court poets and gives information about scholars of his time and about the poetical meetings at the court of Tlemcen—information hardly to be found elsewhere and affording a precise survey of the intellectual life of the ʿAbd al-Wādid capital in the 8th/14th century.

Bibliography: further to works mentioned in the text: Bargès, *Complément de l'histoire des Beni Zeiyan*, Paris 1887, 205-17. (A. Bel)

IBN KHALLĀD, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Baṣrī, a Muʿtazilī theologian. After a slow start, he became the most distinguished disciple of Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933; see al-djubbāʾī), first in al-ʿAskar and then in Baghdād. He is the author of a *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* and a *Kitāb al-Sharḥ*; he was also a man of letters and of general culture (*adab wa-maʿrifa*). He did not live to an old age, and therefore seems to have died before the middle of the 4th/10th century. Two of his disciples, who also studied under Abū Hāshim and in their turn were teachers of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], were Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Baṣrī and Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. ʿAyyāsh (mentioned by Ibn al-Murtaḍā, see below). It is probable that the *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār is a revision and completion of the (unfinished) *Kitāb al-Sharḥ* of Ibn Khallād. The same work was commented upon and supplemented by the Zaydī imām al-Nāṭiḳ bi'l-Ḥaḳḳ (d. 424/1033; Brockelmann, S I, 697f.; P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, 407). In the official *isnād* of the Muʿtazilī doctrine, Ibn Khallād appears as the authority of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, who is in his turn the authority of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār. The recorded details of his doctrine (see M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Probleme der spekulativen Theologie im Islam*, 1910, index, s.v. Ibn Hallâd) confirm his doctrinal position between Abū Hāshim and ʿAbd al-Djabbār.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 174; *al-ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, introd., p. 28, and index; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Die Klassen der Muʿtaziliten*, ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, 1961, 105 (incorrect translation of this passage in M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme*, etc., 1912, 426 f.); Brockelmann, S I, 348 (read Leiden, Or. 2949, and Landberg, no. 589). Ibn al-Murtaḍā quotes the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, of whose *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila* a manuscript has recently become known (see introduction, p. xvi). See also M. Schreiner, in *Actes du VIIIe Congrès des Orientalistes*, II/i(A), Leiden 1893, 87 and n. 1; A. S. Tritton, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 612-22 (from an unidentified work, possibly the *Ziyādāt* of Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn to the *K. al-Uṣūl* of Ibn Khallād). (J. Schacht)

IBN KHALLIKĀN, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Shams al-Dīn al-Barmakī al-Irbilī al-Shāfiʿī, Arabic biographer, b. 11 Rabīʿ II 608/22 September 1211 at Irbil in a respectable family that claimed descent from the Barmakids. At the age of two, he lost his father, who was *mudarris* in the Muẓaffariyya college founded by the Begteginid [*q.v.*] Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökburi (see Ibn Khallikān, no. 558). He began his studies under his father's successor Sharaf al-Dīn al-Irbilī (*ibid.*, no. 44); he then continued them from 626/1229 in Aleppo under Ibn Shaddād (*ibid.*, no. 852) and Ibn Yaʿīsh (*ibid.*, no. 842). After Ibn Shaddād's death in 632/1234 he went to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (*ibid.*, no. 422) in Damascus. He also visited Mosul several times and became acquainted with the historian Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1234) and with Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Yūnus (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, v, 158 ff.). In 635 or 636 he went to Egypt and was in 646/1249 at the latest appointed deputy to the *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Egypt Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥasan known as Ḳāḍī Sindjār who was in office until 659/1261. In this year the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars appointed Ibn Khallikān *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Damascus. In this capacity he administered justice in the whole of Syria, whilst the judges of the Ḥanafī, Ḥanbalī, and Mālikī schools were his deputies. In 664/1266 Baybars gave orders that the judges of the aforesaid three schools should be promoted to the rank of *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*, and in 669/1271 Ibn Khallikān lost his post altogether. He went back to Cairo and became a *mudarris* in the college al-Fakhriyya. After the death of Baybars in 676/1277, Ibn Khallikān was again appointed *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Syria and in 677/1278 was received in Damascus with great honours. But new troubles lay ahead. When Ḳalāwūn ascended the throne, the governor of Damascus Sunḳur al-Ashkar rose in revolt, but was defeated. The troops of Ḳalāwūn entered Damascus in Ṣafar 679/June 1280, and a general amnesty was announced. Yet Ibn Khallikān was arrested and accused of having given a *fatwā* which Sunḳur could use as a justification for his revolt; but three weeks later he was released and re-installed as *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* by an immediate order of the Sultan. At the beginning of the next year (680/1281) Ḳalāwūn visited Damascus; three days later Ibn Khallikān was dismissed. He died on

26 Radjab 681/30 October 1282 in Damascus. Ibn Khallikān was a man of keen intellect, a shrewd observer, well versed in all legal matters, and just and impartial in his judgement; he was also very cultured, sociable, witty, and a lover of the pleasures of life. He was very fond of poetry and a connoisseur of the *Dīwān* of Mutanabbī. Amongst his friends were the Egyptian poets Bahā' al-Dīn Zubayr [*q.v.*] and Ibn Maṭrūḥ (*Wafayāt*, no. 821). Above all he had a liking for historical studies, so much so that he began to collect materials on the lives of persons who for some reason or other had gained fame. Later on he arranged his notes alphabetically according to the *ism* of the person concerned. Thus began his famous biographical dictionary *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa- anbā' abnā' al-zamān*, which contains only persons whose year of death the author could ascertain. He omitted on purpose (1) the Companions of the Prophet, (2) the transmitters of the second generation (*tābiʿūn*) with few exceptions, and (3) all caliphs, because information about persons belonging to one of these groups was easily available in biographical and historical works. He began with the arrangement in 654/1256 at Cairo, but when in 659/1260 he had come to the article on Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak (no. 816) he had to stop, owing to his transfer to Damascus; it was only after his return to Cairo in 669/1271 that he could revise and finish his work in 672/1274. This book, intended by its author as a historical compendium, is a mine of information, especially in those parts where he speaks of contemporaries, whilst in the articles on men of earlier times he often quotes sources which are either lost or not yet published. He himself took pains to improve his book; his autograph (in the British Museum, *Cat.* no 1505 and *Supplement* no. 607) is full of emendations and marginal notes. This and the popularity of the book explain also the differences in the number and serial order of the articles in manuscripts and editions. A supplement, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, was written by Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363). There exist also translations into Persian and Turkish.

Bibliography: Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āt al-djinān*, iv, 143-7; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, v, 14 f.; Tashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, i, 208 f.; Ulughkhānī, *Ẓafar al-wālih*, ed. E. D. Ross, i, 184 (quoting al-Birzālī's *Muʿdjam*); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v, 370 f.; see also Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks par Makrizi*, i/2, 180-9, 271; Brockelmann I, 326-8; S I, 561; and de Slane's introduction to his translation of Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary.

(J. W. Fück)

IBN KHAMĪS, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. ʿUmar b. Muḥ. b. ʿUmar b. Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. ʿUmar b. Muḥ. al-Ḥimyarī, al-Ḥadjrī al-Ruʿaynī, al-Tilimsānī (and not al-Tūnusī as Ibn Ḳunfudh mistakenly says), Arab poet born at Tlemcen in 650/1252 and assassinated at Granada in 708/1308.

On his origins, which he traces to the tribe of Ḥimyar in the Yemen, there is known only what he himself states in his poems; of the early part of the 58 years of his life we know only that he knew poverty and lived in "a room in a *funduḳ* with sheepskins for bed-covers ", that he was able to give himself freely to pleasures, of which he later repented in his poems, and that he received a very profound literary education, to judge by his work and by his appointment, in 681/1282, to the office of personal secretary of the sultan Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān I b. Yaghmurāsan (681-703/1282-1303).

It is not known how long he occupied this post. In 688/1299, the traveller al-ʿAbdarī, who was passing through Tlemcen and who had a great admiration for him, found him in difficult circumstances. Ten years later, Tlemcen was invested by the Marīnid Abu Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (685-706/1286-1307) and the siege lasted a hundred months, until the besieger was assassinated. Although the exact date and the manner are unknown, it was during this siege that Ibn Khamīs left his native town, following an attempt on his life by those in power who accused him of being in favour of a surrender of the city. This at least is what he himself insinuates in two of his poems. He went to Ceuta, at that time governed by Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥ. b. ʿAḥmad al-ʿAzafī and his brother Abū Ḥātim; there he attempted to establish himself as a teacher, but his attempt failed, his own pupils, instigated by a rival named Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Rabīʿ, having baffled him from the start by hurling at him embarrassing grammatical questions. He went to Algeciras, then to Malaga and finally, in 703/1304, to Granada. Everywhere he earned his living by teaching and by writing poems in which he gives himself the "pleasure of praising" the great. The ruler of Granada at this time was Muḥammad III, known as al-Makhlūʿ (701-8/1302-9), whose vizier, Ibn al-Ḥakīm Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm (660-708/1262-1308), was an important personality of the period and by way of being a patron. Returning from a long voyage in the east, the latter had passed through Tlemcen where he had met Ibn Khamīs. At Granada his court was attended by scholars and men of letters; he invited Ibn Khamīs to join it, thus assuring him at last an easy life, in return of course for laudatory poems. In 706/1306, Ibn Khamīs returned to Malaga on a visit, then went to Almeria where the general Ibn Kumāsha, a subordinate of Ibn al-Ḥakīm, hastened to welcome him. He loved to travel—"I am", he said "like the blood; I put myself in motion every spring". He never forgot Tlemcen, and dreamed of returning there. But, one morning, on the feast of the breaking of the fast in the year 708/1309, he was surprised in his dwelling at Granada by a riot resulting from the coup d'état provoked by Abu 'l-Djuyūsh Naṣr b. Muḥammad, who seized power (708-13/1309-14); a certain ʿAlī b. Naṣr, called al-Abkam (= the dumb), killed him with a lance. The reason for the murder was his connexion with Ibn al-Ḥakīm, who was killed on the same day.

The biographers of Ibn Khamīs describe him as a scholar, philosopher, sage, astrologer, alchemist, heresiographer, and littérateur. But there is no positive evidence for these attributes and all that is certain is that he was a poet. All that have survived of any works he may have written are poems. They are said to have been collected by a certain *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaḍramī, who has not been further identified, in a collection entitled *al-Durr al-nafīs fī shiʿr Ibn Khamīs*, of which nothing more is known. The poems of Ibn Khamīs are nevertheless accessible, if not entirely, at least in large part. They are scattered throughout the works of al-ʿAbdarī, Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī and al-Maḳḳarī, who reproduces Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Ibn Manṣūr was able to collect of them sixteen *ḳaṣīdas*, totalling more than 610 verses, ten of them each consisting of more than 30 verses and two reaching 80 verses each.

We find in them the traditional themes: *madḥ*, *hidjā'*, *fakhr*, sometimes preceded by *nasīb*. He praises the Banū Zayyān of Tlemcen, the traveller

Ibn Rus͟hayd and especially the vizier Ibn al-Ḥakīm, who has protected the poet and confounded his enemies, and who has power, courage, generosity, etc. ... He directs his satire against the Banū Yag͟hmūr (sic), who have attempted to have him assassinated and who are thus responsible for his exile far from his own small country, bruised by anarchy, who have "forfeited his loyalty for a cheap return" and who are proud, pitiless and vile tyrants. He prides himself on his illustrious ancestry: Mud̲j̲ās͟hiʿ, Nahs͟hal, Ḥimyar, Sakāsik, etc.

Apart from this, his poems are embroidered with proper names and unusual words, revealing a depth of culture which it is surprising to find in a native of 7th/13th century Tlemcen of modest circumstances. His works are composed against a background of the stories of Arab, Persian and Greco-Roman antiquity: Hermes, Socrates, al-Fārābī, al-Suhrawardī, Sayf b. D̲h̲ī Yazan, ʿAmr b. Hind, Nuʿmān, Imruʾ al-Ḳays and many others form a gallery of the famous. In addition, his guiding principle as regards form is summarized in a verse: "He who does not chew over obscure (*ḥūs͟hī*) language does not taste the savour of the art of good expression (*balāg͟ha*)". This strange precept was not merely a theoretical one, and some of his poems are impossible to understand without a good dictionary. This is probably the reason why he has formerly been classed, with S͟hanfarā, Taʾabbaṭa S͟harran and Sulayk b. ʿĀmir, among the "stallions" (*fuḥūl*) of Arabic poetry.

Bibliography: Yaḥyā Ibn K͟haldūn, *Bug͟hyat al-ruwwād fī d̲h̲ikr al-mulūk min banī ʿAbd al-Wād*, Algiers 1903, i, 10-43, 117; Ibn Ḳunfud̲h̲, *Wafayāt*, ed. H. Pérès, Algiers, n.d., 53, no. 708; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥid̲j̲āl*, ed. Allouche, Rabat 1934, i, 163, no. 470; Ibn Maryam, *Bustān*, Algiers 1908, 225; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1949, vii, 280-95; idem, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, Cairo 1939, ii, 301-36; J.-J.-L. Bargès, *Complément de l'histoire des Béni-Zeiyan*, Paris 1887, 22-4; Abdesselam Meziane, *Ibn K͟hamīs, poète tlemcenien du XIIIe siècle*, in *Deuxième congrès de la Fédération des sociétés savantes de l'Afrique du Nord à Tlemcen 14-17 avril 1936*, Algiers 1936, ii, 1057-66; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Manṣūr, *al-Muntak͟hab al-nafīs min s͟hiʿr Ibn K͟hamīs*, Tlemcen 1365; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-D̲j̲īlālī, *Taʾrīk͟h al-D̲j̲azāʾir al-ʿāmm*, Algiers 1955, ii, 146. (M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN AL-K͟HAS͟HS͟HĀB, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-K͟has͟hs͟hāb (afterwards called Ibn al-K͟has͟hs͟hāb) al-Naḥwī (this form for his name is given by his contemporary Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, x, Ḥaydarābād 1358, 238); his place of birth is unknown, while the date given for his birth, 492/1099, is not certain (see the criticism of Ibn K͟hallikān, ii, 289). He lived in Bag͟hdād and died there on 3 Ramaḍān 567/30 April 1172, a date generally accepted.

Ibn al-K͟has͟hs͟hāb is a complex character. There was in him an insatiable intellectual curiosity. Among his teachers were al-D̲j̲awālīḳī and Abū Saʿāda Ibn al-S͟had̲j̲arī, but he went to hear all the teachers of repute of his day, and he read incessantly. In short, he learnt practically everything that could be learnt at that time in Bag͟hdād. He studied the Islamic sciences, mention being made of *farāʾiḍ* (division of inheritances) and *nasab* (genealogy). He excelled in grammar (*naḥw*), and then in *ḥadīt͟h*. In addition, he had a knowledge of arithmetic, geometry (*handasa*) and logic (*manṭiḳ*), and according to Yāḳūt even of *falsafa* (philosophy).

He was a teacher, who spoke well and easily; he knew how to crack a joke successfully, and moreover he had very beautiful handwriting. Among his pupils were Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī and ʿImād al-Din al-Iṣbahānī; the latter composed a dithyrambic panegyric of him (*K͟harīdat al-ḳaṣr*, i, *al-Ḳism al-ʿIrāḳī*, Damascus 1375/1955, 28, and al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 102). But, apart from such rewarding teaching, his great intellectual activity bore very little fruit: four *radd*s (refutations), his reaction to what he read or to accepted teaching; three *s͟harḥ*s which he did not complete, and certain other writings. Something was lacking in all this great activity. Al-Ḳifṭī (*op. cit.*, 101) speaks of the *ḍad̲j̲ar*, the black mood, to which he was subject. Here we have an indication that his nervous equilibrium was unsatisfactory. This point may explain the lack of control which revealed itself even in his dress and conduct and which was the cause of adverse criticism; and he was also accused of avarice.

The *radd*s: *Radd* of Ibn Bābas͟hād̲h̲ in his *S͟harḥ* to the *K. al-D̲j̲umal al-kabīr* of al-Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ī (Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K͟halīfa, ii, no 4197). *Radd* of Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Tibrīzī in his *Tahd̲h̲īb* of the *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt (*ibid.*, i, no. 828). *Radd* of Abū Saʿāda Ibn al-S͟had̲j̲arī, last *mad̲j̲lis* of his *Amālī*, on the subject of verses of al-Mutanabbī (*ibid.*, i, no. 1180). Only one has been preserved, the *Radd* of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, in manuscript with varying titles (Brockelmann, S I, 494), published under the title *al-Istidrākāt ʿalā Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī wa-ʾntiṣār Ibn Barrī* (Istanbul 1328) and also following these *Maḳāmāt* (Cairo 1326); see also Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K͟halīfa, i, no. 1319. On the question of his glosses on the subject of the *Durrat al-g͟hawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī and the reply of Ibn Barrī, see Ch. C. Torrey, *Orient. Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 212-3.

The *s͟harḥ*s: *S͟harḥ* to the *K. al-Lumaʿ fi 'l-naḥw* of Ibn D̲j̲innī. *S͟harḥ* to the *Muḳaddima fi 'l-naḥw* of the vizier Ibn Hubayra. The only one to have survived is the *S͟harḥ* to the *K. al-D̲j̲umal fi 'l-naḥw* of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, which he called *al-Murtad̲j̲al fī s͟harḥ al-D̲j̲umal*, MSS at Gotha (211) and elsewhere (Brockelmann, S I, 504).

Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K͟halīfa (v, no. 11019) also refers to his *al-Lāmiʿ fi 'l-naḥw* and *Mawālīd ahl al-bayt* (vi, no. 13360), which does indeed seem to be his work and which is relevant to what has been called his knowledge of *nasab*.

Two works not mentioned in the sources consulted have survived in manuscript. MS Köprülü 1393/5 (five folios) (*MSO*, xiv, 1911, 193, no. 57) contains *al-Lumaʿ fi 'l-kalām ʿalā lafẓat āmīn al-mustaʿmala fi 'l-duʿāʾ wa-ḥukmihā*, a study on the word *āmīn* (amen). MS Cairo², iii, 281-2, has preserved *al-Ḳaṣīda al-badīʿa al-ʿarabiyya al-d̲j̲āmiʿa li-s͟hatāt al-faḍāʾil wa 'l-rumūz al-ʿilmiyya*, dedicated to Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī (like himself, a pupil of al-D̲j̲awālīḳī); it is a versified work on ten subjects relating to the Islamic sciences, enumerated in the Catalogue (282) referred to, and repeated by Brockelmann (S I, 494). This Catalogue gives the reference: see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Mag͟hribī in *al-Bayyināt fi 'l-dīn wa 'l-id̲j̲timāʿ wa 'l-adab wa 'l-taʾrīk͟h*, i, 204-17.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Brockelmann, II, 696 and S I, 493-4; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1900 no. 298. Arabic sources: information was gathered together by Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-udabāʾ*, xii, 47-54= *Irs͟hād*, iv, 286-8 and Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1371/1952, ii, 99-103. For the date of his birth, Ibn K͟hallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 288-90, no. 323. In

the other authors mainly repetitions: Abū Aḥmad al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, Ḥaydarābād 1338, iii, 381-2; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, Cairo 1350, iv, 220-2; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 276-7, copied Yāḳūt, references given above; etc. See references in Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 99, n. 1. (H. Fleisch)

IBN AL-KHAṢĪB, Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh [see al-khaṣībī].

IBN AL-KHAṢĪB, Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Khaṣīb al-Anbārī, *kātib* and man of letters of the 3rd/9th century, called Naṭṭāḥa and known also, as his grandfather Ibrāhīm had been (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 92), as al-Khaṣībī, after the ancestor of the family, the governor of Egypt al-Khaṣīb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who had been praised by Abū Nuwās (see E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 70 ff. and index).

Often confused with the viziers Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and his grandson Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh [see al-khaṣībī], he was in fact only the secretary of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 300/913); according to the *Fihrist* (Cairo ed., 181), he was executed by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (d. 296/908-9), but this may have been the son of ʿUbayd Allāh (d. 301/914); however, no further details are available on this person, who has nevertheless a permanent place in Arabic epistolography (see *e.g.*, A. Z. Ṣafwat, *Djamharat rasāʾil al-ʿArab*, iv, 362-4).

Ibn al-Nadīm (Cairo ed., 180) and, after him, Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, ii, 227-30) attribute particularly to Naṭṭāḥa a voluminous collection of letters, a *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, a *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-kuttāb*, a *K. Ṣifat al-nafs* and a collection of private letters; Ibn al-Nadīm states that the majority of his letters are *ikhwāniyyāt* and notes that he had carried on a correspondence with Ibn al-Muʿtazz. He was also well known as a poet, and some lines of his have survived.

Bibliography: in the article; see also Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 113 (correcting *baṭāḥa* to *Naṭṭāḥa*). (Ed.)

IBN AL-KHAṢĪB, Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan b. al-Khaṣīb, astrologer who lived in the 2nd/8-9th century, in the circle of the Barmakids (cf. in Ibn al-Ḳifṭī the mention of a *Kitāb al-Manthūr* dedicated to Yaḥyā b. Khālid). He was known in Europe under the name of "Alkasin filius Alkasit" (cf. colophon of MS Bibliothèque Nationale 7.934 and Derwischt, *Bibliographie générale de l'astronomie*, London 1964), or more frequently under that of "Albubather" (Scheibel, *Astronomische bibliographie*, Breslau 1792, under year 1492). He was given the flattering description of "Auctor astronomiae perspicuus". This "astronomer", to judge by the works which have survived (cf. Brockelmann), was primarily an astrologer. Little is known of his life except that he was of Persian origin and lived for a long time at Kūfa. His learning reflects strongly this origin and the special position which astrology had acquired among the Persians. Probably of "Sabian" sympathies, he practised with enthusiasm the art of *ikhtiyārāt*, *masāʾil* (*electiones*, *interrogationes*). He made use of "lots" (*sahm*, *pars*, cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Tafhīm*, ed. Djalāl Paymānī, 440). Going beyond the apparently scientific reserve affected by Ptolemy in his *Tetrabiblion* (*opus quadripartitum*), he enjoyed speculating on the compatibility and incompatibility of the planets, signs and houses of the Zodiac, and "lots". He also used *hayladj*/hyleg. He was also bold enough to predict the duration of states and dynasties (*taḥwīl sinī 'l-ʿālam*, an idea of Zurvanite or Indian origin). He earned thus the wrath of his biographer Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, who complains of having been misled by the falseness of these prophecies, based on the absolute confidence which Ibn al-Khaṣīb placed in the geographical dominance of the sign of Gemini over Egypt. He thus was a man of resource, with an ample supply of prescriptions of all kinds, whose enormous repertoire probably gained him the goodwill of his patrons and later the interested approbation of foreign civilizations. The work which earned him the most lasting success was the *Mughnī fi 'l-mawālīd*, *De nativitatibus*, an extract from a sort of astrological encyclopaedia to which he had given the Persian name of *Kār-i mihtar* ("The Practice of the Prince"?). The text of it is preserved in the Arabic collection in the Escurial, in Latin translation in the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale mentioned above and in the two Sessa editions published in Venice in 1492 and 1501. Ibn al-Khaṣīb's translator was the Jewish scholar Plato of Tivoli, whose manuscript was the basis for the works of Sessa. Two centuries later, the learned librarian of the Elector of Saxony, Johannes Milius, drew attention to and wrote a commentary on the works of Albubather. The *De nativitatibus* was from then on inseparable from the *Centiloqium* of the pseudo-Hermes Trismegistus, with which Sessa linked it in a single volume (Milius, *Memorabilia bibliothecae ienensis sive Designatio manuscriptorum*, 199). At the end of his career, as at the beginning, Albubather's works formed an integral part of Hermetic literature.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see *Fihrist*, 272; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Khāndjī, Cairo, 114; Brockelmann, I, 221, S I, 394. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN AL-KHAṬĪB, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Salmānī, vizier and historian of Granada, who bore the *laḳab*s of Lisān al-Dīn and Dhu 'l-wizāratayn, apart from those by which he was designated after his death. Of Arab descent through the sub-tribe of the Salmān, a clan of the Murād of the Yemen, he came from a family which was established in Syria and which arrived in the Iberian peninsula in the 2nd/8th century, took up residence in Cordova, and then moved successively to Toledo, Loja and Granada. At first the family was known by the name Banū Wazīr, but after Saʿīd al-Salmānī it had the name Banu 'l-Khaṭīb.

Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb was born in Loja, about 50 km. from Granada, on 25 Radjab 713/15 November 1313, but he was educated in Granada where his father had settled in order to enter the service of the sultan Abu 'l-Walīd Ismāʿīl. He had numerous eminent teachers who are listed by his biographers and, thanks to their instruction and to his own particular aptitudes, he succeeded in acquiring a vast fund of knowledge which later enabled him to win distinction in various branches of learning and to write many works, whose titles number more than 60. After his father's death in the battle of Salado or Tarifa on 7 Djumādā I 741/30 October 1340, his talents and learning enabled him to enter the service of sultan Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl as secretary, under the administrative and technical direction of the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Djayyāb; when the latter died of the plague in the middle of Shawwāl 749/mid-January 1349, Ibn Khaṭīb was appointed to the office of *kātib al-inshāʾ*, head of the royal chancellery, with the title of vizier; he retained this office in the reign of Muḥammad V al-Ghanī bi-'llāh who raised his rank, and it was then that he assumed the title of Dhu 'l-wizāratayn. After Muḥammad V's deposition (760/1358-9), Ibn al-Khaṭīb's fortune changed for some years; the

ḥādjib Riḍwān, the protector of Ibn Khaṭīb, who had enjoyed great influence and authority in that sovereign's reign before his fall, was assassinated, Lisān al-Dīn was put in prison, and it was only as a result of the intervention of his friend Ibn Marzūḳ, secretary of the Marīnid sultan Abū Sālim, that he regained his freedom and was permitted to go to Morocco, accompanying the dethroned sovereign into exile. He travelled throughout the territory of the Marīnids and finally settled in Salé where he acquired estates and wrote some of his works (see A. M. al-ʿAbbādī, *Muʾallafāt Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb fi ʾl-Maghrib*, in *Hespéris*, xlvi (1959), 247-53). When Muḥammad V was restored to the throne in Djumādā II 763/March-April 1362, Ibn al-Khaṭīb returned to Granada where he was restored to the office of vizier and became the chief dignitary of the court. But some years later, finding himself the victim of intrigues and fearing the worst, he seized the opportunity provided by a tour of inspection of fortresses in the western part of the kingdom of Granada to cross over to Ceuta and, from there, to Tlemcen (773/1371-2), where he was very favourably received by the sultan Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; throughout the short reign of his son and successor Abū Zayyān Muḥammad al-Saʿīd (a minor), he was safe from the demands of Muḥammad V that he should be sent to Granada for trial, for he had been unjustly accused of heresy, among other crimes, as a result of the calumnies of his influential rivals in Granada, especially the *ḳāḍī* al-Nubāhī and the vizier Ibn Zamrak. When Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was dethroned, Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī Sālim was proclaimed his successor; then for a short time, through the hostility of one of his enemies, Sulaymān b. Dāwud, who held important offices at the Marīnid court, Ibn al-Khāṭīb experienced the harshest days of his life. Cast into prison, he was brought to trial, through the influence of Ibn Zamrak, who had succeeded him as chief minister of Granada and who had elected to be his accuser, before a private court set up for this purpose, and, although no conclusive sentence seems to have been pronounced in spite of the wishes of those who were in favour of his execution, he was put to death at the instigation of Sulaymān b. Dāwūd, being strangled in prison, at the end of 776/May-June 1375.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb was the greatest Muslim writer of Granada and an almost unparalleled source for knowledge of the history and culture of the end of the 7th/13th and of the greater part of the 8th/14th century. He distinguished himself in almost all branches of learning and wrote works on history, poetry, medicine, *adab* and mystico-philosophic subjects. The chancellery correspondence that came from his pen, in its beauty of style, represents, in the words of one author "a marvel of literature"; there is a specimen of it in the *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb wa-nuʿdjat al-muntāb*, from which M. Gaspar y Remiro published and translated various texts in his *Correspondencia diplomática entre Granada y Fez (siglo XIV). Extractos de la «Raihana Alcuttab»* ... *(Mss. de la Bibl. del Escorial)*, Granada 1916. His journeys as ambassador to the Marīnid sultans and during his exile in Morocco as well as in his capacity of overseer of fortresses in the kingdom of Granada and also in other circumstances gave him the opportunity to write various *riḥlas*, *risālas* and *maḳāmas* which have enjoyed a well-deserved reputation (for some of these, see A. M. al-ʿAbbādī, *Mushāhadāt Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb fī bilād al-Maghrib wa ʾl-Andalus* (*Madjmūʿa min rasāʾili-hi*), Alexandria 1958, who re-publishes the *Khaṭrat al-ṭayf fī riḥlat al-shitāʾ wa ʾl-ṣayf*; *Mufākharāt Mālaḳa wa-Salā*, translated, from the text of Müller in his *Beiträge*, i, 1-13, under the title *El "Parangón entre Málaga y Salé"*, by E. García Gómez, in *al-Andalus*, ii (1934), 183-96; and *Miʿyār al-ikhtibār fi-dhikr al-maʿāhid wa ʾl-diyār*, edited earlier by Simonet, in *Descripción del reino de Granada bajo la dominación de los naseritas*, Madrid 1861, and by Müller in his *Beiträge*, i, 45-100; finally, ʿAbbādī gives for the first time an edition of a *Riḥla* of Lisān al-Dīn across the Maghrib taken from the *K. Nufāḍat al-djirāb fī ʿulālat al-ightirāb* (ms. Escorial 1755), the whole preceded by an introduction and accompanied by notes and a bibliography, all helpful).

Ibn al-Khaṭīb is also the author of medical works such as *al-Maʿlūma* and the *Risāla fī takwīn (takawwun?) al-djanīn* (cf. Renaud, in *Hespéris*, xix (1942-5), 97 ff., xxxiii (1946), 213 ff.) and of an anthology of poetry entitled *Djaysh al-tawshīḥ* (cf. Stern, *Two anthologies of muwaššaḥ poetry: Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb's* ..., in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 151-69), without counting the poems of his own composition which occur in his works. Pending the completion of Mme. Arié's thesis on the writings of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the most complete list of his works is that given by al-Maḳḳarī in the final sections of the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, to which one must refer for everything relating to this great figure of the politics and literature of Granada (see also Ibn Khaldūn; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 334-47, no. 294; and Brockelmann, II, 260-3 and S II, 372).

In spite of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's large corpus of writings, which also include certain works on mystico-philosophic subjects such as the *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf bi ʾl-ḥubb al-sharīf* (ms. Damascus Ẓāhiriyya, *taṣawwuf* 85) and others (see ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Falsafa wa ʾl-akhlāḳ ʿind Ibn al-Khaṭīb*, Tetuan 1953 and, lastly, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṭiṭṭawānī, *Ibn al-Khaṭīb min khilāl kutubih*, which have no apparatus criticus), it is above all as an historian that he is renowned. In this field of writing, we may select in particular: (1) *al-Iḥāṭa fī taʾrikh* (var. *akhbār*) *Gharnāṭa*, a long monograph on Granada divided into two parts containing the description of the town and the biographies of celebrated personages, including the *amīrs*, who were born or lived in Granada or who visited it, with most interesting historical notes, in some cases unique; only a number of incomplete editions have appeared: Cairo 1319/1901-2, 2 vols., very imperfect; Cairo 1955, one vol. by ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān (on this ed. and the surviving mss. of the *Iḥāṭa*, see, in addition to the editor's introd., *MIDEO*, iii (1956), 324-8). (2) *al-Lamḥa al-badriyya fi ʾl-dawla al-naṣriyya* (Casiri has given long extracts from this, as well as from the *Iḥāṭa*, together with a Latin trans., in his *Bibliotheca*, ii, 71 ff., 177-246, 246-319. A fairly acceptable edition of the *Lamḥa* was published in Cairo in 1347/1928-9; I. S. Allouche translated some chapters from it in his article *La vie économique et sociale à Grenade au XIVe siècle*, in *Mél. d'hist. et d'archéol.*: *Hommage à G. Marçais*, Algiers 1957, ii, 7-12). This work of Ibn al-Khaṭīb presents a panorama of the civilization of Granada, with biographies of the Naṣrid sovereigns, from approximately 628 to 765/1230 to 1363. (3) *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām fi-man būyiʿa ḳabl al-iḥtilām min mulūk al-Islām*, one of the last works written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in 774 and 776/1372-4 (partial ed. by Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in *Centenario M. Amari*, ii (1910), 427-82 (trans. R. Castrillo, *El Africa del Norte en el «Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām» de Ibn al-Jaṭīb*, Madrid

1958) and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane extraite du «Kitāb Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām»*, Rabat 1934, ²Beirut 1956; partial ed. by A. M. al-ʿAbbādī and M. I. al-Kattānī, *al-Maghrib al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-wasīṭ*, Casablanca 1964). This is an unfinished history of Islam, the first part of which is devoted to the East, the second to Muslim Spain, and the third to North Africa and Sicily.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text and the references given there, the following should also be noted: M. M. Antuña, *El polígrafo granadino Abenaljatib en la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, Escorial 1926; Cl. Sánchez Albornoz, *Fuentes de la historia hispano-musulmana del siglo VIII*, vol. ii of *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo*, Mendoza 1942, index s.v. Aben Aljatib (some correction necessary); E. García Gómez, *Ibn Zamrak, el poeta de la Alhambra*, Madrid 1943; Aḥmad Mukhtār al-ʿAbbādī, *Los móviles económicos en la vida de Ibn al-Jatīb*, in *al-Andalus*, xx (1955), 214-21. (J. Bosch-Vilá)

IBN KHĀTIMA, Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khātima al-Anṣārī, man of letters, poet, historian and grammarian of al-Andalus. Born at an unknown date in Almeria, where he spent the greater part of his life, he died in 770/1369. An intimate friend of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he associated with the most eminent personages in the kingdom of Granada, but he does not appear to have held any office other than that of *kātib* and *muḳriʾ* at the mosque of Almeria. His teachers included Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Balāfiḳī, Ibn Luyūn, Ibn Djābir, Ibn Shuʿayb and Ibn Farkūn. Held in high esteem in his own lifetime, he is the author of works of merit in various fields. Those known are:

1. *Taḥṣīl al-gharaḍ al-ḳāṣid fī tafṣīl al-maraḍ al-wāfid*, on the outbreak of the plague which occurred in 749-50/1348-9. In medicine, Ibn Khātima studied epidemics in general, and the causes and effects of that of 749-50 in the town of Almeria in particular; mss: Berlin 6369, Escorial (Derenbourg, no. 1785); German trans. Taha Dinanah, in *Arch. für Gesch. d. Med.*, xx (1926), 27-81; Spanish trans., from the German text, of the medical part by J. Fernández Martínez, in *Actualidad medica* (Granada), 403-4 (1958), 449-512, 566-88.

2. *Maziyyat al-Mariyya ʿalā ghayrihā min al-bilād al-andalusiyya*; this work, of a historical character, is lost, but it is often quoted as a source by Ibn al-Khāṭīb, al-Maḳḳarī, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī and other historians of the period.

3. *Dīwān*; autograph ms. Escorial (Derenbourg 381), divided into five parts: (a) *fi 'l-madḥ wa 'l-thanāʾ*; (b) *fi 'l-nasīb wa 'l-ghazal*; (c) *fi'l-mulaḥ wa 'l-fukāhāt*; (d) *fi 'l-waṣāyā wa 'l-ḥikam*; (e) *muwashshaḥāt*; study and Spanish trans. of the *dīwān* by S. Gibert (thesis, Madrid 1951). There is another ms. in Rabat, Bibl. Générale, no. 269.

4. *Kitāb rāʾiḳ al-taḥliya fī fāʾiḳ al-tawriya*; a collection of poems of Ibn Khātima containing *tawriyas* [see bayān], compiled by one of his pupils named Ibn Zarḳala; mss: Escorial (Derenbourg, no. 419), Bibl. Nat. Paris (Blochet, no. 5749), Rabat (*Catal.* 1958, no. 1826); study and comm. on this work by S. Gibert in *Etudes d'orientalisme ... Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, 543-57.

5. *al-Faṣl al-ʿādil bayn al-raḳīb wa 'l-wāshī wa 'l-ādhil*, a short treatise in rhyming prose on the distinction between the spy, the informer and the censor; ed. and trans. S. Gibert, in *al-Andalus*, xviii (1954), 1-16.

6. *Irād al-laʾāl fī anshād al-ḍawāl(l)*, a résumé of a treatise on philology by al-Zubaydī and Ibn Makkī of Cordova with a commentary by Ibn Hishām and arranged in order by Ibn Hānī al-Sabtī; ed. and comm. by G. S. Colin, in *Hespéris*, xii (1931), 1-32.

In his *Nayl al-ibtihādj* (Cairo 1350/72), Aḥmad Bābā gives the title of another work of Ibn Khātima, on some questions of grammar, *Ilḥāḳ al-ʿaḳl bi 'l-ḥiss*, of which nothing further is known.

The National Library of Madrid (ms. 511 gg. 390 Cat. Guillén Robles) possesses a poem of Ibn Khātima that is also included in his *Dīwān*; it is a *takhmīs* of a poem of Ibn al-Khaymī of mystical character.

Bibliography: In addition to the works referred to: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1939, i, 114-29; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1364/1949, viii, 139-48; idem, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, Cairo 1358-61/1940-2, i, 23, 250, ii, 252, 259, 302, 346, 395; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjal*, Rabat 1934, i, no. 116; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tumbuktī, *Nayl*, Cairo 1350, 72; Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, Paris 1932, i, 78; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ms. Paris, no. 2327, xvii, fol. 210; Brockelmann, II, 259, S II, 396; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 331-3; G. S. Colin, *Quelques poètes arabes d'occident au XIVᵉ siècle*, in *Hespéris*, 1931, 241; M. Antuña, *Abenjátima de Almería y su tratado de la peste*, in *Religión y Cultura*, Madrid, Oct. 1928. (S. Gibert)

IBN KHAṬṬĀB [see al-khaṭṭābī].

IBN KHAYR AL-ISHBĪLĪ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khayr b. ʿUmar b. Khalīfa al-Lamtūnī al-Amawī, philologian and traditionist of Seville, where he was born in 502/1108. He became *imām* of the mosque at Cordova, and died in that city in 575/1179. Ibn Khayr, who studied under many teachers in different regions of al-Andalus, owes his fame to the catalogue (*fahrasa* [*q.v.*]) of the works which he had read and of the teachers who had given him their *idjāza* at Seville, Cordova, Almería, Malaga, Granada, etc. This work, called *Fahrasat mā rawāhu ʿan shuyūkhi-hi min al-dawāwīn al-muṣannafa fī durūb al-ʿilm wa-anwāʿ al-maʿārif*, was published in Saragossa in 1894-5 by J. Ribera y Tarragó (2 vols., as vols. ix-x of the *BAH*) under the title *Index librorum de diversis scientiarum ordinibus quos a magistris didicit*. After an introduction studded with *ḥadīths*, the author enumerates the works he has studied on Ḳurʾānic sciences (readings, abrogating and abrogated verses, commentary), goes on to *ḥadīth*, to which he devotes much space, together with the *siyar* and the *ansāb*, then to Mālikī *fiḳh*. Next come grammar, lexicography, *adab*, poetry. Finally, he lists the *fahrasas* which preceded his own. For each discipline he quotes the names of his masters, classifying them by region, but gives hardly any biographical information on them. This catalogue is a most important document for the study of the works known and taught in the author's day in Muslim Spain (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 28 ff.). Ibn Khayr in his turn had a great many pupils, a list of whom occupied, it is said, ten thirty-page notebooks.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 112; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 780; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vii, 540; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 242-4; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 231; Ahwānī, in *RIMA*, i/1 (1955), 97-8; González Palencia, *Literatura*², 195; Brockelmann, S I, 499. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN AL-KHAYYĀṬ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Manṣūr, known as Ibn al-Khayyāṭ,

grammarian, a native of Samarḳand who lived in Baṣra and Baghdād. In Baghdād he is said to have quarrelled over grammatical matters with al-Zadjdjādj (d. 316/928 [*q.v.*]). Among his pupils are mentioned Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zadjdjādjī and Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī. The latter, in a reply to Sayf al-Dawla, denied having tried to denigrate Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (see Yāḳūt); and from this we learn also that at a certain period of his life the grammarian became afflicted by complete deafness. But Yāḳūt also depicts Ibn al-Khayyāṭ as endowed with a splendid physique and as being a pleasant companion. He died at Baṣra in 320/932.

Apart from the *K. Maʿānī 'l-Ḳur'ān*, all the works attributed to Ibn al-Khayyāṭ are concerned with Arabic grammar: *al-Naḥw al-kabīr, al-Mūdjaz fi 'l-naḥw, al-Muḳniʿ fi 'l-naḥw*. Since the time of the *Fihrist* (77 and 81), this grammarian has been classed *mimman khalaṭa 'l-madhhabayn*, "among those who combine the two systems" of grammar: those of Baṣra and of Kūfa. But this should not be misinterpreted: it means that, while using the Baṣran method on certain points, he adopted certain Kūfan view-points, but not that he adopted a mixed grammatical system, since, properly speaking, there did not exist an eclectic grammatical system of grammar at Baghdād.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Khayyāṭ is not mentioned in Brockelmann. All the references given in Kaḥḥāla, ix, 23, add nothing to Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabā'*, xvii, 141-2 = *Irshād*, vi, 283-4. See also an anecdote in Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1373/1954, 75-6. (ED.)

IBN AL-KHAYYĀṬ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-RABAʿĪ, Arab poet who lived for almost half a century at the court of the Kalbī *amīrs* of Sicily, to whom the government on the island had been entrusted by the Fāṭimids in 337/948 [see ṢIḲILLIYA].

Practically nothing is known of the life of Ibn al-Khayyāṭ at Palermo, and indeed all traces of his activity as a poet at the court of the last representatives of the Banū Kalb (until 431/1040) would have been lost if Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Tudjībī al-Barḳī had not preserved in his commentary on the *Ikhtiyār al-Khālidiyyayn min shiʿr Bashshār* (ed. Muḥ. Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī, Cairo 1934) some fragments of the work of the poet, who was a great friend of his, though we do not know where and when this friendship was formed.

To judge by the some two hundred lines of his poems which are to be found in various sources, Ibn al-Khayyāṭ is to be considered as the true panegyrist of the Kalbīs, whose political actions, and especially struggles against frequent conspiracies and acts of sedition, he followed for some fifty years, that is until the fall of the dynasty, which was hastened by the treachery of the *ḳā'id* Ibn al-Thumna. Although it is difficult to form a judgement on the poet on the basis of the few verses which have survived, the fragments of his work show, besides his sincere attachment to the cause of the Kalbī family, a sensitivity to certain aspects of the natural background of the country in which he spent the whole of his life.

Bibliography: The only attempt to penetrate the spirit of the poetry of Ibn al-Khayyāṭ has been made by Iḥsān ʿAbbās in *al-ʿArab fi Ṣiḳilliyya*, Cairo 1959, 207-23 (cf. U. Rizzitano, *Il contributo del mondo arabo agli studi arabo-siculi*, in *RSO*, xxxvi (1961), 83-4). Sources (apart from al-Tudjībī) which have preserved verses by Ibn al-Khayyāṭ are mentioned in U. Rizzitano, *Nuove fonti arabe per la storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, in *RSO*, xxxii (1957) [*Scritti in onore di G. Furlani*], 536, n. 2. (U. RIZZITANO)

IBN KHAYYĀṬ AL-ʿUṢFURĪ, KHALĪFA, d. 240/854, generally known as Shabāb, was a prominent chronicler and genealogist who specialized in the study of tradition (*muḥaddith*). Little is known about his life. He seems to have lived for about 80 years. He was born in Baṣra, and it would appear that he was educated and also taught exclusively in his native city, not travelling to other cities as was then customary. This is indicated by the fact that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī does not mention him in his History of Baghdād, nor does any other chronicler or biographer refer to any journey that he undertook; furthermore, most of his teachers were of Baṣrī origin or had resided in Baṣra. He came of a well-educated family; his grandfather, who bore the same name, and also his father, were authorities in Tradition. Several men of outstanding culture were among his teachers, such as Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar Ghundar, Hishām al-Kalbī, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, etc., but he was closest to Yazīd b. Zurayʿ [*q.v.*], who is described by Ibn Saʿd as a worthy man with ʿUthmānī tendencies. These tendencies are apparent, to some extent, in Ibn Khayyāṭ's works.

On the whole Ibn Khayyāṭ is regarded by scholars of traditions as honourable, straightforward and trustworthy. Among his many disciples were al-Bukhārī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad, Ibn Ḥanbal and Baḳī b. Makhlad.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm, he was the author of four books: *al-Ta'rīkh, Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḳurrā', Ta'rīkh al-Zamnā wa 'l-ʿurdjān wa 'l-marḍā wa 'l-ʿumyān*, and *Kitāb Adjzā' al-Ḳur'ān wa-aʿshārihi wa-asbāʿihi wa-āyātih*. It would appear that the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḳurrā'* mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm is identical with the book which has survived under the title of *Ṭabaḳāt Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ* (the unique copy of this book is now in al-Ẓāhiriyya Library, Damascus).

Al-Ta'rīkh has also survived, in a copy found in Morocco (the only copy so far known). In a single volume of 168 fols., it was copied in Muslim Spain in 477/1084.

The author commences his book by defining the word *ta'rīkh*. After discussing the birth of the Prophet he covers the period from the Hidjra to the year 232/846, thus ignoring the Meccan period of the Prophet's life. The importance of the work lies not only in the fact that it is the oldest complete Islamic survey of events which has reached us, but also in the materials it contains and the way in which it was written. The author gives special attention to the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus and to Muslim foreign affairs, in particular to the extension of the Islamic Empire. He usually narrates each event from two points of view, local and official. He pays little attention to Islamic internal affairs, but he does deal with such decisive events as the death of ʿUthmān, the war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, the battle of al-Ḥarra, the Khāridjī movements, etc.

This book is a very important document for the study of Islamic administration in its early years, as the author, at the end of his account of each Caliph's reign, enumerates all the statesmen, generals and senior officials who held office under him.

As for the biographical *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, it too is the oldest complete book of its kind to have survived; Ibn Saʿd, though earlier, is incomplete. The unique

copy was made by one of the author's disciples, probably during the author's life-time. It consists of 97 folios, written in a fine hand between *kūfī* and *naskh*. Age and mishandling have made it very difficult to read. It contains the biographies of approximately 3375 men and women who were cited as authorities for Islamic traditions during the first 236 years of Islam. It is divided into two unequal parts, a very large one devoted to the men and a smaller to the women.

Ibn Khayyāṭ composed his book in a different way from his contemporary and fellow-citizen Ibn Saʿd. He begins by enumerating the men who were authorities in tradition and lived in Medina, commencing with the Prophet, then the members of Ḳuraysh, group by group according to their pedigree and their relation to the Prophet; then the members of the other Arab tribes. He then takes the Muslim cities and centres and deals with them in a similar manner. The author's biographical accounts are very brief but the significance of the book lies in the fact of its completeness and the close attention which the author pays to genealogy: he enumerates every Arab tribe, group and family who had migrated at the rise of Islam and names their place of settlement. Such information is most valuable for the study of the Islamic movement, the great Arab migration of the 1st/7th century and the history of the Umayyad Caliphate, because of the vital role played by the tribes under this dynasty. The book is of at least equal importance for the study of Islamic dogma, culture and society.

Both texts were edited, independently, by Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus 1967) and by Akram al-ʿUmarī (Baghdād 1967).

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IBN KHĀZIM [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. KHĀZIM].

IBN KHURRADĀDHBIH, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿUBAYD ALLĀH B. ʿABD ALLĀH (var. AḤMAD), is one of the earliest geographical writers in Arabic whose writings have survived more or less in their original form. His biography did not interest early authors. Only al-Masʿūdī, Ibn al-Nadīm and al-Iṣfahānī, all of the 4th/10th century, provided some brief particulars concerning his work. His grandfather's Iranian name was transliterated Kh.r.dā.dh.b.h. and read both as Khurdādhbih, "excellent gift of the sun", and Khurradādhbih, "created by the excellent sun". Originally a Zoroastrian, he embraced Islam in order, it is said, to please a member of the powerful Iranian family of the Barāmika [*q.v.*] viziers, probably Yaḥyā b. Khālid [*q.v.*].

Of his father, it is known only that in 201/816, during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, he was governor of Ṭabaristān and that he succeeded in bringing certain districts of Daylam [*q.v.*] into submission.

He himself seems to have been born in Khurāsān; as to the dates of his birth and death there is some disagreement: the years 205/820 and 211/825 have been suggested for the former and 300/911 for the latter. He grew up apparently in Baghdād, in ease and comfort, and received an excellent literary and artistic education from teachers of the standing of Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*]. He is said to have had a marked propensity for knowledge and study.

When he reached manhood, his principal career was at first as Director of Posts and Intelligence (*ṣāḥib al-barīd wa 'l-khabar*) in the province of Djibāl [*q.v.*], subsequently being promoted to the office of director-general of the same department in Baghdād and later in Sāmarrā. In this capacity he had access to the caliph al-Muʿtamid and soon became his familiar and friend, taking part in his diversions and sharing his taste for entertainment, secular literature and the arts.

This turn of mind, his Iranian origins and the requirements of his professional career are all reflected in his literary works. A list of them, apparently incomplete, is given by Ibn al-Nadīm, according to whom he wrote the following works: 1. *Adab al-samāʿ* (correct behaviour when listening to singing and music); 2. *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (on the culinary art); 3. *Kitāb al-Sharāb* (on drinking); 4. *Kitāb al-Nudamāʾ wa'l-djulasāʾ* (on boon-companions and fellow revellers); 5. *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ* [*q.v.*]. None of these five works has survived. 6. *Kitāb al-Lahw wa'l-malāhī*, edited from the unique manuscript by I. A. Khalifé (Beirut 1964); it is presumably to this work that al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*] is alluding in his *Risālat al-Ghufrān* when he speaks of the "classes of singers" (*ṭabaḳāt al-mughannīn*). In this book he treats of music and musicians, borrowing the basic technical vocabulary from Persian and giving allegedly historical information (which al-Iṣfahānī considered to be unacceptable). Al-Masʿūdī reproduces five pages from the text of a dissertation on the same subject given by Ibn Khurradādhbih in the presence of the caliph al-Muʿtamid. These have been edited by al-ʿAzzāwī under the title *K. al-Lahw wa'l-malāhī*. De Goeje translated this title as "Le livre du jeu et des instruments de musique" (The book of playing and of musical instruments). 7. *Kitāb Djamharat* (var. *Djumhūr*) *ansāb al-Furs wa 'l-nawāḳil* (var. *nawāfil*) (= The book of the principal genealogies of the Persians and of the transplanted population). 8. *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, regarded by al-Masʿūdī as "the best constructed and most exhaustive" work of its kind (yet it does not appear in Ibn al-Nadīm's list). These two works are frequently cited by al-Thaʿālibī, and no. 8 is cited once by Ibn Shaddād. 9. *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* (= The book of itineraries and kingdoms), which made his reputation, often copied or used as a model for imitation and twice edited and translated into French in full, and once in part only; it has been the subject of a controversy that is still unresolved in regard to the date of its composition and the authenticity of the version which has survived; finally, in regard to its scientific value, it has given rise to contradictory appreciations by the early Arab writers and by modern orientalists.

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(M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN AL-ḲIFṬĪ, Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī, versatile Arab writer, born in 568/1172 at Ḳifṭ in Upper Egypt. He received his early education in Cairo and in 583/1187 went to Jerusalem, where his father had been appointed as deputy to the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, the famous chancellor and adviser of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin). During the many years which he spent as a student there he was already collecting the material for his later works. He was forced by the disturbances which followed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death to go in 598/1201 to Aleppo, where, under the protection and with the encouragement of a friend of his father, he was able again to pursue his scholarly interests for several years, until the Atabeg of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, placed him in charge of the *dīwān* of the finances, a task which he undertook only reluctantly, but which brought him the honorific title of *al-Ḳāḍī al-Akram*. After al-Ẓāhir's death (613/1216) he resigned, but three years later was appointed by al-Ẓāhir's successor to the same post, which he then held without interruption until 628/1230. There is no doubt that Ibn al-Ḳifṭī had used his influential position in order to further the cause of scholarship, for during these years he gave shelter in Aleppo to Yāḳūt, who had fled from the Mongols, and gave him much help in the compilation of his great geographical dictionary. Dismissed at his own request in 628/1230, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī was able to devote a few years to his own studies until he was appointed vizier by al-Malik al-ʿAzīz in 633/1236. He remained in this office until his death in 646/1248.

Of the 26 works of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī of which the titles are known only two survive: (1) The *Kitāb Ikhbār al-ʿulamā' bi-akhbār al-ḥukamā'*, usually referred to simply as *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, which exists in an epitome by al-Zawzanī (written in 647/1249), ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903; it contains 414 biographies of physicians, philosophers and astronomers with many statements from Greek writers which have not survived in the original; (2) *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, parts i-iii ed. by Muḥ. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1369-74, which contains about a thousand biographies of scholars. Of the posthumous *Akhbār al-Muḥammadīn min al-shuʿarā'* there exist only fragments in Ms. Paris arab. 3335. The remaining titles are mainly of historical works: a history of Cairo until the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, a history of the Seldjūḳs, of the Mirdāsids, of the Būyids, of Maḥmūd b. Sabuktakīn, of the Maghrib, of the Yemen; a comprehensive *Ta'rīkh al-Ḳifṭī* in the epitome of Ibn Maktūm (d. 749/1348) is evidently identical with the history of Cairo mentioned above. Other titles indicate individual biographies (of Ibn Rashīḳ, Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī), the history of scholarship (the Shaykhs of al-Kindī), a supplement to the *Ansāb* of al-Balādhurī, etc.

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(A. Dietrich)

IBN KILLIS, Abu 'l-Faradj Yaʿḳūb b. Yūsuf, famous Fāṭimid vizier of the caliph al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*]. He was by origin a Jew, born in Baghdād in 318/930. He went with his father to Syria and settled at Ramla, becoming an agent for various merchants; but, according to one tradition, having appropriated their money and being unable to repay it, he fled to Egypt, where he entered the service of Kāfūr [*q.v.*], who thought highly of him and whose complete confidence he gained by enabling him to appropriate various inheritances whose existence he brought to his notice and in addition by making purchases for him for which Kāfūr paid in drafts on state land. He acquired precise information on the revenues of all the villages in the country and obtained control of expenditure for Syria and Egypt. Kāfūr having declared one day that if he were a Muslim he ought to be vizier, Ibn Killis aspired to the vizierate, embraced Islam in 356/967 and devoted himself to an assiduous study of the Ḳur'ān and the laws of Islam under the guidance of a teacher. But the following year Kāfūr died, and the vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. al-Furāt, who was jealous of Ibn Killis, had him arrested. Later the son of this vizier was to marry a daughter of Ibn Killis (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vii, 173). Thanks to interventions and bribes, he was released and set off for North Africa. It is possible that, while still in Egypt, he had been won over by the Fāṭimid propaganda which was active at the time.

He entered the service of al-Muʿizz li-dīn Allāh who was impressed by his qualities as an administrator. He returned with him to Egypt, which he had encouraged him to conquer, in 362/969. From the beginning of 363/October 973 he was entrusted with the reorganization of the financial system with the assistance of Uslūdj b. al-Ḥasan. By vigorous measures he considerably increased the revenues of the state and ensured confidence in the *muʿizzī dīnār*. After the death of al-Muʿizz in 365/975, he continued to manage affairs on behalf of his son al-ʿAzīz, who appointed him vizier at the beginning of 367/August 977 and, in Ramaḍān of the following year/February 979, conferred on him the title of *al-wazīr al-adjall* ("the illustrious vizier"). He was thus the first vizier of the Fāṭimid dynasty. Al-ʿAzīz bestowed on him honours and wealth, and it was during his tenure of office that under this caliph Egypt enjoyed a prosperity never before attained and the Fāṭimid empire saw its greatest territorial expansion.

Ibn Killis's foreign policy was expressed in the advice which he gave before he died to al-ʿAzīz: to undertake nothing against the Byzantines so long as they themselves did not attack, to be satisfied with a vague acknowledgement of vassalage from the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo, but not to spare Mufarridj b. al-Djarrāḥ, the chief of the Ṭayyi Arabs of Palestine [see DJARRĀḤIDS]. He carried it out successfully but not without resorting to intrigue, to deception and even to attempts at assassination. He re-took Damascus from the Turk Alptakīn, ally of the Ḳarmaṭīs, but when the latter, having become a favourite of the caliph in Egypt, showed the vizier little respect, he had him poisoned (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 219, s.a. 365). Ibn Killis put an end to the complicated situation created in Syria and Palestine by Ḳassām, the successor of Alptakīn in Damascus, the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib, who had come from Djazīra to seek his fortune in Syria, and Mufarridj b. al-Djarrāḥ; then he forced Bakdjūr, the Ḥamdānid representative at Ḥims (whom al-ʿAzīz had made governor of Damascus and whom Ibn Killis hated because he had had put to death the tenant of the lands which the vizier owned in the region of Damascus and had seized these lands) to leave Damascus [for details, see AL-ʿAZĪZ]. But Ibn Killis prevented the caliph from getting too deeply engaged in northern Syria.

In domestic policy, the favour which Ibn Killis enjoyed suffered only one eclipse of some months (373-4), the reasons for which were perhaps the caliph's anger after the poisoning of Alptakīn, or disturbances caused by a famine in Egypt. He soon recovered all his offices and his immense riches. Moreover Ibn Killis did not fail to flatter his master, as witness the episode of the cherries which he had brought for him by pigeons from Syria (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 391 and ii, 93; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, 252), and the flattering verses in which Ibn Killis explained how it had come about that one of his pigeons had outstripped that of the caliph in a race, a fact of which the vizier's enemies had made use to slander him.

Ibn Killis was noted for the magnificence of the life he led in his palace, his liberality to scholars, jurists, physicians, men of letters and poets, and his concern to promote learning: he was the first to have the idea of making al-Azhar into a university, and he maintained thirty-five jurists. He was a sincere supporter of Fāṭimism; he imprisoned an ʿAlid of Damascus who had mocked at the genealogy of the Fāṭimids. He was a specialist in Ismāʿīlī *fiḳh*: all his biographers emphasize the fact that he composed, on the basis of traditions received from al-Muʿizz and al-ʿAzīz, a legal treatise known as *al-Risāla al-wazīriyya*, that he taught it in lectures which he gave personally, and that *fatwā*s were given on the authority of his teaching. He had a mosque built in his palace, supervised the building of the mosque known as that of al-Ḥākim, and added in 378 a *fawwāra* (fountain) in the mosque of ʿAmr (Yāḳūt, iii, 899). He appears to have contributed to the development of Fāṭimid ceremonial by instituting at the caliph's court a corps of picked troops (the *ḳuwwād*) who paraded in processions, and by founding the regiment which bore his name, *al-ṭāʾifa al-wazīriyya*.

Ibn Killis's biographers praise him highly, although they do not conceal the questionable means which he used to achieve success or to rid himself of his own enemies and those of the dynasty. On his death, at the end of 380/February 991, al-ʿAzīz, who led the funeral prayer for him, wept and showed great grief. The Christian Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd states that Ibn Killis was worthy of this; but the Egyptian populace accused him of showing too great favour to the Christians and to the Jews.

Bibliography: Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *Annales*, ed. Cheikho, 155, 163, 164, 172, 173 (= *P.O.*, xxiii, 390 (183), 411 (203), 414 (206), 433 (225)); Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rudhrawārī, *Dhayl Kitāb Tadjārib al-umam*, 185; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā man nāl al-wizāra*, in *BIFAO*, xxv (1925), 19-23; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 15, 22, 29, 30, 31, 32; Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār mulūk Banī ʿUbayd*, ed. Vonderheyden, 49; Ibn al-Athīr, 1303 ed., viii, 219, ix, 6, 19, 27; Ibn Saʿīd, *Kitāb al-Mughrib* . . ., book iv, ed. Tallqvist, 76; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. H. Massé, 45, 51; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ ed., ii, 440-4 (tr. de Slane, iv, 359); Kutubī, Būlāḳ ed., i, 104; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-djāmiʿ al-ghurar, djuzʾ* vi, ed. Ṣ. Munadjdjid, Cairo 1961, 165, 193, 198, 201-3, 205, 208, 210-3, 216, 218-23, 225-6; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāk ed., i, 439, ii, 5-6, 226, 341; idem, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. Shayyāl, 196, 198-9, 275, 279, 296; Quatremère, *Vie du calife fat. Moezz-lidin-Allāh*, in *JA*, 3rd series, nos. 2 and 3; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Fatimiden-Chalifen*, 50-1, 133 ff.; idem, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten* . . ., 51; R. Gottheil, *A Fetwa on the appointment of Dhimmis to office*, in *Festschrift Goldziher*, 222; G. Wiet, *L'Egypte arabe* (*Hist. de la Nation égypt.*, iv), 1937, 149-50, 188, 192, 194; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Staatskanzlei im islam. Ägypten*, 1928, 19, 28, 64; W. J. Fischel, *Jews in the economic and political life of medieval Islam*, London 1937, 45-68. See also Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1958, 270-2, 298-300, 426-7, 444-5, 536-7, 632-3 and index; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950, 54-9, 174-6 and index.

(M. CANARD)

IBN AL-ḲIRRIYYA, ABŪ SULAYMĀN AYYŪB B. ZAYD, of the Zayd Manāt (al-Ḳirriyya was probably the name of his mother or of one of his grandmothers), is presented as an illiterate Bedouin whose eloquence, however, became proverbial to the extent of eclipsing the fame of Saḥbān Wāʾil [*q.v.*]. Tradition relates that he lived in the entourage of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], and *adab* books contain discourses, generally rhymed, which he is said to have given on various occasions or in reply to questions from his master. He is reported however to have joined the party of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*], drawing up his letters and preparing his speeches; he is even credited with the famous sentence, usually attributed to al-Ghaḍbān b. al-Ḳabaʿtharā: "Lunch off al-Ḥadjdjādj before he dines off you". He was imprisoned with other supporters of Ibn al-Ashʿath and was either beheaded by the public executioner or killed with a lance by al-Ḥadjdjādj himself in 84/703.

The *Aghānī* (Beirut ed., ii, 6) however, records a statement by al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*] which throws doubt on the historical existence of Ibn al-Ḳirriyya: "Two men have always been known only by the name of Madjnūn: the Madjnūn of the Banū ʿĀmir [see MADJNŪN LAYLĀ] and Ibn al-Ḳirriyya, but both were invented by the *ruwāt*."

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 104; idem, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 290; Ṭabarī, ii, 1127-9; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 323, 383, 394-6; *Aghānī*, index; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 304, 476, 905; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*,

iii, 216-19; Ibn Khallikān, i, 83. See also BAYĀN, 1115a. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-ḲIṬṬ, by-name of the Umayyad prince AḤMAD B. MUʿĀWIYA B. MUḤAMMAD B. HISHĀM B. MUʿĀWIYA B. HISHĀM I, famous for his attack on Zamora in 288/901.

At the end of the reign of *amīr* Muḥammad I and throughout that of his successor ʿAbd Allāh, the unity of the Umayyad emirate of Cordova was on the point of being destroyed. The disloyalty and incessant revolts of the Arab and Berber lords in the provinces made it possible for Alfonso III of León to extend his conquests from strategic bases at Coïmbra, Astorga, León and Amaya; in 280/893 he rebuilt the fortress of Zamora, and the garrison made continual raids on the Berbers in the vicinity. Moreover, the Banū Ḳasī in Aragon, Ibn Marwān in Extremadura and above all Ibn Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*] in the mountainous region near Ronda were striving to break away from the central authority. At the same time, towards the borders of León, where the Berbers were more numerous, there came a stream of mystics and fanatics, while the doctrines of the Muʿtazilīs were being introduced from the East and the philosopher Ibn Masarra [*q.v.*] was expounding his metaphysical ideas in the Sierra of Cordova. Amidst such disturbances in both the spiritual and political spheres, various adventurers, either zealots or impostors, made their appearance, declaring themselves the enemies of the régime; they found enthusiastic support among the Berbers of the mountainous zone in the centre of the peninsula. One of these figures, who, in the traditional manner, prepared to censure social behaviour and morality at the very time when the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* was spreading the Ismāʿīlī doctrine in North Africa, was the Andalusian missionary Abū ʿAlī al-Sarrādj who, under pretext of preaching the holy war, worked against the régime, cunningly disguised as a Muslim ascetic. Dressed in coarse homespun, wearing rope sandals and riding a donkey, he travelled all over the country. In this disguise, "he worked actively to bring to fruition a projected alliance which had been planned in 285/898 between the Banū Ḳasī of Aragon and ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn"; he did not succeed in carrying through his plan, but three years later he was able to persuade the Umayyad prince Aḥmad b. Muʿāwiya, a devotee of astrology who did not conceal his aspirations to the throne, to come out in open revolt. Ibn Sarrādj presented him as the reforming Mahdī, and the two of them traversed the district of Los Pedroches (Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ) and the Sierra of Almadén (Djabal al-Barānis), where they were received with enthusiasm by the Berbers to whom they preached the holy war against Zamora. Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ's displays of conjuring increased the number of his supporters (whom the Arab sources put at over 60,000), and this fanatical horde, before whom he had promised the seven walls of Zamora would crumble, approached the fortress. While al-Sarrādj prudently withdrew, Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ invited Alfonso III to embrace Islam if he did not wish to be exterminated with all his men; Alfonso indignantly took up his position on the right bank of the Duero and, after a combat which according to Arab sources was favourable to Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ, siege was laid to Zamora. But the Berber leader Nafza, being disillusioned, left Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ together with all his troops, and his departure provoked new desertions. After some indecisive skirmishes, Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ, finding himself abandoned by almost all his followers, launched a desperate attack on the enemy and was killed, on 20 Radjab 288/10 July 901. For a long time his head remained hanging from the top of one of the gates of Zamora. "This tragi-comical expedition was no more than an isolated episode in the annals of the lower and central Marches" at the end of the 3rd/9th century and at the beginning of the 4th/10th, and its only repercussion is the expedition said to have been undertaken in the same year by the future Ordoño III, son of Alfonso III, who, setting out from Viseo, crossed the Tagus and then the Guadiana to reach the region of Seville, where he sacked and burnt one of the villages".

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 382-5; Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*[2], ii, 132-4; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, 91-2; Sampiro, re-ed. Huici, in *Crón. lat. de la Reconquista*, i, 269; Cirot, *Chron. léonaise*, ii, 33; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 363 (description of Zamora reproduced by Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 223). (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

IBN ḲUBṬŪRNA [see IBN ḲABṬŪRNU].

IBN ḲUDĀMA AL-MAḲDISĪ, MUWAFFAḲ AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, Ḥanbalī ascetic, jurisconsult and traditionalist theologian. He was born in Djammāʿīl, near Jerusalem (Bayt al-Maḳdis, whence his ethnic name) in Shaʿbān 541/Jan.-Feb. 1147, and died in Damascus on 5 or 6 Djumādā II 620/6 or 7 July 1223.

In 551/1156, the Banū Ḳudāma moved from Djammāʿīl to take up residence in Damascus. The chroniclers explain this exodus as caused by the bad treatment the Muslims were receiving at the hands of the Franks.

From the sources available to us at the present time it is possible to reconstruct two main branches of this large family from the 5th/11th to the 10th/16th centuries. At the head of one branch is Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn's father, the Shaykh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma (491-558/1097-1162), the preacher (*khaṭīb*) of Djammāʿīl, a man known for his asceticism, for whom a mosque was built in Damascus (Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, ii, 354). On his brother Yūsuf, who stands at the head of the other branch, the sources seem to be silent; but he is the ancestor of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (840-909/1436-1503), whose autograph certificates of audition (*samāʿ*) are to be seen on the margins and in the colophons of many of the manuscripts of the Ẓāhiriyya library in Damascus. The most numerous sub-branch of this family is by far that of Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn's brother, the ascetic Shaykh Abū ʿUmar (528-607/1133-1210). Regarding the other brother, ʿUbayd Allāh, our sources are silent, though other members of this sub-branch are known: the son Aḥmad (573-613/1177-1216), the latter's two grandsons Aḥmad (614-687/1217-1288) and ʿUbayd Allāh (635-684/1237-1285), and the latter's grandson ʿAbd Allāh (d. 803/1400).

The smallest sub-branch of all is that of Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma, whose three sons died in his lifetime and who was survived by his grandson Aḥmad (605-643/1208-1245).

Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn received the first phase of his education in Damascus where he studied the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*. He made his first visit to Baghdād in 561 in the company of his maternal cousin, a well-known Ḥanbalī traditionist, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maḳdisī (541-600/1146-1203), also originally from Djammāʿīl, a member of a numerous family tracing their origin back to a certain Surūr b. Rāfiʿ. Arriving at Baghdād they were received by the leading Ḥanbalī of the day, the celebrated mystic ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī [*q.v.*]. Their discipleship was cut short by the latter's death.

Brief though it may have been, this experience must have had its influence on the young Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn, who was to reserve a special place in his heart for mystics and mysticism. This is attested by what the present author regards as his condoning of Ibn ʿAḳīl's [*q.v.*] veneration for the great mystic al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*]; and in a *silsila* preserved in a manuscript in the Ẓāhiriyya library of Damascus (see Madjmūʿ 18, fol. 254b), Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn figures as having received the *khirḳa* from ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī and passed it on to another Ḥanbalī, his cousin Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (543-614/1148-1217), brother of the above mentioned ʿAbd al-Ghanī. On the other hand, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn did not condone what he believed to be the excessive rationalism of Ibn ʿAḳīl, against whom he wrote *Taḥrīm al-naẓar fī kutub ahl al-kalām* (see G. Makdisi, *Ibn Qudāma's censure of speculative theology*, London 1962).

Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn's first sojourn in Baghdād lasted four years. He is known to have visited it again in 567 and 574, making his pilgrimage to Mecca in the previous year 573, and finally settling in Damascus in 575. He left Damascus once again in 583 to take part in Saladin's expedition against the Franks, particularly in the conquest of Jerusalem, which occurred that year.

Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn is known especially for his works on Ḥanbalī law: *al-Mughnī* and *al-ʿUmda* on positive law, and *Rawḍat al-nāẓir*, on the methodology of law, all of which have been published.

Bibliography: For further details on his life, works and ideas, see Brockelmann, I, 398, S I, 688-9; H. Laoust, *Le Précis de Droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950; H. Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous le califat de Baghdad*, in *REI*, xxvii (1959), 125-6; G. Makdisi, *Kitāb at-Tauwābīn "Le Livre des Pénitents" de Muwaffaq ad-Dīn Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī*, Damascus 1961; idem, *Ibn Qudāma's censure of speculative theology*, London 1962.

(G. MAKDISI)

IBN KUNĀSA, ABŪ YAḤYĀ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH (= KUNĀSA) B. ʿABD AL-AʿLĀ AL-MĀZINĪ AL-ASADĪ, poet, philologist and *rāwī* of the ʿAbbāsid period. Born at Kūfa in 123/741, he studied in his native town poetry, *ḥadīth* and the other traditional sciences under the most distinguished members of the Banū Asad and became the transmitter of the works of several poets, among whom the most famous was al-Kumayt [*q.v.*]. He also transmitted a certain number of *ḥadīth*s to such important traditionists as al-Aʿmash [*q.v.*] and Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*]. Although he lived at Baghdād he does not seem to have tried to gain admittance to the court. He died at Kūfa on 3 Shawwāl 207/19 February 823, or in 209/824.

So far as can be judged by the few verses which have survived, Ibn Kunāsa was not a great poet, but his poetry, of great simplicity, reflects a morality and a serenity which are worthy of note. Nephew of Ibrāhīm b. al-Adham [*q.v.*] and brought up in a milieu of extreme piety, Ibn Kunāsa nevertheless was the owner of a well-known slave singing-girl, Danānīr, whose death he lamented. His descriptions of Kūfa are also worthy of mention.

He wrote in addition several works, among which the *Fihrist* mentions a *Kitāb Maʿānī 'l-shiʿr*, a *K. Sariḳāt al-Kumayt min al-Ḳur'ān* and a *K. al-Anwā'*, which was much used by later writers and is probably the earliest work of this type (see Ch. Pellat in *Arabica*, 1955/1, 36).

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 105, 225; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Anwā'*, index; idem, *Maʿārif*, 543; *Aghānī*, xii, 105-10 (Beirut ed., xiii, 338-47); Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 336; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, 81-3; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, v, 404-8; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 473; ʿAmrūsī, *al-Djawārī al-mughanniyāt*, Cairo n.d., 155-62; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iii, 482-3. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN ḲUNFUDH, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. ḤASAN (incorrect var. ḤUSAYN) B. ʿALĪ B. ḤASAN AL-KHAṬĪB B. ʿALĪ B. MAYMŪN B. ḲUNFUDH (var. AL-ḲUNFUDH), Algerian jurist, traditionist and historian born in 731/1330 or, more probably, in 741/1340, died in 809/1406 or 810/1407, in Constantine, a member of a family of teachers and jurists from that town and its environs. His ancestor, Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb, who taught *ḥadīth* in Constantine and claimed to belong to the confraternity of the Shādhiliyya, died in 664/1265 (cf. *Wafayāt*, 51); his grandfather ʿAlī b. Ḥasan, also *khaṭīb* in Constantine for half a century and *ḳāḍī* for many years, died in 733/1332 (cf. *Wafayāt*, 54). His maternal grandfather Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb al-Mallārī, a disciple of Abū Madyan [*q.v.*] the mystic, was director of a *zāwiya*, "two stages to the west of Constantine", where he taught; he died in 680/1281 (cf. *Wafayāt*, 58). Finally, his father Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, also *khaṭīb* in Constantine, was a jurist of repute and author of a work entitled *al-Masnūn fī aḥkām al-ṭāʿūn*; he died in 750/1350 (cf. *Wafayāt*, 56).

It is therefore probable that, in the first instance, it was from such relatives as these that he received the essential part of his cultural education. But we know that he left his native town as early as 759/1357, at the age of eighteen, on travels which lasted for eighteen years and which took him first to Fās and later to Marrākush. In 763/1361-2 he was with the Hintāta, one of the principal tribes of the Moroccan Atlas and renowned for its piety, and he went to Tinmellel to meditate at the tomb of the *mahdī* Ibn Tumart. Next he was in Salā (Salé), where he had the signal privilege of approaching the aged theologian and mystic Ibn ʿĀshir [*q.v.*]. In 776/ 1374 he was in Tlemcen, where he met the Ḥafṣid prince Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad (770-96/1368-93), and after that in Tunis where, together with another Ḥafṣid prince, Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (797-834/1393-1434), he attended the lectures of the scholar Abū Mahdī ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghubrīnī (d. 816/1412). Finally he returned to Constantine, at an unknown date, and there assumed the offices of *muftī* and *ḳāḍī*. In 804/ 1401 he was dismissed, and he lived in disgrace until his death.

During his travels, he endeavoured to perfect his knowledge of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, *manṭiḳ*, *naḥw*, *ḳirā'āt*, mathematics, etc. and to obtain diplomas (*idjāza*) from his various masters, whose names he subsequently recorded with care in his *Wafayāt*, in chronological order according to the date of death. They are: (a) in Fās: 1. Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ladjā'ī, d. 773/1371, a pupil of the mathematician Ibn al-Bannā'; 2. Abū ʿImran Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Muʿṭī al-ʿAbdūsī, d. 776/1374, a native of Meknès; 3. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Ḳabbāb, d. 779/1378; 4. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Wānaghīlī, the blind, d. 779/1378; 5. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥayātī, d. 781/1379; 6. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Haskūrī; (b) in Salé: 7. Ibn ʿĀshir Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, d. 765/ 1353; 8. Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, d. 776/1374; (c) in Marrākush: 9. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Zukandarī, d. 768/1367; (d) in Tlemcen: 10. Abū

ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, d. 771/1369; 11. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Marzūḳ, d. 780/1379; (e) in Constantine: 12. Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim b. Bādīs, d. 787/1385; 13. Ḥasan b. Khalaf Allāh b. Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim b. Maymūn b. Bādīs, cousin of the last-named, d. 784/1382; (f) in Tunis: 14. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Baṭarnī (var. al-Batrūnī and al-Baṭṭiwī), d. 793/1390; 15. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿArafa, d. 803/1400; 16. Abū Mahdī ʿĪsā al-Ghubrīnī, named above; 17. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad . . . al-Sabtī, ḳāḍī of Granada, d. 761/1359, who gave him a general idjāza after admitting him to the "pleasure of being present at his lectures" (cf. *Wafayāt*, 58); 18. Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Radjrādjī (probably al-Ragrāgī), d. 810/1407, after the writing of the *Wafayāt*; 19. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr. . . b. ʿAbbād al-Rundī [*q.v.*], died in Fās in 792/1390. The last two are not named in the *Wafayāt*.

Ibn Ḳunfudh was equally scrupulous, at the end of the same work, in compiling a list of his own writings. Of the 26 titles contained in this list, at the present time, roughly speaking, we know only the following: (1) *Bughyat al-fāriḍ min al-ḥisāb wa 'l-farāʾiḍ*, which is probably the same as the *Muʿāwanat al-rāʾiḍ fī mabādī 'l-farāʾiḍ* or again the *Sharḥ al-urdjūza* (var. *al-manẓūma*) *al-tilimsāniyya fi 'l-farāʾiḍ* and which, according to M. Ben Cheneb, is said to exist in a private(?) library; (2) *al-Fārisiyya fī mabādiʾ al-dawla al-ḥafṣiyya*, ed. M. Nayfar and ʿA. Turkī, Tunis 1968, with an important introd. (3) *al-Masāfa al-saniyya fi 'khtiṣār al-riḥla al-ʿabdariyya*, the source of Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, Fās ed., 394, Cairo ed., 70 and passim; (4) *Sharaf al-ṭālib fī asnā al-maṭālib* (see mss. in *al-Fārisiyya*, 74-7). (5) *Taysīr al-maṭālib fī taʿdīl al-kawākib*, ms. Rabat 512 bis; (6) *Uns al-faḳīr wa-ʿizz al-ḥaḳīr*, a biography of the Andalusian mystic Abū Madyan and his followers; ms. Rabat, 385; Cairo, vii, 344 v. 45; ed. M. al-Fāsī and A. Faure, Rabat 1965; (7) *Ḥaṭṭ al-niḳāb ʿan wudjūh aʿmāl al-ḥisāb*, a commentary on the *Talkhīṣ aʿmāl al-ḥisāb* of Ibn al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*], ms. Rabat 531.

M. Ben Cheneb attributes to him other works whose titles do not appear on his own list; (8) *Taḥṣīl al-manāḳib fī takmīl al-maʾārib*, a commentary on (5) above; ms. Rabat 512 bis. (9) *Sharḥ urdjūzat Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl* [*q.v.*], ms. Rabat 466, 467, 512 bis (1); Br. Mus. 977a

On the other hand, a number of mss have been discovered (see Introd. to *al-Fārisiyya*), in particular: (10) *Urdjūba fi'l-ṭibb*; (11) *Tuḥfat al-wārid fi 'khtiṣāṣ al-sharaf min ḳibāl al-wālid*; (12) *Tashīl al-maṭālib fī taʿdīl al-kawākib*; (13) *Sirādj al-thiḳāt fī ʿilm al-awḳāt*.

The remainder are now considered to be lost: (a) *ʿAlāmat al-nadjāḥ fī mabādiʾ al-iṣṭilāḥ*; (b) *Anwār al-saʿāda fī uṣūl al-ʿibāda*; (c) *Basṭ al-rumūz al-khafiyya fī sharḥ ʿarūḍ al-Khazradjiyya*; (d) *Hidāyat al-sālik fī bayān Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*; (e) *Īḍāḥ al-maʿānī fī bayān al-mabānī*; (f) *al-Ibrāhīmiyya fī mabādiʾ ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya*; (g) *al-Ḳunfudhiyya fī ibṭāl al-dilāla al-falakiyya*; (h) *al-Lubāb fi 'khtiṣār al-Djallāb*; (i) *Tafhīm al-ṭālib li-masāʾil uṣūl* (var. *aṣlay*) *Ibn al-Ḥādjib*; (j) *al-Takhlīṣ fī sharḥ al-talkhīṣ*; (k) *Taḳrīb al-dilāla fī sharḥ al-risāla*; (l) *Talkhīṣ al-ʿamal fī sharḥ al-Djumal* of al-Khūnadjī (cf. Brockelmann, I, 463); (m) *Tashīl al-ʿibāra fī taʿdīl al-ishāra*; (n) *Wasīlat al-Islām bi 'l-nabī ʿalayh al-ṣalāt wa 'l-salām*; (o) *Wiḳāyat al-muwaḳḳit wanikāyat al-munakkit*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās fī man ḥalla min al-aʿlām madīnat Fās*, lith. Fās 1309, 79; idem *Durrat al-ḥidjāl fī asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, Rabat 1934, i, 60; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībādj*, Cairo 1351/1932, 75; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī li ahl al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar wa 'l-thānī*, lith. Fās 1310, i, 4; Ibn Maryam-*al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyāʾ wa 'l-ʿulamāʾ bi, Tilimsān*, Algiers 1326/1908, 309; Ḥafnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-ridjāl al-salaf*, Algiers 1328/1909, 27-32; Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris wa 'l athbāt*, ii, 323; R. Basset, *Rech. bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salouat al-Anfās*, Algiers 1905, no. 20; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 98, n. 2, 247, n. 5; M. Ben Cheneb, in *Hespéris*, 1928, 37-49; Brockelmann, II, 241, S I, 598, S II, 341, 361; Cl. Huart, *Litt. ar.*, 343; Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Casablanca 1954-6, iv, 83; H. Pérès, ed. of the *Wafayāt* of Ibn Ḳunfudh, Algiers n.d., 58 ff.

(M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN ḲUTAYBA, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim al-Dīnawarī (some add al-Kūfī, which refers to his place of birth, and al-Marwazī, which is probably the ethnic name of his father), one of the great Sunnī polygraphs of the 3rd/9th century, being both a theologian and a writer of *adab*. He seems to have been descended, in the second or third generation, from an Arabicized Iranian family from Khurāsān which was connected on the female side with the Bāhilīs of Baṣra and may have come to ʿIrāḳ in the wake of the ʿAbbāsid armies during the second half of the 2nd/8th century.

He was born at Kūfa in 213/828, but little is known of his childhood and adolescence. At the most we are able to compile a list of his teachers which, on careful examination, provides much information on his education. Among the most important of them we find men who owe their reputations generally to their attachment to the *Sunna*, either as theologians, traditionists or philologists, or usually as all three. The biographers and critics have produced long lists of them, but a few names should be mentioned here. The three persons who had the greatest influence on the young Ibn Ḳutayba are undoubtedly Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Rāhawayh al-Ḥanẓalī (d. *ca.* 237/851), a Sunnī theologian, a disciple of Ibn Ḥanbal and protégé of the Ṭāhirids of Nīsābūr, where he appears to have spent most of his life, Abū Ḥātim Sahl b. Muḥammad al-Sidjistānī (d. *ca.* 250/864), Sunnī philologist and traditionist and a master of everybody who in ʿIrāḳ was interested in philology and tradition, and finally al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faradj al-Riyāshī (d. 257/871), one of the leaders of philological studies in ʿIrāḳ, transmitter of the works of al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda and other pioneers of the 2nd/8th century.

Very few details are available of Ibn Ḳutayba's career, but a comparison of information from different sources allows the following tentative reconstruction: after the change in ideology accepted by al-Mutawakkil and his chief henchmen from 232/846 onwards, Ibn Ḳutayba found himself favoured because of his literary works, the ideas of which tallied pretty well with the new trend. It was perhaps writings of the type of his introduction to the *Adab al-kātib* which caused him to be noticed and given an appointment by the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān, one of those chiefly responsible for the new policy, who may well have continued to be his patron until his disappearance in 263/877. There is no doubt that he owed to him his appointment as *ḳāḍī* of Dīnawar in about

236/851. He seems to have remained in this office until 256/870, when he may have stayed for a short time as inspector of *maẓālim* of Baṣra until the sacking of this town by the Zandj in Shawwāl 257/ November 871. It is not impossible, however, that he owed the latter appointment to the favour of another powerful official of the ʿAbbāsid administration, possibly the Nestorian convert Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad. Mention should also be made of his relations, perhaps only occasional, with the Ṭāhirid governors of Baghdād (*ʿUyūn*, ii, 222).

After 257/871, Ibn Ḳutayba devoted himself to the teaching of his works in a district of Baghdād, where he remained until his death in 276/889.

Ibn Ḳutayba's son, Aḥmad, appears to have been his chief disciple. He is certainly responsible, as is his son ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, for the transmission to Egypt, and indirectly to the West—especially through the intermediary of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī—of the greater part of the works of Abū Muḥammad. In al-Andalus, the direct transmission of Ibn Ḳutayba's work was ensured by the famous Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh, who had come to study in Baghdād in 274/887. Among the eastern disciples, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sukkarī (d. 323/935) seems to have played a particularly important part, his name being found at the head of numerous *isnād*s. But there should also be mentioned Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar Ibn Durustawayh [*q.v.*], and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Ṣāʾigh (d. 313/925), in addition to other minor disciples.

It can be stated that, with the exception of two titles, all the authentic works of Ibn Ḳutayba as at present known have been published. We list them here, giving for each the most useful edition and a brief description of the contents:

(1) *K. Adab al-kātib* (ed. Grünert, Leiden 1900), manual of philology for the use of secretaries, with a famous introduction which may be regarded as a politico-cultural profession of faith.

(2) *K. al-Anwāʾ* (ed. Pellat-Hamidullah, Ḥaydarābād 1375/1956), treatise on practical astronomy and meteorology.

(3) *K. al-ʿArab* (ed. Kurd ʿAlī, in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, ³Cairo 1325/1946, 344-77), treatise in the anti-Shuʿūbī tradition on the relative merits of the Arabs, the Persians, and the inhabitants of Khurāsān.

(4) *K. al-Ashriba* (ed. Kurd ʿAlī, Damascus 1366/ 1947), *fatwā* on drinks written in *adab* style.

(5) *K. al-Ikhtilāf fi 'l-lafẓ wa 'l-radd ʿala 'l-Djahmiyya wa 'l-Mushabbiha* (ed. Muḥammad Ẓāhid al-Kawtharī, Cairo 1349), a theological pamphlet refuting the position of the Mushabbiha on attributes and that of the Muʿtazilīs with Djahmiyya tendencies on the pronunciation of the Ḳurʾān.

(6) *K. Maʿānī 'l-shiʿr* (2 vols., Ḥaydarābād 1368/ 1949), long work on the themes of poetry.

(7) *K. al-Maʿārif* (ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1960), a historical manual with encyclopaedic appendices on very varied subjects.

(8) *K. al-Masāʾil wa 'l-adjwiba* (Cairo 1349 H.), a theological work.

(9) *K. al-Maysir wa 'l-ḳidāḥ* (ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1343), a juridico-philological study on games of chance, as the *K. al-Ashriba* was on fermented drinks.

(10) *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ* (ed. Aḥmad Shākir, 2 vols., Cairo 1364-69/1945-50), poetical anthology arranged chronologically, devoting a large section to the "modern" poets. The introduction, somewhat overrated, is often considered as a manifesto of neo-classicism (ed. and tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes under the title *Introduction au Livre de la Poésie et des Poètes*, Paris 1947).

(11) *K. Tafsīr gharīb al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1378/1958), philological commentary on the difficult passages of the text of the Ḳurʾān.

(12) *K. Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* (ed. Faradj Allāh Zakī al-Kurdī, Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Alūsī, Maḥmūd Shābandār-zāde, Cairo 1326), Ibn Ḳutayba's most important "theological" work, in which are clearly set out his religious, heresiographical and political ideas (Fr. tr. by G. Lecomte, Damascus 1962).

(13) *K. Taʾwīl mushkil al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1373/1954), treatise on Ḳurʾānic rhetoric and on *iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*.

(14) *K. ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (ed. Aḥmad Zakī al-ʿAdawī, Cairo 1343-8/1925-30), a large compendium of *adab*, on a number of apparently secular subjects; important introduction.

The only two authentic texts which are unpublished are:

(15) *K. Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, an incomplete manuscript of which exists in the Ẓāhiriyya at Damascus (*lugha*, 34-5), a philological commentary on *ḥadīth*, in the broadest sense, from the Prophet to Muʿāwiya.

(16) *K. Iṣlāḥ al-ghalaṭ fī gharīb al-ḥadīth li-Abī ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām* (Aya Sofya, 457; Ẓāhiriyya, 7899), a separate fascicule of no. 15 concerning Abū ʿUbayd's errors of interpretation.

The other titles of works attributed to Ibn Ḳutayba are for the present doubtful. Among those whose existence seems the least problematical may however be mentioned: (17) a *K. Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*; (18) a *K. al-Fiḳh*; (19) a *K. Iʿrāb al-Ḳurʾān*; (20) a *K. al-Naḥw*; and perhaps: (21) a *K. al-Ḳalam*; (22) a *K. Taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*; (23) a *K. al-Ḳirāʾāt*.

All the other titles found in the biographies are of works of dubious authenticity. Several of them probably represent the whole or part of the known works mentioned above.

Finally there should be mentioned the apocryphal works, of which up to now the following are known: (1) *K. al-Alfāẓ al-mughraba bi 'l-alḳāb al-muʿraba* (Fās, Ḳarawiyyīn, *lugha*, 1262); (2) *K. al-Djarāthīm*, an artificial philological collection published in fragments; (3) *K. al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa* (Cairo 1322, 1327, 1377) which it has been suggested might be attributed to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya; (4) *K. Talḳīn al-mutaʿallim fi 'l-naḥw*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 4715.

In addition to showing the influence of Ibn Ḳutayba's teachers briefly listed above, these works bear traces of the main cultural ideas current in ʿAbbāsid society in the 3rd/9th century, which means that they drew their inspiration also from a very wide range of written sources.

First, the essential ideas found in the work of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] certainly seem to have passed into that of Ibn Ḳutayba, and particularly in the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* and in *Maʿārif*: *K. Kalīla wa-Dimna*, *K. al-Adab al-kabīr*, *K. al-Āyīn* and *K. Siyar mulūk al-ʿAdjam* (translated from the history of the kings of Persia entitled *Khudhaynāma*). Next, a fair proportion of the Aristotelian or pseudo-Aristotelian works translated into Arabic at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, mainly under the titles of *K. al-Ḥayawān* and *K. al-Filāḥa*. Although borrowings from the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of al-Djāḥiẓ cannot be excluded, it seems that the *K. al-Filāḥa* (which is in fact the *Geoponica* of Cassianus) constitutes an original source. Ibn Ḳutayba knew the works of al-Djāḥiẓ remarkably well. Nevertheless his only acknowledged borrowings from this author concern the *K. al-*

*Bukhalā*ʾ. About the remainder one can only guess. Finally, it is not without interest to note that Ibn Ḳutayba borrowed extensively from existing, and remarkably faithful, translations of the Torah and of the Gospels (in *Maʿārif, Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* and *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*).

Interested mainly in his work on *adab*, which in fact was until recently the only example of his literary output in their libraries, western critics have often tended to overlook Ibn Ḳutayba's "theological" work and to pass in silence over his religious ideas.

It seems clear however that at some stage Ibn Ḳutayba put his literary talents at the service of the enterprise of the restoration of Sunnism which was undertaken by al-Mutawakkil and his chief helpers. This meant that a number of his works were intended to expound a politico-religious doctrine which we might expect would take its place in the ideological line of the Sunna then coming into being, and particularly that represented by Ibn Ḥanbal and Isḥāḳ b. Rāhawayh.

Nevertheless, Ibn Ḳutayba, who admits to having been tempted in his youth by the quasi-rationalist ideologies which were in vogue at the time, was at times somewhat troubled by the dogmatic intransigeance of the upholders of Tradition.

Although his theodicy is fairly clearly "Ḥanbalī", his attitude on *ḳadar* has nevertheless some strange nuances; although his attitude concerning the Ḳurʾān is orthodox, he is much less categorical on the problem of *lafẓ* [*q.v.*], which he states does not prevent membership of the Sunnī community; although his attitude concerning the Companions is that which remained in later times the touchstone of the Sunna, he nevertheless retained a deep and reverent respect for the family and descendants of the Prophet, so far as they were politically neutral. Even his opinions about the "national groups" (*Shuʿūbiyya*) seem much more subtle than has hitherto been admitted: whether he is writing of ethnic or of religious groups, one is led to think that he tends to gather together peaceably around the reigning dynasty those among them whom he considers it possible to win over politically.

On the other hand Ibn Ḳutayba's methodology —of which he nowhere gives a systematic definition —certainly seems steadfastly to despise the rational or intellectual criteria held for example among the Shāfiʿīs and the Ḥanafīs. The Ḳurʾān and the Sunna remain for him the two fundamental bases of doctrine; the third is *idjmāʿ*, of which his conception is perhaps nearer to that of Mālik than of Ibn Ḥanbal. The Ḥanafī *raʾy* and the Shāfiʿī *ḳiyās* are fiercely demolished in the *Mukhtalif*, as are all their equivalents (*naẓar, ʿaḳl, istiḥsān*, etc.).

Thus all the religious, political and literary work of Ibn Ḳutayba combines to make him an eminent representative, if not the exclusive spokesman, of the *ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Djamāʿa*, who in fact from this period were the party of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty after it abandoned the Muʿtazilī ideology.

Critics from Ibn al-Nadīm onwards all reproduce the same ready-made opinion concerning Ibn Ḳutayba's place in the "philological schools". It is admitted without hesitation that he was the chief creator of a "Baghdādī synthesis" between the philological doctrines of Kūfa and of Baṣra. On close inspection this opinion is shown to be open to doubt. In fact, in addition to the point already emphasized by G. Weil (introd. to the ed. of the *K. al-Inṣāf fī masāʾil al-khilāf*... of Ibn al-Anbārī, Leiden 1913) that the schools of Baṣra and of Kūfa can scarcely have assumed their distinctive characteristics before the end of the 3rd/9th century, nothing has been found in Ibn Ḳutayba's philological work, or at least in what now survives, which could really justify this point of view. Although he in effect contrasts them with the "Baṣrans", he regularly refers to those who were later to be attached to the "School of Kūfa" as "Baghdādīs", and the synthesis of which so much has been made is no more than a genuine eclecticism which never claimed to form a school.

All that can be said is that Ibn Ḳutayba in fact joins certain reputedly Kūfī tendencies to others considered to be Baṣran. His position may be summarized by stating that in grammar he remains on the whole a supporter of the norm, *i.e.*, "Baṣran", in spite of his attachment to the teaching of al-Kisāʾī and of al-Farrāʾ, whereas in a more general way, in philology and especially in poetry, he does not hesitate to depart from the usually accepted views, an attitude considered to be "Kūfī".

Ibn Ḳutayba's writing on poetry is found mainly in two works: the *K. Maʿānī 'l-shiʿr*, a long anthology of poetic themes, and the *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*, a mainly chronologically arranged anthology. It is possible that other works, now lost, were also on poetry. Thus there is frequently mentioned a *K. ʿUyūn al-shiʿr* of which nothing is known. It is usual (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*) to attribute great importance to the introduction to the *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*. It is true that it appears as a "veritable manuel du néo-classicisme" (R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 140) in the sense that it exhorts writers to "create antique verses on new thoughts" and contributes some original ideas on the ideal poetic technique. But one has no hesitation in saying that this text, though of some interest for the evidence it contains, is nevertheless grossly overrated as a treatise on style. Close inspection reveals that its few main ideas have nothing at all to do with poetic style. They concern in fact a great problem of cultural ethos, that of the quarrel of Ancients and Moderns, and in addition an important problem of historical method, that of the documentary value of a literary work in the strict sense. There is nothing in this which truly concerns poetics. As Ibn Ḳutayba composed no poetry at all himself, he continues to be regarded as a writer of prose.

Nevertheless, he must be regarded as an innovator, in the sense that he devotes in his anthologies, and particularly in the *Shiʿr*, at least as much space to the "modern" as to the "ancient" poets. Thus he professes a great admiration for writers such as Bashshār and Abū Nuwās, to mention only the greatest. In addition he has the merit of mentioning poets of whom otherwise almost nothing is known.

Ibn Ḳutayba's reputation, especially in the West, is based mainly on his ability as a writer of *adab*. His *adab*, which comprises an ethos and a culture in which are united all the intellectual currents of ʿAbbāsid society at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, and which displays an intent to popularize, at least for a certain literate public, is in this sense a kind of humanism. But it would be wrong, in the light of the eclectic professions of faith in the introductions of the *ʿUyūn* and the *Adab al-kātib*, to regard it as a secularist or even simply as a secular humanism, as some have tended to do in the West. What has been said above on his religious position and his attitude as defender of the *Sunna* clearly proves that in his mind there is no difference in kind but simply one of degree between the religious and the secular aspect of his educational work.

Ibn Ḳutayba's culture amalgamates in several

ways the four great cultural trends of his period: the Arabic trend proper, which consists of the "Arabic" sciences, *i.e.*, the religious sciences properly so-called, to which must be added the philological and "historical" sciences; the Indo-Iranian current, which contributes a certain administrative culture and a certain conception of the social relations in a developed society; the Judaeo-Christian trend, which adds a certain spiritual ferment; and, in a lesser degree, the Hellenistic trend which contributes the taste for logic and experimental knowledge.

Similarly Ibn Ḳutayba's ethic brings together the great ethical systems conveyed by these different cultures: the proud and pitiless ethic of the desert, that of the virile and sober qualities of the pre-Islamic *muruwwa*, the civilized and opportunist ethic of the Persian tradition, the spiritual and mystic ethic of the three revealed religions. Nevertheless, one seeks in vain in the resulting synthesis for any influence of Aristotelian or Platonic ethics, they being too clearly incompatible with the developing Sunnī ideal.

It is usual to consider the style of a compiler as a myth. Certainly it must be admitted that the great mass of Ibn Ḳutayba's work cannot be directly attributed to him. The data of *adab* and *ḥadīth* are obviously not written by him. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that all his works are preceded by introductions, usually long, and apparently on the whole original, consisting of several hundred pages in all. Furthermore it cannot be denied that his works of polemical ideology such as the *Mukhtalif*, the *Ikhtilāf fi 'l-lafẓ* and the *Masā'il* are entirely original. Thus, paradoxically, it is in the works or parts of works of the most technical nature that we must expect to find passages which demonstrate Ibn Ḳutayba's qualities as a writer.

Ibn Ḳutayba is, so far as is known at present, the third great writer of Arabic prose chronologically after Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ and al-Djāḥiẓ. After the bombastic and often obscure literary prose of the middle of the 2nd/8th century, and after the brilliant but difficult style of al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba introduced a prose whose dominant characteristic was ease and facility. Far from the oratorical periods of the *kuttāb* of the 2nd century and from the faceted style of al-Djāḥiẓ, his sentences are simple, short and without artifice; his language is that in current use, with no concession to *gharīb* and not bound by an exaggerated respect for the norms of grammatical theory. It is already "modern Arabic".

The two aspects of Ibn Ḳutayba, the "secular" and the "religious", which are however distinguished only for the purpose of explanation, reflect a double personality: with a mind open to all the current intellectual ideas, which he attempted to spread among the responsible people of his time, Ibn Ḳutayba, requested at a certain time to give the support of his literary authority to al-Mutawakkil's reform, found himself, as was said by Ibn Taymiyya, spokesman of the nascent Sunna. It is not surprising if, after this, this eclectic man of letters felt himself constrained to stifle certain of his syncretist tendencies. This explains the reticence concerning him which was maintained in later years, in the East as well as in the West, though generally for opposite reasons; and this explains why none of the great ideological schools of Islam has ever dared to claim him.

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For Ibn Ḳutayba's place in the development of rhetoric, see BALĀGHA and AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA'L-BAYĀN.

(G. LECOMTE)

IBN AL-ḲŪṬIYYA, ABŪ BAKR B. ʿUMAR B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. IBRĀHĪM B. ʿĪSĀ B. MUZĀḤIM, a grammarian and, in particular, historian of Muslim Spain, who owes his appellation "son of the Gothic woman" to the fact that one of his ancestors, ʿĪsā b. Muzāḥim, a freedman of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, had married Sara, daughter of Olmundo and granddaughter of the penultimate Visigothic king, Vitiza. Leaving Seville where her family was living, Sara had gone to Damascus to complain to the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik of the losses she had suffered at the hands of her uncle Ardabasto who, on the death of his brother, had seized his possessions in the East of al-Andalus. ʿĪsā and Sara returned to al-Andalus, and their descendants lived in Seville.

Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya was thus a *mawlā* of the Umayyads and a descendant of the Visigothic nobility. Born in Seville, he settled in Cordova after studying in his native town and in the capital of al-Andalus, under such famous teachers as Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayri, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Aymān, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Lubāba and Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh. He lectured in Cordova and had several pupils, some of them well-known, especially the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥazm Khalaf b. ʿĪsā al-Washkī and the historian Ibn al-Faraḍī, his principal biographer. He won distinction as a poet, but even more through his knowledge of grammar and lexicography, on which subjects he wrote works highly esteemed by later generations. He also gained a reputation as a jurisconsult and traditionist and, though criticized, he was none the less consulted as to the meaning or idea of such and such a phrase from the grammatical or lexicological point of view. His fame led to his being presented to al-Ḥakam II as the greatest philologist of his time; he held the office of *ḳāḍī* and enjoyed great prestige during his lifetime. He died in Cordova, in old age, on Tuesday 23 Rabīʿ I 367/6 November 977.

Of his various works, among which was his *Kitāb al-Maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd*, the only ones to have survived are: (1) *Kitāb Taṣārīf al-afʿāl*, published by I. Guidi (*Il libro dei verbi di ... Ibn al-Qūṭiyya*, Leiden 1894) and re-edited recently by ʿAlī Fawda under the title *al-Afʿāl*, Cairo 1953. (2) *Taʾrīkh iftitāḥ* (var. *fatḥ*) *al-Andalus*, a history of the conquest of the Iberian peninsula and of the emirate to the end of the reign of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh; the Arabic text, prepared from ms. Paris 706 by Gayangos, Saavedra and Codera, was printed in 1868, but it was published only by J. Ribera, with a Spanish trans. and a helpful introduction, under the title *Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcotia el cordobés* (vol. ii of the *Colección de obras arábigos de historia y geografía que publica la Real Academia de la Historia*), Madrid 1926. Earlier, A. Cherbonneau had brought out an incomplete French trans. (*Histoire de la conquête de l'Espagne par les Musulmans*, in *JA*, i (1853), 458-85 and viii (1856), 428-527); O. Houdas published the first part of the Arabic text with a French trans. (*Histoire de la conquête de l'Andalousie*, in *Recueil de textes* ..., published by the staff of the École des Langues Orientales, i, Paris 1889, 219-80); E. Fagnan also published a trans. of some fragments in his *Extraits*, 195 ff. The *Taʾrīkh* was re-edited recently by ʿAbd Allāh Anīs al-Ṭabbāʿ, Beirut n.d. [?1957].

The chronicle of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya was dictated in the second half of the 4th/10th century and was written down by one of his pupils; it consists of a series of detached notes taken down from dictation, and it is possible that there existed various recensions or copies made by other pupils; a hypothesis of this kind is supported by the fact that the incomplete edition of the *Taʾrīkh fatḥ al-Andalus* published in Cairo contains many variants (see Muḥ. Ibn ʿAzzūz, *Una edicion parcial poco conocida de la "Historia de Ibn al-Qūṭiyya"*, in *al-Andalus*, xvii (1952), 233-7). This chronicle, which could not have been disseminated before the 5th/11th century, has a special value for the history of al-Andalus in the 3rd/9th century, since it contains traditions, anecdotes, observations and personal impressions, not to be found in any other authors, on specific aspects of life at the Cordovan court and of certain personages. However, it provides, in its first part particularly, only somewhat scanty, imprecise and uncertain information.

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IBN ḲUṬLŪBUGHĀ, Ḳāsim b. Ḳuṭlūbughā al-Ḥanafī, Egyptian scholar in *ḥadīth* and religious law. He was born in Muḥarram 802/September 1399. His father, Ḳuṭlūbughā, a freedman of Sūdūn al-Shaykhūnī (d. 798/1396), died while he was still young. He supported himself in his youth as an accomplished tailor (needleworker) but embarked early upon his religious studies, which he pursued all his life. An early teacher of his was ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa (d. 819/1416). His principal *shaykh* was Ibn al-Humām (d. 861/1457). Like all the aspiring young scholars of the time, he also studied with Ibn Ḥadjar. His travels, not very extensive ones, brought him to Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Mecca. His professional career was not outstanding. He held only shortlived teaching appointments, for instance, in the Baybarsiyya and in the *madrasa* of Djānibak al-Djiddāwī. Equally shortlived stipends from influential friends, consisting in one instance of a monthly allowance of 800, and in another of 2000 *dirhams*, helped him to support his large family. But his scholarly prestige was great, and it seems that his writings and his legal advisory work yielded enough income for his needs. He had close Ṣūfī connexions and, in the great debate about mysticism, took a stand favorable to Ibn al-ʿArabī and Ibn al-Fāriḍ. Death came to him on the night of Wednesday-Thursday, 4 Rabīʿ II 879/17-18 August 1474.

His literary production, begun in his nineteenth year, was voluminous, approaching, it would seem, about a hundred titles. Among them, there are some works of historical interest and even a treatise on Avicennan logic. However, practically all he did was in the fields of *ḥadīth* and law. His works were the usual commentaries on legal school texts, compilations of traditions, glosses, additions, indexes of legal works, compilations of biographies of religious scholars, studies on Abū Ḥanīfa and his *Musnad*, discussions of individual legal problems, *fatwās*, and the like. Manuscripts of his more popular works have been preserved in great profusion. The catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, for instance, lists about seventy manuscripts, among them some twenty of his *Tādj al-tarādjim*. This compilation of brief biographies of Ḥanafī authors was first published by G. Flügel and made Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā's name known in the West (*Abh. K. M.*, ii/3, 1862, also Baghdād 1962; a manuscript dated 866 in Chester Beatty 3572[3]). Another of his biographical compilations, the large collection of brief biographies of reliable transmitters entitled *al-Thiḳāt min al-ruwāt*, is largely preserved in the Mss. Istanbul Köprülü, i, 264 and 1060. An inventory of his surviving writings, let alone a census of autograph copies and important old manuscripts, has

not yet been compiled. The same works are often listed under different titles, and some of the legal problems and *fatwā*s found in collections are also listed separately. At present, it is not possible to say whether any of his works possesses originality and independent value. Among titles apparently not listed in Brockelmann, mention may be made of his *Takhrīdj aḥādīth* (of the recently published) *al-Ikhtiyār li-taʿlīl al-mukhtār* of Ibn al-Buldadjī (d. 683/1284) (Ms. Istanbul Feyzullah 292, draft copy?); *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* of Ibn Firishta, unless this work is identical with the commentary on the *farāʾiḍ* listed in Brockelmann, S I, 658 (Feyzullah 707, Beşir Ağa 228); *Nuzhat al-rāʾiḍ fī takhrīdj aḥādīth al-farāʾiḍ* of the *Hidāya* (Yeni Cami 301, fols. 1-20a, copied by ʿAlī b. Sūdūn al-Ibrāhīmī in 853); *Risāla fī djawāz idjārat al-iḳṭāʿ* (Ms. Chester Beatty 3202[3], copied by the same Ibrāhīmī, also Laleli 951); the legal problems (cf. *Ḍawʾ*, vi, 187, ll. 18 f.) *al-Ḳawl al-mutbaʿ fī aḥkām al-kanāʾis wa-'l-biyaʿ* (Chester Beatty 3724), *Taḥrīr* (*Ḍawʾ*: *Takhrīdj*) *al-aḳwāl fī masʾalat al-istibdāl*, and *al-Ḳawl al-ḳāsim fī bayān* (*taʾthīr*) *ḥukm al-ḥākim* (Chester Beatty 5276 [1-2]), which, however, might also have been included in the collections of legal problems. An autograph copy of his *Taṣḥīḥ al-Ḳudūrī* dated 868 is contained in Ms. Chester Beatty 5040, pl. 181.

Bibliography: al-Biḳāʿī, *ʿUnwān al-zamān*, as quoted in Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 326; al-Maḳrīzī, *ʿUḳūd* (not seen); al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, vi, 184-90, 223; Brockelmann, II, 99 f., S II, 93, as well as Brockelmann, I, 469, II, 224, S. I, 296, 362, 611 f., 635, 638, 658, II, 90, 92, 264, III, 1253.

(F. Rosenthal)

IBN ḲUZMĀN, name of a Cordovan family, of which five members are, for various reasons, worthy of mention. The genealogy of the family is given in Ibn al-Abbār, no. 1517.

I. Abu 'l-Aṣbagh ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḳuzmān, poet and man of letters of the 4th/10th century. The chamberlain al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir chose him as one of the tutors of the young caliph Hishām II al-Muʾayyad, who succeeded to the throne at the age of eleven in 366/976. Thus, in spite of the opinion of E. Lévi-Provençal (*Du nouveau* ... 13), it is impossible that he should have been the father of the famous writer of *zadjal*s (no. V), who had the same name. This information is supplied by Ibn Saʿīd (*Mughrib*, ed. Shawḳī Ḍayf, i, 210), who adds that he was a member of the same family and quotes four verses by him. Other verses, without any biographical information, are given by al-Thaʿālibī (*Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo 1947, ii, 34-5) and by al-Ḍabbī, no. 1149.

II. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUbayd Allāh, called al-Akbar (the Elder) to distinguish him from his nephew of the same name. A famous stylist and poet, he became secretary and minister of the last Afṭasid ruler of Badajoz, al-Mutawakkil; he was thus the col eague of ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ibn ʿAbdūn [*q.v.*] and of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿīd al-Baṭalyawsī, known as Ibn Ḳabṭūrnu [*q.v.*], whose reputation was in fact greater than his. After the extinction of this dynasty (487/1094), he lived in obscurity. His unpleasant character and his bitter tongue earned him many enemies, among them Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamdīn, chief *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, who persecuted him. He died in 508/1114 (cf. Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, ed . Codera, no. 1139; *Mughrib*, i, 99, which reproduces the text of the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām; Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, Būlāḳ 1283, 187; Ibn Saʿīd, *ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt*, ed. Maḥdād, Algiers 1949, 45, in which the poet is referred to as Ibn Ḳurbān).

III. Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, son of the above. He was a great scholar, a most distinguished man of letters, a jurist taught by the chief *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd, the grandfather of Averroes. He was the last of the great traditionists of Muslim Spain and died a *ḳāḍī*, in 564/1169, at the age of eighty-five, at Osuna (Ushūna), a small town 70 kilometres south-east of Seville (cf. Ibn Bashkuwāl, no. 752; al-Ḍabbī, no. 989).

IV. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿUbayd Allāh, son of the above. A jurist and a poet, he served as *ḳāḍī* in several regions of the province of Cordova. He died at Osuna in 593/1196-7 or 594/1197-8 (Ibn al-Abbār, no. 1517).

V. Abū Bakr Muḥammad (called al-Aṣghar (the Younger) to distinguish him from No. II, who appears to have been his paternal uncle) b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik ... Ibn Ḳuzmān, the famous *zadjal*-poet. He at first tried writing poetry of the traditional type, in classical language (*muʿrab*). Then, realizing that he could not rival in this field the great poets of his time, such as Ibn Khafādja, he turned to the popular genre known as *zadjal* [*q.v.*], which is written only in the Arabic dialect of Spain. In this his success was so brilliant that he earned the undisputed title of "leader of the zadjalists" (*imām al-zadjdjālīn*).

Very little is known of the life of Ibn Ḳuzmān. He himself merely mentions (*zadjal* no. 38, stanza 9) that he was not yet born at the time of the famous battle of al-Zallāḳa (479/1086). The only certain fact is that he died at Cordova on the penultimate day of Ramaḍān 555/3 October 1160 (see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, MS Escorial, fol. 54).

Ibn Ḳuzmān lived in a difficult time for poets. From 489/1096, the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn had done away with the last "party kings" (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*) with their luxurious courts and their entourages of paid poets. Only the Hūdids, in distant Saragossa, succeeded in maintaining precariously the tradition of the patron princes until 503/1110. The new masters of the country, sultans, viceroys, and governors, were Berber-speakers from the Sahara, who must have been unable to understand the subtleties of Arabic poetry (cf. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*², iii, 127, 135). It is doubtful, for example, how far the governor of eastern Spain, Ibn Tīfalwīt, of the Saharan tribe of the Massūfa (d. 510/1116-7), was able to appreciate the panegyrics which were addressed to him at Valencia by Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*], considered as the finest poet of the time, and then at Saragossa by the famous philosopher, physician and musicologist, Ibn Bādjdja [*q.v.*].

Thus the only remaining persons to whom poets could turn for patronage were the members of the Hispano-Arab urban aristocracy, rich and powerful noblemen who held in rotation the office of chief magistrate (*ḳāḍī al-djamāʿa*). Their liberality, however, did not always match their wealth. One of them, Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamdīn, was so miserly as to be the subject of satires (cf. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*², iii, 156). Hence Ibn Ḳuzmān, always in search of money, dedicated his works to the various representatives of the great families of Cordova: the Banū Ḥamdīn, B. Rushd, B. Sirādj, B. Abi 'l-Khiṣāl, B. Rabīʿ, B. Shuhayd, B. Mughīth, B. al-Munāṣif, B. Yannaḳ, etc. Although he was not really a wandering poet, his habitual lack of money obliged him to seek the patronage of other wealthy men than those of his native town. From there he made many journeys

(*zadjal* no. 84, stanza 1) to Seville, where there lived two of his chief patrons: Abu 'l-ʿAlā' Ibn Zuhr (d. 525/1131), the father of "Avenzoar", and Ibn al-Ḳurashī al-Zuhrī. It was while in this town that he learned of the death of his Cordovan patron, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn Ḥamdīn in 521/1127 (*zadjal* no. 38, stanza 2).

For the same reason, he went often to Granada to address panegyrics there to ʿAlī b. Aḍḥā al-Hamdānī, *ḳāḍī* of the town, to ʿAlī Ibn Hānī and especially to Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Saʿīd, who was intendant of finance there. It was at the house of the latter that he met the poetess Nazhūn with whom he had a famous altercation (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 636). He may also have travelled to Jaen (no. 21, stanza 14). Thus the area of his travels in Muslim Spain was relatively restricted. He himself admits that he had never seen the sea (no. 145, stanza 10) but it is not clear from which period of his life this poem dates. He certainly mentions, in a comparison, the Gibralfaro which dominates Malaga (no. 142, stanza 2), but he may have known of it only by hearsay.

According to his own description, Ibn Ḳuzmān was tall, with blue eyes and a red beard. Other sources describe him as having a squint and being very ugly; in this connexion there is related a comic anecdote which had already been told as applying to al-Djāḥiẓ (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, 57).

Like those to whom he dedicated his *zadjals*, he must have had a good knowledge of the Romance dialect current in the south of Muslim Spain. He quotes from it not only isolated words, but also short phrases. Nor was he entirely ignorant of the Berber spoken by the immigrants from the Sahara: certain poems dedicated to Almoravid dignitaries have words from this language inserted in them—these words moreover are those which conquered peoples most readily borrow from their conquerors.

Ibn Ḳuzmān was in no sense a troubadour singing of courtly love, that *ʿishḳ al-muruwwa* which he in fact derides. Like Abū Nuwās and François Villon, he led the life of a needy bohemian, a reckless toper, and an epicene rake (*khalīʿ*, *zānī*, *lawwāṭ*). His licentious conduct caused him to be continually censured by his great enemies the *faḳīhs*, who were particularly powerful under the Almoravids; thus in his writings, the word *faḳīh* often acquired the meaning of "hypocrite". More to be feared were the punishments of the chief of police. Ibn Ḳuzmān's delinquencies and his incorrigible passion for wine led to his being accused of impiety and irreligion and thrown into prison. He was even condemned to be flogged to death and was saved only by the intervention of an Almoravid dignitary, Muḥammad b. Sīr (nos. 39 and 41). It also seems that some of his journeys from one town to another were flights from justice after some escapade.

On the title-page of the unique manuscript of his *Dīwān* he is described as *wazīr*. It is well-known that at this period this title had lost much of its original significance: it had become purely honorific and was given to everyone of a certain social level, and in particular to court poets (cf. its debasement in the Spanish *alguacil*, "police sergeant"). However, as in the title of this manuscript the author is referred to as ʿAbū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, this may be a further confusion with no. II, who was indeed a *wazīr*.

On the other hand there is certainly no foundation for Brockelmann's opinion (S I, 481) that Ibn Ḳuzmān was a travelling entertainer with a monkey: this arises from an error in translation. In two poems (no. 7, st. 2 and no. 121, st. 2) the poet does indeed refer to his *ḳird*, but this word is used here in the sense of "evil spirit, misfortune", and appears each time in contrast with *saʿd*.

The last sixteen years of Ibn Ḳuzmān's life passed in a difficult time of rebellions and wars. In 539/1145, the defeated Almoravid sultan Tāshfīn was killed near Oran; his empire, which had for long been eroded by the Almohads, collapsed finally two years later, when the Muslim towns of western Spain revolted against the Almoravid governor, Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya. The Almohads occupied the country and made their capital at Cordova in 543/1148; then once again the towns revolted against them. The situation was further aggravated by the intervention of the King of Castile, Alfonso VII, sometimes directly and sometimes through the intermediary of his Muslim satellites, Ibn Mardanīsh and Ibn Hamushku. Unfortunately for Ibn Ḳuzmān, one of his chief protectors, Abū Djaʿfar Ḥamdīn, the chief *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, was among the most active fomentors of disorder. In revolt against the Almoravids, he had himself proclaimed *amīr al-muslimīn* in 539/1145, but his reign was brief. In spite of the support of the king of Castile, he was unable to resist either the Almoravids or the Almohads. He died in misery in 548/1153.

Ibn Ḳuzmān died in 555/1160, while Cordova was being besieged by Muḥammad b. Saʿd Ibn Mardanīsh, who was attempting to take the town from the Almohads.

In spite of his dissolute life, Ibn Ḳuzmān seems to have reached a relatively advanced age. His first *zadjal* to which a definite date can be given (no. 83, an elegy on the death of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn Ḥamdīn) was written in 521/1127. In verses in classical Arabic, he depicts himself as walking in a bent position "as if he were searching for his youth in the dust" (*Analectes*, ii, 431). If we are to take seriously what he says in his *zadjal* no. 147, the poet, towards the end of a not very exemplary life, reformed to the extent of holding the office of *imām* and of muezzin in a local mosque. This theory of a belated conversion may be supported by the fact that he died at the end of Ramaḍān, as did many elderly people, exhausted by the rigours of a month of strict fasting. Nevertheless, his "Testament" (no. 90) is that of a libertine and a toper; but this may perhaps be a work of his youth, and the desire he expresses in it to be buried in a vineyard may be merely the reflection of the work of another bacchic poet, Abū Miḥdjan [*q.v.*] al-Thaḳafī (cf. Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 26). From an unhappy marriage of which he bitterly repented (nos. 18 and 21), he appears to have had several sons (no. 143: *aṭfālī*; no. 11, st. 9: *awlādī*). Only one is known: Aḥmad, a traditionist who died at Malaga shortly after 600/1204.

Works. Ibn Ḳuzmān describes himself as a prose writer and a poet in the classical style as well as a composer of *muwashshaḥs* [*q.v.*] and of *zadjals*. Of his prose there is known only the preface to the *Dīwān*, in rhyming prose. Very few of his classical verses have survived and these do not show any remarkable talent. Only one of his *muwashshaḥs* has been preserved (cf. Hoenerbach, 94).

Thus the important part of his work consists of his *zadjals*. There existed at one time a large collection (*dīwān kabīr*) of these, possessed and used by al-Ḥillī (cf. Hoenerbach, 68), but now apparently lost. Another (abridged?) *dīwān*, entitled *Iṣābat al-aghrāḍ fī waṣf al-aʿrāḍ*, was put together by the

author for an obscure friend of his, Ibrāhīm al-Wa̲s̲h̲kī, the only existing manuscript of which is unfortunately imperfect. By chance a certain number of the missing poems have been preserved by various anthologists. One has even been discovered in the Geniza of Fusṭāṭ. The 149 *zad̲j̲als* which are preserved in the *Dīwān* in its present form may be divided into two categories: those with a dedication and those without. Those without are fewer (27) and in general shorter: 5 or 6 stanzas, and, in this detail, are close to the norm of the *muwa̲s̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*. They are the poems which S. M. Stern (*Studies* ..., 385) rightly calls "*muwa̲s̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*-like *zad̲j̲als*"; their themes are solely drinking or love.

The poems with dedications are of greatly varying length, most of them having from 5 to 9 stanzas. But they include some very long ones: 42 stanzas (no. 9), 40 stanzas (no. 38), and also some very short ones: 3 stanzas (no. 47), dedicated to the governor Tā̲s̲h̲fīn "since the Almoravids did not like prolixity". These poems with dedications are of bipartite structure, like the classical *ḳaṣīda*, but are divided into stanzas with varying rhymes and written in dialectical Arabic in metres which are often non-classical. Thus they have been described as "ballades". The first part is a light introduction (*g̲h̲azal, tag̲h̲azzul*) which replaces the old *nasīb*. The favourite themes for these are wine and love, also their common provider: money. The second is a panegyric (*madḥ, madīḥ*) of the person to whom the poem is dedicated and from whom the poet expects a generous reward. Between these two essential sections there is a brief "transition" (*duk̲h̲ūl, k̲h̲urūd̲j̲, tak̲h̲alluṣ*); it is in his ingenious choice of this link-passage that the poet's talent appears.

The panegyrics, often exaggerated, are not of great interest; they contain praise of beauty, of learning and above all of the generosity of the persons to whom they are dedicated. Sometimes the author adds to them a personal *fak̲h̲r* in which he describes himself as the prince, and even the father, of the genre of the *zad̲j̲al*, and complains of his plagiarizers.

On the other hand, the humorous introductions form the most original and interesting part of Ibn Ḳuzmān's work. They amount to vignettes describing scenes from the public and private lives of the inhabitants of the city, abounding in valuable details on houses, furniture, costume, food, etc. These vivid and often comic scenes are full of vivacity, variety and realism, interspersed with racy and amusing details which reveal extraordinary powers of observation and expression: drunken quarrels, preparations for a feast day (which provides the poet with the opportunity to complain of his chronic penury), rejoicing at a carnival, the consultation of a fortune-teller, romantic adventures and altercations with deceived husbands. The poet himself often appears on the scene, in a humorous part, without always trying to give himself a favourable role. Licentiousness is freely mingled with burlesque, but very rarely descends to real obscenity.

Unfortunately these sociological documents are not always very easy to understand, for the poet's impetuous and lively style, the incisive brevity of his phrases, the vivacity of his narration and the abruptness with which he jumps from one theme to another, all combine to make accurate translation difficult. Furthermore, allusions are made in these passages to popular characters of the time and to beliefs and customs of which no mention is found elsewhere. Also, it is in these "jests" that there appear most of the terms peculiar to the local dialects, either not to be found in dictionaries or deformed by Eastern copyists. It should also be mentioned that the Eastern anthologists who have included fragments or whole poems by Ibn Ḳuzmān have limited these to passages on drinking or love, *i.e.*, to the parts which contain the most clichés and the vocabulary of which belongs to the common stock of Arabic, with even a classical tendency. The reason for their neglect of the descriptive sections, which are nevertheless those more representative of the poet's talent, is probably their inability to understand the really local vocabulary used in them.

Ibn Ḳuzmān, being essentially a townsman, provides no description of nature in its wild state. He had only unpleasant memories of his journeys from Cordova to Granada, accomplished in precarious and sometimes perilous conditions across the sierras and their ravines where he saw more bramble-bushes and oleanders than sweet-basil (no. 73, st. 5). As with the other poets of Spain (with the exception of his contemporary Ibn K̲h̲afād̲j̲a), the nature which he likes and describes is that which he had the opportunity to enjoy during pleasure trips to the country (*nazāyih*), in the pleasure gardens (*manāzih*) which his patrons owned on the outskirts of the large towns and where they went to relax in spring and in autumn. The poet likes to describe the happy frolics of gay young drinkers and pretty girls, singing, dancing and swimming in an enchanting setting beside a fresh stream or a pool among flowers or in the shade of elm-trees full of singing birds. Poem no. 79, in which he reveals his knowledge of astronomy in a detailed description of the night sky of Andalusia, is exceptional.

His descriptions of battles against the Christians (nos. 38, 40, 47, 86, 102) are very vivid, but they seem to be based solely on imagination, since it is almost certain that he was not present at any but merely formed a part of the crowd at the triumphal reception (*burūz*) of the victorious troops.

This essentially humorous poet wrote also a rather touching elegy (no. 83, repeated in part in no. 38, stanzas 36, 37 and 38) written on the occasion of the death of one of his chief Cordovan patrons, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad Ibn Ḥamdīn, in 521/1127. One curious thing is that Ibn Ḳuzmān does not appear to have used the genre of satire, for which he would appear to have been so well-fitted; and his attacks on the *faḳīh*s, his relentless critics, were always discreet and prudent.

The importance attached by writers of *muwa̲s̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*s to the apposite selection of the cadence (or refrain) on which they subsequently constructed their poem is well known. This cadence became the poem's finale, its "sally" (Sp. *salida*), its "going-out" (Ar. *k̲h̲ard̲j̲a*) and at the same time its "pivot" or centre (*markaz*), providing, as it did, both the metrical pattern for the whole poem and the rhyme which was repeated at the end of every verse. In this matter, Ibn Ḳuzmān did not attempt to be original. None of his "finales" is in the Romance language; some of them consist of a popular proverb. On three occasions, and without always mentioning his source, he has merely borrowed "finales" in dialect from his contemporary and compatriot Ibn Baḳī, the famous author of *muwa̲s̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*s (d. 540/1145).

It certainly seems, however, that the re-use of famous "finales", written in dialectical Arabic or in Romance, was a current practice among the poets of Spain, Jewish as well as Muslim. To borrow a

"finale" from a famous poet and reconstruct on it a new *muwashshaḥ* or *zadjal* was regarded as an exercise in virtuosity and has nothing to do with plagiarism: it was a *muʿāraḍa*. The structure and the metre of the *zadjal*s of Ibn Ķuzmān will be studied in the article ZADJAL.

The language used by Ibn Ķuzmān in his *zadjal*s is the Arabic dialect of southern Spain as it was spoken by the educated people of his time, that is to say with a vocabulary much enriched with borrowings from the classical language, but always deprived of grammatical inflections (*iʿrāb*). In *al-ʿĀṭil al-ḥālī*, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī accused Ibn Ķuzmān of straying too often from the pure Spanish dialect. But this Mesopotamian critic, living two centuries after Ibn Ķuzmān, cannot have had any serious knowledge of the peculiarities of that idiom. The writer of this article has demonstrated elsewhere that practically all of these criticisms were unjustified. It is true that Ibn Ķuzmān may be accused of having misused some initial *hamza*s (*hamzat al-ķaṭʿ*) in order to suit the metre, but this is a poetic licence used also by poets writing in the classical language. He may also have made more frequent use of the conjunction *fa-* and the particle *ķad* than the common people did. It should be remembered, however, that his *zadjal*s were intended primarily for literate persons.

Ibn Ķuzmān's own estimate of his talent has been ratified by posterity. Both Eastern and Western Arabic-speaking peoples have pronounced him unsurpassed as a writer of *zadjal*s. His works have become accepted as models of perfection in this genre, to such an extent that, for centuries, the Eastern composers of *zadjal*s made it a rule to write in an approximation of the Spanish dialect.

Ibn Ķuzmān's powerful originality has never been equalled. No other poet has covered such a rich range of metrical combinations. Only his successor and compatriot, Madghalīs, has been compared to him by the critics, and this was in order to put Ibn Ķuzmān on a level with al-Mutanabbī in his choice of themes (*maʿnā*) and to raise Madghalīs to that of Abū Tammām in matters of expression (*lafẓ*) (al-Maķķarī, *Analectes*, ii, 262). But Ibn Ķuzmān is regarded today as being in the tradition of the eastern poets writing in the classical language: Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj, Ibn Sukkara, etc., who had the ability to shine even when not using well-worn themes.

Just as there are two strong points of view on the question of whether strophic poems (*muwashshaḥ* and *zadjal*) originated in the east or the west, so there are two conflicting opinions on the origin of the name of the eponymous ancestor, Ķuzmān.

Some have regarded it as a transcription of the Spanish proper name *Guzman* (the Arabic *ķāf* being here merely the current form of transcription of the phoneme *g*), itself of Germanic origin. Ibn Ķuzmān might, therefore, have been of Germanic ancestry (Visigothic perhaps), and the portrait which he had provided of himself would seem to confirm this hypothesis: tall, with blue eyes and red beard. Furthermore, the proper name Ķuzmān is extremely rare in Arabic onomastic; it was, however, borne by a character in history, an *anṣārī*, who died from wounds received at the battle of Uḥud (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1423; Ibn Hishām, ii, 578; *TA*, under the radicals *ĶZM*). It is not clear why Lerchundi and Simonet suggest that Ibn Ķuzmān was of Jewish descent (*Crestomatia arabigo-española*, 336). The question is not, however, of great interest. In the time of Ibn Ķuzmān the old "Arab" families of Muslim Spain had interbred extensively with Iberian, Latin, Germanic, Berber, Jewish, and even Negro elements.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, in his *Kitāb al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila*, adds to the poet's name the ethnic name of al-Zuhrī, which is that of many Spanish Muslims. This ethnic name is derived from the name of one of the main clans of the tribe of Ķuraysh: the Zuhra. But we would perhaps not be justified in assuming a Ķurayshī origin from this single piece of evidence. It is in fact very uncertain, since the *nisba* may not be a real one but merely a fictitious one, transmitted by a master to his freedman (*walāʾan*). It may be that there is a connection between this ethnic name and that of the famous Seville family of the Banū Zuhr. Certainly of the four persons to whom the *Dīwān* is dedicated, two are the Sevillians Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr and Ibn al-Ķurashī al-Zuhrī.

In his *Ṭawķ al-ḥamāma* (cf. ed. Bercher, Algiers 1949, 300-1, in which the translation is incorrect), Ibn Ḥazm mentions an Ibn Ķuzmān, a *kātib* who died from his unrequited passion for a beautiful young man of Cordova, Aslam b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. This Aslam was the second of the chief *ķāḍī*s of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, who succeeded in 300/912. In 314/926, Aslam was dismissed from office because of illness and died in 319/931 (cf. al-Ḍabbī, no. 571; Ibn ʿIdhārī, ii, 193). This Ibn Ķuzmān, who died of love, might be an ancestor of ʿĪsā (I).

Ibn Bashkuwāl (no. 149) mentions an Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Ķuzmān, of Toledo, who died *circa* 490/1097. He does not seem to have been a member of the Cordovan family.

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(G. S. COLIN)

IBN AL-LABBĀD [see ʿABD AL-LAṬĪF AL-BAGHDĀDĪ].

IBN AL-LABBĀNA, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ʿĪSĀ AL-LAKHMĪ, Andalusian poet of the 5th/11th century, born in Denia, whence his *nisba* al-Dānī, by which he is often called; but he is much better known under the name of Ibn al-Labbāna "son of the dairy-woman", his mother having been, as is stated by Ibn Bassām (*Dhakhīra*, iii, *apud* Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Sh. Ḍayf, ii, 409), a seller of milk. It is known that one of his brothers, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, was also a poet, but he gave up this career to devote himself to commerce.

Little is known of the life of Ibn al-Labbāna; it probably however resembled that of many poets of the time, who sought an important personage to whom they might address poetic eulogies. He tried his fortune at the court of al-Muʿtaṣim of Almería, the refuge of many poets, and at those of al-Maʾmūn of Toledo and al-Mutawakkil of Badajoz, and addressed panegyrics to these princelings; the sources contain literary anecdotes on his (probably brief) sojourns in these towns, but his chief patron, to whom he was to remain attached for the rest of his life, was al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], ruler of Seville. Fairly numerous accounts of Ibn al-Labbāna's stay at this court show that he was treated with familiarity by the ruler and his sons, for whom he felt a loyal affection and to whom he dedicated eulogistic poems which have the mark of sincerity. In 484/1091, when al-Muʿtamid was deposed by the Almoravids, Ibn al-Labbanā—"one of the few Arabic poets possessing the 'gift of tears' ", as García Gómez has put it—spoke, with a deep and moving sadness, of the departure of the ship which took the ruler and his family into exile. Ibn Labbāna's devotion to his former master did not end with this event: he continued to write in praise of the poet-king and went to visit him in his African exile in Aghmāt.

After the death of al-Muʿtamid, Ibn al-Labbāna went to Bougie, where he visited ʿIzz al-Dawla, a son of al-Muʿtaṣim, and described his visit in a pathetic way (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 250). He next went, in 489/1096, to Majorca, where he wrote in praise of the ruler, Mubashshir b. Sulaymān, but these poems do not bear comparison with those which he had dedicated to al-Muʿtamid, as is stated by al-Maḳḳarī (*op. cit.*, ii, 609). A series of intrigues troubled the final years of his life, and he died in Majorca in 507/1113.

Although according to Ibn al-Abbār (*Takmila*, no. 511) his work was collected in a *dīwān*, no copy of this has survived and his poems now survive only dispersed in anthologies. Of his other works, all that is known are the titles and the subjects, all relating to the Banū ʿAbbād.

All the critics and the anthologists agree in praising the excellent poetic gifts of Ibn al-Labbāna and the beauty of his poems, but his universal fame in Arabic literature is due to his loyalty to the ruler of Seville, which he retained until his death; Ibn al-Imām, the author of *Simṭ al-djumān*, calls him for this reason "the Samawʾal of the poets" (*apud* Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ii, 411) and all who write of him praise this quality.

Ibn al-Labbāna was also the author of *muwashshaḥāt*; one of those which have survived ends with a very fine *khardja* in Romance.

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IBN LADJAʾ, ʿUMAR B. LADJAʾ B. ḤUDAYR AL-TAYMĪ, of the Taym b. ʿAbd Manāt, an Arab poet of the 1st/7th century. Al-Djāḥiẓ emphasizes his skill in composing poems in *radjaz* and *ḳaṣīdas*, and Ibn Sallām places him in the fourth "class" of Islamic poets, but he has escaped oblivion chiefly owing to the invectives that he exchanged with Djarīr [*q.v.*]; these fragments of *hidjāʾ* are in part preserved in the *Naḳāʾiḍ* and in various anthologies, which for the most part ignore his other compositions; his rivalry with Djarīr appears basically to have been of a literary character, indeed simply a quarrel between poets each convinced of his own talent, but it soon degenerated and passed from the individual to the tribal level. Ibn Ladjaʾ is said to have died at al-Ahwāz, the date being unknown.

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IBN LAHĪʿA, ʿABD ALLĀH B. LAHĪʿA B. ʿUḲBA, Egyptian traditionist and judge (b. *ca.* 96/688-69, d. Sunday, 15 Rabīʿ I 174/1 August 790, or 23 Djumādā II 174/6 November 790). The few known facts about his life are that he was appointed judge in 155/772 with a monthly salary of thirty *dīnār*s, the appointment being the first direct appointment of a chief judge of Egypt by a caliph instead of the provincial governor; that he held the judgeship for over nine years; and that his "books"—that is, primarily, his scholarly notebooks and materials—perished all or to a large part in a conflagration that destroyed his house in 169 or rather in 170/786. We are told that he considered unbelievers those who professed the createdness of the Ḳurʾān, and that he was ardently pro-Shīʿa. His father, Lahīʿa, is said to have died in 100/718-19, and his brother, ʿĪsā b. Lahīʿa, on whose authority he transmitted traditions, in Shawwāl 145/December 762-January 763. ʿĪsā's son, Lahīʿa, was acting governor *ʿala 'l-ṣalāt* for some time in 189/805 and judge of Egypt from the beginning of Shaʿbān 196/April 812 to his death in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 204/April-May 820, with an interruption lasting about one year in 198-99/November 813-August or September 814.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa is believed to have been the author of published (written) works. He transmitted the history of the Prophet's raids. He may have been the author of some traditional and historical texts preserved on papyrus. Much of the material of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's [*q.v.*] "Conquest of Egypt", especially the Prophetical traditions cited there, and of al-Kindī's "Governors and judges of Egypt" as well as other Egyptian local histories has passed through him. For many authorities, his reliability as a transmitter of traditions was dubious.

Bibliography: al-Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii/1, 182 f.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, ed. C. C. Torrey, 244, 246, index 334 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Th. ʿUkāsha, 505, 624; Yaʿḳūb b. Sufyān, *Taʾrīkh*,

Ms. Istanbul, Topkapısarayı, Revan Köşk 1554, fol. 17a; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Djarḥ*, Ḥaydarābād 1943-51, ii/2, 145-48; al-Kindī, *Governors and judges*, ed. R. Guest, 368-70, 417-26, index 659a, 665a, intro. 31 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiḳāt*, Ms. Istanbul Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III 2995, fol. 282a (ʿĪsā; apparently, ʿAbd Allāh was mentioned only in Ibn Ḥibbān's *Ḍuʿafāʾ*); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Manda, *al-Taʾrīkh al-mustakhradj*, Ms. Istanbul Köprülü, i, 242, fol. 275a (ʿĪsā); and, among later authors, for instance, Samʿānī, fol. 405b, s.v. Ghāfiḳī; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, Cairo 1382/1963, ii, 475-83, iii, 322, 419; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Ms. Istanbul Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III 2917, vol. vi, fol. 196a-b; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Ms. Istanbul Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III 2920, vol. xvii, fol. 96a-b; Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, ii, 17-19; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, Cairo 1957-61, 287-93 (ʿAbd Allāh); idem, *Tahdhīb*, v, 373-9, viii, 458 f.; idem, *Lisān*, iv, 403 f.; Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, *Thiḳāt*, Ms. Istanbul Köprülü, i, 1060, fols. 194b-195a (ʿĪsā); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 283 f.; Brockelmann, S I, 256; C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, Heidelberg 1906, i, 9; M. J. Kister, in *ArO*, xxxii (1964), 233-36; Sezgin, i, 94; N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri, II*, Chicago 1967, 208-21.

(F. Rosenthal)

IBN LANKAK (the son of the little lame man), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Baṣrī, minor poet of Baṣra who died *ca.* 360/970. Very little is known of his life except that he went to Baghdād, where he was the transmitter of a poem by Diʿbil [*q.v.*] and lived for some time in the circle of al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*]; it was probably at the vizier's suggestion that he addressed a number of epigrams to al-Mutanabbī at the time of the latter's visit in 351/962. His poems were collected in a *Dīwān*, and al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād was still able to appreciate them, but there now survive only a few examples, mostly short, which show him to have had a tendency to be pessimistic and critical: he complains of contemporary poets who deprive him of the glory which he considered his right, of his native town, and above all of fate in general, although he admits in a famous verse that human beings are responsible for their own misfortunes.

Bibliography: Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, i, 86, ii, 116-26, 132; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 6-11; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 94; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 177 ff.; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 257 (Sp. tr., 330; Eng. tr., 268); R. Blachère, *Motanabbî*, 224-5, 228; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 491. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN LISĀN al-ḤUMMARA, usual by-name of a Bedouin of the 1st/7th century, who became proverbial for his knowledge of the genealogies of the Arabs. His name was Abū Kilāb ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥuṣayn (ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥiṣn) or Warḳāʾ b. al-Ashʿar, and he belonged to the Banū Taym al-Lāt b. Thaʿlaba. *Ḥummara* means a red-headed sparrow, the ammomanes or "Isabelline lark" (*Ammomanes deserti*), of the family of the *alaudidae*, but the origin of his father's by-name (and of his own, for he is sometimes called simply Lisān al-Ḥummara) is unknown. Practically nothing is known of his life apart from some traditions which show him at Kūfa with al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] and with Muʿāwiya, and which speak of his wisdom, his eloquence, his gift for lively repartee and his profound knowledge of men and women; his cutting judgements on the different tribes derive, however, from folklore. He was considered as one of the best Arab genealogists of the time, and there was a proverb: *ansab min Ibn Lisān al-Ḥummara* (al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1352-3, ii, 309); another proverb, *aʿmar min Ibn Lisān al-Ḥummara* (*op. cit.*, i, 516) would seem to suggest that he was very long-lived, but there is here probably a deformation of the more likely form: *aʿlam min Ibn Lisān al-Ḥummara* (cf. Freytag, *Ar. prov.*, iii/1, 163, no. 268); such a corruption could arise from a false reading of *kibar* for *kibr*, for, according to the *Fihrist* (Cairo 1348, 132), Ibn Lisān al-Ḥummara was very proud.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 200, 206; iii, 209; idem, *Bayān*, iii, 162; idem, *Tarbīʿ*, 63; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 535; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 213; *Aghānī*, xiv, 138 (Beirut ed., xvi, 50); Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 296; Damīrī, s.v. *ḥummar*; *Ḳāmūs*, s.v. *ḥummar*; *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Imp. Russian Arch. Soc. (Saint Petersburg), xxvii, 234-44; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 6; I. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, XLI; F. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 489. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN LIZZA, by-name usually given (al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 208) to Abū ʿAmr Bundār b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Karkhī al-Iṣbahānī, Arabic philologist. There is much uncertainty over this name: according to the *Fihrist* (83) it is Abū ʿUmar Mindād b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Karkhī Ibn Lazza (a *laḳab*); it is read as Ibn Lazza by Flügel, who reproduced the name in *Die Gr. Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 223. A manuscript of the *Fihrist*, Codex P, has *r* instead of *z* in this *laḳab*. This *r* is found also in the *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, i, 257, of al-Ḳifṭī (Cairo 1369/1950); in the *Talkhīṣ* of Ibn Maktūm (according to the editor of *Inbāh*, *ibid.*, n. 1); and in the *Muʿdjam* of Yāḳūt: Bundār b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Karkhī al-Iṣbahānī, called Ibn Lirra. A very short notice is found in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn* of al-Zubaydī, Cairo 1373/1954, 288, under the name Bundār al-Iṣbahānī, but the above-mentioned *Inbāh* has two entries for the same person: one (no. 157) for Bundār al-Iṣbahānī, and another (no. 159) for Bundār b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Lirra. In the *Amālī* of al-Ḳālī (2nd ed. Cairo 1344/1926), iii (Dhayl), 102, he becomes Bundār b. Ludda al-Karkhī. From these references the personal name (*ism*) Bundār at least seems well established, the best testimony to his identity being the citations from Ibn Kaysān (see below).

Bundār was an Iranian, a scholar from the region of the Djabal, who was a pupil of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām. He came to Baghdād. His fame and importance arose mainly from his wide knowledge of Arabic poetry and of the *akhbār* and *ansāb* of the Arabs. Ibn Kaysān [*q.v.*] was his pupil and it is significant that in his commentary on the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, he cites Bundār eleven times (and al-Aṣmaʿī only twice); in particular, one of the two traditions on the genealogy of the poet is given according to Bundār (see *ZA*, xxix (1914), 2 and 9, line 17 f.; similarly *ZA*, xvi (1902), 16). Al-Mutawakkil (232-46/847-61) often gave audience to this scholar of Arab matters; al-Mubarrad, who had only recently left Baṣra, was introduced by him to this caliph, which (if the account is authentic) greatly contributed to his advancement.

According to Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, vii, 143), Bundār lived to a great age, but the dates of his birth and death are unknown. Nevertheless, what has been said here suffices to establish his place in literary history. The *Fihrist* (83) mentions four works by Bundār; there may be mentioned the *K. Maʿānī 'l-shuʿarāʾ* and the *K. Djāmiʿ al-lugha* for lexicography. None has survived.

Bibliography: in the text. The *Fihrist* (83) and Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, vii, 128-34 (= *Irshād*, ii, 390-3) are the two important sources; Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 208) quotes the latter but only in part, for the name. (H. Fleisch)

IBN LUYŪN [Spanish León ?], Abū ʿUthmān Saʿd b. Abī Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tudjībī, Andalusian scholar, poet and mystic, born in Almeria in 681/1282 in a family from Lorca. He was one of the most learned men of his time and acquired a mastery of all branches of learning, although he hardly ever left his native town, where he died during a plague epidemic in 750/1349. Deeply religious, he remained celibate, practised asceticism and, being naturally shy, he avoided people and saw only a few friends and pupils, among whom should be mentioned two important persons: Ibn Khātima [*q.v.*] and Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*]. He succeeded in forming a splendid library, the best in Almeria in his time, and, not content with merely acquiring manuscripts, he sought to compare them and to make emendations in order to establish a correct text.

His production was very large, but the greater part of it was not original since it consists of compilations on *ḥadīth*, medicine, the sharing of inheritances, prosody, agriculture, etc. He was fond of writing summaries of important works, which he often wrote in verse. Almost all his work, which consisted of more than a hundred titles, is lost, and the part of it which has survived is practically all unpublished. Of especial interest is the *urdjūza* entitled *Kitāb Ibdāʾ al-malāḥa wa-inhāʾ al-radjāḥa fī uṣūl ṣināʿat al-filāḥa* (cf. art. filāḥa, ii, 902a) of which an edition and translation was promised some years ago by J. Eguaras.

Ibn Luyūn was an expert on poetical matters, but himself a mediocre poet, as one of his pupils, al-Ḥaḍramī, admits. A large part of one of his poetic works, the *Kitāb Naṣāʾiḥ al-aḥbāb wa-ṣaḥāʾiḥ al-ādāb*, was included in a collection by al-Makkarī (*Nafḥ*, Cairo ed. 1367/1949, viii, 58-89), who also reproduces (viii, 89-108) extracts from two other works, all in a sententious style and comparable to the famous moral proverbs of his contemporary Sem Tob de Carrión. He is also the author of *muwashshaḥāt*, one of them containing a *khardja* in Romance, and is thus "a backward-looking archaizer" (García Gómez).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 598; S II, 380; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, Rabat 1934-6, ii, 467-70; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj* (in the margins of Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1351), 123-4; Makkarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo ed., viii, 58-114; E. García Gómez, *Silla del Moro y nuevas escenas andaluzas*, Madrid 1948, 111-2; idem, *Las Jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco*, Madrid 1965, 197-203 and 405; J. Bermúdez Pareja, *El Generalife después del incendio de 1958*, in *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, Granada, i (1965), 9-39, *passim*. (F. de la Granja)

IBN MĀʾ AL-SAMĀʾ, Abū Bakr ʿUbāda, Andalusian poet born in the second half of the 4th/10th century and famous chiefly as the author of *muwashshaḥāt*. His full name was ʿUbāda b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda b. Aflaḥ b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Ḳays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda al-Anṣārī, and he was known by the by-name of Ibn Māʾ al-Samāʾ, which some biographers consider to be the name of one of his ancestors. He was a descendant of the famous Companion of the Prophet Saʿd b. ʿUbāda [*q.v.*]. Born, according to some sources, in Malaga (*apud* al-Makkarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, ii, 253-4), or according to others in Cordova (Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 963), he was the pupil of the famous grammarian al-Zubaydī, received a sound education in poetry, and wrote a book, now lost, on the Andalusian poets, which is praised by Ibn Ḥazm in his *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus* (*apud* al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, ii, 118); all that survive are some fragments included in other works (*e.g.*, in *al-Mughrib* by Ibn Saʿīd, Cairo ed. 1954, i, 125). Some writers refer to his Shīʿī tendencies (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 9). He composed panegyrics on the ʿĀmirids and the Ḥammūdids and wrote pleasing poems in the traditional style, but distinguished himself especially in the *muwashshaḥa*, of which, according to Ibn Bassām, he was a consummate master (*shaykh al-ṣināʿa*), bringing new life to this genre and carrying it to perfection. He died at Malaga, probably shortly after 421/1030. Some *muwashshaḥāt* which are attributed to him are in fact by Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda al-Ḳazzāz, with whom he has often been confused both by Arabic anthologists and by various modern orientalists (on this question, see S. M. Stern, *Muḥammad ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz*, in *al-Andalus*, xv (1950), 79 ff.).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources given in the article: Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis*, no. 662; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 1123; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 2-12; Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Badīʿ fī waṣf al-rabīʿ*, ed. H. Pérès, Rabat 1940, index; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*, Cairo 1320, 95; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 110-1; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, Paris 1963, index. On his Shīʿī tendencies, see M. ʿAlī Makkī, *al-Tashayyuʿ fi 'l-Andalus*, in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, ii (1954), 141-2. As a writer of *muwashshaḥāt* he appears in all the works and studies on this genre. (F. de la Granja)

IBN MAḌĀʾ, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Ḥārith b. ʿĀṣim al-Lakhmī, Andalusian *faḳīh* and grammarian of the 6th/12th century, who is given indiscriminately the *kunyas* of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, Abū Djaʿfar and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. Born into a famous Cordovan family in 513/1119, he studied grammar at Seville with Ibn al-Rammāk and *ḥadīth* at Ceuta with the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ. He was *ḳāḍī* at Fez and at Bougie, until the Almohad caliph Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin appointed him *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāʿa*, an office which he retained under his son and successor Yaʿḳūb b. Yūsuf.

In spite of his wide education in all branches of learning, he limited his scholarly activity to the study of Arabic grammar, a subject on which he composed three works, only one of which has survived, the *Kitāb al-Radd ʿala 'l-nuḥāt*, published in 1947. This book illustrates the clarity of thought and independence of judgement of Ibn Maḍāʾ, who truly deserves the title of *imām fi 'l-naḥw*, which was given to him by his biographer al-Ḍabbī (*Bughya*, no. 465), or of *imām al-naḥwiyyīn*, which was twice applied to him by Ibn Diḥya (*Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 91, 185). This work, written by Ibn Maḍāʾ towards the end of his life (he died in 592/1195 at Seville), "is a violent, reasoned and eloquent attack on the complicated, obscure, casuistic and artificial theories of traditional Arabic grammar as it had been formulated by the great schools of the East" (E. García Gómez). At the same time it calls for the building up of a new grammar, simpler and more clear, and based on the true facts of the language. Ibn Maḍāʾ's work, until recently not known to survive, has aroused a great interest in scholarly

circles in the East because of the problems it poses and the solutions which it indicates, at a time when each scholar is engaged in seeking a method of simplifying the Arabic language (*taysīr al-lugha*).

Bibliography: Besides the works mentioned in the article, see Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326, 139; Shawḳī Ḍayf, introduction to his edition of the *Kitāb al-Radd ʿala ʾl-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1366/1947 (important review by E. García Gómez in *al-Andalus*, xiii (1948), 238-40); E. García Gómez, *La gramática y la Giralda*, in *Silla del Moro y Nuevas Escenas Andaluzas*, Madrid 1948, 243-6.

(F. DE LA GRANJA)

IBN MĀDJA, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. YAZĪD AL-RABAʿĪ AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ, author of the *Kitāb al-Sunan*, the last of the six canonical collections of tradition, was born according to his pupil Djaʿfar b. Idrīs (*apud* Yāḳūt, iv, 91) in 209/824-5 and died on Saturday 20 Ramaḍān 273/18 February 887 in Ḳazwīn. Mādja was the (Persian?) byname of his father, a client of the Banū Rabīʿa. Ibn Mādja travelled in search of traditions and learned them from many authorities in ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Ḥidjāz and Egypt. His *Kitāb al-Sunan* contains some 4000 traditions in about 150 chapters. It was criticized, because it contains many weak (*ḍaʿīf*) traditions; it was even said that all traditions in it which do not occur in the five earlier collections are not authentic. These *zawāʾid Ibn Mādja ʿala ʾl-kutub al-khamsa* were later collected by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haythamī [*q.v.*] (d. 807/1405) and by Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Būṣīrī (d. 870/1436). Other scholars, especially those of Ḳazwīn, *e.g.*, the *ḳāḍī* al-Khalīlī (d. 446/1054-5; see Brockelmann, I, 352; S I, 618), considered Ibn Mādja an authority of the highest rank (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, ix, 531); gradually his fame increased, until his *Sunan* were included in the "six books", *e.g.*, by al-Ḳaysarānī (d 507/1113) in his *Aṭrāf al-Kutub al-sitta*, by al-Djammāʾīlī (d. 600/1204) in his *Kitāb al-Ikmāl*, which forms the basis of al-Mizzī's *Tahdhīb* and Ibn Ḥadjar's *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*; but it was always considered inferior even to the *Sunan* of al-Nasāʾī. Few commentaries were devoted to it (see Brockelmann, S I, 270). In the Maghrib it was never recognized.

Ibn Mādja wrote also a *Taʾrīkh* (obviously dealing with the scholars of Ḳazwīn, see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, s.v. *Tawārīkh Ḳazwīn*) and a *Tafsīr*, both of which seem to be lost.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 90; Ibn Khallikān, no. 625; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*[2], ii, 189 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ix, 530-2; in his *Fatḥ al-Bārīʾ*, vii, 29 he quotes from a manuscript of the *Sunan* written in 370/980-1; for manuscripts, editions and commentaries see Brockelmann I, 163 and S I, 270. For the transmission of Ibn Mādja's *Sunan* and the different versions (chains of authorities) see the following treatises published in Ḥaydarābād in 1328: al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, 13; al-Nakhlī, *Bughyat al-ṭālibīn*, 17; Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, *al-Imdād*, 8; al-Fullānī, *Ḳaṭf al-thamar*, 21; al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf al-akābir*, 46 f. The Cairo edition of 1349 contains the glosses (*ḥāshiya*) of Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Sindī (d. 1138/1726).

(J. W. FÜCK)

IBN MĀDJID, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. MĀDJID B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿAMR B. DUWAYK B. YŪSUF B. ḤASAN B. ḤUSAYN B. ABĪ MAʿLAḲ AL-SAʿDĪ B. ABĪ ʾL-RAKĀʾIB AL-NADJDĪ, was one of the greatest Arab navigators of the Middle Ages. He lived in the second half of the 9th/15th century; the exact dates of his birth or death are not known. Ibn Mādjid belonged to an illustrious family of navigators. His father and grandfather were both *muʿallims* ("master of navigation", see G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, iii, 182-3) by profession and were well-known as experts of the Red Sea. They wrote treatises on navigation. Ibn Mādjid improved and made additions to the *urdjūza* (piece of poetry in the *radjaz* metre) entitled *al-Ḥidjāziyya* written by his father (*al-Fawāʾid*, fol. 78a-b). This family tradition of navigational activity was kept up by the grandson, who seems to have surpassed both his father and his grandfather in this field. It was during his lifetime that Ibn Mādjid acquired the reputation of an expert navigator of the Indian Ocean. Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs [*q.v.*], the Turkish navigator (d. 970/1562), in the Preface to his work "The Ocean" (*al-Muḥīṭ*), says that during his sojourn at Baṣra, he had collected the works of Ibn Mādjid, namely *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid* and *Ḥāwiyat al-ikhtiṣār*, and some works of Sulaymān al-Mahrī (written in the first half of the 10th/16th century) and had studied them thoroughly for, in his opinion, it was exceedingly difficult to navigate the Indian Ocean without them (see G. Ferrand in *EI*[1], iv, 363). No wonder that Ibn Mādjid gave himself the proud title of "the Fourth after the Three" (*i.e.*, Muḥammad b. Shādān, Sahl b. Abān and Layth b. Kahlān, see below) (*al-Fawāʾid*, f. 4b), or "the Successor of the Lions", or "the Lion of the Sea in fury" (*Ḥāwiya*, f. 88b).

Ibn Mādjid was an author of great merit, who wrote both in prose and verse. Of his known works those that have been published by G. Ferrand in the series *Instructions nautiques et Routières arabes et portugais des xve et xvie siècles*, in vols. i and ii, Paris 1921-3 and 1925, are as follows:

(1) *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid fī uṣūl ʿilm al-baḥr wa ʾl-ḳawāʿid* (dated 895/1490). This prose work covers, among other subjects, the twenty-eight lunar mansions, the stars corresponding to the thirty-eight rhumbs (*khanns*) of the compass, the sea-routes of the Indian Ocean, the latitudes of a number of harbours, the landmarks (*ʿalāmāt*) formed by birds and the outlines of coasts, the landfalls of the west coast of India, the ten large islands of the Indian Ocean (the "island" of Arabia, Madagascar, Sumatra, Java, Taiwan, Ceylon, Zandjbār, al-Baḥrayn, Ibn Gāwān and Socotra), a survey of the coastal regions of Asia and Africa, monsoons favourable for the voyage and a description of the Red Sea with details of anchorages, shallows and reefs.

(2) *Ḥāwiyat al-ikhtiṣār fī uṣūl ʿilm al-biḥār* (dated 866/1462). The work deals with the signs of proximity of land, the lunar mansions and rhumbs, Arabian, Coptic, Byzantine and Persian years, *bāshī* (the elevation of the polar star in relation to its minimal height above the horizon, see Shumovsky, *op. cit.* in *bibl.*, 154), the monsoons of the *bāshī*, the months in which the stars appear, the fixed character of their latitudes and their disappearance, the sea-routes along the coast of India up to Sumatra, China and Taiwan and those along the coasts of various islands of the Indian Ocean, the latitudes of the harbours of the encircling ocean (*al-Muḥīṭ*), currents of the deep seas and nautical astronomy.

(3) *al-Urdjūza* called *al-Muʿarraba* (dated 890/1485) deals with the navigation of the Gulf of Aden. (4) *Ḳiblat al-Islām fī djamīʿ al-dunyā* (dated 893/1488) is dedicated to the *ḳāḍīs* and deals with the direction of the Kaʿba for the purposes of prayer. (5) *Urdjūzat Barr al-ʿArab fī Khalīdj Fārs* (not dated) deals with navigation along the Arabian coast and the islands. (6) *Urdjūza fī ḳismat al-djamma ʿalā*

Banāt Naʿsh (dated 900/1494-5) deals with the constellation *Ursa.* (7) *Urdjūza* called *Kanz al-maʿālima wa dhakhiratihim fī ʿilm al-madjhūlāt fi 'l-baḥr wa 'l-nudjūm wa 'l-burūdj* (undated, but from the context it appears that it was written before 894/1489) deals with the celestial sphere, the signs of the zodiac, the stars, etc. (8) *Urdjūza fi 'l-natakhāt li-Barr al-Hind wa Barr al-ʿArab* (not dated) deals with the landfalls on the western coast of India and the coast of Arabia from 25° N. to 60° N. (9) *Urdjūza* called *Mīmiyyāt al-abdāl,* dealing with certain northern stars. (10) *Urdjūza Mukhammasa,* dealing with certain northern stars. (11) *Urdjūza* on the Byzantine months, rhyming in *nūn.* It is undated, but from the context it seems that it was written before 1475 or 1489. (12) *Urdjūza* called *Ḍarībat al-ḍarā'ib,* undated, deals with the use of certain stars in navigation and with general instructions for navigators. (13) *Urdjūza* dedicated to the caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. It was written before 1475 or 1489, and deals with the lunar mansions, their exact positions in the sky, forms and numbers, etc. (14) *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Makkiyya,* not dated, deals with the sea-routes from Djidda to Cape Fartak, Calicut, Dābul, Konkan, Gudjarāt, al-Aṭwāḥ, Hormuz and other places. (15) *Urdjūza* called *Nādirat al-abdāl* on *al-wāḳiʿ, dhubbān* and *al-ʿayyūḳ.* (16) *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Bā'iyya* called *al-Dhahabiyya* (dated 16 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 882/21 March 1478), deals with the investigation of the reefs, great depths, signs indicating land such as birds and winds, landfalls on capes during monsoons, etc. (17) *Urdjūza* called *al-Fā'iḳa,* not dated but written before 880/1475, deals with the observation of the Frog. (18) *al-Balīgha,* not dated, deals with the observation of the constellation Canopus and the star Arcturus. (19) Nine short sections (*faṣl*) in prose, not dated: (a) and (b) deal with the *māriza;* (c) with the landings by 10 *iṣbaʿ* (one *iṣbaʿ* = 1° 36′ 25″) of the *djāh* (the Pole Star) on the coast of Gudjarāt; (d) with the soundings of Gudjarāt; (e) with the soundings by 10 *iṣbaʿ* of the *djāh;* (f) with landings; (g) with the soundings around Bāb al-Mandab; (h) with the soundings of Gudjarāt by 10¼ *iṣbaʿ*s of the *djāh;* (i) with knowing the revolution of the Pole Star on leaving the capes of Arabia. (20) *Urdjūza* called *al-Sabʿiyya,* divided into seven sections because it deals with seven branches of nautical lore. (21) *Ḳaṣīda* without title or date, written before 1475, 1478 or 1489. (22) *al-Ḳaṣīda* called *al-Hādiya,* not dated but written before 1475, 1478, or 1489. It deals with the stars that are useful for landfalls, with a description of the landfall points and with the coast from Div to Daybal.

In his *Kitāb al-Fawā'id,* Ibn Mādjid mentions the titles and cites verses from thirteen of his other works, which are not known to survive (for further details, see G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques,* iii, 198-221; cf. *EI*[1], iv, 363-5).

Three *urdjūzas* of Ibn Mādjid were published by T. A. Shumovsky under the title *Thalāth Rāhmā-nadjāt al-madjhūla* [sic], Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R., Moscow-Leningrad 1957. They are based on the unique manuscript in the Library of the Oriental Institute. The texts are accompanied by Russian translations and valuable notes and commentaries by Shumovsky. There is a map showing the ports and harbours mentioned by Ibn Mādjid in his works. Of the three *urdjūzas,* the first is called *al-Sufāliyya* (ff. 83a-96a) (on Sofala, on the east coast of Africa) and deals with the knowledge of the *madjrās* (day's journey by sea) and astronomical calculations from Malabar, Konkan, Gudjarāt, Sind, al-Aṭwāḥ up to Somaliland, and from there to the regions of al-Sawāḥil (east coast of Africa), Zandjbār, Sofala, Madagascar and its islands. It also deals with various other aspects of navigation and with the inhabitants, kings, monsoons, etc. of those regions. This *urdjūza* also devotes some pages towards the end to the Franks and the Portuguese navigators of the Indian Ocean. It is undated. The second *urdjūza,* entitled *al-Maʿlaḳiyya* (ff. 97b-104a, on Malacca), deals with the islands and ports of Ceylon, the Andaman and Nicobars, Java and Sumatra, Siam, Malacca, and other gulfs and islands of these regions, up to Formosa, China and the Pacific Ocean. The third is called *al-Tā'iyya.* It describes the sea-routes and calculations from Djidda to Aden (ff. 104b-105b).

Sources of his knowledge. Ibn Mādjid was as much interested in the theoretical aspects of navigation as he was in its practical side. The knowledge and experience that he inherited from his forefathers was enriched by his own personal experience of forty years or so. Furthermore, there is little doubt that he was a well-read man and was familiar with ancient Arabic poetry and literature and with works on history and other subjects. He made a particular study and use of the existing works on navigation, astronomy and geography. He considered the study of astronomy and geography as a pre-requisite for anyone who wished to become efficient in navigation, and hence recommended the following works to navigators and sea-captains who wished to become masters of the subject: *Kitāb al-Mabādī wa 'l-ghāyāt* (*Kitāb al-Mabādī wa 'l-ghāyāt fī ʿilm al-miḳāt*) by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar al-Marrākushī al-Maghribī (d. 660/1262); *Kitāb al-Taṣāwīr* (*Ṣuwar al-kawākib al-thābita*) by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī (d. 376/986); *al-Ikhtiṣār al-Shahbatiyya* (?); the book of (Aḥmad b. Dā'ūd) Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895); the book of (Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Naṣīr al-Dīn) al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), the author of the famous Īlkhānī Tables. Then, *Muzīl al-ithbāt ʿan mushtabih al-intisāb* by Abu 'l-Madjd Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 344/955); *Kitāb al-Mushtarik* by Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229); the book of Ibn Saʿīd (d. 672/1274) (Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Maghribī, the author of *Kitāb Djughrāfiyā fi 'l-aḳālīm al-sabʿa*); Ibn Ḥawḳal's *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (*ca.* 365/975). See al-*Fawā'id,* ff. 43b-44a; for further comments on sources, see G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques,* iii, 229-33.

Ibn Mādjid had studied the works of the three Arab navigators of the ʿAbbāsid period, namely, Muḥammad b. Shādān, Sahl b. Abān and Layth b. Kahlān, even though he was doubtful about the value of their writings and considered them mere compilers and not authors (*al-Fawā'id,* 3b-4a, 31a). He was equally critical of contemporary Arab navigators and considered himself the most experienced and knowledgeable in the field. Considering the vast amount of his experience and his numerous writings on the subject, he was, probably, not unjustified in this claim.

His contributions and concepts: In Arabic geographical writings of the Middle Ages, the description of the east coast of Africa usually stopped at Sofala or a little further south. The reason was that Arab ships did not sail beyond this point for fear of being wrecked or destroyed by the strong currents and winds there. Moreover, theoretically speaking, according to the Ptolemaic concept the

east coast ot Africa, to the south of Sofala, turned towards the east instead of the west, and extended latitudinally as far east as China, leaving only a channel that connected the Indian Ocean with the Pacific, thus giving the Indian Ocean the shape of a lake. So, the Arab geographers and cartographers who mainly followed Ptolemy drew maps which covered the whole of the southern hemisphere with land. For centuries, this theory was accepted and hindered the progress of navigation in southern Africa. Again the *terra incognita* was supposed to be barren and hence commercially unattractive. Al-Bīrūnī (d. *ca.* 442/1050) was the first to propound a theory that there might exist a channel between the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic, south of the Mountains of the Moon. This fairly long channel, according to him, lay between Sofala and the cape called "al-Ra'sūn" (*Ṣūrat al-Maʿmūra ʿalā 'l-Bīrūnī*, 62-3; this cape could be no other than the region of the Agulhas currents of modern maps). Ibn Saʿīd (d. 672/1274) placed the conjunction of the two seas (the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic) at Long. 117° 30′ and Lat. 16° 00′ where the sea was called "Sea of Ruin" or "Sea of Suhayl" and it also marked the end of the Mountain of Regret (*Nadāma*) stretching between Long. 109° 00′ and 117° 30′ along the coast of Africa (this place, according to M. Reinaud, was the Cape of Good Hope, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, i, p. cccxvi). However, Ibn Mādjid was the first Arab navigator to describe in more positive terms the coast of Africa south of Sofala. He seems to have acquired the information about the existence of a *madkhal* (place of entry, from the Atlantic into the Indian Ocean) from the Portuguese (*al-Sufāliyya*, ff. 93a, 94a), but he must also have been acquainted with al-Bīrūnī's ideas on the subject through Abu 'l-Fidā's *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, which he had consulted. Thus, Ibn Mādjid believed that there existed a *madkhal* which separated the African continent from the *terra incognita* in the southern hemisphere. Describing the coast of Africa, he says that when you reach the land of Sofala and the "gulfs", the island of al-Ḳumr (Madagascar) "passes by" to your left, and the land to your right (*i.e.*, the coast of Africa as the ship sailed south) turns away towards the west and the north. This is the place where the "Darkness" (the Atlantic Ocean) begins. From there, the land turns to the "land of al-Kātim" (Kanem). When you pass Kanem, you come to "the land of al-Wāḥāt" (Oases) near al-Maghāriba (Maghrib) which begins at al-Masā. Leaving this behind, you arrive at Asifi and finally Ceuta, at the entrance of the Mediterranean Sea (*al-Fawā'id*, f. 64). It is obvious that Ibn Mādjid conceived of Africa as being much smaller than it actually is, for according to his account the east coast of Africa turns sharply westward and emerges at Kanem (south of the land of the "Black People", *i.e.*, Ghana, etc.) and from there it reaches Morocco.

Ibn Mādjid surveys the coastal regions of the earth (*dawrat al-arḍ*, actually the landmass of Asia and Africa) systematically, beginning from southern Arabia. His survey of the sea-coasts of the Indian Ocean is much more detailed than those of the Mediterranean or the Caspian regions, for he did not have personal knowledge of the latter. He then describes the ten large islands of the Indian Ocean (see above) (*al-Fawā'id*, ff. 67a-70b).

He does not refer to the *terra incognita* of the southern hemisphere, which indicates that he did not believe in it. His knowledge of astronomy was mainly derived from the works and astronomical tables of Ptolemy, al-Battānī, Ulūgh Beg, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī and others, and he incorporates their theories and astronomical concepts in his works. Ibn Mādjid's contribution lies mainly in the field of navigation. G. Ferrand rightly describes the *Kitāb al-Fawā'id* as a "compendium of the known knowledge of theoretical and practical navigation". "We must regard it", he says, "as a kind of synthesis of nautical science of the latter years of the Middle Ages. Ibn Mādjid is at the same time the earliest of modern writers on nautical science. The description of the Red Sea, for example, has never been surpassed or even equalled, apart from the inevitable errors in latitude, by any of the writers of nautical guides for sailing boats. The information given on the monsoons, local winds, routes and latitudes for crossing the whole Indian Ocean is as precise and detailed as could be expected at this period" (*EI*[1], iv, 365). Most of the place-names given by Ibn Mādjid in his works have almost their modern forms and hence are easily identifiable.

There is little doubt that Ibn Mādjid used sea-charts and several instruments of navigation. But it is doubtful if he was the inventor of the compass (according to Nafis Ahmad, the Arabs were the inventors of this instrument, *Muslim contribution to geography*, 64). However, Ibn Mādjid claims to have fixed the needle (*al-maghnāṭīs*) itself on the case (*al-Fawā'id*, f. 46b). He considered the compass used by the Arabs for navigation in the Indian Ocean much superior to the one used by the Egyptians and the Maghribīs (North Africans) for the compass of the former was divided into thirty-two sections, whereas that of the latter was divided into only sixteen. Moreover, the latter only knew the use of the compass and were not capable of using the Arab boats whereas "we could easily navigate their boats" (*al-Fawā'id*, f. 27). The Arab and the Portuguese instruments were probably equal in quality and accuracy but Ibn Mādjid had shown the Portuguese an instrument which they had rot seen before (G. Ferrand, *EI*[1], iv, 365 f.). Ibn Mādjid's name however became legendary in later centuries and entered navigational lore. Sailors remembered him as Shaykh Mādjid, the inventor of the mariners' compass, and recited the *Fātiḥa* in his memory when they embarked on certain seas (G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, iii, 227-8).

Ibn Mādjid and the Portuguese. Ibn Mādjid was fully aware of the several attempts made by the Portuguese to enter the Indian Ocean through what he calls the *madkhal* (*i.e.*, *via* the Cape of Good Hope) and also of their raids along the east coast of Africa. He says that in 900/1495 the Franks (*i.e.*, the Europeans) arrived at the coast of Sofala, passing through the *madkhal* that lies between it and al-Maghārib (North Africa) and the existence of which was proved by "the experienced ones" (the Portuguese). The Portuguese, he says, then went to India. Later, they returned to al-Zandj (Zandjbār) and then went back *via* the same "passage of the Franks". In 906/1501, they again went to India, purchasing houses there, and settled down, making friends with the "Sāmrī" kings (the Zamorins of Kerala) (*al-Sufāliyya*, f. 94a). In his extant works, Ibn Mādjid does not record the fact of his having guided Vasco da Gama from Malindi (east coast of Africa) to Calicut (Kerala). This fact is, however, proved by the contemporary Arabic and Portuguese sources. The Portuguese sources refer to him as "Malemo Canaqua" (Castanheda and Goes) or "Malemo Cana" (Barros), both representing *Muʿallim Kanaka* (*i.e.*,

Master of astrological navigation) (G. Ferrand, in *EI*[1], iv, 362; cf. idem, *Instructions nautiques*, iii, 191; and L. Bagrow, *The Vasco Gama's pilot*, 105). But it is the historian Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrwālī (d. 990/1582), the author of *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī fi 'l-fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, who mentions Ibn Mādjid by name in this context. Referring to Vasco da Gama as the chief of the Franks called "*al-amilandī*" (= "admiral"), he describes the entry of the "cursed Portuguese, a group of the cursed Franks" into the Indian Ocean in the beginning of the 10th century A.H. (A.D. 1495-1591) as "one of the most exceptional and terrorizing events" of the period. He says that a band of them, starting from the Strait of Ceuta, sailed across the Atlantic ("the Sea of Darkness") and, turning eastwards, passed south of the Mountains of the Moon through a "narrow passage near the coast which has mountain on one side and the Sea of Darkness on the other and is full of high waves". Their boats were unable to bear the rigours of this place and were wrecked. They continued in this manner [attempting to pass through] for some time, perishing at this place and none of them surviving to reach India, till "a crow from amongst them" survived and reached India. But [before this], they had gathered information about the Indian Ocean until a sailor called Aḥmad b. Mādjid guided them. The chief of the Franks called *al-amilandī* became friendly with him and they drank together until the latter gave him the necessary information about the route [to India] when in a state of intoxication. Ibn Mādjid instructed them not to sail close to the coast of Malindi but to go straight across the high seas and then turn [towards the coast of India]. If they did so, they would be able to avoid the strong waves. So they followed these instructions and their boats were safe. Thus, as time passed, the number of Portuguese in these regions grew larger. They then built a fort in Kuwwa (Goa) and took Hormuz and began plundering and capturing the Muslim boats on the high seas (translated from the Arabic text cited in *Instructions nautiques*, iii, 185-6).

Bibliography: G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des xv*e *et xvi*e *siècles*, i, Paris 1921-3 (Ar. texts of Ibn Mādjid's works), ii, Paris 1925 (Ar. texts of the works of Sulaymān al-Mahrī and Ibn Mādjid), iii, Paris 1928 (*Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe*); T. A. Shumovsky, *Thalāth rāhmānadjāt al-madjhūla* (sic) *li Aḥmad b. Mādjid*: *Tri nyeizvvestnïye lotsii Akhmada ibn Madžida arabskogo lotsmana Vasko da Gamï*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957; Port. tr. by M. Malkiel-Jirmounsky, Lisbon 1960; Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Iz. Soč.*, iv, 552-69.

M. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (Ar. text of *Taḳwīm al-buldān* by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ), vol. i, *Introduction générale à la géographie des orientaux*, Paris 1848; al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣūrat al-maʿmūra ʿala 'l-Bīrūnī*, *Bīrūnī's picture of the world*, ed. A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 53, Delhi 1937; Nafis Ahmad, *Muslim contribution to geography*, Lahore 1947; L. Bagrow, *The Vasco Gama's pilot*, Genoa (Pubblicazioni del Civico Istituto Colombiano) 1951 (offprint from vol. iii of *Studi Colombiani*).

(S. Maqbul Ahmad)

IBN MĀHĀN, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, governor and military leader of the ʿAbbāsid period, who appears first as commander of the caliph's guard and secretary to the army during the caliphate of al-Mahdī [*q.v.*]. He remained commander of the guard under Hārūn al-Rashīd, who, in 180/796, appointed him as governor of Khurāsān, in spite of opposition from Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. It is said that he then followed a policy of oppressing the people, which was probably the cause of the revolt of Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth; this obliged the caliph to lead an expedition himself into this province in 192/808. On the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] gave his support to al-Amīn [*q.v.*], and was put in charge of the army which was sent against the troops of al-Maʾmūn in 196/812: his army was routed, and ʿAlī himself was killed in the battle.

His son al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī attempted, in 196/812, to get the inhabitants of Baghdād to recognize al-Maʾmūn, but failed, and the attempt finally cost him his life.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(D. Sourdel)

IBN al-MĀḤŪZ [see ʿubayd allāh b. bashīr].

IBN MAKHLAD, name of several secretaries or viziers of the ʿAbbāsid period, who did not however all belong to the same family.

Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad b. al-Djarrāḥ was a secretary of Christian origin and recently converted to Islam, who served the caliph al-Mutawakkil and became vizier under al-Muʿtamid, for the first time in 263/877, then in 264-5/878-9, and was dismissed from the government on the insistence of the regent al-Muwaffaḳ. He seems to have been exiled to Egypt, where he was at first welcomed by Ibn Ṭūlūn, then sent to Antioch, where he seems to have died in 269/882 in obscure circumstances.

Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, son of the above, was twice vizier under the caliph al-Muḳtadir, in 318-9/930-1 and 324/936, then during the amīrate of Badjkam in 328-9/940-1, but was remarkable mainly for his ineptitude.

Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad, secretary and vizier of Christian origin and recently converted to Islam, has sometimes been considered, without adequate proof, as the brother of al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad. He belonged in fact to a different and quite inconspicuous family. He distinguished himself in the service of the regent al-Muwaffaḳ between 265/878 and 272/885, playing the role of vizier, even though he did not hold the title, and providing efficient support for the prince in his military undertakings. He received, in 269/882, the honorific title of *Dhu 'l-wizāratayn*, and his name appears on coins minted in ʿIrāḳ. His sudden disgrace seems to have been connected with the activities of his brother ʿAbdūn, who, having remained a Christian, tried to obtain certain privileges for his fellow-Christians. He died in 276/889.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; S. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī, sa vie et son œuvre*, Beirut 1967, index; Ṣūlī, *Akhbâr ar-Râḍî bi'llâh* ..., tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index.

(D. Sourdel)

IBN MAKKĪ, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Khalaf al-Ṣiḳillī (var. al-Māzarī, al-Ḳurṭubī) Arab *faḳīh* and lexicographer, on whose life one searches in vain in the various biographical sources for any details beyond his emigration to Tunis and his appointment there to the office of *ḳāḍī*. Before going to Tunis he lived in Sicily where he remained probably until the beginning of the Norman occupation in 452/1060. This can be deduced first from his *nisba*, then from the fact that he had as his *shaykh* Ibn al-Birr [*q.v.*], who lived in Sicily at this time, and finally from an even more convincing circumstance, the inclusion of some poetical fragments of Ibn Makki in *al-Durra al-khaṭīra*, the well-known anthology of the poetry of the Arabs of Sicily compiled by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ [*q.v.*].

The only work attributed to Ibn Makkī is the unpublished *Tathḳīf al-lisān wa-talḳīḥ al-djanān*, which must be classed with the long series of treatises produced by the specialists in the *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, the study of which might perhaps reveal traces of the *maghribī* dialect spoken in Sicily at the time of the author, *i.e.*, the first half of the 5th/11th century. The *muḳaddima*, which contains the reflexions of a philologist aware of the precarious situation of the Arabic language threatened as it was with corruption and adulteration through the constant effects of the *alḥān*, is followed by the 50 chapters of the text, which has been the subject of three refutations and a commentary. On these, and for everything else concerning the author, the *Tathḳīf*, the sources, etc. there may be consulted U. Rizzitano, *Il "Taṯqīf al-lisān wa talqīḥ al-ğanān" di Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Makkī*, in *Studia Orientalia*, Cairo 1956, 193-213 (to the two manuscripts mentioned on p. 207 should be added a third preserved in a library in Saudi Arabia of which only the title and the author are given in *RIMA*, i/1 (1955), 154, n. 23).

(U. Rizzitano)

IBN MĀKŪLĀ, name of a family of Baghdādī jurists and traditionists of the 5th/11th century.

(1) The earliest was al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar al-ʿIdjlī, the vizier of the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla (416-35/1035-44). He himself bore the honorific titles of Saʿd al-Dawla and Yamīn al-Dawla. They were not however sufficient to ensure his authority, and still less that of his master. The power of both was sapped by the raids of the Bedouins, both Arab and Kurdish, whose camps were outside the gates of the capital, by the turbulence of the Turkish guard, and by the continual intrigues which the caliph al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031), with the support of a large group of jurisconsults and of men of letters of traditional outlook (among them the famous al-Māwardī), pursued on behalf of the Sunnī party. Al-Ḥasan was the unfortunate hero of an expedition against Baṣra, which he was unable to take from the ruler of Fārs, Abū Kālīdjār, the nephew of Djalāl al-Dawla, and was in fact killed there (421/1030). At this time there was so little interest in the Būyids that, according to Ibn al-Djawzī (*Muntaẓam*, viii, 60), it was not known whether Djalāl al-Dawla still had a vizier in office. This may be the reason that certain historians [see bibl.] have confused al-Ḥasan with his brother Hibat Allāh, who appears to have succeeded him in his office of vizier.

(2) The career of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Hibat Allāh was hardly more fortunate than that of his brother. Although the chronology of his vizierate is not very certain because of the contradictions between Ibn al-Djawzī and Ibn al-Athīr, at least its chief events are known. Born in 365/976, he was appointed vizier in 423/1032, but was dismissed in the following year in favour of his rival, a convinced Shīʿī, Abū Saʿd b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm. Restored to office shortly afterwards, he appears to have been vizier intermittently until 426/1035. Ibn al-Athīr moreover considers that the vizierate of 424 was his fifth, while noting, in connexion with a mutiny of the Turkish militia, that the same office was held in 423/1031 by a certain Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sahlī. Hibat Allāh's career ended in 430/1038, after more than two years in captivity at Hīt in the hands of the ʿUḳaylid Ḳarwāsh b. al-Muḳallad, the faithful ally of Djalāl al-Dawla (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii, 450), who had become his gaoler on the latter's orders and whose family always maintained Shīʿī sympathies (Ibn Khaldūn, *ibid.*, 161) [see al-basāsīrī, ḳarwāsh, ḳuraysh, ʿuḳaylids].

The family policy of the Banū Mākūlā seems to have been to pledge loyalty in turn to both the rival parties, the Shīʿī and the Sunnī, though inclining more and more towards the latter. This policy began by neglecting the *sunna* on fundamental points of economic life (illegal taxation of markets, measures contrary to the Ḳurʾānic prohibition of usury, *ribāʾ*) and it worked in favour of the Jewish element, which lived very amicably with the Shīʿī artisans of the Karkh quarter (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 285).

However, the final disgrace of Hibat Allāh seems to have been due to a sudden access of energy on the part of Djalāl al-Dawla, who from then on, through dynastic interests, became reconciled with Abū Kālīdjār and had decided to ally himself with the ʿUḳaylid and Mazyadī Bedouin *amīr*s rather than suffer the pretensions and insolence of the Sunnī party (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya, sub anno* 428). It should be added that Hibat Allāh brought up his son ʿAlī in the best Sunnī traditions and the latter very soon became famous in the science of traditions (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 281).

Bibliography: on the vizierate of the Banū Mākūlā, see Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 21, 60 (mentions al-Ḥasan but not Hibat Allāh), followed in part by Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 28; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 287, 293-4, 298, 302, 307; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii, 446, 447, is in general based on Ibn al-Athīr; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ed. Saʿāda, xii, 40, merely mentions Djalāl al-Dawla's change of policy in 428/1037.

(3) Hibat Allāh's son, ʿAlī, was one of the most famous exponents of *ḥadīth* and of *ʿilm al-ridjāl*. He was born in 422/1032 at ʿUkbarā. His teachers included such famous traditionists as Ibn Bishrān (Brockelmann, S I, 281; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 18), the informant of the Ḥanbalī al-Kharāʾiṭī (Brockelmann, S I, 250), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 283), one of the masters of the famous Shāfiʿī mystic al-Ḳushayrī. He was on excellent terms with Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāḳ al-Ḥabbāl (al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, iii, 382) to whom al-Sarrādj al-Ḳāriʾ (Brockelmann, S I, 594) owed a large part of his collection of mystico-profane love tales. He was also connected with the great master of Ḥanbalī *ḥadīth*, Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, with al-ʿAtīḳī, the informant of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], not to mention the latter himself, who was to make such a remarkable contribution to the science of Traditions in the 5th/11th century. It is very probable that this Ibn Mākūlā had close relations with half-Ḥanbalī and half-Shāfiʿī circles, who were much attached to tradition and grouped around the vizier Ibn al-Muslima [*q.v.*] and the caliph al-Ḳāʾim [*q.v.*]. All of these were in favour of a restoration of the authority of the caliph at the same time as they were working for the final dispossession of the heretic Būyids, to whom paradoxically the family of Ibn Mākūlā owed its fortune. ʿAlī gained fame by the production of a *Kitāb Ikmāl al-mukhtalif wa 'l-muʾtalif min asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, on the onomastic of *ḥadīth*. In it he used the works of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Azdī (Brockelmann, S I, 281) and of al-Dāraḳuṭnī (*ibid.*, I, 165), greatly esteemed in Ḥanbalī and mystic circles. This work was used by al-Nawawī, one of the greatest authorities of the Shāfiʿī school, in his famous biographical dictionary (Brockelmann, S I, 680). The example of Ibn Mākūlā would seem to indicate that the descendants of the most illustrious families found the best refuge, in the troubled period of the 5th/11th

century, in the practice and the study of the traditional disciplines of Islam. It was through them, at least in the eyes of the rigorists of the entourage of the caliph, that the real power seemed to be maintained.

Bibliography: in addition to the sources mentioned, see Brockelmann, S I, 602; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 15. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN MALAK [see FIRI<u>SH</u>TE-O<u>GH</u>LU].

IBN MĀLIK, Abū ʿAbd Allāh <u>Dj</u>amāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik al-Ṭāʾī al-<u>Dj</u>ayyānī (the name given by al-Maḳḳarī, ii, 421; for his reasons see 427, lines 13-6), Arab grammarian. He was born in Jaen in 600 or 601/1203-4 or 1204-5, according to the most generally accepted date, and was at first a Mālikī. Al-Maḳḳarī (ii, 421) gives the names of four of his teachers in his native town; to them may be added that of Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-<u>Sh</u>alawbīnī, in Seville. Very soon he left for the Near East (where he became a <u>Sh</u>āfiʿī), and we find him in Aleppo, Ḥamāt and Damascus. According to Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>azarī (ii, 180), he went first to Damascus where he studied, then stayed in Aleppo and afterwards in Ḥamāt, and returned to Damascus where he settled. His journey to Cairo, which is not mentioned by Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>azarī, perhaps occurred some time before his death, which took place in Damascus on 12 <u>Sh</u>aʿbān 672/22 February 1274.

In Damascus, Ibn Mālik was the pupil of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sa<u>kh</u>āwī and other masters (see Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>azarī, ii, 180); in Aleppo, he studied under Ibn Yaʿī<u>sh</u> and his disciple Ibn ʿAmrūn, and for a time taught *ʿarabiyya*; he composed a *<u>Sh</u>arḥ* to *al-Muḳaddima al-<u>Dj</u>azūliyya* (al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1371/1952, ii, 333). In Ḥamāt also he taught *ʿarabiyya* for a time. But it is not clear whether he was a pupil of Ibn al-Ḥā<u>dj</u>ib in Damascus. The sources consulted record only his remark about Ibn al-Ḥā<u>dj</u>ib: "He took his *naḥw* from the author of the *Mufaṣṣal* [al-Zama<u>kh</u><u>sh</u>arī], and the author of the *Mufaṣṣal* and his *naḥw* are of very small account" (al-Ṣafadī, iii, 363; cf. al-Maḳḳarī, ii, 424). This appraisal is evidently very unjust; it is the only discordant note related about his life, which seems to have been a worthy and industrious one.

On settling in Damascus, Ibn Mālik appears to have entered the most productive period of his life, and it is difficult to believe Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>azarī when he states (ii, 181) that he put into verse *al-Kāfiya al-<u>sh</u>āfiya* in Aleppo and the *<u>Kh</u>ulāṣa* [*al-alfiyya*] in Ḥamāt. In Damascus, Ibn Mālik demonstrated his mastery of several Islamic sciences: Ibn Ḳāḍī <u>Sh</u>uhba (54) gives him the titles of *al-naḥwī*, *al-lu<u>gh</u>awī*, *al-muḳriʾ*, *al-muḥaddi<u>th</u>* and *al-faḳīh al-<u>sh</u>āfiʿī*. Ibn <u>Kh</u>allikān held him in high regard (al-Ṣafadī, iii, 359). He taught and was senior master at the ʿĀdiliyya *madrasa*. He had many pupils—his son Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Naḥḥās al-Ḥalabī (a *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>* of Abū Ḥayyān), Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Nawawī, etc. (see al-Ṣafadī, iii, 362); but it was in grammar that he earned an immense reputation. This he owed to his philological knowledge, which was certainly very great, but also in large measure to a fact which in itself remains of secondary importance, his versification of Arabic grammar in the *Alfiyya*; rhyme was indeed an aid to memorization in those Arab countries where learning by heart was the usual method of instruction; furthermore the verses of his *Alfiyya*, "always obscure and often unintelligible" (Howell, *Ar. Gr.*, Preface XXVI), offered a choice of material to a host of commentators. Interest in grammar was revived.

From the point of view of grammatical method, Ibn Mālik represents a new state of mind: from the start, Arab grammarians had sought for *<u>sh</u>awāhid*, witnesses, to establish the authentic *ʿarabiyya*, in ancient poetry and Ḳurʾānic prose and not in *ḥadī<u>th</u>*. Now Ibn Mālik regarded *ḥadī<u>th</u>* as conclusive, and made use of it, as did his contemporary Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābā<u>dh</u>ī. The initator of this practice seems to have been Ibn <u>Kh</u>arūf, who died in Aleppo at the beginning of the 7th/13th century (on this whole question, see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ba<u>gh</u>dādī, *<u>Kh</u>izānat al-adab*, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 3-8 and J. Fück, *ʿArabīya*, 123-4, French tr. 189-90). One can understand the great interest Ibn Mālik took in *ḥadī<u>th</u>*: he collaborated with <u>Sh</u>araf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Yūnīnī (d. 701/1301-2), for his edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī (Fück, in *ZDMG*, xcii (1938), 81-2), which led him to deal with difficult passages in a special work, number 7 in the following list (see also Brockelmann, I², 359-63 and S I, 522-7).

1. *Tashīl al-fawāʾid wa-takmīl al-maḳāṣid* (Fās 1323), a résumé of an earlier work no longer surviving, *al-Fawāʾid fi 'l-naḥw*, "a manual of grammar, the conciseness of which verges on obscurity" (Ben Cheneb, in *EI*¹, s.v. Ibn Mālik). The *Tashīl* had a great reputation; there are at least 29 commentaries, by the author, by Abū Ḥayyān and by Ibn ʿAḳīl, among others, in manuscript.

2. *al-Kāfiya al-<u>sh</u>āfiya*, a treatise on grammar in 2757 verses (*ra<u>dj</u>az*), according to Brockelmann (I², 363), with a commentary by the author, *al-Wāfiya*, in manuscript.

3. *al-<u>Kh</u>ulāṣa al-alfiyya* or simply *al-Alfiyya*, a résumé of the preceding work in about a thousand verses (*ra<u>dj</u>az*), in imitation of *al-Durra al-alfiyya* of Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Muʿṭī according to al-Maḳḳarī (ii, 431) (cf. *Alfiyya*, verse 5). Al-ʿA<u>dj</u>īsī (quoted *ibid.*) denies that he wrote it for his son Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad known as al-Asad, as al-Ṣafadī related, following al-<u>Dh</u>ahabī (cf. *al-Wāfī*, i, 206); he says that it was written for the *ḳāḍī* <u>Sh</u>araf al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm known as Ibn al-Bārizī (cf. Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>azarī, ii, 181). The famous *Alfiyya* exists in manuscript in a great many libraries and has been printed frequently. S. de Sacy published an edition with a commentary (Paris-London 1833) and reproduced and translated eight chapters from it in his *Anthologie grammaticale*, Paris 1829, 134-44 and 315-47; Arabic text and French translation by L. Pinto (Constantine 1887), by A. Goguyer (Beirut 1888) who adds the *Lāmiyyat al-afʿāl*; Italian translation and commentary by E. Vitto (Beirut 1898). The *Alfiyya* has been the subject of at least 43 commentaries; it will be sufficient to list the following:—that of Ibn Mālik's son, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-Durra al-muḍīʾa*, Beirut 1312, Cairo 1342; that of Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, *Manha<u>dj</u> al-sālik*, published by S. Glazer, New Haven 1947; that of Ibn ʿAḳīl, which can be said to be a classic, ed. Fr. Dieterici, Leipzig 1851, German tr., Berlin 1852, and in the East in the very convenient ed. of Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (6th. ed., Cairo 1370/1951); for the commentaries of <u>Dj</u>amāl al-Dīn Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, al-Makkūdī, al-U<u>sh</u>mūnī, al-Suyūṭī and Daḥlān, see nos. 3, 10, 12, 15 and 35 of Brockelmann (S I, 523-5).

4. *Lāmiyyat al-afʿāl* or *al-Miftāḥ fī abniyat al-afʿāl*, in 114 verses (*basīṭ*), a complement on morphology to the *Alfiyya*, published by A. Goguyer as a sequel to that work, with translation, notes and

glossary of technical terms for both works; the Commentary of Badr al-Dīn Muḥ. was published by Kellgren (Helsingfors 1854), by Kellgren and Volck (St. Petersburg 1864) and by Volck (Leipzig 1866); the *Lāmiyya* has been printed several times in the East in collections; moreover other commentaries exist (see Brockelmann, I², 362 and S I 526).

5. *Tuḥfat al-mawdūd fi 'l-maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd*, a versification in 162 verses (*ṭawīl*) of almost all the words of the same form terminating with *alif maḳṣūra* or *alif mamdūda* and of different meaning, with a short commentary; ed. Cairo 1897 by Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī, then in 1329.

6. *al-Iʿlām bi-thalāth* (*muthallath*) *al-kalām*, a versification (in *radjaz*) of the words with triple vocalization and of different meaning, a work dedicated to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, grandson of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (ed. Cairo 1329, together with the preceding work). See Brockelmann's no. XII for other similar works.

7. *Shawāhid al-tawḍīḥ wa 'l-taṣḥīḥ li-mushkilāt al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, a grammatical discussion of difficult passages from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (Allāhābād 1319); in manuscript in Damascus under the title *al-Tawḍīḥ fī iʿrāb al-Bukhārī* (Brockelmann, S I, 262, emend to *ʿUm.* 17 no. 101).—The following works exist only in manuscript:

8. *ʿUmdat al-ḥāfiẓ wa-ʿuddat al-lāfiẓ*, a résumé of syntax, with a fairly long commentary by the author (Brockelmann, I², 363, IV, should read: Berlin 6631 and 6632).

9. *al-Alfāẓ al-mukhtalifa*, a collection of synonyms (25 fols. in MS Berlin 7041).

10. *al-Iʿtiḍād fī 'l-farḳ bayn al-ẓā' wa 'l-ḍād*, a versification in 62 verses (*basīṭ*) of words pronounced with *ẓā'* or *ḍād*, with a short commentary by the author (an extract from this work appears in the *Muzhir*³, ii, 283-6), followed by two appendices, one *fīmā yuḳāl bi-ḍād wa-ẓā'*, the other *fīmā yuḳāl bi-ṭā' wa-ẓā'*.

11. *K. al-ʿArūḍ*, on Arabic prosody; only one MS, Escur.² 330, 6°.

12. A summary of grammar, the *Sabk al-manẓūm*, of morphology (*taṣrīf*), the *Īdjāz al-taʿrīf* (Brockelmann, nos. V, VI), and different short works, placed by Brockelmann under nos. XIV to XX (S I, 527). Versifications of words with grammatical or lexicographical peculiarities have been included by al-Suyūṭī in the *Muzhir*³, ii, 113, 114, 115, 224; note 279-82, the 49 verses (*kāmil*) containing the verbs having a *wāw* or a *yā'* without distinction as the 3rd radical consonant (printed in a *Madjmūʿa*, Cairo 1306).

Several works of Ibn Mālik, mentioned by his biographers, have not yet been reported in manuscript, in particular *al-Muḳaddima al-asadiyya* (composed for his son known as al-Asad).

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1369/1949, ii, 421-33, has brought together almost all the items of information; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt* [Bibl. Isl. 6c], iii, 359-64, important; Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrā'*, ii, 180-1, ed. Bergsträsser 1352/1933 (anastatic reprint, Baghdād, ii, 180-1), important for chronological data; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 53-7, repeats, adds little; the others mostly repeat or are useful for the date of Ibn Mālik's birth or his genealogy: Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 452-4; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, v, 28-9; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt wa 'l-lughawiyyīn*, Damascus (Ẓāhiriyya Ta'rīkh 438), 54-6; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Cairo 1351, v, 339; other references will also be found in ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-mu'allifīn*, Damascus 1379/1960, x, 234.

European works: Brockelmann, I², 359-63, S I, 521-7; in the short biographical notice, emend *Baʿalbakk*, substitute *Aleppo*, on the subject of Ibn Yaʿīsh; M. S. Howell, *Arabic Grammar*, Preface, XIX-XXI (Allahabad 1883). (H. FLEISCH)

IBN MĀLIK B. ABI 'L-FAḌĀ'IL AL-YAMANĪ, MUḤAMMAD, a Sunnī jurisconsult and minor historian of Yemen, best known for his derogatory tract against the Ismāʿīlīs, entitled *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya wa akhbār al-Ḳarāmiṭa*. Neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is known with certainty. In the introduction to this tract he states that he was converted to the Ismāʿīlī sect during the rule of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥ (d. 473/1080), founder of the Shīʿī Ṣulayḥid [*q.v.*] dynasty, but that towards the end of his life, sickened by the depravity of the sect's local leaders, he abjured and wrote this history of the Ismāʿīlīs in Yemen so as to warn others about them. The *Kashf* became the primary source concerning the history of the sect for all later Sunnī historians of Yemen, including al-Khazradjī. The pamphlet has been printed twice (1939 and 1955) in Cairo from the manuscript preserved in the library of the small Egyptian town of Sawhādj. Another copy, with the title *Risāla*, is to be found in the University of Leiden library (Or. 6349(1)). Neither the author nor the book is mentioned by Brockelmann. All the information concerning Ibn Mālik contained in al-Djanadī's *Sulūk* and al-Khazradjī's *Kifāya*, the two greatest biographical dictionaries of Yemen, is derived exclusively from the *Kashf*. (C. L. GEDDES)

IBN MALKA [see ABU 'L-BARAKĀT].

IBN MAMMĀTĪ, name of three highly-placed officials of the same Coptic family from Asyūṭ who flourished under the later Fāṭimids and early Ayyūbids. The first of the line was ABU 'L-MALĪḤ, who became secretary and general intendent of the *Dīwān* under Badr al-Djamālī during the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir (427-87/1035-94). He was a popular administrator, and was eulogized by the poets of his time. He managed to retain his faith and his position until his death at an unknown date towards the turn of the century.

The second was his son, AL-MUHADHDHAB ABU 'L-MALĪḤ ZAKARIYYĀ', who succeeded his father as secretary of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* during the decline of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt. He apparently remained in office until the reign of the last caliph al-ʿĀḍid (555-67/1160-71), during the critical transition between Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid rule when the Sunnī Shīrkūh assumed the vizierate of Shīʿī Egypt and brought his nephew Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) in his train. The ascent of Shīrkūh to power was precipitated by the imminent danger of an invasion of Egypt by the crusaders under Amalric, the Latin king of Jerusalem. At that time, the situation of the Copts was worsened by the growing hatred shown by Muslims towards Christians as a result of the Crusades. Under Shīrkūh, the Christians suffered a new wave of persecution and al-Muhadhdhab, finding his position in jeopardy, embraced Islam and remained in power until his death, probably in the year 578/1182.

His son, the third and most famous of the line, took his place as head of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* and was later promoted to the secretaryship of all the other *Dīwān*s during the sultanates of both Saladin (564-89/1169-93) and al-ʿAzīz (589-95/1193-8). His

full name, according to al-Maḳrīzī, was AL-ASʿAD B. MUHADHDHAB B. ZAKARIYYĀʾ B. ḲUDĀMA B. MĪNĀ SHARAF AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAKĀRIM B. SAʿĪD B. ABI 'L-MALĪḤ B. MAMMĀTĪ. His fame was based not only on the fact that he took charge of all the *dīwāns* but also on his literary productivity, both as a writer and as a poet. At least twenty-three books are listed under his name, though most of them are lost. He versified the life of Saladin and *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*]. He remained close to al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Baysānī, who called him the "nightingale of councils" owing to his eloquence and his persuasive style. After al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, his own colleague and rival Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Shukr, of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh*, was elevated to the vizierate with disastrous consequences to Ibn Mammātī, whom he humiliated, in the end confiscating all his property. Then Ibn Mammātī fled to Aleppo, where he found refuge at the court of al-Ẓāhir (582-613/1186-1216), a son of Saladin. He remained there until his death in 606/1209 at the age of sixty-two.

The surname Mammātī is explained in the sources by Abu 'l-Malīḥ's gifts of food to the poor during a period of famine. However, it is possible that it is merely a corruption of the Coptic "Mahometi", *i.e.*, "Muḥammadan", since the family embraced Islam; this implies that the name must have appeared only in the lifetime of the second of the line.

Perhaps the most enduring contribution of al-Asʿad b. Mammātī was his work entitled *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, which, on al-Maḳrīzī's authority, is said to have been composed for the sultan al-ʿAzīz in four volumes. Amongst other items, he included in it a complete record of all Egyptian townships with their taxable acreage for the *kharādj*. The portions of the work including that confidential information have been lost, but the list of all inhabited towns and villages survives in numerous manuscripts. The value of the work is enhanced by other rare information on agricultural and irrigation systems, the mint and the weights and measures services, the Ṭirāz ([*q.v.*] weaving centres), shipbuilding for the Ayyūbid arsenal, alum and nitre, forests and animals, the science of surveying, together with some mathematics and geometry, and a whole host of interesting data. Yet perhaps the most valuable part of the book remains in the first and fullest mediaeval cadaster (*rōk*) of all the inhabited sites of Egypt [see RAWK]. Al-Asʿad's self-inflicted exile with his family and his death in relative poverty ended the glory of his dynasty, of which we hear no more in subsequent ages.

Bibliography: A. S. Atiya (ed.), *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, Cairo 1943; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi/2, 244-56; Ibn Khallikān, 99-101; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIḳd al-djumān*, MS photostats, Cairo Library no. 1584, ii, 320; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 160-1; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, i, 325; *TA*, iii, 543. See also for MSS, Brockelmann, I, 335 and S I, 573; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 295, 106-7; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Iz. Soč.*, ii, 329-35; Atiya, *op. cit.*, 32-40. (A. S. ATIYA)

IBN MANDA, a famous Iṣfahānī family of *ḥadīth* scholars and historians which was active for nearly three centuries. Descended from a Sassanian official, Djahārbukht, said to have become a Muslim at the time of the Conquest, the man after whom the family was named was Ibrāhīm (Manda) b. al-Walīd b. Sanda b. Buṭṭa b. *ustandār* al-Fērōzān b. Djahārbukht. His death is placed during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim (Abū Nuʿaym, *History of Iṣfahan*, ed. S. Dedering, i, 178; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād 1333-4, iii, 221). His son, Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā, is counted the first prominent scholar in the family (Abū Nuʿaym, ii, 359). Two sons of Yaḥyā are known, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 320/932) (Abū Nuʿaym, ii, 117) and Muḥammad (d. 301/913-4, or 300, according to his great-great-grandson's biography of al-Ṭabarānī) (Abū Nuʿaym, ii, 222-4; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 276-8; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Ms. Istanbul Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III 2917, vol. ix, fol. 7a). Muḥammad's son Isḥāḳ (d. Ramaḍān 341/January-February 953) (Abū Nuʿaym, i, 221 f.) was the father of the most renowned member of the family,

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, who was born in 310/922. His travels are said to have spanned a period of thirty years. They took him to such places as Marw, Bukhārā, Egypt, Ṭarābulus, and Mecca. He visited Nīsābūr for the first time in 339/950-1, and again in 354 or 355/965-6. He married late in life and had four sons, ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and the little known ʿAbd al-Raḥīm. He died on 30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 395/7 September 1005 (rather than in 396). His publications concerned history, biography, and *ḥadīth*. He wrote on the history of the Prophet and, like his grandson, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, composed a History of Iṣfahān. Of his works there survive his comments on certain verses of the Ḳurʾān and some Prophetical traditions, under the title of *al-Radd ʿala 'l-Djahmi(yya)* (Ms. Istanbul Topkapısarayı, Revan Köşk 510, fols. 56b-66b), but it may be noted that his son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, is credited with a similar if, apparently, different work. Further, *al-Tawḥīd wa-maʿrifat asmāʾ Allāh*, preserved in Damascus; parts of his *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, also in Damascus (cf. Y. al-ʿIshsh, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya*, Damascus 1366/1947, 171 f.), whose relationship to the *Taʾrīkh al-mustakhradj* of his son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, remains to be investigated; a treatise on "The men around Muḥammad who lived 120 years" (Cairo, Taymūr, *taʾrīkh* 677, 695), but a work of the same title is ascribed to his grandson; *Fatḥ al-bāb fi 'l-kunā wa-'l-alḳāb* (Berlin 9917), which may be identical with *al-Asmāʾ wa-'l-kunā* cited repeatedly in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, although the few excerpts from the *Fatḥ* published by S. Dedering (dissertation, Upsala 1927) do not suffice to establish the identity; *al-Asāmī wa-'l-kunā*, on the names and surnames of Ibn Ḥanbal (Ms. Chester Beatty 5165 [2]); *Tasmiyat al-mashāyikh*, on the authorities of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Ms. Chester Beatty 4411, 5165 [1]); and a list of transmitters on the authority of Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj, incorporated by al-Dhahabī in his *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Cairo 1367- , vi, 195-200. For his role in the transmission of al-Ḥārithī's recension of Abū Ḥanīfa's *Musnad*, cf. the MS in Djakarta described by P. S. van Ronkel, *Suppl. to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences*, Batavia-The Hague 1913, 41-4.

Muḥammad's son ʿAbd Allāh (occasionally but wrongly ʿUbayd Allāh) died in Djīruft on 10 Rabīʿ I 462/27 December 1070 (ʿAbd al-Ghāfir's continuation of al-Ḥākim's history of Nīsābūr, ed. R. N. Frye, *The Histories of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, fol. 37b; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Ahmet III 2017, Vol. xi, fol. 209b).

Muḥammad's son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, was born in 381/991-2, or in 383. He travelled to Baghdād in 406/1015-6, and he visited Wāsiṭ, Mecca, Nīsābūr, Hamadhān, and so on. He started teaching

in 407/1016-7 and was the author of many works, among them, it seems, a *History of Mecca*. The only work of his traced so far is *al-Ta'rīkh al-mustakhradj min kutub al-nās li 'l-tadhkira wa-'l-mustaṭraf min aḳwāl al-ridjāl li-'l-ma'rifa*, ascribed to him in the Ms. Istanbul Köprülü, i, 242 and referred to by later scholars. For the time of the Prophet, the work contains alphabetical lists of the men who, for instance, attended Badr or were engaged in other noteworthy events. Thereafter, it is annalistically arranged. Under each year, the leader of the pilgrimage and those who died in that particular year are mentioned; occasionally, also those born in a given year and some important historical events are listed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, praised for his staunch orthodoxy and his uncompromising stand against "innovators", died on 16 Shawwāl 470/2 May 1078.

Muḥammad's third son, 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. in the night of 29 Djumādā II 475/23-4 November 1082) had a son with whom the scholarly activity and renown of the family appear to have come to an end, Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā. Born in Shawwāl 434/May-June 1043, Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb died between 10-12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 511/4-6 April 1118. He enjoyed a lasting reputation as an historian. His *History of Iṣfahān* may have been based upon that of his grandfather, and the latter's list of *ṣaḥāba* who lived 120 years may have been remade by him. A substantial biography of al-Ṭabarānī, together with a list of al-Ṭabarānī's writings, is preserved in Ms. Istanbul Esat Ef. 2431 (cf. M. Weisweiler, *Istanbuler Handschriftenstudien*, Istanbul 1937, 64, n. 1). His *Ma'rifat asāmī ardāf al-nabī* is to be found in Ms. Istanbul Halet Ef. 403, fols. 106a-116a. Excerpts from his *Manāḳib al-Imām* (Ibn Ḥanbal) are quoted in Ibn Radjab, *al-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. H. Laoust and S. Dahan, Damascus 1951, 56, 150 ff.

Later members of the family, for whom little information is available, were a certain Abū Muḥammad Sufyān b. Ibrāhīm al-Tikakī, mentioned by Sam'ānī, 4b, as one of his authorities, and (his grandson?) Abu 'l-Wafā' Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, who was killed by the Mongols in Iṣfahān in 632/1234-5 (cf. al-Dhahabī, *Duwal*, ii, 103, and *'Ibar*, v, 131; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, v, 155 f., also vi, 31).

Bibliography, further to that given in the text: For Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ: Abū Nu'aym, ii, 306; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 220-24; idem, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, MS Ahmet III 2917, vol. x, fols. 217a-218b; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ed. S. Dedering, ii, 190 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, v, 70 ff.; S. Dedering, *Aus dem Kitāb Fatḥ al-bāb*, 1-4; Brockelmann, I, 167 (of the original ed.), S I, 210, 281, 286; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 400, 403 f., 459; G. Vajda, *La liste d'autorités de Manṣūr Ibn Salim Waǧīh ad-Dīn al-Hamdānī*, in *JA*, 1965, 353, no. 6. A monograph biography by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Madīnī, entitled *Dhikr Ibn Manda wa-aṣḥābih*, is preserved in Damascus, cf. Brockelmann, II, 670, and Y. al-'Ishsh, *Fihris*, Damascus 1366/1947, 227 f. [Sezgin, i, 214 f.].

For 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad: al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Ahmet III 2920, vol. xviii, fol. 86a-b; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 338-42; idem, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, Ahmet III 2917, vol. xi, fols. 260b-262b; Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, 34-40, 76; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 337 f.; F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 475, 481, 513; Vajda, *op. cit.*, 377, no. 76.

For Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 204; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 45-47; idem, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, Ahmet III 2917, vol. xii, fols. 208b-209a; Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, 56, 154-66; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-tawārīkh*, Ahmet III 2922, vol. xvi, fol. 33a; Brockelmann, I, 279, 949; F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 283, 406, 459; G. Vajda, *op. cit.*, 390, no. 122. Much of the information on him and the preceding generation comes from al-Sam'ānī, apparently his *Mu'djam*. (F. Rosenthal)

IBN MANẒŪR, Muḥammad b. Mukarram b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Ifrīḳī al-Miṣrī Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl, author of the famous dictionary *Lisān al-'Arab*, in the East known as Ibn Mukarram, was born in Ramaḍān 630/June-July 1233 and died in Sha'bān 711/December 1311-January 1312. He claimed descent from Ruwayfi' b. Thābit who had been after 48/668 governor of Tripolis in North Africa. According to Ibn Ḥadjar, Ibn Mukarram was *ḳāḍī* of Tripolis and "all his life" employed in the *dīwān al-inshā'*; so he is perhaps identical with Muḥammad b. Mukarram, one of the *kuttāb al-inshā'* under Ḳalāwūn (reigned 678-89/1279-90) whose *Tadhkirat al-labīb wa nuzhat al-adīb* is one of the sources of Ḳalḳashandī (see W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im mittelalterlichen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1926, index). Ibn Mukarram was fond of epitomizing voluminous works of earlier authors, *e.g.*, the *Aghānī* (Brockelmann, S I, 226), Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ* (Brockelmann, I, 331; S I, 567), Sam'ānī's *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Baghdād* (part XI is preserved in Ibn Mukarram's autograph in Leiden, MS arab. no. 1023), the *Djāmi' al-mufradāt* of Ibn Bayṭār (see A. Taimur, in *RAAD*, iii, 361). His *Lisān al-'Arab* too (completed in 689/1290; printed Būlāḳ 1300-8 and 1349-) is based on five earlier dictionaries, *viz.* Azharī's *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, Ibn Sīda's *Muḥkam*, Djawharī's *Ḳāmūs* (whom he followed in arranging the roots according to the third radical), Ibn Barrī's glosses to the *Ḳāmūs*, and Dhahabī's *Nihāya*. He is on the whole exact in copying these works, but often omits the authorities mentioned therein, whilst Ibn Murtaḍā, who in his *Tādj al-'Arūs* draws frequently upon the *Lisān*, often supplements the authorities omitted by Ibn Mukarram.

His *Nithār al-azhār fi 'l-layl wa 'l-nahār*, a short treatise on day and night, the stars and the zodiac, was printed in Istanbul 1298.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 21, S II, 14; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, iv, 262-4, no. 725; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 106 f.; idem, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, i, 246; Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, i, 106 f.; J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 230 f.; S. Wild, *Das Kitāb al-'Ain*, 86-9. For Ruwayfi' b. Thābit, see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, etc., and Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, 20, 32. (J. W. Fück)

IBN MARDANĪSH, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Djudhāmī or al-Tudjībī, mentioned in the Christian chronicles under the name *Rey Lobo* or *Lope*, was a Spanish Muslim leader who was active in political and military affairs in the Sharḳ al-Andalus on the fall of the Almoravid empire, made himself master of Valencia and Murcia, and for 25 years contended with the new North African rulers, the Almohads, for the territories in the centre of al-Andalus. In regard to his name Ibn Mardanīsh, various theories have been advanced concerning his origin, which is evidently neither Arab nor Berber. According to Dozy, this name is a corruption of Martínez, whilst

Codera supposes that it derives from Mardonius, one of his Byzantine ancestors. Both theories are improbable, as also is that proposed by Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, iv, 473). While a more fully documented and convincing philological study remains to be made, it is certain that, despite his *nisba*, Ibn Mardanīsh was a *muladī* (*muwallad*) descended from a Spanish Christian family. He was born at Peñíscola, in the modern province of Castellón de la Plana, in 518/1124-5; his father Saʿd was governor of Fraga and its district in the Almoravid period and resisted the attacks of Alfonso I of Aragon in 528/1134; one of his uncles, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, a lieutenant of Ibn ʿIyāḍ, died at Zafadola, in 540/1146, in the battle against the Christians. On the death of Ibn ʿIyāḍ and after ʿAbd Allāh al-Thaghrī had contested his authority in Murcia, compelling him to withdraw, he was welcomed by the townsfolk of Valencia and soon succeeded in dominating the whole Eastern part of al-Andalus. In character energetic, cruel and irreligious, he oppressed his subjects and compelled them to pay higher taxes, while he resorted to gifts to secure the loyalty of the mercenaries whom he hired from the kings of Castile and Aragon and from the count of Barcelona, to whom he paid tribute. He signed a treaty with the republic of Pisa and with Genoa and, according to one tradition, he administered Alméria in the name of Alfonso VII from the time of its conquest in 542/1147. With the able collaboration of his father-in-law, Ibrāhīm b. Hamushk, the Hemochico of the Christian chronicles, he extended his possessions as far as Jaén, Baeza, Cadix, and Carmona, surrounded Cordova and Seville and occupied Granada for a short time. In Ramaḍān 564/June 1169 Ibn Hamushk embraced the Almohad cause and collaborated with the North Africans in the conquest of the Eastern territories, thus bringing the power of Ibn Mardanīsh to an end. Although there are certain divergencies regarding the date of his death, it seems to be generally accepted that it took place on the last day of Radjab 567/28 March 1172. Ibn Mardanīsh had previously recommended his son Hilāl to submit to the superior power of the Almohads.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut 1956, 259-62; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, ed. Enan, i, 225-6, 306, 310-1, 492-3 (Cairo ed., ii, 85-90); Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, ed. H. Muʾnis, Cairo 1963, ii, index s.v.; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, 149, 168, 178-80; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 165 ff. (trans. de Slane, i, 339 ff.); idem, *Histoire des Banou 'l-Ahmar, rois de Grenade*, trans. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *JA*, Paris 1899, 46 n. 6; Makkarī, index, s.v.; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 33-4; Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, *Mann bi 'l-imāma*, MS Oxford, used by A. Huici, in *Historia política del Imperio almohade*, Tetuan 1957, index, s.v. Muḥammad b. Saʿd, ed. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, Beirut 1384/1965; A. Müller, in *Isl.*, ii, 648-52; Amari, *I diplomi arabi del R. Archivio Fiorentino*, pp. XXXIV, LIX, 239, 451; Dozy, *Recherches*³, i, 364-88; Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los almorávides*, Saragossa 1899, 109-53, 310-21; idem, *Discurso* delivered on his admission to the Royal Academy of Spain, Madrid 1910, 9, 39; Gaspar y Remiro, *Historia de Murcia Musulmana*, Saragossa 1905, 185-225; I. de las Cagigas, *Los Mudéjares (Minorías étnico-religiosas de la Edad Media española)*, ii, Madrid 1948, 263-70; J. M. Lacarra, *El Rey Lobo de Murcia y el Señorío de Albarracín*, in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid 1952, 516 ff. (J. Bosch-Vilá)

IBN MARYAM, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, North African hagiographer of the 10th/16th century (d. 1014/1605). Less is known of his life than of his work. He compiled a catalogue of local saints, *al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyāʾ wa 'l-ʿulamāʾ*, which deals mainly with those who had lived or studied at Tlemcen, the ancient citadel of the Zanāta. He was interested also in the neighbouring towns of Oran and Nedroma, as well as the basically Berber cantons of the Djabal Tessāla and the Trara, and, further towards Eastern Morocco, in the country of the Ghumāra, the valley of the Sūs, and, in a general way, in the Moroccan Atlas. The chronological details scattered through the work (*e.g.*, at p. 45) do not permit its subject-matter to be traced to an earlier date than the 9th/15th century. Tlemcen was then the intellectual and religious metropolis of Barbary, whose influence reached as far as Fez (224) and Meknès (65). Tunisians (75) and even scholars from the Orient (190) were also drawn to Tlemcen. Because of the persistent struggle against the infidel, the Islamization and Arabization of the country were intensified. All races contributed to this and by the most diverse methods. The saints of Ibn Maryam, fierce and determined fighters, presented an idea of Islam well adapted to the mentality of the masses. Their devotion was intense (nights of prayer accompanied by conversions and various wonders), their frequent and marvellous miracles are reminiscent of the *Fioretti*: thus, *e.g.*, the saints understood the language of animals. Their charity, reserved for Believers only, was inexhaustible. They practised unceasing internal prayer (*dhikr*). They had naturally the gift of being present everywhere, especially for the Pilgrimage, and they communicated with spirits, evil as well as good. When necessary, they made amulets (*ḥizr*), coming to the help of their co-religionists by means of white magic. Always ready to protect the oppressed and to redress wrong, they were nevertheless prejudiced against the Bedouin invaders of Arab origin, who had been settled for three centuries on their soil (the term "Arab" is used only for the Bedouins, 75).

These men of miracles did not, however, neglect the learning and the practice of pious works which were inseparable from Mālikī orthodoxy, and they studied devotedly the works of Abū Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī. They often excelled in the science of law and in the apportioning of inheritance (*farāʾiḍ*). The most scholarly of them were theoreticians in law (*uṣūlī*), rhetoricians and logicians (38, 44). They knew the works of Ibn al-Ḥādjib and the early transmitters of Mālik, Ibn al-Ḳāsim and al-Aṣbagh. They thought highly also of oriental scholars such as al-Damīrī (Brockelmann, S II, 401) or even the Shāfiʿī al-Bulḳīnī, or, later, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (confirmed by al-Nabhānī, *Karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo ed., ii, 420). These simple men, of whom Ibn Maryam gives a moving description, were both missionaries and visionaries, passing effortlessly from ordinary daily tasks to the most exalted piety.

Bibliography: *al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyāʾ wa 'l-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1326/1907; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 33; Brockelmann, S II, 680.

(J.-C. Vadet)

IBN AL-MARZUBĀN [see muḥammad b. khalaf b. al-marzubān].

IBN MARZŪḲ, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Marzūḳ al-ʿAdjīsī al-Tilimsānī, known as *al-djadd* (the grandfather), *al-raʾīs* (the

Genealogical table of the principal Marāziķa

- Marzūķ (end of 5th/11th century)
  - Abū Bakr, servant of Abū Madyan
    - Muḥammad I
      - Muḥammad II (629-81/1231-82)
        - Aḥmad I (668-741/1282-1340)
          - Muḥammad IV = *al-Djadd, al-Ra'is, al-Khaṭīb* (711-81/1311-79)
            - Aḥmad II
              - Muḥammad VI = *al-Ḥafīd* (766-842/1364-1438)
                - Ḥafṣa
                  - Muḥammad VIII (d. 918/1511)
                - Muḥammad VII = *al-Kafīf* (824-901/1420-95)
                  - Aḥmad III = *Ḥafīd al-Ḥafīd*
            - Muḥammad V
        - Muḥammad III (first *khaṭīb* of al-ʿUbbād)

leader) and *al-khaṭīb* (the preacher), traditionist, preacher and statesman, born at Tlemcen in 710/1310 or 711/1311, died in Cairo in 781/1379. He belonged to a family originally from the south of Ifrīķiya which had emigrated to Tlemcen on the arrival of the Hilālīs. From then onwards the family produced about ten clerics, all of whom in varying degrees made their mark in the religious, political and literary life of the Maghrib.

It was Marzūķ, the eponymous ancestor of the Marāziķa, who first settled in Tlemcen at the end of the 5th/11th century, in the reign of the Lamtūna. He was a man of religion and a landowner.

Abū Bakr was a zealous servant of the famous Andalusian mystic, Abū Madyan [*q.v.*], in the suburb of al-ʿUbbād, and his post became a quasi-hereditary office held of right by his descendants.

Muḥammad II, born 629/1231 and died 681/1282, honoured as a saint, was buried by Yaghmurāsan [*q.v.*] at Dār al-Rāḥa near to al-Ķaṣr al-Ķadīm at Tlemcen, among the members of the royal family; a tomb, claimed to be his, has been identified by modern archaeologists.

Aḥmad I, born 681/1282, studied at Fās; he was remembered as an ascetic who, having suffered grievously during the memorable siege of Tlemcen by the sultan Abū Yaʿķūb (685-706/1252-1307), went on the Pilgrimage in 717/1317, stayed for a time in Egypt and died at Mecca as a *mudjāwir* in 741/1340. His tomb at Bāb al-Maʿlā, between the ramparts and the Adjyād gate, for long attracted crowds of pilgrims.

Muḥammad III was the first *khaṭīb* of the mosque built by the Marīnid sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan (710-32/1310-31) over the tomb of Abū Madyan [*q.v.*]. He was succeeded by his nephew Muḥammad IV, the main subject of this article, who was thus the second *khaṭīb* of the mosque.

Muḥammad VI, known as *al-Ḥafīd* (766-842/1364-1438), is at least as famous as his grandfather Muḥammad IV. All his biographers, including al-Maķķarī (*Nafḥ*, vii, 339), consider him as indisputably the master in the Maghrib of the Arabo-Islamic sciences in his day and emphasize his learning and his virtue.

Muḥammad VII (824-901/1420-95) was known as *al-Kafīf* (the blind). He too is remembered as a traditionist and a famous preacher. Al-Maķķarī was proud to have him as his maternal grandfather.

Aḥmad III, son of the above, who died shortly after him, was also a famous *khaṭīb*; he is known as *Ḥafīd al-Ḥafīd*.

Muḥammad VIII, another grandson of the *Ḥafīd*, but through his daughter Ḥafṣa, died in 918/1511. He is the last representative of this family of scholars on which any information is available.

The best known of the Marāziķa is, without question, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad IV. A contemporary of Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], who refers to himself as his disciple and who always showed him great respect, of the two brothers Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], who disliked him, of al-Maķķarī (the ancestor of the famous scholar of that name), of Sharīf al-Tilimsānī [*q.v.*] and of many others, he was certainly the member of this family who, by his strong personality, the rôles he played and the positions he occupied, brought it fame and drew to it from this period on the attention of the biographers and historians. His career, like those of several of his contemporaries, was full of incident: travels throughout the Muslim world in search of knowledge and of honours, intrigues among the great, high politico-religious responsibilities, repeated spells in prison, favour and disgrace, etc.

At the age of two according to some, seven according to others, he was taken by his father Aḥmad I to the East where he received, during periods spent at Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Hebron, Alexandria and Cairo, the basis of his education. He was given the title *khaṭīb* early, at the age of nineteen, when, in 729/1329 or 730/1330, he delivered, without preparation, his first sermon in the mosque at Alexandria. In 733/1332 or 735/1334, his father suggested that he return to the Maghrib. After stopping at Alexandria, Tripoli, Djarīd, Tunis and Bougie, he arrived at Tlemcen to find the town besieged by Abu 'l-Ḥasan. He lived with his uncle, Muḥammad III, and, on the latter's death, was appointed in his place as *khaṭīb* of the mosque of al-ʿUbbād and private secretary of Abu 'l-Ḥasan. In the company

of the latter he was present notably at the disaster of Ṭarīfa (741/1340); after this he travelled to obtain the signature of Alfonso XI of Castile to the peace treaty and the liberation of the prisoners of war, among whom was the prince Abū ʿUmar Tās̲h̲fīn, Abu 'l-Ḥasan's own son.

On returning from this mission, he went to Constantine, where news reached him of another disaster suffered by the unfortunate Abu 'l-Ḥasan, that of al-Ḳayrawān. He then returned to Fās in a convoy of important persons, high officials and foreign diplomats, accompanying Abu 'l-Ḥasan's wife, who was rejoining her son Abū ʿInān [*q.v.*], who had just deposed his father and placed himself on his throne. Ibn Marzūḳ did not stay for long at the court of the young sultan. He returned to Tlemcen, then in the hands of the Zayyānid, Abū Saʿīd ʿUt̲h̲mān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, supported by his brother Abū T̲h̲ābit as *zaʿīm*. Soon he was charged by Abū Saʿīd to go and make contact with Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who was in Algiers and preparing to lay siege to Tlemcen. Abū T̲h̲ābit and the notables of the Banū Zayyān, disapproving of the principle of this mission, had him arrested en route. He was brought back to Tlemcen and imprisoned in a *muṭbaḳ* (underground prison). His sentence was later commuted to exile in Andalusia; this brought him into contact with Abu 'l-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ at Granada, who had known him personally since the Ṭarīfa incident, and who appointed him *k̲h̲aṭīb* of the al-Ḥamrāʾ (Alhambra) mosque. There he formed a friendship with another exile, Abū Sālim, brother of the sultan Abū ʿInān.

In 754/1353, Abū ʿInān recalled him to Fās and made him a court official. He sent him in 758/1357 to Tunis to ask on his behalf for the hand of the daughter of Abū Yaḥyā. This mission ended in failure, which, added to other grounds for his ill-humour, aroused the sultan's wrath, and for the second time Ibn Marzūḳ found himself in a *muṭbaḳ*. He remained there for six months, being released, thanks to the intercessions of many people, only when he was near to death.

The death of Abū ʿInān in 759/1358 produced a crisis which finally destroyed the dynasty. His throne was disputed by several claimants, sons and brothers of the sultan, one of them being none other than Abū Sālim, the friend of Ibn Marzūḳ's exile. The latter unhesitatingly did all he could to help him to seize power and after a year of manoeuvres they gained the throne, the one to reign and the other to govern. Ibn Marzūḳ was now at the summit of his career, and immediately he was surrounded by envy. The courtiers watched for an opportunity to act and, in 762/1361, Abū Sālim was murdered and Ibn Marzūḳ was consigned to the *muṭbaḳ* for the third time. He regained his liberty only after two years, in 764/1363. He then hastened to embark for Tunis, where the sultan Abū Isḥāḳ (751-70/1350-68) and his vizier Ibn Tafrāgīn appointed him *k̲h̲aṭīb* of the al-S̲h̲ammāʿīn mosque. He remained there for seven years.

In 771/1370, following a palace revolution, he was removed from this office. He hesitated for two years and then in 773/1372 decided to set sail for Alexandria; thence he went to Cairo, where the sultan S̲h̲aʿbān b. Ḥusayn (764-78/1363-76) gave him employment as a judge and a teacher. He was simultaneously *ḳāḍī*, *k̲h̲aṭīb* and teacher in the three mosques of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ūniyya, Ṣarg̲h̲atmis̲h̲iyya and Ḳamḥiyya. Thus the end of his life was spent in an atmosphere of calm and respect, and sheltered from want, after he had "preached on forty-eight pulpits of the *Dār al-Islām*". On his death, he was buried (a supreme honour) between Ibn al-Ḳāsim and As̲h̲hab in the cemetery at Cairo.

He himself compiled the list of his masters, who were many (more than 250), in his book *ʿUd̲j̲ālat al-mustawfiz*. They included judges, preachers, imāms, genealogists, traditionists, historians, men of letters, mystics and at least three women, whose lessons he had attended in mosques or with whom he had only had meetings at Medina, Mecca, Cairo, Alexandria, Balbīs, Jerusalem, Hebron, Damascus, Tripoli, D̲j̲arīd, Tunis, Zāb, Bougie, Tlemcen, and in Andalusia, etc. His disciples were even more numerous, and include such famous names as Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, Ibn Zamrak, Ibn Ḳunfud̲h̲, al-S̲h̲āṭibī [*qq.v.*], etc.

Of those of his works which survive, none is today printed in its entirety. They exist either as very rare manuscripts dispersed among various libraries or are to be found as extracts published in studies and editions of other writers. His known works are:

(1) *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥasan fī maʾāt̲h̲ir mawlānā Abī Ḥasan*, MS Escorial 1666; extracts published with Fr. tr. by E. Lévi-Provençal in *Hespéris*, v (1925); chapter tr. by R. Blachère in *Memorial Henri Basset*; source of Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*.

(2) *S̲h̲arḥ K. al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ, in five *mud̲j̲allads*; MS Gotha 2, 83.

(3) *S̲h̲arḥ ʿUmdat al-aḥkām* of Taḳī al-Dīn al-D̲j̲ammāʿīlī, a synthesis in five volumes of the two commentaries by Muḥammad b. Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd (625-702/1227-1302) and ʿUmar al-Fākihānī (654-734/1256-1333) with additions; MS Aya Sofya, 1331; Cairo, i, 292.

(4) *ʿUd̲j̲ālat al-mustawfiz* (var. *al-mustawfī*) *al-mustad̲j̲āz fī d̲h̲ikr man samiʿa dūna man ad̲j̲āz min aʾimmat al-Mag̲h̲rib wa 'l-S̲h̲ām wa'l-Ḥid̲j̲āz*, extracts in Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībād̲j̲*, 305; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Durar*, iii, 360; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, vii, 320 ff.; Ibn ʿAmmār, *Niḥla*, 147.

(5) *D̲j̲anī al-d̲j̲annatāyn fī faḍl al-laylatayn*, extracts in Ibn ʿAmmār, *op.cit.*, 103-11.

(6) *Izālat al-ḥād̲j̲ib ʿan furūʿ Ibn al-Ḥād̲j̲ib*, commentary of *al-Muk̲h̲taṣar fi 'l-furūʿ* or *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-ummahāt* of Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲ib (Brockelmann, I, 303).

(7) *S̲h̲arḥ al-Aḥkām al-ṣug̲h̲rā*, of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿArabī al-Is̲h̲bīlī (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 634).

(8) A quatrain and a *mawlidiyya* of 117 verses recited at Granada before the sultan in 763/1362 and reproduced by al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, vii, 314 ff.

(9) Various extracts in prose and verse in al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, *passim* and vii, 173 ff., and in Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl*, 40, 250 and *passim*.

Thus Ibn Marzūḳ wrote with equal facility on history, apologetics, religious morals, and law, passing easily from the style of the *fuḳahāʾ* to that of the *udabāʾ*, "the Arabic language and its most elegant and most delicate turns of phrase holding for him no secret".

Bibliography: Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī ak̲h̲bār G̲h̲arnāṭa*, in the part not yet printed but reproduced by Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ* (see below). The reference by Brockelmann and by E. Lévi-Provençal (see below) to the ed. of 1319, ii, 223 and 236, refers only to some very short notices which are of little importance; Yaḥyā Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Bug̲h̲yat al-ruwwād fī d̲h̲ikr al-mulūk min Banī ʿAbd al-Wād*, Algiers 1321/1903, i, 50, no. 39 (tr. A. Bel, 63); Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībād̲j̲ al-mud̲h̲ahhab fī maʿrifat aʿyān al-mad̲h̲hab*, Cairo 1351/1932, 305; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, vii, 313; idem, *Hist. des Berb.*, ii, 462 (tr. de Slane, iv, 1956 ed , 347 ff.); *al-Taʿrīf*

bi-'bn Khaldūn, ed. Tandjī, Cairo 1380/1951, 49-54; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1348/1929, iii, 360, no. 957; Ibn Ḳunfudh, *al-Wafayāt*, Algiers n.d., ed. H. Pérès, 60, 780; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Rawḍat al-nisrīn fī dawlat Banī Marīn*, ed. with Fr. tr. Gh. Bouali and G. Marçais, Paris 1917, 197; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, 18; idem, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1299, ii, 104; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās fī man ḥalla min al-aʿlām madīnat Fās*, Fez 1309, 140-2; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībādj*, on the margin of Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1351/1932, 267; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, Cairo 1369/1949, vii, 309-38, viii, 310; Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyāʾ wa 'l-ʿulamāʾ bi-Tilimsān*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1326/1908, 184 (tr. Provenzali, 210-8); Zarkashī, *Taʾrīkh al-dawlatayn al-Muwaḥḥidiyya wa 'l-Ḥafṣiyya*, Cairo 1289, 83 (tr. Fagnan, 237-9); Ibn ʿAmmār, *Niḥlat al-labīb bi-akhbār al-riḥla ila 'l-Ḥabīb*, Algiers 1320/1902, 100-11; J.-J. L. Bargès, *Complément de l'histoire des Beni Zeiyân, rois de Tlemcen*, Paris 1887, 99-114; Muḥ. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'idjāza du cheikh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī*, Paris 1907, 212; Ḥafnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-ridjāl al-salaf*, Algiers 1328/1909, 136-44; Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā fī akhbār al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, i, 150, ii, 62-3; Brockelmann, II, 239, S II, 62-3, 335-6; A. Bel, *Inscriptions arabes de Fās*, 47-50; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Le musnad d'Ibn Marzūḳ* (*Hist. du mérinide Abū l-Ḥasan*), extracts ed. and tr. in *Hespéris*, v (1925); R. Blachère, *Sur la vie privée d'Abu l-Ḥasan*, in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, Paris 1928, 83-9; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris wa 'l-athbāt*, Fās n.d., i, 394; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djīlālī, *Tārīkh al-Djazāʾir al-ʿāmm*, Algiers 1375/1955, ii, 104. (M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN MARZŪḲ [see ʿuthmān b. marzūḳ].

IBN MAṢĀL, Nadjm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Salīm (or Sulaymān) b. Muḥammad al-Lukkī al-Maghribī, Fāṭimid *amīr*, a native of Lukk near Barḳa (Yāḳūt, iv, 364), probably a Berber, as is indicated by the name Maṣāl and the *nisba* Maghribī. Both he and his father practised falconry and veterinary science, and it was his knowledge of these matters which enabled him to enter a military career in Cairo, no details of which are known. According to Ibn al-Dawādārī, from 539/1144-5, during the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ, he was entrusted with the direction of affairs without being given the title of vizier (*nāẓir fi 'l-umūr, nāẓir fi 'l-maṣāliḥ*), this caliph having appointed no vizier since 533/1139. After the death of al-Ḥāfiẓ, in 544/1149, his successor al-Ẓāfir chose Ibn Maṣāl as vizier (this was the last time that a vizier was appointed in this manner by a Fāṭimid caliph), and gave him the titles of *al-sayyid al-adjall, al-mufaḍḍal* (or *al-afḍal*) and *amīr al-djuyūsh*, that is of commander-in-chief. According to Usāma he was then an old man. He restored order after the quarrels between the Blacks and the Rayḥānīs in the army. But the governor of Alexandria, Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Salār [see al-ʿādil b. al-salār], marched on Cairo in order to seize power. The caliph commissioned Ibn Maṣāl to go into the Ḥawf (Yāḳūt, ii, 365) to recruit troops while Ibn al-Salār was entering Cairo. Ibn Maṣāl left in Shaʿbān 544/December 1149; he assembled an army composed of Lawāta Berbers, of Blacks, of Bedouin Arabs and of Egyptians. Although he had gained an initial success, he was obliged to go to Upper Egypt to increase the number of his forces. Pursued by the troops of Ibn al-Salār, he was overtaken at Dalāṣ in the province of Bahnasā (Yāḳūt, ii, 581) and was defeated and killed on 19 Shawwāl 544/19 February 1150, his head being taken to Cairo. He had been vizier for only about fifty days.

It is not clear what connexion there was between him and Maḥmūd b. Maṣāl al-Lukkī who, at the beginning of the reign of al-Mustaʿlī, gave his support to Nizār and, after the defeat of Nizār's party, fled to the Maghrib; there is also an Ibn Maṣāl the diploma for whose appointment as governor of Alexandria was drawn up, at a date not given, by al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, x, 374-80).

Bibliography: Usāma b. Munḳidh, ed. Hitti, 7-8 (Derenbourg, 9); Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 308, 311; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 544; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* ..., vi, 521, 540, 648, 552; Ibn Muyassar, 89-90; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 30; idem, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. Shayyāl, 324; Ibn Khallikān, i, 467; Ibn Taghribirdī, Cairo, v, 245, 295, 298; G. Wiet, *Hist. de la Nation égypt.*, iv, 278; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-fāṭimiyya*, 178, 182, 517. (M. Canard)

IBN MASARRA, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masarra al-Djabalī, Andalusian philosopher and mystic, born at Cordova in 269/883 and died in 319/931 in a hermitage on the Sierra near this town, to which he had retired long before. He lived during a period in which Muslim Spain suffered a veritable inquisition conducted by the Mālikī *fuḳahāʾ*. His father, ʿAbd Allāh, who may have been of Christian descent, was a Muʿtazilī and in order to teach his doctrines had to take many precautions. The young Muḥammad became his pupil and received from him a theological education as well as training in asceticism. It can easily be imagined that in these circumstances Ibn Masarra acquired at quite an early age the habit of leading a secret life, withdrawn from the world, among initiates with whom he conversed by allusions and symbols.

In 286/899, ʿAbd Allāh died in Mecca, where he had taken refuge from his creditors. Little is known of Ibn Masarra's life between this date and about 300/912, when his biographers show him surrounded by disciples, probably on his return from the East. But already some time before this he had been suspected of heterodoxy. A famous *faḳīh*, Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Ḥabbāb, had written a short work denouncing his errors, and Ibn Masarra had thought it prudent to leave for the East. Asín Palacios thinks that the famous mystic and ascetic Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/860) was still remembered as an example. Ibn Masarra could also have met in Mecca his contemporary Nahradjūrī, a mystic with pantheistic tendencies who died there in 330/941; and he must have known a disciple of Djunayd, Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād b. al-ʿArabī (died at Mecca in 341/952). This orthodox mystic, who preached a much less esoteric doctrine than Ibn Masarra, wrote a book against him refuting his ideas.

The exact date of Ibn Masarra's return to Spain is not known; it may have been at the time when, on his accession, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III introduced a more tolerant policy in order to pacify the people (300/912). In his place of retreat on the mountain of Cordova, he seems to have taught a fairly large public, insisting on the importance of the ascetic life and disguising his thought on matters where his doctrine might have proved disturbing. He reserved initiation into the use of symbols for a more intimate group of disciples.

Ibn Masarra was attacked particularly after the promulgation of his works. The titles of two of them are known: the *Kitāb al-Tabṣira* and the *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*, but none of them have survived. He died, worn out by work and by the austerity of his life, without having had to undergo any physical suffering for his doctrine.

(1) The doctrine of the pseudo-Empedocles. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, reproduced by al-Ḳifṭī in his *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, connects Ibn Masarra's thought with that of the pseudo-Empedocles. It was probably for having devoted too much attention to this philosophy that he was suspected of *zandaḳa*, and it may be considered as the core of his thinking. Although he was a Muʿtazilī, it should not be forgotten that one essential argument of this theology was attributed to Empedocles: "He was the first to apprehend the union between the meanings of the attributes of God: all lead to a unique reality" (al-Ḳifṭī, 16).

From these statements it is possible to form an idea of what Ibn Masarra's doctrine was. The philosophy of the pseudo-Empedocles has been set out by al-Shahrastānī, al-Shahrazūrī (*Rawḍa*, Leiden MS 1888, 13r-14r; extracts given by Asín Palacios), Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, i, 36 and 37), and al-Ḳifṭī (15-16).

The mind which inquires into philosophy is illuminated by it with a divine light. It contains a mystic conception of the truth: it comes itself to the aid of whoever seeks to acquire it. Indeed, philosophy produces in the soul the desire to depart from this world, in a spiritual *riḥla*; for the soul does not belong here but is imprisoned in the body; being a spiritual thing, it comes under the influence of the principle of pure love, whereas the body, like all corporeal things, is subject to the action of discord (here we find the two opposing principles which are the two poles of the philosophy of the authentic Empedocles). But, joined as it is to the body, the soul is in an intermediate (*mutawassiṭ*) position; using it as a starting point, it is possible to understand the two extreme limits of reality. But in order to understand the soul itself, it is necessary for man himself to have a pure soul (*ṭāhira* = καθαρά, without blemish), without admixture (*zakiyya* = εἰλικρινής), capable of dominating the body (*mustawliya ʿala 'l-badạn* = ἡγεμονίς). The knowledge of truth is the result not only of the use of the appropriate faculty, it is the expression of the ontological level attained by the being of the person who knows it: it is in fact the old idea that like is known by like. Hence the need for a principle of asceticism. The order of being is parallel to that of knowing and even penetrates it. This is a theme of Plotinus: the soul is simple, with an absolute simplicity which is comparable to that of light (*nūr*) opposed to fire (*nār*), or to *lux* (*ḍiyāʾ*) opposed to *lumen* (*ḍawʾ*).

The individual soul is a part of the universal soul (cf. Plotinus, *Enneads*, iv, 3, 1). It is derived from a fairly complex system of "processions". At the summit is the Prime Being (*al-Awwal*), the Creator (*al-Bāriʾ*), who is eternally his own Being-Himself (*lam yazal huwiyyatahu*): he is pure Knowledge, pure Will, Generosity, etc. He is the absolute Cause (*ʿilla faḳaṭ*), but not through a sort of pre-existing will; the effect is subordinated to the cause and comes after it (*taḥt al-ʿilla wa baʿdahā*); it has no essential co-existence with it (*maʿiyya bi 'l-dhāt*). The Creator is the cause of all causes. His first effect (*maʿlūl*) is the *ʿUnṣur*, which Asín Palacios translates as primary Matter: it is the Source of the potential being and of the multiplication of beings, although itself simple and intelligible (cf. the system of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, in which primary Matter is also placed among the intelligible emanations, but on the last degree after the Soul). The second effect of the prime Cause, produced through the intermediary of the *ʿUnṣur*, is the Intellect (*ʿAḳl*); the third, through the intermediary of the first two, is the Soul. All these emanations are simple (*basāʾiṭ*). After them come Universal Nature (*al-Ṭabīʿa al-kulliyya*) and secondary Matter, which are composite (*murakkabāt*). On this process, which gives rise to the five emanations, there is superimposed another. Al-Shahrastānī states, in fact, that on the one hand the Creator brought forth (*abdaʿa*) "reality (*shayʾ*) which is the first simple (*basīṭ*) intelligible". This is the *ʿUnṣur* from which there are next reproduced the realities known as *mabsūṭāt*, which are, by comparison with the *basāʾiṭ*, realities of an inferior degree of simplicity (for example the Intellect compared with the prime Cause; cf. Plotinus, *En.*, v, 3, 16: καὶ τὸ πρὸ τούτου (the Intellect) ... τὸ γεννῆσαν αὐτὸ ... ἁπλούστερον δὲ νοῦ καὶ ἁπλούστερον κόσμου νοητοῦ—and the Soul compared with the Intellect). Then the *murakkabāt* are derived from the *mabsūṭāt*. But on the other hand, the *ʿUnṣur* gives form (*ṣawwara*) in the Intellect "to such forms as exist in it", that is to the forms which are potentially in it (cf. Plotinus, *En.*, v, 3, 15, concerning the One, which Asín Palacios makes exactly to correspond on this point to the *ʿUnṣur*: the prime Cause is δύναμις πάντων, not in the sense in which one refers to the passive or receptive power of matter, but through its productive action (τῷ ποιεῖν) without having within itself the multiplicity which it creates); the Intellect acts in the same way on the Soul, and the Soul on Universal Nature. In the nature manifested in this world there then emerge, by a process which is not defined, "rinds" or bodies (*fa-ḥaṣalat ḳushūr*), which resemble neither the Soul nor the Intellect, but which enclose a "pulp" (*lubb*) or spirit. Here al-Shahrastānī's exposition is far from clear. In a first text he seems to mean that the "pulps" are formed by the last generation of the forms in the lowest degree of nature: these would be the corporeal forms. The Intellect "looks at" the "rinds" (*naẓara ilayhā*) and perceives in them (*abṣara*) the "pulps". As a result of this "look", there spread on the bodies (*ʿalayhā*) noble, beautiful and brilliant forms which are the individual souls, parts of the Universal Soul and not effects emanating from it, that is to say ontologically distinct from the forms which are effects of *taṣwīr*. They are directed by the Intellect and, through them, it sorts out (*tamyīz*) the pulps, separating them from the rinds and raising them into the spiritual world to which they belong. We have therefore a sort of recovery by the Intellect of all the realities of a spiritual and intelligible nature which inhabit the body of the lower nature. The instruments of this recovery are the individual souls, which in this way receive a mission to rescue the forms. The corporeal forms or pulps are enclosed within the bodies; the purely spiritual souls are *on* the bodies. But in a second text it is stated that the vegetative soul is the rind of the animal soul, which is in its turn the rind of the dianoetic soul (*al-nafs al-manṭiḳiyya*), and the rind of the noetic soul (*ʿaḳliyya*); conversely, that which is above is the pulp of what is immediately below it, so that pulp and rind have a relative value and the intermediate souls (animal, dianoetic) may be considered as rinds or as pulps according to the relationship in which they are

considered. There is thus a hierarchy of souls which fit inside one another so as to enclose themselves all within the prison of the material body (secondary matter). Only the noetic soul has the possibility of emerging. Finally, according to a third text, the Universal Soul, seeing the individual noetic soul led astray (*mughtarra*) by the rebellion (*tamarrud*) of animal and vegetative souls (a rebellion due to their "alienation" (*buʿd*) with regard to its universality), sends down (*ahbaṭat*) towards them one of its parts, subtler and purer than the rebel souls and the souls led astray: this is the Prophet (*Nabī*), sent (*mabʿūth*) into each of the revolutions of the Sphere. Thus the Prophet-Soul is sent by the Universal Soul, not by the Intellect as stated in the first text; it is purer than the rational souls which it comes to save; finally, it is unique in its time whereas they are multiple. It appears that al-Shahrastānī juxtaposes several traditions. That of the first text is derived from the neo-Platonic gnosis, tainted by Iranian dualism: the function of the noetic soul is to gather together all the luminous elements or forms, imprisoned by darkness or matter; here it is not a question of either rebellion or of the seduction of the souls, but of a cosmic salvation. The tradition in the second text is that of the philosophers of nature and of the physicians. The third tradition is connected with the religious gnoses, perhaps with the Manichean gnosis, and is better adapted to Islam: the conception of the prophet and of his role presages the doctrine of al-Fārābī. The rational soul is misled by the lower souls and, in spite of its spirituality, is unable to escape by its own efforts. Thus texts 2 and 3 are complementary. Text 1 retains a separate character. But another difficulty arises: the theology of the pseudo-Aristotle (Dieterici, p. 10 of the Arabic text) attributes to Empedocles the idea that souls fell in this world as the result of a sin committed during their first stay. It is true that Empedocles referred to himself as an inspired prophet who had come down to earth to escape the divine wrath (*Katharmoi*, fragment 115), who had become here a Master, capable by his learning of extricating souls from the "earthly envelope" (ἐπικάλυμμα, fragment 148 = *ḳishr*?). In al-Shahrastānī, on the other hand, it seems that the fault is that of rational souls already bound to the animal and vegetative, that is corporeal, powers. The incarnation is considered here as the reason for the sin, but there as the punishment of a sin, in a sense which recalls certain Hindu points of view.

Finally, the authentic Empedoclean doctrine of Love (*maḥabba*) which unites (*iʾtilāf*) and Hate (*ghalaba*) which separates (*ikhtilāf*) is joined to this system. These are the two principles which go to make up the primary Matter, which marks spiritual beings with the seal of pure Love and corporeal beings with that of Hate. In the composite beings, the proportion of Love and of Hate illustrates their degree of spirituality or of materiality. It should be pointed out that the cyclic rhythm of the cosmos which in Empedocles results from the interaction of these two principles is absent in the pseudo-Empedocles. Here *ghalaba*, in spite of its name, is less a factor of war and hostility, which appears wrongly placed at the level of the first emanation, than the simple fact of the multiplication and division issuing from the One in a Plotinan perspective.

As for Empedocles, E. Brehier had already pointed out that the connexion between the *Phusika* and the *Katharmoi* is not very clear. But in the pseudo-Empedocles, a completely unorganized compilation, the incoherence is still greater if one is to believe the presentation of al-Shahrastānī. It is not known whether Ibn Masarra was equally incoherent, or whether he attempted to produce a more harmonious synthesis. He may have made use of this many-faceted system in order not to arouse the suspicions of the orthodox. From the extent to which he inspired Ibn al-ʿArabī, it may be supposed that he produced at least the beginnings of an organized system. Nevertheless prudence is necessary when attempting to reconstruct, as Asín Palacios has done, Ibn Masarra's thought by reading the doctrine of a not very coherent pseudo-Empedocles into the brief passages in which Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn al-ʿArabī refer to this thought.

(2) Passages from Ibn Ḥazm. (a) *Fiṣal* (iv, 198): "Ibn Masarra was in agreement with the Muʿtazila on *ḳadar*. He stated that the knowledge of God and His power are two created temporal productions (*muḥdathatāni makhlūḳatāni*) and that God has two types of knowledge: the one which He created long ago as a whole and by one single act, the knowledge of the universal realities which cannot be grasped by the perception of the senses (= *ghayb*), for example the fact that there will exist infidels and believers . . .; the second type of knowledge is that of individual truths, the knowledge of vision (*shahāda*), for example that which God has of the unfaithfulness of Zayd and of the faith of ʿAmr . . . Ibn Masarra recalls the Word of God: *ʿĀlim al-ghayb wa ʾl-shahāda* (Ḳurʾān VI, 73; XIII, 9; XXXII, 6). But this does not mean what he thinks. In fact, the obvious meaning of this text is that God knows what you do even if you hide it from Him. He knows that which you cannot perceive of what was, is or shall be. The reason which led Ibn Masarra to support this thesis is that he really pushed the principles of the Muʿtazilīs to their extreme conclusions. For there existed among them those who say that God knows continually that a certain person will never believe and that another will never be unfaithful; and who then give man the power to make the Word of their Lord lie, and to make null and cancelled that which has never ceased to exist. This is an abominable contradiction!"

(b) *Fiṣal* (ii, 126): "Djahm b. Ṣafwān, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and Ibn Masarra . . . state that God's knowledge is something other than God, that it is produced in time and created".

The first of these texts is centred on the idea of *ḳadar*, and of human freedom: in order to safeguard it, it is necessary that man's acts should not be the object of an eternal knowledge which would determine them right down to each individual detail. The ascetic life demands the liberty of the faithful, at least at the beginning, and even although the ecstacy of the mystic must one day reveal that it is God Who does all. The problem of God's knowledge of individual and contingent facts occupied Muʿtazilī thinking (cf. al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*). The majority of these theologians admitted, with various shades of opinion, that God never ceased to know things before they existed. An exception should perhaps be made for Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Fuwāṭī al-Shaybānī. It is thus easy to understand why Ibn Ḥazm points out that Ibn Masarra pushed the Ḳadarī doctrine of the Muʿtazila to its ultimate conclusions, by removing its contradiction. Thus we cannot support Asín Palacios when he attributes to Ibn Masarra on this point the thesis which was later to be that of Avicenna. He writes: "Avicenna, like Ibn Masarra . . ., states that God knows individual

beings as such, *intentione secunda*, that is to say in so far as they are included in their universal causes" (78, n. 1). Ibn Masarra's thought seems rather to be related to that of Christian theologians such as Fonseca and Molina: the knowledge of which he speaks here is the *scientia media*, or *scientia visionis* that Leibnitz, taking the same attitude as Avicenna and those Muʿtazilīs whose inconsequentiality Ibn Masarra intended to point out, was to describe as *scientia pure empirica*, which it is impossible to imagine in God.

The second text is entirely in the tradition of Plotinus and of the pseudo-Empedocles. God, the first principle, cannot possess knowledge, for this would introduce in Him multiplicity. It is the Intellect which knows, with an intelligible and universal knowledge (the knowledge of the *g͟hayb* in the first text). It is not clear whether the *scientia media* is added simply as a necessary element in order to safeguard freedom, or whether it is an integral part of Ibn Masarra's pseudo-Empedoclean system. It may be that the first knowledge derives from the *ʿAḳl* and the second from the universal Soul. In Ibn al-ʿArabī, the divine *aḥadiyya* does not recognize the individual believer who prays; he must therefore address himself to the *Rubūbiyya*. The *Rubūbiyya* could be considered as corresponding to the universal Soul which sends the prophets, and, through them, the Law addressed to individual men, in which God reveals himself as Lord.

(c) In a third text, Ibn Ḥazm states that he obtained from a disciple of Ibn Masarra, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ruʿaynī, the following opinion of his master: "The Throne is what rules the world (*al-mudabbir li 'l-ʿālam*), and God is too great for there to be attributed to Him the act of actually doing something". By "thing" (*s͟hayʾ*) should be understood a reality of the material world. Asín Palacios attempted to identify the Throne, in this context, as the first emanation, the *ʿUnṣur* of the pseudo-Empedocles. All the same, for Ibn al-ʿArabī from whom he quotes, the Throne is the universal body. The matter remains doubtful.

(3) Passages from *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-ʿArabī. (a) On the *ʿArs͟h*. After a quotation from the Ḳurʾān (LXIX, 17) and from a *ḥadīt͟h* of the Prophet on the bearers of the Throne, he writes: "It has been reported to us as coming from Ibn Masarra, one of the greatest masters of the mystic way in knowledge, states and revelation, that the Throne which is carried is in fact the divine Kingship (*Mulk*)". That which follows may also be considered as the opinion of Ibn Masarra: "The *Mulk* is reduced to the following: Body, Spirit, Nourishment (*g͟hid͟hāʾ*), Degree (*martaba*). Adam and Isrāfīl are in charge of the Forms (*ṣuwar*); Gabriel and Muḥammad of the Spirits; Michael and Ibrāhīm of the means of subsistence (*arzāḳ*); Mālik and Riḍwān of the Promise and of the Threat (*Waʿd* and *Waʿīd*) . . . The bearers of the Throne are those who are in charge of its government. They thus govern an elemental form (*ṣūra ʿunṣuriyya*) or a luminous form (*nūriyya*), and a Spirit which rules the elemental form and a spirit which rules the luminous form, and a nourishment for the elemental form and the nourishment of the sciences and of the knowledge for the Spirits, and a palpable degree (the felicity of entering Paradise or the pain of entering Hell) and a spiritual degree which is made from learning". The reason why everything is doubled is that, according to *ḥadīt͟h*, there are four "bearers" for the life here below and four for the life after the Resurrection. It seems that in Ibn al-ʿArabī it is a case not of two worlds, ontologically separate, but of two aspects of human life, the life of the body and the life of the spirit in the mystic light. This having been said, the developments which follow, even though they are inspired by some of Ibn Masarra's ideas, derive entirely from Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought, and it is almost impossible to find in them anything which indicates the doctrine of his predecessor. It would be equally arbitrary to look for similarities with the philosophy of the pseudo-Empedocles. Ibn al-ʿArabī's system is much more complex: he gives an important place to angelology; he gives a meaning to the Pen (*ḳalam*) and to the Tablet (*lawḥ*), also to the *Kursī*. Nevertheless, at least in order to show side by side both the possibilities of concordance and their weaknesses the following table is (see p. 872) inserted.

It may therefore be considered, without having actual proof, that Ibn Masarra's doctrine belonged somewhere between the theories of the pseudo-Empedocles and those of Ibn al-ʿArabī, modifying the still very metaphysical and speculative cosmology of the former in the direction of the mystical cosmology of the latter.

(b) The second text mentions Ibn Masarra only in connexion with an image, a "visualization" as H. Corbin puts it (*L'Imagination créatrice dans le Soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabī*, 175). Ibn al-ʿArabī writes: ". . . like the temple which is built on five columns there is a raised roof which covers the temple, and walls in which there is no door. Thus there is absolutely no means of entry for anyone. But on the outside stands a column attached to the wall. The intuitive mystics touch it as they kiss and touch the Black Stone . . .". The rest of the passage is certainly an amplification by Ibn al-ʿArabī. Asín Palacios considered that the five columns might be the five emanations of the pseudo-Empedocles. But this is impossible to accept, since this image is the symbol, visualized mystically, of the absolute divine Unity, the *Aḥadiyya*: it is evoked in the chapter of the *Futūḥāt* devoted to the *tanzīh al-Tawḥīd* which is expressed in God by this formula: *tanazzaha ʿan tanzīh kull munazzih*. The temple cannot therefore signify the emanations. Moreover, the description is clear: the five columns which support the roof form part of this closed building; they do not support it from the outside. The roof, and probably also the wall, covers them entirely. This is the divine mystery. It is therefore not surprising that we are not told what the five columns mean. It may be that the only significance of the number five is the fact that it is an odd number: "God loves the uneven", says a *ḥadīt͟h*, and Ibn al-ʿArabī recalls that this is the expression of his *Fardiyya* and of his *Aḥadiyya*, providing a further commentary on verse 7 of Sūra LVIII: God comes to add Himself to every odd number of creatures, as a fourth or sixth, in order to make it even, for He jealously guards His own unevenness as a unique and incommunicable attribute. H. Corbin in fact, and rightly, is interested only in the exterior column which "alone is able to *translate* to us the Invisible". It is a matter of mysticism, not of cosmology.

After the description of the *Bayt*, Ibn al-ʿArabī writes: "*wa-ḳad nabbaha ʿalā d͟hālika 'bnu Masarra*". The demonstrative *d͟hālika* could refer to the Temple, to the image, or to the general fact of visualization, of the visualizing intuition (*kas͟hf ṣuwarī*). The expression *nabbaha ʿalā*, which means "draw attention to", points rather to the second hypothesis. Ibn Masarra

	Pseudo-Empedocles		Ibn al-ʿArabī	
	Prime Cause		God	
taṣwīr ↓	*ʿUnṣur* (forms) ↓	*tadjallī* ↓	*ʿAmāʾ* (Cloud) ?	World of pure light
	ʿAḳl (forms) ↓		*ʿAḳl, Ḳalam, Lawḥ* (luminous forms and angels)	
	Nafs kulliyya (forms) ↓		*Nafs kulliyya* (luminous forms and angels)	
	Universal nature (forms)		Universal nature (luminous forms and angels)	
	?		Throne (Universal body)	Mingled light
			Kursī (in the hollow of the Throne)	
			Spheres (in the hollow of the *Kursī*)	
			(corporeal forms and angels surrounding the Throne)	
taṣwīr ↓	Individual redeeming souls, parts of the Universal Soul sent by the *ʿAḳl*; Redeeming souls of the Prophets, sent by the Universal Soul		Nourishment	
	'Pulps' (spirits); souls led astray ↕		Spirits (*arwāḥ*)	
	'Rinds' (material bodies or the most material elements of beings)		Material bodies (mingled light) or elementary forms	↑
	Secondary matter		Darkness	

would therefore be quoted solely in support of "the noetic validity of the visions of the active Imagination" (H. Corbin, *op. cit.*, 176). The image itself may not come from Ibn Masarra.

(4) Ibn Masarra as ascetic and mystic. In referring, on the information provided by Ibn al-Faraḍī, to other mystics of this period, in particular to Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī and to al-Nahradjūrī, Asín Palacios has isolated what might be the main features of the teaching and the ascetic practices of Ibn Masarra. The goal is the purification and the liberation of the soul through mortification, voluntary poverty, and the observance of silence; then by the practice of the virtues: humility, patience, the forgiving of wrongs, love of one's enemies. The daily examination of the conscience gradually raises the soul to the mystic station of Sincerity.

(5) The school of Ibn Masarra. Asín Palacios has studied the progress of Ibn Masarra's ideas, not only in Islam, but also in Jewish and in Christian thought. We have already mentioned his first disciple, al-Ruʿaynī. The most famous heir of Ibn Masarra is Ibn al-ʿArabī who, through the intermediary of the movement of the *murīdūn* of Ibn al-Ḳasī, and through Ibn al-ʿĀrif, can be considered a member of his school.

Bibliography: Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela, Origenes de la filosofia hispano-musulmana*, Madrid 1914. (R. Arnaldez)

IBN MĀSAWAYH, Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yuḥannā, famous physician of the 3rd/9th century, died in 243/857. His career was begun under al-Rashīd and lasted until the reign of al-Mutawakkil. He contributed to the translation of Greek scientific works which provided material for the famous *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*]. But Ibn Māsawayh was known particularly in his capacity as court physician, attending the high society which surrounded the caliph. His patients regarded him in particular as a specialist on diet. He lacked neither patrons nor wealth: he approached Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, the unsuccessful claimant to the caliphate, who was interested in Greek science as well as in Arabic poetry. He was introduced also to the sons of al-Rashīd, among them Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad. The extent and the rapidity of his rise to fame did not go without criticism. It seems probable that he owed it to the powerful family of the Bukhtyashūʿ, which supplied four generations of physicians to the court of the caliphs (Ibn Māsawayh's father was said to have been an assistant to Bukhtyashūʿ at Djundaysābūr). The career of Ibn Māsawayh, who became the friend and counsellor of the great as well as their physician, showed striking similarities to those of his influential protectors: all of them were convinced Nestorians, who did not abandon their religion when they were at the caliph's court. These Nestorians, in spite of the differences of creed which separated them from Byzantium, could easily keep in touch with Greek learning; they possessed the "16" treatises of Galen as put together by the Alexandrians, and even show a desire to penetrate beyond the commentators to the original teaching of the master (perhaps because of the disputes between the Jacobites of Alexandria and the Nestorians of the former Persian empire). Also, in addition to the Hellenic origins of their science and to its Christian contributions, they came under the influence also of the school of Djundaysābūr [*q.v.*], an outpost of Hellenism in the Persian empire and one of the centres of that eastern syncretism which united the practical prescriptions of the East with the mystical speculation of ancient Greek paganism. This syncretism also aimed to unite, in one single group, disciplines as different as astrology, alchemy and medicine, in the name of the supremacy attributed to the pseudo-Plato, derived from the *Timaeus* or from the false Democritus of Abdera, under which masqueraded the lucubrations of Bolus

of Mendes (cf. maxims quoted at the beginning of *De complexionibus*; see Thorndike). In this science, as full of fantasy as it was of empiricism and practical observation, of which Ibn Māsawayh became the acknowledged representative, pharmacy tends to take precedence over purely medical research. The remedy, like the malady, is ordained by providence, in the very order of nature. The knowledge of the four "qualities", to which is added that of the properties and the natures as well as the procedures prescribed by the art, enables the physician to penetrate the secret of universal harmony. This harmony acts on the human body through the medium of the humours, which themselves derive from the qualities. Pharmacy takes into account not only the temperaments but also the "seasons" which, thanks to the qualities, have a clearly perceptible affinity with the humours. The somewhat superstitious idea of an "art", which alone is capable of directing the behaviour of the properties, and that of a cosmic development, of which man is merely a reflexion, was that which inspired the two Arabic works of Ibn Māsawayh which have survived under his name: *al-Nawādir al-ṭibbiyya*, a collection of medical aphorisms, and the *Kitāb al-Azmina*, a sort of description of the various seasons of the year, based on the twin theories of the humours and the "qualities". His Latin works are much longer, and it seems that "Mesue" was held in high esteem in the West. As late as the 9th/15th century, one Petrus Gulosius, a physician of Amalfi, stated that to read him was as instructive as it was pleasant (1474). Although Leclerc and others have sometimes hesitated on the ground of the testimony of Leo Africanus (in an unidentified passage; this may be a confusion with Constantine Africanus) to identify Ibn Māsawayh with the Mesue of the Latin texts, and although, in spite of similarities, it has sometimes been considered that there was an elder and a younger Mesue, it may be said that on the whole the Arabic texts preserve what may be called the philosophical part of the author's production, whereas the Western readers were interested mainly in the teaching of Ibn Māsawayh as an eminent medical practitioner. Before them, al-Rāzī, in his *Continens*, had already extolled the merits of Ibn Māsawayh whom he quotes in many passages, especially for practical details (Indian ed., i, 143, 147; ii, 91; iii, 88, 90). Al-Rāzī had used the *Book of fevers*, produced probably in imitation of Hippocrates (*Kitāb al-Ḥummayyāt*) and the *Book of purifying remedies* (*Kitāb al-Adwiya al-munaḳḳiya*). In spite of the fact that his works are not well-known, Ibn Māsawayh is nevertheless one of the great names of Arab medicine and one of the most typical representatives of the science of his period, being at the same time both conservative and of a markedly speculative nature.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 255; Ḳifṭī, Cairo ed., 248; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 175; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, 504. For the works of Ibn Māsawayh, see Brockelmann, S I, 416. For the Latin works (preserved in manuscript), see Thorndike and Kibre, London 1963 (note *Aphorismi* = *al-Nawādir al-ṭibbiyya*; *Chirurgia* [Berlin 1893] = *Kitāb al-Tashrīḥ*; *Consolatio* or *consultatio medicinarum simplicium* = *Kitāb Iṣlāḥ al-adwiya al-mushila*). Steinschneider, *Die Europäische Übersetzungen*, 101. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN al-MĀSHIṬA, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, secretary of the ʿAbbāsid period, who was director of the Treasury during the vizierate of Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] from 306/918 to 311/923. He wrote a "Book of the Viziers", which has not survived but which is referred to by various authors, notably al-Masʿūdī.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(D. Sourdel)

IBN MASʿŪD, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ghāfil b. Ḥabīb ... b. Hudhayl, famous Companion of the Prophet, and reader of the Ḳurʾān. Of Bedouin origin, Ibn Masʿūd was of humble birth. On his father's side he was a client of the Banū Zuhra, a branch of Ḳuraysh, which enabled him, later, to rely on the occasional protection of important Zuhrīs such as al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās. He was one of the earliest Muslims: some sources even assert (al-Sakhāwī, 333, a Kūfan source) that he was the third person to embrace Islam, after Khadīdja and ʿAlī; the *Iṣāba* merely gives him the sixth place (information obtained from a descendant of Abū Bakr, Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad). Legend soon attributed his conversion to a miracle by the Prophet (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, i, 125).

Ibn Masʿūd was hardly in a position, either physically or socially, to contribute much to the worldly power of the new religion, exposed as it was to the hostility of the pagan inhabitants of Mecca; his zeal was nevertheless always valued by the Prophet and rewarded by modest employment. He carried Muḥammad's sandals, and it was also his duty to gather the plant from which his tooth-picks were made. His duties led to his being daily on close terms with the founder of Islam; he is cited as source for some details on the Prophet's nocturnal ascension (*miʿrādj*) and on his miraculous journey to Jerusalem (*isrāʾ*; Wüstenfeld, *Muḥammad*, 263; Ibn Ḥanbal, no. 4011) and on the date of the Night of Power (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1282).

Most important, he received the Ḳurʾān directly from the mouth of the Prophet himself. He is thought to have been the first to have attempted reading it in public in Mecca, a daring action which earned him insults and persecution from some of the pagans.

He naturally was one of the small group of Muslims who emigrated to Abyssinia, together with Miḳdād b. ʿAmr, who was later to become his friend and companion in arms. He returned in time to follow the Prophet to Medina. He was present at the battles of Badr (in the year 2 of the Hidjra) and of Uḥud (year 3), where he was unsparing in his criticism of those fighters who were too greedy for plunder (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1330 and 1395). After these two battles and until the death of the Prophet very little is heard of him among the triumphs of life in Medina and the large numbers of new converts to Islam. It is likely that Ibn Masʿūd built up at that time, through his personal influence, a number of firm friendships. They were probably made among the Anṣār, the converts from distant provinces or the zealots of humble origin. Tradition names an important Anṣārī, Saʿd b. Muʿādh, the leader of the Aws who had joined the Prophet, the Yemeni Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, and his constant companions Miḳdād, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān, Abū Dharr, Abu 'l-Dardāʾ and Salmān al-Fārisī (al-Sakhāwī, 345; *Iṣāba*, s.v.). On the Prophet's death, Ibn Masʿūd came more into the foreground. His help was needed during the revolt of the Arab tribes encamped around Medina (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1878). He took part, during the reign of Abū Bakr, in the battle of the Yarmūk (in the year 13 A.H.) where he was entrusted with guarding the booty (*ibid.*,

2090). After the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, he received, according to Sayf b. ʿUmar, some land in the district (16/637, *ibid.*, 2376). He was present at the founding of Kūfa by his patron Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās, but returned shortly afterwards to Syria, where he was entrusted with a military and diplomatic mission to Ḥimṣ (*ibid.*, 2392). When he returned to ʿIrāḳ, following the armies which were fighting on the two fronts, he very soon ensured the link between the new Arab colony of Kūfa and the central government at Medina (*ibid.*, 2393). In 21/642 he settled permanently at Kūfa, in the quarter of the Hudhaylīs (Ramāda) in which, for reasons unknown, he chose to live in preference to that of the Ḳurayshīs (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2842) to which his Zuhrī patrons could perhaps have gained him admittance. He nevertheless served as lieutenant to his companion ʿAmmār b. Yāsir (*ibid.*, 2637, 2645 and 2647).

Throughout this phase of his life, which marked the zenith of his political career, his duties were those of an administrator, an ambassador, and a missionary, which is quite in accordance with the high opinion which was held of his shrewdness, his learning and above all of his integrity. But once the important conquests were over he became less necessary. In particular he was the object of the scorn of the Muhādjirūn, Ḳurayshīs of noble birth who had formerly emigrated, like him, from Mecca to Medina. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās publicly criticized his financial administration, because of his parsimony (*ibid.*, 2811). In the year 29, he criticized the new governor of Kūfa, al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba, whose scandalously pagan behaviour shocked him and led him to protest (*ibid.*, 2842). In the year 30 there appeared the first signs of a break with the caliph ʿUthmān (*ibid.*, 2835). He then fell into disgrace, in circumstances of which little is known. A public scene ensued between Ibn Masʿūd and the caliph, who had him ill-treated. It is not known whether he died in Medina, under a sort of house arrest, or at Kūfa (Ibn Ḥanbal, no. 4432), where his teaching was highly esteemed (in the year 32/652-3); al-Ṭabarī favours the first report, while the Ḥanbalī Ibn Kathīr, the mystic Munāwī and the *Iṣāba* favour the second. It is difficult to reconstruct Ibn Masʿūd's teaching because of the unreliability and the tendentious nature of the sources. Traces of it, corrupt and yet very numerous, are found in *ḥadīth*, in a system of Ḳurʾānic reading which is peculiar to him, and finally in his exegesis of the Ḳurʾān.

(1) *Ḥadīth*. The Kūfan traditionists remained faithful to him, always ready to expatiate on his merits (*manāḳib*; al-Bukhārī, v, 34; Muslim, vii, 147). Ibn Masʿūd always found Kūfan transmitters, whereas the traditionists of the other cities scarcely thought of making use of his name, which, in the eyes of the orthodox, was already suspect. There start from Ibn Masʿūd *isnāds* in which there figure the well-known names of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, al-Aswad b. Yazīd, and ʿAlḳama al-Kūfī, with whom is associated a small circle of intimates, such as Ḥārith b. Suwayd, Wahb b. Zayd, Wāʾil b. Mahāna, and of course Ibn Masʿūd's own son, Abū ʿUbayda. To these should be added the more disputed authorities: Masrūḳ, Abū Wāʾil, Shaḳīḳ, Abu 'l-Ḍuḥā, and Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit. Later in the *isnād* are reached the great practitioners of *ḥadīth*: the two Sufyāns, and their master al-Aʿmash, whose liking for edifying stories and beautiful legends is well-known. To Ibn Masʿūd are often attributed *ḥadīth*s of eschatological or admonitory content (*ḥadīth* on Islam, which is to end in exile, as it began, al-Tirmidhī, ii, 104: accepted by the mystics, rejected by Ibn Ḥanbal; *ḥadīth* on the duty to maintain intact the unity of the Community, *ibid.*, 105; there is another, more Shīʿī, version of this in al-Munāwī). Al-Sakhāwī very aptly points out that al-Tirmidhī is, among the authors of canonical compilations, the one who most frequently quotes Ibn Masʿūd. The *ḥadīth*s of Ibn Masʿūd thus grew in popularity with the growth of Shīʿī influence, during the 3rd/9th century (see al-Tirmidhī, the chapters on morals: learning, future life, Ḳurʾānic exegesis, good manners, ii, 67, 75, 98, 105, 110, 112, 120, 131, 135, 156). The name of Ibn Masʿūd was also, as is demonstrated by J. Schacht, one of the favourite "labels" of the juridical school of Kūfa (*The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, 231). His is also one of the names to which the *isnād*s of the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī tend to be attached, which does not, however, put them beyond the reach of criticism.

(2) Ḳurʾānic reading. There are two points, though not well established and subject to controversy, on which Ibn Masʿūd's version appears to differ from the norm of ʿUthmān's text: the order of the *sūra*s and some variants in the readings. On the first point, which would be by far the more important if sufficient details were available, information is found in the *Fihrist*. Th. Nöldeke (*Geschichte d. Q.*, ii, 38, 48, 113, 114, 163) and R. Blachère (*Introduction au Coran*, 174-5) reached the same conclusions: there is nothing, or very little, in these variants which has been systematically introduced or which could be of great importance for the study of the religious ideas of the 1st century. In particular, the order adopted by Ibn Masʿūd is far from being a historical one since, if the details in the *Fihrist* are correct and if the recension we possess of Ibn Masʿūd is authentic, he neglected to make use of the close knowledge which he as a faithful Companion possessed of the biography of Muḥammad and of the particular circumstances accompanying each revelation (cf. the chronological list of al-Yaʿḳūbī, which may be based on Shīʿī reminiscences, i, 24). This may have been due to a lack of a sense of sequence, to negligence, to literary prejudice or to the intentional falsification of a document which had a Shīʿī bias, to the advantage of Sunnism. The question, for lack of datable documents, is of course insoluble; and until now it has not been possible to reconstruct with any certainty, in its external form, the Ḳurʾānic corpus of Ibn Masʿūd (cf. A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qurʾān*, 20-113; E. Beck, in *Orientalia*, xxv (1956), 353-83, xxviii (1959), 186-205, 230-56). The variant readings preserved by Ibn Khālawayh (*Mukhtaṣar fī shawādhdh al-ḳirāʾāt*, see as examples, II, verses 24, 48, 91, 102, 108, 126, 177, 220, 222; III, 7, 105, 157, etc.) concern only points of detail. At the most, on reading this work, we may credit Ibn Masʿūd with a sort of prosiness, a fairly free use of the grammatical forms of Arabic, and a certain taste for juridical definitions, which sometimes lead him to seek for supplementary statements of meaning. But nothing of all this, if political opinions were not involved, could cause any very serious harm to the received text of ʿUthmān, or even justify the fanatical attachment which Ibn Masʿūd's supporters had to his system. Nöldeke goes so far as to doubt, for chronological reasons, whether Ibn Masʿūd was really as opposed to the promulgation of ʿUthmān's text as is stated in the sources. But even if we assume Ibn Masʿūd to have been in agreement with ʿUthman on the essentials of the Ḳurʾānic message, it is not certain that he was so on the commentary which should be given on it.

(3) Ḳurʾānic exegesis. It is particularly in this field that there can be attributed to Ibn Masʿūd some cautious Shīʿī tendencies. There is no doubt that Ibn Masʿūd's way of thinking must have been more closely related to that which prevailed among the *Ahl al-bayt* than to the aristocratic mentality of ʿUthmān's entourage. Reference is made to Ibn Masʿūd's favourite passages, those which he probably developed most fully in his teaching: for example, verse 40 of *sūra* V, which is regarded by the Shīʿīs as confirming the dignity of the *imāms* as supreme "witnesses" and lieutenants of God (al-Kulīnī, *Tawḥīd*, 190) and *sūra* LVI (Blachère, no. 23, cf. n. 10 at p. 52 and the commentary of al-Kulīnī, 271). It goes without saying that Ibn Masʿūd, as an exegete, was fairly strongly criticized by al-Ṭabarī, who faithfully reflected the attitude of the Meccan school. He often classes Ibn Masʿūd with Murra al-Hamdānī and Abū Malik al-Ashʿarī in an indeterminate category to which *tafsīr* gives the broad name of "Companions of the Prophet". In reality, this is a Kūfan *isnād* in which Ibn ʿAbbās was artificially included. Even more cautiously, Ibn Masʿūd is separated from his pupil Masrūḳ, who, like him, was often questioned on the realities of the next world. Naturally, Ibn Masʿūd's witness is indispensable for commentary on the *sūrat al-Kahf* (XVIII), with its account of the Seven Sleepers, the most important eschatological passage (*Tafsīr*, xvi, 23, 98). From these few details it may be seen fairly clearly what was the basis for Ibn Masʿūd's reputation among those who, during his lifetime, were his pupils and followers in exegesis. As a specialist in *taʾwīl* (allegorical or interpretative commentary) he foresaw (and even the Sunnīs admit this) the dissensions which were to rend the Muslim community (*Iṣāba*). Having been a witness of the occasions when the Prophet had been inspired and of the immediate consequences of this inspiration, he was in possession of important secrets on the latter end of things and of mankind (cf. a popular form of exegesis with a magical use of *sūras* in Ibn Ḥanbal, no. 4004).

Thus there emerges, from sources which may fairly be regarded as impartial concerning him, a clear picture of Ibn Masʿūd's personality. Unshakeable in his loyalty to the Prophet and his family, he found it difficult to suffer the intrigues of the Meccan aristocracy, including those who seemed to have admitted him completely into their tribe. By nature the friend of the lowly and the humble, he was probably the supporter of a more inward, mystical and more Shīʿī type of Islam, as seems to be indicated by the surprising harmony which is apparent between the texts which appeared under his name and the vicissitudes of his life. His conduct, his *ḥadīth* and his exegesis are certainly those of a man who, as al-Munāwī has said, placed more hope on the next world than on that which he saw reflected in his contemporaries.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, index; Ibn Saʿd, Beirut ed., vii, 342 (advances no opinion on the circumstances of his disgrace, and is followed in this by Ṭabarī); Wüstenfeld, *Muḥammad*, 241, 380, 451, 901; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, i, 124, no 21; Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, i, 13; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, sv.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, s.v.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 162; Sakhāwī, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya*, i, 64; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ed. Shākir, vol. vi (collection of *ḥadīth*); *Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 231 (Shīʿī version of Ibn Masʿūd's disgrace; cf. Yaʿḳūbī, i, 147); Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1959, 34; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, index. Modern opinions: Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *ʿUthmān*, 160-1.

(J.-C. VADET)

IBN MAṬRŪḤ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN YAḤYĀ B. ʿĪSĀ B. IBRĀHĪM B. AL-ḤUSAYN DJAMĀL AL-DĪN IBN MAṬRŪḤ, was born on 8 Radjab 592/7 June 1196 at Asyūṭ, which he left while still young for Ḳūṣ. This town was at that time one of the most important cultural centres of Egypt, and it was probably there that Ibn Maṭrūḥ continued, or began, his education. It was there also that he met the poet Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr [*q.v.*], who became his friend, and that he wrote his first attempts at poetry. He also became known to Madjd al-Dīn al-Lamṭī, the governor of the town, to whom he dedicated two poems which show his lack of experience. It is said that Madjd al-Dīn appointed the young poet to an administrative post but that he did not remain in it for long.

Seeking a more propitious atmosphere, Ibn Maṭrūḥ set out for Cairo in about 626/1229 and was presented to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, who was representing his father al-Malik al-Kāmil in Egypt. In 629/1231, Ibn Maṭrūḥ accompanied al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb when he was appointed by his father commander-in-chief of the army which was to conquer Mesopotamia and fight against the Mongols and the Khwārazmīs. He remained continually with him, taking part in the military and political struggles and travelling between the conquered towns of Syria and Mesopotamia.

After the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil (635/1238), the rivalry between the Ayyūbid rulers increased and Ibn Maṭrūḥ could not avoid taking part in the struggles. It was to uphold the point of view of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, under whom he was inspector-general of the army, that he returned to Cairo in 637/1239 with Ibn al-Djawzī, the envoy of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, to restore agreement between the Ayyūbid princes. His stay there was brief and he very soon returned to Syria.

In 639/1241, Ibn Maṭrūḥ was again in Egypt. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, who had become sultan of Cairo, appointed him treasurer of the city. This appointment was the beginning of a series of high official posts at the sultan's court.

In 643/1245, when al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb gained control of Damascus, he appointed Ibn Maṭrūḥ as vizier of the town. During this period Ibn Maṭrūḥ enjoyed great prosperity and the esteem of his entourage. But when al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb went to Damascus in 646/1248, he relieved Ibn Maṭrūḥ of the office which he held and sent him with the troops to Ḥimṣ. At this time Ibn Maṭrūḥ fell from favour. Scarcely had these troops arrived in Ḥimṣ when they received orders from the sultan to return to Egypt to defend it against the Crusaders who were preparing to attack Damietta. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, now seriously ill, also returned to Egypt and Ibn Maṭrūḥ followed him.

After the death of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (15 Shaʿbān 647/23 November 1249), Ibn Maṭrūḥ retired to his own home, where he composed a number of short penitential poems. He died in Cairo at the beginning of Shaʿbān 649/end of October 1251. Ibn Khallikān was present at his burial.

The *dīwān* of Ibn Maṭrūḥ was published in Istanbul in 1298; the edition, a mediocre one, contains about 806 lines.

His work consists mainly of eulogistic and of erotic poems, which do not generally reach the level of exalted poetry. His political and official duties prevented his devoting himself entirely to his art. Nevertheless, in some of his best poems his abilities as a poet are apparent.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1949, v, 302; tr. de Slane, iv, 144-51; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 247; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 329; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 203; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, xiii, 217; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Dirāsāt fī ʾl-shiʿr fī ʿaṣr al-Ayyūbiyyīn*, Cairo 1957, 177-84; J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides*, Paris 1949, 105-20; Brockelmann, I, 263, S I, 465.

(J. Rikabi)

IBN AL-MAWLĀ, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim, poet, who lived into the reign of the caliph al-Mahdī, although the exact date of his death is not known. Of humble origins, he came from a typically Medinan background: he was a dependant of the tribe of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf; he studied with the Mālikī jurist and traditionist Ibn al-Mādjishūn. He was of a melancholy and sensitive temperament, and seems, according to the extracts preserved in the *Aghānī*, to have enjoyed reciting vague poetic compositions. The state of mind revealed in them is that of a sort of resigned heroism mixed with some fear at the sadness of love, of the times and of life. By an odd paradox, this writer of imprecise and rather delicate poetry had a gift for panegyric. He sang the praises, often at a distance and without knowing them (by a sort of mirage which always entices the Arab poet), of such powerful patrons as Yazīd b. Ḥātim (d. 170/788), governor of Egypt and at one time the patron of Bashshār b. Burd, the ʿAbbāsid princes Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān (*Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 29, 31), and Ḳutham b. al-ʿAbbās (*ibid.*, 33). He soon obtained the privilege of becoming the poet of the caliph al-Mahdī. It is known that this caliph had a great admiration for the past and the culture of South Arabia and that he sincerely wished to gain the goodwill of the Medinans, who had remained faithful to the memory of the ʿAlid rebel Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan (*Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 53). Ibn al-Mawlā, like many of his fellow citizens, combined a great respect for the memory of the Prophet and of the Hāshimite family, "the guardian of the Faith", with fervent South Arabian sympathies. Therefore, reciting or improvising to these conservative and nostalgic Medinans, who were often stubborn visionaries, he was able to be a powerful propagandist in favour of the new ʿAbbāsid prince and his court and administration.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, iii, 88-96, iv, 115; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 32. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN MAYMŪN, Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. ʿUbayd Allāh [Maymūn] al-Ḳurṭubī, usually called Moses Maimonides in English and German, Moïse Maïmonide in French, Jewish theologian and physician, born in Cordova in 1135, died in Fusṭāṭ in 1204. A member of a scholarly Jewish family long established in Muslim Spain, Moses Maimonides received his earliest education in his native town which, however, he was compelled to leave with his family in about 1149 on account of the Almohad invasion and the policy of hostility adopted by the new dynasty [see al-muwaḥḥidūn] towards the religious minorities. After staying some ten years in the Maghrib, notably in Fās (perhaps in the guise of converts to Islam, though the matter is far from certain), the family moved to the East. In any case, it was in the Muslim West that Moses Maimonides acquired the essence of his learning, both religious and secular, and it seems clear that his literary activity also started there. After 1166 the Ibn Maymūn family were in Egypt At first, Moses earned his living in that country by entering the trade with India in precious stones, but when the family business was jeopardized by a shipwreck in which his brother lost his life, he was obliged, in order to make a living, to work as a physician, at first as a protégé of the *ḳāḍī* al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*]; later he became court physician to al-Malik al-Afḍal ([see ayyūbids]; it is to be noted that he was never physician to Saladin, and that the invitation which he is alleged to have received from Richard Coeur de Lion is a legend), and was also invested with the office of head and representative spokesman of his religious community (in Hebrew *nāgīd*, a dignity which remained in his family until the 14th century).

Of the writings, in Hebrew and Arabic, of Maimonides, doctor of Jewish law, speculative theologian and physician, we shall consider only those which concern Islamic studies and the history of Arabic literature—his précis of logic, his medical treatises and opuscula (his mathematical and astronomical works are no longer extant), his "Guide of the Perplexed", and his attitude towards Islam, as expressed in his different writings.

Of the précis of logic, *Maḳāla fī ṣināʿat al-manṭiḳ*, which apparently he wrote at the age of sixteen, the Arabic original was, until recently, known only from a unique, and incomplete, manuscript in Hebrew characters. Mübahat Türker discovered two complete copies of the work in Arabic characters (the Istanbul manuscript probably being merely a transcription of the Ankara one), and established its close relationship to al-Fārābī.

In medicine, Moses Maimonides wrote about twelve works (listed in Brockelmann), either of a general nature and dependent on Galen, as was the whole art of healing in his time, with only a few divergences on minor points ("Aphorisms"), or brief monographs on certain illnesses (asthma, haemorrhoids) or instructions on hygiene, such as a short work on sexual intercourse, and finally pharmacology. In the opinion of experts, these writings guarantee him an honourable place in the medicine of his age; indeed, he was much sought after as a medical practitioner, and his medical works were transmitted not only in the Hebrew script but also in the Arabic script by non-Jewish copyists.

It was, however, for the exclusive use of a certain category of his co-religionists that, in about 1190, he wrote his great treatise *Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn* ("Guide of the Perplexed"). He wrote it for the benefit of those Jewish intellectuals who, by reason of their scientific and philosophical culture, might find themselves perplexed as to the meaning and value of biblical and rabbinical teachings concerning God, the origin of the world, and the validity and significance of religious law. To calm these troubled minds, Moses Maimonides therefore elaborated a system of interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of those scriptural passages that are apparently anthropomorphic; then he endeavoured to show, after an incisive examination of the postulates and methods of *kalām* [*q.v.*], that, despite the importance which it was proper to allow to Aristotle's physics in respect of the sublunary world, neither the eternity of the world nor the law of necessity constraining God Himself were philosophical certainties in face of which belief in a creative, free God could not be reasonably professed; finally, following a Platonic tradition repeated in particular by al-Fārābī, his chief source of inspiration among Muslim philosophers, he justified the concept of the prophet-legislator, the perfect example of whom in his eyes was Moses; the Law revealed to Moses, though initially adapted to the needs of a people

still barely freed from the surrounding paganism, is nevertheless the most perfect that can exist and must remain in force eternally. Such, without any doubt, are the main themes reduced to their simplest expression in the "Guide". It must be emphasized, however, that, by the method of composition of this book and the contradictions in it that he has deliberately allowed to remain, as well as by various allusions, Maimonides sought to make the enlightened reader understand that his own true opinions were far from coinciding with what a superficial reading would suggest. There are thus strong reasons for believing that he did not reject the thesis of the eternity of the world (indeed he openly maintains its perpetuity) and that, in the final count, God was identified, in his belief, with the law of nature, and therefore with a certain necessity (but, it is true, an intelligent and not a blind necessity). The strictly negative attitude from which he never departed in regard to astrology, the occult sciences and non-philosophic mysticism equally testify to his basic rationalism. It is certain, moreover, as can be seen from his "Code of Laws" and his "Treatise on the resurrection", that he tended to minimize the traditional eschatology of Judaism and that he taught unequivocally the eternal survival of the soul alone and the wholly spiritual character of punishment in the after-life; incidentally, it is very probable that, somewhat like Ibn Rus͟hd [*q.v.*], his contemporary and in several respects his counterpart among Muslim thinkers, he thought that intellective souls, separated from their bodies and justified here below by the constant exercise of practical and dianoetic values, would be united in the after-life with the Active Intellect; this is tantamount to a denial, with varying qualifications, of the individual immortality of the soul professed in common by the three great monotheistic religions. In both these philosophers, however, these radical views co-existed, without any sign of internal conflict, along with a sincere adherence to their respective religious laws, which they regarded as the best conceivable formula for regulating men's social lives and creating the climate in which the common man could live in peace, under a collective discipline, and in which the philosopher, co-operating in the maintenance of this discipline and himself submitting to it in the scrupulous observance of its rites, could harmoniously unite the life of contemplation with the life of action. But it is not surprising that these views should have seemed too bold, or even scandalously heterodox, and we know that the Muslim scholar ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Bag͟hdādī [*q.v.*], who knew Maimonides in Cairo, stated bluntly that the latter had written an heretical book for his co-religionists. Despite the precautions taken to prevent the "Guide" being circulated outside the Jewish community, there were at least partial and abridged transcriptions of it in Arabic script which, at the very least, were circulated among Christian intellectual circles in Egypt. On the other hand, there are almost no traces of any use of the "Guide" by Muslim scholars, and nothing is known as to the identity of the "Tibrīzī" who commented on the twenty-five propositions taken from Aristotle and placed at the beginning of the second part; this commentary has incidentally survived only in the Hebrew version.

As we have said, Moses Maimonides drew his greatest inspiration from al-Fārābī, but one can also detect signs of the influence of Ibn Sīnā, al-G͟hazālī (*Tahāfut*) and Ibn Bād͟jd͟ja. His knowledge of the work of Ibn Rus͟hd (whom he held in great esteem) was incomplete, and for the most part was acquired too late to be utilised in the writing of the "Guide".—One final point: in regard to Islam, Moses Maimonides adopted (and this is in no way original) an attitude at once of total refusal to admit the prophetic inspiration of that religion's founder, and also of a certain subtly qualified sympathy for the strict monotheism which characterizes it; evidently he rejected the attempts to discover passages in the Bible announcing the coming of the Prophet of the Arabs, just as he bitterly reproached the Muslims for suspecting the integrity of the scriptural text [see AHL AL-KITĀB and TAḤRĪF].

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ii, 117; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīk͟h al-ḥukamāʾ*, 317-9; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Berlin 1902, 199-221 (for the Hebrew versions, idem, *Die Hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters ...*, Berlin 1893, passages indicated in the index, p. 1060, s.v. Maimonides); Brockelmann I², 644-66, S I, 893-4; add *S͟harḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳar* (Explanation of the names of drugs), edited with translation and commentary by M. Meyerhof, in *MIE*, xli (1940); the main part of the bibliography down to 1950 is given in G. Vajda, *Jüdische Philosophie* (*Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie*, 19), Berne 1950, 20-4; the principal manuals of Jewish philosophy, in particular those of I. Husik, *A history of mediaeval Jewish philosophy*, Philadelphia 1916 (reprinted several times), J. Guttmann, *Die Philosophie des Judentums*, Munich 1933 (English trans., *Philosophies of Judaism*, London 1964) and G. Vajda, *Introduction à la pensée juive du moyen âge*, Paris 1947, include a chapter on Moses Maimonides; of a complete bibliography arranged according to subjects, by Jacob I. Dienstag, the only part to have appeared is *Moses Maimonides, A topical bibliography*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Folklore*, v, Cincinatti 1961, 12-29 of the Hebrew part of the fascicule.—Texts published since 1950: *Moses Maimonides' Epistle to Yemen*. The Arabic Original and the Three Hebrew Versions edited ... by Abraham S. Halkin and an English Translation by Boaz Cohen, New York 1952; Mübahat Türker, *Mûsâ Ibn-i Meymûn'un* Al-Maḳāla fī Ṣināʿat al-Manṭiq'*ının arapça asli*, in *AÜDTCFD*, xviii (1960), 9-64; a new English translation of the *Guide* by S. Pines, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, Chicago University Press 1963, is preceded by an "Introductory Essay" by L. Strauss and an introduction (particularly important for the relationship of Maimonides' thought with Greek philosophy and Arab philosophy) by the translator. Of recent articles on Maimonides' thought, we mention only A. Altmann, *Essence and Existence in Maimonides*, in *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv (1953), 294-315; M. Fakhry, *The antinomy of the eternity of the world in Averroes, Maimonides and Aquinas*, in *Le Muséon*, lxvi (1953), 139-55; some points of detail on Maimonides' biography: B. Lewis, *Maimonides, Lionheart and Saladin*, in *Eretz-Israel*, vii (1963), 70-5; on the circulation of the *Guide*: G. Vajda, *Un abrégé chrétien du "Guide des Egarés"*, in *JA*, 1960, 115-36; idem, in *JA*, 1965, 43-50; finally, see S. W. Baron, *A social and religious History of the Jews*², viii, New York 1958, 249-52 and 259-62; M. Mohaghegh, *Maimonides against Galen/Radd-i Ibn Maymūn bar D͟jālīnūs*, in *Mad͟jalla-i Dānis͟h-kada-i adabiyyāt wa-ʿulūm-i insānī*, xv/1 (1967).

Maimonides' Arabic has been the subject, among

others, of studies by I. Friedlaender, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides . . . I. Lexicalischer Teil Arabisch-Deutsches Lexicon*, Frankfurt a/M. 1902 (short grammatical sketch by the same author, in *Selections from the Arabic writings of Maimonides*, Leiden 1909), and J. Blau, in *R. Moses b. Maimon Responsa*, iii, Jerusalem 1961, 59-116 (in Hebrew); see, by the same author, *A grammar of mediaeval Judeo-Arabic* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1961.

(G. Vajda)

IBN MAYYĀDA, Abū Sharāḥīl (or Shuraḥbīl) al-Rammāḥ b. Abrad (Yazīd in Ibn Ḳutayba) b. Thawbān al-Murrī, of the Banū Murra b. ʿAwf, Bedouin poet who lived in the Ḥidjāz and in Nadjd from the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) to the period of the early ʿAbbāsids; he died during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr, about 136/754 according to al-Baghdādī, in 149/766 according to Yāḳūt. His mother Mayyāda (= one who swings) was a slave, said to have been of Berber or Slav origin, whom the poet however claimed to have been Persian, boasting of belonging both to the line of the Chosroes and to the Arabs, his father being a descendant, through his grandmother, of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā [*q.v.*]. The *Kitāb Akhbār Ibn Mayyāda* (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 161) of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, of which much use was made in the *Aghānī*, does not seem to have survived, so that very little is known of Ibn Mayyāda's life and work. From the brief description of his appearance it can be deduced that he was fair (*aḥmar*), slender, with a long beard and that he was well-groomed. His poetry consists chiefly of *nasīb*, *hidjāʾ* and *madīḥ*. His love poetry, of the Bedouin type and considered by Ibn Sharaf (ed. and tr. Pellat, 27) as superior to that of al-Kumayt, Nuṣayb or al-Ṭirimmāḥ, is addressed to several women, both free and slave, but especially to one called Umm Djaḥdar, who was finally married by her father to a Syrian. It was she who was the cause of an exchange of epigrams, *naḳāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*], between Ibn Mayyāda and another poet, Ḥakam b. Maʿmar al-Khuḍrī, but the *hidjāʾ* of al-Rammāḥ alludes also to other persons; it is said, moreover, that he was inclined to malice and enjoyed exchanging insults with those with whom he came into contact, without however descending to scurrilities.

Ibn Mayyāda's panegyrics were addressed first to the Umayyad governor of Mecca, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and especially to al-Walīd b. Yazīd (125-6/743-4), to whom he paid several visits; a poem much praised by the critics is a *bāʾiyya* in which he lauds the generosity of the caliph, who had rewarded him with a hundred camels and a slave to look after them, a *djāriya* and a horse. On the death of al-Walīd, he wrote his funeral eulogy in a *marthiya* of which a few verses survive. His relations with the Umayyads did not at all prevent him from addressing his praises to the ʿAbbāsids, particularly since under the former he had been beaten for having in one verse given the family of the Prophet precedence over the Banū Marwān; thus he produced a eulogy of the ʿAbbāsid governor of Medina, Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān, and even attempted to gain the favour of al-Manṣūr, but he did not renew the attempt, since the caliph had not the same interest in poetry as al-Walīd b. Yazīd.

He is accused of frequent lapses (*saḳaṭ*) in his poetry, but it is in general praised by the critics; several poems have been set to music, and the philologists cite a number of his verses as *shawāhid*, Ibn Mayyāda being considered as one of the last of the classical poets, of those who "set the seal on" poetry.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Sallām does not mention Ibn Mayyāda in the *Ṭabaḳāt* although the *Aghānī* states that he places him in the seventh class; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 747-9 and index; idem, *Adab al-kātib*, 44; idem, *ʿUyūn*, iv, 141; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 43-5; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 175; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, ii, 225; *Aghānī*, ii, 85-116 (Beirut ed., ii, 226-300); Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, 193; Ibn Sharaf, *Masāʾil*, index; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, v, 328-31, 343; ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, 123; idem, *Ṣināʿatayn*, index; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 124; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, 56-7; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Cairo ed., i, 152, ii, 195-7; Yāḳūt, ii, 260, s.v. Ḥarrat Laylā; idem, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 143-8; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 228; idem, *Muʿdjam*, 319; Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tashbīhāt*, 211; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 56; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa*, 237-8; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 99; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 184-6; R. Blachère, in *Mél. Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, 110, 114; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, 150 (Fr. tr., 230-1); Brockelmann, S I, 91, 96; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 98.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN MISDJAḤ, Saʿīd Abū ʿĪsā or Abū ʿUthmān, one of the great singers of the early Ḥidjāzī school of Arabic music, was born in Mecca and died there in the reign of Walīd I (86-96/705-15). He was a half-breed of African descent (*muwallad aswad*), his mother being a slave-girl of a Hāshimite. It is said that he sang Arabic verses to Persian melodies which he had learned from Persian workers who repaired the mosque (in 64/683) or, according to others, who built a house for Muʿāwiya in Mecca; but this adaptation of Arabic texts to Persian tunes had been effected already in Medina by Ṭuways [*q.v.*], by Sāʾib Khāthir and Nashīṭ, both of Persian origin (*Aghānī*[3], viii, 321), and by other singers. According to Abu 'l-Faradj (*Aghānī*[3], iii, 276), Ibn Misdjaḥ blended the song of the Arabs with Persian and Byzantine music in a perfect manner and set by his compositions the model for his successors. The assertion, however, that he went to Syria and thence to Persia to study the music of the Byzantines and the Persians is not supported by earlier authorities. Some of his melodies are given in the *Aghānī*. Pupils of his were Ibn Muḥriz, Ibn Suraydj, al-Gharīḍ, Maʿbad and Yūnus al-Kātib [*qq.v.*].

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, index and especially [3]iii, 276-84 (based mainly on the *Akhbār Saʿīd b. Misdjaḥ* by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, see *Aghānī*[1], xiv, 11, 26 and *Fihrist*, 141, 3); a *Kitāb Ibn Misdjaḥ* by Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī is mentioned in *Fihrist*, 148, 6. H. G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, 69 f., 77 f.

(J. W. Fück)

IBN MISKAWAYH [see miskawayh].

IBN AL-MUʿADHDHAL, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. al-Muʿadhdhal b. Ghaylān b. al-Ḥakam al-ʿAbdī, an Arab satirical poet of Baṣra (d. 240/854-5) who belonged to a family of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, many members of which wrote poetry. His grandfather Ghaylān is mentioned in the sources as a poet, and his father al-Muʿadhdhal exchanged epigrams with Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*] in particular, one of which was considered sufficiently original to be included in the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās (1277 ed., 79; 1332 ed., 151; the Cairo ed. 1953 omits it; metre *ramal*, rhyme *-ānā*). Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, Cairo, 234) attributes fifty leaves of verses to al-Muʿadhdhal, but only a very small number of these survive (see al-Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, section on the poets, 6-8; *Aghānī*, xii, 57-8 = Beirut ed., xiii, 228-30; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 167-8).

ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's brothers Aḥmad, ʿĪsā and ʿAbd Allāh also rank as poets, but their output was very scanty, according to Ibn al-Nadīm (*ibid.*); the first-named, Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Muʿadhdhal, followed the classical tradition, and some of his poems have been preserved, but he impresses mainly by his eloquence and his piety, which was in contrast to the moral laxity of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad; he appears to have enjoyed a certain renown in a milieu that was far-removed from poetry: indeed, while the *Aghānī* (xii, 57 = Beirut ed., xiii, 228) makes him a Muʿtazilī, al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 103, ii, 306) seems to reproach him with being a Mālikī; indeed the *Fihrist* (282) places him among the members of the school of Mālik, names Ibn al-Mādjishūn as one of his teachers and Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāḳ al-Ḳāḍī as his pupil, and, although the account is mutilated, attributes certain books to him, the most important being a *Kitāb al-ʿIlla* (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, s.v.). According to certain statements, Aḥmad was regarded as an eminent Baṣran who was present at some battles against the Byzantines and even had access to the caliph at Sāmarrā (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 175; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 651 ff.).

The most celebrated member of the family, however, was ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, whom al-Marzubānī (*Muwashshaḥ*, 9) had judged worthy of a monograph of about 200 leaves (*Fihrist*, 191) entitled *Akhbār ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. al-Muʿadhdhal*; according to the same Ibn al-Nadīm (234), his *dīwān* filled 150 leaves. Al-Ḥuṣrī (*Zahr*, 654) considered him as the poet *par excellence* of the Baṣra of his period, thus following the legend echoed by al-Thaʿālibī (*Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, Tunis 1293, 100), but he hardly seems to merit such an honour, although a critic such as Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī held certain of his verses to be superior to those which he inspired in al-Buḥturī (*Ṣināʿatayn*, 234). Despite the long account which the *Aghānī* (xii, 57-72 = Beirut ed., xiii, 228-59) devotes to him, we know little about his life, and from the *khabars* which concern him it is just possible to extract certain details about his relations with al-Aṣmaʿī, as well as with the governors of Baṣra and members of the local aristocracy. Unlike most of his colleagues, he does not appear to have tried his fortune in the capital, although before 226/841 he was in Sāmarrā, where the sight of the young Afshīn [*q.v.*] filled him with ignoble thoughts, his taste for young men being a normal feature of his depraved character. The description of a garden or an entertainment is not without freshness, but the greater part of his surviving poems testify at once to his moral laxity, his pride, his claims to surpass other poets and his propensity in some degree to take everyone as the target for his virulent invectives; no-one escaped, neither his friends nor his neighbours, nor even his brother Aḥmad, of whose reputation in his native town he was no doubt jealous. Among the victims of his epigrams—who often replied in kind—were well-known personages such as Ḥamdān b. Abān al-Lāḥiḳī, al-Djammāz [*q.v.*], Yaḥyā b. Aktham [*q.v.*], and Abū Tammām himself who, according to al-Thaʿālibī (*op. cit.*) is said to have renounced the idea of coming to Baṣra as the result of an attack made on him by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (but the *Aghānī* presents the matter quite differently and gives the leading rôle to Abū Tammām). His malicious gossip—which had won him the nickname of Abu 'l-Summ—was no less feared, and it is even related that some satirical verses had brought such discredit to a *ḳayna* and a male singer that they were compelled to leave Baṣra to earn their living. Thus, from the notices and fragments that have survived, Ibn al-Muʿadhdhal appears as one of the most typical representatives of that group of poets in Baṣra in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries who, themselves debauched and malicious, took pleasure in defiling the good name of other people, in causing scandals, and in singing of wine and love in verses in which obscenity went hand in hand with undeniable satirical talent.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the text: Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, section on the poets, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne, Cairo 1934, index; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 175-6; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, i, 102 (verses quoted anonymously); Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 346; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, index; Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tashbīhāt*, 19, 58, 59, 76, 91, 95, 175, 200, 221, 259, 312; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa*, 92, 181, 196, 224; Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, 382; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940, ii, 144, 218, iii, 244, vii, 53; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 90; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 651-6; idem, *Djamʿ*, 310; Sīrāfī, *Naḥwiyyīn*, 33-5; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 231, 234, 455; idem, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, index; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, 217; Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, Istanbul 1287, 136; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 575; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iii, 90; Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, i, 9-10; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 52; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 168; idem, *Ibn al-Muʿadhdhal wa-ashʿāruh* (forthcoming). (Ch. Pellat)

IBN AL-MUʿALLIM [see AL-MUFĪD].

IBN AL-MUBĀRAK, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥanẓalī (118 or 119/736 or 737-181/797), a merchant who combined with his business a love of learning. He travelled widely, studying under many authorities, including Abū Ḥanīfa. Besides his large collection of traditions (20,000 according to Ibn Muʿīn), his interests included matters legal, religious and literary. He said that he heard traditions from 4,000 *shaykhs* and transmitted from 1,000. Muslim has some of his traditions in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn al-Mubārak studied *fiḳh* with Sufyān al-Thawrī and Mālik b. Anas, whose *Muwaṭṭaʾ* he transmitted. He was a pious man, devoted to ascetic practices. He made the Pilgrimage and engaged in *djihād* in alternate years. He died at Hīt on the Euphrates after an expedition.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Mashāhīr ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār* (Bibl. Isl., xxii), 194 f.; Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī, *Kitāb al-Djamʿ*, 259 f.; al-Samʿānī, 179a; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, i, 253-7; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb*, v, 382-7; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, year 181; Brockelmann, S I, 256. (J. Robson)

IBN AL-MUDABBIR, the name of two brothers, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad and Abū Isḥāḳ (Abū Yusr) Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mudabbir, who played an important part as high officials, courtiers and men of letters as well as poets at Sāmarrā and in Egypt and Syria during the middle of the 3rd/9th century. The family seems to have been of Persian origin; it is not mentioned which of the two brothers was the elder.

(1) Abu 'l-Ḥasan (d. 270/883 or 271/884) directed the *dīwān al-djaysh* in the reign of the caliph al-Wāthiḳ (227/842-232/847); during the first years of al-Mutawakkil (232/847-247/861) he took over the control of seven *dīwāns*, probably as a kind of deputy *wazīr*. Al-Mutawakkil esteemed him as a poet, and Aḥmad became an influential courtier. The suspicious *wazīr* ʿUbayd Allāh b. Khāḳān removed him from his post and threw him into prison in 240/854. But

shortly afterwards he was created Director of Finance (*ʿāmil al-kharādj*) for Damascus and Urdunn and went to Damascus (for a poem of his in praise of that city, see Yāķūt, iii, 243). In 247/861 he took over the same office in Egypt; he introduced a number of new taxes (*mukūs*) such as one on cattle fodder (*al-maʿārī*) as well as a monopoly on caustic soda (C. H. Becker, *Beiträge*, 144 ff.; cf. A. Grohmann, *Aperçu*..., 74 f., discussing the papyrological evidence). Hence he became the most hated director of finances for centuries, but the most powerful man of his time in Egypt. When in Ramaḍan 254/September-October 868 Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn entered al-Fusṭāṭ as the newly appointed governor, Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir attempted to win him over by bribing him with valuable gifts, but in vain as Ibn Ṭūlūn rejected them. The struggle for power that now began between the two rivals was fought out in Egypt as well as at the court of Sāmarrā. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn emerged triumphant; he was able to overthrow Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir, to imprison him, and to confiscate his wealth. In 258/872, at the latest, he was set free and transferred back to Syria as director of finances for Damascus, Urdunn and Palestine. When Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn occupied Damascus, in 264/877, Ibn al-Mudabbir was after a short time again arrested (Ibn ʿAsākir, ii, 62), sentenced to pay a *muṣādara* of 600,000 *dirhams*, sent to Egypt and kept in prison until his death. According to the *Fihrist* Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir was the author of an apparently lost *K. al-Mudjālasa wa 'l-mudhākara*; some of his poems and anecdotes concerning him have been preserved in the *Aghānī*, the *Murūdj*, the *Taʾrīkh Dimashķ*, etc.

(2) ABŪ ISḤĀĶ (Abū Yusr) IBRĀHĪM (d. Shawwāl 279/December 892-January 893) was in favour with the caliph al-Mutawakkil and numbered among his boon companions (*nudamāʾ*), so that he exercised great influence over the caliph and the affairs of state. The *wazīr* ʿUbayd Allāh b. Khāķān overthrew him, probably together with his brother Aḥmad, in about 240/855. Ibrāhīm was thrown into prison, where he remained for the next years; the circumstances of his liberation are not known. Some time later he was appointed tax-collector of the province of Akhwās, and it was probably while holding that appointment that he came into contact with the rebellious Zandj (255/868-270/883), was taken prisoner, brought to Baṣra, and put into prison there. He escaped by breaking through the prison wall, an exploit mentioned by al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 13, and Ibn Khallikān, 615, tr. de Slane, iii, 56-7. He accompanied the caliph al-Muʿtamid (256/870-279/892) on his journey to Syria in 269/882 and became for a short period one of his *wazīrs*. He died as director of the *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ*. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir is probably the author of *al-ʿAdhrāʾ fī mawāzīn al-balāgha wa adawāt al-kitāba*, one of the earliest treatises on administration and the civil service (W. Björkman, *Staatskanzlei*, 8 and note, but not mentioned by either *al-Fihrist* or Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa; see BAYĀN, 1115a). Many of his poems, some of which are dedicated to the singer ʿArīb, as well as many anecdotes, have been preserved in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the *Irshād* of Yāķūt, the *Nishwār* of al-Tanūkhī, etc.

Bibliography: *R. al-ʿAdhrāʾ*, ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1331/1913, 176-93; *Fihrist*, 123 and index; Ṭabarī, index (Ibrāhīm only); Ibn al-Athīr, index; Yaʿķūbī, ii, 596, 599, 613, 615 ff. (Aḥmad only); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 160-4 (Ibrāhīm), viii, 13-8 (Aḥmad); Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. K. Vollers, Berlin 1904 (Semitistische Studien, hersg. C. Bezold, Heft 1), 9 ff.; Maķrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāķ ed., i, 103 f., 107, 315; Yāķūt, *Udabāʾ* (Ibrāhīm); *Aghānī*[1], xix, 114-34 (Ibrāhīm), and Tables s.vv. Ibrāhīm and Aḥmad; al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London 1921, 131-3 (Ibrāhīm only); Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashķ*, Damascus 1330/1911-2, 59-62 (Aḥmad). — C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg 1902-3, 142 ff. and 154 ff.; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 8 and index; A. Grohmann, *Aperçu de papyrologie arabe*, Cairo 1932 (= *Étude de Papyrologie*, Tome I), 74 ff.; Zaki Mohamed Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, Paris 1933, index; D. Sourdel, *La vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, index; Brockelmann, S I, 152-3; G. Gabrieli, *Nota bibliographica*, in *Rend. Lin.*, xxi (1912), 373.

(H. L. GOTTSCHALK)

IBN MUDJĀHID, AḤMAD B. MŪSĀ B. AL-ʿABBĀS ABŪ BAKR AL-TAMĪMĪ (245/859-324/936), was born in Baghdād and seems to have spent his life there. He is noted for his study of the various Ķurʾān readings, for the large number of pupils who attended his classes, and for writing the first book on the seven Ķurʾān readings. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī calls him a reliable authority (*thiķa maʾmūn*), and quotes a statement made in 286/899 by the grammarian Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā to the effect that at that time no one knew more about the Ķurʾān than Abū Bakr Ibn Mudjāhid. Commentaries on his book about the seven readings were written by Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987) in three volumes, and by Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657) says he possessed both of these and the text. The *Fihrist* ends its short notice by naming a number of books written by Ibn Mudjāhid. As a result of his representations he was influential in persuading the authorities to proscribe the Ķurʾān versions of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy b. Kaʿb and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 31; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 144-8 (no. 2580); al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (Bibl. Isl. viiia), 139 (no. 663); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 2004; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, year 324; L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, i, 240-45; G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, 210-13; Brockelmann, I, 203, S I, 328. (J. ROBSON)

IBN AL-MUDJĀWIR, DJAMĀL (NADJM) AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FATḤ YŪSUF B. YAʿĶŪB B. MUḤAMMAD AL-SHAYBĀNĪ AL-DIMASHĶĪ, reputed author of *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* (or *al-Mustanṣir*), an important source for the geography, history, and customs of western and southern Arabia in the early part of the 7th/13th century.

Yūsuf b. Yaʿķūb, a native of Damascus said to have been of Persian descent, was born in 601/1204-5 and died in 690/1291. The brief biographical notices of him give little information on his career.

The author of *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* does not tell enough about himself to satisfy our curiosity. He was in India in 618, but he does not say how he got there or what he was doing there. At the end of 618/1222 he sailed from India to Aden. He visited Zabid at least three times, in 619, 624, and 626; he was in Mecca in 621 and in Djudda both before and after the destruction of the tomb of Eve in that year. The only other place in Arabia he mentions having been in is the port of Ghulāfiķa in the Yaman. At no point does the author say what his business or pleasure in Arabia was. The latest date in the

narrative is Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 626/1229. Internal evidence indicates that the work was composed not long thereafter.

The usually accepted identification of Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Mudjāwir al-Dimashḳī as the author of the book would appear routine, were it not for a single sentence, on page 252 of O. Löfgren's edition (1951-4), in which the author speaks of "my father Muḥammad b. Masʿūd b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Mudjāwir al-Baghdādī al-Naysabūrī". A number of years before this edition came out, M. Jawād, who had noticed this sentence in the Paris MS of the work, disputed the attribution of authorship to Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb. Jawād also remarked that it was hard to believe that such a book could have been written by a man in his early twenties, who for the remaining sixty-odd years of his life had nothing more to set forth on the subject. To Jawād's reservations may be added the fact that Ibn al-ʿImād in his obituary of Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb says that he had a special interest in the history of Baghdād, but makes no reference to a corresponding interest in Arabia. Ibn Taghrībirdī describes Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb simply as a transmitter of *ḥadīth*s.

Abū (Bā) Makhrama (d. 947/1540), whose writings on southern Arabia have also been edited by Löfgren, cites *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* a number of times, but he never names Ibn al-Mudjāwir as the author; his standard reference is to "al-Mustabṣir in his history". (There is no information on the life of Ibn al-Mudjāwir in Löfgren's 260 pages of biographies for southern Arabia by Abū Makhrama, al-Djanadī (d. 732/1332), and al-Ahdal (d. 855/1451)).

Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir, despite its title, is not so much a history as a collection of itineraries and a potpourri of miscellaneous information on the towns and tribes of western and southern Arabia and the life of the people there. Fragmentary historical data of some value are given on the later Ayyūbids in Arabia, the early Rasūlids of the Yaman, and the Ḳatādid Sharīfs, who had established themselves in Mecca just before the author's appearance on the scene. Much more space is allotted to routes between cities, with the length of each stage given in parasangs (*farsakh*s). The geographical material begins in the north with the environs of Medina, though there is no description of the Prophet's city itself. Details on Djudda, Zabīd, and Aden are particularly copious, and stylized maps of all three, as well as similar maps of various other places, are provided. The southern coast of Arabia is treated more extensively than in most Arab geographers, as far around as Ḳalhāt, Musḳaṭ (Maskat), and Ṣuḥār on the Gulf of ʿUmān. The only site in the Persian Gulf dealt with in great detail is the island of Ḳays (Kīsh). The book closes with a short paragraph on al-Baḥrayn, which was said to have 360 villages, with all but one being Imāmī (Twelver Shīʿī). The figure 360 for this small island is manifestly absurd.

The book contains an abundance of fascinating lore on Islamic sects, marriage customs, slavery, weights and measures, coins, cloth, wine, agriculture, shipping, and customs duties. Legends about the Hindu monkey-god Hanuman seem to put Aden in the place of Ceylon. Some of the stories are no doubt apocryphal, but many have an air of authenticity. The author derived much of his information from informants on the spot, both Bedouins and townspeople. He drew to a considerable extent on the works of earlier writers, such as al-Fākihī, the historian of Mecca, ʿUmāra, the historian of Zabīd, and the geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal, who are sometimes quoted without acknowledgement.

The author of *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* obviously knew a great deal about western and southern Arabia. At the same time, his ignorance of the rest of the Arabian Peninsula was abysmal, as is indicated by his repeating the report he heard from a Jewish goldsmith in Aden about the Saturday River (Nahr al-Sabt) just beyond the Ḥidjāz, a river of sand that flowed strongly for one day out of each week, on the other side of which lived a hundred million Jews descended from those who had fled from Khaybar and Wādī al-Ḳurā in the time of the Prophet. The author also retails with a straight face in half a dozen places information of a historical or geographical nature revealed to him in dreams (he is more precise in dating his dreams than in dating almost anything else in the book). The author demonstrates his accomplishments as a poet by quoting snatches of his own verses in Arabic and Persian.

The work was first brought to the attention of the Western world by A. Sprenger, who relied on it heavily for his exposition of routes in Arabia. F. Hunter in his book on Aden included a translation by S. B. Miles of a long passage in *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*. C. de Landberg printed a number of excerpts from the Arabic text with translations in French. G. Ferrand made a French translation of material on Aden. Before editing the complete work, Löfgren published the section devoted to Aden in his *Arabische Texte* (1936), which should still be consulted for its elaborate notes.

The two candidates for the authorship of *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* are not the only men on record bearing the name Ibn al-Mudjāwir. Another was Nadjm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Mudjāwir al-Shīrāzī, whose father had come to Damascus from Shīrāz. As a teacher of boys in Damascus, Yūsuf attracted the attention of Saladin, who appointed him tutor to his son al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān. When al-ʿAzīz became sovereign of Egypt, he made Yūsuf his vizier. This Yūsuf died in 601, the year of the birth of Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb Ibn al-Mudjāwir. The family of Banu 'l-Mudjāwir in Damascus was said to have received its name from an ancestor who preferred residing in Mecca (*al-mudjāwara*) to the earthly paradise of the Syrian capital.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 482 (634) and S I, 883; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864; F. Hunter, *An account of the British settlement of Aden in Arabia*, London 1877; C. de Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Leiden 1901-13; idem, *Glossaire Datînois*, Leiden 1920-42; idem, *Arabica*, iv-v, Leiden 1897-98; G. Ferrand in *JA*, sér. xi, t. xiii (1919), 471-83; O. Löfgren, ed., *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter = Taʾrīkh Thaghr ʿAdan* (Abū Makhrama, Ibn al-Mudjāwir, al-Djanadī, and al-Ahdal), Uppsala 1936-50; M. Jawād in *REI*, xii (1938), 286; O. Löfgren, ed., *Ibn al-Muǧāwir, Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis = Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, Leiden 1951-4; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 417; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, viii, 33; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*[2] (Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Mudjāwir and Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb Ibn al-Mudjāwir), ix, Cairo 1957, 301-2 and 341.
(G. Rentz)

IBN MUFARRIGH, Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Ziyād b. Rabīʿa b. Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyarī, minor poet of Baṣra in the 1st/7th century. There are doubts about his Ḥimyarī origin, and it is possible that his ancestor Mufarrigh was a slave. Ibn Mufar-

righ's date of birth is not known, and the earliest traditions about him tell of his romantic attachment to a Persian woman of Ahwāz in approximately the years 36-40/657-60. Later he was attached to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra [*q.v.*] and Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, but his career took a completely different direction from the time when he decided to follow ʿAbbād b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] to Sidjistān, in 54/674; their relations very soon became embittered, and the poet spent some time in prison; after his release he fled but was forced to wander from town to town, hurling invectives against the family of Ziyād. He was hunted down at Baṣra and arrested by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], who found an original way of punishing him: after forcing him to swallow a purgative, he had him mounted on a donkey to which he had tied a sow and a cat, and this grotesque procession was made to proceed through the streets of the town. Ibn Mufarrigh was then sent back to ʿAbbād, who put him into prison again, and was released only on the intervention of the Yemenīs of Damascus. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya finally granted him his favour and, after obtaining the pardon of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, he was permitted to retire to Kirmān. In 64/684, on the death of Yazīd, Ibn Mufarrigh returned to his native town, from which ʿUbayd Allāh had been driven out, thus taking an easy revenge. He died in 69/689, during the epidemic of plague.

Although the adventures of Ibn Mufarrigh have been somewhat embroidered by legend, his life was nevertheless full of incident and this is reflected in the poems which have survived. Although he was probably originally destined to lead the uneventful existence of a provincial poet, whose chief preoccupation would be to secure for himself the bounty of the local aristocracy, he became, through the pressure of unforeseen circumstances, a sort of polemical poet whose works, more valuable for their content than for their form, owe their partial preservation to the attacks which they contain against the family of Ziyād and, indirectly, against the Umayyads. This opposition, which was the result of the bad treatment he received rather than of a systematic hostility, is nevertheless the sign of a belligerent temperament, which was to cause the poet's descendants to take sides in an even more definite fashion; in fact his son Muḥammad was to be a Khāridjī, and his grandson, Ismāʿīl, became notorious as a Shīʿī poet under the name of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*].

The *Dīwān* of Ibn Mufarrigh does not seem to have been assembled, and there remain of his work only about 300 verses scattered in works of *adab*, grammar and lexicography (for he is cited as an authority, particularly on the use of *hādhā* for *al-ladhī*, in fragment xxxi, 1, and on the name of his mule, ʿAdas). The love poems of his youth and the panegyrics of his benefactors are devoid of any originality, but the invectives launched against his enemies on the other hand contain some original expressions which delighted the population of Baṣra, which was hostile to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād; they contain also three hemistichs in Persian, which prove that this language was well known in Baṣra. Finally it should be mentioned that al-Aṣmaʿī is said to have accused him of having invented the biography and the poems attributed to the Tubbaʿ [*q.v.*]; but nothing certain is known about this.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivB, 77 ff.; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 143-4; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 319-24; Ṭabarī, ii, 191-5; *Aghānī*, xvii, 51-73; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Cairo, iv, 244-51; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1949, v, 384-409; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 431-3; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 297-8 = *Udabāʾ*, xx, 43-6; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, in *MFOB*, v/1, 125-7; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 157-61; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, 134 (Fr. tr., 207); Brockelmann, S I, 92; G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 32; idem, *Les premiers poètes persans*, Paris-Tehrān 1964, index; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḥabīb al-Luhā «Nawīd», *Ibn Mufarrigh dar Sīstān*, in *Rev. Fac. Let. de Meched*, i/2 (1966), 47-70; Ch. Pellat, *Le poète Ibn Mufarriġ et son œuvre*, in *Mél. Louis Massignon*, iii, 195-232.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN MUFLIḤ, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Mufliḥ al-Maḳdisī, Ḥanbalī jurisconsult who stands at the head of a large family of jurisconsults, the last of whom died in the first half of the 11th/17th century. Shams al-Dīn married the daughter of the Ḥanbalī *Ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* Djamāl al-Dīn al-Mardāwī (700-769/1300-1367) and, according to his biographers, had seven children from this marriage, both boys and girls. The genealogy which emerges from the biographical sources available to us shows that he had five sons and that the family died out in 1038/1628 (or 1035) with Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, who lived to be 99 years of age and whose son ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 1036/1626, or 1035) died during the lifetime of the father. (For father and son, see Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, Damascus 1339/1921, 101-3).

Shams al-Dīn is one of the most prolific writers of the Ḥanbalī school of his period. His extant works have preserved for us much that has been lost of earlier Ḥanbalī works, notably his *Ādāb sharʿiyya* (3 vols., Cairo 1348/1930) which contains many excerpts of *Kitāb al-Funūn* of Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*], to mention only one important instance. His work on legal methodology, *Kitāb Uṣūl al-fiḳh*, has been preserved in manuscript (Berlin 4399) and his *Kitāb al-Furūʿ* (3 vols., 1339/1921) is one of the most important Ḥanbalī works for the establishment of the true legal doctrine of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. After a life of writing and teaching in Damascus in three Ḥanbalī *madrasas*, al-Djawziyya, al-Ṣāḥibiyya and al-ʿUmariyya, he died in 763/1362.

The similarity of some of the names among the descendants of Shams al-Dīn is liable to lead to confusion, especially as regards those named Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, of whom there are five.

Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who died in 803/1400, is the son of Shams al-Dīn and has the additional *laḳab* of Taḳī al-Dīn. He held the post of *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* and wrote a history of the Ḥanbalī school, *Ṭabaḳāt aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad*, the greater part of which is said to have been destroyed in a fire. This is not the work used extensively by Nuʿaymī in his *Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris*. (On him, see Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 22-3). This Burhān al-Dīn had a grandson (great-grandson of Shams al-Dīn) of the same name, who died in 917/1511 (see *Shadharāt*, viii, 77). A third Burhān al-Dīn was the grandson of Shams al-Dīn and died in 876/1471 (see *Shadharāt*, vii, 321). Another great-grandson of Shams al-Dīn was also a *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* like his ancestor, the first Burhān al-Dīn, and like him he wrote a history of the Ḥanbalī school, entitled *al-Maḳṣad al-arshad fī tardjamat aṣḥāb Aḥmad*, used extensively by Nuʿaymī in his *Dāris* (see *Shadharāt*, vii, 338-9; for Nuʿaymī, see *Bibl.*). The latter's grandson is the last known Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm and died in 969/1561.

One of the last Ibn Mufliḥs, Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad (930-1011/1523-1602), wrote a number of historical tracts dealing with Damascus and Cairo,

including an abridgment of Abū Shāma's *Akhbār al-dawlatayn* (see Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 93-5).

Bibliography: For Shams al-Dīn Ibn Mufliḥ see Brockelmann, I, 107, S II, 129, and the bibliography cited there, to which should be added: Muḥammad Djamīl al-Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, 62-3; Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris*, 2 vols., Damascus 1948-51, index, s.v. On the place of Shams al-Dīn Ibn Mufliḥ in the history of the Ḥanbalī school, see H. Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides*, in *REI*, xxviii (1960), 68-9, and notes 369-70. On the place of the *ṭabaḳāt*-works of the two Burhān al-Dīns in the history of such works by the Ḥanbalīs, see G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle* (PIFD, 1963), 55 ff. (nos. 7 and 8). For additional information on various members of the family, see Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, index, s.v. Mufliḥ. (G. Makdisi)

IBN MUḤRIZ, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Muslim (or Salm, or ʿAbd Allāh) b. Muḥriz, famous musician and singer of Mecca, who lived in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries. A *mawlā* of Persian origin of the ʿAbd al-Dār b. Ḳuṣayy and the son of a *sādin* of the Kaʿba, he was first the pupil of Ibn Misdjaḥ [*q.v.*], and then of ʿAzzat al-Maylāʾ [*q.v.*], going to Medina to receive lessons from her; he then completed his musical education in Persia and Syria, where he studied Greek music. He is said to have later chosen what seemed best to him from these different musical traditions and it is on this eclecticism that his fame rests. He is credited with the invention of the rhythmic mode known as *ramal* [*q.v.*]. He was known as Ṣannādj al-ʿArab (from *ṣandj*, a kind of Persian harp) and is classed immediately after Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*]; he does not, however, seem to have appeared much in public, because of the leprosy with which he was afflicted, and seems to have been content to have his compositions performed by a slave-girl musician. It is probable therefore that he never attended the court at Damascus, although a passage of al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 4) might imply that he was one of the musicians in the entourage of al-Walīd b. Yazīd. The date of his death is unknown, but F. Bustānī puts it at about 140/757.

Bibliography: H. G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 78-9 and index; *Aghānī*, Beirut ed., i, 352-6; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 23. (Ed.)

IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ, Arabic author of Persian origin, one of the first translators into Arabic of literary works of the Indian and Iranian civilizations, and one of the creators of Arabic literary prose. He was born in about 102/720, probably at Djūr, in Fārs (later Fīrūzābād), of a noble Iranian family: his father Dādōe, also known by the Muslim name of al-Mubārak, was a tax-collector under al-Ḥadjdjādj or Khālid al-Ḳasrī; having been put to torture on account of his misappropriations, he was as a result given the surname al-Muḳaffaʿ "the crippled", which passed into the name of his son. The latter was called Rōzbih and, on embracing Islam (which he seems to have done at quite a mature age), he took the name ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ by which he is known to posterity. At first he was secretary to Umayyad governors and officers in Kirmān, where he appears to have amassed a considerable fortune, and on the coming of the ʿAbbāsids he attached himself to the service of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, uncle of al-Manṣūr, whose brother Sulaymān was, under al-Saffāḥ, governor of Baṣra. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ divided the best years of his life between that town and Kūfa, the *miṣrān*[1] of ʿIrāḳ before the founding of Baghdād, frequented the society of men of letters and wits such as Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, Wāliba b. Ḥubāb, Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, Bashshār b. Burd and still others, all persons of loose morals and suspected of *zandaḳa*. His premature and tragic end, which probably occurred in 139/756 or soon after that date, seems, however, to have been brought about not by religious but by political and personal causes. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ is said to have been ordered by his patrons to draft the text of the *amān* which the caliph al-Manṣūr had consented to grant to their brother ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, who had revolted; and the secretary had performed this task with such zeal, hemming in with such binding commitments and such solemn oaths the promise of pardon to the rebel which the caliph himself was to sign, that it aroused the resentment of the suspicious al-Manṣūr. He gave orders for the removal of this presumptuous secretary, and the new governor of Baṣra, Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya al-Muhallabī, who himself had long-standing personal grievances against Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, took this opportunity to exact the most cruel vengeance: Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ was taken to the governor's palace and put to death under appalling torture, his patrons ʿĪsā and Sulaymān protesting in vain to the caliph at the murder of their *mawlā*. It seems that a son of his, Muḥammad, was later one of al-Manṣūr's secretaries, and it is to him that should be attributed the versions (from Greek or Syriac into Arabic) of certain books of logic of Aristotle (or rather of ancient commentaries on these books) traditionally connected with the more famous name of his father.

Though he died at the age of thirty-six, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ left behind him a considerable quantity of translations and original works, only part of which has survived, and even that in a form that is somewhat uncertain. We consider first his version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], the celebrated collection of Indian fables going back to the *Pančatantra* and the *Tantrākhyāyka*, which this writer turned into Arabic from the Pahlavi version made in the time of Chosroes Anōsharwān. Without dwelling on the history of this well-known work, of which the Arabic version of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ is the principal link in its migration to the West, we merely recall that we possess no reliable and authentic text of this version, such as it must have been when fresh from the pen of this its first translator, and it appears to be impossible that it can ever be successfully reconstructed: the earliest manuscripts available (that of Aya Sofya of the 7th/13th century, reproduced by the ʿAzzām edition, and the Syrian of the 8th/14th century, followed by Cheikho), and the quotations by other authors, in fact present us with a tradition so varied and so much re-written, both in regard to the form and even the substance of the work, that there is perhaps not a single page where one may be certain of finding the original version of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ in its entirety. Attempts have been made to discover at least what part was the work of the translator in his treatment of the material, and in the additions and modifications that he may have introduced into the Pahlavi text (of which we can form some idea, thanks to the ancient Syriac version of the 6th century A.D. which has been preserved); it has been claimed that the hand of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ may be seen particularly in the celebrated autobiography of Burzōē (the translator from Sanscrit into Pahlavi) placed at the beginning of the work, with its criticism of religions and its defence of

human reason. A passage from al-Bīrūnī (*India*, 76) indeed leads one to attribute to the Arabic translator the addition of this sceptical chapter, which contrasts with the Indian basis of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (a basis which otherwise is faithfully maintained in the version, and is hardly at all Islamized), confirming the supposition of Nöldeke, who saw in it the hand of our *zindīḳ*; but the same freedom of spirit and the same criticism of the revealed religions has been noticed by P. Kraus in other writings of the period and environment of Chosroes Anōsharwān, such as the *Logic* in Syriac of Paulus Persa, which, while not excluding that Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ may have developed these ideas independently, would reduce the originality of his contribution on this subject. To the translator is also attributed the addition *ex novo* of the chapter on *The trial of Dimna*, the expression of a moral conscience shocked by the cynism of the story of the Lion and the Bull, and perhaps also of the last four chapters of the Arabic text, which are missing from the Syriac version but which incidentally possess features that are quite certainly Indian. To sum up, the translator's own personal share in this his most celebrated work remains somewhat indefinite and requires caution, but this in no way detracts from his unrivalled cultural achievement in having been the first to present this literary jewel from India to Arabo-Islamic civilization, and through it to the Byzantine and Latin West.

If it is difficult to recognize with any certainly the style and spirit of Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ in the Arabic translation of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, it is no less difficult to identify these features in the group of works representing the ancient history, culture and civilization of Iran which he is believed to have similarly translated from Pahlavi into Arabic: we refer to the *Khudāynāma*, the royal chronicle composed under the Sāsānids and gathering together the fabulous and historical traditions of pre-Muslim Iran; the *Āʾin-nāma*, a picture of the institutions, customs and hierarchy of the Court in the same period; and a *Tādjnāma*, the translation of which, as of the other two works, is attributed in the *Fihrist* to Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ, the third work being concerned with the life of Anōsharwān (though the extracts from it which survive are concerned rather with Parwīz). From all these translations only a few fragments have survived, and it is not even entirely certain, although it is very probable, that these are indeed the versions made by Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ. It was primarily Ibn Ḳutayba, in his two works *ᶜUyūn al-akhbār* and *Maᶜārif*, who preserved extracts of varying length from what he calls the *Siyar mulūk al-ᶜAdjam* (that is to say, the *Khudāynāma*), the *Āʾin* and the *Tādj*, without ever expressly mentioning the name of their translator. These passages deal with the dynastic, military and social history of ancient Iran, and recur in almost identical form in other historians such as Eutychius (Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ) and al-Ṭabarī who, together with Ibn Ḳutayba, drew from a common source. This source, in all probability the versions of Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ, thus reveals itself as the principal means of transmission to the Arabs of the epic, history and institutions of Iran which were subsequently to be the subject of many elaborations and developments, all more or less the work of the imagination, in later authors (al-Masᶜūdī, al-Thaᶜālibī, etc.); while the same material passed directly from these ancient works in Pahlavi, through versions in neo-Persian, to Firdawsī's epic. As with the Indian fables of Bidpai, the part taken by Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ in transmitting to Arabo-Islamic culture this ancient Iranian tradition (to which also belong a *Kitāb Mazdak* and the famous letter of Tansar which too is attributed to him) is of the very greatest importance, although the personal and stylistic nature of his contribution is very difficult to evaluate.

A more direct and well-founded verdict on this very celebrated author, whose works of translation, having been revised or lost, seem to conceal his exact physiognomy from us, can, however, be based on certain original writings: the *Adab kabīr* (excluding the *Adab ṣaghīr* which, as Richter and Gabrieli have shown, is merely a pseudepigraphic cento of *ḥikam*, drawn partly from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*) and the *Risāla* or *Kitāb fi 'l-Ṣaḥāba*, the historical importance of which has recently been recognized. The *Adab kabīr* is a treatise offering advice to the prince (and in this sense it is one of the earliest Arabic *Fürstenspiegel*), to the courtier and to the worldly man of fashion, drawing its wisdom from literary sources, of the type of the Iranian *andarz*, but also from direct experience from the author's life. Its morality is entirely practical, its counsels seldom attain a high ethical level and are restricted to the sphere of *savoir vivre*, shrewdness and the exploitation of the human passions for one's own advantage. Pity and religious unction are wholly absent from it, and its view of the world would be more fitting to a man of the Renaissance than to one of the mediaeval Muslim world. While the *Adab kabīr* is free from any reference to a definite historical milieu, the *Risāla fi 'l-Ṣaḥāba* (included by Ibn Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893) in his anthology *Kitāb al-Manthūr wa 'l-manẓūm*) is a topical political pamphlet of the highest importance. Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ here addresses himself to a caliph who is not named but who without doubt is al-Manṣūr, submitting to him a whole series of reflections on certain political religious and social problems arising from his time and milieu, and examined by the writer with a breadth and originality of mind that are very remarkable. The treatment of the military elite of Khurāsānīs and their relations with the caliph, the choice of high officials and courtiers, the position of the ᶜIrāḳīs and Syrians at the start of the ᶜAbbāsid dynasty, juridical and administrative discrepancies —all these give rise to remarks and suggestions that are doubly interesting, both for the writer's own ideas and for the light which his proposals throw on the situation. Particular interest has been aroused, amongst others, by the suggestion of Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ to the caliph that he should undertake a codification of the laws and juridical decrees, thus unifying under his own authority the divergencies between the schools and the different milieus of Muslim society. This subordination of the *sharīᶜa* to the political authority, advocated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ, was not to be realized, and the development of Muslim law followed the opposite path of *idjmāᶜ*, in theory shielded from any intervention by the *sulṭān*, which in practice led to *fiḳh* being fixed, out of touch with living reality. But even so, it is very remarkable that a contrary process should have been envisaged by this isolated voice, whether it be through the personal convictions of Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ, or whether, as has been supposed, he lent his pen to the programmes of others. The fact remains that these proposals so boldly advanced must have impressed themselves on the caliph's attention, and perhaps may even have offended his autocratic susceptibilities. It has even been suggested (Sourdel) that this pamphlet, although conceived and presented in a spirit of profound loyalty, may have contributed to the

disgrace and lamentable end of the writer. However that may be, the *Adab kabīr* and the *Risāla fi 'l-Ṣaḥāba* are the most reliable items of evidence to enable us to form a judgement about the style of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ—a supple and elegant style, although still marked by a certain archaic dryness: these two texts remain among the most fascinating innovations in Arabic prose *adab*, in the classical period, along with the *rasāʾil* of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā and other earlier *kuttāb*.

One highly individual aspect of the spiritual interests of this great writer is, finally, revealed by the fragments (if they are authentic, as we believe) of a religious work, a Manichaean apologia, preserved in the refutation made a century later by the Zaydī *imām* al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm, in a treatise published by M. Guidi. We were already familiar with the charges brought against Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ of having attempted to make an "imitation" of the sacred Book of Islam: the work refuted by al-Ḳāsim appears rather, in our view, to be an attack on Muḥammad, the Ḳurʾān and Islam in the name of another faith, namely the Manichaean faith which several of the friends of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ had adopted and of which the writer himself was suspected. The cosmogony and mythology of the religion of Mani were indeed expatiated upon in this work, but what above all is characteristic of it is the rationalistic criticism of fideism in general, such as emerges in one of the longer passages quoted by al-Ḳāsim (26-7 of the text) and presents a striking analogy with certain passages from the autobiography of Burzōē in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. The contradiction between this rationalism and adherence to the Manichaean faith can be resolved by regarding the rational and philosophical basis of the latter, beneath its colourful mythology, as a powerful gnostic effort to provide a satisfactory solution to the mystery of the human condition and the universe. Yet we are aware of the problems that remain unanswered in this respect, in view of the obscurity that cloaks the spiritual evolution of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, the uncertain chronology of his writings, and even the authenticity of certain of them.

Although surrounded by these various reservations necessitated by the state of our knowledge, the figure of this writer appears before us as one of the most brilliant at the opening of the classical age of Arabic literature. Himself of non-Arab blood, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ must have profoundly appreciated the cultural values of the Iranian civilization from which he sprang, and have endeavoured to make them known to the Arab world which had conquered his native land and relegated the religion of his fathers to a subsidiary position. In this sense, he can be regarded as a precursor of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], although no polemical writing of his has survived on the subject of the superiority of the *shuʿūb*, or, more specifically, of the Iranians and Indians, over the Arabs. He did in fact demonstrate this superiority, by revealing to the Arabs the treasures of India and Persia, and by himself following a refined and cultivated way of life (as several anecdotes relate), which incidentally characterized the whole new pro-Iranian élite of the early ʿAbbāsid period. But what sets him apart from the real Shuʿūbiyya is his love for the conquerors' language, which the Shuʿūbiyya themselves used in their anti-Arab polemics, but without making any impassioned study of it and without achieving the mastery over it that this *mawlā* from Fārs displayed so successfully. His works, both as translator and original writer, soon became classic in the great ʿAbbāsid civilization and, by their form as well as their subject-matter, exerted an influence that cannot be exaggerated on the cultural interests and ideals of the succeeding generations. Today, it is even possible to speak of an Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ myth which has dominated the renaissance of neo-Arabic literature. Even when stripped of this myth, the figure of this Persian, the master and almost the Demiurge of the language of the Ḳurʾān on the eve of its most astonishing flowering, retains a position of the very highest eminence in the literary history of Arabism.

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IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ, SEVERUS (SĀWĪRIS), his name before he became a monk being Abu ('l-)Bishr. It is not known why he was called Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ ("son of the cripple"). He gave up his occupation as a clerk (*kātib*), which for a Copt was an important step towards promotion in a career in the administration, in order to become a monk. No biography of him exists. It is however known that he was appointed by the patriarch Anbā Maḳḳāra (932-52 A.D.) to be bishop of Ashmunayn, most probably before he had reached his fiftieth year (the age

legally fixed in the Coptic church for promotion to a bishopric), since he was outstanding in wisdom and merit and in his life and his deeds. From his own works it can be deduced that he lived for 80 years, which would mean that he was a bishop for about 30 years and that he died during the patriarchate of Philotheus (979-1003 A.D.).

In addition to his native Coptic, Severus also knew Greek, and he was the first Copt to adopt the Arabic language in ecclesiastical literature, as Coptic was gradually superseded by Arabic as the official language of Egypt. His literary activities promoted the religious education of the people: the exposition of the Bible, of everyday morality and of the liturgy. He commented on the special practices of the Copts, and condemned them if they were contrary to the true faith. Severus holds an important place as defender of his church and its teachings. This is to be attributed not only to his tracts and polemical treatises, but still more to his confrontations with Christians of other denominations, and with Muslims and Jews. There is a tradition that he was chosen by the patriarch Aphrām to attend an audience with the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muᶜizz, in order to debate in his presence on questions of dogma with a clever Jew, Moses, who was a friend of the vizier Ibn Killis [*q.v.*] (on this episode, see *BSOAS*, xxx/1 (1967), 180, and MŪSĀ B. ALᶜĀZĀR). On many other occasions Severus, on the orders of the caliph al-Muᶜizz, held discussions on religious questions with Muslim scholars. Especially worthy of mention is the controversy between the Syrian bishop Yuʾannis b. al-Shammāᶜ and the caliph al-Muᶜizz himself, in the presence of the bishop of Ashmunayn. Severus defended his beliefs also against the Nestorians, in particular against Elias (Iliya) ᶜAlī b. ᶜUbayd, bishop of Damascus. In 955 he repudiated the polemical arguments raised by the Melkite Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīk (Eutychius) in his history.

The Copts were not unaffected by the great spiritual and religious currents of Islam. From a reference to a lost work of Severus it is known that in one of his books, in a chapter on the attributes of God, he opposed the view ascribed to the Jews and the Muslim Muᶜtazilīs concerning the material reality of the Word of God.

Severus's theological treatises were known outside Egypt. Graf refers to an examination and commentary by the Nestorian bishop of Nisibis (Naṣībīn) Īliyā b. Shīnā (975-1045 A.D.) on the ideas of Cyrillus, Severus b. al-Mukaffaᶜ and Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīk.

Severus is best known however for his history of the patriarchs (*Siyar al-bayᶜa al-mukaddasa*), a chronicle which bears his name. During eight years he collected in the monasteries of Wādī al-Naṭrūn and Upper Egypt and in the town of Alexandria (as well as from material in private hands) information about former patriarchs, which was to be found written partly in Greek but mainly in Coptic. It may be presumed that Severus collected the necessary material for the biographies of the patriarchs, beginning with Saint Mark and going up to the fifty-fifth occupant of the see of Alexandria, the patriarch Shenute (859-80 A.D.), without however reducing the work to a unified whole and giving it a formal conclusion. Various Coptic writers occupied themselves with the continuation of the book, taking the biographies up to the patriarch Cyrillus b. Laklak (1236-41). There follow a few brief statements taken from manuscripts concerning the patriarchs up to the 9th/15th century; this material however is already known from various other works, such as those of Abu 'l-Barakāt and of al-Makrīzī [*qq.v.*]. Severus's History of the Patriarchs is an indispensable source for the history of Egypt, of the Egyptian national church, of the Abyssinian church and of Christianity in Nubia. This chronicle also adds many details and precise data to the source material for the political, social and economic history of Egypt. Some sections of the book have been many times published or used (*e.g.*, by Renaudot, Seybold, and Evett). The latest and most careful edition of the book, with English translation, is being undertaken by A. S. Atiya, Jassa ᶜAbd al-Masīḥ and O. H. E. Burmester.

Severus's works consist of 20 or 26 titles, which are listed by Brockelmann and, in more detail, by Graf, see *Bibl.*; it should however be noted that neither was able to take account of all the manuscripts existing in Egypt.

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IBN MUKARRAM [see IBN MANẒŪR].

IBN MUKLA, ABŪ ᶜALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜALĪ, vizier of the ᶜAbbāsid period. Born in Baghdād in 272/885-6, he began his career as a collector of land-taxes in Fārs, then was given an important post as secretary in the central administration when Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] became vizier in 296/908; he was in fact in charge of the opening and the despatch of official letters. He also collaborated closely with Ibn al-Furāt during the latter's second vizierate (from 304/917 to 306/919), but had no compunction about working against the interests of his master, which explains why he did not re-appear among the administrative staff during Ibn al-Furāt's third vizierate. However ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā [*q.v.*], during his second vizierate (305-16/917-28), appointed him to take charge of the *dīwān* of public estates. It was then that, having succeeded in attaching himself to the chamberlain Naṣr and in gaining his good opinion, he managed in 316/928 to get himself appointed to the vizierate, which he retained until 318/930. Although he was capable of dealing well enough with the financial difficulties which arose at this time, he was nevertheless unable to put an end to the rivalries between military leaders, and his vizierate saw the abortive palace revolution of 317/929, in the course of which al-Muktadir was temporarily replaced by his brother. Ibn Mukla continued as vizier, but was obliged to act on the advice of ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā, who was moreover put specially in charge of the jurisdiction of the *maẓālim* court, and his inability to free himself from the tutelage of the commander-in-chief Muʾnis led to his fall.

Ibn Mukla was re-appointed to the vizierate by al-Kāhir and was in charge of the government again for about six months (320-1/932-3). But the situation was very unsettled, and he encountered the opposition of the caliph; his intrigues, aimed at deposing al-Kāhir, failed, and he was obliged to flee. Some months later however, he succeeded in getting the caliph imprisoned and deposed; this was his third vizierate, which lasted from 322/934 to 324/936 during the reign of the new caliph al-Rāḍī. In spite of his cunning, the vizier did not succeed in imposing his authority on the Ḥamdānid *amīrs* of al-Mawṣil, or on the governor of Wāsiṭ, Ibn Rāʾiḳ, and was unable to arrest the economic and financial crisis. His disgrace really marked the end of the independent

rule of the caliphs: some months afterwards there was appointed the first *amīr al-umarā'* [*q.v.*]. Ibn Muḳla's efforts had produced no result, unless it was in the field of religion, where he gave effective support to the Sunnī reaction which took place after the end of the caliphate of al-Muḳtadir.

When Ibn Rā'iḳ was appointed as *amīr al-umarā'*, Ibn Muḳla's possessions had been confiscated, together with those of his son, who had worked efficiently as his assistant during his second vizierate. As a protest, he intrigued against the new *amīr al-umarā'* to such an extent that the caliph had him imprisoned and Ibn Rā'iḳ had his right hand cut off. Some time later, when the *amīr* Badjkam was approaching Baghdād, Ibn Muḳla's tongue was cut out, and he died, neglected, in prison on 10 Shawwāl 328/20 July 940.

In addition to his political activities, Ibn Muḳla was a famous calligrapher. There is attributed to him, or to his brother, the invention of a special kind of writing, the "proportioned script" (*al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb*), which was later improved by Ibn al-Bawwāb [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā, the Good Vizier*, index; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ ed., i, 492; tr. de Slane, iii, 266-71; D. S. Rice, *The unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript*, Dublin 1955, 5.

(D. Sourdel)

IBN MULDJAM, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Murādī, murderer of the caliph ʿAlī in 40/661. Three Khāridjīs, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muldjam, considered as belonging to Kinda, al-Burak b. ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAmr b. Bakr al-Tamīmī, having met at Mecca, had long discussions, after the end of the Pilgrimage ceremonies, on the deplorable situation into which the Muslims had fallen because of ʿAlī, Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, whom they regarded as being in error; spurred by an ardent desire to avenge their companions massacred at al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*], they swore an oath to kill these three persons. Each of them having chosen his future victim and agreed on the same day (17 Ramaḍān) on which to act, they went to Kūfa, Damascus and Egypt respectively. At Kūfa, Ibn Muldjam mixed with his fellow tribesmen of Kinda, but took care not to let them know of his plan for fear that his secret might become known. One day he met some members of the tribe of Taym al-Ribāb (who were mourning the ten of their members who had been killed at al-Nahrawān) and in particular a woman, Ḳaṭāmi bint al-Shidjna. Impressed by her great beauty, he asked for her hand in marriage; she accepted, but on condition that his wedding gift should consist of three thousand *dirhams*, a slave, a woman servant and the murder of ʿAlī; she had lost her father and brother at al-Nahrawān and wished for vengeance; she therefore not only persisted in her request, but herself helped in the accomplishment of the murder by arranging for one of her tribe, Wardān, to help Ibn Muldjam; on his side the latter persuaded a man of the Banū Ashdjaʿ, named Shabīb b. Badjara, to take part in his enterprise. The night before the attempt, Ḳaṭāmi received a visit from the conspirators in a tent inside the Great Mosque, where she had retreated to perform her devotions, and bound their chests with a silken band (a strange detail for which no explanation has been found). Armed with swords dipped in poison, the three men stationed themselves before dawn opposite the door from which ʿAlī would come out in order to perform the morning prayer in the Great Mosque. As soon as the caliph appeared, Shabīb attacked him, but, his sword having hit the jamb or the architrave of the door and missed its target, he fled and was lost among the crowd. Wardān also slipped away, but, returning to his house, he was killed there by a cousin who had become suspicious on seeing him untie his silken band. Thus it was Ibn Muldjam only who, with the words "Judgement belongs to God, O ʿAlī, and not to thee and thy companions", succeeded in wounding ʿAlī on the crown of his head, after which he attempted to flee, but was soon thrown to the ground by a Hamdānī, Abū Admā'. Led into the presence of ʿAlī, who had meanwhile returned to his house, he declared that he had been sharpening his sword for forty days and had asked God to kill the most evil of men. ʿAlī replied that he saw Ibn Muldjam himself being killed with this sword and that he judged him to be the most evil of men.

The details given so far are a summary of the traditions related by al-Ṭabarī; in the other sources are found other details and variants from which interesting observations may be made.

The conspiracy and the names of the conspirators. According to the *Istīʿāb* (481) only, the plan to kill ʿAlī was conceived by a Khāridjī survivor of al-Nahrawān. Some verses by the poet al-Nadjāshī (al-Balādhurī, 585v.) praise Muʿāwiya for inciting Ibn Muldjam to commit this crime. The murderer of ʿAlī, known under the patronymic of Ibn Muldjam, was in fact called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Muldjam (al-Ṭabarī, 3468; al-Balādhurī, 576v; Ibn Kathīr, 325); several *nisba*s are attributed to him: al-Ḥimyarī, al-Murādī, and al-Kindī since he was a connexion (*ḥalīf*) of the Banū Djabala of Kinda (Ibn Saʿd, 23; al-Balādhurī, 577v; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 36) or perhaps of the Banū Ḥanīfa of Kinda (Ibn Kathīr, 325), and even al-Miṣrī (Ibn Kathīr only, *ibid.*); al-Masʿūdī (426) adds al-Tudjībī (the Tudjīb being a clan of Murād), a *nisba* which the *Istīʿāb* (481, followed by Ibn Shahrāshūb, 93) transforms into al-Tadjūbī, explaining that Tadjūb were a branch of Ḥimyar which had been absorbed by Murād; this source adds a further *nisba*: al-Sakūnī. Al-Burak was a nickname: the real name of the conspirator who offered to kill Muʿāwiya was al-Ḥadjdjādj b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh, or b. Bakr (according to al-Balādhurī, 576v and 577v) and his *nisba*s were al-Ṣarīmī (al-Balādhurī, 577v; al-Mubarrad, 544, 549, 552; al-Masʿūdī, 427), al-Tamīmī al-Ṣarīmī (Ibn Kathīr, 325); al-Dīnawarī (227) alone refers to this conspirator by the name of al-Nazzāl b. ʿĀmir. The third conspirator, the one who wished to kill ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, according to Ibn Saʿd (23) was the son of Bukayr (instead of Bakr) and, according to the *Usd* (36), he was called ʿUmar b. Bukayr; his second *nisba* was al-Saʿdī. According to other sources he was a Persian, since they refer to him as Zādawayh or Zādhawayh (al-Mubarrad, 553; al-Balādhurī, 576v, to "Dhādhawayh" adds ʿAmr), a *mawlā* of the Banu 'l-ʿAnbar b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm (al-Balādhurī, 578 r-v, specifies: *mawlā* of the Banū Ḥāritha b. Kaʿb Ibn al-ʿAnbar); al-Dīnawarī differs from all the other sources in calling him ʿAbd Allāh Mālik al-Ṣaydāwī. A tradition of al-Madā'inī widespread among the Khāridjīs (al-Balādhurī, fol. 584v), but which is certainly false (al-Mubarrad, 549), states that all three of the conspirators were sons of Muldjam and were called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Ḳays and Yazīd, that their father Muldjam had forbidden them to commit the crime, but that their mother had encouraged them to do it. The conclusion to be drawn from all these variants

is that in general the differences are very slight and may often be explained as variant readings in Arabic; there may therefore be recognized the existence of a fairly precise historical tradition with regard to these fanatics.

ʿAlī's foreknowledge of his fate. ʿAlī had known for a long time that he would be killed, since the Prophet had told him this, or he had himself had a premonition of it (Ibn Saʿd, 22; al-Balādhurī, 582r). Several authors, on the basis of numerous traditions, state that Muḥammad (or ʿAlī) had revealed that the latter's beard would be stained with blood flowing from his head (Ibn Saʿd, 21, 22, 23; al-Balādhurī, 582 r and v; al-Mubarrad, 544, 579f.; al-Masʿūdī, 440; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil*, 31; Ibn Shahrāshūb, 93, etc.). Another tradition with several variants explains that, according to Muḥammad, the most evil man among the ancients was he who had killed the camel of the prophet Ṣāliḥ (cf. Ḳurʾān, XCI, 11-12 and XXVI, 155-7) and among his contemporaries, he who would kill ʿAlī; in general it is the latter who speaks of the "most evil of men" (Ibn Saʿd, 22, 23 etc.). The characteristic themes of these two types of traditions (the blood-stained beard and the most evil of men) are sometimes fused into one single account (*e.g.*, Ibn Saʿd, 21; al-Mufīd, 13; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, 42). The night preceding the attempt, ʿAlī declared that his destiny was about to be fulfilled, and when he left his house in the morning, geese followed him, cackling; he then said that they were the weepers for his funeral (al-Masʿūdī, 431; al-Yaʿḳūbī, 252; al-Mufīd, 15). It is chiefly the Shīʿī authors who stress the fact that ʿAlī knew of his approaching fate but did not wish to send another Muslim to lead the prayer at the mosque as he was advised to do, and that he finally went to meet his destiny reciting verses on how death is not to be feared (al-Mufīd, 15; Ibn Shahrāshūb, 93).

He was able to predict even more: he guessed Ibn Muldjam's attitude to him and knew in advance that he would be his murderer (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 251; al-Mufīd, 13) or "the most evil of men"; twice or thrice he repulsed Ibn Muldjam, who wished to pay him homage on the occasion of his accession to the caliphate (Ibn Saʿd, 22; al-Balādhurī, 582r; *Maḳātil*, 31; al-Mufīd, 13); he and his son Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya shuddered one day when Ibn Muldjam entered the *ḥammām* where they happened to be (Ibn Saʿd, 23; al-Balādhurī, 582v; *Usd*, 35); he complained in a poem that the Murādī planned to kill him, whereas he wished to give him gifts (Ibn Saʿd, 22; al-Balādhurī, 583v; *Maḳātil*, 31) and indeed did so (*Istīʿāb*, 481). Thus relations between ʿAlī and Ibn Muldjam were strained; nevertheless the caliph took no measures against his enemy (Ibn Saʿd, 22: "Would you kill one who has not yet killed me?"), not even when he was warned of the plot by a member of the Murād (Ibn Saʿd, 22) or by someone who had heard a reference to it from Ibn Muldjam himself (al-Balādhurī, 579v; al-Ṭabarī, 3459-60; al-Mubarrad, 549, 552; cf. al-Dīnawarī, 228); he merely replied that every man was guarded by two angels until the moment of his death, which was decided by destiny (al-Balādhurī, 582r.).

Ḳaṭāmi. Given the number of sources which mention her, there seems no doubt of the existence of this woman and her belonging to the Taym al-Ribāb; the variants concern mainly the name of her father and some secondary details. Instead of al-Shidjna (or Shidjna, as in Ibn Saʿd, 23, and in a tradition collected by al-Balādhurī, 578r), we find ʿAlḳama in al-Balādhurī (576 v) and al-Mubarrad (549; to be read perhaps ʿUllafa, since Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 114 f., states that she is the sister of Hilāl and al-Mustawrid, the future Khāridjī rebels); or al-Akhḍar (but according to al-Balādhurī, 578r, al-Akhḍar was her brother who was killed at al-Nahrawān) b. Shidjna in the *Maḳātil* (32), in al-Mufīd (16), Ibn Shahrāshūb (94); or Sabkha (*sic*) b. ʿAlī b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAwf b. Thaʿlaba b. Saʿd b. Dhahl b. Taym al-Ribāb (*Usd*, 36; Ibn Saʿd, 23: ʿAdī instead of ʿAlī). Only al-Masʿūdī (427) states that Ḳaṭāmi was a cousin of Ibn Muldjam and does not mention her belonging to Taym al-Ribāb. The *Istīʿāb* (482) states that her tribe was that of the Banū ʿIdjl b. Lakhīm. Her brother had been killed at al-Nahrawān (al-Balādhurī, 576v; *Imāma*, 254), and this brother was called al-Aṣbagh (Ibn Shahrāshūb, 94). Ibn Muldjam married her and, as he was neglecting his plan, it was she who encouraged him to carry it out (al-Balādhurī, 576v; *Imāma*, 254; al-Mubarrad, 549; Ibn Kathīr, 326, 328). In Ibn Kathīr (328) there is a variant not found elsewhere: Ḳaṭāmi went with Ibn Muldjam to the mosque and put up a tent for him there. The Shīʿīs, who have to find an explanation for the crime committed against ʿAlī, relate that Ḳaṭāmi prepared special food (drugged?) for the conspirators and that Wardān received a sum of money from an agent of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn Shahrāshūb, 95).

Al-Ashʿath b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] and the conspiracy. Several sources imply that this man was aware of the plot; Ibn Muldjam is said to have spent the preceding night in consultation with him in a corner of the Great Mosque; when dawn approached, he spoke to Ibn Muldjam a phrase which Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] interpreted as an allusion to a plot; he then intended to warn the caliph, but he arrived too late. The majority of the sources give the ambiguous phrase "The dawn has risen for thee" but the Shīʿī authors or those of Shīʿī sympathies give it as a clear encouragement to Ibn Muldjam: "Deliverance, deliverance! The dawn has risen for thee" (*Maḳātil*, 33; al-Mufīd, 17; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, 43). Variants are that the conversation between Ibn Muldjam and al-Ashʿath took place in the mosque of the latter (Ibn Saʿd, 24; *Usd*, 37), or in his house, and Ḥudjr accused al-Ashʿath: "It is thou who hast killed him" after the murder (al-Balādhurī, 579r; al-Mubarrad, 581); Ibn Muldjam stayed for a month with al-Ashʿath sharpening his sword (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 251). Al-Masʿūdī (431) differs from the other authors; according to him, Ibn al-Ashʿath was informed of the plot, but he put the blame for it on Ibn Muldjam. According to another version (al-Mubarrad, 550), he warned ʿAlī, who replied that Ibn Muldjam had not killed him yet. There is thus a whole range of information which varies from outright accusation to a suspicion of complicity and even to an act of loyalty.

Details on the murder. Names of Ibn Muldjam's accomplices and their fates. Instead of 17 Ramaḍān, various dates are given as that fixed for the murder of ʿAlī: *Imāma* (254 f.) gives 20 Ramaḍān, al-Mubarrad (549) 21 Ramaḍān, al-Masʿūdī (427) 17 or 21, the *Maḳātil* (33) 19 or 17 (cf. also al-Balādhurī, 578 v), but according to al-Mufīd (16) the latter date is to be preferred. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd (43) adds that, since the conspirators believed that their deed was an offering to God and that God prefers an offering made at a time which is blessed, the 19 was chosen (the night of the 19th being that of *al-ḳadar* [see RAMAḌĀN]). Furthermore,

the day of ʿAlī's death is not precisely known either, varying between 11 and 21 Ramaḍān (see Caetani, §§ 97-8). He died two or three days after the attack (al-Mubarrad, 551, etc.). S͟habīb was the son of Nad̲j̲da (instead of Bad̲j̲ara) and his *nisbas* were al-As͟hd̲j̲āʿī al-Ḥarūrī (al-Masʿūdī, 428; Ibn Kat͟hīr, 326). One tradition states that it was Ibn Bad̲j̲ara who wounded ʿAlī, but this is false (al-Balād͟hurī, 584r); in fact his sword missed its mark, after which he fled. It was only later that the governor al-Mug͟hīra [*q.v.*] arrested him and killed him, because he had become a seditious element operating in the district of Kūfa; he terrorized people, questioning them about their religious opinions in the manner of the Azraḳīs (al-Balād͟hurī, 579 r). Wardān was the son of Mud̲j̲ālid (*Maḳātil*, 32; al-Mufīd, 16; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, 43); according to al-Masʿūdī (427), he was called Mud̲j̲ās͟hiʿ b. Wardān. Al-Dīnawarī mentions neither S͟habīb nor Wardān. Al-Balād͟hurī relates a tradition in which Wardān is not mentioned (578 v) and another in which he is mentioned, together with the episode of the cousin who killed him (579 r). According to some sources (al-Masʿūdī, 433; *Maḳātil*, 35 and the S͟hīʿī authors who in general follow it: al-Mufīd, 17, etc.), it was S͟habīb and not Wardān who, returning home, was killed by a cousin or a brother, whereas Wardān escaped. There are divergent versions on the question of who seized Ibn Muld̲j̲am after the attempt: according to al-Mubarrad (549, 550 and cf. al-Balād͟hurī, 579 r, al-Masʿūdī, 431, *Maḳātil*, 35, etc.), it was al-Mug͟hīra b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārit͟h b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (and not the Ḥaḍramawtī Abū Admāʾ) and, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī (252), Ḳut͟ham b. al-ʿAbbās; Ibn Muld̲j̲am is said then to have shouted: "O ʿAlī, deliver me from thy dog!".

The punishment of Ibn Muld̲j̲am. The sources describe ʿAlī as always scrupulous in the application of the holy law, and, in the case of Ibn Muld̲j̲am, they are more or less unanimous in insisting on the fact that he ordered the strict observance of the *lex talionis*; nevertheless, some of them are at pains to stress his magnanimity. The different versions are: (1) ʿAlī commanded his followers to wait and see the effect of the wound before punishing Ibn Muld̲j̲am; if he survived he himself would decide his fate (al-Ṭabarī, 3464; *Maḳātil*, 35 f.; al-Mufīd, 18; Ibn Kat͟hīr, 327; al-Mufīd gives also another decision of ʿAlī: Ibn Muld̲j̲am was to be treated as the murderer of a prophet: he was to be killed and then his body burned); (2) ʿAlī advised al-Ḥasan not to expose any criminal to public ridicule and counselled the Banu 'l-Muṭṭalib not to shed Muslim blood because of his murder; the murderer was to be killed in the same manner as he had killed ʿAlī (al-Ṭabarī, 3464); (3) according to al-Mubarrad (551), ʿAlī stated that the best thing would be to pardon him; (4) ʿAlī commanded that Ibn Muld̲j̲am be given good meals and a good bed (Ibn Saʿd, 24); if he, ʿAlī, died of his wound, Ibn Muld̲j̲am was to join him immediately in the next world, since he wished to be his accuser before God (Ibn Saʿd, 23; al-Balād͟hurī, 580r, 582v-583r). Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī (i, 119) and others (*e.g.*, *Usd*, 35) add that ʿAlī recommended that the punishment should not be excessive. Umm Kult͟hūm, the daughter of ʿAlī, plays a certain role after the murder: she quarrelled with Ibn Muld̲j̲am; for example, she reproached him for having killed the Commander of the Faithful and Ibn Muld̲j̲am replied: "No, thy father!" (al-Balād͟hurī, 580r, 583v; al-Mubarrad, 551; *Maḳātil*, 36; al-Mufīd 18; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, 44, etc.). After the discussion with ʿAlī, Ibn Muld̲j̲am was taken to prison; the people followed him, biting him like wild beasts and heaping reproaches on him; he did not reply (*Maḳātil*, 36 f.; al-Mufīd, 18; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd on the other hand reports the verses which he recited, on leaving ʿAlī, boasting of his action). The accounts of Ibn Muld̲j̲am's death, which according to al-Mubarrad (551) were fairly numerous, may in fact be reduced to two: Ibn Muld̲j̲am proposed to al-Ḥasan that when he became caliph he should set him free to go to Syria and there kill Muʿāwiya, if his accomplice had not already done so, then to return and give himself up to the caliph. Al-Ḥasan refused and killed Ibn Muld̲j̲am; the corpse was burned (in al-Ṭabarī, 3464, a brief account; in the *Maḳātil*, 41, with more details; see also al-Mufīd, 18; Ibn Kat͟hīr, 330; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, 46; Yaʿḳūbī, 254, states that al-Ḥasan killed Ibn Muld̲j̲am with his own hand; cf. also al-Balād͟hurī, 584r). The second version is that al-Ḥusayn, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh b. D̲j̲aʿfar [*q.v.*] asked al-Ḥasan for permission to take their revenge and, having obtained it, it was this ʿAbd Allād, the nephew of ʿAlī, who subjected Ibn Muld̲j̲am to a series of mutilations and tortures. The unfortunate Ibn Muld̲j̲am bore these sufferings with great courage and only complained when they prepared to cut out his tongue because, though remaining still alive, he would no longer be able to mention God (Ibn Saʿd, 26; al-Dīnawarī, 229; al-Mubarrad, 551 f.; al-Masʿūdī, 434 f.; *Usd*, 37 f.; Ibn Kat͟hīr, 330, doubts the authenticity of the information on the torture, evidently because it contradicts the recommendations given by ʿAlī). None of the sources casts doubt on Ibn Muld̲j̲am's religious fervour; on the contrary, those which describe his physical aspect do not omit to add that his forehead showed the marks of frequent prostrations for prayer (*e.g.* al-Balād͟hurī, 583v; Ibn Kat͟hīr, 326, etc.).

Verses inserted in the narrative. These verses are sometimes anonymous, sometimes attributed to Ibn Muld̲j̲am, and sometimes to well-known poets. They appear in the sources with variants and additions and even different attributions. There should be noted those of the K͟hārid̲j̲ī Ibn Abī Mayyās which praise the murder of ʿAlī and Ḳaṭāmi's request for the wedding gift, and those of the poet ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān, also a K͟hārid̲j̲ī. The latter have been altered by other poets in order to change praise for the crime into blame and curses (al-Mubarrad, 531 f.). A long poem by Bakr b. Ḥassād al-Bāhirī (Ibn al-At͟hīr, 332 f.; Bakr b. Ḥammād al-Ḳāhirī, according to the *Istīʿāb*, 484) condemns Ibn Muld̲j̲am's deed.

The attempts on the lives of Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. The other conspirators kept their word, but one of them succeeded only in wounding Muʿāwiya, and the other killed in error, instead of the governor of Egypt, one of his officials. Without entering into details, we mention here the opinion of Caetani (*Annali*, 40 A.H., § 96; cf. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife Omaiyade Moʿāwiya Ier*, Beirut 1906-8, 140-2) on the triple attempt by the K͟hārid̲j̲īs: he considers that this is a legend created by tradition to prevent people thinking that, in the opinion of contemporary observers, ʿAlī was the worst of the Muslim leaders, and to suggest that Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ also deserved to be killed; thus there were grouped together several independent incidents which occurred at different dates. It may be objected to this idea, while retaining Caetani's line of argument, that the authors of the

crime were merely some fanatical Khāridjīs and that the traditionists were eventually interested in presenting the Khāridjīs as persons to be despised for their "opinion" concerning one as worthy of admiration as ʿAlī, and thus not to diminish their culpability in making Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr their victims as well. It may moreover be observed that a conspiracy like that of the three Khāridjīs should not be considered absurd, and, although they did not carry out their attempts on the same day, it is possible that when they met at Mecca they fixed the date for them, at least approximately, realizing that if they did not rid the Muslims of all three persons simultaneously, they would open the way for the ambitions of the one, or ones, who survived and who would be masters of the situation—as did in fact happen with Muʿāwiya after the death of ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3456-61, 3464 f., 3466 f.; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii/1, 21-4, 26 f.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS Paris, fol. 576r-v, 577v-580r, 582r-584r (attacks on Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ: 577r, 577v-578r); [Ps.-]Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, ed. Muḥ. Maḥmūd al-Rāfiʿī, Cairo 1322/1904, i, 253-7 (this source adds nothing of importance); Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 227-30 (not very precise information); Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Houtsma, ii, 251-2, 254; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 531 f., 549-52, 581 (attacks on Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr: 552 f.); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 426-31, 434 f., 438 (attacks on Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr: 436-8); Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Ṣakr, Cairo 1368/1949, 29-38, 41; al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, Nadjaf 1382/1962, 12-8; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318-9, 481-4, no. 2015; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat Ibn ʿAbdūn*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1846, 161 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 326-8, 329, 331 (attacks on Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr: 330 f.); idem, *Usd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1280-6, iv, 34-8 (this source is based on Ibn Saʿd); Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1329, ii, 42-4, 45-6 (this author follows mainly the *Maḳātil*); Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 325-30; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, i, 119-20 (follows Ibn Saʿd); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, vii, 334-9; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Ḥaydarābād 1312-4, vi, 153, 157, 398, 410-3 (*ḥadīths* on ʿAlī's foreknowledge); Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, Cairo 1302, ii, 312-5; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, iii/3 (Damascus², 1366/1947), 56-65 (this author has taken his notices from Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, the *Maḳātil*, Mufīd and the *Istīʿāb* and notes the divergences, but without quotations); L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Milan 1905-26, 40 A.H., §§ 32-98 (§§ 34, 35, 45, 63, and 94 contain quotations from secondary sources); G. Levi Della Vida, *Il califfato di Ali secondo il* Kitāb al-Ašrāf *di al-Balādhurī*, in *RSO*, vi/2 (1913), 503-7; F. Buhl, *ʿAlī som Praetendent og Kalif*, Copenhagen 1921, 92-6.

(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

IBN MUNĀDHIR, MUḤAMMAD, satirical poet, a native of ʿAdan, who went to Baṣra for his education, settled there and posed as a *mawlā* of the Banū Ṣubayr b. Yarbūʿ (Tamīm). He spent a devout and studious youth, following the courses of the best teachers of Baṣra, from whom he learnt grammar, Ḳurʾānic "readings", lexicography, *ḥadīth*, etc., but on the death of his friend ʿAbd al-Madjīd b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaḳafī (for whom he wrote a much-admired funeral oration), his attitude changed completely; applying their point of doctrine concerning the *taghyīr al-munkar*, the Muʿtazilīs were obliged to forbid him entry to the mosque, into which he threw scorpions and put ink in the water reserved for ablutions. His invectives against the philologists, the fundamental spitefulness which led him to attack the honour of his fellow-citizens, and his impious conduct caused him to be accused of *zandaḳa* and expelled from Baṣra; he took refuge in Mecca, where he died in poverty, probably in 198/813.

The praises which he addressed to al-Mahdī and to Hārūn al-Rashīd earned him some rewards, but his panegyrics of the Barmakids brought him severe reproaches after they fell into disgrace. According to Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*q.v.*], his poetry was of little value, while Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*] admitted that he had a certain talent for funeral orations, but his success was chiefly in satire, thanks to his lively and malicious wit. He attempted to imitate ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*] and, on his own admission, wrote very slowly.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, *Ḥayawān*, *Bukhalāʾ*, indexes; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 553-5; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 63, 246, iii, 138; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 49-53; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 747 ff.; *Aghānī*, xvii, 9-30 (Beirut ed., xviii, 103-42); Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, ed. Ṣāwī, 32-3; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, vii, 433; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 295-6; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, index; ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 390-3, vi, 488; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 55-60; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, i, 249-50; idem, *Bughya*, 107; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, ii; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 134; G. Vajda, *Zindiqs*, 215; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 169 and index. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-MUNDHIR, ABŪ BAKR B. BADR, with the by-name AL-BAYṬĀR AL-NĀṢIRĪ, was grand master and chief veterinary surgeon of the stables of the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt al-Nāṣir, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (who ruled in 693/1294, from 698/1299 to 708/1309-10 and from 709/1310 to 741/1341). It was at this ruler's request that Ibn al-Mundhir wrote, in about 740/1339-40, his treatise on hippology entitled *Kāshif hamm al-wayl fī maʿrifat amrāḍ al-khayl*, a compilation from earlier sources and in particular from the *Kāmil al-ṣināʿatayn* (*al-bayṭara wa 'l-zarṭafa*) of a certain Ibn Akhī Ḥizām or Ibn Abī Khazzām of the 3rd/9th or 4th/10th century; the copyists very soon gave the second title to the work of the Mamlūk veterinary surgeon. It is found also called, more simply, *Kitāb al-Nāṣirī* (MSS Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2813-14 and Vienna, Flügel 1481). A. Perron published a translation of this treatise, in three volumes, with a detailed introduction, under the title *Le Nâcéri: la perfection des deux arts ou traité complet d'hippologie et d'hippiatrie arabes, trad. de l'arabe d'Abou Bekr Ibn Bedr.* The first volume, which appeared in 1852, contains as an introduction much information on the Arab horse and the breeding of horses [see FARAS and FURŪSIYYA], stressing the special efforts made by the sultan al-Nāṣir to develop stud farms in Egypt; it contains in addition a large collection of verses selected from the abundant classical poetry on the horse. The introduction to this first volume received from J. von Hammer-Purgstall (in *Das Pferd bei den Arabern*, *Denkschr. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, vi, 1855-6) a rather condescending criticism, which he would surely have modified if he had lived long enough to see the rest of the publication. The second volume (1859) contains the translation of the section on hippology and the third (1860) that on hippiatry. Although it is a good source richly documented, A. Perron's *Le Nâcéri* is no longer a basic work for

the knowledge of early Arab hippology, in view of the number of works devoted to this subject which have been published during the last century; one need mention only, for example, the *K. Ḥilyat al-fursān* ... by the Andalusian Ibn Hudhayl [*q.v.*], a contemporary of Ibn al-Mundhir.

Bibliography: in addition to the references given above, Brockelmann, II, 136 and S II, 169.

(J. Ruska-[F. Viré])

IBN AL-MUNḲIDH [see usāma; munḳidh, banū].

IBN MUNĪR [see al-Ṭarābulusī al-raffā'].

IBN AL-MURĀBIʿ, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī, Andalusian writer and poet of the 8th/14th century, born at Velez-Malaga (Ballish). According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he was a provincial man of letters of mediocre talent, feared as a satirist, and distinguished as being the main representative of the *ṭarīḳa adabiyya* (=*ṭarīḳa sāsāniyya* [see sāsān]). Throughout his life he tried to support himself by his pen and his talents, endeavouring to gain the favour of those in power. He travelled to North Africa, but had no more success there than in his own country, to which he was obliged to return. Some of his poems are known, and lack any special merits except for a graceful elegy in which he mourns the death of a cockerel. His most noteworthy work is a *maḳāma* dedicated to the prince Abū Saʿīd Faradj, in which he describes the adventures and misadventures he endured in order to obtain a sheep with which to celebrate the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*; this slight text has a certain interest, since it is one of the rare examples of this genre in al-Andalus; in it he depicts in a masterly fashion the *picaro* which he himself was, and produces the curious mixture of a popular theme developed in a complicated and difficult style, entirely according to the taste of the period. Ibn Murābiʿ died in his native town in 750/1350, during the Black Death which was then ravaging Europe.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, MS Escorial no. 1673, 226-30; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo ed. 1949, vi, 315, viii, 209-13, 363-4; A. M. al-ʿAbbādī, *Maḳāmat al-ʿīd li-'bn Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī*, in *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, ii (1954), 159-73; F. de la Granja, *La "Maqāma de la Fiesta" de Ibn al-Murābiʿ al-Azdī*, in *Etudes d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, ii, 591-603.

(F. de la Granja)

IBN AL-MURTAḌĀ [see muḥammad b. yaḥyā al-murtaḍā].

IBN AL-MUSLIMA, by-name first given to Aḥmad b. ʿUmar (d. 415/1024), of the family of the Āl al-Raḳīl, and name by which his descendants were known until the 6th/12th century. The most important member of the family was his grandson, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, known also by the honorific title of *ra'īs al-ru'asā'*, vizier to the caliphate from 437 to 450/1045-58, concerning whom there have arisen a number of important questions which have not yet been satisfactorily answered. The conquest of Baghdād by the Būyids in 334/945 had led to the suppression of the office of vizier to the caliphate, and it was only the decadence of the dynasty and the rivalry among its later members which enabled the caliph al-Ḳāsim to re-appoint one officially, and thus to recover a certain measure of real authority. But little is known either of the conditions under which this office was restored, or through what qualifications or services the caliph was led to choose Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, a lawyer sprung from a family of merchants, as the first holder of the new vizierate. An unbigoted Ḥanbalī, who probably changed to Shāfiʿism while remaining Ḥalladjī and anti-Ashʿarī, Ibn al-Muslima certainly played an important rôle in the movement which arose at that time among the Sunnīs in Baghdād towards a rebirth of Tradition in opposition to the *mutakallimūn* of Shīʿī tendency and towards a political and at first doctrinal stand against Ismāʿīlism made by the caliphate and supported by the Būyid "protectors". It would have been interesting to know what was the relationship between Ibn al-Muslima and the great jurist al-Māwardī, to whom we owe one of the clearest expressions of the viewpoint of the caliphs at this period. But primarily, and certainly in part because of this politico-religious position, Ibn al-Muslima was regarded by his contemporaries as the man who introduced to Baghdād the Saldjūḳid sultan and his Turks. There is no doubt that he was the active agent and perhaps the initiator of this policy, even though later his interpretation of it or the inferences he drew from it did not exactly coincide with those of the new and powerful "protector"; but it is not clear what were the precise reasons which led him to do this or whether and, if so, to what extent he exceeded the instructions, if any, given by the caliph al-Ḳā'im. It is certain that the years immediately prior to the entry of Toghrïl-Beg into Baghdād (447/1044) saw a conflict between Ibn al-Muslima and the leader of the Turkish Būrid mercenaries, al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], who was continually in a state of semi-revolt; the latter finally recognized the Fāṭimids against the Saldjūḳids, but it is not clear whether, or how far, he had originally been inclined in this direction. It is certain, however, that, from the time of his arrival on the political scene, Toghrïl-Beg had been careful to emphasize his loyalty to the caliphate and its doctrine and thus to deserve the titles which Ibn al-Muslima had sent him long before and which set the seal on this loyalty.

When the Turks had established their power in Baghdād, Ibn al-Muslima seized the family and the possessions of al-Basāsīrī (who had fled) with a severity accentuated by the financial demands of the new rulers. When, therefore, Toghrïl was obliged by his brother's revolt to return hastily to Iran, and al-Basāsīrī, supported by the Arabs of Mesopotamia and by Fāṭimid money, had returned to Baghdād, al-Basāsīrī avenged himself on Ibn al-Muslima with a cruelty which was very different from the personal immunity which the ʿAbbāsid caliph had enjoyed at the hands of an Arab prince. The vizier died under torture (450/1058) before he could be saved by the restoration of the Saldjūḳid sultan.

His son Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Muẓaffar was for some time vizier to the caliph, in 476/1083. His great-great-grandson, ʿAḍud al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Muẓaffar, also held this post for quite a long time under al-Mustaḍī', from 566 to 573/1171-8. It is true that the caliph was obliged by the Turk Ḳaymāz to dismiss him, the Turks taking advantage of this to sack the vizier's house; it was not until Ḳaymāz was forced to leave Baghdād (570/1174) that ʿAḍud al-Dīn regained his post. A few years later, just as he was preparing to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca, he was murdered by a Bāṭinī (573/1178). Like other members of his family (to which ʿImād al-Dīn devotes a special chapter in his *Kharīda*) he had been a man of great learning, and the poet Sibṭ b. al-Taʿāwīdhī wrote various poems in praise of him.

Bibliography: For Ibn al-Muslima (*ra'īs al-*

ruʾasāʾ), the chief sources are the *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Djawzī, viii, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, viii-ix, and especially the *Mirʾāt al-zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (unpublished); see also, for the Fāṭimid point of view, the *Sīra* of the missionary al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī, ed. Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949 (index). For a discussion of his rôle, see G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste*, 1963, who seems, however, to have made too categorical an affirmation of Ibn al-Muslima's difference of opinion with the caliph who kept him in power. See also the article AL-BASĀSĪRĪ. For later members of the family see the *Muntaẓam*, ix and x (index) and the *Kāmil*, ix-xi (index). (CL. CAHEN)

IBN MUṬAYR, AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUṬAYR B. MUKAMMIL AL-ASADĪ, Arabic poet of the 2nd/8th century. A *mawlā* of the Banū Asad (following the manumission or the *mukātaba* [*q.v.*] of his grandfather Mukammil), he was a native of al-Thaʿlabiyya [*q.v.*]; from there he seems to have travelled around in the Arabian peninsula and to have gone in particular to Medina, where he appears on one occasion with the governor of the town; he may even have had the opportunity of reciting poems before al-Walīd b. Yazīd; but his fortune dates from his stay in the Yemen, where he entered the entourage of Maʿn b. Zāʾida [*q.v.*], governor of this province from 141 to 151/758-68, whose funeral eulogy he later composed (the sources vary on the date of Maʿn's death, but it was probably about 152/769). This *marthiya* had become so famous that the caliph al-Mahdī had taken offence; but the poet was able to address himself to the ʿAbbāsid ruler so skilfully while he was on a pilgrimage as to win his favour and follow him to the capital, where he addressed to him a number of panegyrics. Very little is known, however, of the poet's life, there being available only a few *akhbār* from which the broad outline of his life may be sketched.

Ibn Muṭayr had maintained Bedouin customs, and his poetry, being of the Bedouin type, is highly thought of by the most exacting critics, who stress the quality of its language and the richness of its background. The examples of it which have survived include, in addition to the panegyrics, some descriptive poems and some with amorous or bacchic themes in the manner of the ancient writers.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 47-9; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 37-9; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 794, 980, 981; *Aghānī*, xiv, 110-4 (= Beirut ed., xv, 331-8): Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 166-78; Ibn Khallikān, i, 185, ii, 112; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, i, 284; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 231; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ ed., ii, 485; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, iv, 362-4; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, index; G. Rothstein, *Laḥmiden*, index; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 45. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-MUʿTAZZ, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS ʿABD ALLĀH, prince and poet, son of the 13th caliph of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, was born in Sāmarrā on 23 Shaʿbān 247/1 November 861 (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 95). The name of his mother is not known with certainty, only that she was a *djāriya* of his grandmother Ḳabīḥa and, like her, probably of Byzantine origin. His grandfather al-Mutawakkil was killed in Shawwāl 247/December 861 and in 255/869 his father was deposed and put in prison where he was left to die. After the death of his father, Ḳabīḥa seems to have taken care of the education of the young prince and to have chosen his teachers: Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd al-Dimashḳī who has handed down what is probably the first attempt of the highly gifted boy to write poetry (al-Marzubānī, *Die Gelehrtenbiographien*, ed. R. Sellheim, i, 340-1, cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 133-4), and the famous philologists al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab. When his grandmother died in 264, Ibn al-Muʿtazz settled in Maṭīra near Sāmarrā. Like many other young princes of the house of the ʿAbbāsids who had to give up political aspirations, Ibn al-Muʿtazz devoted himself, in these years, to the pleasures described by him in his rich poetry of *sharāb* and *ghazal*. Little is known about his relations with his uncles al-Muʿtamid and al-Muwaffaḳ except the conventional elegies by which he lamented the death of the latter (*Dīwān*, ed. Lewin, iv, 220, 222, 237, 255). In a more personal tone he lamented the death of his uncle Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil (iv, 219, 221, 224, 250, 263), and of members of the al-Munaddjim family, particularly the learned ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā (d. 275/888, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 459-77, *Dīwān*, iv, 213, 215, 232, 249, 271). After the death of al-Muʿtamid in 279/892, he accepted an invitation of the new caliph al-Muʿtaḍid to settle in Baghdād. This invitation was probably suggested to the caliph by the *wazīr* ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb, who was a friend of the poet (iv, 244, 256, 266, 268, 279), as was also his son and successor al-Ḳāsim (iv, 246, 265, 267, 275-6, 281). The new and magnificent palace *al-Thurayyā* built by al-Muʿtaḍid (see BAGHDĀD, 897-8) and its gardens were described by Ibn al-Muʿtazz in a poem (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1891, i, 115; Beirut 1913, 138-9; Yāḳūt, i, 924). In his *Tabāshīr al-surūr*, a collection of subjects discussed at the literary assemblies held at the court, he gives expression to his aristocratic attitude and to his personal experiences, often alluded to in his *muʿātabāt*-poems, of an epoch in which the natural order of the noble and the vulgar had been disturbed. This epoch of disorder and humiliation had come to an end, according to the poet, with the glorious reign of al-Muʿtaḍid. The restoration of the ʿAbbāsid empire and the defeat of its enemies are the themes of numerous *fakhr*- and *madīḥ*-poems by the prince. His poetic attacks on the Shīʿa and other dissidents were remembered long afterwards (see, *e.g.*, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 341-2). The obvious silence he preserves in his historical books about the poet Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] is probably due to his dislike of the Shīʿī sympathies of his great contemporary. Besides the score of eulogies in which Ibn al-Muʿtazz praised the achievements of his royal cousin, he composed also a historical poem containing, in its present form, 417 *radjaz* couplets celebrating his life and work (ed. C. Lang in *ZDMG*, xi (1886), 563-611, xii (1887), 232-79). When the caliph died in 289/902 and was succeeded by his son al-Muktafī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz seems to have left public life to lead again a life of retirement. In the political emergencies, however, that followed upon the illness and death of al-Muktafī in 295/908, he was involved in the intrigues of those who desired to secure an influence over the new caliph. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 295/August 908, a brother of al-Muktafī, Djaʿfar, was proclaimed caliph as al-Muḳtadir. Already during the illness of al-Muktafī, a group of officers, secretaries and judges, who were not satisfied with the young Djaʿfar, had formed a plot to proclaim Ibn al-Muʿtazz, and had won his acceptance provided that there should be no bloodshed. The *wazīr* al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan, who had opposed the dethronement of al-Muḳtadir, was murdered and, on 20 Rabīʿ I 296/17 December 908, Ibn al-Muʿtazz was proclaimed caliph and took the

regnal name al-Muntaṣif bi'llāh. But things changed rapidly as the guards of the caliph made a resolute resistance to attacks on the palace and set out to attack Ibn al-Muʿtazz and those who were with him in his house. These supporters abandoned him, and "the caliph of one day", who had taken refuge in the house of a jeweller, was found and strangled.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz's poetry did not fail to impress his contemporaries and later generations, who particularly admired his *tas̲h̲bīhāt* for their striking and persuasive power and visuality (cf., *e.g.*, al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, *Asrār al-balāg̲h̲a*, ed. Ritter, 85-6). In his *awṣāf*-verses, he displayed an ability to see and enjoy what is beautiful that developed into an artistry much admired by imitators who, like him, tried to describe details of things that escape the ordinary eye, but who, lacking the master's naïvety and sincerity, seldom reached the height of his unpretending genuineness. In spite of its "modernism", Ibn al-Muʿtazz's poetry remains within the traditional scope of Arab poetry, of which he had a profound knowledge.

The surviving specimens of his prose are in the strain of the fluent, simple and natural style that is known to have its earliest representatives in the famous *risāla* of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [*q.v.*] to the Secretaries and in the writings of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*].

The verses of Ibn al-Muʿtazz were collected by his friend Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī [see AL-ṢŪLĪ], who edited them twice: (1) in a *dīwān* divided into chapters in which the poems were arranged in an alphabetical order (parts iii-iv ed. B. Lewin, Istanbul 1943-50. Bibliotheca Islamica 17c-d); (2) in an anthology containing specimens of poems of ʿAbbāsid princes and forming one part of his *Kitāb al-Awrāḳ* (ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne, London 1936). There are traces also of another edition made by the philologist and historian Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*]. For a copy of the poems that reached Iṣfahān in the early years of the 4th/10th century, see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 285.

The rhetorical figures intentionally sought for and occurring with great frequency in the poetry of the ʿAbbāsid period, as represented for instance by Abū Tammām, were highly valued and looked upon as "the new style". In his *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* (ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1935, GMS, n.s., x), Ibn al-Muʿtazz took up the problem of the figures from a historical point of view and set out to show that what is called *badīʿ* by "the newer ones" did not in fact begin with poets like Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār b. Burd but is to be found already in the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīt̲h̲* and the language of the Bedouins. To support his thesis, he gives examples, collected by himself, of five figures, probably analysed already by the philologists, in ancient and new poetry. To these five chapters, he added twelve treating of other "embellishments" of style (*maḥāsin al-kalām*). Being a pioneer in the field, Ibn al-Muʿtazz did not aim at presenting a systematic treatment of the subject, but his *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* inaugurated the study of poetics in Islam. See also BADĪʿ; BALĀG̲H̲A; BAYĀN; and AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA'L-BAYĀN.

In the book just mentioned, the author quotes another written by him called *al-Fuṣūl al-ḳiṣār*. This title of a book by Ibn al-Muʿtazz is mentioned also by later authors. Some of the moral sentences and aphorisms quoted by them from this book are to be found also in the *Kitāb al-Ādāb* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz (ed. I. Krachkovsky in *MO*, xviii (1924), 56-121), which is probably a compilation of the *Fuṣūl* and other similar collections of the author's made by his friends and disciples. Its content is clearly different from that of *adab*-books of the type of *adab al-kātib*, *adab al-nadīm* etc.; it is a collection of anonymous sayings illustrating the moral qualities and behaviour of an educated man.

In the field of the history of poetry, the subject of a vast literature of which only two specimens now remain, namely those of Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*] and of Ibn Sallām al-D̲j̲umaḥī [*q.v.*], both dealing with poets of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, in his last years, wrote *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ al-muḥdat̲h̲īn* (facsimile of the unique and incomplete Escorial MS, ed. A. Eghbal, London 1939, GMS, n.s., xiii; ed. A. A. Farrād̲j̲, Cairo 1956), in which he collected anecdotes concerning poets of the ʿAbbāsid period with extensive quotations particularly of their lesser known works; the book, therefore, contains *inter alia* long poems which are not to be found in any other source.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text and in Brockelmann, I, 79-80, S I, 128-130: Hilāl al-Sābiʾ, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, i, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Leiden 1904 (index); ʿArīb, *Tabari continuatus*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1897 (index); Miskawayh, *The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ed. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, i-vii, Oxford 1920-21 (index). The titles of numerous papers by I. Krachkovsky on the subject are quoted in the Introduction to his edition of *Kitāb al-Badīʿ*; cf. I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Iz. Soč.*, vi, 9-330; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim K̲h̲awād̲j̲ī, *Ibn al-Muʿtazz wa-turāt̲h̲uh fi 'l-adab wa'l-naḳd wa'l-bayān*, Cairo 1368/1949; Aḥmad Kamāl Zakī, *Ibn al-Muʿtazz al-ʿAbbāsī*, Cairo 1965; the *Dīwān* was printed also in Beirut 1961 (ed. Karam al-Bustānī). (B. LEWIN)

IBN MUʿṬĪ, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN YAḤYĀ B. ʿABD AL-NŪR ZAYN AL-DĪN AL-ZAWĀWĪ, grammarian of Mag̲h̲ribī origin, b. 564/1168-9, d. in Cairo 628/1231. After studying in the west under al-D̲j̲uzūlī, he went to the east, where he taught grammar, first at Damascus and then in Cairo. Ibn Muʿṭī wrote commentaries on grammatical treatises and turned lexicographic works into verse; he seems to have been the first writer to compose a grammatical treatise in one thousand verses (*alfiyya*). This treatise, *al-Durra al-alfiyya fī ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya*, was finished in 595/1198-9 and has been the subject of numerous commentaries and of a critical edition, by K. V. Zetterstéen (Leipzig 1900). Ibn Muʿṭī wrote also a grammatical treatise in prose, the *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl*, the first two chapters of which have been published by E. Sjögren (Leipzig 1899).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 366-7, S I, 530-1. (G. TROUPEAU)

IBN AL-MUWAḲḲIT, MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-MARRĀKUS̲H̲Ī, born in Marrākus̲h̲ in 1894, where he died on 30 November 1949. His father held the office of *muwaḳḳit* in the Ibn Yūsuf mosque at Marrākus̲h̲. Hence the son, at the start of his career as a writer, bore the surname Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, but when he came to hold the same position he was himself called al-Muwaḳḳit.

From 1917, he became known to scholars interested in Morocco through the publication of four biographical works, the principal and most useful of which is entitled *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya fi 'l-taʿrīf bi-mas̲h̲āhīr al-ḥaḍra al-Marrākus̲h̲iyya* (lith. Fās 1917-8, 2 vols.); the second work, *Taʿṭīr al-anfās fi 'l-taʿrīf bi 'l-s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Abi 'l-ʿAbbās*, is a monograph devoted to the saint Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī, one of the seven patron saints of Marrākus̲h̲; the author added, in the margin, the biography of his own father, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mubārak, under the title

Iẓhār al-maḥāmid fi 'l-taʿrīf bi-mawlānā al-wālid (lith. Fās 1336/1918); the fourth and last of these works, *al-Inbisāṭ bi-talkhīṣ al-Ighṭibāṭ*, is a résumé of the *Kitāb al-Ighṭibāṭ bi-tarādjim aʿlām al-Ribāṭ* of Sīdī Muḥammad Bū Djandār (see Allouche and Regragui, *Cat. des mss. arabes de Rabat*, ii, 226).

Ibn al-Muwakkit was brought up in the school of those *ʿulamā'* who, influenced by Ṣūfī doctrines, were not reluctant to adhere to a religious confraternity. His father, a devoted reader of the *Dalā'il* of al-Djazūlī, had inspired him with a taste for study and, by his own extreme piety, had furnished him with an example; he had therefore endeavoured, in his writings, to honour the famous precept so highly esteemed by Moroccan hagiographers: *bi-dhikr al-ṣulaḥā' tanzilu 'l-raḥma* through mention of the saints, the divine mercy descends.

Ibn al-Muwakkit was contentedly following the saintly tradition of the biographers and hagiographers of his country as exemplified by Ibn ʿAskar, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī and Aḥmad Bābā, when suddenly he discovered the writings of the great orthodox reformers of Cairo, Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, and the satirical novels of Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī. At once he rallied to the viewpoint of the *Muṣliḥūn* and, with the ardour of the convert, hurled himself into the battle then being waged by the orthodox reformers against the upholders of religious conservatism.

He started his new career with the publication of a short treatise on *bidaʿ*, *al-Kashf wa 'l-tibyān ʿan ḥāl ahl al-zamān* (Cairo 1932), followed almost immediately by *al-Riḥla al-Marrākushiyya* (Cairo 1933), in which, by means of a simple fable with a moral, he drew a pessimistic picture in the darkest colours of the Muslim society of his time. From then onwards, until his death, he kept up a relentless struggle, within his own country, against the confraternities, the marabouts, the *ḳāḍīs* and the *ḳā'ids*, all of whom he considered to be deeply corrupted, castigating modern customs, challenging the ordinary *ʿulamā'*, exhorting the people to return to the *sunna* of their virtuous ancestors, *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, and publishing violent pamphlets against his adversaries.

Holding fast to his moral inflexibility, a passionate devotee of justice impelled by a fervent fundamentalism, in the last years of his life and in a milieu that was well suited to such a development, Ibn al-Muwakkit was a strange incarnation of the spirit of the ancient Hebrew prophets. Before his death he circulated a tract, a copy of which he is said to have delivered in person to the sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, in which, among other extraordinary and prodigious events, he foretold the coming of the Antichrist, at the beginning of the year 1980.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa* (particularly 45 and 46); A. Faure, *Un réformateur marocain, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muwaqqit al-Marrākušī*, in *Hespéris*, 1952, 1-2, with the bibliography of most of his works.

(A. FAURE)

IBN MUYASSAR (not Mīsar) TĀDJ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF .... B. DJALAB RĀGHIB, 628-77/1231-78, Egyptian historian. He was descended, hence his by-name, from a Tunisian "imported" at the beginning of the 6th/12th century by an Egyptian *amīr* named Rāghib; under Saladin, the family, being excluded from the military career by the formation of the new army, had entered civilian life. Ibn Muyassar owed his name to a maternal ancestor who had apparently himself been an *amīr* under the Fāṭimids. His *Annales d'Égypte* (ed. H. Massé, Cairo 1919; cf. G. Wiet, in *JA*, 1921) have survived in a unique manuscript, which is incomplete and which derives from a copy made by al-Maḳrīzī; the latter itself may not have been complete or free from error. The text as it survives, after the correct order of the leaves is restored, provides (apart from a lacuna covering the years 502-14) a consecutive account of the history of the years 439 to 553/1047-1158, together with two extracts covering the years 362-5/973-6 and 381-7/991-7; however the large extent to which al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, borrows from him for Fāṭimid history enables us to fill the lacuna from 502-14 and to confirm that the chronicle reached as far as the Ayyūbid period, although perhaps not covering it in full. It is more difficult to decide what exactly the two fragments on the 4th/10th century represent: later writers in general attribute to Ibn Muyassar a continuation of al-Muṣabbiḥī, though certainly in a style less developed than the latter's history; but, if the two fragments in question really do belong to Ibn Muyassar, it must be assumed that he also covered, in a more summary fashion, the period which al-Muṣabbiḥī had already dealt with. Direct comparison with al-Muṣabbiḥī is not possible, since the only section of his work which has survived does not cover the years found in Ibn Muyassar; nevertheless the comparison which is now possible with the *Ittiʿāẓ* of al-Maḳrīzī proves that the 381-7 fragment certainly is a summary of al-Muṣabbiḥī; in the other fragment, belonging to an earlier period than that of al-Muṣabbiḥī, he copies Ibn Zūlāḳ, without mentioning him in it. The "History of the *ḳāḍīs* of Egypt" of Ibn Ḥadjar (ed. R. Guest) even quotes passages of Ibn Muyassar earlier than the Fāṭimids, but these probably belong to another work, one devoted specially to the Egyptian *ḳāḍīs*. In any case the essential part of the Chronicle, that which deals with the Fāṭimids of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, is based mainly on a lost work of a certain al-Muhannak, which was used also by Ibn Ẓāfir. It contains much valuable and original information on a history whose direct sources have disappeared.

Bibliography: H. Massé's introduction to his ed.; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides*, in *BIFAO*, xxxvii (1937), which contains further references; Fr. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, index.

(CL. CAHEN)

IBN MUZĀḤIM [see NAṢR B. MUZĀḤIM].

IBN AL-MUZAWWIḲ [see IBN AL-SADĪD].

IBN AL-NABĪH, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF B. YAḤYĀ KAMĀL AL-DĪN IBN AL-NABĪH, well-known poet of the Ayyūbid period (d. 619/1222). The exact place of his birth is not known, but it was in Egypt, near Cairo, probably in about 560/1164. Nor is anything known of his family, his early education or his teachers.

Preferring pleasure to politics, Ibn al-Nabīh lived in Cairo simply, peacefully and happily. He formed many deep friendships there: among his best friends is mentioned the *ḳāḍī* al-Asʿad b. al-Khaṭīr Ibn Mammātī, in whose honour he composed a fine *ḳaṣīda*. His biographers state that he wrote panegyrics on a number of Ayyūbid princes, notably al-Malik al-ʿĀdil and al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī.

Failing to find in Cairo the patronage he desired, he left for the Upper Djazīra and settled at Niṣībīn, probably in about 600/1204, at the court of the prince al-Ashraf Mūsā, on whom he wrote panegyrics

while occupying the office of royal letter-writer in the *dīwān al-inshā'*. Ibn al-Nabīh lived the carefree and frivolous life which characterized the court of his patron. He dedicated to him thirty-five poems, which are literary masterpieces. The amorous prologues to these panegyrics show him to be a great love poet. He died at Niṣībīn in 619/1222.

His *Dīwān*, the contents of which he is said to have chosen himself, was published in Beirut in 1299/1881 and in Cairo in 1315/1895 with notes by ʿAlī Pasha Fikrī; the latter edition consists, in addition to two *muwashshaḥs* and one quatrain, of about 1590 verses. Although in the prologues to the panegyrics and in certain fragments the erotic genre has an important place, Ibn al-Nabīh's work is mainly laudatory in character.

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 143-50; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, Cairo 1351, v, 85; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, i, 226; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, v, 152; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, vii, 191; J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides*, Paris 1949, 87-104; M. K. Ḥusayn, *Dirāsāt fi 'l-shiʿr fi ʿaṣr al-Ayyūbiyyīn*, Cairo 1957, 153-61; ʿIzzat Ḥasan, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt dār al-kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya "al-shiʿr"*, Damascus 1964, 230-1; Brockelmann, I, 304, S I, 465.

(J. RIKABI)

IBN AL-NADĪM, ABU 'L-FARADJ MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ YAʿḲŪB ISḤĀḲ AL-WARRĀḲ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, author of the well-known *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, an "Index" of Arabic books, completed according to the author's own statement (p. 2, line 12; 38, 28; 87, 19; cf. also 132, 7 and 219, 7) in 377/987-8. Of his life very little is known. He died on 20 Shaʿbān 385/17 September 995 according to Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (see Flügel's edition, i, XII, n. 2) or according to others in 388/998 (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 72, where 38 is apparently a misprint); dates later than 385 (*e.g.*, 87, 6; 169, 13, both lacking in codex B) are additions made by copyists; cf. 193, 17, where the author invites his readers to fill in the lacunae in his lists of books. At 237, 6 he mentions that in 340/951-2 he made the acquaintance of a certain scholar, so we may infer that he was born in 325/936-7 at the latest. Of his family nothing is known; there is no reason to connect him with Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī al-Nadīm or with Yaḥyā b. al-Nadīm, a pupil of al-Balādhurī; nor do we known to whom the byname *al-nadīm* (*i.e.*, the companion of a grandee of the realm or even of the caliph) refers. He was a bookseller (*warrāḳ*, one who copies manuscripts and sells them, see Dozy) like his father (see p. 303, 24; 318, 7; 351, 14). He lived in Baghdād (see *e.g.*, p. 337, 26 f.; 349, 7 where *dār al-Rūm* means the quarter of the Byzantines in Baghdād). Sometimes he mentions a stay in Mosul (p. 86, 12; 190, 2; 265, 25 and probably 197, 4, because al-Ṣafwānī was, according to Ṭūsī, 271, a judge of Mosul). Of his teachers he mentions al-Sīrāfī ([*q.v.*] d. 368/978-9), ʿAlī b. Hārūn b. al-Munadjdjim (d. 352/963) (p. 144, 11), and the philosopher Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī [*q.v.*] (p. 241, 13); he also heard traditions (p. 24, 14, etc.). He belonged to the circle of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī (b. 302/914-5, d. 391/1000-1, a son of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] the "Good Vizier" of the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ), whom he praises (p. 129) for his profound knowledge of the logic and the sciences of the Greeks, Persians and Indians (*al-ʿulūm al-ḳadīma*). Ibn al-Nadīm met in his house the Christian philosopher Ibn al-Khammār (p. 245, 12). With these men, none of whom was an orthodox Sunnī, he shared an admiration for philosophy and especially for Aristotle (see p. 247, 4-14) and the sciences generally, the broadness of their outlook and their tolerance in religious matters. It did not escape his biographers that he was a Shīʿī (Ibn Ḥadjar, *l.c.*); he uses *khāṣṣī* instead of *shīʿī*, *ʿāmmī* instead of *sunnī* (p. 233, 2), *al-ḥashwiyya* for the "Sunnīs" (p. 21, 16; 179, 10; 231, 22), *ahl al-ḥadīth* instead of *ahl al-sunna* (p. 225, 1). He puts the eulogy for prophets (*taslīm*) after the names of the Shīʿī Imāms and the *ahl al-bayt* (p. 173, 3; 220, 16; 222, 6; 235, 12). He calls the Imām al-Riḍā *mawlānā* (p. 221, 6). He asserts that al-Wāḳidī [*q.v.*] was a Shīʿī but concealed this fact by *taḳiyya* (p. 98, 21). He claims most of the (orthodox) "traditionists" for the Zaydiyya (pp. 178 f.; 194, 15). He speaks of the Muʿtazila as *ahl al-ʿadl* (p. 180, 22), calls the Ashʿarīs *al-mudjbira* (p. 179, 10; 180, 7; 181, lines 2, 5, 22; cf. *al-idjbār* p. 181, 6). That he belonged to the Imāmiyya (Twelver Shīʿa) is shown by his distaste for the doctrines of the Sabʿiyya (p. 189, 10) and by his criticisms in dealing with their history (p. 186, 25 and 188, 30). He remarks (p. 197, 3 and 214, 13) that a certain Shāfiʿī scholar was secretly an Imāmī. He mentions Shīʿīs among his acquaintances, *e.g.*, Ibn al-Muʿallim [see AL-MUFĪD], the *dāʿī* Ibn Ḥamdan (p. 190, 2) and the author Khushkunānadj (sic!) (p. 139, 24). To the same circle belonged the Jacobite Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 363/973) who instructed ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī in philosophy and who was, like Ibn al-Nadīm, a copyist and bookseller (p. 264, 8).

The *Fihrist*, which, according to the short preface, is intended to be an index of all books written in Arabic either by Arabs or non-Arabs, exists in two editions or recensions, both of the year 377/938: the larger edition contains ten "discourses" (*maḳālāt*). The first six of them deal with books on Islamic subjects: 1. the Holy Scriptures of Muslims, Jews, and Christians, with emphasis on the Ḳurʾān and Ḳurʾānic sciences; 2. grammar and philology; 3. history, biography, genealogy and kindred subjects; 4. poetry; 5. scholastic theology (*kalām*); 6. law (*fiḳh*) and tradition. The last four discourses deal with non-Islamic subjects, *viz.* 7. philosophy and the "ancient sciences"; 8. legends, fables, magic, conjuring etc.; 9. the doctrines (*maḳālāt*) of the non-monotheistic creeds (Ṣābiʾans, Manicheans, and other dualists, the Hindus, Buddhists and Chinese); 10. alchemy. The shorter edition contains (besides the preface and the first section of the first discourse on the scripts and the different alphabets) only the last four discourses, in other words, the Arabic translations from Greek, Syriac and other languages, together with Arabic books composed on the model of these translations. Of the larger edition the first half (pp. 2-172, 7, Flügel) is extant in the manuscripts P = Paris (de Slane no. 4457) written in 617/1220-1, and B = Chester Beatty, described by A. J. Arberry, in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, i (I.R.A. Series no. 12, 1948, 19-45); B contains not only the text of pp. 2-172 (Flügel), with the exception of pp. 14,22-29,13 owing to the loss of some leaves, but also the beginning of the fifth discourse giving the text of the first section up to the article on al-Nāshiʾ al-Kabīr (see bibl.). The second half of the larger edition (pp. 172,11-360, Flügel) is extant in the manuscript S = Istanbul, Şehit Ali Paşa 1934 (see H. Ritter in *Isl.*, xvii, 15-23). The shorter edition (pp. 2-21,23 and 238,5-360, Flügel) is preserved in codex K = Istanbul, Köprülü 1135, written in 600/1203-4 (see Ritter, *l.c.*, who shows that Flügel's manuscripts H, V, and C are also directly or indirectly derived from the Istanbul

manuscripts. In the larger edition the preface and the list of contents correspond with pages 2-4,6, Flügel. In the preface of the shorter edition, however, we read instead of Flügel's text 2,9: "This is the register of the books of the old sciences composed by Greeks, Persians, and Indians of which there exist (translations) in the Arabic language and script", and the list of contents is shortened accordingly. Both prefaces have the same date, 377/987-8, yet the shorter one may have been, as suggested by Ritter, the first edition and the printed text an enlargement, especially as manuscript S, by its many blanks left vacant for later additions of dates, names, book-titles and even whole articles, gives the impression of being an unfinished draft. Both prefaces have also after the word *al-nufūs* (p. 2,5) the following dedication (omitted by Flügel on purpose, see vol. ii, 1): *aṭāla 'llāhu baḳā'a 'l-sayyidi 'l-fāḍil*, which may refer to ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī (cf. p. 244, 6) or else to some other influential person belonging to the circle of the philosophers. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ii, 211) lists the shorter edition under the title *fawz al-ʿulūm*, which promises the reader the "attainment of success" in these sciences, and is more suitable than the unpretentious "index". There is also a marked difference between the two editions. The last five discourses are much more elaborate than the preceding ones; they contain sections on the beginning of philosophy, on the lives of Plato and Aristotle, the origin of the Arabian Nights, the pyramids etc. The sections on the Manichaeans, the Ṣābi'ans and other religious communities give unique information about their beliefs and doctrines. He also occasionally expresses his opinion about, *e.g.*, white and black magic, sorcery, superstition, and alchemy. The first five sections, on the other hand, are comparable to a bibliography, giving the list of the works of the writer or poet in question and adding as a rule only the briefest information about his life. Being himself a bookseller, he is interested first and foremost in the books and not in the authors, especially as there existed already books (*ṭabaḳāt*) dealing with the biographies of poets, etc. He gives the titles only of those books which he had seen himself or whose existence was vouchsafed by a trustworthy person. Often he mentions the size of a book, especially in the section of the modern poets, where he adds to the name of each of them the numbers of pages (of a given size and a fixed number of lines) of his *dīwān*; this he does because often a copyist cheated his customer by selling him an incomplete copy (p. 159, 17 ff.). He refers often to copies written by famous calligraphers, *e.g.*, Ibn al-Kūfī, Ibn Muḳla, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib akhu 'l-Shāfiʿī, al-Tirmidhī (p. 61, 5), Ibn ʿAmmār, who specialized in copying modern poetry (p. 160, 3), and others; he mentions bibliophiles and their libraries (p. 40, 18 f.; 265, 23) and speaks of an auction (p. 252, 27 f.) and of the trade in books (p. 70, 5 and 8; 77, 14; 79, 23; 271, 5; 359, 20). In the opening section of his work (p. 4,7-21,24) he deals with the alphabets of 14 peoples (Arabs and non-Arabs) and their manner of writing, and also with the writing-pen, paper and its different varieties.

Being the work of an Imāmī author, the *Fihrist* contains statements offensive to an orthodox reader, *e.g.*, the claim that the Prophet received the Muʿtazilī doctrine through divine revelation (see Arberry, *l.c.*, p. 29). No wonder, therefore, that the earliest quotations are to be found in the *Fihrist kutub al-Shīʿa* by al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*]. A generation before al-Ṭūsī a new edition of the *Fihrist* had been made by al-Wazīr al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Maghribī ([*q.v.*] d. 418/1027), who had strong Shīʿī leanings, being the son of one of al-Ḥākim's viziers. The first to make an extensive use of the first four discourses is Yāḳūt (d. 626/1228); he quotes from al-Maghribī's edition in his *Irshād al-arīb* (see Bergsträsser, in *ZS*, ii, 185); but he also used Ibn al-Nadīm's autograph, which may simply mean that he used a manuscript which, like the manuscripts B and S and Flügel's edition (see i, XV f. and Ritter, *l.c.*, 22 f.) purported to be a reproduction (*ḥikāya*) of the author's autograph. The same claim is made by the lexicographer al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252) in his *ʿUbāb* (see *Khizānat al-adab*, iii, 83). The *Fihrist* is used also by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Ibn Ḥadjar, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, and others. Ibn al-Nadīm wrote also a *Kitāb al-Awṣāf wa 'l-tashbīhāt* (*Fihrist*, p. 12, 2) which has not survived.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the article: *Kitāb al-Fihrist* mit Anmerkungen hrsg. von Gustav Flügel, 2 vols., Leipzig 1871-2; reprints (1) Cairo 1348 (contains also the Leyden Fragments published by Houtsma, in *WZKM*, iv, 217 ff.); (2) Beirut 1964; Persian translation by R. Tajadod, Teheran 1965. J. Fück, *Neue Materialien zum Fihrist*, in *ZDMG*, xc, 298-321; idem, *Some hitherto unpublished texts on the Muʿtazilite movement* (from ms. B), in *Prof. M. Shafiʿ presentation volume*, Lahore 1956, 51, 76; A. J. Arberry, *New material in the* Kitāb al-Fihrist, in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, i, 1948, 35-45 (the article on al-Djāḥiẓ from ms. B). Some of the longer chapters of the *Fihrist* are dealt with by, *e.g.*, A. Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in d. arab. Überlieferung*, Halle 1872; H. Suter, *Das Mathematikerverzeichnis im Fihrist*, in *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. d. math. Wiss.*, vi (1892); idem, *ibid.*, x (1900) and xiv (1902); M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen a. d. Griech.* (see *ZDMG*, l, 371); Kessler, *Mani*, Berlin 1889, i, 331 ff.; Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen-âge*, Paris 1893, iii, 26 ff.; G. Ferrand, *Relation de voyages etc.*, i, 1913, 118-36 (with reference to pp. 16 and 345, 20 ff., Flügel); J. Fück, *The Arabic literature on Alchemy* ..., in *Ambix*, iv (1951), 81-144. See also Brockelmann, I, 147; S I, 226. (J. W. Fück)

IBN AL-NADJDJĀR, Muḥibb Allāh b. Maḥāsin al-Baghdādī, historian and leading Shāfiʿī *muḥaddith* of his age, was born in Baghdād in 578/1183. His father, a paper-maker by profession, started him in the study of *uṣūl* and *ḥadīth*, which studies were continued by Abu 'l-Yumn al-Kindī, Ibn al-Kulayb, Ibn al-Ḥaṣīn, Ibn al-Djawzī and others. After a journey that lasted twenty-seven years and carried him throughout the eastern lands of Islam, Arabia and Egypt, Ibn al-Nadjdjār returned to Baghdād and received an appointment to the newly opened al-Mustanṣiriyya as principal Shāfiʿī lecturer on *ḥadīth* and director of the school. He occupied this position until his death in 643/1245.

He is the author of twenty-one known works on history, biography, *ḥadīth* literature, poetry, medicine, travel, love and the etiquette of companionship. Of these, only his history of Medina (*al-Durra al-thamīna fī akhbār al-Madīna*) has survived in full. Two other works, *al-Kamāl fī maʿrifat al-ridjāl* and *Ta'rīkh li-Madīnat al-Salām*, survive only in fragments.

Both his associate Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī and his disciple Ibn al-Sāʿī praised his scholarship. Yāḳūt describes Ibn al-Nadjdjār as "cultured; a connoisseur of history and polite literature; an excellent discourser and lecturer, and a composer of fine poetry"

(*Irshād*, vii, 103). The esteem accorded to his erudition is attested by his having a following (*mashyakha*) of three thousand men and four hundred women (Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 213). In securing data for his histories, Ibn al-Nadjdjār relied on works in the authors' own handwriting; he carried on extensive correspondence with the authorities of his day and travelled widely to effect personal contact with his informants.

Ibn al-Nadjdjār's history of Baghdād, itself a *dhayl* to that of al-Khaṭīb, was continued by Ibn al-Sāʿī (d. 674/1275-6), Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 723/1323), and Ibn Rāfiʿ (d. 774/1372-3). His work on the *Ridjāl* was carried on by Ibn Ḳilič (d. 762/1360-1), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347-8) and Ibn Ḥadjar (d. 852/1448-9)

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text: Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 226; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Ḥawādith*, 205; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1949, vi, 28-9; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 522; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, 122-3; Brockelmann, S I, 360; Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgeschichte*, vii, 357; Cl. Huart, *Histoire*, Paris 1901, 229. For a broader treatment see C. E. Farah, *Ibn al-Najjār: a neglected Arabic historian*, in *JAOS*, 1964, 220-30. (C. E. FARAH)

IBN AL-NAFĪS, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ʿALĀʾ ʿALĪ B. ABI 'L-ḤARAM AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-DIMASHḲĪ, a distinguished physician and many-sided author of the 7th/13th century. Except for the date of his death, only few facts of his life have been recorded, because Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, although his contemporary, does not mention Ibn al-Nafīs in his history of physicians; but al-ʿUmarī and al-Ṣafadī give detailed though anecdotal accounts of him and his personal habits. Born in or near Damascus (presumably in the village of al-Ḳurashiyya), he studied medicine there under Muhadhdhib al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī known as al-Dakhwār (d. 628/1230; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 239-46), who came from the school of Ibn al-Tilmīdh [*q.v.*], who in his turn had formed many disciples several of whom came from Baghdād to Damascus. Besides medicine, Ibn al-Nafīs studied grammar, logic, and Islamic religious sciences. At an unknown date he moved to Cairo, where he was given the important post of Chief Physician of Egypt and became the personal physician of sultan Baybars I [*q.v.*]. He presumably worked at the Nāṣirī hospital and trained a number of pupils. The best known among them was Ibn al-Ḳuff (Brockelmann, I, 649; S I, 899), author of a work on surgery [see AL-DJARRĀḤ]. He lectured on Shāfiʿī law at the Masrūriyya *madrasa*. The famous grammarian, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī [*q.v.*], was his disciple in logic and praised his teaching. His contemporary, the philologist Ibn al-Naḥḥās [*q.v.*], praised his style in grammar. He became rich and had a luxurious house built for himself in Cairo. He died in Cairo on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 687/18 December 1288 at the age of about 80 (lunar) years, and left his house, his fortune and his books to the Manṣūrī hospital there, founded by sultan Ḳalāwūn and only recently completed (683/1284). In prescribing, "he never departed from the method to which he was accustomed; he did not prescribe a remedy as long as he could prescribe a diet, and he did not prescribe a compound remedy as long as he could content himself with a simple drug" (al-ʿUmarī). Notwithstanding these modern ideas on treatment, and although Ibn al-Nafīs was exalted by his admirers as a second Avicenna, he seems to have been a learned theorist rather than a practical physician, but the range and depth of his general culture are impressive.

The literary activity of Ibn al-Nafīs was important and extensive. He was mainly a commentator but one of independent mind and very extensive knowledge. He is said to have written most of his works out of his head without reference to books, which seems to be confirmed by the fact that as a rule they contain, as far as they are not commentaries, very few references to earlier works. His main writings are: (1) the *Kitāb al-Shāmil fi 'l-ṭibb*, an encyclopaedia of medicine which was to have consisted of three hundred volumes (this word to be taken in the conventional meaning of some ninety folios), of which only eighty volumes were completed; several volumes exist, partly in the autograph of the author (see N. Heer, in *RIMA*, vi (1960), 203-10); (2) the *Kitāb al-Muhadhdhab fi 'l-kuḥl*, a comprehensive but not very original record of the whole knowledge of the Arabs in ophthalmology; it was used by several later authors; (3) the *Mūdjiz al-Ḳānūn*, an extract from all parts of the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*], but omitting anatomy and physiology; it is a concise manual of the whole of medicine, particularly useful for the practitioner, and among the works of Ibn al-Nafīs it has met with the greatest success in the Oriental medical world; it exists in numerous manuscripts, was printed or lithographed a number of times, was the subject of a series of commentaries and glosses, the most reputed of which, by Nafīs b. ʿIwaḍ al-Kirmānī (completed 841/1437), was lithographed in India for the last time as recently as 1328/1910; it was also translated into Turkish and into Hebrew. (4) Among the medical commentaries written by Ibn al-Nafīs the most widely disseminated one is on the Aphorisms (*Fuṣūl*) of Hippocrates; he also wrote commentaries on Hippocrates's Prognostics, Epidemics, and *De natura hominis*; (5) he further commented upon the *Masāʾil fi 'l-ṭibb* of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, (6) and he wrote an extensive commentary on the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā which exists in numerous manuscripts, improving the arrangement of the subject-matter and, in particular, collecting the passages relating to anatomy from the first three sections of the *Ḳānūn* and commenting on them in a separate section, which was often copied as an independent book; in this section, Ibn al-Nafīs sets out his theory of the lesser circulation of the blood (see below); his commentary on the fifth section of the *Ḳānūn* was translated into Latin by the Renaissance physician and scholar Andrea Alpago and posthumously printed in Venice 1547 (see M.-T. d'Alverny, in *Medioevo e Rinascimento, studi in onore di Bruno Nardi*, i, Florence 1955, 195 f.). (7) Of the writings of Ibn al-Nafīs on logic, there exists his commentary on his own *Kitāb al-Wurayḳāt*, a summary of the contents of Aristotle's *Organon* and *Rhetoric*; the section summarizing the *Analytica Priora* includes a discussion of the legal proofs in Islamic law and of the limited value of *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*] from the point of view of logic. His writings on grammar and rhetoric, and his commentary on the *Tanbīh* of al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] (if the mention of this last work by al-Subkī is not merely the result of an error) do not seem to have survived, but the *Mukhtaṣar fī ʿilm uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, on the science of tradition, has been preserved. (8) There is, finally, *al-Risāla al-Kāmiliyya fi 'l-sīra al-nabawiyya*, which can be freely translated as *The Theologus Autodidactus*.

In this intellectual tour de force, which was already admired by his contemporaries, Ibn al-Nafīs set out to show, by abstract reasoning which he put into the mouth of a solitary person, called Kāmil, on a desert island, that the events in the life of the

Prophet and in the history of the community of Muslims, including the incursion of the Mongols in his own lifetime and even the physical appearance of the Muslim ruler, no doubt sultan Baybars, were the best things that could possibly have happened and therefore, under divine providence, unavoidable. He ends with a naturalistic explanation of the Last Things.

The most important achievement of Ibn al-Nafīs in the field of medicine is his theory of the lesser or pulmonary circulation of the blood, from the right ventricle of the heart through the pulmonary artery (*vena arteriosa*) to the lung and from there through the pulmonary vein (*arteria venosa*) to the left ventricle of the heart, boldly contradicting the accepted ideas of Galen and of Ibn Sīnā and anticipating part of William Harvey's fundamental discovery; in contrast with Harvey, who started from experiment, Ibn al-Nafīs derived his theory from the same kind of abstract reasoning as in the *Theologus Autodidactus*. This remarkable theory, perhaps because of its unorthodox character, was almost completely ignored by the later Arab medical authors, excepting only an anonymous commentator of the *Ḳānūn* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 5776) who agrees with it, and an otherwise unknown al-Fāḍil al-Baghdādī in his commentary on the *Ḳānūndja*, an extract from the *Ḳānūn* by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Čaghmīnī (d. 745/1344), who made it his object to refute Ibn al-Nafīs's criticisms of Ibn Sīnā (Berlin, Ahlwardt 6294). A theory of the lesser circulation, identical in all essential respects with that of Ibn al-Nafīs and expressed in terms strangely reminiscent of those used by him, was formulated by Michael Servetus in his *Christianismi restitutio* (Vienne 1553), and an exposition of the same doctrine by Realdus Columbus (Realdo Colombo) in his *De re anatomica libri XV* (Venice 1559) forms a close parallel to this. Detailed philological analysis has made it probable that Servetus (and perhaps Colombo, too) had direct knowledge of the theory of Ibn al-Nafīs, and it is likely that this knowledge was transmitted by Andrea Alpago, who spent more than 30 years in Syria, travelled widely in search of Arabic manuscripts, and is known to have translated from the Arabic numerous medical texts not all of which were printed posthumously (he died about 1520).

Bibliography: al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, and al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-'l-wafayāt*, see texts and translations in *The Theologus Autodidactus*, below; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324, v, 129; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher*, Göttingen 1840, 146 f.; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii, 207-9; Brockelmann, I, 649; S I, 899 f. (needs many corrections and additions; see, *e.g.*, *The Theologus Autodidactus*, introduction, section 4; Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya, *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, iii/2, Cairo 1959, index; A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, Göttingen 1966, index); G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, Baltimore 1931, 1099-1101; Mohyi el Din el Tatawi, *Der Lungenkreislauf nach el-Koraschi*, mimeographed thesis, Freiburg i. Br. 1924; M. Meyerhof, *Ibn al-Nafīs und seine Theorie des Lungenkreislaufs*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, iv (Berlin 1933), 37-88; abridged versions in *BIE*, xvi (1934), 33-46, and in *Isis*, xxii (1935), 100-120; Abdul-Karim Chéhadé, *Ibn an-Nafīs et la découverte de la circulation pulmonaire*, Damascus 1955 (useful only for the plates which reproduce pages from the manuscripts Paris, Arabe 2939, containing Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary on the Anatomy of the *Ḳānūn*, and Paris, Arabe 5776, the anonymous commentary on the *Ḳānūn*); G. Wiet, *Ibn al-Nafīs et la circulation pulmonaire*, in *JA*, 1956, 95-100 (important); J. Schacht, *Ibn al-Nafīs, Servetus and Colombo*, in *al-Andalus*, xxii (1957), 317-36; idem, *The Theologus Autodidactus of Ibn al-Nafīs*, Oxford 1968 (with a full bibliography).

(MAX MEYERHOF-[J. SCHACHT])

IBN AL-NAḤḤĀS, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL (d. 338/950), Egyptian grammarian, expert in early poetry, and especially in the Ḳur'ān. He was content with a limited and provincial sphere of influence; he did not take part in the quarrel between the Baṣrans and the Kūfans which was taking place in his time, but occupied himself more and more with scholarship and even with speculations about the Ḳur'ān. Thus he wrote a *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Ḳur'ān*, and a *Kitāb al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh* (published in Cairo by Zakī Mudjāhid). To produce this little book required wide reading and repeated contacts with scholars in other disciplines. For a grammarian, albeit the pupil of al-Zadjdjādj, of al-Akhfash and of Mubarrad (all three specialists in the Ḳur'ān, *Fihrist*, 34), he showed great daring and uncommon intellectual ambition. In fact we learn that, for matters which were not his speciality, Ibn al-Naḥḥās often consulted the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-Ḥaddād (cf. *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj*, ed. Massignon, Paris 1957, 78) and that he did not hesitate even to ask for information from those who professed dialectic (*ahl al-naẓar*). It must have been in this milieu that he gained the habit of forming a personal opinion on all the questions which he raised, opinions which he had no hesitation in stating with the stubbornness of an idealist. This grammarian, vaguely inclined towards the abstractions of the Baṣra school (he possessed a copy of al-Khalīl and accused the Kūfan exegesis of being false), thus became involved in the petty quarrels between rites, in the problems peculiar to each of them, and in the statements of the traditional exegesis. In general, Ibn al-Naḥḥās had a definite repugnance for *naskh* [*q.v.*], *i.e.*, for the "abrogation" pure and simple which declared invalid whole verses of the Ḳur'ān, but he disliked equally *madjāz* [*q.v.*], the metaphorical meaning which scholars were tempted to ascribe to certain verses in order to make them compatible with preceding verses. The typically Shāfiʿī solution which he prefers is to refer to *nadb*; in this way the abrogated verses retain the value of a moral exhortation. If however the subject matter is too serious to allow the slightest compromise (*e.g.*, the Pilgrimage or the Holy War), then abrogation is the only course. Ibn al-Naḥḥās was continually preoccupied with religious problems: he wrote a book on the meaning of the names of God. A taciturn and retiring man, he thus acquired a reputation for avarice and austerity. He never enjoyed the favour of the public and disagreeable or humorous stories circulated concerning the incidents which accompanied his death. Although cut off from the world and very different from the traditional or even contemporary type of grammarian, Ibn al-Naḥḥās followed, with an unusual singleness of mind if without much immediate success, a path which led him to consider such burning questions as the value of the Sunna and of the different rites, and the question of the divine attributes to be seen reflected in the names of God.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 132, S I, 201; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 1954 ed., 239; Ḳifṭī, i, 101; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 1326 ed., 32. (J.-C. VADET)

IBN NĀḲIYĀ, ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. DĀWŪD (410-85/1020-92), poet and man of letters who was famous for his literary knowledge, for an important *dīwān*, now lost, and primarily for a collection of *maḳāmāt*. He was born in Baghdād, where his childhood was spent in the quarter which had earlier been occupied by the palaces of the Ṭāhirids and their out-buildings; he does not seem to have travelled much, his only patron being a certain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shahrazūrī. His character oddly combined a very strong religious devotion with a taste for debauchery. He was accused of carrying his faith so far as to deny the divine attributes, but there were also doubts as to whether he would find salvation. He was very well read, and wrote a *Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt*, preserved in the Escurial (no. 1378). He wrote also a résumé of the *Aghānī*.

Ibn Nāḳiyā appears to have followed the teaching of the Shāfiʿī scholar Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (Brockelmann, S I, 669), on whose death he wrote an elegy (Ibn Khallikān). A cynic, he went so far as to thank God for the littleness of man and for the faults which made him so despise the human species (cf. *Dībādja* of the *Maḳāmāt*). This attitude explains the curious and lugubrious trick which led him to write *maḳāmāt* which he intended to be entertaining, and which are in fact full of both physical and moral miseries: the hideousness of promiscuity, the meanness of great men and of scholars, various ironies of fortune, burlesque panegyrics which please nobody—not even their author, the grotesqueness of uninspired poets, lewd old men, preachers who themselves are haunted by the idea of sin and describe it in great detail. This incoherent, lax and mad universe contains one hero, named Fāris b. Bassām al-Miṣrī. This trivial hero wanders across the whole Muslim world from Arabia as far as Khurāsān. In it he meets periodically a certain Abū ʿAmr, as much of a vagabond and as little of a scholar as he is himself, and cast to play the secondary roles (according to a convention of the genre).

The *maḳāmāt* of Ibn Nāḳiyā, much more than those of al-Hamadhānī and of al-Ḥarīrī and, naturally, of al-Zamakhsharī, reflect an attitude of denigration and sarcasm, the controlled and systematic violence of which surprises the reader. It may be that in the licence and disorder of Ibn Nāḳiyā is to be seen the influence of the *malāmatiyya*, a sort of Muslim Jansenism which places no value on deeds and attaches importance only to sincere faith. Thus Ibn Nāḳiyā's work would seem to be deeply rooted in his own personality and to be, in its deliberate ugliness, the paradoxical expression of a type of doctrine of "justification by faith". In addition to being successful literary works, his *maḳāmāt* are of psychological interest, being perhaps a baroque form of self-criticism, revealing curious and sometimes unsuspected "depths" within the Islamic mentality.

Bibliography: Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, vi, 116; Brockelmann, S I, 486; texts of *Maḳāmāt* in O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur Maqamenlitteratur*, iv, 123-52; Fr. tr. by Cl. Huart, in *JA*, 10th series, xii, 435-54. (J.-C. VADET)

IBN AL-NAṬṬĀḤ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ṢĀLIḤ B. MIHRĀN AL-NAṬṬĀḤ, traditionist, genealogist and historian (d. 252/866). Little is known about his life except that, as his *nisba* (al-Baṣrī) shows, he was born in Baṣra and lived there for the greater part of his life. He used to visit Baghdād in order to hear and relate traditions.

The field in which Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ excelled was history. Among his authorities were al-Wāḳidī, al-Madāʾinī and Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthanna. Thanks to his (lost) work *Kitāb* (or *Akhbār*) *al-dawla al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, later biographers consider him one of the pioneer writers of the dynastic history of the ʿAbbāsids. Whether this work was original or, as F. Rosenthal suggests, a revision of an earlier work written by his teacher, it is clear that Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ provided the outline and the framework for an ʿAbbāsid dynastic history and that his work served as the starting-point for his successors. Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ was also the author of various historical, biographical and genealogical monographs, which are listed in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*. He may also be the author of a work on the excellences and monuments of Medina. However, none of his works is extant and it is remarkable that later historians seldom quote him or his works (see, *e.g.*, Ṭabarī, iii, 276; *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1948, i, 278). It has, however, been suggested by ʿA. al-Dūrī that Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ may have been the author of an important extant work on the ʿAbbāsids known as *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās ... wa wildihi*, preserved in manuscript in the library of the Institute of Higher Islamic Studies in Baghdād. The first pages are missing (204 fols. survive); the name of the author is not given. The work is an annalistic account in biographical form dealing with al-ʿAbbās and his descendants, the ʿAbbāsids. The abrupt manner in which the manuscript ends shows that it is incomplete. A confident attribution of the work to Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ would appear, however, to be rash, in view of the paucity both of the available information on Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ's works and of the deductions which may be drawn from this manuscript.

As a traditionist Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ was also known among the circle of the *Muḥaddithūn*, who thought highly of him and regarded him as trustworthy (*thiḳa*). This judgement enhances his importance as an early historian.

Bibliography: In view of the important place held by Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ in Muslim historiography, the lack of information on him is surprising. Few references are to be found to his life: nevertheless, he is mentioned in Masʿūdī's list of authors (*Murūdj*, ed.-tr. Pellat, § 8) and he figures also among the historians in Sakhāwī's list (mainly derived from Masʿūdī's list, except for its alphabetical arrangement; see F. Rosenthal, *History*, 430 (Arabic tr., 686)); see also *Fihrist*, 107; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 283; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 357-8; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, iii, 74; idem, *al-Mushtabah*, Cairo 1962, i, 644; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1326, ix, 227; idem, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād, vi, 693; idem, *Taḳrīb al-Tahdhīb*, Madīna 1960, ii, 170-1.

Modern Sources: G. Levi Della Vida, *Les "Livres des chevaux"*, Leiden 1928 (Publication de la fondation De Goeje, xxxiv, 8); Brockelmann, S I, 216; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 79, 337, 399 (?), 430 (Arabic tr. by Ṣ. al-ʿAlī with valuable additions, 127, 548, 642, 697); A. Dūrī, *Ḍawʾ djadīd* ..., in *Bull. Coll. Arts and Science*, ii (1957), 65; A. ʿAzzāwī, *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muʾarrikhīn fī ʿaṣr al-Mughūl wa'l-Turkmān*, Baghdād 1957, 238-9. (F. OMAR)

IBN AL-NAẒAR, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-ʿUmānī, Ibāḍī scholar of ʿUmān who lived in the 6th/12th century (he was killed by Khardala b. Samāʿa). He was the author of the *Kitāb al-Daʿāʾim*, a collection of poems on *fiḳh* of which two editions have been published (one of them in Cairo in 1351). Among his other works there should be mentioned an important *Kitāb Silk al-djumān fī siyar ahl ʿUmān*.

Bibliography: A. de C. Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, iii (1885), 19, no. 21; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī, *al-Lumʿa al-murḍiyya*, printed in a collection entitled *Madjmūʿ sittat kutub*, Algiers n.d. [1326?], 217-8; J. Schacht, *Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites*, in *R.Afr.*, c/446-9 (1956), 383, no. 26. (T. Lewicki)

IBN NUBĀTA, Abū Yaḥyā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥudhaḳī al-Fāriḳī, born at Mayyāfāriḳīn at a date not known, that of 335/946 given by his biographers being probably incorrect (cf. Amedroz, *The Marwanid dynasty at Mayyāfāriḳīn*, in *JRAS*, 1903, 125, n.; idem, *Notes on two articles on Mayyāfāriḳīn*, in *JRAS*, 1909, 175), was preacher (*khaṭīb*) at the court of Sayf al-Dawla at Mayyāfāriḳīn and Aleppo. He died in 374/984-5 in his native town. His sermons (*khuṭab*) in rhyming prose and a very elaborate style can be divided into three sections: (1) praise of God and prayer for the Prophet; (2) exhortation to fear God and the Last Judgement and to observe the moral and religious laws, in particular the obligation of the *djihād*; (3) petition for God's help and blessing, ending in a verse of the Ḳurʾān. In addition to the sermons which he preached on ordinary occasions of worship and for religious festivals, Ibn Nubāta, from 348/959 on, often composed sermons for political occasions. His most famous sermons, the *khuṭab djihādiyya*, were written to exhort the population to support Sayf al-Dawla in the war against the Byzantines, and they aroused great enthusiasm. They contain references to contemporary events, for example the taking of Aleppo by the Byzantines in 351/962, the measures taken for the defence of Mayyāfāriḳīn, the arrival in that town of volunteers from Khurāsān, the assassination of Nicephorus Phocas in 969, etc.

Ibn Nubāta's sermons were collected and arranged together with some sermons by his son Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad (*ca.* 390/999) and by his grandson Abu 'l-Faradj (*ca.* 420/1029); collected in about 629/1223, they have been printed in various editions, of which one of the best known is the Beirut edition of 1311.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ ed., i, 350-7; Ibn al-Azraḳ al-Fāriḳī, *Taʾrīkh* ..., MS Brit. Mus. Or. 5803, fol. 114 v. (part not yet printed); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, iii, 83; M. Canard, *Sayf al-Daula, Recueil de textes* ..., Algiers 1934, 129-34, 142-4, 155-64, 167-73, 415-6 (annotated extracts), 283-4; Muḥammad Ṣadruddin, *Saifuddaulah and his time*, Lahore 1930, 168; Zakī Mubārak, *al-Nathr al-fannī*, ii, 159-65; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 307-13, = Eng. tr., 319-25 (translated extracts). See also the translation by de Slane, in *JA*, 3rd series, ix, 66 ff., of the famous sermon on the vision of the Prophet; Brockelmann, I, 92, S I, 149-50. (M. Canard)

IBN NUBĀTA, Abū Bakr Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. al-Khaṭīb ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Nubāta, a poet and prose writer who was famous in his own day. He traced his descent from the tribe of the Djudhām (Ḳaḥṭān) which had migrated to Syria to settle in the neighbourhood of Mayyāfāriḳīn, the town in which his ancestor al-Khaṭīb ʿAbd al-Raḥīm had lived.

Ibn Nubāta however was born in Cairo, in Rabīʿ I 686/April 1287. His father Shams al-Dīn (b. 666/1268, d. 750/1349; see Brockelmann, S II, 47) was a scholar in *ḥadīth*, so that the young Muḥammad grew up in a religious and scholarly atmosphere. From his youth he distinguished himself by his lively intelligence. His father introduced him to the eminent scholars of the time, in particular to Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd.

Early in his career, Ibn Nubāta wrote a number of panegyrics addressed to the dignitaries of Cairo. Having failed to obtain the success for which he had hoped, he set off at the beginning of 716/1316 for Syria, and settled at Damascus. Thence he would visit Aleppo and go fairly often to Ḥamāt, to the court of the scholarly Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, who ruled Ḥamāt from 710 to 732/1311-32, and whose favourite poet he became. To him he addressed his best panegyrics, known as *al-Muʾayyadiyyāt*. Al-Malik al-Muʾayyad paid him an annual allowance, which he sent to him at Damascus. Ibn Nubāta led at this period a happy life and wrote a number of literary treatises commissioned by al-Malik al-Muʾayyad. When the latter died in 732/1332, the poet wrote moving threnodies lamenting his death. Al-Afḍal, who succeeded his father and ruled Ḥamāt from 732 to 742/1332-41, continued for a time to patronize Ibn Nubāta, but then he devoted himself to a life of mysticism and lost interest in all poets; this put an end to the happy period of Ibn Nubāta's life. From then on he wandered from town to town in Syria, earning his livelihood by writing panegyrics. It was during this period that he was made superintendant of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. To fulfil this duty he went there every year and then returned to Damascus. After al-Afḍal's fall and death at Damascus, Ibn Nubāta dedicated to him a threnody which was in fact a lament for the whole of the Ayyūbid dynasty.

In 743/1342, Ibn Nubāta was appointed secretary to the Chancellery (*Dīwān al-inshāʾ*) at Damascus. His misfortunes at this time led him to write poems soliciting the help of the sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan in Cairo, who took pity on him and summoned him to Egypt; but the now elderly poet, who left Damascus in Rabīʿ I 761/January-February 1360, worked only a very short time at the sultan's court, in the *Dīwān al-tawḳīʿ*. After the assassination of the sultan (762/1361), Ibn Nubāta spent his last days in poverty; he died on 8 Ṣafar 768/14 October 1366 and was buried in the cemetery of the mystics.

Ibn Nubāta's poetry, of rather conformist type, is full of rhetorical figures and particularly of *tawriyas*; it does not greatly reflect the events of his time. Ibn Nubāta was a conservative poet, and made use of the traditional genres of poetry: laudatory, amorous, elegiac; he also wrote poems in praise of the Prophet, a genre much in vogue at the time.

His *Dīwān*, assembled by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Bashtakī (d. 830/1426-7), is based on the main collection made by the poet, and on other small *dīwān*s with various titles, the majority of which were compiled by the author himself. This great *dīwān*, which does not however contain all his works, was edited in Alexandria and in Cairo in 1323/1905 (on the manuscripts, see Brockelmann; a further manuscript is in al-Ẓāhiriyya library at Damascus, no. 7681). In addition to this *dīwān*, Ibn

Nubāta wrote many prose works mentioned in the *idjāza* which he gave to his pupil Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, and listed also by Brockelmann. In accordance with the fashion of the period, Ibn Nubāta's prose is characterized by mannerisms of style. The most important of these works were written at the request of the ruler of Ḥamāt, al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, when the poet was in Syria; among them are: *Maṭla' al-fawā'id*, a work of *adab* praised by some men of letters of the period; *Sadj' al-muṭawwaḳ*, biographies of the scholars of the period; *Sarḥ al-'uyūn*, a commentary on the epistle of Ibn Zaydūn, which reflects the author's linguistic, literary and historical erudition; *al-Fāḍil min inshā' al-Fāḍil*, a selection of letters by al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil; *Zahr al-manthūr*, a treatise on the art of letterwriting.

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 329; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311, i, 221; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiv, 322; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1350, iv, 216-23; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1950, xi, 95; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, Cairo 1324, vi, 31; Ibn Ḥididja al-Ḥamawī, *Khizāna*, Cairo 1304, 290-2; Zuruklī, *A'lām*, vii, 268; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifīn*, xi, 273; Aḥmad al-Iskandarī, Aḥmad Amīn and others, *al-Mufaṣṣal fi 'l-adab al-'arabī*, Cairo 1936, ii, 206-34; 'Umar Mūsā Pāshā, *Ibn Nubāta al-miṣrī*, Cairo 1963; Brockelmann, II, 11-2 (10-12). The introduction by Muḥ. al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm to his edition of the *Sarḥ al-'uyūn* (Cairo 1964) contains further bibliographical references and a list of Ibn Nubāta's works.

(J. Rikabi)

IBN NUDJAYM (so called after a remote ancestor), Zayn al-Dīn (or al-'Ābidīn), or simply Zayn b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, a distinguished Ḥanafī scholar. Little is known of the events of his life, except that he was born in Cairo in 926/1520, studied the usual subjects of Islamic and Arabic learning, started to teach and to give *fatwās* at an early age while his teachers were still alive, performed the *ḥadjdj* in 953/1547, taught at the *madrasa* of the *amīr* Ṣarghitmish, and died in 970/1563, when he had not yet reached the limit of his intellectual development; he was buried near the sanctuary of Sayyida Sukayna. His main activity was in the field of *fiḳh* but he was also inclined towards ṣūfism; he was close to 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī [*q.v.*] for ten years and undertook the *ḥadjdj* in his company; he asked al-Sha'rānī whether he should embrace the *ṣūfī* way of life, but al-Sha'rānī dissuaded him from doing so before he had gained full mastery of the *sharī'a*. Ibn Nudjaym was particularly interested in the systematic structure of *fiḳh*, and this interest shows itself in his literary activity, which was very extensive.

(1) His *Kitāb al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir* (printed in Calcutta 1240/1825 and repeatedly in Cairo) is partly based on a work of al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] with the same title; it treats in seven sections of general rules (*ḳawā'id kulliyya*), difficult details (*fawā'id*) chapter by chapter, similar and dissimilar cases (*al-djam' wa 'l-farḳ*), puzzles (*alghāz*), subterfuges or legal devices (*ḥiyal*), distinctions (*furūḳ*), and finally some anecdotes. (2) Of systematic character, too, is Ibn Nudjaym's *al-Fawā'id al-Zayniyya* (printed in Calcutta 1244) in which he established more than one thousand rules or norms (*ḳawā'id*) in *fiḳh*, presumably following the example of Ibn Radjab [*q.v.*]. (3) His smaller treatises and *fatwās* are very numerous; forty of them were collected after his death by his son Aḥmad under the title *al-Rasā'il al-Zayniyya fī madhhab al-Ḥanafiyya* (printed Calcutta 1244 and Būlāḳ 1323, see Brockelmann). (4) Ibn Nudjaym also wrote commentaries on several handbooks of Ḥanafī *fiḳh*, not all of which have been preserved; the most famous of them is *al-Baḥr al-rā'iḳ*, a commentary on the *Kanz al-daḳā'iḳ* of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*]; he only wrote as far as the beginning of the *kitāb al-idjāra*, and the work was completed, with a *Takmila*, by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṭūrī (d. 1004/1595); it was first printed in Cairo, 1311, in eight volumes, seven of which contain *al-Baḥr al-rā'ik* and the eighth the *Takmila*, and several times afterwards; it is one of the great handbooks of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*.

Zayn al-Dīn's younger brother 'Umar, also called Ibn Nudjaym, studied under him and wrote another commentary on the *Kanz al-daḳā'ik*, called *al-Nahr al-fā'iḳ*; he died suddenly, presumably poisoned by a jealous wife of his, in 1005/1596 and was buried near his brother (al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, iii, 206).

Bibliography: Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, iii, 154; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 358; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *al-Ta'līḳāt al-saniyya* (notes on *al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya*), 134; 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, v, 17; Ahlwardt, Catalogue Berlin, iv, nos. 4616, 4831; Catalogue Bankipore, xix/2, no. 1699; Sarkīs, *Mu'djam al-maṭbū'āt*, i, 265; Brockelmann, II, 401, 252, S II, 425, 266; there is also a useful biography at the beginning of the editio princeps of *al-Baḥr al-rā'iḳ*.

(J. Schacht)

IBN RABBAN [see al-ṬABARĪ].

IBN al-RABĪB, Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, known also under the name of al-Ḳāḍī al-Tāhartī (because he was for some time *ḳāḍī* of Tāhart), philologist, poet and man of letters of Ḳayrawān, where he died in 430/1038-9. He is remembered only for a *risāla* addressed to Abu 'l-Mughīra Ibn Ḥazm [see ibn ḥazm] in which he criticizes the Andalusians (text in Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i, 111-3; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 108-9; H. Ḥ. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *al-Muntakhab al-madrasī*, Cairo 1944, 64-6; Eng. tr. P. de Gayangos, *The history of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain*, London 1840, i, 168-70). This *risāla* produced two answers: the first, from Abu 'l-Mughīra Ibn Ḥazm (partial text in Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 113-6), the second from the latter's cousin, 'Alī Ibn Ḥazm (text in al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 109-21; Eng. tr. P. de Gayangos, *op. cit.*, i, 170-90; Fr. tr. Ch. Pellat, in *al-Andalus*, xix/1 (1954), 61-103).

Bibliography: in the article. (Ed.)

IBN RADJAB, Zayn al-Dīn (and Djamāl al-Dīn) Abu 'l-Faradj 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Radjab al-Baghdādī al-Dimashḳī, Ḥanbalī traditionist and jurisconsult, author of a *ṭabaḳāt*-work on the Ḥanbalī school, *Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, a continuation of the work of Ibn Abī Ya'lā [see ibn al-farrā']. Originally from Baghdād, where he was born in 736/1335, he came to Damascus with his father in 744/1343. His father saw to his education, especially in the field of *ḥadīth*, and travelled with him to the Ḥidjāz and Jerusalem for this purpose. Ibn Radjab studied *ḥadīth* also in Cairo. He received *idjāzas* from the traditionists Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Naḳīb (694-764/1294-1362), and Sa'd al-Dīn al-Nawawī (729-805/1328-1402). Several of his works have come down to us, of which, in addition to the above mentioned *ṭabaḳāt*-work, the most important is *al-Ḳawā'id* (Cairo 1352/1933), on Ḥanbalī *fiḳh*. He

taught in Damascus in the madrasas al-Ḥanbaliyya al-Sharīfiyya, and al-ʿUmariyya al-Shaykhiyya, as well as in al-Turba al-ʿIzziyya, and died in 795/1392.

Bibliography: Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fi taʾrīkh al-madāris*, 2 vols., Damascus 1951, index, s.v. (ii, 76-7, for biographical notice); H. Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Baḥrides*, in *REI*, xxviii (1960), 70-71, and notes 375-8; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle* (Damascus 1963), index, s.v.; on *ṭabaḳāt*-works of the Ḥanbalīs and other schools of law, see G. Makdisi, *op. cit.*, 46-67. For a list of Ibn Radjab's works, see Brockelmann, I, 107, S I, 129-30; Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, ii, 77; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 339. (G. Makdisi)

IBN RĀHWAYH, i.e., Abū Yaʿḳūb Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Makhlad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanẓalī al-Marwazī, a prominent traditionist. His father was called Rāhwayh because he had been born on a road. Ibn Rāhwayh himself was born in Marw in 161/778 or 166/782-3, travelled in ʿIrāḳ, Ḥidjāz, Yemen and Syria, visited Baghdād more than once and finally settled in Nīsābūr where he died in 238/853; his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. He heard traditions from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (Brockelmann, S I, 256), Sufyān b. ʿUyayna [*q.v.*], Wakīʿ b. al-Djarrāḥ, an authority of al-Bukhārī, and Djarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (*Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, ii, no. 116); later sources increase the number of his teachers almost indefinitely. He was the teacher of Ibn Ḳutayba and of Muslim [*qq.v.*]; also the authors of the other classical collections (with the exception of Ibn Mādja) as well as Yaḥyā b. Ādam [*q.v.*] and his contemporary Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] transmitted traditions from him. As a traditionist, he was naturally hostile to the *aṣḥāb al-raʾy* [*q.v.*], and Ibn Ḳutayba quotes a number of statements of his to this effect (*Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, 65-67, Lecomte §§ 63-7). Incredible stories are related of his astounding memory, but it is also said that he became confused five months before he died, and in contrast with his deep knowledge of religious subjects he was incompetent in worldly matters. According to the *Fihrist*, he wrote a *Kitāb al-Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh* (a typical "traditionist" title), a *Kitāb al-Musnad*, and a *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*; one part of his *Musnad* has been preserved (Catalogue Cairo[1], 419) and is to be printed in Ḥaydarābād.

A grandson of Ibn Rāhwayh, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, was a traditionist and Mālikī scholar, widely travelled; he was killed by the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*] on his return from the *ḥadjdj* in 294/906-7 (Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1330, 244).

The son of this last, also called Muḥammad, was a prominent Mālikī scholar and also a traditionist; he lived in Baghdād and finally became *ḳāḍī* of Ramla, where he died in 336 or 337/947-949 (*Dībādj*, *ibid.*; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, no. 1262, where these two persons seem to be confounded).

Bibliography: al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, i, no. 1209; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*; G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, index; idem, *Le Traité des divergences du ḥadīṯ d'Ibn Qutayba*, index; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, i, no. 714; *Fihrist*, 230; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, ix, no. 446 (contains only verses in praise of him and traditions related by him); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, vi, no. 3381 (an extensive article, contains a long genealogy); Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, i, 109 (a short notice); idem, *Ikhtiṣār al-Nābulusī*, 68-70 (the same notice, supplemented with material from other sources); Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, i, no. 408; Brockelmann, S I, 257 (read 419 instead of 305). (J. Schacht)

IBN RĀʾIḲ, or Muḥammad b. Rāʾiḳ, first *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The son of an officer of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, and of Khazar origin, Ibn Rāʾiḳ had been chief of police, and then chamberlain during the reign of al-Muḳtadir. On the accession of al-Ḳāhir, at first in disgrace for having supported the former caliph and having fled from Baghdād, he succeeded in being made governor of Baṣra. When, on the accession of al-Rāḍī, he was made governor also of Wāsiṭ, he became one of the most powerful governors, and had no scruples about withholding the payments which were due from him in order to make difficulties for the caliph and the vizier. He obtained, through his appointment as *amīr al-umarāʾ* ([*q.v.*] "commander of the commanders"), the chief command of the army, together with responsibility for the financial administration and for maintaining order throughout the empire (324/936). During the two years of his amīrate, Ibn Rāʾiḳ concerned himself mainly with depriving the caliph of every means of defence, and ordered for this reason the massacre of the Ḥudjariyya [*q.v.*] guards, who had proved intractable. He also entered into conflict with the governors of the Ahwāz, the Banu 'l-Barīdī, from whom he attempted to take their province, and treated in a particularly cruel manner the former vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*], who was intriguing against him. In spite of all this, he was removed from office in 326/938 by his own subordinate, Badjkam, who appointed him as governor of the Diyār Muḍar. After Badjkam's death, he seized the power from the new *amīr* Kurānkidj and succeeded in getting himself appointed again as *amīr al-umarāʾ* in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 329/September 941. But he was not long in office, as he was assassinated in Radjab 330/April 942 by the Ḥamdānid al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, who felt himself to be threatened by him.

Bibliography: H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā, the Good Vizier*, index; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, i, Algiers 1951, 411-4, 420-4; Defrémery, *Mémoire sur les émirs al-oméra*, in *Mémoires prés. à l'Académie des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1st series, ii, Paris 1852, 105-96; Ṣūlī, *Akhbâr ar-Râḍî billâh . . .*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index. (D. Sourdel)

IBN AL-RAḲĪḲ (d. after 418/1027-8), or al-Raḳīḳ Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḳāsim al-Kātib al-Ḳayrawānī, who had been secretary of the Zīrids for about a quarter of a century at the time when Ibn Rashīḳ wrote his *ʿUmda*, was a talented man of letters and chronicler. Ibn Rashīḳ acknowledges that he had a certain poetic gift, although his style was rather that of a secretary, and Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, i, 217-26) has preserved some long fragments from his poems. There also survives his *Ḳuṭb al-surūr* (MS Paris B.N. nos. 4829, 4830 and 4831; for the other MSS, see Brockelmann) devoted to the Bacchic genre in the form in which it was cultivated in the East.

But Ibn al-Raḳīḳ was considered by his contemporaries (see Ibn Rashīḳ, quoted by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 216) and by posterity as an outstanding historian. Ibn Khaldūn regarded him (*Muḳaddima*, Beirut ed. 1956, 4) as "the best specialist on the history of Ifrīḳiya and of the states whose capital was Ḳayrawān". This reputation was fully justified. His *Kitāb Taʾrīkh Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, in several volumes, was the basis for the works of Ibn Shaddād, of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), of Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260),

of al-Tidjānī (d. after 708/1308) and especially of Ibn ʿIdhārī (ca. 706/1306-7), al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1331-2), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1405-6) and al-Maḳrīzī (d. 846/1442-3). Al-Sakhāwī (*Iʿlān*, 122; d. 902/1496-7), al-Shammākhī, and even al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj (*Ḥulal*, p. 289 ff.), who was writing in 1137/1724-5, appear to quote directly from him. Today, however, the *Taʾrīkh* of Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, although it is constantly referred to as surviving in certain private libraries in Tunisia, cannot in fact be traced. An anonymous fragment, defective at the beginning and lacking a colophon, on the history of the Maghrib from the governorship of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ to the reign of Ibrāhīm I, which was discovered at Rabat by M. al-Mannūnī, has been published (Tunis 1968) by M. al-Kaʿbī, who attributes it to Ibn al-Raḳīḳ; but this attribution is in fact very dubious. It should be noted finally, if the passages borrowed from Ibn al-Raḳīḳ's work are to be correctly interpreted, that although compiled or written with scrupulous care it is coloured by the Shīʿī sympathies of its author, a fact which seems to have been forgotten or overlooked by the historians who have included long fragments from it.

Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, who in 388/998 was sent by the Zīrid Bādīs on a diplomatic mission to al-Ḥākim of Egypt, seems, to judge from a poem reproduced by Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, i, 222-4), to have stayed for a long time in Cairo, of whose delights he writes poignantly and nostalgically. Among his other works not yet traced, there are mentioned: *Kitāb al-Nisāʾ* (on women); *al-Rāḥ wa 'l-irtiyāḥ* (on pleasures); *al-Aghānī* (on songs); and *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarāt al-mulūk* (a manual for the perfect courtier).

Bibliography: the sources are given by Brockelmann, I, 161, S I, 252; Amari, *Storia*, ed. Nallino, 1933, i, 39; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, 2nd ed., i, 51-2; H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, i, XIV and ii, 81-2. The best biographical notice on Ibn al-Raḳīḳ is that by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, Cairo ed. 1936, i, 216-26. (M Talbi)

IBN RASHĪD [see rashīd, āl].

IBN RASHĪḲ, Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Rashīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, and also al-Azdī, al-Masīlī, one of the most illustrious men of letters of Ifrīḳiya, born in 390/1000 at M'sila (Masīla = Muḥammadiyya) in the region of Constantine. His father, known by the single name Rashīḳ, was probably a freed slave of Byzantine origin (*rūmī*), who had become a client of the Azd. He followed the trade of goldsmith in M'sila, where the young Ḥasan, after his first studies, soon revealed his poetic talents, as well as a taste for literature. Wishing to perfect his knowledge and to take advantage of his poetic gifts, Ibn Rashīḳ went to Ḳayrawān, then the capital of Ifrīḳiya and a flourishing centre of culture, in 406/1015-6, the year of the accession of the Zīrid al-Muʿizz. His two-fold ambition was amply realized since he was able to profit from the teaching and instruction of the famous masters of the literary school of Ḳayrawān, such as al-Khushanī, al-Ḳazzāz and Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī, perhaps after becoming acquainted with al-Nahshalī in M'sila, of which they were both natives; moreover, as early as 410/1019, he became a protégé of the great patron Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl [*q.v.*], tutor to al-Muʿizz, a poet, man of letters and astronomer (well-known in mediaeval Europe by the names Abenragel, Albohazen and Alboacen) and head of the Zīrid chancellery, where he found a post for the young Ibn Rashīḳ. In the same year, he became court poet to al-Muʿizz and one of the sovereign's intimates. From then onwards his reputation continued to increase, as did his favour with the prince, thanks to his moral qualities, his charming character and his boundless energy: witty, jovial, high-spirited, and indeed a convivial fellow and devotee of the pleasures offered by the Zīrid capital, he was admired for his poetry which enjoyed an exceptional vogue, even in his lifetime, as far afield as Sicily and Spain. He had to face the envy or hostility of many, the most tenacious adversary being his emulator Ibn Sharaf [*q.v.*]; their rivalry, inflamed by al-Muʿizz, who often provoked what amounted to poetic jousts between his two greatest poets, was to end only in exile in Sicily, at the intervention of the Sicilian admirers of the "two Ḳayrawānī masters". On the fall of Ḳayrawān, when it was devastated by the Banū Hilāl in 449/1057, Ibn Rashīḳ followed al-Muʿizz to al-Mahdiyya where, from then onwards, he simultaneously praised both the monarch and his son Tamīm, the governor of that town, although at times he had to suffer from the violent ill-temper of al-Muʿizz, who had been rendered irascible by his defeats. It was as a result of one of these scenes, more probably than after the prince's death (which occurred in 454/1062), that he went to Sicily, where he became reconciled with Ibn Sharaf, who had already preceded him there. But he did not follow his old compatriot to Spain, where they had been invited by the ʿAbbādid of Seville, al-Muʿtaḍid: he died in Mazara in 456/1063-4 or 463/1070-1.

It was principally to his poetry that Ibn Rashīḳ owed his rise and fame. Ibn Khallikān is alone, so far as we know, in describing his *Dīwān* (in the account of Ibn Yaʿīsh, vi, 50, and not in the account of Ibn Rashīḳ, as various studies say), which incidentally was incomplete. The known recensions of his poems, all recent (*Bisāṭ*; *Nutaf*; *Dīwān* ed. Yāghī; see *Bibl.*), do not, however, reproduce everything that has survived from these poems. In them Ibn Rashīḳ handles all the traditional themes of Arab poetry; his panegyrics and occasional verse prove him chiefly a court poet, and his poem on the Ḳayrawān disaster was to serve as a model for many celebrated elegies: this masterpiece of the genre, in which the expression of severe and dignified grief was allied to a vigorous, taut style of remarkable clarity, is not lacking in epic inspiration, like his threnody (rhyme *-ḳū*) on al-Muʿizz.

But his poetry is characterized above all by its conscious artistic elegance, in which the poet's exertions, although evident, nevertheless achieve real beauty. In this sense, Ibn Rashīḳ is a classical poet. He is above all the poet most skilled in felicitously applying the theories and rules of Arabic poetry, so expertly expounded in his major work, *al-ʿUmda fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr wa naḳdih* (published successively in Tunis—vol. i only—in about 1285/1868, then, in its entirety, in Cairo 1325/1907, 1344/1925, 1934 and 1955; abridged several times, particularly by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ al-Ṣiḳillī, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn al-Baghdādī and Abū Nakr Ibn Sarrādj al-Shantarīnī; taught, especially by the author himself in Sicily), which remains the "basic" work for this kind of poetics. This derives from an essential principle which seems to be that of poetry as an "art", as the Arabs have always conceived it—either achieved by effort, *maṣnūʿ*, or spontaneous, *maṭbūʿ*, rather than an "inspiration": poetry, whose importance to the Arabs is primordial and in which the "Moderns" are just as successful as the "Ancients", is superior to prose through its meaning and form; its value—just as for Ḳudāma—varies with that of its components—vocabulary (*al-lafẓ*),

metre (*al-wazn*), meaning (*al-maʿnā*), rhyme (*al-ḳāfiya*), and the culture, intelligence and dexterity of the poet who must be able to handle all types with the same ease and to adapt his poetry according to the subject, the circumstances and the public. The work concludes with some particulars about the life of the Arabs, their language and the knowledge required in order to develop poetic talent. The quotations, which are varied and accompanied by comments, give this work on poetics a quality of *adab* which appreciably enhances it; the reasoned and well-founded judgements which accompany the exposition throughout *al-ʿUmda* in themselves allow Ibn Ras͟hīḳ to be ranked as one of the greatest Arab literary critics. Making use of the various currents of literary criticism which, from Ibn Sallām to al-ʿAskarī, through Ḳudāma, al-Āmidī and al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, reached its final but incomplete form in the East, Ibn Ras͟hīḳ, who devoted himself to the criticism of poetry, composed a work of synthesis that was at once rational, systematic and original, in which he did not confine himself to a theoretical exposé or to the study of one aspect of poetry or of a single poet, but dealt with poetry in its entirety and as a man of letters, since this criticism flows from the complete and copiously illustrated exposition of poetics, while giving a place, along with the classical criteria, to taste and the "literary sense". The favourite problem of the Arab literary critic, plagiarism (*al-sariḳa*)—already considered at the end of *al-ʿUmda*—became with him, in a remarkable work, *Ḳurāḍat al-d̲h̲ahab fī naḳd as͟hʿār al-ʿArab* (ed. K͟hānd̲j̲ī, Cairo 1926; ed. Ch. Bouyahia, forthcoming), a study of poetic creation, and more precisely of the particular use made by each poet of poetic themes and the art of expressing them, and, to some extent, of the evolution of Arab poetry. Ibn Ras͟hīḳ's method of literary criticism finds its application in his admirable *Unmūd̲h̲ad̲j̲ al-zamān fī s͟huʿarāʾ al-Ḳayrawān* (a lost work, the substance of which has, however, mostly been preserved in later biographical dictionaries, which often adopted it as a model, closely imitated but never equalled; Ibn al-Abbār makes no secret of this fact for his *Tuḥfat al-ḳādim*, incomplete ed. under the title *al-Muḳtaḍab min K. Tuḥfat al-ḳādim*, Cairo 1957, introd.), in which, concentrating upon the writings rather than the lives of the Ifrīḳiyan poets of his period, in each notice he sketched a true literary portrait with the help of objective and methodical criticism, infallible acuteness of judgement, a graphic style and pure, sober and closely knit language, whose magnificence is, however, brought to an end as soon as the writer turns from the portrait to narrative. This trilogy forms the crowning achievement of Arab literary criticism. With the genre discussed in *al-Unmūd̲h̲ad̲j̲* may be linked a book on the poets of al-Mahdiyya, *al-Rawḍa al-maws͟hiyya fī s͟huʿarāʾ al-Mahdiyya*, of which we have no exact knowledge. All the other works of Ibn Ras͟hīḳ (about thirty in number, mostly *risāla*s; see their titles in the authors listed in the *Bibl.*; some, perhaps, are merely chapter headings or a mutilated repetition of other titles already listed) are today lost. For the most part, they are connected with his work as literary critic, whether they are concerned with the science of language (such as *al-S͟hud̲h̲ūd̲h̲ fi 'l-lug̲h̲a*, on words rarely employed) or whether they belong to his long polemic with his rival Ibn S͟haraf. For Ibn Ras͟hīḳ's place in the development of rhetoric, see also BADĪʿ, BAYĀN and AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA'L-BAYĀN.

Ibn Ras͟hīḳ is also regarded by all his biographers, both ancient and modern, as an historian. But nothing is less certain; the only historical work that they attribute to him with any precision, *Mīzān al-ʿamal* (a chronicle regarded as mediocre by Ibn K͟haldūn, *Prolègomenes*, i, 8; Rosenthal, i, 10—in terms incompatible with the esteem he felt for the author of *al-ʿUmda*, see *Prolègomenes*, iii, 378, 380-1; Rosenthal, iii, 338, 405), in reality belongs to an Andalusian homonym of his, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAtīḳ b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ras͟hīḳ al-Tag̲h̲labī, d. after 674/1275 (see Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1375/1955, 484). The same must be true of the Commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* which is attributed to him, the homonyms of this author in both East and West being numerous, with writings on various subjects.

Bibliography: In addition to the works listed in the text: Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 53, 57-65; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, Cairo 1950-5, i, 298-304; Yāḳūt, *Irs͟hād*, Cairo 1936-8, viii, 110-21; Ibn K͟hallikān, Cairo 1948, i, 366-8 (no. 157); Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, xvii, MS Paris 2327, 37v.-41v., which mainly uses Ibn Bassām; Ibn S͟hākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1299/1881-2, *passim* and ii, 204 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Bug̲h̲ya*, Cairo 1326/1908, 220; al-Wazīr al-Sarrād̲j̲, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, Tunis 1287/1870-1, 99-102; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K͟halīfa, Istanbul ed., 185, 301, 973, 1029, 1169, 1907, 1918; Brockelmann, I, 307, S I, 539-40; H. H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Bisāṭ al-ʿaḳīḳ fī ḥaḍārat al-Ḳayrawān wa-s͟hāʿirihā Ibn Ras͟hīḳ*, Tunis 1330/1911-2; idem, *al-Muntak͟hab al-madrasī*[2], Cairo 1944, 75-8; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, *Ibn Ras͟hīḳ*, Cairo 1343/1924-5; idem, *al-Nutaf min s͟hiʿr Ibn Ras͟hīḳ*, Cairo 1343/1924-5; Muḥ. al-Nayfar, *ʿUnwān al-arīb*, Tunis 1351/1932-3, i, 52-4; M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*[2], Catania 1933-9, i, 39, ii, 562-7; Ch. Pellat, *Ibn S͟haraf al-Ḳayrawānī: Questions de critique littéraire*, Algiers 1953, Introd. XVIII-XXIII; A. Trabulsi, *La Critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1956, 105-7, and *passim*; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Yāg̲h̲ī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān wa mawḳif Ibn Ras͟hīḳ minhā*, Beirut 1962; idem, *Dīwān Ibn Ras͟hīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī*, Beirut n.d.; H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, ii, 792-4 and index; Ch. Bouyahia, in *Ann. de l'Un. de Tunis*, 1965/ii, 233-44; see also *Bibl.* to Ibn S͟haraf for their polemics. (CH. BOUYAHIA)

IBN RAS͟HĪḲ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ḲUSHAYRĪ, ruler of Murcia, 474/1081-481/1088. He is first heard of as *ʿāmil* of Ḥiṣn Bald̲j̲, the modern Vilches, in 474/1081. In this year Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*] stayed with Ibn Ras͟hīḳ on his way from Seville to take Murcia from Ibn Ṭāhir for his master al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād. Ibn ʿAmmār and Ibn Ras͟hīḳ formed an association, as a result of which, and by a process of which the accounts differ, Ibn Ras͟hīḳ became the independent ruler of Murcia. Ibn Ras͟hīḳ's position, like that of his neighbours at Valencia and Almería, was precarious, being threatened both by internal strife and continual pressure from the Christians. Indeed the Christians possessed an outpost in the very heart of Ibn Ras͟hīḳ's territory at Aledo, 45 km south-west of Murcia.

The advent of the Almoravids and the great defeat suffered by the Christians at Zallāḳa (479/1086) had but slight immediate effect on the Levante. Ibn Ras͟hīḳ was obliged to pay a token tribute to Muʿtamid and Aledo remained in Christian hands. Yūsuf b. Tas͟hfīn's second expedition put an end to this situation. Yūsuf made directly for Aledo

and laid siege to it with the help of his Andalusian allies (481/1088). He had already made a pact with Muʿtamid that Murcia should be restored to him and, though it seems that Ibn Ras͟hīḳ contrived to postpone the evil hour for a time, he was finally deposed under suspicion of actually helping the Christians besieged at Aledo and was delivered as a prisoner to Muʿtamid. ʿAbd Allāh the Zīrī says that Muʿtamid had him put to death but according to Ibn al-K͟haṭīb he was kept prisoner at Seville until released by the Almoravids when they took possession of the city in 484/1091. His subsequent fate is unrecorded.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿAbbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, Cairo 1963, ii, 123-4, 134-5, 140-6, 175; Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, Beirut 1956, 160, 201, 257; ʿAbd Allāh the Zīrī, *Mémoires*, in *And.*, iii (1935), 324-5, 340-3 (text), and iv (1936-9), 45-7, 79-84 (trs.); ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al Marrākus͟hī, *Muʿd͟jib*[2], Leiden 1885, 85, 92; A Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista*, Madrid 1956, 94-6. (J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN RAWĀḤA [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. RAWĀḤA].

IBN AL-RĀWANDĪ or **AL-RĒWENDĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. ISḤĀḲ, Muʿtazilī and heretic, born at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. The unsolved problem of the date of his death (the middle or the end of the 4th/10th century) should probably be decided, in spite of certain indications to the contrary, in favour of the earlier date, given that his work on the supposed criticism of prophecy by the Brahmans (see AL-BARĀHIMA but the article omits to mention this point) is already mentioned in an unpublished fragment by the Jewish *mutakallim* Dāwūd b. Marwān al-Raḳḳī, known as al-Muḳammiṣ, whose literary activity was not later than the last third of the 3rd/9th century (cf. G. Vajda, in *Oriens*, xv (1962), 61, n. 1).

Ibn al-Rāwandī's intellectual development is difficult to trace. At first an adherent of Muʿtazilism, he then left his friends and attacked them mercilessly, emphasizing their real or apparent inconsistencies, deducing heretical conclusions from their speculations, and provoking from them, but probably after he had left them, refutations no less violent. His attachment, at least temporarily, to S͟hīʿism seems undeniable, but it is even more certain that he turned after this to free thought (*zandaḳa*), perhaps under the influence of Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ [*q.v.*], as stormy a figure as himself. It is not clear whether he ended as a sceptic or whether there is some truth in the Muʿtazilīs' claim that he finally repented. Whatever the facts may have been, a discerning scholar like al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*] pays homage to his percipience and his perfect mastery of language.

There are also several obscure points in the bibliography of Ibn al-Rāwandī. The *Fihrist* gives two lists of works which were attributed to him: one consists of eight titles, the other, incompletely transmitted, thirty-seven, the first seven of which are considered to date from his Muʿtazilī period; the second list contains none of the titles enumerated in the first (*Tād͟j*, *Zumurrud͟h*, *Naʿt al-ḥikma*, *Dāmig͟h*, *Ḳaḍīb*, *Farīd* (or *Firind*?), *Murd͟jān*, *Luʾluʾa*); on the other hand it lists, under numbers 34, 35 and 36, some refutations supposedly composed by Ibn al-Rāwandī himself (see J. Fück, *Texts . . . from Ibn al-Nadīm's Kitab al-Fihrist*, in *Professor Muhammad Shafiʿ Presentation Volume*, Lahore 1955, 72 f.). H.S. Nyberg has compiled (Arabic introduction to his ed. of the *K. al-Intiṣār*, Cairo 1925, 32 f., in French in A. N. Nader, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, *Le Livre du Triomphe*..., Beirut 1957, xxviii-xxx) a list of nineteen works to which should be added a *Kitāb al-K͟hāṭir* and perhaps a *Kitāb al-Maʿrifa*, refuted by al-D͟jubbāʾī (see A. Borisov, in *SO*, iv (1947), 81 f.).

Fragments of three of his works are preserved in works written by those who refuted his ideas: (1) the *Kitāb Faḍīḥat al-Muʿtazila* is contained, divided up but the major part of it reproduced, in the *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* of al-K͟hayyāṭ. Ibn al-Rāwandī's attack was in its first part a reply to an apologia, or rather a panegyric, of the Muʿtazilī school (*Faḍīlat al-Muʿtazila*) by al-D͟jāḥiẓ, while the second part consisted of a defence of the S͟hīʿa. Nyberg's ed. has been reproduced, with a French translation (to be used with caution) by A. N. Nader, Beirut 1957. (2) Fragments of his *Kitāb al-Dāmig͟h*, written against the Ḳurʾān, were reproduced by the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-D͟jabbār [*q.v.*] in the course of his refutation (also lost) of Abū ʿAlī al-D͟jubbāʾī [*q.v.*]. These fragments are not the same as those reproduced later by Ibn al-D͟jawzī in his *Muntaẓam* (see *al-Mug͟hnī*, xvi, Cairo 1380/1960, 389-94, and also 156 and 416. The purely dialectical refutation of the *Barāhima* in vol. xv of *al-Mug͟hnī*, Cairo 1915, 109-46, does not mention Ibn al-Rāwandī at all, but see pp. 73 and 127; see also by the same, *Tat͟hbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUt͟hmān, Beirut 1966, 51 f., 63, 90 f., 128 f., 222, 224 f., 232, where the use of Ibn al-Rāwandī's works by S͟hīʿī propagandists is stressed). (3) Some fragments of the *Kitāb al-Zumurrud͟h* are preserved in the *Mad͟jālis* of the Ismaʿīlī al-Muʾayyad fī 'l-Dīn [*q.v.*], ed. and tr. by P. Kraus in *Beiträge* (see bibl.).

The quotations, whose verbatim accuracy is not certain, which are found in the *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* of al-Māturīdī [*q.v.*], MS Cambridge Add. 3651, 96 v., 101 v. (particularly against al-Warrāḳ) and in Nāṣir-i K͟husraw [*q.v.*], *Kitāb-i D͟jāmiʿ al-Ḥikmatayn*, ed. Corbin-Moin, Tehrān 1953, 232 ff. (against the "*Ḥas͟hwiyya*", but it does not deal with those who are usually referred to by this name in the Sunnī sources) have still to be investigated.

The plentiful extracts from the *K. al-Zumurrud͟h* provide a fairly clear indication of the most heterodox doctrine of Ibn al-Rāwandī, that for which posterity has been least willing to forgive him: a biting criticism of prophecy in general and of the prophecy of Muḥammad in particular; he maintains in addition that religious dogmas are not acceptable to reason and must, therefore, be rejected; the miracles attributed to the prophets, persons who may reasonably be compared to sorcerers and magicians, are pure invention, and the greatest of the miracles in the eyes of orthodox Muslims, the Ḳurʾān, gets no better treatment: it is neither a revealed book nor even an inimitable literary masterpiece. In order to cloak his theses, which attack the roots of all types of religion, Ibn al-Rāwandī used the fiction that they were uttered by the Brahmans. His reputation as an irreligious iconoclast spread in the 4th/10th century beyond the borders of Muslim literature: his name is mentioned on several occasions by the Ḳaraite Jewish writers Salmon b. Yeruḥam and Yefet b. ʿAlī as that of a particularly dangerous and virulent heretic.

Several generations of Muslim theologians devoted themselves to refuting the attacks of Ibn al-Rāwandī: al-K͟hayyāṭ, al-D͟jubbāʾī, Abū Sahl al-Nawbak͟htī, Abū Hās͟him, al-As͟hʿarī, al-Māturīdī, al-Kaʿbī, to mention only a few of the earliest of them.

Bibliography: The basic work by P. Kraus, *Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte*, in *RSO*, xiv (1934), 93-129, 335-79 (with his article Ibn al-Rāwandī in *EI*[1], Supplement) gives almost all

the bibliography prior to its publication; there should be added (what follows is a selection only): for the references to Ibn al-Rāwandī in Judaeo-Arabic literature, S. Poznański, in *MGWJ*, li (1907), 731 f.; other details of this (and in particular of the affinity between Ibn al-Rāwandī and the slightly later Jewish heretic Ḥayyawayh al-Balkhī) in the work in Hebrew by M. Zucker, *Rav Saadya Gaon's Translation of the Torah*, New York 1959, 13-5, 29-33; see also G. Vajda, in *REJ*, xcix (1935), 88 f. A. Badawi has translated into Arabic the monograph by Kraus: *Min ta'rīkh al-ilḥād fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo 1945, 77-188. Passages from Tawḥīdī: *al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, Cairo 1373/1953, ii, 14 and *al-Baṣāʾir wa 'l-dhakhāʾir*, same date and place, 183. The notice by Ibn Murtaḍā on Ibn al-Rāwandī may be read in the ed. by S. Diwald-Wilzer, *Die Klassen der Muʿtaziliten*, Wiesbaden 1961, 92, lines 1-15. The passage from Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, quoted by Kraus, *Beiträge*, 379, is found in the most recent ed. by I. Sāmarrāʾī, Baghdād 1959, 150. See also the notices in Brockelmann, S I, 340 f., in F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 1967, 620 f. and in Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², i, 252 f.; further, H. S. Nyberg, *ʿAmr Ibn Ubaid et Ibn al-Rawendi, deux reprouvés*, in *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1957, 125-36. A preliminary sketch, so far only fragmentary, of a doctrinal study (premature in view of the state of the documentation but excellent so far as it goes) is J. van Ess, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, xlv (1963), 79-85 and *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī*, Wiesbaden 1966, passages indicated in the analytical index, p. 495. (P. KRAUS-[G. VAJDA])

IBN RIḌWĀN, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. RIḌWĀN B. ʿALĪ B. DJAʿFAR AL-MIṢRĪ, a renowned physician and medical author and polemist of Egypt. We are well informed about his life and personal circumstances because he composed an autobiography, the essence of which has been preserved by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, when he was approaching sixty. It is pervaded by a strong feeling of complacency which is, perhaps, explained by his experiences and explains, in its turn, his addiction to polemics. He was born in 388/998, the son of a baker in Giza (Djīza) near Cairo. He was very poor, had a hard youth, and had to earn his living and the money for his instruction by astrological forecasting in the streets and by similar means. He never had a teacher in medicine, which became a matter of reproach to him later, and he studied exclusively from books. He says himself that he did not possess the means to pay the apprentice's fee demanded by medical practitioners. He also was unable to marry until he was thirty. But after his thirtieth year he began to acquire a good medical reputation, and when he was appointed Chief Physician of Egypt by the Fāṭimid Caliph of Cairo (it cannot have been al-Ḥākim who disappeared in 411/1021, when Ibn Riḍwān was only twenty-three years old, but was probably al-Mustanṣir, 427/1036-487/1094), he acquired prosperity and wealth. Abu 'l-Muʿaskar al-Ḥusayn b. Maʿdān, the ruler of Makrān [*q.v.*], consulted him when he was stricken by hemiplegia. Ibn Riḍwān never left Egypt and perhaps not even the immediate neighbourhood of Cairo, where he became "one of the foremost to give information about the branches of knowledge in which he claimed authority" (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī). The site of his house remained known for a long time. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, he adopted an orphan girl in the period of famine and plague which started in 445/1053, and he educated her and she grew up in his house; but once when he left her alone, she took gold to the amount of 20,000 dīnārs and valuables and fled, and nothing more was heard of her; thereafter, his mind became deranged. Ibn Riḍwān was inclined to acrimonious polemics against his predecessors and contemporaries, including Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, al-Rāzī, Ibn al-Djazzār, Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Ibn Buṭlān [*qq.v.*] and others. Whereas he is unanimously praised as a medical practitioner, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa calls him "a better medical man (than Ibn Buṭlān) and better trained in the philosophical and associated sciences", he seems to have been unhappy in his personal relationships. According to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, "he was a man of narrow mind and not of sound judgment. He was, moreover, not of good looks and appearance. Nevertheless, many pupils followed his lectures and studied under him, and his fame spread abroad"; but "his pupils used to relate about him ridiculous things concerning his medical argumentations, astrological sayings and logical assertions, if those who have related them are right." Among his disciples were the Fāṭimid prince, philosopher, author and bibliophile al-Mubashshir b. Fātik [*q.v.*] (Brockelmann, I, 600; S I, 829), and the Jewish physician and bibliophile Afrāʾīm (Ephraim) b. al-Zaffān; he was also in friendly relations with an otherwise unknown Jewish physician, Yahūdā b. Saʿāda, to whom he addressed two treatises. Ibn Riḍwān died, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, in 453/1061 (or, according to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, in the sixties of that century).

Ibn Riḍwān's literary output was very extensive; the list of titles given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, if duplicates are eliminated, comes near to one hundred, though many of them no doubt represent short treatises, unfinished notes, and the like. Some twenty have been preserved in manuscripts. A few are concerned with astronomy, logic, philosophy and theology but the great majority are medical and in substance follow closely the works of Galen. Ibn Riḍwān possessed a wide knowledge of ancient medicine but he was not an original thinker, being a mere exponent of Hippocrates's and Galen's thought, without adding anything of his own; this was clearly seen by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, who called his works not very important, derivative, but well arranged. This lack of originality becomes almost a positive quality in the thought of Ibn Riḍwān, to such a degree that he did not allow an original thinker such as al-Rāzī to deviate in the least from the thought of Galen, and indeed most of his polemics have their starting-point in this contention of his. In addition, as Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa observes, Ibn Riḍwān "was insolent in what he said, and he abused those with whom he had an argument". This is amply borne out by the contents of his treatises against Ibn Buṭlān (see below).

Among his more important and better known works are: (1) a Commentary on the *Quadripartitum* of Ptolemy (*Sharḥ al-maḳālāt al-arbaʿ li-Baṭlūmiyūs*); it was translated into Latin and into Turkish, and the Latin translation was printed, together with the *Quadripartitum*, among the incunabula of Venice (and later) several times; (2) a Commentary on Galen's *Ars parva* (*Sharḥ al-ṣināʿa al-ṣaghīra li-Djālīnūs*); this, too, was translated into Latin, and the translation was repeatedly printed, together with the text of Galen, before and after 1500 (Brockelmann, I, 637, no. 14, and S. I, 886, no. 24 are to be combined); it was also translated into Hebrew; (3) *Kitāb al-Uṣūl fi 'l-ṭibb*, a compendium (*kunnāsh*),

another of Ibn Riḍwān's books to have been translated into Hebrew; (4) *al-Kitāb al-Nāfiʿ fī taʿlīm ṣināʿat al-ṭibb*; in this book Ibn Riḍwān, displaying a remarkable knowledge of Greek medical writers, tries to show that learning medicine from books is preferable to learning it from teachers, turning the necessity of his own study into a virtue; the work contains important information on the transmission of Greek science to the Arabs; summary of the existing part in Schacht-Meyerhof, *Controversy*, 20-8; (5) *Risālā fī dafʿ maḍārr al-abdān bi-arḍ Miṣr*, a treatise dealing with the conditions of health and disease in Egypt and Cairo, the plague and its causes, preventive measures and hygienic rules for the inhabitants of Egypt, including a medical topography of Cairo and its suburbs in the 5th/11th century; translation of this last section by M. Meyerhof in *Sitzungsber. d. Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät*, liv, Erlangen 1923, 197-214, and in *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Médecine Tropicale et d'Hygiène*, ii, Cairo 1929, 211-35; see also K. Vollers, *ZDMG*, xliv (1890), 386 f.; (6) finally, his controversy with Ibn Buṭlān of which three treatises of his have been preserved (edited and translated in Schacht-Meyerhof, *Controversy*), whereas two and perhaps three more have been lost; the controversy started from a disputed point of physiology, and finished with Ibn Riḍwān calling upon the practitioners of Cairo to boycott Ibn Buṭlān.

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(J. Schacht)

IBN RŪḤ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ b. Abī Baḥr al-Nawbakhtī, third *safīr* or *wakīl* (305/917-326/938) of the absent twelfth *imām* of the Twelver Shīʿīs, during the lesser *Ghayba* [*q.v.*]. Of the Nawbakhtī family only on the mother's side, he was from Ḳumm. He held the title *bāb* already under Ḥasan ʿAskarī [*q.v.*], and transmitted *ḥadīths* from earlier *imāms*. Appointed successor by the second *safīr*, Abū Djaʿfar al-ʿUmarī, despite some opposition, he made himself the unquestioned centre of Twelver Shīʿism at Baghdād under al-Muḳtadir. During a time in hiding, he appointed al-Shalmaghānī [*q.v.*] his deputy, but then denounced him as a heretic. Along with his adherents, the Banū Furāt, Ibn Rūḥ was accused of correspondence with the Ḳarāmiṭa rebels. For five years (312/924-317/929) he was imprisoned, allegedly on a fiscal complaint. Freed by Muʾnis, under al-Rāḍī he was favoured by the court. Ibn Rūḥ calmed disputes among Shīʿī courtiers and suavely avoided giving offence to Sunnīs. Before his death, he appointed Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sāmarrī his successor.

Bibliography: ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Khānadān-e Nawbakhtī*, Teheran 1311 s., 2nd impression 1345, 212-24, gives bibliography. In Western languages, see D. Donaldson, *The Shīʿite religion*, London 1933, 253-5, and Ibn Khallikān, tr. De Slane, i, 439.

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

IBN AL-RŪMĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās b. Djuraydj (or Djurdjis or Djurdjīs), poet of the 3rd/9th century, was born at Baghdād on 2 Radjab 221/21 June 836 and died there in 283/896 (some sources give the date of his death as 276/889 or 284/897). His father, al-ʿAbbās, a Byzantine freedman and a client of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿĪsā b. Djaʿfar, was probably the first member of the family to embrace Islam. His mother Ḥasana, the daughter of ʿAbd Allāh al-Sidjzī, was of Persian origin.

Little is known of his studies. It is known, however, that he went to a school attended by upper-class children and that he was the pupil of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, the friend of his father and like him the son of a freedman and a client of the Banu 'l-ʿAbbās. At various times he was in contact with Thaʿlab, al-Mubarrad, al-Zadjdjādj, al-Akhfash III, Ibn al-Sarrādj and many other men of letters of the period, which provided him with a solid cultural background, the evidence of which is found in his work.

Al-Masʿūdī comments that "poetry was only the least of his talents", and al-Maʿarrī describes him as being primarily a philosopher. During his lifetime his fame as a "scholar" seems to have weighed heavily upon him; some spiteful critics considered that it accorded ill with the bouts of drinking from which he was unable to refrain.

His poetic talent showed itself at an early age. There exist poems which he is said to have composed while at school, and at the age of twenty he had already made his name as a poet. His poems were the subject of study and commentary, and he no longer paid any attention to malicious criticism. Convinced of his own worth and of the poet's sacred right to receive due reward, he preferred a career as a composer of panegyric to an appointment at the chancery which had been offered to him and which later he was to seek in vain.

His violent Shīʿism and his Muʿtazilism inevitably closed to him the doors of the court, to which he gained access only towards the end of his life. The branch of the ʿAbbāsids of which he was the client was unable to be of any help to him. ʿĪsā b. Djaʿfar, the father of his patron ʿUbayd Allāh, was the brother of Zubayda, the mother of al-Amīn; he had succeeded, in spite of the opposition of the Hāshimī majority, in having his nephew proclaimed heir presumptive and, in the conflict which arose soon after between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, he had openly taken the side of the former. Al-Maʾmūn's victory banished him and his descendants from the court, and no further mention of the latter is found.

In 250/864, Ibn al-Rūmī, who until then had

maintained a certain *taḳiyya*, openly gave his support to the Zaydī revolt begun at Kūfa by the Ṭālibī Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar. Each of the two lamentations which he dedicated to Yaḥyā was a Shīʿī manifesto, a call to revolt and a violent and insulting threat directed at the ʿAbbāsids. This same hostility to the dynasty is found in other poems preserved in the *Dīwān*.

But the poet seems to have regained the favour of his patrons under the regency of al-Muwaffaḳ, the brother of al-Muʿtamid, who adopted a conciliatory policy towards the ʿAlids. He is even said to have been in the entourage of al-Muʿtaḍid, the son of al-Muwaffaḳ, who continued the policy of his father and who, himself a poet, brought back the vanished tradition of the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* by establishing in his palace various scholars and men of letters.

As the result of his long opposition to the party in power, Ibn al-Rūmī must have been obliged to seek for wealthy patrons outside the court. His *Dīwān* gives evidence of his relationship with the Banū Ṭāhir and in particular with ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād, Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl, Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul, Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad and his son al-ʿAlāʾ, the Banū Wahb and especially al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh, Aḥmad b. Thawāba, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir, the Banu ʾl-Djarrāḥ, the Banu ʾl-Furāt, the Banū Nawbakht and a great number of minor secretaries too many to enumerate. Many of them showed him favour and gave him presents. But he was extravagant, thriftless and difficult to please, and his praise almost always turned to invective against those who had not fulfilled all his wishes. It must also be recognized that the attitude he had adopted towards the authorities earlier in his life discouraged some high officials from compromising themselves by rewarding him. Others were unable to forget his Byzantine and Christian origin, in spite of his being a Muslim and in spite of the fanatical anti-Christian attitude which, as a new convert, he adopted. Yet others were offended by his arrogance and aggressiveness, and by the proud and threatening manner which he sometimes adopted when reminding them of a promise or trying to hasten a gift. His bitter and sometimes even scurrilous epigrams caused a fair number of patrons to rebuff him.

It is, however, difficult to believe that these epigrams were the direct cause of his death, as is stated, though with many reservations, in some Shīʿī and Muʿtazilī sources. Al-Ḳāsim, who is accused of having had him poisoned at his table (it is the caliph who is accused in MS Paris 3594), had at this time not yet become vizier; he was engaged in avoiding any scandal and in trying to gain the good opinion of all in order to ensure that he would be appointed to succeed his father. His hatred of the Shīʿīs and his bloodthirsty disposition did not become apparent until later. But the poet's death aroused suspicion because of the way in which al-Ḳāsim's followers had intentionally spread rumours in order to frighten the poet, who had become old, sick and nervous. Nevertheless, the various details given of his final illness seem rather to be the signs of diabetes.

Popular rumour is also probably responsible for the fictional statements of the poet's pathological superstition and tendency to hypochondria. There seems nothing in his general life to justify them. Any truth which may lie behind these allegations may perhaps be sought in the last years of his life, when he lost one after the other the four (at least) children of his late marriage, as well as his wife, and found himself banished and threatened by his chief patron al-Ḳāsim.

Ibn al-Rūmī did not have the leisure to collect his poems into a *dīwān* himself. The first to undertake this was a certain al-Musayyabī, probably ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Musayyab, a friend of the poet and the author of a biography of him which has not survived. They were then collected by al-Ṣūlī, who produced another recension of the *Dīwān* in which the poems were arranged alphabetically. His work was continued and completed by Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib, the *warrāḳ* of Ibn ʿAbdūs al-Djahshiyārī, who is said to have added a thousand verses collected from the various existing recensions. The manuscripts of these recensions which have survived total nearly seventeen thousand verses.

Only a small part of this enormous *Dīwān* has been published. In 1917, Muḥammad Sharīf Salīm had the first two letters printed; five years later there appeared five other letters published by the same editor, who died without seeing his work in print. This was the only attempt at a critical edition of the *Dīwān*; and in fact Salīm had used only one manuscript (MS Cairo 139), so that his work could profitably be done again, this time with a comparison of all the existing manuscripts.

In addition to this, there have been published some extracts, among which may be mentioned the anthology made by al-Bārūdī (Cairo 1909), the selection by Kāmil Kīlānī (Cairo 1924) and that by al-ʿAḳḳād (Cairo, *circa* 1930).

In the greater part of his work Ibn al-Rūmī shows himself to be a neo-classicist; but his production was so varied that it is difficult to class him with one specific school of poets. Indeed, side by side with formal poems, which in their thought, their art and their studied elegance foreshadow Mutanabbī, are found a great number of poems whose spontaneity, sensitivity, naturalness and clarity prefigure the expressive poetry of the *Rūmiyyāt* of Abū Firās and the nature-poems of which al-Ṣanawbarī was to be the master. In addition there exist, in his *Dīwān*, hundreds of poems, mainly short, in which he shows himself to be, more than anyone else among his contemporaries, a society poet, able to make rhymes at command and seeking to dazzle with his learning, his affectedness, his fondness for artificiality and his search for things witty and unusual. He was above all an example of the Baghdādī tradition which was to distinguish court poetry in the following century.

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1350, ii, 188, 197; Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS ar. 3594, 77-8; for the recension of the *Dīwān*: *Fihrist*, 165, 304.

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IBN RUSHAYD, full name MUḤIBB AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR B. RUSHAYD AL-FIHRĪ AL-SABTĪ, jurist and man of letters, a native, as indicated by his *nisba*, of Ceuta. He was born there in 657/1259 and studied there the sciences of tradition and of grammar. In 683/1284, he decided to travel to the east in order to perform the Pilgrimage and to complete his studies. At Alméria, where he embarked, he met the poet Ibn al-Ḥakīm al-Lakhmī al-Rundī, then a minister of the Naṣrid dynasty, formed a friendship with him and travelled with him in Ifrīḳiya, Egypt, Syria and the Ḥidjāz for three years. In Spain, in North Africa and in the east, he studied under famous teachers. On his return to Ceuta he lived for several years in obscurity, then, at the invitation of Ibn al-Ḥakīm al-Rundī, he went in 692/1292-3 to the Naṣrid kingdom and assumed the offices of *imām* and *khaṭīb* in the great mosque of Granada, where he gave a commentary every day on two *ḥadīths* of al-Bukhārī. He was next apppointed *ḳāḍī al-manākiḥ*. After the assassination of his patron (Shawwāl 708/March 1309), Ibn Rushayd went to the court of the Marīnid ruler ʿUthmān b. Abī Yūsuf, who appointed him to lead the prayers in the old mosque at Marrākush. He was held by all in high esteem, and at the end of his life became one of the intimates of the Marīnid sultan. He died at Fez on 23 Muḥarram 721/22 February 1321.

The sources are unanimous in praising the extent of his learning, his competence in the science of *ḥadīth*, his austerity and his modesty. A Mālikī jurist, he was also an eloquent orator. Al-Maḳḳarī lists about ten titles of works by Ibn Rushayd. They cover the science of *ḥadīth* in all its aspects; mathematics; and Arabic language, literature and metrics. Four works have survived in manuscript. The greatest part of his *riḥla*, entitled *Māl al-ʿayba fī mā djumiʿa bi-ṭūl al-ghayba fi 'l-riḥla ilā Makka wa Ṭayba*, exists in the form of still unpublished fragments preserved in the Escurial (MSS nos. 1680, 1735, 1736, 1737—autographs—, 1739; cf. H. Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, iii). Recounting the author's visits to Tunis, Damascus and Cairo, they contain very little geographical information and consist of a series of biographical notices on men of letters, interspersed with poetical quotations. Of the works on *fiḳh* there are preserved only the *Kitāb Ifādat al-naṣīh bi 'l-taʿrīf bi-isnād al-djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, written in 689/1290 (MSS Escurial², 1732/1 and 1785/1), a collection of biographies of Andalusian jurists, and the *Kitāb al-Sanan al-abyan wa'l-mawrid al-amʿan fi 'l-muḥākama bayna 'l-imāmayn fi 'l-sanad al-muʿanʿan* (MS Escurial², 1806), a biography of the traditionists al-Bukhārī and Muslim. A short fragment (40 fols.) of the treatise on metrics by Ibn Rushayd, *Djuzʾ mukhtaṣar fi 'l-ʿarūḍ*, also exists in the Escurial at the beginning of manuscript 1737.

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(R. ARIÉ)

IBN RUSHD, ABU 'L-WALĪD MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. RUSHD, AL-ḤAFĪD (the grandson), the "Commentator of Aristotle", famous in the Mediaeval West under the name of Averroes, scholar of the Ḳurʾānic sciences and the natural sciences (physics, medicine, biology, astronomy), theologian and philosopher.

I. *Life*. He was born at Cordova in 520/1126 and died at Marrākush in 595/1198. The Arabic biographical sources are: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, *BAH*, vi, no. 853; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*; al-Anṣārī, supplement to the dictionaries of Ibn Bashkuwāl and of Ibn al-Abbār (notice published in the complete works of Renan, iii, 329); al-Dhahabī, *Annales* (*ibid.*, 345); ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*.

Ibn Rushd belonged to an important Spanish family. His grandfather (d. 520/1126), a Mālikī jurisconsult, had been *ḳāḍī* and *imām* of the Great Mosque of Cordova. His father was also a *ḳāḍī*. The biographers stress the excellent juridical education of the future Commentator; his teacher was al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū

Muḥammad ibn Rizḳ and he became very competent in the science of *khilāf* (controversies and contradictions in the legal sciences). He learned by heart the *Muwaṭṭa'*. Ibn al-Abbār mentions that he studied "a little" with Ibn Bashkuwāl, which implies that he touched on the science of the traditions of the Prophet; but the same author says that the science of law and of the principles (*uṣūl*), *dirāya*, interested him more than the science of traditions, *riwāya*. He worked also on Ashʿarī *kalām* which he was later to criticize. In medicine, he was the pupil of Abū Djaʿfar Hārūn al-Tadjāli (of Trujillo), who was in addition a teacher of *ḥadīth* (cf. *ʿUyūn*). Ibn al-Abbār mentions another of his teachers, Abū Marwān ibn Djurrayūl (notice no. 1714), who (he says) was one of the foremost practitioners of his art. The biographers do not mention philosophic studies. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa limits himself to reporting, following al-Bādjī, that Averroes studied "philosophical sciences" (*al-ʿulūm al-ḥikmiyya*) with the physician Abū Djaʿfar. Ibn al-Abbār mentions in passing that he "inclined towards the sciences of the Ancients (*ʿulūm al-awā'il*)", probably an allusion to his knowledge of Greek thought.

In 548/1153, Averroes was at Marrākush. Renan supposes that he was occupied there in carrying out the intentions of the Almohad ʿAbd al-Mu'min "in the building of colleges which he was founding at this time". It is known, through the Commentary of the *De Caelo*, that he was engaged there in astronomical observations. It is perhaps to this period of his life that he is referring in the Commentary of book Λ of the *Metaphysics*, when he speaks of the researches which must be done on the movements of the planets in order to found an astronomy which would be physical and not only mathematical: "I hoped in my youth that it would be possible for me to carry out this research successfully; but now that I am old, I have lost this hope . . .". It is possible that he met at this time Ibn Ṭufayl, who was to play an important part in his career as a philosopher by presenting him to Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, the successor of ʿAbd al-Mu'min. Al-Marrākushī (*Muʿdjib*, ed. Dozy, 174-5) obtained the account of this interview from a pupil of Ibn Rushd, who reported the actual words of his teacher. The prince questioned Averroes on the sky: is it a substance which has existed from all eternity, or did it have a beginning? (It is known that, ever since Plato's *Timaeus* and the *De Caelo* and the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle down to Proclus and Johannes Philoponus (Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī), this problem had been fiercely debated). Ibn Rushd was worried by this dangerous question, but Yūsuf understood this and began a discussion with Ibn Ṭufayl, displaying a wide knowledge of the ancient philosophers and of the theologians. Put thus at ease, Ibn Rushd in his turn began to speak and was able to show the extent of his learning. He received rewards and thenceforth enjoyed the prince's favour. This event may be dated to 1169 or slightly earlier. Al-Marrākushī also tells us that the Commander of the Faithful complained to Ibn Ṭufayl of the obscurity of the texts of Aristotle and of their translations. He wished them to be clearly explained. It is said that Ibn Ṭufayl, considering himself to be too old and too busy, asked Averroes to undertake the work.

Averroes remained in favour throughout the reign of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (558-80/1163-84). In 565/1169, he was *ḳāḍī* of Seville (*Muʿdjib*, 222). In a passage in the fourth book of the *De partibus animalium*, completed in that year, he points out the duties of his post, and the fact that he was separated from his books which remained in Cordova, all things which made difficult the writing of his paraphrase (Munk, 422). In 567/1171, he was back at Cordova, still as *ḳāḍī*. During this period he increased his rate of production of commentaries in spite of his numerous obligations: he travelled to various towns of the Almohad empire, in particular to Seville, from which he dates several of his works between 1169 and 1179.

In 578/1182, at Marrākush, he succeeded Ibn Ṭufayl as chief physician to Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (Tornberg, *Annales Regum Mauritaniae*, 182). Then he received the office of chief *ḳāḍī* of Cordova.

During the reign of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99), Ibn Rushd still enjoyed the prince's favour. It was only during the last years (from 1195) that he fell into disgrace. Several stories exist on this matter. It seems that the caliph, at that time engaged in Spain in a war against the Christians, thought it advisable to gain the support of the *fuḳahā'*, who had long imposed on the people their rigorous orthodoxy (cf. D. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim theology*, New York 1903, 255). Indeed, not only was Averroes banished to Lucena, near Cordova, and his doctrine pronounced anathema following his appearance before a tribunal consisting of the chief men of Cordova, but edicts were issued ordering that philosophical works be burned and forbidding these studies, which were considered dangerous to religion. Those who were jealous of Ibn Rushd or doctrinally opposed to him took advantage of the occasion to criticize him in vulgar epigrams, which have been published and translated by Munk (427-8 and 517).

But once he had returned to Marrākush, to a Berber milieu which was less sensitive on matters of doctrine, the caliph repealed all these edicts and summoned the philosopher again to his court. Ibn Rushd did not have long to enjoy this return to favour, since he died in Marrākush on 9 Ṣafar 595/11 December 1198. He was buried there outside the gate of Taghzut. Later his body was taken to Cordova, where the mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī, still a young man, was present at his funeral (cf. H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabī*, 32-8).

II. *Works*. The chronology of the works of Averroes has been established by M. Alonso (*La cronología en las obras de Averroes*, in *Miscelanea Camillas*, i (1943), 411-60). When Ibn Rushd was presented to the caliph Yūsuf, he had already written some paraphrases or short commentaries (*djawāmiʿ*) on the *Organon*, the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics*, as well as the first redaction of his great medical work, the *Colliget* (*al-Kulliyyāt*, the Book of Generalities), requesting his friend Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr to write a book on the "particularities" (*al-umūr al-djuz'iyya*, therapeutics), "so that their two works together should form a complete treatise on the art of medicine" (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa). He continued to write the short or middle commentaries (*talkhīṣ*) between 1169 and 1178. But from 1174 to 1180 was the period in which his original works were produced: "Treatises on the intellect", *De substantia orbis*, *Faṣl al-maḳāl*, *Kashf al-manāhidj*, *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*. The great commentaries (*tafsīr*) did not begin until later. M. Cruz Hernandez (*La filosofía árabe*, Madrid 1963, 253) has produced a clear outline of the various tendencies which have governed the study of Averroes's work. Whereas for the Latin schoolmen Averroes is essentially the Commentator: *Averroes, che'l gran comento feo* (Dante, *Inferno*, iv, 144), Renan points out the differences which can exist between the ideas contained in the commentaries and often presented as those of Aristotle, and the personal ideas of the philosopher.

Nevertheless, even where Ibn Rus͟hd marks this distinction, Renan's attitude is "this may have been only a precaution to allow him to express his philosophical ideas more freely under the cover of someone else" (*Oeuvres complètes*, iii, 61). A little later (67), on the subject of the *Tahāfut*, he claims that "the doctrine set out in it is, on several points, in flagrant contradiction with that of Ibn Rus͟hd". It is true that he bases his judgement on the Latin version, in which he suspects there are interpolations. For him, as for the followers of Averroes in the Middle Ages, the Arab thinker is the one who revealed in Aristotle a rationalist method and doctrine, which as such were opposed to religious dogmas. This being so, Renan, following his preconceptions, considers the theological writings as artifices intended to deceive or to provide a challenge to the inquisition of the Mâliki *fuḳahā*ʾ. An examination of the biography and the work of Averroes shows that this assessment is entirely without foundation. Munk, on his side, has attempted to extract from the commentaries Ibn Rus͟hd's own ideas. Asín Palacios, studying the theological Averroism of St. Thomas Aquinas, considers that the philosopher's personal ideas are to be found in the *Tahāfut*, the *Faṣl* and the *Kas͟hf*. Gauthier takes a middle line; he himself has produced a summing up of the question (*La théorie d'Ibn Rochd*, 1-18) and, demonstrating the importance of the theory of prophethood, he ends (180-1) by attributing to Ibn Rus͟hd a doctrine fundamentally analogous to that of al-Fārābī on the philosopher and the prophet: "The double expression of one and the same truth, in terms which are abstract and clear on the one hand, in sensitive and symbolic terms on the other, philosophy and religion will thus exist side by side, without ever clashing, since, addressing themselves to two different categories of mind, their fields will remain entirely separate". Cruz Hernandez concludes his investigation by showing the absurdity of making *a priori* a choice between the philosopher and the theologian. Since Averroes was never forced to dissimulate his ideas, he considers that one must admit the sincerity of the whole work and the fundamental unity of the thought it expresses.

Only a small number of works in Arabic survive. The majority have been preserved only in Latin or Hebrew translations. Some manuscripts give the Arabic text in Hebrew characters. Brockelmann gives (I, 461 f., S I, 833-6, I², 604 f.) a list of the manuscripts, editions and translations. M. Bouyges, *Note sur les philosophes arabes connus des latins*, v, a list of the Arabic texts of Averroes, in *MFO*, viii/1 (1922), may also be consulted. Among the works in Arabic which are known so far to have survived are: short or middle commentaries on the *Physics* (*al-Samāʿ al-ṭabīʿī*); on the *De Caelo et mundo* (*al-Samāʾ wa 'l-ʿālam*); on the *De Generatione et corruptione* (*al-Kawn wa 'l-fasād*); on the *Meteorologica* (*al-Āt͟hār al-ʿulwiyya*); on the *De Anima* (*al-Nafs*); on metaphysical questions (*Mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*); on the *De Sensu et Sensibilibus* (*al-ʿAḳl wa 'l-maʿḳūl*), the great Commentary on the *Metaphysics* (*Tafsīr* . . ., ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1938-48), the *Faṣl al-maḳāl* and the *Ḍamīma* (ed. with Fr. tr. L. Gauthier, *Traité décisif*, Algiers 1948, ed. G. F. Hourani, Leiden 1959), the *Kas͟hf ʿan manāhid͟j al-adilla* (ed. with German tr., with the *Faṣl*, by M. J. Müller, *Philosophie und Theologie von Averroës*, Münich, text 1859, tr. 1875). There should also be mentioned the research and publications of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī in Cairo.

III. *The thought of Averroes*. It seems certain that Ibn Rus͟hd approached philosophy through the theoretical sciences. As a jurist, he was interested in the *uṣūl* (on this question, see R. Brunschvig, *Averroès juriste*, in *Études* . . . *Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris 1962, 35-68). Ibn al-Abbār mentions the important *Kitāb Bidāyat al-mud͟jtahid wa-nihāyat al-muḳtaṣid fi 'l-fiḳh*, and adds: "In it he gives the reasons for divergences, demonstrates their motivations and justifies them". What interested him in law was a strictness of thought which, without going as far as that of philosophical syllogism, entailed a well-defined method of reasoning and a logic. On the other hand, it is known that he received his first education in philosophy from a physician. At the end of his book on the Generalities (*Colliget*), he stresses the method followed and writes: "We have assembled, in our propositions, the individual facts and the general questions ... Whoever has grasped the generalities which we have written is capable of understanding what is correct and what is erroneous in the therapeutics of the writers of *kunnās͟h*" (*ʿUyūn*). At the time when he was writing the *Colliget*, Averroes was studying the *Organon* and the *Physics*, which naturally led him to formulate the metaphysical problem. He thus saw in Aristotle mainly the logician who follows a strict method of demonstration, the scholar who starts from the concrete in order to explain it by linking it with general propositions. He was to grasp even better the theory of knowledge when writing a commentary on the *Posterior Analytics* (1170). This approach led him to discover the true Aristotle, and he thus learned to distinguish it from the image of him given by the Greek commentators such as Alexander of Aphrodisias and the Muslim *falāsifa* such as Ibn Sīnā. This is why he criticized so vigorously the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā, while respecting the medical work of his predecessor (he wrote a commentary on his medical poem *al-Urd͟jūza fi 'l-ṭibb*). Among the other philosophers, he was interested in the ideas of al-Fārābī on logic and was inspired by his moral and political doctrines in the commentary which he wrote on Plato's *Republic*. But he was chiefly in the tradition of Ibn Bād͟jdja, and wrote a commentary on his *Risāla* on union with the Intellect and on his book on the "Régime of the solitary". His relations with Ibn Ṭufayl are well known: Ibn Rus͟hd wrote a commentary on *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* [*q.v.*]. There are definite similarities between the two philosophers, but although both recognize the convergence of the two independent attitudes inherent in philosophy and revealed faith, in Ibn Ṭufayl the duality of the persons Ḥayy and Absāl who represent them (this is resolved, at the end of the myth, in a common life devoted to contemplation far from human society) leads to a mystic vision of knowledge, which is not at all to be found in Ibn Rus͟hd, as Renan has clearly pointed out.

A. The theologico-philosophic treatises. It may be considered that they were written in the following order: *Faṣl al-maḳāl* and its appendix the *Ḍamīma*, *Kas͟hf al-manāhid͟j* (575/1179, which mentions the *Faṣl*), *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (which does not mention either of the two preceding works and which, according to Bouyges, was not written before 1180).

(a) The *Faṣl al-maḳāl wa-taḳrīb mā bayn al-s͟harīʿa wa 'l-ḥikma min al-ittiṣāl* ("An authoritative treatise and exposition of the convergence which exists between the religious law and philosophy"). Ibn Rus͟hd begins by giving a definition of philosophy entirely in accordance with the Ḳurʾānic recommendations. He himself quotes verses LIX, 2 and VII, 184, among others. It is a rational view of creation which leads to the knowledge of the Creator. These sacred texts are

interpreted as a recommendation to use either purely rational inferences (*ḳiyās ʿaḳlī*), or to use them together with inferences based on the Law (*ḳiyās sharʿī*). Thus the Law establishes the legitimacy of rational speculation (*naẓar*), whose method reaches perfection with demonstrative syllogism (*burhān*). Here Averroes was involved in a quarrel among the theologians about the definition of faith and what part it should play in intellectual knowledge. His reply is clear: "The Law imposes an obligation on the believer, since it must be obeyed when it commands rational speculation about beings: that is, before undertaking rational speculation, to proceed by degrees and to take account of what plays the same part in relation to speculation as instruments do in relation to action". This is less a *fides quaerens intellectum* than a perfect faith which embraces rational knowledge. It demands the knowledge of the *ḳiyās ʿaḳlī*, which is indispensable to the true knowledge of God, as it demands also that of the *ḳiyās fiḳhī*, thanks to which, in matters of law, it is possible to know exactly the Divine commandments. Nevertheless this obligation is bounded by the intellectual capacity of each person, since God never imposes more than an individual soul is able to carry out.

But Ibn Rushd states that a study of this magnitude cannot be made without taking previous research into account. Thus the pursuit of the above reasoning involves the obligation to examine the works of the ancients (cf. a similar idea developed by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, introduction). It is therefore contrary to the Law to forbid such an examination, provided that the person carrying it out possesses *dhakāʾ al-fiṭra* (a technical term, derived from a Ḳurʾānic root, to indicate a gift which is given to man of remembering things and recognizing the truth, which may be translated by "a keen sense of the truth"), and *al-ʿadāla al-sharʿiyya* accompanied by ethical virtue, that is a religious and moral qualification defined by the Law. But not all men accept proof by demonstration: some give their assent (*taṣdīḳ*) only to dialectical discourses (*al-aḳāwīl al-djadaliyya*), others only to rhetorical discourses (*khiṭābiyya*). God speaks to men through these three types of discourse in order to reach them all (cf. Ḳurʾān, XVI, 126). If rational research ends in a truth which is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, there is no problem; it is the same as in law (this new comparison with *fiḳh* deserves to be noted), when there are inferred by a juridical syllogism *aḥkām* which are not to be found in the text of the revealed Law. In cases where the Ḳurʾān does not employ rational demonstration, either it is, in its manifest meaning, in agreement with the conclusion of the syllogism, and there is no difficulty, or else it is in apparent disagreement, and it is then necessary to make an interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of the literal meaning in a figurative (*madjāzī*) meaning, in accordance with the usual practice of the Arabic language. In all this Ibn Rushd's thought follows the best established categories of Muslim hermeneutics. This, he points out, is what the jurists do; for them it is simply a case of making a text agree with the conclusion of a syllogism of opinion (*ḳiyās ẓannī*); the *taʾwīl* of the philosopher has a much stronger title to legitimacy, since it produces an agreement between a text and a syllogism which is certain (*ḳiyās yaḳīnī*). Thus there takes place a union between what derives from reason and what derives from tradition (*al-djamʿ bayn al-maʿḳūl wa 'l-manḳūl*), and this is the aim of Ibn Rushd. The Ḳurʾān itself distinguishes the passages which need interpretation from those which are to be accepted as they stand: on the one hand, the *āyāt mutashābihāt*, on the other, the *āyāt muḥkamāt* (Ḳurʾān, III, 7), the verses which have several meanings and those which have a clear and precise meaning. The *taʾwīl* of these ambiguous verses is known only to God Himself and to those who have a solid grounding in scholarship. Ibn Rushd reads this text as a justification of *taʾwīl* for men of true scholarship (cf. L. Gauthier, *La théorie*, 59 f., on the two possible readings). To determine what should be interpreted and what should be understood literally, Averroes does not have recourse to consensus (*idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*]), which he criticizes with arguments curiously reminiscent of those of Ibn Ḥazm on the impossibility of establishing concrete proof of its existence (cf. R. Brunschvig, *Averroès juriste*, 47). On this subject Averroes deals briefly with a question disputed among the jurists: that of *takfīr*, an accusation of infidelity; he considers that the excommunications launched against the philosophers should not be regarded as *takfīr ḳaṭʿan* (or *ʿalā ṭarīḳ al-ḳaṭʿ*, i.e., a decisive condemnation against which there is no appeal). It is known that more tolerant persons practised the *takfīr ʿalā ṭarīḳ al-taghlīẓ* as a severe measure. But in the case of the philosophers, they cannot be accused of infidelity on the strength of the consensus, since God restricts the use of *taʾwīl* to scholars in particular. It cannot be a question of a *consensus communis* (*idjmāʿ mustafīḍ*) accessible to all. Here Ibn Rushd uses the technicality of the law to support the cause of the philosophers whom he is defending. Thus he attacks the *takfīr* that al-Ghazālī launched against the *falāsifa*. Then he reverses the positions and shows that it is often the *mutakallimūn*, the theologians, who make undue use of *taʾwīl*, for example over the verses (XI, 9) concerning the Creation: the Ḳurʾān manifestly teaches that the Throne and the Water existed before this world, and that before the six days there existed a period which is the number of the sphere. It is not, of course, impossible that the philosopher may be wrong on such difficult questions (*fī 'l-ashyāʾ al-ʿawīṣa*). But he may be excused and he will nevertheless have his reward, like the judge who blunders when performing *idjtihād*, since in this case his error is an involuntary one (*khaṭāʾ*) which may creep in even when a duty is being performed.

Thus there are in the Law texts which are to be taken in their *ẓāhir* and to interpret which would be to lapse into unbelief (*kufr*) or heretical innovation (*bidʿa*); there are also texts which it is obligatory for scholars to interpret, but concerning which, for those who are not scholars, on the other hand, *taʾwīl* is a *kufr* or a *bidʿa* (this is what happens to theologians who do not make use of rational demonstration); finally, there are texts concerning which there is doubt: thus the verses on the future life are to be understood literally so far as regards the affirmation of its existence but they admit of different opinions as regards the qualification (*ṣifa*) given to them by scholars, whereas the common man must adhere to the literal meaning. The scholars, for their part, must not "popularize" their learning in the form of dialectical, rhetorical or poetic writings; they must write only works of demonstration (*kutub al-barāhīn*) so that they will be accessible only to those who are capable of following such demonstration. Al-Ghazālī did not follow this rule and was therefore in error, though his intentions were good. The books written by scholars must be forbidden to the ordinary man by the leaders of the community.

Faith involves an assent (*taṣdīḳ*) to a representation (*taṣawwur*). This assent is in response, accord-

ing to temperament, to a demonstrative, dialectical or rhetorical argument. The representation leads to a grasp of either the thing itself or its image (*mit͟hāl*). Revelation, being addressed to a larger number, makes very little use of demonstration. It can happen that premises based on opinion may also be certain (*yaḳīna*). In this case, and if no term used in the conclusion is understood in a figurative sense (representing the image of the thing), the text must be understood literally. But if the conclusion is in figurative terms, then interpretation is necessary. If the premises are based entirely on opinion and if the conclusion affects the things themselves, the premises may be interpreted, but not the conclusion. Finally, if the premises consist only of opinion and the conclusion is figurative, scholars have an obligation to interpret, but the ordinary man may not go beyond the literal meaning. Otherwise, in this case, it would be turning away from the letter a mind which had access to nothing else, and since the text contains only opinions and figurative meanings, it would no longer offer any support to a person unable to find other support elsewhere. Thus his faith would be destroyed.

There is therefore only one truth, and strictly speaking there cannot be two different expressions of one single truth as though it were spoken in two languages, that of reason and that of imagination, for that would only introduce different types of *taṣawwur*. Ibn Rus͟hd's original contribution is to stress thus the importance of adherence to the truth. Men understand it through the ways (*ṭuruḳ*) which gain their assent; the majority consent to something because of what they themselves are, rather than because of what the thing itself is. Their truth is subjective. Incapable of adopting a rational objective attitude which would govern their personal reactions, they have to have their personal sensibility affected in order to accept what is proposed to them. Consequently it is necessary that the dialectical or rhetorical approaches which they follow should lead them to a representation of the truth, either actual or figurative, which they can accept and adopt, so that their subjective attitude does not lead them into erroneous representations. This is realized in the Ḳur'ān. But going beyond this, scholars, through *ta'wīl*, find the way of reason which leads to the understanding of the truth itself. They verify at the same time the agreement of Law and Reason, of religion and philosophy, while the common man profits from this agreement without knowing that it exists. But it is necessary to respect the situation of the ordinary man and not to reveal to him anything of the interpretations. To act in any other way is to give rise to sects, and this was the error in particular of the Muʿtazila and the As͟hʿarīs. The majority of people should be taught only the general methods which the Ḳur'ān has revealed and used for them. The special method which the Holy Book suggests for those who are capable of it should be reserved for scholars. To conclude, the agreement of the *maʿḳūl* and the *manḳūl* is not that of two formulations, of two expressions, of two equivalent types of representation. It is the fact that different types of mind can arrive at the same truth; it is the practical agreement of two methods in order to arrive at a single practical conclusion, one of them being no more than this, the other based also on a theoretical demonstration and a speculative knowledge. It is thus that, to take an example which is not in Ibn Rus͟hd, the same problem may be solved and the same result arrived at by arithmetic or by algebra, although the arithmetical method, remaining at the level of real intuition, produces a better understanding of the concrete relations between facts than does the algebraic method, consisting of the manipulation of conventional signs.

The *Faṣl al-maḳāl* is therefore a treatise on methodology. The problematical element is that of all Muslim thinking: that of the jurisconsults, the grammarians and the Ḳur'ānic commentators, and indeed the theologians. Averroes employs the technical vocabulary in use among these scholars. But he very skilfully manipulates all these ideas within a logical framework borrowed from the Greeks, which can later easily be applied to the problems of philosophy: it is the framework of Aristotle's *Organon*, rational demonstration (*Analytics*), dialectical reasoning (*Topics*), rhetorical argument (*Rhetoric* and to a lesser degree *Poetics*), with, discernible at times in the background, allusions to sophistics.

(b) The *Kitāb al-Kas͟hf ʿan manāhid͟j al-adilla fī ʿaḳā'id al-milla wa taʿrīf mā waḳaʿa fīhā bi ḥasb al-ta'wīl min al-s͟hubah al-muzayyifa wa'l-bidaʿ al-muḍilla* ("Exposition of the methods of demonstration relative to the dogmas of religion, and definition of the equivocations and innovations which appear in them as methods of interpretation and which distort truth or lead into error"). This treatise foreshadows the *Tahāfut* still more clearly than the preceding one, whose general conclusions it evokes in its introduction. Its aim is to show that the theories of the sects satisfy neither the demands of scholarship nor the needs of the common man. It consists of five chapters. The first is devoted to the existence of God; in it the author examines the opinions of the Ḥas͟hwiyya, the As͟hʿarīs, the Ṣūfīs and the Muʿtazila. For the first, faith is based entirely on the authority of the Book and owes nothing to reason: a question already dealt with in the *Faṣl*. The As͟hʿarīs allow the use of reason but their methods are open to criticism. They prove the existence of God by the contingency of the world, which has come into existence (*muḥdat͟h*). But the agent which brings it into existence (*muḥdit͟h*) must have an eternal existence. Consequently its action is eternal and the effects of it also eternal. In order to escape this consequence, it is not possible to say with these theologians that the action of an eternal being has a beginning in time, since this would presuppose a cause which at first prevented this action from coming about, and then a cause which precipitated it. This cause, in its turn, is either eternal or situated within time. And so the reasoning continues, reminiscent of a similar argument of Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on *tark* and the *murad͟jd͟jiḥ*. There follows a criticism based more particularly on the atomism of this school. Averroes disagrees with a thesis which, in order to retain the absolute freedom of God, destroys His wisdom and the regular order of His providence. In addition, the As͟hʿarī argument supposes that the universe, in its entirety, is formed in exactly the same way as the sublunary world which surrounds us, which is not proved (Aristotle gives to heaven and the heavenly bodies a separate situation). Ibn Rus͟hd also considers time—whether it is created or eternal. This recalls very early discussions which go back to Plato, Aristotle, to middle Platonism (Calvisius Taurus), Philo of Alexandria, Johannes Philoponus (Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī; cf. Ernst Behler, *Die Ewigkeit der Welt*; J. Pouilloux and R. Arnaldez, *Philon d'Alexandrie, De Aeternitate*, Introduction, translation and notes). He examines critically the argument that the infinite cannot be crossed, which demands a point of first departure if one is to arrive at the present event. This is true for sequences in a straight line, but not for cyclic

sequences where an initial point of departure is not apparent. Thus, evaporation is not the first origin of the clouds at any given moment in the sky, since in order to produce evaporation rain is necessary, itself produced by clouds. These clouds therefore stem from other clouds; the very nature of clouds does not permit the idea of any definitely first clouds. In rectilinear causality on the other hand (man gives birth to man), a point of departure is necessary. Nevertheless, if, in such a line, each cause were merely the instrument of an eternal agent, the present effect would result from the present action of this eternal agent, and it would exist even if this agent had made use of such instruments an infinity of times (cf. the double causality of Spinoza).

Ibn Rushd devotes a special criticism to al-Djuwaynī, accusing him of being unaware of the necessity of that which exists, which leads him to oppose Avicenna's doctrine of the necessary by itself and the possible by itself (which is necessary by another). That which is possible by itself can never become necessary by means of its agent. Another argument of al-Djuwaynī is that the world was created at a certain place within the infinite void; but any one part of the void is the same as another (cf. Leibnitz), therefore a free will is necessary to decide between one place and another. But, Averroes objects, it is essential to prove first that the void exists and that it is infinite and eternal, otherwise another void would be necessary to contain it.

Against the theory of the Ṣūfīs Ibn Rushd admits that mystic training may help in the attainment of rational knowledge, but that it cannot replace it. Regarding the Muʿtazila, he states that he has found none of their books in Spain; he says nothing of them, and passes on to the Ḳurʾānic proofs. This is argument by means of Providence and by means of the creation of substances (animals, vegetables, heaven). Averroes underlines the generation of the organic starting from the inorganic; there is therefore an agent which gives life (this was to be stated in the *Tafsīr* of book Λ of the *Metaphysics*, see below). As for the heavens, they are commanded; it is the Ḳurʾānic idea of *taskhīr* (*sakhkhar Allāh*, in many verses). The idea of the divine *amr* expressing the act of the unmoved Mover which commands without having to move itself was to be taken up again in the *Tahāfut*. These two types of proof concern the ordinary man, but the scholars give them demonstrative value, and they have a deeper and wider knowledge of the realities on which they base their demonstrations.

In the second chapter he studies the unity of God. The Ḳurʾān proves it by the unity of the government of the world, a proof which the scholars, and Averroes in particular, take up and go into deeply. The criticism of the Ashʿarī reasoning is subtle and technical. It is enough merely to mention it.

The third chapter deals with the attributes of God: knowledge, life, power, will, hearing, sight, speech. Ibn Rushd distinguishes clearly between the Ḳurʾānic doctrine and the theories of the theologians who raise problems on which the Ḳurʾān is silent. Thus on knowledge: God knows what He has created, for there exist in creation an order and a wisdom which show that the Creator has knowledge. He must therefore know what will exist, what exists and what will perish. But although the Ḳurʾān presents God's knowledge in this way, it is related only to man's own experience of knowledge. But for man, the knowledge possessed by the subject who knows is, as has already been mentioned in the *Faṣl*, the effect of the object known (*maʿlūl li 'l-maʿlūm*). For the eternal knowledge which is creative, the reverse is true. Thus it is not possible, philosophically speaking, to raise the problem of the knowledge of future contingents in the same way for both God and man; however, in order to be understood, they have to be discussed in the same terms. There appears in this chapter a certain agnosticism, very Islamic, in particular in the matter of knowing whether the attributes may be reduced to the essence or whether they are added to it, whether they are *nafsiyya* (essential) or *maʿnawiyya* (qualificative). Ibn Rushd dismisses as irrelevant both Ashʿarīs and Muʿtazila, and criticizes in passing the Christian doctrine of the Trinity (since it is with regard to the attributes that *kalām* attacks Christianity; cf. al-Bāḳillānī, *Tamhīd*, and Averroes himself, even in the *Tafsīr* of the *Metaphysics*, iii, 1620, 1623). This attitude becomes more firmly established as the treatise proceeds, for example in chapter 4, in the discussion on the corporeality of God, in which, in a surprising way, Ibn Rushd condemns the Muʿtazila for their denial of any corporeality, and the Ashʿarīs for having sought a compromise solution. In fact the ordinary man has no idea at all of an incorporeal being, and these doctrines do not give it to him; he needs to address his prayers to a Being who exists somewhere, and the Ḳurʾān states that He is in heaven. Therefore it should be taught, with the Revelation, that God is Light, which solves the problem of the vision of God (*ruʾya*) in the next life. Furthermore, in the same way that light enables colours to be seen but is itself difficult to see, so is God the principle of all sensible experience but nevertheless Himself enveloped in veils of light. But in order to conceive of an incorporeal being, it is necessary first to have an exact knowledge of the soul, which is not possessed by the ordinary man and which is not easy to acquire. The problem of the "direction" (*djiha*) in which God is found is solved by Ibn Rushd by a skilful use of the Aristotelian theory of place: "The limit of the enveloping body" (τὸ πέρας τοῦ περιέχοντος σώματος, *Physics*, IV, 212a6). God, not being enveloped by anything, has no place. But He is in a direction, since direction is indicated by the surfaces of bodies. Thus the enveloping sphere is not in any place, since there is no body outside it, any more than there is a void. Thus the Being which exists in the direction marked by the exterior surface of this sphere will be incorporeal. That is the true demonstration.

The fifth chapter deals with divine actions: creation, the sending of prophets, predestination and divine decree, justice and injustice, the future life. On the creation, in addition to what he has already said about it, Averroes states against the Ashʿarīs that although the world contains contingency, it cannot be contingent as a whole. The liberty of God cannot be that of indifference. Finally the term *ḥudūth* (coming into existence) is not Ḳurʾānic and constitutes in itself a *bidʿa*. On the prophetic mission, Ibn Rushd makes a critical examination of the probative value of miracles and of the *iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*. He regards the problem of predestination as "one of the most difficult". The Ḳurʾān contains on this verses for and against, and these contradictions are found also in *ḥadīth*. Both series of texts must be retained: on the one hand human action obviously depends, both for its cause and its execution, on external and internal conditions created by God; but on the other hand, we are the authors of our own acts since "it is evident that God has created in us faculties by means of which we can acquire things which are opposed by nature", which proves that freedom of choice exists.

Here there is involved the question of secondary causes. All causes other than God Himself have no existence, neither they nor their effects, other than through God. The word "agent" may not be used indiscriminately of God and of other causes. But causes operate, not only because God uses them as instruments, but also because He created them as causes. Furthermore, it can be said that substances and essences have for their cause only God, whereas accidents have other causes. On divine justice, Ibn Rus͟hd agrees with As͟hʿarism: it is necessary to believe at the same time both that God is just and that He is the creator of good and evil, in order to avoid any dualism. God created evil with good ends in view: it is *by accident* that fire, which is good, does harm. On this delicate problem, Averroes does not hesitate to reproduce all the sophistries which creep into the theodicy of all periods. It is true that this is a point on which it is necessary to convince both the ordinary man and the philosophers themselves. This does not mean that God is above the just and the unjust: He is just, but in Himself, and not as a judge is, in the service of others. Finally the future life exists; that is not contrary to reason. It is left to each person to imagine the modalities of it for himself.

This treatise is directed against the doctrines that the theologians, going beyond all sound demonstration, construct upon the Book; against the problems which they raise. The feeling behind it is not, basically, very different from that of al-As͟hʿarī and al-G͟hazālī at the beginning of their careers, they having become theologians rather in spite of themselves, in order to refute the errors which were threatening Islam. But they were wrong; Ibn Rus͟hd considers that the only recourse is to demonstrative knowledge. He condemns theology; the literal meaning of the sacred text seems to him on the whole wiser, even more acceptable to reason, than the theological lucubrations. One would expect that, in distinguishing thus clearly between the common man and the scholars, he would maintain that the arguments and the representations which are in the Ḳur'ān form a bad diet for the uneducated masses who are incapable of teaching themselves (the doctrine of the double truth of the western Averroists: that which is true for religion is false for philosophy). But this is not so: there exists a religious truth which is true for all men whoever they are. The worst misfortune which could befall them would be to lose their faith. Now philosophy, particularly when dealing with obscure questions, shakes the faith of many men and should be reserved for scholars. But theology, with its uncertain or sophistic arguments, while giving the appearance of adhering to the texts, is still more dangerous, especially because its intention is to elaborate the authentic doctrine in which everyone must believe. Philosophers, in all cases where the system of rational demonstration is not followed, are in the same situation as the ordinary man; they also must adhere to the literal meaning of the Ḳur'ān and beware of the false explanations of theology.

(c) The *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*. In the *Faṣl* and the *Kas͟hf*, al-G͟hazālī had been very severely handled. In the *Tahāfut*, the battle against him grows, becomes more definite and leads Ibn Rus͟hd to embrace all the great problems of philosophy. This work combines the results of the paraphrases and of the middle commentaries, as well as all his basic personal ideas on religious questions, the development of which may be traced in the preceding treatises. But in the attack on the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* al-G͟hazālī is not the only target. Many of the criticisms in his work directed against Avicenna are accepted by Averroes, if not in the form of argument used by al-G͟hazālī, at least for the correctness of their conclusions. The *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* is thus a reconstruction of the true philosophy, that of Aristotle himself, against the false, that of the neo-Platonic *falāsifa*, which distorted the thinking of Aristotle, and against the theological systems. In this sense, it can be said that Ibn Rus͟hd's original philosophical doctrine is to be found in this book.

There is a very precise study of this work in the introduction written by S. van den Bergh to his English translation. The two Muslim thinkers are separated on a fundamental point: in the tradition of his master al-D͟juwaynī, al-G͟hazālī does not consider that philosophical reasoning has the strictness of mathematical reasoning, and in the *Maḳāṣid*, he points out that there exists there a source of error which misleads the unthinking supporters of logic. Aristotle, on the other hand, believes in the value of demonstration, and shows, as he did for the theologians, that it is the neo-Platonic philosophers who lack strictness, but that sound logic should not be accused of this.

A large part of the work of al-G͟hazālī, and thus that of Ibn Rus͟hd which follows it, is devoted to the problem of the creation of the world. Averroes' solution is that of an eternal creation. There cannot have existed an empty time which preceded the appearance of the world at a certain moment in it. Time is, according to Aristotle, the numbered number (τὸ ἀριθμούμενον) of movement (*Physics*, IV, 219 b 8). It measures movements only within the limits that movement measures time itself since they are mutual definitions of each other (οὐ μόνον δέ τὴν κίνησιν τῷ χρόνῳ μετροῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κινήσει τὸν χρονὸν διὰ τὸ ὁρίζεσθαι ʻυπ' ἀλλήλων, *Physics*, IV, 220 b 14-16). But although the time of the movement of the sphere measures the movements within the world, there is no movement outside the sphere which enables time to measure the movement of the sphere. The illusion is therefore one of "aligning": the revolutions of the sphere in a sort of empty, rectilinear time, which, if it is infinite, cannot be crossed, so that an actual revolution cannot take place. But in reality, each revolution is independent of the others. Each of them depends immediately on the actions of the first agent: "Their sequence is accidental" (para. 20). In the sequences of causes it is necessary that the present effect is the result of all these causes. If they are all infinite, it cannot exist. But it is not necessary for all the past revolutions of the sphere to be added together in order for the present revolution to take place. Thus it can be said that "The circular movements of the past and the future are non-existent" (para. 23). This example shows that in the *Tahāfut* the ideas already outlined in the earlier treatises are analysed philosophically in a much deeper fashion. He maintains that the creative will in God should not be conceived in relation to our own; it is founded in the excellence of God, separate from the world; the world does not emanate from Him, in continuity with Him; God is not an agent in the way that it is said, at least as an image, that a person "makes" a shadow, his own shadow. The term "will" expresses the method of this action of a perfectly transcendental being. This is why Ibn Rus͟hd sees no incongruity in the fact that such a creator produces a multiplicity of beings as the effect of his act; he thus rejects the principle which is the basis of the emanatist doctrines, that the One can give birth only to one.

In ontology, Averroes criticizes with al-G͟hazālī

Avicenna's conception of the Being necessary in itself (*wādjib al wudjūd bi-dhātih*). But he goes further: being is that "which is predicated of the ten categories analogically, and it is in this sense that we say of the substance that it exists by itself and of the accident that it exists through its existing in the existent which subsists by itself. As to the existent which has the meaning of the 'true', all the categories participate in it in the same way, and the existent which has the meaning of the 'true' is something in the mind, namely that a thing is outside the soul in conformity with what it is inside the soul" (303-4). A quiddity, in thought, is only the explanation (*sharḥ*) of the meaning of a name; and it is only when one knows that this meaning exists outside the soul that one knows that it is a quiddity. It is thus not possible really to separate essence and existence; the distinction is made only in thought. In this lies Avicenna's error. If the being which is possible of itself is pure essence, it exists only in thought. Outside it, it is either an essence which exists, or it is nothing. If it exists, to "add" to it existence so that it shall be has no meaning. If it does not exist, it is obviously not possible to add something to nothing. Thus when Avicenna defines the possible as that which has a cause, it must first be specified what cause is referred to, since apart from the fiction of a cause which would give an existence added to a pure essence, if the idea of the cause enters that of the possible, then either the possible becomes necessary (*ḍarūrī*) (since the cause which makes it necessary forms part of its definition), or else one becomes involved in a tautology: that which has a cause is possible, that is, it has a cause (277), and this line can be followed to infinity. In short, Avicenna destroys the idea of the possible as such, since he makes of it either the necessary, or a simple verbal idea in thought. Averroes admits the existence of the true possible (*mumkin ḥaḳīḳī*), which leads to the necessary possible (*mumkin ḍarūrī*), by which he implies a necessary reality based on a true possibility, that is on a potentiality. The cause is the agent which translates the potentiality into the actuality. There is no other action than this. God makes actual the potentialities which are in the world. The world in its totality (*bi-asrih*) is not a pure possible which receives existence. It is an organized whole necessary through the interplay of the causes which are its laws, a commandment (*amr*) of God; but everything in it, even the heavens, is organized starting from potentialities (even if only the potentiality of place), and the proof of this is that everything in it is subjected to movement. God is thus really an agent and it is known in what His action consists. Thus it is legitimate to call him Creator, which is not the case with Avicenna's God. The division of being into actuality and potentiality is much more realistic than Avicenna's division into necessary and possible. It follows being itself, since it can claim to belong to the ten categories and explains movements according to these categories. It makes heaven enter into the physical, since it is moved in a circular direction, and it eliminates from it any "intermediary" character, in the mystic sense of the word. The necessary and the possible of Ibn Sīnā are vague ideas which set on the one side God and on the other the world, and which can no longer explain, except by imprecise images, the relations between them. They limit the action of God to that which is scarcely action: the unique procession of the first Intellect in its perfect unity of essence. The God of Averroes, a true agent, acts on all beings. E. Gilson, comparing the two Muslim thinkers, writes: "For Averroes, God forms part of the universe. In such a universe, divinity is the metaphysical cause of the physical order; it is therefore natural that physical science demonstrates in it the existence of God . . . Thus conceived, God is included in the world, and the science of God, or metaphysics, is necessarily the supreme science beyond which no other exists. The universe of Avicenna is quite different. Avicenna's God is transcendent and situated beyond the moving Intelligences . . . the highest of which is his first and only emanation" (*Jean Duns Scot*, 77). Certainly the God of Averroes is not the object of a mystic knowledge. He is present in the physical world and He is the keystone of the arch of the universe. But He is nonetheless transcendent and intelligence cannot reach to Him in Himself, but simply as creator (the first prime mover). In this sense, Averroes' thinking conforms completely to Muslim orthodoxy. This God is not quite that of Aristotle although he is reached by an entirely Aristotelian method. He is not the νόησις νοησέως which thinks in and to itself and draws the world to it without being aware of it. Ibn Rushd considers that although the unmoved mover remains mover and unmoved, it moves by its own command, as does a king seated on his throne. It has all the Ḳur'ānic attributes. The attributes are essential and express the richness of the essence: "To suggest . . . that the essence cannot be formed by attributes is not correct, since all essence perfects itself (*istakmalat*) thanks to the attributes through which it becomes more perfect (*akmal*) and more eminent" (328). But these attributes in God are not separated; it is our thinking which distinguishes them according to what we consider to be one or another of the infinite divine perfections.

On the knowledge which God has of the universe, Ibn Rushd repeats what he has said in his other treatises. It does not resemble the knowledge which we have of the universal, which is abstractive and potential. Nor does it resemble the knowledge we have of the particular, which is perceptible, material and pluralist. But being in action and not potential, it resembles more closely our knowledge of the particular than our knowledge of the universal. Similarly God's will does not resemble ours (see above).

There remains the question of the last things. Demonstrative proof can establish spirituality and immortality only as regards the intellect, since it alone among the faculties of the soul is indivisible and operates without the need of physical organs. It has been deduced from this that Averroes did not believe in personal immortality. But this is merely the doctrine which he extracts from Aristotle in his commentaries. In fact, he says, there is nothing to prove that the faculties which make use of the physical organs do really weaken at the same time as the organs do. Although this is not a demonstrative proof, it is at least an open door. Since the knowledge of the soul remains obscure, it is reasonable to have recourse to revelation. As for the resurrection of the body, this is not demonstrable. But the speculative virtues cannot do without the moral virtues. Although the soul is immortal, it will not survive by contemplation alone but will need those moral virtues which imply the presence of the body. However the resurrection is not conceived of as the return of life to the earthly body. It is, as the Ḳur'ān says, a second creation.

B. The *Tafsīr* of the *Metaphysics*. Averroes' work ended with the great commentaries. We therefore now examine the main ideas which, towards the end of his life, he drew from Aristotle's

Metaphysics. Understanding well his thought and his method, he elucidates the Aristotelian doctrine while expressing his own point of view on it. Among the possible interpretations he chooses that which suits his own ideas. This commentary is a major work. The Arabic translations were bad. Often Ibn Rushd consulted two or three of them. He studied the writers of antiquity: Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, Nicholas of Damascus, Johannes Philiponus. He discusses them and often, by his own inspiration, he improves an accepted version. Even where the incomprehensibility of a text causes him to stray from the original thought of Aristotle, Averroes never strays very far.

The object of metaphysics. This science is concerned with the study of certain words: "His aim in this book is to distinguish the meanings contained in words. In this science a speculative examination is made of them, and these meanings have in it the place which in any art is held by the object (*mawḍū'*) of this art. These words are those used according to different points of view with reference to a single thing (*Comment.*, Δ, Introd.). Thus the examination of these words is a part of metaphysics: they bear an analogical meaning which can be discovered only through them, "to such an extent that here the examination of words is of the same order as the examination of the different sorts of objects which the scholar considers to be his own field". In other sciences, words, having a single meaning, are the immediate signs of objects of experience or of general ideas. In metaphysics, it is true that the words are also signs, but they do not allow their full significance to be grasped; there is nothing which can replace them. The search for the absolute One, the dream of the neo-Platonists, remains for Averroes simply an aim, always in relation to a multiplicity of different aims without which it would be indeterminate. Thus metaphysics must be attached to the fundamental diversity of being, reducible to that of the ten categories. It is because being is always presented in the plurality of the categories that there exists a metaphysical problem of being.

Because of this, metaphysics cannot have the same logical method as the particular sciences, mathematics and physics. The analogy of being, the one, the cause etc. implies an analogical reasoning. Thus, although in one sense it is the First Science which comprehends all the others and takes account of them, it cannot be considered as their source from which they could be unequivocably deduced. Metaphysics itself follows physics, which supplies it with the concrete experience of beings. The object of metaphysics is in fact being as being (*al-mawdjūd bi-mā huwa mawdjūd*): there is no other science which speculates on this. Mathematics considers being by quantity without asking the question of their existence. Physics considers being as something moved according to the various categories. Metaphysics considers the *lawāḥiḳ* of being (τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τούτῳ καθ' αὑτό, that is, all which is attached to it in its quality as being), and, Averroes adds, its causes (*asbāb*). But metaphysics cannot be the science of the totality of causes, because beings do not form one single category and the same is true of causes. This being so, he defines his thinking thus: "Principles, taken in the absolute sense, even although it happens accidentally that certain beings are perceptible and not absolute, must of necessity be sought for beings considered in the absolute sense. These principles are sought for them in so far as they are beings in an absolute sense, not as they are this or that, for example moved or mathematical" (i, 300). Thus it is by remaining in contact with concrete beings that metaphysics asks the question about their being, that is their existence. This idea is repeated in a commentary of E (ii, 713). If metaphysics is the science with the noblest (*ashraf*) object, is it universal and does it apply to many categories? It is not the science of one single category; it therefore has regard for the plurality of categories and *a fortiori* the plurality of beings. Thus the highest science is not the science of the general, as are the particular sciences. In its universality it reaches all that is in its character most concrete. Universal science is not abstract, and this is where the universal is distinguished from the general. It is thus seen that perfect metaphysics would resemble the knowledge which belongs to God. The philosopher attempts to achieve it without succeeding, because he cannot escape completely from generic ideas and material perception, analogy being only an imperfect method of knowing. But metaphysics will attain its culminating point if, among beings, there exist natures separated from matter (*al-ṭabā'i' al-mufāriḳa*). These natures are not, like the Platonic Ideas, hypostasized abstract concepts, but realities which are not composed of matter and form. It is right that theology should have as its object a being thus separate, unmoved and eternal. It is above the science of the heavenly bodies, eternal but moved, of which it grasps the cause: "Just as the things of nature are those which have nature included in their definition (*ḳawl*), so the divine things are those which have God and the divine causes included in their definition" (ii, 712). Thus the word θεολογική is translated and understood as *al-ilāhiyyāt al-ḳawl*. "Since separate things precede in existence things which are not separate, the science which is first and earliest in existence must be the science of separate things" (ii, 711). But "first in existence, not first in knowledge since the order in teaching begins with the end. This is why this science is called meta-physics" (*mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a*, i, 714).

Thus God is not being considered as being, even taken absolutely, since all being, before becoming what it is, is. Nor can the idea of God be drawn from the notion of being considered as being by means of a sort of division. It is therefore by studying concrete beings and their causes in the distribution of the ten categories that metaphysics must begin the search for God, discovering the distinction of matter and form, then of potentiality and actuality, in order to reach a cause which includes neither matter nor potentiality and which is the eternal and unmoved mover. Thus between physics and theology there exists an intermediary metaphysical research at the level of the concrete universality of being considered as being within all beings. It prepares that theology whose object is neither spiritual in the mystic sense nor ideal in the Platonic sense, but truly meta-physical.

It is not surprising therefore that Averroes gives great importance to the accidental in all the phenomena of this world. He realizes with Aristotle that although the world as a whole is necessary, it includes within itself some realities whose existence merely occurs with a greater frequency (*akthariyya*). This presupposes the existence of realities which occur with a lesser frequency (*aḳalliyya*). Without the accident of chance, there would be no frequency greater than another and everything would be necessary. There must therefore exist in this world accidental causes. But if every cause necessarily produces its effect and itself necessarily results from another

cause, there would have to exist an eternal and continually existing *anniyya* which would determine absolutely the production and the disappearance of each being. Appealing to experience, Averroes disagrees with this entirely determinist conception. No doubt the relation of the cause to the effect is always necessary; but a cause can interfere in a natural process which, as such, is a stranger to its causality. "As for a cause which results in an effect of chance, this is not at all the cause of a natural movement" (ii, 735-6). The result is that the causation of this cause, with regard to the effect produced in the natural process, is without cause. The natural causes are ordered towards a natural end. But the accidental cause, not being naturally directed towards this, is one which produces such an end without its being determined by any cause. Thus fire burns or heats; this is its natural effect. But if it burns a man, its causation intervenes in the natural process of life and destroys it, although the natural end of fire is not to alter the natural processes of life.

Contrary to this is the study of primary substance and of ontological necessity. In a long preamble to the commentary on book Λ, Ibn Rus̲h̲d re-states the complete rational plan of the work and explains that this book is the actual end of it, the two following containing only the criticism of the philosophy of Ideas and Numbers.

Although he is conversant with the analogy of proportionality (iii, 1552), Ibn Rus̲h̲d considers in depth the analogy of attribution. He shows that anteriority of a substance is not like that of one number in relation to another, but that it is "the anteriority of a thing to that which is related to it". Substance is not a universal (this is contrary to Plato). It is divided into perceptible substance, either eternal (*sarmadī*), the heavens, or corruptible (*fāsid*), and unmoved and separate substance. Perceptible eternal substance comes into the field of physics (this is contrary to Avicenna): "The metaphysician seeks to discover what are the principles of substance considered as such, and he explains that separate substance is the principle of physical substance; but in order to solve this problem, it is necessary to resort on the one hand to what is explained in book I of the *Physics* either on generable and corruptible being (i.e. composed of matter and form), or on eternal substance; and on the other hand to that which is explained at the end of book VIII: that the mover of eternal substance is exempt from matter" (iii, 1424). Unmoved substance therefore forms part of metaphysics, but in order to reach an understanding of it, it is necessary to study the changes in moved beings. All generation stems from a being *in posse*: matter. But the matter of the heavenly bodies, subjected merely to a change of place, is in actuality. Thus the heavenly bodies are neither divisible nor corruptible, contrary to the ideas of Avicenna, who considers that the matter of all the bodies is *in posse*.

All generation has three causes: the subject (*mawḍūʿ*), matter *in posse*, and the two contraries (*ḍiddān*) to which it is *in posse*: the one, on which the definition hangs, is form (*ṣūra*), the other is the lack of form (*ʿadam al-ṣūra*). Such are the principles (*mabādiʾ*) of substance. Neither form nor matter can be generated; all that can be engendered is their union (*mad̲j̲mūʿ*) under the action of a mover (*muḥarrik*); what it moves is matter, that towards which it moves is form. Thus the only thing which is engendered is that which is composed (*murakkab*).

Ibn Rus̲h̲d stresses, in criticizing Alexander and Themistius, the question of the "synonymous" or univocal agent (*al-muwāṭiʾ*): man is born of man. But how to explain the animals which are bred by putrefaction (*ʿufūna*)? It is explained thus: there are the natural substances which are engendered naturally (this is what is meant by "univocal generation"), and the accidents which may be produced by nature, art, chance (*bi 'l-ittifāḳ*) or spontaneity (*min tilḳāʾ nafsih*, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου). But all generation of natural substance is natural. Thus the animals which are born from putrefaction are natural productions of a synonymous agent and not the products of chance, "since that which is produced by chance is a generation without order (*niẓām*) and is not an aim pursued by nature". The efficient natural cause has always a natural finality. Decay has the same power as semen among creatures which reproduce themselves in a line of issue (*mutanāsil*): like semen it contains a power of forming each animal which is born of it.

Matter is common to all material beings. In this sense "it has the nature of something universal". But if this were really the case, it would have a form and would be made one by the form. How, being one in number, can it exist in a plurality? It is possible only because it is *in posse*. When the individual differences (*al-fuṣūl al-s̲h̲aḵẖṣiyya*) which give existence to numerical multiplicity are removed, it is said of matter that it is one, and thus that it is common to many things. But it is not called common because it has a common form, as is the case with the category (cf. iii, p. 1473). Unity by form comes from the fact that several concrete beings, numerically distinct, form one same species or one same category. "The community (*is̲h̲tirāk*) which the intelligence recognizes in the common forms has an existence *in posse* outside the soul. That which the intelligence recognizes in matter is pure nothingness, since it is included only by the negation which withdraws from it individual form. But since matter has no existence outside the soul, in so far as it is conceived of as common to the totality of the generables and of the corruptibles . . ., that by means of which it is matter distinct from nothingness and existing outside the soul, is reduced to the fact that it is a subject (substratum) of the perceptible individual which may be seen but is not understood" (p. 1473-4). In short, what makes Zayd exist is not the fact that the intelligible form of the man is shared by common matter: this form and this matter are only thought, and from their encounter, which is that of a universal positive (form) and a universal negative (matter), it having existence only in the soul, there cannot result, outside the soul, this concrete and individual reality which is Zayd. Properly speaking, the creation of an individual takes place neither through matter nor through form. As has been clearly said by M. Cruz Hernandez: "la materia y la forma no poseen *per se* actividad motora, ni autoprincipio de transformacíon alguna". What exists is the individual form in a particular subject, and that which engenders a particular is a particular. Ibn Rus̲h̲d disagrees here with Themistius, who believed that, in generation, the form was created (for him the generation of animals by putrefaction was a proof of this since, he asked, where did the form of these animals come from?). The substantial form would thus be separate and come from without; there would be a *dator formarum* (*wāhib al-ṣuwar*) which would be the agent intellect (*al-ʿaḳl al-faʿʿāl*). This was also the doctrine of Avicenna, based on the following argument: "there are no active powers in matter except the four qualities, hot, cold, dry and wet. These qualities produce what is similar to

them. But the substantial forms do not act upon each other". Ibn Rushd's thesis is that "the agent produces only the composite result of matter and form, and this by setting matter in motion and changing it so that that within it which is *in posse* to the form passes into actuality".

As for the agent, Averroes criticizes the theologians who admit only one single efficient cause and who deny secondary causes. This is because they think that all action is creation *ex nihilo*, and when they see a mover act on a mobile thing, they ask which of them creates the movement. But this is not the question; the true agent is that which causes a subject to pass from potentiality to actuality, and it is in this sense only that it is said that it unites matter and form. The forms exist *in posse* in primary matter and in action in the prime mover, rather in the sense in which it is said that the object of art exists in actuality within the soul of the artist.

The moved movers are thus really agents which have their own natural action. This being so, it is necessary to find not only what moves them but what co-ordinates them. There exists a real and universal movement, that of the sphere, which gives continuity and perenniality (*al-ittiṣāl wa 'l-azaliyya*) to all the movements of the world. As for the sphere and the heavenly bodies, they are moved by the desire inspired in them by the first unmoved mover, "because they understand of themselves that their perfection and their substance are only in movement . . . and also that their movement is the cause of the passage into actuality of what is *in posse* in the separate forms, *i.e.*, the material forms" (iii, p. 1595). In fact, although the forms are in action in the prime mover and *in posse* in matter, as has been seen above, it must be stated that the reverse is true in connexion with the concrete realization of material beings: "one has the impression (*yushabbahu*) that they have two existences: the one in action, which is material existence, and the other *in posse*, which is their existence as separate forms "(*ibid.*). This was the theory of the supporters of the Platonic Ideas, but they fell short of the truth, since the separate forms in themselves are not movers: they are found in the Prime Mover which draws all beings to them and through them. The first end of the movement of the heavens is their own perfection, and it is in consequence of (*tābiʿ*) its search for this that in the second place it ensures this passage of material beings from potentiality to action. "Thus he who performs exercise to preserve his health by practising an art, has as his main aim the preservation of health, and as a secondary aim the practice of this art" (1596).

On the Intellect, Ibn Rushd takes his stand against Alexander, who considered that the material intellect was generated and corruptible, which presents insoluble problems in the matter of intellectual knowledge. Ibn Rushd takes up a thesis which he attributes to Theophrastus, Themistius and the majority of the Peripatetic philosophers: the material intellect exists and the separate agent Intellect is as the form in the material intellect. But he states this more clearly by referring to what he has said in the *De Anima*. The material intellect is in itself generable and corruptible (Bouyges, 1489; the Latin translations add a negative: ***non est generabilis et corruptibilis.***) The habitual intellect (*bi 'l-malaka*/*habitu*/ἕξει), which holds at our disposition the knowledge of the intelligibles, has a generable and a corruptible part; the corruptible is its action; but in itself it is incorruptible. It comes to us from without (*min khāridj*/θυράθεν) and is not generated; this is why the intellect *in posse* is for it like a place (*makān*) and not like a material thing. If this intellect, in so far as it must unite with the material intellect, had an action which was not generable, its action would be its essence and there would be nothing in it which constrained it to unite with the material intellect. But since it does unite with it, its action in so far as it unites is not its substance. The action which it produces is not for the benefit of itself, but of another. So it is possible for an eternal being to give to a generable and corruptible being the power to understand. When human perfection is achieved, this intellect sheds all potentiality, and of necessity its action, which is not it itself, is reduced to nothing. So, either *we* no longer understand at all through this intellect, or *we* understand through it, in the sense that its action is reduced, in this state, to its substance. Ibn Rushd shows that the second case is the true one (cf. iii, 1489-90). The question is a difficult one. It seems that Averroes considered the habitual intellect to be the way in which the agent Intellect is present in us, that is, in that part of our soul which is the material intellect. Its action in us has a beginning and an end; like acquired knowledge in the scholar, it is not continually in use. It is therefore, from this point of view, connected with the psychological reality of the feelings, of the imagination, of the memory, and of the will. But when used to perfection, it no longer needs the instruments of the soul: it turns back on itself and in itself in its own action, in which it is identical with the intelligible which it thinks. In this perfection of our intellection we understand through the agent Intellect itself, that is through the action which substantially constitutes it. This is what has led to the statement that our individuality disappears. We have seen the modifications which Averroes introduces into this doctrine, which he considers as being that of Aristotle, without altering it in its demonstrative value: since although all that is demonstrated is true, that which is not demonstrable is not necessarily false.

A general study of the thought of Averroes would have to be based on the texts preserved in Latin or Hebrew. This article has been limited to the main works surviving in Arabic. A Latin Averroes, given the slight variations in emphasis which translations always give to the original work, could be quite different on certain details. A complete and meticulous study on this point would be desirable, but it would be a long and difficult task.

There should however finally be mentioned the commentary on the *Republic* which has survived in Hebrew (ed. with introd., tr., and notes by E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic*, Cambridge 1956). Ibn Rushd did not know the *Politics* of Aristotle; Plato takes its place. "The two works —*Nichomachean Ethics* and *Republic*—form two complementary parts of the same science of Politics, as Averroes stated himself". Averroes' social awareness appears here in his ideal of a perfect city, the image of the world; he makes frequent use of al-Fārābī; he transposes in a very interesting fashion the Greek institutions into Muslim realities, as, in the *Poetics*, he transposed the Greek literary genres; finally he makes many allusions or applications to Muslim public law and to the situation of the Almohad empire compared with the Almoravids.

Ibn Rushd had few disciples in Islam. His great fame among the Western schoolmen is well known. Renan, followed by many others, claimed that Ibn Rushd's thinking contained nothing original. This is because he deliberately belittled the religious and

juridical works. In a general way, he committed an error of appreciation which was to remain a blind spot with the historians of "Arab" thought, who have seen the *falāsifa* as nothing more than the heirs of Greece. If one considers the whole corpus of Ibn Rushd's works and the unity of his wide thought, it becomes apparent that the "Commentator" was a true philosopher.

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(R. Arnaldez)

IBN RUSTA, Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Rusta. Little is known of his life except that his native place was Iṣfahān and that he travelled in Ḥidjāz in 290/903. He is author of *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa*, of which only the seventh volume has survived (the complete work must have been very voluminous). It is very likely that he was writing between 290-300/903-13. From the subject matter of the extant volume it is evident that the author was highly educated and possessed literary talent.

His *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa* deals with mathematical, descriptive and human geography and a variety of historical and other subjects. The first chapters deal with the celestial sphere, the signs of the Zodiac, the planets, the position of the earth in the universe, and its shape, size and sphericity. The author deals systematically with mathematical and astronomical geography and endeavours to give briefly and without much quotation the sources of his knowledge, and the views and theories of the Arab, Greek and Indian astronomers on the subject. Thus the views of Āryabhatta on the rotation of the earth are included. Among the authorities named by him are Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Farghānī (*ca.* 218/833) and Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/899). However, he quotes numerous verses from the Ḳur'ān in support of his view of astronomy. After the introduction, there follows a description of Mecca and Medina, of the wonders of the world, the seas, rivers and the seven climes; then follow descriptions of Constantinople, of the Khazars, the Bulghars, the Slavs, the Russians and other peoples. The author then gives the itineraries of some places, and ends with a description of some categories of Muslim names, religious groups and schisms, and names of people having special physical characteristics. Apart from the description of the lands of Islam, one finds in it details about many regions that lay outside the domain of Islam. Thus, considering the variety of subjects covered in the book, it may be defined as "a short encyclopaedia of historical and geographical knowledge". From the point of view of its arrangement and the presentation of the geographical material, the work may be classified as belonging to the category of the ʿIrāḳī school of geography as distinct from the broad category of the Balkhī school [see djughrāfiyā, 580b]. Ibn Rusta's work is to be compared with those of Ḳudāma and Ibn al-Faḳīh, in whose system too Mecca and Arabia are given precedence. By contrast, others belonging to this school give preference to ʿIrāḳ and Īrānshahr. Again, Ibn Rusta prefers to describe the seven climes according to the Greek system and not according to the Persian system of *kishwars*. J. H. Kramers has very correctly evaluated the work of Ibn Rusta as a rich source of information about all kinds of subjects that interested the cultivated classes of society: "It would seem that this kind of literature was used for the collection of all the secular knowledge that could not find a place in the religious and traditional literature" (see *Djughrāfiyā*, in *EI*[1], Supp.).

As for the sources of his information, Ibn Rusta seems to have consulted the work of al-Djayhānī [*q.v.*]—he might even have met him. Again, it seems that he utilized the more complete edition of Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*], which is not extant. He used the report drawn up by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, who spent two years in Khmer (Cambodia) and whose report was later used by a number of geographers.

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IBN SAʿĀDA, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Mursī (496/1103-565/1170), *ḳāḍī* and traditionist, studied under his kinsman Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī (whose *dīwān*s and the original copies of whose traditions he inherited), Abū Muḥammad Ibn ʿAttāb, Abu 'l-Walīd b. Rushd (grandfather of Averroes) and Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī. In 520/1126 he travelled to the East and performed the Pilgrimage the following year. After studying with a number of scholars in Mecca, Alexandria and al-Mahdiyya, he returned to Murcia in 526/1132. His main interests were Ḳur'ānic studies, *ḥadīth*, philology and *kalām*, along with an inclination towards Ṣūfism. He was an eloquent *khaṭīb*, a counsellor, and a teacher of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, and was appointed *ḳāḍī* successively in Murcia and Jativa. He transmitted traditions in these towns and in Valencia, in which three towns he preached the *khuṭba* on Fridays in turn. He was valued for his legal knowledge and just decisions, and was popular with all classes. Among his transmissions was al-Tirmidhī's *Djāmiʿ*.

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IBN AL-SĀʿĀTĪ (the son of the clock-maker), Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān (or Ruḍwān) b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Rustam al-Khurāsānī, born at Damascus, where his father, a native of Khurāsān, had settled. His father was a skilled clock-maker, whose most notable works were the clocks at the entrance to the Great Mosque at Damascus, commissioned by the Zangid al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (died in Shawwal 569/May 1174); he was also versed in astronomy. Ibn al-Sāʿātī was a physician, but he was also well-versed in literature, logic and the other philosophic disciplines as well as in clock-making. He was at first the vizier of al-Malik al-Fā'iz b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Muḥammad b. Ayyūb (nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), and then vizier and personal physician of his brother al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (died 624/1227). He died at Damascus in about 627/1230. There survives a work of his on clock-making, the *Risāla fī ʿamal al-sāʿāt wa-'stiʿmālihā* (abridged translation E. Wiedemann and Fritz Hauser, *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, in *Nova acta academiae naturae curiosorum*, c (1915), 176-267), in which he deals primarily with his father's clock, which he repaired and improved.

His brother, Bahā' al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, also called Ibn al-Sāʿātī, was a well-known poet whose *dīwān* has been edited by A. E. Khūrī (Beirut 1938-9). He died, in Cairo, in about 604/1207; for details of his life see Ibn Khallikān, no. 489.

The same name was also given to the Ḥanafī jurisconsult Muẓaffar al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Baghdādī, died 694/1295, author of a much used compendium of *fiḳh* which is called *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn wa-multaḳā 'l-nayyirayn*, because it is an adaptation of the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ḳudūrī [*q.v.*] and of the *Manẓūma* of al-Nasafī; for details see *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, ed. Flügel, 4.

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IBN SABʿĪN, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr, al-ʿAkkī al-Mursī Abū Muḥammad Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, 'Peripatetic' philosopher and Ṣūfī (*ṣūfī ʿalā ḳāʿidat al-falāsifa*). He himself used the surname Ibn Dāra. This last word, which denotes a circle, a ring, the halo round the moon, here apparently signifies the null or zero which, according to the *ḳāḍī* of Granada, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 760/1358-9), was said to correspond to the figure of seventy (*sabʿīn*) "according to certain methods of computation peculiar to the people of the Maghrib".

Ibn Sabʿīn was born in Murcia in 613 or 614/1217-8 and died in Mecca in 668 or 669/1269-71.

"A bitter and tormented spirit", L. Massignon called him. His life, consisting entirely of controversies, quarrels and persecutions, seems to have been a long and painful trial, alleviated however by the love and loyalty bestowed on him by his disciples, the *sabʿīniyya*, men humble of heart and living in poverty. In Spain, where he carried out his studies, fortune at first favoured him. His wide learning and knowledge of medicine and alchemy were esteemed. On the other hand, his Ṣūfism was suspect; he was reproached for some of his doctrinal assertions, among others, that in which he defined God as being the sole reality of existing things; this was regarded as a profession of monist faith, which his own position as a hellenizing philosopher could only render more suspect in the eyes of the *ʿulamā'* and *fuḳahā'*. He was compelled to leave his native land, when about thirty years old, to escape from persecution by his enemies. Followed by a group of disciples, he settled in Ceuta. There he acquired such celebrity that Ibn Khalāṣ, the governor of the city, deputed him to answer the philosophical questions which the emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen had put, through an ambassador, to the Almohad sultan ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Rashīd (630-40/1232-42). But this high official, fearing that public order might be disturbed by the philosopher's teaching, soon expelled a visitor whom he considered to be compromising. Once again, Ibn Sabʿīn was compelled to go into exile. He turned towards the East. He travelled to Bādis, then to Bougie. It was in that town that he met al-Shushtarī (610-68/1213-69), who became the most faithful, as well as the most moving, of all his disciples. Continuing on his way eastwards, he came to Tunis. In a milieu of orthodox Islam, this Aristotelian Ṣūfī once again came up against the hostility of the *ʿulamā'*. To escape from his chief enemy Abū Bakr al-Sakūnī, a theologian from Seville who had settled in Tunis, he hurriedly left the town. There is a record of his journey on to Gabès, and thence to Cairo. But there he scarcely felt secure and the great Mamlūk sultan Baybars I was ill-disposed towards him. Only the *ḥarām* of Mecca remained as a place of refuge for him. But there too he was persecuted, by an Andalusian émigré named Ḳuṭb al-Ḳasṭallānī (614-86/1217-88). For once, however, he escaped unharmed from the accusations that were brought against him.

M. A. F. Mehren regards Ibn Sabʿīn as "one of the last representatives of the Arab 'Peripatetic' school".

This opinion is shared by L. Massignon, who considers that through his very Hellenism the philosopher was condemned to remain without disciples in the history of Islam. Ibn Khaldūn places him among the adherents of *waḥda*, that is to say among the Monists, whom he contrasts with the theorists of *tadjallī*. His isolation in a world of *ʿulamāʾ*, *muftīs*, theologians and *fuḳahāʾ* is not without its poignancy. He reacted by adopting a haughty attitude, pouring scorn on his adversaries. He possessed a restless temperament, racked by a nervous distemper which led even to the vomiting of blood, according to the reports of some of his biographers. This aristocratic intellectual seems to have found his only consolation among the humble men who listened to him and allowed themselves to be charmed by his words. His disciple al-Shushtarī, who spoke of himself as his slave and dedicated three of his *zadjal*s to him, called him "the magnet of souls" (*maghnāṭīs al-nufūs*). That he took his own life in the manner of the Stoics, by opening the veins of his wrists, is in no way improbable [see INTIḤĀR]. For this philosopher, possessed by Love, it was the ultimate way of uniting himself with the Beloved, of fleeing a world that rejected him.

The *isnād* of the *ṭarīḳa sabʿiniyya* given by al-Shushtarī in one of his *ḳaṣīda*s shows the overlapping of the two cultures, the Greek and the Muslim, as accepted by the followers of Ibn Sabʿīn. In it, among other links, we find Plato, Aristotle, Alexander the Great, al-Ḥallādj, al-Shūdhī, who as a mystic was the teacher of that strange character al-Suhrawardī, and Abū Madyan. In this initiatory chain, Hellenistic philosophy and Muslim *taṣawwuf* are linked together under the patronage of Hermes, the spokesman of the gods and their messenger to men.

His biographers ascribe a certain number of works to him, the principal ones being *Budd al-ʿārif*, which he is said to have written at the age of fifteen (an ed. is being prepared in Paris), *al-Duradj*, *al-Iḥāṭa*, *al-Fatḥ al-mushtarak*, a short book, *al-Faḳīriyya*, several treatises and a few essays.

Bibliography: M.A.F. Mehren, *Correspondance du philosophe soufi Ibn Sabʾīn Abd oul-Haqq, avec l'empereur Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen*, in *JA*, 1880 (in this article will be found information concerning his biography, the text of the replies that he is said to have given to the four philosophical questions put by the emperor Frederick II, and also some extracts from his two principal biographers, namely Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* and Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*). See also ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Bādisī, *al-Maqṣad* (*Vies des saints du Rīf*), annotated trans. by G. S. Colin, in *AM*, xxvi (1926), 47-9, 180-2, n. 141; L. Massignon's helpful studies, *Ibn Sabʿīn et la critique psychologique dans l'histoire de la philosophie musulmane*, in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, ii, Paris 1928, 123-30; idem, *Recueil de textes inédits relatifs à la mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929, 123-34; idem, *Investigaciones sobre Šuštarī*, in *al-And.*, xiv/1 (1949), biographical note, 33-5.

(A. FAURE)

IBN SAʿD, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SAʿD B. MANĪʿ AL-BAṢRĪ AL-HĀSHIMĪ KĀTIB AL-WĀḲIDĪ, traditionist, b. Baṣra *ca.* 168/784, d. Baghdād on 4 Djumādā II 230/16 February 845. He was a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū Hāshim, for his grandfather had been a freedman of Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (d. in 140 or 141; see Ibn Saʿd *apud* Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 344). Ibn Saʿd travelled in search of traditions and studied under many authorities. Later he settled in Baghdād and attached himself to al-Wāḳidī [*q.v.*], became his secretary and transmitted his works. He also studied genealogy under Hishām b. al-Kalbī. During the *Miḥna* [*q.v.*], he and six other orthodox scholars were summoned by order of al-Maʾmūn and were made to declare their adherence to the Muʿtazilī dogma (Ṭabarī, iii, 1116 ff., *sub anno* 218).

Ibn Saʿd's fame rests on his Book of the Classes (*Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kabīr*; there existed also a small edition, probably an abridgement). It was intended to be an aid to the study of traditions by giving information on some 4250 persons (including about 600 women) who, from the beginning of Islam down to the author's time, had played a rôle as narrators or transmitters of traditions about the Prophet's sayings and doings. Ibn Saʿd compiled it from the works of his predecessors, especially al-Wāḳidī and Ibn al-Kalbī; he usually gives the full *isnād*, but no title; he often quotes, however, the *Kitāb Nasab al-anṣār* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmāra known as Ibn al-Ḳaddāḥ (see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 62) which he had written down at the author's dictation (Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 70). Ibn Saʿd opens his work with a biography of the Prophet; then follow the classes, arranged geographically, and within each region chronologically, and sometimes also genealogically. The articles on the Companions of the Prophet are often extensive, whilst the articles on the other classes get shorter and shorter, until sometimes only the name is given. Later on some lacunae were filled in, and even an article on Ibn Saʿd himself (vii/2, 99) was added by his pupil, al-Ḥusayn Ibn Fahm (d. 289/902), in his recension of the work. Another recension (used by Ṭabarī in his "Annals") was made by al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma (d. 282/895), and a third one by Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā [*q.v.*], which was used by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 224). The edition published by E. Sachau and others (Leiden 1904-40, 9 volumes in 16 parts) gives the recension of Ibn Ḥayyawayh (d. 381/991), which was also used by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥadjar and others.

According to his biographers Ibn Saʿd wrote also books on *fiḳh* and *gharīb*. The *Fihrist* (MS Chester Beatty, p. 60) mentions besides the two editions of his *Ṭabaḳāt* a *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*. Ibn Saʿd studied the *ḥurūf al-Ḳurʾān* under al-Wāḳidī and taught them to Ibn Abī Usāma, who transmitted them to Ibn Mudjāhid (see Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya*, ii, 142). Among the critics of traditions Ibn Saʿd has—unlike his master al-Wāḳidī—the reputation of being a trustworthy authority.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd is not to be confused with his namesake, Muḥammad b. Saʿd al-ʿAwfī (d. 276/888; see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 322 f.), to whom al-Ṭabarī is referring when he says *ḥaddathanī Muḥammad b. Saʿd ʿan abīh* ... in an *isnād* which occurs no less than 1560 times in his *Tafsīr* (see H. Horst in *ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 294) and occasionally in his "Annals" (i, 45, 75, 143, 314, 378, 420, 1394, 1451, 1530). All the transmitters mentioned in this *isnād* belong to the same family: Muḥammad b. Saʿd's father Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAṭiyya (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 126; cf. Ibn Saʿd, vi, 212, 20); the latter's paternal uncle Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. ʿAṭiyya al-Ḳāḍī al-Ḥanafī (d. 201 or 202; see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 29 ff.; Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 74); Ḥasan b. ʿAṭiyya (d. 181; see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ii, 294) and ʿAṭiyya b. Saʿd (d. 111 in Kūfa; see Ibn Saʿd, vi, 212; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, vii, 224-6), who transmits from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās explanations of Ḳurʾānic verses. None of them was considered by the critics

as an unimpeachable authority; and it was said of ʿAṭiyya b. Saʿd that he had his *tafsīr* from al-Kalbī but insinuated (by *tadlīs*) that he had heard it from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī.

Bibliography: al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 321; Ibn Khallikān, no. 656 (who calls him in error al-Zuhrī); Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 12; idem, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, iii, 63; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ix, 182; Brockelmann, I, 136, S I, 208; O. Loth, *Das Classenbuch des Ibn Saʿd*, Leipzig 1869; the prefaces of the individual volumes of Sachau's edition; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, 87 ff. On lacunae in Sachau's edition, especially in vol. v, see H. Ritter in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 196-9 and K. W. Zettersteen in *SB Pr.Ak.W.*, 1933, 790-820; on its third index see W. Gottschalk in *ZDMG*, cv (1955), 105-14. On Ibn Saʿd al-ʿAwfī, see J. W. Fück, in *Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*, Halle 1968, 85 f. (J. W. Fück)

IBN ṢADAḲA [see ṢADAḲA, BANŪ].

IBN AL-SADĪD, also known as IBN AL-MUZAWWIḲ, FAKHR AL-DĪN MĀDJID B. ABI 'L-FADĀʾIL B. SANĀ 'L-MULK, called ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sadīd al-Ḳibṭī, d. 833/1430, was an official of the clerical class who served in various government positions under the patronage of the powerful Secretary Saʿd al-Dīn Ibn Ghurāb. Except for brief biographical sketches, little is known about him. Like Ibn Ghurāb [*q.v.*] he was of Coptic origin, and moved from one high position to another during the reign of the Mamlūk Sultan al-Nāṣir Faradj (reigned 801-15/1399-1412) [*q.v.*]. Among his posts were Controller of the Army (*Nāẓir al-djaysh*), briefly around 807/1404-5; and Privy Secretary (*Kātib al-sirr*), for about six months in 808/1405-6 in place of Ibn Ghurāb, who was elevated at that time to Head of the Council and made Emir of the First Class. After the death of Ibn Ghurāb, one of the latter's competitors for the Sultan's favour, Fatḥ al-Dīn Fatḥ Allāh (d. 816/1413), was named Secretary and Ibn al-Sadīd was moved from that office to be Controller of the Royal Stables (*Nāẓir al-iṣṭabl al-sulṭānī*). During the conflicts that ended his reign in 815/1412, Sultan Faradj named Ibn al-Sadīd Secretary for a second time, but the Sultan was killed before this appointment could take effect. From that time on, Ibn al-Sadīd lived in obscurity. Had it not been for his relationship by marriage and his long-time friendship with the Emir Djānibāk al-Ṣūfī, the bitter rival of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (reigned 825-41/1422-38) [see BARSBĀY], he might have lived out his life in peace. Barsbāy, however, dominated for years by fear of attempts on his throne and his life by Djānibāk after the latter's escape from prison, periodically instituted raids on places where Djānibāk was suspected of hiding and arrested and tortured suspected accomplices. In Rabīʿ II 829/March 1426 Ibn al-Sadīd was seized, and despite protestations that he did not know Djānibāk's whereabouts and had not set eyes on him since his imprisonment, was beaten with cudgels to force him to reveal what he knew. He was banished from Cairo and died four years later in constant fear and suffering on account of Djānibāk.

Bibliography: Wiet, *Manhal*, no. 1950; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Popper), vi, 167, 173, 176, 306, 598, 815; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, 321, 420; Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, v, 235. A brief biography is found in Wiet, *Les secretaires*, 283. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN AL-SADĪD, KARĪM AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FADĀʾIL AKRAM B. HIBAT ALLĀH, AL-ḲIBṬĪ AL-MIṢRĪ, called Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr, *ca.* 654-724/*ca.* 1256-1324, a member of the Coptic scribal class, was converted to Islam as an adult, at which time he took the name ʿAbd al-Karīm, by which he is sometimes known. After beginning his government career as the secretary (*kātib*) of Sultan al-Muẓaffar Baybars II (708-9/1308-9), and after a temporary setback at the latter's fall, he rose under Baybars's successor, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (709-41/1309-40). During that ruler's third reign Ibn al-Sadīd became, for a time, the most powerful figure in the governmental administration.

Most contemporary as well as later accounts, generally based on a biography by Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, assert that he was the first to bear the title of Controller of Privy Funds (*Nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*, or *khawāṣṣ*). According to al-Maḳrīzī, however (cf. *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ ed., ii, 227), the title was known from Fāṭimid times but was of minor importance until Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad abolished the vizerate and appointed Ibn al-Sadīd as Controller. In this office he was the supreme financial administrator in the realm and bore other titles as well, such as *ʿaẓīm al-dawla* and *wakīl* of the Sultan. Among his other responsibilities was the control of the finances of the Manṣūrī hospital and *madrasa* and of the *waḳf* of the mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.

Ibn al-Sadīd seems to have had absolute control over the personal finances of the ruler to such an extent, as is related in an anecdote, that the Sultan was unable to pay for a duck that he wished to buy in the absence of his Controller. Like all bureaucrats of the period, however, Ibn al-Sadīd was dependent for his position and advancement on the personal whims and financial needs of his master. Despite his high position and close personal relationship with the Sultan, recounted in numerous anecdotes, Ibn al-Sadīd met a fate which some chroniclers liken to that of the Barmecides. The exact reasons for his fall from favour are not clear, but in 723/1323 he was seized, confined, and forced to sign a statement, witnessed by the Chief Ḳāḍī, to the effect that all the wealth in his possession actually belonged to the Sultan and that none of it was his (*Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ), ii, 59). After this he was moved from one place of confinement to another, from the tomb that he had built at al-Ḳarāfa outside Cairo to Karak al-Shawbak, thence to Jerusalem, and finally to Aswān in Upper Egypt where, several months after his arrest, he was found strangled with his turban. Although some chroniclers report this as a suicide, others make clear their suspicion that the Sultan's orders were involved.

Upon receiving news of the death of Ibn al-Sadīd the Sultan had his son, ʿAlam al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, brought before him and forced from him revelations of the whereabouts of his father's huge hidden treasure. One contemporary account (al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ix, 315) asserts that Ibn al-Sadīd had deposited large sums of money with European merchants in Egypt, planning to flee to a European-held territory—probably Cyprus—in the very year in which he was seized. This account further states that he had been urging on the Sultan a plan to develop the port facilities of Lādhiḳiyya to equal those of Alexandria, with the intention of using that harbour as his point of departure. On the other hand, Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo ed. ix, 77), following earlier authorities, praises him for the sincerity of his Islamic feeling, his generosity, reliability and executive ability.

His sister's son, also named Karīm al-Dīn Akram, (*Manhal*, no. 516) and called Karīm al-Dīn al-Ṣaghīr to distinguish him from his uncle, served as *Nāẓir*

al-dawla and was also exiled to Aswān, where he died in 726/1326. Some nine years later, in 735/1334, the sons of both Karīm al-Dīn al-Ṣaghīr and of his uncle, Ibn al-Sadīd, were arrested.

Although the downfall of Ibn al-Sadīd may be attributed to a change in the Sultan's personal attitude, deeper historical causes may be suggested. One is the possibility that it was connected with changes in fiscal policy as reflected in the monetary reforms introduced by the Sultan almost immediately after the death of Ibn al-Sadīd. Another is the evident suspicion that Ibn al-Sadīd was involved in events connected with the anti-Christian riots in Cairo and other parts of Egypt in 721/1321. It is recorded that he was stoned by the populace for interceding on behalf of Christians accused of starting fires and was condemned by pious Muslims for having persuaded the Sultan to order the demolition of a *miḥrāb* erected on the site of a destroyed Christian church (cf. *Khiṭaṭ*, 511, 514-6).

A number of building projects are attributed to Ibn al-Sadīd, including a mosque and a *khānḳāh* in Cairo, and the endowment of two mosques bearing his name in the outskirts of Damascus.

Bibliography: As mentioned above, most of the available biographies are based on the as yet unpublished work of al-Ṣafadī and repeat the same material. This is true of Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, which has two biographies, one under Akram (i, 401-4) and one under ʿAbd al-Karīm (ii, 401-4); of al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 8-15; of Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo), ix, esp. 75-7; and even of modern works such as al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, iv, 180, and *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 164. Additional material occurs in Dawādārī, *Kanz*, ix (ed. Roemer), 188, 203, 217, 247, 282, 296, 302, 305, 306, 307, 310, 311, 314-15, 349, 354, 376, 388, 390, 394; and *Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ), ii, 59, 66, 68, 131, 164, 186, 225, 227, 269, 392, 425, 426, 511, 514-16. Other references are Sauvaire, in *JA*, 1896, 231, 267-68; Wiet, *Lampes*, app. no. 21-2; Wiet, *Manhal*, no. 1463; ʿAlī Pasha, ii, 28; iii, 99-100. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN SAʿDŪN [see YAḤYĀ B. SAʿDŪN].

IBN AL-ṢAFFĀR, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Ghāfiḳī al-Andalusī, a student of the Spanish astronomer and mathematician Maslama al-Madjrīṭī [*q.v.*], lived in Cordova until shortly after the outbreak of civil strife, at which time he moved to Denia, where he died in 426/1035. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) informs us that Ibn al-Ṣaffār wrote a set of astronomical tables according to the Sindhind method as well as a treatise on the use of the astrolabe. The former seems to survive only partially in an Arabic manuscript written in Hebrew characters (MS Paris, *hebr.*, 1102). The latter text has been edited by J. M. Millás Vallicrosa (see Bibliography). There are two Latin versions of this treatise on the astrolabe; one by Johannes Hispalensis is ascribed to al-Madjrīṭī (*Alcacim de Magerit qui dicitur Almacherita*), and the other by Plato of Tivoli is ascribed to Ibn al-Ṣaffār (*Abucazin filio Asafar*). Since they both represent the Arabic text of Ibn al-Ṣaffār, Millás Vallicrosa argued (in his article of 1955) that al-Madjrīṭī had been substituted in one version because of the confusion that they both had the same *kunya* (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim). A Hebrew version by Jacob ben Makhir, in two recensions, and a Spanish version are also extant. No other treatises by Ibn al-Ṣaffār are known.

Muḥammad, a brother of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn al-Ṣaffār, is described as an astrolabe-maker by Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī; at least one surviving astrolabe (dated 420/1029) is ascribed to him (cf. L. A. Mayer, *Islamic astrolabists and their works*, Geneva 1956, 75).

Bibliography: M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893, 580-4; H. Suter, *Die Math. und Astron. d. Araber und ihre Werke*, in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, x (1900), 86; Brockelmann, I, 256, S I, 401; Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, 70 (transl. R. Blachère, 131); J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manoscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*, Madrid 1942, 261-84 (an edition of the Latin version by Johannes Hispalensis of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's treatise on the astrolabe); idem, *Los primeros tratados de astrolabio en la España arabe*, in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, iii (1955), 35-49 (the Arabic text of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's treatise on the astrolabe appears in a supplement, separately paginated, pp. 47-76). (B. R. Goldstein)

IBN AL-ṢAGHĪR, historian, author of a chronicle on the Rustamid imāms of Tāhert. His work forms the earliest document on the Ibāḍīs of North Africa which has survived up to the present, with the exception of extracts from the work of Ibn Salām b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*]. The chronicle of Ibn al-Ṣaghīr was very highly esteemed by the Ibāḍī historians of the Maghrib, two of whom, al-Barrādī [*q.v.*] and al-Shammākhī [*q.v.*] quote large extracts from it. His opinions concerning the Ibāḍīs of Tāhert and particularly the Rustamids were certainly not hostile, in spite of an anti-Ibāḍī statement made in one passage of his work. He himself was more a Shīʿī, and his ʿAlid tendencies appear in more than one passage of his chronicle. While still a young man he owned a shop in Tāhert, in the al-Rahādina quarter, and attended the mosque in this quarter. He lived during part of the reign of the imām Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān and also during that of the imām Abū Ḥātim, when he wrote his chronicle, probably in about 290/903.

Ibn al-Ṣaghīr's work is an anecdotal rather than a political history, and has been rightly described by A. de C. Motylinski as "la monographie de la Tâhert abâdhite dans sa vie intime". The author used as his basic sources stories narrated by various persons of Tāhert, mainly Ibāḍīs, who were often relating their ancestors' version of events. He only rarely gives the names of his informants, among whom there should be mentioned a certain Aḥmad b. Bashīr.

Bibliography: *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghīr sur les imams rostemides de Tahert*, ed. and Fr. tr. A. de C. Motylinski, in *Actes du XIV*e *Congrès Intern. des Orient.*, Algiers 1905, third part (continuation), Paris 1908, 3-132; A. de C. Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab. Les livres de la secte abadhite*, in *Bull. de Correspondance Africaine*, iii (1885), 45-6; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 192, 194, 221, 222, 223, 262, 263; T. Lewicki, *Une chronique ibāḍite*, in *REI*, 1936/3, 69; idem, *Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes ibāḍites-wahbites de l'Afrique du Nord du VIII*e *au XVI*e *siècle*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961-2), 105-6. (T. Lewicki)

IBN ṢĀḤIB AL-ṢALĀT, Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Bādjī, Andalusian author of an important history of the Almohads entitled *al-Mann bi 'l-imāma ʿala 'l-mustaḍʿafīn bi-an djaʿalahum Allāh al-aʾimma wa-djaʿalahum al-wārithīn* (ed. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, Beirut 1964). Practically nothing is known of this Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt nor of his connexion with several other men of the same name. Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt seems himself to have been an Almohad *ḥāfiẓ* and clearly was closely

involved in the events which he describes. Brockelmann's statement, presumably taken from Amari, that he died in 578/1182 is incorrect; it may be deduced from the work itself that he was still living in 594/1198 (Tāzī's Introduction, pp. 24-6). The surviving fragment of *al-Mann bi'l imāma* begins with the year 554/1159 and finishes with 568/1172 (not 580/1159 [*sic*] as in Brockelmann).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S 1, 554.

(J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN SAHL al-Isrāʾīlī al-Ishbīlī, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm, one of the few genuine poets of Muslim Spain in the 7th/13th century. When compared with the great names of poetry during this period, such as Abū Baḥr Ṣafwān b. Idrīs (d. 619/1222), Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥarīḳ (d. 622/1225), Muḥammad b. Idrīs *alias* Mardj al-Kuḥl (d. 634/1236), Ibn Lubbāl (d. 683/1284), Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī (d. 684/1285) and Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī (d. 684/1285), Ibn Sahl impresses us by his truly poetic temperament and his artistic sensibility.

Born in Seville in about 609/1212-3 of a Jewish family, he spent nearly all his life in his native town, wholly absorbed in poetry, to which he devoted himself entirely, and it is only towards the end of his life that we find him attached to one of the governors as secretary. The Seville in which he lived was sad and under constant threat, but he succeeded in escaping into a world of imaginary love and romantic dreams. As early as 625/1227, when he was only sixteen years old, he impressed his contemporaries with his poetic talents when he suggested the insertion of a verse in a poem composed by al-Haythamī in praise of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Hūd. He must have been converted to Islam at the start of his poetic career, since the whole of his *dīwān* expresses his deep Muslim conviction; some of his contemporaries doubted the sincerity of his conversion and tormented him with their incessant curiosity about his faith, but he always remained patient and paid no attention to their provocations. We have no reason to doubt his sincerity because, at a time when Muslim Spain was falling into hopeless decline, the material advantages to be secured by such a conversion were practically nil. Ibn Sahl left Seville after it had fallen into the hands of Ferdinand III (646/1248) and settled in Ceuta, where he became one of the secretaries of the governor, Abū ʿAlī Ibn Khalāṣ; in 649/1251, when the latter decided to send his son to bear a message to Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mustanṣir I, the Ḥafṣid ruler of Ifrīḳiya, Ibn Sahl was chosen to accompany him; the travellers set sail on board a galley which was wrecked in a violent storm and all its occupants perished.

The *dīwān* of Ibn Sahl is one of the finest specimens of Andalusian poetry; it consists almost exclusively of love poems and *muwashshaḥāt* which reveal his artistic temperament and his talent as a romantic poet. A number of these poems are dedicated to a youth named Mūsā, and later ones to another youth named Muḥammad; several critics have wondered if Mūsā might not be a symbol of Ibn Sahl's attachment to his original faith and of his regret for abandoning it; the poems dedicated to Muḥammad were composed later, and are regarded as an indication of his final adherence to the faith he had chosen. This is all pure conjecture with no foundation; indeed, one of his first long poems describes the march of a caravan of pilgrims towards Mecca, and palpitates with intense and dramatic Muslim sentiments rare in the poetry of that period.

Bibliography: Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, i, 23-35; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (MS Cairo), xi, 473; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 244, 296 (where it is said that Ibn Sahl died in 649 or 656); Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Shawḳī Ḍayf, Cairo 1953, i, 264-5; idem, *Rāyāt*, no. xx, Arabic text 22, Spanish tr. 149; idem, *Ikhtiṣār al-Ḳidḥ al-muʿallā*, ed. Ibr. al-Ibyārī, Cairo 1959, 140-1; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, v, 66-71; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, i, Cairo 1956, 51-6; M. Hartmann, *Das arab. Strophengedicht*, Weimar 1897, i, index; Brockelmann, I, 273, S I, 483; M. Soualah, *Ibrahim ibn Sahl, poète musulman d'Espagne*, Algiers 1914-9; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 207.— His *dīwān* has been printed several times in Cairo (1279, 1302), Beirut (1885) and Alexandria (1939); a commentary, by Muḥ. al-Ṣaghīr b. Muḥ. al-Ifrānī, *al-Maslak al-sahl fī tawshīḥ Ibn Sahl*, was lithographed in Fās in 1324. (H. Monés)

IBN AL-SĀʿĪ, ʿAlī b. Andjab, Abū Ṭālib Tādj al-Dīn, ʿIrāḳi historian (14 Shaʿbān 593/2 July 1197-20 Ramaḍān 674/8 March 1276). Born in Baghdād, he appears to have spent all of his life there. He was a librarian, in succession, it seems, of both the Niẓāmiyya and the Mustanṣiriyya libraries. Being inclined to Ṣūfism, he was inducted into it by (ʿUmar b. Muḥammad) al-Suhrawardī in 608/1211-12. He had a son, ʿUbayd Allāh, who was born on 7 Shaʿbān 632/27 April 1235. These are about all the known facts about his life, which began in a tranquil and prosperous period but was then caught up in the storm of the Mongol invasion.

Ibn al-Sāʿī was part of the intellectual life of Baghdād in a period in which historiography was exceptionally flourishing. He wrote numerous and large works. A few titles on *ḥadīth* may have been largely academic exercises, although of considerable size. On *adab*, he composed, for instance, a number of many-volume commentaries on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, commentaries on Thaʿlab's *Faṣīḥ* and the *Nahdj al-balāgha*, and a work on contemporary poets. Titles such as "Lover and Beloved" and "Ascetics" (the latter supposedly his last work) may have been Ṣūfī in character. His historical output was vast. He wrote monographs on the last four ʿAbbāsid caliphs, from al-Nāṣir to al-Mustaʿṣim; biographical collections, such as a continuation of the History of Baghdād, Classes of Jurists, *Manāḳib* of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and of the professors of the Niẓāmiyya; annalistic history, and much more. No complete list of his works, probably numbering far more than one hundred, can be established. With other members of the ʿIrāḳī historical school of the time of the great upheaval, Ibn al-Sāʿī shares the fate that most of his work has been lost. Beyond brief citations in later authors, we possess so far only one volume of his detailed annalistic history, entitled *al-Djāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar* (part 9, containing the years 595-606, ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād, Baghdād 1353/1934), and an interesting short treatise on some of the wives of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, entitled *Djihat al-aʾimma al-khulafāʾ min al-darāʾir wa-'l-imāʾ*, which was recognized as belonging to Ibn al-Sāʿī and published by Muṣṭafā Djawād (*Nisāʾ al-khulafāʾ*, Cairo n.d. [1960?]). A brief and mediocre history of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (*Akhbār al-khulafāʾ*) is unlikely to go back to him. The existence of a five-volume *Akhbār al-udabāʾ*, claimed by P. Sbath, *al-Fihris, Supplément*, Cairo 1940, 38, is entirely uncertain, as is his connexion with the work mentioned by Brockelmann, S II, 935, No. 58.

Bibliography: (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī), *al-Ḥawā-*

dith al-djāmiʿa, Baghdād 1351, 386; al-Dimyāṭī, *Muʿdjam*, see G. Vajda, *Le Dictionnaire des autorités de ʿAbd al-Muʾmin ad-Dimyāṭī*, Paris 1962, 71; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām, anno* 674, also *Muʿdjam* (or its *Talkhīṣ* by Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba) (not available); al-Ṣafadī (not available); ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ḳurashī, *Djawāhir*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1332, 354; Taḳī al-Dīn al-Fāsī, *Muntakhab al-Mukhtār*, Baghdād 1357, 137-9; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 343 f., and other brief notices. Cf. further, Brockelmann, S I, 590 f. (S II, 935 ??); F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*[2], 56, 58, 305 f., 410, 413, 424, 462 f., 491; ʿAbbās ʿAzzāwī, *al-Taʿrīf bi-'l-muʾarrikhīn*, i, Baghdād 1376/1957, 90-5; Muṣṭafā Djawād, introd. to his ed. of *Nisāʾ al-khulafāʾ*.

(F. Rosenthal)

IBN SAʿĪD [see AL-MUNDHIR B. SAʿĪD].

IBN SAʿĪD AL-MAGHRIBĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Saʿīd, Andalusian poet, anthologist, historian and geographer, born near Granada in 610/1213, in a family which was descended from the Companion of the Prophet ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*] and which had long previously emigrated to Spain, where, during the period of the *Ṭawāʾif*, it had carved out a principality for itself in the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Yaḥṣub (modern name Alcala la Real), but had afterwards been forced to enter the service of the Almohads (for this family, see G. Potiron, *Eléments de biographie et de généalogie des Banū Saʿīd*, in *Arabica*, xii/1 (1965), 78-92). After spending his youth in Seville, where he divided his time between the traditional studies and pleasures, Ibn Saʿīd left Spain in 639/1241 to perform the Pilgrimage, together with his father, who died on the journey, at Alexandria, in 648/1242. He was then given a warm welcome in Cairo, where there had preceded him a fame which was probably due to the *Kitāb al-Mughrib fī ḥulā 'l-Maghrib* which he had brought with him. This work has a curious history: begun in 530/1135 by Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥidjārī at the suggestion of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Saʿīd, under the title *Kitāb al-Mushib fī gharāʾib al-Maghrib*, it consisted of an account of the events between the conquest of Spain and the year 530; its compilation was continued, with new data added and the title altered, by the two sons of ʿAbd al-Malik, Aḥmad (d. 558/1163) and Muḥammad (519-91/1125-95) and then by the latter's son, Mūsā, and finally by our ʿAlī b. Mūsā. This work, which thus represents the sum of the efforts of several generations of members of the same family, was finished only in 641/1243 by ʿAlī b. Mūsā while he was in Egypt, and it is the autograph but incomplete manuscript, the various volumes of which are dated from 645 to 657/1247-50, which has served as basis for the fragmentary editions of this monumental work (the section relating to Egypt, ed. Zakī Muḥ. Ḥasan, Cairo 1953, one vol.; the section relating to Spain, ed. A. Ḍayf, i, Cairo 1953 [cf. review by E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Arabica*, i/2 (1954), 219-24], ii, Cairo 1955; text and German tr. by K. Vollers of the notice concerning Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, in *Semitist. Studien*, Berlin 1894; 4th vol. published and tr. into German by K. C. Tallquist, under the title *al-ʿUyūn al-duʿdj fī ḥulā dawlat Banī Ṭughdj*, Leiden 1898; the section relating to Sicily, ed. Moritz, Palermo 1910).

In 648/1249, Ibn Saʿīd left Egypt to perform the Pilgrimage and travelled throughout ʿIrāḳ and Syria, probably in order to obtain information with a view to the completion of a *Kitāb al-Mushriḳ fī ḥulā 'l-Mashriḳ*, which had been undertaken by his father and was to be a counterpart to the first; this work does not appear to have been completed, but several volumes of it in manuscript exist in Cairo. He next performed a second Pilgrimage to Mecca and started on his return journey, writing on the way an account of his voyage, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya fī 'l-riḥla al-Makkiyya*. On his arrival in Tunis (652/1254-5) he entered the service of the *amīr* al-Mustanṣir (see R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, index), fell for a time into disgrace, but finally succeeded in regaining favour. In 666/1267, he made a second journey in the East which took him as far as Īrān, but the last years of his life are surrounded by some obscurity; he seems to have returned in about 675/1276 to Tunis, where he died in 685/1286.

Ibn Saʿīd's poetry, to judge from the few examples which have survived (for his *Dīwān* is lost), reveals, among much that is hackneyed and stereotyped, some original ideas and personal accents when, in the East, he expresses his nostalgia for his native Andalus. But his fame rests mainly on the *Mughrib*, the anthologies deriving from it and his historical and geographical works, most of which have today disappeared. The following have been printed: *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn wa-ghāyāt al-mumayyizīn*, partial ed. with Spanish tr. by E. García Gómez, Madrid 1942; Eng. tr. A. J. Arberry, Cambridge 1953.—*ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt wa 'l-muṭribāt*, which seems to have formed part of a *Djāmiʿ al-murḳiṣāt wa 'l-muṭribāt*; ed. Cairo 1286; partial ed. and Fr. tr. by A. Mahdad, Algiers 1949.—*al-Ghuṣūn al-yāniʿa fī maḥāsin shuʿarāʾ al-miʾa al-sābiʿa*, ed. Ibr. Ibyārī, Cairo 1955; *Ikhtiṣār al-Ḳidḥ al-muʿallā fī 'l-taʾrīkh al-muḥallā*, ed. Ibyārī, Cairo 1959; *Mukhtaṣar Djughrāfiyā* (and other titles), ed. J. Vernet, Tetuan 1958 (partial Sp. tr. by the same in *Tamuda*, i (1953), vi (1958); ed. with Fr. tr. by G. Potiron, forthcoming).—Some of his other works have survived but are still unpublished (for mss. see Brockelmann): in addition to the *Mushriḳ* already mentioned there exist notably: *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿArab*; and *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* (Cairo). His writings on the scholars of his time, his own family, his journey to Mecca, and on geography etc. have been used by later writers such as al-Maḳḳarī or Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, but the latter admits that Ibn Saʿīd's geographical writings are full of errors.

Bibliography: autobiography in the introduction to *Mughrib*; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 112; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 357; idem, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 320; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 12,078; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 260; A. González Palencia, *Literatura*[2], 37, 108, 176; Brockelmann, I, 336-7, S I, 576; F. de la Granja, in *al-Andalus*, xviii (1953), 228; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Le zağal hispanique dans le Muġrib d'Ibn Saʿīd*, in *Arabica*, i/1 (1954), 44-52; M. M. Antuña, *Una obra fragmentaria de Abensaid el Magrebi existente en la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, in *Bol. de la Real Acad. de la Hist.*, lxxxvi (1925), 639-48; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 187-8; G. Potiron, *Un polygraphe andalou du XIIIe siècle, ... Ibn Saʿīd*, in *Arabica*, xiii/2 (1966), 142-67. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN AL-ṢĀʾIGH AL-ʿARŪḌĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sibāʿ al-Djudhāmī, known also under the name of Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmiya, poet, grammarian and lexicographer, born at Damascus in 645/1247 and died there *circa* 722/1322. Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh, who taught grammar, prosody and belles-lettres in a shop in the jewellers' quarter, is the author of a certain number of glosses and abridgements of famous works (com-

mentary on Ibn Durayd's *Maḳṣūra*, an abridgement of the *Ṣaḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī, an abridgement of the commentaries by Ibn Kharūf and by al-Sīrāfī on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh [manuscript in the Ḳarawiyyīn], etc.), as well as of a *Maḳāma shihābiyya* and of a large *Dīwān*, containing especially a long *ḳāfiyya*, composed in Egypt, in which he expressed the nostalgia he felt on being far from his native town; this composition is numbered among the famous *zahriyyāt*.

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, s.v.; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ii, 340; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 94; Kaḥḥāla, ix, 192; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iii, 281-2. On other persons known by the name of Ibn Ṣāʾigh, see *DM*, iii, 281, 282. (ED.)

IBN AL-ṢALĀḤ, TAḲĪ ʾL-DĪN ABŪ ʿAMR ʿUTHMĀN B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-KURDĪ AL-SHAHRAZŪRĪ, who belonged to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, was born in 577/1181 at Sharakhān, a village in the Irbil district near Shahrazūr, and died in Damascus in 643/1245. He studied *fiḳh* at Shahrazūr with his father, who later took him to Mosul where he studied *ḥadīth*. He continued his studies in a number of centres such as Baghdād, Naysābūr, Merv, Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥarrān and Jerusalem, with distinction. Ibn Khallikān, who studied under him for a year in Damascus from Shawwāl 632/June-July 1235, says he was one of the most eminent men of his time in *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, *ʿilm al-ridjāl* and all branches of *ḥadīth* studies, and philology. He taught for a time in the Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa* in Jerusalem, then went to Damascus where he remained for the rest of his life. He taught in the Rawāḥiyya *madrasa*. When al-Malik al-Ashraf built the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* in Damascus, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ was appointed to a chair. He was later appointed to the Shaʾmiyya Djuwāniyya *madrasa* newly founded by Sitt al-Shaʾm. Ibn Khallikān says that although he held these three posts simultaneously he was punctilious in the performance of all his duties. He was renowned for his *fatwā*s, was an authority on *ḥadīth*, and was a teacher whose classes were largely attended. His writings, though not numerous, were highly valued. He wrote a description of the rites of the *ḥadjdj*, extant but still unpublished. A work containing his *fatwā*s has been published (Cairo 1348). His most famous work is his book on the sciences of *ḥadīth*. He refers to it as *Kitāb Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth hādhā*, but whether he meant that as a title is not clear. It was published in Lucknow in 1304 with the title *Muḳaddimāt Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, and in Aleppo (1350/1931) with the title *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth al-maʿrūf bi-Muḳaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, accompanied by ʿIrāḳī's commentary and by notes by Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, the editor. This work, divided into 65 *nawʿ*, has a claim to be considered the standard work on the sciences of Tradition. It has given rise to commentaries and abridgements, notable among which are the *Taḳrīb* of al-Nawawī, translated by W. Marçais in *JA*, série ix, vols. xvi-xviii, and Ibn Kathīr's abridgement published with a commentary by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir with the title *al-Bāʿith al-ḥathīth* (Cairo 1370/1951).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, ii, 188-90; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 214 f.; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, v, 137-42; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Nukhbat al-fikar*, Cairo 1352/1934, 2 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, year 643; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 8766; Brockelmann, I, 440-42, S I, 610-12. (J. ROBSON)

IBN SALĀM B. ʿUMAR (or ʿAMR), the first known Ibāḍī historian of the Maghrib. He lived, at least for a time (in about 240/855), at Tozeur in southern Tunisia. He is known to have been still living in 260/873-4. He is the author of an historical work on the Ibāḍīs of North Africa which has not survived, but fairly long extracts from which are found in the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī. This work, whose title is not known, was compiled from the traditions related by the North African Ibāḍī *shaykh*s, such as the author's contemporary Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Nafūsī (whom he met at Tozeur in 240), Nafāth b. Naṣr al-Nafūsī and Sulaymān b. Wakīl al-Zahānī. The extracts given in al-Shammākhī's work deal with the introduction of Islam into the Djabal Nafūsa, with the history of the first Ibāḍī imāms of the Maghrib (Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb al-Maʿāfirī and Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī), with the relations of the Ibāḍīs of Tāhert with their co-religionists in the East during the imāmate of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and with several important Ibāḍīs of Ḳayrawān and central and eastern Tunisia. The date of composition of the work is not known, though it seems fairly probable that it was compiled shortly after the year 260/873-4, which is the last date mentioned in the extracts given by al-Shammākhī.

Bibliography: al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 133-4, 135, 142, 143, 161, 162, 260-2; T Lewicki, *Le culte du bélier dans la Tunisie musulmane*, in *REI*, ix (1935), 196-7; idem, *Une chronique ibāḍite*, in *REI*, viii (1934), 73; idem, *Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes ibāḍites-wahbites de l'Afrique du Nord du VIIIe au XVIe siècle*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961-2), 106-7. (T LEWICKI)

IBN AL-SAL(L)ĀR [see AL-ʿĀDIL B. AL-SALĀR].

IBN SALLĀM [see ABŪ ʿUBAYD IBN SALLĀM].

IBN SALLĀM AL-DJUMAḤĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤ. B. SALLĀM, traditionist and philologist of the Baṣra school. He was a *mawlā* of Ḳudāma b. Maẓʿūn al-Djumaḥī and was born at Baṣra in 139/756. It was in his native town that he began the traditional studies—religious sciences and *adab* in general—particularly with his father, who was very well versed in poetry and lexicography. He was in contact, at Baṣra and also at Baghdād, with a considerable number of the scholars of the period, among them the great names of Arabic literature, al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, etc. and several poets such as Bashshār or Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa. He also collected *ḥadīth*s as related by famous traditionists and transmitted them in his turn to such figures as Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī or Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and his son ʿAbd Allāh. In the same way he became the transmitter of historical traditions, and ʿUmar b. Shabba was among his listeners. He died at Baghdād in 231/845 or 232/846.

His biographers attribute to him several works: a *Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān* (which, however, is not mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm), a *K. al-Fāḍil* (?) *fī mulaḥ* (?) *al-akhbār wa ʾl-ashʿār*, a *K. Buyūtāt al-ʿArab*, a *K. al-Ḥallāb* (*al-Ḥalāʾib*?) *wa-idjrāʾ al-khayl*, perhaps also a *K. al-Fursān*, but his fame rests mainly on his *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, which nevertheless presents several problems: these are not easy to solve because of the disordered state in which the text has survived and the unsatisfactory way in which it has been transmitted; in fact, although it can be accepted that Ibn Sallām is indeed the originator of this work, its contents were transmitted orally and probably worked over by his nephew Abū Khalīfa al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥubāb al-Djumaḥī, who was blind, and were not written down until some decades after the death of its real author; an indication that

this was so is to be found in the fact that al-Djāḥiẓ, when he cites Ibn Sallām, mentions his *isnād* (this does not necessarily refer to the work which was to become the *Ṭabaḳāt*, but the remark has a general significance), whereas Ibn Ḳutayba has a tendency to suppress it. The *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* was first published at Leiden, in 1916, by J. Hell (with an introduction in German which stated the main problems); this work served as the basis for an edition published in Egypt in 1920 and for several other commercially published editions; finally M. M. Shākir published, also in Cairo, in 1952, under the new title of *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, an excellent critical edition based on a more complete manuscript than those which had been available to Hell. The editor devotes a long introduction to a detailed criticism of Hell's conclusions, attempts to solve the difficulties caused by the arrangement of the work, lists its sources (he names 70 guarantors) and collects citations from it by later writers, in particular by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, which to a certain extent reveal their methods of work.

Ibn al-Nadīm attributes to Ibn Sallām two distinct works, a *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ al-djāhiliyyīn* and a *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ al-islāmiyyīn*, which certainly seem to form the two basic parts of the printed work; each of them contains ten classes of four poets, but this perfect symmetry is broken, for they are separated by a third part consisting of a class of poets of *marāthī* (four poets), a class of poets belonging to various cities (Medina: five, Mecca: nine, al-Ṭāʾif: five, al-Baḥrayn: three) and a class of Jewish poets (eight). There should thus be a total of 114 notices but five of them have disappeared (they could, however, be fairly easily reconstructed). The notices contain in general only rudimentary biographical facts and brief quotations of verses, but the work is nevertheless of considerable interest: it not only provides a documentation which is still useful, although it seems rather thin, but in addition the choice of poets illustrates the tastes of the amateurs and connoisseurs of poetry; finally it was the first work to pose the problem of the authenticity of ancient poetry and provides the modern critics who have expressed doubts about this with a number of examples.

For his place in the development of rhetoric, see AL-MAʿĀNĪ WAʾL-BAYĀN.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* and *Bayān*, indexes; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, index; Ibn al-Nadīm, Cairo ed., 163, 165; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, v, 327 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 204-5; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 27; Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī, i, 157; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 182-3; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 47; Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, in Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*², ii, 253; A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955, 34-7, 63-6 and index; Brockelmann, S I, 165; R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 139; ʿAlī Dj. Āl Ṭāhir, in *MMIA*, xli (1966); F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 197-8. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN SAMADJŪN, ABŪ BAKR ḤĀMID, physician and pharmacologist of Cordova, concerning whom we possess no other biographical notice than that by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (Cairo 1882, ii, 51). A contemporary of Ibn Djuldjul [*q.v.*], he must have had a part in the rewriting of the text of Dioscorides in Arabic that was undertaken in Cordova, and died probably at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. He wrote a book on medicaments entitled *al-Djāmiʿ fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada* in which he lists the medicinal herbs in the alphabetical order of ancient Semitic, in the same way as al-Idrīsī. In each article he gives a description of the plant and its medical properties, as well as textual quotations from the authors he had consulted, first of all Dioscorides, then Galen, Paul of Aegina, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, Ahron b. Aʿyan, Ibn Māsawayh, etc. Some of the articles are of interest, as for instance that on mandragora (*yabrūḥ*), in which he describes its anaesthetic properties.

This scholar must not be confused with a homonym whose *kunya* is Abū Sākin (Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 34, no. 95; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Shawḳī Ḍayf, ii, 53) and other persons of the same name.

Bibliography: P. Kahle, *Ibn Samağūn und sein Drogenbuch, Ein Kapitel aus den Anfängen der arabischen Medizin*, in *Documenta Islamica Inedita*, Berlin 1952, 25-44. (J. VERNET)

IBN AL-SAMḤ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM AṢBAGH B. MUḤAMMAD, geometer, is principally known from the report of his pupil Abū Marwān Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. ʿIsā b. al-Nāshī, which is quoted by Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (p. 70 of Cheikho ed.), and thence by Ibn al-Abbār (pp. 246-7 of Bel and Ben Cheneb ed.) and by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (Beirut ed., iii, 62-3). According to this authority he died in Granada on Tuesday 18 Radjab 426/Friday (!) 29 May 1035 after having lived 56 solar years; he was born, then, in 979. Ibn al-Abbār adds the information that he originally came from a learned family of Cordova, but fled to the protection of Ḥabūs b. Māksan of Granada (*ca.* 410-29/1019-38) during the troubles of the early 5th/11th century.

A pupil of Maslama al-Madjrīṭī (d. 398/1007-8; see Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 126-7 and 230), Ibn al-Samḥ wrote on arithmetic, geometry, astronomical instruments and tables, and, perhaps, medicine. Ibn al-Nāshī lists the following works: (1) *Kitāb al-Madkhal ila 'l-handasa fī tafsīr Kitāb Uḳlīdus* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 473); (2) *K. Thimār al-ʿadad*, known as *al-Muʿāmalāt* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 493); (3) *K. Ṭabīʿat al-ʿadad*; (4) *K. al-Kabīr fī 'l-handasa* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 172); (5) A book in two *maḳāla*s on making astrolabes (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 40-1); (6) A book in 130 *bāb*s on using an astrolabe; extant in MSS British Museum Arab 405 and partially in Esc. Arab 972 ff. 29-29v (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 40-1 and Millás Vallicrosa, *Los primeros tratados*, 48); (7) A *zīdj* based on the *Zīdj al-Sindhind* (cf. al-Khuwārizmī) in two *djuzʾ*, one of which contained the tables, the other explanatory texts. Chapter 63 of al-Zarḳālī's *Kitāb al-ʿAmal bi 'l-ṣafīḥa* (see the *Libros del Saber*, ed. Rico y Sinobas, iii, 209-11) contains the *zīdj*'s method of equalizing the astrological places, in which Ibn al-Samḥ follows Hermes; chapter 64, on the projection of rays, and chapter 65, on the risings of the stars, are also said to follow the opinion of Hermes and may be from Ibn al-Samḥ's *zīdj*. The only other surviving fragments of the *zīdj* seem to be those preserved by al-Djahānī (ed. I. Heller, Noribergae 1549), sign. Niii, on the interval between Caesar and Christ, and Yii, on the projection of rays (cf. also Ibn Ḥazm's *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus* (in al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 119; Fr. tr. Ch. Pellat, in *al-And.*, xix/1 (1954), 89) and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 557); (8) *Kitāb al-Kāfī fi 'l-ḥisāb al-hawāʾī*, which apparently is extant in MSS Esc. Arab 973 ff. 1-30 and in Berlin Arab 6010 ff. 1-23 (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 20-1); (9) *Kitāb al-Kāmil fi 'l-ḥisāb al-hawāʾī* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 27).

Ibn al-Samḥ also wrote a work on a planetarium, which is translated into Spanish as the first book of the *Libro de las láminas de las VII planetas*, in which

chapter 13 gives the longitudes of the apogees of the planets for 416/1025 (*Libros del Saber*, iii, 241-71). Ibn Khaldūn (iii, 135) also ascribes to him an abridgement of Ptolemy's *Almagest*.

Steinschneider (*Heb. Ueber.*, 584) thinks that Kalonymos ben Kalonymos' Hebrew translation, finished in 1312, of a treatise on the cylinder and the cone ascribed to "Sammāh" is to be referred to Ibn al-Samḥ, and suggests (*Die europ. Ueber.*, sect. 182) that the Latin *Antidotarium* of Abnaçah is also his work; neither of these attributions has anything to support it beyond the vague similarities of the names. Moreover, the implication made by Millás-Vallicrosa (*Azarquiel*, 4, 247 and 278) that the Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Samḥ whose observational activity is mentioned by al-Zarḳālī is our author seems erroneous; he should rather be our author's father. Finally, Ibn al-Samḥ is named as the recipient of an epistle on alchemy alleged to have been written by his fellow-student of al-Madjrīṭī, Abū Bakr b. Bishrūn (see Ibn Khaldūn, iii, 230), and F. Rosenthal (*ibid.*, n. 696) notes that a biography of Maslama names Ibn Bishrūn as the authority for a statement that there was an estrangement between al-Madjrīṭī and Ibn al-Samḥ. However, Rosenthal goes on to conclude that Ibn Bishrūn's epistle is pseudepigraphical, and therefore throws no additional light on the still nebulous Ibn al-Samḥ.

Bibliography: Brief articles on Ibn al-Samḥ can be found in Steinschneider, *Heb. Ueber.*, 585; Suter, 85; Sánchez Pérez, *Biografias de matemáticos árabes*, Madrid 1921, 67; Brockelmann, I, 623 and S I, 861; and E. S. Kennedy, *Islamic astronomical tables*, Philadelphia 1956, no. 26. References to him are also found in J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Estudios sobre Azarquiel*, Madrid-Granada 1943-50, and *Los primeros tratados de astrolabia en la España árabe*, in *Rev. Inst. Egipcio de Est. Isl. en Madrid*, iii (1955), 35-49, an article which is republished in his *Nuevos estudios sobre historia de la ciencia española*, Barcelona 1960, 61-78. But there has been no study of his works or of his influence. (D. Pingree)

IBN SANĀʾ AL-MULK, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Hibat Allāh b. Abi 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. al-Muʿtamid, known as al-Ḳāḍī al-Saʿīd, Arabic poet of the Ayyūbid period famous mainly for the treatise *Dār al-ṭirāz* which he devoted to the genre of *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*]. He was born in Cairo circa 550/1155, and died there in 608/1211; he was educated by Egyptian teachers and, like his father al-Ḳāḍī al-Rashīd, embarked on the career of *ḳāḍī*; he worked under the direction of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, whom he joined at Damascus and to whom he dedicated some pieces of poetry; he also wrote in praise of Salāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin).

Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk wrote in the traditional genres without much originality; he is the author of a *Dīwān* (published in Ḥaydarābād [Dairatu'l-Ma'arif, n.s. no. xii] in 1958, by M. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, with detailed biography) and of an anthology of his own works in verse and prose, the *Fuṣūṣ al-fuṣūl wa ʿuḳūd al-ʿuḳūl* (MS Paris 3333); he is said to have written also an abridgement of the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of al-Djāḥiẓ under the title *Rūḥ al-ḥayawān*; but his importance is due the the fact that he was the first person, in the East, to compose *muwashshaḥāt* (sometimes with a *khardja* containing Persian words) and that he had the idea of deducing from the Andalusian and Maghribī specimens available to him the rules of the genre, while realizing the difficulty of such an enterprise. His treatise, the *Dār al-ṭirāz fī ʿamal al-muwashshaḥāt*, was published by Dj. Rikābī in Damascus in 1368/1949, and made it possible to see more clearly the structure of *muwashshaḥāt* just at a time when the originality of the *khardja* was beginning to be perceived [see muwashshaḥ]. The work consists of a selection of 34 *muwashshaḥāt* from al-Andalus and the Maghrib and 35 specimens composed by the author himself. The whole is preceded by a long introduction in which Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk sets out his theory about the structure and the prosody of the genre.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, iii, s.v.; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 265-71; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, s.v.; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara*, i, s.v.; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1955, s.v.; al-ʿImād al-Isfahānī, *Kharīda*, Egypt, Cairo 1951, i, s.v.; Brockelmann, I², 304, S I, 462; J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides*, Paris 1949, index; idem, in F. Bustāni, *DM*, iii, 203-5. (Ed.)

IBN SARĀBIYŪN, Suhrāb, author of the *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-akālīm al-sabʿa*, lived in the first half of the 4th/10th century. Hardly anything is known about the life of the author except for the little that can be ascertained from internal evidence in his extant work. In its introduction he calls himself Suhrāb (p. 5), and so was presumably of Persian origin. Again, from the detailed information that the author presents about the rivers of Baghdād and of ʿIrāḳ (pp. 114-38) it seems that he lived in these regions for some time. The work was produced between 289-334/902-45, and although the title of the work suggests that it dealt with "marvels" (*ʿadjāʾib*) of the world, these are not described in the extant work. The author characterizes the work as a summary of information gathered from various works of earlier writers on the subject, it being his object to make this information on the positions of towns, seas, rivers, mountains, valleys, and on land- and sea-routes, available to those interested in constructing a map of the world. Hence, he describes in detail the technique of constructing a map on a cylindrical projection. Al-Khuwārizmī's work, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, which forms the basis of Suhrāb's work, must, in the opinion of H. von Mžik, have originally contained similar introductions on map-making (the world-map described by Suhrāb and al-Khuwārizmī has been reconstructed in detail by Rāḍiya Djafrī of the Aligarh Muslim University). Though Suhrāb's work is mainly based on al-Khuwārizmī, he must have utilized other sources also, as is evident from a comparative study of the two authors; from this the following points of difference emerge: (1) in many cases, Suhrāb adds 5′ to the longitudes or latitudes of towns, mouths of rivers, mountains, etc. as given by al-Khuwārizmī; and his figures for the limits of some climes as given in the Table are different from those given by al-Khuwārizmī (p. 7); (2) in some cases, the longitudes given by Suhrāb seem to be more correct than those given by al-Khuwārizmī, *e.g.*, the longitude of the city of Baghdād according to al-Khuwārizmī is 78°, but according to Suhrāb it is 70° (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣifat al-maʿmūra ʿalā al-arḍ*, 24, who gives it as 70° 0′). According to al-Khuwārizmī, the river ʿĪsā, a branch of the Euphrates, flows into Baghdād at 69° 40′, but Suhrāb does not give the longitude of the mouth of the tributary; (3) in some cases, Suhrāb indicates the names of certain rivers, lakes and swamps while al-Khuwārizmī does not; thus Suhrāb's information is helpful in identifying place-names and in determining their geographical positions; he also adds some new names to the list, *e.g.*, Kashmīr, Baʿlbakk (pp. 23, 29), but at the same time he omits the towns south of the

Equator which are given by al-Khuwārizmī; Suhrāb also gives a few additional names of mountains, *e.g.*, Ṭūr Sīnā, Djūdī, Siyāh Kōh, etc.; (4) Suhrāb calls the Sea of Baṣra (the Persian Gulf) the "Sea of Fārs" which suggests that he was under the influence of the Balkhī School of Muslim geography; (5) the main difference between the two lies in the arrangement of the rivers: while al-Khuwārizmī describes all the rivers under the climes in which their sources lie, Suhrāb describes most of the large and small rivers in a separate chapter and does not give their longitudes or latitudes as al-Khuwārizmī does, but describes their courses in terms of *farsakhs* or *mīls* or in relation to places; (6) Suhrāb makes use of diacritical marks to names and to portions added by him.

As pointed out by Kračkovskiy, Suhrāb's style is that of a naturalized Arab. The works of Suhrāb and al-Khuwārizmī are complementary and should be studied together.

Bibliography: Suhrāb, *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-akālīm al-sabʿa ilā nihāyāt al-ʿimāra*, ed. H. von Mžik, Vienna 1929; Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. H. von Mžik, Vienna 1926; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Izb. Soč.*, iv; Arabic tr. by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿUthmān Hāshim, Cairo 1963, part i, 103-4; al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣūrat al-Maʿmūra ʿalā al-Bīrūnī, Bīrūnī's picture of the world*, ed. Zeki Validi Togan, Delhi (*MASI*, no. 53) 1937. (S. Maqbul Ahmad)

IBN al-SARĀYA [see ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN AL-ḤILLĪ].

IBN al-SARRĀDJ [see IBN AL-ĶIṬṬ].

IBN al-SARRĀDJ, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ķurashī al-Dimashķī, Arab mystic, compiled in about 714/1314 a collection of edifying anecdotes entitled *Tuffāḥ al-arwāḥ wa-miftāḥ al-arbāḥ*, which formed part of his lost work *Tashwīḳ al-arwāḥ wa 'l-ḳulūb ilā dhikr ʿallām al-ghuyūb* (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der ar. Hdss. von Berlin*, no. 8794). (C. Brockelmann)

IBN al-SARRĀDJ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Sarī al-Sarrādj ("the saddle-maker") al-Naḥwī al-Baghdādī, Arab grammarian. The date of his birth is unknown, but he lived in Baghdād. He was the youngest pupil of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mubarrad, who for that reason devoted particular attention to him. For a time he allowed himself to be led away from grammatical studies in favour of logic and music, but then returned to them resolutely. He taught in Baghdād, and some famous grammarians were included among his pupils: Abu 'l-Ķāsim al-Zadjādjdjī, Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī and Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī. There is mention of his modesty and the soundness of his teaching, and one fact noted is that he had difficulty in pronouncing the rolled *rāʾ* which, in his speech, became a *ghayn* (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii, 462).

A pupil of al-Mubarrad, he took part in the widespread movement which led the Arab grammarians to base their work on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi. He wrote a *Sharḥ* to the *Kitāb* as the outcome of his teachings. He repeated the doctrine of the *Kitāb* in various didactic works: — the *K. al-Uṣūl al-kabīr* which was esteemed very highly, then the *K. Djumal al-uṣūl* (*wa-huwa 'l-Uṣūl al-ṣaghīr*, according to Yāķūt, *Muʿdjam*, xviii, 200). The *Fihrist* (62) mentions also the *K. al-Mūdjaz*, the *K. al-Djumal*, the *K. al-Muwāṣalāt fi 'l-akhbār wa 'l-mudhakkarāt* and the *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ* which he did not complete, according to Yāķūt (*loc. cit.*); the latter adds the *K. al-Khaṭṭ* and the *K. al-Hidjāʾ*. He touched on lexicography in the *K. al-Riyāḥ wa 'l-hawāʾ wa 'l-nār*, and Ķurʾānic sciences in the *K. Iḥtidjādj al-ḳurrāʾ* and the *K. al-Shakl wa 'l-naḳṭ* (mentioned in al-Ķifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 295). As one who loved to give a reply by quoting an apposite line of verse, he composed a *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*; incidentally he was a man of marked sensitivity. He died while quite young in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 316/February 929.

Several authors, among them Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, iii, 463), Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī (*Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, ed. ʿA. Amer, 150), al-Ķifṭī (*Inbāh*, iii, 146), record the date of the death of Ibn al-Sarrādj in these words: — *fī yawm al-aḥad li-thalāth layālⁱⁿ baḳīna min Dhi 'l-Ḥidjdja*, that is to say the 27th day of the month, or 10 February; but this 10 February was not a Sunday (according to the *Tables* of H. G. Cattenoz, 2nd ed.). The source of the information was the grammarian Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad (on whom see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 319).

Of his works, the following are preserved in manuscript: — a *K. al-Uṣūl* (Br. Mus. Suppl. 916; Brockelmann, S I, 174), which must be *al-kabīr*; the *K. al-Hidjāʾ*, the *K. al-Mūdjaz*, in a *madjmūʿa*, recently placed in the General Library in Rabat, under no. 100 *ḳ* (this last work published by Moustafa el-Chouémi and Bensalem Damerdji, Beirut 1385/1965); a *K. al-ʿArūḍ* (not mentioned elsewhere) contained in the same *madjmūʿa*.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 62; Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa 'l-lughawiyyīn*, Cairo 1373/1954, 122-5; Yāķūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, xviii, 197-201 = *Irshād*, vii, 9-12; Ķifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1374/1955, iii, 145-9; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1367/1948, iii, 462-3; the *Muḳaddima* of the editors of the *Mūdjaz*, which also provides information on the *madjmūʿa* mentioned above. Several other references will be found in al-Ķifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 145, note 1, without adding anything new to all those already available. (H. Fleisch)

IBN ṢAṢRĀ (sometimes, incorrectly, Ṣaṣarrā, Ṣaṣarī, and Ṣarṣarī), the name of a scholarly family of Damascus which can be traced for several centuries. Probably of Mesopotamian origin, as is attested by their *nisbas* al-Taghlibī and al-Baladī (referring to the town of Balad/Balaṭ, now Eski Mosul), the family, like others of its class during Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times, carried on a tradition of Islamic scholarship and activity for generations. Traditionists, teachers, and jurists appear on the family tree from *ca.* 450/1060 to 800/1398. The most important members of the family are the following:

(1) ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, d. 467/1074, a traditionist who transmitted in the name of Tamām b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 414/1023) and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUthmān al-Yabrūdī (d. 401/1010), cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 257. His daughter's son, who studied with him and transmitted in his name, became even more famous as a traditionist, *ḥāfiẓ* and writer. His name was Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad, al-Anṣārī, Abū Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Akfānī (444-523/1052-1129), cf. Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, 132; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 389.

(2) Maḥfūẓ b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, Abu 'l-Barakāt, *ca.* 455-545/1063-1151, a *ḳāḍī* and son of a *ḳāḍī*, known as "The Great Ķāḍī", cf. Ibn al-Ķalānisī (Amedroz), 312 (al-Miṣrī (!) = Ṣaṣrā). The remaining members of the family known through references in biographical dictionaries, chronicles, or other contemporary sources were all descendants of Maḥfūẓ through one or another of his three sons:

Hibat Allāh, ʿAlī, and Muḥammad. Of these three, the family of Hibat Allāh was most important.

(3) Hibat Allāh b. Maḥfūẓ, Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim, d. 563/1168, served as a *ḳāḍī* at the age of twenty, heard and transmitted many traditions from teachers such as Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāʾūs and studied jurisprudence with Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sulamī, cf. Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, 274; Ibn Taghrībirdī, iii, 125.

(4) al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh, Abu 'l-Mawāhib, 537-86/1142-90, probably the most important of the 6th/12th century members of the family, travelled extensively in the eastern Islamic world in pursuit of the study of traditions. In Iraq he studied with Ibn al-Buṭā (d. 564/1169), and in Iran with al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 569/1174) and Ibn Mās̲h̲ādah (d. 572/1176). He was a companion of Ibn ʿAsākir, the historian of Damascus, and his name appears frequently in the *samāʿāt* of Ibn ʿAsākir's history as well as in the works of other authors. The titles of at least four of his own works are known. He was the first of his family to have been buried in a family *turba* on Mount Ḳāsiyūn, cf. al-Dhahabī, iii, 48; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo), vi, 112.

(5) al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, 530-626/1135-1229, the elder brother of al-Ḥasan, also a scholar and traditionist, but not so well known and often confused with his brother by later historians and chroniclers. He was important as a teacher of tradition, which he studied first with his grandfathers (on his maternal side ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Hilāl, d. 565/1169-70) and with many other scholars listed in a 17-volume work no longer extant. See Abū Shāma, *Tarādjim*, 154; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo), vi, 272.

(6) Sālim b. al-Ḥasan, Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim, Amīn al-Dīn, 577-637/1181-1240, accompanied his father on some of his journeys and thus had the opportunity of studying with important scholars in other lands. See *Orientalia*, ii, 186.

The children and grandchildren of Sālim were the bearers of the family tradition of scholarship down to the beginning of the 9th/15th century, when the family name disappears. The sons of Sālim, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 664/1266), al-Ḥasan (d. 664/1266), and Muḥammad (d. 670/1272), are all noted in their biographies for their learning and for performing public religious functions—usually as *ḳāḍī*. In the next generation, that of the grandchildren of Sālim, there is increasing involvement in the financial administration of the province of Damascus. Among the chief figures of that period are the following:

(7) Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sālim, Djamāl al-Dīn, Abū Isḥāḳ, d. 693/1294, became *Nāẓir al-dawāwīn*, as his father before him, serving from 678-79/1279-80. In the latter year he was seized, together with the Vizier of Damascus, Ibn Kusayrāt, and they were mulcted of much wealth. In 682/1283, he was appointed *muḥtasib* and re-appointed to his previous post as well. He continued to serve until 687/1288, when he and a number of Damascene notables were summoned to Cairo and were forced to give up their wealth. He was restored to his position, however, and in 691/1292 was again confirmed in office. See al-Djazarī, no. 230; Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 302.

(8) Sālim b. Muḥammad b. Sālim, Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim, 644-98/1246-99, served as *ḳāḍī* and was named *Nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* in the year 691/1292. In 693/1294 he was appointed to the post of *Nāẓir al-dawāwīn* on the death of his uncle Ibrāhīm (see above), and held that post until 696/1297 when he was summoned to Cairo and was forced to pay 60,000 *dirhams* to obtain his release. He was reinstated as *ḳāḍī* but died destitute a few years later. See *Orientalia*, ii, 297; Wiet, *Manhal*, no. 1050.

(9) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Nadjm al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, 655-723/1257-1322, brother of no. (8) and the most prominent of all the Banū Ṣaṣrā. He studied tradition in Egypt as well as Syria, and also studied jurisprudence and grammar. He was appointed to teach at several *madrasas*, among them the Lesser ʿĀdiliyya, the Amīniyya, the Ghazzāliyya, the Greater ʿĀdiliyya, and the Atābakiyya. In 695/1296 he was named *Ḳāḍī* of the Army (*ḳāḍī 'l-ʿaskar*), and in 702/1302 was named Shāfiʿī Chief *Ḳāḍī* of Damascus, a post he held until his death 21 years later. He figured prominently in the religious and civil events in Damascus during that period, which included the *cause célèbre* of Ibn Taymiyya. Students flocked to his lectures and some of the prominent scholars of Damascus were taught by him. Many biographical notices and references are devoted to him, among them Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 106; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 62; Wiet, *Manhal*, no. 260; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, i, 263; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo), ix, 258.

Two women of the family are noted for their scholarly attainments, a sister of the Chief *Ḳāḍī* named Asmāʾ, 638-733/1240-1333, and her daughter Malika, d. 749/1348.

Finally there is a writer of local history known only through a unique Bodleian Library manuscript of one of his works, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad—presumably a great-grandson of the Chief *Ḳāḍī*. His work *al-Durra al-muḍīʾa fi 'l-dawla al-Ẓāhiriyya*, a valuable study of Damascus during a part of the reign of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ, has been edited and translated by W. M. Brinner as *A chronicle of Damascus 1389-1397*, Berkeley 1963, 2 vols.

Bibliography: A brief survey is found in *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 285. A full study of the family may be found in the article by W. M. Brinner, *The Banū Ṣaṣrā: A study in the transmission of a scholarly tradition*, in *Arabica*, vii/2 (1960), 167-95. Some important additions to this article appear in a brief notice by G. Vajda, *A propos des Banū Ṣaṣrā*, in *Glanes intéressant l'histoire littéraire du VIIe/XIIe siècle dans le* Muʿǧam al-Šuyūḫ *d'al-Dimyāṭī*, in *Arabica*, viii/1 (1961), 98. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN SAʿŪD [see suʿūd, āl].

IBN al-SAWDĀʾ [see ʿabd allāh b. sabaʾ].

IBN SAYḤĀN, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (b. Sayḥān) b. Arṭāt al-Muḥāribī, a minor poet of Medina who lived in the 1st/7th century, on intimate terms with the governors or members of the Umayyad aristocracy of the town—al-Walīd b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, al-Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam and al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ; indeed he belonged to a clan which was a *ḥalīf* of the Banū Ḥarb b. Umayya, a fact which incidentally won him the friendship and protection of Muʿāwiya. Although we possess a number of his verses, which belong to the classical categories, as well as a poem in praise of the singer Djamīla [*q.v.*], this somewhat unproductive poet has escaped falling into total oblivion merely because some of his compositions were set to music; in these works panegyrics of his friends are usually combined with the glorification of wine, and he even uses sacrilegious terms in advocating its enjoyment. He thus takes his place in the line of Bacchic poets, while giving this poetry a distinctly anti-Muslim flavour. The potations in

which he indulged with his Umayyad friends brought him into conflict with Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], who punished him with the statutory 80 strokes of the whip, but it is interesting to note that Muʿāwiya compelled Marwān to make a public retraction.

Bibliography: the only notice is that in the *Aghānī* (Beirut ed., ii, 208-26) which contains interesting details regarding the consumption of wine in Medina; see also C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, French tr., 96; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 331-2. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-ṢAYRAFĪ, TĀDJ AL-RIʾĀSA AMĪN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿALĪ B. MUNDJIB B. SULAYMĀN, Egyptian civil servant and a prolific writer in prose and verse, was born on 22 Shaʿbān 463/25 May 1071. His grandfather had been a *kātib* and his father was a money-changer. He learned the profession of *kātib* under Ibn Mufarridj, *walī* of the Department of the Army (*Dīwān al-Djaysh*), and finally rose to be head of this *Dīwān*. In 495/1102 the vizier al-Afḍal b. Badr [*q.v.*] transferred him to the Chancery (*Dīwān al-Inshāʾ*); on the death of its head Sanāʾ al-Mulk Abū Muḥammad, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī succeeded him, and he was employed there for some fifty years, until his death on 20 Ṣafar 542/21 July 1147.

The following is a tentative list of his works: (1) *Sidjillāt* (referred to as *rasāʾil*) which he composed in the course of his official duties; according to Yāḳūt, he wrote more than four volumes of official letters, while Ibn Saʿīd (*al-Murḳiṣāt*, 111) says that he saw a collection in twenty volumes. For those that survive, dispersed in various histories and literary works, see Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Madjmūʿat al-wathāʾiḳ al-Fāṭimiyya*. (2) *Ḳānūn Dīwān al-Rasāʾil*, a guide to chancery practice, ed. ʿAlī Bahdjat, Cairo 1905, with extensive notes; Fr. tr. by H. Massé, *Code de la chancellerie*, in *BIFAO*, xi (1914), 65-120. The work is dedicated to al-Afḍal Kutayfāt [*q.v.*]. (3) *al-Ishāra ilā man nāl al-wizāra*, a history of the Fāṭimid viziers from Ibn Killis to al-Baṭāʾiḥi [*qq.v.*], ed. ʿAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ, in *BIFAO*, xxv (1924), 49-112; addendum, xxvi (1926), 49-70. (4) *al-Afḍaliyyāt*, a collection of letters and treatises written for al-Afḍal b. Badr. The unique MS (Istanbul, Fatih 5410; a microfilm in the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, Cairo) contains seven opuscula entitled (i) *Risālat al-ʿAfw* (a plea to the vizier for forgiveness), (ii) *Radd al-maẓālim* (in praise of the vizier's sense of justice, with anecdotes and apposite verse quotations), (iii) *Lumaḥ al-mulaḥ*, (iv) *Manāʾiḥ al-ḳarāʾiḥ*, (v) *Munādjāt shahr Ramaḍān*, (vi) *ʿAḳāʾil al-faḍāʾil*, and (vii) *al-Tadallī fi 'l-tasallī*. Four of these figure in the list of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's "books" given by Yāḳūt; it is probable therefore that the three other "books" named by Yāḳūt and not yet known to exist (*ʿUmdat al-muḥādatha*, *Istinzāl al-raḥma*, *Kitāb fi 'l-sukr*) were *risāla*s of the same type. A historical work by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, apparently an abridgement and continuation of an earlier Fāṭimid chronicle, is cited by Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī (*Kanz al-durar*, vi, ed. Ṣ. Munadjdjid, Cairo 1961, 111, etc.; cf. B. Lewis in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 430). The earliest citation is from the reign of al-Ḳāʾim; the latest deals with the accession of al-Ḥāfiẓ in 526/1132. Ibn Aybak cites this work several times, notably for panegyric poems in praise of the Fāṭimid caliphs.

In addition to his historical and epistolary writings, he is credited with the composition of several poetic anthologies, of which at least two, dealing with Sicilian and Spanish Arabic poets, are extant. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's letters are a valuable guide to the prose style of the Fāṭimid period.

Bibliography: Biographical notices: Ibn Muyassar, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr*, ed. H. Massé, Cairo 1919, 87-8 (followed by Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, MS 141a); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 422-3. See further Brockelmann, S I, 489-90; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Madjmūʿat al-wathāʾiḳ al-Fāṭimiyya*, i, Cairo 1958 (2nd. ed. Alexandria 1965); Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950; F. Gabrieli, *L'Antologia di Ibn as-Sairafi sui poeti arabo-siciliani*, in *Boll. del Centro di Studi filologici e linguistici Siciliani*, ii (1954), 1-15; O. Kaak, *De la poésie arabo-sicilienne*, in *Atti del Cong. Intern. di poesia e di filologia per il VII centenario della poesia e della lingua italiana*, Palermo 1953, 155-64. (GAMAL EL-DIN EL-SHAYYAL)

IBN AL-ṢAYRAFĪ, ABŪ BAKR YAḤYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF AL-ANṢĀRĪ, Andalusian poet, historian and traditionist, born at Granada in 467/1074. He had a profound knowledge of Arabic language and literature, and was a prolific poet, particularly of *muwashshaḥāt*. He was *kātib* of the *amīr* Abū Muḥammad Tāshfīn at Granada; but his fame rests on a history of the Almoravid dynasty entitled *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-lamtūniyya* or *al-Anwār al-djaliyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-murābiṭiyya*; at first ending at the year 530/1135 6, then continued by the author until shortly before his death, which took place at Orihuela probably in 557/1162 (the other date recorded, 570/1174-5, seems to be too late), this chronicle has not yet been discovered; there exist only some extracts, preserved in particular in the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī and the publication of which had been promised by E. Lévi-Provençal (see Lévi-Provençal and R. Menéndez Pidal, in *al-Andalus*, xiii (1948), 157, 160, 161); this chronicle is also quoted in *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, and some passages from it are reproduced by Ibn al-Khaṭīb and other historians.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 2045; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1937, 183; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, MS Escurial, 416; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 416 (follows Ibn al-Zubayr); Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 193, 240-1 and references there given; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 292. (ED.)

IBN SAYYID AL-NĀS, FATḤ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-YAʿMURĪ AL-ISHBĪLĪ, biographer of the Prophet. The home of the distinguished scholarly family of the Ibn Sayyid al-Nās was in Seville, which they were forced to leave because of the unsettled political situation leading to the city's conquest by the Christians in 646/1248. The grandfather, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who was born in 597/1200-1, settled in Tūnis, where he died in Radjab 659/June 1261 (cf. al-Dhahabī, *ʿIbar*, v, 255). His son, Muḥammad, was born in Djumādā II 645/October 1247. He studied with his father in Tūnis and Bidjāyā, and continued his studies in Alexandria, Cairo, and Mecca. He settled in Cairo, where for some time he was rector of the Kāmiliyya. He died in Djumādā I 705/November-December 1305 (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iv, 162). His son, Muḥammad, was born in Cairo on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 671/2 June 1273. As a small child—he started out when he was not yet four years old—, he attended classes together with his father (cf. *ʿUyūn*, i, 152, 157, 181, ii, 342, 346 f., etc.). From his family, he inherited a splendid library, which was transferred from Tūnis to Cairo. It also contained the papers of his grandfather, which he occasionally quoted (cf. *ʿUyūn*, i, 302, etc.). He became particularly famous for his excellent,

fast handwriting, both *maghribī* and eastern. He was popular with almost all high government officials, but there are hints that this was not the right company for a scholar and that he was not as devoted to scholarship as a man of his gifts should have been. He held a professorship in *ḥadīth* in the Ẓāhiriyya, and some other teaching and mosque positions. Instead of a government appointment offered him by al-Malik al-Manṣūr Lādjīn, he accepted a pension for life, and he had additional sources of income. He died on 11 Shaʿbān 734/17 April 1334.

He wrote a good deal of poetry which was highly esteemed. He is credited with two works on the *ṣaḥāba*, and he wrote a commentary on al-Tirmidhī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (cf. Sezgin, i, 155). MS. Escorial 1160 (= 1155 Casiri) contains his answers to questions submitted to him in 731/1330-1 by Aḥmad b. Aybak Ibn al-Dimyāṭī, concerning various *ḥadīths*, some problems of the science of *ḥadīth*, and, it seems, biographical information on his father (requiring further study). Mainly, he wrote on the Prophet, and his lasting reputation rests on his biography of the Prophet, entitled *ʿUyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa 'l-shamāʾil wa 'l-siyar* (ed. Cairo 1356). It is compiled on the basis of Ibn Isḥāḳ (Ibn Hishām) and al-Wāḳidī [*qq.v.*], but it makes use also of a number of sources now lost or imperfectly known, such as Mūsā b. ʿUḳba, Ibn ʿĀʾidh, Abū ʿArūba, and Abū Bishr al-Dawlābī (cf. *ʿUyūn*, ii, 342-7). The work was eminently successful in its time. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās himself wrote an abridgement of it, and it was commented upon several times and also versified.

Bibliography: Biographies by contemporaries such as al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, i, 289-311; al-Udfuwī, *al-Badr al-sāfir* (not available, quoted by Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 108); al-Dhahabī, *al-Muʿdjam al-mukhtaṣṣ* (not available); al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 344-9, etc., and many later notices, such as, for instance, al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324, vi, 29-31; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iv, 208-13. Cf. also Pons Boigues, 320 f.; R. Basset, in *Le Muséon*, v (1886), 247-55 (with a discussion of the Tunisian family Ibn Sayyid al-Nās); Brockelmann, I, 169; II, 85; S II, 77, S III, 1252.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN SHADDĀD, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. SHADDĀD B. TAMĪM B. AL-MUʿIZZ B. BĀDĪS (d. after 582/1186), sometimes also called Abu 'l-Gharīb ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ṣanhādjī, chronicler of Zīrid descent, being the grandson of Tamīm (454-501/1062-1108) and the nephew of Yaḥyā b. Tamīm (501-9/1108-16). He lived at first in the entourage of the last Zīrid of Mahdiyya, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, and seems to have gone with him, at least for some time, to the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin whose support he was seeking. It appears also that he was at Palermo in 551/1156-7. Finally, he travelled to the East and settled at Damascus, in 571/1175-6 at the latest. He was still there in 582/1186 for in that year he recorded an account of events in Ifrīḳiya given to him by a citizen of Mahdiyya (al-Tīdjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis ed. 1958, 14).

His history, which betrays some anti-Shīʿī bias (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1948, 47), and whose full title seems to have been *Kitāb al-Djamʿ wa 'l-bayān fī akhbār al-Ḳayrawān wa fī man fīhā wa fī sāʾir bilād al-Maghrib min al-mulūk wa 'l-aʿyān*, was used by Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, Cairo ed. 1938-9, vi, 125), al-Nuwayrī, al-Maḳrīzī, al-Tīdjānī (*Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, 14-5, 341-7), and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. It is almost certainly lost (al-Shayyāl, introd. to his ed. of al-Maḳrīzī's *Ittiʿāẓ*, p. *kāf*), and B. Lewis (*The origins of Ismāʿīlism*, Cambridge 1940, 57) was mistaken in supposing that manuscripts exist in Egypt and Syria.

Bibliography: for the sources, see Brockelmann, S I, 575; Amari, *Storia*, ed. Nallino, 1933, i, 40-1 (see also iii, 486); and H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, i, pp. xviii-xix.

(M. TALBI)

IBN SHADDĀD, ʿIZZ AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-ḤALABĪ, Syrian author of topographical and historical works, born in 613/1217 in Aleppo, died in Cairo in 684/1285. A famous secretary of the chancellery and a skilful administrator, he was employed by the ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who sent him in 640/1242-3 on a mission to inspect the finances in Ḥarrān. Later, when the Mongols were approaching, in 657/1259, he was instructed to accompany the ruler's family from Damascus to Aleppo and to negotiate an agreement with the Mongols, who had occupied Mayyāfāriḳīn. These negotiations having been unsuccessful, northern Syria was overrun, and Ibn Shaddād fled to Egypt in 659/1261, as did the majority of the important inhabitants. He was welcomed by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars and enjoyed his favour and that of his successors. He did not return to Syria until 669/1271, in the course of a journey made with this sultan.

It was in Egypt that he wrote his main works: the historical topography of Syria and the Djazīra entitled *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shaʾm wa 'l-Djazīra*, in three substantial sections, written between 671/1272-3 and 680/1281-2, and the life of Baybars (Turkish tr. of the Edirne MS by Yaltkaya, 1941), sometimes wrongly attributed to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (see next art.). There is also attributed to him a work on the Yemen, unpublished.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I², 634, S I, 883; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord* . . ., Paris 1940, index; parts of the historical topography have been published: of Aleppo, by D. Sourdel, Beirut 1953; of Damascus, by S. Dahan, Damascus 1956; of Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine, by S. Dahan, Damascus 1963; on the section relating to the Djazīra, see Cl. Cahen, *La Djazīra au milieu du XIIIe siècle d'après ʿIzz al-dīn ibn Chaddād*, in *REI*, viii (1934), 109-28.

(D. SOURDEL)

IBN SHADDĀD, BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN YŪSUF B. RĀFIʿ B. TAMĪM (not to be confused with ʿIzz al-Dīn, see above), biographer of Saladin, was born in Mosul in 439/1145 and died at Aleppo, at a great age, in 632/1235.

After completing his education in Mosul, he spent four years as assistant teacher (*muʿīd*) in the Niẓāmiyya at Baghdād. Returning to Mosul, he taught at the *madrasa* founded by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī. He was sent by the Atabegs of Mosul on various embassies, to the caliph in Baghdād, to Saladin, and to the governors of neighbouring towns. In 583/1188 he performed the Pilgrimage; while he was at Damascus, on his way home, Saladin, then besieging the castle of Kawkab, sent for him and listened to a work on *ḥadīth* which he had composed. Ibn Shaddād visited Jerusalem (now back in Muslim hands), and then sought Saladin's permission to return to Mosul. Saladin, much impressed by a work on *djihād* which Ibn Shaddād had dedicated to him, retained him in his service (from Djumādā I 584/July 1188); as *ḳāḍī* of the army and of Jerusalem he remained in constant attendance on Saladin until the latter's

death (589/1193), of which he has left a moving description.

Ibn Shaddād then moved to Aleppo, where he acted as the conciliator and adviser of Saladin's sons. In 591/1195 al-Malik al-Ẓāhir appointed him *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo, with supervision of the *waḳfs*. It was in these years that he founded his magnificent *madrasa*, for the promotion of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, opposite the *madrasa* of Nūr al-Dīn, and a *dār al-ḥadīth*, erecting his own tomb between his two foundations. There are numerous records of missions he made to Cairo (in 593, 608 and 603) in attempts to compose Ayyūbid family quarrels; and in 629/1232 he led the delegation which brought the daughter of al-Malik al-Kāmil from Cairo to marry al-Malik al-ʿAzīz of Aleppo. In his latter years his house was frequented by such famous writers as Ibn Khallikān, who has left an impressive description of the aged scholar; Abū Shāma, who gives Ibn Shaddād's biography, s.a. 632, in his *Dhayl ʿala 'l-Rawḍatayn*; and Ibn Wāṣil [*qq.v.*], who visited Aleppo in 627 and 628/1230-1 and attended Ibn Shaddād's lectures.

Ibn Shaddād's minor works are: (1) *Dalāʾil al-aḥkām*, still in manuscript (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS ar. 736); (2) *Maldjaʾ al-ḥukkām ʿind iltibās al-aḥkām* (MS in 2 vols. at the Egyptian National Library, Cairo); (3) *Durūs al-ḥadīth*, lectures delivered in Cairo in 629/1231 (Bodleian Library, *Cat.*, i, 1173); (4) *Kitāb al-ʿAṣāʾ*, on the encounter of Moses and Pharaoh (MS: Patna); (5) *Faḍāʾil al-djihād*, the work presented to Saladin (Istanbul, MS Köprülü 764); (6) *Asmāʾ al-ridjāl alladhīn fī Muhadhdhab al-Shīrāzī* (not in Brockelmann: Istanbul, MS Millet/Veliyüddin Carullah 255).

His most important work is his biography of Saladin, entitled *al-Nawādir al-sulṭāniyya wa 'l-maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya* or *Sīrat Salāḥ al-Dīn*. First published by A. Schultens in 1732-55, it was edited, with French tr., by De Slane in *RHC, HOr.*, iii, Paris 1884, 3-370, and reprinted Cairo 1317 A.H.; Eng. tr. by C. R. Conder as *The life of Saladin* . . ., London (PPTS), 1897; extracts, in Italian translation, in F. Gabrieli, *Storici arabi delle Crociate*, n.p. 1957, 85 ff. A new edition, based on a MS read over to the author (Jerusalem, al-Masdjid al-Akṣā, *taʾrīkh* 595), was published by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1964. The work is in two parts, on Saladin's birth, early life, merits and habits, and on his wars and conquests. Its author claims to depend on trustworthy friends for the account of the years before he joined Saladin's service (in 584/1188), and for the later years on his own observation. For the period before 584/1188, it does in fact rely on second-hand reports, and at times commits errors of detail and chronology; for the later period, his biography, together with the surviving works of ʿImād al-Dīn [*q.v.*], is the most authentic source for Saladin's life, and has been used by nearly all later historians, Muslim and European; it gives invaluable information not only on the battles of the opposed armies and the weapons employed, but also on the social and administrative systems on both the Muslim and the Christian sides, and contains important documents illustrating the relations between Saladin and the neighbouring Crusader States. As a "specimen of royal biography . . . based on a study of character", it is, in F. Gabrieli's words, "without parallel in the historical literature of early Islam".

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 852; Abū Shāma, *al-Dhayl ʿala 'l-Rawḍatayn = Tarādjim ridjāl al-ḳarnayn al-sādis wa 'l-sābiʿ*, Cairo 1947, 163; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-Kurūb*, MS; ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmila li-wafāyāt al-naḳala* (MS, Alexandria Municipal Library); Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-sulṭāniyya* . . ., ed. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1964, introduction; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arabic sources for the life of Saladin*, in *Speculum*, xxv (1950), 58-72; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, introduction; H. L. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kamil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, 33, 71 ff., 166, 201, 204; M. Hilmy M. Ahmad, *apud* B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 87-8; F. Gabrieli, *ibid.*, 104; Brockelmann, I, 316-7, S I, 549-50. (GAMAL EL-DIN EL-SHAYYAL)

IBN AL-SHADJARĪ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, ABU 'L-SAʿĀDĀT HIBAT ALLĀH B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAMZA, a descendant of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (he is thus called al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-ʿAlawī), was a grammarian and poet of Baghdād, born in Ramaḍān 450/November 1058. After making the traditional studies under the direction of numerous teachers (see how, at the end of his *Nuzha*, Ibn al-Anbārī [*q.v.*], who was his pupil, traced back his grammatical knowledge to ʿAlī through an unbroken line of teachers), he taught grammar for 70 years. At the same time he was *nāʾib* of the *naḳīb* [*q.v.*] of the Ṭālibīs in al-Karkh, where he lived. He died in Ramaḍān 542/February 1148, and was buried in his own house.

His *Amālī*, dictated in 84 sessions, form his principal work (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1349), completed by his *Intiṣār* which had been provoked by a discussion with Ibn al-Khashshāb [*q.v.*]. He is also the author of a *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Krenkow, Ḥaydarābād 1345; Cairo 1306, under the title *Mukhtārāt shuʿarāʾ al-ʿArab*). Of his other works, we may note a commentary on the *Lumaʿ* of Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*] and a treatise entitled *Mā 'ttafaḳa lafẓuh wa 'khtalafa maʿnāh*. His poems in *ghazal* form, his panegyrics, funeral orations and verses of parenetic character do not reveal any great originality.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha* (last biography); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 282-4; Ibn Khallikān, index, s.v.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 407-8; Brockelmann, S I, 493; F. Krenkow, in *JRAS*, 1929, 96-100; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 252. (ED.)

IBN AL-SHAHĪD, ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR AL-TUDJĪBĪ, Andalusian man of letters of the 5th/11th century. Almost nothing is known of his life except that he was one of the panegyrists of al-Muʿtaṣim Ibn Ṣumādiḥ, king of Almeria. Ibn Bassām devotes to him a notice of some length in his *Dhakhīra* (i/2, 180-200) and quotes a fair number of his poems. Ibn Saʿīd also mentions him in the *Mughrib* (ed. Sh. Ḍayf, ii, 209-10) but without giving any personal details of him.

As a poet, Ibn al-Shahīd was merely one of the many flourishing at that period, without any especial claim to fame. He has on the other hand some importance as a prose writer, although this may be judged only from a *Risāla* and a *Maḳāma*, both of them reproduced (the latter only fragmentarily) by Ibn Bassām. The *Maḳāma*, written in an elegant rhyming prose without excessive use of ornament, follows its subject, in the manner of a short story, and differs slightly, in its theme and its structure, from the classical works in the same genre written in the East.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis*, Cairo 1952, 283-4; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*,

no. 1065; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 37, 83, 368 (where for Ibn Šuhayd, read Ibn al-Šahīd and ignore the reference to his being related to Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*]); F. de la Granja, *Los fragmentos en prosa de Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Ibn al-Šahīd*, in *al-Andalus*, xxv (1960), 71-92.

(F. DE LA GRANJA)

IBN SHĀHĪN [see NISSĪM BEN YAʿḲOB IBN SHĀHĪN].

IBN SHĀHĪN AL-ẒĀHIRĪ, GHARS AL-DĪN KHALĪL, born in Cairo (or Jerusalem) in 813/1410, son of a *mamlūk* of the Burdjī sultan Sayf al-Dīn Tatar, studied in Cairo and achieved a brilliant administrative career under Barsbay and Čaḳmaḳ (cf. Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², iii, 367). In about 857/1453 he composed a major work, *Kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-uruḳ wa 'l-masālik*, of which only an abridged version, *Zubdat Kashf al-mamālik* ... has survived. This vivid and exact picture of Egypt under the Mamlūks, the interest of which was first emphasized by Volney in the appendix to the *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*², ed. Dugour and Durand, Paris year 7/1799, has been published in a rather poor edition by Paul Ravaisse, in *Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Viv.*, 3rd series, xvi, Paris 1894. The principal manuscripts are: Paris B. N. 1724 and 2258; Berlin 9818; Oxford, Bodl. i, 735a; Istanbul, Saray 2900 and 3008. An excellent French translation, made in about 1788 by Venture de Paradis, was published by the Institut Français, Damascus in 1950.

Ibn Shāhīn is also the author of an oneirocritical treatise entitled *K. al-Ishārāt fī ʿilm al-ʿibārāt* which was widely circulated. Numerous manuscript versions of it exist in the great oriental collections (Atif Ef. 1973; Rağib Paşa 646; Köprülü, Fazil P. 116; Istanbul Un. Lib. A 35, 2912, 3887, 6245, 6266; Iskilip 1206; Cairo 4856; Paris 2752; etc.) and it is printed in the margin of *Taʿṭīr al-anām fī taʿbīr al-manām* of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1730), Cairo 1301-/1883-. He rewrote the treatise of al-Sālimī (end of 8th/14th century) entitled *K. al-Ishāra ilā ʿilm al-ʿibāra*, which he names as one of his numerous sources and to which he added thirty new chapters. In his introduction, the author mentions having already published a compendium under the title *al-Kawkab al-munīr fī uṣūl al-taʿbīr* (compare *al-Badr al-munīr fī ʿilm al-taʿbīr* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḳdisī, d. 697/1298). He is said to have left about thirty works, including a treatise entitled *al-Mawāhib fi 'khtilāf al-madhāhib*, and a *dīwān* in several parts (cf. Ziriklī, loc. cit.).

Bibliography: R. Hartmann, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien in Ḫalīl aẓ-Ẓāhirī, Kašf al-mamālik*, thesis, Tübingen 1907; *Syriae descriptio*, ed. E. F. C. Rosenmüller, in *Analecta Arabica*, iii (1825); M. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, xvii (1863), 227 ff.; Sarkīs, 1832-4.

(J. GAULMIER and T. FAHD)

IBN SHAHRĀSHŪB, ABŪ DJAʿFAR (or Abū ʿAbd Allāh) MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. SHAHRĀSHŪB B. ABĪ NAṢR B. ABI 'L-DJAYSH, known as Zayn al-Dīn (ʿIzz al-Dīn, Rashīd al-Dīn), Imāmī theologian, preacher and jurist. Born at Sārī, in Māzandarān, he was obliged for religious reasons to leave Saldjūḳid Persia and went to Aleppo, the refuge of the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* ever since the time of the Ḥamdānids; he died there at an advanced age on 22 Shaʿbān 588/2 September 1192 and was buried at Djabal al-Djawshan, near to a much revered Ḥusaynī *mashhad*. He had the reputation of being the greatest Shīʿī scholar of his time and was recognized and highly thought of even by the Sunnīs: his sermons having made an impression on the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muktafī (530-55/1136-60), he is said to have received at Baghdād the *laḳab* of Rashīd al-Dīn and also to have received the *idjāza* even from famous enemies, notably al-Zamakhsharī, and from Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, also from his contemporary, the pupil of al-Zamakhsharī, al-Khaṭīb al-Khuwārizmī al-Makkī. He had as his teachers Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ṭabarsī [see AL-ṬABARSĪ], author of the *Iḥtidjādj*, Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan Amīn al-Dīn al-Ṭabarsī [see AL-ṬABARSĪ], author of the *Madjmaʿ al-bayān*, the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī [see AL-RĀZĪ], author of one of the most important Shīʿī *tafsīrs* in Persian, and others such as al-Ḳuṭb al-Rāwandī and the Sayyid Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn al-Āmidī. His most important teacher, whom he mentions particularly in his two main works, was, however, the *shaykh* Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. Ibn Shahrāshūb's grandfather—referred to in certain texts as Ibn Kayākī—was the *shaykh*'s direct pupil and transmitted his "lessons" to his grandson through his son; indirectly, as a pupil of al-Ṭūsī, Ibn Shahrāshūb may be said to have been a pupil also of the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Saʿādāt Asad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Iṣfahānī. The sources mention a great number of Ibn Shahrāshūb's pupils and it is a sign of his prestige that even al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī acknowledges him as his master, through only one intermediary (*wāsiṭa*).

His main works are the following: (1) *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehrān 1353/1934-5: the *Fihrist* of al-Ṭūsī, which, with the *Ridjāl* of al-Nadjāshī, is its chief source, is incorporated in it; a unique feature, however, is the chapter on the Shīʿī poets, certainly written, according to Iḳbāl, between 573 and 581/1177-86; (2) *Manāḳib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 3 vols., ed. Nadjaf 1956, a theoretical-apologetic treatise on the *imāms* rather than a work of genealogy and *ḥadīth*. Other works, the majority consisting of Shīʿī apologetic: *Mutashābih al-Ḳurʾān* (printed in Tehrān); *Bayān al-tanzīl*; *Aʿlam al-ṭarāʾiḳ fi 'l-ḥudūd wa 'l-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*; *Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*; *al-Asbāb wa 'l-nuzūl ʿalā madhhab Āl al-Rasūl*; *al-Arbaʿīn fī manāḳib sayyidat al-nisāʾ Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīs madjmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿdjam al-alḳāb*, iv, ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād, 1, n. 443 (which quotes the *Lisān al-mīzān* of Ibn Ḥadjar, the *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* of al-Dhahabī—obituaries for the year 588—and a biography contained in the *Taʾrīkh* of Yaḥyā b. Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī—on whom see Brockelmann, S I, 549, s.v. Ibn Shaddād); Mīrzā Muḥammad Tunakābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehrān n.d., 428-9; ʿAbbās al-Ḳummī al-Nadjafī, *Kitāb al-Kunā wa 'l-alḳāb*, i, Nadjaf 1956, 327-8; al-Mamaḳānī, *Kitāb Tanzīḥ al-maḳāl fī aḥwāl al-ridjāl*, iii, Nadjaf 1352/1933-4, 157; Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa*, s.v.; idem, *Muṣaffā al-maḳāl fī muṣannifī ʿilm al-ridjāl*, Tehrān 1959, cols. 414-5; al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, vi, 28, xlvi, 136, n. 2556; al-Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, lith. Tehrān 1306/1888-9, 602 (wrong pagination); Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī Khiyābānī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya wa 'l-laḳab*, vi, Tabrīz n.d., 47-8; A. Eghbal, introduction to the edition of the *Maʿālim*, 3-12; al-Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, ix, 16.

(B. SCARCIA AMORETTI)

IBN SHĀKIR [see AL-KUTUBĪ].

IBN AL-SHALMAGHĀNĪ [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-SHALMAGHĀNĪ].

IBN SHANABŪDH (SHANBŪDH, SHANNABŪDH), ABU 'L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. AYYŪB B. AL-ṢALT AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, widely travelled and learned

"reader" of the Ḳur'ān and teacher of Ḳur'ānic reading, died Ṣafar 328/November-December 939, introduced in the public prayer (*fi 'l-miḥrāb*) readings of Ibn Mas'ud, Ubay and others which varied from 'Uthmān's recension; for this, perhaps at the instigaion of his influential colleague Ibn Mudjāhid (whom he detested), he was brought to trial in 323/935 before a special court presided over by the vizier Ibn Muḳla and with Ibn Mudjāhid also as a member; he at first in a confident and aggressive manner defended the variants which had provoked the charge. However, after he had been flogged on the vizier's orders he perforce ceased resisting, made a complete recantation and signed a document (*maḥḍar*) stating that for the future he would adhere to 'Uthmān's text as being the only valid one. After being discharged from the vizier's house, Ibn Shanabūdh had at first to seek safety outside Baghdād from the infuriated mob.

Bibliography: al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī bi-'llāh wa 'l-Muttaḳī li-'llāh*, ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne, Cairo 1935, 62-3; Fr. tr. by M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, i, 109-110 (with bibliography) and index; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 31-2; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, i, Cairo 1349/1931, 280-1; al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (GMS xx), 339r.; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vi, 300-4; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. de Slane, i, 687-8, tr. de Slane, iii, 16-8; al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrā'*, Berlin MS or. fol. 3140, 42 v.-43 v.; Ibn al-Djazarī, *al-Nashr fi 'l-ḳirā'āt al-'ashr*, Damascus 1345, i, 39, 122; idem, *Ghāyat al-nihāya*, ii (Bibliotheca Islamica 8b), 52-6; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 1857, 266-7; *TA*, ii, 568; Brockelmann, S I, 329; Nöldeke *et al.*, *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 110-2. See further ḲIRĀ'A. (R. PARET)

IBN SHARAF AL-ḲAYRAWĀNĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SA'ĪD AL-DJUDHĀMĪ, writer and poet, born at Ḳayrawān about 390/1000. He received his initiation into poetry under the direction of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḳābisī and Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī, into grammar under Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Ḳazzāz, and into belles-lettres under al-Ḥuṣrī [*q.v.*]; he probably studied also under Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl [*q.v*]. Although he was one-eyed, he succeeded in gaining admittance to the entourage of al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] and thus was on terms of familiarity with the best minds of the age, though not without making enemies and rivals; among these stands out the name of Ibn Rashīḳ [*q.v.*], whose name is inseparable from that of Ibn Sharaf because the two men followed more or less parallel courses; their rivalry, slily maintained by al-Mu'izz, turned out in the end to be fruitful, for it stimulated not only an exchange of epigrams and epistles (which are today lost) but also the composition of several works which testify to the high degree of culture reached by the Ḳayrawānīs at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. Besides this, Ibn Sharaf devoted himself to the habitual activity of court poets, composing verses in praise of the *amīr*, describing flowers and fruits, taking part in the literary gatherings which were held at the court, and replying on the spot to the slightest caprice of his master.

The Hilālī invasion [see HILĀL] obliged al-Mu'izz to take refuge in al-Mahdiyya in 447/1055, and he took the two rival poets with him. After a short stay with Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz, Ibn Sharaf went to Sicily and established himself at Mazara, where he was shortly joined by Ibn Rashīḳ, with whom, it is said, he was reconciled. However, he did not stay long in Sicily but in 449/1057 embarked for Spain; after trying his luck at the courts of several of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if* [*q.v.*], he settled at Berja, near Almeria, but his biographers state that he died at Seville, on 1 Muḥarram 460/11 November 1067.

As a court poet Ibn Sharaf is compared by Ibn Bassām (*Dhakhīra*, iv/1, 133) to Ibn Darrādj al-Ḳasṭallī [*q.v.*], and his *dīwān*, which had been collected, must have been fairly extensive; the author himself had gathered, in his *Abkār al-afkār*, the verse or prose passages which he thought worth preservation, but all of these are lost, as are also his *Lumaḥ al-mulaḥ* (Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, 53v) and his masterpiece, which bore the title of *A'lām al-kalām*. Altogether there remain only the extracts preserved by Ibn Bassām, the verses gathered by al-Maymanī al-Radjakūtī (*al-Nutaf min shi'ray Ibn Rashīḳ wa-zamīlih Ibn Sharaf*, Cairo 1343/1924, 90-115), a few historical passages of doubtful authenticity, and, finally, two fragments which probably formed part of the *A'lām al-kalām*: these last are two *ḥadīth*s out of the twenty which the author declares that he had composed on the model of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*]. In them he gives in rhymed prose a judgement on the Arab poets who went before him, and then gives in less mannered language a few lessons of literary criticism. This work, which was probably written in Spain, and hence between 449/1057 and 460/1067, is a characteristic specimen of the Ḳayrawānī school of criticism. Its genuine interest has attracted the attention of philologists, who have devoted several studies to it: edition of the text by Ḥ. Ḥ. 'Abd al-Wahhāb in *al-Muḳtabas*, iv (1911) and offprint Damascus 1329/1911, with title *Rasā'il al-intiḳād* (text reproduced by M. Kurd 'Alī in his *Rasā'il al-bulaghā'*[3], Damascus 1365/1946, 302-44); ed. by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khāndjī, Cairo 1344/1926, with title *A'lām al-kalām*; ed. and French tr. by Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1953, under the title *Questions de critique littéraire*; Italian tr. by U. Rizzitano, *Ibn Šaraf al-Qayrawānī (m. 460/1067-8) e la sua* Risālah al-intiqād, in *RSO*, xxi/1 (1956), 51-72. There is no question of its being a *risāla*, but the problem of the title is resolved by the colophon, which has: *tammat al-maḳāma al-ma'rūfa bi-masā'il al-intiḳād*, if indeed it is a fact that the author gave a particular title to the two fragments preserved.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, iv/1, 133-86; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 96 ff. = *Udabā'*, xix, 37 ff.; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 204-5; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 1208; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 46; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 145; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, B.M. MS, fols. 52r-57v (Cairo and Khartoum edd., 1954, index); Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālim*, iii, 249-51; Ḥ. Ḥ. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Bisāṭ al-'aḳīḳ fī ḥaḍārat al-Ḳayrawān wa-shā'irihā Ibn Rashīḳ*, Tunis 1330/1911; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif*, iii, 259-60. Maymanī's collection of verses may be supplemented from Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, Ibn Luyyūn, *Lamḥ*, Ibn al-'Imād, *Kharīda*, 'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, etc. (a new collection is being prepared in Paris).

The son of the foregoing, Abu 'l-Faḍl Dja'far b. Muḥammad, was likewise a celebrated poet and prosewriter. Born at Ḳayrawān in 444/1052-3, he emigrated with his father and passed the rest of his life in Spain, where he attained the rank of *wazīr* at Almería during the reign of Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim (443/1051-484/1091), at whose court he passed a number of years. He died in 534/1139. Abu 'l-Faḍl was a man of wide culture and a facile talent in the customary genres: panegyric, description, gnomic poetry. He is the author of two collections of aphorisms and maxims in prose and verse, *Nudjḥ*

al-nuṣḥ and *Sirr al-birr*, and also an *urdjūza* on asceticism, but these are mostly lost; to the verses of poetry collected by al-Maymanī (*Nutaf*, 116-21, see above) may be added a few official letters and pieces of verse preserved by Ibn Bassām, iii (still in MS) and some of the anthologies quoted above.

A son of Abu 'l-Faḍl, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, is also quoted by Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index, as a gnomic poet.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, nos. 610 and 1557; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 295; Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, Cairo n.d., 263 ff.; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, B.M. MS, fol. 54r; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, Cairo 1324/1906, 50 (tr. Fagnan, 66); Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Dozy, *Recherches*³, i, 248 ff.; González Palencia, *Literatura*², 89-90; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 260-1; bibl. cited by Ch. Pellat in *Questions de critique* (see above), xx, n. 7.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN SHARYA, ʿAbīd/ʿUbayd al-Djurhumī, sage and antiquary, frequently cited as a relater of quasi-historical traditions. The form of his name is not certain. The manuscripts appear to vacillate between ʿAbīd and ʿUbayd. ʿUmayr occurs by mistake (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Būlāḳ 1286, iii, 351; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta 1856-73, iii, 201). The form Sharya is confirmed by the metre (cf. O. Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, vii (1935), 24; al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, ed. O. Löfgren, Uppsala 1954, 6). However, Ibn Ḥadjar advocates the pronunciation Shariyya. Sāriya, Sariyya, and Shubruma(?) also occur (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 10; *Usd*).

Strong attempts have been made in recent years to defend the historical existence of Ibn Sharya (cf., for instance, N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, i, Chicago 1957, 9 ff.), but his historicity as a scholar and author remains entirely conjectural. According to the sources, Muʿāwiya called him to his court in order to hear him tell stories of the past. He died at the age of over 220, 240, or 300 years during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik. In the first half of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (*Muʿammarūn*, ed. Goldziher, *Abh. z. arab. Phil.*, ii, 40-3) knew him as a long-lived sage. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bukhalāʾ*, Cairo 1948, 40, trans. Pellat, 67, 337) already seems to refer to him as an authority on the great South Arabian past, and so does Ibn Hishām in the *Kitāb al-Tīdjān*, Ḥaydarābād 1347, 66, 209. Later in that century, Ibn Ḳutayba (*Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1386/1966, 283, trans. Lecomte, Damascus 1964, 313) knew him as a genealogist, apparently in connexion with South Arabian history. The early historians usually do not mention him by name. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 89) is inclined to discount his reports on South Arabian history as fiction.

He is credited with a collection of proverbs, which is not preserved (*Fihrist*, 89; al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maḳāl*, Kharṭūm 1958; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague 1954, 45, 89, 149). His famous "Book of the kings and history of the past" (*Fihrist*, 89) was already quoted by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 173-5, 275 ff., iv, 89; A. v. Kremer, *Über die südarabische Sage*, Leipzig 1866, 46 ff.). According to a somewhat corrupt passage in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iii, 202, al-Hamdānī mentioned that in the 4th/10th century a great number of different recensions of the work were in circulation. One of those recensions has been preserved in an incomplete form. It has been published under the title of *Akhbār al-Yaman wa-ashʿāruhā wa-ansābuhā*, together with the *Kitāb al-Tīdjān*, Ḥaydarābād 1347, 311-487. The quotations in al-Masʿūdī are sufficiently similar to the published text (cf. *Murūdj*, iii, 275 ff. = 483 ff. of the ed.) to prove the general identity. The published text has later additions; it refers often to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās as a cousin of Muʿāwiya; it has an allusion to the expected South Arabian Mahdī (478, cf. also the verses quoted in Nashwān, *Shams al-ʿulūm*, GMS, xxiv, 103) and one to the Berber ʿAlid (which may be a later, Fāṭimid-period addition, 323); and it mentions the Daylam and Turks (476).

The available data would seem to indicate that the use of the figure of Ibn Sharya as an historical narrator does not antedate the early 3rd/9th century, after the figure of the sage had become securely established. The author of the "Book of kings" may not have been a South Arabian patriot, but rather some Baghdādī antiquarian who tried to profit from the fashionable interest in South Arabian antiquity. Whether the work contains many reflexions of genuine South Arabian folklore, as v. Kremer maintained, is another question, though great scepticism would seem to be indicated.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, cf. also, for instance, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1367/1948, i, 361; idem, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1366/1947, i, 365; idem, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, Damascus 1955, 37, (21); Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 305; *Aghānī*, xxi, 191, 206; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 82; Usāma b. Munḳidh, *Lubāb*, Cairo 1354/1935, 123 f.; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ms. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2887, vol. iii, 299b-300a; al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, ed. Thorbecke, 55 f.; Ibn Ṣaṣrā, ed. Brinner, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963, i, 137 f., ii, 101 f.; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, i, 323. Cf. also Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 97, 182 f., ii, 171, 203 f.; Brockelmann, I, 63 f., S I, 100; Sezgin, i, 260.

(F. Rosenthal)

IBN SHAYKH ḤIṬṬĪN [see al-dimashḳī, shams al-dīn].

IBN SHIBL (or al-Shiblī), Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf ... al-Baghdādī, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 655/1257), but Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh according to al-Kutubī (and according to Kaḥḥāla his genealogy is continued thus: b. Aḥmad b. Shibl b. Usāma al-Shāmī) and, according to al-Ṣafadī, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and, later, al-Ziriklī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Shibl, theoretician and practitioner in medicine, and poet; he lived during the reigns of al-Ḳādir bi-'llāh and of al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh (381-468/991-1075). The exact date of his birth is not known, though Kaḥḥāla puts it at 401/1010-11; he was educated in Baghdād, to which his family belonged, and died there in 473/1080-1, according to al-Ṣafadī, al-Kutubī, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, al-Ziriklī and Kaḥḥāla, or in 474/1081-2, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, and was buried at Bāb al-Ḥarb. The sources, notably the *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, contain little information on his medical career, merely mentioning that he continued in it until an advanced age; but they contain more details on the *dīwān* which he wrote. Among the verses which they quote, in particular two famous *ḳaṣīda*s reproduced in full by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, the attribution of some is uncertain (Ibn Sīnā and al-Maʿarrī are mentioned as possible authors). They seem to display, together with a pessimistic view of life similar to that of Ibn Sīnā and ʿUmar Khayyām, a certain mechanistic and determinist conception of the universe seen as

independent of the divine will. This could explain some suspicions of atheism, or at least of doubtful orthodoxy, which were attached to this writer, whose philosophico-scientific scepticism was typical of his period.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, i, Göttingen 1884, 248-52; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ii, Cairo Radjab 1283/1866, 244-7; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii, Damascus 1953, 11-16, n. 872; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, column 766; Kaḥḥāla, ix, Damascus 1959, 196-7; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*[a], ii, 332. An important part of Ibn Shibl's poetry is to be found in Ḳifṭī, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, Paris MS. 3335, fols. 91a-101b (an ed. by M. Mammeri is to appear).

(B. Scarcia Amoretti)

IBN al-SHIḤNA, Muḥibb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad, Ḥanafī chief *ḳāḍī* in Cairo between 866/1463 and 876/1471, died in 890/1485. He belonged to an important family of Aleppo, whose ancestor was a freedman called Maḥmūd al-Khutluḳī or b. al-Khutlū who was *shiḥna* of Aleppo in the time of the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-ʿAzīz in about 616/1219. His father was *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, and is remembered for having founded a *waḳf* for the benefit of the mosque of the citadel of Aleppo, commemorated by an inscription which still exists, dated 811/1408. He himself wrote several works, the most important of which is a description of Aleppo and northern Syria entitled *al-Durr al-muntakhab li-taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, a completion of the earlier work by (ʿIzz al-Dīn) Ibn Shaddād [*q.v.*]. J. Sauvaget has pointed out that doubts about the authorship of this work are unfounded, as the author mentions the *waḳf* founded by his father.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 53, S II, 40; J. Sauvaget, *"Les perles choisies" d'Ibn ach-Chichna*, Beirut 1933, introduction; E. Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, 2nd part: Syrie du nord, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, Cairo 1955, 130-1.

(D. Sourdel)

IBN SHUBRUMA, ʿAbd Allāh b. Shubruma b. al-Ṭufayl al-Ḍabbī, traditionist, jurist and *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa, and poet and dilettante on occasion. He died in 144/761. His father (or grandfather), Shubruma, was a Companion of the Prophet (*Iṣāba*, ii, 135) who seems to have been a member of the entourage of Ibn Masʿūd [*q.v.*], where there often circulated maxims hostile to "the prince" (who must certainly in the context have been the caliph ʿUthmān). This fact explains the low opinion held of Shubruma b. al-Ṭufayl in later Islamic tradition. His son, ʿAbd Allāh (or his descendant, as the difference in time between the two would seem to indicate), was one of those prudent Kūfans, more adapted to a new era, who made great efforts to achieve a compromise with the new power of the ʿAbbāsids. He had access over matters great and small to the ʿAbbāsid prince, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. He was for long recognized as an authentic transmitter of the important Kūfans, in particular of Abu 'l-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila, the companion of Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, and of the Shīʿī ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Shaddād b. al-Hād (*Tahdhīb*, viii, 251; Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 349).

He did not hesitate to quote in law from Ibn Abī Laylā (*Fihrist*, 202; *Tahdhīb*, ix, 301), whose authority was soon contested by the specialists (Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn). Tradition tends to minimize the importance of Ibn Shubruma: it insists that he was only a poet, wit and rhetorician; and only a few of his *ḥadīths* are reported, it being considered that he never had any contact with the neighbouring town of Baṣra, and doubts are cast on the authenticity of the transmission which he claimed to hold from ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaddād. The Ḥanbalīs and the Medinans were more indulgent towards him than the ruling orthodox (*e.g.* ʿAbd Allāh b. Mubārak, who taught from 141/758, and especially Ibn Saʿd, who mocks Ibn Shubruma slightly in the portrait he gives of him).

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut ed., xxiii, 350; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, v, 250; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 146 (where he is presented as an ascetic); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 210; Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, see index, iv, 15.

(J.-C. Vadet)

IBN SHUHAYD, Abū ʿĀmir Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī ʿUmar Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Shuhayd al-Ashdjaʿī, Andalusian poet, man of letters and vizier, born at Cordova, in 382/992, of an Arab family whose ancestor Shuhayd had settled in Spain before 162/778 and whose members included important officials in the Umayyad government. ʿĪsā b. Shuhayd had been a minister during the reign of Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86); Abū ʿĀmir's great-grandfather had been appointed vizier in 317/929, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III; his grandfather, Abū ʿUmar, had been the first dignitary to receive, in 327/939, the title of *dhu 'l-wizāratayn*; his father, Abū Marwān, was an important official and al-Manṣūr had even appointed him vizier. Abū ʿĀmir was therefore destined to hold similar offices, and on his father's death, in 393/1003, he was even to inherit the honorific title of *wazīr* and to incur heavy responsibilities while still very young, since he was the last representative of the family. However, he was prevented from occupying the offices which, by his descent, he might have expected through the unrest which very soon occurred in Cordova, the fall of the ʿĀmirids, who were his protectors, and the overthrow of the Umayyads, and was thus led to devote himself wholeheartedly to literature.

He received in his youth the education usually given to young members of the aristocracy, learning a great deal about poetry and *adab*, some history and *fiḳh*, perhaps also a little medicine and philosophy, and prepared himself to fill his position as government official and courtier. Certainly, when the *fitna* broke out in 399/1008, he was attached to the court, but the title of *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* which is attributed to him seems to have been a purely honorific one. A legitimist to a lesser degree than Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], he refused to leave the capital during the years of unrest, but he certainly seems to have had no scruples about making approaches to the Ḥammūdids [*q.v.*], who were established at Cordova in 406/1016; probably his situation was not always very secure, and Ibn Khāḳān even claims, as a result of an unjustifiable interpretation of an alleged *djahdariyya*, that he was for a time in prison. The accession of al-Mustaẓhir, in 414/1023, seemed to put an end to his troubles, and indeed the new caliph did appoint him as *wazīr* in company, notably, with Ibn Ḥazm, but this ministry lasted for only forty-seven days; while Ibn Ḥazm was imprisoned, Ibn Shuhayd succeeded in fleeing and took refuge with the Ḥammūdid Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī at Malaga. He probably returned to Cordova after the flight of al-Mustakfī, in 416/1025, and did not again leave his native town. After the final attempt to restore the Umayyads and the accession of al-Muʿtadd, in 418-1027, he had

an opportunity to play a political rôle under the new caliph; in particular he drew up, against the Cordovans who were discontented because of the extortions of the minister Ḥakam b. Saʿīd, a violent manifesto which he himself read in front of the assembled notables. After the abdication of al-Muʿtadd (422/1031), Ibn Shuhayd was able to live at the court of the Djahwarids, and his funeral prayer was recited by Abu 'l-Ḥazm himself; he was afflicted by hemiplegia and died, after a period of suffering which inspired some of his finest poetry, on 29 Djumādā I 426/11 April 1035, while still in the prime of life.

Ibn Shuhayd is generally thought of as a libertine who led a dissolute life. It is true that his conduct was not of the standard demanded by the puritans of his time, but he seems to have been slandered by the historians and biographers, who accuse him in particular of having sacrificed his salvation to futile pleasures and of having preferred *hazl* to *djidd*, that is, to have written nothing on religion. Actually the dominant feature of his character was an inordinate pride, which is not, however, too much to be regretted since it gave rise to a small masterpiece, the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ* (the spirits of inspiration [*tābiʿa*, pl. *tawābiʿ*] and the *zawābiʿ*, pl. of *zawbaʿa*—the name of a genie—given in this form in order to make the rhyme with the preceding word). The author of this article believes that he has demonstrated the *Risāla* to be a work of Ibn Shuhayd's youth, written before 401/1011 (although some passages may have been added later), since it is dedicated to Abū Bakr Ibn Ḥazm, who died during the epidemic of plague which occurred in that year (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 64, n. 3). It consists essentially of school exercises in verse and prose which Ibn Shuhayd had written in imitation of the great Arabic poets and prose writers, with the private conviction that he could equal, if not surpass, them all. The intrinsic quality of these pieces is open to argument, but the originality of the *Risāla* lies in the manner in which they are presented. Basically the work introduces Ibn Shuhayd's inspiring genius, who leads him into the valley of the genies (and not to Paradise), where he meets the *tawābiʿ* of the great figures of the past. In the form in which it has survived (all that exists is an extract fortunately preserved by Ibn Bassām), it may be divided into a prologue and four scenes: *Prologue.* Ibn Shuhayd mentions the remarks of Abū Bakr Ibn Ḥazm on his precocious talent, proclaims his taste for literature, and admits that one of his first poetical attempts—a lament for the death of the object of a juvenile love, already somewhat forgotten—stopped short. There then appears to him a *djinn* named Zuhayr b. Numayr, of the tribe of the Ashdjaʿ (*Ashdjaʿ al-djinn*, not *Ashdjaʿ al-ins*), who helps him to finish his poem and offers him his help, revealing to him the formula to be used to make him appear. *First scene.* Ibn Shuhayd asks Zuhayr to let him visit the valley in which the *tawābiʿ* live and thus meet the inspiring geniuses of Imruʾ al-Ḳays of Ṭarafa, of Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm, then of Abū Tammām, of al-Buḥturī, of Abū Nuwās and finally of al-Mutanabbī. The *tābiʿa* of each of them is summoned by Zuhayr by means of a characteristic word or verse from the work of the poet concerned; after some preliminaries it invites Ibn Shuhayd to recite some verses of his own composition and finally accords him its *idjāza*, a kind of *dignus intrare*. The *tābiʿa* in question is always described by the characteristics, easily imagined by Ibn Shuhayd, of the poet which it represents. *Second scene.* Abū ʿĀmir expresses the desire to meet the inspiring geniuses of the prose writers; the *tābiʿa*s of al-Djāḥiẓ and of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd reproach him for using rhyming prose, but he defends himself on the grounds that his compatriots speak a barbarous language, then recites some prose passages which he himself has written and, after some delay, receives the approbation of the two prose writers who describe him as *shāʿir khaṭīb*. *Third scene.* Ibn Shuhayd is present at a literary meeting of the *djinn*s during which various compositions are examined. *Fourth scene.* Abū ʿĀmir is asked to act as judge of a group of poetry-writing asses and mules. He then meets a goose which is the *tābiʿa* of one of his contemporaries, perhaps Ibn al-Ḥannāt [*q.v.*], and it is with various pieces of literary advice that the surviving text ends.

In addition the biographers attribute to Ibn Shuhayd some prose works which are to be found in part in the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ*, a *Ḥānūt ʿaṭṭār* and a *K. Kashf al-dakk wa-īḍāḥ al-shakk*, of which nothing is known. But Ibn Bassām inserted in the *Dhakhīra* a certain number of *risāla*s which are not without interest, since they reveal Ibn Shuhayd's constant concern to define *bayān*, *i.e.*, ultimately literary talent, in order to be able to communicate it to the future *kuttāb* who form the élite of the men of letters. Four main ideas are apparent in these texts: (1) literary talent does not consist of craftsmanship and slavish imitation, but of natural gifts supplemented by a suitable proportion of *gharīb* and of grammar; (2) it is God alone who teaches *bayān*; (3) beauty is indefinable and inexplicable, for it derives precisely from this innate talent and is composed of subtle and intangible elements; (4) in short, *bayān* alone is the mark of poetry. In this connexion Ibn Shuhayd distinguishes three categories of men of letters, but more precisely of poets: those who have original ideas but not much inspiration; those who are able to improvise without difficulty long poems of great worth; those who succeed by using the resources of technique. From all the evidence he classes himself in the second category.

Ibn Shuhayd's rôle as a literary critic is therefore not a negligible one, particularly since he has a feeling for the evolution of Arabic literature in prose as well as verse; but the very percipient observations of E. García Gómez, who, in his *Poesía arábigoandaluza*, Madrid 1952, 60-5, and in the introduction to his translation of the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, 6-9, classes Abū ʿĀmir and Ibn Ḥazm as the leaders of a poetic school with a tendency to create a specifically Andalusian poetry, seem in the last analysis to be an exaggeration, since Ibn Ḥazm was hardly ever an innovator and Ibn Shuhayd's only ambition was to surpass his models with the aid of inspiration and no longer of craftsmanship. Some of his verses are indeed of high quality (for example the theme of the *dabīb*) and he excels in description; a writer of great sensibility, he brings to the *ghazal* great finesse, while in his panegyrics he maintains the dignity and nobility suitable to his rank.

In short, although Abū ʿĀmir may be considered as an eminent representative of classical poetry (for he did not stoop to composing *muwashshaḥāt*) and literary prose in Spain at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, his chief merit resides in the form which he had devised to present his youthful works, the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ*.

Bibliography: The notice in the *Matīn* of Ibn Ḥayyān was extensively used by Ibn Bassām who, in his *Dhakhīra* (i/1, 161-289 and *passim*), provides the fullest biographical detail and reproduces the

major part of the prose or verse texts which have survived, in particular long extracts from the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ*, which have been published separately, with a long introduction, by B. al-Bustānī, Beirut 1951; Ibn Khāḳān, in the *Ḳalāʾid* and the *Maṭmaḥ*, gives extracts especially from the poems, with personal commentaries which should be read with caution; biographical details are found also in Ḍabbī, *Bughya*; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iii, 220-3; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 78-85; Ibn Khallikān; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, xvii, MS Paris 2327, 26v.-31r.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*; extracts from the works of Ibn Shuhayd are scattered throughout the works mentioned above, as well as in Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 35-50 (which proves that Ibn Shuhayd had quickly become famous also throughout the East); ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, MS Paris 3331, 201r.-204r.; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*. Among the modern works should be mentioned: A. Ḍayf, *Balāghat al-ʿArab fi 'l-Andalus*, Cairo 1924, 43-59; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse, passim*; Z. Mubārak, *La prose arabe au IVe siècle*, Paris 1931, 233-40 (= *al-Nathr al-fannī*, Cairo 1934, 258-60); the most detailed biographies are those of B. al-Bustānī, in his introduction to the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ* and in the *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 269-74; of J. Dickie, *Ibn Šuhayd. A biographical and critical study*, in *al-Andalus*, xxix/2 (1964), 234-310, with a very full bibliography; of Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Shuhayd, ḥayātuh wa-āthāruh*, ʿAmmān n.d. [1966]. An attempt to reconstruct the poetic works has been made by Ch. Pellat, *Dīwān Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī*, Beirut 1963. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-SĪD [see AL-BATALYAWSĪ].

IBN SĪDA (SĪDUH), ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ISMĀʿĪL, or Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl, Andalusian philologist and lexicographer, born in Murcia, died at the age of about 60 on Sunday 25 Rabīʿ II 458/26 March 1066. He compiled two important dictionaries: *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and *al-Muḥkam*.

Ibn Sīda was blind, as was his father, so that his life was not very active. It was entirely devoted to philology and lexicography, disciplines which had probably been traditionally cultivated in his family. It was in fact from his father that he received his early education. Later, he attended the lectures of the famous Ṣāʿid al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], who was himself a pupil of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī and of al-Sīrāfī. He then received lessons from Abū ʿAmr al-Ṭalamanḳī, to whom, it is stated, he recited from memory the *Gharīb al-muṣannaf* of Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī. From then on Ibn Sīda's life is well documented.

At an unknown date, he left Murcia to settle at Denia, where he found in al-Muwaffaḳ an excellent patron to whom he dedicated *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and *al-Muḥkam*. The introduction to the latter work shows however an author who was bitter and not entirely satisfied with his lot. On the death of al-Muwaffaḳ, therefore, Ibn Sīda chose to flee, but he returned soon afterwards to Denia and the patronage of al-Muwaffaḳ's successor, Iḳbāl al-Dawla.

Among Ibn Sīda's many works (*Sharḥ iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ*; *al-Anīḳ fī sharḥ al-ḥamāsa*; *al-ʿĀlam fi 'l-lugha*; *al-ʿĀlim wa 'l-mutaʿallim*; *al-Wāfī fī ʿilm aḥkām al-ḳawāfī*; *Shādhdh al-lugha*; *al-ʿAwīṣ*), only *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and *al-Muḥkam* survive. Dictionaries based on other dictionaries which display not the slightest specifically Spanish feature, these two works differ from each other less in their content, drawn from earlier works, than in their arrangement. *Al-Muḥkam* is a classical type of dictionary; *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, devoted to the search for the precise term, is rather an analogical dictionary compiled according to the plan of *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid 1885, 405, no. 1205 (does not mention any sources); Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid 1883, 410, no. 889; Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, tr. R. Blachère, 142; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326, 327; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwa*, ed. al-Ṭandjī, Cairo, 293; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo ed. 1310, ii, 25; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xii, 231-5 (quotes Ibn Bashkuwāl and al-Ḥumyadī); Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himyān*, 204 (quotes al-Ḥumyadī and Yāḳūt); Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, 60 (does not mention his sources); introd. to *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and *al-Muḥkam*; M. Talbi, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ d'Ibn Sīda, étude, index*, Tunis 1956, 5-12; J. A. Haywood, *Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066). The greatest Andalusian lexicographer*, in *Actas del Primer congreso de estudios árabes y islámicos*, Cordova 1962; D. Cabanelas Rodriguez, *Ibn Sīda de Murcia, el mayor lexicógrafo de al-Andalus*, Granada 1966; Brockelmann, I, 308, 691, S I, 542. (M. TALBI)

IBN AL-SIKKĪT, ABŪ YŪSUF YAʿḲŪB B. ISḤĀḲ, a celebrated Arabic philologian and lexicographer, came from a family who were natives of Dawraḳ, in Khūzistān, but apparently he was born in Baghdād in about 186/802. His father, nicknamed al-Sikkīt (the Taciturn), is reputed to have been an expert in poetry and lexicography; it was he who started his son's education, which was later continued under the direction of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, al-Farrāʾ, Ibn al-Aʿrābī and other famous teachers; like many of his contemporaries, he went to live for a time among the Bedouin in order to perfect his knowledge of Arabic. After teaching at the Darb al-Ḳanṭara, in Baghdād, he turned to instruction at a higher level and dictated the most important of his works to his pupils. Entrusted by al-Mutawakkil with the education of his sons al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad, he came to be on familiar terms with the caliph, but his attachment to the ʿAlids, which he was imprudent enough to display in the presence of al-Mutawakkil, brought about his fall; trampled underfoot by the Turkish soldiers of the guard (it is even said that his tongue was torn out), he died at the age of 58, on 5 Radjab 244/17 October 858 (but other dates, 243, 245 and 246, are also given).

In grammar, Ibn al-Sikkīt would belong to the Kūfa school, but he cannot be regarded as an eminent grammarian, while the lexicographical works and commentaries that have won him fame would connect him rather with the Baṣra school, for he underwent the influence of the celebrated masters of that town, al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī; in reality, he represents the syncretist tendency characteristic of the Baghdād school.

A specialist in lexicography and Arabic poetry, Ibn al-Sikkīt left, firstly, about twenty works, the most important of which appear to be the *Kitāb Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiḳ* (ed. Shākir and Hārūn, Cairo 1368/1949; cf. *Oriens*, iii (1950), 325 ff.) and the *Kitāb al-Alfāẓ*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1897 (comm. of al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī, *Kanz al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1895-8); in addition, Haffner published the *Kitāb al-Ḳalb wa 'l-ibdāl* (in *Texte zur arabischen Lexicographie*, Leipzig 1905, 3-65) and the *Kitāb al-Aḍdād* (in *Drei Quellenwerke über die Aḍdād*, Beirut 1913). Incidentally, in the recension of the old *dīwāns*, he holds chronologically an intermediate position between

on the one hand al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda and some others who initiated the first work of methodical arrangement, and on the other hand al-Sukkarī [*q.v.*] who completed the process. It is for this reason that the *Fihrist* (i, 157-8) lists some thirty ancient poets whose *dīwān* was collected and commented on by Ibn al-Sikkīt, with a care which in general compels the respect of critics. Only a few of his works have survived: those on al-Khansāʾ (see Cheikho's ed. of the *dīwān* of this poetess, Beirut 1896); on ʿUrwa b. al-Ward (see Nöldeke, *Die Gedichte des ʿUrwa ibn Alward*, Göttingen 1883); on Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm (ed. Th. Kowalski, Leipzig 1914); and on al-Ḥuṭayʾa (ed. N. A. Ṭāhā and M. Ḥalabī, Cairo 1958).

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(Ed.)

IBN SĪNĀ, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sīnā, known in the West as Avicenna. He followed the encyclopaedic conception of the sciences that had been traditional since the time of the Greek Sages in uniting philosophy with the study of nature and in seeing the perfection of man as lying in both knowledge and action. He was also as illustrious a physician as he was a philosopher [see ḥikma].

Life. His life is known to us from authoritative sources. An autobiography covers his first thirty years, and the rest are documented by his disciple al-Djuzadjānī, who was also his secretary and his friend.

He was born in 370/980 in Afshana, his mother's home, near Bukhārā. His native language was Persian. His father, an official of the Sāmānid administration, had him very carefully educated at Bukhārā. His father and his brother were influenced by Ismāʿīlī propaganda; he was certainly acquainted with its tenets, but refused to adopt them. His intellectual independence was served by an extraordinary intelligence and memory, which allowed him to overtake his teachers at the age of fourteen.

It was he, we are told, who explained logic to his master al-Nātilī. He had no teacher in the natural sciences or in medicine; in fact, famous physicians were working under his direction when he was only sixteen. He did, however, find difficulty in understanding Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, which he grasped only with the help of al-Fārābī's commentary. Having cured the *amīr* of Khurāsān of a severe illness, he was allowed to make use of the splendid library of the Sāmānid princes. At the age of eighteen he had mastered all the then known sciences. His subsequent progress was due only to his personal judgment.

His training through contact with life was at least equal to his development in intellectual speculation. At the age of twenty-one he wrote his first philosophical book. The following year, however, the death of his father forced him to enter the administration in order to earn his living. His judgment was swiftly appreciated. Having consulted him on medical matters, the princes had recourse to him also in matters of politics. He was a minister several times, his advice being always listened to; but he became an object of envy, sometimes persecuted by his enemies and sometimes coveted by princes opposing those to whom he wished to remain loyal. He took flight and was obliged to hide on several occasions, earning his living by medical consultations. He was imprisoned, escaped, lived for fourteen years in relative peace at the court of Iṣfahān and died at Hamadān, during an expedition of the prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, in 428/1037. He was buried there; and a monument was erected to him to celebrate the (*hidjrī*) millenary of his birth.

If his works are to be understood, they should not be thought of as those of a philosopher who lived in his books. He was occupied all day by affairs of state, and he laboured by night on his great works, which were written with astonishing rapidity. He was never safe, and was frequently compelled to move; he would write on horseback, and sometimes in prison, his only resource for reference being his memory. It has been found surprising that he differs from Aristotle in his works: but he quoted him without re-reading him, and, above all, his independence of mind inclined him to present his own personally worked out thought, rather than to repeat the works of another. Besides, his personal training was different. He was a man who lived in touch with the concrete, constantly faced with difficulties, and a great physician who dealt with specific cases. Aristotle's *Logic* seemed to him insufficient, because it could not be applied in a way that was sufficiently close to life. Many recent controversies have been aroused since the study of his works has increased, especially at the time of his millenary, but the most plausible view of his personality is still the following: he is a scientific man, who attempts to bring the Greek theories to the level of that which needs to be expressed by the study of the concrete, when apprehended by a great mind.

The secret of his evolution, however, will remain concealed from us as long as we do not possess such important works as the *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, the "Book of Impartial Judgment", which investigated 28,000 questions, and his "Eastern Philosophy", of which we have only a fragment.

Works. The corpus of Ibn Sīnā's works that has come down to us is considerable, but incomplete. To the many questions that were put to him he replied hastily, without always taking care to keep his texts. Al-Djuzadjānī has preserved several of these; others have been transmitted with different titles, others lost. The manuscript of the *Inṣāf* disappeared at the sack of Iṣfahān, in his own lifetime. The fundamental bibliography is that which al-Djuzadjānī included in his biography, but it is not exhaustive. G. C. Anawati lists a total of 276 works, including texts noted as doubtful and some apocryphal works, in his bibliography of 1950. Mahdavi, in 1954, lists 131 authentic, and 110 doubtful works. Ibn Sīnā was known primarily as a philosopher and a physician, but he contributed also to the advancement of all the sciences that were accessible in his day: natural history, physics, chemistry, astronomy, mathematics, music. Economics and politics benefited from his experience as a statesman. Moral and religious questions (not necessarily pertaining to mysticism), Ḳurʾānic exegesis, statements on Ṣūfī doctrine and behaviour produced minor writings. He wrote poetry for instructional purposes, for he versified epitomes of logic and medicine, but he had also the abilities

of a true poet, clothing his philosophical doctrine in images, both in verse (as in his poem on the soul) and in prose, in symbolic narratives whose meaning has given rise to controversy [see ḤAYY B. YAḲẒĀN].

Medicine is the subject of separate works; but natural history and mathematics are thought of as parts of philosophy. Thus, his principal treatise on these sciences is included in the great *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, "Book of Healing [of the Soul]", in the same way as that on Metaphysics, while the famous *Ḳānūn fi 'l-ṭibb*, "Canon of Medicine", is a separate work.

The *Ḳānūn* appears to have formed a more consciously coherent whole than the philosophical works. Because it constituted a monumental unity, which maintained its authority until modern times when experimental science began, and because it still remained more accessible than Hippocrates and Galen, it served as a basis for seven centuries of medical teaching and practice. Even today it is still possible to derive useful information from it, for Dr. ʿAbd Allāh Ahmadieh, a clinician of Tehran, has studied the therapeutics of Avicenna and is said to use them with good results, particularly in treating rheumatism.

The *Ḳānūn* is the clear and ordered "Summa" of all the medical knowledge of Ibn Sīnā's time, augmented from his own observations. It is divided into five books. The first contains generalities concerning the human body, sickness, health and general treatment and therapeutics (French translation of the treatise on Anatomy by P. de Koning, 1905; adaptation giving an incomplete résumé of the first book, in English, by Cameron Grüner, 1930). The second contains the Materia Medica and the Pharmacology of herbs; the page on experimentation in medicine (115, of the Rome 1593 edition) quoted in the Introduction to the French translation of the *Ishārāt*, 58, is to be found there. This passage sets out the three methods—agreement, difference and concomitant variations—that are usually regarded as characteristic of modern science. The third book deals with special pathology, studied by organs, or rather by systems (German translation of the treatise on diseases of the eyes, by Hirschberg and Lippert, 1902). The fourth book opens with the famous treatise on fevers; then follow the treatise on signs, symptoms, diagnostics and prognostics, minor surgery, tumours, wounds, fractures and bites, and that on poisons. The fifth book contains the pharmacopoeia.

Several treatises take up in isolation a number of the data in the *Ḳānūn* and deal with particular points. Some are very well-known: their smaller size assured them of a wide circulation. Among the most widely diffused are treatises on the pulse, the medical pharmacopoeia, advice for the conservation of health and the study of diarrhoea; in addition, monographs on various remedies, chicory, oxymel, balsam, bleeding. The virtues of wine are not neglected.

Physicians were offered a mnemonic in the form of a poem which established the essentials of Avicenna's theory and practice: principles, observations, advice on therapeutics and dietetics, simple surgical techniques. This is the famous *Urdjūza fi 'l-ṭibb*, which was translated into Latin several times from the 13th to the 17th century, under the title *Cantica Avicennae* (ed. with French trans. by H. Jahier and A. Noureddine, Paris 1956, *Poème de la Médecine*, together with Armengaud de Blaise's Latin translation).

Ibn Sīnā's philosophical works have come down to us in a mutilated condition. The important *Kitāb al-Shifā'* is complete (critical text in process of publication, Cairo 1952-). Extracts chosen by the author himself as being the most characteristic make up the *Kitāb al-Nadjāt*, "The Book of Salvation [from Error]", which is not an independent redaction, as was thought until 1937 (table of concordances established by A.-M. Goichon in *La distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sīnā*, 499-503). The *Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, "Book of directives and remarks", is complete (trans. into Persian and French), as is the *Dānishnāma-i ʿAlā'ī*, "The Book of Knowledge for ʿAlā'", a résumé of his doctrine written at the request of the prince ʿAlā' al-Dawla. We have only fragments of the *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, "Book of Impartial Judgment between the Easterners and the Westerners", which have been published by A. Badawī, and a small part of the *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, "Logic of the Easterners", which is the logic of his "Eastern Philosophy", the rest of it being lost. A fairly large number of minor writings are preserved; they illuminate points of detail which are often important, but are far from completing the lacunas.

Ibn Sīnā's was too penetrating a mind, and one too concerned with the absolute, not to venture outside the individual sciences. He looked for the principle and the guarantee of these, and this led him to set above them, on the one hand, the science of being, Metaphysics, and, on the other, the universal tool of truth, Logic, or "the instrumental science", as the *falāsifa* termed it.

As far as one can tell in the absence of several of his fundamental works, he seems to have been an innovator particularly in logic, correcting the excess of abstraction which does not permit Aristotle to take sufficient account of change, which is present everywhere and at all times in the terrestrial world; and, thus, of the difference between strict (*muṭlaḳ*) meaning, and concrete meaning, specified by the particular "conditions" in which a thing is actualized. As a physician, he enters into logic when he admits a sign as the middle term of a syllogism. He gives it the force of a proof, as the latter is recognized in a symptom in medical diagnosis (see Introduction to the French trans. of the *Ishārāt*).

In Metaphysics the doctrine of Ibn Sīnā is most individual, and is also illuminated by his personal antecedents. On the other hand, his thought was fashioned by three teachers, of whom, however, he knew only two by name: Aristotle and al-Fārābī, who introduced several of the great concepts subsequently developed by Ibn Sīnā. The third was Plotinus, who came down to him under the name of Aristotle, in the so-called "Theology of Aristotle" [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS], which was composed of extracts from Plotinus's *Enneads*, and presented as the culmination of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. This error of attribution dogs the whole of Avicenna's work. As a born metaphysician he earned the title of "Philosopher of being" but as a realist he wished to understand essences in their actualized state, so that he is just as much the "Philosopher of essence". The whole of his metaphysics is ordered round the double problem of the origin of being and its transmission to essence, but to individually actualized essence (cf. Goichon, *La distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1937).

It is at this point that a free interpretation of Aristotle and Plotinus gives him his theory of the creation of forms by emanation. This is linked with a cosmogony taken from the apocryphal *Theology*, but is also inspired by hylemorphism and Aristotelian data on the soul. The extensive place occupied in his thought by the intelligence prompts him to this startling view: the gift of being is linked with the

light of the intelligence. Moreover, Ibn Sīnā is a believer; in accordance with Islam he believes in God as the Creator. None of the philosophies handed down from pagan antiquity takes account of this. He attempts to integrate dogma with his philosophical formulation. In fact, he does not succeed very well, but he continually works in this direction.

The first certitude apprehended by the human mind, he says, is that of being, which is apprehended by means of sense-perceptions. The idea of being, however, is so deep-rooted in man that it could be perceived outside of the sensible. This prefiguration of the Cartesian "Cogito ergo sum" appears to have two causes: intuition (*ḥads*) is so powerful in Ibn Sīnā (see in the Physics of the *Dānis̲h̲nāma* the part that it played for him) that he bases himself here on a metaphysical apprehension of being; in addition, since the human soul, according to him, is a separate intelligence, which leads its own spiritual existence while being united with the body, it is capable of apprehending itself directly.

The second certitude is that the being thus apprehended in man, and in every existing thing, is not present there of necessity. The essence of "man", "horse" or "stone" does not imply the necessity of the existence of a particular man or horse. Existence is given to actualized, concrete beings by a Being that differs from all of them: it is not one of the essences that have no existence in themselves, but its essence is its very being. The Creator is the First Cause; as a consequence of this theory the proof of the existence of God is restricted to Metaphysics, and not to Physics, as happens when God is proved to be the prime mover.

A Western controversy enters here: did Avicenna really believe in the analogy of being? It is true that he does not place the uncreated Being in the genus Substance or in a genus Being; but if he proceeds from knowledge of created beings to that of the uncreated Being, is not this a proof that he considers their natures to be allied? He certainly apprehends an analogy between the being of substance and that of accident, as he states explicitly, but did he go further? (see M. Cruz Hernandez, *passim*).

Ibn Sīnā did not formulate the distinction between the uncreated Being and created beings as clearly as did Thomas Aquinas, but the latter does base himself on Ibn Sīnā's doctrine; only being is in God, God is in no genus and being is not a genus. He then sets out his thought precisely (cf. Vasteenkiste, *Avicenna-Citaten bij S. Thomas*, in *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie*, September 1953, citations nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 148, 330, pp. 460-1, 473 and 491).

With the principles established, two reasons for the omission of the conclusion are plausible, but neither involves the distinction not being made. Either, having set it out and admitted it, he withdrew it with difficulty because of the confusion between the data of Aristotle and Plotinus, or, as G. M. Wickens (*Avicenna, scientist and philosopher*, 52) suggests, he does not speak of it as a discovery because the celebrated distinction was then generally admitted—as Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī says. But Ibn Sīnā maintains that God, as he conceives Him, is "the first with respect to the being of the Universe, anterior to that being, and also, consequently, outside it" (E. Gilson, *L'esprit de la philosophie médiévale*[2], 80-1).

However, this apparent impetus of Ibn Sīnā is interrupted by the data of Plotinus, for they inspire the emanatist theory of creation. The Ḳur'ān, like the Old and New Testaments, explains creation by a free act of will on the part of God. For Ibn Sīnā, by way of Plotinus, the necessary Being is such in all its modes—and thus as creator—and being overflows from it. (Here the reader will ask himself the question: "Is it an analogous being? is it not rather the same being?") Moreover, this emanation does not occur freely, and creation involves intermediaries, which are also creators. From the One can come only one. The necessary Being thus produces a single Intelligence. This, having a cause, necessarily possesses a duality of being and knowledge. It introduces multiplicity into the world; from it can derive another Intelligence, a celestial Soul and a celestial body. Ptolemy's system becomes the framework of creative emanation; emanation descends from sphere to sphere as far as a tenth pure Intelligence, which governs, not a sphere, but our terrestrial world, which is made, unlike the others, of corruptible matter. This brings with it a multiplicity which surpasses human knowledge but is perfectly possessed and dominated by the active Intellect, the tenth Intelligence. Its role is demonstrated in a poetic and symbolic form in the "Tale of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān", a name that refers to the active Intellect itself.

The philosophical origin of this active Intellect is the passage in the *De Anima* in which Aristotle refers by this name to the active part of the human soul. Ibn Sīnā irremediably mutilates the latter by taking away from it this active part, and with it its most noble action and its highest intellectual function: abstraction of intelligibles. This active Intellect, which, according to Aristotle, produces all intelligibles, is now a separate Intelligence. Thus the human soul receives them passively, and so cannot think except by leave of the Intellect; comprehension, knowledge and the sciences are now no longer its affair. It can elaborate only that which is given to it by the active Intellect. The latter produces not only these intelligibles but also all the substantial forms that are created in accordance with the models that it has conceived in conformity with the potentialities of matter. It is in this way, Ibn Sīnā replies to Plato's anxious question (*Parmenides*, 131 a-b), that the concrete being can share in the Idea. The active Intellect has an ability which Plato sought for in vain: it apprehends the two series of relative perceptions, both the forms with their mutual relationships and the concrete beings with their mutual relationships; in addition, it apprehends their common repository, which is its own essence (cf. Goichon, *La théorie des formes chez Avicenne*, in *Atti XII congr. intern. de filosofia*, ix, at 137-8). A reply is also given to the question of Aristotle as to the provenance of form and the contribution of the Ideas to sensible beings (*Metaph.*, Z 8 and M 5).

The human soul by itself can attain only the first three degrees of abstraction: sensation, imagination and the action of estimation that extracts individual non-sensible ideas. It then apprehends the intelligible that is given to it from outside. Intuition is due to its joining with the active Intellect.

Being and intelligence overflow like a river from the necessary Being and descend to the extreme limits of the created. There is an equally full re-ascent, produced by creatures' love and desire for their creators, as far as the supreme Principle, which corresponds to the abundance of this gift. This beautiful concept, which could derive only from a soul inclined towards religion, has been thought of as mystical. The *Risāla fi 'l-ʿis̲h̲ḳ*, "The Epistle on Love", however, is primarily a metaphysical explanation of the tendency of every being towards its

good, and a physical explanation of the motion of the stars; they imitate in their fashion, which is material, the unceasing action of the pure Act. The spheres, in fact, thus imitate the unceasing desire of the celestial Souls which correspond to each one of them. The rational soul of man tends towards its good with a conscious motion of apprehension of, and love for, the active Intellect, and, through it, for the necessary Being, which is pure Good. In the highest states, however, it can tend directly towards the latter.

Ibn Sīnā believed firmly in the immortality of the soul. Corruption cannot touch it, for it is immaterial. The proof of this immateriality lies in its capability of apprehending the intelligibles, which are in no way material. He is much more hesitant on the question of the resurrection of the body, which he at first admits in the *Shifā'* and the *Nadjāt*, and then denies in the epistle *Aḍhawiyya*, after indicating in the "Tale of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān" that this dogma is often an object of temptations. He appears finally to have decided to understand it in a symbolic sense.

Among the fierce controversies to which Avicenna's thought has given rise is the discussion as to whether or not he should be considered a mystic.

At first sight, the whole range of expressions that he uses to speak of love's re-ascending as far as to the Creator leads one to an affirmative interpretation —not in an esoteric way [see ḤAYY B. YAḲẒĀN], but in the positive sense of the love of God. The more one studies his philosophical doctrine, the more one finds that it illuminates these expressions. The stages of the Ṣūfīs, studied in the *Ishārāt*, leave rather the impression of experiences observed by a great, curious and respectful mind, which, however, does not participate. Ibn Sīnā is a believer, and this fact should be maintained in opposition to those who have made of him a lover of pleasure who narrowly escapes being a hypocrite, although there is so much seriousness in his life and such efforts to reconcile his philosophy with his faith—even if he is not always successful. He is far above the gnosis impregnated with occultism and paganism to which some would reduce him. Is he a mystic in the exact sense that the word has in Catholic theology? It reserves the word for one whose whole life is a great love of God, in a kind of intimacy of heart and thought with Him, so that God holds the first place in all things and everything is apprehended as related to Him. Had it been thus with Ibn Sīnā, his writings would give a totally different impression. Nevertheless, at bottom he did perhaps apprehend God. It is in the simple expression of apprehension through the heart, in the secret of the heart (*sirr*), in flashes, however short and infrequent, that we are led to see in him a beginning of true mystic apprehension, in opposition to the gnosis and its symbols, for at this depth of the heart there is no longer any need for words. One doubt, however, still enters in: his general doctrine of apprehension, and some of the terms that he uses, in fact, in texts on *sirr*, could be applied at least as well to a privileged connexion with the active Intellect, and not with God Himself (cf. Goichon, *Le "sirr" (l'intime du coeur) dans la doctrine avicennienne de la connaissance*). Again, on this question, the absence of his last great work, the "Eastern Philosophy", precludes a definite answer.

This irreparable lacuna in the transmission of his works does not allow us to understand in what respects he wished to complete, and even to correct, Aristotle, as he states in the prologue. As a hypothesis, suggested by his constant efforts to express the concrete and by his biography, we may suppose that he wished to make room for the oriental scientific tradition, which was more experimental than Greek science. The small alterations made to Aristotelian logic are slanted in this direction. In metaphysics, it is probable that he was shocked by the contradictions between Plotinus and Aristotle that were evident in the texts which the knowledge of the time attributed to one single author, and that he wished to resolve these anomalies by giving new explanations.

Influence of Ibn Sīnā. The transmission of Greek science by the Arabs, and the translation of the works of the Arabs into Latin, produced the first Renaissance in Southern Europe, which began in the 10th century in Sicily, flourished in the 12th round Toledo, and soon afterwards in France. The two principal works of Ibn Sīnā, the *Shifā'* and the *Ḳānūn*, made him an undisputed master in medicine, natural sciences and philosophy.

From the 12th to the 16th century the teaching and practice of medicine were based on him. The works of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī were also known, and he was considered to be a better clinician; but the *Ḳānūn* provided an irreplaceable didactic corpus, for the *Kitāb al-Kulliyyāt fi 'l-ṭibb* of Ibn Rushd corresponded only with the first part of the *Ḳānūn*. The latter was translated in its entirety between 1150 and 1187 by Gerard of Cremona, and, in all, eighty-seven translations of it were made, some of which were only partial. The majority were into Latin, but several Hebrew translations were also made, in Spain, Italy and the south of France. The medical translations are less good than those of the philosophical works; some words transcribed in Arabic from Greek were not understood or identified, and some Arabic technical terms were more or less transcribed in Latin, and remain incomprehensible. The *Ḳānūn* formed the basis of teaching at all the universities. It appears in the oldest known syllabus of teaching given to the School of Medicine at Montpellier, a bull of Clement V, dating from 1309, and in all subsequent ones until 1557. Ten years later Galen was preferred to Ibn Sīnā, but the latter continued to be taught until the 17th century. The editing of the Arabic text, at Rome in 1593, demonstrates the esteem in which he was still held. (On the teaching of the works of Avicenna in the universities, see A. Germain, *L'Ecole de médecine de Montpellier*..., Montpellier 1880, 71; Stephen d'Irsay, *Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères des origines à nos jours*, Paris 1933, i, 119; C. Elgood, *A medical history of Persia ... until the year 1932*, Cambridge 1951, 205-9). Chaucer reminds us in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* that no doctor should be ignorant of him. Almost all, in fact, possessed either fragments of the *Ḳānūn*, especially the "Fevers" and the "Diseases of the eyes", or shorter writings, the treatise on the pulse or that on "Diseases of the heart". All Arab authors, from the 7th/13th to the 10th/16th century, are dependent on Ibn Sīnā, even though they question him, like the father of Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar), or augment and correct him, like Ibn al-Nafīs, who recorded his discovery of pulmonary circulation in his commentary on the *Ḳānūn*; he wrote a summary of the *Ḳānūn* which any physician could obtain more easily than he could the original text.

In the West several physicians learned Arabic for the sake of the works of Ibn Sīnā. The first known influence appears in the works of a Dane, Henrik Harpestraeng, a royal physician who died in 1244. Arnold of Villeneuve, born at Valence, translated the treatise on the diseases of the heart, as well as

some of the books of al-Kindī and other Arab authors. Some surgeons also quoted him as their authority: William of Saliceto in Italy, and his disciple Lanfranc, the founder of surgery in France; Guy of Chauliac, who died in 1368, and whose teaching employed Arabic terms and doctrines. At the University of Bologna, anatomy was still being taught in Arabic terms in the 14th century.

The Renaissance brought a violent reaction; Leonardo da Vinci rejected Ibn Sīnā's anatomy, but, for want of another vocabulary, used the Arabic terms. Paracelsus burned the *Ḳānūn* at Basle. Harvey dealt him a severe blow by publishing his discovery of the major circulation in 1628.

The natural sciences presented in the *Shifā'* were much used by the mediaeval encyclopaedists, as were the treatises of al-Rāzī and apocryphal treatises. The "Treatise on Animals" was translated by Michael Scot; Albertus Magnus employed the mineralogy (on Ibn Sīnā's scientific influence, see G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, *passim.*). In physics, Ibn Sīnā was an Aristotelian, and as such inferior to al-Rāzī, who had discovered the existence of the vacuum, which he himself denied. However, he opposed the theory of the transmutation of metals, and hence alchemy (for citations to this effect from several Arab authors, see the introduction by Holmyard and Mandeville to their translation of *Avicennae De congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*, Paris 1927, 6-7).

Ibn Sīnā's influence in philosophy was less absolute and more disputed, but more lasting, for the use made of him by St Thomas Aquinas embodied certain of his proofs in Catholic theology (cf. Goichon, *La philosophie d'Avicenne et son influence en Europe médiévale*, Paris 1944, ch. III).

The translation of the *Shifā'* came at a moment when Aristotle was scarcely known, and that only through the "Posterior Analytics", the "Topics" and the "Refutation of the Sophists". The corpus that presented a "Metaphysics", the "Treatise on the Soul" and that on the "Heavens", etc. seemed to hold another significance. It was, however, thought to be a simple commentary on Aristotle. For a century it received unreserved admiration; when Aristotle was better known, it was still thought that the *Shifā'* augmented his work on the subject of the origin of the world, on God, the soul, the intelligence and angels. He was placed in the Neoplatonist and Augustinian traditions; his attempts to reconcile philosophy and faith corresponded with the ardent desires of the Schoolmen. He was forbidden by the decrees of 1210 and 1215, referring to "Aristoteles et sequaces ejus", which banned Ibn Sīnā from the Sorbonne. But his role remained undiminished in private discussions.

After acclaim for his similarities with Christian thought came criticism of his divergences from it, violently initiated by William of Auvergne in 1230. Nevertheless, a pontifical decree of Gregory IX, in 1231, once more permitted the study of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy. The lacunas, however, were now apparent. Nonetheless, the thought of all philosophers was nourished by his, to such a degree that it is impossible to tell what it would have been like without him. Latin scholasticism owes to his opponent, William of Auvergne, the fact that it received from him the distinction between essence and existence, which William considered that he had found in him.

Another current of thought, stemming from English centres of study, developed particularly in the Franciscan order. It saw Ibn Sīnā as more of a philosopher, augmenting Saint Augustine: the active Intellect was like the sun of minds and the internal Master. They believed that he opened up a whole mystic world. Roger Bacon and Duns Scotus were influenced by him. The latter, however, based his doctrine of the univocity of being on the same text that Thomas Aquinas had used to support the opposite doctrine.

Selection was gradually practised in the corpus of Ibn Sīnā. He took his definitive place, together with Saint Thomas Aquinas. The distinction between essence and existence became one of the fundamentals of Thomist philosophy. It gave an explanation for the immateriality of angels; Saint Thomas's *De Ente et Essentia* is imbued with Avicennism. The better the theologian masters his own thought, the less he cites Ibn Sīnā (see the quotations in Vansteenkiste, *op. cit.*), but he still respects him. Saint Thomas's commentators, Cajetan and Jean de Saint-Thomas, writing respectively at the end of the 15th century and during the 17th, still allotted to Ibn Sīnā the place that he had taken in Thomism, the place that is definitely his.

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(A.-M. GOICHON)

IBN SĪRĪN, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD, the first renowned Muslim interpreter of dreams, was also, according to Ibn Saʿd (vii/1, 140), a traditionist "of great trustworthiness, who inspired confidence, great and worthy, well-versed in jurisprudence. He was an *imām* of great scholarship and piety". Born two years before the end of the caliphate of ʿUthmān, *i.e.*, in 34/654, he was the contemporary and friend of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*] and died in the same year as he, in 110/728. His father, a tinker from Djardjarāyā, had been taken prisoner in ʿIrāḳ (at Maysān or at ʿAyn al-Tamr) by Khālid b. al-Walīd; he then became a slave of Anas b. Mālik who was ordered by the caliph ʿUmar to set him free by contract of enfranchisement (see Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, ii, 50, no. 1, p. 127). His mother, Ṣafiyya, was a slave of the caliph Abū Bakr; she was held in such esteem within the community that when she died her laying-out was performed by three of the Prophet's wives, and eighteen *Badrīs*, led by Ubayy b. Kaʿb, were present at her burial.

Muḥammad was a cloth merchant, but this does not seem to have earned him enough to live on, since he died in debt (on the origin of this debt, cf. the various opinions reported by Ibn Saʿd, 144 f.). He is reputed to have had thirty children by the same Arab wife, only one of whom survived. He was at one period the secretary of Anas b. Mālik, who had requested that Ibn Sīrīn should lay him out and lead his funeral prayer. In order to do this, he had to be released from prison for one day.

So renowned was he for his piety and for the reliability of the information which he handed on that a century later al-Aṣmaʿī was to say of him: "When the deaf man [Ibn Sīrīn was deaf] relates traditions, clasp your hands" (probably as a sign of the intense interest aroused by his statements). Full details of his life are to be found in Ibn Khallikān, no. 576.

The pages which Ibn Saʿd (*op. cit.*, 140-50) devotes to Muḥammad b. Sīrīn prove the seriousness with which he acted as a *muḥaddith*. He said: "This science is religion; take care from whom you learn it" (141). In the chain of transmitters of *ḥadīths* in which his name appears there are found also, in particular, those of Abū Hurayra, Zayd b. Thābit, Anas b. Mālik, Yaḥyā b. al-Djazzār, and Shurayḥ. Especially noticeable among those who have transmitted his *ḥadīths* are Ḳatāda and Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ. He was opposed to the written transmission of traditions (*ibid.*), and regarded the cunning questions which he was asked, particularly on the subject of predestination, as having been prompted

by devils (143). He was capable of laughter and joking, but he had a quick temper, which led to a comparison between his irascibility and the mildness of his friend al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (142). Several details of his behaviour, of his way of dressing, of his scruples over anything unlawful and of his private devotions show him to have been very pious and also very eccentric.

Much less is known of Ibn Sīrīn's activity as a *muʿabbir*, although this finally eclipsed that of *muḥaddith*. In fact Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), although he does not fail to mention his ability to interpret dreams, certainly does not stress this, whereas he does include a whole list of dreams interpreted by Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (v, 91-3) who was the true ancestor of Arab dream interpretation (see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 309-12). It was, however, in about the middle of the 3rd/9th century that his fame as an interpreter of dreams began to be attested: several of his interpretations are mentioned in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of al-Djāḥiẓ and his ability as an interpreter was known also to Ibn Ḳutayba (see *ibid.*, 313 ff.).

From the 4th/10th century onwards he was credited with works on the interpretation of dreams (see *Fihrist*, 316), the diversity of whose titles, and the contents and the late character of which show them to have been the work of forgers anxious to acquire for their writings the authority and prestige of a *tābiʿī* of the second generation. The first of these writings is the *Taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*, published several times in Egypt; the second is the *Muntakhab al-kalām fī taʿbīr al-aḥlām*, a compilation made, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Khalīlī al-Dārī (see T. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 335, no. 27) and printed in the margin of the first volume of the *Taʿṭīr al-anām fī taʿbīr al-manām* of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (see *ibid.*, 348, no. 85). It is on this compilation that there is based the *thèse complémentaire* by A. Abdel Daïm on *L'Oniromancie arabe d'après Ibn Sīrīn*. Other unpublished writings which bear his name are: *Tafsīr al-aḥlām* (or *al-manām* or *al-manāmāt*); *K. al-luʾluʾ fī taʿbīr al-manām*; *K. al-Tanwīr fī ruʾyat al-taʿbīr*; *K. al-Djawāmiʿ*; etc. His name is also found as the author of treatises in Turkish, Persian, Greek and Latin. The references to the editions and the manuscripts of all these works are to be found *apud* T. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 355, no. 117.

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IBN AL-SITRĪ [see IBN AL-BAWWĀB].

IBN SŪDA (SAWDA), name of a number of Mālikī scholars and *ḳāḍī*s of Fez belonging to an Andalusian family which had emigrated to Tāwda (present name Fās al-Bālī), about 80 km. north-north-west of Fez, and was therefore known by the name of Tāwdī.

1. ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM IBN ABĪ MUḤAMMAD ḲĀSIM IBN SŪDA AL-MURRĪ AL-GHARNĀṬĪ, died at Fez on 25 Shawwāl 1004/22 June 1596, was *ḳāḍī* of Taza, of Marrākush and of Fez (see al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, 100; al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, i, 34; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, ii, 61; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, index).

2. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD IBN SŪDA (d. 1076/1666) was *ḳāḍī* of Fez (see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 402).

3. ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ṬĀLIB AL-TĀWDĪ, died at Fez on 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1209/17 July 1795, is the most famous member of the Banū Sūda family; Lévi-Provençal (*Chorfa*, 332) even considers him as "one of the greatest scholars that Morocco has produced". After having been the pupil of the leading scholars of Fez, he was initiated into Ṣūfism, then taught in his native town *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, *taṣawwuf*, *kalām*, logic and *uṣūl*; his learning earned him the honorific title of *shaykh al-djamāʿa*. In 1191/1777-8, he went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca and spent quite a long time in the holy cities and in Cairo, where he gave lectures and met notably the *shaykh* Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, author of *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, which mentions him under *S.W.D.* At Fez, he was the teacher of the majority of the Moroccan scholars of his time and in particular of Ibn ʿAdjība [*q.v.*]. He wrote a number of glosses and commentaries, among which may be mentioned: (1) *Ṭāliʿ al-amānī ʿalā sharḥ al-Zarḳānī* [*q.v.*]; (2) a *sharḥ* of the *Tuḥfa* of Ibn ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*] (Cairo, in the margin of the commentary on the *Tuḥfa* by al-Tasūlī); (3) a commentary on the *Lāmiyya* of al-Zaḳḳāḳ [*q.v.*] (MS Rabat, no. 1486; this *sharḥ* has been the subject of a gloss, MS Rabat, no. 1438); (4) *Zād al-mudjidd al-sārī fī maṭāliʿ al-Bukhārī*, a commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, published at Fez 1328-30, 4 vols.; (5-6) *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ bi-sharḥ al-Djāmiʿ* of Khalīl [*q.v.*] (MS Rabat, 40, 514) also a *Taḳyīd ʿala 'l-Djāmiʿ al-mansūb li-Khalīl* (MS Rabat, no. 1414); (7) *Manāsik al-ḥadjdj*; (8) *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān* (MS Rabat, no. 1395; MS of the Real Acad. de Cordoba [see *al-Mulk*, iv (1964-5), 108]); (9) finally a *Fahrasa* [*q.v.*] (MS Rabat, no. 414 bis).

Bibliography: Ifrānī, *Ṣawfa*, 159; Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, iv, 134; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 71; Fuḍaylī, *al-Durar al-bahiyya*, ii, 294; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 332-4; ʿA. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī*, Beirut 1961, i, 293-4; Brockelmann, S II, 689 (see also S I, 263[24], S II, 375).

4. ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD (1153-1235/1740-1820), son and pupil of the above, was *ḳāḍī* of Fez and took part in the preparation of a commentary on the 40 *ḥadīth*s of al-Nawawī (MS Rabat, no. 55). See al-Kattānī, *Salwa*, i, 115; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, i, 115.

5. ABU 'L-FAḌL AL-ʿABBĀS B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, died 26 Djumādā I 1241/6 January 1826, *ḳāḍī* of Fez (see al-Kattānī, *Salwa*, i, 116; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, index).

6. ABŪ ʿĪSĀ MUḤAMMAD AL-MAHDĪ B. AL-ṬĀLIB MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD (1220-94/1805-77), was also a Mālikī *faḳīh* and a philologist. In 1269/1853 he performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca, of which he left an account, *al-Riḥla al-ḥidjāziyya*. He wrote also various glosses, in particular a *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ al-Samarḳandī* [*q.v.*] *ʿala 'l-Risāla al-ʿaḍudiyya* of al-Īdjī [*q.v.*] (MS Rabat, no. 309) and a *Kitāb fi 'l-radd ʿalā taʾlīf Muḥammad Akansūs* [see AKANṢŪS] (MS Rabat, no. 513).

7. ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-WĀḤID B. AḤMAD was *ḳāḍī* of al-Ḳaṣr and a preacher at Fez; he died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1299/October 1882. See al-Kattānī, *Salwa*, i, 121; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 380.

8. ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. AL-ṬĀLIB (1241-1321/1826-1903), a man of great learning in religion and philology, was *ḳāḍī* at Azemmour in 1280/1863-4, then at Tangier in 1292/1875, and finally, in 1294/1877, at Meknès, where he also held the office of

preacher. Among his more important works are a gloss on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, a *risāla* on the *Basmala* and a *Raf' al-lubs wa 'l-shubuhāt 'an thubūt al-sharaf min ḳibal al-ummahāt*, Cairo 1231.

Bibliography: apart from the sources mentioned in this article, see *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif*, iii, 208-9; Sulaymān al-Ḥawwāt (1160-1231/1747-1816) wrote *al-Rawḍa al-maḳṣūda wa 'l-ḥulal al-mamdūda fī ma'āthir Banī Sūda*, a biography of the family of the Banū Sūda from its beginning to Muḥammad al-Tawdī (3) who was the teacher of al-Ḥawwāt, to his son Abu 'l-'Abbās (4) and even to his grandson Abu 'l-Faḍl (5), who was in his turn the pupil of the author; a microfilm of this work is said to exist in the Rabat library.

(Ed.).

IBN SULAYM al-ASWĀNĪ, 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, a Fāṭimid *dā'ī*, author of *Kitāb Akhbār al-Nūba wa 'l-Muḳurra wa 'Alwa wa 'l-Budja wa 'l-Nīl*. He was sent on a special mission to Nubia by Djawhar al-Siḳillī [*q.v.*], probably in 365/975. He persuaded King George of Nubia to resume the delivery of the *baḳṭ* [*q.v.*], which had lately been withheld, but failed in debate to convert the court to Islam. He travelled into the southern Nubian kingdom of 'Alwa, but there is no evidence that he actually toured the country of the Budja. His book is known only from excerpts transcribed by al-Maḳrīzī in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, and by Ibn Iyās in *Nashḳ al-azhār*, the latter text appearing on comparison to be an abridgement of the former. The extant passages are, however, one of the principal mediaeval sources on the eastern *bilād al-Sūdān*, and provide data in four categories: a geographical survey of the region, its historical background, an invaluable account of the contemporary situation, and some legendary narratives.

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(Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan)

IBN SURAYDJ, Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Umar, a famous Shāfi'ī scholar and polemicist of the 3rd/9th century. His grandfather, Suraydj (d. 235/849-50), had been a pious traditionist (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Juynboll, i, 709 f.; Cairo ed., ii, 281 f.). He is considered the most prominent Shāfi'ī scholar after Shāfi'ī's own companions, and some ranked him even higher than al-Muzanī [*q.v.*]. His main teacher was 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Anmāṭī (d. 288/901), a disciple of Muzanī. The tradition according to which each century would see a renovator of Islam was applied to him by the Shāfi'īs. He disputed on questions of *fiḳh*, not indeed with Dāwūd b. Khalaf [*q.v.*] (information to this effect is apocryphal), but with Dāwūd's son, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, in the presence of the *wazīr* 'Alī b. 'Īsā [*qq.v.*], with whom he became friendly; numerous anecdotes are related of these often stormy sessions. During his earlier years, Ibn Suraydj was *ḳāḍī* in Shīrāz, and he was also active as a traditionist in a small way; towards the end of his life, 'Alī b. 'Īsā wanted to make him *ḳāḍī* of Baghdād, it is said, but he refused. Ibn Suraydj had visited, out of curiosity, a teaching session of al-Djunayd [*q.v.*]; he did not feel himself drawn to mysticism but kept an objective attitude towards it; when at the beginning of the investigation of al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], about 297/909, he was asked for a *fatwā* concerning him, he refrained from giving an opinion, declaring himself ignorant of his source of inspiration. This episode is quite neglected by his biographers. Ibn Suraydj died in Baghdād in 306/918 (305 according to the *Fihrist*), at the age of 57 years and 6 months.

Of the extensive literary activity of Ibn Suraydj, which is said to have run to more than 400 titles (*muṣannaf*), nothing seems to have been preserved; al-Ghazālī refers to his *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* (quoted by al-Subkī, ii, 96), Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī to his *Kitāb al-Ziyādāt*, and al-Asnawī possessed his *Kitāb al-Furūḳ fi 'l-furū'* (cf. *Islamica*, ii/4, 1927, 505-37 on this type of literature) and his *Kitāb al-Waḍā'i'* (on deposits). Other titles mentioned include a *Kitāb Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiḳh*, a *Kitāb al-Ghunya fi 'l-furū'*, a *Kitāb al-'Ayn wa 'l-dayn*, and a *Kitāb al-Farā'iḍ*. (The *Kitāb al-Khiṣāl fi 'l-furū'*, however, which according to al-Subkī was not worth much, is probably by his son, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar, who is also the author of a *Tadhkirat al-'ālim wa 'l-muta'allim*; on him, see al-Subkī, ii, 313; Wüstenfeld, no. 75). Ibn Suraydj further wrote a number of polemical treatises against his opponents, both Ḥanafīs and Ẓāhirīs, and the *ahl al-kalām* [see 'ilm al-kalām]; this is perhaps why the *Fihrist* calls him also a *mutakallim*, although nothing is known of a particular interest of his in theology. So we hear of a *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan*, a *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā 'Īsā b. Abān* (a Ḥanafī scholar, d. 221/836), a *Kitāb al-Taḳrīb bayn al-Muzanī wa 'l-Shāfi'ī*, a *Kitāb Djawāb al-Ḳāshānī*, a *Kitāb fi 'l-radd 'ala 'bn Dāwūd fi 'l-ḳiyās*, "and another refuting him (*i.e.*, Ibn Dāwūd) on questions on which he had been in opposition to al-Shāfi'ī".

Ibn Suraydj has given its name to the hotly debated problem of the *Mas'ala al-Suraydjiyya*, or "vicious circle of repudiation" (*dawr al-ṭalāḳ*, *al-mas'ala al-dā'ira*). If a man says to his wife : "If I repudiate you, consider yourself to have been already repudiated by me three times", and then repudiates her once, two (or with a variant, three) answers are possible: either nothing but the repudiation not subject to the condition is effective (or, as an alternative, it is effective and two repudiations of the lot which was made conditional, are added to it, making up the allowed maximum of three repudiations), or no repudiation at all takes place, because, if the repudiation not subject to the condition is effective, three repudiations earlier than it have already taken place, and if this is the case, there is no marriage in which that first repudiation could have effect, and if this is the case, the three repudiations made conditional on it can also have no effect, so no repudiation at all takes place. Ibn Suraydj was no doubt the first to formulate the dilemma (it is most improbable that al-Shāfi'ī himself should have done so and have laid down the second answer, as is sometimes asserted), and the kind of reasoning behind it corresponds to the reasoning apparent from Ibn Suraydj's reported treatment of some other problems (al-Subkī, ii, 93 f.), and for which some veiled criticism was levelled at him (al-Nawawī, al-Dhahabī). Ibn Suraydj's own answer is open to doubt, but he seems to have favoured first the second, and later the first answer. The Shāfi'ī scholars, up to the time of al-Ghazālī, remained under the spell of the reasoning leading to the second answer; al-Ghazālī himself, when he was on the point of breaking away from the scholastic technicalities of *fiḳh*, nevertheless recom-

mended the second answer as a possible escape for people who had been forced to take an oath of secrecy, under penalty of automatic repudiation, by the Bāṭinīs (Ismāʿīlīs [*q.v.*]), but he later adopted the opposite opinion; the final doctrine of the Shāfiʿī school, as for instance expressed by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī and his commentators, most definitely insists on the first answer. Of Ibn Suraydj, the originator of the problem, the traditionist al-Dārakuṭnī [*q.v.*] says: "He would have been perfect, were it not that he had thrown among the Muslims the question of the vicious circle of repudiation" (Ibn Taghrībirdī), but the Shāfiʿī scholar Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 477/1083; Brockelmann, I, 388, S I, 671) declared that he was not responsible for it.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 213; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, no. 2044; al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ*, Baghdād 1346, 89 f.; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 389 f. (obiter); al-Nawawī, *Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 739-41; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, s.v. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, *ṭabaḳa* 11, no. 27 (Ḥaydarābād 1334, iii, 30-2); Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, ii, 87-96; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imam el-Schâfiʿî*, ii, Göttingen 1891, no. 75 (based on Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 203; Cairo ed., iii, 194; L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, 34, 164-7; Brockelmann, S I 306, ult. (obiter). On the *Masʾala al-Suraydjiyya*: Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, 78 f.; Arabic text, 57 f.; (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1964/1382, 168); L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, 586; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *al-Tuḥfa*, and commentaries, *Kitāb al-ṭalāḳ* (ed. Būlāḳ 1290, iii, 419 ff.; Cairo 1305, vii, 112 ff.).

(J. Schacht)

IBN SURAYDJ, ʿUbayd Allāh Abū Yaḥyā, one of the great singers of the early Ḥidjāzī school of Arabic music, was born in Mecca in 40/660. His father was a slave of Turkish origin, his mother a *mawlāt* of the Banū Muṭṭalib. He was favoured by the generous cousin of the Prophet, ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*]. Before he became a singer he was a mourner (*nāʾiḥ*) who lamented the dead at funerals. His teacher in music was Ibn Misdjaḥ [*q.v.*]. His greatest pupil was al-Gharīḍ [*q.v.*], who finally outshone his master. Ibn Suraydj's art was highly appreciated by the élite of Mecca, and he was invited by al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik to Damascus. According to Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī he composed 68 melodies, 63 of which were original; one of them belongs to the "three hundred selected airs". He preferred the light rhythms *ramal* and *hazadj*, but mastered also the "heavy" rhythms. He used to improvise his songs and to accompany himself on the Persian flute. He set to music poems of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa and other poets. He moved his audience to tears, for his song came from the heart, not from the head. Some of his melodies go under the name of his son-in-law Saʿīd b. Masʿūd al-Hudhalī. He died of elephantiasis in Mecca in 96/714, but other dates (even as late as 126/744) are also given. His death was lamented by Kathīr b. Kathīr (al-Sahmī).

Ibn Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī wrote an *Akhbār Maʿbad wa-Ibn Suraydj* (*Fihrist*, 141, 9) and Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī a *Kitāb Ibn Suraydj* (*Fihrist*, 148, 9).

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, Index and especially ³i, 248-323; Farmer, *Ar. music*, index. (J. W. Fück)

IBN SUʿŪD [see suʿūd, Āl].

IBN al-TAʿĀWĪDHĪ, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh, better known under the name of Sibṭ Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī, official and poet of the Ayyūbid period, d. 584/1188, author of a substantial *dīwān*. The more perceptive critics agree in crediting him with finesse and delicacy, that is to say, with a perfectly harmonious use of the Arabic language. It is said that his poems were plagiarized and copied by other poets. In the eyes of the public, he united the charm of melody with the distinction of perfect form. He liked to write of the passion "which guides and which leads astray", the intoxication of the first glance which plunges the soul into confusion. His life was free of any great tragedy except that he became blind in his old age, which caused him to fall into the deepest melancholy. He lived during the reigns of the caliphs al-Mustandjid, al-Mustaḍīʾ and al-Nāṣir. Continually seeking for patronage and reward, but too independent to attach himself permanently to one master, he attempted to gain the sympathy of the famous vizier Ibn al-Baladī [*q.v.*]. It is probable that the latter, who at times had himself suffered from the biting satires of Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī, turned a deaf ear to the poet's complaints and petitions. Later he sedulously cultivated the friendship of the caliph al-Nāṣir, which did not however prevent his dedicating enthusiastic panegyrics to Saladin. His powerful and vivid language lacked none of the conceits likely to appeal to the wits of the period. Shameless and fickle, he did not hesitate to mingle his own personal interests with the great lyric themes inherited from early times; any subject was a pretext for a poem: the granting of a fur for which he asks insistently, or of fodder for his horse, grown thin from too long a fast. Ibn Taʿāwīdhī, in spite of some brilliant passages, does not seem to have had any more continuity in his style than in his life. Although the details of his life do not always give a very edifying picture of his character, there is no doubt that he was a talented writer both of prose (he wrote a sarcastic *al-Ḥadjaba wa 'l-ḥidjāb* in fifteen sections) and of verse, of which he is generally regarded as being one of the outstanding authors of his period.

Bibliography: Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, x, 278; Brockelmann, I, 249, S I, 442; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 281; Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb Maskūnī, *Sibṭ Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī*, *Dīwān*, published in Cairo by Margoliouth in *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, 1321/1903.

(J.-C. Vadet)

IBN ṬABĀṬABĀ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl al-Dībādj b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghamr b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā, Ḥasanid, d. 1 Radjab 199/15 February 815.

The sources generally give the by-name of Ṭabāṭabā to Muḥammad's grandfather, who owed it to a defect in pronunciation, but the *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* calls his father Ibrāhīm by this name and explains it by relating an anecdote according to which Ismāʿīl, ordering a garment for his son, said *ṭabā* instead of *ḳabā*. This same text states however that the expression *ṭabāṭabā* means, in the common language, *sayyid al-sādāt* (of ʿAlid descent on both the father's and the mother's side, a meaning which this word still retains in Persian).

He lived mainly at Medina and his descendants disappeared after a series of migrations (to Ethiopia and to Kirmān).

While his nephews, the grandsons of Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl, are often referred to as good poets, his own reputation is linked with the Zaydī revolt which took place in Kūfa under the effective command of Abu 'l-Sarāyā [*q.v.*] in 199/815. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's political ambitions seem to have been awakened by Naṣr b. Shabath (Shabīb in the *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*), who

sought him out at Medina during the *ḥadjdj* (probably of 198), preferring him as *imām* to the Ḥasanid ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh and to the Ḥusaynid ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, who refused to become involved personally in an armed conflict, in accordance with the usual attitude of the Ahl al-Bayt. Once in ʿIrāḳ, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā encountered the opposition of Naṣr's collaborators, who seem to have abandoned him and offered him as compensation the sum of 5,000 *dīnārs*, which he refused. Returning towards the Ḥidjāz, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā stopped at ʿĀnāt, where he succeeded in contacting Abu 'l-Sarāyā, who was engaged in organizing the revolt. While the ʿAlid was with difficulty gathering together a few inadequately armed citizens at Kūfa, where he had immediately gone, Abu 'l-Sarāyā was arming a small group of Zaydīs around the tomb of al-Ḥusayn, and arrived on the day appointed in the suburb of Kūfa chosen in advance. The two groups went together towards the town, where Abu 'l-Sarāyā pronounced a *khuṭba* which included all the Muʿtazilī principles, the ideological basis of the Zaydī revolts; then he obtained, with some difficulty, the investiture of his leader (in the *ʿUmda*: *amīr al-muʾminīn*) on 10 Djumādā I 199/27 December 814, as had been predicted by a *ḥadīth* going back to Zayd b. ʿAlī.

The revolt went through various phases; it began with some victories due in part to the negligence of the enemy commander, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who was occupied in studying the horoscope of the ʿAlid. But Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, merely the nominal leader of the revolt, played only a small part in this event, although some sources mention his receiving a wound outside the gate of Kūfa. The ʿAlid, gravely ill, or rather, according to al-Ṭabarī, poisoned by Abu 'l-Sarāyā himself, welcomed the latter after the victory over al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, but reproached him for having organized night attacks. However, he expressed to him his last wishes, in particular concerning the new *imām*, who was to be ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh. Although such a definite nomination might have been expected to give rise to contradictory proposals, ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh found himself with the task of choosing the new *imām*, he himself having refused this position on the grounds that others were more entitled to it; he proposed Muḥammad b. Zayd, who, with the assent of Abu 'l-Sarāyā, was elected.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Cairo 1368/1949, 518-36; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib*, Nadjaf 1337/1918, 161; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, vi, Tabriz 1333/1955, 62-4; C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imamat zaidite au Yémen*, Leiden 1960, 95-101.

(B. Scarcia Amoretti)

IBN TAGHRĪBIRDĪ [see abu 'l-maḥāsin].

IBN TAYMIYYA, Taḳī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya, born at Ḥarrān on 10 Rabīʿ I 661/22 January 1263 and died at Damascus on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 728/26 September 1328, Ḥanbalī theologian and jurisconsult. Belonging to a family which had already given to this school two well-known scholars, his uncle Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 622/1225) and his paternal grandfather Madjd al-Dīn (d. 653/1255), Ibn Taymiyya was forced to leave his native town in 667/1269 before the approach of the Mongols and to take refuge in Damascus with his father ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm (d. 682/1284) and his three brothers. It was at Damascus, where his father was the director of the Sukkariyya *madrasa*, that he was educated; among his teachers was Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maḳdisī (d. 682/1283), who was the first Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Syria after the reform of the judiciary by Baybars. He succeeded his father in his office at the Sukkariyya and, on 2 Muḥarram 683/21 March 1284, gave his first lesson there. One year later, on 10 Ṣafar 684/17 April 1285, he began to teach Ḳurʾānic exegesis at the Umayyad Mosque.

He performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca towards the end of 691/November 1292 and was back in Damascus in 692/February 1293, bringing with him from this journey the subject matter of his treatise on the *Manāsik al-ḥadjdj* in which he denounced a certain number of *bidʿas* in the ritual of the Pilgrimage (*MRK*, ii, 365-401).

Ibn Taymiyya's first incursion into political life took place in 693/1293, at the time of the affair of ʿAssāf al-Naṣrānī, a Christian of Suwaydāʾ who was accused of having insulted the Prophet: Ibn Taymiyya's intransigeance in this affair led to his being imprisoned for the first time, at the ʿAdhrāwiyya. On this occasion he wrote his first great work, the *K. al-Ṣārim al-maslūl ʿalā shātim al-Rasūl* (Ḥaydarābād 1322/1905).

On 17 Shaʿbān 695/20 June 1296, Ibn Taymiyya began to teach at the Ḥanbaliyya, the oldest Ḥanbalī *madrasa* of Damascus, where he succeeded one of his teachers, Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Munadjdjā, who had just died.

During the reign of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Lādjīn (696-8/1297-9) he was appointed by the sultan to exhort the faithful to the *djihād* at the time of the expedition undertaken by the sultan against the kingdom of Little Armenia. At almost the same time, in 698/1299, he wrote, at the request of the people of Ḥamāt, one of his most famous professions of faith, *al-Ḥamawiyya al-kubrā*, very hostile to Ashʿarism and to *kalām* (*MRK*, i, 414-69).

Accused by his enemies of anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*), Ibn Taymiyya refused to appear before the Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 745/1344-5), on the grounds that this *ḳāḍī* had not received from the sultan powers of jurisdiction in matters of dogma. After a private meeting, held in the house of the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* Imām al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 699/1299-1300), at which the *Ḥamawiyya* was studied, Ibn Taymiyya, whose replies are said to have been judged satisfactory, was troubled no further.

During the Mongol invasion in 699/1300, led by the Īlkhān Ghāzān with the support of the Mamlūk *amīr* Ḳibdjaḳ, Ibn Taymiyya was, at Damascus, one of the spokesmen of the resistance party. In addition, he took part, in Shawwāl 699/June 1300, in the expedition which the Mamlūk authorities undertook against the Shīʿīs of Kasrawān who were accused of helping the Franks and the Mongols.

In 700/1300, when a new Mongol threat arose, he was instructed to exhort people to the *djihād* and went to Cairo, in Djumādā I 700/January 1301, to ask the Mamlūk sultan Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn to intervene in Syria. In 702/1303, at the time of the new Mongol invasion, he was present at the victory of Shaḳḥab, on 4 Ramaḍān 702/22 April 1303, where he had been instructed to issue a *fatwā* on the dispensation from the duty of fasting for those who were fighting.

The years which followed were marked by intense polemic activity. In 704/1305, he attacked a certain Ibrāhīm al-Ḳaṭṭān, accused of using *ḥashīsh*, and another *shaykh*, Muḥammad al-Khabbāz, who was accused, among other things, of antinomianism. At about the same time he went with some stone-

masons to smash a sacred rock in the mosque of al-Narandj (*Bidāya*, xiv, 34). He also took up arms against the Ittiḥādiyya, supporters of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240-1), and sent to one of their most prominent members, the *shaykh* Naṣr al-Dīn al-Manbidjī, the spiritual director of Baybars al-Djāshnikīr, a letter which was courteous, but nevertheless firmly condemned the monism of Ibn al-ʿArabī (*MRM*, i, 161-83). Towards the end of the year 704/July 1305, he took part in a new expedition against the *Rawāfiḍ* of Kasrawān and, on his return, attacked in Damascus the Aḥmadiyya Rifāʿiyya, whose *shaykh* was accused of Mongol sympathies (*MRM*, i, 121-46).

His enemies then renewed their attacks on his *credo* and cast doubts on the correctness of his profession of faith *al-Wāsiṭiyya*, written shortly before the arrival of the Mongols in Damascus. Two councils were held on 8 and 12 Radjab 705/24 and 28 January 1306, at the residence of the governor of Damascus, al-Afram. The second council, a member of which was Ṣāfī al-Dīn al-Hindī (d. 715/1315), a pupil of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209-10), found that the *Wāsiṭiyya* "was in conformity with the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna*".

The affair seemed to be finished. However the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-Ṣarṣarī (d. 723/1323), a pupil of Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 688/1289), set about reopening it, having several of Ibn Taymiyya's pupils beaten and imprisoning the traditionist al-Mizzī (d. 743/1342-3). A third council was held at the governor's residence on 7 Shaʿbān 705/22 February 1306, on the sultan's orders. Again the *Wāsiṭiyya* was not condemned, and Ibn al-Ṣarṣarī resigned. The two adversaries were finally sent to Cairo, where they arrived on 22 Ramaḍān 705/7 April 1306.

The very day after his arrival, Ibn Taymiyya appeared before a new council which was held in the Citadel and consisted of a number of high officials of the state and the four *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Egypt. Ibn Taymiyya was accused of anthropomorphism and condemned to imprisonment. He remained in the Citadel of Cairo for nearly a year and a half, until 26 Rabīʿ I 707/25 September 1307. He was released on the intervention of the *amīr* Salār, the rival of Baybars al-Djāshnikīr, and of the Bedouin *amīr* Muhannā b. ʿĪsā (d. 736/1335-6), for whom he wrote, at a date not known, *al-ʿAḳīda al-tadmuriyya* (Cairo 1325/1908).

Granted his liberty, but not authorized to return to Syria, Ibn Taymiyya, who continued to denounce all the innovations (*bidʿa*) which he regarded as heretical, soon encountered the opposition of two of the most influential Ṣūfīs of Egypt: Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 709/1309-10), a pupil of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mursī, and Karīm al-Dīn al-Amulī (d. 710/1310-11), the head of the *Dār Saʿīd al-suʿadāʾ*. Following a popular demonstration, he was summoned, in Shawwāl 707/end of March 1308, before the *Shāfiʿī ḳāḍī* Badr al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa, who questioned him on his interpretation of the doctrine of the intercession of the saints (*tawassul*; *istighātha*). He was authorized to return to Syria but was nevertheless held in Cairo and imprisoned for several months in the prison of the *ḳāḍīs*.

The coming to power of Baybars al-Djāshnikīr, proclaimed sultan in 708/1309, was to re-open a period of persecutions. On the last night of Ṣafar 709/7-8 August 1309, Ibn Taymiyya was taken, under strong guard, to Alexandria, where he was put under house arrest. Lodged in a tower of the sultan's palace, permitted to receive visits and to write, Ibn Taymiyya, during the seven months which his exile was to last, was able to meet at Alexandria Maghribīs who were passing through, and wrote some important works, among them a long refutation (now lost) of the *Murshida* of Ibn Tūmart, and the *Radd ʿala 'l-Manṭiḳiyyīn* (Bombay 1368/1949). Restored to the throne on 1 Shawwāl 709/4 March 1310, Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn released Ibn Taymiyya and received him in audience in Cairo (*Bidāya*, xiv, 53-4).

Ibn Taymiyya was back in Cairo on 8 Shawwāl 709/11 March 1310 and remained there again for about three years. He was occasionally consulted by Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (al-Malik al-Nāṣir) on Syrian affairs and continued to teach privately and to give answers to the various enquiries which were addressed to him. It was at this time that he began, if not the final redaction, at least the development of his treatise on juridical policy, the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, the date of which may be put at between 711/1311 and 714/1315 (cf. the Fr. tr. by H. Laoust, Damascus (PIFD) 1948, and Eng. tr. by Omar A. Farrukh, Beirut 1966; latest ed. by Muḥammad al-Mubārak, Beirut 1967). Several of the *Fatāwā miṣriyya* (Cairo 1368/1949) also date from this period.

A new Mongol threat, rapidly dispelled, caused Ibn Taymiyya to return to Damascus, where he arrived, after a brief stay in Jerusalem, on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 712/28 February 1313. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who had preceded him by one week, had left on the Pilgrimage; on his return to Damascus on 11 Muḥarram 713/8 May 1313, he took various measures of administrative and financial reorganization. In addition, a new governor of Damascus, the *amīr* Tankiz (d. 740/1340), had been appointed in Rabīʿ II 712/August 1312.

It was under the governorate of Tankiz that Ibn Taymiyya spent his last fifteen years. Promoted to the rank of professor, and considered by his supporters as an independant *mudjtahid*, he now had as his chief pupil Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]), who did much to spread his ideas and indeed shared some of his persecution. Relations between Ḥanbalīs and Ashʿarīs continued often to be strained, as is proved by the incident in Muḥarram 716/April 1316 which again saw the two schools in disagreement on the question of dogma (*Bidāya*, xiv, 75-6).

Towards the end of 716/February 1317 and in the following months, Ibn Taymiyya was involved in the affair concerning Ḥumayḍa, the *amīr* of Mecca who had formed an agreement with the Īlkhān Khudābanda (d. 716/1316) in order that there should prevail in Mecca a policy favourable to Shīʿism; it seems to have been at about this time that Ibn Taymiyya wrote the *Minhādj al-sunna al-nabawiyya* (Cairo 1321/1904; reprinted), in which he attacked the Imāmī theologian al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) (cf. H. Laoust, *La critique du sunnisme dans la doctrine d'al-Ḥillī*, in *REI*, 1966, 35-60).

However the persecutions were soon to recommence. In 718/1318, a letter from the sultan forbade Ibn Taymiyya to issue any *fatwās* on repudiation (*ṭalāḳ*) contrary to the prevailing Ḥanbalī doctrine; he was criticized for denying the validity of uniting three repudiations into one single one and for considering the oath (*ḥalf*) of repudiation as a single oath if the person who uttered it did not intend to proceed to an actual repudiation. Two councils were held on the matter, presided over

by Tankiz, in 718/1318 and 719/1319. A third council, held on 20 Radjab 720/26 August 1320, accused Ibn Taymiyya of infringing the sultan's prohibition and condemned him to prison.

Ibn Taymiyya was immediately arrested and imprisoned in the Citadel at Damascus, where he remained for slightly over five months, and was released, on 10 Muḥarram 721/9 February 1321, by a decree from al-Malik al-Nāṣir. He is mentioned in the years that followed as taking part in various incidents in the religious or political life of Egypt and Syria (cf. *REI*, 1960, 32-3).

On 16 Shaʿbān 726/18 July 1326, Ibn Taymiyya was again arrested, without any further trial, and was deprived of the right to issue *fatwās* by a decree of the sultan which was read out in the Umayyad Mosque. He was criticized because of his *risāla* on visits to tombs (*ziyārat al-ḳubūr*) in which he condemned the cult of saints. A number of his disciples were arrested at the same time as he was but must have been released shortly afterwards except for Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (the text of the *Ziyārat al-ḳubūr*, written before this date, is given in *MR*, 103-22).

Ibn Taymiyya then encountered the opposition of the Mālikī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*, Taḳī al-Dīn al-Ikhnāʾī (d. 750/1349). Another influential opponent was ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī, a disciple of Ibn al-ʿArabī, who, after having been director of the Dār Saʿīd al-suʿadāʾ in Cairo, had recently been appointed Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* at Damascus.

Ibn Taymiyya remained a prisoner in the Citadel for more than two years; he continued to write and to issue *fatwās*; there date from this period several works which have survived and which were written with the aim of justifying his doctrines, in particular the *Kitāb Maʿārif al-wuṣūl*, on the methodology of *fiḳh* (*MRK*, i, 180-217), the *Rafʿ al-malām* (*MR*, 55-83) and the *Kitāb al-Radd ʿala 'l-Ikhnāʾī* (Cairo 1346/1928), in which he made a violent personal attack on his opponent and set out at length his ideas on the cult of saints (cf. *Essai*, 353-4).

As a result of a complaint by al-Ikhnāʾī to the sultan, the latter ordered, on 9 Djumādā II 728/21 April 1328, that Ibn Taymiyya's paper, ink and pens should be taken from him. Five months later, Ibn Taymiyya died in the Citadel, on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 728/26 September 1328. His burial, attended by a large number of the inhabitants of Damascus, was in the cemetery of the *Ṣūfiyya*, where his tomb is still honoured.

Ibn Taymiyya's works are numerous; nearly all have now appeared in print. A list of his main works is given in the treatise by Ibn al-Ḳayyim entitled *Asmāʾ muʾallafāt Ibn Taymiyya* (Damascus 1372/1953); cf. Brockelmann, II, 125-7 and S II, 119-26. There should be mentioned several collections published in Cairo or in Arabia: *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil* (abbr. as *MR* in this article, Cairo 1323/1906); *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil al-kubrā* (abbr. *MRK*, Cairo 1326/1906, 2 vols.); *Kitāb Madjmūʿat al-fatāwa* (Cairo 1326-9/1908-11); *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa 'l-masāʾil* (abbr. *MRM*, Cairo (*Manār* press) 1349/1930- , 5 vols.); and finally *Madjmūʿat fatāwā shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya* (Riyāḍ 1381-3/1961-4, 30 vols.).

Ibn Taymiyya's education was primarily that of a Ḥanbalī theologian and jurisconsult. He possessed a very sound knowledge of all the great works of his school, from those of the imām Aḥmad (d. 240/854-5) or of al-Khallāl (d. 311/923-4) to those of Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223) or of his own paternal grandfather, Madjd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Barakāt (d. 652/1254), whose *Muḥarrar* and *Muntaḳā* formed part of the everyday reading of the Ḥanbalīs of the Mamlūk period.

To this knowledge of early and classical Ḥanbalism, he added not only that of the other schools of jurisprudence (*khilāf*), but also that of heresiographical literature (*firaḳ*), in particular of *falsafa* and of Ṣūfism. Indeed, he refers to knowing and having reflected on the works of many of the *Ṣūfiyya*: Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), Djunayd (d. 290/903), Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī (d. 564/1169), ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī (d. 561/1166) and Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1235). He mentions also having allowed himself to be deluded, in his youth, by the *Futūḥāt* of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240-1), before discovering how subtly heretical they were. He never condemned Ṣūfism in itself, but only that which he considered to be, in the case of too many Ṣūfīs, inadmissible deviations in doctrine, ritual or morals, such as monism (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*), antinomianism (*ibāḥa*) or esotericism (*ghuluww*).

His doctrine was intended to be primarily, while centred on and inspired by the spirit of Ḥanbalism, a doctrine of synthesis or of conciliation—"the happy mean" (*wasaṭ*)—which would accord to each school its rightful place in a strongly hierarchical whole in conformity with the precepts of the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna*. "The dogmatic theologians", he wrote, "based their system on reason (*ʿaḳl*), the traditionists based theirs on *ḥadīth* (*naḳl*), and the Ṣūfīs theirs on free-will (*irāda*)". Tradition, reason and free-will are precisely the three elements Ibn Taymiyya aimed to integrate and harmonize in a solidly constructed doctrine which might be defined as a conservative reformism, whether it was a case of the formulation of the *credo*, the rehabilitation of *idjtihād* or the reconstruction of the state.

In the field of dogma, Ibn Taymiyya's main intention was to follow the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, "to describe God only as He has described Himself, in His Book and as the Prophet has described Him in the *Sunna*". Repudiating simultaneously *taʿṭīl*, the denial of attributes, *tashbīh*, the comparison of God with His creatures, and *taʾwīl*, recourse to allegorical or symbolic exegesis, he concentrates on other notions which are characteristic of Ḥanbalism: *tafwīḍ*, or leaving to God the ultimate mystery of things, and *taslīm*, voluntary and intentional submission to the word of God and of his Prophet both in knowledge and in action; this doctrine nevertheless provides authority, within the framework of Holy Writ and of tradition, for the widest possible scope in the personal interiorization of religion. In fact, in his definition of faith (*īmān*), Ibn Taymiyya encompasses the feelings on which it is based, the formulas in which it is expressed and the actions through which it is completed. In politics, he admits the legitimacy of the first four caliphs (*Rāshidūn*) in their chronological order of succession, but distinguishes between the problem of the caliphate (*khilāfa*) and that of the respective merits (*tafḍīl*) of these four caliphs; although he declares the obvious superiority of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, he acknowledges that there might be hesitation in pronouncing (*tawaḳḳuf*) on the respective merits of ʿUthmān and ʿAlī.

His loyalty to the "men of old" (*salaf*) led him to prefer the ideas upheld by the Companions

(*ṣaḥāba*) or their early successors to the doctrine taught by the founders of the *madhāhib*.

Ibn Taymiyya did not, as is sometimes said, announce the "re-opening" of *idjtihād*, and still less did he claim this privilege for himself: he did not consider that *idjtihād* required to be "closed", since its continuance is necessary for the interpretation of the Law (cf. the opposition between *kulliyyāt* and *djuz'iyyāt*). But anxious to impose some discipline on this *idjtihād*, he attempted to define the rules which every *mudjtahid* ought to follow. With this intent, he announced the absolute supremacy of the text (*naṣṣ*) (Ḳur'ān or *ḥadīth*) and reduced correspondingly the importance of *idjmā'*, to which he opposed the agreement (*ittifāḳ*) of the doctors of the Law, the validity of which derives from the text on which it is based.

He attaches much importance to reasoning by analogy (*ḳiyās*), which consists first of all in seeking the cause (*'illa*) of a judgement (*ḥukm*) resulting from the Ḳur'ān or from the *Sunna* and then in extending this judgement to all cases which share the same cause.

Ibn Taymiyya was often suspicious of *maṣlaḥa*, which he criticized for approaching methods based on reason (*ra'y*; *istiḥsān*; *dhawḳ*; *kashf*), but he finally approved a use of it which was both extensive and disciplined. The application of *maṣlaḥa*, which may apply in all fields, including even that of the *'ibādāt*, presupposes a previous long meditation on the Ḳur'ān, on *ḥadīth* and on the jurisprudence of the great doctors of the Law.

In fact Ibn Taymiyya considered religion and the State to be indissolubly linked. Without the coercive power (*shawka*) of the State, religion is in danger. Without the discipline of the revealed Law, the State becomes a tyrannical organization. The essential function of the State is to see that justice (*'adl*) prevails, to ordain good (*amr*) and to forbid evil, to bring about, in reality, the reign of unity (*taḥḳīḳ al-tawḥīd*), and to prepare for the coming of a society devoted to the service of God (*'ibāda*).

While recognizing the legitimacy of the *Rāshidūn*, Ibn Taymiyya never upheld the principle of the permanence of the single caliphate. He pointed out that the Muslim profession of faith (*shahāda*) requires obedience only to God and to His Prophet: it does not limit the number of the *imāms* to whom obedience is owed. He regards the Muslim community (*umma*) as a natural confederation of states. Every imām is at once the proxy (*wakīl*), guardian (*walī*) and partner (*sharīk*) of those whom he administers, and therefore his mission is to construct and instil respect for the system of orders and prohibitions which, within the framework of the revealed Law according to the circumstances, is to govern the various areas of the life of the community.

Furthermore, each member of the community has the duty and the right to give advice (*naṣīḥa*), within the limits of his competence, to his brothers in religion and hence to ordain good and forbid evil, striving to avoid anything which could endanger the solidarity of the Believers and divide the community.

Ibn Taymiyya's economic ethics also share this emphasis on solidarity or the importance of the community. He favours the idea of property, but states that the rich should be the friends and partners of the poor, and substitutes for the idea of competition that of co-operation and mutual help. He disapproved of the authoritarian fixing of prices (*tas'īr*) and permitted this fixing only after negotiation and agreement. He reminded people that "The revealed Law condemns those who make riches their goal and wish to resemble Ḳārūn, just as it condemns those whose aim is political power and who wish to be like Pharaoh".

Ibn Taymiyya's influence, even in his own lifetime and under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, was great, in spite of the hostility which he encountered from the powerful family of the Subkī, the two founders of which, Taḳī 'l-Dīn (d. 756/1355) and his son Tādj al-Dīn (d. 771/1369-70), were among the most eminent representatives of Shāfi'ism and Syro-Egyptian Ash'arism. Among his chief disciples, in the world of the *'ulamā'*, were, in addition to Ibn al-Ḳayyim mentioned above, men or women who sometimes belonged to other schools than his.

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭī (d. 711/1311-2), one of his first disciples, was the son of the head of the Rifā'iyya brotherhood of Wāsiṭ. Umm Zaynab (d. 711/1311-2), a native of Baghdād, who led a campaign in Damascus against the Ittiḥādiyya, is an excellent example of the type of devout woman which existed at that time in Syria. Al-Mizzī (d. 743/1342-3), who had come from Aleppo and was one of the greatest traditionists of the period, belonged to the Shāfi'ī school. Al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347-8), the famous theologian and historian, wrote a summary of the *Minhādj al-sunna* of Ibn Taymiyya. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372-3), also a Shāfi'ī, inserted, in his *Bidāya*, a valuable biography of Ibn Taymiyya, of whom he was an admirer. Finally, Ibn Radjab (d. 795/1393), who wrote a well-documented history of Ḥanbalism, was inspired by Ibn Taymiyya's doctrine in his *Ḳawā'id fiḳhiyya*.

In addition, Ibn Taymiyya's influence under the Baḥrī sultans extended also to the milieu of the *umarā'*. Thus Katbughā al-Manṣūrī (d. 721/1321), who was *ḥādjib* at Damascus, and Arghūn al-Nāṣirī (d. 731/1330-1), who held the offices of viceroy of Egypt and governor of Aleppo, are often described, together with several other *amīrs*, as disciples or admirers of Ibn Taymiyya.

Under the Circassian Mamlūks (783-922/1382-1517), Ibn Taymiyya's influence was less apparent but nevertheless continued to be deeply felt in various *'ulamā'* circles. Al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1441-2), in his *Khiṭaṭ* (Cairo 1326/1909, iv, 185), contrasts to the supporters of al-Ash'arī—of whom he was one—those of Ibn Taymiyya, the defender of the faith of the "men of old" (*salaf*). "People", he writes, "are divided into two factions over the question of Ibn Taymiyya; for until the present, the latter has retained admirers and disciples in Syria and Egypt".

The Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt (922/1517), which led to the official supremacy of the Ḥanafī school, struck a severe blow to Ḥanbalism, which did not however disappear altogether. Supporters of Ibn Taymiyya remained: among them were al-'Ulaymī (d. ca. 928/1522), the historian of Jerusalem and Hebron, who wrote a history of Ḥanbalism which is a valuable source of information on this school after the death of Ibn al-Ḳayyim, and also especially al-Mar'ī (d. 1033/1623), who wrote a laudatory biography of Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya* (Cairo 1329/1911). It was under the Ottomans also that Ibn Taymiyya's ideas, most of which were adopted by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792), gave rise to Wahhābism and to the state of the Su'ūd dynasty. Ibn Taymiyya

remains today, with al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), one of the writers who have had the greatest influence on contemporary Islam, particularly in Sunnī circles.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, the following may be consulted: Moh. Ben Cheneb, s.v., in *EI*[1]; Brockelmann, II, 125-7; S II, 119-26; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taymiyya, IFAO*, Cairo 1939; idem, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique d'Ibn Taymiyya, IFAO*, Cairo 1939; idem, *La bibliographie d'Ibn Taymiyya d'après Ibn Kathīr*, in *BÉt. Or.*, ix (1943), 115-62; idem, *Le ḥanbalisme sous les Mamlūks Baḥrides*, in *REI*, 1960, 1-71; idem, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 266-76.

(H. Laoust)

IBN AL-TAYYĀN [see TAMMĀM B. GHĀLIB].

IBN AL-ṬAYYIB, Abu 'l-Faradj ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿIrāḳī, Nestorian monk, physician, philosopher and theologian known in mediaeval Europe under the name of Abulpharagius Abdalla Benattibus. He studied and worked at the ʿAḍudī hospital of Baghdād, was the secretary of the *katholikos* Elias I, and died in 435/1043. The physicians Ibn Buṭlān, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī were his pupils. An inventory of his works of Christian exegesis has been made by Graf: there may be mentioned especially the *Firdaws al-Naṣrāniyya*, the Arabic translation of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, and the *Fiḳh al-Naṣrāniyya* (ed. W. Hoenerbach and O. Spies, Louvain 1956). In philosophy he wrote several commentaries on works of Aristotle, on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry [see FURFŪRIYŪS] (the text mentioned by Brockelmann I, 233 *Logic* no. 4 is to be attributed to Ibn al-Ṭayyib and not to al-Fārābī; cf. S. M. Stern, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 419-25). He wrote a commentary on the *Tabula Cebetis* of Ibn Miskawayh [*q.v.*]. In medicine he wrote abridgements of Hippocrates, Aristotle and Galen.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. J. Lippert, 233; al-Bayhaḳī, *Tatimma*, ed. M. Shafiʿ, Lahore 1935, 27; Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Ṣālhānī, Beirut 1890, 330; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Beirut 1377/1957, i, 241; Brockelmann, I, 635, S I, 884; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, Baltimore 1927, 730; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 160-76; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte*, Göttingen 1840, 132, 78; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, i, 486-8.

(J. Vernet)

IBN THAWĀBA, name of the members of an important family, of Christian origin, among whom were several high officials of the ʿAbbāsid administration. An anecdote related by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 130) and repeated by Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, iv, 144-5) suggests that the family's ancestor, Thawāba, lived in Baḥrayn where he was a barber. His son Muḥammad entered the administration at an unknown date. The best-known members of the family are:

Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, who was, under al-Muhtadī (ruled 255/869-256/870), one of the chief assistants of the vizier Sulaymān b. Wahb. Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul himself, whom Aḥmad disliked and disagreed with, forgave him for his hostile attitude towards him and entrusted him with the administration of several regions of ʿIrāḳ. He was to remain in charge of these districts until the arrival in office of the vizier ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb, who replaced him by Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Makhlad; but Ibn Thawāba remained an official until his death, in 277/890 according to the majority of his biographers, in 273/886 according to al-Ṣūlī.

He was a stylist of talent and a poet. He is said to have left two works, one of them a collection of letters, which have not survived. But he had acquired a reputation for clumsiness, and his contemporaries regarded as grotesque his affected language, his upstart affectation, and his excessive arrogance. It is not known whether he shared the pro-Shīʿī sentiments of his son Muḥammad, but Ibn Bulbul's conciliatory attitude towards him seems to indicate this.

Ibn Thawāba presided over a circle in which a number of poets and men of letters met regularly. His generosity, sometimes ostentatious, led some poets of his time (such as al-Buḥturī and al-Rūmī) to write of him very elegant panegyrics, which still survive. But the disagreements which he had with some of them, and notably with Ibn al-Rūmī, earned him a series of epigrams full of irony and persiflage. Some writers of the following centuries, and notably al-Tawḥīdī, retained the image of him which is given in these satires and present him in some of their anecdotes as a grotesque, narrow and pretentious bore.

Very little is known of the career of his son Muḥammad. He was the secretary of the Turk Bāykbāk and he had to go into hiding for a period to escape from the anger of al-Muhtadī, who had been incited against him by certain courtiers who accused him of Shīʿism. His master finally exonerated him and obtained for him the caliph's pardon, which enabled him to return to his office in 250/864. He also was a man of letters and is said to have left a collection of letters which has not survived.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 130, 168; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 144-74; *Aghānī*, Dār al-Thaḳāfa ed., xviii, 96; Tawḥīdī, *Akhlāḳ al-wazīrayn*, Damascus 1965, 236 ff.; Ḥusrī, *Zahr*, index; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; S. Boustany, *Ibn al-Rūmī, sa vie et son oeuvre*, Beirut 1967, 193-5; *D.M.*, ii, 293.

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad, the brother of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, occupied a high office in the administration; under the vizierate of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb he was appointed as deputy to the vizier's son, al-Ḥasan, who had just been put in charge of several offices, among them the Chancellery and the Police (*Nishwār*, viii, 83-4; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 187). On al-Ḥasan's death, Djaʿfar succeeded him in these offices and remained in them until he died in 284/897 (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii/2, 68). He was replaced by his son Muḥammad, who was a great favourite of al-Muḳtadir and who died in 312/924 (*Udabāʾ*, xviii, 96). Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad, who was the last of the Banū Thawāba to hold an important office in the administration. On his death, the offices which had been hereditary among the Banū Thawāba since the death of al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh were entrusted to Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī (*Udabāʾ*, vii, 188).

Djaʿfar was a cultivated man and a talented poet. It is known that he attempted to compete with Ibn al-Rūmī and that he was closely connected with Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who wrote a touching elegy on his death in which Djaʿfar's moral and literary virtues are sympathetically enumerated.

His son and his grandson were also talented men of letters. Abū ʿAbd Allāh is said to have left a collection of letters (*Udabāʾ*, iv, 146).

Bibloiography: *Fihrist*, 130, 168; Yāḳūt,

Udabā', iv, 146; vii, 187; xviii, 96; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, 83-4; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 669; *D.M.*, ii, 293.

(S. Boustany)

IBN AL-THUMNA, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, one of the Muslim *ḳā'ids* who shared Sicily among themselves after the last Kalbī *amīr* al-Ḥasan, called al-Ṣamṣām, was deposed in 444/1052-3 (according to Ibn Khaldūn: 431/1039-40). Having unexpectedly become lord of Syracuse, on the east coast of the island, Ibn al-Thumna, after killing his adversary Ibn al-Maklātī, who was absolute master of Catania, had to fight another rival, Ibn al-Ḥawwās [*q.v.*]. But, having been defeated by the latter, he decided to give his support to the Normans and to encourage them to make themselves masters of Sicily. The first landing by Count Roger on the island took place towards the end of February 1061, but this ended in a repulse, which forced the Normans to withdraw and Ibn al-Thumna to take refuge in Catania. Some months after these events, Messina fell into the hands of the Normans, who then joined Ibn al-Thumna for their attacks against the army of Ibn al-Ḥawwās; the latter was beaten on the outskirts of Castrogiovanni, which the Christians had been besieging for a month. But, as the Normans were unable to make the fortress capitulate, Robert and Roger decided to withdraw, whereas Ibn al-Thumna continued to reduce his most stubborn adversaries to obedience, until his death in 454/1062 on the battlefield.

Bibliography: the bibliography of the events in which Ibn al-Thumna took part is found almost exclusively in the sources noted by M. Amari in the *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², and published in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857.

(U. Rizzitano)

IBN AL-ṬIḲṬAḲĀ, Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, ʿIrāḳī historian. A descendant of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī through Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabāṭabā, he was born, it seems, shortly after the conquest of Baghdād by the Mongols, which he does not mention as having witnessed personally. His father, Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ramaḍān, chief *naḳīb* of the ʿAlids, had gained great wealth and influence, but in a game of political intrigue against the brothers ʿAlā' al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn al-Djuwaynī [*qq.v.*], he lost his life and property (Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, al-Nadjaf 1381/1961, 180 f.). His son too, was a *naḳīb* of the ʿAlids, probably with more regionally limited authority. He appears to have travelled widely in ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbaydjān. In the period from Djumādā II to Shawwāl 701/February to early June 1302, during a stay in Mosul on the way to Tabrīz, he wrote his history, *al-Fakhrī*, for Fakhr al-Dīn ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm of Mosul. The work consists of a brief *fürstenspiegel* and biographies of the caliphs down to al-Mustaʿṣim, followed in each case by biographies of the viziers of the caliph (ed. W. Ahlwardt, Gotha 1860; H. Derenbourg, Paris 1895; and later reprints; French trans. É. Amar, Paris 1910, *Archives Marocaines*, xiv; Engl. trans. C. E. J. Whitting, London 1947). The author's skilful choice of his largely anecdotal material, his reflective rather than factual approach to history, and the obvious love for his subject of an urbane and literate personality combine to make the *Fakhrī* enjoyable and instructive reading to a degree uncommon in medieval scholarly historiography. A Persian translation by Hindūshāh b. Sandjar made in 723-4/1323-4 and entitled *Tadjārib al-salaf*, indicates the title of Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā's work as *Munyat al-fuḍalā' fī tawārīkh al-khulafā' wa-'l-wuzarā'*. This *Munya* was probably a later edition of the historical section of the *Fakhrī*. A *Kitāb al-Ghāyāt* is mentioned by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ Madjmaʿ al-ādāb*, ed. M. Djawād, iv/2, Damascus 1963, 784.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 207 f., S II, 201 f.; Storey, ii, 80 f., 1232 f.; J. A. Boyle, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 175-7; ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muʾarrikhīn*, Baghdād 1376/1957, i, 131-7; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in medieval Islam*, Cambridge 1958, 62-7; J. Kritzeck, in J. Kritzeck and R. B. Winder, *The world of Islam*, New York 1959, 159-84.

(F. Rosenthal)

IBN AL-TILMĪDH, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Hibat Allāh b. Abi 'l-ʿAlā' Ṣāʿid b. Ibrāhīm, with the honorific names of Muwaffiḳ al-Mulk and Amīn al-Dawla (he was widely known under the latter name), Christian Arab physician of Baghdād, where he was born in the second half of the 5th/11th century, and son of a very eminent physician. He completed his education in various branches of learning by making fairly long journeys in Persia, and then returned to settle in Baghdād, where he succeeded his father. He seems to have been extraordinarily gifted: in addition to his fine command of Arabic, he knew Syriac and Persian, was skilled in poetry and music, and was also an excellent calligrapher. He was well-versed in Christian theology, and evidently also in the Muslim religion, since he wrote on medical questions treated in *ḥadīths*. He appears to have been a priest, and he was the leader of the Christian community of Baghdād. As a physician, he was highly esteemed by his contemporaries and his successors, for example ʿAbd al-Laṭīf [*q.v.*]; he enjoyed the favour of the caliphs al-Muḳtafī, al-Mustandjid and al-Mustaḍī' [*qq.v.*], and he remained until his death the Christian director (*sāʿūr*, a Syriac title) of the famous hospital founded by ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in the capital. He was appointed by al-Mustaḍī' as head of all the physicians, and, in this capacity, was instructed to examine the professional competence of all the physicians of Baghdād and the surrounding district. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (i, 261) relates an amusing scene which took place during an examination of this type. Ibn al-Tilmīdh died on 28 Rabīʿ I 560/12 February 1165 in Baghdād at the age of 95 lunar years (92 solar years), leaving to his son a considerable fortune and a large library, which on the son's death became the property of the state. It appears from the various information given by the Arab historians that Ibn al-Tilmīdh made use of the works of the Greek physicians, and also of the great *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] as the basis of his teaching on the theory of medicine. He acquired a following of eminent disciples (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī, Ibn Abi 'l-Khayr al-Masīḥī, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī, Muwaffiḳ al-Dīn b. al-Maṭrān, etc.), the majority of whom later went from ʿIrāḳ to Syria and Egypt, where they founded new medical schools which began to flourish in Egypt in the 7th/13th century [see IBN AL-NAFĪS]. Ibn al-Tilmīdh left a whole series of medical works; they are not in fact original, but consist for the most part of commentaries on or summaries of works from the Hippocratic *Corpus* and from Galen, or of works by Ibn Sīnā, Rāzī, Ḥunayn and other Christian physicians. His pharmacological works are nevertheless often quoted, in particular an *Aḳrābādhīn* (Pharmacopoeia) and two abridged versions of it intended for use in hospitals. In the ʿAḍudī hospital they replaced the Pharmacopoeia of Sābūr b. Sahl (d. 255/869), which had been used until then. These works and some others (a treatise on bleeding and a

practical manual of medical treatment) have survived in manuscript (see Brockelmann, I, 487, S I, 891); nothing has so far been printed.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 340; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 259-67; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. arab. Ärzte*, 97; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, 1876, ii, 24-7; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, Baltimore 1931, ii, 234; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 243-7; A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia* ..., no. 43 and no. 116; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 59; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 191 (ed. Wüstenfeld, v, 129, no. 520).

(M. MEYERHOF)

IBN ṬUFAYL, celebrated philosopher, whose full name was ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ṬUFAYL AL-ḲAYSĪ. He belonged to the prominent Arab tribe of Ḳays; he was also called al-Andalusī, al-Ḳurṭubī or al-Ishbīlī. Christian scholastics call him Abubacer, a corruption of Abū Bakr.

Ibn Ṭufayl was probably born in the first decade of the 6th/12th century in Wādī Āsh, the modern Guadix, 40 miles N.E. of Granada. Nothing is known of his family or his education. That he was a pupil of Ibn Bādjdja [*q.v.*], as is frequently stated, is incorrect, for in the introduction to his philosophical romance he says expressly that he was not acquainted with this philosopher. He first of all practised as a physician in Granada, and then became secretary to the governor of the province. In 594/1154, he became secretary to the governor of Ceuta and Tangier, a son of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the founder of the Almohad dynasty. Finally he received the appointment of court physician to the Almohad sultan Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (558-80/1163-84). It has also been held that he was the latter's vizier; but it is doubtful if he really held this title, since only one text gives him it, as L. Gauthier points out. Al-Biṭrawdjī [*q.v.*], who was his pupil, simply calls him *ḳāḍī* (L. Gauthier, *Ibn Thofaïl*, 6). In any case Ibn Ṭufayl always had great influence with this prince, which he used to attract scholars to the court. For example, he introduced the young Ibn Rushd to the sultan. The historian ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (*al-Muʿdjib*, ed. Dozy², 174 f.; tr. Fagnan, 208-10) gives a description of this meeting from Averroes' own account. On this occasion the sultan showed a remarkable erudition in philosophical matters. It was also Ibn Ṭufayl who, at the instigation of the prince, advised Averroes to write a commentary on the works of Aristotle. This is stated by Abū Bakr Bundūd, a pupil of Ibn Ṭufayl, who says further: "The commander of the faithful was exceedingly attached to him (Ibn Ṭufayl). I am told that he remained whole days and nights in the palace with him without appearing in public".

In 578/1182 Ibn Ṭufayl on account of his advanced age was succeeded by Ibn Rushd as court physician to the Caliph. But he continued to retain Abū Yaʿḳūb's favour, and, after the latter's death in 580, retained the friendship of his son and successor, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb. He died in 581/1185-6 at Marrākush, the Caliph himself attending his obsequies.

Ibn Ṭufayl is the author of the celebrated philosophical novel *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* [*q.v.*], one of the most remarkable books of the Middle Ages. Little else from his pen is known. He wrote two treatises on medicine, and corresponded with Averroes about the latter's medical work *al-Kulliyyāt*. According to the astronomer al-Biṭrūdjī and Ibn Rushd in his middle commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (book xii), he had some original astronomical ideas. Al-Biṭrūdjī attempted to refute Ptolemy's theory of epicycles and eccentric circles, and says in his preface that he is following the ideas of Ibn Ṭufayl.

Bibliography: To the references given in the bibliography to ḤAYY B. YAḲẒĀN, add: D. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim theology*, 1903, 252-6; T. J. de Boer, *The history of philosophy in Islam*, London 1903; Franck, *Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques* (s.v., art. by S. Munk); Fr. Überwegs, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. Max Heinze, ii; C. A. Nallino, art. *Ibn Tufail*, in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, xviii, 684-5; idem, in *RSO*, x (1925), 434-40; Max Meyerhof and Joseph Schacht, *The Theologus Autodidactus of Ibn al-Nafīs*, Oxford 1968; Persian tr. of *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, by B. Foruzanfar, Tehrān 1956; ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Falsafat Ibn Ṭufayl wa-risālatuhu*, Cairo n.d. (al-Dirāsāt al-falsafiyya wa 'l-akhlāḳiyya); Brockelmann, I, 460, II 704, S II, 831; *DM*, iii, 299-307. (B. CARRA DE VAUX*)

IBN ṬŪLŪN, SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD, AL-ṢĀLIḤĪ, AL-DIMASHḲĪ, AL-ḤANAFĪ (880-953/1473-1546), a scholar and a prolific writer, noted in his own time as a teacher of traditions and jurisprudence, is perhaps more valued today for his historical writings dealing with the end of Mamlūk rule and the beginning of Ottoman domination of Syria. His autobiography, called *al-Fulk al-mashḥūn fī aḥwāl Muḥammad b. Ṭūlūn* (pub. Damascus 1348/1929), while it gives little personal information, is an excellent source for a study both of the author's intellectual development and of traditional Islamic education at that time.

Ibn Ṭūlūn was born in al-Ṣāliḥiyya, the suburb of Damascus on Mount Ḳāsiyūn, to a family with scholarly connexions. His paternal uncle, Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ṭūlūn, was a *ḳāḍī* and *muftī* of the Palace of Justice (*Dār al-ʿadl*). He traced his paternal ancestry to a Mamlūk, Khumārwayh b. Ṭūlūn, while his mother, Azdān, who died of plague during his infancy, was of Anatolian origin (*rūmiyya*). The latter term and the fact, mentioned in the autobiography, that she spoke *lisān al-arwām*, has given rise to dispute as to whether this meant, in the usage of that time, that she was Anatolian Turkish or Greek. Reared by his father and the aforementioned uncle, Ibn Ṭūlūn showed precocious intellectual abilities, completing the reading of the Ḳurʾān by the age of seven and in 891/1484, when he was eleven, receiving a stipend from the *waḳf* of the Māridāniyya *madrasa* as a student of jurisprudence (*fiḳh*). During his lifetime he filled numerous teaching and administrative posts of a religious nature—the latter, however, never of very high rank—although in his last years he declined posts such as preacher (*khaṭīb*) in the Umayyad Mosque and Ḥanafī Muftī of Damascus, pleading advanced age as a reason. Most of his life was devoted to scholarship and writing and he seems to have avoided any political involvements under both régimes. He died over 70 years of age, a bachelor without issue.

In the breadth of his interests and variety of his writings Ibn Ṭūlūn resembles his Egyptian contemporary, al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] (d. 911/1505), from whom he received an *idjāza*. In his autobiography, which records all the scholars with whom he studied, he lists as well all the books he read, covering at least thirty fields of learning and representing all the traditional Islamic sciences as well as "secular" sciences such as medicine and astronomy. His wide-ranging interests are reflected in his numerous writings, the titles of 750 of which are listed, varying in length from brief pamphlets to weighty

volumes, many of which are no longer extant. In the field of history the scholars who influenced him most strongly were Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī [*q.v.*] (d. 909/1503) and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521), both of whom are known today for their studies of the mosques and *madrasas* of Damascus respectively. Several of Ibn Ṭūlūn's works, especially those devoted to suburbs of Damascus like al-Ṣāliḥiyya, his birthplace, and al-Mizza, reflect the methods of these scholars.

Among the numerous works by Ibn Ṭūlūn the following historical studies—mostly, but not exclusively, dealing with Damascus and its environs—have been published:

(1) *Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān* (2 vols., ed. M. Mostafa, Cairo 1962-4), a chronicle of Egypt and Syria covering the years 884-926/1479-1520. The published text omits the years 898/1492-93, 920/1514, and 925/1519, which were missing in the manuscript used—Tübingen MS No. MA VI, 7.

Extracts were published much earlier by R. Hartmann as *Das Tübinger Fragment der Chronik des Ibn Ṭūlūn*, in *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, 3. Jahr, Heft 2, 1926.

(2) *al-Ḳalāʾid al-djawhariyya fī taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya* (2 pts., ed. Muḥ. Aḥmad Duhmān, Damascus 1368-75/1949-56), a history of the author's birthplace, and an account of scholars and religious monuments.

(3) *Iʿlām al-warā bi-man waliya nāʾiban min al-atrāk bi-Dimashḳ al-shām al-kubrā*. The original has not been published as yet. A French translation by H. Laoust is included in the work *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans* ... (Damascus 1952).

(4) Five shorter works were published from autograph manuscripts in 1348/1929 in Damascus by Maktabat al-Ḳudsī wa 'l-Budayr under the title *Rasāʾil taʾrīkhiyya*:

(a) *al-Fulk al-mashḥūn*, the autobiography, 54 pp.
(b) *al-Shamʿa al-muḍīʾa fī akhbār al-ḳalʿa al-dimashḳiyya*, a history of the Citadel of Damascus, 28 pp.
(c) *al-Muʿizza fīmā ḳīla fī 'l-Mizza*, about the suburb of Damascus al-Mizza, and an account of its mosques, tombs, great men, etc., 26 pp. (d) *al-Lamʿāt al-barḳiyya fī 'l-nukat al-taʾrīkhiyya*, 44 stories, 72 pp. (e) *Iʿlām al-sāʾilīn ʿan kutub sayyid al-mursalīn*.

(5) *Ḍarb al-ḥūṭa ʿalā djamīʿ al-Ghūṭa*, about the Ghūṭa (orchards and gardens) of Damascus. Published by Asʿad Ṭalas in *RAAD*, xxi/3-4, 149-61; 5-6, 236-47; 7-8, 338-51, and by Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt in *al-Khizāna al-sharḳiyya*, ii/39.

(6) *al-Shadharāt al-dhahabiyya fī tarādjim al-aʾimma al-ithnā ʿashar ʿind al-imāmiyya*, a collection of literary material about the twelve imāms. Published by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid as *al-Aʾimma al-ithnāʿashar* (Beirut 1958).

Some of his other historical studies, especially the biographical dictionaries, contain valuable contemporary material and are undoubtedly worthy of publication.

Bibliography: The best source for the life and work of Ibn Ṭūlūn is his autobiography *al-Fulk al-mashḥūn*, mentioned above. All other biographical sketches are based on it, for example: al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, ii, 52-4; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 298; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vii, 184-5; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 318-20, by Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, as well as the latter's introduction to *al-Aʾimma al-ithnāʿashar*, mentioned above, and his study *al-Muʾarrikhūn al-dimashḳiyyūn*, Cairo 1956, 79-81 (note some errors there, esp. attribution of publication of part of *Iʿlām al-warā* to Littmann). See also the introduction to *al-Ḳalāʾid al-djawhariyya*, i, by M. A. Duhmān, pp. [i-xxiv]; the introduction by M. Mostafa to vol. ii of *Mufākahat al-khillān*, pp. [vii-xxi]; the excellent introduction by H. Laoust to *Les gouverneurs de Damas*, esp. pp. ix-xvii. The best information on extant manuscripts is in Brockelmann, II, 481, S II, 494. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN ṬŪLŪN [see AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN and ṬŪLŪNIDS].

IBN TŪMART, the Mahdī [*q.v.*] of the Almohads and founder of the Almohad movement [see MUWAḤḤIDŪN]. The biographies of so celebrated a figure inevitably contain much legendary matter besides evident contradictions. He was born between 471/1078 and 474/1081 in the Anti-Atlas of Morocco. His father belonged to the Hargha and his mother to the Masakkāla, both of which are divisions of the Maṣmūda tribal group and there can be no doubt that he was a pure Berber despite the various Sharīfian genealogies attributed to him. Of his first 30 or so years we have no real knowledge. In 500/1106 he left his native mountains and went first to Cordoba, where he spent a year. Only Ibn Ḳunfudh gives any information as to what he did there, saying merely that he studied with the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Ḥamdīn. Ibn Tūmart next embarked at Almería for the East. At Alexandria he met Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī and then went via Mecca to Baghdād, where he met Abū Bakr al-Shāshī and Mubārak b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār. All the sources recount, some with reserve, Ibn Tūmart's supposed meeting with al-Ghazālī in Baghdād. The story (given most fully by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, pp. 14-8) goes that al-Ghazālī, learning that his new student was recently in Cordoba, enquired as to the doings of the *fuḳahāʾ* there. When told that at the instigation of Ibn Ḥamdīn, *ḳāḍī* of Cordoba, the *Iḥyāʾ* had been officially burnt throughout the Almoravid dominions he called upon God to destroy the Almoravids. Thereupon Ibn Tūmart exclaimed: "Imām, pray to God to do that by my hand!" The Imām ignored him at first but on a second occasion acceded. His prayer of course was granted. The story is, however, apocryphal: by the time Ibn Tūmart reached Baghdād al-Ghazālī had already left the city for good and had been for over ten years in Khurāsān, where it is never hinted that Ibn Tūmart ever went.

The return towards the Maghrib began in 510/1116 or 511/1117. It was a turbulent journey. Ibn Tūmart caused public disturbances and put himself in danger of his life by his uncompromising insistence on the punctilious observance of religious obligations. At the same time his learning and piety made an impression, and during the many long halts in his journey he found ready audiences. En route, probably at Tunis, he was joined by Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Ṣanhādjī, surnamed al-Baydhaḳ, who became his devoted follower and whose *Mémoires* are a prime source of information for the remainder of Ibn Tūmart's career and that of his successor ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. At Mallāla, near Bougie (Bidjāya), the momentous meeting between Ibn Tūmart and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin took place. Love of the supernatural has embellished the circumstances of this meeting with a wealth of picturesque detail but subsequent events confirmed the power of this combination of Ibn Tūmart's personal magnetism and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's administrative and military genius. This peculiar force of personality must be invoked to explain why Ibn Tūmart, despite the continual riots which he provoked, ran the gauntlet of lesser authorities unscathed and finally confronted the Al-

moravid sultan himself at Marrākush. This was in 514/1120. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn arranged a debate between Ibn Tūmart and a group of *fuḳahā'*, who were as nonplussed as ʿAlī himself. One party, represented by the vizier Mālik b. Wuhayb, saw in Ibn Tūmart's preaching a serious threat to the régime and so advocated his destruction. Others, among whom Yintān b. ʿUmar is mentioned, could not stomach the punishment of one who could not be convicted of any crime against the *Sharīʿa*. While the pacific ʿAlī vacillated, Yintān took Ibn Tūmart under his protection. But Yintān succeeded in convincing the stubborn and now perhaps over-confident Ibn Tūmart of his mortal danger, so he prudently withdrew to Aghmāt. There the usual disturbances took place and a new stage in his career began.

Until now Ibn Tūmart had apparently not viewed himself as the actual or potential leader of a movement or as a rebel against established authority; he was merely an individual fulfilling his religious obligations as he conceived them. But now the situation had changed. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf had finally overcome his scruples at the news of the latest troubles in Aghmāt and despatched a messenger to order the return of the trouble-maker to Marrākush. Ibn Tūmart refused to go and so was now in open rebellion. At the same time he had now won a powerful supporter in the person of Ismāʿīl Īgig, chief of the Hazardja, who was soon after joined by ʿUmar Īntī and Yūsuf b. Wānūdīn of the Hintāta. He found himself apparently by accident the spiritual leader of substantial forces united, no doubt, more by tribal anti-Almoravid sentiments than by concern for the purity of the faith. The idea of proclaiming himself Mahdī began to grow in his mind and from the time he finally reached his birthplace at Īgīlliz in 515/1121 and installed himself in a cave (*al-Ghār al-muḳaddas*—not now identifiable with certainty) he devoted himself to spreading the belief that the appearance of the Mahdī in the Maghrib was imminent. At the end of one harangue in which he listed the attributes of the Mahdī he was finally acclaimed. "When the Imām al-Mahdī finished his speech", says ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, "ten men, of whom I was one, rushed up to him and I said: 'These signs are found only in you! You are the Mahdī!' And so we swore fealty to him as the Mahdī."

Just as the Ten mentioned by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and often encountered subsequently have analogies with *al-ʿAshara al-mubashshara* [*q.v.*], so other features of Ibn Tūmart's career indicate a conscious attempt by himself or his followers to liken him to the Prophet. His expeditions are referred to as *maghāzī*; the acclamation just mentioned took place under a tree, like the Prophet's *Bayʿat al-riḍwān*; the move to Tīnmallal (see below) is called a *hidjra*; the *Ahl Tīnmallal* have analogies with the Companions; etc.

Within two years, marked by numerous skirmishes between Almohads and Almoravids, most of the Anti-Atlas and Sūs were actively backing Ibn Tūmart and all the Maṣmūda tribes were ready to support him. The Almoravid government, now seriously alarmed, increased its efforts. Ibn Tūmart, judging it prudent to move to a more easily defended position, "emigrated" in 517/1123 to Tīnmallal (*var.* Tīnmāl) in the upper Nfis valley, about 75 kms. south-south-west of Marrākush. The manner in which he and his followers took possession of Tīnmallal and its territory is not entirely clear, but it led to a protest by one of the Ten which cost him his life. The Ahl Tīnmallal of the Almohad hierarchy are significantly a heterogeneous group. This fact and other evidence indicates that the original inhabitants of Tīnmallal were liquidated and replaced by a mixed group of the Mahdī's close followers.

The next few years were passed in the consolidation and steady extension of Almohad power. This was made easier by the preoccupation of the Almoravids with troubles in Spain but also made more difficult by discord among the Almohads themselves. Though the Almohad movement was certainly helped by the antipathy for the Almoravids shared by all the mountain tribes, it was at the same time hindered by the fragmentation of the Maṣmūda into very small and jealously independent groups who resisted incorporation into any larger federation. Perhaps impatience with the speed of the movement's development was the main motive behind the next important event in the Mahdī's career, the *tamyīz*.

The scanty texts on the *tamyīz* are difficult to interpret, but it seems that under the supervision of one Bashīr al-Wansharīsī there was a methodical and stringent elimination of real or suspected dissidents. This took place in 523 or 524/1128-9. Dating from this period, and obscurely connected with the *tamyīz*, is the peculiar organization of the Almohads into a hierarchy headed by the Ten. The origin and significance of this apparently quite artificial creation remain a mystery.

Whether the *tamyīz* so consolidated the movement's strength that Ibn Tūmart felt strong enough to embark on the taking of Marrākush or whether it aroused such resentment that such a diversion of interest became necessary is an open question, but the campaign began at once. The leader was the same al-Bashīr. The expedition was unsuccessful, for though the Almohads besieged Marrākush for six weeks they were defeated, five of the Ten being killed, nearby at al-Buḥayra in mid-524/1130. This defeat was doubtless a severe psychological setback for the Almohads, but subsequent events show that it did not in fact much hinder the progress of the movement; and it was an empty victory for the Almoravids, who proved impotent to press home their advantage.

The Mahdī died a few months after the battle of al-Buḥayra, in Ramaḍān 524/August 1130. His close companions concealed his death, presumably because they feared the effect on the morale of the Almohads of his death at this inauspicious moment without moreover his having justified any of his Mahdī-pretensions. His "retreat" lasted for three years until the proclamation of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in 527/1132. He was buried at Tīnmallal. His tomb was still venerated, according to Leo Africanus, some five centuries later, but he and his movement no longer survive in local tradition.

Ibn Tūmart regarded himself primarily as a religious reformer. It is not certain that even when in later life he had adopted the mantle of the Mahdī and become the head of an embryonic state in declared rebellion against the Almoravids he had developed any secular ambitions beyond those necessary to back his religious ones. As a Muslim he naturally did not draw a sharp distinction between the religious and the secular. He was a fundamentalist who wished to re-establish what he conceived to be the original purity of the faith by reference to the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna and so rejected the *taḳlīd* which in his day dominated theology in the West. He placed especial stress on the doctrine of *tawḥīd*, which to him meant a complete abstraction

or spiritualization of the concept of God, as opposed to *tadjsīm*, the literal acceptance of the anthropomorphic phrases of the Ḳurʾān of which he so often accused the Almoravids. But there is nothing original in his religious ideas. He adopted those which suited him wherever he found them, including the Shīʿī notion of the impeccable (*maʿṣūm*) Imām, who he claimed to be. His theology is not important. His career followed a pattern, familiar in the Maghrib, of a charismatic personality being able briefly to unite groups who live normally in anarchical fragmentation. It is a question primarily of personalities, that of the Berber race and that of the leader, and doctrine is of minor importance. The role of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in founding the Almohad state was as important as that of the Mahdī, though probably neither would have achieved anything without the other.

The writings attributed to the Mahdī consist of a collection of short pieces without organic unity or title gathered in a unique manuscript, and one or two letters of doubtful authenticity.

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A. Huici, *Historia politica del imperio almohade*, Tetuan 1956, i, 23-105; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1949, i, 261-81; I. Goldziher, *Materialien zur Kenntnis der Almohadenbewegung*, in *ZDMG*, xliv (1890), 168; idem, *Mohammed ibn Toumert et la théologie de l'Islam dans le Nord de l'Afrique au XIe siècle*, Preface to *Le Livre d'Ibn Toumert*.

(J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN ṬUMLŪS, Andalusian physician and philosopher, whose full name was Yūsuf b. Aḥmad, with the *kunyas* Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj and Abū Isḥāḳ. He was known in mediaeval Europe under the name of Alhagiag bin Thalmus, and Nallino (cf. *RSO*, xiii, 170) considers that the name Ṭumlūs may be a corruption of Bartholomaeus or Ptolemaeus. He was born at Alcira in about 560/1164, was a pupil of Ibn Widāḥ al-Lakhmī and perhaps of Ibn Rushd (Averroes). He studied medicine and philosophy, and succeeded Ibn Rushd as personal physician to the Almohad caliph al-Nāṣir (595-610/1199-1214). He died at Alcira in 620/1223. A few years later, the family estates were shared out among the Christian conquerors. His biographers attribute to him the following woiks: (1) commentaries on *Analitika protera kai hystera* and on *Peri hermencias* (Escorial² 649); (2) *De mistione propositionis de inesse et necessariae*; (3) *Kitāb al-madkhal li-ṣināʿat al-manṭiḳ* (*Introducción al arte de la lógica*, ed. with Sp. tr. by Asín Palácios, Madrid 1916); and (4) a commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *Urdjūza* on medicine.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, no. 2093; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Beirut 1377/1957, ii, 81; Brockelmann, I, 606 (= 463), S I, 837; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, Baltimore 1931, 596, 500; M. Steinschneider, *Hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893, 107, § 44, no. xxiii; Miguel Cruz Hernández, *Filosofia hispano-musulmana*, Madrid 1957, 249-66.

(J. Vernet)

IBN AL-ṬUWAYR, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ḥasan ... al-Ḳaysarānī al-Miṣrī (525-617/1130-1220), high-ranking official of the later Fāṭimids, wrote in the reign of Salāḥ al-Dīn a "History of the two dynasties", *Nuzhat al-muḳlatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, an important work now unfortunately lost, to which the great compilers of the Mamlūk period, Ibn al-Furāt, al-Maḳrīzī, al-Ḳalḳashandī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and even before them Ibn Khaldūn, owe the most important part of their knowledge of the history of the later Fāṭimids and of the general institutions of the régime.

Bibliography: Cl. Cahen, *Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides*, in *BIFAO*, xxxviii (1937), 10-14 and 16, n. 1.

(Cl. Cahen)

IBN UDHAYNA [see ʿurwa b. udhayna].

IBN ʿUḲBA [see mūsā b. ʿuḳba].

IBN AL-UKHUWWA, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḳurashī al-Shāfiʿī, known as Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, author of a manual of *ḥisba*, enlarging, from an Egyptian point of view, that of the Syrian writer of the previous century, al-Shayzarī. It was published by R. Levy, with an analysis in English, under the doubtful title of *Maʿālim al-ḳurba fī aḥkām al-ḥisba* (*GMS*, n.s. xii, London 1938); according to the only biographical notice so far discovered, that by Ibn Ḥadjar (*Durar*, Ḥaydarābād no. 446), the author died in 729/1329, and nothing more is known of him.

Bibliography: In addition to the work mentioned above and the article ḥisba, see M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Sur quelques ouvrages de hisba*, in *JA*, ccxxx (1938), 449 f.

(Cl. Cahen)

IBN ʿUMAR [see ʿabd allāh b. ʿumar; yaʿḳūb b. ʿumar al-maghribī].

IBN ʿUMAR, DJAZĪRAT, in Turkish Cezire-i Ibn Ömer or Cizre, today a frontier town between Turkey and Syria, is said to have been founded by and named after al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Taghlibī (d. *ca.* 250/865). Its construction is attributed also to Ardashīr Bābakān. The ancient town was called in Aramaic Djazarta d'Kardū, a name which re-appears in Christian texts of the 16th and 17th centuries. It has been identified with the ancient Bāzabdā, where Alexander the Great crossed the Tigris; later this was one of the foremost points of the Roman advance mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (xx, xvii, i).

Situated in the Diyār Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] (37° 15′ N and 42° 5′ E), at 400 metres altitude, 125 kilometres downstream from the confluence of the Bohtan Su, to the west of Mount Djūdī [*q.v.*], Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar is on the Tigris at the point where its distance from the Euphrates is greatest. Emerging from the gorges of the Taurus, the Tigris then enters the Upper Djazīra, a flat region where the river flows more slowly. The city was built in a bend in the river, the two ends of which were joined at the narrowest point by a canal which is said to have been dug by al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿUmar. The site of the town thus became an island, whence its name of Djazīra; the force of the current turned the canal into the main bed of the Tigris, while the flow in the original river bed encircling the town dried up. The town also possessed a bridge, and was a river port in an island position; from this point the Tigris was navigable, and a

system of navigation existed to transport merchandize in the direction of Mosul. As a river port, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar was an important commercial centre in a prosperous region of vineyards and orchards, made so by the supply of fresh water. In the neighbouring mountains, covered with oak forests and producing an abundance of walnuts, hazel-nuts and gall-nuts, bees produced honey and wax which were exported. The frontier between the Arab and the Kurdish regions is marked by a Roman road, *darb ʿatīḳ*, which joins Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar to Niṣībīn and then Mārdīn.

The town, whose monuments witness to its brilliant past, lost many of its inhabitants at the beginning of the 20th century; the population, which consists of Muslims, Kurds, and Christians of various denominations, fell from 9,560 in 1890 to 5,575 in 1940. In 1960 it was 6,473. In the 4th/10th century, the town possessed imposing walls built of mud bricks, which in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had three gates; they were rebuilt in basalt, and a section of them still stands today, dominated to the north by the castle of the Kurdish *amīrs*. In the 6th/12th century, the town possessed a hospital, fourteen *ḥammāms*, of which eight still remained at the end of the 19th century, with thirty *sabīls* and nineteen mosques. The intellectual and religious role which the town played in the 6th/12th century was illustrated by four Shāfiʿī *madrasas*, while there existed for the Ṣūfīs two *khānḳāhs* outside the walls. Beside the original Great Mosque, the *amīr* Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ built another in the following century. In the 19th century, there remained of this active commercial centre, according to Cuinet, five *khāns*, a vaulted bazaar, one hundred and six small shops and ten cafés. The presence of some early churches demonstrates the importance of the Christian element.

Slightly downstream from Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar there exist today the ruins of a fine bridge of which a single arch of twenty-eight metres is still standing; on its piers are carved representations of the signs of the zodiac as on the bridge of Ḥiṣn Kayfā [*q.v.*], a work of the Artukid period. Upstream there exists on the Batman Su a bridge built by the *amīr* Timurtash of Mārdīn.

For a long time under the control of the Kurdish *amīrs*, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar had a certain importance in the Middle Ages. In the 4th/10th century the town was a dependency of Mosul; in the 5th/11th century, after having had as governor in 495/1102 Shams al-Dawla Djakarmish, a former *mamlūk* of Malikshāh, it was in the hands of the Marwānids; in the 6th/12th century, it belonged to the Zangids, who appointed ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Dubaysī as governor in 541/1146. In 553/1158, the region occupied by the Bashnawī Kurds was taken by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd b. Zangī. In the 6th and 7th/12th and 13th centuries, two families brought glory to the town: the Banu ʾl-Athīr, rich in scholars and writers, and the Banū ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djazārī, who produced many *imāms*. In the 10th/16th century, there was rivalry between the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans for the possession of the town; the Kurds then sought the protection of the Ottomans, and succeeded in maintaining a relative independence together with the Ḥāmidiyya. After 941/1535, when Sayyid Aḥmad was its master, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar controlled Mosul. In 973/1566, some Christian families, fleeing from Irbil, took refuge there. In the 11th/17th century, the town in practice regained its autonomy, but in the 19th century there occurred a reaction by the Ottomans, who occupied the region in 1248/1833 and re-took Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar in 1836, from which date the town stagnated; the former centre of a Kurdish principality became the modest capital of a Turkish *ḳaḍāʾ*.

Bibliography: *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, x, 336, s.v. *Cezire-i Ibn Ömer*; *IA*, iii, 152-4; Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 219; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 152; Ibn al-Athīr, *Atabegs*, in *RHOC*, ii², 201; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 139; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Le Strange, 93-4; V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 511-4; G. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, 296; S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 26, 37, 41, 98; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 1927, 499, 501, 522; Cl. Cahen, *La Djazira*, in *REI*, 1934, 113; R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yézidis*, 1938, 110, 112; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 110-1; M. Dunand, *De l'Amanus au Sinaï*, 1953, 89-91 (with photographs); B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes et le Kurdistan*, 1956, 5, 28, 67, 86, 161; Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents*, in *BAH*, lxxii (1962), index; S. M. Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne*, 1965, index.

(N. Elisséeff)

IBN UMAYL, al-Ḥakīm al-Ṣādiḳ al-Tamīmī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, one of the representatives of the allegorical and mystagogical type of alchemy, which has now become an object of psychoanalytic interpretation (cf. C. G. Jung, *Psychologie und Alchemie*², Zurich 1952, index s.v. Senior). He lived in Egypt, about the first half of the 4th/10th century (for the chronological connection with the Djābir-question cf. M. Plessner, in *ZDMG*, cxv (1965), 31 f.). Among his numerous writings are several *ḳaṣīdas*, one of which, the *Risālat al-shams ila ʾl-hilāl*, was commented upon by himself under the title *al-Māʾ al-waraḳī wa ʾl-arḍ al-nadjmiyya*. This commentary and the poem became known in mediaeval Europe in a defective Latin version as *Tabula chimica* and *Epistola solis ad lunam crescentem*, the name of the author being rendered Senior Zadith Filius Hamuelis. *Al-Māʾ al-waraḳī* begins with a description of two quasi-archaeological excursions to an ancient temple at Būṣīr al-Sidr [*q.v.*] in order to find documents of alchemical wisdom there. This introduction follows a common pattern of fiction in Hermetic literature, but, as B. H. Stricker has shown, Ibn Umayl must actually have been in that temple, where he saw a statue of Imhotep, without of course recognizing its true significance (*AO*, xix (1942), 101-37). His special interest in the old temples and their wall-paintings is also indicated by another title: *al-Sifr al-kabīr fī ḥall al-ashkāl al-birbāwiyya wa ʾl-taṣāwīr* (cf. Semenov, no. 534). Among the many alchemical authorities quoted in *al-Māʾ al-waraḳī* we find the names of Hermes [see hirmis], the legendary Egyptian king Marḳūnus (cf. G. Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, Paris 1953, 21), Democritus, Socrates, Plato, Zosimus, Mary the Jewess, Khālid b. Yazīd [*q.v.*], Dhu ʾl-Nūn [*q.v.*], and Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*]; he also depends on the *Turba Philosophorum*. He is silent about al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], but he seems to include him when attacking those contemporary adepts who tried to obtain the elixir [see al-iksīr] from base organic substances such as eggs and hairs.

Bibliography: *Three Arabic treatises on alchemy by Muḥammad bin Umail*, ed. M. Turāb ʿAlī, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xii/1 (1933), 1-213 (contains the text of *al-Māʾ al-waraḳī*, *Risālat al-shams ila ʾl-hilāl*, and *al-Ḳaṣīdat al-nūniyya* together with an edition of the Latin version of the first two writings and an excursus on the date, writings and place in al-

chemical history of Ibn Umayl by H. E. Stapleton and M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn; p. 126 f. a list of titles and extant manuscripts; for further references see Brockelmann, I, 279 and S I, 429 f., 962; A. Siggel, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften Deutschlands. Handschriften der ehemals Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, Berlin 1950, 17-20, 39 f., 54-56; A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostočnikh rukopisey akademii nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, i, Tashkent 1952, nos. 533 f.; A. Mazahéri, *Bibliographie avec index analytique*, in A. Mieli, *La science arabe*, repr. Leiden 1966, nos. 523 f.; J. Ruska, *Turba Philosophorum*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, i (1931), 310-8; idem, *Studien zu Muḥammad Ibn Umail al-Tamīmī's Kitāb al-Mā' al-Waraqī wa 'l-Arḍ an-Najmīyah*, in *Isis*, xxiv (1936), 310-42 (important); idem, *Der Urtext der Tabula Chemica*, in *Archeion*, xvi (1934), 273-83; idem, *Chaucer und das Buch Senior*, in *Anglia*, lxi (1937), 136 f.; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, Cairo 1933, 1942 (*MIE*, xliv, xlv), indexes; H. E. Stapleton, G. L. Lewis and F. Sherwood Taylor, *The sayings of Hermes quoted in the Mā' al-waraqī of Ibn Umail*, in *Ambix*, iii (1949), 69-90.

(G. Strohmaier)

IBN ʿUNAYN, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Naṣr b. ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. Ghālib al-Anṣārī, satirical poet born at Damascus on 9 Shaʿbān 549/19 October 1154, and died there on 20 Rabīʿ I 630/4 January 1233. After receiving a traditional education from the main teachers of Damascus and spending a period in ʿIrāḳ, Ibn ʿUnayn began early to use his lively satire against many different kinds of people; he did not spare even Salāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), who had just made himself master of the town (570/1174), and for this he was soon banished. He then went on some journeys connected with commercial matters, which led him to ʿIrāḳ, Ādharbaydjān, Khurāsān, Transoxania and even to India; then he returned to the Yemen, where he spent some time in the entourage of Saladin's brother, Ṭughtakīn; and then he settled for a time in Egypt (before 593/1197). His nostalgia for his native town led him to write a request in verse to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil for permission to return there, and he finally saw again the Umayyad Mosque in 597/1201. Al-ʿĀdil's son, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā, who was then governor of Damascus, welcomed the poet, who became his favourite and even his *wazīr*.

Ibn ʿUnayn is said to be the author of a *Mukhtaṣar* of the *Djamhara* of Ibn Durayd and of a *Ta'rīkh ʿAzīzī*, but neither of these works seems to have survived. It was mainly as a poet that he was famous. With his taste for jokes, irony and mockery, he held up to ridicule, with great wit, important people, the *ḳāḍīs*, the *fuḳahā'*, and the preachers, to such an extent that he was accused of *zandaḳa*. His *hidjā'*, aimed against himself, his father and important people, even sultans, was wicked and scathing. The panegyrics on his patrons are well written, whereas his satirical poetry is full of dialectal expressions. He expressed his nostalgia in some famous poems which include long descriptions of Damascus and its surroundings, while no other country pleases him. He wrote riddles as well, and also topical poems, in which he refers to all kinds of personal or historical facts. He always refused to collect his works in a *dīwān*, but one of his compatriots managed to save some of them to form the *Dīwān* published by Khalīl Mardam at Damascus in 1946.

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(Ed.)

IBN ʿUṢFŪR, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mu'min, Andalusian grammarian of the 7th/13th century. Born at Seville in 597/1200, he studied under al-Shalawbīn, the most famous grammarian of the period. After a quarrel with his master, he left his native town and travelled throughout al-Andalus, staying in several towns where he taught the Ḳur'ān and grammar. Then he proceeded to Ifrīḳiya, staying at Tunis and at Bougie, at the court of the Ḥafṣid *amīr* Abū Zakariyyā'. Returning to his own country, he once again travelled in al-Andalus, then crossed to the Maghrib and stayed at Salé. At the invitation of the Ḥafṣid caliph al-Mustanṣir, he returned to Ifrīḳiya and settled in Tunis, where he died in 670/1271.

Ibn ʿUṣfūr was the author of two grammatical treatises, the *K. al-Muḳarrib fi 'l-naḥw* and the *K. al-Mumtiʿ fi 'l-taṣrīf*, and dictated also commentaries on four grammatical works: the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh, the *K. al-Īḍāḥ* of al-Fārisī, the *K. al-Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī and the *Muḳaddima* of al-Djuzūlī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 381, S I, 546; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, vii, 251, and add to the references there given: Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 142-3 (no. 285).

(G. Troupeau)

IBN ʿUYAYNA [see sufyān b. ʿuyayna].

IBN WĀFID, Abu 'l-Muṭarrif ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī, Andalusian physician, pharmacologist, and agricultural theorist. Little is known of his life except that he was born in 398/1007 (according to Ṣāʿid) and was resident at Toledo in 460/1067 having studied medicine with Zahrāwī at Cordoba. He died in 467/1074. In spite of his pharmacological knowledge, says Ṣāʿid, he preferred to treat sickness by diet and if forced to use drugs preferred the simple to the compound. Of the seven works by him mentioned by his biographers the following are certainly or probably extant:

(1) *K. fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*. This was abridged and translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona with the title *Liber Albenguefith philosophi de virtutibus medicinarum et ciborum*. There are also translations into Hebrew and Catalan. The Arabic text is partially extant but has not been published.

(2) *K. al-Wisād fi 'l-ṭibb*. In MS.

(3) *Madjmūʿ fi 'l-filāḥa*. Texts in Arabic and Castilian which are almost certainly to be identified with this are discussed by Millás and García Gómez.

(4) *De balneis sermo*. A work with this title is mentioned by Mieli but does not clearly correspond with any Arabic title.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, ii, 551; Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, Cairo n.d., 110 = Fr. tr. R. Blachère, Paris 1935, 148 ff.; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (ed. Müller), ii, 49; J. Millás Vallicrosa, *El libro de agricultura de Ibn Wāfid y su influencia en la agricultura del Renacimiento*, in *And.*, viii (1943), 281-332 = *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia española*, Barcelona 1949, ch. 7; E. García Gómez, *Sobre agricultura arábigoandaluza (Cuestiones bibliográficas)*, in *And.*, x (1945), 127-46; Choulant, *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die ältere Medizin*, § 96 (on the Latin tr. of the

K. al-Adwiya); M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebraeischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, § 475 (on the Hebrew tr.); Mieli, *La science arabe*, Leiden 1938, § 38.7. (J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN WAHB, ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Fihrī al-Ḳurashī, Mālikī traditionist of Egypt, born in Cairo in 125/743 and died there in 197/813. From a very early age he was taught by the imām of Medina, until the latter's death, and then returned to Cairo, where his own tomb is in the Ḳarāfa (see Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, ii, 16; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra*, 44). The *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (*Tartīb al-madārik*, Cairo MS, fol. 88a) states that he wrote thirty works based on Mālik, and mentions the titles of some of them. Up to now the only work known is a codex on papyrus of about one hundred pages, a fragment of his *Djāmiʿ*; this manuscript, which has been edited with a commentary by J. David-Weill, is dated 276/889. This fragment of the *Djāmiʿ* consists of: the Book of Genealogies, the Book of Silence, the Book of the Seal, some traditions concerning the battle of Ḥunayn and a prayer of Ibn ʿAbbās. It is strange that practically nothing of this text is found in any of the numerous recensions of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik or in the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn. (For other fragments, see J. Schacht, in *Arabica*, xiv (1967), 231.)

For the biography of Ibn Wahb see *Le Djāmiʿ d'Ibn Wahb*, ed. J. David-Weill (BIFAO), Cairo 1939-48, i, XI, and J. David-Weill, *Manuscrit malékite d'Ibn Wahb*, in *Mélanges Maspéro*, Cairo 1940, iii, 177-83. (J. David-Weill)

IBN WAHBŪN, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Djalīl b. Wahbūn, Arab poet of Spain, whose career was passed at the court of the master of Seville, al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*]. Born at Murcia, probably about 430-40/1039-49, into a family of humble origin, he went to seek his fortune at Seville, where he was the pupil of the philologist al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī [*q.v.*] and formed a friendship with the vizier and poet Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*] before being admitted to the court, in circumstances which are variously reported. He then became one of the official panegyrists of al-Muʿtamid and made his mark by a number of brilliant improvisations. In 476/1083 he delivered the funeral oration of al-Aʿlam, then had the courage to intercede in favour of Ibn ʿAmmār and to lament his death; there exist also some fragments of poems which he composed after the battle of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*] and on the occasion of the voyage of al-Muʿtamid to Morocco to ask for help from Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in 481/1089. Ibn Wahbūn also left some fairly successful descriptive poems, notably that on the palace of al-Muʿtamid called al-Zāhī, as well as a number of short pieces, in which he does not scruple to reveal his taste for *ghilmān*.

His poetry, however, reaches quite another level when he is either complaining of the injustice of his fate or expressing, in commenting on human destiny, a pessimism which shows the influence of al-Mutanabbī. His natural pride and his loyalty to al-Muʿtamid, in spite of some stormy periods, are the other aspects of his character which deserve mention.

It is likely that he did not know of his master's tragic fate, for it was probably in 484/1092 (and not in 533/1138-9 as is given by some sources) that he was killed by some Christian horsemen when he was travelling to Murcia with Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām collected the *Dīwān* of Ibn Wahbūn under the title *al-Iklīl al-mushtamil ʿalā shiʿr ʿAbd al-Djalīl*, but this collection has not survived, and of this anthologist's work on the poet there remains only a chapter of the *Dhakhīra* (2, still unpublished); al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, 13-4, 242-5; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, index, s.v.; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, xvii, MS Paris, 32v.-36v.; al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, xi, MS Paris; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih*, 37; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 246; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, 102-5; Ibn Khallikān, index, s.v.; Ḍabbī, 374, no. 1101; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, index; Dozy, *De Abbadidis*, i, 50, 116-7; Luya, in *Hespéris*, 1936, 150; A. Ḍayf, *Balāghat al-ʿArab fi 'l-Andalus*, 121-8; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index; A. González Palencia, *Literatura*[2], 93, 200, 202; S. Khalis, *La vie littéraire à Séville au XIe siècle*, unpublished thesis, Sorbonne 1953. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN WAḤSHIYYA, name of a person to whom are attributed a number of works and whose full name is said to have been Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḳays (omitted in *Fihrist*, 311, which adds: b. al-Mukhtār b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Djarthiya b. Badniyā b. Barṭāniyā b. ʿĀlāṭiyā) al-Kasdānī (omitted in MS Istanbul, Beyazit 4064 [see below]) al-Ṣūfī (added in *Fihrist* and some manuscripts) al-Ḳussaynī (added in MSS Beyazit 4064 and Leiden, vocalized thus in Beyazit, read al-Ḳasītī or al Ḳusaytī by M. Plessner; cf. *Fihrist*: *min ahl Ḳussīn*), known as Ibn Waḥshiyya, but of whose existence there is as yet no reliable historical proof. Since Nöldeke (in *ZDMG*, xxix (1875), 453 f.), it has been thought that the real author (or at least compiler) was Abū Ṭālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, to whom Ibn Waḥshiyya states that he dictated his translations "from the language of the Chaldees into Arabic". This Abū Ṭālib al-Zayyāt, who claims to be a pupil and secretary of Ibn Waḥshiyya, was, according to L. Massignon (apud Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, i, Paris 1944, App. III, 396), "a Shīʿī, a member of a family of viziers" (d. *ca.* 340/951); he lived in the time of Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 312). If all parts of his name are correct, he was the great-great-grandson of the vizier Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik (b. Abān, omitted in all sources when Abū Ṭālib is referred to) al-Zayyāt [see ibn al-zayyāt]. Probably originally Christian before being converted to Islam, as the *laḳab* al-Zayyāt would seem to imply, the family appears to have come from one of the localities named al-Karkh [*q.v.*]. It may have had in its possession ancient documents in Syriac (*bi 'l-suryāniyya al-ḳadīma*: MS Leiden, pp. 1 and 3) written in ancient Edessan script, which, towards the end of the 4th/10th century, came to be called Estrangelo and was much developed by the Nestorians of Persia. Certainly the language and style of the translations which are attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya are not those of a native user of Arabic. The question is whether they were made directly from Syriac, from Greek or from Pahlavi. There are certain indications which support the author's claim to have translated from Syriac, the most important of them being, in addition to the style of the language, the type of prayers which are included, in particular, in the *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* and which bear a striking resemblance to those of Syriac liturgy (cf. in particular the prayer with which the book begins (see *ZS*, vi (1928-9), 35 f.) and which is a sort of *prūmīyōn* = πρόιμον in the style of the Syriac breviary). This type of prayer is found in the manuals of magic and talismanic art (such as

Ghāyat al-ḥakīm of the Ps.-Madjrīṭī) and what has been preserved from the Ḥarrānians by Ibn al-Nadīm, but nowhere is it so close, in form and in spirit, to that of the prayers of the Syriac liturgy. This indication alone however is of no significance, since this type of prayer is found also in the Byzantine liturgy. A detailed study of the works attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya would probably show that in them Syriac served as a vehicle for Greek, Pahlavi and Indian scientific and pseudo-scientific ideas.

Here follows a list of the works attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya with a summary of what is known about each of them:

(1) The most important of them all is undoubtedly the *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*, a vast work (MS Leiden, 1264 pages; Beyazit 19052-3, 465 fols., 32 × 24 cm., *naskhī*; Beyazit 4064, 332 fols., 25 × 17 cm., *naskhī*), represented by numerous manuscripts not all of which are complete. Ibn Waḥshiyya states that he "translated it from the language of the Chaldees into Arabic ... in 291/903-4" and "dictated it to Abū Ṭālib ... al-Zayyāt in 318/930" (Leiden MS, p. 1). The original title in "Nabataean" (*i.e.*, Syriac) was *K. Iflāḥ al-arḍ wa-iṣlāḥ al-zarʿ wa 'l-shadjar wa 'l-thimār wa-dafʿ al-āfāt ʿanhā*. M. Plessner has given a list of its contents in *ZS*, vi (1928-9), 35-55. From 1835 to 1875, this work was the subject of vigorous debate among orientalists: E. M. Quatremère, in his *Mémoire sur les Nabatéens*, in *JA*, xv (1835), 5-55, 97-137, 209-71 (see also *Journal des Savants*, March 1857) considered it to be the translation of a Chaldean work of the period of Nabuchodonosor II (605-562 B. C.; the *Fihrist* says of Ibn Waḥshiyya: *wa-huwa min wild Sinḥārīb* = Sennacherib, 705-681 B. C.); E Meyer, in *Gesch. der Botanik*, iii (1856), 43-89, places it in the first century A. D.; D. Chwolson in *Über die Überreste der altbabylonischen Literatur im arabischen Übersetzungen*, in *Mémoires des Savants Etrangers présentés à l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, viii (1859), 329-524, dates it at the latest to the beginning of the 14th century B. C. This extreme view of Chwolson produced such a violent reaction from orientalists that it was about fifty years before this work was discussed again. Three important studies were written in reply to the articles mentioned above: E. Renan (*Sur les débris de l'ancienne littérature babylonienne conservés dans les traditions arabes*, in *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xxiv/1 (1861), 139-90; extracts in *Revue Germanique*, x (1860), 136-66; *L'Institut*, April-May 1860, 37-44), after summarizing the different opinions concerning the date, ascribes the work to the Hellenistic period (3rd-4th centuries A. D.), in a Sabean, and more precisely a Mandean, environment; he considers the "Nabataean" language to be Mandean. A year later there appeared the most controversial study on the question, that of Alfred von Gutschmid, *Die Nabatäische Landwirtschaft und ihre Geschwister*, in *ZDMG*, xv (1861), 1-110 (= *Kleine Schriften*, ii, 568-716; cf. also *War Ibn Waḥshijjah ein nabatäischer Herodot?*, in *Berichte über d. Verhandl. d. kgl. sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1862, 67-99 = *Kleine Schriften*, ii, 717-53), who maintained with strong arguments that the Nabataean works were nothing but a forgery of the Muslim period (beginning of the 9th century A. D.) and certainly not earlier than 700 A. D. He based his proofs on the similarity between the religious and political situation which appears in these works and that of the early ʿAbbāsid period (the Arab disdain for the Nabataeans in spite of their illustrious past; the fashion for agnosticism; the greatness and wisdom attributed to the Chaldeans in the Muslim legends). But whereas von Gutschmid still regarded Ibn Waḥshiyya as an early and well-disguised forger, Nöldeke, in *Noch Einiges über die "nabatäische Landwirtschaft"*, in *ZDMG*, xxix (1875), 445-55, added further proofs to the theses that these works were forged, dating them to the beginning of the 4th/10th century. He considers the author of this forgery to be Abū Ṭālib ... al-Zayyāt. He sees in it the influence of Greek works written in the *koine* and points out the author's use of an Edesso-Ḥarrānian calendar (based on the solar (Julian) calendar, instead of the Muslim lunar calendar) and his knowledge of the kalends.

The work attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya has not yet recovered from this serious attack by A. von Gutschmid and Th. Nöldeke, in spite of the efforts of several scholars during the last fifty years to re-instate him (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Zur Nabatäischen Landwirtschaft*, in *ZS*, i (1922), 201-2; M. Plessner, *Der Inhalt der Nabatäischen Landwirtschaft. Ein Versuch Ibn Waḥšija zu rehabilitieren*, in *ZS*, vi (1928-9), 27-56; E. Bergdolt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Botanik. I — Ibn Waḥschija: Die Kultur des Veilchens* (viola odorata) *und die Bedingungen des Blühens in der Ruhezeit*, in *Berichte der Deutschen Botanischen Gesellschaft*, l (1932), 321-36; *II — Über einigen Pfropfungen, ib.*, lii (1934), 87-94; *III — Wasseranzeigende Pflanzen, ib.*, liv (1936), 127-34; G. O. S. Darby, *The mysterious Abolays*, in *Osiris*, i (1936), 251-59; idem, *Ibn Waḥshīya in mediaeval Spanish literature*, in *Isis*, xxxii (1941), 433-8). The very pessimistic prediction of Franz Boll, who says, referring to the *K. Tankalūsha* (see below): "ist gleich seinen übrigen Schriften verdientermassen noch immer unedirt geblieben und wird es wohl auch bleiben" (*Sphaera*, Leipzig 1903, 428), certainly seems to be justified.

It was concerning *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* that the dispute over Ibn Waḥshiyya arose; the other works attributed to him, although much less well-known, suffered repercussions from this.

(2) *K. Shawḳ al-mustahām fī maʿrifat rumūz al-aḳlām*, an extraordinary collection of 93 cryptic alphabets attributed to the ancient Semitic, Hellenistic and Hindu peoples, and to famous persons, accompanied by alphabets appropriate to each planet and each sign of the zodiac (MS Paris 6805, 131 fols., *naskhī* of 1165/1751-2, in which it is stated, fol. 129 r., that the work was written for ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān in 241/885 (*sic*); the author lived in Damascus; J. Hammer, *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters explained, with an account of the Egyptian priests, their classes, initiation and sacrifices in the Arabic language ...*, London 1806; S. de Sacy, *apud* A. L. Millin, *Magasin Encyclopédique*, vi (1810), 145-75; v. Gutschmid, *loc. cit.*, 16-21). This type of collection of scripts is used in works of magic and of talismanic art; specimens of it are found in many *madjmūʿas* of esoteric writings. It is not impossible that many of these alphabets were used as ciphers; they have the characteristics of this (symmetry, opposition, superposition, interlacing of downstrokes; differentiation by small downstrokes, decorative refinements).

(3) *K. Tankalūsha* (= Teucros; cf. A. Borissov, in *JA*, ccxxvi (1935), 300-5) *al-Bābilī al-Ḳūḳānī, fī ṣuwar daradj al-falak wa-mā yadillu ʿalayhi min aḥwāl al-mawlūdīn*, "translated from the Nabataean into Arabic by Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Waḥshiyya

and dictated to ʿAlī (*sic*) b. Abī Ṭālib ... al-Zayyāt" (MS Leiden 891/2, fols. 28-69, preceded by a treatise on astrological divination attributed to Dorotheos [of Sidon], the translator of which is said to have been ʿUmar b. Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī, see Brockelmann, S I, 392), an astrological treatise describing the twelve signs of the zodiac and the thirty degrees of each of them and based on the Pahlavi versions of the Παρανατέλλοντα of Teucros of Babylon and the Ἀνθολογίαι of Vettius Valens (cf. Nallino, *Tracce di opere greche giunte agli Arabi per trafila pehlevica*, in *A volume.... presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 345-63; idem, *Raccolta*, v, 1944, 236 ff.).

(4) *K. al-Sumūm*, translated from the "Nabataean" and dictated to Abū Ṭālib ... al-Zayyāt (MSS Istanbul, Şehid Ali Paşa 2073, *naskhī* of 905/1499-1500, 21.5 × 15 cm.; Leiden 726, 142 fols., a copy made from the British Museum manuscript 1357; other manuscripts in Brockelmann, S I, 431). Ibn Waḥshiyya gives his sources: it is a compilation from two treatises on toxicology, one by Yārbūḳā (Istanbul MS: Baryūfā) al-Nabaṭī al-Kardānī, the other by Sūhāb Sāṭ (Istanbul MS: Shūhāt Bisāṭ) "of the inhabitants of ʿAḳūḳūḳā" (so Istanbul). It is the manual of poisons of Çanakya, according to a new redaction, produced in the medical circles of Gondeshāpūr, from the Persian translation of this treatise (cf. B. Strauss, *Das Giftbuch des Sâhâq*, in *Quellen u. Studien z. Gesch. der Naturwiss. u. der Medizin*, iv/2 (1934), 28 (116) ff.; Massignon, *loc. cit.*, 393). The work covers (a) things which kill by a look, (b) voices which terrify, (c) things which kill by their smell, (d) those which are lethal if eaten or drunk and (e) those which are lethal if touched; from chapter 8 onwards it deals with snake-bites, bites by dogs, the stings of spiders, scorpions, etc. (cf. *K. al-Sumūm wa-dafʿ maḍārrihā* by the Ps.-Djābir: Brockelmann, S I, 428, n. 31; Kraus, *Jabir*, i, 156-9).

(5) *K. al-Uṣūl al-kabīr*, a treatise on alchemy (MSS Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 963/3, fol. 49v. ff., *naskhī*, 24 × 18 cm.; the same *madjmūʿa*, fols. 1-38v., attributes to him *K. al-Shawāhid fi 'l-ḥadjar al-wāḥid*; Haci Beşir Ağa, 649, fols. 22r-30r, *taʿlīḳ fārisī*, n. d., 35 × 26 cm., in a *madjmūʿa* of works on alchemy, the majority of them Persian, beginning with the *K. Muṣaḥḥaḥāt Aflāṭūn wa-tafsīr Djābir* [b.] *Ḥayyān al-Ṣūfī*, fols. 1-22r). In another *madjmūʿa* in Konya (Yusuf Ağa, 4887/3, 55 fols., 16 × 11.5 cm., small *taʿlīḳ* of 707/1307-8; see also 5486 in the same collection), there is attributed to him another treatise on alchemy entitled *K. Kashf al-rumūz*.

There are also attributed to him other Hermetic works such as *Kanz al-ḥikma*, *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār fi 'l-ḥikma*, used by the Ismāʿīlīs, *K. al-Hayākil wa 'l-tamāthīl* and *K. Ṭabḳānā* (cf. reference in Brockelmann, I, 281, S I, 431), about which much less is known. He himself states, in *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (Leiden MS, p. 2), that he translated also extracts from a vast and valuable work on astrology entitled *K. D(dh)awānāy al-Bābilī fī asrār al-falak wa 'l-aḥkām ʿala 'l-ḥawādith min ḥarakāt al-nudjūm*, and *K. al-Adwār al-kabīr*. The *Fihrist*, 312, lists other titles, for the existence of which there is no other evidence.

From his works as a whole there emerges a striking resemblence between his opinions and those of the Neoplatonist school of Syria founded by Iamblichus (d. 330 A. D.). Like the latter, Ibn Waḥshiyya believed that man can come into contact with God by means of esoteric rites and symbolic formulas. The perspicacious Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 120/165 f.; tr. Rosenthal, iii, 151 f.) had realized this when he stressed the care which the ancient authors of *Geoponica* took to discover the secret correspondences between the spiritual properties (*rūḥāniyyāt*) of plants and those of the heavenly bodies, and when he stated that the *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* had been translated from the Greek (*turdjima min kutub al-Yūnāniyyīn*).

In conclusion, we believe (as had already been suggested by G. H. Ewald, in *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1857, 141 and 1861 (15 May)) that the works attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya are to be considered as the result of various successive re-writings and revisions of scientific and pseudo-scientific materials surviving from antiquity, preserved, amplified and modified by Syrian and Alexandrian Hellenism and carried on until the period of the translators of the *Bayt al-Ḥikma*, either by Greek documents or by Pahlavi and Syriac versions (there should be noted the existence in Persian of a treatise of *Geoponica* already used by ʿAlī b. Sahl b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī in *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, completed in 235/850: cf. reference in Brockelmann, S I, 363). The present writer plans further research on Ibn Waḥshiyya's work along these lines.

Bibliography: In addition to the numerous works mentioned in the article, see also C. A. Nallino, *ʿIlm al-falak ʿind al-ʿArab*, Rome 1911, 208 ff.; P. Kraus, *Jâbir Ibn Ḥayyân. Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam* (I-II, *Mém. de l'Institut d'Egypte*, xliv-xlv, Cairo 1942-3), i, p. LIX and index; I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 158 (a product of the *shuʿūbiyya*); J. Ruska, *Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus und die arabischen Versionen der griechischen Landwirtschaft*, in *Isl.*, v (1914), 174-9 (= Ḳusṭā B. Lūḳā, *al-Filāḥa al-yūnāniyya*; the Leiden manuscript is based on a Persian version; ed. Cairo 1293/1876); idem, *Weinbau und Wein in den arabischen Bearbeitungen der Geoponica*, in *Archiv für die Gesch. der Naturwiss. u. der Technik*, vi (1913), 305-20; idem, *Turba philosophorum: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie*, in *Quellen u. Studien z. Gesch. der Naturwiss. u. der Medizin*, i (1931), 1-368; idem, *Arabische Alchemie*, in *Archeion*, xiv (1932), 425-35; idem, *Über das Fortleben der antiken Wissenschaften im Orient*, in *Archiv für Gesch. der Mathematik, der Naturwiss. u. der Technik*, x (N. F. i) (1927-8), 112-35; P. Sbath, *L'ouvrage géoponique d'Anatolius de Bérytos*, (4th cent.), Arabic manuscript discovered by Sbath, in *BIÉ*, xiii (1931), 47-54; G. Sarton, *Introd. to the history of science*, i, 634-5, ii, 425, 842; Ps.-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, ed. Ritter, Leipzig 1932, 60, 179, 229 ff.; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *K. al-Filāḥa*, ed. Banqueri, i-ii, Madrid 1802 (tr. J.-J. Clément-Mullet, i-ii, Paris 1864-7); Ibn Baṣṣāl, *K. al-Filāḥa*, ed. with Sp. tr. and notes by J. M. Millás Vallicrosa and M. Aziman, Tetuan 1955. (T. FAHD)

IBN AL-WANNĀN, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, Moroccan poet of the 12th/18th century, famous for one poem, well-known in Moroccan literary circles. Neither the date nor the place of his birth is known. He is said to have belonged to an Arab family from the Tuwāt (southern Algeria and Morocco). He described himself as Ḥimyarī, therefore Yemenī, and claimed descent from the Anṣār. He lived and died in Fez, where his family had settled at an unknown date and was known by the name of Banū Mallūk (changed by him into Mulūk). Al-Wannān was a

nickname of his grandfather, and it is not known whether he was given it because of his peevish nature or because he played the *wann* (cymbals) (see *L.A.* under the root *w.n.n.*). His father was a court poet of the ʿAlawid sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1170-1204/1757-90). Totally deaf, but with a lively intelligence, he left behind him the reputation of an amusing courtier, with an inexhaustible supply of witty anecdotes. The sultan, who prided himself on his literary culture, called him Abu ʾl-Shamaḳmaḳ, probably because he had a large mouth and a large nose, like the poet from Kūfa with the same name [*q.v.*], and was as skilful as he in panegyrie and satire. This *kunya* became part of his proper name, and was passed on to his son and to the *urdjūza* on which the latter's fame was based.

As Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad did not succeed, either during his father's lifetime or after his death, in gaining admittance to the court, which was barred to him by envy, and as he wished at all costs to recite to the sultan the *urdjūza* which he had written for this purpose, he resorted to a ruse: stationing himself one day on a promontory overlooking the route of the royal procession, he declaimed at the top of his voice as the sultan was passing, in the *radjaz* metre, the following couplet:

"My lord, son of the Prophet (*nabī*),
Abu ʾl-Shamaḳmaḳ was my father (*abī*)"

The Sultan recognized him, received him, listened to his poem, with which he was delighted, gave him a generous reward and awarded him a place in his entourage where he remained until his death, which is said to have occurred in 1187/1773.

Of his works, which are reputed to have included epistles on various subjects and some poems, all that is known is the *urdjūza* called *al-Shamaḳmaḳiyya*, a *ḳāfiyya* of 275 verses in the *radjaz* metre. The success of this work is due to its educational value. It is in fact a résumé of the traditional culture of the Arabs in a form which could be understood, learned and remembered by an educated Moroccan of that period: a vocabulary dealing with the desert, inherited from the early poets of the Djāhiliyya—the names of its winds, its flora and fauna, its proverbs, legends, anecdotes, historical facts, famous characters (both men and women)—in short a synthesis of the great collections of *adab*, poetry and history. Thus the *Shamaḳmaḳiyya* was used as a textbook, a précis to be learned by heart in the same way as the *Muʿallaḳāt*, the *dīwān*s and the *maḳāmāt*, and it has formed the subject of several commentaries, the best known of which are: (1) Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Khālid ... al-Nāṣirī, *Zahr al-afnān min ḥadīḳat Ibn al-Wannān*, lith. Fez 1314/1896; (2) Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad al-Makkī b. Muḥammad al-Biṭāwrī al-Sharshālī al-Ḥasanī, *Iḳtiṭāf zahrat al-afnān min dawḥat ḳāfiyyat Ibn al-Wannān*, lith. Fez 1333/1915; (3) Abū Muḥammad al-ʿArabī b. ʿAlī al-Mashrafī, *Sharḥ al-Shamaḳmaḳiyya* (cf. Kattānī, *Fihris*, ii, 15); (4) ʿAbd Allāh Kannūn (Gennûn), *Sharḥ al-Shamaḳmaḳiyya*, Cairo 1964.

Bibliography: Nāṣirī Salāwī, *Istiḳṣā*, iv, 122; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 150, 210, 353; idem, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, 28, no. 80; 115, no. 340; Brockelmann, S II, 706; ʿUmar Tawfīḳ Safar-Agha, *al-Nuṣūṣ al-adabiyya*, Casablanca n.d., 308-18; A. Bustānī, in *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 141-2.

(M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN AL-WARDĪ, Sirādj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, Shāfiʿī scholar, d. in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 861/September-October 1457. He is said to be the author of the *Kharīdat al-ʿadjāʾib wa-farīdat al-gharāʾib*, a sort of geography and natural history without any scientific value. In spite of the authorities mentioned in the introduction (al-Masʿūdī, al-Ṭūsī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Marrākushī), the *Kharīda* is merely a plagiarism of the *Djāmiʿ al-funūn wa-salwat al-maḥzūn* of Nadjm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān b. Shabīb al-Ḥarrānī al-Ḥanbalī, who lived in Egypt *circa* 732/1332. The work has nevertheless had a certain vogue among orientalists, who have published or translated fragments from it: De Guignes, A. Hylander (Lund 1824), C. J. Tornberg (Upsala), M. Fraehn (Halle), etc.; it has been printed in Cairo several times since 1276.

However, there remain two problems: the first is the name of this Ibn al-Wardī, who, according to al-Ziriklī, was called Ibn al-Wurūdī; the second is the real authorship of the *Kharīda*, which is also attributed to Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī [see next article] and to ʿUmar b. Manṣūr b. Muḥ. b. ʿUmar Ibn al-Wardī al-Subkī in a Vatican manuscript.

Bibliography: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, ii, 60; Brockelmann, II, 131-2, S II, 162-3; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 137; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, x. (Ed.)

IBN AL-WARDĪ, Zayn al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muẓaffar b. ʿUmar b. Abī ʾl-Fawāris Muḥ. b. ʿAlī al-Wardī al-Ḳurashī al-Bakrī al-Shāfiʿī, Shāfiʿī *faḳīh*, philologist, man of letters, historian and poet, born at Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān (he has also the *nisba* al-Maʿarrī) in 689 or 691/1290-2, died of plague in Aleppo on 27 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 749/18 March 1349.

He was educated in his native town, then at Ḥamāt, Damascus and Aleppo; he seems to have held for a time the office of deputy to the *ḳāḍī*s of Manbidj and of Aleppo, but, as the result of a dream, he abandoned this career to devote himself to his literary work.

He is the author of the following works: a *Dīwān* including poems, *maḳāmāt*, epistles, discourses, a *risāla* on the plague, etc. (published in Istanbul by Fāris al-Shidyāḳ, in the *Madjmūʿat al-Djawāʾib*, in 1300); *Lāmiyyat* (or *Naṣīḥat* or *Waṣiyyat*) *al-ikhwān wa-murshidat al-khillān*, a moral poem of 77 verses in the *ramal* metre, long a classic (ed. Cairo 1301 with commentary by Masʿūd b. Ḥasan al-Ḳunāwī; in C. J. David, *Tansīb al-albāb*, Mosul 1863; also al-Shirwānī, *Nafḥat al-Yaman*; Fr. tr. in *RI*, 1900; with the text, by A. Roux, Algiers 1905); *Taḥrīr al-khaṣāṣa fī taysīr al-Khulāṣa*, a prose version of the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (MS Cairo); *al-Tuḥfa al-wardiyya fī mushkilāt al-iʿrāb*, an *urdjūza* of 153 verses (ed. R. Abicht, Breslau 1891); a commentary on the preceding work (MS Berlin); *al-Bahdja al-wardiyya*, an *urdjūza*, a rendering in 5000 verses of *al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr* of al-Ḳazwīnī (a manual of Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*) (lith. Cairo 1311); *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, an abridgement of the chronicle of Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ with continuation from 729 to 749/1329-49 (Cairo 1285); *al-Masāʾil al-mudhahtaba fi ʾl-masāʾil al-mulaḳḳaba*, an *urdjūza* of 71 verses on questions of succession (MSS Berlin and Cairo); *al-Shihāb al-thāḳib wa ʾl-ʿadhāb al-wāḳif*, a work of mysticism (MS Aya Sofya); *al-Alfiyya al-wardiyya*, an *urdjūza* on the interpretation of dreams (several eds. in Egypt after that of Būlāḳ 1285); also: *al-Lubāb fī ʿilm al-iʿrāb*; *al-Durra*, a commentary on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Muʿṭī; *Tadhkirat* (*Mudhakkirat*) *al-gharīb*; *Abkār al-afkār*.

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 116; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, vi, 243; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 365; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 161; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, s.v.; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, i, 198; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 412; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*,

s.v.; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, s.v.; Brockelmann, II, 140-1, S II, 174-5. (MOH. BEN CHENEB *)

IBN WĀṢIL, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH DJAMĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. SĀLIM B. NAṢR ALLĀH B. SĀLIM B. WĀṢIL, historian, *ḳāḍī* and man of letters, born in Ḥamāt on Sunday 2 Shawwāl 604/20 April 1208. He began his studies under his father, who was successively *ḳāḍī* of Ḥamāt and al-Maʿarra, and a *mudarris* at the Nāṣiriyya in Jerusalem. During his father's absence on the Pilgrimage in 624-6/1227-9, Ibn Wāṣil deputized for him at the Nāṣiriyya. In the next two years he continued his studies at Damascus and Aleppo (where his teachers included the historian Ibn Shaddād [*q.v.*]) In 629/1232 he attached himself to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, the Ayyūbid ruler of Karak, where he studied under Shams al-Dīn al-Khusraw-shāhī. For two years from 631/1234 he was in the service of the Ayyūbid ruler of Ḥamāt, al-Muẓaffar II, upon whose orders he assisted the Egyptian mathematician ʿAlam al-Dīn Ḳayṣar (known as Taʿāsīf) in the construction of an observatory and various astronomical instruments. He then returned to Damascus, where he made the acquaintance of the Kurdish *amīr* Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Abī ʿAlī (later the deputy in Egypt of the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn), whose friendship was to be of great profit to him during his years in Egypt.

In 641/1243-4, accompanied by his friend and relative Ibn Abi 'l-Dam [*q.v.*], he went on a delegation to Baghdād, and thence made his way to Cairo. There he procured access to the sultans al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn, to whom he dedicated his *al-Taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥī* (no. (1) below), and his successor al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrān-shāh, to whom he dedicated his *Naẓm al-durar* (no. (2) below) and a work on astronomy. After performing the Pilgrimage in the company of his friend Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Abī ʿAlī in 649/1252, he returned to witness the assassination of Tūrān-shāh, the fall of the Ayyūbids, and the establishment of the Mamlūk dynasty.

In Ramaḍān 659/August 1261, Baybars sent him on an embassy to the King of Sicily, Manfred, whom he met in Barletta in southern Italy and to whom he dedicated a treatise on logic, *al-Risāla al-Anbrūriyya*.

In about 663/1264-5, Ibn Wāṣil returned to his native Ḥamāt, where he was appointed chief *ḳāḍī* but devoted his time to writing, composing there his *Mukhtaṣar al-Aghānī* and his *Mufarridj al-kurūb* (no. (3) below), begun in 671 and finished in 683 (1272-85). Stricken with blindness in his last years, he died at Ḥamāt, at the age of 93, in 697/1298.

Ibn Wāṣil's three historical works are: (1) *al-Taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥī*, a general history from the Prophet to 637/1240 (MS: British Museum, 6657); (2) *Naẓm al-durar fi 'l-ḥawādith wa 'l-siyar* (MS: Chester Beatty 5264); (3) *Mufarridj al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*: reaching to the year 661/1263, this is the most valuable source for the history of the Ayyūbids. The full text, which can be reconstituted from the four incomplete manuscripts, is in process of publication by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, the three volumes published (Cairo 1954, 1957, 1961) reaching to the death of al-ʿĀdil I.

Bibliography: Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Wāṣil and his book*, Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb, unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, Alexandria 1948; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, ed. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, i-iii, Cairo 1954-61; Brockelmann, I, 323, S I, 555; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 131; C. Waddy, *An introduction to the chronicle called* Mufarridj al-kurūb . . ., unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, London 1934; H. Hilmy M. Ahmad, in B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (edd.), *Historians*, 94-5 and index; F. Gabrieli, *ibid.*, 105; idem, *Saggi orientali*, Caltanisetta 1960, 97-106.

(GAMAL EL-DIN EL-SHAYYAL)

IBN YAʿĪSH, ABEN YAʿĪSH, family name of a number of Jews originating from Spain and Portugal who were active in medicine, scholarship, business or diplomacy. The relationship (if any) of the various bearers of this name is generally uncertain. The most notable are:

1. SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM IBN YAʿĪSH (Abū Rabīʿ Sulaymān ibn Yaʿīsh), a physician and scholar of Seville, where he died in Muḥarram 746/May 1345. His works include an important detailed commentary in Arabic on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ḳānūn fi 'l-ṭibb*; an Arabic super-commentary on Abraham ibn ʿEzra's commentary on the Pentateuch; and a dictionary of difficult words occurring in Arabic poetry. He may also be identical with Solomon ben Abraham ibn Daʾūd, who translated into Hebrew two Arabic medical works: Ibn Rushd's *Kulliyyāt fi'l-ṭibb* (translation entitled *Mikhlol*), and Ibn Sīnā's *al-Urdjūza*, with Ibn Rushd's commentary.

Bibliography: M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher*, Berlin 1893, repr. Graz 1956, 672-3, 686-7, 840; idem, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfort 1902, 167; H. Friedenwald, *The Jews in medicine*, Baltimore 1944, 156, 634, 643; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, xi, 210, 449, 458; photograph of his tombstone, with commentary, in F. Cantera and J. M. Millás, *Las inscripciones hebraicas de España*, Madrid 1956, 175-80.

2. SALOMO(N) IBN YAʿĪSH (other spellings: Sallomo Abenajaex [autograph], Abenaish, Abenjaish), *alias* ALVARO MENDEZ (Mendes), ca. 1520-1603, a merchant and financier who was active in international and Ottoman diplomacy. He was born at Tavira (Portugal) into a Marrano ('new Christian', crypto-Jewish) family, and made a fortune as a young man by farming the diamond mines in Narsinga (the later Madras Presidency), returning to Portugal in about 1555. King João III made him a Knight of the Order of Santiago. He subsequently lived for various periods in Madrid, Florence and Paris. In 1585 he came to Salonica, where he openly returned to Judaism, and then settled in Istanbul. He hated Spain passionately, and European diplomatic documents show that he actively and successfully fostered the development of an Anglo-Turkish entente against Spain: he had some influence at the courts of both Murād III and Queen Elizabeth (whose physician Rodrigo Lopez was his brother-in-law). He also enjoyed considerable prestige in several other European courts, notably that of France. His diplomatic efforts played a part in nullifying Spanish attempts to secure Ottoman neutrality in the war between England and Spain, and in ensuring England's benevolent neutrality during the successful Ottoman campaign in Hungary which culminated in the victory at Ḥāč Ovasī (Kereztes) in 1005/1596. As a reward the Sultan created him Duke of Mitylene. The grant of Tiberias, originally made to his kinsman Joseph Nasi (João Miquez, d. 1579; see NASI) was renewed to him, and his own son Jacob (Francisco) settled there. Salomo ibn Yaʿīsh died in Istanbul in 1603.

Bibliography: L. Wolf, *Jews in Elizabethan England*, in *Transactions of the Jewish Hist. Soc. of England*, xi (1924-7), 1-91; A. Galanté, *Don Salomon Aben Yaèche, duc de Mételin*, Istanbul 1936.

3. A noted family called Ibn Yaʿīsh, reputedly descended from Yaḥyā ibn Yaʿīsh, a 6th/12th century

physician in Portugal, produced physicians, rabbis and merchants in the Ottoman Empire from the 10th/16th to the 20th centuries.

Bibliography: H. Friedenwald, *The Jews in medicine*, Baltimore 1944, 691; S. A. Rosanes, *Divrei yemei Yisrael be-Togarma* (i², Tel-Aviv 1936, ii-iv (*Qoroth ha-Yehudim be-Turkiyah*), Sofia 1936), i², 70, 167-8, ii, 33, iii, 77, 104, iv, 6; A. Galanté, *Don Salomon* . . ., 22; *Jewish Enc.*, xii, 581-4; C. B. Friedberg, *Bet eqed sefarim*², Tel-Aviv 1951-6, i, B, 1013, iii, M, 3408.

(E. Birnbaum)

IBN YAʿĪSH, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Yaʿīsh b. ʿAlī b. Yaʿīsh al-Ḥalabī, also known as Ibn al-Ṣāniʿ, Arab grammarian, born at Aleppo on 3 Ramaḍān 553/28 September 1158, died there 25 Djumādā I 643/18 October 1245. He studied grammar (*naḥw*) and tradition (*ḥadīth*) first in Aleppo, then in 577/1181 in Mosul and finally under Abu 'l-Yumn al-Kindī in Damascus. Then he returned to Aleppo, where he lectured on grammar and literature until his death. Ibn Khallikān, who was his pupil in 626-7/1229-30, gives a vivid picture of him, and tells some anecdotes about his wit. Other pupils of his were Yāḳūt (i, 757, *Irshād*, iii, 77 f.), Ibn Mālik Djamāl al-Dīn and al-Sharīshī. Ibn Yaʿīsh is best known for his extensive commentary on Zamakhsharī's *al-Mufaṣṣal* (published by G. Jahn, Leipzig 1882-6, 2 vols.). He adheres strictly to the doctrine of Sībawayh and the Baṣra school, but discusses at length the differences between the two schools. His style is verbose and sometimes slovenly. For other works of his, see Brockelmann, I, 397; S I, 521.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 843; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djinān*, iv, 106; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 419; G. Weil, in *ZA*, xix, 4; idem, in the introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Inṣāf* (= *Die grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufier*, Leiden 1913), *passim*.

(J. W. Fück)

IBN YALLAS, Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdj ʿIlāl ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Yallas Shāwush, Ṣūfī *Shaykh* of the order of the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*]. Born in 1271/1855, he studied theology and law thoroughly at Tlemcen, where he was initiated into *taṣawwuf* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Dakkālī. His other teachers in Ṣūfism were, successively, Muḥammad al-Habrī (d. 1900) and Ibn al-Ḥabīb al-Būzīdī (d. 1909 at Mostaganem) with whom his fellow-pupil was Aḥmad al-ʿĀlawī (or Ibn ʿAlīwa [*q.v.*]), the founder of the ʿAlawiyya *ṭarīḳa*. In 1911, he emigrated to Damascus with his disciple Muḥammad al-Hāshimī [*q.v.*], who was to succeed him as spiritual leader of the Darḳāwa-ʿAlawiyya in Syria after his death at Damascus on 11 Djumādā II 1346/6 December 1927. He was the author of a *Dīwān* (printed at Damascus, n.d.) in which he celebrated the beauty of Laylā, the beloved Divine Presence; his poems are still sung in Damascus during the sessions of *dhikr* of the *fuḳarāʾ*.

Bibliography: see the articles referred to above.

(J.-L Michon)

IBN-I YAMĪN, in full Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Amīr Yamīn al-Dīn Tughrāʾī Mustawfī Faryūmadī, the most important Persian poet of *ḳiṭʿas* (literally "fragments", *i.e.*, epigrams or occasional verses), born in 685/1287 in Faryūmad (in the district of Bayhaḳ, the modern Sabzavār), where his father was a small landowner and at the same time a director of finance (*mustawfī*), in the service of the governor of Khurāsān, Khwādja ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad. Both occupations, it seems, had been hereditary in the family from ancient times (according to some, having immigrated from Transoxania to Faryūmad). Ibn-i Yamīn received the usual education (chiefly in medicine and literature) in his native town, whose culture at that time stood at a very high level. Under the influence of his father, who was himself a poet and who loved his son dearly, he began at an early age to write verses. The son even entered into a poetical contest with his father. On his father's death (724/1323-4) Ibn-i Yamīn's peaceful life came to an end, since he now became court poet, financial official, and after a time *mustawfī* to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, and was later granted the title of *amīr*. He disliked the bustle of court life, and disagreement arose between him and his master, who moreover fell from favour and was replaced by Tari Taghāʾī (727-9/1327-29), a tyrant, under whom Ibn-i Yamīn lost the greater part of his estate, and was finally forced to give up also the remainder. After spending the years 738-42/1337-41 at the court of the Īlkhān Tagha Tīmūr in Gurgān, he joined in 742/1341 the radical wing of the Sarbadārs [*q.v.*]. The encounter with the Kurts at Zāva (743/1342) resulted in a severe defeat for the Sarbadārs; the poet was taken prisoner and lost the *dīwān* containing all that he had written until then. The conquerors took him to Herāt, where he was well treated, so that he was able to write his poetry in peace. In 747/1346, he returned to Sabzavār, from whence however he was soon temporarily driven out, by a crisis of the Sarbadārs, to Ādharbaydjān and Baghdād. From 749/1348 he lived almost without interruption in Faryūmad in the "service" of the Sarbadārs, and even received a pension from them. He occupied himself with farming and the writing of epigrams. He died at the same place at an advanced age in 769/1368.

Like all the inhabitants of Sabzavār, he was a Shīʿī, though not without hesitations. He was one of the earliest poets to write of the *imāms* and the tragedy of Karbalāʾ.

The question of the authenticity of the *kulliyyāt* and *dīwāns* which appear under the name of Ibn-i Yamīn has not been satisfactorily solved. When the *dīwān* written in his early years was irretrievably lost in 743/1342, the poet made great efforts to reconstruct it. With the help of his own memory and notes, and those of his friends, he succeeded in producing a first redaction of the earlier collection in 746/1346 and a second in 1356. Compared with the edition of Saʿīd Nafīsī with more than 5,000 couplets, the reliable MS 403 (Dorn) in the Saltīkov-Shčedrin Library (Leningrad) consists of about 16,120 couplets according to Mullādjānāvī Shahristānī (according to S. Imronov, however, only 13,387 couplets); the manuscript dates from the 9th/15th century and was copied from Ibn-i Yamīn's texts. There exist however several other manuscripts which differ from this one and those related to it, yet similarly bear the name of Ibn-i Yamīn, but which must belong to another poet, as has already been recognized by ʿA. A. Dihkhudā. According to the completely convincing arguments of S. Imronov, this is the much later Shaykh al-shuyūkh Ibn-i Yamīn Shiburghānī (d. 1005/1596-7), a distinguished Ṣūfī of his day (cf. S. Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i naẓm wa nathr*, i, 587), whose *dīwān* is indeed entirely permeated by mysticism.

Ibn-i Yamīn's *ḳaṣīdas* are certainly not of the highest quality and are marred by mendicancy, repetition and plagiarism. They are in praise of 65 rulers of minor importance, whose generosity he praises in thinly-veiled appeals for money. On

the other hand, he is an unequalled master in *ḳiṭʿas*, "epigrams", to which after 757/1356 he applied himself almost exclusively (they are of course included with the earlier poems in the manuscripts which have now come to light). These epigrams are divided by A. R. Khekmat into autobiographical, social critical, didactic, philosophical, and other types. Particularly convincing is his sympathy for the rural population, of whose joys and sorrows he had direct experience. His pen was guided by reason, though not without inconsistencies (such as a belief in predestination side by side with enthusiasm for free will and work). He sharply opposed flattery, untruthfulness, despotism and foreign rule. He lived in an unsettled age, which is vividly reflected in his *kulliyyāt*, which therefore represent a useful historical source. Ibn-i Yamīn's literary heritage consists of collected poetical works, a *Karnāme* and short prose works (letters).

Bibliography: A. Earliest manuscripts: India (? Aligarh), of 753/1352 (*i.e.*, in the author's lifetime): K. Aynī, in *Shafaḳ-i surkh*, 1964, no. 5, 33; Isfahan Public Library, of 783/1381; 8th/14th century: private collections of S. Nafīsī and Mahdī Bayānī; Leningrad, Saltīkov-Shčedrin Library (very good MS); Tashkent (?). An edition containing some 8,000 verses has been prepared by ʿA. A. Dihkhudā. Several MSS are recorded by S. Imronov (see below, 1966), 12-15, 25, and A. R. Khekmat (see below), 18 and 95 (Library of the Madjlis of Iran, no. 13271).

B. Editions and translations: H. G. Keene, *Specimens of Persian poetry. Strophes of Ebn Yemeen*, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, v (1816), 137-9 (six *ḳiṭʿas*); J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, Vienna 1818, 234-9 (30 *ḳiṭʿas* in German tr.); *Kitāb-i muḳaṭṭaʿāt-i Ibn-i Yamīn*..., Calcutta 1865 (defective); O. M. von Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Ibn Jamins Bruchstücke*, [1]Vienna 1852, [2]Stuttgart 1879 (tr. of 159 *ḳiṭʿas*); Y. E. Bertelʾs, *Nuskhai kulliyyati Ibni Yamin*, in *Madjallai "Oyanda"*, ii/4 (1927), 236-40 (with two letters in prose); E. H. Rodwell, *Persice Ibn-i Yamin, 100 short poems*, London 1933; *Dīwān*, ed. Rashīd Yāsimī, Tehrān 1317/1938; Saʿīd Nafīsī (ed.), *Dīwān-i ḳiṭaʾāt wa rubāʿiyyāt*, i, Tehrān 1318/1939 (5130 verses; biography in introd.); *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥusayn-Ḳulī Bāstānī, Tehrān 1345/1966; *Muqattaoti Ibni Yamin*, in *Ṣadā-yi Sharḳ*, 1966/4, 108-26; Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Gandj-i sukhan*[2], ii, Tehrān 1339/1960, 216-20.

C. Biographies and studies: Rashīd Yāsimī, *Aḥwāl-i Ibn-i Yamīn*, Tehrān 1303/1924 (see review by Y. Bertelʾs in *Iran*, i (Leningrad 1927), 253-60); Mullādjānāvī Shahristānī, *Shāir-i asr-i XIV Ibn-i Yamīn*, in *Shafaḳ-i surkh*, 1960, no. 8, 127-39; S. Imronov, *Ibn-i Yamīn Faryumadī i Ibn-i Yamīn Shiburgānī*, in *IV vsesoyuznaya naučnaya konferentsiya po iranskoy filologii*, Tashkent 1964, 71-3 (Tādjik version in *Ṣadā-yi Sharḳ*, 1964, no. 12, 142-8); idem, *Ibn-i Yamīn tardjumān*, in *Ṣadā-yi Sharḳ*, 1965, no. 7, 108-11 (as translator from Arabic); idem, *Ibn-i Yamīn Farʾyumadī i problema atributsii pripisïvayemïkh yemu proizvedeniy* (dissertation), Dushanbe 1966; idem, *Ibni Yamini Farʾyumadi va taʾsiri u*..., in *V. Mežvuzovskaya naučnaya konferentsiya po ironskoy filologii*, Dushanbe 1966, 71-4 (Tādjik version in *Yubileyniy Sbornik Džami*, Dushanbe (*Irfon*) 1966); idem, *Ibn-i Yamin Farʾyumadi. Monografiya*, Dushanbe (*Irfon*) 1966; A. R. Khekmat, *Rasskaz o persidskom poete. Žizn i tvorčestvo Ibn Yamina*, Moscow 1965.

D. *Tadhkiras* and catalogues: Dawlatshāh, 275; *Āteshkada*, 16; *Haft iḳlīm*, no. 770; Sprenger, *Cat. Libr. King of Oudh*, 433-4; Ethé, *Cat. India Office Library*, nos. 1230, 1231; Rieu, *CPM*, 825b, 871a, and *Supp.*, no. 261/2 and 107.

E. Histories of literature: I. Pizzi, *Storia della poesia persiana*, i, Turin 1894, 107-8; A. Krimskiy, *Istoriya Persii, yeyo literaturï i dervišeskoy teosofii*, iii, Moscow 1914-17, 96; Browne, iii, 211-22; A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, London 1958, 308-16; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 253 f.; Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, ii, Persian tr. by Muḥ. Taḳī Fakhr Dāʿī Gīlānī, Tehrān 1327/1948, 247-50; S. Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i naẓm wa nathr dar Īrān wa dar zabān-i fārsī tā pāyān-i ḳarn-i dahum-i hidjrī*, i, Tehrān 1344/1965, 200-1, 587. (J. Rypka)

IBN YŪNUS, Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ṣadafī (b. 281/894, d. Monday 26 Djumādā II 347/14 September 958, which, however, was a Tuesday), a grandson of the famous early Egyptian supporter of al-Shāfiʿī, Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, and the father of the astronomer (below). He wrote on Egyptian scholars and, in a separate work, on the foreigners who came to visit or settle in Egypt. Both works were much used sources of information for later authors, but they seem not to have been preserved. Only part of a supplement by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. al-Ṭaḥḥān has so far been traced in a manuscript in Damascus.

Bibliography: Samʿānī, 350b; Sezgin, i, 357 f. (F. Rosenthal)

IBN YŪNUS (or Yūnis), whose full name was Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Yūnus al-Ṣadafī, one of the most prominent Muslim astronomers, died in 399/1009.

Ibn Yūnus's chief astronomical work, *al-Zīdj al-kabīr al-ḥākimī* (not all of which seems to have survived), was begun *ca.* 380/990 and completed shortly before his death. Several long extracts have been published and translated, and it is one of the few *zīdj*es (sets of astronomical tables) that has been treated extensively by modern scholars. He quotes a large number of astronomical observations (eclipses and other phenomena), some made by his predecessors of the 9th and 10th centuries and others made by himself in Cairo; they constitute the most extensive list of medieval astronomical observations presently known. Ibn Yūnus is especially careful in reporting the researches of his predecessors, and his criticisms of errors and discrepancies in their works are distinctly modern in tone.

The *zīdj* of Ibn Yūnus was analysed by Delambre on the basis of Caussin's publication of chapters 3-5 and an unpublished translation of most of the remaining chapters by Sédillot that has since disappeared. The observations reported by Ibn Yūnus were discussed by S. Newcomb, who was interested in their possible usefulness for determining the value of the secular acceleration of the moon. Ibn Yūnus's original contributions to plane and spherical trigonometry have been treated by Delambre, von Braunmühl, and Schoy.

Bibliography: C. Caussin, *Le livre de la grande table hakémite*, in *Notices et extraits* ..., vii (1804), 16-240; Delambre, *Hist. de l'astron. du moyen âge*, Paris 1819; S. Newcomb, *Researches on the motion of the moon*, in *Washington Observations for 1875* (Washington 1878), Appendix 2, pp. 44-54, 276-8; von Braunmühl, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Trigonometrie*, i, Leipzig 1900; H. Suter, *Die Math.*

und Astron. d. Araber, in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, x (1900), 77-9 (to the list of mss. noted by Suter may be added: Chester Beatty Library MS arab. 3673); C. Schoy, 3 articles in the *Annalen der Hydrographie und Maritimen Meteorologie*: *Das 20. Kapitel der grossen Ḥākemitischen Tafeln des Ibn Yūnus "Über die Berechnung des Azimuts aus der Höhe und der Höhe aus dem Azimut"*, xlviii (1920), 97-111, *Über eine arabische Methode, die geographische Breite aus der Höhe der Sonne im 1 Vertical (Höhe ohne Azimut) zu bestimmen*, xlix (1921), 124-33, *Die Bestimmung der geographischen Breite eines Ortes durch Beobachtungen der Meridianhöhe der Sonne* ..., l (1922), 3-20; C. Schoy, *Beiträge zur arabischen Trigonometrie*, in *Isis*, v (1923), 364-99; Brockelmann, I, 255, S I, 400; E. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, xlvi (1956), 126. (B. R. Goldstein)

IBN (AL)-ZABĪR, Abū Kathīr ʿAbd Allāh b. (al-)Zabīr b. al-Ashyam al-Asadī, Arabic poet of the 1st/7th century. He became a writer of panegyrics of the local Umayyads and wrote particularly, in an entirely classical manner, in praise of Asmāʾ b. Khāridja; but he did not hesitate to address praises to the Zubayrids after Muṣʿa b. al-Zubayr, who had seized Kūfa, had treated him leniently when his supporters had arrested him; it was, so to speak, as a private person that he wrote a *hidjāʾ* against ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who had treated badly his own brother ʿAmr, a friend of the poet. According to the *Aghānī*, his satires were much feared, and they are certainly caustic without being scurrilous. His quarrels with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam, governor of Kūfa for his maternal uncle Muʿāwiya, are widely reported; but in addition the poet did not hesitate to complain to the caliph—who saw that he obtained justice—of the bad treatment he had received from his nephew, just as he takes to task al-Ḥadjdjādj in person in an often-quoted poem. He is said to have died either during a campaign organized by the latter, or while trying to escape from compulsory conscription for the operations in Media, probably about 78/698.

Bibliography: Some verses of Ibn (al-)Zabīr are quoted as examples in dictionaries and grammatical works; the most detailed notice is that in the *Aghānī*, xiii, 33-49, = Beirut ed., xiv, 211-46; see also Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 226; idem, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 207, 380; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, index; idem, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 186; iii, 67, 265; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 146; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 122, 217, 665; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 405, 474, 817; Ṭabarī, ii, 231, 269, 871; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 300-1; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 244, 470; Baghdādī, *Khizāna* (Būlāḳ), i, 345; ii, 100; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 317; iv, 30, 272, 307; Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa*, *passim*; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 231, 269, 871; Nallino, *Letteratura*, 133, 143 = Fr. tr. 205-6, 220. (Ed.)

IBN ẒAFAR, Abū ʿAbd Allāh (var. Abū Hāshim, Abū Djaʿfar) Muḥ. b. Abī Muḥ., an Arab scholar and polygraph to whom the sources attribute the *nisba* al-Ṣiḳillī (often followed by the *nisba* al-Makkī) and various honorific titles. According to Ibn Khallikān (M. Amari, *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula* [=*BAS*], Leipzig 1857, 630), he was born in Sicily (in 497/1104, according to certain biographers) and brought up in Mecca; he travelled in various countries in the East and in the Maghrib and, towards the end of his life, retired to Ḥamāt where he died in 565/1170 (var. 567 and 598). But these biographical data, and in particular his origin, birth and journeyings, vary considerably in the other authors mentioned in the *BAS*. In fact, according to Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, vii, 102), the places where he stayed during his journeys were Egypt, Ifrīḳiya (in al-Mahdiyya), Sicily, Egypt again, Aleppo and Ḥamāt.

Of this author's vast output (Ibn Ẓafar, in the introduction of his *Sulwān al-muṭāʿ* [see below], credits himself with 32 works), only four works have survived. As for the subjects treated in those of his writings which must be regarded as lost and which, according to Yāḳūt (*op. cit.*, 102), were destroyed in Aleppo during the struggles between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs, from the few that we possess it may be deduced that they were concerned with Ḳurʾānic exegesis, theology, *fiḳh*, moral philosophy, exhortation, grammar, Aristotelian logic and lexicography (several commentaries on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī).

The only writings to have survived are: *Yanbūʿ al-ḥayāt fī tadhkīr al-dhikr al-ḥakīm*, a long unt published commentary on the Ḳurʾān and, in he-author's own opinion, the best of his writings (for the MSS, see Brockelmann, I, 352, S I 596); *Khayr al-bishar bi-khayr al-bashar* (lith. Cairo 1280/1863) on the predictions received by mankind on the subject of Muḥammad's prophetic mission; *Anbāʾ nudjabāʾ al-abnāʾ* (the undated Cairo ed. belongs to 1322/1904), biographies of illustrious individuals, starting with Muḥammad, and various subjects of *adab* (see Brockelmann, I, 352, S I, 595, and also C. A. Nallino, *I manoscritti arabi* ... *di Torino*, in *Mem. Acc. Scienze*, 1900, 37-8); *Sulwān al-muṭāʿ fī ʿudwān al-atbāʿ* (lith. Cairo 1278/1861-2; printed Tunis 1279/1862, Beirut 1300/1882-3); this *Fürstenspiegel*, drawn up on the model of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and of which Italian, English and Turkish translations were made, must be regarded as the author's most widely known work.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 352, S I, 595; the preface to the Italian translation, by M. Amari, of the *Sulwān*, Florence 1851, 1882; on the *Sulwān*, see V. Chauvin, ii, 175-87.—M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Catania 1933, iii, 735-57. Lastly, we must add that, in the Catalogue of MSS in the Mosque of al-Azhar, a work (775, no. 2120 "Fiḳh ʿĀmm") is attributed to Ibn Ẓafar, bearing the title *Zād al-mulūk al-muẓaffarī* (*Muẓaffirī*?) *fī 'l-muʿtaḳadāt wa 'l-ʿibādāt*, of which the author himself makes no mention in the list of his writings contained in the *muḳaddima* of the *Sulwān*. (U. Rizzitano)

IBN ẒĀFIR, Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Manṣūr Ẓāfir b. al-Ḥusayn al-Azdī, Egyptian chancery secretary and man of letters, born in Cairo in 567/1171. He was the pupil of his father, who was a teacher at the Mālikī *madrasa* al-Ḳumḥiyya, and eventually succeeded him. He was next employed in the chancery of al-ʿAzīz (589-95/1193-8), then in that of al-ʿĀdil (596-615/1200-18), and finally in that of the latter's son, al-Ashraf (d. 635/1237), at Damascus. In 612/1215, he gave up his office and returned to Cairo, where he died, according to Yāḳūt, on 15 Shaʿbān 613/27 November 1216, or, according to Ibn Shākir, in 623/1226.

There are attributed to him about a dozen works, among which there have survived the *Kitāb Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih* (Būlāḳ 1278, Cairo 1316, on the margin of the *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*), an anthology of improvisations of some worth; *al-Manāḳib al-nūriyya* (MS Escorial), which must be identical with the *Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt*; and finally *K. al-Duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa* (MSS British Museum, Gotha and photocopy in Cairo), of which the *Akhbār mulūk al-dawla al-*

saldjūḳiyya may form a part (see Cl. Cahen, in *Historians of the Middle East*, 70), but of which the most important part is that which concerns the Fāṭimids: it was used by Ibn Khallikān and Wüstenfeld, but remains unpublished. The other titles mentioned are *Akhbār al-shudjʿān*, *Asās al-siyāsa* (or *al-balāgha*), *Nafāʾis al-Dhakhīra* (extracts from Ibn Bassām?), *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fī dhamm al-ṣāḥib wa ʾl-khalīl* (abridged by al-Suyūṭī), *Man uṣība mimman ismuh ʿAlī*, *Makrumāt al-kuttāb*.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 228 = *Udabāʾ*, xiii, 264; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, s.v.; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 167-8, 176; Süssheim, *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der Seldjukgeschichte*, Leipzig 1911, 32 ff.; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 322; Brockelmann, S I, 533; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides*, in *BIFAO*, xxxvii (1937), 2 ff. (Ed.)

IBN AL-ZAḲḲĀḲ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAṭiyyat Allāh b. Muṭarrif b. Salama, Andalusian poet, born at the very end of the 5th/11th century, probably at Valencia, whence his *nisba* of al-Balansī, although he is sometimes, probably wrongly, given that of al-Mursī (of Murcia). The little that is known of his personal life is in part contradictory; his genealogy varies according to the writer, but the most probable is that given above. It is known that his mother was the sister of the great poet Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*]; the information concerning his father is confused: Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik describes him as related to the Banū ʿAbbād of Seville [see ʿAbbādids], but states that he denied this relationship when al-Muʿtamid was deposed and exiled by the Almoravids (484/1091) and that he lived in Valencia, where he was the muezzin of the Great Mosque. Al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii, 196) states that he was a poor artisan and relates an anecdote in which the son plays a part and which seems to be a legend. Nor do the early writers agree about his ethnic name: some consider his *nisba* to be al-Lakhmī, which implies a purely Arab origin, others refer to him as al-Buluggīnī, making him a Berber. Nor are they consistent on the name under which the poet is known, Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ, which has been confused with others and corrupted into Ibn al-Raḳḳāḳ and Ibn al-Daḳḳāḳ.

He studied *ḥadīth* with Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī [see al-Baṭalyawsī] and probably studied poetry with his uncle Ibn Khafādja. His life was short but very happy, to judge by his epitaph, which he wrote himself. He died in 528/1133 or 530/1135, before he was forty.

Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ, whose poems, collected in a *dīwān*, "passed from hand to hand", very soon acquired great fame, and the Arab authorities and critics, as well as modern orientalists, regard him as one of the great poets of Muslim Spain. His poetry, according to E. García Gómez, imitates Ibn Khafādja, but not slavishly; it is more restrained, perhaps less brilliant, but more refined.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 1844; Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa ʾl-takmila*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1964, v, 265-8; Ibn Diḥya, *al-Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 100-10; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib*, Cairo 1955, ii, 323-38; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, Paris 1953, index; E. García Gómez, *Ibn al-Zaqqāq, Poesías*, ed. and tr., with important introduction, Madrid 1956. The edition of the *Dīwān Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ al-Balansī*, preceded by a study, was published in Beirut, in 1964, by ʿAfīfa Maḥmūd Dayarānī. (F. de la Granja)

IBN ZĀKŪR, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. Ḳāsim b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī al-Maghribī, who was born in Fez in the first half of the 11th/17th century, and who died in that city on 20 Muḥarram 1120/11 April 1708 and was buried at bāb Gīsa, was a fine scholar, historian, biographer and poet of his day, and a commentator on didactic poems. He applied himself early in life to studies predominantly Islamic in Fez, under masters of high repute such as Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī (1007-91/1599-1680); his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, d. 1100/1689; Abū ʿĪsā (alternatively Abū ʿAbd Allāh) Muḥ. al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī (1035-1109/1624-98); Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd al-Yūsī (1040-1102/1630-91); Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ḳādirī (1058-1110/1648-98); the *ḳāḍī ʾl-djamāʿa* and *muftī* of Fez Abū Muḥ. (also Abū ʿAbd Allāh) Muḥ. al-ʿArabī (pronounced al-ʿArbī) b. Aḥmad Burdula (or Burdala or, more exactly, Burdulla or Burdullu) al-Andalusī, al-Fāsī (1042-1133/1632-1721); Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Ḳusanṭīnī al-Ḥasanī called al-Kammād, d. 1116/1704; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (alternatively, Abu 'l-Faḍl) Aḥmad b. al-ʿArabī (pronounced al-ʿArbī) b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādjdj al-Ḥārithī al-Mirdāsī al-Sulamī, *ḳāḍī* of Fās al-djadīd, d. 1109/1697.

He completed his studies subsequently in Tetuan under Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥādjdj ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tiṭṭawānī al-Andalusī called Baraka or Barakatuh or Bārāktu, d. 1120/1709, and then in Algiers, under Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān (alternatively, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb) b. Yūsuf al-Māndjallātī (pronounced al-Mangellātī), Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Ḥasanī (on these two teachers there is little information), Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. Saʿīd b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥammūda called Ḳaddūra, d. 1098/1687.

From each of these teachers he requested, and nearly always obtained, an *idjāza* (authorization to teach) which he preserved carefully. Six of these documents have survived *in extenso*, with dates. The earliest, drawn up by Muḥ. al-Mahdī, in Fez, is dated Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1100/1689. During the seven months which he spent in Algiers, he had three *idjāza* conferred on him, one in Djumādā II and two in Radjab 1094/1683. In Tetuan, ʿAlī Bārāktu conferred his in Shaʿbān 1094/1683; finally, in Fez, he obtained an *idjāza* from Ḥasan al-Yūsī in 1095/1684.

These texts provide accurate information on the subjects studied and the works read: (a) grammar: Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*], *Alfiyya* and *Kāfiyya*; (b) rhetoric: al-Sakkākī [*q.v.*], *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, abridged by al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] under the title *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, with a commentary by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī [*q.v.*], entitled *Mukhtaṣar*, and a gloss by al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.*]; (c) law: Khalīl [*q.v.*], *Mukhtaṣar*; Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*], *Risāla*; Ibn ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*], *Tuḥfa*; Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Tilimsānī, al-Wakshī (699-760/1299-1359), *al-Urdjūza fi ʾl-farāʾiḍ*; (d) *ḥadīth*: al-Bukhārī [*q.v.*], *Ṣaḥīḥ*; al-Tirmidhī [*q.v.*], *Ṣaḥīḥ* and *Shamāʾil*; al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*], *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr min ḥadīth al-Bashīr al-nadhīr*; (e) *uṣūl*: al-Subkī [*q.v.*], *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ*, with the commentaries of al-Maḥallī (Djalāl al-Dīn) [*q.v.*], of al-ʿIrāḳī (Walī al-Dīn) [*q.v.*] and of al-Kūrānī (Muḥ. b. Rasūl) [*q.v.*]; (f) theology: Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Djazāʾirī, *Manẓūma fi ʾl-tawḥīd* (consisting of 79 verses, reproduced in *Nashr azāhir al-bustān*, 17).

In addition, Ibn Zākūr had expounded to him eleven works by his teacher Muḥ. al-Mahdī mentioned

above (cf. ʿAlamī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, 24; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 274 and n. 1). He also studied poetry, versification and *adab*, and joined the confraternity founded in Morocco by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Nāṣir.

The method of tuition consisted often in listening to an elucidation of the same treatise carried out several times by the same tutor, and on occasion by several tutors. Thus, the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl was explained to him three times by Burdullu and once by Bārāktu; similarly, *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ* was explained to him by Māndjallātī and by Bārāktu.

In addition, according to his biographers, he knew by heart the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, the *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ*, the *Kāfiyya* and the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik, the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl, the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, etc., and had acquired the titles of *adīb*, of *ḳawwāl* (versed in the art of fine speaking) and of *nāẓim* (versifier).

According to these biographers, he was the author of sixteen works: (1) a *riḥla* entitled *Nashr azāhir al-bustān fī man adjāzanī bi 'l-Djazā'ir wa-Tiṭṭawān min fuḍalā' al-akābir wa 'l-aʿyān*, Algiers 1319/1902; (2) a *dīwān* entitled *al-Rawḍ al-ʿarīḍ fī badīʿ al-tawshīḥ wa-muntaḳa 'l-ḳarīḍ*; for the autograph MS, now at Rabat, see *RIMA*, v (1959), 189; about fifteen fragments, totalling 350 verses, are contained in his *riḥla* and in ʿAlamī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, *passim*; (3) *al-Muʿrib al-mubīn ʿammā taḍammanah al-Anīs al-muṭrib. wa-Rawḍat al-nisrīn*, MS. in Rabat (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Mss. ar. de Rabat*, w. 498 (2), 215) and in the library of Abu 'l-Djaʿd (Tādlā) under the title *al-Muṭrib fī akhbār salāṭīn al-Maghrib* (cf. Neigel, in *RMM*, xxiv, 296); (4) *Aʿdjab al-ʿadjab* (alternatively, *Tafrīdj al-kurab*) *fī sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* of al-Shanfarā, of which there are half a dozen MSS (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 54); (5) *al-Nafaḥāt al-aradjiyya wa 'l-nasamāt al-banafsadjiyya fī sharḥ al-Khazradjiyya*), MS. in Rabat, 291, 2 and in Cairo[2], ii, 245 (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 545); (6) *Miḳbās al-fawā'id fī sharḥ mā khafiya min al-ḳalā'id*, a commentary on the *Ḳalā'id al-ʿiḳyān* by al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān [*q.v.*]; MS in Rabat, al-Djalāwī collection 149.

The rest of his works, which appear to have been lost, comprise: (7) *al-Istishfā' min al-alam bi-dhikrā* (alternatively *bi-dhikr*) *āthār ṣāḥib al-ʿalam*, a genealogical work devoted to the descendants of the Moroccan saint ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [*q.v.*]; (8) Commentary in three volumes on the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, entitled *ʿUnwān al-nafāsa fī sharḥ al-ḥamāsa*; (9) *al-Ṣanīʿ al-badīʿ fī sharḥ al-ḥilliyya dhāt al-badīʿ*, or Commentary on the poem entitled *al-Kāfiyya al-badīʿiyya* by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*] devoted to the praises of the Prophet; (10) *al-Djūd bi 'l-mawdjūd fī sharḥ al-maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*]; (11) *al-Rawḍa al-djamiyya fī ḍabṭ al-sana al-shamsiyya* or *Urdjūza fi 'l-tawḳīt*; (12) *Miʿrādj al-wuṣūl ilā samāwāt al-uṣūl*, or a poetic version of the *Waraḳāt* of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*]; (13) *al-Ḥusām al-maslūl fī ḳaṣr al-mafʿūl ʿala 'l-fāʿil wa 'l-fāʿil ʿala 'l-mafʿūl*; (14) *Anfaʿ al-wasā'il fī ablagh al-khuṭab wa-abdaʿ al-rasā'il*; (15) *al-Durra al-maknūza fī tadhyīl al-urdjūza* (appendix to the *Urdjūza* by Ibn Sīnā on medicine); (16) *al-Ḥulla al-siyarā' fī ḥadīth al-barā'*.

Ibn Zākūr thus touched upon more than one aspect of Arabo-Islamic culture: grammar, literature, stylistics, metrics, *sīra*, biographical literature, genealogy, *ḥadīth*, *uṣūl*, medicine, astronomy. To judge from those of his writings which have come down to us, he belongs to the school of al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān with regard to his prose, and to that of Abū Tammām for his poetry.

Bibliography: ʿAlamī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib fī man laḳiyahu mu'allifuhu min udabā' al-Maghrib*, lith. Fez 1315/1897, 19-38; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī li-ahl al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar wa 'l-thānī*, lith. Fez 1310/1892, ii, 186; idem, *Iltiḳāṭ al-durar, wa-mustafāḍ al-mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-ʿibar, min akhbār aʿyān al-mi'a al-thāniya wa 'l-ḥādiya ʿashar*, fol. 57v.; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fez 1314/1896, iii, 179; *RMM*, xxiv, 296; R. Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salouat el-anfās*, Algiers 1905, 13, no. 18; Muḥ. al-Sa'iḥ, *al-Muntakhabāt al-ʿabḳariyya*, 58; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 287-90; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihrist*, 1346/1927, i, 130; Brockelmann, I, 26, S I, 54, 545, S II, 684; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Manṣūr, *al-Djazā'ir fī riḥlat Abī ʿAbd Allāh b. Zākūr*, in *al-Baṣā'ir*, no. 348, of 6 January 1956, 2, no. 350 of 20 January 1956, 5, no. 351 of 27 January 1956, 2, no. 354 of 17 February 1956, 2; ʿAbd Allāh Kannūn (= Gennūn), *al-Muntakhab min shiʿr Ibn Zākūr*, Cairo 1942; idem, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī*, Beirut 1961, 313.

(M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN ZAMRAK, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṣurayḥī, known as Ibn Zamrak (or Zumruk), Andalusian poet and statesman, born at Granada in 733/1333. Although he was of humble origin, he devoted himself to study and received his education from famous masters, notably al-Sharīf al-Gharnāṭī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*qq.v.*]. Thanks to the active patronage of the latter, the young poet obtained a post in the government administration of Granada. In 760/1359, when Muḥammad V was deposed and welcomed at Fez by the Marīnid sultan Abū Sālim, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Zamrak followed him into exile. During this period, Ibn Zamrak pursued his studies, took part in the festivals at the court and, on occasion, wrote poetry. When, after various vicissitudes, Muḥammad V returned to Granada (763/1362), he appointed him private secretary (*kātib sirrih*) by a *ẓahīr* which was drawn up by Ibn Khaṭīb himself. During the following years, he often filled the rôle of court poet. In 773/1371-2, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who until then had assisted the Naṣrid ruler in carrying out the complicated policy of Granada, in particular that concerning Morocco (which was in a state of chaos following the assassination of Abū Sālim in 762/1361), defected and joined the Marīnid sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz at Tlemcen; it was then that Ibn Zamrak succeeded his teacher and patron in the post of chief minister. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, arrested in Fez, had to appear before a court of enquiry in Granada presided over by Ibn Zamrak, where he was accused of heresy, subjected to torture, and finally put to death in prison. At this stage there was no criticism of Ibn Zamrak, who continued to fulfil his duties as chief minister and court poet. But after the death of Muḥammad V (793/1391), his son and successor, Yūsuf II, dismissed Ibn Zamrak and imprisoned him for nearly two years in the citadel of Almeria; restored again to office, the poet-minister was once again dismissed by the next king, Muḥammad VII, being replaced by Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim. He was re-appointed in 795/1393, but shortly afterwards, at a date not known, was assassinated on the sultan's orders.

The *Dīwān* of Ibn Zamrak has not been preserved, but a considerable number of poems, collected by Ibn al-Khaṭīb and reproduced by al-Maḳḳarī, have survived: they consist of elegies, panegyrics, and congratulations written on the occasion of religious

festivals or of important events at the court. In some of his poems there can be traced the undoubted influence of Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*], if not obvious plagiarism from him. In the panegyrics, the descriptive themes of the verses in which he celebrates the beauty of Granada and its gardens and palaces are of particular interest; some of these verses are still permanently preserved since they form a part of the decoration of the walls of the Alhambra.

The character of Ibn Zamrak provides the central theme in the novel by the Egyptian writer and teacher Suhayr al-Ḳalamāwī entitled *Thumma gharabat al-shams* (Cairo 1949).

Bibliography: The fundamental study of E. García Gómez, *Ibn Zamrak, el poeta de la Alhambra*, in *Cinco poetas musulmanes*², Madrid-Buenos Aires 1944, 169-271, has been used as a basis for this article. To the sources mentioned in it there should be added: Maḳḳarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, Cairo 1359/1940, ii, 7-206; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj* in the margins of the *Dībādj* of Ibn Farḥūn, Cairo 1351, 282-3; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība al-kāmina*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1953, 282-8. The *mawlidiyyāt* of Ibn Zamrak have been studied by A. Salmi, in *Hespéris*, xliii (1956), 335-435, *passim*. (F. de la Granja)

IBN AL-ZARḲALA [see al-zarḳalī].

IBN ZAYDĀN, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Zaydān b. Ismāʿīl (the last named was the famous ʿAlawid sultan who died in 1140/1727), Moroccan official and historian, born in Rabīʿ II 1290/June 1873 in the imperial palace at Meknès. He received a thorough education from the best teachers, first in his native town and then at Fez, in the mosque of al-Ḳarawiyyīn. In 1324/1906, he succeeded his father in the office of *naḳīb* [*q.v.*] of the ʿAlawid *shurafāʾ* for the town of Meknès and its surroundings, including the small mountain district of the Zarhūn. He made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1913 and took advantage of the occasion to complete his education by attending the courses of the most distinguished teachers of the great Muslim cities of the Middle East. On his return journey he also visited Tunis, Ḳayrawān and Algiers.

After the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco, he accepted the post of assistant director of the military college of Dār al-Bayḍāʾ at Meknès (now the Military Academy of independent Morocco). He died on 16 November 1946 and was buried at Meknès in the burial chamber (*ḍarīḥ*) of his great ancestor the sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl.

Ibn Zaydān's works, though of great importance, are still not all published. They may be considered as the best source not only for the history of Meknès, but also for that of the ʿAlawid dynasty. Ibn Zaydān thoroughly appreciated the importance of sources and he succeeded in building up a large library (with a catalogue) containing a considerable number of manuscripts and archive documents. In particular his official position enabled him to acquire and to publish some hundreds of *ẓahīrs* [*q.v.*]. All his works are written in a clear language and set out in a very modern manner with plans, reproductions, portraits and, above all, with very complete indexes, which make them valuable and practical reference works. Among those published so far, or about to be published, may be mentioned: (1) *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās bi-djamāl akhbār ḥāḍirat Miknās*, 5 vols. have appeared of the 8 announced, Rabat 1929-33 (portrait of the author in vol. i); the work consists of several hundred biographies, the most important of which are those of the early sultans of the present dynasty and of their most famous ministers. (2) *al-Durar al-fākhira bi-maʾāthir al-mulūk al-ʿalawiyyīn bi-Fās al-zāhira*, Rabat 1937; contains new facts and documents on the beginnings, at Fez, of the ʿAlawid dynasty. (3) *al-ʿIzz wa 'l-ṣawla fī maʿālim naẓm al-dawla*, 2 vols., Rabat (Royal Press) 1961-2; through the documents here published and annotated, this constitutes an excellent source on the functioning and the life of the sultan's palace and on the mechanism of the Moroccan government. (4) *al-Manāhidj al-sawiyya fī maʾāthir mulūk al-dawla al-ʿalawiyya*, 2 vols., to be published at the Royal Press, Rabat. Among the unpublished works is a *dīwān* of poems written in honour of the birth of the Prophet (*mawlūdiyyāt*).

Bibliography: W. Marçais, *Les belles chroniques de Meknès*, in *CR. Ac. des I. et B.L.*, 1929, 19-20; anon, *Un petit fils de M. Ismaël à Meknès*, in *Afrique du Nord illustrée*, 29 June 1930; H. Pérès, *La littérature arabe et l'Islam par les textes, les XIXᵉ et XXᵉ siècles*, Algiers 1938, 207-8; ʿAbd al-Salam b. Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Tetuan 1950, 33-4, 57. (G. Deverdun)

IBN ZAYDŪN, Abu 'l-Walīd Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ghālib al-Makhzūmī, famous Andalusian poet born at Cordova of an aristocratic family, in 394/1003. His early years coincided with the especially troubled period at the end of the Umayyad caliphate. He probably took part in the events which led to the establishment of the Djahwarid oligarchy in Cordova, since Ibn Khāḳān refers to him as *zaʿīm al-fitna al-ḳurṭubiyya*. Soon after the governor Abu 'l-Ḥazm ibn Djahwar had seized power, he made Ibn Zaydūn his companion, and then his vizier, even conferring on him the title of *dhu 'l-wizāratayn*.

His patron was, however, turned against him by a clique which had formed around another of Ibn Djahwar's ministers, Ibn ʿAbdūs, by an accusation of intrigue and treachery—he was accused of plotting to restore the Umayyads—but in reality because of politics and personal rivalry, and was cast into prison. After attempting in vain to move Ibn Djahwar by his poems, he succeeded in escaping from prison and fleeing from Cordova, returning only after Ibn Djahwar's death. The latter's son, al-Walīd, restored him to his former office, and even made him his ambassador to the other petty kings of Andalusia. He once again suffered from the slanders of his enemies and again left Cordova to enter, after various journeys, the service of the ʿAbbādids of Seville, whose fortunes were at this time in the ascendant. He enjoyed high favour at the court of ʿAbbād b. Muḥammad al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 460/1068), and even more so at that of the latter's son, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād al-Muʿtamid (d. 488/1095), himself a poet, with whom he held some famous poetic contests. Through his intrigues, Ibn Zaydūn probably helped al-Muʿtamid to conquer Cordova, which then became the capital of the ʿAbbādids, and where he again took up residence for a time. The poet-vizier of al-Muʿtamid, Abū Bakr Ibn ʿAmmār (d. 479/1086), taking a dislike to Ibn Zaydūn, succeeded in getting him sent to Seville, ostensibly so that he might, with his influence in Seville circles, quell a riot. Ibn Zaydūn died during this mission, in 463/1070.

Ibn Zaydūn's romantic and literary life was dominated by his stormy relations with the poetess Wallāda [*q.v.*], the daughter of the Umayyad caliph

al-Mustakfī. This poetess was not without talent but was incurably flirtatious and caused both happiness and unhappiness to Ibn Zaydūn, who wrote on the subject of her favours and her inconstancy the sincerest of all his poetic works. Her deception went even further, since it seems certain that Ibn Zaydūn's enemy, Ibn ʿAbdūs, intrigued against him through jealousy; and then, when Ibn Zaydūn had gone away, Wallāda easily found consolation with his rival.

Ibn Zaydūn's poetry fits admirably the description of "neo-classical", so much so that he was given the name of "the western Buḥturī". Although his *dīwān* contains a number of short occasional poems, it contains many of perfectly classical structure. The genre which he cultivates the most is probably panegyric, dedicated to one or other of his successive masters. The enmity with which he was surrounded inspired him in addition to write virulent satirical poems. Among the most moving poems are some elegies, notably those which lament the death of the mother of Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar and the daughter of al-Muʿtaḍid.

But the most personal poems are of course those concerning his affair with Wallāda. Critics have not failed to point out the particularly languishing and plaintive character of his love poetry, as well as of the numerous poems in which he celebrated the enchanted scenes of his love. It is moreover in these poems that he appears most typically western. Some have thought to see in this languor an influence of the Christian milieu; it is more likely that they reflect the influence of the locality, and merely crystallize a general tendency of the poetry of his period.

There should be mentioned the existence in this work of a strophic poetry of *muwashshah* type, as well as a whole series of poetical enigmas in which there appears a symbolism on the names of birds (*muṭayyarāt*).

Although Ibn Zaydūn cannot be denied a certain talent in the expression of emotion, and notably of his passion for Wallāda and for his country, it must be admitted that this talent is not adequate to deal with solemn *ḳaṣīdas*, in which his writing remains stilted and conventional; his panegyrics remain very artificial, in spite, or because, of a somewhat heavy use of contrived styles. The short poems, on the other hand, give an impression of improvisation and real originality.

In addition to his *dīwān*, Ibn Zaydūn wrote a number of epistles, the two most famous of which are the *Risāla hazliyya*, in which he puts into the mouth of Wallāda a satire on his rival Ibn ʿAbdūs (commentary by Ibn Nubāta—d. 768/1366—*Sarḥ al-ʿuyun fī sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn*), and the *Risāla djiddiyya*, addressed from his prison to Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar. The epistles of Ibn Zaydūn continue the tradition begun by al-Djāḥiẓ in his *Tarbīʿ*, and carried on among others by al-Khuwārizmī, al-Tawḥīdī and al-Hamadhānī.

It appears that these *rasāʾil* had more success in the East than his poems, whose originality was questioned there.

Bibliography: The most important biographical notice is Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid* (1283 ed.), 70-83; see also Brockelmann, I, 274, S I, 485. Editions of the *dīwān*: Kāmil Kīlānī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalīfa (Cairo 1932); Muḥammad Sayyid Kaylānī (Cairo 1956); ʿAlī ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm (Cairo 1957); Karam Bustānī (Beirut 1963). Studies: see especially A. Cour, *Un poète arabe d'Andalousie*, Constantine 1920 (reviews by H. Massé, in *Hespéris*, 1921, 183-93 and A. Schaade, in *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 180-9), and A. al-Iskandarī, *Ibn Zaydūn* (in Arabic), in *MMIA*, xi (1931), 513-22, 577-92, 656-69. (G. LECOMTE)

IBN ZAYLĀ, ABŪ MANṢŪR AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR B. ZAYLĀ (according to Brockelmann, I, 458, and B. ṬĀHIR B. ZAYLĀ AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ in S I, 829), died, while still young, in 440/1048. A pupil of Ibn Sīnā and a member of his immediate circle, he wrote a commentary on the Story of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān [*q.v.*], which Mehren used (MS BM Or. 978(3)) and the greater part of which he translated to accompany his edition of this brief work (*Traités mystiques*, fasc. i, 1889). Mehren mentions also a Hebrew translation of this commentary published by D. Kaufmann, Berlin 1886. Ibn Zaylā is quoted also by H. Corbin in *Avicenne et le Récit visionnaire*, ii, 148 and 150-4, and often quoted and discussed by A. M. Goichon in *Le Récit de Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān commenté par des textes d'Avicenne* (see index). Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (ii, 19) lists among the works of Ibn Sīnā a *Kitāb Taʿālīḳ*, a Book of glosses, or of notes which his pupil Abū Manṣūr b. Zaylā had written down according to his instructions. It was to his questions and to those of Bahmanyār that Ibn Sīnā replied in his *Mubāḥathāt* (Brockelmann, S I, 817). A mathematician and an excellent musician, Ibn Zaylā wrote *al-Kitāb al-kāfī fi 'l-mūsīḳī* ("What should be known about music"), published in Cairo in 1964 by Zakariyyāʾ Yūsuf, with an introduction giving also (p. 2) references to the other authors who have mentioned Ibn Zaylā: al-Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ al-Islām*, no. 50, 99-100; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 862; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 278; ʿU. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, iv, 13; Ḳadrī Ṭūḳān, *Turāth al-ʿArab al-ʿilmī*, 3rd. ed., 400; H. G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, 220. In addition to his better known works, Ibn Zaylā wrote also an abridged version of the sections on the natural sciences in the *Shifāʾ* of Ibn Sīnā, a book on the soul, and various letters.

Bibliography: In the article.

(A.-M. GOICHON)

IBN AL-ZAYYĀT, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, vizier of the ʿAbbāsid period. Belonging to a family of merchants who held official positions at the court, Ibn al-Zayyāt attracted attention for his qualities as a secretary and a man of letters, was appointed vizier by the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim in about 221/833, and, with the chief *ḳāḍī* Ibn Abī Duʾād, contributed to the direction of the general policy of the empire.

Remaining vizier during the caliphate of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), he encouraged the caliph to impose heavy fines on several secretaries, in particular on the assistants of two Turkish leaders who were taking over important governorships in the provinces, and he acquired an unpleasant notoriety by inflicting on the culprits a particularly cruel torture, that of the *tannūr*, an iron cylinder with spikes inside it. He quarrelled with the chief *ḳāḍī* Ibn Abī Duʾād, apparently merely for reasons of personal rivalry, and it is not known what part he played in the prosecution of the *miḥna*.

Although the caliph al-Mutawakkil retained him in his service when he came to power, this was only temporary: some weeks later, in Ṣafar 233/September-October 847, he dismissed him and inflicted on him the torture which he himself had invented. Ibn al-Zayyāt died soon afterwards. During his vizierate he had tried in vain to restrain the influence of the Turkish leaders, and left behind mainly a reputation for harshness and cruelty.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.
(D. Sourdel)

IBN AL-ZAYYĀT, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Moroccan man of letters and jurist, known and esteemed as a hagiographer. A native of Tadla (Tādilā), he spent most of his life at Marrākus͟h and in the region surrounding it. He was one of the companions of the famous Moroccan saint Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī (524-601/1130-1204). He died in 628 or 629/1230-1 when he was *ḳāḍī* of the Regrāga. His body is said to have been transported to Marrākus͟h and buried in the *ḳubba* of Sīdī Muḥammad al-Farrān and Sīdī Muḥammad al-Barbūs͟hī, outside the ramparts of the town, near to the gate known as Bāb al-K͟hamīs.

Ibn al-Zayyāt al-Tādilī was himself as devout as the saintly personages whose *fioretti* he collected in the famous hagiographical collection *al-Tas͟hawwuf ilā ridjāl al-taṣawwuf* (ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958). Completed in 617/1221, this valuable compilation of lives of saints is, together with *al-Minhādj al-wāḍiḥ fī taḥḳīḳ karāmāt Abī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ*, of Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Mādjirī, the *Maḳṣad* of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Bādisī and the *Uns al-faḳīr* of Ibn Ḳunfud͟h al-Ḳusanṭīnī, the earliest source on the religious history of Morocco. The *Tas͟hawwuf* is devoted to the saints (*ṣāliḥūn*) who lived or stayed in Marrākus͟h or in southern Morocco between the 5th/11th and the beginning of the 7th/13th centuries. Ibn al-Zayyāt is thought to have written a second such collection covering all the holy men of the country, but of this no trace has been found. There do, however, exist copies of the very interesting notice he wrote on the great Moroccan saint Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī. This text is found fairly frequently appended to manuscripts of the *Tas͟hawwuf*. The *ḳāḍī* ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm al-Marrākus͟hī transcribed it in the second volume of his *Iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākus͟h wa-Ag͟hmāt min al-aʿlām*, Fez 1936, 240-65 (see A. Faure, *Abū-l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī, la justice et la charité*, in *Hespéris*, xliii (1956), 448-56).

In the field of literature there has been attributed to Ibn al-Zayyāt a commentary on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, which also is lost.

Bibliography: For the bibliography of Ibn al-Zayyāt, see Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībādj*, Fez 1900, 386; Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya fi 'l-taʿrīf bi-mas͟hāhīr al-ḥaḍra al-marrākus͟hiyya*, Fez 1918, i, 147; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 220. On the early sources for the religious history of Morocco, see ʿAbd al-Hakḳ al-Bādisī, *al-Maḳsad* (Lives of the saints of the Rīf), annotated Fr. tr. by G. S. Colin in *AM*, xxvi (1926), 1 ff. On the documentary value of the *Tas͟hawwuf*, see *Hespéris*, xli (1954), 482; A. Faure, *Le Tas͟hawwuf et l'école ascétique marocaine des XIe-XIIe-XIIIe siècles de l'ère chrétienne*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1957, ii, 119-31.
(A. Faure)

IBN AL-ZIBAʿRĀ, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā b. Ḳays b. ʿAdī b. Saʿd b. Sahm, noted poet of the Ḳurays͟h, famous for the terseness of his style (Ibn Ras͟hīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 124, 19), who satirized in his *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] the Prophet and his followers. Among his poems preserved by Ibn Isḥāḳ there is one (Ibn His͟hām, 417 f., who justly doubts its authenticity) which refers to the first raid after the *hidjra*. After Badr, where he killed ʿAbd Allāh b. Salama al-ʿAdjlānī (Wāḳidī [Wellhausen], 139), he lamented the death of the Meccan leaders (Ibn His͟hām, 521 f., who says that others ascribe these verses to Aʿs͟hā bani Tamīm). Soon after this battle Ibn al-Zibaʿrā was sent along with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], Hubayra b. Abī Wahb and Abū ʿAzza, who also had satirized the Prophet, to the Banū ʿAbd Manāt and other confederates to ask them for assistance against him (Wāḳidī, 101). He glorified the victory of the Meccans at Uḥud in poems, two of which are given together with the rejoinders of Ḥassān b. T͟hābit by Ibn Isḥāḳ (Ibn His͟hām, 616 f. and 619 f., cf. also 636). Another poem (given by Ibn His͟hām, 703-5, together with the rejoinders of Ḥassān b. T͟hābit and Kaʿb b. Mālik) refers to the campaign of the "trench" (*al-k͟handaḳ*). When the Prophet had signed at Ḥudaybiya the treaty with the Meccans, ʿUt͟hmān b. Ṭalḥa, the doorkeeper of the Kaʿba, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, and K͟hālid b. al-Walīd went to him and embraced Islam. ʿUt͟hmān was, like ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, a clansman of Ibn al-Zibaʿrā, who blamed him in a poem (Ibn His͟hām, 718). To the period between Ḥudaybiya and the fall of Mecca belong some verses against the Meccan Mawhab b. Rabāḥ, who had attacked Suhayl b. ʿAmr in connexion with the case of Abū Baṣīr (see Ibn His͟hām, 751 f., and Wāḳidī, 261 f.). When the Prophet, after he had conquered Mecca, ordered the execution of some persons who had harmed him by their poems and songs (Ibn His͟hām, 819), Ibn al-Zibaʿrā fled with Hubayra b. Abī Wahb to Nadjrān, and returned only after Ḥassān b. T͟hābit had assured him of the Prophet's clemency. The authenticity of the poem which he addressed to Muḥammad on this occasion is (according to Ibn His͟hām, 828) uncertain. Other verses ascribed to him cannot be dated; *e.g.*, the verses in which he praises K͟halaf b. Wahb al-Djumaḥī (*Ag͟hānī*[3], vii, 114), an ancestor of Abū Dahbal [*q.v.*]. Then we are told that he wrote on the hangings of the Kaʿba some verses derogatory to the Ḳurays͟h; the Banū Sahm were forced to hand him over to the Ḳurays͟h, who punished him and set him free only after he had composed an oft-quoted poem in honour of Ḳuṣayy (ʿAynī, *S͟hawāhid*, iv, 140; Ibn His͟hām, ii, 25, etc.); but some verses of this poem occur also in a poem of Maṭrūd b. Kaʿb (al-S͟harīf al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, iv, 179; cf. also Yaʿḳūbī, i, 282). He criticized the Ḳurays͟h on another occasion (Djumaḥī, 57; *Ag͟hānī*[3], iv, 140; Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, i, 94) probably because they were unwilling to risk their profits by fighting against Muḥammad. Sometimes verses of other poets are ascribed to him, *e.g.*, Kaʿb b. Mālik (Yāḳūt, iv, 169; cf. Ibn His͟hām, 705 and *Ag͟hānī*[1], xv, 29, 21); and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (no. xi, Schulthess). On the other hand, verses of Ibn al-Zibaʿrā were ascribed to other poets, *e.g.*, his poem in praise of the Banū K͟hālida bint Arkam (see al-Mubarrad, *Mā 'ttafaḳa lafẓuh*, ed. A. Memon, Cairo 1350, 27, with the editor's footnote). Other verses (*Ag͟hānī*[3], i, 62; 64) show that he enjoyed the patronage of Abū Rabīʿa, the grandfather, and ʿAbd Allāh, the father of the poet ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿa. He also praised the Banū al-Mug͟hīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Mak͟hzūm, the strongest family within the powerful Banū Mak͟hzūm (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 46, 20); for his connexion with this family, see also Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 149, s.v. Busr b. Sufyān). In the other poems which refer to the fights between the Meccans and the Muslims, our poet never hints at religious or ideological differences, but considers these fights only as the outcome of troubles between clans of the same tribe. He is proud of his own clan and extols its virtues. The new religion did not change his attitude; for the last information about him is that he and Ḍirār b. al-K͟haṭṭāb al-Fihrī visited in

the reign of ʿUmar their old rival Ḥassān b. Thābit and irritated him by reciting the poems they had composed in olden days against him, but had then to listen to the latter's recital of his rejoinders (*Aghānī*[3], iv, 140; Djumaḥī, 60). It was just this clannishness which gave his verses an actuality even long after his death. His poems against the Banū Hāshim were still popular with the Umayyads, and Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya recited one of these poems when he was told that Medina had been taken by his troops (Dīnawarī [Guirgass], 277; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, 1316, ii, 233, with additional verses in which the caliph addresses himself). Even in the days of al-Muʿtaḍid (reigned 279/892-289/902) this story was mentioned in an edict amongst the sins of Yazīd (Ṭabarī, iii, 2174).

Bibliography: in the article; consult also the biographies of the *ṣaḥāba* by Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and Ibn Ḥadjar; al-Djumaḥī, ed. Hell, 57-60; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 76; *Aghānī*[1], xiv, 11-25; Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, 833 f.; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 132 f.; A. Fischer and E. Bräunlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, 328a; P. Minganti, in *RSO*, xxxviii, 323-59 (biography and collections of poems with translations).

(J. W. Fück)

IBN AL-ZUBAYR, Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr b. Muḥammad al-Thaḳafī al-ʿĀṣimī, Andalusian traditionist, reader of the Ḳurʾān, man of letters and historian, born at Jaén (Djayyān) in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 627/September-October 1230, d. Granada on 8 Rabīʿ I 708/26 August 1308. He seems to have been particularly interested in Ḳurʾānic 'readings', but his biographers speak very highly of his knowledge of the Arabic language and describe him as "the *muḥaddith* of al-Andalus and of the Maghrib". His propensity for redressing wrongs got him into trouble in his native town, then at Malaga, whither he had had to flee; his action against a sorcerer called Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī, who had a strong influence over the local authorities, obliged him to leave the town and go to Granada where he is said to have succeeded in having condemned to death the magician, who had been given a mission to carry out by the ruler of Malaga. He was at first received with honour by the *amīr* of Granada, but later had some disagreements with him. Then his situation improved and he was probably able to devote himself freely to his teaching activities, while holding the offices of *khaṭīb* and of *imām* at the Great Mosque, and of *ḳāḍī* in charge of marriages. He ended his days in Granada, respected by all the inhabitants. He left a number of works whose titles are mentioned by his biographers: *Milāk al-taʾwīl fi 'l-mutashābih al-lafẓ fi 'l-Tanzīl*, *al-Burhān fī tartīb suwar al-Ḳurʾān*, *al-Iʿlām bi-man khutima bi-h al-ḳuṭr al-andalusī min al-aʿlām*, *K. al-Zamān wa 'l-makān*, *Radd al-djāhil min iʿtisāf al-madjāhil*, a *Muʿdjam*, a *taʿlīḳ* on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh and finally, the only one which has in part survived, the *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, a continuation of the *Takmila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*], the last part of which was published by E. Lévi-Provençal, at Rabat in 1937; this work contains Andalusian biographies of the 6th and 7th/12th and 13th centuries.

Bibliography: Introd. to the ed. by Lévi-Provençal; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, i, 72; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Fez ed., 57; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-Ḥidjāl*, ed. Allouche, Rabat 1934-6, no. 8; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 275; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, i, 84-8, no. 232; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 126-7; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 363, ii, 115, v, 626; Dozy, *De Abbadidis*, ii, 166; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 268; Brockelmann, S II, 376-7; *DM*, iii, 132.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN AL-ZUBAYR, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayr b. Bakkār ... b. al-Zubayr b. al ʿAwwām, genealogist. He was born in Medina in 172/788. Falling foul of the ʿAlid faction he went to Baghdād, where he is known to have been in 235/850. In 242/856 he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Mecca and died there in 256/870. Over 30 titles of works by him are quoted but of them only two are extant: *al-Muwaffaḳiyyāt*, a collection of anecdotes compiled for Muwaffaḳ, son of the Caliph Mutawakkil, and the celebrated [*Djamharat*] *Nasab Ḳuraysh wa-akhbārhā*. In spite of its fame the second half only of *Nasab Ḳuraysh* has survived (ed. Maḥmūd M. Shākir, Cairo 1381/1961).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 141, S I, 215; Sezgin, i, 317; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 218-20; Dhahabī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, *ṭabaḳa* 8, no. 124; there is a very full introduction to Shākir's edition.

(J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN AL-ZUBAYR [see ʿabd allāh b. al-zubayr; muṣʿab b. al-zubayr].

IBN ZUHR, patronymic of a family of scholars who came originally from Arabia (Iyād) and settled, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, at Djafu Shāṭiba (Játiva) in the east of Spain. Ibn Khallikān says of the members of this family that they were "all *ʿulamāʾ*, *ruʾasāʾ*, *ḥukamāʾ* and viziers who reached high ranks in the entourages of princes".

I. Zuhr al-Iyādī was the father of Marwān, who was the father of Abū Bakr Muḥammad, who was famous as a jurisconsult; he died at Talabīra (Talavera) in 422/1030-1.

II. Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. Zuhr al-Iyādī came from Seville. He was well versed in the Ḳurʾānic sciences and in *fiḳh*, following in this the example of his father. His own interests were in the study of the different types of sciences. He left for the East with the intention of performing the Pilgrimage, went to Ḳayrawān, and then to Cairo, where he spent a long time studying medicine. Ibn Khallikān relates a slightly different itinerary, stating that he went first as far as Baghdād and stopped on the way back in Egypt and at Ḳayrawān. Ibn al-Abbār says that he became a famous and excellent physician. Returning to Spain, he settled at Dāniya (Denia), where he was welcomed by Mudjāhid [*q.v.*], who was reigning there at that time. His fame spread to all the provinces in the peninsula. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa relates that he held unorthodox opinions (*ārāʾ shādhdha*) in medicine, for instance he forbade hot baths (*ḥammām*) because they had a poisonous action (*yaʿfin al-adjsām*) and because they interfered with the composition of the humours. He died at Denia, according to Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn Khallikān, at Seville, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, in about 470/1078 as Ibn al-Abbār surmises.

III. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, son of the above; generally known by the mediaeval western scholars by his *kunya* only: Aboali, Abuleli, Ebilule, or followed by Zuhr: Abulelizor, Albuleizor.

(1) Life. Born in Seville, he went to Cordova where he met Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī, who taught in the Great Mosque and who advised him to study the science of *ḥadīth* with Abū Bakr ibn Mufawwaz and Abū Djaʿfar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He "heard" (*samiʿa*) from Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Ayyūb the reading of that category of *ḥadīths* which have been transmitted by the guarantors in a chain and with "a

touching of hands" (*al-ḥadīth al-musalsal fi 'l-akhdh bi 'l-yad*). This means that he received in the subject the most thorough education. Many scholars, before taking up one of the natural sciences or philosophy, began with a serious study of the religious sciences. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ was also distinguished in belles lettres (*adab*). He was in correspondence with al-Ḥarīrī, the author of the *Maḳāmāt*. But he had a predilection for medicine. While still quite young, during the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid, the ʿAbbādid ruler of Seville (433-60/1042-68), he had studied this art which he learned from his father. He became famous in it and "eclipsed all who had preceded him with the breadth of his knowledge of it and with the wisdom he showed in making use of it, so much so that the people of the Maghrib made him and his family, in this matter, a subject of boasting" (Ibn al-Abbār). Al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād gave his patronage to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, who was always grateful to him for this, although he supported the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn (who became master of the country in 484/1091). It is not clear whether he was Yūsuf's vizier. Wüstenfeld says so (*Geschichte*, 89-90), but the biographers are silent on this precise point. They mention only that he took part in the administration of public affairs at an exceptionally high level. The manuscript of the *Tadhkira* gives him this title of *wazīr* (so that the western writers called him Alguazir Albuleizor). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ died at Cordova in 525/1130, from a *naghla*, "a senile wart turned malignant" (G. Colin. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa tells us that this is the name given in Spain to a *dubayla*, which, according to Dozy, is "an ulcer, the pus of which is ichorous in whatever part of the body it appears", and which G. Colin, who distinguishes it from a *naghla*, identifies with a gastric ulcer, while H. Jahier (in his translation of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Algiers 1958), translates as "phlegmon gangréneux" without questioning the assimilation of the two terms). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ was buried in Seville.

(2) Works. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa mentions 9 works by him. Two are devoted to medical observations (*mudjarrabāt*). The others are: "The book of the properties of drugs" (*K. al-Khawāṣṣ*); "The book of simple medicaments" (*K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada*); the "Explanation through witnesses of the libel" (*K. al-Īḍāḥ bi-shawāhid al-iftiḍāḥ*) against Ibn Riḍwān (d. 460/1068) and his refutation of the "Book of introduction to medicine" of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ; the "Solution of the doubts of al-Rāzī concerning the books of Galen" (*K. Ḥall shukūk al-Rāzī ʿalā kutub Djālīnūs*); a "Treatise refuting Avicenna" on some passages in his "Book of simple medicaments" (*Maḳāla fi 'l-radd ʿalā Abī ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā ...*); an expansion of the *Risāla* of Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī on the composition of medicaments (*Maḳāla fī basṭihi li-risālat... al-Kindī fī tarkīb al-adwiya*). And finally the following title: "The book of delicate medical questions" (*K. al-Nukaṭ al-ṭibbiyya*), which G. Colin considers to indicate the work which he has edited under the title of *Tadhkira* (taken from the *explicit* of the Paris MS: *kamalat al-Tadhkira*); it is a brief treatise, written for his son, in which each *nukṭa* is introduced by *tadhakkar* ("remember").

(3) As a physician. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ owed his fame to his skill as a practising physician. He diagnosed without questioning his patients, but merely by examining the urine and taking the pulse. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, who relates this, probably did so in order to emphasize his great experience and perspicacity. In fact, if this report is true, it should be pointed out that Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ was wrong to abandon a method which had become part of Arab medical practice and which consisted of finding out about the patient's forbears and ancestry and about the conditions under which he lived. Be that as it may, it is reported that he used for his treatment some "extraordinary" medicines (*nawādir*), which may be taken to mean either that they were rare or that they were wonderfully efficacious. He had a wide knowledge of the classical writers. It was during his lifetime that the Canon of Avicenna was introduced in the West. A merchant coming from ʿIrāḳ offered him a copy; but Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, having read it, found fault with it and put it aside to use the margins for writing out his prescriptions. G. Colin rightly points out that though he may not have agreed with Avicenna on every point yet he did not consider him entirely worthless, since he took the trouble to refute his book on simple medicaments.

In the *Tadhkira* the practitioner's ideal is seen more clearly. Unlike the physicians of his time, whom he accuses of using medicine with insufficient precautions, he counsels prudence (*ḥazm*) in treatment. In the field of medicine based on the humours and on therapeutics based on the qualities of the remedies (cold, hot, dry and wet) and on their degrees, he shows the error of attempting to restore the equilibrium of the temperament by administering the remedy in too great a dose and thus setting off a reaction in the opposite direction. The corrective strength of the medication must be in proportion to the pathogenic tendency (*bi-ḳadr dhalik al-mayl*). "How often have doctors helped on the causes of death!", he exclaims. From this arises his basic principle in treating a patient: it is necessary, so to speak, to try on the patient the simple or composite remedy, using it at first "at the beginning of the lowest degree" (*fī awwal al-daradjat al-ūlā*). Then, according to the results obtained, the physician will gradually increase its strength. It is wrong to hurry, even if one is certain of not making a mistake. As for the medicaments themselves, care should be taken to mix them with substances which are capable on the one hand of conveying them to the diseased organs, and on the other hand of correcting any harmful side-effects which they may have. These practical recommendations based the progress of the medical art on the precise observation of the effects of a treatment prudently administered, and thus experimental, which is in itself already a positive method.

IV. Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr, son of the above, usually referred to under the name of Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr (the Abhomeron Avenzoar of the mediaeval West). He was born in Seville. His biographers do not give his date of birth but, from various indications, G. Colin places it in about 484-7/1092-5. He died at Seville in 557/1161.

(1) Life. He was taught medicine by his father and excelled in it an early age. He had received also a solid literary and juridical education. He does not seem to have travelled to the East, but he cerainly went to North Africa. He was in the service of the Almoravid dynasty and received wealth and favours from these rulers. It was for one of them, Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, that he wrote the *Kitāb al-Iḳtiṣād* (Ibn al-Abbār gives it as *K. al-Iḳtiḍāʾ*, a title which G. Colin corrected), completed in 515/1121. In 535/1140, he was in prison at Marrākush, the town being in the power of Ibrāhīm's brother, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn (cf. Ibn al-Abbār, no. 1717). The reason for this disgrace is not known, but Abū Marwān, in his *Taysīr*, refers to this ruler as "the

wretched ʿAlī", and in his "Book of foods" he mentions "the time of suffering which I was forced to endure by the *amīr*". During the Almohad period, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin took him into his personal service and "had confidence in him in medical matters" (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa). He was appointed vizier. Ibn Rus̲h̲d [*q.v.*] became his friend (but was not his pupil) and it seems that they studied some subjects together and collaborated to a certain extent. Abū Marwān died from the same disease as his father. An anecdote (given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa) relates that when Abū Marwān predicted to a colleague named al-Fār that he would die of convulsions (*s̲h̲anād̲j̲*) because he ate too many figs, the other replied that he would die of a *nag̲h̲la* because he did not eat enough of them. Both prognostications proved correct.

(2) Works. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Abū Marwān wrote six works: the *Taysīr fi 'l-mudāwāt wa 'l-tadbīr* ("Practical manual of treatments and diets"), followed by a formulary, the *D̲j̲āmiʿ*; *K. al-Ag̲h̲d̲h̲iya* ("Book of foods"); *K. al Zīna* ("Book of embellishment", written for his son Abū Bakr, on purgatives); *Maḳāla fi ʿilal al-kulā* ("Treatise on diseases of the kidneys"); *Risāla fī ʿillatay al-baraṣ wa 'l-bahaḳ* (letter to a doctor in Seville on white leprosy, or vitiligo, and pityriasis); *Tad̲h̲kira*, for his son Abū Bakr (G. Colin thinks that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa must have attributed this work to Abū Marwān in error, when it was really by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ). To this list should be added the *K. al-Iḳtiṣād fī iṣlāḥ al-anfus wa 'l-ad̲j̲sād* mentioned by Ibn al-Abbār. Of these six works there have survived the *K. al-Iḳtiṣād*, which dates from 515/1121; the *Taysīr*, written between 1121 and 1162; and the "Book of foods" (between 1130 and 1162).

The first is an "abridged summary" (*d̲j̲umla mukh̲taṣara*) which combines "the methods of therapeutics (*ṭibb*) and of prophylaxis (*rutba*)". It was intended to be read in public before the ruler, and was therefore divided into equal sections of medium length (*iḳtiṣād* is the term for this type of division), in the same way as the Ḳurʾān is divided for the same purpose; since the Ḳurʾān has thirty of these sections, Abū Marwān's work was intended to consist of the same number, but only half of them (15) have survived. It begins with a general introduction, in which the author distinguishes between *ṭibb* and *rutba* and then between the medicine of the body and the medicine of the soul. There follows the enumeration of the three souls: the rational, in the brain; the animal, in the heart; the natural, in the liver. The two last are normally subordinated to the first. Then Avenzoar reviews the treatments of the different organs, beginning with the tongue, since it is thanks to it that man is able to praise God. The description of the diseases takes second place to the details of therapeutic measures.

The *Taysīr* begins, after an introduction which includes some "recettes cabalistiques" (G. Colin), with a descriptive study of ailments and their treatment. It follows approximately an order which had become traditional, starting with the head and ending with the feet. But the plan is very flexible. Following his father, Abū Marwān stresses the value of experiment. His observations lead him to some original views: a description of mediastinal tumours (*al-awrām allatī taḥdut̲h̲u fi 'l-g̲h̲is̲h̲āʾ allad̲h̲ī yaḳsim al-ṣadr ṭūlan*, book i, 16, ch. VI); of pericardial abscesses (*awrām g̲h̲is̲h̲āʾ al-ḳalb*, book i, 12, ch. VII), which he was the first to describe. Also interesting are the chapters on intestinal erosions (*saḥd̲j̲*), paralysis of the pharynx, and inflammation of the middle ear. He was one of the first to recommend tracheotomy, and artificial feeding via the oesophagus or the rectum. He points out the harm caused by marsh vapours. His study of scabies should also be mentioned. He described the agent of this disease (*sarcoptes scabiei*), and he was among the first, though not actually the first, to do so: as has been pointed out by G. Sarton, he was preceded in this by Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī (second half of the 4th/10th century); cf. the German translation of some passages from the *K. al-Muʿālad̲j̲a al-buḳrāṭiyya* of al-Ṭabarī, by Muḥammad Rihāb, in *Archiv für Geschichte des Medizin*, xix (1927), 134 and *Isis*, x, 119.

The *K. al-Ag̲h̲d̲h̲iya* deals with the various diets, with condiments, culinary preparations, and drinks. It also covers medicaments (and it is here that we find what G. Colin refers to as cabalistic medicine), as well as rules of hygiene (cf. Renaud, in *Hespéris*, xii).

(3) As a physician. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa relates several anecdotes intended to illustrate Abū Marwān's skill and perspi acity. He succeeded in administering a purgative to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who was averse to this treatment, by making him eat some grapes picked from a vine which the skilful doctor had watered with water mixed with purgative drugs. On another occasion, he cured a man who had an enormous belly and had intestinal trouble by pointing out that he drank water from a ewer of doubtful cleanliness: he broke the ewer and there was seen to emerge from it a frog which had slid in and grown fat there and was the cause of the illness. Ibn Rus̲h̲d wrote in his *Colliget* that for anyone wishing to study the treatises on therapeutics (*kanānis̲h̲*), the best of all is the *Taysīr*, which he had asked his friend to compile and which he had transcribed. While praising the *Taysīr* only for its practical application, Ibn Rus̲h̲d underlines, perhaps unwittingly but nevertheless very clearly, the type of medicine practised by Avenzoar, which was less a general science (on this point Avenzoar is not original and reproduces the system of Galen) than a very practical art of healing. Finally it should be mentioned that Abū Marwān, as an article of faith and perhaps also through conviction, seems to adhere to the As̲h̲ʿarī doctrine that secondary causes are not necessary. A good medicine cures if God wills it. He himself, stricken by the malady from which he was to die and urged by his son to try new remedies, declared: "If God wished to change this my bodily frame, He will not give me power to use remedies other than those which will carry out His decree and His will".

V. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Zuhr al-Ḥafīd ("the grandson"), son of the above; born Seville in 504/1110-11 (or 507), d. 595/1198-9 He learned the Ḳurʾān by heart, and studied traditions and Arabic language and literature. He had read with ʿAbd al-Malik al-Bād̲j̲ī the *Mudawwana* of Ṣaḥnūn on the doctrine of Mālik and the *Musnad* of Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba. He was outstanding in everything. He received his medical education from his father and he in his turn distinguished himself in the practice of this art. He was also a poet, famous for his *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥāt*. He practised archery and played chess. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa describes him as a man of physical, moral and intellectual accomplishments. He enjoyed the confidence of the caliph Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr who summoned him to Africa as his personal physician. When this ruler decided to have all books of logic and philosophy destroyed, he put Abū Bakr in charge of this operation, allowing him as an

exception to retain the works which were his own personal property. Abū Bakr carried this out faithfully. But Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, who relates the matter, probably wishing to illustrate the spirit in which the great physician performed this, gives immediately afterwards an anecdote which may be summarized thus: Abū Bakr had discovered two of his students in the possession of a book of logic; he was angry and confiscated the book. But later, when he had completed the medical education of the two students, he directed them to study carefully the religious sciences, and it was only after this that he returned to them their book of logic, with the remark: "Now you are equipped to read this book and others like it".

The vizier Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūdjān, a jealous and spiteful man, had him poisoned. He was mourned by the caliph.

Abū Bakr had been above all a practising physician. He did however write a treatise on ophthalmology. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and Ibn Khallikān have preserved a number of his poems, for which he had been as famous as for his medical skill.

VI. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥafīd, son of the above, born at Seville in 577/1181-2, and died of poison at Salé in 602/1205-6, at the age of twenty-five. His body was later taken to Seville and buried beside his ancestors at the Gate of Victory. He had learned medicine from his father and he too had been initiated into the secrets of medical practice. Also with his father, he had studied the *Kitāb al-Nabāt* of Abū Ḥanifa al-Dīnawarī. He was attached to the service of the caliph al-Nāṣir b. al-Manṣūr. On his death, he left two sons, who both lived at Seville. The younger, Abu 'l-ʿAlā' Muḥammad, studied the works of Galen.

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II. General bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 486/640, 487/642, S I, 889, 890; G. Colin, *Avenzoar, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Paris 1911; idem, *La Tedhkira d'Abū'l-ʿAlā'*, Paris 1911 (reviews by Cl. Huart, in *JA*, 1913, I and II; interesting corrections of the translation of the *Tadhkira*); G. Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 230-4; H. P. J. Renaud, *Trois études d'histoire de la médecine en Occident*, in *Hespéris*, xii (1931); idem, in *Hespéris*, xx (1935), 87, review of the thesis of Abdalmalik Faraj, *Relations hispano-maghrébines au XIIe siècle*, Paris 1935. (R. Arnaldez)

IBN ZŪLĀḲ (or zawlāk), Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm ... al-Laythī, born 306/919, died 386/996, Egyptian historian, the author of a number of biographical, historical and topographical works on Egypt in the time of the Ikhshīdids and early Fāṭimids. These works, though almost entirely lost, underlie a good deal of subsequent historiography relating to this period. He is said to have written continuations to the works of al-Kindī [*q.v.*] on the governors and judges of Egypt, a book on the Mādharā'ī [*q.v.*] family of officials, and others on the reigns of the Ikhshīd, Kāfūr, al-Muʿizz and, according to some, al-ʿAzīz. A biography of Djawhar, mentioned in an Ismāʿīlī bibliography, is probably, as Ivanow suggests, an extract from the book on al-Muʿizz. These works are quoted extensively by Maḳrīzī, both in the *Khiṭaṭ* and the *Ittiʿāẓ*, by Ibn Saʿīd, by Ibn Ḥadjar in his *Rafʿ al-iṣr* (i, Cairo 1957, 2), and by other later authors. A manuscript biography of the Egyptian grammarian Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kindī al-Ṣayrafī [see ibn al-ṣayrafī], preserved in the Egyptian library, is ascribed to him (Cairo catalogue, v, 1348/1930, 14).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iii, 7-9; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ ed., i, 167 = De Slane, i, 388; Brockelmann, I, 149, S I 230; Kaḥḥāla, iii, 194; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 220; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens* ..., i, Strasburg 1902, 13-15; R. Gottheil, *Al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrahim ibn Zūlāḳ*, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1907), 254-70; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*[2], Leiden 1968, 154-5; W. Ivanow, *Ismaili literature: a bibliographical survey*[2], Tehrān 1963, 39. (Ed.)

IBN ZURʿA, Abū ʿAlī ʿĪsā b. Isḥāḳ b. Zurʿa, Jacobite Christian philosopher, apologist and translator, born at Baghdād in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 331/August 943, d. on 6 Shaʿbān 398/16 April 1008 (the respective dates of 371/981 and 448/1056 given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa should not be accepted, since Ibn Zurʿa is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (circa 377/987), and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa himself speaks of his relations with Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, d. 364/975). He studied literature, physics, mathematics and then philosophy under the direction of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*]; he seems also to have studied medicine, since Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa includes him among the famous physicians. Nevertheless he was forced to earn his living by engaging in commercial activities and trading in particular with Byzantium, which, in the opinion of Abū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī, hindered greatly his philosophical work. Furthermore, his competitors denounced him to the authorities, accusing him of secret intrigues with Byzantium, so that he was arrested and sentenced, and his possessions were confiscated. These disasters ruined his already poor health and hastened his death.

Ibn Zurʿa translated or abridged, probably from the Syriac, several works of Aristotle and in particular the *Historia Animalium*; he is, because of this, esteemed as a translator. However, his fame is based on a number of treatises on philosophy, theology and of apologetics, which are mostly lost. Of the list of his works given by Ibn al-Nadīm and completed by al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, it appears that there has survived only one translation (the Sophistical Refutations of Aristotle, *Sūfisṭīḳā*, ms. Paris, ar. 2346; see ʿA. Badawī, *Manṭiḳ Arisṭū*, iii, 737-1016), and ten or so treatises. Four of these have been published by P. Sbath (*Vingt traités philosophiques et apologétiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens du IXe au XIVe siècle*, Cairo 1929); a treatise on the intellect (68-75); a letter to a Muslim friend on the existence of God (6-19); a refutation of the *Awā'il al-adilla fī uṣūl al-dīn* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Balkhī (52-8), the *Risāla ila 'l-Yahūdī Bishr b. Finḥās* (19-52). Six others exist in manuscript, especially in Paris (BN 132, 173, 174) and in the Vatican (113, 123, 127, 135): Replies to the five questions of Abū Ḥakīm Yūsuf al-Buḥayrī; Replies to twelve other questions by the above; Treatise on union; a defence of the Jacobite doctrine; Questions concerning the attitude of the body during prayer, concerning vows, fasting and almsgiving; a Treatise in which he defends those who devote themselves to logic and philosophy. It should be stated that the attribution of these works to Ibn Zurʿa is not absolutely certain; at least two other texts have been falsely attributed to him: the

Maḳāla fī māhiyyat ittiḥād al-Naṣārā of Abū ʿAlī Naṣīf b. Yumn, and a fragment of the *Kitāb al-Madjāmiʿ* of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (Severus).

The surviving works of Ibn Zurʿa have formed the subject of a thesis (unpublished) presented at the Sorbonne in 1952 by Cyrille Haddad: *ʿĪsā ibn Zurʿa, philosophe arabe et apologiste chrétien du Xᵉ siècle*. This study shows that Ibn Zurʿa follows in general his teacher, Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, but departs from him on points of detail, makes great use of Aristotelian logic, of Platonic or Plotinan doctrine, of the Bible and of the Fathers of the Church, in order to present, in a fairly heavy style, a cool but scholarly and rational apologetic, which only rarely has recourse to *argumentum ad hominem*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadim, index (Cairo ed., 369-70); Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 33; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ii, 245 f.; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, iii, 277; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 235 ff.; Bayhaḳī, *Tatimma*, 66-9; Suter, 77; Graf, *Geschichte der christl. ar. Lit.*, ii, 52 ff.; Cheikho, *Cat. des mss des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'Islam*, Beirut 1924; Brockelmann, I, 208, S I, 371; *DM*, iii, 133-4.

(Ed.)

IBO [see NIGERIA].

IBRĀHĪM, the ABRAHAM of the Bible, plays in Islamic religious history an important role as the founder or reformer of the monotheistic Kaʿba cult. He is mentioned, in greater or less detail, in 25 *sūra*s of the Ḳurʾān. Moses is the only Biblical character who is mentioned more frequently, though this does not mean that Abraham is considered second to him in importance.

In two *sūra*s, which are to be dated from the first Meccan period, there is a reference to the "leaves, scrolls" (*ṣuḥuf*) of Abraham and Moses, by which presumably texts of revelation are meant (LXXXVII, 18f.; LIII, 36f.). In the latter passage Abraham is indicated as he "who paid his debt in full". In a whole series of *sūra*s of the second and third Meccan period it is related how Abraham attacked the idol-worship of his father (named Āzar in *sūra* VI, 74) and his people and advocated belief in one single God (XXXVII, 83-98; XXVI, 69-89; XIX, 41-50; XLIII, 26-8; XXI, 51-73; XXIX, 16-27; VI, 74-84). Moreover, in one passage Abraham is explicitly referred to as a "speaker of truth" (*ṣiddīḳ*) and a prophet. In some *sūra*s of the first(?) to third Meccan periods the story of the visit to Abraham of the men sent by God is related in connexion with the announcement of the punishment to be imposed on Lot's people (LI, 24-34; XV, 51-60; XI, 69-76; XXIX, 31f.; cf. Genesis, xviii). In *sūra* XXXVII the account of Abraham's struggle against the idolatry of his countrymen leads into the story of the sacrifice of Isaac (without mentioning the latter by name, verses 100-11; the reference to the announcement of Isaac appears only subsequently, verse 112 f.). In a large number of the other passages mentioned above dating from the Meccan periods, reference is made to Abraham's descendants. Some of these speak generally of a young man (*ghulām*), who is not given a name (LI, 28; XV, 53; XXXVII, 101); in one place Isaac is mentioned alone (XXXVII, 112f., see above); in five places he is mentioned together with Jacob, who in this connexion appears as another son of Abraham and not as his grandson (XIX, 49; XXI 72; XXIX, 27; VI, 84; XI, 71; cf. XXXVIII, 45-7; XII, 6, 38). On the occasions when the name of Ishmael is mentioned too, it appears without any reference to the person and history of Abraham (XIX, 54f.; XXXVIII, 48; XXI, 85; VI, 86).

In the *sūra*s of the Medinan period, Abraham as a figure in religious history becomes still more prominent, together with Ishmael, who from then on no longer leads an isolated and shadowy existence, but rather supports his father in the effort to build up the Kaʿba in Mecca as a centre of pilgrimage and make it into a place of pure monotheistic belief (II, 124-41; III, 65-8, 95-7; IV, 125; XXII, 26-9, 78). Ishmael as well as Isaac, of whom he takes precedence, is now referred to as Abraham's son and Jacob is no longer considered as another son but—in accordance with the Biblical genealogy—as Abraham's grandson (II, 132f.; II, 136 = III, 84; II, 140; IV, 163). Islam is referred to simply as "the religion of Abraham" (*millat Ibrāhīm*), and Abraham is given the epithet *ḥanīf* [*q.v.*], to which is frequently added the remark "and he was not a pagan" (II, 135; III, 67, 95; IV, 125; XXII, 31, 78). In *sūra* IV, 125, in which also Abraham is described as *ḥanīf*, it is stated in addition that God took him as a friend (*khalīl*, cf. Isaiah xli, 8. Hence the later designation of Hebron, the alleged burial place of Abraham, as al-Khalīl).

In his dissertation *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, C. Snouck Hurgronje brought together and interpreted all these facts which are documented in the Ḳurʾān in a synthesis which traces their development (Leiden 1880, 29-47 = *Verspreide Geschriften*, i, 1923, 22-33). He concluded that it was not until after the Hidjra that Muḥammad, on the occasion of his controversy with the Jews, pronounced the Old Testament patriarch a *ḥanīf* and the first Muslim, and maintained that he, together with Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs, built the Kaʿba and introduced the ceremonies of the Pilgrimage. Abraham — always according to Snouck Hurgronje—became only at this juncture the most important forerunner of the Arabian Prophet: Islam was able to claim, as being the religion of pure monotheism already propagated by Abraham, priority over both Judaism (founded by Moses) and Christianity (founded by Jesus).

This thesis of Snouck Hurgronje became more widely known through a supplement which A. J. Wensinck added to the article IBRĀHĪM in *EI*¹ and provoked contradiction and denial, especially from Muslims. In the Arabic translation of *EI*¹ these criticisms were expressed in a detailed commentary on the article IBRĀHĪM. Some non-Muslims as well expressed doubts about Snouck Hurgronje's reasoning and conclusions. They were criticized by Youakim Moubarac, a pupil of Louis Massignon, in a special work (1958), in an attempt to mediate between Islam and Christianity; his criticism however went too far. More moderate and scientifically better grounded is the opinion of Edmund Beck (in *Le Muséon*, lxv, 1952). Snouck Hurgronje's reasoning has indeed certain weaknesses. In three *sūra*s which are attributed to the third Meccan period (XIV, XVI, VI) there is already anticipated the role of Abraham which is characteristic of the Medinan period: in *sūra* XIV, 35-41, Abraham appears, after Ishmael and Isaac have been born to him in spite of his great age, as the ancestor of the inhabitants of Mecca and prays to God that He will "make this place secure". And the passages XVI, 120-3, VI, 79, 161 speak of the religion (*milla*) of Abraham as that of a *ḥanīf* who was not a pagan (cf. also X, 105, in which however Abraham is not named). Snouck Hurgronje avoided the difficulty by

regarding these passages as later, Medinan, interpolations. This is however a rather questionable method. But even if it is granted that he is right on this point (the individual *sūras* are admittedly often made up of passages from different periods), it must be admitted that already long before the Hidjra Muḥammad had esteemed Abraham as the champion of a pure monotheistic faith, so that in the period following the Hidjra it was not an entirely new function which was attributed to him. E. Beck summarizes the results of his reflections on this as follows: "(1) Muḥammad had regarded Mecca as connected with Abraham already in the Meccan period, before associating Ishmael with this patriarch. (2) Also the conception implied by the term *millat Ibrāhīm* did not arise exclusively from the polemic with Jews (and Christians) which took place in the early Medinan period. The idea and the expression are derived from a development which reaches back far into the Meccan period. The development itself occurred organically, favoured and accelerated by the Jewish and Christian opponents, whose arguments Muḥammad was able skilfully to turn to his own purpose". The above conclusions of E. Beck are however little more than a slight modification of Snouck Hurgronje's thesis. They do not remove the divergences which exist between the opinions of Muslims and non-Muslims over the figure of Abraham as presented in the Ḳur'ān. The former consider that Abraham actually was in Mecca and, together with Ishmael, built the Kaʿba there and spread the pure monotheistic faith. Non-Muslims regard this merely as a religious legend. At the present stage of the dialogue there can be no reconciliation of the two points of view.

In the statements collected above on the history of Abraham as presented in the Ḳur'ān there have been indicated only the most important basic themes. There are many details which could be mentioned. Among these are the rescue of Abraham from the fire into which his heathen compatriots had thrown him (XXXVII, 97 f.; XXI, 68-70; XXIX, 24); his intercession on behalf of his pagan father (XIX, 47; XXVI, 86; LX, 4-6; IX, 114); his quarrel with the autocratic king (Nimrod, II, 258); the killing of the four birds (II, 260; cf. Genesis, xv, 9 ff.). Much more material exists in the commentaries on the Ḳur'ān, the histories of the prophets (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*) and works of universal history. It is in part borrowed from Jewish sources and may for the most part be termed scholarly or pseudo-scholarly edifying supplementation. Episodes which are described with excessively fantastic details are the arguments between the believer Abraham and the pagan king Nimrod, the story of the sacrifice of Abraham's son, which was averted at the last minute (on which there remains disagreement on whether the son was Isaac or Ishmael), and the sojourn in Mecca of Hagar and Ishmael. In some cases the Islamic legend of Abraham has even influenced the later Jewish tradition. There is no need to go further into these byways here, particularly since Grünbaum, Eisenberg, Sidersky and Schützinger have already dealt with them exhaustively (see bibl.). It may be mentioned in passing that the Biblical name of Abraham's father (*Tĕraḥ*) is correctly transmitted in the above-mentioned secondary literature (*T'rkh*), whereas in the Ḳur'ān (VI, 74) he is called Āzar. (On this name, see J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, 85 f.)

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(R. PARET)

IBRĀHĪM I B. AL-AGHLAB B. SĀLIM B. ʿIḲĀL (184-96/800-12), founder of the Ifrīḳiyan dynasty of the Aghlabids, was a Tamīmī of the clan of the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt. This clan, as a result of the Muslim conquests, had settled at a very early date in Khurāsān, where they were enemies especially of the Muhallabids, whom Ibrāhīm was later to encounter again in Egypt and then in Ifrīḳiya. It was thus that al-Aghlab, the eponymous ancestor of the Aghlabids, was born at Marw al-Rūdh. He embraced the cause of the ʿAbbāsids, of whom he was one of the most fervent supporters with Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī. It was in their service that he first visited the Maghrib in the army of Ibn al-Ashʿath. The latter appointed him to be in charge of the Zāb (144/761), that is, the region of the Aurès to the south of the present-day Constantinois. In 148/765, Ibn al-Ashʿath was driven out by his own troops, and al-Aghlab replaced him at Ḳayrawān, beneath the walls of which he was killed during one of the numerous insurrections which continually rent the country.

His family returned towards Egypt. Ibrāhīm at this time was ten years of age. He began his education with a thorough study of *fiḳh* and was one of the most brilliant pupils of al-Layth b. Saʿd (d. 179/795). But being descended from one of the most illustrious officers of the ʿAbbāsid army, he necessarily followed the tradition of his family. He thus joined the *djund* of Egypt and took a fatal part in the upheavals which were disturbing the country. He took part in 174/790 in the pillage of the public treasury, taking only his exact due "without anything extra", according to al-Balādhurī. This action caused him to be banished by the Muhallabid

governor of Egypt and obliged to live under supervision in the Zāb, which was governed by another Muhallabid, i.e. by a traditional enemy of the family.

Helped by the troubles which were continually disturbing Ifrīḳiya, Ibrāhīm managed to consolidate his position in the Zāb, where the memory of his father was still fresh. He learned above all not to exceed the bounds of the law. Mellowed by his trials, he held himself aloof from the insurrections and, as the result of a power vacuum in the Zāb (a consequence of those insurrections), he came to possess real *de facto* authority there. In 179/795, Harthama, who had come from Baghdād to restore law and order in the country, transformed this *de facto* authority into a proper investiture. Probably two years later, Ibrāhīm was promoted by al-Rashīd, who was apparently satisfied with his services, from the rank of deputy-governor to that of governor of the Zāb responsible directly to himself.

Soon a new insurrection was to give him the keys of Ḳayrawān. In Ramaḍān 183/October 799, Tammān, the Tamīmī governor of Tunis (belonging to the clan of the Malik b. Zayd Manāt, who were hostile to the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt) had driven Ibn al-ʿAkkī out of Ḳayrawān. From the Zāb, Ibrāhīm rushed in to restore the legitimate governor to his rights. This restoration of the *status quo* did not in fact receive the support of the caliphate or that of the Ifrīḳiyans. Therefore, for various reasons of Baghdādī and Ifrīḳiyan policy, Ibrāhīm was invited to take the place of Ibn al-ʿAkkī, and al-Rashīd, in return for a favourable financial arrangement, was persuaded to confer on him the title of hereditary *amīr*. In this way Ifrīḳiya acquired, peacefully and painlessly, the status of an autonomous emirate.

This easy accession to power was not, however, without difficulties for Ibrāhīm. He had to contend with the hostility of the *fuḳahāʾ* and members of the *djund*. He had to suffer many affronts, and use much moderation, cunning and energy in order to consolidate his régime. On his accession he built, two miles south of Ḳayrawān, a fortified residence, al-ʿAbbāsiyya [*q.v.*], which, garrisoned by a strong guard of black soldiers, was to save the dynasty on more than one occasion. The first rebellion broke out at Tunis (186/802), then there was another at Tripoli (189/805). But the most serious uprising was that of the *djund*, which was put down only with the help of reinforcements opportunely sent by the caliph. And when Ibrāhīm I died (21 Shawwāl 196/5 July 812), his son and successor ʿAbd Allāh was besieged in Tripoli.

Ibrāhīm I was remembered as a cultured, energetic and just ruler. Al-Nuwayrī writes: "He was a *faḳīh*, scholar, orator and poet. He was also a man of judgement and energy . . . Never before his reign had Ifrīḳiya been ruled by an *amīr* so just in his conduct, so exemplary in his policy, so benevolent to his subjects and so energetic in the organization of affairs".

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(M. Talbi)

IBRĀHĪM II, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, born 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 235/27 June 850, was, after Ibrāhīm I, the most outstanding personality of the Aghlabid dynasty, being distinguished as much for his exceptional qualities as for his barely credible crimes. Raised to power by the enthusiasm of the people, in place of the legitimate successor who was still a minor and of whom he was to have been the regent, he began his reign (261/875) with just measures and wise administration. With this aim, he did not shrink from unpopular but salutary measures such as withdrawing from circulation valueless fragments of coin (*ḳiṭaʿ*) which had become current, an action which very nearly gave rise to a serious riot in Ḳayrawān (*thawrat al-darāhim*). He was able on this occasion to act calmly and, while holding to his decision, to avoid bloodshed.

But, affected by a mental illness which was gradually to get worse, he very soon in fact deliberately built up a system of complete despotism in matters of government, and, abusing this right, caused much bloodshed. He certainly committed, to achieve his policy and also gratuitously, many crimes, and even more were attributed to him. He was thus regarded by posterity as a monster, and was remembered chiefly as the grim hero of a series of horrible stories in which the victims were his daughters, his sons, his servants, his favourites, his slave girls and many others. In this terrifying portrait of him given by the majority of the chroniclers, a large part was certainly played by Ismāʿīlī propaganda, which was particularly active at the end of his reign.

The despotism of Ibrāhīm II did not fail to provoke violent reactions. The Berbers, more exposed to it than the others, were the first to revolt (268-9/881-3) throughout the kingdom and were severely punished. The bodies of the victims were borne away by cartloads and thrown into common graves. Twelve years later (280/893), it was the turn of the great "feudal lords" to take up the struggle. The cause of this insurrection was the *amīr*'s policy of subjugating powerful figures, and the most important victims were the proud warriors of the citadel of Balazma, the key to the *massif* of the Kutāma, from which there began the movement which was to overthrow the Aghlabid dynasty. Ibrāhīm II, who at first imagined this to be a repetition of the great rebellion of the *djund* which had very nearly taken the throne from Ziyādat Allāh I, was seized with panic. In fact, he easily overcame his adversaries, who did not even attempt to unite their force. He next came into conflict with the Nafūsa Berbers (283-4/896-7), whose ranks were completely routed. Then, after having had his cousin, the governor of Tripoli, executed in atrocious circumstances, he made a show of invading Egypt (whence in 267/880-1 there had set out the abortive expedition of Abu'l-ʿAbbās Ibn Ṭūlūn against Ifrīḳiya) before returning to Tunis.

Some years later (289/902), he abdicated in favour of his son ʿAbd Allāh II, who had been recalled from Sicily, and went, surrounded by *ahl al-baṣāʾir* "perspicacious people", and wearing the patched habit of penitent ascetics, to seek and find martyrdom under the walls of Cosenza (17 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 289/23 October 902). The *amīr*, whose arrival spread panic throughout southern Italy, planned, it is said, nothing less than to take Byzantium by way of Rome. His reign was one of power and folly. With

the growth of the illness which was consuming him, he gradually deteriorated as a ruler, and by his errors prepared the way for the triumph of the Fāṭimids.

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IBRĀHĪM, eighteenth Ottoman Sultan, was born on 12 Shawwāl 1024/4 November 1615, the youngest son of Aḥmad I [*q.v.*]. He spent all his early life in close confinement, in constant fear of being put to death (as four of his elder brothers were); so that when Murād IV [*q.v.*] died and Ibrāhīm, the sole surviving prince of the dynasty, was called to ascend the throne, only the combined persuasions of his mother Kösem and the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*qq.v.*] induced him to emerge (16 Shawwāl 1049/8 February 1640).

The capable Ḳara Muṣṭafā remained in power for the first four years of Ibrāhīm's reign. He promoted peaceful relations with Persia and, by the treaty of Szön (15 March 1642), renewed the peace with Austria; while in 1051/1642 Azov (Azaḳ [*q.v.*]) was recovered from the Cossacks. He carried through a reform of the coinage [see SIKKA] and a new land-survey (*taḥrīr* [*q.v.*]) in an attempt to stabilize the economy, and took strict measures to restore the authority of Istanbul over refractory provincial governors (repression of the revolt of Naṣūḥ Pasha-zāde Hüseyn Pasha, 1053/1643).

During at least the first years of his reign, Ibrāhīm was capable of concerning himself with the well-being of his empire. The Grand Vizier addressed to his utterly inexperienced new master a memorandum on public affairs (F. R. Unat, *Sadrazam Kemenkeş Kara Mustafa Paşa lâyihası*, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, i/6 (1942), 443-80); Kočí Beg [*q.v.*] also submitted a précis of advice on government (MS Revan 1323, ? autograph); and documents in the Sultan's own hand, preserved in Topkapısarayı, show him urging the Grand Vizier to attend, e.g., to the provisioning of Istanbul (Ç. Uluçay, *Sultan Ibrâhim deli mi, hasta mı idi?*, in *Tarih Dünyası*, no. 12 (1950), at p. 498; cf. *IA*, art. *Ibrâhim*, 880 b). But perhaps as a result of the terrors and tension of his early years he was subject to perpetual headaches and to attacks of physical prostration; furthermore, since fears that he might be impotent put the survival of the dynasty in doubt, he was encouraged, by his mother and his entourage, to abandon himself to the pleasures of the harem (and soon fathered several children in rapid succession, the future sultans Meḥemmed IV, Süleymān II and Aḥmed II [*qq.v.*] among them). Thus he came increasingly under the influence of concubines and favourites, and of the charlatan Djindji Khodja [see ḤUSAYN, DJINDJI KHODJA], who purported to cure the Sultan's fits.

Djindji Khodja and his allies the *rikābdār* Yūsuf and Sulṭān-zāde Meḥmed Pasha became more and more powerful, controlling appointments and dismissals, enriching themselves by bribes and finally procuring the execution of the upright but tactless Ḳara Muṣṭafā (21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1053/31 January 1644). Sulṭan-zāde Muṣṭafā now became Grand Vizier, while Djindji Khodja was appointed *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Anadolu and Yūsuf Kapudān Pasha. The new Grand Vizier did nothing to restrain the Sultan's eccentricities and extravagance.

It was at this juncture that the seizure by Maltese corsairs of a ship carrying pilgrims to Egypt provoked the Sultan, urged on by Yūsuf, to invade Crete (Djumādā I 1055/June 1645), and thus to embark on the exhausting war with Venice, which was to last for 24 years [see IḲRĪTISH; ḲĀNDIYA]. Yūsuf Pasha's initial success in forcing the surrender of Canea (Ḥanya) aroused the jealousy of the Grand Vizier; and the intrigues between them and the attempts of each to win over the wayward Sultan led successively to the deposition of Muṣṭafā (Shawwāl 1055/December 1645) and to the execution of Yūsuf (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1055/January 1646).

Ibrāhīm's addiction to the women of the harem now found its culmination in his taking one of his concubines (Telli Khāṣṣeki) in legal marriage (after which he is said to have ordered the Palace of Ibrāhīm Pasha on the Hippodrome, which was made over to the lady, to be carpeted with furs). The imposition of heavy taxes, not for the prosecution of the war but for the satisfaction of such eccentric whims, aroused increasing discontent both in the provinces (revolt of Varvar ʿAlī Pasha at Sīvas, put down by Ipshīr Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*]) and in Istanbul. Various Janissary officers persuaded some members of the *ʿulemāʾ* to join in a plot, at first directed against the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Pasha, who on 18 Radjab 1058/8 August 1648 was strangled and torn to pieces (whence his later nickname "Hezār-pāre"); and on the same day Ibrāhīm was seized and put into close confinement in the Palace, while his seven year old son Meḥemmed (IV) was placed on the throne. Ten days later, however, fearing that Ibrāhīm's partisans might procure his restoration, the new Grand Vizier, Ṣofu Meḥmed Pasha, accompanied by the Shaykh al-Islām (who had given a *fetwā* sanctioning the execution), had him strangled (28 Radjab 1058/18 August 1648).

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The above is an abridgement of the article *Ibrâhim* in *IA*, fasc. 49, pp. 880-5, which includes references to and quotations from archive documents, and further bibliography.

(M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN)

IBRĀHĪM B. ʿABD ALLĀH, full brother of Muḥammad [*q.v.*] called al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, who rebelled with him against the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr in 145/762-3. Their father ʿAbd Allāh, the son of al-Ḥasan (al-Muthannā) b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and of Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī,

was thus Ḥasanid through his father and Ḥusaynid through his mother, which earned him the by-name of al-Maḥḍ (of pure blood). He was considered as the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the Hās̲h̲imites (ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids) as well as of the Ḥasanids, since he enjoyed great authority after his father al-Ḥasan died during the reign of the caliph al-Walīd I. Ibrāhīm's mother, Hind bint Abī ʿUbayda, before marrying the ʿAlid ʿAbd Allāh, had been the wife of ʿAbd Allāh the son of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik; she was renowned as a poet and the sources have preserved some of her verses.

The intrigues of the ʿAlids to raise one of the members of their family to the caliphate had begun very early, during the Umayyad period. At a gathering of the Hās̲h̲imites held at al-Abwāʾ, after the murder of al-Walīd II [*q.v.*], ʿAbd Allāh had got all those present (except D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*], who was at that time the most influential of the Ḥusaynids) to agree that his son Muḥammad should be recognized as claimant to the caliphate; the *bayʿa* had thus been given to this young man, then thirty-two years of age. After this, the two brothers Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm carried out a vigorous campaign of propaganda, travelling throughout the lands of the empire, especially the farthest east, including Sind. When the ʿAbbāsid al-Saffāḥ ascended the throne, the frustrated ʿAlids were forced to accept the *fait accompli*, but they did not give up their plans; the two brothers continued their proselytizing in secret, changing its objective and making the ʿAbbāsids the target of their accusations. Al-Saffāḥ scarcely heeded their activity, but his successor al-Manṣūr took offence at it; as Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm had not come to meet him during the Pilgrimage of 136/754 and had not rendered homage to him, he decided, in 140/758, to imprison in a *dār* in Medina the aged ʿAbd Allāh, and shortly afterwards some other ʿAlids, then to transfer all these prisoners to Kūfa, where they were thrown into a foul dungeon. He hoped thus to lure Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm from their hiding-place, but, on the advice of their father, they did not allow themselves to be inveigled into suspending their revolutionary activities.

Al-Manṣūr having intensified the search, Muḥammad decided to resort to action against the ʿAbbāsids and began a revolt on 1 Rad̲j̲ab 145/25 September 762, at Medina. For details of this action, during which he was killed on 14 Ramaḍān 145/6 December 762, see the article MUḤAMMAD AL-NAFS AL-ZAKIYYA.

Ibrāhīm had been for some time in Baṣra, where the movement had many supporters; Muḥammad having told him in advance of his plans, he too began a revolt (1 Ramaḍān 145/23 November 762); his movement at Baṣra was more extensive and lasted longer than that at Medina. Al-Manṣūr, alarmed by the insurrection, had gone from Bag̲h̲dād, which he was then engaged in building, to Kūfa, in order to keep control over the inhabitants. He brought in troops from al-D̲j̲azīra and from Syria, resorting to stratagems to make them appear more numerous than they really were, and instructed ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*] to interrupt his activities in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, after his victory over Muḥammad, and to march immediately with his army against Ibrāhīm. The latter, master of Baṣra thanks to the governor there, who was in sympathy with the rebels, had seized the treasury and had sent armed bands to occupy other towns and districts (al-Ahwāz, some towns of Fārs, Wāsiṭ). When the news of Muḥammad's death reached Baṣra, the rebels paid homage to Ibrāhīm, who advanced towards Kūfa, where many of his supporters urged him to go, but he gave up this plan and withdrew; then, instead of awaiting at Baṣra an attack from ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, he went to Bāk̲h̲amrā (1 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 145/21 January 763), where a battle took place between the ʿAbbāsid forces and the rebels. ʿĪsā's vanguard was at first routed, but this first failure soon turned to victory for the government troops. Ibrāhīm, left alone with a few faithful followers after the majority of his supporters had been scattered, was mortally wounded, and died on 25 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 145/14 February 763 (according to one source it was in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a). He was then 47 years of age. The revolt of the two brothers had thus occupied almost the whole of the second half of the year 145.

There were several causes for the failure of the revolt: Muḥammad's hasty decision to open his campaign of insurrection at Medina, where he could find neither the means nor the forces necessary for his enterprise; the prompt reaction of al-Manṣūr and the chance offered to him of first extinguishing the revolt begun in Medina and then of attacking Baṣra with a larger number of troops; the lack of enthusiasm of the supporters of the ʿAlids. This last point is proved by the following facts: the Medinans, taken unawares, had at first sworn homage to Muḥammad, but they turned again to the caliph at the approach of ʿĪsā; the supporters from other towns did not rally either to Medina or Baṣra; the majority of the *fuḳahāʾ* limited themselves to giving verbal approval or to providing a contribution in money, as Abū Ḥanīfa is said to have done; the Kūfans were afraid and remained inactive; the Syrians drove out Mūsā, the brother of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, who had been sent to govern their territory; at Wāsiṭ, the supporters preferred to await the result of the conflict; before and during the battle of Bāk̲h̲amrā, there were defections, and finally an almost general dispersal. But it may be that the reason for the ʿAlid failure is to be sought not only in these last-minute occurrences but earlier, in the situation created by the accession of the ʿAbbāsids, which the ʿAlids had not properly assessed. Both sides had based their propaganda on the merits and the right to power of the family of the Prophet, and had promised to observe scrupulously the true religion, but the ʿAbbāsids, now in power, were in fact keeping their promises. The ʿAlids therefore were hard put to it to find motives for opposition to these new rulers. While great social, political, and to a certain extent also religious, reforms were in progress, it was unlikely that the people, who had put their confidence in the ʿAbbāsids for the solution of their problems, would take part in a struggle waged against these rulers by members of their own family in the cause of a strict legitimism—all the more since it was only the Ḥasanid branch of the ʿAlids which proposed to challenge them, the other great branch, that of the Ḥusaynids, having no intention of doing so. Another reason for the lack of enthusiasm of the Muslims in general for the Ḥasanid cause was probably the fact that on the questions which were troubling the Muslim world the Ḥasanid position was either not clear or open to criticism. The sources are by no means explicit on this, but there were quarrels between Ibrāhīm and his Zaydī supporters, evidently because the latter suspected, and in fact very soon realized, that their aims were not the same as those of the Ḥasanids. The Zaydīs at this period formed what was in effect a political party with social objectives

(see L. Veccia Vaglieri, *op. cit.* in bibliography); thus the groups describing themselves as Zaydīs who joined Ibrāhīm in Baṣra demanded as a condition of their joining the campaign that, if Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm should die, the command should go to ʿĪsā, the son of the martyr Zayd b. Ḥusayn [*q.v.*]; they soon fell into disagreement with Ibrāhīm, and wished to put a leader of their own at the head of the rebels, renouncing this project only when they feared that al-Manṣūr would take advantage of this quarrel; they nevertheless reserved the right to re-open the matter after the victory. They next raised objections on a detail of ritual, on the tactics to adopt during the battle, and on the way in which provisions and money should be requisitioned. Nevertheless some Zaydīs remained with the ʿAlid until the end of the battle, and, when he was wounded, bravely defended his body.

Ibrāhīm appears to have been more intelligent than his brother Muḥammad, or so it would seem from the fact that when the founders of Muʿtazilism, Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ and ʿAmr b. Ubayd, came to Medina with a group of followers of their movement to meet the ʿAlid claimant to the caliphate, ʿAbd Allāh (with the agreement of his advisers) preferred that they should meet Ibrāhīm rather than Muḥammad, since, given the intelligence of the questioners, the interview promised to be an awkward one. The *Maḳātil* (193 f.) confirms that Ibrāhīm made a very good impression on them. He was better educated than his brother, if not in the religious sciences at least in the field of literature, since it is reported that he was fond of poetry, that he compiled a collection of the poems of his host and supporter Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī [*q.v.*], and that he himself wrote poems. He was active and courageous: during the period which he spent in hiding he boldly faced great dangers (Ṭabarī, iii, 284-90). The sources extol his piety and his respect for ritual observances: still more interesting are reports of episodes which show him to be free from fanaticism and of a merciful nature.

Bibliography: The sources which devote most space to the revolt of 145 are Ṭabarī and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī in his *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*; Ṭabarī, iii, 143, 147, 152, 158, 163 f. (al-Manṣūr's concern at the plotting of the two brothers and the measures which he took), 169-90 (transfer of the ʿAlid prisoners to Kūfa and their sufferings), 282-318 (the revolt of Ibrāhīm); *Maḳātil*, ed. A. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1365, 205-29, 232-309 (discussion between Ibrāhīm and the Muʿtazilīs, 293 f.), 315-89 (revolt of Ibrāhīm); the protests of the Zaydīs: 334, cf. 332, 333-5, 344, 370, 405 f., 408. In addition there may be consulted: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. Paris, 612v-632r; *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. De Goeje and De Jong, Leiden 1869, 230-5, and Index; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 418 f., 424, 431 f., 444 f., 450-6; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1293, iii, 34-41; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 194-202; *Aghānī*, xviii, 207 f. (the marriages and poetry of Hind, the mother of Ibrāhīm), 208 f., xv, 89; Yāḳūt, *s.v.* Bākhamrā; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 402-22, 428-37 and index; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-bashar*, ii, 16-20; Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghamar*, ed. Munadjdjid, i, 198-203; Ibn Kathīr, Cairo 1348-53, x, 80 f.; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, Nadjaf 1337/1918, 87-92; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, iii, 187-96 (= Beirut 1958, 398 ff.); Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, v, 308.

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(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

IBRĀHĪM B. ADHAM B. Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Djābir (Abū Isḥāḳ) al-ʿIdjlī was born in Balkh, in Khurāsān, into a family from the Kūfa area belonging to the tribal group Bakr b. Wāʾil. The date given for his death in the most dependable sources is 161/777-8.

He was one of the most prominent of the Ṣūfīs of the 2nd/8th century, celebrated in later legend especially for his asceticism. R. A. Nicholson characterizes him as "essentially an ascetic and quietist of a practical type", who had not crossed the borderline which divides asceticism from mysticism. Ibrāhīm caught the imagination of subsequent generations of Ṣūfīs especially because of his generosity, illustrated by many tales of kind acts to friends, and his feats of self-denial, which were in such contrast to the luxury in which he is supposed to have spent his early life.

The earlier Arabic sources, mainly Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī and Ibn ʿAsākir, permit the sketching of an outline of his life: He was born into the Arab community settled in Balkh in about 112/730, or perhaps earlier, and migrated from Khurāsān to Syria some time before 137/754. During the rest of his life he led a somewhat nomadic existence mostly in this region, going as far north as the Sayḥān River and as far south as Ghazza. He disapproved of begging and worked with his hands for his livelihood, reaping, gleaning or grinding corn, or tending orchards, for example. In addition to this he probably engaged in military operations on the border with Byzantium; the frontier fortresses of the Thughūr (to the north of Syria, in modern Turkey) are mentioned repeatedly in the anecdotes. We are told that he took part in two land and two naval expeditions against Byzantium; he died on the second naval expedition of "[a disease of] the belly" (Abū Nuʿaym, vii, 388). The manner of his death is confirmed by the circumstantial account of it given by Ibn ʿAsākir (196). He was buried on a Byzantine island, according to some accounts near a fortress called Sūḳīn, or Sūfanan. Another account places his death in Egypt. In various other less reliable accounts his tomb is said to be in Tyre, in Baghdād, in Damascus, in 'the city of Lot' (= Kafr Barik), in the Cave of Jeremiah near Jerusalem and finally and most persistently of all, in Djabala on the Syrian coast.

Ibrāhīm b. Adham is known widely in legend as the ruler of Balkh who abdicated his throne to take up the ascetic life. There seems to be no historical basis for this belief. The first source to give him royal status is al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), the legendary nature of whose account is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that it includes a description of Ibrāhīm's encounter with the immortal prophet Khiḍr; how-

ever, from al-Sulamī onwards this legend is found firmly rooted in the accounts of Ibrāhīm's life. Thus the anecdotes generally associate his conversion, or repentance, with his abdication; the accounts of this may be grouped under about ten different themes, e.g. that he repented after reflecting on the utter contentment of a beggar whom he saw sitting in the shade of the palace, or that he was warned by Khiḍr, in the guise of a fakir, of the transitory nature of this world. The best known of the themes is also the earliest, being found in al-Kalābādhī (108), which (in Arberry's translation) reads: "... he went out to hunt for pleasure, and a voice called him, saying 'Not for this wast thou created, and not to this wast thou commanded'. Twice the voice called him; and on the third occasion the call came from the pommel of his saddle. Then he said: 'By God, I will not disobey God henceforth, so long as my Lord protects me from sin.' "

Here it may be remarked that the postulation that the story of Ibrāhīm's conversion was modelled on the story of the Buddha (first put forward by Goldziher, see *JRAS*, 1904, 132-3) has been questioned more than once (see for example L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines*..., Paris 1922, 63; cf. R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim mysticism*, London 1960, 21-2) and perhaps ought no longer to be accepted.

Ibrāhīm's migration from Balkh to Syria is well attested, and the many different "conversion" legends explain his motive for it. However, another interesting possibility is opened up by a brief reference in Ibn ʿAsākir (168); it reports that "Ibrāhīm b. Adham left Khurāsān with Djahḍam, fleeing from Abū Muslim, then he went to live in the Thughūr...". Al-Bukhārī (iv/1, 23) supplies corroboration that Djahḍam [b. ʿAbd Allāh, of al-Yamāma] left Khurāsān at this time, and there would be no chronological inconsistency between the year of the revolt of Abū Muslim [*q.v.*]—129/747—and what is known of Ibrāhīm's life. Space does not permit full discussion of this question here; suffice it to say that a study of the material available discloses no reason for rejecting this account in Ibn ʿAsākir.

So much for the literature in Arabic. The literature on Ibn Adham underwent certain changes when it passed into other languages: much of the factual material was lost, while the more legendary and fanciful themes were taken over and often greatly embellished. This process can be observed in Persian, by far the richest source being Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* [see ʿAṬṬĀR]; much of the literature on Ibrāhīm in Indian and Indonesian languages seems to have come via Persian. The non-Arabic sources are of almost no value as sources of factual data: certain seemingly authentic details (e.g. the day and month of Ibrāhīm's death in Persian sources, the names given to certain individuals in Malay sources) can only be imaginary. Another feature of the non-Arabic literature is the occurrence of full-length autobiographies, as opposed to anecdotes, round the figure of Ibn Adham, sometimes preceded by an account of his father, Adham. Such highly embellished biographies have been written in Turkish, by Darwīsh Ḥasan al-Rūmī, known only from an abridgement, or collection of excerpts, in Arabic; in Urdu, by a Muḥammad Abu'l Ḥasan; in "Cashmiri language"—but the manuscript seems to have disappeared; and in Malay, possibly to be attributed to a Shaykh Abū Bakr from Ḥaḍramawt. A published abridgement of the Malay version seems to be the source for short versions in Javanese, Sundanese and Bugis. Besides these accounts, anecdotes of Ibrāhīm b. Adham can be found scattered through Islamic, particularly Ṣūfī, literature. No doubt Ṣūfī Orders have played their part in perpetuating his memory; the author knows of no evidence that the Adhamiyya Order, of which Ibrāhīm is the eponym (though of course not the founder), exists at the present time.

Bibliography: Four brief early sources (in Arabic): al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1361, i/1, 273; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965), *Kitāb Mashāhīr ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār*, ed. Fleischhammer, Cairo/Wiesbaden 1959, 183; *Aghānī*[1], xii, 111, 113; al-Kalābādhī (d. circa 385/995), *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf*, ed. A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1934, 108 (translated A. J. Arberry, *The doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*, Cambridge 1935). A manifestly legendary flavour appears for the first time in al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, 13 ff.

By far the most informative sources are Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1937-8, vii, 367-95, viii, 3-58, and Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1330, ii, 167-96; the sayings and anecdotes recorded by Abū Nuʿaym give the best insight into Ibrāhīm's character and personality. The richest source in Persian is Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* (ed. R. A. Nicholson, London and Leiden 1905, i, 85-106); translations of relevant portions of this have been supplied by A. Pavet de Courteille, J. Hallauer, Claud Field, Bankey Behari and A. J. Arberry in different publications. For an example of works in Persian composed in India see Allāh Diyah... Čishtī al-ʿUthmānī (d. after 1658 AD), *Siyar al-aḳṭāb*, Lucknow 1877, 29-45.

On the Arabic abridgement of the Turkish biography see W. Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften... zu Berlin*, viii, Berlin 1896, 47-9; on the Urdu poem see Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature hindouie et hindoustanie*, i, Paris 1870, 101; on the Malay version see *Studies in Islam*, v/1, New Delhi 1968, 7-20.

Useful compilations of data on Ibn Adham can be found in an article by R. A. Nicholson in *ZA*, xxvi (1912), 215-20; in H. Ritter's *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955 (see index); and under IBRĀHĪM B. ADHAM in *EI*[1]. For reference to pictorial representations of this saint see W. G. Archer, *Indian painting in the Punjab Hills*, London 1952, 79, 83, 84, 92. (RUSSELL JONES)

IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ [see AL-SHĪRĀZĪ].

IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ B. ḤASAN AL-SAḲḲĀʾ, Egyptian teacher and preacher, whose father's family came from the village of Shabrākhūm (formerly the *markaz* of Zifta, now that of Ḳuwaysna in Lower Egypt). He himself was born in 1212/1797 in Cairo, where he was to spend his whole life. After he had followed the course of studies at the *kuttāb* and then at al-Azhar (Shāfiʿī rite) until 1234/1819, his whole career was spent as a teacher at al-Azhar. His biographers give the titles of his works and mention his zeal for work and for reading, but in fact little is known of his life, since the history of the members of al-Azhar in the 19th century has still to be written, and the researches of Mme. ʿAfāf Luṭfī Sayyid are only now beginning to provide information on this subject. He owed his fame to his gifts as an orator, being preacher at al-Azhar Mosque for over twenty years. He preached sermons on all the customary occasions and celebrations and gave

an oration in Arabic at the ceremony of the opening of the Suez Canal (Port Said, 16 November 1869, according to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Rāfiʿī, *ʿAṣr Ismāʿīl*, i, 102). His *Ghāyat al-umniyya fi 'l-khuṭab al-minbariyya* (lith.) is a collection of sermons for all the Fridays and feast days of the year and for some extraordinary occasions (eclipses, etc.): it has a certain interest for the study of religious feeling in the 19th century. He performed the Pilgrimage in 1263/1847. On 15 Ramaḍān 1280/23 February 1864 he was granted a pension of 2,020 piastres (Abdin Palace archives, communicated by Mme. ʿAfāf Luṭfī Sayyid). He was an invalid for the last ten years of his life and died on 14 Djumādā II 1298/14 May 1881, being given a semi-official funeral.

His grandson (through his daughter) Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Saḳḳāʾ, born in 1262/1846, was also an *ʿālim* and preacher at al-Azhar. He died on 24 Djumādā I 1326/24 June 1908 and was buried near his grandfather.

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IBRĀHĪM B. AL-**ASHTAR**, son of the famous Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakhaʿī [see AL-ASHTAR] and himself a soldier attached to the ʿAlid party. It is said that he had already fought at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] in the ranks of ʿAlī, but his historical importance is based on his action in support of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*]. In fact he seems to have hesitated before joining the agitator, and the chroniclers themselves consider that it was necessary for the latter to forge a letter which purported to be written by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to Ibrāhīm before the latter agreed to recognize al-Mukhtār as the agent of ʿAlī's son. Ibn al-Ashtar, whose name is mentioned together with that of the famous *Khashabiyya* ([*q.v.*] and not *Ḥusayniyya* as might be supposed from their appeal to exact vengeance for al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī), is famous for the defeat which he inflicted on the Umayyad troops and for the fact that he killed with his own hand ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] and some other important adversaries, during the battle fought at al-Djāzir, near al-Madāʾin, on 10 Muḥarram 67/6 August 686; the heads of the victims were sent to al-Mukhtār, who in his turn sent them to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

After the death of al-Mukhtār (14 Ramaḍān 67/3 April 687) during an attempt at a sortie, during the siege of Kūfa by the troops of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and in the absence of Ibn al-Ashtar (who had been sent by his leader to al-Mawṣil), the Zubayrid party received the support of this brave general; in spite of the efforts of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān to detach him from his enemies, he remained faithful to them, and it was while fighting in the ranks of Muṣʿab that he was killed at Maskin, in Djumādā I 72/October 691, on the eve of the battle of Dayr al-Djāthaliḳ [*q.v.*]; al-Masʿūdī wrote a striking description of the last moments of Ibn al-Ashtar, whose body, sent over to the enemy, was later burned.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar is sometimes confused with Abū ʿImrān Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd b. Ḳays al-Nakhaʿī, a *faḳīh* and traditionist of Kūfa (50-96/670-715); see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, s.v.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub annis* 67, 72; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 222, 223, 224-5, 242-6; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, tab. 264 and Register, s.v.; *Aghānī*, Beirut ed., xvii, 252; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 122-3. (ED.)

IBRĀHĪM B. **DHAKWĀN** AL-ḤARRĀNĪ, vizier of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Hādī. The caliph, on his accession, had appointed as vizier and chamberlain the powerful al-Rabīʿ, but he soon replaced him by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarrānī, who had been his adviser when he was governor of Djurdjān. Some historians however do not give Ibrāhīm the title of vizier, but refer to him only as director of finance.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index. (D. SOURDEL)

IBRĀHĪM B. **HILĀL** [see AL-ṢĀBIʾ].

IBRĀHĪM B. **KHĀLID** [see ABŪ THAWR].

IBRĀHĪM B. AL-**MAHDĪ**, ʿAbbāsid prince, born end of 162/July 779, d. in Ramaḍān 224/July 839. The son of the caliph al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] and of a concubine of Daylamī origin named Shikla, he was in Baghdād at the time when the caliph al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], who was then living at Marw, nominated as his successor ʿAlī al-Riḍā. The inhabitants of Baghdād and the ʿAbbāsid aristocracy, in revolt against this decision which seemed to them to be contrary to the legitimist principle established by the first caliphs of the dynasty, then rejected the authority of al-Maʾmūn and proclaimed in his place, as the caliph, his uncle Ibrāhīm, who took the regnal name of al-Mubārak and received publicly the usual oath of allegiance in the Great Mosque on 5 Muḥarram 202/24 July 817. Ibrāhīm's reign was in fact only a short one; revolts broke out at first within the army, then his generals Saʿīd b. Sadjūr and ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad were beaten near Wāsiṭ on 26 Radjab 202/7 February 818 by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*], governor of ʿIrāḳ in the name of al-Maʾmūn. After their defeat ʿĪsā openly went over to al-Maʾmūn, while other leaders worked in secret to prepare for his return. When al-Maʾmūn decided to return to Baghdād, Ibrāhīm had to renounce his claims; he resigned from office in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 203/June 819, shortly before the definitive return of the caliph, who entered the capital on 14 Ṣafar 204/11 August 819. Ibrāhīm succeeded in hiding for several years, and it was only during the year 210/825-6 that his retreat was discovered and he was put in prison, to be in fact pardoned soon afterwards.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who had become drawn into a risky adventure, was not well suited for political responsibilities. He was a cultured man, interested in singing and music. From 210/825-6 till his death, he led, at Baghdād then at Sāmarrā, the life of a poet-musician, at the mercy of the moods of his patrons, eventually playing at the court the role of an official panegyrist.

Bibliography: Barbier de Meynard, *Ibrahim fils de Mehdi*, Paris 1869 (offprint from *JA*); D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, index; Ṭabarī, iii, index; Yaʿḳūbī, index; Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*,

index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; *Aghānī*, Tables; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, index; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 578 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 8; Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, i, 16 ff.

(D. Sourdel)

IBRĀHĪM b. MASʿŪD [see ghaznawids].

IBRĀHĪM b. al-MUDABBIR [see ibn al-mudabbir].

IBRĀHĪM b. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās Abū Isḥāḳ, better known as Ibrāhīm al-Imām. Born in al-Ḥumayma in 82/701-2, the son of a freedwoman, he was brought up with his brother, Mūsā, and his half-brothers Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās, Abū Djaʿfar and al-ʿAbbās.

When the pro-ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* formed round his father it had its headquarters in Kūfa among the Ḥārithī tribe of Banū Musaliyya and its *mawālī*, but soon transferred its activity to Khurāsān while maintaining the connexion with Kūfa and al-Ḥumayma. The tendency of Muslim chroniclers to identify a movement with its leader and give him the credit for its achievements makes it difficult to assess the part played by certain figures of the ʿAbbāsid revolution. In the new militant phase which began when he took over on his father's death in 125/742-3, Ibrāhīm, with his practical approach, his generosity and his popularity among the Hāshimīs, seemed to be the man to meet the demands of the hour. Nevertheless, the role of *dāʿīs* such as Abū Hāshim Bakīr b. Māhān and Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī, who had been working for the *daʿwa* since the days of Muḥammad, must not be forgotten. In that very year in Mecca several *dāʿīs* urged Ibrāhīm to proclaim the rising, but in vain. In 127/744-5, on the advice of the dying Bakīr, Ibrāhīm al-Imām appointed the latter's son-in-law, Abū Salama Ḥafs b. Sulaymān, chief *dāʿī* in Kūfa.

Realizing that the situation had come to a head, Sulaymān al-Khuzāʿī requested Ibrāhīm through Abū Salama to send a representative to lead the movement in his name. Only when Sulaymān al-Khuzāʿī and others declined did his choice fall, in 128/745-6, on his *mawlā* Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], who was ordered to remain in constant touch with Abū Salama and obey the orders of Sulaymān al-Khuzāʿī. That he received from Ibrāhīm instructions to kill all Arabs indiscriminately is not unanimously agreed by the historians. This allegation, not mentioned by several early historians and not in harmony with the tactics and circumstances of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, is probably due to anti-ʿAbbāsid propaganda. Probably under the impression that Ibrāhīm would send a man from his own ʿAbbāsid family, Sulaymān al-Khuzāʿī was at first reluctant to accept Abū Muslim; he yielded later to persuasion, but without compromising his position, so that every important decision remained his. Though the ʿAbbāsid revolution was a complex phenomenon, the main appeal seems to have been made to the Arabs, especially in Marw and its villages. The *dāʿīs* realized that the Arabs held the lever of power and constituted the only striking-force in Khurāsān, and that to win them over was to seize power. The *dāʿīs* could not act until the struggle between Naṣr b. Sayyār and Ibn al-Karmānī had reached a stalemate and Arab tribesmen adhering to both factions were disgruntled and wanted change. In this nucleus of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* the Yamanī partisans invited their fellow-tribesmen to join the movement, as did the Rabīʿīs and the Muḍarīs (*Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* ..., fol. 118b.). Discontented Arabs generally joined in the protest against Umayyad fiscal policy, by which taxes were imposed on Arab settlers and collected through the *dihḳāns* [*q.v.*], and against Umayyad military policy, which kept the Muḳātila in the frontier area for prolonged periods (i.e. *Tadjmīr al-buʿūth*), while at the same time demanding an increased share in the *ghanīma* (Shaʿbān, *The social ... background* ..., 140 ff.).

Upon Ibrāhīm's orders, the rising was launched publicly on 15 Ramaḍān 129/30 May 747. Abū Muslim entrenched himself in the Khuzāʿī village of Safīdhandj, won over the Yamanī ʿAlī b. al-Karmānī by recognizing him as governor of Khurāsān, and used him subsequently to paralyse the activities of the Khāridjī Shaybān al-Ṣaghīr so that the ʿAbbāsid partisans found it easy to drive Naṣr b. Sayyār out of Marw. Having gained control of Khurāsān, Ibrāhīm appointed Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb al-Ṭāʾī commander of the army of Khurāsān, which was advancing into ʿIrāḳ.

It was at that very moment when the ʿAbbāsid cause was prospering and advancing westwards that Ibrāhīm was arrested in al-Ḥumayma. Accounts vary on how Marwān II succeeded in tracing the head of the secret organization. Ibrāhīm's arrest was probably due to Naṣr's efforts. He was imprisoned in Ḥarrān, where he died in Muḥarram 132/August 749, allegedly either murdered or poisoned by Marwān's orders. Possibly, however, he fell victim to the plague which ravaged Syria in that year. His death at a critical moment left the stage to two powerful rival *dāʿīs*, Abū Salama and Abū Muslim. The rivalry between them seems to have played a part in saving the caliphate for Ibrāhīm's heir and brother Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*]. Ibrāhīm's sons, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad, do not seem to have aspired to the caliphate, but to have devoted their lives to the *djihād* against the Byzantines and the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Bibliography: Of primary importance for a better understanding of Ibrāhīm and his time are the still unpublished works such as the relevant parts of Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, MS Istanbul Aşir Ef. 597-8, and MS Paris, fols. 768a-775a; the anonymous *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* ... *wa-wildihi*, MS in the Institute of Higher Islamic Studies, Baghdad, fols. 113b-203b, throwing light on the secret dealings of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda; Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī's *Futūḥ*, MS Istanbul, Aḥmed III 2956, invaluable for its information on the Arab settlers in Khurāsān; Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Azdī's *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, MS Chester Beatty, fols. 38 ff., a local history with a universal tendency, which contains brief but illuminating information on Arab support for the ʿAbbāsids. These works clarify certain vague or brief accounts in Ṭabarī (see index), otherwise one of the important sources on Ibrāhīm. Other relevant works are: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 393, 398 f., 409 f.; Djāḥiẓ, *Faḍl banī Hāshim*, ed. Sandūbī, 79; Pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Imāma wa ʾl-siyāsa*, ii, 221 f., 217 f.; Dīnawārī, 338 ff.; 344-6, 357; *Fragmenta hist. arab.*, ed. De Goeje, 183-98; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 61, 69 ff., 89, 97 f.; idem, *Tanbīh*, 338-9; P. A. Gryaznevič (ed.), *Arabskiy Anonim XI veka*, Moscow 1960, fols. 255b, 284a, 289b, 295a; see also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii, 60; *Aghānī*³, ii, 74. Later historians draw mainly on these earlier ones when writing on the period. However, useful additional data will be found in Balʿamī, tr. H. Zotenberg, 1867; Ibn al-Athīr, v (index); Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ii, 287 ff., 291, 292; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islam* ..., MS British Mus., fols. 4a-5b; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Eng. tr. De Slane, i, 575-6, ii, 103; Maḳrīzī, *al-Nizāʿ* ..., p. 5; idem, *Muntakhab al-tadhkira*, MS

Paris ar. 1514, fols. 88b-89a; *Akhbār al-duwal al-munkaṭiʿa*, MS British Mus. 3685, fol. 101b; Ibn al-Dāya, *Mukāfāt*, Cairo 1914, 79; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Cairo 1957, i, 579; idem, *ʿIbar*, iii, 217 ff., 253, 278; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Maʾāthir al-ināfa* ..., ed. A. Farrādj, Kuwait 1964 (index); unidentified MS attributed to Ibn al-Djawzī, British Mus., Add. 7320, fols. 80-92.

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IBRĀHĪM B. SAYĀBA, minor poet of the second half of the 2nd/8th century who died circa 193/809. Of obscure origin and a *mawlā* of the ʿAbbāsids, he held, according to Ibn al-Muʿtazz, the office of secretary to al-Mahdī but, having once been suspected of *zandaḳa*, he was dismissed and obliged to beg for a living. Like so many of his contemporaries, he led a disorganized and even dissolute life, but he was not lacking in wit, to judge by the anecdotes of which he is the hero. Ibn al-Muʿtazz described him as a born (*maṭbūʿ*) poet, while the author of the *Aghānī* has a different opinion of him: according to him, he wrote verses of little value which Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and his son Isḥāḳ set to music out of friendship towards him, so that he acquired a certain degree of fame and succeeded in becoming acquainted with persons in high society; he was in fact known to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ after having been on fairly intimate terms with Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, to whom he addressed notably (it is not clear in what circumstances) an epistle of which al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, iii, 215) states that all the inhabitants of Baghdād at that time knew it by heart.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, and *Bukhalāʾ*, indexes; Djahshiyārī, 203 (incorrectly: Ibrāhīm b. Shabāba); Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 293; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 36-7; *Aghānī*, xi, 5-8 (Beirut ed., xii, 80-4). (Ed.)

IBRĀHĪM B. SHĀHRUKH (Abu 'l-Fatḥ Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Bahādur), Tīmurid prince, second son of Shāhrukh [*q.v.*], born 28 Shawwāl 796/26 August 1394. In 812/1409, Ibrāhīm was appointed governor of Balkh and Ṭukhāristān up to the borders of Kābul and Badakhshān, and in 817/1414 he was appointed governor of Fārs, a position which he held for over twenty years up to his death on 4 Shawwāl 838/3 May 1435. In 823-4/1420-1, and in 832/1429, he took part in Shāhrukh's campaigns in Ādharbāydjān. In 824/1421 he annexed Khūzistān to the Tīmūrid empire.

Ibrāhīm had two sons: Ismaʿīl (died *ca.* 835/1432), and ʿAbd Allāh, born 27 Radjab 836/19 March 1433, who, though still an infant, succeeded his father as governor of Fārs, and was later appointed governor of Samarḳand.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Isḥāḳ Kamāl al-Dīn Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdayn wa madjmaʿ-i baḥrayn* (ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ), ii/1, Lahore 1941, 149-50, 285, 400 ff., 470-1, 604 ff.; ii/2-3, Lahore 1949, 642, 648, 650, 675-6; *ibid.*, London, School of Oriental and African Studies MS. no. 46684, f. 92a. (R. M. Savory)

IBRĀHĪM B. SHĪRKŪH, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Malik al-Mudjāhid Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh II, cousin of Salāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), succeeded his father Shīrkūh [*q.v.*], prince of Aleppo and Damascus, in Radjab 637/January-February 1240. When he became master of the province of Ḥimṣ, to which at that time there belonged Tadmur, Raḥba and Māksīn, the pressure of the Khuwārizmians in northern Syria was very great. When Ibrāhīm learned of the defeat of the Aleppan army at Buzāʿa in Rabīʿ II 638/October-November 1240, he set off northwards with reinforcements of troops from Damascus. In Radjab 638/January 1241, the Khuwārizmians marched against Aleppo but did not attack the town and, after unsuccessful attempts to encircle it, withdrew towards the east. Ibrāhīm overtook them and defeated them in Shawwāl 638/April 1241; he gained further victories over them in Ṣafar 640/August 1242 and again at the end of 641 and beginning of 642/April-June 1244. The Khuwārizmians seem to have been driven out of Syria.

Ibrāhīm b. Shīrkūh became involved in the family quarrels between Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Cairo and Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl of Damascus. In the spring of 642/1244 hostilities broke out between Cairo and Damascus; and Nāṣir Dāwūd, the Ayyūbid prince of Karak, and Ibrāhīm allied themselves with Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, who had the support of the Knights Templar. Ibrāhīm went in person to ʿAkkā to ratify the agreement with the Franks. The ruler of Egypt, on his side, acquired the services of the Khuwārizmians, who were ready to hire themselves to whoever offered most. On 14 Djumādā I 642/18 October 1244, there took place, to the north-east of Ghazza, the battle of Ḥarbiyya, or Forbie, at which the Franco-Syrian allies were defeated. In the following year, Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb laid siege to Damascus in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 642/May 1245; six months later the town capitulated and Ismāʿīl received Baʿalbakk in compensation. The Khuwārizmians, dissatisfied with Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, in 644/1246 offered their services to Ismāʿīl to re-take Damascus. Ibrāhīm b. Shīrkūh and Nāṣir Yūsuf of Aleppo, in the pay of Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, then set off southwards with a large army. The Khuwārizmians raised the siege of Damascus and moved northwards; they were defeated near the lake of Ḥimṣ on 8 Muḥarram 644/26 May 1246. Ibrāhīm reached Damascus and encamped at Nayrab, to the west of the town, where he became ill and died on 11 Ṣafar 644/28 June 1246. He is buried at Ḥimṣ beside his father. His son, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Mūsā, succeeded him, with the titles of al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dawla, and recognized the authority of Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb.

Bibliography: Abū Shāma, *Tarādjim ridjāl*, ed. Kawtharī, 1947, 178; E. Blochet, *Hist. d'Alep de Kamāl ad-Dīn*, 213-26; al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd,

Chronique des Ayyoubides, ed. Cl. Cahen, in *BEO*, xv (1955-7), 109-84; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v, 229; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 627-8; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 154-72; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, iii, 416, 419; Cl. Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 648-9; S. Runciman, *Hist. of the Crusades*, iii, 223, 225-6, 228; K. Setton (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, ii, 561-4, 708-10.

(N. Elisséeff)

IBRĀHĪM b. al-SINDĪ b. Shāhak, *mawlā* of the ʿAbbāsids, who seems to have defended their cause with talent and perseverence, but of whose life very few precise details are known. His father, al-Sindī b. Shāhak, whose origins are obscure, was probably a former slave from Sind who had risen to hold important offices; he is said to have been *ḳāḍī* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 70) and governor (*wālī*) in Syria (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 393), but his main role seems to have been that of a police officer giving especial allegiance to Hārūn al-Rashīd, who entrusted him in particular with carrying out his decisions concerning the Barāmika [*q.v.*]. It is even possible that after the execution of Djaʿfar al-Barmakī he was in charge of the mint (Father Anastase, *Nuḳūd*, Cairo-Baghdād 1939, 48, 49, 57); he does not seem to have been chief of police strictly speaking, but to have been only a subordinate of the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* in a district of Baghdād under al-Rashīd and under al-Amīn, of whom he was a trusted adviser. The poet Kushādjim, Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Sindī (d. 330/941-2), was his grandson (*Fihrist*, Cairo, 240; M. Canard, *Sayf al-Dawla*, 291). On al-Sindī, see also Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Couronne*, 40; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 236-7; Ṭabarī, iii, 281 ff.; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 423, 425, v, 339, 393; *Fakhrī*, 145; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 302; idem, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn Khallikān, i, 135, 173; Ibn Bābuya, *Ithbāt al-Ghayba*, ed. Möller, 37; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī is known primarily because his friend al-Djāḥiẓ mentions him in several of his works. He describes him (*Bayān*, i, 335) as "an incomparable man: an eloquent orator, a genealogist, *faḳīh*, grammarian and prosodist, traditionist, transmitter of poetry and a poet..., an astrologer and a physician". Al-Djāḥiẓ classes him among the great *mutakallimūn*, but he stresses his knowledge of the dynasty and of the *ridjāl al-daʿwa* (which probably means of the propagandists). In another passage (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, 77), he states that Ibrāhīm "defended his masters, declared their titles to fame (*ayyām*), exhorted the people to obey them, teaching them their *manāḳib*" and, by virtue of his eloquence, was "more useful to them than ten thousand drawn swords". Whereas his brother Naṣr (*Bayān*, i, 335) seems to have transmitted faithfully religious and historical traditions, according to al-Djāḥiẓ (*loc. cit.*), Ibrāhīm's reports, based on several transmitters who were well acquainted with the history of the Ḳuraysh and the ʿAbbāsids, contain information different from that which was to be found in al-Haytham b. ʿAdī and Ibn al-Kalbī [*qq.v.*], but which was not embellished (? *muṣawwar*). It would indeed be useful to have more precise information on the propaganda which was current in the middle of the 3rd/9th century. Apart from the data supplied by al-Djāḥiẓ, it is known only that at one time Ibrāhīm held an administrative post at Kūfa (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, 121; al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 355).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 19, 265; idem, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; idem, *Mukhtār*, Berlin 5032 (see *Oriens*, vii/1 (1954), 86; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, 1940 ed., i, 179, ii, 15, 28, 29, 279; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 737; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 178; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ii, 121 f.; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 130.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBRĀHĪM b. al-WALĪD b. ʿAbd al-Malik, Abū Isḥāḳ, son of the caliph al-Walīd I [*q.v.*] and of a slave (Suʿār in al-Yaʿḳūbī, Dayrā in al-Masʿūdī), was appointed as *walī al-ʿahd* by his brother Yazīd [*q.v.*] three days after the latter succeeded to the caliphate (20 Djumādā II 126/9 April 744). According to al-Ṭabarī, this appointment was made on the insistence of the Ḳadariyya [*q.v.*], who wanted to ensure an heir to the throne who would be favourable to them. When Yazīd succeeded in imposing his authority in Urdunn, Ibrāhīm was appointed governor (*amīr*) of this district. After the death of Yazīd (7 or 19 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 126/20 September or 2 October 744), who, according to an allegation made only by al-Yaʿḳūbī, was thought to have been poisoned by Ibrāhīm, the caliphate of the latter was recognized only in the southern part of Syria; in the north, the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ opposed the entry of his cousin, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], whom he had appointed as *amīr*, so that he was obliged to lay siege to the town.

Earlier, on the death of al-Walīd II, Marwān b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], the governor of Armenia and of Ādharbaydjān, had gone with an army into Djazīra and had received there in secret the *bayʿa* of the inhabitants. He planned, in order to avenge the murder of al-Walīd, to march against Yazīd, but instead concluded a peace with the new caliph. Following this agreement, the reward for which was the governorship of the Djazīra in addition to Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, Marwān was preparing to return to Armenia, when the death of Yazīd and Ibrāhīm's accession to the throne led him to continue his march. He entered Syria at the head of the *djund*s of Djazīra and Armenia to depose the new caliph. At Ḥalab (according to Ibn al-Athīr at Ḳinnasrīn), he defeated Ibrāhīm's two brothers, Bishr [*q.v.*] and Masrūr, and took them prisoner; then he raised the siege of Ḥimṣ begun by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (or, according to some sources, he drove him out of the town, into which he had already gained entry), who fled to Damascus, and received the *bayʿa* of its inhabitants. As Marwān was marching with 80,000 men towards Damascus, Ibrāhīm sent against him an army under the command of his cousin Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. In the battle which followed at ʿAyn al-Djarr, a place near Damascus, this army suffered a crushing defeat (7 Ṣafar 127/18 November 744) and its leader fled to Damascus. The *amīr*s of Damascus decided to kill the two sons of al-Walīd II, al-Ḥakam and ʿUthmān, who were prisoners, because Marwān, before the battle of ʿAyn al-Djarr, had proposed to recognize their right to the caliphate (as sons of al-Walīd II) and they feared that if one of them became caliph he would take revenge on the murderers of his father. After the death of these claimants to the throne, the situation had changed, and Marwān was able from then on to advance his own candidature. When he approached Damascus, the inhabitants hastened to swear allegiance to him. The sources differ in their reports of Ibrāhīm's behaviour on Marwān's entry into Damascus: al-Yaʿḳūbī states that he hastened to recognize Marwān as the new caliph (15 Ṣafar 127/26 November 744) in Damascus itself; according to the other historians he fled to Tadmur (Palmyra) with

Sulaymān b. Hishām and it was not until some time afterwards that he asked for and obtained *amān* from Marwān; this earned him the by-name of *al-makhlūʿ*. In any case, from the time that Ibrāhīm gave his support to Marwān, he became a member of the caliph's suite and was treated with respect. He died on the day which marked the end of the Umayyad dynasty, *i.e.*, in the battle of the Zāb [*q.v.*] (11 Djumādā II 132/25 January 750); it is said that his body was found among those of the fugitives who were drowned in the river. There exist also other versions: according to Ibn al-Athīr, he was killed in Syria by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]; according to al-Masʿūdī, Marwān, having seized Damascus, drove Ibrāhīm out and later, having taken him prisoner before the battle of the Zāb, killed him and crucified his body. Al-Dīnawarī states simply that Marwān killed him on the day of his entry into Damascus.

Al-Masʿūdī does not list Ibrāhīm's reign in the series of the Umayyad caliphates, evidently because his accession to the throne had not been unanimously recognized. Indeed it must be emphasized that Ibrāhīm did not play an important role in the period of anarchy which followed the death of al-Walīd; the sources are completely silent on him before his accession to the caliphate and they do not attribute any importance to him during his brief reign.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 839, 1270, 1834, 1869, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1890, 1892, 1893; iii, 41 and index; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 349, 402, 403; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 350; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 19, 32, 50, 73, 74, 352; ix, 43; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 223, 233, 235, 243-6, 322 and index; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, x, 13, 21-3, 43; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 678-85; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*; Eng. tr., *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, 369, 374, 376, 378, 384; for other sources, see L. Caetani, *Chronographia*, v, 1599. (V. CREMONESI)

IBRĀHĪM B. YAʿḲŪB AL-ISRĀʾĪLĪ AL-ṬURṬŪSHĪ, Spanish Jewish traveller, born in Tortosa, to judge by his *nisba*, is known for having made, *circa* 354/965, a long journey in western, central and eastern Europe. It is not clear why he made this tour: it has been suggested that he was trading in horses or in slaves, and it is not impossible that he was on an official intelligence mission for the Umayyad caliphate of Spain, he being chosen for this in view of the help which he could expect to receive from the Jewish colonies in Europe.

Similarly, all that is known of the route of the journey and of some of the places where he stopped is conjecture. Taking account of the details given in the itineraries in the Slav countries, and thereby correcting slightly the schema advanced in *Annales E. S. C.* (see *Bibl.*), the following tentative itinerary may be accepted: Bordeaux, Noirmoutier, Saint-Malo, Rouen, Utrecht, Aix-la-Chapelle, Mainz, Fulda, Soest, Paderborn, Schleswig, Magdeburg (where he was received at the court of the emperor Otto I), Prague, Cracow, Augsburg, Cortona and Trapani. This much is definite, that Ibrāhīm's journey covered, to use his own expression, two main groups of countries: Frankish and Slav, the former occupying the traditional Latin region of western Europe: Italy, countries to the west of the Rhine and southern Germany.

It must be supposed, in view of the number of times Ibrāhīm is cited by later writers, that there once existed an account of his journey, now lost and known mainly through al-Bakrī [*q.v.*] and al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*], either directly or through the intermediary of al-ʿUdhrī [*q.v.*]. Al-Bakrī used Ibrāhīm as a source for the Slav countries of Europe, chiefly Poland, Bohemia and the Slav Obodrites of Schwerin-Mecklenburg, in addition to some details on Spain: an indication either that Ibrāhīm's work was more than a simple account of the European journey, or that he wrote other works besides this one. Al-Ḳazwīnī has preserved, for the Slav countries, the passages concerning Poland and the "Town of Women"; he is particularly indebted to Ibrāhīm, whether he cites him or not, or cites him through al-ʿUdhrī, for a collection of notes on the towns of western and southern Europe.

The date of the original work and the quality of the fragments which survive, notably those about the Slavs, show how greatly to be regretted is the loss of so much of it. To judge by these fragments, the account of the journey must have combined direct and oral information. Most famous among passages of the former type are the description of the abbey of Fulda, that of the salt-pans of Soest, the reflections on commerce at Augsburg or at Prague, the indication of the fact that there were found as far away as Germany Sāmānid *dirhams* struck at Samarḳand in 301-2/914-5. The oral information naturally includes more legend, but it is nevertheless often of considerable value, as is shown by the information collected on the Bulgars or the details concerning whale-fishing off the coast of Ireland. Finally, to reverse the point of view, the work provides an excellent illustration of how the developing Europe of that period could appear to a foreign visitor.

The fragments of Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb on the Slavs have been edited and translated (into Polish and Latin with very full documentation) by T. Kowalski (see *Bibl.*). A French translation of the passages on western Europe has been made by A. Miquel (see *Bibl.*). A French translation of the whole by M. Canard is in preparation.

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IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ AL-AḤDAB, Ḥanafī *shaykh* of Lebanon (born at Tripoli in 1243/1827, died at Beirut on 22 Radjab 1308/3 March 1891), who is a distinguished representative of Arabic culture in the 19th century. After following the traditional studies, he became a teacher (1264-8/1848-52), then went to Istanbul (where he addressed a long panegyric to the sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd), was for several years adviser to Saʿīd Djunbulāṭ and tutor to his children, and finally became a magistrate

in Beirut in 1276/1859. A collaborator in the revue *Th̲amarāt al-funūn* and an important figure in a kind of literary circle, he engaged from this time onwards in an intense literary activity which produced several collections of poems, works of *adab* and of grammar, *rasāʾil, maḳāmāt*, plays, newspaper articles, etc. Part of his work seems to be lost; other works are still in manuscript, but a dozen or so have been published, in particular the *Farāʾid al-laʾāl fī Madjmaʿ al-amth̲āl*, a poetic version of the collection of proverbs by al-Maydānī (Beirut 1312/1894, 2 vols.). The list given by Brockelmann (S III, 533) is incomplete and inaccurate (in particular the *Tafṣīl al-yāḳūt*... is the work of Ibrāhīm's son Saʿīd), but that of Djabbūr ʿAbd al-Nūr (*Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif*, vii, 170-4) seems to be nearly exhaustive. Though he was overshadowed by the great names of the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*], Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab nevertheless played a significant role because of his sound Arabic culture, which enabled him to uphold tradition while it did not prevent his following, though still tentatively, the movement of renewal which was a feature of the 19th century.

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IBRĀHĪM BEY AL-KABĪR AL-MUḤAMMADĪ (i.e., the *mamlūk* of Muḥammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab) was raised to the beylicate in 1182/1768-9, and held the appointments of *amīr al-ḥadjdj* in 1186/1772-3 and *daftardār* in 1187/1773-4. When Abu 'l-Dhahab went on campaign against Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar (Muḥarram 1189/March 1775), he left Ibrāhīm as his deputy in command of Cairo. On his death, the ascendancy in Egypt passed to his retainers (the Muḥammadiyya) headed by Ibrāhīm and Murād Bey, the former becoming *shaykh al-balad*. The characters of the two men were strongly contrasted, Murād being headstrong, bold and ruthless, while Ibrāhīm was of a conciliatory but less decisive nature. Murād's plot to assassinate Ismāʿīl Bey, the *khushdāsh* and client of the late ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*], who had hitherto abstained from the competition for power, produced a faction-fight in Cairo. Ibrāhīm and Murād found themselves abandoned by many of the other grandees, and fled to Upper Egypt, while Ismāʿīl Bey was appointed *shaykh al-balad* (Djumādā II 1191/July 1777). Ismāʿīl was, however, unable to maintain himself in power. Murād and Ibrāhīm re-entered Cairo, and the latter resumed the position of *shaykh al-balad* (Muḥarram 1192/February 1778). The political situation remained unstable, since the Muḥammadiyya owed their return to a conspiracy organized by Ḥasan Bey al-Djuddāwī, the head of the ʿAlawiyya (*i.e.*, the *mamlūk*s of ʿAlī Bey). Murād again fomented factional hostility; the ʿAlawiyya were expelled from Cairo and proscribed (Djumādā I 1192/June 1778). The duumvirs, however, failed to dislodge them from Upper Egypt, where they were joined by Ismāʿīl Bey, and in 1195/1781 Murād ceded much of the south to them. Late in 1197/1783 factional struggles among the Muḥammadiyya in Cairo culminated in open hostilities between Murād and Ibrāhīm. In Shawwāl 1198/September 1784 Ibrāhīm was evicted from Cairo, and Murād assumed sole power. They were reconciled, and Ibrāhīm was restored as *shaykh al-balad* in Rabīʿ II 1199/February 1785. Meanwhile the state of security and condition of agriculture in Egypt had seriously declined. The Pilgrimage caravan was ill-provided, and in both 1198/1783-4 and 1199/1784-5 failed to visit Medina. At this point the imperial Ottoman government intervened with the despatch of an expeditionary force to Egypt under Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], bearing a demand for arrears of tribute and dues to the Holy Cities, and a formal censure because of the failure of the Pilgrimage caravan to reach Medina. The duumvirs, after vacillation, decided on resistance (21 Ramaḍān 1200/18 July 1786), but their forces under Murād's command were defeated, and on 8 Shawwāl/4 August Ibrāhīm left Cairo. It was entered four days later by Ḥasan Pasha, who summoned Ismāʿīl Bey and Ḥasan Bey al-Djuddāwī from Upper Egypt, and (on 14 Muḥarram 1201/6 November 1786) appointed the former *shaykh al-balad* and the latter *amīr al-ḥadjdj*. Meanwhile Ibrāhīm and Murād in their turn had sought asylum in the south, from which Ḥasan Pasha was unable to evict them. Before leaving Cairo (on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1201/6 October 1787) he published an imperial order excluding them from Cairo, but permitting them to live in Upper Egypt. A prolonged struggle, between Ismāʿīl on the one hand and Murād and Ibrāhīm on the other, now began. The exactions of the grandees in Cairo and the cutting of communications with Upper Egypt by the rebels contributed to the miserable economic and political condition of Egypt in these years. In Muḥarram 1202/October 1787 and Muḥarram 1205/October 1790 there were popular risings in Cairo. Ismāʿīl Bey's death (Radjab 1205/March 1791) in a great epidemic of plague tipped the balance in favour of Ibrāhīm and Murād, who returned to Cairo in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1205/July 1791, while Ḥasan Bey al-Djuddāwī fled to Upper Egypt. The restored rule of the duumvirs lasted for seven years, until the French invasion under Bonaparte (Muḥarram 1213/July 1798). The defeat of Murād at Shubrakhīt and Inbāba, followed by the flight of Ibrāhīm to Syria (21 July 1798), marked the end of the duumvirate. Ibrāhīm never regained his ascendancy in Egypt, and was only one of several competitors for power in the interval between the evacuation of the French and the installation of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha as viceroy (1801-5). Distrusting Muḥammad ʿAlī, he remained in Upper Egypt when many of the Mamlūk grandees went to Cairo, and thus he escaped the massacre in the Citadel (5 Ṣafar 1226/1 March 1811). He and his companions withdrew into Nubia, and made a permanent encampment (*ordu*, whence the Sudanese place-name al-ʿUrḍi) at the modern Dongola [*q.v.*]. Here, in Djabartī's words, "they cultivated millet and fed on it, wearing the shirts the slave-traders wear in their own country". The news of his death reached Cairo in Rabīʿ II 1231/March 1816.

Bibliography: Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār* (Būlāḳ ed.); especially the annals for 1189 (vol. i) and 1190-1212 (vol. ii) covering the period of his ascendancy; also vol. iv, pp. 263-4 for his obituary. (P. M. Holt)

IBRĀHĪM DERWĪSH PASHA (1812-96), Ottoman general, was the son of a certain Ibrāhīm Agha, one of the *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] of Lofča (Lovets, in Bulgaria). Entering the army as a volunteer, he was soon commissioned; he was promoted to *biñbashı* in 1252/1836-7 and to *müshīr* ("general") on 28 April 1862. He was in command of operations in Montenegro [see ḲARADAGH], and in 1865, as commander

of the Fourth Army, accompanied Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] in the pacification of the Ķozan area of the Taurus. After failing to prevent the spread of the revolt in Herzegovina in 1875, he was dismissed. His most illustrious service was performed during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, when, as commander of the army defending Lāzistān, he repeatedly beat off Russian attacks and successfully held Batumi [*q.v.*] until the armistice—the only Ottoman general undefeated in this war. He then occupied a succession of posts: governor of Diyārbakr and of Selānīk, Minister of Marine, Chief of the General Staff, and special commissioner to Egypt. He died on 22 June 1896 and is buried by the *türbe* of Sultan Maḥmūd on Divanyolu.

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(M. C. Şihabeddin Tekindağ)

IBRĀHĪM EDHEM PASHA, Ottoman Grand Vizier under the sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II; born probably in Chios in 1818 (?) of Greek parents, he was bought as a slave by Khusrev Pasha [*q.v.*] and sent to France in 1827 to receive technical training. After graduating in Paris as a mining engineer in 1839, he returned to Istanbul and was nominated to the *Shūrā-yi ʿAskerī* (High Military Council) with the rank of Colonel. After serving a few years in Anatolia as chief engineer of mines, he was called to Istanbul in 1263/1847 to be appointed to the Palace army staff. Promoted *Mīrliwā* (Brigadier-general) in 1264/1848 and *Ferīḳ* (Lieutenant-general) three years later, he was removed from his military post in 1271/1855 owing to a palace intrigue, although maintaining his position as a member of the *Medjlis-i Tanẓīmāt* (Council of Reforms), to which he had been nominated in Muḥarram 1271/October 1854. On 26 Rabīʿ I 1273/24 November 1856 he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs with the rank of vizier in the cabinet of Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*]. On his dismissal on 8 Ramaḍān 1273/2 May 1857 he returned to the *Medjlis-i Tanẓīmāt*. On 29 Djumādā I 1276/24 December 1859 he became Minister of Commerce in the cabinet of Meḥmed Rüshdü Pasha. Dismissed on 9 Muḥarram 1278/17 July 1861, he was reappointed three times to the same office in the following fifteen years. Meanwhile he served as Minister of Public Works, of Public Instruction, and of Justice, as governor of Tırhala and Yanya, as a member of the *Shūrā-yi Dewlet* (High Council of State) etc. Appointed ambassador to Berlin on 5 Rabīʿ I 1293/31 March 1876 he remained only a few months abroad, being nominated Ottoman deputy delegate to the Conference of Constantinople which was entrusted with the settlement of the Balkan Crisis. His firm attitude at the conference won him the confidence of the new sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II who appointed him on 9 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja/26 December president of the *Shūrā-yi Dewlet* and on 21 Muḥarram 1294/5 February 1877 Grand Vizier in place of Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*]. His grand vizierate was marked by the opening of the Ottoman Parliament on 19 March and by the rejection of the London Protocol on 9 April, resulting in the Russian declaration of war on the Ottoman Empire. He was dismissed from the Grand Vizierate on 7 Muḥarram 1295/11 January 1878 largely because he had lost the confidence of the Chamber as a result of the defeats of the Ottoman armies fighting the Russians. On 9 Rabīʿ I 1296/3 March 1879 he was nominated ambassador to Vienna and on 20 Rabīʿ II 1300/28 February 1883 he became Minister of the Interior in the cabinet of Küčük Saʿīd Pasha [*q.v.*], to be dismissed finally on 14 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1302/24 September 1885. He died in Istanbul on 2 Ramaḍān 1310/20 March 1893 and was buried near the mosque of Mihrimāh Sulṭān at Üsküdār.

Ibrāhīm Edhem Pasha did not distinguish himself as an able statesman; he could even be held responsible for the disastrous Turco-Russian war of 1877. Nevertheless his contribution to the modernization of Turkey is worthy of mention. The foundation of a modern printing press (*Maṭbaʿa-i ʿĀmire*) near the Topķapī Palace during his period as Minister of Public Instruction in 1863 and the introduction of the decimal system of measurement into Turkey during his presidency of the Council of Public Works in 1869 are important achievements in this respect. His articles on geology published in the *Medjmūʿa-i Funūn* (1862) greatly helped the diffusion of Western science among the Turkish intellectuals. His sons ʿOthmān Ḥamdī [*q.v.*], Ismāʿīl Ghālib [*q.v.*] and Khalīl Edhem Eldem [*q.v.*] contributed also to the development of arts and scholarship in Turkey.

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IBRĀHĪM ḤAĶĶĪ PASHA (1863-1918), Ottoman statesman, diplomat, and Grand Vizier (1910-11), was born in Beshiktāsh. He was the son of Remzī Efendi, who had been *mutaṣarrīf* of Saķīz (Chios) and President of the Beshiktāsh municipal council. Ibrāhīm Ḥaķķī began his secondary education in a local school and then went to the Civil Service Training School (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) where he completed his higher education. At the same time he had been learning French and English from private tutors. He graduated in 1882 and joined the secretariat of the Ministry of External Affairs as an unpaid apprentice. In the following year he was appointed translator at the Palace—translating novels for ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II—and in 1886 he also began teaching history and law at various institutions in the capital. He was appointed legal adviser to the Sublime Porte in 1894. Thus his talents had brought him into the top ranks of the Ottoman bureaucracy at an unusually young age. As legal adviser he served on numerous administrative commissions at home and on diplomatic missions abroad, acquiring experience in all aspects of public life.

After the Young Turk Revolution, Ḥaķķī Bey served brief terms in Meḥmed Kāmil Pasha's cabinet as Minister of Education and Minister of the Interior before he was appointed ambassador to Italy. This was a period of great political instability in Istanbul, marked by the formation and fall of five ministries in the first eighteen months after the revolution.

When Ḥusayn Ḥilmi Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] resigned on 28 December 1909, there was speculation as to who would succeed him. Ḥaḳḳī Pas͟ha was amongst the candidates under consideration and he was appointed on 12 January 1910 because of his political neutrality, which made him acceptable to the Unionists as well as to the conservatives. Not being a partisan of any political group Ḥaḳḳī Pas͟ha was able to bargain with all sides and demand absolute freedom of action in forming his cabinet. One of his first acts as Grand Vizier was to appoint Maḥmūd S͟hawḳat (Şevket) Pas͟ha—the Generalissimo who administered martial law and dominated Turkish politics—Minister of War, thus bringing him under cabinet control.

Ḥaḳḳī Pas͟ha's grand vizierate of twenty months was a period of external peace. Internally, however, the conflict between the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ D͟JEMʿIYETI] and the opposition continued unabated. Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī was a moderating influence inside the country; outside he played an active role, visiting the capitals of Europe in 1910 and discussing various problems with foreign statesmen. He resigned on 30 September 1911 after the Italian ultimatum and declaration of war. He was blamed for permitting the Ottoman Empire to be caught unprepared and diplomatically isolated, and he accepted his responsibility gracefully. Ḥaḳḳī Pas͟ha returned to the university, unable to play an active or open political role while his opponents threatened to impeach him for his diplomatic failure with Italy.

However, when the Unionists regained power in January 1913 they decided to place their relations with the Great Powers on a new footing and to find solutions to political and economic problems which embittered these relations. Ḥaḳḳī Pas͟ha was sent to London, where he spent the next seventeen months negotiating a settlement. In his capacity as legal adviser to the Porte he also wrote memoranda on the capitulations. In July 1915 Ḥaḳḳī Pas͟ha was appointed ambassador to Berlin, the most important diplomatic post at the time. The appointment was significant because the Porte was embarking on a more active policy vis-à-vis her ally Germany. Furthermore the man chosen to inaugurate this change was an ex-Grand Vizier and one of Turkey's most experienced diplomats. It is also significant that a civilian was replacing a soldier (Maḥmūd Muk͟htār Pas͟ha). In Berlin Ḥaḳḳī Pas͟ha negotiated and helped to draft the Turco-German Treaties in 1917, replacing the capitulations by new legal provisions corresponding to the modern European law of nations. After the Bolshevik Revolution, Ḥaḳḳī was one of the Turkish plenipotentiaries who negotiated and signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. He died in Berlin on 29 July 1918 and was buried in the cemetery of Yaḥyā Efendi in Bes͟hiktās͟h on 7 August.

Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī Pas͟ha's bureaucratic and academic approach to politics is summed up in his comparison of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd to Louis XI. In 1908 he remarked to a foreign observer: "Louis XI shut Cardinal Balau in an iron cage but he founded the French State as it exists today. Now the incidents of his reign have passed away, but France remains. In the same way, when history comes to consider the reign of Abdul Hamid, she will overlook the little things and recognise that he preserved Turkey as a country" (Allen Upward, *The east end of Europe*, London 1908, 338-9). His attitude towards the Unionists was the same; though he did not join their party or even subscribe to their ideology, he recognized that they alone were capable of leading the country. Though this was a rational approach to politics, it was completely out of touch with the political sentiments of the time. This explains Ḥaḳḳī Pas͟ha's lack of success as a politician, but his contribution as an administrator and diplomat was second to none.

Bibliography: Adnan-Adıvar in *IA*, v, 892-4. See also M. K. Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*, Istanbul 1940-53, 1764-1804; Ali Çankaya, *Mülkiye tarihi ve mülkiyeliler*, Ankara 1954, 54-8; A. F. Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*², Ankara 1951, *passim*; H. Z. Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve ötesi*, Istanbul 1940-2, ii, 43 ff. and 212; H. C. Yalçin, *Talât Paşa*, Istanbul 1943, 36; I. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1961, iv, *passim*. For the Anglo-Turkish negotiations which Ḥaḳḳī Pas͟ha conducted in London in 1913-14 see British documents in Public Record Office (London), F.O. 371/2125, 2126 etc. See also the contemporary Turkish press, particularly *Ṭanīn* and *Iḳdām*. (FEROZ AHMAD)

IBRĀHĪM AL-ḤALABĪ [see AL-ḤALABĪ].

IBRĀHĪM AL-ḤĀMIDĪ [see al-ḤĀMIDĪ].

IBRĀHĪM B. ISḤĀḲ, B. IBRĀHĪM B. BIS͟HR AL-**ḤARBĪ**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ, traditionist, jurist and man of letters (198-285/811-98). He was a pupil in *ḥadīt͟h* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, which did not prevent al-Subkī from listing him among the S͟hāfiʿīs. Among his teachers were the Baṣran Musaddad b. Musarhad, who was always closely linked with Ḥanbalism (Brockelmann, S I, 310), ʿAffān b. Muslim, also a traditionist, and al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, a man of letters and exegetist. His philological learning often brought him into contact with the grammarian T͟haʿlab as well as with Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, a pupil of the latter (Brockelmann, S I, 283). He had as a transmitter also Mūsā b. Hārūn, one of the informants of al-Ṭabarī. He vigorously opposed Muʿtazilism and, in particular, the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān. This resolute supporter of the *Sunna*, defender of predestination and enemy of the famous vizier Ibn Abī Dūʾād, was a man of great piety, whose asceticism was much admired by his contemporaries. He is said to have carried "patience" and resignation to destiny to the limits of heroism.

Posterity, which devoutly preserved legends about him, attributes to him a large number of works: a *Kitāb Manāsik al-ḥad͟jd͟j*, a *Kitāb al-Hadāyā*, and *Kitāb al-Ḥammām*, as well as twenty-four collections of *ḥadīt͟hs*. He is reported to have collected, in addition to the *ḥadīt͟h* of the "ten" indubitably destined for Paradise because of a promise of the Prophet, traditions going back to the most famous persons of early Islam, whether Umayyads, ʿAbbāsids or simply Companions. There have survived by him a philological work (*G͟harīb al-ḥadīt͟h*) and a treatise on ethics (*K. Ikrām al-ḍayf*). Neither of these two works has been published. Ibrāhīm nevertheless appears beside Ibn Abī S͟hayba, Ibn al-Munādī, Ibn Ṣāʿid, and Ibn Maʿīn as one of the promoters of the Sunnī reaction against the Muʿtazilī philosophy and ideal.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 188; main source: Yāḳūt, *Udabaʾ*, i, 112. On his connexion with S͟hāfiʿism: Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 26; contrary opinion in Ibn Kat͟hīr and Yāfiʿī, who made him a Ḥanbalī (*Mirʾāt al-d͟jinān*, ii, 210 and *Bidāya*, ix, 79). The *Taʾrīk͟h Bag͟hdād* of al-K͟haṭīb, vi, 27, has nothing on this matter (cf. *Tad͟hkira*, ii, 162). (J.-C. VADET)

IBRĀHĪM ḤILMĪ PAS͟HA [see KEČIBOYNUZU IBRĀHĪM ḤILMĪ PAS͟HA].

IBRĀHĪM AL-IMĀM [see IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD].

IBRĀHĪM KHĀN, the ancestor of the Ibrāhīm-Khānzāde family, was the son of Selīm II's daughter Esmākhān Sulṭān (d. 993/1585) by her first marriage, to the Grand Vizier Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]. According to a late tradition (*Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, ii, 38), perhaps based on the misconception that the sons of princesses were not allowed to live [see DĀMĀD], his birth was at first concealed. He first appears as *ḳapîdjî-bashî*, in Muḥarram 1003/September 1594. By 1019/1610 he was *beglerbegi* of Bosna—a promotion which was indeed contrary to Meḥemmed II's enactment that sons of princesses should not rise beyond the degree of *sandjaḳ-begi* (cf. *Ḳānūn-nāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, *TOEM* supp. 1330, p. 29); his appointment to this and other high governorates was, it is said, a reward for his presenting to the Sultan the property on which his father's palace in the At-Meydān stood, a site needed for the building of the Mosque of Aḥmed I (Barozzi-Berchet, *Relazioni* ..., 181). He died after 1031/1621-2.

His descendants, the Ibrāhīm-Khānzāde, formed, like the Ewrenōszāde and the Ṭūrkhānzāde, one of the historic families of the Empire, although they never filled important positions in the state. His grandson ʿAlī Beg is mentioned frequently by the chroniclers (Rāshid, ii, 361; Hammer-Purgstall, ix, 563, no. 2696; de La Motraye, *Voyages*, i, 326). Towards the end of the 11th/17th century the legend arose that if the Ottoman dynasty were to die out the Ibrāhīm-Khānzāde family would succeed, and that hence the Sultans were bound to respect the life of every member of it (de La Motraye, *Voyages*, i, 261 f.; G. C. von den Driesch, *Historische Nachricht*..., Nürnberg 1723, 137; D. Cantemir, *The History* ... *of the Othman Empire*, London 1734, 107; C. W. Lüdeke, *Beschreibung des Türkischen Reiches* ..., Leipzig 1771-8, i, 292, ii, 63). They had their residence in the suburb of Eyyub on the Golden Horn, and until recently acted as *mütewellī* of the *waḳf*s of their ancestor Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, vi, 198).

Bibliography: besides the works cited in the text: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 99; C. White, *Three years in Constantinople*, ii, 307; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, art. *Ibrâhim Han*, in *IA*, with further details on Ibrāhīm's career and other members of the family, based on references in unpublished chronicles and in Ottoman archive sources.

(J. H. MORDTMANN*)

IBRĀHĪM LŌDĪ was the last of the Lōdī Sultans of Delhi, who was defeated and slain on the battlefield by Bābur [*q.v.*] in the historic first battle of Pānīpat in 932/1526. His death opens a new chapter in the annals of India as it marks the end of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] and the beginning of the Moghul rule which was to last for more than four centuries.

The eldest son of Sikandar Lōdī (*reg.* 894/1489-923/1517) he succeeded to the throne on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 923/22 November 1517, one day after his father's death. Since he was distrustful and ungenerous, the nobles did not like the idea of Ibrāhīm coming to the throne but were obliged to accept him as the ruler. In token of their displeasure they contrived to divide the kingdom into two parts and to set up Ibrāhīm's younger brother Djalāl Khān as the ruler of the Sharḳī province of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*]. Sensing trouble in this move of the nobles, Ibrāhīm took immediate steps to end this diarchy and deprive Djalāl Khān of his newly acquired power. Apprised of Ibrāhīm's designs, Djalāl Khān raised the banner of revolt but could not withstand the might of the Sultan's army and fled to Gawālior, where he took refuge with Bikramadjīt, son of the great Mān Singh who had bravely withstood Sikandar Lōdī so long. This prompted Ibrāhīm to attack and besiege Gawālior. However, while the siege was still in progress Djalāl Khān was captured and taken to Hānsī, where he was imprisoned along with other rebellious Afghan nobles. Djalāl Khān subsequently died in prison.

Suspecting disaffection on the part of the grandees of the empire, Ibrāhīm indulged in acts of capricious tyranny, thus alienating the sympathies of most of the experienced and loyal servants of his father and "driving them into the arms of an invader". Two leading nobles, Miyāń Bhōa, a former chief minister of Sultan Sikandar, and Aʿẓam Humāyūn Sarwānī, the ruler of Kālpī, were put to death in prison at the instigation of the Sultan. Their fate alarmed other nobles, who began to look to their own safety. Many of them rebelled, so that chaos and anarchy reigned in the land. While the Sultan was still busy suppressing the rebellions, the Pandjāb under Dawlat Khān Lōdī, son of Tātār Khān Lōdī, also revolted; this prompted the Sultan to summon the refractory governor to Delhi. Sensing trouble, Dawlat Khān instead sent his son Dilāwar Khān to the Court; but this merely roused the anger of the Sultan, who put Dilāwar in prison for some time. There he saw many other nobles suffering torture and indignity, and having seen the small reward accorded to loyalty he apprised his father, on his return to the Pandjāb, of Ibrāhīm's true designs. Convinced of the doom that might befall him if Ibrāhīm continued to occupy the throne, Dawlat Khān invited Bābur to attack India, little realizing that his act would prove a turning point in the history of the sub-continent, sounding the death-knell of the Pathan empire and ushering in the establishment of a new alien dynasty.

On learning of Bābur's advance Ibrāhīm marched out with a huge army said to number more than a million to meet the invader. The two armies met at Pānīpat; Bābur's artillery, and his superior tactics and strategy played havoc with the enemy. Ibrāhīm put up a heroic resistance but was no match for the skilful and experienced Turk. He died with his crown on his head and adorned with all the insignia of royalty. He had ruled for some nine years.

After the battle Bābur ordered his men to search for Ibrāhīm's body. It was found lying amidst the corpses of his nobles and his personal body-guard. His severed head was brought to Bābur, and he was given a hero's burial. His tomb, a plain white-washed structure, still stands near the place where he died. It became in course of time a place of pilgrimage for the local villagers, who looked upon the last Lōdī Sultan as a martyr and began to venerate him as a saint.

We have it on Bābur's testimony (cf. *Bābur-nāma*, Eng. trans., 541, 478) that the queen-mother did not take the death of her son with good grace. Although generously treated by Bābur, she plotted to poison him; but her plans miscarried and Bābur was saved. The conspirators were all executed and Ibrāhīm's mother was deported to Kābul. However, apprehensive of the fate awaiting her, she committed suicide by drowning herself in a river while on the way to Kābul. Ibrāhīm's son, still a minor, was also despatched to Kābul to join his grandmother, but his fate is unknown.

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Dacca 1960, 229-59; ʿAbd Allāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Dāwūdī*, Aligarh 1954, 85-107; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (Bibl. Ind.), i, 341 ff.; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Lucknow 1867, i, 347 ff.; ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Nihāwandī, *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī* (Bibl. Ind.), i, 478 ff.; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* (Bibl. Ind.), i, 326; *Bābur-nāma*, (Memoirs of Babur), Eng. tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1922, ii, 478, 541, and index; Abdul Halim, *History of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra*, Dacca 1961, 132-98; *Cambridge History of India*, iii, 246-50.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

IBRĀHĪM al-MAWṢILĪ, Abū Isḥāḳ, one of the greatest musicians and composers of the early ʿAbbāsid period, b. 125/742 in Kūfa, d. 188/804 in Baghdād. His father Māhān (a name which Ibrāhīm changed into Maymūn) and his mother Dōshēr hailed from Arradjān in Fārs, and had come with their patrons to al-ʿIrāḳ. When he lost his father, his mother took him to her brothers, in whose care he was brought up, but he ran away because his relatives would not permit him to study music. He went first to Mosul—hence his *nisba* Mawṣilī, though other explanations are also given—and then to Rayy, where he learned the Persian style of singing; an envoy of the caliph al-Manṣūr was so pleased by his singing that he gave him money which enabled him to finish his training under Djuwānawayh, a Magian at Ubulla. Soon Ibrāhīm attracted the attention either of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī or of his brother ʿAlī; shortly afterwards he was called to the court of the caliph al-Mahdī, a great patron of music. Here he met the musicians Fulayḥ b. Abi ʾl-ʿAwrāʾ al-Makkī and Siyāṭ and profited from the latter's instruction (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 152); the caliph's sons Mūsā (afterwards, as caliph, al-Hādī) and Hārūn (afterwards al-Rashīd) asked him to join their banquets; but when al-Mahdī heard of these bouts he imprisoned Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm consoled himself by setting to music a poem which Abu ʾl-ʿAtāhiya had composed not long before under similar circumstances. Yet Ibrāhīm remained all his life addicted to wine. When al-Hādī became caliph in 169/785 he summoned Ibrāhīm and was very generous to him. It is said that he received, besides his monthly remuneration of 10,000 *dirhams*, large gifts (*Aghānī*[3], v, 161, 3). In addition he had an income from landed property (*ibid.*, v, 193) and from music lessons. Amongst his pupils were his favourite Sulaym b. Sallām, Mukhāriḳ, furthermore ʿAllawayhi and ʿAmr b. Bāna, who both later went over to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī; Barṣawmā, the flutist, and Zalzal, the lute-player, who had both been discovered by Ibrāhīm, and al-Muʿallā (b. Ayyūb) b. Ṭarīf, who was not a professional artist but who, like his brother Layth, held responsible posts in the administration (see Ṭabarī, Index).

He was the first musician to train white slave-girls in the art of singing, who fetched much higher prices than black or yellow girls (*Aghānī*[3], v, 164 f.). He reached the summit of his career in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who formed a real affection for this gifted artist; he had to wait upon the caliph daily, but was later permitted to stay at home on Saturdays (*Aghānī*,[3] v, 33). He had also to accompany him on his journeys.

It was upon Hārūn's orders that Ibrāhīm, together with his colleagues Ibn Djāmiʿ and Fulayḥ b. Abi ʾl-ʿAwrāʾ, made a selection of 100 songs (*al-aṣwāt al-miʾa al-mukhtāra*), which form the framework of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*]. This collaboration of Ibrāhīm and Ibn Djāmiʿ is noteworthy, because they held different opinions about the principles of their art. Ibn Djāmiʿ tried to introduce some changes into the art of singing, the rhythms, and the modulations, whilst Ibrāhīm clung to the old Ḥidjāzī style which he declared to be classical. These differences were the beginning of the war between the classicists, led by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*], and the modernists led by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], a war that was to end only in the days of al-Mutawakkil with the triumph of the classicists. Ibrāhīm died in 188/804 at the age of 63 years of a disease of the stomach. Posterity remembered him as one of the greatest singers, whose melodies were so entrancing that they were ascribed to the inspiration of the devil himself.

Bibliography: The main source for Ibrāhīm, his son Isḥāḳ, and the singers, musicians and composers of their time is the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (see Index; article on Ibrāhīm in *Aghānī*[3], v, 154-258); *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 175-8; *Fihrist*, 140; Ibn Khallikān, no. 9; H. G. Farmer, *History of Arab music*, index; E. Neubauer, *Musiker am Hofe der frühen Abbasiden*, Frankfurt am Main, 1965, 182 f.

(J. W. Fück)

IBRĀHĪM MÜTEFERRIḲA, Ottoman statesman, diplomat, founder of the first Turkish printing press, and a pioneer of reform policy, was born in Kolozsvár (Cluj) in Erdel (Transylvania) of Christian parents. His family name and his Christian name are not known. He was probably born between 1670 and 1674. So far no Ottoman source has been found which provides information on the Christian phase of his life; but on the basis of a statement made by the Catholic Hungarian nobleman Czézárnak de Saussure, who met Ibrāhīm in Turkey in 1732, when he was there in the company of Ferenc Rákóczi, Ibrāhīm is believed to have been educated at the college of Kolozsvár to become a Calvinist minister. In the light of this assumption Ibrāhīm has traditionally been represented as a Calvinist convert to Islam; but on the basis of the short autobiographical account given by Ibrāhīm in his unpublished *Risāle-i Islāmiyye* (MS: Esad Ef. 1187), N. Berkes has concluded that Ibrāhīm was not a Calvinist but a Unitarian. Unitarianism was very strong in Transylvania at the time when the Ottomans controlled Hungary and were also supporting Transylvanian independence from the Habsburgs. With the termination of the Ottoman protection of Transylvania and of Unitarianism and the ascendancy won by the Catholic church when the Habsburgs occupied Kolozsvár, the Transylvanian Unitarians were no longer allowed to study the works of Servetus and Dávid. The belief that Ibrāhīm had been a Calvinist is probably due to the fact that during the years when he was a theological student the college where he studied belonged no more to the persecuted and clandestine Unitarians but had been given over to the Calvinists. Ibrāhīm relates in his treatise how he secretly studied anti-trinitarian texts (and possibly Servetus' *Biblia Sacra*) and realized that the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad had been predicted in those parts of the Bible which had been purged or falsified by the upholders of the doctrine of the Trinity. He relates also how he attained *hidāya*, thus implying that he had been converted to Islam before he actually "turned Turk".

Czézárnak de Saussure again seems to be responsible for the origin of the traditional account of his conversion to Islam. According to this account, neither convincing in itself nor supported by any evidence coming from Ibrāhīm or from any other

original source, he was captured by Turkish troops during an encounter between Austrian and Turkish forces and later was sold as a slave; having fallen into the hands of a cruel master, and unable to expect that his poor relatives would ransom him, he perforce turned Muslim. More probably, Ibrāhīm fled from Habsburg rule in Transylvania and in 1691 joined the forces of Tököly Imre, who, in alliance with the Ottoman army, was fighting against the Habsburgs to procure his restoration in Transylvania. Ibrāhīm probably worked for Tököly as a liaison officer with the Turks. In fact, this remained his chief function in his subsequent career in the Turkish service.

How Ibrāhīm acquired Ottoman and Muslim culture and whether or not he studied at the *Enderūn* [*q.v.*] is not known. But he seems to have been taken into Ottoman service and to have become a member of the bureaucracy, later receiving promotion. His *Risāle-i Islāmiyye*, written about ten years after his embracing Islam, is not a treatise written to defend Islam, as Karácson and others following him have claimed, but seems to have been written to prove the link between his early Unitarianism and his passage to Islam. It does not yet contain any idea of the need for reform in the Ottoman institutions, a theme to which he seems to have turned only later. On the contrary, the treatise is a passionate condemnation of Catholicism and of the temporal power of the Papacy. It also reiterates his firm belief in the eventual victory of Islam over the Catholic world, since Muḥammad's monotheistic Islam was destined to be a superior religion, whose coming was predicted by Jesus himself. The argument must have been appealing to the Ottomans, who had entered into the second phase of their struggle against the Catholic world.

Ibrāhīm's career in Ottoman service and his diplomatic work seem to have begun after the composition of this treatise. He was elevated to the position of permanent *müteferriḳa* [*q.v.*], and became a special counsellor and envoy of the Ottoman Sultan. Ibrāhīm seems to have abandoned his interest in religion and theology by the time he entered this service. He took part particularly in diplomatic negotiations with Austria and Russia. In 1127/1715 he was sent to Vienna for negotiations with Prince Eugène. In 1128/1716 he served as the Ottoman commissioner with the Hungarians who were assembled in Belgrade to promote their struggle, supported by the Ottomans, for independence. In 1132/1720 he was appointed liaison officer to Prince Ferenc Rákóczi, who had come to Turkey in 1717 from France, and with French support, to wage a joint struggle against Austria. Ibrāhīm seems to have occupied his position until Rákóczi's death in 1735, although his function probably became merely honorary when Rákóczi's activities came to an end following the failure of his attempts to arouse the support of the Hungarians under Habsburg rule. Ibrāhīm continued to be sent with further diplomatic missions. In 1150/1737 he was dispatched to the Palatinus of Kiev for negotiations in connexion with the Polish treaty; he was one of the promoters of a Turkish-French alliance against Austria and Russia during the years 1150-2/1737-9; in 1151/1738 he conducted negotiations on behalf of the Ottoman government and the anti-Austrian Hungarians for the surrender of the fortress of Orsova to the Ottoman forces. He also took an active part, together with the Comte de Bonneval [see AḤMAD PAS̲H̲A BONNEVAL] in promoting Turkish-Swedish cooperation against Russia. In 1156/1743 he was sent also to Dāg̲h̲istān on a diplomatic mission.

Ibrāhīm's fame in recent years relies less on his state service and diplomatic activities than on his major contributions to the Turkish intellectual and cultural awakening. He took a leading and active part in the attempts at reform initiated in the early part of the 12th/18th century. Following the Treaty of Passarowicz (1131/1719) the idea of introducing European military practices was born. Ibrāhīm was probably one of those who not only promoted the idea but also supplied information which he had obtained from his observations. Very likely it was he who inspired the first memorandum given to Aḥmed III arguing the necessity of military innovation and the employment of European officers to train the Ottoman army.

But the enterprise which has made his name memorable is his establishment of a Turkish printing press. The idea seems to have been in the air in 1719; and when Meḥmed, known as Yirmisekiz Čelebi, was sent to France on a diplomatic mission, he is shown by French sources to have been already convinced of the necessity and the permissibility of the innovation. The Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, Meḥmed Čelebi, and the latter's son Saʿīd Efendi (later Pas̲h̲a and also an envoy to France), and the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām encouraged and supported Ibrāhīm in opening the press in 1140/1727. In an essay entitled *Wasīlat al-ṭibāʿa* Ibrāhīm made a plea for the enterprise with a brilliant exposition of the losses incurred by Islamic learning from the absence of the art of printing among the Muslims and of the great benefits its establishment would bring to the Muslims and to the future of the Ottoman state. He was not interested in printing theologically controversial writings and met no opposition from the "religious institution". The alleged opposition to the opening of the printing press does not seem to have been motivated by religion but rather by the economic interests of copyists and calligraphers. Ibrāhīm's major interest in printing was still in line with his political and diplomatic career as well as with his interest in Islamic reform. The works he printed in his press were all related to secular matters, such as language, history, geography, and the natural and physical sciences [for details see MAṬBAʿA]. In addition to his pioneer work as a printer he was also an editor, a compiler, a translator, and a writer. He also prepared a number of maps, printed the majority of them, and prided himself on being a geographer and cartographer.

In 1144/1731 Ibrāhīm wrote his *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī niẓām al-umam* in order to show the causes of the decline of the Ottoman power in Europe before the Christian states, to describe the modern forms of government, their military methods and organization, and finally to propose ways to remove the existing aberrations of the Ottoman system and to reform them (printed Istanbul 1145/1732; Fr. tr. by Baron Reviczki, *Traité de la tactique*, Vienne 1769). He placed prime importance upon the use of modern sciences, particularly upon the knowledge derived from new geographical explorations and upon the importance of the use of intelligence information to be obtained about the conditions of the European nations and their military forces. If he was not the first to draw attention to the consequences of the geographical discoveries and of the encirclement of the Ottoman empire by sea power, he was certainly the first to warn the Ottoman authorities of the future consequences of the modernizing trend in

Russia under the leadership of Peter the Great. Ibrāhīm died in 1158/1745 and was buried in G̲h̲alaṭa.

Bibliography: a bibliography of the books printed at Ibrāhīm's press will be found under MAṬBAʿA. On Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa: Czézárnak de Saussure, *Lettres de Turquie (1700-39) et Notices (1740)*, ed. K. Thály, Budapest, 1909; G. Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca*, Venice 1787, iii; A. Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV*, Paris 1887, 28 ff.; I. Karácson, *Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa*, in *TOEM*, i (1326), 178-85; F. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1919; Ihsan [Sungu], *İlk Türk matbaasına dair yeni vesikalar*, in *Hayat*, iii (1928), 413-4; Selim N. Gerçek, *Türk matbaacılığı*, Istanbul 1939; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 147-52; K. Mikes, *Türkiye mektupları*, Ankara 1944, 117 ff., and 152 ff.; Aladár v. Simonffy, *Ibrahim Müteferrika, Bahnbrecher des Buchdrucks in der Türkei*, Budapest 1944, Turkish trans. *İbrahim Müteferrika, Türkiyede matbaacılığın bânisi*, Ankara 1945; *IA*, art. İbrahim Müteferrika (T. Halasi Kun); N. Berkes, *Ilk Türk matbaası kurucusunun dinî ve fikrî kimliği*, in *Belleten*, xxvi/104 (1962), 716-37; idem, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, McGill 1964, 36-46. (NIYAZI BERKES)

IBRĀHĪM PAS̲H̲A (?1493-942/1536), Grand Vizier of Süleymān I, known to the chroniclers as 'Maḳbūl' ("the favourite") and 'Maḳtūl' ("the executed"), was probably born near Parga, on the coast of Epirus. Enslaved as a child, he was brought up in the "Palace School", and then attached to the service of Prince Süleymān while he was governor of Maʿnisa (according to other accounts he was taken in a raid by Iskender Pas̲h̲a and presented to Prince Süleymān at Kefe; or was taken by pirates and sold to a widow near Maʿnisa, etc.); he gained the confidence and friendship of the Prince, and upon Süleymān's accession (926/1520) became his *K̲h̲āṣṣ-oda bas̲h̲ī* [see G̲H̲ULĀM, p. 1088a]. The following year the Sultan was causing to be built for him the famous palace on the north-west side of the Hippodrome (see Z. Orgun, *Ibrâhim Paşa sarayı*, Istanbul 1939, and ISTANBUL). Already the influence of "Ibrāhīm Ag̲h̲a" was greater than that of the viziers, and on 13 S̲h̲aʿbān 929/27 June 1523, in succession to Pīrī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], he was appointed Grand Vizier and *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli (see Pečewī, i, 20). He was only about thirty years old; and this unprecedented promotion—direct from the Palace Service to the two highest offices of the state held in plurality—deeply offended Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a [see AḤMAD PAS̲H̲A K̲H̲Āʾ IN], who could reasonably have expected the promotion, and who was allowed to withdraw from the capital as governor of Egypt. Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a's marriage to Süleymān's sister K̲h̲adīd̲j̲e in Rad̲j̲ab 930/May 1524 was celebrated with spectacular pomp, but four months later he had to set out for Egypt in order to compose the difficulties provoked by Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a's revolt [see MIṢR]. He was absent for a year, and was then recalled hurriedly as the result of a Janissary disturbance, perhaps provoked by his rivals. He was appointed *serdār* [*q.v.*] on the great campaign into Hungary in 932/1526 [see MOHAČ]. From Buda (T. Budīn [*q.v.*]) Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a brought back to stand before his Palace three bronze statues of Hercules, Diana and Apollo (this action provoked the famous epigram of Fig̲h̲ānī [*q.v.*], which cost the poet his life). The next year Ibrāhīm put down the revolts which had broken out in Anatolia (see Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, ii, 121-5; D̲J̲ALĀLĪ [in Supplement]; and ḲALENDER S̲H̲ĀH). In 935/1529 he was *serdār* (for his *berāt* see Ferīdūn, *Muns̲h̲aʾāt*[2], i, 544-6; his *k̲h̲āṣṣ* was increased to the value of 3 million *aḳčes*, see Pečewī, i, 129) on the campaign in which Budīn was re-taken and Vienna (Beč [*q.v.*]) besieged. In 938/1532 the third Hungarian campaign resulted only in the surrender of the fortress of Güns (Hung.: Köszeg; T.: Kösek [*q.v.*]). The following year Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a acted with quasi-plenipotentiary powers in the negotiations with Ferdinand's ambassador Cornelius Schepper, whose reports (A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Aktenstücke*, 2 vols., Vienna 1840-42, part 6; *Missions diplomatiques de ... Scepperus* = *Mém. de l'Ac. Roy. des Sciences de Belgique*, xxx (1857)) give a vivid picture of Ibrāhīm's excessively—and dangerously—arrogant attitude.

In the autumn of the same year, upon the outbreak of war with Persia, Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a took command of the Ottoman army; after wintering at Aleppo, he occupied Tebrīz on 25 Muḥarram 941/6 August 1534, where next month the Sultan joined him; Bag̲h̲dād was occupied on 24 D̲j̲umādā I 941/1 December 1534. It was during this campaign that Ibrāhīm's authority and pretensions reached their height: in one firman sent him there figures among his *alḳāb*: "*ḳāʾim-maḳām-i salṭanat*" (Topkapı Sarayı archives, no. 2759); and the army criers (*dellāl*) ended their proclamations with the words: "*Serʿasker-Sulṭān emridür*" (Pečewī, i, 189; when the very wealthy and influential Bas̲h̲-Defterdār Iskender Čelebi protested, Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a procured first his dismissal and later his execution). The Sultan and the Grand Vizier arrived back at Istanbul in Rad̲j̲ab 942/January 1536, and during the next month Ibrāhīm was conducting with the French ambassador the negotiations for the capitulations (Charrière, *Négotiations* ..., i, 255 ff.).

Then quite unexpectedly, after no hint that the Sultan had withdrawn his favour, Ibrāhīm was strangled, on the night of 22 Ramaḍān 942/14-15 March 1536, in his bedroom in the *ḥarem* of Topkapı Sarayı (Pečewī, i, 191); his body was buried at the D̲j̲ānfedā Zāwiyesi behind the Arsenal (*Ḥadīḳat al-d̲j̲awāmiʿ*, i, 28; ii, 39). Various explanations were advanced for his fall: his arrogation of the titles of sovereignty; his responsibility for the execution of Iskender Čelebi; extravagance on the campaign of 941/1534; an irreligious attitude; the intrigues of K̲h̲urrem Sulṭān [*q.v.*] ("Roxelana"), given freer play after the death of Ibrāhīm's protector the Wālide Ḥafṣa Sulṭān; and possibly jealousy felt by his wife K̲h̲adīd̲j̲e Sulṭān, the sister of Süleymān I, for his other wife Muḥsine.

Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a had a son by K̲h̲adīd̲j̲e, named Meḥmed S̲h̲āh. His parents embraced Islam, the father taking the name Yūnus and being made a *sand̲j̲aḳ-begi*, while two brothers of Ibrāhīm were admitted to the Palace (Albéri, *Relazioni* ..., iii, 103). Numerous foundations were made by himself and by his wife Muḥsine in Istanbul (*Ḥadīḳat al-d̲j̲awāmiʿ*, i, 28), G̲h̲alaṭa, Mecca, Hezārg̲h̲rad, etc. His palace on the At-Meydān was later used as a training school for *ʿad̲j̲amī og̲h̲lans* [see G̲H̲ULĀM, 1087a]. His gardens at Sütlüd̲j̲e on the Golden Horn long remained a popular place of resort (ʿAṭā, i, 111).

Bibliography: General histories: Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 32-163, ix, XXIX-XXXII; Zinkeisen, *GOR*, ii, iii, 70-81; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1949, 305-46. Ottoman chroniclers: Pečewī, i, 20, 79-91; D̲j̲alālzāde Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*], *Ṭabaḳāt al-mamālik* (in MS, unpublished but

important, since the author was Ibrāhīm's private secretary); ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār* (in MS); idem, *Maḥāsin al-ādāb* (unpubl.), cited in *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 29; "Ferdi" [*q.v.*] (= Bostānzāde), *Süleymānnāme* (in MS); Kemālpashazāde, book x (= Pavet de Courteille, *Histoire de la campagne de Mohacz...*, Paris 1859). Contemporary Western sources: Marino Sanuto, *Diarii*, xxxv, 258 ff.; Albèri, *Relazioni...*, 3rd ser., iii, 99 ff. (Bragadino), 113 ff. (Minio); P. Giovio, *Cose dei Turchi*, Venice 1541; A. Geuffroy, *Briefve description de la mort du grand Turc*, Paris 1546; G. Postel, *La tierce partie des orientales histoires*, Poitiers 1560, 48-61. For his wives, see: Çağatay Uluçay, *Osmanlı sultanlarına aşk mektupları*, Istanbul 1950; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kanunî... Ibrahim Paşa padişah dâmadı değildi*, in *Belleten*, xxix/114 (1965), 355-61.

The above is abridged from the article in *IA*, fasc. 50, 908-15, where will be found further bibliography and especially (915a) references to archive documents. (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin)

IBRĀHĪM PASHA, the eldest son of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], general, and viceroy of Egypt. He is often described as Muḥammad ʿAlī's "adopted" son. Amīna, a relative of his foster-father, the governor (*čorbadjī*) of Kavalla in Macedonia, was certainly a divorced woman when Muḥammad ʿAlī married her in 1787, and it cannot be denied that Muḥammad ʿAlī had a certain preference for his son Ṭūsūn, who died on 28 September 1816; there was certainly also a rivalry between Ibrāhīm and Ṭūsūn. The year of his birth is decisive, however, and this is usually given as 1789 (but occasionally also as 1786). In the older authorities like Djabarti we find no hint that he was not Muḥammad ʿAlī's real son.

When his position in Egypt had been somewhat secured, Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1805 sent for his two sons Ibrāhīm and Ṭūsūn, and in 1809 for his wife and the younger children, Ismāʿīl and two daughters. In 1806 Ibrāhīm was sent with the Ḳapudān Pasha to Istanbul as a hostage for the tribute promised by his father; after the departure of the English fleet from Alexandria in 1807 the Porte sent him back. In 1807 Ibrāhīm became *defterdār*. After the great massacre of the Mamlūks in 1811 he was sent by his father to Upper Egypt. He drove the remnants of the Mamlūks into Nubia, subdued the Bedouins, and restored order and security in the country. Under his governorship, in accordance with Muḥammad ʿAlī's policy of expropriating the cultivable land of Egypt, all *iltizāms* [*q.v.*] and estates in *waḳf* were confiscated, and the registration of land was completed in 1812 (G. Baer, *A history of landownership in modern Egypt*, London 1962, 4, 6). He remained in charge of the administration of Upper Egypt till the beginning of 1816. In the meanwhile he had been given the title of Pasha by the Porte in recognition of the services of his father.

In 1816, his father sent him to Arabia to make a final reckoning with the Wahhābīs, against whom his brother Ṭūsūn had been fighting successfully from 1811 to 1813 and, from 1813 to 1815, Muḥammad ʿAlī himself also. After three years of heavy fighting the goal was achieved, al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], the capital of the Wahhābīs, was destroyed and ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Suʿūd with his relatives were sent as prisoners to Egypt. In December 1819, Ibrāhīm made his triumphal entry into Cairo. Soon afterwards the Sultan appointed him governor of Djudda. In the meanwhile, Muḥammad ʿAlī's third son, Ismāʿīl, had conquered Nubia and Sinnār (1820-21), while another expeditionary force invaded Kordofān. The exploitation of the ancient goldfields and the capture of slaves, who were to form the basis of Muḥammad ʿAlī's new army, were the two objects of this expedition. Ibrāhīm Pasha was sent to Sinnār as commander-in-chief, and expedited the procurement of slaves and their transmission to Egypt. Falling ill with dysentery, he returned to Cairo early in 1822 (R. Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan 1820-1881*, London 1959, 11-12).

In the following years, Ibrāhīm Pasha took part in training the new troops (*niẓām djadīd*), who were entrusted to the French Colonel Sèves. Ibrāhīm was an industrious pupil of the European instructor and the latter, under the name of Sulaymān Pasha [*q.v*], became his main support in his later campaigns.

During the Greek War of Independence, when Muḥammad ʿAlī was appointed to conquer the Morea by a firman of the sultan dated 16 January 1824, he sent his son Ibrāhīm Pasha there, with an excellent army trained on the European model and ample supplies of war material, at the end of July 1824. The capture of Navarino and his entry into Tripolitsa practically brought the Peninsula under his control. February to April 1826 were devoted to the siege and capture of Missolonghi. After the intervention of the Great Powers had been rejected by the Porte and Muḥammad ʿAlī, the naval battle of Navarino [*q.v.*] took place, in which, in October 1827, the greater part of the Egyptian-Turkish fleet was destroyed by the allied fleets of Great Britain, France and Russia, and finally Muḥammad ʿAlī was forced by the British Admiral Codrington, who appeared before Alexandria, to recall his son and the Egyptian troops. Ibrāhīm arrived in Alexandria on 10 October 1828.

In 1831 Ibrāhīm Pasha was entrusted by his father with the conduct of the Syrian campaign. On 1 November he arrived with his troops in Palestine. After a six months' siege he obtained the surrender of ʿAkkā, on 27 May 1832, after previously gaining victories over the Pasha of Tripoli and Aleppo on the plain of Zarʿā south of Ḥimṣ. Ibrāhīm's subsequent march march through Syria and Asia Minor was made possible by his victories over the advance guard of the Turkish army under Muḥammad Pasha of Aleppo at Ḥimṣ on 8-9 July, over the main Turkish army under Ḥusayn Pasha in the pass of Baylān at Alexandretta (29 July), and over the Turkish army under Rashīd Pasha at Ḳonya (21 December). These victories showed the superiority of the Egyptian army, Ibrāhīm's skill as a leader, and the cleverness of his policy of uniting the various groups in Syria under one banner by the cry of "liberation from the Turkish yoke" and of winning to his side the influential Amīr Bashīr II Shihāb of Lebanon. Ibrāhīm Pasha advanced as far as Kūtāhiya. There in May 1833, not without pressure from the European powers, a treaty was signed between the Porte and Muḥammad ʿAlī, by which Syria and Adana were ceded to the latter. Ibrāhīm received from the Sultan the title of *muḥaṣṣil* of Adana, and his father appointed him to administer the new territory. The application of a centralized administrative and bureaucratic control, which was Muḥammad ʿAlī's instrument of government in Egypt, aroused the resentment of the diverse populations of Palestine, Lebanon and Syria (cf. W. R. Polk, *The opening of south Lebanon, 1788-1840*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, 106-40). Sporadic but increasingly serious armed revolts broke out, provoked particularly by Ibrāhīm's measures of conscription and

of impounding arms. The enhanced status of the Christians alarmed the Muslims and Druzes, and disturbed the traditional *modus vivendi*: in particular, the employment of Maronites to suppress the Druze revolt in Ḥawrān (1838) had evil consequences in the two decades following Ibrāhīm's withdrawal.

When the war was begun again by Turkey in 1839, Ibrāhīm on 24 June won a decisive victory over the Turkish army under Ḥāfiẓ Pas̲h̲a at Nizib west of Bired̲j̲ik, and the Turkish fleet under Fewzī Pas̲h̲a went over to Muḥammad ʿAlī. The intervention of the powers, whose negotiations led to the Treaty of London on 15 July 1840 (the so-called Quadruple Alliance), altered the situation. Hoping for support from the French, Muḥammad ʿAlī rejected the demand that he should evacuate Syria as far as ʿAkkā and confine himself to the hereditary pashalic of Egypt. No support was given to him, and the coasts of Syria and Egypt were blockaded by the allied fleets. Ibrāhīm was in a difficult position between the forces which they landed and the hostile people of the Lebanon, who were stirred up against him. After the capture of ʿAkkā by the British Admiral Napier and the latter's negotiations with Muḥammad ʿAlī in Alexandria, the latter was forced to agree to the evacuation of Syria on 22 November 1840. On 29 December, Ibrāhīm left Damascus with his troops and returned to Egypt via G̲h̲azza, sending a portion of the army home via ʿAḳaba under Sulaymān Pas̲h̲a.

In the years that followed, Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a was mainly concerned with the administration of Egypt. His interest in and knowledge of agriculture is praised. He was several times in Europe, sometimes visiting watering-places to improve his health. Owing to his father's senility, Ibrāhīm formally assumed the governorship of Egypt on 2 September 1848, having received the sultan's firman some weeks earlier. He predeceased his father, however, on 10 November 1848, and was succeeded by his nephew, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I [*q.v.*]. Through his son Ismāʿīl (*regn.* 1863-79) he was the progenitor of the former khedivial and royal family of Egypt.

Bibliography: No full-length study of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a has yet been made, and the primary sources for his career have not been systematically investigated. These include: (A) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-D̲j̲abartī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-āt̲h̲ār*, Būlāḳ 1290; (B) Archival materials, especially in Cairo and Istanbul (see P. M. Holt (ed.), *Political and social change in modern Egypt*, London 1968, 28-51). Selections of documents have been published: (i) on the Syrian phase by Asad H. Rustum in [anon.], *Ḥurūb Ibrāhīm Bās̲h̲ā al-Miṣrī fī Sūriyā wa 'l-Anaḍūl*, Cairo [1927], and *A corpus of Arabic documents relating to the history of Syria under Mehemet Ali Pasha*, Beirut 1929-34; (ii) from the archives of the European states on various phases of Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule in a series of volumes published under the auspices of King Fuʾād I (see *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte par divers historiens et archéologues*, iii, Cairo 1933, 375-6); (C) the writings of expatriates and travellers, many of whom were French (see Jean-Marie Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte*, Cairo 1956, 169-323). Information on Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a may be found scattered in numerous modern works concerned primarily with Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, of which the following are a selection: H. Dodwell, *The founder of modern Egypt*, Cambridge 1931; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, *ʿAṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī*, Cairo 1951; Helen Anne B. Rivlin *The agricultural policy of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass., 1961.

Ottoman archive material is used by Şinasi Altundağ, *Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Paşa isyanı: Mısır meselesi 1831-1843*, Ankara 1945.

For Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a in Syria, see Asad J. Rustum, *The royal archives of Egypt and the origins of the Egyptian expedition to Syria 1831-1841*, Beirut 1936, and *The royal archives of Egypt and the disturbances in Palestine, 1834*, Beirut 1938.

(P. Kahle-[P. M. Holt])

IBRĀHĪM PAS̲H̲A, ČANDARLÎ [see d̲j̲andarlî].

IBRĀHĪM PAS̲H̲A, DĀMĀD, (?-1010/1601), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, according to Pečewī (ii, 284), was of Bosnian origin. The Venetian sources refer to him as "di nazione schiavone" (Alberi, iii, 241-2, 290, 367-8) or "di Chersego" (Alberi, iii, 432; cf. also Soranzo, 10: "nativo della Provincia di Herzecovina"). Perhaps the most exact indication is that of Minadoi, who describes Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a (*Historia*, 266) as "di natione schiavona, del luoco detto Chianichii, una breve giornata discosto da Ragusi". Minadoi obtained his information from "Chrestoforo de Boni", who was interpreter to the Venetian consul in Syria, Giovanni Michele, and, like Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, a man of Slavonic descent from the region near Ragusa. De Boni had become acquainted with Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a when the latter was operating against the Druzes of the Lebanon in 993/1585 (Minadoi, *Historia*, 277). As to the birth date of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, no precise evidence would seem to be available. Minadoi (*Historia*, 266), writing not long before 1588 (the date of the first edition of his work), sets the age of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a at about thirty-two years. The statements made in the *relazioni* of the Venetian baili at Istanbul (Alberi, ii, 357 and iii, 290, 367-8, 432) suggest that Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a was born circa 1550 A. D.

Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a entered the imperial palace as a child of the *devs̲h̲irme* [*q.v.*]. He rose to the office of *rikābdār* and, on the accession to the throne of Murād III in 982/1574, became *silāḥdār* and thereafter, in 988/1580, Ag̲h̲a of the Janissaries. He was made Beglerbeg of Rūmeli in 990/1582 and, while holding this appointment, had a large share in the organization of the festivities which Murād III, in the summer of the same year, gave in order to celebrate the circumcision of his son, the future Meḥemmed III. The year 990/1582 saw also the betrothal of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a to ʿĀyis̲h̲e, a daughter of Murād III, and his advancement to the rank of vizier.

Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a was sent out in 991/1583 to become Beglerbeg of Miṣr (Egypt). On his return from Egypt through Syria in 993/1585 he undertook a campaign against the Druze chieftains of the Lebanon. Soon after his arrival in Istanbul—an event that he marked by a lavish presentation of gifts ("*pīs̲h̲kes̲h̲-i ʿaẓīm*") to the Sultan—he received in marriage the princess ʿĀyis̲h̲e. The exact progression of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a in rank and in office during the next few years is not wholly clear. There is mention of him as fifth vizier (Venetian *relazione* of 1583: Alberi, iii, 241), as fourth vizier (Venetian *relazione* of 1585: Alberi, iii, 290) and as third vizier (Ṣolāḳzāde, 609 —narrating events of 993/1585). Two Venetian *relazioni* a little later in time note that Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a *had been* second vizier (cf. Giovanni Moro (1590) in Alberi, iii, 367 and Bernardo Lorenzo (1592) in Alberi, ii, 357).

Ibrāhīm, during these years, served for a short while as Kapudān, i.e., High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet (Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, 140; Daniş-

mend, *Kronoloji*, iii, 543 gives the following dates: Radjab 995/July 1587—Djumādā I 996/April 1588). The Venetian bailo Giovanni Moro, in his report to the Signoria submitted in 1590, observes (Alberi, iii, 357) that the Sultan, dissatisfied with the state of affairs at the arsenal (*tersāne*), resolved to appoint Uludj Ḥasan Pasha as Ḳapudān, "senza che Ibraim ne sapesse parola". A brief reference in Selānikī (*Ta'rīkh*, 254) describes Ibrāhīm as dismissed (*ma'zul*) from office (here unspecified) in Djumādā I 996/April 1588 (Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, iii, 111, 113 amends this date to Djumādā I 997/April 1589).

The accession of Sultan Meḥemmed III in 1003/1595 brought Ibrāhīm Pasha once more to the rank of second vizier (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i, 10). At this time the Ottoman empire was involved in the great war (1001-1015/1593-1606) with Austria. The departure of the Grand Vizier Ferhād Pasha [*q.v.*] on a campaign against Wallachia in Sha'bān 1003/April 1595 saw Ibrāhīm Pasha, as second vizier, appointed to be *Ḳā'im-maḳām* of the Grand Vizier at Istanbul.

On the death of the Grand Vizier Ḳodja Sinān Pasha in Sha'bān 1004/April 1596 Ibrāhīm Pasha was raised to the Grand Vizierate. He was to hold the office for a little less than seven months. During this brief period of time the Ottomans captured from the Christians the important fortress of Eğri [*q.v.*], i.e., Eger (Erlau) in Hungary (Muḥarram-Ṣafar 1005/September-October 1596) and defeated the forces of the Emperor Rudolf II at the battle of Ḥāč Ovasī (Mezö-Keresztes) fought in Rabī' I 1005/October 1596. After the battle Čighālazāde Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*] was made Grand Vizier, but the office was bestowed once again on Ibrāhīm Pasha a few weeks later in Rabī' II 1005/December 1596. He was dismissed, for the second time, from the Grand Vizierate in Rabī' I 1006/November 1597 and re-appointed to it, for the third time, in Djumādā II 1007/January 1599, holding the office now until his death two and a half years later.

Ibrāhīm Pasha, as Grand Vizier and as *serdār*, i.e., general-in-chief, took command of the Ottoman armies engaged in the Hungarian war. The campaign of 1008/1599 had amongst its main objectives the repair and strengthening of the frontier fortresses and included also measures to win the local Hungarian population, which had suffered much in the course of the long war, to a more favourable attitude towards the Ottomans. Ibrāhīm Pasha, having wintered at Belgrade, led his forces in 1009/1600 against the Christian fortress of Kanizsa [*q.v.*] and, after a short siege, accepted its surrender in Rabī' II 1009/October 1600. This notable success marked, however, virtually the end of his career. He died at Zemūn, near Belgrade, on 9 Muḥarram 1010/10 July 1601.

Ibrāhīm Pasha is described in the sources as a man of handsome appearance (Alberi, iii, 241-2; Minadoi, 266: "bello di sembianti"), generous (Alberi, iii, 432), subtle of intellect, but deceitful (Alberi, iii, 290 — cf. also Pečewī, ii, 229-231) and even "leggiero di cervello e vario" (Alberi, ii, 357), not a sagacious figure nor apt for high command (Alberi, iii, 432: "non e riputato prudente, ne atto a supremo commando"—relazione of Matteo Zane, dated 1594)—though his undeniable success in the Hungarian campaigns of 1596, 1599 and 1600 would seem to call into doubt this last judgement of Matteo Zane.

Bibliography: Selānikī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1281, 158, 168 ff., 193, 205, 222, 254; Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3, ii, 21, 25, 168, 170, 189 ff., 206 ff., 209, 224, 227, 231 ff., 284; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286-7, 10, 53, 67, 84, 86 ff., 92 ff., 99, 102, 116 ff., 123 ff., 135, 142, 146 ff.; idem, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, Istanbul 1329, 140; Na'īmā, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3, i, 80, 107, 110, 117, 123 ff., 128, 139, 142, 144, 157, 160, 168, 170, 172, 184 ff., 187, 204, 214 ff., 221 ff., 228 ff., 234 ff., 247 ff., 251 ff.; Ṣolāḳzāde, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1298, 603, 608, 625 ff., 631 ff., 639 ff., 644, 650, 651 ff., 656 ff., 660 ff.; 'Othmānzāde Tā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271, 45; Ḥüseyn Ayvānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmi'*, Istanbul 1281, i, 16; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, i, 97; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti zamanında kullanılmış olan bazı mühürler hakkında bir tetkik*, in *Belleten*, iv (1940), 506-7 (and Plate XCI, no. 4); idem, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/2, Ankara 1954, 351-4, 357, 359, 613 (index); İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, iii, Istanbul 1950, 111, 113, 543; G. T. Minadoi, *Historia della guerra fra Turchi e Persiani*, Venice 1594, 266-7, 270-1, 276-95 passim; L. Soranzo, *L'Ottomanno*, Ferrara 1598, 10; E. Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ser. 3, Florence 1840-55, ii, 357, iii, 241-2, 290, 357, 367-8, 432-3; O. Burian, *The report of Lello, third English ambassador to the Sublime Porte* (Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları no. 83), Ankara 1952, 1-4 passim; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, vii, 125, 148, 161, 165-74 passim, 300-3, 312, 319, 332, 341, 349-61 passim, 431-2 and viii, 4, 6-7, 379-83; *İA*, s.v. *İbrahim Paşa* (by İsmet Parmaksızoğlu).

(V. J. Parry)

IBRĀHĪM PASHA, KARA, Ottoman Grand Vizier under Meḥemmed IV, was born in 1030/1620, in a village near Bayburt, of a Muslim family. He first appears as a *lewend* [*q.v.*] serving under Abaza Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*]; when Abaza Ḥasan's rebellion was crushed (1069/1658) he took service under a succession of prominent figures, firstly Firārī Muṣṭafā Pasha and finally Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, whose *ketkhudā* he became. Helped by the Pasha's influence and enjoying the confidence of the Sultan he now began to rise rapidly in the service of the state. He was appointed firstly *küčük* and then *büyük mīr-akhōr*, in Rabī' II 1082/August 1671 (Rāshid, i, 255); then when his patron Ḳara Muṣṭafā became Grand Vizier (1087/1676) he himself was made third vizier (Siliḥdār, i, 653). Ḳara Muṣṭafā, however, beginning to resent Ibrāhīm's growing intimacy with the Sultan, had him appointed Ḳapudān Pasha (17 Ramaḍān 1088/13 November 1677) in order to remove him from the court; but Ibrāhīm immediately procured himself the further post of *ḳā'immaḳām* to the Grand Vizier, thus ensuring his continued presence at the capital. The Grand Vizier succeeded in having him dismissed from both posts and demoted to fifth vizier (10 Shawwāl 1089/25 November 1678: the date given in *Sefinetü 'l-vüzera*, ed. Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1952, 39, is erroneous), but Ibrāhīm's influence over the Sultan was not weakened; he became successively fourth and third vizier, and, on the outbreak of the war with Austria, Ḳara Muṣṭafā found it prudent to re-appoint him *ḳā'immaḳām*. During the siege of Vienna, he remained at Belgrade to support the operations, but when word of the failure of the expedition was received, immediately returned to Edirne. He now began to intrigue actively against Ḳara Muṣṭafā, and finally succeeded in procuring his former patron's execution and his own appointment as Grand Vizier (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1094/December 1683, see Siliḥdār, ii, 119-21). However he was quite incapable of coping with the dangerous situation developing on the various battle-fronts, and not once did he take the field himself, so that on 20 Muḥarram 1097/17 Decem-

ber 1685 (so Rās͟hid, ii, 6) he was dismissed. He asked permission to go on the Pilgrimage, but his enemies warned the Sultan that this was merely a cover for him to stir up trouble in Anatolia, by returning to the "D̲j̲elālī" activities that had occupied his early years; his property was confiscated, he was exiled to Rhodes (Rabīʿ II 1097/March 1686), and he was soon after executed (S̲h̲aʿbān 1098/June 1687).

Bibliography: The two principal sources for Ḳara Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha's career are Rās͟hid (i, 255, 334, 392, 429, 437, 439, 441, 445, 469 f., 475, 484 f.; ii, 6) and Fīndīklīlī Meḥmed Ag͟ha Silihdār (i, 653, 656, 663, 669, 671, 716, 718, 726 f., 738, 749 f.; ii, 7 f., 12, 17, 119 f., 129, 189, 201 f., 209 f., 215, 225 f., 228 f., 237, 242 f., 279, 288, 294); Rās͟hid, as official historiographer, is concerned to gloss over Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha's failings, whereas Siliḥdār does not hesitate to record his weaknesses. See also *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, 110-1; *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, i, 110; Hammer-Purgstall, vi, *passim*. This article is abridged from that in *IA*, fascs. 49-50, pp. 906-8, where further references are given.

(İ. Parmaksizoğlu)

IBRĀHĪM PAS͟HA, NEVS͟HEHIRLI, favourite and Grand Vizier of Aḥmad III [*q.v.*], was born at Mūs͟hḳara (now Nevşehir), the son of a certain ʿAlī Ag͟ha; since he is said to have been about 70 years old when he died in 1143/1730, his birth may be dated to about 1073/1662. In 1100/1689 he came to Istanbul to find employment, and his relatives procured him entry to the Palace service, as *ḥelwād̲j̲ī*, as *baltad̲j̲ī*, and then as *kātib*, in which capacity, at Edirne, he became known to prince Aḥmad. When Aḥmad came to the throne (1115/1703), Ibrāhīm was made secretary to the Chief of the Eunuchs (*Dār al-Saʿāda Ag̲h̲asī*), holding this post for six years; but his rivals, jealous of his intimacy with the Sultan, procured his banishment for a time to Edirne. In 1127/1715 he took part, as *mewḳūfātčī* [*q.v.*], in Dāmād ʿAlī Pas͟ha's campaign in Greece, and was entrusted with the *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*] of the re-conquered Morea. Next year, as *defterdār* of Nīs͟h, he was present on the Peterwardein campaign; he did much to prevent a complete disaster after the Grand Vizier was killed, and was charged with breaking the news of the defeat to Aḥmad III. Ibrāhīm henceforth held a succession of posts in close attendance on the Sultan, and in Rabīʿ I 1129/February 1717, when second vizier, he was married to Aḥmad's favourite daughter Fāṭima, the 13-year-old widow of ʿAlī Pas͟ha. He attempted to use his influence with the Sultan to persuade him to make peace, but was unable to prevail against the Grand Vizier K͟halīl Pas͟ha; however, the loss of Belgrade [*q.v.*] (Ramaḍān 1129/August 1717) obliged the Ottomans to pursue negotiations: an armistice was signed on 1 February 1718 and Ibrāhīm, as the protagonist of the "peace policy", was finally persuaded to accept the Grand Vizierate, on 8 D̲j̲umādā II 1130/9 May 1718. His first care was to see that the peace negotiations were prosecuted, and his efforts were rewarded by the signature of the Treaty of Passarowitz (Pasarofča) two months later.

Ibrāhīm wanted Turkey to engage in no more foreign adventures, but applied himself to measures of economy and reconstruction; he attempted to limit the army payrolls to effective troops only, to raise new taxes, and to stabilize the currency. At the same time, however, he and his master, encouraged perhaps by the report of Yirmisekiz Čelebi Meḥmed Efendi [*q.v.*] on his embassy to Paris and his descriptions of Versailles and Fontainebleau, engaged in the building of romantically-named *kös͟hk*s, fountains and palaces ("Emnābād", "Nes͟hātābād", etc.) along the Bosphorus [see Bog̲h̲az-iči], at Eyyūb and at Kāg͟hidk͟hāne ("Saʿdābād", the "Sweet Waters of Europe"), which were the scene of elegant parties of pleasure, of music, and of poetry, whose spirit is most vividly portrayed in the works of Nedīm [*q.v.*]. This genuinely cultured but reckless and extravagant indulgence is epitomized in the "tulipomania" which won for Ibrāhīm's Grand Vizierate the name of "Lāle dewri" [*q.v.*]. One important reflexion of this tendency to "Westernization" is the introduction into Turkey of the printing of Islamic works [see Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa; Maṭbaʿa]. The populace however, resenting this extravagance and distressed at the territorial losses accepted under the recent treaty, found ample cause for criticism of Ibrāhīm in his favouritism of his relatives and dependents and in his cultivation of the foreign ambassadors.

When Dürri Efendi returned from an embassy to Persia to report that the country was in utter turmoil, attacked both by the Afg͟hāns and by the Russians, Ibrāhīm summoned the notables (Rad̲j̲ab 1134/May 1722) to propose that the Ottoman state must intervene in order to protect its eastern frontiers. Such a policy threatened in fact to bring the Ottoman Empire into conflict not with Persia but with Russia, over the possession of the territories west of the Caspian; in July 1723, however, the mediation of the Marquis de Bonnac led to an agreement with Peter the Great for the partition of Persia (S̲h̲awwāl 1136/June 1724), so that the war which broke out in 1723/1135 (and was to last in effect until 1149/1736) was limited to hostilities between Turkey and Persia. The occupation of Hamad̲h̲ān, ʿand̲j̲a, Tabrīz, Rewān, etc., obliged Ṭahmāsp II [*q.v.*] to sue for peace, and the short-lived Treaty of Hamad̲h̲ān was concluded on 17 Ṣafar 1140/4 October 1727. A Persian invasion obliged the reluctant Aḥmad to declare war in 1730; but although the court encamped at Üsküdār, the lack of any vigorous activity, as a final cause of discontent, provoked a rising in Istanbul, headed by Patrona K͟halīl [*q.v.*]. The Sultan at first restrained Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha from crossing to Istanbul to attempt to suppress the disturbances, but he finally realized that the only hope (in the upshot, vain) of preserving his own position was to sacrifice his favourite: on 17 Rabīʿ I/30 September he placed him in confinement and took back his seal of office; a *fetwā* for his execution having been issued by the S̲h̲ayk͟h al-Islām and other prominent *ʿulemā'*, he was executed; and his body was paraded before the rebels and torn to pieces.

Ibrāhīm's earlier career had convinced him that it was impolitic for Turkey to become embroiled with the now technically superior European powers. He was a man of culture, a constant reader of Naʿīmā [*q.v.*], and he promoted the translation into Turkish of such works as ʿAynī's *ʿIḳd al-d̲j̲umān*, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, etc.; he was a generous patron of poets, artists, and calligraphers. He founded many *waḳf*s, especially in Istanbul, Ürgüp, and his native Mūs͟hḳara, which, by erecting new buildings and encouraging the settlement of adjacent tribesfolk [see Iskān], he raised to be a township, with the name of "Nev-s͟hehir".

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v, *passim*; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/1-2, Ankara 1956-9.

Also: Gerard Cornelius von den Driesch, *Historische Nachricht von der Kayserl. Gross-Botschaft nach Constantinopel*, Nürnberg 1723 (with portrait of Ibrāhim at p. 171); C. Schéfer (ed.), *Mémoire historique sur l'ambassade . . . par le marquis de Bonnac*, Paris 1894; A. Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV*, Paris 1887; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 123-4; ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, 29 ff.

Studies: Aḥmad Refīḳ, *Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha zamānında Ürgüp ve Nevshehir*, in *TOEM*, xiv/3 (80) (1340), 156-85; Münir Aktepe, *Dâmâd Ibrahim Paşa devrinde lâle*, in *TD*, iv/7-vi/9 (1953-4); idem, in *TM*, xi (1954), 115-30 (on "tulipomania"); idem, *Patrona isyânı, 1730*, Istanbul 1958 (with full bibl.); idem, *Nevşehirli Damad Ibrahim Paşa'ya âid iki vakfiye*, in *TD*, xi/15 (1960), 149-60; M. L. Shay, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734 as revealed in despatches of the Venetian Baili* (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, xxvii/3), Urbana 1944. The above is an abridgement of the article *Nevşehirli Ibrahim Paşa* in *IA*, fasc. 92, 234-9 (with further bibliography in the text). (M. MÜNIR AKTEPE)

IBRĀHĪM PEČEWĪ [see PEČEWĪ].

IBRĀHĪM SHĀH SHARḲĪ, the third of the *salāṭīn al-sharḳ*, the name given to the rulers of the state of Djawnpur [*q.v.*], *regnabat* 804-44/1402-40. He and his elder brother Mubārak Shāh 'Ḳaranful', whom he succeeded on the Djawnpur throne, were the adopted sons of the eunuch Malik Sarwar, the first sultan, and they are generally supposed to have been Ḥabshīs [*q.v.*]. Ibrāhīm succeeded to a kingdom of considerable extent, from Koyl (later ʿAlīgaṛh) and Iṭāwā [*q.v.*] in the west to Bihār and Tirhut [*qq.v.*] in the east, an area of about the size of Austria. It was Ibrāhīm who did most to make Djawnpur the important state it became, both by force of arms and in the cultural sphere. He set his sights high, aiming at the capture of Dihlī itself, marching on it in 809/1407 and annexing Kannawdj and Sambhal [*qq.v.*] on the way, and was deterred from making a final assault on Dihlī only by the receipt of the news that Muẓaffar Shāh I of Gudjarāt was marching to the aid of the Dihlī sultan. He was unsuccessful in his attacks on other possessions of the Dihlī sultanate, including Bayānā, south-west of Āgrā, and Kalpī [*q.v.*], which he had the misfortune to attack in 834/1431 just as Hūshang Shāh Ghūrī [*q.v.*] of Mālwā had the same idea. From this time he intervened on several occasions in the affairs of the Bengal sultanate [*q.v.* in Supplement], according to one account coercing the Hindū usurper Rādjā Ganesh to bring up his son in the Islamic faith with the support of the Pānḍūā *shaykh* Nūr Ḳuṭb al-ʿĀlam [*q.v.*]; and on his invasion of Bengal in 836/1432 the Bengal sultan sought help from Tīmūr's son Shāh Rukh. He enforced order throughout his own dominions, and in spite of his failure to bring the Djawnpur sultanate any fresh territories he was respected as the wielder of the greatest power in northern India.

His reign is especially distinguished for his great patronage of art and letters, which earned for Djawnpur the title of 'Shīrāz of the east'; the liberal conditions of his court attracted scholars and litterateurs from all over the Islamic world, and important literary works, as well as works in *kalām* and *fiḳh*, were produced in Djawnpur. He graced his capital with many fine buildings, of which the Aṭalā *masdjid* is the principal survivor [see DJAWNPUR].

Bibliography: See DJAWNPUR and SHARḲIDS. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

IBRĀHĪM SHINĀSĪ [see SHINĀSĪ].

IBRĀHĪM AL-YĀZIDJĪ [see AL-YĀZIDJĪ].

(AL-) **IBRĀHĪMĪ**, MUḤAMMAD AL-BASHĪR, Algerian reformist scholar and writer, born 13 Shawwāl 1306/12 June 1889 at Bougie. He showed at an early age signs of great intelligence and his childhood and youth were spent in concentrated study. Already at the age of fourteen he had studied, at the school run by his uncle, Muḥammad al-Makkī al-Ibrāhīmī, the Ḳurʾān and the main classical literary and philological works. In 1912, on his way to the Ḥidjāz, he stayed for three months in Cairo, where he followed courses at al-Azhar and at the Dār al-Waʿẓ wa'l-Irshād which Rashīd had just opened on the island of Rawḍa. At Medina, Bashīr Ibrāhīmī pursued more advanced work in *tafsīr* and in *ḥadīth*, began to study genealogies, and carried out research in public and private libraries. And it was at Medina that he became the friend of Ibn Bādīs [*q.v.*]. For three months the two young scholars devoted their attention to considering projects for religious reform and for the renewal of Arabic studies in Algeria.

After spending two years (1917-18) at Damascus as a professor at the Madrasa Sulṭāniyya, Ibrāhīmī returned to Algeria, where he immediately set to work, with Ibn Bādīs, to propagate reform and lay the foundations of an Arabic national culture. Their efforts led to the foundation of the Association of Algerian Muslim ʿUlamāʾ in 1931, to the organization of a system of free Arabic education, and to the formation of a reformist Arabic press (the principal organs of which were *al-Shihāb* and *al-Baṣāʾir*).

On the death of Ibn Bādīs in April 1940, Ibrāhīmī became the leader of the Algerian reformist movement, to which he imparted (at least after the end of the Second World War) the character of a movement pursuing nationalist aims. The claims he made for his people, over a period of about ten years, may be summarized under three headings: the separation of the Muslim religion from the state, the independence of the Muslim judicial system, and the official recognition of the Arabic language. He also worked ceaselessly for the spread of free education in Arabic, under the auspices of the Association of ʿUlamāʾ.

In order to meet its constantly increasing educational obligations and to enable its best pupils to proceed to a higher education in Arabic, the Association of ʿUlamāʾ sought financial and academic help from the other Arab countries, which led them to send the *shaykh* Ibrāhīmī on a mission to the East in order to carry out on the spot the necessary enquiries and negotiations (1952). He did not return to his own country until 1962.

During his stay in the East, Ibrāhīmī acted as spokesman for Algeria conceived as an Arab and Muslim nation. He was also able to take part in the religious and intellectual life of the countries in which he stayed (Egypt, Syria, Irak, the Ḥidjāz, Kuwait, Pakistan) and was finally recognized everywhere as one of the outstanding figures of contemporary Islam. In 1961 he was elected as an active member of the Cairo Academy of the Arabic Language.

On his return to Algeria, *shaykh* Ibrāhīmī lost the support of the first leaders of independent Algeria because of his political views, which were based on the Islamic principle of the *shūrā* [*q.v.*], and his advocacy of "a city of justice and liberty". He died in Algiers on 19 Muḥarram 1385/20 May 1965.

Bāshīr Ibrāhīmī was, with Ibn Bādīs and Ṭayyib

al-ʿUḳbī, one of the chief architects of Muslim reformism in Algeria. A distinguished orator and writer, and a scholar in the traditional Islamic disciplines, he may be considered as one of the last great representatives of classical Arabic culture.

Ibrāhīmī's works are quite substantial, but, apart from his editorials from *al-Baṣāʾir*, collected under the title of *ʿUyūn al-Baṣāʾir* (Cairo 1963, 693 pp.), they are still unpublished. They include (1) ten or so short works on linguistic questions (*al-Tasmiya bi'l-maṣdar*; *al-Ṣifāt allatī djāʾat ʿalā wazn faʿal*; *al-Nuḳāyāt wa'l-nufāyāt*, or terms of the form *fuʿāla*; *al-Iṭṭirād wa'l-shudhūdh*; *Baḳāyā faṣḥ al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-lahdja al-ʿāmmiyya al-djazāʾiriyya*; *Risāla fī makhāridj al-ḥurūf wa-ṣifāti-hā bayn al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā wa'l-ʿāmmiyya*; a supplement to treatises on proverbs, *amthāl*; etc.); (2) some religious studies (*Ḥikmat mashrūʿiyyat al-zakāt fi 'l-islām*; *Shuʿab al-īmān*); (3) a play: *Kāhinat awrās* ("*La Kahena*"); (4) an immensely long *urdjūza* (36,000 verses). This "epic" (*malḥama*), as it is described by the author, covers the history of Islam and of Algeria, as well as the various aspects of the social and religious life of the Muslim community of Algeria.

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(A. Merad)

IBRAIL, from the Rumanian Brăila, town of Wallachia (Ţara Românească) on the left bank of the Danube, about 20 km. south of the point where it is joined by the Siret; an important trading town situated at the junction of several trade routes. In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, Brăila had connexions with Braşov in Transylvania and Lemberg in Poland. Its port was visited not only by boats from the commercial towns on the Danube but also by ships from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Even in the 10th/16th century, when the Bosphorus and the Black Sea were controlled by the Porte, an average of 70 or 80 ships anchored regularly there. During Meḥemmed II's campaign against Vlad Ţepeş, prince of Wallachia, an Ottoman fleet disembarked troops at Brăila (866/1462), but the town was not taken until Rabīʿ II 945/September 1538, following the campaign of Süleymān I against Moldavia. Radu Paisie, prince of Wallachia, was obliged to surrender it to the Sultan (946/1539), who appropriated also a fairly extensive territory surrounding the town. Once Brăila had become part of the Ottoman Empire, its new masters concerned themselves with its organization. There exists a 10th/16th century collection of regulations covering various aspects of economic and social life, taxes, land laws, etc. Under the Ottomans Brăila became a centre of supplies from which products from Wallachia were sent to Istanbul. For three centuries its history merges with that of other Danube commercial ports annexed by the Ottomans: it became the main object of the Rumanian princes in their struggles against the Porte. In 982/1574, the Moldavian prince Ioan cel Cumplit burned the town but was unable to take the fortress. In Radjab 1003/March 1595, Mihai Viteazul of Wallachia, at war with the Porte, forced the garrison to capitulate, but his assassination caused Brăila to be returned to the Sultan. Prince Mihnea, taking arms against the Sultan, occupied it for a brief period in 1069/1659. During the Russo-Turkish wars Brăila was taken and then returned again to the sultan. During a further war it was taken by the Russians on 6 June 1828 and finally ceded to Wallachia by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1830. It later became the centre of the activities of Bulgarian emigrés which paved the way for the independence of Bulgaria.

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(N. Beldiceanu)

ʿIBRĪ [see yahūd].

ʿIBRĪ, a town in Oman (ʿUmān [*q.v.*]) in eastern Arabia. ʿIbrī is the capital of al-Ẓāhira, the highland district stretching from the inland slopes of the mountain range of al-Ḥadjar westwards to the sands of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī. The town lies in the great wadi coursing down from the mountains to the sands near the point where its name changes from Wādī al-Kabīr to Wādī al-ʿAyn. Higher up in the wadi are the towns of al-ʿArāḳī and al-Dariz. Just east of ʿIbrī is the settlement of al-Sulayf, while farther east is the massif of Djabal al-Kawr, beyond which one comes to Nazwā, until recently the capital of the Imāmate of Oman. South of ʿIbrī is Fahūd, one of the principal centres of the new oil industry in Oman. ʿIbrī is a central and commanding point on the main interior route from the Trucial Coast and al-Buraymī [*q.v.*] to the districts of al-Sharḳiyya and Djaʿlān. In going from ʿIbrī to al-Buraymī, a distance of some 150 km., one passes through the cluster of villages known as Aflādj Banī Ḳitab.

The name ʿIbrī for the town is said to be derived from the tribe of the ʿIbriyyūn, who trace their descent back to the Azd and ultimately to the prophet Hūd [*q.v.*] (ʿĀbar). The ʿIbriyyūn, however, now have their headquarters in al-Ḥamrāʾ near Nazwā and have no strong connexion with ʿIbrī. The dominant tribe in ʿIbrī is the Yaʿāḳib, who, though they claim a Southern Arab origin, now belong to the Ghāfirī (Northern Arab) faction in Oman. Among the other residents of ʿIbrī are members of the tribe of Banū Kalbān.

ʿIbrī, besides its strategic importance, has considerable importance as a market for the nomads of al-Ẓāhira, where the Durūʿ [*q.v.*] are the strongest tribe. The nomads sell the famous camels of Oman and buy the products of local handicrafts and imports from abroad. Agriculture flourishes, with the date and fruit groves being

perhaps the largest in Oman on the inland side of the mountains. Among the fruits are mangoes, peaches, apricots, quinces, bananas, oranges, pomegranates, plums, and guavas.

As a former district capital under the Ibāḍī imāmate, ʿIbrī is said to have the biggest Ibāḍī mosque in Oman. The town has also been occupied at times by Wahhābīs. In 1251/1836, when the British naval officers Wellsted and Whitelock approached ʿIbrī as the first Europeans to visit this region, the place was full of Wahhābīs and the travellers were forced to turn back. In 1375/1955 the British journalist J. Morris, who came to ʿIbrī in the train of Saʿīd b. Taymūr, Sultan of Muscat, encountered none of the old xenophobia.

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(G. Rentz)

IBRIS̲H̲ĪM [see ḤARĪR].

IBRUH, Sp. Ebro. Most writers in Arabic on the topography of Spain mention the river Ebro, but they are generally limited to the conventional information that it rises in the mountains of Nabarra or the Rūm, passes through Tudela (Tuṭīla) and Zaragoza (Saraḳusṭa), and reaches the Mediterranean a little below Tortosa (Ṭurṭūs̲h̲a). The Muslims never controlled the headwaters of the Ebro and were consequently vague about them. The same is true of the Duero, to the extent that Zuhrī states that the Ebro and Duero share a common source. Sometimes other riverain towns, as Calahorra (Ḳalahurra), Mequinenza (Miknāsa), and Flix (Iflīs̲h̲), and affluents, as the Gállego (D̲j̲allaḳ, D̲j̲illiḳ, D̲j̲illaḳ), Segre (S̲h̲iḳar), and Cinca (Nahr al-Zaytūn), are mentioned. Both ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī and Ibn Saʿīd know the river without giving its name. Bakrī is aware of the etymological connexion between Iberia (Ībāriya) and Ebro. Zuhrī states that gold is found in it (without saying where) and adds the enigmatic information that for 100 miles, from Tudela to Mequinenza, and again from Flix to Tortosa, they employ lanterns (*yataʿāṭawna ʾl-surud̲j̲*) on the river bank.

The name is spelt *alif, bā, rā, hā*. In manuscripts the *alif* is preceded by *hamza* without bearer, which is the Mag̲h̲ribī manner of indicating *madda*. The inference is that the vowel of the first syllable was felt to be *fatḥa*, i.e. Ābru(h), Abru(h), and this indeed corresponds with the Spanish Ebro. On the other hand those who connected the name with Iberia presumably pronounced it Ibru(h). The spelling Ībruh seems not to occur.

Bibliography: Standard geographical writers s.v.; Zuhrī, *K. al-D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiya*, Algiers Bib. Nat. MS. no. 1552, ff. 41a, 51b, 68b (ed. M. Hadj-Sadok, in *BÉt. Or.*, xxi (1968), index).

(J. F. P. Hopkins)

AL-**IBS̲H̲ĪHĪ**, Bahā al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Manṣūr, Egyptian writer (790-after 850/1388-after 1446), author of a famous anthology. He was born in a village in the Fayyūm, Abs̲h̲ūya (whence the reading al-Abs̲h̲īhī for his *nisba*, which is also pronounced al-Ibs̲h̲ayhī), but he lived most of his life at Maḥalla al-kubrā or in the neighbouring small town of Nahrarīr. He went quite often to Cairo, where he was able to receive lessons from D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī, the son of the S̲h̲āfiʿī doctor of the same name (Brockelmann, S II, 139). He is said to have had as a student al-Biḳāʿī (*ibid.*, 177), the opponent of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, and Ibn Fahd (*ibid.*, 225). His reputation is based on the *Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaẓraf*, one of the most famous anthologies of Arabic literature (more than ten eds. at Būlāḳ and Cairo; Fr. tr. G. Rat, Paris-Toulon 1899-1902) but, according to al-Sak̲h̲āwī, *Ḍawʾ*, vii, 109, he wrote also a work of edification entitled *Aṭwāḳ al-azhār ʿalā ṣudūr al-anhār* and began a treatise on epistolography; he may also be the author of the *Tad̲h̲kirat al-ʿārifīn wa-tabṣirat al-mustabṣirīn* (manuscript at Damascus; see Ḥ. al-Zayyāt, *K̲h̲azāʾin al-kutub fī Dimas̲h̲ḳ*, 80, no. 24). In the *Mustaṭraf* the author appears mainly as an anthologist, anxious to make known "literary characteristics, edifying discourses, wise maxims". He acknowledges as his predecessors al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī (*Rabīʿ al-abrār*) and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (*al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*). He also draws material from works of *ḥadīth* (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Tirmid̲h̲ī) or of theology (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī). The rather haphazard arrangement is not, however, entirely illogical. A first section deals with the human mind and the natural lights of reason: religion, wisdom, good customs, various talents (chapters i to xvi). There then follows a sort of treatise on society and its most characteristic categories (xvii-xxii); the work then deals with pure morality (to ch. lii); there follow, as a diversion, various thoughts on the marvels of nature and the profane arts of poetry and music. The *Mustaṭraf* is thus "a vast encyclopaedia of *omni rescibili*, which enjoyed an immense popularity" (M. Rat, preface to his translation, x). It is a *vade mecum* for the honest Muslim, which does not hesitate to mingle the fields of *adab* and of pure ethics (*ak̲h̲lāḳ*), which in principle remain distinct from each other. On matters of faith, the work is very discreet, merely mentioning the most essential ritual observances. In social ethics, honour is given to both the "poverty" of the saint and the honest labour of the artisan. In the field of ethics, it advocates obedience to the established authorities, patience and endurance. It speaks rapturously of generosity, which culminates in *īt̲h̲ār*, "abnegation", the rather ostentatious virtue of momentarily renouncing the self. This generosity, which excludes pride (*kibr*), is nevertheless accompanied by a very strong feeling of personal dignity (*ʿuluww al-himma*). As regards style, the author does not hesitate to pass from the sublime to the trivial, and his work is at the same time a sort of *Fürstenspiegel*, a manual of literature and a collection of anecdotes often enlivened by proverbs in the popular language of Cairo; the *Mustaṭraf* has provided valuable information on the state of the spoken language in Egypt in the 9th/15th century (Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xxxv, 528, a review of the work by Spitta Bey: *Grammatik des arabischen des vulgär Dialektes von Aegypten*, 1880). The naturalness with which al-Ibs̲h̲īhī links the various categories of Arabic literature to an oral and popular culture gives to his rather clumsy work the value of direct testimony. A Turkish translation (Istanbul 1261-3/1845-7) made by Ekmekčizāde Aḥmad, under the auspices of Meḥmed Esʿad (Imāmzāde?), demonstrates the popularity which was enjoyed until modern times by a work which succeeded in assembling "in a brilliant style, Ḳurʾānic quotations, prophetic sentences, philological difficulties, comic anecdotes" (Turkish preface); a short treatise (1-29) by the translator refers to the fundamental values of Islam (the divine unity, the five pillars of worship, respect for the poor and for the saint).

The *nisba* al-Ibs̲h̲īhī belonged also to other persons: (1) an Egyptian Mālikī jurist and man of

letters, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā (834-98/1430-92). He owed his literary education to the Mālikī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Nuwayrī and his juridical education to the classical Mālikī writers: Abū Zayd, Sīdī Khalīl, the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ. He was an expert in Ḳurʾānic reading, and may have been the pupil of Ṭāhir b. ʿArabshāh (Brockelmann, S II, 21). (2) A Shāfiʿī traditionist, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 892/1487), who gained a certain fame for his scholarship and the many journeys he made. He was known also by the names of Ibn Ḥarfūsh and Ibn Ṣahṣāḥ. He had dealings with al-Sakhāwī, who accused him of plagiarism and of producing an unauthorized version of his work of *ḥadīth*, *al-Maḳāsid al-ḥasana* (Brockelmann, S II, 31; Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, i, 187).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 56, S II, 55.

(J.-C. VADET)

IBSHÎR MUṢṬAFÂ PASHA [see IPSHĪR MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA].

IBTIDÂʾ, introduction, prologue, a term in rhetoric. In Ḳazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* (published under the title *Matn al-talkhīṣ*, Cairo n.d., 125 and 127), its extended version, the *Īḍāḥ* (ed. Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādjī, vi, 147-50, 154), and the various works based on the *Talkhīṣ*, the *ibtidāʾ* is mentioned, along with the *takhalluṣ*, "transition" [*q.v.*], and the *intihāʾ*, "conclusion" [*q.v.*], as one of the three sections of the poem or composition which should receive particular attention and should conform to certain criteria of style and content. In the opening line of a poem complicated syntax should be avoided and the two hemistichs should be closely related in sense; in the case of a panegyric, it should not contain anything that could be interpreted as an evil omen or an improper allusion to the ruler or dignitary to whom the poem is addressed, etc. In poetry as well as in prose the author may earn distinction by observing the *barāʿat al-istihlāl*, "the skilful opening", by which is understood an introduction that contains an allusion to the main theme of the work.

This theory, in particular the reference to the *barāʿat al-istihlāl*, reflects a tendency on the part of Ḳazwīnī and his followers to emphasize the importance of thematic unity and restrict the use of the conventional prologue of ancient poetry, the *nasīb* [*q.v.*]. They explain the term *tashbīb*, originally a near synonym of *nasīb*, as synonymous with *ibtidāʾ* in its widest sense (see also H. A. R. Gibb, in *BSOAS*, xii (1948), 576).

Works on rhetoric outside Ḳazwīnī's tradition offer essentially the same theories under headings like *al-mabdaʾ*, *al-mabādiʾ wa 'l-iftitāḥāt*, *ḥusn al-maṭlaʿ*, etc. Of special interest are the chapters in Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Mathal al-sāʾir* (ed. Muḥ. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, ii, 235-58) and Ibn Ḥidjdja's *Khizāna* (Cairo 1304, 3-20), which give much attention to the *ibtidāʾ* in prose. In dealing with the Ḳurʾān, some authors regard the letters found at the beginning of some *sūra*s as models of *ibtidāʾ*. For the *ibtidāʾ* in oratory see KHUṬBA.

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(S. A. BONEBAKKER)

IČ-OGHLANÎ (T.), literally "lad of the interior", i.e. "page of the inner service (*Enderūn* [*q.v.*])", Ottoman term for those boys and youths, at first slaves, recruits through the *devshirme* [*q.v.*], and occasionally hostages, later (from the 11th/17th century) also free-born Muslims, who were selected for training in the palaces of Edirne and Istanbul in order to occupy the higher executive offices of the state. For details, see GHULĀM, iv; ḲAPÎ-ḲULU; SARĀY-I HÜMĀYŪN.

(ED.)

IČIL (IČEL), mountainous province in southern Turkey, situated on the western spurs of the Taurus on the Mediterranean opposite Cyprus. The chief town is today the port of Mersin; its administrative districts are Mersin, Anamur, Gülnar, Mut, Silifke and Tarsus. The province is bounded in the north by the province of Konya, in the north-east by that of Niğde, in the east by Adana and in the west by Antalya. The main river is the Göksu [*q.v.*] (Kalykadnos/Saleph), which rises in the Bolkar Dağı and flows below Silifke into the Mediterranean.

In antiquity the borders of "Stony Cilicia" (as this territory, also called Isauria, was called to distinguish it from the neighbouring "Flat Cilicia", i.e. the plain of Adana) were considered to be in the west the promontory of Korakesion (Alanya), in the east the valley of the Lamus (Lâmas suyu). In the Byzantine period the territory formed, from the 9th century, a part of the military frontier against the Arabs under the name of Seleukeia. In the time of the Crusades the kingdom of Little Armenia fortified the towns there, among them Anamur, Sechin and Kelenderis on the coast and Ermenak [*q.v.*] and Lauzad inland. The Seldjuks, under ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs I and especially under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳobād I, occupied by about 625/1228 the majority of these castles (many of them today are either without names or not yet identified) as far as Silifke, whose citadel Camardesium was occupied by the Knights of St. John. The newly-conquered "Seldjuk-Armenia" was given the name of "Wilāyat-i Arman", or Armanistān; the province was also called the "Wilāyat of Ḳamar al-Dīn", after its first Seldjuk governor. The immigration of numerous Oguz tribes soon made the "Province of Armanāk" into a pronouncedly Türkmen territory which, after the division of the Seldjuk state belonging to the western half of Rūm, soon became the main territory of the Türkmen princes of Ḳaramān, who gradually succeeded in capturing all the fortresses (especially Ermenak and finally also the town of Silifke) from the Seldjuks and the remaining Armenians and Crusaders. From this province as a centre, which, as the "inner part" of their principality, was called *Ič il(i)*, the Ḳaramānids built up their dominion. There are references from the 8th/14th century to the Varsaḳ-Türkmens as being their neighbours and allies, among whom, in 853/1449-50, the militant Ṣafawid Shaykh Djunayd [*q.v.*] disseminated his propaganda (emirs: Ḥamza b. Ḳara ʿĪsā, 837/1427; Uyuz Beg, circa 875/1470; Yūsuf Beg Varsaḳ, governor of Kemākh for Shāh Ismāʿīl, fell in the battle of Čaldiran [*q.v.*] in 920/1514). In Zeyne, a *ḳaṣaba* of Ič il, there died in 862/1457-8 the founder of the Samarḳandiyya order, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī. Ič il also provided the Ḳaramānids with a refuge when they came into conflict with the Ottomans from the end of the

8th/14th century. From 799/1397, and especially from the middle of the 9th/15th century, they retired to "Ṭash il(i)", as the heartland of Ḳaramān was now often called, or "Ič il" (the two terms are often used as synonyms. It is not yet clear whether *ṭash ili* means originally "outside land" or "stone land"). Its last strongholds, the fortresses of Silifke, Ermenak and some others, recovered with the aid of the Crusaders under Mocenigo, did not fall to the Ottomans until after Meḥemmed II's victory over Uzun Ḥasan, in the autumn of 878/1473. The Cypriots had lost in 852/1448 their last town on the mainland (Korykos); and the Mamlūks also, to whom ʿAlāya [see ALANYA] had belonged for some time from 830/1427, retreated from the coast of Ič il. In 888/1483, the district was allotted as a *sandjāḳ* to the newly created Ottoman *wilāyet* of Ḳaramān, its administrative centre being Silifke. After the conquest of Cyprus in 979/1571, the Ottomans placed Ič il under their new *eyālet* of Ḳibris, in which they resettled *yurük*s [*q.v.*] from there. The *Djihānnumā* refers to "Ičil proper" (or Silifke) as being a mainland *sandjāḳ* of Cyprus. When Evliyā Čelebi travelled through the *sandjāḳ* in 1082/1671, it belonged to the *eyālet* of Adana. Evliyā's itinerary, which still awaits detailed investigation, contains remarks on the summer pastures of the Türkmens of Ič il (Toḳar, Küčük Čimen, Seki yaylalari). The tribesfolk, among whom, as Faruk Sümer has shown, well-known Oguz tribal groups were to be identified, were still predominantly nomadic. During the efforts to sedentarize them, refractory *yürük*s were again settled in Cyprus in 1124 and 1126/1712 and 1714. In the 18th century, the *sandjāḳ* appears repeatedly as an *arpaliḳ* [*q.v.*] of dismissed Grand Viziers. From 1831, Ič il belonged to the *eyālet* of Adana. Under the Turkish Republic the *kaza* of Ermenak was attached to the *vilâyet* of Konya and the rest of "Stony Cilicia" was, together with Mersin, made into a new *vilâyet*, Içel.

Bibliography: *İA*, s.vv. *İçel* (Besim Darkot), *Karamanoğullari* and *Silifke* (Şihabeddin Tekindağ), with references to the geographical literature and to the Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources.

(B. FLEMMING)

ICONOGRAPHY [see ṢŪRA].

ʿĪD, festival. The word is derived by the Arab lexicographers from the root *ʿwd* and explained as "the (periodically) returning". But it is in fact one of those Aramaic loanwords which are particularly numerous in the domain of religion; cf. for example the Syriac *ʿīdā* "festival, holiday".

The Muslim year has two canonical festivals, the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* [*q.v.*] or "sacrificial festival" on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* [*q.v.*] "festival of breaking the fast" on 1 Shawwāl. The special legal regulations for these are dealt with in the following articles. Common to both festivals is the *ṣalāt al-ʿīd(ayn)*, the festival of public prayer of the whole community, which is considered *sunna*. In many ways it has preserved older forms of the *ṣalāt* than the daily or even the Friday *ṣalāt* (although in other points it has come to resemble the latter) and in its general style much resembles the *ṣalāt* for drought and eclipses. It consists only of two *rakʿa* [*q.v.*] and contains several more *takbīr* [*q.v.*] than the ordinary *ṣalāt*. After it a *khuṭba* [*q.v.*] in two parts is delivered. It has no *adhān* [*q.v.*] and no *iḳāma* [*q.v.*]; as in the oldest times, the only summons to it is the words *al-ṣalāt djāmiʿatan*. It should be celebrated in the open air on the *muṣallā* [*q.v.*], which is still often done, though now mosques are frequently preferred. The time for its performance is between sunset and the moment when the sun has reached its zenith.

At both festivals, which in practice last three or four days, the Muslim puts on new or at least his best clothes; people visit, congratulate, and bestow presents on one another. The cemeteries are visited, and people stay in them for hours, sometimes spending the whole night in tents. These more popular practices are more usual at the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* than at the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*; the festival of breaking the fast is much more joyfully celebrated because the hardships of Ramaḍān are over, so that at the present day the "minor festival" has in practice become of much greater importance than the "major festival".

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ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀ (also called *ʿīd al-ḳurbān* or *ʿīd al-naḥr*) "sacrificial feast" or AL-ʿĪD AL-KABĪR "the major festival", in India *baḳar ʿīd* (*baḳra ʿīd*), in Turkey *büyük bayram* or *kurban bayramı*. It is celebrated on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the day on which the pilgrims sacrifice in the valley of Minā [see ḤADJDJ], the first of the three *ayyām al-tashrīḳ* (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923). The old Arab custom of sacrificing on this day in Minā was adopted by Islam not only for pilgrims but also for all Muslims as *sunna*. It becomes a necessary duty (*wādjib*) only by reason of a vow (*nadhr*).

This *sunna* is obligatory (*muʾakkada ʿala 'l-kifāya*) on every free Muslim who can afford to buy a sacrificial victim. Sheep (one for each person) or camels or cattle (one for one to ten persons) are sacrificed. The animals must be of a fixed age and be free from certain blemishes (lack of an eye, lameness etc.). The period of the sacrifice begins with the *ṣalāt al-ʿīd* and ends with sunset on the third of the three *ayyām al-tashrīḳ*. The following practices are recommended to the sacrificers: 1. the *tasmiya, i.e.*, the saying of the *Basmala* [*q.v.*]; 2. the *ṣalāt ʿala 'l-nabī*, the blessing on the Prophet; 3. the turning towards the *ḳibla*; 4. the threefold *takbīr* before and after the *tasmiya*; 5. a request for the gracious acceptance of the sacrifice. If the latter is offered on account of a vow, the sacrificer must eat none of it but must give it all away for pious purposes. If the sacrifice, as is usually the case, is a free will offering, the sacrificer enjoys a portion (a third) of the animal and gives the rest away. Among the Druses, the festival is now celebrated in memory of the sacrifice offered by Cain and Abel (R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, Wiesbaden 1960-2, i, 199).

On the public prayer and the usages at the festival on this holiday see ʿĪD.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned for the article ʿĪD, the books of *fiḳh* in the chapter on *uḍḥiyya*. (E. MITTWOCH)

ʿĪD AL-FIṬR, "festival of the breaking of the fast" or *al-ʿīd al-ṣaghīr* "the minor festival", Turkish *küçük bayram* or *şeker bayramı*, is the festival celebrated on 1 Shawwāl and the following days. If the Muslim has not paid the *zakāt al-fiṭr* [see ZAKĀT] before the end of the period of fasting, he is legally bound to do this on 1 Shawwāl at the latest and is recommended to do it before the public prayer (*ṣalāt*) which is celebrated on this day [see ʿĪD].

As this festival marks the end of the hardships of the period of fasting, it is, although called the "minor", celebrated with much more festivity and rejoicing than the "major festival"; cf. ʿĪD.

Bibliography: The books of *fiḳh* in the section *zakāt al-fiṭr* and the bibliography to the article ʿĪD. (E. MITTWOCH)

AL-ʿIDĀDA [see AL-ASṬURLĀB].

IḌĀFA [see NISBA].

IḌĀFA, infinitive of the verb *aḍāfa (ilā)* "to unite (with)", has became a term in Arabic grammar. In the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi it has at first a very wide meaning: it is inserted into the theory of the *djarr* (genitive) [the Kūfans say *khafḍ*] set out in Chapter 100. There we find: "*al-Djarr* is found only in nouns that are *muḍāf ilayhi*", that is: "that have received an adjunction", the *muḍāf* being that which is "added". It is the *iḍāfa*, the fact of having united one term with another, that requires the *djarr* (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 110), but the "operator" of this putting into the *djarr*, the *ʿāmil*, is the *ḥarf al-djarr* (preposition), *murād* (intended) (Ibn Yaʿīsh, 304, lines 11-12; *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* i, 250, line 3 a.f.), expressed or understood (*muḳaddar*). Thus the *iḍāfa* always implies a *ḥarf al-djarr*; as far as Sībawayhi is concerned, see his distinctions in Ch. 100. The theory of the *djarr* sets *iḍāfa* within very wide boundaries: as soon as there is a noun in the genitive (*madjrūr*), there is *iḍāfa*: *marartu bi-zaydin*, "I passed by Zayd"; the verb *marartu* (1st term: *muḍāf*) is linked, united with "Zayd" (2nd term: *muḍāf ilayhi*), and the instrument of this *iḍāfa* is the *ḥarf al-djarr*: the preposition *bi-* (see Sībawayhi, i, 178, lines 1-10). Note that Sībawayhi extended the *iḍāfa* even to the *nisba*: ii, Ch. 318; equally Ibn al-Sarrādj, 126.

The determination of one noun by another noun in the *djarr* also comes into this framework: *ghulāmu zaydin*, "Zayd's young slave": *ghulāmu* (1st term: *muḍāf*) is linked, united with "Zayd" (2nd term: *muḍāf ilayhi*), and the instrument of this *iḍāfa* is a *ḥarf al-djarr*, *muḳaddar*, unexpressed, but leaving its trace: the *djarr* of the *muḍāf ilayhi*. In fact, *ghulāmu zaydin* is thought of as implying the *ḥarf al-djarr*: *li-*, which is present in: *al-ghulāmu 'lladhī li-zaydin*, "the young slave belonging to Zayd" (cf. Ibn Yaʿīsh, 303, line 23). According to the context, the Arab grammarians assume the presence of: *li-*, *min* or even *fī*.

Iḍāfa in its general sense continued to be employed for the theory of the *djarr*, e.g.: *Mufaṣṣal*, § 110 and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 303-4. In common usage the word was limited to expressing the relationship of the determining of one term by another term, the determinative complement (the Hebrew "construct state"). European grammars thus translate *iḍāfa* as: "annexation", as did S. de Sacy (*Gr. Ar.*[2], Paris 1831, ii, § 235); the term was also listed by J. Marouzeau in the *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*[3], 21.

Arab grammarians called the determination by the determinative complement: *iḍāfa maḥḍa*, "pure" (Ibn al-Sarrādj, 60), *iḍāfa maʿnawiyya*, "semantic" (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 111; Ibn al-Ḥādjib, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 252;), *iḍāfa maḥḍa wa-maʿnawiyya* (*Alfiyya*, verse 390), *iḍāfa ḥaḳīḳiyya*, "true" (Ibn Yaʿīsh, 305, line 12). It expresses different relationships: possession, material, etc. (see de Sacy, *ibid.*, § 98-9, or W. Wright, *Ar. Gr.*[3], ii, § 76). The two terms, closely joined, cannot be separated one from another: the first (*al-muḍāf*) does not take the article or nunation: in the dual and the sound plural the terminations *-ni*, *-na* are omitted: the second term (*al-muḍāf ilayhi*) is in the *djarr*, e.g.: *ibnu 'l-maliki*, "the son of the king", in the dual: *ibnā 'l-maliki*, "the two sons of the king", and in the plural: *banū 'l-maliki*, "the sons of the king". Both are definite or indefinite together: *ibnu 'l-maliki*, "the son of the king"; *ibnu malikin*, "a king's son". Semantically there is a difference: *taʿrīf* in the first case, that is, the indication of a definite being; *takhṣīṣ* in the second: the indication of the category of a given being (see, among others, al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 18). This *takhṣīṣ* can be (for us) the equivalent of an adjective, e.g.: *ḥimāru wakhshin*, "a wild ass", but this does not alter the character of the Arabic construction.

Another *iḍāfa* also exists. One can say, with an adjective, *al-radjulu 'l-ḥasanu wadjhuhū* or *radjulun ḥasanun wadjhuhū*, "the man (or: a man) with a beautiful face"; one says more frequently (using the *djarr*), in the same sense: *al-radjulu 'l-ḥasanu 'l-wadjhi*, or *radjulun ḥasanu 'l-wadjhi*. One can use an active participle (followed by the *djarr* in place of the verbal construction with the *naṣb*), e.g.: *bashshir ... wa-'l muḳīmī 'l-ṣalāti* (Ḳurʾān, XXII, 36/35), "announce the good news ... and to those that accomplished the prayers"; ... *hadyan bāligha 'l-kaʿbati* (*ibid.*, V, 96/95). "... a sacrificial beast that arrives at the Kaʿba". The second type requires the use of the *djarr*; the Arab grammarians consequently included it in the *iḍāfa*, but they declared it *ghayr maḥḍa*, "impure" (Ibn al-Sarrādj, 60), *lafẓiyya*, "verbal, formal" (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 111; Ibn al-Ḥādjib, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 252; *Alfiyya*, verse 390); it is a simple way of expressing the same sense more lightly, *lā tufīd illā takhfīf fi 'l-lafẓ*, as Ibn al-Ḥādjib says (*Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 256), and presupposes no *ḥarf al-djarr*; but what is its *ʿāmil*? (see *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 251, line 13 f.).

In Arabic this *iḍāfa lafẓiyya* must be carefully distinguished from the true one: the construction contains an important difference: the first term, as we have seen, can take the article; in addition, the function is different: determination in the true *iḍāfa*, qualification in the *lafẓiyya*, and, one must add, a limited qualification: *radjulun ḥasanu 'l-wadjhi*; first a man is qualified by "beautiful", by the complement in the *djarr*, then this beauty is limited, here, to the "face" (cf. Ibn Yaʿīsh, 306, lines 20-2). The construction is important: with an adjective it is a normal method of description in Arabic. It is used in ancient Semitic. But, where Arabic distinguishes the two *iḍāfas* in grammatical construction, ancient Semitic uses the same method for both: the construct state, the genitival relationship (see C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, ii, Berlin 1913, § 171 f; for Hebrew see, especially, P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, Rome 1923, § 129 i).

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ii.—Iranian languages

The term *iḍāfa* (*ezāfe*) is used loosely in New Persian for the enclitic particle *-i* (strictly *kasra-yi iḍāfa*) which serves to connect a nominal form with a following determinant, be it descriptive, appositional, or genitival, *e.g.*, *āb-i garm* 'warm water', *rūd-i nīl* 'the river Nile', *kitāb-i pisar* 'the boy's book', or in any combination of these, *e.g.*, *āb-i garm-i rūd-i nīl* 'the warm water of the river Nile'. Following a final vowel the particle appears as *-yi*, the semi-vowel being written with the letter ى after ا *-ā* and و *-ū*, but abbreviated to the form of a *hamza* (when written at all) after ه *-a* and ى *-ī*, *e.g.*, *kitābhā-yi pisar* 'the boy's books', *sū-yi man* '(in) my direction, towards me', *khāna-yi buzurg* 'the big house'. In early Persian the particle was often written as ى, or by various other conventions, in all phonetic contexts.

By origin the particle is a relative pronoun. Already in both Old Iranian languages known, Old Persian and Avestan, there are examples of the use of the relative (*h*)*ya-*, besides its normal function, as a kind of article, agreeing entirely with its antecedent and linking to it a simple determinant instead of a full clause, *e.g.*, OP *kāsaka*(*h*) *hya*(*h*) *kapautaka*(*h*) 'the blue (NP *kabūd*) stone, lapis lazuli', *gaumāta*(*h*) *hya*(*h*) *maguš* 'Gaumata the Magian (nominative)', *gaumātam tyam magum* (accusative); Av. *daēvō yō apaošō* 'the demon Apaosha', *tām čarətām yām darəγām* 'the long (NP *dīr*) race-course (acc. fem.)', *tāiš šyaoθanāiš yāiš vahištāiš* 'for the best actions (instrumental plur. neuter), *daēnām ... yām hudānaoš* 'the conscience (acc. fem.) of the sensible man' (R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, § 261; H. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, §§ 749 ff.).

This innovation became so characteristic of the relative *y-* stem that wherever derivatives of it survived in Middle and later Iranian dialects it was mainly, if not solely, in some articular use. Thus Soghdian *yw* (< *yam*, if not from the demonstrative *ayam*), Khwārezmian *ī* (masc.), *yā* (fem.), and Digoron Ossetic *i* are used as definite articles (see H. W. Bailey, *Asica*, in *TPhS*, 1945, 17 ff.). In Middle Persian the particle *ī*(*g*), spelt *'y* and *'yg* in Manichaean script, served both as a relative, *e.g.*, *den ī āwarē* 'the religion which you bring', *winâh ig ašmā kird* 'the sin which you committed', and as a connective, *e.g.*, *bōy īg narm* 'a mild scent', *frazend ī wahman* 'the son of Vahman'; it was not yet, however, essential to the construction, *e.g.*, *bōyestān āfrīdag* 'blessed garden', *dibīrān nēwān* 'good scribes'. In the other Western Middle Iranian language, Parthian, the place of *ī*(*g*) was very early taken by the particle *čē* (see M. Boyce, *The use of relative particles in Western Middle Iranian*, in *Indo-Iranica, Mélanges Morgenstierne*, Wiesbaden 1964, 28-47).

In New Persian the old relative has entirely given way to the particle *ki*. In some modern Western Iranian dialects, however, particles similar to Persian *-i* function as both relative and *iḍāfa*. In Northern Kurdish, for example, where a distinction of gender is also preserved: *kar-ē dēza* 'the grey ass', *žin-ā wī* 'his wife', *aw kar-ē ta dīt* 'that ass which you saw', *žin-ā ta dīt* 'the woman whom you saw'. In the Hawrāmī dialect of Gōrānī there is a distinction between an epithetic *iḍāfa ī*, *kitēb-ī syāw* 'a black book', and a genitival *ū*, *har-ū šwānay* 'the shepherd's ass'. The New Persian construction, and *-i* form, has been borrowed by many other dialects. (D. N. MacKenzie)

(iii) Turkic languages.

The Turkish *izâfet* construction (*izâfet terkibi*) is made up of two components: (1) the governed noun (*muzâf ileyhi*) or complementing element (*mütemmim, tamlayan/tamamlayıcı unsur*); (2) the governing noun (*muzâf*) or complemented element (*tamamlanan unsur*). In the Turkish *izâfet*, in contrast to the Arabic or Persian usage, the governed noun regularly precedes the governing noun.

The Turkish *izâfet* is based: (1) on the possessive relationship, and (2) on the qualifying relationship between two nouns.

The possessive *izâfet*, which in modern Turkish grammars is referred to as *iyelik grupu/takımı* (possessive group/annexation), *isim takımı/tamlaması* (noun annexation/complement), may be divided into two categories: (1) definite *izâfet* (*tâyinli izâfet, belirli isim takımı/tamlaması*); (2) indefinite *izâfet* (*tâyinsiz izâfet, belirsiz isim takımı/tamlaması*). The differences between the two categories are: (1) in the definite *izâfet* the governed noun is placed into the genitive: *bahçe-nin kapı-sı* 'the gate of the garden', in the indefinite *izâfet* it stands in the indefinite (suffixless) case: *bahçe kapı-sı* 'garden-gate'; (2) as seen from the foregoing example, the definite *izâfet* establishes a loose, temporary relationship between the components; in the indefinite *izâfet* this relationship is close, permanent, similar to that of the components of a compound noun; (3) in the definite *izâfet* both components keep their stress, while in the indefinite *izâfet* only the first component is stressed. In both categories the governing noun takes the possessive suffix of the third person, except that if the first component is the genitive of the personal pronoun of the first or second person, the second component takes the possessive suffix of the first or second person: *ben-im ev-im* 'my house', *siz-in ev-iniz* 'your house' (colloquially also *benim ev*, etc.).

In the qualifying *izâfet* two nouns are juxtaposed without change. The first component indicates the thing of which the second component is made, or to which it is compared: *ipek gömlek* 'silk shirt', *çelik irade* 'iron will'. In recent Turkish grammars this type of *izâfet* is dealt with in the chapter on *sıfat takımı* (adjective annexation) or *sıfat tamlaması* (adjective complement).

Syntactically the *izâfet* construction is treated as a unity, declensional endings being added to the second component: *müdürün şapkası-nı* 'the hat (= acc.) of the director', *misafir odası-n-da* 'in the guest-room', *taş köprü-den* 'from the stone bridge'. The plural suffix can be added to the first component only in the possessive *izâfet*: *öğretmen-ler-in vazifesi* 'the duty of the teachers' and *öğretmen-ler klübü* 'teachers' club'. If meaning requires a further possessive suffix to be attached to the indefinite *izâfet*, the first possessive suffix is dropped: *para çanta-sı* 'purse', but *para çanta-m* 'my purse', *para*

çanta-nız 'your purse', *Enver'in para çanta-sı* 'Enver's purse'.

An *izâfet* can be a component of another *izâfet* construction: *üniversite profesörü-nün asistanı-nın tetkik seyahati* 'the study trip of the assistant of the university professor'.

Already in the Old Turkish inscriptions of the 8th century A.D. the whole system of *izâfet* is developed, except that the genitive suffix is less frequently used than today, and the possessive suffix in the indefinite *izâfet* is also often omitted: *Tabghač budun sabï* 'the words of the Chinese people', *Ötüken yïsh* 'the Ötüken Forest'.

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IḌAM [see ḤAMḌ, WĀDĪ AL-].

IʿDĀM [see ḲATL].

ĪDAR, name of a fortified town in northern Gudjarāt, 100 km. north-east of Aḥmadābād, and of its surrounding territory, largely mountainous. The former *rādjā*s of Īdar were in the 8th/14th century a constant thorn in the flesh of the first governors in Gudjarāt of the Dihlī sultanate, and military action was almost always required to collect the tribute the governors exacted. After Gudjarāt became an independent sultanate Aḥmad Shāh I was similarly troubled, and the strength of Īdar, so near his newly founded capital of Aḥmadābād, was a cause for concern. He consequently built another new garrison town, Aḥmadnagar (now called Himatnagar), some 20 km. below Īdar as a base of operations against it, and waged continuous warfare on the *rādjā* from 829/1425 to 831/1428, when the *rādjā* at last sought peace and promised tribute. The agreement was generally honoured, although in later years there were many more occasions when the tribute was withheld with consequent renewed hostilities. Aḥmad's son Muḥammad I renewed the attack in 850/1446, on which occasion the ruler bought peace by giving Muḥammad his daughter in marriage.

In the reign of Muẓaffar II the powerful Mahārānā Sāngrām of Čitawr had established a usurper on the throne of Īdar. Such interference in the affairs of a feudatory state could not be tolerated even by the mild Muẓaffar, and the rightful heir was restored by a Gudjarāt army. Sāngrām was, however, incensed at insults offered to his name by the Gudjarātī *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*] at Īdar, and raided the border towns, including Īdar, in 925/1519, before being defeated by a large Gudjarāt army and compelled to pay reparations.

In Mughal times there were often similar clashes at first between the Īdar rulers and the Mughal army commanders, who expelled the Hindū rulers from time to time; and in 984/1576 the *rādjā* did not submit to the Mughal armies until defeated in pitched battle. After this, affairs quietened down, although in 1018-9/1609-10 we hear of the *rādjā* of Īdar being called upon, under the usual agreement with tributary rulers, to furnish a contingent of 2000 horse for the defence of Gudjarāt against the depredations of the Niẓām Shāhī armies under Malik ʿAnbar. In later times, when the Mughal empire was breaking up and the province of Gudjarāt was under the *ṣūbadārī* of Mahārādjā Abhaysingh, the latter gave Īdar in *djāgīr* to his brothers, establishing a new Rādjpūt dynasty of rulers there. The later history of Īdar is not relevant to the affairs of Islam in India.

Bibliography: See GUDJARĀT. For the history of Īdar state under the Marāthās, see *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xiii (1908), 325-8.

(J. Burton-Page)

IDĀRA, the common name in modern Arabic, Persian, Turkish, etc. for administration. The term appears to have acquired its technical significance during the period of European influence. Muslim administration is discussed in the articles on administrative departments and services (BĀB-I-ʿĀLĪ, BAYT AL-MĀL, BARĪD, DĪWĀN, DĪWĀN-I HUMĀYŪN, ISTĪFĀʾ, ḲALAM, ḲĀNŪN, RAWK, TAḤRĪR etc.); on officers and functionaries (ʿĀMIL, ʿAMĪD, DAFTARDĀR, ḤĀDJIB, KÂHYA, KHĀZIN, MUSHĪR, MUSHRIF, MUSTAWFĪ, NĀʾIB, NĀẒIR, RAʾĪS AL-KUTTĀB, SHĀDD, WAKĪL, WĀSIṬA, WAZĪR, etc.); on scribes (KĀTIB) and civil servants (MAʾMŪR); on administrative documents, records, and accounts (DAFTAR, DIPLOMATIC, INSHĀʾ, MUḤĀSABA, RASĀʾIL, SIDJILL). Provincial administration is discussed in articles on officers (AMĪR, BEGLERBEGI, ḲĀʾIM-MAḲĀM, MUDĪR, MUTAṢARRIF, SANDJAK-BEY, WĀLĪ, etc.) and on territorial sub-divisions (EYĀLET, ḲAḌĀʾ, KŪRA, NĀḤIYA, NIYĀBA, MAMLAKA, RUSTĀḲ, SANDJAḲ, TASSŪDJ, USTĀN, VILÂYET, etc.). On police matters see ʿASAS, DĀRŪGHA, SHIḤNA, SHURṬA; on the introduction of the modern apparatus of government, see ḤUKŪMA, TANẒĪMĀT. (Ed.)

ʿIDDA, from the verb *ʿadda*, "to count, enumerate" (days or menstruations), Arabic term for the duration of widowhood or, rather, the period of abstention from sexual relations imposed on a widow or a divorced woman, or a woman whose marriage has been annulled, before she may re-marry. In pre-Islamic Arabia the institution is thought to have been unknown with regard to a divorced woman. The Ḳurʾānic provisions on which it was based were not always respected during the early years of Islam (J. Schacht, *Origins*, 181) although at a very early date the jurists gave their sanction to them by considering completely void any marriage contracted during an *ʿidda* not yet completed. This basic element in the law of marriage is equally important for determining paternity.

The difficulties of *fiḳh* in this matter arise from the fact that there exist two methods of calculating the period of delay: the first, in months and days, applying mainly to widows; and the second, applying to the divorced woman or woman whose marriage has been annulled, based on the occurrence of three menstrual periods. The origin of this system is found in the Ḳurʾān (II, 234 and 228), whose rules on the matter were too clear and unequivocal to permit the great jurists to alter or modify them.

To the above two circumstances (the expiry of a fixed period and the occurrence of a third menstruation) which mark the end of the *ʿidda* there should be added a third: childbirth. In fact the *ʿidda* of a woman who is pregnant at the time that the marriage is dissolved ends with her accouchement. We shall deal first with this case, which is the simplest.

(1) For a woman who is pregnant, whatever the reason for the ending of her marriage (the death of her husband, divorce, annulment), the *ʿidda* lasts until her accouchement and ends with it, even if it

follows very closely after the end of the marriage. Scarcely any except the "Twelver" Shīʿīs and the Zaydīs prolong the *ʿidda*, in the case of a widow only, beyond the accouchement until the expiry of the period of 4 months and 10 days stipulated by the Ḳurʾān for all widows indiscriminately. They maintain that this period of delay is established not merely to avoid a confusion in establishing birth, but also out of respect for the memory of the deceased; they do not consider it fitting that a widow should be able to re-marry too soon after her husband's death merely because in the meantime she has given birth to a child.

(2) For widows who are not pregnant and for divorced women who are either too young to menstruate or who have reached the menopause, the *ʿidda* is counted in months and days.

(a) A widow must observe a retreat of 4 months and 10 days after her husband's death. This figure, the reasons for the adoption of which are not very clear, is that which appears in the Ḳurʾān (II, 234); widows are obliged to observe this retreat whether or not the marriage has been consummated and whether or not they have reached the age of puberty, the only condition being that the marriage has been validly concluded. Here again the idea of avoiding uncertainty of birth gives place to that of social and family propriety.

(b) Divorced women who are either too young or too old to menstruate are obliged to observe a retreat of three lunar months (Ḳurʾān, LXV, 4).

(c) Divorced women and those women whose marriage has been annulled and who are of menstruating age "shall wait by themselves for three *ḳurūʾ*" (Ḳurʾān, II, 228).

The word *ḳurūʾ* (pl. of *ḳurʾ*) in the Ḳurʾānic text has given rise, from the beginning of Islam, to a controversy among the commentators. Some understand it to mean the inter-menstrual periods, or, according to their terminology, the periods of "purity" which come between those of menstruation. This was the opinion which prevailed in the Shāfiʿī and Mālikī schools and among the Djaʿfarī Shīʿīs. But the Ḥanafīs, the Ḥanbalīs and the Zaydīs consider the word *ḳurʾ* to be synonymous with menstrual indisposition, *ḥayḍ* [*q.v.*]. Thus there are slight variations in the calculation of the duration of the *ʿidda*, according to whether the word *ḳurūʾ* is given the first or the second meaning.

Although widows are forced to abstain from sexual relations whatever the circumstances, i.e. even when their marriage has not been consummated, the law is different for divorced women and for those whose marriage has been annulled. Muslim law insists that they observe an *ʿidda* only when the marriage has been consummated, and even, in Shāfiʿī law, truly consummated, this school rejecting the theory of *khalwa* in which consummation is presumed to have occurred if a husband and wife have been alone together in a place where it would have been possible for them to have had sexual intercourse. Since all the other schools admit the presumption of consummation as a result of *khalwa*, the question arose as to whether this presumption is an absolute one. According to the majority of Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Ḥanbalī writers, *khalwa* does not cause consummation to be presumed, and so does not involve an obligation to observe *ʿidda*, except when there exists no insurmountable obstacle to the consummation, such as the emasculation of the husband or a vaginal occlusion in the wife.

The writers are always careful to mention the various hypotheses which lead successively from one method of calculation to the other. There is, for example, the case of the wife under the age of puberty who reaches puberty during the period of the *ʿidda*, calculated in months; there is also that of the divorced woman whose divorce can still be revoked who becomes a widow during the *ʿidda*, the marriage not having yet been finally dissolved; she is subject from the date of her husband's death to the retreat prescribed for widows.

It would take too long to list all the eventualities provided for. It should merely be mentioned that the woman who has been definitively divorced (*bāʾin*) must always observe a period of retreat counted by menstruations, even if her husband happens to die during her retreat, since her widowhood then occurs after the dissolution of her marriage. It is only in a case where the divorce is pronounced *in articulo mortis* (*maraḍ al-mawt*) that the wife, whose right to the inheritance is then not lost, must observe the longer of the two periods of retreat.

(3) Date of commencement of the *ʿidda*. When a marriage has been legally concluded, the *ʿidda* begins from the moment the marriage ends, that is from the husband's death or from the pronouncing of the divorce, even if the wife does not know of it. Formerly (before the modern laws on the publicity which must be given to divorces) it sometimes happened that a wife did not know that she had been divorced. In such a case she might observe the whole of her *ʿidda* without being aware of it. The annulment of a marriage on the other hand, or a husband's decision to separate himself from his wife for a particular reason, must be reported to the wife. In such a case it is from the moment that she hears of it that the *ʿidda* begins.

(4) The *ʿidda* calculated by menstrual or inter-menstrual periods gives rise to many practical difficulties which the jurists have not always been able to solve satisfactorily. These difficulties arise from the fact that, in the last resort, reliance has to be placed on the statements of the interested party herself. She might be tempted to lie, either in order to prolong the waiting period, claiming to have had no menstruation, or at least no third one, or, on the other hand in order to shorten it by maintaining that her menstrual periods were very brief and came very close together. The first type of behaviour was particularly frequent among Ḥanafī populations. In fact, Ḥanafī law allows the irrevocably divorced woman (*bāʾin*) to retain the whole of her *nafaḳa* (maintenance) throughout the period of her *ʿidda*. This explains why those who had no prospect of re-marrying delayed in announcing the occurrence of the third menstrual period which, by concluding the *ʿidda*, thus deprived them of all *nafaḳa*. It is only in modern legislation that this device is prevented by fixing a maximum period of one year, after which the wife, although still considered to be in retreat if she has not announced her third menstrual period, has nevertheless no longer the right to maintenance (Egypt, Sudan). Certain countries (Ottoman and Jordanian law, Syrian code) fix a definite maximum of nine months or a year to the retreat itself. Deception of this nature is much less frequent among the Shāfiʿīs and the Mālikīs, who allow the *bāʾin* divorced woman only the right to remain in the husband's house during the period of retreat, without any right to food or clothing—a fairly miserly concession which does not encourage them to prolong the period of their retreat.

Deception practised for the opposite reason, how-

ever, was foreseen by the classical writers. This is when a divorced woman, having already received another offer of marriage and fearing that the prospective husband will be discouraged by having to wait too long, pretends that the menstrual and inter-menstrual periods are shorter than they actually are. In Ḥanafī law (the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa has prevailed on this matter) the *ʿidda* may never be for a period of less than 60 days. The minima fixed by the other schools vary from 30 to 39 days. It should be noted in this connexion that in Mālikī law the woman's word alone is not sufficient, even though she adheres to the minimum of 30 days fixed by this school for the total of the three menstrual periods. In these circumstances she must be examined by two women.

(5) The *ʿidda* for a female slave is governed by special rules, of which a brief indication is sufficient. A female slave who is merely a concubine must observe a period of retreat equal to one menstruation or of one month, according to whether she is or is not of menstruating age, commencing from the time when she becomes the property of a new master if he intends to have sexual relations with her, or if there occurs a change in her legal status. This is known as *istibrāʾ* [*q.v.*]. But a slave may well be married, in which case she must observe, in the same circumstances in which the *ʿidda* is imposed on a free woman, a *ʿidda*, the duration of which, by application of the "rule of the half-rate", should be half as long as that of a free woman. In other words, the *ʿidda* of a slave who is a widow would last for two months and five days, and that of a divorced woman not of menstruating age for one and a half months. As it is not possible to halve the period of three menstruations which is insisted on for the divorced free woman, it was decided that the *ʿidda* of a divorced slave who is of menstruating age should consist of two inter-menstrual periods (S̲h̲āfiʿī and Mālikī law) or of two menstruations (Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī law), the only exception being an *umm walad*, who as such is treated as a free woman.

(6) The rights and the obligations of a woman who is observing a *ʿidda* vary according to whether she is a widow or divorced. A widow never has the right to full maintenance (*nafaḳa*), even if she is pregnant. On this point all the schools agree. There is in any case no person from whom she could claim maintenance except the heirs, and it is not considered right that they should be responsible for a debt which by definition cannot have been incurred before the death of the deceased. The widow is however not really treated so unfairly; it should be remembered that she is entitled to a share in the estate of her deceased husband. Though she has no right to *nafaḳa* (food and clothing), she is however expected to complete her *ʿidda* in her husband's house, thus in a sense she is housed. In addition she must go into mourning and wear no jewellery or cosmetics (as a moral obligation). Her right to leave the house is less strictly controlled than that of a divorced woman, it being considered that she might be forced to go out to earn her living since she has no *nafaḳa*. The rules for the *bāʾin* divorced woman (the position of the woman whose divorce is revocable is exactly the same as that of the married woman) vary according to the different schools. The Ḥanafīs hold that her former husband must be responsible for her maintenance (food, clothing, housing) throughout the period of the *ʿidda*, even when she is not pregnant; only in a case where the marriage has been ended through her own fault (adultery, apostasy, etc.) is she to be deprived of *nafaḳa*. The other schools are much less liberal, either (like the Ḥanbalīs) refusing any rights to the irrevocably divorced woman, or (like the Mālikīs and the S̲h̲āfiʿīs) granting her only the right to be housed—unless she is pregnant, in which case, because of the verse of the Ḳurʾān: "If they are with child, expend upon them until they bring forth their burden" (LXV, 6), the husband must provide her with complete *nafaḳa* (food, clothing, lodging). A *bāʾin* divorced woman does not of course inherit from her husband unless he has divorced her during his last illness (except in S̲h̲āfiʿī law). The majority of the schools do not insist on a *bāʾin* divorced woman's going into mourning or observing the detailed (moral) regulations concerning cosmetics and dress which are imposed on a widow. It is only in Ḥanafī law that she is subject to such a (moral) obligation, probably in compensation for her being allowed *nafaḳa*, a concession which is granted to her only by this school.

It should be remembered that it is the right and the duty of every woman who is observing a *ʿidda* to do so in the house of her former husband.

(7) Any marriage entered into during the *ʿidda* for a former union is absolutely void (*fāsid* [*q.v.*] in Ḥanafī law). The husband and wife must separate of their own accord; if not, the nullity of the marriage is pronounced by a judge. Because such a marriage is always *fāsid* in Ḥanafī law, and is considered so by the other schools only when it has been entered into in good faith, the wife receives (provided that the marriage has been consummated) the whole of the customary nuptial gift (*mahr*); any children born are legitimate. After this second marriage has been dissolved, the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs stipulate that the wife shall observe two *ʿidda*s: the portion of the first *ʿidda* which still remained to be completed at the time of her second marriage, and a new *ʿidda* of three menstrual or inter-menstrual periods. The Ḥanafīs, however, insist only on one *ʿidda* of three menstrual periods, against which may be set the amount of the first *ʿidda* already completed. Doctrine on this combination of the two *ʿidda*s is obscure and diverse, not only from one school to another, but also within the same school. Nevertheless, in all cases, at the end of this second *ʿidda* the wife may re-marry the second husband (the one from whom, she had been separated), but a new marriage contract is necessary and the payment of a new dower. This is the solution recognized by the majority of the schools; only the Mālikīs and the S̲h̲īʿīs, basing their rule on a decision attributed to the caliph ʿUmar (but which he is said to have reversed), state that after a marriage has become null and void through being entered into during a not yet completed *ʿidda*, the wife "is to be eternally forbidden" to the second husband.

(8) Modern legal codes, from the Ottoman Family Law of 1917 to the Iraqi Code of Personal Status of 1959, have devoted much attention to the institution of the *ʿidda*, but without departing significantly from the principles of classical Muslim law. All of them have preserved the two Ḳurʾānic waiting periods: 4 months and ten days for a widow and 3 menstrual or inter-menstrual periods for a divorced woman of menstruating age, except that in the Tunisian Code of Personal Status (art. 35) the three menstruations have been replaced by a fixed period of three months. The few modifications made to the classical law (particularly by the Ḥanafī countries) are concerned with the calculating of the duration of the *ʿidda* by menstruations. They tend to fix a maximum and a

minimum period within which the three menstruations of the wife must occur. It is thus that it is laid down by the Ottoman law of 1917 (art. 140) and the Jordanian law of 1951 (art. 102) that the *ʿidda* may not be prolonged beyond nine months. In Egypt, the Sudan, and finally in Syria, they have preferred not to fix a maximum limit to the *ʿidda* of the divorced woman who is of menstruating age, while stipulating nevertheless that she may not claim maintenance for longer than twelve months (Egyptian Law no. 25 of 1929, art. 17; Sudanese Judicial Circular no. 28 of 1927, art. 5), and even, in Syria (Code Statut personel, art. 84), for longer than nine months, after the ending of the marriage. The effect of these measures has been to put an end in practice to the abuse of the law by certain divorced women claiming to have had no menstruation for many years in order to continue to receive maintenance. In some countries the minimum duration of the *ʿidda*, calculated in menstruations, has been fixed at three months.

Bibliography: The subject is always given a separate chapter in the great treatises of *fiḳh*. There may be consulted, for Ḥanafī law, Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Cairo 1313, iii, 26-38; for Shāfiʿī law, Shīrāzī, *al-Muhadhdhab* (ed. Ḥalabī), ii, 142-55; for Mālikī law, Dardīr Dasūḳī, *al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* (ed. Ḥalabī), ii, 468-502; and the exhaustive study in comparative law by Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī* (3rd ed. Cairo), vii, 448-88. For Shīʿī law, see Syed Ameer Ali, *Mahommedan Laws*, Calcutta 1928, 340, 353-4. A good summary of the subject is presented in Ḳudūrī, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bercher and Bousquet, *Le Statut personnel en droit musulman hanafite*, 156 ff. For the law previous to the formation of the juridical schools, see J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, 181, 197-8, 225-6; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris-The Hague 1965, ii, nos. 712 to 721 and 880 to 885. See also ṬALĀḲ.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

IDFŪ [see ADFŪ].

IDGHĀM (*iddighām*), infinitive of the verb *adghama* "to make (a thing) enter (another)"; in Arabic grammar: *al-idghām idkhāl ḥarf fī ḥarf*, "*al-idgham* is making a *ḥarf* enter a *ḥarf*" (*LA*, xv, 93, lines 18-9/xii, 203b, lines 2-3); one says: *adghamtᵘ ʾl-ḥarfᵃ* and *iddaghamtuh*, according to the pattern *iftaʿaltuh* (*ibid.*), whence the use of *idghām* and *iddighām* in the same sense; the first is a term of the Kūfans, the second of the Baṣrans (Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1456, lines 17-8), although the latter also frequently use the verb *adghama*, e.g.: Sībawayhi, ii, 459, lines 4, 11, etc., but see Notes, 2. The Arab grammarians define more exactly this idea of *idkhāl ḥarf fī ḥarf*: "*al-idghām* is the use of two *ḥarf*s from the same *makhradj*, the first *sākin*, the second *mutaḥarrik*, without separation" (Ibn al-Ḥādjib, *Shāfiya*, in *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 233 end-234). Ibn Yaʿīsh adds (1456, line 19): "and they become, because of the force (*shidda*) of their union, like a single *ḥarf*". We call it the contraction of two similar consonants in a geminate (see H. Fleisch, *Études de Phonétique arabe*, in *MUSJ*, xxviii (1949-50), 258, and *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, § 50h). In this geminate (*ḥarf mushaddad*), the Arab grammarians recognize a duality of *ḥarf*s and not one single *ḥarf* (that we should call long; see *Traité*, § 4); for the doctrine of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, see *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 235, lines 12-3 and 16. In vocalization of texts the *ḥarf mushaddad* receives the sign *tashdīd* or *shadda* (W. Wright, *Ar. Gr.*³, i, 14c).

The Arab grammarians see the cause of *iddighām* in a dislike of repeating the same consonant consecutively when the separator is a short vowel. Sībawayhi speaks clearly on this subject (ii, Ch. 408 and 559), texts cited and translated in *Études de Ph.*, mentioned above, 256-7 (see also *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 238, line 20 f.). At any rate, the tendency to *iddighām* is certainly strong in Arabic: the language resorts to it regularly, whenever there is the possibility of suppressing the intervening short vowel (see *Muf.*, § 731): in verbs with 2nd and 3rd radical consonants the same (*muḍāʿaf* verbs), whenever the 3rd consonant does not take a consonantal conjugational suffix: **madada* > *madda*, "to lengthen, stretch out", etc.; in the IXth and XIth forms: *ifʿalla* and *ifʿālla*. In nouns: in the active participle: **mādid* > *mādd*; in the broken plural *faʿālilu*: **mawādidu* > *mawāddu*, "matters", etc. (see *Traité*, i, § 28). The Arabic language also practises *iddighām* when the same consonant ends one word and begins the next. This is called: *al-iddighām fi ʾl-infiṣāl* (as opposed to *al-iddighām fī kalima*; cf. Sībawayhi, ii, 455, line 15). If the first *ḥarf* is *sākin* and the second *mutaḥarrik*, the Arab grammarians prescribe *iddighām* (*Muf.*, 731; *Shāfiya* in *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 234, lines 1-2; *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 236, lines 3-4), e.g.: *lam yaruḥ ḥātim* > *lam yaruḥḥātim*, "Ḥātim has not gone". When both are *mutaḥarrik*, *iddighām* is called permissible (numerous examples, *Traité*, § 12); it is even praised when it allows the avoidance of a succession of five or more short syllables, e.g.: *djaʿala laka* > *djaʿallaka*, "he placed for you" (Sībawayhi, ii, 455, line 16 f.; *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 248, line 4 f.).

The Arab grammarians distinguish: *iddighām al-mithlayn*, *iddighām al-mutaḳāribayn*. The contraction of two consonants into a geminate requires that they be the same; this is *iddighām al-mithlayn*, and, properly speaking, *al-iddighām*. When the consonants are close: *mutaḳāribayn*, as long as they remain close, they are still not the same, and *iddighām* is never possible; they must be made *mutamāthilayn*, like each other. It is here that the Arab grammarians hit on the phenomenon of assimilation, but they did not characterize it as such; they saw it simply as a *ḳalb*, a change, necessary for the operation of *iddighām* (*Shāfiya* in *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 264, line 7; *Muf.*, § 735). Assimilation has no proper term in their terminology. They extended the use of the term *iddighām* (which was valid only for two identical *ḥarf*s) when they stated that two close *ḥarf*s had contracted, and they called this: *iddighām al-mutaḳāribayn*, but explanations were necessary: some idea of phonetics was required to make known the *ḥurūf mutamāthila* (identical) and the *ḥurūf mutaḳāriba* (close). This is the reason for Sībawayhi's opening the *Bāb al-iddighām* with Ch. 565 on phonetics; he gives his reasons at the end of this chapter. Since Sībawayhi, accounts of phonetics are to be found under *iddighām*, as preliminaries to it: Ibn al-Sarrādj, *al-Mūzadj fi ʾl-naḥw* (Beirut 1965/1385), 165 f.: al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Djumal* (Paris 1957), 375 f.; al-Zamakhsharī, *Muf.*, § 732 f. Ibn al-Ḥādjib, *al-Shāfiya*, inserted phonetics in the account of *iddighām*, as did his commentator, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī in the *Sh.Sh.*: *iddighām*, iii, 233-92; phonetics: 250-64.

Notes: 1). *al-iddighām . . . yakūn fi ʾl-mithlayn wa-ʾl-mutaḳāribayn*: the formula is found in the *Shāfiya* (*Sh.Sh.*, iii, 234, line 1), but the doctrine, in almost the same terms, is found in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi (ii, Ch. 566, 567). It should be noted that the Arab grammarians say: *iddighām al-mithlayn* or *al-mutamāthilayn* for two identical *ḥarf*s in the same

word and in *infiṣāl* and *iddighām al-mutaḳāribayn* in the case of *infiṣāl*, the *t* of the form *iftaʿala* being considered *fī ḥukm al-infiṣāl* (*Muf.*, § 731; see Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1458, lines 4-6).

2). *idghām*, *iddighām*; the Arabic word, without vocalization, can be read in either way; the verbs *adghama* and *iddaghama* can also be read in either way in all their "tenses", when unvocalized. How can one distinguish, in editions, the first, original vocalization from that which is due to the initiative of the editor? The edition of the *Kitāb* (Paris) vocalizes: *Bāb al-idghām* (ii, 452); was this Sībawayhi's pronunciation?

Bibliography: in the text; works cited in abbreviation: Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Paris 1881-5; *Muf.*, Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*[2], ed. J. P. Broch (Christiania 1879) and *Sharḥ* of Ibn Yaʿīsh, ed. G. Jahn (Leipzig 1882); *Sh.Sh.*, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* (Cairo 1358/1939). The easiest account to consult is that of the *Muf.*: § 731 for the conditions of *iddighām* and § 735 f. (with the corresponding commentary of Ibn Yaʿīsh). Sīrāfī, at the end of the *Sharḥ* of the *Kitāb*, adds two chapters, one on the *iddighām* of the Kūfans (he gives phonetic terms peculiar to al-Farrāʾ), and the other on the *iddighām* of the *Ḳurrāʾ*. (H. Fleisch)

IDHĀʿA, modern Arabic term for "broadcasting" (broadcaster = *mudhīʿ*, microphone = *midhyāʿ*). Broadcasting in the Islamic world was inaugurated in Turkey in 1925, three years after the establishment of regular transmissions from London. In most Islamic lands however its growth was delayed by their dependent political and under-developed economic status. In Egypt, for example, broadcasting began in 1934 and at the time of the 1952 revolution its output was only 15 hours daily, with a total transmitting power of 73 KW. With the subsequent upsurge of national sentiment and economic development it rose by 1966 to 130 hours daily with a transmitting power of nearly 6,000 KW (statement by Deputy Premier for Guidance and Culture in *al-Idhāʿa wa'l-Talafisyūn*, 28 March 1966).

In 1964 Turkey was again an innovator in the Islamic world when she set up an independent Broadcasting Corporation, not subject to direct government control. This Corporation was financed by licences and advertising, but deficits were underwritten by the government. Elsewhere in the Islamic world broadcasting output was under direct government control, many hours being dedicated to the exposition of government policy, official statements, and verbatim reports of speeches by the Leader. Long recordings were broadcast of the trial of the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1954-5 and of that of former ministers in Iraq in 1958-9; the session of sentencing in November 1958 was relayed "live", as were the opening and closing sessions of Subandrio's trial in Indonesia in 1966. Though advertising on the air is permitted in many countries, underdevelopment makes it a less valuable source of revenue than in Europe or America. The main broadcasting categories are the same as elsewhere. The Ḳurʾān plays a great role in religious broadcasting, and in the UAR continuous recitation from 4-9 hrs. and from 12-21 hrs. was introduced in April 1964. Friday services are also broadcast, and religious talks and recitations, particularly in Ramaḍān. In Saudi Arabia broadcasting was long limited almost entirely to news and instructive and religious talks. States with large Christian minorities broadcast also occasional Christian services. The UAR, Turkey, and some other countries have cultural programmes adapted to differing intellectual levels. Standards of news broadcasts are related to those of the local press and news agencies; those of light entertainment to the existence of a cinema industry.

Many Muslim lands consist of vast territories in which the population is concentrated in limited areas, widely separated by tracts of desert or, in the case of Indonesia, by sea. Illiteracy is in general high, and in many cases independent nationhood is a recent acquisition. Broadcasting is thus exceptionally valuable as a means of diffusing information and ideas, creating a common national spirit, and spreading an educated form of speech. But the geographical characteristics at the same time necessitate an exceptionally heavy capital expenditure to ensure the clear reception which is essential for effective broadcasting. In Indonesia a network of regional stations, carrying their own programmes, has been set up, but in general the organization is highly centralized. The density of listening sets was enormously increased in the decade from 1955 to 1965 by the introduction of transistor sets. In the Middle East, which is predominantly Muslim, sets were estimated by the BBC (*Handbook*, 1967) to have risen in that period from two to twelve million—roughly one to every ten of the population. In the South Asian Muslim world the figure was far lower.

Most Muslim states cater for their national minorities in the minority language concerned; as Iraq for Kurds; Iran for Turcomans, Assyrians, Armenians, Kurds, Azarbaijanis and Arabs in Ahwaz; Morocco and Algeria for Berbers. Mali broadcasts in French, Bambara, Sonraie, Peul, Sarakole, Wolof, Tamachek (Tuareg Berber), and Hassani Arabic. Most cater also for resident foreign minorities, as the UAR for English, French, Germans, Italians, and Greeks. Some also direct broadcasts in the home language to their nationals abroad; as Lebanon to South America and West Africa, Jordan to South America, and the Turks to their emigrant workers in Germany.

Where a language is being modernized or given a more national flavour, as with Turkish and Urdu, broadcasting has a special importance; and in the Arab world for spreading a universally used form of Arabic.

Most Muslim states direct broadcasts, in the language of the people addressed, to one or more great powers directly concerned with the area and to neighbouring states. To be successful, such broadcasting involves heavy expense for the engagement of suitable, probably foreign, staff, and for powerful transmitters and if possible medium relay stations. Standards of language and content must rival those of the receiving country and, to be politically effective, the ideas expressed must appeal to at least a significant section of the population. Where these conditions are fulfilled, and only then, broadcast campaigns have effectively stimulated latent feelings or acted as detonators to set off an explosion of popular feeling. Radio warfare has been waged between Indonesia and Malaysia, and between the UAR and Iran. It has occurred frequently within the Arab world, where it is facilitated by the common language. It took place between Morocco and Algeria during the fighting in autumn 1963, but the most frequent protagonist has been the UAR, with its powerful transmitters, its developed news services, its relatively developed culture and, in the political field, the appeal of its pan-Arab and socialist policies to an important section in every Arab state. The UAR

in fact comes sixth in the list of external broadcasters with 589 hours weekly in some 30 languages, including 13 African. This compares with 1381 hours from the USSR; 909 from the Voice of America; and 663, in about 40 languages, from the BBC. Iran, apart from local languages, broadcasts in Russian, French, English, Urdu, Turkish and Arabic. Pakistan and Turkey each broadcast in twelve or more languages. Of lesser powers, Somalia after acquiring two 50 KW transmitters from the USSR in 1960, three years after independence, set out "to make its voice heard in the world" with six hours of daily transmissions in Somali; 1½ in Arabic; ¾ in English; ½ hour each in Italian, Amharic and Swahili; 10 minutes in Galla, and occasional broadcasts in Danḳali.

The example of broadcasting from abroad to Islamic lands was set by the great powers, just before and during the second world war. The Italian Fascist régime introduced broadcasting in Arabic in 1935. Great Britain did the same in January 1938 and Nazi Germany in mid-1938; the latter specialized in scurrilous and violent propaganda. Later the USA and, in 1943, the USSR added their voices. Broadcasts in Arabic from Paris began before 1939; they include dialect transmissions for Algerians in France. Those for overseas reached their maximum during the Algerian fighting, after France ceased to control local broadcasting in other Arabic-speaking countries of North Africa. Later they were much reduced. By 1966, 45 states, Muslim and non-Muslim, were directing broadcasts in Arabic to Arab countries; 20 in Persian to Iran; 17 in Indonesian to Indonesia. The BBC alone broadcast for 12 hours daily in Arabic (ten from April 1967) and received some 80,000 letters from Arab listeners in the course of that year. The first Arab state seriously to organize external broadcasting was Syria, under the Shishakli regime (1950-4). Syria and the UAR introduced Hebrew broadcasts to Israel, which in turn broadcasts in Arabic to its Arab minority and to its neighbours.

Professedly indigenous clandestine stations come and go, particularly during crises. A few have been genuine, but in general they have been directed from abroad by communist, Western or outside Muslim states.

The cost of installing and producing television has limited its introduction in the Muslim world, though in Asia, and in Africa north of the Sahara, most Muslim states had by 1966 at least some service, and many encouraged the purchase of sets by customs remissions or other means. Except in the UAR the service was virtually restricted to the capital or a few large cities. In Iran private companies supported by advertising revenue provided services in Teheran and Abadan. In certain areas (Saudi Arabia and Libya) American Forces or Oil Company transmissions were receivable locally before the introduction of national systems. The latter have been made possible by oil revenues and, in the former case, by the weakening of religious objections.

Bibliography: *World Radio and TV Handbook* (annually from 1947); *Statistical Yearbook* (UNESCO); *Internationales Handbuch für Rundfunk und Fernsehen*, Hamburg 1964; G. A. Coddling jr., *Broadcasting without barriers*, UNESCO 1959; *BBC Yearbook* (now *Handbook*), London (annually from 1928); *BBC Monitoring Service daily digest of world broadcasts 1939-1947* and *Summary of world broadcasts 1947-* (these contain selections of broadcasts from and about Islamic countries and, from 1949, of broadcasting developments in them). N. Barbour, *Broadcasting to the Arab world*, in *MEJ*, v (1951), 57-69. No publications cover the Islamic world as such; information must be sought in the broadcasting publications of each country. (N. Barbour)

ĪDHADJ or Māl-Amīr, town of western Persia, situated on a tributary of the upper reaches of the Dudjayl or Kārūn river, in southern Luristān, at 49° 45′ E. and 31° 50′ N. In mediaeval times it was generally reckoned to be part of the province of al-Ahwāz or Khūzistān [*q.v.*], and under the ʿAbbāsids was the capital of a separate administrative district or *kūra*. It lay on a plain at an altitude of 3,100 feet, and though reckoned by the geographers to be in the *garmsīr* or hot zone, the nearby mountains gave it a pleasant and healthy climate; the winter snow from these mountains was gathered and exported from Īdhadj to the torrid, low-lying parts of al-Ahwāz (cf. Muḳaddasī, 414; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 416; Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 74). The district was also frequently subject to earthquakes.

Īdhadj (the vocalisation Aydhadj is also found) was a populous and prosperous place in pre-Islamic times. There are many Elamitic remains in the vicinity, mostly dating from the end of the second millenium B.C. (see the detailed description of pre-Islamic antiquities by M. Streck in *EI*[1], s.v. māl amīr). In Sāsānid times, the district was included in the territories of the Ispahbadh of Fārs (Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, i, 201). A fire-temple of the local Zoroastrians remained in use till the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd; V. Minorsky surmised that this may have been the Parthian sanctuary of Shāmī, to the north of Īdhadj (*Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran* (*circa A.D. 950*), Cairo 1955, text 27, tr. 60, 108).

When the Arabs invaded al-Ahwāz in 17/638, they penetrated via Rāmhurmuz to Īdhadj and made peace with the local lord, Tīrawayh, leaving him in possession of power. But the town had to be conquered again in 21/642 after the battle of Nihāwand, and in 26/646-7 a rising of the people of Īdhadj and the local Kurds had to be suppressed by the governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (Balādhurī, 382; Ṭabarī, i, 2553, 2614, 2829). During ʿAbd al-Malik's caliphate, there was a revolt there by one Khurrazādh b. Bās (Balādhurī, 383). Towards the very end of the Umayyad period, Abū Djaʿfar, the later caliph al-Manṣūr, was governing Īdhadj on behalf of the ʿAlid pretender ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*]. Al-Manṣūr's son, the later al-Mahdī, was born there of a local woman, and some later descendants of al-Mahdī retained the *nisba* of "al-Īdhadjī". In 270/883 a force of local volunteers, cavalry and infantry, was raised by the governor of Īdhadj, Aḥmad b. Dīnār, to reinforce al-Muwaffaḳ's army for the final assault on the Zandj rebels (Ṭabarī, iii, 527, 2085; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 54b; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 416). In 295/907-8 the region was the theatre of operations during the rebellion against al-Muktafī of the governor of Fārs and Kirmān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mismaʿī; it was probably during these campaignings that al-Mismaʿī destroyed a famous bridge near Īdhadj which carried the road to Iṣfahān, thus impeding the advance of the caliphal general Badr al-Ḥammāmī. This important bridge, which was doubtless originally of Sāsānid construction, was later rebuilt at great cost by one of the viziers (apparently Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳummī or Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd) of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla (Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran*, text 27, 30-1, tr. 60, 64-5, 108, 114-18; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 9; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 189, s.v. "Ḳanṭarat Khurrazādh", based on Abū

Dulaf; the same in Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ii, 201). Īdhadj seems to have flourished in Būyid times, and coins were minted there.

However, the greatest period of Īdhadj's florescence was from the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th centuries under the Hazāraspid dynasty of Atabegs of Great Lur (550-827/1155-1423) [see HAZĀRASPIDS and LUR-I BUZURG]. These Atabegs, of Kurdish origin, made their peace with the incoming Mongols and enjoyed virtual independence under the Mongol Khāns and then the Īl Khāns; at times their power extended to Iṣfahān and the shores of the Persian Gulf. Īdhadj and the nearby town of Sūsan were the winter residences of the Hazāraspids, their *yaylāḳs* or summer-quarters being further to the north on the upper Zanda Rūd and the Kārūn headwaters. It is at this time that the name for Īdhadj of Māl-Amīr or Māl-i Amīr "the Amīr's property" comes into use, and gradually replaces the older designation. The newer term may be connected with the residence there of the Hazāraspids, as is probably the name of the Īdhadj-Iṣfahān road, *Djādda-yi Atābeg* "the Atabeg's road", in use till modern times. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through the town twice in the course of his travels, once in 727/1327, during the reign of the Atabeg Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad, and again in 748/1347, during the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Afrāsiyāb II b. Aḥmad. He praises Aḥmad's piety and asceticism, and says that he built 460 hospices for travellers in his territories, of which 44 were in the capital Īdhadj or Māl al-Amīr (he uses both these names); Afrāsiyāb, on the other hand, was a drunkard (*Travels*, ii, 30-42, tr. Gibb, ii, 287-94).

The Tīmūrid Ibrāhīm b. Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] ended the line of Atabegs in 827/1423, and the region of Māl-Amīr fell into the hands of Bakhtiyārī chiefs. The town itself now became deserted and drops out of history, but its site is marked by a large mound and several lesser ones (see Jéquier, *Description du site de Mâlamîr*, in *Mémoirs de la Délégation en Perse*, Paris 1901, iii/1, 133-43).

The district of Īdhadj was agriculturally prosperous during mediaeval Islamic times, since there was a fair rainfall and dry-farming was possible. Its specialities included grapes, citrus fruits, melons, pistachio nuts and a variety of cardamom whose juice was used as a remedy for gout. The existence there of many mines is mentioned by Ḳazwīnī, but the substances involved are not specified.

Bibliography (in addition to works mentioned in the article): Schwarz, *Iran*, iv, 293, 335-40, 439-40; Le Strange, 245-6; V. Minorsky, in *EI*[1], art. LUR-I BUZURG. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

IDHN (A.), very general term, meaning simply "authorization".

We shall concern ourselves here only with *fiḳh*, but, even within this restricted field, shall examine only (a) the authorization necessary to enable certain types of incapable persons (i.e., those who are partially incapable) to conclude isolated legal transactions, when such transactions could, according to circumstances, either cause the position of the incapable person to become worse or better; and (b) the general authorization to carry out commercial transactions in a normal way, granted by a guardian to a minor who has reached years of discretion, or by a master to a slave.

(a) Semi-incapable persons, in general minors who are no longer children, and spendthrifts and the like, have the right to enter alone (i.e., without authorization) into transactions concerning inheritance which can result only in advantage (*naf*ʿ *maḥḍ*) for them, for example, the acceptance of a gift free of encumbrances. They have not the power, even if authorized (any more than has their guardian), to conclude transactions which involve a definite loss (*al-taṣarrufāt al-ḍārra al-maḥḍa*). The most typical example of these completely forbidden transactions is that of making gifts. There remain the legal transactions which are as likely to bring a loss as a gain. This category includes the majority of contracts dealing with their patrimony: selling, renting, loan, etc. In these cases the *walī* in the case of a minor, or the judge in that of a spendthrift, must intervene. Their intervention is envisaged by the Ḥanafī *fuḳahā*ʾ, and also by the Mālikīs, as occurring after the transaction, according to the principle *al-idjāza fi 'l-intihā*ʾ *ka 'l-idhn fi 'l-ibtidā*ʾ (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxiv, 182), "ratification afterwards is equal to authorization beforehand". But there is nothing, theoretically, which forbids the guardian or the judge to grant his authorization in advance, or at the same time as the transaction is concluded by the incapable person. When the usual procedure of ratification afterwards is followed, the transaction, before the approval of the guardian or the judge has been given, is considered to be *mawḳūf*, "in suspense", neither invalid nor truly valid; it can only be made fully effective by ratification. The Shāfiʿis do not permit semi-incapable persons to complete such transactions (sales, renting, etc.), which are the exclusive province of the *walī*. They consider that these transactions can be neither authorized nor ratified; they must be concluded by the guardian himself on behalf of the minor. The Ḥanbalis reject the process of ratification afterwards and insist on prior authorization if a *walī* allows a minor to carry out a transaction which he is capable of carrying out himself.

(b) A minor who is no longer a child (except in Shāfiʿi law), and also a slave, may be authorized to take part in a commercial transaction; he then becomes *ma*ʾ*dhūn*: *al-ṣaghīr al-ma*ʾ*dhūn* or *al-*ʿ*abd al-ma*ʾ*dhūn*. In this case the authorization is, necessarily, given beforehand. It is very rarely given expressly but usually tacitly, when the *walī* or the master allows the minor or the slave to trade without raising any objection. The early *fuḳahā*ʾ questioned the regularity of such a tacit authorization. The opinion which prevailed was that in such cases silence equalled consent, except in the case of a judge, who must always give his express approval. The Shāfiʿi school, with its rigid principles, could not admit that a minor could be authorized to trade; their attitude to a slave was of course different. This school has remained in general faithful to its first doctrine; however the exigencies of modern life led certain Shāfiʿis of Khurāsān, and even, it is said, the famous Imām al-Haramayn, to attempt to modify it, tending to consider valid an authorization to trade granted to a minor.

The question of the extent of the authorization given to a minor or to a slave and whether a *walī* or a master can impose a limit on it is decided differently by the different schools. The Ḥanafis and Mālikis consider that this authorization is the equivalent of a complete withdrawal of prohibition, which is not subject to qualification. The Shāfiʿis and the Ḥanbalis (so far as concerns a slave at least) regard it as a type of procuration and consider it to be the duty of the granter of the procuration to fix the limits of it, as in the general law regarding procurations.

Bibliography: The *idhn* or *idjāza* granted in respect of one single transaction to a minor who was reached years of discretion is studied in

the works of *fiḳh* in the chapter on incapacity (*ḥadjr*). Examples are Kāsānī, *Badā'iʿ al-ṣanā'iʿ*, Cairo 1327, vii, 171 ff., and Ḥaṭṭāb and Mawwāq, commentaries on Khalīl, Cairo 1329, v, 61 ff. Among modern writers, see Ṣubḥī Maḥmasānī, *Naẓariyyat al-ʿāmma li 'l-mawdjibāt wa 'l-ʿuḳūd*, Beirut 1948, ii, 106-7. The "authorized" minor and slave generally form the subject of a special chapter in the works of *fiḳh*: e.g. Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, iv, 3 (ed. Ḥalabī). On the "authorized" slave, see Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, ii, 352-6. See also Ḳudūrī, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet and Bercher, 224-30; and Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris-The Hague 1965, i, no. 108-9 and 309-11.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ĪDJĀB (a.), literally "making definite, binding, due (*wādjib*)", is in Islamic law the technical term for the offer which, together with the acceptance (*ḳabūl* [see bayʿ]), is one of the two essential formal elements which for the juridical analysis constitute a contract, which is construed as a bilateral transaction. Offer and acceptance can be expressed verbally (also in the form of compliance with an order, e.g. by the words "sell me" and "I sell you herewith"), or by the conclusive acts of the parties, e.g. the silent exchange of goods if that is the local custom, at least if the objects exchanged are of small value. There is an obvious contrast between the etymological meaning of the term and the function of what it designs, because the offer can always be withdrawn before it has been accepted (and, according to a Meccan doctrine which was later taken up by al-Shāfiʿī, the so-called *khiyār al-madjlis*, even after it has been accepted, as long as the two parties have not separated). This leads to the conclusion that the bilateral construction of contracts, which is quite isolated among the laws of antiquity, was preceded by a unilateral one, which is well known from other systems of law. If this is so, the change from the unilateral to the bilateral construction must have been made at some early date in the formative period of Islamic law.

Bibliography: al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, *s.v.*; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 320; I. Goldziher, in *RSO*, i (1907), 209; J. Schacht, *Introduction*, 22, 145; idem, *Origins*, 159-61. (J. Schacht)

ĪDJĀR, IDJĀRA, derived from *adjr* (remuneration), synonymous terms meaning a contract to hire. There are also used, but less frequently, the terms *isti'djār* and *kirā'*. The hirer is called, in the hire of things, *mu'djir* or *ādjir* or *mukārī*; in the hire of services, *adjīr*; the person hiring is, in all cases, called *musta'djir*; the thing or service hired, *ma'djūr*, or, rarely, *mu'djar*, *musta'djar*. The remuneration is uniformly called *udjra* or *adjr*; if it is fixed in the contract, it is *adjr musamma*ⁿ; if it has to be determined by the judge, *adjr al-mithl*.

Īdjār or *idjāra* is the contract by which one person makes over to someone else the enjoyment, by personal right, of a thing or of an activity, in return for payment. There are distinguished two main types of *idjāra*: the hire of things (*idjārat al-aʿyān*) and the hire of services (*idjārat al-aʿmāl*). The latter category embraces two sub-divisions: the hire of services proper, i.e. a contract to work, and the hire of skill, more specifically called *istiṣnāʿ* (in the case of the craftsman). Within the same category there are distinguished the case in which the lessee has the exclusive use of the services of the lessor, who is then called *adjīr khāṣṣ*, and the case of the *adjīr mushtarak*, who may hire his services to various people.

Hiring is a purely consensual contract, like sale [see bayʿ]. It should be noted, however, firstly that the parties are not required to have reached their majority (*bulūgh*); it is sufficient that they should be free men, of sound mind and capable of discernment (*ʿāḳil* and *mumayyiz*); and secondly that, in principle, the payment is due only on the fact of enjoyment of the service or the possibility of such enjoyment.

It is not necessary that the lessor (of things) should be the owner of them; it is enough that he should possess the right to dispose of them (*taṣarruf*).

Anything which may be valid for payment in a sale (a possession whose ownership is transferred: money, a tangible thing) may be valid as payment for hire. But the enjoyment of a thing may also count as payment for hire, in which case the contract usually is regarded as consisting of two reciprocal *idjāras*.

The period of the *idjāra* must be stated, but no limit is necessarily fixed. This rule has allowed the mechanism of the *idjāra* to be used to evade the principle of the inalienability of a *waḳf*; in various forms, known under the names of *idjāra ṭawīla*, *idjāratayn*, *ḥikr*, a contract, duly authorized by the *ḳāḍī*, is made with the *mutawallī*, who gives the "hirer" the right to remain—in fact, indefinitely—in possession of the property, to plant on it or construct buildings on it, acquiring the ownership of them with all that that implies.

Bibliography: Besides the treatises of *fiḳh*, from Shaybānī and Sarakhsī onwards, the chapter on *Idjāra*, see also *Madjalla* (the Ottoman civil code), art. 404 f.; Ghazālī, *Wadjīz*, Cairo 1318/1900, i, 138 f.; Ibn ʿAbdīn, *Radd al-muhtār*, v, 2 f.; Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Tuḥfa*, text and Fr. tr. Houdas and Martel, Algiers 1882, 551 f.; Ibn Ḳāḍī Samawna, *Djāmiʿ al-fuṣūlayn*, Cairo 1301/1883, ii, 179 f.; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1367/1947, v, 397 f.; Ibn Nudjaym, *al-Baḥr al-rā'iḳ*, Cairo 1333/1914, vii, 297 f.; Tabbah, *Propriété privée et registre foncier*, Beirut 1947, i, 259 f. (E. Tyan)

IDJĀRA, the granting of protection (*djiwār* [*q.v.*]) to a stranger according to ancient Arab practice. This form of protection was especially important for those who travelled about, but it was also used in other cases. The *djār* (pl. *djīrān*) is mostly the person protected, but may also be the protector (as in Sūra VIII, 48/50; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 760, 18). To ask for protection is *istadjāra* (Sūra IX, 6). The granting of protection was announced publicly (cf. Zaynab's *idjāra* of her former pagan husband in Ibn Hishām, 469); and thus, when ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn wanted to renounce the *djiwār* of al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra for that of God, al-Walīd made him declare his renunciation publicly to show that he was not alleging inadequate protection on the part of al-Walīd (*ibid*, 243). It was a point of honour to protect the *djār* as effectively as one protected one's own kin (cf. Abū Tammām, *Hamāsa*, 422; Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 40), and shortcomings in this could be made a serious taunt. Normally a request for *djiwār* had to be accepted (Sūra IX, 6; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 99), and the granting of *djiwār* by one member of a group would be accepted by other members; in connexion with Zaynab's *idjāra* Muḥammad said that protection granted by the least of the Muslims (*adnā-hum*) was binding on all. Two men refused *djiwār* to Muḥammad on his return from al-Ṭā'if on the grounds that their position in the tribe of Ḳuraysh was not such that they were entitled to do this, since one was a *ḥalīf* and the

other belonged to a clan outside the central group (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1203). The Ḳurʾān (XXIII, 88/90; cf. LXXII, 22) applies this conception to God, and says 'He grants protection (*yudjīru*) but none grants protection against Him (*lā yudjāru ʿalay-hi*)'. Among contemporary nomads such as the Ruwalāʾ there is a similar term *ḳaṣīr*, but this indicates a mutual relationship between members of different tribes by which each grants protection against his fellow-tribesmen (A. Musil, *Manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 267-9; H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the Desert*, London 1949, 126-32).

Originally the claim for protection would seem to have been dependent on actual physical contiguity. This may be the touching of a tent-pole, or even coming within some yards of the tent, or the touching of a child of the family; but even lesser contacts may make protection obligatory, for example, when the camel-saddles of two men touch, or when a man uses a vessel belonging to another (cf. S. Fraenkel, *Das Schutzrecht der Araber*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, 293-301). There does not seem to be a hard and fast line between the *djār* and the *dakhīl*, the suppliant who "enters" to seek protection. The latter is more prominent in Musil's description of the Ruwalāʾ (*op. cit.*, 441-8; but cf. mention of neighbour, 460) and also in H. R. P. Dickson's (*op. cit.*, 133-9). The rights of the *dakhīl* vary from tribe to tribe (cf. Dickson, 139), but are usually only for a limited period.

The eating of someone's food constitutes a claim for protection, so long as some of the food remains in one's body, and this period is considered to be three days. This applies particularly to the person who has the status of *ḍayf*, "guest". Hospitality is highly regarded by the desert Arabs, and a stranger travelling in the desert (unless obviously an enemy) is offered lodging and the best food available. If he chooses to do so, he may remain for three days, and for a further three days (while the food remains in him) he is under his host's protection (Musil, *op. cit.*, 455-70; Dickson, *op. cit.*, 118-22, 190-1).

Proximity to a sacred place gives protection. In the *ḥaram* or sacred area round a sanctuary animals and plants were protected as well as human beings (Wellhausen, *Reste*², 78). Ḳuṣayy and Hāshim respectively speak of their descendants as *djīrān Allāh* (Ibn Hishām, 83, 87); and it is also said that, when men become Muslims, they become God's *djīrān* under His *dhimma*, "protection". A person who takes refuge at the grave of a great man or saint is known as *djār al-ḳabr*, and often is effectively protected since otherwise the dead personage would be dishonoured (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 237-8, Eng. tr. i, 215-7, with further references).

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. "Djār", "Guest"; references in Fraenkel, *op. cit.*

(W. Montgomery Watt)

IʿDJĀZ, literally "the rendering incapable, powerless", since the second half of the 3rd/9th century technical term for the inimitability or uniqueness of the Ḳurʾān in content and form. The numerous descriptive definitions do not, after the 4th/10th century, show significant divergencies. Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1854-62 (written *ca.* 1158/1745), somewhat surprisingly, does not include the term; but the opening passage of his article on *muʿdjiza*, pp. 975-7, implies the character of *iʿdjāz* as action or failure to act not to be accounted for by habitual natural process coupled with a "challenge", *taḥaddī*, which is not taken up and at any rate does not result in anything "matching" the object of the challenge, *ʿadam al-muʿāraḍa* (see below). The Muslim theologian who most recently devoted an extensive treatise to this topic, Muṣṭafā Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfiʿī (d. 1937), *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān wa 'l-balāgha al-nabawiyya* (Cairo 1345/1926), explains (7th ed., Cairo 1381/1961, 156): the *iʿdjāz* is two things combined, viz. the insufficiency of human strength to attempt a "confirmatory miracle", *muʿdjiza*, and the persistence of this inadequacy through the ages. Theological formulae tend to represent a summation of analytical labours and to embody the results of disputes extending in many cases over centuries; in that of the *iʿdjāz*, the decisive discussions took place between *ca.* 750 and 1000 A.D.

Two factors combined to make the uniqueness of the Ḳurʾān crucial within the never fully systematized dogmatics of Islam: the necessity to prove the mission of the Prophet and the necessity to secure an incontrovertible authority for Muslim doctrine, law and mores. These interlocking needs could, in the atmosphere of the period, be met only by establishing the transcendental or miraculous character of the document of revelation and the singularity or miraculousness of the historical Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh revealing it. The concept of the miracle as testimony, *muʿdjiza* [*q.v.*], designed to confirm the veracity of a prophet and carefully defined *per se* as well as over against the *karāmāt* [*q.v.*], the *charismata* which God allows to happen through His lesser "friends", was developed to identify the Ḳurʾān as the *muʿdjiza* of Muḥammad. It implied the supernatural nature of the Revelation which had, from the beginning, been the primary postulate and justification of Muḥammad's preaching.

To view the Ḳurʾān *in toto* as a miraculous intrusion (or a series of intrusions) of the divine and, hence, the unrepeatable into human experience spurred rather than blocked the question regarding the precise nature of the properties which set it apart from all other literature—this word being taken in the widest possible sense and including the books embodying earlier revelations. Supported by the complementary doctrine of Muḥammad's *ummiyya* or illiteracy, the prophecies of future events, mundane and eschatological, paralleled by information about the remote past, together with the statements about the Lord Himself, were adduced as features both beyond the reach of Muḥammad's human horizon and unmatchable by others.

Appreciation of the applicability of these criteria to the Torah and the Gospel on the one hand and, on the other, the historical fact of Muḥammad's pagan compatriots denying to his revelation a divine source and attributing it rather to the inspiration of the demons on whom poets as well as soothsayers would rely led to an ever-increasing emphasis on the stylistic qualities of the Book, whose linguistic form had to be dissociated from the *kuhhān*'s rhymed prose, *sadjʿ* [*q.v.*], even more sharply than from the poets' verse. It seems that on the level of systematic discussion, it was the Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] (d. 232/846) who in considering the *iʿdjāz* first separated the formal aspects of the Book from its contents. The word *iʿdjāz*, traceable in the early part of the 3rd/9th century and developing into a technical term towards its end, has tended more and more to evoke the associations of the rhetorically unsurpassable.

The weakness of the aesthetic argument—that in every area of human endeavour there will be one supreme achievement; that it was difficult to maintain the incomparability of every single passage

of the Book; that an element of opinion was being injected into the valuation of the revealed text and thereby, to the more critical or the less pious, a direct challenge presented to denigrate or even match it — had however become apparent even sooner. Those weaknesses had already been countered (although a measure of refinement and elaboration of the argumentation was to follow in the 4th/10th century) by the concept of the *taḥaddī*, or challenge. Based essentially on Ḳurʾān XVII, 90 and X, 90, where it is declared that men and *djinn*, even were they to combine their efforts, are incapable of producing anything equalling as much as a single *sūra* of the Book, the *iʿdjāz* was substantiated by the pagan Arabs' failure to take up the challenge, a failure explicable solely by the realization on the part of those greatest masters of the word which the world had ever seen, motivated as they were by hatred of the new faith, by loyalty to the old and by artistic pride, that such an undertaking would be beyond them. (So already Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥudjadj al-nubuwwa*, in *Rasāʾil al-Djāḥiẓ* ed. Ḥ. al-Sandūbī, Cairo 1352/1933, 143-4; tr. C. Pellat, *Arabische Geisteswelt*, Zürich and Stuttgart 1967, 78-80, who deals with the subject in a routine manner, suggesting that he is treating a familiar line of reasoning).

But once again, historical fact—for attempts to match the Ḳurʾānic style were indeed undertaken —and a keener sense of the vulnerability of a proof based on historical incident and subjective judgement would modify the argument. Reliance on *taḥaddī* was supplemented by the doctrine of the *ṣarfa*, the "turning away". (Cf. as an intellectual precedent to the concept of *ṣarfa*, Lactantius (ca. 240-ca. 340 A.D.), *Div. Inst.*, IV, 2, 5: *aversos esse arbitror divina providentia, ne scire possent veritatem*, "God must have turned the ancient philosophers away from the right way of finding the truth"). With the abandonment of the claim to literary inimitability as such and the recognition of the ability *in potentia* of the Arab rhetoricians of Muḥammad's day victoriously to rise to the *taḥaddī*, the miracle was perceived as consisting in God's preventing the competent from taking up the challenge altogether. So already al-Naẓẓām; cf. Bouman, *Conflit*, 22. Although the *ṣarfa* implies the relinquishing of its supernatural aspect, the conviction of the Book's stylistic supremacy continued in the consensus of the community to be upheld as an empirical fact by some theologians such as Bāḳillānī (d. 404/1013), who were not prepared to accept it as a necessity *a priori*. His contemporary, the Muʿtazilī *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Astarābādī (d. 415/1025), in his extensive discussion of the *iʿdjāz* insists on the intrinsic excellence of the Ḳurʾān and particularly on the outstanding quality of its *faṣāḥa*; it is this level of stylistic perfection which prevented a *muʿāraḍa* in spite of the indubitable occurrence of the *taḥaddī* (cf., e.g., *Mughnī*, ed. Amīn al-Khūlī, Cairo 1380/1960, xvi, 247; esp. also the long discussion, 264 ff.); no special act of God by way of a *ṣarfa* was required to inhibit the pagan Arabs from attempting to match Revelation (this is implied throughout and set forth explicitly at 322 ff.).

Muslim tradition identifies a comparatively small number of outspoken critics of the Book. Djaʿd b. Dirham (executed in 105/723) is generally named as its first detractor. Deprecation was, on occasion, accompanied by the attempt to match the revealed text by something artistically equivalent or better. The existence, though repressed from common memory, of revelations similar in form to that of the Ḳurʾān promulgated by the counter-prophet Maslama (Musaylima) set an uncomfortable precedent. It is possible that the celebrated Iranian convert, the great stylist Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] (d. 140/757 or 142/759), actually did try his hand at such a *muʿāraḍa*, but found it impossible to complete his task—a fate shared by some other writers to whom tradition imputes the same ambition. (Cf. M. Guidi, *La Lotta tra l'Islam e il Manicheismo*, Rome 1927, XVI, 64-5, 72; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 401-4; Ṭabarī, *Chronique*, tr. from the Persian version of Balʿamī by H. Zotenberg (reprint, Paris 1958), iv, 450-2.) Bashshār b. Burd (d. 166/783) is quoted as freely comparing to its disadvantage Ḳurʾānic with contemporary verse and as having boasted of having personally surpassed *sūra* LIX; a similar statement is attributed to Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (d. 213/828) with reference to *sūra* LXXVII. Among the Muʿtazila, Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā b. Ṣabīḥ, better known as al-Murdār (not al-Muzdār as Rāfiʿī consistently writes, *op. cit.*, e.g., p. 161), a contemporary of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. between 210/825 and 225/840), whose student he was, and of Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. *ca.* 225/840), is singled out as a sceptic in regard to the uniqueness of the Holy Book. The bitterest scoffer at the Ḳurʾān would seem to have been Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. 250/864 or, more likely, 297/910 or 299/912), parts of whose attacks on the mission of the prophets in general and on Muḥammad in particular have been preserved in the refutation by the Muʿtazilī al-Khayyāṭ (d. between 287/900 and 297/910). The victory of the dogma of the eternity *a parte ante* or the uncreatedness of the Divine Word helped to consolidate a climate of opinion in which the consensus peaceably secured the recognition of the *iʿdjāz* as an integral part of the faith. This is not to say that critical remarks on individual images would no longer occur. Nor that the stylistic insuperability of the Book would have found universal acceptance among theologians: Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), in his *Kitāb al-Faṣl fi 'l-milal*, Cairo 1317-21, iii, 15 ff.; tr. M. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*, Madrid 1927-32, iii, 248 ff.; see also *Faṣl*, i, 106 ff., tr., i, 222 ff., as well as al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085), the *imām al-ḥaramayn* and teacher of al-Ghazālī, in his *al-ʿAḳīda al-niẓāmiyya*, ed. M. Kawtharī, Cairo 1948, 54-5; tr. H. Klopfer, *Das Dogma des Imâm al-Ḥaramain al-Djuwainî und sein Werk al-ʿAqîdat an-niẓâmîya*, Cairo-Wiesbaden 1958, 89-90, to mention only two outstanding figures from widely separated regions and school affiliations, refuse, the one to acknowledge its aesthetic qualities as a major proof of its uniqueness, the other to recognize its unqualified aesthetic superiority altogether. Whether the "competition" with the Ḳurʾān (or perhaps only with LXXVII, 30-3) of which al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057) has been accused ever was undertaken must remain uncertain; that the poet embarked on a systematic counterfoil appears exceedingly doubtful. The last *muʿāraḍat al-Ḳurʾān* of which a somewhat vague report has come down to us is due to one Muhadhdhib al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 601/1205; cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 404).

The critical appraisal of the Ḳurʾān's artistry had been paralleled, if not preceded, by reflexions on certain grammatical peculiarities of the Book. The awareness of differences in linguistic usage during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries came more and more to be coupled with the postulate that grammar was to be judged by the Ḳurʾānic text rather than the Ḳurʾānic text by the tradition of classical grammar;

cf. al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), *al-Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, Leipzig 1864-92, 485; Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), *Kitāb al Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, ed., A. Amīn and A. al-Zayn, Cairo 1939-44, iii, 185; and the explicit statement by Ibn al-Munayyir (d. 683/1284): *taṣḥīḥ ḳawāʿid al-ʿarabiyya bi 'l-Ḳurʾān, apud* M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 222-3; similarly Ḳasṭallānī (d. 923/1517) *apud* Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920; re-issued 1952, p. 50, n. 3.

The major works marking the development of the *iʿdjāz* concept and the researches supporting it have been put together by Abdul Aleem, *ʿIjazu'l-Qurʾan* (sic), in *IC*, vii (1933), 64-82, 215-83, and G. E. von Grunebaum, *A tenth-century document of Arab literary theory and criticism. The sections on poetry of al-Bâqillânî's* Iʿjâz al-Qurʾân, Chicago 1950 (with bibliography). The first systematic treatments carrying the word *iʿdjāz* in their title which have been preserved—the oldest, by Muḥammad b. Yazīd (or Zayd) al-Wāsiṭī (d. 306/918-9), is lost—are concerned above all with the literary uniqueness of Revelation, the leading interest of both ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) and Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 386/996 or more probably 388/998). Outside the circle of "specialists", too, the tracing of poetic imagery in the Ḳurʾān preoccupied the literary theorists who, like Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 295/908), would invoke Ḳurʾānic precedent to justify modern stylistic trends and for whom the existence of figurative speech in Revelation constituted an important motivation for the study and ever more minute classification of tropes and figures in general. The treatment of the *iʿdjāz* by Bāḳillānī, the first it would seem to aspire to systematic comprehensiveness, decisively influenced the later writers, whether mostly concerned with style like ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 470/1078) in his *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, or with theology proper like Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) in his *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* and his *Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz* and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350) in his *Fawāʾid*. By their time, the term *ʿilm al-iʿdjāz* had, in common parlance, become very nearly synonymous with *ʿilm al-bayān* or *ʿilm al-maʿānī* to designate the science of rhetoric; cf. Abdul Aleem, *op. cit.*, 82. Broadly speaking, nothing new has been added to the traditional argumentation since the 5th/11th century. The discussion of the *iʿdjāz* in Muḥammad ʿAbduh's (d. 1905) *Risālat al-tawḥīd* (esp. ch. xii; Eng. tr. by I. Musaʿad and K. Cragg, *The theory of unity*, London 1966, 118-22; competent summary of all references to the Ḳurʾān in Stieglecker [see Bibl.], 404-8) differs from older presentations essentially by omitting grammatical and aesthetic detail.

In contrasting the stylistic perfection of the Ḳurʾān with the stylistic imperfections of the older Scriptures the Muslim theologian found himself unknowingly and on purely postulative grounds in agreement with a long line of Christian thinkers whose outlook on the Biblical text is best summed up in Nietzsche's brash dictum that the Holy Ghost wrote bad Greek. The knowledge of the Western theologian that the Biblical books were redacted by different writers and that they were, in many cases, accessible to him only in (inspired) translation facilitated admission of formal imperfections in Scripture and therewith lessened the compulsive insistence on its stylistic authority. Christian teaching, leaving the inspired writer, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, free in matters of style, has provided no motivation to seek an exact correlation between the revealed text on the one hand and grammar and rhetoric on the other; cf. L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, p. 26, n. 4. It thereby relieved the theologian and the critic from searching for a harmony between two stylistic worlds, which at best would yield an ahistoric concept of literary perfection and at worst would prevent anything resembling textual and substantive criticism of Revelation as adumbrated by the Oratorian monk R. Simon as early as 1638, but which could not possibly be accepted within Islam even today under the pressure of a concept of *litteratim* inspiration which would confine dissenters to questioning the completeness or genuineness of the transmitted text but inhibit examination of its dictation, word for word and letter for letter. In Christianity, besides, the apology for the "low" style of the Bible is merely part of an educational problem—what to do with secular erudition within Christianity; whereas in Islam, the central position of the Ḳurʾān, as the focal point and justification of grammatical and literary studies, was, theoretically at least, never contested from within the believing community.

In another respect, however, Islam has come very close to Christian teaching (or, at any rate, Christian sentiment). In identifying the Ḳurʾān, i.e. the *fact* of revelation, as the *muʿdjiza* of the Prophet it approaches very nearly the insight into the nature of the revelation which made Jesus refuse "to grant the sign, the miracle, the external proof asked of Him, which would have taken its place outside Revelation: this proof, moreover, would have been ineffective, and would not have provoked genuine faith, but at the most a gross superstition" (R. Mehl, *La condition du philosophe chrétien*, Paris-Neuchâtel 1947, 119; Eng. tr. by E. Kushner, *The condition of the Christian philosopher*, Philadelphia 1963, 127), which it must be admitted is precisely what happened whenever in Christianity or in Islam this insight of the central figure of the faith has been disregarded.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article: T. Andrae, *Die person Muhammeds in lehre und glauben seiner gemeinde*, Upsala 1917, 94-10; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947; J. Bouman, *Le conflit autour du Coran et la solution d'al-Bāqillānī*, Amsterdam 1959, with bibliography; H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Paderborn, Munich and Vienna 1962, esp. pp. 371-408; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim Ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 124 ff. (G. E. von Grunebaum)

IDJĀZA (A.) authorization, licence. When used in its technical meaning, this word means, in the strict sense, the third of the eight methods of receiving the transmission of a *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] (the various ways are set out precisely in W. Marçais, *Taqrīb*, 115-26). It means in short the fact that an authorized guarantor of a text or of a whole book (his own work or a work received through a chain of transmitters going back to the first transmitter or to the author) gives a person the authorization to transmit it in his turn so that the person authorized can avail himself of this transmission. But beyond this narrow definition there is in fact involved the principle, fundamental in Islam, of the pre-eminent value attached to oral testimony, a principle which has been maintained through all the fictions to which *idjāza* and the other methods of transmission have given rise from a very early date and which still today continue to influence Muslim traditional thinking. It is this that gives its ideological and historical importance to the very full documentation contained

in the *isnāds* ("chaînes de témoignages fondamentales", L. Massignon), in the *samāʿs* ("certificates of hearing") and in the *idjāzas*—often having indications of dates and places and details of the names of the persons who formed links in the transmission—which precede, frame or follow not only the texts of *ḥadīth*, of *fiḳh* or of *tafsīr*, but also theological, mystical, historical and philological works, and even literary collections, of both prose and poetry. Separate from the texts there appear the systematic lists of authorities (*muʿdjam*, *mashyakha*, *thabat*, *fahrasa* [*q.v.*], *barnamādj*), which form in themselves a well developed branch, still flourishing and so far insufficiently exploited, of the work of the traditional Muslim scholars. In spite of the very serious reservations which had been made from the beginning, notably by the *imām* al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), with regard to transmissions not guaranteed by the direct study of the text transmitted and the effective meeting between a transmitter and a receiver capable of understanding the text, yet practice, supported when necessary by appropriate statements of casuistic reasoning, has always tended towards the acceptance of fictions and increasing indulgence: a general *idjāza* without the hearing of the texts, an *idjāza* conferred on young children who have not yet reached the age of reason, even to those still unborn, an *idjāza* obtained as the result of a short interview during journeys whose aim was not exclusively study or the Pilgrimage, an *idjāza* requested and granted by letter without any personal contact between the authority and the candidate. Among the fictional *idjāzāt*, which were moreover of social and political significance, were those conferred at their request on rulers or on high state dignitaries. Examples of *idjāza* in verse exist from the second half of the 3rd/9th century (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya*, 350), and these very soon became couched in turgid rhetoric (see below).

Among the "Twelver" Shīʿis the *idjāza* obtains its authority from the infallible *imāms* whose *ḥadīths* are scrupulously transmitted by their faithful supporters (see H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 303).

In Persian and in Ottoman Turkish (in the latter as a composite word, *idjāzet-nāme*, *icazetname*) the term has come into modern use to mean "certificate of fitness" (to teach).

Bibliography: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357/1938, especially 311-55; see also idem, *Taḳyīd al-ʿilm*, ed. Youssef Eche (al-ʿIshsh), Damascus 1949; an unpublished treatise by al-Silafī (d. 576/1180), *K. al-Wadjīz fī dhikr al-mudjāz wa 'l-mudjīz* (MS Chester Beatty Arabic 4874, fols. 1-20), analysed by G. Vajda in *Bull. de l'Inst. de Rech. et d'Hist. des Textes*, no. 14, 1966; Mīrzā ʿAlī Taḳī, *al-Idjāzāt, containing Licenses to learned men*, Lucknow 1286/1869. On the subject of the superior value as proof of the spoken over the written word: L. Massignon, *Études sur les "Isnad" ou chaînes de témoignages fondamentales dans la tradition musulmane hallagienne*, in *Mélanges Félix Grat*, i, Paris 1946, 385-420 (= *Opera Minora*, ii, Beirut 1963, 61-92); R. Brunschvig, *Le système de la preuve en droit musulman*, in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, xviii, *La Preuve*, Brussels 1964, 169-86. On the *idjāza* and the related documents in general: I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 188-93 (this study is the basis of his article in *EI*[1]; reservations made by F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 1967, 53-84, must be taken into account); W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, i, 54-95; W. Marçais, *Le Taqrīb de En-Nawawī*, Paris 1902, 115-26; J. Pedersen, *Den Arabiske Bog*, Copenhagen 1946, 23-30, 144; excellent general outline on *idjāza* and *samāʿ* by Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Idjāzāt al-samāʿ fī 'l-makhṭūṭāt al-ḳadīma*, in *RIMA*, i (1955), 232-51; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, *Kutub barāmidj al-ʿulamāʾ bi 'l-Andalus*, *ibid.*, 91-120 (also idem, *Naṣṣ Barnāmadj Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ*, *ibid.*, 252-71). Shīʿī *idjāzāt* form the subject of a double volume (25-26) of the great theological encyclopaedia *Biḥār al-anwār* of Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī (d. 1110/1699); see also Abdullah Fayyad, *al-Ijazat alʿ-ilmiyya ʿind al-Moslimeen*, Baghdad 1967; Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) includes in his *Iʿlām* a list of *muʿdjams* and *mashyakhas*, tr. in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, [2] Leiden 1968, 451-3; a more complete list, to the 14th/20th century, is given in Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. ʿAbd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa 'l-athbāt* ..., Fez 1346/1927 (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 891), a most valuable source of information which is in need of systematic indexing. Among the lists of transmissions may be mentioned (in addition to the *Barnāmadj* of Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ mentioned above) the printed works of Abū Bakr Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (d. 575/1180), *Fahrasa*, "Index Librorum ...", edd. F. Codera and J. Ribera, *BAH*, vols. ix-x, Saragossa 1894-5, and the five works, collected in one volume at Ḥaydarābād 1328/1910, of five scholars of the 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries, al-Kūrānī, al-Nakhlī, al-Baṣrī, al-Fullānī, al-Shawkānī (full titles *apud* J. Robson in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 580, no. 6). Recently Orientalists have begun to take an interest in the analysis of the lists of authorities and the certificates of "audition"; among others may be mentioned A. J. Arberry, *Sakhawiana* (Chester Beatty Monographs, no. 1); idem, *A twelfth-century reading list* (same series, no. 2), London 1951; G. Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture et de transmission dans les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Paris 1957 (bibliographical details at p. VI, n. 2); idem, *Le dictionnaire des autorités de ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Dimyāṭī*, Paris 1962; J. Sublet, *Les Maîtres et les études de deux traditionnistes de l'époque mamlouke* (*al-Mashyakha al-bāsima* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī), in *BEO*, xx (1967). (G. VAJDA)

Most *idjāzas* are plain statements of fact, but sometimes rhymed prose (*sadjʿ* [*q.v.*]) is used and the beneficiary is described in extravagant epithets (*idjāza ṭannāna*, Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 246, 4 from below). In some later *idjāzas* we find lengthy introductions and the whole document becomes an exercise in rhetoric. Ḳalḳashandī regards this as normal, as appears from his brief discussion of the *idjāza* in the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (Cairo 1331/1913, xiv, 322-35) and the examples of *idjāzas* for various purposes (*futyā*, *tadrīs*, *ʿirāda*, *riwāya*) which he sets up as models (other examples of this pompous style in A. J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library*: *A handlist of the Arabic manuscripts*, Dublin 1955, i, plate 14, iv, plate 124; of an *idjāza* as part of a *samāʿ*, S. A. Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the tawriya*, The Hague 1966, 65). As early as the 3rd/9th century the poetic form was used (see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357/1938, 350-1; idem, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 164-5). The traveller Ibn Djubayr records that he obtained an *idjāza* in both prose and verse (*nathr wa-naẓm*, ed. Wright-de Goeje, 201, 18).

That the poetic form was popular for the *idjāza* as well as for the request for an *idjāza* (*istidʿāʾ*) is shown by examples quoted in Makkarī's *Analectes* (i, 628, 715, 743 ff.). *Idjāza* poems also occur in Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī's *Dīwān* (Damascus 1297/1879, 481-3, for his own poems) and a late example is found in Shirwānī's *Ḥadīkat al-afrāḥ* (Būlāk 1282/1866, 76).

Idjāza as a technical term in prosody occurs as a synonym of various terms for faults in the rhyme [see art. KĀFIYA]. As a term in rhetoric it is used when a poet builds some lines or even a whole poem on a single line or hemistich suggested by somebody else, often a ruler (but cf. Dozy, *Suppl.* s.v. *adjāza*). It is also used when two poets compose alternately a hemistich or one or more lines of the same poem, often in the form of a contest, in which case we also find the term *tamlīṭ* (or *mumālaṭa*, *imlāṭ*, *TA*, v, 227 below). Other terms occur either as synonyms or to indicate different forms of *tamlīṭ*. The interpretation of these terms given by Ibn Ẓāfir in his *Badāʾiʿ al-Badāʾih* (Būlāk 1278/1862 and on the margin of ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, Cairo 1316/1898) does not seem to have been generally accepted.

Bibliography: Ibn Rashīk, *al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1325/1907, i, 127-8, 135, ii, 72-5; G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung*, Bonn 1830, 527.

(I. GOLDZIHER-[S. A. BONEBAKKER])

IDJĀZA [see HADJDJ].

AL-**ĪDJĪ**, ʿADUD AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. RUKN AL-DĪN B. ʿABD AL-GHAFFĀR AL-BAKRĪ AL-SHABĀNKĀRĪ, Shāfiʿī jurist and Ashʿarī theologian. Born probably after 680/1281 in Īg, the chief town of Shabānkāra, he began his theological education mainly among the pupils of al-Bayḍāwī. The last Īlkhān, Abū Saʿīd (716-36/1316-36), invited him to his court in Sulṭāniyya and appointed him *kādī al-mamālik*, probably on the suggestion of his vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Dīn (728-36/1328-36), with whom al-Īdjī had formed an acquaintance; in 730/1330 al-Īdjī's reputation as a scholar is mentioned for the first time in a contemporary source (*Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 808, 6 ff.). Later, probably after the execution of Ghiyāth al-Dīn and the death of Abū Saʿīd (736/1336), al-Īdjī appears as chief *kādī* in Shīrāz, at the court of the Īndjū Abū Isḥāk; it was here that Ḥāfiẓ met him (*Dīwān*, ed. Kazwīnī-Ghanī, 363, 7). When the Muẓaffarid Mubāriz al-Dīn was planning to conquer Abū Isḥāk's kingdom for himself, al-Īdjī attempted, as the latter's agent, to negotiate between the two, but without result; at this time Mubāriz al-Dīn was his guest for a few days in Shabānkāra. Once again al-Īdjī returned for a short time to Shīrāz; however, during the siege of the town (754/1353) he went over to Mubāriz al-Dīn and withdrew to Shabānkāra. There Shāh Shudjāʿ, Mubāriz al-Dīn's son, visited him a year later. In 756/1355, evidently in connexion with the insurrection against the Muẓaffarids of Malik Ardashīr, the last Atabeg of Shabānkāra, al-Īdjī was imprisoned in the fortress of Diraymiyān (at Īg) and died there in the same year.

Al-Īdjī's works have no claims to originality, being intended as systematic handbooks for teaching in *madrasas*. Their popularity is evident from the great number of commentaries. A dedication to Ghiyāth al-Dīn shows that two of his books were composed before 736/1336: the *Fawāʾid al-Ghiyāthiyya*, an abridgement of the section on rhetoric from al-Sakkākī's encyclopaedic *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, and the commentary to Ibn al-Ḥadjar's (d. 646/1249) *Mukhtaṣar* of his own *Muntaha ʾl-suʾūl wa ʾl-amal fī ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa ʾl-djadal*. Al-Īdjī's fame was based, already during his own lifetime, on his *K. al-Mawāḳif fī ʿilm al-kalām*, which is still today used as a basis for the teaching of theology at al-Azhar. Although (subsequently?) dedicated to Abū Isḥāk, it was probably composed before 730/1330, for it is mentioned in the *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, which was written in that year (808, 15; this reference may however be a later addition by the author). The book sets out in the style of a *summa theologica*, in concise language, the traditional ideas of 6th/12th century Islamic theology; it is based mainly on the *Muḥaṣṣal* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) and the *Abkār al-afkār* of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), in places also on the former's *Nihāyat al-ʿuḳūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*. For further works, see Brockelmann, II, 267 ff., and A. Ateş in *IA*, v, 921 ff. s.v. *Īcī* (with detailed summaries).

Bibliography: For his biography, see the sources given in Brockelmann, II, 267; S II, 287; and Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, v, 199. In addition, see Muʿīn al-Dīn Yazdī, *Mawāhib-i ilāhiyya dar taʾrīkh-i Āl-i Muẓaffar*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehrān 1326, i, 241 ff., 257; *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* (with the *Dhayl* of Maḥmūd Kutubī), 654 ff., 663; Mīrkhwānd, Tehrān 1339, iv, 484 f. 487, 494; Khwāndamīr, Bombay 1857, iii/1, 125 f., iii/2, 21; numerous anecdotes in the *Ḥikāyāt-i Fārsī* of ʿUbayd-i Zākānī (see *Kulliyyāt-i ʿUbayd-i Zākānī*, ed. Parvīz Atābakī, Tehran 1321 [h.s.?], 311 f.); Kāsim Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār u afkār u aḥwāl-i Ḥāfiẓ*, Tehrān 1321, i, 29, 31, 75, 99 ff.; L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 165 ff., 370 ff.; J. van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī*, Wiesbaden 1966.

(J. VAN ESS)

ʿ**IDJL**, ancient Arabian tribe, reckoned part of Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*]. Their common ancestor ʿIdjl b. Ludjaym was proverbially noted for his stupidity (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 48n.; Eng. tr. i, 52n.). The tribe as a whole had a reputation for niggardliness (Masʿūdī, vi, 138f.; Yāḳūt, i, 183). They originally lived in al-Yamāma and in the region about the roads from Kūfa and Baṣra to Mecca. Among the settled localities belonging to them were Arāka, Djawkhāʾ and al-Khaḍārim; while their waters included Bukayʿ, Tukayyid, al-Ruwaytha, Zumm, Sāk, Shubrum, Ẓabya, al-Kayyāra, Maḥḍara, and al-Hadjira. Some of Banū ʿIdjl settled at Djaylān in al-Baḥrayn among Persian immigrants from Iṣṭakhr who practised agriculture (Yāḳūt, ii, 179; Goldziher, i, 103; Eng. tr., i, 100). At a later date there were members of Banū ʿIdjl in the region of Aleppo (al-Kalkashandī, *Nihāya*, 350).

The relations of ʿIdjl with cognate tribes are discussed in the article on Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*]. They fought against Kays b. ʿĀṣim and Tamīm at Nibādj and Taytal, and also at Musalliḥa. The most important battle in which they were engaged, however, was that of Dhū Kār [*q.v.*]. According to some accounts their leader Ḥanẓala b. Thaʿlaba played an important part before the battle encouraging the Arabs to fight, while during the battle he commanded the right wing of the Arabs. The conversion of a ʿIdjlī to Islam is mentioned by al-Wākidī (ed. M. Jones, i, 198). Some of the tribe had become Christian, and these took the Persian side at the battle of Ullays in 12/634. Men of ʿIdjl and Ḥanīfa were in a force at Kalʿat al-Nusayr (or Numayr) near Nihāwand in 22/643. Horsemen of ʿIdjl supported Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar in his rising at Kūfa in the middle of the 3rd/9th century.

The connexion of parts of ᶜIdjl with Persian culture is noteworthy, and may partly explain the type of heresy to which they were prone. At Kūfa al-Mughīra b. Saᶜīd al-ᶜIdjlī was executed as a heretic in 119/737 and Abū Manṣūr al-ᶜIdjlī [see MANṢŪRIYYA] in 124/742. The well-known Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] is thought to have been a slave attached to ᶜIdjl.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muᶜdjam*, index; Ṭabarī, index; *Aghānī*, index; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, 173-81, 270, 449, 592, 603; iii, 404.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AL-ᶜ**IDJLĪ**, ABŪ DULAF [see AL-ḲĀSIM B. ᶜĪSĀ].

AL-ᶜ**IDJLĪ**, ABŪ MANṢŪR [see MANṢŪRIYYA].

IDJMĀᶜ, the third, and in practice the most important, of the bases of Islamic religious law, according to the classical theory [see UṢŪL]. It is in theory the unanimous agreement of the Umma on a regulation (*ḥukm*) imposed by God. Technically it is "the unanimous doctrine and opinion of the recognized religious authorities at any given time".

Statement of the problem: The idea of *idjmāᶜ* as a source of law, as proving in an intangible and definitive way the validity of a *ḥukm* (W. M. Watt, *Islam and the integration of society*, London 1961, 203), was a result of the need to perpetuate a truth given by the Ḳurʾān and corroborated by the *Sunna* of the Prophet. Arguments arose among the faithful after the death of the Prophet who, during his lifetime, was the "proof" (*ḥudjdja*) and point of reference in legislative matters. The need began to be felt for a binding principle which would ratify a custom, as yet vague and undefined, which was being called upon to systematize itself at the same time as it was expanding and coming under attack from both Shīᶜīs and Khāridjīs. The idea became defined and was given its theoretical formulation with the elaboration of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, i.e. in the 2nd/8th century. The definition of *idjmāᶜ* as a source of law then raises the question of the probative validity (*ḥudjdjiyya*) of this concept.

Denied by the Khāridjīs (al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl*, 19) and by al-Naẓẓām (*ibid.*, 19-20), this validity became the object of long discussions in the classical treatises on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. Whether it is the Ḥanafī *idjmāᶜ* extending the consensus of the *Umma* to all the Believers or the *idjmāᶜ* of Ibn Ḥazm limiting it only to the Companions of the Prophet, the procedure is always the same; it consists of basing the *ḥudjdjiyya* of the *idjmāᶜ* on a passage from "Ḳurʾān or Tradition giving a reason in plain language" (Hourani, 19). This procedure clearly illustrates the exigencies of Islamic jurisprudence.

The rationalism of the Muᶜtazilīs, with its tendency to ethics rather than logic, amounts, where *idjmāᶜ* is concerned, to no more than a deontology addressed to the personal convictions of the believer.

The primacy of reason (*al-ᶜaḳl ḳabl al-samᶜ*), repeatedly expressed by ᶜAbd al-Djabbār (*Mughnī*, xii, 378 and *passim*; *Sharḥ*, 45 and *passim*; Ibn Mattawayh, *Muḥīṭ*, 17 ff.; Abu'l-Ḥusayn, *Muᶜtamad*, ii, 460) is circumscribed by the principle of 'that which is best' (*al-aṣlaḥ*), which can limit even the divine will. In the field of *idjmāᶜ*, rationalism was obliged to make way for the strictest fideism, since reason is no more capable of deciding the inerrancy (*ᶜiṣma*) of a group of people than of guaranteeing that an individual is always exempt from error in his words and his deeds. ᶜAbd al-Djabbār thus takes over the objection of al-Naẓẓām, who, though frequently named elsewhere (*Mughnī*, xvii, 72, xv, 361, 392 and *passim*), is not mentioned in connexion with *idjmāᶜ* (compare *Mughnī*, xvii, 158 and *Muᶜtamad*, 458). Thus the *ḳāḍī* affirms unequivocally: "As for demonstrating the legal validity of *idjmāᶜ* by a process of reason, that is impossible" (*fa-amma 'l-istidlāl ᶜalā ṣiḥḥat al-idjmāᶜ min djihat al-ᶜaḳl, fa-baᶜīd*; *Mughnī*, xvii, 199); for, he continues, "no proof (*dalīl*) can demonstrate that a certain group is free of error in its words and its deeds, just as nothing can prove this for each of the matters of religious obligation (*mukallafūn*); and there is no difference between the man who imposes by means of reason (*man awdjaba ᶜaḳlan*) the legal validity of *idjmāᶜ* and the man who decides the probative value of divergence (*man awdjaba kawn al-khilāf ḥudjdjatan*) or ascribes probative value to the statement of each *mukallaf* (*man djaᶜala kawn kull mukallaf ḥudjdjatan*). This affirmation is even more erroneous than that of *taḳlīd*, whose nullity (*buṭlān*) we have already demonstrated" (see also *Mughnī*, xvii, 206, 216). We may note in passing that the Muᶜtazilī view coincides with that of Ibn Ḥazm and his school. By more devious and never explicit routes, his pupil Abu'l-Ḥusayn adopted the same viewpoint. After presenting the five Ḳurʾānic proofs universally admitted by the *uṣūliyyūn* and the proof deduced from the classic tradition "My community will never agree upon an error" (*Muᶜtamad*, 458-76), he sets out (in order to refute them) two arguments which one might have thought to be dictated by common-sense but which would in fact, for the logician, merely lead the line of reasoning back to a vicious circle in one case and to a *petitio principii* in the other (*Muᶜtamad*, 476-7). To avoid these two impasses it was necessary, in the field of *idjmāᶜ*, to dissociate the domain of faith from that of reason. ᶜAbd al-Djabbār saw this and stated it; Abu'l-Ḥusayn suggested it.

The Muᶜtazilī attitude, which always attracted al-Ghazālī, may be seen on the subject of *ḥudjdjiyyat al-idjmāᶜ* in the force he gives to the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, "My community will never agree upon an error", supporting this with a para-syllogistic argument (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 110-2). Drawing his inspiration from Aristotelian logic, al-Ghazālī applies to the argument drawn from the *Sunna* a syllogism, in which the second premise, statement of a particular truth, is replaced by an arbitrary hypothesis depending on a *petitio principii*, that the normal course of events (*ᶜāda*) is a source of knowledge.

A connected and no less important problem is that of the relationship between *idjmāᶜ* and *tawātur* [*q.v.*]. The *ḥudjdjiyya* of *tawātur* is objective, since it concerns *ḥissiyyāt* and consists in the convergence of sayings and in the authentication of chains of authorities. It is in this sense, according to al-Ghazālī for example, that *tawātur* provides a guarantee as reliable as *ḥissiyyāt* and *ᶜaḳliyyāt* (al-Ghazālī, *Iḳtiṣād*, 112-3), whilst the *ḥudjdjiyya* of *idjmāᶜ* consists in this same convergence but with the addition of a faith (*taṣdīḳ*) which goes beyond the bounds of objectivity and amounts to the deep conviction of every Believer, as much as to objective credibility. It will be understood, then, that for al-Ghazālī, *idjmāᶜ* is "the most important source of religion" (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 112; al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, i, 316).

In modern times, parallel with a classical and conservative trend represented by ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb Khallāf, there is developing a modernist trend inherited from the reformism of Muḥammad ᶜAbduh (Hourani, 39-43) by the Pakistani, Kamāl Fārūḳī. In his recent work (*Islamic jurisprudence*, Karachi 1962), K. Fārūḳī does not re-examine the theoretical problem of the proofs on which the validity of

id̲j̲māʿ is based. Like Muḥammad ʿAbduh, he thinks that the scriptural proofs establish, though in a limited sense, the legal authority for the consensus of the *Umma* (Hourani, 43). But beyond this, he attempts to reconsider the concept of *id̲j̲māʿ* as a result of a critical analysis of the concept of *ʿiṣma*. In showing that the *ʿiṣma* [*q.v.*] (infallibility) of the *Umma* is circumscribed and defined by divine infallibility, K. Fārūḳī illustrates the relative nature of the former and tries to adapt the concept of the legal validity of *id̲j̲māʿ* to the necessities of the modern world and the exigencies of the socio-political system of which the Believer is a part.

Development: As the concept of *id̲j̲māʿ* developed, the dispersion of the faithful from Medina became greater and the Muslim world expanded, the solutions to the problem became more diverse. The concept of "favourable acceptance" became more worked out and the idea of a certain *de facto* agreement led to a theoretical definition of *id̲j̲māʿ* differing according to the schools

The point of departure for this development is given by the *Kitāb Ik̲h̲tilāf Mālik wa 'l-S̲h̲āfiʿī* (*Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, 177-83). Al-S̲h̲āfiʿī called into question the idea of the consensus of Medina by showing the obscure and imprecise nature of the concept of "the usage of Medina". He substituted the assertion of a basic truth, upon which, as far as law was concerned, the infallibility of the unanimous pronouncements of the *Umma* rested, for the Mālikī *id̲j̲māʿ*, which merely affirmed an existing fact. The principle was stated in legal terms, although not based on law.

The *Risāla* of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, this scholar's only work on the subject, should be regarded as the résumé of a system of thought developed through oral discussions. This is the characteristic of the primitive religious law which was "a doctrine of essentially oral transmission" (H. Laoust, in *EI*², s.v. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 274a). We must make a jump of three centuries to reach the degree of systematization which is achieved by the *Mustaṣfā* of al-G̲h̲azālī.

With the *Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* of Ibn Ḥazm, we find ourselves faced with a work on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* in which *id̲j̲māʿ* is treated as a juridical source needing a foundation and raising technical problems to be solved. For Ibn Ḥazm, *id̲j̲māʿ* is limited to that of the Companions of the Prophet. A system which rejects the use of analogical reasoning and insists on the exclusive use of proof texts can only allow *id̲j̲māʿ* which is derived from a revealed text about a word or deed of the Prophet. Here *id̲j̲māʿ* seems to have been re-absorbed by Ḳurʾān and *Sunna*. In this perspective the technical problems posed by the formation of *id̲j̲māʿ* diminish. The necessity for a continuous thread reaching back to the *id̲j̲māʿ* of the Companions resolves the problem of its constitutors and that posed by a divergence of opinions within one generation; the expression *ūlu 'l-amr*, often used by Ibn Ḥazm, shows that *amīr*s and scholars ought to guide us by imposing upon us only those things which God or the Prophet have commanded. The problem of the succession of generations is resolved and, in the same way, the difficulty presented by the necessity of verifying the opinions of the whole of the *Umma* in every generation disappears.

The Ḥanafīs al-Bazdawī (d. 482/1089) and al-Sarak̲h̲sī (d. 490/1096) denounce the weakness of the argument on which the Ẓāhirī *id̲j̲māʿ* was based, the precedence of the witness of the Companions (al-Sarak̲h̲sī, *Uṣūl*, i, 313). For the latter, the chief merit of the Companion is to be a Believer. According to al-Bazdawī (*Uṣūl*, iii, 181), "by the *Umma* is understood only those who have not adopted pernicious doctrines (*ahwāʾ*) and innovations (*bidaʿ*); and, if the *Umma* should find itself subject to error when the revelation is interrupted, then the divine promise to assure that the *Umma* should persevere in the truth would become void. It is, therefore, necessary to assert that the *id̲j̲māʿ* of the *Umma* is certainly a source of truth (*ṣawāb*) by virtue of divine generosity, and that its object is to preserve the religion of Allāh". For these theologians *id̲j̲māʿ* draws its validity from itself; it is held to be an autonomous juridical source (al-Sarak̲h̲sī, *Uṣūl*, i, 295).

The definition of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn, the teacher of al-G̲h̲azālī, is narrower. According to him, the *faḳīh* alone is competent in the matter (*Kitāb al-Waraḳāt*). His disciple, al-G̲h̲azālī, explains it in detail: *id̲j̲māʿ* is the agreement of the community of Muḥammad, in particular on all religious questions (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 110). This community of Muḥammad forms a whole within which two categories must be distinguished; those who are definitely concerned in *id̲j̲māʿ* (*al-wāḍiḥ fi'l-it̲h̲bāt*; *Mustaṣfā*, i, 115), i.e., every *mud̲j̲tahid* whose juridical opinion is held to be valid (*ahl al-ḥall wa'l-ʿaḳd*), and those of whom note is certainly not taken (*al-wāḍiḥ fi'l-nafy*), i.e., children who have not yet reached intellectual maturity (*tamyīz*), foetuses and lunatics. Between these two well-defined categories there is an intermediate zone of uncertainty, on the subject of which various problems arise: the questions of the rôle of the ordinary believer (*al-ʿāmmī al-mukallaf*), the "innovator", who takes a position contrary to *id̲j̲māʿ*, the "Followers" (*tābiʿūn* [*q.v.*]), younger contemporaries of the Companions and those opposed to them, the minority who oppose the majority who make up *id̲j̲māʿ*.

From all the solutions put forward, it is possible to extract a constant of Sunnī thought; *id̲j̲māʿ* is the agreement of all the believers in general, and in particular that of those qualified, to whom was entrusted the task of taking the decisions in juridical matters.

Method: Once the question of the constitutors of *id̲j̲māʿ* has been settled, the question of the method by which they reach agreement may be asked. This agreement can be made by word or deed, it can be explicitly stated or silent. The Ḥanafīs, who distinguish between the "concession" (*ruk̲h̲ṣa*) and the strict rule (*ʿazīma* [*q.v.*]), consider tacit *id̲j̲māʿ* to be valid only with regard to a concession, while for establishing a strict rule *id̲j̲māʿ* definitely stated or expressed by an act is necessary. The Ḥanafīs, indeed, are the only ones to allow tacit *id̲j̲māʿ* (see the *Kas̲h̲f al-asrār*, a commentary on the *Uṣūl* of al-Bazdawī, iii, 946: "... the concession is based on necessity and it is necessity which makes *id̲j̲māʿ* out of tacit agreement"), while the Ẓāhirīs, in their literalism, refuse it categorically. The S̲h̲āfiʿīs, like al-D̲j̲uwaynī, al-G̲h̲azālī and al-Āmidī, allow it as *id̲j̲māʿ* but with certain reservations. "It is *id̲j̲māʿ*", al-G̲h̲azālī tells us, "provided that this tacit agreement is accompanied by indications of approval on the part of those who are silent" (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 121). It is difficult indeed to give the same probative value to silence as to a definite statement (*ibid*, 121).

But what is the value of an agreement which, without being formulated, is expressed by an act? Can it be held as valid inasmuch as this act, carried out by the majority of Believers, takes for granted at least the *id̲j̲māʿ* of the élite, just as an act of the Prophet indicates his approval of that act? Put in another way, does the infallibility of the *Umma*

guarantee its conduct as well as its statements? The Shāfiʿīs refuse to adopt this position for, they say, it is impossible to verify whether or not the totality of a people carries out an act unanimously. This assumes a complete record of the Believers and of their conduct. Although silence may sometimes be considered an indication of approval of a statement, and consequently regarded as tacit agreement, *idjmāʿ* based on an act cannot be considered valid because of the difficulty of verification. Silence, indeed, may be ascertained directly through the absence of any opposing statement, whilst the unanimous execution of an act cannot be ascertained except by a continuous control, which would obviously be impossible to effect. Here again the Ḥanafīs differ from the rest of the Sunnīs and allow the validity of agreement about an action when the action concerns the whole body of the Believers, as for example agreement about the prohibition of adultery or usurious sale.

The opinion of the community, whether silent, signalled by an act (or by an abstention), or stated in words, takes place in time. Since *idjmāʿ* is the juridical source which mitigates the interruption of revelation with the death of the Prophet and allows the formulation of solutions to new problems which might arise, it is conditioned by the passing of the various periods during which the consensus is formed. This conditioning process raises an important question: does the formation of the consensus require the disappearance of the generation or not? For the Mālikīs and the Ẓāhirīs this is no problem, but what about the Shāfiʿīs, Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs? According to al-Āmidī, his master al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa, the Ashʿarīs and the Muʿtazilīs did not consider the extinction of the generation a necessary condition for the formation of *idjmāʿ*. For Ibn Ḥanbal, this formation is subject to the total disappearance of the generation (cf. al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, i, 367 ff.).

It follows from this that for the first group *idjmāʿ* is valid even if it is not unanimous and simply expresses the opinion of the majority (*idjmāʿ al-akthar*). As with the question whether the statements of the "Followers" should be taken into consideration, so the group which does not consider necessary the disappearance of the generation does take into consideration the statement of the Follower, if he had been a *mudjtahid* and had opposed the Companions before the latter had formed their *idjmāʿ*.

Al-Sarakhsī (*Uṣūl*, i, 315) refuses to place any importance on the disappearance of the generation. Given that the generations overlap and that it is impossible to distinguish the end of one from the beginning of the next, the statements of one generation cannot be rounded off without, in so doing, "finally closing the gate of *idjmāʿ*". Al-Ghazālī (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 121) to all intents and purposes had resolved the question by stating: "For *idjmāʿ* to be formed, it is enough that agreement should have taken place, even if only for an instant".

Rôle: The opinions of the jurists concerning the role played by *idjmāʿ* are varied. For some of them it could decide all religious questions. This is the opinion of al-Ghazālī. There are, however, religious questions which are not subject to a legal ruling and on which *idjmāʿ* cannot provide a decision, because they depend directly upon the revelation which provides the basis for *idjmāʿ*. Arguments based on *idjmāʿ* can only be used to demonstrate religious truths which do not themselves prove the legal validity of *idjmāʿ*, e.g., the statement that the vision of God in the next world is not spatial, or the denial of the existence of a second God.

For al-Djuwaynī *idjmāʿ* is agreement on a *ḥukm sharʿī*. In general, the opinion of the jurists is guided by this *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet: "You are better judges than I in temporal affairs, I am a better judge than you in what concerns your religion". Besides, it is agreed that an error in a temporal matter cannot incur the charge of impiety (*kufr*), but is simply considered as due to ignorance (*djahl*).

To sum up, the role of *idjmāʿ* is to decide in juridical questions of theory or practice concerning, in one way or another, the behaviour of the Believer, in so far as he is subject to the rules of conduct laid down by God and His Prophet. That is to say that *idjmāʿ* has a part to play as *dalīl sharʿī* in the field of *muʿāmalāt* [*q.v.*] but has no probative value in those of *ʿibādāt* or *iʿtiḳādāt*. These latter, indeed, provide the basis for *idjmāʿ* and *ḳiyās*, that *ḳiyās* which, together with *idjtihād*, is for the Ḥanafī a means to arrive at *idjmāʿ*, provided the *mudjtahid* possesses the moral guarantees demanded by *idjmāʿ*: integrity and honesty. For these, his mind must not be iniquitous (*fāsiḳ*) or blinded by the passion (*hawā*) which inspires pernicious doctrines (al-Bazdawī, *op. cit.*, iii, 957). However, *idjtihād* and *raʾy* are only required in special cases. In these cases, it falls to the *mudjtahid* to settle the affair, whilst when it is a question of *uṣūl al-dīn*, the ordinary Believer should be heard along with the *mudjtahid* (al-Bazdawī, *op. cit.*, iii, 959).

The Shāfiʿīs are more guarded for, al-Ghazālī says (*op. cit.*, i, 123), any solution given by means of *idjtihād* or *ḳiyās* is only a probable opinion and liable to error and divergence, which destroys the infallibility of the *Umma* and its unanimity. Besides, agreement cannot be reached through *ḳiyās* since, in their deliberations, the *mudjtahids* may adopt different principles. It is otherwise for the Muʿtazilīs; according to Abu'l-Ḥusayn, for example, *idjtihād* is the rational striving of the *mudjtahid* as an intelligent person (*ʿāḳil*), not the preserve of the recognized *mudjtahid* as such (*Muʿtamad*, ii, 489, 490-1; *Mughnī*, xvii, 224-8). This seems to have been the opinion of their master Wāṣil (al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, i, 326) opposed by al-Āmidī (*wa-fīhi khilāf*).

From all this, then, it appears that the main principle is that of unanimity; *ḳiyās* and *idjtihād* are for the Sunnīs—with the exception of the Ẓāhirīs who allow only *dalīl*—an approach to *idjmāʿ*, provided that their conclusions are unanimous. *Idjmāʿ* is a source of truth only when it appears as the agreement of the statements of the whole community. The infallibility of the *Umma* resides in its unanimity.

With K. Fārūḳī and his followers contemporary Islam is in the process of seeking a theoretical justification for the calling into question of classical *idjmāʿ* (Hourani, 59-60); not innovation, but renewal of an obsolete idea which, to be effective, must be freed from the straitjacket of formal concepts in which it had been imprisoned by the discussions of the *mudjtahids* of the classical period.

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IDJTIHĀD (A.), literally "exerting oneself", is the technical term in Islamic law, first, for the use of individual reasoning in general and later, in a restricted meaning, for the use of the method of reasoning by analogy (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]). The lawyer who is qualified to use it is called *mudjtahid*. Individual reasoning, both in its arbitrary and its systematically disciplined form, was freely used by the ancient schools of law, and it is often simply called *raʾy* [*q.v.*], "opinion, considered opinion". An older, narrower technical meaning of the term *idjtihād*, which has survived in the terminology of the school of Medina, is "technical estimate, discretion of the expert". It was left to Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*] to reject the use of discretionary reasoning in religious law on principle, and to identify the legitimate function of *idjtihād* with the use of *ḳiyās*, the drawing of conclusions by the method of analogy, or systematic reasoning, from the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna* of the Prophet. This important innovation prevailed in the theory of Islamic law.

During the first two and a half centuries of Islam (or until about the middle of the ninth century A.D.), there was never any question of denying to any scholar or specialist of the sacred Law the right to find his own solutions to legal problems. It was only after the formative period of Islamic law had come to an end that the question of who was qualified to exercise *idjtihād* was raised. From about the middle of the 3rd/9th century the idea began to gain ground that only the great scholars of the past, and not the epigones, had the right to *idjtihād*. By the beginning of the fourth century (about A. D. 900), the point had been reached when the scholars of all schools felt that all essential questions had been thoroughly discussed and finally settled, and a consensus gradually established itself to the effect that from that time onwards no one might be deemed to have the necessary qualifications for independent reasoning in law, and that all future activity would have to be confined to the explanation, application, and, at the most, interpretation of the doctrine as it had been laid down once and for all. This "closing of the door of *idjtihād*", as it was called, amounted to the demand for *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*], the unquestioning acceptance of the doctrines of established schools and authorities. A person bound to practise *taḳlīd* is called *muḳallid*. See further Section II.

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *Origins*, 6 n. 3, 99 f., 116, 127 f.; idem, *Introduction*, 37, 46, 53, 69 ff., and bibliography. (J. Schacht)

II. According to the classical doctrine of Islamic legal theory, *idjtihād* means exerting oneself to form an opinion (*ẓann*) in a case (*ḳaḍiyya*) or as to a rule (*ḥukm*) of law (*Lisān*, iv, 109, lines 19 ff.). This is done by applying analogy (*ḳiyās*) to the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*. The *mudjtahid* is one who by his own exertions forms his own opinion, being thus exactly opposed to the *muḳallid*, "imitator", who, as Subkī in his *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ* says, "takes the saying of another without knowledge of its basis (*dalīl*)". For thus applying himself he would, according to a tradition from the Prophet, receive a reward even though his decision were wrong; while, if it was right, he received a double reward [see KHAṬAʾ]. The duty and right of *idjtihād* thus did not involve inerrancy. Its result was always *ẓann*, fallible opinion (cf. R. Brunschvig, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, i, Rome 1956, 61-82). Only the combined *idjtihād* of the whole Muslim people led to *idjmāʿ*, agreement, and was inerrant. On the controversy as to the possibility of error in *mudjtahids* see Taftāzānī on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of Nasafī, ed. Cairo 1321, 145 ff. But this broad *idjtihād* soon passed into the special *idjtihād* of those who had a peculiar right to form judgments and whose judgments should be followed by others. At this point, and from the nature of the case, a difference arose between theology (*kalām*) and law (*fiḳh*). Even to the present day many theologians assert that *taḳlīd* does not furnish a saving faith; see for example, the *Kifāyat al-ʿawāmm* of Faḍālī, *passim*, and the translation in D. B. Macdonald's *Development of Muslim theology*, 315-51. But all canon lawyers for centuries have admittedly been *muḳallids* of one degree or another. When later Islam looked back to the founding of the four legal schools (*madhāhib*), it assigned to the founders and to some of their contemporaries an *idjtihād* of the first rank. These had possessed a right to work out all questions from the very foundation [cf. UṢŪL], using Ḳurʾān, *sunna*, *ḳiyās*, *istiḥsān*, *istiṣlāḥ*, *istiṣḥāb*, etc., and were *mudjtahids* absolutely (*muṭlaḳ*). Later came those who played the same part within the school (*fī 'l-madhhab*), determining the *furūʿ* as the masters had settled the broad principles (*uṣūl*) of *fiḳh* and had laid down fundamental texts (*nuṣūṣ*). If the view so stated was found implicitly in a *naṣṣ* of the founder of the *madhhab*, it was called a *wadjh*. Still later and inferior were those who had a right only by their knowledge of previous decisions to

answer specific questions submitted to them; these were called *mudjtahidūn bi 'l-fatwā*, "for giving legal opinions". All *mudjtahids* had been in a sense *muftīs*, givers of *fatwās*; but these were *muftīs* only. Such was the formal and generally accepted position. But from time to time individuals appeared who, moved either by ambition or by objection to recognized doctrines, returned to the earliest meaning of *idjtihād* and asserted the right to form their own opinion from first principles. One of these was Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328; cf. H. Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique de ... B. Taymīya*, Cairo 1939). Another was Ibn Rushd ([*q.v.*]; Averroes, the philosopher, d. 595/1198; cf. R. Brunschvig, in *Études ... Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, i, 41, 56-63). Another was Suyūṭī ([*q.v.*]; d. 911/1505), in whom the claim to *idjtihād* united with one to be the *mudjaddid*, or "renewer of religion", in his century. At every time there must exist at least one *mudjtahid*, was his contention (Goldziher, *Characteristik ... us-Sujūṭī's*, 19 ff.), just as in every century there must come a *mudjaddid*. Another, but a very heretical one, was the Emperor Akbar ([*q.v.*]; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 311). In Shīʿite Islam there are still absolute *mudjtahids*. This is because they are regarded as the spokesmen of the Hidden Imām (cf. C. Frank, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 171-92). Their position is thus quite different from that of the *ʿulamāʾ* among Sunnīs. They freely criticize and even control the actions of the Shāh, who is merely a *locum tenens* and preserver of order during the absence of the Hidden Imām, the ruler *de iure divino* (cf. J. Eliash and N. R. Keddie, both in *Studia Islamica*, xxix (1969)). But the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* are regarded universally as the subservient creatures of the government (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 215-8, 233, 285).

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(D. B. Macdonald*)

III. The question of *idjtihād* and *taḳlīd* continued to be discussed by the Muslim scholars, particularly in the sub-continent of India. Inspired less by this discussion than, to a certain degree, by the doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya and of his disciples, there arose, from the 12th/18th century onwards, individuals and schools of thought who advocated a return to the pristine purity of Islam, such as the Salafiyya [*q.v.*], who may be called Reformers, and others, from the last decades of the 19th century onwards, who laid the emphasis on renovating Islam in the light of modern conditions, and who may be called Modernists [see iṣlāḥ]. Both tendencies reject traditional *taḳlīd* and some Modernists, in particular, combine this with extravagant claims to a new, free *idjtihād* which goes far beyond any that was practised in the formative period of Islamic law. But the recent reshaping of institutions of the *sharīʿa* by secular legislation in several Islamic countries takes its inspiration from modern constitutional and social ideas rather than from the essentially traditional problem of the legitimacy of *idjtihād* and *taḳlīd*. Whereas this problem has largely lost its relevance in the field of "civil" law, it has retained its full importance as far as the religious duties of Islam in the narrow meaning of the term, such as fasting, are concerned.

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(J. Schacht)

IDJTIMĀʿ [see istiḳbāl].

IḌMĀR is the infinitive of the verb *aḍmara/yuḍmiru*, "to conceal". The Arab grammarians use it when speaking about an unexpressed grammatical element, supposedly existent and active; it can thus be translated as "imply". The opposite is *iẓhār*, from the verb *aẓhara* "to reveal". A good example of the two is supplied by Ch. 50 of Sībawayhi. One can say (i, 107): *al-ṣabiyya al-ṣabiyya*, "the small boy, the small boy!" with *iḍmār* of a verb in the *djazm* requiring the *naṣb* of the substantive, or, with *iẓhār* of this verb: *lā tuwaṭṭiʾ al-ṣabiyya*, "do not tread on the small boy". This verb *aḍmara* is used thus in all the "tenses": perfective, inperfective, etc. (so too with *aẓhara*). The infinitive *iḍmār* is particularly to be noted; it appears in the title of 14 chapters of the *Kitāb*. Since Sībawayhi, this verb has formed part of the grammatical vocabulary, e.g.: al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*² (ed. Broch), *yantaṣib bi-an muḍmara* (§ 411), "is put into the *naṣb* by means of *an* understood". In this sense of "imply" *iḍmār* joins *taḳdīr*; but *taḳdīr*, as the instrument of a method—the system of *ḳiyās*—has a wider use; it extends as far as the admission of a supposition (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, i, 7).

The verb *aḍmara*, in the *Kitāb*, has a particular use, derived from the sense of "to conceal", signifying: "express by a personal pronoun", e.g.: i, 344, line 13, for *aḍmara*; i, 190, lines 10-11, for *muḍmar*, *tuḍmir*. This use is continued, e.g.: *al-iḍmār ḳabl al-dhikr* (al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 18). In the *Kitāb*, *iḍmār* refers to the personal pronouns: *huwa*, *hiya*, etc. (i, 188, lines 1-2); by means of them "you conceal (*tuḍmir*) a noun", known beforehand to the listener (*ibid.*, lines 8-9). Sībawayhi also uses for this purpose: *ʿalāmat al-iḍmār*, "the sign of expression by means of personal pronouns", e.g.: the titles of chaps. 205, 210, 213. For the separate pronouns, the *ʿalāmat al-iḍmār* is said to be *ẓāhira*, "expressed"; for the affixed pronouns, *al-iḍmār* has no *ʿalāma ẓāhira* (i, 188, lines 4-8). He calls the demonstrative pronouns (i, 187, lines 22-3) *al-asmāʾ al-mubhama*.

Ibn al-Sarrādj (*al-Mūdjaz fi 'l-naḥw*, Beirut 1385/1965) refers to the personal pronouns as *al-maknī* (*al-makniyyāt*) (74); they are divided into: *muttaṣil* (affixed) and *munfaṣil* (separate). He does not omit *ḍamīr* (32) or *muḍmar* (55, 65), and he includes (76) in *al-mubhamāt* the demonstrative and the relative pronouns. The principal divisions had been established; but afterwards *al-muḍmar* was preferred to *al-maknī* (the Kūfan term, according to Ibn Hishām, *Sharḥ Shudhūr al-dhahab*, 147, ed. Maṭb. Muḥ. ʿAlī Ṣabīḥ). Al-Zamakhsharī says in the *Muf.*: *al-muḍmar* (*al-muḍmarāt*) (§ 160, 165) for the personal pronouns, and *al-mubham* (*al-mubhamāt*, *al-asmāʾ al-mubhama*) (§ § 159, 262, 293) for the *asmāʾ al-ishāra* (demonstrative pronouns) and *al-mawṣūlāt* (relative pronouns); *al-ḍamīr* is very frequently found as a synonym for *al-muḍmar* (personal pronoun) [see ḍamīr in *EI*¹]. This is the usage of Ibn Mālik in the *Alfiyya*;

see the *Lexique grammatical* of A. Goguyer (*La Alfiyya d'Ibnu-Mālik*, Beirut 1888), 263 (for *al-ism al-mubham*), 297 (for *ḍamīr* and *muḍmar*). The modern grammar of R. al-Shartūnī, *Mabādi' al-ʿarabiyya*, which still used *al-muḍmar* in § 60 (vol. for the 2nd year, Beirut 1904), now recognizes only *al-ḍamīr* (pl. *al-ḍamā'ir*) for the personal pronoun, in its 9th ed. (1961), vol. no. 4, which is at present in use in the Lebanon.

In prosody (*ʿarūḍ*), *iḍmār*, "to hide", has taken on a technical meaning: "*al-iḍmār* is the quiescence (*sukūn*) of the *tā'* of *mutafāʿilun* in the *Kāmil*" (*LA*, vi, 164, line 3/iv, 492b, line 11). This *mutfāʿilun* is called in the scansion of the *adjzā'*: *mustafʿilun*. The *ḥaraka* of the *tā'* is thought of as something concealed that can be made to reappear (*ibid.*, line 9/lines 22-3). As it is not a question of *ḥadhf* (suppression), but of *iḍmār* of the *ḥaraka*, it normally follows, according to the above-mentioned way of understanding *iḍmār* as "to conceal", that in recitation of the *Kāmil* this *mutfāʿilun* (*mustafʿilun*) should not be pronounced exactly like the *mustafʿilun* of the *Radjaz* or the *Basīṭ*, but that one should have a means of making good the element of duration (the *mora*) lacking in *mutafāʿilun*, which has become *mutfāʿilun*, in order to maintain an adequate measure.

Bibliography in the text; see also W. Wright, *Ar. Gr.*[3], i, 105 B and D. The *Lexique grammatical* of the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi, in preparation by G. Troupeau, will give details of the use of *iḍmār* in this work. (H. Fleisch)

IDOL, IDOLATRY [see ṢANAM, WATHANIYYA].

IDRĀK means, in general, sensory perception and then, more generally, comprehension (synonym of *fahm*), in Persian *dar-yāftan* (Tahānawī). The philosophical usage of the word often derives from any one of the etymological meanings of the root *DRK*, which connotes the idea of attaining, of a thing reaching its term or arriving at maturity, of re-joining, meeting, catching, grasping.

There occurs in a passage of the *Futūḥāt* of Ibn al-ʿArabī (Cairo ed., ii, 579) the participle *mudrak* in a context which demonstrates the force of the meaning which the root has in the language. It is necessary, by means of *tanzīh* (the negative way), to dissociate God from any possibility of His being *grasped* through premises: in fact no human action can attain and reach God; He cannot be the end of a process of thought which will thus bring about a real knowledge. The divine essence and human knowledge are on two different planes. But Ibn al-ʿArabī has in fact just stated (p. 578) that, in order for something to be known, there must be an adequation between the quality attributed to an object and the object which is thus described (*ḳiyām al-ṣifa bi 'l-mawṣūf*). Consequently this adequation is a characteristic inherent in *idrāk*: the intelligence (and also, to a certain extent, the senses), in reaching its object, puts itself on the same level as it, on an equal footing with it; this is *adaequatio rei et intellectus*.

The whole philosophical problem of *idrāk* is to find out what this adequation is, how and where it is achieved. *Idrāk* is absolutely perfect in the case of the *mudrik li-dhātihi*, which grasps itself intuitively. Apart from this case, states Ibn Sīnā (*K. al-Mubāḥathāt*, ed. ʿA. Badawī, in *Aristū ʿind al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, i, 124), it depends on the degree of abstraction of the knowledge which it confers, since it involves a certain relation to that which is taken from it or to that which is attributed to it (*lahu iḍāfatu-mmā ilā mā yunzaʿu ʿanhu aw yulḳā ʿalayhi*). In fact *idrāk* is an attainment (*taḥṣīl*) or a "taking" (*akhdh*) of the form of a thing. This form can be grasped without reference to matter and all its concomitants (*lawāḥiḳ*), the references (*ʿalā'iḳ*) to matter being entirely withdrawn (*nazʿan kāmilan*). On the other hand, in sensory knowledge, *idrāk*, although the grasp of matter in itself may be taken away from it, reaches the form together with its material concomitants and its references to matter. Thus we grasp not the idea of man, but the actual Zayd or ʿAmr. Form exists for the senses only when it is connected with an existing matter. Through the imagination (*khayāl*), form is even further divorced from matter, since it can be imagined in the complete absence of perceptible matter, without a relation of dependence between them (*ʿalāḳa*). However, the imagination does not detach form from the concomitants of matter since it grasps it only in its individuality: one does not imagine man in general, but always according to a particular definition of quantity, quanlity and position (*ʿalā taḳdīri-mmā wa takyīfi-mmā wa waḍʿi-mmā*). The estimative faculty (*wahm*) grasps a yet slightly more abstract form: it attains the idea which is in itself quite immaterial, but grasps it in so far as it appears accidentally in a material thing. Thus Aristotle said that man is seen in Callias. The imagination, which represents individual reality in the form of an image linked to the *lawāḥiḳ* of the matter, remains connected with *wahm* as does the image of Callias to the idea of man perceived in it. The *idrāk* in *wahm* is therefore very complex. At the highest point, on the other hand, the *idrāk* of the intelligence is simple, since it has to deal with a form which is either in itself separate from all matter, or else remains detached from matter and from all its concomitants.

Consequently, each faculty has its own *idrāk*. The grasp of the intellect is a perfect intuition in which that which is understood is immediately identified with the person who understands. Sensory apprehension, however, requires an instrument (*āla*), for example the eye, and sometimes an intermediary such as the air. It is not that *idrāk* uses this instrument or this intermediary to attain perceptible truth outside the soul, but that through them the senses receive a certain individual impression which transforms them and endows them with a certain conformity to that which is perceived. Thus *idrāk*, on the level of sensation, achieves an adequation in spite of the obstacle of perceptible matter, since that which perceives in actuality is similar to that which is perceived in actuality (*fa-yakūn al-ḥāss bi-'l-fiʿl mithl al-maḥsūs bi 'l-fiʿl*). *Idrāk* is thus, at this level, what is known as sensory intuition, and it prepares the way for the perfect spiritual grasp which is intellectual intuition.

In order to justify the possibility of an adequation of the knower and the known in sensory perception, Ibn Sīnā distinguishes the close (*ḳarīb*) perceptible, that is the modification of the percipient soul by the action which is exerted on it (*fa-inna 'l-iḥsās infiʿālu-mmā wa-'stiḥāla ilā mushākalat al-maḥsūs bi 'l-fiʿl*), and the distant (*baʿīd*) perceptible, which is outside (*khāridj*) the soul, the form by which external things are "informed" and which corresponds to the form by which the soul is "informed" at the time the feeling takes place. He uses in both cases the same expression: *al-mutaṣawwar bi 'l-ṣūra*. He points out, however, that the information in things occurs through a movement which engenders them or produces in them this or that attribute, by means of a change (*taghayyur*) which leads to a passing from

one opposite to another (for example, a cold body becomes warm), whereas the information which makes the soul aware of the perceptible form is not the result of a movement of this sort but is a perfecting of the soul (*istikmāl*), that is the making actual of a potential of the soul which does not cause it to pass, in its essence, from one opposite to another. Thus the soul grasps directly the perceptible forms, without these forms having to engender themselves in it from their opposites. "The result of this is that the soul feels itself and not the idea . . . when we mean the most immediate act of perception, in which there is no intermediary" (*fa-hiya taḥissu dhātahā, lā'l-thaldj idhā ʿanaynā akrab al-iḥsās, alladhī lā wāsiṭata fīhi*). Consequently, even at the level of perception, *idrāk* has, according to this doctrine, a character of immediacy which confirms its intuitive value.

Al-Kindī, in his "Treatise on Definitions" (*Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1950, i, 165, 167), had already defined the intellect (*ʿaḳl*), the imagination (*tawahhum, fanṭāsyā, takhayyul*) and perception as the faculties which "grasp" (*mudrika*) forms: "Perception is the existence (*inniyya* = Dasein) of the grasp (*idrāk*) by the soul of forms endowed with matter, in their matter (*ṣuwar dhawāt al-ṭīn fī ṭīnatihā*). It can be seen that the idea of *idrāk* is not yet developed as it is to be in Ibn Sīnā, cf. *Shifāʾ*, *al-ṭabīʿiyyāt*, vi, *ʿIlm al-Nafs*: this way of expressing it can lead one to infer that the sensory *idrāk* has the power of grasping forms in their matter itself, i.e. that it involves an intentionality which directs it outside. Ibn Sīnā regards *idrāk* as an action which remains within the soul, which ends in an affection of the soul and gives it a perfection (cf. the lexicographical meaning of "reaching its maturity"). It is the perceptible form in the soul which is intentional, the close form being turned towards the distant form; it is not *idrāk* itself. An intentional *idrāk* would express rather this other meaning of the root: "to rejoin, meet, overtake".

Al-Ghazālī, on the other hand, attributes to *idrāk* a dynamism which extends its scope to the things themselves. The heart (*ḳalb*) has, he says, three sorts of "expeditionary troops" (*djunūd*): the will, the motive power of the limbs of the body, and the third, which is "that which grasps things and informs itself of them, as spies do (*al-mudrik al-mutaʿarrif li'l-ashyāʾ ka'l-djawāsīs*)". These are the five senses. "These troops are spread (*mabthūtha*) throughout specific organs, and this is expressed by the terms learning (*ʿilm*) and *idrāk*" (*Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo, iii, 5). In fact al-Ghazālī conceives the feelings as linked to two fundamental vital functions: the acquisition of what is useful and the avoiding of what is harmful. Hence his military metaphors. The subjective side (the "close form" of Ibn Sīnā) in perception is thus completely directed towards an encounter with the things on the frontier of the body, and *idrāk* is no longer the grasp of something affecting the soul which reflects its external cause; it is the direct grasp of the nature of this cause in the form in which it manifests itself in the place where it is and whence it acts on the body. The form of an edible fruit is grasped neither in the soul nor in the eye, but on the tree so that one is able to go and pick it there. If the form is felt in the soul, one no longer has a cognitive sensation but the grasp of an affective state, pleasure (*ladhdha*) or pain (*alam*). From this point of view, *idrāk* is divided, at the sensory level, into what may be called on the one hand external, localized and cognitive perceptions, and on the other hand perceptions which are internal, non-localized or badly localized and affective.

This difference in the conception of *idrāk* arises from the fact that the *falāsifa* present it in relation to the degree of abstraction from what it grasps, in a hierarchy of knowledges which culminates in intuition of the intellect. On the other hand, al-Ghazālī, having a theologian's approach, considers primarily the concrete situation of conscious man in this world below (*dunyā*), a situation directed towards the religious values of *dīn*, according to a perspective in which true knowledge is more a means than an end.

Al-Tahānawī (Beirut ed., ii, 484) summarizes the question of *idrāk* in these terms: "For the philosophers (*ḥukamāʾ*), this word is synonymous with knowing, in the sense of a form which, deriving from a thing, presents itself to the intellect, without specifying whether this thing is abstract or material, particular or universal, present or absent, whether it is realized in the *mudrik* himself, or in an instrument. In this meaning, *idrāk* embraces four divisions: the act of perception (*iḥsās*), of imagining (*takhayyul*), of supposing (*tawahhum*) and of understanding (*taʿaḳḳul*). Some limit the word *idrāk* to the particular meaning of *iḥsās*, and it is then more particular than the word 'knowing' . . .".

Finally, al-Tahānawī mentions that in the terminology of the Ṣūfīs *idrāk* is of two sorts: the *idrāk basīṭ* (simple), which is the grasp of the existence of God together with the forgetting both of this grasp and of the fact that it is the existence of God which is grasped (this is therefore *idrāk* in a state of ecstasy involving a total loss of consciousness of self); *idrāk murakkab* (composite) accompanied by the awareness of this grasp and of the fact that it is the existence of God which is grasped. It should be mentioned that the mystics do not speak, any more than the philosophers do, of a grasp of God's essence, which is impossible, but of a grasp of His existence. To the extent to which perception produces an awareness of the existence of a thing, this *idrāk murakkab* of the mystics would be analogous to a sensory knowledge. This recalls the question of the vision of God after death. Probably the eyes do not grasp it: *lā tudrikuh al-abṣār*, but there could occur a grasp without qualification which would therefore be reduced to a grasp of the existence [of God]. And indeed, some have claimed that although the colour black is visible, this is not because it is black in colour, but because it exists. Thus, although the existence is already the specific object of sensory vision, it is possible *a fortiori* to conceive of a non-sensory *idrāk* which would be a "vision" of the existence of God (on this question, cf. Fathalla Kholeif, *A study on Fakhr al-Din al-Razi and his controversies in Transoxiana*, Beirut 1966, 118 f. and p. 16 of the Arabic text).

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(R. ARNALDEZ)

IDRĀKĪ BĒGLĀRĪ, a native of Thaṭṭa [*q.v.*], the old capital of lower Sind, belonged to the Arghūn tribe of Turkomans (cf. ʿAlī Shēr Ḳāniʿ, *Maḳālāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Karachi 1958, 80). No biographical details about him are available beyond the fact that 'Idrākī' was his poetical name. As to his *nisba* Bēglārī, it is not clear whether it was a surname or whether he adopted it on account of his close association with the Bēglār family of lower Sind. His patron, Shāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sulṭān (d. 1039/1621) b. Shāh Ḳāsim Khān-i Zamān, was well-known for his valour and literary accomplishments. A

nobleman of great influence during the days of the last independent ruler of Sind, Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg (d. 1021/1612), he composed poetry under the pen-name of Bēglār (cf. *The Persian poets of Sind*, 49). The Bēglārs, according to Idrākī himself (cf. *Bēglār-nāma*, 25), originally hailed from Samarḳand and claimed descent from Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the grandson of the Prophet. As Idrākī was a Turkoman, he could not belong to the tribe of the Bēglārs. It would, therefore, be reasonable to assume that Idrākī, considering himself a disciple in poetry of Shāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sulṭān, adopted this *nisba*, perhaps just to please and flatter his patron. He himself admits that praising the Amīr had always been his only profession and that he was "one of his retainers". It appears that Idrākī was a poor man of humble origin, possessing talent but lacking patronage. Circumstances appear to have compelled him to attach himself to the family of the Bēglārs as a "court poet" in order to make a living. This is why we find no details about his life; even his real name has not been recorded by any historian of Persian literature in Sind. It would be safe to say that it was at Naṣrpūr, the seat of the Bēglār family, that Idrākī lived most of his life and that he also died there. It is regrettable that while the graves of the Bēglār Amīrs have been preserved and even bear inscriptions, Idrākī's grave has not been traced so far—a further indication that he was not considered a socially important personnage.

His fame rests mainly on his two outstanding poetical works: (1) *Čanēsar-nāma* (Karachi 1956), a *mathnawī* (composed in 1010/1601-2) dealing with a romantic tale of Sind, in which Līlā, the consort of Čanēsar, a ruler of the Sūmrā dynasty, willingly agrees to let her rival Kawńrau, the unmarried daughter of a local landlord, pass a night with her husband, to be finally discarded by the royal prince as a faithless wife. Mīr Ṭāhir Muḥammad "Nisyānī" wrongly attributes the *Čanēsar-nāma* to Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sulṭān (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭāhirī*, Hyderabad 1964, 36, 236). This raises the question: was Idrākī a hired poet and is this why we find no details about his life? (2) *Bēglār-nāma* (ed. Hyderabad (West Pakistan), printed but not yet published), a detailed account of the life and achievements of the father of Shāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sulṭān, the author's patron, Khān-i Zamān Amīr Shāh Ḳāsim Khān b. Amīr Sayyid Ḳāsim Bēglār (d. 954/1547), a nobleman and military commander, who flourished during the reign of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn Arghūn [*q.v.*]. Amīr Shāh Ḳāsim himself was attached to the court of Mīrzā ʿĪsā Khān Tarkhān I (d. 980/1572), the founder of the Tarkhān dynasty of Sind. The book, apart from recounting the military achievements of Amīr Shāh Ḳāsim, also throws valuable side-lights on historical events in Sind, with particular reference to the Arghūns and the reigns of Mīrzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān I and his successors. It was composed in 1017/1608-9 (cf. *Bēglār-nāma*, 262), when the Khān-i Zamān had reached the age of 70. He died two years later in 1019/1610-11. Later the author made some unimportant additions to the text referring to events up to 1034/1624.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

IDRĪS, person mentioned twice in the Ḳurʾān (second Meccan period): XIX, 57/56-58/57, "And mention in the Book Idrīs; he was a true man (*ṣiddīḳ*), a Prophet. We raised him up to a high place", and XXI, 85-86, "And [make mention of] Ismāʿīl, Idrīs, Dhu 'l-Kifl—each was of the patient, and We admitted them into Our mercy; they were of the righteous" (tr. A. J. Arberry). Among the explanations suggested for this name, obviously foreign and adapted, like the name Iblīs [*q.v.*], to the pattern *ifʿīl*, may be mentioned that of Casanova (in *JA*, cciv, 358, followed by Torrey, *The Jewish foundation of Islam*, New York 1933, 72) which connects it with ʿEzra (under the Greek form Ἔσδρας), and that which considers it to be a corruption of Andreas and referring either to the apostle Andrew (T. Nöldeke, in *ZA*, xvii, 84 ff.) or to a person with the same name, the cook of Alexander the Great who achieved immortality by accident, according to the romance of Alexander (R. Hartmann, *ibid.*, xxiv, 314 ff.). In any case, the brief references in the Ḳurʾān have been sufficient for later Muslim legend, often filled out with material from apocryphal Biblical and Rabbinical sources, to identify him with characters in the Bible and the Apocrypha who ascended into Heaven: most frequently with Ḥanōkh (Enoch, Arabic spelling Akhnūkh), more rarely with Elijah (Ilyās) or al-Khiḍr (Khaḍir). On the other hand, as a result of the syncretism practised by the Hermetists, the astrologers and the alchemists, whose speculations are not easy to distinguish from one another and whose ideas tend to become identical, especially among the "Sabeans", Idrīs has been introduced into the genealogy of the "Hermes" (*Hirmis* [*q.v.*], pl. *Harāmisa*); this thread can be traced from Abū Maʿshar (*K. al-Ulūf*), whose sources have not yet been identified, to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, not to mention still later compilations. Similarly Idrīs has been credited with a number of wise sayings, and Muslim mystic thought, particularly that with a philosophico-theosophical tendency, gives him a place among its mythical illuminati; Ibn al-ʿArabī describes him as "the prophet of the philosophers"; a number of works were attributed to him (Ibn Sabʿīn [*q.v.*] wrote a commentary on one, cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iii, 599, no. 7170); he is credited also with various inventions, arts of divination like geomancy and *zāʾiradja* [*q.v.*], and with useful arts, particularly that of writing (which again connects him with Hermes and with the Babylonian god Nabū) and that of making garments (an attribute grafted by Balʿamī onto the Iranian myth of Gayōmarth); this reputation assured him a place among the patron saints of the craftsmen's guilds and the representative figures of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*].

Sunnī legend generally places Idrīs between Adam and Noah; it makes him the recipient of a number of revelations in the form of holy books (*ṣuḥuf*); it relates how he entered into Paradise while still alive, never to leave it again (this is an idea which, in the Jewish Aggada, is attached to the 3rd century Palestinian rabbi, Yehoshuʿa ben Levi); the Prophet is said to have met him during his ascension to Heaven. The Shīʿī legend concerning him (Ibn

Bābūya, d. 381/991) is a combination of Biblical stories of Elijah (I Kings XXI, XVII and XIX; II Kings I, 9-15, in this order) and of Elisha (II Kings VII) adapted to the theory of *ghayba* [*q.v.*].

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(G. Vajda)

IDRĪS I (al-Akbar) b. ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], given the by-name al-Aṣghar in the ʿAlid genealogies, and founder of the Idrīsid dynasty in the Maghrib. After the defeat and death of his nephew al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan at Fakhkh [*q.v.*], near Mecca, on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 169/11 June 786, Idrīs, who had fought on his side and had managed to escape the massacre, remained in hiding for some time, then, accompanied by a devoted freedman, Rāshid, reached Egypt. With the help of the head of the courier-service, Wāḍiḥ, a partisan of the ʿAlids, he then succeeded in crossing Egypt and continuing his journey towards the Maghrib. He thus reached Tlemcen, then the province of Tangiers, where he finally settled at Walīla (Volubilis). Having entered the Maghrib in 170/786-7, he settled at Walīla under the protection of the chief of the Berber tribe of the Awraba, Abū Laylā Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, on 1 Rabīʿ I 172/9 August 788. This tribe, like a number of others in the province of Tangiers, professed Muʿtazilism. Six months after his arrival this chief had Idrīs proclaimed as ruling imām on Friday 4 Ramaḍān 172/5 February 789, by his own and allied tribes. Idrīs is then said to have founded Madīnat Fās, originally just a military camp, on the right bank of the wādī Fās. After many expeditions to impose his authority on the neighbouring tribes, the majority of them professing Christianity, Judaism or practising the cults of sun- or fire-worship, he returned to Walīla. He thus succeeded in consolidating his power over the valley of the Wargha and in forcing the tribes of the Tāmesnā and the Ghayyātha of Tāzā to respect its frontiers. It is certain that the expeditions to the Sūs al-Aḳṣā, to Māssa and to Tlemcen with which he is credited should be attributed to his son Idrīs II. He died at Walīla, poisoned, it is said, on the orders of Hārūn al-Rashīd, by a certain Sulaymān b. Djarīr al-Djazarī, known as al-Shammākh, at the beginning of the year 175/May-June 791, after a reign of less than three years. He was buried in the *ribāṭ* built outside the town, on the site of the present mausoleum of Mawlāy Idrīs.

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(D. Eustache)

IDRĪS II (al-Aṣghar, or more correctly al-Azhar), b. Idrīs I. On his death, Idrīs I left a

concubine named Kanza, of the Berber tribe of the Nefza, who was seven months pregnant and gave birth at Walīla in Rabīʿ II 175/August 791 to a son, also named Idrīs. To distinguish them, the first was called al-Akbar and his son al-Aṣg̲h̲ar, or, as a hypocorism, al-Azhar. Rās̲h̲id (see preceding article) had persuaded the Berbers to wait for the birth of the child and, if it was a son, to proclaim him as imām. When this happened, Rās̲h̲id acted as regent and served the young prince as tutor and mentor. In 186/802, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ag̲h̲lab instigated the revolt of Bahlūl b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid among the Maṭg̲h̲ara and had Rās̲h̲id assassinated. The regency passed to Abū K̲h̲ālid Yazīd b. Ilyās who, at the beginning of 187/803, had Idrīs II, then aged eleven, proclaimed imām in the mosque of Walīla. The young prince succeeded in making peace with the Ag̲h̲labid ruler. In 189/805, he welcomed some Arab supporters who came from Ifrīḳiya and from al-Andalus. Walīla then seemed too small for him, and Idrīs II's wish to become independent of the Berbers led him to seek a site on which to found another capital; in 190 and 191/806-7 he made some unsuccessful attempts. In 192/808, having executed Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, the chief of the Awraba, who was accused of having been in communication with the Ag̲h̲labid, he once again had allegiance sworn to him; he was now seventeen. Then, at the end of the year, he settled on the right bank of the wādī Fās, which was inhabited by some Zanāta, the Banū Izg̲h̲aten, and where his father had founded the fortified military camp of Garwāwa, the beginnings of Madīnat Fās. He had the walls strengthened, then in 193/809 he moved to the left bank, where he had bought the land from the Banu 'l-K̲h̲ayr, a fraction of the Zawāg̲h̲a, in a place called al-Maḳarmada, and founded an eastern quarter, hence known as Ifrīḳiya and ʿUdwat al-Ḳarawiyyīn. At the beginning of 197/end of 812, he launched an expedition against the Maṣmūda of the High Atlas and seized Neffis, then another against the Nefza of the country around Tlemcen. He remained for some time in this town, where he restored the mosque of Agādīr and had his name inscribed on the *minbar* (199/815). He entrusted the town and its province to his cousin, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh, and returned to Fās. At the end of 202/spring-summer 818, there arrived in Morocco a great number of *rabaḍiyya*, common people of Cordova expelled by al-Ḥakam I. Idrīs, wishing to end the Berber predominance in the right bank district, invited them to come and live there: this was to be the ʿUdwat al-Andalus. After many battles during his reign against the Barg̲h̲awāṭa, the K̲h̲āridjī and pagan Berber tribes, Idrīs died as the result of an accident, at Fās or Walīla, in Djumāda II 213/September 828, at the age of 38, after an effective reign of 22 years. He was buried at Walīla, beside his father. It was not until the 9th/15th century, in Radjab 841/1437-8, that for reasons connected with the defence of Islam against the Christian invaders and the prestige of the holy town of Fās, founded by Idrīs, his body was removed and opportunely rediscovered there in the mosque of the Chorfa, where his tomb still remains the object of veneration by the Moroccans.

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IDRĪS, historian of Yemen [see AL-S̲H̲ARĪF ABŪ MUḤAMMAD IDRĪS B. ʿALĪ].

IDRĪS B. AL-ḤASAN, Ismāʿīlī historian [see Supplement].

AL-**IDRĪSĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. IDRĪS AL-ʿĀLĪ BI-AMR ALLĀH, called also AL-S̲H̲ARĪF AL-IDRĪSĪ because of his exalted lineage, owes his fame to a work of descriptive geography entitled *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mus̲h̲tāḳ fi 'k̲h̲tirāḳ al-āfāḳ*, which was produced on the orders of Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily, as a key to a large silver planisphere which the author himself had made. For this reason the work was also called *Kitāb Rudjār* (the Book of Roger) or *al-Kitāb al-Rudjārī*. According to information found at the end of the six complete manuscripts which have survived, the book was completed in 548/1154, and this is the only certain date known in the life of al-Idrīsī. Biographical notices on him are rather rare, and according to F. Pons Boigues this is to be explained by the fact that the Arab biographers considered al-Idrīsī to be a renegade, since he had lived at the court of a Christian king and written in praise of him in his work. Some western writers state that he was born at Ceuta in 493/1100 and that he studied at Cordova (hence the by-name al-Ḳurṭubī). He states in his book that he travelled a great deal in Spain and in North Africa. The circumstances with led him to settle in Sicily at the court of Roger II are not known, nor are the details of the last days of his life and of his death, which some state to have occurred in 560/1165.

The Sicilian Arab poet, Ibn Bas̲h̲rūn (or Bis̲h̲rūn), his contemporary, states that al-Idrīsī had written for William I another geographical work entitled *Rawḍ al-uns wa nuzhat al-nafs*, of which up to now no certain trace has been found. According to Reinaud and Rommel this information is indirectly confirmed by the fact that the content of the citations from al-Idrīsī given by Abu 'l-Fidā' in his *Taḳwīm* does not tally with the corresponding passages of the Book of Roger. It is worthy of note that Abu 'l-Fidā' refers to a work which he calls in his introduction *Kitāb al-S̲h̲arīf al-Idrīsī fi 'l-mamālik wa 'l-masālik*.

At the beginning of this century, J. Horovitz discovered in Istanbul the manuscript of a work by

al-Idrīsī entitled *Uns al-muhadj wa rawḍ al-furadj* or, according to another reference found at the end of the manuscript, *Rawḍ al-furadj wa nuzhat al-muhadj*. C. F. Seybold, in his article on al-Idrīsī in *EI*[1], states that this is a summary of al-Idrīsī's second geographical work written for William I, whereas J. H. Kramers thought that it was an extract from the "great Idrīsī" written in 588/1192 and rewritten a century later, since it contains the addition of a brief description of an eighth climatic zone south of the Equator and a reference to the author Ibn Saʿīd, who was alive *circa* 670/1270. This abridgement is known usually as the "little Idrīsī", the name given to it by K. Miller, and later adopted generally.

In addition to the complete text of the Book of Roger there exists an abbreviated text in which here and there sections have been cut, apparently without any precise motive. The fact that this text has been thus abbreviated has made it difficult to evaluate: to give only a few examples, it has been called in turn "estratto spoglio" (Schiaparelli), "résumé superficiel" (Seybold), "incomplete abridgement" (Kramers) and "extraits maigres" (Lelewel). This abridgement, which was included among the first secular Arabic works printed by the Medici press in Rome [see MAṬBAʿA] in 1592, has the title *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fī dhikr al-amṣār wa 'l-aḳṭār wa 'l-buldān wa 'l-djuzur wa 'l-madāyin wa 'l-āfāḳ*. This Medici edition was translated into Italian in 1600 by the Italian polygraph B. Baldi, this unpublished translation being now in the University of Montpellier, and into Latin in 1619 by the Maronites Gabriel Sionita and Joannes Hesronita. This Latin translation was published in Paris with the title *Geographia Nubiensis, id est accuratissima totius orbis in septem climata divisi descriptio continens praesertim exactam universiae Asiae et Africae, rerumque in iis hactenus incognitarum explicationem.* The manuscripts of this abridgement do not mention the author, which is why a copyist's error in transcribing *arḍunā* ("our country") instead of *arḍuhā* in a passage on Nubia led to the work's being attributed simply to a "Nubian". Many studies have been published based on various parts of the Medici text.

Of the Book of Roger there exist two abridgements. The first, entitled *Djany al-azhār min al-rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, discovered in Cairo in 1893 by Vollers, was abridged by a certain Ḥāfiẓ Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maḳrīzī. The fact that he had the same name as the historian al-Maḳrīzī caused this manuscript to be erroneously attributed to the historian; it was for a long time thought to be an abbreviation of a geographical encyclopaedia entitled *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī khabar al-aḳṭār* compiled by Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*]. The second abridgement of the Book of Roger, whose author, an Arabic-speaking Armenian, named it simply *Kitāb al-djughrafiya* (sic!) *al-kulliyya ay ṣūrat al-arḍ*, was discovered at the beginning of this century by E. Griffini in a private collection in Tunis.

The maps (some of them in colour) which illustrate the text and which are found in a certain number of manuscripts as well as in the Istanbul manuscript of the "little Idrīsī" are of especial interest. There is, in general, one for each section of the seven climatic zones, plus a planisphere in the introductory chapter. The majority have been published by K. Miller in his *Mappae arabicae*.

The critical edition of the Book of Roger, which has been hoped for since the end of the 18th century, is now finally being undertaken by an international group of scholars, each dealing with the part on which he is a specialist, under the auspices of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio e l'Estremo Oriente at Rome and under the direction of a committee consisting of G. Tucci, E. Cerulli, †G. Levi Della Vida, F. Gabrieli, L. Veccia Vaglieri, A. Bombaci and L. Petech. An editorial committee is based at the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples.

There should also be mentioned a second original work which is attributed to al-Idrīsī: a treatise on simples entitled *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ li-ashtāt al-nabāt* or *Kitāb al-Mufradāt* or *Kitāb al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, the manuscript of which was discovered in 1928 by H. Ritter in the Fatih library in Istanbul. Although the manuscript is incomplete and has many lacunae, the importance of this work, which is often mentioned by Ibn al-Bayṭār and which was thought to be lost, has been demonstrated by M. Meyerhof, who states that al-Idrīsī succeeds in giving synonyms for each drug in a great number of languages, sometimes as many as twelve.

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See also DJUGHRĀFIYĀ, at p.584a. (G. OMAN)

IDRĪSIDS (ADĀRISA), Moroccan dynasty of descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, founded in 172/789 by Idrīs I [*q.v.*], who was succeeded by his son, Idrīs II [*q.v.*]. The decadence of the dynasty was to commence with the latter's death. He left twelve sons: Muḥammad, Aḥmad, ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿĪsā, Idrīs, Djaʿfar, Ḥamza, Yaḥyā, ʿAbd Allāh, al-Ḳāsim, Dāwūd, ʿUmar. His eldest son, Muḥammad (no. 3 in the table), succeeded him and, on the advice of his grandmother Kanza, divided the kingdom among the eldest of his brothers, he himself retaining the capital of Fās. Al-Ḳāsim received Ṭandja and its dependencies, including the town of al-Baṣra; ʿUmar received the countries of the Ṣinhādja and of the Ghumāra of the Rif; Dāwūd the country of the Hawwāra, to the east of Tāzā; Yaḥyā, Dāy and its dependencies; ʿĪsā, Wazekkūr and the northern Tāmesnā, with Salā (Shālla); Ḥamza, al-Awdiya, the territory of Walīla; ʿUbayd Allāh, the south with the country of the Lamṭa and its dependencies. The other princes who were too young to rule remained under the tutelage of their eldest brother and of their grandmother. At the same time, Tlemcen (Agādīr) remained the fief of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, the cousin of Idrīs II.

This division immediately produced rivalries. ʿĪsā, ruler of Wazekkūr, revolted against Muḥammad, who appealed to his brother al-Ḳāsim, ruler of Ṭandja, to go and punish the rebel. Meeting with a refusal, he entrusted the task to ʿUmar, ruler of the Rif, who attacked Wazekkūr and drove out ʿĪsā, who was forced to take refuge in Salā. ʿUmar then marched on Ṭandja to punish the insubordination of al-Ḳāsim; the latter, defeated, had to flee towards Aẓayla (Arzila), near which he settled. As a reward, ʿUmar was given the governorship of Ṭandja and ruled over his own domain and that of his brother until his death, at Fadjdj al-Faras in the country of the Ṣinhādja, in Shawwāl 220/September-October 835. His body was transported to Fās for burial. On Muḥammad's orders, his apanage passed to his son ʿAlī b. ʿUmar.

Muḥammad survived his brother by only seven months and, after a reign of over eight years, died, in Rabīʿ II 221/March-April 836, at Fās and was buried there. He had appointed to succeed him his son ʿAlī (no. 4), aged nine years. The Awraba and the Berber coalition swore an oath of allegiance to him, and the chiefs of the tribes acted as regents until he came of age. He was endowed with great qualities and succeeded in organizing the country, pacifying it and ensuring the stability of the state. He reigned at Fās for thirteen years and died in Radjab 234/January 849.

He was succeeded by his brother Yaḥyā (no. 5), during whose peaceful reign there came to settle in Fās many immigrants from al-Andalus and Ifrīḳiya. The town, which soon became too small for its population, was to have many new buildings added, in particular the two great mosques of Fās, that of the Ḳarawiyyīn and that of al-Andalus, both founded in 245/859. Yaḥyā died in 249/863 and was succeeded by his son, Yaḥyā II (no. 6), who showed no aptitude for rule and proceeded to share out his domain yet again: the Banū ʿUmar retained their territory, but Dāwūd added a great deal to his, to the east of Fās, where he had for some time occupied the right bank when engaged in fighting his great-nephew; the family of al-Ḳāsim received the west side of Fās together with the government of the territories of the Luwāta and Kutāma tribes; Ḥusayn, Yaḥyā's maternal uncle, received the territory to the south of Fās,

up to the Atlas mountains. Yaḥyā led a dissolute life and was forced, as the result of a scandal, to flee from his palace and take refuge in the district of the Andalusians, where he died in 252/866, the circumstances of his death being unknown. He had married a daughter of his cousin ʿAlī b. ʿUmar (no. 7), ruler of the Ghumāra, and when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Sahl al-Djudhamī, a powerful citizen of Fās, took advantage of the general discontent to seize the power for himself, Yaḥyā's widow appealed for help to her father, who seized the quarter of the Ḳarawiyyīn and restored order. Thus the power passed from the family of Muḥammad to that of ʿUmar. During ʿAlī b. ʿUmar's reign a Ṣufrī Khāridjī, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, revolted in the mountain district of Madyūna to the south of Fās. After several battles, ʿAlī was defeated and forced to leave the town to take refuge with the Awraba. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ occupied the Andalusian quarter, but the quarter of the Ḳarawiyyīn refused to submit to him and summoned as ruler Yaḥyā (III) b. al-Ḳāsim (no. 8), named al-Miḳdām.

With this prince the power changed again to another family. He succeeded in taking the Andalusian quarter, from which the usurper fled; he reigned for a long period over the whole kingdom and fought against the Ṣufrīs. He was killed in 292/905, during a battle, by Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān, a general of Yaḥyā b. Idrīs b. ʿUmar (no. 9).

The civil war then became complicated by threats from outside: the kingdom was attacked by the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya. Yaḥyā IV was defeated by the Fāṭimid general Maṣāla b. Ḥabūs in 305/917 and was forced to recognize the sovereignty of the Mahdī and to pay him tribute. He retained the governorship of Fās and its province, and that of the remainder of the country was given to Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya, chief of the Miknāsa and cousin of the general. Yaḥyā was thus thwarting the ambition of the Zanātī to dominate the whole country, and Maṣāla, arriving a second time in 307/919-20 and being warned against Yaḥyā by Mūsā, took him prisoner and deposed him. He then fell into the hands of his enemy and had to go into exile at Aẓayla. Maṣāla immediately appointed a governor at Fās and then departed, leaving the country to be ruled by the Zanāta. In 313/925, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim (no. 10), named al-Ḥadjdjām, revolted, defeated Mūsā and succeeded in taking Fās; but two years later, in 315/927, through the treachery of the governor of Fās, he fell into the hands of Mūsā and was killed.

Having become the sole ruler of the western Maghrib, Mūsā pursued the Idrīsids as far as their fortress at Ḥadjar al-Naṣr in 317/929, and then threw off the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph at the instigation of the Umayyad ruler of Spain who, after seizing Malīla in 314/927, had just taken Sabta (Ceuta) in 319/931. The Fāṭimid caliph then sent his general Ḥumayd b. Yaṣāl, and Mūsā was defeated. The Idrīsid family took advantage of this to raise the siege of their fortress and to destroy the Zanāta troops. Once the Fāṭimid forces had left, however, Mūsā once again recognized the suzerainty of the Umayyad caliph and, this time, the Fāṭimid general Maysūr, who was sent to punish him, put him to flight and the Idrīsids pursued him until he was killed. The Idrīsids then established themselves in the Rif and in the north-west of the country, where they ruled, sometimes acknowledging as suzerain the Umayyad caliph, and sometimes the Fāṭimid. Al-Ḳāsim Gannūn (no. 11) ruled in the name of the latter until 337/948-9. His son, Abu 'l-ʿAysh Aḥmad (no. 12), ruled in the name of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, al-Nāṣir, but refused to give up Ṭandja to him; he was besieged in the town and obliged to withdraw, and the country was occupied by the Umayyads, Abu 'l-ʿAysh retaining only the regions of al-Baṣra and Aẓayla. He then gave up the power to his brother al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim Gannūn (no. 13) and set off to take part in the Holy War in Spain.

In 347/958, the Fāṭimid general Djawhar arrived to fight against the Umayyads, conquered them and subjugated the whole country. The Idrīsid prince was forced again to recognize the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph. The Umayyads, after first suffering a defeat in 362/972, sent the general Ghālib to lay siege to the Idrīsids at Ḥadjar al-Naṣr. Al-Ḥasan, forced to surrender in 363/974, was taken to Cordova. Ghālib then expelled all the Idrīsids from their territories and took them or their sons as hostages to the Andalusian capital. Next, in 368/979, Buluggīn b. Zīrī came from Ifrīḳiya to conquer the western Maghrib, defeating the Umayyads and imposing Fāṭimid suzerainty on the country. In the meantime, al-Ḥasan, who had at first been made welcome, was banished from Cordova, and took refuge in Egypt. Several years later he returned, with Fāṭimid sup-

THE IDRĪSID DYNASTY

1.	Idrīs I b. ʿAbd Allāh	172/789	to 175/791
	[Rāshīd, regent	175/791	to 186/802]
	[Abū Khālid Yazīd, regent	186/802	to 192/808]
2.	Idrīs II b. Idrīs I	192/808	to 213/828
3.	Muḥammad b. Idrīs II	213/828	to 221/836
4.	ʿAlī b. Muḥammad	221/836	to 234/849
5.	Yaḥyā I b. Muḥammad	234/849	to 249/863
6.	Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā	249/863	to 252/866
7.	ʿAlī II b. ʿUmar	252/866	to ?
8.	Yaḥyā III b. al-Ḳāsim	?	to 292/905
9.	Yaḥyā IV b. Idrīs b. ʿUmar	292/905	to 307/919-20
	[Fāṭimid governor, Mūsā b. ʿAbi 'l-ʿĀfiya]		
10.	al-Ḥasan al-Ḥadjdjām b. Muḥ. b. al-Ḳāsim	313/925	to 315/927
	[Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya]		
11.	al-Ḳāsim Gannūn b. Muḥ. b. al-Ḳāsim	326/937-8	to 337/948-9
12.	Abu 'l-ʿAysh Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim Gannūn	337/948-9	to 343/954-5
13.	al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim Gannūn	343/954-5	to 363/974 and 375/985

port, in order to seize power once again. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Umayyad general sent by al-Manṣūr, then assassinated on the road to Cordova in 375/985. Thus, after more than two centuries, the Idrīsid dynasty died out. Later, a branch descended from the Banū ʿUmar succeeded in establishing at Malaga a kingdom which lasted for slightly more than twenty years [see ḤAMMŪDIDS]. In Morocco today there exists a large number of *sharīfs* descended from the Idrīsids [see SHURAFĀʾ].

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 357-9 (tr. Wiet, 223-6); Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 43-4; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. and tr. de Slane, 118-32/231-56; anon., *al-Istibṣār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Alexandria 1958, 194-6 (tr. Fagnan, 149-55); Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 82-4, 210-4, 235 f. (tr. Fagnan, i, 96-9, 303-10, 344 f.); Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, lith. Fez n.d., 4-63 (tr. Beaumier, 9-130); Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, *Bughyat al-ruwwād*, ed. and tr. Bel, i, 79-83/101-10; Djaznāʾī, *Zahrat al-ās*, ed. and tr. Bel, 7-23, 34 f., 84 f./27-61, 84 f., 169 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ed. and tr. de Slane, iv, 14-18/ii, 559-71; Nāṣirī Salawī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, i, 133-88 (tr. Graulle, 1-79); Fuḍaylī, *al-Durar al-bahiyya*, lith. Fez 1314, ii, 11-15; Muḥammad Ibn Djaʿfar al-Kattānī, *al-Azhār al-ʿāṭira*, lith. Fez 1324, 185-94; *Djamʿ tawārīkh Madīnat Fās*, ed. Cusa, 4-13; Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ii, Espagne et Afrique, 371-95; Fournel, *Berbers*, i, 496-504; ii, 13-21, 154-9, 219-20, 286-8, 293-5, 299-303, 325-6, 363-5; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane*, 116-26; H. Terrasse, *Hist. du Maroc*, i, 107-28.

(D. EUSTACHE)

IDRĪSIYYA [see ṬARĪḲA].

IḌṬIRĀR, "compulsion, coercion", as opposed to *ikhtiyār*, "freedom of choice". Although the term itself, in its *maṣdar* form, does not belong to the language of the Ḳurʾān, the verbal use of the VIIIth form is of relatively frequent occurrence there. The idea is that of an absolute necessity (*ḍarūra*), by means of physical (secondarily moral) compulsion.

I.—*Iḍṭirār* takes on its technical sense in connexion with the theory of human actions. It thus belongs to the vocabulary of the "science of *kalām*" (the "theology" or rather the "defensive apologia" of Islam). It makes its appearance quite early: in the résumés of the thought of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, the Shīʿī (Rāfiḍī), discussed by the Muʿtazilī schools. Hishām b. al-Ḥakam distinguishes human actions carried out under compulsion (*iḍṭirār*) and those carried out of "free choice" (*ikhtiyār*); the latter are not "compulsory", but "voluntary" and the results of an "acquisition" (*iktisāb*). This last idea, accepted by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr and his school (called *ahl al-ithbāt*, "people of the firm proof", by al-Ashʿarī), prefigures the Ashʿarite *kasb* or *iktisāb*. In the present state of our knowledge of the texts it is difficult to state whether it originates, as the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* (ed. Cairo 1369/1950, i, 110) says, in the vocabulary of Hishām, or that of Ḍirār, when he summarizes and discusses him. In the same way, one cannot say with certainty whether or not Hishām influenced Ḍirār (or they influenced one another) in the technical use of *iḍṭirār* as the "opposite correlative" (*muḳābal*) of *ikhtiyār*. In any case, we find the pair *iḍṭirār-ikhtiyār* among the Muʿtazilīs of Baghdād, especially in Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850-1); whereas Burghūth, the disciple of the Baṣran Ḍirār, preferred to use *ṭawʿ* (cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, 91 and 98). Strictly speaking, the Muʿtazilīs call man "the creator of his actions" only if he acts of "free choice".

The Ashʿarite reform takes over the vocabulary and adapts it to its own theories. The *Lumaʿ* of al-Ashʿarī (text and English trans. *ap.* R. J. McCarthy, *The theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 39/57 and 41-42/58-60) sets out to prove that all human actions are directly created by God, those produced by an acquired motion (*ḥarakat al-iktisāb*) as well as those produced by a compulsory motion (*ḥarakat al-iḍṭirār*). The system of reference here is thus no longer *iḍṭirār-ikhtiyār*, but rather *iḍṭirār-iktisāb*. Al-Ashʿarī states that the two ideas differ in that *iḍṭirār* has as its basis necessity (*ḍarūra*) and *iktisāb* has as its basis acquisition or attribution (*kasb*), which is not necessary. But their relationship with the creative power of God is the same (*ibid.*, 42/60). Al-Bāḳillānī deals with a very similar problem in his chapter on the "ability to act" (*istiṭāʿa*), in connexion with the agent who is "compelled (*muḍṭarr*) to act" (*Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 293).

In one of his best analyses of human action (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, ed. Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 219-20), al-Ghazālī distinguishes three kinds of actions: natural (cleaving water with one's body), voluntary (breathing), chosen (*ikhtiyārī*) (writing). The first is necessary (*ḍarūrī*) in the strict sense, in that it cannot not take place; it comes about *bi-'l-iḍṭirār*. But all three are alike, he says (*ibid.*, 219), with respect to the actual nature (*ḥaḳīḳa*) of the compulsion (*iḍṭirār*) or the coercion or obligation (*djabr*) that determines them. Al-Ghazālī's conclusion, in fact, in conformity with the Ashʿarite system but following a more highly developed psychological analysis, is that, even in the case of "chosen" action, the decision of the will necessarily follows the judgment of the intellect, and that, accordingly, man is "compelled to free choice", *madjbūr ʿala 'l-ikhtiyār* (*ibid.*, 220). A "natural" action occurring through *iḍṭirār* is purely determined; divine action is itself purely free; human actions are in an "intermediate position", compelled to free choice. This is why the "people of the truth" (*ahl al-ḥaḳḳ*) defined "free" actions of man by means of acquisition (*kasb*).

In conclusion: in later Ashʿarite *kalām* the term *iḍṭirār* is reserved rather for an action that, of itself, cannot not take place. If human "free choice", which is only "acquisition", also remains without true ontological freedom, and is thus "compulsory", this is in a different sense: it is then called *madjbūr*. That which is known in Western philosophy as "determinism" should, on the whole, be rendered as *djabr* or *ḍarūra* (this latter word is common in the vocabulary of *falsafa*).

II.—Another use of *iḍṭirār* ("opposite correlative": *iktisāb*) is found, in an analogical sense, in the study of the different kinds of knowledge. In this way, Ghaylān already distinguished between necessary (*ḍarūrī* or *iḍṭirārī*) knowledge, which asserts directly and compulsorily on the mind, and acquired (*iktisābī*) knowledge (see W. Montgomery Watt, *op. cit.*, 41-2, 132 and ref.). We find the same distinction in the Ashʿarite school, *e.g.*, al-Bāḳillānī, *Tamhīd*, 7-8. Necessary (*ḍarūrī*) knowledge is that which every man is compelled to admit, such, says al-Bāḳillānī, is the sense of *iḍṭirār*. In the classic theme of the "channels (or "sources") of knowledge" (*asbāb al-ʿilm*) the idea of "necessary knowledge" is regularly rendered by *ḍarūrī*.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. GARDET)

AL-ʿ**IFĀR** (sometimes given in Western sources as ʿAFAR), a small tribe in Oman in eastern Arabia.

The *nisba* is ʿIfārī. The tribesmen, who are nomads, range through the *sayḥ* or steppe east of the south-eastern corner of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī. One of the landmarks in this district is Ḳārat al-Kibrīt (the Sulphur Hill). West of the hill is Wādī al-ʿUmayrī, one of a number of valleys which run down to the quicksands of Umm al-Samīm [*q.v.*]. North of al-ʿIfār is the tribe of al-Durūʿ [*q.v.*], while to the east are sections of al-Djanaba [*q.v.*] and the tribes of Āl Wahība [*q.v.*] and al-Ḥikmān. Other sections of al-Djanaba and the tribe of al-Ḥarāsīs [*q.v.*] border on al-ʿIfār to the south.

The tradition of al-ʿIfār holds that the tribal ancestress was ʿAfrāʾ (a name still used in Arabia for a dust-coloured she-camel), a sister of ʿĀmir and Kathīr. ʿAfrāʾ, who had no husband, was got with child by an *ʿāfūr* (a sand devil, with no doubt an echo of *ʿifrīt*). ʿĀmir was bent on killing his wayward sister, but Kathīr intervened to save her, and she gave birth to a son who was named ʿIfār. This tradition points to a blood relationship between al-ʿIfār and the tribes of al-ʿAwāmir [*q.v.*] and Bayt Kathīr, the latter of which is the dominant tribe in the hinterland of the region of Ẓufār [*q.v.*] to the southwest of the range of al-ʿIfār. The people of al-ʿIfār believe that their forebears came from Ḥabarūt in western Ẓufār.

The three main sections of al-ʿIfār are Bayt Ḥamūda, al-Mazāniwa (pronounced *mzānwa*, with the singular Muzayniwī), and al-Maḥāḳiḳa (pronounced *mḥāgga*, with the singular Muḥayḳiḳī). The members of the tribe belong to the Hināwī (Southern Arab) faction in Oman, but they enjoy the special privilege of being allowed to travel unmolested, along with anyone accompanying them, in Ghāfirī (Northern Arab) territory. The tribesmen of al-ʿIfār, like their neighbours of al-Djanaba and al-Ḥarāsīs, call themselves Sunnīs. Other powerful neighbours, such as Āl Wahība and al-Durūʿ, are Ibāḍīs or mainly so.

Bibliography: Interviews with members of al-ʿIfār, supplemented by brief references in Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; G. Rentz, etc., *Oman and the southern shore of the Persian Gulf*, Cairo 1952; W. Thesiger, *Arabian sands*, London 1959. (G. Rentz)

IFLĀK [see eflāk].

al-**IFLĪLĪ** [see ibn al-iflīlī].

IFNI, formerly called Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña, a former Spanish enclave, about 600 square miles in area, on the coast of southern Morocco, situated between 28° 54′ 3″ and 29° 38′ 10″ N. Spanish rights in the area, where Spain held a trading post from about 1476-1524, were based upon the treaty of Tetuan (1860). They were recognised by France in 1912, but actual occupation was not affected until 1934. Its capital, Sidi Ifni, was formerly the seat of a single centralized administration for *Africa Occidental Española*, but in January 1958, following the repulse, in the previous November, of an invasion by Moroccan irregulars, it became a separate province from Spanish Sahara, each having its own military governor. Ifni is semi-desert in the south and its undeveloped resources are insufficient to maintain its population of about 40,000. With no significant exports, it was an economic liability to Spain and entirely dependent upon Morocco, where nearly half the male population found work as migrant labour. There has been no effective Hispanization. Claims to the territory advanced since 1958 by Morocco appear to have been supported by the leaders of the indigenous population, the seven tribes of the predominantly sedentary, Berber-speaking, Ait Ba-Amran. In December 1965, a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly called upon Spain to accelerate the decolonization of Ifni. Further pressure followed. Agreement between the Spanish and Moroccan governments for the transfer of sovereignty to Morocco was reached in January 1969.

Bibliography: T. Garcia Figueras, *Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña-Ifni-Sahara*, Madrid 1941; J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Saharinos*, Madrid 1955; N. Barbour, *Survey of North-West Africa*, London 1959; R. Pelissier, *Les territoires espagnoles d'Afrique*, Paris 1963. (D. H. Jones)

IFOGHAS, confederation of Touareg tribes consisting of about 17,000 persons who live in the southern Sahara between latitudes 17° and 21° N. at the north-east extremity of the republic of Mali. They inhabit the fairly low mountains of the Adrar [*q.v.*] and especially its valleys and its surrounding depressions. The Adrar is a dense massif, of crystalline and granitic rocks, less than 1.000 metres high, which slopes to the west and is bordered to the west and the south by small sandstone plateaus. The wādīs flow almost every summer during the rainy season (136 mm. at Kidal) and sometimes join the Tilemsi to the west. The valleys and depressions are fairly rich in vegetation (acacias, tamarisks and tropical types of plant); the water there is fairly shallow and the pasturage relatively rich.

The region was probably at first inhabited by Songhaï negroes, to whom are attributed the ruins of some villages. It is then thought to have been for a long time disputed between the Touareg, the Moors and the Songhaï. The Touareg Ifoghas became and remained masters of the country, which was an important crossroad of caravan routes to the Niger (Gao), Agadès, the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, particularly Touat.

The Ifoghas, like the other Touareg, are fair-skinned, speaking *Tamahaḳḳ* (a Berber dialect) and are nomadic shepherds and caravaneers. They are however less poor than the Touareg of the north (Ahaggar and Azdjer); their line of descent is not through the women and their social structure is somewhat different: they have neither "warriors" nor slave tribes. They travel in small groups with their goatskin tents and their sheep and goats over fairly short distances, entrusting most of their camels, which travel farther afield, to keepers. In spite of the advent of lorries, they still trade by caravan with the oases of Touat and Tidikelt, from which they obtain dates, and increasingly with the Sahel area, whence they obtain millet and rice. Their only fixed points are the very small palm-grove of Tessalit, in the north-west, and the administrative centre of Kidal in the south; Kidal is the only market, its stall-holders being Mzābīs and "Arabs" from the north.

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IFRĀGHA (or Afrāgha), the Arabic form of Fraga, name of a small town (pop. *ca.* 9000) in NE Spain 30 kms WSW of Lérida. The old part of the town is situated on the steep left bank of the R. Cinca some 18 kms above its confluence with the Ebro. Practically no traces of Muslim rule survive.

Fraga fell into Arab hands presumably when Mūsā

b. Nuṣayr took Saragossa in 96/714. Thereafter it may be assumed to have shared the fortunes of Saragossa, being rarely mentioned by name in the histories. At the beginning of the 6th/12th century it was still nominally in Almoravid territory under the governorship of Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya [see GHĀNIYA, Banū]. In 528/1134 Alfonso I "the Battler" (who had already taken Saragossa in 512/1118) tried to take Fraga but was soundly beaten by Yaḥyā. In 543/1149 the town was seized by Ramón Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona, and Muslim rule there came to an end.

Idrīsī places Fraga with Jaca, Lérida, and Mequinenza in the province of Zaytūn, a name which he applies also, as does al-Ḥimyarī, to the Cinca. Al-Ḥimyarī also gives a few details on the battle in 528/1134. Yāḳūt gives correctly the date of the fall of Fraga to the Catalans but his short entry is otherwise a singular concentration of errors. Ḳazwīnī describes the warren of tunnels in which the inhabitants took refuge in time of trouble.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib*, 176, tr. 211, 190, tr. 231; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, no. 20; Yāḳūt s.v.; Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, s.v. Farāgha; Codera, *Decadencia*, 111 ff. (J. F. P. Hopkins)

BANŪ **ĪFRAN** (or IFRAN, IFRĀN, UFRĀN ŪFRĀN etc.). the most important branch of the large Berber tribe of the Zenāta (Zanāta [*q.v.*]). According to the writings, now lost, of three Berber genealogists used by Ibn Khaldūn, namely Sābiḳ b. Sulaymān al-Maṭmāṭī, Hanīʾ b. Masdūr al-Kūmī and Kaḥlān b. Abī Luwā, the Banū Īfran are descended from Iṣlitan (also Yaṣlitan), son of Misrā, son of Zākiyā, son of Wardīran (or of Warshīk), son of Adīdat. According to the same tradition, Zākiyā was the brother of Dammar (Demmer), the eponymous ancestor of the Berber tribe of that name, while the sister-tribes of the Banū Īfran, descended from Iṣlitan, were the Maghrāwa, the Banū Irniyān and the Banū Wasīn. Along with this tradition, which seems to have been generally adopted in Berber circles during the Middle Ages, Ibn Khaldūn also transmitted another, which appears to be far more authentic, since it derives from an Īfranid informant. It was taken by Ibn Khaldūn from the *Djamhara* of Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], who reproduced it from the account given by the Spanish historian Yūsuf al-Warrāḳ (or Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Warrāḳ), d. 363/973. This last-named scholar took his account from Ayyūb, son of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād [*q.v.*], whom he had met in Cordova, where Ayyūb had been sent by his father on a mission to the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Now this second tradition regarding the origin of the Banū Īfran, which may be called the "tribal" tradition, does not differ greatly from the first as known from the writings of al-Maṭmāṭī, al-Kūmī and Kaḥlān b. Abī Luwā. According to Ayyūb, the Banū Īfran were descendants of Īfrī, son of Iṣlitan, son of Misrā, son of Zākiyā, son of Warsīk (or Warshīk), son of Adīdat, son of Adīdat, son of Djānā, the eponym of all the Zanāta tribes. We may add that the Īfranid tradition transmitted by Ayyūb also regards the Banū Maghrāw (Maghrāwa), the Banū Irniyān and the Banū Wasīn as sister-tribes of the Banū Īfran, and Dammar as the brother of Zākiyā. Lastly, according to the Ibāḍī historian Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjlānī (after 504/1110-1), the Banū Īfran and the Banū Wasīn were kinsmen, and together formed the tribe (or rather confederation) known as the Banū Tīdjart. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the name Īfrī, the eponym of the Banū Īfran, derives from the Berber word *ifri* meaning "cavern" (in modern Berber dialects *ifri*/*afra*/*ufru*, and the corresponding diminutives *tifrit* etc., mean "grotto", "cavern", "hiding-place").

The earliest mention of the Banū Īfran (who were unknown to the Greek and Latin writers of antiquity and even to Byzantine authors of the 6th century, writing in Greek or Latin) occurs in the period of the Muslim conquest of North Africa, that is to say the second half of the 1st/7th century. At that period, they were the largest and most powerful tribe of the great Zanāta family. According to Ibn Khaldūn, there were branches of them in Ifrīḳiya, the Aurès and the central Maghrib. Later, towards the end of the 1st/7th century, the Banū Īfran appear as one of the most important tribes of eastern Barbary. With the Maghrāwa and several other Berber tribes of the Zanāta branch and that of the Butr, they then joined the great Berber confederation headed by the tribe of the Djarāwa commanded by the Kāhina [*q.v.*], at once queen and prophetess. At this period the Djarāwa apparently inhabited the Aurès, and the main body of the Banū Īfran occupied the regions adjacent to what is now Tunisia. The Banū Īfran were so closely attached to the person of the Kāhina that a Berber tradition quoted by Ibn ʿIdhārī makes Īfran, the ancestor of this tribe, the father of the Kāhina. It is moreover very probable that the Banū Īfran originally were merely a confederation of sections of various east-Berber tribes, apparently formed in the second half of the 6th or the first half of the 7th century A. D. In fact, the name Banū Īfran is as yet not mentioned among those of the east Berber tribes dealt with in the *Iohannis* of Corippus (6th century), a well-known low-Latin source which gives an almost complete list of the peoples inhabiting the eastern part of Barbary at the time of the country's reconquest by the Byzantine Empire.

The Banū Īfran properly speaking, the nucleus of the future confederation of that name, were originally, it seems, no more than a somewhat insignificant tribe who had succeeded in placing themselves at the head of a number of fractions of Berber tribes at the time of the Byzantine domination or during the disturbed period of the first Arab invasions of Tripolitania and Ifrīḳiya proper. The region originally inhabited by this people was in western Tripolitania, the hypothetical homeland of all the Zanāta tribes (*arḍ Zanāta*, "land of the Zanāta" according to the accounts of Arab traditionists of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries, used by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam in his description of the conquest of the Maghrib). The Zanāta tribe then occupied not only the interior of western Tripolitania but also the country surrounding the town of Sabra (the ancient Sabratha), on the coast, where they are mentioned in 123/741. The territory occupied by the Zanāta was bordered on the East by the *arḍ Hawwāra* "land of the Hawwāra", which included all the central part of Tripolitania. Now it was on the borders between these two lands, in the modern district of Yefren, that the Berber tribe of the Banū Īfran (or Yafran) dwelt, being thought by some to form part of the Zanāta and by others to belong to the Hawwāra. Nothing is known of the earliest history of these Banū Īfran, who first appear in Arabic sources at about the middle of the 3rd/9th century as the eastern neighbours and rivals of the Nafūsa. It is quite probable however that these Banū Īfran of western Tripolitania were merely the remnants of the large Zanāta confederation of the same name who had continued to live in the Yefren after the emigration of the main body of that confederation further to the West, towards what is

now Tunisia, probably at the time of the conquest of Tripolitania by the Arabs. As has been said, Ibn Khaldūn connects the name of Īfrī, the ancestor and eponym of the Banū Īfran, with the Berber word *ifri* "cavern". If this etymology is correct it may be supposed that the confederation of the Banū Īfran (or rather its nucleus) owed its name to the fact that the Zanāta elements which it included originally lived in cave dwellings. Now it is known that the mountainous districts situated in the interior of western Tripolitania and south-eastern Tunisia, Djabal Demmer (Dammar), Djabal Nafūsa and Ghariyān, abound in cave dwellings both old and new (cf. J. Despois, *Djebel Nefousa*, 202-6), and there is nothing against the hypothesis that it was in this part of the *arḍ Zanāta* that the Banū Īfran had its origin. A thorough analysis of Berber and particularly Īfranid traditions seems to confirm this identification of the tribe's original home. Thus it seems possible to connect the Iṣlitan (Yaṣlitan, sister-tribe of the Banū Īfran) with the town of Zliten, situated on the coast of Tripolitania, east of the ruins of Leptis Magna, in the country that belonged in the Middle Ages to the Hawwāra. The name of Misrā, the grandfather of Īfrī in the same traditions, must be connected with that of the Misrāta tribe, held by mediaeval Berber genealogists to belong to a branch of the Hawwāra and occupying the most easterly part of the coastal zone of the *arḍ Hawwāra*, in central Tripolitania. The principal centre of this tribe, in the Middle Ages, was the town of Suwayḳat Ibn Mathkūd, today called Misurata. It is not far from these two places in Tripolitania that the district of Yefren, the home of the Īfran/Yafran in the 3rd/9th century, is situated. The name of the great-grandfather of the Banū Īfran, that is to say Zākiyā, seems to indicate that among the Berber tribes which formed the confederation of the Banū Īfran there were also some fractions of the Luwāta [*q.v.*], a tribe which, at the time of the conquest of North Africa by the Arabs, occupied the ancient Marmarica and Cyrenaica. It seems indeed that the name Zākiyā is repeated in the name Arzāḳiya, which was according to al-Bakrī the principal locality in the oasis of Awdjila/Djalo, situated in the heart of the Luwāta country. It is very probable that this name is composed of two elements, *-zāḳiya*, which is merely a variant of the Zākiyā of the Berber genealogists, and *Ar-*. This second element recurs in the name of the ancient Libyan tribe of Arzugitani (Ar-zug-itani), identical with the Zauekes of Herodotus and the Zawāgha of the Arab historians. It is probably related to *War-*, the element preceding several Berber tribal and personal names (cf., *e.g.*, Warzaydān, from the Arabic proper name Zaydān), the significance of which has not yet been fully explained (see T. Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, 45-6).

Tripolitania.—The Banū Īfran of western Tripolitania, a fraction of the large confederation of that name, which remained in the same place after the emigration of the main body of that people to what are now Tunisia and the Aurès, in the 3rd/9th century were a tribe of sufficient strenth to fight the Nafūsa, then the most powerful Berber people in western Tripolitania. We know that they were Ibāḍīs, without however being supporters of the Rustamid *imāms* of Tāhert. They supported the cause of the Ibāḍī leader of Tripolitania, Khalaf b. al-Samḥ, who had revolted against the Banū Rustam. Later, in the 5th/11th century, the Khalafī sectarians still formed part of the population of Yefren, along with the Nukkārīs (it will be seen later that, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, Nukkārism became the national religion of the eastern branch of all the Īfranid tribes). In the 6th/12th century, the Yefren sectarians were converted to the more moderate doctrines of the Ibāḍī-Wahbīs, former supporters of the Rustamid *imāms*. Nominally subject to the various dynasties which in turn ruled eastern Barbary, the people of *waṭan Yafran*, "land of Yafran", endeavoured to preserve their independence under chiefs who bore the title *muḳaddam* and belonged to the family of ʿAwn b. Ḥarīz, for a considerable time with success.

Ifriḳiya.—The Īfranid tribes which emigrated to Ifrīḳiya were joined also by groups deriving from the Berber tribe of the Maghīla [*q.v.*], the Machlyes of Herodotus. At one time these groups played a considerable part in the confederation of the Banū Īfran, but later they broke away to form a separate tribe. It was from these Maghīla, united with the Banū Īfran, that Abū Ḳurra al-Īfranī (in some sources called al-Maghīlī) originated, the leader of the Banū Īfran in Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib, and also the supreme leader of the North African Ṣufrīs at the beginning and towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century. He was in command of the Īfranid tribes apparently from the year 111/729-30. In 151/768-9 he had successfully retained leadership of the Banū Īfran for forty years, thus making his appearance in history only a quarter of a century after the death of the Kāhina and the fall of the confederation of Berber tribes which she had governed and whose principal support the Banū Īfran, with the Djarāwa and the Maghrāwa, had been. In 124/741-2, when the Ṣufrī leader ʿAbd al-Wāḥid marched on Ḳayrawān, Abū Ḳurra al-Maghīlī, according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, was in command of the vanguard of his army. At this period the main body of the Banū Īfran was probably still in Ifrīḳiya, near the Aurès, which formed the centre of the Kāhina's state. It may be supposed that this tribe took part in the Ṣufrī rising of the Warfadjdjūma, who occupied the town of Ḳayrawān in 139/757. When, in 141/758-9, the Ibāḍī *imām* of Tripolitania, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī, expelled the Warfadjdjūma from Ḳayrawān and made Ifrīḳiya a province of his state, the Ṣufrī Berber tribes of that country, fleeing from their Ibāḍī enemies, presumably began to move towards the central Maghrib. This movement must have assumed the nature of a mass migration after 144/761-2, that is to say after the reconquest of eastern Barbary by the Arab general Ibn al-Ashʿath, who thus became the common foe of all Berber sects—Khāridjīs, Ibāḍīs and Ṣufrīs—in North Africa. It was apparently at this period, between 140/757-8 and 144/761-2, that the main body of Īfranid tribes, commanded by Abū Ḳurra al-Īfranī al-Maghīlī, emigrated to the central Maghrib.

Little is known of the history of the branches of the Banū Īfran who continued to inhabit Ifrīḳiya after the emigration of the tribes led by Abū Ḳurra. Ibn Khaldūn claims that there were two Īfranid tribes in this province, the Marandjiṣa and the Banū Wārkū (Wārko). These tribes inhabited the country lying between Ḳayrawān and Tunis, in the Bilād al-Djarīd and the Aurès massif. It seems that these tribes were soon converted to Ibāḍism, having adopted the doctrines of the Nukkārī sect. It was from the Banū Wārkū (the name of this tribe is perhaps the same as Arkū, in al-Idrīsī the name of a locality on the route leading from Lorbeus to al-Masīla) that Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād traced his origin, the leader of the Nukkārī revolt which almost destroyed

Fāṭimid domination in North Africa. A branch of the Wārkū inhabited Sadāda (now Sdada) in the Bilād al-Djarīd, in immediate proximity to the Banū Wasīn (also Wisyān), a sister-tribe of the Banū Īfran according to the Berber genealogists; incidentally these were Ibāḍī-Wahbīs. The Banū Wārkū gave assistance to Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, and after his death and the failure of the Nukkārī revolt, they had to endure the revenge of the Fāṭimid government. From then onwards their name disappears completely from North African chronicles. The Ibāḍī chronicles tell of a war between the Banū Wasīn and the Banū Īfran which occurred in 362/972-3, probably in the Bilād al-Djarīd and the Zāb. In the circumstances, it seems probable that this refers to the Banū Wārkū. The Marandjīṣa, a sister-tribe of the Banū Wārkū, lost much of their influence after the failure of Abū Yazīd's revolt. Nevertheless, they were not exterminated, and they are mentioned in Arabic sources until the end of the 8th/14th century. They still lived as nomads, travelling through the region between Ḳayrawān and the town of Tunis, but they also engaged in agriculture. It seems fairly probable that the Zanāta who lived near al-Sibkha (Sebkha Sidi Hani) in the 3rd/9th century and are mentioned by the Ibāḍī historians were a branch of the Marandjīṣa. Similarly, the Īfranid fraction to whom Cape Ifrān (lying to the East of Carthage and mentioned by al-Idrīsī) owes its name appears to have belonged to the Marandjīṣa branch. The situation of the Marandjīṣa declined after the conquest of Ifrīḳiya by the Almohads (1159-60), who imposed taxes upon this tribe and compelled it to supply the sultan with a certain number of fighting men. Later, they became dependent upon Arab tribes. It was only in the second half of the 8th/14th century that the situation of the Marandjīṣa became more prosperous under the domination of the Ḥafṣid sultans.

Wargla.—It seems that, when Abū Yazīd's revolt was crushed, a fraction of the Banū Īfran, probably belonging to the branch of the Banū Wārkū from the Bilād al-Djarīd, fled to the oasis of Wardjlān (Wargla), with which the places in the Bilād al-Djarīd maintained close trade relations. Indeed the Ibāḍī chronicles mention, in the oasis of Wargla, a village named Ifrān (also Īfran, Īfrān or Farān), the name of which seems to derive from the name of the Banū Īfran tribe. This village, which was situated about 20 km. north of the present town of Wargla, on a site today not inhabited, between Khefīf and ʿArīfdjī, appears for the first time in the sources shortly after 409/1018-19.

Central Maghrib.—The Īfranid tribes which emigrated to the central Maghrib towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century and remained under the command of Abū Ḳurra al-Īfranī al-Maghīlī founded a Ṣufrī state, probably between 140/757-8 and 148/765-6, whose capital became the town of Tlemcen, built by the newcomers on the site of an ancient Roman town. Abū Ḳurra was proclaimed Ṣufrī caliph (*imām*) there in 148/765. An interesting feature is that, in the time of al-Bakrī (1067-8), one of the five gates of Tlemcen still bore the name Bāb Abī Ḳurra, probably from the name of the founder of Tlemcen. Abū Ḳurra's domain extended from Tlemcen to the mountain of the Banū Rāshid and as far as Tāhert. Among the Berber tribes inhabiting this State, alongside the Banū Īfran, were the Maghīla, Abū Ḳurra's tribe, now settled in the environs of Tlemcen. This tribe, which also was Ṣufrī, was smaller than that of the Banū Īfran; it co-operated with the latter in their war against Ibn al-Ashʿath in 148/765. It seems also that a fraction of the Djarāwa, a tribe which, with the Banū Īfran and the Maghrāwa, had once formed the nucleus of the Kāhina's state, had followed the Īfranid tribes of Abū Ḳurra in their flight to the central Maghrib. This tribe gave its name to the mediaeval town of Djarāwa, situated 10 miles S.-E. of the mouth of the Mulūya and surrounded by numerous villages whose population was formed by the Banū Īfran, among other tribes. It seems also that it was at this period that the Maghrāwa came and settled in Tlemcen and its environs, a sister-tribe of the Banū Īfran and like them formerly included in the confederation of the Kāhina.

Immediately after its foundation, Abū Ḳurra's kingdom was attacked by the Arab army sent by Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*]. This army was placed under the command of al-Aghlab al-Tamīmī who, after setting up his headquarters at Ṭubna in the Zāb, tried to attack first Tlemcen, then Tangier, but was compelled by the Berbers to withdraw. Soon the Ṣufrī and Ibāḍī Berber tribes formed a coalition in which the Banū Īfran, still under the command of Abū Ḳurra, played a considerable part. In 150/767 Abū Ḳurra's army appeared before the walls of Ḳayrawān, while in 151/768 he himself came with 40,000 Īfranid horsemen to lay siege to the town of Ṭubna.

Not a great deal is known of the Īfranid state of Tlemcen after the siege of Ṭubna. It is however very probable that friendly relations were maintained with the Ibāḍī kingdom of Banū Rustam [*q.v.*] in Tāhert, which bordered on Tlemcen. The first ruler of Tāhert, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, who governed the town from 160/776-7 or 162/778-9, even allied himself with the Banū Īfran by marriage, since he probably married a daughter of the ruling family of Tlemcen. From this union was born ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the second Ibāḍī *imām* of Tāhert. This marriage must have taken place in about 148/765-6 at the latest, since in 167/784-5, at the time of the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was already an adult and a member of the council of six empowered to choose the future *imām* from its own members. Curiously enough, another member of the same council was Abū Ḳudāma Yazīd b. Fandīn al-Īfranī, a cousin and supporter of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who later became his implacable enemy and one of the founders of the Nukkārī heresy. He conducted a long war with ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, probably relying mainly on the Banū Īfran; in the end he died in battle, killed by Aflaḥ, son of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in about 188/803-4 or shortly afterwards. At that time, the Īfranid state of Abū Ḳurra had already ceased to exist for some years. It seems moreover that control of Tlemcen, which was then inhabited by the Banū Īfran and the Maghrāwa, had passed after the death of Abū Ḳurra into the hands of Maghrāwa leaders belonging to the dynasty of the Banū Khazar, this dynasty being destined to play a considerable part in the history of the Maghrib. In 173/789-90 (or according to certain historians, in 174/790-1), at the time of the conquest of that country by Idrīs I [*q.v.*], the founder of the dynasty of the Idrīsids, Muḥammad Ibn Khazar b. Ṣūlāt, the ruler of the town of Tlemcen, came before the conqueror and, thanks to his prompt submission, obtained security for himself and for all the Zanāta tribes of the central Maghrib. It was Sulaymān, brother of Idrīs I and later hereditary ruler of that town, who became the Idrīsid governor of Tlemcen; it seems however that, save for this fact, conditions in the central Maghrib were little changed. The Zanāta

tribes in the country continued to recognize the supremacy of the Maghrāwa, which had long replaced the supremacy of the Banū Īfran. Thus the Maghrāwa, who in the days of the confederation of Berber tribes ruled by the Kāhina had once been the most powerful of these tribes after the Djarāwa, now recovered their importance. But the rivalry between the Īfranid and the Maghrāwa leaders was long to continue in the central Maghrib as well as in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, and it was only with the conquest of the whole of the Maghrib by the Almoravid army that this discord was finally brought to an end, with the disappearance of the states created by the Banū Īfran and the Maghrāwa. The Īfranid tribes of the central Maghrib, for their part, certainly succeeded in retaining much of their independence after 173/789-90, though of course under the control of Sulaymān and the Maghrāwa leaders. At the time of the Idrīsid domination of the Maghrib, the Banū Īfran were already Sunnī, having abandoned their earlier Ṣufrī beliefs at some point of time now difficult to determine. In any case the Ibāḍī Berber genealogist al-Birzālī, who supplied Ibn Ḥazm (5th/11th century) with information regarding the Zanāta tribes in the Maghrib, believed that the Banū Īfran had always been Sunnī and appeared to know nothing of their Ṣufrī past.

The Īfranid kingdom of the central Maghrib makes its appearance in the historical sources after the expulsion of the Idrīsid rulers from Tlemcen by the Fāṭimids, which took place in 319/931. The Sunnī Īfranid tribes of the country took no part in the Nukkārī revolt of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād al-Īfranī, although it is not impossible that their leaders may have helped him to get in touch with the Umayyad government in Cordova and that it was from their territory that Abū Yazīd's son Ayyūb set out for Spain, when entrusted by his father with a political mission to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. In any case, during the war between Abū Yazīd and the Fāṭimids, the numbers and strength of the Banū Īfran in the central Maghrib remained unchanged. At that time their leader was Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Īfranī, whose power was restricted solely to the Īfranid tribes in the neighbourhood of Tlemcen, while the town itself had, since the fall of the local Idrīsid rulers, once again become the capital of the Maghrāwa and was then governed by Muḥammad Ibn Khazar, a member of the same dynasty of Maghrāwa leaders as those who controlled Tlemcen in 173/789-90. When the Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr (334-41/946-53) gave Muḥammad Ibn Khazar command over this part of the Maghrib, war broke out between the Banū Īfran and the Maghrāwa, in the course of which Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Īfranī was killed by an Īfranid leader who remained in the service of the Fāṭimid government and of this branch of the Maghrāwa. His son Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad al-Īfranī succeeded him as ruler of the Banū Īfran. In order to secure his support against the Maghrāwa, who had been overcome by the Fāṭimid government, Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad openly placed himself at the service of the Umayyad caliph of Spain, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who was trying to win the friendship of the Zanāta leaders in the central Maghrib and to rally them to his cause. He established his capital in the town of Fakkān (also Āfakkān or Ifkān), which he founded, in 338/949-50, at a place where the Zanāta tribes held their markets, situated at the confluence of the Wādī Fekkan and the Wādī Ḥammām, five leagues S.S.W. of the modern town of Mascara. Then, rebelling against Fāṭimid rule, he took the town of Tāhert, assisted by his kinsman al-Khayr b. Muḥammad, whom Ibn ʿIdhārī speaks of as al-Khayr b. Muḥammad Ibn Khazar al-Zanātī and who seems to have been the son of the Maghrāwa leader Muḥammad Ibn Khazar (according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Khayr was a member of the clan of Banū Warzamār "kings of the Zanāta"); al-Khayr abandoned his father's policy of hostility to the Īfranid dynasty and became an ally of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad and of the Umayyads in Spain. Shortly afterwards, in 343/954-5, Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad captured from the Fāṭimids the town of Oran, which was taken by storm and devastated. Soon the whole country, from Tāhert to Tangier, was under the domination of the Īfranid leader, who thus re-established the supremacy of his tribe over all the branches of the Zanāta inhabiting the central Maghrib, including the Maghrāwa; he caused the public prayer (*khuṭba*) to be recited in the name of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in every mosque in the country. In the same year, or possibly in 344/955-6, Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad received a diploma whereby ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III appointed him governor of the country of the Zanāta, the central Maghrib and Tlemcen. At his own request he was also entrusted by the Umayyad caliph with the government of Fez for his kinsman Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad, apparently the son of his Maghrāwa ally al-Khayr b. Muḥammad Ibn Khazar al-Zanātī.

But this was Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad's last success. In 347/958-9 the Fāṭimid army, commanded by Djawhar, secretary to the caliph al-Muʿizz, conquered the central Maghrib and captured the town of Fakkān, Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad's capital, which was laid waste. Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad was killed, and the Banū Īfran's domination of this part of North Africa was for a time destroyed. The command of the Zanāta tribes of the central Maghrib, so relentlessly harried by the Fāṭimids, once again reverted to the Maghrāwa, that is to say to Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad Ibn Khazar, who was governing Fez in the name of the Umayyad caliphs of Spain. This leader even succeeded in reconquering the town of Tlemcen from the Fāṭimid state, between 360/970-1 and 370/980-1. It seems however that the dynasty of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad eventually recovered from the defeat of 347/958-9 and continued to reign over the Īfranid tribes of the central Maghrib. Rulers drawn from this family were still in control there, with Tlemcen as their capital, in the first half of the 5th/11th century. At the time of the invasion of the Banū Hilāl, the master of Tlemcen was prince Bakhtīt, whom Ibn Khaldūn describes, in one passage in his book, as an Īfranid and, in another, as a descendant of Muḥammad Ibn Khazar, that is to say as a Maghrāwa. Be that as it may, he had as his vizier an Īfranid general, who died in a battle against the Banū Hilāl in 450/1058. At that period the Banū Īfran shared their rule over the Zanāta in the central Maghrib with the Maghrāwa and two other large Berber tribes, the Wāmannū and the Banū Īlūman. Bakhtīt was succeeded by his son al-ʿAbbās, who was reigning in Tlemcen at the time of the conquest of the central Maghrib by the Almoravid army.

Al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā.—After the death of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad in 347/958-9, one of his sons, Yaddū, took refuge in the Sahara to escape from the Fāṭimid army. Later he returned to the central Maghrib, where he lived for a time. At this period he appears among the Zanāta leaders in the entourage of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, governor of the Maghrib for the Umayyad caliphs of Spain, from the year 365/975-6. Yaddū was then regarded as the most influen-

tial of the Zanāta leaders. In 369/979-80, the family of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad, still loyal to the Umayyads of Cordova, had to flee before the army of Bulukkīn b. Zīrī, the Fāṭimid governor of Ifrīkiya, who not only seized the central Maghrib but also penetrated as far as Fez and even Sidjilmāsa. But Yaddū b. Yaʿlā, who was among the fugitives, returned to the central Maghrib only after Bulukkīn had left for Ifrīkiya, as did some other rulers of the dynasty of Yaʿlā who succeeded in restoring the state of Tlemcen. He settled in al-Maghrib al-Akṣā and in 376/986-7 was appointed governor of the province for the Umayyad dynasty, with his base at Fez, formerly the territory of the Maghrāwa (from the time of the rule of Muḥammad b. al-Khayr). It was probably at this time that a certain number of families of the Banū Īfran settled in Fez, whose descendants were still living there, with other sections of the Zanāta tribes, in 462/1069-70, when the army of the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn seized the capital of al-Maghrib al-Akṣā. However, the Umayyad government, fearing that Yaddū b. Yaʿlā's power might become too great, decided to offer support simultaneously to Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, one of the *amīrs* of the Maghrāwa. As a result, the old rivalry between the Banū Īfran and the Maghrāwa, previously allayed by the alliance concluded between Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad and al-Khayr b. Muḥammad Ibn Khazar and his son Muḥammad, was revived after 40 years of harmony. In 379/989-90 or 381/991-2, Yaddū b. Yaʿlā openly revolted against the Umayyad government, which had appointed Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya to govern Fez. The result of this conflict was the war waged by Yaddū against the combined forces of the Umayyads and the Maghrāwa. The latter finally prevailed, and Yaddū was obliged to seek refuge in the Sahara, where he died in 383/993-4. His successor as ruler of the tribe was Ḥabbūs, son of his brother Zīrī b. Yaʿlā. Ḥabbūs was murdered by his cousin, the Īfranid *amīr* Abū Yaddās b. Dūnās, who was however compelled to flee soon afterwards. Ḥammāma, brother of Ḥabbūs, then assumed the leadership of the Banū Īfran. He led the tribe against the town of Shāla (Salé) in the province of Tadla, capturing the town from Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, together with part of Tadla that depended on it, and setting up there a new Īfranid kingdom. Under the direction of the dynasty of the Banū Yaʿlā, this kingdom lasted until the conquest of Morocco by the Almoravids. Ḥammāma died after 406/1015-6 and was succeeded by his brother Abu 'l-Kāmil Tamīm, who, having to fight against the anti-Muslim kingdom of the Barghawāṭa, was obliged to make peace with the Maghrāwa of Fez. However, war broke out once again in 424/1033, and Abu 'l-Kāmil even succeeded in capturing Fez; it was only in 429/1037-8 that he was driven out by the Maghrāwa. Forced by the Maghrāwa *amīr* to withdraw to his kingdom of Tadla, he lived there until his death in 446/1054-5. It was apparently in the reign of Abu 'l-Kāmil that the Īfranid dynasty of Salé also took possession of the large commercial town of Aghmāt, whose ruler was of Maghrāwa origin. But soon the conquest of this part of the Maghrib by the Almoravid army, which captured Aghmāt in 449/1057-8 and invaded the country of Tadla in the following year, ended the existence of the kingdom of Salé. The Īfranid rulers of the country perished and their state was annexed to the kingdom of the Almoravids.

The Banū Īfran of Tadla were not the only Īfranid branch to be established in the western part of what is now Morocco. Certain Īfranid families seem to have begun to penetrate into this region long before the state of Salé was founded. Thanks to the account left by Zammūr, who in 352/963 went as ambassador for the king of the Barghawāṭa (in the province of Tamesna) to the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir, we know that, among the Muslim-Berber petty tribes under the authority of the kings of the Barghawāṭa, there was also an Īfranid tribe. This seems to be a reference to a fraction of the Banū Īfran who emigrated from the central Maghrib after the collapse of the Īfranid State of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad in 347/958-9.

Spain.—The first wave of Īfranid emigrants came to Spain in 347/958-9, after the death of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad and the fall of his kingdom. This group, led by Ibn Ḳurra, son of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad's uncle, was given a very cordial welcome in Cordova. Another branch of the Banū Īfran settled in Spain towards the end of the 4th/10th century. This consisted of a fraction led by the Īfranid ruler Abū Yaddās b. Dūnās who, after killing his cousin Yaddū b. Yaʿlā and attempting unsuccessfully to seize command of all the Īfranid tribes of al-Maghrib al-Akṣā, fled to Spain with his three brothers and a numerous body of supporters. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this emigration occurred in 383/993-4 or 382/992-3. Abū Yaddās is said to have acted in concert with the Umayyad government of Cordova, which was anxious to remove the family of Yaddū b. Yaʿlā from supreme command over all the Īfranid tribes of al-Maghrib al-Akṣā and to replace it by another ruling family, more closely linked with the interests of the Umayyad dynasty. The Umayyad government welcomed the emigrants. All the fighting men of Abū Yaddās were enrolled in the Berber forces in Spain, and their leader was granted a considerable sum of money and several fiefs (*iḳṭāʿ*). Later, in 400/1009-10, Abū Yaddās, together with all the Berber forces, is found supporting the cause of the caliph al-Mustaʿīn in the war he fought with his predecessor al-Mahdī. He died in a battle on the banks of the Guadiaro; descendants of his held high rank in the Zanāta forces in Spain. At the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of Abū Yaddās's brother al-ʿAṭṭāf, entered the service of the Hammūdid dynasty and was given command of Cordova. But it was Abū Nūr, son of Abū Ḳurra, another brother of Abū Yaddās, who played a considerable part in Muslim Spain in the first half of the 5th/11th century. In 405/1014-5 he succeeded in driving from the town of Ronda the governor, ʿĀmir b. Futūḥ, who was ruling there in the name of the Umayyad dynasty, and established himself there as an independent prince. In addition to Ronda, his principality included the town of Takurunna (Tacoronna). If Ibn al-Khaṭīb is to be believed, Abū Nūr obtained this territory from Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam b. Sulaymān b. al-Nāṣir, who divided certain provinces of al-Andalus between the leaders of six Berber tribes which had settled in Spain. In 443/1051-2, with various other Berber leaders, Abū Nūr was forced to recognize the supremacy of the ʿAbbādids of Seville. He died soon afterwards, in 450/1058-9, and was succeeded by his son Abū Naṣr, who reigned until 457/1065, when he was murdered by a traitor acting with the connivance of the ʿAbbādid government.

It is quite probable that a section of the Banū Īfran settled in the neighbourhood of Mazarrón, in the province of Murcia. There is there a "diputación" called Ifre, a name which C. E. Dubler has connected with that of the Banū Īfran (or Ifrīn, the vocalization adopted by this scholar). It seems however that the

modern Ifre owes its name not to Ifran but to Ifri —the eponym of this tribe, according to the traditions of the mediaeval Berber genealogists. Moreover, it is not impossible that the modern Spanish place-name derives, not from the name of the tribe of the Banū Ifran or its eponym, but directly from the Berber word *ifri* "cavern".

Sicily.—It is possible that some families of Ifranid origin may have lived in Sicily, which was closely linked with Ifrīḳiya from the 3rd/9th century, and that certain warriors belonging to the Banū Ifran and deriving from branches of the Marandjīṣa and the Banū Wārkū may have made their way there with Aghlabid or Fāṭimid troops. Among the inhabitants of the town of Corleone mentioned in a mediaeval source, there is in fact a reference to a man bearing the name Ibn Abī Yafran and probably of Ifranid stock.

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(T. Lewicki)

IFRANDJ or Firandj, the Arabic term for the Franks. This name, which probably reached the Muslims via the Byzantines, was originally used of the inhabitants of the empire of Charlemagne, and later extended to Europeans in general. In medieval times it was not normally applied to the Spanish Christians [see andalus, djillīḳiyya and below], the Slavs [see ṣaḳāliba] or the Vikings [see madjūs ii], but otherwise was used fairly broadly of continental Europe and the British Isles. The land of the Franks was called ifrandja (Persian and Turkish *Firangistān*).

The earliest Muslim notions of the geographical configuration of Western Europe were derived from Ptolemy's *Geographikê Hyphêgêsis*, best known in the Arabic adaptation by al-Khuwārizmī. The earlier Muslim geographical writers have little to add to this. Ibn Khurradādhbih (ca. 232/846) knows that Ifrandja, with other 'lands of polytheism', adjoins Spain (*tudjāwir al-Andalus*) (*B.G.A.*, vi, 90), and is part of Europe, which he calls Arūfa (*ibid.*, 155). He mentions Frankish slaves and coral among imports arriving across the Mediterranean (*ibid.*, 92) and, in addition, gives a curious and often cited account of a group of Jewish merchants called Rādhāniyya [*q.v.*], who are said to have traded between the ports of Ifrandja and of the Middle East (*ibid.*, 153-4. C. Cahen, *Y a-t-il eu des Rahdānites?*, in *REJ*, ive sér, iii (cxxiii), 1964, 499-505, expresses some well-grounded doubts about this story). Other early geographers are equally brief on Ifrandja, though Ibn Rusta (ca. 290-300/903-13) mentions the British Isles (*B.G.A.*, vii, 85) and gives the fullest of several accounts of Rome (*ibid.*, 127-30: see further rūmiya). This is based on the report of a returned prisoner of war called Hārūn b. Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] who, to his description of Rome, appends a brief note on Ifrandja and Britain. The latter 'is ruled by seven kings'—obviously a belated allusion to the already defunct Anglo-Saxon heptarchy. Rather fuller information was available to Masʿūdī, who refers to the Franks both in the *Murūdj* (iii, 66-7, 69-72; ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, §§ 910-1, 914-6) and in the *Ṭanbīh* (*B.G.A.*, viii, 22 ff.; 176 ff., etc.). The Franks are, he says, descended from Japhet; they are a numerous, courageous, well-organized and well-disciplined people, with a vast and unified realm. They have some 150 cities, with Bawīra (? Barīza) as capital. Alone among Muslim authors of his time, Masʿūdī gives a list of the Frankish kings from Clovis to Louis IV, based, he tells us, on a book prepared by a Christian bishop for the Andalusian heir-apparent (later Caliph) al-Ḥakam in the year 328/939. He came across a copy of this book in Egypt in 336/947.

Diplomatic contacts between the Franks and the Caliphate were few, and have left little trace. The famous exchange of embassies between Charlemagne and Hārūn al-Rashīd is known only from a Frankish source; if it happened at all, it was of insufficient importance to attract the attention of the Arabic chroniclers, since they make no mention of it. Barthold has indeed rejected the whole story as inauthentic (*Sočineniya*, vi, Moscow 1966, 342-64, = *Khristianskiy Vostok*, i (1912), 69-94; for an opposing view see F. W. Buckler, *Harunu 'l-Rashid and Charles the Great*, Cambridge 1931; cf. F. F. Schmidt in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 409-11; Barthold, *Soč*, vi, 432-61 = *Khrist. Vostok*, iii (1915), 263-296; W. Ebermann, in *Islamica*, iii (1927), 233-5; S. Runciman, *Charlemagne and Palestine*, in *English Historical Review*, l (1935), 606-19; Madjīd Khaddūrī, *al-Ṣilāt al-diblūmāṭiḳiyya bayna Hārūn al-Rashīd wa-Sharlamān*, Baghdad 1939; G. Musca, *Carlo Magno ed Harun al-Rashid*, Bari 1963). The first definite report of a Frankish embassy to Baghdad dates from the year 293/906 when, according to *al-Dhakhāʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf*, by al-Awḥadī, an embassy arrived at the court of al-Muktafī from Bertha, daughter of king Lothair II of Lorraine and wife of Adalbert the Rich, Marquis of Ivrée (M. Hamidullah, *Embassy of Queen Bertha to Caliph al-Muktafi billah in Baghdad 293/906*, in *J. Pak. Hist. Soc.*, i (1953), 272-300; idem, in *Islam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, ii (1956-7), 115-45; G. Levi Della Vida, *La corrispondenza di Berta di Toscana col Califfo Muktafi*, in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, lxvi (1954), 21-38 = idem, *Aneddoti e svaghi arabi e non arabi*, Milan-Naples 1959, 26-44). The envoy, a

eunuch from North Africa, brought a variety of gifts, and a letter in the Frankish script, 'resembling the Greek writing, but straighter'. After some search, a Frank was found working in the clothing store, who read the letter and translated it into Greek, which was then translated by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn from Greek into Arabic. Some eighty years later Ibn al-Nadīm drew on this passage for his note on the Frankish script, included in his discussion of writing, and adds that he had often seen this script on Frankish swords (*Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1871, 20; on the high reputation of European swords among the Muslims see A. Zeki Validi [Togan], *Die Schwerter der Germanen nach arabischen Berichten des 9-11 Jahrhunderts*, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 19-37).

By far the most important known visitor from the Muslim lands to Europe in this period was Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb [*q.v.*], a Spanish Jew from Tortosa who travelled extensively in Frankish Europe ca. 354/965, probably on some sort of official mission for the Umayyad Caliph of Cordova. Ibn Yaʿḳūb's own account is lost, but is known from quotations by later geographers, especially Bakrī and Ḳazwīnī. This is the only personal description of Western Europe by a named traveller from the Muslim world, until the first Ottoman reports.

During the 11th century, the advance of Christendom against Islam in the Western, Central and Eastern Mediterranean brought a new relationship. For more than two centuries, Franks and Muslims were in close and regular contact—often in battle, but often also in trade, diplomacy, even, on occasion, in alliance. Knowledge of the Franks and their country was now, for the Muslims, a matter of practical necessity, and not just of intellectual curiosity. It is therefore the more remarkable that they should have continued to show so little interest. In the East, the Muslim chroniclers have much to say about the military and, to a lesser extent, the political activities of the Crusaders, whom they usually call Ifrandj. They show however very little concern with the internal affairs of the Crusading states, still less with the differences between the various national contingents, and none at all with their places of origin or reasons for coming. There are some personal impressions of contact with the Crusaders in the East, such as those of Ibn Djubayr and Usāma b. Munḳidh, but these are exceptional and without influence on later writers. Only one work is mentioned which purports to be an account 'of the Franks who had come to the lands of Islam in these years', by Ḥamdān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Athāribī, a 6th/12th century author (Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. H. Massé, Cairo 1919, 70; cit. F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 62). Characteristically, it has not survived, even in quotation. The main increases in Muslim knowledge of Europe come not from the East but from the West, from Spanish, Sicilian and North African authors like Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī, Ibn Saʿīd, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī [*qq.v.*]. These provide fuller and more accurate geographical information, which forms the basis of most later eastern accounts in Arabic.

The first extant Muslim work on Frankish history —apart from Masʿūdī's king-list—is that included by Rashīd al-Dīn in his universal history, the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. His informant was a Frankish traveller, probably a monk, who had come to the Mongol court in Persia as an envoy from the Papal Curia. Through him, Rashīd al-Dīn was able to use the work of a European chronicler whom Jahn has identified as Martin of Troppau, also known as Martin Polonus (d. 1278). From this source, supplemented by oral information, Rashīd al-Dīn was able to compile a brief history of the Holy Roman Emperors to Albert I and of the Popes to Benedict XI, both correctly described as living at that time.

Apart from other works associated with or based on the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, no other Muslim author appears to have written on Frankish history until the 10th/16th century. Even the great Ibn Khaldūn has little to say about Christian Europe, but merely remarks, with obvious caution, that he had 'heard of late' that the philosophic sciences were flourishing in those parts, 'but God knows best what goes on there' (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 93; tr. Rosenthal, iii, 117-8). In earlier days, Muslims no doubt had good reason for withholding from the Franks the scholarly interest which they had shown in the Greeks, Persians, and Indians. By the 8th/14th century however this attitude was dangerously out of date. Even the rapid growth of commercial and diplomatic relations after the Crusades evoked only a limited practical interest. In about 741/1340, Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī included two Western kings, of Spain and France, in his list of the sovereigns with whom the Sultan of Egypt corresponded, with a few details and the correct style and form of address for each. A later revision, the *Tathḳīf* adds a few more names, and Ḳalḳashandī provides a much fuller list of European states and rulers, with some information about each (ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, 60-5; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, viii, 33-53).

The Ottomans had dealings with Franks of various kinds from an early date—as merchants, as enemies, as neighbours, as diplomatic visitors. In Greece they conquered Frankish principalities; at Varna in 1444 they captured Frankish knights whom they paraded, in their splendid attire, across the lands of Islam as far as Herat (cf. the verses cited by Z. V. Togan in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi*, iii (1939), 535). By the 16th century they were involved in extensive and complex dealings with European states. Ottoman interest in Christian Europe, though far from overwhelming, is noticeably greater than among earlier Muslim peoples. This interest was nourished by closer contacts, by the flow of European visitors and renegades, and, in time, by a growing awareness of European power and wealth.

One expression of this interest is the study of European history, which, however limited in scope and impact, nevertheless marks a change from the almost total disregard of earlier times. In 580/1572 two writers, a translator and a *kātib*, completed, on the orders of the Reʾīs Efendi Ferīdūn Beg [*q.v.*], a Turkish version of a history of France, from the legendary Faramund to 1560. It survives in a unique manuscript (Babinger, 107). This was followed by the famous *Taʾrīkh al-Hind al-Gharbī* [*q.v.*], an account, adapted from European sources, of the discovery of the New World, and, in the 17th and 18th centuries, by a number of other historical and geographical works which give some account of Europe, drawn mostly from European sources [see DJUGHRĀFIYĀ VI; KĀTIB ČELEBI: MÜNEDJDJIM-BASHĪ; IBRĀHĪM MÜTEFERRIḲA]. During the 18th century some additional, if rather stereotyped information was provided by a sequence of Ottoman ambassadors who went on missions to the capitals of Europe. Similar reports on journeys to Europe, mostly by official envoys, were also written in Morocco and Persia (on Turkish reports see Babinger,

323 ff. and Koray[2], 196-7; on Persian reports, Storey, i/2, 1066-71, 1153, 1195; on Moroccan travellers, H. Pérès, *L'Espagne vue par les voyageurs musulmans de 1610 à 1930*, Paris 1937, and *Hespéris-Tamuda, passim*; see further SEFĀRETNĀME, SAFĪR). From India, two remarkable travellers left accounts of visits to Europe: Shaykh Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn and Abū Ṭālib Khān [*qq.v.*]—the first in 1765-6, the second between 1799 and 1803. Both works have been translated into English.

Between the 16th and the 19th centuries, 'Frank' came to be the common term, in most Muslim countries, for Christian Europeans in general. It was however limited, as Sāmī Frasheri explains (*Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, s.v. Firenk), to Catholics and Protestants; 'Russians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs and other orthodox peoples are not called Frank'. It has also, on occasion, been applied to various things believed to have been introduced by the Franks, such as syphilis, cannon, European dress, and modern civilization [see TAFARNUDJ].

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(B. LEWIS)

SPAIN

In the writings of the Arabs of Spain and the Maghrib the term Ifrandj (also often Ifrandja with the additional meaning of "land of the Ifrandj") denotes any of the Christian peoples with whom the writers are acquainted. The more usual term is *Rūm*, or for Peninsula Christians *Djalāliḳa* [see DJILLĪḲIYA] or *Bashkunish* [*q.v.*]. There appears to be no distinction between *Ifrandj* and *Rūm*, and though particular writers may be suspected of using them in specific ways it is impossible to be certain; writers certainly vary among themselves and it would be unsafe in any particular case, without corroborative evidence, to draw any definite conclusions solely on the basis of the use of the term *Ifrandj*. Thus Ibn al-Abbār says that in 614/1217 the *Ifrandj* took Alcácer do Sal (*Ḥulla*, ii, 290). The account in the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* (s.v. *Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis*) has *Rūm*. The author of the *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās* (*sub anno* 614) simply has *al-ʿaduww* (which is a common usage). The Christians concerned here were Portuguese assisted by German crusaders. The natural supposition that *Ifrandj* in principle means "the Franks" is not supported by the actual usage of historical writers. For instance Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Aʿmāl*, ii, 23) refers to a Christian king in north-western Spain as one of the kings of *Ifrandja*, but also to a raid on *bilād al-Rūm* which is clearly the Narbonne region (*Aʿmāl*, ii, 11-2). The earliest use of the word *Ifrandj* by a Spanish writer seems to be that of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (d. 367/977) who applies it to the inhabitants of the Saragossa region (p. 133).

This vagueness of terminology reflects a vagueness of knowledge, itself perhaps the result of a lack of curiosity, shared even by those who profess to give specifically geographical information. The rather scanty and confused corpus of material furnished by this class of writers does however show clear signs of a notion that *Ifrandj* = Franks. One strand of the web of tradition, distinguished by the use of the term *al-arḍ al-kabīra* for the continent north of the Pyrenees, has its earliest representation in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* of Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (Cairo n.d., 85). Ṣāʿid equates *Ifrandja al-ʿuẓmā* with *al-arḍ al-kabīra* but distinguishes it from *Ifrānsa*. Ṣāʿid's contemporary Bakrī (fl. 460/1067) and others after him such as ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī use similar phraseology but omit the reference to *Ifrānsa* (Bakrī, *Djughrāfiyat al-Andalus wa-Urūbba*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1968, 66-7; *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, s.v. *Ifrandja*). This is seemingly a native tradition owing nothing to the Orient, but another major strand is that found in its earliest form in Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 67; ed.-tr. Pellat, § 911). Notable features of Masʿūdī's account are that the *Ifrandj* are distinct from the *Djalāliḳa*—*i.e.*, they are not inhabitants of the Peninsula—and their capital is Paris. Both Bakrī (137 f.) and ʿAbd al-Munʿim (s.v. *Ifrandja*) use Masʿūdī's material with some additions of unknown provenance but neither writer handles his material in such a fashion as to convince the reader that it has been brought up to date or collated with the other information. Thus although the article *Ifrandja* in *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* gives a reasonably coherent account of France, the article *Burdīl* (Bordeaux), otherwise accurate, places that city in Djillīḳiya; and Barcelona is stated (s.v. *Barshalūna*) to be the residence of the king of *Ifrandja*. None of the extant travellers' accounts—Ghazāl, Ṭurṭūshī, Rabīʿ b. Zayd *alias* Recemundo—provides any information on the *Ifrandj*/Franks.

The picture of Western Europe which emerges is that of a vast, cold, but fertile land extending northwards to the limits of habitation and hemmed in on the east by mountains and forests in or beyond which dwell the *Ṣaḳāliba*. The Christian *Ifrandj*, though unhygienic in their habits, are hardy and good fighters. For long they owed allegiance to one king, whose capital is, or was, Paris or Lyons. So vague and fragmentary is this picture that one may with justification suspect that the extant literature does not represent fully the information on western Europe available to the Muslims of Spain.

Bibliography: In the text.

(J. F. P. HOPKINS)

AL-IFRĀNĪ (IFRANĪ, UFRĀNĪ, etc.) ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤĀDJDJ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, called al-Ṣaghīr, Moroccan historian and biographer, born at Marrākush *ca.* 1080/1669-70.

His father belonged to the Berber tribe of the Ifrān or Ufrān, which was settled in southern Morocco around the Wādī Darʿa. Very little is known of his life; he pursued his studies in his native town, then at Fez, and lived either in one of the main cities of Morocco or in the *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] of the *S̲h̲arḳāwa* [*q.v.*] of Abu 'l-D̲j̲aʿd (Boujad). Towards the end of his life he was an *imām* and preacher (*k̲h̲aṭīb*) in the Yūsufī *masd̲j̲id* (or Madrasat Ibn Yūsuf) at Marrākus̲h̲; he died in either 1156/1743 or 1157/1745 (G. Deverdun, *Un registre d'inventaire et de prêt . . . daté de 1111/1700*, in *Hespéris*, 1944, 59 and ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, ii, 15).

Al-Ifrānī is known primarily as the author of the great chronicle of the Saʿdid sultans of Morocco entitled *Nuzhat al-ḥādī bi-ak̲h̲bār mulūk al-ḳarn al-ḥādī*, published with Fr. tr. by O. Houdas, *Nozhet elhadi, Histoire de la dynastie saadienne au Maroc (1151-1610)*, Paris 1888-9 (= PELOV, 3rd ser., vol. ii) (and lith. Fez. 1307). This is by far the most important source for the history of the first of the S̲h̲arīfī dynasties of Morocco, since it is based not only on the content of the contemporary chronicles but also, to a certain extent, on original archive material. It covers altogether the period from 917/1511-2 to the end of the 11th/17th century and deals, though very unequally, with the reigns of the various Saʿdid princes, the longest and most detailed account being of course that of the reign of the sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

In addition to his history of the Saʿdids, al-Ifrānī wrote various other historical, biographical or literary works. The principal ones are, in the order in which they were written: (1) *al-Maslak al-sahl fī s̲h̲arḥ taws̲h̲īḥ Ibn Sahl*, a commentary on a poem by the famous Spanish poet Ibrāhīm Ibn Sahl [*q.v.*], (lith. Fez 1324); (2) a monograph on the ʿAlawid sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf* or *al-Ẓill al-warīf fī mafāk̲h̲ir mawlānā Ismāʿīl ibn al-S̲h̲arīf*; (3) a collection of biographies of the Moroccan saints of the 11th/17th century, *Ṣafwat man intas̲h̲ar min ak̲h̲bār ṣulaḥā' al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿas̲h̲ar*; this (lith. Fez n.d.) is an essential work for the history of the S̲h̲arīfī and marabout movement in Morocco from the end of the Middle Ages.

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(G. DEVERDUN)

IFRĀṬ, IFRĀṬ FI'L-ṢIFA [see MUBĀLAG̲H̲A].

IFRĪḲIYA, the eastern part of the Mag̲h̲rib, whence the name adopted by some modern historians for Eastern Barbary.

The term *Ifrīḳiya* is undoubtedly—whatever the Arab writers say—borrowed from the Latin *Africa*, so the origin of the Arabic word must be sought in the etymology of the Latin term, a question which, from the most ancient times to today, has continued to defeat scholars. What is certain is that the term *Africa*, and the other forms derived from the same radical *Afer* (pl. *Afri*), are attested in the Latin sources well before the fall of Carthage; it is known in particular that the elder Scipio (235-183 B.C.) had received after his victory over Hannibal at Zama (202 B.C.) the by-name of "Africanus"; the adjective *africus* is also attested many times in a period before the fall of Carthage (146 B.C.), whose territory, annexed by Rome, was called *Provincia Africa*, "or, through omission of the substantive, simply *Africa*" (Gsell, *Hist. ancienne*, vii, 2). This *Provincia Africa* was the country of the Afri, a term which, after having been applied to the natives of the territories of Carthage and even sometimes used to distinguish them from the *Poeni* or the *Carthaginienses*, had ended by embracing also the latter—as may indeed be inferred from the by-name of the conqueror of Hannibal. These are the only definite facts on the matter.

After this there are few precise indications on the origin of the term *Africa*, and there is no unanimity of opinion on the matter. Fournel, in 1875, declared unequivocably: "I have no hesitation in saying that it is absolutely unknown" (*Berbers*, i, 23); Gsell, some decades later, stated: "It is better to admit our ignorance on the origin of this name" (*Hist. ancienne*, vii, 5); and we are no further forward today. Nevertheless, from ancient times to today, there have been advanced a number of theories, in varying degrees ingenious or convincing, which may be classified into two main groups.

1. The mythical etymologies. From remotest antiquity, a certain number of explanations, all based on the genealogical myth of divine or heroic origin entertained in the ancient world, have been put forward. For example *Africa* was considered to be the country of the children of Afer, the son of a "princess Libya, either a native, or a daughter of Jupiter, or of Neptune, or of Epaphus" (d'Avezac, *Afrique*, 4); or else the son of the Libyan Hercules; or of Cronos and Philyra; or of Abraham and Keturah; or the grandson of Abraham and the leader of an expedition to Libya, etc. (for the sources, see Gsell, *Hist. ancienne*, vii, 4).

The Arabs, certainly not completely ignorant of these legends, which were probably fairly widespread in the country they had just conquered, themselves showed no less imagination. They adopted mainly a system of explanation probably influenced on the one hand by the ancient myths and based in addition on the model which had allowed them to propound the existence of an Arab race, that is by supposing the existence of an eponymous ancestor named generally *Ifrīḳīs* (= Africus), or sometimes *Ifrīḳīs̲h̲*, who gave his name to the Ifrīḳiyans and to their country. This explanation, later taken up with variants by most of the Arab chroniclers and geographers, represents in fact one single tradition which had been collected and disseminated by His̲h̲ām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. between 204 and 206/819-21) [see AL-KALBĪ].

It should however be noted that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (187-257/803-71), who belonged to a family of serious *faḳīh*s and *muḥaddit̲h̲*s and who was the author of the earliest written source on the history of the conquest of Ifrīḳiya, does not mention this explanation in his work, probably advisedly. Ibn al-Kalbī is considered by serious traditionists as not to be trusted (Yāḳūt, xix, 287-8). Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, with his well-known critical approach, mentions it in his *Muḳaddima* (16) only as an example of the "false tales" (*al-ak̲h̲bār al-wāhiya*) with which his predecessors had padded out their works. And when he reproduces it later (*ʿIbar*, ii, 95, 108, 170), he does

so without taking any responsibility for it, or clearly indicating his reservations about it (ii, 170).

Ifriḳis or Ifriḳis͟h is of course always presented by the chroniclers relating the legend as a purely Arab hero. His history is always in some degree linked with the origin, still obscure, of the Berbers [*q.v.*], whom the Arabs generally described as Canaanite or Himyarite orientals. Ifriḳis, whose genealogy is given with a number of variants, is presented as a powerful king of the Yemen, contemporary with Solomon; he is said to have conquered the Mag͟hrib, to which he gave his name, and established permanently there certain south Arabian tribes. Al-Balād͟huri (d. circa 279/892), following Ibn al-Kalbi, refers to him as Ifriḳis b. Ḳays b. Ṣayfi al-Ḥimyari, and the same descent is given in Ibn K͟haldūn. But he is also sometimes given, among others, the name of Ifriḳis b. Abraha b. al-Rāʾis͟h (al-Masʿūdi, *Murūd͟j*, index; al-Bakri, *Masālik*, 21; Yāḳūt, i, 228).

The Arab chroniclers put forward also another explanation, equally mythical, in which however the hero who gave his name to Ifrīḳiya becomes a Biblical character. According to this explanation, which echoes the Greco-Jewish legend related by Josephus (Tissot, *Exploration*, i, 389, note 5), this hero was Ifriḳ (= Epher), son of Abraham and his second wife Faṭūrā (= Keturah) (al-Bakri, *Masālik*, 21); or else Fāriḳ b. Bayṣar b. Ḥām b. Nūḥ (Noah) (Yāḳūt, i, 228). Other genealogies, equally Biblical, are suggested by Ibn Abi Dīnār (*Muʾnis*, 19).

2. The philological etymologies. Other explanations, based on the Arabic root *FRḲ* (= to separate) which is detected in "Ifrīḳiya", have also been advanced by al-Birūni (d. after 442/1050, cited by Yāḳūt, i, 228), al-Zabīdi (*TA*, vii, 46), and Ibn Abi Dīnār (*Muʾnis*, 19); they explain that Ifrīḳiya was so called "because it separates Egypt from the Mag͟hrib" (*faraḳat bayna Miṣr wa 'l-Mag͟hrib*), according to Leo Africanus (tr. Epaulard, 3), because it is separated from Europe, and partly from Asia, by the Mediterranean.

A number of other etymologies, all by philological derivation, some ancient and others suggested by modern scholars, have been worked out from Latin, Greek or Semitic roots.

The name "Africa" is made to derive: from the Latin word *aprica* (= the Hot), an etymology suggested by Isidorus ("Africam quidam inde nominatam existimant, quasi apricam, quod sit aperta caelo vel soli et sine horrore frigoris") and Servius (see Tissot, *Exploration*, i, 289, note 2; Gsell, *Afrique*, vii, 3, note 8), and mentioned also by Ibn Abi Dīnār who, linking the Latin word to an Arabic root, writes: "Ibn al-S͟habbāṭ, citing various sources, assures us that Ifrīkiya was called *Ibrīḳiya* [= Aprica], a word derived from *barīḳ* [brightness], because its sky is cloudless" (*Muʾnis*, 19); or from the Greek word *a-phrike* (= deprived of cold) (see d'Avezac, *Afrique*, 4); or from the semitic root *FRḲ*.

M. d'Avezac (*Afrique*, 4-5), after mentioning that the word *Africa* had been regarded as representing "a territory rich in spices, the country of palm-trees, the region of dust, the divided country, the land of Barqah", adds: "But how artificial these various conjectures appear beside the very simple statement of Suidas, that Africa was the ancient name of Carthage itself . . . and the basic etymology of this early name of Carthage is simply and naturally supplied by the language of Carthage itself, referring to Afryqah as a "separated" settlement, a colony of Tyre; and the Arabs came, by a regular derivation, to refer to the region dependent upon this ancient Afryqah as Afryqyah".

This explanation, which was adopted by de Slane and rejected by Fournel, Tissot, and Gsell, involves two main difficulties: (a) Firstly, it is not absolutely certain that Carthage had the name of "Afryqah" in ancient times. The isolated attestation of Suidas (Carthago, quae Africa et Byrsa dicta fuit) is that of a late author (9th-10th centuries A.D.) whom many consider unsound. It is therefore not conclusive (Fournel, *Berbers*, i, 24, n. 2; Gsell, *Afrique*, vii, 3, n. 2). (b) Furthermore, to the difficulties of derivation is added the fact that the word Afer or its derivatives, which are probably not Latin words, have not been found in any Punic inscription, either in the time of Gsell (*Afrique*, vii, 4) or today.

It was therefore natural to consider other etymologies taken from Berber words: from *ifri* (cave); or from the Ifran [*q.v.*]; or from the name of the tribe of the Awrig͟ha.

The last etymology was first suggested by Carette, prompted by the derivation of the word Libya, used by the Greeks, and which originally referred to the country of the *Lebou* or *Luwāta*. Reasoning along the same lines, he wrote on the origin of the term *Africa*: "It was probably for the Phoenician colonists of Carthage what the name of Libya had been for the Greek colonists of Cyrene . . ., a name borrowed from the people with whom they first came in contact, and already traditionally in use in the country; a name earlier even than that of Libya, since the settlement of the Carthaginians was earlier than that of the Cyreneans" (*Recherches*, 309-10). After adding that "this origin of the name of Africa is not based on any documents", but that it nevertheless seemed to him "probable", he attempts, with the help of some rather tenuous proofs, to establish that the Awrig͟ha must, in the remotest antiquity, have inhabited the territory occupied by Carthage. Under the domination of the latter, "this tribe of the Aourir'a [= Awrig͟ha] may have been destroyed or dispersed, except for one single group, the Haouâra . . ." (*Recherches*, 311).

This explanation was adopted by Vivien de Saint-Martin and by Tissot, who identified the Awrig͟ha with the "Afāriḳa" of the Arab geographers, and with the "Ifuraces" of Corippus. We know today that this identification is hazardous. Furthermore, Carette's explanations are based only on the most fragile of hypotheses. In the absence of definite facts, and if one is not (with the prudence of Fournel or Gsell) to admit that one knows nothing, it seems that the least hazardous hypothesis remains that which makes the term Africa (= *Ifrīḳiya*) derive from the Semitic root *FRḲ*. Indeed, since the Romans could neither have found the word in their own language nor have borrowed it from the Greeks (who called Ifrīḳiya "Libya"), they can have received it only from their predecessors, the Carthaginians, whose heirs they had become through the fortunes of war. The "Land of Africa" or the *Provincia Africa* —the Ifrīḳiya of the Arabs—referred first of all in fact to the territory which had been conquered from Carthage and fallen under the authority of Rome. This is the only fact which is indisputably established.

Since the Arabic script does not indicate all the vowels, there exists some uncertainty about the spelling of the word Ifrīḳiya. The compilers of some dictionaries reproduce the word without vocalization, and give no indication of how it is to be read (*Ḳāmūs*, iii, 275; *Ṣiḥāḥ*, iv, 1543). In Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933),

the word is vocalized thus: *Ifrīḳiyya* (*Djamhara*, i, 126), without any indication whether this vocalization is that of the author or of the editor. Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*, x, 307) states that it should be read *Ifrīḳiya* (*mukhaffafat al-yāʾ*); and al-Zabīdī (*TA*, vii, 46) adopts the same spelling. He stipulates that it should be read (*bi ʾl-kasr . . . wa-hiya mukhaffafa*). These two writers also add that the plural of Ifrīḳiya is *Afāriḳ*, and quote two verses of al-Aḥwaṣ (which are not an absolutely conclusive proof). In Ibn Abī Dīnār, the word is sometimes spelt Ifrīḳiyā (in the title for example), and sometimes Ifrīḳiya (*Muʾnis*, 19).

Today's usage is mainly as follows: Ifrīḳiyā is used when referring to the African continent, and Ifrīḳiya when referring to the mediaeval Arabo-Muslim territory which bore this name.

The limits of Ifrīḳiya. The boundaries of this territory are very indefinite. The details given by the various Arabo-Muslim geographers and historians do not always agree, and it is clear that the exact frontiers of Ifrīḳiya were never very precisely understood.

In general, the first Arab historians of the conquest confused Ifrīḳiya with the territory which came under the power of the exarch Gregory, whose authority was considered to extend from Tripoli to Tangiers (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871), *Futūḥ*, 42-3; al-Balādhurī (d. circa 279/892), *Futūḥ*, i, 267). One page before this, however, the same al-Balādhurī makes ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ write, in a letter addressed to ʿUmar: "We have reached Tripoli, a town separated from Ifrīḳiya by nine days' march". Al-Warrāḳ (4th/10th century), the source of al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 21), considered that "the boundaries of Ifrīḳiya extend, in length, from Barḳa in the east to Tangiers the Green, called also Mauritania, in the west. In width, its boundaries extend from the sea to the sands which mark the beginning of the country of the Black People (*al-Sūdān*)" (see also Yāḳūt, i, 228; al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, fol. 75; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʾnis*, 20). Thus all these writers regarded Ifrīḳiya as comprising the whole of the Maghrib. This idea, as a result of political vicissitudes, became progressively modified in other authors.

The geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. circa 272/885), who divides the inhabited world into four parts, adopts the Greek terminology to describe the African continent; he calls it *Lūbya* (= Libya) and includes in it Egypt, Abyssinia, the country of the Berbers, etc. (*Masālik*, 24-5). He reserves the term Ifrīḳiya for the Aghlabid kingdom, of which he lists the main towns (*Masālik*, 6-7). This tendency to limit Ifrīḳiya proper, at the most to the kingdom which was that of the Aghlabids, re-appears in most of the other geographers (Ibn al-Faḳīh (d. circa 290/903), *Buldān*, 30-1; al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. circa 350/961), *Masālik*, 33; Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229), i, 228; Marrākushī (d. circa 647/1249), *Muʿdjib*, 273, 433-42). This kingdom extended from the east of Bougie to a few parasangs from Barḳa (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 215).

Saḥnūn (d. 240/855), however, considered that "the boundaries of Ifrīḳiya extend from Tripoli to Tobna" (*apud* al-Dāwūdī, *Amwāl*, in *Mél. Lévi-Provençal*, ii, 409). For al-Muḳaddasī (d. circa 375/985) "the first district (*ḳūra*) on coming from Egypt is that of Barḳa; next come Ifrīḳiya, the districts of Tāhart, of Sidjilmāsa and of Fās, then Sūs al-Aḳṣā" (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 4-5), and he mentions, among the towns of Ifrīḳiya, Djazīrat Banī Zaghnāya (Algiers), Mattīdja (Mittidja) and Ashīr, that is to say, regions over which the Aghlabids never had any authority. It should finally be noted that Yāḳūt fixes its western limits, according to some, at Bougie or at Miliana, whereas Ibn Abī Dīnār states that in his time (end of the 11th/17th century) the word Ifrīḳiya was hardly used any more, except of the plain of the Medjerda as far as Bēja (*Muʾnis*, 20). This last usage has still not entirely disappeared from the Bedouin language of Tunisia.

In short, Ifrīḳiya was sometimes confused with the whole of the Maghrib and sometimes considered as a geographically separate region. It may be said that the geographical Ifrīḳiya consisted essentially of the ancient (Numidia) Proconsularis and Byzacena, which formed the nucleus of it, to which were later added Tripolitania, the Numidia of the Aurès, and even a part of Sitifian Numidia. Upon this geographical concept was superimposed an administrative concept. Because of this Ifrīḳiya tended to be confused, in the writings of the chroniclers, with the territory which in the Middle Ages was ruled in turn from Ḳayrawān, from Mahdiyya or from Tunis, a territory which expanded or contracted according to the vicissitudes of history. This explains the often ambiguous use of the term, the implication of which becomes clear only in relation to the context and the period.

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Siècle, in *SI*, xxvii (1967), 88-94; see also ALGERIA, BERBERS, LIBYA, MOROCCO, TUNISIA.

(M. TALBI)

ʿIFRĪT, sometimes connected with *nifrīt*, wicked, is an epithet expressing power, cunning and insubordination. In spite of its aberrant form, the word seems to be of Arabic origin. The lexicographers consider it to derive from the verb *ʿafara*, "to roll someone in the dust" and, by extension, "to bring low".

The word is used rarely in Arabic poetry of the time of the *Hidjra* and is found only once in the Ḳurʾān. To Solomon's request that he should be brought the throne of the queen of Sheba, "an *ʿifrīt* of the *djinn*s said, 'I shall bring it to you before you can rise from your place'" (XXVII, 39). From all the evidence, and as is also confirmed by the beginning of verse 40 of the same *sūra*, the epithet is not there used of a special category of *djinn*s but in the sense of "rebellious". A *ḥadīth* attributed to Muḥammad and reported by Abū Hurayra uses the same expression: "*ʿifrīt min al-djinn*" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1334, ii, 72; cf. al-Damīrī, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1319, i, 173).

After its use in the Ḳurʾān, the word became more widely used: in its substantive form, it came to mean a class of particularly powerful chthonian forces, formidable and cunning. It would, however, be difficult to state exactly its implication because of the ambiguity of the term *djinn*, which is applied to everything hidden and veiled from sight, and includes demons as well as *mārid*. The latter word, which is also found only once in the Ḳurʾān (XXXVII, 7), is used there also as an adjective and means strictly "rebel" (cf. Ḳurʾān, IV, 117, XXII, 3). But it in its turn ended by being used of one particular class of fantastic beings from the nether regions, which are difficult to distinguish from the *ʿafārīt*. The Islamic theologians must soon have felt the necessity of providing a clearer definition of these rather obscure and shifting notions. The majority of the commentators considered both the one and the other to be rebellious and wicked demons. Al-Djāḥiẓ provides more precise definitions. According to him, the *shayṭān* is a renegade *djinnī* who sows discord and does evil; one who is strong enough to perform difficult tasks, carry heavy burdens and overhear what passes in the upper regions (cf. Ḳurʾān, XXXVII, 6-10, LXXII, 8-9) is a *mārid*; one who is more powerful still is an *ʿifrīt* (*Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1356, i, 291). In fact, the difference between these infernal beings is not a qualitative one at all; it is solely a matter of their varying abilities to perform marvels.

From this general point of view, the popular tales are in agreement with al-Djāḥiẓ. But they often represent the *mārid* as superior to the *ʿifrīt*; he is even forty times stronger than him (*Sayf b. Dhī Yazan*, Cairo n.d., iii, 155). He has at his command a thousand auxiliaries, *ʿawn*; each auxiliary has under his orders a thousand *shayṭān*s, each of whom is in command of a thousand *djinnī*s ("Thousand and one nights", no. 995). Nevertheless this superiority is not always asserted. It can happen that the *ʿifrīt* dominates its rivals from afar (*Sayf*, ii, 131, 286 f.). The storytellers even add a subtle remark which is certainly surprising: the *djinnī* and the *ʿifrīt* are endowed with the same strength; but the *djinnī* surpasses the *ʿifrīt* in its power to assume different forms, which the latter is incapable of doing (*Sayf*, iii, 155). However, in the "Thousand and one nights" the *ʿifrīt* appears to humans in the most varied forms (nights nos. 14 and 22). The same is true of the *mārid*, which transforms itself into a bird, a snake, a woman, etc. It would in fact be difficult to establish a real distinction between the two main types of the Arab chthonian genies. Moreover it is not unusual for editors to use indiscriminately the terms *ʿifrīt* and *mārid* (nights nos. 3, 4, 672, 674, 675; *Sayf*, i, 45, 49, 97, 127), which leads to the conclusion that they are synonymous. In fact they certainly come from the same mould, so that it is possible for the same description to serve for both.

In the popular tales, the *ʿifrīt*, like the *mārid*, is a *djinnī* of enormous size (night no. 1; *Sayf*, i, 47). It is formed basically of smoke (night no. 3; *Sayf*, ii, 2), which allows it to contract and to insert itself into a jar (night no. 3). When it is wounded, smoke emerges from its wounds (*Sayf*, i, 50, 97), although, in the Ḳurʾān, the *djinn*s are created of "clear fire" (LV, 15). It has wings which it unfolds when it takes flight (night no. 179; *Sayf*, i, 50). It haunts ruins (night no. 991) and lives under the ground (nights nos. 6 and 184; *Sayf*, i, 47), which is its true habitat. In spite of its great power, it is possible for man to enslave it, with the help of God and by means of magic. The sharpest weapons have no effect on it (*Sayf*, ii, 287); in order to wound or kill it, it must be bewitched (*Sayf*, i, 43, 162).

On the moral plane, the *ʿafārīt* are not fundamentally evil. One of them takes pity on an unfortunate husband terrorized by his wife (night no. 991), another allies himself with an *ʿifrīta*, to give help to a young girl who is being forced to marry a hideous hunchback (nights nos. 21 and 22). However, it is wickedness that predominates among this species of renegades. They carry away men's daughters (*Sayf*, i, 96) and will stop at no misdeed. It is from among them that the magicians choose their acolytes. But there are also believing *ʿafārīt*, who do good and carry out God's purposes.

Like all the djinns, the *ʿafārīt* are divided into males and females, but the *ʿifrīta* (nights nos. 2 and 22) sometimes seems to be more powerful than the male (*Sayf*, i, 94). They marry among themselves, and it is possible for them to marry humans (nights nos. 2 and 659). Their social organization is an imitation of that of the Arabs. They are divided into tribes and clans and ruled by kings who sometimes go to war (nights nos 652-9): Their conception of honour is inspired by that of the Bedouin; they are obliged especially to carry out blood vengeance (*Sayf*, ii, 160, 167).

The term *ʿifrīt* may be used of humans, and even of animals. It then expresses cunning, ingenuity and strength (*al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ* and *LA*, art. *ʿafara*). In contemporary Islam it always has the meaning of "powerful and formidable demon". In Egypt, together with this general meaning (Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1895, 232), which gives supremacy to the *mārid* (A. Amin, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt*, Cairo 1953, 355), it means also the ghost or spirit of a person deceased (Lane, *ibid.*, 236). In the Arabic dialect of Syria, it means both a chthonian genie and a man who is intelligent and resourceful.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, the main works on *djinna* may be consulted: Shiblī, *Akām al-murdjān fī aḥkām al-djān*; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*; N. T. Niʿma, *al-Djinn fi ʾl-adab al-ʿarabī*, Beirut 1961; J. Henninger, *Geisterglaube bei den vorislamischen Arabern*, in *Studia Instituti Anthropos*, xviii (1963). It should be mentioned in passing that Wensinck

rejects the Latin etymology of the word *djinn* and considers, with Wellhausen, that it is of Arabic origin (*The etymology of the Arabic djinn*, 506, in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 5e reeks, Deel IV, Amsterdam 1920). See the discussion in J. Chelhod, *Les structures du sacré chez les Arabes*, Paris 1965, 70.

(J. CHELHOD)

IFRUḲLUS [see BURUḲLUS].

ĪGHĀR, verbal noun of the fourth form of the root *w.gh.r.* (?), meaning here an exemption or a privilege with respect to taxes. The classical ʿAbbāsid administration used this term both for the privilege, and for the land which was covered by this privilege, of having to pay only one single tax payment, directly to the Treasury and not through tax-collectors. The districts of Mardj and Karadj in western Iran are regularly referred to as al-Īghārayn even after they had lost the official status which earned them this name. In the following centuries the term *īghār* disappeared, becoming absorbed in that of *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] which gradually broadened in connotation.

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IGHARGHAR, EGHERGHER in Tuareg, is a Saharan wādī to the north of the massif of Hoggar (Ahaggar). Its most important tributary is, on the west, the Taghmert n-Akh. The basin of the Igharghar runs from the volcanic massif of Atakor, in the south, to the plateaus of primary sandstone of the "Tassilian enceinte" (Emmidin and Tassili of the Azdjer), surrounded by the granitic and metamorphic mountains of Tefedest and Turha. The Igharghar and its tributaries flow, usually intermittently, at the most once a year and their waters do not usually reach as far as Amguid. To the north of Amguid a secondary flow seems however to take place along the gorges which cross the *hamada* of Tinghert. Then the bed of the Igharghar disappears in the dunes of the great eastern Erg. It may perhaps have had a longer course during the wet spells of the Quaternary Age via the Gassi Touil and the Oued Righ to as far as the Melghir salt lake. The valley of the Igharghar, affording very poor pasturage, is not a route of much importance. Amguid is a minor administrative centre and the small agricultural centres (*arem*) such as Idelès, upstream, are rare and often temporary.

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(J. DESPOIS)

IGHRĀḲ, IGHRĀḲ FI'L-ṢIFA [see MUBĀLAGHA].

ĪHĀM [see TAWRIYA].

IḤDĀTH, *maṣdar* of *aḥdatha*, from the root *ḥ.d.th.*, which expresses the idea of an innovation in time. *Ḥadīth* is the opposite of *ḳadīm*, "ancient", whence "eternal" *a parte ante*; *ḥudūth* is the opposite of *ḳudma*.

In the Ḳurʾān the fourth form (*yuḥdith*, *muḥdath*) is used with the direct object *dhikr*. Commenting on XX, 113, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī considers why the Word of God produces a *dhikr* and not a *taḳwā*; the reason, he suggests, is that "*taḳwā* denotes the act of not doing evil, and it consists in remaining in a fundamental negativeness" (*wa-dhālika 'stimrār ʿala 'l-ʿadam al-aṣlī*); "as for the production of *dhikr*, it is something new coming into being after not having existed (*ammā ḥudūth al-dhikr fa-amr ḥadath baʿd an lam yakun*)". *Ḥadath* clearly contrasts here with *istimrār*, an unchanging permanence; remembering, in fact, denotes a change of state which causes a transition from oblivion to memory. In his commentary on XXI, 2, where we find *dhikr muḥdath*, he explains that God renews men's memory (*yudjaddid lahum al-dhikr*) at every moment (*waḳtan fa-waḳtan*), verse after verse and sūra after sūra. It may be called a continuous revelation, that is to say constantly renewed, parallel to continuous creation. One cannot, however, follow the Muʿtazila, who, on the basis of this verse, argue thus: the Ḳurʾān is *dhikr*, *dhikr* is *muḥdath* (created) and so the Ḳurʾān is created. The Ḳurʾān, which uses many terms to signify creation, does not use *aḥdatha* in this sense.

In the *ḥadīth* on Medina, according to the explanation of the *LA*, the expression *aḥdatha ḥadathan* means to introduce or to encourage an innovation, in the sense of a heretical innovation, *bidʿa*; this is interesting in that it brings together the two roots *ḥ.d.th.* and *b.d.ʿ.*, and, consequently, *iḥdāth* and *ibdāʿ* (*cf. infra*).

In his *Taʿrīfāt*, al-Djurdjānī is very close to the lexicographical sense. *Iḥdāth* is the act of bringing into existence a thing that is preceded by a time (*īdjād shayʾ masbūḳ bi-'l-zamān*). *Muḥdath*, then, is contrasted with *sābiḳ*, that which precedes and is a time. The idea of a production in time can be applied to everything that appears, in this world, for the first time in a moment of time, or to the creation in time of the universe (a doctrine rejected by the philosophers). Ibn Manẓūr writes (*LA*): "*Ḥudūth* is the generation (*kawn*) of something that did not exist". This root is then applied to the creation of beings by God; this is made clear in the sentence: *lam yakun, thumma kāna*, "it was not, *then* it was". These expressions do not, in themselves, necessarily imply creation *ex nihilo*, for, in the view of the *falāsifa*, *kawn*, in the Aristotelian sense of γένεσις, is the actualization of a material potentiality; this presupposes the existence of a matter. Ibn Rushd writes: "If something is produced without change it must be produced from a non-thing (*law kāna yaḥduth shayʾ min ghayr taghayyur la-ḥadatha min lā-shayʾ*)". He defines *takawwun* (establishment in being) as a production that follows a change (*ḥudūth tābiʿ li-taghayyur*). Immediate and absolute *ḥudūth* or *iḥdāth* is inconceivable to him.

For the senses in which Ibn Sīnā uses *iḥdath*, in comparison with *ibdāʿ*, *ṣunʿ* and *takwīn*, A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, should be consulted, as should also *La distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sīnā* (see the index under Ḥ.d.ṯ.) and the *Livre des Directives et Remarques* (trans. of the *Ishārāt*, notes to pages 373, 377, 386), both by the same author. Apart from the general sense of "produce", Ibn Sīnā gives many precise philosophical senses. He distinguishes between *al-iḥdāth al-zamānī*, the act of bringing into existence a thing which did not exist at an earlier time (*fī zamān sābiḳ*), and *al-iḥdāth al-ghayr zamānī*, the bringing into existence of a thing that does not contain that existence in its essence, not at one time to the exclusion of another, but at any time. Since time is not generated through generation in time, but through immediate creative production (*ibdāʿ*), the Creator (*muḥdith*) is anterior not in time, but by essence. Then again, every effect (*maʿlūl*) is *muḥdath*, for it draws its existence from something else. In this sense, *iḥdāth* consists in bringing into existence an essence which, in itself, is merely possible, and the *muḥdath* is thus the contingent, not in the

sense that it could equally exist or not exist, but in the sense that, when it exists, it does not exist of itself. This relation of ideas is well demonstrated in a commentary of Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the famous verse 117 of the *sūrat al-baḳara*: "Immediate Creator (*badīʿ*) of the heaven and the earth, and when he has decided something he has only to say to it: Be! and it is". Al-Rāzī writes, in a style rather like that of Avicenna: "Everything that is not the necessary Being is possible (*mumkin*) by its essence; everything that is possible by its essence is brought into being (*muḥdat͟h*; here, not in time); and every *muḥdat͟h* is created (*mak͟hlūḳ*) as a creature of the necessary Being". Then, showing that it is impossible to take this verse literally, he interprets it by a *taʾwīl* and says that it indicates "the speed with which divine power enters upon the bringing into being of things: God creates (*yak͟hliḳ*) them, but not with reflexion, taking precautions or experimentation". *Kun*, then, relates to Avicenna's sense of *ibdāʿ*, conformably with the first word of the verse, *badīʿ*. In fact, however, there is no need to distinguish between two kinds of action, in the case of the creation of the world by God; it may be said that *iḥdāt͟h*, with reference to the Creator, is an *ibdāʿ*, inasmuch as it denotes the immediate action of the first Cause. When the first cause, however, produces, through an intermediary, secondary causes, *iḥdāt͟h* is the term that applies, and it must then be distinguished from *ibdāʿ*.

When we leave *falsafa*, the inheritor of the metaphysics of matter and form, and move to As͟hʿarite theology, which is founded on the idea of the discontinuity of time and that of the reality of bodies, creation *ex nihilo* is more easily justified as the only logical solution of the contingency of creatures. Al-Bāḳillānī distinguishes the knowledge of the *ḳadīm*, the object of which is God, from the knowledge of the *muḥdat͟h*, the object of which is the world (*ʿālam*). The beings of the world are divided into bodies which are compound, substances each of which is an atom (*d͟jawhar munfarid*), and accidents (*aʿrāḍ*), which exist in bodies and in substances. Everything that is not God is *muḥdat͟h*. Bodies, being compounded (*muʾallaf*), are necessarily produced in being; the same, however, is true of substances and accidents. The demonstration of this, in which al-Bāḳillānī makes a division into two, accident and substance (in his reasoning he no longer mentions substances, and replaces them by bodies, doubtless because the argument, which can be more easily grasped at the level of the compound, is for him equally valid for the simple), is as follows: accidents are realities which come into existence (*ḥawādit͟h*); when one is produced, motion, for example, another, rest, is destroyed. Bodies cannot, however, exist before their accidents exist, for, in their composition, the parts that compose them have certain accidental relationships of proximity of distance. Thus, if bodies do not precede accidents, which are *muḥdat͟hāt*, they are themselves necessarily created. It is apparent that atoms, also, cannot exist without being in a place, in rest or in motion and in some relationship with one another, all of which determinations are accidents, since they are variable. Thus these singular substances do not precede accidents, and they are created. Al-Bāḳillānī defines *muḥdat͟h* as a being that derives from not-being (*al-mawd͟jūd ʿan al-ʿadam*). Now, as an accident cannot subsist by itself in two successive moments of time, *iḥdāt͟h* is, broadly speaking, a continuous creation, just as much for *aʿrāḍ* as for *d͟jawāhir*. Substance is not a being that, once it exists, subsists by the laws of its nature alone. God makes it exist (*īd͟jād*) and subsist (*ibḳāʾ*), as al-Rāzī shows in many passages of his *Mafātīḥ al-g͟hayb*, especially in the commentary on the sūra *Sabā*. Thus we may say that, in the minds of the theologians, *iḥdāt͟h* is, relative to creation, both *īd͟jād* and *ibḳāʾ*. ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Bag͟hdādī presents the same ideas as al-Bāḳillānī in his *K. Uṣūl al-Dīn*.

The radical opposition of *ḳadīm* and *muḥdat͟h* is of Muʿtazilī origin. This school understands *īd͟jād* in the strict sense of the creation of existence, to the exclusion of essence. The Muʿtazila wish thus to banish from creation all exemplarism. The way that this problem of theirs is dealt with, however, is outside the terms of reference of a study of *iḥdāt͟h*.

It should be noticed that the idea of *iḥdāt͟h* can be distinguished from that of *k͟halḳ*, in that it refers rather to the newness of the thing created, whereas *k͟halḳ* denotes the actual act of the creator. In absolute terms, a *muḥdat͟h* whose *muḥdit͟h* does not exist can be conceived of. But, as Ibn Ḥazm points out, if the Creator (*K͟hāliḳ*) is the one that gives being (*mūd͟jid*), "God constantly causes every existing thing to exist throughout its existence". Ibn Ḥazm agrees with al-Naẓẓām in stating, in opposition to As͟hʿarite atomism, that continuous creation is not a succession of *iḥdāt͟h*, in which, at every moment, a creature's existence is renewed after having been destroyed, but an action that continues uninterruptedly as long as the creature is to survive: "*wa-'llāh mūd͟jid li-kull mā yūd͟jid fī kull waḳt abadan wa-in lam yufnihi ḳabl d͟hālik*" (*Fiṣal*, v, 55).

(R. Arnaldez)

IḤRĀM, *maṣdar* of the verb *aḥrama*, is an "act of declaring (or making) sacred or forbidden". The opposite is *iḥlāl* "act of declaring permitted". The word *iḥrām* had become a technical term for the state of temporary consecration of someone who is performing the *ḥad͟jd͟j* or the *ʿumra*; a person in this state is referred to as *muḥrim*. The entering into this holy state (also called *iḥlāl*) is accomplished, for men and women, by the statement of intention, accompanied by certain rites and in addition, for men, by the donning of the ritual garment. When making the intention, the pilgrim states the juridical type of pilgrimage which he wishes to perform [see ḤAD͟JD͟J, iii, § B]. To be in a state of *iḥrām* is considered an indispensable condition (by the Ḥanafīs) or *rukn* (by the three other schools) of both the great and the lesser Pilgrimage. For the *ḥad͟jd͟j* the entering into this state may normally take place during the months of S͟hawwāl, D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda and the beginning of D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja (up to and including the night of the 9th/10th). For the *ʿumra* it may take place at any time of the year, except for the middle days of the *ḥad͟jd͟j*.

The places (*mīḳāt* or *muḥall*) traditionally stipulated for the assumption of the *iḥrām* are: (a) For those coming from Syria, Egypt or the west: originally al-D͟juḥfa, now replaced by a locality near it, Rābig͟h (about 200 km. north-north-west of Mecca). (b) For those coming from ʿIrāḳ or further: D͟hāt ʿIrḳ, about 94 km. north-east of Mecca, at the foot of Mount ʿIrḳ, which dominates Wādī 'l-ʿAḳīḳ; this is the site of the present-day Ḍarība. (c) D͟hu 'l-Ḥulayfa (the present-day Abar ʿAlī, about ten kilometres from Medina) for the Medinans. (d) For those coming from the Yemen by the Red Sea coastal route: Yalamlam, a mountain of the Tihāma, 54 km. (?) or two stages (?) south of Mecca. (e) For the people of the Nad͟jd: Ḳarn al-Manāzil (to the east of ʿArafāt). (f) The people of Mecca and other Muslims

who are already in Mecca assume the *iḥrām* for the *ḥadjdj* in Mecca itself, but they are obliged to leave the holy ground (*ḥaram*) of Mecca if they propose to assume it for the *ʿumra*. In this case they will go for preference to al-Djiʿrāna or to Tanʿīm (the present-day masādjid ʿĀʾisha).

Pilgrims travelling by boat put on the holy garments while on board, when their boat draws level with the appropriate *mīḳāt*. Those travelling by air do so at the place from which they board the plane for Djudda.

The garment for men consists of two pieces of white seamless cloth. One (*izār*) is worn round the loins and falls to the knees like a wide loin-cloth. The other (*ridāʾ*) is draped round the upper half of the wearer's chest. This type of garment, which must formerly have been in common use, is still worn today by the Afars (or Danāḳil) in the deserts at the foot of the mountains of Ethiopia towards the Red Sea as well as by some Somali tribes of the country. The costume is completed by sandals (or, if need be, shoes which leave the ankles uncovered). Men's heads must be bare. In addition a sunshade may be used and papers or items of value may be carried in a leather shoulder-bag. There is no special garment for women, but propriety demands that they wear long sleeves, fairly long skirts and, nowadays, a kind of kerchief and head-veil.

The minutiae, and the differences between the juridical schools, are such that it is impossible to enumerate all the details here. Before entering that state of *iḥrām* the pilgrim usually performs a major ablution (*ghusl*) and has his hair and his nails cut and his armpits shaved. It is permitted at this stage to use a perfume which leaves no trace, as did the Prophet when he made his Farewell Pilgrimage. Two traditional *rakʿas* are performed (*sunna*). After this the pilgrim recites many times the *talbiya* [*q.v.*].

The jurists lay down the following points: it is forbidden to the *muḥrim* to wear any sewn garments; he must refrain from arguments, from hunting, from sexual intercourse, from perfumes, and from cutting or trimming the hair of his head or body or his nails. He is however permitted to wash himself and scrape his skin in moderation, but without causing any hairs to fall out. Any contract of marriage made while in the state of *iḥrām* is not valid. Expiatory measures are prescribed for those who fail to observe any secondary requirements of the ritual. All the prohibitions belonging to this state of consecration cease with the return to normal life following the final de-consecration [see ḤADJDJ, ʿUMRA]. This includes the cutting or trimming of the hair and the resumption of normal clothes.

Preachers stress the fact that the *iḥrām* symbolizes the pilgrim's separation from the world and his intention to be with God alone; it also demonstrates the unity of the Muslim community and the equality of all its members, without any priestly hierarchy or any superiority arising from worldly attributes.

In an entirely different context, the expression *takbīr al-iḥrām* refers to the *takbīr* with which the ritual prayer begins, and which puts the worshipper into a temporary state of special relationship with God.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste*², 122 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, 68 ff.; Juynboll, *Handb. des islām. Gesetzes*, 79-80, 143 ff.; Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*², 481 ff.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 168 ff.; the works of *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, in the chapters on *ḥadjdj*, *ʿumra*, *ṣalāt*. The travel books of Burckhardt, Burton, v. Maltzan, Keane; H. Kazem Zadeh, in *RMM*, xix, 198 ff.; J. Jomier, *Le pèlerinage musulman vu du Caire vers 1960*, in *MIDEO*, ix, 28-37, 58-69; A. J. Wensinck, in *Isl.*, iv, 229-32.

(A. J. Wensinck-[J. Jomier])

IḤṢĀN [see MUḤṢAN].

IḤSĀN, Aḥmad [see AḤMAD IḤSĀN].

IḤTISĀB [see ḤISBA].

IḤYĀʾ means, in the language of the *fuḳahāʾ*, "bringing to life", with the precise meaning of putting a piece of land to use. The word is in fact nearly always associated with *mawāt* [*q.v.*] lands, that is, land which is uncultivated or merely lying fallow, which belongs to nobody and which is, in general, far from centres of population. The appropriation of this land by an individual entails his first putting it to use. The writers base this method of acquiring property by putting it to use on a statement by ʿUmar and on *ḥadīth*s which they trace to the Prophet and in which it is said in particular: "*Mawāt* land belongs to whoever restores is to life" (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, *Bāb man aḥyā arḍan mawātan*).

Before investigating what is entailed by the "putting to use" necessary for the legal acquisition of such lands, it is as well to define whether or not this operation (whatever the methods employed) must be preceded by an authorization from the public authority. Preliminary authorization is insisted on only in Ḥanafī law, following the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa, which prevailed over that of his disciples, and in Imāmī Shīʿī law. The other schools consider it unnecessary, or at the most recommended, as in Shāfiʿī law. It is unnecessary even in Mālikī law, although this seems to insist on the previous authority of the *imām* when land near to inhabited places is concerned; but on careful examination of the texts which are the accepted authorities in this school, it is seen that what is required is not an actual authorization but a check by the *imām* to ensure that the land which it is planned to bring into use is not "common" land, in which case, since such land may not be acquired by an owner, any "putting of it to use" would be invalid. There is no danger of this however with land which is very far from habitation, hence there is no necessity for a previous authorization with regard to it.

Whether authorization is necessary, as in Ḥanafī and Imāmī law, or superfluous, as in the system of the other schools, the question arises as to whether the *dhimmī* has the same right as the Muslim to put waste land to use in order to become the owner of it. There is no uncertainty about this in Ḥanafī law: the Ḥanafīs say that there is no reason to deprive the *dhimmī* of using *iḥyāʾ* as a means of acquiring a property since he is allowed to use all the other means of acquiring property which are recognized by Muslim law. It may be that the liberalism of Ḥanafī law is to be explained by the fact that since this school insists that *iḥyāʾ* has to be subject to an authorization from the *imām*, the decision whether it should be granted to a *dhimmī* is left to him. In the other schools the question is a very controversial one. Although the Mālikīs adopt a solution very similar to that of the Ḥanafīs (that the *dhimmī* has the same rights in this as the Muslim), Shāfiʿīs, Ḥanbalīs and Imāmīs vary, according to the school, between supporting the liberal attitude and defending the principle whereby in Islamic countries waste land is reserved for Muslims.

What constitutes *iḥyāʾ*? What must the would-be

Pilgrim in *iḥrām* dress.

owner do in order to be considered to have put to use a piece of land hitherto considered as vacant or waste and hence acquire the ownership of it? There arises here the distinction between *taḥdjīr* or "delimitation" and putting to use properly so-called, *iḥyāʾ*. A person who has been authorized to put to use a piece of land (in Ḥanafī or Imāmī law) or who, on his own account (in the other systems), chooses a piece of waste land, with the intention of putting it to use, must begin by defining the limits of the land which he is undertaking to exploit. This is *taḥdjīr*, so called because the first procedure is to set stones along the length of each boundary in order to fix the extreme limits of the area to be brought into use. Any other method of delimitation—a fence for example, or a ditch—is equally valid. *Taḥdjīr* is not in itself "putting to use" and hence does not confer ownership; on this point the *fuḳahāʾ* of all the schools agree completely; but this delimitation nevertheless forms the first step towards an actual putting to use of the waste land. It should be stressed however that the importance of this first stage varies greatly according to whether Ḥanafī doctrine or that of the other schools is involved.

A. In Ḥanafī law, because for the actual *iḥyāʾ* the previous authority of the *imām* is always insisted upon, the simple formality of delimitation, even although carried out without authorization, confers on the person performing it a sort of *de facto* monopoly, since he could be supplanted only by an actual exploiter provided with the (very unlikely) authorization of the *imām*. This "monopoly" lasts for at least three years. This was in fact the period which, in accordance with the sayings of ʿUmar, was granted to the exploiter in order that he might complete the bringing into use of the land whose boundaries he had already marked out. Once this period had expired, unless the *imām* granted him a further extension of it, the land was taken from him to be given to a more diligent exploiter. But if the putting to use was completed within the three years, the occupant of the land became the absolute owner of it. Apart from this, Ḥanafī law is not very exacting over the conditions of this putting to use. The Ḥanafī writers (only the later writers it is true) consider that these conditions will depend on the exploiter's final intentions for the waste land. If the land is desert and he intends to cultivate it, he will have, first of all, to irrigate it, for example by digging a well; if he plans to live there, it will be enough for him to build the four walls of a house (Ḥanafī law does not insist that this house should have a roof). As the logical conclusion of the reasoning which makes the conditions of the putting to use depend on the use which is finally to be made of the land, it could be admitted that the mere erecting of a fence constitutes a real putting to use, when the possessor has decided to use the land considered as waste land simply for grazing sheep.

B. In the doctrine of the other schools, *taḥdjīr* has much less weight than in Ḥanafī law, because of the fact that the *iḥyāʾ* itself is not subject to an authorization. If confers on the person who has performed it only a priority of claim, and this only of a moral kind, in the sense that it has no legal sanction and that nobody is forced to respect it except as a matter of conscience (*diyāna*). The result is that if a person other than he who has marked the boundaries were to manage to put the land to use before him, this other person would be considered as the real owner of the land, and the right of priority of the person who had done no more than define the boundaries would lapse. All the same, this moral right was, at certain periods, strong enough for the Ḥanbalī Ibn Ḳudāma (*Mughnī*, v, 519) to have no hesitation in including it among the possessions left on the death of someone who has already marked the boundaries of, but not yet acquired ownership of, a piece of land. To make up for the uncertainty of *taḥdjīr* as conceived by the non-Ḥanafī writers, the latter are more exacting than the Ḥanafīs on the conditions of the putting to use. They recognize, it is true, that there exist no absolute rules concerning it and that what is understood by putting to use (*iḥyāʾ*) is governed by the usage and custom of each country, taking into account the geographical situation and the nature and quality of the land to be put to use. Nevertheless, one rule is common to them all, that which, based on the literal meaning of the word *iḥyāʾ*, classes as putting to use only those actions which "bring new life" to the dead land, the mere fact of having exploited it not being, properly speaking, a putting to use; thus Khalīl (*Mukhtaṣar*, book on *iḥyāʾ al-mawāt*) writes: "*Iḥyāʾ* does not consist of fencing in the land, grazing animals, or digging a well to water them"; but the digging of a well in order to irrigate the land would be an act of *iḥyāʾ*. On this point, the Mālikī rule is based, with a few very slight differences, on the same principles as that of the Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī and even Imāmī schools.

With the passage of time, the idea of *iḥyāʾ* or acquiring property by putting to use became of decreasing importance, in proportion as there disappeared *mawāt* lands, which almost everywhere were losing their character of *res nullius* to become state lands. This phenomenon was particularly evident in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman code of land laws of 1858 devoted only two articles to the restoration of waste land (articles 103 and 104), whereas a whole section of it was reserved for *mīriyya* or state-owned land. It is true that later, in 1877, the *Medjelle* [*q.v.*] was to lay down detailed rules on the matter (articles 1270 f.) on the basis of the rules of Ḥanafī law. Thus for *iḥyāʾ* proper, a previous authorization was still necessary (as in articles 103 and 104 of the Code of land laws), but for *taḥdjīr* authorization was not expressly demanded by the *Medjelle*; from this it was deduced in general that (in conformity with the old and less developed solution of Ḥanafī doctrine) the authorization was not indispensable, and that thus, in practice, it was possible to circumvent quite easily the principle that the putting to use must be preceded by an authorization from the *imām*.

Bibliography: All the works of *fiḳh* include a chapter on *iḥyāʾ al-mawāt*; in the great work by Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, Cairo 1367, the question is dealt with on pages 513-5, and then on pages 538-44 of vol. v. Besides the general treatises of *fiḳh*, there may be consulted the following works, all very early: Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb (d. 182/798), *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Būlāḳ ed., 1302 (Fr. tr. by Fagnan, *Le Livre de l'Impôt foncier*, Paris 1921); Yaḥyā b. Ādam (d. 202/817-8), *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1347, 84 ff. (Eng. tr. by A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, i, Leiden 1958); Ibn Salām (d. 224/839), *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, Cairo 1353; Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1909 (Fr. tr. by Fagnan, *Les Statuts gouvernementaux*, Algiers 1916). For Ottoman law, N. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété immobilière en droit ottoman*, Cairo 1906; see also D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, i, no. 69.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ʿIḲĀB (A.), punishment. On legal penalties, see DJAZĀʾ, ḤADD, TAʿZĪR, ʿUḲŪBA. On divine punishment, see ʿADHĀB; on the "punishment of the tomb", see ʿADHĀB AL-ḲABR.

AL-**ʿIḲĀB**, name of one of the most decisive battles in the long struggle between Islam and Christendom for possession of the Iberian Peninsula. It took place on Monday 15 Ṣafar 609/16 July 1212, and ended with a complete victory for a large all-Iberian Christian army, supported by considerable crusading forces from Western Europe and led by Alfonso VIII of Castile, over an equally numerous Muslim army led by Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, the fourth Almohade Caliph. It is known in Spanish annals as the "battle of Las Navas de Tolosa", although it took place some 9 km. to the north-west of the locality now bearing that name (province of Ciudad Real). The battle-field was the mound-strewn plain some 4.5 km. to the west of the present town of Santa Elena, between it and the village of Miranda del Rey. These rocky mounds (*ʿiḳāb*, sing. *ʿaḳaba*) gave the battle its Arabic name, while the plain itself—extending between mountains (*nava*)—gave it its Spanish one.

Al-ʿIḳāb was the historical sequel to the Almohade victory over Castile in the battle of Alarcos (al-Arak) 18 years earlier (9 Shaʿbān 591/18 July 1194). After that great victory, Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, the third Almohade Caliph, captured the stronghold of Calatrava, the seat of the intrepid knights of the Order of Calatrava. In the following years Almohade forces ravaged the region of Toledo, so that Castile felt that it could not ultimately resist the Muslim pressure if it remained alone: to survive, it had to gain the support of the other Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula.

This was the aim that Alfonso VIII of Castile endeavoured to attain after Alarcos. He managed to arrange matters with his rivals Sancho VIII (the Strong), king of Navarre, and Pedro II of Aragon, but had no success with Alfonso IX of Leon. However, he was able to secure for Castile the support of the most prominent knights of the Peninsula, such as Alvaro Núñez de Lara, Diego López de Haro and his cousin Lope Díaz, together with their powerful following. At the same time he sent a delegation to Pope Innocent III, asking him to summon a Crusade against the Muslims of Spain. The Pope agreed, and promulgated bulls asking the bishops of Italy and Western Europe to preach the crusade and urge people to enlist against the Muslims, with a promise of complete forgiveness of their sins in return.

In the meantime things had considerably deteriorated on the Muslim side since the death of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (22 January 1199). He was succeeded by his 17-year-old son Muḥammad, surnamed al-Nāṣir. The real authority in the empire passed into the hands of his uncles, none of whom was capable of sustaining the responsibilities they had assumed. The only capable man near the throne was Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, son of Abū Ḥafṣ Intī (al-Hintātī), one of the founders of the Almohade movement. When al-Nāṣir grew older, he endeavoured to concentrate power in his own hands with the help of a group of selfish and intriguing viziers such as Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yuwaggān, Abū Saʿīd ibn Djāmiʿ and Abū Muḥammad b. Muthannā. Moreover, al-Nāṣir was a conceited young man, who endeavoured all the time to conceal his personal physical and intellectual shortcomings by an outward show of daring and will to do great things. To bring the Banū Ghāniyya rebellion to an end he exhausted the military forces of the empire in costly campaigns that extended from the Balearic Islands to the deserts of Libya.

Encouraged by the general support he had gained, Alfonso VIII felt able, early in 1209, to challenge once more the Almohade power. Before the expiration of his truce with the Almohades in 1210 he started raiding the provinces of Jaen and Murcia. Al-Nāṣir responded to the challenge and started preparing a campaign against Castile. He issued a general call to arms (*istinfār*) and already in the summer of 1210 the preparations for the coming campaign were in full swing. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abi Ḥafṣ, who had been his viceroy in Ifrīḳiya (Tunisia) since 1207, advised him against the campaign, because he realized, better than the Caliph and his viziers, the seriousness of the malaise from which the vast Almohade empire was suffering.

In fact the Almohade empire was rapidly waning under al-Nāṣir. The provincial governors were becoming ruthless feudal lords. In the northern provinces of Morocco the peasantry was mercilessly exploited. In the south the tribes were dangerously hostile because of the continual recruitment and death of the flower of their youth. The situation in the Andalusian provinces was still worse, because of the lack of understanding between the governors, most of whom were mediocre princes (*sayyids*) and the mercurial local chiefs, who rarely knew what they really wanted. The once flourishing peasantry and middle class of the towns were falling rapidly into poverty and despair.

Nevertheless, immense numbers of warriors hurried to participate in the forthcoming struggle. Numerous volunteers (*muṭṭawwiʿa*), *aʿrāb* (mercenaries of the Hilāliyya) and *aghzāz* (mercenaries of Turkish, Turcoman and Kurdish stock coming from Egypt: see GHUZZ ii) enlisted. The arrival of such numbers of combatants in Seville sent a wave of fear throughout the Peninsula. One of the Christian princes is said to have hurried to assure al-Nāṣir of his loyalty.

In June 1212 the Christian forces—led by the three kings of Castile, Navarre and Aragon—marched on Calatrava and captured it. Its defender Yūsuf b. Ḳādis hurried to Jaen to give account of his behaviour to the Caliph. Without giving him the opportunity to speak, al-Nāṣir had him executed on the spot. This rash action cost the Muslims dear, because the Andalusian contingents, dismayed by this injustice towards their most prominent general, decided to abstain from fighting when the battle came. The Muslims then advanced to Baeza and from there they laid siege to the fortress of Salvatierra, which was used as a base for operations by the Order of Calatrava. The fortress fell to the Muslims. Encouraged by this initial success, they advanced westwards. They left the site of the present Santa Elena behind and pitched their camp some 4-5 km. to the west. They occupied the mountain canyons that pierce the craggy eastern wing of the Sierra Morena and especially the strategic pass of Losa. Making good use of the hilly plain (that looks like a sea with waves), the Muslims arranged themselves in good order: the hosts of the *muṭṭawwiʿa* formed the left flank; the regular Almohade troops formed the main central force, while the contingents of the Andalusians formed the right flank, supported by some 15,000 *aʿrāb* and *aghzāz*. The total Muslim forces cannot have surpassed 200,000, half of whom were *muṭṭawwiʿa*. Right in the middle of the regular

troops stood the tent of the Caliph on a mound surrounded by huge chains fastened to iron poles. Outside these chains stood the force of the *ʿabīd*, the special guard of the caliph bearing their long javelins.

The Christian forces were by no means fewer in number than the Muslims, and they had more cavalry and were far better equipped and trained. They tried to make their camp on the heights of Moradal that dominate the mountain pass (Puerto) of the same name. From there they could overlook the whole Muslim camp, but the position was too arid to support such huge numbers for a long time. Descending to the plain near Úbeda and climbing again, they marched westwards to occupy the oval tableland called La Mesa del Rey, which also dominated the plain where the Muslims were and had the advantage of easy descents to the plain from both its east and west.

They began the attack early in the morning of Monday 15 Ṣafar 609/16 July 1212. Their left wing advanced on the *muṭṭawwiʿa* and tried to pierce their lines, but were driven back with losses. They then managed to attack from the east, and a picked force of their cavalry charged the Andalusian contingents. To their surprise, these began to flee. Their unexpected flight was followed by that of the *aʿrāb* and the *aghzāz*. Very soon the Almohade regular troops were left without cover, and all the weight of the Christian forces fell upon them. They steadfastly held their position, but were outnumbered and soon their ranks were penetrated. At the same time the Christians charged the *muṭṭawwiʿa* again and routed them, taking advantage of the panic that assailed the Muslims. Soon Count Álvaro Núñez de Lara and his knights opened a wide gap in the Muslim ranks and reached the circles of the *ʿabīd*, followed by the kings of Navarre and Aragon. Al-Nāṣir had barely time to flee with a few of his men, to Baeza and then to Jaen and Seville. The rest of the Muslim forces were cut to pieces, and the number of the slain was enormous. To complete the catastrophe, Alfonso VIII soon occupied Baeza and Úbeda and slaughtered there in cold blood some 60,000 Muslims.

This was the last great battle fought by the Muslims in Spain. Its repercussions on the future of Muslim Spain were worse than the defeat itself. It definitively broke the morale of the Muslims and dissipated the myth of the power of the North African troops. From that day onwards, Islam in Spain was always on the defensive, merely trying to delay the relentless Christian advance. The blow was beyond repair for the Almohade empire. The huge number of the fallen of the Almohade troops as well as the manifest incapacity of al-Nāṣir and his men sealed the fate of the Almohades. Al-Nāṣir could not survive his ignominious defeat for long. A short time after his return to Marrākush he shut himself up in his palace, to die ingloriously on 22 December 1213, some 17 months after al-ʿIḳāb.

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(HUSSAIN MONÉS)

IḲĀLA, an agreement which cancels, wholly or in part, a previous agreement between the same parties. The question is treated by the *fuḳaha'* in the chapter on sale; the authors devote to it long expositions, because of the favour with which *fiḳh* regards all methods of mitigating the obligatory nature of a contract. As is said in a *ḥadīth*: "For him who annuls (*aḳāla*) a sale which the other party regrets [having concluded], God will annul his sins on the day of the Resurrection". When Muslim jurists consider the subject of sale, they ask themselves first what is the juridical nature of this agreement. Is the *iḳāla* a rescission by *faskh*, or a re-sale by the buyer to the first seller of the object which he had already acquired? The question is not without practical importance. If it is a question of a rescission by *faskh*, this can come into effect at any moment, either before or after the buyer's taking possession of the object; there does not exist in this case the possibility of a third person's pre-empting it, since the operation does not involve a new transfer of ownership; and, in principle, when the *iḳāla* refers to the whole of the previous agreement, the seller must return the same sum as he had received. But if the *iḳāla* is regarded as a re-sale by the buyer to the first seller, it must then lead to consequences diametrically opposite to those above, although the Mālikīs, who maintain this view, give a separate place to the *iḳāla* which is concerned with foodstuffs.

The Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī and Imāmī schools consider the *iḳāla* to be, indisputably, a *faskh*, a retroactive rescission of the sale; the Mālikī school considers it to be, in general, a re-sale; the Ḥanafīs, following the teaching of Abū Ḥanīfa, make a distinction: so far as concerns the relations between the two parties, it is a recission; but as far as third parties are concerned, it is a re-sale, which will not however be vitiated by the addition of a forbidden stipulation. This solution, obviously prompted by the desire to protect third parties, has been criticized on the grounds of principle. Ibn Ḳudāma, in his treatise on Muslim comparative law (*Mughnī*, iv, 121), expresses surprise that the nature of a juridical operation may change according to the point of view from which it is considered.

The schools agree in allowing the above rules to be transferred from the contract of sale to other contracts, not only to contracts which are "brothers" of sale: change, barter, amicable settlements, etc. but also to all contracts, when these are not by their nature *ghayr lāzim*, that is revocable unilaterally, in which case *iḳāla* is obviously unnecessary. It is impossible when the contract to which it puts an end is, of its very nature, not susceptible to cancellation, such as marriage or repudiation by agreement.

An *iḳāla* based on mutual agreement requires for its completion the same conditions of validity as any other agreement, that is an offer and a matching acceptance, both to be made at the same contractual meeting (*madjlis*).

Bibliography: All the works of *fiḳh* in the chapter on sale. See especially Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ*,

v, 306-8; Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, iv, 70-2 (Ḥanafī); Suyūṭī, *al-A͟shbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, 1936, 178-9 (S͟hāfiʿī); Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mug͟hnī*, iv, 121-3 (Ḥanbalī); Ḥillī, *S͟harāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Beirut 1930, 190 (Imāmī), Fr. tr. Querry, *Droit musulman schyite*, i, 573-9; for Mālikī law: K͟halīl, *Muk͟htaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, iii, no. 192 and the commentaries on it by Dardīr-Dasūḳī, *al-S͟harḥ al-kabīr*, ed. Ḥalabī, iii, 154-5 and by al-K͟hirs͟hī, Cairo 1323, iv, 76-7. Among contemporary writers, see Maḥmaṣānī, *al-Mawdjibāt wa 'l-ʿuḳūd*, Beirut 1948, ii, 232-3; Chafik Chehata, *Théorie générale de l'obligation*, Cairo 1936, 146-7.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

IḲĀMA (a.), the second call to the *ṣalāt* which is pronounced by the *muʾadhdhin* in the mosque before each of the five prescribed daily *ṣalāts* as well as before the *ṣalāt* at the Friday service. This second call is given at the moment at which the *ṣalāt* begins. The formulae of the *iḳāma* are the same as those of the *adhān* [*q.v.*]. According to the Ḥanafīs, they are repeated as often as in the *adhān*; according to the other schools, they are pronounced only once with the exception of the words "God is great", which are repeated twice at the beginning as well as at the end of the *iḳāma*. Moreover, after the formula "come unto blessedness", there are repeated twice the words "*ḳad ḳāmat al-ṣalāt*" (now begins the *ṣalāt*). In the lawbooks the calling of the *iḳāma* is also recommended as *sunna* to every believer who is performing the *ṣalāt* alone.

According to E. Mittwoch (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1913, phil.-hist. Kl., No. 2, 24) the calling of *iḳāma* was borrowed by the Muslims from the benedictions in Jewish prayer. According to C. H. Becker (*Zur Geschichte der islamischen Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii, 389 = *Islamstudien*, i, 488-9), on the other hand, the custom developed out of the original *adhān* in the mosque, which was modelled on the Christian mass (see however al-Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 271, lines 14-5).

Iḳāma originally denotes the action of the *muʾadhdhin* (the calling of the prescribed formulae) by which he causes the *ṣalāt* to begin. On this linguistic usage, see C. Brockelmann, *Iqāmat aṣ-Ṣalāt* (*Festschr. E. Sachau*, 1915, 314-20) and J. Weiss, in *Isl.*, vii (1916), 131-6; cf. the expressions: *aḳāma 'l-ṣalāt* and *uḳīmat al-ṣalāt* (gloss. to S͟hīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, s.v.; Buk͟hārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Adhān*, No. 23 f.). In the works on *fiḳh*, however, *iḳāma* is also explained as the call itself which is intended to summon the believers to rise for the *ṣalāt*. See Bādjūrī (Būlāḳ 1307), i, 167, l. 12.

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(T. W. Juynboll*)

IḲBĀL, Muḥammad, was born in 1873 (or more probably 1876) in Sialkot, Pandjāb. During his studies in Lahore he became acquainted with Sir Thomas Arnold, who was partly responsible for his coming to England in 1905. In Cambridge, Iḳbāl, already a noted romantic and Indian-nationalist poet in Urdu, studied philosophy under the Hegelian J. M. E. McTaggart, and law. In 1907 he visited Germany and obtained his Ph. D. in Munich with F. Hommel. His thesis *The development of metaphysics in Persia* shows already his interest in Islamic mystical philosophy, which he judged, then, from a more pantheistic viewpoint. From 1908 onwards Iḳbāl lived in Lahore, for a while teaching philosophy, but then concentrating upon his legal practice. The mental crisis which he experienced after his return from Europe, whose possibilities—but also weaknesses — he had recognized and analysed fairly well, resulted in a stronger interest in the revival of the Muslim peoples, which was kindled, as in many of his Indian contemporaries, by the unhappy fate of the Turks during the Balkan War. His notebook of 1910 (*Stray reflections*, ed. Javid Iqbal, Lahore 1961) contains already many of the ideas which he elaborated later, and the poems *S͟hikwā* (Complaint) and *Djawāb-i S͟hikwā* (*Answer*) teach the Muslims that they have fallen into disgrace because of their own laziness and lack of faith. These ideas were expressed more distinctly in the *Asrār-i k͟hūdī* (Secrets of the Self) 1915, which he wrote in Persian in order to reach a wider readership. His stress upon the development of the ego instead of mystical annihilation as well as Nietzschean trends shocked his audience. A second *mathnawī* in Persian, complementing the first one, *Rumūz-i bīk͟hūdī* (Mysteries of Selflessness) 1918, determined the duties of the individual in the ideal Muslim community. Iḳbāl then turned to lyric poetry in Persian, and published in 1923 the *Payām-i Mas͟hriḳ*, an answer to Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan*. The following year, his Urdu poems were printed as *Bāng-i darā* (The Sound of the caravan-bell), and in 1927 a second collection of Persian lyrics, *Zabūr-i ʿAdjam* (Persian Psalms) with an appendix modelled upon S͟habistarī's *Guls͟han-i rāz*, was published. In 1928, Iḳbāl delivered at several Indian universities his *Six lectures on the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam*, an attempt at reconciling Muslim theology with European philosophy and science in a very personal way. At that time, the poet had started cooperating with the Muslim League; he presented his famous statement on the necessity of forming a separate Muslim state in Northwest India at their annual session in Allahabad 1930. In the following years, he took part in two Round Table Conferences in London, visited France (where he met Henri Bergson and Louis Massignon), Spain, Italy (meeting Mussolini), and attended a Muslim conference in Jerusalem. In the autumn of 1933 he was invited to Afghanistan to discuss the foundation of a university in Kabul, a journey which resulted in the Persian poems *Musāfir* (The Traveller); at the same time the Persian collection *Pas či bāyad kard* (What is to be done?—the title alluding to Tolstoy's famous book!) was written. However Iḳbāl's *magnum opus* in Persian is the *Djāvīdnāme*, 1932, dedicated to his son Djāvīd, a poetical account of a spiritual journey in the company of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī through the spheres, where he discusses philosophical and political problems with Muslim and non-Muslim leaders. In 1935, the most important collection of Iḳbāl's Urdu poetry came out, *Bāl-i Djibrīl* (Gabriel's Wing), which contains the famous hymn on the Mosque of Cordova. One year later followed the Urdu *dīwān Ḍarb-i Kalīm* (The Stroke of Moses) with its bitter critique of the political and religious situation. After a long period of ill-health, which, however, did not prevent him from conceiving a new evaluation of Islamic law, Iḳbāl (upon whom the British Crown had conferred a knighthood as early as 1922) died on 21 April 1938. A collection of Persian quatrains and a few Urdu poems, *Armag͟hān-i Ḥidjāz* (Gift of the Ḥidjāz), was published shortly after his death.

The very titles of Iḳbāl's poems indicate his main intention: he felt like the caravan-bell which leads

those who are going astray in the wilderness towards the right goal, embodied in the Kaʿba, or guides his people like Moses, producing water out of the rock. The form of his poetry, both in Urdu and in Persian, is classical, with the exception of a few verse schemes which he invented: he uses *g͟hazal*, *ḳaṣīda*, *sāḳīnāme*, and all his *mat͟hnawī*s are written in the metre of Rūmī's *Mat͟hnawī-yi maʿnawī*. His imagery likewise is traditional, and he applies the inherited patterns of similes and metaphors to modern subjects (Farhād as the representative of exploited workers, K͟husraw as the imperialist and capitalist). Many of his expressions can be traced back to classical Indo-Muslim poetry; but he needed these forms to gain an audience for his ideas. For poetry was, for him, not a means in itself but had to be, as he frequently asserted, "the heritage of prophecy", and its criterion is not its aesthetic beauty but its "life-yielding capacity". That is why he liked certain metres which could be easily memorized, and did not do away with the formal limits of Persian poetry with which his public was familiar. His poetry primarily concentrates upon one goal: to teach the Muslims how to regain strength by developing their personalities, be it as individuals or as nations. He has been accused of transplanting the Nietzschean superman into an Islamic environment; Iḳbāl's ideal man, however, can only be understood in his relation to God.

God is, for Iḳbāl, the greatest Ego, as witnessed by His personal name Allāh. He is "perfect personality which is compatible only with the conception of an Infinite Being" (F. von Hügel), which comprises everything and yet is distinct from everything. Each created being, too, has a small ego which it is called upon to develop. "Throughout the whole universe runs the gradually rising note of egohood", and every ego is constantly striving towards a fuller realization of itself. Thus reality is eternal becoming; even death does not mean a break in this development, but opens new doors of self-realization. Immortality, then, is not ours by right, but is only an aspiration: only those who have perfected their ego during their lifetime as much as possible can partake in it. This perfection does not lead, as in the Nietzschean superman, to a detachment from God but can rather be attained by constant love and prayer. Love, *ʿis͟hḳ*, is the force that moves everything created, the dynamic force of life as contrasted to *ʿilm*, the dry intellectual attempt to approach reality. Borne by this love, man turns towards God in prayer (Iḳbāl's prayer-poems are partly very daring); in the solitude of prayer (*k͟halwa*) he draws closer to God and then returns to the world as a manifestation of Divine qualities (*d̲j̲ilwa*), changing the course of time. Life consists of constant changes of *k͟halwa* and *d̲j̲ilwa*, man thus drawing closer and closer to God in order to become endowed with some of His attributes. In this movement he realizes that the so-called predestination (*ḳadar*) does not exist as a blind fate but rather consists of a cooperation between the human and the Divine will, whereby a new situation may be created when man chooses one of the innumerable destinies hidden in God. But though there can be a union of will (when God's hand becomes man's hand, cf. Sūra VIII, 17) there is no union of being: man remains man even in the moment of ecstasy and does not lose his identity in the ocean of the Divine, but rather takes God in his embrace: the heart of the faithful contains God, Whom Heaven and earth cannot contain. He remains *ʿabd*, God's servant—that is the highest stage mankind can reach, since it is the stage of the Prophet himself (who was addressed as *ʿabduhū* in the account of his *miʿrād̲j̲*, Sūra XVII, 1)—an idea probably influenced by the tradition of Aḥmad Sirhindī. Real union is not desirable either: only the constant quest, the *sūzis͟h-i nātamām*, the searching for higher values, for the unfathomable depths of the Divine, are important, even after death—"I am as long as I move", is Iḳbāl's confession. (One may compare al-G͟hazālī's chapter on *s͟hawḳ* in the *Iḥyāʾ*.)

The burden which heaven and earth did not accept (Sūra XXXIII, 72) is, for Iḳbāl, the burden of individuation, and on the way towards its full realization man has to cope with two problems, with Iblīs, and with time. Iblīs, the Mephistophelian power, is a favourite figure with Iḳbāl: it is he who gives man the taste for striving, entangles him in a steady struggle, thus contributing to his spiritual development, and will eventually prostrate himself before the man who has defeated him, thus making up for his refusal to prostrate before Adam (Sūra II, 32, etc.). This is at least one of the different aspects of Iḳbāl's Satanology.—As to time, Iḳbāl was influenced in his view of the two levels of time, created and uncreated time, partly by Ṣūfism, partly by Bergson; he often compared serial created time to a *zunnār*, a magician's girdle which should be torn in order to reach the Divine *nunc aeternum*, when the faithful can speak, according to the example of the Prophet: "I have a time with God to which even Gabriel has no access".

Iḳbāl studied European philosophy intensely; he was impressed first by Hegel, but soon came to prefer the vitalists. His interpretation of Nietzsche, whom he compares to an Eastern *mad̲j̲d͟hūb*, is very thought-provoking; he felt that the German philosopher stopped at the *lā ilāh* of the confession of faith without reaching the affirmation *illā 'llāh*—a symbol which he also uses for Bolshevist Russia, which scattered the "idols" of imperialism and capitalism but failed to affirm positively the power of the one God. What Iḳbāl liked most in Nietzsche are the anti-Christian and anti-Platonic trends; his hostile words against Plato in the *Asrār-i k͟hūdī* resound, though somewhat more mildly, through his whole work. Platonic mysticism was, for him, one of the main reasons of the decline of Islam. Iḳbāl was a sincere admirer of Goethe, whose *Faust* seemed to him "nothing short of Divine workmanship", and who inspired his *Payām-i Mas͟hriḳ*, parts of his Satanology, the two Preludes in the *D̲j̲āvīdnāme*, etc. He compared him once with Rūmī, who was his oriental spiritual leader throughout his life. He discovered, probably under the influence of S͟hiblī's *sawāniḥ-i Mawlānā Rūm*, the dynamic character of many of Rūmī's verses upon which he frequently relies. Very strong is likewise the influence of al-Ḥallād̲j̲, whose thoughts he learned to understand thanks to Massignon's books, and whom he made, in the *D̲j̲āvīdnāme*, a kind of forerunner of himself, blowing the trumpet of resurrection for the spiritually dead Muslims.

Iḳbāl's main source of inspiration was the Ḳurʾān, whose beauty he praised again and again, and which unfolds every day new worlds, new possibilities before the faithful. His interpretation of single verses, however, is sometimes very unusual and personal, because he tries to affirm their relation with the findings of modern science. The Ḳurʾān and the *s͟harīʿa* were thought of as capable of infinite development but at the same time as the unchangeable expression of the Divine will; hence a certain traditionism, for

example in his attitude towards women, which seems to contradict his outspoken belief in the dynamic nature of Islam. This latter belief is expressed in his numerous attacks on the theologians who cling only to the externals of religion and sink into the dust under the burden of commentaries, but never look at the original meaning of the Holy Writ. Though Iḳbāl often advocates *idjtihād*, he sometimes prefers *taḳlīd*, traditional behaviour, as a kind of safeguard amid changing social life, until the Muslim community has attained a new consciousness and is freed from the idols of the modern "-isms" which threaten the pure monotheistic faith. Unity is one of Iḳbāl's keywords: the Divine unity should be reflected in the unity of believers (notwithstanding geographical borders) who are bound by one Divine law, guided by one prophet, in whom prophethood has reached its culmination and end, and praying towards one centre, the Kaʿba. Islam is a spiritual force, opposed to blood kinship and earthrootedness; it is the witness of unity.

Iḳbāl combines many contradictory trends in himself; his verses could serve both conservatives and progressives as weapons. His knowledge of European philosophy was deep, his approach original, and furthermore, he intuitively expressed many ideas that were current, in the twenties, in European religious psychology and philosophy. In spite of his interest in Western and Islamic philosophy, he did not become a systematic philosopher; one would rather call him a "prophetic philosopher", or a "philosopher-poet", since poetry, which he wrote in masterly fashion in two languages, was not a means in itself, but a vehicle to propagate his mission, to restore the Muslims to new life. His work has been criticized, in the beginning, by several orientalists, and has been praised, especially after the foundation of Pakistan whose "spiritual father" he is called, more than that of any other writer; so that even the slightest sign of criticism became considered sacrilege. Thanks to a large number of translations in Oriental and European languages, a real understanding of his work is now possible, yet a scholarly evaluation of his links with the poetical-mystical tradition of the subcontinent still remains to be made.

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(A. Schimmel)

IḲFĀʾ [see ḳāfiya].

IKHLĀṢ. The IVth form adds to the double idea of the root—purity and salvation—that of "dedicating, devoting or consecrating oneself" to something. *Ikhlāṣ* is pre-eminently an interior virtue of the faithful Muslim, which implies both the unadulterated purity (and thus sincerity) of religious actions, pure (exclusive) worship given to God and pure (absolute) devotion to God and the Community of Believers. The perfection of one's adherence, and witness, to faith is gauged by *ikhlāṣ* and *iḥsān* (uprightness in good).

The Ḳurʾān often uses the participle *mukhliṣ*, "he who devotes himself to God", who gives Him the worship that is His due (II, 139; IV, 146; XXXIX, 2-3; XL, 14, 65; XCVIII, 5, etc.). The worship due to God consists principally in proclaiming Him to be One and Unique, the absolute Lord, with Whom no other creature can be associated. This is why sūra CXII, which proclaims God to be One in Himself and Inscrutable (*aḥad*, *ṣamad*), "Who does not beget and is not begotten", is most usually called *sūrat al-ikhlāṣ*. The opposites of this interior attitude of the faithful Believer are hypocrisy (*nifāḳ*) and the grave sin of *shirk*, "associating others with God". Hypocrisy is, in any case, a *shirk* of the heart, and any trace of *shirk*, however faint, is an obstacle to purity of action. *Ikhlāṣ* cannot, then, be translated simply as "sincerity", as is often done. *Ikhlāṣ* presupposes sincerity (*ṣidḳ*), that is to say "agreement of the heart and the lips", but, in a way, goes beyond this in a unity and purity of interior gaze which is directed at God and God alone.

The importance given to *ikhlāṣ* in any attempt to interiorize religious values is characteristic of Muslim aspirations. We shall give three examples, which follow three quite different lines of thought.

1.—The moderate Ismāʿīlism of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* makes *ikhlāṣ* one of the conditions of faith (*sharāʾiṭ al-īmān*), and one of the virtues of the Believer, together with complete reliance (*tawakkul*), endurance of trials (*ṣabr*) and acceptance (*riḍāʾ*) of the divine Decree. *Ikhlāṣ* is absolute purity and unity of intention, both in work accomplished (*ʿamal*) before God and in requests (*duʿā*) addressed to God (*Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ed. Cairo 1347/1928, iv, 131-2).

2.—Analyses of *ikhlāṣ* belong, above all, to Ṣūfī meditations and investigations. *Ikhlāṣ* is the secret of hearts that have drawn near to God by means of supererogatory works (*al-taḳarrub bi-'l-nawāfil*), especially retreats and forty-day fasts. A well-known *ḥadīth al-ikhlāṣ* goes back to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], who himself had it from Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān (cf.

L. Massignon, *Passion*², 595-6). It is the secret imparted by Muḥammad to Ḥudhayfa, who questioned him about the "inner knowledge" (*ʿilm bāṭin*). The Prophet received the reply from God through the angel Gabriel: "It is a secret (*sirr*) of My secret (*sirrī*); I set it in the heart of My servant and none of My creatures can comprehend it". Al-Muḥāsibī sees in *ikhlāṣ* "the very principle of the spiritual continuity of the true *Sunna*" (*ibid.*, 596), and al-Ḥallādj wrote a *Kitāb al-Ṣidḳ wa-'l-ikhlāṣ*, in which he both separated and united "sincerity" (*ṣidḳ*) and the perfect worship of predestined hearts" (*ibid.*).

The great Ṣūfī manuals frequently refer to it and avail themselves of it to reorganize the "sayings of the Ancients". Three examples: (a) al-Kalābādhī makes *ikhlāṣ* a "stage" (*maḳāma*) of the soul and devotes to it a short chapter of his *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf* (ed. A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1353/1933, 70; Eng. trans. by the same, Cambridge 1935, 90-1). He reproduces a phrase of Djunayd, who defines *ikhlāṣ* as "that through which God is desired, in whatever act it may be", and he stresses the stipulation formulated by Ruwaym, that no consideration should be given to the act performed, but only to God. (b) Similar themes, with references to the "Ancients", in the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (ed. Cairo 1351/1932, iv, 33-5), in which the stress is laid upon uprightness of intention (*niyya*) "for the Face of God" (*li-wadjh Allāh*). (c) Al-Ḳushayrī, in his *Risāla fī ʿilm al-taṣawwuf* (Cairo n.d., 95-6), quoting many Ṣūfī traditions, distinguishes between the *ikhlāṣ* of the mass of mankind (*al-ʿawāmm*) in which the soul, in the spiritual state that it attains, should not seek its own happiness, and that of the privileged (*al-khawāṣṣ*), in which the worship given to God should be so pure that no consideration can be paid even to the *ikhlāṣ*.

Almost every author might be mentioned. Al-Anṣārī, the great Ḥanbalī mystic, in his *Manāzil al-sāʾirīn* (ed. with Fr. trans. S. Laugier de Beaurecueil, Cairo 1962, 31/72), numbers *ikhlāṣ* among the ten "types of behaviour" (*muʿāmalāt*) demanded of the Ṣūfī. He defines it as the effort to "purify action of all admixture", that is to say, as Maḥmūd al-Firkāwī comments (ed. Beaurecueil, Cairo 1953, 34), to purify it of infatuation, hypocrisy, the appetite of the soul and other similar things. Al-Anṣārī distinguishes three degrees: (a) detaching oneself from correctly accomplished acts and not seeking satisfaction in them; (b) endeavouring to act well, but being ashamed of one's action and seeing it only in the light of divine Generosity; (c) "purifying action by freeing oneself from action".

The text, however, that had the most profound influence was undoubtedly al-Ghazālī's development in his *Iḥyāʾ* (Cairo ed., 1352/1933, iv, 321-8): four chapters devoted to the virtue and merit of *ikhlāṣ*, its nature (*ḥaḳīḳa*), what the *Shaykhs* have said about it and what obstructs it. This constitutes a small treatise on spiritual psychology, which readily adopts and develops, as often in the *Iḥyāʾ*, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's account. Having underlined the unity of intention that makes up *ikhlāṣ*, al-Ghazālī, too, stresses the complete disinterestedness that it implies.

3.—The influence of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī on Ibn Taymiyya needs no demonstration (cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymiya*, Cairo 1939, 84 and 90, n. 1); similarly with the influence of certain Shīʿī views that he opposed in other connexions. If the direct heritage of al-Anṣārī is added to this, it is hardly surprising to find in the interiorist Ḥanbalism of Ibn Taymiyya frequent references to the virtue of *ikhlāṣ*, such as we have defined it. He proclaims its value against a completely exterior juridicism: first of all in the very act of obedience to the religious Law (*ibid.*, 472 and n. 2 with ref.). He emphasizes the idea of devotion, pure and absolute devotion to God, the Prophet, the Community. When he wishes to increase "effort (*djihād*) on the path of God" in order to extend on earth "the rights of God and man", he makes *djihād* the highest form of *ikhlāṣ* towards God (*ibid.*, 360, n. 3). Pure worship and absolute devotion are thus seen as the most profound attitude demanded of the Believer.

Ibn Taymiyya's disciples readily adopted the theme of *ikhlāṣ*, above all his direct disciple Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, who saw in absolute devotion to God (*ikhlāṣ li-'llāh*) one of the fundamental virtues. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb later echoed this (*ibid.*, 531). Following these, several contemporary reformist trends (the *salafiyya*) emphasized it. *Ikhlāṣ* was for the Ṣūfīs an indispensable stage of the soul in its quest for union with God. Through Ibn Taymiyya's influence, and owing to his acceptance of Ṣūfī ideas, it became for the Muslim who wished to interiorize his faith an attitude existentially required by the very values of Islam.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. Gardet)

IKHMĪM [see AKHMĪM].

IKHSHĪD, the title given to local Iranian rulers of Soghdia and Farghāna in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period. Although Justi (*Iranisches Namenbuch*, 141a), Unvala (*The translation of an extract from Mafâtîh al-ʿUlûm of al-Khwârazmî*, in *J. of the K.R. Cama Inst.*, xi (1928), 18-19) and Spuler (*Iran*, 30-1, 356) derive it from O. Pers. *khshaeta-* 'shining, brilliant', an etymology from O. Pers. *khshāyathiya-* 'king, ruler' (M. Pers. and N. Pers. *shāh*) is more probable (Christensen, and Bosworth and Clauson, see below). This O. Pers. term *khshāyathiya-* penetrated beyond Transoxania as far as Mongolia, where we find the Orkhon Turkish title of *shadh*, a rank given to senior members of the princely family below the Ḳaghan.

At the time of the Arab conquest of Transoxania, the rulers of Soghdia were called Ikhshīds, and Muḳaddasī, 279, says that the Ikhshīd, king of Samarḳand, had his castle and residence at Māymurgh in the Samarḳand oasis. The Ikhshīds continued in Soghdia well into the early ʿAbbāsid period, having transferred their seat to Ishtīkhān after the Arab conquest of Samarḳand; the submission of the then Ikhshīd to the Caliph al-Mahdī is recorded by Yaʿḳūbī (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 95, 202). The local ruler of Farghāna also had this title (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 40), and according to Ibn al-Athīr, v, 344, it was he who called in against the Arabs the Chinese army of Kao-hsien-chih, defeated by Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ at Talas in 133/751. The title evidently carried great prestige in Central Asia, for it was adopted in the 4th/10th century by the Turkish commander Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*], claiming descent from the ancient princes of Farghāna.

Bibliography: in addition to the references given above, see C. E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 6-7. O. I. Smirnova gives a list of the Ikhshīds of Soghdia in the period 31-168/650-783 in her *Sogdiskie moneti kak novi istočnik dlya istorii Sredney Azii*, in *SO*, vi (1949), 356-67. (C. E. Bosworth)

IKHSHĪDIDS [see KĀFŪR and MUḤAMMAD B. ṬUGHDJ].

IKHTILĀDJ, spontaneous pulsations, tremblings or convulsions which occur in all parts of the body, in particular in the limbs, the eyelids and the eyebrows and which provide omens the interpretation of which as a divinatory sign is known as the *ʿilm al-ikhtilādj* or "palmoscopy".

Palmoscopy forms part of physiognomy and, like it, formed part of medical diagnosis by the physicians of classical antiquity, among them Galen, who established a distinction between "palpitation" and "trembling, shudder, convulsion".

As a divinatory practice, Islamic palmoscopy seems to have as its source the Περὶ παλμῶν of the Ps.-Melampos, as can be seen from the table of concordances established by T. Fahd comparing the contents of this treatise with that of an Arabic treatise of the type of *Tafsīr al-ikhtilādjāt* (cf. *La divination arabe*, 418-29).

However, the Ps.-Melampos was not the only source of Arabic palmoscopy. In fact there existed before it a Mesopotamian tradition, the written elements of which reached the Arabs through Persia. Ibn al-Nadīm, who was conversant with an Arabic translation of the short works attributed to Melampos (*op. cit.*, 391 f.), mentions, under the same heading (*Fihrist*, 314), two titles whose Iranian origin is beyond doubt: the first is *Kitāb al-Ikhtilādj ʿalā thalāthat awdjuh li-'l-Furs*, "The book of pulsations, with three interpretations, for Persians", which has not survived, but the contents of which might be similar to a paragraph of the Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Bāb al-ʿirāfa wa-'l-zadjr wa-'l-firāsa ʿalā madhhab al-Furs* (ed. K. Inostranzeff, in *Matériaux de sources arabes, pour l'histoire de la culture dans la Perse sassanide*, extr. from the *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Archaeological Society, xviii, St. Petersburg 1907, 21-2); the second is *Kitāb al-Ikhtilādj wa-'l-zadjr wa-mā yarā al-insān fī thiyābih wa-djasadih wa-ṣifat al-khīlān wa-ʿilādj al-nisāʾ wa-maʿrifat mā yadullu ʿalayh al-ḥayyāt*, "The book of pulsations, omens and of what man sees from his clothing and his body; description of *naevi* and of the treatment of women; the knowledge of the signs provided by snakes". The content of this collection of omens recalls that of an Assyro-Babylonian *series* entitled *Shumma ālu ina mele shakīn* (cf. transliteration and tr. *apud* Fr. Nötscher, in *Orientalia*, O. S. xxxi (1928), xxxix-xlii (1929), li-liv (1930); for the detailed references, cf. *La divination arabe*, 399, notes 5 to 9).

The earliest manuscript examples of the treatises of *ikhtilādj* bear the name of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, the reputed teacher of esoteric sciences in early Islam. This attribution is due to the fact that he had gathered round him a circle of Iranian and Byzantine *mawālī* who were engaged in translating into Arabic specimens of the literatures of their native countries (cf. T. Fahd, *Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣâdiq et la tradition scientifique arabe*, in *Le shīʿisme imâmite*, Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (mai 1968), Paris 1970, 131-42). In this way several traditions came together, and the spirit of compromise which was a characteristic of Islamic thought in the 2nd/8th century led to the adoption of a table of concordance combining the various opinions which the sources presented. Thus the three interpretations found in the treatise attributed by the *Fihrist* to the Persians became five and even six. It was felt necessary to attach each of these interpretations to a well-known name: Daniel, Alexander, the Persian scholars, the Hindus, the sages of Byzantium, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ.

Like all the ancient divinatory practices, palmoscopy underwent its own evolution within the framework of Islamic culture, in the same way as it did within other cultures, since there exist Greek, Slav, Rumanian, Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, Indian and European treatises on palmoscopy, collected by Hermann Diels in his *Beiträge zur Zukungsliteratur des Okzidents und Orients*, in *Abh. des kgl. Ak. der Wissenschaft*, 1907/4 (Melampos); 1908/4 (other treatises). This evolution can be perceived in particular in the poem on palmoscopy by Aḥmad b. Naṣīr al-Bāʿūlī (probable reading al-Baʿūnī, d. 816/1413; cf. *La divination arabe*, 401, note 4), in *Kitāb al-Ikhtilādj wa-duʿāʾih* by a certain Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām (translations of both *apud* Diels, *op. cit.*, 79-80 and 87-91) and in *Kitāb Kifāyat al-muḥtādj fī maʿrifat al-ikhtilādj* by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (lith. Cairo, n.d.).

In Turkey palmoscopy developed in a special way. Here were produced, besides the many traditional treatises of *ikhtilādj*, others concerning the omens to be drawn from wounds accidentally received by a soldier on campaign and from injuries voluntarily received during archery (cf. Osman-Bey, *Les Imâms et les Derviches. Pratiques, superstitions et mœurs des Turcs*, Paris 1881, 177-82).

Finally it should be mentioned that in the chapter which Ibn al-Nadīm devotes to the Ḥarrānians, the term *ikhtilādj* is applied to a divinatory rite which consisted of interpreting the twitches of animals sacrificed to the gods (cf. *Fihrist*, 224, 409; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 68 f.).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources and studies mentioned above, see the many references given in T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden 1966, 397-402; for survivals in Islam of palmoscopic practices, see E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 366. (T. Fahd)

IKHTILĀF (A.), difference, also inconsistency; as a technical term, the differences of opinion amongst the authorities of religious law, both between the several schools and within each of them; opp. *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*], *ittifāḳ*. The ancient schools of law, on the one hand, accepted geographical differences of doctrines as natural; on the other hand, they voiced strong objections to disagreement within each school, an opinion which was mitigated by their acceptance as legitimate of different opinions if based on *idjtihād* [*q.v.*]. The rising tide of traditions from the Prophet, in particular, threatened the continuity and uniformity of doctrine in the ancient schools, and reinforced their aversion to disagreement. The opportunity for disagreements on questions of principle arose only from the time of Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*] and his systematic innovation. But the several schools arrived at a compromise, and the consensus (*idjmāʿ*), which acted as the integrating principle of Islam, succeeded in making innocuous those differences of opinion which it could not eliminate. The four schools, then, are equally covered by *idjmāʿ*, their alternative interpretations of Ḳurʾān and *sunna* are equally legitimate, they are all equally orthodox. This view has found expression in a saying which occurs first in the *Fiḳh al-akbar* of Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] and was later attributed to the Prophet, to the effect that "difference of opinion in the community of Muslims is a concession (*raḥma*) on the part of Allāh". The work of Shaʿrānī (see below) expresses the attitude underlying this tradition with monotonous regularity.

The recording of these differences of opinion has produced a considerable literature since the begin-

nings of the study of *fiḳh*. The earlier works reflect the discussions between the several schools, the later ones are simply handbooks. To the earliest existing works belong the *Radd ʿalā Siyar al-Awzāʿī* and the *Ikhtilāf Abī Ḥanīfa wa 'bn Abī Laylā* of Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*], both separately printed (Cairo 1357) and also commented upon by Shāfiʿī (*Umm*, vii, 303 ff. and 87 ff.), the *Kitāb al-ḥudjadj* of Shaybānī [*q.v.*], a part of which was printed in Lucknow 1888, and another part commented upon by Shāfiʿī (*Umm*, vii, 277 ff), on the differences of the scholars of ʿIrāḳ and of Medina, Shāfiʿī's *Kitāb ikhtilāf Mālik wa-'l-Shāfiʿī* (*Umm*, vii, 177 ff.), and his *Kitāb ikhtilāf ʿAlī wa-ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd* (*Umm*, vii, 151 ff.), on the points on which the ʿIrāḳians diverge from traditions of ʿAlī and Ibn Masʿūd. Tirmidhī ([*q.v.*]; d. 279/892) in his *Djāmiʿ* indicates for which doctrine each tradition serves as authority, so that his work is an important source for the comparative study of early *ikhtilāf*. Ibn Ḳutayba ([*q.v.*]; d. 276/889) in the *Kitāb mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* tries to reconcile the contradictions of traditions (cf. G. Lecomte, *Le traité des divergences du Ḥadīt d'Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus 1962), as before him Shāfiʿī had done in his *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth*. Ṭabarī ([*q.v.*]; d. 310/923) composed his *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā'* as a kind of systematic justification of his own *madhhab*; it consists mostly of extracts from the works of his predecessors and, as many of them have been lost, is very valuable as a source, but unfortunately only two fragments of this very extensive work have survived (ed. F. Kern, Cairo 1902, and J. Schacht, Leiden 1933). The early period of the works on *ikhtilāf* comes to an end with the *Sharḥ maʿānī 'l-āthār* of Ṭaḥāwī ([*q.v.*]; d. 321/933); the author argues from the Ḥanafī point of view but unfortunately does not mention the adherents of the numerous divisions of doctrine which he discusses. Of later handbooks may be mentioned *al-Ishrāf ʿalā masā'il al-khilāf* by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Baghdādī (d. 422/1031; Mālikī); the *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid* of Ibn Rushd ([*q.v.*]; Averroes, the philosopher, d. 595/1198), parts of which have been translated (cf. R. Brunschvig, *Averroès juriste*, in *Études d'orientalisme ... Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris 1962, 35-68); the *Mīzān al-kubrā* of Shaʿrānī ([*q.v.*]; d. 973/1565), derived from the *Raḥmat al-umma* of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashḳī (wrote 780/1378), which is in turn derived from the *Ishrāf* of Ibn Hubayra ([*q.v.*]; d. 560/1165); and the modern *Kitāb al-fiḳh ʿala 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, i-iv, Cairo 1931-8 (not completed).

There have been movements aiming at abolishing the diversities of opinion in religious law within orthodox Islam, and even at bridging the differences dividing Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. The most important, though unsuccessful, effort in this last direction was undertaken under the auspices of the Persian ruler Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]. Within the Sunnī field, the effort of King Ibn Suʿūd [see SUʿŪD, ĀL] to create, within his country, a "non-denominational" doctrine of Islamic law was defeated by the resistance of the traditional *ʿulamā'* (see J. Schacht, in *American Journal of Comparative Law*, viii (1959), 146 f. and *Studia Islamica*, xii (1960), 123, n. 3). In recent years, however, a chair for the study of Shīʿī law was created at al-Azhar, Shīʿī law was included in the courses of the Institute of Higher Arabic Studies (*Maʿhad al-Dirāsāt al-ʿArabiyya al-ʿĀliya*) of the Arab League, and a *Risālat al-Islām, Madjalla islāmiyya ʿālamiyya*, published by the Institute for the Coordination of the Schools of Islamic law in Cairo (*Dār al-taḳrīb bayn al-madhāhib al-islāmiyya bi 'l-Ḳāhira*), began to appear in 1368/1949.

Bibliography: F. Kern, in *ZDMG*, lv (1901), 61-95; idem, Introduction to his edition of Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf*; Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xxxviii (1884), 669 ff.; *Ẓâhiriten*, 94-102; *Muh. Studien*, ii, 74, 253 f. (tr. Bercher, 88, 316 f.); *Vorlesungen*, 51-3, 66, 315-7; and in *Beiträge zur Religionswiss.*, i (1913-14), 115-42; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii, 306 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, index; J. Schacht, *Origins*, 95-7, 214-8; idem, *Introduction*, 67, 265 (*bibl.*); J.-P. Charnay, in *L'ambivalence dans la culture arabe*, Paris 1967, 191-231; J. Berque, *ibid.*, 232-52; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *ibid.*, 253-7; Ch. Chehata, *ibid.*, 258-66.—P. Rondot, *Les Chiites et l'unité de l'Islam d'aujourd'hui*, in *Orient*, no. 12, 1959, 61-70; F. R. C. Bagley, in *MW*, l (1960), 122-29; E. Shinar, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization*, (*Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix) Jerusalem 1961, 104 and n. 37 (both on the tendency to unify the *madhāhib*); Muḥammad Taḳī al-Ḥakam, *al-Uṣūl al-ʿāmma li 'l-fiḳh al-muḳāran*, Beirut 1963 (an effort to conciliate the doctrines of the several *madhāhib*, including the Shīʿīs); A. d'Emilia, in *OM*, 1964, 306 f. (on modern eclecticism in Yemen and other countries). (J. SCHACHT)

IKHTIYĀR, choice. For the use of the word as a juridical term, see KHIYĀR and NAṢṢ; in literary criticism, see NAḲD; in the sense of "elder", see SHAYKH. The immediately following article deals with the philosophical and theological senses of the word.

As a philosophical term, *ikhtiyār* means free preference or choice, option, whence: power of choice, free will. The word itself is not Ḳur'ānic but is common in the vocabulary of *ʿilm al-kalām* and *fiḳh*. The VIIIth form of the verb is, however, used in the Ḳur'ān, always referring to a divine act. "I have chosen you (*ikhtartuka*)", says God addressing Moses (XX, 13); or: "We have chosen them (*ikhtarnāhum*)" (XLIV, 32); or again: "Your Lord creates what He wishes, and He chooses (*wa-yakhtār*)" (XXVIII, 68). The act of absolute choice, then, appears as an attribute of God.

From its very root (*khayr*, good), *ikhtiyār* implies primarily not a sovereign indifference above good and evil, but free choice of what is good. This nuance should, no doubt, be kept in mind for the precise understanding of the Ashʿarī thesis (*e.g.*, al-Ghazālī) that there is, strictly speaking, no *ikhtiyār* except in God; we shall return to this. The fact remains that the common usage of the word signifies simply the power of choice. It is thus distinguished, in its connotations, from *ḥurriyya* [*q.v.*], personal and political freedom of exultation or autonomy.

Two common usages of *ikhtiyār* should be noticed, one from the vocabulary of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and the other concerning the question of the *imāma*; (1) with the meaning of opinion freely stated; (2) with the meaning of choice or election. Concerning the designation of the *Imām*, many schools subscribe to choice by election (*ikhtiyār*), others to determination by means of a text (*naṣṣ*). The first opinion, which depends on the precedent of Abū Bakr, is defended by most of the Muʿtazilīs, certain Ḥanbalīs, such as Abū Yaʿlā, the Ashʿarīs and Māturīdīs, and, under certain conditions (descent from ʿAlī), the Zaydīs. The second remains one of the principal features of Shīʿī thought; in quite different historical connexions, it is adopted by Ibn Taymiyya on behalf of Abū Bakr (cf. *Minhādj al-sunna al-nabawiyya*,

Cairo 1382/1962, i, 340-65, with reference to Ibn Ḥazm). In treatises on the *imāma*, it is customary to contrast the *ahl al-ikhtiyār* with the *ahl al-naṣṣ*, the supporters of free election with the supporters of textual determination.

It is, however, in the schools of *ʿilm al-kalām* that the question of the existence and the nature of free will in man is faced. It is one of the most discussed problems in the "Treatise on Actions".

The Muʿtazilīs of Baṣra, such as Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā Burghūth, a disciple of al-Nadjdjār, contrasted *ikhtiyār*[an], that which is performed voluntarily, with *ṭawʿ*[an], that which is performed through obedience and submission. In the school of Baghdād, the first term is more frequently used as an opposite correlative (*muḳābal*) of *iḍṭirār* [*q.v.*], "constraint". According to the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of al-Ashʿarī (ed. Cairo 1369/1950, i, 110), Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb set out as follows the thesis of the Rāfiḍī Hishām b. al-Ḥakam: human action depends on a double perspective; it is from free choice (*ikhtiyārī*) inasmuch as it is willed and "acquired" by the subject who performs it, it is constrained (*iḍṭirārī*) inasmuch as it cannot occur without the appearance of the cause that provokes it (cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, 116). This distinction established within the same action is denied by the various Muʿtazilī branches. Briefly, it may be said that in their eyes man is the "inventor" (*mukhtariʿ*) or "creator" (*khāliḳ*) of his actions inasmuch as he is *mukhtār* (in the sense of "one who chooses") and endowed with *ikhtiyār*.

But Hishām b. al-Ḥakam had, on this very point, as it were, anticipated the Ashʿarī reaction. It should first of all be noted that the very word *ikhtiyār* is relatively little employed, or rather, it is used primarily to characterize divine action which operates *bi-'l-ḳudra wa-'l-ikhtiyār* (*e.g.*, al-Ashʿarī, *Istiḥsān al-khawḍ fī ʿilm al-kalām*, ed. with Eng. trans. R. McCarthy, *The theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 93/127; al-Bāḳillānī, *Kitāb al-Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 36). God alone is truly a "free Agent", *al-fāʿil al-mukhtār*.

Quite quickly, however, *ikhtiyār* takes on the common sense of an act that can be performed or not performed by the subject. Al-Bāḳillānī stresses the difference between a deliberate movement (*ʿalā ṭarīḳ al-ikhtiyār*) of the hand and the "movement" which is the trembling of the hemiplegic (*Tamhīd*, 308, see also 286). This is a psychological statement that has to be placed within the vaster problem of the "creation" and "acquisition" of actions. In fact, generally speaking in the Ashʿarī and Ḥanafī-Māturīdī schools, it is not *al-ikhtiyār* that is the title of discussions on free human action but rather *al-ḳudra al-ḥāditha*, the "contingent ("commenced") power (of action)". The opposite correlative is no longer *ikhtiyār-iḍṭirār*, but as formerly with Ḍirār, the leader of the Muʿtazilīs of Baṣra, *iktisāb-iḍṭirār*. With the Ashʿarīs, the "acquisition of action", *iktisāb* (or, often, *kasb*), is understood as an "attribution" carried out directly by God, and with the Māturīdīs as a simple "qualification" (*ṣifa*) of the action. The problem dealt with is that of *istiṭāʿa*, the "capacity" to act created by God in the human subject. *Ikhtiyār* does not belong to the list of technical words established by al-Djurdjānī in his *Taʿrīfāt*.

The existential determinism of the *falāsifa* does not hesitate, either, to speak of *ikhtiyār* and of *ikhtiyārī* action, but without in any way committing itself to the ontological reality of human free will. *Ikhtiyār* must then most often be translated as "power of choice" (cf. A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, s.v.), and *ikhtiyārī* as "deliberate". Ibn Sīnā says that the concupiscent and irascible faculties, simple opinion and the judgment of the intellect are all capable of *ikhtiyār* (*Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo 1960, ii, 387-8). "Choice" presupposes an elective action, and it thus depends on a knowledge, which can, however, be instinctive as well as intellectual, animal as well as human and superhuman as well as human. Every animate being and every intelligent being, from animals to the celestial spheres and the separate Intellects, is endowed with *ikhtiyār*. Al-Kindī speaks of the *ikhtiyār* of the celestial spheres, and of their *ikhtiyārī* obedience to God (*Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 246-7). The adjective *ikhtiyārī* is the opposite of "natural" (*ṭabīʿī*) and is applied to the freedom of spontaneity of the estimative faculty in animals in the same way as it is to the intelligent choice of a rational or spiritual nature (thus Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fi 'l-ʿishḳ*, ed. Mehren, *Traités mystiques*, iii, Leiden 1894, 9-14). The act of choice becomes "evident" when it is linked with a voluntary action (Ibn Sīnā, *Nadjāt*[2], Cairo 1357/1938, 215), but it is not will that defines it. That which effects greater or less perfection of choice is not the degree of a freedom in which are joined intelligence and rational will, but the degree and quality of knowledge. The choice that depends on intelligence is the only one that can tend towards the "pure and true" good; it is no less caught up in the universal causal sequence.

It was probably the double line of influence, on the one hand of the tradition of *kalām* (especially al-Bāḳillānī) and on the other of Ibn Sīnā, that inspired the analysis of the act of choice sketched by al-Ghazālī at the beginning of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (with regard to the man put before two identical cups or two similar dates), and particularly in the *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 219-20 [see IḌṬIRĀR]. Two points of view should be mentioned: (1) in human *ikhtiyār*, voluntary decision is subordinated to the judgment of the intellect, that is to say, it is "constrained" by it; (2) in consequence, an absolute free choice is exercised in God alone, for God does not act "for a motive" or "to attain an end" (*gharaḍ*, *ghāya*). The Ashʿarī, purely voluntaristic, idea of freedom makes the necessary "motive of preference" (*muradjdjiḥ*), chosen by the intellect, into a decisive argument against "man as creator of his actions". Human choice, which is always motivated, is not a truly *free* choice; it is "an intermediary" between natural constraint and the pure divine freedom, both *iḍṭirārī* and *ikhtiyārī*, as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam says.

Al-Ghazālī's analysis remains one of the peaks of Ashʿarī thought. Similar themes are found, with more or less precision, in all subsequent treatises and manuals. In modern times, the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (Cairo 1353, 60) limits itself to the double affirmation of two contrasting truths: the divine Omnipotence, "which is proved", and the "evidence" of man "who is free (*mukhtār*) in his actions". It should finally be noted that nowadays, when Muʿtazilī theses are undeniably coming back into favour, the current philosophical vocabulary uses *ḥurriyya* more commonly than *ikhtiyār* for the problem of the ontological foundation of human freedom.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. GARDET)

IKHTIYĀRĀT or hemerologies and menologies (Gr. καταρχαί, Lat. *electiones*) means an

astrological procedure whose aim is to ascertain the auspicious (*saʿd*) or inauspicious (*naḥs*) character of the future. It deals with years, months, days and hours. This task, which was the duty of the official astrologer of the court as early as the Umayyad period, became increasingly important under the ʿAbbāsids as a result of the adoption of Iranian customs and Sāsānid calendars which established precisely how the prince's time should be spent during all the days of the week (cf. for example the Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Bāb al-ʿirāfa wa 'l-zadjr wa 'l-firāsa ʿalā madhhab al-Furs*, ed. K. Inostranzeff, in *Matériaux de sources arabes pour l'histoire de la Perse sassanide*, extr. from the *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Archeol. Soc., xviii, St. Petersburg 1907, 59; F. Gabrieli, *Etichetta di corte e costumi sasanidi nel Kitâb Aḫlaq al-Mulûk di al-Ǧâḥiẓ*, in *RSO*, xi (1928), 292-305).

Divinatory hemerology was known to the early Arabs, as to all the peoples of antiquity (see *La divination arabe*, 483, notes 4-5); the best known example is that found in the legend of the Ghariyyān of al-Mundhir b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ, who once a year stood for two days beside these two sacred stones which were sprinkled with blood: one of these days was auspicious (*yawm naʿīm*); on this day he was generous to those who came to see him; the other was inauspicious (*yawm buʾs*); on this day his unfortunate visitors were sacrificed to his idols (on this legend and the Ghariyyān, see T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 91-4). For the Islamic period, particularly under the ʿAbbāsids, there exist a large number of accounts which attest how frequently recourse was made to hemerology (cf. C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 38 ff.; T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 484 f.).

The theoretical basis of hemerology underwent its greatest development during the ʿAbbāsid period. There exist many short works of *ikhtiyārāt*, bearing the names of such famous astrologers as al-Kindī (Brockelmann, S I, 392), Sahl b. Bishr, whose treatise survives in a Latin version (*ibid.*, 396), al-Ḳasrānī (*ibid.*, 392), Abū Maʿshar al-Falakī (*ibid.*, I, 222), Abū Saʿīd al-Sidjzī (*ibid.*, S I, 389), Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb b. Nawbakht (*ibid.*, 869), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*ibid.*, I, 507, S I, 924) and several others. For its practical application, brief calendars, worked out according to various procedures, indicate the good or the bad actions which are to be advised or discouraged for a certain day of the week and a certain month of the lunar year (see examples in *La divination arabe*, 487).

In Iranian and Turkish milieus, more especial attention is paid to the first day of the Iranian year, the Nawrūz [*q.v.*]; the actions performed on this day presage what the whole year will be like (cf. H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, ii, 145 ff.; *La divination arabe*, 486, 489, note 1).

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden 1966, 483-8; C. A. Nallino, *Astrologia, astronomia*, in *Raccolta di scritti editi ed inediti*, vol. v, Rome 1944, 1-41; I. Goldziher, *Über Tagewählerei bei den Muhammedanern*, in *Globus*, lx (1891), 257-9. (T. FAHD)

IKHTIYĀRĀT, in the sense of "anthologies" [see MUKHTĀRĀT].

IKHWĀN [see ṬARĪḲA].

AL-**IKHWĀN** ("the Brothers"), Arab tribesmen joining a religious and military movement which had its heyday in Arabia from 1330 to 1348/1912-30 under the rule of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd, popularly known as Ibn Suʿūd [see SUʿŪD, ĀL]. The movement, inspired by a resurgence of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*], bore a strong resemblance to the original welling up of Islam among the tribes of Arabia in the 1st/7th century. In both cases the strength of tribal ties, the amazingly rapid spread of religious fervour in an attempt to form a cohesive community rising above tribal divisiveness, the zealous desire to propagate Islam by the *djihād*, and the eagerness of the *mudjāhids* to die as martyrs were strikingly similar. So likewise was the settlement of nomadic tribesmen in military cantonments, one of the distinctive features of the Ikhwān movement. Thanks in good measure to the prowess of the Ikhwān, most of the Arabian Peninsula was brought under the sway of a single Imām, Ibn Suʿūd. When the triumphant devotees of *tawḥīd* started to break out of the Peninsula to the north, however, the parallel with *fadjr al-Islām* faded. The Ikhwān came up against British military aircraft and armoured cars based in the mandates of Transjordan and ʿIrāḳ and British warships stationed in the Persian Gulf for the protection of Britain's allies. The fanatical bravery of the Ikhwān beat in vain against the machines of the 20th century. And in challenging this century and its profound changes, the Ikhwān at last revolted against their sovereign, Ibn Suʿūd, who with superior force stopped and confined them. The Ikhwān movement may thus be regarded as the last gasp of pristine Islamic militancy, reproducing in many ways the beliefs and tactics of 1,300 years ago.

The progress and decline of the Ikhwān movement form an important chapter in the history of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. During the close association between Ibn Suʿūd and the Ikhwān the state expanded to the west and north, occupying the regions of ʿAsīr, Djabal Shammar, and al-Ḥidjāz. Ibn Suʿūd as the new Protector of the Holy Cities acquired a position of prominence and dignity in the Islamic world. When the Ikhwān revolted, the response of the King and his government to the issues they raised determined the future course of the kingdom, which from then on emerged rapidly from its xenophobic isolation. The excesses of the Ikhwān harmed the reputation of Arabia in the Islamic world, yet their reckless courage and dedication to the principles of early Islam made a deep impression on many Muslims.

In the 12th and 13th/18th and 19th centuries Āl Suʿūd in their wars relied primarily on the sturdy town-dwellers of Nadjd, who stood firmer in battle than the mercurial Bedouin auxiliaries. In 1319/1902 Ibn Suʿūd recovered al-Riyāḍ, the capital of his forefathers, from Āl Rashīd of Ḥāyil in Djabal Shammar, and began the reconstruction of the dominion of his house. Although a townsman by birth and largely by upbringing, he had lived among the Bedouins and knew them well. As he became embroiled in the tribal feuds which for ages had rent Arabia, he searched for a way of turning the talents of the Bedouins to better use. The answer he hit upon was to mobilize them in settlements, where they could more easily be taught the doctrines of Islam, be made more reliable citizens, and be moulded into a formidable martial force. This revolutionary approach called for the Bedouins to depart from their old way of life, which came to be referred to as al-Djāhiliyya, and to embrace a new way, illumined by God's grace, so that the name *hidjra* (variant *hudjra*) was given to the settlements and the name Ikhwān to the settlers.

The Bedouin moving into a *hidjra* gave up his

house of hair for a mud hut. Often he sold his camels and *ghanam*, for he was now more of a farmer than a herder. He might even become a trader after a fashion by selling the products of his tillage.

The government supported the establishment of the *hidjras* through the selection of sites; the grant of land; the building of mosques, schools, and dwellings; the provision of seeds and tools and the giving of instruction in planting; the supply of arms and ammunition; and, above all, the sending of religious teachers (*muṭawwiʿ*, pl. *maṭāwiʿa*) to indoctrinate the Ikhwān with a knowledge of Islam as it was in the time of the Prophet and *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*. This was Islam as taught by Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*], but the Ikhwān often went to extremes. They were vehement in denouncing *bidʿas* of all sorts. Electricity, which brought light without oil or wax, was iniquitous. The Ikhwān broke mirrors because they reflected images. In their personal appearance men must follow what was believed to be the Prophet's example. Moustaches must be trimmed almost out of sight and beards grown long. The traditional headcloth and headropes of the Bedouin must be replaced by a white turban.

Missionary work in the *hidjras* was carried on under the direction of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, a descendant of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who composed Ḥanbalī tracts for distribution among the Ikhwān. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1332/September 1914 he joined other *ʿulamāʾ* in addressing a circular to "*kāffat al-Ikhwān min ahl al-hidjar*" in which moderation was urged upon them. No difference, the scholars said, could be found in the *Sharīʿa* between the wearing of headropes and the wearing of a turban. At the same time Ibn Suʿūd wrote another circular to the Ikhwān in which he pointed out that there were no basic contradictions in the four *madhhabs* of Sunnī Islam, even though he and his government adhered to Ḥanbalism. He remarked that the Ikhwān had in their colonies the books of the different *madhhabs*, as well as the writings of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*qq.v.*], the spiritual precursors of Wahhābism. As the Ikhwān movement developed, however, such pleas for moderation and tolerance were often ignored by its followers. Nevertheless, the religious teaching in the *hidjras* did go far towards making honest and law-abiding citizens out of the Ikhwān while they were at home and not on the warpath.

As soldiers the Ikhwān called themselves "knights of God's unity and brothers of those who obey God". They courted death in fighting for the faith. One of their war-cries was "The winds of Paradise are blowing. Where are you who hanker after Paradise?" As in times of old, they assigned a fifth of their booty to the Imām, Ibn Suʿūd. When they encountered the British, they did not shrink from facing their engines of war; with their rifles they would fire at planes flying overhead. Their raids might cover hundreds of miles, with long lines of camels, two riders to each, and horses preceded by banners inscribed with the *shahāda*. The raiders usually attacked their objective in a wild charge at dawn. The Arabs they marched against dreaded their approach, as they often put to death those whom they considered *kāfirs*, that is, those who did not profess their version of *tawḥīd*.

In or about 1330/1912 the first *hidjra* was founded in Nadjd at the wells of al-Arṭāwiyya northeast of al-Zilfī on the road from Kuwait to the district of al-Ḳaṣīm. When the Danish traveller B. Raunkiaer passed by the wells in Rabīʿ I 1330/March 1912, he saw no settlement. The new townsmen were made up of members of the tribes of Muṭayr and Ḥarb [*qq.v.*]. The redoubtable Fayṣal b. Sulṭān al-Dawīsh, the paramount chief of Muṭayr, became their leader. Another *hidjra*, occupied in the same or the following year, was al-Ghaṭghaṭ below the scarp of Djabal Ṭuwayḳ to the southwest of al-Riyāḍ. Here the nucleus consisted of members of the tribe of ʿUtayba [*q.v.*] under the command of Sulṭān b. Bidjād Ibn Ḥumayd, the chief of Barḳā, one of the two main divisions of the tribe. As a champion of the faith Ibn Ḥumayd came to be known as Sulṭān al-Dīn.

All told, scores of *hidjras* were built. Several lists of their names have been compiled, none of which is complete or wholly accurate. Oppenheim and Caskel give a total of 114, with many marked as being of uncertain identity (see G. Rentz's review in *Oriens*, x (1957), 77-89). Philby estimated that the total was about 200. In some of the larger ones, such as the first two, the population may have numbered as many as 10,000, while smaller ones had as few as 10 inhabitants. Although an effort was made to bring elements of different tribes together in a single *hidjra* in order to put an end to intertribal feuding, most of the settlement came to be associated with particular tribes. The lists recorded by Oppenheim and Caskel, though only approximate, give an idea of the tribes most active in the movement: Ḥarb 27 *hidjras*, ʿUtayba 19, Muṭayr 16, al-ʿUdjmān 14, Shammar 9, and Ḳaḥṭān 8. The *hidjras* were scattered throughout Nadjd and what is now the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia. In the south they reached the fringes of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, and in the north they came close to the Syrian Desert. Westwards they did not extend into the high mountains of al-Ḥidjāz and ʿAsīr.

By 1336/1918 the military organization of the Ikhwān had developed to the point where they began replacing the townsmen of Nadjd as the élite of Ibn Suʿūd's army, marching with his bodyguard under his banner. In that year Ibn Suʿūd advanced with the Ikhwān to the walls of Ḥāyil, Ibn Rashīd's capital, but failed to take the city for want of artillery. In 1337/1919 the Ikhwān on their own won the first great victory in a contest destined to end with the downfall of the Hāshimid regime of King al-Ḥusayn in al-Ḥidjāz. One of the main causes of the growing enmity between Ibn Suʿūd and al-Ḥusayn was their dispute over the borderland between Nadjd and al-Ḥidjāz and the allegiance of the tribes living there. The key oases were al-Khurma and Taraba [*qq.v.*], and the most important tribe was ʿUtayba. Ibn Suʿūd already had a strong segment of ʿUtayba with him under Ibn Ḥumayd in al-Ghaṭghaṭ. The Amīr of al-Khurma was the Sharīf Khālid b. Manṣūr Ibn Luʾayy of Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh [see HĀSHIMIDS]. Ibn Luʾayy, after falling out with his kinsman ʿAbd Allāh, son of King al-Ḥusayn, during the siege of the Ottoman forces in Medina, returned to al-Khurma, where he enrolled as a member of Ibn Suʿūd's Ikhwān and energetically spread their doctrines among the tribes. From 1336/1917 onwards, al-Ḥusayn sent three expeditions against Ibn Luʾayy, but all were repulsed. After the surrender of Medina, al-Ḥusayn mounted an even larger expedition and gave the command to his son ʿAbd Allāh. The people of al-Khurma called on Ibn Suʿūd for help, and he commissioned Ibn Ḥumayd to lead forward a contingent of the Ikhwān. Together Ibn Luʾayy and Ibn Ḥumayd made a surprise attack on ʿAbd Allāh's fortified camp at Taraba and thoroughly routed the Hāshimid forces, both regulars and irregulars. The road to Mecca lav

open, but for diplomatic reasons Ibn Suʿūd held the Ikhwān back.

In 1338/1920 soldiers of the Ikhwān took part in the capture of Abhā, the capital of highland ʿAsīr, and manned the garrison established there to maintain Ibn Suʿūd's rule. The Ikhwān were so high-handed in their conduct that the people of ʿAsīr revolted, and Ibn Suʿūd had to send his son Fayṣal with another detachment of Ikhwān under Ibn Ḥumayd to regain control of the region.

A conflict arose between Ibn Suʿūd and Sālim b. Mubārak Āl Ṣabāḥ, the ruler of Kuwait, over the borderland between their domains in 1338/1920. Ibn Suʿūd felt that Sālim was pressing his claims too far south, and Sālim protested at the building of a *hidjra* by the Ikhwān of Muṭayr at Ḳarya al-ʿUlyā (pronounced *garyat al-ʿilyā*). Sālim dispatched troops into the disputed area, and at Ḥamḍ near Ḳarya they were overwhelmed by Fayṣal al-Dawīsh and the Ikhwān. Fearing invasion, the people of Kuwait in two months built a long wall with four gates to protect their town. In Muḥarram 1339/October 1920 al-Dawīsh moved, not against Kuwait town itself, but against the neighbouring oasis of al-Djahrāʾ, which Sālim defended with desperation and success. Losses on both sides were heavy. Britain, pledged to protect Kuwait, sent two warships to the port and two military planes from ʿIrāḳ, which dropped a warning notice on the Ikhwān. Undeterred, al-Dawīsh proceeded to the outskirts of al-Zubayr in ʿIrāḳ, where the British intervened again. The crisis between Kuwait and Ibn Suʿūd was solved by a delegation from Kuwait to Nadjd led by the heir apparent, Aḥmad Āl Djābir Āl Ṣabāḥ, who, unlike Sālim, was on good terms with Ibn Suʿūd. Sālim died in Djumādā II 1339/February 1921 while the delegation was conferring with Ibn Suʿūd, and Aḥmad as his successor restored amicable relations.

At a congress in al-Riyāḍ in 1339/1921, attended by many of the Ikhwān, Ibn Suʿūd was acclaimed Sultan of Nadjd, a title new to his family. His father ʿAbd al-Raḥmān kept the old title of Imām. The new Sultan celebrated by crushing at long last his old enemies, Āl Rashīd. After a siege of nearly two months in which al-Dawīsh and the Ikhwān played a prominent part, Ḥāyil capitulated in Ṣafar 1340 /November 1921. The Ikhwān leaders criticized the generous terms which Ibn Suʿūd accorded to Āl Rashīd.

The occupation of Āl Rashīd's lands eliminated the buffer between Ibn Suʿūd's state and the new states of Transjordan and ʿIrāḳ. A number of followers of Āl Rashīd, particularly from the tribe of Shammar, took refuge in ʿIrāḳ and made it a base for raids against the subjects of Ibn Suʿūd. The Ikhwān, restrained from hurling themselves against the Hāshimids in al-Ḥidjāz, found substitute targets in their new neighbours, where al-Ḥusayn's sons ʿAbd Allāh and Fayṣal had assumed the thrones of Transjordan and ʿIrāḳ. In the eyes of the Ikhwān, backsliding Hāshimids were fair game wherever they might be. Further, there were many Shīʿis in ʿIrāḳ, especially among the sheep-herding tribes which ranged down towards Nadjd and Kuwait, and Shīʿism was abhorrent to the Ikhwān.

In 1340/1922 the Ikhwān reached well beyond Ḥāyil to the northwest, occupying the oases of al-Djawf and Sakākā at the south end of Wādī al-Sirḥān leading to Transjordan. A raiding party of Ikhwān attacked two villages of Banū Ṣakhr very near the Transjordanian capital of ʿAmmān and withdrew before British planes could overtake them.

The British government, which held the mandates for Transjordan and ʿIrāḳ and had a treaty with Ibn Suʿūd, to whom it paid a modest subsidy, sought ways of preventing the raids and counter-raids. The British felt that to determine the allegiance of tribes and to define boundary lines were essential steps. Representatives of ʿIrāḳ and Nadjd were brought together to sign a treaty at al-Muḥammara on 7 Ramaḍān 1340/5 May 1922, which Ibn Suʿūd refused to ratify on the grounds that his representative had exceeded his instructions. Ibn Suʿūd, however, in a meeting with British and ʿIrāḳī officials at al-ʿUḳayr accepted on 12 Rabīʿ II 1341/2 December 1922 a protocol to the treaty drawing a boundary between Nadjd and ʿIrāḳ. At the same time a convention drawing a boundary between Nadjd and Kuwait was concluded with the British Political Agent from Kuwait. These instruments also established a neutral zone between Nadjd and ʿIrāḳ and another between Nadjd and Kuwait, in each of which both governments concerned would have equal rights. The idea of the neutral zone was to provide a common territory without permanent inhabitants to which nomads with their livestock from both sides could resort for watering and grazing. For countless centuries the Bedouins of Arabia had moved back and forth without artificial boundaries to stop them. It would take time for them to adjust to the new arrangements, especially since the lines sketched on maps were not marked on the ground. Furthermore, the definition of the new boundaries was imprecise in a number of points, leaving room for argument over the location of the lines. For the better part of a decade raiding across boundaries was to remain a common practice.

Aiming to ease the tension between Ibn Suʿūd and his three Hāshimid neighbours, the British invited the four to send representatives to a conference at Kuwait. King al-Ḥusayn of al-Ḥidjāz refused to do so, but delegates from the other three met intermittently from Djumādā I to Ramaḍān 1342/December 1923-April 1924 without solving any of their problems, including control of the tribes on all sides. The situation between al-Ḥusayn and Ibn Suʿūd grew worse when al-Ḥusayn was proclaimed Caliph in Radjab 1342/March 1924, an act regarded by the Ikhwān as further proof of Hāshimid heresy. Islamic circles in Egypt and India voiced vigorous criticism of al-Ḥusayn's administration of the affairs of the Holy Land and the Pilgrimage. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1342/June 1924 a congress of Ibn Suʿūd's notables met in al-Riyāḍ. The leaders of the Ikhwān accused al-Ḥusayn of barring them from the pilgrimage, and the *ʿulamāʾ* affirmed that the Muslims of Nadjd had the right to fulfil this fundamental duty "by consent or by force". The congress closed with the cry: "*Tawakkalnā ʿala 'llāh—ila 'l-Ḥidjāz!*"

The Ikhwān did not move in time for the pilgrimage of 1342/1924, as their campaign against al-Ḥidjāz began in Muḥarram 1343/August 1924. The main thrust westwards was accompanied by diversionary expeditions against the Hāshimids on two other fronts. A flying column of Ikhwān raided villages of Banū Ṣakhr just south of ʿAmmān, only to be thrown back with severe losses by British planes and armoured cars, while other Ikhwān made a series of irruptions into ʿIrāḳ, where again the British opposed them with modern equipment.

In the west the Ikhwān advanced under the command of Ibn Luʾayy and Ibn Ḥumayd. Early in Ṣafar 1343/September 1924 their vanguard, with no responsible officer in charge, surged into the town

of al-Ṭā'if and put to flight the defending forces under al-Ḥusayn's son ʿAlī. A brawl with the citizens led to the slaughter of some hundreds before Ibn Ḥumayd arrived in haste to restore order. This was the only instance of uncontrolled violence by the Ikhwān during the war in al-Ḥidjāz (Ibn Suʿūd immediately issued strict instructions against any repetition), but it was enough to strike terror into the hearts of al-Ḥusayn's subjects. Many, including the Amīr ʿAlī, abandoned Mecca, leaving it defenceless. In Rabīʿ I 1343/October 1924 the Ikhwān under Ibn Lu'ayy and Ibn Ḥumayd thronged into the Holy City, wearing the *iḥrām* dress and carrying their rifles with muzzles down. The occupation took place nearly two months before the arrival of Ibn Suʿūd from al-Riyāḍ. When the Ikhwān chose Ibn Lu'ayy as Amīr of Mecca, it became one of the ironies of history that the last Sharīf of the nearly thousand-year-old Hāshimid dynasty to govern the city should be an adherent of the Ikhwān of Nadjd.

Carrying out the tenets of Wahhābism, the Ikhwān destroyed many of the shrines in Mecca, thus provoking an unfavourable response in the Islamic world. Once again the Ikhwān showed resentment at Ibn Suʿūd's leniency when he treated the people of al-Ḥidjāz gently, and an ominous speech by Fayṣal al-Dawīsh in Mecca on *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr* indicated an inclination towards open revolt.

The leading citizens of al-Ḥidjāz had prevailed upon al-Ḥusayn to abdicate and had recognized his son ʿAlī as the constitutional monarch. The Ikhwān joined in the sieges of ʿAlī's main footholds, Djudda and Medina, but it was Ibn Suʿūd who accepted the surrender of Djudda in Djumādā II 1344/December 1925 and his son Muḥammad, rather than Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, who a little earlier accepted the surrender of Medina (Djumādā I/December).

While the siege of Djudda was going on, Ibn Suʿūd concluded with Britain in Rabīʿ II 1344/November 1925 the agreements of Baḥra and Ḥaddā' (places on the way from Djudda to Mecca), with Britain acting on behalf of ʿIrāḳ and Transjordan. Both agreements were designed to enforce more effective control over raiding, and the Ḥaddā' agreement drew a boundary line between Nadjd and Transjordan (with the exception of the district of Maʿān and al-ʿAḳaba, which Ibn Suʿūd claimed as part of al-Ḥidjāz).

To avoid trouble with the people of al-Ḥidjāz, Ibn Suʿūd sent most of the Ikhwān back to Nadjd or off on expeditions to rivet his control over districts in the south near the borders of the Yaman and in the north towards al-ʿAḳaba. In Mecca the Ikhwān influenced events again during the pilgrimage of 1344/1926, when they stoned the Egyptian caravan on the grounds that the *Maḥmal* and its military band were *bidʿas*. The Egyptians fired on the pilgrims from Nadjd and killed a number of them. This incident was partly responsible for Egyptian coolness towards the new regime in al-Ḥidjāz during the next 10 years.

The restlessness of the Ikhwān under the rule of Ibn Suʿūd came to the surface in a congress of their chiefs at al-Arṭāwiyya in 1345/1926. Ibn Suʿūd, now King of al-Ḥidjāz, was condemned for a number of his acts, such as sending his son Suʿūd on a visit to Egypt, the land of *shirk*, and his use of automobiles, telephones, and the telegraph. Ibn Suʿūd thereupon summoned his notables to a congress in al-Riyāḍ in Radjab 1345/January 1927. Some but not all of the Ikhwān chiefs came. The *ʿulamā'* issued a *fatwā* in Shaʿbān/February, which in general deferred to the authority of Ibn Suʿūd as Imām but at the same time made concessions to the Ikhwān. The entry of the *Maḥmal* into Mecca was, if possible, to be prohibited. Strong measures were to be taken to bring the Shīʿis of al-Ḥasā and al-Ḳaṭīf into the fold of true Islam. On the use of the telegraph however, the *ʿulamā'* declined to give an opinion, holding it to be a modern invention about which nothing could be found in the works of the religious authorities. Two months later another congress in al-Riyāḍ brought together 3,000 of the Ikhwān leaders, only Ibn Ḥumayd being absent, and Ibn Suʿūd received further support. Ibn Suʿūd strengthened his diplomatic position by signing the treaty of Djudda with Britain on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1345/20 May 1927, even though dealings with Christian powers were anathema to men such as Ibn Ḥumayd and al-Dawīsh, who continued recalcitrant.

In Djumādā I 1346/November 1927 an incident in ʿIrāḳ north of the neutral zone between it and Nadjd set in train the revolt of the Ikhwān against their sovereign. Protocol No. 1 of al-ʿUḳayr had forbidden the building of forts in the vicinity of the boundary. When ʿIrāḳ began to construct a police post at the wells of Buṣayya, Ibn Suʿūd's government called this a violation of the protocol. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh's Ikhwān of Muṭayr took the matter into their own hands, descending on the post at night and virtually wiping out the ʿIrāḳī force. Other incidents followed in quick succession, with Muṭayr repeatedly defying Ibn Suʿūd's orders. The British struck back by bombing Nadjd territory. In Ramaḍān 1346/March 1928 Ibn Ḥumayd began to outdo al-Dawīsh in aggressiveness, calling for an all-out assault by the Ikhwān on the infidels of ʿIrāḳ. In Shawwāl/April Ibn Suʿūd, who was preparing to negotiate again with Britain, prevailed on the Ikhwān to suspend operations for a time, but the negotiations, which took place in Djudda in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/May, failed to settle the problems of ʿIrāḳī military posts and Ikhwān raids, nor was the deadlock resolved in a second round of negotiations in Djudda in Ṣafar 1347/August 1928.

To cope with the internal crisis Ibn Suʿūd held a congress in al-Riyāḍ in Djumādā I 1347/October 1928, which Ibn Ḥumayd, al-Dawīsh, and Ḍīdān b. Fahhād Ibn Ḥithlayn of al-ʿUdjmān refused to attend, though al-Dāwīsh did send his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (ʿUzayyiz). Ibn Suʿūd went so far as to offer to abdicate, but the congress instead deposed the three rebel chiefs. The charge was spread at the time or soon after that the three planned to carve up Ibn Suʿūd's realm, with al-Dawīsh taking Nadjd, Ibn Ḥumayd taking al-Ḥidjāz, and Ibn Ḥithlayn taking al-Ḥasā, while a leader of Shammar who had joined the Ikhwān would get Ḥāyil and a leader of al-Ruwala would get al-Djawf.

The situation stayed relatively quiet until Ramaḍān 1347/February 1929, when Ibn Ḥumayd in a raid northwards massacred a number of Nadjd merchants escorting camels to sell in Egypt. This bloody deed solidified opinion in the towns of Nadjd behind Ibn Suʿūd, and tribes which had suffered at the hands of the Ikhwān supported the townsmen. Ibn Suʿūd called on the rebels to surrender and undergo trial in the *Sharīʿa* courts, but they refused. Finally Ibn Suʿūd overtook the rebels on the plain of al-Sabala (often written Sibila in English) not far from al-Arṭāwiyya, the fountainhead of the Ikhwān movement. Here in Shawwāl 1347/March 1929 Ibn Suʿūd broke the back of the revolt. Ibn Ḥumayd fled, only to be captured and imprisoned in al-Riyāḍ, while his *hidjra* at al-Ghaṭghaṭ was razed by Ibn Suʿūd's

brother ʿAbd Allāh. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, gravely wounded, was carried to al-Arṭāwiyya.

In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1347/May 1929 Ḍīdān Ibn Ḥithlayn was killed by order of Fahd, son of Ibn Suʿūd's governor of al-Ḥasā, ʿAbd Allāh b. Djalwī, and in revenge the Ikhwān of al-ʿUdjmān killed Fahd. Ḍīdān's place was taken by his cousin Nāyif Aba 'l-Kilāb. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, recovered from his wound, joined Nāyif in the east in Muḥarram 1348/June 1929. Among the stoutest opponents of the rebels was the tribe of al-ʿAwāzim [*q.v.*]. During the summer the rebels won successes, cutting the road from the coast to al-Riyāḍ via Abū Djifān and in another foray destroying a number of lorries bringing supplies to Ibn Suʿūd's son Suʿūd, who was in the field against them. In Rabīʿ I 1348/August 1929 al-Dawīsh's son ʿUzayyiz led a long raid into the country of Shammar and ʿAnaza, but he died from thirst in the desert after being defeated in a battle with Ibn Suʿūd's governor of Ḥāyil, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Musāʿid Āl Djalwī. Hundreds of the Ikhwān of Muṭayr fell in this battle. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh was hard put to find water for all his Ikhwān and grazing for his many thousands of camels, and the rebel cause was doomed when an important section of ʿUtayba under ʿUmar Ibn Rubayʿān chose Ibn Suʿūd's side. Relentlessly Ibn Suʿūd's forces closed in on the rebels, and in Shaʿbān 1348/January 1930 Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, Nāyif Ibn Ḥithlayn, and other chiefs surrendered to the British in Kuwait territory. The British negotiated terms of extradition with Ibn Suʿūd, and at the end of Shaʿbān/January the captive chiefs were handed over. Their lives were spared, but they went to gaol in al-Riyāḍ.

Thus peace was restored by 1348/1930 to the realm of Ibn Suʿūd, and the age of tribal raiding came to an end. The suppression of the revolt did not mean the total eclipse of the Ikhwān movement; it meant rather that it would be consigned to a subordinate role in the state. Some of the *hidjras* were abandoned, but others continued to flourish. Ikhwān chiefs who had remained loyal to Ibn Suʿūd received regular stipends, and the Ikhwān in the *hidjras* got an annual grant (*sharha*) of rice. Among the loyal chiefs was the Sharīf Khālid Ibn Luʾayy, who commanded expeditions against the Yamanīs in Nadjrān in 1350/1932 and the Idrīsids in Tihāmat ʿAsīr in 1351/1933, during the second of which he fell ill and died. Other loyal chiefs held places of honour in the King's court. The religious zeal of the Ikhwān remained alive among large sections of the population of the kingdom, and it is still displayed by the *muṭawwiʿs* and the members of *Hayʾāt al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*. As the military establishment of the kingdom developed, the Ikhwān detachments became the National Guard, popularly known as *al-Mudjāhidūn*. Now they move about in motor vehicles, which their predecessors once looked upon as works of *siḥr*.

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AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN, "the Muslim Brethren", Muslim movement, both religious and political, founded in Egypt by Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*].

History. Many facets of the history of the Muslim Brethren are still unknown, which is to be expected since the movement engaged in many secret activities, on several occasions threatening the established régimes and being persecuted by them, many notorious militant members of it being now (1969) either in exile or living under police supervision in their own countries. The history of the movement may be divided into various periods:

(1) A formative period (1928-36) dominated by religious and social activities. After the foundation of the *Djamʿiyyat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*, the "Association of the Muslim Brethren", in 1928 at Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] in Egypt, sections were formed in the various localities of the Suez Canal zone, then gradually throughout Egypt, particularly after 1933, the year in which al-Bannāʾ, who had remained a teacher, was moved to Cairo, where he transferred the headquarters of the brotherhood. Missionaries (*dāʿī*, pl. *duʿāt*) specially commissioned by the founder and "Supreme Guide" (*al-murshid al-ʿāmm*) preached in the mosques and other public places; the Brethren founded schools of various grades, organized courses of religious instruction, taught the illiterate, set up hospitals and dispensaries, undertook various enterprises to raise the standard of living in the villages, built mosques and even launched industrial and commercial enterprises.

(2) A period of political activity and of expansion, then of troubles (1936-52). After the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936, Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ undertook the support of the cause of the Palestine Arabs, which enabled him to spread the movement throughout the Middle East and especially in Syria, and gained him in Egypt an ever-increasing prestige. During the second world war, in 1941, he was im-

prisoned for a time because of his violent anti-British propaganda. It seems that at this period the "Free Officers", who were to seize power on 23 July 1952, had a friendly relationship with the Brethren, but the two movements always remained independent of each other. It is probable that al-Bannā' had already organized, in addition to sporting and paramilitary groups, a secret army, and his plans certainly did not exclude the seizing of power by force. While awaiting a suitable opportunity, the Muslim Brethren continued their educational and social activities and became an increasing influence in Egyptian political life, but in the country itself and not in the parliament. After 1943 they had to reckon with competition from the communists, allied to the left wing of the Wafd, who like them were attempting to arouse the political awareness of the students and the populace. The Egyptian Left accused the Brethren of devoting in fact more energy to opposing it than to opposing the British, and of resorting to violent methods and even actual terrorism to do so. The Muslim Brethren provided volunteers who fought with the Arab armies in the Palestine War in 1948. After the Arab defeat, they appeared as an organized armed force which was capable of challenging the Egyptian government; the government of al-Nuḳrās̲h̲ī ordered the dissolution of their organization, the confiscation of all its possessions and the arrest of a large number of Brethren. Al-Nuḳrās̲h̲ī was assassinated on 28 December 1948 by a Brother; shortly afterwards, on 12 February 1949, al-Bannā' was himself assassinated; no investigation of this murder was ever completed. The Brotherhood continued to function in secret. A new supreme guide was elected, Ḥasan Ismā'īl al-Huḍaybī, a magistrate, but his authority was often challenged. In 1951, as a result of the law concerning organizations (23 April), the Brethren were able to resume their activities openly; in theory they were forbidden to do anything in secret or to make any military preparations, but they very soon managed to evade this prohibition. They took part in the harrying actions against the British bases in the Suez Canal zone. The part they played in the burning of Cairo on 26 January 1952 is still not clear.

(3) The Muslim Brethren under the Revolutionary régime (from July 1952). The secret movement of the "Free Officers" which seized power on 23 July 1952 had a programme which resembled in many respects that of the Brethren, particularly on social matters; in addition, many officers who took part in the movement were in fact members of, or sympathizers with, the society of the Muslim Brethren. This may perhaps explain why the new régime at the beginning sought the support and even the collaboration of the Brethren; when all the political parties were dissolved (16 January 1953), the régime agreed to consider the Muslim Brethren as a non-political association. But it appears that al-Huḍaybī demanded the right of control and veto over all the government's decisions, wishing to set himself up as the "moral tutor" of the revolution, a position which was of course refused to him. Soon the Brethren attacked the new régime, considering that its programme and its first achievements did not sufficiently conform to their Islamic ideal. In 1953 there began a muted but bitter struggle; the Brethren intensified their propaganda among the students and the trade unions, and some of them plotted within the army and even among the police. On 13 January 1954, their society was once again dissolved and several hundred of them, including all the leaders, were arrested; but because of the rivalry between General Muḥammad Nad̲j̲īb and Colonel D̲j̲amāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir, they were shortly afterwards released and were granted again the right to exist as a non-political organization. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty signed on 19 October 1954 was the cause of a fresh disagreement: the Brethren regarded it as too favourable to Great Britain and rejected even the principle of negotiation with the British, maintaining that an armed struggle against them was the only method possible. On 26 October 1954, Colonel D̲j̲amāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir narrowly escaped an attempt on his life by a member of the Muslim Brethren; the government reacted by arresting and trying more than a thousand Brethren and severe penalties were inflicted: six Muslim Brethren, among them the lawyer and writer 'Abd al-Ḳādir 'Ūda, were condemned to death and executed; the Supreme Guide, al-Huḍaybī, was condemned to death, but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. One would have expected that after this the Brotherhood would be crushed; indeed many of the members who did not approve of terrorist methods, had given their support to the new régime. In fact the Brotherhood continued to exist clandestinely. During the summer of 1965, a conspiracy hatched by the Muslim Brethren, the aim of which was to overthrow the régime of Colonel 'Abd al-Nāṣir, was discovered; several hundred arrests were made; the enquiries and the trials lasted for a year; in August 1966 there took place three executions, including that of Sayyid Ḳuṭb, a well-known writer among the Brethren, not to mention many sentences of hard labour and prison. It appears however that the Brotherhood continues to exist clandestinely and to constitute a certain threat to the Egyptian government (1969).

The Muslim Brethren outside Egypt. Similar movements appeared at the same time in other Arab countries, inspired by the example of the Egyptian Brotherhood, but it is difficult to tell whether they were organically attached to it, and if so in what degree, or whether they were independent. In Syria, in 1937, there was founded an association of Muslim Brethren which was to be less extensive and less active than the Egyptian association, but some of its members occupied official political offices in Syria, as members of Parliament and ministers, and in particular the Muslim Brethren of Syria exercised a not inconsiderable moral and intellectual influence, under the leadership of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī (d. 1965). Less important, and in some cases more temporary, associations existed also in Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon and 'Irāḳ. It should be added that the Muslim Brethren in Egypt commanded, and, it seems, still command, wide sympathy in many Arab countries and also in non-Arab Muslim countries.

Doctrine. The essential message of the Muslim Brethren may be summarized thus: they consider Islam to be an "order" (*niẓām*) without equal, because it is revealed by God, which has a vocation to organize all aspects of human life: "Islam is dogma and worship, fatherland and nationality, religion and state, spirituality and action, Ḳur'ān and sword" (Ḥ. al-Bannā'); furthermore, this order is valid for all men of all time and all countries. The originality of the Muslim Brethren lies not in their doctrine, many elements of which may be found in the preaching of D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Afg̲h̲ānī [*q.v.*], but in the fact that their founder, by simplifying it and making it more strict, made it the ideological basis of a powerful popular movement. The professions

of faith of the Brethren, and espeially those of Ḥ. al-Bannāʾ, who was educated in the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*, are strongly inspired by the idea of a return to the faith of the "devout ancestors" (*salaf*) of the Community, although they are for the most part formulated on a plane and in terms very different from those of tradition and invoke on occasion the authority of non-Muslim scholars and philosophers in the cause of the struggle against atheism; the believer can know God only through the description which He has given of Himself in the Ḳurʾān and through the words of His Prophet; but the faith of the Muslim is also alluminated and nourished by the light thrown into his mind and his heart by the total commitment of his life to the service of Islam. In the same spirit, the Brethren were obliged to perform pious exercises based on the recital of the Ḳurʾān with meditation (*tadabbur*) and to make an assiduous study of *ḥadīths* and of the model provided by the history of the beginnings of the Muslim Community. Whatever the differences between them, all the professions of faith of the Brethren show the greatest mistrust of the traditional formulations of *kalām*, which they consider to be too much impregnated with the Greek spirit, which is foreign to primitive Islam, and whose speculations they accuse of having provoked in the past, and of encouraging at the present time, divisions and a sectarian spirit, which form an obstacle to the necessary unity of all Muslims which is indispensable in their struggle against the foreign imperialists.

The Brethren's dedication to the service of Islam has as its main objective the struggle against western invasion in all its forms. Abroad first, it is necessary to fight until all the Muslim countries are freed from any foreign domination. Next, within Egypt, the Muslim Brethren planned to re-Islamicize Egyptian life in the very many fields which had been impregnated by western influence, now considered to be waning; these extended from social habits, such as dress, greetings, the use of foreign languages, hours of work and of rest, the calendar, recreation, etc., to the educational, legal and political institutions, not to mention the field of ideas and sentiments. Matters relating to the family and to the position of women were not neglected; in addition there existed a parallel women's movement, the "Muslim Sisters". One of the main points of this programme was the abolition of the Egyptian legal codes, based on European codes, and the creation of a legislation based on the *sharīʿa*; they considered the question of the evolution of *fiḳh* to be no longer relevant, since a society which is renewed and really living according to Islam ought to work out for itself a new system of legislation, based on the principles provided by the Revelation, according to the new and unforeseeable problems which it encounters (S. Ḳuṭb). The Muslim Brethren strove to work out a whole economic and social doctrine based on canonical ideas, such as the taxes provided for by the revealed Law (*zakāt*) and the prohibition on making profit from money (*ribā*), and in general reinterpreting and adapting to modern needs the rules concerning economic and social life provided by the Ḳurʾān, the Sunna and the edifying episodes in the history of the Community. Sayyid Ḳuṭb and Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī appear to be the writers who mainly systematized this doctrine; they defined an Islamic socialism (*ishtirākiyya islāmiyya*) which, while combining the advantages of capitalism and communism, differs radically from these two systems in both its nature and its aims. Private property is guaranteed as a right, but its possession is a social function delegated to the individual by the community, which holds these possessions from God, the only true owner. The State, acting as representative of the community, has the right and the duty to investigate the origin of the fortunes of individuals, to control its use, and to deduct from it the portion due to the poor. In addition to these principles, on which there was to be based a truly Muslim and social legislation and policy, there are exalted the virtues of disinterestedness, of mutual devotion and of brotherhood, which, according to these writers, existed in the Muslim countries before they were invaded by Western materialism, and which must now be taught again since they are the very ends towards which this Islamic régime is directed.

The second main objective of the Brethren was to create an authentically Muslim state; the ideal, which would be attained after many preparatory stages, was to restore a single State which would embrace all the Muslim peoples and would have at its head a caliph. Until this was achieved, a plurality of states was permissible. The leader of the State is elected by the community and responsible to it; the community acts through qualified representatives elected by it, the *ahl al-shūrā*, who elect the leader, have control over his acts, and legislate in collaboration with him. Every person in authority is required to act in consultation (*shūrā*) with his subordinates, and it is the duty of every citizen to offer his advice (*naṣīḥa*) to those in authority. The aim of this Islamic State is, internally, to see that the laws of Islam are properly observed, and, externally, to send out and to support missionaries who will present Islam to other nations, and to fight constantly, and with arms if need be, for justice and the common good of humanity (*amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa-nahy ʿan al-munkar*).

The ideas of the Muslim Brethren were, and still are, widely spread, even after the association disappeared officially, and they have today a great influence on Muslim literature in apologetics and in popular religion, particularly that written in Arabic.

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nouvelle renaissance du monde arabe et son orientation, by A. Miquel, no. 6, 139-44; *Mus͟hkilātunā fī ḍawʾ al-niẓām al-islāmī, Nos problèmes à la lumière de l'ordre islamique*, tr. H. Loucel, no. 37, 103-27, no. 39, 151-67, no. 40, 211-27. For a study of the development of the doctrine of the Muslim Brethren, reference must also be made to the works of many other writers, of which it is possible to mention here only those who, not referred to in the studies above, seem to us the most important: Sayyid Ḳuṭb, *al-ʿAdāla al-id͟jtimāʿiyya fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo, many eds. since 1952 (Eng. tr. by J. B. Hardie, *Social Justice in Islam*, Amer. Council of Learned Soc., Washington 1953); idem, *al-Salām al-ʿālamī wa 'l-Islām*, Cairo n.d. (183 pp.); idem, *Maʿrakat al-Islām wa 'l-raʾsmāliyya*, Cairo 1951 (160 pp.), idem, *Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳurʾān* (a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, Cairo 1953-9 approximately 30 fascicules (*ad͟jzāʾ*), 5th ed. 1967 (Beirut?)); idem, *Hād͟hā al-dīn*, Cairo 1961 (98 pp.), re-issued 1967 (Beirut?); idem, *al-Islām wa-mus͟hkilāt al-ḥaḍāra*, Cairo 1962 (192 pp.), re-issued n. p. 1967; idem, *K͟haṣāʾiṣ al-taṣawwur al-islāmī wa-muḳawwimātuh*, Beirut 1967 (238 pp.); on Sayyid Ḳuṭb, a brochure by an author of the same name, Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḳuṭb, *Sayyid Ḳuṭb aw t͟hawrat al-fikr al-islāmī*, Beirut 1967 (96 pp.); a list, probably still incomplete, of the works of Muḥammad Ḳuṭb, the brother of Sayyid, and of Muḥammad al-G͟hazālī, in *REI*, *Abstracta Islamica*, xv (1961), nos. 1432 to 1442 and 1402 to 1422; a list of the works of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿŪda in I. M. Husaini, *op. cit.*, bibl. no. 80; Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī, *Is͟htirākiyyat al-Islām*, Damascus 1959 (D͟jāmiʿat Dimas͟hḳ Press, 175 pp.), 2nd enlarged ed. Cairo n.d. (al-Dār al-Ḳawmiyya Press, 264 pp.), and Damascus 1960 (al-Hās͟himiyya Press, 433 pp.); idem, *al-Sunna wa-makānatuhā fi 'l-tas͟hrīʿ al-islāmī*, Cairo 1961 (Dār al-ʿUrūba, 523 pp.); idem, *al-Marʾa bayna 'l-fiḳh wa 'l-ḳānūn*, Damascus 1962 (D͟jāmiʿat Dimas͟hḳ Press, 336 pp.).

(G. DELANOUE)

IK͟HWĀN AL-ṢAFĀʾ, the name under which the authors of the famous *Rasāʾil Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafāʾ wa-k͟hillān al-wafāʾ* conceal their identity; these authors, however, often extend the term to cover all the initiates or adepts of their doctrine, whom they also call, more simply, *ik͟hwānunā* "our brothers", and *awliyāʾ Allāh* "the friends of God". The generally received translation is "Epistles of the Brethren of Purity", or "of the Sincere Brethren (and Loyal Friends)", that is to say, of those who are united, in the spiritual City, by the purity of their souls (all corporeal barriers having fallen) and the loyalty that flows from this, loyalty to one another, in fact to all men, and perhaps above all to the true *imām*.

In spite of the most interesting article by S. M. Stern (*New information*), it seems indisputable that the Epistles represent the state of Ismāʿīlī doctrine at the time of their composition. They present two other important problems in this respect: that of their authorship and that of the date of their composition.

Authorship.—Although they appear to have been suspect to orthodox Muslims, the Epistles circulated among them and had a profound influence on certain circles. It is strange to think that their origin was, and still is, in dispute (see Stern's articles, *The authorship* . . . and particularly *New information* . . .). They have sometimes been attributed to a Muʿtazilī; this is unacceptable, in view of the hostility that they display towards the *mutakallimūn*. The Twelver S͟hīʿīs claim them, although they contain some clear criticisms of their doctrine of the hidden *imām*. The Ismāʿīlīs rightly consider them to be one of their fundamental works (see Ivanov, in *EI*[1], suppl., s.v. ISMĀʿĪLIYYA). Casanova, well before the Ismāʿīlīs had allowed the publication of works of Fāṭimid literature, was the first orientalist (1898) to assert that they were of Ismāʿīlī origin; this was confirmed by this literature when it came to be partially known. The authorship of the Epistles has sometimes been ascribed to ʿAlī, and to D͟jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century, a Syrian Nizārī attributed them to the hidden *imāms* Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad; but he also names the *dāʿī* ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ and three other *duʿāt* as collaborators in their composition. The Mustaʿlī tradition of the Yemen has attributed them generally, since at least the 7th/13th century, to the *imām* Aḥmad.

In 1876, however, Dieterici (*Philosophie* . . ., 142), without recognizing the Ismāʿīlī character of the Epistles, quoted a passage of al-Tawḥīdī (on which Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa relied, iii, 460) giving the names of their supposed authors. Stern recently revived the question in the two articles mentioned above. It is clear that the four persons mentioned by al-Tawḥīdī (Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Maʿs͟har al-Bustī, called al-Maḳdisī, the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Hārūn al-Zand͟jānī, Abū Aḥmad al-Nahrad͟jūrī and al-ʿAwfī, all friends of a Chancellery secretary, Zayd b. Rifāʿa) are the authors (or among the authors) of the Epistles; for al-Tawḥīdī was connected not only with Zayd b. Rifāʿa, but also with the *ḳāḍī* al-Zand͟jānī, and the latter told him a story which is found word for word in the text of the Ik͟hwān. He knew, then, what he was talking about.

He calls the *ḳāḍī* al-Zand͟jānī "the author of the doctrine" (*Kitāb al-muʾānasa*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Cairo 1942, 4 ff., 157 ff.). Al-Tawḥīdī's teacher, Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī, for his part, gives al-Maḳdisī as the author of the work. Stern, however, discovered two most instructive passages in an unpublished *Tat͟hbīt dalāʾil nubuwwat Sayyidinā Muḥammad*, the work of the Muʿtazilī chief *ḳāḍī* of Rayy, ʿAbd al-D͟jabbār al-Hamadānī (325-415/936-1025) (now published as *Tat͟hbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUt͟hmān, Beirut n.d.—preface dated 1966; see p. 610 ff.). One gives almost the same persons as the authors of the Epistles, but does not include al-Maḳdisī; on the other hand, it does include Zayd b. Rifāʿa and adds another person, Abu Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Bag͟hl, a secretary and astrologer. All these persons, inhabitants of Baṣra, are considered active Ismāʿīlīs, and the *ḳāḍī* al-Zand͟jānī himself is represented as a particularly important leader (text in Stern, *New information*, 411).

Stern comes, however, to a conclusion that seems hard to accept. He notes that, in the 5th/11th century, the Epistles had a considerable influence on philosophical circles that were not connected with Ismāʿīlism, and that, on the other hand, there is no trace of any influence on contemporary Ismāʿīlī authors; he believes that they were adopted by the Ismāʿīlīs only a century or two after their publication. According to him, the authors mentioned by al-Tawḥīdī and the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-D͟jabbār, although connected with Ismāʿīlism, represented a particular trend in it, which believed that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl lived concealed and would come again as the expected *mahdī*; he was supposed to be in actual communication with chosen intimates (the authors of the Epistles) and to have disseminated the Epistles

through them. Stern thinks that the secret organization described by the Epistles was illusory, utopian and idealized, merely that which the group of authors would have wished it to be. He believes also that these authors had no official function in the organization of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* and had no influence on contemporary Ismāʿīlism.

If this were the case, the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār would not have considered them dangerous Ismāʿīlīs. What is more, the Ikhwān reject the idea of an expected *imām*. On the other hand, the secret organisation described by them is too precise and corresponds too well to what the Ismāʿīlī organization may at first have been to be a product of their imagination. It does not seem to be idealized, but quite in conformity with the spiritual condition of a revolutionary movement in full expansion, which sets the purity of its convictions above everything—this is what gives such a movement its efficacy; the mystique of the spiritual City which unites them and contrasts them with the terrestrial city is typical: on one side, the good, on the other, the evil. Why should so much information that could apply to Ismāʿīlism be found concerning a non-existent sect, and nothing concerning Ismāʿīlism itself, which was so active at that time? Moreover, the Epistles lead one to believe that the propaganda was addressed particularly to those whose culture made them most apt to receive it: philosophers and mystics, or those who could be of most use to the movement, Chancellery secretaries or governors. Now, this was probably historically the case with the Ismāʿīlī propaganda. In spite of the slight doubt caused by the small difference between the information given by al-Tawḥīdī and that given by the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, it may well be thought that the persons mentioned by them, or some of them, certainly collaborated in the composition of the Epistles, and that they were initiates of the highest rank who played an important part, even if others, of equal importance, were more disposed to action. Perhaps they were among the four *abdāl*, or even the "forty" (cf. *Révélation et vision véridique*, 35-6). But perhaps they were not the sole authors, and assertions of Ismāʿīlī origins contain only a part of the truth.

If the authors sometimes mention their work in common (iv, 367), the 50th Epistle (on different modes of government), on the other hand, considered particularly important because of its central chapter on the hidden meaning of festivals and sacrifices, and the 48th (on proselytizing) are put directly into the mouth of an *imām*. It is thus conceivable that the *imām* should have inspired the whole or part of the contents of certain Epistles, that he should have taken part in their composition or that he should have given something similar to his "imprimatur"; in any case, the *imām* of this world and those of the other world inspire all the members of the spiritual City. It is, however, also probable that the authors mentioned by al-Tawḥīdī and the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār gave the Epistles only their more or less definitive form. They seem to have been begun much earlier, perhaps actually by the *dāʿī* ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ and his contemporaries, and then continued by their successors, under the aegis of several successive *imāms*, including Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, his son ʿAbd Allāh and his grandson Aḥmad. This would be in no way surprising, if we suppose that the Epistles constitute an attempt to arrange and fix the official doctrine of Ismāʿīlism. This point of view appears confirmed by the attempts at dating that have been, or can be, made.

Dating.—Dieterici (*Die Philosophie der Araber*, Leipzig 1876, i, 142 ff.), in view of the facts that their supposed authors are mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iii, 460) following al-Faryābī (d. 319/931), and that verses of al-Mutanabbī (303-54/915-65) are too frequently quoted in them to have been incorporated subsequently, and in view, similarly, of the fact that al-Madjrīṭī who introduced them into Spain died in 395/1005, fixes the date of the composition of the Epistles approximately between 350 and 375/961 and 986.

Other information that can be drawn from the Epistles seems to support these conclusions. They several times name Abū Maʿshar al-Falakī (d. 272/886 aged more than one hundred) and quote a passage of one of his works. They mention Bābak and the Khurramiyya, who began to attract attention in 192/808, and the Sāmānids (ii, 280).

Although the Muʿtazilīs are not named, many criticisms are evidently directed at them. Finally, one passage (iii, 161) mentions the Ashʿarites, who too are often criticized. Al-Ashʿarī, born in 260/874, became orthodox in 300/913 and died in 323/935; there could have been no question of Ashʿarites' existing until several years after his conversion, if not after his death; for the passage leads us to believe that Ashʿarism had already begun to be talked about, but was not yet equated with orthodoxy.

All this is confirmed by the fact that (as we have seen) al-Tawḥīdī personally knew al-Zandjānī, one of the supposed authors, and that he mentions these authors in a conversation with the vizier Ibn Saʿdān in 370/981; this presupposes that at that date the Epistles had already been completed for some time. This is not incompatible, either, with the fact that the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Hamadānī speaks of the activity of al-Zandjānī, for he was 45 years old in 370. The Epistles, then, may have been finished between 350/961 and 370/980, that is to say before the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimids (358/969), or shortly after. Several passages, however, (notably iv, 146, 190, 252-3, 269) presage an important event, the manifestation of the cause by the Ikhwān, and the approach of government by good men. Two of these passages lead us to believe that this event is foretold by all the methods of divination and astrology (iv, 190 and particularly 146). The information furnished by the Ikhwān concerning the imminent conjunction that was to lead to the event is interpreted by Casanova (*Une date astronomique*), who bases himself on a passage of Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Quatremère, 186) and on the tables drawn up by an astronomer for De Goeje (*Les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*[2], Leiden 1886): according to him, the Ikhwān had in mind a conjunction that they expected on 26 Djumādā I 439/19 November 1047, and the expected event occurred eleven years and 42 days later, on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 450/1 January 1059: the *khuṭba* was then given in Baghdād, for a short period, in the name of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir. The conjunction itself occurred in the caliphate of al-Ẓāhir, and Casanova sees an allusion to the latter in the term *ẓāhir* used in the text of the Ikhwān. Information furnished by the *Djāmiʿa* (323) suggests that the question should be reopened; it is possible that the tables used by Casanova did not correspond with those that the Ikhwān had at their disposal. Even if the dates that he suggests, however, are the right ones, his interpretation, for reasons that it would take too long to discuss in detail here, is certainly erroneous. It suffices to say that the Ikhwān allude here not to the final victory, but to a preliminary success.

Two dates, then, seem acceptable for the foretold event: 358/969 (the conquest of Egypt) or Rabīʿ I 297/December 909 (the proclamation of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī by the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh in Ifrīḳiya). Several of the passages cited give us to understand that not only many adepts and propagandists but the *imām* himself are in concealment, and that the return to manifestation is near at hand; this prompts the choice of 297/909. One of these passages (iv, 187) even states that "government of good men will begin through the agency of virtuous good men who will join together in a land"; must this not be Ifrīḳiya? If this is so, it must be concluded that the composition of the Epistles took a good many years, and this time can be approximately fixed as between 287/900 (perhaps even well before) and 354/965. The only fact that appears strange, in this case, is that no allusion is made to the victory of 297/909. On the other hand, it may be considered normal that the passages that predict it should have been kept intact, as a proof (to be commented on orally) of the truth of their doctrine.

It also follows from this that the Epistles, unlike most subsequent Ismāʿīlī writings, circulated in the orthodox world at a moment when an expanding Ismāʿīlism anticipated a total victory, by degrees, but relatively rapidly.

Does the composition of the Epistles support this point of view?

The composition of the Epistles.—Only a close analysis would perhaps produce a reasonable certainty in this regard. Certain facts, however, demand attention at first sight.

The Epistles, as we have them, are 52 in number. In the text itself, however, it is ten times asserted that there are 51 Epistles. The 52nd itself (on magic) mentions the "fifty preceding Epistles" and designates itself the 51st. The extra Epistle, clearly added subsequently, is the 51st in our editions ("The Hierarchy [of the parts] of the whole world"), the normal position of which, besides, as its title indicates, would be in the second section (physical sciences). In fact, five pages of the nine that make up the Epistle are identical with pages of the 21st (the vegetable kingdom), and the remaining four pages add nothing new. This 51st Epistle (which itself mentions, at the end, a total of 51 Epistles, without adding it is the last) perhaps represents the first state of an Epistle left to be rewritten, then rediscovered and subsequently included in the penultimate position, since the Epistle on magic had to be the last.

Moreover, the work has traces of a certain vagueness, both in the order of chapters, and in the number of Epistles in each section. Thus the 8th Epistle in the 1st section (mathematical sciences), which deals with manual arts, was earlier placed at the beginning of the 3rd section (psychical and intellectual sciences)(i, 276 and 286); the 9th (1st section) seems, according to its introduction, to have been placed, at one time, after the 25th (2nd section); this might justify its contents. It seems also (ii, 19) that the second section consisted at first of 8 Epistles, instead of the 17 that it contains in its definitive version; that the 10th in this section was then the second; that the sixth (quiddity of Nature) was added later. Similarly, it seems that the first section, which contains 14 Epistles, consisted only of 5; that the 4th Epistle (geography) was added later; that the 5th (music) at first formed part of the 6th (numerical and geometrical relationships) and was subsequently detached; that there was at first one single Epistle on logic, afterwards split into five short Epistles. In short, it appears that, at the time of the composition of the 15th Epistle, only five Epistles from the 1st section and seven from the 2nd were already written; that certain of these were afterwards amplified and then split up; that these two sections were afterwards enlarged by the addition of new Epistles. The same was probably true of the other two sections. A trace of this, at least, is to be found: a piece of information in the last Epistle (iv, 285), applicable, according to the writer, to the 50th, in fact applies to the 49th; this suggests either that the 50th had not yet been written, or that the order of Epistles has been altered. It is probable that the first writers had not accurately foreseen their number, and that towards the end the authors made arrangements to round off this number to 51, so that it might be satisfactory from an arithmological point of view.

All this confirms the view that a very long time must have elapsed between the beginning of the composition and its being put into a definitive form.

As far as the form is concerned, its unity is remarkable. This need not surprise us, if we imagine that the different authors worked more or less together, and, moved by the same spirit, influenced one another. Moreover, their style is singularly affected by that of certain translations of Greek works. Certain differences, however, can be detected, which are probably not to be attributed solely to a difference of subject-matter. While most of the Epistles are characterized by clarity of thought and rigorous exposition, except when the discussion concerns points of doctrine that the Ikhwān wish to treat only in an esoteric manner, the 31st (causes of differences of languages), in spite of the interest of the content, is distinguished by a pedantic, obscure and over-subtle style, which is hardly to be found elsewhere except in the 41st (definitions and diagrams).

Another peculiarity of the 31st Epistle is that the author speaks in the first person singular; this occurs in no other Epistle, except by accident and for a reason that can be explained.

The same remarkable unity is to be found in the fundamentals. Most of the contradictions are merely apparent when we go more deeply into the problems. There are, nonetheless, some rare inconsistencies in the details. Nothing, however, has prevented the whole being given, by slow methodical elaboration, the unity and solidity that are fitting for an "inspired" work by means of which a sect expresses itself.

Content of the Epistles.—When, following an astral conjunction, a community assumes power and enjoys hegemony, it takes over, according to the Ikhwān, all the sciences of the communities that have dominated previously. This is particularly the case at the beginning of a new millennium, when one religious law comes to supplant that which preceded it. The Ikhwān, then, believe it legitimate to adopt all "the sciences and wisdoms" produced by the efforts (supported by divine inspiration) of the good philosophers (certain philosophers were also prophets, prophets being the best of the philosophers) and those that have been revealed by God in the course of the previous millennia. They claim, then, to present a compendium of all the sciences known in their time, taken, in the first place, from these ancient books, next from the "caliphs of the prophets" and their companions (iii, 384). This is what has led Orientalists to regard the Epistles as an Encyclopaedia. These sciences express the profound "realities" (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*) of the universe, which support revelation

and religious laws, and, consequently, explain them in a rational way; for this reason they form part of the Ismāʿīlī dogmas: they constitute the "hidden meaning" of the "Revelation and the Law" which are their "visible" aspect. It is, clearly, a doctrine of emanation inspired by Neoplatonism—but one in which the *imām* plays in this world the essential part in the re-ascent of fallen souls—combined with Ptolemy's theory of the celestial spheres, and astrological laws are, consequently, of prime importance in it as the instrument for the realization of the divine will (for a more precise idea of the doctrine see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA). A few remarks will suffice here. The theory of great cycles of 7000 years—a cycle of manifestation alternating with a cycle of concealment (cf. Corbin, *Hist. phil. Isl.*, 129)—is not discussed. Two fairly clear allusions to it, however, are found (ii, 228, iv, 229; cf. *Imāmat*, 73-5); three allusions to our present cycle (ii, 344, iii, 319, 512); one allusion as well to the fall of the celestial Adam and also to the creation of the "first terrestrial Adam" (iii, 512). The respective roles of the legislator and of the successive *imāms* are not clearly defined; there is, however, an allusion to the great prophets who ushered in the millennia of our cycle (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad and the *ḳāʾim* who is none other than Muḥammad restored to life) in the account of the myth of the cave (iii, 315-8). Once the five Legislators (Noah, Abraham, Jesus, Moses, Muḥammad, iv, 18-9) are named, and elsewhere the "five prophets endowed with energy ... whose legislation is different" (ii, 470-1, iii, 486). It should also be noted that the role of the initiator of the prophet is clearly seen (iii, 509 [al-Khiḍr and Moses], iv, 90-8); the instruction of the initiator, however, is a human instruction, not divine like that of the *imām*; it is the *imām* and his principal lieutenants that bear the name of *ḥudjdja*, and not the initiator. Moreover, the legislators are superior to the other *imāms*, and Muḥammad is superior to all the other legislators. It is Muḥammad (the City of Knowledge) who initiates ʿAlī ("the Gate of the City"). Again, Salmān does not receive any particular precedence; he is mentioned once only, among the Companions of the Prophet, as being the seventh of these. In the Ikhwān, then, we find not the order *sīn ʿayn mīm*, but *mīm ʿayn*.

It should be noted, finally, that everything relating to the *imāms* is dealt with most discreetly, and thus in a completely esoteric manner (manifestation and concealment, true revelation, etc.); the *imāms* succeeding al-Ḥusayn are never mentioned by name.

The semi-esoteric character of the Epistles can be understood if one considers the object that their authors had in view.

The object of the Epistles.—In fact, they aim secondarily at securing man's happiness in this world (the perfection of the body favours the perfection of the soul), but have the essential object of securing the happiness of his soul in the next world, and first of all of allowing it to re-ascend there after death. The soul must, then, gradually disengage itself from the defilements of matter which weigh it down, that is to say which obscure it and prevent its having a true and universal vision of the realities of creation, and, consequently, its approaching its Creator. When it has, at last, regained the original purity of its essence, thus taking on "an angelic form", it loses interest in the body and its appetites; it is ready to rise through the celestial spheres when it is at last released from the body, and later to merge itself in the universal Soul, and then, with the latter, in the Intellect. The Epistles must, then, gradually inculcate this purifying knowledge. Since, however, the legitimate *imām* has the office of guiding the ascent of souls, it is to him that these must cling; drawing near to God involves drawing near to the *imām* in this world; "true" knowledge helps him to be recognized, and he is rightly the repository of this "true" knowledge.

The Epistles, then, incite not only to knowledge, but also to action; they include, in fact, a deep commitment to their practical implementation; they have as their object, apart from the satisfaction of the spirit, the propaganda that will secure this and rally men round the *imām*. Idealism of convictions is accompanied by realism in application.

All this greatly conditions the form of the Epistles.

The form of the Epistles.—This rigid conception of the purification and opening out of the soul, which is concurrent with its evangelistic character, involves a well defined pedagogical conception, even though a certain vagueness and arbitrariness appear if the classification of the sciences discussed in the 7th Epistle is considered. The progression must be at the same time moral and intellectual. Purification of the soul must begin with striving after the four virtues: attempting to aquire knowledge, having healthy opinions, acquiring good traits of character and performing pure deeds and good actions.

At the same time, the practical (*riyāḍiyya*) sciences, which are a preparation for the practice of a profession, are studied. Above these come the juridical sciences (in their external sense), which essentially comprise the Ḳurʾānic and Traditional sciences, as they are conceived by the Orthodox, but also, curiously enough, interpretation of the Ḳurʾān (which, nonetheless, is within the jurisdiction of the *imām* and considers inspired knowledge to be the highest and the widest); doubtless, however, this refers to simple commentary on the Ḳurʾān (*tafsīr*), intended for the general public. Finally, there are the "realities" or sciences that are at the same time "philosophical and prophetic", which lead the soul progressively "to the goal of the sciences and wisdoms" and to its first purity.

This is why the 51 Epistles (actually 52) that make up the account of the realities are supposed to follow a gradual progression; they lead, in theory, from the concrete to the abstract, and fall into four sections. According to the classification given in the 27th Epistle, the four sections should be as follows: mathematics (the root of all the other sciences), logic, physics, metaphysics. In fact, they appear somewhat differently in our Epistles, but this is probably in order that the work may have an harmonious equilibrium, with the four sections all of the same size. These are in fact the following: (1) mathematical section, which comprises essentially, in order of progression: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, to which is added logic (which, according to the classification given in the 7th Epistle, should form a separate section), and several allied questions are also covered; (2) physical section ("bodily and natural sciences"); (3) section on the psychical and intellectual sciences (which, according to the classification given in the 7th Epistle, should belong under metaphysics); it deals in particular with the universal Intellect and Soul, with resurrection, and with many other things as well; (4) section on the metaphysical (the word used is *ilāhiyya* "divine") and legal sciences. In fact, they deal particularly with the behaviour of initiates and propagandists, but also,

cryptically, with the method of finding the *imām*—this, no doubt, is what justifies the name "metaphysical" for these Epistles; as for the name "legal" (*sharʿiyya nāmūsiyya*), it is probably due to the fact that they deal with moral behaviour which upholds positive law (which is, itself, unworthy to figure among the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ*): they form the "hidden" meaning of "visible" law. They conclude with the Epistle on astrological magic, the worth of which, in practical terms, lies in its helping in the recognition of the legitimate *imām*.

This supposed progression remains theoretical, for many of the Epistles are arranged in one section when they could equally legitimately be arranged in another. Moreover, the Ikhwān have to speak of the universal Soul in the first section, in order to be able to explain the material world as they conceive of it; thus they often go, contrary to their assertions, from the abstract to the concrete, that is to say in the order of creation.

The Ikhwān say that the "realities" form a veritable ocean; thus only the essential points are discussed, and that as briefly as possible. This is why, in addition, use is made of numerous fables and parables, which make the ideas more accessible to beginners and allow them to conceive more easily of the profound realities (iii, 29-30). Each Epistle is devoted to one science, in order to implant the desire of going further (i, 20, iii, 538, iv, 186, 331, 339 367), and contains at least one chapter which forms the deeper lesson of this science, the "pith". They are arranged according to the needs of different levels of students, and the 50th Epistle (really the penultimate) is particularly important; its essential chapter is called "*djāmiʿ* chapter" (it is this that relates to the deeper meaning of the four festivals of the Muslims and the philosophers [cf. *Sabéens et Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, 96], which symbolize the *imāms* and their cycles of concealment and manifestation) (iv, 250-1).

The *risāla djāmiʿa*, according to the Ikhwān, forms a "separate Epistle", which is not counted in the total number of the Epistles, although it is the concluding one; all that is said in them is here condensed, but deepened and supported by proofs; the realities here appear clearly (i, 39, 43, iv, 250-1).

In fact, in the *djamiʿa*, the technical aspects of each "science" are left on one side; only the elements that form the "pith" of each Epistle are taken up and often supported by means of supposedly demonstrative arguments, which are in fact dialectical arguments of a Neoplatonic type; it is less esoteric than the other Epistles, in the sense that metaphysical conceptions are discussed in a more direct manner and are not diluted in other developments. Above all, many points that are left obscure, to which only vague allusions are made in the Epistles—such as the problem of the *imāms*, the question of the great cycles, the history of Adam, the fate of souls after death, etc.—are developed in the *djāmiʿa*. But they are not discussed exhaustively, or completely clearly; a large measure of esotericism remains, and it too was intended to be completed by oral instruction. (On the *djāmiʿa*, which has been falsely attributed to al-Madjrīṭī, cf. Djamīl Ṣalībā, publications of the Arab Academy of Damascus, 1949, and introduction).

The use of the Epistles.—The Epistles are designed for instructing "brothers", that is to say adepts, whether beginners or those who are already disciples (iv, 367, 394), but they are of use also to initiated propagandists for sustaining their knowledge and their curiosity (iv, 185-6).

The Epistles should be studied progressively, that is, as far as possible, in the order of the table of contents, so that everyone may find what is accessible to his understanding (i, 46, iv, 283). The 50th, for example, is suitable only for propagandists who are already advanced (iv, 251); this, however, is not always possible, for only certain rare privileged ones can have all the Epistles at their disposal (iv, 205, 250). They are, naturally, a remedy for those who are worthy of them, and they should not be deprived of them; for others, however, they constitute a danger, if they are unable to understand them or are unworthy and are likely to put them to evil use. It is foreseen that the Epistles may fall into the hands of such people, and this is why certain points are discussed esoterically and by means of allusions (i, 45, iv, 462). It seems that the Epistles were studied at "sessions" (*madjālis*); it is, however, foreseen that adepts who are already advanced may study them themselves, if they cannot attend "sessions", and may afterwards question qualified men about points that seem obscure to them; in addition, they will assist adepts less advanced than themselves by their reading. In general, the method consists of reading the Epistles to the less advanced, then commenting on them in the form of discussion, in order to teach them the ideas, the morality and the object of the Epistles (iv, 185, 186, 188, 250-1, 331, 339).

The source of the Epistles.—An attempt has been made, in *Sabéens et Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, to show that the origins of the doctrine should probably be sought in direct contacts between the first Ismāʿīlīs and the Sabaeans of Ḥarrān. The latter, following the Hellenistic tendency to syncretism, mingled, in a new synthesis, their religion, Babylonian in origin, with Mithraism and Greek religion and philosophy, a synthesis catalyzed by Hermetic influence. The Ikhwān, in their turn, considering that the sciences of the past, "philosophical" or "revealed", belonged, under the aegis of their *imām*, to Islam, achieved a new syncretism by establishing in Islam the elements of this Ḥarrānian synthesis and by giving, without perhaps being aware of the fact, a far more important place to Neoplatonism.

In the Epistles, then, many diverse elements are to be found. There are probably some traces of early Babylonian astrology, supplemented by Indian and Iranian astrological elements, the whole based on the tenets of Greek astrology. There are stories of Indian and Persian origin and quotations and stories taken from the Hebrew Bible, as well as from Rabbinic texts; there are also borrowings from the New Testament (Christian influence is, in any case, very strong). The influence of Greek writings, however, as might be expected, is the dominant one. Influences of Hermes Trismegistus are particularly evident (not only from the writings called "Hermetic", magical, astrological or alchemical—certain of which are perhaps Ḥarrānian—but also from the Hermetic philosophical writings, the influence of which pervades the whole work), as are those of the Pythagoreans (on arithmetic, music, arithmology, but also on the general spirit of the work), of Aristotle (especially in logic and "physics"), of Plato, and of the Neoplatonists (especially in metaphysics). No Neoplatonist author, however, is named by the Ikhwān, except Porphyry, of whose work only the *Isagoge* appears to have been known to them. Of all the Neoplatonists, probably Plotinus—although they differ from him on certain points—without their realizing it, and without their knowing him, exer-

cised the strongest influence on them; they, however, believed that they were following Aristotle; in fact, they quote a passage of the supposed "Theology of Aristotle", which is, actually, known to be a résumé of several of the *Enneads* (cf. ed. Badawi, Cairo 1955). Even the dialectical form seems to have influenced that of the Ikhwān, as it perhaps influenced, in a totally different direction, that of the *Mutakallimūn*.

They appear, however, to have known other Neoplatonist works which they do not quote. This influence is supplemented, in astronomy and astrology, by that of Ptolemy (but the Ikhwān knew what Pythagoras and Plato had said about the celestial spheres). Finally, Euclid and Nicomachus were used in geometry. The Ikhwān also had recourse, when necessary, to many other authors of whom they quote only a few, such as Galen (physics, alchemy and astrological magic) and Vettius Valens (in astrology). What seems most remarkable, however, is the synthesis that they achieved, in an original manner, for their metaphysics, adapting them to the dogmas of Islam, and modifying, where necessary, the information of their predecessors.

The Epistles of the Ikhwān occupy a place in the first rank of Arabic literature, for if pure Aristotelianism progressively ousted emanatism in the philosophers, their influence endures, not only in Shīʿism, but also in the mystic movements.

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(Y. Marquet)

AL-IKLĪL [see NUDJŪM].

IḲLĪM, "clime, climate", or, more generally, "region". The *Lisān al-ʿArab* (root *ḳlm*) discusses whether the word is Arabic or foreign. Ibn Durayd, whom it quotes, rightly inclines to the second hypothesis; *iḳlīm* comes in fact from the Greek *klima*, literally: "inclination" and more precisely that of the earth from the Equator towards the pole, whence: region of the terrestrial sphere, and finally region in general. The *Lisān* seems to adhere to the strict definition: it states that "*iḳlīm* is one of the seven climates (*aḳālīm*) which are the different divisions of the earth".

Inherited from Greek tradition, the idea of climate refers to a zone extending, in longitude, from one bound to the other of the inhabited world and included, in latitude, between two parallels: the latitudes themselves are determined by the length of the day at the summer solstice or at the equinox; some writers consider that the limit between two climates allows a certain margin of uncertainty and that there is thus, between one climate and the next, a zone of transition rather than a sharp division: the general opinion is that the boundary remains in any case a theoretical one and does not correspond to any concrete reality (cf. al-Idrīsī, i, 3; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, i, 148). Each climate is a collection, in varying proportions, of a number of towns, of mountains, waters and minerals; besides its position on the terrestrial globe, it is defined by the astral context under whose specific influence it comes. Tradition fixes the number of climates at seven: outside them are the countries to the south of the Equator and the countries of the far north; there are sometimes added to the seven classical climates seven other climates for the inhabited lands stated to be grouped, according to the authors, in the "eastern" or "southern" quarter of the earth.

The most prominent adherents to the tradition of the seven climates are the astronomers such as Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī, and the scholars

in general, such as al-Bīrūnī. But it is found also, as a view of the world in general, in the introduction or the main part of encyclopaedic works like those of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', Yāḳūt, al-Ḳazwīnī or Abu 'l-Fidā'. The great works of descriptive geography in the tradition of the atlas of al-Balkhī (al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī) reject the tradition, as will be seen, but yet mention it, even if only briefly: this is the case at least with al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, whereas al-Muḳaddasī, going much further, reserves a special chapter for the seven climates. More specialized, but also descriptive, the geography of the *Kitāb Āḳām al-mardjān* of Isḥāḳ b. al-Ḥusayn, although it does not make room for a general description of the climates, nevertheless constantly refers to them by noting, for each country or town, its position on the map and, notably, the climate to which it belongs; al-Idrīsī systematized the process by setting out the descriptive contents of his geography climate by climate, beginning each time with the West. An equally remarkable case is provided by al-Hamdānī in his introduction to his *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*: he knows the traditional division (pp. 24-6), but elsewhere (p. 10 f.) increases the number of the geographical unities thus defined and multiplies them by raising to 26 the total number of parallels which mark their limits.

On the whole, the central climates, those where there are large concentrations of Islamic peoples, are obviously better known than the others: it is noticeable that the precision of the latitudes decreases in proportion as the north is approached. From this point of view it may be considered that Islam (as was natural) was interested, among all the regions, chiefly in those with which it was essentially concerned. But although the precision with which maps are made is merely a consequence of the historical phenomenon of the expansion of Islam in these middle climates, it may also have been facilitated by the merchants, particularly for the knowledge of the eastern extremities of these same climates, which were vital for the important commerce of the time. Finally, it should not be forgotten either that the location of the towns as precisely as possible is a result of the necessity to fix in each of them the direction for the prayer: it is not by accident that al-Muḳaddasī gives his chapter on these questions the title *Dhikr aḳālīm al-ʿālam wa-markaz al-ḳibla*.

This knowledge derives, with much else, from the type of geography which consists of the description of the terrestrial sphere, which is called *ṣūrat al-arḍ*. A general knowledge of this "configuration of the earth", together with its climates and the degree of uncertainty or precision of its respective parts, very soon became an obligatory part of the knowledge of the educated gentleman. One of the most prominent themes is that of the central climate, the fourth, which represents "moderation in all things". Here the old Babylonian tradition combines with preoccupation with the political and cultural pre-eminence of ʿIrāḳ to produce the statement that in Mesopotamia are combined the most beneficial effects of a place's position on the map, of the astral influences and of the general configuration of the contours, the whole ensuring to its inhabitants the most solid qualities of character, perfect balance and the liveliest intelligence. Concerning this, the picture given by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (i, 170-9) is most revealing: in it ʿIrāḳ holds both a middle position so far as regards the natural features represented by the rivers and the mountains, and a high position regarding the cultural benefits represented by the towns.

The passage in *adab* writings concerning the general theme of the seven climates and the special theme of the fourth is a widely attested phenomenon. Their importance is illustrated by the fact that, as we have said, they are not even completely absent from works of the school of al-Balkhī who, as we shall see later, have no use for them in the method which they follow. The integration of these themes in the general culture of the time led also to the appearance of the seven climes in the *Kitāb al-Buldān* of Ibn al-Faḳīh (pp. 5-7) or in a more specialized book like that of the Spanish geographer al-Rāzī: the statement (p. 51) that Spain is situated in the fourth climate, that of Baghdād, is the result of a local enthusiasm which, attributing to Spain its own advantages, celebrities and marvels, allows it to stand comparison with ʿIrāḳ.

Against this collection of texts, stemming from the Greek tradition as revised by Islam, must be set other works from the beginning of Arabic geography, which obviously rejected this tradition. The administrator-geographers, even when they make allowances for it like Ḳudāma (p. 230), tend to present their facts to conform with the exigencies of administration or politics: al-Yaʿḳūbī, who describes the world starting from Baghdād as centre, is uninterested in any division which is not by provinces, in other words which does not correspond to those concrete realities which are the history and geography of well-defined areas which may be administered as such. Ibn Khurradādhbih, the earliest of the Muslim geographers in the strict sense, is still more interesting: although he makes *iḳlīm*, according to a rather confused terminology, the equivalent or a subdivision of a *kūra*, it is certainly to a real entity, forming an administrative whole, to which he refers by these two words: it is a "country" grouped round a capital town, and combining with others to form a larger entity. Thus Ḥamāt, Shayzar, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and the Lebanon are each considered as an *iḳlīm*, whereas Anṭarsūs, Bulunyās or al-Lādhiḳiyya are given the name of *kūra*, these divisions together forming, with many others, a wider area known as *aḳālīm Ḥimṣ* (pp. 75-6).

There exists another meaning of the word *iḳlīm*, this time originating in Iran. The word *keshwar* refers, in Persian tradition, to the seven great kingdoms of the world, of which six (India, China, the Turks, Rūm, Africa and Arabia) are distributed around the central kingdom, that of Iran. An obvious borrowing of this idea, but using the word *iḳlīm*, appears in al-Masʿūdī (ed. Pellat, i, § 189).

Finally, the school of al-Balkhī was to give the word a new meaning, fully adapted to the realities of practical geography. Although it borrowed the word itself from the Greek tradition, it took from the Iranian tradition the idea of a figurative representation of *iḳlīm* in the form of a bird or a familiar object, and the idea of a distribution of human groups around one centre, with the difference that this time the pivot of the world shifted from Media to Arabia. But a more important fact is that the school of al-Balkhī, in the spirit this time of administrative geography, is careful to define areas, land or maritime, regarded as wholes which in geography are clearly isolated. Thus al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, describing (in order to repudiate it) the old division of the seven climates, produce twenty new *aḳālīm*, exclusively Muslim: Arabia, the sea of Fārs, the Maghrib, Egypt, Shām, the sea of Rūm, Djazīra

ʿIrāḳ, Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān, Sind, Armenia-al-Ran-Ādharbāydjān, Djibāl, Daylam, the sea of the Khazars, the desert of Persia, Sidjistān, Khurāsān, Transoxania. Al-Muḳaddasī was to perfect this geographical division of the *iḳlīm*: he considered, first of all, that geography is concerned with men, thus with the cultivable earth, and he refused to use the term *iḳlīm* for seas and deserts. He therefore reduced the number of the *aḳalīm*: he no longer listed sixteen earthly *aḳālīm* as his predecessors had done, but fourteen: six Arab (Arabia, ʿIrāḳ, Aḳūr = Djazīra, Shām, Egypt, Maghrib) and eight non-Arab (Mashriḳ, Daylam, al-Riḥāb, Djibāl, Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān, Sind). It will be seen that, first the group Armenia-al-Ran-Ādharbāydjān is listed under the single name of al-Rihāb (the "[high] plains") and that, secondly, Sidjistān, Khurāsān and Transoxania are grouped in the *iḳlīm* of the Mashriḳ, which means (ed. de Goeje, 7) the Sāmānid sphere of influence. The whole operation is to designate the *iḳlīm* as a geographical and historical entity which is, or has been at a certain time in the past, sufficiently independent of others to be the seat of a *de jure* or a *de facto* autonomous authority.

The final meaning of the word, that of "region", "country" in general, is attested by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, who, in his tables, places side by side the scientific definition of *iḳlīm* (*al-iḳlīm al-ḥaḳīḳī*) and its current definition (*al-iḳlīm al-ʿurfī*).

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(A. Miquel)

IḲRĀR, in *fiḳh*, means an acknowledgement, either judicial or extra-judicial. The Muslim jurists define *iḳrār* as *iʿtirāf*, "confession" (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, v, 137). The institution, as it has been built up by the jurists of Islam, is however much more flexible, more comprehensive and more independent of the exact anterior reality which it is considered to reveal, than the corresponding institution of the western systems, in the sense that it is used not only to reveal or to confirm a previously existing right, but also often in practice to produce a new juridical situation. As J. Schacht has pointed out, *iḳrār*, at least in matters concerning patrimony, "creates an abstract debt"; the efficient cause, *sabab*, of the obligation admitted is never demanded of the declarant, except in Shafiʿī and Ḥanbalī law in matters concerning a slave "authorized to trade". The slave is required to state the origin of the obligation which he considers himself to owe in order for it to be known whether it comes within the provisions of the authorization which he has received.

All these reasons make it seem preferable to substitute, as far as possible, when translating *iḳrār*, "recognition of rights" for the much narrower term "acknowledgement".

Whether it is judicial or extra-judicial, *iḳrār* is subject to the same juridical rules; this is why the *fuḳahāʾ*, in their writings, have not divided the study of it into two separate chapters, and although they return to the question in the chapter dealing with judgeship (*ḳaḍāʾ*), this is solely in order to point out the place of judicial acknowledgement among all the methods of proof admitted in law. A judicial acknowledgement is one which intervenes during an action. It consists of the recognition by the person against whom the petitioner alleges a fact, or a right, of the soundness of the request. At this juncture, the procedure goes no further. The judge cannot neglect this recognition and demand a further proof. But if the defendant denies the claim of the plaintiff, it is then a matter of an *inkār* [*q.v.*] or denial, which may lead to the procedure of an oath, which then has to be sworn by the defendant.

On the other hand, a distinction which must be made concerning *iḳrār* is that based on the object of the recognition. If this object is a right to a patrimony, it is then a matter of an *iḳrār bi 'l-ḥuḳūḳ*; but if it is a non-patrimonial right (marriage, paternity, repudiation, etc.), it is described as *iḳrār bi 'l-nasab*, *bi 'l-nikāḥ*, etc. This is not merely a question of terminology, since the two categories of recognition do not function quite according to the same rules.

I. Conditions of validity. These concern the declarant (*al-muḳirr*), the beneficiary (*al-muḳarr lahu*) and the object of the recognition (*al-muḳarr bihi*).

The author of the recognition must have reached the age of puberty and be of sound mind. A minor, an idiot or a person of low intelligence (*maʿtūh*) may recognize neither a patrimonial nor a non-patrimonial right. A spendthrift (*safīh*) may recognize only a non-patrimonial right.

With slaves, it is important to distinguish between one who has been authorized by his master to trade, and one who has not. For the latter, as a general rule, there can be no question of the recognition of debts, since he has no patrimony proper, and the acknowledgement of a previous debt would be manifestly untrue. Has he then the right to admit to an offence which is dealt with by a corporal punishment? According to almost all the writers of all the schools, his admission, under the circumstances, is valid, and he should receive the punishment applicable to this offence in spite of the loss (*e.g.*, the slave's life, or the mutilation of one of his limbs) which this could involve for the master; the Ḥanbalī's adopt more or less the same point of view but do however consider the admission of a murder to be unacceptable.

The situation of a slave "authorized to trade" is quite different. According to the non-Ḥanafī doctors, his recognition of a debt is valid if this debt is in connexion with the trade in which he has been authorized to engage; it is a charge on his own profits, and not on any goods which may have been entrusted to him by his master. Hence the non-Ḥanafī insistence on the necessity that the cause (*sabab*) of the debt should be defined. According to the Ḥanafīs, the debt recognized by the "authorized" slave is to be a charge on the whole of the goods in his possession. All the *fuḳahāʾ* agree that an *iḳrār* obtained by force is null whether the object of the recognition be patrimonial or non-patrimonial. Indeed this leads, in Ḥanafī law, to a rather paradoxical situation, concerning in particular repudiation or enfranchisement. This school regards these two actions as still valid even if they have been obtained directly through violence, but the *iḳrār*, if its object is an earlier repudiation or an enfranchisement, and if it has been obtained by force, is nevertheless deemed to be invalid (al-Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, v, 2). For a person in a state of intoxication, the general principles of the law demand that any recognitions of rights towards a third party which he may be persuaded to utter while in such an unconscious or semi-conscious state are to be regarded as not having occurred, and the majority of the schools accept this solution. The Ḥanafīs, on the other hand, rather inappropriately introducing moral considerations into a strictly juridical field, distinguish between drunkenness which is excusable and drunkenness which is voluntary or culpable. In the first case (if for example the declarant has become intoxicated inadvertently through taking too large a dose of a medicine containing alcohol), the drunkenness, in this case considered excusable, makes inoperable all the admissions of the person who is in this state. But if the admissions are pronounced while in a state of culpable or voluntary intoxication, all his admissions are considered in Ḥanafī law to be valid.

The recognition of rights, whatever its object, is a unilateral act which is an obligation on its author for as long as the beneficiary (who is of course never forced to accept it) has not in some way expressed his refusal (*radd*), also referred to as denial (*takdhīb*). If this happens, it becomes invalid, the disavowal of the beneficiary implying its dishonest character. This is what the writers mean by saying that *iḳrār* is irrevocable. There cannot therefore be any *inkār* after an *iḳrār*, but the reverse is possible: *al-iḳrār baʿd al-inkār ṣaḥīḥ* (al-Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xvii, 157).

The rule of irrevocability admits at least two exceptions: (a) the first concerns the "rights of God" (*ḥuḳūḳ Allāh*). A person who confesses to an offence punishable by a *ḥadd*, *i.e.*, *zinā*, theft, the use of alcoholic liquor, etc., has always the right to retract, even after judgement has been passed, and right up to the moment when the punishment is inflicted. This does not apply to an offence punishable by retaliation, since retaliation is a "right of man", and the admission in this field is always irrevocable. (b) It is also permissible for the author of a recognition of "indirect relationship" (see below) to retract his statement; indeed this recognition is in fact equal to a testament, which is, of its nature, revocable.

As regards the beneficiary (*al-muḳarr lahu*), it is enough for the *iḳrār* to be valid that he should be indicated precisely (*yakūn maʿlūm^an^*), that he should actually exist at the time or that he should simply be conceived (al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ*, vii, 223). The formula embraces not only all human persons who are alive, or conceived, including slaves, but also corporate bodies, mosques, charitable foundations, etc. This gives rise to some difficulties regarding the acceptance, since an *iḳrār* may always be refused. It is agreed that the acquiescence of corporate bodies does not have to be formal; those below the age of puberty who have reached the age of discretion may acquiesce in person. When the beneficiary of an *iḳrār* has not reached the age of reason, he may not consent to it in person; the question is important particularly with regard to the recognition of paternity. If the person recognized by another as being his son has not reached the age of reason (or if he is mentally defective), he may not acquiesce in this recognition, which will therefore be valid only in respect of the unilateral wish of the author of the recognition, and this definitively, that is without its being possible for the recognition to be questioned when the child reaches the age of reason, or when an insane person who has lucid intervals recovers his reason (al-Kāsānī, *op. cit.*, vii, 232).

Concerning the object of the *iḳrār*, *al-muḳarr bihi*, it may be stated without hesitation that all rights of whatever sort, "the rights of man" (*ḥaḳḳ al-ʿibād*) or "rights of God" (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*), patrimonial or non-patrimonial rights, may form the object of a recognition subject to the conditions mentioned above. There does not exist in *fiḳh* a single exception to this rule, on condition, of course, that the right which is the object of the recognition appears feasible and is permitted by Muslim law.

But the problems raised by *iḳrār* are not exactly the same, according to whether its object is a patrimonial or a non-patrimonial right.

II. The recognition of patrimonial rights (*al-iḳrār bi 'l-ḥuḳūḳ*).

The authors deal mainly with the recognition of a monetary debt and list the formulas suitable for expressing such a recognition, the simplest being: "I owe you a thousand *dirhams*".

The formula naturally varies according to whether the right recognized is a right to property, a deposit, a share in a limited partnership, etc. The Muslim jurist is faced with two great problems in connexion with this type of *iḳrār*. The first is that of the indivisibility of the acknowledgement, the second that of the validity of an acknowledgement made during the final illness (*maraḍ al-mawt*) of the declarant.

A. The problem of the indivisibility of the acknowledgement is common to all the legislative systems. It is stated thus: upon the hypothesis that the author of the acknowledgement, after having recognized a principal fact or a right, produces a new fact which modifies the juridical effects of his first affirmation, it is necessary to know whether the beneficiary who accepts the acknowledgement is bound to take it as a whole (that which is to his disadvantage as well as that which is to his advantage), or whether he is permitted to retain only one part of it, avoiding the reservations.

The Muslim jurists, adhering to their method of proceeding by concrete cases, put the question slightly differently. Is the *istithnāʾ*, i.e., the exception, the restriction, which is introduced into an acknowledgement by the conjunction *illā*, "except", permitted, or is it considered non-existent, the acknowledgement remaining valid because it is irrevocable?

All the schools allow *istithnāʾ*, when the object of the restriction is of the same genre (*djins*) as that of the main obligation; this is easy to understand, since the acknowledgement then forms an indivisible

whole. Apart from this case, on which all the jurists agree, the Ḥanafīs authorize *istithnāʾ* (thus rendering the acknowledgement indivisible) when the objects of the restriction are things "which may be weighed, measured or counted". If this is not so, if, to take a classic example, the author of the recognition of a sum of money excludes from the object of his acknowledgement a slave or a garment, the restriction is null, considered not to have been formulated, the first part of the acknowledgement remaining perfectly valid. Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs go much further in the direction of the principle of the indivisibility of the acknowledgement. According to their doctors, any *istithnāʾ* is valid and is binding on the beneficiary of the recognition, who must either accept it as a whole or reject it entirely. The Ḥanbalīs reject any *istithnāʾ* except one whose object is of the same genre as the main obligation. Ibn Ḳudāma (*Mughnī*, v, 142) explains their position thus:

"To admit every sort of *istithnāʾ* is to allow the author of the recognition to attach to the debt which he recognizes a claim against the beneficiary which has no connexion with the object of the recognition. This would absolve him (if the thing were permitted) from proving, by witnesses or other means, the sound foundation of his claim".

The preceding rules do not apply in matters concerning the term (*adjal*), which the author of the recognition includes in his acknowledgement. If the beneficiary contests the term, he is, say the Ḥanafīs and the Mālikīs, to be believed, but must take the oath; the Shāfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs on the other hand give precedence to the statement of the declarant; and it is incumbent upon the latter to state on oath that the debt was indeed due.

It is important not to confuse *istithnāʾ* with what the jurists refer to as *istidrāk*, which is a rectification. It is supposed that the author of the acknowledgement corrects himself in order to recognize a higher sum than the one he has just mentioned. It is easy however to avoid confusion, since *istidrāk* is introduced into the phrase by the expression *lā bal*, which means: "not this, but rather". Thus the author of the acknowledgement may say "I owe so and so a thousand *dirhams*, nay rather two thousand".

According to the Ḥanafīs, because of the rules of *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*], the second declaration should be added to the first so that the author of the recognition finally owes 3000 *dirhams*, since all recognitions of debt are irrevocable as soon as uttered; but in *istiḥsān*, in equity, it is admitted that he owes only the total given in the *istidrāk*, *i.e.* 2000 *dirhams* (al-Kāsānī, *op. cit.*, vii, 212).

B. *Iḳrār al-marīḍ.* The recognition of debts made by a sick person *in articulo mortis*, or by anyone in danger of death (a person drowning or under sentence of death) is especially suspect, in a legislative system which, like *fiḳh*, sets very narrow limits to any acts of liberality inspired by approaching death. It could be too easy for a sick person to arrange things to the advantage of an heir by means of an *iḳrār* or to dispose of more than a third of his fortune to a stranger, both of these being acts of generosity which he is not permitted to perform, directly, by testament.

Nevertheless, it is only the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools which lay down definite rules for the *iḳrār* in favour of an heir. According to these two schools, *iḳrār* uttered during the "death sickness" of the declarant in favour of an heir may always be annulled, just as a testament in his favour would be (unless it had the unanimous agreement of the co-heirs).

The Mālikīs turn in each individual case to discovering the intention of the declarant. If this intention, because of the circumstances, is suspect (*muttahama*), then the *iḳrār* is not valid, as such, but if it appears that the declarant really did owe the object of the *iḳrār* to his heir, they then consider the recognition to be perfectly in order. The Shāfiʿīs consider that, of the two diametrically opposite opinions professed by the Imām al-Shāfiʿī, the *rādjiḥ* (preferable) opinion is that which regards as valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*) any *iḳrār* made during a final illness, even one in favour of an heir (al-Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj*, iv, 51).

If the beneficiary of the *iḳrār* is not an heir of the dying person, all four schools allow him the *entire* benefit of the sum that is recognized as being due to him, even if this absorbs all the inheritance. The beneficiary will then be in competition, and for a share proportional to his claim, with those to whom the declarant had been in debt before his illness. Only Ḥanafī law gives to those who were creditors before the illness priority over those who are beneficiaries only of an *iḳrār* uttered during the final illness, by virtue of the saying *duyūn al-ṣiḥḥa muḳaddama ʿalā duyūn al-maraḍ* "debts [contracted] in a state of health are to be preferred to those made during the last illness".

III. Recognition of extra-patrimonial rights. It is always slightly surprising to see how readily *fiḳh* admits the recognition of a non-patrimonial right by one person in favour of another, even when this right cannot have come into existence directly except under relatively stringent conditions, from which its simple acknowledgement is exempt. Marriage, paternity, direct or indirect relationship, repudiation, enfranchisement, etc., may be the object of an *iḳrār* which will take the name of the right thus recognized. We shall deal here only with the recognition of marriage, or, in other words, of the status of spouse (*iḳrār bi-'l-nikāḥ*) and with the recognition of relationship (*iḳrār bi 'l-nasab*). These are in fact the family rights which in the past most often formed the object of an *iḳrār*.

A man may recognize a woman as being his wife, and *vice versa*, on the sole condition that there exists between them none of the impediments to marriage laid down by Muslim law. This possibility allows proof by witnesses or by documents to be replaced by other methods when such proof is impossible or too difficult, but it will also allow in certain circumstances the circumvention of the detailed regulations which govern the contracting of marriage in Muslim law. Naturally the recognition is valid only if it is approved by the beneficiary. Here there becomes apparent a difference between the recognition made by a man and that made by a woman. When it is the man who takes the initiative in the recognition, the woman may acquiesce, even after the death of the person who claimed to be her husband, whereas if it is the woman who is the first to "admit" her marriage with a certain man, the man may approve it only while the woman is still living.

The above dispositions are those of the Ḥanafī school; all the other Sumnī schools and the Shīʿī schools hold more or less the same principles, except for the Mālikīs, who admit the *iḳrār bi 'l-nikāḥ* only between persons who come from a distant country and who because of this may have some difficulty otherwise in providing proof in any other way of a marriage between them which took place in that country.

The *iḳrār bi 'l-nasab*, the recognition of relationship, covers in reality two different institutions,

according to whether the relationship recognized is direct or indirect.

The relationship is direct when it does not imply, in order to be possible, the existence of a third person between the author of the recognition and the beneficiary. This can arise only in the case of the recognition of a child, a father or a mother. In all other cases (recognition of a brother, an uncle, a grandson) the relationship is indirect, since the author of the recognition could obtain the result he seeks only by attributing to a third person (his father, his grandfather, his son respectively in the examples given) the paternity of the person whom he recognizes.

This is why, while the recognition of direct relationship "establishes" (*thabbata*) sonship or paternity, as the *fuḳahāʾ* say, the recognition of indirect relationship has only very narrow effects, limited to the author of the recognition only, and resulting occasionally in a right to inheritance of the beneficiary.

a) Recognition of direct relationship. In all the schools, three conditions are necessary for its validity: the child who is recognized (or who recognizes) must not be the son of someone else; there must be a sufficient difference in age between the author and the beneficiary to make the recognition likely; finally the person recognized must agree to it, unless it is a question of a very young child or of an insane person. To these three conditions the Mālikīs add a fourth: they require that the circumstances of the birth were such as to make such a relationship plausible, in other words they consider that a child born in Morocco may not be "recognized" by a father who is definitely known never to have left Syria; but the other schools do not demand this condition nor (agreeing in this with the Mālikīs) do they demand that proof be shown of the marriage of which the child is the issue.

The recognition of direct relationship puts the beneficiary in exactly the same juridical situation as if the relationship resulted from the rule *al-walad li-'l-firāsh*, "the child belongs to the marriage-bed", or from the proof by *bayyina*, by witnesses; this applying in all the branches of law, whether concerning succession, impediments to marriage, incapacity to bear witness, or else in penal law.

b) The recognition of indirect relationship. This, unlike the above, does not form a situation valid *erga omnes*. The author of the recognition binds only himself, but it is excessive to write, as does al-Zaylaʿī (*Tabyīn*, v, 28), that "the recognition of a brother or of an uncle is the equivalent of a bequest". In Ḥanafī law, a person who has recognized someone as being his brother (the most usual example) obviously cannot attribute to the beneficiary the status of being the son of his own father without the latter's approval. Without such approval (the father being already deceased or having refused his consent), the beneficiary has no rights except as regards the author of the recognition; for this reason he will share with the latter the possessions which he inherits from his father; he may eventually claim from him maintenance, and will receive the whole of his inheritance if the author of the recognition dies without leaving any heirs. This recognition, unlike the preceding one, may always be revoked, as may a testament.

The contemporary legal codes, since the Syrian Code of Personal Status of 1953 (art. 134 & 135), devote a fair number of clauses to the recognition of direct relationship. This modern legislation appears to be very reasonable. The institution still retains today a large part of its practical interest, since it enables the gaps in the records of the registry office to be made good, the latter in any case not being held in very high regard in certain Muslim countries; furthermore, it makes possible the recognition of a natural child (it is enough to fail to mention the irregular conditions of its birth) and also the adoption (referred to as recognition) of a foundling.

It is surprising on the other hand to find, in these contemporary texts, clauses concerning the recognition of indirect relationship. This is hardly ever used today and it is doubtful whether it was really useful to include even brief rules about it in the laws and the codes the aim of which was adaptation to the conditions of modern life. Thus the Egyptian law of 6 August 1943 on inheritance devotes to it article 42; the Syrian, Tunisian and Moroccan codes of Personal Status refer to it, giving it moreover the same outline which the institution had in Ḥanafī law. It is only ʿIrāḳ which, in correcting the legislative whims of Ḳāsim, has not, in its Code of Personal Status, revoked the right to inheritance of a beneficiary of a recognition of indirect relationship (art. 88, modified by the law of 18 March 1963).

Bibliography: All the works of *fiḳh*, even the most modest, contain a chapter on *iḳrār*. In particular there may be consulted: Ḥanafī law: Sarak͟hsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324, all of vol. xviii; Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1313, vii, 209 ff.; Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Cairo 1315, v, 2 ff.; Mālikī law: K͟halīl, *Muk͟htaṣar*, tr. Bousquet 1961, iii, 88 ff., and its *commentaries* by Ḥaṭṭāb and Mawwāḳ, Cairo 1329, v, 216 ff. and by Dardīr-Dasūḳī, ed. Ḥalabī, iii, 397 ff.; S͟hāfiʿī law: Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj*, Cairo 1286, iv, 33 ff.; S͟hīrāzī, *Muhadhdhab*, Cairo, ed. Ḥalabī, n.d., ii, 343 ff.; Ḥanbalī law: Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mug͟hnī*[3], Cairo 1367, v, 137 ff.; Imāmī law: al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī, *S͟harāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Beirut 1930, ii, 108-16 (Fr. tr. by Querry, Paris 1876, ii, 150-70); Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, Rome 1938, ii, 220 ff. (extra-judicial admission), ii, 589 ff. (judicial admission); Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris and The Hague 1965, i, no. 345-8 (*iḳrār* of a sick person), ii, no. 612-3 (*iḳrār* of marriage); J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*[2], Oxford 1966, 151.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

ʿIKRIMA, a distinguished member of the generation of Successors (*tābiʿūn*), and one of the main transmitters of the traditional interpretation of the Ḳurʾān attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās. He was a slave of Ibn ʿAbbās, to whom he was supposed to have been given when he was governor of Baṣra, and manumitted by his son ʿAlī; he is therefore also often called a *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās. He is sometimes counted among the Successors of Mecca, sometimes among those of Medina. He travelled a good deal, and his presence is attested in Mecca and Medina, Egypt, Syria, Yaman, Kūfa and Baṣra, Nīsābūr, Iṣfahān, Samarḳand and Marw, sometimes in the company of governors; this lends at least some credibility to the opinion that he was a propagandist of the K͟hāridjīs, whose doctrines he certainly followed. But it is most unlikely that he travelled to the Mag͟hrib and was responsible for the implantation of K͟hāridjī beliefs in Ifriḳiya, or even that he died in Ḳayrawān. (He is said to have been of Berber origin). On the contrary, he died in Medina at the age of 80 in 105/723-4 (the best attested date), on the same day as Kut͟hayyir

ʿAzza [*q.v.*], and the prayer for the dead was spoken on both of them together. It is related that on account of his Khāridjī opinions he was searched for by some governor of Medina and therefore had to live in hiding, but the vagueness of this information shows it to be spurious. According to the oldest sources, he transmitted traditions from Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿĀʾisha, and a very few others; later, the numbers of his authorities and of the transmitters from him increased almost indefinitely. Already in Ibn Saʿd, admiration of his knowledge is mixed with critical comments on his traditions; Bukhārī still endorses him unconditionally; the older Traditionists accepted him notwithstanding the objections which were being raised to him (four of the authors of the classical collections of traditions, Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, and Nasāʾī, included his traditions in their works), and only some later critics declared him unreliable or to have been untruthful in relating from his master, no doubt on account of his Khāridjī, and therefore heretical, opinions; but the final appreciation (Ibn Ḥadjar, at the end) accepted him again. The *Fihrist* (p. 38, l. 2) mentions a book of his, derived from Ibn ʿAbbās, on the revelation of the Ḳurʾān; it is no doubt as little authentic as the other collections of interpreting notes on the Ḳurʾān attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (Goldziher, 77).

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 212-6; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt*, Baghdād 1387/1967, 280; Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Kabīr*, iv/1, no. 218; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, iii/2, no. 32; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii, 2483-5, and index; Mubarrad, *K. al-Kāmil*, 561, l. 12; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Indices by M. Shafīʿ, i, 603; *Aghānī*, viii, 42 f.; xv, 126; xix, 60; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 62-5; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 431 f.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, s.v.; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Hyderabad 1333, i, 89 f. (no. 87); Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, no. 475; Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 1328 (year 105); Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, 75 f.; Brockelmann, S I, 691. (J. Schacht)

IḲRĪṬISH, Arabic name of Crete, with the variants Aḳrīṭish (Yāḳūt), Iḳrīṭiya (Ibn Rusta), Iḳrītaṣ (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*) (Aḳrīṭa (Yāḳūt, ii, 865) refers to a locality in Asia Minor and has only a fortuitous resemblance with the name of the island of Crete).

Geography. The Arabic geographers describe it as one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean (Baḥr al-Rūm [*q.v.*]), whose situation they sometimes confuse with that of Cyprus. They give widely varying figures for its area; a circumference of 300 miles (Ibn Rusta) or taking 15 days on foot (Ibn Khurradādhbih; al-Ḥimyarī), 100 *farsakh* (al-Muḳaddasī; on this point see A. Miquel in his translation of this author, 42 and n. 47); see also other figures given by al-Ḥimyarī, following Orosius, and others in al-Ḳalḳashandī and al-Zuhrī.

It contains several towns (al-Muḳaddasī) and large villages (Yāḳūt). Al-Ḥimyarī preserves in a very corrupt form the ancient epithet given to it by the Greeks, "of a hundred towns", Hekatompolis (*Iliad*, ii, 649; Strabo, ed. Teubner, book x, 674-5, also Enenêkontapolis).

Ibn Ḥawḳal describes it as rich in agricultural products. Al-Zuhrī mentions wheat, barley, abundant fruits, fig-trees, vines, rhubarb and other plants, but notes that it lacks olive trees and that the local oil is made from turnips or from sesame. Al-Ḥimyarī mentions herds of goats and, in the mountains, wild sheep; also a gold mine. Antimony of good quality was found there (al-Ḥimyarī, al-Zuhrī). The latter states also that there was gathered there the resin from the lentisk tree, known as mastic (*al-masṭakī*), and that it was only in Crete and in India that one could find 'epithyme' (*cuscuta epithymis*), a medicinal plant growing as a parasite on thyme (for which see Ibn al-H'achcha, *Glossaire sur le Mans'uri de Razès*, ed. G. S. Colin and H. P. J. Renaud, Rabat 1941, nos. 3 and 594).

Ibn Ḥawḳal states that an active import and export trade was carried on there. According to al-Zuhrī, Crete exported antimony and mastic, walnuts, hazel-nuts, pomegranates and cheese. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ states that it exported to Egypt honey and cheese, and al-Ḳalḳashandī repeats this. The export of cheese to Egypt from Crete is confirmed by documents from the Geniza in Cairo (see S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history*, 1966, 274, and *Le commerce méditerranéen avant les Croisades*, in *Diogène* (1967), 57). It is known also that the abundance of milk and honey in Crete was one of the reasons given by Abū Ḥafṣ (see below) for retaining the Cordovans there (Theophanes continuatus, 74). On the other hand, Crete imported olive oil from North Africa and from Spain (al-Zuhrī), and, during the period when it was Muslim, received from Egypt arms and military equipment.

One of the resources of Crete, according to al-Zuhrī, was tunny-fish which, coming from the Atlantic at the beginning of May, entered the Mediterranean and reached the island of Crete, where they stayed until the beginning of June when they returned to their starting-place; they were caught and exported, dried, to all parts of the world.

At the time of the Crusades and of Venetian rule, Crete had active commercial relations with Europe on the one hand and with the other oriental countries on the other. For details of this see the index of Heyd, also, i, 276 for the products provided for commerce by the Greek islands, and ii, 441, where it is stated that Crete exported to Mamlūk Egypt wood and wine.

History. Crete was the object of Arab incursions as early as the time of Muʿāwiya. Al-Ḥimyarī mentions that it was conquered by ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, but gives no date; this statement is of doubtful reliability. After the capture and occupation of Cyzicus (Arwad) in 54/673-4, Crete was raided by Djunāda b. Abī Umayya al-Azdī. During the reign of al-Walīd (86-96/705-15) a part of it was conquered, but held only temporarily; again under Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809) it was the object of an expedition by Ḥumayd b. Maʿyūf al-Hamdānī, who also led an expedition against Cyprus. But it was only during the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) that it came under Muslim domination. Its conquerors were not Arabs from the East, but came from Andalusia.

After the revolt, in 202/818, of the inhabitants of Cordova against the Umayyad *amīr* al-Ḥakam I, which was ruthlessly suppressed, the whole population of the Suburb of Cordova (al-Rabaḍ) was exiled. A party of them (al-Rabaḍiyyūn) reached Morocco; others, more than 10,000 in number (15,000 according to Ibn al-Abbār; see al-Bakrī, tr. de Slane, 285, note), joined probably by sailors from the coast of Andalusia, became pirates in the central and eastern Mediterranean. These pirates landed on occasion in Alexandria and became, owing to the political troubles there, masters of the city, forming with the help of a part of the population a small republic

which lasted for about twelve years, from 200 to 212/816-27. According to al-Yaʿkūbī there were about 3,000 of them, arriving in 4,000 ships—an unlikely number. Their leader was ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Shuʿayb b. ʿĪsā (and not Shuʿayb b. ʿUmar as is given in one single tradition in Yākūt) al-Ballūṭī, a native of Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ [*q.v.*], who was called al-Ghalīẓ (the fat, the corpulent; Yākūt), also later al-Ikrīṭishī. It was not until 212/827 that a new governor of Egypt sent by al-Maʾmūn, Ibn Ṭāhir, put an end to their domination. He laid siege to Alexandria in Ṣafar/May and forced it to capitulate, after a few days, in Rabīʿ I/June. According to Michael the Syrian (in Brooks, 432) the siege lasted nine months. Ibn Ṭāhir granted the Andalusians *amān* and allowed them to leave the town in their ships on condition that they took with them no slaves and no Egyptians and did not land in any country under Islamic rule.

They passed by the island of Crete, which, according to the Byzantine sources, they already knew from having made a raid there, and landed with 40 ships at the promontory of Charax in the same year 212/827 (or, according to Michael the Syrian, in 828). At the place where they had disembarked they built an entrenchment with a ditch (*khandak*) from which the town which grew up there took its name (Greek Chandax)—whence the name Candia, the site of which, according to G. C. Miles, is under the present town of Herakleion. From there they made raids into the island and conquered, one by one, 29 towns, without encountering the resistance which might have been expected, either because of the absence of Greek troops or because of the indifference of a population dissatisfied with Byzantine rule.

Byzantine tradition (Theophanes continuatus, 74-5) claims that, after this, Abū Ḥafṣ had his ships burned in order to deprive his companions, who wished to see their wives and children again, of any hope of getting away from the island, praising to them the wealth of this country where milk and honey flowed abundantly and telling them that they would find wives there. This tradition is not confirmed in the Arabic sources and seems unlikely, since the Andalusians certainly had their families with them. It is very probably a legend. Nevertheless Amari supposes that Abū Ḥafṣ might have burned some ships which were in a bad condition, and this may have given rise to the tradition.

Once settled in the island, whose Christian population they reduced to subjection, the Andalusians organized themselves into an independent emirate, recognizing more or less the authority of the ʿAbbāsid caliph and led by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar and, after him, his descendants. They engaged mainly in piracy and in selling the slaves and the booty which they acquired from this. They may have contributed to the conquest of Sicily if, as Amari supposes (*Storia*, i, 404, n. 2), the Spaniards mentioned in Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, i, 95) as having helped Asad b. al-Furāt came from Crete.

In 828, they ravaged the island of Aegina; in the same year the Byzantines attempted to reconquer Crete. Soon after 828 an expedition under the Greek Photios, which was joined by reinforcements under Damianos, failed completely: Damianos was captured and Photios fled with great difficulty. Another expedition led by Crateros landed on the island, but after an initial success the troops were surprised in the night and massacred. Crateros, who succeeded in escaping, was captured on the island of Cos and hanged.

At the end of the reign of Michael II (820-9) or at the beginning of that of Theophilus, his son (October 829-842), the islands of the Aegean were re-captured from the Cretans, and this liberation is attributed to a certain Ôoryphas, who had been put in command of a large fleet. In 829-30, Theophilus entered into relations with the Umayyad ruler of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, and attempted to gain his support against the Andalusians of Crete, on the pretext that they were rebels against the Umayyad authority who had given their allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The Umayyad merely gave the emperor complete freedom to expel the Andalusians from Crete (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IX*[e] *s.*, in *Byzantion*, xii (1937), 1-24, following an anonymous Arab chronicle).

During the reign of Theophilus there occurred several encounters between Byzantines and Cretans. In Shaʿbān 214/October 829, the Arabs destroyed a Byzantine fleet off the island of Thasos and laid waste Mount Athos, which remained for some time deserted. They also ravaged the coasts of the theme of Thracesion (the west of Asia Minor) and massacred the monks of Mount Latros; but after this they were annihilated by the *strategos* of the theme, Constantine Contomytes. The date of this event is not known, though Brooks puts it as late as 841.

During the reign of Michael III (842-67), Byzantium, after destroying in 843 a powerful Arab fleet which was sailing towards Constantinople (but which came from Syria and not from Crete), decided to attack Crete. The expedition, which took place in the same year, 843, was led by the logothete Theoctistes. It resulted in a temporary occupation of Crete (see Ahrweiler, 112 and 441), but Theoctistes returned to Constantinople because of rumours spread by the Arabs of political intrigues in the capital and, according to the continuator of Theophanes, the troops left in Crete were massacred by the Arabs.

The Byzantines continued to plan an expedition against Crete, which constituted a continual danger to the Greek coast and islands. As Crete obtained its arms from Egypt, a Byzantine fleet attacked Damietta in 853 and seized there a large supply of arms destined for Crete, while other squadrons were in action around Crete itself. The increase in the Byzantine maritime power at this time did not prevent the Cretans, in the last years of the reign of Michael III, from landing in Athos on two occasions in 862. In 866, Byzantium decided to undertake a new expedition against Crete, but the assassination of Bardas, the maternal uncle of the emperor, with the latter's connivance, interrupted these operations (Vasiliev, i, 258; cf. Ahrweiler, 112).

During the first period of the Macedonian dynasty, the Arabs of Crete remained active. In 872, their raids reached as far as the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic, and in the following year they laid waste the islands of the Aegean with a fleet under the command of a renegade called Photios, probably accompanied by other renegades. Some ships even reached the island of Proconnesos in the Hellespont. But the Byzantine admiral Ôoryphas (a different person from the Ôoryphas mentioned above), inflicted a severe defeat on the Cretan fleet, of which several ships were burned. Nevertheless, Photios re-appeared on the coast of the Peloponnese. The same Nicetas Ôoryphas gave battle to him and, according to the Byzantine sources, took his revenge on the prisoners, inflicting horrible tortures on the renegades in particular. As a result of these Byzantine

victories, it appears that for about a decade the Cretans were forced to pay tribute to Byzantium. The *amīr* of Crete, according to the Byzantine sources, was Saïpis or Saet, a corruption of Shuʿayb.

At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the raids by the Arabs of Crete who were in communication with those living on the coast of Syria continually caused great havoc, in particular in the Peloponnese, where they massacred the inhabitants or carried them off to sell them as slaves. They were in control of Patmos, one of the Sporades, and Naxos paid tribute to them (see John Cameniates, *De excidio Thessalonicensi*, ch. 68, 580-3, ch. 70, 583; Vasiliev, ii/1, 158-9, Russian ed., 134; cf. Ahrweiler, 104).

The Muslim Syrian squadron of Leo of Tripoli, which captured Thessalonika in 291/904, anchored on its return journey at Crete, where some of the prisoners were sold (John Cameniates, ch. 73; Vasiliev, ii/1, 177, Russian ed. 150), which demonstrates the agreement which existed between Crete and Syria.

At the time of the expedition of the admiral Himerios in 297/909-10, a Byzantine emissary, who was the author of the Life of Saint Theoctistes of Lesbos, was sent to Crete to find out the intentions of the *amīr* and to try to ascertain whether he would be giving his support to the Arabs of Syria (see Vasiliev, ii/1, 209, Russian ed., 177-8). It is not clear whether the same Himerios led an expedition against Crete in 911. This has been questioned (Ahrweiler, 113, n. 4). In any case, in the spring of 912, whether after the expedition against Crete or that against Syria, Himerios's fleet was pursued by that of the Arabs of Syria, probably helped by the Cretans, and destroyed to the north of Chios (Vasiliev, ii/1, 214; Russian ed., 182-3).

During the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, between 930 and 940, the Cretans attacked the Peloponnese and central Greece and also Athos (where fortifications had to be built) and the coasts of Asia Minor(see Vasiliev, ii/1, 320 ff., Russian ed., 270 ff.). It is possible that they penetrated Attica and as far as Athens (see the works quoted by G. C. Miles in *Hesperia*, 1956 and the note in Vasiliev, 320). The emperor therefore decided to prepare an expedition against Crete in 949 in order to put an end to the activity of the pirates: the preparations for it are described in detail in the *De ceremoniis*, II, 45. But again the expedition was a failure; after the troops had landed they were taken by surprise and defeated, and a large number of ships were lost (see Vasiliev, ii/1, 333 ff.).

It was during the reign of Romanus II, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that Crete was reconquered by Nicephorus Phocas with a large fleet and army. The expedition left Constantinople in June or July 960. After landing, the army marched on the powerful fortress of Chandax and laid siege to it, while detachments spread across the island. The siege lasted throughout the winter of 960-1 and the fortress was captured by assault on 6 March 961.

The Cretans had not been able to obtain help. The *amīr* of Aleppo had no fleet and does not appear to have been approached. An embassy had been sent from Crete to the Ikhshīded *amīr* of Egypt, but he, realizing his weakness, advised them to seek help from the Fāṭimid caliph of North Africa, al-Muʿizz. The latter not only sent word to the emperor declaring that the truce concluded with Byzantium in 345/956-7 was at an end and demanding that he raise the siege of Crete; he further promised to send a fleet to aid Crete, and proposed to the *amīr* of Egypt that they should act together, the African and Egyptian fleets to meet at Cyrenaica on the first day of Rabīʿ II 350/20 May 961. Documents relating to this are to be found in *al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt* of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, the friend of the caliph al-Muʿizz, published in the work by Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and Ṭāhā Aḥmad Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh*, Cairo 1948, 303-4, 321-2, analysed by Fahrat Dachraoui, *La Crète dans le conflit entre Byzance et al-Muʿizz*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, no. 26-7 (1959) and tr. by M. Canard, *Les sources arabes de l'histoire byzantine*, in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, xix (1961), 285-8.

Although Ibn al-Athīr and other historians state that the Fāṭimid caliph, as he had promised the Cretans' ambassador, sent troops, who gained a victory over the Byzantines and took them prisoner, this is very doubtful: at the date indicated Chandax had already been taken by Nicephorus Phocas and this help would have arrived too late. According to the Byzantine sources, the *amīr* of Crete having sent an appeal for help to the Arabs of Spain and Africa, a number of ships did land some men, who succeeded in scaling the walls of the place, but who, realizing that any help would be in vain, returned to their ships.

According to a tradition related by al-Nuwayrī (see Mariano Gaspar), the emperor Romanus II asked the *amīr* of Crete, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḥabīb, to put a stop to the Cretan raids on the islands in order to allow the inhabitants of the islands, who had fled, to return to their homes and to resume trade with Crete, promising in return to pay him an annual tribute. A treaty was concluded on this basis. Then the emperor proposed to the *amīr* to send to Crete a herd of brood-mares, whose progeny was to be shared between them, the males for the emperor and the females for the *amīr*. This was a ruse, which allowed the Byzantines to introduce into the island 500 horses with their grooms. Thereupon there arrived secretly the troops of Nicephorus Phocas, who landed at the place where the horses were, bringing with them saddles and bridles. They had only to mount the horses to be ready for battle and to take the defenders of the island by surprise. But, according to Yāḳūt, the army of Nicephorus Phocas consisted of 70,000 men, 5,000 of them being horsemen, and according to Ibn Khaldūn, he arrived with 700 ships.

The work by G. Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au Xᵉ siècle, Nicéphore Phocas*, gives a detailed and vivid account of the siege of the town of Chandax. After the failure of a detachment sent into the interior, which was taken by surprise and massacred, Nicephorus began a complete blockade of the town by means of an entrenchment, which stretched from one end of the island to the other. Bombarded and cut off from the rest of the island, the town fell, though not without putting up a vigorous defence, after a siege which lasted throughout the winter of 960-1. The town was pillaged and the inhabitants who had not been killed were taken captive, among them being the last *amīr*, Kouroupas, his son Anemas and their family. The walls were demolished, and a fortress was built on a neighbouring height and provided with a garrison. The mosques were destroyed and all copies of the Ḳurʾān were burned (cf. *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, f. 276 v.). The Muslims who remained in the island were gradually converted to Christianity.

The capture of Crete resulted in unrest in Cairo, of which the victims were the Christians there (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd).

According to al-Nuwayrī, the conversion of the Muslims was achieved by cunning and by force.

Some important inhabitants, invited to pay their respects to the emperor at Christmas, received lavish gifts and returned to the island very pleased. Following this a great many people travelled to Constantinople but then were arrested and forced to become Christian under the threat of death. On their return to the island they were warned that, if they wished to see their families again, they must persuade their fellow-Muslims to become Christian. In this way the island became entirely Christian. It does not seem that Kouroupas, a prisoner in Constantinople and treated well, became a Christian, but his son Anemas was converted, since he became a member of the imperial guard and died in 972 in the war against the Russians.

Ibn Ḥawḳal states that before the Byzantine conquest Crete had been constantly in a state of war, and the Christians could neither enter it nor leave it. All the same there probably existed diplomatic contacts between Byzantium and the *amīr*s of Crete, as is illustrated by the mission of the author of the life of Saint Theoctistes (see above). But the two letters of the patriarch Nicholas the Mystic "to the *amīr* of Crete" (Migne, *P. G.*, cxi, 28-33 and 36-40; Vasiliev, Russian ed., 190-205) were, according to R. J. H. Jenkins (*The mission of St. Demetrianos of Cyprus to Bagdad*, in *Annuaire de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. Orientales et Slaves*, ix (1949), Brussels = *Mélanges H. Grégoire*), addressed to a caliph and not to an *amīr* of Crete; reference should now be made, however, to the French translation of the two letters in Vasiliev, ii/1, Brussels 1968, 389-411: at p. 411 it is suggested that the first letter (the second in the Russian edition) was addressed at the end of A.D. 904 or early in 905 to the Amīr of Crete, Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb, and related to the liberation of Greek prisoners.

That Crete was in communication with the caliph of Baghdād is demonstrated by the fact that in 248/862 the former vizier Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb was exiled to Crete by the caliph al-Mustaʿīn (see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, i, 290).

The sovereignty of the island was transmitted within the family of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar. Thanks to the Byzantine and Arabic sources, and in particular also to numismatics, it has been possible to work out the succession of the *amīrs* of Crete from 827 to 961. The following has been suggested by G. C. Miles as a result of his own researches and those of other numismatists, with the probable dates of the reign of each of the *amīrs*.

Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar I b. Shuʿayb, 213/828-circa 241/855.

Shuʿayb I b. ʿUmar (the Saïpis or Saet of the Byzantines; Vasiliev, i, 57, n. and ii/1, 53-4), circa 241-66/circa 855-80.

(Abū ʿAbd Allāh) ʿUmar II b. Shuʿayb (the Babdel of the Byzantines; Vasiliev, i, 57), circa 266-82/880-95.

Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb (the Zerkounis of the Byzantines; Vasiliev, i, 57, *i.e.*, Zerḳūn, a Hispano-Arabic name, the diminutive of Azraḳ), circa 282-97/895-910.

Yūsuf b. ʿUmar II, circa 297-302/910-15.

ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, circa 302-13/915-25.

Aḥmad b. ʿUmar II, circa 313-28/925-40.

Shuʿayb II b. Aḥmad, circa 328-31/940-43.

ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, circa 331-7/943-9.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Shuʿayb II (b. Ḥabīb in al-Nuwayrī, which may be a misreading of Shuʿayb, cf. Yāḳūt; he must be the Kouroupas of the Byzantines), circa 337-50/949-61.

Al-Nuʿmān (probably the name of Anemas) b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, d. 361/972.

Also in Yāḳūt and al-Ḥimyarī are mentioned Cretan scholars, probably of Andalusian origin, with the *nisba* al-Iḳrītishī. One of them taught in Damascus, another in Egypt. Al-Ḥimyarī mentions an ʿUmar b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, a descendant of Abū Ḥafṣ, who wrote, while a prisoner in Constantinople, a book on the meanings and the miracles of the Ḳurʾān. Al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1880) speaks of a Byzantine patrician, to whom he refers as Naṣr al-Iḳrītishī, and who was killed in battle in 259/872-3. The commander of the Cretan fleet, Nisir (Nisiris), see Vasiliev, ii/1, 209 n., does not seem to have belonged to the family of Abū Ḥafṣ.

Crete remained Byzantine until the capture of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204. It then fell to Count Boniface of Monferrat, who sold it to the Venetians (see Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, Oxford 1932, 358; cf. K. M. Setton (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, ii, 190-1, and Heyd, i, 276 ff.). It was in dispute between Genoa and Venice, the latter reconquering it in 1207. A key-point of the Venetian possessions (Heyd, i, 470), it remained Venetian until it was conquered by the Ottomans in 1669.

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OTTOMAN PERIOD

From the time of the occupation of Crete by the Venetians until it was conquered by the Ottomans, there were very few attacks against it by the Turks: an expedition by the bey of Aydīn, Umūr, circa 741/1341; an Ottoman attack in 873/1469; another, more serious, led by Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa in 945/1538; and finally an assault on the fortress of Suda in 974/1567 while a fleet from Algiers was ravaging the region of Retimo.

All the same the existence of this Venetian bastion in the eastern Mediterranean constituted a permanent menace for Ottoman navigation. There had been peace with Venice since 1573, but some incidents in the Adriatic had led to a brief period of hostilities in 1048/1638-9, during the reign of Murād IV, and attention had then been drawn to the danger which Crete represented to the Turkish sea-routes, in particular to North Africa. It was during the reign of Ibrāhīm I that the decision was taken to seize the island; a large fleet was assembled at Istanbul during the winter of 1644-5, and when it set sail in Ṣafar 1055/April 1645, under the command of the Ḳapūdān-i deryā Yūsuf Pasha, rumours were spread that its objective was Malta. In June, Turkish troops disembarked near Canea: the town was taken, after a siege of 54 days, on 26 Djumāda II 1055/19 August 1645; this occupation was followed by those of Kissamo in Muḥarram 1056/March 1646, Aprikorno in July, Milopotamo in September and Retimo in November of the same year. But the Ottoman offensive slowed down, in spite of reinforcements sent from Istanbul and also from Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers; the siege of Candia was several times resumed and then abandoned, while on their side the Venetians set up a blockade of the Dardanelles in 1648-9 and during 1650; an Ottoman naval victory in May 1654 near the entrance to the Dardanelles was answered by a Venetian victory in June 1656 in the same waters, with an occupation of the islands of Tenedos, Lemnos and Samothrace, which were re-captured by the Turks in the following year.

In 1076/1666, the grand vizier Köprülüzāde Fāḍil Aḥmad Pasha decided to bring matters to a conclusion: in fact, more than two years were needed from the resumption of the siege of Candia in May 1667; the Venetians, having obtained very little support from western Europe, finally accepted the Ottoman peace proposals; on 9 Rabīʿ II 1080/6 September 1669, peace was concluded: the Venetians abandoned all their possessions in Crete except Suda and Spinalonga, which were occupied by the Ottomans in 1715. This long war in Crete, although it ended in a Turkish victory and their control of all the eastern Mediterranean, was in the end not a very glorious one; it underlined the growing weakness of the Ottoman empire and confirmed the decline of Venice.

Once under Ottoman domination, Crete became a province (*eyālet*) with Candia as its capital and divided into three *sandjaḳs*: Candia, Canea and Retimo. The Turkish authorities retained most of the local laws and interfered very little with the possessions and property of the Cretans; however some Anatolian Turks were transferred to the island, which finally came to contain an important Turkish minority; the internal affairs of the Greek community were left in its own hands and the use of the Greek language was continued. The population was made subject to the personal taxes usual in the Ottoman empire; land was subject to a tax of 1/5 of the production from it, and gardens and orchards of 140 aspers per *djarib*; these taxes were reduced in 1675 to 1/7 and 80 aspers respectively.

In 1821, the Greek revolt reached Crete: the governor of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī, summoned by the sultan, restored order and placed the island under his own authority; he instituted mixed assemblies of Muslims and Christians in Candia, in Canea and Retimo, which were to deal with local affairs; later, another assembly was instituted at Sphakia (Isfakiya). In 1830 a new revolt broke out, and the Ottoman government proposed to Muḥammad ʿAlī that he should keep the island; but Muḥammad ʿAlī refused, and the Treaty of London in 1840 forbade him to make any claims on Crete.

Later, and especially after 1866, intermittent troubles broke out in the island: the Cretans demanded union with Greece, an idea which had the support of the Great Powers, especially France and Russia, whose aim was to make the question of Crete an international one, one of the elements of the "Eastern Question". In January 1869, the intervention of the Great Powers led to an alteration of the administrative system, by which the local responsibilities were more equally shared between Christians and Muslims; the governor (whose headquarters had been in Canea since 1850) was to be assisted by a council composed of 5 Muslims and 5 Christians; the official posts were divided among the two communities. A new revolt broke out however in 1878 and, finally, a con-

vention signed on 23 October 1878 stipulated that the governor of the island should be a Christian, appointed with the agreement of the Great Powers, and that an assembly of 80 members (49 Christians, 31 Muslims) should take all the decisions concerning the internal affairs of Crete, but that these decisions should be submitted for the approval of the sultan. This convention was not fully implemented. In 1896, the Cretans revolted again and this time received the support of the king of Greece; war broke out between Greece and Turkey; finally the latter, in December 1897, accepted the principle of autonomy for the island; on 6 November 1898 the Turkish troops left Crete and, on 19 November, Prince George of Greece was appointed as commissary extraordinary: Ottoman suzerainty was theoretically retained, but in fact Crete was already lost to the Ottomans. In 1900, Prince George tried (unsuccessfully) to proclaim the union of Crete with Greece. This union was proclaimed by his successor, Zaimis, on 6 October 1908, but was not recognized by the Young Turk government; the years 1909 and 1910 passed in an atmosphere of extreme tension. On 9 May 1910, the Cretan assembly swore allegiance to the king of Greece and on 10 October 1912 the Greek government, taking advantage of the Balkan War, officially ratified the union. In spite of the protests of the Turkish government, the treaties of London (30 May 1913) and of Bucharest (10 August 1913) confirmed the end of Turkish suzerainty over the island. Before these treaties, a certain number of Cretan Turks had already left the island; the last of them were transferred to Turkey after the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and the signing of the agreements on the transfers of populations between Greece and Turkey.

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AL-IKSĪR, the elixir (from Greek τό ξήριον, pl. *akāsīr*, also *iksīrāt*, *e.g.*, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 175,6; Yaʿḳūbī, i, 106 ult.), originally the term for externally applied dry-powder or sprinkling-powder used in medicine. Thus, for example, Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh, in his *Kitāb Daghal al-ʿayn*, lists under the ophthalmic remedies six different elixirs (*akāsīr*; see *Isl.*, vi (1916), 252 f.). By the Arabic word *iksīrīn*, which is derived from the Syriac *ksīrīn*, an eye-powder is meant in al-Rāzī (*Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, Ḥaydarābād 1374/1955, ii, 21) and in ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī (*al-Kitāb al-Malakī*, Būlāḳ 1294, ii, 284 f.), whilst in Pseudo-Thābit b. Ḳurra (*Kitāb al-Dhakhīra*, ed. G. Sobhy, Cairo 1928, 46, 141-3) a sprinkling-powder for the treatment of wounds is indicated.

By an early date the name *al-Iksīr* was transferred to the substance with which the alchemists believed it possible to effect the transformation of base metals into precious ones. *Iksīr al-kīmiyāʾ* (Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Ch. Pellat, 39, 7), *iksīr al-ṣanʿa* (Masʿūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān*, Cairo 1357/1938, 113, 115), or *iksīr al-falāsifa* (Djildakī, *Kitāb al-Anwār*) are mentioned, and the name is explained by a naive etymology: the substance is called *al-iksīr* because it breaks down (*kasara*) the inferior form and changes it into a perfect one (thus Djildakī; cf. also Pseudo-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāya* ed. H. Ritter, 8, and Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 170). Usually, however, the alchemists use pseudonyms for the elixir, such as *ḥadjar al-falāsifa* (λίθος τῶν φιλοσόφων), *ḥadjar al-ḥukamāʾ*, *al-ḥadjar al-mukarram* (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 229; Rosenthal, iii, 268), *al-ḥadjar al-karīm* (*ibid.*, 203, Rosenthal, iii, 240), *al-ḥadjar al-aʿẓam*, *al-ḥadjar alladhī laysa bi-ḥadjar* (λίθος ὅς οὐ λίθος), *al-bayḍa*, *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* (Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, Ḥaydarābād 1355, 104). Al-Djildakī (*Kitāb Ghāyat al-surūr*, ms. Berlin 4183, fol. 100 b) even says of it that the perfect elixir is the homunculus of the philosophers and the child of wisdom (*al-iksīr al-tāmm alladhī huwa insān al-falāsifa wa-mawlūd al-ḥikma*). The elixirs are called *al-iksīr al-aḥmar* or *al-iksīr al-abyaḍ* according to whether they produce gold or silver.

The manufacture of the elixir is the central theme of Muslim alchemy. According to the authors of the *Corpus Djabirianum*, the elixir can be manufactured not only from mineral, but also from vegetable and animal substances. The elixirs produced from animal substances, *e.g.*, from the marrow, blood, hair, bone, urine and semen of lions, snakes, foxes etc., are even the best. One may also combine animal, vegetable and mineral substances and thus obtain different sorts of elixir. The production of the elixirs is done on the basis of fractional distillation whereby, after the most complicated processes, the four elements and the four basic qualities are released so that they can then work together on the base metal (cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, Cairo 1942, 4-18). In general, however, the working of the elixir is described as follows: the elixir is projected onto the inert or molten substance (ἐπιβολή, *ṭarḥ*, *ilḳāʾ*), which it penetrates like yeast (ζύμη, *khamīra*) through dough, or like poison through the body. It is, therefore, also called "Poison of the Poisons" (Djābir, *Textes choisis*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris-Cairo 1935, 71; cf. also Pseudo-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāya*, ed. Ritter, 7). After it has reduced the metal into the original substance (*al-sawād*), it produces at the right moment, which can also be established astrologically, the change of metals (μεταβολή, *ḳalb*, *taḳlīb*, *naḳl*) and produces a type of gold which is more precious than the natural one (*ashraf min al-maʿdinī*). One dirham of the perfect elixir can trans-

form 100, 1,000, or even 40,000 dirhams of base metal into gold. Al-Akfānī (*Kitāb Irs̲h̲ād al-ḳāṣid*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1849, 76 ff.) gives an interesting systematization of the elixirs into the esoteric (*d̲j̲awwānī*) and the exoteric (*barrānī*). Eventually the elixir served the mystics as a symbol of the divine truth which changed an unbeliever into a believer (*Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*, ed. H. S. Nyberg, Leiden 1919, 219, 3 ff.).

With the translation of the Arabic alchemistic writings into Latin, the theories of the elixir spread to the West, and Albert the Great, d. 1280, speaks *de quodam elixyr alkymico quo metalla convertuntur* (*Liber de animalibus*, ed. H. Stadler, Munster 1921, ii, 1562). The notion of the elixir then returned from the field of alchemy to that of medicine: the elixir developed into the panacea, into the life prolonging agent, and eventually became more and more integrated into the pharmacopoeia (see P. Diepgen, *Das Elixier, die köstlichste der Arzneien*, Ingelheim 1951).

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(M. Ullmann)

IḲṬĀʿ, term for a form of administrative grant, often (wrongly) translated by the European word "fief" (German Lehn). The nature of the *iḳṭāʿ* varied according to time and place, and a translation borrowed from other systems of institutions and conceptions has served only too often to mislead Western historians, and following them, even those of the East.

In the article ḌAYʿA it was seen how the Muslim state, in its early centuries, had distributed to its notables portions of its territory called *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* (pl. of *ḳaṭīʿa*). These portions were made over, in fact, in semi-ownership, subject to the tithe, as were all properties of Muslim origin (as distinct from properties of indigenous origin, which were subject to the more onerous *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*). It was shown too in the article D̲J̲AYS̲H̲ how the irrevocable nature, in practice, of such transfers of property made their multiplication impossible in the long run, and this just at the time when the increase in military responsibilities made the need for them more acute. A new form of concession then came into use called, from the abstract verbal noun of the same root as *ḳaṭīʿa*, *iḳṭāʿ*. Henceforth the effect was no longer to cede possession of land (subject to tithe) but to delegate the fiscal rights of the state over lands (subject to *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*) remaining juridically in the hands of their former owners. (The *d̲j̲izya* remained apart, since it was a tax on persons). In the early stages, the income thus made over to the grantee (*muḳtaʿ*) was, like all Muslim income, subject to tithe; his benefice consisted of the difference between the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* he collected and the tithe he paid. But the grantees at this time were mainly professional army officers, from whom it was difficult, in practice, to obtain payment of any kind of tax. The Būyids [*q.v.*], therefore, distributed *iḳṭāʿ*s free of any financial obligation, and this custom gradually spread throughout Muslim Asia. Henceforth, in juridical terminology, the former type of concession was called *iḳṭāʿ* "of appropriation" (*tamlīk*), while the new type was termed *iḳṭāʿ* "of usufruct" (*istig̲h̲lāl*). The *iḳṭāʿ* was calculated as an equivalent of pay on the basis of its cadastral fiscal value (*ʿibra*), and, although it was inevitably accompanied by the delegation of some administrative prerogatives, it was basically nothing but a wage collected at source, directly, without the mediation of the state treasury. There was nothing permanent about it: the area granted and the grantee were constantly changed; whenever possible wages were still paid without resort to *iḳṭāʿ*; and the officer, resident in town, had not yet any real connexion with his *iḳṭāʿ*. Thus, contemporaries complained that the system weakened government supervision and led to mere pillage rather than to private development of the lands granted. One interesting point is that since it was now the army who ruled, the Caliph, instead of being the distributor of *iḳṭāʿ*s, now received some of them, called by the same name, for his own personal needs.

Already before this there had developed another institution which, as a result of its common grammatical root, was later confused with the *iḳṭāʿ* but which was different—the *muḳāṭaʿa*, almost analogous to the *īg̲h̲ār* [*q.v.*]. These two terms denote districts, of any size, having a fiscal autonomy protecting them from intervention by the agents of the treasury, and paying to the state, out of the normal payment of the inhabitants, only a fixed contracted sum. This institution operated sometimes to the advantage of notables of various sorts, but above all, in the case of tribal groups—of Kurds, Bedouins, etc. and later Turcomans.

The Sald̲j̲ūḳs and their vizier Niẓām al-Mulk have often been credited with the conception and organization of a new system of *iḳṭāʿ*, nearer to the European fief and constituting a specific contribution of the new Turkish rulers. This view, based on late and misinterpreted texts of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and al-Maḳrīzī, is contradicted by the evidence of contemporaries, chief among whom is Niẓām al-Mulk himself. Certainly the Sald̲j̲ūḳs made a wider use of *iḳṭāʿ* in their empire than had been made previously, and probably introduced it in provinces (particularly eastern Iran) where it had scarcely ever been used; but it remained in conception a continuation of that of the Būyids—an equivalent of pay granted for a short time—and what has been taken for an original creation of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ government is merely a later result of their decline. In the course of the internal struggles which marked the last years of the dynasty, the *iḳṭāʿ*s granted must have increased continually in size and number, while the period of tenure became longer, tending even to hereditary succession. Such *iḳṭāʿ*s now differed only in extent from provincial governorates, which themselves were changing at the same time from being revocable delegations of authority to becoming in effect hereditary principalities. The similarity was so great that the term *iḳṭāʿ* was extended finally without distinction to both. Then, we are told, the *muḳṭaʿ*s began to take some interest in developing their *iḳṭāʿ*. Some successors of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, particularly the Zangids, explicitly proclaimed the right of in-

heritance to *iḳṭāʿ*s in order to secure the loyalty of their troops in the struggle against the Crusaders. This development has been ascribed to the influence of the Latin Orient, where something like the western idea of the hereditary fief had been introduced. While no definite denial of any such influence can be made, it does seem that the same result might have been reached through a natural autonomous development, even without the presence of the Latin Orient. Then again, the permanence of the *iḳṭāʿ* and the relative strength of the *muḳṭaʿ* allowed the latter, by means of "protections" [see ḤIMĀYA], more or less forced purchases, or simple usurpations, to acquire veritable *mulk* properties on or around the territory granted him, and, in the case of an incumbent who was at the same time governor of the province in which his *iḳṭāʿ* and these *mulk*s were situated, to exercise all public and private power at the same time. Under such conditions, it can be seen that the *iḳṭāʿ* evolved through a confusion of various notions and practices to a status approaching that of a "lordship". The inhabitants, indeed, were reduced to serfdom by reason of the prohibition against their leaving the land when the taxes had not been paid, and of their extreme difficulty, which the *muḳṭaʿ* could increase at will, in paying him off completely and on time. Besides, the intervention of the Turcomans apparently necessitated the multiplication of lands of the *muḳāṭaʿa* type, which were gradually confused with the *iḳṭāʿ*s.

It has often been said that the Saldjūḳs introduced in Asia Minor, newly won by the Turks for the Islamic World, the Turco-Muslim system of *iḳṭāʿ* with which their cousins had experimented in the traditional Muslim lands. But ethnic or dynastic kinship was not enough to obliterate the originality of the conditions of the conquest or the difference of the pre-existing indigenous usages. It is certain that when the State of "Rūm" was organized, it was with a particularly extensive state domain; but it is wrong to say that there necessarily resulted a considerable distribution of *iḳṭāʿ*. On the contrary, a careful study of the documentation available gives the impression that *iḳṭāʿ* in Rūm before the Mongol invasion was less defined, less widely distributed and less elaborated than in the neighbouring Muslim countries. The disintegration of the régime, which followed the Mongol conquest, certainly increased the importance of the *iḳṭāʿ* at the expense of the State lands, but it also increased the importance of lands held in full ownership at the expense of the old *iḳṭāʿ*s. The subsequent Ottoman régime was to give great importance to a related institution, that of the *tīmār* [*q.v.*], but in the present state of our knowledge we do not know how the transition from the old *iḳṭāʿ* to the new *tīmār* was made. The name *tīmār*, etymologically Persian, but used here with a meaning corresponding to the Greek institution of the *pronoia*, suggests different antecedents.

In Iran itself, the periodic repetition of conquests and invasions uprooted the developing military aristocracies while they were still in process of formation; the Mongol conquest did still more, in that it partially overturned the institutional system of the conquered country. Nevertheless, once the new régime was established, the Īl-khāns, facing an economic situation broadly comparable with that of their predecessors and confronted in addition by agricultural decay, were forced in about the year 700/1300 to develop, little by little, analogous institutions. Originally their army had supported itself, in addition to treasures inherited from the states destroyed, on public estates, war booty, the pasture lands which they took for themselves in the conquered lands, and on forced levies. This could not continue when the frontiers and institutions became fixed. In the time of Ghāzān (1296-1304) it was seen to be impossible that non-institutionalized payments from the Treasury and pastureland should suffice. Even the direct assignment of wages from the local treasuries proved insufficient. The Īl-khān and his vizier, the famous Rashīd al-Dīn, then decided to grant the actual districts to the soldiers who would have to manage them and fulfil their military obligations. Thus they approached the system of the Saldjūḳ régime. However, words and institutions became more difficult to differentiate. In Mongol, the institution is called *suyurghal* when it is hereditary, *tuyul* when it is temporary or tenable for life only. But the vassal principalities and the indigenous populations had retained the term *iḳṭāʿ*, which is also found in use in the administrative texts. Perhaps originally the Mongol words were used more exactly in the case of large grants for the benefit of Mongol notables, while *iḳṭāʿ* was used for the smaller grants made over indiscriminately to the military, sometimes to civilians of all kinds. But with the disorganization of the Īlkhānid régime, the terms became less and less distinct, the more so since the grants were made for the most part from the important state lands inherited at the time of conquests and added to by the disappearance of numerous indigenous owners. It was further increased because the new military aristocracy, accentuating the work of its predecessors, stripped of all meaning the "rights" of ownership of the existing small proprietors. There came to be no distinction made between what had been *iḳṭāʿ* and what had been *muḳāṭaʿa*, and the two words, thanks to the common root, were often used indiscriminately.

Egypt also posed special problems, and there has been all too often a tendency to regard what was done there as corresponding with the situation elsewhere. This was not so even when, for example, Syria was incorporated into the same state. In Egypt, the traditional, far-reaching control of the state over all aspects of rural life cancelled out, in practice, the significance of the distinction between *ʿushr* lands and *kharādj* lands, and, in consequence, the significance of the distinction to be made between the old-style *ḳaṭīʿa* and the new *iḳṭāʿ*, as even some contemporaries (Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī, Ibn Muyassar, etc.) clearly noted. In practice there, what was to be called *iḳṭāʿ* consisted of agricultural lands leased in return for a contractual payment, called here apparently *ḳabāla* [*q.v.*], but corresponding quite closely to the system more generally called *muḳāṭaʿa* (see above) in the Muslim world as a whole. Redistributions took place from time to time, to take account of the fluctuations of yields and expenses. These redistributions implied a certain stability of areas leased and leaseholders, and the vizier al-Afḍal, at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, made a specially important one. The arrival of the Turco-Kurdish army of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, accustomed to the institutions inherited from the Saldjūḳ régime, brought about a change in the Egyptian *iḳṭāʿ* system, but not so great a change as has been thought: the *iḳṭāʿ*s of the previous army were transferred to the new one, but henceforth free of all dues. They did not, however, completely escape the control of the administration, and, although certain *iḳṭāʿ*s might be granted on a long-term or even hereditary basis, cases of withdrawal and redistri-

bution seem to have been just as frequent, not to speak of such systematic revisions as the famous *rawk* [*q.v.*] of Muḥammad al-Nāṣir. With the exception, perhaps, of a certain relaxation of control at the end of the régime, the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk *iḳṭāʿ* is characterized by the maintenance of close administrative and financial control by the state over the *muḳṭaʿ*, who had no real independence and, in short, received a wage, the organization of which was not his concern. The income of the *iḳṭāʿ* was calculated on the basis of a complex unit of account called the *dīnār djayshī*, concerning which the administrative treatises give us precise information, and which combined money and kind. The division of land was highly developed in the sense that it was rare for a *muḳṭaʿ* to hold his *iḳṭāʿ* in a single block, and for a village to be dependent on a single *muḳṭaʿ*. The state maintained direct control of more than half of the land. The *iḳṭāʿ*s distributed to senior officers gave them the obligation and the means to maintain a small military force; thus the sources speak of an "*iḳṭāʿ* of twenty", "of a hundred" etc. This force, however, was smaller than that which they effectively commanded as military leaders in the ranks of the general army, which remained under the control of the Sultan. A very strict control was exercised over the fulfilment of military obligations although, in the case of a prolonged campaign, the state itself supported the soldiers beyond their obligations.

In the Muslim West, the development of the *iḳṭāʿ* was probably in a sense slower than in the East, but words and institutions were perhaps less clearly differentiated. In Umayyad Spain, apparently, the classic stage of *iḳṭāʿ/ḳaṭīʿa* had not been passed and in the pre-Almohad Maghrib it was probably the same, save for a certain indistinctness concerning the status of certain lands and the terms designating them. In Ifrīḳiya the trend towards the fiscal *iḳṭāʿ* certainly appears more clearly, though with these same reservations, under the Almohads and particularly the later Ḥafṣids. We must await new studies before we can consider the situation in Marīnid Morocco or the Kingdom of Granada, for example.

The remarks often made about oriental "feudalism", on the basis of the institution of *iḳṭāʿ*, justify our concluding with some more general remarks. The verbal and conceptual confusion in which the development of the *iḳṭāʿ* culminates, gives the impression of a sort of hierarchy of rights comparable to that known in European feudal society: at the top the Sultan, below him the great *muḳṭaʿ*, the provincial governor, then the small military *muḳṭaʿ*, and finally, with or without the intermediary of local proprietors (who are such only in name), the peasants. In addition, the fact that the senior officers and their men, even those who reached the highest ranks, often had the legal status of slaves or otherwise were clients of various types as having taken some kind of oath of personal obedience, produced alongside the hierarchy of rights over things, a hierarchy of personal obedience, which at its highest level was expressed by the introduction of the name of the Sultan on coins and in the public Friday prayer. But it must be repeated that the full development of this system was relatively rare, and, for example, in Turkey as in Egypt, the connexion between the State and the *muḳṭaʿ* of the lowest rank was direct. Besides, no state ever alienated (far from it) all of its land (in Egypt about a half). With the solid intellectual and administrative traditions of the East, the distinction between public and private rights was never obscured as it was in the West. Whilst in Europe the rebuilding of a social system was attempted on the basis of personal relations, in the East, the notion that all personal power was a delegation of public power remained clear. Even though personal subordination was known in the East, the feudal contract of fealty was never even imagined. Economically, a *muḳṭaʿ* differed from the Western lord in that he lived in the town and did not have to organize his rural lands with the *réserve*, *corvées* etc. which would have been necessary had he lived there. He drew an income from the soil, and that is all. The fact that he was often a foreigner might, of course, be very important from various points of view, but this did not modify the structure of the *iḳṭāʿ*, nor, since he was permanently established in the country, the use made of this income. In this sense it is for example incorrect to speak, as has been done, of a "colonial" character of the Mamlūk state.

Even in places and times where the tendency to it was strongest, a number of factors limited the formation of a fully-developed military aristocracy. First of all, a system of law and custom which had been firmly established for generations and was linked in some degree to the Islamic religion itself could hardly be modified at the pleasure of the *muḳṭaʿ*. The Muslim law of succession, ignoring primogeniture, shared out the inheritance and consequently rapidly weakened the power of great families. Furthermore, the *iḳṭāʿ*, even when the right of inheritance to it was to some extent recognized, was still conditional on service. Otherwise it was replaced by a pension, and in fact quickly annulled. In any case, the resources drawn by rulers from the relative growth of the mercantile economy and from the retention of substantial domains almost always enabled them to buy new slaves with which to bring their former slaves back into line. Finally, no matter how external this factor was, it did happen in the East that the periodic recurrence of foreign invasions and conquests drove out or destroyed the aristocracies in the process of formation in favour of the newcomers, who in addition sometimes had different traditions.

From a very general point of view, the comparison of the development of different societies can still be justified. Nevertheless, it is much less instructive to make this comparison, as our "Europe-centred" education encourages us to do, between the Muslim countries and the very different society of Europe, than to make the comparison with the neighbouring Byzantine society, where the *pronoia* presents some obvious points of resemblance to the *iḳṭāʿ*. The development of the *pronoia* took place a little later. The *iḳṭāʿ*, therefore, owed nothing to the *pronoia*, and it is impossible to say whether the *pronoia* owed anything to the *iḳṭāʿ*. Both, however, bear witness to certain requirements of political and economico-social régimes which are, at least in part, comparable. As for the term "feudalism" as applied to the East, it is doubtless too late to attack an established custom, which (even for Europe) is sometimes dangerous. It is necessary only to underline the facts that there are as many differences as there are similarities between European feudalism and the "feudalism" of the East; that it is doubtful *a priori* whether one may apply to one society concepts drawn from another, and that such

a transfer cannot be justified by an equivalence between *iḳṭāʿ* and fief—an equivalence which arises only through the confusion of ideas of ill-informed translators.

Bibliography: It is obviously impossible to list here all the sources which might be relevant to the history of the *iḳṭāʿ*. Alongside the documents, papyri, inscriptions, etc., they would include almost the whole of the historiographical literature (particularly that of the 4th/10th century, Miskawayh, Ṣābiʾ etc.), the geographical literature, etc. References here then are restricted to the administrative treatises, such as the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* of Ḳudāma and *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* of Māwardī for the ʿAbbāsid-Būyid period, the *Minhādj fī ʿilm al-kharādj* of Makhzūmī (see Cl. Cahen, in *JESHO*, 1963), the *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn* of Ibn Mammātī and the *Description du Fayyum* of Nābulusī for Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid Egypt, the *Khiṭaṭ* of Maḳrīzī and the chancery treatises of Nuwayrī (in the *Nihāya*, viii), ʿUmarī, Ḳalḳashandī, etc. for the Mamlūk state, and finally the *Dastūr al-Kātib* of Hindūshāh Nakhdjavānī (ed. Ali Zade, i, Baku 1964) for the Mongol régimes of Iran.

Modern Works: It is still useful to consult the studies of a few 19th-century pioneers, though we should no longer be guided by them:—Sylvestre de Sacy, *Nature et révolution du Droit de propriété en Egypte*, 1828, the studies of Worms and Belin, in *JA*, 1842, 1862, 1870, Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in moslem. Staaten*, 1872, the latter including also the Ottoman Empire, Max Van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier sous les premiers Califes*, 1886. A new phase of study begins with C. H. Becker, *Steuerpacht und Lehnwesen*, in *Isl.*, 1914 (reprinted in his *Islamstudien*, i, 1924), the first to have made use of the Egyptian papyri, but his conclusions should not be extended to other countries, or always regarded as final even for Egypt. A good résumé of the state of the questions by about 1925 is given in the article *iḳṭāʿ* by Sobernheim in *EI*[1], dealing extensively with the stipulations of the jurists. Further useful information may be found in Poliak, *Classification of lands in the Islamic Law*, in *Amer. J. of Sem. Languages*, 1940, and Fr. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the Classical period*, Copenhagen 1950. The conclusions of Turkish scholars are presented by M. F. Köprülü, *Le féodalisme turc musulman au Moyen Âge*, Communication au Congrès Intern. d'histoire, Zurich 1938 (= *Belleten*, 1941), and Osman Turan, *Le régime terrien sous les Seldjoucides de Rum*, in *REI*, 1947. Cl. Cahen has tried to give a more evolutionary historical interpretation of the whole question up to the 13th century in his article *L'évolution de l'iqtaʿ*, in *Annales ESC*, 1953, and has discussed the special case of Saldjūḳ Turkey in *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968. A. K. S. Lambton, whose important work, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* was published in 1953, took up the question again in a more synthesized form in her *Reflexions on the iqṭāʿ*, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in honour of H. A. R. Gibb*, 1965; for Iran and ʿIrāḳ in the 10th century, see also the important article by C. E. Bosworth, *Military organisation under the Buyids*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1967); for the Mongol period, I. P. Petrushevsky, *Zemledelie i agrarnïye otnosheniya v Irane XIII-XIV vekov*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960 (Persian translation by Karīm Kishāvarz, *Kishāvarzī wa munāsabāt-i arḍī dar Īrān ʿahd-i Moghūl*, Tehran 1344 s.). For Egypt see amongst others, H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire égyptienne*, 1952, (reprinted with corrections in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, London 1962, 74-90); al-ʿArīnī, *al-Iḳṭāʿ al-ḥarbī fī zamān Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk*, Cairo 1956; S. B. Pevzner, *Iḳtāʿ v Egipte v kontse XIII-XIV vv.*, in *Pamyati Akademika I. Y. Kračkovskogo.*, Leningrad 1958, and H. M. Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt, 564-741/1169-1341*, (in the press). For the Muslim West, the classic works of Lévi-Provençal (*Espagne musulmane*, iii) and R. Brunschvig (*Hafsides*, ii), and H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, ii, 1962. (Cl. Cahen)

IḲTIBĀS means to take a *ḳabas*, a live coal or a light, from another's fire (Ḳurʾān XX, 10; XXVII, 7; LVII, 13); hence to seek knowledge (*ʿilm*) and, as a technical term in rhetoric, to quote specific words from the Ḳurʾān or from Traditions but without indicating these as quoted. Some scholars limit the term to the use of Ḳurʾānic phrases, while others extend it to the use of terminology from *fiḳh* and other sciences, but all agree that *iḳtibās* is found both in poetry and in prose. If the source is indicated and the quotation is put into verse the figure is called *ʿaḳd*, binding. A related figure is *talmīḥ*, allusion, which consists of alluding to famous passages in the Ḳurʾān or Traditions, or in profane literature. The practice of using Ḳurʾānic expressions is often mentioned in works on literary theory, but rules for it and the specific term *iḳtibās*, instead of the more general *taḍmīn* [*q.v.*], may not have existed earlier than the 6th/12th century. Suyūṭī mentions the existence of a legal controversy over *iḳtibās*, the Mālikīs condemning it outright or allowing it only in prose and the Shāfiʿites on the whole allowing it (cf. however Zarkashī, *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1376/1957, i, 483-4 on the use of Ḳurʾānic passages as proverbs). Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī and, following him, Ibn Ḥidjdja distinguish three categories: praiseworthy, permissible, and objectionable (*mardūd*) *iḳtibās*. The last category falls into two sub-categories: (a) the use of Ḳurʾānic passages in which Allāh refers to Himself and (b) the use of the Ḳurʾān in frivolous verse (the *ghazal* is not considered as such). Ḳazwīnī and those following him allow the borrowed phrases to be slightly changed or to be given a different application.

It should be noted that Rādūyānī in his *Tardjumān al-Balāgha* (ed. A. Ateş, 118-21, 125-7; cf. also 121-5) quotes verses with paraphrases in Persian, and that some writers suggest (though not in their chapters on *iḳtibās*) that the Ḳurʾān itself borrows from, or alludes to, not only the Old and New Testaments, but also pre-Islamic poetry and prose (see Usāma, *al-Badīʿ fī naḳd al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1380/1960, 284; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr*, Baghdād 1375/1956, 245-6; Ibn Abī 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Badīʿ al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1377/1957, 52-3; idem, *Taḥrīr al-Taḥbīr*, Cairo 1383/1963, 380).

Bibliography: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1317/1899, 112; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Washy al-marḳūm*, Beirut 1298/1880, 85-112; idem, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, Cairo 1358/1939, i, 76-141, ii, 341-2, 347; Ḳazwīnī, *al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿulūm al-balāgha*, Cairo 1369/1950, vi, 136-9, 142-3, 144-6; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *Sharḥ ḳaṣīdatih al-badīʿiyya*, Cairo 1317/1899, 70-1; Taftāzānī, *al-Muṭawwal*, Istanbul 1289/1872, 430-1, 433-4, 434-6; Ibn Ḥidjdja, *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1304/1886, 184-9, 442-54, 459; Suyūṭī, *ʿUḳūd al-djumān*,

Cairo 1358/1939, 166-9, 170-2; idem, *al-Itḳān*, Calcutta 1857, 262-6; *Shurūḥ al-talkhīṣ*, Cairo 1937, iv, 509-14, 521-3, 524-9; Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen/Vienna 1853, 136-8, 140-1, 141-2, 201-2.

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IKTIḌĀB [see TADJNĪS; TAKHALLUṢ].

IKTISĀB [see KASB].

IKWĀʾ [see ḲĀFIYA].

ĪL, Arabic orthography of the Turkish word IL, more correctly ÉL, which has undergone a wide semantic development (see Radloff, *Versuch* . . ., i, 803-5, 1471).

(1) It is defined by V. Thomsen as signifying, in its numerous occurrences in the Orkhon inscriptions: "un peuple ou une réunion de peuples considerés comme formant un tout indépendant et organisé et ayant à sa tête un kagan" (*Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, Helsingfors 1896, 135), and thus approximately "empire". In this sense it often appears in conjunction with the word *budun* (? read *boδun*), "confederation of tribes", or with *törü* [*q.v.*], "laws, customs" (occurrences collected and discussed by R. Giraud, *L'Empire des Turcs Célestes*, Paris 1960, 67-72). It is presumably in this sense that it appears as an element in such Turkish regnal titles as *él-térish*, *él-étmish*, *él-tutmish* (A. Caferoğlu, *Tukyu ve Uygurlarda han unvanları*, in *THITM*, i (1931), 105-19); and the first element of "Īlek Khān" [*q.v.*] is (perhaps) to be explained as *él-lig* "[ruler] holding an Empire" (O. Turan, *Ilig unvanı hakkında*, in *TM*, vii-viii/1 (1942), 192-9).

(2) At an early period the word acquired the notion of "district over which authority is exercised", so that Maḥmūd Kāshgharī gives the definition (ed. Kilisli Rifʿat, i, 49; cf. tr. B. Atalay, i, 48): *al-wilāya*: *yuḳāl minhu 'beg éli' ay wilāyat al-amīr*. Hence, in the sense "district, territory", it appears as the first element in the Turkish personal names Il-aldī, Il-begi, Il-ghāzī, etc.; and in Ottoman times very frequently as the second element of place-names, most notably in Rūm-éli ("Rumelia"), a calque of "Romania", "Byzantine territory [in Europe]" (see P. Wittek, *Le Sultan de Rûm*, in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves*, vi (1938), 361-90, esp. 377 f.), and also commonly for smaller territories, *e.g.*, Ič-il [*q.v.*]. In such cases the first element is usually a personal name, so that the toponym signifies sometimes "territory conquered by so-and-so" (thus Ḳodja-éli [*q.v.*] is the region conquered by the *ghāzī* hero Aḳče Ḳodja (F. Giese, ed., *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, i (Text), Breslau 1922, p. 13, lines 24-5); and the current names Aydīn, Menteshe, etc. for the 8th/14th century Anatolian emirates stand for Aydīn-ili, Menteshe-ili, etc., the "territories" of the eponymous founders of the local dynasties); sometimes the implication is "territory" [formerly] ruled by" (thus Ḳarlī-ili [*q.v.*] is named for the despot Carlo Tocco, Hersek-ili (Herzegovina) for the *herceg* of St. Sava (other examples in H. İnalcık, *Fatih devri*. . ., i, 1954, 159 n.); an older name of the Aydīn district was Leshkerī-ili, the "land of the Lascarids"). With the same connotation of "district" it is found in the name of the Ottoman fortress-town Elbasan [*q.v.*] in Albania, and in such expressions as: *il-yazīdjīsī*, one of the terms for the *emīn* [*q.v.*] carrying out the *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*] (*wilāyet taḥrīri* = *il yaz-*); *il dili*, "the local language" (see, *e.g.*, Kemālpashazāde, book vii (facsimile), Ankara 1954, 438, 519, etc.); *ič-il*, "the interior", as opposed to the frontier regions, *udj* [*q.v.*] (see, *e.g.*, Kemālpashazāde, *op. cit.*, 141, 162, 204, 205, etc.; cf. Evliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii, 713) (but the phrase *ič il müderrisleri* refers to holders of teaching posts in the three "capital cities" of Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul, see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 57); *il-eri*, "local people [levied for an emergency]" (see, *e.g.*, *TM*, iii (1926-33), p. 290, no. 47, a firman of 978/1571). In a *ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II (*MOG*, i (1921-2), pp. 24 and 38, § 5), *il* seems to mean "open country" (as opposed to towns).

In the Republican period, under the influence of the "language reform" movement, the word *il* was introduced to replace *vilâyet* "province", and the diminutive *ilçe* was coined to replace *kaza* (so *ilbay* for *vali*, and *ilçebay* for *kaymakam*).

(3) The word acquired also the sense of "people", at first (apparently) in a hendiadys with the (?)synonym *kün* = "folk". The hendiadys is a common expression in old Ottoman, in the form *él gün*, also *él u gün* (see *TTS*, i, ii, iv, s.v. *il gün*), and survives in some fixed locutions (see the discussion by F. Rundgren, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xvi (1967), 100-2). In modern Turkish *el* alone signifies rather "*other* people", *i.e.*, "strangers" (*Türkçe Sözlük*, s.v. *el* (II), with examples; cf. *elâlem*, in which the first element is not the Arabic definite article but T. *él* + A. *ʿālam*).

In Persia the word was used of "tribesfolk" (synonym: *ulus* [*q.v.*]), having a quasi-Arabic plural *īlāt* [*q.v.*].

(4) At an early period the word meant also "peace" (G. Doerfer considers this to be the original meaning), cf. Maḥmūd Ḳāshgharī, i, 50 = tr. B. Atalay, i, 49 (*al-ṣulḥ bayn al-malikayn*); from this derives perhaps *elči* [*q.v.*], "ambassador" (*i.e.*, "negotiator of peace"; see O. Turan, in *TM*, vii-viii (1942), 197; and cf. Abū Ḥayyān, *K. al-Idrāk*, ed. A. Caferoğlu, Istanbul 1931, 20: *al-rasūl alladhī yaṭlub al-ṣulḥ*), and the Ottoman term *éllik*, which may be both adjectival, "who has accepted peace", *i.e.*, (?) belonging to the *Dār al-Ṣulḥ* [*q.v.*] (cf. E. Zachariadou, in Συμμεικτα, i (Athens 1966), at 211-2, where *éllik kāfirler*, in a document of 870/1465, refers to the inhabitants of Patmos), and also quasi-nominal, "territory acknowledging [Ottoman] suzerainty" (cf. Meḥmed ʿĀrif's introduction, page *dāl*, to the so-called "*Ḳānūnnāme* of Süleymān I", *ʿilāve* to *TOEM*, Istanbul 1329; the converse is *yaghīlīḳ*, see text p. 24).

(5) By the 7th/13th century the word had become current in Persian, with the meaning "submissive, obedient" (Rashīd al-Dīn uses the expressions *īl kardan*, "to bring into obedience", and *īl shudan*, "to submit"); from this usage arose the title Īl-khān for the Mongol rulers of Persia as being subordinate to the Great Khan [see HÜLĀGŪ]; and from the adjective was formed the Persian abstract noun *īlī*, "submission". In Ottoman Turkish usage too *él* may be adjectival, both as a "Persian" loanword (*e.g.*, Tursun, p. 187, l. 3: *il u munḳād*) and as a "Turkish" word meaning "at peace", "friendly" (as opposed to *yaghī*), cf. *TTS*, i and ii, s.v. *il*, definition 3, and iv, s.v. *il olmak*), whence *éllik* (nominal), "peace, submission" (*TTS*, i-iii, s.v. *illik*) and *éllesh-*, "to make peace" (*TTS*, ii, iii, s.v. *illeşmek*). For the expression *él-djān*, apparently implying *amān* [*q.v.*], see V. L. Ménage, in S. M. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chancelleries*, Oxford 1965, 96-8.

Bibliography: besides the references in the article, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1956, nos. 653 (*él*), 656, 657, 661, with full references to the literature, and H. H. Zarinezade, *Fars dilinde Azerbayjan sözleri*, Baku 1962, 169 ff.

(ED.)

ĪLĀʾ [see ṬALĀḲ].

ĪLĀF, Ḳurʾānic term (CVI, 1-2) which probably refers to economic relations entered into by the Ḳurayshīs well before the advent of Islam, but which presents problems of reading and interpretation which are not easily solved.

In the first place, this Sūra CVI, which is very short and certainly very early (no. 3 in the classification by R. Blachère), begins abruptly, after the *basmala*, with the words *li-īlāfi Ḳurayshin īlāfihim riḥlata 'l-shitāʾi wa 'l-ṣayfi*, which may be translated as: "because of the *īlāf* of the Ḳurayshīs, [of] their *īlāf* of the journey of winter and of summer (let them worship the Lord of this Temple who has protected them against hunger and sheltered them from a fear)". But in the *corpus* of Ubayy, this Sūra was not separated from the preceding one, which deals with the fate inflicted by God on the *Aṣḥāb al-Fīl* and appeared as a logical continuation of it: "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord has treated the men of the Elephant ... because of the *īlāf* of the Ḳurayshīs ... (Let them worship ...)". However, the preposition *li-* may also have the force of a final conjunction "in order that the *īlāf* [may be possible] ...". Finally the "readers" of the Ḳurʾān hesitate between *īlāf*, *ilāf*, and *ilf*, which indicates that these verses did not seem very clear to the redactors of the Ḳurʾān, just as they later proved confusing to exegetists and translators (R. Blachère suggests three possible translations, but always translated *īlāf* as "entente"; M. Hamidullah: "pacte"; A. J. Arberry: "composing").

It is not certain that the word *īlāf* has the same meaning in each of the two verses; in fact it really seems to have the force of a noun in the first and of a verb in the second, so that *īlāf Ḳuraysh* can be regarded as a set expression and *īlāfihim riḥlata* ... as an equivalent to *tadjhīr*: "their organization of a caravan ...".

Nevertheless, *īlāf* had acquired a very precise connotation, and the lexicographers give this term the meaning of *ʿahd*, *dhimām*, *amān*, that is "pact guaranteeing safety, safe-conduct, undertaking to protect"; the customary expression is *akhadha 'l-īlāf*, "to conclude an *īlāf*".

Tradition relates that the Ḳurayshīs had concluded with foreign peoples pacts which guaranteed them freedom of trade, and it is Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf [*q.v.*] who is credited with having obtained from the emperor of Byzantium authorization to send a caravan regularly into Syria and the assurance that it would come to no harm. His brothers, ʿAbd Shams, al-Muṭṭalib and Nawfal, had concluded similar pacts with the Negus, the Ḥimyarī rulers of the Yemen, and the king of Persia respectively; these four brothers were referred to as *aṣḥāb al-īlāf*. The winter caravan set off towards the south and the summer caravan towards the north (*īlāfihim riḥlata 'l-shitāʾ wa 'l-ṣayf* could mean more precisely: the successive and uninterrupted organization of the winter and summer caravans; see *LA*, s.v. *ʾlf*). It is not unreasonable to think that Sūra CVI is an allusion to a famine which occurred at a time unknown and was averted by means of supplies from other countries, thanks to the agreements thus concluded.

M. Hamidullah (see *Bibl.*) has attempted to establish the date when these pacts were concluded and has placed it at 467 A.D., on the grounds that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, who was born one year after his father Hāshim had concluded the first agreement with Byzantium, died in 578 at the age of 110. However, while it may be admitted that the tradition is based on fact, the date suggested should perhaps be advanced by some decades, since ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's age seems to be greatly exaggerated.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 167; Yaʿḳūbī, i, 280-2; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 36-8, 87-9, 113-4; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 43-6; Ṭabarī, i, 1089; Masʿūdī iii, 121-2 (ed. Pellat, §971); the commentaries on CVI; M. Hamidullah, *Al-Īlāf, ou les rapports économico-diplomatiques de la Mecque pré-islamique*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, ii, 293-391 (with unpublished text of the *Munammaḳ* of Ibn Ḥabīb). (Ed.)

ILĀH (A.), pl. *āliha*, "deity", appears in pre-Islamic poetry (see, *e.g.*, F. Bustānī, *al-Madjānī al-ḥaditha*, i, index) as an impersonal divine name, although preceded by the article; for the Christians and (so far as the poetry ascribed to them is authentic) the monotheists, *al-ilāh* evidently means God; for the other poets it means merely "the one who is worshipped", so that *al-ilāh* indicates: "the god already mentioned" (the article being used *li 'l-ʿahd*) or "the god of whom the poet is thinking", and this use has survived to the present day (ʿAbd al-Ilāh); but *ilāh* without the article seems to have been used only in the Islamic period to indicate a specific deity. By frequency of usage, *al-ilāh* was contracted to Allāh, frequently attested in pre-Islamic poetry (where this name cannot in every case have been substituted for another), and then became a proper name (*ism ʿalam*). But whilst the form *al-ilāh* is not found in the Ḳurʾān, *allāh* seems in some cases to have preserved the same meaning: thus (VI, 3) *wa-huwa 'l-lāhu fi 'l-samawāti* "and he is the deity in the heavens" (cf. Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, 394), and in XXVIII, 70, *huwa 'l-lāhu 'l-ladhī lā ilāha illā huwa*, "he is the deity other than whom there is no deity" (cf. *Kashshāf*, 1064), in which the juxtaposition of *allāh*/*ilāh* is noteworthy.

Ilāh is certainly identical with אֱלוֹהַּ and represents an expanded form of an element *-l-* (*il*, *el*) common to the Semitic languages (see *Enc. Biblica*, iii, col. 3323 ff.; Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebr. Lex.*, 42 f.; Genesius-Buhl, *Hebr. und aram. Wörterbuch*, s.v.; Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, i, 15 ff.; T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, Paris 1968, 41, and bibliography there given). The Arab philologists discussed at great length the etymology of the words *ilāh* and *allāh* (see al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Cairo 1307, i, 83 f.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, i, ch. 3, app. c). The Baṣrans established no direct connexion between *ilāh* and *allāh*, regarding the latter either as formed spontaneously (*murtadjal*) or as *lāh* (from the root *lyh*) preceded by the article. Some held that *allāh* was a loan from Syriac or Hebrew, but most regarded the proper name Allāh as a derivative (*mushtaḳḳ*, *manḳūl*), a contraction of *al-ilāh*, and endeavoured to attach *ilāh* to a triliteral root; to explain it (see also al-Bayḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, i, 4), some ten derivations were suggested, from the following "roots": (1) *ʾlh* "to adore", but as al-Zamakhsharī pointed out (*Kashshāf*, 8), the verb *alaha* is derived from the noun; *aliha*, "to be perplexed, confounded", for the mind is confounded in the experience of knowing Allāh (*waliha* has the same meaning); *aliha ilā*, "to turn to for protection, or to seek peace, or in longing" (*waliha* has a similar meaning); (2) *lyh*, whence *lāha* "to be lofty" and "to be hidden" (opinion of the Baṣrans); (3) *lwh*, whence *lāha*, "to create"; (4) *ʾwl* and *ʾyl*, roots conveying the idea of "priority"; (5) Abū 'l-Baḳāʾ al-Kaffawī, *Kulliyyāt al-ʿulūm*, Būlāḳ 1953, 69, regards the word Allāh as formed from

hā', the "noun of majority" and pronoun of the 3rd person, and the *lām* of possession.

On the other hand,. lexicographers have pointed out that the termination *-īl* in some South Arabian proper names indicates the deity; on this question, see G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, Louvain 1934-5, *passim*; for *'il* in the South Arabian inscriptions, see A. Jamme, *Le Panthéon sud-arabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques*, in *Le Muséon*, lx (1947), 57-147.

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(D. B. MACDONALD*)

ILĀHĀBĀD [see ALLĀHĀBĀD].

ILĀHĪ, term used in Turkey of a genre of popular poetry of religious inspiration, consisting of poems sung—without instrumental accompaniment—in chorus or solo during certain ceremonies; the *ilāhī* is thus distinguished from all other types of popular religious poetry by its melody and its use in ritual. Many texts not originally intended as *ilāhī*s may have become so later through the addition of an appropriate melody and been introduced in ceremonies which require the chanting of *ilāhī*s.

*Ilāhī*s were sung mainly at sessions of *dhikr* in the convents (*tekke*) of the mystic orders; as much by their rhythm as by their words, they encouraged the participants to reach a state of exaltation. But in more or less secular milieus and circumstances, *ilāhī*s are used as poetic and musical elements in various popular ceremonies. They are sung on the following occasions: as interludes during the relation of the story of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad, the *Mevlid* (*Mawlid* [*q.v.*]); on commemorative occasions; as a choral chant by pupils escorting a new pupil to his first lesson in a Ḳur'ānic school; by the procession accompanying the bridegroom, on the last evening of the wedding celebrations, from the mosque to the nuptial chamber; during the ceremonies which take place on the departure of pilgrims to Mecca (and on their return).

Versions which have descended into children's folklore are also used to accompany the begging which takes place at the time of certain feasts: in the region of Çankırı these childish parodies of *ilāhī*s are known as *menecim* (< *münādjat*); at Mudurnu (in the province of Bolu) these children's *ilāhī*s have lost all their serious meaning and have acquired humorous and farcical elements. Not only in these much debased forms, but also in the versions which still preserve their original function, *ilāhī*s have always been subject to a process of "folklorization", the cause of this being oral transmission and the extensive additions to the texts to which even the written versions are subject. Many *ilāhī*s which were initially the works of known poets have with time become anonymous; progressive deterioration has taken place and the texts of various different authors amalgamated with one another, with the result that new "folklore" versions have been created.

The earliest surviving *ilāhī*s are by Yūnus Emre [*q.v.*] (d. circa 720/1320). During the following centuries, the repertory of *ilāhī*s was enlarged by the works of many popular poets of religious and mystic inspiration; the most famous are: a poet (or more than one poet?) with the name of Yūnus (9th/15th or 10th/16th century) whose *ilāhī*s are often confused with those of the early Yūnus; Ḥādjdjī Bayram (d. 833/1429-30), Eshrefoghlu Rūmī (d. 874/1469-70), Ibrāhīm Gülshenī (d. 940/1533-4), Üftāde (d. 988/1580-1), Seyfullāh Niẓāmoghlu (d. 1010/1601-2), Muḥyī (d. 1020/1611), Hüdāyī (d. 1034/1624-5), Himmet (d. 1095/1683-4), Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī (d. 1105/1694). These poets were all dervishes or *shaykh*s belonging to mystic orders. The *ilāhī*s became part of the ritual of the orders of Sunnī tendency. In the ritual of the Mevlevīs as well as in that of the orders and sects of Shī'ī-'Alawī tendency, the chants performing the same functions as the *ilāhī*s are more differentiated and are referred to by special terms.

Manuscript collections of *ilāhī*s have survived with an indication of only the mode and the rhythm of the melodies. Similarly, at the beginning of this century there existed lithographed copies of these collections, for the use of school-children. It is impossible to date the composition of the music of the earliest *ilāhī*s. It is known that, like popular poetry on secular subjects, the religious popular poetry was composed at the same time as the melody which was to accompany it; a certain number of melodies which have survived may be of the same age as their texts, and perhaps also by the same author. The names of some composers (of the melody only) of *ilāhī*s from the beginning of the 18th century are known; Čālāk-zāde (d. 1130/1718), Tosunzāde (d. 1127/1715), Hamāmīzāde Ismā'īl Dede (d. 1262/1846). The musical notation of the *ilāhī*s began to be used only in the first quarter of this century; a fair number of melodies have been transcribed by Seyyid 'Abdülḳādir and Ra'ūf Yektā (d. 1935).

A modern Turkish composer, Adnan Saygun, has written an oratorio inspired by *ilāhī*s (*Yūnus Emre, oratorio en trois parties*, op. 26; Fr. tr. of texts of the poems published in Paris, 1947); of 13 poems sung in this work, several of which are very popular *ilāhī*s, 5 are by Yūnus Emre (and thus of the 7th/13th century) and 8 are texts attributed to him.

Bibliography: No special study exists of this form of popular poetry. For general information, see: Aḥmad Ṭal'at, *Khalḳ Shi'rlerinin shekil ve new'i*, Istanbul 1928, 95-6; Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Türk edebiyyātında ilk mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1919; Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve tasavvuf*, Istanbul 1961; art. "Ilâhî" in Pakalın. For the *ilāhī* in school ceremonies: Rifat Odaman, *Eski mahalle mektepleri*, in Fazil Yenisey, *Bursa Folkloru*, Bursa 1955, 117; M. Halit Bayrı, *Istanbul'da mektebe başlama*, in *HBH* (= *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri*), xi (1942), 50-4; P. N. Boratav, art. "Amin alayı" in *Türk Ansiklopedisi*; idem, art. "Amin alayı" in *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*. For its place in marriage ceremonies: Nazım Yücelt, *Geçmişte Bursa'da dügün âdetleri*, in F. Yenisey, *op. cit.*, 67; M. Enver Beşe, *Safranbolu'da bir köylünün hayatı*, in *HBH*, viii (1939), 106; Hamit Z. Koşay, *Türkiye düğünleri*, Ankara 1944, 154, 253, 302; Fikret Memişoğlu, *Harput'ta kına geceleri*, in *TFA* (= *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*), no. 38 (1952) and no. 78 (1956); Mehmet Kalkanoğlu, *Şarkışla düğünleri*, in *TFA*, no. 66 (1955); P. N. Boratav and A. Gölpınarlı, *Pir Sultan Abdal*, Ankara 1943, 53-5.—For the *ilāhī*s sung during ceremonies concerned with the pilgrims to Mecca, see Enver Beşe, *op. cit.*; other texts concerned with these ceremonies are in manuscript collections of popular poems in the author's own collection.—For the music of *ilāhī*s; A. Gölpınarlı, *op. cit.*, 247-51; idem, *Yunus Emre*, Istanbul 1936, 332-5; Köprülüzāde, *op. cit.*, plates following the text at the end of the work; Salâhattin Gürer, *Âşık Yunus Emrenin bestelenmiş şiirleri*, Istanbul 1961; Cahit Öztelli, *Yunus Emrenin bestelenmiş ilâhileri*, in *TFA*, no. 223 (1968).

(P. N. BORATAV)

ILĀHĪ BAKHSH "MAʿRŪF", Urdu poet, born *c.* 1156/1743, was the youngest son of Mīrzā ʿĀrif Djān, the younger brother of Sharaf al-Dawla Ḳāsim Djān, a grandee of the empire during the vizierate of Dhu 'l-Faḳār al-Dawla Nadjaf Khān (a street in old Delhi, Galī Ḳāsim Djān, is still named after Sharaf al-Dawla; in it once resided many famous men, such as the Urdu-Persian poet Ghālib [*q.v.*], Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn, the spiritual guide of the last Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh "Zafar" [*q.v.*], and the physician Raʾīs al-Aṭibbāʾ Muḥammad Sharīf Khān, great-grandfather of Shifāʾ al-Mulk Ḥakīm Adjmal Khān, d. 1927). He claimed descent from Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*]. His grandfather, Khʷādja ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Yasawī, had migrated to Balkh from Bukhāra. Finding Balkh too small a place for their adventures, his sons came to India during the reign of the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*] to try their fortunes. They took service with Mīr Munnū, the governor of the Pandjāb, and on his death moved to the royal court at Delhi, where they soon made their mark. As a reward for their military services, rendered first to Shāh ʿĀlam II [*q.v.*] against the unruly Sikhs and later to the British Governor-General Lord Lake, the family received Fīrūzpur-Djhirka (near Delhi) as *djāgīr* [*q.v.*], a part of which later came to be known as the Lohārū State, headed by Ilāhī Bakhsh's elder brother Nawwāb Aḥmad Bakhsh Khān. A soldier by profession, but well-educated and cultured, Ilāhī Bakhsh Khān developed a taste for poetry early in life and had Shāh Naṣīr, the teacher in poetry of Dhawḳ [*q.v.*], and also Sayyid ʿAlī "Ghamgīn" (for whom see *Gulshan-i Bīkhār*, s.v.) as his guides. Though his senior by many years he was honest enough to show his compositions also to Dhawḳ, asking him to revise them. This statement, made by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād [*q.v.*] in his *Āb-i ḥayāt* (*loc. cit.*) and supported by fairly good arguments, has been contested by the descendants of Ilāhī Bakhsh on the ground that in those days Dhawḳ was too young a poet to earn this honour (cf. *Dīwān-i Maʿrūf*, 221-40 and *Gul-i raʿnā*, 285). However, since Dhawḳ was born in 1204/1789 and Ilāhī Bakhsh died in 1242/1826, at the time of the latter's death Dhawḳ was 38 years of age, so that Maʿrūf might well have consulted him after 1224/1809, when Dhawḳ was 20 years of age and already a mature poet (cf. *ʿUmda-i Muntakhaba*, s.v. Dhawḳ). He visited Lucknow between 1205-9/1790-4, when Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*] was at the height of his fame there and stayed for two months. There is, however, no indication that he benefited directly or indirectly from any of the great figures of Urdu poetry who then adorned the court of Prince Sulaymān Shukūh, a son of Shāh ʿĀlam II and then resident in Lucknow. Although leading a life of affluence, Maʿrūf was disenchanted with the lures of this world and, being influenced by dervishes who frequented him, took to a life of renunciation and solitude in his old age. Ultimately he became a *khalīfa* of Khʷādja Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Čishtī Fakhrī of Djaypūr [*q.v.*], which place he frequently visited. A handsome man in his youth, highly cultured and possessing an imposing personality, he was popularly known as "the prince with a rosy complexion". He took as examples to follow many master poets such as Djurʾat, Sawdā and Mīr Taḳī Mīr [*qq.v.*] but in the end adopted the style of Dard [*q.v.*]. His *dīwān* was published in 1935 (it contains a chronogrammatic poem by Dhawḳ, another proof of the latter's having close friendly relations with Ilāhī Bakhsh). His compositions are neither stylish nor marked by any originality or depth of thought. He is the author of a longer poem entitled *Tasbīḥ-i zumurrud*, of 111 verses, each containing the word "green", its derivatives, idiomatic or metaphoric uses. He died in 1242/1826 at a fairly advanced age (cf. *Gul-i raʿnā*, *loc. cit.*), although Ḳudrat Allāh Ḳāsim writing in 1221/1806 describes him as "a good-natured young man" (cf. *Madjmūʿa-i naghz*, ii, 202).

He had a son named ʿAlī Bakhsh "Randjūr", whose descendants were still living in Hyderabad State just before the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, and two daughters: (1) Bunyādī Bēgum, married to Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān "Masrūr", was the mother of Nawwāb Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Khān "ʿĀrif", on whose untimely death Ghālib composed his well-known elegiac poem, and (2) Umrāʾō Bēgum (b. 1214/1799), was the wife of Mīrzā Ghālib, whom she jokingly described as "the old fool" whenever the poet refused to humour the children of her relatives with gifts or pocket money. She outlived her husband by two years and died childless in 1287/1870 (for her see *Aḥwāl-i Ghālib*, art. Umrāʾō Bēgum).

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ILĀHIYYĀT [see MAʿĀRIF].

ĪLĀT. The term *īlāt* (pl. of *īl*), first used in Persian in Ilkhānid times, denotes nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. *ʿAshāʾir*, *ḳabāʾil* and *tawāʾif*

are also used in this sense, and for tribes generally, whether strictly speaking nomadic or not. The combination *īlāt wa ʿas̲h̲āʾir* is a phrase frequently encountered in both medieval and modern times, and suggests that the two terms are broadly synonymous. In medieval times *īlāt* also occurs in conjunction with *ulūs*, i.e. tribal followers, and *oymaḳ*.

From early times the population of many parts of Persia has derived its living from pastoral agriculture, and was accustomed to take its flocks in summer to nearby pastures. Such groups, although they lived in summer in tents, were not properly speaking nomadic, though they were sometimes tribal. Both the keeping of flocks and a tribal structure of society were among the characteristics of nomadic groups, but neither was confined to them. What distinguished them from, and placed them over against, the settled population was the absence of settled villages and their seasonal migration whether for short or long distances. There were however also semi-nomadic groups, whose leaders lived part of the year in settled villages or towns, and who left a few of their number either in their summer or winter quarters, or both. In some parts of the country, by the adoption of pastoral nomadism a larger population was able to adapt itself to climatic conditions than would otherwise have been the case. But it is not clear how early such practices became important on the Persian plateau as distinct from Transoxania and Central Asia. From Sald̲j̲ūḳ times onwards, and more particularly after the Mongol invasion, the balance between the settled and the semi-settled elements of the population was a delicate one. Apart from a constant seepage of population from the nomad areas into the settled, drought and local over-population within Persia and beyond its frontiers in Central Asia led to major and minor movements into the settled areas by nomads. Whenever the nomad population and its flocks rose above the level which could be maintained by the available pasture, either because of natural increase or lack of rainfall, there would be a movement, violent or otherwise, into the settled areas.

We know little of the nomadic tribes of pre-Islamic Persia, but pastoral life was almost certainly important. The capitals of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Arsacids, and Sasanians were seasonal, and it is probable that when they moved they were accompanied by flocks and that round their capitals there were large tented encampments. They had presumably in their armies some nomadic tribal contingents, but it is unlikely that they depended to the same extent as the Sald̲j̲ūḳs and later Turkish dynasties on nomadic or semi-nomadic tribal support. From about A.D. 300 the Sasanians attempted to defend themselves from predatory incursions by the nomads from the Arabian steppe by an alliance with the semi-nomadic Lak̲h̲mid rulers of al-Ḥīra (see BADW, iii: Pre-Islamic Arabia).

Although we have more information on nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes in Persia in Islamic times, it is nevertheless often difficult to trace their history and movements in detail. Their numbers were constantly changing: some prospered while others dwindled or became settled. Many of the tribes have eponymous ancestors, but their inter-relationship is complicated by alliances and intermarriages among their leaders, sometimes in settlement of blood feuds. Strong tribes attracted to themselves others, which they absorbed or with which they formed a federation, the various tribes of which might later break up and become regrouped in new federations. There was also deliberate fragmentation and settlement of tribes by different rulers in outlying parts of the empire, while the grant of land to their leaders in return for military or other services led to their dispersal throughout the country.

Leaving aside ethnological, anthropological, and sociological criteria, it will be convenient to divide the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes in Islamic times into three broad groups: Arab; Turkomān and Turkish; and those which are neither Arab nor Turkish and were already settled in Persia at the time of the conquest. Of these three the last two are the most important in terms of numbers and continuing influence. The last includes the Kurds [*q.v.*], Lurs [*q.v.*], Baluč [*q.v.*], D̲j̲il, who were, however, cultivators and shepherds rather than nomads (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 376), and others. The Kurds were the most numerous. They were tribal, partly living in villages and partly semi-nomadic. The Lurs appear to have been mainly settled until Timurid times. Neither were confined to Persia. The Kurds spread north-westwards into Syria, and in modern times are found in Persia, Turkey, ʿIrāḳ, and Syria. S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn ʿUmarī mentions Lurs in Egypt and Syria in the 8th/14th century.

The early Islamic geographers in their descriptions of Persia give, on the whole, a picture of a settled and prosperous agricultural community, practising pastoral and arable farming, with well-developed handicrafts. They mention much pasture land. Ibn Ḥawḳal, for example, states that the most widespread occupation in the D̲j̲ibāl was the raising of sheep (*al-ag̲h̲nām*, ii, 372-3). Little mention, however, is to be found in their pages of specifically nomadic groups, apart from those in Central Asia, either because these were outside their experience, or because, as seems more probable, they were less important and numerous than was to be the case later. It seems, indeed, fairly clear that the decline in settlement which occurred in Persia was brought about, not by the Arabs or the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, but by the Mongols. The early geographers and historians refer to nomadic and semi-nomadic groups by the generic term *al-akrād*, by which they mean not necessarily people of Kurdish race but non-Arab and non-Turkish tent dwellers and herdsmen. Thus, Ṭabarī, under the years 23 and 29, calls the tribes of the Zagros *akrād*. Ibn Ḥawḳal states that the cities and villages of Ḳuhistān (in East Persia) were separated by deserts inhabited by Kurds and the owners of herds of camels and sheep (ii, 446); and Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḳummī speaks of the *akrād* of Ṭabaristān, "who are a group (*gurūh*) of Daylamites" (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ḳumm*, (ed. Sayyid D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Tehrānī, Tehran 1934, p. 261).

The main concentration of nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes in Persia in the early centuries seems to have been in the area between K̲h̲ūzistān and Iṣfahān and Fārs. Iṣṭak̲h̲rī (followed by Ibn Ḥawḳal and others) mentions five tribal districts in Fārs, which he calls *rumūm* (sing. *ramm*). Yāḳūt defines these as districts and quarters inhabited by Kurds (*maḥāll al-akrād wa manāziluhum*, see Barbier de Meynard, *Géographie de la Perse*, p. 263). The largest of these was the D̲j̲ilūya (Kūhgīlūya), also called the *ramm al-ramīd̲j̲ān*, which extended from K̲h̲ūzistān to Iṣfahān, and was bounded by Iṣṭak̲h̲r, S̲h̲āpur, Arrad̲j̲ān, and Bayḍā. All the towns and villages in it came under the tax administration of Iṣfahān. The other districts were the *ramm* of Aḥmad b. Layt̲h̲ (also called the *ramm* al-Lawālid̲j̲ān), which was situated in the *kūra* of Ardas̲h̲īr K̲h̲ura,

the *ramm* of Ḥusayn b. Ṣāliḥ (also called the *ramm al-dīwān*), which was in the *kūra* of Shāpūr, the *ramm* of Shahriyār (also called the *ramm al-Bāzindjān*), which was outside the tax administration of Fārs, and lastly the *ramm* of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (also called the *ramm al-Kāriyān*), which was bordered by Sīf of the Banū al-Ṣaffār, the *ramm al-Bāzindjān*, Kirmān, and Ardashīr Khura. According to Iṣṭakhrī, the inhabitants of these districts wandered in search of pastures in winter and summer "in the fashion of the Arabs" except for a few who remained in the *sardsīr* (*ṣurūd*) and the *garmsīr* (*djurūm*). They numbered 500,000 tents, each of which could provide from one to ten men, counting herdsmen, hired men, and followers. Iṣṭakhrī adds a rider, hower, to the effect that an accurate assessment of their numbers could only be obtained from the *ṣadaḳa* registers. It was said that they comprised more than a hundred tribes, but Iṣṭakhrī himself knew of only thirty. They were numerous, brave, and strong in men, beasts, and horses. The government found it difficult if it wanted to reduce them or to assert itself against them. They owned sheep and mares but few camels. Their cattle were excellent but only those from Bāzindjān had good horses. Their method of herding was like that of the Arab and Turkish tribes. It was claimed that they were originally Arabs. Within each of these *rumūm* there were towns and villages. The *kharādj* was farmed by the leader of each *ramm*, who was responsible for the safety of caravans, guarded the roads and carried on the affairs of the temporal government (pp. 97-9, 113). Idrīsī, writing in the 6th/12th century, has a broadly similar, but rather briefer, account. He mentions only four *rumūm*, omitting that of al-Kāriyān. He adds that the Kurdish tribes which frequented the country, the Khuwa (?) and the Yazīd, numbered 500 families and that each tribe could put about 1,000 horse in the field. Quoting Ibn Durayd, he states that they were descended from the Banū Marrat, Banū ʿUmar, and Banū ʿĀmir (i, 406-7).

The leaders of the tribes, and perhaps the tribesmen also, apparently owned landed estates. Iṣṭakhrī states that the estates (*al-ḍiyāʿ*) held by the tribal people (*ahl al-rumūm*) paid tax by *muḳāsama*, according to charters (*ʿuhūd*) which they held from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, or others of the caliphs, paying one-tenth, one-third, one-quarter, and so on (p. 158). Ibn Ḥawḳal gives a slightly different account. He says that the tribal districts (*rumūm*) were assessed by contract (*muḳāṭaʿa*), estimation *ʿibra*), or by a share of the crop (*muḳāsama*). In the last case, the tax was levied in one of two ways: if the estate was in the hands of tribesmen (*ḳawm min ahl al-rumūm*) or others who had a charter from ʿAlī, ʿUmar, or a governor appointed by the caliph, they paid one-tenth to one-third. If the villages had been taken possession of by the treasury because of disorders committed by the owners, or for some other reason, the cultivators paid one-fifth according to agreements concluded with them (ii, 302-3).

Ibn Balkhī, the author of the *Fārs-nāma*, alleges that the nomads (*kurdān*) of Fārs, who had formed the flower of the Sasanian army, had all been killed during the Islamic invasion. The nomads who inhabited Fārs in his day were descended from a group whom the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/982) had brought to Fārs from Iṣfahān. Ibn Balkhī knows these nomadic groups by the name of Shabānkāra. They presumably replaced or absorbed the earlier *rumūm*. In Ibn Balkhī's time (he dedicated the *Fārs-nāma* to Muḥammad b. Malikshāh, d. 511/1117) Fārs suffered much from disorders and raids at the hands of the tribes, until the Atabeg Čawlī, to whom Muḥammad b. Malikshāh assigned Fārs, brought order to the province after several engagements with the rebels. According to Ibn Balkhī's account, the Shabānkāra, who comprised five tribes or groups, had originally been herdsmen and wood-cutters in Fārs. On the disintegration of Būyid rule, their power had increased, until finally Faẓlūya, the leader of the Rāmānī, the most powerful of the five tribes, made himself master of much of Fārs, and received from the Būyids an allowance. Subsequently Kāwurd was sent by Alp Arslān to reduce Fārs to order. Faḍlūya was unable to resist and went back to Alp Arslān's court. He was sent back to Fārs with a contract to farm the revenue of the province. He rebelled again and was besieged by a Saldjūḳ army under Niẓām al-Mulk and captured. He escaped and renewed his rebellion, to be eventually hunted down and caught (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, G.M.S., 1962, pp. 164, 166; Aḥmad b. Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāmā*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, Tehran, 1931-2, pp. 38-9).

Of the five groups, Ibn Balkhī states that the Ismāʿīlī, who had settled in Dasht-i Urd after the Islamic conquest, were the noblest. Tāsh Farrāsh, Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd's general, expelled them from the region of Iṣfahān; they first wandered southwards, and then, under pressure from the Būyids, westwards, and settled near Dārābdjird. Internecine strife weakened them, enabling Faḍlūya to interfere in their affairs (*Fārs-nāma*, 164-5; *Shīrāz-nāma*, 37-8). The Karzūbī were also shepherds. At the end of the Būyid period they obtained possession of Kāzirūn and the neighbourhood until Čawlī dispossessed them. The Masʿūdī were an obscure group whom Faḍlūya raised up. Rukn al-Dīn Khumārtegīn, the Saldjūḳ governor of Fārs, gave them *iḳṭāʿ*s. They subsequently obtained possession of Fīrūzābād and most of Shāpūr Khura. Finally they were subdued by Čawlī (*Fārs-nāma*, 167). The fifth group, the Shakānī, were mountain dwellers, living in the mountains of the *garmsīr*. They were alleged to be an evil people, committing highway robbery. Čawlī reduced them also (*Fārs-nāma*, 167). In later times little is heard of the Shabānkāra. Either they became settled, or they failed to recover from the losses inflicted on them by Čawlī and ceased to have an independent existence. It may well be that they were absorbed by the Lurs, who increased in importance during the 6th/12th century.

The eponymous founder of the Lur-i Buzurg [*q.v.*], was Abū'l-Ḥasan Faḍlūya, a Kurd living in Djabal Sumāḳ in Syria. Some of his descendants migrated through Mayāfāriḳayn and Ādharbāydjān to north of Ushturān Kūh, where they arrived about 500/1006. Their chief, Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, distinguished himself in the service of the Salghurid Sunḳur (543-56) in an expedition against the Shabānkāra, and was given as a reward the Kūhgīlūya and sent to conquer Luristān. He later quarrelled with Sunḳur and made himself independent. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century more tribes from Syria joined his son, Hazārasp. These included two Arab tribes, the ʿUḳaylī (ʿAḳīlī) and Ḥāshimī, and twenty-eight others, among whom were the Bakhtiyārīs, Djawānikī, Gotwand, Līrāwī, and Mamāsātī (?Mamassanī, see Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Cairo n.d., pp. 44 ff., and LUR). In consequence of these movements, the Shūls were displaced and moved to Fārs (*Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, pp. 537-9, and see LUR-I BUZURG).

Mention is also made by the early geographers of tribal groups in Kirmān, which appear to have been semi-nomadic, namely the Ḳufṣ (Kūč) and Balūṣ (Balūẓ, Balūč). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* describes the latter as a people established in the open country between Djiruft and Bāft on the one hand and the Kūfidj mountains on the other. They were herdsmen and professional highway robbers, intrepid and bloodthirsty. Their numbers were reduced by the Būyid Fanā Khusraw by various strategems (p. 124). Muḳaddasī mentions that ʿAḍud al-Dawla also harried them (p. 471). Ibn Ḥawḳal states that they lived on the frontiers of Manūdjān and Hurmuz and that they were a branch (*ṣinf*) of the Kurds (*i.e.* semi-nomadic or nomadic tent-dwellers) and that they themselves claimed to be of Arab origin and to number some 10,000 men. The temporal government gave them allowances to keep them quiet. In spite of this they committed highway robbery and were a perpetual menace to communication between Kirmān and the desert of Sīstān and the frontiers of Fārs. Their power was destroyed by the Būyid *malik* and they were dispersed (ii, 309-10). According to Iṣṭakhrī they were Shīʿī (p. 167). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* states that the inhabitants of the Kūfidj mountains were divided into seven tribes, each under its own chief, and that the government tax-collectors did not go into these mountains, the chiefs paying an annual sum by *muḳāṭaʿa* (p. 124). Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal make similar statements, but add that the Ḳufṣ had flocks and black tents like bedouins, and were pacific and did not molest travellers (Iṣṭakhrī, 164; Ibn Ḥawḳal ii, 310); and that they were Shīʿīs (167, ii, 312). Ibn Ḥawḳal also mentions camel owning nomads or herdsmen in the neighbourhood of Khwāsh (ii, 313). In Saldjūḳ times Kāwurd succeeded in establishing some measure of control over the Ḳufṣ and Balūč, confining the former to the mountain districts between Bam and Djiruft (see Afḍal al-Dīn, *ʿIḳd al-ūlā*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmirī Nāʾīnī, Tehran 1932-3, p. 66). With the influx into Kirmān of more Ghuzz after the death of Sandjar, the Balūč appear to some extent to have been displaced and pushed further to the east.

As for the Arab tribes in Khūzistān and along the Persian Gulf littoral, the majority came with the Islamic conquest, although the settlement of some of them pre-dates that event. By the time the Muslim Arabs reached Persia, they were already separated from their nomadic background. Many of them came from the garrison cities and were settled in the towns. Yaʿḳūbī mentions the mixed population of Ḳazwīn (p. 70), Nihāvand (p. 73), Dīnavar (p. 69) Ṣaymara (269-70), Ṭūs (p. 83), and Nayshāpūr (p. 85), and the Arabs of the Banū ʿAzd, Banū Tamīm and others in Marv (p. 87). He also states that the inhabitants of Bust claimed descent from Yamanī immigrés of the Himyarite tribe (p. 89). Similarly many Arabs also lived in Harāt (p. 88, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 104). Ibn Ḥawḳal states that the majority of the population of Ḳumm were Arab although they spoke Persian (ii, 370; see also *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, 240 ff.) Quoting Hamza's lost history of Iṣfahān, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ḳummī describes the settlement of Arabs in Iṣfahān and the neighbourhood in the time of Ḥadjdjādj (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, 264). Yāḳūt mentions descendants of the Banū ʿAzd and the Banū Muhallab in Djiruft (Barbier de Meynard, 185). There appears also to have been some settlement by the Banū Tamīm and Banū Tāziyān in Yazd (*Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, ed. Iradj Afshār, Tehran 1342/1964-5 i, 36). Most of these various groups became assimilated to the local population. There were also some nomadic groups, which came mainly into South Persia, Kirmān, Sīstān, and more particularly Khurāsān [see AL-ʿARAB (iii)]. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* mentions some 20,000 Arabs in the steppe of Gūzgānān. They possessed numerous sheep and camels and were richer than all the Arabs scattered throughout Khurāsān. Their *amīr* was nominated by the *malik* of Gūzgānān, to whom they paid *ṣadaḳa* (p. 108).

The third group of tribes, the Turkomān and Turkish, came mainly with the Saldjūḳ, Mongol, and Timurid invasions, and included tribes which, having passed through Persia into Asia Minor and Syria, came back to the east with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlū, Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū, and Ṣafavid dynasties. This group is differentiated from the other two in that the movement of the Turkomān and Turkish tribes led to the establishment of empires based, originally at least, on tribal support. Other tribal groups, notably the Kurds in western and north-western Persia and the Arabs in ʿIrāḳ and the Djazīra, also set up independent kingdoms, but they did not succeed, as did the Turkomāns and Turks, in extending their power over virtually the whole of the country.

Towards the end of the 4th/10th century the Oghuz/Ghuzz tribes began to move westwards from Central Asia. The first group went to Mangishlāḳ. The second, in the fourth decade of the 5th/11th century, went to Persia. The main body, which had been preceded by a number of independent bands of Ghuzz [*q.v.*], was under the leadership of the Saldjūḳ family, who were to establish the first of these Turkomān or Turkish empires. The third group went in the 5th/11th century to the Balkans via the Black Sea, while a fourth and larger group, partly settled, remained in the region of the Sīr Daryā (Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar* (*Türkmenler*), Ankara 1967). Legend represents the Oghuz as being divided into twenty-four tribes. Twenty-two, with their *tamghās*, were known to Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, but only the Kïnïk (to whom the Saldjūḳs belonged), Iva, Döger, Yaghma, Salghur, and Avshār (Afshār) appear before the Mongol period. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions twenty-four tribes, but his list is not identical with that of Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 19 ff.).

The Saldjūḳs, although they became the leaders of a nomadic tribal migration, were nevertheless familiar with urban life and Islamic civilization. From the beginning they had settled capitals and do not appear to have lived in tented encampments apart from the local population as did the Mongol Īlkhāns—at least not to the same extent. Most of the independent or semi-independent Ghuzz bands who came to Persia were undisciplined and their activities unco-ordinated. The difference between their leaders and the Saldjūḳs was that the latter, on the whole, exercised control over their followers. Tughril Beg [*q.v.*] and Alp Arslān [*q.v.*] showed themselves to be competent commanders and rulers. Adopting the pattern of government existing in the lands of the Eastern Caliphate, they brought to it new interpretations from their tribal background (see further A. K. S. Lambton, 'The internal structure of the Saljuq empire' in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, 203-82). On the whole, the Saldjūḳ invasion brought remarkably little dislocation, and not more than that caused by the movement of government troops in the late Ghaznavid period. The numbers involved were not large—perhaps no more than tens of thousands. The coming

of the Saldjūḳs with their flocks may, in fact, have been beneficial to the country, so far as these provided meat and milk products to provision the towns, wool and skins for industry, and fertilized the stubble fields they grazed. Their herds of camels may also have been useful in providing additional transport for merchandise.

There is little evidence to show that the Ghuzz tribes came into conflict with other tribal and nomadic groups, except the Kurds and the bedouins in Western Ādharbāydjān and Upper Mesopotamia. There, the early bands of Ghuzz invaders were opposed. Settlement probably took place at first only on the lower slopes of the Kurdish mountains. At a later period there were conflicts between the Saldjūḳs on the one hand and the Shabānkāra and the Ḳufṣ on the other, as stated above, but these arose from the attempt of the Saldjūḳs, who by this time had become the rulers of an empire, to assert the authority of the central government. They were not conflicts between rival nomadic groups over the possession of pastures. In general, the Ghuzz tribes do not appear to have established themselves—at least to any large extent—in areas such as Fārs, Luristān, the Ḳufṣ mountains, Ṭabaristān, or Kurdistān where there was already a tribal and semi-nomadic population. This raises the problem, which cannot be answered in our present state of knowledge, of whether their intrusion elsewhere brought about a contraction of the area under arable farming or whether they mainly utilized land which was not being fully exploited by the existing population for either arable or pastoral farming.

Once the Saldjūḳs had become the masters of an empire, they were forced to find a more stable basis of power than that provided by the Ghuzz tribes. Increasingly they depended for their military forces and for provincial governors on Turkish slaves and freedmen who had become separated from their nomadic tribal background. Considerable bodies of Ghuzz (or "Turkomāns" as the Muslim Ghuzz who had entered the *dār al-islām* are usually called in the Arabic and Persian sources) were, however, still to be found in the country, although the general tendency was for them to move in a westerly direction towards Syria and Asia Minor. Apart from these, the main concentrations of Turkomāns were in Upper Mesopotamia, Gurgān, Marv, and Ādharbāydjān, with some minor settlements in Khūzistān, Fārs, and elsewhere. The fact that many of their leaders were officers of the sultan enabled them, when the central government weakened, to transform themselves rapidly into local rulers. One of the most notable cases is that of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*].

Under Sandjar, the Turkomāns in Gurgān, Dihistān, and Marv were administered by a *shiḥna* [*q.v.*] appointed by the sultan, who allotted to their leaders pasture and water according to the number of their tents, and through whom they referred to the government. They paid pasture dues and a due for the office of *shiḥna* (*ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1950, 8-12, 84-5). The grant of special allowances (*nānpāra*) to the Turkomāns is frequently mentioned. Niẓām al-Mulk seems to have assumed that they would receive such, and recommended that numbers of them should be kept at court, some for military service and some as hostages for the good behaviour of their fellows. By the end of the reign of Sandjar the grant of allowances to the Turkomāns in Khurāsān was probably primarily to assure their good behaviour rather than to reward them for military or other services—though it is clear that the Saldjūḳs, like other dynasties, employed the nomadic tribes, Turkomans and others, in their armies as auxiliaries.

By the middle of the 6th/12th century the Khitāy conquest of Transoxania was causing unrest among the Ghuzz who had remained in Central Asia, and it became increasingly difficult for the Saldjūḳ government to control those who were living on its borders. Their relations with Sandjar illustrate both the difficulty experienced by a settled government in subjecting the nomads to control, and also the lack of understanding which characterized the relations between the settled population and the nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. Disputes over the annual tribute in sheep due from the Ghuzz to the sultan's treasury and malpractices over its collection eventually led to a collision between Sandjar's forces and the Ghuzz. An engagement took place in 548/1153. Sandjar was captured and Khurāsān pillaged (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 58-9). In due course Sandjar escaped captivity but was unable to restore control. After his death in 552/1156 more Ghuzz came into Khurāsān. Some, under Malik Dīnār, took possession of Kirmān. These Ghuzz did not succeed in establishing an empire, as had the Saldjūḳs, and in contra-distinction to them brought about much devastation and dislocation (see further Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Taʾrīkh-i Saldjūḳiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, Leiden 1886, 106 ff.). There was also a resurgence of nomadism in Fārs on the break-up of the Saldjūḳ empire when the Salghurids, basing their power on semi-nomadic tribes living in the region of Gundamān, began to extend their rule (Aḥmad b. Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*, 48-9). The later Salghurids, however, conformed to the usual pattern of "settled" rulers..

The Mongol invasion was accompanied by a new influx of Turkish tribes on a large scale. Carried out by tribes organized for war, it was of a different order from the Saldjūḳ invasion. Political rule remained in the hands of the tribal leaders, who formed a kind of military aristocracy. They were hostile to settled life and exploited the peasants and the townspeople. The invasion was accompanied by widespread destruction and massacres. Much land fell out of cultivation because of the flight or death of its occupiers and because of the dislocation caused by the tribal following of the Mongols and their need for pastures for their flocks and herds (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. Jahn, GMS, n.s. xiv, London 1940, 349 ff.). The tribal leaders were allocated, or took possession of, pastures. Many of them also received land grants, which they sometimes converted into private property, and were given control over the population living on the land. Various new taxes were introduced including *ḳubčur* [*q.v.*], which was probably originally a pasture tax paid by nomads (though it was later to designate a tax on the settled population also). During the reign of Ghāzān Khān (694/1295-703/1304) there was a modification in the policy of the Īlkhāns designed to bring about a revival of agriculture and a reduction in the power of the nomad military aristocracy. This was only partially successful (see further I.P. Petrushevsky, "The socio-economic condition of Iran under the Īl-Khāns" in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 483-537, and A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 77-104).

The centre of the Īlkhān kingdom was Ādharbāydjān, and it was there and in Arrān, and to a lesser extent in Asia Minor, that the tribes which

had come with the Īlkhāns were mainly concentrated. Many of them had close affinities with some of the Turkish tribes already in Persia. Among the tribes which came with or joined Hulāgū were the Afshār (some groups of whom had apparently migrated with the Saldjūks, see AFSHĀR). They settled mainly in Ādharbāydjān, and gradually increased in numbers and power.

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions districts to the south of Sulṭāniyya containing some hundred villages with good pastures, which were settled by Mongols (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, G.M.S., 1919, 64-5), and Mongol winter quarters in the Mughān steppe (p. 83). Sawdj Bulāgh, near Ray, was according to him mostly inhabited by nomads (*ṣaḥrā-nishīn*, p. 63). Among these were probably the Ḳarā Evlī. They were not numerous and eventually joined the Afshār, though some of them were absorbed into other Turkomān tribes (Ḳā'im Maḳām, *Munsha'āt*, ed. Djahāngīr Ḳā'im Maḳāmī, Tehran 1959-60, 363). There were also according to Ḥamd Allāh many nomadic Kurdish tribes (*khayl-i akrād-i ṣaḥrā-nishīn*) in the Nihāvand-Malāyir district, though by *akrād* he may simply have meant tribes which were neither Turkish nor Arab. They paid an annual tribute of 7,000 sheep (*gūsfand*, p. 74). There appears also to have been an extension of nomadism in Luristān at this time. Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī states that the Atabeg Shams al-Dīn Alp Arghūn, who was made governor of Luristān by Hulāgū, found the province in a state of ruin and its peasants dispersed. He remitted taxation for a year, and by good administration restored agricultural prosperity. "One reason for the prosperity of the province was that the Atabeg adopted, after the fashion of the Mongols, the practice of moving from summer to winter quarters. He spent the winter in Īdadj and Shūsh and the summer in the Zardak mountain, in which the Zindarūd rises, so that the cattle of the soldiers had no need of barley and the peasants (*ra'iyyat*) were not subjected to tyranny by all kinds of people" (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Mu'īnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 43-4). Among other Ghuzz tribes which apparently came to Persia with the Mongols, passed through the country and came back later with the Ṣafavids, were the Begdillū. They had originally been with the Naimāns and then come to Persia with Djurmaghūn. Some of them went on to Syria, where they became known as the Shāmlū. They returned to Persia with the Ṣafavids, and were powerful under them and the Afshārids. In Ḳādjār times their centres were in Mazdaḳān near Tehran, and Marāgha (Ḳā'im Maḳām, *op. cit.*, 368). Some small groups of Begdillū were to be found near Tehran in the 19th century. According to tradition the Ḳādjārs also entered Persia with the Mongols, passed on to Syria and came back to Persia with Tīmūr.

By the end of the Mongol period, federations of tribes under new names were beginning to appear, notably that of the Āḳ Ḳoyunlū [*q.v.*] (see C. Cahen, *op. cit.*, 314 ff.; see also J. Aubin, *Un soyurghal Qara-Qoyunlu concernant le Bulūk de Bawānāt-Harāt-Marwast*, in *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern, Oxford 1965, for the distribution of Turkomān and Arab tribes in that region at the end of the 8th/14th century). From about 747/1346 there was a resurgence of nomadism in Khurāsān also (cf. Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *op. cit.*, 197 ff.).

Meanwhile in Eastern Turkistan on the break-up of the Mongol empire the nomads under the Čagatāy Khān of Mughūlistān began to press into Western Turkistān. This provoked a counterattack and eventually Tīmūr, having united the nomads of Western Turkistān, emerged as the defender of the Islamic borderlands against the nomads of Central Asia, thus giving to the settled population a measure of security in which to pursue their commercial activities and to continue their religious life (see further Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *op cit.* and H. Hookham, *Tamerlane the conqueror*, London 1962). After crushing the nomads of the Čagatāy appanage and the Ḳïpčaḳ hordes, Tīmūr then carried out a series of expeditions into Persia and the neighbouring countries, as a consequence of which new tribal movements took place. Tīmūr's military organization was similar to that of the Mongols. The basis of his power was a military tribal aristocracy, who with their followers and flocks migrated from pasture to pasture. Clavijo describing Tīmūr's horde writes, "When Timur calls his people to war all assemble and march with him, surrounded by their flocks and herds, thus carrying along their possessions with them, in company with their wives and children. These last follow the host, and in the lands which they invade their flocks, namely and particularly the sheep, camels and horses, serve to ration the horde" (*Clavijo's embassy to Tamerlane* 1403-1406, tr. from the Spanish by G. Le Strange, London 1928, 191). He also mentions the numbering of the flocks of the nomads for taxation purposes (p. 187). Certain of the Čagatāys, however, were exempted in return for military service (pp. 195-7). There appear to have been also nomadic Kurds (?) in Khurāsān near Nayshāpūr. Clavijo, describing them, states "they own no other habitations but their tents, for they never take up their abode in any city or village, but live in the open country-side, both summer and winter, pasturing their flocks. These consist of droves of rams, ewes and cows, and the people of this particular tribe possess some twenty thousand camels. They wander over the length and breadth of all this province living under the jurisdiction of Timur, and they give him yearly as his due in tribute three thousand camels, also some fifteen thousand sheep" (p. 181).

The death of Tīmūr was followed by a period of internecine strife. In the west the Turkomāns of the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū, whose leader, Bayrām Khwādja of the Bahārlū tribe (d. 782/1380), had originally entered the service of Sultan Uways, the Djalā'ir, invaded Ādharbāydjān in 812/1408 from Armenia, where they had been driven by Tīmūr. By 814/1410 they had taken Baghdād from the Djalā'irs. They were subsequently superseded by the Āḳ Ḳoyunlū, whose main centre was at Diyār Bakr and whose leaders belonged to the Bayïndïr clan [*q.v.*]. In the east also there were further tribal movements. In 870/1465-6, 15,000 tents of nomads from 'Irāḳ set out for Khurāsān "because they had been reduced to straits by the tyranny and oppression of the Turkomans", and were given *yurts* in that province by the Timurid, Abū Sa'īd ('Abd al-Razzāḳ, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafī', Lahore 1949, ii, 1296). About the same time, the Hazāras (who according to tradition came to Persia with the Mongols) appear to have been increasing in the neighbourhood of Harāt, and difficulties between them and the government over their refusal to pay taxes are mentioned (*ibid.*, 1296 ff.).

The period of the Turkomān dynasties of the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū and the Āḳ Ḳoyunlū, who emerged successively as the most powerful group in Western and North-western Persia and finally in Central

and Southern Persia also, represents a reassertion of the rule of the Turkomān nomads and was accompanied by a movement of the Turkomāns eastwards into Persia. Unlike the Saldjuḳs, whom they resembled rather than the Mongols and Timurids, they never succeeded in imposing their rule over the whole of Persia and succeeded only to a limited extent in uniting the various Turkomān tribes, who by this time had been familiar with Islam for generations, and some of whom had been won over to the more extreme forms of Shīʿism. Their leaders, the most celebrated of whom was Uzun Ḥasan (d. 882/1477-8), were in many cases men of ability; their administration was well organized and their courts, in spite of their nomadic background and habits, were centres of Persian culture and Turkomān poetry. (See further V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, London 1957, and also *Travels to Tana and Persia by Barbaro and Contarini*, Hakluyt ed., 1873). The death of Uzun Ḥasan was followed by a renewal of tribal forays with the main Āḳ Ḳoyunlū centres in Ādharbāydjān and Shīrāz, until finally the Ṣafavids, having united the Turkomān tribes and given to them a cohesion which the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū and Āḳ Ḳoyunlū had failed to do, established themselves as the rulers of Persia.

The great majority of Ismāʿīl's supporters belonged to tribes from Asia Minor, Syria, and Armenia, together with tribes detached from the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū and the Āḳ Ḳoyunlū. The core of his force, the Ḳizilbāsh, was formed by the Ustādjlū, Shāmlū, Tekkelū, Rūmlū, Bahārlū, Dhu'l-Ḳadr, Turkmān, Khinislū, Ḳādjār, and Afshār tribes (see further V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, G.M.S., 1943, 189 ff.). From the two last-named came dynasties which were to rule Persia at a later date. Ismāʿīl was the head of the Ṣafavid order founded by his forefather Ṣafī al-Dīn, who was born near Ardabīl in 650/1252. Under Djunayd, who became its leader in 851/1447, the order became militant (see further W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat*, Berlin 1936). Ismāʿīl was regarded by his extreme followers among the Turkomān tribesmen as the hereditary and living emanation of the godhead. In the early days of his rise to power the connexion between his tribal followers and the order was close. Each group had a *khalīfa*, with whom Ismāʿīl, as the *murshid-i kāmil*, kept in touch through the *khalīfat al-khulafā'* (see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 125-6).

In the disorders at the end of the Āḳ Ḳoyunlū period a number of Turkomān leaders and others set up independent governments. Ḥasan Rūmlū gives a list of these under the year 907/1501-2 when Ismāʿīl entered Tabrīz (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1931-4, i, 62). Gradually Ismāʿīl overthrew or reduced the majority of them. Others were defeated by Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān, the Özbek ruler, with whom Ismāʿīl eventually came into conflict. The control of the tribes on the eastern frontiers of Khurāsān was for the Ṣafavids, as it had been for earlier dynasties and was to be for the Ḳādjārs, a major problem.

Already before the death of Ismāʿīl (939/1534) friction between the Turkomān tribes, upon whose support he had depended for his rise to power, and the Persian elements in the state had arisen. Under Ṭahmāsp other tribal groups, the Čagatāys, Kurds, Lurs, Faylīs and others were added to his military forces. The first-named were found mainly in Khurāsān. Among them were the Ḳarā Bayāt, whose leader, Muḥammad Sulṭān, governor of Nayshāpūr, joined Ṭahmāsp's service. Because of the sacrifices of the tribe in the wars against the Özbeks they were exempted from the payment of divan dues (*ʿĀlam Ārā*, p. 585-6). The Bayāt were ranked by some writers not as an independent tribe but among the Afshār (see below). In the early Ṣafavid period, before the reorganization carried out by Shāh ʿAbbās, the tribal leaders lived with their tribal followers in their *ulkās*, which they held by direct grant or conquest. Many of them were also appointed to governorships. There was no clear dividing line between tribal leader, military commander and provincial governor. In the early period the chief military office, that of *amīr al-umarā'*, was regarded by the Ḳizilbāsh as their prerogative. Under Ṭahmāsp the provincial governments were still mainly in the hands of the tribal leaders. They were moved from province to province, no tribe having a special claim to the government of a specific area; but under Shāh ʿAbbās there were several cases of hereditary succession, and by 1034/1624 it had become common (see further Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳummī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, ed. H. Muller, Wiesbaden 1964). Ṭahmāsp was unable to control the tribal leaders and the jealousies between Turk and non-Turk and inter-tribal feuds, especially between the Ustādjlū and the Rūmlū, threatened the existence of the state. The problem was broadly the same as that which had faced the Saldjūḳs: how to integrate the tribes, upon whose support the ruling dynasty had come to power, into the life of the empire. The circumstances of the time, however, were different: in particular, there was no longer the possibility of settlement to the west, on or beyond the frontiers of the empire.

Ṭahmāsp's death was followed by struggles between the tribal leaders. Shāh ʿAbbās (995-1037/1587-1629) eventually reimposed control over the Ḳizilbāsh, and reduced the importance of the tribal forces by instituting a special cavalry corps recruited from the descendants of Georgian and Armenian captives, converts to Islam, paid direct from the treasury. As a result the tribal and military leaders and also the tribes and the standing army to some extent became differentiated, although the tribes were still required to furnish contingents when called upon so to do. For example, in 1013/1604 Shāh ʿAbbās ordered the *rishsafīdān* of the tribes in Ādharbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ to prepare lists of their numbers so that quotas could be provided by each according to its ability (*ʿĀlam Ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, p. 466, quoted by Minorsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5). The *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* gives lists of the enrolments of the *amīrs* resident on the frontiers and the contingents fixed for each province, many of which were provided by the tribes (pp. 100 ff.). With the increase in the size of the 'standing army' and its payment from *khāṣṣa* (crown) lands, there was less land available for the tribal leaders, which fact further reduced their power and influence (See *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* for an analysis of the tribal affiliation of the leading *amīrs* in the Ṣafavid empire, pp. 14 ff.). Moreover, the fact that the Turkish frontier region was repeatedly fought over and deliberately reduced to a state of desolation adversely affected the tribes formerly occupying it. Shāh ʿAbbās further weakened the power of the tribal leaders by allotting provincial governments to *amīrs* from the court, whether slave or free, rather than to the tribal leaders. A number of tribes were moved by Shāh ʿAbbās, some in order to contribute to the defence of the empire. Thus, the Ḳādjār tribe was divided into three branches: the first stationed at Gandja to check the incursions of the Lesgis, the second at Marv to contribute to the

defence of Khurāsān against the Özbeks, and the third at Astarābād on the borders of the Turkomān country to the east of the Caspian Sea. At an earlier period the tribe had been divided into two sections, the Yukkāri-bāsh and the Ashāki-bāsh. Families of both went to Astarābād. Shāh ʿAbbās also moved some tribes from frontier districts because of doubts as to their loyalty. For example, the Kazuklar tribe was moved from Karadja Dāgh to Dārābdjird in Fārs about 1024/1615 (*ʿĀlam Ārā*, p. 623). Somewhat earlier (about 1000/1591-2) a group of Afshār came to Kāzirūn, and their leader Khwādja Pīr Budāk was given the governorship of the district by Shah ʿAbbās. The family continued to hold this government for some 250 years (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣirī*, Tehran, lith., 1894-6, ii, 250-2). Shāh ʿAbbās also constituted a number of his supporters into a new tribe known as the Shahsivān, which was later to become important in Ādharbāydjān.

According to the *Dastūr al-mulūk* (written for Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn), the five main provincial governments were Georgia, ʿArabistān, Luristān, Kurdistān and the Bakhtiyārī. The last four all had a large non-Turkish tribal and semi-nomadic population. Whereas the influence of the Turkomān tribes had to some extent been reduced by Shāh ʿAbbās, the importance of the non-Turkish tribes began to increase. Some of the lesser governments also, such as Karābāgh, and the Kūhgīlūya, were predominantly tribal areas, and others, such as Hamadān, had a considerable tribal population. The *wālī* of ʿArabistān was the most important of the five governors because of the numbers of the tribes (*īl wa ʿashāʾir*) under his jurisdiction. Luristān was the next in importance. (Muḥammad Taḳī Dānizhpashūh, *Dastur al-mulūk*, in *Review of the Faculty of Letters, University of Tehran*, July 1968, pp. 473-508, and November 1968, pp. 62-93). Chardin writing of this province states: "The people that inhabit it never mind the building of cities, nor have any settled abodes, but live in tents, for the most part feeding their flocks and their herds, of which they have an infinite number. They are governed by a kaan who is set over them by the king of Persia but chosen from among themselves; and for the most part all of the same race, the father succeeding the son . . . they pay both tribute and tenths. This province furnishes Isfahan and the neighbouring parts with cattel; which is the reason that the governor of this province is greatly respected in those parts" ('The coronation of Solyman III', p. 147, app. to *The travels of Sir John Chardin*, London 1691). The terms on which each of these four governors held their appointments and the number of troops (presumably mainly tribal levies) which they were expected to provide for the royal army varied. Most of them were required to send sons or brothers, or both, to the court as hostages. The *Kurčībāshī*, one of the four chief officers of the state, was the chief (*rīsh safīd*) of all the tribes (*īlāt wa oymāḳāt*) of the kingdom. What precisely his functions were with regard to the tribes is not clear. Perhaps the register of the tribes and matters to do with the provision of tribal levies were under him. Kārzīn in Fārs was his *tuyūl*. That this was a tribal area probably had no special significance. Tabrīz, Mughān, and certain other places in Ādharbāydjān, still one of the main areas of settlement by Turkish tribes, were entrusted to the *sipahsālār*, the most important military officer after the *ḳurčibāshī* (see *Dastūr al-mulūk, loc. cit.*). The *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* also gives lists of the enrolments of the *amīr*s resident on the frontiers and the contingents fixed for each province, some of which were provided by tribes (pp. 100 ff.).

After the death of Shāh ʿAbbās the control of the central government weakened and was only temporarily arrested under Shāh ʿAbbās II. With this the tribes, notably the Ghalzāy and Abdālī Afghāns in the east, began to reassert themselves. The Balūč also raided up to Bam and Kirmān; while the Kurds revolted, captured Hamadān and raided up to Iṣfahān in 1719 (see L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi Dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 110 ff.). There was also constant raiding by Lurs and Bakhtiyārīs in the Iṣfahān district in the middle of the century (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 660).

In a manuscript which professes to be taken from the state papers of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn details are given of the location and numbers of the tribes. Although these figures appear to be grossly exaggerated, they probably indicate the general distribution of the tribes at the beginning of the 18th century. It may also be that the tribal population at that time was again on the increase. The writer divides the tribes into those of Persian and non-Persian origin. The former consisted of (i) the Lurs, comprising four great tribes, the Faylī (centred on Khurramābād, with winter quarters near Hawīza), Laks and Zands (who for a brief period under Karīm Khān Zand provided the ruling dynasty, centred on Kazzāz), Bakhtiyārīs, and Mamassanīs. The Bakhtiyārīs ranged from the Kūhgīlūya to Iṣfahān and from Shūstar to Bihbahān. They paid revenue to the *beglarbegī* of Iṣfahān. The sum due, though more than that paid by the Laks and Zands, was small. Two or three of their chiefs were always in attendance on the king and they sometimes furnished 10,000 horse and foot without pay. The Mamassanīs were much less numerous than the Bakhtiyārīs or the Faylīs. Their revenue was included in that of Fārs and was paid to the *beglarbegī* of that province. The Lurs were all Shīʿīs. (ii) There were the Garrūs, Kalkhur and Mukrī inhabiting the country between Hamadān and the borders of Marāgha. About one fourth of them were Shīʿī. (iii) There were the Kurdish nomadic tribes in Khurāsān, of which the four main tribes were the Zaʿfarānlū, centred in Akhlamad, the Saʿdānlū centred on Khābūshān, the Kavānlū in Rādkān, and the Davānlū near Djādjarm. They paid no revenue to the government. There were (iv) the Djalāʾir also in Khurāsān, ranging up to Marv-i Shāh Djahān, (v) the Karāʾī, centred on Turbat-i Djām, and (vi) the Djalāʾī.

The non-Persian nomadic tribes consisted of Arabs and Turks. The latter, according to the author of the manuscript, included the Afshār, the Ḳādjār, the Shaḳāḳī (who were in fact Kurds) ranging from Ādharbāydjān to Gīlān, the Zangana (also Kurds) in the neighbourhood of Kirmānshāh, the Karaguzlū in the neighbourhood of Hamadān, Burūdjird and Nihāvand, and the Shāhsivan, some of whom were in Fārs and others in Ādharbāydjān and Gīlān. The Afshār appear by this time to have attracted some new tribes to themselves and lost others. They included the Shāmlū, Kirklū, and Shirvānlū. They held Ṭus in Khurāsān and Urūmiyya in Ādharbāydjān. The Bayāt and Dunbulī who held Nayshāpūr, Khwuy, and Salmās, on the other hand, were no longer counted with the Afshārs.

The Arab tribes consisted of the Čaʿb (Kaʿb), the Mullāʾī of Hawīza, who with various other Arab tribes ranged from that district up to Baghdād. In

Fārs there was the Īl-i ʿArab, then numerous, ranging between Shīrāz, Iṣfahān, and Yazd. The Mishmast in Khurāsān held villages in Turshīz and Ḳāʾin. There were also Arabs in some other centres, including the Banū Shaybān in Ṭabas (see Ms. Dr. Caro Owen Minasian Collection, Isfahan, OR Ms. Provisional No. 1134 (s & b)). A copy of this ms. appears to have been seen by Sir John Malcolm (see *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 372). In the 19th century there were groups of Mishmast Arabs following a nomadic existence between Kāshān, Lār, and Lavāsān (Mirzā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Kāsānī, *Mirʾāt al-Kāsān*, British Museum, MS Or. 3603, f. 61b).

The Ṣafavids were succeeded by three dynasties whose founders were tribal leaders, Nādir Shāh, who belonged to the Ḳirḳlū tribe of the Afshār, Karīm Khān Zand and Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār. Nādir Shāh, who favoured the Sunnī tribes, namely the Afghāns and Turkomāns, resettled a number of tribal groups to lessen the likelihood of rebellion. In 1142-3/1730 50-60,000 families of tribespeople were transferred from Ādharbāydjān, Persian ʿIrāḳ, and Fārs to Khurāsān. Two years later 60,000 Abdālīs were moved from Harāt to Mashhad, Nayshāpur and Dāmghān, and 3,000 families of the Haft Lang of the Bakhtiyārī were sent to Khurāsān. A second group of Bakhtiyārī, consisting of Haft Lang and Čahār Lang, amounting to 10,000 families were sent to Djām in Khurāsān after a Bakhtiyārī rebellion was crushed in 1149/1736 (L. Lockhart, *Nādir Shāh*, London 1938, 51-2, 54, 65, 110; see also M. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, 1748, ii, 187). The widespread dispersion of the Afshār tribe in Persia in the 19th century presumably dates in part from the reign of Nādir Shāh (cf. Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of Persia*, London 1813, 46).

The murder of Nādir Shāh was followed by disorders. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ḳādjār, having established himself in Astarābād, where a branch of the Ḳādjār tribe, as stated above, was settled by Shāh ʿAbbās, extended his power over Māzandarān. A Bakhtiyārī chief, ʿAlī Mardān Khān, took possession of Iṣfahān and was joined by Karīm Khān Zand. The two subsequently fell out. ʿAlī Mardān Khān was murdered, and Karīm Khān, after an initial defeat by Āzād Khān, the Afghān ruler of Ādharbāydjān, regrouped his forces, defeated Āzād Khān near Khisht and took Shīrāz. A struggle then ensued between Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ḳādjār and Karīm Khān, in which the latter proved victorious. Karīm Khān's court, like that of many other tribal rulers, was the resort of men of learning and culture (cf. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 86). His rule was on the whole peaceful. In Ādharbāydjān there appears to have been an attempt to settle the tribes. A *farmān* dated 1177/1764 instructs the *beglarbegī* of Tabrīz to treat the Shaḳāḳī and other tribes in the province well, to settle them in their original dwelling places, and cause them to engage in agriculture and government service (see *Landlord and peasant*, 133).

The death of Karīm Khān was followed by anarchy and internecine strife among the Zands, in which they appear to have been decimated. Finally Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār, who had escaped from Shīrāz where he had been held in captivity by Karīm Khān, united the Ḳādjār tribe and made himself master of most of Persia, reducing the various tribal leaders who had established themselves in different parts of the country. Although Āḳā Muḥammad Khān transferred the seat of his government to Tehran, Māzandarān and Gurgān remained the centre of the Ḳādjār tribe, with whom the ruling dynasty maintained its links. Abbott writing in 1844 put the Ḳādjārs in Astarābād at only 4-500 families. They were exempt from taxation (London, P.R.O., F.O. 60:108. Account of Abbott's journey along the shores of the Caspian, incl. in Abbott to Aberdeen, No. 8, Encampt. near Tehran, 29 June 1844). Sir Justin Sheil, writing rather later, puts the Ḳādjārs in Māzandarān at 2,000 houses (Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 396). The ruling dynasty never entirely lost its nomadic background. William Ousely records that Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, like most other members of the Ḳādjār family, preferred "an erratick to a settled life; a village to a city, and a tent to a palace" (*Travels*, London 1819, iii, 151). Lady Sheil also remarks on the nomadic habits "so prevalent throughout the nation" (*op. cit.*, 214). Even Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was, according to his French physician, Dr. Feuvrier, still a nomad at heart (*Trois ans à la cour de Perse*, Paris 1906, 189). Many of the provincial governors came from the ruling family, which, however, became increasingly separated from the main body of the tribe.

Tribal contingents, as in the case of earlier dynasties, together with a standing army and the forces of the provincial governors, also containing tribal levies, composed the military forces of the Ḳādjārs (see *Landlord and peasant*, 137 ff.). Morier states that Fatḥ ʿAlī's standing army consisted of 12,000 men, drawn indiscriminately from the tribes or the population of the cities but principally from the Ḳādjār tribe of Māzandarān. The soldiers had their families and homes in Tehran and the neighbouring villages and were ready at call (*A journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, 243-3). A register of the tribal levies was kept. Each tribe formed its own division in the army. These would attend at the Nawrūz at the royal camp. If their services were not required that year they would be dismissed. Whether retained at the royal camp or dismissed they received a stated pay. Jaubert describes the mixed population to be found at the royal camp (*Voyage en Arménie et en Perse, fait dans les annéés 1805 et 1806*, Paris 1821, 258-9). ʿAbbās Mīrzā was able to raise from the different tribes in Ādharbāydjān 50,000 horse and foot, and the governor of Khurāsān from the tribes in that province 20,000. The Arabs and Faylīs were exempt from the provision of military contingents (Morier, *op. cit.*, 240-1).

Morier speaks highly of the military potential of the tribesmen. "As raw materials for soldiers," he wrote, "nothing could be better than the Eelauts. Accustomed from their infancy to a camp life, habituated to all sorts of hardships and to the vicissitudes of weather, they are soldiers by nature. They have undertaken incredible marches without scarcely any food and without a murmur" (*A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, 1810-16*, London 1818, 215). Sheil also speaks highly of the Persian soldiers, though he did not agree that the *īlāt*s were necessarily the best (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 382). With the modernization of the army and the increasing dependence on artillery as the century proceeded, the importance of the tribal forces decreased, though it was not till after the first world war that they finally disappeared as a part of the military forces of the state.

In general the Ḳād̲j̲ārs were forced to administer the tribal areas through their own chiefs. The writ of the government seldom ran in the remoter districts. An *īlk̲h̲ānī* and *īlbegī* were appointed over the larger tribes. The nomination of these was confined to the leading tribal families. The shah might alter the succession by placing an uncle in the place of a nephew or younger brother in the condition of an elder, but normally he had no choice but to appoint as the leader of the tribe a man belonging to the family of the chief. The *īlk̲h̲ānī*s and *īlbegī*s collected the government taxes and were generally responsible for tribal affairs and administered customary law (see also *Landlord and peasant*, 158 ff.) The *īlk̲h̲ānī* of the Ḳād̲j̲ār tribe (who was not the reigning shah) presided over the tribal council of elders and enjoyed considerable influence (cf. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 327). The *īlk̲h̲ānī*, ʿAḍud al-Mulk, became regent in 1909 after the deposition of Muḥammad ʿAlī S̲h̲āh.

Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, like many preceding rulers, resettled various tribes. The ʿAbd al-Malikī, or a section of them, were transplanted from Fārs to Kalāristāk and Kud̲j̲ūr, as also were the Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ivands. In 1844 the former numbered some 3,000 families and the latter 4-5,000. Both were settled, but the former had summer and winter quarters. They contributed 1,500 horse to the government when so required (Account of Abbott's journey, *op. cit.*). He also transferred the ʿAmala from Luristān-i Kūčik to Fārs. After his death many of them returned to their original encampments (C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, 118-19). Later rulers also transported various tribes (see *Landlord and peasant*, 158 ff.).

Realizing that the existence of large bodies of tribes, separated from the settled population, under leaders whose commands, whether to commit aggression against their neighbours, highway robbery, or resistance to the law, was unfavourable to internal tranquillity, Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh devoted much of his energy to overthrowing the tribes. Many of the chiefs were put to death, others brought to court. Some tribes were broken up and others transplanted. The result was that by the middle of the century few of the tribal chiefs, except the *īlk̲h̲ānī*s of the Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī in Fārs and the Zaʿfarānlū in K̲h̲urāsān were able to exercise a preponderating influence on the affairs of the country (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 395). Macdonald Kinneir writing of the tribal chiefs states that they were "both from birth and influence, the first men in the empire; they are always mutually jealous and hostile; and the king by fomenting their quarrels, and thus nicely balancing the power of the one against the other, insures his own safety and the peace of his dominions. It is the custom to detain at court, either the chief himself or some part of his family, as hostages for the fidelity of the tribe" (*op. cit.*, 45).

The traditional policy of the government in the tribal regions from this time onwards consisted of *divide et impera*—in setting one tribe against another, fomenting family feuds and jealousies, and bribing the chiefs with gifts or promises of support in their struggles, one with another for the headship of the clan or tribe (cf. Layard, *Early adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia*, London 1887, i, 453-4; 'Report of a journey from Tehran to the Karun and Mohamerah ... by Maj. Gen. T. E. Gordon', 9 January 1891, Conf. 9233, printed for the use of the Cabinet, 30 May 1892; Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, i, 328, ii, 56; and Curzon, *Persia*, London 1891, ii, 272). The old practice of taking hostages from the tribes was continued (cf. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 332). This policy, although it enabled the government, in spite of its weakness, to maintain its power, shook the confidence of the tribes in the trustworthiness of the government, and contributed to the anarchy which frequently prevailed in the tribal districts. The government would invite tribal chiefs to parleys under flags of truce and after sending them as safe-conducts Ḳurʾāns on which they had sworn to keep faith with them, would arrest them as soon as they had got them in their power or had them "accidentally shot" as they were leaving at the close of the interview. The tribal leaders often had their own agents at court to keep them informed of matters which might be of interest to them and especially to give them forewarning of steps which might be contemplated against them. Another way in which the government attempted to control the tribal leaders was through marriage alliances.

During the reign of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, and more particularly Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, the power of the tribes was further reduced and the authority of the central government asserted. In 1896 there was a proposal for the establishment of a special ministry or high council to have charge of tribal affairs, but little came of this.

Taxes were assessed on flocks and sometimes a poll tax or family tax was also paid. Many of the tribal leaders owned land in the districts occupied by the tribe or outside it, and so far as they or their followers held land they were subject to land taxes. The system of land tenure in the tribal areas was often complicated. *Pīs̲h̲kas̲h̲* and special levies were also paid by the tribal leaders to the ruler or local governor at the new year. These were collected by the tribal leaders from their followers and often constituted a heavy imposition (see *Landlord and peasant*, 142-3, 158). Jaubert alleges that Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh insisted that at least one fifth of the taxes due from the tribal leaders should be paid in cash (*op. cit.*, 270). Some of the tribal leaders, especially in the frontier districts, held land free in return for the provision of military contingents. This was the case in Bud̲j̲nurd, Dara Gaz, and As̲h̲raf in the second half of the 19th century (see *Landlord and peasant*, 163-4). There were also cases of tribes being exempted from taxation for some particular reason. The Ḳarā Papak̲h̲s, who were settled in Sulduz by ʿAbbās Mīrzā after the Treaty of Turkomānčāy, were not required to provide soldiers or pay taxes (E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 78-9). Disputes between the government and the tribal leaders over arrears of taxation were frequent. If the government felt strong enough, it would collect these by a military expedition, if not bills (*barāts*) would be drawn on the defaulters and sold at a large discount. The *barātdār*s were often to be found quartered on the recalcitrant taxpayers and might remain months or years until the sum, or a part of it, was paid (cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, i, 499 ff.).

The numbers and condition of the tribes fluctuated. On the whole their life was one of hardship and uncertainty. Some among the Kurdish and Turkomān tribes were wealthy, but the smaller tribes were often extremely poor (cf. Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 107-8). Jaubert states that the nomads were attached to their nomadic life because of the independence which it gave them and which was for them the supreme happiness (*op. cit.*, 252). Malcolm, writing of the Kurds, states that they preferred the freedom they enjoyed in their rugged mountains and felt a pride

in the privations and hardships to which they were exposed, when they regarded them as associated with their independence (*op. cit.*, ii, 333). There is no doubt some truth in these statements, and on the whole the nomads, until recent times, have resisted settlement, fearing a loss of independence.

Baron de Bode, who travelled in south Persia in 1841, describing the character of the migrating tribes, states that he found this marked by much frankness, mixed with a great deal of cunning. He accounted for this apparent paradox partly by the simple and patriarchal life which the chiefs led and partly by the necessity they were under of being constantly on their guard, in order to defeat the machinations of their adversaries or from their own inclination to encroach upon their neighbours' property (*op. cit.*, i, 253). In general, the tribes were distinguished from the settled population by the greater freedom enjoyed by their women. Occasionally during the minority of a chief the tribe might be governed by his mother (cf. de Bode, *op. cit.*, ii, 134 ff.).

Large areas of the Ḳād̲j̲ār kingdom were tribal districts. In some the tribes migrated long distances, as the Bak̲h̲tiyārī and the Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī; in others the migrations were more limited, and in some the movement was no more than into tents on the village outskirts. There was no clear demarcation between tribal and non-tribal land, any more than there had been in earlier times. The tribes on their migrations passed through the land of the settled population or along its borders. They were often contumacious and lawless and sometimes did extreme damage to crops and gardens (cf. *Landlord and peasant*, 157-8).

Macdonald Kinneir thought that the numbers of the *īlāt*s, or wandering tribes, probably exceeded the town population (*op. cit.*, 44). Sheil, who had a long experience of Persia in the reigns of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh and Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, put the semi-nomadic and settled tribes together at possibly half the total population (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 393). In 1891 Mrs. Bishop recorded that the *īlāt*s "are supposed to constitute a fifth of the rural population" (*op. cit.*, 84). The decrease in the figures given by Mrs. Bishop is perhaps partly to be explained by the fact that tribesmen living in villages all or part of the year were presumably excluded from the figures given to Mrs. Bishop. Sir A. Houtum-Schindler put the tribal population at 2,200,000 out of a total population of 9,000,000 in 1900. These figures were broken down as follows: 850,000 Turks, 800,000 Kurds and Laks, 300,000 Arabs, 230,000 Lurs, and 20,000 Balūč and gypsies. (Report on Persian Army by Lt. Col. H. P. Picot, Jan. 1900; see also Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 493, who quotes figures drawn up by Houtum-Schindler in 1884, which differ slightly from the above). He notes that by this time very few of the Ustād̲j̲lū and D̲h̲u'l-Ḳadr remained. They resided in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. The Tekkelū had ceased to exist (*Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1898, 48-50).

One of the most important tribal areas in the 19th century was the Bak̲h̲tiyārī, with whom the government had repeated conflicts, and who in the 20th century played a major role in the restoration of constitutional government in 1909 (see A.K.S. Lambton, *Persian political societies*, in *St. Antony's Papers No. 16, Middle East Affairs No. 3*, London 1963). They were divided into two main groups, the Haft Lang and the Čahār Lang, the former having summer pastures in Čahār Maḥāll and the latter in Firaydan; both had winter pastures in K̲h̲ūzistān. Morier put their numbers in 1809 at 100,000 families (*Journey*, 242). Malcolm states that they continued to be ruled by their own customs and admitted hardly any interference by the officers of the government in their internal jurisdiction. They furnished troops and paid a small tribute. They were encouraged to settle in the plains with a view to rendering them more tangible to the laws of the country and, by giving them an interest in the general peace of the country, it was hoped to prevent the predatory attacks they were in the habit of making on their neighbours (*op. cit.*, ii, 331). De Bode states that many of the Haft Lang had been settled (*op. cit.*, ii, 86). Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh kept hostages from the Bak̲h̲tiyārī at Tehran, where a separate quarter was allotted to them (de Bode, *op. cit.*, ii, 75). Later rulers continued the practice of taking hostages. This did not, however, prevent rebellion by the tribe or secure the safety of the roads. Morier, when passing through Iṣfahān in 1811, mentions that the town was in a continual state of alarm lest Asad K̲h̲ān of the Haft Lang should seize the city (*Second journey*, 156).

Rawlinson put the Bak̲h̲tiyārī (the Čahār Lang and Haft Lang together with the Dinārūnīs) at 28,000 families about the year 1836. Their assessment was fixed at 100 *ḳāṭir*s, which term he states was used to denote a sum of money, which was increased or diminished according to the prosperity or otherwise of the tribes and the power of the government to exercise authority over them. Under the Atabegs a *ḳāṭir* had apparently been the equivalent of 1,000 *tūmān*s, but when Rawlinson was writing it was 100 *tūmān*s; but the government was unable to realize this amount. Muḥammad Taḳī K̲h̲ān of the D̲j̲ānikī tribe of the Čahār Lang was *īlk̲h̲ānī* at that time. Rawlinson states that he could put 10-12,000 well-armed men in the field. He speaks highly of Muḥammad Taḳī K̲h̲ān's justice and states that he had attempted to break the tribes of their nomadic habits and to some extent succeeded. He had bought land in Firaydan and founded villages and also settled tribesmen in the Rām Hurmuz plain, which he farmed from the government for 3,000 *tūmān*s a year. The Bak̲h̲tiyārī supplied K̲h̲ūzistān with tobacco and exported a small quantity of grain and supplied the Iṣfahān market with mutton. Each tribe of the Bak̲h̲tiyārī had its acknowledged hereditary chief or *k̲h̲ān* who ruled his subjects with despotic sway (*Notes on a march from Zohab, at the foot of the Zagros, along the mountain roads to Khuzistan (Susiana) and from thence through the province of Luristan to Kirmanshah, in the year 1836*, in *JRGS*, 1839, ix, 26-116). Layard also speaks highly of Muḥammad Taḳī K̲h̲ān and of his wish to open up the Bak̲h̲tiyārī to commerce. In 1841 the governor of Iṣfahān, Muʿtamid al-Dawla, marched from Iṣfahān to Mālamīr to demand payment of arrears of taxation from Muḥammad Taḳī K̲h̲ān, who was declared a rebel. Wishing to avoid conflict, he temporized, but was unable to reach a settlement. He then took refuge with the Čaʿb at Fallāḥiyya, but was persuaded to come to Muʿtamid al-Dawla in S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tar. The latter seized him and took him a prisoner to Iṣfahān, where he died in captivity in 1851 (see Layard, *op. cit.*, i, 373 ff.).

De Bode states that the Čahār Lang were taxed at 15,000 *tūmān*s but that the tax was not regularly collected since they could only be compelled to pay it by force (*op. cit.*, ii, 82). Some 195 villages settled by Haft Lang paid 7,873 *tūmān*s in cash and 530 *k̲h̲arvār*s of grain, while those of the tribe who still

migrated and were more numerous only paid 3,000 *tūmāns*. Some of the Haft Lang chiefs farmed whole districts (*op. cit.*, ii, 86). Mrs Bishop states that the Čahār Maḥāll was farmed by the *ilkhānī* for about 20,000 *tūmāns* (£ 6,000) p.a. (*op. cit.*, i, 309). She put the numbers of the Bakhtiyārī at 29,100 families, and states that they had increased in the last half-century. Taxation was paid to the governor of Iṣfahān except for three tribes which were under Burūdjird (*op. cit.*, i, 295-6). She contrasts the poverty which she saw among the Bakhtiyārī with the wealth of the tribes when they were visited by Layard and de Bode (*op. cit.*, ii, 54). She also describes the insecurity prevailing in the Bakhtiyārī and the shadowy nature of the authority of the *ilkhānī* in the remoter areas (*op. cit.*, ii, 92-3). She states that the Bakhtiyārī exported mules and horses (*op. cit.*, ii, 117). By the time Curzon wrote, this was no longer the case (*op. cit.*, ii, 299). Curzon states that in addition to the office of *ilkhānī* and *ilbegī*, both of which were salaried by and in the gift of the shah, a third office, that of governor (*ḥākim*) of Čahār Maḥāll, was also closely bound up with tribal politics, since the tribal chiefs held landed property in Čahār Maḥāll (*op. cit.*, ii, 295).

Luristān-i Kūčik was divided into Pīshkūh and Pusht-i Kūh. The principal tribes of the former were the Silāsilī and Dilfūn, numbering according to de Bode about 30,000 families, the ʿAmala (2-3,000 families or more), and the Bālā Girīwa (4,000 families) (*op. cit.*, ii, 286 ff.). The Pusht-i Kūh tribes, the Faylīs, were less numerous. Rawlinson gives a detailed list of the tribes of Pīshkūh and Pusht-i Kūh, putting the former at 38,000 and the latter at 12,000 (*op. cit.*). The Lurs supplied mutton and milk products and charcoal to the bazaars of Burūdjird, Nihāwand, Hamadān, and Kirmānshāh. They also made carpets and a coarse tenting made of goats' hair, which was used for saddle-bags by muleteers (de Bode, *op. cit.*, ii, 292). The tribal organization of the Lur-i Kūčik differed from that of the Bakhtiyārī (the Lur-i Buzurg). Each sub-division had its own leader or *tūshmāl*, and they met as equals on occasion to discuss their common interests. The assessment of the tribes of Pīshkūh was fixed at 120 *ḳātirs* (see above for the meaning of this term). This sum would be distributed among the tribes and their subdivisions at a general council, each subdivision determining the amount to be paid by the different camps and the *rīsh safīd* of each camp collecting it from the families under his rule. In the time of the *wazīr* Mīrzā Buzurg the value of the *ḳātir* was raised to 200 old *tūmāns* or 40,000 (currency) *tūmāns* but the amount realized fell short of this sum (Rawlinson, *op. cit.*; see also Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 274 ff., and ʿAlī Muḥammad Sākī, *Djughrāfiyā wa Taʾrīkh-i Luristān*, Tehrān 1964).

In Fārs the two main tribal groups in the 19th century were the Khamsa and the Turkī-speaking Ḳashḳāʾī. The former was composed, as their name suggests, of five tribes, three Turkish (the Aynalū, Bahārlū, and Nafar), one Persian (the Bāsirī), and one Arab (the Īl-i ʿArab) (see Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, ii, 309 ff. and *Landlord and peasant*, 159). They were originally placed under the control of Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Ḳawām al-Mulk, the grandson of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, in 1278/1861-2 to form a counter-weight to the Ḳashḳāʾī, Ḳawām al-Mulk undertaking to pay the revenue of Dārāb and the *īlāt-i khamsa* on a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract for a period of ten years (Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, ii, 51). The rivalry between the Ḳashḳāʾī and the family of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm went back some years beyond this. De Bode, who was in Shīrāz in 1841, states that he found the town divided into rival camps, the *ilbegī* at the head of one and the *kalāntar*, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā ʿAlī Akbar, the son of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, at the head of the other (*op. cit.*, i, 180-1). (For a detailed description of the Bāsirī tribe of the Khamsa confederacy in 1958 see F. Barth, *Nomads of South Persia*, Oslo 1961).

The Ḳashḳāʾī increased in importance in the 19th century. The different sections of the tribe (*tīra*) were each under a *kalāntar*, and were further subdivided into groups each under a *kadkhudā*. The government of the tribe as a whole was in the hands of an *ilkhānī* and his deputy, the *ilbegī*, both of whom were appointed by the government but were chosen from among the tribal leaders (Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, ii, 313). Sheil put their numbers at 30-40,000 tents. The principal branch were the ʿAmala, consisting of 3,300 tents presided over by the *ilkhānī*. The summer quarters of the tribe were near Iṣfahān at Gandumān and their winter quarters near the coast. Several groups dwelt among the Bakhtiyārī near the Djānikī mountains and Mt. Dinā. They were rich in flocks and herds and did great harm in their movements (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 398-9). Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā, when governor of Fārs, arrested the *ilkhānī*, Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān, in 1249/1833-4 but was nevertheless forced to reappoint him over the tribe when he released him shortly afterwards (Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, ii, 285). Later he was held in Tehran as a hostage for the good behaviour of the tribe for some ten years until he was released in 1848 (F.O. 60:137. Farrant to Palmerston, No. 103, Tehran, 24 November 1848). Curzon states that the *ilkhānī* was governor of Fīrūzābād and Farrāshband, but that the *ilkhānī* of the day, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān, had been deprived of his tribal power by the government, and the headship of the tribe was vested in the *ilbegī*, Dārāb Khān, who paid to the provincial governor a poll-tax on the flocks and herds, which he collected from his followers. The numbers of the Ḳashḳāʾī were reduced by the famine of 1871-2 and were decreased by settlement. Curzon thought that the tribe did not number more than 10-12,000 tents (*op. cit.*, ii, 112-14). (For a detailed description of the customs of the Ḳashḳāʾī in modern times see Muḥammad Bahman Begī, *ʿUrf wa ʿādat-i ʿashāʾir-i Fārs*, Tehran 1945).

In addition to the Ḳashḳāʾī and the Turkish tribes of the Khamsa, there were a number of other Turkish tribes in Fārs, such as the Khaladj in Ḳunḳārī, whose leader Mīrzā Ḳāsim Khān married the daughter of Djānī Khān, the *ilkhānī* of the Ḳashḳāʾī in the early part of the 19th century (Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, ii, 244). There were also small groups of Khaladj in Kirmān and Ādharbāydjān (Houtum Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, 50).

The Mamassanī, living on the borders of Fārs and Khūzistān, consisted of four main divisions, the Rustamī, Baḳish, Djoī, and Dushmanziyārī. The first two were the strongest and jealousy existed between them. The chief of the Dushmanziyārī, Muḥammad Riḍā Khān, was executed in 1840 on the orders of Firaydūn Mīrzā, governor of Fārs, and the tribe was greatly weakened. The total number of the Mamassanī about that time was said to exceed 4,000 families. The tax levied on them by the governor of Fārs amounted to 7,000 *tūmāns* (c. £ 2,800). They committed much robbery during the latter years of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, when Fārs was administered by Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā. Walī Khān, the Baḳish chief, was the main ringleader. He and his son Bāḳir

Khān were eventually captured and imprisoned in Tabrīz and the power of the Mamassanī was somewhat reduced (de Bode, *op. cit.*, i, 270 ff.) De Bode puts the Bāvī, who occupied Bāsht, at upwards of 4,000 families. Their chief, Sharīf Khān, was blinded by Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā. Originally the Bāvī came to Bāsht from the Čaʿb country. They were then moved by Nādir Shāh to Khurāsān but returned to Fārs after his death. The Buwayr Aḥmadī numbered 3,000 families and occupied Ārū and the country to the north of Dū Gunbadān. The Nūī consisted of about 2,000 families and lived north-east of Bihbahān. The Ṭayyibī numbered some 3,000 families and the Bahmaʾī, inhabiting the mountains north-west of Bihbahān, "the wildest and most unruly tribe among the mountaineers of Fārs", were, de Bode thought, somewhat underrated at 2,000 families. At the time he was writing they had gone over to the Bakhtiyārī leader, Muḥammad Taḳī Khān. They were much split by blood feuds. There were also a number of small tribes, Arab and Turkish, occupying the plain of Bihbahān, some settled in villages and others living in tents (de Bode, *op. cit.*, i, 275 ff.). The figures given for the tribes by Sheil were on the whole smaller than those given by de Bode. The power of the Mamassanī had by the middle of the century been considerably reduced. Sheil puts their numbers at 8,000 tents and houses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 399; see also Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 318). According to Sheil's estimates of the tribes of Bihbahān and the Kūhgīlūya the largest was the Bahma'ī (2,500 tents) followed by the Buwayr Aḥmadī (2,000 tents), Bāvī (1,200 tents), Čirāmī (1,000 tents), Ṭayyibī (1,000 tents), and numerous smaller tribes. Many of them were poor, though the Ṭayyibī were said to be rich (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 399). Farhād Mīrzā reduced the Kūhgīlūya in 1882 (Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 318). (See also Maḥmūd Bāwar, *Kūhgīlūya wa īlāt-i ān*, Tehran (?) 1945, and Manūčihr Zarrābī, *Ṭawāʾif-i Kūhgīlūya* in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, ix, fas. 1-4, 278-352. See also F.O. 371:1728 for a genealogical tree of the *khān*s of the Buwayr Aḥmadī tribe and their numbers in 1913).

The Čaʿb in ʿArabistān increased in importance in the 19th century until the death of Shaykh Thāmir, after which they declined. Between 1740 and 1750 they apparently dispossessed the Afshārs who had held Djarrāḥī and the neighbourhood. Prior to that they had made certain annual payments to the Afshār chief for pasturage. During the reign of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān they had paid *pīshkash* irregularly to the governor of Fārs. Macdonald Kinneir wrote that the *shaykh* of Čaʿb could field 5,000 horse and 20,000 foot, formed by the contingents provided by the *shaykh*s subordinate to him (*op. cit.*, 91). In 1818 Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā marched on Fallāḥiyya to demand arrears of taxation from Shaykh Thāmir. Under Muḥammad Shāh hostages were taken from the Čaʿb and the revenue assessment was raised from about 4,000 *tūmān*s to 20,000 (F.O. 60:103. Memo. by Rawlinson on Cha'ab, incl. in Sheil to Aberdeen, No. 15, Tehran, 3 February, 1844. See also de Bode, *op. cit.*, ii, 110 ff., and F.O. 60:222. Report on the Cha'b for Outram compiled by George Percy Badger, Arabic interpreter, Camp before Bushire, 21 February 1857). Pelly in 1863 put the principal Čaʿb tribes at 68,000 fighting men, adding the rider that the figure was probably overstated (*Report on the Tribes etc., and the shores of the Persian Gulf*, Calcutta 1874). Curzon put the Čaʿb at 62,000 (*op. cit.*, ii, 321 ff.).

With the decline of the Čaʿb, the Muḥasayn of Muḥammara increased in influence (Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 325 ff.). Among other Arab tribes in the south were the Muntafiḳ at Hawīza, who came to the district from the Turkish empire in 1812 (Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 325 ff.), the Banī Ṭuruf in Dasht-i Mīshān, and the Banī Lām, who lived mainly in Turkish territory. (See also Manūčihr Ẓarrābī, *Ṭawāʾif-i Miyān Āb*, in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, x, fas. 1-4, 394-407).

In Eastern Persia the tribes were many and varied. In Kirmān there were the Afshār and ʿAṭā Ilāhīs, put in the middle of the century at 15,000 and 3,000 tents and houses respectively (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 398). The most important group in the south-east was the Balūč mainly in Balūčistan and Sīstān (see J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys and wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Beloochistan*, tr. by Capt. W. Jesse, London 1856) but with small concentrations in Ḳāʾināt and Khurāsān also. In the early period of Ḳādjār rule, the Balūč of Sīstān and Balūčistān were not under the control of the central government. They did not pay a regular tribute, but occiasonally brought a trifling *pīshkash* to the governor of Kirmān (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Nadjaf Ḳulī, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, trans., London 1833, 447). Morier, writing in 1808, states that the Balūč, although once subject to Persia, had resumed their independence (*Journey*, 49-50). During the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh some progress was made in bringing the Balūč under the control of the central government (see Fīrūz Mīrzā Farmān Farmā, *Safar-nāma-i Kirmān wa Balūčistān*, ed. Manṣūra Niẓām Māfī, Tehran 1963). Ferrier, who travelled in Persia in 1845, states that there were some 8,000 Balūč tents with very large flocks in Turshīz (*op. cit.*, 137). Sheil puts their number rather lower at 2,000 tents and horses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 400). There were also Balūč at Ḳāʾin (Ferrier, *op. cit.*, 441) and some 2,000 tents and houses at Turbat-i Ḥaydarī (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 400). The most important group in Turbat-i Ḥaydarī were the Ḳarāʾī, numbering 5,000 tents and houses. There were also various miscellaneous groups amounting to some 3,000 tents and houses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 400). In the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the Ḳarāʾī leader, Isḥāḳ Khān, achieved a position of great influence. He was eventually seized with his son and killed by Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā, governor of Khurāsān (Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 175 ff.). Colonel Yate, who travelled in Khurāsān in 1893, put the Ḳarāʾī at 3,000 families. They provided one regiment of infantry (*Khurāsān and Sīstān*, London 1900, 53). In Turshīz there were 4,000 Arab tents and houses, 7,000 in Tūn and Ṭabas, and 12,000 in Ḳāʾin (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 400).

In Eastern Khurāsān, the Hazāras, Taymūrīs, Maymanīs, Fīrūzkūhīs, Djamshīdīs, and Zangīs, all Turkish tribes, were in the early Ḳādjār period barely under government control, and on the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh they committed disturbances. Ferrier mentions that when he visited Khurāsān 2,000 families of Hazāras had recently emigrated from Harāt to Shahr-i Naw near Maḥmūdābād. They bred considerable numbers of horses, in which they paid their tribute to the government. They were also obliged to provide, when called upon to do so, a contingent of 1,000 cavalry (*op. cit.*, 137). By 1893, the number of Hazāras in Persia had apparently fallen. Yate estimates them at only 1,200 families (*op. cit.*, 132). Sheil puts the Taymūrīs living in Khwāf at 4,000 tents and houses; a second group of 2,000 lived near Mashhad. There were a

number of miscellaneous Turkish and Persian tribes, amounting to some 11,000 tents and houses, round Mas͟hhad. In Nays͟hāpūr there were 10,000 Bayāt and Kurs͟hāhī, who were settled. There were also Bayāt in Burūd͟jird, K͟hurramābād, and Fārs, apart from those who had joined the Ḳād͟jār tribe, forming the sub-division known as the S͟hāmbayātlū (Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, 48-50). The Kurdish tribes in K͟hurāsān consisted of 14,000 houses and tents of Zaʿfarānlū at Ḳūčān, 2,000 Kayvānlū at Rādkān, and 3,000 S͟hādillū at Bud͟jnurd, and various other groups at Sabzawār, D͟jūwayn, and elsewhere (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 400). The Zaʿfarānlū had originally been settled in Akhal by S͟hāh ʿAbbās to repel the Özbeks, but they were driven out in the reign of S͟hāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, and retired to Ḳūčān, S͟hīrwān, and Bud͟jnurd (Yate, *op. cit.*, 180 ff.; see also Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 97 ff., and 191-2).

The Central Asian frontier of Persia and control of the tribes living in the Turkomān steppe proved a difficult problem for the Ḳād͟jārs, as it had for earlier dynasties. They were unable to prevent widespread raiding by the Özbeks and Turkomāns, who plundered and, in the early part of the century, carried off many Persian subjects into slavery. The two most important Turkomān tribes on the Persian side of the frontier were the Guklān and the Yamūt, both Sunnī. The former were not nomadic. The latter, who were found on both sides of the ill-defined frontier, were divided into two sections, *čumūr*s, who were cultivators, and *čarwā*s, who were nomads. The relations between the Yamūt and the Atak villagers were hostile and raiding by the former was frequent. There was, however, often provocation by the latter and much oppression of them by government officials. The Guklān, who occupied the area to the south-east of the Caspian Sea, lived in constant dread of the Yamūt and were also on bad terms with the Kurds of Bud͟jnurd and the Ḥād͟jd͟jīlar tribe of Kabūdd͟jāma. Raids and counter raids were of common occurrence (cf. Yate, *op. cit.*, 245-7, for an account of a raid). Each section of the Guklān and Yamūt consisted of several *awba*s, each of which had its leader (*āḳ saḳal*), who held a hereditary *yurt*. There was no leader of the whole tribe. When necessary, the elders of the *awba*s and the *s͟hayk͟h*s would assemble to decide on some course of action. Inter-tribal feuds were common. Tribute was paid to the government through agents (*sarkarda*s) appointed by the government, who were also responsible for the quota of horsemen the tribes were supposed to furnish when called upon to do so (see *Landlord and peasant*, 160-2).

Morier, travelling between 1810 and 1816, put the Yamūt and Guklān together at about 8-10,000 families. He states that their submission to the government was nominal, amounting to little more than the present of a few horses annually to the Shah, "who is so careful not to give them cause of disgust that he generally returns them more than he receives". Their frontier was about eight *farsak͟h*s from Astarābād. Beyond them were the Tekke, who were generally at variance with the Yamūt and the Guklān (*Second journey*, 377-8). J. B. Fraser describes a visit to a group of Guklān in the year 1883 (*A winter's journey*, ii, 331 ff.). He states that the Yamūt at this time were in a state of rebellion (*ibid.*, 382). Abbott put the Yamūt at 59,500 tents or families on the basis of figures collected by a Persian official in 1838 (F.O. 60:92. Abbott to Aberdeen, Tabriz, 10 May 1842). These figures were probably exaggerated. Taylour Thomson, who visited the area in 1846, put the Guklān at some 5-6,000 families and the Yamūt at 20,000 (F.O. 60:122. Taylour Thomson to Sheil, Tehran, 15 April 1846, incl. in Sheil to Aberdeen, No. 50, Tehran, 4 May 1846). Abbott writing again in 1844 states that the Guklān occupying the area between Gunbad-i Kābūs and the Atrek and Bud͟jnurd numbered 3-4,000 families. They were formerly more numerous—about 12,000 families, but half of them had removed to K͟hiva some years previously when Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh had threatened to punish them for plundering. Cholera had also wrought great ravages among them; and the troops of Muḥammad S͟hāh, when marching against the Yamūt in 1836, had committed great excesses against them. The Yamūt at this time lived mainly outside Persia. Their numbers were large and they moved from Persia to K͟hiva according to caprice. The *čarwā*s made a seasonal migration to the Balk͟hān mts. They paid no obedience or taxes to the governor of Astarābād but the *čumūr*s were less fortunate. When the *čarwā*s migrated and the *cumūr*s were left without their protection, the governor of Astarābād would levy a small poll-tax and *pis͟hkas͟h* from them. The Persian government, unable to coerce the Turkomāns, as far as possible conciliated them (Account of Abbott's Journey, *op. cit.*). In the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh, the Guklān were compelled to furnish forty or fifty families as hostages, but this did not prevent their carrying on foraging excursions into Persia (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 207 ff.). Yate in 1893 states that some of the Guklān were wealthy. The Persian government numbered the Guklān settled in the Gurgān district at 900-1,000 families; but others put them at 1,700-2,000. They lived in constant dread of the Yamūt (*op. cit.*, 217 ff.). The Yamūts were variously estimated at 7,000 to 15,000 tents. Yate thought the lower estimate the most nearly correct. Of them, 4,600 were said to be *čumūr*s and 2,400 *čarwā*s (*op. cit.*, 279-80). (See also Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 189 ff.; and various reports from Karelin, the chief of the expedition sent to the Eastern shores of the Caspian in 1836, to the Russian Minister of Finance, translations of which are in F.O. 65:226, incl. in Durham to Palmerston, St. Petersburgh, 19 December 1836; F.O. 65:233. incl. in Durham to Palmerston, No. 28, marked secret and confidential, St. Petersburgh, 13 February 1837, and F.O. 65:234. Incl. in Durham to Palmerston, no. 63, St. Petersburgh, 8 April 1837).

In the Tehran region there were a miscellaneous collection of tribes, of whom the S͟hāhsivan were the most numerous—9,000 tents—in the middle of the nineteenth century. They were dispersed according to the season between Ḳumm, Tehran, Ḳazwīn, and Zand͟jān. The remainder consisted of various small groups, most of whom were extremely poor (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 397). There were also K͟halad͟j near Ḳumm and Sāva (de Bode, *op. cit.*, ii, 318). Houtum-Schindler mentions some 1,000 Pāzūkī families in Varāmīn and K͟hwār towards the end of the century. Some spoke Kurdish and some Turkish. He also mentions various other minor tribes in Eastern Persian ʿIrāḳ (*op. cit.* 50).

The K͟hamsa district of Zand͟jān was inhabited by a number of Turkish tribes. They lived in summer in tents, but did not move far. In winter they lived in houses, because of the severe cold. The two largest tribes were the Garrūs, numbering 4-5,000 houses, and the S͟hāhsivan-i Afs͟hār, numbering 2,500 tents (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 397). By the beginning of the 20th century they had apparently all become settled,

except for a few Shāhsivan and one Ṭālish tribe, originally from Gīlān (E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 14).

The most important tribe in the Hamadān-Malāyir-Tūysirkān-Farahān region was the Turkish tribe, the Ḳarāguzlū. Macdonald Kinneir states that they could put 7,000 men in the field (*op. cit.*, 127). The district between Kangavār and Hamadān was in the hands of the Afshār, centred on Asadābād (*op. cit.*, 129). Sheil numbered the Ḳarāguzlū at 4,000 houses. By his time they were all settled. There were also various Lak tribes, reckoned at 1,500 tents and houses, in the Hamadān-Malāyir-Tūysirkān-Farahān area (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 398).

The Kurds, apart from the settlements in Khurāsān and elsewhere mentioned above, were to be found in Kirmānshāh, Ardalān, and western Ādharbāydjān. They lived on the frontiers of the Persian and Ottoman empires and in some cases migrated across these. This greatly aggravated the difficulty of controlling them. Sheil gives a list of the Kurdish tribes of Kirmānshāh, but states that the figures must be treated with reserve. According to this list the most numerous were the Kalkhūr, put at 11,500 tents and houses, the Zangana (including the Sandjābī) at 10,000 houses and tents, and the Gūrān at 3,300 tents and houses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 401). Curzon, towards the end of the century, puts the Kurds of Kirmānshāh at some 24,300 tents and families, of which the Kalkhur and Gūrān accounted for 5,000 each, and the Sandjābī 1,500 (*op. cit.*, i, 557). Curzon's figures presumably include many Kurds who were settled in towns. The Kurds of Ardalān were mainly sedentary, and until towards the end of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh were virtually independent under the *wālī* of Ardalān. In the Kurdish districts of Ādharbāydjān also, even though the inhabitants professed allegiance to the shah, they were in fact independent of the interference of the central government because of the inaccessible nature of the country. Among them were the Hakkārī, living west of Urūmiyya near Salmās and on both sides of the Ottoman-Persian frontier (see Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 334-5). Gaspard Drouville, who was in Persia in 1812-13, states that they were under the protection of ʿAbbās Mīrzā and that they came annually with immense flocks to use the pastures in Persia. In time of war their *begs* provided ʿAbbās Mīrzā with horse and foot soldiers. As soon as they entered Persia, they were supplied and provided for by the shah. Drouville also states that the Kurds of Ādharbāydjān who provided ʿAbbās Mīrzā with military contingents were exempt from taxation (*Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1825, ii, 7). The Shaḳāḳī under Ṣādiḳ Khān, to whom Miyāna and the surrounding districts belonged, were said to be able to number 10,000 horse. On the death of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, Ṣādiḳ Khān made an abortive attempt to establish his independence. He rebelled again later and lost his life. The tribe was subsequently dispersed (Macdonald Kinneir, *op. cit.*, 152). According to Sheil, the Shaḳāḳī and Mukrī both consisted of 15,000 tents and houses. The latter lived round Sawdj Bulāgh (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 396). The figures given by Curzon are lower (*op. cit.*, i, 555). The Baban in Suldūz according to Sheil numbered 1500 houses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, p. 401). (See also Shaykh Muḥammad Mardūkh, *Taʾrīkh-i Mardūkh*, n.d., 2 vols., and Muḥammad Mukrī, *ʿAshāʾir-i Kurd. Īl-i Sandjābī*, vol. i, pt. 1, Tehran 1954).

Of the Turkish tribes in Ādharbāydjān the Shāhsivan were the most numerous. Abbott, writing in 1844, states that they were usually estimated at 11-12,000 families, about 6-7,000 inhabiting Mishkīn and about 5,000 Ardabīl. Both wintered in Mughān. In the Arbabīl district they inhabited several villages, of which the population was partly made up of peasants and partly tribal. In these the government's demand on the tribe was 1,000 *tūmāns* p.a. The tented families, on the other hand, paid 5,500 *tūmāns*, of which the Mishkīn division paid 4,000 *tūmāns*. These sums were paid by the heads of the tribe, who collected them from their followers ('Account of Abbott's Journey', *op. cit.*). According to Sheil, the Shāhsivan numbered 10,000 tents (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 396). Houtum-Schindler states that the Inānlū were the most important branch of the Shāhsivan. The Shāmlū by this time existed partly as a branch of the Shāhsivan and partly as a separate tribe called the Bahārlū, numbering some 2,500 families, half residing in Fārs, where they formed part of the Khamsa, and half in Ādharbāydjān (*Eastern Persian Irak*, 48-50). By the 20th century many of the Shāhsivan had become settled. Aubin puts them at 19,700 families, divided into sixty groups or *udjāḳs*, each under a *kadkhudā* (*op. cit.*, 106-7). The Muḳaddam in the middle of the century numbered 5,000 houses and the Maḥmūdlū 2,500; both were in Marāgha. The Bahārlū and the Afshār, both in Urūmiyya, were reckoned at 2,000 and 7,000 houses respectively, the Dunbulī at 2,000 houses, the Ḳarā Papakh at 1,500 houses. There were a few minor tribes also (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 396). In the early 20th century they numbered 5,000 families (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 78-9). Houtum-Schindler puts the Afshārs in Ādharbāydjān at the end of the 19th century at 12,000 families (*Eastern Persian Irak*, 48-50).

The tribes of Ḳaradja Dāgh, Ḳarā Dāgh and Tālish proved, like most of the frontier tribes, difficult to control, migrating from one side to the other. In the early Ḳādjār period they played a restless part in the Perso-Russian wars, their allegiance vacillating. Sheil put the numbers of the Čilibiyānlū in Arasbārān at 1,500 tents and houses, the Ḳarāčurlū at 2,500, the Ḥādjdjī ʿAlīlū at 800, the Begdillū at 200 and various minor groups at 550 tents and houses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 396). (See further Bāyburdī, *Taʾrīkh-i Arasbārān*, Tehran 1962, 121 ff. and Aubin, *op. cit.*, 255). The Ḳarāčurlū were among the first of the tribes in Arasbārān to become settled (Bāyburdī, *op. cit.*, 110 ff.).

By the beginning of the 20th century the position of the tribes had changed considerably. Many of the tribal leaders were familiar with urban life, either through government service or because of their detention in the capital by the government as hostages. A few had travelled abroad. Settlement both of the leaders and the tribesmen was growing, and, apart from the outlying areas, the tribes were becoming assimilated to the rest of the population (cf. Aubin, *op. cit.*, 177-8).

With the Constitutional revolution a new period began in Persia, which affected the position of the tribes as well as that of other sections of the population. Tribal forces were found on both sides in the struggle for the constitution. Under the electoral law of 9 September 1906, dividing electors and elected into six categories, the tribes, apart from the Ḳādjārs, were not reckoned as a special category, but were counted among the inhabitants of each province and as such had the right to vote subject to the conditions laid down (Art. 1, note 1). Under the electoral law of 1 July 1909, however, provision

was made for the Shāhsivan, Ḳashḳā'ī, Khamsa (of Fārs), Turkomāns, and Bakhtiyārī each to send one representative to the assembly (Art. 63). In the later electoral laws no special provision was made for tribal representation. In the early years of constitutional government and during the anarchy prevailing after the suspension of the constitution in 1911 the government was unable to control the tribal areas. Because of this, with the discovery of oil in south-west Persia, special agreements were made between the Anglo-Persian Oil Company on the one hand and the Shaykh of Muḥammara and the Bakhtiyārī respectively on the other. The latter supplied labour to the engineers and provided guards for the protection of the oil-fields. During the first World War there was much unrest, rebellion and disorder in the tribal areas (see further Sir Percy Sykes, *A history of Persia*, ii). After the war Riḍā Khān, later Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, reimposed the authority of the central government throughout the country. The Kurds of Ādharbāydjān were subjugated and disarmed. In 1925 the Bakhtiyārīs and Ḳashḳā'īs were partially disarmed and the Turkomāns to some extent reduced. Subsequently, attempts were made to settle the tribes (see Hassan Arfa, *Under five Shahs*, London 1964, and *Landlord and peasant*, 181, 283 ff.). During and after the second World War there were also disturbances in the tribal areas, especially a separatist movement in the Kurdish districts of Ādharbāydjān and a serious tribal revolt in the south in 1946.

Bibliography: In the article. Further material on the tribes and their movements will be found in chronicles, dynastic and local histories. See also H. Field, *Contributions to the anthropology of Iran*. Anthropological Series Field Museum of Natural History, xxix/1-2, 15 December 1939; X. de Planhol, "Geography of Settlement", in *Cambridge History of Iran*, i, 409-67, and E. Sunderland, "Pastoralism and the social Anthropology of Iran", *ibid.*, 611-83.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

ILBĪRA, Sp. Elvira, town and the associated province, near or identical with Granada. The Iliberri/Ilbīra/Granada question has been much discussed and may be summarized as follows: The Roman town of Iliberri occupied part of the present site of Granada. The Arab governors of the region at first resided there, Arabicizing the name into Ilbīra, but about 130/747 founded, 12 km north-west of modern Granada, a new capital which was called Ḳasṭalla, Ḳasṭīla, or Ḳasṭīliya. This however soon became known by the name of its predecessor, Elvira. The original Elvira continued to be populated, largely by Jews and Christians, but in time came to be known as Granata/Gharnāṭa. In 401/1010, during the Berber insurrection, new Elvira was sacked by the Ṣanhādja troops of Zāwī b. Zīrī and the inhabitants emigrated to Granada. In 403/1012 Zāwī declared his independence and made Granada his capital. Henceforward Elvira declined though there was still a fortress there as late as 891/1486. The ruins are still visible and the name survives in the Sierra de Elvira and the Puerta de Elvira at Granada.

The name Ilbīra as that of the region of which the capital was Granada continued in use long after the decline of Elvira town. See further gharnāṭa.

Bibliography: *Passim* in most historians and geographers, but see in particular Yāḳūt, i, 348, iv, 97; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 343; Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i, 328-33.

(J. F. P. Hopkins)

al-**ILBĪRĪ** [see abū isḥāḳ al-ilbīrī].

ILČI [see elči].

ILDEÑIZ, Shams al-Dīn (d. ? 571/1175-6), Atabeg of Ādharbāydjān and founder of the short-lived dynasty of the Ildeñizids (see next article).

By birth a Ḳïpčaḳ Turk, Ildeñiz began his career as a slave of the Saldjūḳ sultan Maḥmūd's vizier Kamāl al-Dīn al-Simīrūmī (assassinated 515 or 516/1121 or 1122); he then passed into the service of Sultan Mas'ūd (529/1134-547/1152), who appointed him governor of Arrān. In this remote province, where incursions from Georgia made essential the maintenance of a strong army, Ildeñiz became one of the most powerful *amīr*s of the Saldjūḳs, and by about 540/1146 had made himself the virtually independent ruler of Ādharbāydjān. Sultan Mas'ūd gave him in marriage Mu'mina Khatun, the widow of his brother and predecessor Toghrïl, and this marriage led him to intervene, in the quarrels over the succession to the sultanate after Mas'ūd's death (547/1152), on behalf of his stepson Arslān b. Toghrïl. In 556/1161 he marched from Hamadān, deposed Sulaymān Shāh, and installed Arslān as sultan. The grateful Arslān accorded the rank of Atābak-i a'ẓam to Ildeñiz, who now turned to securing the position of his protégé. The *amīr* of Rayy, Inanč, was temporarily won over by the marriage of his daughter to Ildeñiz's son (and successor) Pahlawān, but later attempted, in alliance with the *amīr*s of Fārs and Ḳazwīn, to depose Arslān in favour of his brother Muḥammad. The dissidents were defeated by Ildeñiz, but Inanč made his escape to Rayy; he gained the support of the Khwārazmshāh Il-arslan, but in 564/1169 was forced to flee upon the approach of Ildeñiz, who, with the help of Inanč's vizier Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ashall, procured his assassination. Ildeñiz then accompanied the Sultan to Iṣfahān and obtained the submission of the atabeg of Fārs, Zangī. He was obliged to return to Ādharbāydjān by the news that the Georgians had sacked Dwin [*q.v.*] (557/1162), whereupon a coalition of Muslim rulers, led by Ildeñiz, invaded Georgia and defeated King Giorgi [see kurdj]. Back at Hamadān, he received word that the Khwārazmshāh was planning to invade Khurāsān; in spite of a warning from Ildeñiz that these territories belonged to the Saldjūḳ sultan, Il-arslan marched against Nīshāpūr; Ildeñiz confronted him at Bisṭām, but no open hostilities occurred and Il-arslan withdrew. The death of Il-arslan in 568/1172 removed the threat from that quarter; so that by his death, probably in 571/1175-6, Ildeñiz was the undisputed *de facto* master of the 'Irāḳi territories of the Saldjūḳid empire. He was buried at Hamadān, beside a *madrasa* which he had founded.

Bibliography: Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra* . . . (= Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii), index; Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, ed. M. Iḳbāl, Lahore 1933, index; Ibn al-Athīr, xi (index); Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda* (GMS, xiv/1-2), 472-3; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, Lucknow 1891, ii, 201 ff.; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, Chapter 1, esp. pp. 169-70, 176-9 (with full references). See also the bibliography to ildeñizids.

The above is an abridgement of the article Ildeñiz in *IA*, fasc. 50, 961-4. (Mirza Bala)

ILDEÑIZIDS or **ELDIGÜZIDS,** a line of Atabegs or Turkish slave commanders who governed most of northwestern Persia, including Arrān, most of Ādharbāydjān, and Djibāl, during the second half of the 6th/12th century and

the early decades of the 7th/13th. Down to the death in battle in 590/1194 of Ṭoghrïl b. Arslan, last of the Great Saldjūḳs of Iraq and Persia, the Ildeñizids ruled as theoretical subordinates of the Sultans, acknowledging this dependence on their coins almost down to the end of the Saldjūḳs. Thereafter, they were in effect an independent dynasty, until the westward expansion of the Mongols and the Khwārazm-Shāhs weakened and then brought the line to its close. All the Ildeñizid Atabegs issued coins of their own.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ILDEÑIZIDS

1. Shams al-Dīn Ildeñiz

2. Nuṣrat al-Dīn Djahān-Pahlawān Muḥammad — 3. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ḳïzïl Arslan ʿUthmān

(sons of 2.) 4. Ḳutlugh Ïnanč — 5. Nuṣrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr — 6. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Özbeg — 7. Amīr-i Amīrān ʿUmar

(son of 5.) Pīshkin

(son of 6.) Ḳïzïl Arslan Khāmūsh

1. Political history. The career of Shams al-Dīn Ildeñiz himself is discussed above, s.v. Ildeñiz. His name, most frequently spelled in the sources *ʾyldkz*, has been traditionally rendered "Ildegiz" or "Ildeniz", but V. Minorsky (*Studies in Caucasian history*, 92, n. 2) regarded a derivation from Turkish *él/il* + *deniz* as "modernizing and impossible" and suggested, on the basis of the transcription of the name in Georgian and Armenian sources, the form Eldigüz. The links which he had forged with the Saldjūḳ royal family—his marriage with Sultan Ṭoghrïl b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh's widow Muʾmina Khātūn and his support for the succession of Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl—gave his offspring a commanding position in northwestern Persia, which they were for a considerable time able to maintain against rival powers.

Ildeñiz's eldest son the Atabeg Nuṣrat al-Dīn Djahān-Pahlawān Muḥammad (571-82/1175-87) was Sultan Arslan's half-brother and succeeded not only to his father's lands of Arrān and those parts of Ādharbaydjān not held by the Aḥmadīlīs [*q.v.*] of Marāgha, but also to Djibāl, including Hamadhān, Iṣfahān and Ray; his brother Ḳïzïl Arslan ʿUthmān was established in Tabrīz as subordinate ruler. Pahlawān Muḥammad continued his father's policy of holding the Sultan in tutelage, and ʿImād al-Dīn plausibly asserts that Pahlawān Muḥammad poisoned Arslan in 571/1176 when he attempted to break free from the Atabeg's control; the latter now simply set up Arslan's young son Ṭoghrïl as Sultan and thereby maintained his grip on real power in the state. A feature of Pahlawān Muḥammad's Atabegate, particularly stressed by Rāwandī and Ibn Isfandiyār, is that he raised to positions of great power in his territories a body of his personal slave commanders, the *Pahlawāniyya*, as Ibn al-Athīr calls them. They were seemingly meant as a basis of support for Pahlawān Muḥammad's children after he was dead, but they seem in practice to have been more a divisive than a cohesive factor, contributing much to the confusion of western Persia during the last years of Sultan Ṭoghrïl's reign and the ensuing period (see Luther, *Rāwandī's report on the administrative changes of Muḥammad Jahān Pahlavān*).

When Pahlawān Muḥammad died in 582/1187, he was followed in the Atabegate by his childless brother Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ḳïzïl Arslan ʿUthmān (582-7/1187-91), in accordance with the Turkish practice of the seniorate. However, Pahlawān Muḥammad also divided out his personal territories amongst his four sons, who were to be subordinate rulers under Ḳïzïl Arslan's general supervision. This arrangement proved to be an unhappy one. The *ghulām*s whom Pahlawān Muḥammad had appointed to influential positions were inevitably reluctant to relinquish power. Pahlawān Muḥammad's widow Ïnanč Khātūn, daughter of the governor of Ray Ïnanč Sonḳor, was equally ambitious, and supported the claims of her own two sons, Ḳutlugh Ïnanč and Amīr-i Amīrān ʿUmar, against the other two offspring of Pahlawān Muḥammad by slave mothers. Sultan Ṭoghrïl's relations with the adroit and statesmanlike Pahlawān Muḥammad had been reasonably amicable, but Ḳïzïl Arslan's attitude was much less sympathetic, and he began to treat the Sultan with indignity. Squeezed between the Ildeñizid and the forces of the revived ʿAbbāsid Caliphate (Ḳïzïl Arslan had summoned the aid of troops under al-Nāṣir's vizier ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yūnus), Ṭoghrïl's attempt to assert his freedom of action eventually failed after some initial successes, and in 586/1190 he was captured at Hamadhān and imprisoned by Ḳïzïl Arslan in Ādharbaydjān. When Ṭoghrïl had first marched against him, Ḳïzïl Arslan had set up a minor Saldjūḳ prince, Sandjar b. Sulaymān Shāh, as rival Sultan. Now, with Caliphal approval, he passed to claiming the Sultanate of ʿIrāḳ and Persia for himself; from this point onwards, his coins acknowledge only the Caliph, and not the Sultan (see E. von Bergmann, *Zur muhammedanische Münzkunde*, in *ZDMG*, xxiii (1869), 251-6). He was however, murdered a year later, possibly by Ïnanč Khātūn, whom he had married on his brother's death according to the custom of the levirate (see Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saljuks*, 142-4).

Ïnanč Khātūn's son Ḳutlugh Ïnanč (587-91/1191-5) had to defend his inheritance against his half-brother Abū Bakr, who attacked southwards from Arrān, and against Sultan Ṭoghrïl, now released from captivity and eager for revenge. By invoking the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish's help, Ḳutlugh Ïnanč introduced a new and dangerous power into northwestern Persia, one which was to be ultimately fatal for his own family (see below). After the final collapse of the Saldjūḳ Sultanate in 590/1194, Tekish made Ḳutlugh Ïnanč his governor over Djibāl.

Nuṣrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Pahlawān Muḥammad (591-607/1195-1210) had maintained his position in

the old Ildeñizid heartland of Ādharbāydjān during Ḳutlugh Inanč's Atabegate, and he now continued to rule there unchallenged. His authority in Djibāl, on the other hand, was only nominal, real power being in the hands of the *ghulām* commanders of the *Pahlawāniyya*, whilst the Caliph al-Nāṣir controlled such towns as Iṣfahān, Ḳazwīn and Hamadhān. Much of Abū Bakr's energy had to be concentrated on his family's old rivals, the Aḥmadīlīs of Marāgha. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḳara Sonḳor, patron of the poet Niẓāmī, in 602/1205-6 attempted to overthrow Abū Bakr, but Abū Bakr managed to repel the Aḥmadīlī attack and actually take their capital; three years later, almost all the Aḥmadīlī territories passed under Eldigüzid control.

Muẓaffar al-Dīn Özbek b. Pahlawān Muḥammad (607-22/1210-25) ruled sporadically in northern Djibāl after 600/1203-4, though the Ildeñizid *ghulāms* exercised power there for much of the time, and in 614/1217 Özbek finally lost Iṣfahān. He succeeded in Ādharbāydjān on Abū Bakr's death in 607/1210. When the Mongols appeared before Tabrīz in 617/1220, Özbek paid them an indemnity. Endeavours to ally with the Georgians and the Ayyūbid ruler of Khilāṭ were without result, and in the next year he had to pay a further indemnity to the Mongols. In the last years of his reign, Özbek faced a Georgian invasion, threatening movements from the Khʷārazmians and the possibility of further Mongol raids. Finally, it was the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu who gave the *coup de grâce* to the Eldigüzid dynasty; in 622/1225 Tabrīz was taken and Özbek deposed and imprisoned. The only remaining Eldigüzid of historical significance is Özbek's deaf-mute son Ḳïzïl Arslan Khāmūsh ("the silent"), who was married to an Aḥmadīlī princess and who eventually rallied to the Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn's side.

2. Culture. The Turkish Ildeñizids shared to the full in the Perso-Islamic civilization of their period. At this time, the courts of northern Persia, including those of Sharwān, Arrān and Ādharbāydjān, were particularly attractive to poets and literary men. Ildeñiz was famed for his piety and patronage of scholars; he built and endowed with *awḳāf* the great *madrasa* in Hamadhān where he was ultimately buried. Even the notorious drunkard Abū Bakr was known for his attention to the *ʿulamāʾ* and his zeal for building mosques and *madrasas*. Dawlatshāh stresses the great number of poets in the Ildeñizid court circle, and mentions specifically Athīr al-Dīn Akhsīkatī, Mudjīr al-Dīn Baylaḳānī, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Fāryābī, Niẓāmī, Ḳiwāmī, Muṭarrizī and Yūsuf Fuḍūlī; to these, ʿAwfī adds ʿImād ad-Dīn Ghaznawī and Shafrūh Iṣfahānī, the eulogists of Pahlawān Muḥammad. Of these poets, the rôles of Mudjīr al-Dīn, the pupil of Khāḳānī, at Ḳïzïl Arslan's court, and of Ẓahīr al-Dīn at the courts of Ḳïzïl Arslan and Abū Bakr, are especially noteworthy. Niẓāmī made one of his rare journeys outside his native Gandja to converse with Ḳïzïl Arslan, and no fewer than four of the *Khamsa* are connected with the Ildeñizids: the *Makhzan al-asrār* was dedicated to Ildeñiz; *Khusraw u Shīrīn* to Sultan Ṭoghrïl b. Arslan, Pahlawān Muḥammad and Ḳïzïl Arslan (from the last of whom the poet received the grant of four villages as a reward); and the first version of the *Iskandar-nāma* and the *Haft paykar* were dedicated to Abū Bakr (on the problems connected with the dedication of the two parts of the *Iskandar-nāma*, see Minorsky, *Caucasica II*, 872-3).

3. Conclusion. The historical significance of the dynasty is twofold. Firstly, the decay of the Saldjūḳs enabled the Ildeñizids to convert the governorship of northwestern Persia, which was theoretically a reward for exercising the position of Atabeg over a Saldjūḳ prince, into hereditary rule. Whilst such strong personalities as Ildeñiz and Pahlawān Muḥammad directed the family's fortunes, they enjoyed *de facto* independence, at the same time deriving such prestige as remained from the position of Atabegs to the Saldjūḳ family. But their weaker successors found themselves only one element amongst many struggling for hegemony in northern and western Persia—rival Turkish amīrs, the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, the Khʷārazm-Shāhs, and on the western fringes, the Ayyūbids, with whom Pahlawān Muḥammad had diplomatic brushes over the heritage of the Shāh-Armanids of Khilāṭ (see for Ayyūbid policy on the borders of Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, 150 ff., and F. Sümer, *İA*, art. *Pehlivan*)—and outside Ādharbaydjān their authority was frequently disputed.

Secondly, the consolidation of Ildeñizid power coincided with a resurgence of military expansionism by the Georgian Christians, whose territories marched with Muslim Sharwān and Arrān. The defence of the Caucasian frontiers had been one of Ildeñiz's special concerns, and the efforts of the Atabeg and other local rulers like the Sharwān-Shāhs and the Shāh-Armanids had slowed down the dynamic of the Bagratid King Giorgi III (1156-84). However, the Georgians became again active during the reign of Queen Tamara (1184-1212). In her time, they interfered frequently in the affairs of the Ildeñizids and Sharwān-Shāhs, aiding rival Ildeñizid princes in the period after Pahlawān Muḥammad's death, until Abū Bakr in 602/1205-6 endeavoured to safeguard his position by marrying a Georgian princess. The Ildeñizids were only barely able to contain the Georgians, and not until the appearance of the Mongols in the Caucasus were Georgian energies quelled.

Bibliography: Primary historical sources: Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saldjūḳ-nāma*; Abū Ḥāmid, *Dhayl-i Saldjūḳ-nāma*; Muḥammad al-Yazdī, *al-ʿUrāḍa fi 'l-ḥikāya al-saldjūḳiyya*; ʿImād al-Dīn, in Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*; Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūḳiyya*; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*; Nasawī, *Sīrat Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*. For the Georgian and Armenian sources, see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, and idem, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*; the Armenian historians Kirakos of Gandzak and Vardan are especially relevant.

Secondary sources: M. T. Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saljuks*, in *AO*, iii (1924), 136-52; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953; idem, *Caucasica II*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1951), 868-77; C. E. Bosworth, chap. i on the history of Iran 1000-1217, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968; K. A. Luther, *The political transformation of the Seljuq Sultanate of Iraq and western Iran 1152-1187*, Princeton Univ. Ph. D. thesis (unpublished); idem, *Rāvandī's report on the administrative changes of Muḥammad Jahān Pahlavān*, in *Minorsky memorial volume* (to appear); R. A. Huseinov, *Institut Atabekov*, in *Palestinskii Sbornik*, xv (1966), 181-96; Minorsky, *EI*¹, s.v.

Uzbak; Faruk Sümer, *İA*, s.vv. *Pehlivan* and *Kızıl-Arslan*; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 231; Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 125-6.

For the cultural and literary history of the dynasty, see the references in Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, and ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-albāb*; and also, J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, 200 ff., and Browne, ii, 401-2, 412-17.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ILDJĀʾ or Taldjiʾa, a method of protection by a superior of his inferiors, on which see the articles ḍayʿa and ḥimāya, adding to the bibliography Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Volonté interne et volonté déclarée en droit musulman*, in *Revue Intern. de Droit Comparé*, x (1958), 513 (*taldjiʾa* occurring in law as a fictitious sale with the object of gaining protection against confiscation, taxes, etc.; but the question arises of how the property is to be regained once the danger is over). (Cl. Cahen)

ILEK-KHĀNS or **ĶARAKHĀNIDS**, a Turkish dynasty which ruled in the lands of Central Asia straddling the T'ien-shan Mountains, *scil.* in both Western Turkestan (Transoxania or Mā warāʾ al-Nahr) and in Eastern Turkestan (Kāshgharia or Sin-kiang), from the 4th/10th to the early 7th/13th centuries.

1. Introductory. The name "Ilek-Khāns" or "Ilig-Khāns" stems from 19th century European numismatists. The element *Ilek/Ilig* (known in Hunnish, Magyar and Uyghur Turkish onomastic) is commonly found on the dynasty's coins, but is by no means general. The complete phrase *Ilek-Khān/Ilig-Khān* is an erroneous conflation: *Ilek/Ilig* and *Khān/Khāķān/Ķaghan* denoted two distinct ranks in the ruling hierarchy of the dynasty, the former being subordinate to the latter (cf. O. Turan, *Ilig unvani hakkında*, in *TM*, vii-viii (1940-2), 192-9). The name "Ķarakhānids" again stems from 19th century orientalists and numismatists. *Ķara* (literally "black", but also used in early Turkish to designate the prime compass point of the north, hence acquiring the meaning "principal", "chief", cf. O. Pritsak, *Qara, Studie zur türkischen Rechtssymbolik*, in *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, 239-63) occurs in the titulature of the Great Khāns of the dynasty. Contemporary Islamic sources often simply refer to the dynasty as "the Khāns" (*al-Khāķāniyya, al-Khāniyya*); sometimes the phrase *Āl-i Afrāsiyāb* "House of Afrāsiyāb" is used, connecting the dynasty with the king of the Turanians in the Iranian national epic (= the Alp Er Tonga of Turkish lore, cf. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen* . . ., repr. 1962, 86-7, Fr. tr., *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 69-70).

In his *EI*[1] article, Barthold wrote that the historical references to the dynasty were very scanty, and Zambaur in his *Manuel*, 206, confessed that his section on the Ķarakhānids, "la seule grande dynastie musulmane dont la généalogie est restée obscure", was in large measure conjectural. The sources are not perhaps quite so scanty as Barthold supposed, and much light has now been thrown on the Ķarakhānids by O. Pritsak, who has given the first connected account of the dynasty; the historical section which follows here owes much to his work.

2. Historical. The Turkish tribal origins of the Ķarakhānids still remain obscure. Pritsak is probably correct in attaching them to the great tribal group of the Ķarluķ [*q.v.*], who formed part of the confederation of the Orkhon Turks or T'u-chüeh, and then after 742 A.D., part of the tripartite confederation of the Ķarluķ, Uyghur and Basmīl which succeeded to the T'u-chüeh in Mongolia (*Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden*, 270 ff.). In the 3rd/9th century the Ķarluķ began to clash with the Sāmānids on the northern fringes of Transoxania, and the Bilge Kül Ķadïr Khān who fought Nūḥ b. Asad is seemingly the first Ķarluķ and Ķarakhānid ruler whose name is definitely known. The political and social structure which was to be characteristic of the confederation gradually becomes discernible. As amongst certain other Altaic peoples, there was a system of double kingship. The Great Khān ruled directly over the eastern part of the confederation, with his court at the encampment of Balāsāghūn or Ķara Ordu in the Ču valley of Semirečye. The Associate Khān was under the supreme authority of the Great Khān, and also ruled directly over the western lands, with his encampment at Talas or Kāshghar. Beneath these two Khāns was a complicated hierarchy of subordinate Khāns and regional governors of the Ķarakhānid family. These rulers all bore Turkish regnal names and titles, including a totemistic one (*onghun*), and after their conversion to Islam they acquired Muslim names and patronymics also. The Turkish titles changed as members of the family moved up in the hierarchy. The disentangling of the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty, on the bases both of literary sources and of coins, is accordingly very difficult.

Military activity along the Sāmānid-Ķarakhānid borders, and commercial intercourse, led to the conversion of the Ķarakhānids in the course of the 4th/10th century. Much of this proselytizing work was doubtless done by dervishes and other Muslim enthusiasts; the name of one of these, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Kalimātī of Nīshāpūr, is known (cf. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, f. 486a). The head of the western Khānate, Satuķ Bughra Khān (d. 344/955), became a Muslim and assumed the name of ʿAbd al-Karīm, but the eastern Khānate was not Islamized till some time later, when Khotan and other towns of eastern Turkestan received the new faith. Ibn al-Athīr's report (viii, 396) that in 349/960 200,000 tents of Turkish tribesmen became Muslim is doubtless connected with this process. Ķarakhānid pressure southwards on the fertile and attractive lands of the Syr Darya basin was an important factor in the downfall of the Sāmānids at the end of the 4th/10th century. Hārūn or Ḥasan Bughra Khān in 382/992 occupied for a while the Sāmānid capital of Bukhārā. The Ilig Naṣr b. ʿAlī of Özkend definitively took over Bukhārā in 389/999, and divided the Sāmānid dominions with Maḥmūd of Ghazna. However, the Ilig did not for some time to come accept the Oxus as the boundary between the two Turkish empires. Whilst Maḥmūd was pre-occupied by an expedition against Multān in India, he invaded Khurāsān in 396/1006, and the situation was only restored by Maḥmūd's hasty return. It was during these years that the western Ķarakhānids recognized fully the authority of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs; this can be seen in the legends on their coins, where we often find the phrase *Mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn* after the Khāns' names. The early Khāns were further noted for their strict piety, expressed, for instance, in their avoidance of wine-drinking. The Ķarakhānids thus followed the generality of Turkish dynasties in accepting the orthodox Sunnī form of Islam, together with the Ḥanafī law-school.

What has been said above about the internal structure of the Ķarakhānid confederation shows how these dominions were never ruled as a unitary state,

but instead as a loose, tribal grouping. In the early 5th/11th century, two distinct lines emerged within the dynasty. The first was that of the descendants of Satuķ Bughra Khān's grandson ʿAlī (the "ʿAlids" in Pritsak's nomenclature); these supplied the Great Khāns of the western Khānate after the split within the dynasty described below. The second line was that of the descendants of Satuķ Bughra Khān's other grandson Hārūn or Ḥasan Bughra Khān (the "Ḥasanids"); these supplied the Great Khāns for the eastern Khānate.

The system whereby various members of the family ruled simultaneously in different parts of the Ķarakhānid dominions inevitably led to disputes and rivalries. The Ghaznavid historian Bayhaķī already speaks of warfare amongst "the Khāns and the Ilig" in the middle years of Maḥmūd of Ghazna's reign, and the Sultan encouraged these divisions in the hope of weakening the solidarity of the Ķarakhānids. In particular, he allied in 416/1025 with Yūsuf Ķadīr Khān b. Hārūn Bughra Khān of Khotan and Kāshghar (and after 417/1026, of the capital Özkend) against their mutual enemy, Yūsuf's brother ʿAlī, known as ʿAlī Tigin (see on the latter, O. Pritsak, *Karachanidische Streitfragen*. 3. *Wer war ʿAli Tigin?*, 216-24). ʿAlī Tigin plays a central part in the history of Transoxania at this time; his power had a secure base in the rich cities of Bukhārā and Samarķand, and in alliance with the Saldjūķ bands of Arslan Isrāʾīl, Ṭoghrīl and Čaghrī, he was the Ghaznavids' implacable foe until his death in 425/1034. ʿAlī Tigin's sons, representing the Ḥasanid line, were not long able to retain their father's principality in Transoxania once he was dead. The whole region was gradually conquered by two brothers of the ʿAlid line, Muḥammad ʿAyn al-Dawla and Böri Tigin, sons of the Ilig Naṣr. Muḥammad proclaimed himself Great Khān, and Böri Tigin became his Associate Khān (433/1041-2).

From this date onwards, there were two distinct Ķarakhānid Khānates (cf. O. Pritsak, *Karachanidische Streitfragen*. 4. *Zwei Karachanidische Kaganate*, 227-8). The eastern one comprised the original Ķarakhānid territories of Semirečye, eastern Farghāna and Kāshgharia, with Balāsāghūn or Ķara Ordu as its capital and with Kāshghar as an important religious and cultural centre. The western one comprised Transoxania and western Farghāna as far as Khudjanda, with first Özkend and then Samarķand as its capital. The intermediate zone of the middle Syr Darya was frequently a subject of contention between the two branches.

The eastern branch of the Ķarakhānids, the Ḥasanids, soon conquered the whole of Farghāna. Their resources in manpower were augmented by the conversion to Islam of large numbers of pagan Turks from the outer steppes; thus in 435/1043-4 10,000 tents of Turks who nomadized "between Bulghār and Balāsāghūn" became Muslims. The Great Khān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ķadīr Khān was probably the grandfather of the pioneer Turkish lexicographer Maḥmūd Kāshgharī [*q.v.*]; Maḥmūd's father was Amīr of the district of Barskhān in Semirečye (cf. O. Pritsak, *Mahmud Kâşgarî kimdir?*, in *TM*, x (1951-3), 243-6). During these years, Kāshghar grew as a centre for cultural and religious life, and it was there that Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib [*q.v.*] wrote his *Ķutadghu bilig*, dedicating it to the Khān Ḥasan b. Sulaymān (467-96/1074-5 to 1102-3). In particular, Kāshghar speedily became the chief starting-point for the spread of Muslim faith and culture over the Tarim basin and towards the frontiers of Mongolia and China.

Ḥasan Khān's son and successor Aḥmad held in check the Western Liao or Ķara Khitāy [*q.v.*], a people who were probably of Mongol origin and who were at this time being forced to migrate westwards after the downfall of their two centuries' dominion in northern China. But after Aḥmad's death, the eastern Ķarakhānids were no longer able to stem the Ķara Khitāy advance. Balāsāghūn fell under Ķara Khitāy control and became their capital. Little is known of the eastern Ķarakhānid Khāns of the later 6th/12th century; they were willy-nilly vassals of the Ķara Khitāy Gür-Khāns and now had their capital in Kāshghar. When the Nayman Mongol adventurer Küčlüg overthrew the Gür-Khān and established his ephemeral empire in Semirečye, he released the Ķarakhānid Muḥammad II from his previous detention at the Ķara Khitāy court, and restored him to Kāshghar. Unfortunately, an internal revolt brought about the death of this last eastern Ķarakhānid before he could re-assume the throne (607/1210-11). Kāshghar passed into Küčlüg's hands and the eastern branch of the dynasty was finished.

The history of the western Khānate is better known that that of its eastern counterpart, for the Islamic historical sources deal more fully with Transoxanian events, these being frequently intertwined with happenings in Khurāsān. Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān, the former Böri Tigin (*ca*. 444-60/*ca*. 1052-68), secured a leading place in the "Mirrors for Princes" and *adab* literature as the exemplar of a just and pious ruler, although the historical sources show that Ibrāhīm was at the same time involved in many clashes with the over-powerful and ambitious class of *ʿulamāʾ* in Transoxania. A serious external threat to these Ķarakhānids arose from the rise of the Great Saldjūķ empire, which in the second half of the 5th/11th century was at its apogee under Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh [*qq.v.*]. Ibrāhīm had already found it impossible to retain in face of Saldjūķ pressure the upper Oxus provinces of Khuttal and Čaghāniyān, which he had earlier conquered from the Ghaznavids. His son Shams al-Mulk Naṣr (460-72/1068-80), famous for the splendour of his court and his patronage of scholars, had to endure a Saldjūķ invasion in 465/1072-3; in the following year, he had to sue for peace at Samarķand with Malik Shāh, and to acknowledge Saldjūķ suzerainty over Transoxania. Tension between the throne and the *ʿulamāʾ* was now a permanent feature of the western Khānate. In 482/1089 the religious classes called in Malik Shāh against Aḥmad Khān b. Khiḍr, and the Sultan penetrated as far as Özkend; soon afterwards, the *ʿulamāʾ* secured Aḥmad's deposition and execution on a charge of sympathy for the Ismāʿīlīs. The next Khāns seem to have been nominated by the Saldjūķs. Muḥammad II b. Sulaymān (497-524/1102-30) was Sultan Sandjar's nephew and son-in-law, but his reign was much troubled by the activities of rival Ķarakhānid claimants.

Muḥammad's son Maḥmūd II was also Sandjar's nephew and was Great Khān from 526/1132 to 536/1141. It was he who came up against the Ķara Khitāy. After reducing the eastern Ķarakhānids to submission, the Ķara Khitāy marched westwards. In the great battle of the Ķatwān Steppe in 536/1141, Sandjar and his Ķarakhānid protégé were disastrously defeated. Maḥmūd fled to Khurāsān, leaving the Gür-Khān to take over Transoxania. The Gür-Khān then set up various Ķarakhānid princes as his

puppets, although the real power in Bukhārā now lay with the Sunnī religious leaders or *Ṣudūr* of the Burhān family (see on these O. Pritsak, *Āl-i Burhān*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 81-96), who collaborated closely with the pagan but tolerant Ḳara Khitāy. Maḥmūd II Khān remained in Khurāsān till his death in 559/1164; after Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz he was acclaimed as Amīr of Khurāsān by the leaderless Saldjūḳ army there (the famous poem, "The tears of Khurāsān", which lamented the ravages of the Ghuzz, was addressed by the Saldjūḳ poet Anwarī to Maḥmūd at this time), and he re-assumed this position after Sandjar's death in 552/1157.

With the deaths of Maḥmūd and his sons, the ʿAlid branch of the Ḳarakhānids came to an end, and rule over the western Khānate passed to the Ḥasanids or descendants of ʿAlī Tigin. These Ḥasanid Khāns were, like their predecessors, much troubled internally by the turbulence of their Ḳarluḳ soldiery and tribesmen. Externally, they came to be overshadowed by the dynamic and ambitious Khʷārazm-Shāhs of the line of Atsïz. The last Ḳarakhānid to rule over an exiguous principality around Bukhārā and Samarḳand was ʿUthmān Khān b. Ibrāhīm. Squeezed between powerful neighbours, he vacillated between support for the Khʷārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and the Ḳara Khitāy Gür-Khān, marrying princesses from both houses; but after the anti-Khʷārazmian rising in Samarḳand of 607/1210-11, the Shāh conquered the city and executed ʿUthmān, thus ending Ḳarakhānid rule in Transoxania.

In Farghāna, Ḳarakhānid princes lingered on for a few more years. It seems that a separate line had arisen here, centred on Özkend, after the Ḳara Khitāy invasion of 536/1141. One of these Khāns, Arslan, in 608/1211-12 threw off Ḳara Khitāy control and recognized the rising power of Čingiz-Khān. The line apparently persisted as governors of Farghāna under the first Mongol Khāns, but virtually nothing is known of them.

3. Cultural. Like the Saldjūḳ Sultans, the Ḳarakhānid Khāns gradually assimilated themselves to the Perso-Islamic cultural and governmental traditions. The Khān's red ceremonial parasol or *čatr* is mentioned in the *Ḳutadghu bilig*. Such pious and just rulers as Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān and Shams al-Mulk Naṣr conformed to the ideal of a Muslim ruler as laid down in the "Mirrors for Princes". Shams al-Mulk expended much effort on public buildings; he built two famous caravanserais (each called, after the royal builder, *Ribāṭ-i Malik*), reconstructed the Friday mosque of Bukhārā and laid out the palace of Shamsābād near that city. Muḥammad II b. Sulaymān was also a great builder, and restored the citadel of Bukhārā. Such traditional duties as the defence of the frontiers of the *Dār al-Islām* were undertaken by the Khāns, and we hear of Muḥammad II leading expeditions against the "infidels" of the steppes, probably the Ḳïpčaḳ. Together with this extension of the faith by arms, the 6th/12th century was important for the spread of Islam within the Ḳïpčaḳ steppe by peaceful means. The Ṣūfī Shaykh Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] of Sayram, and the order of the Yasawiyya which he founded, had a great influence in both eastern and western Turkestan and in the adjacent steppes; this may have been partly because the order in many ways adapted itself to and incorporated in itself certain pre-Islamic religious practices (cf. Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, *Türk edebiyatïnda ilk mutaṣavvïflar*, abridged Fr. tr. by L. Bouvat in *RMM*, xliii (1921), 239 ff., and idem, *Influence du chamanisme turco-mongol sur les ordres mystiques musulmans*, Istanbul 1929).

It has been noted above that the Ḳarakhānids adopted enthusiastically the Ḥanafī law-school, and Transoxania was to become a stronghold of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* and the Māturīdī *kalām*, as the sheer volume of legal and theological literature emanating from the region attests. How great a part direct encouragement by the Khāns played here is uncertain, but the stimulus from them may well have been significant. In the *waḳfiyya* for a *madrasa* (which was to include a mosque and tomb for the Khān himself) in the Bāb al-Djadīd quarter of Samarḳand, the founder Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān stipulated that the *faḳīh* who was to teach there and all the students were to be of the school of Abū Ḥanīfa; the date of the foundation, 458/1066, is further interesting in suggesting that the wave of *madrasa*-building associated with Niẓām al-Mulk and other Saldjūḳ dignitaries may have had a counterpart in the Ḳarakhānid dominions. Ibrāhīm's orthodox zeal is further shown in his suppression of an outbreak of Ismāʿīlī activity in his Khānate in 436/1044-5, when Fāṭimid missionaries persuaded many of the local people to give allegiance to their Caliph in Cairo, al-Mustanṣir. But the accusations of Ismāʿīlī sympathies brought against Aḥmad b. Khiḍr Khān in 488/1095 seem to have been purely a pretext raised by the Khān's unscrupulous opponents, and they do not reflect any general penetration of Transoxania by the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia.

The Khāns encouraged circles of scholars and literary men at their courts, and the judgement of Grenard, "une dynastie de barbares grossiers et ignorants", is far too sweeping. Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī (*Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 28, 46, revised tr. 30, 52; cf. Browne, ii, 335-6) cites thirteen poets who glorified the Āl-i Khāḳān, as he calls them; he particularly praises Khiḍr Khān b. Ibrāhīm (472-3/1080-1) as a munificent patron, in whose reign ʿAmʿaḳ of Bukhārā was laureate or *Amīr al-Shuʿarāʾ* and Rashīdī of Samarḳand "Prince of poets" or *Sayyid al-Shuʿarāʾ* (see further ʿAwfī's section on the poets of Transoxania in *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehrān 1335/1956, 375-98, and Dawlatshāh in *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. M. ʿAbbāsī, Tehrān 1337/1958, 73-6, on ʿAmʿaḳ).

With all this, the Ḳarakhānids retained their strong Turkishness, and their age is of prime importance for the creation of a Turkish cultural consciousness and, in particular, for the creation of the first Turkish Islamic literature. Here the regions of Semirečye and Kāshgharia, now becoming strongly Turkicized, were prominent, rather than Transoxania, where Persian culture still retained pride of place. Cultural influences from the Uyghurs and even, to some extent, from distant China, were strong in these eastern Ḳarakhānid provinces. The region of the Tarim basin, which included Kāshghar and Khotan, was often attributed by Muslim geographers to the marches of China, and indeed it had often been included within the Chinese empire. Hence we find that Yūsuf Ḳadïr Khān, after he had occupied and islamized Khotan, called himself *Malik al-Mashriḳ wa'l-Ṣīn* "King of the East and China". This title is further found on coins minted by his distant kinsman Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān and dating from after 451/1059, and in the *ʿalāma* or *validatio* of a *waḳfiyya* for a hospital founded by the Khān in 458/1066 (see M. Khadr in *JA* (1967), 320, 324, and

also the anecdote concerning the titles of the Karakhānids and Maḥmūd of Ghazna's jealousy over them, given in Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xl. and discussed by Bosworth in *Oriens*, xv (1962), 225-6). The legends of Karakhānid coins also show that the Uyghur script was used side-by-side with the Arabic. The *Kutadghu bilig* of Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib [*q.v.*] was completed at Kāshghar in 462/1069-70 and dedicated to the then ruling Khān. Four years later, Maḥmūd Kāshgharī [*q.v.*] completed his *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, with the express aim of demonstrating that the Turkish language was comparable to Arabic in its richness. The didactic nature of early Turkish poetry was continued at the end of the Karakhānid period in the *ʿAtabat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd; the existence of this work shows that the *Kutadghu bilig* was by no means an isolated phenomenon. Shaykh Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1166) left behind a collection of vernacular Turkish verse, the *Dīwān-i ḥikmet*, although this is now regarded as of doubtful authenticity.

4. General conclusions. The limitations of source material make it difficult to assess the general historical significance of the Karakhānids and difficult to evaluate the changes which their rule brought to Transoxania and the adjacent lands. As with the Saldjūḳs, we have the establishment of a Muslim Turkish power, not by Turkish slave commanders (as in the case of the Ghaznavids) but by tribal leaders and their hordes. Compared with the preceeding régime of the Sāmānids, the Karakhānids brought about a decentralization of administration and a fragmentation of authority in Transoxania. One of the continuators of the historian of Bukhārā, Narshakhī, says that taxes were everywhere lightened when the Karakhānids supplanted the Sāmānids, and it is further probable that indigenous landed classes there, the *dihḳāns*, enjoyed a resurgence of local power. The Khāns remained close to their Karluḳ followers, who comprised such tribes as the Čigil and Yaghmā; certainly, in the time of Shams al-Mulk Naṣr the Khāns were nomadic during the summer months, residing in their capitals only during the harsh steppe winters. Unfortunately, we know little about changes in land utilization and tenure, although it seems likely that the influx of pastoral nomads did cause some changes. The mention during Shams al-Mulk Naṣr's reign of *ghuruḳs* or tracts of hunting ground established as crown preserves (Continuator of Narshakhī, tr. R. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 29, 125) may indicate a certain extension of pastoralization.

The Karakhānid territories shared in the general economic trend, whose causes remain obscure, whereby silver coinage tended to be replaced by gold. Nevertheless, the dirham remained the standard coin circulating in Transoxania, and both dirhams *muʾayyadiyya ʿadliyya* and the slightly baser *ghiṭrīfiyya* ones circulated in the later 5th/11th century and the early 6th/12th century. These dirhams were, however, considerably debased in relation to the legal dīnār, and the currency was obviously somewhat unstable at this time; the testimony of the *waḳfiyya* for Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān's *madrasa*, mentioned above, suggests a figure of 47 dirhams *muʾayyadiyya ʿadliyya* to the dīnār instead of the legally desirable figure of 14²/₃ (cf. Cahen, in *JA* (1967), 309-10, and Continuator of Narshakhī, tr. Frye, 36).

Yet despite the Khāns' identification with their tribal contingents, their positions as Muslim sovereigns over such rich and fertile regions as Transoxania and Farghānā inevitably tended to raise them above the general tribal level. As happened within the Great Saldjūḳ Sultanate, social and political tensions were generated. During the 6th/12th century, the Khāns were continually at odds with their military supporters, the Karluḳ tribesmen, often with dangerous consequences; it was Maḥmūd II's appeal to Sandjar in 536/1141 for help against the Karluḳ that determined the latter to call in the Kara Khitāy as a counterweight. It is not clear exactly how the Khāns fell foul of the religious classes in Bukhārā and Samarḳand, orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* and ʿAlids alike, but this too caused tensions which led at times to bloodshed and executions. The explanation is probably that the religious institution resented any extension of the central government's power, and were ready to join with the military against the throne. The situation here parallels that obtaining in the Sāmānid period, and is an instance of the essential continuity of the structure of power and society in Transoxania. Because of these tensions, and because of the fragmentation of power within the ruling dynasty itself, the Karakhānids were ill-prepared to withstand such resolute opponents as the Kara Khitāy and the Khʷārazm-Shāhs.

Bibliography: A detailed bibliography is given by O. Pritsak at the end of his article *Die Karachaniden* (see below), 63-8. The pre-Muslim history of the Karluḳ can be pieced together from the diverse sources which bear on the history of Central Asia: Chinese, Uyghur, Orkhon Turkish, Byzantine, etc. For Muslim historians, the Karakhānids inhabited only the periphery of the Islamic world, and they tend to mention the Khāns only so far as they impinge on the wider eastern Islamic world. There are, however, important notices in such authors as ʿUtbī, Gardīzī, Bayhaḳī, continuators of Narshakhī, Niẓām al-Mulk, Djamāl Karshī, Nasawī, Djuwaynī and Ibn al-Athīr. Light is thrown on the culture of the Karakhānid period by the works of such authors as Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib, Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, al-Kātib al-Samarḳandī, etc., and by the anecdotes given by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī and ʿAwfī. Amongst secondary literature, the following should be noted: E. Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwârâzm*, in *SBAk. Wien*, lxxiv (1873), 319-30; Sir H. Howorth, *The northern frontagers of China. IX. The Muhammadan Turks of Turkestan from the tenth to the thirteenth century*, in *JRAS* (1898), 467-502; F. Grenard, *La légende de Satok Boghra Khan et l'histoire*, in *JA*, Ser. 9, xv (1900), 5-79; Barthold, *Turkestan*; idem, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, repr. Hildesheim 1962, Fr. tr., *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945; idem, *A short history of Turkestan* and *History of the Semirechyé*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956; R. Vasmer, *Zur Münzkunde der Qarāḫāniden*, in *MSOS As.*, xxxiii (1930), 83-104; O. Pritsak, *Karachanidische Streitfragen* 1-4. in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 209-28; idem, *Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden*, in *ZDMG*, ci (1951), 270-300; idem, *Die Karachaniden*, in *Isl.*, xxxi (1953-4), 17-68 (Turkish version in *İA* Art. "*Karahanlılar*"); A. Z. V. Togan, *Zentral-asiatische Türkische Literaturen. II. Die Islamische Zeit*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, Bd. 5/i *Turkologie*, Leiden 1963, 229-33; A. Caferoğlu, *La littérature turque de l'époque des Karakhanides*, in *Funda-*

menta philologiae turcicae, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 267-75; C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties, a chronological and genealogical handbook*, Edinburgh 1967, 111-14; idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968; Emel Esin, *Türk san'at tarihinde Kara-hanlı devrinin mevkii*, in *VI. Türk tarih kongresinin bildirileri*, Ankara 1967, 100-30; M. Khadr and Cl. Cahen, *Deux actes de* waqf *d'un Qaraḫānide d'Asie Centrale*, in *JA* (1967), 305-34.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ILERI, DJELĀL NŪRĪ, in modern Turkish Celal Nuri İleri, Turkish modernist, writer, publicist and journalist, 1877-1938. He was born at Gallipoli. His father, Ḥelvādjīzade Muṣṭafā Nūri, from Crete, served as governor in various provinces and became a senator in 1908. His mother was the daughter of ʿĀbidīn Pasha (surnamed Dino, 1843-1908) from Prizrin, a governor and vizier under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II and the author of a well-known commentary on the *Mathnawī*. One of his brothers, Ṣubḥī Nūrī İleri was a socialist writer and journalist and the other, Sedād Nūrī, a painter and cartoonist.

Educated at Galatasaray lycée and Istanbul University, where he studied law, Djelāl Nūrī perfected his French to the point of publishing a few books in that language, including a novel, *Cauchemar*, about life in Istanbul under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. He also learnt English. His education owes much to his family circle, which included his paternal uncle Sirrī Pasha and his wife, Leylā Saz (1850-1936), the poetess and composer, and author of valuable memoirs of 19th century *ḥarem* life.

Djelāl Nūrī visited Europe several times and published some of his impressions in two books: *Ḳuṭub muṣāḥabeleri* and *Shimāl khāṭiralari* (see below). He soon abandoned the legal profession to become a journalist and free-lance writer. He contributed to many newspapers and periodicals (some of which he founded), particularly *Iḳdām*, *Ātī*, *Ileri*, *Idjtihād*, *Edebiyyāt-i ʿUmūmiyye Medjmūʿasi*, *Therwet-i Fünūn*, *Türk Yurdu*, *Le Courrier d'Orient* and *Le Jeune Turc*. He wrote more than fifteen hundred articles in the last-named French language newspapers, many of great documentary value for the period following the mutiny of 13 April 1909 ("*31 Mart waḳʿasi*").

Djelāl Nūrī represented Gelibolu in the last Ottoman Parliament, and was elected four times to the Grand National Assembly. His wide legal knowledge and his familiarity with both Eastern and Western culture made him one of the most sought-after advisers of the new Nationalist Government in Ankara. He was an honest, straightforward writer, always consistent in his principles and in his advocacy of liberalism and honest government. His strong criticism, in his Istanbul daily *Ileri*, of authoritarian rule and its abuses, and his contention that the single-party system was incompatible with democracy, resulted in violent polemics in the press. Several extremist supporters of the Government, particularly Aghaoghlu Aḥmed and Yūnus Nādi, violently attacked him in Government organs. A member of Parliament, Ḳîlîdj ʿAlī, whose name was published in a list of deputies and officials accused of having misused their influence, went to Djelāl Nūrī's office and attacked him (for details of this polemic and the subsequent incident, see the newspapers *İleri*, *Ḥākimiyyet-i Milliyye*, *Djumhūriyyet* and *Ṣon Telghrāf* for June to August 1340 (fiscal)/1924. Djelāl Nūrī's journalist brother Ṣubḥī Nūrī published a strong article of protest the following day in *İleri* (31 July 1924). But Djelāl Nūrī himself henceforward wrote only occasionally in the same paper, and avoided polemics. He died in Istanbul on 2 November 1938.

Djelāl Nūrī is the author of some thirty books and thousands of articles, a few of which have been collected in book form. Without fully adhering to any of the three main groups of the post-1908 period, *i.e.*, "Turkists", Islamists, and Westernizers, he made his own compromise between the last two. He conducted long polemics on social, political, religious, juridical and linguistic issues with leading writers of the period, and opposed equally the extremist Nationalists, the radical Westernizers and the uncompromising Islamists [see GÖKALP, DJEWDET, MEḤMED ʿĀKIF, PANISLAMISM, TURAN].

He himself was a moderate reformist. But he was no systematic thinker, so that his ideas and suggestions on various problems crop up in most of his writings no matter the subject title. The following are his most outstanding themes on controversial issues of the period 1908-23.

The legal system. The need for a radical reform in this field is one of his main themes. The legal system of a country must take into consideration the historical development, the character, peculiarities, conditions of life of the nation and the requirements of the contemporary age. Midḥat Pasha's Constitution, Djewdet Pasha's *Medjelle* and many laws dealing with administration, jurisprudence, property, the civil service etc., are, since they ignore these conditions, inadequate. Laws are not unalterable; on the contrary they should at times be reviewed and modified according to the changing circumstances of the times.

The emancipation of women. Many social evils in Ottoman society have as their primary cause the humiliating position of women. Polygamy should be prohibited and women should not be treated as property. Laws concerning marriage, divorce and children should be modernized. This too is in keeping with the spirit of Islam; whose rules on women and marriage have been misinterpreted for centuries. Djelāl Nūrī's ideas on this subject were by many found to be "too progressive".

The causes of Ottoman decline. The main causes for the backwardness of the Ottomans are that they had no part in the maritime discoveries, the Renaissance, and the exploitation of printing.

Alphabet and language reform. The Arabic alphabet not being suitable for Turkish, a reformed alphabet based on the Roman script is necessary. As far as the language itself is concerned, however, Djelāl Nūrī's approach is conservative. He saw the Persian-Arabic elements as being as natural and necessary to Turkish as Latin and French words are to English. Yet his campaign against the supporters of "simplification" mellowed later in the republican period.

Reform in Islam. Islam *per se* has never been an obstacle to progress. But it has been constantly misinterpreted and exploited by bigots and opportunists. A reform in Islam, particularly in Muslim law, is necessary. The unity of the Muslim world should be the ideal, and should replace the nationalistic ideologies of individual Muslim nations. Yet the ideal of a theocratic state is an anachronism. To ignore Western civilization leads nowhere. But there are two civilizations: the technological and the real civilization. The Turks, like the Japanese, should adopt the first, but preserve their own Muslim-

Turkish civilization, improving it as necessary, by reforms. (This anticipates Gökalp's later differentiation between "civilization" and "culture").

A resumé of most of Djelāl Nūrī's ideas is to be found in his memorandum submitted to the 1911 Salonika conference of the Committee of Union and Progress (which also includes his views on Turkish foreign policy) and in his History of Ottoman Decline (see below).

His main works are: (1) *1327 senesinde Selānikde mün'akid Ittiḥād ve Teraḳḳi Ḳongresine taḳdīm olunan mukhṭiradīr*, Istanbul 1327/1911; (2) *Kendi noḳṭa-ī naẓarīmdan ḥuḳūḳ-ī düvel*, 1327/1911; (3) *Muḳadderāt-ı ta'rīkhiyye*, Istanbul 1330/1914; (4) *Shimāl khāṭiralarī*, Istanbul 1330/1914; (5) *Ta'rīkh tedenniyāt-ı 'Othmāniyye*, Istanbul 1330/1914; (6) *Ḥavāyidj-i ḳānūniyyemiz*, Istanbul 1331/1915; (7) *İttiḥād-ı Islām*, Istanbul 1331/1915; (8) *Ḳadīnlarīmız*, Istanbul 1331/1915; (9) *Ḳuṭub muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1331/1915; (10) *Ta'rīkh-i istiḳbāl*, Istanbul 1331-2/1915-6, 3 vols.; (11) *Ta'rīkh-i tedenniyāt-ı 'Othmāniyye*[2], Istanbul 1331/1915; (12) *Khātem al-enbiyā'*, Istanbul 1332/1916; (13) *'Ilel-i akhlāḳiyyemiz*, Istanbul 1332/1916; (14) *Müslümanlara, Türklere ḥakāret, düshmānlara ri'āyet*, Istanbul 1332/1916; (15) *İttihād-ī Islām ve Almanya*, 1333/1917; (16) *Ḳara tehlike*, Istanbul 1334/1918; (17) *Ḥarbden ṣoñra Türkleri yükseltelim*, Istanbul 1917; (18) *İshtirāk etmediğimiz ḥarekāt*, Istanbul 1917; (19) *Rūm ve Bizans*, Istanbul 1917; (20) *Türkčemiz*, Istanbul 1917; (21) *Djoghrāfyā-yī ta'rīkhī, mülk-i Rūm*, Istanbul 1918; (22) *Tādj giyen millet*, Istanbul 1339/1923; (23) *Türk inḳīlābī*, Istanbul 1926.

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(Günay Alpay)

ILETMISH [see iltutmish].

ILGHĀZ [see mu'ammā].

ĪLGHĀZĪ (i.e., "champion of the people") is the name of two local Saldjūḳ rulers of the Artuḳid dynasty who attained power in northern Mesopotamia.

1. Nadjm al-Dīn Īlghāzī I b. Artuḳ. He was first of all a supporter of his brother-in-law Tutush in his eventful struggle for the throne of the Saldjūḳ empire of Persia. After Tutush's defeat and death (488/1095) he withdrew to Jerusalem, which he had received as a fief from Tutush jointly with his brother Sukmān. The two brothers had, however, after a 40 days' siege to surrender Jerusalem to the Egyptians (Sha'bān 489/July-August 1096). At a later date (from 493/1100), Īlghāzī joined the new pretender Sultan Muḥammad, who appointed him governor of Baghdād in 494/1100-1. He held this important office for four years, ultimately in the service of Sultan Barkyārūḳ and his son Sultan Malikshāh.

When Sultan Muḥammad dismissed him from the governorship of Baghdād in 498/1105, he fell out with this ruler. Between 498 and 501/1105-8 Īlghāzī captured the hitherto impregnable fortress of Mārdīn, one of the most important in the whole of the nearer east, and in 501 we find him also lord of Naṣībīn. In 504, 505, 506-7 and 508/1111-5 he refused to partake in the war which the Muslim *amīrs* of the west were conducting against the Crusaders in Mesopotamia and Syria upon Sultan Muḥammad's orders. During the last of these campaigns he, with two of his nephews, even attacked the commander-in-chief of the Muslim armies Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī [*q.v.*] and defeated him (May 1115). The Sultan sent a threatening message to Īlghāzī, who fled to Damascus. Tughtakīn, also on bad terms with the Sultan because of charges of complicity in the murder of Mawdūd, welcomed him, and the two decided on resistance to the Sultan and alliance with the Franks, with whom terms were agreed in a meeting at Lake Ḳadas. Īlghāzī left for Diyār Bakr to assemble a force of Turcomans, but was captured at al-Rastan (between Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt) by Khīrkhān, the governor of Ḥimṣ. Khīrkhān appealed to the Sultan for troops to help defend Ḥimṣ against Tughtakīn, whom meanwhile he held off by threatening to kill Īlghāzī. The troops being delayed, he released Īlghāzī in return for a hostage and a promise of Īlghāzī's protection against Tughtakīn. Released, Īlghāzī went to Aleppo, collected his Turcomans, and returned to lay siege to Ḥimṣ. He was interrupted by the arrival of the Sultan's army commanded by Bursuḳ b. Bursuḳ. According to Walter the Chancellor, Tughtakīn and Īlghāzī occupied Aleppo with the intention of offering it to the Sultan, as reparation for the murder of Mawdūd. Their Frankish ally Roger, Prince of Antioch, hastened to dissuade them. After some inconclusive operations and a defeat by the Franks, Bursuḳ returned to the East, where he died while preparing a new expedition. Īlghāzī established good relations with the Saldjūḳ government after the death of Muḥammad and the accession of his son Maḥmūd.

Lu'lu', the governor of Aleppo, was murdered towards the end of 510/1117. Owing to internal disputes the town and district of Aleppo were exposed to the inroads and depredations of the Franks. After Īlghāzī had temporarily occupied Aleppo in 511/1117, but had withdrawn after encountering difficulties, he was appealed to in the following year by its inhabitants as their last hope and recognized as prince of Aleppo. In the second half of 512/1118 Īlghāzī succeeded in definitively gaining possession of Aleppo and thus became a neighbour of the Franks, against whom he at once made energetic preparations. The numerically weaker Franks were outflanked on 17 Rabī' I 513/28 June 1119 by his army of 20,000 men in the valley of Tell 'Afrīn, taken by surprise and for the most part cut to pieces or taken prisoner. Among those who fell was Roger of Antioch. It was one of the greatest battles which the Muslims had so far won against the Crusaders (the village of Balāṭ, after which the battle is often called, appears in Ibn al-'Adīm as Roger's camp on the night of 20 June 1119, eight days before the decisive battle). Antioch now lay defenceless at Īlghāzī's feet; but he neglected to take the city.

The reputation of Īlghāzī's military ability now spread far and wide and he received the chief command over the Muslims in the war which Sultan Maḥmūd was waging in person against the Christian Georgians. Īlghāzī suffered a very severe reverse (Ibn al-'Adīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, 515/1121; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 514/1120), which resulted in the loss of Tiflis to the Georgians. In 516/1122 he was granted Mayyāfāriḳīn by the Sultan in addition to his other lands.

Soon afterwards, on 1 Ramaḍān 516/3 November 1122 (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī: 6 Ramaḍān, al-Fāriḳī: 17

Ramaḍān) Īlghāzī died at the age probably of barely 60 at Mayyāfāriḳīn (Ibn al-Athīr and Abu 'l-Faradj; at ʿAdjūlayn on the road from Mārdīn to Mayyāfāriḳīn, according to Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahan, ii, Damascus 1954, 206; at al-Fuḥūl, according to Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; on the way from Aleppo to Mayyāfāriḳīn according to Michael the Syrian). At his death he was in possession of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Mārdīn, Aleppo and apparently also of Naṣībīn. He was buried at Mayyāfāriḳīn (for further details see the historian of this town, quoted in Amedroz's footnotes to al-Ḳalānisī). Īlghāzī possessed an influence unequalled at that time over the Turkomans of Mesopotamia. He was a bold and ambitious personality, who claimed a leading position wherever he appeared. He was not a general of great genius; it is said that his drinking habits affected his military decisions. He struck no coins so far as is known (I. Ghālib Edhem, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes*, Istanbul, 1894, 82). He married a daughter of Tughtakīn, Il-Khātūn, and later during his rule over Aleppo also Farkhundā Khātūn, a daughter of the former Saldjūḳ ruler there, Riḍwān. We know the names of several of his children: the daughters Gūhar (al-Fāriḳī: Kumār) Khātūn, who married the Arab chief Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa in 513/1119-20; Yumnā Khātūn, the wife of the Īnālid Īl-Aldī, lord of Āmid, who died in 536/1141-2; Āyāz, died 508/1114-5, Sulaymān, Tīmūrtāsh and Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd (?); another daughter whose name is not known married in 495/1101-2 an unnamed son of Tekish, a brother of the great Sultan Malikshāh. Īlghāzī was one of those *amīrs* who were the first to check the advance of the Crusaders to north and east before the time of Zangī and Saladin. Īlghāzī I was the founder of the Artuḳid dynasty of Mārdīn, which survived till 811/1408.

2. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Īlghāzī II, the son of Nadjm al-Dīn Alpī (probably another form of Alp-Bey) and a sister of the Turkish ruler of Armenia, Suḳmān II, succeeded his father in 572/1176-7 (Michael the Syrian: 20 July 1176) as ruler over Mārdīn, Mayyāfāriḳīn, and Raʾs al-ʿAyn (in Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 268, however, he appears as early as 569 in possession of Raʾs al-ʿAyn). We have only scanty information about his reign. He first of all oppressed his two paternal (according to another tradition, maternal) uncles, the rulers of Hānī (also written Hana, the modern Hene, north of Āmid) and Dārā, till they recognized his suzerainty, as they had done that of his father: the two uncles appeared at Mārdīn and paid homage to Īlghāzī II. Soon afterwards the latter fell ill. On his recovery he subdued the Arabs who had become turbulent and is said—according to a statement which is probably exaggerated—to have killed several thousands of them and to have taken 12,000 camels from them. He proceeded to extend his sway towards the Euphrates in the district of Bīra (the modern Birecik). His uncle Suḳmān II seems to have had great influence over him. Īlghāzī for example joined the alliance which was concluded towards the end of 578/beginning of spring 1183 by Suḳmān II and ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd I of al-Mawṣil (a cousin of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Īlghāzī) with the intention of checking Saladin's advance into Mesopotamia. The allies, however, found themselves helpless in face of Saladin's successes and, after the death of Suḳmān II, we find Īlghāzī's troops in the army of Saladin in Syria (Ṣafar 580/May-June 1184). Īlghāzī II died soon after, at the beginning of Djumādā II 580/9 September 1184. His principality included, in addition to the areas mentioned, also Dunaysir. His name is mentioned in an inscription on the minaret of a mosque at Mārdīn dated in the year of his accession, but the credit of building it probably belongs to his father Alpī. On the coins struck by Īlghāzī (bronze only, which are called *dirhams*, are known) he calls himself "King of the Amirs" (Malik al-umarāʾ) and, like other Artuḳid rulers of Mārdīn before and after him, Shāh Diyār Bakr, although he did not rule in Āmid, the metropolis of this district. Īlghāzī II left two sons, Ḥusām al-Dīn Yulūḳ Arslān, and al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuḳ Arslān, who succeeded their father in turn. Niẓām al-Dīn Alpḳush, one of Īlghāzī's slaves, married his widow, while one of his daughters was married to Saladin's son, al-Malik al-Muʿizz, at about the end of Djumādā I 578/September-October 1182 or a little later.

For a general survey of the period and the bibliography, see ARTUḲIDS, adding to the sources there given for Īlghāzī I: Walter the Chancellor, *De bello Antiocheno*, ed. Hagermeyer, 1896, important for his relations with the Franks and even with the Georgians; see also the bibliography to CRUSADES.

(K. Süssheim*)

ILḤĀD [see MULḤID].

ILHĀM (A.) means literally "to cause to swallow or gulp down" (*Lisān*, xvi, 29, especially last two lines). In the Ḳurʾān it appears only in XCI, 8—a celebrated but difficult passage—*fa-alhamahā fudjūrahā wa-taḳwāhā*, "then He (Allāh) made her (a *nafs*) swallow down her sins and her godly fear" (Arberry: "and inspired it to lewdness and godfearing"; Blachère: "et lui a inspiré son libertinage et sa piété"; Paret: "und ihm (je nachdem) die ihm eigene Sündhaftigkeit oder Gottesfurcht eingegeben hat"). The oldest exegetical tradition (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 115 f.) gives two explanations: (i) Allāh explained these to the *nafs*; (ii) Allāh created these in the *nafs*. The Muʿtazilīs chose the first (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, 1612) but orthodox Islam generally chose the second, the almost certainly correct view; thus al-Rāzī (*Mafātīḥ*, Cairo 1308, viii, 438) and al-Nīsābūrī (margin of Ṭabarī, 100). But al-Bayḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, ii, 405) follows al-Zamakhsharī and Abu 'l-Suʿūd (margin of al-Rāzī, 273) follows al-Bayḍāwī; cf. Brockelmann, II, 439. But by far the most important use of *ilhām* is in connexion with the doctrine of saints. Allāh reveals himself in two ways: to men individually by knowledge cast into their minds, and to men generally by messages sent through the Prophets. The first, individual, revelation is *ilhām*; the second, and general, is *waḥy* [*q.v.*]. Saints, especially, are the recipients of this *ilhām*, because their hearts are purified and prepared for it. It differs from intellectual knowledge (*ʿilm ʿaḳlī*) in that it cannot be gained by meditation and deduction; but is suddenly communicated while the recipient cannot tell how, whence or why. It is a pure gift from the generosity (*fayḍ*) of Allāh. It differs from *waḥy* only in that the angel messenger who brings *waḥy* may be seen by the Prophet and that *waḥy* brings a message to be communicated to mankind, while *ilhām* is for the instruction of the recipient. From *waswās*, or satanic whispering in the heart, it differs in respect of the causer—an angel as opposed to a devil; and in the things to which it incites—good as opposed to evil (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ed. with comm. of Sayyid Murtaḍā, vii, 244 ff., 264 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *Religious attitude and life in Islam*, 252 ff., 275 ff.). But while the fact of *ilhām* was universally admitted,

even Ṣūfīs raised the question of the certainty of the knowledge given by it. So al-Hudjwīrī (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson, 271) contends that *ilhām* cannot give assured knowledge (*maʿrifa*) of Allāh; but al-Ghazālī would probably have said that al-Hudjwīrī was using *ilhām* in the sense of an idea which one found in his mind, and not of the flashing out of the divine light on the soul which, once experienced, can never be mistaken. Others taught that, while it was sufficient for the recipient, it could not be used to convince others or reckoned as a source of knowledge for men in general. This appears to have been al-Nasafī's position; see his *ʿAḳāʾid* with commentaries of al-Taftāzānī and others, Cairo ed. 1321, 40 f. A very curious use is by Ibn Khaldūn in the sense of "instinct" (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 331, transl. de Slane, ii, 384; tr. Rosenthal, ii, 370) but this, though a natural development, does not seem to have been taken up by others. Yet Ibn Ḥazm speaks of *ilhām* as a *ṭabīʿa* and refers as an illustration to Ḳurʾān, XVI, 70, on the instinct of bees (*Milal*, v, 17).

Bibliography: Add to references above: *Dict. of technical terms*, 1308; al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, Cairo 1321, 22 foot; Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt*, 471; L. Massignon, *Ṭawāsīn*, 125-8.

(D. B. Macdonald*)

ILI, a large river in Central Asia. It is formed by the two rivers Tekes and Kunges, which rise on the northern slopes of the T'ien-Shan Mts.; the united stream of the Ili then flows for some 950 kms. across the northern part of the region known in mediaeval times as "the land of the seven rivers", Yeti-su or Semirečye, into Lake Balkhash. The lower course of the Ili falls within the Soviet Kazakhstan Republic, whilst the eastern part of the Ili river system belongs to the Chinese Sinkiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region.

The Ili is first mentioned in the history of the Chinese T'ang dynasty, when one of the main roads from China to Turkestan passed through its valley (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukioue (Turcs) occidentaux*, 11 ff.). The oldest Muslim source to mention it is the *Ḥudud al-ʿālam* (372/982-3), which says that the Ilā runs into the Īslḳ-Köl (the existence of Lake Balkhash was not known to early Islamic geographers). Kāshgharī calls the Ilā or Īlā "the Djayḥūn of the Turkish country", and he places the Turkish tribe of the Tukhsī in the Ili valley, together with the Yaghmā and part of the Čigil (tr. Atalay, i, 30, 81, 92, 408). The *Ḥudūd* mentions a town in this region, probably to be identified with Kāshgharī's frontier town Iki-ögüz "[situated] between the two rivers", *i.e.*, the Ili and Yafindj, cf. *Ḥudūd*, 71, 208, 276-7, 300-1.

It is not known when Islam first came to the Ili valley, but in the 7th/13th century it was regarded as marking the farthest boundary of the *Dār al-Islām*, and the lands to the east were only converted in the post-Mongol period. Immediately before the Mongol period, northern Semirečye, including the town of Ḳayalīgh (see below), was ruled by the Ḳarluḳ Arslan Khān. He threw off Ḳara Khiṭay suzerainty and negotiated with Čingiz; consequently, the region did not suffer from the Mongol devastations so badly as Transoxania and Khurāsān. The upper parts of the Ili basin contained good pasture for the nomads, and Čaghatay had his *ordu* on the Ili after Čingiz's death. The reports of such travellers as Rubruck (651/1253) and the Chinese envoy to Hülegü's court Chang-tê (657/1259) show that the Ili region was still reasonably flourishing, but that there was a trend towards pastoralization. Rubruck mentions that after crossing the Ili, he came to the town of Equius (*sc.* Ilibalīḳ "town on the Ili"), whose population was Tādjīk, and the Armenian King Haiton (Hetʿum) also visited it. The nearby town of Cailac (*sc.* Ḳayalīgh) is also described as having many merchants (cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, i, 169), and the trading centre of Almalīgh [*q.v.*], to the north of the Ili, was at this time the capital of a small Muslim principality. By the 9th/15th century, however, urban life seems to have disappeared from the region.

From the later 17th century until the destruction of Kalmuck power in Turkestan in 1758, Semirečye and the Ili valley were occupied by the Buddhist Kalmucks or Oyrat. During the time of the great Khān Ghaldan (d. 1108/1697), the Ili valley became regarded as the Khān's personal domain. In the 19th century, it was part of the lands of the Ḳazaḳs, but during the reign of Tsar Nicholas I was annexed by Russia. The upper Ili valley, and especially the town of Ḳuldja [*q.v.*], suffered considerably during the Muslim rebellion in Chinese Turkestan led by Yaʿḳūb Beg. Because of Russian fears that the outbreak might spread, the district of Ḳuldja was in 1871 annexed by Russia, but given back to China in 1883.

During the present century, the main centres of population have been Ḳuldja and the small town of Ili, situated at the junction of the river and the Turkestan-Siberia railway. Navigation is possible during the ice-free months on the Soviet part of the river down to a point near the delta; the waters of the Ili's tributaries are extensively used for irrigation, and the upper reaches are an important source of hydro-electric power (see *BSE*², xvii, 530-1, with a map).

Bibliography: In the text.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ILIČPUR [see Supplement].

ĪLĪDJA (T.) "hot spring", and a bath served by a hot spring (whereas in principle, in Ottoman usage, a *ḥammām* [*q.v.*] is a bath whose water is artificially heated), a characteristically Western Turkish word, the diminutive(?) of *ïlï* "hot" (< *ïlïg*, cited by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, Ar. text, i, 31 = tr. B. Atalay, i, 31, in contrast to "Turkish" *yïlïg*, as an example of the Oghuz tendency to drop initial *y*-).

According to ʿĀṣim (T. translation of al-Fīrūzābādī's *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *al-ḥimma*, = ed. of 1268-72, iii, 435; cited in *TTS*, i, 349), a thermal and curative spring is called "*ïlïdja* in Turkish, *ḳapludja* in Bursa, and *bāna* [cf. Serbo-Croat *banja*] in Rumeli"; Redhouse distinguishes *ḳapludja* as "a hot spring roofed in [*ḳaplu*] as a bath; especially any one of the hot-baths of Brousa". These distinctions are perhaps etymological rather than real: *ḳaplïdja* [*q.v.*] is admittedly used primarily of the baths, served by thermal springs, in the Čekirge suburb of Bursa; and Evliyā Čelebi says of Sofia (iii, 399) "in these regions an *ïlïdja* is called *bānā*"; yet he himself uses the word *ïlïdja* for the baths of Sofia and Buda (vi, 242 ff.), and so too Ferīdūn (i², 599) uses the terms *bāna* and *ïlïdja* without apparent distinction in a "Rumelian" context.

Ilïdja is a common toponym in Anatolia (over thirty attestations in *Türkiye'de meskûn yerler kılavuzu*, Ankara 1946-50). (Ed.)

ĪLIYĀ [see al-ḳuds].

ĪLKHĀNĪ [see taʾrīkh].

ĪLKHĀNS, Mongol dynasty ruling in

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ĪLKHĀNS

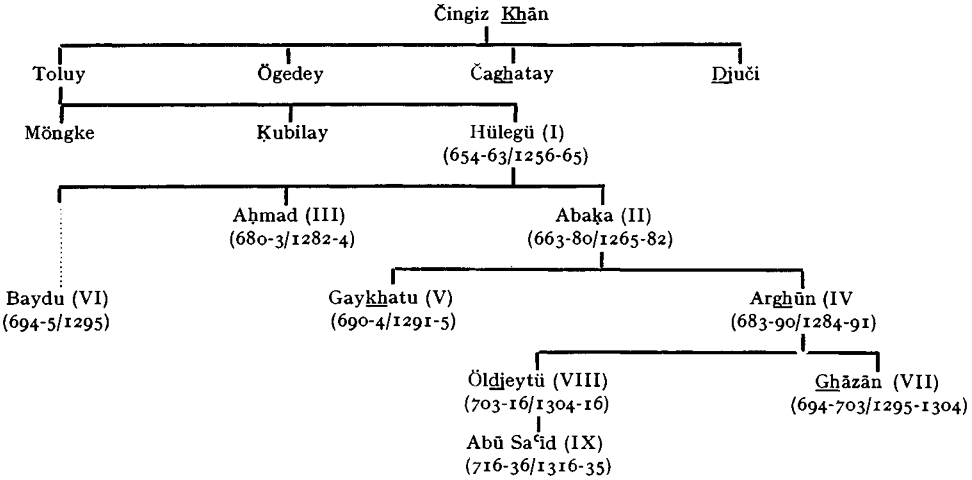

Persia in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. The first Mongol advance towards the Middle East (1218-21) had touched only the north of the Iranian area and only Khurāsān [*q.v.*] had, to a certain extent, been subjected to Mongol control. Therefore, when the territories were being divided up under the Great Khan Möngke (1251-9), who himself was fighting in China with his brother Ḳubilay, the task of extending control over Persia, Mesopotamia and, if possible, Syria and Egypt as well, was entrusted to their brother Hülegü [*q.v.*]. According to Barthold, about 129,000 men were levied for this purpose from the armies in different parts of the empire, and in about 1253-5 Hülegü advanced. He took the Assassin fortress of Alamūt [*q.v.*], but left the eastern and southern Iranian principalities (Herāt, Fārs, etc.) undisturbed for the time being in order to push forward his advance on Baghdād after negotiations with the Caliph had collapsed. Baghdād fell on 10 February 1258. Hülegü now held southern Mesopotamia and the north of the country fell to him in the following year; only Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*] continued to hold out against him.

While Hülegü was absent from the army following the death of Möngke (1259), the advance was to be continued through Syria against the Mamlūks. The conquest of Damascus and other towns was successful; but at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*], Ḳotuz [*q.v.*], with the Mamlūk army which was especially trained for cavalry engagements, obliged the Mongols to halt (3 September 1260) and the new Sultan Baybars I [*q.v.*], who assumed the sultanate immediately after the victory, proved himself an opponent equal to the Mongols.

This decisive military encounter set upon the empire of the Mongols of Persia its final boundaries: Syria and Palestine remained in the hands of the Mamlūks, with the western edge of the Euphrates valley forming the frontier. To the north of this area it embraced as dependent states Lesser Armenia and Saldjūḳ Asia Minor, which threw off the suzerainty of the Golden Horde, along with the Caucasus region, which had hitherto been subjected, albeit loosely, to this same suzerainty. Various attacks from the north in the following decades failed to loosen the bond between the Caucasus and the Īlkhāns, even when the Georgians engaged in repeated insurrections. The course of the Oxus formed the frontier against Čaghatay's territories in Central Asia. In the east the principality of the Kart [*q.v.*] dynasty of Herāt remained more or less independent of the Mongol power; also in Makrān [*q.v.*] there existed for a time a frontier zone of uncertain ownership against the principalities in Balūčistān and the Pandjāb. Likewise the island state of Hurmuz [*q.v.*] with its possessions and the minor principalities in Luristān as well as in Gīlān and Māzandarān [*qq.v.*] were able to remain largely independent; only in 1284, through the marriage of a Mongol prince, did Fārs [*q.v.*] come into the possession of the Īlkhāns.

The rulers of Persia bore this name to indicate that they were dependent on the Great Khān (in Peking). So it remained until the death of Ḳubilay in 1294, the final adoption of Islam by the Persian rulers (1295) severing the close relationship. From that time the name of the Great Khān disappeared from the Persian coinage and in place of the title "Īlkhān", there appeared the designation "Khān". It is customary, however, for historians to designate the rule of the Mongols in Persia until its end in 756/1355 as the "Īlkhānid" period.

The territory of the Īlkhāns was, therefore, essentially a Persian state with the inclusion of Mesopotamia, and hence rather similar in extent to the Sassanian Empire.

For this reason, their policy towards Central Asia, the Golden Horde and Egypt had to be that of a government of Persia, and in internal affairs too the adoption of Persian culture and tradition was as swift as the corresponding process was in China. Indeed, these two Mongol states formed something of a community of interest against the nomadic states (of Čaghatay and the Golden Horde) which, in a certain sense, lasted beyond the year 1295 mentioned above. The cultural assimilation to Persia and the linguistic acceptance of Turkish were certainly delayed so long as the religious differences persisted. Some of the Mongols who had invaded Persia had been Nestorian Christians, but the majority had been Shamanists; in the royal house and among the ruling class there soon became apparent (even under Hülegü) a tendency towards Buddhism, which perhaps is connected with the fairly close relations with China, and perhaps goes back to the missionary activity of Buddhist priests, *bhikshus* (details on whose origin remain doubtful, just as all our sources—all non-Buddhist

—give scarcely more precise information about the spread of the Buddha's teaching). In any case, it found a fertile ground among the rulers and strengthened them in their hostile attitude towards Sunnī Islam, an attitude apparently dictated also for reasons of state during the decades of rivalry with Egypt (while conversely Islam formed the link for political and economic relations between Egypt and the Golden Horde, which led to an equally enduring coalition against the Īlkhāns). The enmity against Sunnī Islam resulted in a tolerance of the Shīʿa, as for example was achieved after the capture of Baghdād under the leadership of the mathematician and astronomer Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*]; this had very favourable effects for their social position and their admittance to the administration. Preference was shown also to the Christians, especially the Nestorians, to whom Hülegü's favourite wife Doḳūz Khātūn (d. 1265) belonged; she was also of assistance to the Jacobites and helped to win over the Christians in Syria to the Īlkhān cause.

At the same time the favourable policy towards the Christians made it possible to enter into diplomatic relations with the Christian West; these had already been initiated before Hülegü, but became especially noteworthy under his son and successor Abaḳa (663/1265-680/1282), himself a Buddhist. This led to closer relations, particularly with the Papal See and the France of Louis IX (St. Louis) as well as with a few Crusader states, as being the stubborn opponents of the Mamlūks. A proposed joint campaign against the Egyptian state (1269) miscarried as a result of the impossibility of agreeing on the time to undertake it. On the other hand, a simultaneous blow planned by the rival coalition in the Caucasus and on the Oxus (1268-69) was also unsuccessful.

Thus Abaḳa could carry through a strengthening of the state founded by his father within the frontiers described above, and thereby he became its true organizer. At the same time he promoted the Buddhist mission, and this openly by building many Buddhist temples. This was balanced by his tolerant attitude towards the Christians. The Nestorians thanked him for this in 1281 by the choice of a Christian Uyghur as Catholicos (Y(h)aballahā III, until 1317), who on account of his descent had access to the court and was able to obtain many privileges, even though he knew neither Arabic nor Syriac.

Abaḳa's death of a fever (1282) introduced a period of confusion. His brother immediately embraced Islam and took the name Aḥmad. This led to an easing of tension with Egypt which, however, did not endure after his fall at the hands of his nephew, Abaḳa's son Arghūn [*q.v.*], in 1284. The latter, zealously devoted to Buddhism but lacking any real idea of the financial strength of his state, gave a free hand to the *wazīr* Saʿd al-Dawla, who remained true to his Jewish faith, gave control of many districts to his relatives, and by exorbitant demands for money repeatedly stirred up unrest among the population. This brought him to a violent end immediately after Arghūn's death in 1291. The new ruler Gaykhātū [*q.v.*], Arghūn's brother, confronted by a financial crisis, attempted the introduction in 1294 of paper money on the Chinese model (and called by the Chinese word *čao*) (see K. Jahn, *Das Iranische Papiergeld*, in *ArO*, x (1935), 308-40). In view of the complete novelty of this form of currency in the Middle East, this led to an immediate and widespread breakdown of trade and commerce. Although he had lifted the measures after only a few months, Gaykhātū was overthrown (March 1295) and the new Khān Baydu [*q.v.*], from another branch of the family, did not succeed in retaining his position, in spite of his attempt to gather round him the Buddhist circles and those true to the *yasa* [*q.v.*].

The collapse of the financial organization was accompanied by a general increase in brigandage accompanied by a disruption of the postal system [see YAM] set up by the Mongols, which in its turn led to the ruin of agriculture in many places, to the devastation of wide tracts of territory, to marked signs of inflation and to a trade crisis. General disintegration had seized the land, and this seemed all the more menacing when both the Mamlūks and the Golden Horde were preparing for fresh attacks on the Īlkhān state. Thus it was the most urgent task of the new ruler Ghāzān [*q.v.*], Arghūn's son, who succeeded at the age of 24 on 9 November 1295, to work for peace and order. He did this by introducing a great work of reform under the guidance of the *wazīr*s Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*] and ʿAlī Shāh which affected public administration, agriculture, trade and public welfare, even though many of his measures never really came to fruition in the short time available. It was also of fundamental importance that he conformed with the change in circumstances and embraced Sunnī Islam, to which the majority of leading men had in the meantime adhered, a step which did not completely suppress old Mongol traditions, such as the respected public status of women, but one which set the seal on the fusion of Mongols and Turks in Persia. This has influenced the pattern of settlement on the Iranian plateau to the present day, particularly in Ādharbāydjān where the capitals of Ṭabrīz, Marāgha and (from 1307) Sulṭāniyya (near Ḳazwīn) [*qq.v.*] were situated.

Ghāzān was however prudent enough to show a conciliatory attitude towards the Shīʿa; he visited their shrines and assisted their cause with money. Thus he was in a sufficiently strong position to reject the demands of the Golden Horde that he should move out of the Caucasus and to undertake an (unsuccessful) attempt to conquer Syria.

On the death of Ghāzān in 703/1304 the state of the Īlkhāns had passed its zenith. Ghāzān's brother, Öldjeytü, did not continue the work of reform but did at least act capably in the internal administration and in the military sphere. On the other hand, his embracing of Shīʿism in 1310 brought great affliction to the country, since he now proceeded with severe measures against the Sunnīs, who were still in the majority; the Christians also suffered more under him than they had under Ghāzān (who had quickly suppressed the attempted campaign of terrorism against them in 1295-6). Thus, civil war was threatening the state when Öldjeytü died in 716/1316 and his young son Abū Saʿīd (the first Mongol ruler with a purely Islamic name) reverted to Sunnī Islam. His youth, however, permitted the various factions around him to indulge in many kinds of intrigues. The vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, also important as an historian, was executed in 1318. Into his place stepped a general, Čūbān (Čoban) [see ČŪBĀNIDS] who collaborated with the other vizier ʿAlī Shāh until the latter's death in 724/1324, but who revealed no statesmanlike skill of his own and fell victim to a plot three years later through a concatenation of unfortunate circumstances. From that time on the two factions of Čūbān's son, Ḥasan Küčük, and his former son-in-law, Ḥasan Buzurg [*q.v.*], fought each other almost continually. Abū Saʿīd no longer played a significant part in this; he died in 736/1335 on a campaign in the Caucasus.

With the death of Abū Saʿīd the Mongol dynasty practically came to an end, although until 756/1355 a motley succession of princes of the house —and even a princess in 1339-40—were installed and deposed as Khāns. The real power lay in the hands of the two Ḥasans, of whom the younger was murdered in 1344 and the elder gradually repulsed to Baghdād, where he founded the dynasty of the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*], whose sway remained limited to Mesopotamia. The outlying territories of Asia Minor, Georgia, Little Armenia and the Kurtids had in the meantime broken away from the empire. In Fārs the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] took control, in Māzandarān and further east the Sarbedārids [*q.v.*], and central Persia had to endure the incessant battles of local rulers. In 1357-8, Ādharbaydjān was occupied for a short time by the Golden Horde. Only the campaigns of Tīmūr [*q.v.*] put an end to this internal collapse—and then only for a short time as the foundations of the empire he created also proved weak.

Under the Īlkhāns Persia, for the first time for centuries, was brought together as a territorial and political entity (even though this was thanks to the toleration of independent minor states): and thus this period must be regarded as of the highest significance for the country. There emerged an unusual development of the arts; and the promotion of various branches of science—while limited in aim (astronomy as a development from astrology, medicine, historiography)—finally raised the standard of the whole nation.

Our information on the period of the Īlkhāns is very extensive; first we have the abundant Persian historiography, especially the works of Djuwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn and Waṣṣāf [*qq.v.*]; then the independent historiography in Syriac (Barhebraeus, *Chronography*), which views the course of events from a Christian standpoint and thus brings valuable supplementary information, especially on cultural history. Besides these sources, we have works in Arabic, firstly Ibn al-Fuwaṭī [*q.v.*], whose work on events in Mesopotamia is very enlightening for administrative history, then the numerous works of early Mamlūk Egyptian history, which reflect the Mamlūk point of view and therefore shed light on external events and provide a contrast with Persian works. There are also several important notices in Georgian, Armenian, Byzantine and Western works which should not be overlooked. The large number of surviving coins form a reliable alternative for the almost complete lack of original documents.

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(B. Spuler)

ARCHITECTURE AND ART

Īlkhānid art represents the art of the Mongol period of Iran, that is from the time when Hūlāgū assumed the title of Īlkhān until the death of Abū Saʿīd (middle of the 7th/13th century till 736/1335). It is the period of the strongest Far Eastern influence in the country, which shows itself most extensively in textiles, ceramics and miniature painting and brought into common Muslim use a number of new iconographic themes of Chinese derivation, such as the lotus, the phoenix (*feng-huang*) and square Kūfī writing, which was probably inspired by Chinese seal characters. In many other respects Īlkhānid art is the stylistic continuation and refinement of Saldjūḳ art, especially in its first half. In turn the art of several minor dynasties developing on the ruins of the Mongol sulṭānate (Indjū and Muẓaffarid in Shīrāz, Djalāyirid in Tabrīz and Baghdād, and Kart in Herāt) continue the Mongol tradition and thus

constitute the link between it and subsequent Tīmūrid art.

Architecture. The religious and secular buildings within the present political boundaries of Iran have been listed and described by D. N. Wilber (*Architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khānid period*, Princeton 1955; Persian translation by ʿAbd Allāh Faryār: *Miʿmārī-yi islāmī-yi Īrān dar dawre-yi Īlkhān*, Ṭehrān, 1346/1967; for some corrections and additions see the review by Myron Bement Smith in *JAOS*, lxxvi (1956), 243-7). To this body of buildings should be added the Russian publications on the monuments of Ādharbaydjān and the Turkmen S. S. R. (summarized in L. S. Bretanitskii, *Zodčestvo Azerbaidžana XII-XV vv. i ego mesto v arkhitekture peredeniego vostoka*, Moscow 1966; G. A. Pugačenkova, *Iskusstvo Turkmenistana*, Moscow, 1967). In general the plans, techniques and decorative schemes of the Saldjūḳ period continue, especially when after nearly five decades of inactivity a new architectural boom developed. This change of pace was due to the Islamization, Iranization and urbanization of the dynasty under Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304). The main religious buildings were mosques, *madrasas*, mausolea, shrines and *khānḳāhs*. The novel stylistic tendencies are a stress of the vertical by means of higher, often ovoid domes, higher and narrower eyvāns (barrel-vaulted halls open toward the courtyard end), minarets flanking portals or eyvāns and colonettes at corners; the subdivision and opening-up of non-bearing walls through windows, bays, niches and stairways; and stronger use of colour not only in the form of painted plaster decoration, usually in relief, but more specifically, after about 710/1310, by the use of faience mosaic for total wall coverage (D. N. Wilber, *The development of mosaic faience in Islamic architecture*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1939), 40-7). The classic Iranian mosque developed in the Saldjūḳ period with four eyvāns cross-axially arranged around a courtyard and with a high dome chamber in front of the *miḥrāb* occurs only in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ of Varāmīn (722-6/1322-6) and under Muẓaffarid rule in Kirmān (750/1349). However, the two earlier mosque types consisting of an open, domed kiosk based on the *čahār-ṭāḳ* fire-temple or of a large single eyvān still occur, namely in the Masdjid-i Bābā ʿAbd Allāh in Nāyīn of 700/1300, in the three mosques of about 725/1325 in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān, at Dashtī, Kādj and Ezirān, the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ of Ardabīl rebuilt in the early 8th/14th century and respectively, in the monumental Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ of ʿAlī Shāh in Tabrīz of ca. 710-20/1310-20. While on his visit to Iran in 727/1327 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa speaks repeatedly of *madrasas* which according to him served not only as religious schools but also as *zāwiya* (hostel, hermitage or convent). However, only four such buildings have been preserved, all of them post-Īlkhānid properly speaking. Of these the more significant are the Madrasa Imāmī of 755/1354 and the Madrasa in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ built between 768 and 778/1366 and 1376, both in Iṣfahān and following the four eyvān-scheme with cells for the students between the eyvāns. The importance given to mausolea particularly to imāmzādas (or burial places of descendants of the Shīʿite imāms) is apparent from their large number, as they comprise 39 monuments among the 119 listed by Wilber. They fall into two major categories, both with an inner dome over the burial chamber in the centre of which there is the sarcophagus, if the latter is not placed in a vaulted crypt underneath. They are either square chambered with more horizontally dominant features, of which the Gunbad-i ʿAlaviyān with very high florid stucco decoration of ca. 715/1315 (according to E. Herzfeld and Wilber, or ca. 1200-1250 according to Minorsky) is an outstanding example; or they constitute the larger group of the taller, vertically oriented tomb towers which can be round, square or polyhedral and are covered by exposed domes or polyhedral tent domes or conical roofs. The earliest is the Imāmzāda Shāh Čirāgh in Shīrāz of 628-58/1230-59 and they were being built throughout the period and after it, the last being the Imāmzāda Khʷādja ʿImād al-Dīn of 792-1390 in Ḳumm, a town which is particularly rich in mausolea (ten in number, the earliest being of 677/1278). The other town which has preserved many such buildings in its vicinity is Iṣfahān, where the most important is the tomb of Shaykh Muḥammad b. Bakrān, known as Pīr-i Bakrān in Lindjān of which the tomb chamber, deep eyvān and entrance passageway were built between 698 and 712/1299 and 1312 and which is very important for its lavish display of carved stucco decorations and faience revetments. The lofty tomb tower of Ghāzān built between ca. 1297 and 1305 in Ghāzāniyye, a suburb of Tabrīz, was destroyed by Shāh ʿAbbās I, but the undoubtedly even more remarkable mausoleum of Sulṭān Muḥammad Öldjeytü Khudābanda in Sulṭāniyya of 705-13/1305-13 is fairly well preserved, although various subsidiary buildings and a surrounding wall with towers have disappeared (a view of the town with this building as seen in 944/1537 in a MS of Naṣūḥ al-Ṣilāḥī al-Matrakī is illustrated in colour in E. Akurgal, C. Mango and R. Ettinghausen, *Treasures of Turkey*, Geneva 1966, 201). A. Godard has characterized it as "certainly the finest example known of Mongol architecture, one of the most competent and typical products of Persian Islamic building and technically perhaps the most interesting" ("The Mausoleum of Öljeitü at Sulṭāniya", in *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1103-18; Wilber, *op. cit.*, 139-41). While Öldjeytü followed the Shīʿite persuasion (after 709/1309), he meant to have the remains of the Caliph ʿAlī and of his son, the Imām Ḥusayn, transferred to his mausoleum, but this project was not realized. The building is an enormous octagon, about 126 feet (39 m.) wide with the burial chamber containing the cenotaph of the Sultan in a rectangular addition opposite the entrance. The outer walls are lightened on each side by a huge gallery with three openings and the inside by two-storied arcades. A terrace at the base of the dome has a minaret at each corner. The "perfectly conceived and constructed" dome itself has a span of 80 feet (24.5 m.), is single-shelled and solely built of bricks without buttresses, pinnacles or shoulders. The building is richly decorated by painted, flat stucco carvings, much of it imitating brickwork and brick-end plugs, tile revetment, faience mosaic and, on the inside, painting in the manner of book illuminations. Also in this period whole sanctuary complexes were constructed around tombs of venerated saints, such as that of Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī consisting of the shrine proper, a Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ and a tomb tower, built between 700 and 713/1300 and 1313 (A. U. Pope, in *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1080-6; Wilber, *op. cit.*, 127-8), that of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Iṣfahānī in Naṭanz, built between 704 and 725/1304 and 1325 which comprises besides the tomb a Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ, a minaret and a *khānḳāh* (Pope, *op. cit.*, 1086-9, A Godard, *Naṭanz*, in *Āthār-é Īrān*, i, 1936, 83-102; Wilber, *op. cit.*, 133-4); and also that of Aḥmad b. Abu 'l-Ḥasan, known

as Shaykh Djām, in Turbat-i Shaykh Djām, where there is a fairly well-integrated congregate of various units erected ca. 1330 (Wilber, *op. cit.*, 174). Finally a religious monument of great distinction is the *miḥrāb* of delicately carved stucco of 710/1310 in a side prayer hall of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ of Iṣfahān, which dates from the Shīʿite period of Öldjeytü. That few secular buildings are preserved is partly due to the fact that Īlkhānid rulers preferred to live in luxurious tents till the end of their rule and that such monuments were built of wood and other perishable material. In the Mongol mountain town of Saturiḳ, a site now called Takht-i Sulaymān, is a large ruined eyvān, decorated with niches topped by stalactites; it was part of a palace which according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was rebuilt by Abāḳā Khān and has been dated ca. 1275 by Wilber (*op. cit.*, 112). As the intensive German excavations between 1960 and 1964 elucidated, the intricate palace complex was composed of various units such as isolated eyvāns, cross-shaped buildings either with a central court or a central dome, rectangular halls, a twelve-sided building, etc., all erected along the four sides of a huge near-square layout with pillars forming an arcade around the courtyard with the oval lake in the centre. Wall tiles with geometric designs and partially glazed blue and green were discovered there, as well as two capitals decorated with Chinese dragons. In addition, a great deal of locally manufactured pottery, especially of the so-called Garrūs type (which had previously been dated 5th/11th to 7th/13th century), and moulds for *miḥrāb*s and animal sculptures appeared in the ruins. Furthermore, a square building with a carved doorway, apparently covered by a central dome was found to be Mongol (although it was formerly thought to be Parthian) and it was assumed that it might be a mausoleum. Finally, there was a large Mongol gateway. All these discoveries were unique and thus of the greatest importance for our understanding of secular Iranian architecture (R. Naumann, W. Kleiss, et. al., *Takht-i Suleiman and Zendan-i Suleiman*, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, lxxvi (1961), cols. 51-9; idem et. al., *ibid.*, 1962, cols. 660-70; idem et. al., *ibid.*, 1964, cols. 27-65; idem et al., *ibid.*, 1965, cols. 697-713). In addition, three poorly preserved caravanserais of the standard court type were found near Marand (ca. 1330-5), Sīn (730-1/1330-1) and Sarčam (733/1332), of which in each case the best preserved part proved to be the single portal. In Sīn it is followed by an unusual hexagonal vestibule, while in Sarčam the cut stone entrance doorway and inscription above it betray Syrian influence. The most unusual secular building was probably the observatory built about 656/1258 at Marāgha on Hūlāgū's orders from plans prepared by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. The structure is known to have contained a dome and a library, to which Ghāzān Khān added yet another dome, all of which were already in ruins in 1340 when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī wrote his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*.

A novel feature of the Mongol period was the massing of public buildings in newly constructed quarters, such as the Ghāzāniyya of Ghāzān Khān and Rabʿ-i Rashīdī built by his vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, both near Tabrīz. Thus the former included besides the sultan's mausoleum and his palace buildings, a mosque, two *madrasas*, a *khānḳāh*, a *zāwiya* for *sayyids*, an observatory, a hospital, a library, archive and administrative buildings, *ḥammāms* and a fountain, while the latter boasted two mosques, *madrasas*, a *khānḳāh*, scientific institutions, two libraries, hospitals, *ḥammāms*, caravanserais, spinning mills, paper factories, a dye house, a mint and gardens (K. Jahn, *Tābris, ein mittelalterliches Kultuurzentrum zwischen Ost und West*, in *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse*, Jahrg. 1968, No. 11, pp. 207, 210). It is not specifically known whether or not these structures were built in a coordinated or more haphazard fashion; if the first assumption is right (and much speaks for it), this Mongol activity would be the forerunner of the "*külliyye*" foundations of the Ottoman sultans in Iznik, Bursa and Istanbul.

Ceramics. The main manufacturing centre was Kāshān, since Rayy did not resume its activities after the Mongol destruction of ca. 1220. Throughout the period Kāshān produced both large scale *miḥrāb*s and small scale tile revetments (both called *kāshī* after the town) as well as pottery. Of these the production of the *miḥrāb*s was the more conservative. Symbolizing a niche, they usually formed a succession of flat arches with the innermost often showing a lamp (in reference to Sūra XXIV, verse 35) and had as their main decoration Ḳurʾānic passages or invocations of the Shīʿī imāms, rendered in dark blue relief set against a lustre background. The manufacture starts as early as 623/1226 and continues as late as 734/1333, and as the signed pieces indicate was at times practised by family workshops. As the often dated tiles show, they were made throughout the period and as late as 739/1338. They were usually lustre painted and formed dadoes in which eight-pointed stars alternate with cross-shaped units; from ca. 1300 on, the latter were for contrast's sake glazed cobalt blue or turquoise green. While the tiles for religious buildings showed floral or arabesque designs, those made for secular structures displayed realistically rendered animals and, occasionally, figural subjects in the Saldjūḳ tradition. Only in the 8th/14th century do the depicted personages begin to wear Mongol costumes. Toward the end of the 7th/13th century rather coarse relief designs appear with Far Eastern motifs in the centre and large *naskh* writing in white on a blue ground as the framing device. In the 8th/14th century there is a definite decline in the artistic quality.

Throughout the 7th/13th century the pottery, too, followed Saldjūḳ tradition, but was slowly losing the delicate details and general refinement of the earlier wares. A new, nearly hemispherical shape appears and also a heavily shaped bowl whose upper walls are vertical and crested with a flange which projects both outward and inward; there is also a new interior decorative scheme of radial segments filled with alternating motifs. While overglaze painting (called *mīnāʾī*) disappears in this period, other techniques emerge which become specifically identified with this period. These are a ware with underglaze painting in green, blue and purple on a white ground made between 672/1274 and 729/1329; a ware with a characteristic deep cobalt blue glaze with overglaze painted designs in white, red and gold used for both pottery and tiles (only one dated tile of 715/1315 so far discovered); finally there are three related wares which can be attributed to the first four decades of the 8th/14th century and which, though erroneously connected with the modern town of Sulṭānābād (where the earliest pieces had been found), still show stylistic connections with the earlier Kāshān production. Their common aspect is a coarse clay body, heavy potting, a very dense underglaze painted design in which the ground nearly disappears usually under a display of foliage, and a

preference for a subdued chromatic range consisting of greys, browns and whites with dark blue and turquoise only discreetly used. The flower and animal motifs are often of Far Eastern origin and the figures wear Mongol costume. This type of pottery had a strong influence in other Muslim countries, even those politically at odds with the Mongols. Its style is therefore found not only in the pottery of the Golden Horde at Saray Berke, but also in Damascus and Cairo (A. Lane, *Later Islamic pottery. Persia, Syria, Egypt, Turkey*, London 1957, 6-20). The material evidence of the pieces themselves is corroborated and supplemented by a section in a Persian MS of 700/1300 in which Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir, son and brother of two well-known Kās͟hān potters, provides information about the raw materials and technical processes involved in the contemporary Kās͟hān production of glazed ceramics (H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre and R. Winderlich, *Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayencetechnik*, Istanbul 1935).

Metalwork. It is difficult to differentiate the Iranian objects from those made in neighbouring countries especially in the Dj̲azīra. The designs on the brasses of the 7th/13th century and those of the 8th/14th century, inlaid with silver and sometimes with gold, and very rarely with copper, become progressively drier, more rigid and less imaginative in comparison to those of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period. However, they continue the earlier modes of decoration, particularly the deployment of the patterns in registers with skilfully arranged roundels and cartouches of various sizes set against formalized background designs, and often using human figures in court scenes. In this respect they show the strong imprint of Mesopotamian, especially Mawṣil work, although it must be remembered that the pieces from that region were originally themselves influenced by the Iranian metal production. (For a study of a special group starting in 705/1305 with a bowl by a S͟hīrāzī artist see Eva Baer, *Fish-pond ornaments on Persian and Mamluk metal vessels*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 14-27). Chinese influence is occasionally found (R. H. Pinder-Wilson, *A Persian bronze mortar of the Mongol period*, in *Proc. XXVth Int. Congress of Orientalists*, 9th-16th August 1960, Moscow 1963, ii, 204-6). That the period is not without creative ability is demonstrated by a number of new shapes for caskets, especially a polygonal one with a domed cover. Dated pieces of the 8th/14th century indicate that in the second half of the Mongol period there is a growing predilection for the sole use of inscriptions, floral designs, arabesques and geometric patterns, although a bowl of 752/1351 still has human figures in the uninterrupted main register. L. Giuzalian has identified a production in S͟hīrāz made for the Ind̲j̲ū Sultan Abū Isḥāḳ (see *Proc. XXVth Int. Congress of Orientalists*, ii, 174-8). S͟hīrāz work continued under the Muẓaffarids, as a signed piece in the Cairo Museum of 761/1360 indicates. A different type of metalwork, a huge bronze basin by an Iṣfahānī artist, carrying the name of the Sultan G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū Bakr of the Kart dynasty, was cast in 776/1375 for the Masd̲j̲id-i Dj̲āmiʿ in Herāt (A. S. Melikian Chirvani, *Un basin iranien de l'an 1375*, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, n.s. lxxiii (1969), 5-18). A third, and again different post-Mongol group consists of a number of richly silver inlaid bowls with elaborate miniature-like court scenes in or between roundels which foreshadow the Tīmūrid painting style. (A general survey in D. Barrett, *Islamic metalwork in the British Museum*, London 1949, pp. XVII-XIX).

Textiles. There is no doubt that fabrics were woven in Iran during the Mongol period, but modern research has so far not been able to distinguish them clearly from the products of other Muslim regions and possibly even from those made in China. These textiles called *panni tartarici* in Western sources represent an international luxury style. It is, however, obvious that the overall organization based on roundels with one or two heraldically rendered animals and an interstitial pattern which had been developed in Sāsānian times and was still current in the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period was no longer the main arrangement. Chinese ideas had thoroughly destroyed that convention of many centuries and had introduced new composition schemes and Far Eastern motifs. The arrangement which was closest to the old system was an overall pattern of pointed ovals formed by a system of stems which enclose animals in a circular setting. Otherwise there was often an open composition with animals in alternate rows placed in dense vegetation. The most common organizational schemes were bands of various width with Arabic inscriptions, flowers, geometric and other formal designs and, to a lesser extent, with animals and birds. The key piece is the burial robe of Duke Rudolf IV of Austria (1365) in the Episcopal Museum in Vienna which has the name of Īlk͟hān Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd woven in it; this in turn is close to the fabric found in the tomb of Cangrande I at Verona (1329) (G. Sangiorgi, *Le stoffe e le vesti tombali di Cangrande I della Scala*, in *Bollettino d'Arte*, n.s. i (1921), 441-57; see also Otto von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin 1913, ii, 50-63, now antiquated, but richly illustrative material; W. Mannowski, *Kirchliche Gewänder und Stickereien aus dem Schatz der Marienkirche*, Danzig 1929, vol. 3, vol. 2, nos. 30-33; Phyllis Ackerman, *Textiles of the Islamic periods*, in *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 2042-61; Lane, *Later Islamic pottery*, 3-5).

The Art of the Book. The period's earliest dated book bindings of 676/1277 and 697 or 699/1297 or 1299 respectively, both from Marāg͟ha, use blind tooling to create a central mandorla-shaped medallion and triangular corner pieces within a simple frame. The punches are limited in number and all of a geometric nature with the exception of two arabesques on the flap of the second piece. In composition and in its filling devices this binding is still in the Sald̲j̲ūḳ tradition and only in the following century does the style advance. Thus on a thirty-volume Ḳurʾān set made in Hamadān in 713/1313 for Sultan Öld̲j̲eytü gold tooling in the form of dots appears and is applied to a larger and more elaborate circular medallion filled with geometric patterns. Designs impressed into the lining (doublure) of the binding are first found in 704/1304 and the first signature stamp in 706/1306. By 735/1334 the central medallion and corner pieces have become bigger and have a more elaborate outline, while in 781/1379 the earlier mode of filling the decorative forms with geometric strapwork has been replaced by arabesques and even naturalistic floral branches. Overall large scale geometric configurations as found in Mamlūk Egypt remain, however, unknown, and in the 8th/14th century the use of gold tooling remains still limited (R. Ettinghausen, *The covers of the Morgan* Manāfiʿ *manuscript and other early Persian bookbindings*, in *Studies in art and literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. D. Miner, Princeton 1954, 459-73; K. B. Gardner, *Three early Islamic book-*

bindings, in *The British Museum Quarterly*, xxvi, (1962), 29-30).

More spectacular than the bindings are the illuminations, especially the "carpet pages" in Ḳurʾāns and other MSS. Here again Öldjeytü was the great patron, as is shown by the large size, thirty-volume Ḳurʾān set in the National Library, Cairo, created in Hamadān in 713/1313. Here colourful arabesques and knot designs were placed within ever changing geometric layouts. Other giant Ḳurʾān MSS were written for the same sultan in Baghdād in 706/1306 and in Mawṣil in 710/1310. A Rashīd al-Dīn MS of 710/1310 demonstrates that other texts were also handsomely decorated, in this case with a carpet-like repeat pattern within a richly treated frame. Its design is, however, in a less monumental, more delicate style and the same general tendency is noticeable in later Ḳurʾān MSS of 728/1327 and 738/1338. All these illuminations have a character of their own which distinguishes them from both the Saldjūḳ and Tīmūrid creations (R. Ettinghausen, *Manuscript illumination*, in *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 1954-9).

In spite of conservative tendencies in certain early MSS and even in the late MSS painted in Shīrāz between 731/1330 and 741/1341 under the Indjü Sultans, miniature painting of the Īlkhānid period achieved a complete break with traditions evolved by Arab or Saldjūḳ Iranian ateliers, or as the Ṣafavid calligrapher and painter Dūst Muḥammad expressed it in 951/1544: Its first great master (Aḥmad Mūsā) "withdrew the covering from the face of painting and invented the kind of painting which is current at the present time". The evolution developed rapidly from MS to MS and, as already the earliest MS, Djuwaynī's *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā* of 689/1290 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, indicates, is engendered by a strong Chinese influence. In this earliest MS as well as in a group of undated small-size *Shāh-nāma* MSS of the early 8th/14th century and in the Shīrāz MSS between 1330 and 1341 it is only Chinese motifs and Far Eastern costumes which betray the new trend, but in many miniatures of the next MS, Ibn Bakhtīshūʿ's *Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān* of 697-699/1297 or 1299 in the Morgan Library, there is in addition a new indication of spatial depth, an interest in the rendition of landscape and impressionistic tendencies to depict small plants. In MSS of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* of 706/1306, 714/1314 and 717/1318 the polychrome Saldjūḳ manner is replaced by a linear style with subdued partial colouring. In addition pure landscape renditions and a novel interest in the portrayal of human drama and emotions are to be found. The activities of the next two to three decades are not quite clear, as there are no dated MSS preserved. However, a MS which is usually regarded as the major product of the late period of Sultan Abū Saʿīd and the following years (ca. 1330-40), a large size *Shāh-nāma* fragment (often called the "Demotte *Shāh-nāmeh*" after its first antiquarian owner) shows various experimental stages of the amalgamation of the novel concepts. At times they appear in somewhat confused compositions, but many miniatures reveal that a new style has been born, so that the MS presents itself in the monumental manner which is commensurate with its subject matter. It goes back to the rich palette of the pre-Mongol styles for figures and architecture but this is combined with three-dimensional monochrome elements used for such landscape features as trees, rocks, hills and receding ridges. While in some paintings there is a full awareness of the new concepts of three-dimensionality, in others space is restricted by placing the action or scene into a narrow frontal zone which is cut off by decoratively treated elements of the background such as hills or an architectural screen. More than in any other MS narration is turned into a heroic spectacle reflecting at times a specific mood. This is even mirrored in the landscapes, which therefore become an important element in the composition. A large body of detached miniatures of historical, legendary, folkloristic and eschatological nature found in eight albums in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi of Istanbul and in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (now Tübingen) reflects the same stylistic stage and also that of the following decades. Among them are miniatures from a *Miʿrādj-nāma* with old attributions to Aḥmad Mūsā, who is credited with such a work by Dūst Muḥammad and is called the leading master of the period. The same general data applies probably to the cut-out paintings of a large scale *Kalīla wa-Dimna* MS, now in the University Library, Istanbul, where the more successful integration of the figures and landscape speaks for a slightly later date than that of the more experimental "Demotte *Shāh-nāmeh*". The only dated MS of this period and style is a *Garshāsp-nāma* of 754/1354 also in the Topkapı Sarayı which represents a stylistic stage after the "Demotte *Shāh-nāmeh*", but still reflects its manner. A more advanced style, possibly from another locality, if the paintings were not executed at a later date than the MS, is found in another *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the text of which is dated 744/1343 (in Cairo), where the figures are more diminutive while the landscape is purely decorative and the space hardly rendered. This is a general tendency which is clearly noticeable in various dated MSS of the second half of the 8th/14th century (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, Basil Gray, *Persian miniature painting*, London 1933, 29-48, 184; D. Barrett, *Persian painting in the fourteenth century*, London n.d.; E. Kühnel, *History of miniature painting and drawing*, in *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 1833-41; R. Ettinghausen, *On some Mongol miniatures*, in *Kunst des Orients*, iii (1959), 44-65; B. Gray, *Persian painting*, Geneva 1961, 19-55 (bibliography: p. 173); B. W. Robinson, *Persian painting*, London 1967, 35-42; 84-5; on the albums: R. Ettinghausen, *Persian Ascension miniatures*, in XII Convegno Volta (Accademia dei Lincei, Roma), Rome 1957, 360-83; M. S. Ipşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben. Diez'sche Klebebände aus Berliner Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden 1964; idem, *Malerei der Mongolen*, Munich 1965).

Bibliography of publications treating of the whole subject: "Ilkhan Art", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vii, New York 1963, columns 788-98 with extensive bibliography; and chapters in the general histories of Islamic art, *e.g.*, those by Georges Marçais, Ernst Kühnel and Katharina Otto-Dorn. For the decorative arts and painting see also Oleg Grabar, *Persian art before and after the Mongol conquest*, University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor 1959; idem, "The visual arts, 1050-1350" in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, ed. J. A. Boyle, Cambridge 1968, 626-58.

(R. Ettinghausen)

ʿILLA "cause", pl. *ʿilal*.

i.—Grammar

The idea of the *ʿilla* is important, and appears in the earliest treatises. In fact, Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, who sees ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ (d. 117/735) as the founder of *naḥw*, says of him: "he enlarged the scope of *ḳiyās* and explained the *ʿilal*" (al-Ḳifṭī,

*Inbā*ʾ, ii, 105). Few grammarians, however, have dealt with the question of *ʿilal* for its own sake: al-Zadjdjādjī, in ch. 5 (64-6) of the *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿilal al-naḥw* (Cairo 1378/1959); Ibn Djinnī, in several chapters of the *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i (Cairo 1371/1952), 48-95, 144-63, 173-4, 174-80, 183-4; al-Suyūṭī, in ch. 4 *al-ʿilla* (54-68) of the *Kitāb al-Iḳtirāḥ fī ʿilm uṣūl al-naḥw* (Cairo 1310); from him we know that Ibn al-Sarrādj dealt with it at the beginning of his *Uṣūl*, and al-Ḥusayn al-Dīnawarī al-Djalīs (*Bughya*, 236) in the *Kitāb Thimār al-ṣināʿa* (in MS., see Brockelmann S I, 514).

Al-Zadjdjādjī (d. 337/948-9), in this ch. 5 *ʿilal al-naḥw*, says that they are artificial (*mustanbaṭa*) and not necessitating (*laysat mūdjiba*), and puts them into three categories: *taʿlīmiyya, ḳiyāsiyya, djadaliyya naẓariyya*. The first are concerned with the teaching (*taʿlīm*) of the language of the Arabs, permit it to be learnt and are included among the norms that rule it. One says: *ḳāma Zaydun*, "Zayd rose", with Zayd in the *rafʿ* (nominative), and if the question is asked: why is Zayd in the *rafʿ*? the answer is—and this is the *ʿilla*—because he is the *fāʿil*, "the agent" of the verb, which affects him and puts him in the *rafʿ*. One says: *inna Zaydan ḳāʾimun*, "Zayd is standing". Why, in this case, should Zayd be in the *naṣb* (accusative) and *ḳāʾim* in the *rafʿ*? The answer is: because of *inna*, which puts the noun following it in the *naṣb* and the *khabar* (predicate) in the *rafʿ*. This reply expresses the *ʿilla*.

ʿIlal ḳiyāsiyya are concerned with explanations founded on *ḳiyās*, "analogy": in the case of *inna Zaydan ḳāʾimun*, why should *inna* put the noun in the *naṣb*? Because (*ʿilla ḳiyāsiyya*) it resembles a transitive verb; it is thus thought of as comparable with it and behaves like it, because of this resemblance. From a formal point of view, *Zaydan* is comparable with the object of the verb in the *naṣb*, and *ḳāʾim* in the *rafʿ* with the *fāʿil*, which is in the *rafʿ*.

ʿIlal djadaliyya naẓariyya make up all the other explanations that are worked out by reflexion (*naẓar*) and frequently brought into discussion (*djadal*), in answer to the questions that arise subsequently. The previous *ʿilla* (*ḳiyāsiyya*) stated: a resemblance to a transitive verb. To what verb? to a verb in the past? in the present? in the future? In a comparison with a transitive verb, why select a verb the complement of which precedes the *fāʿil* (such as *ḍaraba Zaydan ʿAmrun*)? This is a secondary construction (*farʿ*) in relation to the basic construction (*aṣl*): *ḍaraba ʿAmrun Zaydan*. Why choose a secondary construction? What similar cases justify this course of action? Are both constructions (that of *farʿ* and that of *aṣl*) permissible? No, for one cannot say: *inna ḳāʾimun Zaydan*. Why, then, revoke this prohibition and permit: *inna amāmaka Bakran*, "Bakr is in front of you"? etc., etc. All the answers to these questions are *ʿilal djadaliyya naẓariyya*. Arab grammarians speculated unrestrainedly about the *ʿilal*; it was no empty game for them, but rather an attempt to discover *ḥikma*, the Wisdom which harmoniously organizes everything in the language of the Arabs (cf. Ibn al-Sarrādj), and which came through revelation.

Ibn al-Sarrādj (d. 316/929) established (*Iḳtirāḥ*, 58) two classes of *iʿtilālāt*, the arguments of the grammarians: (a) Those "which lead to knowledge of the language of the Arabs, such as: every *fāʿil* is *marfūʿ* (in the nominative) and every *mafʿūl* (complement) is *manṣūb*". [This is al-Zadjdjādjī's first category]. (b) Those which are *ʿillat ʿilla* "the cause of a cause", "such as: why is the *fāʿil marfūʿ* and the *mafʿūl manṣūb*? Nothing is gained by talking as the Arabs did. We merely extract the wisdom contained in the *uṣūl* (rules) that they have established, and the superiority of this language over others is thus shown"; *ʿillat ʿilla* comprehends al-Zadjdjādjī's other two categories.

Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) seeks to deepen the idea of *ʿilla* in grammar (references to the *Khaṣāʾiṣ*). First, he does not accept (i, 173-4) Ibn al-Sarrādj's expression: *ʿillat ʿilla*. This is simply a linguistic licence, which does not correspond with reality, for it is concerned with explanations or complements applied to the *ʿilla*. "The real cause is not caused (*maʿlūla*)" (i, 174, line 5); it exists by nature. This is what requires to be examined, and Ibn Djinnī speculates concerning the character of this cause. He makes an initial distinction (i, 164): *al-ʿilla al-mūdjiba*, "the necessitating cause" and *al-ʿilla al-mudjawwiza*, "the cause that permits action", such as the possibility of changing *w* into *hamza* in *wuḳḳita* > *ʾuḳḳita*, "have a time assigned for something", or *wudjūh* > *ʾudjūh*, "faces". This, in fact, is only a *sabab* which permits but does not necessitate (see below, Rem. a). *Al-ʿilla al-mūdjiba* remains. Is this of the type dealt with by the theologian or of that dealt with by the jurist? He says (i, 48, 145) that it is closer to the first than to the second, and superior to the latter (i, 50, l. 15), for the grammarians refer to sense (*al-ḥiss*) and speak of heaviness or lightness in the sounds of the language, which are clearly perceptible to everyone, whereas legal causation has recourse to signs (*li-wuḳūʿ al-aḥkām*), in order that judgments may be made (see also: i, 48, ll. 6-12; 51, ll. 12-5). He also distinguishes, within *al-ʿilla al-mūdjiba* (i, 88, 164): (a) the *ʿilla* that necessitates, leaving no possibility of evasion, such as the changing of *alif* to *wāw* in *ḍārib* ("hitting") > *ḍuwayrib* in the diminutive; this is comparable with the causes of the theologians; (b) the *ʿilla* that can be avoided, but in this case one must accept something disagreeable and repugnant; such as, for example, in saying: **muyḳin* (following the *aṣl*), without changing the *y to w*: *mūḳin*, "he who knows with certainty"; or **miwzān*, without changing the *w* to *y*: *mīzan* "balance"; its causation is not absolute. Thus he says (i, 87 end): "We do not claim that they [the *ʿilal al-naḥw*] reach the same level (*tablugh ḳadr*) of the *ʿilal* of the theologians" (cf. i, 145, ll. 9-11). He does not then wish to identify these causes completely, but simply to note that they exhibit a more marked resemblance to one another. Thus, going beyond the *ʿilal* of the jurists on the one hand, and, on the other, more resembling the *ʿilal* of the theologians, while falling short of the latter, the *ʿilal* of the grammarians hold a peculiar position. As R. Arnaldez says (*Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue*, Paris 1956, 96): "The problem is thus clearly set and answered with respect to the specificity of the grammatical cause". This is from the Arab point of view. Modern linguistics considers not causes in language but significant oppositions between signs, and relationships between the different signs in the sentence: functions, provided with formal marks.

What, however, does Ibn Djinnī mean by *al-ʿilla al-mūdjiba*? Without doubt the first category of al-Zadjdjādjī and Ibn al-Sarrādj (cf. i, 164, ll. 2-5). Having rejected the *ʿillat ʿilla* of the latter, he has to confine himself to this first category, Now, to take one example, he makes frequent use of *istithḳāl* "estimation of heaviness" (and, consequently, of lightness). Moreover, he uses the arguments of the grammarians by means of *istithḳāl* to show the

difference between the *ʿilal* of the grammarians and those of the jurists (above and i, 48, l. 4). This *istithḳāl* is a *ʿilla naẓariyya*; in fact, in the cases quoted above—**muyḳin* > *mūḳin*, **miwzān* > *mīzān* (non-absolute *ʿilla mūdjiba*) — *al-ʿilla al-taʿlīmiyya* simply states the changes: *uy* > *ū*, *iw* > *ī*; the "why?", however, the explanation by means of estimating heaviness, *istithḳāl*, comes from the *naẓar*, from reflexion on linguistic behaviour, in the particular case. What then are we to think? After careful examination, we must conclude that it is the term *ʿillat ʿilla* and the abuse of useless questions that Ibn Djinnī has rejected (see i, 173, ll. 11 ff.), but that he intended to go beyond the simple grammatical statement and to set up, in the real causes, an explanation that comes from the working of linguistic feeling, such as his *istithḳāl*, or from that which he believes appropriate to the Arabic language. Granting the cases referred to (*mūḳin*, *mīzān et al.*), yet when we consider how far he carries his use of *istithḳāl*, *e.g.*, i, 55, ll. 4-8, we see that he reaches the pure systematic *ʿilla naẓariyya*. Real grammatical cause remains for him a domain that has a clear first limit with the *taʿlīmiyya*, but extends, more or less rightly, into the *naẓariyya*; reservations are made, here, about the question of the *ḳiyāsiyya*, in view of the extent of Ibn Djinnī's discussion of *ḳiyās*.

Al-Dīnawarī (wrote before 583/1187; Brockelmann, S I, 514), in the *Kitāb* mentioned above (with the *sharḥ* of Ibn Maktūm) (in al-Suyūṭī, 2nd *masʾala*: Divisions of the *ʿilal*, *Iḳtirāḥ*, 56-8), also introduces two divisions. The second apparently corresponds with that of Ibn al-Sarrādj, but he does not discuss it (*ibid.*, 58, l. 14-5). The first enumerates the 24 well-known types (*nawʿ*) of the grammarians' *ʿilal*: *taṭṭarid ʿalā kalām al-ʿArab wa-tunsāḳ ilā ḳānūn lughatihim*, "valid for the whole of the Arab speech and referred to the canon of their language". These, however, are no longer merely the *taʿlīmiyya* or Ibn al-Sarrādj's first division. For example, an important *ḳiyāsiyya* is in fact to be found there: the *ʿillat tashbīh* "the cause of resemblance", such as the *iʿrāb* of the *muḍāriʿ* because of its resemblance to a noun, and the *bināʾ* (absence of *iʿrāb*) of certain nouns because of their resemblance to the *ḥurūf* (*ibid.*, 57, l. 5-6); and the *ʿillat farḳ*, "the cause of difference" (l. 7-9), a purely systematic *ʿilla naẓariyya*.

When Ibn Djinnī's procedure with respect to *istithḳāl* is seen, and his tendency towards pure systematic *naẓariyya*, it is not surprising to find al-Dīnawarī produce such a mixture, in his count of the *ʿilal*. This means that the grammarian, in his grammatical speculation, comes no longer to distinguish clearly between the actual rules of the Arabic language (the *taʿlīmiyya*) and all the "whys?" that they have accumulated to account for these rules, and that he thus comes to ascribe to the former the same objective value as to the latter. Besides, al-Suyūṭī, repeating the enumeration of the 24 types mentioned, in the biographical notice of al-Dīnawarī (*Bughya*, 236), introduces them simply as: *ʿilal al-naḥw al-mashhūra*, according to that author.

A *ʿilla* may also be *basīṭa*, "simple" or *murakkaba*, "compound"; this is the subject of al-Suyūṭī's 5th *masʾala* (*Iḳtirāḥ*, 61-2). A good example of *murakkaba* is the explanation of *manʿ al-ṣarf*, "prevention of *ṣarf*" for nouns with only two cases, by means of the combined action of two *māniʿ*, "obstacle" (see also Ibn Djinnī, i, 174-80).

The important part ascribed to the *ʿilla* in the theory of *ḳiyās* should also be noted; it can be seen in the account of Ibn al-Anbārī: *Lumaʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-naḥw* (ed. Attia Amer), 53: *ḳiyās al-ʿilla* is accepted by all *bi-idjmāʿ*, with unanimous consent, and it is the only one that enjoys *idjmāʿ*; *ḳiyās al-shabah*, "the *ḳiyās* of resemblance" is accepted by *akthar al-ʿulamāʾ*, "most scholars".

Remarks: (a) *ʿilla, sabab*. Ibn Djinnī appears to make a distinction between the two terms: *al-ʿilla al-mudjawwiza* is really only a *sabab* that permits and does not necessitate (above and i, 164, l. 6). al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) (*Iḳtirāḥ*, 59, l. 14), in a note that follows the end (which is clearly marked) of the quotation of Ibn Djinnī, decides in favour of a firm distinction: "It is clear, then, that by means of this difference that which necessitates is called *ʿilla* and that which permits is called *sabab*". This is developed by the commentator on the *Iḳtirāḥ*, Muḥammad ʿAlī b. ʿAllān (d. 1057/1648), quoted by the editor of the *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 164, n. 4. If the latter had noticed the *intahā* that closes the quotation from Ibn Djinnī he would not have attributed to him (*ibid.*) a self-contradiction. —For *ʿilla* and *sabab* in Ibn Ḥazm, see R. Arnaldez, *op. cit.*, 186.

(b) For another sense of *ʿilla*: *ḥurūf al-ʿilla* or *al-iʿtilāl* or *al-ḥurūf al-muʿtalla*, see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. These are *alif*, *wāw*, *yāʾ*, known as "sick" *ḥurūf*, as opposed to the others, the "healthy" ones, *al-ḥurūf al-ṣaḥīḥa*. The changes to which they are subject are dealt with in Arabic grammars in the chapter on *iʿlāl* or *iʿtilāl*, *e.g.*, R. al-Shartūnī, *Mabādiʾ al-ʿarabiyya*, iv (9th ed., Beirut 1961), 35-40; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, 118-37.

Bibliography: in the text. Ch. 4 of the *Iḳtirāḥ* of al-Suyūṭī, which is made up of quotations, has the advantage of gathering together the important texts; the author, however, makes certain cuts in his quotations from Ibn Djinnī. (H. Fleisch)

ii.—Philosophy

Cause, in the exact sense of Aristotle's τὸ αἴτιον. The term was adopted by Shīʿī thought, by the *falāsifa* and by the later *mutakallimūn* in their resumés and refutations of *falsafa*. The *mutakallimūn*, however, tended rather, in order to denote a causal sequence and the production of an effect, to use *sabab*, pl. *asbāb*, which implies primarily the idea of "channel", "intermediary". A certain confusion of vocabulary sometimes arises from this, and all the more since the *falāsifa*, in particular al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, use *sabab* freely as a synonym of *ʿilla*.

The term *ʿilla* seems to have been adopted very early in the translations of Greek texts. It would be tedious to try to trace it through, and we may simply remark the influence that the Neo-Platonic writings attributed to Aristotle may have had in this matter as in many others: especially, here, the extracts from the *Elementatio theologica* of Proclus, which in Arabic became the "Book of the Explanation of Aristotle concerning the pure Good" (*al-khayr al-maḥḍ*), and were known to the Latin Middle Ages as the *Liber de Causis* (Arabic ed. by Bardenhewer, Freiburg i. B., 1882; re-ed. by A. Badawi in *Neoplatonici apud Arabos*, Cairo 1955). From the very first lines of the work, the relationship of the first Cause (here *al-ʿilla al-awwaliyya*) with the second cause, as described in the text, makes it clear that the thing caused (*maʿlūl*) is maintained in being by the universal first Cause, even when the immediate second cause ceases to exert its influence: "and even if the second cause is separated from the effect that follows it, the first Cause, which is above it, is not separated from that effect, since it is the cause of its cause". The Latin Middle Ages incorporated

this relationship in a purely creationist view of the world, and one of a world "commenced" in time, while *falsafa*—at any rate eastern *falsafa*—interpreted it as requiring a necessary and eternal emanation.

Here, as a guide, are some of the more important references.

I. Shīʿī thought. An epistle of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* is entitled "on causes (*ʿilal*) and things caused (*maʿlūlāt*)" (*Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Cairo 1347/1928, iii, 324 ff.). One chapter is devoted to the ideas in question (*ibid.*, 336-7). The definitions refer to the more traditional idea of *sabab*: *ʿilla* is the "intermediary" (*sabab*) necessary for the existence of another thing, and the *maʿlūl* ("thing caused", effect) is that whose existence requires some "intermediary". As for the various kinds of causes, their possible enumeration is governed by two points of view. (1) An analysis very close to that of Aristotle (*Physics*, ii, 3 and Metaphysics, Δ, 2) distinguishes the efficient cause or agent (*ʿilla fāʿila*), the material cause (*ʿilla hayūlāniyya*), the formal cause (*ʿilla ṣūriyya*) and the final or "perfect" cause (*ʿilla tamāmiyya*). These four causes, according to the text, are to be found in every "produced" object. (2) To this is added the list of what the agent that produces an effect needs, according to its nature. If the agent is a man, he needs matter, place, time, members as instruments, implements and certain movements. A "natural" agent, on the other hand, needs only matter, place, time and movements; an "animate" agent, endowed with vital (*nafsānī*) breath, needs only matter and movements. The paragraph ends with the statement that the Most High Creator (*al-bāriʾ*) "needs none of this, since His Act is absolute beginning and creation" with regard to both matter and time, and to movements, instruments and implements. The epistle adds that obstacles created by deficiencies in the matter (*mādda*), by the difficulties encountered by the first matter (*hayūlā*) in receiving form, by lack of instruments and implements or by personal inadequacies, may all constitute hindrances to the action of the agent. "How far removed is God Most High from all this!"

Beings that are caused are divided, in their turn, into four categories: those produced by men; "natural" beings (minerals, vegetables, animals); then two categories the details of which depend on certain Ismāʿīlī views: on the one hand the pure *nafsāniyya* beings (planets, stars, elements), on the other the *rūḥāniyya* or "spiritual" beings (first matter, separate form, soul, intellect).

This description of the causes certainly borrows many of its elements from the Aristotelian tradition. It is expressed, however, in an analytic frame that is not Aristotle's; it is more descriptive and more careful to refer to the hierarchies of beings. The examination of the causes seems less to satisfy the intellectual grasp of what constitutes things than to define the intermediate conditions without which things could not be brought into existence. These conditions, however, establish necessary links between the causes and their effects, and thereby lead to the recognition of the efficacy (*taʾthīr*) of the first on the second. The Ismāʿīlī theory of the first matter, which gives a spiritual (*rūḥānī*) reality to the *hayūlā* [*q.v.*], diverts the idea of material cause in a new direction; the Muslim faith states that God transcends any operation of secondary causality, in the absolute immediacy of His creative (emanative) Act.

Shīʿī (Ismāʿīlī) thought follows, with less technical precision, the same lines and somewhat accentuates them. The first Cause (*al-ʿilla al-ūlā*) is sometimes God Himself, sometimes the first Emanation, thought of as God as knowable and nameable. Here we shall refer only to the *Kitāb Djāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (ed. H. Corbin and M. Muʿīn, Paris-Teheran 1953), *e.g.*, 7-9, where temporal and local causes are added to the four classic causes, and 67-70, on the first Cause. Six centuries later, the world-view of Mullā Sadra Shīrāzī, which was profoundly monist and emanatist, led him to deny the relationship *ʿilla-maʿlūl* on the level of the constitutive intrinsic causes of quiddity (*māhiyya*), while affirming it all the more vehemently on the level of existence (cf. *Kitāb al-Mashāʿir*, ed. and trans. H. Corbin, Paris-Teheran 1964, 53-4/180-1). "That which is called cause is the origin and source (*aṣl*)"; the absolute Origin is the first Cause (*ibid.*, 41/162).

II. *Falsafa*. The idea of *ʿilla* is common in *falsafa*. Al-Kindī refers to it frequently. Thus a *risāla* on "the proximate efficient cause (*al-ʿilla al-fāʿila al-ḳarība*) of being and corruption" enumerates and defines the four causes, which are here called "natural"—the material cause being called *ʿunṣuriyya* and the final cause *tamāmiyya* (217-8); it then analyses more closely the efficient ("agent", *fāʿila*) cause, and applies the principles thus established. With regard to the "obedience of the heavenly Bodies to God", we find a new list of causes, referring to the final cause, which is not explicitly named (*ibid.*, 247-8); the celestial sphere is called the "proximate efficient cause" of the perishable living creature, "and the efficient cause, as such, is more noble than the thing caused, as thing caused" (248). Al-Kindī also discusses "the cause (*ʿilla*) of fogs" (*ibid.*, ii, Cairo 1372/1953, 76-8), where he uses *asbāb* as a synonym for *ʿilal*, and "the efficient cause of the flow and ebb of the tide" (*ibid.*, 110-33), etc.

Al-Fārābī's vocabulary mingles *ʿilla* in its philosophical sense and *sabab* without much discrimination. Thus in the *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* (ed. Dieterici, *ap. Alfarabi's Philosophische Abhandlungen*, Leiden 1890, 57): the possible things that are "necessary by virtue of something else" need a cause (*ʿilla*), since they cannot, either infinitely or correlatively, be causes of one another (cf. Ibrahim Madkour, *La place d'al-Fārābī dans l'école philosophique musulmane*, Paris 1934, 79). It is, then, the Necessary Being that brings them into existence, and He can have no cause (*ʿilla*), since He is the first Cause (*al-sabab al-awwal*) of the being of things. The paragraph ends with a short list of the four Aristotelian causes (*ʿilal*). The same mingling of usage occurs in the following part of the text (58-9), which describes the emanation of beings; similarly in the *Treatise on the agreement between Plato and Aristotle* (*ibid.*, 11, 23 and *passim*), etc. A certain preference for *sabab-asbāb* seems to be evident in the *Ārāʾ ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila* (ed. Dieterici, Leiden 1895): chapter 17 on the "original causes (*asbāb*) of the first form and the first matter (*mādda*)", and 22 on the "cause (*sabab*) of the intellection of the rational power".

It is, however, in Ibn Sīnā that we find the clearest restatements and elaborations concerning the causes; they can hardly have failed to have some influence on later Shīʿī thought. They recur regularly in the metaphysical treatises. Without attempting an exhaustive list, we may notice as the most important references: *Shifāʾ*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo 1960, ii, 257-300 ("on the division of the causes and their modalities"), and 327-43 (the demonstration of the exist-

ence of God as first Cause); *Nadjāt*, Cairo 1357/1938, 211-3 and 235-43 (where the usages *sabab-asbāb* and *ʿilla-ʿilal* occur indifferently); *Ishārāt*, ed. Flügel, Leiden 1892, 139-43. To these may be added the shorter summaries of the *Daneshnāma* (French trans. *Le livre de Science*, Paris 1955, 127-33), the *Risāla fi 'l-ḥudūd*, on the words *ʿilla* and *maʿlūl* (*ap. Tisʿ rasāʾil fi 'l-ḥikma wa-'l-ṭabīʿiyyāt*, Cairo 1326/1908, 100-1) and the *Risāla fi 'l-ṭabīʿiyyāt* (*ibid.*, 4), where the term used is *asbāb*.

We cannot hope here to deal in detail with Ibn Sīnā's "Treatise on causes". In any case, he depends directly on the texts of Aristotle, especially Book Δ of the Metaphysics, which he subjects to a most searching analysis (particularly in the *Shifāʾ* and the *Nadjāt*), completing, or rather, going beyond them, and also diverting them in a Neo-Platonic direction. He does not merely give an analytical list of causes, but deals with the actual theory of causality (*ʿilliyya*) and of "causedness" "*causéité*" (*maʿlūliyya*), as Mlle Goichon translates it (*Lexique de la langue technique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, no 451). A few remarks:

(1) In a distinction that became classic (adopted, for example, in the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī: ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 160), Avicenna calls the intrinsic causes, that is to say, material (*in potentia*) and formal (*in actu*), "the causes of quiddity" (*māhiyya*); the extrinsic causes, efficient and final, are "the causes of existence" (or of being, *wudjūd*) of a thing. "A thing may be caused either with regard to its quiddity or with regard to its existence" (*Ishārāt*, 139). We find here an echo not only of the real distinction between essence and existence but also of Avicenna's "extrinsicism", in which existence "happens" to essence.

(2) The efficient cause (*al-ʿilla al-fāʿila*) is considered as the determining constitutive of the existence of a thing; this is a direct application of the major thesis that any possible thing that is brought into existence is necessary *ab alio* (a statement already found in al-Fārābī). In the treatise in the *Shifāʾ* (*Ilāhiyyāt*, ii, 357), Ibn Sīnā distinguishes in this regard between the "physicists", who see a motive cause in the *ʿilla fāʿila*, and the *falāsifa*, who define it as causing the beginning of, and maintaining, being; he adds that this is the position of the Creator *vis-à-vis* the world. He afterwards affirms the existence of God as first efficient Cause, which creates all being of things (cf. *Ishārāt*, 140), and no longer only the motive Cause, as in Aristotle. It is possible to see in this a source for Thomas Aquinas's "second way".

(3) Stress is laid on the final (*ghāʾiyya*) cause, which, in a strongly emphasized formula (*Ishārāt*, 139), is called "the efficient cause of the efficient causes" (cf. the text from the *Rasāʾil al-Kindī* already cited, i, 248). It is the cause of the causes (*Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, ii, 292). As Ibrahim Madkour remarks in his introduction to the edition of the *Ilāhiyyāt* (17), Ibn Sīnā, making an analysis of the four causes from this point of view, attempts to lead them all back to the final cause (*ibid.*, ii, 294-8). The interrelationship between the efficient cause and the final cause is no less penetratingly defined. It is "by virtue of its quiddity" that the final cause is a cause, and "the idea that it represents belongs to the causality of the efficient cause" (*Ishārāt*, 140; trans. A.-M. Goichon, Paris-Beirut 1951, 356), for it is, inasmuch as it exists, caused by the latter. There is, then, an incessant interaction between the two extrinsic causes.

(4) The affirmation of the existence of God as absolute first Principle follows from the demonstration first of the impossibility of an infinite number, in actuality, of efficient and material causes and then of the impossibility of an infinite number of final causes (*Shifāʾ*, ii, 327-43; cf. *Ishārāt*, 141-2). God is thus called "absolute first Cause" (*ʿilla ūlā muṭlaḳa*) and "Cause of all other causes" (*Shifāʾ*, ii, 340). He is, without doubt, the supreme efficient Cause, since He is the Principle (*mubdiʾ*) of all being and of all contingent being, while transcending in some way any distinction of efficiency-finality in "absolute innovation" (*ibdāʿ muṭlaḳ*). In itself the thing caused is non-existent (*lays*); its cause makes it exist (*ays*) (*ibid.*, 266).

(5) The relationships of concomitance and anteriority between cause and thing caused recur frequently in the treatises of Avicenna. The principal distinction is as follows: there is anteriority of sense (*maʿnā*; we find later "anteriority of nature"), but not of time (*zamān*). In time, the cause is really such, in actuality, only as a concomitant of the thing caused, and the latter exists, in actuality, only through the existence of the cause (*ibid.*, 261). If, then, the thing caused is removed the cause is removed (*Risāla fi 'l-ḥudūd*), and vice versa, at least as far as the cause in actuality (*bi-'l-fiʿl*) is concerned. A cause in potentiality (*bi-'l-ḳuwwa*) can be anterior to its effect (the joiner before he works his wood; cf. *Nadjāt*, 212-3); it can outlive it or disappear before it. A cause always in actuality, however, cannot exist without its effect, and this effect cannot exist without its cause. In consequence, God, the absolute Principle and the supreme Cause, Who is always in actuality, cannot not produce the world from all eternity. The existential determinism of *falsafa*, and the eternity of the contingent world, eternally "commenced" (*ḥādith*), are based on the reciprocal relationship of cause and thing caused, defined thus.

(6) The vocabulary used by Ibn Sīnā is a supple and rich one. (a) Together with *ʿilla* and *maʿlūl* the more traditional terms *sabab* and *musabbab* also occur frequently—sometimes in the etymological sense: cause as intermediary or occasion, sometimes as a synonym for *ʿilla*. (b) While the efficient and formal causes are always called *fāʿila* and *ṣūriyya*, the material cause refers rather to *hayūlā* (first matter) than to *mādda*. This latter term, however, is also used (usually as "second matter", already with form), and sometimes *ʿunṣur*, "element", in the sense of "first receptacle" (*al-ʿilla al-ʿunṣuriyya* is an expression already found in al-Kindī). The final cause is called *ghāʾiyya*, but *tamāmiyya* is not excluded. (c) In the course of elaboration (thus *Nadjāt*, *ibid.*) there are distinguished the cause *per se* (*bi-'l-dhāt*), the accidental (*bi-'l-ʿaraḍ*) cause, the proximate (*ḳarība*) cause and the distant (*baʿīda*) cause, the particular (*djuzʾiyya*) cause and the general (*ʿāmma*) or universal (*kulliyya*) cause, the receptive (*ḳābila*) and the dispositive cause... A resumé and an important application of Avicenna's theory of causes appear in the *Kitāb al-Nafs* of the *Shifāʾ* (ed. F. Rahman, Oxford 1959, 228-9), where it is stated that the body and the soul are not in the same relationship as cause and thing caused; that the body can be only the receptive and accidental cause of the soul, and that the soul receives existence only through "separate causes" (*al-ʿilal al-mufāriḳa*).

It would be interesting to compare Avicenna's analyses and the corresponding ideas of S. Y. Suhrawardī, for example, in his *Kitāb Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ*

(ed. H. Corbin, Paris-Teheran 1952, 62-3, 91, 94-6, 147-8, 184, 186, 195); they have a basis of common ideas, but the latter exhibits a greater independence of the Aristotelian source and forges a closer link between the theory of emanation (and its descent from the luminaries) and the idea of cause; whence the expressions "effusive (*fayyāḍa*) cause", "illuminating (*nūriyya*) cause" and "existential illuminating (*wudjūdiyya nūriyya*) cause" (195). The *ʿilla* becomes the effusion from the "victorious luminaries", in which cause and thing caused correspond in an intellectual (*ʿaḳlī*) priority, "but not a temporal one; cause and thing caused remain both together in time" (63).

If we turn now to western *falsafa*, we find an equally frequent use of causes (*ʿilal*) and of the principle of causality, the ideas and vocabulary of which are well established. Thus, a whole theory of causes can be extracted from the writings of Ibn Rus͟hd, not only in his commentaries on Aristotle but also in the *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, when he is replying to al-G͟hazālī concerning the eternity of the world (ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 4 ff.; cf. Eng. tr., S. van den Bergh, London 1954, i, 3 ff.). Reference to the four Aristotelian causes leads Ibn Rus͟hd to state that the very idea of cause is analogical, and that only efficient causality is appropriate to the first Cause that produces the world. He also emphasizes that the infinite regression of causes is impossible as far as causes *per se* and direct causes are concerned, that is to say, "if every cause is a condition of the existence of that which follows from it"; this regression is not, however, impossible for causes *per accidens* and "circular" causes. It should be added that, the more Ibn Rus͟hd reacts against the Neo-Platonism of his eastern (and Mag͟hribī) predecessors, the closer he comes, on the subject of causes, as on so many others, to the historical Aristotle.

III. *ʿIlm al-kalām*. When it began, *ʿilm al-kalām* was scarcely aware of the "theory of causes". When it encountered the idea, or one very similar, moreover, it expressed it by *asbāb*, not by *ʿilal*. Originally, the problem is not the relationship between first Cause and second cause, but the production of "commenced" actions, especially human actions. The various answers of the Muʿtazilī, As͟hʿarī and Ḥanafī-Māturīdī schools are known [see ALLĀH, II, B]. Whereas the Muʿtazilīs affirm the efficacy of the created agent on his effects, the predominant lines of the other schools hold to a non-necessary sequence of *sabab* and *musabbab*, directly created by God, without intrinsic efficacy (*g͟hayr taʾt͟hīr*) of the first on the second.

In order to combat eastern *falsafa* in the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, al-G͟hazālī was obliged to borrow its ideas and vocabulary concerning cause and thing caused. Under the same influence, the usages *ʿilla*, *ʿilliyya*, *maʿlūl* and *maʿlūliyya* appear more and more frequently in the major manuals of the following period, in general towards the end of the "philosophical preambles". An example of this is the *Muḥaṣṣal* of Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Cairo n.d.), where the four causes are mentioned (89-90), and a chapter is devoted to "cause and thing caused" (104-6). The *Mawāḳif* of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī, and the commentary on these by al-Djurdjānī, elaborate the same subject at some length (*S͟harḥ al-mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, iv, 98-201). An analysis of the causes and a long discussion on the relationship between cause and thing caused are to be found there. The predominating idea is that "causes" are only the "condition" (*s͟harṭ*) of their effects, and that there can be no efficacy (*taʾt͟hīr*) of the first on the being of the second. It is with reference or non-reference to *taʾt͟hīr* that al-Djurdjānī, in his *Taʿrīfāt* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 160 and 121) appears to distinguish the ideas of *ʿilla* and *sabab*.

Later on, the vocabulary does not retain this precision, and the term *ʿilla* goes somewhat out of favour. The *Muḳaddima* of Ibn K͟haldūn speaks only of *asbāb*. The contemporary manuals, such as the *Muḳaddimāt* of al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen or the *Ḥās͟hiya* (. . .) *ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥīd* of al-Bādjūrī, condemn the Muʿtazilīs and the *falāsifa* (the latter more strongly than the former) for a *s͟hirk al-asbāb*, associating an operation of second causes with the divine Omnipotence (see *Muḳaddimāt*, ed. and trans. Luciani, Algiers 1908, 92-5, 108-13). The existence of *asbāb* is not denied, but they have no efficacy (*ʿadam taʾt͟hīrihā*) on the "effect" with which "they usually coincide".

The affirmation of a *taʾt͟hīr* of the cause on the thing caused, even when it is the result, as the Muʿtazilīs claim, of a "commenced power" (*ḳudra ḥādit͟ha*) created by God in the agent, is still considered by As͟hʿarism as being in opposition to the Power of God, or at least confining it. This entrenched position has weighty consequences for the problem of human freedom, which it leads its followers to deny. It may be asked, however, if it does not stem from a misunderstanding. Avicenna's theory of causes, for example, and his analysis of the very idea of causality is one thing; another, a view of the world dominated by a creation-emanation, doubtless willed by the first Being, but which is necessary and thus eternal. For Ibn Sīnā, as we have seen, a cause in actuality cannot not produce its effect, and maintain it, by its intrinsic efficacy. This is true, according to him, for the relationship of God with the world, but equally true for the action of second causes, which, in his view, thus remain part of an absolute existential determinism. Consequently, to admit the *taʾt͟hīr*, the influence, of the cause on the thing caused appears to the *mutakallimūn* as a denial of the divine free Will and free Action. The two questions of the intrinsic reality of the causal relationship and of the freedom of God in His creative Act (and thus of his transcendance of the created thing) are thus blocked together in the discussions of the schools.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. GARDET)

ʿILLIYYŪN (genitive *ʿilliyyīn*) is used in Sūra LXXXIII, 18 to mean the place in the book where the deeds of the pious (*abrār*) are listed. In the two following verses (19 ff.) *ʿilliyyūn* is described as an inscribed book (*kitāb marḳūm*). In verse 21 it is said of this book that those close (to God) bear witness to it. Correspondingly in verse 7 of the same Sūra the place in the book where the deeds of evil-doers are chronicled is called *sidjdjīn*. In the two following verses (8 ff.) *sidjdjīn* too is defined as an inscribed book. In Ṭabarī's view *ʿilliyyūn* may be identified with the seventh heaven or the right foot of the divine throne, or some other place in heaven. He gives no explanation of the fact that *ʿilliyyūn* and *sidjdjīn* are themselves described both as books and as the place where the book of the pious or the book of the evil-doers may be found. Zamak͟hs͟harī assumes that the book in which the deeds of evil-doers or the pious are recorded is, so to speak, a part of a main book (*kitāb djāmiʿ*, *dīwān*) which is called *sidjdjīn* or *ʿilliyyūn*.

The Arabic *ʿilliyyūn* is undoubtedly derived from a misunderstanding of the Hebrew *ʿelyōn* (the highest). "Mohammed's mistake can perhaps be explained on the following ground, that he had learned that the book in which were recorded the deeds of men was kept by the *ʿelyōnim*; for this is the name which is frequently applied to the heavenly beings, who are called *taḥtōnim*; *e.g.*, in Ketubot 104a. At any rate, it is certain that Mohammed heard the word from Jews" (Horovitz).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xxx, 55-7; S. Fraenkel, *De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis*, Leiden 1880, 23; T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 28; J. Horovitz, *Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii, 1925, 145-227, 215; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 215 f.; idem, *The Qurʾān as scripture*, New York, 1952, 11 f.

(R. Paret)

ILLUMINATIONS [see kitāb and taṣwīr].

ʿILM (a.) "knowledge", the opposite of *djahl* "ignorance", is connected, on the one hand, with *ḥilm* [*q.v.*], and on the other hand with a number of terms a more precise definition of which will be found in the relevant articles: *maʿrifa*, *fiḳh*, *ḥikma*, *shuʿūr*; the most frequent correlative of *ʿilm* is however *maʿrifa*. The verb *ʿalima* is used in the Ḳurʾān both in the perfect and in the imperfect, and also in the imperative, with the meaning of "to know", but in the imperative and in the perfect it seems often to mean basically "to learn" (without effort, the fifth form *taʿallama* being used when a nuance of laborious study is implied); *ʿilm* is the result of this action. *ʿArafa* means "to know" but, perhaps as a result of the particular meaning of certain early derivatives such as *ʿārif* or *ʿarrāf* (see T. Fahd, *Divination*, index; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, index), a difference appeared at an early date in Muslim thinking between *maʿrifa* and *ʿilm*, the first tending to be used of knowledge acquired through reflexion or experience, which presupposes a former ignorance, the second a knowledge which may be described as spontaneous; in other words, *maʿrifa* means secular knowledge and *ʿilm* means the knowledge of God, hence of anything which concerns religion. In fact these distinctions are quite artificial and it is doubtful even whether a semantic study of the two terms based on an extensive collection of examples would throw any light on this problem, so personal is the way in which the different writers use them and so varied according to their various disciplines. In the field of mysticism, the relations between *ʿilm* and *maʿrifa* will be dealt with under maʿrifa and taṣawwuf; the theory of knowledge on the philosophical and theological plane will also be covered in the article maʿrifa. We merely state here that *ʿilm* had to fit in with the exigencies of the system of the *mutakallimūn*, who assigned to it a place in the schema of the Aristotelians; *ʿilm* is an accident (*ʿaraḍ*) characterized by life (*mukhtaṣṣ bi 'l-ḥayāt*) and forming, with the will, power, etc., part of the class of the modalities (*kayfiyyāt*) of the inferior appetitive soul (see al-Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*, with the commentary by al-Djurdjānī, Būlāḳ 1266, 272 ff.; al-Tahānawī, *Dict. of techn. terms*, 1055-66). *ʿIlm* is either eternal (*ḳadīm*) or produced within time (*ḥādith*, *muḥdath*), according to whether it exists in God or in a created being, and there is no analogy between these two types. The *mutakallimūn*, who made a distinction between *ʿilm* and *maʿrifa*, used the first term in referring to the composite and to the universal, and *maʿrifa* for objects which are simple (*basīṭ*; see al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, s.v.) and particular (al-Taftazānī, on al-Nasafī, 40).

On the theological plane another difference concerns the relations between *ʿilm* and *ʿamal*, "works"; there is in fact a *ʿilm naẓarī*, such as the knowledge of things, and anyone who possesses it may stop at that, and a *ʿilm ʿamalī*, knowledge of religious obligations (*ʿibādāt*), which is complete only when these obligations are fulfilled (al-Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 348). Al-Ḳarafī's explanation in the *Tanḳīḥ* (Cairo 1306, 193) is somewhat different: whoever possesses the knowledge of things and does not act according to what it teaches is only half obedient, whereas he who possesses it and also acts according to it has a double merit.

On a more general plane, *ʿilm*, applied to knowledge of a religious character, is contrasted both with *maʿrifa*, in the sense of profane knowledge, and with *adab* [*q.v.*], the meaning of which it is difficult to define precisely, but which refers in particular to a literary and professional training rather similar to *maʿrifa*. The active participle, *ʿālim*, acquired at the same time the meaning of a scholar learned in religious matters [see ʿulamāʾ], and then, at a later period, simply scholar, for which formerly other terms were used (in particular *ḥakīm*), whereas *ʿilm* acquired at a much earlier date that of learning in general.

It is true that in the expression *ṭalab al-ʿilm* the last word was regarded by the majority of Muslims as meaning "traditions" the search for which had involved long journeys, but it is doubtful whether the Prophet intended simply to allude to this activity in the numerous *ḥadīths* exhorting the faithful to seek for *ʿilm* ("even in China"); therefore in the traditions in question this word should be translated by "knowledge", just as it should be given the meaning of "learning" in texts dating from the first centuries of Islam. Furthermore the arts and the sciences were made, first by the philosophers and then by various thinkers and writers, the object of a series of lists (*iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*) and classifications of the sciences (*marātib al-ʿulūm*), the evolution of which from the 3rd/9th century to today is particularly instructive: L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati have drawn up a very instructive table of them in their *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 101-24, where, in considering the place of *kalām* in the organization of knowledge, they present the various classifications of al-Fārābī, of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, of al-Khuwārizmī, of Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Khaldūn, mentioning also those of Avicenna (102, note 2) and of Djirdjī Zaydān; to this table there may be added: Ibn Ḳutayba (G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus 1965, 443-9); Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (see M. Bergé, in *BEO*, xviii (1963-4), 241-99); Ibn Ḥazm (*Marātib al-ʿulūm*, ed. S. al-Afghānī), Miskawayh (*K. al-Saʿāda*, Cairo 1928, 48-60), and probably some other writers.

It is surprising, on examining these lists, to see the relative importance given to the Arabo-Islamic sciences and the foreign sciences, the latter occupying progressively less space as the dates get later. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1112) seems to have played in this field a determining role by establishing a clear distinction between praiseworthy (*maḥmūda*) and blameworthy (*madhmūma*) sciences, the latter including all the disciplines considered to be useless,

even harmful, to life on this earth and to the health of the soul in the hereafter (see *Iḥyāʾ*, book i, ch. i-v). A similar conception is merely the application of a badly interpreted saying, according to which the true Muslim must "pay no attention to that which does not concern him" (*tark mā lā yaʿnīh*; see I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 157), and this attitude of mind clearly explains the indifference of Islam towards many of the sciences whose interest is not immediately obvious.

The general tendency did not however prevent a number of Muslims from transmitting the heritage of antiquity while adding to it their own contribution. Details of the various disciplines will be found in the articles on mathematics (AL-DJABR WA 'L-MUḲĀBALA; ʿILM AL-ḤISĀB), mechanics [ḤIYAL], astronomy [ASṬURLĀB; FALAK; ʿILM AL-HAYʾA], medicine [ṬIBB], botany [NABĀT], alchemy [KĪMIYĀʾ], zoology [ḤAYAWĀN], etc., while for general surveys of the history of the sciences in the Muslim world there may be consulted G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, Baltimore 1927-31, 2 vols.; A. Mieli, *La science arabe*, Leiden 1938; P. Kraus, *Ǧābir ibn Ḥayyān, Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques en Islam*, Cairo 1942-3, 2 vols.; L. Massignon and R. Arnaldez, *La science arabe*, vol. ii of the *Histoire générale des sciences*, Paris 1957, 2nd ed. 1966.

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ʿILM AL-DJAMĀL, "aesthetics". A general theory on what is known as *ʿilm al-djamāl* and precise definitions of the terms used in this field are lacking in the history of Arabic civilization: nevertheless, it is possible to trace certain features common to the elements of aesthetic emotion and to their formal expression. Poetry, the outstanding genre of Arabic art, conforms to a certain ideal both in its contents and in its structure. With early poetry it is mainly in the *ghazal* that the poet expresses his feelings about ideal beauty; the same attributes are applied to all women, to the extent that it becomes doubtful whether the description is of a real person or of a fictional creature (Imruʾ al-Ḳays, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1958, 15, 16, 17, 29, 30; Ṭarafa, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1961, 20, 21; al-Nābigha, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1960, 39-42; al-Aʿshā, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1960, 144, 145; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdjlān, in *Sharḥ Dīwān al-ḥamāsa*, Cairo 1952, ii, no. 476). These descriptions are limited to physical beauty, with the exception of rare allusions to spiritual and moral qualities (al-Shanfara, in *Aghānī*, Beirut 1961, xxi, 209, verses 7-10; ʿAntara, in *Shuʿarāʾ al-Nasrāniyya ḳabl al-Islām*, Beirut 1967, 809, v. 5; al-Aʿshā, *op. cit.*, 144, v. 7; al-Nābighā, *op. cit.*, 41, v. 6; Ḳays b. al-Khaṭim, in *Aghānī*, iii, 23, verses 3, 9, 10). From these details there become apparent certain elements of Arab aesthetics such as the symmetry between the two halves of the body produced by slender hips, the contrasts of forms and colours: the hair (*fāḥim*) and the face (*abyaḍ*), the lips (*lamyāʾ*) and the teeth, the cornea and the iris (*ḥawar*), the fingers and the nails (*khaḍīb*). This ideal of beauty seems not to be a peripheral aspect but the expression of the Arab soul which is revealed in the very structure of the *Muʿallaḳāt*. The interest taken in the details of the separate parts of the body is echoed in the care given to each verse seen as a unity achieved within the poem as a whole. The latter is a collection made up of these unities which are independent and continuous, but unified by a single rhyme and dominated by one general sentiment. These structural principles appear in the arts of Islam and constitute, in a certain sense, the primary image of the arabesque.

Islam enlarged the idea of beauty by inviting its adherents to contemplate universal beauty. Nevertheless there persisted the formal ideal celebrated by the earlier poets. On the other hand, the moral and intellectual aspect made necessary by social evolution become a main theme in the *ghazal* of this period (R. Blachère, *Les principaux thèmes de la poésie érotique au siècle des Umayyades de Damas*, in *AIEO Alger*, v (1939-41), 82-128). The influence of religion in the artistic field was very small, since art and morals formed two different fields. Thus the poetry of Ibn Abī Rabīʿa was admired in spite of its eroticism (*Aghānī*, i, 113), and naked figures were represented in the frescoes and sculptures of the Umayyad castles (R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, Geneva 1962, 31; D. Schlumberger, *Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī*, Ar. tr., Beirut 1945, pl. 18e). It is interesting to note that the principles of unity and continuity were manifested in the mosques with their forest of columns and that symmetry appears evident in the plans of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra, of Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūbā, of Mshatta and in the décor of its façade. There should also be noted the contrast of the light and dark colours in the frescoes of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī (Creswell, *A short account of Early Muslim Architecture*, 1958, 124 ff.; D. T. Rice, *L'art de l'Islam*, Paris 1966, 21 ff.).

The idea of beauty underwent certain modifications under the ʿAbbāsids. Most characteristic of it during this period were the tendency to equilibrium, the interest accorded to spiritual beauty and the importance given to the harmony of the body (Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Djamāl al-marʾa ʿind al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1958, 35-40). Beauty was a favourite subject of *adab*. Although it did not constitute an *ʿilm*, *djamāl* was nevertheless a knowledge of some depth; whence the expression *al-baṣar bi 'l-djawārī*. The evolution of the study of human beauty has influenced literary criticism to the extent that we have Ibn Rashīḳ allowing a reduced form of *ziḥāf* to be compared to certain faults praised in the *djāriya* (*al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1934, i, 117). Literary criticism, given the lack of art criticism, illustrates the characteristics which are found in the *ghazal* and in the arts in general. It is a formal criticism expressed in concrete terms which may often be applied either to a person or to an expression (al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, Istanbul 1320, 131; Ibn Rashīḳ, *op. cit.*, i, 106). The critics (al-ʿAskarī, *op. cit.*, 202; Ibn Rashīḳ, *op. cit.*, ii, 5) insisted on symmetry (*tawāzun*, *tawāzī*) and contrast (*takāfuʾ*, *ṭibāḳ*). Their analysis is only a partial one, since it deals not with the poem but with words, verses or expressions (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, Cairo 1312, i, 384, 386; al-Djurdjānī, *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1321, 31 ff.). The separation of art and religion which became the rule from the Umayyad period onwards is sufficiently clear in ʿAbbāsid criticism (Ḳudāma, *Naḳd al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1948, 14; al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wisāṭa*, Sidon 1331, 57, 58). These same features can be found in the arabesque, in which the continued repetition of a single decorative theme corresponds to the verse in the poem and the column in the mosque, in which abstraction is only a form of Arab idealization, where art has no goal outside itself, and where the unity of the whole is in agreement with a certain tendency towards unity in the attitude of the critics (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, Cairo 1312, 268; Ibn Ṭabāṭaba, *ʿIyār al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1956, 17, 111).

These artistic realities and these critical judgements are echoed in the works of the theorists. Ibn Sīnā expresses the sensory character of the beautiful and distinguishes the art of the good and of the useful (cf. I. Ismāʿīl, *al-Usus al-djamāliyya fi 'l-naḳd al-adabi*, Cairo ²1968, 140 ff.); al-Tawḥīdī puts forward the idea of relativity in aesthetic judgement and cites five different bases of the beautiful and of the ugly: [human] nature, custom, [religious] law, reason and passion (*al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, Cairo 1953, i, 150); al-Ghazālī explains the attraction of the beautiful by the pleasure which it gives and the repulsiveness of ugliness by the pain which it causes; although he bases aesthetic emotion on the senses, al-Ghazālī makes clear the religious and philosophical aspect of his thought; for "spiritual beauty perceived through reason is nobler than the beauty of images perceived through sight". He reaches the core of the problem when he maintains the relativity of the beautiful in the object and in the person who contemplates it and when he rejects the elements of beauty in favour of sympathy (*Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo n.d., iv, 296 ff.).

Later, *djamāl* tends to become a *ʿilm*, but only in the field of human beauty. Ibn Abi Ḥadjala al-Maghribī attempts to define the terms used in this field, such as *djamīl, ḥasan, malīḥ*, etc., and to establish a canon of ideal beauty formed of eight groups of four. One of the eight groups is concerned with morals (*Dīwān al-ṣabāba*, Cairo 1279, 31, 32; Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS no. 3348, fol. 70). In the East, al-Ghuzūlī established a canon in twenty groups of four (*Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*, 1299, i, 268). The seven groups which are common to the two canons show slight variations which do not alter the general conception. It is nevertheless important to point out that these later canons, one western and the other eastern, are similar in their general conception, the beauty celebrated by the earliest Arab poets ten centuries previously.

Bibliography: in the art.; see also FANN.

(S. KAHWAJI)

ʿILM AL-HANDASA [see Supplement].

ʿILM AL-HAYʾA, the "science of the figure (of the heavens)" or astronomy (which is also known by several other names in Arabic), is that branch of knowledge which deals with the geometrical structure of the universe, which determines the laws governing the periodic motions of the celestial bodies, which devises cinematic models to describe these motions, which reduces them to tabular form so that a computer can, with as much precision and ease as possible, determine the positions of the heavenly bodies as seen from any particular locality on the surface of the earth, and which invents and employs the instruments necessary to guarantee the utmost accuracy in observations.

The geometrical structure of the universe, as conceived by Muslim astronomers after about 800 A.D., by and large coincides with that expounded by Ptolemy in his *Almagest*. The earth rests motionless near the centre of a series of eight spheres which encompass it. The eighth sphere, studded with the fixed stars which were duly catalogued by such scholars as al-Ṣūfī (d. 376/986), revolves daily from East to West; it also moves in the opposite direction at an appropriate rate of precession, or oscillates with a motion termed trepidation (this theory is primarily known through Thābit b. Ḳurra and various Spanish astronomers). The spheres of the five "star-planets", which are eccentric to the centre of the earth, revolve in such a fashion that their centres of uniform motion (equants) are not identical with their geometric centres; the model of Mercury has, as a special arrangement, a "crank mechanism" which produces two perigees in its orbit. On the surface of these spheres are situated the centres of the planets' epicycles. The model of the Sun, however, involves only an eccentric circle, while that of the Moon utilizes both a "crank mechanism" which causes the centre of its deferent to revolve about the centre of the earth, and an epicycle in which the anomalistic motion is counted not from the epicyclic apogee, but from a point on the line extended from the "opposite point" on the circumference of the "crank mechanism" through the centre of the epicycle. Muslim astronomy is largely concerned with expounding the intricacies of this system and with refining the parameters which transform it from a qualitative to a quantitative model of celestial motions; the core of the *zīdj*es is constituted by the tables based on the regular motions of the various parts of the model and their determined parameters. It might be well to mention here that the translations of Indian and Sasanian astronomical books to which reference will shortly be made contributed methods of computation, parameters, and tables to Muslim astronomy rather than geometrical models of the planetary orbs (Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ's *Tarkīb al-aflāk* is an exception to this rule); thus they did not modify the Ptolemaic view of the heavens outlined above.

Following the author of the *Almagest*, Muslim astronomers generally regarded the whole system purely as a mathematical construct having no necessary physical counterpart. But Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] (d. 430/1039), continuing a tradition already begun in the second book of Ptolemy's own *Hypotheses*, argued that the models in the *Almagest* are in fact physical realities. The problem facing those who accepted this view was one of reconciling these models with Aristotelian physics, in which only uniform circular motion concentric with the centre of the earth is possible for celestial bodies. Spanish philosophers, beginning with Ibn Bādjdja (d. 533/1138-9) and continuing with Ibn Ṭufayl, Ibn Rushd, and al-Biṭrūdjī [*qq.v.*], attempted to solve this problem either partially by eliminating the epicycles, or wholly by removing both epicycles and eccentric circles from the etherial parts of the universe. The results of their efforts were not astronomically impressive. But the problem was approached from a more realistic standpoint in Marāgha, Tabrīz, and Damascus in the late 7th/13th century and the early 8th/14th. There the goal was only to eliminate the most non-Aristotelian elements in the Ptolemaic system—the equants and the Moon's "opposite point"—so that the motions of the heavenly bodies might be explained exclusively as the combinations of uniform circular motions. The success of the School of Marāgha and the later influence of its solutions will be touched upon below.

The Arabs had not always been endowed with a knowledge of Ptolemaic astronomy, however. In the pre-Islamic period and in the first century of Islam the only reflections of any *ʿilm al-hayʾa* among them are a very crude method of telling the time of night by means of the twenty-eight lunar mansions (*manāzil al-ḳamar*) and a rough estimation of the seasons by means of their heliacal risings or cosmic settings (*anwāʾ*). But in the 2nd and 3rd centuries from the Hidjra—that is, at the end of the Umayyad Dynasty and in the first one hundred and fifty years of the ʿAbbāsid—numerous texts on astronomy (and

on astrology involving a knowledge of astronomy) were translated into Arabic from Sanskrit, Pahlavi, Greek, and Syriac. For the first half or so of this period of translation Arabic astronomers were extremely eclectic, and this trend toward eclecticism continued to be strong for a much longer period in certain areas such as Spain. But the introduction of Ptolemy's rigorous methods and geometrical proofs at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century led to a rapid growth of observational astronomy, designed partly to investigate the discrepancies among the Greek, Iranian, and Indian systems, and partly to improve the Ptolemaic parameters. With the gradual recognition of the superiority of the Ptolemaic system, at least within the terms of the strongly Greek-oriented intellectual atmosphere that developed in Islam, the *Almagest* usurped a position of unchallenged pre-eminence in the estimation of most Muslim astronomers. This process was completed by the time of the publication of his *Zīdj al-Ṣābiʾ* by al-Battānī in about 900 A.D.; and, despite the Indianizing tendencies of the Andalusians, the attacks of the Aristotelians, and the successes of the School of Marāgha, Ptolemy remained in his position of dominance until the introduction of modern Western astronomy in fairly recent times.

The translations from Sanskrit.

The earliest translation of a Sanskrit astronomical text into Arabic was apparently that of the *Zīdj al-Arkand* (*arkand* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *ahargaṇa*) made in Sind shortly after 117/735; on it were based two other *zīdj*es, the *Zīdj al-Hazūr* and the *Zīdj al-Djāmiʿ*, both composed in Ḳandahār in the 2nd/8th century. The elements of the *Zīdj al-Arkand* evidently were largely derived from the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* written by Brahmagupta of Bhillamāla in A.D. 665, though it was also influenced by the *Zīdj al-Shāh* of Yazdidjird III (632-652), which, like the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, belongs to the Midnight School (*ārdharātrika*) of Āryabhaṭa (b. 476).

In 742 yet another Sanskrit *zīdj* was translated into Arabic. This work, composed in verse in imitation of the Indian texts, was given the name *Zīdj al-Harḳan*, wherein *harḳan* clearly represents another corruption of the Sanskrit *ahargaṇa*. This *zīdj* was based on the Sunrise School (*audayika*) of Āryabhaṭa —*i.e.*, on the *Āryabhaṭīya* that he wrote in 499.

The most important translation from Sanskrit into Arabic, however, was that of the *Mahāsiddhānta* belonging to the School of Brahma (*brāhmapakṣa*); the *Mahāsiddhānta* was primarily based on the *Paitāmahasiddhānta* (first half of the fifth century) of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* and on the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* written by Brahmagupta in 628, though some elements derived from the *Āryabhaṭīya* are discernible in its fragmentary remains. The occasion for the translation was provided by the visit to the court of al-Manṣūr at Baghdād of an embassy from Sind in 154/771 or 156/773; the translator is alleged to have been al-Fazārī, who, in his *Zīdj al-Sindhind al-kabīr*, mixes Iranian material in with the Indian. Al-Fazārī also wrote a *Zīdj ʿalā sinī al-ʿArab*, based on his earlier work, which must have been the first set of astronomical tables to employ the Arabic calendar; the date of this work is c. 790. Another scholar who evidently had independent access to the *Mahāsiddhānta*, Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ, composed a *Tarkīb al-aflāk* in 777 or 778 A.D. as well as a *zīdj* and a *Kitāb al-ʿilal*, all of which reflect a mixture of Indian and Iranian elements. These works of al-Fazārī and of Yaʿḳūb constitute the basis of the *Sindhind* tradition, which will be discussed further below.

At some time around 800 another Arabic version of the *Āryabhaṭīya* known as the *Zīdj al-Ardjabhar* began to circulate among Muslim astronomers. The only one to follow it was apparently one Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ahwāzī, though it was also certainly known to Abū Maʿshar [*q.v.*] (d. 272/886). None of the works mentioned in this section or in the next, it should be noted, is extant; the account given here, then, may well be in need of some revision, and certainly will not be free from controversy.

The translations from Pahlavi.

Sasanian literature on astronomy, like that on astrology (both are known primarily through Arabic translations and adaptations), was an amalgamation of Greek and Indian material. Ptolemy's *Almagest* existed in a Pahlavi translation already in the third century, and a text belonging to the Midnight School of Āryabhaṭa was available by 556; one belonging to the *brāhmapakṣa* may have been known as early as 450. The "Royal Astronomical Tables" or *Zīk ī Šahriyārān* as revised for Anūshirwān in 556 was used by Māshāʾallāh in c. 780-810 A.D., but may never have been translated into Arabic. The later version, published under Yazdidjird III, was turned into Arabic, however, by one al-Tamīmī under the title *Zīdj al-Shāh*. This was drawn upon by al-Fazārī (especially for its planetary equations) and by Abū Maʿshar; manuscripts of it were still circulating in the time of al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*].

The translations from Greek and Syriac.

The most important Greek text on astronomy translated into Arabic was, of course, the *Almagest* of Ptolemy; translations were made from both the original Greek and a Syriac version. That due to al-Ḥadjdjādj in the first years of the 3rd/9th century exercised a strong influence over the astronomers gathered together by al-Maʾmūn; but the most authoritative version was that produced by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn and corrected by Thābit b. Ḳurra [*qq.v.*]. During the course of the 3rd/9th century Ptolemy's *Hypotheses*, Theon's "Handy Tables", and the corpus of minor Greek astronomical writings known as the "Little Astronomy" (or later, when it became conventional to begin the study of astronomy by mastering Euclid's *Elements*, as the "Middle Astronomy") were also translated into Arabic, and a number of treatises on the astrolabe based on Greek and Syriac sources were published. This material, to a greater or lesser extent influenced by the translations from Sanskrit and Pahlavi (the most impressive influence is to be seen in the Muslim development of a trigonometry far more effective than Ptolemy's out of the Indian system which employs only the sine, cosine, and versine functions), forms the central core of Islamic astronomy after the ninth century.

The Ptolemaic tradition.

Arabic texts on planetary theory and the structure of the universe, as indicated above, normally reflect the Ptolemaic system. But, because of the paucity of detailed studies, it is at present difficult to assess the extent to which any particular set of astronomical tables or *zīdj* has depended on Indian, Persian, or Greek material. It is clear, however, that even in the majority of Ptolemaic *zīdj*es one will find parameters, methods of computation, or other elements derived from the *Sindhind* or the *Shāh*. This is true of the *Zīdj al-mumtaḥan* of Yaḥyā b. Abī 'l-Manṣūr

(c. 214/829) and in the several *zīdj*es of Ḥabash (c. 235/850); Abū Maʿshar in his *Zīdj al-hazārāt* made a conscious effort to combine the three systems in order to substantiate his claim that they are all descended from a unique ante-Diluvian revelation.

The *Zīdj al-Ṣābiʾ* of al-Battānī (c. 287/900), however, is almost entirely Ptolemaic; in this it presumably reflects the strong Hellenistic atmosphere of the Syrian, and particularly the Ḥarrānian, astronomical and astrological schools. Al-Battānī's parameters were adopted by Kūshyār b. Labbān (c. 400/1010), though Kūshyār was generally a follower of Abū Maʿshar in his astrological works, and one suspects that this influence can also be traced in his *zīdj*es. The *Zīdj al-kabīr al-Ḥākimī* written by Ibn Yūnis (c. 380/990) in Cairo is extremely important for the historical information it contains. *Al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* of al-Bīrūnī (421/1030), whose works are also of immense importance for their historical information, often reflects the author's interest in Indian astronomy. The *Zīdj al-Sandjarī* was composed by al-Khāzinī (c. 514/1120) in Iran; an epitome of it was translated into Greek by Gregory Chioniades, who obtained the manuscript at Tabrīz, in c. 700/1300. Al-Khāzinī, despite his interest in Abū Maʿshar's Indian theory of cycles, continues to compute according to the Ptolemaic tradition. And the *Zīdj al-ʿAlāʾī* of al-Fahhād (c. 545/1150), not extent in its original form, was one of the texts translated into Greek by Chioniades, and its elements were used by al-Fārisī (c. 658/1260) in his *Zīdj al-mumtaḥan al-Muẓaffarī*.

The *Sindhind* tradition.

The foundation of this tradition lies in the works of al-Fazārī and Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ, wherein already, as we have seen, some Sasanian and Greek elements had been mingled with the *brāhmapakṣa* and *Āryabhaṭīya* material. But the most influential representative of this tradition was the *Zīdj al-Sindhind* of al-Khuwārizmī [*q.v.*] (c. 215/830). Only fragments of the original text survive, but we do have a Latin translation of the revision made by al-Madjrīṭī in Cordova (c. 390/1000); the translator was Adelard of Bath (1126). We also have commentaries on al-Khuwārizmī's *zīdj* written by al-Masrūr (c. 261-875) and by Ibn al-Muthannā (4th/10th century; this commentary survives only in Latin and Hebrew translations made in Spain) as well as fragments of the commentary composed by al-Farghānī [*q.v.*] (c. 235/850). The details of the preservation of al-Khuwārizmī's work that have just been given are indicative of the strong Andalusian predilection for the *Sindhind*; this impression is strengthened by the fact that the *Naẓm al-ʿiḳd* of Ibn al-Adamī (c. 308/920), one of the principal Eastern representatives of the *Sindhind* tradition, is primarily known through a quotation in Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī. The two other Eastern *zīdj*es which followed the *Sindhind* after 900—the *zīdj* of al-Nayrīzī (c. 287/900) and that of the Banū Amādjur (c. 297/910)—are mainly known from citations in Ibn Yūnis and in al-Bīrūnī.

In Spain the tradition was continued by al-Madjrīṭī's pupil, Ibn al-Samḥ (416/1025), whose *zīdj* is available in fragmentary form; the *zīdj* of Ibn al-Ṣaffār is probably also lost, though a manuscript in Paris may contain it. But the principal *zīdj* of Muslim Spain was the "Toledan Tables" of al-Zarḳālla (c. 473/1080); this work is a mixture of materials from al-Khuwārizmī and al-Battānī. It had an enormous influence among Muslim (Ibn Kammād, Ibn al-Bannāʾ, etc.), Jewish (Abraham ben Ezra, Profatius, etc.), and Christian (the "Alfonsine Tables" and its successors) astronomers in Western Europe until the end of the 15th century.

The School of Marāgha.

Spain, as we have seen, was the home not only of the *Sindhind* tradition, but also of the Aristotelian assault on Ptolemy. Far more impressive astronomically was the effort generated at the observatory at Marāgha (founded by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in 657/1259) to modify Ptolemaic theory, and continued at its successors at Tabrīz and Damascus. At Marāgha itself, where Chinese astronomers assisted their Muslim colleagues, the problem of revising Ptolemaic astronomy was seen as being essentially that of replacing the equant of each planet so that all celestial motions might be uniformly circular. The Ṭūsī couple invented by Naṣīr al-Dīn and explained in his *Tadhkira* provided the basic approach for the solutions later proposed by his pupil, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, in 680/1281 and 683/1284, and by Ibn al-Shāṭir of Damascus in c. 750/1350, though each of them advocated different numbers, dimensions, and arrangements of the epicycles. It was only Ibn al-Shāṭir who finally reached a satisfactory solution for the two most difficult planets, Mercury and the Moon; but by the middle of the 8th/14th century, then, Muslim astronomy had worked out planetary models that depended solely on combinations of uniform circular motions, eliminating the equants from the models of the five "star-planets", and the "crank mechanism" and "opposite point" from that of the Moon.

This accomplishment of Ibn al-Shāṭir shares many features with the models proposed by Copernicus two centuries later; in particular, their models of the Moon and of Mercury are identical, they both employ the Ṭūsī couple, and they both eliminate the equants in essentially the same way. There can be little doubt, then, that Copernicus knew of Ibn al-Shāṭir's work; the details of the transmission, however, remain obscure. It is true that manuscripts of the Greek translations of various Arabic *zīdj*es made by Gregory Chioniades in c. 1300 upon his return to Constantinople after his studies at the observatory at Tabrīz were in Italy by the middle of the fifteenth century, and that they contain diagrams apparently illustrating the Ṭūsī couple, but they contain no details about Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's work and are, of course, too early to have been influenced by Ibn al-Shāṭir. Some other intermediary must have existed.

The later observatories.

The observatory at Marāgha and the *zīdj* which it produced—the *Zīdj-i Īlkhānī*—served as a model for later Muslim astronomical efforts, though the modifications of Ptolemaic theory that we have just described are not known to have been influential in Islam after the 8th/14th century. The most famous imitator was the observatory founded by Ulugh Beg at Samarḳand in 823/1420, where a number of astronomers headed by al-Kāshī and Ḳāḍīzāda prepared a *Zīdj-i Sulṭānī* (c. 844/1440); al-Kāshī also published a *zīdj* of his own, the *Zīdj-i Khāḳānī*. All three of these *zīdj*es are essentially Ptolemaic, though improvements are made in the parameters and in the structure of some of the tables, and material on the Chinese-Uyghur calendar is added to the other calendaric information common to all astronomical tables.

The last important Muslim observatory was built for Taḳī al-Dīn in Istanbul between 983/1575 and

985/1577. But the five observatories built in imitation of that at Samarḳand by Dj̲ayasimha, the Mahārādj̲a of Amber from 1693 to 1743, at Dj̲ayapura, Udj̲dj̲ayinī, Delhi, Mathurā, and Vārāṇasī deserve to be mentioned, as they represent an attempt, though an abortive one, to revise Indian astronomy so as to make it conform to the Muslim Ptolemaic tradition. A more fruitful influence of the later Muslim observatories on their neighbours was that exercised by Marāg̲h̲a, Samarḳand, and Istanbul upon European astronomy; several of the instruments and some of the organizational features of these establishments appeared at Tycho Brahe's Uraniborg (1576) and Stjerneborg (1584) observatories. The development of the astronomical observatory, the achievement of the School of Marāg̲h̲a, the advances in trigonometry and in the structure of tables, and the constant attempts to improve parameters stand out as the most impressive accomplishments of Islamic astronomy.

Bibliography: The vastness of the field of Muslim astronomy obviously precludes any extensive listing of the relevant literature; the following notice mentions only standard reference works and the latest books and articles reflecting advances in our knowledge of specific aspects of the subject. The standard reference work for the astronomers themselves and their works remains, despite its age, H. Suter's *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke, Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematischen Wissenschaften*, x, Leipzig 1900 (reprinted Ann Arbor 1963); this can be supplemented by H. P. J. Renaud's article in *Isis*, xviii (1932), 166-83, by C. Brockelmann's *GAL*, Pearson, and by the relevant articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and in the forthcoming *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. The fullest account of the *zīdj̲es* is E. S. Kennedy's *A survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, NS xlvi/2, Philadelphia 1956. The best introduction to Islamic astronomy is C. A. Nallino's *ʿIlm al-falak*, Rome 1911-12; there is an Italian translation by M. Nallino in C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, v, Rome 1944, 88-329.

For the literature concerning the period of translations the reader may refer to the references given in D. Pingree, *The fragments of the works of al-Fazārī*, in *JNES*, xxviii (1969). The history of Islamic astronomy in Spain and its influence on Latin and Hebrew astronomy is dealt with in a series of articles by O. Neugebauer, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, B. Goldstein, P. Kunitzsch, G. Toomer, and others; there are articles on the influence of Muslim astronomy on Byzantium by O. Neugebauer, D. Pingree, and P. Kunitzsch. Muslim observatories are investigated in A. Sayili's *The Observatory in Islam, Publications of the Turkish Historical Society*, series vii, no. 38, Ankara 1960. And a summary of the recent work on the School of Marāg̲h̲a together with the relevant bibliography will be found in E. S. Kennedy's *Late medieval planetary theory*, in *Isis*, lvii (1966), 365-78. Each of the subjects mentioned in this paragraph is presently being intensively explored; any future reader of this article should expect to find that enormous advances have been made in our knowledge of them. (D. Pingree)

ʿILM AL-ḤISĀB, "the science of reckoning, arithmetic". Al-Fārābī [*q.v.*], in his *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm* (ed. Á. G. Palencia, Madrid 1953), divides mathematics (*ʿulūm al-taʿālīm*) into seven large branches headed by the science of number (*ʿilm al-ʿadad*). According to him there are in fact two sciences of number, one practical (*ʿamalī*) and the other theoretical (*naẓarī*). Echoing certain passages in Plato, he explains that the former investigates numbers in so far as they are numbers of numbered things, such as men, horses or *dīnārs*, whereas the latter —which is properly to be called a science—investigates numbers in abstraction from concrete objects. He adds that the theoretical science of number concerns itself both with properties inherent in individual numbers, such as being odd or even, and with properties which these numbers acquire when related to one another or combined with or separated from one another.

In general, however, we find in Arabic mathematical writings another distinction, which is also of Greek origin, between *ʿilm al-ʿadad* and *ʿilm al-ḥisāb* (the science of reckoning), corresponding to the distinction between ἡ ἀριθμετικὴ τέχνη and ἡ λογιστικὴ τέχνη. The subjects treated under the former heading are those of Books vii-ix of Euclid's *Elements* (first translated in the reign of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd by al-Ḥadj̲dj̲ādj̲ b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar) and the *Introduction to Arithmetic* of Nicomachus of Gerasa. Like their Greek predecessors, Arabic authors on the whole considered irrational magnitudes, the subject of Bk. x of the *Elements*, as belonging to geometry rather than arithmetic, though some of them—like ʿUmar al-K̲h̲ayyāmī [*q.v.*]—took significant steps towards regarding irrationals as numbers (cf. A. Yuschkewitsch, *op. cit.* in Bibl., pp. 248 ff.). *ʿIlm al-ḥisāb*, on the other hand, is concerned mainly with the fundamental arithmetical operations and the processes of root extraction. But in accordance with the general conception of *ḥisāb* as being concerned with the determination of unknown numerical quantities from known ones, books on *ḥisāb* usually include sections on algebraic problems. Indeed a number of treatises purporting to be on *ḥisāb* are almost entirely devoted to algebra. Examples are the *Ṭarāʾif al-ḥisāb* of Abū Kāmil S̲h̲udjāʿ b. Aslam, c. 287/900 (ed. A. S. Saʿidān, *Madj̲allat Maʿhad al-Mak̲h̲ṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya*, ix (1963), 291-320; German trans. by H. Suter, *Bibl. Math.*, iii/2, 1911, 100-120); *al-Kāfī* (German trans. by A. Hochheim, in three parts, Halle 1878-80), and *al-Badīʿ* (ed. A. Anbouba, Beirut 1964), both by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Karadj̲ī, c. 390/1000 (= al-Kark̲h̲ī, cf. Levi Della Vida, in *RSO*, xiv, 264 ff., and Anbouba in [*Madj̲allat*] *al-Dirāsāt al-adabiyya* Lebanese University, Beirut, nos. 1 and 2, 1959, 73-106); and *al-Bāhir fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb* of al-Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Mag̲h̲ribī, d. ca 570/1175 (Anbouba in *al-Mas̲h̲riḳ*, 1961, 61-108). It may be remarked that in all of these treatises, as distinguished from books dealing with Indian methods of reckoning, the numbers are as a rule written out in words. Owing to the expression *ʿilm ḥisāb al-nudj̲ūm* ("science of the computation of the stars") the term *al-ḥāsib* (the "computer") could refer to an astronomer or an astrologer as well as to an arithmetician.

Nicomachus's *Introduction* was translated into Arabic by T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra al-Ḥarrānī, d. 288/901 (*Kitāb al-Madk̲h̲al ilā ʿilm al-ʿadad*, ed. W. Kutsch S. J., Beirut 1959), and it soon enjoyed the popularity which it had secured in late antiquity. Through it, mathematicians in Islam became acquainted with a systematic exposition of Pythagorean arithmetical lore: relation of arithmetic to the other subjects

of the quadrivium (geometry, astronomy and music), classifications of numbers; perfect, over-perfect and deficient numbers; amicable (*mutaḥābba*) numbers; series, etc. The influence of this work can be seen in the writings of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*], whose first *Risāla*, "On Numbers" (English trans. by B. Goldstein, in *Centaurus*, 1964, 129-60), is in large part a paraphrase of the *Introduction*, and in which the authority of Nicomachus and Pythagoras are repeatedly invoked. According to the Ikhwān, arithmetic, the first stage on the way to wisdom, is a study of the properties of existing things through a study of the individual numbers corresponding to those things: "existing things are in accordance with the nature of numbers". Even when a conventional classification of numbers is made, such as their classification into units, tens, hundreds and thousands, it is inspired by a universal pattern in nature —in this case, the four natures, the four elements, the four humours, etc. The prototype of the number one is The One; and just as all things proceed from the One transcending them, so one is the principle of all numbers but is not itself a number. Speculations of this kind are not to be found solely in scientifically weak writings; one of the great mathematicians of Islam, ʿUmar al-Khayyāmī [*q.v.*], believed that the study of mathematics—being the purest part of philosophy—was the first step on the ladder that leads to salvation and to knowledge of the true essence of Being (*Risāla fī sharḥ mā ashkala min muṣādarāt Uḳlīdis*, ed. A. I. Sabra, Alexandria 1961, pp. 3 and 75). And we should remember that the translator of Nicomachus's *Introduction* was one of the ablest mathematicians of the 3rd/9th century. One is struck, however, by the paucity of writings on *ʿilm al-ʿadad* proper. A somewhat extended treatment of this subject is *Marāsim al-intisāb fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb*, written in Damascus in 774/1373 by the Spanish-Arab Yaʿīsh b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Umawī; it contains a treatment of pyramidal numbers (Saidan, in *IC*, 1965, 210 and 212). Thābit b. Ḳurra wrote a separate treatise on amicable numbers (French trans. by F. Woepcke, in *JA*, xx (1852), 420-29) and so did Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (see Brockelmann, S II, 295, no. 2). Arguing against the view that an infinite cannot be greater than another infinite, Thābit cited the example of numbers, observing that the class of natural numbers and that of even numbers are both infinite while the latter is half the former. In fact an infinite collection of numbers, he said, can be any part of another infinite collection (British Museum MS. Add. Or. 7473, fol. 14^v).

The first manual of Hindu reckoning, that of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī (c. 210/825), survives only in a number of Latin versions deriving from a Latin translation probably made in the 12th century A.D. One of these, represented by a unique 13th-century manuscript preserved at Cambridge, was first published by B. Boncompagni as *Trattati d'aritmetica i*: *Algoritmi de numero indorum*, Rome 1857, and re-edited by K. Vogel, *Alchwarizmi's Algorismus*, Aalen 1963. Another version is *Ioannis Hispalensis Liber algorismi* (or *alghoarismi*) *de pratica arismetrice*, published by Boncompagni as *Trattati d'aritmetica ii*, Rome 1857. The former book explains the decimal place-value system of numeration, though the nine Indian numerals are missing from the Cambridge manuscript, which uses only Roman numerals. Zero is represented here as a small circle (*circulus*), whose function is to indicate a vacant place (*differentia*, *mansio*: ?*martaba*, ?*manzila*); the *Liber algarismi* also calls zero *ciffre* or *siffre*, reflecting the Arabic *ṣifr*, "empty". In performing the fundamental arithmetical operations the numbers are placed one above the other and the process begins on the left. Erasure and shifting of numbers are used, thus clearly implying that the operations were performed on a dust-board. A particular feature of the book is the treatment of duplation and mediation as separate operations; this practice was preserved by Arabic arithmeticians as late as al-Kāshī in the 9th/15th century (though not in al-Karadjī, Ibn al-Bannāʾ, c. 619/1222, or al-Ḳalaṣādī, d. 882/1477 or 891/1486) and was also continued by many writers in Europe up to the 16th century.

Extant among the earlier introductions to Indian-type arithmetic is the *Uṣūl ḥisāb al-hind*, which Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kūshyār b. Labbān al-Djīlī composed in about 390/1000 (*Principles of Hindu Reckoning*, facsimile of the Arabic text with English translation, etc. by Martin Levey and Marvin Petruck, Madison and Milwaukee 1965). It is in two parts. The first part introduces the 'nine letters' and the principle of decimal place value. A small circle, '*ṣifr*', indicates the absence of number from the place position (*martaba*) which it occupies. Kūshyār then deals with addition (*ziyāda*), subtraction (*nuḳṣān*), multiplication (*ḍarb*) and division (*ḳisma*). Duplation (*taḍʿīf*) and mediation (*tanṣīf*) are described as 'other kinds' of addition and subtraction respectively. There follows a treatment of the square root (*djadhr*) and this part ends with a short chapter on *mawāzīn*, in which the check by casting out nines is applied to multiplication, division and the extraction of square roots. Fractions are here expressed exclusively in the sexagesimal scale. A half, for example, is thirty parts of one, and accordingly the final result of halving 5625 appears as $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{2812}{30}$. Similarly the remainder in a division is multiplied by powers of 60, then divided by the divisor. The second part is entirely devoted to the 'compounded' sexagesimal system of calculation (including the calculation of square root) with the help of multiplication tables of numbers up to 60 (missing in the extant text). In these tables numbers were expressed in the traditional *abdjad* notation, but the calculations themselves employ a pure place-value system of numeration using the nine figures and zero. A final chapter illustrates the process of extracting the cube root (*kaʿb*) in the decimal system. Throughout the book the calculations are performed on a dust board (*takht*) and involve rubbing out and displacement of numbers, the final result replacing one of the given numbers. For example, to multiply 325 by 243 the following figures successively replace one another on the board: $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{325}{243}$, $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{6\ 325}{243}$, $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{72325}{243}$, $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{72925}{243}$, $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{77765}{243}$, $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{78975}{243}$.

But already before Kūshyār's time highly significant innovations were being introduced, as is witnessed by *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl fi 'l-ḥisāb al-hindī*, which Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Uḳlīdisī composed in Damascus in 341/952-3. Though not yet published, this important book has recently been studied by A. S. Saidan in the unique Istanbul MS Yeni Cami 802 (*Isis*, lvii (1966), 475-90). As well as applying Indian schemes of calculation to the old finger arithmetic (see below) and to sexagesimal

fractions, al-Uḳlīdisī set out to alter the dust-board methods to suit ink and paper. Not only was the awkwardness of these methods apparent, but the association of the *takht* with astrologers earning their living by casting horoscopes and the unbecoming practice of rubbing off the sand with the hand made it undesirable. Thus it is interesting to note that when, in the same century as al-Uḳlīdisī, Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzdjānī wrote his handbook of arithmetic for the use of the government bureaucracy (*Mā yaḥtādj ilayh al-kuttāb wa 'l-ʿummāl min sināʿat al-ḥisāb*; cf. M. Medovoi in *Istoriko-matematičeskiye Issledovaniya*, xiii (1960), 253-324), he was careful to free the Indian-type schemes which he sometimes employed from the dust-board and erasure. Al-Uḳlīdisī claimed to be the first to offer a satisfactory treatment of cube root; but the most surprising feature of his book is the explanation and application of decimal fractions, an innovation which until very recently was attributed to al-Kāshī, five centuries later. The idea reappears in some form in the *Takmila fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb* of Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 428/1037), who expressed our 17.28 by the arrangement

17
02
08

(see Saidan in *Isis*, *loc. cit.*, 487-8 and in *IC*, xxxix (1965), 210, 220). But the invention appears to have been generally lost until, five centuries after al-Uḳlīdisī, al-Kāshī re-introduced decimal fractions (*al-kusūr al-aʿshāriyya*) in his *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb* as a new discovery to which he was led by analogy with sexagesimals (facsimile of the Arabic text with Russian translation and commentary by B. Rozenfeld, V. Segal and A. Yushkevich, Moscow 1956). While al-Kāshī realised the importance of decimal fractions more fully than al-Uḳlīdisī, the latter had used a decimal sign—a stroke above the numeral in the units place—which is superior to al-Kāshī's ways of indicating the decimal part of the number, for example by writing it in a different colour or in a column or columns other than that of the integral part.

A distinguishing feature of the books dealing with Hindu reckoning is the use of the 'Arabic numerals', which were traditionally asserted by mediaeval Arabic scholars to be of Indian origin. While this ascription is now generally accepted, questions relating to the ultimate source of the numerals and to the manner of their diffusion and development in the Islamic world and in Europe remains a subject of debate, in spite of the extensive researches of Woepcke, Smith and Karpinski, Carra de Vaux, Gandz, and many others. In the Islamic world the numerals existed and have continued to exist mainly in two forms, one in the East and the other in the West. Usually the Eastern numerals were called "Indian", whereas the others, the immediate parents of the modern European numerals, were called *ghubār* (dust) numerals. But sometimes the names were reversed (cf. F. Woepcke and A. Marre in *Atti dell'Accademia Pontificia de' Nuovi Lincei*, tomo xix, anno xix, 1866), or both forms were called Indian or both called *ghubār*. Ibn al-Hāʾim (d. 815/1412) in his *Murshidat al-ṭālib ilā asna 'l-maṭālib* reproduces the Eastern and Western forms and calls them both "Indian". A marginal note in one manuscript rejects this appellation as applied to the latter form, which it claims to be of '*Rūmī*' origin, and calls them both *ghubār* (MS. Princeton University Library, Yah. 3940, dated 981/1573-4, fol. 1ᵛ). This claim should be considered in connexion with the thesis put forward by Woepcke and supported by Gandz that the *ghubār* numerals had been spread by the Neoplatonists and that the Arabs learned them directly from the Romans. Concerning the Western-style numerals, Yaḥyā b. Taḳī al-Dīn b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥalabī (c. 1019/1610) says in his *Maslak al-ṭullāb fī sharḥ Nuzhat al-ḥussāb*: "These are the *ghubāriyya* (numerals), and they are also called Indian, but their use has become prevalent among the people of the Maghrib and among those who follow them" (MS. Princeton University Library, Yah. 3407, dated 1037/1627-8, fol. 82ʳ).

Both forms of the numerals were known to the Arabs by A.D. 733, if not earlier. It may be noted, however, that up till now no one has found in Arabic treatises on arithmetic any reference to Indian authors or titles—unlike the situation in Arabic astronomical writings. Moreover, these treatises show no trace of the Hindu division of arithmetic into some twenty operations but rather follow the familiar Greek division; and in their designations of powers higher than the square and the cube they always considered the sums, as in Diophantus, not the products, as was the Hindu practice. They expressed the sixth power, for example, as *kaʿb kaʿb* (κυβόκυβος), not as the square of the cube or the cube of the square (cf. H. T. Colebrooke, *op. cit.* in Bibl., p. xii). On the other hand, the phrase *ḥisāb al-takht wa'l-turāb* ("board and dust calculation") is clearly the equivalent of the Sanskrit *pāṭīgaṇita* and *dhūlī-karma* (Datta and Singh, *op. cit.* in Bibl., i, 123-4). And there is a parallel in Sanskrit usage for the fact that *al-djamʿ wa 'l-tafrīḳ* (or, as in Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ḍamm wa 'l-tafrīḳ*), two terms which in the extant treatises always denote addition and subtraction respectively, could also designate the whole of arithmetic (*ibid.*, 130; and cf. J. Ruska, in *Sb. Heid. Ak. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1917, 14-21). Thus the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ defined *ḥisāb* as *djamʿ al-ʿadad wa-tafrīḳuhu* (the combining and separating of numbers); and al-Khuwārizmī is reported to have written a book on *al-djamʿ wa'l-tafrīḳ*, which could not have been restricted to the elementary operations of addition and substraction.

Before the spread of Hindu methods of reckoning there prevailed in the Islamic world a kind of arithmetic which al-Uḳlīdisī called *ḥisāb al-Rūm wa'l-ʿArab*. Books dealing with it (such as the treatise of Abu 'l-Wafāʾ mentioned earlier) gave rules for effecting the arithmetical operations including the approximate determination of square roots. These operations were usually performed mentally, and the partial results obtained in the process of reaching the final solution of a problem were 'retained' by holding the fingers in certain positions. Because of these features this arithmetic came to be known as *ḥisāb al-yad* (hand reckoning), *ḥisāb al-ʿuḳūd* (finger reckoning), *al-ḥisāb al-hawāʾī* (mental, or literally, air reckoning). To deal with fractions, finger reckoning applied the sexagesimal scale or converted the fractions into parts of the local units of currency or measurement. Another system used by it appears to have been suggested by certain characteristics of the Arabic language, in which only the fractions 1/3, 1/4, . . ., 1/10 are expressible by words derived from names of their denominators ('third' from 'three', etc.). ('Half' is not derived from 'two' and is therefore called *mawḍūʿ*, *i.e.*, formed by convention.) Some other fractions can be reduced to fractions of the former group: 1/12, for example, is half one sixth. Others, such as 1/11 or 1/13, cannot

be so expressed and for this reason they and their denominators are called *aṣamm*. In this sense of the word the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ speak of 11 as 'the first *aṣamm* number'. To express 1/11 one has to say: "one part out of eleven". In other contexts *aṣamm* was used to render Euclid's ἄρρητος as applied to a number, such as $\sqrt{2}$, that cannot be expressed as the ratio of two natural numbers.

Although treatises on finger computation continued to be written even after the advantages of Hindu reckoning were clearly recognized, the general aim of Arabic arithmeticians, and perhaps their chief achievement, was to fuse together the various methods available to them into one system of arithmetic based on the consistent application of the decimal place-value idea and using Indian numerals. One of these methods was the ancient sexagesimal scale which was strongly impressed upon Arabic mathematical writing through the translation of Greek astronomical works. But, again, sexagesimal methods of computation, together with the *abdjad* notation associated with them, remained always in use among Islamic astronomers. In recognition of this fact almost every important treatise of Arabic arithmetic devoted a chapter to the treatment of the sexagesimal system, sometimes called *ḥisāb al-munadjdjimīn* ("arithmetic of the astronomers", or "astrologers"), *ḥisāb al-zīdj* ("arithmetic of astronomical tables"), or *ḥisāb al-daradj wa 'l-daḳāʾiḳ* ("arithmetic of degrees and minutes"). A late but comprehensive treatise entirely devoted to this system is that by Sibṭ al-Māridīnī (d. after 891/1486): *Raḳāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī maʿrifat al-daradj waʾl-daḳāʾiḳ*. The author says that the only satisfactory work on sexagesimal computation which he had seen was one by his teacher Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Madjdī (Princeton University Library, MS Yah. 3325, fol. 1ᵛ).

In Arabic books on arithmetic, checks (*mawāzīn*) take the place of demonstrations proper. This contrasts with Arabic treatises on algebra, which, following a Greek tradition, often supplied geometrical proofs. The check by nine appears in the earliest extant books, in al-Uḳlīdisī and in Kūshyār, and it continued to be used throughout. Al-Ḥaṣṣār, probably in the 6th/12th century, checked by seven (H. Suter in *Bibl. Math.*, iii/2, 1901, 12-40); Ibn al-Bannāʾ in his *Talkhīṣ* (French translation by A. Marre, *Atti dell'Accademia Pontificia de' Nuovi Lincei*, tomo xvii, anno xvii, 1863-64, Rome 1864, 289-319) used eight as well as nine, and al-Umawī (*IC*, *loc. cit.*, p. 219) used also eleven. Al-Ḳalaṣādī applied the method of casting out sevens and, in connexion with subtraction, says that other numbers could be used. The limitation of these methods was recognized. Al-Kāshī, who used only nine, states that they show a certain result to be incorrect, but not that it is correct. A similar statement occurs in the *Liber algorismi*.

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(A. I. SABRA)

ʿILM AL-ḤURŪF [see ḤURŪF].

ʿILM AL-KALĀM, one of the "religious sciences" of Islam. The term is usually translated, as an approximate rendering, "theology".

I.—Definition. It is difficult to establish precisely when *ʿilm al-kalām* came to mean an autonomous religious science (or branch of knowledge). In any case, whereas the term *fiḳh* meant originally —especially in the Ḥanafī school (cf. *fiḳh akbar*) —speculative meditation, hence distinguished from *ʿilm* in the sense of traditional knowledge, the term *kalām*, literally "word", quickly acquired the senses of "conversation, discussion, controversy" (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, 1932, 79, quoting two *ḥadīths* of Muslim). In his *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, al-Fārābī regards *ʿilm al-kalām* as "a science which enables a man to procure the victory of the dogmas and actions laid down by the Legislator of the religion, and to refute all opinions contradicting them". The doctors of *kalām* (*mutakallimūn*) themselves were to take a very similar view: this is one of many well-known definitions: "*kalām* is the science which is concerned with firmly establishing religious beliefs by adducing proofs and with banishing doubts" (from the *Mawāḳif* of al-Īdjī, 8th/14th cent.). Similar

definitions are to be found in Ibn Khaldūn, and again in Muḥammad ʿAbduh: they summarize a long elaboration, but add nothing new.

ʿIlm al-kalām is the discipline which brings to the service of religious beliefs (*ʿaḳāʾid*) discursive arguments; which thus provides a place for reflexion and meditation, and hence for reason, in the elucidation and defence of the content of the faith. It takes its stand firstly against "doubters and deniers", and its function as defensive "apologia" cannot be over-stressed. A fairly common synonymous term is *ʿilm al-tawḥīd*, the "science of the Unity (of God)", understood as concerned not merely with the divine unity but with all the bases of the Muslim faith, especially prophecy (*e.g.*, al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325, i, 26).

Another interpretation sometimes suggested explains *ʿilm al-kalām* as "science of the Word of God". The attribute of the Word and the nature of the Ḳurʾān were indeed among the first themes treated, and discussions on this subject continued throughout the centuries. But this was by no means the first question undertaken (see below, § II) nor that later treated at most length. It seems much more likely that *kalām* referred at first to discursive arguments, and the *mutakallimūn* (*"loquentes"*) were "reasoners". This was the case as early as the time of Maʿbad al-Djuhanī (d. 80/699-700). *Kalām* became a regular discipline when these arguments and discussions dealt with the content of the faith. It is this character of discursive and reasoned apologia which was to attract the attacks both of the traditionists and of the *falāsifa* (§ IV, below).

II.—The great schools.

A. *First tendencies.*—It seems that it is from the battle of Ṣiffīn and the schisms to which it gave rise that can be dated not of course the first meditations on the content of the faith but their grouping into tendencies and schools. The appearances of the three main politico-religious traditions, Khāridjī, Shīʿī and Sunnī, set before Muslim thinkers the problem of the validity of the *imāma* [*q.v.*] and the "status of believer" which the *imām* must possess; thence arose the question of faith and the conditions for salvation and the question of man's responsibility or lack of responsibility; then, as parallel considerations, the nature of the Ḳurʾān (created or not created) and hence the stress laid upon the divine attribute of the Word; then finally, the more general problem of the divine attributes, their existence and their connexion with the divine essence, and its Unity. Many other questions were added in course of time; but already at this early period—the age of the Umayyads and the early ʿAbbāsids—the essential themes which were to constitute *ʿilm al-kalām* had arisen. Whatever may have been the effect of external influences—discussions with Mazdean *zanādiḳa* on good and evil in human actions or with the Christian theologians of Damascus on the Word of God, and the discovery of Greek science and philosophy—*kalām* tended at first to take shape over specifically Muslim problems. The external influences probably had some effect as a result of the controversies, emphasizing some aspects of the subjects dealt with, giving direction to the choice of arguments and (still more, perhaps) the method of argumentation. The fact remains, however, that *ʿilm al-kalām* is certainly not an Arab adaptation of Mazdean or Christian theology but arose within the Muslim community, where it preserved its own originality.

It would be risky and tedious to attempt to establish the dates of the very first attitudes adopted. So far, these are hardly known except through later works of heresiography (notably of al-Ashʿarī, al Baghdādī, al-Shahrastānī, Ibn Ḥazm) and refutations. Again, it is not always the same thinkers who are linked together under this or that comprehensive label (*e.g.*, Ḳadariyya); and mere tendencies should not be transformed into "schools" in the strict sense. This or that *mutakallim* may be presented as showing diverse—even opposing—tendencies according to the problem he is dealing with. There follow here, as a general indication, a few points of reference.

The Ḳadariyya were those most opposed to the Umayyad régime, most critical of the ways of the court at Damascus. The name was ordinarily applied to those who recognized that man had a power (*ḳudra*) over his acts so extensive that determination (*ḳadar*) belonged to man alone, and who saw in "works" thus freely performed an integral part of the faith. Hence the man who deliberately committed a great sin became *kāfir*, infidel. This last tenet, which does not seem to have been supported by all, was to remain one of the characteristics of Khāridjī thought.—Ghaylān and Maʿbad al-Djuhanī are the members of the Ḳadariyya most frequently quoted. To them may be added, but with reservations, Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ and ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (2nd/8th century), who are regarded as the founders of the Muʿtazilī school and are, with them, sometimes called "political muʿtazilīs". This tendency re-appears in later Khāridjī or Shīʿī *kalām*. The term Ḳadariyya was later readily applied to the Muʿtazilīs proper, who disclaimed it. Some of them, interpreting differently the etymology of the term, used it of those who upheld the absoluteness of the divine Decree (*ḳadar*); this interpretation is found later in the works of their opponent Ibn Taymiyya.

In this second sense, Ḳadariyya becomes practically synonymous with what had been its opposite, Djabriyya (or Mudjbira [*q.v.*]), the upholders of *djabr*, the divine "compulsion", which creates man's acts, good or bad, so that nothing is attributed to the man who performs them. The Muʿtazilīs regarded as *djabriyya* those (including Ashʿarīs) who rejected their doctrine of *ḳadar*. Ashʿarī heresiographers accorded the term *djabriyya*—perhaps somewhat hastily—to the disciples of Djahm.

It was on the question of faith, sin and salvation that the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*] disagreed with the Khāridjīs. A great sin (*kabīra*) does not involve loss of faith. On the basis of Ḳurʾān, IX, 106, the sinner's future fate is left in suspense (*irdjāʾ*), awaiting God's decision. It is Ghaylān and Ghassān (who seem to have had Ḥanafī connexions) who are usually (*e.g.*, by al-Shahrastānī) named as belonging to the Murdjiʾa.

Later heresiographers constricted these diverse tendencies into condensed formulas, which probably over-simplified and distorted them. But in these very first efforts to support politico-religious attitudes by means of rational argument the main lines of later discussions are already drawn. With greater or less success, the Ḳadariyya anticipate some of the main theses of the Muʿtazila; the Ashʿarīs were to seek a "happy mean" to reconcile the "compulsion" of the Djabriyya and human responsibility; the Murdjiʾa prefigure, to some degree, in their treatment of the problem of retribution in the next world, the explanations of the Māturīdī-Ḥanafīs and many Ashʿarīs. Full discussion of this question would re-

quire a detailed study (which would however be risky for lack of documentation) of Ghaylān, who is sometimes classed with the Ḳadariyya, as having asserted human liberty of choice, and sometimes with the Murdji'a, thanks to his theory of the future lot of the sinful believer.

We are dealing therefore with tendencies rather than with established "schools of theology", and with overlapping views which later were to diverge. Thus it is with the adherents of the sect of the Djahmiyya [*q.v.*], who regarded as their founder Djahm b. Ṣafwān (executed in 128/746) but whose tenets are known only from the refutations of their opponents. To summarize: on the problem of *ḳadar* they would ally themselves with the Djabriyya, and on that of faith with the Murdji'a. Beyond this, however, they refused to recognize any distinct existence of the divine attributes, stripping them away (*taʿṭīl*) from the divine essence in order the better to protect its perfect and absolute unity. Finally, they supported the thesis of the created Ḳur'ān, and gave an allegorical interpretation to the anthropomorphic features in its text. Thus there arose a certain confusion between them and the Muʿtazilīs (*e.g.*, on the subject of Ḍirār b. ʿAmr), although the latter took position against them both for their excessive *taʿṭīl* and for their rejection of human freedom of action.

B. *The Muʿtazilī schools* (for the origin of the name, details on the historical development of the school and its doctrines, see MUʿTAZILA). The first Muʿtazilīs were contemporaries of the various tendencies and groupings surveyed above. It is sometimes difficult and perhaps pointless to distinguish them from the Ḳadariyya.

But after 132/750, when ʿAbbāsid authority was asserting itself at Baghdād, discussions on the validity of the *imāma* lost their relevance, to be replaced by the defence of religious dogmas in general against attacks of *zanādiḳa* of all types. Doctrinal positions became so defined and systematized that one may speak of a regular school (or rather schools), whose vocabulary and methods of argument were to be influenced as a result of the activity of trans lation from works of Greek science and philosophy

After the "founders", Wāṣil b. ʿAṭā' and ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, and the "forerunner", Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, we find two Muʿtazilī groups taking shape, at Baṣra and Baghdād respectively, between the end of the 2nd/8th and the beginning of the 4th/10th century. Each embraced varying tendencies, but can justly be called a "school" (*madhhab*) (see W. Montgomery Watt, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, Edinburgh 1948, 65, for a table of the chief representatives of these schools and the links of their affiliation; list in L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane*: *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 26).

One may, with Montgomery Watt, regard Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. *ca* 227/841) as the founder of the Baṣra school and, in a sense, of doctrinal Muʿtazilism itself. The great names in this school are Muʿammar, al-Naẓẓām (both of whom did not refrain from criticizing al-ʿAllāf), the great writer al-Djāḥiẓ, al-Djubbā'ī and his son Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933). The doctors of Baṣra, in grappling with the doctrinal problems that arose, advanced original solutions in the field of natural philosophy or in noetics: the theory of atoms (*djuz'*), of Abu 'l-Hudhayl, the semi-conceptualism of the "modes" (*aḥwāl*) of Abū Hāshim.

The school of Baghdād was perhaps less illustrious than that of Baṣra. It derived from Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. between 210-26/825-40), who was for a time imprisoned by Hārūn al-Rashīd, was criticized by Abu 'l-Hudhayl, and was to influence Muʿammar. Al-Murdār, Thumāma, al-Khayyāṭ and al-Kaʿbi (d. 319/931) brought fame to this group.

As the oft-quoted remark of Aḥmad Amīn (*Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, Cairo, iii, 204) puts it, the Muʿtazilīs were "firstly men of religion and secondarily philosophers". It is not (*pace* D. B. Macdonald in *EI*¹, s.v. *Kalām*) the atomic theory (nor that of the "modes") which characterizes the *mutakallimūn*, but their primary concern to engage in disputation and argument to defend the faith against the *zanādiḳa* of the period, the "free-thinkers" inspired by Mazdeism or Manicheism, and later by pure Greek rationalism. Although nuances of doctrine, sometimes important, divided them, they were inspired by one and the same spirit: respect for reason (*ʿaḳl*) in the defence of religious tenets (*ʿaḳl* becoming even the criterion (*mīzān*) of the Law), the concern to purge the notion of God of all "multiplicity" and anthropomorphism, the desire to proclaim and justify the absolute divine perfection. The Muʿtazilīs themselves defined themselves as "the people of Justice and Unity".

(We may note the influence of Muʿtazilism on Jewish thought elaborated in the Arabic milieu; it too possessed a *kalām*, which opposed the Muslim doctors when necessary but which largely borrowed from them its problematics, its method and its systems of argument. Săʿadyāh Gaon (Saʿīd al-Fayyūmī) was the most famous Jewish *mutakallim*).

The five principal bases (*uṣūl*) or theses upon which Muʿtazilī problematic was elaborated are known: (1) the divine Unity (*al-tawḥīd*): the divine attributes are meaningful only when taken in a strict *via remotionis* (*tanzīh*), which their opponents readily identified with the *taʿṭīl* of the Djahmiyya. God the Creator, an absolutely spiritual being, is inaccessible and can be seen neither in this world nor in the next. (2) Justice (*al-ʿadl*): God acts with a purpose. Things, by their nature, contain both good and evil. God can will only the good, and is obliged to accomplish that which is better (*al-aṣlaḥ*). Thus He neither wills nor commands that which is evil. Man, "creator of his own acts" by a contingent power (*ḳudra*) which God has created in him, is responsible for what he does, and God is obliged to reward or punish him accordingly. (3) "The promise and the warning" (*al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd*) or "the names and the decrees" (*al-asmā' wa 'l-aḥkām*): to possess faith is to perform the acts prescribed by the Ḳur'ān. Whoever commits a "great sin" and does not repent is destined for hell. The thesis elaborates the "decrees" for the believer and the unbeliever. It deals also with "traditions" (*akhbār*): contrary to the normal doctrine, it does not insist that all the "transmitters" should be believers; and *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*] is not infallible. (4) "The intermediate state between faith and lack of faith (*al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*)—the position of the "believer who sins" (*fāsiḳ* [*q.v.*]), a characteristic thesis of the school. The sinner is neither a true believer (*mu'min*), nor a true infidel (*kāfir*). He has failed to perform the "witness of the limbs", but his faith in God keeps him within the Community. It is here that are discussed the conditions for *imāma* and the respective merits of the first four Caliphs. (5) "The enjoining of what is good and the forbidding of what

is evil" (*al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*): this thesis at first was of major prominence, but later lost relevance. "The enjoining of what is good" is an obligation upon every Muslim (*contra*: al-Aṣamm, of Baṣra). As against the more prudent view prevailing later, the Muʿtazilīs advocated direct intervention, if necessary with the sword. One may and should depose guilty leaders, one may and should compel opponents, on pain of death, to profess the true doctrine (cf. al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. Cairo, ii, 466). This was the attitude of the Muʿtazilīs, in their days of triumph under al-Maʾmūn, when they denounced to the courts the supporters of the doctrine of the uncreated Ḳurʾān.

The fact remains that the writings of the great Muʿtazilīs, apart from the polemical *Intiṣār* (a defence of Muʿtazilism by al-Khayyāṭ, against Ibn al-Rāwandī), are available to us only at second hand. After being for a time the official doctrine, Muʿtazilism was in its turn condemned and most of its productions were destroyed. It is only recently (in about 1958), that there have come to light, in the Yemen, the writings of a Muʿtazilī (unfortunately, late), the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1025): first *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ʿadl*, a true "summa", now (1969) being edited in Cairo, and second the *Kitāb al-Madjmūʿ fi 'l-muḥīt bi 'l-taklīf* (ed., not without mistakes, by J. J. Houben, Beyrouth 1962). To these may be added the work of synthesis *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* (ed. Cairo 1384/1965 by ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān), probably compiled by a Zaydī disciple, the *imām* al-Mandakim. We may mention also, in the line of ʿAbd al-Djabbār's teaching, the *Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, by his disciple the jurist Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī (ed. Damascus by Ḥamīdullāh).

ʿAbd al-Djabbār makes frequent reference to the "early masters" of the school ("our *shaykhs*"), more readily to the school of Baṣra, and especially to al-Djubbāʾī and Abū Hāshim. Thus we now possess quotations from the early doctors and resumés of their thought presented from the Muʿtazilī viewpoint: this reveals, incidentally, how objective are the *Maḳālāt* of al-Ashʿarī (and tends to prove that the first part at least of this work was composed during the years that the author adhered to Muʿtazilism). Again, the late date when ʿAbd al-Djabbār was teaching induced him to conduct polemic against the Ashʿarīs and set out the replies of the Muʿtazilīs to the attacks mounted against them. The discovery of these works in the Yemen is another proof that under the challenge of the 5th/11th century reaction the influence of the school continued to be felt in non-Sunnī milieus.

Before passing on from the climate of thought of the first great schools of *ʿilm al-kalām*, we may mention the group whom al-Ashʿarī calls *Ahl al-ithbāt* or *Muthbita* (cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *op. cit.*, 104 ff.). It is by no means easy to define it precisely. It comprised a certain number of thinkers, Ḍirār, al-Nadjdjār, Muḥammad Burghūth, whom later heresiographers readily classed as Muʿtazilīs; but they were opposed by various supporters of the school of Baṣra (thus al-Nadjdjār was opposed by Abu 'l-Hudhayl and al-Naẓẓām), and al-Ashʿarī saw in them his forerunners. They are said to have taught, *inter alia*, that God is the creator of human actions, and to have foreshadowed the theory of *kasb* or *iktisāb*, which defined and limited man's possession of the acts thus created. Reference to the *Ahl al-ithbāt* allowed al-Ashʿarī to present himself as being in no sort an innovator in the field of *ʿilm al-kalām*.

C. *The Ashʿarī reaction*.—The "resurgence of Sunnism" under al-Mutawakkil and throughout the 5th/11th century was accompanied by an indictment of Muʿtazilism and concurrently, at least by Ḥanbalī and Ẓāhirī traditionists, of *kalām* as such: what was questioned was the basic principle of reasoned and discursive argument starting from the tenets of the faith. *ʿIlm al-kalām* however not only survived but renewed itself, thanks to the new direction given to it by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (260-324/873-935), a former Muʿtazilī. He is rightly regarded as the founder of the *Ashʿariyya* [*q.v.*], the most accepted and official school of *kalām* from the 4th/10th century to the 19th century. A certain number of his works (notably *Lumaʿ*, *Ibāna*) have survived, and his *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* remain today an unrivalled source for our knowledge of the earlier tendencies and schools.

Throughout the centuries, several very famous names brought renown to Ashʿarī *kalām*. It is certain that manifold tendencies appeared in this school, and that varying—even divergent—attitudes were adopted. Thus al-Bāḳillānī summoned to the service of Ashʿarī tenets the atomism first expounded by Abu 'l-Hudhayl; however, al-Djuwaynī did not follow him at all on this point, but took up again the theory of "modes" of Abū Hāshim (and Bāḳillānī), which was abandoned by al-Ghazālī. But the basic viewpoints from which the major tenets of the faith are thought out remain the same; in spite of doctrinal differences—due largely to historical accidents and the diversity of the opponents it was necessary to refute—it is legitimate to speak of an Ashʿarī "school" (singular), perhaps more coherent than the Muʿtazilī schools had been.

Is it necessary, as has been suggested, to admit a radical distinction, even a split, between the thinking of the school's founder and that of the school named after him? It is true that in the *Ibāna*, al-Ashʿarī precedes his "credo" by a declaration of obedience to the teaching of Ibn Ḥanbal, and that although the declaration of faith which became traditional in the school could find justification in the *Lumaʿ* yet it is notably different from those set out in the *Ibāna* and the *Maḳālāt*. Nevertheless, the obedience to Ibn Ḥanbal declared by al-Ashʿarī did not deceive the Ḥanbalīs, who violently attacked the very principle of the defence of the faith by rational argument; and again, many propositions of the *Lumaʿ* had to await elucidation by later disciples, who were influenced in their turn by new historical circumstances. Thus there are not two "Ashʿarisms", one of the founder and one of his followers, but, fundamentally, a single common attitude which was to be progressively developed and variously coloured by successive apologetic discussions.

This common attitude is the unblurred affirmation of God as the inscrutable Almighty, Who does not act "with a purpose in view" and Who "is not to be questioned". In the strictest sense, God is "the sole Being and the sole Agent". He does not command an act *because* that act is just and good; it is His command (*amr*) which makes it just and good. God is the creator of human acts, of which man is merely the receiving subject (*maḥall*). But God "attributes" to a man his acts (theory of *kasb* or *iktisāb*), and hence are justified both human responsibility and the Judgement promised in the Ḳurʾān. Every statement of the Ḳurʾān corresponds to reality; the "ambiguous"

(*mutashābih*) verses are absolutely true as regards their affirmation of existence, but the anthropomorphisms which they present must be accepted *bilā kayf*, "without asking how". With a return to Ḥanbalī attitudes and against the Muᶜtazilīs it is asserted that the Ḳurʾān is uncreated (*ghayr makhlūḳ*) and that the divine attributes are real. The attribute of the Word is not that it is "contingent": it subsists in God. But the school later taught the existence of the interior (*dhātī*) divine Word, which is uncreated, and tended to admit that the "signs" which express it are created: such a distinction was to incur the vehement criticism of the Ḥanbalī doctors.

A common attitude, we have said, but one which was continuously to seek to justify itself dialectically before its various opponents: first the Muᶜtazilīs, al-Ashᶜarī's own favourite targets for controversy, and then the "literalists", such as the Karrāmiyya who were opposed by Ibn Furāk; later still the *falāsifa*, and many others. Often enough the Ashᶜarīs borrowed from their opponents this or that way of posing the problem and even the methods of argument, so that it is possible to establish the following distinct chronological phases: (1) the works of the founder, al-Ashᶜarī; (2) the first disciples: al-Bāḳillānī, who adopted the theory of atoms and the theory of modes, which later were sometimes accepted and sometimes passed over in silence or rejected; al-Baghdādī; Ibn Furāk, the opponent of the Karrāmiyya; al-Bayhaḳī and al-Djuwaynī, supporters of the "modes"; (3) this last, al-Djuwaynī, al-Ghazālī's teacher in *kalām*, is already a forerunner of that line which Ibn Khaldūn calls "the moderns" and which continued to summarize and discuss the attitudes of the great *falāsifa*; this line gained glory from the most renowned *mutakallimūn*: al-Ghazālī, al-Shahrastānī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (one of the most original thinkers of this school), al-Iṣfahānī, al-Īdjī, al-Djurdjānī, al-Dawānī (on whose works Muḥammad ᶜAbduh later wrote a commentary): these "moderns" did not refrain from employing a certain degree of (moderate) *taʾwīl* to explain the anthropomorphic elements in the Ḳurʾān (cf. al-Rāzī's *Kitāb Asās al-taḳdīs*); (4) the manuals of "fossilized conservatism", which merely repeated and systematized the solutions presented by the masters of old time, reproducing their replies to Muᶜtazilīs or *falāsifa* who were progressively less familiar directly: the works of al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen, al-Laḳānī, al-Fuḍālī, al-Bādjūrī.

D. *Māturīdī-Ḥanafī tendencies.* These became, with Ashᶜarism, the second officially approved line of teaching. "Tendencies", we say deliberately, and not "school", believing correct the remarks of Father Allard on this subject (*Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-Ashᶜarī et de ses premiers disciples*, Beirut 1965, 420). Al-Ashᶜarī himself treated the Ḥanafiyya as a branch of the Murdjiʾa (*Maḳālāt*, i, 202-3). However, we are here concerned with a line of thought sufficiently coherent to deserve study in its own right.

It appeals on the one hand to the ancient texts entitled *al-Fiḳh al-akbar* and *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, and on the other to al-Māturīdī of Samarḳand (d. 333/944), the author of a *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* edited by one of his pupils. The Ḥanafī professions of faith (see A. J. Wensinck, *op. cit.*) have their peculiar chracteristics: the connexion between *islām* and *īmān*, the statement of faith by *ḳawl*, etc. But al-Māturīdī, in advance of his contemporary al-Ashᶜarī, seems to have combated various *falāsifa* (and also dualists, materialists, esoteric sects; secondarily, Muᶜtazilīs and anthropomorphists). Although he, like others, deals with the divine attributes and Names, the main question which concerns him is the creation of the world. It is very possible that he did not literally "found" a school, but all the same many *mutakallimūn* looked to him as a point of reference. In later years it becomes difficult to distinguish clearly between followers of al-Ashᶜarī and of al-Māturīdī: although Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Dawānī, al-Laḳānī are Ashᶜarīs under the influence of al-Māturīdī, Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī and al-Taftāzānī may be regarded as belonging primarily to the Māturīdī-Ḥanafī line and only secondarily to Ashᶜarism (they accepted the theory of atoms).

Indeed as compared with Ashᶜarism, Māturīdī-Ḥanafism, as presented by certain manuals (*e.g.*, ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn ᶜAlī, *Kitāb Naẓm al-farāʾid*, Cairo, 2nd ed.) puts forward solutions which are more psychological and intellectuallist in character. As to the first: God creates in man the *aṣl*, the "root" of his acts, whatever they may be, but it is human freewill which gives them a good or an evil specification. As to the second (see ALLĀH, p. 413): the divine decree (*ḳadar*) and predetermination (*ḳaḍāʾ*) are no longer related to the divine will (as with the Ashᶜarīs) but to the divine knowledge; and the connexions between the one and the other in time and in eternity are reversed [see AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WAʾL-ḲADAR].

E. *Modern period.* The revival (*nahḍa*) of Arabo-Muslim thought, which has taken place from the end of the 19th century, has concerned particularly culture in the general sense, predominantly in the field of literature and under the strong influence of modern Western thought, but it has had its repercussions upon the "religious sciences". We have in mind here the reformism of the *Salafiyya*, and thus in exegesis (*tafsīr*) and in *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. Is it legitimate to speak of a resurgence in *ᶜilm al-kalām?* To answer this question we adduce the *Radd ᶜala 'l-Dahriyyīn* ("Refutation of the materialists") of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (Cairo 1925), and, still more, the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* of Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, and some other writings of the latter. Al-Afghānī's work, attacking contemporary "doubters and deniers" is prompted by a concern for defensive apologia. ᶜAbduh's *Risāla* aims at being an attractive exposition of Islam calculated to affect and interest modern man. We may note that it defines *ᶜilm al-kalām* as being "the establishment of religious beliefs and the explanation of prophecies", in order to "seek to conserve and establish religion" (Cairo 1353, 5).

The interest of the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* arises from the fact that it claims to reject nothing inherited from the great periods of the past and to put to profit the positive achievements of every school. Muḥammad ᶜAbduh adheres primarily, but without rigidity, to Ashᶜarism (divine names and attributes; no "end" to God's actions, etc.). But he does not hesitate to draw inspiration from attitudes customarily regarded as Māturīdī, or even to adopt Muᶜtazilī positions. Hence arises his famous declaration: "The Law came to reveal what exists; but it is not the Law which made this good (*ḥasan*)" (*ibid.*, 80). ᶜAbduh seeks to pass beyond the disputes of past ages in order to reconcile the various tendencies in *kalām*.

All the same, his rôle was less that of a thinker (or "theologian") than that of a reformer. When he

comes up against the mystery (*ghayb*) of divine Action on the world, he does not attempt to bring to bear on it his intelligence as illuminated by the revealed truth, in the way that such a thinker as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī felt himself obliged to do. In order to maintain both the affirmations of the faith and of human experience, he prefers to take refuge in an admission of ignorance: "As for going further, seeking to reconcile God's Omniscience and Will (which are proved to us) with man's freedom of action (which are demonstrated by evidence), that is to seek to penetrate the mysteries of the divine Decree; and we are forbidden to plunge into this abyss and concern ourselves with matters that reason is nearly incapable of grasping" (*ibid.*, 61; cf. Fr. tr. by Michel and M. ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, Paris 1925, 43). The distinction should be noticed between "proof" (by the Ḳurʾānic text) of divine Omniscience and Will, and the (experimental) "evidence" of his freedom which man achieves. It may be said that in giving this reply Muḥammad ʿAbduh is not carrying forward *ʿilm al-kalām* but re-stating in new terms a traditional problem, and leaving it open.

III.—Method and problematic.

A. *Argumentation and types of reasoning.* Thus the solutions advanced and the criteria selected are extremely varied; but they have in common the fact that they always vary according to the doctrine being defended or the adversaries being opposed. We will limit ourselves to a few remarks on the two great "schools". Muʿtazilism sought to valorize, under the attacks of the *zanādiḳa*, the absolute Unity and the absolute Justice of God; but this valorization quite quickly becomes, thanks to the arguments advanced to bring conviction, a "justification": the divine Essence and Action become justified before and through human reason (*ʿaḳl*). It is to counter this reduction of the mystery that the Ashʿarīs take their stand, proclaiming the Omnipotence and the Omniscience of God, rejecting any ontological basis for human freedom of action, but seeking to refute the Muʿtazilīs (using the same weapons as they) and at the same time, on the other flank, anthropomorphists (*mudjassima*) of every shade.

In both cases, for Ashʿarīs as for Muʿtazilīs, the starting point for the dialectical arguments assumes that confidence may be placed in *ʿaḳl*, and that a harmony is to be acknowledged between religious law and the efforts of reasons brought to bear on it. This is, we believe, the primary basis of *ʿilm al-kalām*, that which above all makes of it an autonomous discipline—and not this or that cosmological or noetic theory, whether it is dealing with atoms or with modes. But whereas in Muʿtazilism reason may and should account for its agreement with the Law, in Ashʿarism it is the Law which defines the limits of reason and controls its activity. In both cases, the religious Law is the bearer of absolute truth—delimited, in the view of the Muʿtazilīs, by the criterion of *ʿaḳl*, whereas for the Ashʿarīs it is only because the Law enjoins upon him to do so that man may "reflect upon the signs of the universe".

The method of *ʿilm al-kalām* is thus basically explicative and defensive. It always postulates the existence of an opponent who is to be won over. Not merely the choice of arguments but even the method of presenting them will vary according to the nature of the opponents. It is noteworth that "rational" arguments were often the first to be advanced; they are primarily dialectical, and pursue very subtle lines of reasoning; whereas the "modern" manuals clothe them in a syllogistic guise. Up to al-Djuwaynī, and sometimes also with the "moderns", they are based on logic "with two terms", on the classical Semitic pattern, by way of implication and involution, or concordance, or opposition. A suggestive summary is found in the *Bayān ʿan uṣūl al-īmān* of al-Sumnānī, a disciple of al-Bāḳillānī (cf. Gardet and Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 358-61, 365-7).

"Rational" arguments are followed (or sometimes preceded) by "traditional" arguments, or, in other words, arguments from authority. These revolve around citations from the Ḳurʾān, on the one hand those adduced in direct support of an argument and on the other those quoted by opponents whose faulty interpretation of them is attacked. To these may be added *ḥadīth*s, sometimes numerous, sometimes few. This is especially the procedure of the first great Ashʿarīs. Most of them also rely upon texts guaranteed by *idjmāʿ*; "It is agreed that . . ." is a favourite argument. Al-Djuwaynī, among others, gives an important place to *idjmāʿ*. The fact that these "traditional" arguments are in some manuals listed *after* the "rational" arguments indicates that the former are to be regarded as a *confirmatur* to the results of dialectical reasoning. The defensive and apologetic character of *kalām* is thus manifested in its very recourse to the tenets of the faith to supply arguments.

From al-Djuwaynī onwards, the old-style dialectic and its reasoning from two terms yields place (without disappearing) to reasoning in three terms of the syllogistic type, with its universal middle term, and its recourse, implicit or explicit, to the principle of causality [see ʿILLA]. The *falāsifa* now become the usual opponents, as much as or more than the Muʿtazilīs. They must therefore be refuted on their own ground, and Aristotelian logic (with Stoic influences) becomes more and more influential in the arguments of *kalām*. The first manuals of the so-called "modern" tendency (the *Muḥaṣṣal* of al-Rāzī, the *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* of al-Djurdjānī, etc.) introduce questions regarding God and His Action with extended and purely rational discussions in which are surveyed the logical, cosmological, noetic and metaphysical themes of the *falāsifa*. Logic is here treated according to the Aristotelian schemas, sometimes with modifications (notably the four or even five figures of the syllogism). Yet the old argumentation from two terms does not entirely disappear; an indication of this may be found in the favourite selection of reasoning by the dilemma: this is probably Aristotelian in manner, but the implicit middle term is often suppressed in favour of the argument from authority (of a fact or of a text) or in favour of the dialectical judgement of existence [see BURHĀN].

The school of the "moderns" may be distinguished from the first generations of the Ashʿariyya by its advancing of more subtle solutions and its posing of some new problems. It is distinguished particularly by its use of the syllogism with a universal middle term and by its recourse to causality, even when, on the ontological plane, the efficacy of secondary causes is denied. Hence, to take a rather summary view, it is possible to re-classify the schools as follows: Muʿtazilī *kalām* and early Ashʿarī *kalām* are opposed in the doctrines they maintain but may share the same attitude to the problems and use the same methods of reasoning; early Ashʿarī

kalām and the Ash̲ʿarism of the "moderns" support practically the same doctrines but differ perceptibly in their approach to the problems (adoption of "philosophical preambles") and more still in their methods of reasoning; finally, "fossilized conservatism" took up again the now classical doctrines and combined the dialectical and the syllogistic approaches, without always distinguishing one from the other.

Early Ash̲ʿarī *kalām* (al-Bāḳillānī, al-Isfarāʾīnī, and al-Ash̲ʿarī himself) professed, according to Ibn K̲h̲aldūn in his *Muḳaddima* (Cairo ed., 326, tr. de Slane, iii, 59), the "retroactivity of proofs", *i.e.*, "the nullity of a proof implies the nullity of that which it was sought to prove". It is thus, according to L. Massignon's comment (*Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, Paris 1922, 550, n. 1), that al-Bāḳillānī declared the atomistic view of the world to be "co-essential" with the text of the Ḳurʾān. Such a procedure, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn adds, in which truths to be proved and probative arguments are interwoven, does not "conform to the rules of the art". This remark would be fully justified for a logical statement in three terms, but not in a dialectic of like and like (or its opposite). The "proof" to be adduced is no longer the result of a deduction. It, too, is a *fact*, a witness of truth. For al-Bāḳillānī, the atomistic discontinuity of the thing created "proves" the absolute transcendence and subsistence of God, the sole Agent, in the sense that this is its opposite correlative, its *muḳābal*, and that these two facts, presenting themselves to the spirit in a single apprehension, can only affirm themselves or deny themselves together (cf. Gardet and Anawati, *op. cit.*, 359; L. Gardet, *La dialectique en morphologie et logique arabes*, in *L'ambivalence dans la culture arabe*, by J. Berque, J.-P. Charnay, and others, Paris 1967, 125-30). It is less the strictly logical validity of reasoning by implication and its "conformity with the rules of the art" that is in question here than the degree of universality and probative validity of the two procedures, dialectical (with two terms) and syllogistic (with a universal middle term).

B. *The formulation of problems.* This study of the methods of thought and of argument employed in *ʿilm al-kalām* emphasizes that the struggle of Ash̲ʿarism with Muʿtazilism is part of a continuous process. There is a split as to the chief doctrines professed but not (we cannot repeat too often) as to the type of arguments or the method of reasoning employed, nor as to the general lines or the plans of the treatises. From this point of view, *kalām*, as an established discipline, is greatly indebted to the Muʿtazilīs. Their five *uṣūl* continue, with some variants, to dominate the whole question: so it is in the *Lumaʿ* of al-Ash̲ʿarī, and to a large extent also in the *Tamhīd* of al-Bāḳillānī.

From al-D̲j̲uwaynī onwards, however, and particularly from al-Rāzī, three new importations appear: (1) introductions or preliminary remarks, on the character of reasoning (al-D̲j̲uwaynī, *Irs̲h̲ād*), on the nature of *kalām* (al-G̲h̲azālī, *Iḳtiṣād*), and finally on the general principles of logic, natural philosophy and ontology (al-Rāzī, al-Īd̲j̲ī, al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī) become of ever increasing importance until they figure in the actual treatises themselves. (2) In the more strictly "theological" themes, a distinction arises between on the one hand the *ilāhiyyāt*, *i.e.*, the chapters concerning God, which (some attributes excepted) consist of a rational elaboration built up on scriptural bases, and on the other the *samʿiyyāt*, the "traditional" (*ex auditu*) chapters, whose very argumentation depends on positive data. The philosophical chapters and the *ilāhiyyāt* are combined under the term *ʿaḳliyyāt*; the *samʿiyyāt* deal with prophecy, with eschatology, with the decrees and the names (problem of faith) and with the enjoining of good. Some authors (al-D̲j̲uwaynī, al-G̲h̲azālī) make prophecy a link between *ilāhiyyāt* and *samʿiyyāt*. (3) Finally, a distinction is made (a matter reconsidered by Muḥammad ʿAbduh) between "that which is necessary in God" (existence and attributes), "that which is possible for God" (visibility, creation of human acts, justification and reprobation, prophecy), "that which is impossible" in God and for God (the contrary of the attributes). These various additions are often intermingled. Al-D̲j̲uwaynī, insisting on the tripartite division of the necessary, the possible and the impossible, included prophecy and the creation of acts in the chapter treating of "what God can do", reserving the term *samʿiyyāt* for the other "traditional" chapters.

These new principles of distinction seem to be due to the influence of *falsafa*. It was in order to reply to the *falāsifa* that the preambles and the philosophical chapters became more numerous; the term *ilāhiyyāt* is part of the vocabulary of the *falāsifa*, and the distinction of the necessary, the possible and the impossible was made by them. The formulation of problems of the great Ash̲ʿarī treatises of the "modern" age will therefore derive certainly from the old formulation of Muʿtazilism and its "five bases", but also from the organization of philosophical knowledge characteristic of the *falāsifa* (and in particular as presented by the *summa* or the compendium of Ibn Sīnā).

The richest and most detailed manual, the *S̲h̲arḥ al-Mawāḳif* of al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, still studied in specialist courses of the great teaching-mosques, is arranged as follows: Two-thirds of the work (books-i-iv) treat of logic, natural philosophy and general ontology. The last third is divided between the *ilāhiyyāt* (the divine essence, the unity and unicity of God, His positive attributes, and His "possible" attributes, namely, visibility and cognoscibility), the Actions of the Almighty (creation of human actions), the divine names, and the *samʿiyyāt* (which are relatively short). There is no question here of a distinction between "philosophy" and "theology" in the Western sense and the attempt to harmonize them, but of a reply, which seeks to be exhaustive, to the treatises of the *falāsifa* or of the Muʿtazilīs. Since this reply seeks to use the weapons of the opponents, the vocabulary and the arguments of *falsafa* are found widely incorporated in *ʿilm al-kalām*. It is in a sense through the intermediary of the *mutakallimūn* that the influence of the "philosophers" penetrated Sunnī thought in general.

IV.—*The position of ʿilm al-kalām in Muslim thought.*—*ʿIlm al-kalām* remains one of the officially recognized religious sciences. But in the universities of Muslim countries the faculties of religious sciences are called *kulliyyāt al-s̲h̲arīʿa*, a term generally rendered by "Faculties of theology"; *fiḳh* is there taught as much as, if not more than, *kalām*. *Kalām*, based as it is upon its function of defensive apologia, does not hold the leading place in Muslim thought that theology does in Christianity. To find an equivalent for "theology" in the Christian sense it is necessary to have recourse to several disciplines, and to the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* as much as to *kalām*. We turn now to establish the limits and results of this fact, and to place it in its historical context.

A. *Three opinions.* (a) In his *Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*, al-Fārābī groups the sciences according to the schemes of Aristotelian classification, appending to them the strictly Muslim disciplines of *fiḳh* and *kalām*. His summary of the methods of argument employed by the *mutakallimūn* is far from being laudatory; he emphasizes, to put it at its highest, its apologetic character, and seems to make of *kalām* an extension of *fiḳh*: "the *mutakallim* procures the supremacy of the principles which the *faḳīh* uses as bases but without deducing from them any new consequences" (ed. González Palencia, Madrid 1932, 56). (b) In his *Iḳtiṣād*, al-Ghazālī devotes three of the four chapters of his introduction (ed. Ankara 1962, 11-15) to the nature and the role of *ʿilm al-kalām*. This discipline has its place among the religious sciences because it is concerned with curing doubters of their doubts and refuting the denials of those who deny. But its role is essentially "medicinal"; hence the study of it, as the *Iḥyā' ʿulum al-dīn* states (ed. Cairo 1325/1933, i, 3), is an obligation upon the community (*farḍ al-kifāya*), but it is not the concern of every individual Muslim, for it could be dangerous for a simple soul firmly anchored in his faith. And the *Munḳidh min al-ḍalāl* (ed. Cairo 1372, 1952, 60) reproaches *kalām* for its insufficiently proved rational principles. (c) The authors of the great "modern" manuals (hence Īdjī-Djurdjānī) on the contrary esteem *kalām* so highly as to define it as the most exalted science of all, since it "proves" the truths known by faith. Some would make the study of it a personal obligation (*farḍ al-ʿayn*) on every Muslim capable of undertaking it. This estimate is repeated *verbatim* by the manuals of "fossilized conservatism". For al-Bādjūrī, for example (*Ḥāshiya ʿalā* (...) *Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 26), faith through *taḳlīd* (meaning here mere acquiescence in what has been handed down) loses all value as compared with faith firmly rooted in science, *ʿan ʿilm*, such as *kalām* can provide.

B. *Opposition.* In fact throughout its history *kalām* had two great lines of opponents: on the one hand the Ḥanbalī (and Ẓāhirī) traditionists, who refused to bring rational arguments to bear on the absolute truths provided by faith; and on the other, the *falāsifa*, who passed from silence, indeed from a concealed opposition (Eastern *falāsifa*), to the most violent attacks (Ibn Rushd), when they themselves were attacked by the *mutakallimūn*.

(a) Ḥanbalī opposition. The great period for Muʿtazilī *kalām* was the reign of al-Ma'mūn, when it rose to the status of official doctrine. It was then that the doctrine of the "created Ḳur'ān" was imposed by the secular arm, the supporters of the doctrine of the "uncreated Ḳur'ān" were persecuted and condemned by the courts, and Ibn Ḥanbal himself was accused and flogged. This period was later called *al-miḥna*, "the testing". The reaction under al-Mutawakkil led Sunnī Islam to deliver a decisive blow against the Muʿtazilīs; they in their turn were dragged before the judges and their works (as we have noted) were destroyed. Now this historical movement, which (with G. Makdisi) we may call "the resurgence of traditional Islam in the 12th century" (*Ibn ʿAqīl*, Damascus 1963), remained at first under the influence of the "pious men of old", condemning any use of the reason, even the dialectic method, in making assertions relating to the faith.

It is true that the Ashʿarī reform at first had acknowledged its respect for Ibn Ḥanbal; but it also sought to overcome the Muʿtazilīs and to reply to them on their own ground. It had ambitions also to become the official doctrine of renascent Sunnism. The struggle between Ḥanbalīs and Ashʿarīs became sometimes sharp, even violent, and some authors were able to speak of a second *miḥna* when, after the death of al-Ashʿarī, his tombstone was destroyed in the cemetery of Baghdād. In the 5th/11th century, the vizier al-Kundurī had Ashʿarism cursed from the pulpits of Nīshāpūr, and al-Djuwaynī was obliged to take refuge in Baghdād (although soon afterwards Niẓām al-Mulk granted his favour to the Ashʿarīs). At about the same time, the Ḥanbalī mystic al-Anṣārī was writing his *Dhamm al-kalām wa-ahlih*, one of the most vigorous attacks we possess. In the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, the famous Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] was to echo him, and to be himself attacked and condemned (to prison, for a time) under the pressure of the other juridical schools. When he mentions the opinions of the *mutakallimūn*, for whose solution of any problem he denies any validity, he adduces the Ḳadariyya and the Muʿtazila together, opposing to them only the Djabarīs, and thus not distinguishing the Ashʿarīs from them. (We should note that it is through the hearings granted to them by his Shīʿī opponents that he often attacks Muʿtazilī theses). It is true that *ʿilm al-kalām* ended by enjoying official recognition; but at the present day, wherever Ḥanbalism, and especially Ibn Taymiyya, exercise a considerable influence on contemporary movements for reform, the dialectical subleties of the schools and the treatises are regarded with some suspicion.

(b) The quarrel of the *Tahāfut*. Quite early on, the campaign to defend the faith pursued by *kalām* led it to challenge the *falāsifa*. Although it failed to overcome completely Ḥanbalī opposition, it may be said that up to the end of the 19th century, and perhaps even today in some circles of thought, it played its part in branding *falsafa* with a mark of heterodoxy and relegating it to a peripheral position.

The first great *faylasūf*, Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī, had some Muʿtazilī friends and was himself regarded as a *mutakallim*. But al-Fārābī (who made some severe criticisms of the methods of *kalām*) and Ibn Sīnā took their stand in a field of philosophical research which was quite different from that of the *mutakallimūn*. Unlike the Muʿtazilīs, wrote Aḥmad Amīn (*Ḍuḥā 'l-Islām*, iii, 204), "the *falāsifa* were philosophers first and men of religion afterwards; they concerned themselves with religion only when their philosophical speculation was in disagreement with it and in order to harmonize the two". We are now dealing not with a dialectical or apologetic defence of the faith, but with wide philosophical perspectives, which are largely inspired by Greek philosophy, though certainly containing some Muslim influences, and which aim to demonstrate their agreement *a posteriori* with the Ḳur'ān. Rational research holds the first place, and agreement with the doctrines of the faith is achieved often enough by means of a broad interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of the Ḳur'ānic text. The milieu in which al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā lived was strongly tinged with or even dominated by Shīʿī influences, and interpretative glosses of the Ḳur'ān were not uncommon. The orthodoxy of the "philosophers" was hardly ever called into question there. But things were different from the 5th/11th century onwards, after the Sunnī revival. Together with the Muʿtazilīs and the anthropomorphists, the *falāsifa* speedily became the opponents attacked by Ashʿarī or Māturīdī *kalām*. After objectively sum-

marizing their thought in the *Maḳāṣid*, al-Ghazālī undertook to refute them in the famous *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1927). He there denounced twenty of their tenets as erroneous, and branded four of them as incurring infidelity (*takfīr*): the eternity of the world *ante*, the eternity of the world *post*, the symbolic interpretation of the resurrection of the body, and the divine lack of knowledge of the individual as such. The autobiography of the *Munḳidh min al-ḍalāl* in its turn emphasized the errors of the "philosophers" and the danger for the faith which they represented. Some decades later al-Shahrastānī won the nickname of "adversary of the *falāsifa*".

Ibn Rushd's response came in the next century. In his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930), he applied himself to refute al-Ghazālī and to justify the agreement between *falsafa* and Ḳurʾānic teaching; in the *apologia sua* of the *Faṣl al-maḳāl* (ed. and tr. L. Gauthier, Algiers 1942) and of the *Kashf ʿan manāhidj al-adilla* (*apud Falsafat Ibn Rushd*, Cairo 1313 and 1328), he calls into question even the legitimacy of *kalām*, accusing it of "cutting the Law into pieces" and "dividing people up utterly" (a similarly severe attitude to *kalām* is taken by Maimonides). It is remarkable that Ibn Rushd went so far as to re-employ (but more emphatically and severely) the criticisms which al-Ghazālī had first outlined (see above, IV, A, b). In fact Ibn Rushd, who was to play such a rôle in the history of the Latin Middle Ages, seems (unlike his Eastern predecessors) to have had little influence on Muslim thought.

All the later handbooks of *kalām* summarize and refute unflaggingly the position of the *falāsifa*, above all al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, hence acquiring (as we have noted) their long philosophical introductions. It should be recognized here that although the *Muḥaṣṣal* of al-Rāzī and the *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* of al-Djurdjānī continue to condemn as false many tenets of the *falāsifa*, the resumés of them which they give are strongly analytical and aim at objectivity, whereas the refutations proposed are sometimes (especially in the *Muḥaṣṣal*), no more than general affirmations. It is nearly always eastern *falsafa* which is in question and which therefore continued to influence the developments of *ʿilm al-kalām*. We find a kind of mixed genre arising—a sort of *ʿilm al-kalām* impregnated by *falsafa*, or a sort of *falsafa* moving into the field of the problems which belong to *kalām*. This was not always to the advantage of either discipline. Finally we may mention the attitude of Ibn Taymiyya, as violently hostile to *falsafa* as to *kalām*; that of Ibn Khaldūn, who practically repeats, with regard to *falsafa*, the distinctions and criticisms of al-Ghazālī; and a third *Tahāfut*, the work of the Turk Khōdjazāde (9th/15th century), which, adopting al-Ghazālī's title, sought to refute the *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* of Ibn Rushd.

C. ʿIlm al-kalām *and the juridical schools.* —*ʿIlm al-kalām* presents itself as an explanation and a defence of the faith. It is on these grounds that Muʿtazilism combated the *zanādiḳa* and the literalists of the first centuries, and that the Ashʿarīs challenged the Muʿtazilīs, the literalists and the *falāsifa*. We find however that the Ḥanbalī line or heterodox Ẓāhirism refuses to recognize the legitimacy of this undertaking. Now Ḥanbalism and Ẓāhirism are schools of *fiḳh*, and it is as such that they reject the dialectical argument of the *mutakallimūn* but propose to ensure, by their own procedures, this defence of the faith which *kalām* claimed for itself. Thus one may find in the works of such writers as Ibn Ḥazm or Ibn Taymiyya many expositions on the attributes of God, human actions, prophecy and faith, which convey as many or even more "theological" matters as (for example) some late and stereotyped manuals of Ashʿarism.

The other juridical schools, on the other hand, came to an easy accommodation with *ʿilm al-kalām*, its methods, and its argumentation. We are here dealing with attitudes arising from different families of thought, and the link between *kalām* and *fiḳh*, emphasized already by al-Fārābī, should never be forgotten. It may be said that Ashʿarism developed most easily in a Shāfiʿī, sometimes in a Ḥanafī, and later in a Mālikī climate; and that the so-called Māturīdī tendency was in its early days so closely linked with Ḥanafism that one can justly speak of a "Ḥanafī-Māturīdī" line. Finally, the welcome accorded to Muʿtazilism by non-Sunnī sects, principally Zaydism, is a point of considerable significance.

Thus if one wishes to establish the place of *ʿilm al-kalām* in Muslim thought, it should not be regarded as a discipline developing in a self-sufficient manner; it is linked with the other religious sciences, particularly *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, in a supple cultural unity which more than once dictated both the attitudes of its schools and the battles which it had to fight.

D. *Present-day situation.* Ibn Rushd's attacks failed to shake the legitimacy which *ʿilm al-kalām* was recognized to possess. The attacks of the Ḥanbalīs and the "pious men of old", on the other hand, left a legacy of distrust and suspicion. We find some traces of this at the present day, to the extent that the influence of the "men of old" (*salaf*) inspires the "return to the sources" advocated by modern reform movements. It is true that *ʿilm al-kalām*, as embodied in its most eminent doctors, remains as a venerated achievement of the great cultural centuries of Islam. But if one excepts the attempt of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, it is difficult to point to any modern and living renewal; it might be truer to speak of a certain alienation from *kalām*.

Two reasons may, it appears, be advanced: (1) For too long the teaching of this "religious science" in the great mosques had been given only by means of "fossilized" manuals, without any striking intrinsic merit and without originality. (2) The subject-matter of a defensive apologia for the faith is meaningful only so far as it relates to immediate issues. Now the content of these manuals is dictated by the refutation of adversaries (the Muʿtazilīs of the 3rd/9th century and the *falāsifa* of the 4th/10th century) who have long since vanished from the scene, whereas the burning problems of today are ignored. A defensive apology must be based on new themes. Are the efforts of al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh in this direction to be continued? Interesting as their attempts are, they fall far short of the philosophico-theological standard achieved by the great doctors of the past. Al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh were first and foremost reformers and men of action, not *mutakallimūn*.

We can conclude only with a series of questions. Will anything take the place of *ʿilm al-kalām*, with more widespread perspectives and serving a practical, rather than a speculative, attitude? Or shall we see a renewal, with regard to the tenets of the Muslim faith, in which the great questions raised in the past regarding God and man and the conditions for man's salvation will be taken up again, but this time taking account of the demands of scientific discoveries and present-day thinking? For this the

scholar would require a two-fold objective acquaintance both with the great works of the classical age and with contemporary problems.

It is appropriate to emphasize here the recovery of favour enjoyed today by Muʿtazilism: not directly for its defence of the Unity and the justice of God, but for its assertion of human liberty, in the very *élan* of belief in the One God, the Creator, the Almighty. Ashʿarism no longer appears to be necessitated by the demands of the faith. Will there take place a synthesis of the different tendencies of *ʿilm al-kalām*, operating through a revised set of philosophical equipment? The study of the text of the Ḳurʾān and a more fully developed anthropology seem here to be called for, not to replace the "questions concerning God" (*ilāhiyyāt*), but to open wider perspectives for their discussion. From the 3rd/9th to the 9th/15th century *ʿilm al-kalām* enjoyed a glorious past and produced works which demand the historian's fullest respect. It may be hoped that a new *kalām*, perhaps quite different from the old in its methods, its arguments and its approach, will one day arise, to play its part in animating a cultural recovery in the religious sciences of Islam.

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(L. Gardet)

ʿILM AL-RIDJĀL, according to the common technical meaning, is the science devoted to the study of the persons figuring in *isnāds*, with the purpose of establishing their moral qualities (and thus guaranteeing their truthfulness), the bibliographical details which will provide the necessary checks on either the materials transmitted or the *isnāds* themselves, and finally the exact identification of the names, to prevent confusion between persons of the same name. Among the Twelver Shīʿīs, this science, which also very soon became a means of ideological differentation (in the earliest lists there already

appear the best-known partisans of ʿAlī or of one of the first *imāms*), gradually became confused with *ʿilm al-tarādjim*, which is merely a branch of Islamic historical research and thus in theory different from *ʿilm al-ridjāl* (which forms an integral part of *kalām*), although both of them claim to conform to precise and distinct Ḳurʾānic precepts. Hence there does not seem much point in the distinction made by some authors, which shows as the ancestor of the Twelver authors of *ridjāl* the Rāfiḍī (or perhaps Wāḳifī) Kūfan Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Djabala b. Ḥayyān (or Ḥannān) Abḥar (or b. al-Ḥurr) al-Kinānī, d. 219/834 and referred to as dead in the *Taʾsīs al-Shīʿa* (p. 232, with many traditions taken from al-Nadjāshī, p. 160, who gives the variants of the name), while, on the other hand, giving as the first author of *tarādjim* (*Taʾsīs, loc. cit.*) the *Munshī* of ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Rāfiʿ, whose name appears, with others, in al-Nadjāshī (p. 4-5), who took a particular interest in *ridjāl*, and in the *Dharīʿa* (x, no. 84), according to which he is one of the most competent of the early writers in this field. It is therefore not surprising that the meaning of *ridjāl* changed from that of reporters of traditions sometimes tinged with ʿAlid activism, to that of scholars in general (and this means almost entirely Shīʿī scholars, because of the tendentious character of almost all the great Twelver collections of *ridjāl*, which often include persons of undoubted Sunnism); on this reference may be made to vol. i of the *Islamic Shīʿite Encyclopaedia* by Hassan Amin, who, s.v. *Biography*, lists 111 authors who devoted themselves to one or the other science, without distinguishing which.

The strict limitation of the term *ʿilm al-ridjāl* would exclude such works as the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn* or the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, without which we should have a confused and inexact idea both of the importance and of the Twelver Shīʿī conception of the biographical science, an interesting expression of a culture pivoted on a precise sense of the need to refer, in every case and in whatever specific context, to the ever present *imāmī* model. To draw up a complete list of the Twelver biographical works, which has not yet been done and which would be very useful, would involve three sorts of difficulty: the enormous quantity of material which it is difficult to classify under one or other of the two genres because of the confusion mentioned above; the fact that many of the works mentioned in the various lists has not been published; and finally the fact that, without a published edition and the necessary comparison of manuscripts, it is not always possible to distinguish, by reference to the title alone, between works which are substantially independent and those which are merely elaborations and adaptations of others.

The first great names which may be mentioned are those of the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm and the *Fihrist* of al-Ṭūsī, the second based directly on the former (cf. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, preface to his ed. of the latter, pp. 2-3, no. 6), and both of a bibliographical character: this explains how, among texts considered as basic for biography, purely bibliographical compilations are often listed. We give here a brief list of some of the most important of the early works:

(1) *Maʿrifat akhbār al-Ridjāl* of al-Kashshī [*q.v.*].

(2) *Fihrist* of *shaykh* Abu ʾl-Faradj Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Abī Yaʿḳūb al-Nadīm, compiled circa 377/987. It concerns our subject in two places: in *al-fann al-thānī min al-maḳāla al-khāmisa*, in which it deals with the Shīʿī *ridjāl*, *mutakallim* as well as Twelver, and, more specifically, in *al-fann al-khāmis* and in *al-fann al-sādis min al-maḳāla al-sādisa*, devoted to the *fuḳahāʾ* and grammarians and to the traditionists respectively.

(3) *Fihrist kutub al-Shīʿa* (Nadjaf 1937) of the *shaykh al-ṭāʾifa* Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, d. 459/1067; this is the earliest work specifically devoted to this subject and it has been much used by the Sunnīs, who have a high regard for it. Although it is based on material provided by the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, it completes it and adds more precise details on Shīʿī works and writers on *uṣūl*. Among the teachers of al-Ṭūsī on the subject of *ridjāl* mention should be made of Abū ʿAmr al-Kashshī, whose many (according to al-Nadjāshī) inaccuracies he corrected, and Abu ʾl-Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ghadāʾirī, a famous writer whose work was later taken up by, among others, Ibn Ṭāʾūs.

(4) *Kitāb al-Ridjāl* (Nadjaf 1961) by the above-mentioned al-Ṭūsī; it deals in particular with the *ḥadīths* stemming from the Prophet and the first *imāms* and lists the names in alphabetical order with numbers within each letter.

(5) *Asmāʾ al-ridjāl* by the *shaykh* Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Nadjāshī, d. 455/1063. This work, sometimes listed under the title of *Kitāb al-Ridjāl*, is one of the most often quoted and consulted. It first deals briefly with the first Shīʿīs, after which the *ridjāl* follow in alphabetical order. One *bāb* is devoted to each *ism* and a final *bāb* contains the *kunyas*. To judge from the index of the edition by Muṣṭafawī, Tehran n.d., it covers 1226 persons.

(6) *Asmāʾ mashāyikh al-Shīʿa wa-muṣannafātihim*, of Muntadjab al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abi ʾl-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan ... b. al-Ḥusayn ... b. Bābūya al-Ḳummī. This work had been commissioned by the *naḳīb* of Ḳumm, Rayy and Ābah, ʿIzz al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Abi ʾl-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, who, in entrusting the author with this task, informed him that nothing had been done in this field since al-Ṭūsī (which seems to indicate that Muntadjab al-Dīn did not know of the work of his contemporary Ibn Shahrāshūb). The date of this compilation cannot be later than 592/1196, the date when the *naḳīb* died, nor earlier than 573/1178, the date of the death of Ḳutb Rāwandī, mentioned as *marḥūm* in the work; it deals with the authors and *shaykhs* who were contemporary with or later than al-Ṭūsī and who are not found in the *Fihrist*.

(7) *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* (ed. A. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1934), of Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad Rashīd al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarānī al-Sārawī [see IBN SHAHRĀSHŪB], d. 588/1192. This work, like all the above-mentioned, was written in Arabic, and is similarly conceived as a complement to the *Fihrist* of al-Ṭūsī, to which are added 300 brief biographies of *shaykhs* up to the compiler's contemporaries; it must have been compiled before 582/1186, the year during which the author mentions the *Maʿālim* in an *idjāza*. Among the teachers listed are Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ṭabarsī and Abū ʿAlī Faḍl b. Ḥasan Ṭabarsī, Ḳutb Rāwandī and Abu ʾl-Futūḥ Rāzī, the father of the author, Zayd, and Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Bayhaḳī; these names reveal the Shīʿī aims of the author. In the edition consulted, the number of persons described is 990; the first 874 are arranged in alphabetical order, divided into *bābs* consisting of one or more letters of the alphabet, with subdivisions of *faṣl*; numbers 875 to 962 are given under their *kunya*, and numbers 963-990 under their *laḳab* or a

nisba. The work ends with a bibliographical *faṣl* incorporated in the *bāb al-djāmiʿ*, which is followed by a very short *bāb* devoted to the poets of the *ahl al-bayt*; these are divided into four groups according to the genre of their compositions.

There follows a period of mere compilation until the *Ridjāl* of Taḳī al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Dāwūd al-Ḥillī, born in 647/1249-50, a pupil of al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī (Tehran .963-4), and until the work of Abū Manṣūr Djamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, d. 725/1325, who was the author, in particular, of a famous new *Kitāb al-Ridjāl* (Tehran 1932-3). These latter represent, at least for their successors, the undoubted masters of the period and they paved the way for the characteristic productions of the Ṣafawid period; in that period, within the framework of the genre of biography, the encyclopaedic spirit which prevailed from then on (as shown in, *e.g.*, the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, Tehran 1268/1852 and 1299/1882, written in Persian in 990/1582 by the *sayyid* Nūr Allāh b. Sharīf al-Marʿashī al-Shustarī) showed an interest in the local scholars who proclaimed the victory of Shīʿism in Iran: *Amal al-āmil fī ʿulamāʾ djabal ʿĀmil* (Tehran 1320/1902-3) of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, d. 1097/1686, or *Luʾluʾatay al-Baḥrayn* (Tehran 1269/1853) of Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī, d. 1187/1773-4. These lead directly to the great modern biographical dictionaries, the most important of which are given in the bibliography and which, so far as material on the early Muslims is concerned, consist of a systematized reproduction of the details already collected since the early centuries of Islam rather than original monographs written by specialists.

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See also ZAYDIYYA. (B. SCARCIA AMORETTI)

ʿILMIYYE, the body of the higher Muslim religious functionaries (*ʿulamāʾ* [*q.v.*]) in the Ottoman Empire, especially those administering justice and teaching in the religious colleges [see MADRASA]. Their elaborate hierarchy, unprecedented in Islam, was headed, from the 10th/16th century onwards, by the *muftī* [*q.v.*] of Istanbul called *shaykh al-islām* [*q.v.*].

The organization of the *ḳāḍī*s, who formed the highest order of Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*, changed over the centuries as a result of Ottoman expansion and withdrawals and of the variations in the relative importance attached to certain posts. Their division into several classes evolved gradually until it assumed a more or less definitive form in the 12th/18th century. The chief positions were the *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker* [*q.v.*], or, after his office was divided into two towards the end of the reign of Sultan Meḥemmed II (d. 886/1481), the *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Rūmeli (*ṣadr-i Rūm*) and that of Anatolia (*ṣadr-i Anadolī*). Both were *ex officio* members of the imperial *dīwān* [see DĪWĀN-I HUMĀYŪN], while the *shaykh al-islām*, until the nineteenth century, was not. They nominated the provincial *ḳāḍī*s with the exception of the higher ones (*mollā*s) who, as well as the *müderrise*s and the *wāʿiẓe*s of Istanbul mosques (see below), were in later centuries appointed on the advice of the *shaykh al-islām*.

Below the *ḳāḍī-ʿasker*s ranked the greater *mollā*s, the highest of whom held the judgeships of the principal cities of the Empire with a salary of 500 *aḳče* a day. Later on they were subdivided into several classes. The highest was that of the judge of the capital (*Istanbul ḳāḍīsi* or *efendisi*), whose importance was enhanced by his authority over the guilds and responsibility for provisions and prices in the capital. Moreover, he and the judges of the town suburbs (see below) dispensed justice in the Grand Vizier's *dīwān*s.

Further down in the hierarchy were the judges of the two Holy Cities (*ḥarameyn*), Mecca and Medina. The latter was raised to the status of Mecca in 1135/1722 (Küčük Čelebi-zāde ʿĀṣim, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, 16 f.).

They were followed (since the eighteenth century) by the judges of the Four Cities (*bilād-i erbaʿa*): the two former capitals, Edirne and Bursa, and the two ancient seats of the caliphate, Cairo and Damascus. At a certain period Filibe (Plovdiv) was added as the fifth of the *bilād-i khamse*.

The next lower group included, in varying order, the judges of the suburbs of Istanbul (Galata and, at times, Eyyūb and Üsküdār), Jerusalem, Aleppo, Izmir, Salonika and Yeñishehir (Larissa), as well as, in certain periods, Trabzon, Sofia and Crete. They had the rank of *makhredj mollālari*, since these posts were given to *müderrise*s "going out" of their class for the first time.

The judges mentioned so far were, strictly speaking, the only ones to carry the title of *mollā* (also *monlā* or *menlā*, from Arabic *mawlā* [*q.v.*]). In practice, however, this title was also granted to those immediately inferior to them in rank, the leaders of the so-called *dewriyye* posts. These were (since the eighteenth century) the judges of 10-13 important towns—Belgrade, Bosna-Sarāy (Sarajevo), Baghdād, ʿAyntāb, Marʿash, Diyār Bakr and others.

To the highest class of *mollā*s also belonged in most periods the preceptor (*muʿallim*, or *khwādja*) of the Sultan, his two private *imām*s, the chief Palace physician (*hekīm-bashī* [*q.v.*] or *reʾīs al-aṭibbāʾ*) and the chief astrologer (*müneddjim-bashī* [*q.v.*]). From the end of the 11th/17th century the office of Dean of the Descendants of the Prophet (*naḳīb al-ashrāf* [*q.v.*]) used also to be bestowed on a *mollā* of this class descended from Muḥammad.

Lower in rank than the greater *mollā*s there were, in addition, five special judges (*müfettishes*) for *waḳf* affairs—three in Istanbul (dealing with the

*waḳf*s under the supervision of the *shaykh al-islām*, the Grand Vizier and the Chief Black Eunuch, respectively), one at Edirne and one at Bursa. Other special judges were the *maḥmil ḳāḍisi* who accompanied the annual pilgrim caravan to Mecca, the *ordu ḳāḍisi* who joined the army when the Sultan (and the *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker*s) did not take part in the campaign, and the *donanma ḳāḍisi*, who sailed with the fleet on its yearly cruise.

The lowest class of administrators of justice according to the *sharīʿa* was that of the *nāʾib*s [*q.v.*]. They either served as deputies of a judge, dealing with minor cases (*bāb nāʾibi*) or were in charge of a sub-division of his district (*ḳaḍā nāʾibi*), or acted as his substitute (*wekīl*) in case he did not come himself to his jurisdiction, the income of which was granted to him as *arpalïḳ* [*q.v.*]. The *nāʾib*s, who often were local *ʿulamāʾ*, held equal rank. Appointed, with the confirmation of the *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker*, by the judge for whom they deputized, they paid him a certain percentage of their income or a fixed monthly sum. In the period of Ottoman decline, the sale of *nāʾib* posts to the highest bidders and their bestowal on unqualified persons seriously corrupted the administration of justice.

In earlier periods the lesser *mollā*s did not rise to the higher grades but were restricted to rotation (*dewriyye*) within their group. Unlike them, a *mollā* of the first order could hope to be promoted according to established rules. Starting with a *makhredj* post, he might become judge of one of Four (or Five) Cities, thereafter of Mecca or Medina, then of Istanbul, and after serving as *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anatolia and/or Rūmeli he could reach the top, the office of *shaykh al-islām*.

Since the number of these high posts in the judiciary hierarchy was relatively very small, the pressure of the numerous aspirants led in later time to the introduction of intermediate ranks. Henceforth it became customary that before a *mollā* or ex-*mollā* rose to a higher rank he was granted the honorary title (*pāye*) of one of the judgeships of that rank. In the nineteenth century merely honorary ranks (*pāye-i müdjerrede*) were conferred on many *ʿulamāʾ*, officials and notables, who were never to serve as judges.

Completely separate from the greater and lesser *mollā*s became the corps of the ordinary *ḳāḍī*s, who served in smaller towns (*ḳuḍāt-i ḳaṣabāt*) and received a much lower salary (20-150 *aḳče*s a day). Their number, exceeding a thousand in the 11th/17th century, gradually decreased. In the late 12th/18th century there were no more than 456 such *ḳāḍī*s, organized in three groups—Rūmeli, Anatolia and Egypt—each subdivided into a number of classes. While promotion was possible from one class to a higher one, no one could usually pass over to another geographic group. The two most senior members of the highest class (called *sitte*) in each group (*ashrāf-i ḳuḍāt*)—the six *takhta-bashi*s—served as counsellors to their *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker*s in Istanbul.

At first Ottoman judges held a post for many years. To prevent abuse of authority and provide posts for the growing number of candidates, the usual term of office was gradually reduced to one year for *mollā*s and to 24, 20, 18 and finally 12 months for ordinary *ḳāḍī*s. While out of office (*maʿzūl*), they waited in Istanbul for a new appointment, presenting themselves every Wednesday at the *dīwān* of their *ḳāḍī-ʿasker*. While out of office (or in retirement) many *mollā*s resumed teaching at a *medrese*.

Almost all higher judges were recruited from among the professors (*müderris*) of these colleges, who formed the other principal hierarchy of Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*. In earlier times there existed no strict rules for the promotion of the *müderris*es and their appointment to judicial posts. Later, however, admission to the clan of greater *mollā*s was granted only to the *kibār-i müderrisīn*, *i.e.*, professors at the Istanbul *medrese*s which belonged to one of the four highest of the twelve grades of colleges—Mūṣlle-i Süleymāniyye, Khawāmis-i (khāmise-i) Süleymaniyye, Süleymāniyye and, the highest of all, Dār al-Ḥadīth.

Since every year only eight (later eleven) of them "passed out" into this class of judges, promotions to the higher ranks of *müderris*es were necessarily limited. The main bottleneck was the important sixth grade of *medrese*s, the *Ṣaḥn-i Themān* or "Courtyard of the Eight [Medreses at the Fātiḥ Mosque]". Most of the numerous aspirants to these eight *müderris* posts got stuck in the immediately lower grade of the *Mūṣile-i Ṣaḥn*, therefore called "the bog" (*bataḳ*). To satisfy those waiting for promotion, the number of high *müderris* posts was gradually increased, and many nominal appointments were made at *medrese*s that no longer existed.

*Müderris*es at the lower-ranking *medrese*s of Istanbul and the provinces, including even the ancient colleges at Bursa and Edirne, could in later times apply only for a *dewriyye* post or become ordinary *ḳāḍī*s. In the provinces many *müderris*es served simultaneously as *muftī*s. Students (*softa*, *dānishmend*) who had not graduated from one of the higher-ranking *medrese*s of Istanbul were appointed *nāʾib*s or *muftī*s.

The preachers (*wāʿiẓ*) of the main mosques in Istanbul and other cities of the Empire formed a distinct order of the *ʿulamāʾ*. They were organized in a definite hierarchy, the highest position being that of the *Shaykh* of Ayasofya.

The *ʿIlmiyye*, like the other ruling institutions in the Ottoman Empire, began to decay about the end of the 10th/16th century. Favouritism, corruption and inefficiency increasingly spread among the high-ranking *ʿulamāʾ* charged with the administration of justice in the capital and the provinces (for details see ʿULAMĀʾ). The teaching in the *medrese*s suffered also from the general decline in the religious institution. Dogmatism more and more replaced the creative rationalism developed in the Ottoman *medrese*s under Meḥemmed II and Süleymān. The ignorance of the *ʿulamāʾ* trained in the *medrese*s could not but adversely affect the social and economic life of the Ottoman Empire. However, the *ʿulamāʾ* enjoyed the respect of the common people even in the 12th/18th century, when the abuses in the *ʿIlmiyye* reached their peak. This was probably due to the better conduct of the lower ranking *ʿulamāʾ*, who were in closer touch with the people.

By this time the *ʿIlmiyye* had become a conservative class led by an aristocracy of *Mollā* families, collaborating with the Janissaries to maintain their privileges. But the modernization movement, beginning in the early 12th/18th century, caused a decrease in the influence of the Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*. The suppression of the Janissary Odjāḳ in 1826 deprived the *ʿIlmiyye* of military support in exerting their power on State affairs and permitted Sultan Maḥmūd II (1808-39) to establish the Ministry of *Ewḳāf* in 1834, thus ending their control over the *waḳf* lands, the main source of their wealth. Furthermore, the institution of the *niẓāmiyye* courts during the Tan-

ẓimāt period restricted the jurisdiction of the sharʿī courts to the area of personal law. Similarly, the establishment of secular schools largely took over the function of the *medreses* in the field of education.

Attempts to reform the *ʿIlmiyye* were undertaken from the early years of the eighteenth century. The *ḳānūn*s issued by Sultan Selīm III (1789-1807) in the 1790's seem to have had some positive results in restoring order and discipline. Much more effective was the opening in Istanbul of the *Muʿallimkhāne-i nuwwāb* (1854) to train competent *ḳāḍī*s for the *sharʿī* courts. An ambitious reform aiming at the modernization of the Ottoman religious institution took place under the Young Turk regime. Indeed, in 1914 the *Muʿallimkhāne-i nuwwāb* became the *Medreset al-ḳuḍāt*, and the *Dār al-khilāfe* was established in the same year in Istanbul to train able *müderris*es for the *medreses*. Modern subjects—social and physical sciences—were added to the traditional curricula in these new institutions.

The modernization of the Ottoman *ʿIlmiyye* did not bring lasting results; the newly established Turkish Republic abolished the Caliphate on 3 March 1924 and the suppression of the *ʿulamāʾ* and the laicization of the State followed.

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[The unfinished draft of this article was found among the papers of the late Professor Heyd (d. 13 May 1968). The Editors are very grateful to Professor Kuran for completing the text and supplying the bibliography].

(U. HEYD AND E. KURAN)

ILSH [see ALSH].

ILTIZĀM, as a term of rhetoric [see LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM].

ILTIZĀM, a form of tax-farm used in the Ottoman Empire. On the Ottoman *iltizām* in general, see MÜLTEZIM. The immediately following article deals with the *iltizām* in 19th century Egypt. (ED.)

The *iltizām* as an agrarian system was incompatible with Muḥammad ʿAlī's endeavour to establish a centralized bureaucratic régime in Egypt. During the period preceding his rule, *iltizām*s had come to be granted no longer for a year or even for a few years but for the lifetime of the holder, or even as heritable and alienable property. Thus the state was deprived of part of the agricultural revenue. In addition, the hereditary *iltizām*s formed the basis for the emergence of new centres of power. Important *multazim*s of that period were tribal *shaykh*s and *ʿulamāʾ*, who in this capacity amassed considerable riches and achieved great political influence (Djabartī, iv, 68).

During the French occupation of Egypt an attempt had been made to abolish *iltizām* (cf. El Mouelhy, in *BIE*, xxx (1949), 197-228), but the system had been reinstituted later on. In the early years of his reign Muḥammad ʿAlī imposed a growing burden of direct taxes (*i.e.*, not levied through the *multazim*s) on the fellahs, and confiscated part of the *multazim*s' *fāʾiḍ* (profit), and in 1808-10 even the entire *iltizām*s of *multazim*s who were unable to pay their dues. In March 1811 Muḥammad ʿAlī staged the great massacre of the Mamlūks, and later that year he set up a special *dīwān* which, by collecting information and hearing fellah grievances, undermined the standing of the *multazim*s in the country. After the final defeat of the Mamlūks in Upper Egypt in April-May 1812 all *iltizām*s in Upper Egypt were confiscated without compensation. They were not transferred to other *multazim*s but remained in the hands of the state under the name of *al-maḍbūṭ*. In February-March 1814 the *iltizām*s in Lower Egypt were likewise confiscated and the land transferred to the state. Here, however, former *multazim*s received an annual grant for life (which later became hereditary) equal to their former *fāʾiḍ*. Despite strong pressure from the army and the *ʿulamāʾ* in 1815-6, Muḥammad ʿAlī managed to maintain his reforms and buy off the claimants and rebels with empty promises.

Ūsya land, the part of the *iltizām* granted to the *multazim* for his own use, was confiscated along with the *iltizām*s in Upper Egypt. In Lower Egypt the agitation of the *multazim*s resulted in their being allowed usufruct rights on such land. Originally *ūsya* was supposed to revert to the state on the death of the *multazim*s, but these latter made a practice of endowing their *ūsya*s as *waḳf ahlī*. In order to forestall this, Saʿīd decreed, in 1855, that whoever possessed rights to *ūsya* was permitted to bequeath them, and that such land would revert to the state only on the extinction of the family's line.

The annual pension of the Lower Egyptian *multazim*s was small, because they had in general contrived to reduce payments to the state by declaring a smaller income than they had had in fact; moreover, it was reduced at frequent intervals and paid only in part. Between 1821 and 1835 it declined from 6,000 to 2,500 *kīs*; it was superseded according to laws of the years 1889 and 1894 by a single, once-for-all, payment.

All the foregoing relates to *iltizām* of the land tax only; the farming (*iltizām* or *muḳāṭaʿa*, in European sources *appalto*) of urban taxes, of the sale or production of specified goods and of the supply of certain services persisted until the 1870's. Such *iltizām*s, which were put up for auction (*mazād*), included at different periods the following: customs and octrois, stamp duty, sale of salt, wines and spirits, senna, various seeds, and palm-leaves, the farming of specific markets (the cattle market as late as 1900), hunting and fishing (the Maṭariyya fishing as late as 1893), textile and other factories which had been established by Muḥammad ʿAlī at the time of their decline (in the 1850's and 1860's), the publishing of the Official Gazette (1863), transport on the boats of the Nile, slaughterhouses, weighing in various towns, auctions, and fees on successions. Laws of 1843 and 1855 laid down regulations for the attendance of *multazim*s at auctions, prohibited collusion among them and fixed penalties for selling at exorbitant prices, extortion of excessive dues and other offences. *Iltizām*s were abolished as soon as suitable officials and clerks could be found by the

state to take over services or levy dues directly. Their abolition usually resulted in a considerable rise in revenue.

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(G. Baer)

ILTUTMISH, b. Ēlam Khān, the greatest of the so-called Slave kings who laid the foundations of Muslim rule in India, came of the Ilberī (or Alprī) branch of the Ḳarākhitāʾī Turks. The third sultan of the Slave dynasty and the founder of the Shamsiyya line of rulers, he ascended the throne of Delhi in 607/1211 after defeating Ārām Shāh, son and successor of his master Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], who had purchased him as a slave in Delhi. Nothing in detail is known about his early life except that he spent a part of it in slavery at Ghazna, Bukhārā and Baghdād. He very soon won the confidence of Aybak, who rapidly promoted him to high offices of state and married his daughter to him. Before his accession to the throne he successively held the governorship of Gwāliyār [*q.v.*], Baran and Badāʾūn [*q.v.*], and finally became the commander-in-chief. Historians do not brand him ungrateful, for he occupied the throne only with the approval of the *ʿulamāʾ* and at the invitation of the nobles, who were dissatisfied with the rule of Ārām Shāh. The first three or four years of his reign were spent in preparing to meet the threat posed by Tādj al-Dīn Yïldïz, governor of Ghazna as the suzerain of India. In fact he issued letters patent to Iltutmish as his viceroy. On being driven out from Ghazna by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh in 611/1214, Yïldïz took refuge in Lahore, seized the city and expelled the governor who held it on behalf of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča, the ruler of Multān and also a son-in-law of Aybak. Iltutmish, as Ḳabāča's sovereign, protested, and on Yïldïz's refusal to withdraw marched against him and defeated him in a pitched battle at Tarāʾoṛī in 612/1215. Yïldïz was taken prisoner and despatched to Badāʾūn, where he died in confinement the same year. Thereafter Ḳabāča re-occupied Lahore, and in 614/1217 Iltutmish had to dislodge him forcibly. In 619/1221 Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh, fleeing from the Mongols, also sought refuge in Lahore and asked Iltutmish for asylum. Sensing danger to his dominions, Iltutmish diplomatically warded off the threat by diverting the Khwārazmians towards the refractory Ḳabāča whose territory they plundered and on whom they also levied heavy tribute.

Feeling now secure at home, Iltutmish in 622/1225 marched against Bengal, where Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿIwaḍ Khaldjī had declared his independence. On Iltutmish's approach ʿIwaḍ lost heart, submitted to the sultan and acknowledged his overlordship. Next year Iltutmish turned to Ranthamboṛ and Mandāwar (near Bidjnawr) and captured both places.

Firmly settled on the throne, he now decided to settle old scores with his rival Ḳabāča. He consequently attacked in 625/1227 Uččh [*q.v.*], the seat of Ḳabāča's government, and invested the town, which surrendered after a heroic resistance of some three months. In the meantime Ḳabāča, who had fled to Bhakkar [*q.v.*], was drowned in the Indus while trying to escape.

After the defeat of Ḳabāča, Malik Sinān al-Dīn Čanēsar, the ruler of lower Sind and Daybul [*q.v.*], acknowledged the supremacy of Iltutmish and became his vassal. In 626/1229 an embassy, led by Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī [*q.v.*], bringing the robes of honour for the sultan, his sons and the nobles, arrived from the ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Mustanṣir biʾllāh [*q.v.*] and was received with great pomp. This is the first occasion when an Indian Muslim ruler was recognized by the caliph as the sultan of India. To mark the occasion Iltutmish issued a new silver coin bearing the legend "*Nāṣir Amīr al-Muʾminīn*", showing his allegiance. It was also inscribed in Nāgarī on the billon currency.

Next year (627/1230) Iltutmish had again to march to Bengal, where, on the death of his son and deputy Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, confusion prevailed and a certain Balkā Khaldjī had risen in revolt. The rebel was brought to book, peace was restored in the country and the sultan returned to his capital. In 630/1233 Iltutmish after a prolonged siege recaptured Gwāliyār which had reverted to the Hindūs. In 632/1234 he invaded Mālwā, captured the fort of Bhīlsā, sacked Udjdjayn and demolished the sacred temple of Mahākālī, together with the stone image of Rādjā Vikramādityā, after whom the current Hindū era is known.

Soon after his triumphal return from Mālwā a serious religious disturbance broke out at Delhi. The Ismāʿīlīs, who had come to establish themselves at Delhi, after having been driven out from their former stronghold of Multān by Muḥammad Ghūrī, made an attempt on the life of the sultan while engaged in the Friday prayer. The sultan escaped unhurt but the heretics were hunted down and killed. As a measure of retaliation and in order to mop up suspected pockets of Ismāʿīlīs in Multān, Iltutmish in 633/1235-6 mounted an expedition against the Gakkhaṛs [*q.v.*], who then professed Ismāʿīlism. There was reason to suppose that it was they who were behind the plot against his life. He, however, fell seriously ill on the way, was carried back to Delhi, and after a rule of 26 years, died in Shaʿbān 633/April 1236.

An enterprising, able and efficient monarch, he has been described as the foremost of the slave kings. A deeply religious man, he had great respect for the *mashāʾikh* and *ʿulamāʾ*. Among the literati who adorned his court were Amīr Rūḥānī, the poet and philosopher, who had migrated from Bukhārā, Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ʿAwfī, author of *Lubāb al-albāb* and *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, and Minhādj-i Sirādj al-Djūzdjānī [*q.v.*], the celebrated historian. In 629/1231-2 he founded the famous Ḳuṭb Mīnār, in honour of the saint Khwādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtyār Kākī, to whom he was deeply devoted, and in 627/1229 built the Ḥawḍ Shamsī, the water reservoir of old Delhi. For those seeking justice he had a bell with a chain installed on the gate of his palace which anyone could ring (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 164). Ably helped by the capable vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIṣāmī, who had served the caliphs in Baghdād, he streamlined the administration, as is reflected in the manual of Fakhr-i Mudabbir, the *Ādāb al-ḥarb waʾl-shadjāʿa*, which was presented to the sultan. The inner circle of *ghulāms*, known as the *čihl-gānī* (Forty), grew very powerful and gained historic significance during his reign. It was they who op-

posed the nomination of his daughter Raḍiyya as his successor to the throne, while Iltutmis͟h lay on his deathbed; they were, however, disbanded by Balban.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ILYĀS is the name given in the Ḳurʾān (VI, 85 and XXXVII, 123, with a variant Ilyāsīn, perhaps prompted by the rhyme, in verse 130), to the Biblical prophet Elijah; the form Ilyās derives from Ἐλιας, a Hellenized adjustment, but attested also in Syrian and Ethiopic, of the Hebrew name Eliyāh (ū): cf. Jos. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 81, 99, 101. In the Ḳurʾān, the figure of Ilyās scarcely shows any outstanding features, except for one allusion (in XXXVII, 125) to the worship of Baal. In the Muslim legend related by later authors, there may be noted on the one hand the more or less faithful use of the Biblical facts (I Kings XVII to II Kings II), with a genealogical linking, inspired by the Jewish Aggada, of Ilyās to the priestly line of Aaron (Hārūn) through Pinḥas; and on the other hand the confusion of the character of Elijah/Ilyās with al-K͟haḍir (-K͟hiḍr) and Idrīs [*qq.v.*]. The legend of more especially Biblical inspiration therefore reports, with details which vary according to the authorities, the drought caused by the intervention of the prophet to whom God had transmitted His power over the rain, the choice of Elisha (Alīsaʿ [*q.v.*]), confused with the son of the widow of Zarephath, as a disciple, the episodes of the priests of Baal, of Naboth, and of the soldiers sent to arrest the man of God, the ascension on a horse (in the Bible: a chariot) of fire, etc. To this last episode is added the transfiguration of Ilyās into a creature half-human and half-angel; although it is not possible to assign to it a precise source, this speculation reflects Jewish legends. The immortality attributed to Ilyās and to his homologue K͟haḍir makes these two characters into supernatural beings, practically guardian spirits, who share, in varying ways according to the various documents, the function of being able to save those in desperate situations, by land and by sea. For the same reason they held and still hold an important role in mystical initiation, as well as in popular beliefs.

The speculations which already appear in the New Testament on the mystical identity of John the Baptist and Elijah are the subject of an allusion in al-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, § 40, cf. index, p. 21.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 415, 540 ff. (Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. H. Zotenberg, i, 409, 411, 373); idem, *Tafsīr*, vii, 158 (new ed. xi, 508-10, xxiii, 52-56); *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa-'l-taʾrīk͟h*, iii, 99-100, 101-3; T͟haʿlabī, *al-ʿArāʾis wa 'l-mad͟jālis* (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*), Cairo 1371-1951, 149-154; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Leipzig 1902, 187 ff. (English trans. *Judaism and Islam*, Madras 1898, 151 ff.); H. Speyer, *Die biblische Erzählungen im Qoran*, 61; L. Massignon, *Elie et son rôle transhistorique, Khadirîya, en Islam*, in *Études Carmélitaines*, ii (1955-6), 265-84 (= *Opera Minora*, i, 1963, 142-61); H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabi*, Paris 1958, 26, 44 ff., 193; Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pélerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1957, 9/tr. 20. See also the bibliographies to the articles IDRĪS and K͟HIḌR and, on the Jewish legend, L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, iv, 1913, 195-235, vi, 1928, 316-42; E. Margulies, *Eliyāhū ha-nabīʾ*, Jerusalem 1960.

(A. J. WENSINCK-[G. VAJDA])

ILYĀSIDS, a minor dynasty which ruled in Kirmān in south-eastern Persia during the middle decades of the 4th/10th century. Their establishment there marks the final severance of Kirmān from direct Caliphal control, which had been restored earlier in the century after the collapse of the Ṣaffārid empire.

The founder, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ilyās, was a commander in the Sāmānid army and of Soghdian origin. He was involved in the revolt against the Sāmānid Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad of his brothers in 317/929, and when the rebellion collapsed in 320/932, he withdrew to Kirmān and seized power there. He withstood Sāmānid forces sent against him, but in 324/936 had to flee temporarily to the Ṣaffārids in Sīstān when a Būyid army under Aḥmad b. Būya (the later Muʿizz al-Dawla) invaded Kirmān from Fārs. The Būyid forces later withdrew and Muḥammad b. Ilyās returned; he was now unmolested in his principality, whilst recognising the nominal overlordship of the Sāmānids. Some sources condemn Muḥammad b. Ilyās as an *ʿayyār* and *ṣaʿlūk, i.e.*, as an adventurer and brigand, and it does seem that he had understandings with the predatory Ḳufṣ and Balūč mountaineers of Kirmān for the division of their spoils. On the other hand, the Arab geographers credit him with considerable activity in building and charitable works throughout the province. During his reign, the capital of Kirmān was transferred from Sīrad͟jān in the west, which had been the chief town in the early Islamic period, to Bardasīr or Gwādasīr (the later city of Kirmān), apparently as a protective measure against the neighbouring Būyids of Fārs.

Muḥammad b. Ilyās died in 356/967, having at some time before this made over Kirmān to his son Ilyasaʿ. Ilyasaʿ maintained his power against his brother and rival Sulaymān. However, he was not long able to withstand the powerful and agressive Būyid Amīr ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. He was speedily driven out by the latter, and fled to the Sāmānids (357/968). This really marks the end of Ilyāsid rule

in Kirmān, except that further members of the family continued for some years to hover round the borders of Kirmān seeking an opportunity to intervene. Sulaymān and another Ilyāsid, al-Ḥusayn, led armies in Kirmān, aided by the turbulent Ḳufṣ and Balūč, but without success. After 364/975, the Ilyāsids disappear from recorded history, and the Būyid hold on Kirmān was henceforth undisturbed until Ghaznavid times.

Bibliography: The main sources are Miskawayh and Ibn al-Athīr, to be supplemented by ʿUtbī's *Yamīnī*, by scattered notices in the geographers and by the 6th/12th century local history of Kirmān, the *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā* of Afḍal al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Kirmānī; see also Zambaur, *Manuel*, 216. All these sources are utilized in the study of C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān*, in the *Minorsky memorial volume* (*forthcoming*).

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ʿIMĀD AL-DAWLA, ʿALĪ B. BUWAYH (or Būyeh), the eldest by many years, but the least known, of the three Daylamī [*q.v.*] brothers who became the founders of the dynasty of the Buwayhids or Būyids [*q.v.*]. At first in the service, together with a group of his compatriots, of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (321-9 [*q.v.*]), then of his lieutenant in Iran, Mākān b. Kākī [*q.v.*], he betrayed the latter in favour of his rival Mardāwīdj [*q.v.*], from whom he obtained, in equivocal circumstances (and thanks to his relations with the secretary of the governor of Rayy, the father of the future vizier Ibn al-ʿAmīd), the governorship of Karadj and of the Māh al-Baṣra [*q.v.*]. By means of calculated acts of generosity with funds drawn from the treasuries and storehouses, in particular of the Khurramis, to which he managed to gain access, he gathered round him there a large number of Daylamīs ready to serve the employer who offered most. This naturally aroused the anxiety of Mardāwīdj, who prepared to attack him. Then ʿAlī, taking the initiative, occupied for a short time Iṣfahān, which he was unable this time to hold, and then, definitively, the citadel of Arradjan [*q.v.*], where he set himself up in open rebellion (321/923). In the following year he drove out from Fārs the caliph's governor Yāḳūt, in spite of the support received by the latter from the independent governor of Baṣra, al-Barīdī [*q.v.*]. Threatened by a combined offensive by all his enemies, he obtained from the caliph's vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] his official recognition as *muḳtaʿ* of Fārs, attempted to negotiate with Mardāwīdj, and was finally saved, without apparently being involved himself, by the assassination of Mardāwīdj at the beginning of 323/935. He thus became master of the situation in central Iran, operated a policy of combined force and diplomacy towards the various neighbouring princes or governors, sent his brother al-Ḥasan (the future Rukn al-Dawla, 329/940-1) to occupy Rayy, while the other brother Aḥmad (the future Muʿizz al-Dawla), extended his power over Kirmān and Khuzistān, whence he finally seized Baghdād and brought the caliph under his control (334/945). It was then that the three brothers acquired the honorifics by which they are known in history. At this time, ʿImād al-Dawla, old and grown feeble, was attempting mainly to obtain more peaceful relations with the Sāmānids to the north-east and to ensure a peaceful succession to the man he had chosen to follow him: in the absence of a son of his own, the son of his brother Rukn al-Dawla, Fanākhusraw, the future ʿAḍud al-Dawla. Thus there took place his interview in Ahwāz with his brother Muʿizz al-Dawla, soon after which he died (338/949). All that is known of his governorship is the way he sought out various treasuries in order to distribute them among his army. He had at that time a Christian secretary, Isrāʾīl b. Mūsā, who fell victim to intrigues by Muslim rivals. The establishment of Muʿizz al-Dawla in Baghdād, in spite of the superiority which this conferred on him in the eyes of many Muslims, never prevented ʿImād's considering himself, and being considered by his brothers, as head of the family.

Bibliography: See art. BŪYIDS. Since that article was published there have appeared several important studies on the Būyids in general which, although they mention ʿImād al-Dawla only in passing, may be mentioned here (with the addition of the thesis by Mafizullah Kabīr, now published as *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964): J. C. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAḍud al-Dawla*, Wiesbaden 1965; C. E. Bosworth, *Military organisation under the Buyids of Persia and Iraq*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1967), 143-67; H. Büsse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, Die Buyiden in Bagdad*, 1968. (CL. CAHEN)

ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-KĀTIB AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, famous stylist and historian, born at Iṣfahān in 519/1125 of a distinguished family to which belonged also the famous *kātib* al-ʿAzīz, whose biography is given in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld no. 77 (cf., concerning him, Houtsma. *Recueil*, ii, preface, XIX ff.). He spent his youth in his native town and at Ḳashān, but studied in Baghdād, in particular *fiḳh*, and made a journey to Mosul and other places. When the Saldjūḳid sultan Muḥammad II laid siege unsuccessfully to Baghdād in 551/1156, ʿImād al-Dīn was in the city and congratulated the caliph on the failure of the siege in a *ḳaṣīda* which earned him the favour of the vizier Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*]. The latter appointed him his *nāʾib* at Wāsiṭ; but after the death of the vizier (Djumādā I 559/March-April 1164), he lost his position and passed the next two years in some poverty. Finally, thanks to the patronage of the vizier al-Shahrazūrī, he turned to the Zangids of Syria, who knew his family, especially his uncle al-ʿAzīz mentioned above. Thus he received a benevolent welcome: he was appointed *kātib* by the sultan Nūr al-Dīn and, later, *mudarris* in a *madrasa* built in his honour. In addition, he was entrusted with a diplomatic mission to the caliph and ended by being appointed *mushrif* of the *Dīwān*. But after the death of Nūr al-Dīn in 569/1173, his enemies succeeded in supplanting him, so that he was forced to abandon his office and to go to Mosul. There he fell ill, but recovered and returned to Syria when he learned that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was planning to invade it. When the latter had taken Ḥimṣ (652/1175), ʿImād al-Dīn sent him his greetings in a poem, gained great influence with him and accompanied him on all his expeditions. After Saladin's death (589/1193), he returned to private life and devoted himself to literary work until his death (597/1201).

He produced a voluminous anthology of the Arab poets of the 6th/12th century, the *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr wa-djarīdat ahl al-ʿaṣr* (part on Egypt, Cairo 1951; on ʿIrāḳ, Bagdad 1955; on Syria, Damascus n.d.; on Maghrib, Tunis 1966), which is a continuation of *Yatīmat al-dahr* of al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*]; ʿImād al-Dīn completed his anthology with some notes written, like his other works, in a scholarly and mannered style, in the tradition of the *kuttāb*, the high-ranking secretary-epistolographers of the administration

(notably Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ and al-ʿUtbī). In the same style and on a wider scale, he wrote the most remarkable of his works, *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī fiʾl-fatḥ al-ḳudsī* ("Ḳussian eloquence [see ḲUSS B. SĀʿIDA] on the conquest of Jerusalem"; ed. Landberg, Leiden 1886; also Cairo 1322 (French trans. by H. Massé, in the press) beginning, as he says in his introduction (text p. 3) "at the beginning of 583"/ 13 March 1187; while admiring the author's verbal virtuosity, it must be admitted that the complications of style and vocabulary (antitheses, synonyms, phrases with double meanings, conceits, archaic expressions, and allusions, says de Slane, *H.O.C.*, iv, v) often mar this masterpiece, the narrative and documentary merits of which are undoubted; it is the work of an eye-witness—embracing warlike operations, the authority, the activities and the qualities of the sultan, and the role that ʿImād al-Dīn played by the writing of his diplomatic letters (several of which he inserts verbatim in his book). "His account has the value of a first-hand source, by an eye-witness or by an archivist who makes use of chancery documents" (G. Wiet).

In addition to *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, ʿImād al-Dīn's historical works are as follows: —

1. *Nuṣrat al-fatra*, the first history of the great Seldjūḳs. The nucleus of the work was the lost Persian memoirs of Anūsharvān b. Khālid (d. 738/ 1137: cf. Browne, ii, 36 and index), which ʿImād al-Dīn rendered into Arabic, with much additional material and stylistic embellishment. Completed in 579/1183, it survives only in an abridgement made in 623/1126 by al-Bundārī [*q.v.*], and published by T. Houtsma in *Recueil*, ii.

2. *al-Barḳ al-Shāmī* (562/1166-589/1193), an autobiographical account of the wars of Saladin, whom he served as secretary. Two parts only survive in manuscript, both in the Bodleian. They are part iii, covering the years 573/1177-575/1179, and part v, covering the years 578/1182-579/1183. An abridgement by al-Bundārī of the first (?) half, entitled *Sanā al-Barḳ al-Shāmī*, exists in a unique manuscript in the Esad Efendi collection in Istanbul, and will shortly be published in an edition by Dr. R. Şeşen. It covers the years 562/1166-583/1187. There are extensive and numerous citations from the *Barḳ*, in an abridged form, in the *Rawḍatayn* of Abū Shāma [*q.v.*].

3. Continuations after the death of Saladin, up to ? 597 are cited as *al-ʿUtba waʾl-Uḳba* (Abū Shāma, ii, 228-31), *Niḥlat al-Riḥla* (*ibid.*, ii, 231-2), *Khatfat al-Bāriḥ waʿaṭfat al-Shāriḥ* (*ibid.*, ii, 233-45). They are also mentioned by al-Bundārī in his introduction to the *Sanā*, as three volumes on three years.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 314-5; S I, 548-9; Ibn Khallikān, no. 715; *H.O.C.*, iv, pp. III-v; Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber*, no. 62; H. A. R. Gibb, *Al-Barq al-Shāmī the history of Saladin by the Kātib ʿImād ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī*, in *WZKM*, lii (1953), 93-115; J. Kraemer, *Der Sturz des Königreichs Jerusalem (583/1187) in der Darstellung des ʿImād ad-Dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī*, Wiesbaden 1952; Lewis and Holt, *Historians*, index.

(H. MASSÉ)

ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN ZANKĪ [see ZANKĪ].

ʿIMĀD AL-MULK, GHĀZI ʾL-DĪN KHĀN, FĪRŪZ DJANG (III), was named Shihāb al-Dīn after his great-grandfather Ghāzi ʾl-Dīn Khān, Fīrūz Djang I [see SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, MIR]. His mother was the daughter of the *wazīr*, Ḳamar al-Dīn Khān (d. 1161/1746). He was eight years old when his father, (Mīr) Muḥammad Panāh [*q.v.*] died suddenly at Awrangābād in 1165/1752 during his abortive attempt to seize the viceroyalty of the Deccan. On his father's departure for the Deccan, Shihāb al-Dīn had been left behind at Delhi in the care of the minister, Abu ʾl-Manṣūr Ṣafdar Djang [*q.v.*]. He seems to have been a precocious but cunning child, much older than his years, for he ingeniously obtained, early in life, the office of *Mīr Bakhshī* (Quartermaster-general) with the help of Ṣafdar Djang. Fired with ambition, he turned against his patron and in 1167/1754 called in the Marāṭhās, who deposed and blinded Aḥmad Shāh (1161-7/1748-54) and installed ʿAlamgīr II as emperor of Delhi. A born diplomat, he was well-versed in the art of statesmanship. In 1169/1755, on the death of his maternal uncle Mīr Muʿīn al-Mulk (Mīr Munnū) b. Iʿtimād al-Dawla Ḳamar al-Dīn Khān, who was governor of the Pandjāb, he captured Lahore and made it over to Ādīnā Bēg Khān, the paramour of Mughulāni Bēgam, widow of Mīr Munnū. Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī [*q.v.*], furious at the rise of this upstart, at once marched on Lahore (1170/1756), expelled Ādīna Bēg Khān and soon thereafter went to Delhi with ʿImād al-Mulk in attendance. ʿImād al-Mulk now sided with the Durrani chieftain and took part in the operations against Sūradj Mal Djāt of Bharatpur [*q.v.*] and Shudjāʿ al-Dawla of Awadh [*q.v.*]. His ingratitude earned the displeasure of the Abdālī, who appointed Nadjīb al-Dawla *Amīr al-Umarāʾ* of Hindustan. On Aḥmad Shāh's departure from India ʿImād al-Mulk, seeking revenge, besieged Nadjīb al-Dawla in the fort of Delhi and had the effete emperor ʿĀlamgīr II murdered in 1173/1759. This enraged the Abdāli, who marched out to India and succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the Marāṭhās, allies of ʿImād al-Mulk, at the third battle of Pānipāt in 1175/ 1761.

ʿImād al-Mulk's game of power-politics was now practically over. Afraid of his powerful adversaries, he sought protection among the Djāts and stayed for a time with Sūradj Mal; on his death in 1177/1763 he went to live with Aḥmad Khān Bangash, Nawwāb of Farrūkhābād (d. 1185/1771). Two years later, he went to the Deccan and received some land in Kālpī from the Marāṭhās in consideration of his past services. Feeling insecure there, he went to Sūrat to live with the British; he was seen by Col. Goddard disguised as a pilgrim and was for a time put into confinement (cf. Mill, *History of India*, ii, 414). After his release he went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and was seen in Sind in 1195/1781, having returned to India *via* Baṣra and Ḳandahār. He subsequently sought service with Tīmūr Shāh Abdālī (*reg.* 1187-1207/1773-93) and was in the employ of Zamān Shāh (*reg.* 1207-16/1793-1801) when he invaded the Pandjāb in 1211/1797. He lingered in obscurity for some time and died at Kālpī on 10 Rabīʿ II 1215/ 1 September 1800, aged 54 years.

A *ḥāfiẓ*, a good scholar and a fine penman, he composed poetry in Persian, Arabic, Urdu and Turkish under the pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) of "Āṣaf", which he later abandoned for "Niẓām". His Persian *dīwān* (MSS in British Museum and at Leningrad) was published in 1301/1883-4. His other poetical compositions include a poem in praise of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (*Manḳabat-i Niẓām dar madḥ-iʿAlī*), a *ḳaṣīda* and some *mathnawī*s on the miracles of the saint Fakhr al-Dīn Čishtī Shāhdjahānābādī, whose life also he wrote under the title *Manāḳib-i Fakhriyya* (ed. Delhi 1315/1897). He had four sons, of whom Ḥamīd al-Dawla entered the service of

Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh II and obtained the rank of "5,000".

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ʿIMĀD SHĀHĪ, the title of a ruling family, founded by a Hindu convert to Islam, which ruled over Berar [*q.v.*] for nearly a century from 896/1490 until 982/1574. The founder of the dynasty, Daryā Khān, better known to history by his title Fatḥ Allāh ʿImād al-Mulk, was descended from the Canarese Brahmans of Vidjyanagar [*q.v.*]. He fell as a prisoner of war in 827/1423 into the hands of Khān-i Djahān, the commander-in-chief of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] forces in Berar, who appointed him to his personal bodyguard. Impressed by his talents and ability Khān-i Djahān quickly promoted him to offices of trust and distinction. After the death of his master, Fatḥ Allāh joined the court at Bīdar [*q.v.*] and through the good offices of the chief minister Khwādja Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] received the title of ʿImād al-Mulk from Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī II (*reg.* 867/1463-887/1482). In 876/1471 he was appointed governor and commander of the forces in Berar, *i.e.*, to the office which his former master Khān-i Djahān had occupied. It appears however that towards the end of his life, although technically owing allegiance to the court at Bīdar, he considered himself the virtual ruler of Berar, as was done by the early Nawwāb-Wazīrs of Awadh [*q.v.*] during the Moghul rule.

Partly because the founder of the dynasty was a convert, who had risen to power through military exploits, and partly because the rulers had little love for literature and art, no history of this dynasty was ever recorded and no man of letters paid any attention to the story of their rise and fall. Were it not for references to this dynasty in the histories of the neighbouring kingdoms, practically nothing would be known about them (Firishta devotes a separate section of his work to this dynasty). No buildings or works of art or public utility constructed during their rule have been discovered; they rather devoted their time to the welfare of their subjects and the prosperity of their state. Another reason for their not finding a historian to record their deeds was that theirs was the only Sunnī kingdom in a cluster of Shīʿī states attracting Iranian men of letters, some of whom settled down in the subcontinent and took to the profession of writing. Consequently even the boundaries of this state are not precisely known. It is known however, to have extended from the Andjādrī hills to the Gōdāwarī, while on the west it bordered on Aḥmadnagar and Khāndēsh [*qq.v.*]. Its eastern limits are uncertain; the region, including the site of the present-day city of Nāgpūr, was covered with jungle.

Soon after his appointment as governor of Berar, Fatḥ Allāh was sent on an expedition against Rāi Vidjay Singh of Vīragadh. He reduced the fort after a siege of six months, compelling the ruler to evacuate his ancestral home "leaving behind his public treasures and hereditary wealth". In 877/1472, along with the chief minister Maḥmūd Gāwān and Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān, who was later destined to become the founder of the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty of Bīdjāpūr, he took part in the expedition against Belgām, which was conquered and added to the *djāgīr* of the chief minister. On the execution of Maḥmūd Gāwān on a charge of treason in 886/1581, ʿImād al-Mulk became apprehensive of his own safety and showed signs of disaffection. Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī II, fearing an open rebellion, placated him by confirming him in his government of Berar. In 887/1482, on the accession of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī II, a lad of twelve, he was raised to the office of a minister in reward for the slaughter of "foreigners" (*gharībān*), the supporters and adherents of Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān, the governor of Bīdjāpūr, thus paving the way for Niẓām al-Mulk, a Dakhni nobleman, to usurp all power for himself (the king being a minor). At the same time Shaykh (Firishta purposely uses this word—used in the subcontinent as an honorific for converts to Islam belonging to respectable families—to show their non-Muslim origin) ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, the eldest son of ʿImād al-Mulk, was appointed his father's deputy in Berar. In course of time ʿImād al-Mulk became so powerful that in conjunction with Niẓām al-Mulk he conducted all the affairs of the government during the minority of the king, enjoying throughout the support of the queen-mother. Maḥmūd Shāh, smarting under the overbearing attitude of the two ministers and provoked by the casual remark of a Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] courtier, ordered their assassination. Both of them, however, managed to escape with their lives, being expert swordsmen. ʿImād al-Mulk retired to his government of Berar, nursing a grudge against the monarch and watching for an opportunity to shake off his yoke.

A few years later he declared his independence in 890/1484, striking his own coins and causing the *khuṭba* to be read in his own name. Yet he refrained from calling himself "Shāh", either out of respect for the royal family whom he had once served or (more probably) out of political expediency. He was not destined to enjoy the fruits of independence long, as in that very year he died. He was succeeded by his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who, confident that the effete Bahmanī monarch could not assert himself, assumed the title of Shāh in 896/1490; he established his court at Kāvēl, following the example of Malik Aḥmad Baḥrī, son of the late Niẓām al-Mulk and Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān of Bīdjāpūr, who had earlier in 895/1489 declared their independence, the former founding the city of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*].

In 910/1504 Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, son of Ḳāsim Barīd, the regent of Bīdar [*q.v.*], who had won full control over Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, in league with Malik Aḥmad Baḥrī invaded the territories of Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh in order to punish him for professing the Shīʿa faith (all the other states around and the entire Muslim population of the Deccan were Sunnī). Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh struck back strongly, compelling Maḥmūd Shāh and Amīr ʿAlī Barīd to seek help from others, including ʿImād al-Mulk.

This "aged and experienced statesman" as Firishta describes him, resolved to maintain strict neutrality, and having perceived the intentions of Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, who was exploiting religion only to destroy Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh, interceded with the king on behalf of Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh. Amīr Barīd, now left practically alone, fled from the field along with the king, leaving the royal camp to be looted by the allies.

Ten years later, in 920/1514, Maḥmūd Shāh, whose prestige had suffered considerably and who was now tired of the overbearing behaviour of Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, escaped to Kāvēl and, with the help of ʿImād al-Mulk's troops, marched on Gulbarga [q.v.], the capital of Barīd. Barīd decided to give battle and sallied forth from the citadel. Meanwhile, Maḥmūd Shāh, who was weak both in body and mind owing to old age, suddenly decided to change sides and join the troops of Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, thus putting ʿImād al-Mulk in a difficult situation. ʿImād al-Mulk immediately repaired to his own country, leaving the fickle king to his fate. After this misadventure, Maḥmūd Shāh, unfit to carry on the duties and functions of state any longer, gave himself up to a life of dissipation and debauchery and died soon thereafter.

In 934/1527 Amīr ʿAlī Barīd occupied the forts of Māhūr and Rāmgir; these were in the possession of Khudāwand Khān, the Ḥabshī minister of Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt. who applied to ʿImād al-Mulk for help. The latter at once marched out with his troops and was able to recover the two forts without a blow and proceeded to annex them to his own kingdom. This act of usurpation aroused the hostility of Burhān Niẓām Shāh I [see NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS]. Consequently, frequent battles were fought between the two ruling houses, who were also related to each other, resulting in the defeat of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād Shāh.

In 930-1/1524-5, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn joined hands with Burhān Niẓām Shāh I, his former enemy, to recover the fort of Shōlāpūr, which Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh had promised to give to his sister Maryam as part of her dowry when she was given in marriage to Burhān Niẓām Shāh. Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh stoutly opposed this joint invasion and finally ʿImād al-Mulk fled.

Yet he continued to smart under the insult that he had suffered at the hands of Burhān Niẓām Shāh. Consequently in 933/1527 he occupied the fort of Pātrī, belonging to Burhān Niẓām Shāh, at the instigation of Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh and Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh of Golconda [q.v.]; it was recovered after a siege of two months by Burhān Niẓām Shāh, who later completely destroyed it. Flushed with his victory Burhān Shāh proceeded to reduce some other places in Berar, spreading panic in the land. ʿImād al-Mulk, finding himself unable to withstand alone the onslaught of the Aḥmadnagar troops, fled to Burhānpūr [q.v.] and sought the help of its ruler Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh Fārūḳī in repelling the invasion. The allies, however, suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Burhān Niẓām Shāh, losing their guns and elephants. Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, burning for revenge, appealed to Bahādur Shāh (*reg.* 932/1525-943/1537) of Gudjarāt, who was also his maternal uncle, to come to their relief. Bahādur Shāh readily agreed and marched in 934-5/1527-8 towards the Deccan with a large army. When he reached Djālnapūr his intentions changed and he thought of seizing Berar. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād Shāh, sensing his intentions, lost no time in satisfying his vanity and readily acknowledged his supremacy by having the *khuṭba* read in his name. By this act of expediency he not only saved his own territory but induced Bahādur Shāh to attack Aḥmadnagar and humble its sovereign. Burhān Niẓām Shāh, being unable to resist such a powerful monarch as Bahādur Shāh, had to submit to the invader. Bahādur Shāh reached Aḥmadnagar unopposed and took up his residence in the palace of Burhān Niẓām Shāh I, where he regaled himself for forty days. Burhān Niẓām Shāh I, however, continued to harass the Gudjarāt troops by frequent skirmishes until he was obliged to sue for peace and to promise to return the forts and elephants he had captured (although he later broke his word). The object being achieved, both ʿImād al-Mulk and Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh returned jubilantly to their respective capitals.

Two years later, in 937/1532, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād al-Mulk died and was succeeded by his eldest son Daryā ʿImād Shāh. He was married to Khadīdja, a sister of Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjāpūr (and not to his daughter as inadvertently stated by Firishta in another place, cf. Brigg's trans., iii, 488), and born of a Hindu princess, whom Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh had married. A consummate statesman, he was well-versed in the art of diplomacy, as was shown on the occasion when he found himself in a difficult situation as a result of the march of Bahādur Shāh against Aḥmadnagar, whose ruler, although his close relative, did not scruple to engage in an armed conflict with ʿImād Shāh, and who had to pay for his fault by submitting to the Gudjarāt monarch.

The history of the reign of Daryā ʿImād Shāh is so dispersed throughout the pages of Firishta that it requires patient research to piece it together. His account is extremely meagre; nevertheless, it is from the work of this author supplemented by the *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, that a readable account of his reign can be gleaned. The story is so involved and entangled that even a clear-headed and experienced historian like Firishta confused Daryā ʿImād Shāh with his father ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād Shāh in describing the events after 939/1532 (although on Firishta's own showing ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād Shāh had died in that year). He admits that he failed to obtain any written account of the ʿImād Shāhīs and hence had to depend on oral traditions and hearsay (cf. Brigg's trans., iii, 500).

In 949/1542 Burhān Niẓām Shāh along with his ally Amīr Barīd, taking advantage of a serious rift between Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh and his able minister Asad Khān Lārī, marched against Bīdjāpūr and besieged it. Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, deprived of his experienced minister's advice and finding himself unable to oppose the invaders single-handed, approached Daryā ʿImād Shāh, his kinsman (here Firishta confuses him with his father. cf. Brigg's trans., iii, 92) for help, who readily acceded to his request; the combined forces of Berar and Bīdjāpūr compelled the invaders to raise the siege and to sue for peace. This successful military adventure raised the ʿImād Shāhī prestige high and the ruling prince came to be looked upon as a powerful monarch whose voice counted in the Deccan. To strengthen his position further, ʿImād Shāh married his sister Rābiʿa to Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh in 950/1543. This naturally aroused the jealousy of Burhān Niẓām Shāh, the old enemy of his house, although Daryā ʿImād Shāh soon after his accession had tried to placate him by marrying his daughter Bībī Dawlat to Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh, a son of Burhān Shāh by his wife Amīna, who was later to succeed him. The very next year (951/1544) some differences cropped up between Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh and Daryā ʿImād Shāh, which provided Burhān Shāh with an opportunity to invade Bīdjāpūr. He formed an alliance with Sadāshivarāy (Rāmarādja of the Muslim historians), the Hindu ruler of Vidjyanagar [q.v.], and the Shīʿī ruler of Golconda. It is not known what role was subsequently played by the ʿImād Shāhīs in the battles that took place between the combined Muslim forces and the troops of Vidjyanagar. It is hard to believe

that while the combined Muslim states were closed in a fierce struggle against the Hindus, the state of Berar, professing the orthodox faith, should have remained aloof. It is probable that personal grievances, such as the murder of Djahāngīr Khān, rather than religious motives were responsible for the estrangement between the kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar and Berar. Soon after Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh's accession, his full brother ʿAbd al-Ḳādir fled from Aḥmadnagar and sought asylum in Berar. Earlier, such a prominent noble as Sayf ʿAyn al-Mulk, who held the rank of commander-in-chief under Burhān Niẓām Shāh I, had similarly sought refuge in Berar from the oppression of Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh. Firishta places this event in 959/1551—which is puzzling, as Burhān Niẓām Shāh I was still alive in that year. The authorities agree that he died in 961/1554 (corroborated by the chronogram *zawāl-i khusrawān*), the year in which also died Maḥmūd Shāh III of Gudjarāt and Islām Shāh Sūr [*qq.v.*]. In any case, we find him on the side of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, his brother-in-law, who was then espousing the cause of Shāh ʿAlī, his nephew, a son of Burhān Niẓām Shāh and his sister Maryam. He was a pretender to the throne of Aḥmadnagar against his step-brother Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh, the ruling prince. Daryā ʿImād Shāh seems to have been drawn against his will into this struggle for power, inasmuch as we find him playing only a passive rôle, most probably out of regard for his sister's son. Here Firishta's account is both perplexing and confusing. He places the insurrection of prince ʿAlī, while describing the events of the reign of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, in 959/1551 (cf. Brigg's trans., iii, 106), yet while writing the history of his father Burhān Niẓām Shāh he says that the latter was still alive in 961/1553 (cf. Brigg's trans., iii, 235). It is difficult to reconcile the dates.

However, in the engagement that took place at Shōlāpūr between the ʿĀdil Shāhī forces and the Niẓām Shāhī forces, Daryā ʿImād al-Mulk was put in charge by Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh of the right flank (*maymana*), while he commanded the centre in person. At a critical juncture Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh lost heart and fled from the field, wrongly believing that his ally Sayf ʿAyn al-Mulk had crossed over to his former master's son and successor Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh. The fate of ʿImād al-Mulk is not known, but it may be assumed that he too returned to his capital unmolested. Thereafter he is not heard of any more, and in the words of Firishta seems to have enjoyed a reign of great tranquillity and peace till his death in 969/1561 (cf. ʿAbd al-Ghafūr, *Ta'rīkh-i Dakan*, ii, 79).

He was succeeded by his son, Burhān ʿImād al-Mulk, who was then only three years old. Tufāl Khān Dakhnī, his minister, began to rule as regent. An ungrateful and ambitious man, he usurped all power in 976/1568 and placed the young king in confinement. This usurpation was much resented by the people of Berar, who began to seek an opportunity to restore the boy-king to the throne.

In 973/1565 Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh, taking advantage of the minority of the king, invaded Berar in conjunction with ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh of Bidjāpūr. They laid the country waste, and on the approach of the rainy season returned to their capitals. Soon afterwards Berar was invaded by Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, the ruler of Khāndēsh. Burhān ʿImād Shāh appointed Djagdev Rā'u, the disaffected minister of Golconda, to command the forces of Berar, and he defeated the Khāndēsh troops in several engagements. In 980/1572 Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh, who had been planning for some time to subjugate Berar again marched out with a large army with the intention of overthrowing the usurper and annexing the kingdom to his own dominions. Tufāl Khān, unable to withstand the Aḥmadnagar troops, ultimately shut himself up in the hill-fastness of Narnāla and appealed to Akbar, the Moghul emperor, for help. Akbar asked Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh to hold his hand and withdraw, and henceforward Berar was his responsibility. Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh, however, paid no heed to the warning and proceeded to reduce all the principal forts in Berar, including Narnāla. During the operations Tufāl Khān, along with his prisoner Burhān ʿImād al-Mulk and some followers, was captured and confined in one of the fallen forts. Shortly thereafter they were all found dead one morning while still in confinement; some say they were poisoned while others maintain that they were suffocated, the room being too small to contain all of them. With the death of Burhān ʿImād Shāh in 982/1574 the ʿImād Shāhī dynasty came to an end, after ruling over Berar for nearly a century. A pretender Fīrūz, claiming to be a natural son of Daryā ʿImād al-Mulk, marched out at the head of a considerable force against Berar, actively supported by Muḥammad Shāh Fārūḳī of Khāndēsh. He was, however, routed and his adherents were dispersed by the Niẓām Shāhī troops. Berar henceforward ceased to exist as an independent principality.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ʿIMĀDĪ, 6th/12th century Persian writer of *ḳaṣīdas*, generally known by the names of ʿImādī Ghaznawī and ʿImādī Shahriyārī. He began his career as a soldier in the army of Sulṭān Masʿūd III

of Ghaznīn (d. 508/1114), and later migrated to the court of ʿImād al-Dawla Farāmarz at Rayy, in whose praise he composed the largest number of odes. Some time before ʿImād al-Dawla's death, ʿImādī made a second migration to the Court of the Saldjūḳid Sultān Tughrul b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh (d. 529/1134). Among his many patrons, the following may be mentioned:

Malik Arghun b. Alp Arslān (d. 489/1096); Malik Tughān b. Alp Arslān; ʿImād al-Dawla Farāmarz (d. 530/1135); Sulṭān Tughrul b. Muḥammad; Ḳawām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, chief minister of Tughrul (d. 527/1132); Abū Manṣūr al-Muẓaffar ʿAbbādī (d. 547/1152); Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Tughāyrak (d. 541/1146). ʿImādī's original *Dīwān* has been lost. Taḳī Kāshī claims to have seen four thousand verses of ʿImādī. The extant *Dīwāns* are four: three in the British Museum and one in the ʿAligarh University MSS. Section. MS. Or. 3,500 of the British Museum Library contains the largest number of ʿImādī's extant verses, namely 1734. ʿImādī's reputation as a poet is indicated by the fact that several notable contemporary poets, namely Sayyid Ḥasan-i Ghaznawī, Adīb-i Sābir b. Ismāʿīl Tirmidhī, Falakī Shirwānī, Ḳawāmī Rāzī, Saʿd al-Dīn Asʿad b. Shihāb of Bukhārā, Madjd al-Dīn b. ʿAdnān, Yūsuf b. Naṣr al-Kātib, took his verses as a model. He is highly praised by most of the notable biographers of poets.

ʿImādī's death took place between 530/1135 and 550/1155, probably nearer the former than the latter.

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(M. Shamoon Israeli)

IMĀLA, "inflection" (verbal noun of fourth form, *amāla*), a phonetic phenomenon. It consists in "*alif*'s tending towards *yāʾ* and *fatḥa*'s tending towards *kasra*" (Ibn al-Sarrādj, *Mūzadj*, 139). Modern phonetics regards it as a palatalization, produced by a rising movement of the tongue towards the prepalatal region. Depending on the extent of this movement, the vowel *a* shifts from its zone of articulation to that of *ę* or to that of *e* (or even to that of *i*). Arab grammarians distinguish an *imāla shadīda*, "strong" (probably a > *e*) and an *imāla mutawassiṭa*, "medium" (probably *a* > *ä*). The question arises particularly with regard to long *ā*, and it is this that will be considered here.

Arab grammarians speak of *imāla* as a phenomenon conditioned by the presence of a *kasra* (*i*) or a *yāʾ* (*y*) in the neighbourhood of the *alif* (*ā*); these draw the *alif* towards themselves, in order to make it more like them. Chapter 477 of Sībawayhi deals with the *imāla* of *alif* when there is a *kasra* in the syllable that immediately follows or precedes it, such as: *ʿālim* "knowing", *masādjid* "mosques", *kilāb* "dogs", *shimlāl* "swift (she-camel)"; similarly *bayyāʿ* "seller", *kayyāl* "measurer of grain". The following, however, are without *imāla* (ii, 280, lines 2, 4-6): *ādjurr* "bricks", *tābal* "condiment", *djamād* "mineral", *albalbāl* "the great disturbance", *djummāʿ* "reunion of people of all kinds". One says: *raʾaytu Zaydā*, but *raʾaytu ʿAbdā* ("I saw Zayd ... ʿAbd") (ii, 282, lines 6-7). Chapter 480 of the same author mentions, rightly, the *ḥurūf* that inhibit *imāla*. This kind of inhibition may be found, whether or not the *imāla* is conditioned, but Sībawayhi here considers it from the point of view of the conditioning indicated.

These *ḥurūf* are the seven *mustaʿliya*: the four emphatics, the velars *gh* and *kh* and *ḳāf*, whether they are the first, second or third consonants of the root, for example, as first: *ṣāʿid* "going up", *ghāʾib* "absent", *ḳāʿid* "sitting"; as second: *ʿāṭis* "sneezing", *nāḳid* "criticizing (a written work)", *nākhil* "sieving"; as third: *nāhiḍ* "rising", *nāfikh* "blowing", *nāfiḳ* "selling well (merchandise)", *maʿālīḳ* "straps", *maḳārīḍ* "scissors". An *i*, however, in the syllable preceding that which contains the long *ā* (provided that an emphatic does not open the latter syllable) restores the operation of the *imāla*, thus: *ṣiʿāb* pl. of *ṣaʿb* "difficult", *ḳibāb* "domes", *khibāth* pl. of *khabīth* "bad", *miṣbāḥ* "lamp, torch".

All this clearly points to a conditioned *imāla*, and there are other clear examples in chapter 478 of the *Kitāb* (ii, 283, lines 6-7, 10, 12-3); there are, however, also a number of cases that are less clear: *imāla* of: *ramā* (radicals *r m y*) "he threw", *daʿā* (r. *d ʿ w*, passive *duʿiya*) "he called", *khāfa* (r. *kh w f*, 1st pers. *khiftu*) "he feared", *nāb* (pl. *niyāb*) "canine (tooth)", *ḥublā* (dual *ḥublayāni*) "pregnant (woman)". Arab grammarians adduce the influence of morphological associations [see the data given in the parentheses] where they find the *kasra* or the *yāʾ* that they require. They can find no arguments, however, in the cases of *Ḥadjdjādj* (proper name), *bāb* "door", *māl* "money, wealth".

In the writer's opinion, in addition to a conditioned *imāla*, which is widely used, there exists an unconditioned *imāla*, which Arab grammarians have not recognized as such and have forced into the framework of the first, without, however, leaving us the means to discriminate precisely between the two. Furthermore, they have not answered all the questions; for example, what was the situation with *alif mamdūda* from this point of view? At all events, we cannot follow J. Cantineau when he states (*Cours*. 98): "*Imāla* must be considered as an *unconditioned phenomenon*, which affects every long *ā* (however with a possible distinction between an internal *ā* and a final *ā*), provided that no preservative action is brought to bear on them".

Imāla was not general among the Arabs; it appears to have been the practice of the Easterners: Tamīm and others, as opposed to the Ḥidjāzīs (cf. Sībawayhi, ii, 280, line 1, 281, line 5, 283, line 16). It is, however, received in Ḳurʾānic recitation (see al-Dānī, *Taysīr*, 46-68, *Bibl. Isl.* 2). It was a simple realization of the phoneme *ā*. In modern dialects it comes to acquire a distinctive value; thus at Kfarʿabîda (M. T. Feghali, *Le parler de Kfarʿabîda* (*Liban-Syrie*), 96): *rāječ* "returning" and *rājeʿ* "begin again", *jāre* "flowing" and *jāre* "my neighbour".

Remarks: (a) Sībawayhi (ii, 284, lines 1-5) stresses the diversity that is to be found in the practice of *imāla*, and it is probable that he does not produce all the facts concerning this phenomenon. When one has experience of modern dialects with *imāla*, as for example the Lebanese vernaculars, one can only agree with Sībawayhi; each region has its own system, and indeed the system may differ from village to village. That of Kfarʿabîda (94-5), for example, is not free from "exceptions" (see 95, 3°).

(b) The case of *ṭāba* "he was good" (Sībawayhi, ii, 281, line 13), *ṣāra* "he became" (*ibid.*, line 14) is separate. Either it is a matter of non-velarized emphatics, of a type compatible with *imāla*, or one should read: *ṭēba*, *ṣēra*, forms comparable with those of Ethiopic, such as *kēda* "he walked", *shē*

without wishing to go back to an ancient phoneme *ē* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité philol. ar.*, i, § 7 j-k).

Bibliography: in the text; in addition: chapters 477-82 of Sībawayhi (Paris, ii, 279-94. Cairo, ii, 259-81) are essential; the case of *r* is dealt with in chapters 481-2. Arab grammarians reworked the data; see: the "six causes" of Ibn al-Sarrādj, *Mūzadj*, Beirut 1385/1965, 139-40; verses 899-913 of the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (*Sharḥ* of Ibn ʿAḳīl, ii, 407-13, 6th ed. by Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd); §§ 626-39 of the *Mufaṣṣal* of Zamakhsharī (2nd ed. J. P. Broch) (*Sharḥ* of Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1252-68, ed. G. Jahn); Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya*, iii, Cairo 1358/1939, 4-30. On the Arab grammarians: M. T. Grünert, *Die Imāla, der Umlaut im Arabischen* (in *SB Ak. Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., lxxxi, 447-542); J. Cantineau, *Cours de phonétique arabe* (reissued, *Memorial J. C.*, Paris 1960) deals (96-100) with the *imāla* in Classical Arabic and the situation in the modern dialects, and gives the modern bibliography (97).

(H. Fleisch)

IMĀM [see imāma, masdjid].

IMĀM AʿẒAM [see khalīfa].

al-**IMĀM** al-**AʿẒAM** [see abū ḥanīfa].

IMĀM al-**ḤARAMAYN** [see al-djuwaynī].

IMĀM al-**HUDĀ** [see abu 'l-layth al-samarḳandī].

IMĀM-BĀRĀ, literally "enclosure of the Imāms", is a term used in India for the buildings where the Shīʿīs assemble during Muḥarram and recite elegies on the martyrdom of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and in which the *taʿziyas* [*q.v.*] are stored. The *Imām-bārā* is an Indian institution, whose beginnings may be traced to the 18th century, when many of the Shīʿī institutions and practices took their ritualistic form. Ṣafdar Djang (1708-54) constructed a building in Delhi for the purpose of the Muḥarram rituals; it was not known as *Imām-bārā*, but may well be considered its forerunner. An almost similar building constructed by his grandson Āṣaf al-Dawla in Lucknow, however, became known as "Imām-bārā-i Āṣafī". After that it became a practice with the Nawwābs of Awadh to build *Imām-bārās*, which came to be used also as the final resting-places of the heads of the families to which they belonged. The *Imām-bārā* of Ḥusaynabād built by Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (1837-47) shows the influence of European architecture. According to Djaʿfar Sharīf, the *ʿĀshur-khāna* of Southern India is replaced in the north by the *Imām-bārā*.

Bibliography: W. Knighton, *The private life of an Eastern king together with Elihu's story*, Oxford 1921, 90 f.; G. A. Herklots, *Islam in India*, Eng. tr. of Djaʿfar Sharīf's *Ḳānūn-i Islām*, Oxford 1921, 146; J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and eastern architecture*, London 1891, 605; Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations ontthe Mussulmauns of India*, i, London 1832, 32-9; H. G. Keene, *Handbook of Lucknow*, Calcutta 1875, 102-3; J. H. T. Walsh, *History of the Murshidabad District*, London 1902, 76-7.

(K. A. Nizami)

IMĀM SHĀH, Imām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ḥasan (b. 856/1452; d. 919/1513), was a saint (*pīr*) of an Ismāʿīlī sect known as Imāmshāhīs, and better known as *sat-panthīs* (followers of truth). *Sat-panth* (the true path) was a term applied originally to Eastern Ismāʿīlism in India. Later the *sat-panthīs* denied all connection with the Khodjas, although there is a great similarity in their doctrines. His tomb is at Pīrāna (near Aḥmadābād, Gujarat), where Imām Shāh lived and taught. It is greatly venerated by his followers, who are also to be found in Madhya Pradesh, near Burhānpūr, where a sizeable community still exists. Their doctrines and ritual are mostly Hindu; they believe in *karma* (incarnation) and although they confess to faith in the Ḳurʾān, they hold that their Imām is the tenth incarnation of the Hindu God, Vishnū. ʿAlī was the first of the Imāms and the possessor of the Divine Light. The Ḳurʾān was in 40 *pāras* (parts), of which only 30 are preserved. The true interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of the faith is called *alankār*. The Imāmshāhīs are generally vegetarians. Their devotional poetry, known as *gnāns*, of which there are several collections, is beautiful and touching, and fully deserves study and publication. The *gnāns* are greatly revered by the sectarians, who pay greater reverence to them than to the Ḳurʾān. The best account of the sect is by W. Ivanow, *The Sect of Imām Shāh in Gujarat*, in *JBBRAS*, xii (1936), 19-70.

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(A. A. A. Fyzee)

IMĀMA, the imāmate in the meaning of "supreme leadership" of the Muslim community after the death of the Prophet. The present article will deal with the theological and judicial theory. For the institutional development see khilāfa.

Early development. The establishment of Abū Bakr after the death of Muḥammad as *Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh*, "Vicar of the Messenger of God", affirmed the continued unity of the Muslim community under a single leader. It favoured a preferential right to the imāmate for the early Meccan, Ḳurayshite Companions of the Prophet and implicitly denied any right on the basis of blood relationship with him. Although these principles did not remain unchallenged from the beginning, broad theoretical discussion of the imāmate was opened by the crisis of the caliphate beginning with the rebellion against ʿUthmān. At the end of the civil war, which left Muʿāwiya as *de facto* ruler, the community remained deeply divided in its beliefs concerning the rightful imāmate. The upholders of ʿUthmān as a just caliph, commonly known as the ʿUthmāniyya, repudiated the revolt and the caliphate of ʿAlī resulting from it. The ʿUthmāniyya comprised besides the partisans of Muʿāwiya the upholders of the principles of the early caliphate, *i.e.*, in particular the right of the families of the non-Hāshimite early Companions of the Prophet, now mostly living in Medina. Although criticism of ʿUthmān had been wide-spread among the latter during his caliphate, they had not looked with favour upon the succession of ʿAlī, and accepted the verdict of the arbitrators appointed at Ṣiffīn that ʿUthmān had been killed unjustly. They did not favour Muʿāwiya, since he did not belong to the early Companions, but accepted him for the sake of unity. The partisans of ʿAlī, commonly called his *shīʿa*, upheld the justice of the revolt against ʿUthmān, who in their view had lost his title to the caliphate by his unjust acts. As against the claim of Muʿāwiya to the caliphate as the avenger of the murdered ʿUthmān, they looked for leadership from the clan of Muḥammad, especially among the sons of ʿAlī, in order to re-establish the rightful imāmate. Their support of the claims of the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*]) to the imāmate did not imply a repudiation of the first two caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. The belief that

ʿAlī was the divinely appointed heir of the Prophet and was endowed with supernatural powers, commonly attributed by the sources to the largely legendary figure of ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*], was at most marginal. The Khāridjīs, seceders from the ranks of the partisans of ʿAlī, shared the views of the latter concerning ʿUthmān and the rising against him and upheld the initial legitimacy of the caliphate of ʿAlī. They repudiated ʿAlī from the time of his agreeing to the arbitration of his conflict with Muʿāwiya and equally repudiated Muʿāwiya as a rebel against the initially legitimate caliphate of ʿAlī.

The second civil war beginning after the death of Muʿāwiya and resulting in the definite establishment of Umayyad rule on a dynastic basis, further sharpened the fronts between these parties. The supporters of the traditions of the early caliphate, after the failure of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr's attempt at restoring it, lost all hope. They came to idealize the period of the first three caliphs. Although they supported Umayyad rule and were opposed to revolt, they did not, in contrast to the Syrian supporters of the Umayyads, consider this rule as part of the genuine caliphate, which had ended with ʿUthmān. The violent death of al-Ḥusayn, grandson of the Prophet, at the hands of the supporters of the Umayyad regime, increased radical trends among the partisans of ʿAlī. In the movement of al-Mukhtār, the radical elements came to the forefront and broke with the conservative wing of the Shīʿa. They held that the community had gone astray by denying the divine right of ʿAlī to the succession of the Prophet and by accepting the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. They expected the restoration of justice on earth through the triumph of their Imām Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, to whom they attributed the messianic role of the Mahdī. In the face of this radicalization of the Shīʿa, the movement of the Murdjiʾa, initiated by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, attempted to close the gap between the moderate Shīʿa and the ʿUthmāniyya. The early Murdjiʾa affirmed the superiority of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar over the later caliphs and deferred the case of ʿUthmān and ʿAlī and the other participants in the civil war to the judgment of God. They accepted the caliphate of the Umayyads as being decreed by God, without necessarily justifying their conduct, and were opposed to any breach of the peace of the community. The Khāridjīs, after failing to win ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr to their views, declared uncompromising war on the community at large and began to choose their own imāms. Disagreement concerning the treatment of non-Khāridjī Muslims and other matters increasingly divided their ranks.

Elaboration of the classical doctrines: Sunnism. Sunnī doctrine on the imāmate was basically determined by the aim, common to the ʿUthmāniyya and the Murdjiʾa, of defending the unity and the internal peace of the Muslim community under the historical caliphate against the threat posed by the claims of the opposition movements. This did not imply unqualified support of the record of the historical caliphate. Sunnī doctrine commonly drew a sharp distinction between the early caliphate of the Rightly Guided (*rāshidūn*) Caliphs, the Vicariate of Prophecy (*khilāfat al-nubuwwa*), and the later imāmate, which had the character of worldly kingship (*mulk*) and admittedly comprised unjust and oppressive imāms. Only the *Rāshidūn* completely fulfilled the conditions of the true imāmate. Their acts and rulings were binding *sunna*. In the controversies with the opposition parties the legitimacy of their rule and the justice of their acts were regularly defended against any criticism.

This distinction is most clearly represented in Sunnī traditionalist doctrine as it was formulated in canonical *ḥadīth* and was elaborated in the Ḥanbalī creeds and by al-Ashʿarī. In early ʿAbbāsid times traditionalist opinion in Medina, Baṣra, Baghdād, and Syria generally upheld the view of the ʿUthmāniyya restricting the caliphate of the *Rāshidūn* to the first three caliphs and rejecting the caliphate of ʿAlī. However, Kūfan traditionalist opinion firmly endorsing the inclusion of ʿAlī among the *Rāshidūn* spread rapidly. It was eventually favoured by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who originally had supported the doctrine of the ʿUthmāniyya. By the 4th/10th century the caliphate of the four *Rāshidūn* became indisputable Sunnī dogma. Ḥanbalī and Ashʿarī doctrine strongly insisted that the four *Rāshidūn* ranked in excellence according to their sequence in the caliphate. This agreed with the view implied in the Ḥanbalī creeds and expressly affirmed by al-Ashʿarī, that only the most excellent (*al-afḍal*) in the Muslim community could be the rightful caliph. The imāmate of the less excellent (*al-mafḍūl*) in the view of al-Ashʿarī is worldly kingship. Though in the traditionalist view individual caliphs after the *Rāshidūn* might come close to fulfilling the ideal conditions of the caliphate, as was often affirmed for the pious Umayyad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, there was no expectation that the Vicariate of Prophecy could ever be restored after the passing of the thirty years which it was to last according to a famous *ḥadīth*. For the later imāmate there were only minimal conditions. The imām had to be a Muslim and a Ḳurayshite. The imāmate could become binding without any act of recognition by the Muslim community. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal specifically affirmed the validity of the imāmate by usurpation (*ghalaba*). While the Muslim must not get involved in a civil war when there is no imām, absolute obediance and active support of the established imām, whether he be just or oppressive, pious or depraved, are incumbent upon him, except on violation of the *sharīʿa*. The imāmate could be forfeited only through apostasy or by neglecting the duty of the imām to provide for the communal prayer, as affirmed by a *ḥadīth*.

Ḥanafī and early Māturīdī doctrine was close to the traditionalist views. Abū Ḥanīfa, belonging to the Murdjiʾa, did not express a preference between ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, while ranking them below Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. This view was admitted as legitimate in some Ḥanafī creeds, but the majority upheld the hierarchical ranking according to the order of succession. According to an early source Abū Ḥanīfa also stipulated the imāmate of the "most excellent". This accords with the endorsement of the *ḥadīth* restricting the caliphate to thirty years in some Ḥanafī creeds. In contrast to the Ḥanbalī creeds, Ḥanafī creeds rarely mentioned the imāmate after the *Rāshidūn* at all. The obligation to obey the ruler was rather implied in the prohibition of drawing the sword against fellow Muslims.

A different doctrine developed in Shāfiʿism and the *kalām* school of the Kullābiyya associated with it and increasingly also influenced Ashʿarism after al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013). The Shāfiʿī doctrine did not restrict the rightful imāmate to the most excellent in the community. It admitted the imāmate of the less excellent, especially if discord could be avoided

by choosing him. Al-Shāfiʿī and some prominent early Shāfiʿī scholars reportedly ranked ʿAlī in excellence above ʿUthmān (though below Abū Bakr and ʿUmar). ʿUthmān's imāmate thus was that of the "less excellent". This less rigid approach permitted the Shāfiʿīs to treat the post-*Rāshidūn* caliphate as a basically sound imāmate which could be judged by standards derived from the ideal early caliphate. A comprehensive legal system, strongly influenced by Muʿtazilī theory, was elaborated concerning the qualifications, investiture, and functions of the imām. This development reached its climax in al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), whose work *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* became widely accepted as an authoritative exposition of Sunnī doctrine concerning the imāmate. The book, written at the time of the resurgence of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate in the late Būyid period, aimed at strengthening the foundation of the contemporary caliphate in the divine law. For the first time discussing also the wazīrate and the amīrate, which had usurped much of the authority of the caliphate, it legitimized this development, while maintaining the full sovereignty of the caliph over these offices. Al-Māwardī's work was immediately imitated by the Ḥanbalī Abū Yaʿlā al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066), who accepted al-Māwardī's exposition, modifying it only in some points in accordance with Ḥanbalī tradition. Against al-Māwardī he reaffirmed the validity of the imāmate by usurpation and denied the forfeiture of the imāmate by immorality, injustice, or heterodoxy. Among the Māturīdī Ḥanafīs, Abu 'l-Yusr al-Bazdawī (d. 493/1099) discussed many of the Shāfiʿī doctrines, modifying them from the point of view of Ḥanafī tradition. The rise of Sunnī valuation of the post-*Rāshidūn* caliphate in this time is reflected by the endeavour of the Ḥanbalī Abū Yaʿlā and the Ashʿarī Abū Bakr al-Fūrakī (d. 478/1085-6) to prove the legitimacy of the imāmate of Muʿāwiya in addition to that of the four *Rāshidūn*.

Major points in the fully developed Sunnī doctrine were the following: The establishment of an imām is permanently obligatory (*wādjib*) on the community, according to the common doctrine on the basis of his functions under the revealed law, not on rational grounds. There can be only a single imām at any time. The view that two countries separated by a sea preventing mutual military aid might each have an imām was exceptional. Specifically the doctrine of the Karrāmiyya that ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya were imāms at the same time was rejected. Qualifications for the imāmate were: Ḳurayshite descent, knowledge of the law as required for the judgeship, probity (*ʿadāla*) as required for legal testimony, majority, physical fitness, capability of carrying out the political and military duties of the office. The imām may be invested either through appointment (*ʿahd*) by his predecessor or by election (*ikhtiyār*). While the common view held that Abū Bakr was elected to the caliphate, the opposite view, that he had been appointed by the Prophet, was upheld by such prominent Sunnī scholars as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn Ḥazm, and Ibn Taymiyya. Any Muslim of probity, with knowledge concerning the nature of the imāmate, and discernment in choosing a proper candidate, qualified as an elector. Views concerning the number of electors or "people of loosing and binding" (*ahl al-ḥall wa l-ʿaḳd* [*q.v.*]) necessary for the election to become binding on the community varied from a single one, the common Ashʿarī doctrine, to the "generality" (*djumhūr*) of the electors, stipulated by Abū Yaʿlā. The election was not conceived as a free choice between candidates, but as a selection of the "most excellent". Though the election of the less excellent, if qualified, was binding, it was considered permissible only for proper cause. The imāmate was invalidated through loss of mental or physical fitness or loss of liberty. According to many Shāfiʿīs it was forfeited by loss of probity through immorality, injustice, or heterodoxy, but this was denied by others and by Ḥanbalī and Ḥanafī doctrine. The duties of the imām were defined as: guarding the faith against heterodoxy, enforcing law and justice between disputing parties, dispensing legal punishments (*ḥudūd*), protection of peace in the territory of Islam and its defence against external enemies, conducting the *djihād* against those resisting the supremacy of Islam, receiving the legal alms, taxes, and the fifth of the booty, distributing the revenue in accordance with the law, and the appointment of reliable and sincere men in delegating authority.

Muʿtazilism. The movement of the Muʿtazila arose in the late Umayyad age with the aim of reuniting the Muslim community on a compromise solution of the disputes among the politico-religious parties. Concerning the imāmate, Muʿtazilism, in agreement with Khāridjī doctrine, emphasized the need for a just imām and the obligation of the community to remove an unjust imām, if necessary by force. Justice in the imām implied correct belief in accordance with Muʿtazilī theology and compliance with the divine law in private life and government. Muʿtazilism was opposed, however, to the Khāridjī condemnation of ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and their supporters as infidels. Early Muʿtazilīs held slightly varying views concerning the conflict between ʿUthmān and the rebels against him as well as the conflict between ʿAlī and his opponents in the Battle of the Camel. While it was generally agreed that one side in these conflicts must have been in the wrong, judgment as to which side this was was commonly suspended. Even if one party was definitely judged to have been in the wrong, there was hesitation to condemn it as sinning (*fāsiḳ*). Later Muʿtazilī doctrine exculpated ʿUthmān and ʿAlī from any fault and condemned the rebels against ʿUthmān. It held that ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa, and al-Zubayr had repented of their rebellion against the rightful imām before their death and condemned their unrepentant followers. Muʿāwiya was nearly unanimously condemned as *fāsiḳ* or even as an infidel. Although the Umayyad caliphate was generally viewed with abhorrence, it was not rejected on principle. The Umayyads ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Yazīd b. al-Walīd were commonly considered as rightful imāms. The attitude to the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs was divided. While some viewed them favourably, others supported ʿAlid revolts. Later Muʿtazilī doctrine became increasingly pro-ʿAlid. The imāmate of ʿAlī's son al-Ḥasan was common doctrine after Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī (d. 303/915-6). The Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1025) in his *K. al-Mughnī* argues for the imāmate of the ʿAlids al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Zayd b. ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (al-Nafs al-Zakiyya), and his brother Ibrāhīm. The early Baṣran Muʿtazilīs ranked Abū Bakr in excellence highest after the Prophet and generally maintained that the rightful imāmate is restricted to the most excellent in the community. The Baghdādian school, which developed some half century after the Baṣran school, ranked ʿAlī above Abū Bakr and accordingly affirmed the legitimacy of the imāmate of the less excellent. The Baṣrans Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī and his son Abū Hāshim, chief

authorities of later Muʿtazilism, left the question of the superiority of Abū Bakr or ʿAlī open and held the imāmate of the less excellent to be permissible for proper cause. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 367/977) and ʿAbd al-Djabbār in his later doctrine upheld the superiority of ʿAlī.

Early Muʿtazilism, in agreement with Khāridjī doctrine, generally did not restrict the imāmate to members of the Ḳuraysh. While the eccentric Muʿtazilī Ḍirār b. ʿAmr held that of two otherwise equal candidates a non-Ḳurayshite should be preferred to a Ḳurayshite, the common opinion preferred the Ḳurayshite in this case. Later Muʿtazilī doctrine maintained that no non-Ḳurayshite could become imām if a qualified Ḳurayshite was available. The establishment of an imām was considered obligatory on the community except by a group of early Muʿtazilīs inclined to asceticism, who held that the community should choose leaders for the *djihād* and officials for other necessary functions on a temporary basis so as to frustrate any ambitions for worldly power. The majority rejected the view that the establishment of an imām was obligatory on rational grounds, which was admitted by al-Djāḥiẓ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, and Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. The common doctrine insisted that there could be only a single imām at any time. Only Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm held that because of the wide expansion of Islam it was preferable for each town to choose its own imām. In all other respects the Muʿtazilī doctrine agreed substantially with Sunnī doctrine.

Shīʿism: Zaydiyya. The Zaydiyya, supporters of the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī in 122/740, unlike the Imāmiyya did not recognize a hereditary line of imāms but were prepared to support any member of the *ahl al-bayt* who claimed the imāmate by "rising" (*khurūdj*) against the illegitimate rulers. While some Zaydīs as late as the 4th/10th century considered all descendants of ʿAlī's father Abū Ṭālib as eligible for the imāmate, the prevalent doctrine restricted it to the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. During the 2nd/8th century, Zaydism was doctrinally divided into two major groups, the Batriyya and the Djārūdiyya. The Batriyya, following the traditions of the moderate wing of the Kūfan Shīʿa, upheld the imāmate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and of ʿUthmān during the first six years of his rule on the basis that ʿAlī had pledged allegiance to them. They repudiated ʿUthmān during the last six years of his rule, just as they repudiated all opponents of ʿAlī. Considering ʿAlī the most excellent of men after the Prophet they permitted the imāmate of the less excellent. The Djārūdiyya, adopting the more radical views of the Imāmiyya, rejected the imāmate of the first three caliphs and held that the Prophet had invested ʿAlī as his executor (*waṣī*) by designation (*naṣṣ*). Holding that the great majority of the Companions of the Prophet had gone astray by following Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, they, unlike the Batriyya, rejected the tradition of the law handed down by them and relied for religious knowledge on the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn as a whole, not merely those recognized as imāms. From the 3rd/9th century onwards the tendencies of the Djārūdiyya came to prevail in Zaydism.

The major points of Zaydī doctrine, as it was fully developed during the 4th/10th century in discussions with representatives of Muʿtazilī and Imāmī doctrine, were: the establishment of an imām is obligatory on the community, according to the common view because of his functions under the revealed law, not on rational grounds. The first three imāms, ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn were invested by the Prophet through designation (*naṣṣ*). This designation was obscure (*khafī, ghayr djalī*), so that its intended meaning could be discovered only by investigation. Through this doctrine the Zaydiyya, in contrast to the Imāmiyya, tended to alleviate the sin of the early community in disobeying the order of the Prophet. After al-Ḥusayn the imāmate belongs to any qualified descendant of al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn who calls to his allegiance and rises against the illegitimate rulers. The imāmate becomes legally valid through the formal "call" to allegiance (*daʿwa*) and "rising" (*khurūdj*), not through election (*ikhtiyār*) and contract (*ʿaḳd*). The qualifications of the imām were, aside from his descent, essentially the same as in Sunnī and Muʿtazilī doctrine, with special emphasis on knowledge in religious matters, ability to render independent judgment (*idjtihād*) in law, piety, moral integrity, and courage. The imāmate is forfeited by the lack of any of the qualifications, in particular by moral offences. Only the most excellent can be the rightful imām, and if a candidate excelling the imām rises and claims the imāmate, the excelled imām must surrender his position to him. This qualification of the imām was rejected by some later Zaydī authorities. The prevalent doctrine admitted only a single imām at any time. The existence of two separate Zaydī communities in the coastal areas south of the Caspian Sea and the Yaman in some instances led to a later recognition of two contemporary claimants as imāms, but the formal admission of the legitimacy of two contemporary imāms was exceptional. There must be someone qualified for the imāmate at any time. Knowledge of the imām after he has issued his call to allegiance is incumbent on every Muslim.

The list of recognized Zaydī imāms has never been absolutely fixed, though there was a consensus on many of them. The high requirements for the imāmate, in particular in respect to religious learning, excluded many ʿAlid pretenders and rulers. These could be recognized as restricted imāms (*muḥtasibūn* or *muḳtaṣida*) or „callers" (*duʿāt*), in contrast to the full imāms (*sābiḳūn*). Only late Yamanī Zaydism developed a formal doctrine concerning the *iḥtisāb* imāmate. The functions of the *muḥtasib* imām were defined as "ordering the proper and prohibiting the improper", defending the community against external aggression, and protecting the rights of the weak. He was not authorized to lead the communal prayer, to collect alms and taxes, to wage offensive war, and to carry out legal punishments.

Imāmiyya (Twelver Shīʿa). Imāmī doctrine on the imāmate in its basic conceptions was formulated in the time of Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765). It founded the imāmate on the permanent need of mankind for a divinely guided, infallible leader and authoritative teacher in religion. The imāmate was thus raised to the level of prophecy. The only difference between the messenger prophet (*rasūl*) and the imām was that the imām did not transmit a divine scripture. To ignore or disobey the divinely invested imām was infidelity equal to ignoring or disobeying the prophet. The conception that the imām must be fully immune (*maʿṣum*) from sin and error was fundamental to Imāmī thought. The imām might, however, practice dissimulation (*taḳiyya*) in case of fear for his own or his followers' safety. Although the imām was entitled to political leadership as much as to religious authority, his imāmate did not depend on his actual rule or any attempt to gain it. Following the traditions of the radical wing

of the early Shīʿa, the Imāmiyya repudiated the caliphates of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān and maintained that the Prophet had appointed ʿAlī as his *waṣī* by designation. The great majority of the Companions had apostatized by ignoring this designation. The imāmate after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn was to be handed down among the descendants of the latter by designation from father to son until the Mahdī. The succession of the seven year old Muḥammad al-Djawād in 203/818 raised the question whether minority suspended or restricted the imāmate, and how the imām received his perfect knowledge. The majority asserted that a minor could fulfil all the functions of the imāmate, and that he was endowed by God with integral knowledge in religious matters. The crisis caused by the death of the eleventh imām without an apparent son was resolved by the affirmation of the existence of a son and the doctrine of the absence, *ghayba* [*q.v.*]. The twelfth imām, though in concealment, continued to live on earth and could fulfil the essential functions of the imāmate. He was identified with the Mahdī, whose return before the end of the world is expected.

Authoritative Imāmī *ḥadīth* embodies these beliefs concerning the imāms: The world cannot exist for a moment without a *ḥudjdja* (proof, guarantor = imām) of God. There can be only a single imām at any time, though there may be a silent (*ṣāmit*) imām (his successor) besides him. The imāms are referred to in many passages of the Ḳurʾān by such terms as the "light of God", His "witnesses" (*shuhadāʾ*) among mankind, His "signs" (*ʿalāmāt*), those "firm" (*rāsikhūn*) in knowledge etc. They are the "vicegerents" (*khulafāʾ*) of God on earth, the "gates" (*abwāb*) through which he is approached, the heirs of the knowledge of the Prophet. The imāms are in possession of all revealed books. Only they have perfect knowledge of the Ḳurʾān in both its exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*) meaning. They have been given the "greatest name of God" (*ism Allāh al-aʿẓam*). They have inherited the arms of the Prophet and the books *Ṣaḥīfa*, *Djafr*, *Djāmiʿa*, and the *Muṣḥaf* of Fāṭima containing secret knowledge. The knowledge of every imām is identical with the knowledge of the Prophet. Though the imāms are not endowed with a native faculty of knowing the hidden (*ghayb*), they know "what has been and what will be". They have perfect knowledge of all crafts and all languages. God gives them knowledge of anything they desire to know. The imām receives the perfect knowledge of his predecessor in the last moment of the latter's life. In the night of *al-ḳadr* of every year the imām receives the judgments of God concerning every event in the following year. The imām is spoken to (*muḥaddath*) and informed (*mufahham*) by an angel, but unlike the *rasūl* does not see him. The imām is endowed with the holy spirit (*rūḥ al-ḳuds*).

Imāmī theologians defended the following positions in the *kalām* discussions of the imāmate: The imāmate is obligatory on rational grounds. Establishment of an imām is incumbent upon God by virtue of his benevolence (*luṭf*), not upon mankind. The imām must be designated by God through the Prophet or another imām. ʿAlī has been named by the Prophet as the imām after him by clear designation (*naṣṣ djalī*). The imām must be immune from sin and error. He must be the most excellent of all the people in his time. The imām is capable of performing miracles. He can intercede with God for the sinners among his followers.

Ismāʿīliyya. Ismāʿīlism, branching off from Imāmism after the death of Imām Djaʿfar, retained the fundamental conceptions of Imāmī doctrine concerning the permanent need for a sinless and infallible imām as the political and religious leader of mankind. On these conceptions inherited from the Imāmiyya early Ismāʿīlism superimposed a cyclical view of history [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA]. In each prophetic era seven imāms followed the speaker-prophet (*nāṭiḳ*) and his *waṣī* or *asās*. The seventh imām in this heptade would rise to the position of speaker-prophet of the next era. In the sixth era, which was inaugurated by Muḥammad as the speaker-prophet and ʿAlī as the *asās*, the seventh imām was Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl in pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism was expected to return after his disappearance as the seventh speaker-prophet, who was identified with the *Ḳāʾim* or Mahdī opening the eschatological seventh era. This belief was modified in Fāṭimid doctrine by the recognition of the Fāṭimids as imāms of the sixth era, removing the eschatological expectations further and further into the future. The efforts to explain the continuity of the imāmate between the disappearance of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and the rise of the Fāṭimids, commonly referred to as the time of "occultation" (*satr*), the eschatological significance of the seventh imām, and irregularities in the succession of the Fāṭimid caliphs led to constant readjustments of the doctrine, which cannot be followed here in detail. Deviations from the strictly linear descendance in the succession to the imāmate were often explained in terms of a "depositary" (*mustawdaʿ*) imāmate which had to be returned to the line of "permanent" (*mustaḳarr*) imāms. Thus al-Ḥasan was sometimes considered as a depository imām, since the imāmate was carried on among the descendants of al-Ḥusayn, the *mustaḳarr* imām. This theory served, however, rather as an explanation of the irregularities of the succession in the past than as a pattern for the future.

In the esoteric (*bāṭin*) Ismāʿīlī doctrine, the imām represents a grade (*ḥadd*) in the religious hierarchy below the *nāṭiḳ* and the *asās* and above the *ḥudjdja*. The imām in his time assumes the function of the *nāṭiḳ* in expounding and preserving the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) meaning of the revealed law, while his *ḥudjdja* succeeds to the role of the *asās* in revealing its esoteric interpretation (*taʾwīl*). The imām as the head of the hierarchy in his time also is the mediator between the believer and the principles of the spiritual world.

Khāridjism. Khāridjī doctrine most radically tied the legitimacy of the imām to his justice (*ʿadl*). By any infraction of the divine law the imām loses his legitimacy and must be removed, if necessary by force. The unjust imām and his supporters are considered infidels, unless they repent. Thus both ʿUthmān and ʿAlī became infidels, although their imāmate had initially been legitimate. Any Muslim who does not dissociate himself (*tabarraʾ*) from them, shares their state of infidelity. Similarly, any Muslim who does not declare his solidarity (*tawallā*) with the just imāms, like Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, is an infidel.

The establishment of an imām is obligatory according to the common Khāridjī doctrine. Only the Nadjadāt reportedly held that the Muslims were not obliged to establish an imām if they acted justly among themselves. The imām is to be elected. His imāmate is legally contracted through the pledge of allegiance of two just Muslims. Only the most excellent in the community is entitled to the imāmate. At times Khāridjīs imposed the condition (*sharṭ*) on their imām that he must surrender his position if

a more excellent candidate appears. The imposition of conditions on the imām was, however, considered illegal by others. Khāridjī doctrine unanimously rejected the prerogative of the Ḳuraysh to the imāmate and held any qualified Muslim, even of slave origin, to be eligible. Exceptional was the view of the followers of Shabīb b. Yazīd in the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj, who considered women eligible for the imāmate. There can be only a single imām at any time according to the prevalent view, though some splinter groups admitted the legitimacy of more than one contemporary imām. The other qualifications and functions of the imām are substantially the same as in Sunnism. Special emphasis is placed on his moral austerity as well as his duty of "commanding the proper and prohibiting the improper" and of leading the *djihād* against the non-Khāridjī Muslims.

Of the many Khāridjite sects the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] is the only one whose doctrine can be studied through its own writings. A systematical investigation has not yet been undertaken. The Ibāḍiyya, while agreeing with the general Khāridjī doctrine, recognized different types of imāms corresponding to the four states or "ways" (*masālik*) in which the community of true believers could face its enemies: the state of manifestation (*ẓuhūr*), when the community was strong enough to overcome the enemy; the state of defence (*difāʿ*), when it could merely resist a powerful enemy; the state of self-sacrifice (*shirāʾ*), when a small group of believers chose to rise against the enemy seeking martyrdom; and the state of concealment (*kitmān*), when the believers were forced to live under the rule of the enemy and to practise dissimulation. Only the imām of the state of manifestation can exercise all the functions of the imāmate, such as the execution of legal punishments, the collection of the tithe and the *djizya* of the non-Muslims, and the distribution of booty. Against the doctrine of the splinter group Khalafiyya, the common doctrine affirms that there cannot be more than one imām belonging to the same "way" at any time.

Later development. Sunnī thought on the imāmate, having been closely tied to the contemporary ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the time of al-Māwardī, continued to react to its changing fortunes. Already al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), under the impression of the powerful Saldjūḳ sultanate, was prepared to view the caliph as merely the representative head of Islam, established by the pledge of allegiance of the effective ruler, whose rule in turn is legitimized by his formal recognition on the part of the caliph. This recognition of the legitimacy of the actual political institutions was motivated, as al-Ghazālī noted, by the overriding necessity of preserving the legality of the acts of governors and judges throughout the empire. The preservation of this legality in the execution of the *sharīʿa* became a fundamental concern after the fall of the caliphate of Baghdād. In the east, which for decades fell under the rule of non-Muslims, al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389) affirmed that the legality of judicial acts could not depend on the presence of a qualified Ḳurayshite imām at a time when it was impossible to establish such an imām because of the predominance of error and tyranny. The ʿAbbāsid shadow caliphate established in Cairo by the Mamlūk sultanate was practically ignored even by Sunnī jurists writing under the Mamlūk regime like Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and Ibn Djamāʿa (d. 732/1332). Considering the actual exercise of power as essential to the imāmate, they implicitly vested its functions with the actual ruler. In contrast to al-Ghazālī, they no longer tied his legitimacy to a nominal recognition by the caliph. The *ḥadīth* restricting the caliphate to thirty years, after which worldly kingship would take its place, was commonly quoted again and dominated Sunnī thought. Since kingship belonged to the holder of power irrespective of qualifications, the qualifications of the imām stipulated in the classical doctrine could be ignored or expressly waived by the doctrine of necessity (*ḍarūra*). The classical doctrine was nowhere revised, but rather treated as being in abeyance. Following al-Djuwaynī and al-Ghazālī, later Sunnī scholars often emphasized that the imāmate properly belonged to the derived legal matters (*furūʿ*), not to the fundamentals of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*), even though traditionally it was discussed in the *uṣūl* works rather than the expositions of the law. This consideration, originally meant to counter the Shīʿī view placing the imāmate at the core of religion, now served to mitigate the impact of the realization that the imāmate in fact no longer existed. Late Sunnī creeds commonly did not refer to the imāmate at all or mentioned only the caliphate of the *Rāshidūn*.

The modernist Sunnī attitude toward the question of the imāmate has varied. The need for an imāmate defined by religion was sometimes completely denied, as by the tract on the caliphate endorsed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in support of the abolition of the Ottoman sultanate in 1922 and by the Egyptian ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ in his treatise *al-Islām wa-Uṣūl al-Ḥukm* (1925). Others have advocated the restoration of a universal imāmate modelled upon the ideal caliphate of the *Rāshidūn*. Most notable were the detailed proposals of the Syrian Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] set forth in his book *al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāma al-ʿUẓmā* (1923). Basic in modernist thinking on the imāmate and Islamic government is the emphasis on government by consultation (*shūrā* [*q.v.*]) and on election as the sole way of establishing the imām. These principles are viewed as the traits which distinguished the righteous caliphate of the *Rāshidūn* from the despotism of the later caliphate.

Imāmism fully retained its classical concepts of the imāmate in later expositions of the creed. Beginning with the 7th/13th century Imāmī esoteric doctrine was greatly elaborated, partially under Ṣūfī and Ismāʿīlī influence. The eternal reality of the imāmate, now commonly termed *walāya* (quality of a *walī*, "friend of God"), was defined as the esoteric aspect of prophecy. The imām thus was viewed as the initiator into mystical truths by virtue of the theophanic quality of his essential nature as well as by his teaching as expressed in the transmitted logia of the imāms.

Ismāʿīlism survived the Fāṭimid caliphate mainly in two branches, which developed substantially different esoteric thought. Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism recognized al-Ṭayyib, the infant son of the Fāṭimid al-Āmir (d. 524/1130), as imām and denied his death. Ṭayyibī doctrine affirms that the Imām al-Ṭayyib, though in concealment (*satr*), is in touch with his community and specifically rejects the Imāmī notion of the *ghayba* of the imām. The concealed imām is not identified with the eschatological *Ḳāʾim*. In its esoteric doctrine Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism discusses in particular the cosmological nature and role of the imām. The divine nature (*lāhūt*) of the imām, as distinct from his human nature (*nāsūt*), is viewed as a temple of light (*haykal nūrānī*). After the passing (*naḳla*) of the imām the light temple,

in which the souls of his followers are gathered, rises to the horizon of the Tenth Intellect, the demiurge, and takes his place.

Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, which had branched off from Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism after the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir (d. 487/1094) by recognizing his son Nizār as imām, has continued to recognize a line of present imāms. In the elaboration of the doctrine of the Resurrection (*ḳiyāma*), proclaimed in 559/1164 [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA], the imām, revealer of the esoteric truths, came to be ranked above the *nāṭiḳ*, enunciator of the law. The imām in his eternal essence was defined as a manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the Word (*kalima*) or Command (*amr*) of God, cause of the spiritual world. The believer attains his spiritual birth, or resurrection, through the recognition of the essence of the imām.

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ʿIMĀMA [see LIBĀS].

IMĀMIYYA [see IMĀMA, ITHNĀ ʿAS̲H̲ARIYYA].

IMĀMZĀDA is used to designate both the descendant of a S̲h̲īʿī *imām* and the shrine of such a person (with which this article is mainly concerned). The *imāmzādagān* are thus sayyids [*q.v.*], but all sayyids are not accorded the title of *imāmzāda*. In common usage it is given to the sons and grandsons of the *imāms*, but excluding those who themselves became *imāms*, and also to those of their descendants distinguished by special sanctity or by suffering martyrdom. It is not normally accorded to the female descendants of the *imāms*. The lives of many of the *imāmzādagān* are recorded in biographical and hagiographical works; the details of the lives of many others are obscure, and there is sometimes doubt over the actual descent of some of those who are revered and whose tombs are visited by pilgrims.

The first movement of *imāmzādagān* in any number into Persia was probably to Ḳumm. The *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ḳumm* of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḳummī mentions the coming of various descendants of the *imāms* Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Mūsā b. D̲j̲aʿfar, and others to Ḳumm. He also states that some of them settled in Āba and Kās̲h̲ān (ed. Sayyid D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran 1934, 191 ff.). After Maʾmūn's declaration of the Imām Riḍā as his *walī ʿahd*, many of the *imāmzādagān* came to Persia. On the death of the Imām Riḍā, they were dispersed. Although many of them were buried within the precincts of the shrines of the *imāms*, notably at Mas̲h̲had and Nad̲j̲af, the tombs of others and the tombs of their descendants, or what are believed to be their tombs, are to be found through the length and breadth of Persia. Many of these have become centres of pilgrimage. From early times it was common for both Sunnīs and S̲h̲īʿīs to visit the tombs of holy men, including those of the *imāmzādagān*. Muḥammad Bāḳir Mad̲j̲lisī states that the custom was sanctioned by the learned doctors of the faith although it was doubtful if traditions from the *imāms* themselves could be cited as giving authority for pilgrimages to the tombs of their children (*Tuḥfat al-zāʾirīn*, lith. Tehran 1857, 420, quoted by D. M. Donaldson in *The Shi'ite Religion*, London 1933, 258). He recommends, however, that such pilgrimages should be made. "In all cities", he writes, "there are many tombs attributed to the imamzadehs and other relations of the Imams. The graves of some of them are not marked, however, and in case of others there is nothing in particular that is known of their lives. It is advisable to visit all of them whose tombs have been identified. Honour shown to them is the equivalent to honouring the imams. While no separate instructions are given for these pilgrimages, it is well that their tombs should be visited in the same manner as those of other believers. If a distinction is made in the mode of addressing them let the salutation to them be the same as to the Imams, with whatever words flow to the tongue to show them honour. Any written salutations that the learned doctors have included in books are also acceptable" (*ibid.*, 423, quoted by Donaldson).

Many of the *imāmzādas* are only of local interest

and some of those which are popularly considered to be *imāmzāda*s are in fact the tomb of some holy man, as for example the tomb of Shaykh Aḥmad Ghazālī in Ḳazwīn, which is known as the Imāmzāda Aḥmad (Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Gulrīz, *Minūdar yā Bāb al-djinnat-i Ḳazwīn*, Tehran, 1958, 672. Cf. Ibn Karbalāʾī, *Rawḍat al-djinān wa-djannāt al-djanān*, ed. Djaʿfar Sulṭān al-Ḳarāʾī, Tehran 1965, 176, who mentions a tomb in Tabrīz wrongly described as an *imāmzāda*. Cf. also the story of how the alleged burial place of an *imāmzāda* was discovered in the *andārūn* of one of Nāṣir al-Dīn's palaces in Tehran related by Dūst ʿAlī Muʿayyir al-Mamālik in *Yād-dashthāʾī az-zindagī-i khuṣūṣī-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh*, Tehran n.d., 43).

There are special *ziyārat-nāma*s for many of the *imāmzāda*s. The place where the shrine first comes into the pilgrim's view is known as the *salāmgāh*. In some country districts, especially in the tribal districts of southern Persia, heaps of stones, placed there by generations of pilgrims, mark these spots. Pilgrimage to some of the *imāmzāda*s is associated with a special season of the year, as for example the annual pilgrimage to the shrine of the *imāmzāda* Sulṭān ʿAlī, a descendant of the Imām Muḥammad Bāḳir, who was killed at the village of Mashhad-i Ḳālī, near Ardahāl, near Kāshān. According to tradition his body was carried in a carpet to where the shrine now stands. An annual fair is held at the shrine on the seventeenth day of autumn when the carpet, followed by a procession, is taken from the shrine and washed, with much ceremony, in the near-by stream and returned to the shrine. (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḍarrābī, *Taʾrīkh-i Kāshān*, Tehran 1956, 300 ff. and A. Houtum Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1898, 88, note). This practice is still current. In many other shrines relics of the *imāmzāda* over whose remains the shrine has been raised are alleged to be preserved. For example at the shrine of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn, reputed to be a descendant of the Imām Mūsā b. Djaʿfar, near Ārūn and Nāz-makān, what is claimed to be the sword of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn is in the keeping of the *mutawallī*.

Miracles and special properties are attributed to many *imāmzāda*s. Like mosques they became, by custom, places in which asylum or *bast* [*q.v.*] could be taken. Criminals and fugitives from justice frequently had recourse to them. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*] made abortive attempts to limit the practice. One of the best known *imāmzāda*s is that of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm near Tehran (see Donaldson, *op. cit.*, 260). Owing to its proximity to the Ḳādjār capital, those who were protesting against the actions of the government frequently took refuge there in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī [*q.v.*] sought asylum there in 1891, but after some seven months his sanctuary was violated and he was seized by government troops. During the struggle which ended in the grant of the Constitution the supporters of the movement took refuge at Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm in the spring of 1905, while in the summer of 1907 a number of *mullā*s supporting the despotism retired there.

Many of the more famous *imāmzāda*s have *awḳāf* for their upkeep; some others have small *awḳāf*, while the more obscure often dispose of no funds at all except what pilgrims may give. There is often a strong hereditary tendency in the office of *mutawallī* (see Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *Dastūr al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, in *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres*, University of Tehran, xvi, no. 1-2, 68-9 for the office of *mutawallī* of the shrines at Ardabīl and Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm; and H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 157-75).

Bibliography: See article ʿALIDS; ʿAlī Tashakkurī, *Sitāragān-i furūzān*, Tehran 1969; *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, *op. cit.*, 191 ff.; *Taʾrīkh-i Kāshān*, *op. cit.*, 298 ff.; *Minūdar yā Bāb al-djannat-i Ḳazwīn*, *op. cit.*, 627 ff.; *Rawḍat al-Djinān wa djannāt al-djinān*, *op. cit.*, 449 ff.; Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmiʿi Mufīdī*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1961, iii, 520 ff.; Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Djaʿfarī, *Taʿrīkh-i Yazd*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1960, 106 ff.; Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥudjdjat Balāghī, *Taʾrīkh-i Nāʾīn*, 21 ff.; Rafīʿ, *Taʾrīkh-i Simnān*, Tehran 1962, 116 ff.; Fasāʾī, *Farsnāma-i Nāṣirī*, lith. Tehran 1894-6, 154 ff.; Muḥammad Djawād Bihrūzī, *Shahr-i Sabz yā shahristān-i kāzirūn*, Shīrāz 1967-8, 289 ff.; and for a list of the *imāmzāda*s in the main cities of Persia see ʿAlī Akbar Salmāsīzāda, *Taʾrīkhča-i Waḳf dar Islām*, Tehran 1964. Many local histories have information on *imāmzāda*s situated in the regions with which they deal.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

ĪMĀN (A.), faith (in God), *maṣdar* of the 4th form of the root *ʾmn*. The root has the connotations of "being secure, trusting in, turning to"; whence: "good faith, sincerity" (*amana*), then "fidelity, loyalty" (*amāna*), and thus the idea of "protection granted" (*amān*). The fourth form (*āmana*) has the double meaning of "to believe, to give one's faith" and (with *bi*) "to protect, to place in safety". The root *ʾmn* is one of those most frequently found in the vocabulary of the Ḳurʾān, where *īmān* means sometimes the act and sometimes the content of faith, sometimes both together. It may be said that the Ḳurʾān continually teaches the necessity of faith and proclaims its demands.

I. Elements and conditions of the act of faith. What is "to believe"? The schools of *ʿilm al-kalām* and of *fiḳh* very soon posed this question and continually returned to it. Three principal elements concur in an act of faith: the internal conviction, the verbal expression, the performance of the prescribed works (*iʿtiḳād* [or *taṣdīḳ*] *bi 'l-ḳalb*, *iḳrār bi 'l-lisān* [or *ḳawl*], *ʿamal*). There follow now the main solutions, which sometimes overlap, but according to different perspectives. It should be added that each term of the definitions proposed must be considered in relation to the schools or tendencies which use it, and to their ideas.

(1) The Ashʿarī school stresses conviction or internal judgement. We find in al-Ashʿarī himself two ideas of faith: (a) that of the *credo*s of the *Ibāna* (Cairo ed. 1348, 11) and of the *Maḳālāt* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., i, 327), which defines faith (in the Ḥanbalī tradition) as "words (*ḳawl*) and works"; (b) that of the *Lumaʿ* (ed. with Engl. tr. by R. J. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 75/104) which states: "faith is *taṣdīḳ* in God", *taṣdīḳ* being understood as an internal judgement of truthfulness, which gives its adherence to God. The vocabulary may vary, al-Ghazālī will speak of *ʿaḳd*, "pact", agreement of the heart, and al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 41) prefers *iʿtiḳād*; but the school as a whole considers the "pillar", the formal constituent of faith, to be the conviction of the heart (or of the intellect, *ʿaḳl*): the verbal profession of this is, unless it is impossible, the condition required, and the "actions of the limbs" (the accomplishment of the prescribed works) inter-

vene to perfect it. When therefore the electicism of al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo ed. 1325/1933, i, 103) unites the three elements to define faith as *taṣdīḳ* (or *ʿaḳd*), plus *ḳawl*, plus *ʿamal*, it cannot be said that he is diverging from Ashʿarī tradition.

(2) In the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī tendencies, the stress moves from *iʿtiḳād* to *ḳawl*, without omitting *taṣdīḳ* and joining to it the "knowledge of the heart (*maʿrifa*)". "Faith", says article 1 of the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, "is confession (*iḳrār*) by the tongue, internal conviction (*taṣdīḳ bi-'l-djanān*) and knowledge of the heart (*wa-maʿrifa bi 'l-ḳalb*)". More briefly, the *Fiḳh Akbar II* (article 18) states: "faith is *iḳrār* and *taṣdīḳ*". The profession of faith expressed in words (as it is formulated, essentially, by the "two members of the *shahāda*") thus appears here as the constituent of the act of faith: and the conviction which is given to it becomes the condition of it. In some manuscripts of the *Waṣiyya*, sometimes *taṣdīḳ* and more often *maʿrifa* are missing. It remains that an appeal to the "knowledge of the heart" is characteristic of the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī tendencies. In his *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, al-Ashʿarī saw in it even the first of the elements of faith according to Abū Ḥanīfa. As Wensinck points out (*The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 132), it is possible that there is here a certain continuity with the Murdjiʾī definition of faith, which considered it to consist in the knowledge of God, of the Prophet and of his teaching. The *Maḳālāt* (i, 197-8) mention in this connexion Djahm b. Ṣafwān and the Djahmiyya. Al-Ashʿarī describes the Ḥanifiyya as a Murdjiʾī sect (*ibid.*, 202), while recognizing that they (unlike the Djahmiyya) include in faith *iḳrār* with—and after—*maʿrifa* (*ibid.*, 203). However, the brief article of the *Fiḳh Akbar II*, mentioning only the verbal confession and internal conviction, was to be the main theme of the Māturīdī line (*e.g.*, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn ʿAlī, *Kitāb Naẓm al-farāʾid*[2], Cairo n.d., 49 ff.). It appears that al-Djurdjānī, in his *Taʿrīfāt* (*loc. cit.*) agreed with this opinion.

(3) As we have seen, various Ashʿarī texts mention the "works of the limbs" (in contrast to the Murdjiʾīs, for whom works are only "ways", *sharāʾiʿ*). They do not exclude them from faith, but do not consider them to be a formal constituent of it, nor even an obligatory condition. An earlier attitude, which was later challenged by Sunnism and in which Khāridjīs, Shīʿīs, Ḳadarīs and Muʿtazilīs joined, saw "works" as an integral part of faith, even as faith itself. By *ʿamal* (and its plural *aʿmāl*) should be understood the "pillars of Islam" (including the profession of faith), and with them the works prescribed by the Ḳurʾān. If the unrepentant sinner is doomed to hell, this is because, through his acts of "disobedience", he has abandoned his faith. We need not here study the differences between the Khāridjīs and the Muʿtazilīs, or the "intermediate state" accorded by the latter to the "believing sinner" [see FĀSIḲ]; we may say in short, for both of them, that "works" are not only the sign or the perfecting of faith, they *are* themselves faith and acts of faith; but, for the Khāridjīs, faith and works are interchangeable, whereas, for the Muʿtazilīs, the works are the witness which constitutes faith, itself a witness rendered to God. Thenceforward "faith (*īmān*) and religion (*dīn*) are one single and identical thing", according to the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 808). Al-Djubbāʾī and his son Abū Hāshim defined faith only as the fulfilling of the "prescribed" obediences (*ṭāʿāt*); but according to Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, who was followed in this by ʿAbd al-Djabbār, the performance of supererogatory works (*nawāfil*) also formed part of faith (*op. cit.*, 707-8). Deliberately to omit the performance of a prescribed duty is to cease to bear witness to the faith; whereas deliberately to fail to fulfil a secondary commandment is (merely) to tarnish the purity of the witness.

(4) The Ḥanbalī line insists on faith. It is vehemently opposed to the Murdjiʾīs; and, without making "works" the only pillar of the act of faith, it gives them a place in its definitions. According to Ibn Ḥanbal (*ʿAḳīda*, i, 24), "faith consists of words, works, the right intention (*niyya*) and attachment to the *Sunna*". And according to Ibn Baṭṭa, "To believe [in the message of the Prophet] is to state it with the tongue, to adhere to it (*taṣdīḳ*) with the heart (*djanān*), and to fulfil the pillars of Islam" (cf. H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, text and Fr. tr., Damascus 1958, 47/78). Thus *taṣdīḳ* is here less "judgement of veracity" than the synonym, to a certain extent, of *niyya*, the "right intention". Al-Kālābādhī turned this Ḥanbalī list into the "doctrine of the Ṣūfīs": "faith is word (*ḳawl*), act (*ʿamal*) and right intention (*niyya*)" (*Kitāb al-Taʿarruf*, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1352/1933, 51; Eng. tr., Cambridge 1935, 67). However, many Ḥanbalī texts (among them *ʿAḳīda II* and *ʿAḳīda III*) prefer to mention only words and works, *ḳawl* and *ʿamal*. We find again the same terms as those of the *credo*s of al-Ashʿarī (*Ibāna* and *Maḳālāt*); and it is thus also that the Wahhābī *credo* defined faith (cf. Fr. tr. of H. Laoust, *apud Doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 623). Thus the emphasis is on visible and audible witness. But the witness is valid before God only when it is rooted in the heart. This is the import of the *Kitāb al-Īmān* of Ibn Taymiyya (Cairo ed. 1325). The *Kitāb al-Furḳān* repeats the main argument of it (*apud Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil al-kubrā*, Cairo 1328, i, 28). Faith must not only be expressed by words and by "the works of the limbs", but it should arouse in the heart of the believer the virtues of the fear of God (*khawf*), of submission to God (*tawakkul*), of humility (*dhill*), and of patient endurance (*ṣabr*). H. Laoust is right in saying, in his summary of these theses, that "la foi, dans la doctrine d'Ibn Taymiyya, est totalitaire" (*op. cit.*, 470).

(5) It is not impossible that Ibn Taymiyya accepted certain influences of the Shīʿī thought to which in fact he was opposed: but he separated them from their gnostic tendencies, and re-situated them in a Sunnī context. If we refer for example to the moderate Ismāʿīlism of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (*Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Cairo 1347/1928, iv, 128-129) we find again the distinction between external (*ẓāhir*) faith and internal (*bāṭin*) faith. The first is verbal affirmation; the second, which is the true faith, is defined as the innermost thoughts of the heart brought to bear, with experienced certainty, upon the truths professed by the tongue. Thus it is no longer a case of *iʿtiḳād*, firm adherence, or of *taṣdīḳ*, judgement of veracity, but of the "idea" of intellectual conception (*iḍmār*) which "realizes" the certainty (*yaḳīn*) of the object of faith (cf. the *yaḳīn* preached by al-Ghazālī, who goes so far as to call "the reality of faith" an experienced taste of internal evidence). The following chapters of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ combine with this "certainty" the religious sentiments of *tawakkul*, *ikhlāṣ*, *ṣabr*, etc. (*op. cit.*, iv,

129 ff.), according to a procedure which, though starting from different basic ideas, is not without an analogy with the interiorization sought by Ibn Taymiyya.

II. The content of faith. It was against the Murdji'is and the Djahmis that the Ḥanbalī school had insisted on a faith which is expressed: thus affirming that faith is not only knowledge (*maʿrifa*), but must be made alive by the intention (*niyya*) or the adherence (*taṣdīḳ*) of the heart, and render witness by words and the fulfilment of the prescribed works. Certainly knowledge, understood as the object of faith, is not ignored, but it is not sufficient; knowledge alone, even if experienced, does not constitute faith, but faith implies a certain knowledge: the distinction is established between the act of faith and its content. "Faith in God", says Ibn Baṭṭa (cf. H. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 47/77-8), "is to give one's adherence to all that God has said, to all that He has ordered, to all the duties which He has prescribed, to all the prohibitions which He has laid down, to all which He instructed His prophets to transmit, to all that He has revealed in His books". It may be said more briefly that the content of faith is the Ḳur'ān itself, summed up in the "two limbs of the *shahāda*": the Unity of God and the mission of Muḥammad, the Prophet of God.

The manuals often distinguish between "the necessary beliefs", and those which a man may ignore without ceasing to be a Muslim. It is readily stated that the "essential beliefs" are listed in the famous verse of the Ḳur'ān (II, 285, tr. Arberry): "The Messenger believes in what was sent down to him from his Lord, and the believers; each one believes in God and His angels, and in His books and His Messengers" (and "in the Last Day", LX, 6). A no less famous *ḥadīth* repeats: "Faith is that thou shouldst believe in God, in his angels, in the future life, in the prophets, in the resurrection" (cf. the *ḥadīth* known as that "of Gabriel", al-Bukhārī, *Īmān*, 37). Another, often quoted, adds: "and that thou shouldst believe in the divine Decree for good and evil, the sweet and the bitter"; and a third: "The Prophet said: man has not faith unless he believes in four things: unless he bears witness that there is no divinity but God; that I am the messenger of God charged to teach the truth; unless he believes in the resurrection after death; and believes in the divine decree for good and evil, for the sweet and the bitter".

The precise list of the essential beliefs varies somewhat according to the schools, and sometimes the authors. It always refers however, in essentials, to the Ḳur'ānic verse and the three *ḥadīth*s quoted above.

It should also be noted that the essential content of the Shīʿī conception of faith remains close to that of the Sunnī concept. There are added to it some points of doctrine peculiar to Shīʿism, and, especially in Ismāʿīlism, an interpretation of the nature of angels and of prophecy conforming to a emanatist and monist view of the order of the world (cf. *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, iv, 129).

III. The value of faith. There should be mentioned three problems.

(1) *Faith and freedom*: "Let whosoever will believe, and let whosoever will disbelieve" (Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 29). How should this verse be understood? The degree of freedom recognized in the act of faith is linked with the problem of the freedom of human action; the assessment of it thus varies according to the schools. The Muʿtazilīs consider the act of faith to be "created" by man by virtue of a power created in him by God; the Ashʿarīs consider it to be directly created by God within the human heart, thanks to that *tawfīḳ* which is itself "the creation in man of the power to obey" (al-Taftāzānī, *Maḳāṣid*, Instanbul n.d., 118). This definition, although given by al-Taftāzānī, is more Ashʿarī than Māturīdī. Indeed, in general, the Māturīdī Ḥanafīs consider the root (*aṣl*) of every human act to be created by God, whereas its qualification arises from the judgement of man. Applied to faith, this attempt at conciliation is aimed at reconciling the ideas both of God's creation of actions and man's freewill as recognized by the Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 29.

(2) *Faith and salvation*: All the schools state that faith ensures salvation. Their divergencies on the conditions of salvation arise from their divergencies concerning the formal constituents of the act of faith: for the Ashʿarīs it is centred on internal *taṣdīḳ*, for the Māturīdī-Ḥanafīs on the expressed profession of faith and the adherence of the heart, for the Muʿtazilīs on the performance of the "prescribed duties", for the Ḥanbalīs and the Wahhābīs on the profession of faith and the performance of the basic duties. If a common denominator is sought for all these various opinions, it might be said *īmān*, summed up in *shahāda*, is the witness made to God, the affirmation that He is Lord, according to the terms of the "pact", of the *mīthāḳ* of pre-eternity: "'Am I not your Lord?' ... 'Yes, we testify'" (Ḳur'ān, VII, 172). In this way agreement can be reached on the well-known *ḥadīth*s: "No one shall enter hell who has an atom of faith in his heart" (in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim) and again: "Hell will not welcome anyone who has in his heart an atom of faith" (second part of a *ḥadīth* of al-Bukhārī, 81, 51). But the interpretations of these traditional texts diverged in their turn. For the person who regards the performance of the prescribed works as an integral part of faith, the sinner guilty of grave acts of disobedience is no longer truly a believer. For the person who regards works as merely the perfection of faith, the believing sinner remains a believer; he may be punished for a time in hell, but in the end he will be one of the "guests of paradise". The first opinion is that of the Khāridjīs and, with the nuance of the "intermediate state", of the Muʿtazilīs. The second opinion is professed, generally speaking, by the Sunnīs. An extra point: the Māturīdīs consider that the believing sinner will certainly undergo temporary punishment, while the Ashʿarīs consider that he may be pardoned immediately and in full.

(3) "*Uncreated faith*": The insistence of tradition on "an atom of faith" leads us to the problem of "uncreated faith". The schools which put the emphasis on *iʿtiḳād* or *taṣdīḳ* in general make this internal adherence an immutable nucleus, the created response to the "uncreated faith" of God. This may seem a rather surprising idea. However, the Ashʿarī authors insist on it. They regard the "uncreated faith" of God as the attestation which He gives to Himself: "Verily I am God; there is no god but I" (Ḳur'ān, XX, 14). And it is thus that, in the list of the "99 most beautiful names" [see AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ], al-Īdjī and al-Djurdjānī (among others) give a *first* explanation the divine name of al-Mu'min (Ḳur'ān, LIX, 23). God is *mu'min*, says al-Īdjī (*Mawāḳif*, *apud* al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, Cairo 1327/1907, viii, 212), inasmuch as He adheres to Himself and to His prophet", and al-Djurdjānī, in commenting on this, refers to

Ḳur'ān, XX, 14. This first meaning, which is the basis of the idea of "uncreated faith", by no means excludes the second meaning of *mu'min*: one who gives security and protection. *Allāh mu'min* means therefore: God, the source of security (and thus, of faith), the Protector. While refering to the first meaning, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Lawāmiʿ*, Cairo 1323, 143-5) seems to prefer the second one.

Nevertheless, for the majority of the Ashʿarīs, the "atom (*dharra*) of faith" which *makes* salvation, is readily considered as a created participation in the "uncreated faith" of God, placed in the heart of man at the time of the *mīthāḳ*.

IV. Questions concerning faith. Very many related questions are raised by the consideration of faith. We give here a list which is not exhaustive: (1) the "status" (*ḥukm*) of *mu'min* in this world and the next; (2) the relation between faith and unbelief (*kufr*); (3) the relation between *īmān* and *islām*; (4) may a person "hide" his faith? (the problem of *taḳiyya*); (5) should the proviso "if it pleases God" be added to the statement "I am a believer"? (6) can faith increase and decrease? (7) the degrees of faith. (Cf. L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane*: *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 308-90.) The first five questions will be treated in the articles MU'MIN, KUFR, ISLĀM, TAḲIYYA, IN SHĀ' ALLĀH, respectively. We discuss here only the last two.

(1) *Can faith increase and decrease?* This question appears at a very early stage in the enquiries of the schools; it is related to the definition accepted for the act of faith. The Kur'ān mentions many times the possibility of an increase of faith (thus, III, 173; XLVIII, 4; LXXIV, 31). Certain opinions, however, present it as immutable. Two examples are: (a) The Khāridjīs and the Karrāmiyya consider that faith is given as a whole and is retained or lost in its entirety, according to whether obedience to the Law is maintained or lost; it cannot vary. (b) The Murdji'is and the Māturīdī-Ḥanafīs consider faith to be immutable, but not as this is understood by the Khāridjīs. "Faith", says article 2 of the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, "cannot grow or decrease. In fact its weakening can be conceived only in connexion with an increase of unbelief (*kufr*); and its progress in connexion with a weakening of *kufr*. This would imply the possibility of being at the same time both a believer and a non-believer: and how could this be possible?" (cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 125, 138). This thesis was to be defended, against the Ashʿarīs, by the later Māturīdī manuals (cf. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn ʿAlī, *op. cit.*, 52-4, which appeals to Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Māturīdī). It implies a radical distinction between "faith" and "works". To omit an obligatory work is an act of disobedience, but it does not affect faith, either in itself or in its state of perfection.

But a very early tradition, in conforming with the Ḳur'ān, admitted possible variations of faith. Al-Bukhārī and Ibn Mādja, citing the Companions, stated this thesis in their introductions to the chapter on faith. And this was to be the opinion followed by the majority of the schools. Thus: (a) the Muʿtazilīs consider that faith *is* the witness of works: hence it can vary in itself; it increases according to the accomplishing of the prescribed works and decreases according to their omission. (b) Ibn Ḥanbal (*ʿAḳīda*, i, 24) regards faith, defined by word and works, as being susceptible to growth and to decrease. Ḥanbalī thinking is unanimous on this point. Ibn Baṭṭa: "Interior adherence (*taṣdīḳ*) grows with the works and the words of goodness (*iḥsān*); it decreases with disobedience (*maʿṣiya*). It has a point of departure and a beginning; then it is possible for it to progress and to increase endlessly" (*op. cit.*, 48/78). The same opinion is found in Ibn Taymiyya and the Wahhābīs. This thesis (we may note) was found also in the *credos* of the *Maḳālāt* and of the *Ibāna* of al-Ashʿarī. (c) The whole of the Ashʿarī school was to uphold this theory of the growth and decrease of faith, but at the same time stressing that it was a matter of the degree of perfection brought to it (or not) by works accomplished. Hence (cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā... Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1352/1934, 30): the "uncreated faith" of God and the faith of the angels can neither increase nor diminish; the faith of the prophets may grow according as the mission is faithfully accomplished, but it cannot decrease, because of the *ʿiṣma*, the prophetic "infallibility"; the faith of common men alone can increase or decrease. But the formal constituent of *īmān* being defined, following the *Lumaʿ* of al-Ashʿarī, by the interior *taṣdīḳ*, the school habitually distinguished, at the root of faith, an immutable nucleus (the "atom of faith" of the *ḥadīths*) created by God in the heart: it can be lost entirely by an act of unbelief, but it cannot vary. Thus the Ashʿarīs admit both the immutability of faith in its main nucleus (cf. Māturīdī-Ḥanafīs), and its variability in its degree of perfection (cf. Ḥanbalīs).

(2) *The degrees of faith*: This question, to a certain extent connected with the last, is nevertheless different from it. It is no longer a matter of lower or upper levels of faith within the same subject, according to "obediences" or "disobediences". It is a matter of the degrees of faith according to its intrinsic nature in different subjects.

The Ashʿarī and Shāfiʿī lines, which consider *taḳlīd* to be an unreasoning imitation and a passive acceptance, were severe on "faith through *taḳlīd*" as being valid only for a person incapable of rising to anything higher. The Ḥanbalīs, on the other hand, who defined *taḳlīd* as an intentional and conscious imitation of the Prophet, of the Companions and of their successors, regarded it as a fundamental attitude of the believer (cf. H. Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, 7, n. 2, and 9, n. 1). Ibn ʿAḳil, however, was suspicious of it, fearing that recourse to *taḳlīd* would substitute imitation for the seeking of proofs (cf. G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963, 524-5).

The majority of the manuals of *kalām* regard as much superior to "faith by *taḳlīd*" faith based on knowledge (or science), *īmān ʿan ʿilm*: an enlightened faith, which "proves" its object. The "proof" in question being understood as arising from the arguments and reasonings of the *mutakallimūn*, the "scientific" faith thus lauded was exposed to attacks by opponents, both Ḥanbalīs and *falāsifa*. Al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyā'*, i, 107-8) mentioned a third degree, higher than the preceding one, the "faith of certitude" (*yaḳīn*). There is probably to be seen here an influence of both Shīʿism and Ṣūfism: this higher degree based on the *yaḳīn* is for al-Ghazālī the only true faith, as was the "interior faith" for the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. The same influences are very probably present in Ibn Taymiyya. After defining faith through *islām*, that is through the proclamation of the *shahāda* and the performance of the basic duties (*Kitāb al-īmān*, 32), and after enumerating the feelings of experience which it produces in the heart of the believer (cf. above), he distinguishes in ascending order the faith of the *walī* (one "close" to God), that of the *ṣiddīḳ*

(the most truthful, the just), and that of the prophet. Starting from a "conformist ritualism" (H. Laoust), faith, according to Ibn Taymiyya, ends as *iḥsān* (virtuous conduct), *ikhlāṣ* (sincerity and unadulterated purity), and in the annihilation (*fanā'*) of the created will in a total submission to the divine Commandment.

Bibliography: in the article. A complete bibliography would be immense; in it there would need to be mentioned the "professions of faith" of the various Sunnī schools and of the *firāḳ*, almost all the manuals of *ʿilm al-kalām* and of *uṣūl al-dīn*, and many Ṣūfī spiritual works.

(L. Gardet)

IMĀRA [see amīr].

IMĀRAT al-NUBUWWA [see nubuwwa].

ʿIMĀRET [see khayr and waḳf].

IMAZIGHEN [see berbers].

(Ḥādjdjī) **IMDĀD ALLĀH** al-Muhādjir al-Hindī al-Makkī b. Muḥammad Amīn al-Fārūḳī, the spiritual guide and preceptor of a number of leading religious personalities of India (including Muḥammad Ḳāsim al-Nānawtawī, founder of the Dār al-ʿUlūm at Deōband [*q.v.*], Rashīd Aḥmad al-Anṣārī of Gaṅgōh (d. 1323/1905), a well-known *muḥaddith*, *faḳīh*, divine and scholar of his days and Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī [*q.v.*]), was born at Nānawta (dist. Sahāranpūr, India) in 1231/1815.

A *ḥāfiẓ* of the Ḳur'ān, he was moderately well educated in Persian, Arabic grammar and syntax and jurisprudence, but was never regarded as an *ʿālim* in the traditional sense. He spent his youth in gaining a good knowledge of *taṣawwuf* and soon established himself as a *shaykh* in a mosque in his home-town of Thāna Bhawan (18 miles N.W. of Muzaffarnagar), which later came to be known as the Khānḳāh-i Imdādiyya, the seat of his *silsila*. It was burnt down as a reprisal in 1857, following the insurrection of the local people, but was rebuilt and in course of time produced such great figures as Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī, one of whose disciples was Sulaymān Nadwī, the celebrated Urdu biographer of the Prophet.

He performed his first pilgrimage to Mecca in 1261/1845, thus gaining the honorific of "Ḥādjdjī", which became an inseparable part of his name. During the Indian Mutiny of 1274/1857 Imdād Allāh and his colleagues also declared *djihād* against the British, following the execution of a certain ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, a leading citizen of Thāna Bhawan, who was accused of being in league with the mutineers. After establishing parallel government in the town they attacked Shamlī, a small neighbouring place, but were routed by the British. Imdād Allāh succeeded in making good his escape but the other ring-leaders of the rebellion were arrested and treated rather leniently. Apprehensive of being arrested, the Ḥādjdjī succeeded in leaving the country incognito and reaching Mecca (1276/1860), where he permanently settled. As a stranger, not esteemed very highly by the local population, he passed some very difficult days in the beginning owing to poverty. Besides his other activities he delivered lectures on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī* in the Ḥaram al-Sharīf. Gradually his fame as a *ṣūfī* spread and he began to attract many followers. People from India, mostly scholars from Deōband, went all the way across the seas to contract his *bayʿa*, Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī being one of them. While in Mecca he married three times at a fairly advanced age, but none of the wives bore him children.

He is the author of: (1) *Ḍiyā' al-ḳulūb* (in Persian; ed. Delhi 1877) composed in 1282/1865, on the *adhkār wa-ashghāl* (formulas and practices) of the Čishtiyya order [*q.v.*]; (2) *Ghidha-yi rūḥ* (in Urdu), containing strange tales and parables in verse warning against the wiles of Satan; (3) *Djihād-i akbar*, a long poem in Urdu composed in 1268/1852 on the virtues and merits of *ḳitāl*, in fact a translation of some anonymous treatise in Persian, which shows that even before the Mutiny of 1857 he had been cogitating on the subject of *djihād* which led to his military setback at Shāmlī in 1857 (see above); (4) *Tuḥfat al-ʿushshāḳ* (also a *mathnawī* in Urdu composed in 1281/1864), on gnosis and divine cognition and on *al-ḥaḳīḳa wa 'l-madjāz*; (5) *Dard-nāma-i ghamnāk*, a small poem in Urdu composed as a plaintive dirge of a forlorn lover; (6) *Irshād-i murshid* (again a poem in Urdu composed in 1293/1876) on spiritual and esoteric experiences, also containing his moral exhortations and apophthegms; (7) *Waḥdat al-wudjūd* (in Persian) composed in 1299/1883; a brief treatise on the doctrine of the Unity of Being as propounded by Ibn al-ʿArabī; (8) *Fayṣala-i haft mas'ala*, a treatise on seven controversial topics of the day, such as *simāʿ*, the visiting of graves, the celebration of the death anniversary of a saint etc., which led to a rift among his own followers; (9) *Gulzār-i maʿrifat*, a collection of his Persian and Urdu verse on spiritual and mystic matters; (10) A *Ḥāshiya* in Persian on the *Mathnawī* (ed. Cawnpore 1314-1321/1896-1903), partly published posthumously; (11) *Maktūbāt-i Imdādiyya* (ed. Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī, Lahore 1966), a collection of 50 of his Urdu letters written from Mecca during the closing years of his life (the last letter is dated 1317/1899); (12) *Marḳūmāt-i Imdādiyya*, 61 letters in Persian published as an appendix to *Imdād al-mushtāḳ* (ed. Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī, Lucknow 1915); (13) *Kulliyāt-i Imdādiyya*, a collection of his poetical works, repeatedly published in India and Pakistan (ed. Cawnpore 1315/1898, Shāhkōṭ, dist. Sheikhūpūra, n.d.). Most of these compositions are in verse but he never claimed to be a great poet. These books have been published repeatedly in India and Pakistan with the exception of the *Ḥāshiya* on the *Mathnawī*.

He died in 1371/1899 in Mecca widely acclaimed as a great spiritual teacher, at the ripe age of 84, and was buried in al-Maʿlā, the historic graveyard wherein also lie buried Khadīdja, the first wife of the Prophet, and his uncle Abū Ṭālib.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

IMMOLATION [see DHABĪḤA].

IMPIETY, IMPIOUS [see KĀFIR].

ĪMRĀLĪ, ĪMRʿĀLĪ [see EMRELI].

ʿIMRĀN (Hebrew ʿAmrām, modified to an authentically Arabic name, cf. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 128), name given in "Israelite" history as related by Muslim authors to two persons: the first appears in the Bible but not in the Ḳurʾān; the second vice versa. The first is the father of Mūsā, Hārūn and Maryam [*qq.v.*], the son of Ḳāhith (Kohath), the son of Lāwī (Levi) according to the Biblical genealogy (Exodus, VI, 20) followed by al-Yaʿḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, 31 (tr. G. Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, 39) and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 92, tr. Pellat, i, § 85; others, for example al-Ṭabarī, i, 443, and the *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 81/83 insert between ʿImrān and Ḳāhith, Yiṣhar, who according to the Bible was the brother and not the father of ʿAmrām. Rabbinical legend referred to ʿAmrām as an important person in Egypt. In the fabulous version of al-Kisāʾī, ʿImrān is promoted to the rank of vizier and bodyguard of Firʿawn [*q.v.*], with the result that, by a miraculous intervention of Providence, Mūsā came to be conceived actually within the tyrant's palace and thus escaped the destruction of the male children of the Israelites which the latter ordered.

The second ʿImrān (the son of Māthān according to the historians) was, according to the Ḳurʾān, III, 31/35 (cf. LXVI, 12), the father of Maryam, the mother of ʿĪsā (Jesus), and also, according to the historians, of Ashbaʿ (Elizabeth), the mother of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ [*q.v.*]/John the Baptist: cf. *Murūdj*, i, 120, tr. Pellat, i, § 117; *Badʾ*, iii, 116/120, 118/123. The genealogy given in the Ḳurʾān was disputed by the Christians (a controversy summarized by R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, note to XIX, 29/28, Paris 1949, ii, 229 = 1957 ed., p. 331).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given above, see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321/1903, xvi, 50 ff.; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, Cairo 1371/1951, 102, 119; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, 193-5, 201; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, Paris 1957, index *s.v.* ʿImrān/ʿAmrān; for the Jewish legend, see L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, ii, 1910, 258-65, v, 1925, 390-7.

(J. Eisenberg—[G. Vajda])

ʿIMRĀN B. ḤIṬṬĀN, AL-SADŪSĪ AL-KHĀRIDJĪ, an Arab sectarian and poet. He hailed from the Banu 'l-Ḥārith b. Sadūs, a clan of the Banū Shaybān b. Dhuhl. He was first a Sunnī, and is mentioned by Ibn Saʿd (vii/I, 113) in the second class of the "followers" (*tābiʿūn*) of Baṣra; he is named as a transmitter in the collections of Bukhārī, Abū Dāwūd, and Nasāʾī. It is said that he was converted by his wife to the doctrines of the Khāridjis [*q.v.*] and became the leader of their moderate wing, the Ṣufriyya [*q.v.*], who rejected indiscriminate political murder (*istiʿrāḍ* [*q.v.*]) and were lenient towards those Khawāridj who sometimes abstained from fighting and stayed at home (*al-ḳaʿad*). They were interested in theological problems, and ʿImrān had no equal as their *muftī* and the expounder of their doctrines. Of his life very little is known. When the great revolts of the Khawāridj started in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, ʿImrān was persecuted by order of al-Ḥadjdjādj and had to leave Baṣra. Under a false name he found refuge with Bedouin chiefs in the desert, but had to move on as soon as his whereabouts was discovered. For a year he stayed in Syria with Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ al-Djudhāmī, a favourite of ʿAbd al-Malik, who inadvertently led the caliph to detect his guest's identity. So ʿImrān fled to Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, the leader of the Ḳays ʿAylān. This happened apparently before Zufar was besieged and subdued by the caliph in 71/691. ʿImrān then fled to Oman, where were living many followers of Abū Bilāl [see MIRDĀS B. UDAYYA]; they received him kindly, but he was again betrayed and went to the Azd in Rūdh Maysān near Kūfa or according to others (Yāḳūt, iii, 889) in Farīth in the district of Wāsiṭ. He died there in 84/703.

ʿImrān had a great reputation as a poet; according to Farazdaḳ (*Aghānī*[3], vii, 232) he would have been counted the greatest poet of his time, had he not devoted all his verses to the cause of the Khawāridj. His *dīwān*, mentioned by Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ* vi, 139, 1, is lost. He lamented (*Kāmil*, 550, etc.) the death of Abū Bilāl, who was killed in battle in 61/680; he eulogized (*Aghānī*[1], xvi, 153, etc.—the whole poem is extant in *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya*) Ibn Muldjam [*q.v.*], the murderer of ʿAlī. In other poems he praises his hosts Zufar (*Kāmil*, 532 f.; *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 254), Rawḥ (*Aghānī*[1], xvi, 153) and the Azd (*Aghānī*[1], xvi, 154; see also Yāḳūt, i, 451). Some of his verses contain pessimistic reflexions on life and death.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vii/I, 113; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 132, 136; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 530-8 (relying on information obtained from members of the Ṣufriyya, 527, 7); Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 120, 5; *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 152-7; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 91; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, ii, 276; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iii, 178; idem, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 127 ff.; ʿAynī, *Maḳāṣid*, on the margin of the *Khizāna*, ii, 229 f.; Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī*, 313; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ii, 436-41; Madāʾinī wrote a book on ʿImrān (*Fihrist*, 104, 7; cf. *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 155).

(J. W. Fück)

ʿIMRĀN B. SHĀHĪN, one of the best known of the bandit-lords who, from the marshes of the *Baṭāʾiḥ* [*q.v.*] where they were entrenched, periodically defied and even threatened the authorities of Baghdād itself. A native of al-Djāmida, a place between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, ʿImrān was obliged to go into hiding following a crime which he had committed, and from then on led the life of a brigand, for which the region where he dwelt was very suitable. He next entered into relations with Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Barīdī [see AL-BARĪDĪ], who saw in him the man he needed to defend the marshes against his enemies. But as his banditry was threatening the security of the road to Baṣra, the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla was several times obliged to send troops against him; this however, because of the local conditions, produced no result, and the government soldiers were usually lured into some place from which they could not escape. Muʿizz al-Dawla was reduced to appointing ʿImrān officially governor of the region, which did not however prevent him and his band on occasion from continuing to pursue his favourite occupation.

Repeated attempts by Muʿizz al-Dawla and his successor Bakhtiyār to put an end to his situation by force were no more successful than formerly; Bakhtiyār was in fact reduced to asking ʿImrān's help to fight against ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the bandit receiving the official *laķab* of Muʿīn al-Dawla. He remained master of the marshes until his death in 369/979 and passed on his power to his son Ḥusayn, with whom ʿAḍud al-Dawla had the same experience as his predecessors had had with his father; however in 372/982-3, Ḥusayn was killed by his brother Abu 'l-Faradj, who himself suffered the same fate the following year at the hands of the *ḥādjib* al-Muẓaffar b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who had been a general under the rule of his father, and who then proclaimed as ruler a son of Ḥusayn (a minor) named Abu 'l-Maʿālī; but soon afterwards he established himself in his place, basing his authority on a forged title of investiture bearing the signature of the Būyid Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. On one other occasion, in 412/1021, a son of ʿImrān, Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ Muḥammad, attempted to seize power, but he failed.

Bibliography: See especially Miskawayh and ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī, *Takmila*; see also BŪYIDS. (ED.)

AL-ʿ**IMRĀNĪ**, MUʿĪN AL-DĪN AL-HINDĪ, distinguished theologian and scholar of Delhi, whom Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaķķ Muḥaddith calls *ustād-i shahr*, "teacher of the (whole) town". He wrote commentaries on *Kanz al-daķāʾiķ*, *al-Manār*, *al-Miftāḥ*, *al-Talkhīṣ*, *al-Ḥuṣāmī* and *Talwīḥ* (for MSS, Zubaid Ahmad, cited below). Muḥammad b. Tughluķ (725-52/1324-51) held him in high esteem on account of his erudition and sent him to Shīrāz to persuade Ķāḍī ʿAḍud al-Dīn to come to India. The ruler of Shīrāz received him with respect, but persuaded the Ķāḍī to decline the invitation from Delhi. ʿImrānī was at first critical of the *ṣufī*s, but his pupil Mawlānā Khwādjgī gradually drew him to the mystic path, and he developed a devotion to Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh [*q.v.*]; according to the author of the *Maʿāridj al-walāyat*, he received *khilāfat* also from him.

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(K. A. NIZAMI)

IMROZ, Ottoman name of the island of Imbros in the Aegean Sea, some 15 km off the southern end of the Gallipoli peninsula (Thracian Chersonese), and thus of strategic importance as commanding the entrance to the Dardanelles, Čanaķ-ķalʿe Boghazi [*q.v.*]. In 1444, when it was visited by Cyriacus of Ancona, it was still Byzantine (although the neighbouring islands of Thasos and Samothrace were in the hands of the Gattilusio family). When news of the fall of Constantinople (857/1453) reached the island, many of its leading men fled, but the prominent Imbriot Critoboulos (the historian) procured from the Turkish admiral Ḥamza the temporary immunity of the island and sent a deputation to the Sultan at Edirne. However, there was at the Ottoman court at the same time a delegation from the Gattilusi lords of Lesbos and Aenos, and the Sultan granted Imbros to Palamede Gattilusio of Aenos in return for an annual tribute of 1200 ducats. In 860/1456, when the Sultan moved against Aenos [see ENOS] and the admiral Yūnus was sent to annex its maritime dependencies, Critoboulos was appointed governor of Imbros, in which capacity, in the autumn of 1456, he managed to dissuade the commander of the Papal fleet from occupying the island. It was at his prompting too that in the winter of 1458-9 Demetrius Palaeologus, the Despot of Mistra, asked the Sultan to grand him Lemnos and Imbros; so that in 1460 Demetrius (by now expelled from the Morea) was granted these two islands, together with Aenos, Thasos and Samothrace. Although the Venetians took Imbros in 1466, they lost it to a Turkish fleet in 1470, and from then until 1912 it remained in Ottoman hands.

During the First Balkan War, Imroz, with the other Aegean islands, was taken by the Greek fleet (November-December 1912); Greece maintained possession of the island, which was formally ceded to her by the Treaty of Sèvres (August 1920). By the Treaty of Lausanne (July 1923) it was returned to Turkey, with the stipulations that it be demilitarized and that its predominantly Greek population be excluded from the proposed exchange of populations [see MÜBĀDELE]. It is now an *ilçe* of the province of Çanakkale, pop. (1960) 5776.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Imbros; W. Miller, *The Gattilusj of Lesbos (1355-1462)*, in *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge 1921 (repr. Amsterdam 1964), 313-53; idem, *The Ottoman Empire and its successors, 1801-1927*[3], Cambridge 1927 (repr. London 1966), index; Pîri Reʾis, *Kitabı Bahriye*, Istanbul 1935, 94-6; I. H. Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, i and iv, index; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, Paris 1890, 484-7; *Ķāmūs al-aʿlām*, ii, 1035. For a *ķānūnnāme* of 925/1515 (showing that the islanders enjoyed several exemptions), see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 237-8. For a recent description of the island: *Turkey* (Naval Intelligence geographical handbook), 1943, i, 76. See further the articles on the islands whose history is closely linked with that of Imroz: BOZDJA-ADA, SEMENDIREK, TASHOZ and (especially) LIMNI. (ED.)

IMRUʾ AL-**ĶAYS** (slave of [the god] Ķays), by-name of several Arab poets. Al-Āmidī mentions ten of them (*al-Muʾtalif wa-'l-mukhtalif*, Cairo 1961, 5-9), while Fīrūzābādī list eleven of them (*al-Ķāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1913, ii, 244) and al-Suyūṭī fifteen (*Muzhir*, Cairo 1958, ii, 456). Taking account of all the variants in their genealogies, Ḥ. Sandūbī has drawn up a list in which their number reaches twenty-five (*Akhbār al-Marāķisa wa ashʿāruhum fi 'l-djāhiliyya wa-ṣadr al-Islām*, printed as a continuation of *Sharḥ dīwān Imruʾ al-Ķays* ⁴Cairo 1959, 223-368). The most famous of all these poets is Imruʾ al-Ķays b. Ḥudjr [see next art.]. Mention should also be made of the two following: Imruʾ al-Ķays ʿAdī b. Rabīʿa al-Taghlibī, best known under the name of al-Muhalhil, who was the maternal uncle of the Imruʾ al-Ķays b. Ḥudjr and, according to some, the creator of the form of the classical *ķaṣīda* (Ibn Ķutayba, *Shiʿr* 164-6; *Aghānī*, viii, 63; *Khizānat al-adab*, i, 302-4; Fuʾād Bustānī, *Rawāʾiʿ*, and references there given; Sandūbī, *op. cit.*, 231-303); Imruʾ al-Ķays b. ʿĀbis al-Kindī, who is included among the Companions of the Prophet (Sandūbī, *op. cit.*, 339-47 and references there given). (S. BOUSTANY)

IMRU᾽ AL-ḲAYS B. ḤUDJR, name of a pre-Islamic Arab poet, who is generally considered to have died circa 550 A.D. Unfortunately the biographical details on the poet come mainly from Kūfan writers of the second half of the 2nd/8th century, who practically never give their sources and who very often contradict one another. As little as two centuries later, authors collecting these contradictory facts had denounced them as untrustworthy. Hence the portrait of the poet, so far as it emerges from the existing information, is that of an obscure and semi-legendary personality.

His personal name is reported as ʿAdī or Mulayka or Ḥundudj. In addition to that of Imru᾽ al-Ḳays ("slave of the god Ḳays"), he is said to have had the by-names of Dhu ᾽l-ḳurūḥ ("the man covered with ulcers") and al-Malik al-ḍillīl ("the wandering king"); there are also attributed to him three *kunyas*: Abu ᾽l-Ḥārith, Abū Wahb and Abū Zayd.

On his genealogy the sources disagree. The chain of ancestors given by the Baṣran al-Aṣmaʿī differs on several points from those provided by the Kūfan Ibn al-Aʿrābī, the Baghdādī Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb or other sources which the *Aghānī* cites without naming them. There is even disagreement over the name of the father of Imru᾽ al-Ḳays (Ḥudjr or al-Simṭ), that of his grandfather (al-Ḥārith or ʿAmr or Imru᾽ al-Ḳays), and that of his mother (Fāṭima bint Rabīʿa or Tamlik bint ʿAmr).

The most usual version of his life may be summarized as follows: as a child he had lived at the court of Ḥudjr, the last king of the Kinda, of whom he was the youngest son; but soon his passion for poetry, and especially erotic poetry, led to his being expelled from his father's house. Here there comes an episode which has all the characteristics of a romanticized addition: the father, in his anger, instructs his freedman Rabīʿa to put the young poet to death and to bring him his eyes; Rabīʿa, seized with pity, merely kills a young antelope and takes its eyes to the hasty father. Later, the father repents, learns of the substitution, summons his son and is reconciled to him. Once again however, and for the same reasons, Imru᾽ al-Ḳays was expelled from his father's house and began to lead the life of a carefree vagabond. At the head of a band of roughs, he began to wander in the desert, dividing his time between hunting, drinking and song. In order to enliven his libations he had taken with him his singing slave-girls.

It was during a drinking session that he received the news that his father had been assassinated. The Banū Asad had revolted against their ruler and had succeeded in having him killed. From then on Imru᾽ al-Ḳays's only aim was to avenge his father.

Helped by the Banū Bakr and the Banū Taghlib, he succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on his enemies and in putting them to flight. His allies, considering that he was sufficiently avenged, refused to continue the fight and abandoned him. It was then that he began to wander among the tribes, at first in search of allies, then, after the king of Ḥīra had sent troops in pursuit of him, seeking a refuge. It was thus that he arrived at the court of al-Samaw᾽al, prince of Taymā᾽, who gave him refuge in his castle al-Ablaḳ. Al-Samaw᾽al next recommended him to the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith the Lame, who helped him to reach the court of Justinian in Constantinople. Justinian is said to have received him well and agreed to give him the command of an army whose task was to restore his throne to him and to avenge his father's death. Imru᾽ al-Ḳays then set off on the return journey, and he was already near to Anḳara when he was met by an emissary bringing him a present from the emperor: this was a shirt of Nessus which poisoned him, covering his body with ulcers and finally killing him. He was thus punished, it is related, for having, while in Constantinople, seduced Justinian's own daughter (though in fact history does not mention that Justinian had a daughter). But neither the crime nor its punishment seems to have destroyed the poet's glory, since it is said that the emperor erected a statue to him on the actual site where he was buried, a statue which was seen by al-Ma᾽mūn.

This is of course not the only version of the biography of Imru᾽ al-Ḳays. The available sources contain other variants, all equally romanticized and agreeing only on the most important points. Furthermore, the facts reported about the poets said to have been in direct contact with him, such as ʿAlḳama, ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ and ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa, are just as imprecise and suspicious; they throw no light at all on his life. Of the same order are the statements of Nonnosus and Procopius, in which certain modern authors have thought to find a reliable historical basis which would confirm the statements in the Arab traditions. In fact it is now established that the two historians are not referring to Imru᾽ al-Ḳays (Amorkesos) but to Kaisos, *i.e.*, Ḳays b. Salama b. al-Ḥārith; by the same token, the arguments which some have thought they found in them to prove that Imru᾽ al-Ḳays was a Christian are valueless, and this remains a pure hypothesis. It should moreover be pointed out that the Kaisos of whom the two Greek authors were writing was converted by Justinian himself and that he returned home with honour after having been appointed Phylarch of Palestine. Neither of these two sources mentions his death on the way.

The poems which bear the name of Imru᾽ al-Ḳays were collected towards the end of the 2nd/8th century by the Kūfans Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī and Khālid b. Kalthūm, the Baṣran al-Aṣmaʿī and, later, the Baghdādī Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb. Based on these collections, two definitive recensions were established during the 3rd/9th century, one by Ibn al-Sikkīt and the other by al-Sukkarī. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions also a partial recension made by Abu ᾽l-ʿAbbās al-Aḥwal.

On the authenticity of these poems, we have the testimony of one of these authors, al-Aṣmaʿī, who says: "All the poems which have survived under the name of Imru' al-Ḳays have been transmitted by Ḥammād al-Rāwiya except for some poems communicated by Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlā᾽". But it is known that the Baṣrans considered Ḥammād a forger. There is found in al-Marzubānī another judgement of al-Aṣmaʿī which agrees with that of the first and a similar judgement attributed to al-Riyāshī. Thus we have the insoluble problem of the attribution of the poems which pass under the name of Imru᾽ al-Ḳays. This would explain also why Ibn Sallām draws all his quotations from Imru᾽ al-Ḳays from only two of his poems, and why the number of the other poems to which he alludes in his study on the poet is no more than two—this in spite of the fact that in his day at least one of the two great recensions of the *dīwān* had already been made.

If, in spite of this doubt over the authenticity of the greater part of his work, Imru᾽ al-Ḳays has acquired the reputation of a master, this is probably thanks to the cult devoted to him by some great scholars of Baṣra and to two traditions, the one attributed to the Prophet and the other to ʿAlī. The

former, in terms which vary according to the transmitters, expresses high regard for Imru' al-Ḳays and makes him the "leader and standard-bearer" of the poets; the latter praises his ingenuity, affirms his superiority, and stresses the disinterested driving-power which lay behind his poetic production.

Those who have proclaimed his superiority have admired above all the ingenuity of his metaphors and his concise and skilful treatment of various traditional forms and poetic themes. They state also that he was the creator of the classical form of the *ḳaṣīda* (whereas others consider that this was the work of his maternal uncle Muhalhil, and the Banū Bakr consider it to have been ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa, said to have been his companion on his journey to Constantinople). It should however be noted that in spite of the two traditions just mentioned and the arguments of his admirers, the majority of the scholars of Kūfa continued to prefer al-Aʿshā to him, those of the Ḥidjāz preferred Zuhayr, and certain important Baṣrans, such as al-Aṣmaʿī, sometimes hesitated to prefer him to al-Nābigha.

His *dīwān* was first published by de Slane, in Paris, in 1837. This edition consisted of the 28 poems forming the recension of al-Aṣmaʿī. Next there appeared the edition of Ahlwardt (London 1870), which contained 68 poems and which reproduced the recension of al-Sukkarī with some additions drawn from various literary sources.

The section edited by de Slane was reprinted in various editions appearing later in Egypt, Iran and India. There have been other more scholarly oriental editions, the most important of which were that of al-Sandūbī (Cairo 1930) and that of Beirut (1958). The most complete edition remains that of Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo 1958; 2nd ed. 1964). In it there appears the recension of al-Aṣmaʿī, another attributed to al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī and approved by his pupil Ibn al-Aʿrābī (it cannot be very different from that of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, another pupil of al-Mufaḍḍal, to which the author of the recension refers for certain corrections), as well as the recension of al-Sukkarī (67 poems), and some additions which could have originated from the other collections mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm. The total number of verses in this edition is 1399, only 485 of which come from the recension of al-Aṣmaʿī.

Among the poems in this *dīwān*, it is the *muʿallaḳa* which has aroused the most interest. Appearing in the collection of the *muʿallaḳāt*, it was edited and translated, with all the other *muʿallaḳāt*, into Latin by L. Warner (Leiden 1748), into English by W. Jones (London 1782), Clouston (Glasgow 1881) and Johnson (London 1881), into Swedish by B. M. Bolmeer (Lund 1824), into French by S. de Sacy (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, 1, 411), Caussin de Perceval (*Essai sur l'hist. des Arabes*, ii, 326-32), and by Raux, into German by A. T. Hartmann (1802), Nöldeke (1899) and Gandz (1913), and into Russian by Murkes. It appears also in the various editions of the commentary of al-Zawzanī (1st ed. by Hengstenberg, Bonn 1823), of that by Naḥḥās (Leiden 1748 and Halle 1876), of that by Tabrīzī (Calcutta 1894) and of the Turkish commentary by Farsaḳ (Istanbul 1316 A.H.).

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IMTIYĀZĀT, commercial privileges, capitulations.

i.—The earliest documentary evidence for commercial privileges emanating from Muslim chanceries in the Mediterranean world dates from the 6th/12th century. While it is unlikely that these documents represent the earliest manifestation of that diplomatic and commercial activity between rulers of Islam and Christendom which culminated in the Ottoman Capitulations, it is probably useless to speculate upon either the form or the language of chancery instruments before that date. The extant documents, ranging from Muslim Spain to Egypt and Syria, are internally designated *fuṣūl*, *shurūṭ*, *marsūm*, *amān*, *kitāb amān*, and occasionally *ṣulḥ*. They are, with very few exceptions, unilateral and, from a juridical point of view, represent decrees (*marāsīm*) rather than documents of certification (*ḥudjadj*). From the point of view of chancery practice, the commercial privileges were derived from the type of document embodying the principle of *amān*, and more especially from a subdivision of that category designated *amān ʿāmm* in the formularies. The consequence of this classification was to restrict the role of originator of such documents to the head of the community (*imām*) or his representative (*nāʾib*). The retention of the technical term *amān* is to be understood as an attempt at the rhetorical concealment of juridical innovation.

All of the commercial privileges included, either explicitly or implicitly, the following provisions with respect to the status of non-Muslim, non-*dhimmī* merchants in *dār al-islām*:

1. General security of person and property, including:
   A. Testamentary rights, freedom of worship, burial, and dress.
   B. Repairs to ships, emergency rations, aid against attack by corsairs, and abolition of the *lex naufragii*.
   C. Permission to address complaints to the head of the Muslim community.
2. Exterritoriality, including:
   A. Consular jurisdiction.
   B. Consul's salary and other exemptions.
3. Abolition of collective responsibility.

Swearing an oath and affixing an attestation appear to have been limited to such of these privileges as constituted an *instrumentum reciprocum*, or which were negotiated in *dār al-ḥarb*. The period of validity is occasionally specified in the North African documents, seldom in the Levantine ones, though source material external to the documents themselves would seem to indicate either indefinite duration or renewal for two year periods coincident with the appointment of consular representatives for a particular merchant community.

The evolution of the commercial privileges is characterised by the conflicting principles of *ius soli* and *ius sanguinis*, exhibited in the fluctuating application of exterritoriality in the sectors of public and private law, respectively. If the consul retained the right of jurisdiction in matters of intestacy and other litigation internal to his community, he could also be held responsible for debts contracted by members of that community. The appearance of a differentiated concept of *kafāla* [*q.v.*] lent reality to the originally theoretical concept of *amān ʿāmm* as a collective instrument, and as such is analogous to the evolution of *procuratio* in European merchant law. The notion of consul as hostage (*rahīna*) was a practical proposition. There was thus a logical consistency in the issue of commercial privileges as unilateral decrees, which suited well the exigencies of an economy based to a great extent upon regalian monopolies and the rules of a chancery procedure symbolised by the introductory convention *rusima*. Exceptions to this state of affairs were few, and are perhaps best illustrated by the Mamlūk-Venetian *treaty* of 913/1507, which was, in the event, never ratified by the Sultan.

The question of cross-fertilization between the merchant law of Islam and of medieval Europe is a vexed one, and may eventually be answered by recourse to linguistic rather than juridical evidence. There is a distinct possibility that the contemporary European "translations" of such Arabic documents as are preserved are in fact the "originals" of the (admittedly paraphrastic) Arabic versions, themselves but roughly adapted to the conventions of Muslim chancery practice. In this respect one need only remark the numerous and consistent deviations in the extant documents from the prescriptions set out in the *inshāʾ* manuals.

Bibliography: See the articles, AMĀN, CONSUL, ḌAMĀN, DIPLOMATIC, DJIWĀR, KAFĀLA; and J. Wansbrough, *The safeconduct in Muslim chancery practice*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiv (1971), 20-35.

(J. WANSBROUGH)

ii.—THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

A. Character and content of the "capitulations".

In the granting of concessions to *ḥarbīs*, the Ottomans always endeavoured to conform to the prescriptions of *fiḳh* (of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, see Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, *Multaḳāʾ al-abḥur*, T. tr. Mevḳūfātī, Istanbul 1320, i, 347-9). The Shaykh al-Islām was consulted when new capitulations were proposed, (cf. G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk* . . ., 149; Charrière, iii, 92), and if a new problem arose involving a *mustaʾmin* and a Muslim, a *fatwā* on the point was obtained (see, *e.g.*, a *fatwā* of 1046/1637 ruling that a Muslim could not break a sale-contract unilaterally, Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, DHY, Françalu no. 26/1).

The precondition for granting to a *ḥarbī* the guarantee of *amān* [*q.v.*] was that he should make application for it with a promise of friendship and peace —a point which is stated in the first lines of every *ʿahdnāme*; and it is in return for this undertaking that the *imām* binds himself to guarantee *amān*, the *amān* being confirmed by an *ʿahd*, "covenant"; the document drawn up to embody the covenant is called *ʿahdnāme*, and the items in it *ʿuhūd* or *shurūṭ*. The Ottomans maintained this terminology; but the *ʿahdnāme*, like all documents conferring a privilege, was drawn up in the form of a *berāt* (also called *nishān*). The oath in the document (for the formula see V. L. Ménage, in *Documents from Islamic chancelleries*, Oxford 1965, 94) is the element binding the Sultan before God and hence guaranteeing his promise to the *mustaʾmin*. The character of the *ʿahdnāme* as a unilateral and freely-made grant or concession is well described by J. Porter (*Observations*, London 1771, 362). The Sultan retains authority to decide unilaterally when the *mustaʾmin* has broken the pledge of "friendship and sincere goodwill (*ikhlāṣ*)" and when in consequence the *ʿahdnāme* is rendered void. It is for this reason that in firmans etc. sent to Ottoman officials there always appears the phrase that the *mustaʾmin* has undertaken to behave "in friendly and faithful fashion" (*dostluk ve ṣadāḳat üzere*). Like all *berāts*, *ʿahdnames*, being granted by the individual Sultan personally, had to be confirmed by his successor.

In conceding an *ʿahdnāme*, the Ottoman authorities kept in view (1) the principles of *fiḳh*; (2) the political advantages to be expected from the applicant state; (3) the economic and financial interests of the Empire; the determining factors were usually the opportunity of acquiring a political ally within Christendom, of obtaining scarce goods and raw-materials such as cloth, tin and steel, and especially of increasing customs revenues, the principal source of hard cash for the Treasury. The European power, after consulting its consul or its merchants, would attempt to procure the inclusion in the *ʿahdnāme* of the guarantees it felt to be desirable—often attempting to impose its will by threatening to boycott Ottoman ports. If, after the conclusion of the *ʿahdnāme*, new questions arose needing regulation, these were settled by a supplementary *khaṭṭ-i sherīf*, which was usually incorporated in the renewed *ʿahdnāme* in the form of supplementary articles (*e.g.*, the English capitulations of 1086/1675). The *ʿahdnāme* overrode, in cases of conflict, *ḳānūns*, firmans and regulations having only local application: several firmans survive which order the cancellation of earlier orders found to be contrary to the *ʿahdnāme* (*e.g.*, London, Public Record Office, SP 105/216, firman of 1111/1699). After an *ʿahdnāme* was made, the Sultan would send firmans to the relevant officials informing them of the articles and commanding them to obey them.

It was tacitly understood that reciprocal advantages were expected in return for the privileges conceded, and that if these advantages failed to materialize, the Muslim ruler could claim that the

precondition of "friendship and sincerity" had been broken (cf. Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix*, 114-5). When the Venetians were unable to guarantee secure passage by land and sea for Muslim merchants operating in Venice (for whom see A. Sagredo-F. Berchet, *Il Fondaco dei Turchi in Venezia*, Milan 1860; Ş. Turan, *Venedik'te Türk ticaret merkezi*, in *Belleten*, xxxii/126 (1968), 247-83), the Ottoman government warned them to remember their obligations to give reciprocal protection (letter of Rüstem Pas̲h̲a, publ. by T. Gökbilgin in *Belgeler*, i/2, 161; Turan, *op. cit.*, 276). In the capitulations granted by Türkmen princes of Anatolia (see below) and in Ottoman *ʿahdnāmes*, the principle of reciprocity was expressly stated in such matters as compensation for damage inflicted at sea, individual (and not collective) responsibility for debt, the seizing of fugitive debtors, and the protection of the lives and goods of victims of shipwreck (cf. the Venetian capitulations of 947/1540, publ. Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, i/2, 248-50). This principle of reciprocity enabled especially *d̲h̲immī* Ottoman subjects (Jews, Armenians, Greeks and Slavs) to engage in business operations in Europe. In Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland, the Levant trade passed almost entirely into the hands of such *d̲h̲immīs* enjoying the Sultan's protection. Many *d̲h̲immīs*, after serving Western merchants in Levant ports as dragomans, brokers and agents, became powerful rivals to West European merchants in Venice and Leghorn, so that the Venetians and the French contemplated attempting to limit their activities (Ch. Roux, 153; Porter, 433-7; H. Inalcık, *Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire*, in *J. Econ. Hist.*, xxix (1969), 97-149. The Ragusans, enjoying the status of *k̲h̲arād̲j̲-güzār*, could profit most from Ottoman protection. Reciprocity was therefore a reality, from which the whole Empire benefited.

I. The creation of *mustaʾmin* communities and their privileges. Groups of foreign merchants resident in an Ottoman city or port would choose for themselves a representative to act for them in dealings with the authorities, variously known as *bailo* (T. *balyoz*), consul (*T. konsolos*) or (for the Florentines) *emino* (= T. *emīn*); the Sultan would grant this representative a *berāt* setting out his duties and the extent of his authority, and an officially recognized group—a *ṭāʾife*, or a *millet*—thus came into existence. The procedure is comparable with that by which the *ketk̲h̲udā* in a guild or the leader (patriarch, bishop etc.) of a religious community was chosen and granted official recognition by virtue of a *berāt*. Such at least in the first centuries was the Ottoman government's view of *mustaʾmin* communities, so that, for example, as late as 1044/1634, the Sultan, by a *k̲h̲aṭṭ-i s̲h̲erīf*, appointed the Comte de Césy as French ambassador without waiting for word from the King of France (Tongas, 32-3). However, when other Western nations obtained capitulations in the years round 1600, they began to import new concepts and to attempt to win for these merchant-groups full extraterritorial status, thus provoking disputes. The Ottomans, it is true, never permitted these groups to become autonomous colonies dwelling in their own fortified quarters, as had been the situation in the Byzantine Empire and in the territories of the Golden Horde; yet the group's home government or company would sometimes promulgate a code of regulations prescribing the internal government of the group or strengthening its own control over it (for the French, see Comte de Saint Priest, *Mémoires*; P. Masson, *Un type de réglementation commerciale* ..., in *Viertelsj. f. Soz und Wirt.-gesch.*, vii, 249-95; Fr. Ch.-Roux, *Les Echelles* ..., 171-93; R. Paris, *Hist. du commerce de Marseille*, v, 199-237; for comparison of the Venetian, English and Dutch systems, see N. Steensgaard, *Consuls and Nations in the Levant*, in the *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, xv/1-2 (1967), 13-55). In the 11th/17th century, the Western states tried to impose on the Ottoman government their own interpretation of the status of the consul by procuring the insertion into the capitulations of articles declaring him to be the deputy of the ambassador, that he could not be imprisoned, that lawsuits against him be referred for decision to the Porte, that he could be removed or replaced only by the ambassador (see *e.g.*, the English capitulations of 1010/1601, in Ferīdūn, *Muns̲h̲aʾāt*[2], ii, 550). Ambassadors resident in Istanbul were at first treated like consuls, and regarded as the general representatives at the Porte of their *millets* dwelling in the Empire. The appointment of consuls and dragomans in the ports, like all the dealings of the *millet* with the central government, could be carried through only by the intermediary of the ambassador. The relationships of the ambassadors to their own governments and to their nations' *millets* varied for the different countries concerned —Venice, France, England and Holland (details in Steensgaard, *op. cit.*).

The consul was empowered by his *berāt* to supervise the affairs of his *millet*; to register incoming goods; and to collect the appropriate dues for the ambassador and the consul. No ship of his "nation" could leave port without his authorization, and he resolved disputes and settled suits between members of his nation according to his home country's laws and customs. His person, his servants and his animals were immune from interference, at his residence, on the road, or at overnight halts; his personal goods were exempt from customs' dues (for an example of a consul's *berāt* see London, PRO, SP 105/334, for W. Rye, of 1039/1629). In the execution of these duties the consul could call upon the assistance of the Ottoman authorities (this power being one of the factors which made it essential for him to hold a *berāt*). The ambassador and the consul were each granted a *čavus̲h̲* and one or more Janissaries (also termed yasakčī) (cf. Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz münasebetleri* ..., p. 197, doc. IX).

The consul's judicial authority, based on the concept of "personality of law" (Venetian caps. of 927/1521, art. 16; French caps. of 977/1569, art. 12; English caps. of 988/1580, art. 16), is a principle going back to the earliest capitulations (Mas Latrie, *Traités* ..., 87-9). The French government organised this in the Ottoman Empire by detailed laws and regulations (K. Lippmann, *Die Konsularjurisdiction im Orient*, Leipzig 1898; A. Benoît, *Étude sur les capitulations* ..., Nancy 1890). Criminal cases and suits between a *mustaʾmin* and a Muslim had to be heard in Ottoman courts. Many new articles were inserted into the *ʿahdnāmes* to ensure that the *mustaʾmin* received just treatment in the courts: proceedings could be instituted only in respect of transactions which had been entered in the *ḳāḍī*'s register and for which a *ḥüd̲j̲d̲j̲et* had been given (French caps. of 977/1569, art. 6; English caps. of 988/1580, art. 6); a case could not be heard unless the *mustaʾmin*'s dragoman was present (Venetian caps. of 927/1521, art. 17; French caps. of 977/1569, art. 11; English caps. of 988/1580, art. 15); the testimony of a *d̲h̲immī* was to be accepted in cases between a *mustaʾmin* and a *d̲h̲immī* (Venetian caps. of 927/1521, art. 23); cases and appeals involving more than 4,000 *akčes*

were to be heard only in the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn* (English caps. of 1010/1601, art. 24); cases arising from the accusations of false witnesses were not to be heard (French caps. of 977/1569, art. 7). Whereas in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries *musta'mins* frequently had recourse to Ottoman courts even in cases arising among themselves (see *Belleten*, xxiv/93 (1960), 71), in later years the less heavy court fees sometimes prompted Muslims to prefer the consular courts (Steengaard, 23).

By the draft capitulation (see below) of 943/1536, a *musta'min* who settled in Ottoman territory would have to assume the status of a *dhimmī*, subject to *djizya*, after ten years residence (although by Ḥanafī law he was permitted to remain *musta'min* for only one year; Mevḳūfātī, i, 348). In practice, the Ottomans did not enfore any rule, regarding the *musta'min* merchants as continually coming and going. Yet from time to time attempts were made to make them liable to *djizya* (*e.g.*, in 1025/1616, see Belin, *Les capitulations*, 89; Wood, 50, and later: see Basvekâlet Arşivi, DHY, Françalu no. 26, docs. of Rabīʿ II 1059 and Radjab 1061).

After Istanbul, the most numerous foreign *millets* were resident at Smyrna (from the end of the 10th/16th century; chiefly the English, then the French and the Dutch, a few Venetians); Sidon (French); Aleppo (French, Venetians, English, Dutch); Salonica (after 1096/1685 the French, later other nationalities); Cairo (French, Venetians and, for a time, English). The suggestion that Meḥemmed II accorded recognition to various special privileges of the Genoese of Galata and that these privileges were later extended to the *Lātīn milleti* (*Magnifica Communità di Pera*) (see M. A. Belin, *Hist. de la Latinité de Constantinople*, Paris 1884, 166) needs re-examination (see for the moment, Belin, *op. cit.*, 156-65; E. Dallegio d'Alessio, *Traité entre les Génois de Galata et Mehmet II*, in *Échos d'Orient*, xxix, 161-75; T. C. Skeat, *Two Byzantine documents*, in *BMQ*, xviii (1953), 71-3). In the original text of the *ʿahdnāme* (in Greek) dated 23 Djumāda I 857/1 June 1453 (text given by Skeat, *loc. cit.*) the Sultan promises, under oath, that he will not bring troops and destroy the walls (according to some translations: he *will* destroy the walls) and that the Genoese may live there according to their own laws and customs under a *Ketkhudā* elected from among themselves. But when, before leaving for Edirne on 3 June, he visited Pera, he changed his mind (in the light of the demands of public security) and had the land walls destroyed here and there, thus cancelling one of the principal terms of the *ʿahdnāme*; Pera became an entirely "Ottoman" town, under the control of a *subashi* and a *ḳāḍī* [see ISTANBUL].

From the very earliest period the principle of the collective responsibility of the *millet* for crime [see DIYA] or debt had been excluded (cf. Mas Latrie, 92); all the same, the Ottoman government, like other earlier Islamic governments, obliged the *musta'min* community to pay a collective fine, a kind of indemnity for damages, when the "guest" nation imposed loss on the "host" state or its populations—through through attacks by pirates, failure to pay a public debt arising from the farming of a source of revenue (*iltizām*, see MÜLTEZIM), or the circulation of forged currency (see, *e.g.*, Chardin, i, 15; Abbott, *Under the Turk*, 237-43; Masson, i, 176): the Ottoman justification for this was that the "guest" nation had thus blatantly infringed its promise to maintain "friendship and sincerity". These levies must be distinguished from the *avanias*, Fr. *avanies*, which pashas exacted for their own personal profit. (The word *avania*, signifying collective forced levies of all sorts, derives, according to B. Homsy, *Les capitulations*, 57, from A. *hawāna*; but more probably its origin is *ʿawān*, "anything extorted", from the root *ʿny*; a connection with *ʿawāriḍ* is most improbable.) The attitude of the central government to the extortion of *avanias* by pashas varied according to the circumstances and the prevailing climate of relations with the "nation" involved. There are in the Ottoman state archives documents ordering the restitution of *avanias* (Başvekâlet Arşivi, DHY Ecnebi defterleri). In attempts to put a stop to them, the foreign states had new articles inserted in the capitulations (French cap. of 1013/1604, art. 16; English cap. of 1010/1601, arts. 20 and 30; for *avanias* in general see Masson, i, 1-4; Roux 53-6; R. Paris, 294-316; Svoronos, 56-66). Demands for *avanias* were contested by ambassadors and consuls in the name of the *millet*; the *cottimo* due, collected by consuls on the trade of goods of their *millet* in order to meet *avanias*, came to be a regular impost. The Venetians collected 1% on some imported wares, especially cloth (see Brit. Mus., Ms Or. 9053, fol. 282), the French imposed on every ship loading at an Ottoman port a fixed sum graded according to the tonnage of the ship (Masson, i, 176; Svoronos, 70-5).

II. Privileges of individuals.

The number of privileges accorded to individual merchants increased as new articles were appended to the *ʿahdnāmes*. These were in practice long-standing rights recognized by custom, which, through the pressure of the *musta'mins*, were progressively codified as specific articles in the capitulations (for a systematic description of these old articles, see Mas Latrie, 83-116).

The *amān*, which guarantees the *ḥarbī*'s right to travel within the *dār al-islām* without being enslaved or having his goods looted as *ghanīma* [*q.v.*], was valid for the whole Ottoman Empire (*bi 'l-djümle memālik-i ʿOthmāniyye*); but for the practical implementation of this general *amān* by the individual, any *musta'min* proposing to travel needed to obtain (through the intermediary of his ambassador) and to carry with him a special authorization from the Sultan, an *idhn-i hümāyūn* (see J. H. Mordtmann, *Zwei osmanische Passbriefe* ..., in *MOG*, i, 177-201; Ménage, *loc. cit.*, 96-9; this document was termed *mürurnāme*; a similar authorization granted by a *ḳāḍī* or another official was called *yol tedhkiresi*; for an article relating to these: Venetian caps. of 928/1521, art. 21). In fact *musta'mins* were normally resident only in a limited number of ports, and within these ports in specified quarters and *khāns* (the merchants of Sidon were confined to their *khān*, see DHY, Françalu 26/1, a document of 1059/1649; but in other places, Smyrna, Aleppo and Galata, they enjoyed considerable freedom of movement). The *ḳāḍīs*' registers reveal instances of foreigners being enslaved by Muslims (*e.g.*, Bursa, *Sidjillāt*; cf. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, ed. F. Babinger, Munich 1923, 42). Separate articles permitted them, in order to avoid molestation, to wear Muslim dress and to carry arms.

The residences of *musta'mins* could be searched by Ottoman officials only if there was a suspicion that they were harbouring fugitive criminals or slaves, or smuggled goods. The abuses to which this exception opened the way gave rise to new articles (*e.g.*, French caps. of 1153/1740, art. 65).

As to a *musta'min*'s property, if he died in the Ottoman Empire leaving a will, his property went

to the designated heir(s). If he died intestate or if his heir(s) were resident elsewhere, his estate was taken into trust by the *ḳāḍī* and passed by him to the consul or to the deceased's partners and friends. This rule—a principle of *fiḳh* (cf. Mevḳūfātī, ii, 284)—was incorporated into the general corpus of Ottoman *ḳānūn*s as a separate statute (see *TOEM*, *ʿilāve* for 1329, p. 52).

III. *Amān* by sea.

Guarantees for travel by sea elaborated from the principle of *amān* did not figure in the early works of *fiḳh* (cf. M. Khadduri, 109-17), but are found in the earliest capitulations (Mas Latrie, 97), so that a *mustaʾmin* was entitled to invoke *amān* when threatened by a Muslim ship. But it should be noted that the principle of reciprocity appears most clearly in those articles concerning relations at sea. The Ottomans seem to have regarded their suzerainty as extending over the Aegean Sea, the Black Sea, the Red Sea, the Straits (Bosphorus and Dardanelles) and the Strait of Otranto (see the Venetian treaty of 928/1521), or, in other words, they regarded these waters as forming part of the Dār al-Islām. In 1159/1747, during the War of the Austrian Succession, the Ottomans attempted to forbid French and English ships from engaging in hostilities east of a line from the tip of the Morea to the Western extremity of Crete and thence to Egypt. In 1109/1697, all warlike demonstrations were forbidden off Ottoman ports within gunshot of the citadel (PRO, SP 105, docs. of 1109/1698). As in earlier capitulations, so in the Ottoman *ʿahdnāme*s, *mustaʾmin*s were granted free navigation by sea, with security against attacks by Muslim vessels; the right to anchor in Muslim harbours and to take on supplies and water at any point on the coast; exemption for ships and crews from being impressed for any *angarya* duty; help and protection at sea or if driven ashore; security for their persons and their goods if they were compelled for any reason to land; joint protection against pirates; and indemnity for losses due to piracy (Venetian caps. of 928/1521, arts. 4, 5, 7, 13, 14, 22, 25, 26; French caps. of 977/1569, arts. 1, 2, 13, 15, 17; English caps. of 1086/1675, arts. 1, 3, 4, 6, 17, 19). As long as the "Barbary Pirates" were under Ottoman suzerainty, new articles were drawn up to ensure protection against them (French caps. of 1012/1604, arts. 19, 20; English caps. of 1086/1675, art. 47). In the 11th/17th century when *mustaʾmins*' ships were permitted to engage in the carriage of passengers and goods between Ottoman ports, new articles appeared to cover this (*e.g.*, English caps. of 1086/1675, arts. 41-4).

IV. Guarantees for the free transport and sale of goods.

These matters are usually dealt with in the first articles, immediately following the declaration of the grant of *amān*, and to them were later added additional articles framed to deal with abuses. They reserved the right of local authorities and masters of Ottoman warships to search for prohibited or smuggled goods (articles against abuse of this right: French caps. of 1013/1604, arts. 30, 32, 44; English caps. of 1086/1675, arts. 17, 20, 23, 53). It was conceded that after ships had been inspected in Istanbul and in the Bosphorus they need not be inspected again at Gallipoli (Venetian caps. of 928/1521, art. 26). Occasionally a customs officer would force a merchant to unload goods against his will (hence art. 17 of the French caps. of 1013/1604); local merchants would intrigue or exercise pressure to buy goods at a price they determined (hence art. 33 of these last caps., art. 5 of the English caps. of 1086/1675), or to sell at their own price (hence docs. in DHY, Françalu no. 26/1).

Various obstacles were encountered by foreign merchants when, for example, the Ottoman state from time to time prohibited the export of various wares (especially cereals, leather, cotton and metals) in order to prevent the starving of internal markets, or granted monopolies or *iltizām*s for the sale of different commodities; these gave rise to new articles in the capitulations (French: art. 14, English: art. 53)—although the usual remedy was to resort to widely-organized smuggling (Masson, i, 417).

In their earliest *ʿahdnāme*s the Ottoman authorities were content to prescribe that customs and other dues should be levied "according to custom and the current regulation" (*ʿādet ve ḳānūn üzere*), without mentioning a specific percentage. Hence Meḥemmed II had no difficulty in raising the custom's rates from 2% to 4% and finally, at the end of his reign, to 5%. 5% was the general rate in the 10th/16th century, but the Ottoman customs tariff varied according to the status of the importer, the nature of the commodity, and the area where it was enforced; nor was is clearly distinguished from dues levied on goods in transit within the Empire [see MAKS]. As a result of the numerous disputes provoked by these inconsistencies, the *mustaʾmin*s succeeded, not without great difficulty, in getting the minimum customs rate fixed at 3% (for the history of this struggle, see Wood, 27) and in obtaining exemption from all other dues (*i.e.*, principally *ḳaṣṣābiyye* or *ḳaṣṣāb-akčesi*, *maṣdariyye*, *reftiyye*, *yasakci*, *bādj*—for all of which, see MAKS). The traditional practice of making payments to clerks and servants in the custom's department brought the customs rate up from the official 3% to a real 4½%. Some commodities were also subject to additional duties: cotton to *ḳanṭār-resmi*, silk to *mīzān-resmi*, mohair to *ṭamgha-resmi*, etc. Again, each ship had to pay to the high officials of the port at which it called a fixed sum (at first 300 *akče*s, in the 11th/17th century 9600 *akče*s), under the name of *selāmlik* or *selāmetiyye*. *Mustaʾmin* merchants also had to contribute to the support of their ambassador and consuls, by paying a due of 2½% as "*consulage*" (T. *ḳonsolos ḥaḳḳi* or *baylādj ḥaḳḳi*). These dues together, with the basic customs duties, brought the total rate in practice to at least 9%. In order to prevent disputes the ambassador finally managed to procure the establishment of fixed tariffs and their inclusion in the capitulations (*e.g.*, the English capitulations of 1086/1675, arts. 62-5).

B. Historical Survey.

(1) *Period of the Italian maritime states* (700/1300-977/1569).

The Seldjūḳ sultans of Anatolia had granted commercial privileges to the Kingdom of Cyprus and to the Venetians as early as 603/1207 (O. Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklulari hakkında resmî vesikalar*, Ankara 1958, 108-19, 121-37). The oldest *ʿahdnāme* text to survive dates from Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 616/January 1220 (Tafel and Thomas, i, 438, ii, 143; O. Turan, *op. cit.*, 124-37; for a French merchant in Konya in 1225, see Belin, 37).

When the Ottomans first entered Rumeli in 753/1352 [see GELIBOLU] they were in friendly relations with Genoa (then at war with Venice) and granted her the first Ottoman capitulations. Although this first text is lost, that of 19 Djumādā I 789/9 June 1387 has survived (Latin text in Silvestre de Sacy, *Notices et extraits*, xi/1, 59-61: cf. M. Belgrano,

in *Atti della Soc. Lig.*, xiii, 146-9). The oldest commercial concession to a Latin state made by a Turcoman prince of Anatolia is in the peace treaty of 1348 between the Holy League (the Papacy, Venice, the Knights of Rhodes, Cyprus) and the Aydïn-oghlu Khiḍr Beg (text in Tafel and Thomas, iv, 313); but as early as 711/1311 Rhodian merchants had been operating in the principality of Menteshe, (Heyd, ii, 36), and a commercial agreement was later concluded. Venetian consulates were established in the middle years of the 8th/14th century at Altoluogo (Ayatholuk) and Palatia (Balat) (Heyd, i, 545). When, under Bāyezīd I, these places came under Ottoman suzerainty, the Sultan confirmed these privileges and extended them to "all places under his rule, by sea and by land, in Anatolia and Rumelia" (text in G. M. Thomas, *Diplomatarium*, iv, no. 134). From the time when Edirne was occupied by the Ottomans (762/1361) Venice was attempting to obtain capitulations from the Sultan (I. Brătianu, *Études Byzantines*, Paris 1938, 167). In 786/1384 she was making diplomatic advances in order to procure permission to import grain from Ottoman territory and to establish a commercial settlement on Ottoman soil, preferably at Üsküdār opposite Ghalaṭa (Thomas, *Dipl.*, ii, no. 141; F. Thiriet, *Régestes*, i, 165). The peace treaty of 822/1419 mentions an agreement between Venice and Meḥemmed I's grandfather, *i.e.*, Murād I (Thomas, *Dipl.*, no. 172). Bāyezīd I used his power to permit or withhold grain exports as a political weapon against Venice (M. Silberschmidt, *Das Orient, Problem* . . ., Leipzig 1923). In the period of civil war after the battle of Ankara, Ottoman pretenders recognized the necessity to conciliate Venice. Süleymān Čelebi actively sought Venetian support (Iorga, *Notes*, i, 122), and in the peace agreement of 806/1403 for the first time granted important concessions to the members of the League (Venice, Byzantium, Genoa, the Knights of Rhodes) (text in Thomas, *Dipl.*, ii, no. 159). Mūsā Čelebi confirmed these at Phanar on 13 Djumādā I 814/3 September 1411 (Thomas, *Dipl.*, no. 164). There followed the agreements of 17 Shawwāl 822/6 November 1419 (Thomas, *Dipl.*, no. 172), 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 833/4 September 1430 (*ibid.*, no. 182), and 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 849/25 February 1446 (F. Babinger and F. Dölger, *Mehmed's II. frühester Staatsvertrag (1446)*, in *Or. Chr. Per.*, xv/3-4 (1949), 225-58).

Meḥemmed II, like his great-grandfather Bāyezīd I, pursued the policy of attempting to reduce the Italian colonists to the status of tribute-payers. Although the Ottoman-Venetian war of 867/1463-884/1479 was a blow to Venetian commerce, trade was not completely interrupted, and by the treaty of 4 Rabīʿ II 884/25 June 1479 (cf. A. Bombaci, in *BZ*, xlvii (1954), 298-319) and its renewal by Bāyezīd II (end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 886/January 1482, original in Archivio di Stato, Venice), Venice was permitted, besides the privileges formerly conceded, permission to trade with Kefe and Trabzon in the Black Sea. In 904/1498, before embarking again on war with Venice, the Ottomans granted a capitulation to the King of Naples (S. N. Fisher, *The foreign relations of Turkey* . . ., Urbana 1948, 61). In the Ottoman-Venetian treaty of 24 Ramaḍān 909/24 March 1503, the concessions were further extended (Marino Sanuto, v, 42-7; cf. Bonelli, *Il trattato* . . ., 363). These were renewed by Selīm I (16 Shaʿbān 919/17 October 1513) and Süleymān I (17 Muḥarram 928/17 December 1521) (Turkish originals in Archivio di Stato). It is noteworthy that by the treaty of 1 Djumādā II 947/2 October 1540 (L. Bonelli, *Il trattato* . . ., 332-3; W. Lehmann, *Der Friedensvertrag*, and now (Turkish text) T. Gökbilgin, in Belgeler, i/2, 121-8), the commercial privileges were extended, the Arab lands and Bosnia being included,—but Trabzon and Kefe were excluded. The hostile relations between Venice and the Ottomans in the years 978/1570-980/1572 facilitated the intervention of a new competitor in the Levant-France. Until this time Venice had enjoyed commercial predominance in the Levant, in Istanbul, and in Egypt. (For the later Venetian capitulations see Murād III, Turkish text, Süleymaniye Library, MS Esad Ef. 2362, 63-70; (Rabīʿ II 1004/December 1595) Belin, in *JA*, VIIe Série, viii, 384-442; cf. Noradounghian, i, 408-9).

With the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt, the value of capitulations increased enormously. Selīm I renewed the capitulations granted by the Mamluk sultans to Venice (see B. Moritz, *Ein Firman des Sultan Selim für die Venetianer*, in *Festschrift Sachau*, 422 ff.) and the consul of the Catalans and the French (at Ghazza, in Rabīʿ II 923/May 1517; for the Italian and French texts of the terms as renewed by Süleymān I, see Charrière, i, 121-9). The suggestion that these more elaborate capitulations were the model for the capitulations later granted to the states of Western Europe (J. H. Mordtmann, *Die islamisch-fränkischen Staatsverträge*, in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, xi (1918) is an exaggeration: the Ottomans seem rather to have followed the practice of the Anatolian emirates.

The capitulation granted to the joint Catalan-French consul in Egypt was not in fact an instrument between states. In 943/1536, however, the King of France, seeking the profit from the close relations he had established with the Sultan, attempted to obtain a direct capitulation for France. The *traité* which his ambassador J. de la Forest drew up in discussions with Ibrāhīm Pasha (see Charrière, i, 285, introduction) was not confirmed by Süleymān (cf. Charrière, i, 293-4, art. 17)—and soon afterwards Ibrāhīm was executed (22 Ramaḍān 942/15 March 1536). This draft, as finally drawn up by de la Forest, bears the form of a treaty concluded between two equal parties: this is the sole example of such a "treaty" among the "capitulations" (all the others of which were granted as unilaterally conceded *ʿahdnāmes*), and has given rise to very varying interpretations by modern scholars (Belin, 59; M. Khadduri, *War and peace* . . ., 273; I. Soysal, in *TD*, iii/5-6, 78; H. J. Liebesney, 317). That the document remained only a draft is clear from Rinçon's letters sent from Istanbul (Charrière, i, 389, 396-7, 413-4); its text was discovered only in 1777 by the Comte de Saint-Priest in the papers of d'Aramon (see G. Zeller, *Une légende qui dure* . . ., in *Revue d'hist. mod. et contemporaine*, ii (1955), 127-32; and (in answer), M. E., *Les capitulations de 1535 ne sont pas une légende*, in *Annales E.S.C.*, xix (1964)).

(2) *Period of the predominance of the states of Western Europe* (977/1569-1188/1774).

The first authentic Ottoman-French capitulations are those of 7 Djumādā I 977/18 October 1569. Those attributed to the reign of Süleymān (Belin, 89) must be that sultan's renewal of the Mamlūk capitulations, which had been extended to embrace the whole Ottoman Empire (Charrière, i, 123). A new capitulation in 977/1569 became necessary through the accession of Selīm II and the imposition in Egypt of a measure which destroyed French commerce (see Ṣafvet, in *TOEM*, iii, 993, and the introduction to the capitulations). The King sent Claude du Bourg to Istanbul to regulate this affair (Charrière, iii, 64, note 1;

Mission diplomatique de Claude du Bourg, in *Revue d'Hist. Dipl.*, 1895), and he, without difficulty, obtained the *ʿahdnāme* (Turkish text in British Museum, MS Or. 9053, ff. 252-5; French text in Testa, i, 91-6), which the ambassador Noailles in 1572 called "le plus ample et avantageux traité qui jamais fut tiré du Levant" (Testa, i, 111). Since the Ottomans were in that year making preparations to attack Cyprus (in Venetian occupation), they were anxious for good relations with France. The capitulation was drawn up on the basis of the Venetian capitulations (cf. art. 16, and Charrière, iii, 91, note 1). The additional last article (17) incurred, according to Du Bourg (Charrière, *ibid.*), the protests of the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām and the jealousy of Venice. As a result of these concessions, French commerce in the Levant rapidly expanded, overtaking that of Venice and encouraging the merchants of several other European states to sail under the French flag in order to have a share in this prosperity. According to the capitulations of 989/1581, these foreign merchants were the English, Portuguese, Spaniards, Catalans, Sicilians, Anconans and Ragusans. At this period the Sultan recognized as capitulatary states only France, Venice and Poland (Turkish text of the Polish capitulations of 20 S̲h̲aʿbān 960/1 August 1553 published by T. Gökbilgin, in *Belgeler*, i/2 (1963), 128-30). As France began to fall under Spanish influence (981/1573), Ottoman suspicions of her were aroused, and in 983/1575, before the new sultan Murād III had renewed the French capitulations, the English merchants began to apply for capitulations for themselves (Wood, 7; the privilege granted to Jenkinson in 960/1553 (Hakluyt, v, 109) was never put into effect). Since the middle of the century, English merchants had been attempting to establish a trade route via Moscow, the Caucasus and Hormuz. This project being defeated by the Ottoman occupation of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān (986/1578), they turned their attention once more to the Levant (W. Foster, *England's quest of Eastern trade*, London 1933, 21-71). Two enterprising London merchants, Osborne and Staper, sent their agent William Harborne to Istanbul, with a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Sultan. Harborne acquired an *id̲j̲āzet-i hümāyūn* restricted to these three principals and permitting them to trade in Istanbul (Muḥarram 988/February-March 1580, text publ. by I. H. Uzunçarşili, in *Belleten*: xlii/51 (1950), 615, doc. 2). In his reply to the Queen (*loc. cit.*, doc. 1), Murād III conceded *amān* to the English merchants so long as "friendship and good faith" was maintained. This rapprochement between the sovereigns was prompted by political calculations directed against Spain (CSP, Venice, viii, Preface, pp. XXXIX-XLVI); economically too, the Ottoman authorities were attracted by the opportunity of buying English cloth more cheaply and acquiring raw materials like tin and steel which were required for making arms. By a letter of 4 Ramaḍān 987/25 October 1579, Elizabeth had asked that the trading concessions be extended to all her subjects (Eng. tr. from Latin, in Kurat, *Türk-Ingiliz*, 181) and since some statesmen in Istanbul were at that time pressing the importance of English friendship against Spain (Kurat, in *Köprülü armagani*, 308-15), a full *ʿahdnāme*, based on the French capitulations (see art. 19), was granted (Rabīʿ II 988/May 1580; the Turkish text published by Kurat, *Türk-Ingiliz*, 182-6, contains errors, and should be controlled by the text published by Uzunçarşılı (*Belleten*, 617-9), by the text in British Museum MS Or. 9053, ff. 248-50, and by the texts of later capitulations. The English text is dated June 1580, see Hakluyt, v, 178-83; cf. P. Wittek, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Historical Research*, xix/57 (1942), 121-39).

M. de Germigny managed however to procure the insertion into the renewed French capitulations of the clause that English merchants should, as before, sail under the French flag. Nevertheless Harborne, in the teeth of French and Venetian intrigue, obtained a new *ʿahdnāme* (Rabīʿ II 992/May 1583), and the Sultan sent the Queen a letter of confirmation (later in the same month, Kurat, *Türk-Ingiliz*, 187, doc. V).

Thus began a long commercial struggle between France and England in the Levant (Testa, i, 151-71; A. Horniker, *William Harborne and the beginning of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic and commercial relations*, in *J. Mod. Hist.*, xviii (1946)). France finally recognized the new state of affairs (capitulations of 1012/1604, art. 4), but there were more collisions because the Dutch preferred to sail under the English flag in their trade in the Levant. In the upshot, the Ottoman government granted the Dutch separate capitulations (7 D̲j̲umādā I 1021/6 July 1612; text in Dumont, *Corps diplomatique*, v/2, 205; see A. Ernstberger, *Europas Widerstand gegen Hollands erste Gesandtschaft bei der Pforte (1612)*, Munich 1956). As late as 1062/1652, however, France obtained the Porte's support for her claim that the merchants of every Christian nation which had no ambassador of its own in Istanbul must trade under her flag (Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, DHY, Françalu defterleri no. 26). In about 980/1572 Ragusa, claiming to be the tributary (*k̲h̲arād̲j̲-güzār*) of the Sultan, shook off French protection (Testa, i, 101). The French succeeded for a long time in hindering the settlement of an English merchant-colony in Egypt (R. Fedden, *Notes on the British consulate in Egypt*, in *BIE*, xxvii (1946), 1-21). By a firman of D̲j̲umādā I 1054/July 1644, the Sultan forbade the English consul in Egypt to exact consular dues from Genoese and Sicilian merchants (Başvekâlet Arşivi, DHY, Françalu no. 26). But in the years between 1030/1620 and 1094/1683, the English managed to make themselves generally supreme in the Levant. Countries of the *dār al-ḥarb* preferred to have recourse to English protection, as being surer and less expensive. The Ottoman government, ignoring French protests, finally permitted *ḥarbīs* to sail under the protection of whichever power they wished.

As a result of the fierce competition between the European states, a "most favoured nation" clause began at this period to figure in capitulations (*e.g.*, the English capitulation of 1580, art. 19). Other new clauses too which the Western states caused to be inserted in their capitulations are a reflexion of the contemporary situation and pressures. In the new English capitulations obtained by Lello in 1010/1601 (Turkish text in Ferīdūn, *Mun<u>sh</u>aʾāt*, ii, 381-5) 17 new clauses appear (see Sanderson, *Travels*, London 1931, 282-7): the "most favoured nation" status of England is confirmed; the Dutch are put under the English flag (a defeat for the French); gold and silver currency are exempted from customs dues and permitted to circulate freely. This last clause is connected with the trade in silver currency, which was then an important economic question (see H. Inalcık, in *Belleten*, xv/60 (1951), 656-61). Another important clause was that subjecting the English to a customs due of only 3% *ad valorem* on goods they brought in from Venice and other places: this encouraged other nations, subject to a 5% rate, to ship their exports under the English flag. In a later renewal, a clause was inserted to combat the misuse of bills of exchange (Noradounghian, i, 165, art. 58).

In Djumādā II 1086/September 1675, during the embassy of John Finch, a new capitulation was drawn up embracing all the earlier privileges and the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf*s granted over the years (G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk* ..., London 1920). The chief articles then added (Noradounghian, i, 167-8, arts. 72-5) concerned the prohibition of excessive dues on woollens and silk—these being the principal export wares of the English merchants at Smyrna, so that the dues were causing disputes. Finch attempted at the same time, but in vain, to procure for his King the title Pādishāh, which the French King had enjoyed since 1014/1603 (Ferīdūn, ii, 400). Finch's capitulation aroused the jealousy of the French and the Venetians (Abbott, 147).

The French capitulations and their effectiveness varied in the 11th/17th century with changes in Ottoman-French political relations. The renewals under Meḥemmed III (1005/1597; text in P. de Rausas) and Aḥmed I (1012/1604; text in Testa, i, 141-51; Noradounghian, i, 93-102; Turkish text in Ferīdūn, ii, 400-4) fell in a period of warm relations, so that the French were able to obtain some important new articles (F. S. de Brèves, *Relation* ..., Paris 1630; analysis of the articles in Belin, 84-9; J. de Gontaut-Biron, *Ambassade en Turquie* ..., *1605-1610*, 2 vols., Paris 1888-9). In the former, the most important clauses provided for all "nations" except the Venetians and English to sail under the French flag; for the export of grain; for freedom of trade in silver coin (for a ferman on this subject, see Başvekâlet Arşivi, Fekete tasnifi no. 2396); for guarantees against Barbary corsairs (arts. 1, 4, 8). The latter conceded French protection of Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem and of monks dwelling there (arts. 4, 5)—clauses which laid the foundation for the later French claims to protect all Catholics and Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. In 1028/1619, the attempt of the Comte de Césy to renew the capitulations failed (Tongas, 20), and henceforward the influence of the French at the Porte and in the markets of the Levant began to decline (Masson, i, 124-30; Tongas, 139-215). The Porte granted a separate capitulation to Genoa, hitherto under the French flag, and reduced their custom dues to 3% (1076/1665; Chardin, *Voyages*, i, Amsterdam 1711, 6-17; It. text in Noradounghian, i, 124-32). In the period when the Köprülüs were in power, political relations with France were for a time suspended, and French trade fell to a tenth of what it had been in 1029/1620 (Masson, i, XXXI; Tongas, 5-65). Finally, as part of Colbert's efforts to revive the Levant trade, the French managed to renew their capitulations in 1084/1673, with important new clauses (Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, i, 4-14; Fr. text in Noradoughian, i, 136-45; a letter of Meḥemmed IV relating to the *ʿahdnāme* in Testa, ii, 169; for the negotiations, see A. Vandal, *Les voyages du Marquis de Nointel*, 1670-1680, Paris 1900, 99-112). The most important new clauses conceded reduction of customs dues to 3%, "most favoured nation" treatment, and the French right to protect Jesuit and Capucin missionaries at the Porte.

From 1094/1683 onwards, when the Ottoman Empire in Europe was beset by dangers and the Porte needed diplomatic support from Western powers, the institution of the capitulations entered a new stage. Henceforward, new privileges were granted as an unveiled gesture of reciprocity for political assistance. By a *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of 1101-1690, the French won the reduction of customs dues in Egypt from 10% to 3%, and the return to the Catholics of various sacred sites in Jerusalem (Paris, *Hist. de Marseille*, 89-90). When France made peace with the Habsburgs in 1109/1697, the Porte turned to England: the English were granted the monopoly of the carrying trade by sea between Egypt and Istanbul, and an English consulate was opened in Egypt (Fedden, *op. cit.*, 13-14). A rapprochement with France between 1128/1716 and 1153/1740 changed the picture again: the Marquis de Villeneuve, who acted as intermediary in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Belgrade (1152/1739) and brought his sovereign's guarantee of it (see A. Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV* ..., Paris 1887), obtained the most extensive privileges yet conceded (1153/1740; Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿāsī*, i, 14-35; Fr. text in Testa, i, 186-210; Noradounghian, i, 277-300). The Sultan even confirmed these capitulations on behalf of his successors (cf. the Prussian capitulations of 1174/1761 in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, i, 90). The Ottoman government thus sacrificed the valuable bargaining counter that new capitulations had to be negotiated at the beginning of every new reign. The new clauses contained nothing of great substance. In the following years the French held an unchallenged position in Levant trade and in transportation between Ottoman ports (see R. Paris, 93-109). Each state of Europe which was enjoying any degree of economic development was now forming a Levant Company and attempting to obtain capitulations from the Porte. The Ottomans responded, following a policy of weakening the privileged position held by France, England and Holland (Sweden: 1149/1737, text in Noradounghian, i, 239, Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt Medjmuʿasī*, i, 146; the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies: 1153/1740, text in Noradounghian, i, 270; Denmark: 1170/1756, Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 308, Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, i, 52; Prussia: 1174/1761, Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 315, Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, i, 83; Spain: 1197/1783, Turkish text in Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*², ii, 338-43 and *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, i, 212, Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 344). In granting these capitulations the Porte was swayed chiefly by the political aim of acquiring friends in Europe (see especially the account of the Spanish negotiations in Djewdet, ii, 184-203).

The new stage had been fully entered when the supremacy of the Western nations in the Levant was threatened by the reluctant concession, under pressure, of capitulations to the Habsburgs and to Russia—to the Ottoman Empire's two powerful enemies.

(3) *The capitulations as an instrument of European imperialism.*

As early as the middle of the 9th/15th century, German merchants from Augsburg and Nurenberg had been active, under Venetian protection, in Instanbul (see H. Kellenbenz, *Handelsverbindung zwischen Mitteleuropa und Istanbul*, in *Studi Veneziani*, ix, 193-9). Customs documents also attest the import of cloth overland from Breslau into Ottoman Hungary (L. Fekete and Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda* (*Offen*), Budapest 1962, 730). By the truce conceded to the Emperor Charles V and Ferdinand in 954/1547, merchants were permitted to travel back and forth enjoying *emn u amān* (Ferīdūn, ii, 340 and 341). At the renewal of the Treaty of Zsitva-torok in 1025/1616 (Ferīdūn, ii, 324; *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, 75, arts. 9-10; Latin text in Noradounghian, i, 113-8), merchants owing allegiance to the Emperor, Austria, Spain and Flanders were permitted to travel and

trade, with a customs rate of 3%; furthermore, Jesuit priests were allowed to reside in Ottoman domains and maintain churches (art. 7). In 1078/1667 Austria sought to take an active part in Levant trade by founding a trading company (H. Hassinger, *Die erste Wiener Handelskompanie, 1667-1683*, in *Viertelj. für Soz. und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, xxxv/1 (1942), 53). In the upshot, hostility between the two empires prevented these commercial privileges from being effectively exploited. Although by the Treaty of Carlowitz of 1111/1699 (art. 14) the Ottomans agreed to extend the capitulations granted to other European nations to the nations subject to the Habsburg Emperor, the latter obtained full capitulations only after the Treaty of Passarowitz (1130/1718: Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 220-7; Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, iii, 112-20). By these, ships were allowed to navigate freely on the Danube—but not to enter the Black Sea (art. 20); the Emperor could establish a consulate wherever another state had a consulate and wherever else he thought fit; Austrian and Persian merchants were permitted to trade via the Danube and the Black Sea, subject to a customs rate of 5%. It is noteworthy that no oath figures in these capitulations. Trade with Germany expanded, via the Danube, but mainly via Trieste and Venice (H. Grenville, *Observations*, ed. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 54). These capitulations were renewed in 1160/1747 (Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, iii, 135-42), the Emperor obtaining the concession that merchants from the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, Hamburg and Lübeck should travel under his flag (as had Genoese merchants since 1137/1725). Rivalry with Russia prompted Austria to exact new clauses and a *sened* guaranteeing that they would be honoured (1198/1784, Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 379-82, Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, iii, 152-5); these clauses included the right to establish consulates in Wallachia and Moldavia, the same right of navigation by sea (including the Black Sea) and by the great rivers as Russia enjoyed, and the acknowledgement that an Austrian passport alone was a sufficient authority for a traveller.

In the 9th/15th century Russian merchants were trading at Azak (Azov) and Kefe, and by the end of the century their presence is recorded in Bursa (in 903/1497, Ivan III sent his ambassador Pleshčeyev to Istanbul, to seek facilities for them). They travelled as individuals, either with a personal *idhn-i hümāyūn* or by *istiʾmān* from Muslim merchants (for an example, see F. Dalsar, *Bursa'da ipekçilik*, Istanbul 1960, p. 191). After the Czar's occupation of Kazan (959/1552), the great market for furs, commercial relations expanded, the Sultan sending merchants attached to the Palace to Moscow to buy furs (see, *e.g.*, Dalsar, 192-3), and the Czar's merchants coming to Bursa, with individual permits, to buy silkstuffs. In the Treaty of Istanbul of 1112/1700 the question of trade privileges was left for later discussion (art. 10), but a special article (12) permitted Russian monks to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Article 9 of the Treaty of Belgrade (1152/1739) permitted freedom of trade to merchants of both parties, but with the proviso that goods should be carried in the Black Sea only in Turkish vessels. By the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja ([*q.v.*], 1188/1774), the Porte conceded to Russia, as it had to Western nations, freedom of navigation in Ottoman waters, explicitly including the Black Sea, the Straits and the Danube. Russian merchants coming by sea or land were to receive "most favoured nation" rights, all the terms of the English and French capitulations were granted to Russia, and the Czar was permitted to set up consulates and vice-consulates wherever he wished. Other clauses granted further privileges with regard to criminals (art. 6), diplomatic immunities of ambassadors and dragomans (arts. 5 and 9), and the protection of Christians (arts. 7, 8 and 14); and finally, the Czar was granted the title Pādishāh (art. 13). Since all these privileges were embodied in a reciprocal and bilateral "treaty" (in the modern sense), they differed both in form and in legal character from the *ʿahdnāme*s unilaterally granted by the Porte to France and England—and indeed when five years later the Porte attempted to restrain ships carrying to Russia provisions required for supplying Istanbul, Russia regarded this as a "violation of the treaty" (*naḳḍ-i ʿahd*: Djewdet, ii, 135). The establishment of Russian consuls in such sensitive areas as Wallachia, Moldavia and Sinop led to tension (Djewdet, ii, 144; iii, 125-7). The Porte indeed still evidently regarded capitulations as concessions freely granted to the subjects of friendly powers—but Russia now began to put on the pressure: in the explanatory convention of Aynali Ḳavaḳ (1193/1779: Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, iii, 275-84; Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 338) the construction of Article II of the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja was reviewed, and it was repeated (art. 6) that it was a mutual engagement which could not be unilaterally denounced. Finally, on occupying the Crimea, Russia forced the Porte to recognize the annexation and to grant a full capitulation of 81 clauses "on the basis of the capitulations granted to the French and the English" (1197/1783: Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, iii, 285-319; French text in Noradounghian, i, 371-3). In the preamble and the conclusion it was stated that this *ʿahdnāme* was a pact supplementary to the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja.

This instrument was to lend a new character to the Porte's capitulatory agreements with Western powers: in particular, they reacted to the opening of the Black Sea to Russian ships, and at first, hoping to expand her trade, Russia encouraged them (Wood, 180-1). Since the 10th/16th century the English (Wood, 49; Grenville, 49-54) and the French (Masson, ii, 637-55; R. Paris, 455) had repeatedly —but in vain—attempted to obtain entry into the Black Sea; when Russia was now granted this right, they asked the same concession for themselves, on the basis of the "most favoured nation" clause in their capitulations. But this was not granted immediately; the English obtained it in a "note" of 1214/1799 (text in Noradounghian, ii, 35-6) and France by art. 2 of the Treaty of Paris (1217/1802: text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, 36; for the negotiations, see I. Soysal, *Fransız Ihtilâli ve Türk-Fransız münasebetleri*, 1789-1802, Ankara 1964, 315-37); the same right was later granted to other powers (Sardinia, Denmark, Spain, the Two Sicilies, Tuscany; see Noradounghian, ii, 102, 137, 140, 219).

(4) *Abuse of the Capitulations and attempts to abolish them.*

Until the end of the 12th/18th century the Ottoman state in its dealings with the mercantilist nations of Europe continued to adhere to its traditional attitude in commercial matters and granted generous privileges, based on the concept of *amān*, without considering the dangerous results which might ensue. In about 1771 Porter considered (*Observations*, 357-464) that it was hardly possible to ask for more to be conceded. An expert on the Levant trade recognized (Masson, i, 473) that the Ottoman state afforded "toute la securité et toutes les facilités necessaires";

he observed also that the Europeans abused these privileges in the most outrageous ways. The growing exploitation had, in the last years of the century, brought the Ottoman Empire to a position of political and economic subordination to Western Europe, so that the French ambassador Choiseul-Gouffier could in 1788 call the Ottoman Empire "une des plus riches colonies de la France" (Masson, ii, 279). Before the 18th century, these privileges presented no great threat to the Ottoman state and its economy, the Ottoman government still being powerful enough to prevent abuses; but now the European states used pressure and threats towards the weakened Ottoman state in order to maintain and extend the concessions, and managed to obstruct the correction of abuses.

The abuse which really undermined the Empire was the extension of capitulatory rights to *dhimmī* subjects of the Porte. The *musta'min* from a *ḥarbī* land enjoyed greater privileges than an Ottoman subject; and some *dhimmīs* hit on the method of winning these privileges for themselves, namely, to obtain from the Porte, through the bribing of foreign ambassadors and consuls, patents of appointment (*berāts*) as dragomans. By the capitulations, ambassadors and consuls had the right to employ a stipulated number of dragomans, and by the *berāt* granted to such a dragoman (for specimens, see Başvekâlet Arşivi, DHY Ecnebi defterleri; London, Public Record Office, SP 105/334) the Sultan exempted both the bearer and his sons and servants from poll-tax (*djizya*) and the other taxes to which the *ra'āyā* were liable. In the 11th/17th century, the Western nations obtained also various diplomatic immunities for their dragomans (see, *e.g.*, art. 45 of the English capitulation of 1086/1675: *Mu'āhedāt medjmū'asī*, i, 251; Noradounghian, i, 157). Ambassadors and consuls began—for a consideration—to procure such *berāts* for *dhimmīs* who had no pretensions at all to be dragomans, and so to make quite large sums. These *berātlīs* [*q.v.*], or "*barataires*" and their servants ("*sous-barataires*"), who enjoyed the same privileges, had the same financial and juridical advantages as the *musta'mins*, and paid the same lower customs duties. In 1208/1793, in Aleppo alone, some 1500 *dhimmī* merchants held dragomans' *berāts*—only six of whom, when a check was made, proved to be genuine interpreters (*Kisbī ta'rīkhi, apud* Djewdet, vi, 130. For the check carried out in Salonica in 1178/1764, see Svoronos, 152; for further checks in 1200/1786 and 1221/1806, see Djewdet, iii, 130, 270, viii, 107).

This was not the only abuse. A capitulary power had also the right to extend the privileges arising from the capitulations to "protected persons" who were not its own nationals, so that an Ottoman subject needed only to obtain a *patente* from a compliant ambassador or consul to enjoy the privileges accorded by capitulation to foreigners. In about 1223/1808 the Russians had enrolled 120,000 Greeks as "protected persons" (for the "barataires" and "protégés" see especially F. Rey, *La protection diplomatique et consulaire dans les Échelles du Levant et de Barbarie*, Paris 1899). During the reign of Selim III Ottoman statesmen united in a general reaction against the capitulations, and various measures were taken to rescue Ottoman subjects from the *un*privileged status to which they had fallen. Thus by a *berāt* granted in 1207/1792, a *dhimmī* merchant and his two assistants who traded with Europe were granted "all the privileges and exemptions enjoyed by the dragoman of a *müste'min* and his servants" (see 'O. Nūrī, *Medjelle-i umūr-i belediyye*, i, 675-8). Such merchants were called "*Avrūpā tüdjdjārī*." Shortly afterwards some Muslim merchants trading with Persia and India were, by *berāt*, granted the same privileges (*op. cit.* 681-5), and called "*Khayriyye tüdjdjārī*". Their affairs were regulated by a special administrative system and a special court.

The *a'yān*, local despots who at this period were rising to power in various provinces of the Empire (in Palestine, Shaykh Ẓāhir and later Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha; in Egypt, Meḥmed 'Alī; in Rumeli, Tepedelenli 'Alī Pasha [*qq.v.*]), with an eye on the benefits for their own treasuries, struggled effectively against the evil effects arising from the abuse of the capitulations by such measures as forbidding the export of certain goods, imposing monopolies and farming the sale of monopoly wares, fixing the prices of wares for export and abolishing the rights of navigation enjoyed by *musta'mins*. The central government too began increasingly to use the devices of monopoly (*yed-i wāḥid*) and *iltizām* [*q.v.*] of export goods in order to increase revenue. This was an old principle, entirely within the competence of the government. Again, the internal customs duties and other dues levied on internal commerce were matters outside the purview of the capitulations. Nevertheless, in about 1830 the Western powers, and principally England, in the new circumstances created by the Industrial Revolution, were feeling the need that the markets of the Levant should become still more accessible, secure and stable. By exploiting a political crisis England succeeded in this aim through the Convention of Balta Liman of 1254/1838 (text: Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1830, 291-95; Noradounghian, ii, 249 and note at p. 254; V. J. Puryear, *International economics and diplomacy in the Near East*², 1969, 117-26). This commercial treaty not only confirmed for ever all existing capitulary privileges (art. 1) but imposed customs duties *ad valorem* of 3% on imports and 9% on exports (art. 4). This 9% duty represented a rate imposed as compensation for the various duties collected on internal trade, and thus closed one of the loopholes through which the Ottoman government could exercise its freedom in customs' policy. Furthermore, the English obtained the abolition of the old limitations on their freedom of movement within the Empire (the need for safe-conducts and travelling-passes, etc.) and of the monopolies: in internal trade they were to enjoy the status of the "most favoured" Ottoman subjects, and could both export and also sell freely within the Empire the goods which they bought. This agreement was followed by others concluded with the other capitulary nations (Noradounghian, ii). These changes made the Ottoman Empire an entirely open market just at the time when European mechanised industry was seeking outlets for its products. In the next ten years, local industry collapsed (Ö. C. Sarç, *Ottoman industrial policy*, in Ch. Issawi (ed.), *The economic history of the Middle East*, London and Chicago 1966, 46-60).

One of the basic causes of the Crimean War was Russia's claim, based on a distortion of an old capitulation privilege, to extend her protection over all Orthodox Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. To counter this, 'Ālī Pasha maintained at the Paris peace congress (1856) that since the Ottoman Empire had now joined the European comity of nations, it should be treated according to the rights of nations recognized among them—and hence the capitulations (*'uhūd-i 'atīḳa*) should be abolished. It was agreed that the question should be examined at a separate

conference, to be convened in Istanbul (L.-J.-D. Féraud-Giraud, *De la juridiction française dans les Échelles du Levant et de Barbarie*, Paris 1866, ii, 54-8). This news was taken very seriously in Istanbul (A. Fuʾād, *Ridjāl-i mühimme-i siyāsiyye*, Istanbul 1928, 70), but the powers never met: in 1861 and 1862, when the commercial treaties were renewed (Noradounghian, ii, 130-91), the capitulations were re-affirmed in their entirety, and a few modifications were made only in customs rates [see MAKS]. The statesmen of the Tanẓīmāt generation now believed firmly that the first and essential step in the recovery of the Empire was to win freedom from the capitulations. With this aim in view, while taking fundamental measures of reform in the Westernization and secularization of the administration and the legal system, they also sought methods of suppressing at least the worst abuses of the capitulations. By a firman of 1284/1867 (text in Testa, vii, 745-7; Aristarchi, i, 19-21; Turkish text in *Dustūr*, i, 230), while foreigners were granted the right to own property, it was also decreed that they should be subject to the same conditions as Ottoman subjects, pay the same taxes, and be answerable to Ottoman courts of law. The French ambassador commented that this new privilege "ensured to European capital the right to develop unlimited mineral, agricultural and forestry riches of the Ottoman Empire" (*La Turquie* (newspaper), issue of 12 September 1868). The powers complained that the old exemptions bestowed by the capitulations were not included, but finally accepted these terms (text in Testa, vii, 730-3; for Ziyā Pasha's objections to this new privilege, see *Tanzimat*, i, Ankara 1940, 835-6). At the end of the document the Porte expressly stated that it reserved the right to alter the *ʿuhūd-i ʿatīḳa, i.e.*, the capitulations. ʿĀlī Pasha at one point (1867) considered adopting the French civil code in order to do away once and for all with the objections of the European powers (R. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton 1963, 252). Right down to the Republican period the desire to abolish the capitulations was the principal motive for various radical reforms and, in particular, efforts at secularization.

By his law on Ottoman nationality of 1869, ʿĀlī Pasha hoped to put an end to one of the gravest abuses of the capitulations (Turkish text: *Dustūr*, i, 16-18; French text: Testa, vii, 526-7), by enacting that a purported change of nationality was void without the approval of the Ottoman government. This provision too the powers were obliged to accept. A little later, in a memorandum circularized to the powers (Testa, vii, 548-54), ʿĀlī Pasha, while recognizing that the capitulations bore the character of a "*traité*", drew to their attention the principal points which were abused, maintaining that these abuses were contrary not only to the "law of nations" but indeed to the terms of the capitulations themselves, and that the Ottoman government was obliged to see them rectified. The principal abuses were: the status of the "protected persons"; exemption from the taxes owed by Ottoman subjects; the extraterritorial status of consuls; the difficulty in prosecuting foreign criminals; the fact that foreigners were not answerable to Ottoman law and civil courts, which their own governments did not recognize; the interference of consular courts in the affairs of Ottoman courts; the dragoman's claim to take part in the Ottoman judge's decision (see J. de Testa, *Observations sur le mémoire de la Sublime Porte relatif aux capitulations*, Istanbul 1869). This memorandum had followed a Code of Regulations (*niẓāmnāme*) on Consuls (1863: text in Aristarchi, iv, 15-19) and a Protocol (*maẓbaṭa*) on the investigation of foreign criminals (1867); but the powers would permit no modifications on the points of internal taxes, the presence of dragomans in the courts, and the opening of mission schools without the permission of the Sultan, etc.

The other powers were gravely offended when, during the negotiations for the renewal of the commercial agreements in 1890, Germany agreed to the abolition of the capitulations,—but she had made this subject to the agreement of the other powers. The capitulations were now weighing even more heavily on the Ottoman Empire because the European powers were extending their fields of activity and extending their capitulary privileges into them, so that the Empire now had no better than a semi-colonial status. Banks, railways, mines, gas and electricity, port installations, ports and telephones—indeed all the important public services—were now in the hands of privileged European companies (see N. Verney and G. Dambmann, *Les puissances étrangères dans le Levant*, Paris 1900; C. Morawitz, *Les finances de la Turquie*, Paris 1902). Behind this abuse of the capitulations and the activities of missionary societies lay the threat of the political and military pressure which an imperialist state could bring to bear. Public opinion in Turkey, at last awake to the dangers, was now violently hostile to the capitulations. From 1908 onwards, every government placed their abolition at the top of its programme (C. Bilsel, *Lozan*, i, Istanbul 1933, 63). In two memoranda which he delivered to the British government in May 1913, the Grand Vizier Ḥaḳḳī Pasha proposed some urgent modifications, such as the raising of customs' duties to 15%, the abolition of foreign post-offices, the imposition of a profits tax on foreigners, and the setting up of a commission of lawyers to carry through the complete abolition of the capitulations. Great Britain claimed that for these the agreement of all the powers would be necessary and that the commercial and financial regulations concerned not the capitulations but the recently concluded commercial treaties (*British documents on the origins of the War*, x/2, docs. 64, 80, 95, 97). With the outbreak of the First World War the Ottoman government took up the abolition of the capitulations with the British, French and Russian governments as a principal matter determining her attitude towards maintaining neutrality—but the Allies would make no clear promise (Y. H. Bayur, *Türk Inkilabı tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1957, 156-62). Thereupon, by a firman of 17 Shawwāl 1332/8 September 1914, the Sultan proclaimed the abolition of "all the existent foreign privileges known as financial, economic, juridical and administrative capitulations, so that foreign nationals resident in the Ottoman Empire would be treated in the framework of the general law of nations" (Bayur, *op. cit.*, iii/1, 162; text of the note to the Powers: Bilsel, *op. cit.*, 65-7). Immediately thereafter there was promulgated the "Code of Regulations concerning the separation of *sherʿī* courts and *niẓāmī* courts". The capitulary states protested, denouncing this action as a unilateral and arbitrary abrogation of treaty rights. By the Treaty of Sèvres the capitulations were restored without modification and their privileges were extended to the other victorious allies; but by the Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923) the allies were obliged to accept their complete abolition.

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iii.—Persia

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries European trade was carried out in Persia under the protection of farmans given by different shāhs to individuals and companies. These were sometimes of a general nature and sometimes included the grant of privileges and immunities. Those who sought the grant of such farmans and the shāhs who gave them may well have been influenced by the negotiations for the grant of extra-territorial privileges to French subjects in the Ottoman empire in the first half of the sixteenth century (see J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near- and Middle East, a documentary record: 1535-1914*, Princeton 1956). In 1566 and 1568 Shāh Ṭahmāsp gave the Muscovy Company farmans in which he accorded them exemption from tolls and customs, freedom of travel throughout the country, protection for their merchants "from all evil persons", legal recovery of just debts, immunity from robbery,

permission to build or buy houses for their own use, and assistance in unloading (texts in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 6-7). Political and other events prevented the successful prosecution of trade by the Muscovy Company, and after a sixth expedition to Persia in 1579-81 efforts to conduct trade via the Russian route were abandoned. In 1009/1600 Antony Sherley obtained from S͟hāh ʿAbbās a farman permitting all Christian merchants to trade in Persia without molestation and granting them immunity as to their persons and goods from Persian courts, legal recovery of debts, and exemption from tolls and customs (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 15-16).

Some years later, in 1623, S͟hāh ʿAbbās gave a farman to the Dutch East India Company giving freedom of trade and immunity from inspection of their goods to the Netherlands nation and exemption from all duties, tolls, and charges, with the exception of the duty paid to the *nāẓir* (inspector). Article 10 stated that "the house of the Netherlands Nation in Persia shall enjoy full freedom without exception; and no justice may enter [the premises] without the permission of the principal representative of the said Nation; and if anyone should seek forcibly to enter [the premises], the Netherlanders will be allowed to resist him with force". Article 14 laid down that "If a member of the Netherlands Nation should (God forbid) strike dead another person, from whatever nation, or should commit any crime or infraction of the law, that person shall not be tried by any justice of the [Persian] Empire but shall be punished by his president or chief, according to the circumstances of the case and in the manner deemed appropriate". Article 17 accorded to the interpreter or dragoman of the Netherlands house the same privileges as a member of the Netherlands Nation (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 16-18). New farmans were granted in 1642 and 1694. On 7 February 1631 a Dutch agent of S͟hāh Ṣafi obtained a grant of extraterritorial privileges for Persian merchants in the Netherlands. This instrument was on the pattern of contemporary arrangements prevailing between European nations (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 20-21). In fact, it did not become operative because Persian merchants did not become established in the Netherlands.

In October 1615 the English East India Company obtained a farman in general terms from S͟hāh ʿAbbās. Two years later, in 1617, Edward Connock obtained a farman framed in more specific terms, which was confirmed by S͟hāh Ṣafi in 1629. It granted freedom of trade and creed and the right to pay the same rates of customs as paid by Persian subjects. English subjects, in the event of their committing disorders, were to be punished by their own ambassador. If any difference arose between English subjects and Persian in buying and selling "if the said differences pass or exceed twenty tomands, the Justice shall send them to the Ambassador to be decided, that he in the presence of our Justices might do whatsoever shall be conformable to honourable and noble laws" (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 18-20). This farman was confirmed by S͟hāh Sulaymān and renegotiated with S͟hāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn by James Bruce in (or about) 1697 (India Office Records, E/3/52/6410. See further R. W. Ferrier, *British-Persian relations in the 17th century*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Cambridge 1970, 455 ff. See also *Calendar of State Papers*, colonial, Vol. IV, No. 852, E/3/12/1294, and *ibid.*, No. 857, E/3/12/1296).

The French in February 1665 and December 1671 obtained farmans giving French merchants trading privileges comparable to the English and the Dutch. On 7 September 1708, however, a treaty was concluded between S͟hāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn and Louis XIV. By this, French merchants were accorded freedom to travel and trade throughout Persia and immunity from certain import duties for five years on the grounds of the considerable sums they would have to expend to launch commercial relations between the two countries (Art. 2). They were given permission to buy or build houses or hostels for their lodging (Art. 4), and to fly the French flag over these buildings in the same manner as other Europeans flew their flags over their buildings (Art. 5). French subjects and merchants, and other Europeans with them, their interpreters, household servants, Armenians, and Indians in their retinue, up to twenty persons, were exempted from tribute and *k͟harād͟j* (Art. 11). According to Article 16 differences between French subjects were to be settled according to French law; in the event of differences between Frenchmen and other nations, Persian officials were to establish the truth of the matter in the presence of the consul and "settle it in conformity with Muslim justice and universal truth". Agreement was given to the appointment of a factory chief, captain, or consul in any Persian port (Art. 23). If a complaint was brought against a Frenchman, the plaintiff was to refer his complaint to the governor of the locality, who would summon the consul's interpreter and send him to the consul to settle the differences; but if the consul was otherwise engaged, after a reasonable delay the case might be settled by the Persian authorities (Art. 24) (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 32-8).

On 13 August 1715 the treaty was emended. French subjects were exempted from the payment of import and export duties (Art. 2). All Frenchmen and their servants and slaves without limit were granted exemption from capitation tax, *k͟harād͟j*, and all other tributes and duties mentioned in Article 11 of the Treaty of 1708 (Art. 6). Some changes were also made in the provisions governing the investigation of civil and criminal suits. Article 10 stated that civil and criminal differences that might arise between Frenchmen and members of another nation would be investigated and decided by the officers of Muslim justice in the presence of the consul of the French nation or such other person as he might commission. Differences which might arise between the consul or the interpreter of the French nation and persons of another nation would be decided by the king of Persia himself. The governors of the locality might not take formal cognizance of such cases nor might they, in any case, affix their seal upon the houses where the Frenchmen lived.

By Article 1 of the separate articles negotiated in 1715 Persian merchants were accorded "the same privileges and exemptions as the merchants subjects of His Very Christian Majesty, on condition, however, that they may not bring to France any goods whose entry is forbidden, that they will use French ships to transport the permissible goods; and that all the goods will be the products of the states of the King of Persia, proved by a certificate that they will arrange to obtain from the Consul of the French nation". Article 2 gave Persian merchants the right to have a consul in Marseilles who would enjoy exemption from capitation tax. By Article 3 he was given the sole right to decide any difference arising between Persian merchants, but the investigation and decision of differences arising between Persians and members of other nations was to belong to the judge of the locality (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 40-2). Thus, both in the case of the Netherlands and France

there was, at least in theory, some degree of reciprocity in the arrangements made.

In 1722 the Ṣafavid dynasty was brought to an end by the Afg͟hān invasion. Trade came largely to a standstill in the prevailing anarchy, and was only spasmodically renewed during the rest of the eighteenth century. The privileges granted to Europeans under the Ṣafavid farmans lapsed.

By a treaty of 21 January/1 February 1732 between Persia and Russia, Ṭahmāsp, the Ṣafavid puppet put on the throne by Nādir Ḳulī Mīrzā (later Nādir S͟hāh), undertook to allow Russian subjects to trade freely in Persia without payment of duty on merchandise brought from Russia to Persia for sale or barter, and to permit Russian merchants to build houses and stores to hold their merchandise (Art. 3). The Russian empress for her part promised that the subjects of the S͟hāh coming to trade "in her states or passing through her states for other lands would enjoy all freedoms and advantages that may be granted according to the customs and charters of her Empire" (Art. 4). Both parties were allowed to have agents or consuls in such cities as they might deem fit (Art. 6). In 1736 the English received a *raḳam* renewing most of their privileges (*Selections from State Papers*, Bombay 1908, 48), but neither they nor the Dutch or French merchants secured full renewals of their privileges.

On 12 April 1763 an English East India Company agent concluded an agreement with S͟hayk͟h Saʿdūn of Bushire, which gave the English exemption from custom duties on imports and exports and laid down that only 3% should be taken from merchants who bought and sold to the English (Art. 1). The import and sale of woollen goods was to be solely in the hands of the English (Art. 2). The English were to have ground on which they could erect a factory on which they could hoist their colours and have twenty-one guns for saluting (Art. 6). No European nation was to be permitted to settle in Bushire as long as the English had a factory there (Art. 3). The brokers, linguists, servants and others of the English were to be entirely under the protection and government of the English (Art. 4). On 2 July 1763 Karīm K͟hān gave a grant in similar terms to the English. They were given permission to have ground for a factory in Bushire or any other port in the Gulf and to build factory houses in any part of the Persian kingdom and were granted the same exemptions, monopolies and privileges as granted by S͟hayk͟h Saʿdūn (texts in C. U. Aitchison, *A collection of treaties, engagements and sanads relating to India and the neighbouring countries*, Calcutta 1933, xiii, 41-4). On the death of Karīm K͟hān confusion and disorder broke out again. His nephew D̲j̲aʿfar K͟hān gave a farman to the English for unrestricted trade throughout Persia and exemption from all customs dues (text *ibid.*, 44-5), but this was in fact of little value since D̲j̲aʿfar K͟hān's writ did not run throughout the province of Fārs, let alone the rest of Persia.

In the nineteenth century contact between Persia and Europe was once more joined in a more permanent way but under somewhat different circumstances to those which had prevailed under the Ṣafavids. In 1801 a commercial treaty annexed to the political treaty of the same date was concluded between Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh and Sir John Malcolm acting on the part of the English government. Article 1 provided for reciprocity, stating that the merchants of the two contracting states were to "travel and carry on their affairs in the territories of both nations in full security and confidence, and the rulers and governors of all cities are to consider it their duty to protect from injury their cattle and goods". By Article 2 the traders and merchants of England and Hindustan in the service of the English government were permitted to settle in Persia and no government duties, taxes, or requisitions were to be collected on any goods which were the property of either of the governments, the usual duties on such to be taken from purchasers (Art. 2). By an Additional Article it was laid down that the duties levied on purchasers of iron, lead, steel, broadcloth, and purpetts that were exclusively the property of the English government were not to exceed 1%. All duties, imports and customs which were at that period established in Persia and India (on other goods) were to remain fixed and not to be increased. Article 4 stated that "If any person in the empire of Persia die indebted to the English Government, the ruler of the place must exert his power to have such a demand satisfied before those of any other creditor whatever. The servants of the English Government, resident in Persia, are permitted to hire as many domestic natives of that country as are necessary for the transaction of their affairs; and they are authorised to punish such, in cases of misconduct, in the manner they judge most expedient, provided such punishment does not extend to life or limb; in such cases the punishment to be inflicted by the ruler or governor of the place". Freedom to build houses in any port or city of Persia and to sell or rent them was also given (Art. 5) (text in *ibid.*, 50-3). The treaty was never ratified.

In January 1808 General Gardane, who had been sent to Persia at the head of a French mission after the signature of the Treaty of Finkenstein (1807), negotiated for France a commercial treaty which reaffirmed the arrangements in favour of the French under S͟hāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn's farman of 1708 and the Franco-Persian Treaty of 1715.

All the farmans and treaties mentioned above granted privileges and immunities to the subjects of foreign powers; some placed them in a more favourable position than nationals in matters of taxation and trade, and removed disputes concerning them from the jurisdiction of the local courts. Farmans were by their nature unilateral instruments. In as much as Persian merchants were rarely established in Europe, the operation of the treaties, even where reciprocity was granted, tended to be to the advantage of one party only. Some authors consider the origin of the capitulations in Persia to be these farmans and treaties, especially the French treaty of 1715. There are striking resemblances between some of the provisions of these farmans and treaties on the one hand and the privileges and immunities enjoyed by European powers in Persia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Nevertheless, the Treaty of Turkomānčāy concluded between Persia and Russia in 1828 and the separate act relative to commerce concluded on the same date under Article 10 of that treaty is generally regarded as the origin of the capitulations in Persia. Several of the provisions of these two instruments give privileges and immunities similar to those found in earlier documents. But, whereas the farmans were grants of grace and the earlier treaties freely negotiated, the Treaty of Turkomānčāy was concluded under duress after a disastrous war and sealed Russian ascendancy in northern Persia. The privileges and immunities which it granted were associated with the fear of foreign domination and their application often extracted by threat or actual force. In modern Persian usage, the

term "capitulations" is applied only to the régime instituted by the Treaty of Turkomānčāy. Strictly speaking, the term is applied to the extra-territorial rights granted by that treaty and extended to other nations under most favoured nation treatment. In practice, however, the capitulatory régime covered also, or was closely connected with, trading privileges, and became closely associated with the question of protection, which in turn became connected with asylum, both matters which gave rise to many disputes between Persia on the one side and Great Britain and Russia on the other.

By Article 1 of the separate act relative to commerce Russian subjects provided with passports were to be allowed to trade throughout Persia. Persian subjects were to be allowed to import their merchandise by the Caspian or the land frontier between Persia and Russia and to enjoy most favoured nation treatment. By Article 2 contracts, bills of exchange, securities and other engagements in connection with business transactions between Persians and Russians were to be registered before the Russian consul and the governor (*ḥākim*). Merchandise imported into Persia or exported from Persia by Russian subjects and Persian produce imported into Russia by Persians or Russian merchandise exported from Russia by Persians were to be liable to a duty of 5% levied once and for all at their entrance or exit. Russia undertook not to increase the duty of 5% should she deem it necessary to make new customs regulations and new tariffs (Art. 3).

Articles 5, 7, and 8 were specifically of a capitulatory nature. Article 5 stated that, "Seeing that, according to the existing usages in Persia, it is difficult for foreign subjects to find houses, warerooms or proper places for the storage of their merchandise to let, it is permitted to Russian subjects in Persia not only to rent, but also to acquire, by every right of ownership, houses to dwell in, as well as ware-rooms and places in which to deposit their merchandise. The servants of the Persian Government shall not be allowed to enter by force the said houses, ware-rooms or places without having recourse, in cases of necessity, to the authority of the Minister, or of the Chargé d'Affaires, or of the Consul of Russia who shall depute an officer or dragoman to be present at the inspection of the house or the merchandise".

Article 7 read "All lawsuits and litigations between Russian subjects shall be submitted exclusively to the investigation and decision of the Mission or of the Consuls of Russia in conformity with the laws and customs of the Russian Empire. So also shall disputes and lawsuits arising between Russian subjects and those of another Power, in case the two parties shall consent to such a course. Whenever any disputes or lawsuits shall arise between Russian and Persian subjects, the said lawsuits or disputes shall be brought before the Hakim or Governor, and shall not be investigated and decided except in the presence of the Dragoman of the Mission or of the Consulate. Once judicially disposed of, such disputes shall not be allowed to be instituted a second time. If, however, circumstances should be of such a nature as to render a second trial necessary, it shall not take place without previous intimation being given to the Minister, or the Chargé d'Affaires, or the Consul of Russia; and in that case the action shall be brought and decided only in the Dufter, that is to say in the Supreme Court of the Shah at Tabriz or at Teheran, likewise in the presence of a Dragoman of the Mission or of the Russian Consulate".

Article 8 stipulated that "In case of murder or any other crime committed among Russian subjects, the investigation and decision of the case shall be within the exclusive province of the Minister, or Chargé d'Affaires, or Consul of Russia in virtue of the jurisdiction delegated to them over their own countrymen. If a Russian subject should happen to be implicated with individuals of another nation in a criminal suit, he shall not be prosecuted nor molested in any way without proofs of his participation in the crime; and even in that case, as in the one in which a Russian subject should be charged with direct culpability, the tribunals of the country shall not be competent to proceed with the trial and judgment of the crime except in the presence of a delegate of the Mission or the Russian Consulate, and if there should be none on the spot in which the crime has been committed, the local authorities shall take steps to send the delinquent to a place where there is a Consul or a constituted Russian agent. The evidence both for and against the accused shall be faithfully taken by the Hakim and by the Judge of the place, and attested by their signature; transmitted in this form to the place where the offence is to be tried; this evidence shall constitute a record or authentic summary of the proceedings, unless the accused should clearly demonstrate the falsity of the same. When the accused shall have been duly convicted and the sentence passed, he shall be handed over to the Minister or Chargé d'Affaires or Consul of His Imperial Majesty, who shall send him back to Russia, there to receive the punishment awarded by the law" (text in *ibid.*, pp. xxiii-xli).

From time to time as regards the payment of customs duties and exemption from internal tolls and road taxes the subjects of other European powers were placed on a similar footing to the Russians, but this was resisted by Persia, and in 1851 the Ministry for Foreign Affairs announced that the subjects of all countries not having commercial treaties with Persia would be called upon to pay the same duties as Persian merchants. In due course, however, many European and American states acquired capitulatory privileges by either special articles included in treaties concluded between themselves and Persia or a clause giving most favoured nation treatment. Already in 1841 Great Britain had obtained most favoured nation treatment in the matter of customs duties by Article 1 of the commercial treaty concluded with Persia in that year; Articles 9 and 12 of the Treaty of Paris 1857 also accorded most favoured nation treatment (texts in *ibid.*, 67-9, 81-5). Spain received most favoured nation treatment in a commercial treaty concluded with Persia in 1842 (text in *ibid.*, xlii-xliv). Similar privileges were acquired by France (1855), the U. S. (1856), Austria-Hungary, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway and Sweden (1857), Greece (1861), Italy (1862), Germany and Switzerland (1873), Mexico and the Argentine (1902), and Chile, Uruguay, and Brazil in 1903 (see A. Matine-Daftary, *La suppression des capitulations en Perse*, Paris 1930, 67 ff.).

The capitulations were less elaborate in Persia than in the Ottoman Empire and less burdensome. They were, nevertheless, onerous, particularly because of the derogation of sovereignity which they involved, the privileged position which they gave to foreigners in matters of trade and the inviolability of their persons, domiciles, and goods, and the opportunity which they gave to Persian subjects to place themselves outside the authority of the Persian law if they succeeded in obtaining the protection of a

foreign power. Their operation depended much upon the circumstances of the moment and the temper of the diplomatic officials concerned.

Special tribunals under a department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, known as the *dīwān-i muḥākamāt-i k̲h̲āridj̲a* and staffed by officials of the ministry, were set up in the capital for the settlement of disputes between Persians and foreigners. In the provinces, representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, known as *kārgud̲h̲ārs*, presided over special courts for the same purpose and had general supervision of the activities of foreigners. Unlike the Ottoman empire, the procedure and machinery for the settlement of disputes by these courts was of the rudest kind (cf. A. C. Wratislaw, *A consul in the East*, London 1924, 190). Foreign consuls had, in effect, the power of veto because the decision of the court could not be put into effect unless countersigned by the consul (Matine-Daftary, *op. cit.*, 79-80).

Throughout the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century there was a constant state of contention and friction between the Persian government and the agents of foreign powers arising out of the capitularly regime, but it was not until the Great War of 1914-18 and the unilateral abrogation of the capitulations by Turkey in 1914 that serious consideration was given to their abolition in Persia. In 1918 the cabinet of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla announced their unilateral abolition. This was probably no more than a declaration of intent and was of no immediate effect. A demand for their abolition submitted by the Persian government to the Peace Conference in March 1919 was also abortive: the delegation, for reasons unconnected with this demand, was not received. On 26 June 1919, however, there was an exchange of notes with the Soviet government on the abolition of Russian consular jurisdiction. In the following year, on 1 June, a treaty was signed with China which contained no extra-territorial provisions, showing the lines along which the Persian government was thinking. On 26 February 1921 a treaty was concluded between the Soviet government and the new Persian government, which had seized power by a coup d'état early that year.This treaty was the first major step in the abolition of the capitulations. Article 1 declared all treaties concluded between the Tsarist government and Persia to be null and void. Article 16 confirmed the abolition of consular jurisdiction over Russian subjects in accordance with the note of 26 June 1919, and declared that subjects of the Soviet Union in Persia and Persian subjects in the U.S.S.R. would enjoy equal rights with the nationals of the country and be subject to the local tribunals of justice. (Texts in Aitchison, *op. cit.*, lxxxvi-xcvi. See also Matine-Daftary, *op. cit.*, 151-3).

The Persian government under Riḍā K̲h̲ān (who became Riḍā S̲h̲āh in 1925) now embarked on a vigorous programme of modernization. This involved, *inter alia*, the promulgation of civil, commercial and penal codes, the recruitment and training of judicial officials to apply the new laws, and the abolition of the capitulations. The commercial code was passed in three parts in February, April, and June 1925, and the penal code promulgated in February 1926. In 1927 after a reconstruction of the government all judicial tribunals were dissolved and the new minister of justice, Mr. Davar, authorised to prepare bills for the reorganization of the judicial system. On 26 April 1927, at the opening meeting of the commission charged with this work, Riḍā S̲h̲āh announced his wish to abolish the capitulations (Matine-Daftary, *op. cit.*, 180, 210). Following upon this, the president of the Council of Ministers, Mustawfī al-Mamālik, announced in the National Assembly on 30 April that the government would include the abolition of the capitulations in its programme (*ibid.*, 211). Towards the end of the year a commission was appointed to draw up a civil code. On 10 May 1928 it came into provisional operation. On the same date the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs delivered notes to the legations concerned denouncing all treaties containing capitulatory provisions and stating that they would cease to be effective as from 10 May 1928 and that states which enjoyed similar provisions by virtue of most favoured nation treatment would cease to do so after 10 May 1928. Provincial tribunals presided over by the *kārgud̲h̲ār* were dissolved by the law of 12 S̲h̲ahrīvar 1306/3 September 1927 (*ibid.*, 222-5).

Bibliography: in the text.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

iv.—Modern Egypt

Muḥammad ʿAlī and his successors, especially Saʿīd and Ismāʿīl, were eager to attract foreigners and promote their economic activity in Egypt in order to modernize and Europeanize Egypt as rapidly as possible. Moreover, for political considerations they felt the continuous need of conciliating the European Powers. As a result they permitted the privileges of foreigners to expand far beyond the limits fixed in the texts of the Capitulations. Almost all these privileges grew in Egyptian usage to much larger proportions than in other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

(a) The privileges of foreigners in Egypt

1. Taxation. The fiscal clauses of the Capitulations were primarily aimed at exempting West-European residents from the *dj̲izya* or specified burdensome taxes. However, in nineteenth century Egypt they were interpreted as denying the Egyptian government the right to impose any taxes on the nationals of Capitulatory Powers without the previous consent of their governments. There was one exeption to this rule: the obligation to pay a land tax was tacitly accepted by foreigners as incidental to the privilege to own land, a privilege that was granted to foreigners in Egypt long before it was formally conceded by law in the Ottoman Empire in 1867. But even the payment of this tax involved many complications (cf. G. Baer, *A history of landownership in modern Egypt*, London 1962, 65-6). The payment of all other taxes by foreigners had to receive the explicit consent of the Powers. Customs were covered by commercial treaties (see below). The Convention of London, signed on 17 March 1885 by the six principal European Powers, accepted the house tax decree of 13 March 1884 (with certain modifications concerning the representation of foreigners on the tax commissions). In 1890 the Powers agreed that the newly established municipality of Alexandria be entitled to impose municipal taxes on foreigners. In 1930 consent was given to an additional rate on urban property for the payment of night-watchmen; similarly, during the years 1932-6 a tax on cars and some minor taxes were conceded. However, before the abolition of the Capitulations in 1937 the Powers prevented the introduction of many other taxes in Egypt, for instance an income tax.

2. Customs. There was no difference between the customs tariffs of Egypt and those of the Ottoman Empire before the Khedive of Egypt had been given the right to conclude commercial conventions

(in 1867, and again in 1873). During the last quarter of the century Egyptian commercial conventions were not more advantageous to the Powers than Ottoman ones, but in 1902 France succeeded in reducing the import duty to 8 per cent *ad valorem*, and by the operation of the 'most favoured nation' clause this rate was automatically applied to all other nations which had concluded commercial treaties with Egypt. After 1925 the treaties in force expired one after the other. The scale of duties, however, could not be changed until the last of these treaties, that between Egypt and Italy, expired in 1930. On 17 February of that year Egypt introduced a revised customs tariff which aimed at increasing the revenue and affording some protection to nascent industries.

3. Individual liberty. Foreigners in nineteenth century Egypt enjoyed greater individual liberty than in other parts of the Ottoman Empire in two respects. First, the Ottoman regulation that no church could be built or repaired without the explicit permission of the authorities was not enforced in Egypt. Second, in Egyptian usage the Ottoman restrictions on the freedom of foreigners enacted in 1844 and 1869 were not applied. Thus Egyptian authorities generally did not ask foreigners disembarking in Egypt for passports nor were they required to carry a *tadhkira* [*q.v.*].

4. Inviolability of domicile. In Egypt the principle of inviolability of domicile was considerably expanded and included the premises of any business. For instance, in Turkey customs officers used to visit all vessels entering harbours and keep officers on board till the cargo was landed. In Egypt, on the other hand, they could only watch the discharge and seize contraband when it was actually on shore. The privilege of exemption from search was claimed even for fishing boats by their Maltese, Greek and Italian owners. The restrictions of this privilege which were agreed upon between the Sublime Porte and the Powers in 1868 and 1874 did not apply to Egypt, and only in the commercial agreements between Egypt and the Powers of the 1880's and the 1890's did Egypt acquire effective rights to search vessels for detecting contraband.

5. Legislative immunity. While the *Tanẓīmāt* laws in Turkey, such as the Press Law, applied to foreigners (Scott, 198), in Egypt the foreigners' immunity from local legislation was complete. No Egyptian law was applicable to foreigners unless it had received the explicit consent of the Powers. This principle frustrated many attempts to introduce modern institutions (*e.g.*, Saʿīd's police regulations; for its detrimental influence on the development of municipalities see G. Baer, *The beginnings of municipal government in Egypt*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, iv/2 (Jan. 1968)).

6. Jurisdiction before 1876. The principle of the personal, rather than territorial, nature of law found in Egypt its most extreme application. Gradually the maxim *actor sequitur forum rei* became well established, *i.e.*, the defendant's court had jurisdiction in all cases, not only in cases involving foreigners of different nationalities as in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Thus the consular courts claimed jurisdiction in any criminal, commercial or civil case in which one of their nationals, or even 'protected persons', was the defendant. Moreover, in Egypt, but not in Turkey, cases concerning immovable property involving foreigners of different nationalities were also judged in the consular court of the defendant. The consuls normally applied the laws of their own countries. If an appeal was made, it had to be addressed to the defendant's home court, and for the execution of the consul's sentence in criminal cases the foreign criminal often had to be sent to his home country.

In addition to the reasons for the general expansion of foreign privileges in Egypt mentioned above, this difference between Egypt and other parts of the Ottoman Empire has been explained by the rule of most of the Capitulations that cases involving foreigners and Ottoman subjects which exceeded a specified sum should be judged by the Imperial *Dīwān*. Since travel from Egypt to Istanbul was long and expensive, it was generally preferred to submit the case to the court of the defendant (Barakat, 173).

(b) Judicial reform and the abolition of the Capitulations

1. Mixed Courts before 1876. Attempts to establish a unified system of courts at least for cases in which persons of different nations were involved, as well as to provide for Egyptian representatation on the bench in cases in which Egyptians were the plaintiffs, were made in Egypt even prior to similar attempts made in Turkey. A mixed commercial tribunal was established in the early 1820's under the presidency of Muḥammad ʿAlī's agent, the prominent merchant Muḥammad al-Maḥrūḳī (F. Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly*, Paris 1823, ii, 441; for 1243/1827-8 see Amīn Sāmī, *Taḳwīm al-Nīl*, Cairo 1928, ii, 333). After long periods of inactivity the Mixed Commercial Tribunals were reorganized in Alexandria and Cairo according to an order of 3 September 1861 which provided for the appointment of Egyptian and foreign members and of an Egyptian president. However, these tribunals never worked effectively since foreigners did not recognize their competence in cases in which they were the defendants and had recourse to them only when they were the plaintiffs (Stoddart to Aberdeen, 31 December 1845, Public Record Office, London, F. O. 78/624, and Report by Consul Green, 2 April 1856, F. O. 78/1222).

2. The reform of 1875. In a report of 1867 Nūbār Pasha, at that time Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs, proposed the establishment of mixed courts with jurisdiction in all cases in which foreigners were involved—commercial, civil, or criminal. After long negotiations, in the course of which Nūbār was compelled to be contented with reforms more modest than his original ideas, the *Règlement d'Organisation Judiciaire* was enacted in 1875. The new Mixed Courts, which were established in 1876 according to the *Règlement*, had jurisdiction in all civil and commercial cases between foreigners of different nationalities and between foreigners and Egyptians. Their power extended also to foreign litigants of identical nationality in all cases concerning land held in Egypt, and even to cases where an Egyptian corporation was involved against Egyptian litigants if there was foreign capital invested in the corporation (so-called 'mixed interests'). In the sphere of criminal jurisdiction the Mixed Courts were only empowered to deal with police offences of foreigners for which the maximum penalties were a fine of £E 1 or one week's imprisonment, and offences committed directly against the administration of justice by the Mixed Courts themselves. All other penal offences of foreigners were dealt with by the consular courts, which also retained jurisdiction in matters of personal status of foreigners

and civil actions, other than those involving land, between foreigners of the same nationality.

Foreign judges of the Mixed Courts were appointed by the Egyptian government after consultation with the Ministers of Justice of the countries from which they came, and the proportion of their number to that of the Egyptian judges was fixed. There were three District Tribunals and one Court of Appeal, as follows (data for 1937):

	Egyptian judges	Foreign judges
Court of Appeal, Alexandria	6	10
District Tribunal, Cairo	8	17
District Tribunal, Alexandria	6	10
District Tribunal, Manṣūra	3	7
Total	23	44

Since the Mixed Courts were open to nationals of all foreign states, their establishment involved conceding new privileges to nationals of non-Capitulatory Powers.

The Mixed Courts judged according to 'Mixed Codes' based mainly on the Code Napoléon and French law. Since these codes could not be altered without the unanimous consent of fifteen governments, a Legislative Assembly was established in 1911 which was competent to approve additions and modifications (but not to endorse measures contravening the fiscal immunity of foreigners).

3. The abolition of the Capitulations and of special jurisdiction of foreigners. At the outbreak of the First World War the Turkish government declared the abolition of the Capitulations, which was subsequently recognized by the Capitulary Powers in Article 28 of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Egypt, however, was unaffected by this act, since Turkish sovereignty or suzerainty in Egypt had been terminated by the declaration of a British Protectorate over Egypt in 1914 and was later renounced by Turkey, with effect from 5 November 1914, in Article 17 of the Treaty of Lausanne. However, by Article 13 of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 it was agreed that the Capitulations should be speedily abolished, Egypt should achieve complete freedom of legislation (including financial legislation) and the Mixed Tribunals should be abolished after a period of transition in which the powers of the consular courts should be transferred to them.

As a result, a conference of the Capitulary Powers met in Montreux on 12 April 1937 at the invitation of the Egyptian government. The texts of the Final Act of this conferenc were signed on 8 May 1937. The Capitulations were abolished, and so was the legislative and fiscal immunity of foreigners. During a transitional period of 12 years (until 14 October 1949) criminal jurisdiction and such civil jurisdiction as was still exercised by the Consular Courts was transferred to the Mixed Courts, the consuls retaining jurisdiction in matters of personal status only. Foreigners normally subject to the Mixed Courts were permitted to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the Native Courts. All vacancies up to two-thirds of the total membership of the District Courts were to be filled by Egyptian judges, who were also permitted for the first time to become presidents of these courts. Judgment was to be given in Arabic as well as in a European language.

On 15 October 1949 the Mixed Courts and the Consular Courts were closed, jurisdiction was transferred to the National Courts, and the law codes were revised and unified.

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IMUHAGH, IMUSHAGH, [see AHAGGAR, BERBERS, ṬAWĀRIḲ].

IMZ̤AD (Berber) or *amz̤ad*, *umz̤ad* according to the dialect, "hair, fur", denotes a musical instrument in use among the Touareg (Ṭawāriḳ [*q.v.*]) and generally compared with a violin. The sounding-box consists of a half-calabash of varying diameter (20 to 50 cm.), over which a goatskin, tanned quickly and stripped of hair, is stretched and fixed with cord or acacia thorns; often decorated with motifs painted in bright colours or with inscriptions in *tifinagh* [see BERBERS, vi], the goatskin is pierced with one or two sound-holes (in Ahaggar, *tiṭṭ* "eye") either to the right and left of the bridge, or between the bridge and the visible part of the wooden neck which passes under the taut goatskin and emerges on the other side. At each end of the neck the single string, formed of horse-hairs coated with resin, is fixed by means of a thin strip of leather; the tension of the string, which is held above the goatskin by a bridge composed of two small strips of wood tied together in the form of a cross, is regulated by means of a "noose" consisting of a moveable strip knotted to the neck, its distance from the end being adjustable. The bow is a curved wooden wand semi-circular in shape, between the ends of which is stretched a string also made of horse-hair coated with resin from the gum-tree instead of rosin.

The *imz̤ad* is held by the player on her thighs as she sits low down, just above the ground, with legs tucked back; her left hand holds the outer part of the neck, with the thumb on the noose, the right hand holding the bow at right angles to the string, pointing towards the chest. Thus the *imz̤ad* is "constructed partly like a percussive instrument, held like an instrument with plucked strings, and played like an instrument with a bow"; the playing of the *imz̤ad* is the subject of a technical study (see *Bibl.*) from which it appears that the music played on this instrument is of an archaic kind entirely unconnected with Islam.

In the time of Father Ch. de Foucauld, the *imz̤ad* was "the favourite musical instrument, noble, elegant par excellence" which in some measure symbolized the Touareg's fatherland. It was played in the courts of love known as *ahāl*, and to deprive men of music was a severe punishment, particularly after an unsuccessful raid; to play or, more accurately, "to strike" the violin (*awt imz̤ad*) signified "to utter charming and flattering words". While at that period half the noblewomen played it—though good players numbered only four or five—today this instrument is almost abandoned and it is even forbidden in certain encampments on account of its harmful influence on the young.

AB = neck
αβ = part of stick passing under skin, between skin and calabash
αβK = calabash
αPβQ = skin
ππππ = bracing thongs stretching skin over calabash

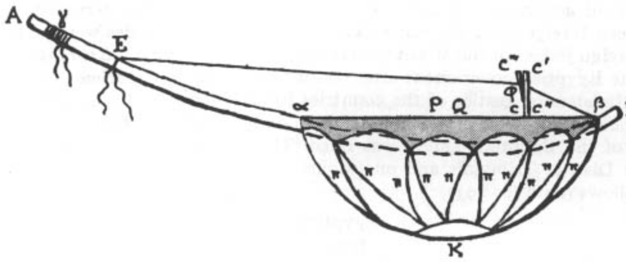

side view of imẓad

cφc′c″φc‴ = bridge
O,O′ = sound holes
E = tuning noose
βφEAγ = string
β,γ = points at which fixing is attached

μν = bow string

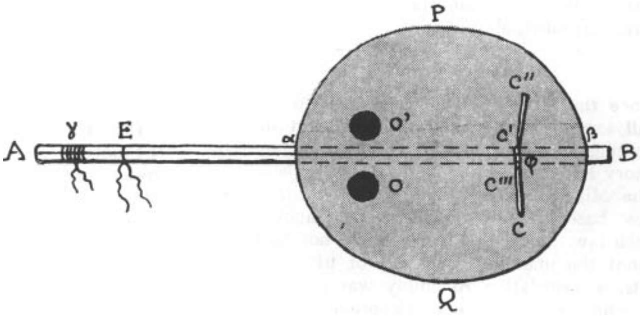

imẓad from above

From Ch. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-francais*, Paris 1952, III; p. 1271

bridge

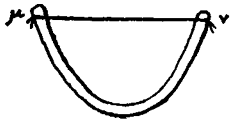
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IN S̲H̲Āʾ ALLĀH, "if God wills", "if it pleases God". The expression is usually called *istit̲h̲nāʾ*, "formula of exception" (or "de conditionnement", tr. H. Laoust). It means that God alone is the master of all that happens, as well as of the thoughts, acts and plans of man. In Islamic countries in ordinary speech it is used to qualify anything in the future, even the near future. Massignon describes this formula (*Passion*, 585) as one which "est restée le signe distinctif, la parabole type de la vie sociale, pour la Communauté islamique".

The expression *in s̲h̲āʾ Allāh*—or an equivalent—reappears many times in the Ḳurʾān, especially, it seems, in the *sūra*s of the Medinan period: to leave to God's will the realization of a wish, the announcement of a reward or a punishment, or the future execution of a given order (*e.g.*, II, 70, VI, 41, IX, 28, XI, 33, XII, 99, etc.). Two similar formulas are: "if God had willed" (*law*; still more frequent), and "so far as God wills it" or "unless God does not will it" (*illā mā* . . .; x, 49, xi, 107-8, etc.). This "leaving to God" required by the *istit̲h̲nāʾ* may be compared with a similar teaching in Christianity, *James*, iv, 19.

The problem arises whether the expression *in s̲h̲āʾ Allāh* may (or must) be used in the case of a definite promise, of an oath or a giving of witness. The question is whether it is then an attestation "in the form of a circle" (*yamīn dāʾira*; cf. Massignon, *ibid.*), causing to intervene (by invoking God) a possibility that the attestation made (in the name of God) may be vain. The answer of the devout Muslim is that human oaths and witness "are valid only if they correspond to the divine truth" (*op. cit.*, 586) which transcends our assurances and our resolutions. It is only with God's help that we are able to keep our promises to God and to men.

The use of the *istit̲h̲nāʾ* in the conclusion of contracts raised arguments among the jurists, who maintained that there was a risk that it might become a "ruse" to escape from the engagements undertaken, or even an abdication from all responsibility. Some, among them Ibn Masʿūd, suppressed the *in s̲h̲āʾ Allāh* only in contracts or attestations "with immediate effect" (*fi 'l-ḥāl*); others tended to suppress it from every contract or attestation, even those whose effect was in the future: such were the Muʿtazilīs and the Māturīdi-Ḥanafīs. The K̲h̲ārid̲j̲īs on the other hand retained it absolutely; similarly, with some nuances, with Ibn Ḥanbal and al-As̲h̲ʿarī (*ibid.*, 585). One of the aims of *fiḳh* was to restrain any abuse of the *istit̲h̲nāʾ* by conditions "linking the contracting parties in case of the non-execution of an agreement".

Nevertheless this expression of reliance on the inscrutable will of God had a profound influence on the mentality. One of the main questions raised is that of the relations between faith (*īmān* [*q.v.*]) and the "formula of exception". It can be seen moreover

as a particular instance of the juridical problem concerning contract or witness: *īmān* is a pact (*ʿaḳd*) which links man to God.

Is it permitted to say: "I am a believer—if God wills" (*anā muʾmin—in shāʾ Allāh*)? We give here the main answers of Sunnī Islam (cf. L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane: Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 388-90).

1. Against the *istithnāʾ*: (a) Muʿtazilīs: Man is "the creator of his own acts", it is a man's own will which makes him believe. "Let whosoever will believe" (Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 29). The "formula of exception" may not therefore be joined to the affirmation of faith. (b) Māturīdī-Ḥanafīs: "The believer is truly a believer and the unbeliever truly an unbeliever (*kāfir*)", is stated in article 3 of the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*; "there cannot therefore be any doubt concerning faith, nor concerning unbelief,—according to the word of the Most High: 'Those in truth are the believers' (Ḳurʾān, VIII, 74), 'those in truth are the unbelievers' (IV, 151)" (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 125, 138-40). The formula *anā muʾmin* expresses present faith. If a man who at present has faith later dies without faith, he will have changed from happiness to unhappiness, from being saved to being damned (for the Māturīdī position in detail, see in particular ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn ʿAlī, *Kitāb Naẓm al-farāʾid*,[2] Cairo n.d., 62-4). The attestation given in the present certainly does not have any effect on the divine decree for the Hereafter; the believer must therefore affirm his faith without placing any limit on his witness. (c) Some Ashʿarīs, among them al-Isfarāʾīnī and al-Bāḳillānī are against it "through determinism" (L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 585, n. 2). Acts, whatever they are, being created by God, to invoke the Divine Will has no real significance.

2. Supporters of the *istithnāʾ*: (a) Ibn Ḥanbal in particular (*ʿAḳīda*, i, 25) and the whole of the Ḥanbalī line. It should be mentioned here that the Ḥanbalī attitude is against the opposite theory of the Murdjiʾīs; Ibn Baṭṭa insists on this (cf. H. Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, 48-9/79-82). After listing various doctors who desire to join *in shāʾ Allāh* to *anā muʾmin*, and quoting a Ḳurʾānic text and two *ḥadīth*s, Ibn Baṭṭa states that the "formula of exception" not only does not destroy certainty (*yaḳīn*) but actually implies it. It "is in fact valid for the future. When a man says 'I am a believer, if God pleases', this means: if God accepts my faith and the confidence (*amāna*) which I have placed in Him" (*ibid.*, 49/81). It should be noted, as H. Laoust mentions (81, n. 1), that some Ḥanbalīs accept, in the name of *istithnāʾ*, "the legitimacy of a generalized doubt". The school as a whole refuses to accept this. (b) Al-Ashʿarī, the great majority of the Ashʿarīs, all the Shāfiʿīs and several Mālikīs. They see the problem mainly from the perspective of the future (*fi 'l-mustaḳbal*). The only faith which counts is that held at the moment of death. Since the actions of man depend on the Divine Decree, no-one can know what his state will be at the last moment. Thus no person can state "I am a believer" without adding "if God wills it", on condition however that the latter statement is not used to conceal a doubt on the present reality of his faith (see the summary of the theories of the Ashʿarī school *apud* al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā ... Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1352/1934, 60).

But the use of *in shāʾ Allāh* may be advised even when it is a case of faith at the present time. Thus al-Ghazālī. In the *Iḥyāʾ* (i, 108-11), he lists three reasons: (1) the formula of exception must signify not the doubt, but the humility of the believer; (2) the Ḳurʾān and the *ḥadīth*s use it to indicate a wish, a positive desire (cf. similar remarks of Ibn Baṭṭa); (3) it cannot and must not express a doubt about the present existence of faith, but about its *perfection*—and the problem is how to be sure that the heart does not conceal any hypocrisy or self-complacency, that the works bearing witness to the adherence of the heart are truly those which God demands of it. It is thus aiming at an interiorization of faith that al-Ghazālī pronounces unreservedly for *istithnāʾ*. And he states (a fourth reason) that its use shall be especially required in the case of the future, and in particular of that decisive future event, the moment of death, which is entirely in God's hands, and which will decide a man's eternal fate (*ibid.*, i, 110-1; cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 140).

Whatever the opinion of the doctors, it can be said that the *in shāʾ Allāh*, so often uttered, is, in Muslim social life, for the whole of the future, both near and distant, a constant call to leave matters to God, Who directs and rules all things and all men according to His decree. Nor is it possible for the juridical acts, contracts and witnesses, and even more a statement of the state of salvation of the believer, to be exempt. There is certainly a risk that the formula may provide a cover for some laxity (and this seems to be the reason for the Māturīdī-Ḥanafī attitude); but the devout believer must find in it a new incentive to strengthen both the right intention (*niyya*) and an active abandonment (*tawakkul*) of himself to the Will of the eternal Giver (*al-wahhāb*, Ḳurʾān, XXXVIII, 9). "The recourse to the 'if it pleases God' betrays on the part of the believer a wish *in petto*: that God Himself should come to his aid, to remit the debt which he contracts without having the wherewithal to pay it. God alone can fulfil our contracts with Himself, and cancel our contracts with men" (L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 586). And this truth is even more insistent in the case of faith, a pact (*ʿaḳd*) concluded with God Who asks both internal reality (*taṣdīḳ*) and an explicit acknowledgement (*iḳrār*).

Bibliography: in the article. (L. Gardet)

ʿINAB [see khamr].

INAK [see khwārizm].

ĪNĀL, Īnālids, name of a Turcoman chief (from the old central-Asiatic title Yīnal) who made himself independent at Āmid (Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*]) at the end of the 5th/11th century during the struggles among the successors of Malikshāh, and name of the dynasty, which remained in power until the end of the 6th/12th century. Although they are mentioned in a few inscriptions, the historians have written little on the Īnālids.

Masters of a place which was commercially and strategically important, they nevertheless held at Diyār Bakr a secondary place compared with the Artuḳids, who were sometimes supported by the Zangids; and, in the interior, they had to yield the real power to a family of native *ruʾasāʾ*, the Nīsānids [*q.v.*], who did not hesitate to rely at times on the Assassins. In 579/1183, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn put an end to the combined power of the two families, and gave Āmid to his Artuḳid ally of Ḥiṣn Kayfā: the two places remained from this time united under this branch of the dynasty. The town of Āmid seems however to have enjoyed under the Īnālids and Nīsānids, at least under the latter, a certain material and cultural prosperity and to have been also an active centre of Christianity. No Īnālid coins are known.

Bibliography: All the literary references (Ibn al-Azraḳ, the continuator of Ibn Ḥawḳal, Michael the Syrian, etc.) are to be found in Cl. Cahen, *Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, in *JA*, 1935, supplemented by idem, *Mouvements populaires* ..., in *Arabica*, 1958, 244; and for archaeology and epigraphy, replacing the earlier works, A. Gabriel, *Voyage archéologique dans les provinces orientales de la Turquie*, with the epigraphical supplement by J. Sauvaget, inscriptions nos. 62-5; see also the article ARTUḲIDS, and Zambaur, p. 139, no. 128. (CL. CAHEN)

ĪNAL or **ĪNALČUḲ**, the governor of Uṭrār [*q.v.*] under Sultan Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh [*q.v.*]. A kinsman of the Sultan's mother, Terken Khatun, he had been given the title of Ḳayïr-Khān. It was the execution by his orders of an ambassador of Čingiz-Khān [*q.v.*] and a caravan of Muslim merchants accompanying him that led to the Mongol invasion of Muḥammad's empire. Captured at Uṭrār after offering desperate resistance, he was put to death at Samarḳand in the spring of 617/1220.

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ĪNĀL (or **AYNĀL**) **AL-ADJRŪD**, AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF, SAYF AL-DĪN ABU 'L-NAṢR AL-ʿALĀʾĪ AL-ẒĀHIRĪ AL-NĀṢIRĪ, Mamlūk Sultan (857/1453-865/1461) of Egypt and Syria. A Circassian by birth, he had been bought in 799/1379 by the trader ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (as his *nisba* al-ʿAlāʾī indicates), brought to Cairo and sold to Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*] (al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, whence Īnāl's *nisba* al-Ẓāhirī). He was enrolled in Barḳūḳ's corps of *al-Mushtarawāt*, remaining in the *Kitābiyya* until the reign of the sultan (al-Nāṣir) Faradj [*q.v.*]. Transferred then (whence his *nisba* al-Nāṣirī) to the *Khāṣṣakiyya*, in 824/1421, under al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad, son of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, he became a "captain of ten"; under Barsbāy [*q.v.*] he was promoted to *Amīr al-ṭablkhāna*, then to *Raʾs nawba*, and in 830/1427 to *Amīr arbaʿīn, Raʾs nawba al-thānī*. Appointed *nāʾib* of Ghazza in 831/1428, he took part in Barsbāy's campaign of 836/1433 against the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu chief Kara-Yülük ʿUthmān Beg, when Āmid (Diyārbakr [*q.v.*]) was attacked. The assault on the citadel, vigorously defended by ʿUthmān's son Murād, having failed, Īnāl was appointed *nāʾib* of Ruhā (Edessa), with the rank of *Amīr miʾa taḳdima alf bi 'l-diyār al-Miṣriyya*. Until 839/1436 he was engaged in numerous skirmishes with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, and the next year was appointed *nāʾib* of Ṣafad. In 843/1439, he was summoned to Cairo by the sultan Čaḳmaḳ (like him an ʿAlāʾī) and was given the post of *Muḳaddam* and then, in 846/1442, of Chief Dawādār. In 846/1442 and 848/1444 he took part in the unsuccessful attacks on Rhodes.

On the death of Yashbak al-Sūdūnī in 850/1446, Īnāl succeeded him as *Atābak al-ʿasākir* (= *al-Amīr al-kabīr*). When Čaḳmaḳ died in 857/1453, Īnāl fell out with his son and successor ʿUthmān over the donative to be paid to various groups of *mamlūks*; in the subsequent street-fighting he occupied the Ḳalʿat al-Djabal and was appointed sultan, by an assembly including the (ʿAbbāsid) shadow-caliph and the four *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*, with the title al-Malik al-Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn. He was then 73 years old. His first preoccupation was to appoint ʿAlāʾīs to various posts, to break up the group of royal Mamluks formed by his predecessor, and to proclaim the abolition of various *maẓālim*-courts.

Īnāl's brief reign was full of incident. In 857/1453 he sent the second *amīr al-ākhūr* Barsbāy as envoy to the Ottoman Sultan Meḥemmed II in reply to an Ottoman embassy announcing the conquest of Constantinople. The following year he defeated the attempts of the Dhu 'l-Ḳādir-oghlu Fayyāḍ Beg to make himself *amīr* of Albistān, installing instead his brother Sulaymān Beg. In 859/1455 he put down a rising caused by dissension between his own mamluks and rival groups; he deposed the caliph al-Ḳāʾim, who had been involved, and appointed his brother al-Mustandjid in his place. Ignoring a complaint from the Ḳaramān-oghlu Ibrāhīm II that the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II was protecting the Greeks, he not only sent an embassy to confirm the good relations with Meḥemmed, but also despatched a force under Khoshḳadam to block Ḳaramānid expansion in Cilicia; that these troops occupied four fortresses in Ḳaramān and burned Larenda provoked strong criticism of Īnāl's policy. The same Khoshḳadam was sent against the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*], who was besieging Malatya.

The next crisis was over Cyprus, which since 830/1427, in the reign of Barsbāy, had been tributary to the Mamlūk sultan. The Lusignan king John II (1432-58) had in person attended the ceremonies in Cairo upon Īnāl's accession. When he died, to be succeeded by his daughter Charlotte (1458-60) (with Louis of Savoy as joint ruler), John's illegitimate brother James, Archbishop of Nicosia (in Mamlūk sources: Djākam), feeling his life to be in danger, fled to Cairo. The dignitaries of Cyprus and the Knights of Rhodes preferred Charlotte as ruler, but the populace of Cyprus favoured James, who now found support among the Mamlūk *amīrs*. Ambassadors for the various parties came to Cairo, where Īnāl upheld the claim of James and proclaimed him King of Cyprus. James was sent back with the support of an Egyptian fleet and occupied Nicosia, but was unable to take Cherines (Kalʿat Sharīna), held by Charlotte. The Mamlūk troops suffered heavy losses, and the bulk of the Mamlūk force returned to Egypt.

The sources represent Īnāl as a just ruler and his reign as prosperous, mainly because of his monetary reforms: silver and gold coins of inferior weight were withdrawn from circulation and a new *fals* (of eight to the *dirham*) was issued. He died on 15 Djūmādā I 865/26 February 1461, at the age of 80 or 81, having reigned for eight years. He is described as dark, tall and thin; his scanty beard won him the nickname *adjrūd*. He left two sons and two daughters. As Īnāl had enjoined, his son Aḥmad succeeded him, as al-Malik al-Muʾayyad, but was deposed after four months, to be succeeded by Khoshḳadam [*q.v.*].

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(M. C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ)

INAL, Ibn al-Amīn Maḥmūd Kemāl (in modern Turkish: Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inal), 1870-1957, Turkish biographer and writer, a significant figure as being the last outstanding representative of traditional Ottoman scholarship and erudition. His father Meḥmed Emīn Pas̲h̲a (1837-1908, also known as "Mühürdār" since he was private secretary to his patron and relative Yūsuf Kāmil Pas̲h̲a (1808-76), Grand Vizier under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and son-in-law of Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt) served in various provinces in Anatolia and retired in 1908 as governor (*mutaṣarrif*) of the Aegean Islands. His mother Ḥamīde Nergis died in 1935.

Maḥmūd Kemāl's ancestors came originally from Buk̲h̲ārā and were known as Seld̲j̲en-og̲h̲lī (Selcenoğlu), a name which was engraved on the personal seals of the family. Later in life he wrote that he regretted having adopted the surname İnal (as a "translation" of Emīn) when family names were introduced by law in 1934, and not taking instead their old name Seld̲j̲en-og̲h̲lu, as some members of the family did (I. M. K. Inal, *Son hattatlar*, 672, n. 1). The by-name Ibn al-Amīn (Ibnülemin) begins to appear in his earliest writings, in the 1890's.

After graduating from the S̲h̲ehzāde high school (*rüs̲h̲diyye*) located in the old *ʿimāret* of the Süleymāniyye *külliye*, Maḥmūd Kemāl entered the Mülkiyye [*q.v.*], but was obliged to leave because of ill-health. Later he attended some courses at the School of Law (Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ) and public lectures in the principal *madrasas* and mosques of Istanbul. But he was for the most part educated privately by his father and by tutors, learning Arabic, Persian, the classical Muslim sciences, and some French. The well-known K̲h̲od̲j̲a Ṭāhir from Ipek, in Albania, the father of the poet Meḥmed ʿĀkif, was among his favourite teachers. The calligrapher Ḥasan Taḥsīn (1851-1915) was also his tutor; it was he who inspired his keen interest in the history of Turkish calligraphy (*Son hattatlar*, 424-7).

Maḥmūd Kemāl entered government service in 1889 as a clerk in the Department for Autonomous Provinces, in the Grand Vizier's Office. In 1891 he was transferred to the Office of the Grand Vizier's private Chancery (Ṣadāret Mektūbī Ḳalemi), where he became deputy-director in 1906 and director in 1908. After the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, during the crises concerning Bosnia and Bulgaria, he was appointed director of the Office for Autonomous Provinces (*Eyālāt-i Mümtāze we Muk̲h̲tāre*).

When ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was deposed in 1909, a special committee under his chairmanship was set up to classify the documents and informers' reports (*jurnals*) found in Yildiz Palace and temporarily transferred to one of the "kiosks" at the entrance to the Ministry of War (the present University Faculty Club, "*Profesörler Evi*"). He was thus enabled to examine and copy many documents of unique importance regarding the home and foreign policy of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's reign (1876-1909), of which he was to make ample use in his works.

During the First World War, the Minister of Education S̲h̲ükrü Bey ([*q.v.*], executed in 1926 for his leading part in the Unionist conspiracy against Muṣṭafā Kemāl) appointed him (together with D̲j̲enāb S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn, Süleymān Naẓīf and others) as a member of the Editorial Board of the *Āt̲h̲ār-i Müfīde Kütübk̲h̲ānesi*, which was charged to prepare unique or rare manuscripts of Turkish literary works for publication. He wrote valuable introductions to many works in this excellently produced series (see below); but when the poet ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid [*q.v.*] used political influence to have his own books published in the series and Enwer Pas̲h̲a ordered the reprinting of some of Nāmiḳ Kemāl's works for the Army, the project was abandoned. Wartime difficulties and shortages were additional causes.

From the end of the First World War to the dissolution of the Government of Istanbul (1918-22), he served as editor of the official government newspaper *Taḳwīm-i Weḳāyiʿ*, and in the last two months as head of the Government Chancery (*Dīwān-i Hümāyūn Beğlikčisi*). In this capacity he represented the Grand Vizier's office on the special political committee of under-secretaries appointed to draw up the Turkish view on the forthcoming peace-treaty negotiations (Col. Işmet Bey, the future Inönü, represented the Ministry of War on the same committee).

After a temporary appointment in the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt (Düyūn-i ʿUmūmiyye [*q.v.*]), where he worked in the company of many leading writers and intellectuals of the period, he was in 1924 made president of the Commission for the Classification of Historical Documents (*Wet̲h̲āʾiḳ-i taʾrīk̲h̲iyye taṣnīf heyeti*) by the Ottoman Historical Society (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī End̲j̲ümeni*), of which he had been elected a member in 1923. In three years' concentrated work on the commission he was able to collect valuable material for his later works. In 1927, through the good offices of two of his friends and admirers, the poets K̲h̲alīl Nihād [Boztepe] and Ibrāhīm ʿAlā al-Dīn [Gövsa], the new Ankara Government appointed him Director of the Museum for Pious Foundations (*Ewḳāf-i Islāmiyye Müzesi*), later renamed Museum for Turkish and Islamic Arts (*Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi*) located in the Süleymaniye *Külliyye*. He kept this position until his retirement in 1935.

In 1936, with the support of the Egyptian Princess K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a ʿAbbās Ḥalīm, he went to Mecca on pilgrimage and visited Egypt. In December 1939, Prince Muḥammad ʿAlī, then the heir-apparent to the Egyptian throne, invited him (together with the calligrapher Kāmil Akdik) to Egypt to help classify his collection of Islamic calligraphy. On his return to Istanbul in February 1940 he found himself appointed adviser to the Editorial Board of the Turkish edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam. This was a personal decision of Hasan Ali Yücel (1897-1961), writer and publicist and an able Minister of Education, who during his eight years in office and afterwards constantly encouraged him, urging him to publish his major works (which were mostly in the form of disjointed notes, and were edited as they actually went to the printers). Maḥmūd Kemāl brought himself to sort his immense quantity of material and concentrate it only when he was officially commissioned to write (A. H. Tanpinar, *Ibnül Emin Mahmud Kemal'e dair*, in the introduction to Inal's posthumous work *Hoş sada*, Istanbul 1958, p. LIV). From 1940 until his death on 24 May 1957, he devoted most of his time to preparing, correcting and supervising the printing of his books.

Maḥmūd Kemāl was probably the last surviving example of the old-style Ottoman gentleman, who anachronistically insisted on leading the life of that extinct class and on preserving in his house the nostalgic illusion of bygone days. His genuine respect

and admiration for the Ottoman past made him ignore the changes which were taking place around him; refusing to adapt himself with advancing age, he grew more and more difficult, fussy and cantankerous, tendencies which were aggravated by his strong vanity and egocentricity. By the 1930's Maḥmūd Kemāl, who remained a bachelor all his life, had become in dress, manners, speech and personal relationships the most eccentric man in Istanbul. At the same time, he was recognized as being a 'living archive' and the greatest authority on the political and cultural history of the Ottoman Empire, particularly for the period 1870-1921, thanks to a lifetime spent in collecting and studying innumerable documents of unique importance, to associating with many key personalities of several generations and to his phenomenal memory. From his early youth he had begun to collect documents, manuscripts and antiques, and in his fifties he possessed one of the richest private collections in Turkey, housed in his family *konak* at Bayezid. When after the armistice of Mudros, the Allied forces moved into Istanbul in 1919, Maḥmūd Kemāl was given 24 hours' notice to evacuate his *konak*. Most of the documents, manuscripts and precious objects which had been stored in the house were found to be 'looted, destroyed, desecrated or lost' when the *konak* was returned to him after 18 months, as he comments bitterly in his autobiographical note (*Kendime dair*, in *Son asır Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1930-1942, pp. 2201-42).

Maḥmūd Kemāl was little more than a child when he published his first articles in the newspaper *Tarik* in the 1880's. Encouraged by the famous writer and publicist Aḥmed Midḥat, he contributed for years to Midḥat's paper *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat*. Henceforth his new surname Ibn al-Amin appeared regularly in many Istanbul and Salonika papers and periodicals. Pamphlets of various length followed. His writings covered the fields of religion, ethics, literature and history, and often suffered at the hands of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's censors. But Maḥmūd Kemāl's real contribution is in the field of biography. He essentially continued but later went far beyond the traditional Ottoman biographical pattern. In his biographies he does indeed give the usual uninspiring enumeration of bureaucratic promotions and transfers, but what he adds is always more important. With the masterly use of first-hand archive material, privately obtained documents, illuminating authentic anecdotes, relevant analogies, unbiased analyses of contemporary conditions, and insights into human psychology combined with a strong sense of humour, he often gives the most vivid, unforgettable and convincing portrait of his subject. It is remarkable that in spite of his highly sensitive temperament, his strong likes and dislikes, his prejudices, his cutting remarks about many people in his conversation, he was in his writings very conscientious, balanced and just. Perhaps it is fair to add that the close friends and patrons of his family and himself (*e.g.*, Yūsuf Kāmil Pas̲h̲a, Kāmil Pas̲h̲a, Küčük Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a) are treated with perhaps a little more sympathy and attention than others.

The text of Maḥmūd Kemāl's testament has been published in the introductory part of his posthumous work *Hoş sada* (see below). Following the tradition of many Turkish scholars, he presented to the University of Istanbul his rich private library and bequeathed his *Konak* to the *Imam-Hatip* school of Istanbul.

It was hard for Maḥmūd Kemāl to get accustomed to the new Roman alphabet (1928) with its strictly phonetic rules, and he ignored until the end the new spelling rules of modern Turkish, insisting on having his books printed in his own peculiar spelling, which tried to reproduce the historical spelling of Ottoman Turkish.

Also, like the purists of the school of Muʿallim Nād̲j̲ī, he would prefer the "correct" forms of some Arabic loan-words and ignore phonetic adaptations in the present Turkish usage (*e.g.*, *iyalet*, *akriba*, *tehlüke*, instead of *eyalet*, *akraba*, *tehlike*).

Apart from minor literary productions and many pamphlets and newspaper articles, Maḥmūd Kemāl is the author of the following published works: (1) *Ewḳāf-i Hümāyūn Neẓāretiniñ taʾrīk̲h̲če-i tes̲h̲kīlātī we nüẓẓārīñ terād̲j̲im-i aḥwāli*, Istanbul 1335/1917, a history of the Ministry of Waḳfs with biographies of the ministers. Although the book was entrusted to a team, no contribution was made by his colleagues; (2) critical edition of the *Dīwān* of the 11th/17th century poet S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām Yaḥyā, with a 65-page introduction on the life and poetry of the author, Istanbul 1334/1916; (3) critical edition of the *Dīwān* of the 19th century neo-classicist Hersekli ʿĀrif Ḥikmet, with a 78-page introduction, Istanbul 1334/1916; (4) critical edition of the *Dīwān* of the 19th-century neo-classicist Lesḳofčalī G̲h̲ālib, with a 47-page introduction, Istanbul 1335/1917; (5) critical edition of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Menāḳib-i hünerverān*, with an important introduction of 133 pp. on ʿĀlī's life and works, Istanbul 1926; (6) critical edition of Müstaḳīmzāde Süleymān Saʿd al-Dīn's *Tuḥfe-ı k̲h̲aṭṭāṭīn*, a biographical treatise on calligraphers, with an introduction in 85 pp., and notes, Istanbul 1928; (7) *Son asır Türk şairleri*, biographies (uncritically selected and of uneven value) of 19th and 20th century poets with short specimens of their work, published in 12 fascicules (1230 pages) Istanbul 1930-1942 (the original title *Kamāl al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ* being changed by the Turkish Historical Society, which undertook the publication); (8) *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*, Istanbul 1940-49, his most important work, contains much unpublished material on the lives and times of the last 37 Grand Viziers, conceived as the sixth and last supplement (*d̲h̲ayl*) to ʿUt̲h̲mān-zāde Tāʾibs, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ* (the original title, *Kamāl al-Ṣudūr*, being changed by the Ministry of Education); (9) *Son hattalar*, Istanbul 1955, a voluminous (839 pages) collection of biographies of 163 calligraphers, with copious specimens of their work and with an introduction on Ottoman biographical sources for calligraphers of the classical period; (10) *Hoş sada*, Istanbul 1958 (posthumous), on the biographies of composers of classical Turkish music of the 19th and 20th centuries. The first 128 pages are from his own pen, the remainder (pp. 129-314) compiled and completed, mainly from Maḥmūd Kemāl's notes, by Avni Aktuç. The 72-page introduction includes the text of his testament, articles by Hasan-Âli Yücel, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and two of his doctors, K. I. Gürkan and M. E. Güçhan, with important data on his life, personality and character.

Bibliography: The main sources for Mahmud Kemal Inal's life and works are his own works, as listed in the article. (Fahir Iz)

INʿĀM (A.), "favour, beneficence", more specifically donatives, largesse, given to troops, etc.

The problem of keeping armies in the field, once mustered and brought forward for action, was a perennial one for Islamic rulers and commanders. Unless inducements such as extra pay awards,

promises of unusually attractive plunder, etc. could be dangled in front of the troops, there was danger that an army might disband itself and melt away once the immediate battle or object of a campaign had been achieved; not infrequently, it was difficult to get an army to fight in the first place. Whilst one Muslim army faced another Muslim army, each recruited on a similar basis and facing the same problems of recruitment, supply and deployment in the field, the difficulties common to both sides tended in the long run to equalize chances. But this problem of keeping an army in the field was a serious one for Muslim commanders during their wars with the Crusaders. The Franks had settled in their Levantine conquests and had established a feudal system on the lines familiar to them in mediaeval western Europe; their knights were accordingly kept permanently ready for war as a condition of their feudal tenure. Their Muslim opponents had to organize professional armies of mercenary soldiers, Arabs, Turkmens and Kurds, with all the attendant problems of paying the soldiers and keeping them together for lengthy periods of service (*baykār* = Pers. *paykār*), some of which dragged on for years. It says much for the heartening effect among the Muslims of the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's leadership that he was able to lead his troops into battle year after year; here, personal influence rather than financial inducement was the key factor (cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *The achievement of Saladin*, in *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv (1952-3), 60).

The death of a ruler or of a commander in the field was also a crisis point. Allegiance tended to be personal, to the war-leader who could inspire men and promise them booty. When these conditions no longer obtained, and unless there was an equally strong second-in-command or alternative commander to take the lead, troops frequently mutinied. In Baghdād and Sāmarrā, the palaces of the ʿAbbāsids were in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries regularly plundered at the Caliphs' deaths, and it happened similarly with other dynasties like the Būyids and Great Saldjūḳs. On the death of Djalāl al-Dawla, Amīr of ʿIrāḳ, in 435/1044, it was only the prompt action of his vizier Kamāl al-Mulk b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm and other great men in the state and army which saved the Amīr's palace and the government headquarters from pillage by the Turks and the mob; when ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār of Fārs and Ahwāz died four years later whilst on campaign, his son and heir Fūlādh-Sutūn was powerless to prevent his father's treasury, his weapons and his animals being plundered by the Turks of the army (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 353, 373-4). Even at the death of such a forceful monarch as the Saldjūḳ Sultan Ṭoghrïl (in 455/1063), disorders like these would have followed had not counter-measures been quickly adopted. The vizier, the ʿAmīd al-Mulk Kundurī, managed to prevent the dead Sultan's *ghulāms* from appropriating the store of clothing; but he had to release everything else, even down to the royal horses, to placate the army and secure the succession of his own protégé and Ṭoghrïl's designated heir, Sulaymān b. Čaghrï Beg Dā'ūd (Bundārī, 26). If the army was out in the field, as was the case with Abū Kālīdjār's death, cited above, the personal tent and treasury of the dead ruler or commander were normally the first targets for the leaderless troops, who would then abandon the campaign or siege with which they had been concerned.

Financial subsidies and presents (*inʿāmāt*) were the most obvious ways of forestalling mutinies. The troubles consequent on the death of a sovereign could often only be quelled, and the obedience of the troops gained for the new ruler, by special pay-increases, presents, promises of promotion, etc. The highest commanders might receive presents of luxurious sets of clothing and robes of honour or *khilaʿ* [see KHILʿA]. As the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs gradually fell under the control of the Turkish generals, and lost much of their independence of action, succession crises and *coups d'état* increased. Rival claimants had to secure the allegiance of the guards in the capital, and this was usually only possible through financial inducements. In the 4th/10th century, these came to be expected by the army as a matter of course whenever there was a change of régime, and they acquired the technical designation of *māl al-bayʿa* (*ḥaḳḳ al-bayʿa, rasm al-bayʿa*). These payments may be compared with the *djulūs aḳčesi* later extracted by the Janissaries from the Ottoman Sultans. Thus when al-Muḳtadir was restored to the throne in 317/929 after his second deposition, he had to pay the *māl al-bayʿa* afresh: six *nawā'ib* (? monthly allotments of pay) and an extra payment, *ziyāda*, of a dīnār for each infantryman; and a third of a *rizḳ* (*i.e.*, the pay for a period of 90 days, cf. Hoernerbach in *Isl.*, xxix (1950), 279) and a *ziyāda* of three *dīnār*s for each cavalryman (for the technical term *ziyāda*, see Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 64, tr. C. E. Bosworth in *JESHO*, xii/2 (1969), 143-4). When the cash in al-Muḳtadir's treasury was exhausted, the stocks of clothing and other valuables had to be sold to meet this commitment (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, i, 199-200, tr. iv, 224-5). Stormy or disputed successions became common under the Būyids, and accession payments became the norm. When ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār succeeded his father Muʿizz al-Dawla in 356/967, he attempted to dispense with Daylamī support and rely on his Turkish troops. But the Daylamī leaders rebelled and demanded their normal pay plus an additional, extraordinary payment as accession money (*razḳa mansūba ila 'l-bayʿa ghayr maḥsūba*). In the end, Bakhtiyār had to compromise and give them a third of a *razḳa* (scil. a month's or perhaps six weeks' pay) as accession money. (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse*, ii, 226, tr. v, 250; cf. also Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *ibid.*, iii, 159, tr. vi, 466, demands of the Daylamīs in Baṣra for accession money from Bahā' al-Dawla in 379/989).

In circumstances like these, the allegiance of the army would simply go to the highest and swiftest bidder. After the death of Djalāl al-Dawla, his son al-Malik al-ʿAzīz Abū Manṣūr was unable to find the required *māl al-bayʿa* quickly enough, and his cousin Abū Kālīdjār eventually stepped in and bought over the allegiance of the Būyid troops in Iraq (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 353, cf. H. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, in *JRAS* (1929), 232-3). Only the strongest of rulers could avoid these payments. According to Hilāl al-Ṣābi', ʿAḍud al-Dawla refused to make any additional payments above the basic allowances (*ziyādāt fi 'l-uṣūl*) except on justifiable occasions, such as after victories or when a special policy of conciliation was required (cf. C. E. Bosworth, *Military organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1965-6), 166). Maḥmūd of Ghazna's son Masʿūd achieved the throne of the Ghaznavid empire in 421/1030, and shortly afterwards was strong enough to dispense with the *māl-i bayʿat* payment to the army; he even got back from the leading commanders the money from the state treasury which his brother Muḥammad had paid out in a fruitless

attempt to secure the army's allegiance to himself as Sultan (cf. C. E. Bosworth, ***Ghaznevid military organisation***, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 73-4).

In addition to these succession crises, soldiers were well placed for blackmailing their commanders into giving extra payments at such times as before crucial campaigns or battles. When ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hilālī, newly-appointed governor of Khurāsān, was in 116/734 combatting the rebel al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], he had to placate the Arab government troops (*al-djund*) from Marw with the offer of a dīnār per head before they would engage al-Ḥārith, and then in the end raise it to three dīnārs (Ṭabarī, ii, 1579-80). In 195/811 the Caliph al-Amīn appointed ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān governor of western Persia and commander of his army there; he thought it prudent to make firm the army's loyalty by granting it a great sum of money and distributing amongst the troops 2,000 jewelled swords and 6,000 sets of robes of honour (*ibid.*, iii, 796). The Ṣaffārid Amīr ʿAmr b. al-Layth kept a special treasury from which rewards could be given to outstandingly brave soldiers (cf. C. E. Bosworth, ***The armies of the Ṣaffārids***, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 549). On occasion, it was politic for a commander to single out for particular favour a section of the troops which had especially contributed to a victory. The Būyids were at times able to play off the Daylamī against the Turkish element in their armies, and so preserve a loyal following of some kind; but often, they had simply to purchase support through financial inducements. Faced by a serious revolt in 345/956-7 of the Daylamī general Rūzbahān b. Windād-Khūrshīd, Muʿizz al-Dawla had to buy the loyalty of the Turks of Baghdād, a body of his young slaves and the minority of Daylamīs who had remained faithful to him, by increased pay allowances and promotions (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse*, ii, 163, 166, 173-4, tr. v, 174, 178, 186-7; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 386). Because of their outstanding rôle in the victory over his uncle Ḳāwurd in 465/1073, the new Saldjūḳ Sultan Malik-Shāh gave the Arab and Kurdish commanders of his army an extra share in the plunder, special honours and a distribution of land grants or *iḳṭāʿ*s (Bundārī, 49; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 53).

The "Mirrors for Princes" literature frequently adverts to the necessity of keeping the troops' loyalty by means of timely donatives, especially after outstanding victories or feats of valour. Kay Kāʾūs adjures the wise prince, "Pay special regard to anyone who fights valiantly, overthrows or wounds one of the enemy, seizes a horse or performs any other laudable deed. Reward such a man for his services by presentation of a robe of honour and increasing his pay; do not spare money at such a time" (*Ḳābūs-nāma*, ch. xli, tr. R. Levy, 220). Fakhr-i Mudabbir's *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa 'l-shadjāʿa* has a special chapter on the obligation of the ruler or commander to reward his soldiers for special services, bravery in the field, etc., with marks of honour (*tashrīf*), financial awards (*ṣilāt, inʿām*), gifts of horses and weapons, and pensions (*nānpāra*). He goes into considerable detail about the proportionate rewards for various deeds, such as bringing in the severed head of an enemy, capturing a horse and rider together, or a horse or rider alone, leading or withstanding a charge, going out in single combat, carrying off the enemy's standard or ceremonial parasol (*čatr*), and so forth (India Office Persian Ms. 647, ch. xxxvi, ff. 126b-128a; ed. Aḥmad Suhaylī Khʷānsārī, Tehran 1346/1967 (based on the British Museum Ms. alone), ch. xxx, 542-7).

Bibliography: given in the article. There are no special studies devoted to this topic.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ʿINĀN, poetess who was very famous in Baghdād in the second half of the 2nd/8th century. The little that is known of her life is of doubtful authenticity. She was a *muwallada*, and was born, and received a polite education, in the Yamāma, which was to produce a little later another famous poetess, Faḍl. ʿInān was brought to live in the capital by her master, Abū Khālid al-Nāṭifī, then probably lived in Khurāsān, and died in 226/841 in Egypt (*Nisāʾ*, 53). She enlivened literary society during the reign of al-Rashīd, who expressed great admiration for her and wished to acquire her, but she is not mentioned under any of his successors.

She is considered as the first woman to have won literary fame under the ʿAbbāsids. The *Fihrist* attributes to her only a *dīwān* of twenty leaves, of which a few poems have survived. The longest is a laudatory petition of fourteen verses addressed to Yaḥyā b. Khālid (Ibn al-Muʿtazz). These fragments show signs of a real talent. In bold language and a vocabulary which is simple but not without subtlety, ʿInān writes harminious poems in which the ideas are supported by a prudent use of the stylistic figures of *badīʿ*, which were fashionable at this period. Her reputation, like Faḍl's later, rested on her skill at improvisation, an attribute which found her so much fame that it forms the subject of most of the anecdotes about her. Several of her dialogues in verse with such skilled opponents as Abū Nuwās, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf and Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa show that she was capable in any situation of producing the rhyming repartee which established her reputation as a poet in the eyes of her contemporaries. Her profound knowledge of early poetry enabled her, in exercises in *idjāza* for example, to improvise after a verse by Djarīr a poem in the manner of that great poet (*Aghānī*, *ʿIḳd*). This throws some light on the techniques of composition of certain writers who continually used a style inherited from their predecessors.

But it seems that it is mainly her role as the centre of a literary circle that should be noted. Her house was frequented by the most brilliant people, notably those of the famous group of "libertines". The brightest of them held discussions in her presence and submitted their works for her judgement. She was in addition regarded by a number of them as their inspiration. Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Aḥnaf and Abu 'l-Naḍir, the Baṣran attached to the Barmakids, all dedicated love-poems to her, though their sincerity is doubtful. The first addressed her with some obscenities, to which she replied with much wit and discreet allusion. The main point is that she represents a type of woman who mixed freely with writers and sometimes accompanied them to some of the places of amusement in the suburbs of Baghdād. The love which poets expressed for her was an exercise of wit rather than a true emotion. The courtly exchange, racy or even erotic, became a genre which was cultivated in emulation. It can be imagined that someone like ʿInān had a considerable influence on its development by helping to establish the rules of *cortesia* and by taking part in the flowering of the new love poetry in the second century, which was so productive of new forms.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, Beirut ed., xxii, 520-32 (notice), xi, 268-9; Abū Hiffān, *Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1959, 79-82, 110-1, 112; Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, Cairo 1936, i, 500; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, vi, 57-60; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, Cairo

1953, 39-42; Ibn Manẓūr, *Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1924, 34-5, 137, 212; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 421-2; *Fihrist*, 239; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *Nisā' al-khulafā'*, Cairo n.d., 47-53; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, v, 78-82; Suyūṭī, *al-Mustaṭraf min akhbār al-djawārī*, Beirut 1963, 37-47; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, v, 267; Washshā', *Muwashshā*, Beirut 1965, 264; cf. also the *Dīwān* of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf, ed. Khazradjī, Cairo 1954, 107-8, and that of Abū Nuwās, Cairo 1953, *ghazal* section 227-398; on the relations of this poet with ʿInān, cf. ʿAlī Shalaḳ, *Abū Nuwās bayna 'l-takhaṭṭī wa 'l-iltizām*, Beirut 1964, 252-8. (J. E. Bencheikh)

IʿNĀT [see luzūm mā lā yalzam].

ʿĪNĀT [see suppl.].

ʿINĀYA (a.), "providence". The word which etymologically evokes the idea of care, solicitude, is not part of the Ḳur'ānic vocabulary. Nor does it belong directly to the vocabulary of *ʿilm al-kalām*, but to the language of *falsafa* (and of the *ishrāḳ* of Suhrawardī)—it was to be taken up after this by the later works and manuals of *kalām* which summarize and discuss its theses (among them al-Shahrastānī, al-Djurdjānī, etc.). It should be mentioned however that it has no place in the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī. *ʿInāya* appears in the Ṣūfī lexicon, but only with the more precise meaning of divine "benefaction", or of a "gift granted" by God.

Certainly, if "providence" is understood as the order by which God conducts all things, this idea recurs throughout the Ḳur'ān. Muslim piety insisted on this; and such divine names as *al-Muhaymin* (the Vigilant), *al-Razzāḳ* (the Dispenser of all good), *al-Ḥafīẓ*, (the vigilant Guardian), *al-Muḳīt* (the Feeder), *al-Raḳīb* (the jealous Guardian), *al-Māniʿ* (the tutelary Defender), could not fail to turn the mind towards the notion of a provident God. But it seems to have been the *falāsifa* who more precisely adopted *ʿināya* to signify divine providence. And their view of it is closely linked with their theory of "necessary and willed" creation.

It suffices to give some main references taken from Ibn Sīnā. It is he in fact who provides the clearest definitions of *ʿināya* (cf. A. M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, no. 468, and L. Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, Paris 1951, 131-5).

The metaphysics of the *Shifā'* refers to it twice: concerning divine knowledge (*Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo ed. 1960, ii, 398) and in particular in the chapter (mainly ii, 415) which deals with the introduction of evil (*sharr*) in the predetermining divine decree (*ḳaḍā'*). This text has been repeated in the *Nadjāt* (²Cairo 1357/1938, 284): "He [the prime Being] knows therefore the order of good according to the best order in the line of the [the being] possible, and there flows from Him that which he knows has a certain order and a good, according to the best which He knows, in a flow (*fayḍ*) which leads perfectly to order, according to the line of [the being] possible: and such is the meaning of the word *ʿināya*". (Definition reproduced by al-Shahrastānī in his refutation of Ibn Sīnā, ed. Cureton, London 1846, ii, 388).

The *Ishārāt* returned to the same theme, underlining, more clearly perhaps, its double theme of knowledge and necessity: "Providence is therefore the full comprehension which the First [God] has, in his science, of all and of the necessity for all to rest on Him so as to be according to the best order. [He fully understands also] that this comes necessarily from Him and from the total grasp which He has of it" (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 185; Fr. tr. A. M. Goichon, Beirut-Paris 1951, 458). It is characteristic that these lines are presented as a "remark" (*tanbīha*) in the chapter which deals in general with knowledge (see another text, *ibid.*, 160).

This conception of *ʿināya* cannot accommodate either God's liberty or gratuity, a fact which accords perfectly with the existential determinism of Ibn Sīnā. Certainly providence, in its obvious sense must be understood, he says, from "the thought by the First of what is good and just", and the divine thought is what produces beings (cf. *Sharḥ Kitāb Uthūlūdjiyā*, ed. ʿA. Badawi, in *Arisṭū ʿind al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, 63). It may be objected that the coming into being of existing things from the prime Being is "a simple overflow (*inbidjās*) which has no connexion with the thought which He has of them, even although this thought accompanies it". (*ibid.*; Fr. tr. G. Vajda, in *Revue Thomiste*, ii (1951) 389). Ibn Sīnā replies by distinguishing between the necessary *ab alio* (in the order of existence) and the possible (in the order of essence). He concludes: for things, "the best becomes one of the possible things for them, after the best having been thought necessarily. This is providence, that is to say, the thought of the best possible" (*ibid.*, tr. 390). And again: "His [the prime being's] essence is that from which necessarily derive the things which have the possibility of deriving from it because He thinks them. It is thus that providence succeeds in becoming providence" (*ibid.* 64/390-1).

The idea of providence as divine knowledge which is a realization of the good and just ordering of existing beings is thus clearly settled. But Avicennan determinism makes this ordering, whatever its "possibility" may be as regards the essence of things, into an existential necessity: which the prime Being knows and wills, but which He could not refrain from producing and which He could not modify. When the later Ashʿarī manuals debated *ʿināya* according to the *falāsifa*, this was in order to oppose to this providence which is (and is no more than) a necessary producing knowledge, the productive gratuitous dispositions of the free will of the Most High. It is true that they do not distinguish at all between common providence and particular decree. Everything is providence, and everything is decree (*ḳadar* and *ḳaḍā'*). It is the chapters on *ḳadar* and *ḳaḍā'* which deal with the designs and the government of God.

Finally it may be added that the Ṣūfī vocabulary contrasts *maḥabba* (or *ʿishḳ*) and *ʿināya*. According to al-Ḥallādj, love is "a perennial (*sarmadiyya*) attitude" and a pre-eternal liberality (*ʿināya azaliyya*; cf. L. Massignon, *Passion*, 610; Massignon here translates *ʿināya* by "*grâce*"). Al-Hudjwīrī, in his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, referred to *ʿināya* in the sense of divine favour (Nicholson translates this sometimes by "grace", sometimes by "favour"; Eng. tr. Leiden-London 1911, 203, 268).

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ʿINĀYAT ALLĀH KANBŪ, elder brother of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, author of *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ* or *Shāhdjahān-nāma*, a history of the Moghul emperor Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*], was born at Burhānpūr [*q.v.*] on 19 Djumādā I 1017/31 August 1608, though his ancestral home was at Lahore. How and when his parents came to Burhānpūr is not known. His father seems to have died at an early age, when the family returned to Lahore. Himself well-educated, he attended to the education of his orphaned younger brother, who speaks of him in very affectionate terms and calls him his patron.

In early life he held an office under the Moghul

viceroy of Lahore, where his younger brother also was employed; he married and had children, but in later life he renounced the world, became a recluse, and went to Delhi, where he passed his time in prayer, meditation and fasting in a *khānḳāh*, built by himself, beside the tomb of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki. A historian, writer and poet, he is the author of: (1) *Taʾrīkh-i Dil-kushā*, a history of Shāhdjahān and his predecessors, with the usual narrative from Adam to the beginning of the Moghul rule in India; it is still in MS; (2) *Bahār-i dānish*, a collection of romantic and lascivious tales dealing with the tricks employed by faithless wives to deceive their doting husbands, on which his fame mainly rests; completed in 1061/1651 it has been described as "pearls strung on a cord of coarse grass"; it is in fact a Persian version of some Indian folktale which the author had heard from a native Brahmin (ed. Calcutta 1809, 1836, Delhi 1849, Bombay 1877, Lucknow n.d.). It was translated into English by Alexander Dow (London 1768), Jonathan Scott (Shrewsbury 1799), and into German by A. T. Hartman (Leipzig 1802).

He died at Delhi, on 19 Djūmādā I 1082/23 September 1671. Both Laṭīf (*Lahore*, 209) and Čishtī (*Taḥḳīḳāt*[2], 1309) however state that he was buried in Lahore in a tomb built by himself during his lifetime, in which also was later buried his younger but more famous brother.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

INCEST [see nikāḥ, zinā].

INCUBATION [see istikhara].

INDIA [see hind].

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay in December 1885. It was a gathering of English-educated, middle class Indians—Hindus, Parsis, and Muslims—who formed themselves into an All-India political organization.

Projected as the "National Assembly of India" and as the basis of an Indian Parliament, the Congress set out to promote Indian national unity and sought Indian representation in the British Government of India. The Congress asserted that it was a secular organization and emphasized that it voiced the political grievances and aspirations of the people of India irrespective of their religious denomination. In particular it claimed to embody and represent the Muslims.

The Muslims were divided in their attitude to the Congress between two incompatible schools of thought, one stressing the common interests between Muslims and Hindus, the other emphasizing the cleavages between the two communities. The first school of thought was exemplified by Badr al-Dīn Ṭayyibdjī, who presided over the third session of the Congress. He called upon Muslims to regard the Congress as a "truly representative national gathering", promoted co-operation between Muslims and Hindus, and urged Muslims to identify themselves with the objects of the Congress. Although these views appealed to only a small section of the Muslim community, they were advocated throughout the history of the Congress by prominent Muslims, notably Dr. M. A. Anṣārī, Mawlānā Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, and Dr. Dhākir Ḥusayn, who felt no contradiction between their Islamic way of life and their membership in the Congress. However, most Muslims dissociated themselves from the Congress: they were convinced by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān that the Congress was a sectarian organization designed to advance the exclusive interests of the Hindus, and they shared Sir Sayyid's apprehensions that the Congress was striving to establish Hindu rule, in which the Muslims would be a deprived minority.

The Congress endeavoured to attract the Muslims to its annual conventions and resolved to drop any subject to which Muslims objected. Moreover, the Congress did not extend its official approval to the popular agitation against the partition of Bengal which was permeated with Hindu religious fervour; nor to the anti-Muslim activities of the Ārya Samādj in the Pandjāb; nor to the militant anti-Muslim festival of Śivāji and the Cow-Protection Association in Mahārāshṭra. Nevertheless, most Muslims saw in the Congress a Hindu movement. Since Muslims lagged behind Hindus in acquiring western education, in taking advantage of the new economic opportunities and in forming a political organization, they became particularly conscious of their backwardness and were anxious to accelerate the advancement of their interests by claiming special minority rights.

Notwithstanding the foundation of the Muslim League [*q.v.*] in December 1906, and the provision of separate electorates for the Muslims by the India Act of 1909, the Congress continued to claim that it alone represented the people of India.

For a brief period Muslims and Hindus jointly supported the Home-Rule League in 1916 and co-operated in 1920 in the Khilāfat and Civil Disobedience movements. But when the Civil Disobedience movement was stopped by Gāndhī without consulting the Muslims, and when the Khilāfat movement collapsed after Atatürk abolished the Caliphate, the Muslims became depressed and frustrated, and the brief reconciliation between Muslims and Hindus turned into discord and antagonism.

When the Nehru Report was published in 1928, the Muslim League regarded the refusal of the Congress to recognize special electorates for the Muslims as proof of its contention that the Muslims would be a deprived minority under Congress rule. The fears of the Muslim League were intensified when the Congress overwhelmingly won the 1937 elections, formed seven ministries, and stipulated that it would accept Muslim representatives into its ministry of the United Provinces only if they merged into the Congress.

While Nehru dismissed the complaints of the Muslim League of discrimination against Muslims in the Congress Ministries as side issues which weakened the struggle for *Swarāj* (self-rule), M. A. Djināḥ rallied the Muslims to the Muslim League with the warning that *Swarāj* meant Hindu-*rāj*. While the Congress promised the Muslims equality of rights, the Muslim League argued that since the Hindus were better educated, more prosperous, and more enterprising than the Muslims, "equality" meant the perpetual inferiority of the Muslims as well as constant economic and political oppression. While the Congress assured the Muslims of religious toleration, the Muslim League warned the Muslims that they might be absorbed into Hinduism and lose their identity, and that therefore any Muslim who was not with the Muslim League was a traitor to Islām. Nevertheless, the Congress courted Muslim members, many of

whom attained eminence in the Congress party; this position still holds.

Until 1940 the Muslim League endeavoured to gain special rights to safeguard the interests of the Muslims as a minority; from 1940 it asserted that Hindus and Muslims were two different nations and that the Muslim League, and it alone, represented the national aspirations of the Muslims which aimed at the establishment of a national home. The Congress rejected the equation of religion with nationalism and accused the Muslim League of working up religious animosity for political ends. However, the 1945 communal riots widened the gulf between the Muslim League and the Congress, and the schism reached its climax in 1947 in the partition of India and the foundation of Pakistan.

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INDIAN OCEAN [see baḥr al-hind].

INDIGO [see nīl].

INDJĪL, Arabic transcription of the word εὐαγγέλιον, gospel, through the Ethiopian *wängel* (Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 47; Grimme, in *Festsch. Goldziher*, 164; Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 71-2). The variant *andjīl* may arise from a Mesopotamian Persian influence.

The word *indjīl* occurs twelve times in the Ḳurʾān (III, 2, 43, 58; V, 50, 51, 70, 72, 110; VII, 156; IX, 112; XLVIII, 29; LVII, 27) and refers to the Revelation transmitted by Jesus. The word also means the scripture possessed and read by the Christian contemporaries of Muḥammad (V, 51; VII, 156), *i.e.*, the four Gospels, often extended in current usage to mean the whole of the New Testament. The confusion to which this gave rise in later controversies was often solved, on the Muslim side, by accusing the Christians of having "corrupted" the original Gospels (cf. especially Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, ii, (1928), 35-6).

In this article there will be studied successively: I. The relations between the Ḳurʾān and the Gospels; II. The place of the Gospels in *ḥadīth*; III. The knowledge of the Gospels possessed by Muslim writers; IV. The place of the Gospels in Ṣūfism; V. The Islamo-Christian controversy over the Gospels.

I. The Gospels and the Ḳurʾān. There appear in the Ḳurʾān a certain number of Gospel characters: Jesus, Mary, St. John the Baptist (Yaḥyā), Zacharias, the Apostles, and a certain number of facts (the Annunciation, the miracles of Jesus) whose resemblance to the Gospels is striking, so that the question arises of how exactly they are related to the Gospels, which preceded them.

For believing Muslims this question presents no difficulties: it is the same God Who reveals both books, and the Prophet Muḥammad, having received the Revelation directly from God, had no need to consult, directly or indirectly, the Scriptures in order to be able to reproduce some of the features which are found in them.

The historian of religions however feels obliged by his discipline to seek for possible historical connexions. The first question is therefore: what knowledge could Muḥammad and the first Muslims have had of the Gospels? This leads to the question of the translation of the Gospels into Arabic, since any knowledge of Greek, Syriac, or Coptic on the part of Muḥammad and his Companions may be excluded.

In a memoir presented to the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei* in 1888 (see *Bibl.*), Ignazio Guidi raised the question whether the Gospels had been translated into Arabic before the advent of Islam. Sprenger (*Das Leben und die Lehre des Moh.*, i, 131 ff.) thought he recognized in a passage of Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ (ed. Wustenfeld, 149-50) a fragment from a translation made before the time of Muḥammad. The fragment contains John XV, verses 23-27, and the word which is used in them to translate παράκλητος is *al-m-n-ḥ-mnā*, which is neither Arabic nor Syriac but Palestinian and probably quite early (cf. Gildemeister, *De evang. in arabic.*, 35). According to a text of Bar Hebraeus (*Chron. eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, i, 275; Assemani, *Bibl. orient.*, ii, 335; cf. Gildemeister, *op. cit.*, 30, note 1), a translation was made between 631 and 640 A.D. by the Monophysite Johannes on the instructions of an Arab ruler, ʿAmr b. Saʿd. But these first translations, if they existed, amount only to isolated and disputable details.

On the other hand, extant manuscripts attest that from the 2nd/8th century, Arabic versions of the Gospels were in the hands of the Christians of Syria. The many manuscripts of the Gospels in Arabic may be divided into six classes: (A) Those which were translated directly from the Greek. They originate from the monastery of Saint Sabas or from near there; two of them (Vatic. arab., 13, of the 8th cent. and manuscr. Borgia, K. 11, 31 8th or 9th century) are the oldest known. (B) Texts translated from the Peshitta, or at least revised on the basis of this Syriac version. These are of different periods (Tischendorf manuscript at Leipzig, 8th-9th century; Codex Vaticanus, 13). The translation of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian was made in the 5th/11th century by Ibn al-Ṭayyib. (C) Texts translated from the Bohairic Coptic translation or modified according to it (*Codex Vaticanus*, copt. 9). The passages from the Gospels mentioned in the *History of the patriarchs of Egypt* by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] (4th/10th century) are based on the Coptic translation, perhaps in the form of lectionaries. The same or a similar Coptic version seems to have been used by al-Ghazālī in *al-Radd al-djamīl* (cf. R. Chidiac, *Réfutation excellente de la divinité du Christ*, Paris 1939). (D) Texts of eclectic recensions, made in the 7th/13th century in the patriarchate of Alexandria to become the canonical versions. The first work on this was done circa 650/1250 by al-Asʿad Abu 'l-Faradj Ibn al-ʿAssāl. (E) Texts which are distinguished by their more particularly literary form (Leiden MS 2348 and those in the Vatican, cod. arab. 17 and 18). The two latter, in a translation into hymed prose, date from the end of the 4th/10th century. Other versions in the same genre were made later. (F) Arabic versions of Western origin (cf. H. Hyvernat, in *Dict. de la Bible*, i, col. 851-6).

We may thus conclude, with Graf (*Geschichte*, i, 41) that in the present state of knowledge it cannot be asserted that Muḥammad and his first companions could have had a direct knowledge of the Gospels in Arabic.

In addition to the canonical Gospels, there exist

Arabic recensions of the New Testament apocrypha: the Gospel of the Childhood, the Protevangelium of James, the Apocalypse of Paul, the Preaching of Peter and a sermon of Simon, a martyrdom of James and one of Simon, and a small number of others which do not appear to have been known in Muslim circles. Rubens Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, Paris 1899, 96, mentions an apocalypse of St. Peter as being an Arabic composition of the 7th/13th century.

The spread in Arabia of Christian ideas in addition to the narrative accounts of the Gospels and the apocryphal books, before the arrival of Islam, took place largely, if not entirely, through oral teaching and the exchanges of everyday life. There existed in the Yemen a Christian community (cf. Nallino, *Ebrei e Christiani nell' Arabia preislamica*, in *Raccolta di Scritti*, iii, 122-9), which was in active rivalry with the Jews and had close relations with the Ethiopians. The occupation of the Yemen by the latter certainly strengthened the position of this community.

In the north-east, the influence of the Nestorian church spread from al-Ḥīra, whence it was carried not only by the monks and perhaps by preachers, but also, although more superficially, by the poets who frequented the court of the Lakhmid princes. In addition, the Christian or Christianized poets of the Ḥidjāz, Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl and Waraḳa b. Nawfal of Mecca, and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt of Ṭā'if, are represented as having relationships wit the Christians of the Yemen and of Syria, whereas the Ghassānid princes or the tribes which were under their influence had adopted Monophysism. It is even stated in the *Aghānī* (iii, 14) that Waraḳa, the cousin of Khadīdja, wrote translations or copies of the Gospels.

It is thus probable that the passages in the Ḳur'ān which reflect the canonical or apocryphal Gospels derive from these Christian communities, and this possibility is confirmed to a great extent by the large proportion of Ethiopian and South Arabian terms which they contain (see, *e.g.*, V, 112-3). The greater part of these passages describe the births of Jesus, of Mary and of John the Baptist, the misssion, the miracles and the ascension of Jesus [see ʿĪSĀ, MARYAM, YAḤYĀ]. There are also references to several parables, for example the parable of the Sower (XLVIII, 29), that of the wise and foolish virgins (LVII, 13), the prophecy of the announcement of another Apostle (VII, 157) and to several other passages. More surprising, but not intrinsically improbable, given the rivalry between Jews and Christians in the Yemen, there are also echoes of the arguments directed against the Jews in the Gospels and the Epistles, which, as has been pointed out by Tor Andrea and Ahrens (see *Bibl.*), are sometimes used in the Ḳur'ān as much against the Christians as against the Jews.

II. The influence of the New Testament on tradition (*ḥadīth*) is important. A number of the miracles, proverbs and ideas attributed to Muḥammad or to his followers have their source in the Gospels. For example, Muḥammad increases the amount of some water or supplies of food. Many traditions on the dignity of the poor and the difficulty for the rich to enter the Kingdom of Heaven reflect the teaching of the Gospels and are in contrast with the attitude of the pagan Arabs. Goldziher mentions an adaptation of the *Paternoster* which an Arab traditionist puts into the mouth of Muḥammad (Abū Dāwūd, i, 101). The parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard (Matthew, XX, 1-16) is applied to the Jews, the Christians and the Muslims in the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik (*riwāya* of al-Shaybānī, *bāb al-tafsīr*). Similarly in the legends on the Mahdī and in eschatology, apocalyptic literature had an important part.

III. As Islam spread in the formerly Christian countries and contact between Christians and Muslims became more frequent, the Muslims gained a deeper knowledge of the Gospels. Thus several Muslim historians display a fairly extensive knowledge of them. Al-Yaʿḳūbi, one of the earliest Arab historians, quotes an extract from them; al-Masʿūdī, who had an enquiring mind, makes no secret of his relations with the Christians; he mentions visiting, in Nazareth, a church much venerated by the Christians, and he learned from them a number of Gospel traditions; he knew of the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem, his childhood in Nazareth, God's words reported in Matthew III, 17: "This is my beloved son ...", of which he reproduces a variant; he had also heard the story of the visit of the Magi to the infant Messiah, according to the Gospels and other versions; he gives accurately the account of the calling of the Apostles; he names the four Evangelists, and refers to the "book of the Gospels" as if he had seen it, giving an exact summary of it, though exhibiting a certain mistrust of it, as compared with the respect with which it is treated in the Ḳur'ān. Similarly al-Masʿūdī is relatively well-informed concerning the lives of the Apostles. He twice mentions the martyrdom of St. Peter and of St. Paul, but attributing to both the type of execution which, according to tradition, was that suffered by St. Peter; St. Thomas is known as the apostle of India, he seems moreover to be the apostle who, after St. Peter, was best known to the Muslims; even St. Paul was less well known.

Even better informed than al-Masʿūdī is al-Bīrūnī. This writer must have consulted Christians in order to write his Chronology. Several texts of the Gospels were known to him, as well as the commentary by Dādīshoʿ (Jesudad, cf. Duval, *Litt. syr.*², 84) and he mentions it with some criticism. He regarded the four Gospels as four recensions, which he compares to the three versions of the Bible, Jewish, Christian and Samaritan, remarking however that these four recensions differ greatly from each other. This author reproduces in full the genealogies of Joseph given by Matthew and Luke, and, in a very interesting passage, he mentions how the Christians explain the difference between them. After this he mentions other gospels in the possession of the Marcionites, the Bardesanites and the Manicheans, the first two, according to him, differing "in some places" from the Christian Gospels, the others being contrary to them. Given all these differing versions, he considers that the prophetic value of the Gospels is not greatly to be trusted.

The Persian version of the *Chronicle* of al-Ṭabarī (Fr. tr. by Zotenberg) contains some legends on New Testament subjects more developed than in the Arabic original and similar to those found in the "Stories of the prophets" (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*). Certain details concerning the Passion are related in it: the denial of "Simeon", the betrayal of one of the Apostles, who is not named, Mary's station at the foot of the Cross. The author admits however, following Muslim belief, that there was substituted for Jesus some other person, whom he calls Joshua. Concerning the Apostles, he reproduces the tradition that makes John travel to Edessa.

IV. In Muslim mystic literature are found many references to the Gospels and there can be detected some knowledge of the interpretation given

to certain passages by the Christian Fathers. Nevertheless the words which the Muslim mystics attribute to Jesus are far from always agreeing with the Gospels; thus those reported by al-Ghazālī and collected by Asin Palacios (see *Bibl.*) are almost all inexact. On the other hand, al-Muḥāsibī and al-Suhrawardī give an exact and complete transcription of the parable of the Sower. The writings of the Ikhwān al-ṣafā' contain some remarkable passages on the crucifixion of Jesus (Cairo ed., iv, 97), the reality of which they admit, and on the Resurrection, the meetings of the Apostles in the Upper Room and their dispersal throughout the world. The Acts of the Apostles (*afʿāl al-ḥawāriyya*) are expressly quoted in this work (Dieterici, 605). For other features, cf. L. Massignon's *Ḥallāj*: there exists a miniature showing al-Ḥallādj on the cross with the face of Christ; also the fine epic romance of Ḥamza (*Sīrat al-amīr Ḥamza*, Cairo n.d., iii, 822 f.).

V. Islamo-Christian controversies about the New Testament. The basic dogmas of Christianity, such as the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Redemption, based essentially on the New Testament, very soon gave rise to polemic between Christians and Muslims, each party trying to prove that its attitude was based on truth.

From the Muslim side, attacks were made chiefly on the authenticity of the Gospels and it was stated that they had undergone *taḥrīf* [*q.v.*]: the meaning or words distorted, passages suppressed, others added, etc. They said that Jesus had never stated that he was God; the Trinity and the Redemption were doctrines invented by St. Paul. Recent polemicists (19th and 20th centuries) added as sources for the Christian attitude Greek philosophy and the pagan mysteries or the religious beliefs of India.

Using the earlier works of Hottinger, Marracci, Reineccius, Fabricius, Calemberg, Schnurrer and some manuscript sources, Moritz Steinschneider published, in 1877, his *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*. But the first comprehensive study on Muslim polemic was made by E. Fritsch in his doctoral thesis entitled *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter* (Breslau 1930). The author studied ten or so Muslim authors who wrote polemical treatises against the Christians, among others, al-Hāshimī (circa 205/820), ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (211/855), al-Djāḥiẓ (255/868), Ibn Ḥazm (456/1064), al-Ḳarāfī (684/1285), Ibn Taymiyya (728/1328), who devoted four volumes to the refutation of Christianity (*al-Djawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ*). It is clear that in all these works it is mainly the scriptural texts which were being discussed.

From the middle of the 19th century, Protestant missionary activity became more intense and, in order to prove the authenticity of Holy Writ and in particular of the Gospels, attacked the traditional Muslim attitudes (cf. the *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ* of Karl Gottlieb Pfander, 1865). It was not long before a massive and vigorous counter-attack was launched, making use of the extreme results which had been obtained by Western hypercriticism (cf. the *Iẓhār al-ḥaḳḳ* of Raḥmat Allāh al-Hindī, published in 1867). The appearance of a forgery entitled the "Gospel of Barnabas" (Arabic tr. 1908) put into the hands of the Muslim polemicists, especially those of the school of the *Manār*, a new weapon, whose effects on the ordinary public and even on some insufficiently informed members of universities are felt even today (J. Jomier, *L'Evangile selon Barnabé* in *MIDEO*, vi (1959-61), 137-226).

There is apparent however in some contemporary authors the desire to adopt in part, in particular in matters relating to the Gospels, Christian attitudes. There should especially be noted in this respect the works of Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād (*ʿAbḳariyyat al-Masīḥ*, Cairo 1952) and the *Ḳarya ẓālima* of Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1954, both of them largely based on the Gospels. For details of all this see Anawati, *Polémique*, etc.

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INDJŪ. This name, properly speaking the term (Turkish *indjü*) applied to royal estates under the Mongols, is usually given to the dynasty which reigned *ca.* 703/1303-758/1357 in Fārs (Shīrāz), the founder of the dynasty, Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd-Shāh, having been sent thither by Öldjeytü to administer the royal estates. According to the *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* he was a descendant of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī [*q.v.*]. Under Öldjeytü's successor Abū Saʿīd he not only retained his office but was able to extend his power so that by *ca.* 725/1325 he was practically the independent ruler of Shīrāz and almost the whole of Fārs. After the death of Abū Saʿīd, he was executed by the order of his successor Arpa Keʾün in 736/1336. According to the *Shīrāz-nāma* he had four sons: Djalāl al-Dīn Masʿūd-Shāh, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad and Abū Isḥāḳ Djamāl al-Dīn. The first named was already ruling in Shīrāz during his father's lifetime down to *ca.* 735/1335, when in his absence his brother Kay-Khusraw took his place, refusing upon his return to restore him his authority. Hostilities then broke out between the brothers ending only in 739/1338-9 with the death of Kay-Khusraw. Masʿūd-Shāh had imprisoned the third brother Muḥammad in Ḳalʿa-yi Safīd, but he managed to escape and enlist the support of the Čobanid Pīr Ḥusayn. The latter collected a Mongol army and advanced on Shīrāz with Muḥammad; Masʿūd-Shāh was forced to flee, and Pīr Ḥusayn entered the town. When, shortly afterwards, in 740/1340, he put Muḥammad to death, the population adopted so threatening an attitude that he found it advisable to withdraw, but only to return the next year at the head of fresh forces. On this occasion also luck was against him; he quarrelled with the Čobanid Ashraf and, when the two sides were drawn up in line of battle, was left in the lurch by his own men and sought refuge with Ḥasan-i Kūčak [*q.v.*], by whom he was put to death. Meanwhile, Masʿūd-Shāh had made his way to Luristān, where he allied himself with Yaghī-bastī, a brother of Ashraf, while Ashraf himself took the part of Masʿūd-Shāh's sole remaining brother Abū Isḥāḳ. Masʿūd-Shāh, with Yaghī-bastī's aid, succeeded in reaching Shīrāz, where he met the same fate as his brother Muḥammad: he was treacherously murdered by Yaghī-bastī in 743/1343. The latter then quarrelled, and was reconciled again, with Ashraf; and they were engaged in a joint attempt at the subjugation of Fārs when the news of their brother Ḥasan-i Kūčak's death caused their troops to disperse. Abū Isḥāḳ, who had previously received the town of Iṣfahān from Pīr Ḥusayn, now became the ruler of Shīrāz and the whole of Fārs. As he endeavoured to extend his rule over Yazd and Kirmān, he came into conflict with the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*], with varying success. The final result was that Abū Isḥāḳ was not only driven from Yazd and Kirmān but was besieged in Shīrāz itself, which surrended to the Muẓaffarids in 754/1353. Before the surrender he had escaped to Ḳalʿa-yi Safīd and, receiving some support from Ḥasan-i Buzurg, made his way to Iṣfahān. Besieged once again, he was taken prisoner and handed over for execution to the relatives of a *shaykh* who had been put to death by his orders. This was in 758/1357. The Persian poet ʿUbayd-i Zākānī has commemorated his patron in a *marthiya* or elegy.

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INDOCHINA (Islam in). The union of Indochina, created by a decree of 19 October 1887, was definitively completed and organized under the governorship of Paul Doumer (February 1897-March 1902). Embracing a vast territory of 740,000 square km., with no geographical unity, extending from China to Siam and bordered by both the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean, it ceased to exist in 1945, to become the states of Cambodia in the south west, Laos in the north west and Vietnam in the east.

The population of this region, estimated at 16 millions at the beginning of the 20th century, has grown considerably since then. In 1930 there were 2,500,000 Cambodians, 1 million Laotians and 17 million Vietnamese (7,500,000 in Tonkin, 5,000,000

in Annam and 4,500,000 in Cochin China: these three countries had formed in the 19th century the empire of Vietnam, given this name in 1804). Exact statistics are not available, but it is generally agreed that in 1969 Cambodia has nearly 4 million inhabitants, Laos about 1,500,000 and Vietnam at least 26 million. These numbers include about 500,000 Chinese or persons of Chinese origin, and slightly under a million people belonging to the ethnic minorities (still often and incorrectly called *Kha* by the Laotians, *Moi* by the Vietnamese and *Pnong* by the Cambodians, words meaning "boor, mountain-dweller, wild man") variously divided, according to the three states, with the Chinese in the urban centres and the minorities on the plateaux.

The dominant religions and philosophies are still Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. In Cambodia and Laos, (Hinayana) Buddhism, the state religion, is widely practised. In Vietnam, spirit worship is really the dominant religion and (Mahayana) Buddhism, although attracting the majority of the population, has neither the unity nor the purity which it has in the two neighbouring countries. There should be mentioned furthermore the tolerant and also syncretic character of the Vietnamese, who are well able to embrace philosophies of various origins: an example of this is the birth in about 1925 of Caodaism, which aims to group under the authority of one single God all the existing religions, and possessed in 1969 two million adherents, the majority in South Vietnam. The Catholics, the majority of whom also are in Vietnam, are almost as numerous. Animist beliefs remain active among the ethnic minorities. Finally it should be mentioned that Hinduism, which flourished for ten centuries in Cambodia, is now practised, and that in a more or less degenerate form, only by the Hindu minority (Tamils and Bengalis) and in particular by the majority of the Cham (pronounced *tyam*; see ČAM) of Vietnam, while the rest of them, with the Cham of Cambodia, the Malays and a certain number of Tamils, are Muslims.

Even during the periods of greatness of the Shampa [see ṢANF], Islam never held a position of first importance in Indochina. Deeply influenced by Indian civilization, the Cham practised mainly Hinduism and, to a lesser extent, Buddhism, often combining the two religions. But these cults have been almost abandoned. Today almost all the Cham of Cambodia are Muslims, as are nearly half of those who live in the south of Central Vietnam and who describe themselves as "the original Cham".

No exact date has yet been given for the appearance of Islam in Shampa. It is known that Arab traders reached as far as China in the 1st/7th century, and it is probable that during their journeys they visited the shores of Annam. They may then have converted some natives to their religion. E. Huber (in *Bulletin de l'-École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, iii, 55, no. 1) quotes in support of this idea a passage from the "Annals of the Song" in which the invocation *A lo-ho ki-pa*, meaning "May it soon be re-born!" pronounced on the occasion of the sacrifice of a buffalo to the Spirits, is reminiscent of the formula *Allāh akbar* of the Muslims. Two Kūfic inscriptions of the Shampa, one to be dated "between 1025 and 1035" and the other to 1039 A.D. (P. Ravaisse, in *JA*, xx/2 (1922), 287), indicate that Muslims had settled in the south of the Shampa by the 4th/10th century. But there is still no basis for referring to a conversion of the Cham to Islam.

Neither historical records nor legends suggest that the religion of Muḥammad was widely adopted by the Chams before their kingdom was absorbed by the Vietnamese in the 9th/15th century. It may reasonably be thought that it developed rather among the Cham refugees in Cambodia in the 15th century, and that this occurred through the intermediary of the Malays, their brothers in race, after the Malay immigrations of the 14th and 15th centuries. And these Muslim Cham of Cambodia tried, it seems, in their turn, to propagate Islam, with relatively little success, among their brothers remaining in Central Vietnam.

Muslim Cham and Malays in Cambodia, from the 17th to the 19th century, built mosques, made converts, fomented troubles and even took part in the political life of the country. It was thus that, in 1820, one of them, Tuan Sait Ahmit (= S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad), became viceroy before being put to death by his political adversaries. After the establishment of the French protectorate (1863), they formed in Cambodia as in south Vietnam (Châu-Dôc, Saigon, Phan-Thiêt) fairly closed communities living apart from their Cambodian and Vietnamese compatriots.

There is little original about their observance of Islam and they share the beliefs of the Cham and the Malays. All observe the five prayers, the ablutions, and circumcision at the age of 15; they abstain from the flesh of pigs, dogs, tortoises, crocodiles, elephants, peacocks, vultures, eagles and crows, and also from strong or fermented drinks. If any one worships a strange idol, he is expelled from the community. Some make the pilgrimage to Mecca or pay a certain sum, for which a representative is sent on their behalf. In Cambodia the mosques are almost always built of wood and are placed on slight eminences. The finest are large bare rooms with a platform at the back. The mats which are used as praying carpets are hung up in a sack from the rafters. On the left at the entrance there is usually a large drum painted red (Cham *ganöng* = Malay *gendang*, Javanese *keṇḍang*). Outside is a little basin of masonry for ablutions.

Within these precincts the imāms give the children instruction in reading Arabic and in reciting the Ḳur'ān. The assembly or *d̲j̲am*ʿ*a* cannot take place without a quorum of 40 believers. Ramaḍān is strictly observed by all, and pious families are quite abstemious in this period. On Mondays they refrain from sexual intercourse.

The Chams of Cambodia also observe the *bulan ök hajī* (fasting month of the pilgrims) also called *bulan Ovlaḥ* (month of Allāh) three months after Ramaḍān. They also observe the *molot* or *melut* (cf. Achenese *mò'lot*; Arabic *mawlud*), when a lock of hair is cut from the children of 3 to 13 and they are given a religious name, which for boys is always ʿAbd Allāh or Muḥammad, for girls Phwatimöḥ (Fāṭima). The imāms, at least four in number, are invited to pray in the house in which the ceremony is being performed. This custom of hair cutting seems to be borrowed from the Cambodians.

The *tamat* (Arab *tamma*) is a ceremony nearly always confined to the family circle, at which a boy who has learned the Ḳur'ān entirely by heart, which however happens very rarely, is led round the village on horseback amid the acclamations of men and women. He is dressed in his best clothes and is greeted with the greatest reverence by men and women.

The *suraḥ* (pursuit), which is celebrated in the first Cham month, is accompanied by two days'

fasting and commemorates the migration of the Prophet (*Hidjra*).

By the *tapat*, which we also find among the Chams of Annam, who call it *tubah* = Ar. *tawba*, old persons are purified from their sins by means of prayers and sprinkling with holy water.

Malays and Chams have common religious officials in Cambodia, who are given the following names according to their office.

Malay	Cham	Function
1. *mufti*	*möphati*	jurist
2. *tuan kadli*	*tuḥ kalik*	judge
3. *raya kadli*	*rajak kalik*	judge
4. *tuan pakih*	*tuan paké*	jurist
5. *hakim*	*hakem*	doctor
6. *kĕtip*	*katip*	preacher
7. *bilal*	*bilal*	*mu'adhdhin*
8. *lĕbai*	*lebĕi* [1])	officiant

All are exempt from taxation. The four first have the following Cambodian names: 1. *okñà răčă koley*, 2. *okñà raya koley*, 3. *okñà tok koley*, 4. *okña paké*. They are appointed by the King, belong to his council and are the official superiors of the Muslims of Cambodia. They are regarded by the faithful as representing the four caliphs of the Prophet and enjoy a great spiritual authority.

The religious dignitaries are usually chosen from the most prominent families, whose sons can become imāms at the age of 15 and whose daughters are educated with special care to make them worthy wives.

The Muslims of Cambodia respect the graves of saints, which they call *ta-lak*; they believe in witches, the werewolf, evil spirits, and in magic, and have retained certain agricultural customs which are also found among the neighbouring peoples, such as the Cambodians and Annamese; these are relics of an old animism.

The family bonds among the Muslims of Cambodia are very strong; the father has great authority. The wife is well treated but kept strictly within the house as are the daughters, who are very early initiated into household duties and, being under strict control, are only allowed to marry Muslims.

The Muslim Chams have adopted from the Cambodians the custom of filing and lacquering their daughters' teeth at the age of 15, an operation which is accompanied by prayers from the imāms and sprinkling with holy water.

The marriage customs are in general Muslim. The boys do not as a rule marry before 18 or the girls before 15. The wedding feast is accompanied with great expenditure. Divorce is possible but rare. If it is demanded by the woman, she loses the small dowry (Cham *sakavin*, Malay *mas kavin*) which the husband settled on her at the betrothal.

The burial ceremony is very simple. The corpse is washed twice with a decoction of jujube leaves or benzoin water, then in clear water, wrapped in a piece of linen and placed in a grave about ten and a half feet deep, with the head to the north. A mound of earth is then erected over the grave, which is covered with thorny branches to protect it from wild animals. Later, there is placed at the head or at the feet a tombstone in the shape of a low flat column, often carved and ornamented with patterns, called *kut* (? skr. *kūṭa*). On the third, seventh, tenth, thirtieth, fortieth, and hundredth day the imāms are invited to pray and eat with the family at the grave. The exhumation practised by the Chams of Annam is not found here.

The husband wears white mourning for 40 days for his wife, the latter for three months and ten days for the husband, and she cannot marry again before a hundred days.

The Islam of the Chams in Annam has quite a different stamp. It appears to have a Shīʿī character, as Açan (Ḥasan), Açai (Ḥusayn) and ʿAlī are particularly revered and invoked there: they also play the main part in the few manuscripts or legends still preserved in Annam. It is however considerably penetrated by animistic and Hindu ideas and customs which preceded it and still survive alongside of it. The Muslim Chams of Annam are to be counted Muslims mainly through their naive conviction that they are Muslims. They call their Hindu countrymen *kāfir* without the slightest derogatory intention and themselves *banis* = *banī*, "the sons of religion", or Cham Asalam (= Islām), "Chams of Islām". They say that they worship Oblaḥ (Allāh), but also Pō Devata Thwor (Çvör) (Sanskrit *Devatā Svarga*), "God, Lord of Heaven", and they offer presents in certain agrarian rites, *e.g.*, two eggs, a cup of rice brandy, and three leaves of betel, to Pō Olwaḥ Tāk Alā, the "mysterious king of the underworld"; in reality it is the Muslim expression *Allāh taʿālā*, out of which they have made a god. They also worship the Brahman goddess Pō Inö Nögar = "Mother of the Land" (Umā, Bhagavatī), and her husband Pō Yang Amö, "the Lord God, the Father [of the land]" (Śiva), whom they identify with Pō Havaḥ (= *Ḥawwā'*), *i.e.*, Eve and Pō Adam, the ancestors of mankind.

The Kaphir Cham of Annam with as broad a tolerance have taken into their Pantheon Pō Ovlaḥ (= Allāh), an undefined bodiless god, the creator of Po Raçullak (= *Rasūl Allāh*) and of Pō Latila (= *lā Ilāha*), who lives in Mökah (Mecca) and who was created by Pō Ovlaḥuk (= *Allāhu*) the father of ṅöbi Mahamat (= *Nabī Muḥammad*); we thus see that the Kaphir have made three gods out of the misunderstood formula: *Lā ilāha illa 'llāhu, Muḥammad rasūlu 'llāh*!

The Bani of Annam have a very high but vague notion of Nöbi Maḥamat, *i.e.*, the prophet Muḥammad, and to them the Ḳur'ān is *tapuk* (= *kitāb*) *nöbi Maḥamat* = the book of the Prophet Muḥammad; the call it also *tapuk asalām* (= *kitāb al-Islām*), the book of Islam, *kitāb alamadu* = *kitāb al-Ḥamd*, the book of praise, *tapuk çākāray*, the talisman book. They never use its real name. The Ḳur'ān moreover is hardly to be found among them at all. The few copies which exist are incorrect, and written on chinese paper with the brush and not with the reed pen. The Bani seem to esteem equally highly a mystical compendium which much resembles the Javanese *primbon* and is called *nurshavan* by them. The "priests" copy it only during *ramövan* (= *Ramaḍān*) and they receive the princely remuneration of a buffalo for each copy.

The Cham of Annam pray only on Fridays and during Ramaḍān the five *vaḥ* or *vaktū* (= *waḳt*) ("prayer"), the names of which they corrupt as fol-

[1]) I translate this word by "officiant" for lack of a more suitable term. In Indo-China, the *lĕbai* of the Malays and the *lĕbei* of the Chams is a pious man like the Javanese *santri*, who conducts the Friday service in the villages. According to van Ronkel (*Tijdschr. v. Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk.*, 1914, 131), *lĕbai* or *labai* is of Tamil origin and originally meant "Muslim merchant", which strengthens the supposition that Islam came originally from India, not from Arabia, to Indonesia and also to Indo-China.

lows: *çâbahik, çobahik* (= *ṣubḥ*) "morning prayer", *vaḥ çarik* (= *ẓuhr*), "noonday prayer", *asarik* (= *ʿaṣr*) "afternoon prayer", *mögarip* = *maghrib*, "sunset prayer", *ihsā* (= *ʿishāʾ*) "evening prayer". They are in the main content with reciting a few *sūras*, especially the *fātiḥa*, without understanding them, and the Arabic form is so corrupted in their pronunciation that it is almost unintelligible, *e.g.*,

1. *abiḥ similla hyör raḥ mönyör raḥ himik* = Ar.: *bi ʾsmi ʾllāhi ʾrraḥmāni ʾrraḥīmi*;

2. *ǎulahu akkabar*; *lā ilāha illǎuwāhuk wūwūwāhuk akkabar* = Ar.: *allāhu akbar*; *lā ilāha illa ʾllāh*.

They hardly observe any ablutions but are content with making signs as if they were taking water out of a hole in the ground. Circumcision (*katan, katat* = Ar. *khitān*), which is performed on boys at the age of 15 and must always precede marriage, is however only symbolic and consists in the imām, holding a wooden knife, making the gesture of circumcising. The boy receives a new name (*awal* = *awwal*), usually ʿAlī or Muḥammad. The Bani do not make the pilgrimage to Mecca and, while they do not eat pork, the priests as well as the faithful enjoy spirits made from rice, as well as other intoxicating liquors; the religious dignitaries do not however drink in the mosque. If the number of "40" is not present on Friday in the mosque, those missing are replaced by sacrificial cakes and the usual service, followed by a meal, takes place.

The people observe Ramaḍān only for 3 days. The imāms however must observe it till the end, on behalf of the whole community. During this time they shut themselves up in the mosque with their prayer books, their rosary, their tea pot, their sleeping mats, their copper spittoon and their betel set, which they require to prepare the chewing material indispensable to all Eastern Asiatics. For a whole month they never cross the threshold except to perform the necessary major ablutions in the river. The others are performed using the great cisterns under the penthouse roof of the mosque.

These mosques or *sang mögik* (*samögik, samgrik*; cf. Ach.: *mösögit*), which are turned towards Mecca, are usually rather poor straw huts with walls of bamboo lattice-work.

Even the names of the religious dignitaries in Annam suggest the odd changes which Islam has suffered there. At their head is the *pō gru* or *ong guru* (Skr. *guru*), then come the *imöms* (*imām*), from whom he is chosen and who are the men who really perform the ceremonies, then the *kātips* (*khaṭīb*), who have to give the religious readings in the mosque; next come the *mödins*, *i.e.*, *muʾadhdhin*, the *āčars* (Skr. *ācārya* = "religious teacher"), a kind of religious instructors attached to the mosque. In general, the word *āčar* in Annam is applied to all Muslim "clergy" in contrast to *baçaiḥ*, which is the name of the Hindu priests.

All the religious dignitaries in Annam shave their heads and faces. In addition to the simple white fez worn in Cambodia, they also wear a voluminous turban with gold, red or brown fringes. The various ranks are distinguished by the length of the fringes. Like their Hindu brethren they carry a long rattan cane, the roots of which are woven into the form of a basket only for the *ong gru*. A white sarong, a long white tunic which is buttoned and cut open at the neck is their sole costume. On high feast days the *mimbar* and the interior of the mosque are covered with white cloth; on these occasions they exchange the turban for a kind of disc, which is bored through the middle and fastened to the fez by a piece of linen. The whole looks like the biretta of a judge. These "priests" are almost as ignorant as their simple followers; they can hardly read Arabic, hardly study it at all, and only roughly understand some *sūras* which they repeat only "because their fathers also did so". They are free from taxation and forced labour and are held in fairly high esteem by the people; they are the more educated class, however slight the education may be. As they are quite indifferent and tolerant, they do not think ill of the faithful when the latter make offerings to the *Pō Yang* or various Hindu deities, endeavour to propitiate evil spirits and perform certain agrarian rites or magic ceremonies which have nothing Muslim about them. They live in perfect harmony with the Hindu *baçaiḥ*, invite them to their religious and domestic festivities and are invited in turn—only the food for the *imöm* must be prepared by a Muslim woman—and give each other places of honour. From mutual tolerance the two communities refrain from eating both pork and beef.

Only from the Hindu cremations do the Muslim priests carefully absent themselves, and this religious horror of corpses was previously, it is said, the reason why they alone could enter the royal palace to pray with women in child-bed and to watch his wives and children during the absence of the king.

Either as a result of ancient customs or of the Malay-Polynesian matriarchal system or through contact with the Hindus of Annam who have priestesses called *padjău*, the Muslims of Annam have priestesses for a domestic cult; they are called *radja* or *ridja*. If a sick member of the family has to be healed, for example, or a journey or business enterprise to be undertaken auspiciously, the *imöm* first of all recites various prayers, then this *radja* —often the housewife herself—accompanied by the *mödin*, who sings and beats the drum, performs certain ritual dances or falls into a state of great excitement in order to influence the 'deities' or 'spirits of the dead', to whom sacrifices are at the same time made. This ceremony is always followed by a great feast. The *radjas*, who must not eat the flesh of the pig or of the sand lizard, even play the principal part at the great annual festivals, which are celebrated in December-January and are probably of Malay or Indonesian origin—the name Java is repeatedly mentioned in them—and are regarded by the Muslim Cham as the "New Year festival of the ancestors".

The festival lasts two days and three nights. A great booth is built in an enclosure, if possible of new material, and the interior is hung with white cotton cloth. The altar is a simple large tray, with dishes on which are betel, food and fruits. Wax lights are stuck on the edge of the dishes and they also are bound round with cotton threads of different colours. A swing hung from two pillars is for the *radja*; she is assisted by three *imöms* and the *mödin*, who with his tom-tom conducts an orchestra consisting of a clarionet, a violin, cymbals and an oblong drum (*ganöng*). The festival, which is interrupted by numerous meals, is opened with the *bismillāh*, then follows the invocation of the mountain and forest spirits and of the shades of the "spirits beyond the sea, which may not be mentioned by name"; and finally the invocation of 38 deities or spirits by name; at each of them the three *imöms* recite prayers.

The most characteristic part of the festival takes place on the second day at the rise of the morning star. After the *mödin* has invoked the deities and

the *radja* has performed a special dance in their honour, they take a small boat made out of a single piece of wood, which is said to have come from Java or China to collect tribute. The master of the house in which the festival is held pretends not to understand Javanese and the *mödin* acts as interpreter. Amid joking all round, eggs, cakes and the figure of an ape with jointed limbs are put in the boat, the participants then break up the walls and roof of the booth and fight for the cakes. On the third day the *radja* goes, accompanied by the officiants and the orchestra, to the river and solemnly places the boat with the ape on the water. This ends the festival.

While circumcision is only symbolic with the Bani of Annam, the *tubaḥ* for the old men is practised as in Cambodia and the *karöḥ* (literally, "enclosing") marks the declaration of a girl's fitness for marriage. Not till then dare they put up their hair and marry; until then they are *tabung*, *i.e.*, unapproachable, and the seducer would be severely punished. This festival takes place under the presidency of the *ong gru* and of two *imöm*s for a considerable number of girls on each occasion and lasts two days. It is opened with prayers to Allāh, Muḥammad, the Hindu deities and the shades of their ancestors as well as with a feast at which the priests eat apart. Two booths are erected, the one for the ceremony itself, and the other as a dressing room for the girls, who sleep there under the supervision of four matrons. The *imöm*s spend the night praying; at 7 a m. the girls appear wearing their finest clothes and ornaments, their hair loosened and covered with a triangular mitre. Before them goes an old woman and a man clothed in white, who carries a year-old child dressed exactly like the girls except for the mitre. They throw themselves down before the *ong gru* and the *imöm*s. The *ong gru* places a grain of salt in the mouth of the child, cuts off a lock of its hair and gives it some water to drink. The same is done with the girls, who then return in procession to their booth. If a girl has been seduced the lock is cut off at her neck as a mark of shame. A second feast, at which the priests eat before the faithful, concludes the ceremony.

Birth customs in Annam among the Bani are similar to those among the Kaphir except that the Bani do not sacrifice to the gods on such occasions. The seduction of girls is also severely punished. They do not marry till they are 17 or 18. In Panrang, evidently the result of the old Malay matriarchal system—which has left other traces also, like the right of inheritance of women and the tracing of descent through them and their practising the cult of ancestors—the custom prevails that the girls seek the young men in marriage, but everywhere else in Indo-China the reverse is the custom. The wedding (Cham *likhaḥ*-Arab. *nikāḥ*), which is the occasion of long and costly festivities, is usually replaced by public cohabitation, which causes no scandal; the pair are free to celebrate it later when they can afford it, and they may already have two or three children to take part in it. It is far more elaborate among the Bani than among the Kaphir. The *imöm*s repeat prayers; the *ong gru*, who represents the "lord Muḥammad", asks the bride, who is considered to be Fāṭima, whether she accepts the presents of the bridegroom, the lord ʿAli. Rich feasts take place at the weddings. The dowry given to the woman remains her property in case of a divorce. Divorce is fairly easy and leaves nearly two-thirds of the joint property in the hands of the woman. Mixed marriages are rare, and in them the children follow the religion of the mother. It sometimes happens that a Muslim woman marries a Hindu, very rarely the contrary.

The burial service is as simple among the Bani as it is elaborate among the Kaphir. The corpse is wrapped in white cotton sheets and placed in a small hut, where the *ong gru* and the *imöm*s repeat prayers. As soon as night falls the dead man is buried, with four *imöm*s present, almost secretly, without a coffin and with the face turned to the north. The relatives beseech his spirit not to come and afflict them. On the 3rd, 7th, 10th, 30th, 40th and 100th day as well as on the anniversary of his death a *padhi*, *i.e.*, a service at the tomb with prayers, a meal and presents for the *imöm*s, is observed at his grave. Those of the 7th and the 40th day are the most important. The dead person is almost always exhumed after a certain period on an anniversary of his death. His bones as well as his golden or silver ornaments are placed in a small coffin which is again buried in a particular place and considered sacred.

We thus see that Islam, while it has remained fairly pure in Cambodia, has been overlaid in Annam with a mass of elements and customs, partly animistic and partly Hindu. The Cham nevertheless desire to be good Muslims: it is only their ignorance and long usage that are the causes of their errors. Malay *ḥādjdjī*s who have come from the Archipelago or Cambodia on a religious mission have repeatedly succeeded in putting an end to sacrifices to heathen deities in various villages, although they have been unable to stop the enjoyment of rice brandy.

Under the influence of "modernism" and westernization, all these customs have become very much less rigid, losing all those elements which might seem archaic or incompatible with the demands of present-day life.

The French administration attempted, though not very forcefully, to preserve the Cham from complete assimilation and from the extinction as a separate community to which they seemed doomed at the beginning of the 20th century. It succeeded in saving the essential part of what remained of the monuments they had built, and managed, with less happy results, to restore their confidence in themselves. Their future, which now depends on their own will to survive, is still very uncertain.

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(A. Cabaton-[G. Meillon])

INDONESIA

i.—Geography

The Republic of Indonesia comprises some four-fifths of the archipelago which, stretching eastwards from the south-eastern angle of Asia, separates the Indian from the Pacific Ocean, at the same time as it constitutes a discontinuous land link between Asia and Australasia. Extending for approximately 3,400 miles from west to east, and about 1,250 miles from north to south (in a zone bounded by longitudes 92° and 141° east and by latitudes 6° north and 11° south), it embraces some 3,000 islands of highly diverse size, character and resources. In popular topographical terminology these are perceived as constituting four groups. The Sunda Raja or Greater Sunda complex, including the four large islands of Sumatra, Java (Djāwa), Celebes (Sulawesi), and the larger part of Kalimantan, constitutes the core of the country from the point of view of areal extent, size of population, wealth of natural resources, and intensity of economic activity. The Nusa Tenggara or Lesser Sundas form a chain of smaller islands extending from Bali to western Timor (the eastern half of this latter island is under Portuguese control). The third group, known as Maluku, includes the island arcs lying north of the eastern Lesser Sundas and east of Celebes. Irian Barat, or the western half of the island of New Guinea, which was incorporated within the Indonesian polity as recently as 1963, is by all standards the least developed part of the country.

Structurally the Indonesian archipelago comprises three main tectonic components, each with a distinctive morphological expression. Both the western and eastern sectors—known to physiographers as the Sunda and Sahul Shelves respectively—are developed on stable continental platforms of ancient indurated rocks, relatively subdued relief, and comparatively shallow seas. Between, and partially bounding, these platforms are a series of geologically recent mountain ranges that now appear on the map as fragmented but structurally continuous island arcs separated from each other by deep semi-oceanic basins. As might be expected in view of their geological history, these island arcs are zones of instability, manifested primarily in earthquakes of high frequency but moderate intensity and, more particularly, in a wide range of volcanic activity. On the continental platforms the starkness of this tectonic skeleton is peripherally mitigated by a mantle of alluvium giving rise to extensive coastal plains: elsewhere slopes tend to be steep, and level land exiguous. Finally, deriving from this structural context are substantial mineral resources: notably petroleum, tin ore, coal of various grades, and bauxite, all from the Sunda Shelf and its borders; low-grade iron ores from Borneo and Celebes; and small quantities of high-grade magnetite and hematite elsewhere. Other mineral resources which have been exploited on a small scale include nickel in Celebes, manganese, phosphate, sulphur, and iodine in Java, and gold and silver in Sumatra and West Java.

Indonesia's location determines that its climatic régime is broadly equatorial. Variations in insolation intensity and duration are minimal, so that temperatures at sea level are uniformly high and extremely constant. Annual ranges are small, usually of the order of 5° F, with diurnal ranges up to three times that amount. The season, distribution and quantity of rainfall depend on location and aspect in relation to the seasonally reversed wind systems which the presence of continental land masses here imposes on the equatorial régime. Whereas an annual total of at least 80 inches is experienced throughout most of the archipelago, slopes athwart the warm moist air streams that prevail during the northern-hemisphere summer are much wetter. Padang, at the foot of the Barisan Range, for example, has an average annual rainfall of 177 inches. In the eastern half of Java and the Nusa Tenggara, by contrast, an extreme southerly location within the Indonesian polity combines with proximity to the Australian arid zone to produce average annual totals of less than 60 inches. This is also the only part of the country to experience a markedly drier season. Generally speaking, rain everywhere tends to fall in heavy showers of comparatively short duration.

High temperatures and abundant moisture ensure that soils, apart from those developed on recent alluvium or volcanic ash, tend to be strongly ferrallitic in character, their outstanding agronomic feature being a low natural fertility. In primeval times virtually the whole territory was covered by a mantle of equatorial rain-forest of great floristic richness, which itself subsumed a variety of plant associations ranging from true rain-forest to coastal mangrove, fresh-water swamp-forest, limestone associations, and mountain vegetation. Centuries of human occupance, however, have done much to modify both the extent and the character of these forests. Today less than a fifth of the archipelago is under primary forest or something approaching it, and this is distributed very unevenly throughout the country. Whereas more than four-fifths of Irian Barat and eastern Kalimantan are forested, the comparable proportion for both Java and the Nusa Tenggara is nearer one fifth of their respective areas.

From the point of view of ecological adaptation, as contrasted with that of contemporary administration, the pre-eminent dichotomy in the Indonesian world is that between Java and the rest of the country, the so-called Outer Islands. And nowhere is this distinction more apparent than in the evolution of agricultural practices. Traditionally the first of these regions has been associated predominantly, though by no means exclusively, with the delicate ecological equilibrium of slash-and-burn shifting agriculture (technically known as swidden), and the heartland of Java with the stable equilibrium of permanent-field, wet-padi farming. Only in the nineteenth century was this distinction somewhat blurred by the introduction into both regions of new crops such as sugar, tobacco, coffee, and subsequently rubber, and by the imposition in Java, by a paternalistically inclined colonial government, of an agro-industrial system which intruded the disequilibrating forces of commercial agriculture into the very heart of the village, often making the Javanese farm worker occupationally conduplicate, coolie and peasant at the same time time.

Indonesia is the fifth most populous nation in the world, with a current population exceeding 100 million souls. Of these, approximately two-thirds are living on the islands of Java and Madura, which together comprise only seven per cent of the land area of the country. In terms of average densities, this means something like 1,200 persons per square mile in Java, but only 62 per square mile in the Outer Islands (though this figure conceals wide variations within the region, *e.g.*, Bali with 750 persons per square mile; Sumatra with 80, Kalimantan with 18, and Irian Barat with 6). In large measure this imbalance in population distribution is

attributable to what Clifford Geertz has described as the concentrative and tumescent qualities of the wet-padi ecosystem as integrated with commercial farming in colonial Java. The dispersive, inelastic properties of the swidden ecosystem would seem likely to make large-scale transfers of population from Java to the apparently underpopulated Outer Islands not only unpopular, but also ineffective unless accompanied by a major transformation of the ecosystem.

The population of Indonesia is disposed in a hierarchy of settlements ranging from innumerable villages at the lowest level to the capital, Jakarta, at the highest. Although Jakarta, with a population of three million, is more than twice the size of Surabaya, the next largest city, it appears to accord better with the graduated distribution of city sizes characteristic of economically developed countries than with the concept of the primate city as evidenced in numerous other formerly colonial territories. In fact the notion of primacy would seem to be more appropriate to the situation in the Outer Islands, where some of the higher order urban centres are nearly four times as populous as the next largest cities in their territories. Whereas urbanism reaches a higher level in Java than elsewhere in Indonesia, urbanization appears to be proceeding more rapidly in the Outer Islands. The several levels of the city hierarchy subsume a considerable variety of urban forms, ranging from traditional ceremonial and religious foci to the commercial-administrative conurbations which rose to pre-eminence during the colonial period, from largely unchanged pre-industrial market towns dominated by the expediential mores of the bazaar to modern industrially oriented port cities.

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(P. Wheatley)

ii.—Ethnography

The cultural diversity of the several hundred ethnic groups of Indonesia is striking; a common pattern underlying the diversity is discernible, but elusive and hard to specify. For this reason, no consensus has been reached on a classification or taxonomy of Indonesian peoples and cultures. A workable, if somewhat imprecise, classification is as follows: (A) societies with political organization predominantly on a *territorial* basis; (B) societies, politically organized on a territorial basis, but with chiefs of *genealogical* groups also having political and legal powers; (C) societies in which political power is exclusively vested in chiefs of genealogical groups (or of local segments of such groups).

Societies of group A constitute real states, which have played an active rôle in the history of South-East Asia. Examples are the principalities of Java and Bali, the Malay states of eastern Sumatra and of the Malay Peninsula, and the sultanates of the Bugis-Makassar area of southern Celebes. Without exception they have adopted a world religion: mostly Islam, but a syncretic form of Hinduism and Buddhism in the case of Bali. Political authority is (or *was*—in Indonesia these States have lost the semi-independence they have preserved in Malaya) in the hands of established dynasties, assisted by courtiers, administrators, and territorial chiefs who form a nobility, and (in the case of Java) drew their emoluments from the taxes they levied in the district granted to them by the ruler as an apanage of their office. The rulers, and their regalia, are usually considered to be the sacral centres, the spiritual depositories, of the wellbeing of their realms. Kinship organization in these societies is generally of the bilateral (cognatic) type, based on single-family households. Economic activities are centred on agriculture (rice grown on elaborately irrigated fields), stockbreeding, and trade (some of it inter-insular).

Societies of type B (such as the Batak and the Minangkabau, both of Sumatra) have or had some measure of centralized political government, but the chiefs of genealogical groups (clans and lineages) have considerable authority over their kinsfolk. The lineages in question may be matrilineal (Minangkabau) or patrilineal; they have a tendency to maintain regular marriage relationships with specific other lineages, in which the bride-bestowing lineage is superior to the bride-receivers. This type of social structure links up with a whole system of cosmic classifications, involving dichotomies as male/female, upperworld/underworld, and superior/inferior, and speculations on numerology and colour classification. Such a system appears most clearly among those Batak groups which are not yet converted to Islam or Christianity.

Rice cultivation (on irrigated fields as well as by the slash-and-burn method) is important, as is the growing of commercial crops (coffee, rubber). Peoples of this group are no less prominent in modern Indonesian affairs than those of group A.

Societies of type C, finally, occur on the smaller, and in the interior of the larger islands: the Dayak peoples of Borneo, the Toradja of Celebes, etc. Many still adhere to their original religion, or were only recently converted to Islam or Christianity. The archaic religion is predominantly an ancestor cult,

with elaborate, frequently potlatch-like, mortuary rites and (*e.g.*, with the Dayak) a developed priestly theology and rich mythology, manifesting the same type of classification system as mentioned for B. Kinship forms vary around the theme of matrilineal combined with patrilineal descent or inheritance. Agriculture ("dry" rice, maize, sago) predominates, foreign trade is rudimentary. For these people in particular a general Indonesian problem is acute: how much of their traditional way of life can and should they preserve in a nation striving towards a modern and unified culture?

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(P. E. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG)

iii.—LANGUAGES

With a few exceptions which will be mentioned, the indigenous languages of Indonesia belong to the Austronesian family. Austronesian languages extend over Madagascar, southern Vietnam, Taiwan, the Philippine Islands, Malaysia, Indonesia, Papua/New Guinea, the Melanesian, Micronesian and Polynesian islands and New Zealand. Although the existence of such a family was postulated as early as 1780 by William Marsden, it was left to W. von Humboldt, in 1836, to define it more closely and to give it the title "Malayo-Polynesian" by which it was to be known for more than a century; this has now been displaced by "Austronesian", a term coined by Wilhelm Schmidt in 1899. The Austronesian family, comprising perhaps some 500 languages in all, is currently subdivided into three subgroups, Indonesian, Polynesian and Melanesian; Micronesian is held by some to constitute a fourth subgroup. The majority of the people who have embraced Islam in this area speak Indonesian languages; therefore it is these languages that are important to the study of Islam in South East Asia, particularly Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Achenese, Minangkabau, Buginese and Macassarese.

Owing to the lack of real evidence, the early history of the speakers of Austronesian languages is little more than conjecture. Their probable original homeland, which would of course be the homeland of the ancestors of the Indonesians, has been located by speculation in places ranging from Tartary, the Indo-China area and southern China to Melanesia or Taiwan.

Not all the languages of Indonesia belong to the Indonesian subgroup; communities speaking non-Indonesian languages can be found in North Halmahera, Ternate, Tidore and Irian Barat (formerly known as West New Guinea). Besides these should be mentioned the non-indigenous languages spoken in the country, such as Chinese (mainly Hokkien, Kheh, Cantonese), Dutch, English and Arabic.

On the other hand languages of the Indonesian subgroup are spoken by communities beyond the borders of Indonesia: Malay in Malaysia, southern Thailand and Brunei, and other languages of the Indonesian subgroup in Sarawak, Sabah, Taiwan, Madagascar, the Philippines and Portuguese Timor. In addition, Malay or other Indonesian languages are spoken by communities of Indonesian origin living in Ceylon, South Africa, Surinam and the Netherlands.

There is no general agreement on the total number of languages within Indonesia. Apart from the absence of an agreed definition of language, detailed linguistic studies are lacking for most areas. A figure commonly mentioned is 250, but possibly more reliable estimates are those which put it at 200, or a little less. The number of speakers of any single language can vary from perhaps over 50 millions, as in the case of Javanese, to the 40,000 or so who speak some of the lesser tongues. Some idea of the distribution of the main languages can be obtained from the accompanying language map; for some suggested amendments to the data given in it, see I. Dyen, *A lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian Languages* (Indiana University 1965, 48-50); naturally a map of this scale cannot show the minority speech communities which have grown up outside their original areas as a result of population movement.

A broad division of the Indonesian languages into Western and Eastern, suggested by the Dutch scholar J. L. A. Brandes, failed to withstand the test of time.

Epigraphic material. The decisive early external influence on Indonesian culture was unquestionably Indian, and the earliest known inscriptions are written in Sanskrit. One of these, found near Kutei in the island of Kalimantan (formerly called Borneo), is thought to date from about 400 A.D.; it commemorates the rule of Mūlavarman over a Hinduized state. The earliest inscriptions from the Malay Peninsula, Buddhistic texts, and also the earliest epigraphic evidence from Western Java, are judged likewise to date from this time.

The oldest evidence of a language indigenous to the area is found in inscriptions on stone from South Sumatra, dating from 682 A.D., and associated with the state of Srivijaya; despite the occurrence here too of many Sanskrit words, the basic language has sufficient affinity with later Malay to be given the name Old Malay. Although Old Javanese inscriptions begin only about a century later (circa 786), subsequent material in this language proved to be much more abundant than that in Old Malay; copper inscriptions appeared up until about the 12th/18th century. Epigraphic evidence of the other recorded ancient Indonesian language, Old Balinese, begins in 882 A.D., and continues to appear over nearly two centuries. It may be noted that all three languages employed scripts of Indian derivation. There is of course no reference to Islam in the early inscriptions.

Malay and Bahasa Indonesia. Malay, originating probably in Sumatra, has been disseminated widely through the Indonesian area, in which it has for centuries been the lingua franca. On account of its usefulness for commercial, political and religious purposes it has always attracted more attention from foreigners than have other Indonesian languages. It is the language of a considerable corpus of manuscript material produced in the 11th-13th/17th-19th centuries. Malay, the official language of Malaysia, and *Bahasa Indonesia* (see below), the official language of Indonesia, have both been developed directly from this earlier form of Malay. Linguistically speaking, Malay and *Bahasa Indonesia* can scarcely be held to be separate languages; the two different names reflect the political division of the Indonesian cultural area which ensued on the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1239/1824. The following remarks on some of the characteristics of Malay apply equally to *Bahasa Indonesia*.

We may mention first some features of the Indonesian languages in general which are at the same time applicable to Malay. Observers have noted conspicuous mutual resemblances between the languages of the Indonesian subgroup. The number of vowel phonemes is limited, being basically [a], [i],

[u] and [ə], with sometimes a considerable range of non-phonemic variation ([i] to [e], [u] to [o] etc.); variation in the length of vowels, when it occurs, is also non-phonemic. Common diphthongs are [ai], [au] and [ui]. The consonantal system is relatively simple; the glottal stop (*hamza*) is widespread; single consonants are preferred, and consonantal clusters avoided, both at the beginning and end of words; but certain two-consonant combinations, notably nasal combinations such as *-mb-*, *-nd-* etc., may occur within the word. Thus a common pattern for the Indonesian "word-base", which is likely to be disyllabic, will be consonant/vowel/consonant/vowel/ consonant.

Affixation, another trait of the Indonesian languages, can best be illustrated with specific reference to Malay examples; but it must be mentioned that *infixation* is no longer productive in Malay, if indeed it ever was a feature of this language. Very briefly, the verbal prefixes in Malay include *ber-*, *me*^{x}*-*, *pe(r)-* and *ter-* and the suffixes are *-i* and *-kan*; a verb may occur without any affix; in certain cases two prefixes may be used simultaneously, as may prefix and suffix. Prefixes commonly employed in conjunction with or to form substantives are *ke-*, *pe*^{x}*-* and *per-*, while a common suffix (which again may be used in conjunction with a prefix) is *-an*. Further, it may be remarked that substantives have no grammatical gender, and they do not normally undergo morphological change for case or number; thus *mata* unless further qualified can be translated 'eye' or 'eyes'. Reduplication of the substantive, a very common feature of Indonesian languages, can correspond to the plural number, but does not always do so. Perhaps the one syntactical feature of Malay which ought to be mentioned is the fact that the attributive adjective follows the noun it qualifies.

External influences on Indonesian languages. Of the languages which were introduced into the area in historical times, it was undoubtedly Sanskrit which first exerted a major influence. The occurrence of Sanskrit and partially Sanskrit inscriptions has been mentioned. Javanese and Malay proved to be particularly susceptible to Sanskrit influence, and in many cases it was via these two languages that Sanskrit influence reached other languages of the area. Sanskrit has given to these languages common grammatical particles, and moreover has enriched the lexicon in the spheres of religion (for example *āgama, dosha*), of ideas (*e.g.*, *buddhi, jīva*), court ritual (*e.g.*, *upacāra, āsthāna*), of statecraft (*e.g.*, *dūta, drohaka*), of relationship (*e.g.*, *svāmin, putra*), and so forth, with appropriate adaptation to the phonology of the recipient language.

Arabic is the other language which has exerted a significant influence on the Indonesian languages over a long period if time; perhaps none was more deeply influenced than Malay, and Arabic influence has permeated through to the other languages often via Malay. This influence can be seen in Malay syntax, at least in religious writings, and in the 'popular' lexicon as well as the 'learned', though understandably to a greater extent in the latter. Examples of everyday Malay words of Arabic derivation are: *asal* (< *aṣl*), *fasal* (< *faṣl*), *hal* (< *ḥāl*), *ilmu* (< *ʿilm*), *mungkin* (< *mumkin*), *perlu* (< *farḍ*), *sebab* (< *sabab*), *selamat* (< *salāma*), *taubat* (< *tauba*). Before the coming of steam, contact between Arabia and the Indonesian Archipelago was maintained mainly via India; traces of Indian languages, and Persian, consequently appear in borrowings from Arabic. This possibly explains also, perhaps, the unexpected occurrence of words of Sanskrit origin in the vocabulary of Islamic practice in Malay; so, for 'heaven' *shurga* (< Skt. *svarga*) is preferred to the Arabic *samāʾ*; for 'hell' *naraka* (< Skt. *naraka*) rather than *jahannam* or *al-nār*; for 'fasting' *puasa* (< Skt. *upavāsa*) rather than *ṣawm*. Alternatively —and this seems more likely—the use of these words may be due to the taking over by the first Muslims of terms already current in the area of proselytization.

The relative position of Sanskrit and Arabic as sources of influence on Malay and other Indonesian languages can be summed up thus: Up to and including the 7th/13th century Sanskrit held the field; during that time Sanskrit appeared in inscriptions in combination with Indonesian languages, and indeed inscriptions wholly in Sanskrit occasionally appeared. However, by the beginning of the 8th/14th century Islam had secured a foothold in the Archipelago, and before the century was out Arabic influence had begun to manifest itself on the language; in that century appears the first clearly Islamic Malay inscription, known as the Trengganu Stone, written moreover in an Arabic type of script. From then on, Sanskrit was steadily to yield ground to Arabic in the field of language; some of the Sanskrit vocabulary in the inscriptions has failed to survive into modern times, while there has been no comparable loss of Arabic elements once they have been incorporated in the language. The position of Arabic has of course been strengthened by the force of religion exerted through religious instruction and the Ḳurʾān, and numbers of manuscripts in Arabic have been brought into, or produced in, Indonesia. Excepting possibly in the island of Bali, no comparable Sanskrit subculture persists; nevertheless, since 1942 Indonesian linguists have often resorted to Sanskrit when creating new terms for *Bahasa Indonesia*.

The remaining non-Indonesian languages which have influenced Malay and *Bahasa Indonesia* are relatively unimportant and can be dealt with briefly. Considering the centuries of Chinese contacts with the Archipelago, Chinese dialects have had a remarkably slight influence, excepting possibly at the colloquial level; from India has come vocabulary of Hindi, Persian, Urdu, Tamil derivation; three European languages which have exercised significant influence are Portuguese, Dutch and English, the last, being the most widely taught foreign language in Indonesia, can be expected to exert a continuing influence on *Bahasa Indonesia*. Through the centuries there has of course been a continuing interaction of the Indonesian languages on one another.

Scripts. Broadly speaking, the pattern of influences which emerged in the previous section will be reflected in any discussion of the scripts used in Indonesia. The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions were written in a Pallava script, and developments of this were used subsequently in the inscriptions and other writings in Indonesian languages: Old Javanese (from which modern Javanese script has been derived, and akin to the Old Malay inscriptions from Sumatra), Balinese, Madurese, Sundanese; also in the Sumatran languages Batak, Redjang and Lampong, and others. Although superficially very different, the Bugis and Makassar scripts show definite affinities with those mentioned. In fact, there is so far no evidence to refute an opinion put forward by H. Kern and others that all the early scripts of the Archipelago are of Indian origin.

LINGUISTIC MAP OF INDONESIA

Legenda

D Indonesian languages

I PHILIPPINE GROUP

1 Formosan 2 Batan 3 Tagalog 4 Iloko 5 Bicol 6 Bisaya 7 Ibanag 8 Igorot 9 Magindanao 10 Tingyan 11 Dadayag 12 Sulu 13 Palau 14 Sangirese and Talaud 14a Bantik 14b Bentenan 15 Bolaang-Mongondow 16 Tombulu Tonsea Tondano sub-group 17 Tontemboan Tonsawang sub-group (14-17 usually called sub-Philippine languages)

II SUMATRA GROUP

1 Achehnese 2 Gayo 3 Batak idioms (*a* Karo *b* Toba *c* Simalungun *d* Mandailing and Angkola) 4 Minangkabau 4* Lubu 5 Malay (*a* Riau Malay *b* Jakarta Malay *c* Kubu *d* Moluccan Malay) 6 so-called Middle-Malay 7 Rejang 8 Lampong 9 Simalur 10 Nias 11 Mentaway 12 Enggano 13 Lontjong 14 and 15 other Sumatran dialects

III JAVA GROUP 1 Sundanese 2 Javanese 3 Madurese

IV BORNEO GROUP (so-called Dayak or Dyak languages)

1 Klemantan languages 2 Iban languages 3 Ot-Danum languages 4 Kenja group 5 Murut group 6 Milano B BAJO or language of the sea-nomads

V BALINESE AND LANGUAGES WHICH ARE NEARLY RELATED TO IT

1 Balinese 2 Sasak 3 Sumbawa

VI GORONTALO GROUP

1 Bulanga 2 Kaidipan 3 Gorontalo 4 Boeol

VII TOMINI LANGUAGES

VIII TORAJA LANGUAGES

1 Kaili 2 Kulawi 3 Pipikoro 4 Napu 5 Bada etc. 6 Leboni 7 Bare'e 8 Wotu

IX LOINANG GROUP IXa BANGGAI IDIOMS

X BUNGKU-LAKI GROUP

XI LANGUAGES OF SOUTH CELEBES

1 Macassar 2 Buginese 3 Luwu idioms 4 Sa'dan 5-7 other idioms of South Celebes

XII LANGUAGES OF THE MUNA-BUTON (BUTUNG) GROUP

XIII BIMA-SUMBA GROUP

1 Bima 2 Manggarai (Flores) 3 Ngad'a (Flores) 4 and 5 dialects of Sumba 6 Hawu

XIV AMBON-TIMOR GROUP

1 Kroë 2 Solorese (language of Solor) 5 Timorese (language of Timor) 7 Rotinese (language of Roti) 10 Kisar 11 Leti 13 Tanimbar 18 and 19 Ceram languages 21 Banda 3, 4 etc. other languages

XV SULA LANGUAGES

XVI SOUTH HALMAHERA IDIOMS AND RELATED LANGUAGES

1 South Halmahera idioms 2 Nufor

C Austro-Asiatic languages
E Non-Indonesian languages of North Halmahera
F Papua languages
G Melanesian languages

For some languages (exemplified by Malay), though not for others, the diffusion of Islam resulted in the adoption of a new Arabic type script. For Malay the adoption was virtually total, and apart from epigraphic material referred to above no writings are known in pre-Arabic script. As far as the other languages are concerned the new script met with varying degrees of acceptance; in Javanese it was used for certain kinds of literature, in Bugis and Makassarese it was rarely employed, while in Achenese and Minangkabau for example it came into general use. The principal modification to the script necessitated by Malay phonology was the addition of the following letters to represent sounds not found in Arabic: چ for *ch*; ڠ for *ng*; ڤ for *p*; ݢ for *g*; and ڽ for *ny*. In the Malay alphabet (which in this respect is more consistent than some other alphabets of Perso-Arabic origin) the و precedes the ه. The vowel signs *fatḥa, kasra* and *ḍamma* are seldom used; their Malay names (*baris diatas*, 'line above', *baris dibawah* 'line below' and *baris dihadapan* 'line in front', respectively) are reminiscent of the equivalent terms in Persian. The letters of this script are known in *Bahasa Indonesia* as *huruf Arab*, but in Malay as *Jawi*. Use of this script is declining in Malaysia, and in Indonesia it has almost disappeared, surviving only in the religious sphere. It has been superseded by romanized script, introduced from Europe as early as the 11th/17th century by Christian missionaries. Thus other languages than *Bahasa Indonesia*, Javanese for example, make use of a romanized script for publications at the present time. The romanized spelling of *Bahasa Indonesia* and of Malay, being based respectively on Dutch and English orthography, tend to emphasize the dissimilarity of the two; however, on 27 June 1967 agreement was reached on a new unified spelling to be used both in Indonesia and Malaysia. The letters which functioned identically in the two former orthographies have been retained in the new spelling: *b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, w, z*; so have the combination *ng*, and the letters *q, v*, and *x* which occur in some borrowed words. Where usage in the two former orthographies differed, changes had to be made:

	Former Malay Spelling	*Former Bahasa Indonesia spelling*	*New agreed symbol*
	ch	tj	c
	j	dj	j
	y	j	y
	ny	nj	ny
For words of Arabic origin	kh	ch	kh
	gh	g	gh
	sh	sj	sy

The agreed new symbols for the vowels are *a, e, e, i, o*, and *u* [thus, except in material for reading practice, there will be no differentiation between the symbol for *e taling* ("long e", sometimes hitherto given an accent sign), and *e pěpět* ("short e", sometimes written hitherto ĕ)]. The present spellings for diphthongs (*ai, au, oi*), are retained. It is not yet certain that the new spelling will be generally adopted in Indonesia.

Bahasa Indonesia. It has been seen that both Old Javanese and Old Malay appeared on the early inscriptions. In the intervening centuries both languages have developed and they have played prominent roles in the cultural history of the Archipelago, Javanese as the language of the sophisticated polities of Central and Eastern Java, Malay as the language of the port-states and of mercantile intercourse in general. In view of the numerous literary works produced in Javanese, and of the cultural prestige of the Javanese in the area, it would not have been surprising to find Javanese become the language of Indonesia; however, owing in part perhaps to the complexities arising from the "stratification" of the Javanese language, in part to the geographical dissemination of Malay through the islands, Malay was to become the language of the independent nation. The modern Indonesian form of Malay is known officially as *Bahasa Indonesia* (literally "the language of Indonesia"); foreign writers generally use this term to refer to the language in preference to the less precise "Indonesian". The adoption of *Bahasa Indonesia* to be the official language of the country was virtually assured even before Dutch rule ended in 1949. In spite of advocacy by some that Dutch should become the primary language, and misgivings on the part of others as to the capability of *Bahasa Indonesia* to function as the language of a modernizing state, the determination of Indonesian nationalists to utilize the language as the vehicle of expression of their will in the end decided the issue. In 1928 the nationalist youth movement formally resolved in this sense; and the suppression of the Dutch language as a consequence of the Japanese occupation of the East Indies in 1942 removed another obstacle from the path of *Bahasa Indonesia*, which was declared to be the official language of the new Republic of Indonesia in the constitution adopted in 1945. The present situation therefore is that *Bahasa Indonesia* is in general use for radio, newspapers and books; it is spoken and understood by nearly all Indonesians, the exceptions being mostly middle-aged or elderly; since it is now taught in schools throughout Indonesia it may be assumed that within a generation or so it will be the everyday tongue of all Indonesians—and thus incidentally the everyday tongue of more Muslims than any other language. The majority of Indonesians will continue to study and speak a regional language as well (Javanese, Sundanese etc.), which will in fact be their mother tongue. The use of Dutch, still surprisingly popular with older educated Indonesians, is bound to decline rapidly; to a great extent it is being displaced by English.

Bibliography: For a survey of the Indonesian languages in their wider context see A. Capell, *Oceanic linguistics today*, in *Current Anthropology*, iii/4 (October 1962), 371-96, and comments by others; also C. F. and F. M. Voegelin, *Languages of the world: Indo-Pacific*, in *Anthropological Linguistics*, vi/4 (1964) and vii/2 (1965). For "Proto-Austronesian" see O. Dempwolff, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*, 3 vol., Berlin 1934-8, and for "Proto-Indonesian" R. Brandstetter, *Wurzel und Wort in den Indonesischen Sprachen*, Lucerne 1910, and other monographs by Brandstetter [four of which are translated by C. O. Blagden in *An introduction to Indonesian Linguistics*, London 1916]. On the "Austronesian homeland" theories there is a useful survey with bibliography by J. C. Anceaux in *BTLV*, *deel* 121 (1965), 417-32. J. Gonda's *Sanskrit in Indonesia* Nagpur 1952) gives much more information about Indonesian languages than is implied by the title, and numerous articles on Indonesian linguistics by this scholar are to be found in *BTLV*, *Lingua* and elsewhere.

On Arabic influence on Malay see Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Over Invloed der Arabische Syntaxis op de Maleische*, in *TBG*, *deel* 41 (1899), 498-528, and C. Skinner, *The influence of Arabic upon Modern Malay* in *Intisari* (Singapore), ii/1 (1966 (?)), 34-47. For specimens of scripts see K. F. Holle, *Tabel van Oud- en Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten*, The Hague 1882, also Arakin (below). Of the many grammers of *Bahasa Indonesia* which have been produced, so far none has achieved recognition as a standard work.

A general discussion of the Indonesian languages is to be found in V. D. Arakin, *Indonezyskie Yazuiki*, Moscow 1965, with an extensive bibliography of works in various languages. A very useful series of critical bibliographies on Indonesian languages is being published in Leiden by the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*; those that have appeared so far are: P. Voorhoeve, *Critical survey of studies on the languages of Sumatra*, 1955; A. A. Cense and E. M. Uhlenbeck, *Critical survey of studies on the languages of Borneo*, 1958; A. Teeuw (assisted by H. W. Emanuels), *A critical survey of studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia*, 1961; E. M. Uhlenbeck, *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Java and Madura*, 1964. For a comprehensive collection of linguistic maps, see Richard Salzner, *Sprachenatlas des Indopazifischen Raumes*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1960. (Russell Jones)

iv.—History: (a) Islamic period.

The earliest known record of probable Muslim settlement in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago is a Chinese report of the existence of an Arab settlement in east Sumatra (San-Fu-Chi = Sriwidjaya = Palembang) headed by an Arab chief in 55/674. A more definite statement on large-scale Muslim emigration into the Archipelago was given by al-Masʿūdī, who reported that in 265/878 about 120,000 or 200,000 merchants and traders, consisting mainly of Muslims (Arabs and Persians) who had settled in Khanfu (Canton) were massacred following a troublesome peasants' rebellion in south China under the T'ang emperor Hi-Tsung (265/878-276/889). Consequently large numbers of Muslim merchants and traders fled from Canton and sought refuge in Kalah (Kedah) on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. This considerable emigration of Muslim merchants and traders effected a transference of the *entrepot* for Muslim trade with the Chinese empire from Canton to Kedah. We may reasonably assume that since the Muslims had had quite a considerable settlement in Canton (which dated from as early as the 1st/7th century), enjoying a high degree of religious and civil autonomy, they must have perpetuated their mode of settlement and social organization in Kedah, and also in Palembang, whither they had similarly emigrated. This event seems to have marked the beginning of the coming of Islam in the Archipelago.

There is evidence of Muslim settlement in the Phanrang region in south Champa in Cambodia in 431/1039 or earlier. The Leran inscription near Gresik in east Java dated 475/1082 indicated an earlier Muslim presence in the region.

According to the Achehnese (Malay) chronicles, Islam was introduced into the northern tip of Sumatra sometime around 506/1112 by an Arab missionary whose name is given as Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh ʿĀrif. One of his disciples, Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn, later carried on his missionary work as far as Priaman down the west coast. The date of the establishment of Islam in north Sumatra is given as 601/1204, when Djohān Shāh became its first Sultan. The *Ḥikāyat Radja-Radja Pasai* related that the Sharīf of Mecca sent a certain Shaykh Ismāʿīl at the head of a mission to spread Islam in north Sumatra in the middle of the 7th/13th century. The Pasai region of north Sumatra, consisting of the realms of Perlak and Samudra, was already Muslim by 682/1282. The Sultan, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, died in 697/1297 or 707/1307.

In Trengganu on the northeast coast of the Malay Peninsula, a stone inscription dated 702/1302 was discovered at Kuala Berang indicating earlier Muslim settlement in the region. A Muslim tombstone at Bud Dato on the island of Jolo in Sulu dated 710/1310 indicates that Muslims frequented the region, perhaps in the course of their trade relationship with China.

Towards the end of the 8th/14th century, the kingdom of Malacca on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula was founded by Parameswara, a Palembang princeling who had fled from Java and ruled for a brief period in Tumasik (Singapore). It is possible that the coastal regions near Malacca had already been used by Muslims for their commercial activities at an earlier date, seeing that they had settled in Kedah long before. By 812/1409, the ruler of Malacca, through Muslim proselytizing efforts, had embraced Islam and concluded a family alliance with the Sultan of Pasai by marrying the latter's daughter. Both Pasai and Malacca had by then become centres of Islamic learning and of the propagation of the faith throughout the Archipelago. Ṣūfism was to play a dominating role in the Islamization process for the next two centuries. Scholars and missionaries from all parts of the Archipelago as well as from Arabia gathered in these two emporia to disseminate religious knowledge. Among these were found many from Java including two future saints of Java, Sunan Bonang of Tuban and Sunan Giri, who on their return to Java propagated the faith there.

Pasai during the reign of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (beginning of 8th/14th century), a grandson of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, was the earliest centre of Islamic learning in the Archipelago. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Pasai in 746/1345-747/1346, he recorded that the Sultan was fond of religious debates, and zealous in propagating Islam in the surrounding country by means of conquests. By 819/1416 the peoples of Aru, Samudra, Pedir and Lambri, which were all included in the realm of Atjèh, had become Muslim, and Atjèh was expanding her power to the south.

According to a *tarsila* (*silsila*: genealogical record of noble families) of Sulu, Islam was introduced there in the second half of the 8th/14th century by an Arab missionary called Sharīf Awliyā Karim al-Makhdūm, who had come from the region later known as Malacca, where he was credited with having converted the inhabitants to Islam. He is said to have reached Sulu in 782/1380 and settled in Bwansa near Jolo. The next missionary, also an Arab, named Sayyid Abū Bakr, had similarly come from the same region and also perhaps from Sumatra. He married a daughter of the Muslim king of Bwansa, a Minangkabau prince called Radja Baginda, and succeeded the latter as the first Sultan of Sulu at the end of the 8th/14th century.

On Java, Arab and Persian missionaries had been propagating Islam since 803/1400. One of them, a famous *walī*, the *sayyid* Mawlānā Malik Ibrāhīm, died in Gresik in 822/1419. He had made attempts to persuade the king of Madjapahit (Vikramarvaddhana, 788-1386/833-1429) to embrace Islam.

However, it was during the reign of Kertawidjaya (Bhre Tumapel, 851/1447-855/1451) that Islam gained a firm foothold in the royal court of Madjapahit. This event was initiated by the coming of Raden Raḥmat, the son of an Arab missionary of Champa, whose important and decisive role in the Islamization of Java had been foretold by another Arab missionary of Java, Shaykh Mawlānā Djumādā al-Kubrā. Raden Raḥmat established his centre at Ampel (Surabaya) and later was to become venerated by the Javanese as the chief *walī* of Java with the title Sunan Ampel. Another famous *sayyid* missionary of Java was Mawlānā Isḥāḳ of Pasai who was entrusted by the Sultan of Pasai with the mission of converting Balambangan in the easternmost region of Java. Both Sunan Bonang, a son of Sunan Ampel, and his own son by his marriage with a daughter of the king of Madjapahit, Raden Paku (Sunan Giri), studied under him in Malacca and Pasai. Upon the death of Sunan Ampel (872/1467), Sunan Giri succeeded him and made Ampel flourish still further as the centre of Islamic learning and the propagation of the faith in Java. Another son of Sunan Ampel also became recognized as a *walī* and was known as Sunan Dradjat of Sidayu. On the island of Madura, Pangeran Sharīf, also called Khalīfa Ḥusayn, held sway. The fall of Madjapahit in 883/1478 has been traditionally linked with Raden Patah, a son of the king and foster son of Arya Damar, a Madjapahit governor of Palembang who was converted to Islam by Raden Raḥmat some time before 844/1440. Raden Patah settled in Bintara (Demak), where he built a mosque, completed in 894/1488 (and still standing). It was in Demak, which also became a centre of Islam in Java, that another celebrated *walī*, Sunan Kalidjaga, ingeniously made use of the *wayang* (theatre) for spreading Islam.

Islamization in the southern region of Sumatra began in the beginning of the 9th/15th century. By the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the region was already Muslim. Certain areas in the Minangkabau region had by then also been Islamized. Palembang is generally held to have been Islamized initially through the influence of Raden Raḥmat and Arya Damar some time around 844/1440. The Lampung region in the south was converted through the influence of Bantem, where Islam had taken root at the end of the 9th/15th century. It is reported that the king of Lampung, Minak Kemala Bumi, had gone over to Bantem, where he was converted. Upon his return to Lampung from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he spread the faith in his homeland.

Bandjarmasin in south Borneo was Islamized by missionaries from Java (Demak) in the 9th/15th century. Brunei in the north was Islamized during an earlier period, coinciding with that of Sulu (see above).

In the Moluccas also Islam was introduced in the 9th/15th century. These islands then came mainly under the rule of the princes of Ternate, Tidor, Gilolo, and Batjan, and they include Halmahera, Celebes, Ambon, Banda, the west coast of New Guinea and the islands between, Ceram, Batjan, and the Obi Islands. Ternate, the principal island in the group, received Islam earliest; its first Sultan embraced Islam in Gresik in 901/1495. He spread the faith in his realm assisted by one Pati Putah of Hitu in Ambon, who also studied in Java. Not more than 50 years before 928/1521, the ruler of Tidor had become Muslim, as had the rulers of Gilolo and Batjan.

In 917/1511, Patih Yūnus, son of Raden Patah, conquered Japara and was proclaimed first Sultan of Demak. At this time Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Ibrāhim, another *walī* of Java bearing the title Sunan Gunung Djati, made extensive conversions in Sundanese (west) Java. From Tjirebon he sent one of his sons, Mawlānā Ḥasan al-Dīn, to convert Bantem in west Java. By 933/1526, Bantem and Jakarta had accepted Islam and Sunan Gunung Djati became the first Sultan of Bantem (933/1526-960/1552). The Sunan was the ancestor of the dynasty of the future princes of Tjirebon and Sultans of Bantem. During the reign of Raden Ttenggana, a brother of Patih Yūnus who succeeded the latter as Sultan of Demak (west Java), was won over to Islam. The Hindu-Javanese state in east Java, Singasari (Tumapel), which continued to maintain itself, was aided in its futile struggle by Kediri and Mataram, which had not yet been won over to Islam. In Balambangan, the independent states of Panarukan and Pasuruan were in the power of the Shivaite prince of Bali, who from his stronghold of Matjan Putih directed the defence against Islam. Raden Trenggana completed the conquest of Singasari and Mataram, and it was while the expedition against Pasuruan was in progress that he died (ca. 953/1546). After some confusion due to quarrels between sons and relatives following Tranggana's death, Adiwidjaya, the regent of Padjang in east Java, assumed control and under him the realm of Padjang, consisting of ten districts, rapidly rose in power. The districts were governed by governors reponsible to the Sultan. This was toward the end of the 10th/16th century, when civil war followed as a result of the governor of Mataram's rebellion against the Sultan. Sutawidjaya, the governor of Mataram, known as the *Senopati* (Commander of the Princely Guard), emerged victorious and founded the Sultanate of Mataram (990/1582-1010/1601). When he died (1010/1601), the kingdom had spread throughout central Java to the west as far as Galuh in Tjirebon, and almost the entire east over Balambangan, numbering 25 districts.

Malacca, the first Muslim Malay kingdom in the Malay Peninsula, had always been an important centre for the dissemination of Islam to Java and the farthest east. In 880/1475, Sharīf Muḥammad Kabungsuan, a son of a *sayyid* who had married a Malaccan princess, went from there to Mindanao in the Philippines, where he introduced Islam. Malay and Arab missionaries from Sumatra and Malacca, who used to sail to the Moluccas, also took part in the Islamization of Macassar in Celebes (911/1505). One of the famous missionaries was Khaṭīb Tunggal, a native of Minankabau, whose tomb at Tallo, north of Gowa, is still to be seen. The Macassars spread Islam among the Bugis people, who though slow to accept conversion, when once converted strove hard to convert others in the course of their trading activities between New Guinea and Singapore. The island state of Flores in the south was gradually converted to Islam by their efforts. From Celebes, Islam was carried by Macassar missionaries to the island of Sumbawa, and perhaps also to Lombok, between 947/1540 and 957/1550.

On the Malay Peninsula, Kedah had become Muslim by 879/1474 through missionary efforts. Nothing much is known of how the rest of the Peninsula was Islamized, but there are indications pointing to missionary activities centred at Malacca and Pasai.

Sukadana in southwest Borneo was Islamized by Arabs and Malays chiefly from Palembang. By 1000/1591, all the coastal regions of Borneo had become Muslim.

The Luzon islands and districts such as Manila, Cebu, Oton and others were Islamized by

missionaries from Brunei and Atjèh, as were also those of Mindanao and Sulu. Around 1009/1600, m ssionaries from Java took an active part in Islamizing the regions in the far east of the Archipelago.

By the beginning of the 10th/16th century, under the first maker of Greater Atjèh, Sultan ʿAlī Mug̲h̲āyat S̲h̲āh (d. 937/1530), Atjèh had conquered several territories in the south and eastern coastal regions. His son, Sultan ʿAlā al-Dīn Riʿāyat S̲h̲āh al-Ḳahhār (d. 976/1568), who hired mercenaries from Turkey, Abyssinia, Gudjerat and the Malabar, conquered central Sumatra (Batak region) in 944/1537. Not all the Batak people were converted to Islam, but the Muslims were to score their greatest missionary success there much later, after the arrival of Christian Protestant missionaries in 1315/1897; this was no doubt also due to the effect of the zealous teachings of the Wahhābī-inspired *ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲īs* who promoted a revivalist movement in 1218/1803 [see PADRI]. In the years 983/1575 and 990/1582, there arrived in Atjèh certain *ʿulamāʾ* from Mecca, Yemen and Gudjerat to discuss metaphysics and *taṣawwuf*. These discussions, which seem to have begun at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, continued with ever-increasing depth and produced prolific writings in Malay, which continued to maintain intellectual interest for over two centuries. Their significance was to indicate the inner intensification of the Islamization process in the Archipelago, chiefly affecting Sumatra and Java. Some of the most profound and best examples of such writings are those of the Malay Ṣūfī poet and writer on doctrine, Ḥamza Fanṣūrī [*q.v.*], who belonged to the Ḳādiriyya Order and flourished during the reign of Sultan ʿAlā al-Dīn Riʿāyat S̲h̲āh (Sayyid al-Mukammal, 998-1013/1589-1604). During Sultan Iskandar Muda's reign (1016-46/1607-36), Atjèh reached its zenith in military as well as in commercial power. Iskandar Muda, the 'Crown of the World' (Mahkota ʿĀlam), conquered Perak and sacked Johore and, with the exception of Java and the eastern parts of the Archipelago, held sway over the rest. In his reign there flourished another famous Malay Ṣūfī, S̲h̲ams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭrānī (d. 1040/1630 [*q.v.*]) who was *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* of Atjèh. Discussions and polemics on *wud̲j̲ūdiyya* mysticism, which had begun in the 9th/15th century, continued to dominate the spiritual climate of Atjèh—the spiritual thermometer of the Archipelago—till after the arrival of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1077/1666 [*q.v.*]) in 1047/1637. The effect that al-Rānīrī's vigorous polemics and prolific writings had on *wud̲j̲ūdiyya* mysticism in the Archipelago could almost be compared with that of al-G̲h̲azālī on Muslim philosophy. Al-Rānīrī remained in Atjèh till 1054/1644 and became chief *ḳāḍī* of the realm under Sultan Iskandar II (1047-51/1637-41). The next important event following this period was the Malay translation of the Ḳurʾān, together with al-Bayḍāwī's commentary, made by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkilī (born ca. 1030/1620 and d. after 1104/1693 [*q.v.*]), a member of the S̲h̲aṭṭāriyya Order, who flourished during the reign of Sulṭāna Tād̲j̲ al-ʿĀlam al-Ṣafiyyat al-Dīn S̲h̲āh (1051/1641-1086-1675), the first of four queens who ruled Atjèh from 1051/1641 to 1111/1699. The line of Sultans of Atjèh continued till 1321/1903 [see ATJÈH].

In Celebes, the kingdom of Bolaang-Mongondou in the northern peninsula east of Minahassa was Islamized gradually by Arabs, Bugis and other indigenous Muslim missionaries. Between 1098/1686 and 1121/1709, the kingdom was ruled by its first Christian king, Jacobus Manopo. By 1260/1844, its last Christian king, Jacobus Manual Manopo, had embraced Islam. The famous missionaries in this region were Ḥakīm Bagus and Imām Tuweko.

Some of the Papuans of New Guinea and the islands northwest of it that came under the rule of Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn of Batjan in the beginning of the 10th/16th century were Islamized during that period. In the west coast of New Guinea, Islam had already been propagated as early as 1015/1606. Progress was slow, although missionary efforts were revived in the late 19th century by Arab and indigenous missionaries. In general, however, only the coastal settlers have been converted; the inhabitants of the interior have remained pagan to this day. The spread of Islam and the process of Islamization in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago is still going on in varying degrees in the various regions.

The very brief chronological sketch of the spread of Islam outlined above merely forms a small part of the history of Islam in the Archipelago and its historical and cultural role in the life of the Malay-Indonesian peoples. Much of the history of Islam and its role in the Archipelago has yet to be written. Owing to the lack of data on the precise dates of the introduction of Islam into the Archipelago, some of the dates given above could very well be put back. Several theories on the introduction and expansion of Islam in the Archipelago, and the ways and means by which it was spread, have been put forward. There have also been some attempts made at presenting a cultural evaluation of Islam in the history of the Malay-Indonesian peoples. The various main theories each emphasized singly the dominant role (a) of trade in conveying Islam to the Archipelago; (b) of traders, officials connected with trade, among whom was the s̲h̲āhbandar [*q.v.*], and intermarriages in spreading Islam and effecting conversion among the people; (c) of competition between Muslims and Christians as accelerating the spread of Islam particularly between the 9th/15th and 11th/17th centuries—this was conceived as a continuation of the Holy War between Islam and Christianity; (d) of political convenience as being the motive for conversion to Islam; (e) of Islam's ideological worth as being the main factor of conversion; and (f) of the influence of Ṣūfism and its *ṭarīḳa*s.

For a critique of these theories, and a new general theory of Islam in the Archipelago see S. M. N. al-Attas, *The mysticism of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī*, 2 vols., Oxford and Kuala Lumpur, forthcoming; idem, *Islamic culture in Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur 1967, 123-30; idem, *The origin of the Malay shaʿir*, Kuala Lumpur 1968; idem, *A general theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*, Kuala Lumpur, forthcoming.

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On the various theories of the introduction and expansion of Islam in the Archipelago, see R. A. Kern, *De verbreiding van den Islam*, in *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indie*, Amsterdam 1938, i; idem, *Verspreide Geschriften*, The Hague 1917, vi; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn-Leipzig 1924, iv; F. W. Stapel, *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indie*, Amsterdam 1938-40, 5 vols.; W. F. Stutterheim, *De Islam en zijn komst in den Archipel*, (Islam and its coming in the Archipelago), 2nd éd. Groningen 1952; J. B. O. Schrieke, *Indonesian sociological studies*, The Hague 1955-7, 2 vols.; J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian trade and society*, The Hague 1955; W. F. Wertheim, *Indonesian society in transition*, The Hague 1959, 195-235; A. H. Johns, *Ṣūfism as a category in Indonesian literature and history*, in *JSEAH*, i/2 (July 1961). For historical sketches of Indonesia's pre-Hindu and Hindu periods and the rise of Islam to 1705, see B. H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara—a history of Indonesia*, The Hague 1959, ch. 1-8.

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Abbreviations: *JMBRAS* = *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*; *JSBRAS* = *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*; *JSEAH* = *Journal of Southeast Asian History*; *MMBRAS* = *Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*; *RSEA* = *Revue du sud-est asiatique* (Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles); *VBGKW* = *Verhandelingen van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.* (S. M. N. AL-ATTAS)

(b) COLONIAL PERIOD.

When the first Dutch merchantmen arrived in Java in 1596, they heard news of a major kingdom in the interior of the island. There, the Islamic state of Mataram was emerging after a century of confusion following the fall late in the fifteenth century of Madjapahit, the last major Hindu-Buddhist kingdom on Java [*q.v.*]. The Mataram hegemony was expanding over the Islamic port-principalities of the northcoast, as well as over other interior states. The greatest of the Mataram monarchs, Sultan Agung (1613-1645), completed the subjugation of Java with the conquest of Surabaja in 1625.

The Dutch East India Company established its headquarters at a former Sundanese port in 1619, renaming it Batavia. Sultan Agung was unwilling to tolerate this Dutch post, and launched massive siege operations against it in 1628 and 1629. He failed to take the Dutch post, however, and the Javanese kings never again attacked the Dutch there.

In subsequent decades, as the Dutch trading system expanded outwards from Batavia throughout the Asian seas, and maritime states like Atjèh [*q.v.*] and Macassar [*q.v.*] declined in strength, the Mataram kingdom too suffered various internal crises. Some were apparently a result of tensions between the more strongly Islamic and the more traditional elements of Javanese society, the *santri* and *abangan*. These tensions however became entangled with regional antagonisms and dynastic squabbles, and in 1675 the kingdom fell into chaos. The rebel Trunadjaja rallied the various dissident forces, and in 1677 took the court. At this point, however, the Dutch East India Company intervened for the first time on behalf of the "legitimate" ruler and restored the Mataram line to its throne.

Thereafter, for eighty years the kingdom was afflicted with rebellion and chaos, in which situation the Dutch were employed by the legitimate pretenders to defend their inheritance. The Company was repaid with ever-increasing control of the trading centres on the north coast of Java, until by the end of the seventeenth century it had a virtual monopoly of the trade and commerce of Java, and had attained a position of semi-suzerainty which enabled it to collect large amounts of export crops like coffee, sugar and pepper as what was in effect tribute in kind. During the eighteenth century therefore the Company came increasingly to concentrate on the economic exploitation of Java, and its trading stations in the other islands of Indonesia, and in South and East Asia, stagnated. Throughout these years the Dutch became more and more important in Javanese court life as the arbiters of disputes, and at the same time more and more the focus of xenophobic sentiments throughout various levels of Javanese society.

In 1755 the Dutch, unable to suppress a widespread

revolt after nine years, persuaded the weak and deserted ruler to divide his kingdom with the main rebel in order to appease him. Thus the kingdom became two, one ruled by the Susuhunan at Surakarta, the other by the Sultan at Jogjakarta. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Javanese rulers sought to legitimize and stabilize this new situation, in which the Dutch Company became more and more a peripheral concern, as its financial and military strength continued to decline.

Meanwhile, anti-Dutch sentiments continued to simmer, augmented by Islamic sensitivities and by rebellious groups opposing the two Javanese monarchs. These aspects combined to form an incipient movement to expel the foreigner and to reunite the kingdom. An attempt to achieve these goals in Surakarta in 1790 was foiled by the combined efforts of the Dutch and Jogjakarta. The next major attempts occurred in the period 1810-1830.

The economic foundations of the Dutch East India Company became increasingly precarious during the second half of the eighteenth century. Administrative costs rose steeply following the division of Mataram, and commercial profits declined. The Company's debts in 1750 stood at 10 million guilders; forty years later they were 100 million. The isolation of Indonesia from the Netherlands during the Revolutionary Wars in Europe exacerbated the position; and after the French invasion of the Netherlands in 1795 the Company's affairs were delegated to a committee, subsequently to a Council of Asiatic Possessions. On 1 January 1800 the Company was dissolved and its rights and properties reverted to the Netherlands state.

Revolutionary principles for reform in Indonesia were debated by a Government Commission appointed in 1802 to draw up a new colonial Charter, but apart from recommending a reform of abuses, the prevailing system based on the collection of export crops as 'forced deliveries' and 'contingents' continued. Under Governor-General Herman Willem Daendels (1808-11) the administration was reshaped towards direct rule and the Indonesian 'Regents' or Chiefs of the north-east coast of Java were placed more directly under the control of Dutch officials. Communications in Java, especially the extension of the great post road, were improved in anticipation of a British invasion. The blockade of Batavia and other ports of the island by British ships seriously disrupted the colonial economy.

Java and its dependencies fell to British arms in 1811, and there ensued a five years interim administration largely under Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles (1811-16). A radical reform of the colonial system was attempted with the object of abolishing forced labour and cultivation, and substituting in its place a system based on freedom of cultivation and a money economy. Central to these reforms was the land rent system which entailed the annual payment by the Javanese cultivator of a fixed proportion of his rice crop, either in kind or cash. The system was introduced into north-eastern Java but not into the Priangan regions of west Java where the forced coffee culture continued. Raffles carried Daendel's reforms further towards the creation of a Western controlled bureaucracy by abolishing the prerogatives of the Regents; he also placed the affairs of the central Javanese principalities on a firmer footing.

The restitution of the Indonesian possessions to the Netherlands in 1816 led to initial attempts being made to continue the liberal system of the former regime, modified to meet its obvious shortcomings. The individual method of land rent assessment gave way to the village system. This produced better returns but not sufficient to meet the growing costs of administration. In attempt to bolster the flagging economy a new trading company (*Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij*) was founded in 1824 to keep colonial trade in Dutch hands, but it failed to fulfill expectations.

Dutch financial difficulties at this time were aggravated by heavy military expenditure occasioned by the Java War (1825-30) and the so-called Padris War (1821-39), in the Menangkabau region of central Sumatra [*q.v.*]. Both of these wars were in part conflicts within Indonesian society itself which arose from the tension already noted between the *santri* or orthodox Islamic factions and the *abangan* or traditionalist elements. The growing strength of the *santri* groups posed a challenge to the influence over the predominantly *abangan* peasantry of the traditional ruling castes, who were in turn supported by their Dutch allies. The two conflicts therefore possessed also the nature of anti-colonial conflicts against the *kafir*, and the eventual victory of the Dutch cemented the identity of interest between them and the majority of the Indonesian traditional élite (known as *prijaji* in Java) for the remainder of the colonial period.

The heavy burden of colonial debt incurred by the Java and Padris Wars and by the secessionist movement in Belgium led to the appointment of Johannes van den Bosch as Governor-General with instructions to make the colonial possessions pay. Van den Bosch (1830-34) commenced the introduction of the so-called Culture System (*cultuur stelsel*) under which large areas of arable land in Java were utilised for the cultivation of coffee, sugar, indigo and other crops for the world market. As part of the reform many of the powers of the Regents (*prijaji*) were returned. During the first ten years of the Culture System exports from Java rose by 200 per cent, shipped by the now prosperous Netherlands Trading Company. The profits accruing from the sale of these exports were paid to the Netherlands treasury and used to reduce taxation and finance public works in Holland. During nearly fifty years (1830-77) that contributions from the Culture System were paid, approximately 832 million guilders were remitted from Indonesia. Pressure to abolish the system came from the liberals in the Dutch parliament, which came increasingly to control colonial affairs, and from those like E. Douwes Dekker (Multatuli) whose famous novel, *Max Havelaar* (1860), focussed attention on the abuses of the system.

From 1863 onwards successive governments sought to relieve the Javanese of the worst abuses of the system, and gradually to dismantle it, handing over to private merchants and investors the exploitation of former government monopoly crops such as pepper, indigo and tea. The more profitable monopolies such as the sale of opium and the cultivation of sugar and coffee, however, remained for many years. The last, coffee, was not given up until 1917.

Another aspect of developments in the second half of the nineteenth century was increased colonial activity in the islands outside Java, and the bringing eventually of all of them within the Dutch administrative system. This activity had already been apparent for some years before 1863, and was at first exclusively governmental. It was aimed primarily at forestalling other colonial powers and freelance adventurers who might try to establish themselves in

the areas in which the Dutch claimed paramountcy, and took the form of the imposition of treaties by which local Indonesian rulers acknowledged their states to be part of Netherlands India. Sometimes, as in Bali in 1846 and 1849, this involved a military expedition and a Dutch Resident. In other cases, as in the tin-island of Billiton in 1851, full-scale occupation and direct administration was necessary. In most cases however only a paper claim to Dutch supremacy was involved.

After the beginning of the so-called 'Liberal' period, however, this governmental activity in the outer islands was reinforced and intensified by private Dutch and foreign enterprise and capital seeking to exploit the agricultural and mineral resources of economically favoured areas. From many examples one may mention the large-scale development of estate cultivation, beginning with tobacco, in the East Coast residency of Sumatra. This is partly because the Siak tobacco concessions of 1863 were amongst the largest and earliest of these private enterprises, partly because they provoked an important political and military confrontation between the Dutch and the Achehnese, who claimed to exercise suzerainty over the leased tobacco lands.

The Atjèh War [*q.v.*] (1873-1904) was long, arduous and financially ruinous for the Dutch. More important, since the Achehnese who so tenaciously resisted the imposition of Dutch control and the extinction of their independence were by long tradition a fiercely Islamic society, maintaining close links with the centres of their faith in the Middle East, the war raised the whole issue of the colonial government's Islamic policy. It also brought to the fore two men of influence and note—Snouck Hurgronje, a scholar and the government's adviser on Islam from 1890, and Van Heutsz, a soldier and administrator. Snouck Hurgronje advocated as a general principle ruthless suppression of all Muslim leaders who opposed Dutch political control combined with complete freedom for the day to day practice of the religion and customs of Islam under Dutch administration. The execution of the first part of this policy was entrusted to Van Heutsz, who not only brought the war in Atjèh to an end but as Governor General (1904-1909) brought virtually the whole of the remainder of the outer islands under effective Dutch administration.

The beginning of the twentieth century thus saw the whole of what is now Indonesia linked by Dutch administrative control, consolidated by the operations of the inter-island shipping company the KPM (*Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij*), founded with government support in 1888. It witnessed also the emergence of a new school of thought, embodied in the so-called 'Ethical' policy, which took as its objectives not only administrative efficiency and economic development but also the enhancement of the welfare of Indonesians, and the repayment of the 'debt of honour' which had been incurred by the acceptance of the financial profits which Holland had drawn from Indonesia since the inception of the '*cultuur stelsel*' in 1830. It was against this background that modern Indonesian nationalism developed.

Prior to the twentieth century, the principal proponents of an Indonesian adjustment to Western ways were the 'progressive regents' of Java, a handful of enlightened nobles who urged the traditional elite to acquire Western education in order to deal more effectively with the Dutch. The beginning of the century saw new and more radical social groups emerge advocating a total reorientation of Indonesian society along modern lines.

The first organization to express these new elements was *Budi Utomo* (Noble Endeavour), which was founded in Batavia in 1908 by Javanese students, most of them scions of the lesser *prijaji* and all possessing Dutch-style education. Its aim was the transformation of Javanese culture for the purpose of social modernization, a gradual process in which an enlightened colonial administration would work together with progressive members of the indigenous elite. *Budi Utomo* was followed by a succession of 'younger generation' movements in the Outer Islands (*Jong-Sumatra*, *Jong-Minahasa*, and so on); all of these were modern in outlook but still thought in terms of the traditional regional cultures.

Very soon *Budi Utomo* was supplanted by movements that were more radical in their demands and more popular in their appeal. By far the most important of these was *Sarekat Islam* [*q.v.*] (Islamic Union), which was founded in 1912. It began as a union of Javanese batik merchants, most of them strongly *santri*, who banded together in reaction against increasing business competition from the Chinese minority and against Christian missionary activity. Very quickly, *Sarekat Islam* developed into the organizational expression of massive popular unrest, part traditional messianic movement and part modern political party.

The decade between 1912 and 1922 marked the high point of political Islam in Indonesia. *Sarekat Islam* was by far the largest and most influential Indonesian organization; it reflected a developing popular consciousness of an identity that transcended regional cultural boundaries, and this broader unity was seen in terms of Indonesian adherence to Islam.

In Malaya, the process of pan-regional awakening was to lead to a lasting identification of Islam with Malay-ness; but in Indonesia the connection proved ephemeral. *Sarekat Islam* was not organizationally and politically capable of bringing the desired concrete reforms and amelioration of people's living conditions, so that its following was fluid, dissolving in one area only to expand where it had not yet been tried and found wanting; this was a process which could not continue many years without general disillusionment. Moreover, in the early 1920s mounting government pressure caused the *Sarekat Islam* leaders to abandon outspoken opposition to Dutch rule. This was followed by their expulsion of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which had hitherto flourished as a bloc within the larger movement. The Communists took with them the bulk of the now much reduced membership of *Sarekat Islam*, and thus control over Indonesia's largest mass following passed into secularist hands.

To some extent the PKI-Sarekat Islam schism seems to have rested on the *santri-abangan* cultural contrast. But there were important Islamic Communist movements in Central Java and West Sumatra in the 1920s and the principal areas of Communist rebellion in 1926-27 (Banten and West Sumatra) were strongly Muslim. Moreover, a high proportion of Communist cadres arrested in the wake of the uprising consisted of *haji*s or persons otherwise identified with Islam. In fact the main basis of choice between PKI and *Sarekat Islam* seems to have been the demand for action against foreign rule. The most disaffected *Sarekat Islam* members—including a considerable portion of petty entrepreneurs, merchants, and wealthier farmers—turned to the Communists in desperation, and their eventual revolt exhibited many traditional millenarian features. Of those *Sarekat Islam* followers who did not seek action at

all costs, the great part turned apathetically from politics; the remainder—more economically and socially secure and more willing to organise for limited and largely non-political objectives—constituted the subsequent clientele of the *Sarekat Islam* and its successors.

The Netherlands Indies government had not been insensitive to the emergence of a modern-educated elite and the transformation of Indonesian society by advanced forms of economic exploitation. It was, however, unable for some time to decide whether to concentrate on shoring up traditional social structures and muffling the impact of economic modernization on the Indonesian populace, in the interest of maintaining the *status quo*, or whether to stress opportunities for Indonesian participation in the modern sphere, in particular providing a place for the emerging modern elite as the future source of native leadership and as an instrument for the peaceful modernization of the society. The latter approach was favoured by the advocates of the so-called Ethical Policy, the principal political accomplishments of which were the establishment of parties and the foundation in 1916 of the Volksraad, an advisory assembly involving some Indonesian representatives and a restricted Indonesian electorate. However, it very soon appeared to both the Indonesians and the Dutch that their ideas concerning the scope and pace of native participation were very different, and it seemed increasingly questionable if their ultimate interests were compatible at all. Ethical assumptions were dealt a severe blow by *Sarekat Islam* involvement in popular disturbances in 1919, and the coup de grace was provided by the abortive Communist rebellion of 1926-27. Thereafter, Netherlands policy stressed measures that favoured the restoration of traditional authority; strongly repressive action was taken against efforts by Indonesian politicians to acquire a mass following.

Politics thus once again became restricted to the small circle of the modern-educated elite, located for the most part in the great cities of Java. This group still represented a tiny and privileged minority. It was, however, radical and its members were sufficiently separated from the world of their fathers to reject regional cultures as their primary focus of identity. Tradition was to them a dead weight which must be sloughed off if the Indonesian people were to unite in effective struggle against colonial rule. Their goal was the realization of a modern Indonesian nation-state, unqualified by such internationalist ideological aims as had been represented by the *Sarekat Islam* and the PKI.

Some of these nationalists involved themselves in religiously-orientated organizations, but most joined or founded movements of explicitly secular bent. One reason for this was the increasing Westernization—and therefore secularization—of the modern Indonesian elite, to whom Islam seemed part of the outmoded traditional world. Moreover, they were mostly of *prijaji* origin. This placed them on the *abangan* side of the *santri-abangan* cultural contrast and aligned them with longstanding *prijaji* fears of Islam as an alternative focus for popular loyalty and hence as a potential source of social unrest.

Indonesian politics was henceforth marked by a deep split between religious and secular movements. On the Islamic side when *Sarekat Islam* abandoned its radical opposition to colonial rule it identified itself more closely with the Javanese merchant and entrepreneurial elements from which it had originally sprung. These were strongly modernist in their orientation and had already found non-political expression in the ***Muhammadijah***, a social and educational welfare organization founded in Jogjakarta in 1912. ***Muhammadijah*** modernists dominated *Sarekat Islam* of the 1920s and involved it in Pan-Islamic endeavours; in reaction to this, more traditionalist Javanese Muslims formed a new Islamic organization, *Nahdatul Ulama*, in 1926. This was orientated more towards the opinion of the countryside, where it drew its leadership from religious notables and the more prosperous peasantry. Neither of these two religious orientations or their social bases were attractive to nationalists derived from the traditional bureaucratic elite; and in turn the Muslim groups viewed the prospect of the secularists gaining power with justified apprehension.

Within the secular nationalist camp there was an even greater schismatic tendency, but during the colonial period it reflected quarrels over personalities and strategy rather than any fundamental ideological division. The most serious disagreement was between those who considered it appropriate to take advantage of what representational possibilities the Indies government granted and those who considered this to be collaboration with the enemy. The most prominent of the non-cooperative groups was the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI), founded in 1927 and led by the future Indonesian president, Sukarno. It dissolved in 1930 following its leader's imprisonment, to be succeeded by two organizations reflecting another difference of nationalist opinion—the Indonesian Party (Partindo), which called for an emphasis on unity and the acquisition of as much of a mass following as was then possible, and the 'new' PNI, led by Hatta and Sjahrir, which urged the development of an ideological and organizationally disciplined cadre.

Conscious of sectarian feebleness and the general futility of non-cooperation, the nationalists of the mid-1930s sought fusion, first in the Greater Islands Party (Parindra) in 1935 and then in the more radical Indonesian People's Movement (Gerindo) of 1937. The urge toward unity also affected the Islamic organizations, bringing modernists and traditionalists together in the All-Indonesian Islamic Council (M.I.A.I.) of 1937. Finally, both religious and secular groupings combined in the Indonesian Political Coalition (G.A.P.I.) in 1939.

Neither this strenuous effort at unity nor the abandonment of non-cooperation by the radicals achieved any significant modification of colonial rule. The repressive post-Ethical policy seemed to the Dutch to have worked well: even the united Indonesian political organizations were weak, and their most troublesome leaders were in jail or exile. It consequently seemed better not to tempt fate by opening the Pandora's box of politics again. The last years of Dutch rule therefore gave little hope to even the most moderate of Indonesian nationalists for the reform of the colonial regime. There was very little to make them feel a stake in the Dutch presence and a good deal, once the Japanese seized the colony in 1942, to make them fear a Dutch return.

(R. B. McC.)

(c) Post 1942 [see dustur p. 662; ḥizb p. 534].

v.—Islam in Indonesia

Islam came to Indonesia as the second of three more or less successive waves of profound influence from outside. Of the three, it is the only one to have spread quite generally and to have achieved an

immediately visible and dominating imprint on the Indonesian's thought and action. Even so, this imprint is not uniform throughout the vast area of the Indonesian archipelago. There are notable regional differences. On the other hand, Indonesia clearly constitutes one of the outer fringes of the world of Islam. There is relatively much adaptation of Islam to local customs and traditions; conversely there is relatively little positive contribution to Islam, whether as doctrine or as practice, even so far as Indonesia proper is concerned, let alone the more centrally located parts of the Islamic world.

Neither the chronology nor the nature of the spread of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago is satisfactorily established, especially for the earlier period.

The nature of the spread is often described as a combination of two kinds of process. At times it operates like an oil stain, with people (on an individual or on a familial basis) gradually deciding to embrace Islam. At other times it goes by leaps and bounds, with entire communities opting for Islam, often as the only available means to hold their own, for example in the face of Western expansionism or other critical events. Under the latter kind of circumstances, prompting or pressure by Muslims may occasionally play a role. On rare occasions the use of force has been recorded, but this appears as untypical. Whatever the nature of its spread, Islam reached Indonesia as a fully-grown way of life: there was no necessity for an Indonesian contribution to its tenets and practices.

During historic times, the cultural, religious, economic and political history of the area has been marked to a large extent by three successive waves of influence from outside. One originates from the Indian subcontinent and is expressed in terms of the naturalist religions and philosophies of that area, especially Hinduism and Buddhism. The second is Islamic; at first it originated from the Indian subcontinent as well, but later on its source of inspiration shifted to the Middle East. The third is European, especially Dutch; it has a Christian component, but this has not been preponderant at all times. A fourth outside influence, not comparable to a wave because of its more or less persistent nature and also its restricted impact, is the ages-old Chinese presence in Indonesia. Of the three waves, the first was more or less spent when the second arrived. But the third was already advancing when the second was still in full flow; and the two have kept moving simultaneously ever since, up to the present.

When each of these waves first arrived, the territory of the present-day state of Indonesia was not distinct as such. To discuss these forces as impinging on "Indonesia" is therefore an anachronism. Yet as a descriptive device it is not too objectionable, for four reasons: (1) Irian (New Guinea) does not really count for present purposes, (2) the Philippines, where Islam arrived through Indonesia, have always had a separate status, (3) Malaya cannot be overlooked entirely but needs no more than casual references here, (4) parts of islands in the archipelago not belonging to the Indonesian Republic, like Northern Kalimantan (Borneo) or half of Timor, play no significant part in Indonesian Islam.

A common characteristic of all three waves is that their first approach was prompted by trade activity; the third differs from the other two in that it has gradually taken shape as political-economic conquest by foreigners, followed by colonization. The three are alike once more in that none has resulted in a full disruption of Indonesian continuity, but they differ again in that the bearers of both the Hindu-Buddhist and the Islamic waves have gradually identified with, and become virtually undistinguishable from, their new Indonesian setting, whereas the carriers of Western impact have assiduously and to an increasing extent maintained a separate identity. Moreover, of the first and the second, the second is now predominant and the first greatly reduced both in visibility and in importance.

As regards the chronology of the spread of Islam, it is generally assumed that Islam gained a foothold on Indonesian soil, in the ports of the Northern tip of Sumatra, towards the end of the 7th/13th century. Although the history of Muslim trade with China is rich in vicissitudes, it has existed, more or less successfully, ever since the 8th century AD. There is no reason to assume that it did not occasionally involve parts of the Indonesian archipelago. In this connection one thinks in particular of the spice trade, involving especially the Moluccas area. But it is only in 1292 that the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, visiting the North Sumatran ports of Perlak, Samudra and Lambri, refers to the former two as more or less Muslim port towns in fully pagan surroundings. A stone dated 696/1297, made in Cambay (Gujerat), marks the tomb of a ruler Malik al-Ṣāliḥ of Samudra-Pase, who must have been a Muslim. The strong links between this area and India are also emphasized by another traveller, the Moroccan Muslim Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 746/1345-6. The slow spread that would have been likely, given such a foothold, gained a dramatic impetus by the islamization of the coastal state of Malacca, originally the creation (around 1400 AD) of an expatriate Javanese. A highly successful maritime empire, Malacca became a centre for the diffusion of Islam in all directions. Another Cambay tomb stone covers the remains of one Malik Ibrāhīm, who died in Gresik, East Java, in 822/1419. Malaya and the various parts of Northeast Sumatra were islamized in the coastal areas; and in the early 10th/16th century some small Muslim principalities existed on the North coast of Java. What introduced the decisive element of competition was the Portuguese crusader spirit, established in India in 1498 and immediately carried Eastward in the capture of Malacca—by then Muslim—in 1511. The third wave, when reaching Indonesia, was engaged in a race against the second. Thus, the further spread of Islam acquired a disproportionately important element of religious-commercial-political strategy.

As regards Sumatra, the second half of the 10th/16th century saw the islamization of the Lampung and Bengkulen areas; but it was only in 1919 that the last group of people in the inland parts of South Sumatra became Muslims. Menangkabau was islamized soon after the fall of Malacca by people from North Sumatra, the realm of Atjèh, who engaged in the spice trade. Indeed, during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries the ever continuing spice trade served as the token under which virtually every major commercial-political-religious event in the archipelago took place. The Batak area, in central North Sumatra, took longer to be penetrated. The southern reaches were islamized during the third quarter of the 19th century, but the central part gave in slowly to Christianity. Somehow the islands West of Sumatra, Nias, eluded the appeal of Islam and also to an extent that of Christianity as well.

Kalimantan (Borneo) has kept its pagan interior up to the present. Its coastal areas have been settled, and largely islamized, by people from various other

parts of the archipelago, and particularly in the North and West, also by Chinese and Ḥaḍramī Arabs. The various emerging realms had invariably a Muslim, sometimes Ḥaḍramī, imprint. Notable amongst these were the realms of Banjarmasin, Kutai and Pontianak. The former lasted from the middle of the 10th/16th to the middle of the 19th century, and it included the Hulu Sungai area.

Celebes (Sulawesi), in its turn, remained mostly pagan in its central area where only the Toraja embraced Christianity. Its Northern tip became Christianized. But its two Southern tips, containing important maritime areas—again in the spice trade—, were islamized, mainly from Java, early in the 11th/17th century. This spread was not without violence.

The Moluccas succumbed partly to Portuguese efforts at christianization and then saw Catholicism replaced by Protestantism under Dutch pressure. But as from the second half of the 16th century the realm of Ternate was a centre of diffusion of Islam, both Westward and Eastward.

In the Lesser Sunda Islands, another clear demonstration is found of how the spread of Islam was related to political vicissitudes. The phenomenon of emergent realms imposing themselves by means of religious identification is visible even in these relatively remote parts. Thus, the Western tip of Bali and also the islands of Lombok and Sumbawa have been largely islamized at some time, while the remaining islands have hardly been touched by Islam until recently.

In Java, the political overtones of islamization have been even more noticeable. The Muslim coastal principalities already mentioned began as vassals of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of the interior. Gradually, there was a shift in supremacy. Once united under the realm of Demak, Muslim power could tip the scales. As from the second half of the 10th/16th century, all of Java and also Madura have become formally islamized: by leaps and bounds in the political centres and much more slowly in remote mountain areas.

A shift, gradual but important, in the overtones of Indonesian Islam has occurred with the onset of more effective and intensive direct contacts between Indonesia and the heartlands of Islam. It is sometimes argued that this process, which can perhaps be dated as beginning around 1875, is a re-islamization with orthodox overtones, aimed at replacing the rather vague Indonesianized variants of earlier days. In many places this must have meant the end to the sway of mystical ideas. At the same time it opened the gate for the reformist and modernist ideas of those days.

A renewed stress on the social and political implications of the Islamic identification, with consequences for the spread of Islam, has ensued from the emergence of nationalism. Although no precise information is available on each of the areas concerned, it is clear that since the emergence of nationalism, and especially since the end of World War II (August 1945), the still pagan populations of Indonesia have been under increasing pressure to embrace Islam. Having retained their separate pagan identities for so long, their apparent need is now to become integrated in the Indonesian nation, and the adoption of Islam appears propitious for the purpose. Curiously enough, comparable considerations in more sophisticated urban settings do not necessarily favour Islam. Indeed they prove here and there to favour a Christianity no longer identified with a foreign colonial élite.

As to the nature of the reception of Islam in Indonesia, the earliest more or less detailed data refer to Northern Sumatra in the early 17th century. There are Islamic manuscripts and there are (Dutch) eye-witness reports. The area was clearly still a major centre of diffusion of Islam. The data suggest a relative predominance of mysticism of the philosophical-speculative kind, represented by various brotherhoods; but it soon comes under the emergent attack of a more orthodox theology.

There has been much discussion on questions concerning the relative ease with which the Islam was received and embraced by Indonesians; and also concerning the way in which they then adapted it. Some of the argumentation follows lines of historical parallelism. It has been suggested that Hindu-Buddhist influence, having once become a noticeable mercantile force in parts of the archipelago, was induced to assume yet another variant, namely as a ritual legitimization of existing but changing power structures. Indeed, the priestly functions required for the purpose were not without precedent in older Indonesian tradition. It has been suggested furthermore that in comparable fashion the formal introduction of Islamic institutions has been superimposed on the mere establishment of trading communities of Muslims here and there in Indonesia, again as a means for existing or emergent powers to hold their own against competitors. Such a suggestion might seem weak, inasmuch as it could appear that the absence of a clergy and of the appropriate ritual should render Islam less suitable for the purpose. But one notes that during an apparently critical period of Muslim expansion Islamic scholars, and especially mystical philosophers, have played decisive roles as powers behind the throne—for example in Java the nine holy men (*walī*) credited with bringing Islam, and in Sumatra at least one mystic who also served as prime minister.

The third, the Western wave of influence, has injected itself into the archipelago as competitive, both commercially and religiously (that is, culturally), against the spread of Islam. It thus might have offered the Indonesians an option as regards the creed that could most suitably be adopted for purposes of selfcontinuation; but Christianity may never have appeared so attractive as Islam, in consequence of the continued non-integration of the Western element. In remaining alien, it did not really lend itself to adoption with modification. Church authorities have usually scorned attempts at a more or less sectarian, and mostly local, adoption of Christian ideas. Besides, inasmuch as Christianity is to Muslims a superseded religion, and one of protected status, they are not naturally inclined to embrace it.

In consequence, the religious map of Indonesia shows Christianity in a few areas converted from paganism before the advent of Islam (for example, part of the Moluccas, Northern Celebes, part of the Batak area of Sumatra) and amongst mixed urban populations. It shows Hinduism-Buddhism entrenched in one area (central and eastern Bali). It still shows survivals of paganism in some remote parts, mostly in the interior of islands. And it shows Islam as the religion that has won out in the long run, even though the political stress of the 1950's and 1960's has somewhat undermined its predominance. It is often said that the Muslims constitute 90% of the Indonesian population. Statistically unverifiable, this figure is generally accepted as a rough estimate. Given a total population of about 130 millions, this

makes the Indonesians one of the largest sections of the world Muslim community.

The specific characteristics of Islam thus spread and still spreading throughout Indonesia are so difficult to sum up that time and again disputes have arisen, mostly between non-Muslim observers, as to the question whether Indonesians are or are not true Muslims. Those trying to argue a negative answer have tended to assert that Islam is merely a veneer under which the solid base of Indonesian paganism, with here and there a top layer of Hindu-Buddhism, remains fully distinct. If there is truth in this, yet it does not detract from the efficacy and tenacity of the Islamic identification of the Indonesian Muslims. The rationalization and legitimation even of things possibly pre-Islamic in origin or conception yet currently effective will invariably occur in terms of Islam and be generally deemed adequate as such.

In matters of law, the Shāfiʿī school reigns supreme, and seems never to have suffered from real competition. Even so, the Indonesian situation may well have been more markedly complex than situations elsewhere, especially because colonial administration has tended to emphasize rather than to obscure such matters as the discrepancy between formal Islamic law on the one hand and customary law on the other. Indeed Islamic law has figured for long years as the least important of three competing systems: customary law, as represented by quite numerous and very different systems in the several parts of the archipelago, Dutch code law (constitutional and penal, not civil) as more and more emphatically imposed for purposes of uniform administration, and Islamic law itself, adopted by Indonesians for quite limited purposes only, and to an extent varying with time and place. The tendency has been to have each legal system represented by its own jurisdictional arrangements. In the case of Islam this has tended to bring to the fore the category of the scholars of Islam, the *ʿulamāʾ* or *kyahi*. Not only was this one way in which these scholars of Islam managed to maintain part of their importance dating back to the pre-colonial days of the early Muslim expansion; it also pitted them, unintentionally perhaps yet quite effectively, against the traditional élites of pre-Islamic days, the class who in Java are called *prijaji*. On the other hand, it is this very competition that excludes for Indonesia the possibility of an important public role, as in the heartlands of Islam, for religious functionaries like the *muftī* and the *ḳāḍī*.

What does appear, however, is the scholar in a slightly different, somewhat less traditionally institutionalized role. The politically effective scholar is perhaps the main common link between the political structure in the heartlands of Islam and those of Indonesian tradition as modified, here and there, by Hindu-Buddhist influence. At the same time, he has made for continuity in the history of Indonesian Islam ever since its adoption. He is the power behind the ruler, at once effectuating and rendering visible the Islamic character of the state. It does not matter, in this connection, that the nature and operations of the state in question remain conceived along typically and traditionally Indonesian lines. Thus it is to him, for example in the semi-mythical form of the nine *walīs* of Java, that the islamization of Indonesia is mostly ascribed. And it is again upon him, once he has regained his public voice through modern organization, that the task devolves to speak the binding or unbinding word on political authority. It is he, once more, who plays a leading role in recent and contemporary political organizations of Muslims.

Of the legal institutions of Islam, the *waḳf* should be mentioned at this point. There are no specifically Indonesian provisions or uses, even though the institution occurs quite generally. It is assumed that the economic importance of property thus set aside is less than in many other Islamic countries. The matter of guardianship has tended to be difficult, as almost everywhere else.

Turning to Islamic education, one can distinguish two main types. One is the traditional boarding school, the *pesantrèn*, also called *madrasa*; the other is more modern education as provided originally by private organizations as for example Muhammadīya, to be mentioned below. The latter type now embraces the full range from elementary to higher education. As regards the former type, some of its features are perhaps still reminiscent of the Persian or Turkish dervish conventicle. But the preponderant feature of the *pesantrèn*, in its turn perhaps reminiscent of the Indian *ashram*, is to be a centre of learning and of education for pupils from nearby and—if it is well-known—also from far away. The leader, *kyahi*, is primarily the scholar who retains his authority over his pupils even after having granted the *idjāza* [*q.v.*] or licence to teach. He will be the spiritual leader and mentor at all times. In the notion of the teacher, the Indian idea of the *guru* has come to emphasize the Islamic respect for the *ʿālim*. There has traditionally been unorganized, yet more or less regular, intercourse between the best of these schools and the centres of learning at Mecca and Cairo: the former reflecting, with a time-lag, what went on in the latter. It has proved extremely difficult, both in colonial days and later, to forge a link between this type of schooling and so-called modern education. This has by and large worked to the detriment of traditional Muslim education. Gradually, the name *madrasa* has been adopted for religious schools conforming to a more "modern" pattern of education. By 1954, there were three levels of these, namely elementary (13,057 schools), intermediate (776), and secondary (16).

Another peculiar aspect of Indonesian Islam is architecture. With a few fairly recent exceptions, of imitation of Arab style (*e.g.*, Medan, Kebajoran), mosques in Indonesia show a style that illustrates nothing better than the continuity from pre-Islamic into Islamic periods. Mosques like the one of Kudus recall Hindu-Javanese building styles, even though they are now unequivocally recognized as Islamic buildings. A common feature is the roof in three or four layers or tiers, almost pagoda-like, that contributes significantly to the circulation of fresh air. An entirely Indonesian feature is the use of the *bedug*, a huge drum, to announce the times of prayer even to those who might fail to hear the *adhān*. On the other hand, the various grades of mosque personnel are hardly exceptional.

As regards the fulfilment of religious obligations Indonesians are again not very special or exceptional. The *ṣalāt* is variably performed, as everywhere; the payment of *zakāt* is haphazard. In matters of ritual purity Indonesians are relatively strict, perhaps on account of traditions older than Islam. Also the pilgrimage has always tended to be an attraction and a challenge to Indonesians. Relatively many, including women, will perform it when circumstances allow. Indeed the pilgrim may achieve a kind of special status in his community. The *ḥajjī* is a potential leader of opinion if he returns to a relatively

small and remote community. The pilgrim will not enjoy great prestige unless he is at the same time more or less learned in Islamic doctrine. This applies the more since the pilgrimage has become safer and more within the means of relatively many: all this thanks to means of transport made available by non-Muslim Westerners. The attraction of the pilgrimage is demonstrated by the tendency for Indonesians to borrow money for the journey, in contravention of the explicit injunctions of Islam.

Mysticism remained influential for quite some time. In Northern Sumatra, its sway must have stretched at least into the first decades of the 20th century. In Southern Celebes, it seems to have lasted almost until the Japanese occupation. In these areas there are indications of the existence of local chapters of various mystic orders, including the more famous ones from the heartlands of Islam. The list of brotherhoods is impressive and includes such famous names as Shādiliyya, Ḳadariyya, Naḳshbandiyya, Khalwatiyya, Samaniyya, Rifāʿiyya, Tidjāniyya. There is however no effective record of their organization, let alone of their functioning. Nor is it clear what role they have played in the spreading of Islam or, for that matter, in society at large.

The two areas referred to differ from the third area influenced by mysticism, Java, in one major respect. In Javanese Islamic mystical writings a clear and decisive adaptation of mystical ideas is manifest. At the point where Sumatran took over from Indian mystics, not much of a break occurred; but here, one sees a complete change in the spiritual climate. On the other hand, this specifically Javanese mysticism does not seem to have spread to other islands.

Everywhere, orthodox teachings have gradually gained the upper hand. Unfortunately, this process and its causes have hitherto eluded historical research. Accordingly, it comes as something of a surprise to see that in the middle of the twentieth eentury numerous organizations of a more or less esoteric (*kebatinan*) nature flourish, several of them adorned by names of famous mystical brotherhoods, that seem to attract quite a few urban intellectuals.

A few minor special features remain to be listed. First and quite interestingly, there are few locally scattered indications of Shīʿi influence; Ḥasan-Ḥusayn celebrations, for all practical purposes in no regular relationship to Shīʿi doctrine, occur in certain places in the Menangkabau area, West Sumatra, which owing to its matriarchical pattern of customary law has seen several events in which Islamic doctrine played a rather exposed role.

Another feature, rather specifically central Javanese, is the so-called *wong putihan*, or "white (in the sense of pious) person". Relatively few in numbers, these people are notable and indeed conspicuous by their devotion to (orthodox) Islam: they tend to congregate in the neighbourhood of a mosque.

After this listing of more or less traditional features of Indonesian Islam it is necessary to consider recent and contemporary developments.

The gradually increasing efficacy of colonial rule had its consequences. For example, the relative importance of the various centres of diffusion of Islam were affected by the circumstances that Dutch commercial and political action transferred the centre of operations in the archipelago to Java, with the hitherto relatively unimportant port of Jakarta (Batavia) as the key point. Again, the response to Dutch expansion, becoming manifest off and on as resistance in various forms (including occasional violence, for example the war against Dipo Negoro in Java, 1825-30), tended to assume Muslim character. The very polarization between Dutch impact and continuing Indonesian identity enhanced a response in terms of Islamic identification on the Indonesian side. This tendency becomes more predominant around the beginning of the 20th century, in two forms. The earlier one is more or less forcible resistance, often in the name of Islam. The later one, to be mentioned below, is political organization, usually with its primary goals stated in terms other than resistance, again often in the name of Islam. In the latter case, Islam tends to become instrumental, a legitimation for a nationalism that may or may not articulate itself in Islamic terms.

The turning-point was, in a sense, the period of enlightenment in colonial policy, which was at the same time the period of moie or less forcible introduction of effective Netherlands-Indies administration in parts of the archipelago hitherto not really controlled. Most notable for its expressly Muslim resistance was the so-called Atjèh war of 1873-1904. This is also the period during which the Netherlands Indies authorities, guided by the famous orientalist and islamologist C. Snouck Hurgronje, adopted a new policy. Its aim was, in the last resort, to promote effective Dutch rule by removing Islamic motives for resistance; or, to express it more crudely, to rule effectively notwithstanding the potential or actual adverse implications, for such rule, of the fact that so many Indonesians identify as Muslims.

During roughly the same period, Indonesian Islam shows a variety of tendencies, as is to be expected in times of turbulence.

To begin with, Indonesia has seen the reflexion of the so-called reformist or modernist tendencies in the heartlands of Islam, even though no Indonesian thinkers have arisen who could be compared with modernistic Muslim leaders in an area like the Indian subcontinent. It has even seen its own variant of the breach between the two components of this tendency: one ending up in the rationalism of a Muslim assertion of a predominantly political nature, the other in a most typically Indonesian variant of fundamentalism entrenched in local chauvinism. The former trend will be discussed in more detail below. The latter, somewhat belated in its effective manifestation, appeared after the end of the Japanese occupation, first in the remote mountains near the South coast between Central and Western Java in the form of a small, entrenched state, the *Negara Dār ul-Islām* founded by Kartosuwiryo in 1948 (suppressed in 1962), and then also as a militant movement in areas like Southern Celebes and Kalimantan (1949). It was subdued, but not necessarily eliminated so far as its true inspiration goes, by the Indonesian state.

In the second place, a range of moie or less sectarian movements and organizations appeared. These were inadequately studied at the time. A common trait seems to be that if they strive for the reassertion of the Islamic identity, this does not so much aim at determining the full round of life but rather at providing adequate shelter under adverse circumstances. Some of this sectarianism is imported from elsequere in the world of Islam. Wahhābism see WAHHĀBIYYA], a forerunner here as everywhere else, had made its influence felt in Sumatra and also in Java already by the end of the 12th/18th century. The Indian sect of the Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*] maintained missionaries in Indonesia for a number of years before and after the Japanese occupation; but it

does not appear to have reached more than a handful of more or less marginal individuals, mostly in towns. Not unlike the Aḥmadiyya in their basic inspiration, various sects have emerged on Indonesian soil in the course of time, each representing some syncretistic attempt to harmonize elements from various sources (old-Indonesian pagan, Hindu-Buddhist, Christian, Muslim) into religious-philosophical teachings, not without mystical or even magical (invulnerability!) elements, to satisfy thirsty souls. The contemporary *kebatinan* movements have been mentioned. Some parts of Indonesia are clearly more fertile in this respect than others; at all times the appeal of sects of this kind is mostly local. It is not unusual to find the leaders of such sects described as *kyahi*, the word that, as stated, also serves as the Indonesian translation of *ʿālim*, scholar in the sciences of Islam.

In the third place, there is the phenomenon, already alluded to, of Islam serving as an ideological support for political action. This places Islam in a somewhat odd context, namely as one out of three main competing bases for the political self-assertion that nationalism purports to achieve. Another is Marxism, whether in the strict (Russian or Chinese) communist form or in more diluted, socialist-revisionist presentations. The third is nationalism pure and simple, which assumes the goals of national self-assertion as against Western domination to be a sufficient ideology in its own right: in the last resort, a kind of anti-ideology, as represented, for example, in Sukarno's ideal of the ongoing revolution. In this connection, a source of confusion exists in the circumstance that Islam as an ideology is not necessarily restricted to one of the three basic positions, but will in fact tend to permeate each of the others as well, if only to an unclear yet limited extent. The point is that whilst the three formulae are mutually exclusive, and thus fiercely competitive, they are at the same time necessarily comprehensive, in the sense that each must make a point of embracing any of the specific features of the others, lest it forfeit public appeal. After all, each is, by its own standards, the movement that embodies the entire nation in its effort to reassert itself. Indeed, before independence they were for all practical purposes one and undistinguishable.

The actual manifestation, during the four decades prior to World War II, of the three tendencies just described, has been greatly influenced by the adoption of Western organizational patterns and communication devices. This is the period of emerging Muslim organizations of many different kinds. Sometimes (as in the case of most sects) they are regionally confined; but not seldom they aim at, and achieve, a nation-wide scope.

The first properly Indonesian association, a Javanese one with mainly educational purposes, was founded in 1908. It was followed in 1911 by the first typically Muslim organization, *Sarekat Dagang Islam*, later *Sarekat Islam.* Conceived as an organization of (small) traders, it was initially economic rather than political, and anti-Chinese rather than anti-Dutch. Within five years it was perhaps still to some extent religiously determined and *kyahi*-influenced: but to all intents and purposes it had become a political party of a clearly nationalist character.

The year 1912 saw the establishment of a somewhat different organization, the Muḥammadiyya. Guided by such men as K. H. Dahlan, it represented an attempt to spread amongst Indonesian Muslims the modernism then fashionable in Egypt and India. Given the Indonesian setting, this movement was perhaps somewhat more orthodox-puritanical than similar organizations elsewhere, and also somewhat more concerned with education. Significantly, these and other organizations tended to operate a number of subsidiaries, through which to reach special categories of people, such as women and youth.

A third Islamic organization emerged in 1926, under the name of *Nahdat ul-ʿUlamāʾ*. It was meant to serve as a stronghold of more traditionalist orthodox ideas as upheld by the great majority of established scholars. But whilst competing for public support with the other two and whilst unable to avoid acquiring political significance, it was prevented from becoming fundamentalist in the same way as, much later, the *Dār ul-Islām* movement did.

Among the three organizations, as also in connexion with other political organizations, a pattern of unsteady and not always easy relationships developed; the mounting significance of nationalism tended to make for a special kind of unity, effective specifically as against the impact of Dutch colonial rule. Together, these organizations have succeeded in galvanizing the highly varied Indonesian population into an emergent nation, and one that in asserting itself in response to colonialism, however developmentally oriented that might be, acted in certain respects as more uniformly Muslim. On the other hand, the simultaneous existence of important non-Muslim parties and organizations proves that there were limits to political unity in the name of Islam.

A shift in organizational alignment occurred in 1937, with the Muḥammadiyya and the Nahdat ul-ʿUlamāʾ jointly creating the *Majlis ul-Islām il-Aʿlā Indonesia* (MIAI), the Supreme Islamic Council of Indonesia. This competed with the third organization, then called *Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia*, until their merger in 1939. But in 1938 a new *Partai Islam Indonesia* had been created, formed to some extent from the earlier *Jong Islamieten Bond* (Young Muslims' Association).

The Japanese interlude, 1942-5, had a double significance for Indonesian Islam. Envisaged in the long run, it hastened decolonization in a manner entirely unconnected with Japanese intentions. Seen in the short run, it brought a critical change in Islamic policy on the part of the ruling authorities; and the change was not quite the same in Java as it was in the other parts of the country.

The Islamic policy of the Japanese forces was a relatively well-prepared two-pronged attempt to solve two problems at once: to nip any Muslim opposition in the bud, and to obtain if possible public allegiance through making Muslim leaders of public opinion rally to the Japanese cause. A specially trained Japanese staff was in charge. On the one hand the existing organizations were abolished and a series of efforts made to replace them by one comprehensive organization that would abide by Japanese instructions. On the other hand, the *kyahi* category were made into special targets of opinion-control. This went to the extent of making them attend special courses. In order to support the activities concerned, a network of offices was maintained throughout the area, as a kind of perverted development from the one Office for Indigenous Affairs that the Dutch had maintained previously. Notwithstanding all this, there was an element of wavering on basic issues in the Japanese Islamic policy that only strengthened the urge of Indonesian Muslims to assert themselves regardless of outside pressures, and that did nothing to help them articulate this urge.

The end of the Japanese occupation, in August 1945, ushered in Indonesian independence, in two stages. The emergency declaration of independence of 17 August [see DUSTUR, p. 665] resulted in an Indonesian Republic, really effective in part of Java only, vying with Dutch attempts to set Indonesia on its feet again according to a new formula. Sovereignty was officially transferred in 1949, to the Indonesian state. During the intermediary stage, the two claimants for authority were equally preoccupied with soliciting the allegiance of Muslims; and in the process Muslims were largely left to their own devices in their attempts to overcome the disruptive effects of Japanese-imposed organization and ideas.

Since independence, Indonesian Islam has played mainly two roles in public life. On the one hand, it is one of the main tributaries to the national identity and indeed to national ideology. The *Pantja Sila*, the five-point national doctrine, has been carefully phrased so as to allow Muslims to recognize it as theirs, without alienating non-Muslims. One of the five points is the recognition of the overlordship of the Almighty. Yet as an ideological creed it stands for a nationalist ideology, which is in the last resort competitive with Islamic ideology and which as such is a rallying point for Christian and other groups. All this is reflected at the more institutional plane. Insofar as independent Indonesia had to have its own Islamic policy, and one necessarily different from both the Dutch and the Japanese policies, it manifested itself as part of the activities of the newly installed Ministry of Religion. Intended to cater for the needs of any religious community, this ministry has inevitably acquired a strong Muslim imprint, and this with a *kyahi* shading.

On the other hand, Islam has become one of the three major political forces in the country, in the sense that it has proved possible to use people's identification as Muslims as a means to rally them around certain political causes, not necessarily of a clearly or exclusively Islamic nature. This is sometimes explained as an after-effect of denominationalism in the Dutch political party system; but the true explanation may well lie in the traditional role of Islam in the framework of Indonesian self-identification. A significant occurrence in this connexion is the Piagam Djakarta of June 1945, a kind of preliminary document to the constitution, in which mention is made of Islamic law as having to be applied to all Indonesian Muslims. As a political force Islam finds itself competing with two other forces already mentioned, namely Communism and ideological nationalism. Under these conditions there does not appear to exist an immediate urge for Muslim leaders to elaborate and expound relatively novel ideas of an explicitly and consistently Islamic nature. In effect, the pre-war pattern of more or less exclusively political organizations of Muslims has returned, with names somewhat modified—this also due to Japanese interference—and still with the same unstable mutual relationships.

The Mashumi (*Majlis Shuro Muslimin Indonesia*), the Japanese replacement for MIAI, was at first reorganized into *Partai Politik Islam Indonesia* [see ḤIZB, p. 534], and as such considered itself the one and only political organization of Muslims. But it did not long remain so. The *Partai Sharikat Islam Indonesia* once again came back, thus upholding a record of vitality dating back to 1912 and unhampered by earlier defections (1923, 1932, 1936, 1938). As a more or less local organization for Menangkabau (Sumatra), there emerged the *Partai Islam "Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah"*. In 1952, the *Nahdat al-ʿUlamāʾ* broke away from the Mashumi and established itself as an independent party, thus resuming a tradition begun in 1926. Under the political pressures of the day, the Mashumi and PSII were suppressed and an attempt at a reunification of the remaining organizations was made in 1959. After the end of the Sukarno régime, yet another Islamic party emerged in 1967, the *Partai Muslimin Indonesia*. The similarity of political platforms as between these several parties is such that it is not really clear which could be identified as fundamentalist and which as more or less "modernist". Each and every one figures primarily as the political organ of all the Muslims of the country, with a degree of mutual competition as the inevitable result.

Under the circumstances, yet another dimension of Islamic life demands attention. This is the need for the consciously pious individual Muslim to envisage, and accordingly to mould, life on the socio-economic and political plane in accordance with the teachings of Islam. So far, some of this need finds expression (but hardly any effectuation) in the *kebatinan* movements already mentioned. But political parties and other available institutional forms seem hardly equipped to satisfy it.

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vi.—LITERATURES

In the vast area of the Indonesian archipelago, where more than two hundred languages are spoken, we find as is only natural various literatures. Insofar as these languages are spoken by Muslims (some parts of the archipelago were not islamized) the literatures of these languages underwent, some to a greater, others to a lesser extent, the influences of Islam. This influence is two-fold: on the one hand Islam caused much of the older literature, in particular religious works, to disappear; on the other hand it enriched these literatures by substituting new genres and new works for those that fell into oblivion, and by adding to the literature that already existed.

In this article we confine ourselves to those aspects of Indonesian literature that bear on Islam. The influence of Islam on the literatures of Indonesia is predominantly an influence of Islam as a religion. Its main features are translations, reworkings and adaptations from Arabic and Persian works written with a view to educating and for purposes of edification: textbooks of Arabic, grammars, translations

of the Ḳur'ān, commentaries, sacred history, philosophical treatises and religious tracts, works dealing with theology, law and mysticism, in short with any aspect of Islamic spiritual life. The *adab*-literature, an important element in the civilization of Islam, poetry and belles-lettres in general, is rather poorly represented compared to the mass of purely religious works; works dealing with Islamic sciences, technical works and works on geography and Islamic history are virtually non-existent or found in a very few instances only.

Notwithstanding the great and visible impact of Islam on Southeast Asia, the influence of Islam was a limited one and remained confined mainly to the sphere of religion. This can easily be explained from the fact that the Indonesian archipelago was situated on, or even outside, the periphery of the civilization of Islam. Moreover, seen in a historical perspective, Islam came late to Southeast Asia and the process of islamization stretched over several centuries; it is, in fact, still continuing at the present day.

For a long time, from the 7th/13th century until well into the 11th/17th century, contacts between Indonesia and Arabia were difficult and few. The majority of those who undertook the long and dangerous voyage to the great centres of Islamic spiritual and cultural life did so in order to perform the Pilgrimage, often combining it with a visit to other holy places. Quite a few, however, stayed on in Arabia for a longer period, sometimes for several years, in order to deepen their knowledge of religion. The works which they studied, copied and later brought with them to their country of origin, were almost exclusively textbooks of religion.

Another factor of great importance was the trade within Asia. This trade made it necessary for many foreign merchants—Arabs, Persians and in particular traders from the mercantile ports of the Indian subcontinent—to settle in the archipelago, and it may be assumed that besides bringing their commodities, they also brought cultural goods, among them literary works such as stories and romances which were adapted or translated into Malay and so found their way all over the archipelago. The harbour cities were centres of radiation of this international culture. They had had from of old an international character with a very mixed population. The majority of those participating in the inter-Asiatic trade were bilingual or even spoke more than two languages, and this considerably facilitated the adaptation, translation and diffusion of products of Islamic literature in the archipelago.

The medium which was made use of by Islam for the spread of the faith was the Malay language. Although data about the history of Malay are rather scant, it may be assumed that already before the coming of Islam to the archipelago this language was the common vehicle for interinsular intercourse. The new task assigned to it has left many traces in the Malay language. Not only did the vocabulary become enriched with a great number of Arabic words and terms, but also Malay syntax underwent the influence of Arabic, and moreover (but this is perhaps a development which had already set in a long time before) the Malay language, seen from the viewpoint of morphology, underwent a process of simplification, and this in turn eventually led to the development of Malay into Bahasa Indonesia, the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. For a long time the original Indian-Indonesian script remained in use side by side with an Arabo-Persian script which had been adapted to the needs of Malay orthography, but in the end first became superceded by the latter. It can quite properly be said that Malay literature, unlike, *e.g.*, Javanese literature, is in fact an Islamic literature. And it is through this Malay Islamic literature that Islam penetrated into the other languages and literatures of the archipelago to the extent that the speakers of these languages had embraced Islam.

The majority of Malay literary products (and the same is valid for the other languages of the archipelago, too) is anonymous, *i.e.*, generally names of authors and editors are not known, and literary works cannot be dated, *i.e.*, it is not possible to establish with any degree of certainty the year or sometimes even the period when they were written. This, of course, is a serious disadvantage, which makes it extremely difficult to write a history of Malay literature in which past developments are shown. Therefore, the most satisfactory method for the time being is to divide such products of Malay literature as developed under Islamic influence into a set of categories. Many, if not all, of the titles mentioned below are also found in other languages of the archipelago, such as Achehnese, Javanese, Sundanese, Macassarese, Buginese, etc.

The following groups are to be distinguished:

(1) Ḳur'ānic tales, or tales about prophets and other persons whose names are mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. Some of these works are compilations dealing with all prophets (*Hikajat anbia*), others contain the story of individual prophets (*Hikajat Jusuf, H. Nabi Musa munadjat, H. Wasijjat Lukman al-Hakim, H. Zakarija, H. Radja Firaun*, and so on). On the one hand these tales have an edifying character, on the other hand they are intended to complement and explain certain stories found in the Ḳur'ān and as such they serve as a commentary on the Ḳur'ān, not primarily in the theological sense of the word but rather with a view to adding to historical and general knowledge. The subject matter and contents of these tales generally agree with Arabic tradition as found in such great commentaries on the Ḳur'ān as that of al-Bayḍāwī or that of al-Dj̲alālayn and in the *Kitāb Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* of al-Kisā'ī. These tales were extremely popular, as was the *Hikajat Radja Djumdjumah*, containing the discussion between Nabī ʿĪsā and a skull of an infidel king on the various punishments in hell.

(2) The second group consists of tales about the prophet Muḥammad himself. The subject matter is, of course, derived from Arabia but reached the archipelago through Persian versions. They contain tales about his life, about what happened before his birth, various legends about his birth, episodes from his life and tales about his miracles. Widely known is the *Hikajat Nur*, with a strongly mystical tenor, about the mystical principle of Light inherent in prophets from before creation and their essential characteristic. This mystical principle of Light is a starting-point for various mystical speculations. The *Hikajat Nur* is also the opening chapter of a number of manuscripts of the *Hikajat Muhammad Hanafijjah* (see below). Very popular was also the *Hikajat Nabi bertjukur*, about the shaving of the Prophet's head by the archangel Dj̲abra'īl. The number of manuscripts of this text is fairly large, and moreover it was several times printed. Reading this text was considered to give protection from various disasters and illnesses and to be a guarantee for giving the correct answer to the questions of the angels of the grave, Munkar and Nakīr. Numerous also are

manuscripts of the *Hikajat Nabi miʿradj*, about Muḥammad's ascension to heaven, a tale found in various versions. Of a different kind again are tales like the *Hikajat Nabi mengadjar anaknja Fatimah* (Teachings of the Prophet to his daughter Fāṭima), a kind of Mirror for Women, about the duties of a wife towards her husband, and the *Hikajat Nabi mengadjar Ali* (Teachings of the Prophet to ʿAlī), which is of a mystical character on the four stages of the mystical path, *s̲h̲arīʿa, ṭarīḳa, ḥaḳīḳa* and *maʿrifa*. On the miracles of the Prophet we find texts like *Hikajat bulan berbelah*, which contains the well-known story of Muḥammad splitting the moon. Edifying and exhorting the reader to a life of piety are among other texts the *Hikajat Iblis dan Nabi Muhammad*, containing a discourse between the Prophet and Iblīs; *Hikajat tatkala Rasul Allah memberi sedekah kepada seorang derwisj* (the tale of how the Prophet of God gave alms to a dervish), and *Hikajat Nabi dan orang miskin* (the Prophet and the poor man), the last two containing an appeal for generosity towards the poor. In an enumeration of tales about the Prophet mention must be made of the *Hikajat wafat Nabi* (The Prophet's death), reworked from Persian, and the *Hikajat Mulud* (*maulud, maulid*), commemorating the Prophet's birth. Widely known both in the past and in modern times is the *Mulud berdjandji* (a popular etymology of *Barzand̲j̲i*, the name of the original author, an Indian), a liturgical text recited on the occasion of the birthday of Muḥammad. In addition, mention must be made in this connexion of the wellknown and very popular *Burda* [*q.v.*] of al-Būṣīrī, sometimes with interlinear Malay translation.

(3) The third group of tales consists of those devoted to persons who lived at the time of Muḥammad, both *ṣaḥāba* and others, opponents of the Prophet. In the first place we must mention the *Hikajat Radja Khandak* (*Hindik, Unduk*, from Arabic *k̲h̲andaḳ*, moat), containing a very romanticized story of the War of the Ditch, the contents of which considerably deviate from the facts of history. The Arabic word for moat (*k̲h̲andaḳ*) has become a personal name in this tale. The same is the case with the place-name *Badr*, which became the personal name of Radja Khandak's son. Radja Khandak is defeated by ʿAlī, who in this tale also enters into battle with a *Radja* (= king) *Ifrit* and a *Radja Feringgi*, *i.e.*, king of the Franks. Other tales of this kind are the *Hikajat Radja Khaibar* and the *Hikajat Radja Pandita Raghib*, whose historical basis is Muḥammad's conquest of K̲h̲aybar, but the name K̲h̲aybar is the only link relating these tales to history. These tales are romanticized stories of a very fantastical nature, which in every respect deviate from Arabic historical tradition. They must have originated in the archipelago. This is also the case with the *Hikajat Samaʿun*. The main characters of the *Hikajat Samaʿun* are Māriya the Copt and Samāʿūn. The latter is introduced as a son of the famous army commander K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd of the early conquests of Islam. Of this tale there is even an Arabic version which also must have originated in the archipelago, translated into Arabic by a non-native speaker of the language. In addition, mention must be made of the *Hikajat Tamim al-Dari*, also very fantastic, containing the adventurous life story of the person of this name who, originally a Christian, embraced Islam during the lifetime of Muḥammad. There exists an Arabic version of this story, but the Malay tale apparently goes back to a Persian-Indian version.

The last group of tales to be considered in the frame-work of tales about persons around the Prophet are those of which ʿAlī, Fāṭima, their children Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and their stepbrother Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya are the main characters. About the last mentioned there exists a famous romance, or perhaps better "epic tale", the *Hikajat Muhammad Hanafijjah*, also known under the title of *Hikajat Ali Hanafijjah*. The majority of manuscripts of this text commence with the tale of the *Nūr al-nubuwwa*, and then pass on to a description of what happened to the main character, who here in this tale contrary to historical fact is victorious over Yazīd, but at the end withdraws into seclusion and lives on as a kind of hidden *imām* who will reappear to his followers in due time. This *hikajat* goes without a doubt back to a Persian original. Reminiscent of the martyrdom of Ḥusayn is the *Hikajat Tabut* (The Coffin), so named after the coffin which used to be carried round in procession at Padang and Bencoolen in former days. In this tale S̲h̲īʿi influence is obvious, but is probably due to Indian troops stationed there during the British interregnum.

(4) An important and interesting group of tales are those dealing with the heroes of Islam. Without going into details we mention here a few titles only: the *Hikajat Iskandar Dhu 'l-Karnain*, the tale of Alexander the Great, which is also found in numerous other languages outside Indonesia. The Malay tale is probably a translation of a harmonized Arabic-Persian version; the *Hikajat Amir Hamzah*, in Malay reworked after a Persian original, too, but with Malay extensions; the *Hikajat Saif Dhu 'l-Jazan*, on the half-legendary, half-historical pre-Islamic ruler of South Arabia, translated from Arabic; and finally, the various versions of the *Hikajat Sultan Ibrahim ibn Adham*, the renowned saint so highly regarded in Islamic tradition.

(5) A very copious group consists of the theological works in the stricter sense of the word. This literature can perhaps best be characterized with the name "*kitab*-literature", religious and juridical works and treatises bearing on the three-fold Islamic "knowledge", namely *ʿilm al-kalām*, *ʿilm al-fiḳh* and *ʿilm al-taṣawwuf*, together with the disciplines pertaining to it. As a transition between the groups already mentioned above and this *kitab*-literature may perhaps be considered the *Hikajat* (or *kitab*) *Seribu Masaʾalah* (The Book of the Thousand Questions), well-known in world-literature and (together with the Ḳurʾān) among the first works in Arabic which already at an early stage were translated into various European languages. In the Indonesian archipelago, too, this work found many readers. Besides the redaction in prose, at least one versified version is known to exist. It contains the tale of the Jewish scholar ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salām of K̲h̲aybar who put a number of questions to Muḥammad (cosmological and eschatological questions, questions about heaven and hell, and questions pertaining to secular, *i.e.*, non-revealed, knowledge) and who embraced Islam when the Prophet was able to answer his questions in a satisfactory way.

This *kitab*-literature is very extensive. In fact, it is a technical literature, written for and studied by a certain group, the religiously minded and in particular the theologians and the teachers of religion. The language is Malay, but a Malay which is characterized by a multitude of technical terms and shows the influence of Arabic both in syntax and in vocabulary. It is this genre of literature that has exercised a considerable influence on the Malay

language. The greater part of this literature was reworked and translated from Arabic, in several cases in Mecca and Medina, by people from Indonesia for the benefit of those of their compatriots at home who had no knowledge of Arabic. The author's and translators' names of a number of works of this kind are known, and it is here that Malay literature somewhat loses its characteristic anonymity. In accordance with Arabic custom these authors used to add to their names a word indicating their place of origin, so that their names are followed by such words as *al-Palimbānī*, *al-Bandjārī*, *al-Samaṭrāʾī*, *al-Fanṣūrī*, *al-Būnī*, *al-Makasārī*, *al-Kalantānī*, *al-Faṭānī*, and so on. The subject-matter treated in this *kitab*-literature shows a great variety, comprising in effect all aspects of Islam as a religion: the *Ḳurʾān*, *tafsīr*, *tadjwīd*, *ḥadīth*, *arkān al-Islām*, *fiḳh* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* in the widest sense of the word. Some of them are voluminous compilations, others are small and deal with one special subject only, such as prayer, marriage or certain aspects of the law of inheritance. Numerous, too, are works dealing with mystical knowledge (*ilmu sufi*, *ilmu tasawwuf*), *ṣūfī* orders, treatises on *dhikr*, collections of litanies (*rawātib*) and *primbons*, books of notes on various subjects. Then there are collections of prayers (*duʿāʾ*). A special group is formed by collections of *djimats* (from Arabic *ʿaẓīma*), small booklets containing prayers and charms, often written in a very corrupt Arabic, which serve as a means of protection from the machinations of enemies and as a cure for illnesses.

During the 11th/17th century, in the flourishing period of the Sultanate of Atjèh in the North of Sumatra, we meet with four outstanding religious leaders whose influence was felt all over the Indonesian archipelago for a long time afterwards, namely Ḥamza Fanṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrāʾī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī. The Achinese court played a prominent role in the development of the Malay religious literature of the 11th/17th century. At that time there flourished in Acheh a heterodox mysticism based on the doctrine of the seven grades of being (Ibn al-ʿArabī, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī), known under the name of *Wudjūdiyya*. Ḥamza Fanṣūrī [*q.v.*] is famous on account of his mystical *sjairs* (a genre of Malay poetry with rhyme-scheme a-a-a-a/b-b-b-b) of great lyrical power and outstanding literary value in Malay literature, such as the *Sjair dagang* (the Poem of the Wanderer), *Sjair burung pingai* (the Poem of the *pingai* Bird) and *Sjair perahu* (the Poem of the Ship). In addition, he has a number of prose-works to his name, *e.g.*, the *Sharāb al-ʿāshiḳīn*, consisting of seven chapters, the first four dealing with the four stages of the mystical path (*sharīʿa*, *ṭarīḳa*, *ḥaḳīḳa* and *maʿrifa*), the two following chapters on the Being (*wudjūd*) and Attributes (*ṣifāt*) of God, and the last chapter on *berahi dan sjukur*, *i.e.*, mystical enthusiasm; another prose-work ascribed to him is entitled *Asrār al-ʿārifīn fī bayān ʿilm al-sulūk wa ʾl-tawḥīd*, which also is a mystical work. Commentaries on several of Ḥamza's works were written by Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrāʾī, known also under the name of Shams al-Dīn of Pasai. Shams al-Dīn, who died in 1039/1630, also wrote several works, but there is some doubt whether all the works ascribed to him are really his. Some of his works are in Arabic, *e.g.*, *Djawhar al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, some in Arabic and Malay, *e.g.*, *Nūr al-daḳāʾiḳ*, others in Malay, *e.g.*, *Mirʾat al-muʾmin*, an orthodox catechism in questions and answers.

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658 in India) was (as is indicated by his *nisba*) born in Rānīr (modern Rander) in India and therefore was not a Malay. He was a prolific writer, who during his comparatively brief stay in Atjèh (1047/1637-1054/1644) wrote a great number of works, some of them voluminous, both in Arabic and in Malay. Some of his works were written outside the Indonesian archipelago. He was an orthodox *shaykh*, who took great pains in his works to attack the mystical school of Ḥamza Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn and their followers. Among his polemical works directed against the *wudjūdiyya* are the *Tibyān fī maʿrifat al-adyān*, consisting of two *bābs*, one dealing with the various religions from Nabī ʿĪsā until Muḥammad, the other about the variant tenets adhered to by the religious schools; and in particular his *Ḥudjdjat al-ṣiddīḳ li dafʿ al-zindīḳ*; further *Ḥall al-ẓill* and *Shifāʾ al-ḳulūb*. Widely known and still read today is his *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm* (*sic*: the first article is dropped according to Indonesian usage), a translation from Arabic, and his voluminous *Akhbār al-ākhira fī aḥwāl al-ḳiyāma*, a treatise on eschatology and after-life, compiled from various Arabic sources. The last book begun by al-Rānīrī but left uncompleted owing to his departure from Atjèh was *Djawāhir al-ʿulūm fī kashf al-maʿlūm*. It was completed by one of his students. It is an important work, in which al-Rānīrī gives a detailed and systematic account of his theological views. For his large encyclopaedic work, *Bustān al-salāṭīn*, see below.

ʿAbd al-Raʾūf of Singkel, after his death known in Atjèh under the name of Teungku di Kuala (he presumably died about the beginning of the 12th/end of the 17th century) studied in Arabia for 19 years, amongst others with Aḥmad al-Ḳushashī and Mawlā Ibrāhīm. After obtaining the *idjāza* from the latter, he returned to Atjèh where he introduced the Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīḳa*, which was very popular in Indonesia for a long time. (The Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīḳa*, however, also reached the Indonesian archipelago through other channels independently of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf). His best-known work, *ʿUmdat al-muḥtādjīn ilā sulūk maslak al-mufradīn*, is a textbook of practical mysticism giving detailed information about the methods of *dhikr* and containing litanies (*rawātib*), formulas to be used, instruction on how to control breathing, etc., illustrated with figures, *daerahs*, to explain certain mystical truths. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, too, was a prolific writer. Mention should be made here of his translation of parts of the Ḳurʾān commentary of al-Bayḍāwī, which, in editions printed in Egypt, is still used in Sumatra and Malaya today. For further titles we refer to Voorhoeve's article listed in the Bibliography.

Besides works on mysticism as mentioned above, there exists a great mass of orthodox literature which can only be mentioned here. Widely read was, *e.g.*, *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, a work of al-Ghazālī translated into Malay with additions of his own by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, who also edited the fourth book of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* in Malay under the title of *Sayr al-sālikīn ilā ʿibādat Rabb al-ʿālamīn*. Both works were written by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad while he was in Arabia. Of the numerous catechisms, mention may be made of the popular *Masāʾil al-muhtadī li ikhwān al-mubtadī*, of which there are a great many manuscripts and which, moreover, was printed several times.

Closely related to religious literature are the so-called *risalats* and *wasiats* (from Arabic *waṣiyya*) which appeared from time to time in the wake of disturbances or catastrophic events like floods and

earthquakes. The purpose of these writings was to admonish people to atone for their sins and to return to a pious life. The form as a rule is traditional, the author relating how the prophet appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to convey such and such a message to his, *i.e.*, Muḥammad's community.

Finally, mention must be made of two genres which are a good illustration of certain aspects of Indonesian popular Islam and popular beliefs, namely the *kitāb ṭibb* and the tales about saints and founders of *tarikats*. The *kitāb ṭibb* do indeed contain medical prescriptions, but on the other hand they have a markedly magic character because recitation of prayers (*duʿāʾ*) or incantations and formulas, among them verses of the Ḳurʾān, for a certain number of times are considered an important expedient for curing illnesses. Another means of healing is, *e.g.*, by making various calculations based upon the numerical value of the Arabic letters of the name of the patient. The tales about prominent religious teachers and saintly persons of bygone times and of founders of *tarikats* are not strictly biographies but rather stories in which all kinds of miraculous deeds performed by the main characters are related. The miracles stand as proofs of the sanctity of their performers. These tales, legends of the saints, are composed for edifying purposes. Examples are *Hikajat Sjaich Abd al-Kadir al-Djilani* (Ar. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī) and *Hikajat Sjaich Muhammad Samman*.

As for belles-lettres, in the first place mention must be made of two important texts, both written for Achehnese Sultans in the first half of the 11th/17th century. The first is *Tād̲j̲ al-salāṭīn*, about whose author, named Buk̲h̲ārī D̲j̲ohorī (or D̲j̲awharī), nothing is known. This text, a Mirror for Princes, was written in 1012/1603, without a doubt after Persian originals. The second is the *Bustān al-salāṭīn* of al-Rānīrī, dated 1047/1638, an encyclopaedic work and a compendium of Islamic knowledge with a special chapter on the history of the Achehnese Sultanate and the genealogy of its Sultans. Besides these, there are a great number of romances, both in prose and in poetry. These works, mostly dating from a later period, namely from the 12th/18th century and in particular from the 13th/19th century, are very loosely connected with Islam, only the motifs and the subject matter being derived from international Islamic literature, their surroundings being set in the central lands of Islam. A few titles may suffice: (poetry) *Sjair Tadj al-muluk*, *Sjair Sitti Zubaidah*, *Sjair hikajat Radja Damsjik*, and (prose) *Hikajat Komala Bahrain*, *Hikajat Shahi Mardan* (= *Hikajat Bikrama Ditja Djaja*), *Hikajat Ahmad Muhammad*, *Hikajat Djauhar Manikam*, *Hikajat Abd al-Rahman dan Abd al-Rahim*, *Hikajat Radja Damsjik*, *Hikajat Tawaddud*, and many others.

Of the literatures of Achehnese, Macassarese and Buginese (Macassarese and Buginese have, like Javanese, been able to maintain their original scripts), the same can be said as has been said of Malay literature, although the Islamic literature in these languages is more restricted so far as numbers of titles is concerned; but on the other hand, in addition to the works in these languages, there was a wide circulation of works in Malay. For details the reader is referred to the catalogues listed in the Bibliography.

As regards Javanese literature, here too we find essentially the same pattern as in Malay literature: textbooks of Arabic, translations and commentaries of the Ḳurʾān, works dealing with the sacred history of Islam, tales of Muḥammad and the prophets before him, of the heroes of Islam, and so on. The majority of these works consist of translations from Malay, and are, like their Malay originals, anonymous. One characteristic of the Javanese translations and reworkings is that they have been expanded and as a rule, in accordance with Javanese literary taste, have been versified. The story of Ḥamza has here grown into a voluminous and very popular cycle, the "Ménak". Special mention, too, must be made of the tale of Yūsuf, which has become extremely popular in Java and Madura. In almost all cases it is written in Javanese script on palm-leaves (*lontar*). A well-known orthodox theologian in Java and author of several works which were widely studied was Ahmad Ripangi (= Rifāʿī) of Kali Salak, Pekalongan.

According to Javanese historical tradition, Islam was introduced in Java in the 9th/15th century by the *wali*s, saintly persons of great spiritual power, usually nine in number. They may be considered as culture heroes; it is believed that they also invented the *wayang*, the Javanese shadow-play, and the *gamelan*, the well-known Javanese musical instrument. These *wali*s preached a heterodox mystical doctrine of the relation between the Creator and the creature and of the unity of being. This doctrine is expressed in anonymous mystical songs, called *suluk*s. A very few only of these *suluk*s were perhaps written by *wali*s, the majority are of a later date. Some of them are brief songs explaining mystical concepts, sometimes in the form of questions of a student to his teacher, of a son to his father or of a wife to her husband, together with the answers. The language is often cryptic. Some of them are very lyrical—which is exceptional in Javanese literature. Their wide circulation all over Java is apparently due to wandering students travelling from one *kiahi* (spiritual leader) to another. The voluminous romanticized cycles of tales like *Tjabolang*, *Tjentini* and *Djatiswara* are likely to have developed round *suluk*s of the same name. They are conceived as travel stories in which the main characters travel about in search of each other; in places of rest, often the homes of famous spiritual teachers (*kiahi*s), discussions are held on almost any subject, ranging from the most trivial to the loftiest, among which figure very profound religious and philosophical speculations.

The Arabic script failed to supersede the Javanese script, although specifically religious works were written in Javanese in an (adapted) Arabic script, the so-called *pégon*.

Besides the indigenous literatures, there existed a vast literature in Arabic imported from abroad. This Arabic literature is represented in a great number of manuscripts. The Museum Pusat (formerly the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences) in Jakarta is one of the libraries which possess a large collection of these texts. Other manuscripts of this kind are preserved in the Leiden University Library, mainly derived from the collection of Professor Snouck Hurgronje. The following categories can be distinguished: Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīt̲h̲*, theology, law, sacred history of Islam and biographies, philology, and (although very few in number only) poetry and tales. For details the reader is referred to the catalogues.

Modern developments in Islam have left practically no visible traces in Indonesian and Malay literature. It is a secular literature although there are, of course, such authors as Hamka (Hadji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah), an Indonesian writer of Sumatran origin, who bear a markedly Islamic stamp.

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(R. Roolvink)

INDUS [see mihrān, pandjāb, sind].

INDUSTRY [see ṣināʿa].

INEBAKHTĪ [see ʿaynabakhtī].

INFIʿĀL [see fiʿl].

INFIDEL [see kāfir].

INFISĀKH [see faskh].

INFIṢĀL [see waṣl].

INGUSH, a Muslim people belonging to the central group (*veynakh*) of the Ibero-caucasian linguistic family of the northern Caucasus. Čečen, Batzbi and Kistin are languages belonging to the same group. The name Ingush comes from the *Aul Angush*, founded in the foot-hills of the Caucasus in the 17th century. The term was first used by the Kabards [*q.v.*], then by the Russians. The indigenous name is *Galgay*, which is the name of one of the most important Ingush tribes, or *Lamur* (= "Mountaineers"). The Ingush live in the western districts of the present-day Čečeno-Ingush Autonomous Republic, mainly in the upper and intermediate valleys of the Terek and the Sunja and their tributaries, between the Čečens [*q.v.*] to the east and the Kabards to the west.

Very little is known of the history of the Ingush tribes before the 18th century. They had been subdued in the 11th century by the rulers of Georgia, from whom they received Christianity. At the beginning of the 15th century the Ingush were paying tribute to the Kabards. Sunnī Islam only penetrated the country in the second half of the 18th century as a result of the activities of the Čečen Naḳshabandīs and did not triumph until the beginning of the 19th. Christian Ingush were still to be found in 1865 (3,405 as compared with 11,960 Muslims according to Semenov, *Geografičeskiy i Statističeskiy Slovar Rossiyskoy Imperii*, St. Petersburg 1865, ii). It was also at the beginning of the 18th century that the Ingush began their slow migration from the high lands to the more fertile plains of the Terek and the Sunja. This movement continued during the first half of the 19th century.

Unlike their Čečen neighbours, the Ingu͟sh offered little resistance to the advance of the Russians whose first detachments entered their country about 1770. On the contrary, they even helped them against the Kabards and took no part in the revolt of the Čečen *s͟hayk͟h*, Manṣūr Us͟hurma [*q.v.*], nor in the great movement of the Imām S͟hamil [*q.v.*].

After 1850, the Russian presence in the lands of the Ingu͟sh was not characterized by indigenous revolts, as it was in Dāg͟histān and the lands of the Čečen, and it was only in the second half of the 19th century that relations between the Ingu͟sh and the Russians became noticeably worse. The conflict began about 1860 when the Ingu͟sh settlements around Nazran on the Sunja were pushed back by the Cossacks towards the infertile lands of the high mountain. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th the political climate deteriorated rapidly when the lands of the Ingu͟sh were again disturbed by severe troubles between the Ingu͟sh and the Terek Cossacks.

Until the Revolution, the Ingu͟sh, like their neighbours, the Čečens, maintained a pre-feudal social structure. All the Ingu͟sh clans considered themselves as free and equal and were grouped in "free societies" (the most important were the Galgay, D͟jerak Kistin and Galas͟h). The large, undivided family was preserved almost everywhere, and patriarchal customs (levirate, polygamy etc.) were faithfully observed. Ingu͟sh society was not divided into classes; there was no aristocracy, although an élite, made up especially of officers and public officials, had begun to form at the beginning of the 20th century.

During the October Revolution the Ingu͟sh played a part in the confused struggles which involved the northern Caucasus in great bloodshed between 1918 and 1921. Because of their enmity towards the Terek Cossacks who had driven them out of the rich lands of the caucasian foot-hills, the Ingu͟sh supported the Bolshevik forces.

On 7 July 1924 the Autonomous Region of the Ingu͟sh was founded with an area of 3,200 sq. km. and a total population of 81,900. (At this time the Ingu͟sh numbered 75,200). On 15th January 1934 the Region was united with that of the Čečen to form the Čečeno-Ingu͟sh Autonomous Region which became the Čečeno-Ingu͟sh Soviet Socialist Republic on 5 December 1936.

In 1943 the advance guard of the German armies reached the western districts of the Ingu͟sh lands. In 1944 when the region was reoccupied by the Soviet Army, the entire Ingu͟sh population was accused of "treason against the Soviet fatherland" and "collaboration with the Germans" and was deported to Central Asia (at the same time as the Čečens, the Balkars, the Karačays, the Kalmuks and the Crimean Tatars), their national republic being suppressed. In 1957 this measure was recognized as an error arising from the "cult of personality" and the Ingu͟sh were officially rehabilitated and allowed to return to their re-established republic. In 1959 they numbered 106,000 (as against 92,000 in 1939), but their birth rate is one of the highest in the Soviet Union.

In 1959 the Čečeno-Ingu͟sh Autonomous Republic had a total population of 710,000, of whom 292,000, *i.e.*, 41%, were Muslims. Of this number only some 48,000 were Ingu͟sh.

The Ingu͟sh language was given a Latin alphabet in 1923; in the same year there appeared the first periodical in Ingu͟sh, *Serdalo* ("The Lamp"). In 1938 the Latin alphabet was replaced by the Cyrillic.

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(A. BENNIGSEN)

INḪISĀR [see RÉGIE].

INK [see MIDĀD].

INKĀR, "denial", the opposite of *iḳrār* [*q.v.*]; it is said that there is *inkār* when a person who is summoned by law to acknowledge a debt denies that he owes it; this *inkār* should not be confused with the refusal (*radd* or *takd͟hīb*) of the beneficiary of an *iḳrār* to agree to the said acknowledgement [see IḲRĀR].

Faced with a debtor who refuses to recognize his debt or his obligation, the petitioner has the right to use any of the methods of proof which the law allows him and, in particular, can make him swear an oath, *yamīn al-munkir*, which many Muslims in former times preferred to avoid pronouncing, even though they did not admit to being debtors. There could then take place a transaction which put an end to the legal conflict, usually irrevocably, and this was called *ṣulḥ ʿalā inkār*.

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(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

INḲILĀB [see T͟HAWRA].

INNĀYIR [see YINNĀYIR].

INNOVATION [see BIDʿA].

INÖNÜ [see SULṬĀN ÖNÜ].

INṢĀF, equity. According to the *LA*, this *maṣdar* of the fourth form has as synonym *naṣaf*, *naṣafa*, and implies the idea of "to grant rights" (*iʿṭā al-ḥaḳḳ*); it is stated there that *anṣafa* is to "assure to others the same right that one claims for one's self". The idea thus presented therefore corresponds strictly to equity, but it is not clear at what date this notion began to be rendered by *inṣāf*. Although *naṣaf* is attested in early poetry, *inṣāf* does not seem to appear in the so-called pre-Islamic *dīwāns*; nevertheless there is to be found, in the anthologists of the 3rd/9th century, the expression *as͟hʿār munṣifa* (or *as͟hʿār al-naṣaf*, *al-inṣāf*), to indicate, if not a poetic genre, at least a theme which first appears among a certain number of poets of the end of the D͟jāhiliyya and of the very early years of Islam; in the verses thus described (which are most frequently in the *wāfir* metre and contain often-repeated clichés), the poets praise the fervour and the valour in war of the rival clan and acknowledge that victory has been hard-won; these poems are thus a means of glorifying oneself without humiliating one's adversaries. It is this contrast with the themes of the traditional *hid͟jāʾ* [*q.v.*] which attracted the attention of the anthologists (Ibn Sallām, Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and others) and led them to adopt the epithet of *munṣifa* (see Ch. Pellat, *Sur l'expression arabe* ašʿār m.n.s.fa/fāt, *Mél. Marcel Cohen*, 1970, 211-9).

The term *inṣāf* does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, where the root *ḳsṭ* is used in referring to equity, but it enlivens the meaning by its frequent and lavish use of roots which are conceptually either

close to it or opposed to it, such as *ʿdw, ẓulm, ʿadl, ṣlḥ, ḥsn*. The principle of *istiḥsān*, retained in particular by the Ḥanafīs, may be considered as a continuation of the Ḳurʾānic idea and terminology: it expresses, in fact, a more flexible and more circumstantial conception and practice of the over-rigid justice produced by the formal strictness of *ḳiyās*. In introducing concrete considerations, of time, of practice and of persons, *istiḥsān* allows the adoption of solutions which tend towards equity. "*Istiḥsān*", writes Ch. Chehata (*Études de philosophie musulmane du droit*, in *St. Isl.*, xxv, 138), "may be considered as the form which the idea of equity has taken in the mind of the Muslim jurisconsults. *Benignitas* (*Istiḥsān*) is a very human aspect of the principle *jus est ars aequi et boni*. It belongs on the borderline between law and morals".

It is difficult to state precisely what this aspect of juridical thought owes to indirect influence (*e.g.*, to *ḥilm* as indulgence, *i.e.*, a higher form of justice, to Byzantine practice, to Medinan and ʿIrāḳī *ʿurf* etc.) and to direct influence. What is certain is that the *Nichomachean ethics* contain a penetrating discussion of equity (*épreikéia*) at the end of book V on justice (*dikè*). Aristotle's thought stems from a very early tradition which opposed the unwritten law to the written law, which is too general to solve with equity all the individual cases. It is thus one finds here a very clear defence of equity as being the source of a higher law.

The *falāsifa* naturally took up this idea in order to praise its moral beauty. "The virtue of justice (*ʿadāla*)", writes, for example, Miskawayh (*Tahd̲h̲īb al-Ak̲h̲lāḳ*, ed. Zurayk, 18), "confers on man a disposition (*hayʾa*) which causes him to choose always to treat first himself with equity, then to treat others with the same equity (*inṣāf/intiṣāf*) which he expects from them".

The rationalization of this idea is pursued in the writings of the scholars, and *inṣāf* finally came to mean impartiality, objectivity, integrity, in short a complete ethical code for the activity of the man of learning (*d̲h̲u ʾl-ʿilm*), which al-Māwardī, for example, describes at length under the name of "integrity of the soul" (*Ṣiyānat al-nafs*, in *Adab al-dunyā waʾl-dīn*, ed. Saqqa, 30 f. and *passim*). The importance of this ethical code explains the attraction for writers of titles like *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* or *Kitāb al-Inṣāf wa-l-intiṣāf* (16 of them are to be found in Brockelmann).

Finally it may be mentioned that *inṣāf* is a method of argument in which, instead of immediately asserting the inferiority or error of that which is being attacked in comparison with that being defended, both are placed on a fictitious equal footing although it is granted that one or the other is inferior or wrong. In this way impartiality is displayed while one of the alternative propositions is implicitly considered as impossible or absurd. The model for this figure is provided by Ḳurʾān XXXIV, 23/24: "Either you or I are on the right path or in manifest error" (M. Canard, *Akhbâr Ar-Râdî billâh* ..., Algiers 1946, i, 67, n. 3; see also the commentaries on this verse where two lines of Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit (*wāfir* metre, ... āʾū rhyme) are cited on this subject, lines 24-5 of the first piece of the *Dīwān* with the explanations of the editors).

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INSĀN (A.), man (*homo*). The Ḳurʾān states that God created man weak (IV, 28). Several verses describe his psychology: in trouble he cries to God, and when the trouble has passed, he forgets (X, 12; XXXIX, 8 and 49); he is very unjust (*ẓalūm*, XIV, 34; XXXIII, 72); much inclined to be precipitate (*ʿad̲j̲ūl*, XVII, 11); versatile (*halūʿ*, LXX, 19); rebellious (XLVI, 6); a subtle reasoner and given to argument (XVIII, 54, XXXVI, 77).

The *LA* echoes this Ḳurʾānic teaching: all beings who are endowed with intelligence, angels and d̲j̲inns, are given to argument, but man is more so than the others; on the other hand, it quotes a fantastic etymology, from Ibn ʿAbbās: "man is called *insān* because he receives the alliance of God and then forgets (*fa nasiya*)"; the *aṣl* of this word is said to be *insiyān*, the *ifʿilān* form of *nisyān*.

On the physical reality of man, there are many verses in the Ḳurʾān. God created him "of a clay of mud moulded" (XV, 26). In particular in XXIII, 12 ff. there is a detailed account of the development of the foetus: the primary matter of the human body is clay; then there is successively the *nuṭfa* which fixes itself in the uterus, the *ʿalaḳa*, the *mudg̲h̲a*; then the differentiation of the tissues: bone and flesh; and finally there occurs a "second creation", which corresponds, according to the commentators, to the various phases of development from birth to death. Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī gives an Aristotelian interpretation to these passages: "Man is engendered from a flow of sperm; the sperm is engendered by an excess of the fourth type of coction (*min faḍl al-haḍm al-rābiʿ*, cf. the πέψις, that is the digestion, *Meteorologica*, book iv, 379512; *De Gen. Animal.* 724a 9 f.). But all this is engendered only by foods, which are animal or vegetable substances. But the animal substances are reduced to vegetable substances, which themselves are engendered from the clarified juices of the earth and of water. Thus man is in reality engendered from a pure extract of clay (*min salāla min ṭīn*, cf. XXIII, 12). Next this pure extract, after passing successively through various stages (*aṭwār*, cf. LXXI, 14) of formation and through the circuits of elaboration, becomes semen". The explanation of "We have made him to grow in a second creation" is: "God made man into a living being when he was lifeless matter; made him to speak when he was dumb; to hear when he was deaf; to see when he was blind. God has placed in him, within and without, in all his limbs and all his organs, a wondrous nature and admirable wisdom, for which no description is adequate".

The Ḳurʾān describes man by contradictions: grandeur and wretchedness (cf. XCV, 4-5): "We indeed created Man in the fairest stature/then we restored him the lowest of the low". Al-Rāzī states that the word *takwīn* may refer to the exterior form, to its balanced assembly of parts (some point out that man is the only animal which does not have its face turned towards the ground, *mikabb ʿalā wad̲j̲hih*, but which has an upright stance, *madīd al-ḳāma*, and which takes its food with its hand; cf. St. Gregory of Nyssa, "*On the workmanship of man*", in which are developed the same ideas on the relation between the prehensile hand and the reduction of the mouth or the muzzle, leading to a new balance of the head and the ability to walk upright); or to the interior: intelligence, comprehension, culture, eloquence, in their most perfect manifestations. Verse 5 is compared by Ibn ʿAbbās to XVI, 17 (or XXII 5): "And some of you who are kept back unto the vilest stage of life (*ard̲h̲al al-ʿumr*)". Thus "the thoughts are troubled; the hearing, the sight and the intelli-

gence begin to fail; strength diminishes and man becomes incapable of performing good works" (al-Rāzī). This double aspect of man appears clearly in sūra II, where the angels comment on God's plan to establish Adam as deputy on earth. This has given rise in the commentary of the *Manār* to an interesting anthropological view which has a certain analogy with some western ideas going back to Herder and developed in Germany during the 19th century. Unlike animals who know by instinct (*ilhām*[an]) what is useful to them and what is harmful, man acquires knowledge of his surroundings only by very slow degrees. But his progress has no limits, and on this point he is superior even to the angels, whose knowledge and actions are limited (*maḥdūd*). This recalls al-Rāzī's idea that man, unlike the angels and the beings which are inferior to him, has no determined function (*waẓīfa muʿayyana*). Thus man has been able to acquire a knowledge which gives him a considerable power over nature and which continually increases. "He has invented, discovered, innovated, so as to change the shape of the earth (*ḥattā ghayyara shakl al-arḍ*)", we read in the *Manār*. He has cultivated the uncultivated lands; he has grown, through hybridization, species which did not formerly exist, for example the mandarin (*yūsuf efendī*) which "God has created through the hand of man (*khalaḳahu bi-yad al-insān*)". It is in this sense that man, without offending the angels, may truly be the *khalīfa* of God, in spite of all his deficiencies.

It is also from verses of the Ḳurʾān that the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* [*q.v.*] had developed, within their system, a whole theory of man, both from the physical and from the moral point of view. "The name of man is applied to this soul which inhabits this body: both together are the two parts of man; he is their total, the union formed of the two together. But one of the two parts, the soul, is the more noble; it is like the pulp, and the other, the body is like the rind (cf. Ibn Masarra and the pseudo-Empedocles) ... The soul is like the tree, the body like the fruit" (Epistle 22, ii, 319 f., Cairo 1928). In fact, the function of the soul is to give to the body its achievement (*tamām*) and in doing this it reaches its perfection (*kamāl*). The body is for the soul also like the workshop for the craftsman. It is compared to a town; the tribes and the different populations of the various quarters are like the natural faculties of the soul: vegetative, animal, rational, three derivations from one single essence. Man is a microcosm, a well-controlled city (*madīna fāḍila*), whose king is the soul.

Next the Epistle deals with the development of the human embryo according to the months and the astral influences. In the first month, under the action of Saturn, whose property is to cause form to take shape in matter, the *nuṭfa* is placed in the matrix. In the second month, under the dominant influence of the spiritual forces of Jupiter, heat is engendered in the *ʿalaḳa* and produces in it the balance of the humours. In the third month, under the influence of Mars, the *ʿalaḳa*, moved more vigorously, receives an excess of heat which transforms it into *muḍgha*. In the fourth month, it is the sun which guides the development: its spiritual forces exert a major influence on the *muḍgha*; the vital powers breathe on it and it receives the animal soul. In the fifth month, under the influence of Venus, the structuring of the body (*khalḳa*) is completed (*istatammat*) and its edifice is perfected (*istakmalat*): the eyes, the nostrils, the mouth and the ears are formed. In the sixth month, new spiritual forces, due to Mercury, cause the embryo to move so that it is now able to move its arms and legs. It can open its mouth and eyelids; it is sometimes asleep and sometimes awake. With the seventh month there begins the influence of the moon: the embryo acquires weight, flesh and fatness, its joints harden and its movements become stronger; it feels confined and attempts to emerge. If this happens, it is born able to survive. But if it remains in the mother's womb until the eighth month, it grows heavier, it comes under the predominant action of cold, it cannot conquer sleep and it has little movement. If the birth takes place then, its growth is slow and its movements heavy, and sometimes it is still-born. This is because it is once again under the influence of Saturn. But in the ninth month, Jupiter begins to dominate again: the temperament becomes balanced, the vital spirit becomes strong and the operations of the animal soul appear in the body. Such is the genesis of the human creature. The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* have many further ideas about man, all of them curious and interesting. To take one instance: in the same way that man is a microcosm, he shares all the particular characteristics of the animals (cf. *Ep.* 26, iii, 19 f.). In this system, the stars serve as instruments, not of the Creator, but of the Universal Soul which obeys him. Thus man takes his place in the hierarchy of the universe.

The *falāsifa* studied man mainly in the perspective of the Greek thinking concerning the nature of the soul, its relation with the body and the union of the agent Intellect with the material intellect. "The rational faculty by which man is man is not in its substance an intellect in action ... it is the agent intellect which makes it become an intellect in action ..." (al-Fārābī, *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, Beirut 1964, 35).

Finally, al-Tahānawī, in his dictionary, gives in his article *Insān* a long quotation from the commentary of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūra XVII, 85: "Say: 'The Spirit is of the bidding of my Lord'". Intuition alone tells us that the spirit is what man means when he says "I". But can this "I" be the organic body when it is well-known that its parts are always changing and being replaced? If man is not this body, is he a body in which the earthly element predominates since this would be made of bone, flesh, fat and sinews, and nobody identifies man with these "thick, heavy and dark" tissues. It cannot be a body in which the aqueous element predominates, since this would be one of the four humours, and none of these is man, except that some consider that an exception should be made for the blood, since the loss of it brings death. Bodies in which there predominate the elements of air and fire are the spirits, bodies composed of air mingled with natural heat (*al-ḥarāra al-gharīziyya*) and engendered in the heart and in the brain. Spirits cannot dissolve or decline. They are noble, celestial and divine bodies, which penetrate into the organism as soon as it is formed and completely prepared to receive them. They remain there so long as the body is in good health, but when there arise thick humours which prevent their circulation (*sarayān*), they leave it, and this is death. This doctrine, says al-Rāzī, "is powerful and sublime, and should be pondered since it corresponds exactly to the statements in the divine books on the states of life and death". In fact God said to the angels: "I am creating a mortal of a clay. When I have shaped him, and breathed My Spirit in him, fall you down, bowing before him" (XXXVIII, 72, cf. XV, 29).

The doctrine of most of the physicians and of those who deny the soul, is based on the observation that each animal species is characterized by its own balanced arrangement of humours. The word "human" is applied to bodies having particular qualities resulting from the mixture of the elements according to an equally particular proportion. The metaphysicists on the other hand say that man is not a body. They teach the doctrine of a "return" (*maʿād*) to God whereas the body dies, and they believe in spiritual sanctions in the after life. Several doctors of Islam have supported these ideas: the author cites Rāghib and al-Ghazālī (?), certain early Muʿtazilīs, a group of Karramiyya, among the Shīʿa al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, and in particular the ascetics and the mystics.

After this long citation, al-Tahānawī embarks upon the question of *al-Insān al-kāmil*.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the article, see AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL the Perfect Man.

1). General observations on this concept. The idea of the Perfect Man, which occurs in Muslim esoteric mysticism, is not derived directly from the Ḳurʾān. It may be compared with gnostic conceptions which have assumed various forms: that of the πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος linked with Hermetism (cf. *Poimandres*) and the hellenistic gnoses, might be the purest original source; another origin may be found in the Mazdaean myth of Gayomart, the primordial Man. These two currents come together in Manichaeism with the doctrine of the first Man (*al-insān al-ḳadīm*) who, with the Mother of Life and the five elements, her sons and auxiliaries, constitutes the first Creation which the Father of Greatness raises up by his Word. For the disciples of Zoroaster and for Mani, however, this prototypal man has as his function the combatting of evil and darkness, in conformity with a dualist doctrine which developed in Iranian thinking and which Islam rejected with all its might. Nevertheless the idea of a role, if not of salvation, at least of conservation, assumed by the Perfect Man in regard to the inferior world, remains an essential one for the Muslim mystics who make use of this idea. A comparison with the Jewish Cabala would be even more instructive: from the mystical theory of the *Merkābāh* there has developed, in the *Sepher ha-Zohar*, the doctrine of the ten *sephirōt*, among them being Wisdom (*ḥokhmāh*), Intelligence (*bīnāh*), Love (*ḥesed*), Mercy (*raḥamīm*), Royalty (*malkhūt*), and so on, which constitute the World of Union or transcendental Man. It is through these that divine life is diffused into the entire creation. Thus Jewish mysticism also finally reaches this conception, that the Infinite (*En sōf*), by the emanation of its light, forms the Ādām Qadmōn, from whom the light of the *sephīrōt* produces the total emanation. This kind of refraction of light through light calls to mind the ḳurʾānic expression "Light upon light" (*nūrun ʿalā nūrin*), in XXIV, 35. Similarly one sees, in al-Djīlī, for example, that God created the muḥammadan forms (cf. *infra*) from the light of his Name of Creator (*Badīʿ*) and Powerful (*Ḳādir*); then He irradiated (*tadjallā*) on these forms with His Name of Benevolent (*Laṭīf*) and Grantor of Absolution (*Ghāfir*). Here too, there is an irradiation of light in light.

From these similarities must it be concluded that a real influence existed? Might there be a "unity of initiatory origin among all the religious mysticism of ancient Asia"? L. Massignon thinks not. In this matter he sees "coincidental terms, without any real relationship existing between their respective processes of formation" (*Essai*, 57 and n. 5). It seems indeed that there may be reason to observe some parallel developments, in particular between the Jewish Cabala and the Muslim *ʿirfān*. But it is not excluded that independent reflection upon the Ḳurʾān may have led certain mystics to conceptions for which they found elsewhere various expressions and symbols that they could adopt.

2). The ḳurʾānic contributions. The idea of *al-Insān al-kāmil* presupposes that, in the whole of creation, man occupies a leading position, entirely apart. Now the Ḳurʾān adduces many revelations to this effect. First of all there is the affirmation that the universe, the heavens and the earth with all that they contain, are placed in the service of man by the *taskhīr*. The expression *sakhkhara lakum* (He has caused to labour for you) or *lanā* (for us) occurs about ten times in the Ḳurʾān. Next, there is the choice of man as God's vicar (*khalīfa*) on earth (II, 30), a choice which was to surprise the Angels; then, the proposal put to man to assume responsability for the *amāna* (trusting of faith): he accepts, when the heavens and the earth had refused, through fear (XXXIII, 72). In the commentary of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī there occurs an observation which gives us an indication of what constituted the Perfect Man for the mystics: among the beings endowed with perception, there are those who perceive both the universal and the particular; these are men. Some others who perceive only the particular are the animals; while those others who perceive only the universal are the Angels. Man has therefore an intermediate position which endows him with a value unique in creation; thus, despite his weakness, he will bear the *amāna*.

But it is the verses referring to the light which are above all important. In two passages (IX, 32 and LXI, 8) it is written that, in transmitting it to men, God gives His light a complete perfection (*yutimma nūrahu*; *mutimm nūrihi*). Al-Rāzī comments: "God promises Muḥammad an increase (*mazīd*) in aid and power, as well as a raising in degree (*iʿlāʾ al-daradja*) and the perfection of the hierarchical rank (*kamāl al-rutba*)". In II, 257, we read—"God is the *walī* of those who believe; He makes them come forth from the darkness to the light". The root *walā* includes the idea of proximity (*ḳurb*); in addition, it implies that God makes Himself the guarantor (*takaffala*) of the well-being of Believers. According to certain commentators, even if God should give this guarantee to all His creatures, He is said to be in a very particular sense the *walī* of the Believer because He has additional favours (*ziyādat al-alṭāf*) for him; or again, because He turns to the advantage of the Believer the favours which He grants to the whole community of creatures; or finally because He loves the Believers (*yuḥibbuhum*), that is to say He loves to exalt them (*yuḥibbu taʿẓīmahum*). Now the light is in one sense faith or Direction (*hudā*); it is also revelation; it is a Book (Torah, Gospel, Ḳurʾān); but it is also that through which the Prophet causes men to pass from darkness into light (XIV, 1).

It is then among Believers, the Friends of God (*awliyāʾ*; cf. the singular *walī*), the prophets and especially Muḥammad, that one must seek the Perfect Man. The celebrated verse 35 of the Surah of Light (XXIV) has been given an important interpretation. A distinction has been made between the opening section which speaks of God as light, and the continuation introduced by *mathalu nūrihi*, apparently referring to the light which He sends to certain of His creatures. For some, the niche (*mishkāt*) is the

heart of the Believer, and the lamp which is found there is the light of the heart. For others, such as al-Kharrāz, the reference is to the heart of Muḥammad and to a light which shines there, lit by a sacred tree which, for al-Kharrāz is Abraham, for some Ṣūfis the inspirations (*ilhāmāt*) of the Angels, for Muḳātil prophecy and mission. These ideas were finally to lead to the doctrine of the Muḥammadan light (*nūr muḥammadī* [*q.v.*].

3. Transposition of an alchemical idea. The symbol of the Perfect Man is connected also with the alchemical conception of man as a microcosm and of the macrocosm as "meganthropos" (*insān kabīr*). According to al-Djurdjānī, in his *Definitions*, the perfect man unites the totality both of the divine (*ilāhiyya*) worlds and of the engendered (*kawniyya*) worlds, universal and particular; he is the Writing which combines the divine Writings and the engendered Writings; indeed, in respect of his mind and intellect, he is an intelligible Book, named *Umm al-Kitāb*; in respect of his heart, he is the Book of the *Lawḥ Maḥfūẓ*; in respect of his soul, he is the Book of the Abolition (*maḥw*) and Establishment (*ithbāt*) of being. The relation of the Prime Intellect to the macrocosm is that of the human Spirit to the body and its faculties: the universal Soul is the heart of the macrocosm, just as the rational soul is the heart of man. Thus the universe is called *al-Insān al-kabīr*. We find these ideas being applied to the matter of the Perfect Man in Ibn ʿArabī (*e.g.*, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, ch. I, *De la Sagesse divine dans le Verbe adamique* trans. Burckhardt, *La Sagesse des Prophètes*, 23 f. and in al-Djīlī, *al-Insān al-kāmil*, ch. 53, *On the Prime Intellect*: "The Science of the prime Intellect and that of the sublime Calamus are one single Light whose relation to man is called the prime Intellect, while its relation to God is called the sublime Calamus. This being the Intellect ascribed to Muḥammad, it is from him that God created the Angel Gabriel in pre-eternity. Thus Muḥammad is a father to Gabriel and a principle for the totality of the World").

4). Ibn ʿArabī. The idea of the Perfect Man is found in Ibn ʿArabī, in the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, as a development of the ḳurʾānic revelation, according to which man is the *khalīfa* of God on earth: at once ephemeral and eternal, it is through his existence that the world was completed. "He is to the world what the stone is to the ring: the stone bears the seal which the king affixes to his treasure-chests". To man is entrusted the divine safeguarding of the World, and the world will not cease to be safeguarded so long as this Perfect Man shall remain there. God first created the whole world like a mirror which has not yet been polished. In order that He might be perfectly manifested in it, it was necessary that by means of divine Order (*amr*) this mirror should be made clear, "and Adam became the very clarity of this mirror and the spirit of this image". Therefore the Prophet says that God created Man in His image, that is to say that Adam is the prototype who synthesizes all the categories of the divine Presence, Essence (*dhāt*), attributes (*ṣifāt*) and actions (*afʿāl*) (cf. *La Sagesse des Prophètes*, 20, 22, 154 and 54, n. 1). The image of God is no other than His Presence, "so that, in this noble epitome which is the Perfect Man, God manifested ... all the divine Names and the essential Realities (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*) of all that exists outside Himself, in the macrocosm, in detailed fashion ... From the Perfect Man He made the spirit of the world, and subjected the high and the low to him. Just as there is nothing in the world which does not exalt God by praise of Him (XVII, 44), so there is nothing in the world which does not serve this man ...". Here Ibn ʿArabī recalls the *taskhīr*, and he concludes: "Everything the world contains is subject to man. This is known to him who knows, that is to say the Perfect Man, and is not known by him who does not know, that is to say man the animal" (p. 154).

5). The Muḥammadan Reality (*Ḥaḳīḳa muḥammadiyya*). Ibn ʿArabī writes in his *Futūḥāt* (i, ch. 6): "God existed, and with Him there was nothing which would later add itself to Him ... From the act by which He gave existence to the world, no attribute passed to Him which He had not previously possessed. Before creating, he was described and designated by the Names with which the created beings invoke Him. When He willed the existence of the world and its establishment in accordance with the determinations of which He was aware through the knowledge which He had from Himself, from this entirely pure will there was produced a passive element, by a kind of irradiation of Transcendence towards universal Reality: thus there was produced a Reality known as *al-habāʾ* (literally a cloud of atoms, cf. lvi, 6) ... Then He irradiated with His Light towards this cloud, which the scholars call universal matter, and in which the whole world is in being". Here Ibn ʿArabī quotes the verse of the Light (XXIV, 35). "Now there is nothing, in this cloud, which is nearer to Him, in relation to the capacity for receiving this Light, than the Reality of Muḥammad, called Intellect. Thus he was the leader (*sayyid*) of the World and the first manifestation of existence. His existence is made from this divine Light, from the Cloud and universal Reality. In the Cloud his essence exists, and the essence of the world springs from its irradiation. Those nearest to him, among men, are ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the being intimate with all the prophets (*asrār al-anbiyāʾ*)". Thus the Perfect Man, the archetype of the universe and humanity, is not Adam but Muḥammad: "Now Muḥammad was the first symbol of his Lord, for he had received the universal words which are the content of the names which God taught to Adam" (*La Sagesse des Prophètes*, 182). It is therefore in him and through him that Adam, and also the other prophets and the "saints" (*awliyāʾ*), find their perfection. For, as al-Djīlī went on to show, there are ectypal perfect men who are more or less perfect and who appear in actual fact in history. As for the interpretation of the verse on the teaching of the names to Adam (II, 31), in support of a total pre-eminence of Muḥammad over men and angels, this takes its inspiration from the idea of creation by the Names, another expression for creation by Light, the Names being themselves luminous.

6). *Al-Insān al-Kāmil* of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī. The Perfect Man, his nature and his place in the divine epiphanies as a whole, are studied in detail in the work of al-Djīlī. The theses expounded by Ibn ʿArabī are here repeated: "Know that the Word of the God of Truth constitutes the very essences of the possible; everything possible is one of the sayings of the Word of God; thus the possible is inexhaustible, just as it is said (XVIII, 109): "If the sea were of ink to trace the words of my Lord, the sea would be exhausted before the word of my Lord were exhausted ...". Indeed, the Word, considered in its entirety, is a form for the ideas which are in the knowledge of him who speaks and wishes to express them publicly (*ibrāz*). And so, among other denominations, beings are "sublime letters", as Ibn

ʿArabī says: "We were sublime letters which were not read". In order to read them, just as to speak, there must be a will which sets in motion and a breath (*nafas*) which animates. God has willed that letters should be made to pass, from the invisible world of the *ghayb* to the visible world of the *shahāda*. But He has especially spelled out Man by a breath from His own Spirit (XXXII, 9). The same observation occurs in Ibn Kaḍīb al-Bāri in his *Mawāḳif al-Ilāhiyya*. From this starting-point, al-Djili writes: "Glory to Him who has made man a copy of Himself (*nuskha*); if you looked into yourself, you would find for each of His attributes a copy in yourself" (i, ch. 20).

"The Perfect Man is the pole (*ḳuṭb*) around which the spheres of existence turn, from the first to the last". Ibn Kaḍīb al-Bāri says that man is the point of the sphere which serves as a pivot (*madār*) for existence. The Perfect Man is unique in all eternity. But he appears in different guises (*malābis*) and receives various names. His name in principle is Muḥammad, his *kunya* Abū 'l-Ḳāsim, his attribute ʿAbd Allāh, his *laḳab* Shams al-Dīn. His other names vary with each epoch, in harmony with the "guise" of that epoch. But all are united in Muḥammad. Spiritual men are in the image of Muḥammad (*al-sūra al-Muḥammadiyya*), which refers to the muḥammadan Reality, and one sees Muḥammad in such images. There is no metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) there, but merely the irradiation (*tadjallī*) of the Muḥammadan Reality in each era upon the most perfect of men, who thus become the representatives (*khulafāʾ*) of the Prophet on the plane of manifestation (*ẓāhir*), while the Muḥammadan Reality is the hidden side (*bāṭin*) of their own reality.

The Perfect Man, in himself, is that which corresponds (*muḳābil*) to the totality of the Real. Al-Djili enumerates all these correspondences (ch. 60). As in God all opposites co-exist, so in the correspondences one discovers the same antitheses. In the Perfect Man the aspects of the *ḥaḳḳ* and the *khalḳ* are combined; he is the mirror of the Name of God (*Allāh*) and he corresponds to all the Names and Attributes; to Ipseity (*huwiyya*), to Egoity (*aniyya*). Thus God has entrusted him with the *amāna* (XXXIII, 72). All the epiphanies of the essence (*dhāt*) of the God of Truth (*Ḥaḳḳ*), from the *Ulūhiyya* (the being-Allah) and the *Aḥadiyya* (absolute Unicity) to the *Wāḥidiyya* (the Unity of the multiple), the *Raḥmāniyya* (virtue of mercy, which extends to all individuals and supports them in their being) and the *Rubūbiyya* (the Lordship which directs them), recur in the "copy", that is to say the *Insān kāmil*. This recalls the theory of the divine Powers, of the Man of God, and of the *Logos* in Philo of Alexandria, and is also close to the theory of the *Sephīrōt* in the *Zohar*.

As for the Perfect Man, regarded not as the prototype but as the believer, the "saint" or individual prophet who is to be "clad" in the Muḥammadan Reality, he passes through three intermediate zones (*barāzikh*): the first, the initial stage, the actual knowledge of the Names and Attributes; the second, the middle stage, is that of the touch-stone (*maḥaḳḳ*) which proves the spiritual relations of man with God (*raḳāʾiḳ insāniyya*) by the divine Realities; the third is the knowledge of the diversification of Wisdom in the creation of that which is the subject of the divine Decree. After that, there is the Seal (*khitām*, LXXXIII, 26), then the final term, the Majesty of Greatness (*kibriyāʾ*, XLV, 37), which is infinite.

7). Conclusion. There are more concise definitions of the Perfect Man, for example in al-Ḳūnawī: "The fortieth degree of existence is the Perfect Man. It is with him that the degrees reach their completion, that the world is perfected and the God of Truth manifests Himself to the world by the most perfect manifestation". In his *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, al-Tahānawī records that the *Kitāb al-Fulūk* contains this passage:—"The Perfect Man is the isthmus (*barzakh*) between necessity (*wudjūb*) and possibility (*imkān*), the mirror which combines the attributes of eternity and its laws with the attributes of the generation of beings (*ḥidthān*). He is the central point between the *Ḥaḳḳ* and the *Khalḳ*. Through him and through his hierarchical rank (*martaba*), the emanation((*fayḍ*) of the *Ḥaḳḳ* and the presence (*madad*), the source of subsistence((*baḳāʾ*) of that which is not God, make their way to the entire world, the upper and the lower. Without him and without his quality of *barzakh* (*barzakhiyya*) which does not cut itself off in either of the two extremes, nothing in the world would receive the divine presence of the Unique, for lack of relationship and link". Al-Tahānawī notes that the same things are found in the *Sharḥ al-Fuṣūṣ* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djāmī. Finally, he makes an observation which well emphasises the exceptional situation of the man neither within nor outside the world, neither united with it or separated from it. "His connection with the world is that of a hegemony (*tadbīr*) and of a free disposition (*taṣarruf*)".

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(R. Arnaldez)

INSCRIPTIONS [see kitābāt].

INSHĀʾ (inshā), strictly "construction", "style" or "composition", *i.e.*, of letters, documents or state papers; then used elliptically for *ʿilm al-inshāʾ* (as, *e.g.*, in *mabādī al-inshāʾ*) or even as a synonym for *munshaʾāt*, "documents composed according to the rules of *inshāʾ*"; finally also to designate a form of literature, popular and widespread in the area of the Islamic cultural languages (*i.e.*, Arabic, Persian and Turkish), in which were included what in the West would be counted under the heading of style-books for chancery scribes, copy-books and letter manuals. Thus *inshāʾ* literature offers important material not only for epistolography and diplomatic, but also for the literary history of the Islamic world, especially since it often includes models from the pens of prominent letter-writers, poets or statesmen. This literature comprises works of various types. Some are limited to the collection of precepts for writers of letters and documents, *i.e.*, for the chancery scribes (*kātib* [*al-sirr*], *munshīʾ*), whilst others contain collections of model letters of every type, private and public, and especially materials originating from the chancery, *i.e.*, documents, diplomas and state papers. Some works include only one or the other—either precepts for scribes, including stylistic directions, or simply models of style—but those in which both elements are represented are numerous.

The themes of private correspondence to be found in *inshāʾ*-works are those of eulogy, congratulation, condolence, gratitude, remembrance, etc. They are addressed to members of the family, friends or acquaintances. The various kinds of documents and State papers are dealt with in the article diplomatic.

Copies of documents actually drawn up and issued are often offered as examples of style; but fabricated texts, to which however a certain relative value may be assigned, are also occasionally used. Since both authentic and fabricated examples of style are produced at random and without any distinguishing

indication, careful verification is needed in each case as to whether a given text is authentic or not. Special care is required if the compiler of an *in͟shāʾ* work wishes to show the documents of bygone times, for example documents or state papers of an earlier ruler or some other prominent personality. In this case fabricated texts could be inserted all too easily, when, though authentic examples were lacking, the compiler wished to show how documents of such a kind might have appeared. This need not imply an intent to mislead, since the compiler was guided by subjective or in any case literary motives, not usually by historical and much less juristic purposes. Fabricated texts, however, cannot be ruled out, even if the author of an *in͟shāʾ* work cites, as often happens, documents which he himself has composed, possibly in his capacity as an important chancery official. These may only be drafts which were no doubt submitted but were not ratified; yet they seemed to the author worthy of inclusion on stylistic grounds. Care is also called for with regard to formularies, since it is not always possible to establish whether they have been taken from genuine documents drawn up according to the rules but omitting specific details such as the address, date, place of issue, etc., or whether they have been freely invented.

The lack or scarcity of historically relevant original documents from certain periods of Islamic history has attracted the interest of historical research to *in͟shāʾ* literature, in the search for substitutes for lost or destroyed originals, and with good reason, since, given the non-historical motives of their compilers, most of the *in͟shāʾ* works—apart from the special cases just mentioned—are not *a limine* suspect of spuriousness or intent to mislead. For this reason our knowledge of *in͟shāʾ* literature has improved considerably over the last decades with regard both to the content and to the form of individual works or whole groups of works. On account of the almost exclusively historical interest of the researchers, little or nothing has been said from the point of view of style, aesthetics or literary criticism. Then too questions about the origin and early development of *in͟shāʾ*, questions important in several respects, have been so little investigated that what we are offered on these topics still consists largely of guesswork.

It seems probable that already in the time of Muḥammad the people of Mecca made use of Arabic written documents in their diplomatic and commercial transactions. That specific rules were already in use and held good for such purposes may be seen also in the conduct of the Meccan delegation to Ḥudaybiya for the *bayʿat al-riḍwān*: against Muḥammad's desire to use the *basmala*, they insisted on the customary formulary already in use. We do not know, however, whether there were already tabulations of those rules or even collections of formulae which might be regarded as the precursors of the later *in͟shāʾ* literature. For the time being literature of this type can be traced back only as far as the end of the Umayyad period. Although this literature is without doubt Arabic in origin, yet the influence of Persian and Byzantine models is to be taken into account, as can be seen in the character of the letters and documents themselves. In any case it must always be remembered that, after the Arab conquests in Persia and Mesopotamia, the Sāsānid chancery and its personnel was taken over by the new rulers, as was the Byzantine chancery and its personnel in Egypt. Furthermore, in each case many years elapsed before the process of Arabization was complete, bringing with it the exclusive use of the Arabic language and Arab personnel in the chancery.

As yet we do not know when the term *in͟shāʾ* came into use. It appears already in Ḳudāma, hence around 288/900, in his *Kitāb al-K͟harād͟j wa-ṣanʿat al-kitāba, passim*. It was used officially by the Fāṭimids in Egypt, under whom the institution known elsewhere as the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* or *dīwān al-mukātabāt* was called the *dīwān al-in͟shāʾ*. The practice commonly known as *in͟shāʾ* goes back at least to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā, the famous secretary of Marwān II, who died *ca.* 133-4/750. He left a large collection of model letters, part of which has survived, as well as his *Risāla ila 'l-kuttāb* (Italian trans. *apud* F. Gabrieli). Even the reputation which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd enjoyed as a *kātib* illustrates the effect of Persian influence: up to this time the secretaries of the Umayyads had occupied only a humble position, while under the Sāsānids their position had been far superior. Persian influence appears even more clearly in the style of his letters. His *Risāla ila 'l-kuttāb*, it is true, is still composed in simple prose, but in his other writings the use of artificial stylistic methods, for example *sad͟jʿ* [*q.v.*], in accordance with Iranian models, is unmistakable. *Sad͟jʿ* was to be the basis of the *stylus ornatus*, a characteristic feature of the later *in͟shāʾ* literature, but also of various other genres. The presumption of Persian influence is confirmed by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's [*q.v.*] advice to secretaries.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, there took place an unprecedented rise in the position of the chancery secretary in the official hierarchy of the state, a process not unconnected, presumably, with other Persian influences. The elaboration of a body of literature relating to the secretary and his office went hand in hand with this process. Abu 'l-Yusr Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Mudabbir, appointed vizier *ca.* 264/876, appears as the author of the first handbook for secretaries, entitled *al-Risāla al-ʿad͟hrāʾ fī mawāzīn al-balāg͟ha*. The literature of the secretaries (*in͟shāʾ*) cannot at this period be clearly distinguished from the *adab al-kātib* literature [see KĀTIB], which is dealt with in the histories of literature and summarized by Björkman, *Staatskanzlei*. It reached high points under the Būyids with Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 359/970), but especially in Egypt and particularly under the Fāṭimids, with Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 463/1147), and finally under the Mamluks with Aḥmad Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's work, *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-s͟harīf*, composed after 741/1340-1, and with al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, whose work *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs͟hāʾ fī kitābat al-in͟shāʾ*, completed in 815/1412, an encyclopaedia of all the information useful to the scribe, became in practice a handbook for the administration as a whole.

Arabic *in͟shāʾ* literature continued to be productive for centuries longer, without, however, attaining any particularly high points. In the nineteenth century it even survived under European influence, as may be seen in works written in French by Arab authors. Before it reached this stage, however, it had had further secondary developments, namely when, with the decline of the power of the Caliph, local dynasties arose, and, as a result, other languages came into official use in the Islamic world alongside Arabic or in its stead. At that time, and especially after the collapse of the Caliphate, *in͟shāʾ* literature developed in languages other than Arabic, first in Persian, then in Ottoman Turkish, in Čag͟hatay, and in Urdu.

Persian was, it is true, used officially in place

of Arabic in the chancery of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm as early as 657/1259. But this seems to have been simply the culmination of a development which had begun very much earlier. We know in fact that from the second half of the 6th/12th century at the latest Persian models were used in Khwārazm for chancery purposes. They developed under Arabic influence, as is clear from the fact that the oldest collections contain both Arabic and Persian models (cf. Horst)., *e.g.*, the collection of Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, d. 578/1182-3. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Baghdādī, minister of the Khwārazmshāh Takash, is outstanding among contemporary or later masters of the art of *inshāʾ*. His work, *al-Tawassul ila 'l-tarassul* (ed. A. Bahmanyār, Teheran 1315/1936), was so well known that, even in the 10th/16th century, the famous Ferīdūn Aḥmad Beg [*q.v.*] could make use of it to "complete" his *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*. Similarly at the end of the 6th/12th century al-Mayhanī compiled his collection *Kitāb al-Rasāʾil bi 'l-fārisiyya*, and further the *Dastūr-i dabīrī*. From then on there is no end to the series of Persian *inshāʾ* works. They reached a peak in the second half of the 8th/14th century with the *Dastūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib* of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjuwānī, who, moreover, also stated at that time his intention of compiling an Arabic *inshāʾ* work as a sequel to his Persian one. More detailed information about Persian *inshāʾ* is to be found in Ethé, Roemer and Herrmann (see bibl.).

The Ottoman *inshāʾ* literature is directly linked with the Persian, and thus also with the Arabic. For various reasons it seems likely that the Ottomans drew exclusively on Persian traditions, but in the present state of research direct Arabic influences, *e.g.*, from the Mamluks, cannot *a priori* be excluded. In any case there are Turkish *inshāʾ* works containing Arabic alongside their Turkish and Persian stylistic models. The origin of the Turkish *inshāʾ* literature goes back as far as the beginning of the 9th/15th century, to a work entitled *Tarassul*, containing directions for scribes and model letters, by Aḥmad Dāʿī (d. 824/1421). The next works known to us come from the end of the 9th/15th century: Yaḥyā al-Kātib, *Manāhidj al-inshāʾ*; Ḥusāmzāda Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Madjmūʿa-yi inshāʾ*; Meḥmed b. Edhem, *Gülshen-i inshāʾ*. The *magnum opus* of Turkish *inshāʾ* literature is the famous work of Feridūn Beg [*q.v.*], *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*, composed about 974/1566 (Instanbul [1]1264-5, [2]1274-5, two volumes each), in which, however, both genuine and fabricated documents are included. For the development of Ottoman *inshāʾ* in particular, reference should be made to Björkman, *Briefsammlungen* and Matuz, where a comprehensive bibliography of Ottoman *inshāʾ* works may be found.

The foregoing survey may be supplemented by the articles DIPLOMATIC, DĪWĀN, KĀTIB, etc.

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(H. R. Roemer)

INSHĀʾ, *makhlaṣ* of the famous Urdu poet, one of the most remarkable figures in Urdu literature, Inshāʾ Allāh Khān. The eldest son of Mīr Māshāʾ Allāh Khān "Maṣdar" al-Djaʿfarī al-Nadjafī, he was born between 1756 and 1758 at Murshidābād [*q.v.*], where the family had settled after its migration from ʿIrāḳ, the grandfather of Inshāʾ, Shāh Nūr Allāh al-Nadjafī having also been born in this town. Māshāʾ Allāh Khān had established himself as a physician and became one of the courtiers of the last independent Muslim ruler of Bengal, Nawwāb Sirādj al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; on the decline of his fortunes, he migrated to Farrūkhābād [*q.v.*]. Inshāʾ received his early education in various sciences including grammar and syntax, logic and philosophy at home, and at the age of sixteen left for Lucknow in search of a post; he joined the court of Nawwāb Shudjāʾ al-Dawla, who had already settled a *djāgīr* having an income of Rs. 10,000 on his father [see awadh and fayḍābād]. He appears to have started composing poetry at a very early age, as he had compiled his *dīwān* of Urdu verses when he was still a boy, "in a new style and without the help of a teacher" (cf. Aḥmad ʿAlī, *Makhzan al-gharāʾib*, fol. 60b). He had also tried his hand at composing Arabic and Persian verses. Polished, cultured, and witty, he soon made an ideal boon-companion to the ruler of Awadh. On the death of Shudjāʾ al-Dawla he left Lucknow in 1786 and served several nobles in turn in Bundelkhand, Delhi and Djaynagar. Unable to find an appreciative patron, he returned to Lucknow, where he joined the retinue of Mīrzā Sulaymān Shukōh (d. 1837), the third son of the Mughal emperor Shāh ʿĀlam II, as a court-poet. Some time later Tafaḍḍul Ḥusayn Khān ʿAllāma, a Shīʿī nobleman and patron of art and literature, introduced him to Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān, the ruler of Lucknow, who assigned him a monthly salary of Rs. 200. Soon they became close friends, but a chance remark on a delicate occasion offended the Nawwāb, and led to his expulsion from Lucknow; though allowed to return later he spent the rest of his life in rather reduced circumstances.

His sharp and sometimes caustic wit made him more enemies than friends. By his superior talents he outshone his rival Ghulām Hamadānī Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*], himself a great poet, upon whom he heaped insults and disgrace. He did not spare even wayfarers and strangers whom he freely ridiculed. He had several literary bouts with his contemporaries, which generally degenerated into obscene satires and lampoons. The libellous procession, headed by clowns and ruffians, which he took out to vilify the aged Muṣḥafī, in a centre of culture like Lucknow, shows to what depths he could at times sink. As a pioneer in the field of Urdu grammar and linguistics he was far ahead of his times. Leaning towards the unconventional, his verse is both amusing and burlesque, constituting a landmark in the development of Urdu poetry. His style is laboured and artificial as against his rival Muṣḥafī's, who was a natural poet.

He was the first important poet to write *rēkhtī*, poetry written in the language peculiar to women, in the Urdu language.

His *Kulliyāt* (ed. Lucknow 1312/1894), which comprises his Urdu, *rēkhtī* and Persian *dīwāns*, *ḳaṣīdas* and five or six *mathnawīs*, contains between 8,000 and 9,000 verses marked chiefly by virtuosity but little poetic feeling. He indulged in verbal gymnastics using most intractable rhymes, sometimes writing a series of *ghazals* in the same metre and rhyme merely to display his vast vocabulary and poetic skill.

He was equally at home in Arabic, Persian, Turkī, Pushtū, Hindī, Bengālī, Pandjābī, Kashmīrī and Pūrbī. His prose works comprise: (1) *Daryā-i laṭāfat* in Persian (ed. Murshidābād 1266/1850; Awrangābād 1916; Urdu tr. by Bridjmohan Dattatrya Kayfī, Delhi 1935), the first work by an Indian author on Urdu linguistics and grammar, composed at the instance of Yamīn al-Dawla in 1222/1807 in collaboration with Mīrzā Ḳatīl, a well-known poet of Persian, who contributed the chapters on logic, prosody and rhetoric. The rest is by Inshāʾ. It shows the author's wide range of study and his grasp of Urdu linguistics and morphology. (2) *Rānī Ketkī Kī Kahānī*, a romantic tale with love, magic and adventure as its theme, written in pure Hindī, without a single word of Arabic or Persian origin. In spite of such limitations, the narrative is neither dry nor artificial although it is interspersed with archaic words and expressions (ed. Delhi 1937, Karachi 1955). (3) *Silk-i Gawhar*, also a love story in Urdu prose, without any dotted letter, in clear imitation of the *Sawāṭiʿ al-ilhām* and *Mawārid al-kalim* of Fayḍī [*q.v.*], but much inferior, both in diction and phraseology. The story is insipid and colourless (ed. Imtiyāz ʿAlī ʿArshī, Rampur 1948). (4) A fragment of his diary in Turkī from 18 Djumādā II 1223/12 July 1808 to 25 Djumādā II 1223/18 August 1808 containing some very interesting and useful information not found elsewhere (MS. Rampur State Library). This seems to be his last work, since he stopped writing after his only son Taʿāl Allāh died in the prime of his youth, in the same year. Two years later he earned the displeasure of his patron Nawwāb Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān, and this ultimately led to his utter ruin. Disillusioned and broken-hearted, he died in comparative obscurity in 1233/1818 in Lucknow, which had seen him at the height of a glory and fame seldom rivalled by any other Urdu poet or litterateur.

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1848; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Gul-i raʿnā*, Lahore 1964, 213-22; Rām Bābū Saksēna, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1940, 15, 82-6; T. Grahame Bailey, *A history of Urdu literature*, Calcutta 1932, 54-5; Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 11-2, 120, 124-30, 138, 167, 314; Sri Rām, *Khumkhānā-i djāwīd*, Delhi 1908, 467-75; Amina Khātūn, *Taḥḳīḳī nawādir*, Bangalore 1950, 8-60, 107-17, 131-53; ʿAbd al-Salām Nadwī, *Shiʿr al-Hind*, s.v. Inshā'; Garcin de Tacy, *Historie de la literature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, Paris 1870, s.v. Inshā'; Mīr Ḥasan, *Tadhkira-i shuʿarā'-i Urdū*, Delhi 1940, 19-20; Ḳudrat Allāh Shawḳ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarā'*, Lahore 1967; Farḥat Allāh Bēg, *Inshā'*, n.p. n.d.; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i ḥayāt*, Lahore 1954, 254-302 (a good readable account but not fully reliable); Muḥammad Yaḥyā Tanhā, *Siyar al-muṣannifīn*; Ibn Amīn Allāh "Tūfān", *Tadhkira-i shuʿarā'*, Patna 1954, 403; Muḥsin ʿAlī Muḥsin, *Sarāpā sukhan*, Lucknow 1860, 133, 164, 224, 227; Aʿẓam al-Dawla "Sarwar", *Tadhkira-i Sarwar* (= *ʿUmda-i muntakhiba*), Delhi 1961, 24-47; A. Sprenger (= Ṭufayl Aḥmad), *Yādgār-i shuʿarā'*, Allahabad 1943, 34; Walī Allāh Farrukhābādī, *Ta'rīkh-i Farrukhābād* (Urdu tr. under the title *ʿAhd-i Bangash*), Karachi 1965, 369-71; Bhagwāndās "Hindī", *Safīna-i Hindī*, Patna 1377/1958, 19; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn "Bāṭin", *Gulistān-i Bīkhizān*, Lucknow 1291/1874, 10-11; Mubtalā, *Gulshan-i sukhan*, Lucknow 1965, 64; ʿAbd al-Bārī Āsī, *Tadhkira-i khanda-i gul*, Lucknow 1929, 78-97; Nūr al-Ḥasan Hāshimī, *Dilli kā dabistānī shāʿirī*, Karachi 1949, 196-202; Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, *Lakhna'ū kā dabistān-i shāʿirī*, Lahore 1955, 169-90; Muṣṭafā Khān "Shīfta", *Gulshan-i bīkhār*, Delhi 1291/1874, 29-30; preface to his *Kulliyāt* (ed. Lahore 1969) by Āmina Khātūn.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

INSIGNIA [see nishān, rasm, shiʿār, wisām].

INSTITUT D'ÉGYPTE, one of the centres of intellectual and scientific life in present-day Cairo. Its history is in fact that of two separate institutes.

(a) The first was the Institut d'Égypte founded by Bonaparte in Cairo, under the presidency of Monge, on 20 August 1798 (3 Fructidor). Its creation had been made possible by the existence in Bonaparte's expedition of a "Commission of the Sciences and the Arts", in effect an intellectual general staff which Bonaparte had decided should accompany him when he left France. The Institut d'Égypte held its meetings in the palace of Ḥasan Kāshif, in a sort of academy which included scholars, artists, the high-ranking officers and the heads of the various services. It contained four sections (mathematics; physical and natural sciences; political economy; literature and fine arts). It was to have consisted in all of forty-eight members (twelve in each section), but this number was never reached. All the members of this institute belonged to the expeditionary force, with the exception of one Egyptian who was a member of the section of literature and fine arts: Raphaël Anṭūn Zakhūr Rāhib, a priest of the Greek Catholic rite, who later taught in Paris at the École des Langues Orientales (1803-16) and who on his return to Egypt published, among other works, the first book to be printed by the press at Būlāḳ, an Italian Arabic dictionary (1822).

In addition to producing geographical maps based on astronomical data, the Institut collected "all the details necessary for information about the agricultural resources, the industry, the customs and the political condition of the inhabitants". The Institut controlled the printing works directed by the orientalist Marcel. This Institut, whose existence was necessarily brief owing to political and military circumstances, produced outstanding work intended "to cause the miseries of the conquest to be forgotten through the benefits of peace", according to Gabriel Guémard. The reports of the meetings were published in the *Décade Égyptienne*. After the evacuation of Egypt, the large collections and notes were made known in the famous *Description de l'Égypte*, a unique source of information for the student of late 18th century Egypt both from the point of view of Egyptology and of modern history. This *Description* consists of volumes of text together with an outstanding collection of geographical maps and plates on a wide variety of subjects.

(b) On 6 May 1859, during a preliminary meeting, there was founded in Alexandria under "the illustrious protection of His Highness the Viceroy of Egypt" (Muḥammad Saʿīd Pasha), the Institut Égyptien, whose aim was to continue the traditions of the Institut founded by Bonaparte. European and Egyptian scholars met there on an equal footing. This "scientific and literary" society was transferred to Cairo in 1880. It adopted again the old name of Institut d'Égypte on 1 November 1918 and is still continuing its activities more than a hundred years later. Its Arabic name is *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-miṣrī*. According to its statutes, revised in 1918, there were envisaged fifty titular members, resident in Egypt; in addition there are appointed honorary members, the number of which must not exceed one hundred, and an unlimited number of corresponding members. The Institut publishes regularly a Bulletin (*madjalla*) which, from 1859 to 1918, was called *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, then, from 1918, *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*; it publishes also *Mémoires* which appear at irregular intervals. It publishes in Arabic, French and English, but up to now the publications have been mainly in French and English. The best outline of the activities of the Institut d'Égypte is in the bibliographical work by Jean Ellul, *Index des Communications et Mémoires publiés par l'Institut d'Égypte (1859-1952)*, Cairo 1952. Apart from some modifications to bring them in line with the new legislation of the U.A.R., the statutes of 1918, published at that time in the *Bulletin*, still remain the legal basis of the Institut d'Égypte.

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INSTRUMENT [see ĀLA].

INTIDĀB [see MANDATE].

INTELLECT [see ʿAḲL].

INTENTION [see NIYYA].

INTERCESSION [see SHAFĀʿA].

INTIHĀʾ, "end, conclusion", a term in rhetoric. In Ḳazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* (published under the title *Matn al-talkhīṣ*, Cairo n.d., 126-7), its extended version, the *Īḍāḥ* (ed. Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādjī, Cairo 1369/1950, vi, 153-4), the various works based on the *Talkhīṣ*, as well as in some earlier texts, the *intihāʾ* is mentioned along with the *ibtidāʾ*, "introduction", "prologue" [*q.v.*], and the *takhalluṣ*, "transition" [*q.v.*], as one of the three sectons of the poem or prose composition (some mention also the *khuṭba*, "sermon") which should receive particular attention. The author should bear in mind that the end of his poem or composition is most likely to be remembered by his audience and can therefore make up for earlier deficiencies, as well as spoil an otherwise successful work. He should not only show himself at his best, but should also make clear that no further developments of his theme are to follow, and this may be achieved by ending with an invocation (*duʿāʾ*), by the use of words derived from the roots *kamala*, "to be complete", *khatama*, "to seal, finish", etc. (according to some late handbooks; for examples see the chapter in Ibn Ḥidjdja's *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1304/1886, 462, 464, 466), or by other means which are not always clearly defined. Among early scholars Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (*K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1371/1952, 443-5) advocates the use of proverbs at the end of poems, and Ibn Rashīḳ holds that the *duʿāʾ* should only be used at the end of poems addressed to kings (a particular variant of this, the *duʿāʾ-i-taʾbīd*, "prayer for [the ruler's] perpetuity" is mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Teheran n.d., 33). Some frequently quoted verse examples sum up the previous argument by means of a hyperbole. Most authors point out that, like the *takhalluṣ*, the *intihāʾ* receives much attention in the work of later poets.

The *intihāʾ* is often discussed under headings like *ḥusn al-maḳṭaʿ*, *barāʿat al-maḳṭaʿ* (*maḳṭaʿ* in this context to be distinguished from the same term as applied to the end of a line of poetry), *ḥusn al-khātima*, etc.

Considerable attention is given to the *intihāʾ* in the Ḳurʾān, but scholars following Ḳazwīnī concede that experience is needed to appreciate the stylistic qualities of the endings of the *sūras*.

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(S. A. Bonebakker)

INTIḤĀR, "suicide", expressed more technically in Arabic by *ḳatl nafs-* with pronominal suffix (as against *ḳatl nafs* or *al-nafs* "homicide"). *Intiḥār* designated originally, and does so in its occurrence in the *ḥadīth*, suicide by piercing or cutting one's throat. At an undetermined but possibly quite early date, the word was singled out to mean suicide in general. It is thus used in modern Arabic and in Turkish, also in Persian.

The Ḳurʾān contains several passages (II, 54/51, IV, 66/69, XVIII, 6/5) that might possibly be interpreted (but, in fact, are not) as indicating a factual, even condoning attitude toward suicide. No clear prohibition of suicide appears in it. The most relevant passage in this respect, IV, 29/33: "and do not kill your selves (*anfusakum*)", is interpreted by leading exegetes as referring to mutual killing, with *anfus-* to be understood as reciprocal in meaning, as in II, 85/79 and elsewhere. The context supports this interpretation. However, the verse is often cited as evidence for the divine prohibition of suicide.

The Prophet himself certainly disapproved of suicide. A number of *ḥadīth*s leave no doubt that Islam forbids it. The person who commits suicide, regardless of the circumstances (unless it happens accidentally), forfeits Paradise. His punishment in Hell will be the repetition of the very act by which he killed himself. The Prophet is said to have refused to say the customary prayers for a suicide. Suicide was thus generally considered a grave sin (for instance, al-Dhahabī, *Kabāʾir*, Cairo 1385/1965, 119 ff., ch. 29; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haythamī, *Zawādjir*, Cairo 1370/1951, ii, 89 f.). At times, it was pronounced a more distressing act than murder (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, Cairo 1343-49, iii, 217; Ibn ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, Cairo 1329, ii, 234, ch. 147, iv, 463 f., ch. 960; cf. also the case posed by Ḳāḍīkhān, *Fatāwī*, Calcutta 1835, iv, 198 f.).

The legal literature has comparatively little to say about successful suicide, and no good evidence appears to be available as to the medieval legal attitude toward abortive suicide attempts. The most debated question, and no doubt the one of the greatest practical importance, was, and still is, whether the funeral prayers may of may not be accorded to suicides. Authorities within the various legal schools have held divergent views on this point and the practice appears to have varied. The more charitable view may have widely prevailed. For instance, when ʿĪsā b. Yūsuf al-ʿIrāḳī, a blind professor at the Amīniyya in Damascus, committed suicide under tragic circumstances in 602/1206, people refused to pray for him, but another prominent Shāfiʿite scholar did (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1351-58, xiii, 44, from Abū Shāma). Details occasionally discussed by jurists were such points as the inapplicability of the *ʿāḳila* [*q.v.*] in cases of suicide (Ibn Abī Zayd, *Risāla*, ed. trans. L. Berchet, Algiers 1949, 246); the disposition of the *mahr* [*q.v.*] of a woman who commits suicide before the marriage is consummated (al-Shaybānī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, Būlāḳ 1302, margin of Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, 37; Ḳāḍīkhān, i, 436); the legal responsibility of the person who by digging a well or the like inadvertently makes it possible for someone to commit suicide (Ḳāḍīkhān, iv, 134, 464; for the Muʿtazilī view on the moral problems caused by knowingly enabling a person to kill himself, cf. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, xi, Cairo 1385/1965, 232 f.; cf. also Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Miftāḥ dār al-saʿāda*, Cairo, n.d., ii, 53); or, according to modern Shīʿa law, the validity of a suicide's will depending on the time it was made (A. A. A. Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan law*, Calcutta 1949, 306).

Lay views and attitudes with respect to suicide present a rather different picture. The threat of committing suicide was not infrequently used as a psychological weapon, in one instance even by the famous Ṣūfī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī for the purpose of forcing the deity to confirm his saintliness by some minor miracle, provoking the strong disapproval of al-Djunayd (al-Sarrādj, *Lumaʿ*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, Leiden-London 1914, 327; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 132 f., omitting al-Djunayd's disapproval). A woman might threaten suicide in order to force her husband to give her a divorce (Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwī*, Cairo n.d. [1965-6], iv, 148). "Suicide "is widely used figuratively to indicate voluntary exposure to serious danger in war or through such activities as excessive praying and fasting (which, however, is also literally branded as suicide, cf. al-Muḥāsibī, *Khalwa*, ed. I. A. Khalifé, Damascus 1955, 33; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, Cairo 1372-73, i, 120; B. Reinert, *Die Lehre vom tawakkul*, Berlin 1968, 267 f.) or imprudent talkativeness (al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, 21). It also occurs as a metaphor for extraordinary effort and unusual excitement. Muslim poets refer to suicide half seriously half playfully in various connexions, as, for instance, ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, *Dīwān*, ed. P. Schwarz, no. 127 (*Aghānī*³, i, 158); Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1377/1957, 50, 251; al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, i, 322 (cf. also Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 188; al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, Syr. poets, Damascus 1375/1955, i, 556; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Būlāḳ 1268, i, 229); al-Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Cairo 1287, i, 152; al-Ṣafadī, *Ghayth*, Cairo 1305, ii, 262 f. Even religious scholars might make incidental reference to suicide to prove some particular point (ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, vi, 16, 188, xi, 232 f., 393, 395 f., 492 ff.; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1933, ii, 212, iv, 219 f.).

Famous cases of suicide from pre-Islamic times are occasionally mentioned, as, for instance, King Saul (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 53); Judas Iscariot (al-Mubarrad, *Balāgha*, ed. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1965, 62); Cleopatra (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 289 f., etc.); or the Jews fighting the Romans (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, 137). The Indian custom of the self-sacrifice of widows and an assumed general Indian propensity for suicide were often referred to (for instance, al-Ṭabarī, *Dīn*, ed. A. Mingana, Manchester 1923, 11; al-Muṭahhar, *Badʾ*, ed. C. Huart, iv, 16 ff., trans., 14 ff.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 136 ff.). Cases of suicide of non-Muslims and heretics, wishing to retain their human dignity and to remain faithful to their beliefs, are reported with a mixture of disgust and admiration. Suicide because of unrequited or illicit love was celebrated by famous stories in many *adab* works, in particular, the large literature on love (for instance, al-Daylamī *ʿAṭf*, ed. J. Vadet, Cairo 1962, 77, 122-125; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Dhamm al-hawā*, Cairo 1381/1962, 356, 358, 455, 570-581); for the heroine of a romance, it was only natural to think of suicide (Gurgānī, *Wīs and Rāmīn*, Teheran 1337/1959, 76, trans. H. Massé, Paris 1959, 93). The literary topic was no doubt a romantic reflexion of reality. Its pre-Islamic roots seem to lie largely in the Hellenistic world.

Popular Hellenistic philosophy helped to strengthen the idea that death was preferable to a life of dishonour or otherwise unbearable. It probably also contributed to the discussion of whether wishing to be dead, without actually laying hands on oneself, was a legitimate desire—something that Muslim religious scholars would not accept. A philosophical view of the meaning of suicide was probably widespread among intellectuals of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1323-25, ii, 99, 114, or the poems addressed to a suicide cited by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *Manthūr*, Ms. Cairo *adab* 581, fol. 88b). Some of the discussion is preserved for us from the circle of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī. Human existence, it was argued there, possesses value only if it is accompanied by virtue; otherwise, it is equivalent to non-existence, and consequently, it would seem to make no difference if a base and imperfect life is ended by suicide. Compelling circumstances for committing suicide are destitution, disappointments, situations a person is unable to cope with, and love affairs that go beyond one's ability to handle. The occasional and temporary prevalence of the non-rational powers, which is unavoidable since human nature is the result of the simultaneous presence of all the three powers of the soul, explains the occurrence of suicide. Suicide is to be condemned, not simply on the strength of religious tradition but as an irrational act that human beings should not commit but are at times unable to avoid (*Muḳābasāt*, Cairo 1347, 215 ff., cf. *JAOS*, lxvi (1946), 248 ff.; al-Tawḥīdī and Miskawayh, *Hawāmil*, ed. A. Amīn and A. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1370/1951, 150 ff., cf. also 72 ff. and 187 ff. on the fear of or desire for death). Al-Bīrūnī, however, quoted Greek sources in order to condemn suicide (*India*, ed. E. Sachau, 284, trans. ii, 171).

Many types of suicide are mentioned widely dispersed in the sources. Even such incidentals as the suicide note are reported (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 146; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 41 [?]; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, Hyderabad 1348-50, iii, 392). Since our principal sources of information are historical and political, it is not surprising to find as the most common motives the wish to anticipate certain capture or death at the hands of an enemy and, for both men and women, the desire to escape dishonour and humiliation in turbulent times. Use was made on occasion of the religious abhorrence of suicide in order to camouflage political murder as suicide. We also hear of unsubstantiated rumours of suicide upon the death of high-ranking officials, and suspicions of a person's orthodoxy gave rise to gratuitous accusations of suicide as in the case of the poet, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 194 f.). Civic dishonour, the fear of punishment, unbearable disease (cf. the case of Ibn Shuhayd who, however, merely contemplated suicide: Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1952, 84; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, Cairo 1358/1939, i/I, 282; Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Shuhayd*, ʿAmmān [1966], 67-8), insanity , guilt feelings, and the desire for revenge are attested as causes of suicide.

In the absence of meaningful statistics, it would be rash to draw any sociological conclusions. The common motive of conjugal problems, for instance, seems to play only a relatively minor role according to the medieval literature, but whether this is due to lack of information or to the social climate created by Islam cannot be decided. Suicides of religious scholars are rarely reported. Possible instances of cases in which a scholar's political or administrative activities can be ruled out as the cause are the above mentioned al-ʿIrāḳī in 602; the eccentric Ibn Sabʿīn [*q.v.*] in 669; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Bakr al-Djazarī al-Naḥwī in 698; Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ashḳar in 731 (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iii, 392); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Zarkashī in 788; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ḥanbalī in 801 (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, iv, 300); or, in a very different environment, the case mentioned by W. Ivanow, *Satpanth*, Leiden-Cairo 1948, *Collectanea*, i, 18.

The total number of all cases that can be collected from the literature remains small. However, the casual and metaphorical use of "suicide", the urgency of the discussion of the question of funeral rites, and similar matters, among them the constant presence of the thought of suicide in popular works such as the *Arabian Nights* and modern fairy tales and plays (for instance, W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953; O. Spies, *Türkische Puppenspiele*, Emsdetten/Westf. 1959, 77, 104 f.; E. Littmann, *Arabische Märchen und Schwänke*, Wiesbaden 1955, 56), make it quite clear that suicide was a part of daily life in the medieval Muslim world. Yet, even if we take into account the likelihood that suicides were hushed up wherever possible because of religious scruples, and the fact that the bulk of available biographical information concerns scholars who were most sensitive to the religious injunction against suicide and pays hardly any attention to other, numerically much stronger, classes of the population, the impression prevails that, everything considered, suicide was of comparatively rare ocurrence. The assumption that the teachings of Islam were an effective deterrent may very well be true.

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INVESTITURE [see bayʿa, k̲h̲ilʿa, taḳlīd].

INZĀL [see waḳf].

IPS̲H̲IR MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A (?-1065/1655), Ottoman Grand Vizier, was related to the "rebel" Ābāza Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a (see ābāza, i) (his sister's son according to Naʿīmā (ed. of 1282), ii, 302, iii, 194, v, 196; his uncle's son, according to *Ḥadīḳat al-dj̲awāmiʿ*, i, 182); his nickname Ips̲h̲ir is probably due to his belonging to the Apsil tribe of the Abk̲h̲āz [*q.v.*] (see Ismail Berkok, *Tarihde Kafkasya*, Istanbul 1958, 142). He was brought up by Ābāza Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, who, as governor of Aleppo, procured him the post of *sandj̲aḳ-begi* of Tarsus in 1026/1617 (Naʿīmā, v, 196). He was with Ābāza in his battle with Murtaḍā Pas̲h̲a (Naʿīmā, ii, 302), during his sojourn in Bosnia and at Belgrade, in the Polish war in 1043/1633, and in Istanbul until Ābāza's death in 1044/1634. Then Kemānkes̲h̲ Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a procured him admission into the Palace service, and by 1049/1639 he had risen to be Büyük Mīr-ak̲h̲ūr. He was thereafter successively governor of Budin, Silistre, Marʿas̲h̲, Mawṣil, Van, Karaman and (1054/1644) Temes̲h̲var; he was disliked and feared, but had a strong personal following. Although he took part in the revolt of Dervīs̲h̲ Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a in 1056/1646, he was appointed *beglerbegi* of Anadolu as being the only governor capable of putting down the various rebels (Ḥaydar-og̲h̲lu Meḥmed, Varvar ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [*qq.v.*], Gürdjü Nebī), and in 1060/1650 he was endeavouring to compose dissension among the Druzes [see durūz] in the Lebanon. He managed to avoid being sent against his friend Ābāza Ḥasan [see ābāza (2)], and finally was himself won round to the "*dj̲elālī*" cause. On 1 S̲h̲awwāl 1061/17 September 1651 he made himself master of Ankara, and extended his control over Eskis̲h̲ehir. His plans to put an end to the influence of the *ag̲h̲a*s in the capital, to restore the Durūz to submission and to support the cause of the *sipāhī*s won him a strong following, but a composition was reached with the central authorities by which Ips̲h̲ir was appointed governor of Aleppo (1062/1652). Here he began to put into effect his plans for reform, and procured the support of governors of neighbouring provinces; but in spite of his lofty aims the populace began to complain of his extortions, and he rejected suggestions from Istanbul that he should disband some of his forces. Finally, in view of the inability of the statesmen in Istanbul to agree upon another candidate and their hope that the appointment would remove the *dj̲elālī* menace, the seal of the Grand Vizierate was sent to him in Aleppo (D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥidjdja 1064/October 1654). He announced that before coming to Istanbul he would settle the problems of the eastern frontier, and published his programme of reform. This provoked alarm in Istanbul, and after being repeatedly summoned to the capital in December he started out from Aleppo. On his leisurely progress across Anatolia he re-distributed to his followers *muḳāṭaʿa*s [*q.v.*] and offices which had already been sold, claiming that his appointees were more honest and that he was protecting the populace from extortion, and did not hesitate to imprison or even execute governors accused of malpractices. At the end of February 1655, having left the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* and the Müfti's son at Üsküdar as hostages, he ventured to cross to the Palace; an interview with the Sultan banished his suspicions that his invitation to the capital was a trap, and after making a ceremonious entry into the city he was married to the late Sultan Ibrāhīm's daughter ʿĀʾis̲h̲e.

The vigorous and harsh measures which he took, however, soon offended even his closest supporters, and the *sipāhī*s, finding their hopes in him unfulfilled, allied themselves with his enemies the Janissaries. A revolt broke out on 3 Radj̲ab 1065/9 May 1655, and next day, on the insistence of the mutinous troops, Ips̲h̲ir Pas̲h̲a was executed. He left the reputation of a skilful warrior and horseman, religious, stern, and puritanical in his dress and diet.

Bibliography: apart from sources still in manuscript (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbdī Pas̲h̲a, *Weḳāyiʿnāme*; Meḥmed K̲h̲alīfe, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i g̲h̲ilmānī*; *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Nihādī*; Ḥasan Wedjīhī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*; Muṣṭafā, *Risāle-i Kürd K̲h̲aṭīb*): Evliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, i, 280-2, iii, 117, 267, 280-1, 492-532, iv, 297-8; Fındıḳlılı Meḥmed, *Silihdār taʾrīk̲h̲i*, i, 4, 6-11; Naʿīmā, ii, 302, 444, iii, 194, 432, iv, 5, 73, 111, 223, 227, 246-8, 270, 274-8, 346, 417, v, 3-5, 39-41, 44, 89-92, 155-65, 168, 171-5, 188, 195-9, 309-13, 341, 432-4, vi, 4-22, 29-47, 53-96; *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, 99-101; *Ḥadīḳat al-dj̲awāmiʿ*, i, 182, 275; ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 65 f.; Hammer-Purgstall, index s.v. Ipschirpascha; I. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/I, 234-5, 265, 272, 278-94, 438, iii/2, 276, 398-9, 408-10. See also, for the period and its disturbances: dj̲elālī (in Supp.); meḥemmed iv; sipāhī; yeñičeri. (Münir Aktepe)

IʿRĀB, a technical term in Arabic grammar. It is sometimes found translated as "inflexion", as by G. Flügel (*Die gram. Schulen*, 15), who also unjustifiably extended the sphere of this "inflexion".

Nevertheless in translating thus, one comes up against the way in which the Arab grammarians envisaged this "inflexion".

It should be pointed out, first of all, that these grammarians had no proper term for "declension" and "conjugation", and no general term for "case" and "mood". They proceed in a purely formal manner. Taking *sounds* into consideration, they make the following division: (a) *rafʿ* = nominative (as *al-radjul-u*) and indicative (as *yaḳtul-u*), because both take *-u* and are thus *marfūʿ*; (b) *naṣb* = accusative (as *al-radjul-a*) and subjunctive (as *yaḳtul-a*), because both take *-a* and are thus *manṣūb*; (c) *djarr* (*khafḍ* to the Kufans) = genitive (as *al-radjul-i*), because it takes *-i* and is thus *madjrūr* (*makhfūḍ*). This last has no counterpart in the imperfective of the verb; the latter, instead of adding a vowel, suppresses a vowel: they say: *djazm* "cutting" and this imperfective is *madjzūm* "apocopated" (as *yaḳtul*); it forms the jussive.

In this formal distribution of the three short vowels of the Arabic language the Arab grammarians mingle noun and verb. In addition, for the noun, they consider only the singular, adding merely the qualification *munṣarif* to nouns of three cases (as *al-radjul* above) and *ghayr munṣarif* to those of only two cases, such as Aḥmad: *aḥmad-u* (nom.), *aḥmad-a* (gen. and acc.). In the imperfective of the verb they introduce formal distinctions of moods only when these are formed by the addition of a short vowel (*-u*, *-a*) or by its suppression (*madjzūm*). Arab grammarians, then, do not think of "declension" and "conjugation" as an organic whole, or as a system. Hence the lack of denomination in their terminology and also the difficulty of giving complete precision to "inflexion", when translating *iʿrāb* thus.

On the other hand, and this is most important, they *always* consider the occurrence of the short vowels in terms of a cause: a *ʿāmil*, "a governor". Things are regarded from a syntactical point of view. This is true to such an extent that if *iʿrāb* is known all the *ʿawāmil* are known, and the major part of Arabic syntax is also known; thus *ʿilm al-naḥw* can also be called *ʿilm al-iʿrāb* (*Dict. of Techn. Terms*, 17). As for de Sacy, he considered that the word *iʿrāb* could not be rendered more exactly than by "Syntax of terminations" or "terminational syntax" (*Anthologie grammaticale*, i, 186, end n. 2). The *iʿrāb* thus understood is outside morphology, as we understand it.

The conclusion from all this is that we have no adequate term directly to translate *iʿrāb*. A periphrasis is necessary; it is best to adopt the definition that Arab grammarians have themselves given of *iʿrāb*, for example that of the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī (Cairo 1321), 20: *huwa ʾkhtilāf ākhir al-kalima bi-ʾkhtilāf al-ʿawāmil lafẓan aw taḳdīran*, "it is the difference that occurs, in fact or virtually, at the end of a word, because of the various antecedents that govern it"; *bi-ḥaraka aw ḥarf*, "by *ḥaraka* or *ḥarf*", adds the *Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī (§ 16).

This definition is bound up with a whole system. By *iʿrāb* Arab grammarians denote, first of all, basically the use of the three *ḥarakāt*: *ḍamma* (*-u*), *kasra* (*-i*) and *fatḥa* (*-a*), at the end of the singular noun, which is thus *muʿrab* (the *ghayr munṣarif* is included). This is *iʿrāb lafẓan*, "actual *iʿrāb*". Words like *ʿaṣa-n* "stick", *maʿna-n* "sense, meaning", which are, in fact, invariable in the singular, are nonetheless called *muʿrab*, but *taḳdīran*, "virtually", because of the *aṣl* (base): *rafʿ*: **ʿaṣawu-un*, **maʿnay-un*, etc., which is supposed "virtually" to exist behind these words. They contrast *iʿrāb* with its opposite: *bināʾ* "to build", which denotes the state of a word that is fixed to one final *ḥaraka* or to none at all, independently of any *ʿāmil*, or whatever the *ʿāmil* may be. It is thus called *mabnī*: *mabnī ʿala ʾl-ḍamma* (as *mundhu* "since"), *ʿala ʾl-kasra* (as *hāʾulāʾi* "these"), *ʿala ʾl-fatḥa* (as *ayna* "where?"), or *mabnī ʿalā sukūn* "fixed to quiescence" (as *kam* "how much?"). The Baṣran grammarians thus established the following principles: *iʿrāb* belongs to the noun, *bināʾ* to the verb and the *ḥurūf* (particles). This is the *aṣl*, the base. Thus the imperfective of the verb has no right to be *muʿrab*; it receives its *iʿrāb* as a *farʿ* (branch) by virtue of its resemblance to the noun; this is why it is called *al-muḍāriʿ* "resembling" [the *ism fāʿil*, the *nomen agentis*]. *Al-asmāʾ al-sitta*, in the construct state, end, from their point of view, with a *ḥarf sākin*: *alif*, *wāw* or *yāʾ*; words like *dhū* "possessor of", *abū* "father of", *akhū* "brother of", *ḥamū* "father-in-law of", *hanū* "thing of", *fū* "mouth of". In these words there is *iʿrāb bi-ḥarf*, "*iʿrāb* by means of a *ḥarf*" (the above-mentioned *ḥarf sākin*), *farʿ* of the basic *iʿrāb* of the noun by *ḥaraka*, the *aṣl*.

The plurals of nouns in *-ūna*, *-īna* and the duals in *-āni*, *-ayni*, like: *al-muslim-ū-na*, *al-muslim-ā-ni*, etc., have been the subject of long discussion. Al-Khalīl and Sībawayhi, followed by the majority of Baṣrans, see in the *alif*, *wāw* or *yāʾ* of the Arabic orthography merely a *ḥarf al-iʿrāb*. By this expression is meant the last *ḥarf* of a word, which carries the *iʿrāb* and cannot be suppressed without making the word unrecognizable, like the *d* in *Zayd*. There is, strictly speaking, no *iʿrāb*, but the following *n* is a kind of *ʿiwad*, a "compensation" for the *ḥaraka* and the *tanwīn* (*-un*, *-in*, *-an*) of the indefinite singular noun, which have disappeared in the formation (Sībawayhi, i, 3, 12-3, 17-8); this noun, in their view, precedes the noun defined by *al-*. In the imperfective, on the other hand, the *nūn*, the sign of the *rafʿ* in the masc. pl. *yaḳtul-ū-na*, *taḳtul-ū-na*, of the duals *yaḳtul-ā-ni*, *taḳtul-ā-ni*, and of the fem. sing. *taḳtul-ī-na*, is thought of as constituting the *iʿrāb* (Sībawayhi, i, 4, line 8), for it can be suppressed without making the forms unrecognizable. As for the fem. pl. *yaḳtul-na*, *taḳtul-na* (*ibid.*, 4, lines 20-4; Ibn ʿAḳīl, i, 36, lines 14-5), it falls under *bināʾ*, *mabnī ʿalā sukūn* before *-na*, a *ḍamīr* (personal pronoun), from their point of view. The energetic, on the other hand, is seen only as comprising a particle, the *nūn*, before which the verb is *mabnī ʿala ʾl-fatḥa* (Sībawayhi, i, 5, 6): *yaḳtula-n* or *yaḳtula-nna*, etc.

The verbal forms are thus considered in isolation. not being included in a whole, a conjugation, and this confirms that which we have seen above. The interest of Arab grammarians lies elsewhere. That which they study is the organization of the *iʿrāb*, as they understand it: they first separate the *muʿrab* and the *mabnī* then, within the *muʿrab*, distinguish the actual and the virtual, and then finally establish the ramification of the *furūʿ* from the basic *iʿrāb* of the noun by *ḥaraka*, the *aṣl*.

Arab grammarians give three explanations of the term *iʿrāb* (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Asrār al-ʿarabiyya*, 9-10). The most common (cf. *Lisān*, ii, 78, 2 from end/i, 589a, 21-2) is that which makes *iʿrāb* the infinitive of *aʿraba ʿan* in the sense of "make clear, manifest", because *iʿrāb* "shows" the various functions of the word in the sentence: agent, object, construct, etc. (See also Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 35-7). This is scarcely satisfactory. J. Weiss (see IʿRĀB, in *EI*[1]) sums up the solutions of the Orien-

talists. Like him, we think that "in this, too, it is the simplest that is the most likely", that is, to take *aʿraba* in the sense of: "to Arabize, pronounce a word in the manner of the pure Arabs" (cf. the remark of Ibn Djinnī, *ibid.*, 36, lines 7-8). We would wish to bring this out in the light of the linguistic situation in which at least the first three generations of grammarians, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ (born about 30/651, d. 117/735) to Sībawayhi (d. 177/793), found themselves: Arabic without *iʿrāb* learnt and spoken by the Arabized, Arabic without *iʿrāb* spoken in the towns themselves that the Arabs had created (Baṣra, Kūfa; see H. Fleisch, *Arabe classique et arabe dialectal*, in *Travaux et Jours*, no. 12 (1964), 43-5) and the contrast provided by contact with the Beduin Arabs whose speech was still equipped with *iʿrāb*. The Arab grammarians wished to "Arabize" the language of their society, to make it conform to the speech of these Beduins, the carriers of the "true" Arabic; this is most probable and quite sufficient to explain *aʿraba, iʿrāb* as we have taken it. By doing this, we are maintaining that *iʿrāb* was retained by the tribes at least until the end of the 2nd/8th century (without deciding for later times; see H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, § 58).

Bibliography: Apart from the references in the text: Sībawayhi, i, ch. 2 (Paris ed.), the basis of the Baṣrans' teaching, stated here; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Asrār al-ʿarabiyya*, ed. C. F. Seybold, ch. 2-6, 40-1, a good introduction to the subject and to the controversies between the Baṣrans and Kūfans; Zadjdjādjī, *al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿilal al-naḥw*, Cairo 1378/1959, and Ibn al-Anbārī, *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, Question 3, on the dual and the pl.; Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ al-ʿUkbarī, *al-Masāʾil al-khilāfiyya fi 'l-naḥw* (ms. Cairo², ii, 158), ed. in preparation by C. Petraitis. Brief grammatical treatises: Ibn al-Sarrādj, *al-Mūzadj fi 'l-naḥw*, Beirut 1385/1965, 28; Zadjdjādjī, *Djumal*, Paris 1957, 18-21; fuller treatments: Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, verses 15-51 and *Sharḥ* of Ibn ʿAḳīl, i, 26-76 (ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1370/1951); Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, §§ 15-8, 159 (2nd ed. J. P. Broch) and *Sharḥ* of Ibn Yaʿīsh, 57-88, 400-5 (ed. G. Jahn); Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 14-30, ii, 2-3, 209-15 (Istanbul 1275). (H. Fleisch)

IRĀDE, literally "will", a term adopted in Ottoman official usage from 1832 to designate decrees and orders issued in the name of the Sultan. The formal procedure was for draft decrees prepared by ministers and officials to be addressed to the Sultan's chief secretary (*Serkâtib-i shahriyārī*), who read them to the Sultan and received and noted his comments. If he approved, the chief secretary then communicated the text to the Grand Vizier, as the Sultan's will. Under the constitution, the Sultan's function was limited to giving his assent to the decisions of the government. The term *Irāde* remained in use for this assent. (Ed.)

ʿIRĀFA [see ʿarīf, kihāna].

ʿIRĀḲ, a sovereign State, of the Muslim religion, for the most part Arabic-speaking, situated at the eastern end of the Fertile Crescent.

i.—Geography

The structure of ʿIrāḳ paradoxically derives its originality from the fact that it forms part of a large geographical block of territory. From the Arabo-Syrian desert tableland which it faces along its south-western flank, it takes its general aspect and its climate. All along its frontiers on the North-East, on the other hand, it shares the orientation and relief of the folded mountain-chains of western Asia, which give it its two great rivers. But these very rivers, and the vast plain they irrigate, endow it, under its classical name Mesopotamia, with an individuality which is undeniable.

This division, into two areas facing respectively South-West and North-East, is also that which roughly speaking distinguishes *ʿIrāḳ ʿarabī* and *ʿIrāḳ ʿadjamī*. But there is a further and no less essential distinction between Upper Mesopotamia on the one hand, the country of Aḳūr or the Djazīra, hemmed in between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and ʿIrāḳ properly speaking or Mesopotamia, where the two rivers follow a much more indefinite course. The climate also reflects this difference; the mean annual rainfall varies from 50 mm. in the South to 300 mm. in the North. These two zones are linked together at the level of the Baghdād region where the Tigris and Euphrates, approaching each other very closely for the first time, make it possible for a whole system of navigable routes to be established, providing the necessary crossings and connections.

Symbolised by this intermediate region between steppes and mountains in one direction, between Upper Mesopotamia and Lower Mesopotamia in the other, the situation of the country is indeed that of a cross-roads, and not merely on a local scale. The geography of ʿIrāḳ evokes world history, at the meeting-point of two great axes, that from the Mediterranean to Upper Asia, and that from Western Europe to the Indian Ocean.

Northern ʿIrāḳ. It is in the Djazīra that the distinction between the steppe lands in the South-West and the mountains in the North-East is most clearly perceptible. There the steppe undergoes a more or less regular transformation, from West to East, to lower and less broken country: as regards climate and ecology, this is a classical Bedouin zone, and what is more, a zone of transitions and contrasts. The Euphrates, which within the territory of ʿIrāḳ is not joined by any tributary strictly speaking, is above all a river providing irrigation. Its valley, excavated from a shallow layer of alluvial deposit which conceals the limestones and marls of the Arabo-Syrian bed-rock, is the traditional home of a sedentary and more or less continuous agriculture, for which purpose water is drawn from the river by means of wheels with buckets or by systems of ropes and other methods operated by animals. The agricultural possibilities are however greater than these antiquated practices would lead one to suppose: for since the Middle Ages, when the Arab geographers spoke of the fertility of the country (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, trans. Wiet, 214 f.), the situation has deteriorated, to allow a greater degree of bedouinization (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, 221, 223), the effects of which were finally confirmed during the 18th century. Today, the State of ʿIrāḳ is proposing to undertake and develop a policy of constructing large dams (the al-Ramādī-al-Ḥabbāniyya complex), in order to facilitate and develop irrigation while neutralising the considerable divergences in flow (annual average, 838 cubic metres/sec., but floods of 5,200 cubic metres).

In the North-East, the highest mountains (2588m, near al-Sulaymāniyya) are associated with the tertiary Zagros folds in Iran, while the Djabal Sindjār which, to the West of Mosul, is an extension of the faulted zone of the Palmyra region, is more closely related to the geological formation of eastern Syria. This mountain mass encroaches on a broad front on the basin of the Tigris which, at the defile of al-Fatḥa, has to cut through the sandstone folds

of the Djabal Ḥamrīn. The higher lands, being very abundantly supplied with water, derive almost no advantage from their rainfall; it is along their damp margins, where the springs also occur, that both cultivation and human beings are concentrated, from the plain of Assyria which is more steppe-like and, around Mosul, is enclosed between the mountains of Sindjār to the West, of Maḳlūb to the East-North-East and of Makḥūl to the South, to the sub-alpine region of Arbīl, Kirkūk and Khāniḳīn, watered by the three affluents of the Tigris—the Great Zāb, the Little Zāb and the Diyālā. This region of traditional agriculture is also rich in oil (oil-fields of Mosul and Kirkūk), and moreover possesses a highly developed system of communications. The Tigris, which between the Assyrian plain and Baghdād falls by 210 m., flows through a valley about 4 km. wide, under several tiers of terraces. At the end, the fall of the river is sufficiently slight, and its current sufficiently powerful (average of 1400 cubic m. per second), to allow navigation on quite a considerable scale, for which purpose rafts on inflated goat-skins are still often employed. But here again, the need to regularize the river and its affluents on account of the extension of irrigated cultivation has given rise to the planning and completion of various dams —the complexes of Sāmarrā —Wādī Tharthār and Balad for the Tigris, Dukān for the Little Zāb, and Derbendī-Khān for the Diyālā.

Southern ʿIrāḳ. The geography of southern ʿIrāḳ with its markedly different character, is wholly dominated by the dynamics of the great rivers. It is here that the powerful rivers flowing down from Iranian Luristan, the Kārūn and the Kerkha, make their appearance and, at the point where they debouch into the plain, they build up a delta which extends across the basin of the Tigris; having already lost much of its force through the warping of the plain that is being practised farther to the North, the Tigris itself then allows its waters to linger in the marshes, mingling in a confused way with part of the waters of the Euphrates. The latter river has in the meanwhile become indisputably the feeblest of the rivers of Mesopotamia. Forced back below Baghdād against the Arabian steppe-land by the thrust of the silt and by various arms of the Tigris, it shifts its course and loses itself in the marshes (regions of Nadjaf, al-Shāmiyyam, al-Shināfiyya and al-Samāwa), from which it emerges only to fall into others, such as the Hor (Khawr) al-Ḥammār, and, through them, into the Tigris. The formation of the land in Lower Mesopotamia is in direct relation to the respective flow of the different rivers, particularly at the time of the annual spring floods: in proportion, the Euphrates brings down as much silt as the Nile, the Tigris four times as much, the Kārūn perhaps even more. Thus a clear indication is given of the dynamics involved, the primary function of the mountains, since the rivers progressively lose their momentum as one goes from North-East to South-West; in contrast to the spent force of the Tigris and especially the Euphrates, it is the alluvial deposits of the Kārūn, amounting to about half a million tons annually, which alone create the bar of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab.

The constitution of the soil and its relations with water are directly linked with this hydrographic system, a synonym of both power and confusion. The sediments of the Tigris and Euphrates, in their lower courses where they are under pressure from the Kārūn, now consist solely of very fine mud or clay. As for the depositing of the heavier sediments, which can only take place farther up-stream, it is there compromised by the marshes, the dominant feature of the landscape: at their head is the vast sheet of water and reeds, covering an area 80 km. wide, between al-Ḥammār, al-Ḳurna and Ḳalʿat Ṣāliḥ. This shows that, here more than elsewhere, hydraulics is a vital necessity; in addition to the need for keeping the rivers in their regular channels and for normalizing their flow, it is also necessary to establish considerable reserves, in a country where the low water level corresponds to the driest and hottest period, from the month of May onwards. The whole history of southern ʿIrāḳ is dominated by the memory of the shiftings of rivers from their courses or of devastation, in answer to which man is making efforts to maintain control over the rivers, with for instance the dams at Kūt on the Tigris, and at al-Hindiyya on the Euphrates, and plans for improving the marches.

It is moreover by means of these rivers that one can distinguish two regions in Lower Mesopotamia. In the North, the great plain of yellow clay, caked with salt left by the flood-waters, is in essence pasture-land for camels, with typical steppe vegetation. But sedentary agriculture springs up again in the neighbourhood of the arms of the two rivers, or near canals, even temporary ones, and also, in the event of rain, upon cultivable land of a very precarious sort which for a time has been reclaimed from the steppe. Farther to the South, on the other hand, when the rivers have become slower and before the marshes have invaded the country, there is a somewhat humid region where, thanks to the presence of water at no great depth, cultivation can be practised regularly; the palm tree dominates the region, for a great distance. Beyond that, the reeds and the buffalos are the chief features of the marshes, a zone whore subsistence and habitat are hazardous.

The Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and the Persian Gulf. Land and sea here together form one single countryside: while the tide can force back the fresh water of the great rivers for a distance of about 200 km. inland, and while the land, thanks to alluvial deposits, continues to expand into the Gulf (an average rate of 25 m. annually), the Gulf itself is merely a scarcely submerged depression, of an everage depth of 25 m. Taken as a whole, the natural conditions prevailing in the Gulf are severe—violent winds from Iran and Mesopotamia, a torrid climate, insecure harbours which face the threat of becoming silted up, navigable channels scarce and dangerous. Nevertheless, the balance is not entirely negative: the Gulf abounds in fish, coral, pearls (favoured by the shallowness of the water), and above all in oil deposits, with the narrow strip of ʿIrāḳī territory being enclosed between the oil-fields of Kuwayt and those of Khūzistān. Finally, it should not be forgotten that the situation of the Gulf, in terms of modern geography, far outweighs the shortcomings of its position: a main channel of important long-distance maritime trade with India and the Far East, the Gulf is in fact an extension of Lower Mesopotamia, with the maritime traffic forming a connection, at al-Baṣra and in the direction of Baghdād, with the railway traffic alongside the Euphrates and also with the river traffic carried on the Tigris.

ʿIrāḳ in the works of the Arab geographers. The physiognomy of the water-courses and canals of ʿIrāḳ in the Muslim Middle Ages has already been examined in the articles BAṬĪḤA, DIDJLA, DIYĀLĀ and FURĀT. Here, only the country itself properly speaking will be described.

ʿIrāḳ which according to al-Muḳaddasī forms part

of the Arab domain, is regarded as the centre of the fourth region, that of Babylon, renowned for its temperate character and the moral or intellectual qualities of its inhabitants. The description is arranged round two main themes, water (the rivers and canals) and the evocation of the capital, whose decline is however emphasised. From the literary point of view, the ʿIrāḳī theme is thus developed on the two levels of panegyric and elegy.

By the term ʿIrāḳ, the Arab geographers in fact meant merely Lower Mesopotamia. The northern part of the present ʿIrāḳ, with some regions belonging to the modern Syria and Turkey, formed part of the Djazīra [*q.v.*]. Being thus delimited, ʿIrāḳ ended in the North in the region of Takrīt on the Tigris, and a little above Hīt on the Euphrates. From there and in a south-easterly direction, the boundary followed the approaches to the steppe, towards ʿAyn al-Tamr, al-Ḳādisiyya, al-Ḥīra and the region to the South of al-Baṣra. Along the mountainous side it mainly followed the present frontier between ʿIrāḳ and Iran, but it extended further to the South, on the left bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab.

The general features of the country emerge fairly clearly. The climate is given as temperate along the mountain border in the North-East, and often torrid but changeable in the rest of the country, especially in al-Baṣra, caught between the burning winds from the Persian Gulf and winds from the North which temper the effects. In general, however, the worst is the humid hot climate of the Marshes (*Baṭāʾiḥ*), where mosquitoes abound.

Distances are on the whole measured quite correctly: al-Muḳaddasī (134) gives 125 parasangs as the distance from the Gulf to al-Sinn, north of Takrīt, or a little less than 750 km., a distance hardly less, in fact, than the direct line between the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and the confluence of the Tigris and the little Zāb. For the greatest width, from Ḥulwān, east of Sāmarrā, to the steppe, al-Muḳaddasī gives 80 parasangs, that is about 460 km., a figure covering exactly the distance between the Iranian frontier in the region of al-Sulaymāniyya on the one side and, on a line drawn from al-Sulaymāniyya at right angles to the basin of the Tigris and Euphrates, a point situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, 60 km. inside the Syrian steppe, on the other side.

Great attention is given to the problems concerning water: in al-Baṣra, where water is scarce, it was for some time brought by boat from the nearby town of al-Ubulla. Elsewhere it is provided by the two rivers, their tributaries and the canals, of which the most important are the Nahr al-Isḥāḳī, the Dudjayl, the Nahrawān, the Khāliṣ, the Nahr ʿĪsā, the Nahr Ṣarṣar, the Nahr al-Malik, the Nahr Kūthā and the Nīl.

The most precise account of the territorial divisions is given by al-Muḳaddasī (114-5). According to his system, ʿIrāḳ constitutes a geographical entity, a province (*iḳlīm*), of which Baghdād is the metropolis (*miṣr*). The whole country is split into six regions (*kuwar*, sing. *kūra*) of which the chief towns (*mudun*, sing. *madīna*) are respectively al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra, Wāsiṭ, Baghdād, Ḥulwān and Sāmarrā. This division of the country does not however entirely blur the lines of another division, deriving from the fact that the country was rich enough for uninterrupted cultivation, at least in its central zone, to have earned the name Sawād, the dark land. The units of land for taxation purposes (*ṭasāsīdj*, sing. *ṭassūdj*), made necessary by the introduction of land tax (*kharādj*), generally bear Iranian denominations, evidently earlier than Islam: in al-Muḳaddasī, they are given as Ḥulwān, Shādhḳubādh, Barmāsiyān, Bihḳubādh, al-Awsaṭ, Ardashīr-Bābkān, Shādhshābūr, Shādhbahman, Āstān, Shādhhurmuz and al-Nahrawānāt. The magnitude of the transactions may be gauged incidentally from the openly criticized number of indirect taxes—tolls, dues and taxes on animals, sales and pilgrimages.

Religious geography takes an important place, at least in certain writers: they note the existence of large colonies of Jews or Christians and of survivals of fire worship. The strength of ʿIrāḳī Shīʿism is emphasised, but, reading between the lines (cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 126), one has the impression of the vigilance and vigour of the Sunnīs. In a more general way, the partisan passions and their political background are a characteristic feature, noted in every town of ʿIrāḳ.

There are records of certain wonders (*ʿadjāʾib*) and of the sanctuaries; among the most notable might be included the arch of Ctesiphon (Īwān Kisrā), the ruins of Babylon (Bābil), the burial-places of ʿAlī and Ḥusayn, the remains of al-Ḥīra, of the Sāsānid Dastadjird and of Sāmarrā, the "ashes" of Abraham's fire at Kūthā, and lastly the tombs of saintly personages in al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra and Baghdād.

Under the heading of manners and customs, one invariable theme to be noted is the culture, urbanity and charm of the inhabitants and the undeniable piety of large elements of the population. The chief topic, however, is always commerce, based upon the needs of the towns, and carried on by Baghdād in essential goods. Agriculture concentrated upon the three basic products, cereals, date-palms and fruit, especially grapes; the cultivation of forage-plants, rice and sesame appear less frequently. In the realm of craftwork, al-Baṣra dealt in fine fabrics, luxury articles (pearls and jewels), antimony and litharge, which were exported, as were rose-water, essence of violets and henna, although the most important article of trade remained dates. Baghdād too dealt in luxury products and clothing, but also in dye-stuffs. The Marshes produced matting, Takrīt was known for wool, Wāsiṭ (which also relied on fishing) for hangings, al-Kūfa for essence of violet and turbans, and al-Ubulla for cloth and bricks.

Taken as a whole, the geography of ʿIrāḳ as seen by the writers of the Muslim Middle Ages, far more in human than in physical terms, connected the physiognomy, the life and the destiny of the country with water, the source of its wealth and trade. No author discerned or evoked this phenomenon more successfully than al-Muḳaddasī, the master of this genre in the 4th/10th century. Referring to the Tigris, he wrote (124): "It is a source of profit, thanks to the laden boats which travel up and down the river ceaselessly; upon these vessels, in Baghdād, men arrive, depart, or cross the river, in a deafening tumult. Two-thirds of the charm of Baghdād resides on its river-banks".

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ii.—Demography and Ethnography

The alluvial plain of the Tigris and Euphrates in ʿIrāḳ, like that of the Nile in Egypt, could only be extensively cultivated and colonized when techniques of drainage and irrigation were sufficiently advanced in late Neolithic times. Since then, the ethnic history of ʿIrāḳ has been much more troubled and eventful than that of Egypt, partly because the rivers of ʿIrāḳ are less easy to control than the Nile, and partly because the lowlands of ʿIrāḳ are not sealed from invasion, as are those of Egypt, by barren deserts on either side. On the contrary, there is no natural barrier between the irrigated plains of lower ʿIrāḳ and the steppes of the Ḥamad on its one side, and the foothills of the Zagros ranges on its other. In summer, the beduin are attracted from the parched scrubland of the Hamad and Djazīra to the valley-pastures irrigated by the floods of early summer, while in the winter the tribes of the Zagros come down from their high alps to warmer quarters in the riverine plains.

The two main ethnic elements in the lowland population of ʿIrāḳ can be traced to the above two adjacent regions. From the steppe comes the long-headed, in general lightly built 'Mediterranean' stock; from the hills, the broad-headed and taller elements of 'Alpine' ancestry, such as the early Sumerians. A third constituent is the somewhat taller and more aquiline-featured 'Eurafrican' variety of the 'Mediterranean' race, and a fourth would be a 'Negroid' or 'Veddoid' substratum, which Keith confirmed in his brilliant analysis included in Field's classic anthropometric study of 1935 of ʿIrāḳī army recruits. According to the measurements of Buxton, Field and Penniman of the earliest skeletons from Kish and other archaeological sites, the ethnic constitution of the valley population has altered little since the earliest times, except for a possible slight increase in the 'Alpine' element.

In the hill country of the north-east of present-day ʿIrāḳ, the Kurds and allied tribes incorporate two strains, both of tall stature: the long-headed and fair 'Nordic', which doubtless brought in the main features of the language and culture of these people in the second millennium B.C.; and the very broad-headed 'hyper-Alpine' or 'Armenoid', with dark hair, brown eyes and prominent, often aquiline, nose, which is doubtless 'aboriginal' in these mountains. Von Luschan showed that this 'Armenoid' stock is extremely persistent and tends to crystallize into a very homogeneous type in conditions of marked topographic and social isolation, as for example among the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*] of the Sindjar mountains of northern ʿIrāḳ or the Assyrian Christian communities of the Zakho district.

It may be that there is a topographic limit to the successful spread of the 'Eurafrican-Mediterranean' desert stock, for it is remarkable that the Arabic language, the beduin tribal system, and even the characteristic architecture of the steppes cease abruptly at the rise of elevation marked by the Kurdish escarpment of Northern ʿIrāḳ and by the Zagros foothills to the east. Myres, in a perceptive contribution to this problem, suggested that the 'Eurafrican-Mediterranean' stock of the deserts may, on movement to high altitudes, be prone to chest troubles which the indigenous mountain folk are better equipped, through natural selection, to resist.

Throughout recorded history, it is clear that the economic prosperity and, as a corollary, the density of population of the river plains of ʿIrāḳ have fluctuated markedly according as the rivers were controlled and irrigation extended, or alternatively as the dams and canals fell into disrepair and cultivated land reverted to swamp, or at best to seasonal pasture. The Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century initiated a long period of such decline, during which the plains were largely owned by or held in fealty to the great beduin tribes of the Ḥamad and Djazīra, notably the ʿAnaza and Shammar [*qq.v.*]. The present settled population still widely recognizes its tribal constitution and its allegiances and blood-ties with the beduin communities, and it has been a hard task for successive governments to overcome a long aversion to settled agriculture among substantial and influential elements in the population.

Nevertheless, it is clear from demographic statistics that during the present century, and notably since the Second World War, ʿIrāḳ has entered firmly on a new period of prosperity based on a renovated system of irrigation and a thriving industrial economy. In 1930, the population was calculated at 2.8 millions; in 1943 the figure had reached very nearly 4 millions; in 1950, 4.8; in 1957, 6.3; and in 1965, 8.2 millions. Even allowing for improved techniques of taking the census during this time, there has clearly been a quite remarkable rise in numbers, which can only be accounted for by natural increase.

In the latest census, it is notable that the urban section of the population has become almost as numerous as the rural, doubtless owing in large measure to the increasing importance of the oil business and its ancillary industries. The recent remarkable expansion of the capital city is a phenomenon which is observable in other countries of South-West Asia.

While for long the censuses showed females outnumbering males in the country as a whole, this

situation was reversed in 1965. At present there is a marked concentration of population in the prosperous canal districts around the capital city, and less pronounced clusters in the districts of Baṣra and Mosul. The rivers generally exert an attraction to settlement, though their banks are still by no means uniformly reclaimed to cultivation. The marshes of the lower Euphrates in the district of Samawa, for example, are occupied only by a thin population of 'Marsh-Arabs', distinct in custom and economy. The quite high density of settlement in the mountains of the north-east of the country should be noted, especially around Sulaymāniyya. This is the only part of ʿIrāḳ where the rainfall is adequate for agriculture without the aid of irrigation, and here live the bulk of the Kurdish tribes, estimated to number about threequarters of a million. Less numerous minority groups are the Yazīdis of Sindjar, calculated at nearly 56,000, and the Mandaeans or Christians of St. John, who inhabit a few villages along the banks of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab.

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iii.—History: (a) Ancient History [see bakr b. wāʾil, al-ḥīra, īwān, lakhmids, al-madāʾin, nabaṭ, al-ubulla, etc.]

(b) From the Arab Conquest to 1258

ʿIrāḳ, a fertile rich region from very early times, had attracted some Arab groups before the appearance of Islam. The Christian Lakhmids [*q.v.*] had settled around al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] as early as the 3rd century, and had been entrusted by the Sāsānids with the task of defending the territory of Mesopotamia from any possible incursions by the Byzantines or their allies. In the 6th century, moreover, certain tribes from central Arabia, the Taghlib and the Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*], as a result of economic difficulties not fully known to us, left their original home-land for the steppes of the Lower Euphrates, to be followed by some members of the Tamīm [*q.v.*]; they even began to move upstream, establishing themselves between the territories controlled by the Lakhmids in Mesopotamia and those ruled by the Kinda [*q.v.*] in northern Arabia; some of them appear at that time to have been converted to Christianity.

The conquest of ʿIrāḳ, which Muḥammad may or may not have already had in mind when he started to enter into relations with the Arab tribes who were established in that country, was begun during the caliphate of ʿUmar [*q.v.*].

When Arabia had been entirely pacified through the efforts of Abū Bakr, Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], after putting an end to the Ridda [*q.v.*], is said to have been invited by a leader of the Bakr, al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, a recent convert to Islam, to come and join him in invading the fertile lands of ʿIrāḳ. It was in the spring or summer of 12/633 that Khālid appeared with a small force outside al-Ḥīra, which surrendered rapidly. But operations became slower when, in 13/634, Khālid was sent to the Syrian front, leaving the Muslims under the command of al-Muthannā. A war of skirmishes, with various incidents, then followed for some months between the Muslims and the Persians; defeated at the "battle of the Bridge", al-Muthannā won a victory in the following year at Bawayh, but he died soon afterwards. And it was a new leader, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], a former Companion, who in the spring of 16/637 had to face the attack launched by the Sāsānid general Rustam: the decisive battle, which lasted three days and three nights and in the course of which the Muslims encountered forces two or three times as numerous as their own, took place at al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], 30 km south-east of al-Ḥīra. The victory finally won by the Muslims opened ʿIrāḳ to them. They began by pillaging Ctesiphon, then occupied the whole of the country whose inhabitants, being of Aramaic origin, seem to have welcomed the conquerors, semitic-speaking like themselves, without displeasure. The fortified camp of al-Baṣra [*q.v.*], on the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, was established in 17/638, subsequently being gradually improved and strengthened, while the camp of al-Kūfa [*q.v.*], to the south of the modern Baghdād but also on the right bank of the Euphrates, was established in 17 or 18/639, and was destined to constitute the new capital of ʿIrāḳ, replacing Ctesiphon, the site of which was abandoned and which gradually lost its inhabitants. The final conquest of ʿIrāḳ was assured by the victory at Nihāwand (21/642) which opened the Iranian territories to the Muslim troops. Al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, now entrusted to separate governors, became true towns. It was in the neighbourhood of al-Baṣra that ʿAlī fought with and defeated his opponents at what is known as the battle of the Camel, in 36/656 [see al-djamal]. Later, it was at al-Kūfa that ʿAlī held his court during the conflict in which he opposed, on the one hand, Muʿāwiya, and on the other, the Khāridjis, whom he crushed at al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*] in 38/658; it was there also that ʿAlī was assassinated by Ibn Muldjam [*q.v.*] in 40/661.

The triumph of Muʿāwiya, the governor of Syria, and the appearance of the Umayyad dynasty together resulted in Syria being given pre-eminence over ʿIrāḳ, although ʿIrāḳ at that time was a richer and more populous region whose inhabitants were perhaps more experienced than the Syrians in the problem of administration and government that confronted a great empire.

In the time of Muʿāwiya, ʿIrāḳ had a single governor in the person of Ziyād [*q.v.*] who, after being first appointed governor of al-Baṣra in 45/665, ruled the whole province from 50/670 until his death in 53/673. In 55/675, his son ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] continued his work. It was he who was in part responsible for the death of al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] at Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*] in 61/680, at the beginning of the reign of the caliph Yazīd [*q.v.*].

The years that followed were marked by the revolt of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] who

had the support of the majority of the inhabitants of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra (the Tamīm in particular). ʿIrāḳ was then entrusted to Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. His primary task was to oppose the revolt of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] which began in 66/686 and which was repressed some months later in 67/687 [see ḤARŪRĀʾ], and he himself died shortly afterwards in a battle against the armies of ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*]. In 72/691, the Umayyads re-established their authority over ʿIrāḳ. However, in view of the hostility of the Khāridjīs who did not disarm, the caliph in 75/694 entrusted al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] with the governorship of al-Kūfa. It was at this period that al-Ḥadjdjādj, after restoring discipline in the ʿIrāḳī forces commanded by al-Muhallab [*q.v.*], and then crushing the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] who had occupied al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, founded the new town of Wāsiṭ [*q.v.*] in 83/702. During the same period, the administrative and monetary reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik came into force, as a result of which new coins were minted at Wāsiṭ; the period also brought to light a grave problem, the abandonment of holdings of land by agricultural workers converted to Islam, who refused to continue to pay the same taxes as they had done before their conversion [see KHARĀDJ]. Rivalries between tribes manifested themselves in ʿIrāḳ, as in Syria; while al-Ḥadjdjādj supported Ḳays [*q.v.*], one of his successors, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [*q.v.*], persecuted them until he was imprisoned by order of the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*]; escaping from prison, Yazīd stirred up a rebellion which was crushed in 102/721 by the Umayyad prince Maslama [*q.v.*], to whom incidentally credit is due for the reclamation of new marsh lands close to the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab [see AL-BAṬĪḤA]. Order in ʿIrāḳ was restored in the time of the caliph Hishām [*q.v.*], under the governorship of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], later executed in the time of al-Walīd II [*q.v.*]. The end of the Umayyad epoch was marked by increasing troubles, due to the turbulence both of the ʿAbbāsid faction and also of the Khāridjīs who for some time occupied al-Kūfa. The governor Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] was unable to oppose the invasion by ʿAbbāsid troops; besieged in Wāsiṭ, he finally surrendered after the defeat of the Umayyad armies, in return for a promised safe-conduct which was not respected.

On the coming of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, the capital of the empire was established in ʿIrāḳ, first in al-Kūfa, later in the new town of Baghdād [*q.v.*]; in consequence, this province and its inhabitants were given increased importance, while the appearance of the towns was transformed: al-Kūfa gradually lost its inhabitants to Baghdād, which grew even larger, until the time when the caliph's court was established in Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*], between 221/836 and 278/872.

During the early period of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate ʿIrāḳ underwent a remarkable economic development. It became the centre of trade for the whole Orient [see TIDJĀRA], and at the same time an intellectual and artistic centre [see *infra*], the meeting place of poets and men of letters, jurisconsults, traditionists, theologians and scholars [see also ʿARABIYYA: Literature; FIḲH, ḤADĪTH, KALĀM, and the articles on the sciences]. The region nevertheless suffered from disturbances of varying seriousness—ʿAlid revolts in the al-Baṣra region in 145/762 [see BĀKHAMRĀ], then in al-Kūfa in 199-200/815-6 [see IBN ṬABĀṬABĀ], a civil war between al-Amīn [*q.v.*] and al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] and the siege of Baghdād in 196-8/812-3, the mutiny of the Turkish officers in Sāmarrāʾ, leading to a second siege of Baghdād in 251/865-6 [see AL-MUSTAʿĪN], the slaves' revolt, known as the revolt of the Zandj [*q.v.*] in the plantations in Lower ʿIrāḳ (255-70/869-83), periodic raids by the so-called Ḳarmaṭian [*q.v.*] bands; all these were incidents testifying to a political, religious and social instability disquieting for the government. These disturbances were all the more distressing to the caliphate in that ʿIrāḳ then constituted one of the richest regions of the empire; the taxes levied on the lands of the *Sawād*—the name currently given to ʿIrāḳ—normally furnished a very substantial part of the Treasury's revenues, a circumstance which explains why, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the viziers were almost always chosen from the financiers who were expert in fiscal matters and who had already had occasion, before their accession to the vizierate, to resolve the delicate problems generally raised by the calculation of taxes in this region. From the time of the caliphate of al-Mahdī, incidentally, the collection of these taxes was made on the principle of a proportional advance payment in kind.

The nomination by the caliph al-Rāḍī [*q.v.*] of an *amīr al-umarāʾ* in the person of Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*] opened a new era which extended from 336/945 until 447/1055, in the course of which ʿIrāḳ, still disturbed by dissensions and military campaigns which impaired its agricultural prosperity, ceased to be the centre of the empire and became merely a single region in the political complex controlled by the Buwayhid *amīrs* [*q.v.*]. The Shīʿī, probably Imāmī, convictions of these *amīrs* led them to favour the celebration of Shīʿī festivals [see MUḤARRAM] and to have mausolea erected or reconstructed on the tombs of *imāms* then existing in ʿIrāḳ [see MASHHAD]. But this policy met with opposition from the Sunnī elements in the population and soon also from the caliph himself [see AL-ḲĀDIR]. Moreover, the tax concessions granted to the *amīrs* on the so-called *kharādj* [*q.v.*] lands did not improve the situation of the agricultural workers, upon whom the wealth of the region partly depended.

In ʿIrāḳ, which for a time was disturbed by the episode of the pro-Fāṭimid revolt of al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], the arrival of the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] established until the Mongol invasion a new régime essentially characterized by its efforts to restore Sunnism. But this tendency did not pass without disagreements, on the one hand between the caliphs and the sultans, who had incidentally made Iṣfahān their capital, or on the other hand without new dissensions between Shāfiʿīs won over to Ashʿarism and Ḥanbalīs [see AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, AL-ASHʿARIYYA, AL-ḤANĀBILA], the former being officially favoured by the Saldjūḳ sultans through the medium of the teachers appointed in the new *madrasa* known as the Niẓāmiyya (founded in 459/1067) [see MADRASA]. The Saldjūḳs continued to dominate ʿIrāḳ in the 6th/12th century, but their empire was then rapidly disintegrating. The branch which established an autonomous principality in ʿIrāḳ went back to Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], nephew of Sandjar, who came to power in 511/1118. This branch remained there until the coming of the Khwārazmshāhs [*q.v.*] in 590/1194; but already by this time the authority of the Saldjūḳ *amīrs* of ʿIrāḳ had been attacked by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs who were attempting to shake off their tutelage. As a consequence, there were struggles for influence, the most serious taking place in the reign of the sultan Masʿūd [*q.v.*], and they brought about the execution of the caliph al-Mustarshid [*q.v.*] in 529/1135 and of the caliph al-Rashīd [*q.v.*] in 530/1136, and the accession of al-Muḳtafī [*q.v.*], chosen by the sultan. However, the sultans'

power declined continuously, and the caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*], who reigned from 575/1180 to 622/1225, even distinguished himself by trying to develop in the principal Sunnī States in the East the organization of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], which seemed to him the best method of reestablishing, under his own direction, the moral and political unity of the old ʿAbbāsid empire. The undertaking did not however have the expected success, and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs ceased to dominate ʿIrāḳ when the Mongols conquered the country in 656/1258 [see AL-MUSTAʿṢIM].

Bibliography: No history of ʿIrāḳ for the period under consideration exists. See the articles indicated in the text, particularly with reference to the dynasties, caliphs, sultans, governors and also the towns. For the episodes of the conquest, see F. Gabrieli, *Muḥammad and the conquests of Islam*, London 1968, 118-26 and bibl., 245.

For the ʿAbbāsids, see D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60; idem, *La politique religieuse du calife ʿabbaside al-Maʾmûn*, in *REI*, 1962, 27-48; idem, *La politique religieuse des successeurs d'al-Mutawakkil*, in *S I*, xiii (1960), 5-21. For Buwayhid ʿIrāḳ, see M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty in Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, and H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Wiesbaden 1969. For Baghdād, see G. Makdisi, *The Topography of eleventh century Bagdad*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 178-97 and 281-309; J. Lassner, *The topography of Baghdad in the Middle Ages*, Detroit 1970. For the civilisation of ʿIrāḳ in the 4th/10th century, the following may be indicated—Mez, *Renaissance*; ʿA. ʿA. Dūrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-iḳtiṣādī fi'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ*, Baghdād 1945; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques problèmes économiques et fiscaux de l'Iran buyide d'après un traité de mathématiques*, in *AIEO* Algiers x (1952), 326-63. For ʿIrāḳ in the Saldjūḳ period, see Cl. Cahen, apud *History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, i, Philadelphia 1955, 168-72, and also H. Laoust, *La politique de Ġazālī*, Paris 1970.

(D. SOURDEL)

(c) 1258-1534

The period extending from the Mongol conquest to the Ottoman conquest does not reveal any unity, unless it be in emphasising, by the rapid succession of dynasties, that, with the disappearance of the Caliphate, ʿIrāḳ entered a period of political decline which was to last until after the 16th century, and witnessed the intensification of an economic decline which reached one of its lowest points in the 15th century, the process of this decline being still insufficiently understood. The period of about three centuries covering the Mongol (Īlkhānids, Djalāyirids, Tīmūrids) and Turcoman rulers (Ḳara-Ḳoyunlus, Aḳ-Ḳoyunlus, Ṣafawids) has not been the subject of any comprehensive study; detailed works on historical geography, the administrative system, and social and economic structures are inadequate, and the political history has been only relatively better reconstructed. Extracts from the most important sources are grouped chronologically in ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayn iḥtilālayn*, i-iii (and iv), Baghdād 1935 sqq. The principal sources are, for the Īlkhānid period, the works of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī [*q.v.*]; for the Ḳara- and Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu period the *Taʾrīkh al-Ghiyāth* (unpublished) and Abū Bakr Ṭihrānī, *Tārīkh-i Diyārbakriyya*, ed. Faruk Sümer, 2 vol., Ankara 1962-4.

Under the Īlkhāns [*q.v.*], although it had fallen into the status of a provincial capital, Baghdād still retained a certain intellectual and religious lustre, but was the seat of a government which ruled only Lower Mesopotamia, while Upper Mesopotamia was governed from al-Mawṣil [*q.v.*]. This division of ʿIrāḳ into two large, distinct and frequently rival administrative units was to be maintained until the Ottoman occupation. Like the other regions of the Īlkhānid empire, the ʿIrāḳi provinces had at their head a Mongol governor (disparate and incomplete lists in Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 348-52), assisted by a non-Mongol *nāʾib*, a senior Muslim, Christian or Jewish official, generally a member of one of the viziral coteries who struggled for influence in the Ordo. Baghdād and southern Irāḳ were held in this manner for twenty years by the group of Khurāsānian administrators whom the Djuwaynīs controlled. After the disgrace of the latter, the social tensions which became apparent throughout the whole Īlkhānid State were complicated in ʿIrāḳ by the presence of numerous Christian and Jewish communities and when the Mongol sovereigns, converted to Islam, vaunted their religious opinions because of the aspirations of Shīʿite circles.

At the time of the dismemberment which followed the death of the Īlkhān Abū Saʿid (735/1335), the provinces of ʿIrāḳ at first remained within the Mongol orbit, but Ḥasan Djalāyir, though faithful to the legitimate succession of the Djengizkhanids until the end of his life (1356), nevertheless is known as the founder of a dynasty. Having established themselves in Baghdād, the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*] succeeded in ousting their Čubānid [*q.v.*] rivals and in extending their authority over Upper Mesopotamia. However, with its two capitals, Baghdād and Tabrīz, their State was more Persian than Arab. After Timur's first campaign in ʿIrāḳ (795/1393), a route march punctuated by various halts at places where there was urban resistance, there followed periods of shortlived Tīmūrid domination (796/1393-4, 804/1401-2, 806-7/1403-5) and Djalāyirid restorations in which the equivocal support of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Turcomans played the essential part and foreshadowed their domination in the 15th century. The sack of Baghdād by Tīmūr in 803/1401 (cf. *Arabica*, ix/2 (1962), 303-9), dealt the already declining capital a blow from which it was never to recover. In fact, tribalism (Bedouins in the South, Turcomans and Kurds in the North) from then onwards completed the disorganization of the economy and drove away to the routes through Persia and Anatolia the caravan traffic between the Persian Gulf, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. It was a lifeless region that, after the Djalāyirid dynasty were dispossessed (1410-11), the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu were to dispute for two decades (1411-31) with their successors who had been driven back into the southern districts (Khūzistān, Baṣra, al-Ḥilla). The political fragmentation became more pronounced, not only on account of rivalries between Turcoman federations but also as a result of the fact (illustrating the lack of historical unity of a country traditionally divided into distinct zones) that rulers of Baghdād and rulers of al-Mawṣil were in armed competition, and that the politico-religious movement of the Mushaʿshaʿ [*q.v.*] took over from the last Djalāyirids in Lower ʿIrāḳ, and, while it there blocked attempts at expansion by the Tīmūrids of Fārs, also safeguarded the country from Turkmen tutelage. The only native movement of sufficient vigour to challenge the authority of the Turcomans, the Mushaʿshaʿ revolt remained limited and, despite the difficulties of its opponents, it did not succeed in capturing Baghdād; even al-Ḥilla was occupied for only a short time (1466-8). Under the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu

who supplanted (1468-9) the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu, the condition of ʿIrāḳ was less turbulent. They maintained themselves there for some years after their eviction from Iran by the Ṣafawid Ḳïzïlbas̲h̲.

The Ṣafawid domination of ʿIrāḳ (1508-34) was characterized, there as elsewhere, by economic stagnation and by feeble central government. Upper Mesopotamia remained within the orbit of the Mawṣillu *amīrs*, who had already been powerful there in the time of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu; by securing for themselves authority to govern Bag̲h̲dād, they assured themselves in fact of control of the whole of ʿIrāḳ. At the beginning of the reign of the young S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp I, one of them, D̲h̲u 'l-Fiḳār, even attempted to secede (1528-9).

Bibliography: in article. (J. Aubin)

(d) The Ottoman Period

The ʿIrāḳī territories from the early 10th/16th to the early 19th century were primarily a bastion of Ottoman power against not only the rulers of Persia, but also the refractory Kurds in the northeast and the Arab tribesmen to the west and southwest of the Tigris-Euphrates plain. In contrast to the western Fertile Crescent, which was conquered in a single campaign in 922/1516 and was never until the late 18th century seriously threatened by an external enemy, the ʿIrāḳī territories were acquired piecemeal, lost and retaken, and held over a long period only by an extensive concession of autonomy to the governors of Bag̲h̲dād. The 19th century witnessed here, as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, a phase of administrative reorganization.

The first Ottoman acquisitions (Mosul, Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*] and the Kurdish regions east of the Tigris) were obtained in 921-3/1515-7 in the sequel of the Čāldirān [*q.v.*] campaign. The renewal of hostilities between Sultan Süleymān and S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp resulted in the Ottoman capture of Bag̲h̲dād [*q.v.*] in 941/1534. The Arab dynast of al-Baṣra [*q.v.*], Rās̲h̲id b. Mug̲h̲āmis, became a vassal of the sultan, and his territory was later (after 953/1546) fully incorporated in the Ottoman Empire. ʿIrāḳ comprised the three central *eyālet*s of Mosul, Bag̲h̲dād and al-Baṣra, with the Kurdish *eyālet* of S̲h̲ahrizor to the east, and the *eyālet* of al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*] on the western coast of the Persian Gulf [see baḥr fāris]. The *eyālet* of Diyār Bakr, although lying outside modern ʿIrāḳ, was closely associated with its history in the Ottoman period.

As elsewhere in the Empire, the weakening of central control in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries was reflected in the ʿIrāḳī provinces in the rise of local despotisms and the domination of the garrison-troops in the towns. The governorship of al-Baṣra, purchased (c. 1021/1612) by a certain Afrāsiyāb [*q.v.*], became hereditary in his family. Another gubernatorial family ruled in al-Ḥasā from the late 10th/16th century until c. 1074/1663-4. The garrison-troops of Bag̲h̲dād, by this time a privileged and powerful section of the urban community, produced a faction-leader, Bakr Ṣū Bās̲h̲ī [*q.v.*], who, in order to consolidate his position, negotiated with S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās [*q.v.*]. Bag̲h̲dād and central ʿIrāḳ thus passed under Persian rule (1033/1623), but the Ṣafawids failed to hold Mosul and S̲h̲ahrizor. The Persians were finally ejected from Bag̲h̲dād by Sultan Murād IV in 1048/1638. The ensuing Ottoman-Ṣafawid settlement (the Treaty of Zuhāb) indicated the border between the two powers (14 Muḥarram 1049/17 May 1639). It was to be reaffirmed after subsequent hostilities until the 19th century.

The Ottoman reconquest brought no lasting stability. The garrison-troops of Bag̲h̲dād continued to be turbulent and insubordinate. Although the autonomy of the house of Afrāsiyāb in al-Baṣra was finally suppressed in 1078/1668, the rise of the Muntafiḳ confederacy of the marsh and desert Arabs of the south threatened Ottoman control. This was restored by two governors of Bag̲h̲dād, Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who ruled from 1116/1704 to 1136/1724, and his son and successor, Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who ruled (with a brief interval) until his own death in 1160/1747. Their authority, like that of other powerful Ottoman governors of the period, rested on a new military and administrative basis. Georgian by origin, Ḥasan and Aḥmad established in Bag̲h̲dād a Georgian *mamlūk* household, through which they controlled and administered their province. In consequence of the threat from the Muntafiḳ, al-Baṣra became in effect a dependency of Bag̲h̲dād. A more serious danger appeared in the years following 1135/1722, when first the Afghans, then Nādir S̲h̲āh, succeeded the Ṣafawids as masters of Persia, and hostilities with the Ottomans were reopened. The key importance of Bag̲h̲dād in the ensuing campaigns partly explains the acquiescence of the sultanate in the prolonged tenure of power and autonomous position of Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a. It was at this time also that members of the D̲j̲alīlī [*q.v.*] family established themselves as quasi-hereditary governors of Mosul. Bag̲h̲dād was besieged by Nādir in 1146-7/1733, and Mosul in 1156/1743, but the long struggle as a whole was indecisive, and the settlement of 1159/1746 merely confirmed the Treaty of Zuhāb.

On Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a's death, shortly after that of Nādir S̲h̲āh (1160/1747), his Mamlūk household was firmly entrenched in power, and formed a self-perpetuating military and administrative élite. The Mamlūks were able to thwart the attempts of the sultan's government to displace them, but failed to develop a regular system of succession to the governorship. The period of the Mamlūk Pashalic (1160-1247/1747-1831) witnessed a clash with the Persian ruler, Karīm K̲h̲ān-i Zand, and the temporary loss of al-Baṣra (1190-3/1776-9), but the danger passed with Karīm K̲h̲ān's death. The long rule of Büyük Süleymān Pas̲h̲a (1194-1217/1780-1802), who governed Bag̲h̲dād together with al-Baṣra and S̲h̲ahrizor, marked the apogee of the Mamlūk Pas̲h̲alic, but his later years were preoccupied with unsuccessful attempts to curb the expansion of the Wahhābīs into al-Ḥasā and the fringes of ʿIrāḳ, where they were resisted by the Muntafiḳ confederacy. The great Wahhābī raid of 1216/1802 and the sack of Karbalāʾ showed the impotence of the Mamlūk Pashalic in this respect. It survived, however, until Sultan Maḥmūd II succeeded by force of arms in ousting Dāwūd Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and ending the autonomous governorship (1831).

Ottoman administrative reform and increasing European penetration are the principal themes in the history of ʿIrāḳ from 1831 to 1918. Dāwūd's immediate successors were no more effective than the Mamlūk pas̲h̲as in enforcing their authority upon the tribes. The real turning-point came with the governorship of Midḥat Pas̲h̲a (1869-72), which saw the application to Bag̲h̲dād of the Law of *Wilāyet*s (1864) and the Ottoman Land Law (1858). Both of these were westernizing reforms, one creating the framework of a provincial administration of European type, the other establishing individual freehold ownership in tribal lands. Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II brought extensive estates in ʿIrāḳ under his private

Seniyye administration. The emergence of Arab nationalism in the Young Turk period was less evident in the ʿIrāḳī than the Syrian provinces, although some nationalists (chiefly army officers) came from this region.

Until the 19th century, the ʿIrāḳī region, apart from the coast-lands of the Persian Gulf, attracted little European attention. By the later 18th century, the British had superseded the Dutch (as earlier had the Dutch the Portuguese) as the dominant European power in the Gulf. From 1763 al-Baṣra was the centre of British trade and the seat of an agency of the East India Company. Bag̲h̲dād itself was of secondary importance to the British until Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, but in 1798 a permanent British resident was appointed there. Interest in the development of communications with India led to surveys of the Euphrates route in the 1830's, and to the beginning of modern river-transport in ʿIrāḳ. Telegraphic communications followed after 1861, when Istanbul was linked with Bag̲h̲dād. The German-sponsored project of a railway from Anatolia to the Persian Gulf was resisted by the British government, and only the line from Bag̲h̲dād to Sāmarrā was constructed under Ottoman rule.

At the outbreak of the First World War, European political and economic penetration of ʿIrāḳ was still very limited. In November 1914 an expeditionary force from India occupied the head of the Gulf and al-Baṣra. A first attempt to capture Bag̲h̲dād ended with the surrender of the British at Kūt al-Amāra in April 1916, but a second advance succeeded in taking the city in March 1917. Mosul, however, held out until after the armistice of Mudros ended Ottoman participation in the war. Meanwhile an administration, mainly composed of British and Indian officials, had been established in the occupied ʿIrāḳī territory, and formed a transition to the formal assumption of British responsibility for the country under the Mandate of 1920.

Bibliography: For detailed bibliographies, see the articles referred to above, especially BAG̲H̲DĀD, and also the principal modern works: ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-ʿIrāḳ bayn iḥtilālayn*, iv-viii, Bag̲h̲dād 1949-58; S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925 (repr. London 1969); idem, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953; A. T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, London 1928.

(P. M. HOLT)

(e) SINCE 1918

By 1918 the British occupation of present-day ʿIrāḳ was completed, when British forces entered Mosul in November, seven days after the signing of the Mudros Armistice between Turkey and the Allies. However, the contradictory attitudes of British official opinion regarding the political future of the conquered territory caused administrative confusion and led to the rise of anti-British nationalist agitation for the establishment of a Muslim Arab state in the country. When the Mandate over ʿIrāḳ was awarded to Great Britain in 1920, it sparked off an insurrection led by the tribal s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s of the Middle Euphrates and fomented by the S̲h̲īʿī *mud̲j̲tahid*s of Nad̲j̲af and Karbalāʾ, the pacification of which required considerable forces and was completed early in 1921. The suppression of the insurrection was preceded by the appointment of Sir Percy Cox as British High Commissioner, who set up an Arab Council of State to perform the functions of government, thus ending military rule in October 1920. In March 1921 the Cairo conference was held under the presidency of Winston Churchill, the Colonial Secretary. In dealing with the situation in ʿIrāḳ the conference resolved to offer the rulership of the country to Fayṣal, the second son of S̲h̲arīf Ḥusayn of Mecca, who had been ousted from Syria in July 1920 by the French. The choice of Fayṣal as King of ʿIrāḳ was approved by the Council of State and confirmed in a referendum, and he was crowned in August 1921 as a constitutional monarch with a representative and democratic government [see DUSTŪR, 659]. ʿIrāḳ's relation with the mandatory power was regulated by a series of treaties, the last of which was signed in 1930 and gave ʿIrāḳ formal independence and provided for a close Anglo-Iraqi alliance to last 25 years. Thus in 1932 ʿIrāḳ was admitted to the League of Nations as an independent sovereign state.

When ʿIrāḳ became independent, the country had not attained the social cohesion among its various religious and ethnic groups necessary to make a modern nation. There were too many disruptive local forces representing the various conflicting interests. To control and harness these interests for the good of the state required wise leadership and the ability to strike a balance between the British and the nationalists on the one hand, and the different nationalist groupings on the other. Fayṣal succeeded in maintaining such an equilibrium, and his sudden death in 1933 was an irreparable loss. It came at a very troubled period in ʿIrāḳ's modern history, when the Assyrian massacre, tribal uprisings and strong anti-British agitation threatened the very foundations of the new state. G̲h̲āzī, Fayṣal's successor, was inexperienced and lacked the authority of his father to maintain political stability. He was drawn to take sides in the turbulent and faction-ridden politics of ʿIrāḳ. While certain groups were inciting tribal rebellions to displace their rivals from power, others sought the cooperation of army officers to obtain political power. Thus in 1936 a military coup was carried out by General Bakr Ṣidḳī in collusion with Ḥikmat Sulaymān and supported by the reformist political group known as *al-Ahālī*. The movement ended within ten months as it began, in another coup. The military intervention in politics set a dangerous precedent, as the country witnessed no fewer than seven coups in the period between 1936-41. In this period anti-British nationalist feeling, aided and abetted by the Axis Powers and influenced by British policy in Palestine, facilitated the rise of the pro-Nazi régime of Ras̲h̲īd ʿĀlī al-Gaylānī, which seized power in April 1941 and proceeded to disregard ʿIrāḳ's obligation under the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1930. This led to the occupation of Bag̲h̲dād by the British-led Arab Legion of Jordan in May 1941. Following the suppression of the Gaylānī régime and the restoration of constitutional rule, the Iraqi political leader Nūrī al-Saʿīd emerged as the strong man of subsequent cabinets. In 1943 ʿIrāḳ declared war on the Axis powers and thus became qualified as a charter member of the United Nations Organization, and in 1945 ʿIrāḳ was a founder member of the Arab League of States. The end of the war saw a revival of political activities in the country, when political parties were allowed to operate freely. Several parties came into being, all representing the politically aspiring groups of the intelligentsia. All these political organizations demanded the abolition of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty and called on workers and students to support their demands. Student demonstrations and industrial troubles led to the suppression of these parties.

The early 1950s saw an increase in ʿIrāḳ's oil revenues, which were channelled towards long-term development programmes like the building of irrigation dams. The failure of these projects to yield rapid economic advancement caused wide-spread discontent and reinforced the ranks of the opposition. The emergence of a new and radical leadership in Egypt enhanced the opposition groups in ʿIrāḳ, who continued their campaign against the treaty with Great Britain. Instead they advocated neutralism and an alliance with Egypt. ʿIrāḳ, however, in the fcce of strong opposition at home and in the Arab world, joined the Baghdad Pact, the Western-inspired defence system, in 1955, and expressed lukewarm support for Egypt during the Suez crisis of 1956. Egypt's diplomatic triumph and the rise of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir as an Arab national figure marked a turning-point in the history of royalist ʿIrāḳ. When Syria and Egypt merged to form the United Arab Republic in 1958, ʿIrāḳ and Jordan were federated under a Hās̲h̲imite Crown. In July the monarchy was overthrown by a group of army officers under the leadership of Brigadier ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim, who declared a republic. Ḳāsim enjoyed the support of a wide coalition of political and other interests representing the fragmented social structure of Iraqi society. The coalition lacked cohesion and it disintegrated a few months later. For almost five years Ḳāsim attempted to hold a balance between the contending factions of military and civilian groupings. Under his régime ʿIrāḳ withdrew from the Baghdad Pact and the sterling area, and established diplomatic relations with all the communist countries. Ḳāsim was overthrown in February 1963. His legacy was the complete factionalization of ʿIrāḳ's internal politics, the alienation of ʿIrāḳ in the Arab world, and a Kurdish rebellion. He was succeeded by a régime representing the pan-Arab Baʿt̲h̲ party, which was ousted by President ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif only seven months after it had assumed power. ʿĀrif was killed in an air crash in 1966 and was succeeded by his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was in turn overthrown by a group of army officers, a coup that led to the return of the Baʿt̲h̲ Party to power in 1968.

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iv.—Languages

The official language of ʿIrāḳ is Arabic [see ʿarabiyya]. But on the one hand the Arabic-speaking area is not at all homogeneous, and on the other hand some Iranian dialects are still much alive, in particular Kurdish, to which recent agreements have accorded an official status in Kurdistan.

(a) Arabic Dialects

Two distinct dialect types, representing a variant of the Pan-Arabic division into *qāl* dialects and *gāl* dialects, coexist in the Mesopotamian area. They may be called *qiltu* dialects and *gilit* dialects, using the 1st pers. sing. of the perfect of the verb 'to say' to highlight three of their distinctive features: the reflexes of Old Arabic *q*, the shape of the suffix, and the degree of segholization. The division is partly regional, partly social: *qiltu* dialects are spoken by the sedentary populations North of a line Sāmarrā-Fallūd̲j̲a, and by non-Muslim sedentaries South of that line; *gilit* dialects are spoken by nomadic, semi-nomadic and Beduinized populations everywhere, and by Muslim sedentaries South of the aforesaid line. The *qiltu* dialects are closely akin to the Arabic spoken in Eastern Anatolia (provs. of Mardin, Diyarbakır, Siirt and Urfa), whereas the *gilit* dialects extend into Kuwayt, the Persian Gulf and Khuzistan; they also bear some resemblance to the dialects of Nad̲j̲d and to those of Uzbekistan. The kindred dialects spoken by relatively recent immigrants from Nad̲j̲d, such as the S̲h̲ammar and ʿAnaza tribes, are here left out of account.

A good deal of reliable material has, in the past decade, become available on the dialect of the Baghdad Muslims (hereafter, MB) but of the other *gilit* dialects, only that of Kwēriš, prov. of al-Ḥilla, (hereafter Kw.) has received detailed treatment (see the bibliography), though material on al-Ḥilla, al-ʿAfač and al-Baṣra has recently become available. Of the *qiltu* dialects, Jewish Baghdadi (JB) and Christian Baghdadi (CB) have been described in some detail, while the dialect of Mosul (Mo.) is less well-known, and there are only a few scattered notes on ʿĀna, Tikrīt and Hīt.

Phonology. The *qiltu* dialects are characterized by *q* for OA *q* (*qāl* 'he said', *qām* 'he rose', *bāq* 'he stole') and by *k* for OA *k* (*kān* 'he was', *kalb* 'a dog', *ḥaka* 'he spoke') though ʿĀna has *č* in these and some other items. The *gilit* dialects have *g* for OA *q* (*gāl, gām, bāg*) though MB has *q* in a good many instances (*qira* 'he read', *buqa* 'he remained', *qibal* 'he accepted') and *ǧ* in a few cases (*rifiǧ* 'companion', *šarǧi*/*šarqi* 'Eastern'); and *č* for OA *k* in many cases (*čibīr* 'big', but *kbār* 'big, pl.', *čān* 'he was', but *ykūn* 'he will be', *čalbak* 'your (m.s.) dog', *čalbič* 'your (f. s.) dog'); MB contrasts with the rural *gilit* dialects as to the amount of affrication: MB *akil* 'food', *gāʿid* 'sitting', vs. Kw. *ačil, ǧāʿid*. The Southernmost *gilit* dialects have *y* for OA *ǧ*. Most of the *qiltu* dialects (Mo., CB, JB, Tikrīt) have *ġ* for OA *r* in many instances (*ġās* 'head'). They also have, again with the exception of *ʿāna*, a strong *imāla* (Mo. and CB *bēġid* 'cold', JB *bīżid*) whereas the *gilit* dialects, especially MB, tend toward a low, central and even back *ā* in all positions. A few dialects of both types preserve older *ay* and *aw*, but these are more generally represented by *ē* and *ō*, rather mid than high, with, for *ē*, a characteristic positional variant [ie] in Baghdad and other Southern dialects. Older *i* and *u* are represented by a single *i* phoneme, usually heard as a mid central rounded [ə], in the *qiltu* dialects (*kill* 'all', *kinna* 'we were', *kētib* 'writing', *wēqif* 'standing') whereas MB has both *i* and *u*, though they have been redistributed (*kull, činna, kātib, wāguf*). The fate of short *a* is extremely complex; it does not, on the whole, follow the *qiltu-gilit* split, except in the case illustrated by MB *ǧimal* 'camel', *guṃar* 'moon' vs. Mo. *ʿġamal, qamaġ*. The *gilit* dialects show practically universal segholization, the quality of the epenthetic vowel varying with environment: *čalib* 'dog', *darub* 'way', *xubuz* 'bread', *baʿad* 'still'; the *qiltu* dialects vary in degree of segholization, the most conservative, such as JB, having practically none: *kalb, daġb, xibz, baʿd*. Common to all dialects, except CB, is the retention of the interdentals Θ, δ and ḍ̣, the frequent occurrence (esp. in the *gilit* group) of the emphatic *ḷ*, and the new phonemes *č* and *g*, even in the *qiltu* group; a new phoneme *p* is well established at least in the urban dialects of both types.

Morphology. The pronominal suffixes character-

istic of the *qiltu* group are illustrated below by the Mosul paradigm, those of the *gilit* group by MB, using the words for 'brother' and 'house':

	Mosul		MB	
1s.	aḫūyi	bēti	aḫūya	bēti
2ms.	aḫūk	bētak	aḫūk	bētak
2fs.	aḫūki	bētki	aḫūč	bētič
3ms.	aḫūnu	bētu	aḫū	bēta
3fs.	aḫūha	bēta	aḫūha	bētha
1p.	aḫūna	bētna	aḫūna	bētna
2p.	aḫūkim	bētkim	aḫūkum	bētkum
3p.	aḫūhim	bētim	aḫūhum	bēthum

The nominal fem. suff. varies between *i* (or *e*) and *a* in the *qiltu* group, but is a stable *a* in the *gilit* group: Mo. *kalbi* 'bitch' (for some speakers, *kalbe*), *bēḍa* 'egg' (JB *kalba, bēḍi*), MB *čalba, bēḍa*. In annexation and with suffixes, this suffix has different allomorphs in the two groups: Mo. *kalbit aḫūyi, kalbiti, kalbitna*, vs. MB *čalbat aḫūya, čalibti, čalbatna*. Common to the area are plural patterns of the type *ksāla* (MB), *kasāli* (Mo.) 'lazy', for adjectives in *-ān*, and *ḫyāyiṭ* (MB), *ḫayīyīṭ* (Mo.) 'tailors' for *qattāl* nouns. Feminines of adjectives of colours and infirmity end in a long, stressed vowel in the *qiltu* group, a short vowel in the *gilit* group: Mo. *sōdā* 'black', *ʿamyā* 'blind', vs. MB *sōda, ʿamya*. In the verb, the usual ten form classes occur, with form IV rather sparsely represented. Form I has a single pattern *qital/qutal* (the alternation depending on the environment) in the *gilit* group, *e.g.*, *kitab* 'he wrote' vs. *ṭubaḫ* 'he cooked', a single *qatal* pattern in some *qiltu* dialects, while others have the common twofold *qatal* vs. *qitil*, *e.g.*, Mo. *katab* 'he wrote' vs. *šiġib* 'he drank'. Conjugation of the form I perfect and imperfect is illustrated by the Mosul paradigm (*qatal* only) and the MB paradigm respectively:

	Mosul		MB	
1s.	katabtu	aktib	kitābit	aktib
2ms.	katábit	tiktib	kitābit	tiktib
2fs.	katabti	tkitbīn	kitabti	tkitbīn
3ms.	katab	yiktib	kitab	yiktib
3fs.	kátabit	tiktib	kitbat	tiktib
1p.	katabna	niktib	kitabna	niktib
2p.	katabtim	tkitbūn	katabtu	tkitbūn
3p.	katabu	ykitbūn	kitbaw	ykitbūn

The *-ūn* forms of the imperfect are characteristic of the whole area, as well as Eastern Anatolia, Northern Arabia and Uzbekistan. The rural *gilit* dialects (and some speakers of MB) maintain a gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd pers. pl. both in the verb and in the object pron. suff.; the distinction is absent in the *qiltu* group. A present indicative marker (*e.g.*, Mo. *qa-*, MB *da-*) occurs in most dialects.

Syntax. Indeterminate nouns are, over much of the area, often marked by a morpheme derived from OA *fard* (MB *fadd, farid*). Determinate direct objects are, with varying regularity in the different dialects, marked by an anticipatory pron. suff. plus *l-*, *e.g.*, MB *šifta laḫūk* 'I saw your brother'. Also of frequent occurrence in the area are constructions of the type *walad izzēn* 'the good boy', *i.e.*, a sort of construct phrase replacing the determinate noun plus adjective phrase. Peculiar to CB, though it occurs also in Eastern Anatolia, is the use of a postposed copula, *e.g.*, *hāda šiġlak yānu* 'that's your business'. Negation is marked by *ma-* without postposed *š*, by *la-* in negative imperative.

Vocabulary. Many items are characteristic of the area as a whole; they include a large number of Turkish and Persian loans. The following sampling is in MB unless otherwise indicated: *ādmi* 'person, individual', *ūti* 'flatiron', *bazzūn*(*a*) 'cat', *bāg* 'to steal', *bībi* 'grandmother', *tufga* 'rifle', *timman* 'rice', *ǧrēdi* 'rat', *čārak* 'one-fourth', *čatal* 'fork', *ḥalig* 'mouth', *ḥunṭa* 'wheat', *ḫašim* 'nose', *ḫašūga* 'spoon' *ḫital* 'to hide (intr.)', *ḫōš* 'good', *dazz* 'to send' *δabb* 'to throw', *δaṃṃ* 'to hide (trans.)', *ʿagrugga* 'frog', *ḳašmar* 'to trick', *guḅḅa* 'room', *gadda* 'to beg for alms', *lāḫ, luḫ* 'another' (*ṃarrt illuḫ* 'again'), *mēz* 'table', *mēwa* 'fruit', *niṭa* (Mo. *ṭaʿa*) 'to give', *hdūm* (Mo. *ḥwās*) 'clothes', *hāyša* 'cow'. Among particles, note *aku* 'there is', neg. *māku*, the possessive marker *māl*, and such adverbs as *ham* 'also', *hwāya* 'much, many' (Mo. *kΘīġ*, Southern *wāġid*), *hnā*(*ya*) 'here' (Mo. *hōni*), *hnāka* 'there' (Mo. *hōnik, hnūka*), *hīči* 'thus' (Mo. *hākiδ*), *lbārḥa* 'yesterday' (Mo. *mbēḥa*), *bāčir* 'tomorrow' (Mo. *ġada*), the interrogatives *minu* 'who', *š-*, *šinu* 'what' (Mo. *aš-*), *šlōn* 'how' (Mo. *ašlōn*), *wēn* 'where' (Mo. *ēṣaḅ*). Among characteristic interjections are *ī*, *bali* 'yes', *ašū* (observation of accomplished fact: *ašū ǧēt* 'so here you are'), *xō* (implying hope or concern: *ḫō ma tʾaδδēt* 'you didn't get hurt, I hope?'), *yēzi* 'that's enough'.

Bibliography: For a list of works published before 1962, see H. Blanc, *Iraqi Arabic*, in H. Sobelman, ed., *Arabic dialect studies*, Washington 1962, and some addenda in *JAOS*, lxxxiv (1964), 304. On Baghdad, W. M. Erwin, *A short reference grammar of Iraqi Arabic*, Washington 1963; N. Malaika, *Grundzüge der Grammatik des Arabischen Dialektes von Bagdad*, Wiesbaden 1963; R. J. McCarthy and F. Raffouli, *Spoken Arabic of Baghdad*, pt. I, *Grammar and exercises*, Beirut 1964, pt. IIa, *Anthology of texts*, Beirut 1965; H. Blanc, *Communal dialects in Baghdad*, Cambridge Mass. 1964; S. J. Altoma, *The problem of diglossia in Arabic — A comparative study of classical and Iraqi Arabic*, Cambridge Mass., 1969; and the following dictionaries: Djalāl al-Ḥanafī, *Muʿdjam al-lugha al-ʿāmmiyya al-baghdādiyya*, pt. I, *ḥarf al-alif*, Baghdad 1963; pt. II, *ḥarf al-bāʾ*, Baghdad 1966; B. E. Clarity, K. Stowasser and R. Wolfe, *A dictionary of Iraqi Arabic* (*English-Arabic*), Washington 1964; D. R. Woodhead and W. Beene, *A dictionary of Iraqi Arabic* (*Arabic-English*), Washington 1967. For texts, see also J. Lecerf, *Poésie dialectale 'iraqienne dans les milieux baghdadiens*, in *Arabica*, ix (1962), 435-6; idem, *ʾĀnī ʾummak yā Šāker—Je suis ta mère, ô Šāker—Pièce de Yūsuf al-ʿānī*, in *Arabica*, xii (1965), 225-43. For Kwēriš and other rural dialects, see B. Meissner, *Neuarabische Geschichten aus dem Iraq*, Leipzig 1903 and review of same by F. H. Weissbach in *ZDMG*, lviii (1904), 931-48; F. H. Weissbach, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Irak-Arabischen*, i, Leipzig 1908, ii, Leipzig 1930. A. Denz and D. O. Edzard, *Iraq-Arabische Texte nach Tonbandaufnahmen aus al-Hilla, al-ʿAfač und al-Basra* in *ZDMG*, cvi (1966), 60-96. On other Iraqi dialects, see H. Blanc, *op. cit.*, and references cited there.

(H. Blanc)

(b) Iranian dialects

Although Persian is spoken by large communities in the holy cities of the Shīʿa, Karbalāʾ, Kāẓimayn and Nadjaf, the main Iranian language of ʿIrāḳ is Kurdish. Almost the entire population of the *liwāʾ*s of Sulaymāniyya and Arbīl and half that of Kirkūk is Kurdish, speaking Central Kurdish dialects. In Mosul *liwāʾ*, the Bahdīnānī dialect of Northern Kurdish is spoken in the *nāḥiya*s of ʿAḳra, ʿAmādiyya, Duhōk and Zākhū, and a related dialect is

used by the Yazīdīs of Sindjār. Southern Kurdish dialects are represented in the Khānaḳīn and Mandalī areas of Diyālā. [See KURDS, Language].

Two other Iranian languages, often erroneously classed as Kurdish, are Gūrānī and Lurī. The former is represented in ʿIrāḳ by the Bādjalānī dialects [see BĀDJALĀN] and the Hawrāmī spoken in a few villages near the Persian border north of the R. Sīrwān [see HAWRĀMĀN; GŪRĀN, Language]. Lurī, the most closely related to Modern Persian of all Iranian languages, is spoken by the Fayliyya, best known as porters in Baghdād.

Bibliography: See articles quoted above; D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish Dialect Studies*, 2 vols., London 1961-2; idem, *The Dialect of Awroman*, Copenhagen 1966. (D. N. MacKenzie)

v.—Arabic Literature

The history of literary activity in ʿIrāḳ is closely connected with the history of the caliphate, in the sense that Arabic literature, which had been almost exclusively ʿIrāḳī both under the Umayyads (although Damascus was their capital) and also under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs during the period when they were the real rulers of the empire, began to be dispersed as soon as more or less independent dynasties became established in various provinces. Since literary production, in the strict sense, was dependent on the one hand on patronage, in respect of poetry, and on the other on the existence of administrative departments which employed *kuttāb* as far as prose is concerned, the pre-eminence of ʿIrāḳ suffered as soon as poets of talent began to look for patrons at the provincial courts and when the most talented scribes placed themselves at the service of the local rulers. A further point to be noted is the emigration to the West, and to Muslim Spain in particular, of writers and scholars of all disciplines as soon as the politico-religious situation appeared to be dangerous. Thus it can be said that from the 4th/10th century onwards ʿIrāḳ, although still at the head, was increasingly rivalled by the other provinces of the empire; the decline which had already started was accentuated still more under the Saldjūḳids, and the capture of Baghdād by the Mongols dealt a mortal blow to Arab culture in ʿIrāḳ. There then began a long period of obscurity, which was to end in the 19th century; incidentally, ʿIrāḳ merely followed, somewhat tardily, the *Nahḍa* of the countries on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean, but after the second world war it embarked upon a deliberately revolutionary course.

Even in the pre-Islamic period Arabic poetry was practised in ʿIrāḳ, especially in al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], where an Arab dynasty, the Lakhmids [*q.v.*], attracted poets who were natives of Arabia, for example al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, or encouraged the flowering of local talents, particularly among the Christians, of whom ʿAdī b. Zayd al-ʿIbādī was outstanding. To judge by fragments considered to be authentic, the poetry which flourished at al-Ḥīra was one of town life, with the inevitable panegyrics but also with bacchic themes which seem to have been characteristic. The end of the Lakhmid dynasty (A. D. 602), soon followed by the preaching of Islam, seriously checked this poetic activity, but the founding of Baṣra [*q.v.*] and Kūfa [*q.v.*] made Lower Mesopotamia into an Arab colony, with the establishment of tribal elements coming principally from central and eastern Arabia; Arabization took place rapidly and, although the Persian captives composed no poems at that time, at least the newly sedentarized Bedouins are found maintaining pre-Islamic tradition by reciting verses on the battlefield or on occasions of importance in the life of the newly-founded cities, and orators began to deliver discourses defending and glorifying their new country; religious and political eloquence was practised in the mosques, and it is remarkable that the most admired specimens of the art of oratory in the 1st/7th century are in fact orations delivered from the pulpits of ʿIrāḳ [see AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ; ZIYĀD]. Fragments of poetry or oratory preserved in the mainly later anthologies are extremely suspect, but nevertheless they correspond to a profound reality and reveal that the art of eloquence, the speciality of the Arabs, remained the constant preoccupation of the populations of the new colonies; and although they show that the desert tradition was preserved, yet in certain easily discernible features they also mark a development which was to continue for several centuries.

In the second half of the 1st/7th century, the poetry produced in Baṣra and Kūfa adhered to the traditional settings and themes, but tended to follow various orientations. Although the court of Damascus attracted a considerable number of poets, the Umayyad governors of ʿIrāḳ and some great aristocratic families, practising a new type of patronage, encouraged the panegyric poetry still produced by Bedouins brought up in the desert but now tempted by the variety of opportunities offered by large cities. It is probably not by chance that in this category are the great poets of the 1st century—al-Farazdaḳ, Djarīr, al-Akhṭal, as well as al-Rāʿī, Dhu 'l-Rumma and many others of less renown. The Mirbad of Baṣra, the meeting-place for caravans, was also a platform where the best poets came to submit their compositions to a public of connoisseurs; the upholders of the poetic tradition among peoples still close to their Bedouin origins, these poets took part in contests, competing with each other in boastfulness, but gradually they succeeded in going beyond the tribal setting and in playing a wider political role.

More distinct in character is the activity of a group of poets who, while following the tradition of *hidjāʾ* and *madīḥ* [*qq.v.*], endeavoured to defend or attack not a tribe or a tribal chief but a specific politico-religious group. In fact the divergencies which, especially after Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], led to a schism among the Muslims and gave rise to bloody conflicts, are echoed in the writings of poets who were supporters of the ʿAlids (al-Aʿshā of Hamdān; al-Kumayt; Kuthayyir ʿAzza, etc.) or the Khāridjīs (ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān; al-Ṭirimmāḥ, etc.); their common hostility to the Umayyads has, as its corollary, the praising of the chiefs followed by these men, for whom poetry retained something of its magic character; and it is not uncommon, in such poetry as has survived, to detect an epic quality which makes us regret the loss of the greater part of this literary output which was, for once, inspired by sincere sentiments. There are still almost no non-Arabs to be found among the poets of talent, but perhaps it is as such, although his true origin has not been established, that Ibn Mufarrigh should be regarded; the implacable enemy of the sons of Ziyād, he was already a member of the band of *mawālī* who were soon to challenge the Arabs successfully in a field in which the latter claimed to be unrivalled.

The bacchic tradition of al-Ḥīra was maintained, particularly by Ḥāritha b. Badr al-Ghudānī, but although erotic subjects were in no way neglected, there was still nothing in ʿIrāḳ comparable with the love poetry which flourished during the same period in

the towns of the Ḥidjāz; and it was only with al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. in about 190/805) that the Ḥidjāz tradition penetrated into ʿIrāḳ. On the other hand, al-Aghlab al-ʿIdjlī of Kūfa is credited with the invention of the *urdjūza* [*q.v.*], which was practised with some success by his compatriot Abu 'l-Nadjm, and by al-ʿAdjdjādj and his son Ruʾba, of Baṣra. For the town-dwelling poets of ʿIrāḳ, works in *radjaz* subsequently offered a means of proving that they were acquainted with the life and vocabulary of the Bedouins, before the *urdjūza* became the favourite form of didactic poetry.

In comparison with the pre-Islamic poetic tradition (at least, as one may imagine it to have been), the changes are thus not very spectacular. However, panegyric writing was henceforth addressed to personages who were no longer necessarily tribal chiefs; political and religious themes—though outside the bounds of orthodoxy—assumed a new importance, *hidjāʾ* began to take the form of short epigrams and, although the traditional forms were for the most part respected, some shorter works characterized a transition to a poetry less closely linked with the classical *ḳaṣīda*.

In a more general way, this first period of intellecual life in ʿIrāḳ, the end of which coincided with the disappearance of the great Umayyad poets and the close of the true *ʿarabiyya* as defined by the lexicographers, was a period of adaptation to the new conditions of life for the Arabs settled in ʿIrāḳ, and of cultural adaptation for the foreign elements absorbed by Islam. In fact, it was this period which saw the beginnings of the development, in both Baṣra and Kūfa, of that Arabo-Islamic culture which was later to embrace the whole of the Muslim world and the assertion of ʿIrāḳ in all fields of intellectual activity, even though the political centre of the empire was still in Syria.

It is not possible here to describe the part played by ʿIrāḳ in the elaboration of the religious sciences; in a related sphere, however, it should be noted that grammar, in which the pioneer was probably ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ (d. 117/735), was an ʿIrāḳī field of study and remained so. Moreover, it was in ʿIrāḳ that the main lexicographical and philological investigations were undertaken, work which, together with the systematic collection of ancient verse, proverbs and traditions of a more or less historical character, was to inspire a crowd of scholars or of *ruwāt* [see RĀWĪ], among whom Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ (d. about 154/771), al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828) and Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/824) became well-known a little later, as did many others. The documents thus collected together were to constitute the principal foundation of literary culture, *adab* [*q.v.*], the origin of which must likewise be placed in ʿIrāḳ.

The coming to power of the ʿAbbāsids merely accentuated the lead already taken by ʿIrāḳ in the intellectual sphere, by providing the poets and men of letters of that country and of the other regions of the empire with an opportunity to display their talent before these enlightened patrons. After the founding of Baghdād, the two metropolitan cities of Baṣra and Kūfa, whose literary activity was greater and more diversified than in the Ḥidjāz, Syria or Egypt, for a time retained the position they had succeeded in attaining, but they soon came to play a less prominent part, merely supplying the new capital with an élite who were assured of finding fame and fortune there. From the second half of the 2nd/8th century there were indeed very few Kūfans or Baṣrans who, through modesty, fear or lack of ambition, did not at least try their luck in Baghdād. In this way a rivalry came into being which produced the most fortunate results for the development of literature.

Another phenomenon also accompanied the transfer of the centre of the empire to ʿIrāḳ—the introduction of the *mawālī* [*q.v.*] not only to Arab culture but also to belles-lettres. A number of ʿIrāḳī Muslims of non-Arab origin had indeed already held a controlling part in the offices in the administration which, from the earliest time, had been a forcing-ground for men of letters; but a sort of democratization of culture, together with a more or less openly avowed desire to supplant the Arabs, considerably increased the numbers of these *mawālī* who, having been brought up to use the Arabic language and possessing no other means of expression, adopted their conquerors' idiom and composed poetry and prose with felicity.

Imbued with the Arab poetic tradition, these *mawālī* willingly sacrificed to custom and, when occasion required, wrote panegyrics which the Bedouin poets would not have rejected; but they tended to impose a "modernistic" poetry, characterized by the abandonment of classical forms and the adoption of themes consonant with the new way of life of the Muslims. The *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, which devotes a very large part to ʿIrāḳī writing, contains instructive notices on poets of Baṣra or Kūfa who are regarded as minor authors by literary criticism, perhaps because they failed to respect the traditional rules, but who nevertheless deserve lasting attention, since they expressed sincere sentiments, in language of great simplicity, and at times did not scruple to hurl biting invective, the originality of which is unfortunately too often exceeded by its obscenity. All this work, which would, since it is true poetry, repay serious study, has in general been neglected because the specialists in Arabic literature, being influenced by Arab critics, have devoted more attention to the most celebrated "modernists" who without neglecting the traditional forms, are clearly distinguished from their predecessors by their avowed desire for originality. Among these, reference is generally made to Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/783-4), of Baṣra, who excelled in satire and erotic poetry, and to Abū Nuwās (d. about 200/816), whose name is linked with bacchic poetry; yet he won distinction by his treatment of erotic themes and, in addition, expressed man's anguish when confronted with the unknown in death, in the so-called "ascetic" poems (*zuhdiyyāt*), in which his contemporary Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (d. about 213/823) was to make himself famous. In such of his work as still survives, the last-named author utters banal truths, rather than any profound religious sentiment, and it is remarkable that in that century the Islamic religion still inspired very few poets, whilst a Bashshār or an Abū Nuwās did not hesitate to show scepticism with regard to Islam, and sometimes even to resort to sacrilege, with the glorification of their ancestors and their religion; this attitude, which led to their being ranked among the *zindīḳ*s [*q.v.*] or the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*] and at times involved them in certain difficulties, in no way impaired their reputation.

On the other hand, the Shīʿis possessed a politico-religious poetry, devoted to the praise of the Ahl al-Bayt [*q.v.*], and in particular of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and of his son al-Ḥusayn, whose martyrdom became a frequent theme. Among the most celebrated Shīʿī poets, literary criticism has recognized al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 171/787-8) and Diʿbil (d. 246/860) in particular, but research has until now been in-

complete and needs to be supplemented, despite the difficulties of the task arising from the disappearance of a large proportion of this political poetry and from the numerous interpolations made during later periods.

Although the evolution of poetry during the period in question is of undeniable importance, the fact which must be equally emphasized is the establishment of Arabo-Islamic culture and the accompanying development of Arabic prose; it is no exaggeration to say that Arabic literature, which hitherto had consisted almost exclusively of poetry, entered a new phase as soon as it was felt that prose lent itself better than verse to the expression of thought, however rudimentary, and that this new instrument deserved being taken into consideration; from that time, one has the impression that an equilibrium was reached and that the balance tended to incline towards prose.

In this field also the influence of Persia was decisive; and if the creation of the epistolary genre, at the end of the Umayyad period, is to be attributed to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā, it was naturally enough in ʿIrāḳ that this genre was to attain some measure of perfection, so long as the ʿAbbāsids of Bag̲h̲dād held power and employed ***kuttāb*** (who incidentally were mainly non-Arab); thanks to the ***risāla*** [*q.v.*], derived from the official letter, the genre was even to constitute the essential feature of prose literature.

It was a ***kātib*** of the caliphate, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. about 139/757), who with his translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and his own writings in fact created Arabic prose, both didactic and entertaining, by introducing into literature ***adab*** of the Sāsānid type, whose purpose was the moral and so to speak "professional" instruction of the rulers and the people. The apologues of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* inspired only one imitation by another Persian ***kātib***, Sahl b. Hārūn (d. 244/858), but the ***adab*** of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, supplemented by elements of Persian origin, introduced to the ʿIrāḳīs by translations from the Pahlavi, for a long time was to feed ***adab*** works of edification and popular encyclopaedias, first in ʿIrāḳ and then in the other countries of the Arab world. Shortly after Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, translations from the Greek reached Bag̲h̲dād or were even made in the Bayt al-Ḥikma [*q.v.*] of the capital, and they inspired the ***mutakallimūn*** [*q.v.*] and later the ***falāsifa*** [*q.v.*], while also providing ***adab*** with certain new maxims.

One activity which cannot be emphasized too strongly is that of the ***ruwāt***, who, coming after the generation which had devoted itself to collecting the elements of the Arab "humanities", started to classify this vast documentation in a series of monographs, a surprisingly rich inventory of which is provided by the *Fihrist*; after al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda and their colleagues, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī (d. after 215/830), whose true influence it would be interesting to be able to assess, made available to later generations (though in a still obscure form despite the evident care he gave to classification) an enormous mass of information, traditions, verse, etc., derived from material collected among the Arab tribes.

It fell to al-Dj̲āḥiẓ (d. 255/868) to apply critical study to this documentary material, in order to draw from it the necessary elements to constitute a large-scale, clear literary culture, to reject the legendary features and to indicate the methods by which it could be developed by reflexion, research and experiment. Al-Dj̲āḥiẓ described himself as a ***rāwī***, but nevertheless he was more than that, for although in the *Bayān* or the *Ḥayawān* he limited himself to quoting traditions, he treated ethical ***adab*** in a more personal manner, which already amounted to a psychological analysis of qualities of character and a portrayal of society. His work, which should have marked a transition or stage, was in fact regarded as an end in itself by his admirers, or as a kind of betrayal of the Muslim ideal by his detractors, who endeavoured to lead culture and prose literature back to something more utilitarian and more compatible with the requirements of the average Muslim. Although al-Dj̲āḥiẓ had a remote successor in the person of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), he was supplanted, shortly after the collapse of the Muʿtazilite movement, by a ***faḳīh***, Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889), who brought a methodical and disciplined intellect to the service of a more restricted and a less dangerous culture, one in which the religion and inheritance of the Arabs formed a coherent whole, open to the greatest numbers but preventing any kind of access into the outside world. Ibn Ḳutayba's ***adab***, represented by the *ʿUyūn al-ak̲h̲bār*, the *Kitāb al-Maʿārif* and the *Kitāb al-S̲h̲iʿr wa 'l-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, is composed mainly of quotations and traditional material, the greater part of which was to pass into later literature and to contribute largely to the popular encyclopaedias. The literary ***adab***, made fashionable by al-Dj̲āḥiẓ and systematized by Ibn Ḳutayba, was still represented by works such as the *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), before declining into the anthologies of verse and prose, of which the *Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā* of al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲āʾ, which concentrates on the traditions relating to the dandies of Bag̲h̲dād, is a typical and relatively original example.

While the works here referred to have survived, for they conformed with the tastes of a clientèle which enjoyed short traditional accounts that were easy to memorize and to introduce into conversation, only a few very inadequate fragments are left from what was no doubt a more original literature, although still a subsidiary branch of ***riwāya***, of erudition; to judge by the *Fihrist*, which records a considerable number of titles, it included true romances of love and adventure, burlesques (mostly obscene), and collections of amusing anecdotes, and in short was a purely recreative literature in which imagination played a certain part. But no doubt as a result of a reaction among pietist circles, these works very soon ceased to be copied and merely made their way, in the form of extracts, into later collections where the lack of references makes identification impossible. However, the dual aspect of ***adab***, as both diversion and instruction, can be seen also in a number or works of an intentionally serious character, such as *al-Faradj̲ baʿd al-s̲h̲idda* of al-Tanūk̲h̲ī (d. 384/944), which combines proverbs, anecdotes, various traditions and narrative accounts mainly related by *ḳāḍīs*, on the theme of "relaxation after tension". It is probably significant that it was in ʿIrāḳ that the first stories of the "Thousand and one nights" [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA] were collected together.

The *Fihrist* (written in 377/987-8) makes it possible to evaluate the richness of Arabic literature in Bag̲h̲dād towards the end of the 4th/10th century, even allowing for the fact that the book-sellers of the capital may also have sold works written in other countries; in order to estimate the number of works, it would be necessary to reproduce a summary of this invaluable catalogue, a reading of which inspires the greatest admiration for the work of the scholars, writers and poets of ʿIrāḳ. The *Fihrist* also shows that, although the philologists and ***ruwāt*** of the early centuries deserve the merit

of collecting and transmitting the greater part of what we know of the Arab heritage, it was also the ʿIrāḳis who set themselves the task of reconstituting the *dīwāns* of the ancient, the classical and the modernistic poets, and it is quite certain that this erudite work had the most far-reaching consequences on the development of Arabic poetry in ʿIrāḳ and elsewhere; perhaps even it immediately favoured the neo-classicism which followed the modernism. In fact, the modernist movement was only short-lived, and the triumph of Persian influence was far from conclusive since, as early as the end of the 2nd/8th century, the first manifestations of a reaction made their appearance, a reaction characterized by the return to classical forms and the use of more carefully chosen language than that of the modernists, and of more complex rhetorical figures of speech; the *mawālī* themselves did not hesitate to plunge into neo-classicism, since the earliest representative of the movement, Muslim b. al-Walīd (d. 187/803), was a *mawlā* and his successors, Abū Tammām (d. 231/845), Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896), al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897) and Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 294/907), were not all pure Arabs. These poets were finally to incorporate the thematic contributions of modernism in the traditional forms.

Neo-classicism, which originated in ʿIrāḳ, was soon to spread elsewhere, and to be cultivated with even greater success in other regions of the Muslim world, from the time when Baghdād was no longer its sole, undisputed capital and when the provincial courts attracted the greatest talents; the most celebrated representative of this type of poetry, al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), became famous principally in Aleppo, and many others stayed only very briefly in Baghdād. The decay of the Caliphate consequently brought with it a decline of ʿIrāḳī poetry, but the impression remains that the poets of ʿIrāḳ, among whom there was no longer any outstandingly great name, tended to fall back on themselves and to produce a more personal, more lyrical and perhaps more sincere poetry. One of them, Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 391/1001), represents this tendency very clearly, although his work is marred by its intolerable obscenity.

In the field of prose, it was probably towards the end of the 4th/10th century that Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, inspired by al-Djāḥiẓ, created a new genre by delineating in his *Ḥikāya* a satirical picture of life and manners in Baghdād, but his innovation, though very successful, produced no sequel. During the same period the scribes of the Būyid chancellery customarily used rhymed prose in the epistolary style and made fashionable an original literary genre, the *maḳāma* [*q.v.*]; but al-Hamadhānī was not an ʿIrāḳī, and although one of his most illustrious successors, al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) was a Baṣran, his "Sessions", through the very mass of their lexicographical erudition, bear the stamp of a period when philology was one of the principal preoccupations of men of letters.

In the meanwhile, the Saldjūḳid Turks had captured Baghdād (447/1055) and, being anxious to return to strict orthodoxy, had founded the *madrasa* [*q.v.*], the aim of which was to reinvigorate orthodox teaching and thereby to restore the so-called Arabic sciences to a place of honour; thus the *madrasa* tended to favour a very enclosed form of culture, which inclined towards grammar. rhetoric and the learning by heart of works by ancient writers which could no longer be understood save with the help of a commentary.The study of ʿIrāḳī poetry under the Saldjūḳids brings to light the existence of a considerable number of minor poets; from among them, it is possible to single out Ibn al-Habbāriyya (d. about 509/1115), who lived in the entourage of Niẓām al-Mulk and, in addition to panegyrics and satires in a style reminiscent of that of Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj, also produced a versified collection of fables, *al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāghim*, and al-Ṭughrāʾī (d. about 515/1121), whose reputation is based on the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿAdjam*—a poem with a revealing title.

The decline, which had been clearly noticeable from the 4th/10th century, became more marked after the capture of Baghdād by the Mongols (656/1258), and Arab literature, which everywhere was in decay, from then onwards underwent a long period of eclipse in ʿIrāḳ. Faced with the dangerous challenge of Persian and Turkish, Arabic culture took refuge further to the West and, although some ʿIrāḳis are to be found among the prose-writers and poets, their writings for the most part were produced outside their own country. In prose, there is no outstanding work to be noted, while in poetry the increasingly marked divison between classical and dialectal Arabic led to the almost exclusive use of traditional clichés and rhetorical figures of speech for the expression of ideas which themselves were lacking in inspiration. Perhaps it was in order to challenge this atrophy of classical poetry that the ʿIrāḳis, who gave so much to Muslim Spain, now followed the example of that country by adopting or creating some popular poetic forms (*zadjal*, *mawāliyā*, *dūbayt*, *kān wa-kān*, *ḳūmā*, *muwashshaḥ*), upon which Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. about 750/1349) throws some light in *al-ʿĀṭil al-ḥālī wa 'l-murakhkhaṣ al-ghālī* (ed. Hoenerbach, Wiesbaden 1956); this same poet, who is probably the most remarkable during the whole of this long period (of which incidentally not a great deal is known), placed himself among the neo-classical writers and, as was done elsewhere, wrote poems in honour of the Prophet (which shows how uninviting the current topics were), but he also reveals a marked liking for popular poetry and the use of slang words, something which seems to be quite characteristic of ʿIrāḳ.

In the Ottoman period (941/1543-1918), literary output was negligible, and it was only at the end of the 19th century that the old capital of the empire took a place, however modest, in the modern renaissance, thanks to poets like al-Zahāwī (1863-1936) and Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī (1875-1945); however, although ʿIrāḳ did at last, after an understandable delay, join in the literary and dramatic movement, the persistence of popular poetry in dialectal Arabic is one of the most curious phenomena of the present period.

It is still too early to judge the ʿIrāḳī literature which has developed particularly since the second world war, but it should be noted that although in comparison with other Arabic-speaking countries ʿIrāḳ seems to show a slight backwardness, it nevertheless remains true that ʿIrāḳ is in general manifesting original and specific tendencies, which will perhaps enable the country to play again such a part as it held in the early days of Islam, at a time when attention was directed first towards Baṣra and Kūfa, and then towards Baghdād.

Bibliography: In addition to standard works on Arab literature, see ʿARABIYYA and the articles on the various authors named in the text. See also, in particular:—R. Blachère, *La poésie arabe au ʿIrāq et à Baġdād jusqu'à Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī*, in *Arabica*, ix/3 (1962), 419-34; G. Troupeau, *La grammaire à Baġdād du IXe au XIIIe siècle*, *ibid.*, 397-405; J. Lecerf, *Poésie dialectale ʿirāqienne dans*

les milieux bagdādiens, *ibid.*, 435-46, and bibl. references there given; Ch. Pellat, *La prose arabe à Baġdād*, *ibid.*, 407-18; idem, *Milieu*, *passim*; ʿA. Dj. Ṭāhir, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa-bilād al-ʿAdjam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdād 1961; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, *passim*; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Khaṭībī al-Shahrābānī, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, Baghdād 1936; M. M. al-Baṣīr, *Nahḍat al-ʿIrāḳ al-adabiyya fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*, Baghdād 1946; ʿAlī al-Zubaydī, *al-Masraḥiyya al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ*, Cairo 1967. (Ch. Pellat)

vi.—The Sects

At a very early date, immediately after the conquest of the country which was embarked upon during the caliphate of Abū Bakr (11/632-13/634) and completed during that of ʿUmar (13/634-23/644), ʿIrāḳ became the scene of violent clashes among the various parties which were contending for power. From the reign of the caliph ʿUthmān (23/644-33/655), a party in opposition to the caliph and the Umayyads came into being in ʿIrāḳ, and particularly in Kūfa, one of their most energetic military leaders being al-Ashtar [*q.v.*]. At the time of the revolt which ended in Medina with the assassination of the caliph ʿUthmān, according to certain traditions al-Ashtar brought from Kūfa a contingent of two hundred men who joined the rebels who had come from Egypt; he himself ranks as one of the "besiegers of the House" (*nuffār*) and sometimes even as one of the caliph's murderers.

Under the caliphate of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (35/656-40/661), ʿIrāḳ was for a time the stake of a new seccession, between the Ḥidjāz which for the most part favoured ʿAlī, and Syria where Muʿāwiya had succeeded in gaining recognition. ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, who had succeeded in winning over Baṣra to their cause, came into conflict with ʿAlī near that town, in the famous battle of the Camel (*al-Djamal* [*q.v.*]) on 15 Djumādā II 36/9 December 656. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr perished in this confused battle, while the former wife of the Prophet had to return to Medina under a strong escort.

After the inconclusive encounter at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], the acceptance by ʿAlī of the arbitration (*taḥkīm*) proposed by Muʿāwiya in 37/657 was the starting point for the establishment of a new Muslim sect, that of the Khawāridj [*q.v.*], whose origins, like their history, are still extremely obscure. The seccession extended to Ḥarūrā; the speech which ʿAlī delivered in Kūfa in justification of himself led to further desertions among his supporters. The insurrection soon possessed its own territory, its leaders and an embryonic political organization. ʿAlī's inability to win back his former supporters, despite a few successes, made a clash inevitable; it came in the battle of al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*], on 9 Ṣafar 38/17 July 658. Khwāridjism, as a politico-religious movement, was not however destroyed.

The assassination of ʿAlī, in 40/661, in the mosque of Kūfa, by the Khāridjī Ibn Muldjam [*q.v.*], left Shīʿism weakened and divided. It is to about this time that Muslim heresiography dates the appearance of the extremist (*ghulāt*) Shīʿī sect of the Sabāʾiyya, whose founder ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*] seems to have been a Jew of Kūfa, converted to Islam (H. Laoust, *Schismes*, 15-6).

During the reign of Muʿāwiya (40/661-60/680), the province of ʿIrāḳ was incorporated in the new caliphate of which Damascus became the capital, but it was the centre of opposition from two elements, the Shīʿis and the Khāridjis.

The leader of the Shīʿī resistance, in Kūfa, was Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*], who first clashed with the governor of the town, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*], and soon came into open conflict with Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*]. Charged with rebellion, Ḥudjr was arrested and executed in Mardj ʿAdhrāʾ, near Damascus.

Khāridjī agitation still remained active. Several revolts caused anxiety to the Umayyad caliphate—one led by Farwa b. Nawfal in 41/661, another under al-Mustawrid in the following year, and in particular the revolt by two of the men who had fought at Nahrawān, towards the end of the caliphate of Muʿāwiya.

The death of Muʿāwiya in 60/680, the disputed succession of his son Yazīd and the secession of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr [*q.v.*] favoured the revival of the Shīʿī and Khāridjī opposition parties. The drama at Karbalā [*q.v.*], where the imām al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] met a martyr's death on 10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680, finally confirmed the rupture between the supporters of the Umayyads and those of the Family of the Prophet, although Ḥusayn had met with only reluctant and uncertain support from the inhabitants of Kūfa.

The revolt of the Penitents (*tawwābūn* [*q.v.*]), an improvised and poorly-led affair, ended with the disaster of ʿAyn Warda, on 22 Djumādā I 65/4 January 685, but it delayed the Umayyad reconquest of ʿIrāḳ.

The revolt of Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*], which was accompanied by an extremist ideology which Sunnī heresiography has criticized severely, at first gained the support of some of the great Arab families in the region of Kūfa, and later attempted to win over the *mawālī* of the region. The revolt was finally crushed, in Kūfa, in Ramaḍān 67/April 687, by the governor of Baṣra, Muṣʿab b. Zubayr.

The first appearances in public life of the sect of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] date roughly from this period, according to Muslim heresiography; a distinguishing feature of this sect was that, after the death of ʿAlī, it recognised the legitimacy of the claims of his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] to the imāmate. In its turn, it split up into various sub-sects, many of which were ranked in the category of *ghulāt*; it is difficult to assess with any certainty either their ideology or the strength of their following (Kuraybiyya, Ḥarbiyya, Bayāniyya). On his death in about 57/716, Abū Hāshim, the son of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, is credited with having handed over his own rights to the imāmate to the ʿAbbāsid claimant, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, on the occasion of his journey to Ḥumayma, the residence of the ʿAbbāsids in Jordan. This thesis, of which the ʿAbbāsids made use in their anti-Umayyad campaign, was still admitted in the 8th/14th century by such historians as Ibn Kathīr, but it was not revived by the great theorists of the caliphate, such as al-Mawardī or Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Djuwaynī.

At the end of the Umayyads, Shīʿī agitation reappeared with the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who rebelled in Kūfa in 122/740 and met a tragic death in the town mosque where he had taken refuge with his last supporters. The revolt, though crushed in ʿIrāḳ, broke out a little later in Khurāsān, during the caliphate of al-Walīd II, under the leadership of Yaḥyā b. Zayd, whose mausoleum in Djūzadjān soon became a place of pilgrimage. With Zayd b. ʿAlī there appeared a militant form of Shīʿism, known as Zaydism [*q.v.*]; according to its theory, authority passed lawfully to every qualified descendant of Fāṭima who called for insurrection and armed struggle (*daʿwa* and *djihād*).

Another rebellion broke out a little later, once

again at Kūfa, under ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] who was descended from neither Fāṭima nor ʿAlī, but from a brother of the latter, Djaʿfar al-Ṭayyār [*q.v.*], whose death had occurred in 8/629 at the time of the expedition of Muʾta. The revolt began in Kūfa in 127/744, shortly after the accession of Marwān al-Ḥimār [*q.v.*]. Finally crushed, the movement ended in circumstances not fully known. Several of its adherents are placed in the category of *ghulāt* (Djanāḥiyya, Ḥārithiyya).

The coming of the ʿAbbāsids did not bring calm or religious unity to ʿIrāḳ. Indeed, ʿIrāḳ was pre-eminently the centre of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] movement, which had already made its appearance with the ending of the Umayyads, but which developed more particularly under the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn and those of his two successors, in the two great schools of Baṣra and Baghdād. In the school of Baṣra, it is customary to include among its adherents such men as Abu ʾl-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. 227/841 or 235/850 [*q.v.*]), al-Naẓẓām and Hishām al-Fuwaṭī (d. in about 200/816). In the school of Baghdād, of which Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir is often considered to be the founder, there were found men of such different personalities as Abū Mūsā al-Murdār and Thumāma b. Ashras. The two Djaʿfars—Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir and Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb—are sometimes counted by certain heresiographers, such as al-Malaṭī [*q.v.*], not as Muʿtazila but rather among the Zaydiyya of Baghdād.

The Muʿtazilī faction was to meet vigorous opposition, in the course of various confrontations among which the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] was doubtless the most dramatic episode, from the party of traditionalists, whose most militant representatives may be said to have included, among others, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] and his first disciples [see ḤANĀBILA].

The third major characteristic feature of the history of the *firaḳ* in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ is found in the considerable importance acquired by imāmī Shīʿism, which sprang to life during the long crisis of the caliphate starting with the death of al-Mutawakkil, and which was defended by theologians of the very first order, such as the Banū Nawbakht, or al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940), the author of the *Kitāb al-Kāfī* which deals with both *uṣūl* and *furūʿ*. Of the various great scholars of Baghdād in the Būyid period, it is essential to remember the names of Ibn Bābūyah (d. 381/991), known as al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūḳ, al-Mufīd (d. 413/1023) and the two brothers al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016) and al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1045), equally famous as men of letters and as theorists of Imāmism The Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068) is the last great representative of this school.

The arrival of the Saldjūḳs in Baghdād in 447/1055 marked the start of a revival of Sunnism, punctuated at times by violent crises, such as that of al-Basāsīrī, or by a renewal of Shīʿī agitation. Even within Sunnism itself, opposition between the Ashʿarīs and Ḥanbalīs led to fairly frequent clashes, one of the most notorious of these, in 469/1077, being known as the *fitna* of Ibn al-Ḳushayrī. In the last two centuries of the caliphate, Muʿtazilism although in its decline still kept its adherents, and Imāmism maintained its position in ʿIrāḳ. The part played by Imāmism in 656/1258, in the overthrow of the Caliphate by the Mongols, is certainly difficult to determine, but it is also difficult to deny. In any event, the Mongol conquest and the fall of the Sunnī Caliphate deprived Baghdād of the position of eminence which the great metropolis had never ceased to hold, since its foundation, as the true religious and political capital of the world of Islam.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see H. Laoust, *Les Schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965 (Index appeared in 1969).

(H. LAOUST)

vii.—ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The importance of the role played by ʿIrāḳ in the evolution of Islamic art is directly related to the historical role which ʿIrāḳ assumed from the time that it was the central province of a flourishing ʿAbbāsid empire, between the end of the 2nd/8th century and a period of dissolution, which is generally considered to begin in the 4th/10th century. A methodical description of this role of ʿIrāḳ would involve tracing, through its architecture and also through its minor arts, the various stages of the development of an imperial ʿAbbāsid art which began in the capitals of the caliphs as a result of various causes and influences both political and commercial, and which spread to the outer regions of the empire—from which in fact some of its characteristic features had originally stemmed. The progress of this art is the main title to fame of the craftsmen who worked at that time within the geographical limits of ʿIrāḳ but at the same time made use, in this melting-pot, of all the earlier or contemporary efforts pursued in other Islamic countries.

This "imperial" character which the art of ʿIrāḳ long enjoyed and which in fact it began to acquire at the end of the Umayyad period certainly makes it difficult to speak of it as if it were a typically local art which had developed throughout the centuries with a well defined personality springing from the constant factors, aesthetic or technical, imposed on it by the physical character of the country. It should nevertheless not be forgotten that the very character of ʿIrāḳ—as a route between other countries and an irrigable alluvial plain enriched by agriculture and by the traffic of its great rivers, but too frequently devastated by invasions and floods—was suited to particular methods of building, of architectural decoration and of other crafts, methods conditioned by the use of the economical and abundant but not very durable material—clay. This clay, packed together in the form of unbaked or baked bricks for the construction of the buildings themselves, applied for their decoration in facings (which might also be in plaster or stucco), and also worked into coarse pottery or rich enamelled porcelain, permitted the rapid completion, by typically Mesopotamian methods, of works satisfying the demands of a large urban population and of rulers seeking ostentation. But its use at the same time prevented such constructions from being sufficiently solid and durable to survive to the present day except as shapeless ruins. One may therefore distinguish as a characteristic of ʿIrāḳ that its products were simultaneously magnificent and insubstantial—a characteristic appearing in all foundations of the ʿAbbāsid period and later imitated in the princely constructions of various provinces of the empire, even when these provinces offered builders better and more durable materials.

The geographical conditions peculiar to ʿIrāḳ (but also varying within its present frontiers according to the different zones of climate and living conditions) must be considered responsible also for the parallel development, throughout its history, of several local schools of art, basically represented by those schools of Baghdād-Sāmarrā on the one hand and those of the Lower Delta on the other, together with that of al-Mawṣil [*q.v.*] or Upper Mesopotamia, which came more under the influence of the neighbouring

Anatolia and Ādharbaydjān. But such distinctions should not lead to too strict a topographical classification of an artistic development which, as always in Islamic countries, also underwent the influence of political events leading to the temporary triumph of minor dynasties. Thus Islamic art in ʿIrāḳ, both architecture and industrial art, should rather be considered in a chronological perspective, particular regard being paid to the fact that probably in no Islamic country has there been a more complete change in its landscape between the Middle Ages and today.

The few archaeological data which may be gleaned from sites which too often have reverted to desert are not in fact enough to provide any certain information on the various phases of population which the region passed through when the progressive decay of the irrigation network after the Abbāsid golden age led to the abandonment of villages and small towns, the exact sites and dimensions of which it is today sometimes difficult to determine (for an attempt at this, which applied extensive research to a limited area and which might well be extended to cover the whole of the ancient cultivated basin of the Tigris and the Euphrates, see R. Mc. C. Adams, *Land Behind Baghdad*, Chicago-London, 1965). Similarly it is at present impossible, in most cases, to provide an accurate history of ʿIrāḳī Muslim towns, which were exceptionally important both in their population and in their economic activity, but which had grown up on an unstable soil, where usually there cannot now be found such remains of monuments as would enable us to reconstruct their topography at different periods (on the present state of such researches, too often based only on literary sources, see BAGHDĀD, AL-BAṢRA, AL-KŪFA, etc.).

There has nevertheless been some progress recently in the study of early Islamic architecture in ʿIrāḳ, based on hitherto neglected evidence. This progress justifies our referring, in order to complete it in some points, to the table in the article ARCHITECTURE showing its development during the first centuries of Islam, a period when its development was one with that of the whole of Islamic art.

The most positive if not the most spectacular contribution has probably been in the field of utilitarian civil architecture, of little attraction to the art historian, but providing material for the historian of civilization. Recent investigations on the systems of canal building and the division of irrigation-water which permitted the exploitation of the land during the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods, have produced a new documentation on this subject, based on aerial photography as well as on stratigraphical soundings and sections. At the same time there was revealed the existence of a type of great mosque on the one hand and a type of royal residence on the other, dating from the very early Islamic occupation of the country and differing from the Syrian specimens of the same period, which until then had been regarded as the only examples of the art of the period. The primitive mosque discovered at Uskāf Banī Djunayd, on the west bank of the Nahrawān canal, and also in particular the mosque at Wāsiṭ excavated on the site of the capital built in a single operation between 83/703 and 86/706 by the famous governor of ʿIrāḳ for ʿAbd al-Maliḳ, al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], now provide plans more reliable than those based on debateable interpretations of the famous great mosques of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. In addition, the interesting palaces which have been identified in these same localities of Wāsiṭ and Uskāf Banī Djunayd and also in the neighbourhood of the great mosque at al-Kūfa, although excavations are so far incomplete and the results not fully published, provide as many examples of those *dār al-imāra* or *ḳaṣr al-imāra* which were built at that time within the new Islamic cities. These palaces were already distinct, in the arrangement of their interior appartments or *bayt* (similar to those found later in the ʿAbbāsid houses and palaces), from the models current for the *ḳaṣrs* in Syrian territory. The conclusions which may be drawn from these facts have so far been merely hinted at, but they should lead to a greater recognition of the part played in the development of early Islamic civilization by this Mesopotamian province, in which the ʿAbbāsid revolution merely consolidated an economic and intellectual supremacy which had for long been acknowledged.

It is sufficient here to re-state only the main features of the ʿAbbāsid architectural flowering in ʿIrāḳ. The classic details on the subject, mainly derived from the study of the exceptional site provided by the ruined capital of the caliphs, Sāmarrā [*q.v.*], are to be found in every analysis of traditional Islamic art (see ARCHITECTURE, FANN), so far as regards both the structure of the main buildings and also the various styles of decorative facing in painted or moulded stucco drawing on a repertoire of floral arabesques, interlaced geometrical patterns and even of representations of figures; these were to continue to appear throughout the later changes of early imperial art. Useful indications on various particular points may result from the research and restoration in progress at Ukhayḍir [*q.v.*] an isolated castle of uncertain date which today stands in the desert steppe to the west of al-Kūfa, or from the continuation of investigations which up to now have been limited to a few selected new sections within the enormous area of Sāmarrā. They will not however greatly alter the present view of the width of the conception and the amazing richness characteristic of the religious and civil architecture of the period, which also saw the high points of such industrial crafts as glass-making and ceramics (the latter competing with Chinese porcelain, then imported in great quantity for the use of the caliphs), or carving on valuable woods, of which a few rare specimens have survived. In ceramic art reference is usually made to an original ʿAbbāsid school of Mesopotamia which flourished in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries before the craftsmen emigrated, probably to Fāṭimid Egypt, and which owed its fame mainly to its productions in cream porcelain with a painted decoration in cobalt blue or lustre.

Separate reference cannot be made here to the art of Buwayhid and Saldjūḳid ʿIrāḳ, the architectural examples of which have completely disappeared and the productions of whose craftsmen are not sufficiently distinct from those found at that period in the Iranian provinces, as a result of the revival of various earlier local traditions. The following period however was marked by a new advance in Islamic art in ʿIrāḳ; this was, it is true, in a "provincial" form and had little influence outside the country, but it possessed a vitality comparable with that of the neighbouring countries. It is from this post-Saldjūḳid period, covering the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, that date the majority of the monuments which today form the architectural heritage of towns such as Baghdād and al-Mawṣil. In Baghdād, they are the results of the efforts made by the Caliphs al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] and al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] to regain a temporal power, admittedly limited, but based on their territorial indepen-

dence and on a partial recovery of the former prestige of the caliphs. In the region of al-Mawṣil, they are proof of the existence, at the small court of Zangī and his successors the Atabegs [*q.v.*] including the famous Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*], of an artistic centre which was certainly neither negligible nor without an original vigour, in spite of the variety of influences which had produced it.

We shall refer here to the main features of this period of architectural development in Baghdād as shown by a rapid survey of its most important remains: fortifications (*e.g.*, monumental gates such as al-Bāb al-Wasṭānī and Bāb al-Ṭalism, of which the latter disappeared at the beginning of this century); fragments of civil buildings such as the Ḥarba bridge, the ruined remains of the former palace of the caliphs (incorporated in what later became the Ottoman citadel); or religious buildings in various stages of ruin, like the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa*, the mosque of the Sūḳ al-Ghazl (of which only the minaret has survived), or the mausoleum of al-Zubayda; we may also note such remains, outside the boundaries of Baghdād proper, as the sanctuary of Bāb al-Ghaybā at Sāmarrā or the tomb of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī at al-Baṣra. All these buildings display an extreme technical perfection in the use of baked bricks, according to the tradition already in use during the Saldjūḳid period, but in addition a new taste for the picturesque and a sumptuous treatment (of exteriors only), manifesting itself in the replacement of free forms by complicated compositions, either structural (honeycomb corbals used even to support domes of characteristic profile) or decorative (reduced motifs of arabesques and interlaced polygons moulded in baked clay and indecipherable now that they are seen out of scale).

This homogeneous architecture of Baghdād may be contrasted with the inequality to be found among the monuments of Upper Mesopotamia of the same period, such as the important but insufficiently studied group existing at al-Mawṣil (ruins of the palace of Luʾluʾ or Kara Sarāy on the banks of the Tigris, many small sanctuaries or tombs of saints, and a great mosque with one solitary and imposing cylindrical minaret of brick) or the archaeological remains surviving in localities such as Sindjār [*q.v.*], Irbil [*q.v.*] or Takrīt, where the mausoleum of the Arbaʿīn has recently been restored. In each case the ever-present influence of the techniques of brick and stucco is combined with the use of stone, abundant there although of poor quality, so as to produce work which is of a somewhat clumsy and hybrid nature. Nevertheless a common tendency may be seen in certain architectural details (cupolas replaced by stone roofs in corrugated cones or in pyramids), in the form/style of mouldings and the architraves with rectilinear and curvilinear denticulation, in fact in a new interpretation of the arabesque with its asymmetrical floral ornaments hidden inside the scrolls of an enveloping stem.

This expansion of architecture in ʿIrāḳ in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries was accompanied by a similar one in the minor arts in which various ʿIrāḳī schools managed to gain for themselves an undoubted pre-eminence. There should first be mentioned the manufacture of ceramics, not perhaps for glazed ceramic ware (whose main centre of production was still at al-Raḳḳa, outside the boundaries of present-day ʿIrāḳ), but at least for the non-glazed pottery with ornament in relief, the finest pieces of which are today considered to be al-Mawṣil work. In al-Mawṣil also there existed a brilliant school of workers in copper and in bronze, who left a large number of dated and signed objects, as interesting for the exceptional quality of their decorative incrustation in gold and silver as for the information they provide on the workshops from which they came and the families of craftsmen who gradually perfected the technique of making them. Above all painting in ʿIrāḳ of this period (which is sometimes called "Arab" but which was really the product of a mixed society, already very different from that which had existed during the ʿAbbāsid golden age) is represented by important works, the paintings in manuscripts of the Mesopotamian school in the wider sense (this school is sometimes divided into a school of Upper Mesopotamia and a more specifically "Baghdādī" school, but no firm distinctions have been established). The daily life of the period is illustrated in many concise and expressive pictures which mark the birth of an art of miniature painting which was destined to hold an important place among the Islamic arts of later periods, but of which these early examples had already attained a marked maturity of design and colour.

The capture of Baghdād by the Mongols in 656/1258 appears to have marked the end of the artistic supremacy which had been ʿIrāḳ's from the time of the Islamic conquest but which did not survive the slow economic and political decline setting in after this date (the immediate result of this disaster should, perhaps, not be exaggerated), a fate which was inevitable in a province which was now subordinate and no longer a conquering power. It is true that this more restricted life was still accompanied by activity in architecture and crafts. Throughout several centuries various noteworthy buildings were erected, in particular around the great Shīʿī shrines to which embellishments were continually added, in Baghdād as in Sāmarrā, Nadjaf or Karbalāʾ, and whose domes, covered with square porcelain tiles in glowing colours, may still be seen. But these various monuments which stem stylistically either from the art of Ilkhānid Persia (*e.g.*, the Mirdjāniyya *madrasa* or the Khān Mirdjan of Baghdād) or Ṣafawid Persia or from Ottoman art (represented mainly by mosques, and by utilitarian buildings such as markets or *ḥammām*s) have not yet been the subject of studies or inventories enabling them to be assigned to their correct places in the line of a tradition which is both local and yet marked by many foreign influences, and thus conforms to one of the constant features of the history of ʿIrāḳ.

Bibliography: All the general works on Islamic architecture and minor arts contain material on the various artistic developments of ʿAbbāsid and post-Saldjūḳid ʿIrāḳ. To the more specialised bibliographies which these works contain we merely add here, in addition to two interesting articles by O. Grabar, *Umayyad "Palace" and the ʿAbbāsid "Revolution"*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xviii (1963), 5-18, *Al-Mushatta, Baghdad and Wasit*, in *The World of Islam. Studies in Honour of Ph. K. Hitti*, London-New York 1959, 99-108, the various works or articles announcing the results of the latest work done by the ʿIrāḳ Department of Antiquities, from the volume by F. Safar, *Wâsit. The Sixth Season's Excavations*, Cairo 1945, to the latest reports published in the review *Sumer*. See also J. Sourdel-Thomine, *L'art de Bagdad*, in *Arabica* ix, (1962), 449-465, and *Peinture arabe et société musulmane à propos d'un livre récent*, in *R.E.I.*, xxxi (1963), 115-21. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

ʿIRĀḲ ʿADJAMĪ [see al-djibāl].

ʿIRĀḲĪ, Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ʿIrāḳī Hamadānī, eminent Iranian poet and mystic. In spite of its lack of precision, the best source of information on this author, who gives very few autobiographical details in his own works, is an anonymous *muḳaddima* (introduction), composed in the manner and style of ʿIrāḳī's own period (the end of the 7th/13th century) or the beginning of the following period. Djāmī (*Nafaḥāt al-uns*) and Mīr Khwānd (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*) have obtained their information on ʿIrāḳī from this introduction. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, who wrote his *Tārīkh-i guzīda* forty years after the death of ʿIrāḳī (and there is no reason to suspect his witness), ʿIrāḳī's father's name was Buzurgmihr b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Djawāliḳī Hamadānī, and his son was born in the village of Kumdjān, near Hamadān. In his introduction (*dībāče*) to his edition of the *Kulliyyāt*, Saʿīd Nafīsī inserts the biographies given by other authors (p. vi ff.); he reproduces the errors of Dawlatshāh, and states that there is no foundation for what the latter says about ʿIrāḳī's attachment to a young boy and the punishment imposed by Shahrazūrī, who is said to have sent him to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā in India, to mend his ways. In short, the later writers added many debatable details to ʿIrāḳī's biography.

According to the *muḳaddima*, he was a precocious youth. One day when he was uttering a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, some *ḳalandars* (wandering dervishes) came to listen to him; they persuaded him (in 627/1230) to give up teaching and to follow them to ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī, and then to India; at Multān, they visited the scholar Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā [*q.v.*], who, recognizing ʿIrāḳī's ability, wished him to remain with him, but when ʿIrāḳī realized this, he departed with his companions to Delhi and then to Sūmanāt, where they were separated by a storm; after wandering for some time, ʿIrāḳī and one of the *ḳalandars* met again by chance in Delhi; then ʿIrāḳī, having decided to join Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā, returned alone to Multān and sat at the feet of the master, later becoming his son-in-law; soon afterwards, he had a son named Kabīr al-Dīn, and he remained for twenty-five years with his master, about whom he wrote several *ḳaṣīdas*. On his death, he succeeded him, but, driven out by the jealousy of some of his colleagues, he departed for the Ḥidjāz, whither some of them followed him. He was welcomed by the sultan of ʿUmān, who attempted in vain to detain him, and the travellers completed the Pilgrimage. Next, ʿIrāḳī travelled in Asia Minor and put himself under the authority of Ṣadr al-Dīn of Ḳonya; after hearing his commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ* and the *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], he gained the master's confidence. It was it this time that he wrote his *Lamaʿāt*; he submitted them to Ṣadr al-Dīn, who praised them highly (they must therefore have been completed before 673/1274, when the latter died). Many pupils attached themselves to ʿIrāḳī; he gained the favour of the *amīr* Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān Parvāna [*q.v.*], who offered him a monastery at Dūḳāt (Toḳāt). A series of anecdotes in the *muḳaddima* concern ʿIrāḳī's stay in this town, and in particular his meeting with the minister (Shams al-Dīn) Djuwaynī [*q.v.*] (*Muḳ.*, 14-6), who is said to have come there in the company of a brother of the Īl-khān Abāḳā, in order to check on the actions of Muʿīn al-Dīn (before 676/1277, when the latter was probably secretly in contact with Baybars, the sultan of Egypt—which led to his being executed in the same year). Soon after this meeting, it seems that the enemies of Muʿīn al-Dīn and of his protégé ʿIrāḳī turned Shams al-Dīn against them, though the latter, recognizing ʿIrāḳī's worth, assisted his hasty departure to Sinope. Thence ʿIrāḳī went to Egypt, where he gained the favour of the sultan; this is attested by several anecdotes. After this he planned to go to Damascus: the sultan had messages sent by carrier pigeons at the various stages of the journey and caused a solemn reception to be prepared for him; in the sixth month of his stay in Damascus, ʿIrāḳī was joined by his son, who had spent several years at Multān with Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā, but soon afterwards he became ill; after five days spent in a state of somnolence, he summoned his son and his companions, bade them farewell, chanted a verse of the Ḳurʾān (LXXX, 34-5), recited a *rubāʿī* (*Muḳaddima*, 19) and died while calling on God. His funeral was solemn and moving and he was buried on the Ṣāliḥiyya hill on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 688/23 November 1289; he was 78 years of age.

The author of the *Muḳaddima* quotes where appropriate the first lines of several *ghazals* written by ʿIrāḳī on various occasions in his life. In his introduction (*dībādja*, p. xxxviii), Saʿīd Nafīsī says of his genius as a poet: "I know no poet in the Persian language who is as free, as daring and as lofty in the expression of love (mystic or profane) as ʿIrāḳī; this ardour, this passion, are shown clearly and to the highest degree in his *ghazals*; in addition, he shows his skill in the *tardjīʿband* and the *rubāʿī*, though less so in the *ḳaṣīda* and the *mathnawī*; in short, he excels mainly in his *ghazals*, several of which have been developed into *mukhammas* by other poets". In spite of their merits, his two other works (*ʿUshshāḳ-nāma*, *Lamaʿāt*) appear of secondary importance compared with his *Dīwān*, consisting mainly of *ghazals*. The *ʿUshshāḳ-nāma* (Book of beings enamoured [of God]) or *dih-nāma* (Book of the ten sections), in verse, dedicated to Shams al-Dīn Djuwaynī, is made up of a *mathnawī* followed by *ghazals* on mystic subjects; it was imitated by several poets (the *Dih-namā* of Awḥadī, d. 705/1305, and of ʿImād al-Dīn Faḳīh, d. 773/1371-2; the *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn* of Ibn ʿImād Shīrāzī, d. 794/1391-2). The *Kitāb al-Lamaʿāt* (Book of beams of light) in 28 chapters—prose and verse mixed—is considered to have been written, at least in part, under the influence of the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī; however, at the beginning of the book (*Kulliyyāt*, 328, l. 1) we read; "Now therefore these few words, setting out the degrees of love, have been dictated according to the mood of the moment, in the manner of the *Sawāniḥ* [of al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] Aḥmad], so that for whoever loves God they may be the mirror showing him the One Whom he loves, although the rank of love is too sublime for one to be able to approach by means of reason, understanding and eloquence, the royal Court of His Majesty . . .". E. G. Browne (iii, 132-9) has translated the introduction giving the content of the work (cf. text: *Kulliyyāt*, 327-9); he summarizes as follows (p. 124) his judgement on ʿIrāḳī's character (of which S. Nafīsī gives some typical illustrations in his introduction to the *Kulliyyāt*, p. xviii ff.): "He is the typical qalandar, heedless of his reputation, and seeing in every beautiful face or object a reflection, as in a mirror, of the Eternal Beauty" (cf. the end of the dialogue of Socrates and Diotimus: Plato, *Symposium*, Greek text, 209-12).

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ʿ*Us͟hs͟hāḳ-nāma*), ed. and tr. into English verse by A. J. Arberry, Oxford 1939; extracts from the *Dīwān*: E. G. Browne (*op. cit.*, 124-131); Z. Safa, *Anthologie de la poésie persane*, Paris 1964, 225-8; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, Vienna 1818, 226-7. J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 247 (= Eng. tr., 254-5). (H. Massé)

IRAM, name of a tribe or place:

(1) A tribe called Iram is mentioned several times in ancient poems (over a dozen references are given by J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1926, 89 f.). It is mostly coupled with ʿĀd, but sometimes also with T͟hamūd, Ḥimyar, etc., and is said to have been destroyed by a man called Ḳudār al-Aḥmar (Uḥaymir). In this meaning Iram is an ancient Arabian tribe. In his *Muʿallaḳa*, 68, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza uses the adjective *iramī* in the sense of 'a man of ancient race' (cf. al-Tibrīzī, *ad loc.*). When Muslim scholars came to link up traditional Arab genealogies with those of the Bible, they identified Iram with Aram the son of Shem (*Genesis*, x, 22 f.; 1 *Chronicles*, i, 17), and made various ancient peoples of Arabia descendants of Iram. Thus ʿĀd [*q.v.*] is the son of ʿAws b. Iram (cf. Biblical Uz) and T͟hamūd [*q.v.*] the son of ʿĀbir b. Iram. The ʿAmālīḳ [*q.v.*] or Amalekites are the descendants of ʿAmlīḳ (or ʿImlāḳ) b. Lāwudh (cf. Lud) b. Iram; and another son of Lāwudh, Uwaym, is said to have gone to Persia and is sometimes identified with Gayomart (Ibn His͟hām, 5; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, i, 77 f.; etc.).

(2) As a geographical term Iram is properly a pile of stones erected as a way-mark. Yāḳūt (*Muʿd͟jam*, i, 212-6) mentions a mountain and another place of this name in Arabia (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Fünf Moallaqat*, i, 78). When Muslim scholars regard Iram D͟hāt al-ʿimād as a town, they mostly identify it with Damascus, presumably because this part of Syria is called *arām* in Hebrew. Some, however, make it Alexandria or a place in the Yemen (Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*).

(3) The word occurs once in the Ḳurʾān (LXXXIX, 6): *a lam tara kayfa faʿala rabbu-ka biʿādin irama d͟hāti 'l-ʿimādi* ... The passage has caused great difficulty to the commentators, both in respect of the meaning of the words and of their grammatical construction. Some read *ʿādi*, making *irama* a dependent genitive, and then took Iram to be the capital of ʿĀd. The most likely view is that Iram designates a tribe and is in apposition with *ʿādin*, and that *ʿimād* means tent-pole or tallness. Iram may then be a subdivision of ʿĀd, as al-Ṭabarī suggests (*ad loc.*). Later Muslim scholars preferred to take Iram as a town, and *d͟hāti 'l-ʿimād* could then mean 'with the pillars'; this was said to be the marble columns of Damascus. It is fascinating to observe the increasing elaboration of the accounts of this Iram D͟hāt al-ʿimād. One common story tells how it was built near Aden by S͟haddād b. ʿĀd as an imitation of Paradise, and how he was then, as a punishment for his pride, destroyed by a tornado and the city buried in sand (Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*). In another story Alexander the Great finds at Alexandria the ruins of a great building with marble columns and an inscription telling how it was built as a replica of the first Iram D͟hāt al-ʿimād. Yet another story tells how in the reign of Muʿāwiya a bedouin found wonderful ruins in the sand.

Bibliography: Commentaries on Sūra LXXXIX, 6; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, ii, 241; iii, 80 f.; iv, 87 f.; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 214, 220, 231, 748. (W. Montgomery Watt)

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

P. 8b, **ʿABBĀS I,** *add to the Bibliography*: Hans Müller, *Die Chronik* Ḫulāṣat at-tawārīḫ *des Qāżī Aḥmad Qumī. Der Abschnitt über Schah ʿAbbās I.*, in *Akad. der Wiss. und der Lit., Veröffentl. der Oriental. Kommission*, xiv, Wiesbaden 1964.

P. 212b, **ʿAḌUD AL-DAWLA,** l. 11, *for* al-Maḳdisi *read* al-Muḳaddasī; l. 13, *for* al-Maḳdisī, 499 *read* al-Muḳaddasī, 449; l. 21, *for* Maḳdisī *read* Muḳaddasī

P. 300a, **AḤMADĪ,** *add to the Bibliography*: Tunca Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild des altosmanischen Dichters Aḥmedī unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Diwans*, in *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen* xxii, Freiburg 1973.

P. 317b, **AKBAR,** *add to the Bibliography*: Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, 167-81; S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign, with special reference to Abu 'l-Fazl (1556-1605)*, New Delhi 1975; A. R. Khan, *Chieftains in the Mughal empire during the reign of Akbar*, Simla 1977.

P. 1347b, **BUSTĀN,** *add to Bibliography*: James Dickie, *The Hispano-Arab garden: its philosophy and function*, in *BSOAS* xxxi (1968), 237-48; idem, *The Islamic garden in Spain*, in *The Islamic garden (Fourth Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium in the History of Landscape Architecture)*, Washington D.C. 1976, 89-105. See also IBN LUYŪN in Suppl.

VOLUME II

P. 239a, **DHŪ 'L-HIMMA,** *add to the Bibliography*: Udo Steinbach, *Ḏāt al-Himma. Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem arabischen Volksroman*, Wiesbaden 1972.

P. 523a, **AL-DJAZARĪ,** l. 5, *for* at Wāsiṭ *read* outside Damascus
Add to the Bibliography: Donald P. Little, *Introduction to Mamlūk historiography*, Wiesbaden 1970, 53-7; U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg 1969, 12-60, 92-116; the same, *Édition de la chronique mamelouke syrienne de Šams ad-Din Muḥammad al-Ǧazarī*, in *BÉO* xxviii (1975); C. Cahen, *Addenda sur al-Djazari*, in *Israel Oriental Studies* ii (1972), 144-7; the same, *Rectificatif, ibidem*, iii (1973).

P. 537a, **DJIDJELLI,** l. 3, *for* west *read* east

P. 966a, **FUTUWWA,** l. 2 from bottom, *after aʿshā, add* xii,

VOLUME III

P. 70a, **ḤĀḤĀ,** *last l. but one before the Bibliography, for* Ibn Ḳunfūdh *read* Ibn Ḳunfudh

P. 82a, **AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH,** *add to Bibliography*: J. van Ess, *Chiliastische Erwartungen und die Versuchung der Göttlichkeit. Der Kalif al-Ḥākim (386-411 H.)*, in *Abh. der Heidelberger Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1977), 2. Abhandlung.

P. 167, **HANSALIYYA,** *read* Ḥanṣaliyya *throughout the article.*

P. 390b, **AL-ḤILLĪ,** l. 20, *for* 638/1240-1, died 726/1326 *read* 602/1205, died 676/1277

P. 719b, **IBN AL-ASHʿATH,** *add to Bibliography*: Redwan Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Ašʿaṯ und die Koranleser. Ein Beitrag zur Religions- und Sozialgeschichte der frühen Umayyadenzeit*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1977.

P. 744b, **IBN AL-DAWĀDĀRĪ,** *add to the Bibliography*: *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*, vii (ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr, Cairo-Freiburg 1972; cf. P. M. Holt in *BSOAS* i (1974)), viii (ed. U. Haarmann, Cairo-Freiburg 1971); U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg 1969, *passim*, esp. 61-84, 107-118; the same, *Altun Ḫān und Čingiz Ḫān bei den ägyptischen Mamluken*, in *Der Islam* li (1974), 1-36.

P. 751a, **IBN AL-DJAWZĪ,** l. 5, *for* 510/1126 *read* 511/1116

P. 812b, **IBN IYĀS,** l. 22 from bottom, *for* 1421-5102 *read* 1421-1502

P. 825b, **IBN KHALDŪN,** l. 2, *for* 732-84/1332-82 *read* 732-808/1332-1406

P. 940a, **IBN SHUHAYD,** *add to Bibliography*: a new edition of his poetry by James Dickie, *El Diwān de Ibn Šuhayd al-Andalusī 382-426 H = 992-1035 C*, Cordova 1975.

P. 1068a, **AL-IKHWĀN,** l. 10 from bottom, *instead of* Rīḥānī *read* Rayḥānī

P. 1157a, **ILYĀSIDS,** *add to Bibliography*: C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirman (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 107-24; A. H. Morton, *A dirham of Muḥammad b. Ilyās of Kirmān*, in *Iran. Journal of the British Inst. of Persian Studies* xv (1977), 152-6.

P. 1170b, **ĪMĀN,** l. 16 *from below, for* Cairo n.d., i, 327 *read* Cairo n.d., i, 320-5

P. 1204b, **INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,** l. 15 from bottom, *for* M. A. Djināḥ *read* M. A. Jheeṇā

VOLUME IV

P. 39a, **IRAN,** ll. 8-12, *for the sentence* Consequently . . . that city *read* Consequently, when Iranian troops on three separate occasions attempted to recapture Harāt, Britain either despatched armies to prevent them (1837; 1856), or exerted diplomatic pressure to secure their withdrawal (1852).

P. 174b, **ISLAM,** *add to Bibliography*: H. Rizzitano, *Islam, Aslama and Muslim*, Upsala 1949, and D. Z. M. Baneth, *What did Muhammad mean when he called his religion "Islam"; the original meaning of* aslama *and its derivatives*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, i (1971), 183-90.

P. 188a, **ISMĀʿĪL I,** *add to the Bibliography*: E. Glassen, *Die frühen Safawiden nach Qāżī Aḥmad Qumī*, in *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen* v, Freiburg 1970.

P. 369a, **ḲADARIYYA,** l. 1, *for* der *read* under

P. 371a, l. 18 from bottom, *for* his *read* the latter's; l. 12 from bottom, *for* they *read* the anti-Ḳadarites; l. 5 from bottom, *for* Abū ʿUbayd's *read* ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd's

P. 371b, second paragraph, l. 3, *for* the *Ḥadīth*s speak *read* the *Ḥadīth* quoted above speaks

P. 372a, *Bibliography*, l. 23: for *ʿAbd-alʿazīz* read *ʿAbdalʿazīz*; ll. 24 and 27, *for* 1973 *read* 1974

P. 379b, AL-**ḲĀDIRĪ,** ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ṬAYYIB, *add to the Bibliography*: al-Ḳādirī's *Lamḥat al-bahdja al-ʿaliyya fī baʿḍ ahl al-nisba al-Ṣiḳilliyya* has been published by U. Rizzitano, *Un trattatello di storia dinastica sui "Siciliani" di illustre discendenza nel Marocco*, in *Mélanges Islamologiques*, iii, Cairo 1957, 85-127.

P. 388, **ḲĀDJĀR,** ll. 2-3, *change the genealogical tree so as to make Muḥammad Ḥasan, not Muḥammad Ḥusayn, the father of Āḳā Muḥammad and his brothers.*

P. 411a, **KĀFIRISTĀN,** *add to Bibliography*: S. Jones, *An annotated bibliography of Nuristan (Kafiristan) and the Kalash Kafirs (Chitral)*, in *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, Hist.-Fil. Med., xli/III, xliii/I (Copenhagen 1966-9); K. Jettmar (ed.), *Cultures of the Hindukush. Selected papers from the Hindu-Kush cultural conference held at Moesgård 1970*, in *Beiträge zur Südasien-Forschung*, Südasien-Institut, Heidelberg (Wiesbaden 1974).

P. 455b, *After article* **ḲAHWA** *add*: **KAHYA** [see KETKHUDA].
KAḤYĀ or **DJENĀZE ḤASAN PASHA,** l. 1, *for* Kaḥyā *read* Kahyā

P. 509a, **KALIMANTAN,** *after* Supplement *add* s.v. BORNEO.

P. 511a, AL-**ḲALḲASHANDĪ,** *add to Bibliography*: Muṣṭafā al-Shakʿa, *al-Uṣūl al-adabiyya fī Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, Beirut 1971; Aḥmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm, ed., *Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḳalḳashandī wa-kitābuhu Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (collection of essays), Cairo 1973.

P. 532a, **ḲANĀT,** I, IN IRAN, *add to the Bibliography*: C. Braun, *Teheran, Marrakesch und Madrid*, Bonn 1974.

P. 610b, AL-**KARAKĪ,** *add to the Bibliography*: M. T. Dānishpazhūh, *Yak parda az zindigānī-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsb Ṣafawī*, in *Madjalla-yi Danishkada-yi Adabiyyāt wa-ʿUlūm-i Insānī-yi Mashhad*, vii (1972), 967-75.

P. 616b-617a **ḲARAMĀN,** *read* Ḳaramān *throughout.*

P. 619-625 **ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARĪ** (ḲARAMĀNIDS), *read* Ḳaramān-oghullarī *and* Ḳaramānids *throughout.*

P. 629b, AL-**ḲARASṬŪN,** Bibliography, ll. 10-12, *for* K. Jaouiche ... (Paris doctoral thesis, 1972) *read* K. Jaouiche, *Le livre du Qarasṭūn de Ṯābit ibn Qurra. Étude sur l'origine de la notion de travail et du calcul du moment statique d'une barre homogène*, Leyden 1976

P. 669b, **KARRĀMIYYA,** *add to Bibliography*: J. Chabbi, *Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasan IIIe/IXe siècle-IVe/Xe siècle*, in *SI* xlvi (1977), 5-72.

P. 706b, **ḲĀSHḲĀY,** for additional bibliography on this tribe, see the *Bibliography* to BISĀṬ, 3. Tribal rugs, in the Supplement.

P. 721-2, **ḲĀSIM-I ANWĀR,** *instead of* Ḳāsim-i Anwār *read* Ḳāsim-i Anwar *throughout the article.*

P. 730b, AL-**ḲAṢR** AL-**ṢAGHĪR,** *add to the Bibliography*: G. Gozalbes Busto, *Datos para la historia de Alkazar Seguer*, in *Cuad. de la Bibl. esp. de Tetuan*, xii (Dec. 1975), 55-77.

P. 746b, **ḲATABĀN,** l. 28 from bottom, *between* Wādī *and* but *insert* There exists a text (RES 3958) dealing with a Sabaean farm in the Wādī,

P. 747a, ll. 15-16, *after* Somewhat further *add* south

P. 748a, l. 27 from bottom, *for* verb-system *read* verb-stem

P. 777b, **KAWĀR,** l. 5, *instead of* 1-54 *read* i, 54

P. 794b, **ḲAWMIYYA,** Section vi, end of the Bibliography, *instead of* (F. ROBINSON) *read* (FRANCIS ROBINSON)

P. 834a, **ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN,** Section ḲAYS AND YAMAN IN THE OTTOMAN PERIOD, end of the first alinea, *add* (ED.)

P. 870b, **KELEK,** Bibliography, *add* J. Henninger, *Zur Verbreitung des Schlauchflosses*, in *Anthropos* xxxv-xxxvi (1940-1), 975.

P. 893b, **KESRIYE,** *add to the Bibliography*: V. D. Demetriades, Ἡ Κεντρικὴ καὶ Δυτικὴ Μακεδονία κατὰ τὸν Ἐθλεγιὰ Τσελεμπή, Salonica 1973.

P. 916b, **KHĀKSĀR,** *add to the Bibliography*: Shan Muhammad, *Khaksar Movement in India*, Meerut 1973.

P. 950a, **KHALĪFA,** l. 43, for *Tanḳīh* read *Tanḳīḥ*; l. 50, *for* Khalf *read* Khalaf

P. 952a, ll. 26-27 of Bibliography, for *Beiträge zur Kenntnisse der ägypt. Derwischordens* read *Beiträge zur Kenntnis eines ägyptischen Derwischordens*

P. 952b, ll. 3 and 7, *for* al-Ḥalawānī *read* al-Ḥalwānī

P. 991b, **KHALWATIYYA,** l. 2, *for* ʿUmar *read* Yaḥyā; l. 24 from below, *for* al-Ḳasṭamūnī *read* Ḳasṭamūnī

P. 992a, l. 6 from below, for *Sahar* read *Saḥar*

P. 993a, l. 3, for *Warrādihi* read *Wurrādihi*

P. 993b, *add to Bibliography*: Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, *Menāḳib-i Ṭarikat-i ʿAliyye-yi Khalwetiyye*, Istanbul 1290/1873.

P. 1171a, **KHAZAF,** *add to the Bibliography, section "China and Islam"*: Y. Crowe, *Early Islamic pottery and China*, in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, xlii, London 1978.

I

CONTINUATION

IRAN

i.—Geography

1. The geological background: The alignments of Iran's principal topographic features, represented by the Kūhhā-yi Alburz and the Zagros Chain, are west to east and north-west to south-east, respectively. In broad context, the Alburz is a continuation of the European Alpine structures, while the Zagros chain has been linked through Cyprus with the Dinaric Alps (Fisher, 1956). The structure of the mountain rim of the country has been influenced strongly by tectonic movements which have not only caused considerable folding, giving rise to the mountain ridges, but have also resulted in overthrusting of the anticlines and complex step-faulting, particularly in the east and north-east. Lying between the two mountain systems of the north and south is the block of the central Iranian plateau, though even here large areas have been affected by the powerful movements which created the Alpine Himalayan orogenic systems.

Structural characteristics have an appreciable influence on the extreme regionalism of Iran. The Caspian basin may be regarded as a down-faulted area in sharp contrast to the adjacent main Alburz range, itself discerned as a main northern range, a southern range or Anti-Alburz (Rivière, 1934) with an internal tertiary basin between the two. The Zagros exhibits two structurally characteristic regions including the area of large-scale over-thrusting, as exemplified in the zone between ʿAlī Gūdarz and Shahr-i Kurd, and the area of lower altitude, where elongated anticlines and synclines are arranged in sub-parallel lines as for example around Do Gunbadān

The main period of earth movements has been established for the Alburz and the north-east region as belonging to the pre-Cretaceous era, when the permocarboniferous beds were widely affected. Further movement began in post-Eocene times and continued through to the end of the Miocene, while the close of the Cretaceous saw increased volcanic activity. The major period of folding is attributed to the Pliocene, especially the late Pliocene (Gansser, 1955). The Zagros was influenced considerably by epeirogenic movements dated to Paleozoic and early Mesozoic times with orogenic disturbances beginning in the Upper Cretaceous (Lees and Richardson, 1940). Prolonged folding in the late Miocene and Pliocene saw the emergence of elongated anticlines and synclines compressed against the resistant Arabian Shield.

2. Location and frontiers: Covering some 164 million hectares, Iran stretches from Bāzārgān (39° 20′ N-44° 20′ E) in the north-west to Sarakhs (36° 30′ N-61° 10′ E) in the north-east and from Ābādān (30° 20′ N-48° 15′ E) in the south-west to Gvātar (25° 05′ N-61° 30′ E) in the extreme south-east.

The land frontiers of Iran total approximately 4,400 kilometres much of which is aligned along natural features and the subject of established international agreements with the notable exception of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab boundary with ʿIrāḳ. The 460-kilometre border with Turkey runs south from the Rūd-i Aras through the eastern foothills of the Büyük Ağri Daği and thence roughly along the watershed between the Reżāʾiyeh basin and the Van Golü basin. Of the 900-kilometre frontier with ʿIrāḳ, the northern section follows the watershed of the Zagros and then the low-lying foothills of Mesopotamia before cutting across on arbitrary alignments to the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab upstream of the confluence with the Rūd-i Kārūn. Iran's border with the U.S.S.R. in Ādharbāydjān is coincident with the Rūd-i Aras over much of its length except for the eastern extremity, where from approximately 48° E it swings southwards through the Dasht-i Moghān to the foothills of the Kūh-i Ṭālish, which it follows to the Rūd-i Āstārā which forms the boundary to the Caspian Sea (Daryā-yi Māzandarān). The Trans-Caspian border with the U.S.S.R. follows the line of the Rūd-i Atrāk upstream from the Caspian Sea to the confluence with the Rūd-i Sūmbār and then crosses the Kopet Dāgh to arc round to the Harī Rūd along the north facing slopes of the northern Alburz ridges including the Golūl Dāgh and the Kūh-i Hazār Masdjed. Although the Irano-Afghān border runs south along the Harī Rūd over the first section of its 800 kilometres length, the rest of the boundary is more arbitrarily aligned, traversing the inland drainage sumps east of the Ḳāyin-Bīrdjand highlands and the western rim of the Dasht-i Nā Umīd before cutting east through the Daryāčeh Sīstān to include much of the lowland around the Daryāčeh Hāmūn-i Ṣābarī before swinging south-west towards Zāhidān. After following the watershed of the hill range east of Zāhidān, the frontier with Pakistan is coincident with the Tahlāb Rūd south to the Hāmūn-i Mashgel. Thereafter the frontier trends more or less due south with an abutment eastwards to take in the valley of the Rūd-i Mashgel as far as Kūhak, from whence it swings south-west, in parts along tributaries of the Nehang Rūd, to the coast of the Gulf of Oman at the Khalīdj-i Gvātar.

3. Physical geography: The heartland of Iran is regarded by geographers as a plateau defined in the north by the Alburz system and to the south-west and south by the Zagros Mountains, though continuing eastwards into Afghānistān without firm

delineation. This vast triangular plateau is far from homogeneous and includes not only the extensive desert lands of the Dasht-i Kavīr and Lūṭ but also large, though discontinuous, areas of well watered and fertile soils lying between the enclosing mountains and the desert basins which are the centres of the introspective drainage systems. Whereas the great deserts contain few, if famous, settlements, many of the country's richest agricultural areas are located in the lands bordering the plateau, including among others the Dasht-i Ḳazvīn, Dasht-i Varāmīn, the extended oases of Mashhad, Sabzavār, Nīshābūr, Simnān, Tehran, Ḳumm, Yazd and Kirmān and the rich valleys of Arāḳ and Hamadān.

The two principal mountain systems add further regional diversity. The Alburz Mountains dominate the topography of northern Iran even in their eastern extensions where many subsidiary ranges give rise to local micro-climates and permit specialised agricultural activities. No less important, the Zagros chain imposes its own regional influences throughout its length from Kurdistān to Balūčistān, with altitudes sufficient in the west and for a considerable distance south-east to give rise to reliable orographic rainfall capable of supporting forest cover and, in places, a rich agriculture.

Outside the plateau and its surrounding rim lie limited but economically significant lowlands including the Caspian Plain, the Turkoman Ṣaḥrā, the inland sumps of the Harī Rūd and Rūd-i Hīrmand and the great plain of Khūzistān.

In view of the very considerable regional diversity of the country, detailed review of the main geographic areas is necessary.

3.i. The Plateau:

(a) The Central deserts: The central deserts of Iran fall naturally into two groupings separated by the mountain range running from the south-east of the highland belt of Khurāsān from Dastgerdān to Ardestān, the northern section known as Dasht-i Kavīr and the southern as Dasht-i Lūṭ. Both areas are themselves slit into a series of sub-basins. separated by hill ridges, many rising to over 1,500 metres. Dasht-i Kavīr is often presented as a series of ten basins (British Admiralty, 1944), the largest known as Kavīr-i Buzurg, in which the main characteristics are clayey, salty soils and extremely brackish groundwater in parts giving rise to ooze flows (Fischer, 1968), namakzar and temporary salt lakes (Mostofi, 1970). Most settlements are located on higher ground about 1,000 metres in altitude and represent for the most part staging posts on the ancient caravan routes linking northern Khurāsān and even the Caspian area via Simnān and Djandaḳ (MacGregor, 1871) with Yazd and Iṣfahān. Agricultural life is primarily based on oasis cultivation in which the date palm, other fruits and grains and fodders play a major role. The supply of dyes for the carpet industry, formerly of some importance, is now in decline. Mining for lead and other non-ferrous metals retains an albeit smallscale industrial base in the Anārak-Nā'īn area.

Dasht-i Lūṭ forms an elongated basin set between the Kirmān and the Ḳāyin-Bīrdjand highlands and contains many complex geographical features, some only recently studied (Mostofi, 1970). The so-called high northern Lūṭ lies between the Dastgerdān-Yazd axis and the Dehūk-Nayband-Rāvar col and is sometimes taken to include the highlands around Anārak. The southern Lūṭ or Lūṭ-i Zangi Aḥmad is defined in the south by the line of the Bam-Zāhidān road and traditionally and economically excludes Narmāshīr, the Kirmān Desert and Rīgān, though physically this zone, extending up to the Kūh-i Taftān, is included within the Lūṭ proper. Among the characteristic features of Dasht-i Lūṭ is the extensive namakzar-i Shahdād occupying a long trough extending on a serpentine 170-kilometre alignment from north-west to south-east, though formerly of greater extent (Gabriel, 1938). In the shallow centre of the Lūṭ adjacent to the namakzar complex fluvial and later aeolian erosion has produced areas of spectacularly dissected country having much the appearance of ruined towns called Shahr-i Lūṭ. In addition to a series of hill, valley and plain areas, of which six separate units have been recognised (Mostofi, 1970), the other dominating feature of the Lūṭ is the dune mass of the east running from Dih Salm on a NNE-SSW axis almost to Kahūrak on the Bam-Zāhidān road and in parts exceeding 80 kilometres in width.

Production from the region of Dasht-i Lūṭ is small and poor communications discourage active export of most goods. Agricultural output from the oases tends to be subsistence orientated, though oranges from Shahdād and dates from Shahdād and Dih Salm do find their way to markets in Kirmān and Bīrdjand. Mining has more than local importance with lead at Nayband, Kūh-i Garmāb and Seh Čangī and copper at Ḳalʿa Zarī and Ḳollehā (Bariand et al., 1965).

(b) The plains of the Zagros Slopes: A series of fertile plains and basins surround the central deserts lying along the north-eastern edge of the Zagros Mountains. The most extensive areas are those surrounding Iṣfahān, Yazd and Kirmān, though many other smaller centres exist with prosperous agricultural bases. Throughout the zone the principal means of water supply is the *ḳanāt* [*q.v.*], with river water retaining local importance especially in the Iṣfahān region. Drainage within the basins is largely internal and a number of salt-lake basins altitudinally and physically accordant with the Dasht-i Kavīr (Fischer, 1968) stretch from Sīrdjān via Gāvḳhūnī to Iṣfahān. Outside the namakzar soils are generally deep and fertile, supporting a varied agriculture mainly irrigated but with a significant area of dryland grains and a rich associated livestock economy. Traditional craft industries are still important employers of labour in this region, with the hand-made carpets of Iṣfahān, Nā'īn, Kāshān and Kirmān accounting for a major portion of Iran's non-oil exports.

One of the factors permitting the early growth of sophisticated urban centres in this area of Iran has been the existence of readily accessible and varied mineral deposits, particularly the lead-zinc occurrences associated with the Jurassic and Cretaceous limestones around Iṣfahān, Kāshān and Yazd and orientated with the line of the Zagros overthrusting (Bariand, 1965). It is an interesting fact that many of the modern mine enterprises in the area represent new workings on ancient sites. Copper mining also has ancient origins in this area, the deposits to the south of Kirmān at Kūh-i Baḥr Āsmān and Tal-i Maʿdan near Rafsendjān both having been exploited at an early date. More recently, the Sar Čashma copper deposit has been proved and developed. Although iron deposits were not valued so highly or subject to such early exploitation as copper, iron workings dating from Archemenian times have been recorded in this area. Among the largest known ironfields in Iran is the magnetite iron bearing area around Bafḳ occurring along the contact lines of the grano-dioritic intrusions with the Upper Cretaceous sediments.

(c) North-West Iran: North-west Iran including East and West Ādhārbāydjān, Kurdistān and Hamadān with its geological continuation through the regions of Malāyer, Golpāyegān, Shahreżā and Balūčistān is considered at the present time to be an integral part of central Iran. The area was intensely folded and faulted during the Alpine orogeny and intrusive processes, localised metamorphism and widespread volcanism are characteristic throughout the zone. Despite the underlying geological similarities, the north-west remains geographically distinct from the areas further east. Topographically, the area has been likened to a series of irregular tablelands (Fisher, 1968), where altitudes attain between 4,811 metres in the main peak of the Sapālān Dāgh, 3,700 metres in Kūh-i Sahand and 3,306 metres in the Kūh-i Boz Ghūsh. Drainage of the north-west area is intricate in pattern. The Rūd-i Aras drains the north-flowing tributaries running from the Ḳareh Dāgh and the Büyük Ağri Daği as well as the Khūy and Ardabīl basins. Much of the south-west of the area is drained by the tributaries of the Rūd-i Zandjānčāy, which eventually joins the Ḳizil Uzon and the Safīd Rūd system. Other radial drainage lines include those streams west of Mahābād which link in the Āb-i Zāb, cross the ʿIrāḳī frontier, and link with the Zāb al-Asfal. Introspective drainage in Western Ādhārbāydjān centres on the Daryāčeh-i Reżāʾiyeh fed by the Zarīneh Rūd and Sīmīneh Rūd from the south and the Adjī Čāy from the east.

Ādhārbāydjān is among the better watered areas of Iran and average annual rainfall at Tabrīz is 285.6 millimetres, though the surrounding highlands receive heavier rainfall, much of it in the form of winter snows. Dryland grain cultivation is possible over large areas and deciduous fruits are universally important together with the vine and almond. Irrigated culture is found throughout the region, with the most productive areas located in the major river valleys around the towns of Ardabīl, Khūy, Mahābād, Miyāneh, Reżāʾiyeh, Tabrīz and Zandjān, where soils are rich and deep and where some shelter is available from harsh winds, frosts and prolonged snow cover.

Ādhārbāydjān is extremely mineral rich in two main areas including the Ahar-Gūlān-Marand area, where large and medium scale deposits of lead-zinc, copper, gold, arsenic and molybdenite exist and the southern Ādhārbāydjān region lying in the Angūrnā-Takāb-Marāgheh area, where large and medium-scale deposits of lead-zinc, copper, arsenic, gold, bismuth and other minerals have been located. Small-scale iron fields are worked at Afshārābād and Goldjūk, while lead-zinc and copper deposits are found between Zandjān and Fīrūzābād.

The southern rim of the central Iranian plateau land running south-east from southern Ādhārbāydjān through Kurdistān and Hamadān to Shahreżā is geologically similar to Ādhārbāydjān, as noted above, though here a larger element of Mesozoic and Tertiary metamorphism is apparent, especially in the Hamadān-Dārān belt. The rim takes the form of a broken mountain system beginning in the west with the Kūh-i Čehel Časmeh (3,163 metres) and continuing in the Kūh-i Alvand (3,548 metres) and in Ashfarān Kūh (4,176 metres). South-west of Nadjafābād the ridge is less distinct. The areas as far east as Nadjafābād are agriculturally well-endowed with deep soils in the valleys and reliable rainfall (Hamadān 385.2 millimetres annual average). Both *ḳanāt* and river water irrigation supplies are utilised for sedentary agriculture, especially favoured centres for which are Malāyer, Arāk, Golpāyigān, ʿAlī Gūdarz and Nadjafābād. Livestock is generally important, with a strong transhumant tradition affecting mainly the Kurdistān area. Sizeable mineral deposits occur in the area of Mesozoic and Tertiary metamorphism and lead-zinc is found at Lākān, Ḥusaynābād and Darreh Noḳreh south-east of Arāk and at Andjireh, Vidjīn, Khāneh Sormeh and Shāhkūh in the area west and south of Iṣfahān.

(d) Balūčistān: The mountains of Balūčistān, formerly regarded as continuations of the main Zagros system, are now recognised as a south-east limb of the central Iranian zone. To the north, the area is clearly defined by the Kūh-i Bazmān which, reaching its greatest elevation at 3,489 metres, effectively separates the depression of Dasht-i Lūṭ from the Djaz Moriyān Hāmūn. The mountains of Kūh-i Bazmān are made up of extrusive material with a series of geologically youthful volcanic peaks dominating the range. A north-south syncline running from north of Irānshahr to the region of Nuṣratābād divides the Kūh-i Bazmān from the Kūh-i Taftān, a geologically mixed region, with extrusive igneous and metamorphic rock in the area of Kūh-i Taftān volcanic peak, a complex zone of ophiolite-radiolarite rocks with ultrabasic masses located west of Taftān and a surrounding mass of Cambrian to Paleogene sedimentaries. Topography throughout the region is irregular and mainly above an altitude of 1,000 metres. In addition to the mountain ridges traversing the area, and noted above, two plateaux lie to the north and south of the Kūh-i Taftān centred on Zāhidān and Khāsh, respectively, though the former is not endowed with sufficient soil or water resources to offer a base for a strong sedentary agriculture. The Khāsh plateau presents a strong contrast, with settled cultivation developed over large areas dependent upon adequate if not abundant subterranean water resources and rich and deep soils, where grains, fodder crops, vegetables and orchard fruits give generally reliable returns (Plan Organisation 1960).

Although the Iranian Makrān shows geological similarities with western Balūchistān, intense overthrusting along a roughly west-east alignment has given the northern Makrān distinctive topography, extremely broken in places and difficult of access and agricultural utilisation. Separating the Djāz Moriyān Hāmūn from the Makrān is the Kūh-i Bashāgerd, the main west-east ridge of which rises to over 1,500 metres, where the ophiolite-radiolarite areas form a more resistant mass than the surrounding sedimentaries. Coastal Makrān, beginning from Rāʾs al-Shīr in the west and continuing into Pakistan in the east, forms yet another distinctive zone of relatively regular anticlines and succeeding synclines aligned more or less parallel with the coastline. The area is pre-eminently one of sedimentaries, geologically forming a depression zone of which the larger part lies below the Gulf of Oman, though the regular folding of the anticline structures gives coastal Makrān a character much different from other major depressions and internal basins in the country. Rapid and intensive erosion of the ridges near the coast by fast-running north-south streams has dissected the anticlines into small hill groups of low elevation except where the geologic outliers of the Cambrian-Paleogene series are exposed to stand out as resistant blocks occasionally attaining more than 1,000 metres in altitude. Despite the occurrence of monsoon rainfall in coastal districts and the existence of ancient *ḳanāt* systems, agricultural deve-

lopment has been inhibited by the unreliability of rainfall, the poor condition of the ḳanāts and, not least of all, by the low levels of technical knowledge of the predominantly Balūč population in both water utilisation and cultivation skills (Spooner, 1968).

Lying between the mountain rims of Balūčistān is the Djāz Moriyān depression, structurally an internal basin and now filled with recent alluvial deposits brought from the hills by numerous streams seasonally flowing to the centre of the basin where *kavīr* and swamp lands cover a considerable area. Away from the Hāmūn itself, the plains of Bampūr and Djīruft, and particularly the latter, offer scope for settled agriculture, though geographic isolation and preoccupation with livestock herding have been constraints on effective use of available land and water resources. Nonetheless, the Bampūr-Irānshahr area produces grains, including rice, fodders and tree crops utilising *ḳanāt* water supplies and temporary 'bands' or earth dams across the major drainage channels to trap water and silt for cultivation purposes. Djīruft has been developed in the very recent period as a major crop and livestock area under government auspices.

Large deposits of chromite have been located in Balūčistān and the adjacent areas between Bāft and Djīruft, occurring in the area of ultrabasic rocks where magmatic segregation has taken place. The most important deposits are established at Shahriyār and Amīr, north-east of Mīnāb, though scattered sites as distant as Ābdasht and Khāsh are known.

(e) The East Persian Highlands: The East Persian highland system runs from the Kūh-i Surkh south of Mashhad and links up with the Kūh-i Taftān in northern Balūčistān. Kūh-i Surkh is separated from the hill area to the south by the Great Kavīr Fault, which arcs across from west to east fading out near ʿAlamdār. The Kūh-i Surkh attains an altitude of 3,020 metres north-west of Turbat-i Ḥaydarī, though much of its continuation east in the Kūh-i Bīzak and Kūh-i Khvāf rises to over 2,000 metres. South of these highlands a large depression forms a west to east trough, through the foothills of the highlands between Kāshmar and ʿAlamdār including the Turbat-i Ḥaydarī region which act as an intermediate zone, where areas of good soils and fair underground water resources permit cultivation of grains, vegetables and mixed tree crops. In years of above average rainfall, dayīn, or dryland, cultivation is important and some villagers augment their irrigated lands by damming small streams. South of the foothills, soils are poor and namakzar formations characterise the basin bottom from Kavīr-i Namak to the Afghān borders, where marshes are also found. Drainage from the Kūh-i Bīzak, the northern Ḳāyin-Bīrdjand highlands and the Dastgerdān flows to the namakzar formations.

West-east faulting in the north Ḳāyin-Bīrdjand highlands separates the Kūh-i Kalāt from Ḳāyināt proper by a high col. Gunābād village group and its related *yaylāḳ*, Kākhk, form a relatively prosperous agricultural area on the foothills and north-facing slopes of the Kūh-i Kalāt reliant on *ḳanāt* water supply. Crustal instability is marked both here and in the areas as far south as Bīrdjand and many settlements suffer periodic earthquakes of which the last occurred in 1968 affecting Kākhk and Ferdaus particularly.

The Ḳāyin-Bīrdjand Mountains achieve their greatest height in the Kūh-i Āhangerān at 2,877 metres, while the north-west to south-east ridge east of Bīrdjand also runs for some 100 kilometres at altitudes above 2,000 metres. Drainage of the highlands is to the namakzar in the north and to the small western basins and the Dasht-i Lūṭ in the west. Southwards the situation is more complex and the line of the hill ranges and the major streams is strongly affected by faulting trending north-west to south-east in the south-east sector and north to south in the south-west sector, with drainage fed to the Daryāča-i Hāmūn-i Hīrmand in the former and to the Dasht-i Lūṭ in the latter case. Agriculture in the Ḳāyināt and Bīrdjand is based on *ḳanāt*, pump and earth dam systems with subterranean aquifers replenished by the irregular, though at times heavy, rainfall and snows on the mountain ridges. Some hill villages are famous for saffron and vegetable dye cultivation on small artficial terraces, and there is a considerable export of these products from the region to other parts of the country. The southern col reaching from the main mountain area around Khūsf to Nuṣratābād is faulted to both west and east and carries little settlement or cultivation with the exception of the lower east-facing slopes around Neh which sustain minor pockets of cultivation where shelter from the 120-day wind (*bād-i ṣad-u-bīst rūz*) is possible. Further west, oasis date palm culture is found on the fringes of Dasht-i Lūṭ.

(f) The Sīstān Depression: Centring on Zābul is a large depression clearly marked in the east by north-south faults and running east to the foothills of the Hindu Kush ranges. The principal features of the lowland within Iranian territory are the two permanent lakes of the Hāmūn-i Hīrmand and Daryāča-i Hāmūn-i Ṣābarī, which seasonally link with the Hamūn-i Pūsak in Afghānistān to form a single sweet water lake. The lake is fed by the Rūd-i Hīrmand, having its catchment in Afghānistān, while drainage is to the south via the Shalaḳ Rūd to Gūd-i Zarra on the Afghānistān-Pakistan frontier. Despite the ample supplies of water available for irrigation, settled agriculture is poorly developed, not least of all as a result of structural problems affecting ownership and tenancy of land in the area (Lambton, 1953 and 1969). Distance from urban markets and poor roads have also inhibited development, though severe constraints on summer cropping are imposed by the *bād-i ṣad-u-bīst rūz*, which tends to have a scorching effect on crops. Main products of the area are grains and some vegetables and cotton.

3.ii. The Bordering Mountain Ranges:

(a) The Alburz: Comprising one of the world's greatest mountain systems, the Kūh-i Alburz has an average height estimated at 3,100 metres, the highest point being the volcanic cone of Kūh-i Damāvand overlooking Tehran at an altitude of 5,654 metres. Although strongly related to Central Iran and affected by the faulting and thrusting of the Alpine orogeny, the Alburz Mountains were little involved in the phase of late Jurassic-early Cretaceous folding. Folding intensity decreases appreciably in the northern foothills of the range (Bariand, 1965). The range carries a heavy snow cover through the winter and the northern slopes attract heavy orographic rainfall throughout the year with the seasonal maximum varying with altitude. Abundant water maintains a dense and self-regenerating forest cover on the north slopes of the Alburz above the Caspian Plain, though extremely narrow valleys and absence of broad and well-watered plains in the intermontane basins has limited agricultural life in the mountain areas to small valley defiles and terraces. Drainage patterns in the Alburz are aligned to the Caspian coast or to the central

basins, with streams mainly falling in torrents down the deep slopes. A more intricate pattern exists in the case of the Safīd Rūd, where the north-south stream has captured the Ḳizil Uzon and the S͟hahrūd which occupy an elevated trough in the central basin of the Alburz. Land communications across the Alburz are difficult and hazardous even at the present time. Except for the Ḳazvīn-Mand̲j̲īl-Ras͟ht route using the Safīd Rūd gap, all other routes are subject to temporary closure in winter as a result of snow-blockage, flooding and landslips. The Tehran-Āmul crossing using the Rūd-i Harāz valley is especially notorious in this respect.

Although the Alburz tend to be of lower altitude in the east, there is a large element of geological continuity between the main Alburz and the eastern ranges of Kūh-i Hazār Masd̲j̲id and Kūh-i Bīnālūd than specialists formerly believed, the basic folded sedimentaries of the Cambrian to Paleogene of the Alburz system giving an underlying unity (Bariand, 1965). As noted, however, intensity of folding declines in the northern foothills and has given rise to a more regular series of hill ranges and intervening troughs with topography rather different, therefore, from the main Alburz. The main lines of drainage run along the central valley lying between the northern ranges, including the Kūh-i Golūl, Kūh-i Allāh Akbar and Kūh-i Hazār Masd̲j̲id and the southern ridges of Kūh-i Alā Dāg͟h and Kūh-i Bīnālūd. From a watershed in the Ḳūčān-Kalāteh area, the region is drained westwards by the Rūd-i Atrāk and its tributaries towards the Turkoman Ṣaḥrā, while the Kas͟haf Rūd drains to the south-east joining the Harī Rūd north of Garmāb ʿAliyā. Livestock herding is important in the hill areas of northern K͟hurāsān, while the major areas of settled agriculture occur both in the lower Atrāk region and the broad plain around Mas͟hhad and in the extended oases of Nīs͟hābūr and Sabzavār. The vast but poorly watered and isolated D̲j̲uvayn plain supports a number of formerly prosperous but now depressed villages reliant on *ḳanāt* and spring water supply for agriculture and on livestock herding.

The Alburz is poorly endowed with minerals compared to other areas of the country, though exploration is far from complete. In addition to lead-zinc deposits at Donā, Kalār Das͟ht, Sarbīs͟heh, Reżāābād and Tūyeh, barite is found at Sīrā, while small deposits of iron ore have been located at Simnān. Old-established coal workings are still actively exploited by addit mining in the high Rūd-i Harāz valley north of Polūr. East of Damg͟hān, the Alburz proper offers no mineral wealth. The sedimentaries of the central Iranian group and the internal Neogene basins between Miyāndas͟ht and Nīs͟hābūr are better endowed, with copper deposits at Dāman D̲j̲ālā, Buzurg and Čog͟hondar Sar and turquoise found in the Nīs͟hābūr district.

(b) The Zagros: The Zagros Mountains bound the Iranian plateau on the south, running from the Irano-ʿIrāḳī border at Ḳaṣr-i S͟hīrīn to the Tangeh-i Hurmuz. A clear boundary marks the break between the Zagros and the plateau on the continuous north-west to south-east line of the main Zagros thrust zone which runs in a roughly 50-70 kilometre belt. The belt may be regarded as the deep central trough of the Zagros basin of former times and exhibits areas of thinbedded red cherts containing radiolaria (Harrison, 1968) in the west around Kirmāns͟hāh and southern Kurdistān and in the east around Nīrīz. Considerable areas lie above 3,000 metres with Zard Kūh at some 4,540 metres and Kūh-i Kalar at some 4,300 metres.

The main Zagros is distinguished from the zone of overthrusting and its associated imbricate zone (Oberlander, 1965) by a discontinuous major line of overthrusting running from slightly south of Kirmāns͟hāh in the north-west to Kūh-i Čas͟hma north of Mīnāb in the south-east and including a 200-kilometre wide zone taking in the whole of south-west and south Iran as far east as Rāʾs al-S͟hīr with the sole exception of the Plain of K͟hūzistān. In the main Zagros, conformably laid Cambrian to late Tertiary sedimentary rocks have been folded during Plio-Pleistocene times into extended parallel folds now much eroded and dissected by deep gorges through which the major rivers flow to the Persian Gulf in a complex longitudinal/transverse pattern. The major rivers, all of them perennial, include the Kark͟ha, Kārūn, Hendid̲j̲ān, Ḥelleh, Mond and Mihrān systems, though several small streams make a direct but seasonal route to the Persian Gulf.

Although few minerals other than hydrocarbons have been found in the main Zagros, oil and gas fields abound, especially in the dome formations of the Asmari and Cretaceous limestones, which have been the basis for the development of the Iranian oil industry since the early twentieth century, first in the northern fields of Masd̲j̲id-i Sulaymān and Lālī and later in the more prolific structures such as Āg͟hā D̲j̲ārī, Ahwāz, Gač Sārān and Mārūn further to the south. Overlying the Asmari limestone in the oilfield zone are the lower Fārs beds which contain plastic evaporite deposits acting as a seal for the oil-bearing structures (Harrison, 1968).

Despite a relatively heavy and reliable rainfall in the area of the western Zagros (K͟hurramābād, 504.0 and S͟hīrāz 384.6 milimetres) sedentary agriculture is not well developed except around S͟hīrāz, most of the area falling under tribal group herding systems of land utilisation. Central government control in the area was tenuous until comparatively recent years since access was difficult and tribal control absolute outside the major towns. The main tribal groups occupying this vast area include Kurds, Lūrs, Bak͟htiyārī, Kūhgīlu, Boyer Aḥmad and Ḳas͟hḳāy, all of which are still concerned with transhumant herding, though growing government pressure on the tribes to settle through enforced security, the establishment of agricultural extension services and a road construction programme is having some effect towards increasing the area under sedentary cultivation. Protection of the extensive oak forests on the higher ridges and valleys of the Zagros is helping to conserve timber resources in tribal areas of the zone. The eastern Zagros is an area of poorer rainfall than the west but a prosperous sedentary agriculture is developing in the major river valleys and plains, particularly around Iṣṭahbānat, Fasā and Nīrīz, with grains, including millet, and sugar beet of importance. Livestock, often under a nomadic regime, remain the basis of the economy of the area, exploiting seasonal grasslands of the Garmsīr and Sardsīr.

The long coastline of the Persian Gulf permits of widespread smuggling activity of luxury goods from the trade entrepôts of the Gulf for the Iranian market. Fishing, on the other hand, is little developed and is of only local significance. Of the ports of the coast between Bandar Daylām and Bandar ʿAbbās, none has yet risen to national importance other than the oil terminals of D̲j̲azīra-i K͟harg, Baḥregān and D̲j̲azīra-i Lavān. The agriculture of the coastal strip is extremely poor, limited to grazing and shifting cultivation with the exception of the oases around Bandar ʿAbbās and Mīnāb.

3.iii. The Iranian Lowlands:

(a) The Khūzistān Lowlands: The lowlands of Khūzistān have been described by Fisher (1968) as the largest single expanse of true lowland in Iranian territory and the area does present a sharp contrast to the rest of the country where mountains are rarely out of view. Structurally, the plain is regarded as part of the Arabian platform with a deep cover of Paleozoic-Mesozoic-Tertiary sedimentary rocks under more recent layers of alluvial material making up a continuation of the Mesopotamian region to the foothills of the Zagros (N.I.O.C., 1959). A high rate of deposition of alluvium still exists in the headwaters of the Persian Gulf dependent on the silt load brought down by the Tigris-Euphrates and Kārūn systems. De Morgan's (1905) classical theory on the infilling of the headwaters of the Persian Gulf and the gradual advance of the land surface there has been widely accepted though Lees and Falcon (1952) have offered an alternative hypothesis on the assumption that the lowlands represent a gradual downwarping of the land surface under the weight of accumulated sediments and that the coastline is therefore more or less in stable equilibrium.

Topographically, the plain is virtually unbroken with a slow rise in altitude from the coast to the abrupt slopes of the Zagros foothills. Not until Andīmeshk is reached, 130-kilometres north of Ahvāz, do altitudes rise above 150 metres. The area is drained by the Rūd-i Karkha in its north-west sector towards the Rūd-i Kārūn, which is not reached before the Karkha peters out in salt and mud flats. The north and north-east is served by the Rūd-i Kārūn and its tributaries, while the east is drained by the Rūd-i Djarrāḥi system. Although much of the water is fed to the Persian Gulf through the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, a number of narrow creeks known as *khūr* also distribute the river waters of both systems. The largest of these creeks, the Khūr Mūsā, serves as a sea-way to the ports of Bandar Shāhpūr and Māh Shahr, the former rising to importance as a major Gulf port and the latter acting as a terminal for oil product exports from the Ābādān refinery. Khurramshahr lies at the junction of the Rūd-i Kārūn and Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab (the latter officially referred to as the Arvand Rūd in Iran) and is the major commercial goods port for international trade. Ābādān lies downstream from Khurramshahr and is the former oil products port for the Ābādān refinery. The city retains its position as an oil processing centre but is no longer a port of any significance. Ahvāz, situated on the Rūd-i Kārūn 125 kilometres from Ābādān, is the provincial capital and an expanding centre of the oil industry from which most administration and servicing of the field areas is carried on. Until the early 1950s, the agricultural state of the Khūzistān lowland was extremely poor, contrasting sharply with the former prosperity of Archaemenid and Sasanian times. Much of the plain was cultivated by tribal groups under shifting agriculture with only minor pockets of sedentary agriculture in the palm groves around Ābādān and Khurramshahr and the gardens fed by the waters of the Kārūn around Ahvāz. Control of the Āb-i Dīz following construction of the Muḥammad Reżā Shāh dam above Dezfūl has permitted rapid growth of newly reclaimed agricultural areas on the plain of which Haft Tappeh sugar cane plantation is an important early example.

In addition to the activities associated directly with oil production and export, a number of modern industries utilising natural gas have grown up in Ābādān and Bandar Shāhpūr, while new industries processing heavy and bulky imported raw materials, particularly steel, have developed near Ahvāz. The region is favoured by the existence of excellent rail links which run through the Dīz-Sehzar gap in the Zagros to Tehran and northern Iran.

(b) The Caspian Lowlands and Turkoman Ṣaḥrā: The Caspian Lowlands and the Turkoman Ṣaḥrā reach from the Irano-Soviet frontier at Āstārā in a belt of radically varying width (from two to three kilometres to 50 kilometres) to the east of Gunbad-i Ḳābūs. The lowlands are seen as the southern edge of the Asiatic foreland (Harrison, 1968) or as areas of young depressions (Bariand, 1965). Much of the Caspian lowland represents the area left by the recession of the Caspian Sea and the characteristic soil cover is nonsaline alluvial soils and, in the Bandar Pahlavī-Lāhīdjān region, peat and grey soils (Dewan, 1961). In the Gurgān-Gunbad-i Ḳābūs area of the Caspian piedmont, soils are extremely fertile and include deep horizons of podzolic soils. Such fertility combines with heavy rainfall over much of the plains, with the Bandar Pahlavī-Lāhīdjān area receiving an annual average of no less than 1,800 millimetres, though precipitation amounts decline very steeply southwards and more gradually to the east, Bābulsar receiving 819.7 millimetres and Gurgān 649.8 millimetres.

Drainage is highly variable in type. Many short streams run down to the Caspian Sea between Āstārā and Riżvāndeh and between Rūdsar and Nūr. The plain is also traversed by the braided distributaries of the Safīd Rūd, some water of which is diverted artificially by tunnel to the Fūmenāt district. Flooding of the Safīd Rūd delta was a usual occurrence until the construction of the Safīd Rūd (Shāhbānū Farāh) dam and its associated re-regulation works and present-day river levels are only fractionally below those of the plain itself, thereby permitting direct off-take of irrigation water for the inundation of rice-paddies which form the major item of land use in this zone. Further east, the rivers tend to be more incised, making irrigation more difficult, though rice remains the dominating crop of the lowlands proper as far east as Galūgāh.

Although rice has become increasingly important in the modern period, often on land reclaimed from the sea, swamps and lower slopes of the Alburz, and tea plantations have taken over the undulating land above the Caspian plain, other crops have considerable national importance, including tobacco, citrus fruits (particularly in the Shahsavār-Čālūs region), and sunflower seeds. Mulberry trees are present in large numbers and a small-scale silk industry survives as a fractional legacy of the former traditional economic basis of the area. The Gurgān and Gunbad-i Ḳābūs plains produce large quantities of cotton and grains on lands only recently reclaimed to arable use. Forestry activity on the higher slopes of the Alburz, where the Hyrcanian forest survives over a considerable acreage, is economically important, though the timber resource has been abused in the past by random cutting for construction and charcoal burning purposes. A flourishing fishing industry exists in the small Caspian ports and coastal villages and along the rivers of the region. The state-controlled caviar interest has had international significance for many years and is of continuing importance despite rigorous supervision of sturgeon fishing made necessary by fears of over-rapid depletion of the species. Local and Tehran markets are supplied with fresh-water fish caught in the rivers, particularly the Safīd Rūd. Although the Caspian

ports suffered eclipse following the end of World War II as a result of restrictions on trade with the U.S.S.R., the many problems posed by the silting up of the harbours and the recession of the coastline, the expansion of the Irano-Soviet trade since 1965 has led to the reinvigoration of trade and communications sectors in the area. Bandar Pahlavī handles both Irano-Soviet exchanges and an increasing volume of international transit trade.

4. Summary: Geology, soils and climate combine to give Iran an extremely varied face. Within the broad regions of the Plateau, the Mountain Chains and the Lowlands, very considerable contrasts in land, water and mineral resource endowment are to be found between localities even in close geographical proximity. Differing responses to these underlying variations in natural conditions and isolation of areas from the mainstream of the nation's life caused by strong physical barriers to movement between the regions have accentuated Iran's regional diversity.

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(K. S. McLachlan)

ii.—Demography and Ethnography

The distribution of population in Iran, and the ways in which its peoples make their livings, are to a considerable extent a function of its geography (see above). A horseshoe-shaped arc of varying width containing habitable mountains and other arable and pastoral lands, encloses the nucleus of a desert. Because this arc points northwestward, where it merges into the highlands of ʿIrāḳ and Turkey, the bulk of the Iranian population is concentrated near its borders. Since Achaemenian times this habitation pattern has posed an administrative problem to the successive Iranian governments.

Geography has thus also contributed to a diversity of peoples, a problem which the Achaemenians solved by creating the first empire, one in which minorities were allowed local autonomy in dress, religion, speech, and other aspects of culture within a single political framework. This diversity has continued until modern times. To the southwest, Iran touches Arab country, with many Arabs living on contiguous ʿIrāḳī soil, as well as on Baḥrayn Island (which Iran once claimed). To the northwest the crest of the Zagros splits the Kurdish people, and the northwestern corner of Iran, bordering on Turkey and Soviet Ādharbāydjān, contains populations speaking Āzarī Turkish, while other Turks are found on Iranian territory east of the Caspian Sea as well as in the southern Zagros. To the east, Iran's borders with Afghānistān and Pakistan are overlapped by Persian-speaking Čahār Lang Mongols, Balūčis, and a few Brāhuīs.

The population of Iran, most recently (1967-9) estimated at 26,284,000 persons, may be divided as follows (see Table I):

4,783,000 inhabitants of cities of over 50,000, or about 18% of the total; 1,110,000, or about 4%, living in smaller cities; and 18,660,000, or about 71%, living in more than 40,000 villages; plus about 1,742,000 "others", including tribal nomads and Gypsies.

As Table II indicates, one sixth of the population of Iran is still tribally organized, whether nomadic or sedentary. In the tribes designated by (f) on Table II the count was made by families, households, or tents, rather than by individuals. Because most tribal "families" are extended households, the number of such units has been multiplied by ten in each case. Although most of these counts were made over twenty years ago, if the number of houses has increased and the number of persons per household has decreased, the tribal populations may not have changed much, especially as some of the tribal people have been lost to the cities.

TABLE I

Population by types of settlement

Cities		
Tehran	2,317,116	
Tabrīz	387,803	
Iṣfahān	339,909	
Mashhad	312,186	
Ābādān	302,189	
Shīrāz	229,761	
Hamadān	114,610	4,003,574
Kirmānshāh		
Ahvāz	said to be over 100,000 in 1964.	
Rasht		ca. 330,000
Arāk		
Ardabīl		
Dizfūl	said to be between 50,000 and 100,000 in 1964.	
Ḳazvīn		
Yazd		
Ḳumm		ca. 450,000
	Total urban = ca.	4,783,357 = 18.2% of population

Towns		
Towns of 5,000—50,000, ca.	1,109,000 =	4.2% of population
Villages*, numbering over 40,000	ca. 18,661,640 =	71.0% of population
*"Others"***	ca. 1,740,860 =	6.6% of population
Total	ca. 26,284,000 =	100%

* Includes tribal and non-tribal, sedentary and seasonally nomadic.
** Probably includes full nomadic.

TABLE II
Tribal Peoples

Zagros			
Kurds (Kurdistan)	600,000		K
Lurs	300,000		P
Bakhtiyārīs	300,000		P
Kuh Galus	150,000	f	P
Mamassanis	55,000	f	P
Kashghāi	625,000	f	T
Khamsehs	525,000	f	PTA
Northwest, Alburz, and East Caspian Plain			
Shāhsavans	200,000		T
W. Elburz	30,000	f	KT
E. Elburz	280,000	f	KT
Turkomans	100,000	f	T
Kirghiz	500		T
Southern Coast and Southeast			
Arabs	1,200,000		A
Balūčis	120,000		B
Brāhūis	10,000	f	D
Sīstān	42,000	f	PBD
Total	4,537,500 or 16.5% of whole		

K = Kurdish P = Persian T = Turkish
B = Balūči A = Arabic D = Dravidian
f = count by families.

Except for about 15,000 Zoroastrians remaining in and about Yazd and Kirmān, the ethnic Persians, including the tribal ones, are Shīʿī, and so are most of the Arabs living in Iran. Over two million more of the Shāh's subjects are Sunnīs, particularly the migratory Kurdish tribes of the northwest, the Turkomans, and the Balūčis. Ismāʿīlīs and Bahāʾīs still persist in Iran, and the Lur tribesmen were, and may secretly still be, ʿAlī Ilāhīs.

In 1960 there were still some 60,000 Jews in Iran, engaged mostly in the professions and trade, whereas many of the Kurdish Jews of Sanandadj and Saḳḳiz had already migrated to Israel. Almost equally scattered were over 50,000 Armenians, although some had left Iran for Soviet Armenia. Armenian villages may still be seen in the northwest, and the entire suburb, or half-city of Djulfā-Iṣfahān is Armenian.

Armenians and Georgians, both used to cold weather, occupy throughout the year villages in the summer pastures of the Kashghāi. Like the Jews, the Armenians specialize in the professions, in trade, and also in truck-driving. A colony of Nestorian Christians who call themselves Assyrians and speak Syriac are concentrated in and about Reżāʾiyye. They number over 20,000. Many others have migrated to the United States. Both the Armenians and the Assyrians have undergone strong American and British missionary influence.

Except for the addition of a certain amount of modern industry, the cities of Iran are essentially commercial. In them handicrafts flourish and imported as well as local products are sold in modern shops and in covered bazaars. During the last thirty or forty years Tehran has replaced Tabrīz as the largest city, and has drawn to itself persons from all over the nation, including gardeners from Zabol, Turkoman truckdrivers, an intellectual élite educated mostly abroad, the absentee owners of thousands of villages, and a host of public servants. In summer those who can afford it move to the mountain slopes north of the city or to resorts on the Caspian shore.

The usual Iranian village is an assemblage of mudbrick or pisé dwellings roofed with poplar poles covered with earth. The poles are cut from the closely packed rows of quick-growing poplars that line nearly every canal and stream. In regions lacking such watercourses a row of circular mounds, like hollow molehills, stretches from the hills across the sloping plain to the village. These mounds mark the course of a deep, manmade, underground stream called a *ḳanāt* [*q.v.* & see MĀʾ]. Sheltered from evaporation, it is the product of highly skilled labour. *Ḳanāt*-diggers are specialists from the Gurgān region who go wherever their services are needed.

Apart from the aforementioned poplars and fruit trees, the typical landscape is almost bare of vegetation taller than short grass, for the goats and sheep keep it down and every day women and children go out to collect low bushes and twigs for fuel. There is usually one carpenter in the village, but most of the men are engaged in agriculture, while the boys tend the flocks.

In the absence of the landlord, whom many of the villagers may never have seen, the community is run by his agent, the *katkhudā*, who allocates the land, provides most of the tools, and collects the rent. This usually consists of four-fifths of the grain produced by each man, unless he is the lucky owner of an ox used in ploughing, in which case he may receive the share of five men and may not need to work.

In tribal territory the village may belong to the tribe as a whole, and in non-tribal territory there were, even twenty years ago, a few "free" villages owned by the villagers themselves, and ruled by their own headmen who paid taxes directly to the government. Under the current land reforms instituted by the present Shāh, the number of such villages has increased.

The principal respites from the dreary, impoverished routine of most villagers' lives come from weddings and other rites of passage, from the celebration of the *ʿāshūrā* [*q.v.*], and particularly from *Nawrūz*. Beginning at the vernal equinox, this holiday lasts twelve days. In the balmy spring weather, families move out to the fields to picnic and to disport themselves. Each family collects seven plants and foods whose Persian names begin with S, as does the word for green, the colour of spring. They are apples, malt, sweet biscuits, chives, garlic, vinegar, and hyacinth. These offerings are placed in a prominent place in each house, and thrown out on the thirteenth day.

The Persians are fond of athletic competitions such as wrestling and weight-lifting, and in the cities specially clothed men in need of exercise practise with Indian clubs and dumb-bells, in special gymnasia, to the beat of drums and recitations from the *Shāh-nāma*. Such a gymnasium is called a *zūrkhāna* [*q.v.*].

The northern Kurds live in villages ruled by their own chiefs during the winter, but in spring it was their habit, until forbidden by the government, to migrate each spring to high pastures across the ʿIrāḳī border, and return before snowfall. They are Sunnīs and prefer the type of marriage common among Arabs, in which a young man marries his paternal uncle's daughter. They have three cities, Mahābād, Sanandadj, and Saḳḳiz, of which the third, until recently, included a considerable Kurdish-speaking Jewish population. Around Kirmānshāh the local Kurds have become detribalized tenant farmers and Shīʿī.

In the mountains south of the Kurds live the Lurs, who speak an aberrant form of archaic Persian. Although nominally Shīʿī, they were formerly openly ʿAlī Ilāhīs. Like the Zoroastrians, they revere bread and fire. Being split up into numerous tribes and sections, they migrate to their summer pastures as separate bands without overall command. In 1936 Reżā Shāh's army conquered them, with much bloodshed and starvation, forcing many of the survivors to settle in villages under landlords.

Next to the south are the Bakhtiyārīs, who speak a dialect similar to that of the Lurs. They are a powerful confederation under the command of a paramount chief called the Īlkhānī. In their annual migrations they move simultaneously over five routes from their winter to their summer pastures, crossing the Shustar River partly by fording and partly on inflated skins. Their winter pasture lies on the lowlands and foothills of the lower course of the Kārūn river in Khūzistān, their summer pasture in the long alpine valley of the Upper Kārūn. In both places they have permanent villages, the summer ones occupied by Armenians and Georgians. In between, the Bakhtiyārī chiefs own many of the villages through which they pass. Their migrations require much organization, accurate planning, and exact timing, and armed horsemen police the migrants and their flocks on the way. Kinship ties are strong and succession to the chieftainship is by primogeniture.

Very little is known about the Kuh Galus, who live south and east of the Bakhtiyārīs, except that they are organized into some six tribes, some sections of which speak Turkish, the others Persian. They are under the control of four families which, unlike the ruling élite of the Bakhtiyārīs, include (or did so until recently) few if any men with modern education. The same generalizations may be made of the Mamassanis, about whom even less information is to be found in the pertinent literature.

Beyond the Mamassanis are the Kashghāys, members of a powerful confederation divided into twelve tribes. Their Turkish-speaking ancestors moved out of the Central Asiatic grasslands about 700 years ago, crossing Iran to their present home in the southern Zagros. About half are still nomadic. Every year the latter make the longest biennial migration in Iran, some 350 miles in each direction. They winter between the Fahlian River on the north and the encircling Mand River on the northeast, east, and south; westward it reaches the coast. It is split into two sections by a tongue of Mamassani territory on the Upper Shāhpūr River. Their summer pastures lie in two adjoining regions. One is in the Nīrīz basin, the hills flanking the headwaters of the Upper Pulvar River and the great bend of the Upper Kūr River. The other is on the western side of the Zagros watershed on the plateau between Abādeh and Shāhreżā. These summer pastures are verdant but treeless, ideal country for breeding horses, in which the Kashghāy specialize, importing stallions from Arabia.

Although they follow several routes on the lower and upper parts of their migration, all must converge at a place called Guyum some twenty miles north of Shīrāz, and a vulnerable spot. In Shīrāz is their tribal headquarters, a palace occupied by four brothers who rule the tribe, and who can reach Guyum in less than hour by jeep. On the march the Kashghāy ride both horses and camels along the valley bottoms, while along the ridges to either side mounted men drive their seven million or so sheep, mostly fat-tailed.

Although nominally Shīʿī, the Kashghāy rulers govern by the Turkish *ʿādat*, or customary law, instead of by the *sharīʿa*. The four brothers hold their power in common because, in order to survive, the confederation needs tight organization, run like clockwork. The brothers must constantly make the rounds of the followers, listen to complaints, administer *ad hoc* justice, officiate at ceremonies, and make their presences known and felt. Like that of the Bakhtiyārī, their ruling family includes men educated in Europe and America. As might be expected, from time to time their autonomy has been challenged by the central government.

The easternmost of the Zagros nomads are the Khamsehs, so-called because they consist of five units, brought together over 100 years ago under the leadership of the Ḳavām family of merchants in Shīrāz. One unit, the Bāṣirī tribe, is Persian-speaking. A second, consisting of the Jebbara and Shaybānī and other Arab tribes, all speak Arabic, while the third is made up of the Turkish-speaking Aynalu, Baharlu, and Nafar. The first two are now settled while the third has joined the Bāṣirī. In winter the Khamseh nomads live on the coastal plain east of the Kashghāy. They move to and from their summer pastures, also located east of the Kashghāy's, via the Persepolis plain and over different routes. On both migrations, but not in winter or summer quarters, the Bāṣirī are accompanied by Gypsies who provide them with services in return for protection.

Returning to northwestern Iran, in the country bordering Soviet Ādharbāydjān, we are next concerned with the Turkish-speaking Shāhsavans, or King's Guards. North of Menab and near Khūy, they occupy about 100 villages with about 100,000 inhabitants, and an equal number of seasonal nomads are organized into four main tribes, living farther east. These tribesmen are seasonally nomadic, living during the summer in felt-covered yurt-like portable dwellings, with their roofs reaching a peak rather than being domed. They are first-rate horsemen, and long served the Shāhs as guardians of the Russian border.

The two northernmost tribes spend their summers on the Savālān Dāgh between Ahar and Ardabīl, and winter on the Mughān Steppe, a lowland area shared by the Ādharbāydjān SSR and Iranian Ādharbāydjān. The other two summer in the hills north of Sāwa and Hamadān and move in winter to the inner side of the central plateau, on the northern edge of the Dasht-i Kavīr, which is snow-free at that season.

In the western Alburz mountains live a few other tribes, both Turkish and Kurdish speaking, who dwell in black tents in high pastures during the summer, and winter lower down, but not far enough down to avoid deep snow; in winter some of their sheep freeze and wolves devour them.

In the eastern Alburz, east of a line between

Gurgân and Dāmghān, the crest of the range divides, forming the walls of a valley whose waters flow into both the Atrak River and the canals of Mashhad. Both Kurds and Turks have lived in this valley ever since Shāh ʿAbbās moved them there from the Zagros in about 1031/1622. While the Turks have since become sedentary, the Kurds are still partly pastoral, and live in black tents.

A different type of pastoral nomadism is practised by the Yamut Turkomans who live in domed, felt-covered yurts north of Gurgān from the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea to Gunbad-i Ḳābūs. Beyond the Russian border, more than 600,000 more Turkomans are found in the Turkmen SSR and in Afghanistan. The Turkomans are typical Central Asiatic nomads, who raise horses, cattle, sheep, and hardy one-humped camels. They drive four-wheeled wagons, as well as riding horseback, and many now drive cooperatively-owned trucks.Their women weave the famous rugs known to the trade as Bokharas.

On the outskirts of Gurgān city is a refugee camp of about 500 Kirghiz who fled from the Soviet Union in 1935 and 1936. They are mostly employed by the Highway Department in moving earth in their high, two-wheeled carts.

Moving to the Persian Gulf, we find Arabs scattered all the way from the ʿIrāḳī border to Pakistan, except for a stretch of shore held by the Kashghāy and the Persian port of Bushire, out of which Persian dhows sail as far afield as Aden and the African coast. Most of the Arab population of Iran is tribally organized, whether sedentary or nomadic, and Shīʿī, although one tribe, the Banū Tamīm, is Sunni. The two largest tribes are the Āl Kathīr and the Banū Lam.

Most of the semi-settled tribes keep cattle, sheep, and camels, cultivate rice and other cereals, and either own or work in date groves. This mixed economy sets complicated time-tables for some of them. For example, the Muḥaysin leave their palm groves on the east bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab in November to sow their grain fields along the banks of the Kārūn River, return in February to pollinate their date-palms, and are off again in May to reap their grain, going back once more to harvest their dates in July and August. Like their brethren west of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, they are in every sense unacculturated ethnic Arabs, although none are full-time camel nomads like the bedouin.

Farther east along the coast are maritime settlements of Arab seamen who ply their dhows and *būms* to both sides of the Indian Ocean. Lingeh is their principal port. Nomadic, tentdwelling Arabs also live in small groups scattered along the eastern edge of the Dasht-i-Lūṭ and beyond Mashhad into Soviet territory.

Except for the coast, the southeastern corner of Iran is principally occupied by Balūčis, whose territory also extends northward between the edge of the desert and the Afghān border to Lake Hāmūn, fed by the Helmand River. Others live in Afghānistān and Pakistan; in the latter country they are most numerous. Their economic adaptation is to desert country where grass grows in winter. In summer they camp near permanent water; along *ḳanāt*s serving dependent Persian villages and along the banks of the Helmand and Harī Rūd. Divided into more than a dozen tribes, the Balūčis are Sunnīs, but they also revere the graves of *pīr*s, or holy men.

Like the Kurds, they speak an Iranian language of their own. They breed horses, asses, mules, camels, and sheep. Considering themselves a warrior caste, the Balūčis used to keep the caravan roads open for a fee, to draw rent from villages that they own, and to raid each other for slaves.

Scattered among the Balūčis are Dravidian-speaking Brāhūīs, whose home is in Kalat in Pakistan. They live in small groups of families all the way up the eastern side of Iran to Mashhad and Sarakhs. Many of the Brāhūī men serve in the police and the national gendarmerie.

Near Lake Hāmūn in Sīstān live four tribes of nomadic Persians, the Sarbandīs, Shārekis, Khimars, and Herātīs, totalling about four thousand families. About them we have no detailed information. In the swamps and along the aquatic labyrinth of the mouths of the Helmand is a small population of fishermen and fowlers called Ṣayyād ("hunters"). They catch both fish and ducks in nets, and appear to be the residue of an earlier hunting people.

Viewing the demography and ethnography of Iran

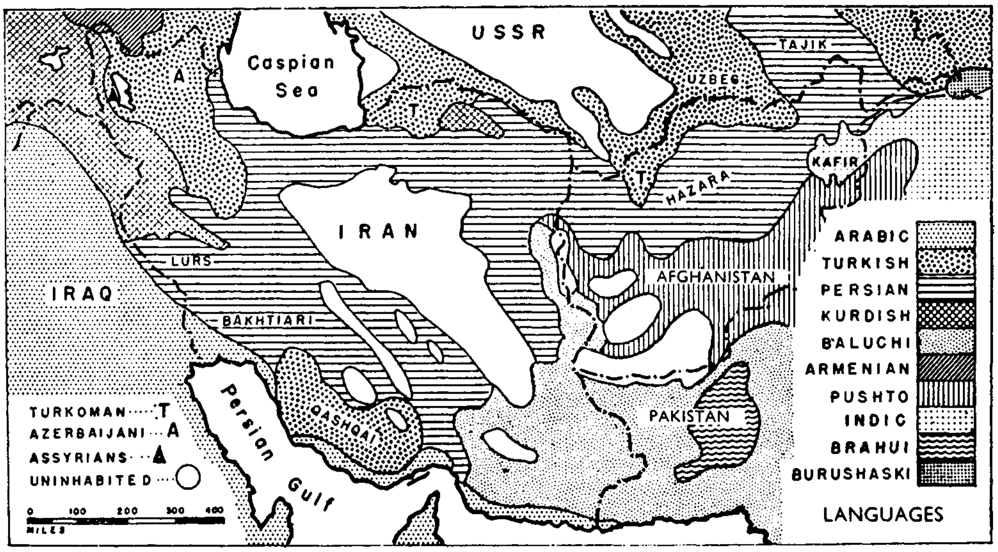

Languages of Iran and Afghanistan

From *Caravan, the Story of Middle East*, by Carleton S. Coon, London 1952.

as a whole, it would be hard to find another Islamic country of its size as decentralized as Iran is geographically and containing as many different peoples and languages. Yet since Achaemenian times it has remained, with a few interruptions, a nation, the world's oldest empire, and with the help of modern transportation and communication, it seems so destined to remain.

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(C. S. Coon)

iii.—Languages- [see suppl.]

iv.—Pre-Islamic Mythology

The chief sources for Iranian mythology are the *Avesta* and the deeds of kings and heroes collected by the historians and poets of the early centuries of Islam. Their information doubtless came from the "ancient annals" of Iran, the K̲h̲udāy-nāmak. The longest of these works is the famous *S̲h̲āh-nāma* of Firdawsī (330/941-411/1020 [*q.v.*]). The evidence of ancient Greek historians, rock inscriptions and some Mazdaean books and literary works, rich in pre-Islamic materials but often compiled in Islamic times, are also very valuable. Besides the *Avesta* attributed to Zoroaster, there may be mentioned the *Denkart* (a vast commentary on the *Avesta*, completed in the 3rd/9th century), and the great *Bundahis̲h̲n* (Book of the Creation). Numerous Mazdaean works written in Pahlavi, the bearers of the ancient tradition, have in large measure only been known for less than two centuries, and the Islamic Iranian world was dependent on traditions recorded in Persian and Arabic by early Muslim writers for its knowledge of a history that was partly only mythology. Ancient Iran continued for a long time to elaborate its mythology from pre-Mazdaean and Mazdaean sources. In the course of centuries chivalrous exploits and an exalted human dignity were grafted on to them. This elaboration in its popular form, written down in Persian, came to an end in the 5th/11th century when the pre-Islamic sources and the oral traditions gave birth to several "books of kings" and historical summaries culminating in the *S̲h̲āh-nāma* of Firdawsī.

Iranian mythology, rich as it is, has some common features and some undeniable affinities with that of India, but the power and preponderant role of some Indian gods are relegated to a secondary level in Iran.

The analogies and differences between the myths of Iran and those of the Indo-European world are particularly worthy of interest and reveal some relationship between their systems of thought. The tripartite idea of society (priests, warriors and cattle-breeders/agriculturalists) which G. Dumézil remarkably demonstrated in the mythology of India and the Indo-European peoples is at present held in great favour. These three hierarchical functions which are confirmed in the *Avesta* (Y. xi, 6, xiii, 3; Yt xiii, 88-9, xix, 8, xxiv, 16; Vt iv, 28, 57-8, xiii, 44-6, etc.) and to which the *Yasna* xix, 17, adds a fourth, that of the artisans, continued with some slight modifications (priests, *dabīrān* officials, warriors and artisans-peasants) to make up the social order of Iran until the end of the Sasanid period. There is every reason to believe that the tetramerous division of society, whether it was due to the *Yasna* or to the social reorganization of the Sasanid period, follows this triad of hierarchical functions.

Certain memories preserved in the *Gathas* (the oldest part of the *Avesta*) and several *Yas̲h̲ts* of the *Avesta* betoken a pre-Mazdaean mythology. The two primordial spirits, Spənta mainyu (Holy Spirit) and Ahra mainyu (Spirit of Evil) correspond to the two antithetic aspects of *Vayu*, at the same time the good and the bad wind which is the breathing-spirit and the motive force of the Universe. The Indian counterpart of Vayu is Vāyu who stands at the head of a series of functional divinities. In the same manner, but by a reversal of the Indian position, the Iranians contrasted the nature of the ahura (Indian asura) with that of the daēva (Indian déva). These latter, whom the Indians considered as good, take on a malignant character in Iran, while the malignant asura make way for the benignant Iranian ahura. The Indian god Indra, who is assigned the function of a warrior, sees his role reversed in Iran where he becomes a demon in the *Vidēvdāt* (the part of the *Avesta* dealing with canonical law and exorcism) x, 9 and xix, 43.

The series of the great Mazdaean divinities is made up of Ahura Mazda, the supreme god, and six entities called Aməsha Spənta (Holy Immortals) who surround him: 1) Vahu Manah (Good Spirit), an entity protecting the conscience of just men and to whom the ox is connected. Her auxiliaries are Māh (the Moon), Geus̲h̲ Urvan (the spirit of the primordial ox) and Rām, a helping divinity which guides the soul after death. 2) As̲h̲a (Order-Justice), an entity guaranteeing cosmic and moral order. She is seconded by Atar (the divinity of Fire), VrIragna (a god who embodies the victorious attack) and Sraos̲h̲a (a god of Vigilance and Obedience). 3) K̲h̲s̲h̲aθra (Kingdom), the entity presiding over metals and thus over arms and the army. She fills the role of warrior or rather of defender of the poor, and she is helped by the Sun, the Sky and Mithras whom a remarkable rise made a rival of Ahura Mazda and who became the object of a cult in the west, the cult of Mithraism. 4) Armaiti (Moderation), the goddess of fecundity and mercy, to whom the earth is linked. The secondary divinities accompanying her are Ardvisura Anahita (the waters) and in second place Daēna (or Dēn in Pahlavi), Religion. 5) Haurvatāt (Integrity) whose associated divinities are Tis̲h̲triya (Sirius), Vāta (the Wind), and the Fravas̲h̲ī (protective spirits). 6) Amərətāt (Immortality), the guardian of plants, around whom are gathered Ras̲h̲nu, the infernal Judge, and the two divinities who lead dead souls over the bridge of Činvat: As̲h̲tāt and Zām. Finally, considered as seventh, there is again Sraos̲h̲a who is added to this but who does not strictly belong to the category of the holy Immortals. In addition, a

multitude of Yazata and Fravashi, who are considered as divinities with less well defined roles, fill out the Iranian pantheon, and hence the idea arises that the origin of angels might be linked to them and to the holy Immortals. A malignant spirit belonging to the train of Ahra Mainyu is opposed to each divinity in the cortege of Ahura Mazda.

If the tripartite division of G. Dumézil is borne in mind, the entities Vahu Manah and Asha correspond to the Indian gods Mitra and Varuṇa and they fulfil, along with Ahura Mazda, the first function—the priesthood and sovereign order. The function of warrior is incumbent upon the Iranian Khshaθra as it is upon the Indian Indra. Finally, the function of production and wealth is shared between Armaiti (goddess of fertility, the Earth) and the Haurvatāt and Amərətāt who are related to the Indian divinities, the goddess Sarasvati, the twins Nāsatyas, and others.

The Mazdaean holy Immortals are at the same time abstract representations giving Ahura Mazda his fullness and beings who, although superior to creatures, remain inferior to Ahura Mazda. They are shown both as personal Agents and personified Powers. The antagonism which sets the Spirit of Good and the Spirit of Evil in opposition, the basis for Iranian dualism, is the metaphysic and the morality of this mythology. According to the great *Bundahishn* (ch. 1), the Upper World, spiritual and luminous, has been the domain of Hormazd (Ahura Mazda) since the beginning of creation, while the nether region is the shadowy world of Ahriman (Ahra Mainyu). An intermediate space divides these two worlds, a mixed world in which good and evil do battle. In this continuous conflict the force of Ahriman faces the army of Hormazd and finally the Spirit of Good triumphs over the Spirit of Evil. Each being must take part in this struggle and it is thanks to his meritorious actions, his good thoughts and words, that Man participates in the final victory.

Ahura Mazda has gradually taken the place of Spənta Mainyu, his own emanation, so as to confront the Spirits of Evil himself. He has granted Ahra Mainyu a respite of 12,000 years and knows his plans in advance.

Alongside this divine mythology, there is a human mythology related to it. In large measure it is presented in the form of historical epics situated (with some exceptions such as the longevity of certain heroes) on the human plane. They tell of a succession of events which are linked together by their own chronology. The first man, Gayomart, directly succeeding the creation of the primordial ox, his source of food, gives birth to an androgynous plant which divides into two, Mashya and Mashyānī, the ancestors of human beings. According to the *Avesta* the first sovereign is not Gayomart, as the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī states, but Yima (or Djamshīd in Persian). A latent force, described as a victorious light (Khᵛarnah), a witness of celestial favour, protects Iran and numerous sovereigns and ancient heroes. The Khᵛarnah abandons Yima who has committed a sin (falsehood or pride) and thus Azhi Dahāka, a foreign tyrant, defeats Yima and steals his kingship. Θraitauna (= Farīdūn), an Iranian hero who has become king thanks to the protection of Khᵛarnah, triumphs over Azhi Dahāka (Y. ix, 8; Yt xiv, 40, xix, 92; Vt i, 17) and puts him in chains on mount Damāvand. He is at the beginning of the universal genealogy of races and human peoples since he shared out the world among his three sons: to Īradj went Iran and India; to Salm the countries to the west of Iran, *i.e.*, the lands of the Semites and the blacks; and to Tūr the countries to the east of Iran, the lands of the Turks (Central Asia) and the Chinese (the Far East). This division of the world is not without echoes of Noah's giving the country of the Turks to Japheth, the tropical countries to Ham, and the lands of the Semites to Shem.

Several kings of this Pēshdādī dynasty, the descendants of Īradj, reign in succession in Iran and then make way for the second mythical dynasty, that of the Kayānī (Kayānids). *Yasht* xix (*Zamyad Yasht*) and *Yasht* xiii (*Farvardīn Yasht*) of the *Avesta* mention a list of Pēshdādī and Kayānī heroes and kings on the occasion of praises addressed to their Khᵛarnah and their Fravahr (or Fravashī), *i.e.*, their protective spirits. Among them may be mentioned the Kayānids Kavi Usan (Persian Kay Kāvūs), Kavī Haosravah (Kay Khosraw), and Kavī Vīshtāspa (Kay Goshtāsp). It was under Vīshtāspa that Zoroaster preached his doctrine. The Pēshdādī and Kayānī kings are personal-types of Iranian mythology. Moreover, it is to be noted that, if the figures of the first dynasty are common with those of India, the Kayānids who make up the second dynasty are specifically Iranian heroes.

These historicised myths recount the main facts which occurred in an era without archives. This human mythology mingles with the other divine one and, by a cyclical conception of time, the Pahlavi Mazdaean books explain the reappearance of certain ancient heroes and kings, Pēshdādids and Kayānids, who are to play their definitive role at the end of time. The three sons of Zoroaster are to succeed each other every three thousand years from the beginning of the fourth millennium. The last of these sons, Saoshyant, will, together with Kay Khosraw, put an end to the corruption and iniquity of the world. The champion Saoshyant will finally give way to Zoroaster, and the king Kay Khosraw to Goshtāsp. Thus there will be established eternal life and the return to cosmic origins.

An apocalyptic literature, enriched by elements of myth and folklore, flourished in the Mazdaean books and expressed the hopes of believers.

On the margin of Mazdaean orthodoxy was to be found the belief in a god of time, Zurvān, who engendered two sons, Ohrmazd and Ahriman, whose struggle began even in the womb. Ahriman, conceived of doubt, struggled to come into the world before Ohrmazd, but Zurvān made his plans miscarry. The cult of Mithras (propagated about the beginning of the Christian era) and Manichaeism (preached after the 3rd century A.D.) preserved the dualist nature of Iranian religious thought, and it was not until its encounter with Islam that the mythical antagonism of Mazdaism was directed towards an absolute monotheism by the accentuation of its moral and transcendental values.

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v.—History:

(a) To the Turkoman Invasions

The history of Persia is marked by a number of breaks in political continuity. The most significant is, perhaps, the Islamic conquest, which brought Persia's existence as an independent state to a temporary end. She did not become an independent political unit again until Ṣafavid times. During the intervening period she formed part of the Umayyad and then the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and when that fragmented, after the period of the minor dynasties, she became the centre of successively the Great Saldjūḳ, Īlkhān, and Tīmūrid empires, the frontiers of which extended beyond the geographical frontiers of Persia. In this article attention will be concentrated on events in Persia, but reference will inevitably be made frequently to a wider area, and in particular to ʿIrāḳ and Transoxania.

The Arab conquest swept away the political framework of the Sasanian empire. The ruling family, the territorial princes and feudal magnates disappeared, and the power of the Zoroastrian clergy, which had been closely associated with the Sasanian empire, was broken. Nevertheless, the new civilization which grew up in the eastern provinces of the caliphate owed much to Sasanian Persia and the Persians played an important part in its development. There was, indeed, a two-fold movement of change, which took some time to work out. On the one hand Islamic theory reacted upon and influenced the development of Persian political, social, and economic institutions, while on the other hand Islamic theory was itself in part moulded and modified by the institutions and attitudes of mind which prevailed in Persia.

When the prophet Muḥammad was born the Sasanian empire under Anūshirawān (A.D. 531-79) had every appearance of strength, but it no longer preserved its original form. Consequent upon the suppression of the revolt of Mazdak it had become a military despotism. The social discontent manifested by that revolt had been suppressed but not allayed. The prolonged wars with Rome and inroads by nomads from Central Asia had greatly weakened it. The rule of the later Sasanian monarchs was marked by anarchy and the persecution of Christian, Jewish, and Sabean minorities. The disappearance of the Lakhmids, a dynasty of Southern Arabian origin who were Persian vassals, moreover, left the western border of the Persian empire unprotected.

The first attack on the Sasanian empire by the Muslim Arabs began as a raid. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī, after the *ridda* wars on the Eastern Arabian coasts, led an expedition into the delta of the Tigris amd Euphrates. He encountered little opposition and won much booty. Abū Bakr then sent Khālid b. al-Walīd with reinforcements to join him. By 13/634-5, when Khālid was recalled to Syria, several towns, including Ḥīra, had capitulated or been captured. No permanent administration was established by the Arabs. Tribute was fixed upon the town and freedom of worship accorded. In return the people agreed not to commit hostile acts or aid the Persians. Similar terms were made with some other towns, but in the case of those taken by war, some of the inhabitants were killed, others sold into slavery, and tribute was exacted from the remainder.

The Persians, mounting a counter-offensive, defeated the Arabs at the battle of the Bridge and retook Ḥīra. In 14/635 al-Muthannā temporarily reoccupied it. Yazdigird III, the last of the Sasanian kings, had meanwhile succeeded to the throne. With the defeat of Heraclius at the battle of the Yarmūk (15/636) and the collapse of Byzantine resistance in Syria, a large body of troops was made available for operations against the Sasanians. ʿUmar sent these east under Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās. The Persians were defeated at the battle of Ḳādisiyya and the Arabs occupied Ḥīra for the third time. They then took Madāʾin, one of the Sasanian capitals, and shortly afterwards again defeated Yazdigird's army at Djalūlā (16/637).

The conquest of Persia which followed was undertaken mainly from the garrison cities of Baṣra and Kūfa. The area to the north of Nihāvand, taken by the Kūfans, was known as Māh Kūfa, while the territory further south round Dīnavar was taken by their Baṣran rivals and known as Māh Baṣra. The occupation of Khūzistān (17/638—21/642) was organized by the governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who also took part in the conquest of Mesopotamia (18/639—20/641). Expeditions also set out towards Ādharbāydjān from Mawṣil. Ardabīl capitulated about 20/641. The final defeat of the Persian army took place at Nihāvand in 21/642. Hamadān made peace and further conquests were made in the direction of Ādharbāydjān (variously recorded under the years 18/639—22/643). Expeditions were also sent against Ḳazwīn, Abhar, and Zandjān, and efforts made to take Daylam and Gīlān. Hamadān appears to have broken the terms of the peace, for it is recorded as being stormed in 24/645. Rayy and Ḳūmis fell also about 24/644-5.

Although the battles of Ḳādisiyya, Djalūlā and Nihāvand were decisive in the overthrow of the Sasanian empire, the conquest, which took place piecemeal, was not completed for many years and the conversion of its people took much longer. The conquest was carried out mainly from the garrison cities by Muslim Arabs, who were by this time far removed from their nomadic background. There was some settlement of Arabs chiefly in the towns; and also of some nomadic groups mainly in southern Persia and Khurāsān. Much of the former system of administration continued in operation. The tax records were kept in Pahlavī by local scribes until the time of Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], and many of the *dahāḳīn* continued to carry out on behalf of the Arabs the

functions they had fulfilled under the Sasanians (see also M. Sprengling, *From Persian to Arabic*, in *A.J.S.L.*, lvi-lvii (1939-40)). From the account of Ṭabarī it appears that prior to Anūs͟hirawān the land tax was assessed on a cropsharing basis. This led to abuses, and Anūs͟hirawān replaced crop-sharing by measurement as the basis for assessment. He also reformed the poll-tax, grading it according to the taxpayer's income. The seven great families (including the royal family), the leading officials, soldiers, priests, and officials in the service of the king were exempt. The payment of poll-tax was, therefore, regarded as degrading.

After the defeat of the Persian army at D̲jalūlā, ʿUmar was faced with the problem of the administration of the conquests in the Sawād. He could not conclude treaties as K̲hālid had done, because large areas had been abandoned by the ruling classes and had remained without a government. He therefore decided to immobilize the land and to levy land and poll taxes on the inhabitants, the revenue therefrom to be *fay*ʾ for the profit of the Muslim warriors and those who came after them. In the name of the Muslim state, he assumed full ownership of the estates and villages which had formerly belonged to the Sasanian royal family and the nobility who had been killed or fled, leaving the peasants on the land, and of deserted and "dead" lands. This assumption of ownership carried with it the right to cultivate the lands for the state, give them away, sell them, or grant them as assignments, and to impose on the holders *k̲harād̲j* or *ʿus̲hr*. In the case of estates and villages still in the possession of their former owners, ʿUmar considered that the legal title belonged to the Muslim state, on the grounds that their holders had resisted conquest, but he allowed them to remain in possession on condition that they paid to the Muslim state the taxes which had formerly been paid to Anūs͟hirawān, and acted as the agents of the Muslim state in their collection. This category of land was probably the largest. Alterations were later made in the rates of taxation paid and the crops on which taxes were levied. This arrangement differed from the case of Ḥīra and other towns which had treaties providing for the payment of a fixed sum. In such cases the population raised this sum by whatever means they wished, and after its payment were released from further interference by the Arab government.

In addition to land tax, the non-Muslims paid a graded poll-tax, except that in towns which had treaties they paid such tax only as their own officials assessed it. In 20/641 a *dīwān* on the Persian model was set up, and in it were recorded receipts, expenditure, and stipends. It was not, however, until the reign of Muʿāwiya that the foundations of the future bureaucratic system were really laid, when Ziyād, the governor of Baṣra (45/665—50/670) and of ʿIrāḳ (50/670—53/673), established *dīwān*s and appointed Arabs and *mawālī* as secretaries. Several *dahāḳīn* became Muslims after the battle of D̲jalūlā and various groups in south Persia joined with the Arabs, but there is no evidence of widespread conversion after the early conquests. It also seems that some of those who were exempt from the payment of poll-tax in Sasanian times became Muslims rather than pay poll-tax to the Muslims, since to pay such was considered degrading.

The circumstances of conquest varied in different provinces and from this stemmed differences in the tax administration. Towns which did not capitulate before conquest, but asked for an armistice after resistance had seemed hopeless, were required to pay a poll-tax in money and a contribution in kind, which could be increased or decreased as the population changed. The land, having been taken by force, was placed at the disposal of the *imām*, but in contradistinction to land which had capitulated before conquest (*ʿahd* land) the terms of the agreement (*ṣulḥ*) could be changed. *Ṣulḥ* and *ʿahd* lands had their own local administration, whereas *k̲harād̲j* lands were closely regulated by the Arab *dīwān*s. (For a discussion of these problems see D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the poll tax in early Islam*, Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press, 1950).

Although Yazdigird's supporters were still active in northern Fārs, organized resistance ceased with the defeats suffered by the royal army. Some local communities and *marzbān*s with their troops continued to resist. Others concluded treaties with the Arabs on their own account. Many of the Persian captives became *mawālī* and some of Yazdigird's army joined the Arabs. About 23/643 ʿUt̲hmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ T̲haḳafī made advances into southern Fārs from Baḥrayn, supported by Abū Mūsā from Baṣra. Tawwād̲j fell and raids were made on other towns in Fārs. Further advances were made during the caliphate of ʿUt̲hmān and between 25/644 and 27/647-8 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, who had been appointed governor of Baṣra, took Arrad̲jān, S̲hāhpūr, S̲hīrāz, Sīnīz, Dārābd̲jird, and Fasā. Iṣṭak̲hr fell in 28/648-9 and Gūr (Fīrūzābād) shortly afterwards. In the following year ʿAbd Allāh set out for K̲hurāsān. Yazdigird, pursued by a Muslim force, had meanwhile fled via Kirmān to Marv. Sīrd̲jān, Bam, and D̲jīruft were conquered, and Hurmuz fell in 30/650-1. Skirmishes with the inhabitants of the mountain districts of Kirmān continued for many years.

From Kirmān the Arabs under Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārit̲hī pushed north-eastwards into Sīstān. His successor was expelled from the country, but another expedition was sent by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, who penetrated to Zamīn Dāwar, Bust, and Zābul. ʿAbd Allāh had meanwhile reached Ṭabasayn and sent Aḥnāf b. Ḳays to take Ḳūhistān, whence he pressed on to Marv, which surrendered. Yazdigird fled to Balk̲h and over the Oxus to Tirmid̲h. In 31/651-2 he was murdered in flight near Murg̲hāb. The Muslims under Aḥnāf took D̲jūzd̲jān and Balk̲h and advanced to K̲hʷārazm. ʿAbd Allāh had meanwhile set out for Nīs̲hāpūr, which surrendered. Bayhaḳ, Nisā, and Sarak̲hs also fell. Another group went to Harāt (32/653). ʿAbd Allāh then returned, leaving Ḳays b. al-Hayt̲ham as governor of K̲hurāsān.

ʿUt̲hmān died in 35/656. The conquests in Persia were not yet secure, and during the civil war the Arab advance was stayed. In K̲hurāsān fighting broke out between Muḍar and Rabīʿa. The disorders spread throughout the province and enabled the Transoxanian leaders to regain their independence which had been on the point of being extinguished. Balk̲h for a brief period fell under Chinese control. Numerous outbreaks of resistance also occurred in other parts of Persia. In 42/662 Muʿāwiya reappointed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir governor of Baṣra and the east. He sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura to restore Arab rule in Sīstān and K̲hurāsān. Balk̲h was reconquered in 43/663, Sīstān reoccupied and Kābul taken. The reconquest of K̲hurāsān, begun by Ḳays b. al-Hayt̲ham, was continued under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, who established a strong Arab garrison in Marv and shortly afterwards settled 50,000 Arab colonists in K̲hurāsān. Buk̲hārā was captured in 54/674 and Samarḳand fell in 56/676.

In Khurāsān the local leaders had mainly capitulated by treaties (*ʿahd*) which stipulated that a fixed sum should be paid annually to the Arabs. Local administration remained in the hands of the local leaders. The inhabitants, for the most part, continued to pay land, trade, and poll taxes as they had under the Sasanians; local officials kept the registers and collected the taxes, paying the stipulated amount to the Arabs and keeping the remainder. Conversion in Khurāsān, partly because of the large number of Arabs who had migrated there, was probably higher than elsewhere. Large numbers of *mawālī* are mentioned as accompanying the Arabs on their campaigns against the Turks of Central Asia. The local tax-collectors do not appear to have released all converts from poll-tax, or, if they did, they increased the converts' other taxes to compensate for the loss to the revenue of their poll-taxes. This led to discontent and rebellion. (See further Dennett, *op. cit.*).

ʿIrāḳ meanwhile had been reduced to a state of turmoil by the activities of the Khāridjites and the Shīʿa. In 66/685 Mukhtār, launching a revolt in the name of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, seized Kūfa. There were *mawālī*, many of whom were Persians, among his followers but his main support came from the dissatisfied Arabs of Kūfa. They were not defeated until 67/687. (See M. A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 145-6.) In 65/684-5 the Azāriḳa branch of the Khāridjites withdrew from ʿIrāḳ to Khūzistān, and created many disorders in the territory between Baṣra and Ahwāz. After Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra defeated them in 66/686 they retreated to Fārs. Regrouping themselves, they returned to ʿIrāḳ and sacked Madāʾin, but on the advance of an army from Kūfa they withdrew. They next attacked Iṣfahān, but were defeated and fled in disorder to Fārs and Kirmān (68/687-8). Once more they reassembled, reoccupied Ahwāz and advanced on Baṣra. ʿAbd al-Malik had meanwhile recovered control of ʿIrāḳ and appointed Ḥadjdjādj governor of the province in 75/694. Al-Muhallab, whom Ḥadjdjādj sent against the Azāriḳa, forced them to retreat to Kāzirūn and then to evacuate Fārs. Retiring to Djiruft, they maintained themselves there for some years, but finally split among themselves. One group took refuge in Ṭabaristān, where they were defeated in 78-9/698-9, while a second remained in Kirmān, to be extirpated by al-Muhallab. The last remnants of the Azāriḳa were finally rooted out near Ḳūmis.

Civil war broke out in Khurāsān among the Arabs after the death of the caliph Yazīd in 64/683. In 78/697, after a renewed outbreak of disorder, ʿAbd al-Malik added Khurāsān and Sīstān to Ḥadjdjādj's government. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH], who was sent by Ḥadjdjādj from Kirmān to Sīstān, recovered part of the province. After Ḥadjdjādj had reproached him for not pushing his advance with greater vigour, he returned to ʿIrāḳ, and attacked Ḥadjdjādj in Baṣra, but was defeated in 82/701. Khurāsān was then entrusted to al-Muhallab, but it was not until Ḥadjdjādj sent Ḳutayba b. Muslim to Khurāsān as governor in 85/705 or 86/705 that the Muslim advance was resumed. Lower Tukhāristān was recovered in 86/705, Bukhārā between 87/706 and 90/709, and Arab authority consolidated in the Oxus valley and extended to Sughd between 91/701 and 93/712. Finally from 94/713 to 96/715 expeditions were sent into the Jaxartes province. (See further H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, and W. Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], London 1968). In 98/716, Yazīd b. Muhallab, who had succeeded Ḳutayba as governor of Khurāsān, took Gurgān and invaded Ṭabaristān.

It appears that the status of *ʿahd* land in Khurāsān had meanwhile been altered to *kharādj* land, though exactly when this happened is not entirely clear. Converts were thus freed from the poll-tax, but this reform was not extended to Transoxania, where the tax system was probably not identical with that of Khūrāsān. In 110/728-9 Abū Ṣaydāʾ b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf was sent to Transoxania by al-Ashras, the governor of Khurāsān, to summon the people to Islam. He appears to have promised exemptions from land and trade taxes to converts. When al-Ashras disregarded these promises and ordered these taxes to be taken from everybody regardless of their religion and position, revolt broke out. (The details of these events are not entirely clear. See further Shaban, *op. cit.* 111-2)., The next ten years or so were occupied by military operations of a somewhat confused nature (see Bartold, *op. cit.*, 189 ff.). Arab dominion was not fully restored until the governorship of Naṣr b. Sayyār (121/738—131/748). He decreed that Muslims and non-Muslims must pay *kharādj* but only unbelievers poll-tax. To enforce this without damage to the revenue, he reclassified *kharādj* and assessed the stipulated tribute according to the treaty of capitulation. (See further Dennett, *op. cit.*). Although Naṣr b. Sayyār brought a measure of prosperity to the province and corrected some of the abuses in the tax administration, he failed to restore order fully or to remove the grievances of the Arab settlers, while the resentments of the *mawālī* were also not entirely removed. It was among these two groups in Khurāsān that ʿAbbāsid propaganda achieved its success.

Umayyad rule, for different reasons, antagonized various groups of people. The hegemony of the Syrians was resented by the ʿIrāḳīs and others, pious Muslims were alienated by the profanity and worldliness of the Umayyads, the Shīʿat ʿAlī, whose alleged wrongs culminated at Karbalā, were disaffected, as also were the Khāridjites and many of the *mawālī* because of their position of inferiority. Persians, however, were to be found mainly only amongst the last named group. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, a grandson of al-ʿAbbās, the prophet's uncle, who had become the leader of the Hāshimiyya on the death of Abū Hāshim in 98/716, sent missionaries from Kūfa to the Persian provinces. The first to have any considerable success was Khidāsh (first mentioned under the year 109/727-8). He obtained a following in Marv among Arabs, *mawālī*, Khurramiyya, and Rāwandiyya, uniting these disparate groups by the wish to overthrow the Umayyads. He was executed in 118/736 and disavowed for his extremist views by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. The latter died in 125/743 and was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm, who sent Abū Muslim, a *mawlā* from Kūfa, to Khurāsān. His main appeal was to the Arab settlers in Khurāsān and his movement was primarily directed against Umayyad and Syrian rule. But he also won support from the Persian *mawālī* and some Zoroastrian and Buddhist *dahāḳīn*. In the new society promised by the revolution all members were to be regarded only as Muslims with the same rights and responsibilities regardless of their racial origins and tribal connections (Shaban, *op. cit.*, 153 ff.). Revolt broke out in 130/747. The Arabs, preoccupied with their inter-tribal feuds, made little effort to check it. Marv was seized and the whole of Khurāsān fell. Advancing via Rayy and Nihāvand, ʿAbbāsid forces crossed the

Euphrates nd defeated the Umayyads near Kūfa (132/749). Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ was proclaimed caliph shortly afterwards. Another ʿAbbāsid army had meanwhile defeated an Umayyad force near Shahrazūr in 131/749, and the fate of the Umayyads was sealed by a second engagement, the battle of the Greater Zab, in 132/750. ʿAbbāsid troops advanced to Syria, occupied Damascus and pursued Marwān to Egypt, where he was killed (see further Shaban, *op. cit.*).

The ʿAbbāsid victory was followed by the transfer of the centre of the caliphate from Syria to ʿIrāḳ. With this the importance of Persia and the Persians in the development of Islamic civilization greatly increased. Syrian *mawālī* in the entourage of the caliph were replaced by *mawālī* from Persia and ʿIrāḳ. Whereas the Umayyads had been first and foremost representatives of the Arabs, the ʿAbbāsids succeeded to a much greater extent in creating an amalgam of the diverse ethnic and social elements included in their empire. The concept of the universal empire of the Sasanians had already made its influence felt under the Umayyads. Under the ʿAbbāsids, Sasanian traditions of government and administration were increasingly in evidence. (Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *Evolution of government in early Islam*, in *SI*, iv, 5-17). As warriors, merchants, and *ʿulamāʾ* travelled along the great trunk roads which fanned out through Persia, there grew up, in due course, among its people a sense of sharing in a common heritage. This had two components, Islam and *īrāniyyat*, and was handed down on the one hand by the *ʿulamāʾ* and on the other by the *udabāʾ*. This reassertion of Persian consciousness first found expression in the Shuʿūbiyya movement [*q.v.*], which was in Persia primarily a literary movement, and in due course the Persian language and Persian literature played an important role in keeping it alive.

ʿAbbāsid propaganda only temporarily united the heterogenous elements which were opposed to the Umayyads. Once victory had been achieved, the responsibilities of government prevented the ʿAbbāsid leaders from satisfying the aspirations of all their followers (cf. Bartold, *op. cit.*, 194). Rebels arose on every side. In Khurāsān Abū Muslim had to contend with movements of unrest among both Arabs and Persians. In Nīshāpūr Bih'āfrīd led a movement against the Zoroastrian priesthood and Abū Muslim aided the Magians in suppressing him. In Bukhārā, Sharīk b. Shaykh al-Mahrī headed a revolt of Arabs in favour of the ʿAlids (133/750-1); Abū Muslim sent Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ to suppress this revolt. Ziyād also frustrated an attempt by the Chinese to reassert their authority in Transoxania in 133/751. Meanwhile, Abū Muslim's success in Khurāsān aroused the apprehension of the ʿAbbāsids. In 135/752-3 Al-Saffāḥ secretly ordered Sibāʿ b. Nuʿmān and Ziyad b. Ṣāliḥ, whom Abū Muslim had appointed governors in Transoxania, to revolt against him. They were defeated. Eventually, Abū Muslim was induced by Manṣūr to come to Baghdād, where he was treacherously murdered in 137/755. This, together with the suppression of the Rāwandiyya, alienated the extremist followers of the ʿAbbāsids.

Between 137/755 and 163/780 there were five uprisings in Persia against ʿAbbāsid rule connected with the name of Abū Muslim. The first was led by Sinbād in Nīshāpūr (137/755), the express purpose of which was to avenge the death of Abū Muslim. It spread from Nīshāpūr to Rayy and was eventually stamped out near Hamdān. The second, an outbreak under Barāz in 142/759 in Khurāsān, was more easily quelled. A third rising, which started almost simultaneously in Transoxania, was led by Isḥāḳ the Turk (so-called because Abū Muslim had sent him on a mission to the Turks); it had a semi-secret organization devoted to the cult of Abū Muslim and proclaimed the imminent return of Zoroaster. Its followers wore white garments and were therefore known as the *safīd-djāmagan* (or *al-mubayyaḍa*). A fourth rising was led by Ustād Sīs in Harāt in 150/767. He obtained a large following in Sīstān and Khurāsān but was defeated. The fifth, that of al-Muḳannaʿ in 159/776, was the most serious. He declared that he had succeeded Abū Muslim under whom he had previously served, and that Abū Muslim had succeeded Jesus as the incarnate deity. The movement, which was inspired by extremist Shīʿī ideology and also had 'social' aspects, won many followers in eastern Khurāsān and Transoxania. It was not put down until 163/780. This was not all. There was also a series of Kharidjite disturbances in Khurāsān, Sīstān and Transoxania, notably that led by Yūsuf al-Barm in Bukhārā about 160/777. On the other hand, in Ṭabaristān the Arabs made considerable advances and from about 141/758 appointed governors over the province.

Meanwhile it was not only in Khurāsān that there was turmoil. In ʿIrāḳ there was intellectual ferment and social unrest. This was expressed in a movement generally known by the term *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*]. Its general purpose appears to have been partly at least to curtail the range of Islam and to keep alive Persian cultural traditions. The *zindīḳs* were thought to have retained, in spite of conversion, their former Manichean convictions and to wish to encompass the downfall of Islam (*Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge 1971, i, 114). The movement also spread among the lower classes as a revolutionary movement. By the time of the accession of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170/786), the Persian provinces were in a state of unrest, and ʿAbbāsid authority was challenged in Khurāsān and the Caspian provinces. Harūn made his secretary and tutor, Yaḥyā b. Khālid (whose father had served al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr) his vizier. For some seventeen years until their fall in 187/803 Yaḥyā and his two sons played a prominent role in the affairs of the caliphate, and continued the work started under al-Manṣūr of creating a balance between the two main elements in the empire, the Arab and the Persian.

In the east, the rapacity of the governor of Khurāsān, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, had meanwhile caused considerable discontent, and in 180/796-7 Hārūn set out himself to investigate affairs. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā came to meet him at Rayy and secured his position by gifts. Hārūn returned to Baghdād, leaving the causes of discontent unremedied. Rāfiʿ b. Layth, the grandson of Naṣr b. Sayyār, put himself at the head of the malcontents, made an agreement with the Turkish tribes and killed the son of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (191/807). Hārūn then sent Harthama b. Aʿyān to seize ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and confiscate his possessions, and dispatched a free pardon to Rāfiʿ in the vain hope that he would submit. Rāfiʿ, who had won support in Khwārazm, Bukhārā, Farghāna, and Ushrūsana, and among the Ghuzz, remained to all intents and purposes master of Transoxania. In 192/808 a revolt also broke out in Ādharbāydjān, to be followed later by widespread and prolonged disorders by the Khurramdīnīs under Bābak [*q.v.*].

Finally, Hārūn, having sent Ma'mūn in advance to Marv, set out against Rāfiʿ, but died *en route* at Ṭūs in 193/809. Civil war broke out almost at once

between al-Amīn, Hārūn's son by an Arab wife, who had been declared *walī ʿahd* in 175/792, and al-Maʾmūn, the son of a Persian slave-girl, who had been made the next heir to al-Amīn in 183/799, and whose sovereignty over the eastern part of the empire had been recognized by al-Amīn in 186/802 [see AL-AMĪN]. Hārūn's vizier, Faḍl b. Rabīʿ, led the troops back to Baghdād and read the *khuṭba* in the name of al-Amīn first and then of al-Maʾmūn. In the following year al-Amīn introduced the name of his son Mūsā after that of al-Maʾmūn. The latter, apparently on the advice of his vizier, Faḍl b. Sahl, a convert to Islam from Zoroastrianism, refused to be inveigled by his brother into going to Baghdād and remained in Marv. In 195/810 Faḍl b. Rabīʿ induced al-Amīn to drop al-Maʾmūn's name from the *khuṭba* and substitute for it that of Mūsā, and to send an army against al-Maʾmūn. The latter made peace with Rāfiʿ b. Layth, leaving him virtually master of Transoxania, struck coins in his own name, took the Shīʿī title, *imām al-hudā*, and sent his general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn against al-Amīn.

After defeating al-Amīn's forces near Hamadān, Ṭāhir marched on Baghdād and laid siege to the city. It fell in 198/813. Al-Amīn was murdered; Maʾmūn then appointed Ṭāhir over the whole of ʿIrāḳ. Later Ḥasan b. Sahl, the brother of Faḍl, was entrusted with the governorship of the Djibāl, Fārs, Khūzistān, and ʿIrāḳ, and Ṭāhir was given the Djazīra with the frontier regions, Syria and Egypt. Ḥasan b. Sahl had to contend with various revolts. One of the most serious was in 199-200/815 in Kūfa led by Abū Sarāyā, who raised the standard of revolt in the name of an ʿAlid, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (whom he poisoned in due course). There were also increasingly frequent riots in the city of Baghdād. In 201/817 al-Maʾmūn, on the advice of Faḍl b. Sahl, and probably in the hope of putting an end to ʿAlid movements of revolt, declared ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā the eighth *imām*, his *walī ʿahd* and married him to his daughter. In the following year, the people of Baghdād, who had already supported an abortive movement in favour of Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, read the *khuṭba* in the name of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. Rebellion meanwhile had broken out in Egypt, and the disturbances of the Khurramdīnīs under Bābak in Ādharbāydjān and Arrān, which had begun in 201/816, were assuming threatening proportions.

It was now clear that al-Maʾmūn, if he was to control his empire, must move from Marv to the centre. In 202/818 he set out for Baghdād but did not enter the city until 204/819. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī fled. Faḍl b. Sahl had meanwhile been murdered at al-Maʾmūn's instigation and ʿAlī b. Mūsā poisoned near Ṭūs (203/818). In 205/821, al-Maʾmūn appointed Ṭāhir governor of Khurāsān and Sīstān. He succeeded in making himself virtually independent in Khurāsān and founded the first of the semi-independent dynasties in Persia after the Islamic conquest. Ṭāhir's son ʿAbd Allāh was given Ṭāhir's government in the Djazīra and remained in the western provinces until about 213/828-9. Other members of the family also held office in Baghdād until 270/883-4, which facilitated the rise of the family to semi-independence as governors of Khurāsān. It was not only in Khurāsān that al-Maʾmūn's power was shrinking. Riots occurred in the Djibāl in 210/824 and rebellion in Mesopotamia in 214/829 and in Ḳumm in 216/831. Repeated efforts to suppress the rebellion of Bābak also failed and his revolt had spread to the Djibāl by the end of al-Maʾmūn's reign.

A new period was now beginning in the history of Persia. By this time she had been fully incorporated into the Islamic world. The Arab settlers had been largely assimilated to the local population. Conversion had proceeded throughout the country, though Zoroastrianism was still, to some extent, tolerated. The former ruling classes, so far as they had survived, had been converted to Sunnī Islam, as too had the mass of the people, though there were enclaves of Shīʿism from an early period in some districts, notably Ḳumm, Ahwāz, Kāshān, Rayy, and Sāva. As the central government in Baghdād declined old political and social tendencies began to reassert themselves more strongly and new centres of power began to emerge.

In the field of political thought, there was a strong continuity. The Sasanian concept of the universal empire was greatly strengthened under the ʿAbbāsids. The caliph came to be regarded as the Shadow of God upon earth (though the strictly orthodox never accepted this view). In the course of time this concept was transferred to the temporal rulers, with consequences detrimental to the freedom and dignity of the subject. Similarly, the *imām*'s rights in regard to the ownership of land passed tacitly to the temporal rulers, and his power to delegate authority. Other Sasanian concepts, such as the identification of the state with the social order and the hierarchical nature of society, also came to be increasingly accepted. *Dīn* and *dawla* were two sides of one coin, with the result that non-conformity and political opposition were inseparable. Hostile movements against the government and the ruling classes thus tended to manifest themselves under the guise of Shīʿism.

Most of the dynasties which arose as the caliphate fragmented came to power within the general political framework of the Muslim world and accepted the prevailing administrative traditions and political concepts, or if they did not before their assumption of power, they rapidly conformed once they had seized power—as in the case of the ʿAbbāsids, who quickly abandoned any messianic or extremist tendencies they may have entertained before their victory over the Umayyads. There was, it is true, alongside the "conservative" tendency of society and government a messianic tendency, but its manifestations were usually fleeting. Its most striking expression in ʿAbbāsid times was the Ismāʿīlī movement, which at one time threatened the existence of the Great Saldjūḳ empire and was only finally extinguished as a political movement by Hūlāgū. Broadly speaking, however, the rise of new dynasties did not materially alter the structure of society, but merely the composition of the ruling class and, sometimes, the relative importance of the different classes. From Saldjūḳ times onwards the balance between the settled and semi-settled elements of the population was a delicate one. After the Mongol invasion there was a widespread expansion of nomadism accompanied by a dislocation of rural and urban life.

By the death of al-Maʾmūn in 218/833 the balance between the civil and military arms of the administration had been upset. In an attempt to increase the revenue, the tax-farm became increasingly common, but the money received from the farming of the taxes soon ceased to be sufficient to pay the army leaders and their troops. The practice then arose of assigning the taxes not to taxfarmers but to the military themselves, a practice which made it easy for the military, when the central government was weak, to establish their semi-independence. The result of this was, on the one hand, the ruin of the land, and

on the other the failure of the military to support or defend the central government. This militarization of the state and the growing tendency of the military to be occupied not only with the arts of war but also with administration became marked not only in ʿIrāḳ and the western provinces but also in the east under the Sāmānids and more especially the Ghaznavids.

Under the Būyids the military did not normally live on their assignments or *iḳṭāʿ*s, but sent their agents to collect the revenue. In return for his *iḳṭāʿ* the soldier had to perform military service and was in theory subject to detailed regulations and inspection. A provincial governor could distribute the area under his jurisdiction as *iḳṭāʿ*s but he did this as an official of the state. Legally the possession of an *iḳṭāʿ* did not give the holder rights of jurisdiction over the inhabitants, but in practice it contributed to the spread of patronage and under the Būyids there were widespread acts of usurpation by the military. Further, the tendency for the function of the provincial governor, provincial military commander, tax collector, taxfarmer, and *muḳṭaʿ* to be combined in one person led to the emergence of large properties virtually independent of the central government. Under the Būyids the military *iḳṭāʿ* was the dominant type. Under the Great Saldjūḳs there took place an assimilation of the military *iḳṭāʿ* to the governorate or administrative *iḳṭāʿ* and the tendency was for the *iḳṭāʿ* to be defined not by fiscal value but by service and to become by usurpation a hereditary domain over which the *muḳṭaʿ* had governmental prerogatives (see further, A. K. S. Lambton, *Reflections on the iqṭāʿ*, in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965 and C. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iqta' du IXe au XIIIe siècle* in *Annales, E.S.C.*, 1953).

Throughout, though especially from Saldjūḳ times onwards, four strands were closely interwoven: administration, taxation, tenure, and military service (though society was *not* feudal in the technical sense). The main burden of supporting the government rested upon the peasantry. Agriculture, especially in the pre-Mongol period, showed an astonishing recuperative power. This is probably to be explained in part by the fact that the local village communities formed relatively stable and, to some extent, self-governing communities under their own *kadkhudās*, and in part to the fact that in the pre-Mongol period, although wars were frequent, the numbers engaged were, on the whole, small and the destruction which accompanied campaigns was, for the most part, localized and as such was incidental to the movement of armed bands through the countryside.

In spite of the succession of empires, Saldjūḳ, Īlkhān and Timurid, there was a persistence of administrative tradition from the ʿAbbāsid period and more especially from Saldjūḳ times onwards. This is not to say that there were no changes or new developments: of course, there were, but the element of continuity is more striking than that of change. The Mongol conquest caused a temporary break, but after the conversion of the Īlkhāns to Islam there was a reassertion of Islamic government, though the spread of administrative practices based on custom continued under the Īlkhāns and the Timurids, perhaps to a more marked extent than formerly.

One of the reasons for the persistence of administrative tradition is that the conquerors, whether Arab, Saldjūḳ Turk, Mongol, or for that matter Ṣafavid or Ḳādjār, lacked administrative experience; the original basis of their power was, in all cases, tribal, the officials of the bureaucracy had the "expertise" and so successive dynasties relied upon them. The great families of viziers, the Barmakids under the ʿAbbāsids, the Djayhānīs, Balʿamīs and ʿUtbīs under the Sāmānids, Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād under the Būyids, Niẓām al-Mulk and his sons and grandsons under the Saldjūḳs, and the Djuwaynīs and Rashīd al-Dīn and his family under the Īlkhāns, played a significant role in the transmission of this tradition, as also did the families of *mustawfī*s. The religious classes, at another level, also played an immensely important part in the maintenance of continuity. The *ʿulamāʾ*, as the guardians of tradition, enjoyed high status and prestige, and were a stabilizing force. In times of political upheaval they carried on as local administrators and often acted as peacemakers. This was particularly true of the *ḳāḍī*s, among whom there was a strong hereditary tendency.

Alongside this conservatism and continuity, there was also a marked provincial particularism, partly because difficult communications tended to foster isolation, and partly because ethnic differences made for a different ethos of society. The successive empires tended to fragment broadly along similar geo-political lines. Khurāsān, the Caspian provinces, Sīstān, Fārs, Kirmān, Kurdistān, and Ādharbāydjān, all tended at one time or another to become centres of local power, though it must not be supposed that within these different provinces there was necessarily uniformity. Some of these local movements had special and distinguishing characteristics. At the same time, the various movements arising in the different parts of Persia did not develop in isolation, but often reacted upon each other.

Under the Umayyads the Central Asian frontier was re-established broadly where it had been under the Sasanians. They handed on their function as wardens of the marches to the ʿAbbāsids. With the decline in the power of the caliphate, the local dynasties which governed Khurāsān, first the Ṭāhirids, then the Sāmānids, and later the Ghaznavids, took over this task. The first two, broadly, represented the landowning classes and orthodoxy. Although they established virtually independent dynasties, they sought the authorization of the caliph, as did later dynasties, and there was no implication of revolution in their rise to power. Maḥmūd of Ghazna also ruled within the previously existing Muslim political framework. In the latter half of the 4th/10th century the Īlak Khāns broke into Transoxania while the Ghuzz moved into Transcaspia, and finally into the *dār al-islām*. The Saldjūḳs, who established themselves as the leaders of the Ghuzz, in due course found themselves in possession of an empire centred on Persia, and became themselves the wardens of the marches. Towards the end of the reign of Sandjar those Ghuzz who had remained in Central Asia overran Khurāsān. The Khwārazmshāhs, who succeeded the Saldjūḳs in the east, failed to hold the marches against the Mongols in the 7th/13th century.

Although the maintenance of a stable border in the north-east was a condition for the stability of the interior of Persia, Khurāsān was not itself a suitable centre from which to exercise dominion over the whole area. Al-Maʾmūn was forced to move from Marv back to Baghdād, and the Saldjūḳs transferred their capitals progressively westwards and southwards, from Nīshāpūr to Rayy and Iṣfahān. Sandjar, the only one of the Great Saldjūḳ sultans to attempt to rule permanently from Khurāsān, was unable effectively to control ʿIrāḳ. In Ṣafavid and Ḳadjār

times the maintenance of the north-east frontier against encroachments by the Uzbegs and Turkomans was a perennial problem. The frontier finally established in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was far to the south and west of the mediaeval frontier.

The Caspian provinces with their forests and mountain valleys and difficult communications proved hard to conquer. During the early Islamic period Ḳazvīn remained a frontier district. From the reign of ʿUmar to that of al-Maʾmūn, seventeen expeditions are recorded against Daylam. From about 250/864 the mountain fastnesses of Daylam served as a refuge for the ʿAlids against the ʿAbbāsids, where they formed a new centre of resistance hostile to both Baghdād and Khurāsān, the governors of which sought to extend their dominion over the Caspian provinces. Conversion in the Caspian provinces had been slow. In 259/873 a large number of Zoroastrians were converted by Nāṣir al-Ḥaḳḳ Abū Muḥammad in Daylam, and in 299/912 Ḥasan b. ʿAlī is said to have converted the inhabitants of Ṭabaristān and Daylam, who were still partly idolators and partly Magians, to Islam (Masʿūdī, viii, 279). Many of the movements which originated in the Caspian provinces were characterized by Shīʿī tendencies. Here, as elsewhere, the Shīʿī movement tended to be associated with social movements and to draw into its ranks the discontented. It was not a clear-cut anti-Arab movement supported by Persians. Shīʿism was rather a convenient banner under which to unite in hostility to the ruling class, whether this was Arab in the person of governors appointed by the caliphs, or local rulers who had retained their Zoroastrian faith and who, when they did not feel strong enough to throw off control, either out of fear of local rivals or of rebellion by their subjects, co-operated with the caliphs. The Būyids, who came from Daylam, professed Ithnā-ʿAsharī Shīʿism, though the earlier ʿAlid movements in the province were Zaydī. The Caspian provinces were not only difficult to conquer: they were also difficult to unite. Numerous local dynasties flourished, often simultaneously, sometimes paying tribute to the central government, but more often withholding it, and sometimes extending as far as Ādharbāydjān (see also V. Minorsky, *La domination dailamite*, in *Soc. des études iraniennes*, iii (1932), and DAYLAM).

The neighbouring province of Gurgān, of a rather different physical character, had been a frontier province in Sasanian times over against the nomads from the north. In the 3rd/9th century the ʿAlids of Ṭabaristān extended their influence over it, but in 316/928 Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār, by origin a Gīlakī in the service of the Daylamite leader Asfār b. Shīrūya, whom he overthrew in 319/931, founded a kingdom, which lasted for about a hundred years, nominally dependent, first on the Sāmānids and then on the Ghaznavids. In Saldjūḳ times Gurgān came more fully under the control of Khurāsān and one of the main concentrations of Ghuzz was to be found in its steppes with their plentiful grazing. In the late 18th century it became of importance as the province from which the Ḳādjārs [*q.v.*] drew their main support.

Sīstān (which included much of the modern Afghānistān), partly surrounded by a desert barrier, tended to be isolated from the developments in other parts of Persia, except for a brief period under Yaʿḳūb b. Layth and ʿAmr b. Layth. The special characteristic of political movements in Sīstān in the early centuries of Islam was their Khāridjite tendency. Under the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] Sīstān tended to look east. After the break-up of the Īlkhān empire, Harāt became the centre of the Karts, who had acted as governors on behalf of the Īlkhāns in the heyday of their power. Still later, after the death of Tīmūr, it became the centre of the eastern Timurid empire. (See also C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saffarids, 30-250/651-304*, Rome 1968).

Fārs, which had been the original seat of power of both the Achaemenids and the Sasanians, tended to be somewhat isolated from the rest of Persia in the early years of the Islamic period. This was perhaps partly due to the fact that much of it was difficult mountain country occupied by a tribal population, which formed an obstacle to its conquest and control [see ĪLĀT]. Conversion appears to have been slow. Iṣṭakhrī, writing in the 4th/10th century, states that the *madjūs* were more numerous in Fārs than in any other province. Under the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla (338/949—372/982), Fārs enjoyed prosperity and importance. After the break-up of the Great Saldjūḳ empire Fārs was ruled by the Salgharid dynasty (543/1148—686/1287). Later in the 8th/14th century Fārs became the centre of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, and in the 18th century of the short-lived Zand dynasty.

Kirmān was bounded on the north and east by the great desert. The mountain districts of the province stubbornly resisted the Arab advance and gave much trouble to later rulers also [see ĪLĀT]. Under the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān it formed a prosperous and semi-independent kingdom but suffered in the disorders committed by the Ghuzz at the end of the Great Saldjūḳ period.

Kurdistān was ethnically separate from the rest of Persia. Both the physical configuration of the country and the tribal nature of society there militated against political unity. It looked to Mawṣil. Like the Caspian provinces, parts of Fārs and Kirmān, it was difficult campaigning country, and proved a "thorn in the flesh" of the caliphate and the subsequent empires. Few of their rulers succeeded fully in controlling it, and it tended to break away the moment there was a weakening of the central government. The Arab Dynasty of the Ḥamdānids in the 4th/10th century (see M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdânides de Jazîra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers—Paris, 1951), the Kurdish dynasty of the Marwānids who superseded them in Diyār Bakr in the 5th/11th century, and the ʿUkaylids, who held Mawṣil from 380/991 to 489/1096, attained some importance and exercised influence beyond the borders of Kurdistān. Under the Saldjūḳs Mawṣil looked increasingly westwards. It became under the Zangids one of the most important states of Western Asia, but with little influence on the history of Persia. With the rise of the Ottoman and Ṣafavid empires, Kurdistān became disputed frontier territory.

The neighbouring province of Ādharbāydjān was also partly inhabited by Kurds. It was the scene of the Khurramdīnī disorders in the first half of the 3rd/9th century. Subsequently a number of minor local ruling families held sway: first the Sādjids (276/889—317/929), then the Kurd, Daysam, who was a Khāridjite, followed by the Muṣāfirids, who had Bāṭinī leanings, and others. In 513/1136, towards the end of the Great Saldjūḳ period, the atabeg Ildiguz established himself and founded one of the succession states to the Saldjūḳ empire. Under the Mongols, after the destruction of Baghdād, the political and economic centre of the empire shifted from ʿIrāḳ and the Djibāl, where it had been under the Buyids and Saldjūḳs, to Ādharbāydjān. Iṣfahān,

which had been the main city of Persia under the Great Saldjūḳs, although it became one of the centres of power of the Indjuids, one of the succession states to the Īlkhān empire, did not fully recover its importance until the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās. Numbers of Ghuzz had settled in Ādharbāydjān in Saldjūḳ times, and from Mongol times onwards it was inhabited predominantly by Turkish tribes. On the break-up of the Īlkhān empire, the main centre of activity tended to move from Ādharbāydjān to Fārs, Kirmān, and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, perhaps partly because Ādharbāydjān was becoming at this time subject to raids by the Kipchaks. A succession state was established by the Djalāʾirids, who ruled intermittently over Ādharbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ.

In the second half of the 9th/15th century Ādharbāydjān became the centre of the rising Ṣafavid power, and Tabrīz became the capital in the early years of the 10th/16th century. Just as the Saldjūḳs moved their capitals westwards from Khurāsān to the centre of Persia, so also the Ṣafavids moved progressively eastwards, from Tabrīz to Ḳazwīn and Iṣfahān. In the 19th century Ādharbāydjān, with the advance of Russia through the Caucasus, succeeded Khurāsān as the crucial frontier area. Here, too, the frontier eventually established after Persia's defeat by Russia in 1828 was considerably inside the mediaeval border.

The period from the death of al-Maʾmūn up to the Mongol invasion falls into three periods, those of the minor dynasties, the Great Saldjūḳ empire (447/1055—552/1157), and the Khwārazmshāhs, ending with the sack of Baghdād by the Mongols in 656/1258. During the first of these, the western provinces dominated by Baghdād developed along rather different lines from Khurāsān and the east, although there was a certain influence of the one on the other. This was partly because of the difference in society in the two areas and partly because of differences in political development. Baghdād and the neighbourhood had experienced all the vicissitudes of the political and economic decline of the caliphate after the death of al-Maʾmūn. In Khurāsān, on the other hand, the old structure of society had maintained itself to a greater extent: the local ruling families still retained a good deal of their former influence and there was a rich merchant class engaged in the caravan trade with China and other countries. On the other side of the frontier there were still a number of independent principalities, often at war with each other. Under the Ṭāhirids, who came to power in the east, and their successors the Sāmānids, there was a reassertion of old social tendencies, whereas under the Būyids, society was in an advanced stage of disintegration. The Ghaznavids, the successors of the Sāmānids, were in due course overthrown by the Saldjūḳs, under whom the lands of the eastern caliphate were re-integrated and a new system of government worked out, combining features found in both the eastern and western provinces in a new symbiosis.

The Ṭāhirids during their fifty or sixty years' rule based their power on a community of interest of the *dihḳāns*, though the influence and rights of this class were not so rigidly enforced as they had been in Sasanian times. Externally their main problem was to hold the frontier against the nomad Turks from Central Asia and prevent their intervention in the disorders which occurred in Transoxania. Ṭāhir, whose father and grandfather had been governors of Bushang, reached Khurāsān as governor in 206/821-2. His rule, apart from some Khāridjite disturbances, was brief and uneventful. By 207/822 he had consolidated his power. In that year he omitted al-Maʾmūn's name from the *khuṭba*, but providentially died the same night (or shortly afterwards) (see D. Sourdel, *Les circonstances de la mort de Tahir*, in *Arabica*, 1958). In spite of this act of overt rebellion, al-Maʾmūn recognised Ṭalḥā b. Ṭāhir as his successor. Khāridjite disturbances, especially in Sīstān, continued during his governorate. On his death in 213/828-9 al-Maʾmūn, perhaps with a view to regaining some of his lost authority in the eastern provinces, appointed his favourite, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, who was at that time conducting operations against the Khurramdīnīs in Dīnavar, to succeed Ṭalḥā. He advanced to Nīshāpūr and put down the Khāridjite disturbances which had become widespread. Al-Muʿtaṣim, who succeeded to the caliphate in 218/833, confirmed ʿAbd Allāh in his government.

Unrest meanwhile spread throughout the ʿAbbāsid empire. The Turks, whom al-Muʿtaṣim had enrolled in greater numbers in his bodyguard than had former caliphs, increased in power and violent quarrels between them and the people of Baghdād occurred repeatedly. In Ādharbāydjān Bābak and the Khurramdīnīs were still in a state of rebellion. In 220/835 the Afshīn [*q.v.*] was placed in charge of the campaign against them and eventually defeated them in 222/837. In Ṭabaristān Māziyār b. Ḳārin, the last of the Ḳārinwand dynasty, who, after being deprived of his possessions by the Bāwand, the Ispahbud Shahriyār, had taken refuge with al-Maʾmūn, embraced Islam and been sent back to Ṭabaristān as governor, apostasized and rebelled. The Afshīn, who was sent against him, appears to have encouraged him to rebel. Al-Muʿtaṣim then sent ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir from Khurāsān against him; Māziyār was captured and executed in 226/841, and ʿAbd Allāh made his uncle, Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn, governor of Ṭabaristān.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir's rule in Khurāsān and Transoxania appears to have been enlightened. There are indications that he encouraged agriculture and fostered the spread of learning. He was succeeded in 230/844-5 by his son Ṭāhir, who had become governor of Ṭabaristān in 228/842-3 in succession to his great uncle. Ṭāhir II received diplomas from successive caliphs. He ruled until 248/862-3. Trouble from the Khāridjites in Sīstān continued, and during his reign the *ʿayyār* under Yaʿḳūb b. Layth, the Ṣaffārid, increased in power. Under Ṭāhir's successor, Muḥammad, Ṭabaristān was lost to the Ṭāhirids, when the Ṭāhirid governor, after being defeated in 250/864 by Ḥasan b. Zayd, the ʿAlid, abandoned the province in 252/866. Family quarrels also broke out among the Ṭāhirids, and one branch made common cause with the Ṣaffārids in Sīstān.

Yaʿḳūb b. Layth, the son of a peasant of Ḳarnīn, who became apprenticed to a coppersmith — hence the name of the dynasty he founded—subsequently, with his brothers, joined a band of *mutaṭawwiʿa* led by the Ṭāhirid governor, Dirham b. Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ, and took part in operations against the Khāridjites. He was then made amir of Bust, but in 247/861 drove out the Ṭāhirid governor and made himself master of Sīstān. Yaʿḳūb's relations with the Khāridjites are not entirely clear. According to some accounts he was a Khāridjite at the beginning of his career. Later attributions of Shīʿī sympathies to the Ṣaffārids would appear to be unfounded. He extended his rule to the Kābul valley, Sind and the Mikrān, and in 253/867 he conquered Harāt and Bushang from Ṭāhir b. Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir.

Meanwhile al-Muʿtazz, who had succeeded to the caliphate in 252/866, was unable to control his go-

vernors in the east, and was threatened by the Zandj rebellion in lower ʿIrāḳ in 254/868. Hoping to rid himself of at least one of his troublesome governors, he granted a diploma for Kirmān to both Yaʿḳūb and the governor of Fārs, ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn. Yaʿḳūb was the victor and took not only Kirmān but also Fārs. In 257/871 al-Muʿtamid, following a somewhat similar policy, appointed Yaʿḳūb over the Ṭāhirid provinces of Tukhāristān and Balkh. According to another group of sources, however, Yaʿḳūb had already taken Tukhāristān and Balkh together with Ghazna, Gardīz, and Kābul in 256/870, when the caliph gave him a diploma for Tukhāristān, Balkh, Fārs, Kirmān, Sīstān, and Sind. Finally in 259/873 he marched on Khurāsān, took Nīshāpūr, and made Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir prisoner.

Yaʿḳūb then turned his arms against Ḥasan b. Zayd, the ʿAlid, in Gurgān. The latter fled without giving battle. In 261/874-5 Yaʿḳūb went again to Fārs, and in 262/875-6 he sent an envoy to the caliph al-Muʿtamid. Alarmed by Yaʿḳūb's growing power, al-Muʿtamid, or the regent al-Muwaffaḳ, had given in that year a diploma for Transoxania to the Sāmānid, Naṣr b. Aḥmad, no doubt in the hope that he would counter the spread of Yaʿḳūb's influence. Weakened by the rebellion of the Zandj, who by 264/877 were raiding within seventeen miles of Baghdād, the caliph now gave Yaʿḳūb a diploma for Transoxania, Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, Gurgān, Fārs Kirmān, Sind and Hind, and made him military governor of Baghdād, and titular governor of the holy cities. Yaʿḳūb, nevertheless, continued his advance on Baghdād, but was worsted by the caliph in an engagement outside the city (265/879). Yaʿḳūb's defeat, however, was not decisive. By the terms of the peace the Ṣaffārids were recognized as the rulers of the provinces mentioned in the diploma already given to Yaʿḳūb, and in return they were to pay an annual tribute of 20 million *dirhams*.

Yaʿḳūb died shortly after this. He was succeeded by his brother ʿAmr, who made ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir his deputy in Baghdād, perhaps in the hope of enlisting Ṭāhirid support against the growing power of the Sāmānids. ʿAmr's succession was contested by his brother ʿAlī. He was defeated and held captive by ʿAmr. The provincial governors also began to throw off their allegiance, while in the holy cities ʿAmr's rights of precedence were challenged by the Ṭūlūnids. ʿAmr's life, like that of Yaʿḳūb, was largely spent in expeditions from one part of the empire to another, to deal with rebellious governors, and in particular in wars on the eastern frontier of Sīstān.

With the defeat of the Zandj in 269/883 by al-Muwaffaḳ, pressure on the caliphate began to lessen and intrigues against ʿAmr at the caliph's court began. An envoy was sent to him to demand the tribute due and the despatch of his son to Baghdād as a hostage. ʿAmr retired from Fārs to Kirmān, followed by al-Muwaffaḳ. In 271/885 Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir was again declared governor of Khurāsān and was represented by Rāfiʿ b. Harthama, who had conquered Nīshāpūr in 268/882. Matters did not yet reach breaking-point. In 275/888-9 ʿAmr agreed to pay 10 million *dirhams* tribute for Kirmān, Fārs and Khurāsān, sent presents to al-Muwaffaḳ, and retired to Fārs. About this time ʿAlī b. Layth escaped from captivity and joined Rāfiʿ b. Harthama in Khurāsān against ʿAmr. In 276/889-90 al-Muwaffaḳ seized the occasion offered by this embarrassment to ʿAmr to withhold from him the privileges of the military governor of Baghdād, to which office he had appointed him earlier that year. ʿAmr in retaliation dropped al-Muwaffaḳ's name from the *khuṭba* in Shīrāz in 277/890-1 and advanced on Khūzistān. Al-Muwaffaḳ meanwhile died in 278/891. His son al-Muʿtaḍid, who became caliph on the death of al-Muʿtamid in 279/892, made peace with ʿAmr, confirmed him in his governorships and ordered him to set out for Khurāsān against Rāfiʿ b. Harthama in 279/892-3. After a long-drawn out campaign Rāfiʿ was eventually put to flight, and ʿAmr entered Nīshāpūr in 283/896-7. Rāfiʿ, after briefly joining the ʿAlids in Ṭabaristān, fled to Khwārazm, where he was killed in the same year. With his death disturbances in Khurāsān subsided.

Not much is known of the civil administration of Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr, but their military organization is reputed to have been excellent. A distinction seems to have been made between public and private revenue. ʿAmr apparently had three treasuries, onc for revenue from land and other taxes, which was utilized for the upkeep of the army, a second for revenue from the personal property of the ruler, which was expended upon the upkeep of the court, and the third for revenues from occasional taxes (*aḥdāth*), and confiscations, the proceeds of which were largely used to reward faithful servants, followers and envoys. The army was the object of special care, and paid every three months through the *ʿāriḍ* (see Bartold, *op. cit.*, 220-22; and C. E. Bosworth, *Armies of the Saffarids*, in *BSOAS*, 1968).

In origin the Ṣaffārid movement seems to have been a "popular" movement and to have been regarded by the landowners and merchants of Khurāsān and Transoxania as a threat to the established order. Opposition was directed against Yaʿḳūb's alleged Khāridjite tendencies, but it may be that the real grounds for it was the "popular" nature of the movement. Once Yaʿḳūb, and after him ʿAmr, had extended their power beyond Sīstān it seems probable that the "popular" nature of their movement was to some extent lost. They retained their influence in Sīstān, however, and reappeared after the death of Maḥmūd of Ghazna and still existed as a local ruling house when the Mongols invaded in the 7th/13th century.

The Ṣaffārids were faced not only with a revival of the power of the caliphate under al-Muʿtaḍid, but also by the rise of a new power in the east, the Sāmānids, who were extending their influence in Transoxania. Their ancestor, Sāmān, appears to have been a small landowner from the neighbourhood of Bukhārā. During the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, the sons of Asad b. Sāmān were ordered to help Harthama against the rebellious Rāfiʿ. In return they received governorships in Khurāsān. Under the Ṭāhirids Nūḥ b. Asad was in Samarḳand and in 261/874-5 the caliph al-Muʿtamid gave Naṣr b. Aḥmad a diploma for Samarḳand. When Bukhārā was sacked by Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir al-Ṭāʾī from Khwārazm in 260/873-4, Naṣr b. Aḥmad, in response to an appeal from the people of the city, sent his brother Ismāʿīl to their aid. In the same year the caliph gave Ismāʿīl a diploma for Bukhārā. Having restored order in Bukhārā, Ismāʿīl turned his army against Naṣr. Ismāʿīl is represented as the victor and as acting with great moderation in victory. This may or may not be true. What probably happened is that they arrived at a deadlock, neither able to defeat the other. In any case, Naṣr remained governor of Transoxania until his death in 279/892, when he was succeeded by Ismāʿīl, who received a diploma from the caliph in 280/893.

In 285/898 ʿAmr demanded a diploma as governor of Transoxania, in return for which he offered to overthrow the ʿAlid ruler of Ṭabaristān. Al-Muʿtaḍid, anxious for the decline of ʿAmr, probably saw in his demand an opportunity to weaken him by playing him off against Ismāʿīl. Whether ʿAmr was over-confident of his ability to overthrow Ismāʿīl, or whether he feared that Ismāʿīl would, as his power grew, intervene in Khurāsān, and thought it better to forestall him, is not clear. In 286/899 ʿAmr's commander Muḥammad b. Bashar was defeated by Sāmānid forces, and in the following year ʿAmr himself was captured and sent to Baghdād. His sons retired to Sīstān. For some years they continued operations against the Sāmānids in Sīstān and the local rulers in Fārs, but were unable to restore Ṣaffārid fortunes.

By 289/902, when al-Muktafī succeeded to the caliphate, the Sāmānids had gained the whole of Khurāsān, and in the diploma which Ismāʿīl received from al-Muktafī Rayy Ḳazwīn, and Zandjān were added to Khurāsān. The Sāmānids were, however, unable to establish effective control over the western regions and disputed them with the Sādjids, who had come to power when al-Muwaffaḳ had appointed Muḥammad Afshīn Abū ʿUbayd b. Abi'l-Sādj governor of Ādharbāydjān in 276/889-90. The rapid extension of Sāmānid territory put a certain strain on Sāmānid organization, although this was not immediately felt. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl, who succeeded in 295/907, established his claim by force of arms. He extended the Sāmānid domains still further by temporarily occupying Sīstān in 298/910-11. Ṭabaristān, on the other hand, was lost to the ʿAlids when Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrush (al-Nāṣir al-Kabīr) staged a successful revolt, making skilful use of the discord existing among the local rulers in the Caspian provinces.

The Sāmānids, like the Ṭāhirids, had a certain affinity with the *marzbān*s on the eastern frontiers of the Sasanian empire. Theirs was the last attempt to maintain the old social system against the general levelling tendencies of Turkish military government. The two centres of their kingdom were Samarḳand and Bukhārā; on the periphery there were a number of states which acknowledged Sāmānid overlordship and in some cases paid a nominal tribute. Among them were Khwārazm, Ghardjistān, al-Shār, Djūzdjān, Isfīdjāb and Ṣāghāniyān. The bureaucracy under the Sāmānids was well-developed and on a somewhat similar model to the bureaucratic administration of the caliphs at Baghdād. Narshakhī mentions nine government offices or *dīwān*s, those of the vizier, *mustawfī*, *ṣāḥib shurṭ*, *ṣāḥib muʾayyid*, *mushrif*, and *muḥtasib*, and the *dīwān-i mamlaka-i khāṣṣ*, the *dīwān-i awḳāf*, and the *dīwān-i ḳaḍā* (*Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Riḍawī, p. 31).According to Bartold there was a tenth *dīwān*, the *dīwān-i barīd*. The chief civil official was known as the *khwādja-i buzurg*. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Djayhānī, who held this office under Naṣr. b. Aḥmad, was, perhaps, a more important figure than his sovereign.

The army was composed of a nucleus of Turks, mainly puchased or captured on the frontiers and brought up as slaves, and levies supplied by the *dihḳān*s. The leading military commander had the title *sipahsālār* and from Nīshāpūr administered Sāmānid territories south of the Amū Daryā. The chief military offices and provincial governments were held by members of local ruling families and by Turkish slaves. The court was elaborately organized with a hierarchy of officials. The main offices were held by the military classes. The domestic affairs of the court were under an official known as the *wakīl*. In the provincial governments many of the same offices and departments were found as at the centre, though there was no uniformity throughout the empire. In the early period of Sāmānid rule, the civil power held the upper hand: the army was subordinate and the troops were paid in cash, but were not debarred from acquiring land. Ibn Hawḳal states that taxes were lower in the Sāmānid empire than anywhere else and wages higher. The taxes, levied in two instalments, totalled some 40 million *dirhams*. Officials were paid quarterly and their pay amounted to about half the revenue. This favourable position of income in relation to expenditure allowed considerable mildness to prevail in the tax administration. Trade and industry were highly developed. Muḳaddasī gives an extensive list of exports from the various towns. Trade with the nomads of Central Asia was also important (ii, 468 ff.; see further, Bartold *op. cit.*, 235 ff.).

Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl, after a reign of nearly six years, was murdered by his Turkish guards in 301/913. His 8-year-old son Naṣr succeeded. During his reign the spirit of revolt entered the Sāmānid house itself and Naṣr spent much of his long reign, which lasted until 331/942, in putting down the revolts of his cousins and brothers. About 318/930 three of his brothers, who were imprisoned in Bukhārā, were liberated with the help of seditious elements in the city, including Shīʿīs and Khāridjites, and one of them, Yaḥyā, proclaimed amir. The movement was abortive.

In the west the Sādjids had maintained themselves against further Sāmānid advance. In 305/917-18 Yūsuf b. Abi'l-Sādj defeated a force sent against him by the caliph al-Muḳtadir, but was forced, in spite of this, to give up Rayy, and some two years later, although he defeated an army led by the caliph's general Mūnis, retired to Zandjān. Mūnis followed him, defeated him near Ardabīl and brought him to Baghdād. In 310/922, he was set free and given the government of Rayy and Ādharbāydjān. Later he was defeated and killed by the Carmathians (314/926). Ādharbāydjān was then disputed between the Khāridjite Kurd, Daysam b. Ibrāhīm, and the Muṣāfirids, who in the end prevailed.

More important than the attempts by provincial governors to seize the opportunity to establish their independence was the spread of the Carmathian movement, which was eventually captured by the Ismāʿīlīs, who founded the Fāṭimid anti-caliphate in 297/910. Between 318/930 and 328/940 Fāṭimid propaganda made great strides in Khurāsān and Transoxania. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (al-Nakhshabī), a Fāṭimid missionary, won over a number of prominent officials and eventually Naṣr himself. The *ʿulamāʾ* and the Sunnī notables were unable to meet this challenge alone and were forced to turn for help to the Turkish nucleus of the army. Naṣr, following a plot to overthrow him, abdicated in favour of his son Nūḥ and was thrown into prison in 330/942. Al-Nasafī and his supporters were massacred. Henceforward the army decided the course of events. Joining in the struggles for supremacy between the rival claimants, they eventually brought the state to ruin.

Khwārazm revolted in 332/943-4 and in the following year Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī, governor of Khurāsān, rebelled. By this time also, the favourable financial position which had prevailed earlier had changed for

the worse. There were acute shortages of funds and the army's pay was often in arrears. There were desertions to Abū ʿAlī, who also obtained support from some of the tributary states. Nūḥ fled to Samarḳand and Abū ʿAlī entered Bukhārā in 335/947 with Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, Nūḥ's uncle. Abū ʿAlī was unable, however, to maintain himself in Bukhārā and returned to Ṣaghāniyān, whence he encouraged the tributary rulers along the Amū Daryā to rebel. Sāmānid prestige declined rapidly and the Sāmānid princes played less and less part in the struggles which ensued between the rival amirs and governors.

With the decline of the Sāmānids and the failure of the caliphate to maintain its temporary revival under al-Muʿtaḍid, the northern provinces of Persia became the scene of the exploits of a series of Daylamite leaders who were little more than robber barons, the common characteristics of whose rule were love of money, extortion, and cruelty. In 308/920 Laylā b. Nuʾmān seized Nīshāpūr from the Sāmānids on behalf of Ḥasan b. Ḳāsim, the ʿAlid, who succeeded Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUṭrush in 304/917. He failed to hold it. Some years later Kākī took Rayy, but, unable to establish his independence, entered Sāmānid service. Meanwhile Asfār b. Shīrūya had proclaimed himself in Sārī but was defeated by Mākān b. Kākī. He then took refuge with the Sāmānid governor of Khurāsān, Abū Bakr b. Ilyās. When the latter died, Asfār received the allegiance of his troops and seized Rayy, Ṭabaristān, Ḳazwīn, Ḳumm, Kāshān, and Lur-i Kūčik. He was overthrown in 319/931 by one of his own generals, Mardāwīdj. b. Ziyār, the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty. Mardāwīdj, who, according to Ibn Miskawayh, appears to have had visions of restoring the old Persian empire (vii, 5, 489; cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 226), took Ḳazwīn, Rayy, Hamadān, Kangavar, Dīnavar, and Burūdjird, and then turned back to invade Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, which had been seized by Mākān. Among Mardāwīdj's followers were the three sons of Būya, ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Aḥmad. They had originally been in the service of Mākān, but had deserted him for Mardāwīdj. When the latter extended his conquests southwards, he appointed ʿAlī b. Būya governor of Karadj.

At first ʿAlī appears to have considered entering the service of the caliph, who was by now a puppet in the hands of the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, but his overtures were ignored. He then took Iṣfahān, but retired to Arradjān when Mardāwīdj sent his brother Wushmgīr against him, and seized Fārs in 321/933, while his brother Aḥmad occupied Kirmān in 322/934. Mardāwīdj, on receipt of this news, set out himself for Iṣfahān and sent another army from Khūzistān to march on the Būyids. ʿAlī thereupon renewed his allegiance to Mardāwīdj and sent his brother Ḥasan to him as a hostage. Mardāwīdj meanwhile appears to have conceived the plan of conquering Baghdād, but before he could put the plan into operation he was assassinated by his Turkish slaves in 323/935. He was succeeded in part of his domains by Wushmgīr, who spent his reign in a constant state of war with the Sāmānids, Būyids, and others and eventually accepted Sāmānid overlordship.

Ḥasan b. Būya rejoined ʿAlī on the assassination of Mardāwīdj and they occupied Iṣfahān. Mākān had meanwhile taken Kirmān and acknowledged Sāmānid overlordship. Later he left Kirmān in an attempt to regain Gurgān and Ṭabaristān. About 329/940-1 he threw off Sāmānid allegiance and when the Sāmānid governor of Khruāsān sent an army against him he appealed to Wushmgīr for help. Ḥasan b. Būya, profiting from the preoccupations of his rivals, seized Rayy and made himself master of the surrounding district.

In Baghdād the struggles between the Turkish amirs and between the Turks and Daylamites had reduced the city and the neighbourhood to anarchy. In 334/945 Aḥmad b. Būya, encouraged by Inal Kūsha, governor of Wāsiṭ, (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 337) set out for Baghdād and took it without battle. The caliph al-Mustakfī welcomed him and gave him a diploma and bestowed *laḳabs* on the three brothers: ʿAlī became ʿImād al-Dawla, Aḥmad, Muʿizz al-Dawla, and Ḥasan, Rukn al-Dawla. Muʿizz al-Dawla treated the caliph with the greatest contempt. Eleven days after his arrival in Baghdād, he accused him of seditious correspondence with the Ḥamdānids and made al-Muṭīʿ caliph in his place. Although the caliphate reached its lowest ebb during the period of Būyid supremacy, the Būyids did not attempt to overthrow it altogether. There were probably two main reasons for this. In the first place, they may have hoped to use for their own political ends such prestige as the ʿAbbāsids still possessed, and secondly, the existence of a Sunnī caliphate left them with a free hand: had they set up a Shīʿī caliph their troops might well have supported the caliph against them [see further BUWAYHIDS or BŪYIDS]. The consequence of the retention of the caliphate under their dominion was important: it discredited Ithna ʿAsharī Shīʿism as a serious alternative to it with the result that it was the Ismāʿīlīs to whom the discontented turned in the 5th/11th century in the hope of overthrowing the existing order (see further B. Lewis, *The Assassins*, London 1967, especially 29 ff.).

The main Būyid centres were Shīrāz, Rayy and Baghdād. ʿAlī during his lifetime was looked upon as the head of the family. He ruled Fārs and the area extending to Iṣfahān and Ahwāz, while Rukn al-Dawla ruled in the west from Rayy to Hamadān and Iṣfahān, and Muʿizz al-Dawla in ʿIrāḳ. On the death of ʿImād al-Dawla the rest of the family deferred to Rukn al-Dawla, who proved totally unable to control his Daylamite troops, who robbed and plundered wherever they went. After his death there was a repeated subdivision of Būyid territories and their partial reunification by force of arms by one member of the family or another. An abortive attempt was made by the Muṣāfirids to regain Rayy in 336/947-8. The Muṣāfirid Marzbān was defeated near Ḳazwīn in 338/949, but the Būyid force then sent to Ādharbāydjān was unable to make permanent gains and returned to Rayy.

The rule of Muʿizz al-Dawla in ʿIrāḳ did nothing to improve conditions. He had no care for the local population and introduced the custom of quartering the troops on the local population, which caused them serious annoyance. He also made a practice of giving lands to his troops, the result of which was to bring agriculture into a hopeless state of disorganization (*Eclipse*, ii, 96). Quarrels between Daylamites and Turks continued. In every Būyid army there was a bitter feud between the Turks and the Daylamites, to which much of the indecisive fighting of the period is due. From the time of Muʿizz al-Dawla onwards, however, the Turkish element became increasingly important. Muʿizz al-Dawla, not surprisingly in these circumstances, found himself in constant difficulties for money. Confiscations of the property of officials on death or dismissal were common, and offices were put up to the highest bidder. His reign was largely occupied by internal rebellions and a series of expeditions against the Ḥamdānids, the last of

which was in 353/964. The balance of these was in his favour, and from time to time he exacted tribute from them, but he failed to crush them entirely. When finally the Ḥamdānids became increasingly engaged in Syria in a struggle with the Fāṭimids, pressure on the western flank of the Būyids ceased. Muʿizz al-Dawla also undertook various operations against the Barīdīs [*q.v.*] in Khūzistān, and finally extinguished them in 349/960-1. He was succeeded in 356/967 by his son Bakhtiyār ʿIzz al-Dawla, who was an ineffective ruler.

When Bakhtiyār's Turkish mercenaries revolted and seized power, ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the son of Rukn al-Dawla, who had been ruling in Shīrāz since 338/949, set out for Baghdād in 364/974 to restore order. He forced Bakhtiyār to abdicate, but because of the protests of Rukn al-Dawla he re-established Bakhtiyār and returned to Shīrāz. In 366/976 Rukn al-Dawla died and was succeeded by his son Muʾayyid al-Dawla in Rayy and by another son Fakhr al-Dawla in Hamadān. Bakhtiyār took the opportunity to march on Shīrāz and provoke a conflict with ʿAḍud al-Dawla. He was defeated. ʿAḍud al-Dawla occupied Baghdād in 367/977 and seized Fakhr al-Dawla's territories also, but allowed Muʾayyid al-Dawla to rule as his subordinate.

Under ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who ruled first in Fārs (338/949—366/977) and then in Fārs and ʿIrāḳ (366/977—372/983), the Būyids reached their height. Būyid troops occupied Balūčistān and the Mikrān and even operated in ʿOmān. On the Khurāsān border, where there had been constant conflicts with Sāmānid governors usually ending in a Sāmānid victory, there had been a sudden weakening of the Sāmānids, who were defeated towards the end of 371/982. ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death at the critical moment prevented any further Būyid advance into Khurāsān. ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the only real figure of a ruler among the Būyids, established an effective administration. He reorganized the postal system, put down brigandage, and fostered commerce. He followed a policy of religious toleration and suspended the public celebration of sectarian ceremonies which had been introduced by Muʿizz al-Dawla in Baghdād. He was a great builder and patronized men of learning and theologians. He did not, however, entirely lose the characteristics of his race: old taxes were increased and new ones introduced. (See further H. Busse, ***Chalif und Grosskönig***, Beirut 1969).

After the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla the Būyid dynasty declined rapidly. Until the reimposition of orderly government by the Saldjūḳs the western provinces were torn by internecine strife and almost interminable conflicts. The administration was completely broken up, agriculture ruined, and the old money economy destroyed beyond repair. A contributory factor in this decline was the change in the flow of trade connected with the rise of the Fāṭimids (see ʿABBĀSIDS, and B. Lewis, ***Fāṭimids and the route to India***, in ***Istanbul Iktisat Fak. Mecm.***, 1950, 355-66).

In due course Khurāsān fell, not to the Būyids, but to the new power rising in the east, the Ghaznavids. Two favourable circumstances attended their rise: first the absence of any strong power in western Persia able to fill the vacuum created by the decline of the Sāmānids, and secondly the existence on their frontier of the decaying empire of the Hindū Shāhīs, which offered to them a new field of operations. Alptakīn, the commander of the Sāmānid forces in Khurāsān, after an abortive rising in favour of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nūḥ in 350/961, withdrew to the eastern frontiers and took Buṣt and Ghazna. After an interregnum following his death in 352/963, Sebuktegīn, one of his *ghulāms*, assumed power in 366/977. He regarded himself as governing on behalf of the Sāmānids but paid no tribute to them. In 383/993 Nūḥ b. Naṣr summoned him to Transoxania to aid him against rebels. After a successful campaign Sebuktegīn was given the governorships of Balkh, Ṭukhāristān, Bāmiyān, Ghūr, and Ghardjistān in 384/994, and his son Maḥmūd was made commander of the army with his headquarters in Nīshāpūr. When the Ḳarakhānids invaded Transoxania in 386/996, Nūḥ again appealed to Sebuktegīn for help. By the peace which was concluded with the Ḳarakhānids the frontier was established on the Ḳaṭwān steppe.

Sebuktegīn died in 387/997. He left his domains to various members of his family, but by 388/998 Maḥmūd, temporarily abandoning Khurāsān, had made himself master of the territory held by his father. In the following year he seized Khurāsān and read the *khuṭba* in the name of al-Ḳādir, whose succession the Sāmānids had not recognised, continuing to read the *khuṭba* in the name of his deposed predecessor, al-Ṭāʾiʿ. In return Maḥmūd was granted a diploma by al-Ḳādir for Khurāsān (389/999). In 390/1000 Maḥmūd made an expedition into India, capturing some fortresses near Lamghān. The following year he invaded India again, defeated Jaipal, and took a great quantity of booty. Subsequently he made several successful expeditions into India, the most famous of which was in 416/1025-6 when he destroyed the idol temple at Sumnath. The attempts made by the last of the Sāmānids, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl (d. 395/1005) to recover Khurāsān were in vain. The former Sāmānid territories were now divided between the Ghaznavids and the Ḳarakhānids. In 398/1008 Maḥmūd defeated Ilig Naṣr and Ḳādir Khān Yūsuf near Balkh. He then extended his authority over Ghardjistān, Khwārazm, Sīstān, Ghūr, Ṭabaristān and Gurgān. The conquest of Khwārazm in 408/1017 gave him a preponderance over the Ḳarakhānids, and when civil war spread in the Ḳarakhānid kingdom, he invaded Transoxania in 415-16/1025, but does not appear to have made permanent gains. In 417/1026 Maḥmūd received a diploma from the caliph al-Ḳādir for the conquered provinces. The caliph moreover bound himself not to enter into relations with the Ḳarakhānids except through Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd was a strict Sunnī, and since at the time of his rise the Fāṭimids were pressing in through Syria towards Baghdād, where the caliph was a puppet in the hands of the Būyids, considerable glamour attached to him as the first ruler who came to the rescue of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, though in fact it was not until Ṭughril Beg arrived in Baghdād that it was relieved of tutelage to the Būyids. So far as Maḥmūd's administration is concerned there was outwardly little change, but the spirit of the imperial organization was changing. The state was no longer a civil power which maintained an army. The court was to a greater degree than had formerly been the case military and tribal. The army had become the state and its commander the sultan, and the only function and duty of the people was to pay taxes. Maḥmūd did not, however, solve the problem of how to support the army: the new system was to be worked out, not by the Ghaznavids, but by the Saldjūḳs. In 420/1029 Maḥmūd entered Rayy, which had been in the hands of the Būyid, Madjd al-Dawla, and left his son Masʿūd there with orders to complete the conquest of Būyid territories. Hamadān and Iṣfahān fell, but in 421/1030 Maḥmūd died and

Mas'ūd hastened back to Khurāsān to claim the throne. The early years of Mas'ūd's reign were occupied by struggles for power between rival factions. With his withdrawal from Rayy, the local branch of the Būyids, the Kākūyids, threw off their allegiance. The real threat to the Ghaznavids, however, was to come from elsewhere. During the reign of Maḥmūd, groups of Ghuzz had passed into Khurāsān and the interior of Persia. The first considerable movement was in 420/1029, when Maḥmūd ordered the tribes under Isrā'īl b. Saldjūk, whom he had seized, to migrate into Khurāsān. In 425/1033-4, two brothers, Ṭughril Beg and Čaghri Beg Dā'ūd, the sons of Mikā'īl b. Saldjūk, and their uncle Yabghū b. Saldjūk moved from Transoxania to the borders of Khwārazm, but were obliged to move again in 426/1034-5 on the death of Hārūn the Khwārazmshāh. A number of them crossed the Oxus into Khurāsān and asked permission to live under Mas'ūd's protection. During the next few years they were constantly on the move in search of new pastures, harried by and harrying the Ghaznavids, until finally they met in battle at Dandankān in 431/1040. Mas'ūd was decisively defeated. Ghaznavid rule was brought to an end in Khurāsān, though the Ghaznavids continued to rule in Ghazna until dispossessed by the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] in 569/ 1173-4. Further weakened, they retired first to Kābul and then to Lahore.

The Saldjūk period in some ways represents a culmination of previous developments, in others a new departure. There had been from the 3rd/9th century onwards much recruitment of Turkish slaves in western and eastern Persia, and the Ghaznavids were, by origin, a slave dynasty. During their rule there was an increased militarization of the state, but no major change in its structure. The Ghuzz movement was different: it was a tribal migration, and the Saldjūks who emerged as its leaders became, almost by chance, the rulers of a vast empire. This, at its height, stretched from Transoxania to Syria and Anatolia, though the last two were never under the effective control of the Great Saldjūk sultan, and included Khurāsān and the rest of Persia, 'Irāk-i 'Arab, and the Djazīra. The numbers involved in this migration were not large: those taking part were to be counted, perhaps, in tens of thousands. They seem to have caused remarkably little dislocation economically [see ILĀT]. Small though their numbers were, they altered the balance of the population in two ways: henceforward the two main elements were Persian and Turkish—the dichotomy of the early centuries between *'arab* and *'adjam* was replaced by that between *turk* and *tādjīk*, and secondly there was an expansion of nomadism and a more strongly marked dichotomy between settled and semi-settled. This dichotomy, in the early period of Saldjūk rule, coincided, to some extent, with that between Turk and non-Turk, and this in turn corresponded, in large measure, with the dichotomy between the military and the rest of the population.

The Saldjūk leaders were not simply the leaders of a nomad tribal group. They were also familiar with urban life, and from the very beginning of their transformation into the rulers of an empire they had settled capitals. As heirs to an empire and to the civilization which had developed in the lands of the Eastern Caliphate, they became the defenders of Sunnī Islam and under them a great revival took place, which made possible the unification of the Sunnī world, against which the Crusaders were unable to achieve lasting success. As heirs to an empire it was not long before a conflict developed between them and the Turkoman nomads, whose main concern was for new pastures and who, in religion, had the attitude of the *ghāzī*. Since many of the Turkomans pushed on to the Georgian, Armeno-Byzantine and Caucasian frontiers to undertake the activities of *ghāzī*s, it was in Anatolia rather than Persia, however, that this Islam took root. Support for Sunnism was imposed upon the Saldjūks by political circumstances: opposition to the Būyids dictated a pro-Sunnī and an anti-Shī'ī policy. From the time of Malikshāh onwards, i.e. after the Būyids had been deprived of their political power, the strict orthodoxy of the Saldjūk sultans was modified. A pro-Sunnī attitude was also imposed upon them by their need to win the support of the *'ulamā'* in order, in turn, to gain the support of the masses—though they failed to carry with them those who were discontented with the established order, and who were to be found among all classes.

Under the Saldjūks, al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] worked out a new relationship between caliph and sultan, from which stemmed a series of interconnected jurisdictions, whose stability depended upon orthodoxy or right religion, and the personal loyalty of the sultan to the caliph, and of subordinate officials to the sultan. The power of the Saldjūks was thus given a *shar'ī* basis and differed from that of the Būyids, which had been usurped. Since Islam still had relevance to the daily life of the people this reformulation was of more than theoretical importance: it made possible the preservation of the religious life of the community and enabled political life to run its course within the framework of Islam. That the sultan's rule was given a *shar'ī* basis did not, of course, stop the arbitrary use of power, but it tempered its use and, generally speaking, prevented it reaching lengths which were felt to be intolerable by the people.

The Saldjūk theory of state, as well as its primary Islamic basis, had another basis, which derived its inspiration from Sasanian theory and was expressed by Niẓām al-Mulk, the vizier of Alp Arslān and Malikshāh. According to this theory the sultan was directly appointed by God. His power was absolute and required no justification, and against it the population had no rights and no freedom. This theory, like the Islamic theory, also emphasized the interdependence of kingship and religion, and of stability and right religion. It rested, however, on justice rather than right religion. This was to be achieved by the maintenance of each in his rightful place. To these two bases the Saldjūks brought a third, which derived from the practice of the steppe: the practice of consultation. This was, perhaps, never very strong, and as the power of the central government was strengthened and the Saldjūks came to rely less on the Turkoman tribes and more on an army composed of slaves and freedmen, so the Islamic theory tended to be superseded by the conception put forward by Niẓām al-Mulk, while the element of consultation weakened and virtually disappeared.

The establishment of a strong central government provided order and discipline, secured the defence of the Muslim community and Muslim lands, and created conditions in which Muslim life could be lived and the various classes carry on their occupations in relative security. But it failed to remove the underlying dissatisfactions, and the Saldjūk period is also marked by the appearance of a new phase of the Ismā'īlī movement, known to Arab historians as the "new propaganda" (*al-da'wa al-djadīda*) in contradistinction to the "old propaganda" (*al-da'wa al-kadīma*) of the Fāṭimids, and its followers as the Bāṭiniyya.

In the field of administration there was a long continuity of practice stretching back beyond the Saldjūḳs, but, consequent upon the changed political, economic, and social circumstances which prevailed, certain developments which had begun before their arrival took definite shape and provided a pattern which was to persist in its essentials down to the 20th century. The two main aspects of the sultan's administration were the *dargāh* or court and the *dīwān* [*q.v.*], which was the chief department of the bureaucracy. The former was essentially military, composed of amirs, slaves, and freedmen, though it was also frequented by the chief officials of the bureaucracy, the religious classes and learned men. The relations between the *dargāh* and the *dīwān* were not clearly formulated. The vizier, the chief bureaucratic official, bridged the gap between the two. In the reigns of Alp Arslān (455/1063—465/1072) and Malikshāh (465/1072—485/1092), the vizirate reached its height under Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], who supervised all aspects of the administration. Later the vizier declined in importance and there was an increased militarization of the state and a contraction in the area of its direct operation. (See further A. K. S. Lambton, *The internal structure of the Saljuq empire*, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, ed. J. A. Boyle, 1968, v, 203-82).

This was accompanied by the emergence of what tended to become a "hereditary" domain or *iḳṭāʿ* over which the *muḳtaʿ* had governmental prerogatives, which included the collection of taxes (in the details of the local arrangements for the assessment and collection of which there is a striking continuity), the holding of the *maẓālim* court, and the general supervision of security and religious affairs. This development coincided with and was partially the consequence of the change in the military forces of the state. As the army became composed not of Turkoman tribes but mainly of slaves and freedmen, the problem of providing their pay and of financing the administration in general became urgent. The *iḳṭāʿ* was simply a device to solve the problem. Under a strong ruler it did not necessarily involve a relaxation of the control of the central government or decentralization, but in the long run it made for a decline in the power of the sultan relative to that of the amirs and finally under the series of weak rulers who succeeded Muḥammad b. Malikshāh contributed to the political disintegration of the empire.

This tendency was further agravated by the atabegate, an institution peculiar to the Saldjūḳ period, which had a social and a political aspect. The atabeg [*q.v.*] was placed in charge of a prince's education and normally married to his mother. If the young *malik* was assigned a province, the atabeg attached to him was responsible for its administration. Politically one of the objects of the atabegate was to control the *malik* and prevent his rebellion, but as the power of the amirs increased relative to that of the sultans, the atabegate was used, not so much to prevent the rebellion of a Saldjūḳ *malik* as to retain the nominal allegiance of a powerful or rebellious amir (see further *The internal structure of the Saljuq empire*, *op. cit.*). This was the origin of the various atabeg dynasties which arose on the decline of the Great Saldjūḳ empire.

After the battle of Dandanḳān, as the Saldjūḳs consolidated their conquests in Khurāsān and moved westwards, the majority of the Ghuzz became associated with them, though full control was never established over the movement as a whole. Outlying groups, although acknowledging the nominal overlordship of the Saldjūḳs, continued to act independently. Many of them pushed on into Syria and Asia Minor. The geographical extent of the operations of the Ghuzz was thus wider than the area over which the central government exerted control. Politically the Great Saldjūḳ empire was a loose confederation of semi-independent kingdoms. Of these, the Saldjūḳ kingdoms of Rūm and Syria broke away at an early date and developed along more or less independent lines, while the Saldjūḳ kingdom of Kirmān, whose founder Ḳāwurd b. Čaghrī Beg was appointed governor of the province by Ṭughril Beg in 433/1041, also became virtually independent and exerted little influence on the general course of events. During the reign of Ṭughril Beg (429/1037—455/1063) the power the Saldjūḳs was based on the Turkoman tribes. Alp Arslān and Malikshāh, during whose reigns the Great Saldjūḳs were at the height of their power, relied increasingly on armies composed, not of Turkomans, but of Turkish slaves and freedmen. After the death of Malikshāh, these slaves and freedmen as *muḳṭaʿ*s and *atabeg*s, became the dominant class, and eventually, as the power of the central government waned, set up virtually independent kingoms.

Under Ṭughril Beg there was on the one hand an expansion northwestwards, which was facilitated by the weakness of the Byzantine empire, and on the other a consolidation of the gains made in Persia. Čaghrī Beg remained in Khurāsān and ruled in the east until his death in 452/1060. In 440/1048 Ibrāhīm Īnāl, Ṭughril's half-brother, undertook a campaign into Armenia, and in 446/1054 Ṭughril captured Ardjish and besieged Manzikert. In the following year Ṭughril entered Baghdād. Already in 429/1038, when the Saldjūḳs had first entered Nīshāpūr, al-Ḳāʾim had sent an envoy to them, and in 431/1040 after Dandanḳān, when they had written to the caliph asking him to bestow upon them the sovereignty of the lands they had already conquered, the caliph in reply had invited Ṭughril to Baghdād. Other preoccupations prevented his coming until 447/1055-6. Shortly after his entry, al-Raḥīm, the Būyid general, was seized and the rule of the Būyids brought to an end, although a branch of the family continued to rule in Yazd as Saldjūḳ governors for several years. On this occasion, however, Ṭughril was not granted an audience by the caliph: this honour was reserved until his second visit to Baghdād in 449/1058. Meanwhile in 448/ 1056 Arslān Khātūn, Dāʾūd's daughter, was betrothed to the caliph.

Al-Basāsīrī, the Shīʿī Turkish general, to whom power had passed in Baghdād on the fall of the Būyids, fled on Ṭughril's entry. He was joined by many of the Arab Shīʿī tribes on the Syrian border, and appealed to the Fāṭimids for help. Ṭughril followed him and operations took place between them in northern ʿIrāḳ in 450/1058. Ibrāhīm Īnāl seized this opportunity to rebel a second time—the first had been in 441/1049-50, when he had refused to hand Hamadān over to Ṭughril. The latter was forced to leave Mesopotamia to deal with Ibrāhīm Īnāl. Al-Basāsīrī thereupon marched on Baghdād and proclaimed the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir caliph. Al-Ḳāʾim, who had sent an urgent message to Ṭughril to return to Baghdād, took refuge with Ḳuraysh, the ʿUḳaylid, who entrusted him to Muhārish b. Badrān. Ṭughril, after he had overcome Ibrāhīm Īnāl's revolt with the help of Dāʾūd's sons, Yāḳūtī and Ḳāwurd, retook ʿIrāḳ. Al-Basāsīrī was killed and the ʿAbbāsid caliph restored, but the administration of Baghdād was taken over by Ṭughril.

The caliph's function was henceforward to occupy himself with religious leadership: temporal affairs were delegated to the sultan, though in Baghdād itself there was, to some extent, a conflict of authority.

By 451/1059 Ṭughril was master of Mesopotamia up to Syria and the Byzantine frontier, though on his death there were outbreaks of disorder by the bedouin of ʿIrāḳ. His ambitions were meanwhile growing and in 453/1061 he demanded the hand of the caliph's daughter in marriage. This caused the caliph great annoyance—even the Būyids had not demanded this of him—but after negotiations and threats the marriage contract was eventually ratified in 454/1062 outside Tabrīz. When Ṭughril came to Baghdād in the following year the caliph's daughter was taken to his residence, and when he left Baghdād in 456/1064 she accompanied him.

So far as the relations of the Saldjūḳs with local ruling families were concerned, in the early period of their expansion, the local rulers probably looked upon them as a reserve of mercenaries to draw upon in their quarrels. The payments received by them were not tribute (as they are often represented in the sources) but payments to mercenaries for their services, and when the Ghuzz left the district these payments naturally ceased. As the Saldjūḳ conquests spread in some cases the local rulers were driven out, but in many cases they were confirmed in all or part of their possessions in return for tribute. By the end of Ṭughril's reign, however, administration by Saldjūḳ officials was becoming increasingly common. In due course the former ruling familes were merged into the Saldjūḳ imperial structure. Marriage alliances were made with them and hostages were often taken to lessen the likelihood of rebellion.

The loose confederation over which Ṭughril had established some kind of central control was far from being firmly united at his death in 455/1063. In accordance with his will, Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd was declared his successor by his vizier al-Kundurī. Seeing, however, that the amirs opposed his accession, al-Kundurī proclaimed Alp Arslān, another of Dāʾūd's sons, who had been his father's chief lieutenant in the east. Yabghū b. Saldjūḳ, governor of Harāt, and Ḳutulmish, a grandson of Saldjūḳ, both rebelled and were defeated in 456/1063-4. These events probably mark a turning point in the position of the sultan: if control of the empire was to be retained, it was clear that a standing army loyal to the sultan was necessary. As the conception of an autocratic ruler replaced that of the ruling khān, and the moral basis of Saldjūḳ authority weakened, some substitute had to be found for the former tribal loyalties. To some extent the central government supplied an element of unity, but this could be effective only as long as it was supported by a strong central army. This condition was fulfilled under Alp Arslān (455/1063—465/1072) and Malikshāh (465/1072—485/1092), and the latter in particular succeeded in imposing a measure of control throughout the empire.

Under Alp Arslān conquests in the northwest continued. Partly to co-ordinate and partly to control the various groups operating on the Byzantine frontier, Alp Arslān intervened himself and took Ani in 457/1065 and laid waste Cilicia and stormed Caesarea in 459/1067. Romanus IV Diogenes mounted a counter-offensive and had some success in campaigns in 460/1068 and 461/1069, but a third campaign ended in a crushing defeat at Manzikert and his capture in 463/1071 (see C. Cahen, *La campagne de Manzikert d'après les sources musulmans*, in *Byzantion*, ix (1934), 613 ff.). In 465/1072 Alp Arslān was assassinated while on an expedition against the Ḳarakhānids. He had appointed Malikshāh his *walī ʿahd* in 458/1066 and with a view to safeguarding his accession had allocated different parts of his kingdom in the form of *iḳṭāʿ*s to various of his relatives. Nevertheless Malikshāh's accession was disputed by Ḳāwurd, the Saldjūḳ ruler of Kirmān. He was defeated and killed, but his descendants continued to rule in Kirmān. In 466/1073-4 Malikshāh marched east and turned the Ḳarakhānids out of Tirmidh and assigned Balkh and Ṭukhāristān to his brother Tekish. The latter rebelled in 473/1080-1 and again in 477/1084-5. In 470/1077-8 Malikshāh assigned Syria to another brother, Tutush. Although Malikshāh's nominal authority appears to have been recognized in Syria, he twice had to intervene in person (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1932, 20-1), but in 484/1091 Tutush came to Baghdād to pay homage to him. In 482/1089-90 Malikshāh made an expedition to the east to deal with disturbances there. During this he received the submission of the Khān of Kāshghar. Further consolidation took place inside Persia. The Shabānkāra [*q.v.*] of Fārs were subdued, the states of northwestern Persia, except Shirwān, were annexed, and the Kurdish dynasty of the Marwānids, which had played an active role in the earlier struggles between Ṭughril, Ibrāhīm Ināl and the Būyids, was brought to an end in 478/1085-6, although the last Marwānid possession was not finally lost to the Artuḳid, Husām al-Dīn Taymūrtāsh b. Īlghāzī, until 532/1137-8. Various operations were undertaken against the ʿUḳaylids, with whom earlier Ṭughril's relations had been marked by a spirit of compromise. They had by this time begun to expand westwards, but with the death of Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Ḳuraysh at Antioch in battle with Sulaymān b. Ḳutulmish in 478/1085 their power disappeared.

The decline of the ʿUḳaylids facilitated the rise of another Arab dynasty, that of the Mazyadids in Ḥilla. They were Shīʿis, as were the majority of the Arab tribes in the region, and were, generally speaking, ready to support ʿAlid movements against the Saldjūḳs, as were the Kurds of this region, who also had Shīʿī leanings. Moreover, it was the natural tendency of the tribes to support a distant ruler, in this case the Fāṭimid, rather than a near one. The Mazyadid ruler, Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaḳa b. Dubays, who succeeded his father in 479/1086, became a powerful figure in ʿIrāḳ, and became the leader of an Arab revolt against the Saldjūḳs.

An attempt to exercise a stricter control over the caliph was made by Niẓām al-Mulk, who sought to control him through the appointment of his own nominee to the caliph's vizirate. Relations with the caliph became further strained when Malikshāh's daughter, who was betrothed to al-Muḳtadī, complained of his neglect after being taken to the caliph's residence in 480/1087-8. In 484/1091 when Malikshāh came to Baghdād, he ignored the caliph's presence and demanded that he should revoke the nomination of his eldest son in favour of his son by Malikshāh's daughter and retire to Baṣra (or according to some accounts to Damascus or the Ḥidjāz). The caliph demanded a delay and was relieved of Malikshāh's demand by his assassination in 485/1093.

An important step towards strengthening and regimenting the religious institution—apart from the reaffirmation of the caliph's position as the head of the Islamic community by the early sultans, and

the limitation of his functions to the religious sphere—was the development of the *madrasas* [*q.v.*]. The initiator of this movement was Niẓām al-Mulk, whose intentions were presumably to provide government officials trained in the tenets of orthodoxy to implement his political policies and to use the *ʿulamāʾ* educated in the *madrasas* to control the masses and combat the spread of the Ismāʿīlīs. He did not found the *madrasas*, as is sometimes claimed, but he was responsible for the era of brilliance which began for them in the reign of Malik<u>sh</u>āh and caused the new *madrasas* to eclipse all other contemporary institutions of learning. Numerous *madrasas* were built by Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ rulers, their ministers, and others, partly for the reasons mentioned above, but partly also to gain the support of the *ʿulamāʾ*, in order, through them, to gain the support of the masses (see further *The interval structure of the Saljuq empire, op. cit.*)

With the failure of al-Basāsīrī to establish Fāṭimid power in Ba<u>gh</u>dād, <u>Sh</u>īʿī propaganda apparently ceased or was carried on in secret, and when the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs invaded Syria, the Fāṭimids went on the defensive. In the reign of Malik<u>sh</u>āh a revival of the Ismāʿīlī movement took place, not, perhaps, unconnected with the vigorous steps taken to strengthen the orthodox institution. His reign had brought a measure of order but it had not removed all the old discontents, and by its stricter control and insistence on greater uniformity of thought had probably brought new ones.The "new propaganda" broke away from the old over a dynastic dispute (see further B. Lewis, *The Assassins*). Its founders regarded Nizār as the successor of al-Mustanṣir instead of al-Mustaʿlī. A grandson of Nizār, who with his son was murdered in prison in Egypt, was allegedly brought up at Alamūt by Ḥasan-i Sabbāh (see M. G. Hodgson, *The order of the assassins*, the Hague 1955, 66-7). The latter and his two successors, Kiyā Buzurg Umīd (518/1124—532/1138) and Muḥammad (532/1138—557/1162) claimed only to be emissaries of the imām, but the fourth grandmaster, al-Ḥasan ʿalā <u>Dh</u>ikrihi ʾl-Salām (557/1162—561/1166), proclaimed himself to be the son of the infant brought from Egypt and the first of a new cycle of imāms. Politically the methods of the new propaganda were marked by extreme violence.The first assembly of the followers of the new propaganda took place, according to Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, in Sāva in the reign of Malik<u>sh</u>āh. In 483/1090 they gained possession of Alamūt, in the neighbourhood of Ḳazwīn, which became their headquarters. In the following year they established themselves in Ḳūhistān in east Persia. Malik<u>sh</u>āh in 485/1092 sent expeditions against them in both districts. The one despatched against Alamūt was routed by a sally by the garrison. Niẓām al-Mulk was assassinated by a Bāṭinī shortly afterwards. When Malik<u>sh</u>āh's death followed a few weeks later, the expedition withdrew. The other sent to Ḳūhistān also failed to make headway and on Malik<u>sh</u>āh's death broke up.

Malik<u>sh</u>āh and the sultans after him all left young, or fairly young, boys to succeed them, and the death of the sultan was almost always followed by struggles for supremacy among his surviving uncles, brothers, and cousins, The size of the sultan's standing army after the death of Malik<u>sh</u>āh decreased, whereas those of the amirs increased. This change in their relative strength was an invitation to the amirs to assert their independence, and especially from the death of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (525/1131) onwards the internal political history of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ empire consists largerly of a series of struggles by the amirs and atabegs to establish their supremacy over the sultan and set up virtually independent governments. Further, since the road to Asia Minor had become blocked by the Turkomans already there, and a stable Christian kingdom had been established in Georgia, the Turkomans had fewer outlets for their activities and were the more ready to join in the struggles for the throne. The incorporation into the state of the Turkoman tribes, to whom the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs for family reasons were under special obligation, had proved an intractable problem. Some had been enrolled in the service of the sultan, but the majority continued to live a semi-nomadic existence, with a general tendency to move westwards. As the basis of the power of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ state shifted from the Turkomans to slaves and freedmen, the position of the Turkomans in relation to the rest of the population worsened. Apart from Syria and Anatolia, the main concentrations of Turkomans were to be found in Gurgān, the <u>Dj</u>azīra, ʿIrāḳ and Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān, and to a lesser extent <u>Kh</u>ūzistān. The weakening of the Great Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ empire on the death of Malik<u>sh</u>āh and the subsequent dissolution of the kingdom created by Tutu<u>sh</u> in Syria to some extent restored the freedom of the Turkomans and several of them succeeded, within a few years, in founding independent principalities. The fact that some of them, such as Īl<u>gh</u>āzī b. Artuḳ [see ARTUḲIDS] were officers of the sultan, helped them to transform themselves quickly into small territorial princes when the central authority declined.

On the death of Malik<u>sh</u>āh, his wife Turkān <u>Kh</u>ātūn succeeded in putting her son Maḥmūd on the throne. He was nominally sultan for some two years (485/1092—487/1094), but Turkān <u>Kh</u>ātūn was ultimately unable to defeat the opposition which gathered round Barkyāruḳ. Ismāʿīl b. Yāḳūtī, Barkyāruḳ's maternal uncle, in response to an appeal from Turkān <u>Kh</u>ātūn, marched against Barkyāruḳ with an army from Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān and Arrān, of which provinces he had been governor under Malik<u>sh</u>āh. He was defeated. Turkān <u>Kh</u>ātūn's death in 487/1094 was followed shortly afterwards by that of Maḥmūd. Tutu<u>sh</u> also made a determined effort to obtain the sultanate, but was finally defeated and killed by Barkyāruḳ in 488/1095. This was the last attempt to unite Syria with Persia and the eastern provinces. The Great Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ sultan continued for a time to be recognized nominally in Syria, but the control he exercised was negligible. By 490/1097 Barkyāruḳ had obtained possession of <u>Kh</u>urāsān, of which his uncle, Arslān Ar<u>gh</u>ū, had made himself master on the death of Malik<u>sh</u>āh, and was recognized over the whole of Persia except Kirmān, and in ʿIrāḳ. In 492/1098-9 his brother Muḥammad rebelled. After many vicissitudes, in 497/1103-4, Barkyāruḳ established a slight superiority but at the cost of disorder throughout the country and a decline in the prestige of the sultanate. By the terms of the peace Muḥammad's status was virtually that of an independent ruler in Arrān, Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān, Diyār Bakr, the <u>Dj</u>azīra, Mawṣil and Syria. San<u>dj</u>ar in <u>Kh</u>urāsān was also to read the *<u>kh</u>uṭba* in his name.

The internecine strife between the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ princes on the death of Malik<u>sh</u>āh enabled the Bāṭinīs to strengthen their position. In 489/1096 they obtained possession of Girdkūh, situated near Dam<u>gh</u>ān on the main route from <u>Kh</u>urāsān to western Persia. About the same time they also seized <u>Sh</u>āhdiz just outside Iṣfahān, whence they threatened the capital itself. About 493/1100 they infiltrated Barkyāruḳ's court and army. Eventually the sultan (who had him-

self been accused of Ismāʿīlī sympathies) gave permission for measures to be taken against them. In 494-5/1101 he came to an agreement with Sandjar, who had been governor of Khurāsān since 492/1098, for combined action against them, and an expedition was sent by Sandjar to Ḳūhistān, which achieved some success, as did another expedition three years later.

On the death of Barkyāruḳ in 498/1105, although he had nominated his son Malikshāh as his successor, his brother Muḥammad soon established himself as sultan. The Great Saldjūḳ sultanate once more extended over the whole of Persia with the exception of Kirmān, which continued under the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān. Muḥammad's reign did something to restore the prestige of the sultanate, but the unity of the empire was never again effectively imposed. Fārs was pacified by Čawli Saḳao, who was governor from 498/1104—500/1106 and 502/1109—510/1117. Sandjar nominally governor of Khurāsān on behalf of Muḥammad, was, in fact, all but independent, and engaged in consolidating his position, which was to enable him to make himself sultan after the death of Muḥammad. Ṣadaḳa b. Dubays, who had encouraged the internal dissensions of the Saldjūḳ empire in order to establish his own independence, rebelled in 501/1107 but was killed in battle. With his death the Arab revolt collapsed. That his son Dubays was appointed to succeed him, although in keeping with the Saldjūḳ policy of toleration and compromise, is, perhaps, also indicative of the inability of the Saldjūḳs to administer the Arab tribal districts except through their own leaders.

Operations against the Bāṭinis, which under Barkyāruḳ had not been seriously pressed, were prosecuted vigorously. In 500/1106-7 Muḥammad undertook in person successful operations against them in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān. Shāhdiz was captured after a prolonged siege. Muḥammad then sent an expedition to Alamūt. Operations continued for eight years and the castle was on the point of falling when it was saved by Muḥammad's death. Ismāʿīlī fortresses near Arradjān in Fārs were also taken.

On the death of Muḥammad, although he had nominated his son Maḥmūd as his successor, Sandjar was generally regarded as the head of the family. Maḥmūd ruled in the west from 511/1118 to 525/1131, but his rule was disputed at different times and in different districts by his brothers, Masʿūd, Tughril, and Sulaymān Shāh and their atabegs, and in 513/1119 Sandjar intervened and defeated him at Sāva. Sandjar, however, returned to Khurāsān and allowed Maḥmūd to rule in the west. Although he and his successors used the title sultan, their status was that of *malik*s. Various Saldjūḳ princes on their own initiative, or on the initiative of different amirs and atabegs, rebelled against Maḥmūd and his successors. Sandjar was forced to interfere on a number of occasions, but proved unable to restrain the increasing ambitions of the amirs and atabegs or to prevent the ultimate fragmentation of the empire, preoccupied as he was by the increasing pressure on the eastern frontier from the Ḳarā Khitāys and the growing strength of the Khwārazmshāh. He suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the former in 536/1141, and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Atsiz, who had succeeded his father Muḥammad b. Anūsh Takīn as governor of Khwārazm in 521/1127, temporarily occupied parts of Khurāsān after Sandjar's defeat.

The caliphs also took part in the family quarrels of the Saldjūḳs, and as the caliph emerged again as a military power the amirs began to join him as they joined the other temporal leaders. After the death of Muḥammad b. Malikshāh a triangular struggle took place for the possession of ʿIrāḳ between the caliph and al-Bursuḳī against Dubays, who was later joined by the atabeg ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, ruler of Mawṣil since 521/1127, with the sultan playing an uneasy part in the background. The first caliph to assemble an army and lead it in person in Saldjūḳ times was al-Mustarshid (512/1118-529/1135). Finally, on the death of Masʿūd b. Muḥammad in 547/1152, al-Muktafī established himself as the dominant power in ʿIrāḳ, exercising both temporal and religious power.

During the disorders which followed the death of Muḥammad, the Ismāʿīlīs were to some extent able to recover their position in Ḳūhistān and northern Persia, though Ḥaṣan-i Sabbāḥ died in 518/1124. In 520/1126 Sandjar resumed operations against them in Ḳūhistān. These were only partially successful, and the Ismāʿīlīs, benefiting from the preoccupations of Sandjar on the eastern frontiers and with the Ghuzz in Khurāsān, were able again to increase their power. The fact that the Ghuzz became increasingly restive and intractable towards the end of Sandjar's reign was partly due to an increase in their numbers brought about by a southward movement of the Ghuzz who had remained in Central Asia, which was occasioned by the expansion of the Ḳarā Khitāy into Transoxania. The control of the frontier against the inroads of the Ghuzz became increasingly difficult, and in 548/1153 battle was joined with them. Sandjar was defeated and held captive for over two years, during which the central government in Khurāsān broke down and the province was overrun by the Ghuzz. Sandjar escaped in 551/1156 but died the following year.

With the death of Sandjar, the Khwārazmshāh Īl Arslān, who succeeded his father Atsiz in 551/1156, emerged as the most powerful ruler in the eastern provinces. He was, however, unable to establish his undisputed rule against the Ghuzz who had defeated Sandjar, and was nominally a tributary of the Ḳarā Khitāy. In the west the Saldjūḳ empire had split into warring principalities. In Mawṣil the Atabegs looked west and were largely occupied in a struggle with the Crusaders. In ʿIrāḳ the caliph was disputing supremacy with the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ, while in Luristān and Ādharbāydjān atabeg dynasties were establishing themselves, and in Fārs the Salgharids came to power. The last named, whose rule in Fārs began about 543/1148, were descended from Salghar, a Turkoman chief who had been one of Ṭughril Beg's *ḥādjib*s. They were a successful and popular local house under whom considerable prosperity prevailed.

Īl Arslān's death in 567/1172 was followed by civil war. His son, Tekish, finally established himself as Khwārazmshāh and when the power of the Ḳarā Khitāys weakened towards the end of the 6th/12th century, he became independent. About 588/1192 the caliph al-Nāṣir appealed to Tekish for help against Ṭughril, the last of the Saldjūḳ sultans of ʿIrāḳ. They defeated him in 590/1194 near Rayy. Tekish proved a more formidable rival to the caliph than Ṭughril, and towards the end of his reign he demanded that the *khuṭba* should be read in Baghdād in his name. In 592/1196 fighting took place between the Khwārazmshāh's army and the caliph's to the disadvantage of the latter and skirmishes continued between them for the next few years until Tekish's death in 596/1200.

This conflict with the caliph played a part in alienating the religious classes and the population from the Khwārazmshāh.

Muḥammad b. Tekish, who succeeded, came into collision with the Ghūrids, who invaded Khurāsān about 597/1200-1. They were eventually worsted and by 612/1215-16 their territories had been annexed by the Khwārazmshāh. Some years earlier, about 607/1210-11, the Ḳarā Khitāy were turned out of Transoxania, and in 612/1215-16 the Khwārazmshāh undertook a campaign against the Kipchaks. On this occasion Muḥammad came into contact with the Mongol vanguard for the first time. Meanwhile Muḥammad reiterated Tekish's demand that the *khuṭba* be read in Baghdād in the name of the Khwārazmshāh, but met with an uncompromising refusal. He then declared the caliph a usurper and marched on ʿIrāḳ. In 614/1217 he defeated successively the Salgharids of Fārs and the atabegs of Ādharbāydjān, but in the winter of that year an army sent from Hamadān to Baghdād was annihilated by the Kurds. The threat of trouble in Khwārazm, led by the religious classes, forced Muḥammad to leave the west before he could make good his defeat. After his return to Khwārazm, hostility between him and his mother, Turkān Khātūn, who had placed herself at the head of the opposing faction, became open. The army, composed largely of Kipchaks and Kangli Turks (who were not, as had been the slave troops of the Saldjūḳs, thoroughly familiar with Islam), was also riddled with faction, and there was a standing opposition between them and the Persian element.

In, or about 615/1218 Čingiz Khān sent a body of merchants to gather information about the empire of the Khwārazmshāh. When they reached Uṭrār they were plundered and put to death by the local governor with the connivance of the Khwārazmshāh. Čingiz sent envoys to Muḥammad's court to protest, threatening war if satisfaction was not given. One of the envoys was murdered and the other two were sent back with their beards shaved off. This action precipitated the Mongol invasion. In the subsequent operations the Khwārazmshāh retreated before the Mongols, and many of his troops deserted to the Mongols. Uṭrār, Bukhārā, Uzkand, Djand, Banākat, Khudjand, Samarḳand, Balkh, and Marv were sacked and their inhabitants massacred. Nishāpūr fell in 618/1221. Muḥammad had meanwhile retired to Ḳazwīn, and thence to Gīlān and Māzandarān. He eventually fled to the island of Abasgūn in the Caspian where he died in 617/1220-1.

Dissension and faction prevailed in Khwārazm. Muḥammad's son, Djalāl al-Dīn Mengubirdi, was unable to establish himself. Fighting a rearguard action, he eventually crossed the Indus (618/1221). The Mongols pushed on through northern Persia and left through the Caucasian Gate near Darband in 620/1223. Djalāl al-Dīn, having failed to deprive the slave kings of Delhi of their kingdom, returned some three years later from India to Kirmān, and thence to Fārs and the Djibāl. He clashed with the caliph and the atabeg of Ādharbāydjān, and having defeated the latter made a foray into Georgia, and embarked on a struggle with the Ayyūbids, who were split by internal dissensions. He seized Akhlāṭ, but was defeated in 627-8/1230 near Erzindjān. With the accession of Ogedei in 626/1229 the respite given by the death of Čingiz in 624/1227 came to an end and a new Mongol attack was launched in 627/1230. Djalāl al-Dīn, unable to regroup his forces, fled to Diyār Bakr, and was murdered by a Kurdish peasant in 628-9/1231.

By the death of Ogedei in 638/1241 the Mongols had overrun northern Persia and had made further conquests in northern Mesopotamia, Georgia, Arrān and Armenia. After his death, the Mongol advance was temporarily held up by dissensions. At the *kuriltay* in 649/1251 Hūlāgū (Hülegü) was appointed to lead an expedition to occupy all the territories between the Oxus and the extreme limits of Egypt, and entrusted with hereditary rights of sovereignty as the representative of the Great Khān in the conquered lands. After lengthy preparations he set out and crossed the Oxus in 653/1256. He was joined at Kish in 654/1256 by Arghūn Āḳā, who had been appointed governor of Persia by Möngke. One of the Hūlāgū's first steps to consolidate Mongol domination in Persia was to exterminate the Ismāʿīlīs, who had by this time become virtually territorial princes, and as such made and changed alliances with other local rulers. He overthrew their strongholds in Ḳūhistān and in 654/1256 took Alamūt and sent Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, the grandmaster, to Karakorum, where he was put to death. Thenceforward the Ismāʿīlīs survived in Persia only as a minor sect (see further B. Lewis, *op. cit.*).

From Hamadān Hūlāgū called upon the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim to surrender to the Mongols. His reply was considered unsatisfactory, and Hūlāgū marched on Baghdād. After a siege of some fifty days it fell and was sacked. The caliph and those of his family who could be found were put to death. Hūlāgū then pushed on to Ādharbāydjān and made his headquarters at Marāgha. In 657/1259 he set out for Syria and took Aleppo in 658/1260, and Damascus surrendered. On news of the death of Möngke (657/1259), Hūlāgū returned to Mongolia, leaving an army in Syria. Its defeat at ʿAyn Djālūt by the Mamlūks in 658/1260 stayed the Mongol advance on Egypt. The Mongol empire now split up. Berke, who ruled in the Kipchak steppe, sought to assert his supremacy over Hūlāgū and invaded Persia via Darband and Shirwān, but was defeated in 660/1262. In the following year Abāḳā, Hūlāgū's son, invaded Berke's territory but was defeated and retired to Dāghistān. Hūlāgū meanwhile died in 663/1265 (for details of the Mongol invasion see Bartold, op. cit., and J. A. Boyle, *Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v).

The Mongol invasion was carried out by a horde organized for war with the deliberate intention of imposing political domination. Its immediate effect was the devastation and depopulation of the eastern provinces of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. ʿIrāḳ, once the metropolitan province of the ʿAbbāsid empire, did not recover for centuries. (See further I. P. Petrushevsky, *The socio-economic condition of Iran under the Il-Khāns*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v). Only Fārs partially escaped by the timely payment of tribute. The invasion also altered the balance of population by introducing new Turkish tribes, brought about a widespread extension of nomadism leading to the destruction of agriculture and urban life, and sharpened the dichotomy between *turk* and *tādjīk* and between settled and semi-settled. In the early period of Mongol domination the conquerors lived apart from the local population in tents and encampments. The Mongol leaders and their ministers owned large flocks, which were placed under the care of officials called *ḳāʾānčīs*. Their depredations were a constant source of anxiety to the settled people. The practice of reserving pasturage for the Mongol army was also a burden on the local people. A new feature of society was the extent to

which the Mongol leaders personally indulged in trade (cf. *Dastūr al-Kātib*, 203 ff.). The Yāsā of Čingiz Khān was followed by the early Īlkhāns, as the rulers of the dynasty founded by Hūlāgū were called, and quoted by the later rulers. New practices and taxes, notably *ķubčūr*, originally a cattle tax and later a fixed tax on peasants and nomads, *ķalān*, a land tax, possibly levied partly in the form of labour service, and *ṭamghā*, a tax on trade and urban crafts, possibly originally a poll-tax on urban dwellers and merchants, were introduced. The Mongol leaders, or some of them, and their wives, and the religious leaders enjoyed certain immunities from taxation. The administration was largely in the hands of officials who had served preceding dynasties, and the new customs were in due course to a large extent assimilated to existing Islamic and customary usages. With the conversion of the Mongols to Islam there was a reassertion of the traditional theory and practices of government. The head of the bureaucratic administration was known as the *ṣāḥib dīwān*, whose duties were similar to those of the traditional vizier.

As Persian rulers, the Īlkhāns were subject to the same limitations as other dynasties which ruled in Persia. They were faced with the problem of defence against the peoples of Central Asia and Turkistān in spite of the fact that there were now Mongols on both sides of the Oxus. They were also confronted with a second problem of defence, namely the maintenance of the Caucasus frontier. This region formed a bulwark in the defence of the region to the north and the south of it and was repeatedly fought over by the Īlkhāns and the Golden Horde, and later from the 10th/16th century to the 12th/18th by the Ṣafavids, and in the 19th century was disputed by Russia, the heir to the Golden Horde, and finally obtained by her (see further B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1955). In the west the Īlkhāns sought to expand by overthrowing the Mamlūks in Syria and Palestine, but they were unable to establish their domination outside the western frontier of Mesopotamia, which became the geo-political boundary of Persia.

The reign of Abāķā, who succeeded Hūlāgū, was spent in ceaseless campaigns against the Golden Horde, in repelling attacks from Transoxania, and operations against the Mamlūks, which ended in a Mongol defeat at Mardj al-Safar in 680/1281. Abāķā's successor, Tegüder, the seventh son of Hūlāgū, announced his conversion to Islam after his accession and took the name Aḥmad. It is possible that this was a political gesture to be seen against the failure of the Mongols to take Syria (see Spuler, *op. cit.*, 78). Whether this is so or not, Tegüder Aḥmad's policy of favouring Islam caused unrest among the Mongol leaders to whose support he owed his accession. Civil war broke out and Arghūn seized the throne in 683/1284. During his reign, an abortive attempt was made to enlist support in Europe for a common crusade against Islam. Internally there was a marked improvement in the position of the Christian and Jewish communities and an increase in their influence. Arghūn was succeeded by his brother Gaykhātū in 690/1291. His reign, which is marked by numerous rebellions and losses to the Mamlūks, is chiefly remarkable for growing financial stringency, and the disastrous attempt to solve this by the introduction of paper money known as *čao*. Baydū, a grandson of Hūlāgū, governor of ʿIrāķ, seized power in 694/1295, but was eventually overthrown by Ghāzān, who was then governor of Khurāsān, in 694/1295. Ghāzān made a public profession of Islam after his victory.

Under Ghāzān (694/1295—703/1304) the Īlkhāns reached their height. The links between them and the Great Khān, which had already been greatly weakened though still borne witness to on the coinage and in documents, were finally broken. This was partly because of Ghāzān's conversion and partly because of the disintegration of the Mongol empire on the death of Kubilay in 694-5/1294. In 695/1295-6 the Čaghatay Khān Duwa b. Baraķ invaded Khurāsān from Transoxania. Financial stringency had not been relieved and a compulsory loan had to be made on the inhabitants of Tabrīz to enable a force to be sent to expel the invaders. Duwa subsequently seized Ghazna and part of Sīstān and Balkh, whence he invaded India. In 698/1298-99 he invaded Fārs and penetrated to Kāzirūn. An attack by the Mamlūks on Asia Minor in 697-8/1298 was followed by a Mongol invasion of Syria. The Mamlūks were defeated near Ḥimṣ in 699/1299 and Damascus temporarily occupied. In 700/1301 the Mongols of the Golden Horde attacked from the Caucasus via Darband but were repulsed. In 703/1303 another expedition was made against the Mamlūks, ending in defeat at Mardj al-Safar. This was the last attempt by the Īlkhāns to extend their borders to include Syria.

Ghāzān's reign, although a period of military expeditions, was also a period of reform and reorganization, but his reign was too short fully to subordinate the Turko-Mongol tribal element to settled government or to repair the ravages committed during the rule of the earlier Īlkhāns, which had brought about the ruin of agriculture. During the reign of Arghūn there had been an increase in maladministration and extortion. By the accession of Ghāzān, the administration had fallen to a low ebb and the finances of the state were in a critical condition. Farming of the revenue was common, as also were confiscations, extraordinary levies (*nemarī*), and the demand of taxes in advance. Peculation was widespread. Officials of all kinds lived on the country, and the requisitions by *ilčīs*, *i.e.*, envoys and officials despatched by the central government on official business, who travelled through the country with large trains, were a crying evil. Owing to the fact that the treasury was usually empty, the practice of writing drafts on the country had reached unprecedented proportions, and as their realization became increasingly difficult it became the custom to send military expeditions to collect them. Public order also fell to a low ebb: large numbers of fugitive slaves and disaffected elements roamed the countryside (Rashīd al-Dīn in the *Taʾrīkh-i Ghāzānī* gives a vivid account of contemporary conditions).

Realising the difficulty of altering established habits, Ghāzān attacked abuses gradually. He first prohibited the writing of drafts on the peasantry, and reorganised the assessment and collection of taxation. Rashīd al-Dīn, who in all probability played an important part in initiating these policies, claims that as a result the revenue came in and civil and military expenses were paid. The improvement, however, did not last after Ghāzān's reign (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ķulūb*, transl. G. Le Strange, pp. 32-3). The Mongol invasion had brought about great insecurity in matters of tenure and a new expansion of crown lands in the form of *dalāy* lands, *i.e.*, lands which were the property of the ruler, and *indjū* lands, *i.e.*, the appanages of his relatives and the Mongol leaders. Ghāzān attempted to give security of tenure to those in undisputed

possession of land by obtaining a *fatwā* giving validity to the provision in Čingiz Khān's *yāsā*, by which all land claims lapsed after thirty years, and by putting a stop on transactions in land the tenure of which was disputed. The pay of the army was also reorganized and in 703/1303 he reintroduced with modifications the old system of land assignments (*iḳṭā*ʿs) to the soldiery (see further *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, and I. P. Petrushevsky, *op. cit.*).

With the death of Ghāzān in 703/1304 decline set in. There were no more expeditions to Syria. The Turkish rulers in Asia Minor began to throw off Mongol rule. Fārs and Kirmān became increasingly independent. Öljeytü (703/1304—716/1316), who transferred his capital to Sulṭāniyya, failed to complete the reforms of Ghāzān. The empire was divided into rival factions, the most powerful of which were the Čūpānids [*q.v.*] and the Djalāʾirs [*q.v.*]. Ghāzān was succeeded by a child, Abū Saʿid (716/1316-736/1335), after whose reign the Īlkhān empire broke up, various amirs and provincial governors asserting their independence. (For details of the rule of the Īlkhāns see further J. A. Boyle, *op. cit.*). A period of restless strivings and repeated expeditions by the different leaders to extend their domains at the expense of their rivals ensued. In the east in Harāt there were the Karts [*q.v.*] and in Luristān the Atabegs, also called the Hazāraspids [*q.v.*], both of whom pre-dated the Īlkhāns and acted as their governors in the heyday of Īlkhān power. In ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān there were the Djalāʾirs, whose founder Ḥasan-i Buzurg first attempted to rule through a series of puppet khāns, and in Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam the Indjūids *q.v.* and the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*], who were perhaps the most successful of the succession states, although internecine strife eventually caused their decay. Their main centres of power were Fārs, Yazd and Kirmān. In the last-named province they succeeded the Ḳutlugh Khāns (the Ḳarā Khitāyiyān), whose founder, Baraḳ Ḥādjib, had established himself in Kirmān after the overthrow of the Khwārazmshāh by the Mongols. He and his successors ruled as Mongol governors. The last of the Ḳutlugh Khāns, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shāh Djahān, died in 703/1303-4. One of the most interesting of the succession states was the Sarbadārid in Sabzawār. They, like the Sayyids of Marʿash, who also established themselves as small local rulers, appear to have based their power partly on a "popular" movement (see further, I. P. Petrushevsky, *Sarbadārids*, translated by Muḥammad Karim Kishāvarz, in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamin*, x, 1-4 (1962). All of these local rulers, except the Djalāʾirs, who survived in Lower Mesopotamia until 835-6/1432, were extinguished by Tīmūr, if they had not already disappeared.

The Čaghatāy khānate, which bordered the Īlkhān kingdom on the north-east, had been temporarily usurped by Ḳaydū, Ogedei's grandson. It was recovered by Duwa b. Baraḳ on Ḳaydū's death in 700-1/1301. It consisted of two parts: the western part formed by the oases of the Oxus-Jaxartes basin, excluding the lower course of the Oxus in Khwārazm which belonged to Djoči's khānate, and the eastern part, comprising the Zungarian steppes and known as Mughulistān. In the former the Mongols ruled over a sedentary Muslim population, but in the latter the Čaghatāy khāns were the leaders of pagan nomads. In Mughulistān the Mongol khāns retained their domination, but in Transoxania power passed into the hands of the local Turkish amirs, the most influential of whom in the 9th/14th century was Ḳazaghān, who seized power in 747/1346-7 and ruled some twelve years. His death was followed by an uninterrupted period of war and strife between the Turkish and Mongol khāns of western Turkistān. About 761/1360 Tughluḳ Tīmūr, the newly converted Eastern Čaghatāy khān, sought to assert his dominion over the western as well as the eastern part of the Čaghatāy khānate.

Among the conflicting parties and interests, Tīmūr gradually established himself as the defender of the Islamic borderlands against these renewed attacks from Central Asia. At first, not strong enough to show uncompromising resistance to the invaders, he made terms with Tughluḳ Tīmūr, who gave him Kish as a *suyūrghāl*. He then entered into an alliance with Amīr Ḥusayn, the ruler of Balkh. The next few years (763/1362—769/1367) were a period of great confusion, in which the struggle between the Mongol and Turkish leaders ebbed and flowed. In 766-7/1365 Tīmūr and Amir Ḥusayn, after being defeated by Ilyās Khwādja Tughluḳ Tīmūr's successor, abandoned Samarḳand, which was, however, successfully defended by the townspeople under the leadership of the ʿ*ulamā*ʾ. When they eventually returned to Samarḳand,, conflict broke out between them. Tīmūr was forced to retire to Khurāsān, but when a new Mongol attack threatened, Amīr Ḥusayn was reconciled to him. The Mongol threat proved to be only temporary, and Tīmūr now turned against his erstwhile ally and took Balkh in 771-2/1370. Although Tīmūr's military power was based on the nomads of western Turkistān, since they were closely linked to the settled population through commercial interests and the protection of the caravan routes, and their chiefs were beginning to acquire property in the towns and to be more fully islamicized, he served, at this period, the interests of both the nomads and the settled population: to the former, who had been rent by squabbles among themselves, he gave cohesion and unity and to the latter security to pursue their commercial activities and to continue their religious life.

Tīmūr's next step was to take the offensive against the nomads of eastern Turkistān, and in a series of campaigns between c. 771/1369—782/1380 he defeated both them and the Kipchaks in Khwārazm. He then turned his arms against the interior of the *dār al-islām*. In 782/1380-1 he invaded Persia, subduing Khurāsān, Māzandarān, and Sīstān. In 786/1384-5 he made a second expedition into Persia, invading Māzandarān again and pushing on to Ādharbāydjān, ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, and Georgia, coming back via Shirāz and Iṣfahān. In 790/1388, the Kipchaks under Tukatmish overran the oases of the Oxus-Jaxartes basin up to Samarḳand, but withdrew when Tīmūr returned from Fārs. Two years later, he pursued them into the Kipchak steppe and defeated them at Urtapa in 793/1391. He then went again to Fārs and thence to ʿIrāḳ, Armenia, and Georgia, which he subjugated (795/1393 to 798/1396), before returning once more to Samarḳand. From the spring of 800/1398 to the spring of 801/1399 he was occupied in his Indian campaign and the following autumn (802/1399) he set out for Asia Minor on his most famous campaign, which culminated in the defeat of the Ottomans at the battle of Ankara in 804/1402 and the capture of the Ottoman sultan, Bāyazid. In the following year Tīmūr raided Georgia and in 806-7/1404 returned to Samarḳand, whence he set out for China, but died en route at Uṭrār in 807/1405 (see further H. Hookham, *Tamburlaine the conqueror*, London 1962, and R. Grousset, *Les empires Mongoles*).

Tīmūr's empire looked back to the Mongols, but although many of its institutions derive from

Mongol practice, his administration had an Islamic veneer and alongside the begs (or amirs), *nā'ib*s, *yasaḳlik* (public guards), *yasā'ul*s (officers charged with the keeping of the public peace), *dārūghā*s, falconers, hunters, and so on, were the whole range of officials known in pre-Mongol times. Under Ḥasan Bāyḳara a sophisticated bureaucratic administration existed, at the head of which was the *dīwān-i aʿlā*, responsible for military and civil affairs. A special *dīwān*, the *dīwān-i buzurg-i imārat* under a *dīwānbegī*, dealt with Turkish and military affairs (see further, ʿAbd Allāh Marwārdi, *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. H. R. Roemer, Wiesbaden 1952). In military affairs Tīmūr carried on Mongol tradition but introduced certain innovations. Although he started his career as the defender of the sedentary Islamised population of western Turkistān against the nomads of eastern Turkistān these terms are relative: the basis of Tīmūr's military power was the nomadic tribes, who made regular summer and winter migrations in which the whole horde took part. Clavijo gives a vivid description of Tīmūr and his horde (*Clavijo: Embassy to Tamerlaine*, 1403-1406, ed. G. Le Strange, Broadway Travellers, 1928, 191 ff.). Their flocks were numbered for taxation. Tradesmen and craftsmen followed the armies, supplying their needs, and the booty obtained in campaigns was bartered and sold in these bazaars. Colonies of workmen were transplanted to Tabrīz and Samarḳand from Syria, China, and other parts of Persia. Artisans were organised in guilds. Some of these were forced to give free labour for the ruler, and in time of war were requisitioned. Samarḳand became under Tīmūr a great industrial and commercial centre. Silk, glass, ceramics, and paper were manufactured there. Trade, which had fallen off since the conversion of the Mongols to Islam, was encouraged with China, India, Persia and Syria. Tabrīz became an important entrepôt.

Tīmūr's religious policy appears to have been dictated by political expediency. In Khurāsān he supported strict orthodoxy but in Syria he appeared as the defender of ʿAlī and the *imām*s. Two important darwish orders, the Niʿmatullāhī and the Nakhshbandī, were founded during his reign. There was a trend towards a closer control of the religious institution which was continued under the Turkoman dynasties of the Black Sheep and the White Sheep and reached its culmination under the Ṣafavids. *Sharʿī* officials were placed under the supervision of a new official known as the *ṣadr*, who was entrusted with their dismissal and appointment, the upkeep of mosques, *madrasa*s, graveyards, and *khānḳāh*s, and whose duty, in general, was to further right religion (see especially document 9 in the *Sharaf-nāma*, *op. cit.*).

On Tīmūr's death internecine strife broke out, from which two main kingdoms emerged. Mīrān Shāh, the third son of Tīmūr, and his sons Abū Bakr and Muḥammad ʿUmar, obtained western Persia, with their main centres at Tabrīz and Baghdād, and Shāhrukh, Tīmūr's fourth son, Khurāsān, to which he subsequently added Transoxania. The Tīmūrid state in western Persia did not last long: the Djalā'irs recovered Baghdād and the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, whom Tīmūr had driven out of Armenia, returned to that province and in 810-11/1408 invaded Ādharbāydjān and defeated Mīrānshāh near Tabrīz. Two years later they took Baghdād from the Djalā'irs and found themselves masters of the western part of Tīmūr's empire. The eastern branch ruled rather longer. Shāhrukh (807/1404—850/1447) took Transoxania from one of his nephews and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam and Fārs from another, thus uniting eastern Persia under his rule. He subsequently attacked the Black Sheep, occupied Ādharbāydjān, and penetrated Armenia, but was unable to defeat the Black Sheep decisively and was forced to leave them in effective possession of Armenia, Ādharbāydjān, and Baghdād (see further below). Shāhrukh was faced by numerous revolts and on his death his kingdom rapidly disintegrated, to fall in part to the Black Sheep and in part to the Uzbegs, who invaded Transoxania at the turn of the 9th/15th century. In spite of the political decline, a brilliant cultural revival took place in Harāt under the successors of Tīmūr and continued down to the end of the dynasty.

Bibliography: In view of the general character of the above article, for detailed bibliographical information reference should be made to the historical, geographical, ethnological, and religious articles dealing with Persia. (A. K. S. Lambton)

(b) Turkomans to Present Day

The devastating campaigns of Tīmūr in Iran between 783/1381—807/1404 swept away the minor dynasties which had sprung up in various parts of the country after the Mongol invasions, and left a political and social vacuum from the Oxus to the Euphrates. In this vacuum, various rival forces fought for supremacy for nearly a century. The establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty in 907/1501-2 led to the re-integration of Iran and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab under one stable administration, certainly for the first time since the break-up of the Īlkhānid empire, *ca.* 736/1335, and, if one takes into consideration the important city of Harāt, virtually for the first time since the invasions of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*].

At the time of the death of Tīmūr in 807/1405, his descendants found themselves in secure possession only of Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, outside Transoxania itself. In the course of the next fifteen years, however, Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr successively annexed the provinces of Gurgān and Māzandarān (809/1406-7), Fārs (817/1414-15), and Kirmān (819/1416-17), and in 823/1420-1 felt strong enough to invade Ādharbāydjān, which had passed into the hands of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (Black Sheep) Turkomans.

The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu group of nomadic Turkoman tribes, like their rivals the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (White Sheep) Turkoman group, had settled in Saldjūḳ times in Armenia, Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia. In the second half of the 8th/14th century, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu moved eastwards into north-west Iran, and established themselves in the region of Lake Van as vassals of the Djalā'irids [*q.v.*]. In about 792/1390 the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu *amīr* Ḳara Yūsuf seized Tabrīz and declared his independence of the Djalā'irid sultan. Both rulers were dispossessed by Tīmūr, but regained control of Ādharbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab respectively within a few years of the death of Tīmūr.

Ḳara Yūsuf rapidly enlarged the area under Ḳara Ḳoyunlu control. In 812/1410 he subjugated Diyār Bakr, held by the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. In 813/1410 he defeated Sultan Aḥmad Djalā'ir and annexed the whole of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab except for a small area of southern ʿIrāḳ. He asserted his authority over various local rulers in Shīrwān and Georgia. In 822/1419 he invaded ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam and expelled the Tīmūrid officers from the cities of Sulṭāniyya, Ṭārum, Ḳazwīn and Sāwa. Ḳara Yūsuf had made the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu the dominant power in western Iran, ruling directly over Ādharbāydjān,

ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab, and parts of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, while the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu of Diyār Bakr, and the Shīrwānshāh, acknowledged their suzerainty.

Ḳara Yūsuf's death in 823/1420 was followed by dissension among his sons, and Shāhrukh was able to subjugate Ādharbāydjān. The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu carried on a guerrilla war against the Tīmūrids, and in 832/1429, and again in 839/1435, Shāhrukh was forced to return to Ādharbāydjān to stabilise the situation. The Tīmūrid governor was replaced by a Ḳara Ḳoyunlu prince subservient to Shāhrukh.

Shāhrukh [*q.v.*], whose reign had represented a measure of stability and reconstruction, died in 850/1447. The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu leader Djahānshāh immediately went over to the offensive and, taking advantage of divisions among the Tīmūrids, extended the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire to its greatest extent. He seized Sulṭāniyya and Ḳazwīn in 850/1447, overran the whole of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam and Fārs within the space of a few months in 856/1452, and in 862/1458 occupied Harāt, the capital of Tīmūrid Khurāsān. A revolt in Ādharbāydjān forced Djahānshāh to cede Khurāsān to the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd, who transferred his capital from Samarḳand to Harāt, but Djahānshāh continued to rule over Ādharbāydjān, the two ʿIrāḳs, Fārs, the shores of the Sea of ʿUmān, Kirmān, Sarīr, Armenia, and Georgia, until his death in 872/1468.

During the reign of Djahānshāh a new contender for power in Iran appeared in the shape of the Ṣafawids. Under the leadership of Djunayd [*q.v.*] (851/1447—864/1460), the now strongly Shīʿī Ṣafawid movement entered a new militant phase, and for the first time its leaders aspired to temporal power. Djahānshāh considered the threat so real that he ordered Djunayd to disperse his forces and depart from Ardabīl; should he fail to comply, Ardabīl would be destroyed. Djunayd fled, and ultimately took refuge at the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu court in Diyār Bakr (861-3/1456-9). The political advantages of an alliance against their mutual enemy, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, led the militantly Shīʿī Djunayd and the zealously orthodox Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan to sink their religious differences, and to cement their alliance by the marriage of Djunayd to Uzun Ḥasan's sister. Djunayd was killed in battle in Shirwān in 864/1460, but his successor Ḥaydar maintained the close alliance between the Ṣafawids and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu by marrying Uzun Ḥasan's daughter.

In 872/1468 the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu ruler Djahānshāh attacked Uzun Ḥasan. He was defeated, and the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire was overthrown. The Tīmūrid ruler Abū Saʿīd saw this as an opportunity to extend his authority westwards from Khurāsān, but he too was defeated by Uzun Ḥasan, and put to death. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu thus succeeded to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire in Iran, ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab, Diyār Bakr and Armenia, but an attempted Aḳ Ḳoyunlu *coup* at Harāt was frustrated by Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā [*q.v.*], whose occupation of Harāt in 875/1470 inaugurated a period of some thirty-five years of relatively stable and prosperous Tīmūrid rule in Khurāsān. Uzun Ḥasan also had aspirations to extend his empire westwards, but, after some initial success against the Ottomans, he was decisively defeated in 878/1473.

The death of Uzun Ḥasan in 882/1478 marked the beginning of Aḳ Ḳoyunlu decline, as rival princes, supported by, and sometimes dominated by, ambitious *amīrs*, successively contested the throne. In the twenty-five years which remained before the last Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler, Murād, was expelled from Iran in 908/1503 by Shāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*], the only thread of continuity is the inexorable progress of the Ṣafawid movement towards its goal of achieving power in Iran by revolutionary means. This progress was marked by the death in battle of two more Ṣafawid leaders (Ḥaydar [*q.v.*], in 893/1488, and ʿAlī in 899/1494), and by the breakdown of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu-Ṣafawid alliance. Once the mutual enemy, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, had disappeared from the scene, it was only a matter of time before the political and military ambitions of the Ṣafawids came into conflict with those of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. In 893/1488 Aḳ Ḳoyunlu troops were the major factor in the defeat of Ḥaydar, and in 899/1494 the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu sultan Rustam, having released ʿAlī from imprisonment because he needed his help against a rival prince, then had to crush him when support for him developed on an alarming scale. ʿAlī's brother, Ismāʿīl, escaped, and for five years directed from his refuge in Gīlān the final stages of the Ṣafawid revolution. His emissaries went to and fro between Gīlān and their bases in Anatolia, Syria and the Armenian highlands. It was from these areas that Ismāʿīl derived the élite of his fighting men, his most fanatical adherents, men of the Rūmlū, Ustādjlū, Takkalū, Dhu'l-Ḳadar, Warsāḳ, Shāmlū, Turkmān, Afshār, Ḳādjār and other Turkoman tribes. These men considered Ismāʿīl to be both their *murshid-i kāmil*, as head of the Ṣafawid Order, and their *pādishāh*; *i.e.*, Ismāʿīl was both their religious leader and their temporal ruler. They had acquired the celebrated soubriquet of *ḳizil-bāsh* ("red-heads", T. *ḳìzìl-bash*), by virtue of the distinctive crimson hat, with the twelve folds denoting the Ithnā ʿasharī *imāms*, which had been devised for them by Ḥaydar.

In 905/1499 Ismāʿīl made his bid for power; by the autumn of 1500 he had been joined by 7,000 ḳizilbāsh at his rendezvous at Erzindjān. He turned aside to crush the Shīrwānshāh, who had killed both his father and his grandfather, and then, at the battle of Sharūr, he routed Alwand Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Ismāʿīl entered Tabrīz (907/1501), had himself crowned as the first shāh of the Ṣafawid dynasty, and proclaimed the Djaʿfarī rite of Ithnā ʿasharī Shīʿism to be the official religion of the new Ṣafawid state. He had two main reasons for taking this step: first, he wished clearly to differentiate the Ṣafawid state from the Ottoman Empire, into which it might otherwise have been absorbed; second, he aimed at creating by this means a sense of unity among his subjects, a sense of separate identity which would permit the evolution of a national state in the modern sense of the term. The change to Shīʿism seems to have been accepted by the people at large without any serious display of opposition. Ṣafawid propagandists had, of course, been active for a long period, but there are other factors which may have helped to produce a climate of religious opinion favourable to Ṣafawid Shīʿism, for example, the activities of heterodox and antinomian groups such as the Ḥurūfīs, and the activities of other Ṣūfī Orders in Persia, some of which were unquestionably permeated by Shīʿī ideas. Many, but not all, of the *ʿulamāʾ* resisted the change. Some who did were put to death, notably at Shīrāz; others fled first to the Tīmūrid court at Harāt, and later, after the conquest of Khurāsān by the Ṣafawids, to the Uzbek capital at Bukhārā. To impose doctrinal unity, the Ṣafawids appointed an official termed the *ṣadr*, who was the head of the religious institution, but in practice derived his authority from the political institution.

The first ten years of Ismāʿīl's reign were spent in conquering the rest of Iran and Mesopotamia: In 908/1503 a victory over the remaining Aḳ Ḳoyunlu forces under Sultan Murād, near Hamadān, gave him control of central and southern Iran; Māzandarān and Gurgān were subjugated in 909/1504; Diyār Bakr was annexed in 913/1507, Baghdād was captured in 914/1508, and Khurāsān was annexed in 916/1510 after a crushing defeat of the Uzbeks at Marw. The victory at Marw, however, did not solve the problem of the defence of the eastern marches against the nomads, and, only two years later, a Ṣafawid army was routed at Ghudjuwān, just east of the Oxus, and the Uzbeks swept across Khurāsān as far as Mashhad. Ismāʿīl restored the situation, and an uneasy truce with the Uzbeks followed.

The Sunnī Uzbeks in the east and the Sunnī Ottomans in the west were the principal enemies of the Ṣafawid state. The existence on the borders of Anatolia of a powerful Shīʿī state, which claimed the allegiance of large numbers of Turkoman tribesmen living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire itself, was a threat which the Ottomans could not ignore, and in 920/1514 Selīm I launched what proved to be the first of a long series of invasions of Iran by Ottoman forces. On 2 Radjab 920/23 August 1514 the Ṣafawid army, composed almost entirely of cavalry, was defeated with heavy losses at Čāldirān [*q.v.*] by the fire-power of the Ottoman muskets and artillery. Selīm had to withdraw from Tabrīz after a short occupation, but the Ottomans annexed the province of Diyār Bakr, and the regions of Marʿash and Albistān.

The Ṣafawid defeat at Čāldirān had important repercussions. Ismāʿīl lost his faith in his own invincibility, and during the remaining ten years of his life never again led his men into battle. The ḳizilbāsh, who had revered their ruler as the Shadow of God upon earth and had worshipped him as the manifestation of God, were disillusioned. The actions of the kizilbāsh after Čāldirān, and particularly after the death of Ismāʿīl, show clearly that, although they preserved the outward forms, they considered the concept of their leader as the Shadow of God upon earth, immortal and infallible, to be a polite fiction. From this time, too, the term Ṣūfī, implying a relationship between *murshid* and *murīd* which the ḳizilbāsh had in practice, though not in theory, repudiated, occurs less and less frequently in the sources. The status of Ṣūfīs declined, and the term "Ṣūfī" acquired a definitely pejorative significance under the later Ṣafawids.

Shāh Ismāʿīl died on 19 Radjab 930/23 May 1524, and was succeeded by his son Ṭahmāsp, then ten and a half years of age. The extent to which the theocratic concept of the early Ṣafawid state had broken down in practice was demonstrated by the ten years of civil war between rival ḳizilbāsh factions which marked the beginning of his reign. The authority of the shah was usurped by ḳizilbāsh chiefs, who were the *de facto* rulers of the state during this period. In 940/1533-4, however, Shāh Ṭahmāsp made clear his intention to rule in fact and not in name only, and, for most of the remainder of his long reign of fifty-two years, he maintained a precarious ascendancy over the turbulent ḳizilbāsh

Most Western and Oriental sources give us a totally unfavourable picture of Ṭahmāsp [*q.v.*]. They portray him as a miser, as a melancholy recluse who swung between extremes of abstinence and intemperance, as a man capable of great cruelty. Nobody has given Ṭahmāsp credit for holding the Ṣafawid state together for more than half a century, in the face of the most determined onslaughts by the Ottomans under their greatest conqueror, Süleymān the Magnificent, and by the Uzbeks under one of their greatest leaders, ʿUbayd Allāh Khān. Between 930/1524 and 944/1538, the Uzbeks launched five major attacks on Khurāsān. Between 940/1533-4 and 961/1553, the Ottomans made four full-scale assaults on Ādharbāydjān. Baghdād was captured by the Ottomans in 941/1534, and thereafter ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab remained in Ottoman hands, except for a brief interlude between 1032/1623—1048/1638. Tabrīz was occupied on several occasions, and Ṭahmāsp transferred the capital to Ḳazwīn, which was not so close to the Ottoman frontier. Attacks by foreign enemies were not the only problem confronting Ṭahmāsp. During the first decade of his reign, Iran was gravely weakened by ḳizilbāsh inter-tribal rivalries and by the defection of groups of ḳizilbāsh to the Ottomans; moreover in 941/1534-5, and again in 955/1548, Ṭahmāsp had to deal with rebellious brothers. In 962/1555 Ṭahmāsp negotiated the Treaty of Amasya, and Iran obtained a respite from Ottoman attack for thirty years.

The reigns of Ismāʿīl I and Ṭahmāsp I represent a period of change and adjustment. Under Ismāʿīl, an attempt was made to reconcile the Ṣūfī organization inherited from the Ṣafawiyya Order with the administrative organization of the Ṣafawid state. The failure of this attempt posed problems in regard to which Ṭahmāsp temporized and to which ʿAbbās I provided solutions which were effective only as short-term measures. The failure precisely to define the scope and function of the principal offices of state during this period produced some degree of conflict between the holders of these offices, and meant that the boundary between the "political institution" and the "religious institution" was never clearly demarcated. The movement away from the theocratic form of government which obtained after the establishment of the Ṣafawid state was noticeable even before the death of Ismāʿīl, and this tendency was reflected in changes in the scope and function of the principal offices of state, and in their relative importance. In particular, the status of the *wakīl-i nafs-i nafīs-i humāyūn*, the *alter ego* of the *shāh* and his vicegerent both in his religious and his political capacity, declined until his position was little different from that of the vizier, the head of the bureaucracy; the power of the *ṣadr*s, once their primary task of imposing doctrinal unity had been achieved, also declined; and the shah himself attempted to restrict the power of the *amīr al-umurāʾ*.

In 982/1574, Shāh Ṭahmāsp became seriously ill, and the Ṣafawid state was once again involved in a crisis. At first, the dissensions which broke out among the ḳizilbāsh appeared to be merely a recrudescence of the factional struggles which had imperilled the Ṣafawid state fifty years previously. But the new crisis was, in fact, of a very different nature. The question from 982/1574 onwards was not which of the ḳizilbāsh tribes should achieve a dominant position over its rivals, but rather, whether the ḳizilbāsh as a whole could maintain their privileged position as the military aristocracy in the Ṣafawid state, in the face of the challenge from new ethnic elements in Ṣafawid society, namely, the Georgians and Circassians. The majority of these people were the offspring of prisoners taken during the course of four campaigns waged in the Caucasus by Ṭahmāsp between 947/1540-1 and 961/1553-4. In addition,

a certain number of Georgian noblemen voluntarily entered Ṣafawid service during Ṭahmāsp's reign. By the time of the death of Ṭahmāsp in 984/1576, the power of the Georgian and Circassian women in the royal *ḥaram* was such that they intervened in political affairs and engaged in active intrigue with a view to securing the throne for their own sons. In this way, they introduced into the Ṣafawid state dynastic rivalries of a new kind.

The struggle for power between the ḳizilbās͟h and the Georgians and Circassians, continued during the reigns of Ismāʿīl II (984/1576—985/1577) and Sulṭān Muḥammad S͟hāh (985/1578—996/1588), and was finally settled in favour of the latter by the measures taken by S͟hāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] (996/1588—1038/1629) — measures which radically altered the social basis of the Ṣafawid state.

The situation which ʿAbbās faced at his accession was critical in the extreme. The Ottomans had resumed operations in Ād͟harbāyd͟jān, and the citadel at Tabrīz had been in their hands since 993/1585. In the east, the Uzbeks stormed Harāt in 997/1589, and swept on across K͟hurāsān as far as Mas͟hhad. To free his hands to deal with the Uzbeks, ʿAbbās was forced to negotiate a humiliating peace with the Ottomans which left more Persian territory in Ottoman hands than ever before (998/1589-90). The events of his youth had led him to place no faith in the loyalty of the ḳizilbās͟h and he set about creating a standing army which would be paid direct from the Royal Treasury and would be loyal only to himself. From the ranks of the Georgians and Circassians (thereafter termed *g͟hulāmān-i k͟hāṣṣa-yi s͟harīfa*) he formed a cavalry regiment of some 10,000 men, and a personal bodyguard of 3,000 men. A regiment of musketeers, 12,000 strong, recruited from the Persian peasantry, and an artillery regiment, also of 12,000 men, completed the new standing army of 37,000 men. In order to pay these new troops, ʿAbbās resorted to the device of increasing the extent of the crown lands (*k͟hāṣṣa*) at the expense of state lands (*mamālik*). The *mamālik* provinces were in general governed by ḳizilbās͟h *amīr*s, who consumed in the areas under their jurisdiction most of the taxes which they levied, but whose self-interest to some extent militated against extortion. Once such provinces were converted to *k͟hāṣṣa* lands, they were placed in the hands of a comptroller or intendant of the Crown, who had no interest in maintaining their prosperity but whose sole concern was to remit to the Royal Treasury the maximum amount of money possible, in order to ingratiate himself with the shah. Under S͟hāh Ṣafī (1038/1629—1052/1642) and S͟hāh ʿAbbās II (1052/1642—1077/1666), this process was accelerated to such an extent that even the frontier provinces were brought under the direct administration of the Crown, except in time of war, when ḳizilbās͟h governors were reappointed. Ultimately, this policy impaired the economic health of the country and weakened it militarily. Every increase in the extent of crown lands at the expense of *mamālik* lands meant a corresponding decrease in the power of the ḳizilbās͟h, and, in practice, the new *g͟hulām* regiments did not possess the fighting qualities of the old ḳizilbās͟h tribal forces.

In the short term, however, the creation of the *g͟hulām* regiments enabled ʿAbbās gradually to reassert the authority of the ruling institution, and so to stabilize the internal situation in Iran. Even so, it was not until 1007/1597 that he dared to commit his forces to a pitched battle against the Uzbeks. In that year, ʿAbbās gained a great victory over the Uzbeks, and liberated Harāt after ten years of Uzbek rule. With the north-eastern frontier at least temporarily secure, ʿAbbās turned his attention to the Ottomans, and by 1016/1607 the last Ottoman soldier had been expelled from Ṣafawid territory as defined by the Peace of Amasya in 1555.

Throughout his reign, ʿAbbās continued his policy of weakening the position of the ḳizilbās͟h and strengthening that of the *g͟hulām*s, on whom he principally relied for support. He sought to break up ḳizilbās͟h tribal groupings, and he constantly replenished his *g͟hulām* forces by fresh drafts of Georgian, Circassian, and (from 1013/1604 onwards) Armenian prisoners. The revolution in the social structure of the Ṣafawid state which he thus effected was reflected in changes in the highest levels of the political institution and the religious institution. The titles of *wakīl* and *amīr al-umarāʾ*, which were so closely associated with the organization of the early Ṣafawid state and with the period of ḳizilbās͟h supremacy, were no longer used. The *ḳūrčībās͟hī*, as the commander-in-chief of the drastically reduced ḳizilbās͟h forces was henceforth usually termed, was still one of the highest officers of state, but his power was balanced by that of the commanders of the new non-ḳizilbās͟h regiments, the *tufangčī-āḳāsī* and the *ḳullar-āḳāsī*. The influence of the *ṣadr*, who was a political appointee, decreased once doctrinal unity had been imposed throughout the Ṣafawid dominions, and, with the increasing crystallization of It͟hnā ʿas͟harī theology, the *mud͟jtahid*s became the most powerful members of the religious classes. Finally, with the increasing separation between temporal and religious powers, and the growing tendency towards centralization of the administration, the vizier, as head of the bureaucracy, became one of the most influential officials in the state, and frequently adopted the grandiose titles of *iʿtimād al-dawla* and *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*.

The reign of ʿAbbās I in many ways marks the highest point of Ṣafawid achievement. Commercial rivalry in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean between the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the English, meant the development of diplomatic relations between Iran and the West. Spain, Portugal, and England sent ambassadors to ʿAbbās's court, and foreign monastic orders, such as the Carmelites, the Augustinians, and the Capuchin friars, were given permission to found convents in Iran. In 1007/1597 ʿAbbās transferred the capital from Ḳazwīn to Iṣfahān; the more central location of the latter city made it a more satisfactory base for operations against either the Ottomans or the Uzbeks. ʿAbbās addressed himself with characteristic energy to the task of transforming Iṣfahān into one of the most beautiful cities in the world. He embarked on a huge programme of public works, which included mosques, *madrasas*, caravansarais, and *ḥammām*s. The Masd͟jid-i S͟hāh (begun in 1020/1611) and the Masd͟jid-i S͟hayk͟h Luṭf Allāh (begun in 1012/1603), situated in the famous *maydān* of Iṣfahān known as Naḳs͟h-i D͟jahān, are two masterpieces of Iranian architecture. The reign of ʿAbbās also marks the highest point in the renaissance of Iranian arts which had begun under the Tīmūrids in the 9th/15th century and which continued throughout the Ṣafawid period. Except perhaps in painting, in which the productions of the Tabrīz school during the reign of Ṭahmāsp are superior, the artistic productions of the period of ʿAbbās are unsurpassed. In book painting and the illumination of manuscripts, in ceramics, textiles, and the manufacture of carpets and rugs, the Iranian genius achieved its finest expression.

The Ṣafawid state, as rebuilt by Shāh ʿAbbās, had an imposing façade, behind which the decay which spread with increasing rapidity during the second half of the 11th/17th century was not immediately apparent. Of the Ṣafawid rulers who followed ʿAbbās, only his great-grandson, ʿAbbās II (1052/1642—1077/1666), was a ruler worthy of the name. The degeneration of the dynasty must be attributed to the pernicious practice, instituted by ʿAbbās I himself, of incarcerating the royal princes in the *ḥaram* and never allowing them any contact with the outside world. Prior to ʿAbbās I, it had been the custom to place the royal princes, and in particular the heir-apparent, in the charge of one of the ḳizilbāsh provincial governors. Such a governor, termed *lala* or *atabeg*, was responsible for the physical and moral welfare of his charge, and for training him for his future responsibilities. Occasionally, an ambitious or rebellious *lala* would use the young prince committed to his care as the focal point of a revolt against the ruler. But this possibility was infinitely to be preferred to the certainty that a prince, brought up by the court eunuchs, in the debilitating atmosphere of the *ḥaram*, would be totally unfitted to rule when the time came to place him on the throne. The increasing control of political and administrative affairs exercised by the officers of the *ḥaram*, in association with the vizier, and the dynastic struggles for the succession resulting from the intrigues of the women of the *ḥaram*, are indeed two of the main features of the later Ṣafawid period and two of the principal reasons for the decline of Ṣafawid power. A third reason, the increase of *khāṣṣa* lands at the expense of *mamālik* provinces, which reduced both the economic prosperity and the military strength of the country, has already been mentioned.

Under Shāh Sulaymān (1077/1666—1105/1694), who was an alcoholic, and under the pious but uxorious Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105/1694—1135/1722), neither of whom took any interest in state affairs, the progressive breakdown of the central administration was marked by increasing inefficiency and corruption at all levels of government. The military machine had been allowed to run down to such an extent that the Shāh had to turn to the Georgians for help in dealing with a band of Balūči marauders in 1110/1698-99. This warning went unheeded, and in 1121/1709 a group of Ghalzai Afghāns seized Ḳandahār, which had been in Ṣafawid hands since 1058/1648. Further north, the Abdālī Afghāns ravaged large areas of Khurāsān, and the whole eastern frontier was in jeopardy. In 1131/1719 the Ghalzai chief, Maḥmūd, having subdued the Abdālīs, temporarily seized Kirmān. Emboldened by the lack of resistance, he returned to the attack two years later, and routed a pathetically weak Ṣafawid force at the battle of Gulnābād, 18 miles east of Iṣfahān, on 20 Djumādā I 1134/8 March 1722. Too weak to storm the city, Maḥmūd blockaded it. Treachery within the city, and incompetence and irresolution on every side, delivered the Ṣafawid capital to the Afghāns in October 1722. Some 80,000 people are said to have perished during the siege from starvation and disease, and the population of Iṣfahān today is probably only one-third of what it was in Ṣafawid times.

The Afghāns, though they never subjugated the north and west of the country and though their hold on the remainder was precarious, ruled at Iṣfahān for seven years, 1134/1722—1142/1729. At Ḳazwīn, Ṭahmāsp, a son of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, proclaimed himself Shāh Ṭahmāsp II. In 1138/1726 the Ottomans broke the long peace with Iran which had existed since 1048-9/1639, and the Afghān ruler Ashraf was forced to give *de facto* recognition to the Ottoman occupation of west and north-west Iran. About the same time the Afshār chief Nādir Khān emerged as the most powerful of the tribal chiefs lending their support to the Ṣafawid house, and in 1142/1729 he drove the Afghāns from Iṣfahān and re-established the Ṣafawid monarchy in the person of Ṭahmāsp II. It soon became clear, however, that Nādir Khān's support of the Ṣafawids was only a device to enable him to use pro-Ṣafawid sentiment for his own ends. In 1145/1732 he deposed Ṭahmāsp II in favour of the infant ʿAbbās III, for whom he acted as regent. Four years later, he abandoned this fiction, and had himself crowned as Nādir Shāh. This marked the extinction of the Ṣafawid dynasty, which had existed only in name since 1134/1722.

Nādir Shāh (1148/1736—1160/1747) consciously modelled himself on Tīmūr, and there are some points of similarity between his career and that of his exemplar. Like Tīmūr, Nādir was primarily, indeed solely, a soldier, and, like Tīmūr, he was totally unable to administer the territories overrun by his armies. As a result, just as the campaigns of Tīmūr had left a vacuum in south-west Asia, so those of Nādir disrupted the administrative system inherited from the Ṣafawids, impoverished the state, and led to a general breakdown of law and order. The result was half a century of civil war as the Zands and the Ḳādjārs fought for supremacy in the vacuum created by Nādir. Nādir restored national dignity and prestige after the humiliation of the Afghān episode, and recovered Iranian territory which had been usurped by the Ottomans, the Russians, and the Afghāns. After an ineffectual siege of Baghdād in 1145/1733 (the Iranian army still had no proper siege artillery), and an initial defeat at the hands of the Ottoman relief army, Nādir turned the tables on the Ottomans on 1 Djumādā II 1146/9 November 1733, and the Ottoman commander, Ṭopal ʿOthmān Pasha, was killed. A provisional treaty between Nādir Shāh and Aḥmad Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Baghdād, provided for the return to Iran of all territory seized by the Ottomans in the previous ten years, but the treaty was never ratified by the Porte. In 1147/1735 Russia surrendered Bākū and Darband, and Nādir struck further blows against the Ottomans. ʿAbd Allāh Pasha Köprülü-zāde, governor of Ḳārs, was killed at the battle of Aḳ Tepe : ʿAlī Pasha surrendered at Gandja, and Isḥāḳ Pasha at Tiflis; Erivan fell soon afterwards.

Had Nādir Shāh at this point devoted his efforts to reorganizing the administration of the country on a firm basis Iran might have entered the 19th century better equipped to deal with the internal and external problems of that period. Instead, his growing megalomania led him to invade India, as Tīmūr had done before him. A necessary preliminary was the capture of Ḳandahār, a frontier city which had been held alternately by the Ṣafawids and the Mughals during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, and had been in Afghān hands since 1121/1709. To raise money for his Indian campaign, Nādir levied taxes with more than usual ruthlessness, and Kirmān suffered particularly severely. Ḳandahār surrendered to Nādir in Dhu'l Ḳaʿda 1150/March 1738, Ghazna was occupied in June, and Nādir, crossing the Khaybar Pass, entered Peshawar. Lahore paid a large indemnity, and thus escaped the sack. After an engagement with the Mughal

army at Karnāl in Dhu'l-Ḳa'da 1151/February 1739, Nādir made his triumphal entry into Delhi on 9 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1151/20 March 1739, and let his troops loose to pillage the city. In this, too, he faithfully followed the actions of his model, Tīmūr, who had sacked Delhi in 801/1398. After levying the enormous sum of 20,000,000 rupees in tribute from the Mughal Empire, Nādir returned to Iran laden with his spoils, which included the fabulous Peacock Throne and the Kūh-i Nūr diamond. The Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh ceded to Nādir Shāh all his territory west of the Indus. On their return from India, Nādir's armies overran Turkistān, the ancient Transoxania and Khwārazm, and Nādir signalled this eastward expansion of his empire by transferring his capital from Iṣfahān to Mashhad. Mashhad had fewer associations with the Ṣafawids—although of course the shrine of the *imām* 'Alī al-Riḍā was one of the principal places of pilgrimage for the Ithnā 'asharī Shī'is—and was nearer the centre of his empire with its new extensions in Turkistān, India and Afghānistān.

In 1153/1741 Nādir Shāh was at the height of his power, but signs of approaching insanity were already visible. His madness was characterized by an overweening lust for power and the most extreme avarice. He became subject to ever more violent fits of rage, associated with the inflicting of ever more terrible punishments. Instead of using his Indian treasure to replenish the exchequer, which he had exhausted by his endless campaigns, he hoarded it in a special treasure-house at Ḳal'at-i Nādirī [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān, and imposed further crippling tax burdens on the people to finance expeditions which had no strategic justification, such as his disastrous campaign in Dāghistān in 1154-55/1741-2. Revolts broke out in various parts of his empire, and his attempt to effect a reconciliation with the Sunnī *'ulamā'* did not add to his popularity. On 1 Djumādā II 1160/20 June 1747 he was assassinated by a group of his own officers. His death was followed by a period of anarchy and civil war. In the south, the Zand dynasty gave that part of the country at least a brief respite in the form of orderly, and on the whole good, government. After the death (1193/1779) of Karīm Khān Zand, however, the Zands were weakened by dynastic feuds, and this gave the Ḳādjārs, who from their base at Astarābād had gradually brought most of northern Persia under their control, their chance. Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār escaped from Zand captivity at Shīrāz and embarked on a sixteen-year struggle to assert his authority over that of rival Ḳādjār chiefs, and to overthrow the Zands. By 1209/1795 he had achieved both objectives.

The new rulers of Iran, the Ḳādjārs, were of Turkoman stock. Like the Afshārs, they had formed part of the group of Turkoman tribes which had brought the Ṣafawids to power, and which had constituted the military aristocracy of the Ṣafawid state. The Ḳādjārs, however, like two other Trans-Caucasian Turkoman tribes, the Afshārs and the Bayāts, did not come into prominence until the middle of the 10th/16th century. The first ruler of the new dynasty, Āḳā Muḥammad Shāh, possessed undoubted administrative ability. Making Tehran his capital, he restored security and public order, and reunited Iran under a strong and efficient central administration for the first time for more than half a century. But he maintained his position by the fear which he inspired in all. The castration which he had suffered as a boy at the hands of Nādir's nephew, 'Ādil Shāh, had rendered him vicious and cruel. In an age when the qualities of mercy and compassion were rare, he became a byword for bloodthirstiness. His ruthless elimination of all possible rivals caused rifts within the Ḳādjār ranks, and militated against the stability of the dynasty. The succession was disputed both in 1250/1834, and again in 1264/1848. Outwardly pious, he cared nothing for an oath, and did not hesitate to obtain his ends by treachery. On 21 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1211/17 June 1797, two years after his coronation, he was assassinated by two of his soldiers. He was succeeded by his nephew, Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh.

Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh [*q.v.*] had scarcely ascended the throne when he was forced to recognize that a major change had occurred in the relations between Iran and her neighbours in general, and between Iran and the Great Powers in particular. The advent of the 19th century saw the beginnings of Great Power rivalry in Persia which directly or indirectly affected the political, social and economic life of the country. Already Āḳā Muḥammad Shāh, by his atrocities in Georgia, had caused that country to abandon its traditionally Persian orientation and turn to Russia. Russia had eagerly seized this opportunity to resume that southwards movement toward the Persian Gulf which had been a cardinal point in Russian policy since the time of Peter the Great. Already Russia had demonstrated that, in the military sciences, Iran had fallen behind the West to an alarming extent during the 18th century. If Iran was to preserve its independence, it needed modern weapons and an army trained on modern lines. This point was emphasized when the Russians annexed Georgia in 1800. Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh's political naivété and ignorance of world affairs led him to sign the Treaty of Finkenstein (4 May 1807) with Napoleon. Article 4 pledged France to work for the restitution of Georgia to Persia. In return, Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh promised to declare war on Great Britain (art. 8), and to allow French troops the right-of-way across Iran as part of Napoleon's Grand Design for the invasion of India. The Treaty of Finkenstein, however, was rendered a dead letter almost immediately by the Treaty of Tilsit (2 July 1807), which brought to an end hostilities between France and Russia, and gave Russia a free hand to resume her aggression against Iran. Russia lost no time in pressing her advantage. By the Treaty of Gulistān [*q.v.*] (12 October 1813), Iran lost all her rich Caucasian provinces, and only Russian naval vessels were allowed to operate on the Caspian Sea. A border dispute caused war to break out again in 1826, and the Treaty of Turkomanchai (22 February 1828) imposed even more severe terms on Iran. Iran ceded Erivan and Nakhčiwān, and the Aras river was fixed as the Russo-Iranian border. Iran had to pay a heavy indemnity, but the most significant clause in the Treaty was that concerning "capitulations", *i.e.*, extra-territorial rights for Russian officials resident in Iran. The "capitulations" [see IMTIYĀZĀT] infringed the rights of Iran as a sovereign and independent nation, and marked a new phase in the relations between Iran and the Great Powers. Other countries, including Britain, hastened to follow the Russian example and to demand extra-territorial rights for their nationals in Iran, and the direct penetration of Iran by foreign influences may be said to date from this time.

Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh's grandson, Muḥammad Shāh, who succeeded to the throne in 1834, attempted to recover territory which had been lost in the east

to the Afghāns. Britain went to the aid of the Afghāns, and Muḥammad Shāh had to abandon the siege of Harāt. Throughout the 19th century, British policy was dominated by one obsession, the defence of India. To achieve this, Afghānistān had to be maintained as a buffer-state, and Iran could not be allowed to regain the territory which had been taken from her by the Afghāns. Consequently, British armies were dispatched from India in 1837, when Iranian troops threatened to recapture Harāt, and in 1852 and 1856, when they succeeded in re-taking that city. Finally, by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, Iran was forced to recognize the independence of Afghānistān and to reconcile itself to the permanent loss of a city which in Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid times had been one of the great cities of Khurāsān.

During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the first rumblings of social protest found expression in the politico-religious revolt which followed the manifestation of the Bāb (1844). The Bāb declared himself to be the Hidden Imām (the Mahdī or *ṣāḥib al-zamān*), and in 1848 the Bābīs declared their secession from Islam and the *sharīʿa*. The revolt was harshly repressed by the government, and the Bāb himself was executed at Tabrīz in 1850. An unsuccessful attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1852 led to further persecution of the Bābīs. The movement split into two groups, termed Bahāʾīs and Azalīs, of which the former is the more important. Its leader, Bahāʾ Allāh, was banished from Iran, but Bahāʾism was later widely disseminated in Europe and America [see BĀB; BĀBĪS; BAHĀʾ ALLĀH; BAHĀʾĪS].

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, who came to the throne in 1848, and whose long reign was ended only by his assassination in 1896, was a more able man than either of his two immediate predecessors. He appreciated the need for change, if Iran was to retain her independence and to break the political stranglehold which was being exerted by Britain and Russia. During his reign, however, the other half of the Russian pincer gripping Iran lengthened inexorably. In 1865 the Russians captured Tashkent, and extinguished the khānate of Khoḳand. In 1868 they took Bukhārā and, from their new base at Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian, pushed steadily forward into Central Asia. They put an end to the khānate of Khiva in 1873, crushed for ever the Turkoman tribes of the steppe at the battle of Gök Tepe [*q.v.*] (1881), and completed the conquest of Trans-Caspia by occupying Marw in 1884. The Atrek river was established as the new Russo-Iranian frontier in the east.

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh instituted a policy of granting concessions to European powers, in the hope that this would improve the economic prosperity of the country. The net result, however, was that by the end of the 19th century, most of Iran's economic resources were exploited or directed by foreign concessionaires, who obtained sweeping concessions in return for paltry sums of money which satisfied the shah's immediate needs. In 1872, for example, a British subject, Baron Julius de Reuter, obtained the exclusive right to exploit all minerals in Iran (except gold and precious stones), to build factories, to construct railways, canals and irrigation works, to exploit the forests, to create a national bank and public utilities (such as a telegraph system), and to control the customs. Strong Russian pressure led the shah to rescind the concession, and, as compensation, the British received a concession to establish the Imperial Bank of Persia (1889). The Russians followed suit with their Banque des Prêts, or Loan and Discount Bank. In 1890, the celebrated Tobacco Concession was awarded to a British company. A letter written by Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] to the chief *mudjtahid* at Sāmarrā, caused the latter to issue a *fatwā* prohibiting the use of tobacco by all believers until such time as the shah cancelled the concession. The *mullās* and *mudjtahids* organized demonstrations in Shīrāz, Iṣfahān, and Tabrīz, and the shah had to revoke the concession in December 1891. This was a significant occasion : for the first time popular opinion had openly opposed the shah, and the shah had had to give way. As usual, popular opinion had been voiced through the medium of the religious classes, who could, in certain circumstances, be counted on to take the lead in opposing the shah and the government.

Growing discontent with the incompetence and corruption of the government, and resentment at foreign political pressure and economic control, found expression during the last quarter of the 19th century in the form of a challenge to the traditional pattern of society. Secret societies (*andjumans*) were formed whose members discussed the ideas of Western liberalism and problems of social reform [see DJAMʿIYYA]. Out of this social ferment grew the Constitutional or Nationalist movement, which began by demanding a measure of social and judicial reform, the dismissal of certain tyrannical officials, and the expulsion of certain foreign concessionaires, notably the much disliked Belgian Director of Customs, and ended by demanding the promulgation of a Constitution and the establishment of a National Consultative Assembly [see DUSTUR: iv.—Iran]. Although the Fundamental Law was not signed by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh until 30 December 1906, the first National Assembly (Madjlis) was convened on 7th October 1906.

The victory over despotism, far from being won, had in fact barely begun, and the Nationalists, absorbed in their struggle with the shah, were unable to prevent Iran falling even further under foreign domination. Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh, who came to the throne in 1907, tried by every means to subvert the Constitution and to prevent the implementation of bills passed by the Madjlis. The religious classes, who up to this point had supported the Constitutionalists, mainly from patriotic motives, began to be alarmed by the views of some of the more radical deputies, and this portended a fatal split in the ranks of the Nationalists. On 31 August 1907 the terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention, a treaty inspired by the fear of resurgent German militarism, were made public. Iran was to be divided into a Russian and a British sphere of influence, separated by a neutral zone. In June 1908 the shah declared martial law in Tehran and closed the Madjlis. Despite strong pressure from the Russians, whose troops occupied Tabrīz, the Nationalists mounted in the provinces a counter-offensive which resulted in the deposition of the shah in July 1909. His eleven-year-old son Aḥmad was proclaimed shah. In July 1911 an abortive attempt by the exiled Muḥammad ʿAlī to reinstate himself in Iran led to further direct Russian intervention, and on 3 Muḥarram 1330/24 December 1911 the Madjlis was again forcibly closed.

During World War I, although Iran was a neutral, her territory became a battlefield for Turkish, Russian and British forces, and Iran emerged from the war in a state of administrative and financial chaos. Lord Curzon's solution was an independent

Iran firmly under British tutelage, and the Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1919 provided for the appointment of British advisers to the Iranian Government. The treaty was never ratified by Iran. The Bolsheviks, after the collapse of the short-lived Soviet Socialist Republic of Gīlān [see DJANGALĪ], concluded the Soviet-Iranian Treaty of 26 February 1921, by the terms of which they renounced the imperialist policies of the former Tsarist regime. Five days before the signature of this treaty, Reżā Khān seized power by *coup d'état*. Reżā Khān was the commander of the Cossack Brigade, created in 1879 by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh as a royal bodyguard and used by Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh to suppress the Nationalists in the period 1907-9. The atmosphere of the post-war period was favourable to Reżā Khān's attempt to re-establish national integrity and independence: the Constitution had been suspended; there had been a complete breakdown of government authority; the treasury was empty, and famine conditions prevailed. Riḍā Khān first thought of abolishing the monarchy and establishing a republic, but, faced with strong opposition from the *ʿulamāʾ* and other traditional elements, he abandoned the idea. Aḥmad Shāh was deposed in 1923, and Reżā Khān was proclaimed shah in December 1925 and crowned on 25 April 1926 as the first ruler of the new Pahlavī dynasty.

Reżā Shāh was determined to launch Iran into the 20th century. Prior to his accession, despite the fact that Iran had been officially converted from a mediaeval Islamic state to a modern constitutional monarchy by the granting of the Constitution in 1906, there were few signs of change in the traditional structure of society. The far-reaching programme of westernization, modernization, and centralization of the administration, on which Reżā Shāh embarked, involved a major upheaval of the traditional social order, and the abolition or modification of many traditional Islamic institutions. Without possessing an ideology, he succeeded in carrying out a revolution. He was impatient with the intellectuals, whom he blamed for Iran's weak and divided state. Unlike Atatürk, he made no long statements of policy, wrote no articles. His failure adequately to explain his objectives to the people was, in fact, a source of weakness. In so far as he succeeded in his objectives, his policies were beneficial to Iran. He completely reorganized the army and created the first unified standing national army in Iran. Between 1921 and 1941, on average one-third of the national budget was allocated to the armed forces. He reorganized the Civil Service on Western lines. In successive phases he laid the foundations of a modern judiciary system: the Penal Code was promulgated in 1926 and the Civil Code in 1928, the year which saw the abolition of the much hated capitulations. Each step necessarily meant a further blow at the position of the *sharīʿa* and at the power of the religious classes in general. In the field of education, the *maktabs*, where pupils of all ages were taught in one room by an *ākhūnd*, were swept away. Compulsory state education for both sexes was introduced (it has not yet been fully implemented, particularly in rural areas), and the curricula were modernized. Teachers' Training Colleges were established, and the University of Tehran was founded in 1935. In 1940 all foreign missionary schools were taken over by the government. In the field of commerce, Reżā Shāh established a number of state monopolies, partly to strengthen the Iranian economy vis-à-vis Britain and Russia, and partly to provide additional revenue. The entire cost of the Trans-Iranian Railway, constructed from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf between 1926-38, was defrayed by means of a tax on tea and sugar, which were state monopolies. Reżā Shāh did much to develop industry in Iran, and his efforts to develop an Iranian textile industry succeeded in making Iran to a large extent independent of Russian textiles. On the debit side, Reżā Shāh, as his reign progressed, showed increasingly despotic tendencies. He became impatient of all criticism, and virtually suppressed political parties, trade unions, and the Press. The Madjlis was reduced to the status of a rubber-stamp. Two areas in which Reżā Shāh failed signally were agriculture and relations with the tribes. Not until 1937 did he make any attempt to improve the lot of the peasants or to introduce legislation to encourage landlords to improve methods of cultivation. Even then, because the implementation of the legislation was entrusted to the very landowners at whose interests it was aimed, nothing was achieved. In regard to the tribes, his policy of enforced re-settlement, often in unsuitable regions, failed, and his severe treatment of many tribal leaders left a legacy of bitterness.

During Reżā Shāh's reign, German political and economic influence in Iran increased to a marked degree. Since the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, Iran had been psychologically prepared to accept the friendship of a third power which might act as a buffer against British and Russian pressure. Germany, which had no previous history of interference in Iran's affairs and which seemed to be at a safe distance, was welcomed by Reżā Shāh as the "third power". Germany's share of Iranian trade jumped from 8% in 1932 to 45% in 1940. Much of the machinery and heavy equipment needed for Reżā Shāh's programme of industrial expansion was supplied by German, and after Germany's annexation of Czechoslovakia, by Czech firms. German architects designed many of the new government and public buildings in Tehran. In 1936 the German Minister Dr. Schacht visited Iran, and expressly exempted Iranians, as being "pure Aryans", from the provisions of the Nuremburg race laws. On the heels of German technicians came German cultural officials and "tourists", who soon constituted an effective Fifth Column in Iran. In 1941 Britain and Russia presented an ultimatum to Reżā Shāh, calling on him to expel large numbers of these Germans from Iran. Reżā Shāh refused, and on 25 August British and Russian forces simultaneously invaded Iran. Reżā Shāh abdicated and went into exile; he died at Johannesburg in 1944. His son, Muḥammad Reżā Shāh, succeeded to the throne.

The position faced by the young shah was one of the utmost difficulty. There was a dearth of leaders—one consequence of Reżā Shāh's concentration of power in his own hands. Effective government was in any case virtually impossible while the country was occupied by foreign troops. The liberalizing of internal conditions released forces of an illiberal character—forces of the extreme right, such as the *fidāʾiyyān-i islām* [*q.v.*], a terrorist organization which came into being about 1943 and which was later protected by the religious leader Āyat Allāh Kāshānī, and forces of the extreme left, such as the Tudeh party, which was formed in 1942. Initially, the Tudeh party attracted many frustrated intellectuals of leftish sympathies who were not

necessarily Communists, but the party fell more and more under Communist influence and direction, and in 1945 the Tudeh, in close co-operation with the Russians, engineered the overthrow of the authority of the central government in Ādharbāydjān and Kurdistān. By the terms of the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance (29 January 1942), the Allies had promised to withdraw their troops from Iran within six months from the termination of hostilities with Germany and its associates, but Russian troops did not leave until May 1946. Deprived of Russian support, the Autonomous Republic of Ādharbāydjān and the Kurdish People's Republic collapsed before the advance of the Iranian army in October 1946.

German influence in Iran came to an abrupt end in 1941, and the United States now became the "third power" in Iran. American involvement rapidly increased after the formation in 1942 of the Persian Gulf Command, which developed the port facilities at Khurramshahr, Bandar ʿAbbās and Bandar Shāhpūr, and assisted in the supply of war material to the Soviet Union through Iranian territory. The United States also furnished Iran with military and financial advisers. Among the latter was Dr. Millspaugh, who had functioned in a similar capacity in Iran from 1922-27. Finally, in 1947, the United States extended the "Truman doctrine" to include Iran as well as Turkey and Greece, and was thus definitely committed to the maintenance of Iran's independence.

The Tudeh Party rapidly recovered from its defeat in Ādharbāydjān in 1946, and its increased militancy caused widespread insecurity and unrest. On 4 February 1949 a Tudeh Party member made an attempt on the life of the shah. This action was at once followed by the outlawing of the Party and by the reimposition of martial law. The second important event of 1949 was the inauguration of the First Seven-Year Plan for Economic Development. The third significant event of 1949, a year which in many respects marks a turning-point in the history of modern Persia, was the formation by Dr. Muṣaddiḳ of the National Front. This was a coalition of groups of every political hue, from the neo-Fascist *Sumka* Party and the extreme right-wing *fidāʾiyyān-i islām* led by Kāshānī, through the centre block of the Iran Party, composed of bourgeois nationalists and the intelligentsia, to left-wing intellectual groups such as Khalīl Mālikī's "Third Force". The only common ground shared by these disparate political groups was xenophobia, and fear of the re-imposition of royal dictatorship. There were clear signs that the shah, frustrated by the persistent failure of the Madjlis to pass urgently needed legislation, and desirous of pressing ahead with social and economic reforms, was considering assuming a greater degree of executive power, and each group had its own reasons for opposing such a move.

In 1950 the shah took the first positive steps in the direction of social and economic reform when he established the Imperial Organization for Social Welfare, and transferred to this organization, for distribution to the peasants, the crown lands. He further appointed to the office of Prime Minister General ʿAlī Razmārā, an honest, patriotic and energetic man. General Razmārā immediately launched an anti-corruption drive which was so effective that still more individuals arrayed themselves against him and the shah. On 7 March 1951 General Razmārā was assassinated by a member of the *fidāʾiyyān-i islām*, an act which put an end to orderly progress towards reform. Dr. Muṣaddiḳ introduced into the Madjlis a bill calling for the nationalization of the oil industry. On 29 April, Dr. Muṣaddiḳ became Prime Minister, and at once implemented the oil nationalization law and appropriated the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's installations. Muṣaddiḳ's National Front supporters, deprived of the principal target for the xenophobia which had held them together, soon showed signs of disunity. Muṣaddiḳ, in the absence of oil revenue, faced a financial crisis; furthermore, once he had achieved his "negative equilibrium", the poverty of his political thinking became apparent. Far from ushering in a social revolution, Muṣaddiḳ found himself obliged to demand plenary powers and to resort to unconstitutional means in order to maintain his own position. The dissolution of the Senate (the upper house of the Iranian Parliament, provided for in the 1906 Constitution but not convened until 1950), in July 1952, was followed by that of the Supreme Court (November 1952) and of the Madjlis itself (August 1953). In addition, Dr. Muṣaddiḳ imposed martial law and curbed the Press. After January 1953, when Muṣaddiḳ insisted on an extension of his plenary powers, he found himself in a position of increasing isolation as National Front leaders such as Makkī, Baḳāʾī and Kāshānī successively broke away from him. On 13 August the shah issued a *farmān* dismissing Muṣaddiḳ and appointing General Zāhidī Prime Minister. Muṣaddiḳ refused to take cognisance of the *farmān*, and the shah temporarily left the country. On 28 Murdād 1332 s./19 August 1953 Zāhidī suppressed the Tudeh mobs over which Muṣaddiḳ no longer had any control, and succeeded in establishing himself in Tehran. The Shāh returned to Iran, and in November 1953 Muṣaddiḳ was brought to trial on a charge of treason, on the grounds that he had defied an imperial *farmān* and had abrogated the constitutional procedures and basic laws of the land. He was sentenced to three years' solitary confinement, from which he was released in August 1956.

After the fall of Muṣaddiḳ, the oil dispute was settled (August 1954) by the formation of a consortium of British, American, Dutch and French companies, which ran the industry on behalf of the National Iranian Oil Company. On 3 November 1955 Iran joined the Baghdād Pact, with Great Britain, Turkey, Pakistan and ʿIrāḳ; ʿIrāḳ withdrew in 1959, and the alliance was renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). The shah, advocating a policy of "positive nationalism", indicated that he intended to exercise greater personal control over the administration of the state than he had prior to the dictatorship of Muṣaddiḳ. In 1957 the National Security Organisation (SAVAK) was formed. The shah attempted to check corruption. In 1958 the Imperial Investigation Organization was set up to receive and investigate complaints from the public against any official of the bureaucracy, judiciary, or army, and this was followed by the passage of several bills designed to discourage bribery and peculation by government officials. In 1958 the Pahlavī Foundation (*Bunyād-i Pahlavī*) was set up to administer certain resources of the Crown and to expend the income accruing from these assets on social services. On 5 October 1961 the shah handed over to the Pahlavī Foundation property valued at more than £ 47,500,000, comprising farms, villages owned by the shah, hotels, the shah's holdings in the Iranian oil tanker fleet,

and all stocks and shares held by the shah. These funds and assets were constituted into a *wakf*, or trust, for charitable, social, educational and health services. In this way, the shah has virtually divested himself of the personal fortune which he had inherited from his father. The birth of a son and heir (Reżā) to the shah and the Empress Faraḥ on 31 October 1960 was a stabilizing factor in Iranian affairs, in that it assured the continuance of the Pahlavī dynasty (succession is through the male line only). Nevertheless, the political outlook continued to be uncertain. The shah's policy of "repolitization" had resuscitated the National Front, which contained many of Muṣaddiḳ's former supporters. The shah's experiment in "controlled democracy", in which two artificially-created parties known as *Milliyūn* and *Mardum* were to represent the government party and the "loyal opposition" respectively, predictably failed. The shah had to annul the elections of August 1960, and the new elections, begun in January 1961, were accompanied by such widespread disorders that on 9 May 1961 the shah, using powers which had been granted to him in 1949, dissolved the Madjlis and the Senate. He took this action not only "for the protection of the nation's rights and interests, and to safeguard the Constitution", but also in order that "no obstacles should hinder the strong Government which had been appointed to institute fundamental reforms."

As an earnest of his intentions, the shah promulgated the Agrarian Reform Bill (15 January 1962). Prior to this, all legislation designed to break up the large estates, and thus make land available for distribution to the peasants, had consistently been blocked in the Madjlis. The shah had completed his programme, begun in 1951, of distributing crown lands to the peasants, but his example had not been followed by the large landowners. Under the provisions of the Agrarian Reform Bill, no landowner was to be allowed to own more than one village, regardless of size; all villages in excess of this allowance were to be bought by the State and sold to the peasants. Considerable progress was made during 1962 in implementing the new regulations, and land reform was a major item in the shah's six-point programme which was approved by national referendum in January 1963; other radical reforms were the enfranchisement of women, and the creation of the "Literacy Corps" to combat illiteracy, particularly in rural areas. This six-point programme was opposed by the National Front, and opposition from the religious classes culminated in serious rioting in the capital and the major provincial cities in June 1963. In September 1963, after an interval of more than two years during which the shah ruled by decree, general elections were held, and the newly-formed National Union Party, a coalition pledged to give full support to the shah's reform programme, gained a strong majority in the Madjlis. The elections were boycotted by the National Front. The election of six women to the Madjlis no doubt reflected the fact that, in these elections, women for the first time were able to vote.

Since 1963, the shah has made steady progress with his "white revolution", or "revolution from above," despite further acts of violence by those opposed to his policies. On 21 January 1965, for instance, the Prime Minister Ḥasan ʿAlī Manṣūr, whose New Iran Party, formed in December 1963, commanded a large measure of support in the Madjlis, was shot and mortally wounded by a supporter of an extreme right-wing *mudjtahid*. In April 1965 yet another attempt was made to assassinate the shah. The greatest hope for the future, perhaps, lies in the achievements of the Plan Organization. The First Seven-Year Plan was launched in 1949, but the preliminary surveys and blueprints had hardly been completed before Muṣaddiḳ's nationalization of the oil industry deprived the Plan Organization of its principal source of revenue, and consequently many of the projects remained unrealized. The Second Seven-Year Plan (1956) provided for the expenditure of $ 850,000,000 (to be obtained partly from oil revenue and partly from foreign loans) on communications, agriculture and irrigation; industry and mines; and public works. The Second Plan brought positive benefits, including the completion of major hydro-electric and irrigation projects like the Karadj dam (1961), the Safīd River dam (1962), and the Diz River dam (1963). This last is the largest Iranian development project to date. It is designed to irrigate 325,000 acreas of Khūzistān which were once fertile, but which for centuries have been arid; the hydro-electric project associated with the dam has a potential capacity of 520,000 Kw. It is only one of fourteen major projects scheduled for Khūzistān. During the period of the Second Plan, too, the capacity of the Gulf ports was increased, highways were built, and the production of sugar, construction materials, and textiles was increased. The Third Economic Development Plan, inaugurated in 1962, has been severely hampered by drastic cuts in the budget of the Plan Organization, but in October 1963 the shah pledged more money for this purpose. On 29 July 1963 Iran and the Soviet Union signed an Economic and Technical Co-operation Agreement for the construction of a barrage on the River Araxes which will irrigate 148,000 acres on both sides of the frontier. The oil industry, under the control of the National Iranian Oil Company, continues to expand, and production increases as new oil-fields are discovered.

There has been a gradual détente between Iran and the Great Powers as the latter have relaxed their political and economic pressure. Simultaneously, relations between Iran and its immediate neighbours have become closer as a result of the establishment in 1965 of the Regional Co-operation for Development Corporation (R.C.D.). The participants in this corporation are Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, and already joint schemes are in progress in such fields as communications, industry, education and health.

The stability of the dynasty has been further assured by the birth of a second royal prince, ʿAlī Reżā, on 28 April 1966, and particularly by an amendment to the Constitution effected on 7 September 1967. This amendment provides that, if the shah dies before Crown Prince Reżā comes of age, or if the shah is unable to carry out his duties, the Empress Faraḥ will act as Regent until the crown prince reaches the age of twenty. In such a case, the Regent will be assisted by a Council of Seven, including the Prime Minister, the Presidents of the Madjlis and the Senate, and the President of the Supreme Court. On 26 October 1967, the shah, then in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, was officially crowned. This was a symbolic act, since the shah had repeatedly declared that he did not wish to be crowned as long as Iran was under foreign domination. There is no doubt that Iran today (1971) is more truly independent than at any time since 1800. The reforms introduced by the shah have already brought about radical changes in the struc-

ture of Persian society, and this trend is likely to become more marked in the years to come.

(R. M. Savory)

vi.—Religions

When the Arabs destroyed the Sasanian empire they also dealt a heavy blow to the national religion of ancient Iran, Zoroastrianism. As the official cult of the state, the Mazdean church had become dependent on the support of the political body and had identified itself to a large extent with the existing social order. As a result of this the clergy had lost touch with the broad masses of the population. Although our knowledge of the religious situation during the last days of the Sasanids is very limited, it seems certain that Zoroastrianism was no longer a very vital force, at least not in the orthodox form of the religion. Sectarian movements, the true nature of which is still rather difficult to ascertain, provided alternatives to the official doctrines and practices. The most important of these was Zurvānism.

In the Islamic theocracy, which during the first century of its existence was dominated by the Arabs, the Zoroastrians could only retain their identity as one of the tolerated religious minorities. In general, the Arab conquerors did not insist on an immediate conversion of their foreign subjects. In most cases, they were satisfied with the conclusion of a treaty which guaranteed freedom of cult to the non-Muslims in exchange for tribute. Originally the Zoroastrians (*Madjūs* [*q.v.*]) were not included among the "people of the Book" (*Ahl al-Kitāb* [*q.v.*]), but very soon the doctrine was adapted in such a manner as to extend the contractual protection (*dhimma* [*q.v.*]) to the Zoroastrian communities as well. Traditions containing decisions made by the Prophet in favour of the Zoroastrians in Baḥrayn and Yaman were adduced in support of this new interpretation.

Thanks to the tolerant attitude of Islamic officialdom, the Mazdeans were able to consolidate their position by retreating into small close communities standing aside from the life of the Islamic commonwealth. In this way they were able to survive the coming of Islam for several centuries, especially in rural districts and in those provinces where the Arabs did not settle in great numbers. Fire-temples continued to function in many parts of the country. The main centre of intellectual activity of the Zoroastrian theologians was Fārs. The archaic Pahlavi was used to commit the whole body of religious knowledge to writing after it had been transmitted chiefly by oral tradition during the pre-Islamic period. In some of the Pahlavi books there are traces of a confrontation with Islam, more specifically with the speculative *kalām* of the Muʿtazila. Important in this respect is the apologetic work *Shkand Gumānīk Vičār* ("The decisive solution of doubts") (edited by P.-J. de Menasce, Freiburg 1945). Citations from the Ḳurʾān occur in the Zoroastrian encyclopaedia *Dēnkart* (cf. A. Bausani, *Persia religiosa*, 138 ff.). This renaissance of Mazdean religious culture reached its peak in the 8th-9th centuries. Afterwards, the pressure exerted by the Muslim environment, which by that time had already been strongly iranized, became too strong. Those who did not want to follow the majority of the people in their conversion to Islam began to leave Iran. This exodus to Gudjarāt seems to have started in the 10th century A.D. [See pārsīs]. Only a small minority continued to adhere to the religion in Iran. In later times they were chiefly concentrated in Yazd and Kirmān. They were rather contemptuously designated as *gabrs* [*q.v.*].

Already the Sasanian empire had had its religious minorities. Its policy with regard to these groups had been subject to many changes resulting from the vicissitudes of foreign and internal political events. Generally speaking, the minorities were far better off under Islamic rule. This is especially true of the Manichaeans who had fled from Sasanian persecution to Central Asia but partly returned to the homeland of their creed, Mesopotamia, in the early Islamic period. Little is heard of them until ʿAbbāsid times when they began to exert a considerable intellectual influence which was countered both by Muʿtazilī apologists and by an official inquisition [see further *s.v.* zindīḳ]. As far as Iran is concerned, there are only scattered references to Manichaean communities in the north-eastern provinces. A *Khānḳāh-i Manāviyān* directed by a *nigōshak* is still mentioned by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (p. 113) in 372/982-3. Persian literature has preserved numerous references to Manichaean painting.

The Christians in Iran belonged in the main to the Nestorian church which had sought here a refuge from persecution in the Byzantine Empire. Its missionary activity did not have much success in Iran. The evidence relevant to the early Islamic period points to the existence of a limited number of bishoprics with a relatively great density in Fārs. In the north-east, Marv was the see of a Metropolitan.

The settlement of Jews in Iran goes back to antiquity. They enjoyed a large amount of tolerance in the country both before and after the coming of Islam. Their communities, often living in separate Yahūdiyya-quarters, were to be found in many of the larger cities, but were particularly important in Khūzistān, Hamadān and Iṣfahān. At an early stage, the Iranian Jews started to use Persian for their writings, using the Hebrew-Aramaic alphabet. A small but interesting Judaeo-Persian literature [*q.v.*], consisting mainly of religious works, has been preserved.

Since the 2nd century B.C., Mahāyana Buddhism had penetrated those parts of Central Asia which were inhabited by Iranian peoples. Already in pre-Islamic times it had to retreat before Zoroastrianism but it continued to be of some importance in the region of Gandhara and Balkh during the first few centuries of the Islamic era. The Buddhist convent of Naw Bahār (from Sanskrit *nōva vihāra* "new monastery") was very renowned and figures often in early Persian poetry. The Barmakids, the Iranian viziers of Hārūn al-Rashīd, were descended from an abbott (*parmak*) of the convent [cf. al-barāmika].

The process of Islamization which eventually made Iran a thoroughly Islamic country took several centuries to be completed. The great historians of the Arab conquest (*e.g.*, al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī), as well as a number of local histories (*e.g.*, the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, al-Narshakhī on Transoxania and Ibn Isfandiyār on the Caspian provinces), have transmitted a great variety of reports on the conversion of groups or individuals originating from different regions and scattered over a large period of time. It is hardly possible to form a coherent picture of the process as a whole out of incidents which not unfrequently seem to contradict each other. Undoubtedly, the chaotic character of the evidence corresponds with the nature of the actual historical development. As there was no consistent policy on the part of the government, local conditions as well as social differences usually decided the course of events. The individual arbitrary decisions of local officials were often a very important factor.

The first report about the acceptance of Islam dates from as early as the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] when Daylamī cavalry troops (*asāwira*, also designated as Ḥamrā Daylam) deserted from the Imperial army and came to terms with the Arabs. This included conversion to the new religion as well as the settlement of these mercenaries in the recently founded *miṣr* of Kūfa (cf. L. Caetani, *Annali*, iii/2, 916-20). On some occasions Iranian notables were deported to the centre of the Caliphate to serve in the Umayyad administration and were remembered by later generations as the pride of their regions (cf. e.g. *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. M. T. Bahār, 18 ff.).

Conversions of this kind required a complete assimilation to the way of life of the conquerors, including the adoption of Arabic names. Reports of forced conversions or the violation of the sanctuaries of the protected religions are rare, but this may be partially due to the predominantly Islamic bias of the sources.

The pattern of Arab settlement [see AL-ʿARAB, iii] largely determined the pace of the Islamization of the different regions. In the cities of Khurāsān and of northern al-Djibāl, later also in those of Transoxania, large Arab garrisons were stationed which had a great influence on the rate of conversion among the townspeople. It has been suggested by several scholars that the urban class of artisans and tradesmen adopted the new religion so easily because in Sasanian society they had been discriminated against on account of their low status in the Mazdean scale of social values. Of the other social classes, the peasants were least open to outside influences and accepted Islam only very slowly. This cannot be explained exclusively by their isolation and the conservatism usually found among a rural population, but equally by their economic situation. The dependence of the state finances on the revenues of the land-tax, which was levied only on the non-Muslims, one of the most thorny problems of the young Islamic empire, put a great restraint on missionary activity directed towards the peasantry. In the administration of the great mass of non-Muslim subjects the Arab rulers for a long time used the services of the local aristocracy who had survived the downfall of the Sasanian empire. Although the *dihḳān*s [*q.v.*] and *marzpān*s were sometimes invited to become Muslims, their symbiosis with the Islamic government was not dependent on a religious affiliation but was essentially a political and economic necessity.

Massive conversions could still take place in Iran as late as the 5th/11th century. The rise of Ṣūfism did much to bridge the gap between the broad masses and the bearers of the religious tradition who mainly belonged to the upper classes of society. Members of the pietist Karrāmiyya sect were also very active as missionaries. The Shīʿī propaganda of the Zaydiyya is to be credited with the Islamization of the Caspian provinces.

Being a Muslim brought many social advantages to a non-Arab subject of the Islamic theocracy, but during the period of Arab hegemony which lasted till the downfall of the Umayyads in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the convert could only aspire to the status of a second-class citizen. As a client or *mawlā* (pl. *mawālī* [*q.v.*]), the non-Arab Muslim enjoyed the protection of an Arab tribe or family but was subject to certain disabilities

Although the Iranian *mawālī* often participated with great enthusiasm in the wars against unbelievers (*e.g.*, at the time of the conquest of Soghdia and afterwards in the struggle with the pagan Turks), the disadvantages of their status made them a potential ally to any politico-religious movement that came out in revolt against Umayyad rule.

The participation of Iranian *mawālī* in a sectarian movement is recorded for the first time in the accounts of the rebellion of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] who in 66-7/685-7 defended the claims to the imāmate of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] and demanded revenge for the death of al-Ḥusayn. His personal guard was recruited from the Ḥamrā *mawālī* in Kūfa. They are designed as *kāfirkūbāt* ([*q.v.*] literally "unbeliever clubs"), a designation which reappears in the sources when they mention the Iranians who took part in the ʿAbbāsid revolt. [See also KAYSĀNIYYA]. The Azāriḳa [*q.v.*], a Khāridjite group which, after having been defeated in ʿIrāḳ, continued its opposition in various parts of Iran (66/685-78/698-9), was also supported by many Iranian clients. Another Shīʿī pretender, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], was equally forced to retreat into Iranian territory after the failure of his rising in Kūfa (127/744). Taking advantage of the general atmosphere of discontent prevailing in the later Umayyad period, he succeeded in uniting dissenters of quite different religious and political parties under his command. Among them were Zaydīs, Khāridjīs and even prominent members of the ʿAbbāsid family. This sect, known as al-Djanāḥiyya [*q.v.*], displays doctrinal features that are common to many other early Shīʿī heterodoxies (*e.g.*, esoteric knowledge invested in the *imām* and the concealment (*ghayba*) and eventual return (*radjʿa*) of the founder of the sect). None of these movements, however, originated in Iran. They were the products of the syncretistic religious culture of ʿIrāḳ where Iranian ideas formed only one of several constituant elements. [See further s.v. GHULĀT].

From 116/734-128/746, the Soghdians were in open revolt over the poll-tax. This rebellion acquired a religious dimension through the collaboration of a group of pious Arabs like Abu 'l-Ṣaydā' Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf, who had been a successful missionary among the Soghdians, and al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*]. In the interests of Islam, they supported the claim of the *mawālī* to full rights as Muslims and they summoned the Umayyad government to return to the ordinances of the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*. The secretary of al-Ḥārith, Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], was one of the earliest Islamic theologians working in Iran.

The non-Muslim subjects showed a remarkable restraint towards the strife among the different factions of the Muslim community. The orthodox Mazdeans, the most numerous group, made no attempts to take advantage of this confusion. The movement of Bih' āfrīd b. Farwardān [*q.v.*], who proclaimed himself a Prophet about 129/747 in Khwāf (near Nishāpūr), originated in a sectarian environment. He claimed to be sent from heaven in order to reform the Mazdean religion. His message, which is said to have been laid down in a book written in Persian, was mainly concerned with religious practice. The prescriptions he gave were aimed at an adaption of Zoroastrianism to the moral and ritual code of Islam. The most outspoken opposition to his activities came from the orthodox Zoroastrian clergy.

In the last years of the first century A.H., the ʿAbbāsid family, through the famous testament of Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*], had acquired the leadership of the most active section of the early Shīʿī movement. From Kūfa, the traditional centre of politico-religious opposition against the Umayyad regime, an effective propaganda was organized, focused on the province of Khurāsān where conditions seemed especially favour-

able for stirring up a massive revolt. The activities of the ʿAbbāsid missionaries were directed to all the groups, whether Arab or Iranian, who had reason to be discontented with the present situation. To Iranian participants, the problem of equality within the Muslim community provided the main incentive. Another issue of a religious nature was the claim of revenge for the Zaydī pretender Yaḥyā b. Zayd [*q.v.*], who had been killed in battle with Umayyad troops in 125/743 when he was trying to win support in Khurāsān. The religious motivation of the ʿAbbāsids themselves is not quite clear [see AL-HĀSHIMIYYA], but it is certain that they did not desire any emphasis on extreme points of doctrine, as is apparent from their disavowal of one of the prominent agitators, Khidāsh, when he was tried and executed on the grounds of spreading "khurramī" heresies, as well as from the vehement action taken by Abū Muslim, the architect of ʿAbbāsid victory, against several heretical movements.

In retrospect, the founding of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate appears to be a turning point in the development of Islam in Iran. Iranian Muslims, whose numbers were rapidly increasing, could now partake on an equal footing in the affairs of the Islamic community. The theocracy itself, on the other hand, became to a certain extent "iranized" as a result of the infiltration of a great number of Iranians into all the branches of its central administration. Many cultural traditions of ancient Iran were integrated into Islamic culture. There was also a large measure of participation by the Iranian Muslims in the elaboration of the great theological and juridical systems of Islam which took place in the early ʿAbbāsid period. The cities of Khurāsān and Transoxania developed into important centres of Islamic learning.

The immediate effects of the revolt which brought the ʿAbbāsids into power seemed at first to point to a quite different line of development. A wide-spread discontent with social conditions, as well as a receptiveness to heterodox religious ideas, notably among those sections of the population which had only been touched very slightly by Islam, the very elements on which the leaders of the revolution had built their success, continued to form an obstacle to political stability in the Iranian provinces. The severance by the ʿAbbāsids of their former relations with sectarian groups and, more specifically, the crude disposal of the popular leader of the movement in Khurāsān, Abū Muslim, provided the incentive for a long series of politico-religious risings. They were often headed by former collaborators of Abū Muslim, who made him the object of a messianic expectation similar to those current among the early Shīʿī *ghulāt*. It was believed that after a period of occultation (*ghayba*) he would return in the company of the pre-Islamic heretic Mazdak and of the Mahdī. A pronounced anti-Islamic tendency was expressed in the prophecy of a return of Zoroaster and the destruction of the Kaʿba. The idea of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) was also present: a divine element was thought to have been transmitted to Abū Muslim's daughter Fāṭima and to his son Fīrūz Mahdī. Collectively these movements are designated as the Abū-Muslimiyya. Another general term used in reference to a variety of these sects is Khurramiyya or Khurramdīniyya [*q.v.*]. This appellation is used in particular to characterize a number of customs, among which community of goods and wives are cited as the most objectionable, deviating from the Islamic way of life. A historical connection with the movement of Mazdak in Sasanian times has often been suggested but cannot be substantiated by the available evidence.

Most of these movements manifested themselves in the rural districts of eastern Iran and Transoxania. The leaders of the revolts were Sinbādh, Isḥāḳ al-Turk, Ustādhsīs and the "veiled Prophet", al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*], whose followers were known as the *Mubayyiḍa* or *Safīd-djāmagān* on account of their white garments. The most dangerous rebellion was led by Bābak [*q.v.*], and took place in Ādharbāydjān. It was only subdued after a long campaign directed by the best generals of the ʿAbbāsid army. The Rāwandiyya [*q.v.*], which projected spiritual leadership, based on a divine incarnation, in the person of the caliph al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], also originated in Iran, but its main activity was in ʿIrāḳ. The geographers and historians of the 4th/10th century still make mention of remnants of these sects in isolated parts of the country [for historical details see IRAN, HISTORY and the references given there].

Among the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs who still had a direct control over all the Iranian provinces, al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] showed a special interest in this part of his empire. His attempt to make an alliance with the Ḥusaynī branch of the ʿAlids by appointing the *imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā as his heir to the caliphate was little more than an episode. Yet it left permanent traces in Iran in the form of the two most venerated shrines of the Iranian Shīʿa: the Āstān-i ḳuds-i Raḍawī, the grave of the *imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*], who died under suspicious circumstances in Ṭūs (the present-day Mashhad [*q.v.*]) in 203/818, and the tomb of his sister Fāṭima al-Maʿṣūma in Ḳumm. The religious disputes held at the court of this caliph in Marv, in which representatives of various Islamic and non-Islamic denominations took part, show the great differentiation of religious opinion prevailing at this time as well as the relatively tolerant attitude adopted by the government.

In the long run, however, Iran developed into a predominantly Sunnī country, which it remained until the end of the Middle Ages. The rise of semi-independent dynasties in the eastern parts from the early 3rd/9th century onwards in no way checked this general trend. Both the Ṭāhirids and the Sāmānids acted as guardians of Sunnism and continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsids as the ultimate source of legitimate rule within the Islamic community. The same seems to hold true of the Ṣaffārids in spite of the intimation of heterodox leanings put forward by Niẓām al-Mulk (*Siyāsatnāma*, ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340 *sh.*, 20; transl., idem, London 1960, 15). They had come to power as the leaders of a popular movement against the Khāridjites who had managed to obtain a foothold in Sīstān. Even the growth of a distinctive Iranian self-awareness, expressing itself in the use of Persian for literary purposes and the creation of Persian literature, was not connected with a tendency to depart from Islamic orthodoxy. Among the earliest works that became accessible in Persian were such classics of Sunnī Islām as the *Taʾrīkh* and the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī.

The religious situation in Iran during the second half of the 4th/10th and the beginning of the next century can be reconstructed to some extent from scattered pieces of information which have been transmitted by the geographers and historians of this period. The *Kitāb Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm* of al-Muḳaddasī, written in 375/985, is a particularly rich source as far as the geography of religion is concerned (cf. the compilation of these references in P. Schwarz, *Iran*, *passim* as well as B. Spuler, *Iran*, 145 ff. and the *Karte III* with *Erläuterungen* at the end of this work).

Together these data point to a confusing diversity, even within the community of the people of the Sunna. It is therefore difficult to trace the main lines of division between the various doctrinal and juridical schools. In general there was a preference for the Ḥanafī school of law in the eastern provinces, especially among the lower classes. The S͟hāfiʿiyya had strongholds in Kirmān, Ṭabaristān and in several parts of Transoxania. The position of the *madhāhib* in the western provinces is less clear. For some period of time smaller schools like the Ẓāhiriyya [*q.v.*] founded by Dāʾūd al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] and the T͟hawriyya of Sufyān al-T͟hawrī [*q.v.*] had a fair number of followers in Iran. The doctrinal school of the Muʿtazila had, from the time of its efflorescence under the protection of the early ʿAbbāsids onwards, penetrated the Iranian provinces with much success. It managed to hold its ground there for a very long time after the reaction of the Ḥanbalī traditionalists had put an end to its dominant position in ʿIrāḳ. The struggle with the emerging neo-orthodox schools founded by al-As͟hʿarī and al-Māturīdī continued at least till the time of the Saldjūḳs. The *kalām* of the Muʿtazila became of lasting significance to Iranian Islam on account of its influence on the doctrinal system of the It͟hnā-ʿas͟harī branch of the S͟hīʿa. The larger cities usually contained a number of different religious minorities who lived in continuous rivalry and strife. The antagonism of social groups designated as *ʿaṣabiyyāt* [*q.v.*] merged with the controversies among the adherents of the various ritual or doctrinal schools. Not unfrequently, this took the form of small-scale civil war within the cities (cf. Cl. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du moyen âge*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 27 ff.).

The sect of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] originated in K͟hurāsān out of the teachings of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Karrām (d. 255/869). It found its following chiefly among the artisans. The most remarkable traits of the Karrāmiyya as far as practical religious life is concerned were the emphasis on traditionalist piety, the foundation of *k͟hānḳāh*s or small convents which may have supplied the models for later institutions of religious education, and the vehement missionary zeal of the sect, directed as much to the heterodox groups within Islam as to the non-Muslims. The height of its development was reached at the beginning of the 5th/11th century when they acquired a considerable influence on the G͟haznavid rulers as well as on the early G͟hūrids [*q.v.*].

Ṣūfism appears in Iran for the first time in the second half of the 4th/9th century. One of the earliest representatives was the great Ṣūfī *s͟hayk͟h* Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī [*q.v.*]. The foundation of the school of the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] is attributed to Ḥamdūn al-Ḳaṣṣār [*q.v.*] of Nis͟hāpūr. The emphasis on absolute sincerity and indifference to all outward appearances of piety, characteristic of the Malāmatiyya, became a distinctive mark of the mysticism of K͟hurāsān as compared with the Ṣūfism of ʿIrāḳ. In the first half of the 5th/10th century pupils of the ʿIrāḳī schools settled in eastern Iranian towns, e.g. Mūsā al-Anṣārī (d. *ca.* 320/932) in Marv and al-T͟hakafī (d. 328/940) in Nīs͟hāpūr. The great extension of Ṣūfism in K͟hurāsān was recorded a century later by al-Hudjwīrī [*q.v.*] in his *Kas͟hf al-maḥdjūb*.

A second centre of early Ṣūfism was Fārs where the first important *s͟hayk͟h* was Ibn al-K͟hafīf [*q.v.*] (d. 371/981). His teaching had a profound influence in this province which lasted for many centuries. It was continued by S͟hayk͟h Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. S͟hahriyār (d. 426/1033) [*q.v.*] of Kāzarūn, the eponym of the Isḥāḳiyya or Kāzarūniyya, one of the very first Ṣūfī orders not only of Iran but cf Islam in general.

Until the rise of the Ṣafawids about 1500 A.D., the S͟hīʿa remained a religious minority in Iran. As a matter of fact, it did not constitute a homogeneous group but consisted of quite different parties which were opposed to each other as much as the Sunnīs were opposed to all of them together. The small but militant movements of the *g͟hulāt*, which were particularly active during the Umayyad period, as a rule did not originate in Iran but emanated from southern ʿIrāḳ. The great majority of the S͟hīʿites living in Iran adhered to the quietist attitude in the matter of the political leadership of the community which had been adopted by the Ḥusaynī branch of the ʿAlids after the tragic failure of al-Ḥusayn's expedition to ʿIrāḳ at Karbalāʾ. Apart from their views on the doctrine of the Imāma [*q.v.*], they did not differ significantly, either in doctrinal or in ritual questions from the Sunnīs. This large moderate group of the S͟hīʿa, originally referred to by the general name of al-Rāfiḍiyya [*q.v.*], was from an early date strongly represented in the northern cities of al-Djibāl or ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī. S͟hīʿism was brought here by the Arabs who settled in this area when this part of the country was still a frontier with the not yet Islamized Caspian regions. Ḳumm, in particular, is an old stronghold of the S͟hīʿa in Iran. Scattered S͟hīʿa communities were to be found in other provinces as well. In K͟hurāsān, Nis͟hāpūr, Harāt and Ṭūs significant S͟hīʿī minorities were living together in separate quarters, generally tolerated by the Sunnī majority although from time to time they became involved in *ʿaṣabiyyāt* struggles. A rural district with a long tradition of S͟hīʿism was Bayhaḳ, with the city of Sabzawār. K͟hūzistān and Fārs also contained a fair number of S͟hīʿites.

The Zaydiyya [*q.v.*], for whom the active assertion of his claim had become an important pre-requisite of the rightful *imām*, were moderate in doctrine but not deficient in political zeal. In 250/864 a Zaydī pretender belonging to the Ḥasanī branch of the ʿAlids, Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, entitled *al-dāʿī al-kabīr*, succeeded in driving the Ṭāhirid governor out of Māzandarān, and founded there a S͟hīʿī state which in spite of successive reverses held its ground for several centuries. The Zaydites did a great deal to spread Islam in the Caspian regions, extending their influence both to Gurgān in the East and to Gīlān and Daylam in the West. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Utrus͟h [*q.v.*] was very active as a missionary of S͟hīʿī Islam.

The mountains of Daylam, the inhabitants of which owed their acquaintance with Islam mainly to Zaydī missionaries, were the place of origin of the clan of the Būyids [*q.v.*]. As rulers of western Iran and ʿIrāḳ they did not put an end to the Sunnī caliphate of Bag͟hdād, although it had been deprived completely of its political power. On the other hand they gave much stimulus to the further development of S͟hīʿī doctrines and customs, especially among the followers of the Ḥusaynī *imāms* who began to form a more defined denominational entity as the Imāmiyya or It͟hnā-ʿas͟hariyya [*q.v.*]. The celebration of the most important S͟hīʿī festivals such as the remembrance of the investiture of ʿAlī at G͟hadīr al-K͟humm [*q.v.*] and the mourning (*taʿziya*) of the martyrs of Karbalāʾ in the month of Muḥarram [*q.v.*] is for the first time recorded in the Būyid period.

The mission (*daʿwa*) of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] in Iran had already started before the end of the 3rd/9th century. The initiative was taken by the Ḳarma-

ṭians [*q.v.*] who, in addition to their centres in the Arabian territories bordering on the Persian Gulf, had a footing in Khūzistān as well. From here the missionary Khalaf was sent to the Shīʿī areas in al-Djibāl. From their base near Rayy, the Ismāʿīlīs, who in this part of Iran were known for a long time as Khalafiyya, tried to extend their influence to the Caspian regions, and to Khurāsān and Transoxania. After the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate in Egypt propaganda was directed from Cairo. Missionary activity in Iran was on the whole not very fruitful, in spite of the frequently outstanding intellectual capacities of the *dāʿīs*. The efforts were chiefly directed to the conversion of influential men of the ruling classes. Some spectacular but not very permanent achievements were made, e.g., the conversion of the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr II b. Aḥmad by the *dāʿī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, which led to the former's forced abdication in 331/942-3, and of one of the latest Būyid rulers, Abū Kalīdjar, who was won over to the Fāṭimid cause by al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn [*q.v.*]. The latter, by winning over a Turkish commander in the Būyid service, al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], almost succeeded in establishing Fāṭimid suzerainty in Baghdād. But this was frustrated by the intervention of the Saldjūḳ chief Ṭughril Beg, who rescued the ʿAbbāsids from their imprisonment in a Shīʿī state. More permanent results of the early Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* were the strongholds in isolated parts of the country like Ḳuhistān and Badakhshān. The literary output of the Ismāʿīlī communities, both in Arabic and Persian, was not inconsiderable. (See further S. Stern, ***The early Ismāʿīlī missionaries in North-West-Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxania***, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 59-60; on the literature of the early period: W. Ivanow, *Studies in early Persian Ismailism*, Bombay 1955²; idem, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London 1933; idem, *Ismaili Literature. Bibliographical Survey*, Tehran 1963).

The propagandist activities of the Ismāʿīliyya, usually referred to as Bāṭiniyya, became a great concern of the Sunnī rulers in Iran. This led to increasing intolerance with regard to religious minorities. Especially under the rule of the Ghaznavids and the Saldjūḳs in the 5th/11th—6th/12th centuries, a hardening of the relationship between the denominations can be observed. The situation grew worse towards the end of the 5th/11th century. The leadership was taken by Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ [*q.v.*], who in 483/1090 made himself master of the impregnable fortress of Alamūt [*q.v.*] in Daylam. This became the residence of an Iranian Ismāʿīlī dynasty in open rebellion against the Saldjūḳ sultan. Almost at the same time the supporters of the Fāṭimids split over the succession to the imāmate after the death of the caliph al-Mustanṣir (487/1094). The party who lost the struggle in Cairo, the Nizārīs [*q.v.*], had won the support of most of the Ismāʿīlīs in Iran under the guidance of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. In Western reports on this movement they are referred to as the Assassins, a name originating in Syria [see ḤASHĪSHIYYYA]. In the doctrines of this new sect great emphasis was laid on the necessity of a continuous teaching (*taʿlīm*) by a present *imām* in order to make the esoteric meaning of the revelation accessible to the believers. The breach from all the other sections of the Islamic community became absolute when in 559/1164 the "resurrection" (*ḳiyāma*), by which the *sharīʿa* was abolished for the Nizārī community, was proclaimed. Half a century later the community reconciled itself to its Islamic environment and placed itself again under the rule of the religious law. After the final destruction of its strongholds during the campaign of the Mongol prince Hülegü (654/1256), the Ismāʿīliyya in Iran ceased to exist as an independent force but lived on in the form of a religious minority for which the *imām* acted as spiritual guide (*pīr*).

Through the victory of the Saldjūḳs over the Būyids Sunnism had again acquired supremacy in most parts of Iran. Although the sultans adhered to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, the Shāfiʿiyya, to which the most prominent theologians belonged, became very influential thanks to the personal adherance of the powerful vizier Niẓām al-Mulk. The class of the theological and juridical scholars began to infiltrate the administration of the central government. To this end the extension of traditional academic education was fostered by the foundation of *madrasas* [*q.v.*] in the larger cities of the empire, known by the name of Niẓāmiyya.

The representatives of the Ithnā-ʿashariyya were, at the beginning of the Sunnī restoration in Western Iran, regarded with great suspicion. This attitude both on the part of the sultans and of the great vizier is clearly expressed in several anecdotes of the latter's *Siyāsatnāma*. In the 6th/12th century, when Niẓām al-Mulk no longer put his stamp on religious policy, the Shīʿites were able to take a greater share in the affairs of the state. Some of them even reached the rank of vizier. The altercations between Sunnīs and Shīʿa continued, however, in disputes and literary polemics, as well as outbursts of physical violence. An invaluable source for our knowledge of these controversies is the *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ* or *Baʿḍ mathālib al-nawāṣib fī naḳḍ faḍāʾiḥ al-Rawāfiḍ* by Naṣr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Rashīd ʿAbd al-Dhalīl al-Ḳazwīnī al-Rāzī, an apology for the Shīʿa in reply to a Sunnī literary attack.

In the course of the 5th/11th century Ṣūfism was well on its way towards becoming one of the dominant forms of Islam in Iran. Its greatest progress was made among the predominantly Sunnī population of the eastern provinces while the Shīʿa, in general, took a critical stand towards mysticism. The numerous Ṣūfī *shaykhs* of this period still lived and worked within the small circles of their pupils, established usually in convents (*ribāṭ*, *khānḳāh*) but without organizational ties. They taught by their words as well as by the example of their spiritual life, and did not pay much attention to the scholastic elaboration of Ṣūfī doctrine, to which, in the schools of ʿIrāḳī Ṣūfism, the name of al-Djunayd [*q.v.*] is especially connected. The ideas of the great *shaykhs* of Khurāsān living in this period are best known from the hagiographic works written by their followers (*e.g.*, Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Kharakānī [*q.v.*] and Aḥmad-i Djāmī [*q.v.*]). One of the first theoreticians of mysticism in eastern Iran was ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] of Harāt (d. 481/1089). The reconciliation of Ṣūfism with the doctrines of Sunnī orthodoxy which took place in this century was largely due to the efforts of eminent Khurāsānī mystics like al-Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*]. On the whole, the Turkish rulers of Iran, as well as their Iranian bureaucrats, favoured the Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, chiefly out of respect for the miracles (*karāmāt*) attributed to these holy men.

One of the most decisive influences of Iranian mysticism, spreading to the farthest corners of the Islamic world, was the formation of Ṣūfī brotherhoods known as *ṭarīḳas* [*q.v.*]. Apart from the Kāzarūniyya of Fārs already mentioned, most of the early orders were formed in the 6th/12th century. Among them was the fraternity of the Khwādjagān founded by

Kh^w^ādja Yūsuf al-Hamadhānī (d. 555/1160) in Khurāsān but better known through its Transoxanian branch, the Yasawiyya, named after the Turkish Ṣūfī *shaykh* Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] (d. 562/1166). With the expansion of the Turks to the West the Yasawī type of Ṣūfism was introduced in Anatolia where it was continued by the Bektashiyya.

Towards the end of this century two great *ṭarīḳas* emerged almost simultaneously at opposite sides of Iran. In ʿIrāḳ and western Iran the Suhrawardiyya, which was based on the teachings of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] (d. 632/1234-5), was raised for a short time to the position of an official Ṣūfī organization by the caliph al-Nāṣir. A secondary branch of the Suhrawardiyya was established in Multān on the Indian subcontinent. The order of the Kubrawiyya goes back to the Khwārazmian *shaykh* Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā [*q.v.*] (d. 617 or 618/1220-2). The majority of the later Ṣūfī orders of Iran derive their *silsila* from this order. Both the founder and the many eminent scholars among his pupils made a great contribution to mystical thought in Iran. The order of the Čishtiyya [*q.v.*] was also formed in Iran but reached its greatest development in India. Although it was founded in Anatolia, the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*] should also be mentioned in this connection on account of the deep roots it had in the religious environment of eastern Iran.

The attempts of the caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] to assert the secular power of the ʿAbbāsids as well as their leading position in the religious matters of the Sunnī community led to sharp conflict with the Khwārazm-shāhs, who were supported by Shīʿīs seeking revenge for the repression suffered under Sunnī rule. As a part of this struggle Shāh Muḥammad tried to establish a rival caliphate for which he put forward, as his candidate, a member of the ʿAlid family. This scheme was frustrated by the Mongol invasion.

The effects of the Mongol conquest decisively changed religious conditions in Iran. Retrospectively, these changes appear to form a prelude to the establishment of a Shīʿī state a few centuries later. The disappearance of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had weakened the position of the Sunnīs, who were deprived of this living symbol of the unity of the Islamic community, without having any theological expedient to account for the vacancy of its leadership such as the Shīʿa possessed in the doctrine of the *ghayba*. The secular power had, moreover, for the first time since the Arab conquest, passed into the hands of unbelievers. Up to the time of the conversion to Islam of Ghāzān Khān and the Mongol aristocracy (694/1295), the Ilkhāns, with the sole exception of the Muslim Aḥmad Tegüder (681/1283-683/1285), were either Shamanists, Buddhists or Nestorian Christians. Temples and churches had been erected in various places and Buddhist bakhshīs came to Iran from Central Asia and India. An interesting example of their spiritual influence is provided by the conversations with Buddhist ascetics recorded in the biography of the famous Kubrawī *shaykh* ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.*] al Simnānī. Other groups of non-Muslims were able to acquire a greater political influence than had previously been possible. The rise to power of the Jewish vizier Saʿd al-Dawla during the reign of Arghūn Khān (683/1284-690/1291) and the prominent place he gave to many of his co-religionists provoked at the time of his downfall one of the rare instances of an anti-Jewish outburst in the history of Iranian Islam.

In so far as the early Ilkhāns showed any interest in the religious affairs of their Muslim subjects, they not unfrequently favoured the cause of the Shīʿa. Already under Hülegü the prominent Shīʿī scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] reached a position of great influence at the Mongol court. Apart from his many other intellectual pursuits, he founded a school of Shīʿī theology which flourished throughout the Mongol period. Although Ghāzān officially adhered to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, on several occasions he showed his devotion towards the ʿAlid family, e.g., by making the pilgrimage to the holy shrines in ʿIrāḳ and by founding "houses of the *sayyids*" (*dār al-siyāda*) in many of the larger towns providing shelter and support to indigent and wandering descendants of the *ahl al-bayt*. His successor Öldjäytü (703/1304-716/1316) even temporarily joined the Shīʿa after earlier having shifted his allegiance from the Ḥanafiyya to the Shāfiʿiyya.

During the interval between the decline of Il-khānid power after the death of Abū Saʿīd in 736/1336 and the rise of Tīmūr, the discontent of the population with Mongol rule found an outlet in the revolt of the Sarbadārids [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān. A religious dimension was given to this movement by the collaboration of the Shaykhiyya-Djūriyya, a Shīʿī order of Ṣūfīs established in Sabzawār by Shaykh Khalīfa (d. 736/-1335) and his pupil Ḥasan Djūrī (d. *ca.* 739/1338). To a branch of this order belonged Mīr Ḳiwām al-Dīn al-Marʿashī, a *sayyid* who in the same period founded a small Shīʿī state in Māzandarān. His dynasty, residing in Āmul, is known as the Sādāt-i Marʿashī.

Tīmūr and his successors were without exception Sunnīs. The great conqueror, however, often subordinated his religious allegiance to political interests. His son Shāhrukh (807/1405-850/1446) was an excellent example of the righteous Sunnī ruler, but a much more relaxed attitude was adopted by the provincial government in Transoxania under Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*]. It was supported by the aristocratic *ʿulamāʾ* of Samarḳand and Bukhārā who by tradition exerted secular power. But, on the other hand, it provoked a fierce reaction from the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*]. This Ṣūfī order regarded itself as the defender of the lower social classes as well as of the strict observance of the *sharīʿa*. With the rise to power of the Tīmūrid Sultan Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] (855/1452-872/1469) in Samarḳand the leading Naḳshbandī *shaykh*, Khwādja Aḥrār, acquired a predominant influence in political affairs. Simultaneously, the Naḳshbandiyya became also the main spiritual force at the court of the Tīmūrids in Harāt during the reign of Ḥusayn Bayḳara [*q.v.*] (872/1468-911/1504). But here the *ṭarīḳa*, led by such eminent cultured men as Djāmī [*q.v.*] and his *murīd* Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], did not display the obscurantism which characterized the Transoxanian branch. The sultan himself was not entirely free from Shīʿī sympathies. His deportment at the rediscovery of the alleged tomb of ʿAlī near Balkh, where he founded the shrine that became known as Mazār-i Sharīf [*q.v.*], was a remarkable instance of this.

At the end of the 8th/14th century the Ḥurūfiyya [*q.v.*], a sect originating in a milieu of Ṣūfīs and *sayyids*, and owing its name to its grammatolatrous tendencies, was initiated by Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*] Astarābādī. Very soon it was subdued in Iran by Mīrān Shāh, a son of Tīmūr. The further history of the sect was enacted chiefly in Syria and Anatolia. Another heretic leader, Nūrbakhsh [*q.v.*] (d. 869/1464), who during the reign of Shāhrukh repeatedly asserted himself to be Mahdī in various parts of Iran, was through his teacher Isḥāḳ al-Khuttalānī connected with the Kubrawiyya order which up to his time had adhered

to the Sunnī *sharī*ʿ*a* in spite of a considerable influence of Shīʿī ideas.

The dynasties which dominated Western Iran during most of the 9th/15th century were based on confederations of Turkoman tribes. Among these still only superficially Islamized nomads an intensive religious propaganda was spread in the course of this period. It radiated from Ardabīl in Ādharbāydjān, which from the early 8th/14th century onwards was the centre of a Sunnī mystical order founded by Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (d. 735/1335). Under the leadership of his descendants, this *ṭarīḳa* won great support among the tribes living in the borderland between Anatolia and Iran. This expansion was accompanied by a shift in the religious orientation of the Ṣafawid family towards Shīʿī concepts, which included the belief in a divine incarnation in the spiritual leader (*murshid*) of the order. This change seems to have taken place when it was guided by Shaykh Djunayd [*q.v.*] (851/1447-864/1460), and became particularly clear at the time of his successor Shaykh Ḥaydar [*q.v.*] (864/1460-893/1483). From this time onwards the Ṣafawids claimed descent from the line of Ḥusaynī *imāms*. The politico-religious confederation of Turkoman tribes which they formed was known as the Ḳizilbash [*q.v.*]. Similar traces of extreme Shīʿī doctrines, though far less clear than in the case of the Ḳizilbash, appear among the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*], especially during the reign of Sultan Djahān Shāh (841/1438-872/1467) (cf. V. Minorsky, *BSOAS*, xvi/2 (1954), 271-97). The other Turkoman power in this area, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] was, however, unquestionably Sunnī.

Two other Shīʿī movements with *ghulāt* doctrines, focused on the concepts of incarnation and messianism, and not unsimilar to those of the 15th century Ṣafawiyya, were the sect of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], which spread from its place of origin in the area of Shahrazūr into western Iran, and the Mushaʿshaʿ [*q.v.*], which recruited its following among the Arab tribes in Khūzistān and southern ʿIrāḳ. The latter started with the appearance as Mahdī of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falāḥ in about 840/1436. He formed a small theocratic state which under the suzerainty of the Ṣafawid shāhs continued to exist for a considerable period as a buffer state between Iran and Ottoman ʿIrāḳ.

The great expansion of Ṣūfism is one of the main characteristics of spiritual life during the three centuries separating the Mongol invasion from the rise of the Ṣafawids as rulers of Iran. The most obvious signs of this in religious practice were the pious devotion offered by men of quite different social status to the mystical *shaykhs* and the growth of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods. The orders which came to flower in the course of this period have maintained themselves in Iran up to the present day in spite of a dramatic reversal of their success in the subsequent period. The Kubrawiyya [*q.v.*] produced a number of outstanding mystical philosophers like ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.*] al-Simnānī (d. 736/1335-6) and Sayyid ʿAlī al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] (d. 786/1385). A gradual convergence of the lines of thought of Sunnī mysticism and Shīʿī imāmology is the most interesting feature of their works. The main theme is the identification of the doctrine of the *ghayba* of the Imām-Mahdī with the concept of the permanent existence of a hidden *ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*] at the top of a hierarchy of Ṣūfī saints. (See further M. Molé, *Les Kubrawiya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 61-142).

The second great organization of Iranian Ṣūfism, the Niʿmat Allāhī Order, was founded by Shāh Niʿmat Allāh [*q.v.*] Walī (d. 834/1431). Although this *ṭarīḳa* has split into many independent branches in later times, its spiritual centre is still the shrine of the founder at Māhān in Kirmān. The individual wandering *darwīsh* [*q.v.*], a well-known figure of Iranian social life until quite recently, had his prototype in the members of *ḳalandarī* [*q.v.*] groups.

Among the Shīʿa, who in this period were still a minority, the tendency towards a reconciliation with Sunnī Ṣūfism can also be observed. Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (d. after 787/1385) in his main work, *Djāmiʿ al-Asrār*, laid great emphasis on the fundamental unity of both strains of esoteric thought in Islam. They converge in the acknowledgement of a common source of religious inspiration: the teaching of the *imāms*, who appear at the beginning of nearly all the chains of tradition (*silsilas* [*q.v.*]) of the Ṣūfīs. (Cf. H. Corbin, in *Mélanges Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 72-101; see also the edition of the *Djāmiʿ* by H. Corbin and Osman Yahya, *La philosophie shi'ite*, Tehran-Paris 1969).

As elsewhere in the Islamic world of that day, the pantheistic philosophy of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] did not fail to have a profound influence on metaphysical thinking in Iran. It found a particularly fertile soil as quite similar ideas were already current in Persian mystical poetry although they had not yet been synthesized into a coherent system of doctrine. This congeniality, which is notable especially with the great mystical poets of the 7th/13th century, made it very easy for the commentators of subsequent generations to interpret their works in terms of the scholastic patterns of the philosophy of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*. Beginning with the poets of the early 8th/14th century like Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī and Maḥmūd-i Shabistarī [*qq.v.*], these models were consciously applied in all Ṣūfī poetry. The impact of Ibn al-ʿArabī affected both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. To the latter belonged the earliest writers on mystical philosophy who can be regarded as his adepts in Iran: Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya (d. 650/1252) and his pupil ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī.

The proclamation issued by Shāh Ismāʿīl in 907/1501 on his ascent to the throne in Tabrīz as the first Ṣafawid ruler marks the most decisive turning-point in the history of Iranian Islam. The population of the newly conquered empire was enjoined to adopt the Shīʿī form of the call to prayer and to practise the cursing of the first three patriarchal caliphs. The former kaleidoscopical pattern of religious allegiances, which up to that time had always shown a predominance of Sunnism, was now replaced by theocratic unity based on the claim of the exclusive sovereignty in matters spiritual and secular of the ʿAlid *imāms*. In its earliest stage the Ṣafawid state was dominated by the Turkoman tribal chiefs of the Ḳizilbash who at the same time constituted the leading caste of the religious body. The shah, who was also the *murshid* of the Ṣafawī order, was according to contemporary reports of European observers worshipped as God. This is confirmed by allusions to a divine incarnation made by the shah himself in his Turkish poems (cf. V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, x (1942), 1007 ff.).

Apart from the belief in the mission of their religious guide, the intellectual content of the Ḳizilbash movement seems to have been very limited. Before long the movement proved to be unequal to the task of converting the majority of the people of Iran, with its ancient Sunnī traditions, into a homogeneously Shīʿī community. The initiative was taken over by the *ʿulamāʾ* of the Ithnā-ʿashariyya [*q.v.*], the only

section of the Shī'a numerous and sophisticated enough to provide religious leadership on an adequate level. The indigenous tradition of Shī'ī scholarship was considerably reinforced by the emigration of *'ulamā'* from centres outside Iran like Djabal 'Āmil in Syria and al-Baḥrayn. A powerful clergy came into being which gradually extended its influence and endeavoured to eliminate the traces of the heterodox origins of the Ṣafawids. At the same time, however, the emergence of this class posed the fundamental question of ultimate sovereignty within the theocracy. According to the Ithna-'asharī doctrine of the *imāma* [*q.v.*], the Hidden Imām continues to govern the world during his *ghayba* and his sovereign rights cannot be shared by any secular power. In the 11th/17th century it had become a point of discussion whether the interpretation of the will of the *imām* was entrusted to one of the living members of the 'Alid house (which implicitly meant the Ṣafawid shāh) or whether it was the prerogative of the collective opinion of the community as interpreted by the doctors of the Shī'a. About the same time shah 'Abbās I was, for political reasons, forced to break the military power of the Ḳïzïlbash. For a short while the shah tried to find a new base for his position as a spiritual leader in the Nuḳṭawiyya [*q.v.*], a sect in Khurāsān in which remnants of various earlier Shī'ī movements seem to have reassembled. At the time of the last Ṣafawid ruler, Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105/1694-1135/1722), the theologians virtually dominated the state.

The central religious official in the Ṣafawid state was the *ṣadr* [*q.v.*], whose function had existed already in the Timūrid period. He was charged with the supervision of religious affairs and institutions in general. At the local level he was represented by the *shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*], who was appointed in most of the larger cities and controlled more directly the jurisdiction of the *sharī'a* courts. Towards the end of the 11th/17th century the office of the *ṣadr* declined and was replaced by that of a *mullābāshī* (Turkish: head mullah). The members of the clergy were mainly dependent on the revenue of *waḳf*s, but some of them also acquired great personal wealth which enhanced their prestige among the populace and made them more or less independent of the support of the political power. The shahs, for their part, took a great interest in the maintenance of the pious foundations and the embellishment of the holy places of the Shī'a, both inside and outside Irān. Shāh 'Abbās I, who transformed his own landed property into *awḳāf*, assumed the title of administrator (*mutawallī*) of the extensive possessions of the shrine of the *imām* al-Riḍā', the actual duties of which were performed by a *mutawallībāshī* residing in Mashhad. The Shī'ī clergy was hierarchically divided into the higher group of the *'ulamā'* and the lower one of the *mullās* [*q.v.*]. The duties of the latter were restricted to education and some functions deriving from the practical application of the *sharī'a*. Among themselves the *'ulamā'* constituted two opposing theological schools, the Akhbārīs who rejected all speculative theology and demanded a strict adherence to the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet and the *imāms*, and the Uṣūlīs [*q.v.*] who claimed a right of direct resort to the ultimate sources (*uṣūl*) of the faith for the fully qualified scholars of Islam. On the basis of this claim these scholars could call themselves *mudjtahid*. From this emerged the later institution of the *Mardja'-i taḳlīd* [*q.v.*].

The history of the conversion of the people of Iran to Shī'ism is still largely unknown in its details. Apparently, it was not quite completed before the 12th/18th century. The victims of the first wave of actual persecution at the time of the conquest by Shāh Ismā'īl and his Ḳïzïlbash were predominantly Sunnī theologians. Among the Ṣūfīs, the order of the Kāzarūniyya in Fārs suffered very great losses as a result of this persecution. Outbursts of violence against dissenters continued to take place throughout the Ṣafawid period. During the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn the powerful *mullābāshī* Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī [*q.v.*] intensified the persecution of Ṣūfism in which the Ḳïzïlbash were not spared. Most of the Iranian *ṭarīḳas* had virtually ceased to exist at the beginning of the 12th/18th century.

Religious topics were very much in prominence in the intellectual life of Ṣafawid times. In Persian poetry the preoccupation with mysticism was replaced by the cultivation of Shī'ī themes such as the elegies on the holy martyrs. These products of classical literature also influenced the various forms of a rich religious folk-literature. Traces of this can, for instance, be found in the libretti used for the recitals of the *rawḍakhwān* [*q.v.*]. According to the autochthonous tradition, the passion plays (*ta'ziya* [*q.v.*]), the occurrence of which is not documented before the late 12th/18th century, were instituted by Shāh Ismā'īl as a means of propagating Shī'ī sentiment among the Iranians. Whatever the historical value of this assertion, it shows at least the important part played by religious literature in this respect. Through the efforts of the expanding religious class a large theological literature written in Arabic came into being, the magnum opus of which is the *Biḥār al-anwār* of Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī. In addition to these scholarly works, many books on religious subjects were composed in Persian for the propagation of Shī'ī doctrines.

The most important contribution of Ṣafawid Iran to Islamic culture was the philosophical school of Iṣfahān which resuscitated the philosophy of *ishrāḳ* [*q.v.*], first elaborated by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] al-Maḳtūl in the 7th/12th century. Forerunners of this school were the eminent Shī'ī scholars, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī [*q.v.*] and Mīr Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Dāmād [*q.v.*], but the actual founder, as well as its foremost representative, was Mullā Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], usually known as Mullā Ṣadrā. Other notable members were Mullā Muḥsin-i Fayḍ-i Kāshānī, Mullā 'Abd al-Razzāḳ-i Lāhidjī and Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim-i Findariskī. A late 13th/19th century follower of the Iṣfahān school was Ḥadjdjī Mullā Hādī-i Sabzawārī (1212/1797-8—1295/1878). The strong gnostic element in their philosophy made them suspicious in the eyes of the orthodox *mudjtahids*. They did in fact have an impact on the development of new religious tendencies deviating from the mainstream of the Ithnā-'ashariyya such as the school of the Shaykhiyya and the Bābī religion.

Since the establishment of the Shī'ī theocracy in Iran, the allegiance of the political power to this form of Islam has only been interrupted twice. The first occasion was the short reign of Ismā'īl II (984/1576-985/1577), the second the period of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] (1148/1736-1160/1747). Notwithstanding the fact that his tribe, the Afshārs, had taken part in the original Ḳïzïlbash confederation, he pledged himself at the time of his election as *Shāhinshāh* of Iran in 1148/1736 to an attempt at a reconciliation between the Ithnā-'asharī Shī'a and the Sunnism of the surrounding Islamic peoples. To this end he suggested a transformation of the Shī'a into a fifth school of Islamic law, the Dja'fariyya, which would share in the state of

mutual recognition existing between the four Sunnī *madhāhib*. Although this proposal was favourably received by a council of Sunnī and Shīʿī scholars held at Nadjaf in 1156/1743, it was rejected by the leading Sunnī power, the Ottoman sultan.

Under the rule of the Zand dynasty, the government returned to a strict observance of orthodox Shīʿism. One of the signs of this was the reinstatement of a *shaykh al-Islām* in Shīrāz. During this period a revival of Ṣūfism came about as a result of the missionary activities of Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, who was sent to Iran by the "pole" (*ḳuṭb*) of the Indian branch of the Niʿmat Allāhī order. This provoked a fierce persecution end with the execution of Maʿṣum ʿAlī Shāh in 1212/1797-8. The driving force behind this was the dominating *mudjtahid* of this time, Āḳā Muḥammad Bāḳir-i Bihbihānī (1117/1705-1208/1803). Living in Karbalāʾ, as a leading scholar of the Uṣūlī school, he succeeded in bringing to an end the predominance of the Akhbārīs at the holy shrines (*ʿatabāt*) in ʿIrāḳ, a predominance which had existed there since the end of the Ṣafawid period. At the same time, the Shīʿī theory of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* was being elaborated and greater emphasis was laid on the right of *idjtihād*. These developments were of great significance for the relationship between the dynasty of the Ḳādjārs and the clergy during the 13th/19th century. The latter came to hold the spiritual leadership whereas the shahs could no longer point to an ʿAlid descent as a counterweight. The situation of the chief centres of Shīʿī learning outside the boundaries of the Iranian state did very much to strengthen the position of the clergy whenever they opposed the policy of the Ḳādjārs. But even inside Iran they enjoyed a large measure of immunity, an important part of which was the traditional right of asylum (*bast* [*q.v.*]) accorded to places of religious importance.

During the reigns of the early Ḳādjārs, the Shīʿī clergy was able to exert a considerable influence on the affairs of the state. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1211/1797-1250/1834), who in all possible ways endeavoured to foster the growth of the religious body, showed himself especially amenable to pressure from the *mudjtahids*. On more than one occasion they actually interfered with his foreign policy. Under his successors relations between the state and the religious leaders became more strained. The latter's fierce opposition to the growing impact of western influences in Iran finally led to their active support of the popular protests against foreign monopolies like the tobacco concession of 1891-1892 and their involvement in the struggle against the authoritarian rule of the Ḳādjār shahs during the constitutional revolution at the beginning of this century. The Iranian government, on the other hand, as it more and more assumed the attitudes of a modern secular state, became less willing to respect the traditional privileges of the religious class.

Almost at the same time as the controversy between Akhbārīs and Uṣūlīs was settled in favour of the latter, a new schism divided the Shīʿī theologians. The doctrines of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī [*q.v.*], which were mainly concerned with the role of the Hidden Imām as a mediator in men's striving towards moral perfection and with problems of eschatology, were condemned as heretical by the *mudjtahids*. As a result of this the sect of the *Shaykhīs* [*q.v.*] was formed out of what had only been a school of Shīʿī theology. After the death of al-Aḥsāʾī in 1241/1826, his teaching was continued by Sayyid Kāẓim-i Rashtī (d. 1259/1843) who, from his residence in Karbalāʾ, was able to exert his influence through the Iranian pilgrims. Afterwards the Shaykhī sect split into three branches of which only the Āḳāʾī's are of any significance today. The centre of the present community is the *madrasa* of Kirmān. Larger groups of Shaykhīs are also to be found in Tehran, in Ādharbāydjān and Fārs, as well as among the employees of the oil industry in Khūzistān. (Cf. G. Scarcia, *Stato e dottrine attuali della setta sciita degli shaikhi in Persia*, in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, xxix (1958), 215-41).

In 1260/1844 Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad of Shīrāz revealed himself as the Bāb [*q.v.*] or "gateway" who had come to inaugurate a new prophetic cycle. This meant no less than a breach with the Islamic *sharīʿa*, as was explicitly confirmed by a convention of the followers of the Bāb in 1264/1848 at Badasht. The first stage of this new religion was a period of persecution to which the early believers often reacted with violence. The Bāb himself was executed in 1266/1850. After an attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1266/1852, the persecution reached a climax and the movement was wiped out as far as public life in Iran was concerned. Although it continued to have its secret sympathizers, especially among merchants and other groups of the middle class of Iranian society, its further development as an organization could only take place in exile. The succession to the Bāb was for some time a matter of contention between Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī and his brother Mīrzā Nūrī, who, among their following, were respectively known as Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] and Ṣubḥ-i Azal. The former, who was able to get the support of the large majority, initiated a reform of the Bābī religion, which, as the religion of the Bahāʾīs [*q.v.*], extended its aspirations and activities far beyond the limits of Iranian religious life.

The renaissance of Ṣūfism in Iran, which had started in the late 12th/18th century, had continued during the Ḳādjār period in spite of the often violent opposition of the *mudjtahids*. During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1250/1834-1264/1848), it even received official backing as the shah had become an adept of Ṣūfism under the influence of his vizier Ḥadjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī. Up to the present time the *ṭarīḳas* have been able to hold their ground and even to expand the number of their adherents, which are to be found almost exclusively among the urban population. They have also displayed a considerable literary activity. Modern Shīʿī Ṣūfism in Iran chiefly consists of three big orders: 1. The Dhahabiyya, which is a recent appelation of that branch of the Kubrawiyya that separated itself from the main body at the time of the appearance of a Mahdī of Nūrbakhs in the 9th/15th century. It was also called Dhahabiyya-i ightishāshiyya, the "Dhahabiyya of the rebels". The modern revival dates from the middle of the 19th century and is due to the activities of the *ḳuṭb* Ḥaḍrat-i Rāz (d. 1286/1869-70). His descendants, the Sharīfīs, are still at the head of a smaller branch of this *ṭarīḳa*, whereas the majority follows the tradition of Waḥīd al-awliyāʾ (d. 1374/1954). Both sections of the Dhahabiyya have their centre at Shīrāz. 2. The Niʿmat Allāhiyya have since the middle of the 19th century been divided into three independent groups which each have a separate chain of *ḳuṭbs*. The most numerous and influential branch is the Gunābādiyya, named after the Khurāsānian town of Gunābād near which the spiritual leadership has its residence. It has many followers among the higher classes. The other branches are the line of Dhu 'l-riyāsatayn, starting with Munawwar ʿAlī Shāh

(d. 1301/1884), and that of Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1342/-1924). The majority of the latter's adherents have, after his death, abolished the principle of guidance by one single *ḳuṭb* and have replaced this by the form of a brotherhood (*ukhuwwat*) with a collective leadership. 3. The Khāksār *darwīshes*, who recruit their following chiefly from the lower classes, continue the traditions connected with the mystical life of the ancient Malāmatis and Ḳalandar *darwīshes*. They have no reliable tradition about their origins. They regard as their founder a Shaykh Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar who may be identical with Shaykh Djalāl al-Dīn of Bukhārā (d. 690/1291). This would mean that they go back to the Djalāliyya branch of the Suhrawardī order. In recent times the Khāksārs have abandoned the way of life of wandering *darwīshes* and have adopted almost completely that of the other Ṣufi orders of Iran. The *faḳr-i ʿadjam*, an organization of artisans of the *futuwwa* type, is closely related to the Khāksār order. Among the Sunnī population of Kurdistān, the Ḳādiriyya and the Naḳshbandiyya are still of some importance. (See further R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Erster Teil: Die Affiliationen*, *Abh. K.M.*, xxxvi, 1, Wiesbaden 1965).

The Iranian Constitution of 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Law of 1907 confirmed the privileged position of Ithna-ʿasharī Shīʿism as the religion of the state. The *mudjtahids* acquired a right of veto on legislation as far as any proposals violating the prescriptions of Islamic law were concerned. [See further DUSTŪR, iv. - IRAN]. The policy of modernization pursued by the founder of the Pahlavī dynasty, Reżā Shāh (1924-1941), greatly affected the religious life of the country. Although he had yielded to the opposition of the *ʿulamāʾ* against the establishment in Iran of a republic modelled on the modern Turkish state, Reżā Shāh embarked on a vigorous programme of secularization in education, and civil and penal law which to a large extent reduced the clerical predominance in public life. The political power granted to the *ʿulamāʾ* under the Constitution was suspended. Regulations regarding the celebration of religious festivals, the emancipation of women and the use of European dress very much changed the outer appearance of the Islamic society of Iran. The introduction of the Djalālī [*q.v.*] era, a solar hidjrī calendar based on pre-Islamic traditions, is only one example of the vivid interest in ancient Iranian civilization which constitutes an essential element of modern nationalism. Although the impact of these developments on the attitude towards Islam among the educated was very considerable, its effects on the broad masses were still only superficial. After the abdication of Reżā Shāh in 1941, many of the old religious sentiments and customs were revived. Political groups based on a reaction against secularization and foreign influence took part in the turbulent political life of the early post-war years. The most prominent of these organizations were the *fidāʾiyyān-i islām* [*q.v.*], led by Nawāb-i Ṣafawī, and the *mudjāhidīn-i islām* of Āyat Allāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī [*q.v.*]. The publication of religious literature was also revived (cf. Y. Armajani, *Islamic Literature in post-war Iran*, in *The World of Islam. Studies in honour of Philip K. Hitti*, ed. by J. Kritzeck and R. Bayly Winder, London 1959, 271-82).

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(J. T. P. de Bruijn)

vii.—Literature

As the literature of Iran in its widest sense can not be surveyed in this article, a preliminary definition of its contents is necessary. Essentially, the article is restricted to Persian literature, by which we will understand the poetry and belletristic prose works composed in the New Persian literary language in as far as they have been produced by the Muslim population of Iran from the 3rd/9th century onwards. After a treatment of the origins of this literary tradition and of some of its main characteristics, a historical survey will be given encompassing both the

literary works of the past and of the present. This definition excludes the literatures of pre-Islamic times, the writings of the non-Muslim communities (*e.g.* Judaeo-Persian literature [*q.v.*]), the learned prose works, the literatures of other New Iranian languages and folk-literature. The cultivation of Persian letters outside the boundaries of present-day Iran is taken into consideration only as far as and as long as it has been directly connected with the literary life of *l'Iran intérieur*. Some references to general works about most of these excluded branches of Iranian literary activity have, however, been entered into the Bibliography.

I. General Aspects.

a. *The origins of Persian literature.*

About the beginnings of Persian poetry, several different traditions have been handed down. According to one of them, the first Persian poem was composed by the Sasanian king Bahrām V Gūr (421-439 A.D.). This initiative remained fruitless, it is said, on account of the opposition by the Zoroastrian clergy who regarded all forms of poetic speech as being based on falsehood and as a dangerous tool in the hands of heretics. Whatever the historical value of this story might be, it is at any rate significant in as far as it perfectly illustrates the literary conditions in pre-Islamic Iran during the last few centuries preceding the Arab conquest. The fact that the same monarch is credited with Arabic poems as well, moreover, points to the complex origin of Persian literature: on the one hand, from patterns of linguistic art as they are known to have existed in pre-Islamic Iranian culture; on the other, from Arabic literature as it had developed during the first two centuries of Islam out of the Bedouin poetry of the Djāhiliyya. The traditional literary critics of the Middle Ages, like ʿAwfī [*q.v.*] and Shams-i Ḳays [*q.v.*], have denied this double ancestry. To them, Persian poetry was entirely a product of Islamic culture. Its formal and thematic conventions were either taken over from Arabic poetry or newly invented by the first Persian poets. An important role as a creator of new forms in assigned to Rūdakī [*q.v.*]. The information concerning literary activity in Sasanian times that was available to these mediaeval critics was not accepted as evidence of the existence of a pre-Islamic poetry in Iran but was interpreted as referring only to a kind of rhymed prose set to music, not to be confused with serious literature.

Modern scholarship has established beyond doubt that Iran did have an independent literary tradition from ancient times onwards. This included poetry with a set of prosodic and metrical rules of its own, the historical development of which can be traced up to a certain extent. The oldest documents of Iranian literature, the *Gathas*, have been found to be partly poetical texts with an arrangement into stanzas of different length and with a metrical system based on the number of syllables. Within this system at least five variants are known. This prodosy is quite similar to that of the Vedic texts. Poetical fragments have also been discovered in the younger parts of the Avesta. A new metrical principle seems to be involved in these last texts, viz. the fixed number of accents. Most of the Middle Iranian languages were also used for writing poetry. The Manichaean hymns in Parthian and Middle Persian that have been found among the Turfan-manuscripts are partly translations from Syrian models, partly original compositions. Many of them are acrostic poems based on the order of the Semitic alphabet. In some of these hymns there are evocations of nature at the time of spring which are very much reminiscent of later Persian lyrical poetry. In the so-called Book-Pahlavi literature a number of texts have been shown to be original poems disguised by later Zoroastrian traditions as prose works. They represent different strains of Middle Iranian literary culture: the *Ayyātkār* (or *Yādgār*)-*ī Zarērān* belongs to the national epic (cf. E. Benveniste, *JA*, ccxiv (1932), 245-93), the allegorical tenzone *Drakht-i Asūrīg* to the literature of wisdom (cf. idem, *JA* ccxvii (1930), 193-225). In both cases, linguistic evidence points to a Parthian origin. There are also remnants of religious poetry like the hymn on Zurvān discovered by H. S. Nyberg in the *Bundahishn* (*JA*, ccix (1929), 214-5) and a number of other Zoroastrian poems of a didactical or visionary nature (cf. E. Benveniste, *RHR*, cvi (1932), 337-80; J. C. Tavadia, *Indo-Iranian Studies*, i (1950), 86-95; idem, *JRAS* (1955), 29-36; W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 641-8). The metrics of Middle Persian verse presents considerable difficulties as a result of the corrupted state of the available material. According to W. B. Henning (*l.c.*), the predominant principle is not syllabic but accentual; there are also unmistakable traces of rhyme, although this was not used with great consistency, while the dating of the known specimens is still uncertain. Imitation of Persian models is, therefore, not excluded. In addition to these specimens of poetry, some examples of *belles-lettres* in prose have been preserved as well. Furthermore, a number of Pahlavi works have survived in Arabic translations or at least in the New Persian versions based on the latter. Extremely popular were the collections of Indian stories such as the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], *Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* [*q.v.*] and the book of Sindibād [*q.v.*]. They had been introduced in Iran during the later Sasanian period. Their preservation is due to the translators of the 2nd/8th century among whom Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] is the most prominent. References to a fairly extensive novelistic literature in Middle Persian are to be found in Arabic sources of which the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm should be mentioned in particular. Nearly all of this literature has disappeared in Islamic times but not without leaving behind numerous traces both in Arabic and Persian literature. In this way, most of its subject-matter has in fact been incorporated into Islamic culture. This process of assimilation took place at such an early date that this ancient Iranian lore could play an important role in shaping the typical Islamic civilization of the Middle Ages. Instances of this cultural influence are: the legendary or semi-historical tales about the Iranian kings which through the late Sasanian codification in the *Khwatāy-nāmak* not only reached its definite form in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] but also became a part of Islamic world-history; the gnomic literature of the *andarz* surviving in numerous didactical works in poetry and prose, more specifically in collections of maxims like the one put to the name of the vizier Buzurgmihr [*q.v.*]; finally, a number of romantic themes both with and without a historical background, a famous example of which is the Parthian romance of *Wīs u Rāmīn* adapted from a Pahlavi model by Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī [see GURGĀNĪ]. The Arabic sources also tell us something about the activities of court minstrels and musicians at the time of the last Sasanian kings. The names of some of these artists like Barbād, Sarkash and Nigīsa remained famous far into Islamic times and we know a few titles of their songs.

From this and similar materials it has been possible to reconstruct a long tradition of minstrel poetry going back to Parthian times and perhaps even

earlier. As a form of oral literature closely connected with the art of music, it continued to flourish up to the time of the Arab conquest. Even after that event it did not vanish completely but left its influence on the popular poetry of Iran as well as on the practice of the Persian poets of the classical tradition. The minstrel tradition was clearly distinct from the written literature that was mainly cultivated by the class of professional scribes who monopolized the difficult writing system of Pahlavi. The Zoroastrian clergy, whose bias against poetry is exemplified by the anecdote about Bahrām Gūr cited above, adhered for a very long time to an oral tradition of the religious texts (see further Mary Boyce, *The Parthian gōsān and Iranian minstrel tradition*, *JRAS* (1957), 10-45).

Several modern scholars have tried to correct the traditional view of the origins of Persian poetry by making use of this new evidence for the existence of a pre-Islamic poetry in Iran. Special attention has been given to the possible connections between the quantitative metrics of classical poetry, described by the theoreticians of the Islamic period in terms of the Arabic system of al-Khalīl [see ʿARŪḌ], and older indigenous metrical patterns. According to some, the later prosody is nothing but an adaptation of earlier syllabic or accentuated metres. Although this conclusion seems too rash in view of the limitations and uncertainties of our knowledge of Middle Iranian prosody, there are on the other hand a few indications that make a more complex origin of the New Persian metres at least plausible. One could point, e.g., to the great differences in the frequency of certain metres or metrical variants between Arabic and Persian poetry, and to the fact that some of the most popular metres, at least as far as the Persian *mathnawīs* are concerned, seem to fit into an eleven-syllable scheme that could very well be related to an older autochthonous metre (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 132 f. with further references). On the evidence of two late Middle Persian or early New Persian poetical fragments Chr. Rempis has tried to establish an Iranian lineage for two forms of Persian poetry. In a hymn on the firetemple of Karkōy, preserved in the local history *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, he recognized a stanza of a strophic poem comparable to the later *tardjīʿband* or *mukhammas*; in the ceremonial address of the *mōbadhān mōbadh* to the King of Kings at the New Year festival, transmitted in the *Nawrūz-nāma*, a work ascribed to ʿUmar-i Khayyām, a specimen of the double rhymed *mathnawī* in Pahlavi (*ZDMG*, ci (1951), 233 ff.).

No matter how great a continuity can be reconstructed in Iranian literature, the fact remains that the minstrel poetry dissolved as a self-conscious artistic tradition after the coming of Islam, together with many other elements of ancient Iranian culture. Since the time of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] Arabic had replaced Pahlavi and Greek in the chancelleries of the Muslim empire. The religious minorities continued to have literary languages of their own. In Iran the Zoroastrian clergy continued to cultivate the archaic Pahlavi whereas the Jews started at a very early date to write in a form of Persian that was close to the actual speech of those days. Within the Muslim community, however, Arabic dominated all literary activity during the first few centuries of Islam. At a very early date the Iranian *mawālī* appear to have taken an active part in Arabic poetry. A few names are even known from Umayyad times: Abū Ziyād b. Salmā (d. after 100/718) used Persian words in Arabic lines; Ismāʿīl b. Yasār, of Ādharbāydjānian extraction, dared to sing the praise of the Persians in front of the caliph Hishām (cf. V. A. Eberman, *Persī sredi arabskikh poetov epokhi Omeyyadov*, in *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov Akad. Nauk*, Leningrad, ii (1927), 113-53; *GAL*, I, 60 ff. and S I, 92 ff.; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh*, I[4], 190-4). The hazardous action of this last poet, which nearly costed him his life, can be regarded as an early instance of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], the struggle for equality of Arabs and non-Arabs—in particular the Iranian *mawālī*—that in the early ʿAbbāsid period was fought out on the field of literary culture (*adab*). It should be pointed out that the question of the use of the vernacular in literature did not enter at all into this controversy. It is a wellknown fact that several of the great poets of Baghdād who created the new style of Arabic poetry during the 2nd/8th century were of Iranian descent. The oldest of these was Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*]. Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] actually used Persian words and expressions in some of his poems (cf. M. Mīnowī, *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i Adabiyyāt, Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, i, 3 (1333 sh.), 62-77). It is likely, though difficult to assess in detail, that the emergence of new trends in the poetry of the multiracial urban society of ʿIrāḳ during this period owed much to Iranian influences. More evident is this impact in Arabic prose literature as well as in such a short-lived phenomenon as the adaptation of Middle Persian prose works in epic *radjaz* or *muzdawidj*-verses as practised by Abān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*]. Arabic poetry was also cultivated with great intensity in the great cities of Khurāsān and Transoxania. A rich documentation about the poets in the Iranian provinces who wrote in Arabic from the 4th/10th century onwards has been brought together by al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*] in the 3rd and 4th volumes of his anthology *Yatīmat al-dahr* and its numerous supplements, like the author's own *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* (ed. by ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1313 sh.), the *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* by al-Bākharzī [*q.v.*], the *Zīnat al-dahr* by Abu 'l-Maʿāli Saʿd b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 518/1172), and the *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr* by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201; for the subsequent centuries see *GAL*, I, 251-4; S I, 445-9; II, 245; S II, 255-7). Arabic coexisted for a considerable time with Persian as an idiom for poetry. This is expressed in the honorific *dhu 'l-lisānayn*, "master of the two tongues", bestowed on some poets.

The very first signs of the use of the vernacular in poetry are a few scattered pieces that have come to light from a number of different Arabic sources as well as from the Persian *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*. Dating from the first two centuries A.H., they do not yet follow the quantitative metrics of later times, but on the other hand they do have rhyme in some sort. They can be regarded as late examples of the old minstrel poetry, or, rather, as specimens of popular literature from the time when Arabic poetry still reigned unrivalled among the educated classes. Often quoted and much discussed by modern researchers are the satirical lines put into the mouth of Yazīd b. Mufarrigh (cf. Fr. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 9. f. with further references). Also satirical are the four lines the people of Balkh addressed to the governor of Khurāsān, Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh, at the moment of his return after having been defeated in battle (*ibid.*, 10). See further on these fragments: Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*[2], 91; M. Ḳazwīnī, *Bīst Maḳāla*, i, Bombay 1928, 26-36; S. Ḥ. Taḳīzāda, *Hazāra-i Firdawsī*, Tehran 1944, 46-9; Muh. Taḳī Bahār, *Mihr*, v, 1316-7 sh., *passim* (reprinted as *Sabkshināsī*, iv/1 by ʿAlī-ḳulī Maḥ-

mūdī Bakhtyārī, n.p. 1342 sh.); Dh. Ṣafā, *Ta'rīkh*, i⁴, 147-51. The distich attributed to Abū Ḥafṣ Sughdī might very well be a citation from his lexicon (cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, i, Tehran-Paris 1964, 10 f.). A more serious claim to precedence as the author of a Persian poem composed according to the rules of Arabic prosody can be held by ʿAbbās or Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Marwazī, who is named by ʿAwfī (*Lubāb*, i, 21) as the author of a *ḳaṣīda* in honour of the caliph al-Ma'mūn composed at the occasion of the latter's arrival in Marw in the year 193/809. This account is rejected by most modern scholars, mainly on stylistic grounds. The lines quoted by ʿAwfī show a dexterity of poetical diction that suggests a much later time of origin (cf. G. Lazard, *l.c.*, 12 and the references there; for contrary opinions see Chr. Rempis, *l.c.*, 221 and J. Rypka, *History*, 135).

Whether this notice of ʿAwfī is to be accepted as historical or not, the rise of Persian poetry appears to us essentially as one aspect of a larger development of political and cultural emancipation in the Iranian provinces of the caliphate. It has often been styled an "Iranian renaissance" though it should be understood that this may not be interpreted as a return to pre-Islamic culture. As the final outcome of that process of Iranization which was facilitated by the ʿAbbāsid revolution, it really meant the acceptance of the Iranian element as an integrated part of the Islamic commonwealth and its civilization. In politics, this found its expression in the short intermezzo of *de facto* independent rule of Iranian dynasties between the periods of Arab and Turkish domination; in the domain of culture, in the elevation of Persian to the rank of a literary language. In its oldest form it was known as *darī* [*q.v.*], originally a south-western dialect which since the later Sasanian period had spread over the whole area where Iranian languages were spoken [see further IRAN. LANGUAGES]. The eastern parts of Iran took the lead in the use of the vernacular in writing. In the west and the south, Arabic retained its supremacy even under the rule of the Daylamite Būyids.

From the time of the Ṭāhirids, only a few names of Persian poets are known to us and next to nothing of their work has been preserved, although it is recorded that at least one of them, Ḥanẓala of Bādghis, had his poems collected into a *dīwān*. Thanks to the data transmitted by the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān* we are somewhat better informed about the poetry at the court of the Ṣaffārids. This source contains a detailed account of the birth of Persian poetry which presents a convincing picture of the way it actually happened, even if similar occurrences can easily be imagined to have taken place in the entourage of other local rulers as well. The notice has the form of an anecdote situated at the court of Yaʿḳūb b. Layth when he was being hailed by the poets after the capture of Harāt and the victory over the Khāridjites. As the amīr expressed his annoyance on account of the fact that he could not understand anything of these Arabic panegyrics, one of his secretaries, by the name of Muḥammad-i Waṣīf, started to compose poetry in Persian. "And he made the first Persian poetry addressed to Iranians. Before him, no one had done such a thing for, as long as they were *pārsīs* (*i.e.* before they became Muslims, both in a religious and in a cultural sense), lyrics used to be sung to them at the sound of the lute (*rūd*) in the *khusrawānī* manner. When the Iranians were defeated and the Arabs came, poetry among them was in Arabic and they all had knowledge and understanding of it. No one amongst the Iranians rose to such a greatness that they would sing poems to him, before the time of Yaʿḳūb. The only exception was Hamza b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shārī, but he was a learned man and knew Arabic." (ed. Muḥ. Taḳī Bahār, Tehran 1314 sh., 210). The expression *bar ṭarīḳ-i khusrawānī* in this passage corresponds to the terms *surūd* or *nawā-i khusrawānī* as they occur in the descriptions of the minstrel and his art at the Sasanian court in other sources. Scattered pieces of afew other poets of the Ṣaffārid period have also been preserved but this material is too limited to give us more than a vague idea of the poetry of this time. The poets made use of Arabic prosody though the lack of technical perfection they display characterizes them as first trials at handling a new linguistic medium of literary expression. The real history of Persian literature only began with the next period, the time of the Sāmānids of Transoxania.

b. *General traits of the Persian literary tradition.*

Already from the earliest phase of its history Persian literature presents itself as a clearly defined tradition that guides as well as limits the artist in his creative work. Within this traditional pattern there are not only strict rules for prosody but also stringent prescriptions with regard to the choice of themes, images and metaphors. In spite of the dramatic developments that occurred in the course of time in Iranian society, its artistic traditions displayed a remarkable resistance to fundamental changes, at least until the overwhelming influence of Western civilization made itself felt with all its force in the present century. In the preceding section we have referred to some of the elements out of which this tradition has been built up. Ancient Iranian literature may have played a much greater role than has been thought before. Undoubtedly there have also been indirect influences from Indian and from Hellenistic culture. As a typical product of mediaeval Islamic culture Persian literature was syncretistic. It was able to absorb these heterogeneous elements and give them a place in a new harmonious unity. This adaptability can also be observed in other forms of Persian art. The mould in which this literary tradition was cast was, however, Arabic literature. In the 3rd/9th century the latter had already gone through the most dynamic stages of its history. It had developed a formal and conceptual idiosyncrasy that would determine the literary activity of the Arabs for many centuries to come [see further ʿARABIYYA. B. ARABIC LITERATURE, especially the sections i and ii]. This determined also to a large extent the Persian tradition. The work of the early Persian poets was in particular influenced by the "new poetry" of the early ʿAbbāsid period, although some Persian poets still tried their hands at imitations of the old Bedouin *ḳaṣīda* and its repertoire (e.g. Manūčihrī, Muʿizzī). The poets of the Ḥamdānid school equally should be mentioned in this respect. In particular al-Mutanabbī was very much admired in Iran. The nature poetry of al-Ṣanawbarī [*q.v.*] and the genre of the prison ballad of Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī [*q.v.*] also provided models for the Persian poets (cf. U. M. Daudpota, *The influence of Arabic poetry on the development of Persian poetry*, Bombay 1934; Viktūr al-Kik, *Ta'thīr-i farhang-i ʿArab dar ashʿār-i Manūčihrī-i Dāmghānī*, Beirut 1971).

The faithfulness of the artist to the established patterns was greatly favoured by the methods of training recommended to the beginner. He was advised to learn the craft by memorizing large quantities of verse from the works of the great masters of the

preceding generations. In addition to this he was urged to become a scholar since learning was considered to be a great asset in poetry. Finally he should study the different branches of literary theory and criticism. The censure of the critics, either the professionals in their learned works on *naḳd-i shiʿr* or the educated public in its informal reactions, will have done its share to contain any attempt to go too far beyond the accepted bounds of tradition.

A similar restraint was put on the poet by his social status. Until the end of the 19th century most Persian poets were in some way or the other dependent on patronage. Literary life was mainly centred at the courts of greater or smaller monarchs. If the position of the poet as a craftsman was economically based on the favours of the princely maecenas, he was at the same time indispensable to the court. His task was not confined to entertaining but included also the advertizing of the virtues and exploits of the ruler. From the eagerness with which poets were attracted tc the courts it can be concluded that this form of political propaganda was regarded as effective. Apart from the sultans, the amīrs and the atabegs, the poets sang the praise of lower members of the ruling class as well: viziers, generals or prominent jurists and theologians. From the 5th/12th century onwards the patronage was also assumed by the urban aristocracy. The persistance of this relationship between poet and maecenas (*mamdūḥ*) is illustrated by the continuous use of titles like *amīr* or *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* (poet laureate) from the times of Maḥmūd of Ghazna (ʿUnṣurī) to the last days of the Ḳādjārs (Bahār). A counterpart to the panegyrical function of poetry was formed by satire [see HIDJĀ, ii]. If poetry had the power to enlarge the prestige of a patron it could equally well serve to damage a reputation. This weapon might be used against the enemies of the patron or of the poet himself, but it could also be wielded against the former when he disappointed the poet's expectations. This social function of Persian court poetry certainly did not hinder its reaching at times a high degree of artistic perfection. Sometimes the symbiosis of political power and literary talent may even have stimulated the endeavours towards an ever more refined use of the poetical means. The effectiveness of a literary work as a medium for social and political publicity depended to a large degree on its artistic value. (Several authors have left explicit statements of the opinions concerning the poet and the function of his profession in society prevailing in their times, *e.g.*: Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. M. Ḳazwīnī-M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1955-7, text, 42 ff.; tr. by E. G. Browne, JRAS (1899), 661 ff.; Kay-Kāʾūs, *Ḳābūsnāma*, ed. Ghulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufī, Tehran 1345/1967, 198-92; Shams-i Ḳays, *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam, khātima*, ed. M. Ḳazwīnī, Leiden-London 1909, 415 ff.; ed. M. Raḍawī, Tehran 1338 sh., 445 ff.; see also Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Zindagānī-i shāʿirān-i darbārī*, in *Čand maḳāla-i taʾrīkhī wa-adabī*, Tehran 1342 sh., 327-51).

Next to its other functions literature has in Iran always served as a medium for instruction and edification. Didactical works were among the first manifestations of Persian literature. Even the heroic epic, as we know it from the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī and the works of his imitators, is full of moralising asides. Religious themes also appear at a very early date. At first they consisted of ascetic warnings (*mawāʿiẓ*) which had their parallels already in Arabic literature in the *zuhdiyyāt* of poets like Abū Nuwās and Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*qq.v.*]. Gradually ecstatic mysticism found a way of expression in most forms of literature whether poetry or prose. This conquest by Ṣūfism is by far the most decisive development that took place in the history of Persian literature. Some poetical forms became almost completely absorbed by it. The line of development A. Bausani has sketched for the Persian *ghazal* [*q.v.*]—from the address to the *mamdūḥ* through an identification with the *maʿshūḳ*, the beloved as the object of an erotic poem, to the *maʿbūd*, the transcendental Beloved—can very well serve to characterize this whole process of transformation. The attitude of absolute loyalty towards the maecenas which had to be expressed by the panegyrical poet was already in the early court poetry often associated with the total submission of the lover to his beloved as a metaphorical device. For a mystical application of this poetry with all its conventions this fundamental attitude did not need, therefore, to be changed. All that was necessary was a new interpretation of the symbols used. One of the results of this was a great amount of ambiguity in Persian poems. It is by no means always clear whether a poem is addressed to a venerated person in this world or in a transcendental sphere. This ambiguity constitutes one of the greatest problems of the interpretation of the work of a poet like Ḥāfiẓ, who seems to fuse the panegyric, the erotic and the mystical intention into one. This case may not be as unique as it is sometimes presented. Although some of the Ṣūfī poets certainly did withdraw from all attachments to this world in actual life and projected their poetically phrased veneration exclusively to the mystical object, or perhaps to the person of their spiritual leader (*pīr*), it is undeniable that mystical ecstasy did turn out to be not always incompatible with the relationship to an earthly maecenas. In the course of time the flavour of Ṣūfism to such an extent permeated lyrical poetry that its absence was felt as an aesthetic defect (cf. the remark of Shiblī Nuʿmānī, cited by J. Rypka, *History*, 233).

Another characteristic that made Persian verse a pliable medium for the expression of mystical ideas was its idealism. Quite often, and not least by modern Iranian critics, the early poetry in the so-called Khurāsānī-style is qualified as realistic. This misunderstanding arises from the fact that the poet seems to speak about things in the outer world whereas in fact he evokes a poetical world in which the objects of his description possess an ideal and immutable form. His vernal garden is more akin to paradise than to any specific garden on earth, his idolized beauty is more like a *ḥūrī* than like any particular human being. Even when he speaks about topical events such as a military campaign, a hunting-party or a festival he does not depict them as concrete events, but treats them on an abstract level. In the same way his often very detailed attention for natural phenomena does not concern the things themselves but rather the metaphorical possibilities they offer him as symbols. Together they form a fixed stock of images that tend to acquire stereotyped symbolic values. A great number of these have been accepted as tropic expressions in the ordinary use of the language, *e.g.* narcissus (*nargis*) for the eye, ruby (*laʿl*) for lips, cypress (*sarw*) for slim stature.

The originality of an artist can only be evaluated within the framework of the artistic tradition which defines the boundaries of his work. In the case of Persian lyricism with its pronounced classicism this means that creative invention can only be applied on

the smallest elements of the poem, *i.e.* the individual lines (*bayts*) and the images and metaphors on which they are based. The poets vie with each other in formal perfection and refinement of expression, not in novelty of ideas. Sometimes this takes the form of citation (*taḍmīn*) which consists in incorporating a line of another poet into one's poem in order to be able to add an original line expressing the same idea in a still subtler way. This preoccupation with the single line of poetry has resulted in a remarkable loose structure, in particular of the *ghazal*. Recent research on the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] has for a great deal been concentrated on attempts to ascertain the structural principle of these poems which is thought to be of an associative character.

c. *Forms and themes.*

The most obvious mark of its ties to Arabic literature is the prosodic system that governs classical Persian poetry. At least theoretically all poetical forms, whatever their origin, have been defined in terms of the flexible system of *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] as formulated by al-Khalīl. Both quantitative metres and, to a lesser extent, the use of rhyme were novelties to Iranian literature. Differences in linguistic structure between the two languages presented the first Persian poets with many difficulties as can be noticed in the technical deficiencies (from the point of view of scholastic theory) in their works (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*², Berlin-Leipzig 1920, 95 ff.; G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes*, i, 45 f.; M. Dj. Maḥdjūb, *Sabk-i khurāsānī dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1345/1967, 35, 40 ff.). Before long a strict observance of the rules became imperative for the professional poet. It came also to play an important role in indigenous criticism. In practice there exist many differences between Arabic and Persian prosody. Apart from the striking diversity in the use of certain metres referred to already there is also a contrast in the manner in which the metres are applied within the bounds of a single poem. Whereas Arabic poetry permits of a wide range of variants to be chosen as derivative forms (*azāḥīf*, *ʿilal*) from the ideal metrical patterns (*buḥūr*), the Persian poets restrict themselves to one fixed (usually a derivative) form with only small room for alternatives (in most cases the substitution of two short syllables for one long syllable or *vice versa*). The rules of scansion allow a limited number of anceps syllables—the enclitic denoting the *iḍāfa*, the conjunction *u*, the words *tu* and *du* and the ending *-a*—and leave it to the poet to decide whether he wants to treat a vowel at the beginning of a word independently or whether he connects it with a preceding consonant. The enclitic forms of the singular personal pronouns can be treated as open short syllables. The most characteristic trait of Persian scansion is, however, the extended long syllable. This feature is disregarded in the contemporary practice of reciting poetry. A peculiarity of Persian rhyme is the *radīf*, *i.e.*, the adjunction of a word or a short phrase to the rhyming sound (*ḳāfiya*) and its repetition throughout the poem. It is very frequently used in *ghazals*. [See further ʿARŪḌ, ii].

The forms of poetry can be divided into two groups, the lyrical and the epic forms. The first group is characterized by patterns of rhyme that can all, again in theory, be reduced to the monorhyme pattern of the *ḳaṣīda*: aa, ba, ca, etc. The second consists only of one form: the *mathnawī* in which each distich has a different internal rhyme (aa, bb, cc, etc.). In other respects as well, the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] can be regarded as a basic form. It is the most unquestionable piece of the Arabic legacy. True to its origin it is first and foremost a medium for panegyric poetry and therefore closely connected with the social role of many Persian poets. The *ḳaṣīda* usually consists of three parts: the prologue (*nasīb*, *tashbīb*), the actual panegyric (*madīḥ*) and the concluding appeal to the generosity of the patron (*duʿāʾ*). The literary convention required that the poet should give special attention to the embellishment of the opening (*maṭlaʿ*) and concluding lines (*maḳṭaʿ*) of the poem as well as of the passage where he turns from the prologue to the panegyric (*gurīzgāh*, *makhlaṣ*, *takhalluṣ*). The most interesting part is undoubtedly the prologue. A great variety of topics can be used as themes. The choice is often decided by the topical occasion of the poem. Descriptions of nature in spring or in autumn were current in odes to be recited at the *nawrūz* or the *mihragān* festivals. The fire festival (*djashn-i sada*) at the end of winter called for descriptions of bonfires. Another famous theme was provided by wine and viniculture. The life of the court gave opportunities to chant the hunting parties or the campaigns of the patron or to describe the symbols of his royal status (*e.g.* the sword, the pen, the horse). A special branch of *ḳaṣīda* poetry was formed by the elegy (*marthiya*). A more personal note seems also to be struck in complaints about old age or about imprisonment as well as in the favourite subject of love (*taghazzul*). All of these are conventional themes which can be traced back to the tradition of Arabic poetry. Very soon the *ḳaṣīda* was equally used for the expression of secular moralism, religious topics and even mysticism. The most common form of the prologue was that of a description (*waṣf*), but sometimes other devices were applied as well, such as semantic riddles (*lughz*, *čīst*), tenzons (*munāẓara*) or plays of question and reply (*suʾāl wa-djawāb*). Until the time of the Mongol invasion the *ḳaṣīda* was the most important lyrical form. It reached a height of rhetorical perfection in the hands of the poets of the Saldjūḳ court (Muʿizzī, Anwarī) and in the school of Ādharbāydjān (Khāḳānī). From the 7th/13th century till the classicist renaissance of the middle of the 12th/18th century it was relegated to the background, although the intervening period still produced some outstanding poets of the *ḳaṣīda* like Salmān-i Sāwadjī [*q.v.*] and ʿUrfī [*q.v.*]. At the time of the Ṣafawids the elegiac *ḳaṣīda* was used for religious poetry mourning the holy martyrs of the Shīʿa. The decline of the *ḳaṣīda* in the Mongol period coincided with the full development of the *ghazal*. It succeeded as the principal form of lyrical poetry. The prosodic characteristics of the *ghazal* are identical with those of the prologue of a *ḳaṣīda*; it has approximately the same length and exactly the same pattern of rhyme. Although no specimens that can be attributed with certainty to Sāmānid and early Ghaznavid times (4th/10th-middle of the 5th/11th century) have survived, the occurrence of *ghazals* in a romantic *mathnawī*, *Warḳa u Gulshāh* by ʿAyyūḳī, proves that it was known already as a separate form during the latter period. At a later stage of its development the use of the poet's nom de guerre (*takhalluṣ*) in the *maḳṭaʿ* became an inseparable element of the *ghazal*. Some researchers have tried to relate the origin of this usage to the origin of the Persian *ghazal* itself, in particular in its function as a mystical poem (cf. e.g. E. E. Bertel's, *Istoriya*, 519; A. Ateş, İA, s.v. *gazel*). This view is incompatible with the evidence. Its use is from the earliest period onwards attested in the panegyrical *ḳaṣīda*. In the *dīwān* of Sanāʾī, one of the oldest poets who has left an extensive collection of

ghazals, the *takhallus* occurs far more frequently in the *kasida* than in the latter form. In addition to its use as a poem of profane and mystical love it could also serve as a subtle medium for panegyrism. [See further s.v. GHAZAL, ii]. Other lyric forms, far less frequently used, are the strophe-poems, *tardjiʿ-band* and *tarkīb-band*, the multiple poem, *musammat*, which most often consists of four (*murabbaʿ*), five *mukhammas*) or six lines (*musaddas*), and the increment poem *mustazād*. [See also ʿARŪḌ, ii]. Most collections of poetry contain a section of fragmentary pieces (*kiṭʿa*, pl. *kiṭaʿāt* or *mukaṭṭaʿāt*). They are classified as unfinished poems because of the omission of a regular *maṭlaʿ* with internal rhyme. They range from a half verse or a single line (*fard*) to a poem of the length of a *kasida*. Very often these *mukaṭṭaʿāt* are topical poems, such as elegies, chronograms (*taʾrīkh*) and satires.

The Persian quatrain (*rubāʿī* [*q.v.*], also named *du-baytī* or *tarāna*) is not only defined by the number of lines but also by its pattern of rhyme (aaba, less commonly aaaa) and by its metre, to be described as a series of variants of the ideal metre *hazadj* according to traditional theory. This is undoubtedly an artificial construction but the real origin of this form of short epigrammatic poems is still uncertain. Various themes can be chosen as a subject for the *rubāʿī*. At an early date they occur in the sermons and the biographies of Ṣūfī *shaykhs* and in mystical treatises. Best known to Western readers is the philosophical quatrain. Erotic and anacreontic themes were by no means imcompatible with this form. It is also frequently used for topical poetry, for inscription on buildings, tombstones etc.

The possibilities offered by the much simpler rhyme of the *mathnawī* [*q.v.*] have been exploited to the full in Persian literature. A rich epic poetry has been based on it, comprising many works of great extent. The only rarely used *muzdawadj* [*q.v.*] of Arabic poetry can hardly be compared with it. Although the factual evidence pointing to an Iranian origin for the Persian *mathnawī* is very limited, the importance this form has had from the very beginning makes it at least likely that it continues some kind of older indigenous literary form. Three main groups can be distinguished in the Persian epic: (a) the heroic epic, based on ancient Iranian mythology, the legendary as well as the historical lives of the kings of Iran and other heroic cycles that became attached to this [see further ḤAMĀSA, ii]. (b) The romantic epic, elaborating in most cases famous stories about a pair of lovers whose names provide the title of the poem. These stories come from quite different origins. Some of them are episodes taken from the heroic epic (e.g. *Khusraw u Shīrīn*), others go back to Iranian (e.g. *Wīs u Rāmīn*), Hellenistic (e.g. *Wāmiḳ u ʿAdhrā*) and Arabic sources (e.g. *Laylā u Madjnūn*), or are derived from the *Kurʾān* (*Yūsuf u Zalīkhā*). Nearly all of them developed into literary models which were imitated by successive generations of poets. The poetical language of the romantic *mathnawī* is more rhetorical than that of the heroic epic. Lyrical intermezzi often interrupt the intrigue. There are always a few passages added with moralistic aphorisms. With the growing influence of mystical philosophy on literature, the romantic tales acquired an allegorical meaning. (c) The didactic *mathnawī* includes a diversity of works the main purpose of which is instruction of one kind or another. This can be the vulgarization of science, moral precepts of a secular nature or the exposition of philosophical, religious or mystical truth. The poems of this category belong to epic literature in as far as they make use of narratives to typify the theoretical subject-matter. Frame-stories are also used to wrap the contents in an attractive epic form (cf. e.g. Rūdakī's *Kalīla u Dimna* and several of the mystical *mathnawīs* of ʿAṭṭār). In the great tradition of the so-called Ṣūfī *mathnawī* anecdotes became particularly important. In these last works stories can be found that were taken from the Kurʾān, from *Ḥadīth*, from the *kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* and the hagiography of Ṣūfī saints as well as from a great number of other sources. (Of some of the most important among these works the narrative elements have been analysed and related to their sources; cf. on Sanāʾī: M. Raḍawī, *Taʿlīkāt-i Ḥadīkat al-ḥakīka*, Tehran 1344 sh.; on ʿAṭṭār: H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955; on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī: R. H. Nicholson, *The Mathnawí* of *Jalálu'ddín Rúmí*, vols. vii and viii (*Commentary*), London 1937-40; Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Maʾākhidh-i kiṣaṣ wa tamthīlāt-i Mathnawī*, Tehran 1333 sh.: idem, *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī-i sharīf*, 3 vols., Tehran 1346-8 sh., left unfinished). A favourite allegorical technique is the *zabān-i ḥāl*, "the speech of state". This means that animals, things, or even metaphysical and legendary beings are introduced as speakers illustrating through a description of their own mode of existence the abstract ideas put forward by the author.

As metre and rhyme were, in the classical tradition, regarded as almost indispensable to a genuine literary composition, prose could only play a modest role in Persian literature. It had, moreover, to compete with the *mathnawī* in most narrative genres. Still, when considered from a more impartial point of view, a rich and varied literature of prose works of artistic value appears to exist. Anecdotes are also a favourite instrument of prose-writers even if their works are of an entirely utilitarian intent. It is, for that reason, not always possible to draw a clear line between artistic and non-artistic prose. A survey of different genres of story-telling in prose is given s.v. ḤIKĀYA, ii.

Conspicuous traits of the stylistic development of Persian prose are the interspersion of prose with poetical fragments and the increasing abundance of rhymed prose for which full advantage was taken of the possibilities offered by the vocabulary of Arabic. From the Mongol conquest onwards the tendency towards formal embellishment went to such extremes that meaning became almost completely subordinated to form. A trend to simplify the language of literary compositions started early in the 13th/19th century. For a detailed history of Persian prose style see M. T. Bahār, *Sabkshināsī, yā taʾrīkh-i taṭawwur-i nathr-i fārsī*, 3 vols. Tehran 1321 sh.

In the course of this survey there has been occasion to refer to several of the genres current in Persian literature, in particular in as far as they were connected with one of the poetical forms. In addition to this, some reference should be made to the genre of the *kalandariyyāt*, named after the *kalandar* [*q.v.*], a type of wandering *darwish* who practices in its extreme form the antinomian way of life of *malāmatiyya* [*q.v.*] mysticism. Poems of this genre can be quatrains (Bābā Ṭāhir, ʿAṭṭār) or may have a form intermediate between the *kaṣīda* and the *ghazal* (cf. esp. Sanāʾī). It seems to have absorbed the literary tradition of provocative identification of the poet with forms and symbols of non-Islamic religions (*kufriyyāt*) which is attested already in Arabic poetry of ʿAbbāsid times and in Persian poetry appears as early as Daḳīḳī [*q.v.*]. The *kalandariyyāt* later on

merged with the mystical *ghazal* (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, 487 ff.; idem, *Oriens*, xii (1959), 14 ff.). Another genre worth mentioning here is the *shahr-āshūb* or *shahr-angīz*, short poetical witticisms on young artisans, usually quatrains but also occuring as *ḳaṣīdas* In the latter case, they have been worked out to a satire on a whole town. Although themes of this kind can be found at quite an early date they really became popular only from the 10th/16th century onwards. The importance of the *shahr-āshūb* poems as documents of social conditions has been overrated (cf. A. Mirzoev, *Sayyido Nasafi i ego mesto v istorii tadžikskoy literaturï*, Stalinabad 1955, 143 f., cited by J. Rypka, *History* 297, 302 f. See also on this genre: M. Dj. Maḥdjūb, *Sabk-i Khurāsānī*, 677-99; A. Gulčin-i maʿānī, *Shahr-āshūb dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1346 sh.). There are also genres that are strictly bound to prosodic forms, e.g. the *Sāḳī-nāma*, a short *mathnawī* piece in the metre *mutaḳārib* on themes belonging to the topic of wine-drinking. The oldest specimens date from the 8th/14th century (Salmān-i Sāwadjī, Ḥāfiẓ). An anthology of works of this type was compiled by ʿAbd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī Ḳazwīnī in 1028/1619 (*Tadhkira-i Maykhāna*, ed. by Gulčin-i maʿānī, Tehran 1340 sh.).

The poetical language, its images and metaphors have only been explored to a limited extent so far. The nature themes in the early court poetry have been inventorised and analysed by C.-H. de Fouchécour, *La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane du XIe siècle. Inventaire et analyse des thèmes*, Paris 1969. Especial attention is given to the symbolism of the erotic-mystical *ghazal* in the chapter on *Motivi e forme della poesia persiana* of A. Bausani's *Storia*, 239-95; cf. idem, *Persia religiosa*, Milan 1959, 298-354; Manūčihr Murtaḍawī, *Maktab-i Ḥāfiẓ yā muḳaddama bar Ḥāfiẓ-shināsī*, Tehran 1344 sh. The Zoroastrian background of many themes is examined by M. Muʿīn, *Mazdayasnā wa taʾthīr-i ān dar adabiyyāt-i pārsī*, Tehran 1326 sh., 1338 sh.[2]. On various topics of lyrical poetry see further: A. Schimmel, *Die Bildersprache Dschelâlladdin Rûmîs*, Walldorf-Hessen 1950; eadem, *Schriftsymbolik im Islam*, in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift E. Kühnel*, Berlin 1957, 244-54; eadem, *Rose und Nachtigall*, in *Numen*, v/2 (1958), 85-109; E. Yarshater, *The theme of wine-drinking and the concept of the beloved in early-Persian poetry*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xiii (1960), 43-53. The fundamental study by H. Ritter, *Über die Bildersprache Niẓāmīs*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, deals in particular with the use of metaphor in Persian poetry. A new approach to the study of the language of poetry and literary prose makes use of the method of statistical wordcount: cf. R. Koppe, *Statistik und Semantik der arabischen Lehnwörter in der Sprache Alawi's*, in *Wissensch. Zeitschrift d. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, gesellsch. u. sprachwiss. Reihe*, ix (1959-60), 585-619; W. Skalmowski, *Ein Beitrag zur Statistik der arab. Lehnwörter im neupersischen*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 171-5 (on Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ) and M. N. Osmanov, *Častotniy slovar' Unsuri*, Moscow 1970. Some aspects of literary technique have been studied by G. Richter, *Persiens Mystiker Dschelâl-Eddîn Rumi: eine Stildeutung*, Breslau 1933; W. Lentz, *Beobachtungen über den gedanklichen Aufbau einiger zeitgenössischer Prosastücke*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 166-208; idem, *ʿAṭṭār als Allegoriker*, in *Isl.*, xxxv (1960), 52-96.

The rhetorical schemes played an important part in the style of Persian lyricism, especially in the art of the panegyric *ḳaṣīda*. Poems based on an intensified use of these figures were called *ḳaṣīda-i muṣannaʿ*. A specimen of this is the poem designed by Ḳiwāmī of Gandja (6th-12th century) as a textbook on the subject (cf. Browne, ii, 47-76). An analysis of one of the masterpieces of poetical rhetoric has been given by J. Rypka, *Ḥāqānīs Madāʾin-Qaṣīde rhetorisch beleuchtet*, in *ArO*, xxvii (1959), 199-205. The exposition of the schemes by Persian theoreticians is derived from the Arabic works on *badīʿ* and *balāgha* [*qq.v.*]. The oldest extant work is the *Tardjumān al-balāgha* by Muḥ. b. ʿUmar al-Rādūyānī (probably second half of the 5th/11th century; ed. with facsimile of the unique MS. by A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949). It was adapted about a century later by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ in his *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-shiʿr*. The most authoritative work dealing with the disciplines of prosody as well is *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳays al-Rāzī, Shams-i Ḳays for short (ed. by E. G. Browne and M. Ḳazwīnī, London 1909; ed. by Mudarris-i Raḍawī, Tehran 1314 sh., 1338 sh.).[2] For a survey of works on the theory of literature see the introduction by M. Ḳazwīnī to the last-mentioned work and F. Tauer, in J. Rypka et. al., *History*, 432 ff.

II. Historical Survey.

a. *Periodization of Persian literary history.*

Most histories of Persian literature derive the arrangement of their subject-matter largely from the divisions of dynastic history. This method is to a certain extent justified by the fact that royal courts have always been very important in the literary life of Iran. Schools of poetry can quite conveniently be identified and labelled by reference to the political centres on which they depended. Apart from the theoretical objections that can be brought forward against the exclusive use of a political frame of reference, one of the main practical disadvantages is that it cannot account for literary developments that intersect the boundary lines of political history. An arrangement based on a classification of forms and genres, as has been chosen for instance by H. Ethé and, more recently, by A. Bausani, can do more justice to the intrinsic history of literature as an autonomous artistic tradition. In the present survey, a broad historical scheme has been adopted which leaves sufficient room to trace out at least the most essential lines of the purely literary development. Within each historical section a secondary arrangement according to the main genres of literature (lyric poetry, epic poetry, prose) has been followed as far as possible.

Several attempts have been made to work out a more fundamental theory of periodization. A. Zarre has based his trifold division of Iranian literature as a whole on the principles of Marxist literary theory. The feudal period encompasses both the classical Persian literature and the literature of the Middle Iranian period (cf. *Očerk* in *Vostok, sbornik*, ii, 26). Suggestions for a much more refined scheme based on autonomous literary developments as well as on political and economic factors have recently been made by A. N. Boldïrev and I. S. Braginskiy (cf. I. S. Braginskiy et. al., *Problemï periodizatsii istorii literaturï narodov Vostoka*, Moscow 1968, containing reprints of articles published earlier in *Narodï Azii i Afriki*, 1963/6, 290-314 and *ibid.*, 1965/2, 100-10; see also the summary in *Central Asian Review*, xii (1964), 132-9). S. Nafīsī has borrowed the terms of his scheme (realism, naturalism, symbolism, etc.) from the historians of European literatures (cf. *Shāhkārhā-i nathr-i Fārsī-i muʿāṣir*, i, 23 ff.). A quite different system, developed by Oriental students of Persian literature, both in Iran and on the Indian subcontinent, makes use of a geographical nomen-

clature but is essentially based on stylistic criteria. This theory distinguishes three different styles each of which is typified by the poetry of a specific region during a certain period of time. (a) The style of Khurāsān or Turkistān (*sabk-i Khurāsānī, sabk-i Turkistānī*), *i.e.*, the comparatively simple and balanced style of early Persian poetry up to the Saldjūḳ period. It is ruled by the principle of harmonious use of images and metaphors within the limits of one line (*murā'āt al-naẓir*). The language both of prose and verse is still the old *darī* which has not yet been overloaded with Arabic loanwords and expressions. The main forms of poetry are the *ḳaṣīda* and the *mathnawī*, especially the heroic genre. (b) The style of 'Irāḳ (*sabk-i 'Irāḳī*) is characterized by a development towards a rhetorically more sophisticated type of poetry, the language of which is much more influenced by Arabic. There is also a tendency to use difficult learned allusions. In the course of the period of the *'Irāḳī* style, the *ghazal* and the romantic epic become the most prominent forms of poetry. It is equally the time of the rise of Ṣūfī literature in all its various forms. Most of these developments affect prose literature as well. There exists some uncertainty about the exact beginnings of this style. The shift of the main centre of literary life to the west during the second half of the 6th/12th century is reflected in its name, but unmistakable traces of similar stylistic trends can be found in the literature produced in the eastern parts of the country from the end of the preceding century onwards. (c) The Indian style (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]) is in its origin as a clearly defined poetical style more narrowly associated with historical and geographical factors than the two others. These factors are the radical changes in Iranian society resulting from the victory of the Ṣafawids in the 11th/16th century and the migration of many Persian poets to Indian courts, which took place simultaneously. The characteristic traits, as they have been described by A. Bausani, are: deviations from the rule of harmonious use of imagery, leading to a "baroque" extension of the stock of images and metaphors allowed in poetry, the predominance of mystical-philosophical themes, and an extreme tendency towards allegory. This style reached its full development with the Indian poets, but was also followed for some time by poets in Iran until the middle of the 12th/18th century when a return to the classical models (*bāzgasht*) took place. This neo-classicism prevailed in traditional poetry and criticism until quite recently. (For a general survey of the theories of periodization see J. Rypka, *History*, 112 ff. See also M. Dj. Maḥdjūb, *Sabk-i Khurāsānī dar shi'r-i fārsī*, Tehran 1345/1967 and, on the *sabk-i Hindī*, A. Mirzoev, *Sayyido Nasafi i ego mesto v istorii tadžikskoy literaturi*, Stalinabad 1955; E. E. Bertel's *K. voprosu ob "indiyskom stile" v persidskoy poezii*, in *Charisteria orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia Ioanni Rypka ... sacrum*, Prague 1956, 56-9; A. Bausani, *Contributo a una definizione dello "stile indiano" della poesia persiana*, *AIUON, NS*, vii (1957), 167-78).

b. *From the Sāmānids to the Mongol invasion (4th/10th—beginning of the 7th/13th centuries)*

As has been observed already in the section on the beginnings of Persian literature, the poetry of the time of the Ṭāhirids and the Ṣaffārids has been almost completely lost. Only from the early 4th/10th century onwards does the available material gradually increase, although our documentation remains scanty till the beginning of the next century, from which time date the oldest *dīwāns* that have been preserved. For the earlier period our knowledge entirely depends on the fragments transmitted by a number of sources of quite different nature. The most important categories are the anthologies (*tadhkira* [*q.v.*]), foremost the *Lubāb al-albāb* by 'Awfī [*q.v.*], lexicographical works, the oldest extant work being the *Lughat al-Furs* by Asadī [*q.v.*], and works on literary theory. Usually the fragments do not amount to more than one or two lines. Complete lyric poems of the 4th/10th century are very rare. Perhaps the most ancient specimen is a *ḳaṣīda* on the cultivation of wine by Rūdakī preserved in the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*. The first attempt to reassemble these scattered pieces was made by H. Ethé in a series of monographs published between 1872 and 1875. Several scholars both inside and outside Iran have continued this line of research (cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans* (*ixe-xe siècles*), *Fragments rassemblés, édités et traduits*, 2 vols., Tehran-Paris 1964, with further references).

The court of the Sāmānid *amīrs* in Bukhārā in the 4th/10th century is the first great centre of literature about which some detailed information is available. Both the *amīrs* and the prominent men of their entourage, like the Bal'amīs [*q.v.*] and the members of the military clan Sīmdjūr, encouraged men of learning and poets to use the vernacular as a literary language. There was much interest in Iranian lore but on the whole the literary tradition conformed to the existing patterns of Islamic culture. A particularly splendid episode was the reign of Naṣr II (301/914-331/942), the patron of Rūdakī [*q.v.*] (d. 329/940-1), who was the most distinguished figure of Sāmānid literature. More than 100 *bayts* from his works have been retrieved, considerably more than of any of his contemporaries. He cultivated a great variety of forms but the traditional accounts that ascribe to Rūdakī the invention of several forms of poetry are certainly unhistorical. There are indications that the literary activities of the Ismā'īliyya [*q.v.*] exerted some influence on the intellectual circles at the Sāmānid court. The anonymous commentary on a didactical *ḳaṣīda* by Abu 'l-Haytham Gurgānī (ed. by H. Corbin and M. Mu'īn, Tehran-Paris 1955; cf. G. Lazard, *op. cit.*, i, 24) contains references to the interest taken in the doctrines of this Ismā'īlī philosopher by Rūdakī and two other poets: Shahīd of Balkh, who himself is also known as a philosopher, and Muṣ'abī, one of the viziers of Naṣr II. Another notable poet of the earlier Sāmānid period was Farālāwī. To a later generation belong Abu 'l-'Abbās Rabindjanī, Abū Shu'ayb of Harāt, Ma'rūfī of Balkh and Daḳīḳī [*q.v.*]. This last, who is best known through his epic work, was also a great master of the early lyrical style. Much attention has been paid to his allusions to Zoroastrianism, which are best explained as early instances of the topic of the *kufriyyāt* and should not be taken at their face-value. From the increasing number of poets of the last decades of this century, special mention should be made here of Kisā'ī (born 341/952), the first to write religious poems showing his Shī'ite sympathies. Other names are Abu 'l-Ḥasan Lawkarī, Sipihrī, Badī' Balkhī, Khusrawānī, Abu 'l-Mathal, Shākir, Djullāb, 'Ammāra Marwazī, Amīr Āghādjī and Ismā'īl Muntaẓir, the last two mentioned being members of the Sāmānid house.

The local rulers of Čaghāniyān, the Āl-i Muḥtādj, were equally interested in Persian poetry. They patronized Daḳīḳī during a part of his career and later Mundjīk Tirmidhī as well as some of the great poets of the Ghaznavid period. To the west, Persian poetry penetrated to the court of the Ziyārids in Gurgān and even to the residence in Rayy of the Būyid vizier

"Ṣāḥib" Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād al-Ṭālakānī [see IBN ʿABBĀD] (326/938-385/995), who is also renowned as a writer and a patron of Arabic letters. Among the first poets at these courts were Manṭiḳī Rāzī (d. between 367/977 and 380/991) and Khusrawī Sarakhsī (d. before 383/993). The popularity of poetry in dialects (Ṭabarī, Gīlakī) in northern Iran during this period is worthy of note.

The Turkish Ghaznavids inherited the cultural traditions of their former masters, the Sāmānids. Their remote capital, Ghazna, was, during the first half of the 5th/11th century, the most brilliant centre of intellectual and literary life in Iran. All this was the result of a conscious policy pursued by the early Ghaznavids to attract scholars—the most celebrated among them being al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*]—and poetical talents to their court. It was inspired by a keen sense of the propagandist value of patronage. The writers and poets of this time put great emphasis on the glory of the dynasty and on its legitimacy. Poets accompanied the sultans on their campaigns, particularly on the raids into Indian territories, and celebrated their victories (e.g. the destruction of the temple of Shiva at Sōmnāth in 416/1026). Sultan Maḥmūd himself entered into literature on account of the stories about him and his favourite slave Ayāz [*q.v.*].

Thanks to a much fuller documentation of the literary production, we can for the first time study the lyricism of the Khurāsānī style in all its details in the works of the poets of the early Ghaznavid school. The period is dominated by three poets who exerted an influence on Persian poetical style that lasted throughout the centuries: ʿUnṣurī [*q.v.*] (d. 431/1039-40), Farrukhī [*q.v.*] (d. 429/1037-8) and Manūčihrī [*q.v.*] (d. about 432/1040-1). ʿUnṣurī, the poet laureate of the court of Sultan Maḥmūd, is first of all a great panegyrist, which made his work a favourite source for the older writers on the rhetorical schemes. The descriptive art of the prologues is more fully developed in the poetry of Farrukhī, especially in the formalized descriptions of nature. His style is characterized by the use of parallelism in the structure of the two parts of the distich. Manūčihrī shows a certain amount of individuality within the common tradition in the choice of his images. He is especially famous on account of his strophic poems.

The works of the other poets of the period have only been transmitted in a very imperfect way. We can have at least some idea about the poetry of Labībī [*q.v.*] (d. after 429/1037-8) and ʿAsdjadī (d. *ca.* 432/1040-1). Rābiʿa Ḳuzdārī of Balkh is probably the earliest female poet of Iran, although the chronology of her life is uncertain. She became the heroine of a popular romance (cf. Fr. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati*, 27-42). The poet Bahrāmī is known to have composed some treatises on prosody which were used as textbooks for a considerable time but have not been preserved. Abu 'l-Fatḥ Bustī (d. between 400/1009 and 403/1013 is said to have left two *dīwāns*, one in Arabic and one in Persian.

A second centre of patronage was the residence of Amīr Naṣr, a brother of Sultan Maḥmūd and governor of Khurāsān. In Rayy lived the poet Ghaḍā'irī (d. 426/1034-5) who, in spite of his service to the Būyid court, was in close contact with the Ghaznavid sultan as well.

The defeat of Sultan Masʿūd I at the hands of the Saldjūḳs in the battle of Dandānḳān (432/1040) divides the history of the Ghaznavids into two parts. After this event they lost control over the western parts of their empire and drew back upon the eastern half, *i.e.*, the present-day Afghānistān and the conquered areas on the Indian subcontinent. They did not abandon their cultural interest, however. Poetry was now also patronized at the court of the Ghaznawid viceroy in Lahore. This can be regarded as the starting-point of Indo-Persian literature. Quite prominent names are to be found among the first poets at the court of the Pandjāb: Abu 'l-Faradj Rūnī (d. after 492/1098-9) and Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [see MASʿŪD-I SAʿD] (438/1046-7—515/1121-2). The former brought many new elements in the style of the panegyric *ḳaṣīda* which anticipated later developments finally resulting in the style of ʿIrāḳ. His work is known to have influenced Anwarī. Masʿūd-i Saʿd is especially famous because of his prison-poems, reflecting personal experiences, although as a genre the *ḥabsiyyāt* were already a part of the Arabic-Persian tradition. The importance attached to poetry in the capital itself is demonstrated by the large frieze containing poetical inscriptions that has been unearthed in the ruins of the palace of the sultan (cf. A. Bombaci, *The kūfic inscription in Persian verses in the court of the Royal Palace of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni*, Rome 1966). The reign of Sultan Bahramshāh (512/1118-552/1151) was very fruitful. Mukhtārī (d. probably 554/1159 [*q.v.*]) was a versatile writer of *ḳaṣīdas*. The fame of Sanā'ī [*q.v.*] (d. about 535/1140-1) is particularly based on his religious and moralistic poetry. A great number of his *ḳaṣīdas* belong to the genres of the "ascetic poems" (*zuhdiyyāt*) and the *ḳalandariyyāt*. A similar preoccupation with religious and ethical themes is to be found in the *dīwān* of the great Ismāʿīlī poet and philosopher Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] (d. about 465/1072-470/1077). Sanā'ī's extensive collection of *ghazals* has been mentioned already on account of its significance for the history of this poetical form. Another notable poet of the *ghazal* was Sayyid Ḥasan-i Ghaznawī Ashraf (d. 556/1160-1).

The foundation of the Saldjūḳ sultanate in Iran reunified the country both politically and in a religious sense This new situation gave the cause of Persian letters a better chance to win the western provinces. Asadī [*q.v.*] of Ṭūs compiled his dictionary *Lughat al-Furs* in order to make the writers in other parts of Iran acquainted with the vocabulary of the eastern literary language. He himself emigrated to Ādharbāydjān where he found a patron in Abū Dulaf, the ruler of Nakhčuwān. The first prominent poet born in the west was Ḳaṭrān [*q.v.*] (d. after 465/1072-3). He attended the local courts of Tabrīz and Ghazna. Local centres of power emerged also in other parts of the country and offered the poets a greater variety of chances. Best known among the provincial panegyrists was Azraḳī [*q.v.*] (d. before 465/1071-3), who glorified the governor of Harāt as well as the Saldjūḳ Sultan of Kirmān. The central seat of power, the court of the Great Saldjūḳs, was during the 5th/11th century not very conspicuous for its interest in poetry. We know a few names such as Lāmiʿī (d. *ca.* 455/1063) and Burhānī (d. 465/1072-3), but the one truly great poet was the latter's son Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] (d. between 519/1125 and 521/1128), who later on joined the group of poets at the court of Sandjar in Marw. Here the art of the *ḳaṣīda* was elaborated with great rhetorical refinement. A great master of this art was Anwarī [*q.v.*] (d. probably 585/1189-90). Other lyricists of great talent were Adīb-i Ṣābir (d. between 538/1143 and 542/1148) and Djabalī (d. 555/1160).

In Central Asia Turkish dynasties continued to favour Persian panegyrism. Under the Ilek-Khāns, Bukhārā had its own school of poets led by the rivals ʿAmʿaḳ (d. *ca.* 543/1148-9) and Rashīdī of Samar-

ḳand. The most interesting figure was the satirist Sūzanī [*q.v.*] (d. 562/1166-7) who directed his ridicule against several of his colleagues. In the time of the Kh^w^ārazm-shāhs the most influential man of letters was Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ [*q.v.*] (d. 573/1177-8 or 578/1182-3). Besides being a poet, he was a prolific writer in Arabic and Persian prose.

The growing insecurity of life in Khurāsān from the middle of the 6th/12th century onwards, mainly a result of fresh invasions of Turkish Ghuzz tribes, caused an increasing number of poets to emigrate to the west. This trend is exemplified in the career of Athīr-i Akhsikatī (d. *ca.* 570/1174-5) and Ẓahīr-i Fāryābī [*q.v.*] (d. 598/1201-2), who both travelled to the Saldjūḳ court in ʿIrāḳ and further to the Ildegizid atabegs in Ādharbāydjān. At the same time there emerged a short-lived but not insiginificant school of poets in Iṣfahān dependent on the patronage of local aristocrats such as the Āl-i Khudjand and the Āl-i Saʿid. To this group belonged Djamāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī (d. 588/1192-3) and his son Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] (d. 635/1237-8) as well as the lesser known Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurwa. Closely related to the work of these poets was the school of Ādharbāydjān. It comprised the encomiasts of the many local rulers of north-western Iran, among whom the Ildegizids and the Shirwānshāhs were the most prominent. The outstanding lyrical poet was Khāḳānī [*q.v.*] (d. 595/1199), the last great poet of the *ḳaṣīda* of pre-Mongol times. Mention should also be made of Falakī Shirwānī [*q.v.*] (d. about 550/1155-6), whose *dīwān* contains a number of remarkable *ḥabsiyyāt*, and Mudjīr-i Baylaḳānī (d. about 594/1197-8), one of Khāḳānī's pupils.

The *ghazal* continued its development into one of the majors forms of lyricism throughout the 6th/12th century. The course of this process since late Ghaznavid times can be traced in the *dīwāns* of Adīb-i Ṣābir, Anwarī, Djalāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, Ẓahīr Fāryābī and Khāḳānī. The mystical application of the symbolism of the *ghazal* shows itself in an unequivocal form only at the very end of this century in the work of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*].

Another form that became a favourite of Saldjūḳ times was the *rubāʿī*. We find it in the 5th/11th century often used for the expression of mystical thoughts. The poems are ascribed to famous Ṣūfī *shaykhs* like Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*], Anṣārī [*q.v.*] and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kharaḳānī (d. 425/1033-4). The *du-baytīs* of Bābā Ṭāhir ʿUryān [*q.v.*] (d. 401/1010) contain early examples of the *ḳalandarī* themes. They show their affinity to popular poetry by the use of dialect forms. At the end of the period the mystical quatrain is again well represented in the *Mukhtārnāma* of ʿAṭṭār, a huge collection of *rubāʿiyyāt* arranged according to topics by the poet himself (cf. H. Ritter, *Philologika* xvi, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 195-228). The philosophical agnosticism of the famous quatrains of ʿUmar-i Khayyām [*q.v.*] (d. probably 515/1121-2) has some affinity to this mystical trend but cannot be identified with it. This short poem lent itself to the expression of quite profane topics as well. Anacreontic and erotic themes closely related to those of the *ghazal* are to be found in the poems of the female poet and singer Mahsatī [*q.v.*]. Like Rābiʿa, she is historically a rather vague personality and appears also as the heroine of a popular novel. It should be noted that most Persian poets have left collections of quatrains.

Among the fragments of Sāmānid poetry there is a remarkably large number of *mathnawī*-lines, but it is very often impossible to define the exact nature of the poems from which they originate. It is clear, however, that in addition to the versions of the heroic epic in prose, already at the turn of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries an attempt was made to treat the same subject-matter in the form of a *mathnawī*. The poor remnants of this work by Masʿūdī of Marw just permit the conclusion that it comprehended the whole range of the royal epic as we know it in the classical form of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*], which was completed about 400/1009-10. Through the latter work a fragment from the unfinished *mathnawī* of Daḳīḳī has been preserved. After Firdawsī the heroic epic continued in the form of monographic poems dealing with the adventures of individual heroes. Especially favourite were the members of the Sīstānian dynasty of vassals to which Rustam belonged. The most important writer of this genre is Asadī [*q.v.*] (the theory of the two Asadīs now has few defenders) with his *Garshāspnāma*. The strong influence of the romance of Alexander shows itself in the emphasis on philosophical discussions and journeys to far and mysterious countries. The tales about Alexander [see ISKANDARNĀMA] formed the only part of the epic of the kings that ultimately survived as a separate genre in the literature of the *mathnawī*. The classical model of this branch was provided by the double *Iskandarnāma* of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*]. [See further ḤAMĀSA, ii].

The earliest subject of a romantic *mathnawī* that can be identified is the story of *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā* [*q.v.*], based on the 12th sūra of the Ḳur'ān. Of the several versions known to have been composed in pre-Mongol times only one has been preserved. This poem used to be ascribed to Firdawsī but recent research has rejected this and attributed it to a certain Amānī who wrote it after 476/1083 for a Saldjūḳ prince (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 157 f.). It contains references to two versions of the 4th/10th century by Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad and Bakhtiyārī. The same story was later treated by ʿAmʿaḳ. From the romances written by ʿUnṣurī [*q.v.*], *Wāmiḳ u ʿAdhrā*, a story going back to Hellenistic sources, has been partly recovered recently. Two others, *Khing-but u surkh-but*, inspired by the statues of Buddha at Bāmiyān, and *Shādbahr u ʿAyn al-Ḥayāt* have been lost. Another recent discovery is *Warḳa u Gulshāh* by ʿAyyūḳī, a contemporary of Sultan Maḥmūd. It is a love story, situated in Arabia in the lifetime of the Prophet, and not unlike the European romance of Floire and Blancheflor. Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī [*q.v.*] elaborated an ancient Parthian tale, transmitted up to his times by Pahlavi literature, in the *mathnawī*, *Wīs u Rāmīn*. The significance of this work for the history of Persian literature lies not only in its origin, thoroughly investigated by V. Minorsky, but equally in the influence it exerted on the further course of courtly romance. Several stylistic conventions and topics were introduced by Gurgānī and afterwards developed by a long line of imitators. A particularly close relationship appears to exist between this work and *Khusraw u Shīrīn* of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] (d. 605/1209). While Gurgānī's story itself was abandoned, Niẓāmī set the pace for future generations both as far as the subject-matter and the formal conventions are concerned. The same can be said of his other romances: *Haft Paykar*, the romanticized lifestory of Bahrām Gūr, serving also as a frame-story for seven splendidly told fairy tales, and the celebrated Arabian story of *Laylā u Madjnūn*. Niẓāmī treated these subjects with great psychological depth. On the other hand he enriched the romantic *mathnawī* by using the imagery of lyric poetry to the full, treating it with all the rhetorical

ingenuity characteristic of the ʿIrāḳī style. He is justly regarded as the real founder of the Persian romantic epic. The *Khusrawnāma* by ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] also belongs to this category.

The *mathnawī* was from the earliest times onwards used for didactic purposes as well. Rūdakī composed versions of the Indian collections of fables and tales *Kalīla u Dimna* [*q.v.*] and *Sindibādnāma* [*q.v.*]. They were both repeatedly remodelled by later writers both in prose and in verse.To the same group of works belongs the *Bilawhar u Yūdāsaf* (*Būdāsaf*) [*q.v.*], fragments of which have been recovered form the Turfan manuscripts. Although written with Manichaean characters, the language of this text shows unmistakable signs of a New Persian original which can be dated in the Sāmānid period (cf. W. B. Henning, *Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rūdakī*, in *A Locust's Leg. Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 89-104). Narratives of this kind were from pre-Islamic times onwards especially valued on account of the element of moral instruction they contained. They can therefore be classified as a branch of the didactic epic. Another type is represented by the *Āfarīnnāma* of Abū Shakūr of Balkh completed in 336/947-8. Quite a number of fragments have been retrieved which can be ascribed to this work with some certainty. As far as we can judge from these remnants, it consisted of a series of aphorisms predominantly of a moralistic nature and illustrated by the use of inserted anecdotes. If this description is correct, it would mean that the *Āfarīnnāma* prefigured a structural type on which most later works of secular or mystical didacticism were based. The first and perhaps most important instance of this is the *Ḥadīḳat al-Ḥaḳīḳa* of Sanāʾī [*q.v.*], usually regarded as the beginning of a long tradition of Ṣūfī *mathnawīs*. The anecdotes in this work are very short and entirely subordinated to the theoretical contents they serve to exemplify. Although the poem has sometimes been described as an encyclopaedia of Ṣūfism, the *Ḥadīḳa* contains, in fact, besides mystical elements, a wide range of other themes such as philosophy, ethics, science and even panegyrics. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that diverging lines of development originate from this point in the history of the genre. On the one hand, the *Makhzan al-asrār* of Niẓāmī, dealing mainly with secular ethics, is notwithstanding its different metre and the far more rigid composition, according to the statement of the poet himself written in competition with the work of Sanāʾī. On the other hand, ʿAṭṭār's *Asrārnāma*, built on the same principle, is entirely devoted to mysticism. In both works the narrative has become a fully elaborated element in its own right. Quite a different type of structure is revealed by the "frame-story" *mathnawīs* of ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], the most famous of which are the *Ilāhīnāma*, the *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* and the *Muṣībatnāma*

Some of the *mathnawīs* produced in this period cannot be classified into any of the three categories outlined above. Still to the Sāmānid period belongs the *Dānishnāma* of Ḥakīm Maysarī composed between 367/978 and 370/981. It gives a popular exposition of medical theory and practice and therefore hardly belongs to literature proper (cf. G. Lazard, *Premiers poètes*, i, 36 ff.). Metaphysical doctrines combined with ethical maxims and some amount of gnostic speculation are to be found in the *Rawshanāʾīnāma* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in which no anecdotes have been used. A number of short *mathnawīs* has been ascribed to Sanāʾī, but only two of these can with certainty be regarded as authentic: *Karnāma-i Balkhī* containing both eulogy and satire, the latter directed against some of the Ṣūfīs and poets of Ghazna, and *Sayr al-ʿibād ila'l-Maʿād* depicting the gnostic's journey through the cosmos followed by a panegyry. To a similar type belongs the *Hunarnāma* of Mukhtārī. A very original work is the *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn* of Khāḳānī. Conceived as the poetical journal of a pilgrimage, it contains a variety of other materials as well, out of which the repeated addresses to the sun deserve to be noted.

Among the many cultural achievements of the Sāmānid period, the creation of a Persian prose literature takes a very prominent place. Nearly all the works of this early time that have been handed down are non-artistic writings and cannot concern us here. Still, some information is available which points to the existence of a number of works in prose that, at least on account of their subject-matter, are relevant to literary history. To this group belong the prose versions of the epic of the kings, three of which are known to have existed although no more than the introduction to one of them, composed in 346/957 by Abū Manṣūr al-Maʿmarī (or Muʿammarī), has been preserved. It is not quite certain whether the fragments dealing with the hero Garshāsp, cited in the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* and attributed there to Abu 'l-Muʾayyad of Balkh, have been taken from the Shāhnāma version of this prolific writer or from a separate "Book of Garshāsp". Monographs of this last type were written about several heroes who play some role in the epic cycles. They have all disappeared, but to a large extent their contents have been transmitted by way of the numerous *mathnawīs* of the same genre produced during the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. In prose, heroic themes are further developed in an extensive literature of popular novels. To the 6th/12th century belong the works of Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭarsūsī (or Ṭarṭūsī). His *Dārābnāma* elaborates the legends about the last of the ancient Iranian kings with many fantastic details. It ends with a treatment of the history of Alexander, one of the favourite subjects of this narrative literature. Another novel of Ṭarṣūṣī deals with a hero of Islamic times, Abū Muslim (cf. I. Mélikoff, *Abu Muslim, le Porte-Hache du Khorassan, dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne*, Paris 1962). The chivalrous romance *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, which was originally written by Ṣadaḳa b. Abī 'l-Ḳāsim of Shīrāz, but has only been preserved in a later version dated 585/1189, is entirely a work of fiction.

An alternation between versions in prose and in verse is equally observable in the tradition of the Indian collections of fables and stories. For two of these there is evidence of Persian prose renderings in the Sāmānid period (*Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Sindibādnāma* [*qq.v.*]). They have been replaced by later adaptations made with an intent to make these works more palatable to the literary taste of a later generation. The principle of the frame-story, so characteristic of these Indian books, was borrowed for a Persian imitation in the *Bakhtiyārnāma* [*q.v.*], while the animal fable introduced by the *Kalīla wa Dimna* was cultivated in the collection entitled *Marzbānnāma*, which was originally composed in the Ṭabarī dialect. [See further ḤIKĀYA, ii].

The fashion of embellishing prose by the application of rhymed and measured phrases was known already from the early 5th/11th century from the sayings attributed to the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū Saʿīd b. Abī 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*] and, more particularly, from a string of *risālas* usually ascribed to Anṣārī [*q.v.*] (cf. on the philological problems attached to these texts and their authenticity, G. Lazard, *La langue des plus*

anciens monuments, 111 f.), of which the small collection of prayers called *Munādjāt* has become quite celebrated. The style of Arabic prose, as it had developed in the time of the Būyids in the hands of such masters of the *risāla* as Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] and al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*], very much affected the style of elegant Persian prose. A clear instance of this influence is the introduction of the genre of the *maḳāma* [*q.v.*] into Persian literature by the *ḳāḍī* Ḥamīd al-Dīn of Balkh or Ḥamīdī [*q.v.*] (d. 559/1164). One of the best examples of the sophisticated style of pre-Mongol times, still very much appreciated in present-day Iran, is the version of *Kalīla wa Dimna* by Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], a secretary to the late Ghaznavid Sultan Bahrāmshāh. Other specimens of the style current among secretaries, theologians and men of learning and letters include pieces of official or personal correspondence preserved from the hands of several prominent men (e.g. the *Faḍāʾil al-Anām* by Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, the correspondence between his brother Aḥmad al-Ghazālī and ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī, and further the letters handed down from poets such as Sanāʾī, Khāḳānī and Rashīd-i Waṭwāṭ).

The characteristic traits of artistic prose are not confined to those works that can be classified as *belles lettres* in the strict sense of the term but occur in many works of a more "utilitarian" purpose as well. The same can be said of the art of narrative, whether of pointed anecdotes or of short stories. They are especially abundant in works of history and biography. It need not surprise, therefore, if a work like the *Taʾrīkh* of Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*] is reckoned among the masterpieces of early Persian prose. Even a listing of all the writings that in some way or the other are interesting from the aesthetic point of view would by far exceed the limits of this article. Only one group of prose-works cannot be left unmentioned here. In spite of great individual differences, these works share a common feature in that, as a kind of *Fürstenspiegel*, they have been written for the instruction of those in power and they abundantly make use of anecdotes and tales functioning both as illustrative examples and as a means to enliven the theoretical exposition. To this group belong the *Ḳābūsnāma* by ʿUnṣur al-Maʿālī Kay-Kāʾūs [*q.v.*] (d. 492/1098-9), the *Čahār Maḳāla* by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī [*q.v.*] (d. about 560/1164-5), the *Siyāsatnāma* by Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] (d. 485/1092) and the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* by al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] (d. 505/1111). All these works were written in a comparatively sober style.

Mainly on account of the relevance of its subject-matter to the study of certain themes of lyric poetry, mention should also be made of the *Nawrūznāma*, a treatise on the origins and customs of the ancient Iranian New Year's festival. It contains, among other things, a reference to the ceremonial use of poetry at the Sāsānian court and an account of the legendary origins of the cult of wine. The authorship of ʿUmar-i Khayyām [*q.v.*] is denied by most scholars.

Apart from the wealth of narratives contained in such works as the commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, the biographies of prophets and Ṣūfī saints, and mystical treatises, there is little in the religious prose literature of the pre-Mongol period that needs to be mentioned on account of its great artistic value. An exception, however, should be made for the allegorical tales, describing the spiritual journey of the gnostic, by Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] (d. 587/1191). Another famous mystic, Aḥmad al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] (d. 520/1126), examined the psychology of love in a string of concise and subtle aphorisms entitled *Sawāniḥ*. As it is presented in this work, the theory of love can be applied both to the earthly and to the mystical beloved.

c. *From the Mongol period to the rise of the Ṣafawids (7th/13th-9th/15th centuries).*

The successive invasions of the Mongols, resulting in the founding of the empire of the Īlkhāns, did not fail to affect the course of literary history just as it affected all other sections of Iranian society. The destruction of the great cities of Transoxania and Khurāsān, the enormous loss of life, the sharp decline of the economy, the disappearance of dynastic centres, all brought to an end the predominance of the north-eastern provinces in the Islamic civilization of Iran that had lasted for so many centuries. Not before the 9th/15th century could these areas for a short while regain some of their old cultural importance under the reign of the Tīmūrids. The shift of literary activity from the east to the western parts of the country, already in process from the middle of the 6th/12th century onwards, became definite as a result of these events, but it was no longer the north-western part that profited from this development. The Mongol Khāns, who established the centre of their rule in this area, assimilated far less easily to Persian culture than their Turkish predecessors. They were willing to accept and support those products of Islamic civilization that they regarded as useful, such as historiography and the natural sciences, but never developed any taste for the aesthetic achievements of its literature. The few instances of patronage to poetry known from the court of the Īlkhāns did not emanate from the rulers themselves but from erudite high officials of Persian descent in their service, like the Djuwaynīs [*q.v.*]. While the vocabulary of the great historians of this period was very much influenced by Mongol and Turkish (cf. G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 4 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-71 and H. H. Zerinezade, *Fars dilinde Azerbaydjan sözleri*, Baku 1962) the language or artistic literature shows hardly any trace of this. The *ḳaṣīda* on an earthquake in Nīshāpūr of Pūr-i Bahā-i Djāmī, a deliberate attempt to introduce loanwords from the language of the conquerors into the poetical idiom, is an isolated phenomenon (cf. V. Minorsky, *Charisteria Orientalia... Ioanni Rypka... hoc volumen sacrum*, Prague 1956, 186-201; *BSOAS*, xviii/2 (1956), 262-78).

In spite of all this, some of the greatest works of Persian literature were produced during these centuries. Favourable conditions for a continuation of the literary tradition were present in those parts of the country that had escaped from the devastations of Mongol warfare. For the first time, southern Iran, more specifically Shīrāz, began to take part in the history of Persian poetry. A strong impulse was given by the arrival of many refugees, among whom the prominent theoretician of literature Shams-i Ḳays [*q.v.*] should be mentioned. New centres also arose outside the boundaries of Iran. The capital of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, Konya, became the seat of a major school of mystical literature established there by immigrants. The cultivation of Persian letters on the Indian subcontinent became more and more independent after the foundation of the Sultanate of Dihlī in 602/1206.

In those days, however, poetry was no longer exclusively dependent on the economic and social support provided by patronage. From the 5th/11th century onwards, Ṣūfism penetrated Persian literature just as it gradually permeated Persian society as a whole. As a social phenomenon, this meant that a new

public and a new environment had come into being which created a wider range of functions for the poet and his art. Poetry could serve to express the ineffable experiences of the mystic through an ever more refined use of its symbolic language, or illuminate the subtleties of mystical doctrines from its vast resources of narrative material and techniques. It could also be used as a liturgical element in the "musical sessions" (*samāʿ*, [*q.v.*]) of the Ṣūfī circles. The traditional place of the *mamdūḥ* could be taken either by the spiritual leader (*pīr*) or by a human manifestation or "witness" (*s̲h̲āhid*) of the Eternal Beloved. For the poet who wanted to devote himself entirely to mysticism without any attachment to secular patronage, this new environment was provided by the communities of mystics, out of which the Ṣūfī fraternities (*ṭarīḳa*s) developed in the course of this period. The first notable example of this withdrawal of poetry from the world is Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, of whom no relation to any maecenas is known.

The most striking resnlt of these developments to be noticed in literature is the sharp decline of the *ḳaṣīda* as the main form of lyric poetry. To some extent this can be explained by the lack of interest in panegyrics shown by the chief court of the times. But the same trend can be observed at those courts where the traditions of courtly lyricism were continued on similar lines as before. In many instances the *g̲h̲azal*, which had now become the favourite poetic form, seems to have taken over the panegyric functions of the *ḳaṣīda*.

The ubiquity of the *g̲h̲azal* in Persian literature between the 7th/13th and 12th/18th centuries tends to obscure the fact tnat the *ḳaṣīda* never quite disappeared from the scene. At the beginning of this period Saʿdī [*q.v*] of S̲h̲īrāz (d. 691/1292) cultivated the ode, which he largely used for religious and moral admonition on the lines of Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw and Sanāʾī. Apart from Salmān-i Sāwad̲j̲ī [*q.v.*] (d. 778/1376), who glorified the D̲j̲alāʾirids of Bag̲h̲dād, in the 9th/15th century D̲j̲āmī should also be mentioned as a prominent poet of the *ḳaṣīda*. Most other poets also wrote at least some poetry in this form, although it is true that the production of *ḳaṣīda*s during this period lags far behind that of the *g̲h̲azal*.

In the main line of the history of lyric poetry two strains, which seem to be distinguished by the different demands put upon the poets by their social environment, became visible. One of these strains is the purely mystical *g̲h̲azal* which leaves no room for any ambiguity concerning its fundamental meaning. Its model was provided by the *dīwān* of ʿAṭṭār (see, for an analysis of his *g̲h̲azal*s in comparison to those of the earlier Sanāʾī and the later Ḥāfiẓ: H. Ritter, *Oriens*, xii (1959), 1-88). The foremost representative of this type of the *g̲h̲azal* after ʿAṭṭār is D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*] Rūmī (d. 672/1273), in Iran usually known as Mawlawī. His life as a spiritual leader and a poet in the community of mystics at Konya is the best documented instance of the entourage in which an uncompromisingly mystical literature could flourish. His immense collection of *g̲h̲azal*s, the *Kulliyyāt-i S̲h̲ams*, is attributed by the poet himself to S̲h̲ams al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī as an act of identification with the person regarded as the *s̲h̲āhid*. These poems are either expressions of mystical love, formulated under emotional stress without much care for formal perfection, or they serve to illuminate essential topics of mystical doctrine by means of a rich and sometimes very original imagery. In spite of this idiosyncrasy of Mawlawī's poetry, it became in its turn a model for the literary tradition of the fraternity of the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*], which was formed out of the spiritual community of Konya after his death. This is especially noticeable in the lyrical poetry of his son Sultan Walad [*q.v.*] (d. 712/1312) and his grand son Ulu ʿĀrif Čelebī (d. 719/1320). Another poet who cultivated this type of *g̲h̲azal*, though with a greater technical sophistication, was ʿIrāḳī [*q.v.*] (d. 688/1289). In the course of his eventful life he practised the way of life of the *ḳalandar darwīs̲h̲*es, the traces of which can be found in his works.

The second type of *g̲h̲azal* was cultivated by those poets who did not abstain from the established conventions of courtly poetry even if their works display the all-pervasive influence of Ṣūfism. The double character of the *g̲h̲azal*-style, referred to above, is characteristic of this type. Although there are great differences in the intensity of mystical influence, some overtones of a transcendental connotation can be noticed in nearly all erotic poetry written in this period. The S̲h̲īrāzī school is particularly famous on account of the full development of this kind of *g̲h̲azal*. The oldest of the two great poets of the *g̲h̲azal* who flourished in this city was Saʿdī. His lifetime covered most of the 7th/13th century when S̲h̲īrāz was ruled by the Salg̲h̲urid Atabegs. Nearly all his *g̲h̲azal*s are contained in three large collections, the *Ṭayyibāt*, the *Badāyiʿ* and the *K̲h̲awātim*. They show Saʿdī's perfect mastery of all the themes connected with the *g̲h̲azal* as a genre as well as of their associative interplay. Mystical notes can be observed, but they are harmoniously fused with secular themes. His graceful style, which also pervades the other literary works of this very versatile author, influenced the idiom of Persian more than the work of any other writer. Among his contemporaries, the names should be mentioned of Imāmī of Harāt (d. 667/1268-9 or 676/1277-8) who attended the court of Kirmān, Mad̲j̲d al-Dīn Hamgar (d. 686/1287), a citizen of S̲h̲īrāz, and Humām al-Dīn [*q.v.*] of Tabrīz (d. 714/1314), who glorified the members of the D̲j̲uwaynī family.

During the 8th/14th century, S̲h̲īrāz was in turn ruled by the Ind̲j̲ūs and by the Muẓaffarids. The names of these two dynasties are forever connected with that of Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] (d. 792/1390), often nicknamed K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a or Lisān al-G̲h̲ayb. He was much more a specialist of the *g̲h̲azal* than Saʿdī, as his not very extensive *dīwān* contains only a few poems in other forms. Of these, the short *mat̲h̲nawī* piece *Sāḳīnāma* has acquired some celebrity. According to A. J. Arberry, Ḥāfiẓ developed in the course of his career the refined art of the *g̲h̲azal*, as he inherited it from Saʿdī, by introducing the device of contrapuntal interaction of several themes within one single poem. Very often no more than a short allusion in one or two lines was applied to evoke, in the mind of the hearer who was familiar with the literary tradition, associations with a whole thematic complex. This technique was the essential novelty of Ḥāfiẓ's art (cf. *BSOAS*, xi (1943-6), 699-712; *Fifty Poems of Hafiz*, Cambridge 1953, 28 ff.). The most characteristic themes he employed—e.g. the cult of wine, the tavern, the cup-bearer, the *pīr-i mug̲h̲ān* who reveals esoteric wisdom from the cup of D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd (*d̲j̲ām-i D̲j̲am*), the disdain of the antinomian mystic for the hypocritical piety of the ascetic, showing itself in a provocative playing with non-Islamic religious symbols—were derived from such traditional topics of Arabic and Persian literature as the *k̲h̲amriyyāt*, the *ḳalandariyyāt* and the *kufriyyāt*. Outstanding features of the style of Ḥāfiẓ are also his frequent use of ambiguity (*īhām*) and his irony. In spite of his pre-

dilection for mystical subjects, several of his *ghazals* have proved to be designed as panegyric poems.

There were several other prominent poets of the *ghazal* in the time of Ḥāfiẓ: ʿUbayd-i Zākānī [*q.v.*] (d. 772/1371), more renowned as a satirist, left a small but exquisite collection of lyrics. He shows a preference for short poems usually of seven lines, a trait also observable with Kamāl-i Khudjandī [*q.v.*] (d. probably 803/1400-1). The *ghazals* of Khʷādjū-i Kirmānī [*q.v.*] (d. 753/1352 or 762/1361) and Salmān-i Sāwadjī are of particular importance on account of the influence they exerted on Ḥāfiẓ, as has been acknowledged by the poet himself.

In the early 9th/15th century, the unambiguously mystical *ghazal* is cultivated again by Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī [*q.v.*] (d. 809/1406-7). By this time the poetical symbolism of the genre had been reduced to a system of fixed emblems denoting elements of the pantheistic philosophy of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], which had become predominant in Persian mystical thought. They lend themselves quite easily to a more or less mechanical interpretation, as often applied in commentaries or other essays on the allegorical language of Ṣūfī poetry. Of a quite similar nature is the poetry of Shāh Niʿmat Allāh [*q.v.*] of Kirmān (d. 834/1431), the founder of one of the most important Ṣūfī orders of Iran, and of Shāh Ḳāsim al-Anwār [*q.v.*] (d. 837/1433-4), who also wrote some poetry in Turkish and in the Gīlakī dialect.

The first sign of a revival of Persian letters in Khurāsān was the literary activity at the local courts that asserted themselves during the interval between the decline of the Īlkhānid empire and the rise of Tīmūr: the Shīʿite Sarbadārs of Sabzawār and the Kurts of Harāt. This short period produced a notable poet in Ibn-i Yamīn [*q.v.*] (d. 769/1368), who together with Anwarī, is reckoned among the best writers of the fragmentary poem (*ḳiṭʿa*). The old traditions of courtly poetry were more completely restored in the times of the Tīmūrids of the 9th/15th century. The wide range of cultural activities being cultivated in this period, as well as the active interest shown by several princes of the Tīmūrid house, are very reminiscent of the European renaissance. As far as literature is concerned, the flowering of all the visual arts connected with the production of manuscripts (calligraphy, miniature-painting, bookbinding) and philological projects such as the redaction of the *Shāhnāma*, usually attributed to the prince Bāysonghor [*q.v.*], should be mentioned in this connection. The main trait of literature itself is its classicist attitude. The Tīmūrid writers apply themselves to an ever more refined use of the transmitted forms and genres without adding much new to it. Some amount of novelty may, however, be granted to a genre of a rather bizarre kind introduced by Būsḥāḳ [*q.v.*] (first half of the 9th/15th century) of Shīrāz, who wrote a number of literary parodies on famous poets using culinary themes in his *Dīwān-i Aṭʿima*. On the same lines Ḳārī of Yazd (prob. 2nd. half of the 9th/15th century) composed a series of parodies based on terms current in the craft of the tailor (*Dīwān-i Albisa*). Other rhetorical devices like the enigma (*muʿammā*) and topical verses such as the chronogram (*taʾrīkh*) enjoyed a great popularity.

The most splendid centre of Tīmūrid culture was Harāt during the reign of Sultan Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] Bayḳara (873/1469-911/1506). Two great personalities dominated the literary scene of this court. ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] (d. 906/1501), counsellor of the sultan and himself a patron of literature, wrote some Persian poetry under the pen-name Fānī but his main significance lies in the many works he composed in the eastern-Turkish literary language, known as Čaghatay. In addition to a great number of non-artistic writings, they comprehended the complete range of literary forms current in Persian poetry. In this way Nawāʾī created a series of classical models for the Turkish literature of subsequent ages, both in Central Asia and in the Ottoman empire [see further TURKS-LITERATURE]. Closely associated with Nawāʾī was the Persian poet and Ṣūfī *shaykh* Djāmī [*q.v.*] (d. 898/1492), whose productivity and versatility were even greater than those of his patron. He has often been called the last classical poet of Persian literature, a qualification based on the presumption that with the rise of the Ṣafawids a period of decadence began, lasting for nearly three centuries. But it is true that the works of Djāmī can be regarded as a vast summary of the entire mediaeval literature of Iran, comprising both its courtly and its mystical traditions. His lyrical work has been collected in three volumes, the first containing the poetry of his youth (*Fātiḥat al-Shabāb*), the second that of his middle age (*Wāsiṭat al-ʿIḳd*) and the third the production of his later days (*Khātimat al-Ḥayāt*). With this arrangement he imitated the Indian poet Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*] (d. 725/1325) who, together with Saʿdī and Kamāl-i Khudjandī, also provided models for his *ghazals*. Other *ghazal*-poets of the Tīmūrid period worthy of note are Kātibī [*q.v.*] of Turshīz (d. 838/1434-5) and Amīr Shāhī of Sabzawār (d. 857/1453).

In the *mathnawī*-literature of the post-Mongol period, the five poems of Niẓāmī, joined by a later tradition into an artificial unity known as the *Khamsa* [*q.v.*], had become a conventional model that constituted an irresistible challenge to numerous poets both in Persian and in Turkish literature. The first of the long line of imitators was Amīr Khusraw. He kept himself strictly to the scheme of Niẓāmī, reproducing most of its structural features, but showed his originality by laying special emphasis on certain elements of the stories or by choosing new subsidiary tales in *Hasht Bihisht*, his imitation of *Haft Paykar*. The *Khamsa* of Khʷādjū Kirmānī deviates much farther from the original pattern. It comprises two romantic epics with new stories (*Humāy u Humāyūn*, *Nawrūz u Gul*) as well as three didactical poems of a mystical and ethical nature. Djāmī enlarged the scheme to seven poems in his *Haft Awrang*. The most celebrated of these is his version of *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā* in which the Ḳurʾānic story has been elaborated into an extensive allegory. Another of his new subjects is the philosophical novel *Salāmān u Absāl*. Many poets readapted only single poems of the Niẓāmian canon. The *Laylā u Madjnūn* of Maktabī of Shīrāz, written in 895/1489-90, one of the most successful instances among the works of this kind. (A full list of the known imitators of the *Khamsa* has been compiled by H. Ethé, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 245-8; see also the following works on the tradition of the individual poems, usually dealing with the Turkish versions as well: (1) on *Makhzan al-Asrār*—E. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannie Trudi. Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 204-14. (2) on *Laylā u Madjnūn*—H. Araslı, *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı, Belleten* 1958, 17-39; A.-S. Levend, *Arap, Fars ve Türk Edebiyatlarında Leylâ ve Mecnun hikâyesi*, Ankara 1959; E. E. Bertel's, *op. cit.*, 275-313. (3) on *Khusraw u Shīrīn*—H. W. Duda, *Ferhad und Shirin. Die literarische Geschichte eines persischen Sagenstoffes*, Prague 1933; G. Y. Aliyev, *Legenda o Khosrove i Shirin v literaturakh narodov Vostoka*, Moscow 1960. (4) on *Haft*

Paykar—Hikmet T. Ilaydın, *Behram-i Gûr menkabeleri*, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v (1935) 275-90. (5) On *Iskandarnama*—E. E. Bertel's *Roman ob Alekdandre i ego glavnie versii na Vostoke*, Moscow-Leningrad 1949, reprinted in *Izbrannie Trudi. Navoi i Dźami*, Moscow 1965, 283-413).

In spite of the overwhelming influence of these models, new ways were also sought for the further development of epic literature in the *mathnawī* form. Amīr Khusraw introduced items taken from contemporary history, either romances or glorious events in the reigns of the sultans of Dihlī. This example was followed by Salmān-i Sāwadjī in his *Firāḳnāma*, whereas the *Djamshīd u Khwarshīd* of the same author is in its outline related to *Khusraw u Shīrīn* of Niẓāmī. An important new development was also the growing tendency to allegorize the courtly romance. In analogy to the semantic transformation that had been applied to the themes and images of the *ghazal*, the plots and characters of epic literature could equally be exploited for an allegorical representation of mystical ideas, such as the relationship of the mystic and his transcendental Beloved, or the purification of the human soul in the course of its journey through the cosmos. It is difficult to assess when and where the transformation of a particular narrative theme has actually taken place. The process affected old favourite tales of Persian literature like *Laylā u Madjnūn* and *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā*. But new protagonists acting according to more or less stereotyped plots were introduced as well. This allegorical fashion became particularly prominent during the Tīmūrid period, although a forerunner can already be found in ʿAṣṣār [*q.v.*] (d. 779/1377-8 or 784/1382-3), who attended the court of the Djalāʾirid Sultan Uways. A very influential writer, at least as far as the history of Persian literature outside Iran is concerned, was Fattāḥī [*q.v.*] (d. 852 or 853/1448-50), in whose main work, *Dastūr-i ʿUshshāḳ*, the protagonists are the abstract concepts Beauty (*Ḥusn*) and Heart (*Dil*). ʿĀrifī of Harāt (d. *ca.* 853/1449) construed his *Ḥālnāma* or *Gūy u Čawgān* on symbols provided by the game of polo as well as on the equally conventional theme of the king and the beggar. To this last feature of his work refers the title of an imitation by Hilālī [*q.v.*] (d. 936/1529-30), *Shāh u Gadā*. The theme of the candle and the moth, another commonplace of mystical lyrics, was treated by Ahlī of Shīrāz (d. 942/1535-6) in his *Shamʿ u Parwānā*.

The history of the mystic *mathnawī* after the Mongol invasion opens with the *Mathnawī-i Maʿnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the most impressive work of its kind. It is especially renowned for the riches of its narratives, the complicated style of its composition, consisting of an endless associative concatenation of primary and secondary tales, and for the kaleidoscopical structure of its ideological contents. The doctrinal background of this great work, by traditional commentators usually identified with the pantheism of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], is far from being fully understood. The poet consciously attached himself to the tradition of Sanāʾī and ʿAṭṭār. Together these three poets had a very great impact on the subsequent generations of mystical poets and writers, but it is not possible to survey completely those compositions which develop one aspect or another of their works since only a few have been published. (See for the most complete survey: H. Ethé, *Gr. I.Ph.*, ii, 298-301).

The earliest follower of Mawlawī's work was his son Sulṭān Walad who explained the meaning of his father's works in a series of *mathnawīs* giving at the same time invaluable information about his life. Among these poems the *Waladnāma* is the most celebrated. In the *ʿUshshāḳnāma* of ʿIrāḳī, characterized by the insertion of *ghazals*, the theme of mystical love is elaborated. The topic of the *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* is the visionary journey of the mystic through the cosmos. The authorship of this interesting work is uncertain. Old manuscripts attribute it either to the well-known Ṣūfī *shaykh*, Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī, or to a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Bardsīrī Kirmānī (cf. the edition by Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar, Tehran 1349 sh.). A pupil of the former, Awḥadī [*q.v.*] (d. 738/1337-8), wrote his once very popular *Djām-i Djam* as an imitation of Sanāʾī's *Ḥadīḳa*. Its more ethical than mystical spirit is also reminiscent of another masterpiece of the didactic *mathnawī*, the *Būstān* of Saʿdī. Written almost simultaneously with Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, with all the brilliance and clarity of the style of Saʿdī, the *Būstān* certainly surpassed the latter's celebrity, but nowhere does it even approach Rūmī's depth of thought. Although some of its chapters deal with mystical topics, on the whole the work seems to be designed for little more than elegantly presented moral admonition. From the 8th/14th century three other writers of mystical *mathnawīs* are worthy of note: Ḥusaynī Sādāt [*q.v.*] (d. after 729/1328), ʿImād al-Dīn Faḳīh, a contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ, (d. 773/1371), and Maḥmūd-i Shabistarī [*q.v.*] (d. about 720/1320-1). The last mentioned wrote *Gulshān-i Rāz*, which among other things contains an explanation of the symbolic language of Ṣūfī poetry.

An interesting personality, standing more or less aside from the trodden paths of Persian literature, is Nizārī [*q.v.*] (d. 720/1321). Being an Ismāʿīlī, he incurred the condemnation of orthodox critics which the vehement sarcasm often displayed in his works did nothing to prevent. He wrote three *mathnawīs*: a love-story, *Aẓhar u Maẓhar*, a short but highly original parody on the customary didacticism, *Dastūrnāma*, and a versified book of travel, *Safarnāma*.

Among the prose-works produced in these centuries, again a work by Saʿdī, *Gulistān*, stands out as the most perfect example of classical Persian style for which it serves as a textbook up to the present day. It treats of much the same subjects as the *Būstān* but presents them in a more entertaining form. The anecdotes are told in a terse, rhythmic prose sometimes approaching the metrical patterns of poetry. The poet's moralising reflections upon the narratives are mostly put into the form of Persian or Arabic poetical fragments. Like so many other great works of Persian literature, it very soon became a model that was a copied by a long row of imitators. One of these was Djāmī, in whose *Bahāristān* even more room is given to poetry than in Saʿdī's work. The stylistic type of the *Gulistān* was the target of parody in some of the best works of ʿUbayd-i Zākānī, by far the greatest satirist Iran has ever produced (*Akhlāḳ al-Ashrāf*, *Rīshnāma*); [see also HIDJĀʾ, ii].

The tendency towards an ever more prolix rhetorical embellishment of Persian prose came to its full strength in Mongol times and continued to dominate the style of prose-writing for several centuries to come. It gave most works on history, the sciences, ethics, religion and other scholarly subjects the appearance of artistic writings. The *Taʾrīkh* of Waṣṣāf [*q.v.*] (d. 735/1334), the last of the great historians of the Īlkhāns, has become proverbial for this extremely florid style. Another work that set the pace in the use of a literary idiom inflated with Arabic words was the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, another

version of the *Kalila wa Dimna* written by Ḥusayn Wāʾiẓ-i Kāshifī [see KĀSHIFĪ] (d. 910/1504-5), a very prolific and versatile author attending the Tīmūrid court of Harāt.

d. ***From the rise of the Ṣafawids to the late Ḳādjār period (beginning 10th/16th-end 13th/19th centuries).*** The establishment of the Ṣafawid state in Iran was not merely a political event. Through the introduction of Imāmī Shīʿism [see ITHNĀ ʿASHARIYYA] as the official religion of Iran, radically new conditions were created which were not very favourable to the flourishing of literature. Especially during the 10th/16th century neither the theocratic rulers nor the powerful Shīʿite clergy, which had acquired a great influence on official policy, were particularly interested in the traditional court literature. The cultivation of religious poetry was, on the other hand, greatly encouraged. The founder of the dynasty, Shāh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], was himself a writer of Turkish poems, in which he expressed ideas related to the doctrines of extreme Shīʿite sects. As soon as religious policy was firmly in the hand of the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*, deviations of this kind were no longer possible. The themes of Ṣafawid religious poetry were mainly taken from the stories about the martyrdom of the *imāms*. Devotion to the ʿAlid family is very often expressed in pre-Ṣafawid literature as well. It can even be found with authors whose Sunnī persuasion is beyond doubt. At least from the Būyid period onwards, the Shīʿite communities in Iran had tried to win more support by sending around the bazaars popular reciters of poems on the "virtues" of ʿAlī (*manāḳibkhʷānān*, *manāḳibiyyān*) who made use of the works of Shīʿite poets like Ḳiwāmī of Rayy (6th/12th century). These texts were mainly *ḳaṣīdas* (cf. Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh*, ii³, 192 ff.). A. Shīʿite epic, modelled on the style of the *Shāhnāma*, was introduced by Muḥammad b. Ḥusām (d. 875/1470) with his *mathnawī*, *Khāwarān*-(or *Khāwar*-)*nāma* [see further ḤAMĀSA, ii]. Another work of the Tīmūrid period, the collection of tales about the holy martyrs, *Rawḍat al-Shuhadāʾ*, written in artistic prose by Muḥammad Wāʿiẓ-i Kāshifī [*q.v.*], was used as a textbook for the Muḥarram celebrations and even lent its name to the function of a reciter of religious poetry, the *rawḍakhʷān*.

The most important Ṣafawid poet of this genre was Muḥtasham [*q.v.*] of Kāshān (d. 996/1587-8). He is especially famous on account of a *marthiya* on the holy martyrs known as the *haft-band*, *i.e.*, a poem consisting of twelve seven-line stanzas. The *ḳaṣīda* was also used for this kind of elegy. *Mathnawīs* on the *imāms* were composed by Ḥayratī (d. 961/1553-4 or 970/1562-3) and by Fārigh of Gīlān who wrote his work in 1000/1591-3 to celebrate the conquest of Gīlān by Shāh ʿAbbās I. There was, in fact, a subtle connexion between the praise of the ʿAlid family and the glorification of the dynasty, as the Ṣafawids regarded themselves as descendants of the *imāms*. Shīʿite literature both in poetry and prose continued to be extremely popular till the present day. It has a solid base in religious sentiment as well as in the demand for liturgical texts to be used on various occasions.

The propagation of Shīʿite traditions and doctrines among the population of Iran could not be achieved by means of poetry alone. While the learned theological works continued to be written in Arabic, there was a growing need for works of a more popular kind in Persian on the different branches of religious science. A number of theologians set themselves this task. The comparatively simple style they used favourably contrasts with the verbosity still current in the literary prose of this period. Notable among these writers were Muḥammad Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī or Shaykh-i Bahāʾī [see AL-ʿĀMILĪ] (d. 1031/1622), who should also be mentioned on account of his Persian poetry, and Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī [*q.v.*] (d. 1111/1699-1700).

Ṣūfism as a form of religious life was declining in Ṣafawid times as a result of the enmity of the religious leaders, which sometimes took the form of actual persecution. As mysticism and poetry had become very closely connected during the preceding centuries, this could not but unfavourably affect literary production. Yet the mystical strain could never be deleted entirely from Persian poetry. It is particularly evident in the poetical works of the members of the flourishing school of philosophy founded by Mullā Ṣadrā of Shīrāz, e.g. Muḥsin-i Fayḍ of Kāshān (d. 1090/1679), Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Findariskī (d. *ca.* 1050/1640-1) and the teacher of Mullā Ṣadrā, Mīr Muḥammad Bāḳir-i Dāmād [see AL-DĀMĀD] (d. 1040/1630). The poet Saḥābī of Astarābād (d. 1010/1601-2), who spent most of his life at the holy shrine of Nadjaf, expressed pantheistic mysticism in a *dīwān* which consisted almost entirely of quatrains.

Secular poetry suffered not only from the changes in the intellectual atmosphere but also from political changes. The disappearance of local courts reduced the market for the professional poet to one dynastic centre. Apart from the successive residences of the Ṣafawids, only Shīrāz remained as an important literary centre. Yet there was a great deal of continuity with the preceding Tīmūrid period. Just like the painters of the school of Bihzād [*q.v.*], the poets travelled to the west as soon as the new power had established itself there. That the royal family was not completely averse to court poetry is shown by Sām Mīrzā (d. 974/1566-7), a son of Shāh Ismāʿīl I, who described the history of poetry during the first half-century of Ṣafawid rule in his *tadhkira*, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*. Even the court of Shāh Ismāʿīl had its encomiast in Umīdī (d. 935/1519). The genre of *shahrāshūb* poems on the young artisans of a particular city was revived by Lisānī (d. 940/1533-4). It became a great fashion both with the Persian poets of his time and with the contemporary Ottoman poets (*e.g.* Medīḥī [*q.v.*]). The historical connection between these two schools is still uncertain. Another favourite topic was short poems on a single dramatic incident, under the heading "*ḳaḍā u ḳadar*". Some scholars have interpreted these genres as indications of a growing tendency towards realism in poetry (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 296).

During the long reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930/1524-984/1576) courtly poetry gradually regained more ground. Waḥshī [*q.v.*] of Bāfḳ (d. 991/1583) excelled in the didactic and romantic *mathnawī* as well as in strophe poems. Even Muḥtasham did not shun panegyrism and Ḥayratī combined his religious art with satire.

To the most ambitious young talents, however, Iran did not offer sufficient opportunities for a literary career. Far better prospects offered themselves on the Indian subcontinent where the Mughal emperors resumed the splendid cultural traditions of their Tīmūrid ancestors. From the second half of the 10th/16th century onwards, an increasing number of Persian poets went to India and gave there a new impulse to the tradition of Indo-Persian letters. The most decisive literary development of the Ṣafawid period is connected with this migration of poets: the emergence of a new poetical style which in modern criticism has received the name *Sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*].

This Indian style, the main characteristics of which have been sketched above in the section on the periodization of Persian literature, distinguishes itself markedly from the earlier poetical styles. The causes of this greater amount of independence from the established literary canons have been sought in changes in the social conditions (A. Mirzoev) or in a relaxation of critical attention to the work of the poets especially in Ṣafawid Iran (A. Bausani). Under the influence of the negative verdict given almost unanimously by neoclassicist literary critics since the 12th/18th century, the characteristics of this style have for a long time been regarded as symptoms of a general poetical decadence. The rich imagery and the often highly original use of metaphors in the poems influenced by the Indian style has only quite recently become more appreciated. There is still a great deal of uncertainty about the actual beginnings of this new stylistic trend. Traditionally, an important role as an initiator is assigned to Bābā Fig̲h̲ānī [*q.v.*] (d. 925/1519), a poet of the *g̲h̲azal* continuing the style of Ḥāfiẓ who attended the court of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in Tabrīz. It is certain, anyhow, that from the second half of the 10th/16th century onwards its characteristics can be detected almost everywhere in Persian poetry. The works of ʿUrfī [*q.v.*] of S̲h̲īrāz (d. 999/1590-1), one of the earliest poets who went to India, and of his patron at the court of Akbar, Fayḍī [*q.v.*] (d. 1004/1595), although their renown was much greater in Indo-Persian and Turkish literature than in Iran, were very influential. Many of the prominent representatives of this style were Iranian by birth but made their literary careers at Indian courts (e.g. Naẓīrī of Nīs̲h̲āpūr (d. 1021/1612-3), Ẓuhūrī [*q.v.*] of K̲h̲udjand (d. 1024/1615), Ṭālib of Amul (d. 1036/1626-7), Abū Ṭālib Kalīm of Hamadān (d. 1061/1651)). The Ṣafawid poets who remained in Iran, or returned there after a stay in India, applied the devices of the Indian style as well but generally with a great deal of moderation. By far the most talented among them was Ṣāʾib [*q.v.*] of Tabrīz (d. 1088/1677-8). Other notable poets in Iran during the 11th/17th century were Zulālī [*q.v.*] (d. 1024/1615), who wrote the *Sabʿ sayyāra*, a set of seven didactic and romantic *mat̲h̲nawīs*, Faṣīḥī-i Anṣārī of Harāt (d. 1046/1636-7), Djalāl-i Asīr (d. 1049/1639-40 or 1069/1658-9), who was famous as a "drunken" (*rind*) poet, and Nāẓim of Harāt (d. 1080/1670). Some independence from the current literary fashion was shown by S̲h̲ifāʾī (d. 1037/1628), the physician of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I, who wrote satires as well as *mat̲h̲nawīs* in the style of Sanāʾī and K̲h̲āḳānī.

The Ṣafawid period did not produce any artistic prose work of great value. Mention might be made of *Laṭāʾif al-ṭawāʾif*, a collection of anecdotes about the various social classes by Ṣafī [*q.v.*] (d. 939/1532-3), the son of Ḥusayn-i Wāʿiẓ-i Kās̲h̲ifī. A typical man of letters of this time was also Kās̲h̲if-i Kumayt [*q.v.*]. Much more fertile in this respect was again Indo-Persian literature. Already in the 8th/14th century it had produced a major work in the *Ṭūṭīnāma* of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Nak̲h̲s̲h̲abī [*q.v.*] which was adapted in this period by Muḥammad Ḳādirī. The interaction of Hinduism and Islam in the culture of the Mug̲h̲al empire resulted in translations of the classical works of Sankrit literature, *Mahābhārata* and *Ramāyana*, as well as in the religious writings of Dārā S̲h̲ukōh [*q.v.*]. The poet Ẓuhūrī achieved fame with a series of short sketches written in a highly affected form of prose. The poor state of Iran during the first few decades of the 12th/18th century, the time of the Afg̲h̲ān invasion and the subsequent downfall of the Ṣafawid dynasty, is reflected in the *Tad̲h̲kirat al-aḥwal* or *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ḥazīn*, a book of memoirs by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī Ḥazīn [*q.v.*] (d. 1180/1766-7). Under the rule of Nādir S̲h̲āh national pride was restored in Iran, which showed itself in a flowering of panegyrism on the great conqueror. The leading man of letters was Mahdī K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*], secretary as well as historiographer to Nādir. He used the bombastic style of Waṣṣāf in his main work, *Durra-i Nādirī*, but wrote his various other works in a much simpler fashion.

About the middle of the 12th/18th century a new school of poetry asserted itself in Iṣfahān and S̲h̲īrāz. The poets of this school, headed by Mus̲h̲tāḳ (d. 1171/1757-8) and S̲h̲uʿla (d. 1160/1747), turned their backs on the Indian style and proclaimed a literary return (*bāzgas̲h̲t-i adabī*) to the more harmonious standards of the earlier styles. They looked, for the models of their poems, to the *dīwāns* of the great poets of the pre-Mongol period. The *ḳaṣīda* was restored to its former prominence as a poetical form. This movement very soon dominated the literary scene and its aesthetic ideals have governed traditional poetry in Iran up to the present day. (See further M. T. Bahār, *Bāzgas̲h̲t-i adabī*, in *Armag̲h̲ān*, xiii-xiv (1311-2 s̲h̲.), *passim*; idem, *Sabks̲h̲ināsī*, iii, 318 f.; J. Rypka, *History*, 306-8).

To the first generation of neo-classicist poets belonged Muḥammad ʿĀs̲h̲iḳ (d. 1181/1767-8), Hātif [*q.v.*] (d. 1198/1783), S̲h̲ihābī of Turs̲h̲īz (d. 1215/1800-1) and Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ād̲h̲ar (d. 1195/1780-1), the author of the *tad̲h̲kira Ātas̲h̲kade*, a first-hand source on the *bāzgas̲h̲t*-movement. After the founding of the Ḳadjār dynasty, Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (reigned 1212/1797-1250/1834) tried to revive the ancient traditions of the royal maecenate at his court in Tehran. The centre of the circle of poets gathered here, who all emulated the classics, was Ṣabā [*q.v.*] (d. 1238/1822-3). He was highly appreciated in his own days on account of his panegyric *ḳaṣīdas* and of his *mat̲h̲nawī*, *S̲h̲āhans̲h̲āhnāma*, picturing the contemporary wars with Russia in the style of the old heroic epic. Worthy of note are also Ṣabāḥī Bīdgulī (d. 1218/1803), Saḥāb (d. 1222/1807-8), Midjmar (d. 1225/1810) and Nas̲h̲āṭ (d. 1244/1828-9). A peculiarity of this period was the formation of small literary societies (*andjumans*) [see DJAMʿIYYA]. In the next generation the cultivation of classicism reached its richest development in the work of Ḳāʾānī [*q.v.*] (d. 1270/1854), a virtuoso of the poetical language. He showed, however, his awareness of the reality of his time in satirical poems and in his prose-work, *Kitāb-i paris̲h̲ān*. Ḳāʾānī was the first Persian poet who had some knowledge of European languages.

The tradition of the mystical *g̲h̲azal* was resumed by Furūg̲h̲ī [*q.v.*] (d. 1271/1857-8) of Bisṭām, who also used the pen-name Miskīn. A remarkable personality was Yag̲h̲mā [*q.v.*] (d. 1276/1859) of Djandaḳ. He lived both as a *darwīs̲h̲* and as a panegyrist of the Ḳādjār court while he was at the same time a redoubted satirist. His independent frame of mind showed itself in the invention of a new type of religious elegy in a style related to popular songs, known as *nawḥa-i sīnazan*. An interesting trait of his use of the language is the puristic effort to replace Arabic words by Iranian equivalents. Several poets of this century founded literary dynasties as their sons continued to work on the same lines as their fathers. Besides Ṣabā and Yag̲h̲mā, a famous instance of this is the family of Wiṣāl [*q.v.*] (d. 1262/1846), a learned poet living in S̲h̲īrāz.

During the last period of the unchallenged rule of classical poetry, the long reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh

(1848-96), the institution of the encomiast of the court was already declining. Only a few names are worthy of mention: the religious poet Surūsh (d. 1285/1868), Humā (d. 1290/1873-4), a poet of the *ghazal*, and the mystic Shaybānī [*q.v.*] (d. 1308/1890), in whose pessimistic lyrics an element of social criticism can be noticed. Minor poets, who distinguished themselves in other fields of literary activity or in public life, were the historian Muḥammad Taḳī Siphir [*q.v.*] (d. 1297/1880) and Riḍā Ḳulī Khān [*q.v.*] (d. 1288/1871). The latter, who used Hidāyat as his poetical name, was the leading literator of his time. He wrote a number of authoritative works on political, literary and religious history as well as a lexicon. The *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā'*, the last great *tadhkira* of the old style, in which most of the materials on literary history contained in earlier works of this kind was compiled, became particularly famous.

e. *Modern literature (19th-20th centuries).*

The impact of western civilization, which began to affect life in Iran in the course of the 19th century, did not leave its solid literary tradition untouched. The ancient structure of Persian literature was attacked by the forces of change from several sides. Political developments put an end to the system of court poetry and caused a fundamental change in the attitude of the poet towards his art. The modern poet, whether he continued to work on traditional lines or not, could no longer make a living out of poetry. He had become, in a certain sense, an amateur who composed his poems on his own account. This led, on the one hand, to a much greater involvement of literature in the political and social vicissitudes of the nation, on the other, to a more individual form of poetical expression, the models of which were provided by European literature. New concepts like nationalism, democracy and social justice demanded the attention of the modern intellectual. The earliest poets of the modern period who, during the struggle for the Iranian constitution [see IRAN, HISTORY], had to express these ideas with some urgency, could only make use of the classical forms of poetry, which proved to possess a remarkable adaptability. Eventually, however, the formal system could not remain unchallenged. Especially in poetry a long battle was waged on the question whether it was permissible to evolve a new type of poetry (*shiʿr-i naw*) through experiments with prosody, or even to use entirely free verse (*shiʿr-i āzād*), or not. In this struggle the classical style of poetry was shown to have deep roots in Iranian culture. Perhaps the most important formal innovation was the emergence of a genuine prose literature based on the forms of the novel and the short story, which were borrowed from modern European literature.

While the actual birth of the modern literature of Iran took place during the turbulent years between 1890 and the beginning of the First World War, the process leading up to fundamental changes started early in the Ḳādjār period. Simultaneously with the classicist renaissance at the court of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, a much more progressive attitude could be observed in the entourage of ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*], the heir-apparent and governor of Ādharbāydjān. Confronted with the necessity of military reform on account of successive defeats in the wars with Russia, several measures were taken which proved to be of great consequence to the future course of cultural life in Iran. For the first time students were sent to Russia and Western Europe. One of their tasks was to study typographical techniques. A printing-press was founded in Tabrīz in 1816-7. Very soon typography (*čāpi-surbī*) was replaced by lithography (*čāp-i sangī*), which remained the principal form of printing during most of the 19th century. In 1834 the first Iranian newspaper was published in Tehran, the *Rūznāma-i akhbār-i waḳāyiʿ* which had only a limited circulation. A more direct influence on literature was exerted by the efforts to simplify the style of official correspondence, a good example of which was given by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Farahānī (1799-1835), better known by his title Ḳā'im-maḳām [*q.v.*], *i.e.*, deputy-minister of ʿAbbās Mīrzā

A second episode of cultural modernization was the short term of office of Mīrzā Taḳī Khān [*q.v.*], also known as Amīr-i Kabīr or Amīr-i Niẓām, as prime-minister of the young Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. It ended abrubtly with the execution of the Amīr-i Kabīr in 1852. The publishing of a newspaper was resumed in 1851 (*Rūznāma-i waḳāyiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya*, in 1860 renamed *Rūznāma-i dawlat-i ʿaliyya-i Īrān*). In the following decades the number of periodicals rapidly increased. Although they were all more or less mouthpieces of the government, they helped to spread new ideas through the information they provided about the world outside Iran. During the last few decades of the century political emigrants spread pan-Islamic or liberal ideas in a number of papers published in Istanbul, Cairo, Calcutta and London. [See DJARĪDA, ii, with further references].

Another initiative of the Amīr-i Kabīr was the founding of a polytechnic school (Dār al-Funūn) in Tehran (1852), which provided a modern education in technical and natural sciences with some attention to the humanities as well. The staff of the school, directed by Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, consisted mostly of European teachers. The Dār al-Funūn formed the beginning of modern academic education in Iran [see DJĀMIʿA]. An immediate effect was an increased demand for the translation of books from European languages, among which French was by far the best known in Iran. The list of the earliest translations contains, besides textbooks and scientific works, also *belles lettres*, e.g. works by Al. Dumas, Daniel Defoe and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (cf. E. G. Browne, *The press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 154-66). Many translations are attributed to Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān [*q.v.*] (d. 1896) who successively used the titles Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla and Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, but they were chiefly made by a corps of translators working under his direction in the government's printing office (Dār al-Ṭibāʿa) and the bureau of translators (Dār al-Tardjama).

Among the preliminaries to the modern period mention should also be made of the religious movement of the Bāb [*q.v.*], which manifested itself for the first time in 1844. From the very beginning the Bābīs displayed a great literary activity, encompassing theological and historical writings as well as poetry. The most celebrated figure is the female poet and martyr of the Bābī cause, Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn [*q.v.*] (d. 1851). (See further E. G. Browne, iv, 198-220; idem, *Materials for the study of the Bābī Religion*, Cambridge 1918, 341-58).

The heralds of modern "committed" poetry were Muḥammad Bāḳir Bawānātī (d. 1891-2), who as early as 1882 published a *ḳaṣīda* attacking the imperialist policies of Britain and Russia, and Aḳā Khān Kirmānī (d. 1896), a prominent political exile in Istanbul and a follower of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*]. The latter contrasted the decadence of Iran in the late Ḳādjār period with its ancient splendour in his historical *mathnawī*, *Sālārnāma* or *Nāma-i bāstān*. An interesting feature of this work was the attack launched

on classical literature (with the single exception of Firdawsī whose *Shāhnāma* stood as a model for the poem), which was considered as a principal source of degeneration in the Islamic history of Iran. The political movement against the despotism and misrule of the Ḳādjārs and the foreign forces that supported it brought quite different groups of the population together. Several eminent erudites of the old cultural tradition contributed to the creation of a patriotic poetry: e.g. Sayyid Aḥmad Adīb-i Pīshāwarī (*ca.* 1845-1930), ʿAbd al-Djawād Adīb-i Nīshāpūrī (1864-5—1926), and especially Mīrzā Ṣādiḳ Khān, better known by his pen-name Amīrī or his honorific Adīb al-Mamālik (1860-1917), who abandoned a successful career as a court-poet in 1898 to become a journalist. In the first decade of the 20th century the proliferating press became the chief medium for the publication of poetry. One of the best periodicals was the *Nasīm al-Shimāl* edited in Rasht by Ashraf-i Gīlānī (1871-about 1930), a writer of satirical poems (*fukāhiyyāt*) criticizing in particular the conservative Shīʿite *ʿulamāʾ* in a simple language full of colloquial expressions. ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā (about 1880-1956) published his poems under the name Dakhaw in the *Ṣūr-i Isrāfīl*. Besides his great merits in other fields of literature andscholarship, he was the first to try some formal experiments. Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār [*q.v.*] (1886-1951), a master of the classical forms who already in his early years had earned the title *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* as a panegyrist, put his great talents entirely at the service of the constitutional movement, successfully applying the old forms to the expression of new contents. Throughout the first half of this century Bahār was the leading modern poet of Iran. Forms of popular poetry like the folk-song (*surūd*) and the ballad (*taṣnīf*), usually recited to the accompaniment of music, became favourites with the political poets. A famous composer, as well as an impressive performer of *taṣnīfs*, was Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿĀrif of Ḳazwīn (about 1880-1934).

The core of the new nationalist ideology was Iranism, *i.e.*, the glorification of the pre-Islamic past of Iran, of which the Iranian intelligentsia had become conscious mainly through the results of western philological, historical and archaeological research. Zoroastrianism very often appeared as the enlightened counterpart ot the obscurantism that was felt to be fostered by traditional Islam. Those works of the classical literature that seemed to express a similar feeling of nostalgia for the glorious past, like the *Shāhnāma* and the *ḳaṣīda* on the ruins of al-Madāʾin (Ctesiphon) by Khāḳānī, enjoyed a great popularity. The foremost philo-Iranian poet was Ibrāhīm Pūr-i Dāwūd (1886-1968), who later in his life became a distinguished student and translator of the *Avesta*.

To Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Lāhūtī (1887-8—1957) a revolutionary change of social conditions was the main goal of the political struggle in which he took a most active part until he was forced to flee to the Soviet Union in 1922. There he wrote the long poem (*manẓūma*), *Kiriml*, as a tribute to communism. Afterwards, he became the leading poet of the Soviet Republic of Tādjikistān [*q.v.*]. Farrukhī Yazdī (1889-1939) continued to fight for his socialist ideals in Iran. His best poetry is to be found among his *ghazals*, written in a conventional style in spite of their quite modern contents.

Although his short life was filled with radical political action, Muḥammad Riḍā ʿIshkī [*q.v.*] (1894-5—1924) is more significant in the history of literature on account of his formal and thematical innovations. He has been styled the first romantic poet of Iran, because of the strong influence of French romantic and symbolist poetry on his work. This is particularly noticeable in his greater poems, *Kafan-i siyāh*, *Īdeāl* and *Rastākhīz*. His experiments with prosody were chiefly concerned with the strophe-poem (*musammat*). Many other poets endeavoured to extend the possibilities of the *ʿarūḍ* system, but, until the period after the Second World War, few dared to follow the example of a complete rupture from traditional forms given by Muḥammad Isfandiyārī, better known as Nīmā Yūshīdj [*q.v.*] (1897-1960). His *Afsāna* (1921) marks the beginning of his efforts to create a type of free verse that was no longer bound by the old rules of metre and rhyme but was based directly on the rhythm and music of the language.

During the period between the wars contemporary politics almost completely disappeared as a theme of literature. All the same, many poets displayed a concern with individual social problems, most prominent among which was the position of women in Iranian society. This was the main topic of Īradj Mīrzā (1874-5—1925), a prince of the Ḳādjār house, whose simple yet graceful style made him one of the most beloved poets of modern times. The talented female poet Parwīn-i Iʿtiṣāmī (1906-7 or 1910-1941) showed a deep concern with the miseries of the poor. Satirical verse was still very popular but had to respect the bounds set by official censorship. Especially renowned for their satirical poems were Ḳulzum (b. 1891), Rūḥānī (b. 1896) and Muḥammad ʿAlī Nāṣiḥ (b. 1898).

The mainstream of Persian poetry still consisted of the poets who applied in varying degrees modern elements in their works but remained essentially faithful to tradition. A point of focus of literary life was the *andjuman-i adabī-i Īrān* founded by Waḥīd-i Dastgardī (1880-1942), who, since 1919, edited the authoritative literary periodical of this period, *Armaghān* (cf. F. Machalski, *Vahid Dastgardi and his "Armaġān"*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iv (1963), 81-103). M. T. Bahār established a circle of poets of his own as well as the journal *Naw-Bahār* (1921-51). *Wafā* (1923-5) was edited by the popular poet Niẓām-i Wafā (b. 1887-8). The progressive writers expressed themselves in *Āyanda* (1925-40). The most brilliant poet among the many who first appeared on the literary stage between 1920 and 1040 was Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shahriyār (b. 1906-7). In his *ghazals* inspired by Ḥāfiẓ he displays a remarkable ability to blend the old poetical idiom with a modern sentiment.

From 1941 till about 1950 there was a great increase in political and literary activities. In 1946 the first congress of Iranian writers was held in Tehran (cf. *Nukhustīn Kongre-i nawīsandagān-i Īrān*, Tehran 1325 sh.). Several new periodicals were started, e.g. *Sukhan* (1943), the organ of the progressive poets and prose writers, edited by Parwīz Nātil Khānlarī (b. 1913), and *Yaghmā* (1948), edited by the poet Ḥabīb-i Yaghmāʾī (b. 1901). Among the scholarly journals which pay much attention to the study of literature mention should be made of *Yādgār* (1944-9), *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn* (since 1953), and of the periodicals of the Faculties of Arts of the Iranian universities e.g. *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt*, Tehran (since 1953), *Nashriyya-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Tabrīz* (since 1948), *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt*, Iṣfahān (since 1964), and *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt*, Mashhad (since 1965).

The most conspicuous feature of the poetry of the post-war period is the acceptance by an expanding groups of poets and literary critics of the ideas on free verse as they had been put forward by Nīmā

Yūshīdj. The debate between modernists and the defenders of the classical tradition was resumed with great intensity in the literary journals. The leading advocates of a modernized prosody were Farīdūn Tawallulī, who published a manifesto as an introduction to his volume of verse *Rahā* (1951), P. N. Khānlarī and Nadīr-i Nādirpūr. They also belong to the most prominent poets of the new style. The criticism of the classicists is not only directed against deviations from the traditional forms but equally against the unusual metaphors applied by these poets. (See further on the latest developments of Persian poetry: V. B. Klyashtorina, *Sovremennaya persidskaya poeziya. Očerki*, Moscow 1962; B. Alawi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung*, 225-35; Fr. Machalski, *New Poetry in Iran*, in *New Orient*, iv (1965/4), 33-6; Mansour Shaki, *Modern Persian Poetry*, in *Yádnáme-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague-The Hague 1967, 187-94; Dāryūsh Shāhīn, *Rāhiyān-i shiʿr-i imrūz. Djungī az nawsarāyān-i shiʿr-i imrūz*, Tehran 1349 sh.[s]).

The tendency towards a simplification of the language and style of prose writing continued to become stronger throughout the 19th century. Whereas the Ḳāʾim-maḳām still wrote in a style that was very close to the classical concept of literary elegance, the growing necessity to express new impressions and ideas demanded the creation of a much more direct way of writing and the use of a form of language that was understandable to a greater number of people. Abundant material for a study of the modernization of prose is to be found in the works of the translators and journalists of the second half of the century. But already before 1850 an example of a graceful sober new style had been given by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ṭasūdjī in his translation of the Thousand and One Nights. A similar concern for directness of expression is displayed by several memoirs and books of travel written by prominent men of the Ḳādjār period. The most celebrated example of this was given by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*] in the books of travel he composed after each of his many journeys to Europe, to ʿIrāḳ, and to the provinces of Iran.

The propagation of new ideas on political, social and scientific issues was the principal aim of many early writers of modern prose. A number of political essays was composed by Malkum Khān [*q.v.*] (1833-1909), e.g. *Kitābča-i ghaybī* of 1859, a proposal for a radical reform of the public institutions of Iran addressed to the shah. He made great efforts to adapt Persian to its modern functions and even suggested a change of the writing system. The Ādharbāydjānian writer ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Nadjdjārzāda, better known as Ṭālibof [*q.v.*] or Ṭālibzāda (*ca.* 1845-1910), devoted himself in particular to the vulgarization of modern science in an attractive literary form (e.g. the dialogue between a father and his son in *Kitāb-i Aḥmad*, the device of an imaginary journey in *Masālik al-Muḥsinīn*). Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī should also be named among these pioneers, especially on account of his *Āʾina-i Iskandarī*, a history of ancient Iran.

On the eve of the constitutional revolution two works were written that are usually regarded as the beginning of modern fiction in Iran. The picaresque novel of James Morier, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, was adapted in Persian by Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī (d. 1897-8), a teacher of Persian living in exile in Istanbul (cf. H. Kamshad, *Modern Persian Prose*, 21 ff.). In spite of its pitiless criticism of traditional Persian life, the work became extremely popular in Iran. The second work is *Siyāḥatnāma Ibrāhīm Beg*, an original novel by Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Marāghaʾī [*q.v.*] (d. 1910). The first volume was completed in 1887 and published in 1888 at the press of the emigrant paper *Akhtar* in Istanbul (cf. the introduction to the reprint, Calcutta 1910, by Āḳā Muḥammad Ḳāẓim-i Shīrazī). It is a fictitious book of travel describing the deplorable state of Iran in late Ḳādjār times. The narrative structure is rather loose and dissolves in the two subsequent volumes (published in Calcutta, 1907 and 1909) into a string of instructive and moralistic excursions. In this respect, the author follows an ancient indigenous tradition of moralizing prose writings, the influence of which can be traced in many later Persian novels as well.

During the years of the revolution, political journalism became militant in Iran. The best specimens of this are the satirical sketches contributed to the journal *Ṣūr-i Isrāfīl* by Dihkhudā under the heading *Čarand-parand*. He frequently used colloquial words and expressions, by which he led the way for the *avant garde* writers of a later generation. An anonymous work of this period is *Ruʾyā-i ṣādiḳa*, written by a group of supporters of reform about 1900. It contains an attack on those in power in Iṣfahān clothed in the form of a vision of doomsday.

The first genre of fictional prose to become fully developed and achieve a great popularity was the historical novel. The earliest was *Shams u Ṭughrā* of Muḥammad Bāḳir Khusrawī, the first part of a trilogy situated at the time of the Mongol rulers of Iran, published in 1909. It was followed in 1919 by *ʿIshḳ u Salṭanat* of Shaykh Mūsā Nathrī, a novel about Cyrus the Great. The same period was treated by Ḥasan Badīʿ in *Dāstān-i bāstān* (1920-1). The ruin of the Sāsānids and the Arab conquest provided the background to *Dāmgustarān yā Intiḳām-khʷāhān-i Mazdak*, which in 1921 opened a long series of novels by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ṣanʿatīzāda. The best writers of this genre took pains to base their works on historical research. Sometimes they even supplied notes with references to their sources. The choice of the subjects, taken either from pre-Islamic or Islamic history, was dictated by nationalistic sentiments. Occasionally, contemporary history provided the material, e.g. in *Dalīrān-i Tangistān* of Ḥusayn Ruknzāda Adamiyyat, which is situated in southern Iran during the First World War. Quite often, these works show the influence of European novels of the romantic period. (See further on the historical novel: E. E. Bertel's *Persidskiy istoričeskiy roman XX veka*, in *Problemi literatur' Vostoka, Trudi Moskovskogo Instituta vostokovedeniya*, i (1932), 111-26; B. Nikitine, *Le roman historique dans la littérature persane moderne*, in *JA*, cciii (1933), 297-33; Fr. Machalski, *Historyczna powieść perska*, Krakow 1952 (in Polish with a French summary); H. Kamshad, *op. cit.*, 41-53).

From 1920 onwards the range of fictional prose became considerably wider. Many novelists began to pay attention to the social problems which were either caused or brought to the moral consciousness by the accelerated process of westernization. Themes like the inferior position of women in Iranian society, the disorientation and immorality of modern youth, prostitution and corruption were taken as subjects for a long series of novels most of which had very little artistic value. Among the best works of this kind is *Tihrān-i makhūf* (1922) of Murtaḍā Mushfiḳ Kāẓimī, giving a gloomy picture of modern life in the capital. Worthy of note are also *Man ham girya karda-am* (1933) of Djahāngīr Djalīlī (1909-38) and *Tafrīḥāt-i shab* (1932) of Muḥammad Masʿūd (d. 1947), whose pen-name was Dihātī. The latter was much criticized on account of his negativism. In

1942 he started to publish a series of autobiographical novels of great interest, beginning with *Gulhā-ī ki dar djahannam mirūyad*, which was left unfinished. The most popular writer of the period between the wars was Muḥammad Ḥidjāzī (b. 1899). His novel *Zībā* (1931) is distinguished by the clever description of a corrupt bureaucracy. He also published many short stories and essays with a strong element of didacticism. ʿAlī Dashtī opened his career as a writer with *Ayyām-i maḥbas* (1921), a collection of sketches and essays written in prison, which was later on enlarged with recollections of his life as a politician during the reign of Reżā Shāh Pahlavī. In recent years Dashtī has become a successful novelist as well as an important critic of the classical poets (e.g. *Naḳshī az Ḥāfiẓ*, 1957).

The most significant contemporary writers have shown a distinct preference for the short story and the novelette. These forms were developed to a much higher level of artistic perfection than the longer novel. An event of major importance in the history of modern Persian prose was the appearance in 1921 of *Yakī būd yakī nabūd*, a volume of satirical stories by Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Djamālzāda (b. 1891-2). It was the first completely successful attempt to apply the narrative technique of European literature. The first edition was accompanied by a manifesto advocating the right of existence of a realisitc literature,, the value of which as a means of public education is particularly stressed. In order to be able to reach the broad masses of the people, the literary language should not only be simplified but also made more democratic by the assimilation of elements from living speech which were not regarded as correct forms according to the prevailing standards of literary culture. In spite of the fact that he has lived in Europe during most of his life, Djamālzāda never lost his interest in the exploration of the resources of colloquial Persian, which eventually resulted in the compilation of a special dictionary of colloquial words (*Farhang-i lughāt-i ʿāmmiyāna*, edited by M. Dj. Maḥdjūb, Tehran 1341 sh.). His later novels and short stories were not published before 1941. The autobiographical work *Sār u tah-i yak karbās* (1956) is of popular interest.

The principles laid down by Djamālzāda were applied with great talent by Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat [*q.v.*] (1903-51) in his early stories collected in the volumes *Zinda bi-gūr* (1930), *Si ḳaṭra khūn* (1932) and *Sāya-rawshan* (1933), as well as in the novelette *ʿAlawiyya Khānum* (1933). This can be observed especially in the stories which portray the life of the middle and lower classes of Iranian society. The most celebrated aspect of his work is the analysis of mental suffering for which Hidāyat made use of the literary technique of surrealism. The novelette *Būf-i kūr* (1937) received international attention when a French translation was published in 1953. The short novel *Ḥādjdjī Āḳā*, which was published in 1945, is his best satirical work.

To the same school of writers belongs Buzurg ʿAlawī (b. 1907). He is, however, much more involved in politics than the preceding authors. The collection *Čamadān* (1934) earned him an early recognition as an important writer. His *Čashmhāyash* (1952) is one of the best modern Persian novels. Among the writers who made their debut after the Second World War the outstanding writer of the short story is Ṣādiḳ Čūbak (b. 1916) whose first collection *Khayma shab-bāzī* was published in 1945. His latest works are the novels *Tangsīr* (1963) and *Sang-i ṣabūr* (1966). Other notable writers of the last few decades are Muḥammad Iʿtimāzāda (Bihādhīn), who is especially known on account of his novel *Dukhtar-i raʿiyat* (1951), Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad (1923-69) and Taḳī Mudarrisī. The extensive novel *Shawhar-i Āhū Khānum* (1961) of ʿAlī-Muḥammad Afghānī (b. 1925) was received with great enthusiasm both by the public and the critics in spite of its technical defects. (See on the latest development of modern prose: B. Alawi, in *Yádnáma-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague-The Hague 1967, 167-72; M. Zavarzadeh, in *MW*, lviii (1968), 308-16).

Drama (*numāyish*) has never been a part of the classical tradition but has existed on the level of folk literature for a long time in many different forms (cf. J. Cejpek, *Dramatic Folk-literature in Iran*, in J. Rypka *et. al.*, *History*, 682-93). Much attention has been given to the Iranian passion plays (*taʿziya*) [*q.v.*]), the development of which culminated in the Ḳādjār period. Modern playwriting in Iran is entirely derived from European literature. The oldest specimens are translations of some of the most famous comedies of Molière. Of greater importance were the modern comedies of Ākhundzāda [*q.v.*], written in Azeri Turkish and adequately translated into Persian by Muḥammad Djaʿfar Ḳarāčadāghī. They were published for the first time in 1874 (reprinted Tehran 1349 sh.). The plays of Ākhundzāda inspired the first original dramatic works: a series of comedies said to have been written by Malkum Khān [*q.v.*], although his authorship of at least some of these has been denied recently (cf. *Central Asian Review*, xv (1967), 21-6). Interesting features of these early comedies are the element of social criticism they contain and the use of colloquial expressions in the dialogues. From the First World War onwards play writing became a great fashion in Iran. From the vast production of plays only the historical dramas *Parwīn dukhtar-i Sāsān* (1930) and *Māziyār* (1933) of Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat are named here because of their importance for the history of literature [See further MASRAḤIYYA].

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On the literature of Persian Jews see JUDAEO-PERSIAN LITERATURE.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN).

viii.—ART AND ARCHITECTURE, [see Supplement].

IRĀNĪ [see Mughals].

IRATEN (Ayt > Ath Yiratən; Ar. Banū Ratən), a Berber tribal group of Great Kabylia, whose territory is bounded on the north by the Sebaw, in the west by the Wādī Aïssi (Wādī ʿAysī), which separates them from the Ayt Yenni, in the south by the Ayt Yaḥyā and in the east by the Ayt Frawsen. It is a hilly country from 3000 to 3500 feet in height, producing olives and figs and some cereals. The inhabitants are settled in several villages, of which the most important are Adni, Tawrirt Amekkran, Usammer and Agemmun. The Iraten numbered some ten thousand, belonging to the *commune mixte* of Forth-National.

We know little about the history of the Iraten. Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, tr. de Slane, i, 256) mentions them as inhabitants of "the mountain between Bidjāya [Bougie] and Tedellys [Dellys]". They were nominally under the governor of Bougie and were on the list of tribes liable to *kharādj*, while being in fact independent. At the time when the Marīnid al-Ḥasan undertook his campaign in Ifrīḳiya, they were subject to a woman called Shamsī, of the family of the ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, from whom their chiefs came.

Throughout the Turkish period, the Iraten maintained their independence, secure behind their mountains. They formed one of the most powerful federations in Kabylia, which comprised five *ʿarsh*: Ayt Irdjen, Akerma, Usammer, Awggasha and Umalu, and could put in the field a force of 2800 men. They kept their independence until in 1854 the French, under Marshal Randon, for the first time penetrated into the Kabylian mountains. To prevent an invasion of their territory the Iraten agreed to give hostages and to pay tribute. Nevertheless, their land remained a hotbed of intrigues against French rule, so that Randon in 1857 decided to subdue them completely. The French troops, leaving Tizi-Ouzou on 24 May, conquered all the Kabyl villages in succession and on 29 May defeated the army of the Iraten and their allies on the plateau of Sūḳ al-Arbʿā. To keep them in check Random at once began to build Fort-Napoléon (later Fort-National) in the heart of their country and thus placed "a thorn in the eye of Kabylia". The Iraten were then quiet for 14 years, but in 1871 they again took to arms and participated in the siege of Fort-National, which however the rebels did not succeed in capturing. (For subsequent events, see ALGERIA).

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IRBID, the name of two places:

I: (Irbid/Arbad), the centre of the *ḳaḍā'* of ʿAdjlūn [*q.v.*] in Transjordania (32° 33′ N., 35° E.). According to al-Ṭabarī, the Umayyad caliph Yazīd II died at Irbid which, the chronicler states, at that time formed part of the region of the Balḳā' [*q.v.*].

Several traditions place the residence of Yazīd II at Bayt Rās [*q.v.*], situated about 3 km. to the north of Irbid. In the Mamluk period, Irbid was a halting-place of the *barīd* [*q.v.*]. Today it is a small town of about 3000 inhabitants with basalt houses.

II: (Khirbat Irbid, Arbad, Erbed), vestiges of the ancient Arbela, west of Lake Tiberias, in the ravine formed by the Wādi 'l-Ḥamām. The most noteworthy of the ruins is a synagogue which dominates the ravine. On the sides of the ravine some caves are situated, connected by steps cut from the rock. It is in one of these caves that tradition places the tomb of the mother of Moses (Mūsā b. ʿImrān), and also those of four sons of Jacob (Yaʿkūb)—Dān, Isākhār, Zabūlūn and Gād.

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(S. Ory)

IRBIL, a town in Upper Mesopotamia, situated about 80 km. east-south-east of al-Mawṣil (36° 11′ N., 42° 2′ E.), in the centre of a region known as Adiabene, bounded on the north by the course of the Great Zāb and on the south by that of the little Zāb. Irbil is a site which has been inhabited since very early times, being referred to in cuneiform inscriptions under the name Arbaīlu; the religious centre of the kingdom of Assyria with a sanctuary of the goddess Ishtar, it was also a centre of communications and a point of intersection of caravan routes. It was near to this spot, later known as Arbeles, that in 331 B.C. Darius III was defeated by Alexander. In dispute between the Parthians and the Romans, the town, then known as Arbira, became Christian at an early date, though it is not possible to determine to what extent Christianity penetrated the region. The seat of a governor in the Sāsānid period, Irbil was the scene of persecutions of the Christians, who by an edict of 340 were subjected to a capitation tax and various other tribulations; the resistance of certain Christians led to their execution, and some years later, in 358, the governor Kardagh suffered martyrdom when he became a convert to Christianity.

The conquest of the town by the Muslims, apparently achieved without serious resistance, did not prevent its remaining an active Christian centre, the seat of a bishopric which was held by several outstanding figures. However, for reasons that elude the historian, Irbil was swiftly eclipsed by al-Mawṣil, to which the metropolitan moved in the 3rd/9th century. At that time, Irbil was referred to by the Arab geographers merely as a leading town of the district of Ḥulwān. Irbil again became a town of some importance when, in 563/1167, it was the capital of the Kurdish *amīr* Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī Küčük Begtegin, the former lord of Sindjār, Ḥarrān and Takrīt, who was soon replaced by his son. The most famous sovereign of this dynasty was Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbürī [see BEGTEGINIDS], the brother-in-law of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who ruled Irbil from 586/1190 until 630/1232 and made his capital a place of some importance, in particular by the creation of new districts at the foot of the upper town. This lower town was embellished with various public buildings, hospitals, a *madrasa* known as al-Muẓaffariyya, and a *ribāṭ* for the use of the Ṣūfīs. It was there, every year, that Kökbürī had the *mawlid* celebrated with particular solemnity, in commemoration of the Prophet's birth. On the death of Kökbürī, the state of Irbil passed into the hands of the caliph al-Mustanṣir, to whom Kökbürī had bequeathed it, but he was compelled to lay siege to the town to gain possession of it.

In 633/1235, the town was attacked and partly pillaged by the Mongols, who succeeded in capturing the citadel only in 656/1258, after the fall of Baghdād, and with the help of Kökbürī's old rival, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, upon whom the town was conferred. For some years, despite a massacre which took place on the occasion of the unsuccessful revolt of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, son of Luʾluʾ, in 659/1261, the Christian community of Irbil experienced a period of relative prosperity, and was strengthened by the arrival of new elements. In fact, the town was given a Christian governor, Tādj al-Dīn Mukhtaṣ, who encouraged some Jacobite country-people to move to Irbil and, with the agreement of the Nestorian metropolitan Denḥa, allowed them to build a church there. The new Jacobite community succeeded, some years later, in being granted their own bishop. Denḥa, for his part, was appointed catholicos in Baghdād in 663/1265, but he had to leave that town in 666/1266 and take refuge in Irbil, from which he also fled in 669/1271, this time settling in Ādharbāydjān, as a result of a dispute with the governor. In 687/1289 the recall and torturing of Tādj al-Dīn marked the beginning of a period of persecution and harrassment for the Christians of Irbil. In 693/1295, three churches were destroyed on the orders of the Mongols and, in 708/1310, following some incidents provoked by Christian mercenaries, the Christian population of the lower town, and later that of the upper town also, were in part exterminated and several churches sacked. From that time the Christian community of Irbil lost all its importance and the few survivors gradually emigrated. Under Ottoman rule Irbil, which belonged to the *pashalïk* of Baghdād, had to endure the campaign of Nādir Shāh into Turkey in 1156/1743. In 1892 the town possessed only 3,200 inhabitants, of whom 457 were Jews, but this estimate was considered too low by travellers who visited it at the beginning of the present century. Today Irbil is the chief town of a province which, in 1935, contained some 100,000 inhabitants. It is a commercial centre, and still dominated by its upper town. A little way outside the lower town there still stands a minaret with a cylindrical shaft and octagonal base which may be attributed to the end of the 6th/12th century and which probably belonged to the Muẓaffariyya *madrasa*.

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(D. Sourdel)

ʿIRḌ (pl. *aʿrāḍ*), Arabic term corresponding approximately to the idea of honour, but somewhat ambiguous and imprecise, as the hesitations of the lexicographers testify. It does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, and the contexts in which it figures in *ḥadīth* do nothing to clarify its precise meaning. Al-Djāḥiẓ does not seem to have attempted to analyse the idea of *ʿirḍ*, while Ibn Ḳutayba sees in it a reference sometimes to the soul, sometimes to the body, an interpretation attacked by al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1323, i, 118. In fact, apart from such material meanings as "strong army", "valley covered with palm trees", etc. (see *TA*, s.v.; *LA*, s.v.), *ʿirḍ* seems to imply also, in *ḥadīth* and in poetry, the body of animals, or even of men; the parts of the body which sweat; and the smell of a man or a woman. In the abstract, the lexicographers accept the following notions; distinction of one's ancestors or personal nobility (*ḥasab* [*q.v.*]), good character (*khaliḳa maḥmūda*) or soul (*nafs*). Now the expressions, very common in Arabic, relating to the protection (*ṣāna* and its synonyms) or the insulting (*shatama* and its synonyms) of *ʿirḍ* obviously cannot apply either to the soul, considered as a metaphysical entity, or to good character, which can claim only praise; hence, whereas the identification of *ʿirḍ* with *ḥasab* is correct in itself, yet the first implies more than the second, which is merely one of its manifestations.

From the semantic point of view, the radical letters of *ʿirḍ* can give useful guidance. Several derivates from this root imply the notion of something "laid across" (*taʿarraḍa*, *iʿtaraḍa*), and a *ʿarḍ* is a cloud which obstructs the horizon. Since the Arabs used the expression *hatak al-ʿirḍ* "to tear the *ʿirḍ*" as one tears a veil, and since *hatīka*, from the same root, meant "dishonour", it is legitimate to consider *ʿirḍ* as a sort of partition or curtain separating the individual from the rest of mankind; behind this veil were concealed personal characteristics or characteristics relating to ancestors which the Arabs of old were assiduous to keep safe from insult; one of the aims of *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] was to tear down this veil and to expose the dishonourable characteristics of the person attacked.

The elements of *ʿirḍ* may be classed under three headings: the tribal group, the family and the individual. Under the heading of the group come the number of its members, the qualities of the poet and the orator, victories and independence; under the head of the family: the sons; of the individual: the group. Other elements like rebellion, courage, liberty, vendetta, chastity of the wife, liberality, faithfulness to one's word, *ḥasab*, protection of the weak, hospitality, invulnerability of the abode, belong sometimes to the group and the individual, sometimes to the family and the individual, sometimes to the group, family and individual.

We find the explanation of the various elements of *ʿirḍ* in the warlike life led by the ancient Arabs. Indeed any sign of failure in fighting or of loss of independence humiliated the Arab and dishonoured him. Now humiliation (*dhilla*) is the opposite of power (*ʿizza*) simply because it implies weakness; hence weakness is the condition of dishonour, while power is the foundation of honour or *ʿirḍ*. In other words, everything that contributes to power is an element of honour, while all that causes weakness is an element of dishonour. It is evident then that *ʿirḍ* was in its origin associated with fighting.

ʿIrḍ moreover had an important social function; it was the guiding motive in the acts and deeds of all the Arabs except those of the Yaman, and so took the place of religion at the gatherings held for contests of honour called *mufākhara* and *munāfara* [*qq.v.*], and *ʿirḍ*, on account of its sacred nature, was entitled thus to take the place of religion, since the Arab put it in the highest place and defended it arms in hand.

The consequences to be drawn from the above are the following: being subjected in their everyday life to the controlling influence of an ethical principle, namely honour (*ʿirḍ*), the Arabs were not an anarchical nor truly individualist, nor primitive people, nor one at heart materialist; on the contrary, *ʿirḍ*, regarded as an ethical principle, was found to be at the root of various aspects of the moral life, of manners and even of social institutions. It was at the basis of the social hierarchy or of the non-egalitarian social structure; the poet, the orator, and, in a certain sense, the *sayyid*, enjoyed a special respect. The son was superior to the daughter, the *sharīf* to the *waḍīʿ*, the *ḥurr* to the *ʿabd*, the vigorous tribe to the weak tribe, etc.

The *ʿirḍ* which we have analysed refers to the *djāhiliyya*. Yet Muḥammad still regarded *ʿirḍ* as sacred; it even ranks as equal to religion. Islam maintained many of its elements, which found a place in it in the form of obligations: protection, largesse, courage, etc., form part of Muslim practice. These elements lost their original character: they are no longer capable of being the cause of boastfulness (Islam opposing *taḳwā* to *ḥamiyya*); they are rather connected with religion or with a moral principle emanating from religion. Other elements have been rejected by Islam (like *ḥasab* and *sharaf*) because they were incompatible with its spirit. Some of them, on the other hand, still survive and sometimes are intensified. Among the modern Bedouins we still find *ʿirḍ* with almost all its pre-Islamic force (the *ḥuḳūḳ* of the Arabs of Transjordania and Moab).

At a later date these elements underwent more than one transformation, or even became extinct, especially in the cities. Yet the use of the term *ʿirḍ* in its traditional sense, though less rich in meaning, continued, especially in the Umayyad period, keeping its sacred character and its relation with insult (cf. Ibn Durayd, *Djamhara*, Būlāḳ ed., 166; *Aghānī*, xi, 49; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 293; al-Thaʿālibī, *Mirʾāt al-muruwwāt*, Cairo 1898, 22, 31; Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1875, 93; al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1911, 441, 442, 449, 652; al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, ed. Dieterici, 416; Mihyār al-Daylamī, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1929, ii, 4). Its place has been partly taken by the term *sharaf*, which has received the simple meaning of honour, without the complicated shades of the *djāhiliyya* attached to this idea (Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 314; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 246; al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, 342; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Beirut ed. 1900, 396; cf. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, ed. Zakī Mubārak, i, 135 and the lexicons).

At the present day, the meaning of the word *ʿirḍ* has become restricted, relating particularly to women: in Transjordania it is associated with the virtue of a woman or even with her beauty. In Egypt the *ʿirḍ* of a man depends in general on his wife's reputation and that of all his female relatives. In Syria the reputation of every member of a tribe reflects on a man's *ʿirḍ*.

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AL-**IRDJĀNĪ**, ABŪ YAḤYĀ ZAKARIYYĀʾ, chief of the Berber tribe of Nafūsa and last Ibāḍī-Wahbī *imām* in North Africa. He is probably the same person as R. Basset refers to in error as Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā al-Irdjānī, confusing him with his son, Abū Zakariyyāʾ b. Abī Yaḥyā al-Irdjānī, who also was chief (*ḥākim*) of the Djabal Nafūsa. According to the Ibāḍī document known under the name of *Tasmiyat shuyūkh Djabal Nafūsa wa-ḳurāhum* (6th/12th century), Abū Zakariyyāʾ (error for Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyaʾ) of Irkān (Irdjān) was elected *imām* after Abū Ḥātim (that is Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Yaḳẓān Muḥammad b. Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam). As the latter was in office until 294/906-7, the election of Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā al-Irdjānī cannot have taken place until after that date, perhaps not until after the fall of the Rustamid imāmate of Tāhert in 296/909. In a passage in his *Kitāb al-Siyar* (also entitled: *Kitāb Siyar mashāyikh Nafūsa*), quoted by al-Shammākhī, Maḳrīn b. Muḥammad al-Bughṭūrī refers to Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Irdjānī as *ḥākim* or *imām mudāfiʿ*, "the *imām* of defence". In another passage in al-Shammākhī's work, Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ is given the title of *al-ḳāḍī al-ʿādil al-ʿālim al-kāmil al-imām al-fāḍil*. He was thus *imām* and judge at the same time. He lived at Irdjān or Ardjān (also Irkān or Arkān), a village in the eastern region of the Djabal Nafūsa (today the ruins of Khirbat Ardjān near Mezzu, in the region of Fossaṭo), whence he travelled each day to the town of Djādū, at that time the political and administrative centre of this region and perhaps of the whole of the Djabal Nafūsa.

The rule of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Irdjānī, which lasted for about fifteen years and which extended over the whole of the Djabal Nafūsa, was disturbed by civil wars which took place between two Ibāḍī-Wahbī factions of the region—the Banū Zammūr and the people of Ṭermīsa. It was in the middle of these civil wars, which ravaged all the eastern part of the Djabal Nafūsa and in which the family of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Irdjānī could not avoid becoming involved, that, in 310/922-3, there occurred the invasion of the Djabal Nafūsa by Fāṭimid troops. According to Ibn ʿIdhārī, these troops were under the command of the general ʿAlī b. Salmān al-Dāʿī, and, according to the Ibāḍī chronicles, they consisted of Kutāma warriors, the bravest and most loyal supporters of the Fāṭimid dynasty. The Fāṭimid troops attacked al-Djazīra, the main stronghold of the Djabal Nafūsa, but they were defeated by the Ibāḍīs. In the course of a second battle between the Nafūsa and the troops of ʿAlī b. Salmān, which took place near Tirakt (apparently on the territory which is now al-Rudjebān in the east of the Djabal Nafūsa), Abū Yaḥyā was killed by an Ibāḍī soldier in vengeance for some act of injustice.

In Ibn ʿIdhārī, the chief of the Nafūsa who fought against ʿAlī b. Salmān al-Dāʿī is called Abū Baṭṭa. There is no doubt that this was one of the by-names of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Irdjānī.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*, in *JA*, May-June 1889, 433, 454; Fournel, *Berbers*, ii, 144; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 187; T. Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, Part 1, *Tasmiya šuyūḫ Ǧabal Nafūsa wa-qurāhum*, Warsaw 1955, 97-8; idem, *Ibāḍitica*, 2: *Les Ḥākims du Ǧabal Nafūsa*, in *RO*, xxvi/2 (1962), 99-101; Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301. (T. LEWICKI)

ʿIRḲ, an Arabic word which, etymologically, has the basic meaning of "root", but other acceptations have been grafted on to this original meaning so that it eventually approximates to the idea of race. It is clear, as far as can be judged from the rare documents which can be collected, that such a concept is nowhere clearly attested, and it would be more correct, in this respect, to speak of a stock: "I trace my origins (*ʿurūḳ*) to the root (*ʿirḳ*) of the land" said Imruʾ 'l-Ḳays (*LA* s.v. *ʿrḳ*). But the idea of race seems to be present in outline behind this substantive which also designates blood, understood as a factor of heredity.

ʿIrḳ is nowhere used in the Ḳurʾān. In *ḥadīth* it is not unknown but is only used sporadically. There, first of all, the general sense of root is to be noted: "whoever brings back to life uncultivated land becomes the owner of it; but a root which unjustly grows there does not give any right to this land" (al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Wakāla*, Cairo 1376, iii, 93). Besides the idea of a nerve which strikes man in his head, there is also to be found in *ḥadīth* the indiscriminate sense of artery and vein: "When he finished massacring them, his "artery" burst and he died" (see Wensinck, *Concordance*). It also designates the blood: "his soul left with the *ʿurūḳ*" (see Wensinck), alluding to the liquid soul, *al-nafs al-sāʾila*; regarding a woman whose period is unusually long, it is said: "it is not a question of menses, but of blood (*ʿirḳ*)" (Bukhārī, vii, 46). Finally, and it is this acceptation which especially interests us here, an *ʿirḳ*, the function of which is imprecise, seems to be at the origin of certain anomalies of birth. A man came to the Prophet and said to him "Oh Messenger of God, I have had a black child".—"Do you have any dromedaries?", Muḥammad asked him. "Yes."—"What colour are they?"—"Red."—"Are there no grey ones among them?"—"Indeed yes."—"How did that happen?"—"Perhaps an *ʿirḳ* attracted it towards him."—"Then for your son too, perhaps an *ʿirḳ* attracted him." (Bukhārī, vii, 46). Thus the concept is made to relate to descent and birth. The *ḥadīth* in question would seem to go even further since it seems to invoke, in order to explain an irregularity, a factor as uncontrollable as heredity. According to this hypothesis, *ʿirḳ* would here, too, be a synonym for blood. It is exactly this idea which modern bedouins express when they announce: *ʿirḳ al-khāl lā yanām* (the blood of the maternal uncle does not lie dormant). Classical Arabic also seems to confirm this interpretation when it says: *fī fulān ʿirḳ min al-ʿubūdiyya* (so and so has some slave blood). In the final analysis, then, we are faced with a notion which, in spite of its ambiguity, seems related to the concept of race, since it appeals to the purity of blood.

It is well known that the ancient Arabs made much of the purity of their genealogy [see NASAB], to the extent that they only grudgingly recognized a child born of a slave woman. The purer their blood, the greater the esteem they enjoyed. The social inferiority of those who could not boast of a noble extraction, who were neither *ṣarīḥ* nor *maḥḍ*, was in direct relation to the dubiousness and obscurity of their origins. The Ḳurʾān attempted, not unsuccessfully, to substitute religious ties for tribal and to affirm the supremacy of Islamic values in everything. In advising his followers to marry a believing slave rather than a woman of the polytheists (II,

221), Muḥammad struck a blow at the old preoccupations concerning race. But, nevertheless, these survived among the bedouins. The same concern is shown among the *sharīf*s and the *sayyid*s, both because of the nobility of their stock and the *baraka* which they have received from their illustrious ancestor Muḥammad.

Bibliography: On racial attitudes in Islam see G. Rotter, *Die Stellung des Negers in der islamisch-arabischen Gesellschaft bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*, Bonn 1967; B. Lewis, *Race and color in Islam*, New York 1971. (J. Chelhod)

ʿIRḲ, [see ṢAḤRĀʾ].

ʿIRḲ AL-**LUʾLUʾ**, [see ṢADAF].

ʿIRḲA (ARḲA), township and district on the southern coast of Arabia, situated just within the Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], about midway between Aḥwar and Ḥawra [*q.v.*]. The population of about 500 depend mainly on fishing for their livelihood. Prior to the creation of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, ʿIrḳa formed an independent shaykhdom within the territories of the Wāḥidī sultanates, and came under the protection of the Aden authorities under an agreement concluded in 1888. According to Landberg the town was the residence of the *shaykh* of Bā Dās, a division of the Dhiʾāb [*q.v.*], who were the largest tribe of the Eastern Ḥimyar, though in Hamdānī's time it belonged to the banū ʿĀmir of Kinda. Of ʿIrḳa's history little is known and it is not mentioned in the inscriptions. The Dhiʾāb, however, probably feature in the inscription *R.E.S.* 3945/4, where the cities and irrigated lands of ḤBN (Ḥabbāb, [*q.v.*]) and ḌYB are seized by Karabʾil Watar of Sabaʾ from the kingdom of Awsān. In more recent times ʿIrḳa contained the sanctuary of a woman of the same name who was venerated by the local *mashāʾikh* and passing sailors.

Bibliography: A. Grohmann in N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte I*, *Sitzungsb. Akad. Wiss. Wien*, 106/2, Vienna 1927, 123-4; Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 96; Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, (London), 1946; C. Landberg, *Arabica IV, V*, Leiden 1897-98; idem, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale II : Datînah*, Leiden 1905-13. (A. K. Irvine)

IRMIYĀ (the name is also written Armiyā and Urmiyā, with or without *madd*), the prophet Jeremiah (Yirmĕyāhū) of the Old Testament, is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān although the legends concerning him are connected by traditional exegesis with sura II, 261/259, a "récit édifiant" (R. Blachère), inspired by the apocryphal book "the Paralipomena of Jeremiah" or III Baruch (ed. R. Harris, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, London 1889; G. tr. P. Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel*, Augsburg 1928, 903-19; reconstruction (in Hebrew) by J. Licht *Séfer maʿasey Yirmeyāhū*, in *Shenaton Bar-Ilan*, i (1963), 63-80), perhaps also by the Talmudic legend of "Ḥōnī the drawer of circles", and related in its general theme to the legend of the "Seven Sleepers".

Two versions of the Muslim legend, transmitted on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih and Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, make wide but free use of the details in the Bible concerning Jeremiah. In the first (al-Ṭabarī, i, 658 ff.) the oracles attributed to the prophet consist of a cento of scriptural passages drawn not only from the Biblical book which bears his name but also from that of Isaiah. According to this account, the destruction of Jerusalem was not actually to take place until the prophet had himself pronounced judgment on the faithless city.

The second version (al-Ṭabarī, i, 646 f.) has as its main theme the relations between Irmiyā and Bukht-Naṣṣar [*q.v.*] Nebuchadnezzar; it corresponds roughly to the Biblical account in Jeremiah XXXIX-XLIII. The tomb of Irmiyā was pointed out in Alexandria: al-Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1957, 47, tr. 111. On the other hand, al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Taʾrīkh*, ed. Houtsma, i, 70 = G. Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, 83) echoes the Aggadic tradition, according to which the Ark of the Covenant had been hidden before the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians; however, no other source, apocryphal or rabbinic, attributes (as Yaʿḳūbī does) this precaution to Jeremiah: cf. L. Ginzberg *The Legends of the Jews*, vi, 377 (n. 118) and 410 (n. 61).

Finally, it is Jeremiah who, in a story also recorded by al-Ṭabarī (i, 666) and repeated many times by later authors, is the hero of the episode of the man of God (according to another version this was ʿUzayr [*q.v.*]) who slept for a century and was miraculously restored to life, in order to demonstrate God's power to bring the dead to life. It is said that, after this return to life, Irmiyā became one of the mortals endowed with exceptional longevity: thus there is a tendency to confuse him with al-Khaḍir (Khiḍr [*q.v.*]), as is attested by a passage of al-Djāḥiẓ (*Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, § 40).

Bibliography: The legends briefly summarized above are analysed in more detail in the article Irmiyā, by A. J. Wensinck, *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, 214 ff. = *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 172 ff. In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, new ed. v, 438-84; *Chronique de Tabari* (Balʿamī), i, 492, 494 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 117 f., tr. Pellat, i, § 113; *al-Badʾ waʾl-taʾrīkh*, iii, 114/117 f.; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, 195-8 (old ed., 192 ff.); Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ii, 33-8; Mudjīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Uns al-djalīl*, Cairo 1283/1866, i, 138 ff.; I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, 269 f.; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, 425. (G. Vajda)

IRŌN [see OSSETS].

IRSĀLIYYE or MĀL-I IRSĀLIYYE, an Ottoman financial term applied to the annual "remittances" of cash and kind sent to the personal treasury of the sultan (*Djeyb-i hümāyūn* or *Ḥarem-i Hümāyūn khazinesi*) in Istanbul by the holders of the non-feudal *sandjaḳ*s as well as by the governors of the non-feudal Arab provinces. The former usually were remitted under names such as *Nevrūz Irsāliyyesi* (New Years Remittance) or *Aghustos Irsāliyyesi* (August Remittance). The latter were called *Irsāliyye Khazīnesi* (Remittance Treasury), sometimes shortened to *Khazīne*, and consisted of the balance left in each provincial treasury (*Khazīne-i ʿAmire*) after the provincial expenditures and governor's salary (*sāliyāne*) were paid.

Such remittances came regularly to the sultan from Damacus, the Yemen, Baṣra, and Baghdād, but by far the largest and best-known of them was that sent by the governors of Ottoman Egypt from the time of its conquest until well into the 13th/19th century. The Egyptian *irsāliyye* was fixed at sixteen million *para*s shortly after the conquest. It was raised to 20 million *para*s annually in 1005/1596 and to 24 million *para*s in 1009/1601, and it remained at between twenty and thirty million *para*s during the remainder of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries.

While the dispatch of the Remittance, whether by caravan through Syria or by sea, was always the occasion for a lavish ceremony, only a small part of the *irsāliyye* was actually sent to Istanbul. The remainder was kept in Egypt and used as a permanent deposit, applied to meet special obligations of the sultans, such as provisioning Ottoman naval units at Alexandria, Damietta and in the Red Sea, supplying Ottoman pilgrims and troops passing through Egypt on their way to southern Arabia, and paying for the purchase of Egyptian commodities and supplies used in the Sultan's palace kitchen in Istanbul and in the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. Starting in the late 17th century, the Mamlūk factions in Egypt assumed control of the Ottoman administrative structure in the country, including the Treasury, and managed to divert an ever-increasing proportion of the *irsāliyye* sums to their own accounts in addition to collecting much of the Treasury's tax revenues, thus further lowering the amount left for the *irsāliyye*. Periodic efforts were made to correct this situation and restore the *irsāliyye*, with the administrative reforms introduced in 1081/1670, 1106/1695, 1156/1743, 1175/1761 1180/1767, and 1200/1786 being most important, but their effects were short-lived due to the continued Mamlūk power. During most of the 12th/18th century, however, the Ottoman governors were largely able to replace the lost *irsāliyye* funds by using Mamlūk rivalries, supporting those parties which agreed to allow the Treasury to confiscate and sell the properties of their defeated rivals and to use the resulting revenue, called *māl-i ḥulwān*, to pay for the expenditures formerly provided by the *irsāliyye*.

Irsāliyye payments were completely suspended during the reign of the Mamlūk rebel ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] (1170/1757-1178/1765, 1180/1767-1186/1772) and the French Expedition to Egypt (1798-1801), but they were resumed, on a reduced scale, upon the restoration of the Ottoman power and were retained by Muḥammad ʿAlī, not only for Egypt but also for his Syrian possessions, except during the time of his two wars with the Porte.

Bibliography: Detailed references to sources and secondary works concerning the Egyptian *irsāliyye* can be found in S. J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*, Princeton, New Jersey 1962, 283-315; idem, *Ottoman Egypt in the age of the French Revolution*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1964, 152-3; and idem, *The budget of Ottoman Egypt, 1005-1006/1596-1597*, The Hague and Paris 1968, 13-14, 202-5. See also H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, 1 vol. in 2, London and New York 1950-57, vol. i, part 1, 148-9, vol. i, part 2, 17, 18; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 391; idem, *Osmanli devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 363, 371; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlügü*, 3 vols., Ankara 1946-56, vol. ii, 81-2; L. Fekete, *Die Siyâqat-Schrift in der Türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, 2 vols., Budapest 1955, vol. i, 74 on; Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine, 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, 114n, 118n., 123-4; Ömer Lūtfi Barkan, *1079-1080 (1669-1670) Mālī yılına ait bir bütçesi ve ek'leri*, in *Instanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii (Ekim 1955-Temmuz 1956), 225-303; idem, *1070-1071 (1660-1661) Tarihli Osmanli bütcesi ve bir mukayese*, in *Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii, 304-38, particularly 324, 334-338 (where the supplies purchased with the Egyptian *Irsāliyye* funds are itemized.

(S. J. Shaw)

IRTIDJĀʿ [see RADJʿIYYA].

IRTIDJĀL, improvising, extemporizing a poem or a speech. Ibn Rashīḳ (*ʿUmda*, i, 131), followed by Azdī (*Badāʾiʿ*, p. 5 of the Būlāḳ ed.) connects the term with the meaning "to be easy", "to flow down" implied in the expression *shaʿr radjil*, "lank hair", or with *irtidjāl al-biʾr*, "descending into a well on one's feet", *i.e.*, without the help of a rope, and the synonym of *irtidjāl*, *badīha*, with the root *badaʾa*, "to begin", substituting *hāʾ* for *hamza*. According to these two authors, the difference between *irtidjāl* and *badīha* is that whereas in the case of *irtidjāl* the poet does not prepare his poem in advance, in the case of *badīha* he allows himself a few moments of thought. Of the other synonyms of *irtidjāl* mentioned in the dictionaries only the term *iḳtiḍāb* is used occasionally. For an explanation of the etymology of this last term see Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, 39-40 (cf. also the expression *kalām ḳaḍīb*, "unprepared, unpolished speech", as used by the poet Baʿīth and in a famous saying by the Khāridjī leader ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī in Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥ. Hārūn, Cairo 1367/1948, i, 204-5).

According to R. Blachère (*Litt.*, 87-8, 364, 369-73), the metre used for improvisations in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times was mostly, though not exclusively, the *radjaz*. In addition to songs by camel drivers (*ḥidāʾ*), cradle songs, etc. which in the nature of things are often improvised, there were improvisations on solemn occasions: curses or satires directed against the enemy, war songs, and dirges (see also the catalogue of *radjaz* themes in M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 18-24). The corresponding verbs *radjaza* and *irtadjaza* are therefore often used in the sense of "to improvise in *radjaz*" (often also with the secondary meaning "to deride", "to sneer", see I. Goldziher, *Abhand. zur arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896, i, 79-81). For a *radjaz* improvisation on a victory won by the ʿAbbāsid caliph Mutawakkil see *Aghānī*[1], ix, 119 (= *Aghānī*[3], x, 231-2).

On the other hand the terms *irtidjāl* and *badīha* (as well as *badīhaⁿ*, "extemporaneously") seem to have been used mostly of improvisations in metres other than *radjaz* (for exceptions see the above-cited passage in the *Aghānī* and Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 178). These terms are commonly found in texts dating from the first half of the 3rd/9th century, but many anecdotes suggest that they existed earlier. Except for the chapter by Ibn Rashīḳ there is little discussion of either term in the handbooks on rhetoric. ʿAlī b. Ẓāfir al-Azdī (d. 613/1216) may therefore be correct when he claims that his *K. Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih* (Būlāḳ 1278/1862 and on the margin of ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, Cairo 1316/1898) is the only work on the subject. The *Badāʾiʿ* contains a wealth of anecdotal material and improvisations on an almost unlimited variety of humorous, sometimes also serious, themes arranged roughly in chronological order, as well as a detailed discussion of various types of the *idjāza* [*q.v.*] which, since metre and rhyme are suggested by somebody else, is the only form of improvisation which does not allow the poet to compose any part of his poem in advance. Some of these anecdotes may well be authentic (*e.g.*, the anecdote on pp. 90-2 of the Būlāḳ ed.) as is shown by the fact that individuals capable of improvising compositions of some length are found in the Arab countries to this day.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Shiʿr*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1902, 26-28; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1371/1952, 39-41; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, Damascus 1302/1885, iv, 167; Ibn Rashīḳ, *K. al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1352/1907, i, 126-31; Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Cairo 1326/1908, i, 38-9; Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī, *Čahār Maḳāla*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad, London 1910, 31, 35-6, 42, 43, 47, 53 (= idem, tr. E. G. Browne, London 1921, 32, 38, 47, 53, 60); Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ruʿaynī, *Barnāmadj*, Damascus 1381/1962, 101-2, 195; A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853, 319-20; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 177; J. Lecerf, *Littérature dialectale et renaissance arabe moderne*, in *B. Ét. Or.*, ii (1932), 218-20, 234 (quotes *Mashriḳ*, xxviii [1930], 501-3). (S. A. Bonebakker)

For improvisation in Persian and Turkish, [see Supplement].

IRTIFĀʿ [see falak, ʿilm al-hayʾa].

IRTISH [see Supplement].

ʿĪSĀ, Ḳurʾānic name for Jesus; the Ḳurʾān refers to him in 15 sūras and devotes to him 93 verses which are the foundation for Muslim Christology. Various traditions, containing additions drawn from the apocryphal gospels of the childhood of Jesus, or from mystic Christian literature, have enriched this Christology and, in certain respects, brought it nearer to the Christian Christology. Islamo-Christian polemic has tended through the years to harden the positions; most of these positions have become classic and are to be found unchanged in present day Muslim writers.

I. Etymology of the word ʿĪsā: Certain western writers (Marracci, ii, 39; cf. Landauer and Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, xlvi, 720) consider that the Jews induced Muḥammad to use the form ʿĪsā and he did so in good faith. In fact the Jews, in hatred, referred to Jesus as Esau (עֵשָׂו) maintaining that the spirit of Esau had passed into him (cf. Lammens, in *Machriq*, i, 334). Others (cf. J. Derenbourg, in *REJ*, xviii, 126; Frankel, in *WZKM*, iv, 334; Vollers, in *ZDMG*, xlv, 352; Nestle, *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, i, 861) state that Yasūʿ derives, by a phonetic change, from the Syriac Yeshūʿ (ܝܫܘܥ), itself coming from the Hebrew Yeshuaʿ, with harmonization with Mūsā. But it should be pointed out that it is used only five times with Mūsā, while it is mentioned 25 times altogether (cf. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qurʾan*, London 1965, 16-7; Henninger, *Spuren christlicher Glaubenswahrheiten im Koran*, Freiburg 1951, 32-3). Finally some modern scholars have seen it as a reference to an ʿĪsā mentioned in the pre-Islamic inscriptions, *ytʿ*: a dialectical variant of *hysʿ*, a theory which has been strongly rejected by G. Ryckmans who disputes the reading in *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxvii (1949), 62 and in *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, 1951, 48. For the Muslim writers, see al-Bayḍāwī on III, 45 (ed. Fleischer, i, 156, l. 2).

II. The various names of Jesus in the Ḳurʾān (see below for a study of the terms):—a) al-Masīḥ (eleven times).—b) *Nabī*, prophet (XXIX, 30).—c) *Rasūl*, "envoy, messenger" (IV, 157, 171, V, 75).—d) Ibn Maryam, "son of Mary" (33 times: 16 times ʿĪsā ibn Maryam, 17 times Ibn Maryam alone or with another title, while in the Gospels the expression appears only once; cf. E. F. F. Bishop, *The Son of Mary*, in *Moslem World*, 1934, who considers that the name came from the Church of Ethiopia after the return of the second group of emigrants. The expression appears five times in the Arabic Gospel of the Childhood, and fifteen times in the Syriac version of this Gospel.—e) *Min al-muḳarrabīn*, "among those who are close to God" (III, 45), later explained by the fact of his "ascension" (*suʿūd, rafʿ*).—f) *Wadjīh*, "worthy of esteem in this world and the next" (III, 45); al-Bayḍāwī explains this: on earth as a prophet and in Heaven as an intercessor.—g) *Mubārak*, "blessed" (XIX, 31): "a source of benefit for others" (al-Bayḍāwī), probably a bringer of *baraka*.—h) *Ḳawl al-ḥaḳḳ* (XIX 34), "sure word", an obscure expression which is perhaps not a title but refers to the preceding statement; cf. al-Bayḍāwī, i, 580, l. 25.—i) ʿAbd Allāh, "Servant of God" (see below).

III. The annunciation, conception and birth of Jesus. There are in the Ḳurʾān certain features which, more or less directly, reflect the Gospels. Some writers, for example P. Hayek (*Le Christ de l'Islam*, Paris 1959, 65) go so far as to state that apart from the dogma that Mary is the mother of God, rejected by the Muslims since they formally deny the divinity of Jesus, "all the other dogmas defined by the Church or transmitted by its traditions of worship, find a support in the Ḳurʾān, rather weak it is true, but certainly real: the Immaculate Conception, the Presentation in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Virgin Birth, Christmas and even the Assumption" [cf. maryam].

The Annunciation made to Mary is related with a touching freshness and recalls the scene in the Gospels. Mary, withdrawn into the Temple, receives the visit from the "Spirit of God" [see rūḥ allāh], "then We sent unto her Our Spirit that presented himself to her a man without fault", (XIX, 17), which tradition identifies with the Archangel Gabriel. He announces to her the miraculous birth of Jesus; miraculous because Mary has vowed her virginity to God and intends to retain it (LXVI, 22; XXI, 91). The Angel reassures her: this is easy for the Lord, who wishes to make of her a sign (*āya*) for men and a mercy (*raḥma*) from Him (XIX, 21). "So she conceived him, and withdrew with him to a distant place".

It seems that in the Ḳurʾān the distinction between the Annunciation and the Conception is not precisely made. According to Luke I, 26-38, the angel of the Lord who appears to Mary is distinct from the Holy Spirit who performs the miracle. The Ḳurʾān seems to unite these two ideas. In fact, while in XIX, 17, there is mentioned an angel who appears to Mary in the form of an actual mortal, in two other texts (LXVI, 12 and XXI, 9) where God mentions the Spirit ("Our Spirit"), there is no reference to the angel. The confusion between the annunciation and the conception led to the Angel Gabriel's being considered as the father of Jesus, a thesis supported by Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran*, Hamburg-Gotha 1839, 36-46; cf. Michaud, *Jésus selon le Coran*, Neuchatel 1960, 20, a thesis based on the interpretation of certain Muslim exegetists stating that the angel breathed into a slit in Mary's cloak which she had taken off; when she put it on again, she conceived Jesus (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 381).

In fact, the conception of Jesus was the result of a creative decree made by God: the creation of Jesus by God was after the example of that of Adam. The creation of Adam was at least as marvellous as that of Jesus, conceived by a virgin (cf. III, 52).

Mary was overtaken by the pangs of childbirth be-

side the trunk of the palm tree. To reassure Mary's fears of a scandal, the child addressed her from the cradle. She shows the child to her family. In order to silence their reproaches he declares: "Lo, I am God's servant; God has given me the Book, and made me a Prophet. Blessed he has made me, wherever I may be; and He has enjoined me to pray, and to give alms, so long as I live, and likewise to cherish my mother" (XIX, 16-35).

It is known that Islam does not admit the idea of an "original sin" transmitted to the descendants of Adam (cf. G. Anawati, *Islam and the Immaculate Conception*, in *The dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, ed. E. D. O'Connor, University of Notre Dame Press, 1958, 447-61). Concerning Mary and her son however, there is a tradition, accepted by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, which states that they were granted an extraordinary privilege: that of both having been preserved from any contact with the devil at the instant of their birth. "Every son of Adam when newly born", says the *ḥadīth*, "is touched (or probably squeezed) by Satan, except for the Son of Mary and her mother; it is at this contact that the child utters his first cry".

IV. The mission of Jesus: Jesus is a Prophet (*nabī*; XIX, 31) and the Envoy (*rasūl*; IV, 156, 169, LXI, 6). Like all prophets, he has a mission to fulfil, for to each separate people God has sent a special prophet. Of the son of Mary and of his mother He has made a sign, "and He has given them refuge on a quiet and dewy hill" which the commentators have identified with Jerusalem or Damascus. On the different interpretations concerning this topography (the influence of Byzantine iconography [Ledit], reference to the Assumption of Mary [Rudolph, Ahrens, Henninger], Srinagar [Aḥmadiyya]), cf. Michaud, 29, n. 3.

The "miraculous sign" shown by Jesus and his mother is apparently his miraculous birth. But he himself was to perform "signs", proving through miracles his prophetic mission. Among these "proofs" (*bayyināt*) (cf. II, 254 and 81, III, 43, V, 110, XLIII, 63, LXI, 6), should be mentioned the following:—1. Jesus spoke even in the cradle (XIX, 30) and already with the authority of a grown man (III, 41).—2. He made small clay models of birds, breathed life into them, and "it will be a bird, by the leave of God" (III, 43). The modelling of birds is found in the apocryphal gospels: the Gospel of Thomas, ch. 2, the Gospel of the Childhood in Arabic, ch. 36, 46, 1; the Armenian book of the childhood, 18, 2. The Aḥmadiyya give a symbolic interpretation to this miracle: it signifies the spiritual flight of the Galilean peasants under the influence of Jesus (cf. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, 6).—3. Jesus cured the man blind from birth and the leper (V, 110).—4. He raised the dead, always "with God's permission" (III, 43; V, 110).—5. At the request of the Apostles (*ḥawāriyyūn*, [*q.v.*]), he made to come down from the sky a "Table prepared" (*māʾida*); for them it was a feast (*ʿīd*), a meal and a proof (*āya*) of his mission (V, 111-14); cf. Bayḍāwī, i, 280; Hayek, 220-2; Gerock (46), followed by Rudolph, thought that this was either a reminiscence of the Last Supper or of the vision of Peter related in the Acts of the Apostles, X, 9). According to the traditional material collected by al-Ṭabarī, 86 (Hayek, 220-2) this is an echo of the miracle of the loaves and fishes (Matthew, XIV, 17 f.; XV, 32 f.). Michaud (56-7), following Masson (328-9), produces texts from the Old and the New Testament in favour of interpreting it as referring to the Last Supper. On the sources of the commentaries on this passage cf. Sidersky, 328-9. It is possible that the Ḳurʾānic passage was influenced by some apocryphal tradition of which nothing has survived. (cf. G. Rosch, *Die Jesusmythen*, 447).

Jesus comes to declare the truth of what has been given before him in the Torah (III, 44). The Scripture which belongs to Jesus is the Gospel [cf. INDJĪL] which is judged favourably because it fills the hearts of those who follow it with meekness and pity (V, 82). Jesus covers with his prophetic authority not only the Gospel and the Torah but also the earlier writings, all of them taught by God to the Son of Mary (III, 43, V, 110).

V. Jesus the Messiah: We must here define certain terms applied to Jesus which, in Christianity, have a fundamental value: the terms Messiah and Servant of God. Concerning the first, in the structure of the New Testament the revelation was gradual and Jesus did not reveal himself to the disciples as the promised Messiah until after a long psychological preparation. This historical perspective is not found in the Ḳurʾān: the term Messiah is given to Jesus from the time of his birth, though in a narrow sense which in no way corresponds to the Christian concept. Jesus the Messiah in the Ḳurʾān is only one in a series of prophets which ends with Muḥammad. Like all the prophets he is only an ordinary man; the Ḳurʾān is entirely opposed to any doctrine of Jesus the Messiah the Son of God (IX, 30-1). It reproaches Christians for having taken "their scholars and their monks as lords apart from God, and the Messiah, Mary's son" (IX, 31). The uncompromising dogma of the unity of God removes any Christian overtones from the word Messiah.

The word Masīḥ is used eleven times in the Ḳurʾān, in passages all of which are Medinan (III, 40, IV, 156, 169, 170, V, 19 (twice), 76 (twice), 79, IX, 30, 31). The word is of Jewish origin, transmitted through Syriac. It seems to have been known in the north and the south of Arabia in the pre-Islamic period. The Hebrew *mashiaḥ* was used of the kings and the patriarchs and especially for the awaited Saviour. The Septuagint translates it by Christos. Al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍāwī admit that the word is foreign and al-Fīrūzabadī states that there are fifty explanations for this word [see MASĪḤ]. In the Ḳurʾān the word is used only to signify Jesus.

The Arabic writers found two roots for it: 1. the verb *masaḥa*, to rub with the hand, to anoint; in the passive sense Jesus is Messiah, a) because he was anointed by means of blessings and honours (XIX, 32), b) because he was covered, from birth, by the wing of Gabriel to shield him from the bite of Satan, c) because he was anointed in Adam, like all men, but in a particularly way in order to be implanted in Mary. In the active sense, Jesus is Messiah, a) because he anointed the eyes of those born blind in order to cure them (III, 43), b) because he rubbed sick people with his hand, c) because he anointed with a holy oil. 2. The second root is the verb *sāḥa*, to travel, go on a pilgrimage, to wander. Jesus became for the Muslim mystic writers "the model of the pilgrims", "the imām of the wanderers", the example of the mystics. Cf. Abd El-Jalil, *Marie et l'Islam*, 59, based on the Commentary of al-Alūsī, iii, 142.

VI. Jesus the servant of God: *ʿAbd*, literally "slave", means in theological terms, "the creature". Man is not only the "servant" of God but also his "property". Cf. *ʿebedh* in the Old Testament (Isaiah, XLII, 1, LII, 13-LIII, 12, the fourth song of the Servant of Yahweh) and δοῦλος in the New Testament (Phil., II, 7). In the Ḳurʾān IV, 170, the angels

are also called *ʿabd*. The basic meaning of adoration is found, with various nuances, in all the derived meanings (cf. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary of the Qur'an*, 209). What must be remembered is that the Ḳur'ān insists on the status of Jesus as no more than that of a created being (XLIII, 59); it reacts against any belief in the divinity of Jesus. "Thus the first word he uttered was to recognize his character as a servant, to make more decisive the argument against any who might claim that he was God" (Hayek, 84; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, i, 220-1; al-Ṭabarī, i/2/, 733-4; al-Thaʿālibī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 386). Thus it would be wrong to exaggerate the meaning of this term (as does Ledit, *Mahomet, Israel et le Christ*, 145) and to interpret it in the Judaeo-Christian sense: everywhere in the Ḳur'ān the word means a being created by God and subject to Him (cf. III, 52, 73).

VII. Jesus and Muḥammad: According to the Muslim commentators, who base themselves on LXI, 6, Jesus announced the coming of one who would come after him. According to the recension of Ubayy, this was "the seal of the Prophets" and of the messengers; in the Vulgate, it is "a Messenger" named Aḥmad. On the meaning of the variant of Ubayy, cf. Blachère, tr. 909. Islam recognizes Muḥammad in Aḥmad, both names deriving from the root *ḥ.m.d.* In St. John's Gospel Jesus announces the sending of the Paraclete (XIV, 16; XIV, 26; XVI, 7). The main early versions of the Gospels have merely transcribed the term without translating it: *parakletos* has given *fāraḳlīt*.

Sale, in his *Preliminary Discourse*, 1877, iv, 53 (quoted by H. A. Walter, *The Aḥmadīya Movement*, 30), following up a suggestion of Marracci, suggests that the Gospel text on which these are based had something like περικλυτός, meaning famed, illustrious, and rendered in Arabic by Aḥmad. The same explanation is found in C. F. Gerock, 109 and Zwemer, *The Moslem Christ*, 139, n. 1: the Muslim commentators accuse the Christians of having substituted παράμλητος for περιμλυτός which stood in the original. Cf. Michaud, 36-7; Henninger, 313; Parrinder, 96-100; L. Bevan-Jones in *Muslim World*, x, 112 ff.; A. Guthrie and E. F. F. Bishop, *ibid.*, xli, 251 ff.; M. Watt, *His Name is Aḥmad, ibid.*, xliii, 110 ff.; J. Schacht, in EI², s.v. AḤMAD.

VIII. Jesus and the Word of God: On the use of the word *kalima* in the Ḳur'ān see the thesis by Th. O'Shaughnessy, *The koranic Concept of the Word of God*, Rome, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1948. On its origin and possible borrowing from the Christian Logos, cf. Gardet-Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 88 ff. For Pretzl, (*Die Frühislamische Attributenlehre*, Munich 1940, 26-7), the question of the Logos and that of the nature of the Ḳur'ān share earlier common sources.

As to the Muslim exegesis of the Ḳur'ānic texts referring to the "Word" coming from God to Jesus, four possible exegeses may be distinguished (cf. Abd El-Jalil, 39, using al-Alūsī, iii, 141):—1. Jesus is the fulfilment of the creating word of God, uttered at the moment of his conception (IV, 169, XIX, 30, III, 42).—2. Jesus is the prophet announced in the word of God, received and preached by the earlier messengers.—3. Jesus is the word of God because he speaks on behalf of God and thus leads men in the right way.—4. Jesus is a word of God because Jesus is, in his own person, "good tidings".

IX. Jesus and the Spirit of God: In order to accomplish his mission, Jesus was fortified by the Holy Spirit (*Rūḥ al-ḳudus*) (V, 109, XIX, 30-3), first at his birth, and then during his adult ministry among the Jews (II, 81, 254). The complete formula: "we have ... confirmed him with the Holy Spirit" is used in the Ḳur'ān only for Jesus. However the Ḳur'ān uses an almost identical formula in connection with the believers whom God confirms "with a Spirit from Himself" (LVIII, 22). On the Holy Spirit in the Ḳur'ān, cf. Henninger, 4-6, which is based, among others, on the article by Macdonald in *Moslem World*, xxii (1932).

X. Jesus and the Trinity: In the passage III, 40, Jesus is mentioned as being among those "close" to the Lord (*min al-muḳarrabīn*). Jesus will be glorious, honoured both in the present world and in the world to come. This privilege of being close to God is shared by Jesus with the angels (IV, 170). But, however sublime they may be, both they and he remain created beings. The unity of God is stated in III, 52-5 in a passage dealing with the person of Jesus. The reference is probably to the reply made to the Christian delegates of Nadjrān in 631 (cf. Blachère, 865). In spite of his great veneration for the Son of Mary, Muḥammad is quite clear that he is in no sense divine. The Christians who insist on this divinity are "Liars".

From the same period is the passage V, 19-21, in which Muḥammad once again insists on the entirely human condition of Jesus: "They are unbelievers who say, 'God is the Messiah, Mary's son' ". And the Christians are no more the sons of God than is Jesus himself.

It will be clear that with such a perspective, the Ḳur'ān formally rejects any doctrine of the Trinity. It should however be pointed out that the Trinity as understood and rejected is not the same as that which is taught by Christian dogma, and defined by the councils which were held before the revelation of the Ḳur'ān. The Ḳur'ānic Trinity seems to be a triad composed of Allāh, of Mary his consort and of Jesus their child (cf. V, 116); a concept which is reminiscent on the one hand of the stellar triads of the pre-Islamic Pantheon (cf. T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968), and on the other hand of the cult of Mary verging on idolatry practised by certain Christian sects of Arabia, the Mariamites and the Collyridians.

It is important to note that the formal denials of the Ḳur'ān are directed towards these views, which are "heretical" from the point of view of Christian orthodoxy itself. Certain modern Muslim writers, taking note of the explanations provided by their Christian informants, are inclined to recognize the basic monotheism of the Christian religion, without however admitting its revealed nature, (cf. J. Jomier, *Le commentaire coranique du Manār*, 308). For all this section, cf. Michaud, 77-83.

XI. Jesus and the problem of the crucifixion. On the subject of the death of Jesus, two questions require to be answered: (1) was Jesus really crucified and did he therefore die on the cross? (2) supposing that this was not the case, did he die a natural death?

Concerning the first question, the Ḳur'ān states its position categorically: against the Jews who claimed "we slew the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, the Messenger of God", it states "yet they did not slay him, neither crucified him, only a likeness of that was shown to them (*walākin shubbiha lahum*). Those who are at variance concerning him surely are in doubt regarding him; they have no knowledge of him except the following of surmise; and they slew him not of a certainty (*yaḳīnan*)—no indeed; God raised him up to Him"; (IV, 156-7). Muslim tradition com-

pletes the statements of the Ḳurʾān. According to some, Christ was replaced by a double, according to others it was Simon of Cyrene or one of the Apostles (Judas).

On the different modern explanations of the *walā-kin shubbiha lahum*, cf. Michaud, 64-5, who mentions them and himself agrees with Hayek (41) in understanding "it seemed thus to them", which this writer considers to be the most plausible interpretation. Certain *falāsifa* and some Ismāʿīlī commentators have interpreted this passage thus: the Jews intended to destroy the person of Jesus completely; in fact, they crucified only his *nāsūt*, his *lāhūt* remained alive; cf. L. Massignon, *Le Christ dans les Évangiles selon Ghazālī*, in *REI*, 1932, 523-36, who cites texts of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (ed. Bombay, iv, 115), a passage of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (about 934), and another of the Ismāʿīlī Muʾayyad Shīrāzī (1077). But this interpretation was not generally accepted and it may be said that there is unanimous agreement in denying the crucifixion. The denial, furthermore, is in perfect agreement with the logic of the Ḳurʾān. The Biblical stories reproduced in it (*e.g.*, Job, Moses, Joseph etc.) and the episodes relating to the history of the beginning of Islam demonstrate that it is "God's practice" (*sunnat Allāh*) to make faith triumph finally over the forces of evil and adversity. "So truly with hardship comes ease", (XCIV, 5, 6). For Jesus to die on the cross would have meant the triumph of his executioners; but the Ḳurʾān asserts that they undoubtedly failed: "Assuredly God will defend those who believe"; (XXII, 49). He confounds the plots of the enemies of Christ (III, 54).

On the origins of the Ḳurʾānic concept of the crucifixion (gnostic and docetic Christianity, as maintained by H. Gregoire, seeing here a concession to certain docetic Monophysites, in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris 1930, i, 107-19; a rejection of Ledit's view in *Mahomet, Israël et le Christ*, 151-6, where he attempts to find texts of the Ḳurʾān which refer symbolically to the mystery of the redemption) cf. Michaud, 68-71.

Concerning the second question (the death of Jesus and his ascension to God), an examination of the Ḳurʾānic texts XIX, 34, III, 48, XXXIX, 43, and in particular the key text IV, 155-7 (which throws light on the preceding ones and reveals the true Islamic attitude to the death of Jesus), shows (1) that the resurrection referred to in XIX, 84 is the general resurrection which the Ḳurʾān proclaims for the end of the world; there was a special resurrection for Jesus, since Jesus did not die on the cross. Later tradition (cf. Hayek, 265-8) stated that it would be at the end of time, when Jesus returned again, that he would die the natural death announced in XIX, 34. (2) The word *tawaffā* usually means a death which is blessed, a return to God for the final judgement, but it is also used in VI, 60 for God's recalling the souls of those who sleep while they are asleep and returning them when they awake (cf. Fränkel, in *ZDMG*, lvi, 77). The verb is twice used of Jesus, in III, 48 and V, 119. The first passage could imply an elevation of the living Jesus to God. The second is ambiguous. The question is settled by the passage IV, 155-7, in which it is stated that Jesus was not killed by the Jews but was raised up to heaven. In other words, we have the following succession of events: apparent death, ascension, second coming, natural death, general resurrection. For all this section, cf. Michaud, 60-4.

XII. The return of Jesus: The only authority is the passage XLIII, 61, which contains some variant readings: the first reading, that of the Vulgate: *wa-innahu la-ʿilm^un*, "He (Jesus) is truly a knowledge of the Hour", *i.e.*, he by whose descent the approach of the Hour is known; the second reading, the canonical variant: *wa-innahu la-ʿalam^un*, "And he (Jesus) is truly a sign for the Hour"; the third reading, in the recension of Ubayy: *wa-innahu la-dhikr^un*, "And he (Jesus) is truly a warning of the hour"; fourth reading: *wa-innahu*: the *hu* refers to the Ḳurʾān.

If the second coming of Christ is taken as established, his death is placed after the Hour, as mentioned above, and then the references in IV, 159 and XIX, 33 are easily explained. Similarly, the expression *kahl^an* in III, 46 becomes clear, because when he was "raised" he was still *shābb*, young, and had not attained *kuhūla*; cf. al-Bayḍāwī, in loco. On the positions of various commentators, cf. Hayek, 244-51.

On these few facts tradition has succeeded in accumulating a mass of detail (cf. al-Bayḍāwī on XLIII, 61, ed. Fleischer, ii, 241) and in producing books devoted specifically to this subject, among them: *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-mā tawātara fī nuzūl al-Masīḥ*, of Muh. Anwar Shāh al-Kashmīrī al-Hindī (published in 1965 in Aleppo by Abu 'l-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda). Some of these details are as follows: Jesus, on returning to the earth, will descend on to the white arcade of the eastern gate at Damascus, or, according to another tradition, on to a hill in the Holy Land which is called ʿAfīḳ; he will be clothed in two *muṣarra*; his head will be anointed. He will have in his hand a spear with which he will kill the Antichrist (al-Dadjdjāl). Then he will go to Jerusalem at the time when the dawn prayer is being said, led by the *imām*. The latter will try to give up his place to him, but Jesus will put him in front of him and will pray behind the *imām* following the prescription of Muḥammad. Then he will kill all the pigs, will break the cross, destroy the synagogues and the churches, and will kill all the Christians except those who believe in him (following IV, 159). Once he has killed the false Messiah (al-Masīḥ al-Dadjdjāl), all the Peoples of the Book will believe in him, and there will be only one community—that of Islam. Jesus will make justice to reign. Peace will be so complete that it will extend also to the animals among themselves and to man's relations with the animals. Jesus will remain for forty years and then will die. The Muslims will arrange his funeral and will bury him at Medina, beside Muḥammad in a place left vacant between Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

There has come to be grafted on to the belief in the second coming of Christ, sometimes merging which it, the doctrine of the Mahdī. This term, which at first had a mainly honorific meaning, gradually came to indicate the very person of him who, at the end of time, is to restore the lost faith. On this doctrine, [see MAHDĪ].

Finally, it may be mentioned that the Aḥmadiyya sect holds that Jesus, after his apparent death on the cross and resurrection, emigrated to India, to Kashmir, to preach the Gospel there. He lived there until the age of 120. His tomb is at Srinagar. They believe that the Mahdī is an incarnation simultaneously of Jesus, Muḥammad and an avatar of Krishna [see AḤMADIYYA].

XIII. Jesus and the Last Judgement: At the time of his nocturnal ascension (XVII, 1), Muḥammad met Abraham, Moses and Jesus. Questioned concerning the Final Hour, Jesus announced: "To me has been confided the knowledge of what will precede its occurrence. As to the occurrence itself, only God can determine this". This verse enables us to

understand the passages where Jesus is called "Knowledge of the hour": he knows of its existence, but not the exact time, this being reserved to God alone. In spite of his ascension to God's side and his purification (III, 48), Jesus will not assist God in the Judgement which will follow the Hour: it is God alone who decides, He is the only Judge. On the day of the universal Resurrection, Jesus will be a witness against the Christians, accusing them of having regarded him and his mother as equal with God, but he will not be their judge (cf. *infra*, the different position of Ibn ʿArabī).

XIV. Jesus in tradition and in the mystic writers: The Christological elements contained in the Ḳur'ān, listed systematically above, have been the subject of meditation by ascetics and mystics. There has gradually grown up around the figure of Jesus an abundant hagiographic literature stressing the poverty of the Son of Mary, his detachment from the world, his teaching, his power of performing miracles, his devotion to prayer. These elements, with anecdotes, sermons and advice attributed to Jesus, are found in the classical works of the mystics such as the *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* of Abū Nuʿaym, the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfiʿī, the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of al-Makkī, the *Nawādir* of al-Tirmidhī, and especially in the works of al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, *Mukāshafāt*. Even in the "secular" writers like al-Damīrī in his *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih in his *ʿIḳd*, there may be found interesting details on Christological literature. Fifty years ago, Asín Palacios had collected and translated the texts concerning Jesus in the works of al-Ghazālī and had published them under the title of *Logia et agrapha Domini Jesu*, in *Patrologia orientalis* (xiii (1919), 335-431; xix (1926), 532-624). In his turn, Father Michel Hayek collected and translated texts about Jesus and classified them systematically in a complete Christology (*Le Christ de l'Islam*, Paris 1959; Arabic text: *Al-Masīḥ fi 'l-Islām*, Beirut 1961). A large part of the work is occupied with Jesus's teaching; it includes *logia* on poverty, on detachment from the life of this world, denunciation of false wisdom and of the specious sureties of this world, dialogues, pilgrim stories, the resurrection of the dead who bear witness against the vanity of the world against which Jesus constantly warned his Companions, his Apostles, the Children of Israel and his listeners in general. His description is based on that of the Christian ascetics and monks: wearing a woollen habit, detachment, a life of solitude, the power of the initiate to perform cures.

When, later, the Ṣūfīs came into direct contact with the Gospels, they took from them the elements which corresponded to their ascetic ideas, which they themselves attributed to Jesus: "this explains the gospel background of certain *logia* and accounts which are here almost always taken out of their original context" (Hayek, 136). Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) went even further: he stated that it is Jesus who merits "the Seal of universal Holiness" because he possesses the quality of faithfulness in the faith (*amāna*), because he holds in his hands the keys of living breath and because he is at present in a state of deprivation and journeying" (cf. Hayek, 262-3). "And", he adds, "know that without doubt Jesus will descend and will be our judge, according to the law of Muḥammad" (*ibid.*).

XV. Islamo-Christian polemic concerning Jesus: The central place in the Christian religion of the dogmas of the Incarnation and the Redemption made inevitable doctrinal conflict between Christian and Muslim theologians. The latter worked out fairly rapidly a system of apologetics which became accepted as classic and the features of which have been repeated without variation until the present time; cf. INDJĪL where a substantial bibliography is given. On the most recent Muslim books on Christ see the article by J. Jomier im *MIDEO*, v (1958), *Quatre ouvrages en arabe sur le Christ*, 367-86, and G. C. Anawati, *Polémique, apologie et dialogue islamo-chrétiens, Positions classiques médiévales et positions contemporaines*, in *Euntes docete*, Rome 1969.

Two works published in Cairo show a new tendency in the Muslim approach to the problem of Christ. The first (1952) is by the Egyptian essayist ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād and is entitled *The spirit of the Messiah* (*ʿAbḳariyyat al-Masīḥ*). This work, which enjoyed wide success, may be described thus: the writer approaches Christ with great respect—the Christ of the actual Gospels and not only the ʿĪsā of the Ḳur'ān; he defends vigorously the historicity of Jesus and the authenticity of the Gospels, the only sources for our knowledge of Christ; he rejects nationalist prejudice against the miracles but, following a method which he has worked out for himself, he does not make use of them in his exposition. Finally, al-ʿAḳḳād has a clear grasp of certain aspects of Christ's teaching: the insistence on love, the complementary role of the Gospel counsels, the primarily spiritual character of Christianity: this is essentially a demand for perfection made of the conscience and not a religious law bristling with texts. From the Christian side he has been criticized for announcing arbitrarily when he approaches the account of the Passion and death of Jesus: "This is where history ends and belief begins", whereas the remainder of the book rests on the authenticity of the Gospels, which he defends vigorously. Furthermore, the dogmatic teaching of Christ is left in the background.

The second book (1954), *An iniquitous city* (*Qarya ẓālima*) is by a doctor, Dr. Kāmil Ḥusayn, former rector of the University of ʿAyn Shams (Cairo). It is presented rather as a work of imagination than a historical biography, being a personal meditation on the trial and condemnation of Christ, a trial considered as the greatest crime in history.The whole thread of the story unwinds on Good Friday and the work is conceived in the form of a triptych describing successively, in a style both sober and elegant, the attitudes of the Jews, the Apostles and disciples, and finally of the Romans. Concentrating on this or that scene (Calvary, the meeting of the Apostles), on this or that person (Caiaphas, Lazarus, Pilate, Mary Magdalene) the author is able to stress profound psychological details and to discuss great metaphysical or moral problems: liberty, authority, the existence of God, the relations between religion and the state, conscience etc. Without being described anywhere, the face of Christ is present everywhere. The essential part of his mission is to remind men that conscience, which is a participation in the divine light, must be above everything, above even religion if need be. Very skilfully, in order to distress neither Christians nor Muslims, the author leaves the problem of the Crucifixion in the background. Although to a certain extent the whole book converges on this main event (all the characters speak of it, all the movement of the book leads to it, nature herself is covered with darkness on the afternoon of Good Friday), the author does not actually state that Christ was crucified. Nor however does he deny it. He merely repeats a Ḳur'ānic saying: "God has raised Jesus to Himself", a saying which in the context can receive

an acceptable interpretation from Christian readers. Finally, in one of the last chapters. "Return to the Sermon on the Mount", the author movingly develops the words of Christ. He summarizes them for the modern world into the three following points: one should reject with all one's might all the false gods of money, the state, religion or the common good; one should truly live according to the precept of brotherly love; finally one should free oneself of any passion which might stifle the voice of conscience.

The book has been translated into English by Kenneth Cragg under the title *City of Wrong. A Friday in Jerusalem.* Djambatan-Amsterdam 1959 and into Spanish by José Maria Fornéas; the Spanish translation has as an introduction the long article on the book by G. C. Anawati in *MIDEO*, ii (1959), 71-134, entitled *Jésus et ses juges d'après "La Cité inique" du Dr. Kamel Hussein.*

On a portrait of Jesus by a contemporary Persian writer, Shīn Parto, in a short book entitled *Haft čehrè* (*Sept visages*), cf. the article by P. de Beaurecueil in *MIDEO*, ii, (1955), 310-2.

Bibliography: A large part of the bibliography has already been given in the article itself and in the article INDJĪL where are listed the works of Ahrens, Blachère (tr. of the Ḳur'ān), Fritsch, Goldziher, Henninger, Horovitz, Jomier, Masson, Steinschneider, Tor Andrae, etc. We give here only the books and articles devoted more especially to Ḳur'ānic Christology (in chronological order):

C. F. Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran*, Hamburg and Gotha 1839; M. Manneval, *La christologie du Coran*, Toulouse 1867 (a thesis based on the above book); G. Rosch, *Die Jesusmythen des Islam*, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1876, 409-54; E. Sayous, *Jesus-Christ d'après Mahomet*, Paris-Leipzig 1880; E. Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'heterodoxie musulmane*, Paris 1903; F. W. von Herbert, *The Moslem tradition of Jesus' second visit on earth*, in *Hibbert J.*, vii (1909), 27-48; C. H. A. Field, *Christ in Mohammedan tradition*, in *MW*, i, (1911), 68-73; S. M. Zwemer, *The Moslem Christ, An essay in the life, character and teachings of Jesus Christ according to the Koran and orthodox tradition*, Edinburgh-London 1912; Muhammad Din, *The Crucifixion in the Koran*, *MW*, xiv (1924), 23-9; E. J. Jenkinson, *Jesus in Moslem Tradition*, *ibid.*, xviii (1928), 263-9; E. J. Robson, *Christ in Islam*, 1929; H. Gregoire, *Mahomet et le monophysisme*, in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris 1930, i, 107-19; L. Massignon, *Le Christ dans les Evangiles selon Ghazâlî*, in *REI*, 1932, 523-36; Th. Monod, *Le Christ des Musulmans*, in *Le Monde non-chrétien, Cahiers de Foi et Vie no.* 5, December 1933, 7-26; E. F. F. Bishop, *The Son of Mary*, in *MW*, xxiv (1934); Ign. di Matteo, *La divinità di Cristo e la dottrina della Trinita in Maometto e nei polemisti musulmani*, Rome pont. Ist. Bibl. 1938; Ghazālī *Réfutation excellente de la divinité de Jésus-Christ d'après les Évangiles*, ed. and tr. by R. Chidiac, Paris 1939; J. Robson, *Muhammadan teachings about Jesus*, in *MW*, xxix (1939), 37-54; F. V. Winett, *References to Jesus in pre-islamic Arabic inscriptions*, in *MW*, xxxi (1941), 341-53; J. Robson, *Stories of Jesus*, *ibid.*, cl (1950); E. Littmann, *Jesus in a pre-islamic inscription*, *ibid.*, xl, (1950); J. Abd El-Jalil, *Marie et l'Islam*, Paris 1950; W. M. Watt, *His name is Aḥmad*, in *MW*, xlii (1953); F. L. Bakker, *Jesus en de Islam*, The Hague 1955; E. F. F. Bishop, *The Qumran Scroll and the Qur'an*, in *MW*, xlviii (1958); G. Farès, *Le Christ et l'Islam contemporain*, in *Méditerranée, carrefour de religions*, 31-52 (Cahier no. 28 of *Recherches et débats du centre catholique des intellectuels français*, September 1959); K. Cragg, Introduction to his translation of Ḳāmil Ḥusayn, *City of Wrong*, Djambatan-Amsterdam 1959; M. Hayek, *Le Christ de l'Islam*, Paris 1959 (2nd Arabic edition, Beirut 1961); ʿAbd al-Tafāhum, *The Qur'an and the Holy Communion*, in *MW*, xlix (1959); Ishaq al-Husaynī, *Christ in the Qur'an in modern arabic literature*, Tokyo 1960; H. Michaud, *Jésus selon le Coran*, Cahiers Theologiques 46, Neuchatel 1960; M. Hayek, *L'origine des termes ʿĪsā, al-Masīḥ* (*Jesus-Christ*) *dans le Coran*, in *l'Orient chrétien*, vii (1962), 223-54 and 365-82; Geoffrey Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, London 1965; Ali Mérad, *Le Christ selon le Coran*, in *R.O.M.M.*, v (1968/1-2), 79-93.

For Muslim works in Arabic, see the articles by J. Jomier and G. C. Anawati mentioned in paragraph XV above. (G. C. ANAWATI)

ʿĪSĀ, NAHR, in full NAHR ʿĪSĀ IBN ʿALĪ, was in the Middle Ages one of the four major canals leading to the general vicinity of Baghdād, the others being Nahr al-Malik, Nahr Ṣarṣar and Nahr al-Ṣarāt (Muḳaddasī, 124). Watering the district of Fīrūz Sābūr, Nahr ʿĪsā flowed past the villages and domains situated along both banks until it reached the town of al-Muḥawwal west of Baghdād, and from there into the Tigris (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, i, 111-2; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, Map III). A tributary of the Euphrates, it was deep enough to allow large boats coming from al-Raḳḳa to deliver foodstuffs from Egypt and Syria (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 250). Since the canal emptied into the Tigris, below Ḳaṣr ʿĪsā, it connected both these major waterways (Iṣṭakhrī, 84-5; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 164-5). As a result the city was strategically situated amidst the major inland water routes of the empire, as well as on the great highways leading to the East and the Arabian Peninsula. When the construction of dams along the Ṣarāt made it impossible for large boats to reach the Tigris, the ʿĪsā alone remained open to heavy traffic. The course of Nahr ʿĪsā is reported by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), whose account is identical with that of Suhrāb (*ʿAdjā'ib*, 123) and is the same as the text published by Le Strange as *Ibn Serapion, Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad*, London 1895, 13. The text of Suhrāb can be dated on internal evidence to *ca.* 925 A.D. He lists nine locations along the canal, all of which are apparently identified by masonry bridges (*ḳanṭara*) spanning the water. The course of the canal is also described by Yāḳūt (d. 622/1225), whose account is based on that of the Khaṭīb (*Muʿdjam*, iv, 842). He adds, however, that in his time only Ḳanṭarat al-Zayyātīn and Ḳanṭarat al-Bustān remained standing, the other seven bridges having apparently fallen into disuse. However, the *Marāṣid* indicates that these bridges must have been destroyed before then, and that the only bridges standing in the time of Yāḳūt were Ḳanṭarat al-Yāsiriyya, Ḳanṭarat al-Shawk, and Ḳanṭarat Banī Zurayḳ (iii, 250). See also Yāḳūt (*op. cit.*, 190, 191, 839). However, Ibn al-Djawzī, writing in the 6th/12th century, reports that Ḳanṭarat Banī Zurayḳ collapsed into Nahr ʿĪsā in 433/1042. There is no indication that the bridge was repaired then (*Muntaẓam*, viii, 108). Furthermore, a century earlier (323/935) Ḳanṭarat al-Ushnān and its environs were reported to have been ravaged by fire. According to al-Ṣūlī it was not rebuilt in his time (*Akhbār*, 68). To what extent the destruction of individual bridges

reflects the decline of the surrounding area bearing the same name is not clear. Nahr ʿĪsā in the Middle Ages formed the southern boundary of the suburb of al-Karkh and thus marked the southern limits of Baghdād. No real trace remains of it in modern times.

Bibliography: In the text. (J. Lassner)

ʿĪSĀ b. **ʿALĪ** [see ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā].

ʿĪSĀ b. **DĪNĀR** b. Wāfid al-Ghāfiḳī, one of the three major founders of Islamic jurisprudence and theology in Spain, the other two being Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (d. 234/848) and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/852). ʿĪsā is considered the most learned and important of the three, and is described as *ʿālim al-Andalus*. He was born in Toledo, most probably around 155/771, because when he arrived at Medina to study with Mālik b. Anas he found he had "recently" died (in 179/795). He went back to Fusṭāṭ and made all his studies under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāsim (d. 191/806) who was considered the most eminent disciple of Mālik. He attended also the lectures of the other two distinguished Mālikī scholars of Fusṭāṭ: ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812) and Ashhab b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 204/819). While Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā boasted that he had made some of his studies with Mālik and completed them afterwards at Fusṭāṭ, and while the flamboyant ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb was always keen to show that he had obtained his knowledge from the four Medinan disciples of Mālik—namely al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī (d. 188/804), Abu 'l-Muṣʿab al-Zuhrī (d. 242/856), ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Mādjishūn (d. 212/827) and al-Muṭarrif b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 220/835)—ʿĪsā b. Dīnār proved that better results could be achieved by studying with one good professor if the student possessed superior talent and character. ʿĪsā b. Dīnār was nominated, a short time after his return from Egypt, the Mufti [*q.v.*] of Cordova and stayed in that office until his death in 212/827. Only then could Yaḥyā, who was older than ʿĪsā but lived longer, obtain the post. ʿĪsā wrote a large work of Mālikī jurisprudence called *al-Hidāya*, in which he collected the knowledge he had got from Ibn al-Ḳāsim and added his personal points of view. He arranged its material according to the branches of *fiḳh* and dedicated a volume to the questions of each branch. A student of his read the volume about sales (*masāʾil al-buyūʿ*) to Ibn al-Mādjishūn, who could not help repeating time and again: "By God! that ʿĪsā of yours has indeed made an excellent thing! (*aḥsana wa-'llāhi ʿĪsāka hādhā!*) The *Hidāya* was considered superior in quality to the ten Books of Yaḥyā (*ʿasharat Yaḥyā*) and *al-Wāḍiḥa* of Ibn Ḥabīb. While these two were mere manuals of Mālikī law, *al-Hidāya* was a substantial contribution to the making of Spanish Mālikī doctrine.

Besides his vast knowledge of law and theology, ʿĪsā had his own personal views that sometimes contradicted those of the government and the rest of the *fuḳahāʾ*. He was accused of taking part in the Rebellion of the Suburb of Cordova (*haydj al-rabaḍ*) in 203/818 and had to escape and hide when the rebellion was suppressed. Al-Ḥakam I pardoned him later, and he regained his post and prestige. Towards the end of his life he grew weary of the rigidity of the Mālikī *madhhab* and the servile manner in which the jurists applied the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*. He decided to abandon both, and go back to the original sources of the faith: the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*. The idea had been given to him long before by ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb, when he was studying at Fusṭāṭ. Ibn Wahb had always warned against the dangers of regarding the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* as the ultimate source of legal rulings. ʿĪsā however did not live to fulfil his desire. The *Muwaṭṭaʾ* continued to be the unique source of jurisprudence in Muslim Spain until it was successfully challenged by Baḳī b. Makhlad (201/816-276/889) and Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ (199/814-287/900) fifty years later. ʿĪsā b. Dīnār was moderate in his judgements, especially when they concerned the inflicting of punishment. For instance, while ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb ruled that the Khāridjīs and the Muʿtazilīs should be sentenced to death without mercy, ʿĪsā insisted that they should first be given the opportunity to disavow their doctrines and rejoin the *sunna*. Here ʿĪsā b. Dīnār was more consistent than Mālik himself, because this last had said in the treatise called *Bāb al-nahy ʿan al-ḳadar* that the Muʿtazilīs should be accorded the opportunity to disavow *iʿtizāl* before any punishment was inflicted on them; but when he was asked about them in the mosque he shouted: "Heretics, infidels, kill them!"

Bibliography: Ibn al-Faraḍī, *ʿUlamāʾ*, Madrid 1890-92, 973; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwa*, Cairo 1952, 678; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ*, Madrid 1926, 35; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 389; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* photocopy, Cairo Library, V/3, 615; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1956, ii, 24; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1932, 177; Maḳḳarī *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, ii, 215, iv, 161-2; ʿIyāḍ, *Shifāʾ*, Cairo n.d., ii, 273; idem, *Madārik*, ed. A. Bakir, Beirut 1967-9, index; José López Ortiz, *La recepción de la Escuela Malekī en España*, in *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, vii (1930), 1-169: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 148, ii, 473; M. A. Makki, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España Musulmana*, Madrid 1968, Index. (H. Monés)

ʿĪSĀ b. **MUHANNĀ**, d. 683/1248, appointed *Amīr al-ʿArab* by the Mamlūk sultan, was the chief of the Āl Faḍl, a Bedouin clan of Bādiyat al-Sha'm. His genealogy is usually given as ʿĪsā b. Muhannā b. Māniʿ b. Ḥaditha b. ʿAṣaba (var. ʿUḳba) b. Faḍl b. Rabīʿa; his *laḳab* was Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭā'ī. The Āl Faḍl, connected to the Rabīʿa and hence to the Ṭayy (for their early history see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, Cairo 1284, v, 436 f.; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, Cairo 1914, iv, 203 f., 206), were very wealthy (see al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf*, Cairo 1312, 79) and ranged from Ḥimṣ as far as Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar and Raḥba (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 204, 231; al-Khālidī, *al-Muḳṣid al-rafīʿ*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. 4439, 155). ʿĪsā himself, with his immediate followers (Āl ʿĪsā) dwelt in Bādiyat al-Sha'm, occasionally crossing the Euphrates at Raḥba into ʿIrāḳ.

ʿĪsā played an important role in the battles between the Mamlūks and the Mongols in the second half of the 7th/13th century. With the other Bedouin, he fought beside Ḳuṭuz [*q.v.*] at the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] in 658/1260, and he (or his father) was rewarded with the grant of the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] of Salāmiyya [*q.v.*]. Although in general he enjoyed good relations with the neighbouring amirs, especially Djalāl al-Dīn al-Kalālī of Irbil (see Ḳāḍī Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-ẓāhir*, ed. S. F. Sadeque, 1956, 112), he was on bad terms with Baybars [*q.v.*]; the sultan however, was obliged to appoint him Amīr al-ʿArab over all the Bedouin in 663/1264, in succession to his cousin ʿAlī b. Hudhayfa b. Māniʿ, whose bloodthirsty tyranny had reduced the region to chaos (*al-Rawḍ*, 123). Contemporary sources report that he did much to restore order, by his good administration and justice (*e.g.*, Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1939, viii, 12 f.). ʿĪsā led the way in Baybars's invasion of Asia Minor in 675/1277; and, together with Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī, *nāʾib* of Aleppo, prevented the

Mongols from infiltrating into Syria (see *Baybars tarihi*, T. tr. Ş. Yaltkaya, Istanbul 1941, 85). Under Ḳalāwūn, however, he allied himself with Sunḳur al-As̲h̲ḳar, who had rebelled at Damascus taking the title al-Malik al-Kāmil, and entered into contact with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ Malik D̲j̲uwaynī, who was governing Bag̲h̲dād for the Ilk̲h̲ānid ruler: in 679/1280 he and Sunḳur began a correspondence with Abāḳā, to whom, through the intermediary of D̲j̲uwaynī, he sent his son. Abāḳā presented the son with a *k̲h̲ilʿa* and granted to him part of the revenues of Bag̲h̲dād (D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongoles*, iii, 522). This rapprochement did not, however, last long: ʿĪsā visited Cairo in 680/1281, was pardoned by Ḳalāwūn, and, at the battle of Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*], commanded all the Bedouin levies as leader of the vanguard of the right wing of the Mamlūk army (see Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *al-Muk̲h̲taṣar fī ak̲h̲bār al-bas̲h̲ar*, Istanbul 1286, iv, 15; D'Ohsson, iii, 526). ʿĪsā died in Rabīʿ I 683/May 1284, the *ṣalāt al-g̲h̲āʾib* being performed for him in the Great Mosque of Damascus on the 9th of the month/26 May (see Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 13). During his twenty years of rule, ʿĪsā, in spite of his approaches to the Ilk̲h̲ānids, followed a sound policy, ensuring internal peace and order in his territories, and he is praised by the sources as a good and pious man (Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 13; al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-d̲j̲inān*, Ḥaydarabād 1338, iv, 199).

His son and successor as leader of Āl ʿĪsā, Husām al-Dīn Muhannā, the lord of Tadmur, pursued his father's policy; but in 692/1293, the Mamlūk Sultan K̲h̲alīl had him arrested at Ḥimṣ, together with his brothers Muḥammad and Faḍl and his son Mūsā, and brought to Cairo, where they were imprisoned in Ḳalʿat al-D̲j̲abal (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iv, 29; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, v, 438; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 206). Two years later, however, he was restored as Amīr al-ʿArab. He performed the Pilgrimage, with much pomp, in 697/1298 (Wüstenfeld, *Chron. der Stadt Mecca*, ii, 275). Soon afterwards he fell out with al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and in 712/1312, 716/1316, and especially 720/1320, allied himself with the Ilk̲h̲ānids (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, v, 439). As a result, the Āl ʿĪsā were fiercely persecuted by the *nāʾib* of Damascus and by one party of Bedouins, and his *iḳṭāʿ*s were taken away (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iv, 91-3; al-ʿUmarī, 79). Nevertheless, when the Mamlūks and the Ilk̲h̲ānids made peace in 723/1323, Muhannā returned to Syria. During his emirate the clan was divided into two branches, Bayt Muhannā b ʿĪsā and Bayt Faḍl b. ʿĪsā (al-ʿUmarī, 79; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 205, 208; *Muḳṣid*, 155), and a third branch, named the Āl-Muhannā, came into existence under Muhannā's grandson Nuʿayr (Muḥammad b. D̲j̲abbār b. Muhannā) (for Nuʿayr, see M. C. Sehabeddin Tekindağ, *Barḳūḳ devrinde Mamlūk Sulṭāniği*, Istanbul 1961, 59, 65, 72-3, 75, 81-2, 95-6). These families seem to have retained the post of Amīr al-ʿArab until 879/1474.

Bibliography: further to references in the text: Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, Cairo 1939, i/3, 725-6; Weil, *Chalifen*, iv, 12 f.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 186 f.; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, v, 296.

(M. C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ)

ʿĪSĀ b. **MŪSĀ** b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās. ʿAbbāsid prince, nephew of the first two caliphs of the dynasty. Governor of al-Kūfa in the reign of al-Saffāḥ [*q.v.*], he was then designated as the second heir after Abū D̲j̲aʿfar, and it was he who, at al-Anbār, administered the oath of allegiance on behalf of al-Manṣūr, who was in Mecca at the time when al-Saffāḥ died.

ʿĪsā b. Mūsā kept his post of governor during the reign of al-Manṣūr. He directed military operations against the ʿAlids Muḥammed b. ʿAbd Allāh, and then Ibrāhīm, who were in revolt. In D̲h̲uʾl-Ḳaʿda 145/February 763 he won the victory of Bāk̲h̲amrā [*q.v.*] but was obliged to renounce his rights as heir apparent in favour of al-Mahdī in 147/764-65. Again in Muḥarram 160/October-November 776, al-Mahdī, who had become caliph, put pressure on ʿĪsā, so that he would renounce his rights in favour of his own son, Mūsā, the future al-Hādī. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā died in 167/783-4 at Kūfa aged 85.

It seems he took an active part in the planning of Bag̲h̲dād (the reason, according to certain sources, for the name of Nahr ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]), and the chroniclers mention a palace which had belonged to him and which became the property of the descendants of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn. Moreover, the foundation of the castle of al-Uk̲h̲ayḍir is generally attributed to him. This castle is situated in the steppe not far from al-Kūfa and has, as has recently been remarked, a strategic importance. Its construction seems to have been related to the repression of the ʿAlid movements in the region.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, index; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, index; Yaʿḳūbī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, index; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, Tables; Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, Ms. Istanbul Aşir Ef. 597, fol. 569; L. Caetani, *Cronografia*, Rome 1923, fasc. i, *passim*; Le Strange, 66 and index; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, ii, Oxford 1940; W. Caskel, *al-Uḥaiḍir*, in *Isl.*, xxxix (1964), 28-37. (D. Sourdel)

ʿĪSĀ b. al-**S̲H̲AYK̲H̲** b. al-Salīl, Abū Mūsā al-D̲h̲uhlī al-S̲h̲aybānī no doubt belonged to the Rabīʿa (Bakr) tribe of the Banū S̲h̲aybān of D̲j̲azīra (for which see al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī maʿrifat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Bag̲h̲dād 1332, 259; idem, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿs̲h̲ā*, i, 338; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 335-6; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-maʿārif*, Cairo 1300, 32-3, ed. Okāsha[2] 1969, 97; cf. M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des H'amdānides*, 134 ff., 141). We do not know the exact name of his father, who was called al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ or S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, and elsewhere Aḥmad (Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, iii, 46 note, and Defrémery, *Recherches*...) or ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, viii, 134). ʿĪsā's early history is shrouded in obscurity. He seems to have made his first appearance in 234/848 during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, in the following circumstances. There was a member of a Rabīʿa tribe of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīt̲h̲ (or Buʿayt̲h̲), whose father and grandfather had set up for themselves a fief in Marand and around the lake of Urmiya, and who, at certain times as the ally of Bābek and at other times as his adversary, had been imprisoned in Sāmarrā; he had taken flight, and had then returned to Marand and fortified himself there. An army was sent against him, under the command of Bug̲h̲ā al-S̲h̲arābī. ʿĪsā b. al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ was a member of this force. Bug̲h̲ā used him to negotiate with the besieged, and since these were for the most part of Rabīʿa like himself, ʿĪsā secured the surrender of a certain number of the companions and relations of Ibn al-Baʿīt̲h̲. The latter escaped, but was captured and taken to Sāmarrā [see marand].

It does not appear to be true that ʿĪsā was governor of Damascus in 247/861, as is suggested by Zambaur (*Manuel de chronologie*, 28), who confused him with ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Nawsharī. Under the year 251/865, two items of information relating to ʿĪsā b. al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ are to be found in al-Ṭabarī. The first states that he fought against a K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī named al-Muwaffaḳ and took him prisoner. According to

the second, ʿĪsā requested the caliph al-Mustaʿīn to send him arms and equipment, in order to consolidate his power in the country and to allow him to conduct a campaign against the Byzantines (*al-ghazw*); furthermore, he asked the caliph to give orders to the commandant of the garrison at Tyre (Ṣūr) to place four armed vessels at his disposal, in addition to those he could already count on. This would suggest that ʿĪsā at that time held a command in the Syrian frontier region.

If al-Yaʿḳūbī is to be believed, when al-Muʿtazz ascended the throne on 7 Muḥarram 252/29 January 866 and asked the various governors to recognise him, certain of them did so immediately, but others, among them ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh in Palestine, bided their time. This ʿĪsā would have been governor of Palestine as early as 251. It was perhaps as a result of this incident that al-Nawsharī, governor of Damascus, marched against ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh, joined battle with him by the Jordan and compelled him to flee, first to Palestine, later to Egypt, while al-Nawsharī entered Ramla. An envoy from al-Muʿtazz came to Egypt and received the oath of loyalty from the governor and his entourage, and also from ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh. It appears that al-Muʿtazz had not given his consent to the occupation of Ramla by al-Nawsharī, since he sent against him into Palestine the Turk Muḥammad b. al-Muwallad who drove out al-Nawsharī. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh left Egypt, and then established himself in a *ḳaṣr* between Ramla and Ludd. Muḥammad b. al-Muwallad could do nothing against him, and finally both of them returned to ʿIrāḳ, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī.

According to al-Ṭabarī, at the end of 252/December 866, ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh was nominated by al-Muʿtazz as governor of Ramla in Palestine. He was said to have obtained this appointment by paying, or guaranteeing, a sum of 40,000 dinars to Bughā al-Sharābī who, in 252, still possessed considerable influence, since it was not until 254/868 that he was imprisoned and put to death.

According to al-Masʿūdī, he was said to have been appointed by al-Muʿtazz as governor of Palestine because he had come from Egypt to Sāmarrā bearing huge sums of money (perhaps the proceeds of taxes) and bringing with him a group of seventy ʿAlids who had fled from the Ḥidjāz as a result of disturbances there.

The occasion of this nomination marks the appearance of a figure who is later to be found at the side of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh; this is Abu 'l-Maghrāʾ ibn Mūsā b. Zurāra, of a family which held an important fief in southern Armenia in the region of Arzanene. It was this man whom ʿĪsā sent to represent him as his deputy in Ramla.

From this time onwards, the career of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh is described in greater detail. The anarchy then prevailing in ʿIrāḳ allowed him to extend his area of authority by seizing Damascus. The caliph al-Muhtadī, who succeeded at the end of Radjab 255/July 869, granted an amnesty to all those who had taken part in disturbances or had usurped power, and he wrote in this sense to ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh, ordering him to hand over the money which he was keeping in Egypt and other countries. ʿĪsā refused, and kept the proceeds from the taxes for himself, thus making himself financially independent. According to al-Kindī (*The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, 214), he embezzled a sum of 750,000 *dīnārs*. No doubt it is to this episode that Ibn al-Muʿtazz was alluding in his *ḳaṣīda* (*urdjūza*) in praise of al-Muʿtaḍid, when he states (verse 41 ff.) that ʿĪsā and his son (that is to say Aḥmad, see below) are robbers, that they never give a single coin to the caliph and extort money from their subjects. The caliph al-Muʿtamid in 256/870 sent emissaries to him, to demand this money. ʿĪsā replied that he had used it to pay his troops. He was then offered the governorship of Armenia on condition that he recognised al-Muʿtamid, which he had not hitherto done. ʿĪsā consented, thinking that he would be able to retain Syria while at the same time becoming governor of Armenia. Al-Muʿtamid did not regard it in the same way, but instead of leaving it to the new ruler of Egypt, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (from September 868), to expel ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh from Syria, he himself sent an army commanded by the Turk Amādjūr, who was appointed governor of Damascus. In the battle which he fought outside Damascus, ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh lost his son al-Manṣūr who was killed, and he himself was defeated and fled to Armenia by the coast road (256/870, or, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, 257/871).

The governorship of Armenia no doubt also included Diyār Bakr in Djazīra and Ādharbāydjān. In Armenia, ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh responded to an appeal from the Arab colonies established in the Lake Van region, the ʿUthmānids (Utʿmanikkʿ) and the Ḳaysīs (Kaisikkʿ), who were threatened by Ashot Artsruni, prince of Vaspurakan, who was about to besiege Amiwk, a fortress of the ʿUthmānids on the east shore of the lake. Thanks to his armed intervention, the siege was raised. An agreement was reached, and ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh went to Ādharbāydjān where he established one of his officers, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Tamīmī al-Yamāmī (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 58, 740), whom the Armenian historians call Yamamik or Ememik. In Armenia, which was partitioned between the Bagratuni and the Artsruni and which was in fact independent, the authority of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh diminished constantly, and all the more when his deputy in Ādharbāydjān revolted against him, thus involving him in a fruitless struggle for a whole year, probably in 877-8; afterwards, he had to return to "Syria" (according to the Armenian historians), that is to say to Āmid in Diyār Bakr. In fact, in 266/879-80 there is no record of his presence anywhere save in that region, although the Armenian historians consider that he remained governor of Armenia until his death in 269/882-3.

In 266, he was involved in hostilities with Isḥāḳ b. Kundādjīḳ (Kündäčik: see Markwart, *Südarmenien* . . . , 315, n. 4), who was claiming the governorship of the Djazīra and some neighbouring territories and who was established in Mosul. Ibn Kundādjīḳ was in conflict with a powerful Khāridjī movement, one of whose leaders was Isḥāḳ b. Ayyūb of Naṣībīn, supported by the Taghlibī Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn (for incidents see M. Canard, *H'amdānides*, 294 ff.). Ibn Kundādjīḳ won a victory over them, but Isḥāḳ b. Ayyūb sought the help of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh of Āmid and of Abu 'l-Maghrāʾ ibn Mūsā b. Zurāra of Arzan; defeated by this new coalition, Ibn Kundādjīḳ returned to Mosul. There, he received from the caliph the governorship of Mosul, Diyār Rabīʿa and Armenia. In view of this strengthening of their adversary's forces, ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh and Abu 'l-Maghrāʾ determined to seek peace by offering Ibn Kundādjīḳ a tribute of 200,000 *dīnārs*, on the condition that they retained their possessions. After refusing at first, Ibn Kundādjīḳ later accepted, when threatened with a renewal of hostilities. Nevertheless in the following year, 267, a coalition of his various enemies, Khāridjīs and others, was once again formed.

A battle took place in Ramaḍān 267/April-May 881: Ibn Kundādjiḳ was the victor and pursued his foes as far as Āmid, then returned, leaving a contingent outside Āmid to lay siege to ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh. Some indecisive battles were fought.

ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh died in 269/882-3, and Ibn al-Athīr, in placing his death at this date, still described him as governor of Armenia and Diyār Bakr, but we do not know what part he played in Armenia between 267 and 269. It is possible that he may have recovered some measure of influence, for Ibn Kundādjiḳ seems to have had no authority there and in 269 he is described by al-Ṭabarī (iii, 2037) merely as governor of Mosul and Djazīra. Moreover, following the attempted flight of al-Muʿtamid which was foiled by Ibn Kundādjiḳ, the latter went to receive from the regent, al-Muwaffaḳ, the governorship of Egypt and the Ṭūlūnid lands, and from then onwards all his efforts were aimed at gaining control of the Syrian possessions of the Ṭūlūnids.

Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh succeeded his father as ruler of Diyār Bakr where, like him, he was almost independent and was regarded by the historians, like many other princelings of the time, as exercising power *ʿalā sabīl al-taghallub* (through usurpation). Aḥmad was never officially governor of Armenia, but nevertheless he played a part in the affairs of the country. His ambition, incidentally, was to extend his possessions to the furthest possible limits and even to make himself master of the whole of Armenia. To this end, he seized the fortress of Mārdīn, which dominates the plain of Djazīra, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Kundādjīk, the successor to Isḥāḳ (d. 278/891-2) as ruler of Mosul and Diyār Rabīʿa. In about 890, after taking Abu 'l-Maghrā' ibn Mūsā b. Zurāra prisoner, he occupied Arzanene in southern Armenia, as far as the Sim Mountain which separates Arzanene from Taron (Ṭarūn; Arm. Tarawn). After treacherously securing the assassination of Gurgēn, the son of the prince of Taron, Ashot the Curopalatine the son of David, Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā took possession of the whole territory of Taron, in 895 or early in 896. The king of Armenia, Sembat Bagratuni (890-914), requested Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā to restore Taron to its lawful possessor, promising Aḥmad that he would secure for him his nomination by the caliph as governor of Armenia. When Aḥmad refused, Sembat gathered an army, but he was defeated in a battle to the south-west of Lake Van in which Gagik Artsruni, prince of Vaspurakan, who was in league with Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, betrayed Sembat. Thus Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā remained in possession of Arzanene and Taron, which were added to Diyār Bakr.

Moreover he endeavoured to win the trust of the caliph. When al-Muʿtaḍid had demonstrated the full extent of his power to the Khāridjīs and rebels, by his expedition in 280/893-4 against the Banū Shaybān and Mosul, Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā complied readily with the request made to him by the caliph, on his return to Baghdād, that he should send him all the money he had taken from Ibn Kundādjiḳ, and indeed he included numerous presents, in addition to the money. At the same time he sent to al-Muʿtaḍid a Khāridjī who had fled to Āmid and whom he had taken prisonner. This submissiveness on the part of Aḥmad is noted in the *ḳaṣīda* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz in praise of Al-Muʿtaḍid (verses 177-80). But it seems doubtful whether, to escape death, he contemplated crossing into Byzantine territory and becoming a Christian, as Ibn al-Muʿtazz claims in the same passage.

Although he was not a governor of Armenia, it was Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā who, in the time of al-Muʿtamid, was entrusted in 887 with the task of carrying the royal crown to the new king of Armenia, Ashot I, for it was certainly not his father ʿĪsā (d. 882) who was charged with this mission, as might be thought from the account of the Armenian historian John Catholicos who confused the son with the father (see Vasmer, *Chronologie* ..., 99-100 and Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände* ..., 125).

Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh died in 285/898. His history formed the subject of a detailed account by al-Masʿūdī in his lost work *Akhbār al-zamān* (see *Murūdj*, viii, 112).

His successor as ruler of Āmid and the other territories he held, still *ʿalā sabīl al-taghallub*, was his son Muḥammad who built the minaret of the principal mosque of Mayyāfāriḳīn. With him was to end this minor Shaybānī dynasty of Djazīra. In 286/899, al-Muʿtaḍid decided to have Āmid brought back under his own authority, and for this purpose set out with a large expeditionary force, accompanied by his son the future al-Muktafī. Muḥammad shut himself up in the town which was besieged from April-May until June 899. Siege engines were used on both sides. Finally Muḥammad surrendered, begging for clemency for himself and his men as well as for the inhabitants of Āmid, which was granted. He was treated with consideration by the caliph, who made him a ceremonial gift of clothing, but he was taken away to Baghdād. In al-Masʿūdī, viii, 134 ff., will be found a long account for which the source is a person whom al-Muʿtaḍid sent to Muḥammad to ask him to surrender; in this passage, an aunt of the rebel, a talented poetess, advises her nephew to obey the caliph. She herself wrote a letter to al-Muʿtaḍid, in verse. The caliph admired her talent, and this influenced his decision to treat his prisoners generously. Muḥammad was given the Ṭāhirids' palace as his residence in Baghdād. In Muḥarram 287/January 900, the vizier ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān discovered that he was planning to escape. He informed the caliph, who ordered the vizier to have Muḥammad arrested. The historians do not record what became of him after his arrest.

In the 4th/10th century a figure appears named Aḥmad b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh, a worthy if somewhat dull-witted fellow who, during the vizirate of Ibn al-Furāt, was the victim of a practical joke on the part of certain secretaries in the vizirate. They presented him with a diploma (*tawḳīʿ*), conferring on him the right to farm taxes for Āmid and the lands which had been subject to ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh. The vizier's son, al-Muḥassin, heard a rumour about the incident and reported it to his father, who questioned the man. He seemed to regard the favour which had been granted him as something entirely natural. The vizier let the matter rest, and it went no further. It seems that the man in question was in fact a descendant of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh (see Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 146).

As the defender and panegyrist of al-Muʿtaḍid, Ibn al-Muʿtazz judged ʿĪsā and Aḥmad with severity. Basically, in the disturbed period in which these Mesopotamian Arabs lived, they were no worse in their behaviour than the other soldiers of fortune of the ʿAbbāsid regime. In any event, ʿĪsā had a certain reputation for magnificence and generosity, as is born out by an anecdote related by Ibn al-Djawzī and recorded by Defrémery in his work on ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1382, 1585, 1685, 1841, 1991-2, 2048, 2134, 2137, 2185-7, 2191; Yaʿḳūbī, Beirut 1379/1960, ii, 500, 501, 506,

508; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 14, 53, 57, 78-9, 110, 120, 132, 152-3, 162-3; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, vii, 395-6, viii, 134 f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 7, 46, 116. Modern works: Defrémery, *Recherches sur un personnage appelé Iça fils du Cheikh et sur sa famille*, in *Mémoires d'Histoire Orientale* (1854), i, 1-14; Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten...*, in *Abh. der könig. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, xx/3 (1876), 10; Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände von Armenien unter Aschot I*, in *MSOS*, vii/2 (1904), 118 ff., 124 ff.; idem, *Politische und Kirchengeschichte Armeniens unter Aschot I und Sembat I*, in *MSOS*, viii/2 (1905), 172 ff., 188 ff.; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam...*, Paris 1919, 223, 233, 273, 329, 347 and *passim*; J. Markwart, *Sudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 306, 309, 315 ff., 325, 331 ff..; Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter unter den Abbasiden ... bis zur Krönung Aschots I, 750-887*, Vienna 1931, 98-101, 104; Zaky Mohamed Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, Paris 1933, 46-50; R. Grousset, *Hist. de l'Arménie*, Paris 1947, 381 f., 385, 394, 397.—For the allusions contained in the *urdjūza* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, see C. Lang, *Muʿtaḍid als Prinz und Regent. Ein historisches Heldengedicht von Ibn al-Muʿtazz*, in *ZDMG*, xl (text), 563 ff., xli (trans.) 232 ff., and the different editions of the *Dīwān*, or the separate edition of this work with the *Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1946, 80 ff. (M. Canard)

ʿĪSĀ b. **ʿUMAR** al-Thaḳafī al-Baṣrī, an early Arabic grammarian, and Ḳurʾān-reader, d. 149/766. He was a client (*mawlā*) of Khālid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī al-Ḳurashī [*q.v.*], but was called al-Thaḳafī because at Baṣra he had settled amongst the Thaḳīf. He had a brother, Ḥādjib, d. 158/774-5 (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 133). Their mother was the daughter of Ziyād, who owned the estate Ziyādān in Baṣra (Balādhurī, 362); her sister was the mother of Muʾnis b. ʿImrān, who belonged to the circle of Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. ʿĪsā studied the Ḳurʾān under ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*], al-Djaḥdarī (see Ibn Djazarī, i, 349), and Ibn Muḥayṣin (*ibid.* ii, 167, 10). In his own *ikhtiyār* he did not follow blindly the language of the Bedouins, but criticized their poets and, like Ibn Abī Isḥāḳ, applied the principles of logical reasoning (*ḳiyās*). Even in ordinary conversation he always applied *iʿrāb*, and his biographers give some specimens of his affected style. Amongst his pupils were al-Aṣmaʿī, Khalīl b. Aḥmad, and Sībawayh (who mentions him several times in his *Kitāb*). It is said that he wrote two books on grammar, but they have not come down to us. His readings were objected to and considered exceptional (*shawādhdh*).

This ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar is not to be confounded with his namesake al-Hamdānī of Kūfa, who died in 156/773 (see *Fihrist*, 31, 1; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 222; Ibn Djazarī, *Ghāya*).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 264, 268; *Fihrist*, 41 f., 51, 22; Ibn Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 25-9; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 100-3; Ibn Khallikān, No. 523; Ibn Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, 613; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, viii, 223; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 370. See also the indices to Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*; Ḳālī, *Amālī*; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah* and *Muḳtabas*; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, 120; Brockelmann, I, 99; S I, 158; Sezgin, I, 29. (J. W. Fück)

ʿĪSĀ BEG [see Üsküb].

ISAAC [see isḥāḳ].

ISĀF WĀ-NAʾILA, a pair of gods worshipped at Mecca before Islam. Several orientalists of the last century, such as Rudolph Krehl and Francois Lenormant, saw in them, not unreasonably, replicas of Baʿl and Baʿla. Indeed Isāf and Nāʾila do display the essential characteristics distinguishing this pair of gods from the many avatars known in the various Semitic religions: physical representation by two sacred stones erected close to each other, or by two parallel hills; symbolic representation of the fertility of living beings and of the earth; and the euhemeristic expression of the myth of divine loves such as those of Hippomenes and Atlanta in Greek mythology who dared to embrace in the temple of Demeter and were changed by her into a pair of lions harnessed to her chariot. Certain details of the legend of Isāf and Nāʾila recall the myth of the loves of Adonis and Astarte, avatars of Baʿl and Baʿla.

These characteristics stand out from the material from which the stories about these idols are composed, although these stories are clearly conceived with an edifying aim. Thanks to this laudable aim this pagan legend had come down to us through the early Islamic sources.

Hishām al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821), to whom we owe the preservation of numerous traces of pagan Arabia, reporting a saying attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, transmits this legend to us in its most basic form (*K. al-Aṣnām*, ed. and tr. W. Atallah, Paris 1969, 6; cf. Klinke-Rosenberger, *Das Götzenbuch*, Leipzig 1941, 6 and 18): Isāf b. Yaʿlā and Nāʾila bint Zayd, both of Djurhum (cf. other genealogies in *Aghānī*, xiii, 109), originally from the Yemen, were passionately in love. They came on pilgrimage to Mecca and, finding themselves alone for a moment in the Kaʿba hidden from view, committed fornication there (*fadjara bihā*); according to another opinion reported in *Aghānī, loc. cit.*, they only embraced (*ḳabbalahā*). They were immediately changed into stones (*famusikha*—a verb usually meaning metamorphosis of a man into an animal, as in the myth of Hippomenes and Atlanta, but the context requires, and the same author further on and other sources add, *ḥadjarayn*), and were erected there on the spot. They were worshipped by Khuzāʿa, Ḳuraysh, and all the pilgrims.

It seems that originally these two sacred stones were separated: one adjoining (*bi-liṣḳ*) the Kaʿba, the other on the site (*fī mawḍiʿ*) of the well of Zamzam. Ḳuraysh reunited them close to Zamzam and they slaughtered the sacrificial victims nearby. But al-Azraḳī (*Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 49) places them at the foot of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, the two parallel hills separated from the Kaʿba by the depression of Mecca.

According to the same author (78), ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, the Khuzāʿī reformer of idol worship in Arabia, also set up two idols on these two hills: Nahīk Mudjāwid al-Rīḥ on al-Ṣafā and Muṭʿim al-Ṭayr on al-Marwa. These two divine epithets which could have referred to Isāf and Nāʾila and to the Baʿl and Baʿla which they stood for, applied, according to their significations, the first to a god of the winds and the rain, the second to a goddess of fertility assuring the birds of the valley of their subsistance (cf. details in *Panthéon*, 107). If this hypothesis is correct, the agricultural character of this pair of gods, already suggested by their Yemenī origin, will be confirmed. Their relationship with Zamzam and the meanings suggested for their names would reinforce this confirmation. Indeed the Hebrew *āsāf* (to store up, to gather) and the Aramaic *naw/yl* (to receive gifts) suggest that Isāf and Nāʾila,

positioned at Zamzam where the treasure of the sanctuary was stored, received the offerings and kept guard over them (details in *Panthéon*, 108).

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 103-7, with a fuller bibliography. (T. FAHD)

ISĀGHŪDJĪ, the *Isagoge* of Porphyry [see FURFŪRIYŪS]. According to Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 49, tr. Blachère, Paris, 1935, 101), it seems that Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] was the first person to translate this introduction to logic into Arabic. The *Fihrist* (i, 244), on the other hand, maintains that it was Ayyūb b. al-Raḳḳī, who based himself on a Syriac translation. Among the Arabic adaptations of the *Isagoge* we possess that of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar al-Biḳāʿī al-Shafiʿī (see Brockelmann, S II, 177). with a commentary by al-Sanūsī (ms. Algiers no. 1362) and that of al-Abbarī, which is the best known and most commented upon; al-Abbarī's adaptation of the Isāghūdjī was put into verse by al-Akhḍarī [*q.v.*]. On the translation by Dimashḳī and the commentary by Ibn al-Ṭayyib, see FURFŪRIYŪS. (ED.)

ISAIAH [see SHAʿYĀ].

ISAKČA, a place in modern Rumania, the origins of which go back to antiquity, known in the Middle Ages as Oblučica. In the time of the Turks it was a fortress of great strategic importance, serving them as a base from which to attack Moldavia and, later, for their campaigns against Poland. As early as 889/1484 Bāyezīd II with his troops had crossed the Danube by a bridge near Isakča and conquered Kilia (Kili) and Cetatea Alba (Aḳ Kermān). The Ottoman government gave particular attention to the upkeep of the fortress and the provision of supplies for the garrison. Isakča constituted an important transit centre for cereals and livestock sent from Wallachia and Moldavia to Istanbul, and for merchandise going in the opposite direction.

The centre of a *ḳaẓāʾ* in the 11th/17th century, Isakča was not very large, with a population, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, composed of Wallachians, Moldavians, Greeks, Armenians and Bulgars. The port was the centre of a very active river traffic. The local governors and the State Treasury received considerable revenues from the taxes and port dues. There was also some trading in Isakča; the shops were fairly numerous, but there was no *bezistān*. The whole market, together with the fortress, the inn, the mosque, the *ʿimāret* and the baths was the *waḳf* of the *ḳapudān* Ḥasan Pasha. In the 11th/17th century it was his heirs who were receiving the revenues.

In the course of the Russo-Turkish wars of the 18th and 19th centuries Isakča was occupied more than once by Russian troops advancing, by way of Dobrudja, towards the Ottoman territories in the Balkans.

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ʿIṢĀMĪ, *takhelluṣ* and family surname of a Persian poet who flourished in the 8th/14th century in India and composed in 750-1/1349-50 an epic poem dealing with the exploits of the Muslim conquerors and rulers of India and their military commanders from the Ghaznawids down to the date of composition. Practically nothing is known about ʿIṣāmī, as no biographical work on Indian poets mentions him; the present article is based mainly on the scattered references which he makes about himself in the text of the poem. One of his ancestors, Fakhr al-Mulk ʿIṣāmī, a vizier to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, migrated to India during the reign of Iltutmish [*q.v.*] and settled at Multan. Later he migrated to Delhi, the capital city. The family enjoyed royal favour and some of its members held high offices of state. ʿIṣāmī himself was born at Delhi in about 711/1310-11 and was brought up by his grandfather ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿIṣāmī, a *sipāhsālār* under Balban (664/1266-684/1285). He makes no mention of his father, which suggests that he lost him while still very young. In 726/1326, when Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] ordered the transfer *en masse* of the population of Delhi to Dēvgīr (Dawlatābād), ʿIṣāmī also accompanied his 90-year-old grandfather to the Deccan. The latter died on the way, unable to stand the fatigue of the journey, but the young ʿIṣāmī reached Dēvgīr safely: for the next 24 years he remained a little known and neglected man of letters, bitter and frustrated. Still unmarried and disgusted with the manners and morals of his contemporaries, he decided to migrate to the Ḥidjāz. Accordingly, he left for Arabia in 751/1350, soon after the completion of the poem, settled there, and most likely died at Medina. The year of his death is not known.

His fame rests mainly on his only surviving work, the *Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn* (ed. Agra 1938, Madras 1948; Eng. tr. with a commentary by Agha Mahdi Husain, i, Bombay 1967), which he composed under the patronage of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. Composed in about five months, the poem comprises 11,693 verses, written in the metre of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*, which he intended to emulate, and narrates historical events in a clear, simple style drawn from all available sources. Although not rated very high as a source for the period it covers, its value as an historical narrative cannot be denied. One of its remarkable features is its regard for factual information and its avoidance of poetic licence or freedom. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, the author of *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Firishta and Ṭabāʾṭabāʾī, the author of *Burhān-i Maʾāthir*, a history of the Deccan, as well as Badāʾūnī [*q.v.*] used his works as one of their sources. A talented poet, gifted with imagination and power of expression, ʿIṣāmī used simple and straight-forward language, devoid of rhetorical flourishes and verbal juggling. He acknowledged his debt to Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] whom he followed as a model, but failed to reach the heights attained by Niẓāmī. His work, dedicated to Bahman Shāh, "offers . . . not critical history but historical evidence", for the simple reason that his ambition was to produce an epic poem rather than a work of history.

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Aʿẓamgaṙh, August 1939, 109 ff., September 1939, 201 ff.; P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, London 1960, 94-110 (the first critical treatment of ʿIṣāmī and his work in English); *Futūḥu's Salāṭīn, or Shāh Nāmah-i Hind of ʿIṣāmī*, (tr. into English by Agha Mahdi Husain), i, Bombay 1967, preface and xiii-xviii, 74-6; S. Moinul Huq, *Barani's History of the Tughluqs*, Karachi 1959, 114-6; (Agha) Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, Calcutta 1963, 50, 72-3, 113, 122-3, 161, 168, 183-4, 199, 202-3, 214, 218-9, 221, 224, 241, 252, 299, 302-3, 307, 358, 502, 570, 572-3, 595-6, 642.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ĪSAR-DĀS (or Īshwar-dās), one of the two Hindu historians of the reign of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], was a Nāgarā Brahmaṅ of Paṫan (Nahrawālā or Anhalwaṙa [*q.v*] of Muslim historians). Born in 1066/1655 he seems to have received a good education in Persian language and belles-lettres at his native town. Up to 1096/1684 he was employed, most probably, as letter writer and scribe, with the *ḳāḍī* Shaykh al-Islām b. *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who was *Ḳāḍī al-lashkar* from 1086/1675 to 1096/1683. On account of certain differences with the Emperor Awrangzīb, Shaykh al-Islām resigned his post and went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca in Muḥarram 1095/December 1684. Īsar-Dās having thus been thrown out of employment sought service with Shadjāʿat Khān, the governor of Gudjarāt from 1098/1686-7 to 1113/1701, who employed him as an *amīn* (revenue collector) of certain *maḥalls* in the *parganah* of Djōdhpūr [*q.v.*]. It was here that he came to develop friendly relations with the Rāṫhors, who resented some features of the religious and state policies of the emperor, and ultimately procured the submission of Durgādās Rāṫhor, the rebel chieftain of Djōdhpūr. He successfully performed the diplomatic mission, with which he was entrusted by Shadjāʿat Khān, of recovering the young princess Ṣafiyat al-Nisāʾ, a daughter of Awrangzīb's son, Muḥammad Akbar, from the custody of the Raṫhors, with whom her father had left her when he fled to Persia in 1099/1687 following his unsuccessful rebellion in 1092/1681. For this service to the imperial household the emperor raised his rank from 200 to 250 horsemen and also awarded him a robe of honour (*khilʿa*). His immediate master Shadjāʿat Khān, too, conferred upon him a *djāgīr* [*q.v.*] in Mēṙtha, west of Adjmēr (not Meerut, near Dehli, as stated by Storey, i/I, 587). Thereafter nothing is known about him, except that he lived at least to the age of 75.

His only claim to fame rests on his Persian work *Futūḥāt-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (still in Ms., Rieu, *CPM*, Additional 23884, Edinburgh 218), completed on 21 Rabīʿ I 1143/4 October 1730, when he was 75 years of age. It is a contemporary account of Awrangzīb's reign beginning with the illness of Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*] and ending with the submission to the Imperial Court of Durgādās Rāṫhor in 1110/1698 and the author's audience with the emperor for the award of the *khilʿa*. Its value lies in the fact that it is written by a non-Muslim who, during the course of his official duties, came to have access to first-hand sources of information and was himself an eyewitness of many events. Although the author completed it in 1730 it does not go beyond 1698 for reasons still unknown: most probably it was in the latter year that he gave up imperial service, lost touch with events and retired to his *djāgīr*. He wrote it as a memorial to himself and for the benefit of his grandson Khʷushḥāl Rāʾi, son of Bradja Rāʾi; (it is also, incidentally, a refutation of the allegation that Awrangzīb had forbidden the writing of contemporary history).

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ʿĪSĀWĀ, ʿĪsāwiyya, collective name (sing. *ʿĪsāwī*) denoting the confraternity or "path" (*ṭarīḳa*) founded at the beginning of the 10th/16th century by Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Ṣufyānī al-Mukhtārī (other ethnics—al-Miknāsī, al-Fahrī or al-Fahdī), named "the Perfect Master" (*al-Shaykh al-Kāmil*).

The founder.—Stripped of the very abundant growth of hagiographic legend, the biography of Sīdī Ibn ʿĪsā consists merely of a number of well-established facts. Born in 842/1467-8 in Sūs or Gharb, probably of a family of Idrīsid *sharīfs* (though this connection is disputed by some historians, including al-Salāwī), he applied himself to Ḳurʾānic studies from a very early age and travelled with his father, a man of great piety and modest circumstances, through the north of Morocco among the Banū Ṣufyān, the Banū Mukhtār (where he married) and the Banū Ḥassān; he stayed in Fās and then in Miknās where he attached himself to an eminent teacher of mysticism, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ḥārithī al-Ṣufyānī, a ṣūfī of *Shādhiliyya* [*q.v.*]-*Djazūliyya* obedience. After the death of this teacher, to complete his education he went to two other continuators of al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*], Sīdī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Tabbāʿ of Marrākush, and Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Shiʿlī, of Khandaḳ al-Zaytūn (a suburb of Fās), who taught him the *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt* in detail. Having finally settled at Miknās, he taught in the chief mosque of the town and then, since a constant stream of disciples came to him, attracted by his saintliness, he bought a property which he set up as a *waḳf* for use as a cemetery and where he had the *zāwiya* built which still exists. It was there that he was buried after his death, which took place in 930, 932 or 933/1523-7.

Sīdī Ibn ʿĪsā was an accomplished mystic "whose asceticism and devotion were unassailable" (R. Brunel) and whose love of God was combined with constant practice of the virtues and a charity that communicated itself to others. Gifted with an aptitude for penetrating men's thoughts, he also possessed remarkable powers of healing, and countless miracles are attributed to him. Although he lived at a time of great turmoil—the period which followed the end of the Marīnid dynasty (869/1465) and witnessed the reigns of four Waṭṭāsid sultans and the rise of the Saʿdid dynasty—he does not appear to have taken any part personally in the dissensions between local chieftains or to have participated in the struggle against the Christian invaders. Nevertheless, his popularity made him suspect to the authorities, and at one time he was compelled to go into exile from Miknās, with a group of his disciples; it was on this occasion, according to the legend, that he is said to have obtained for his companions the gift of immunity from the poison of scorpions and snakes and from the barbs of cactus. He was then recalled to Miknās in triumph and became the patron saint of the town

The literary output of Ibn ʿĪsā is sparse. It consists of several invocations (*awrād*), some litanies (*aḥzāb*), including the very popular *Ḥizb Subḥān al-Dāʾim* which is a compilation of works of al-Djazūlī, al-Ḥārithī and al-Suhaylī, some *ḳaṣīdas* which the ʿĪsāwā sing at their meetings, and a spiritual testament (*waṣiyya*), in which are incorporated numerous teachings of the Shādhilī authors.

Dissemination and organization of the *ṭariḳa*. Ibn ʿĪsā had great numbers of disciples, six hundred of whom were said to have achieved the state of perfection; particularly prominent among them is the figure of his immediate successor, Abu 'l-Rawāʾin. This man belonged to the class of Ṣūfis known as "the reprehensibles" (*malāmatiyya* [*q.v.*]), who conceal their wisdom beneath an extravagant exterior. He never married and, even today, women avoid approaching his tomb, which is situated alongside that of his master, for fear of a curse. He was given the name *al-Mukadhdhib* (the Contester) on account of his anti-conformist behaviour; he used to contrive to sell to some rich or powerful man a town or a whole territory to which he had no claim whatsoever; anyone who refused to pay him this strange tribute found himself struck down with some misfortune; if on the other hand he completed the transaction, God granted him the advantages promised by the Saint, who indeed himself distributed as alms the sums of money thus acquired. Abu 'l-Rawāʾin played an important part in supporting the first Saʿdids in their struggle against the Portuguese, in preparing the way for their proclamation as sultans in Marrākush (951/1544), and later in stirring up the people of Fās against the Waṭṭāsids. After his death (963/1556), control of the *ṭariḳa* reverted to the descendants of Ibn ʿĪsā and remained with them by hereditary succession. Thereafter the ʿIsāwā hardly appeared on the political scene.

During the actual lifetime of the founder, several *zāwiyas* were founded outside Miknās, one of them at Figuig (south-eastern Morocco), from which the confraternity spread out towards Algeria and Tunisia. According to various censuses and estimates, the *Ṭariḳa ʿĪsāwiyya* at the present day is said to include about 50,000 active members divided as follows:

Morocco: according to Drague (1939), 21, 591 affiliated members, 3,181 of these being in the region of Miknās; but, in the opinion of Brunel (1926), Miknās alone included "more than ten thousand affiliated members of both sexes"; numerous *zāwiyas* in the whole country, particularly in Fās, Tiṭwān, Tangier, in all the towns on the Atlantic seaboard, in Tāza, in the Rif, the Tafilālt, etc.—Algeria: approximately 4,000 members and about a dozen *zāwiyas*, including those at Blida and Uzara (dépt. of Algiers), Remshi and Tlemcen (dépt. of Oran), Bône, Bougie and Constantine.—Tunisia: according to H. R. Idris (*Initiation à la Tunisie*, Paris 1950), 11,290 members and 87 *zāwiyas*.—Other *zāwiyas*, in Libya, Syria, Cairo and Mecca.

The *Ṭariḳa ʿĪsāwiyya* possesses a fairly homogeneous though decentralised structure. A superintendant (*mazwār*), chosen from the founder's descendants and confirmed by the *makhzen*, administers the mother-*zāwiya* of Miknās and divides the income from it between the *shaykh*'s descendants living in Miknās and Fās, but it is in fact the *muḳaddam* of the mother-*zāwiya* who exercises the spiritual authority and the principal temporal functions in Miknās, while the *awlād al-shaykh* perform the same functions in their respective *zāwiyas*. There is consequently a division of authority, and also very pronounced individual features in the practices of the order. Every year, however, a meeting is held in Miknās when the ʿIsāwā of all lands come together at the tomb of their patron saint at the time of the *mawlid*, the anniversary of the Prophet's birth. It is then that, for three days, one can witness the processions, the ecstatic dances, the blood-stained feasts (*frīsa*) and *faḳir*-like performances which have fascinated and often shocked observers. (A detailed study of the *mawlid* ceremonies has been made by Brunel; a literary but fairly accurate description appears in the novel of H. Ardel, *Colette Bryce au Maroc*, Paris 1937, 91-101).

Doctrine and method.—On the question of the doctrine of union with God and the fundamental methods of attaining spiritual perfection, the *Ṭariḳa ʿĪsāwiyya* stands directly in the line of classical orthodox Ṣūfism which takes as its basis the common religious law (*sharīʿa*) and leads the aspirant (*murīd*), thanks to the appropriate training that he undergoes under the direction of his spiritual guide (*murshid*)—a training which constitutes the "path" (*ṭarīḳa*), strictly speaking—into direct contact with the divine Reality (*ḥaḳīḳa*). The chain of transmission (*silsila*) of the esoteric teachings of Ibn ʿĪsā goes back beyond al-Djazūlī and Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, to ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [*q.v.*], Abū Madyan [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [see ḳādiriyya], and al-Djunayd [*q.v.*], to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the Prophet. Like his predecessors, Ibn ʿĪsā exhorted his disciples to detach themselves from worldly desires, passions and individual ambitions in order to attain the state of total dependence or "poverty" in relation to God, *faḳr* (hence the word *faḳir* [*q.v.*] to denote the adept of the mystical path). Just as the Prophet did in regard to the whole body of the Faithful, Ibn ʿĪsā assumed for his disciples the role of model and intercessor: "He who in this world keeps company with me, or watches me, even though only in a dream, goes to paradise at my intercession", he says, and "My hand is above my initiates, alive or dead, just as the heaven is above the earth". Hence the importance of *adab*, the norms of conduct which govern relations between master and disciples, and those between the disciples themselves. Ibn ʿĪsā places particular emphasis on love (*maḥabba*), in which he sees "the fullest degree of perfection", and he states explicitly that "There are four kinds of love: love from the intelligence, love from the heart, love from the soul, mysterious love . . . Love from the intelligence or spiritual love is the perpetual love of God; it gives rise to the desire to merge oneself with the object that is loved, to possess it, to pray to it . . . Love from the heart, which is called passion . . . reveals itself through languor, regrets, lamentations, neglect of the world, the desire for God. . . Love from the soul is shown by perplexity, astonishment, regret, sobs, thirst, frenzy, by prostrating oneself within God,. . . by poverty. Secret love consists in enclosing oneself within God, in losing oneself in His praise, through the study of oneself, in abasing oneself in contemplation of the essence of God, in such a way as to allow oneself to be entirely absorbed into the Divine Being" (quoted by Rinn). The initiatory bond (*ʿahd*) is given by a clasping of hands, and women are admitted to the *ṭariḳa* on the same footing as men.

The basic method for the approach to God is the practice of invocation (*dhikr* [*q.v.*]). This can take different forms:—a) the recital, individually or collectively, of liturgical formulae (*wird*; pl. *awrād*) peculiar to the *ṭariḳa*; three of these exist—the short *wird*, the medium *wird*, and the long *wird*, corresponding to the increasingly exalted stages of initiation.—b) rhythmical intoning of litanies, among them being the *Ḥizb Subḥān al-Dāʾim*, peculiar to the *ṭarīḳa*, and the *aḥzāb* of al-Djazārī, al-Djazūlī, Al-Nawāwī, al-Shādhilī and Zarrūḳ, common to almost all the confraternities of North Africa, and also prayers on the Prophet, like the *Mashīshiyya*, and poems by Ṣūfī authors.—c) metrical repetition of the *shahāda*, the divine Names and the *ism al-mufrad* ("the supreme

Name", *Allāh*);—d) ecstatic dancing, to which the ʿĪsāwā give the name of *taḥayyur*, *ḥayra* or *idjdhāb* ("ravishment"). This is accompanied by various instruments—drums (*ṭabl*, *bandīr*) and tambourines (*daff*), reed-flutes (*geṣba* [*ḳaṣaba*]) or clarinets (*ghayṭa*) —and songs. It consists of a rather slow introductory section, the *rabbānī*, during which the dancers, standing in line, hold hands and perform vertical bending movements together with lateral motions; and a more rapid section made up of supple complex movements, the *mudjarrad* ("denuding"), for which the dancers remove their djallāba and form a circle round their *muḳaddam*. The dances often end in displays of fakirism in which the disciples, apparently anaesthetized, walk on glowing coals, take burning brands in their hands and between their lips, swallow fragments of broken bottles or strike themselves with swords.

Particular practices.—The explicitly devotional character of the teaching of Ibn ʿĪsā and the dynamism of the *ḥadra ʿĪsāwiyya* (the sessions for invocation and dancing) favoured the spread of the *ṭarīḳa* among the common people—artisans in the towns, Berbers in the country, negro slaves brought back from the Sudan by Sultan Aḥmad al-Dhahabī at the time of the Timbuktoo expedition (1591) and grouped together at Miknās by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl after 1672. In the course of this expansion, the confraternity absorbed a certain number of local customs (in particular, borrowings from Berber carnivals) and survivals of ancient pagan or animistic worship which gave it a highly individual aspect. The most characteristic elements of this magico-religious complex are as follows:—a) the horror of black, which is revealed only during festivities and which sometimes incites affiliates to throw themselves on persons wearing clothing of this colour, strip off their garments and tear up the material;—b) the wearing of the *gaṭṭāya*, a kind of mat of plaited hair, which is worn very long and grown only from the top of the cranium, the remainder of the head being shaved;—c) the practice of healing by the recitation of formulae, by trampling the sick man under foot, or by placing the patient in contact with snakes;—d) the association with snakes which are regarded as a friendly race, with whom al-Shaykh al-Kāmil is said to have concluded a pact; this allows a special category of affiliates, the *Ḥnayshiyya*, to charm these creatures, to heal the bites they inflict and even to grant to others immunity from their venom;—e) the practices of conjuration and exorcism, for which the *ṭallāʿ* uses a flat basket, the *madjmāʿ al-asyād* or "assembly of the Great Masters", on which are placed pebbles, shells, and various other objects representing protective saints and familiar *djinns*; according to the relative position in which these objects are found, the magician foretells the future or makes a diagnosis; to cure a patient who is nervous or possessed, he can order him to drink the blood of a newly sacrificed animal; —f) representations of animals. In each *ṭāʾifa*, a certain number of *fuḳarāʾ* embody some animal species whose behaviour they mimic in a very realistic manner, particularly during feasts and at gatherings. The animals thus represented are:—lions and lionesses which, with jackals and panthers, have a part in some ritual feasts (*frīsa*), during which they lacerate an animal, a sheep or goat, sacrificed earlier, tear it to pieces, smear themselves with its blood and eat the raw flesh; wild boars (*ḥallūf*) and dogs which come face to face in ferocious fights; cats, which perform thefts and acrobatic feats; camels, which carry enormous burdens and do not hesitate to devour cactuses, thistles and barley; lastly, hyenas, gloomy carnivorous creatures which appear more rarely. If the existence of these animal clans seems to derive from negro totemism (Van Gennep, *Religion, Moeurs et Légendes*, Paris 1908), the elements of communal sacrifice have nonetheless been profoundly changed, particularly in a moderating sense, by Islamic influence. It has also been noted (Brunel) that, for the idea of filiation stemming from an animal ancestor, there has been substituted that of a covenant (*ʿahd*), on account of the *baraka* of Sīdī Ibn ʿĪsā: thanks to his domination (*taṣarruf*) over created beings, this master seems to have succeeded in achieving in his *ṭarīḳa* a kind of fraternity between men, animals and *djinns*.—g) Finally, many *ʿĪsāwiyya* meetings have their clown, the *ʿaṭṭār* or mock pharmacist, who amuses everyone with his ridiculous stories and behaviour.

The unusual aspects of the *Ṭarīḳa ʿĪsāwiyya* have not failed to arouse the indignation of the anti-mystical *ʿulamāʾ* and to stir up lively criticism. An expression of such views is to be found, for instance, in an order which the ʿAlawid sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān caused to be read in all mosques in Morocco in 1815 and which stated in particular: "Cast far from you the *moussem*... and these innovations... Times have been fixed for these practices and considerable sums are thus spent for love of Satan. The people devoted to these innovations, the Aissaoua, the Jilala and other confraternities attracted to novelty and error, folly and ignorance, hasten to them..." (quoted by Drague, 89-91). As for the attitude of an élite among the Ṣūfīs, of a gnostic contemplative tendency, this is well illustrated by the case of the Algerian *shaykh* Ibn ʿAlīwa [*q.v.*] who was himself an ʿĪsāwī before becoming an affiliate of the Darḳāwā [*q.v.*]: while recognising the authenticity of the ʿĪsāwī mystical teaching and the excellence of the masters in the *ṭarīḳa*, Ibn ʿAlīwa regrets that affiliates should attach so much importance to the search for prodigies and to the practices of fakirism (cf. M. Lings, *A Moslem saint of the twentieth century*, London 1961, 50-1). This opinion is corroborated by the works of rientalists who have made a close study of the ʿĪsāwā.

Bibliography: The fundamental work still remains the monograph of R. Brunel, *Essai sur la Confrérie religieuse des Aissaoua au Maroc*, Paris 1926, which takes into account not only all the earlier works, in particular those of Cat, Delphin, de Neveu, Depont and Coppolani, Doutté and above all L. Rinn (whose *Marabouts et Khouans*, Algiers 1884, chap. XXI contains translations of texts not reproduced by Brunel), etc., but also some printed Arabic sources (the *Istiḳṣāʾ* of Salāwī, the *Salwat al-anfās* of Djaʿfar al-Kittānī, among others) and several unpublished manuscripts. It is only possible here to refer the reader to the bibliography contained in this work (p. vii-x).

Among the more recent studies, that of E. Dermenghem in *Le Culte des Saints dans l'Islam maghrébin*, Paris 1954, 303-18, is of special interest in that it allows some of Brunel's oversevere criticisms of the ʿĪsāwā of Algeria to be rectified; it contains abundant extracts from the liturgical formulae used at meetings and includes interesting musical notations (from Léo-Louis Barbès in *R. Afr.*, 1951). Consult also the following works: —P. J. André, *Contribution à l'étude des Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1956; A. Bernard, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, Paris 1938; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc*, Paris 1951, *passim*.

(J. L. Michon)

ʿĪSĀWĪ [see NAṢĀRĀ].

AL-**ʿĪSĀWIYYA**, a Jewish sect, the followers of Abū ʿĪsā al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*], also known as ʿObhadya and ʿObhedel. The sect is also referred to as the Iṣfahāniyya.

Abū ʿĪsā was the leader of a Jewish uprising, which occurred either in the reign of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, as is reported by the Ḳaraite author al-Ḳirḳisānī, or in the reign of the last Umayyad caliph as is stated by al-Shahrastānī (followed on grounds of general probability by I. Friedlaender). On the available evidence no definitive solution can be given to this chronological problem.

Abū ʿĪsā claimed to be a prophet (*nabī*: al-Ḳirḳisānī) and, as al-Shahrastānī puts it, one of the five messengers (*rusul*) of the expected Messiah (*al-masīḥ al-muntaẓar*), charged by God with the deliverance of the Children of Israel. Al-Bīrūnī too refers to his describing himself as a messenger of the Messiah (*al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya*, ed. E. Sachau, 15). Al-Shahrastānī also mentions that Abū ʿĪsā considered that "the missionary" (*al-dāʿī*; it may be legitimate to consider that he referred to himself) could be regarded as, in a sense, identical to the Messiah, a conception reminiscent of the doctrines of certain extremist Shīʿī sects. There can be hardly any doubt, however, that Hadassi's statement that he put forward the claim to be the Messiah is due to a misapprehension. In proof of his prophethood, his partisans adduced the fact, that, in spite of being illiterate (*ummī*, a word used by Muḥammad), he produced books and scriptural scrolls (*muṣḥaf*). At the head of his followers he joined battle with soldiers of the Caliphate and was killed (or as his followers reported, vanished in the cleft of a rock). The number of his followers (who were few to begin with) dwindled constantly. In Ḳirḳisanī's time (4th/10th century) there were approximately twenty in Damascus and possible also a few in Iṣfahān. Those who were personally known to Ibn Ḥazm were probably not members of the sect in the strict sense of the word.

According to Ḳirḳisānī, Yūdghān, who was regarded by his followers the Yūdghān(iyya) as the Messiah, was reported to have been a disciple of Abū ʿĪsā.

Abū ʿĪsā taught (in common with other Jewish sects, for instance, the Mūshkāniyya, said to stem from the Yūdghāniyya) that Jesus and Muḥammad were true prophets, each of whom was delegated to bring a distinctive law to a community of his own —in the case of Muḥammad to the Arabs. But in spite of their prophethood, the observance of the Mosaic law continued to be incumbent upon the Jews. (In consequence of this thesis Muslim theologians such as al-Bāḳillānī and ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī discussed the question whether the ʿĪsāwiyya, who believed in the prophethood of Muḥammad and whose beliefs authorized them, according to al-Baghdādī, to profess the *shahāda*, could be regarded as Muslims; their answer was negative). Al-Ḳirḳisānī mentions that Abū ʿĪsā promulgated a prohibition against drinking wine and eating meat and al-Shahrastānī speaks of his forbidding the eating of any animate being. He also prohibited divorce.

Friedlaender finds points of similarity between the ʿĪsāwiyya and Shīʿī sects and to some extent his remarks may be valid (see also above), but they do not account for the strange fact that on the one hand Abū ʿĪsā showed great regard for the rabbinical interpretation and observance of the law (and in consequence the Rabbanites allowed the members of their community to intermarry with the ʿĪsāwiyya: al-Ḳirḳisānī, i, 52) and that, on the other hand, Abū ʿĪsā acknowledged the prophethood of Jesus and Muḥammad. A possible explanation might be that the ʿĪsāwiyya stemmed from Jewish Christians, *i.e.*, from a community which believed in the validity of Mosaic law and considered Jesus as a prophet. For some members of such a community the acknowledgement of the prophethood of Muḥammad after the advent of Islam need not have presented insuperable theological difficulties. The existence of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem at the time of Muʿāwiya is attested by contemporary evidence. Ibn Ḥazm's statement, contradicted by other sources, that the ʿĪsāwiyya believed that Jesus was a prophet sent to the Children of Israel, would, if accepted as correct, reinforce this hypothesis. This hypothesis could account for Abū ʿĪsā's prohibition of divorce (which is compared by al-Ḳirḳisānī with the similar Christian ordinance) and for the fact that the Yūdghāniyya, the followers of Yūdghān, who is reported to have been a disciple of Abū ʿĪsā, appears to be classified by Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī as a Christian sect (*al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart, reprinted Tehran 1942, iv, 42, 46; the reading Yudghaniyya necessitates a very slight emendation). Abū ʿĪsā's description of himself as a *rasūl* of the *masīḥ* may be a transposition of the Christian nomenclature referring to Christ and the apostles.

Bibliography: al-Ḳirḳisānī, *Kitāb al-anwār wa ʾl-marāḳib*, (Code of Ḳaraite Law), New York 1939-1940, i, 12-13, 51-52, ii, 283 ff. (cf. 307). The passages in vol. i are translated by L. Nemoy in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vii, Cincinnati 1930, 328 and 383-384; Hadassi, *Eshkol Hak-kopher*, 1836, 41 b; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, Cairo 1948, ii, 23-25; al-Bāḳillānī, *Tamhīd*, Cairo 1942, 131, 147-148; al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, Cairo 1948, 141-142, 168; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, i, 99; al-Isfarāʾīnī, *al-Tabṣīr fi ʾl-dīn*, Cairo Baghdad 1955, 133; I. Friedlaender, *Jewish Arabic Studies* in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S. i (1910-1911), 183-215, N.S. ii (1911-1912), 481-515, iii (1912-1913), 235-300, *passim*; R. Brunschvig, in *Homenaje a Millas-Valicrosa*, Barcelona 1954, i, 226-227. (S. PINES)

IṢBAʿ (A.), also AṢBAʿ, "finger", as a measurement of length the breadth of the middle joint of the middle finger, conventionally one twenty-fourth of the cubit, *dhirāʿ*. See DHIRĀʿ, penultimate paragraph and bibliography. (ED.)

In Arab navigational texts *iṣbaʿ* is unit of measurement of star altitude (*ʿilm al-ḳiyās*). Latitude on the Ocean was indicated by the altitude of certain stars, usually the Pole Star or one of the Bears, above the horizon at certain times. Complete tables of Pole Star, Little Bear and Great Bear altitudes of ports in the Indian Ocean are given by Arab navigational texts and partial tables of altitudes of the Southern Cross and several other stars. The *iṣbaʿ* was considered to be the angle subtended by the width of a finger held at arm's length against the horizon. Four fingers, *i.e.*, the measurement of one hand (the thumb could not be used) were one *dhubbān*, a word of unknown origin. The *dhubbān* was the width of the standard measuring instrument, the *khashabat al-arbaʿ* and a universal standard could be obtained by comparing the stars α and β Aurigae which were 4 *iṣbaʿ* apart. The *iṣbaʿ* was divided by the navigators into eighths known as *zām*, which was a "watch" of 3 hours. It is explained in the navigational texts of Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī that a ship sailing one *zām* due north raised the Pole Star $^1/_8$ *iṣbaʿ*, therefore assuming that the average ship sailed one

iṣbaʿ due north in 24 hours. A *tirfa* was the distance sailed on any rhumb to raise the Pole Star's altitude one *iṣbaʿ* and varied according to the rhumb. A *tirfa* due north or south was 1 *iṣbaʿ*.

The actual value of the *iṣbaʿ* in terms of European measurements varied somewhat. Originally it varied with the finger of the navigator, but by the time of the surviving Arab navigational texts (1450-1513) the *iṣbaʿ* had become standardized. There were however variations, which may have been national or regional, and other variations in the stellar altitude of a particular port may have been due to inaccurate observation. The standard measurement used by the Arabs was 224 *iṣbaʿ* in 360° (*i.e.*, 1 *iṣbaʿ* = 1°36′) but this was a figure of convenience, for it made 7 between each rhumb of the compass rose and 8 to each lunar mansion. Sulaymān al-Mahrī used the fact that the diameter of the circle made by the Pole Star round the Pole was 4 *iṣbaʿ* (the navigator's usual figure) and showed by astronomical means hat this was $6\,^6/_7$ degrees. Therefore 1 *iṣbaʿ* was $1\,^5/_7$ degrees (1°43′) or 210 in 360°. However for practical purposes he used the figure of 224 in 360°.

European scholars have followed up the equation given that the Pole Star's polar distance is 2 *iṣbaʿ* and produced values. Princep, allowing for precession, gave values for the year 1394 of 1°56′ and for 1550 of 1°33′. Ferrand working for 1500 produced the figure of 1°45′. The Arabs however never gave an epoch to their figures—most of their figures were probably inherited from previous centuries and not all from the same time, so that it seems fruitless to speculate too much on actual values of the measurement.

Bibliography: G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, Paris 1921-8; i and ii contain the texts of Aḥmad ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī; iii "Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe", contains the theory of L. de Saussure and Ferrand. J. Princep, *Note of the nautical instruments of the Arabs*, in *J. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1836, 784-94, attached to Hammer-Purgstall's translation of the work of Sidi Čelebi "Extracts from the Moḥîṭ, that is the Ocean, a Turkish work on navigation in the Indian seas", in *J. As. Soc. Bengal* (1834-39). G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese* (forthcoming).

(G. R. Tibbetts)

IṢFAHĀN (in Arabic Iṣbahān), a town and province in Persia, whose name, according to Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, means "the armies" (Māfarrukhī, *Kitāb Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran n.d., 5-6).

1. History

The province, whose precise boundaries have varied at different times, is bounded on the north-east and east by the central desert. In the south-east by Yazd and Fārs, in the south and south-west by the Bakhtiyārī mountains, with peaks rising to over 11,000 ft., in the north-west by Luristān, Kazzāz, Kamara, and Maḥallāt, and in the north by the districts of Djawshaḳān and Natanz, which have an elevation of 5-7,000 ft., with peaks rising considerably higher. Under the Sasanians it was an important province, holding a central position (Cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], Copenhagen 1944, 506). Hurmuzān, when consulted by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb on his plans for further conquest, advised him to march on Iṣfahān, which he compared to the head whose fall would be followed by that of the two wings, Ādharbāydjān and Fārs (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, Cairo 1957, ii, 371-2; Abū Nuʿaym, *Geschichte Isbahans*, ed. S. Dedering, Leiden 1931, i, 21; Māfarrukhī, 6). Balʿamī likened Fārs and Kirmān to the two hands of Iṣfahān and Ādharbāydjān and Rayy to its two feet (*Tardjuma-i taʾrīkh-i Ṭabarī*, ed. Muḥammad Djavād Mashkūr, Tehran 1959-60, 326).

After the Arab conquest Iṣfahān formed part of the province of the Djibāl, which corresponded to the earlier Media, and which became known in the 6th/12th century as ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam (G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 5, 185). According to Ḥamza, Iṣfahān extended from Hamadān and Māh Nihāwand to Kirmān, and from Rayy and Ḳumis to Fārs and Khūzistān, and consisted, in pre-Islamic times, of three *ustāns*, 30 *rustāḳs*, 120 *tasūdj*, 5,000 villages, and 7 cities. Four of these became ruined, the province then comprising two *kūras*, 27 *rustāḳs*, and 3, 313 villages. When the Arabs came, two more cities were ruined, leaving only Djay (Abū Nuʿaym, 14). In 189/804-5 Hārūn al-Rashīd separated the *kūra* of Ḳumm, which consisted of four *rustāḳs*, from Iṣfahān together with what he added to it from the *rustāḳs* of Hamadān and Nihāwand, after which Iṣfahān consisted of 23 *rustāḳs* (Abū Nuʿaym, 14; Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ḳummī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, translated by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik Ḳummī, ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran 1935, 24-5, 28 ff., 57, 101). Al-Muʿtaṣim made further changes, constituting Karadj into a *kūra*, taking four *rustāḳs* from Iṣfahān and some estates from Nihāwand and Hamadān, after which Iṣfahān consisted of 19 *rustāḳs*, 1 *kūra*, and 2,500 villages (Abū Nuʿaym, 14).

Under the Mongols the province of Iṣfahān contained three main cities, Iṣfahān, Fīrūzān in the *bulūk* of Lindjān, and Fārifāʾān in Rūdasht, and consisted of 8 *bulūks*, and 400 villages, together with many cultivated lands belonging to these villages. The *bulūks* were Djay (which included the town of Iṣfahān and its environs), with 75 villages, Karāridj with 23 villages, Ḳuhāb with 40, both to the south of the town, Barāʾān with 80 villages and Rūdasht with 60 to the east, Burkhwār with 32 to the north, and Mārbīn with 58 and Lindjān with 20 to the west (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, London 1919, 48, 50-1). In the 19th century Iṣfahān formed an extensive province divided into 9 *bulūks*, the ninth being Karvan, north of Lindjān, 8 *maḥall*, namely Rār, Kiyār, Mīzdadj, and Gandumān (which together formed Čahār Maḥall), Simīrum, Djarḳūya, Ardistān, and Ḳuhpāya (south of Ardistān, and east of Iṣfahān, on both sides of the Zāyanda-rūd river), two *ḳaṣabas*, Nadjafābād and Ḳumisha (the modern Shahriḍā), and 5 *nāḥiyas*, Čādagān, Varzaḳ, Tukhmāḳlū, Gurdjī, and Čīnārūd, which together formed Firaydan (Muḥammad Mihdī b. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Iṣfahānī, *Niṣf-i djahān fī taʿrīf āl Iṣfahān*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1962-3, 21-2, 296-336; A. Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1898, 125-9). The number of villages in all the *bulūks* except Karāridj and Barāʾān, which had declined, and Rūdasht, which was unaltered, had increased by the 19th century (Ḥasan Khān Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, *Taʾrīkh-i niṣf-i djahān va hama-i djahān*, lith., n.d., 168 ff.). Under Riḍā Shāh Iṣfahān was reduced to a district or sub-province (*shahristān*) and formed part of the Tenth Ustān, which also included, as separate *shahristāns*, Shahr-i Kurd, Shahriḍā, Firaydan, Yazd, Ardistān, and Nāʾīn (Ḥasan ʿĀbidī, *Iṣfahān az liḥāẓ-i idjtimāʿī va iḳtiṣādī*, Iṣfahān 1956-7, 6). Its population according to the census of 1319 (A.H.S.)/1941-2 was 240, 598. By 1956-7 the

population of the *shahristān*, which comprised the town of Iṣfahān, Sidih, Falāvardjān, Nadjafābād, and Kūhpāya (Ḳuhpāya), was 880,027 (*ibid.*, 53).

Physically and climatically Iṣfahān is a varied province ranging from the mountain districts of Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall, with their extensive pastures where transhumance is practised, the plateau in the north and north-west where oasis-farming prevails, the immensely fertile riverain plain of Iṣfahān, and districts in the east and north-east bordering the *kavīr*. Rainfall is heaviest in the mountain districts of Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall, where it is *c.* 10 inches with heavy snowfalls in winter. In the town of Iṣfahān the annual rainfall is *c.* 5 inches and falls mainly from November to April. The prevailing winds are north-west in winter and south-east in summer. Temperature varies with altitude. Extremes of heat and cold occur in August and January. In the mountain districts the cold is intense in winter, but the heat is not very great in summer. In the neighbourhood of the town of Iṣfahān the seasons are extremely regular. The mean monthly maximum temperature in the town in August is 36.1° C. and the mean monthly minimum temperature in January is -2.2° C. Humidity is low. Outbreaks of plague are recorded in 324/936, 344/955-6, (von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, Vienna 1875, ii, 492), and 423/1031-2, when 4,000 people died (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 290), and 810/1407-8 (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1941, i, 110). The only severe earthquake recorded in Iṣfahān took place in Rabīʿ I 239/950, when many people were killed (Houtum-Schindler, 124; Muḥammad Mihdī, 96).

Except in Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall, where dry farming is practised, all cultivation is irrigated by river water, *ḳanāt*s, or wells. Water in the Iṣfahān plain is found at a depth of 12-15 ft. (Muḥammad Mihdī, 83). In recent years a large number of machine-operated wells have been sunk, which has been a contributory factor in the lowering of the water-table which has taken place. The Zāyanda-rūd River, or Zanda-rūd (also called by Ibn Rusta, Māfarrukhī and others the Zarīn-rūd), which rises on the eastern slopes of the Zarda Kūh, receives various tributaries from Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall and then flows south-east through the town of Iṣfahān and finally disappears in the Gāvkhʷānī (Gāvkhūnī) marsh to the east of the town. Between Lindjān, where the Zāyanda-rūd enters the Iṣfahān plain and the Gāvkhʷānī, it waters the *bulūk*s of Lindjān, Mārbīn Djay, Karāridj, Barā'ān, and Rūdasht, by means of 105 canals, known locally as *mādī*s. The original distribution of the water was attributed by Ibn Rusta to Ardashīr b. Bābak (155). The modern division of the water goes back, according to tradition, to Shāh ʿAbbās. Between Lindjān and the Gāvkhʷānī the river was crossed by twelve permanent and two temporary bridges. Below the last of these at Varzana there are three dykes or dams for the purpose of raising the water to irrigate the land on either side. One, the Band-i Marwān, was built in Umayyad times (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 365-6; Muḥammad Mihdī, 16-17, 94-104; Houtum-Schindler, 17-18; Ḥusayn Khān Taḥwīldār-i Iṣfahān, *Djughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1964-5, 37 ff.; A. K. S. Lambton, *The regulation of the waters of the Zāyanda Rūd* in *BSOAS*, ix/3 (1937-9), 663-73). In 1954 a tunnel connecting the Zāyanda-rūd with the R. Kārūn was opened at Kūhrang, which materially increased the flow of water in the Zāyanda-rūd. This plan was first conceived by Shāh Ṭahmāsp. His successor, Shāh ʿAbbās, began to cut through the mountains near Kūhrang, but the work was abandoned before completion. New plans were made during the reign of Riḍā Shāh to tunnel through the Kūhrang in order to join the two rivers (ʿĀbidī, 74). In 1970 the Shāh ʿAbbās the Great dam was opened in the Kavand district. This dam enables the flow of water to be regulated throughout the year so that surplus water no longer flows into the Gāvkhʷānī marsh, which was reported to be drying up.

Many of the early Islamic geographers, Māfarrukhī, his Persian translator, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āvī (*Tardjuma-i Maḥāsin-i Iṣfahān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1949-50), and numerous other writers speak of the excellent climate, fertility and abundant crops of Iṣfahān. These included wheat, barley, millet, opium, which became an important export in the 19th century (Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 42; Muḥammad Mihdī, 125), rice (in Lindjān and Alindjān), cotton, tobacco, various oilseeds, pulses and legumes, beet, madder, saffron, many kinds of vegetables and herbs, melons, grapes, fruits of various kinds, almonds and nuts (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 363-7; Muḳaddasī, 386-9; Iṣṭakhrī, 198-200; Ḥusayn Khān Taḥwīldār, 43 ff.; Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, 168 ff.; Muḥammad Mihdī, 19-20, 113-25). The Iṣfahānī peasant is known for his thrift and good farming (A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian Land Reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1969, 145). Animal manure, sewage and pigeon manure collected in pigeon-towers, a characteristic feature of the landscape of the Iṣfahān plain, noted by many travellers (see Curzon, ii, 19-20), have traditionally been used in agriculture round Iṣfahān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions excellent pastures in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān (*Nuzhat*, 49). In many parts of the province flocks are a supplementary source of livelihood, and in Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall the main source. From these two districts abundant meat supplies also were available to Iṣfahān. Formerly horse-breeding and mule-breeding were important in Čahār Maḥall (Shaykh Djābarī Anṣārī, 182-3), and camels were kept in the Ardistān district (*ibid.*, p. 191). Rugs and carpets are woven in different parts of the province. Iṣfahān was also noted for its textiles (cf. Olearius, *The voyages and travels of the ambassadors* . . . ., London 1669, 225), armour and brass-work. Small mineral deposits were formerly worked in Ḳuhistān and Taymara (Abū Nuʿaym, i, 32; Māfarrukhī, 18, 39), but had fallen out of use by the second half of the 19th century (Muḥammad Mihdī, 20).

The city of Iṣfahān, situated on longitude 51°35 east and latitude 32°40 north at an altitude of some 5,200 ft. above sea-level, is an old foundation, centred originally on the village of Djay, otherwise called Shahristān or Shahristāna, two miles to the west of which was Yahūdiyya, where Jews are supposed to have been settled by Nebuchadnezzar (Schreiber, *Rev. des Études Juives*, xii, 259; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 261), or under Yazdigird I at the request of his Jewish wife Shōshandukht (E. Blochet, *Liste des villes*, para. 54 in *Receuil des travaux*, xvii, 1895; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 29). Ancient legends, transmitted by Ibn Rusta, attribute the building of the citadel to Kay Kā'ūs [*q.v.*]. Yahūdiyya later became the centre of the city while Shahristān became a suburb.

The province of Iṣfahān, in view of its central position, has experienced most of the vicissitudes undergone by Persia since the Arab conquest. The population is nevertheless remarkably homogenous, apart from certain well-marked geographical areas, notably Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall, which are inhabited chiefly by Bakhtiyārī tribes [*q.v.*], and small Jewish

and Christian minorities mainly in the town of Iṣfahān. For the rest the various settlers brought in by different dynasties which successively ruled the province have been absorbed into the local population (cf. Ḥusayn Khān Taḥvīldār, 91-2). Jews, as stated above, have been settled in Iṣfahān from ancient times. Benjamin of Tudela, writing in the 6th/12th century, states that there were 15,000 Jews in the town (Elkan Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, London 1930, 53). By the 19th century their numbers had fallen. Curzon puts them at only 3,700 (i, 510; see further W. J. Fischel, *Isfahān, the story of a Jewish community in Persia*, in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, New York 1953, 111 ff.). Under Shāh ʿAbbās Armenians were brought from Djulfā and settled south of Iṣfahān in a suburb which came to be known as New Djulfā. Towards the end of the 11th/17th century their numbers reached 30,000. After the fall of the Ṣafawids, because of oppression and persecution, their numbers were greatly reduced. In 1889 there were only some 2,000 Armenians in Djulfā (Curzon, ii, 51-3; L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 484-5). Small settlements of Armenians and Georgians in Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall are also said to go back to the time of Shāh ʿAbbās (Curzon, ii, 284).

Iṣfahānīs are noted for their vigour, quickness of intellect, and good craftmanship. Māfarrukhī states that the best Iṣfahānīs were very good but the bad very bad (21). Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āvī also mentions their intelligence and skill as craftsmen (78; cf. also Muḥammad Mihdī, 126). Al-Ḳazwīnī similarly praises their craftsmanship and learning in *fiḳh*, *adab*, astronomy and medicine (*Āthār al-bilād wa-lakhbār al-ʿibād*, Beirut 1960, 297). Māfarrukhī relates that Anūshīravān preferred Iṣfahānī troops, especially those of Firaydan, over all others (42). The city has produced many scholars, divines, and literary men (for accounts of these see Abū Nuʿaym; Māfarrukhī; Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī; ʿAbd al-Karīm Djazī, *Ridjāl-i Iṣfahān ya tadhkirat al-ḳubūr*, ed. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Mahdawī, Iṣfahān 1949 (2nd ed.); and Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Mahdawī, *Tadhkira-i Shuʿarā-yi Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1966-7).

Factional and sectarian strife between Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs appears to have been a common feature of Iṣfahānī life in medieval times (cf. the verses by Kamāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī quoted by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat*, 49-50, and others). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Iṣfahān in 727/1326-7, states that the people of Iṣfahān had fine figures and clear white skins tinged with red, and were brave, pugnacious, and generous, and given to much hospitality, and also to sectarian strife. "The city of Iṣfahān is one of the largest and fairest of cities, but is now in ruins for the greater part, as the result of the feud there between the Sunnīs and Rāfiḍīs" (*The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325-1354*, Hakluyt, ed. H. A. R. Gibb, ii, 294-5). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī also mentions their courage and the prevalence of faction. He states that the majority were Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī rite and that they performed their religious duties very exactly (*Nuzhat*, 56). After the adoption of Shīʿism under the Ṣafawids, Shāfiʿī-Ḥanafī strife disappeared, but a new form of factional strife between Ḥaydarīs and Niʿmatīs, popularly supposed to have been started and encouraged by Shāh ʿAbbās, began. It was still strong in the 19th century (Ḥusayn Khān Taḥwīldār, 89; Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, additions by the editor, viii, 155-6; *The travels of Monsieur de Thevenôt into the Levant*, London 1687, ii, 108 bis.). Curzon, writing in the late 19th century, gives an unfavourable account of the Iṣfahānīs. He alleges that they enjoyed an unenviable reputation for cowardice and morals, and were niggardly and close in business matters, and that the *lūṭīs* of Iṣfahān were regarded as the biggest blackguards in Persia (ii, 43).

Iṣfahān in the early Islamic centuries. There are two versions of the capture of Iṣfahān by the Muslims. According to the Kūfan school, it took place in 19/640. On the order of the caliph ʿUmar, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿItbān marched on Djay, which was commanded by one of the four *pādhospān* of the Persian empire (see Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber, etc.*, 151, no. 2; cf. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides*, 87), who, after several battles, capitulated on condition that *djizya* was replaced by an annual tribute. Ṭabarī gives the date as 21/641-2 (ed. Leiden, i, 2637 ff.). The Baṣran school state that in 23/644 Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], after Nihāwand, took Iṣfahān, or that his lieutenant ʿAbd Allāh b. Budayl received the capitulation of the town on the usual conditions of the establishment of *kharādj* and *djizya* (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, Cairo 1957, ii, 383-4; on these varying versions see Caetani, *Annali*, v, yr. 23, para. 4-25). Māfarrukhī states that the *djizya* and *kharādj* of Iṣfahān in the first year of the conquest amounted to 40,000,000 *dirhams* (p. 12).

Under the Patriarchal Caliphs and the Umayyads, Iṣfahān came under the jurisdiction of the governors of Baṣra and ʿIrāḳ, who usually appointed the governors of Iṣfahān. It did not entirely escape the disturbances committed by the Khāridjīs. In 68/687-8 the town was besieged by the Azāriḳa branch, who were defeated by ʿItāb b. Warḳa and fled to Fārs and Kirmān. From 75/694 Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], who had become governor of ʿIrāḳ, appointed governors over Iṣfahān. During his government there appears to have been some settlement by Banū Tamīm in Djay, Banū Ḳays in the *rustāḳ* of Anār and Taymara, Banū ʿAnaza in Djāpalaḳ and Barḳrūd, and Ashʿarīs in Kumīdān, the *rustāḳ* bordering Rayy and Ḳumīs (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, 264). Arab settlement in Ardistān also traditionally goes back to early Islamic times, and in the late 19th century Ardistānīs still traced back their genealogies to Arab ancestors (Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, [*q.v.*] 191).

In 127/744-5 ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, the ʿAlid rebel, seized Iṣfahān and held it for some two years until he was put to flight by ʿĀmir b. Ḍabāra, who recovered Iṣfahān for the Umayyads. After the ʿAbbāsid revolt broke out in 130/747, Ḳaḥṭaba, Abū Muslim's general, defeated an Umayyad force in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān and in 131/748-9 a second and larger force under ʿĀmir b. Ḍabāra was defeated near the town. From 132/749-50 ʿAbbāsid governors were appointed over Iṣfahān. On the whole, the history of Iṣfahān under the early ʿAbbāsids appears to have been uneventful, apart from its abortive seizure in 138/755-6 by Djumhūr b. al-ʿIdjlī, who rebelled against al-Manṣūr. Under Hārūn al-Rashīd, as stated above, Ḳumm was separated from Iṣfahān in 189/804-5. Its *kharādj* after this amounted to some 12,000,000 *dirhams* (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, 31). After the civil war, Iṣfahān became part of the government of Ḥasan b. Sahl. In 200/815-6 and 201/816-17 there was a severe famine. Whether this had anything to do with an apparent decrease in the revenue or not, it had fallen to 10,500,000 *dirhams* in the year 204/237 according to Ḳudāma (von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i, 337). In 221-2/836-7 it was still lower, being only 7,000,000 *dirhams* according to Ibn Khurradādhbih

(*ibid.*, 364). This may, perhaps, have been due in part to the fact that about 218/833 the Khurramdīnī movement, which had caused dislocation in Ādharbāydjān for many years, spread to Iṣfahān. An army sent by al-Muʿtaṣim put the disturbances down. According to Yaʿkūbī, the revenue had again risen towards the end of the century to 10,000,000 *dirhams* (*ibid.*, 377) while Ibn Rusta puts it at over 10,300,000 *dirhams* (154).

In 253/867 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf was appointed to the government of Iṣfahān, which remained in the hands of the Banū Dulaf until 282/895-6 when al-Muʿtaḍid seized Ibn Abī Dulaf's property (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 327). In 260/873-4 Yaḥyā b. Harthama appears to have reassessed Iṣfahān (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, 185). In the following year, Iṣfahān passed briefly under the control of the Ṣaffārid, Yaʿḳūb b. Layth. The Banū Dulaf, who had been reinstated, continued, however, to hold the government of the province, as they did also under ʿAmr b. Layth, who succeeded in 265/879. In due course, when al-Muwaffaḳ felt strong enough to move against ʿAmr, he ordered Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf in 271/884-5 to attack ʿAmr. The latter was defeated and Iṣfahān once more came under the control of the caliphate. In 284/897-8 ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was sent to the Djibāl and ordered to reassess Iṣfahān and abrogate the assessment (*dastūr*) of Yaḥyā b. Harthama (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, 184-5). Ibn Rusta, who lived in Iṣfahān and probably wrote his account of the town about 290/903, described Djay as measuring half a league across and covering an area of 2,000 *djaribs* (*ca.* 600 acres). It had four gates and 100 towers (152).

ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mismaʿī, who had been appointed governor in 290/902-3, rebelled in 295/907-8 with the support of Kurds from the mountain regions to the south-west. He was subdued by a force sent by al-Muḳtadir under Badr al-Ḥammāmī, who became governor of Iṣfahān (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 9). The latter was succeeded by ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān, the Daylamite, who, when he was appointed governor of Fars in 300/912-3, also became governor of Iṣfahān. In 301/913, Iṣfahān passed for a brief period under the nominal rule of the Sāmānids, but in 304/916-17 it was again under an ʿAbbāsid governor, Aḥmad Ṣaʿlūk, during whose tenure of office Ḥamīd, the vizier of al-Muḳtadir in 307/919-20, farmed the *kharādj* of Iṣfahān on a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract. In 311/923-4 Aḥmad rebelled but was defeated and killed.

The Būyids. A troubled period now began for Iṣfahān. In 315/927 Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār [*q.v.*] took the city and appointed Aḥmad b. Kayghulugh governor. In 319/931 the Daylamite Lashkarī took Iṣfahān from Aḥmad, who subsequently recovered the city and killed Lashkarī (*The eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, ed., tr. and elucidated by H. F. Amedroz, Oxford 1921, iv, 239-40). Muẓaffar b. Yāḳūt, whom al-Muḳtadir had appointed governor of Iṣfahān in the same year, does not appear to have gone there (*ibid.*, 236). Mardāwīdj meanwhile returned to the city where he billeted large numbers of troops. Some two years later in 321/933 ʿAlī b. Būya ʿImād al-Dawla, who had been appointed by Mardāwīdj over Karadj, took Iṣfahān, but retired when Mardāwīdj sent his brother Wūshmgīr against him. In the same year al-Ḳāhir appointed Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt governor of Iṣfahān after he had written to Mardāwīdj bidding him to evacuate the city in return for recognition as ruler of Rayy and the Djibāl, and to Wūshmgīr to retire from Iṣfahān. Al-Ḳāhir was deposed shortly afterwards (*ibid.*, 307). Mardāwīdj retained Iṣfahān and in the following year, after ʿAlī b. Būya had seized Fārs and his brother Aḥmad had occupied Kirmān, set out again for Iṣfahān, where he was assassinated by his Turkish troops. ʿAlī b. Būya and his brother Ḥasan Rukn al-Dawla then occupied Iṣfahān, turning out Wūshmgīr. The latter recovered Iṣfahān in 327/938-9, but in the following year Ḥasan retook it and continued to rule it until his death in 366/976, though a Khurāsānī force under Manṣūr b. Ḳarātegīn temporarily took the city in 339/950-1. In 343/954 Iṣfahān again suffered a Khurāsānī incursion, and was plundered by Bū ʿAlī Čaghānī.

On the death of Rukn al-Dawla Iṣfahān went to his son Muʿayyid al-Dawla, who, from 367/977, ruled as ʿAḍud al-Dawla's subordinate. He was followed in 372/982-3 by his brother Fakhr al-Dawla. The latter died in 387/997, and was succeeded by his four-year-old son Madjd al-Dawla, whose mother became the effective ruler of the kingdom. Madjd al-Dawla, resenting his mother's interference, made an abortive attempt in 397/1006 to throw off her control. In the following year ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār, the maternal uncle of Fakhr al-Dawla's wife, became governor of Iṣfahān, which he ruled intermittently until his death in 433/1041-2. He was turned out by the Būyid, Ibn Fūlād, in 407/1016-17 but regained the city in 411/1020-1. In 418/1027-8 he was besieged for four months by ʿAlī b. ʿUmrān the Ispahbud and Manūčihr b. Ḳābūs. In 420/1029 he lost Iṣfahān to Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd the Ghaznavid. Having appointed a governor over the city, Masʿūd went away, but when the Iṣfahānīs rose and killed the Ghaznavid governor, he returned and massacred a large number of the inhabitants. In the following year ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla recovered the city, but Anūshīravān b. Ḳābūs, with the help of Ghaznavid troops, put him to flight. In 423/1032 he returned to Iṣfahān and in 424/1032-3 Masʿūd gave him the government of Iṣfahān in return for a sum of money. In the following year ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla was again defeated by a Ghaznavid force. He retired to Firaydan and Khwānsār. After collecting reinforcements he retook Iṣfahān in 427/1035-6.

In spite of repeated disorders in Būyid times, Iṣfahān became a flourishing and extensive city, especially during the vizirate of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād to Muʿayyid al-Dawla and Fakhr al-Dawla (Māfarrukhī, 40). The Ṭabara or Ṭabarak quarter was added by the Būyids, its fortress being built according to tradition by Rukn al-Dawla or Muʿayyid al-Dawla. In 429/1037-8 ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla built a wall round the city, for which purpose he laid heavy impositions on the people (Māfarrukhī, 81, 113). The city under the Būyids contained splendid private and official residences, stables, baths, gardens, and fine well-stocked bazaars (Māfarrukhī, 83 ff.). Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions the wealth and trade of Iṣfahān and its export of silks and textiles to other provinces. No other city between ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān except Rayy had more trade. There was a Friday mosque in Shahristān and Yahūdiyya, which was more than twice the size of the former and bigger than Hamadān (ii, 362-3; Iṣṭakhrī, 198-9; Le Strange, 203-4; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1937, 131). Māfarrukhī records that formerly nearly 2,000 sheep and goats and 100 head of cattle were slaughtered daily in Iṣfahān (86-7). If these figures are at all accurate, even allowing, in view of the high prosperity, for a much heavier meat consumption than in later times, the population, on a conservative estimate, would have been over 100,000.

The Saldjūḳs. During the reign of Maḥmūd, the Ghuzz [*q.v.*] had begun to move into Persia. They

were active to the north and north-west of Iṣfahān but do not appear to have penetrated to Iṣfahān itself, though in 430/1038-9 ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla marched from Iṣfahān against bodies of Ghuzz who had been operating in the neighbourhood of Dīnawar and defeated them (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 217). It was not until some years after the battle of Dindinḳān (431/1040) that the Saldjūḳs took Iṣfahān. In 434/1042-3 Ṭughril Beg advanced on the city. Farāmurz, who had succeeded his father ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla in the previous year, bought him off and agreed to read the *khuṭba* in his name (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 349). Farāmurz later allied himself with the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār and omitted Ṭughril's name from the *khuṭba*. In 438/1046-7 Ṭughril once more advanced on Iṣfahān and on this occasion laid siege to the city. Farāmurz submitted, agreeing to pay an annual tribute and to read the *khuṭba* in Ṭughril's name, but once Ṭughril left the district he again withdrew his allegiance.

In 442/1050 Ṭughril besieged the city for the second time. It fell after nearly a year, in Muḥarram 443/1051 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 385). Ṭughril appointed a young Nīshāpūrī over the city and ordered that no taxes should be demanded for three years. His conciliatory policy was successful. The city rapidly recovered its prosperity and those who had been scattered abroad during the years of disorders and famine returned. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who came to Iṣfahān via Khān Lindjān in 444/1052, wrote that the people there were secure and at peace and went about their own business. Speaking of Iṣfahān, he states that it was the most populous and flourishing city that he had seen in Persian-speaking lands. Describing the thriving condition of the town, he states that it had a large Friday mosque and many bazaars, including one occupied by 200 *ṣarrāf*s, and caravansarais in which many merchants were to be found. The town had a strong wall with battlements, said to be $3^1/_2$ *farsakh*s in circumference; the quarters of the town were divided from each other by gates (*Safarnāma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, Persian text, 92-3).

Ṭughril Beg is alleged to have been much attached to the city. He moved his capital there from Rayy and made it his chief residence for the last twelve years of his reign. He spent over 500,000 *dīnār*s on public buildings and improvements in the city and its environs (Māfarrukhī, 101). It continued throughout the Great Saldjūḳ period to be one of the main centres of the empire and to be directly administered (whereas much of the empire was alienated from the control of the central government as *iḳṭāʿ*s). Alp Arslān also treated the people of Iṣfahān with favour (Māfarrukhī, 101-2). Malikshāh received the caliph's investiture as *walī al-ʿahd* there in 464/1071-2 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 48). On the death of Alp Arslān, Ḳāwurd b. Čaghrī Beg, in an abortive attempt to assert his claim to the throne, briefly occupied Iṣfahān. During the reign of Malikshāh, Iṣfahān reached great heights and became an important Sunnī centre (see A. Bausani, *Religion in the Saljuq period*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge 1968, v, 283-302). Both he and his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk exerted themselves in its development. Māfarrukhī relates that it was exempted during the reign of Malikshāh from *ḳisma* and *taḳsīṭ* and extra-ordinary dues. Announcements to this effect were made in the mosques and tablets put up at the gates and on the walls of the bazaars (103-4). The Gulbār quarter, in which is situated the square now known as the Maydān-i Kuhna, with government offices and residences was added. New mosques were built and additions made to old ones, notably the old Friday mosque (see A. Godard, *Historique du Masdjid-é Djum'a d'Isfahan*, in *Āthār-i Īrān*, i, ii, and iii, 1936-8; A. Gabriel, *Le Masdjid-i Djumʿa d'Iṣfahān*, in *Ars Islamica*, ii, 1935). A fortress was made in Diz Kūh (Shāhdiz) where Malikshāh kept his armoury and treasury. Niẓām al-Mulk built a Niẓāmiyya in the Dardasht quarter. The annual revenue of the property which he constituted into *waḳf* for it was over 10,000 *dīnār*s (Māfarrukhī, 104-5). According to Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āvī the *madrasa* was still in existence in 729/1328-9, but its endowments had been usurped (p. 142).

With the death of Malikshāh in 485/1092, Iṣfahān ceased to prosper, though as the capital of the empire its possession was of importance to those who contended for power. The townspeople were probably not closely engaged in these struggles, but it is likely that the prevailing insecurity and the coming and going of troops dislocated their lives to some extent and engendered discontent. The balance between order and disorder in the city was always delicate, as the following incident which happened about this time shows. A report was spread that a certain blind man, alleged to be a Bāṭinī, had lured unsuspecting people to their death. The populace rioted and seized and burnt all who were accused of being Bāṭinīs (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 214-5). This did not, however, end the activities of the Bāṭinīs. ʿAbd al-Malik ʿAṭṭāsh, the *dāʿī*, had laid the foundations of the movement carefully during the reign of Malikshāh, and in the disorders following his death the movement spread.

Tādj al-Mulk and Turkān Khātūn, Malikshāh's wife, read the *khuṭba* in Baghdād, where Malikshāh had died, in the name of her four-year-old son Maḥmūd and hastened to Iṣfahān. Barkyāruḳ, the son of Zubaydā Khātūn, who had been seized by the supporters of Turkān Khātūn, but later freed by the Niẓām *mamlūk*s, left the city on the approach of Turkān Khātūn, but subsequently returned and besieged her there (*ibid.*, x, 146-7). In 487/1094, on the sudden death of Turkān Khātūn, who had meanwhile distributed to her followers all the treasure and stores which had been accumulated in Iṣfahān, Barkyāruḳ re-entered the city. He remained in possession for some years, although mainly absent from it dealing with rebellions in other parts of his empire. From about 490/1097, however, when the struggle with his half-brother Muḥammad began, his position in the city was no longer secure. In 492/1098-9, after numbers of his army had deserted to Muḥammad, he was refused entry and forced to retire to Khūzistān (*ibid.*, x, 195). The struggle between the brothers continued for the next five years or so, during which time the Bāṭinīs greatly increased their power in Iṣfahān and the neighbourhood. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik ʿAṭṭāsh, who had succeeded his father as *dāʿī* at Iṣfahān, obtained entry to the fortress of Shāhdiz (according to one account as schoolmaster to the garrison), won them over and seized the fortress. By 494/1100 the Bāṭinīs were collecting taxes in its neighbourhood and had also gained possession of the fortress of Khān Lindjān. Barkyāruḳ, who had been, rightly or wrongly, accused of Bāṭinī sympathies, now decided to move against the Bāṭinīs. The Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī*, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khudjandī, roused the populace, and a large number of persons accused of being Bāṭinīs were rounded up and burnt (*ibid.*, x, 214-5). The Bāṭinīs, however, remained in possession of Shāhdiz.

In 495/1102, Muḥammad, having been defeated near Rayy by Barkyāruḳ fled to Iṣfahān, where he was besieged by his brother for some nine months. During this period he was forced twice to ask loans of

the prominent people of the city to satisfy the demands of his troops (*ibid.*, x, 228). When the city finally became short of food, Muḥammad escaped and fled to Ādharbāydjān, where he was pursued by Barkyāruḳ (*ibid.*, x, 227-8). The struggle continued until 497/1103-4 when peace was made and Barkyāruḳ returned to Iṣfahān (*ibid.*, x, 253-4). On Barkyāruḳ's death in the following year Muḥammad re-entered the city (*ibid.*, x, 273). One of his first tasks was to reduce the Bāṭinīs in Shāhdiz and the neighbourhood. For some time Aḥmad b. ʿAṭṭāsh negotiated successfully to be allowed to remain as chief of the garrison, and it was not until 500/1107 that a capitulation was agreed to. Some of the garrison accepted a safe conduct, but the remainder fought to the end. Aḥmad was finally captured, paraded through the town and skinned alive (see further M. G. S. Hodgson, *The order of the Assassins*, The Hague 1955, and idem, *The Ismāʿīlī state*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 422-82). There does not appear to have been any renewal of Bāṭinī activities after this apart from isolated incidents, such as the burning of the Friday mosque and its library in 515/1121-2, which was attributed to them (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 420).

From 500/1106-7 until Muḥammad's death in 511/1118 Iṣfahān remained the main centre of the Great Saldjūḳ empire. Thereafter power moved to Khurāsān, where Sandjar ruled as the Great Saldjūḳ sultan, while Iṣfahān and the western provinces were disputed by the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ and their atabegs. There were renewals of sectarian strife, notably an outbreak in 560/1164-5 between the Khudjandī faction and others accompanied by arson, destruction of property and loss of life (*ibid.*, xi, 210). In 590/1194 Iṣfahān was taken by the Khwārazmshāh Tekish, to whom the caliph al-Nāṣir had appealed about 588/1192 for help against Ṭughril, the last of the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ. Iṣfahān changed hands several times in the subsequent campaigns between the caliph and the Khwārazmshāh. In 623/1226 the Mongol armies under Djurmāghūn reached the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān and in 625/1228 Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh defeated them outside the city (J. A. Boyle, *Dynastic and political history of the Īl-Khāns*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 330). Although he was unable to sustain his victory, Iṣfahān did not finally fall until about 638/1240-1, when it was delivered into the hands of the Mongols by treachery within the walls (Minhādj al-Dīn al-Djuzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Calcutta 1824, 422-3).

Īlkhāns and Tīmūrids. In addition to the disorders and extortion which everywhere accompanied Mongol rule, the fact that the centre of the kingdom was moved to Ādharbāydjān was also to the detriment of Iṣfahān. The Iṣfahānīs did not easily accept Mongol rule and proved a tough proposition for the conquerors. Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Djuwaynī, who was appointed governor of Iṣfahān and ʿIrāḳ by Abāḳā, took a strong line because of the reputation of the Iṣfahānīs for rioting and disorder. He placed heavy impositions upon them and broke them by his severity. Thieves and disturbers of the peace were reduced to obedience and security was established in the city and countryside (Banākatī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Djaʿfar Shiʿār, Tehran 1970-1, 427; Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmiʿ-i mufīdī*, ed. Iradj Afshār, Tehran 1961, iii, 119-21).

By the 8th/14th century the natural advantages of Iṣfahān had enabled it to regain some of its former prosperity. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that the price fixed for corn and other grain was always moderate and fruit extremely cheap (*Nuzhat*, 49). In 735/1335 *dīwānī* taxes levied as *tamghā* [*q.v.*] amounted to 350,000 currency *dīnārs* in Iṣfahān while 500,000 currency *dinars* were levied as *dīwānī* taxes from the surrounding districts. Fīrūzān, one of the three main cities of the Iṣfahān province in his time, paid 134,500 currency *dīnārs* as *dīwānī* taxation (*ḥuḳūḳ-i dīwānī*, *ibid.*, 50-2). It is difficult to compare these figures with the figures for earlier periods because of the different methods of raising revenue and fluctuations in the value of the coinage. Ḥamd Allāh, however, maintains that there had been a marked decrease in the revenue in Mongol times and that the improvement made under Ghāzān Khān was not sustained. There is no reason to suppose that Iṣfahān was exempted from this general tendency. Ḥamd Allāh also mentions that there were many *madrasas*, *khānḳahs*, and *awḳāf* in Iṣfahān (*ibid.*, 49), though, as stated above, some of them had been usurped. From the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the craft guilds appear to have been in a thriving condition (ii, 295-6), though we have unfortunately little information about the internal and external trade of Iṣfahān at this time.

With the break-up of the Īlkhān empire, Iṣfahān fell to the Čubanids [*q.v.*]. In 742/1341-2, Shāh Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ the Īndjūid [see Īndjū] took it from them and later lost it to the Muẓaffarids, when Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffar obtained possession of it in 758/1357. The Muẓaffarids, although much split by internecine strife, were the most successful of the succession states. Their main centres, however, were in Fārs and Kirmān, and their rule did not restore Iṣfahān to its central position. The city was besieged several times and frequently changed hands (Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 183 ff.). When, during Tīmūr's second expedition to Persia in 786-9/1384-7, the Muẓaffarid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Shāh Shudjāʿ refused a summons to join him, Tīmūr marched on Iṣfahān, which he reached in 789/1387. The *ʿulamāʾ* sued for peace. Tīmūr sent *muḥaṣṣils* into the town to collect the money which they had promised. A riot ensued in which the *muḥaṣṣils* were killed, together with many soldiers who had entered the town on their own affairs. Tīmūr in retaliation massacred 70,000 of the inhabitants (Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937, i, 104-5).

Prosperity did not return to Iṣfahān under Tīmūr's successors. Shāhrukh besieged Mīrzā Iskandar there in 817/1414 from 4 Rabīʿ I to 2 Djumādā I when the city fell by assault and was looted (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, i, 269 ff.). In 856/1452 Iṣfahān was taken by Djahānshāh of the Black Sheep and in the following year was sacked by him. In due course it passed under the control of the White Sheep, who ruled from Ādharbāydjān. The Venetians, Josapha Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, visited Iṣfahān when Uzun Ḥasan was there in 879/1474-5, and the former estimated the population to be only 50,000 (*Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, Hakluyt, 1873, 71-2; cf. G. Berchet, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Turin 1865). Even allowing for the roughness of the estimates, it is clear that there had been a big decline in population since Māfarrukhī wrote.

The Ṣafawids. Shāh Ismāʿīl, the founder of the Ṣafawid empire, took Iṣfahān in 908/1502-3. Both he and Shāh Ṭahmāsp made token gestures of favour to the Iṣfahānīs. The former in 911/1505-6, according to an inscription in the Friday mosque, forbade the writing of drafts on the districts of Iṣfahān and their inhabitants (Luṭf Allāh Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-i āthār-i*

ta'rīkh-i Iṣfahān, Iṣfahān 1966-7, 76-7), and the latter, also according to inscriptions in the Friday mosque, remitted various taxes on the guilds and certain dues and tolls in 971/1563-4, and *rāhdārī* on foodstuffs, except imported sugar (*ibid.*, 153-7, 89-90), and also forbade the quartering of troops in the city (*ibid.*, 75-6). In 955/1548 during the rebellion of Ilḳās Mīrzā, Iṣfahān was for a brief period taken by the Ottomans, and for some years prior to the accession of Shāh ʿAbbās great disorder appears to have prevailed in the city (Iskandar Beg, *ʿAlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, lith., Tehran 1896-7, 265). By the beginning of the 11th/17th century the Ṣafawid empire extended from Georgia to Afghānistān and from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. Iṣfahān was its natural political, administrative, and commercial centre, as it had been of the Saldjūḳ empire, and in 1005/1596-7 Shāh ʿAbbās made it his capital. He replanned and largely rebuilt the city. Later additions were made by Shāh ʿAbbās II and Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn. Here the Ṣafawid shāhs were visited by embassies from European powers, factors of the great trading corporations, and representatives of the religious orders of Christendom. Many of these foreign visitors resided for long periods in the city, where "a life of gorgeous ceremonial mingled with holiday festivity rendered Isfahan the most famous and romantic city of the East" (Curzon, ii, 22 ff., 546 ff.; see also Lockhart. *The fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty*, app. III, 473-85).

Chardin, who visited Persia from 1664-70 and 1671-77 calls Iṣfahān "the greatest and most beautiful town in the whole orient", in which there were to be found inhabitants of all religions, Christians, Jews, Mahommedans, gentiles, and fire-worshippers, and merchants from the whole world (*Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, viii, 134). He states that there were 162 mosques, 48 colleges, 1,802 caravansarais, 273 baths and 12 cemeteries within its walls. The caravansarais were full of Armenians, who traded in cloth (vii, 367), while the place of the *ṣarrāf*s of earlier times had been taken by *banians*, of whom there were, according to Thévenôt, 1,500 in 1665 (ii, 111; see also Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse 1632-67*, ed. Pascal Pia, Paris 1930, 176 ff.). The city by this time had grown enormously. Estimates of the population varied from 600,000 to 1,100,000. Chardin who records that 2,000 sheep were killed daily in the city, 500 in the suburbs, and 90 in the shah's kitchens (viii, 135), while giving no precise figure for the population, believed Iṣfahān to be as populous as London. This suggests that its population was between 600,000 and 700,000. Muḥammad Mihdī gives the latter figure for the population by the death of Shāh ʿAbbās and estimates it at 1 million under Shāh Ṣafī and still higher under Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (176-8; see further Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 476-7).

Administration under Shāh ʿAbbās and his successors was highly centralized. The different departments, with their elaborate procedures, had their offices in Iṣfahān (see further Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānish Pazhūh, *Rev. de la faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines*, Univ. of Tehran, xv, 5-6 and xvi, 1-4, which in some respects gives a fuller account of the organization of the state than the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943). The city and neighbouring districts came under the *khāṣṣa* administration. Most of the land had been converted into *khāliṣa* and some into *wakf* (see ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sipintā, *Ta'rīkhča-i awḳāf-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1968-9, 35 ff., 44-5, 51 ff., 64 ff., 111-2; *Gandjīna*, 729-30; Muḥammad Takī Dānish Pazhūh, *Asnād-i wakf-i Khāndār-i Khalīfa Sulṭān*, in *Nāma-i Āstān-i Ḳuds*, ix, 1-2, 97-117; A. A. Salmāsīzāda, *Ta'rīkhča-i wakf dar Islām*, Tehran 1964). The vizier of Iṣfahān arranged for the cultivation of the former and the *wazīr-i mawḳūfāt* (also called the *wazīr-i fayḍ āthār*) for the latter (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi, 3, 319-21), while a special department under the *wazīr-i ḥalāl* administered Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn's *awḳāf* (*ibid.*, xvi, 3, 322).

In addition to land and property taxes, dues and tolls, the people were subject to *ad hoc* levies, while many local officials, such as the *mīrāb* (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 432), collected dues and fees as the whole or part of their emoluments. Drafts on the revenue were common practice and certain sums, especially for the payment of officials of the central government, were made a charge on different groups of taxpayers. For example 50 *tūmān*s was levied on the Armenians of Djawlāha (in Djulfā) on account of the *inʿām-i hamasāla* of the *amīr shikārbāshī* (*ibid.*, xvi, 1-2, 89). These practices were known under previous governments, but were less widespread than under the Ṣafawids.

The craft guilds were assessed by the *naḳīb al-ashrāf* in a lump sum, which was subsequently allocated among the individual members, subject to the acceptance of the assessment by two-thirds of the members. The *naḳīb al-ashrāf* also appointed the elders (*rīsh-sifīdān*) of the dervishes and certain other guilds (*ibid.*, xvi, 5-6, 549). Prices were under the control of the *muḥtasib al-mamālik* (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 418). Some of the guilds performed *corvées* for the court and some from time to time were granted exemptions from taxation. (Tavernier, 239; Chardin, iv, 95, vi, 119-20; A. K. S. Lambton, *Islamic society in Persia*, inaugural lecture, School of Oriental and African Studies, London 1954, 22 ff.; *Gandjīna*, 434-6, for a firman of Shāh ʿAbbās dated 1038/1629 inscribed in the Shāh mosque in Iṣfahān forbidding the writing of drafts on the barbers for any kind of due). Public order within the city was under the *dārūghā* [*q.v.*], who carried out summary punishment for disorders and acts contrary to the *sharīʿa* (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 428-30). The *ʿasas*, who belonged to the *dārūghā*'s office, patrolled the city with his men (*ibid.*, xvi, 5-6, 551).

The *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] was the main link between the population and the government, corresponding in part to the earlier *ra'īs*. It was his duty to reconcile the interests of the two parties. He was usually recruited from among the notables of the town. He had general oversight of the *kadkhudā*s of the districts and the craft guilds. Together with the vizier, he appointed the *kadkhudā*s (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 421-2; see also A. K. S. Lambton, *The office of kalantar under the Safavids and Afshars*, in *Mélanges Massé*, Tehran 1963).

Under Shāh ʿAbbās Iṣfahān again became an important religious centre, with this difference that orthodoxy was now Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism. Shīʿī divines were brought to Iṣfahān from other centres and taught and disputed there, but there is unfortunately little information on the course of the conversion of its inhabitants. By the middle of the 17th century religious festivals such as the *ʿīd-i ḳurbān* (see Thevenôt, ii, 107-8 *bis*) and the Muḥarram ceremonies were performed with passion and vigour. Under Shāh ʿAbbās there was strong supervision of religious affairs as there was over other aspects of the life of the city. The religious classes were organised into corporations under the general oversight of the *ṣadr* (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi, 1-2, 64). Under Shāh

Sulṭān Ḥusayn a new office, that of *mullā-bās̲h̲ī* was created, and its holder made head of all the religious classes (*ibid.*). The decision of *s̲h̲arʿī* cases was in the hands of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-islām* and the *ḳāḍī* (*ibid.*, xvi, 1-2, 69). S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās and his immediate successors treated other religions with toleration, but persecution began under S̲h̲āh Sulaymān and in the time of S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn was directed, not only against other faiths, but also against Sunnīs and Ṣūfīs (see further Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 32-5, 70-9).

The wellbeing of Iṣfahān, as the capital of the empire, was closely bound up with the fortunes of the Ṣafawid dynasty, as it had been earlier with those of the Saldjūḳ dynasty, whose capital it had also been. The fall of the Ṣafawids, however, proved far more disastrous for Iṣfahān than that of the Saldjūḳs. By the reign of S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, a marked decay in standards of public and private life and administrative competence had taken place (Muḥammad Hās̲h̲im Āṣif Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, *Rustam al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. Muḥammad Mus̲h̲īrī, Tehran 1969, 82-3, 90 ff., 98-9, 102 ff.; L. Lockhart, *op. cit.*). Security in the town was also at a low ebb. Rustam al-Hukamāʾ gives a list of bloodthirsty "toughs" (*pahlavānān va zabardastān va gurdān s̲h̲abraw va ʿayyār*), and alleges that the s̲h̲āh was unable to punish them because the "pillars of the state protected and aided them" (106).

The 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries. Eventually the Afg̲h̲āns rebelled and invaded central Persia. In 1134/1722 after the Ṣafawid army had been decisively beaten at Gulnābād near Iṣfahān, the city was besieged (see Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 144 ff. for a detailed account of the siege; and also *Rustam al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 133 ff. on the intrigues and disunity prevailing in Iṣfahān during the siege). It was reduced to appalling straits and fell after six months. Some 20,000 persons were killed by enemy action and it is estimated that four times as many died from starvation and pestilence. The city was declared to have been conquered bv force (*ʿanwatan*) and orders given for all land to be declared *k̲h̲āliṣa*. Many of those who had escaped in the siege fled to India and the Ottoman empire (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Djābirī Anṣārī, 32-3, 113-14). Sunnism once more, for a brief period, became the official religion.

The Ṣafawid restoration which began when Nādir entered Iṣfahān in 1141/1729 with Ṭahmāsp after defeating the Afghans near Murčak̲h̲ʷart was short-lived. Iṣfahān was only a shadow of its former self. Many of the inhabitants who had survived the siege perished in the subsequent massacres. Heavy impositions were laid upon those who survived to pay the soldiery, by whom they were treated with great cruelty (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 39 ff.). When Nādir finally assumed the crown in 1148/1736, he moved the capital to Mas̲h̲had. Iṣfahān, like other parts of Nādir's empire, suffered heavy exactions. More land was confiscated for the state, and orders were given for the resumption of *awḳāf*. ʿĀdil S̲h̲āh on his accession in 1160/1747-8 revoked Nādir's land decrees, but confusion continued to exist because there had been many cases of falsification of title deeds, destruction of land registers and usurpation (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Djābirī Anṣārī, 35 ff., 122 ff., A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 131-2).

On Nādir's death, the people rose against the governor, who took refuge in the fortress of Ṭabarak, where he was besieged. He was eventually killed by one of his own *g̲h̲ulāms*. Ibrāhīm S̲h̲āh then sent a new *beglarbegī* to the city in the person of Abu 'l-Fatḥ K̲h̲ān Bak̲h̲tiyārī, who on Ibrāhīm S̲h̲āh's death shortly afterwards ruled in the name of Abū Turāb Mīrzā, the eight-year old grandson (through the female line) of S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn. An abortive attack on the city was made shortly afterwards by ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān Bak̲h̲tiyārī, who retired to Luristān. After collecting reinforcements and allying himself to the Zands, he marched a second time on Iṣfahān in 1164/1750. Abu 'l-Fatḥ K̲h̲ān, having failed to raise any money from the townspeople, was unable to muster an army to oppose him. ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān entered the city, which was thereupon looted by his troops, (*Rustam al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 244 ff.). For a brief period ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān, Karīm K̲h̲ān Zand and Abu 'l-Fatḥ K̲h̲ān ruled the city and its neighbourhood jointly. The latter was then killed by ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān who was, in turn, dispossessed in 1165/1751-2 by Karīm K̲h̲ān, who then appointed his brother Ṣādiḳ K̲h̲ān as governor. For the next few years Iṣfahān was fought over by marauding bands of Zands, Afg̲h̲āns and Ḳādjārs. Its miseries were added to by famine in 1170/1756-7, which carried off 40,000 persons. Finally, in 1172/1758-9 Karīm K̲h̲ān took the city. A period of peace now began and under the government of Muḥammad Rinānī, a local man whom Karīm K̲h̲ān appointed governor in 1173/1759, the city recovered somewhat from the ravages of the previous years (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Djābirī Anṣārī, 127 ff.; Muḥammad Mihdī, 279). Iṣfahān, however, did not regain its former pre-eminence: S̲h̲īrāz became the capital in 1180/1766-7.

On the death of Karīm K̲h̲ān, anarchy broke out once more. In 1199/1774-5 Iṣfahān was looted for three days when Bāḳir K̲h̲ān, the *kadk̲h̲udā* of K̲h̲ʷurāskān, who had made himself governor, lost control on the advance of Djaʿfar K̲h̲ān Zand (*Rustam al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 59; Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Zandiyya*, ed. E. Beer, Leiden 1888, 30). In the following year Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Ḳādjār appointed his brother Djaʿfar Ḳulī K̲h̲ān governor of Iṣfahān (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Djābirī Anṣārī, 126 ff.). Under the Ḳadjārs the capital was moved to Tehran. Iṣfahān for a time remained the chief commercial city of the empire (J. Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 113), but gave way to Tabrīz in the second half of the 19th century (Curzon, ii, 41). The events of the 18th century had taken a heavy toll on Iṣfahān. Olivier, who visited the city in 1796, describes its ruined condition and states that its population did not exceed 50,000 (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, Paris 1807, iii, 101). Morier in 1811, revising his own earlier estimate, which had been much higher, put the population at probably about 60,000, on the basis of a daily slaughter of 300 sheep (*A second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, London 1818, 141-2).

After the death of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, an abortive attempt was made in 1212/1797-8 by Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Zand to seize the city. This was followed by the rebellion of Ḥusayn Ḳulī K̲h̲ān Ḳādjār, who, however, fled the city in 1216/1801-2 on the approach of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh. In 1219/1804-5 there was a further setback to the wellbeing of the city in the shape of a severe famine caused by the ravages of locusts. About this time (or possible earlier) Muḥammad Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Nāẓim al-Dawla was made governor. He was a native of Iṣfahān, a self-made man who acquired great riches, largely in land, some of which he constituted into *waḳf*. Under him and his son, Amīn al-Dawla, who succeeded him when he became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, Iṣfahān began once more to prosper (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲

Djābirī Anṣārī, 41 ff., 137 ff.; Muḥammad Mihdī, 281; Sipinta, 398 ff., 408 ff.; Macdonald Kinneir, 113; Morier, *Second Journey*, 132; *Rustam al-tawārīkh*, 212-3; Gandjīna, 743-4). On the death of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān in 1239/1823-4, Āṣif al-Dawla, who succeeded him as *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, demanded a large sum in arrears (which was later remitted) from Iṣfahān and Amīn al-Dawla was dismissed. In 1242/1826-7 he returned to favour and became vizier to Sayf al-Dawla, the new governor of Iṣfahān. He was made *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* in the following year, but fell on the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī, which took place in 1250/1834-5 in Iṣfahān when he was on his way to Fārs. Farmān-Farmā, governor of the province, made a bid for the throne but was defeated near Iṣfahān.

Renewed outbreaks of rioting in 1252/1836-7, 1254/1838-9, and 1255/1839-40, during which much damage was done, forced Muḥammad Shāh to come to Iṣfahān in 1256/1840-1 to deal with the disturbances. About 150 *lūṭīs* were seized and order restored (Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, 48 f., 143 ff.). Riots broke out again in 1265-6/1848-9 during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn. After his visit to the city in 1267/1859 conditions began to improve, but severe famine in 1288/1871-2 and 1289/1872-3 once more arrested its growth. The population declined steeply (Ḥusayn Khān Taḥvīldār, 65; Muḥammad Mihdī, 281-2; Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, 158-9). Ẓill al-Sulṭān was appointed governor in 1874, and by 1881 had become the virtual ruler of most of southern Persia. His government was severe and autocratic. Disorders were not tolerated. The city again began to flourish and the population to increase. According to a census taken in 1882 it was 73,654. Eleven years later Houtum-Schindler considered it had risen, by natural increase and immigration, to close on 82,000 (119-20; Muḥammad Mihdī and Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, however, give higher estimates). In 1888 when Ẓill al-Sulṭān fell from power, he was deprived of all his governments except Iṣfahān. During the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who succeeded in 1896, there were various outbreaks of violence in the city, including an attack on the Bābīs in 1903-4 (Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, 182). Winds of change were meanwhile blowing in Iṣfahān as elsewhere. Discontent with the government and its policies was spreading, and when the Constitutional Revolution came, Iṣfahān played a prominent part [see DJAMʿIYYA].

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2. MONUMENTS

The Islamic monuments of Iṣfahān today constitute one of the most significant and complete architectural complexes preserved at the heart of a modern city which owes them much of its prestige. Carefully restored, the most important amongst them dominate the developing urban landscape in the midst of which they stand, while the old quarters, both in the built-up area of Iṣfahān itself and in the many surrounding villages, still harbour numerous modest structures, often partially ruined, which remain insufficiently studied. Some idea of the richness of this complex may be gathered from the fact that more than fifty structures of various kinds figure in the brief archaeological inventory drawn up about forty years ago by André Godard, and that this figure is still minute compared with that of the 162 mosques, 48 colleges, 1802 caravanserais, and 273 baths enumerated at the end of the 11th/17th century by that trustworthy traveller and observer, Chardin.

All these various buildings, however, famous and less known alike, on account of their nature and especially their date, bear but incomplete witness to the past of a city which from the 1st/7th century onwards has played an important role in the Islamic history of Iran. Belonging for the most part to the

11th/17th century, which saw the installation at Iṣfahān of the Ṣafavid Shāh ʿAbbās I, and with the oldest parts not going back beyond that 5th/11th (Saldjūḳ) century in which the imperial vocation of the city was established by Malikshāh and his ministers, they are insufficient to allow us to retrace on the ground with any degree of certainty the stages of the city's development, which began soon after the Arab conquest and for which the literary sources provide most of the evidence. The general outline both of the plan of the twin cities of Djay and al-Yahūdiyya, between which from the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period the population of an already prosperous trading centre was divided, and of the locality used as a residence by the Buwayhid princes, can be seen only in such indications as the permanence of the site of the great mosque and a mud-walled citadel, itself completely rebuilt several times, and the recent discovery of a doorway which probably belonged to the mosque of al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād. The evidence is almost as vague regarding the organisation of a Saldjūḳ capital, in which we can locate with difficulty, apart from the great mosque and citadel already mentioned, the situation of a few sanctuaries still marked by minarets, and the probable site of the great *maydān*, by which, in earlier times, the royal palace and the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* stood. This situation, so inimical to any methodical approach to the architectural school of Iṣfahān, can in fact be attributed to the very conditions in which the town has survived, partially ruined more than once, and then rebuilt according to the unchanged techniques of an impermanent method of building in mud- or baked brick, or even in puddled clay, which was traditional in that area, and dictated by geography. Thus either side by side or the one above the other, urban nuclei replaced each other, comparable in their evolution to the large villages also situated in the oasis, which were themselves from time to time the object of intense architectural activity. And similar difficulties of identification, due both to the paucity and the frailty of archaeological landmarks, hinder the study of the older districts of present-day Iṣfahān, as well as that of the settlements, thriving or half-ruined, around the city, such as Būzūn, Barsyān, Gār, Sīn, Ziyār, Lindjān/Pir-i Bakrān—or Ashtardjān, to mention but a few among the best known, where significant remains dating from the Saldjūḳ and Ilkhānid periods survived until recently and in some cases are still preserved.

In the centre as a whole, we must give particular attention to the Great Mosque, which by its antiquity and extent provides us with an archaeological document of exceptional value: the *Masdjid-i Djumʿa* where authentic traces of the period of Malikshāh between 465/1072 and 485/1092 have survived in the midst of later constructions or modifications no less worthy of interest. Here are abundant inscriptions from the 5th/11th century onwards, and noteworthy decorative elements such as the brick ornamentation in the interior of two Saldjūḳ domed halls, or the stucco *miḥrāb* of the Mongol ruler Öldjeytü, are preserved there behind the *Iwān*s and façades entirely covered in faience which give the courtyard its Ṣafavid appearance. But the very variety of the pieces of evidence found together in this venerable yet disparate building, where the necessary sondages and investigations have never been carried out, prevents us from reconstructing its history with any degree of certainty. For this history contradictory hypotheses suggest widely differing interpretations, and there have even been produced more general theories, such as that of the "kiosk-mosque", resting on assumptions as impossible to prove as to refute.

In effect then it is the Ṣafavid achievements, either in isolation or taken in conjunction with earlier buildings of secondary importance reworked in the Ṣafavid period (numerous small more or less disguised Saldjūḳ or Ilkhān sanctuaries are in this position), which make up the architectural landscape of the monuments in Iṣfahān today. This landscape, whose uniformity so well conceals the achievements of earlier periods, gives but an inadequate impression of the totality of the grandiose design for an imperial city once conceived by Shāh ʿAbbās I. However, it retains enough of the earlier features to enable one still to distinguish the overall plan which made the Maydān-i Shāh—the royal square in front of the ruler's palace—into the majestic centre of the city; this centre led on one side to the older thoroughfare linking the Great Mosque both with the Citadel and the Pūl-i Khadjū, or at least with the bridge which had preceded the present bridge-barrage built by Shāh ʿAbbās II; it was completed on the other side of the royal palace and gardens by the new Čahār Bāgh avenue which led from these gardens to the Allāhwardī Khān bridge, which like the Čahār Bāgh itself dates from the monarch's first series of architectural undertakings in 1006/1598.

The Maydān-i Shāh itself, 510 metres long by 165 metres wide, framed by a wall of blind arcades concealing a trading street full of shops, was a monumental work of art, splendidly complemented by the imposing perspective of the tree-lined Čahār Bāgh bordered with canals of running water over more than one and a half kilometres. But the buildings which surrounded this square towards the end of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I, to the south the majestic royal mosque of Masdjid-i Shāh (probably begun in 1021/1612-13), to the east the Masdjid-i Shaykh Luṭf Allāh (begun 1012/1603), to the north of the royal bazaar with its monumental gateway (built in 1029/1620), could be seen above all as worthy companions to the ʿAlī Kapu palace which had been constructed by Shāh ʿAbbās I on the basis of a Tīmūrid pavilion, and which gave the monarch a panoramic view of the esplanade and its surroundings from the raised terrace of its talar. This latter place, together with the Čihil Sutun palace which was soon erected not far away and inside the same enclosure, and whose construction must also have been started in 1006/1598, thus formed the essential preliminary starting-point in Shāh ʿAbbās' plan to convert Iṣfahān above all into a "jewel box city" for his own residence.

Moreover, the importance of this "royal city" situated between the Maydān-i Shāh and the Čahār Bāgh continued to be strengthened under succeeding monarchs by the building of other sumptuous pavilions. But one last Ṣafavid building for religious purposes from the 12th/18th century remains to be noted with the construction between 1118/1706 and 1126/1714 of the Māder-i Shāh *madrasa* and the adjoining caravanserai, which has also survived until today. Mention must be made too of those Armenian churches of the New Djulfā district, in which can still be seen the fundamental characteristics of the imperial style dominant at the time when they were founded by an emigré colony.

The various buildings briefly listed here in order to recreate a panorama of Ṣafavid Iṣfahān all possess as their prime quality the ability to serve as living testimony to a refined art form which caused the city to be described, as the expression of Gobineau's admiring critical appreciation, as "a triumph of

elegance and model of prettiness", but which in effect makes it above all a museum the size of a city. Travellers and writers to whom it owes its fame have served it well up to now; it is to be hoped that such a complex of Ṣafavid monuments will henceforth give rise to precise scientific and aesthetic studies which will provide a clearer view of a distinctive historical epoch sharply defined in time and in space.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ [see abu 'l-faradj; ibn dāwūd; ʿimād al-dīn].

ISFARĀYĪN, a district, and in earlier Islamic times a town, in northwestern Khurāsān. It lies on the northern edge of the long plain which extends from Bisṭām and Shāhrūd in the west almost to Nīshāpūr in the east and whose central section is drained by the Kāl-i Shūr river before it turns southwards into the Dasht-i Kawīr. In mediaeval Islamic times, the route from Nīshāpūr to Gurgān ran across this plain, and the geographers place Isfarāyīn at roughly the midpoint, five stages from Nīshāpūr and five from Gurgān.

Though allegedly founded by Isfandiyār, little is known of Isfarāyīn's pre-Islamic past except that it was under a *dihkān* (Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar al-siyar*, ed. Zotenberg, 591). A popular etymology, given e.g. by Yākūt, derives its names from *ispar-āyīn* "shield-like", and this may have influenced the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*'s spelling as *Siparāyīn*. It is also said that it used earlier to be called Mihradjān, a name surviving in later times as a village in the *rustāk* of Isfarāyīn.

The 4th/10th century geographers describe Isfarāyīn as being administratively one of the *rustāks* of Nīshāpūr, its town being, according to Mukaddasī, the most prominent of the towns of these *rustāks*. It had five markets and a well-fortified citadel called "the golden castle", *kalʿa-yi zar*. The inhabitants were Shāfiʿīs; Isfarāyīn was one of the remaining pockets in Khurāsān of Shāfiʿism, which was then retreating under the advance of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, The surrounding district contained 40 or 50 villages. and cereals, rice, grapes and other fruit were grown there. Samʿānī and Yākūt name a large number of scholars from Isfarāyīn, of whom the most notable were the theologian and jurist dealt with in the next article and Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 471/1078-9), a protégé of Niẓām al-Mulk and author of a Kur'ān commentary in Persian, the *Tādj al-tarādjim*, one of the earliest after the Persian adaptation of Ṭabarī's commentary, cf. G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 94-6. Another famous son of Isfarāyīn was Maḥmūd of Ghazna's vizier Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Faḍl b. Aḥmad al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 404/1013-14), to whose exactions in Khurāsān the historian ʿUtbī attributes much economic distress (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 287).

During the Mongol invasions of Persia, the commander Sübetey came from Nīshāpūr in 617/1220 and sacked Isfarāyīn; but the northwestern region of Khurāsān, including Djuwayn, Djādjarm and Arghiyān, seems to have suffered less than the province in general, and was in 630/1233 placed under the rule of a local *malik* subordinate to the Mongol governor of Khurāsān, Čin-Temür (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 146, ii, 487). In Mustawfī's time a century later, there was still a flourishing town and agricultural hinterland at Isfarāyīn, with the town itself getting water from an adjacent river and the villages dependent on *kanāts*; we hear, too, of coins being minted there under the Ilkhānids, as later under the Ṣafavids.

In Ṣafavid times, Isfarāyīn was only just within the northern frontier of the province of Mashhad, and suffered repeatedly from Özbek incursions, with a particularly severe devastation just before 1006/1597; during the 12th/18th century there was a further destruction by the Afghāns. The site of the mediaeval town is probably now represented by the ruins called Shahr-i Bilkīs (cf. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, 378-9). Today, the region of Isfarāyīn is prosperous and fertile, being famed for its fruit; since 1958 it has formed a separate district or *shahristān* in the province of Khurāsān. The main town of the district is Miyānābād.

Bibliography: Scattered references in the 4th/10th century geographers (Yaʿkūbī, Ibn Ḥawkal, Mukaddasī, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*), see indices; Yākūt, *Buldān*, i, 246; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ff. 33b-34a, 545b; Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, tr. 148; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 34-5, 552; C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh 1900, 383 ff.; Le Strange, 393; B. R. Spooner, *Arghiyān. The area of Jājarm in western Khurāsān*, in *Iran, J. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, iii (1965), 97-108.

(C. E. Bosworth)

AL-ISFARĀYĪNĪ, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān al-Mihrdjānī, Ashʿarī theologian and Shāfiʿī jurist, was along with Ibn Fūrak [*q.v.*], the chief propagator of Ashʿarī theology in Nīshāpūr at the turn of the 5th/11th century. Originating from Isfarāyīn, he studied mainly in Baghdād, where he must have arrived before 351/962. He attended the lectures of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bāhilī in Ashʿarī theology at the same time as al-Bāḳillānī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Furāk. After leaving Baghdād, he taught in Isfarāyīn. Later he accepted an invitation to Nīshāpūr, where a *madrasa* was built for him. He engaged in disputations with Karrāmī scholars at the court of Maḥmūd

1. Friday-mosque: Interior of northern dome.

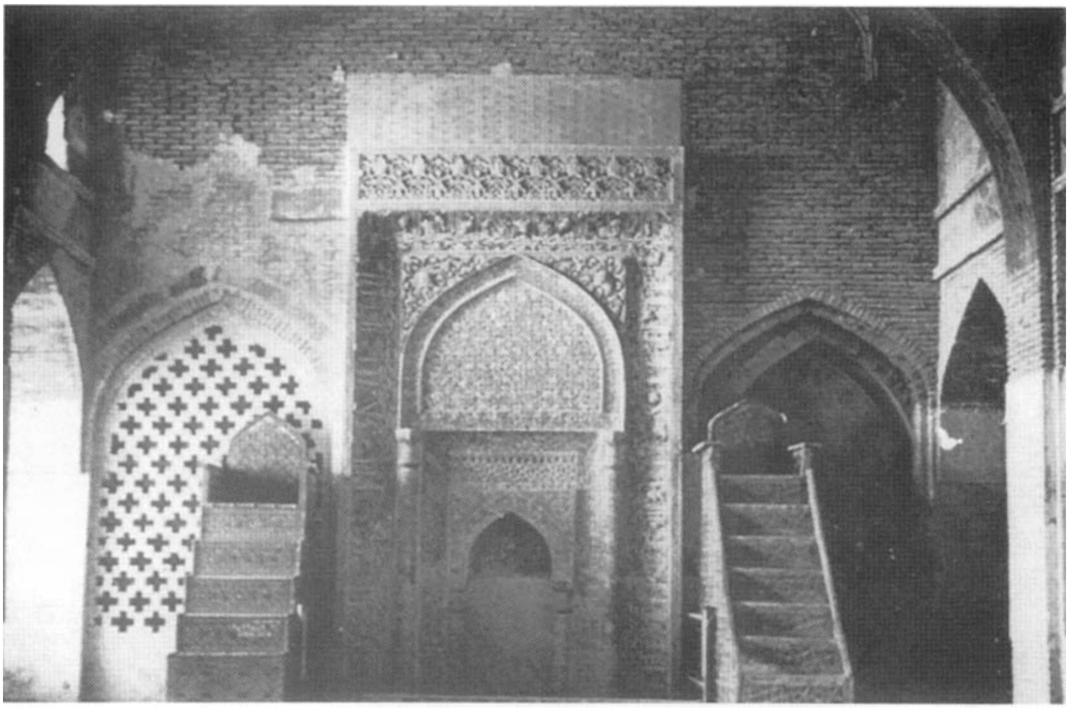

2. Friday-mosque: *miḥrāb* of Uldjaytu
miḥrāb and *minbars*.

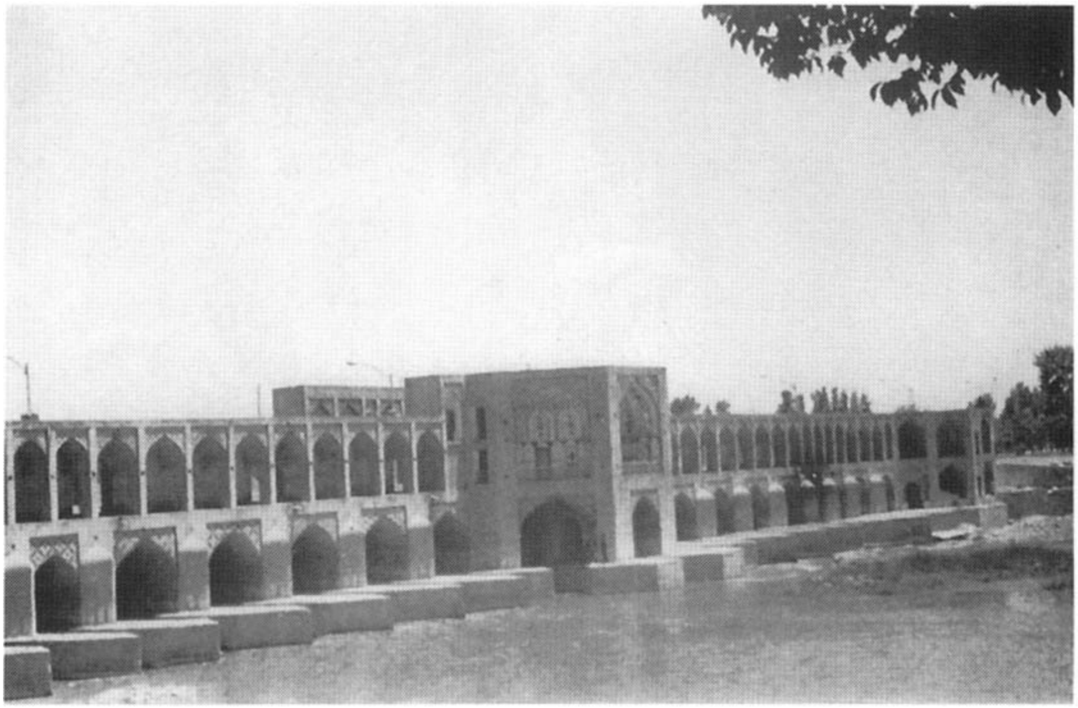

3. Khadjū Bridge: facing upstream.

4. Shahristān Bridge: facing downstream.

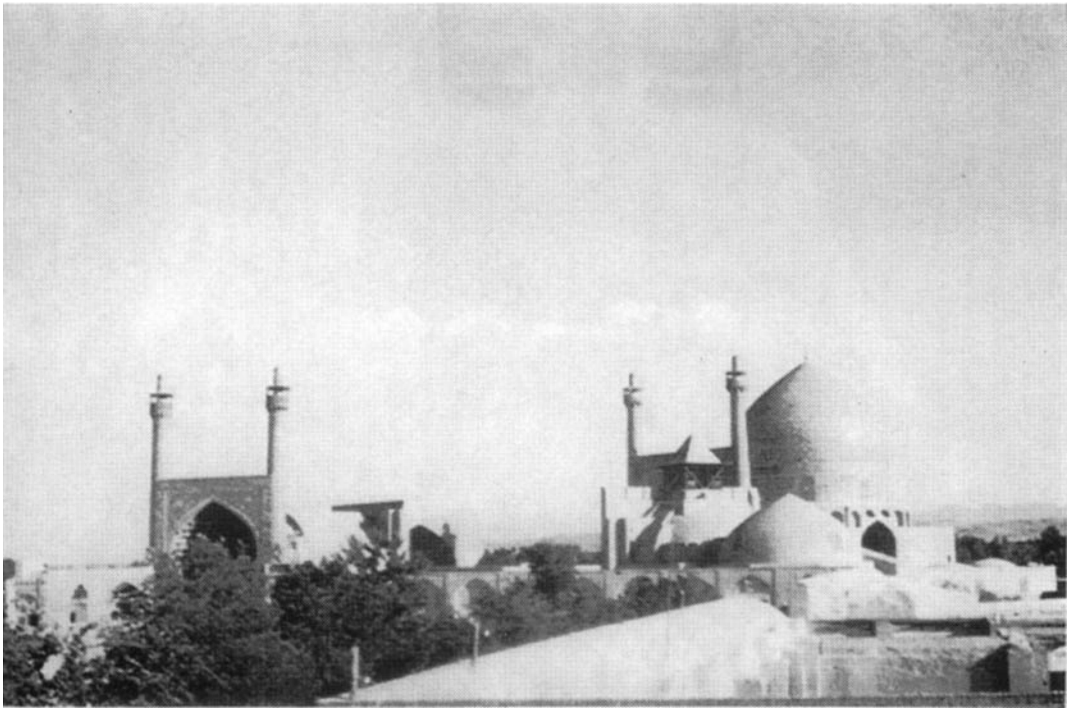

5. Masdjid-i Shāh: seen from the Kapi palace.

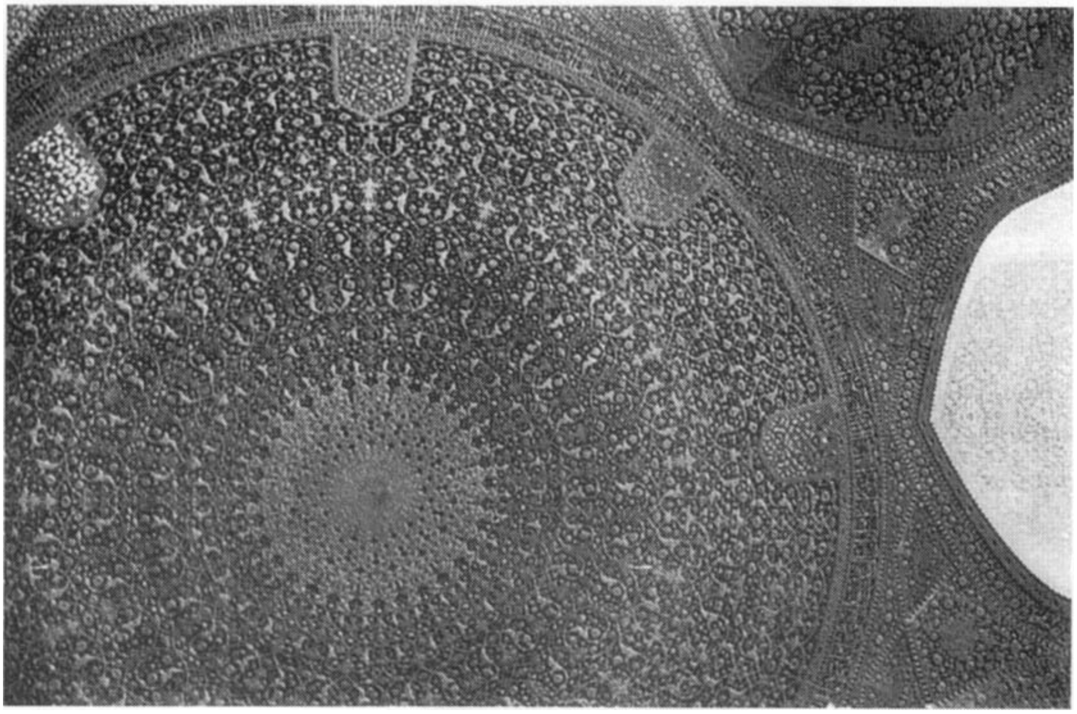

6. Masdjid-i Shāh: dome in front of the *miḥrāb*.

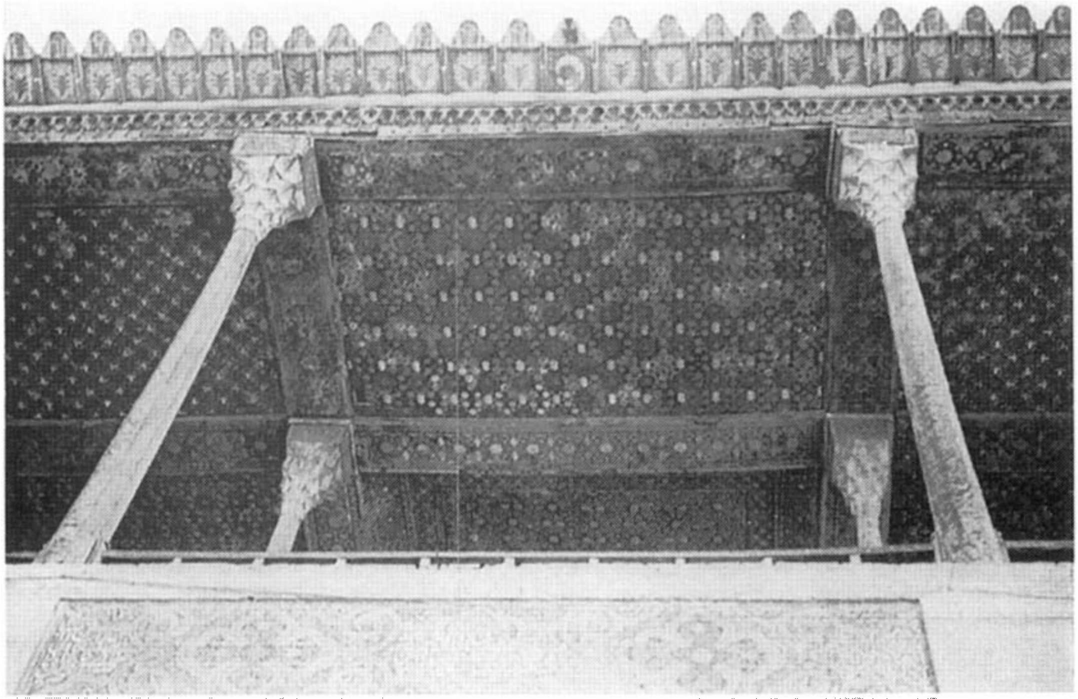

7 Ala Kapi palace: reception room, 1st floor.

8. *Madrasa* Mader-i Shāh: dome seen from the inner court.

Photos D. Sourdel.

of Ghazna. From 411/1020 he also held sessions teaching *ḥadīth* in the congregational mosque of Nīshāpūr. After his death in Muḥarram 418/February 1027, his body was brought to Isfarāyīn. His tomb continued to attract pious visitors in the 6th/12th century.

None of his works on Shāfiʿī law, principles of law (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), and theology is extant, but the numerous references to his doctrine in later works attest their popularity for several generations after his death. He played a leading role in the elaboration of Ashʿarī doctrine in his generation, which in several areas covered new ground not touched by the founder of the school. In the struggle against the anthropomorphism of the Karrāmiyya he, like Ibn Fūrak, supported a more abstract view of God closer to Muʿtazilī doctrine as compared with al-Ashʿarī, who had been mainly concerned with the defence of the traditionalist view of God against Muʿtazilism. In the theory of knowledge, prophethood, the nature of the Ḳurʾān, human acts, his views are frequently contrasted in the sources with those of al-Bāḳillānī and are often closer to Muʿtazilī doctrine. He ascribed wider immunity [see ʿISMA] from falsehood to the prophets than did al-Bāḳillānī and held that the extraordinary acts of saints (*karāmāt*) do not reach the degree of miracles of prophets (*muʿdjizāt*). In the words of al-Djuwaynī, he inclined to a position close to the Muʿtazilī rejection of the miracles of saints. In substantial agreement with al-Bāḳillānī he distinguished between the eternal speech (*kalām*) of God, which according to his doctrine could not be heard, and the Ḳurʾān. Against al-Bāḳillānī's view that the miraculous inimitability of the Ḳurʾān resides in its superior composition and rhetorical perfection, he supported the view of the Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām that God prevents man from imitating the Ḳurʾān. Like al-Bāḳillānī he attempted to define the concept of *kasb* referring to human acts, which had been of no significance in the doctrine of al-Ashʿarī, which exclusively stressed divine omnipotence. Also in agreement with Muʿtazilī doctrine and against the prevaling Ashʿarī view he held that man's first duty was to reach knowledge of God through reason, independently of the mission of prophets, and he opposed the doctrine that God may impose on man obligations which are beyond his power (*taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳ*).

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ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU, the name of a Turkoman dynasty, which founded the independent kingdom of Ḳasṭamonu on the decline of the Saldjūḳ kingdom of Konya, at the end of the 7th/13th century, in N.W. Asia Minor, in the ancient Paphlagonia. The name is taken from that of the best known ruler of this dynasty, Isfendiyār Bey; in the 10th/16th century we find the name Ḳīzīl Aḥmedlu, from Ḳīzīl Aḥmed, the brother of Ismāʿīl Bey. The Byzantines called the Isfendiyār Oghlu "the sons of Amurias" or of Omur. The founder of the dynasty appears to have been Shams al-Dīn b. Taman (Timūr?) Djāndār, who held a grant of the district of Affānī; he went to war with Masʿūd II (681/1282-697/1298), captured the town of Ḳastamonu and in 690/1291 (Müneddjimbāshī) was appointed governor of the districts seized by him by the Īlkhān prince Gaykhātū. He seems to be identical with Sungur Bey Shamsī Pasha, who conquered Bōlu according to Ewliyā, ii, 173. His son, Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Sulaymān Pasha (700/1301-740/1340), at first acknowledged the suzerainty of the Īlkhāns, but afterwards made himself independent and conquered Sinope, which was still in possession of a daughter of Masʿūd II. He is mentioned in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 343 ff.), Shihāb al-Dīn (*Not. et Extr.*, xiii, 340 and 361 f.) and Abu'l-Fidāʾ (*Géographie*, ed. Reinaud, ii, 1, p. 35; 2, p. 142, 145); Pachymeres, ii, 345 ff. and 456 f., knows him by the name Σολυμάμπαξι. His successors were: his son Ibrāhīm Pasha; ʿĀdil Bey, son of the Emīr Yaʿḳūb and grandson of Shams al-Dīn (about 746/1345); Djalāl al-Dīn Bāyazīd, son of ʿĀdil Bey, called Kötürüm by the Ottomans, died 787/1385; Sulaymān Bey, son of Bāyazīd, from 787/1385-795/1393; Sultan Bāyazīd I killed him and seized the land (according to *Rev. Hist.*, 389; the Ottoman chronicles make no mention of Sulaymān Bey and make Bāyāzīd Kötürüm reign till 795/1393). Mubāriz al-Dīn Isfendiyār, son of Bāyāzīd, was restored by Tīmūr in 805/1402-3. He died on 22 Ramaḍān 843/26 Feb. 1440. About 820/1417 he had to cede the towns of Ṭosya, Čankīrī and Ḳalʿedjiḳ and the district of Djānīk to Meḥemmed I and later the rich copper mines to Murād II; Ibrāhīm, son of Isfendiyār, 843/1439-857/1443; Ismāʿīl, son of Ibrāhīm, was deposed by Sultan Meḥemmed II at the instigation of his brother Ḳīzīl Aḥmed in 864/1460 and died in Philippolis, which was allotted to him as a residence by the sultan. He wrote a widely circulated book, *Ḥuluwiyyāt-i Sulṭānī*, on the ritual prescripts of Islām. His brother Ḳizil Aḥmed fled to Uzun Ḥasan after the confiscation of Ḳastamonu, returned to Constantinople after the death of Meḥemmed II, and was honourably received by Bāyazīd II; his son Mīrzā Meḥemmed married a daughter of the sultan and his grandsons Shamsī and Muṣṭafā Pasha filled high offices under Selīm II and Murād III; Shemsī Pasha in particular had great personal influence as the confidant (*muṣāḥib*) of Murād III. He fabricated a genealogy of the "Ḳīzīl Aḥmedlu Isfendiyār-Oghlu" which went back to Khālid b. al-Walīd, and invented the name Ḳīzīl Aḥmedlu for the dynasty of Isfendīyār-Oghlu. Descendants of this family still exist and, when at the beginning of the 11th/17th century it was feared that the Ottoman ruling house might become extinct, the Ḳīzīl Aḥmedlu were considered amongst others as possible claimants to the throne on account of their frequent marriages with relatives of the sultans.

On this genealogy cf. that of Ismāʿīl Bey, in the *Ḥuluwiyyāt-i Sulṭānī* in Rieu, *Catal. of Turkish MSS*,

GENEALOGY OF THE ISFENDIYĀR-OGHLU

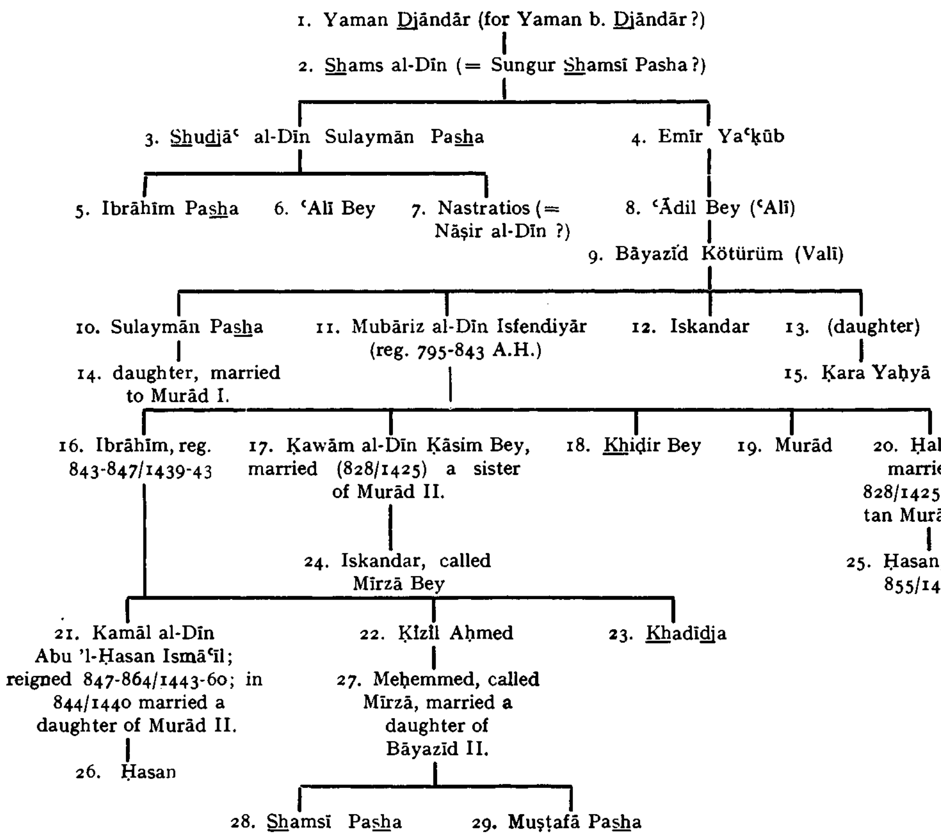

in the British Museum, II, and that of Shamsī Pasha in Pečewī, ii, 10 ff.; 4 perhaps the brother of Sulaymān Pasha, called al-Efendi by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; the sons of Sulaymān Pasha, 5-7, in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 340, 348, Shihāb al-Dīn, and Pachymeres, ii, 327 ff., 611; 8 according to Münedjdjimbāshī, son of Sulaymān Pasha; 13 according to Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 192; another sister of Isfendiyār and her son is mentioned by Clavijo, 92, but without giving her name; 14 according to *Taʾrīkh-i Ṣāf*, i, 39 f.; on 17 see Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 277 f., 318 f., Ḥamīd Wahbī, 1350 f.; on 18 Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 287; on 19 Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 318 f.; 21, the epithet in Ferīdūn, i, 250; on his marriage with a daughter of Murād II: Dukas 243; Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 343; on 23 cf. *Rev. Hist.*, 390 f.; on 24 Ḥamīd Wahbī, 1354; on 26 Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 474, 476.

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(J. H. Mordtmann*)

ISFĪD DIZ [see kalʿa-yi safīd].

ISFĪDJĀB [see Supplement].

ʿISHĀʾ [see ṣalāt].

ISḤĀḲ, the Biblical Isaac, mentioned in fifteen passages of the Ḳurʾān. God gives Abraham "good tidings of Isaac, a prophet, of the righteous", and blesses them both (XXXVII 112 f.). In a fuller description, when messengers concerning Lot come to Abraham; his wife "laughed, and we gave her good tidings of Isaac, and after Isaac of Jacob" (XI, 71/74); and it is explained that this will happen despite their age. Several verses speak of Isaac and Jacob being given to Abraham (VI, 84; XIX, 49/50; XXI 72), and XXIX, 27/26 adds that God "made prophethood and the Book to be among his offspring" (cf. XXXVIII, 45 f.). Ishmael is joined to Isaac in XIV, 39/41, where Abraham praises God for giving him the two although he was old. Elsewhere the name only occurs in lists: Joseph follows the creed of his fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (XII, 38), and speaks of God's favour to them (XII, 6); Jacob's sons serve the God of his fathers, Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac (II, 133/127); and revelations are given Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the Patriarchs (II, 136/130, 140/134; III, 84/78; IV, 163/161). In the account of Abraham's would-be sacrifice of his son (XXXVII, 102/100-107), the name of the son is not mentioned; and there was a fierce controversy among Muslim scholars over the identity of the son. At first most Muslims probably considered the "sacrifice" (*dhabīḥ*) was Isaac (cf. Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, 79-81). This is explicitly stated of ʿUmar and ʿAlī by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (Wüstenfeld, *Chron. Mekka*, ii, 37). A story is told of how a convert told ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz that the Jews had substituted Isaac (their ancestor) for Ishmael (the Arabs'). Actually the controversy came to be more concerned with Persian than with

Jewish rivalry for the Arabs (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 144 f., Eng. tr., i, 135), since the Persians claimed descent from Isaac. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 146 f.) quotes a Persian poet in 290/902 who boasted that his descent from Isaac the *dhabīḥ* was superior to that of the Arabs. Later representatives of the Isaac-party were Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿarif*, 18 f. ed. ʿUkāsha², Cairo 1969, 30 f.) and al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr* on XII, 6 and XXXVII, 107; vol. xii, 86; xxiii, 46-9); they argued that God's perfecting his mercy on Abraham and Isaac (in XII, 6) referred to his making Abraham his friend and saving him from the burning bush and to his rescuing Isaac. The other party held that the promise to Sarah of Isaac followed by Jacob (XI, 71/74) excluded the possibility of a sacrifice of Isaac. Although Ibn Ḳutayba, for example, had seen Isaac mentioned in the Old Testament, Muslim opinion eventually gave full endorsement to the view that the son in question was Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs (cf. al-Bayḍāwī on XXXVII, 102/101). In the works entitled *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* by al-Thaʿlabī (Cairo 1312, 48-60) and al-Kisāʾī (Leiden 1922, 150-3) the story of Isaac is elaborated along lines reflecting extra-Biblical Jewish tradition.

Bibliography: there are a number of further references in the works of I. Goldziher cited, and also in *ZDMG*, xxxii, 359, n. 5 (*Schriften*, ii, 19); cf. also commentaries on the verses quoted; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 437 (= *ZA*, xxvi, 182). (W. Montgomery Watt)

ISḤĀḲ b. **ḤUNAYN** b. Isḥāḳ al-ʿIbādī, Abū Yaʿḳūb, like his father Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] an eminent translator of ancient science and philosophy, well versed in the Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Persian languages. Some authors, such as Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Maṭrān, assert that his Arabic style is superior to that of his father, and like other well educated persons of his surroundings he even indulged in writing poetry. He followed the medical profession of his father, who dedicated to him some of his translations of Galen. It is interesting to note that these were made into Syriac and not into Arabic. A talk between Ḥunayn and Isḥāḳ about pre-Socratic philosophy was included in Abū Sulaymān's *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (see F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, N. S. x (1941), 395). Isḥāḳ served as a physician at the court of the caliphs; al-Bayhaḳī further represents him as a boon companion and astrological adviser of al-Muktafī [*q.v.*] and also as a good Muslim. Isḥāḳ was on familiar terms with the notorious vizier al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh, with whom he exchanged witty epigrams (cf. C. Elgood, *A medical history of Persia*, Cambridge 1951, 115). After suffering a stroke he died in Baghdād in Rabīʿ I or II 289/November or December 910 or January 911 (Ibn Khallikān also gives the year 299).

As a translator Isḥāḳ was less concerned with medicine; he left the numerous works of Galen [see djālīnūs] to the other members of his father's school and himself rendered only two of them into Syriac and nine into Arabic, *e.g.*, *De partibus artis medicativae*, where he completed the version which Ḥunayn had left unfinished at his death (cf. M. Lyons, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, Suppl. Orient. ii, Berlin 1969, 8 f.). It was by his many translations of Aristotle [see ariṣṭūṭālīs] that he rendered his greatest services (cf. F. E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, Leiden 1968). Other philosophers he was concerned with are Plato [see aflāṭūn], pseudo-Plato (see *Mashriq*, ix (1906), 677), Nicolaus of Damascus (*De plantis*, cf. B. Hemmerdinger, in *Philologus*, cxi (1967), 58), Alexander of Aphrodisias [see al-iskandar al-afrūdīsī], Porphyry [see furfūriyūs], Themistius, Nemesius of Emesa (see P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath*, Cairo 1928, no. 1010) and Proclus [see buruḳlus]. Moreover he translated many standard works on mathematics and astronomy, *e.g.*, those of Euclid (cf. G. P. Matvievskaya, *Učenie o čisle na srednevekovom bližnem i srednem vostoke*, Tashkent 1967, 100 f.), Autolycus of Pitane, Archimedes, Theodosius of Bithynia, Menelaus of Alexandria (cf. Max Krause, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, *phil.-hist. Kl.*, *Dritte Folge*, no. 17, 1936, 21, 23) and Ptolemy [see baṭlamiyūs]. Some of these translations were revised by Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] (cf. M. Bouyges, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, ix (1923-4), 77-81); there exists also a fragment of a letter on astronomical matters sent to him by Thābit (see F. J. Carmody, *The astronomical works of Thabit b. Qurra*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1960, 20, 45 f., 229).

Isḥāḳ's own writings were mainly on medical and pharmacological subjects. In 290/903 he composed at the request of al-Ḳāsim (see above) his *Taʾrīkh al-aṭibbāʾ* (ed. F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 55-80; cf. *JAOS*, lxxxi (1961), 10 f.). This book is the first known attempt to write about the beginnings of medicine in connexion with the history of philosophy and religion.

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ISḤĀḲ b. **IBRĀHĪM** al-**MAWṢILĪ**, the son of ibrāhīm al-mawṣilī [*q.v.*], and like him the greatest musician of his time, was born in 150/767 in Rayy and died in Ramaḍān 235/850 in Baghdād. He received an excellent education, studying Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, and *adab* under Hushaym b. Baṣīr, al-Kisāʾī,

al-Farrāʾ, al-Aṣmaʿī, and Abū ʿUbayda. His teachers in music were his father, his brother-in-law Zalzal, and ʿĀtika bint Shuʿba. He had a magnificent voice, and made use of the headvoice (*takhnīth*); he was also an excellent composer. He was highly appreciated by the caliphs from Hārūn to al-Mutawakkil, and especially by al-Wāthiḳ; al-Maʾmūn permitted him to wear the costume of a *faḳīh* and placed him among the *ʿulamāʾ* (see also Ḳālī, *Amālī*[1], iii, 90). In the controversy between the modernists, who followed the theories of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], and those who adhered to the music of the Ḥidjāz, Isḥāḳ was a stout defender of the old style and systematized its musical modes. He showed the same predilection for ancient poetry, following its language, style and topics in his own poems, whilst he criticized modern poets like Abū Tammām and Abū Nuwās. He was a very learned man and took many books with him when travelling; he paid the philologist Ibn al-Aʿrābī an annual stipend. Many of his own works deal with music and musicians. Already his father, together with Ibn Djāmiʿ and Fulayḥ b. Abi ʾl-ʿAwrāʾ had selected for Hārūn al-Rashīd 100 songs (cf. Agh.[3] i, 4-5, 7). Later on Isḥāḳ, by order of al-Wāthiḳ, made a new edition of the one hundred selected melodies, keeping the finest of them, and replacing those of minor quality by better ones (Aghanī[3], i, 8 ff.). This is the *Ikhtiyār min al-Aghānī li ʾl-Wāthiḳ* (Fihrist, 141, 4; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 223, 9). He also composed books on the biographies and compositions either of a single musician or a group of them, *e.g.*, *akhbār ʿAzza* (*Fihrist*, 141), *akhbār al-Hudhaliyyayn* (see *Aghānī*[1], iv, 152 ff.), *al-Makkiyyīn* (see Yāḳūt, l.c. ii, 223, 7), *al-Ḳiyān*. These monographs are directly or indirectly sources for the corresponding sections in the *Aghānī*. There existed also a book of songs containing Isḥāḳ's own compositions; but it had been compiled without Isḥāḳ's permission by one of his copyists. Most of our information about Isḥāḳ goes back to his son Ḥammād, who also published the genuine book of Isḥāḳ's songs. A book about Isḥāḳ was written by his pupil ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā Ibn al-Munadjdjim (*Fihrist*, 143, 22), whilst the latter's son Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī devoted to Isḥāḳ a chapter in his anthology *al-Bāhir* (*Fihrist*, 143, 27). His death was mourned in many elegies (*Aghānī*[3], v, 256 and 431-4). Isḥāḳ had many pupils and his fame has lasted up to this day. He is mentioned in the "Assemblies" of al-Ḥarīrī and in the Arabian Nights.

Bibliography: in the article; our main source is *Aghānī*[3], v, 268-435; see also *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* no. 3380; Ibn Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 227-32; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 197-225; Ibn Khallikān, no. 86; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 350-2; consult the indices of *Aghānī*, *Fihrist*; Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*; Ḳālī, *Amālī*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* and *ʿUyūn*; *al-Kāmil*; *Yatīmat al-dahr*; the works of H. G. Farmer; E. Neubauer, *Musiker am Hof der frühen ʿAbbasiden*, Frankfurt am Main 1965, 187-9 with a full bibliography; Brockelmann, S I 223; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 371. (J. W. Fück)

ISḤĀḲ b. MURĀD, Turkish physician who lived in Gerede in Anatolia in the time of Sultan Bāyezīd I. Little is known of his life: he practised medicine and also wrote on the subject. His chief work is *Kitāb Edwiye-i müfride*, "The book of simple remedies", which he completed in 792/1390. In the first section he deals with the medicinal plants of his native land (giving the Arabic and Persian names of each beside the Turkish name) and, at the end, gives prescriptions for various illnesses. The second section describes the illnesses in detail. The work, surviving in various manuscripts in Turkey, is also of linguistic interest, in that it presents many early features of orthography, grammar and vocabulary.

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ISḤĀḲ b. SULAYMĀN al-ISRĀʾĪLĪ, Abū Yaʿḳūb (*ca.* 243/855 - *ca.* 343/955), physician, medical writer and philosopher, was born in Egypt and appointed court physician by ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī after his emigration to Ḳayrawān at about the age of fifty. His high reputation among his fellow-Jews is attested by Saʿīd (Seʿadya) al-Fayyūmī's letters consulting him on philosophical and scientific matters. His medical works were translated into Latin by Constantine the African (1087) and enjoyed great esteem in the Middle Ages (printed in *Omnia opera Ysaac*, Lyons 1575). Of his philosophical writings the *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd wa ʾl-rusūm* was popular among the Latin schoolmen, who know it in two versions (edited by J. T. Muckle in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen age*, xii-xiii, Paris 1937-38). Mediaeval Jewish writers were equally familiar with the work. It was twice translated into Hebrew (see A. Altmann, in *JSS*, ii (1957), 232 ff.). The *Kitāb al-Djawāhir* has survived only in fragments discovered by A. Borisov and edited by S. M. Stern (*Journal of Jewish Studies*, vii (1956), 13-29). The most extensive treatise is the *Kitāb al-Usṭuḳuṣṣāt*, extant in a Latin version (contained in *Omnia opera Ysaac*) and in two Hebrew ones by Abraham ibn Ḥasday (ed. by S. Fried, 1900) and by Moses ibn Tibbon (?) respectively. The "Chapter on the Elements" preserved in a Hebrew Ms (*Shaʿar ha-yesodoth*) has been shown by A. Altmann, following a suggestion by Gershom G. Scholem, to be another work of al-Isrāʾīlī's (*Journal of Jewish Studies*, vii (1956), 31-57).

Al-Isrāʾīlī, the father of Jewish Neoplatonism, is largely influenced by al-Kindī and by a pseudo-Aristotelian neoplatonic source which Altmann discovered in the "Chapter on the Elements" and which Stern has identified as underlying also such works as the Long Version of the *Theology of Aristotle* (discovered by Borisov) and Ibn Ḥasday's *Prince and Ascetic* (see *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 58-120).

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(A. Altmann)

ISḤĀḲ, ADĪB, journalist and scholar of Syrian origin and Catholic by religion, but Egyptian by adoption. Born in 1856 at Damascus, where he studied under the Lazarist Fathers, he was, while still very young, obliged to accept a modest post in the Customs office in order to help his family, though he did not cease to pursue his Arabic studies more deeply and to extend his knowledge of French and Turkish, in which he obtained a high degree of proficiency. His family's removal to Beirut gave him the opportunity of forming fruitful contacts with the representatives of the Arab cultural awakening which

was taking place at that time. They were impressed by his lively mind and his remarkable knowledge of classical Arabic, which contributed to his appointment as editor of the periodical *al-Taḳaddum*. From this time on, Adīb Isḥāḳ devoted himself entirely to his work as a writer, poet and essayist; in this field mention should be made of his *Nuzhat al-aḥdāḳ fī maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ* and of several articles in *Āthār al-adhār*, edited by Salīm Djubrāʾīl al-Khūrī and Salīm Mīkhāʾīl Shiḥāda. In 1876, during the reign of the Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], he settled in Alexandria at the suggestion of Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh [*q.v.*] from Beirut, the creator of the modern Arabic theatre, who was anxious to escape from the pressure of the Ottoman authorities in the countries of the Middle East, and had come to Egypt in order to pursue his theatrical activity in a more sympathetic political and literary climate. The two compatriots then collaborated in the work of the development of Arabic drama, which was then beginning, and to which Adīb Isḥāḳ had already contributed with his Arabic adaptation of Racine's *Andromaque*, which he had written at the suggestion of the French consul in Beirut, and with the translation from French of an historical play called *Charlemagne*.

But the event which marked the beginning of a new phase in Adīb Isḥāḳ's Egyptian career was his contact with the famous reformer Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*], whose lectures at al-Azhar he attended and who proposed the foundation, in 1877, of the political weekly *Miṣr*, which Adīb Isḥāḳ published at first in Cairo and later in Alexandria. Around this periodical there very soon gathered the best writers and the most able politicians of the time; among them should be mentioned al-Afghānī himself and Muḥammad ʿAbduh, his most famous pupil. But this publication, and also the daily paper *al-Tidjāra*, to which Adīb Isḥāḳ had given a financial and commercial, and later a political character, were suppressed in 1880, and their editor was banished from Egypt because of his extremist revolutionary ideas and his opposition to the government.

Adīb Isḥāḳ then went to Paris, where, in order to continue his patriotic action on behalf of his adopted country and compatriots, he founded the periodical *Miṣr al-Ḳāhira* (known also as *Miṣr* or *al-Ḳāhira*), formed contacts with the literary and political circles, and published a series of articles in the Paris press. Nine months later, he returned to Beirut for a year, during which he agreed to resume the editorship of *al-Taḳaddum*, and at the end of 1881, encouraged by the improvement in the political situation, he returned to Egypt, where he was appointed *nāẓir* ("supervisor") in the Editorial and Translation section of the Ministry of Education; he was later made second secretary of the Chamber of Deputies, and at the same time obtained permission to resume the publication of his journal *Miṣr*, which he entrusted to his brother. But, as a result of the revolution of ʿUrābī Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1881, he fled to Beirut and did not return to Egypt until after the British occupation in 1882; but being unable to resume his government post, he went back to Beirut, where he accepted for the third time the editorship of *al-Taḳaddum* and published in 1884 the translation of *La belle parisienne*, *al-Bārīsiyya al-ḥasnāʾ* by Comtesse Dash, of which he had produced an Arabic version in his youth. Adīb Isḥāk died at al-Ḥadath (Lebanon), after a last stay of some weeks in Cairo and Alexandria, in 1885.

It is stated in *al-Durar* (extracts from his poems, articles, lectures, tracts, Arabic adaptations of plays, etc., Beirut 1909, collected by his brother, ʿAwnī Isḥāḳ) that he is also the author of the play entitled *Gharāʾib al-ittifāḳ* (which was several times performed in Alexandria), and of the collection of biographies made during his stay in Paris, *Tarādjim Miṣr fī hādha 'l-ʿaṣr*, but the first of the two manuscripts was stolen from him and the other is lost.

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KHODJA **ISḤĀḲ EFENDI**, Ottoman mathematician and engineer in Maḥmūd II's reign. He was born at Arta in the province of Janina (Yanya) in 1774 (?), the son of a Jew converted to Islam (Faik Reşit Unat's thesis in *Başhoca Ishâk Efendi* (*Bell.*, xxviii (1964), 89-115) that Khodja Isḥāḳ Efendi and Sulṭān-zāde Isḥāḳ Bey, the favourite of Selīm III, were the same person is far from convincing). After the death of his father he came to Istanbul, where he studied mathematics privately and learned various Oriental and Western languages. Appointed instructor (*khodja*) of mathematics at the Military School of Engineering (*Mühendiskhāne-i Berrī-i Humāyūn*) in 1816, he became interpreter of the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn* [*q.v.*] in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1239/July 1824, in addition to his position at the *Mühendiskhāne*. He was dismissed from his post at the *Dīwān* in 1245/1828-9 and sent to the Balkans to supervise the construction of fortresses there. It seems that his dismissal was due to Pertev Efendi (later Pasha) [*q.v.*], the *reʾīs al-küttāb* of the time, who saw in him a potential rival. Isḥāḳ Efendi continued his teaching at the *Mühendiskhāne*, where he became Chief Instructor (*Bash-khodja*) in Radjab 1246/December 1830-January 1831. He succeeded in reforming the curriculum and improving the teaching staff at the *Mühendiskhāne*, but his predecessor in the office, Seyyid ʿAlī Efendi (later Pasha), was influential enough to have him removed and sent to Medina to supervise the restoration of various sacred buildings. While on his way back to Istanbul, he died at Suez in 1251/1835 and was buried there.

Isḥāḳ Efendi's main work, entitled *Madjmūʿa-i ʿulūm-i riyāḍiyye* (4 vols., Istanbul 1247-50/1831-34), consists largely of translations from French books on mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology and their applications. Although a school manual of no great scientific value, it is the first work in Turkish on the modern physical and natural sciences (see *Tanzimat I*, Istanbul 1940, 479 f., 492 f., 554 f.). Furthermore the scientific terminology, based on Arabic, which was used in Turkey up to the 1930's and in some Arab countries still later, was mainly Isḥāḳ Efendi's creation. Through his teaching and publications he contributed much to the introduction of Western sciences to Turkey and the Arab countries

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The development of secularism in Turkey, Montreal 1964, index. For a contemporary account see [J. de Kay], *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832*, New York 1833, 138-44. For the list of his publications see *ʿOthmānlî Müʾellifleri*, iii, 255. See also İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları*, Istanbul 1946, 191; Çağatay Uluçay and Enver Kartekin, *Yüksek Mühendis Okulu*, Istanbul 1958, index.

(E. KURAN)

ISḤĀḲ PASHA [see Supplement].

ISḤĀḲ SÜKÜTÎ, a Young Turk leader, was born in 1868, probably of Kurdish extraction. As a student at the Military Medical School in Istanbul, he was in May 1889 one of the original group of founders of the Secret Committee, which eventually developed into the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE-TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYETI]. Later, in 1895, he was exiled to Rhodes but managed to escape and went to Paris, where he associated with the Young Turk émigrés. In 1897, with others, he founded the anti-government journal *Osmanlı* (*ʿUthmānlî*), which was published in Geneva. In 1899, under combined pressure and blandishments from the Sultan, the journal ceased publication and several of its sponsors received official appointments.

Isḥāḳ Sükūtī became medical officer to the Ottoman Embassy in Rome. He did not, however, sever his connection with the Young Turks and when a group of them moved to London to continue the publication of *Osmanlı* there, he underwrote the expenses of publication and continued to do so until his death in San Remo in 1903. In 1909, after the revolution in Turkey, his friend Dr. Riḍā Nūr [*q.v.*] brought his remains to Istanbul and had them buried in the garden adjoining the tomb of Sultan Maḥmūd.

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(ED.)

ISḤĀḲIYYA [see KĀZARŪNĪ].

ISHAKOVIČ [see ÜSKÜB].

ISHĀN. 3rd pers. plur. of the Persian personal pronoun. The word, which has always had an honorific significance, was formerly used in Central Asia (*i.e.*, what is now Soviet Central Asia and the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China) in the sense of *shaykh* or *murshid* (teacher or guide) in contrast to *murīd* (disciple or pupil). It has still to be established when the term first appeared in this sense. It certainly existed in the middle ages; the celebrated Khʷādja Aḥrār (died 895/1490 in Samarḳand) is always referred to as *ishān* in his biography. The rank of *ishān* was frequently hereditary. An *ishān* lived with his followers in a dervish monastery (*khānḳāh*), and sometimes at the tomb of a saint. Most *ishāns* made journeys from time to time into the Kazakh steppe where they had more adherents and received richer presents than in the settled districts. Greater attention was drawn to the *ishāns* by a revolt started at Andizhan in 1898 by a certain Dukchi Ishān. Literature on the subject is scanty and, since the very existence of *ishāns* is strongly disapproved of by the Soviet and Chinese authorities, the term is now obsolescent, if not obsolete.

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(W. BARTHOLD—[G. E. WHEELER])

ISHĀRA (A.), "gesture, sign, indication", has acquired in rhetoric [see BADĪʿ] the technical meaning of "allusion" but, in its early connotation, a gesture of the hand, a sign of the head, of the elbow, the eyes, the eyebrows etc., is considered by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 80; *Ḥayawān*, i, 33), together with speech, writing, *nuṣba* and computation on the fingers [see ḤISĀB AL-ʿAḲD where other gestures to indicate numbers are also dealt with], as one of the five methods by which a man may express his thoughts [see BAYĀN]. Whether combined with words or not, a gesture (*ishāra* and also *imāʾ*) allows a man to make his meaning clear without revealing his thoughts entirely (*Bayān*, i, 77 ff.) and may even be necessary in order to explain the meaning of a concrete idea which is unknown to the listener; it is sometimes more expressive than words, and carries further than the voice; a gracious movement of the hand or the head (*ḥusn al-ishāra*) elegantly emphasises the expression of an idea, in spite of those who consider that absolute immobility is necessary for dignity (*ḥilm* [*q.v.*]). Love poetry often refers to the language of the eyes, which express intimate feelings better, and less dangerously than words; lovers have a complete code, the scope of which is summarised by Ibn Ḥazm (*Ṭawḳ*, ch. ix, *bāb al-ishāra bi'l-ʿayn*) thus: [a sign made with the eye] "cuts off and brings together, it promises, it threatens, refuses harshly, fills with contentment, commands and forbids, strikes the servants, warns against the watcher, makes laugh and causes grief, asks and answers, holds back and grants generously" (tr. A. R. Nykl, 44); he describes some of these signs and gives their meaning ("to close the eyelid in a wink signifies consent", etc.), but admits that the majority of them cannot be described, though he implies that everyone should be able to grasp their meaning.

In fact the Arabs considered anyone who did not understand the language of gestures and obliged his interlocutor to express his thoughts in words to be a fool (cf. the proverb: *inna man lā yaʿrif al-waḥyᵃ aḥmaḳ*, *waḥy/waḥī* also meaning sign; see al-Maydānī, i, 15; *LA*, s.v. *WḤY*). They had a collection of signs with their own meaning: agreement, refusal, indifference, etc., which were used in everyday life, and according to contemporary witnesses, the Prophet used to accompany his words with gestures whose meaning was not always clear. There existed also ritual or symbolic gestures made when a contract or an alliance was concluded, when an oath of allegiance was sworn or act of allegiance made, etc., [see BAYʿA; ḤILF AL-FUḌŪL; ṢAFAḲA; YAMĪN; etc.]. With the question of the gesture with the uncovered hand is connected that with a staff, the symbol of authority [see ʿANAZA] held by orators and preachers; al-Djāḥiẓ devoted in his *Bayān* a long section to the manifold ways of using the baton, which also served, together with the whip or the sword, to express threats.

More research needs to be done on the ritual or symbolic gestures, which with the Arabs go back to remote antiquity, to complete and amplify the observations of I. Goldziher and to verify the opinions he has advanced in a number of publications: *Orient. St. . . . Th. Noeldeke*, Giessen 1906, i, 303 ff.; *ZDMG*, 1, 495 ff.; *Abhand. zur arab. philologie*, i, 55-7, ii, p. cv

(analysis by G. H. Bousquet, in *Arabica*, vii (1960), 22-3, viii (1961), 269-72).

The magic value of certain gestures can be detected behind some *ḥadīth*s, in particular the prohibition of using the hand to indicate a flash of lightning (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, v, 266) or of greeting a person with one finger only (al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, ii, 162), in the same way that it survives for example in the gestures to protect against the evil eye [see ʿAYN]. As for *hidjā*ʾ [*q.v.*], I. Goldziher points out the imprecatory meaning of the index finger pointing at an enemy, and the importance of this finger in Islamic ritual [see TASHAHHUD] where it has acquired the characteristic names of *sabbāba, musabbiḥa, muhallila, daʿʿāʾa*; it was thus that the Prophet's habit of extending the index finger during prayer, after having been interpreted as a magic survival, became the symbol of the unity of God [see ṢALĀT]; in the *ḳunūt* [*q.v.*] the act of raising the hands with the palms turned towards the face was the subject of long discussions by the *fuḳahā*ʾ whereas, in invocation (*duʿā*ʾ [*q.v.*]), the palm turned towards the sky may have had originally a magic force [on the North African *fātḥa*, of a different type, see FĀTIḤA].

Many other gestures have still to be studied, but it is enough to mention here those given above plus a brief reference to the game of "mora" (see G. Lemoine, *Les anciens procédés de calcul sur les doigts* in *REI*, 1932/1, 4-8); in this game the partners, facing each other, at a given signal open the fist (or fists), raising whatever number of fingers they choose and speaking at the same time the number indicated by the total number of fingers raised (or else saying simply "odd" or "even"), the winner is the one who has guessed correctly. This process can be used to arrange different types of sharing out, which are known by various names: *muḳāraʿa, mukhāradja, munāhada, musāhama* [see MUKHĀRADJA]. For *ism al-ishāra* "demonstrative", [see ISM].

Bibliography: in the text. (ED.)

The Ṣufīs frequently use the word *ishāra* in a very technical sense, but when one attempts to define its meaning exactly, one finds that they give few satisfactory definitions or explanations. "Allusion" or "allusive language" would be a literal translation. But whereas these English words refer to a symbolical language which brings the object to mind by suggestion rather than by direct reference (Mallarmé), the Arabic word does not necessarily have this meaning which the Ṣūfīs prefer to render by the term *ramz* (pl. *rumūz*) (see *Lumaʿ* of al-Ṭūsī, 338). When the Ṣūfīs call themselves the *ahl al-ishāra* (the allusionist school) or when they say that their science consists of *ʿulūm al-ishāra*, they are attempting to define not only the way in which they express themselves, but also the content of an experience which can only be evoked by this method. *Ishāra* is in this sense the opposite of *ʿibāra*, not in the way that symbolical language is opposed to "realistic" language or in the way that a parable cannot be translated into abstract language, but in the way that something incommunicable is opposed to something communicable. All knowledge acquired by natural means falls within the domain of the *ʿibāra* in that it can be "expressed" and communicated to others in their language. In mystical experience, however, the bonds of natural knowledge are burst, and man reaches a new world to which his concepts and words cannot be applied. He can only talk about it by "allusion" (*ishāra*), that is to say not symbolically, but by approximation, always aware that his language can only really be understood by those who have experienced that of which he talks (al-Kalābādhī, *Taʿarruf*, Cairo ed., 87-9). And thus it is, that by the very nature of the experience, the language of the *ishāra* tends, on the one hand, to become an *esoteric* language not understood by the uninitiated or deliberately made incomprehensible to them, and on the other hand, tends to destroy itself as inadequate and as a veil between the Ṣūfī and the object of his experience: God. The novice, remarked Djunayd, must find God at the same time as his allusion, but he who has attained the highest of mystical states (*aḥwāl*) must find God in the abolition of the allusion (*Lumaʿ*, 224). And al-Ḥalladj: "As long as you attempt an *ishāra*, you are not yet a *muwaḥḥid*,—not until the moment when God takes over your allusion by annihilating your self-consciousness. Then He leaves neither the subject of the allusion (*mushīr*) nor the allusion itself" (*Essai*, 361, no. 11).

Ishāra, which we have just described as the esoteric language of the inexpressible mystical experience, acquired this full and complex meaning about the 3rd/9th century, in the Baghdād and Khurāsān schools. Previous texts use it differently, in a way related to Ḳurʾānic exegesis. Thus when the *Tafsīr* attributed to Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (died 148/765) says that the Ḳurʾān is at once expression (*ʿibāra*) and allusion (*ishāra*), that the first is for the vulgar believers and the second for the privileged (*khawāṣṣ*), *ishāra* and *ʿibāra* refer to the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* of the Book: the vulgar believer stops at the external beauty of the text, while the privileged goes beyond it towards the interiority of the text, towards the allusion which the heart discovers (see P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique*, 167). The definition of *ishāra* given by Ibn ʿArabī should also be noted. Replying to Ḥakīm Tirmidhī's question: "What is revelation (*waḥy*)?", he writes: "It is that in which is born the allusion which replaces the expression (*ʿibāra*) without expression. In the *ʿibāra*, one "passes" from it to the sense which it aims at; and this is why it is called *ʿibāra*, passage, while the allusion which is revelation is the very essence of that which is alluded to" (*dhāt-al-mushār ilayhi*; *Khatm al-awliyā*, ed. O. Yahya, 220). The *ishāra* is thus the language which effects the maximum reduction of the distance between the saying and what is said. This is why al-Shiblī could declare that the true allusion to God is God Himself, and this allusion eludes the mystic (see *Lumaʿ*, 223).

Bibliography: In the article. (P. NWYIA)

ISHBĪLIYA, the name used by the Arabo-Muslim authors to denote Seville, the ancient Romano-Visigothic Hispalis, situated 97 km. from the coast on the Guadalquivir.

1.—HISTORY

The Muslim geographers locate Ishbīliya at a distance of 60 miles from the sea, and describe it as a *madīna* and capital of the *kūra* which bore the same name or was sometimes known as Ḥimṣ, from the Syrian *djund* established there in 125/742-3. The boundaries of the *kūra* are fixed fairly precisely by al-ʿUdhrī, who said that the dependencies (*aḥwāz*) of Ishbīliya were contiguous 30 miles to the west with the *kūra* of Niebla, 25 miles to the south and south-east with that of Shadhūna, 40 miles to the east with the territories of Córdoba, the capital of which was 90 miles away, and that they extended for 50 miles to the north as far as the *kūra* of Mérida. The richness of its lands was particularly noted by al-ʿUdhrī, Ibn Ghālib, al-Idrīsī and al-Ḥimyarī, who call attention to the excellence and fertility of the soil, both for plantations and orchards and also for irrigated land

and pasturages. The name Aljarafe (al-Sharaf) applies to the natural region, both the district and the mountain (*iḳlīm* and *djabal al-Sharaf*), and it recurs constantly in descriptions of Ishbīliya; bordering on the *iḳlīm* of Shadhūna, it extends in all for 40 miles, according to al-Idrīsī, starting about three miles to the north of Ishbīliya and including the prosperous, densely inhabited territories situated between Ishbīliya, Niebla and the sea. The economy of Ishbīliya was based essentially on vast plantations of olive and fig trees, mainly in Aljarafe, and in particular on the production of oil of high quality, used throughout al-Andalus and also exported to the East. Of similar importance economically was the cultivation of cotton, here again of excellent quality, which was sent to other parts of al-Andalus and to Ifrīḳiya. Safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*) was a product that was exported and also widely distributed within the country. Cereals, an abundance of fruit of varied kinds, herds of cattle and horses, game and fish of high quality, sugar cane, honey, medicinal plants and other vegetable produce, especially the *ḳirmiz* (*Quercus coccifera*), constituted other natural riches of the *kūra* of Ishbīliya, which included 12 *iḳlīms* or agricultural districts; the names of these are enumerated by al-ʿUdhrī and al-Bakrī, who record that the total figure of the *djibāya* at the time of the amir al-Ḥakam b. Hishām amounted to 35,100 *dīnārs*.

In the spring of 94/713, after occupying Medina Sidonia, Alcalá de Guadaíra and Carmona, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] annexed Ishbīliya to the other possessions of Islam, entrusting it to the protection and supervision of the Jews and of an Arab detachment. Shortly afterwards, the populace rebelled and had to be put down with severity by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā, who established his residence there as *wālī*; the town was the seat of the Arabo-Muslim government of al-Andalus until the time when the *wālī* al-Ḥurr transferred it to Córdoba in 99/717-8. During the period preceding the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty, Ishbīliya witnessed a modification of its social structure as a result of Arabo-Berber ethnic and religious influence, particularly after the Syrian *djund* of Ḥimṣ had been installed there. The original Visigothic nobility was replaced by an Arab nobility or military caste, mainly Yemenī, which began to dominate the town and countryside and to exploit the indigenous population and the agricultural wealth of the province. In his *Djamhara*, Ibn Ḥazm has left a very clear eye-witness account of the Arab families established in Ishbīliya and the region (Elías Terés, *Linajes árabes en al-Andalus*, in *al-And.*, xxii (1957), index, 376).

The history of Ishbīliya under the amirate is characterized by constant rebellions. The chronicles, and above all the account of al-ʿUdhrī, make particular reference to all those, whether Arab or *mawālī*, who revolted in the *kūra* of Ishbīliya. Under the administration of governors nominated by Córdoba, Ishbīliya had to endure revolts by members of the *djund* and of the "noble" families, which were repressed with severity by the amir's troops. One revolt, which broke out in 149/766 under the leadership of Saʿīd al-Yaḥṣubī al-Maṭarī in the Niebla district and then spread to Ishbīliya, is noteworthy, as is also the rebellion of the former governor of the town, Abu 'l-Ṣabbāḥ ibn Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣubī, who had been disgraced. In 154/771 according to al-ʿUdhrī, or in 156/773 according to Ibn ʿIdhārī and others, Ḥaywa or Ḥayāt b. Mulāmis al-Ḥaḍramī, aided by the Yemenīs of Ishbīliya and acting in concert or almost simultaneously with ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Ḥimṣī (who started his activities to the north-west of Ishbīliya and in the neighbourhood of Córdoba), with other rebels overran the south-western districts of al-Andalus, claiming to enjoy complete autonomy in Ishbīliya and the adjacent territories. It seems that, until the amirate of ʿAbd Allāh, no other serious subversive movement occurred in Ishbīliya. After the revolts just referred to and those recorded by al-ʿUdhrī, Ishbīliya was to experience several decades of peaceful existence, disturbed only in 230/844 by the invasions of the Vikings (*Madjūs* [*q.v.*], concerning which new information is provided by the manuscript of the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān utilized by E. Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 218-25), and also by al-ʿUdhrī, whose statements have been collected by A. A. El-Hajji in his article *The Andalusian diplomatic relations with the Vikings during the Umayyad Period*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, viii (1967), 67-105. During the amirate of ʿAbd Allāh, from the start rebellion proved to be the keynote of the time, both in Ishbīliya and throughout al-Andalus. Apart from the early rebellions at the time of the nomination of Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh, as governor of Ishbīliya, the disturbances which most gravely threatened the peace of this *kūra* were those provoked by the ambitions of two powerful Arab families, the Banū Ḥadjdjādj and the Banū Khaldūn, who owned vast estates between Carmona and Ishbīliya in and Aljarafe and who were the instigators of the conflict between Arabs and *muladíes*, which for several years brought bloodshed to the south-western territories of al-Andalus. From 276 to 301/889-913, the dynasty of the Banū Ḥadjdjādj set up a small independent state in Seville and Carmona, nominally subject to the amir of Córdoba. It is probable that complementary information on Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥadjdjādj is to be found in volume v of the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān, relating to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (cf. on the contents of this vol. M. ʿA. ʿInān in *RIEI*, xiii (1965-6), 127-38).

Under the caliphate, Ishbīliya, which had been conquered by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 301/913, enjoyed some years of peace and prosperity, broken only in 363/974 by the revolt of a group in which some members of the Banū Ḥadjdjādj were implicated and during its course the prison was attacked. Then, at the time of the *fitna*, the nomination of the son of al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd, Muḥammad, as the personal delegate of the caliph to the government of Ishbīliya, led the townsfolk, on hearing of the rising of the people of Córdoba against the Ḥammūdid caliph, to revolt in their turn against Muḥammad and besiege him in the Alcázar.

But the period of greatest prosperity for Ishbīliya, in the political, economic and cultural spheres alike, was that of the dynasty of the Banū ʿAbbād [see ʿABBĀDIDS] after the rising of the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād in the middle of Shaʿbān 414/early November 1023 (al-ʿUdhrī gives some particulars regarding his activities which Lévi-Provençal was unable to utilize in his article on the ʿAbbadids). After the death of Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād in Djumādā I 433/January or February 1042, his son ʿAbbād al-Muʿtaḍid undertook a vigorous policy of expansion which resulted in the annexation of Niebla, Huelva-Saltés, Carmona, Arcos, Ronda and other adjacent territories and in the considerable enlargement of his kingdom. On the death of al-Muʿtaḍid (461/1068-9), his son Muḥammad al-Muʿtamid, in face of the mounting military and economic pressure exerted by King Alfonso VI of

Castile, with the onerous system of *parias*, decided to seek the aid and intervention of the Almoravid *amīr* Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn; the latter finally dispossessed al-Muʿtamid of his kingdom, as a result of the military action of Sīr b. Abī Bakr, who captured Is͟hbīliya by storm on 20 or 22 Rad̲j̲ab 484/7 or 9 September 1091, and remained there as governor until his death in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 507/April-May 1114. Under Almoravid rule for 55 years and four months, Is͟hbīliya became crowded with new inhabitants who wore the veil—a foreign element in the social context—and the town developed a special atmosphere which is vividly described by Ibn ʿAbdūn in his treatise on *ḥisba*. Seville had fourteen governors, perhaps more, who were related to the Tās͟hfīn family, one of whom, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲, tried to halt the invading force which, in the time of Alfonso VII, sacked the whole Is͟hbīliya region and killed the Almoravid governor in Rad̲j̲ab 526/May-June 1132. Is͟hbīliya was a place of assembly for troops arriving from the Mag͟hrib and for Andalusian soldiers recruited by the *fuḳahā'* and *ʿulamā'* of Córdoba and Seville, until the time when Barrāz b. Muḥammad al-Masūfī, acting in the name of ʿAbd al-Mu'min, annexed the town to the Almohad empire (13 S͟haʿbān 541/18 January 1147). The Sevillans sent a delegation headed by the *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-ʿArabī to express their gratitude to ʿAbd al-Mu'min. Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, who was governor of Is͟hbīliya from 551 to 558/ 1156-63, from the time when he became caliph and above all from 567/1171-2, made the town the second capital of his empire and the administrative centre of al-Andalus. He strengthened the city's fortifications and completed many other important undertakings; the population increased considerably, prosperity was enjoyed for several years, and the town took on a new appearance. However, Is͟hbīliya was destined to suffer various attacks, particularly in 553/1158, by forces from Avila under Ibn Mardānīs͟h [*q.v.*] and Ibn Hamus͟hk. These were a source of anxiety for the Almohad governor of Is͟hbīliya for two or three years. In the last quarter of the 6th/12th century, the town was subjected to raids by Alfonso Enriques and the Infante Sancho of Portugal, and also by Alfonso VIII of Castile, which caused considerable damage in Aljarafe and in the Vega. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century there were serious floods, an endemic danger from which Is͟hbīliya suffered frequently, as a result of the Guadalquivir overflowing its banks (D̲j̲umādā II 597/February-March 1200), and a great number of houses was destroyed by the inundations. This catastrophe, the pressure from the Christians and the political crisis in the Almohad empire brought about the start of a decline from which Abu 'l-ʿUlā' Idrīs, the son of Yūsuf I, succeeded in temporarily rescuing Is͟hbīliya in 617/1220-1. The last years of Muslim life in Is͟hbīliya are full of sad incidents, in particular the attack by forces from Léon in 622/1225, when heavy losses were inflicted on the Sevillans, the siege of the town by al-Bayyāsī, who held the castles of Tajada and Aznalcázar, and the rising of al-Ma'mūn, son of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣur. All these happenings coincided with the increasing military and economic pressure exerted by Ferdinand III, which compelled al-Ma'mūn to conclude honourable truces, and with the insurrection of Ibn Hūd against the Almohads. On 11 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 626/31 October 1229 the people of Seville renounced their obedience to the Almohad empire and accepted the authority of Ibn Hūd. Ferdinand III harassed Is͟hbīliya increasingly and kept the town under siege for 17 months, from D̲j̲umādā I 645/September 1247, according to the Almohad *Bayān*, until the moment when it fell into his hands on 1 S͟haʿbān 646/19 November 1248 or, more probably, according to the *Crónica general*, on 25 November 1248 (for all these events, see J. González, *Las conquistas de Fernando III en Andalucía*, in *Hispania*, xxv (1946), 98-121). The attempts made by the Marīnid sultans to restore Is͟hbīliya to Islam failed, though their devastations in the region caused much damage, especially in 674/1275, the year of the siege of the town, and in 676/1278, when Aljarafe was pillaged. After this unhappy chapter, Seville remained in Christian hands, never again to be placed in danger or even threatened. It had been in the possession of the Muslims for 535 years.

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(J. Bosch Vilá)

2.—Historic Buildings

From its long Muslim history, Seville has retained only a few historic buildings; nevertheless, it was one of the great art cities of al-Andalus. But the prosperity it has enjoyed during the modern period when, from the 16th century, it came to be the great port and commercial centre safeguarding the links between Spain and her empire in the New World, has endowed Seville with new buildings which have replaced those which adorned the city at the time of the Christian reconquest.

1). Fortifications.—a) *The town wall.* For Seville, situated in a plain on the banks of a large navigable river, a fortified enceinte was indispensable. The Arabic texts refer to this at a very early date: after the Norman invasion of 230/844, the wall had to be repaired, at the command of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II who appointed one of his Syrian *mawālī*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Sinān, to direct the works. On several occasions the waters of the Guadalquivir damaged the south face of this wall, at the edge of the river. Moreover, after the deposition of ʿAbd Allāh, the Zīrid amir of Granada, al-Muʿtamīd had the ramparts strengthened, in view of the imminence of an Almoravid attack.

But this enceinte seems to have been repaired or completely reconstructed under the second Almoravid sultan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf. The geographer al-Idrīsī, who was writing between 541 and 548/1147-54 and who had seen Andalusia before the Almohad conquest, said that the town wall of Seville was very strong. It survived the Christian reconquest. After having surrounded the town for seven centuries, it was demolished between 1861 and 1869. It measured six kilometres in circumference and was flanked by 116 towers. One small section of the wall still survives, between Córdoba and the Macarena gates. The lofty curtain wall of solid concrete is constructed in courses 83 cm. high. Seven towers have been preserved, one of which is polygonal, the Torre Blanca, the other six being rectangular. All of them are decorated on their outer faces with bands of brickwork in relief. An outer wall stands 35 m. outside the main ramparts. The gates, in themselves strong and massive constructions, contained angled passages. When built, this Almoravid enceinte represented the latest development of Muslim fortifications in Spain, and it retained its efficacy throughout the Middle Ages. In 647/1239, after a siege, the town surrendered to the king of Castile; it was not taken by storm.

Under the Almohad Abū Yaʿḳūb, the wall along the bank of the river must have been repaired again. In 617/1220-1, the governor of the town, the Almohad Abu 'l-ʿUlā', built an angled defensive outwork, a *coracha*, which extended from the Alcazar to the river and ended in a strong twelve-sided bastion, the Golden Tower. The two lower storeys of this tower have been preserved, but the upper lantern has been rebuilt. The walls are constructed of rough stone and concrete. Like all the great Almohad bastions, the Golden Tower contains vaulted rooms, in this instance roofed with groined arches, alternately triangular and rectangular in plan and occupying three storeys. The arched windows which give light to these rooms are ornamented on the outer side with blind arcades bordered with ceramics.

The Golden Tower greatly strengthened the defence of the Guadalquivir bank. Between this and another bastion built on the left bank, it was possible to fasten a chain, to bar the river.

b). *The Alcazar.* Like all large towns in al-Andalus, Seville had its citadel, the Alcazar, the residence of the sovereign or governor. Its rectangular towers, ornamented with a double band in relief at the top, led to the belief that this fortification was the work of the Almohads. But recent restoration work of the west face has revealed that, beneath their outer covering, the curtain wall and towers were built of cut stone, following the characteristic technique of the 3rd/9th century. In its oldest form, the Alcazar thus dates back to the construction works ordered by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. In the 4th/10th century, an alteration was made with a gate in this rampart, with a handsome facade of cut stone. The Almohads must have contented themselves with restoring the whole structure and repairing the upper part of the towers.

2). Palaces.—Of the Muslim palaces contained in the Alcazar, and particularly the one adorned by the ʿAbbādids, nothing remains from before the 6th/12th century. From the Almohads' buildings there only survive one section of the arches and interlaced lattice-work panels which surrounded the Patio de Yeso, and a ribbed vault in the Patio de Banderas. All the rest of the Alcazar was rebuilt and altered in the Christian period: today, as a whole, it represents a great monument of mudéjar art. However, in the Hall of the Ambassadors, the triple semicircular horseshoe-shaped archway, under a large arch of the same form, may represent an architectural arrangement dating from the caliphal period.

3). Mosques.—a). *The first chief mosque.* Although all that survives is a section of the minaret, which now forms the base of the clock-tower in the old collegiate church of S. Salvador, we are fairly well informed regarding the first chief mosque in Seville. The foundation inscription which was carved on a pillar has been discovered; the mosque was built in 244/829 under the direction of the *ḳāḍī* of the town, Ibn ʿAdabbās. With a width of 48.5 metres, it contained eleven aisles, at right angles to the wall of the *ḳibla*. Arches of brick-work rested on stone pillars. In 471/1079, the upper part of the minaret was repaired by al-Muʿtamīd.

Despite its handsome size, the mosque has become too small. In another quarter of the town, near the Alcazar, the second Almohad caliph, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, had a new sanctuary built. Nevertheless, in 592/1195 his son Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb ordered the restoration of the former chief mosque which, at the reconquest, was transferred into a church. In 797/1395, an earthquake undermined the top of the tower. Shortly afterwards, a bell-tower of cut stone

was erected, and this still forms the second section of the present bell-tower. The mosque underwent various alterations and was demolished in 1671.

The base of the minaret—the oldest Muslim building in Spain, after the mosque of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I at Córdoba—measures 5.8 m. in width. It is built of rough stone, of large size. In the interior, a spiral staircase mounts round a cylindrical central shaft. This arrangement, unknown in the Muslim East, occurs again in two ancient minarets in Córdoba. This peculiarly Andalusian feature is perhaps of Roman origin.

b). *The Almohad chief mosque.* The Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb wished to endow his favourite town with an immense and beautiful chief mosque. The oratory and the *ṣaḥn* would appear to have been built during this sovereign's long visit to Andalusia, from 566 to 571/1171-6. It was a large building, measuring approximately 150 m. by 100 m. The prayer court had 17 aisles, in the shape of a T, and probably there were 5 domes in the bay along the wall of the *ḳibla*. In length, there were 14 bays. In its plan, it conformed with the earliest Almohad mosques, though the dimensions were increased.

The *ṣaḥn*, which extended for a distance of eight bays, has been preserved in part. It was surrounded by lofty arcades of brick-work. Rectangular buttresses occurred at intervals along the outside walls, their summits crowned with toothed merlons, as in the great mosque of Córdoba. Two of the doorways of this *ṣaḥn* have survived, the Puerta del Perdón, in the main axis of the building, and the Puerta de Oriente, on one side of the courtyard.

Although nothing now survives from one of the most immense prayer courts built by the Muslim West, the minaret of this Almohad chief mosque, now known as the Giralda, still dominates the town. This minaret was started in 551/1156 by the overseer Aḥmad b. Baṣo, who built the foundations and the base of the tower with cut stone which had been used before. The death of the caliph for a time suspended work, which was resumed on the orders of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr by the architect ʿAlī of Gomara. The *dja'mūr*, the work of Abū Layth al-Siḳillī, was erected in 589/1198.

This great Almohad minaret, second only to the Kutūbiyya of Marrākush, measures 16.1 m. in width, while the height of the tower is 50.85 m. It was built of brick; around a central block, occupied by seven rooms placed one above the other, a ramp—not a staircase—mounted at a gentle angle, giving access to the upper part of the tower. The lantern was remodelled and surrounded by a gallery for the bells, between 1520 and 1568. Each of the faces of the tower is divided vertically into three sections. In the centre, panels of blind arcades with floral spandrels frame the twin apertures which give light to the ramp. On each side, the wall, which is left plain at its base, is decorated for two storeys with a mesh design in brick-work. All this ornamentation is of great richness and rare subtlety of design.

Reminders of Marrākush, more distant echoes of Córdoba, the natural richness and the light colour of Seville—these were the features that were noted in the Almohad chief mosque. Today, the minaret still bears witness to Seville as a great centre of art, second only to Córdoba.

4). Mudéjar art in Seville. Further testimony, indirect but convincing, is provided by mudéjar art in Seville. The churches erected in the town until the end of the 15th century largely employed Muslim forms and techniques. They were almost always built of brick; the doorways are in the form of large projecting blocks, often decorated with Muslim motifs, and the naves are roofed with *artesenados*. In design and form, their bell-towers are so close to minarets that it has sometimes been thought that they dated back to the Muslim period. Their panels of blind arcades and their floral decoration reproduce, in a simpler style, the motifs of the Giralda.

The palaces of the Alcazar are almost mudéjar: but with the local traditions is also mingled the influence of the art of Granada. It is in the mudéjar churches and in the Giralda that the richness of the tradition of Seville is best appreciated.

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(H. Terrasse)

ISHĪK-ĀḲĀSĪ, Ṣafawid administrative term = "usher". The *ishīk-āḳāsīs* were minor court officials who operated in two different branches of the administrative system, namely, the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] and the *ḥaram* [*q.v.*]. The officers in charge of the two sections were known as *ishīk-āḳāsī-bāshī-yi dīwān-i aʿlā*, and *ishīk-āḳāsī-bāshī-yi ḥaram* respectively. Both officers had categories of officials other than *ishīk-āḳāsīs* under their command. There was a great difference between the status and power of these two officers:

(1) *ishīk-āḳāsī-bāshī-yi dīwān-i aʿlā*. This officer, called by Kaempfer *supremus aulae Mareschallus*, is not listed among the officers of the early Ṣafawid state. The office is first recorded (985/1577-8) during the reign of Ismaʿīl II (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tā'rīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 163), and from then on is mentioned frequently in the sources. The holder of this office was usually a ḳizilbāsh *amīr*. During the time of ʿAbbās I (996/1588—1038/1629), when the composition of the central administration was changed, the *ishīk-āḳāsī-bāshī-yi dīwān-i aʿlā* was elevated to be one of the six principal officers of state, and consequently became a member of the supreme council of amirs (*dīwān*; *djānḳī*). Under ʿAbbās II (1052/1642—1077/1666), he was a powerful official indeed, and, although his position declined thereafter and his duties became largely ceremonial, he is still listed by the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (p. 47), written *ca.* 1138/1726, among the high-ranking (*ʿālī-djāh*) *amīrs*.

(2) *ishīk-āḳāsī-bāshī-yi ḥaram*. An officer of lesser rank, who was in charge of that category of officials known as *muḳarrab al-ḥaḍrat*, that is to say, those officials whose duties lay at the entrance to, or outside the *ḥaram*.

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ʿISHḲ (A.), love—passion. Although non-ḳur'ānic, this word attained a considerable importance in Arabic literature in the broad sense. In analysing it, we come to recognize the conditions in which Arabic-Islamic sensibility and thought evolved. As al-Daylamī says (*ʿAṭf*, §§ 5, 87 ff.), all kinds of minds have their opinions (*maḳālāt*) on love (*maḥab-*

ba) and on ʿis̲h̲ḳ, which is its most dynamic form. Desert Arabs, men of letters, great intellectuals (*al-fuḍalāʾ*), theologians, sages, mystics, etc., have all made statements on the causes, the manifestations, the degrees and the aims of love. One of the earliest attempts to define ʿ*is̲h̲ḳ* is the *Risāla fi 'l-ʿis̲h̲ḳ* of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (*11 Risāla*, 161-9; *Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, 266-75), and the question so preoccupied men's minds that a discussion on this theme had already been held in the presence of Yaḥyā b. K̲h̲ālid al-Barmakī; thirteen representatives of various religious tendencies, one of them a *mōbad̲h̲*, took part, according to al-Masʿūdī, who produces their definitions in the *Murūd̲j̲* (vi, 368-86), giving in addition quotations from Galen, Hippocrates and others; al-Daylamī repeats some of them.

In its most general acceptation, ʿ*is̲h̲ḳ* describes the irresistible desire (*s̲h̲awḳ, tas̲h̲awwuḳ*) to obtain possession of a loved object or being (*maʿs̲h̲ūḳ*). It betrays, therefore, in one who experiences it (the ʿ*ās̲h̲iḳ*), a deficiency, a want, which he must supply at any cost in order to reach perfection (*kamāl*). That is why it admits of hierarchical degrees (*marātib*), like the perfections aspired to by the soul and the body. Its apparently multiple motivations, however, all come down to one ideality, or consistency of meaning (*maʿnā*), which haunts all beings more or less insistently and clearly: it is the aspiration (*tawaḳān*) towards the Beauty (*al-ḥusn*) which God manifested in the world when He created Adam in His own likeness (ʿ*Aṭf*, §§ 18, 24). Because of this, the eyes and the ears are the noble organs, since they perceive the supports of the beautiful (*al-ḥasan*): a face, a head of hair, a heavenly landscape, melodious sounds, etc. If one adds, as the Greeks taught, that Beauty, Good (*k̲h̲ayr*) and Truth (*al-ḥaḳḳ*) go back to one indissoluble Unity (*waḥda*), all of the complexity of the convergences, interferences, and contaminations arising in the concept of ʿ*is̲h̲ḳ* will be perceived. In the classical authors, from al-Daylamī to Lisān al-Dīn b. al-K̲h̲aṭīb, three main lines of development may be discerned. In ascending order, they are: 1) natural love (*maḥabba ṭabīʿiyya*), 2) intellectual (ʿ*aḳliyya*) love, and 3) divine (*ilāhiyya*) love.

All natural beings (*mawd̲j̲ūdāt*) are moved by the desire to raise themselves to the degree of existence immediately above them. This dynamism, which runs through the whole of the universe, is the universal ʿ*is̲h̲ḳ* (Miskawayh, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, 64 ff.). Between human beings, affection (*mawadda*) grows into passion-love (ʿ*is̲h̲ḳ*), the most searching and realistic analysis of which is the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* of Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*]. It gives rise to psycho-physiological states, which are described with the aid of clichés used especially in poetry (cf. *ṣabāba*, ʿ*alāḳa*, *kalaf*, *s̲h̲ag̲h̲af*, *s̲h̲aʿaf*, *tatayyum*, *tatabbul*, *walaʿ*, *g̲h̲arām*, *huyām*, *walah*, *tadalluh*, ...). Purified of all carnal demands, this passion is sublimated into an attitude of adoration which provokes a mental imbalance (*ik̲h̲tilāṭ*). It is a state of spiritual servitude to an idealised female figure, upon which the "courtly" sentiments of a soul in ebullition (*g̲h̲alayān*) crystallize. The literary formalization of these sentiments in ʿIrāḳī circles in the 2nd/8th-3rd/9th centuries went so far that it is difficult to determine the differing roles, in their development, of social custom, an oppressive ethical system, and the basic impulse towards the beautiful.

With the *falāsifa*, ʿ*is̲h̲ḳ* became intellectualised. It became the spontaneous, lucid, and methodical stretching out towards supreme happiness (*al-saʿāda al-ḳuṣwā*), which, for the intellect freed from the illusions of knowledge transmitted through the senses, takes on the meaning of the pure good (*al-k̲h̲ayr al-maḥḍ*). The more the wise man advances in his passionate quest for the one True One (*al-wāḥid al-ḥaḳḳ*), the more he feels growing within him the ineffable joy (*ibtihād̲j̲*), the absolute pleasure (*al-lad̲h̲d̲h̲a al-muṭlaḳa*), which are secured through the contemplation (*mus̲h̲āhada*) of the perfection and beauty of the necessary Being (*wād̲j̲ib al-wud̲j̲ūd*).

With the Ṣūfīs the amorous ardour of ʿ*is̲h̲ḳ*, in spite of some resistance, becomes a part of the life of faith as a natural development of the measured affection (*maḥabba*) mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (III, 31, XX, 39, etc.). The substitution of ʿ*is̲h̲ḳ* for *maḥabba* to describe the "essential Desire" for God and the love of God as an essential attribute, which fills the heart of the mystic, seems to have been due to al-Ḥallād̲j̲ (al-Daylamī, ʿ*Aṭf*, §§ 163-5). Love is no longer merely an expression of gratitude for the blessings of God; it is no longer content with rigorous ascetism and meticulous ritual observance. It becomes an absolute necessity, entailing neither enjoyment nor alleviation, but intensifying as the reciprocity of perspectives between the lover and the Loved comes into effect. This evolution of the pair ʿ*is̲h̲ḳ*/*maḥabba* is not without echoes of that *erôs*/*agapè*, but in Islam the relationship between the two ideas is complicated by the concurrent development of the "courtly" and mystical tendencies. When contact with Greek texts came to an end, there was a return to a legalistic conception of love in the works of, for example, al-G̲h̲azālī or Ibn Taymiyya, or to the exaltation of a perfect and pure Idea in, for example, al-Suhrawardī or even Ibn ʿArabī. Whatever the differences of opinion about its content, ʿ*is̲h̲ḳ* is one of the characteristics of mediaeval self awareness, obsessed with the quest for the eternal, the transcendant and the sacred.

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(M. Arkoun)

IS̲H̲KĀS̲H̲IM [see BADAK̲H̲S̲H̲ĀN].

IS̲H̲KODRA [see Supplement].

IS̲H̲RĀḲ, the name given to illuminative Wisdom, advocated by S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) who himself indicated its sources (cf. table). By "sources" should be understood not so much the historical origins of his ideas as the springing forth of a Wisdom which, in the field of mysticism, has inspired lines of initiates comparable with the initiatory *isnāds* of the Ṣūfīs, though without the explicit granting of any "delegation" by the Masters to the disciples. However that may be, one can discern Western, Greek elements, as well as Eastern elements deriving from the traditions of classical Persia and ancient Egypt. As a result of this observation, H. Corbin has been enabled to resolve a

problem: we know that Ibn Sīnā had conceived the project of an "Eastern" philosophy, a very incomplete testimony to which has survived in his book on the "Logic of the Easterners" (*Manṭiḳ al-Mas͟hriḳiyyīn*), and that Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī had written the *Mabāḥit͟h al-Mas͟hriḳiyya*. Some read this as *mus͟hriḳ* and thought that it was concerned with an illuminative philosophy. Nallino has criticised this reading and shown that it was necessary to make a distinction between a Western philosophy and an Eastern philosophy. Neoplatonism was already charged with Eastern ideas, in contrast with pure Aristotelianism which was far more attached to rationalism. H. Corbin admits this criticism, but gives it a quite different interpretation. If this philosophy is "Eastern", this is so not merely because it is that of the peoples of the East, but primarily because it regards Being and Knowledge as irradiations of the Pure Light which rises in the East. "One may say that it is a question of a Knowledge which is Eastern because it is to the East of thought". There is thus a close link between illumination (*is͟hrāḳ*) and Eastern Wisdom (*Ḥikma mas͟hriḳiyya*). Here is a clear indication of the value of *is͟hrāḳ*: it is not reduced to the general notion of illumination which confers upon the spirit a Truth inaccessible to the abstract concepts of reason; it is, more fundamentally, a delight in the source of all light, whence proceed all beings and all authentic knowledge.

It is through Plato that one can best approach this philosophy which, by its nature, eludes any didactical exposition. In the *Republic*, the Good is presented under the symbol of the Sun, without which nothing which is would exist. This source of all being and all thought is ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας beyond the essence, beyond the Ideas themselves. To it, man should turn σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ with his entire soul. It seems that the Wisdom of *is͟hrāḳ* is a meditation upon these two propositions. Being, in the sense of existence, is there presented in effect as the source of all reality. If it is not conceptualisable, and if it is not reduced to a purely equivocal denomination, as Aristotle saw clearly, it does not thereby follow that the solution necessarily lies in an analogical theory which would make substance the first analogue of being. To recognise that rational expressions cannot encircle existence, that one cannot define it as a concept, is not to imply that it can be grasped only when it is engaged in relations with the different categories of beings (in an analogy of proportionality), and that it is devoid of a for-self and an in-self. This is to recognise that there is a knowledge superior to reason, set apart from all the activities of definition and reasoning. It is here that the symbol of light comes into the question. On the physical plane, what is more universally *present* than light? But what is more indefinable, since in light all is clarity, and effulgence, without any shadow to trace recognisable contours upon it? Thus one is led to think of existence as a spiritual light, the Light of Light from which, by irradiation, emanate the *Anwār ḳāhira*, the "victorious" or "archangelical" lights. This rendering is by H. Corbin, who writes: "By this epiphany, the whole hierarchy of the *Anwār ḳāhira*, from degree to degree, illumines the presence of each lower degree". Authentic Knowledge too renders its object present while illuminating it, after being itself revealed, when every material veil has fallen away, as a Light-being. There is here an "illumination of presence" (*is͟hrāḳ ḥuḍūrī*) which makes a clear distinction between knowledge by representation of the object (*ʿilm ṣūrī*) and unitive knowledge (*ittiṣalī*) of intuitive experiences vision (*s͟huhūdī*), that is to say *ʿilm ḥuḍūrī*. In this connection, one thinks of the part played by *Existenzerhellung* in the philosophy of Karl Jaspers, and of the very current ideal of knowledge through engagement experienced not merely by dry reason alone, but by "the entire soul". It is the Spirit (*rūḥ*), the Angel Gabriel, which illumines while dissipating the insoluble antinomies of reason which Suhrawardī, in his *Ḥikmat al-is͟hrāḳ*, is pleased to develop while criticising the Peripatetics, in a condensed style which recalls the opening of the *Parmenid*. Thus rational knowledge is not a preparation for illuminative knowledge, although negatively it can convey through teaching that the insoluble difficulties which it contains within itself melt away in *is͟hrāḳ*: the problems raised by conceptual thought remain ceaselessly and indefinitely (*tasalsul*) without ever finding a solution, or fall hopelessly into a vicious circle (*dawr*). But man cannot by himself emerge from this inextricable situation: he must have a revelation, a call, for "the Spirit proceeds from the Command of my Lord" (Ḳurʾān, XVII, 85).

Such seems to be the fundamental intuition of *is͟hrāḳ*. An exposition of the details of this Wisdom would be tantamount to an exposition of the details of Suhrawardī's thinking. The play of Light and shadow, the conception of *barzak͟h* (screen, separation, which is utter darkness), the modes of procedure, the production of the world, all these together form a whole which can be expounded, as by Suhrawardī himself, in the terminology of the Plotinian or Avicennian philosophy of emanation, Intellects and spheres. But in that there is merely a barren, discursive expression which remains divorced from Reality and which only becomes valid if it is gathered up into a higher unitive vision which makes it "cohere", when the *ʿaḳl* is assumed by the Spirit, in which it receives the *sakīna*, "the placing in the direct presence on the threshold of the transcendental Being" (H. Corbin).

(R. Arnaldez)

IS͟HRĀḲIYYŪN, adepts of illuminative Wisdom. The question arises whether this term can be applied to the representatives of the spiritual family to which Suhrawardī belonged, who preceded him in time. If that were so, the "Hermetists", the "Sethists" who, from the 4th century in Egypt, saw in Seth (S͟hīt͟h) the first *uriya* (from the Hebrew *ōr* = light), the sages of Persia, disciples of Zarathustra, and the Manichaeans would already be *is͟hrāḳiyyūn*. H. Corbin has recorded a text of Ibn Waḥs͟hiyya, relating to Hermes-Thoth of ancient Egypt, in which the word figures. The discovery is interesting, but it must be seen in the context of the author's preoccupation with alchemy. Here is a summary of the whole of this text:—the successors of Hermes form four groups; the first two, direct descendants of Hermes and his brother, have not mixed with any strangers and have preserved the pure secret doctrine so well that no one apart from themselves knows it. The third is that of the sons of the sister of Hermes; they have had contacts with strangers, and certain men are familiar with their *iṣṭilāḥāt* and can interpret their symbols (*wa-fakka rumūzahum*). Finally, the fourth group is composed of strangers who have mingled with the Harāmisa. To these last two groups, Ibn Waḥs͟hiyya gives respectively the names *is͟hrāḳiyyūn* (and *is͟hrāḳiyya*) and *mas͟haʾiyya* (Peripatetics). These are the only ones to have come down to us. It seems that all that can be deduced from this text is that, in alchemical circles in the 4th/10th century, emphasis was placed upon a hermetic

TABLE

Western part:
Empedocles, Pythagoras, Plato / in Islam: Dhu 'l-Nūn, Tustarī

Hermes → Suhrawardī

Eastern part:
Gayōmarth, Farīdūn, Kay-Khusraw / in Islam: Bisṭāmī, Ḥallādj
Kharrakānī

tradition whose holders, while not claiming to have a perfect knowledge of the Great Work, had received some illumination which had placed their works above those of the Peripatetics, "worshippers of the astral forms", says the text. It therefore seems doubtful if Suhrawardī can be placed among the *ishrāḳiyyūn* of Ibn Waḥshiyya. Moreover, the *falāsifa* for their part had spoken of the irradiation of light and illumination. But in its technical sense, the term *ishrāḳī* can be applied with exactness only to the Master of *ishrāḳ* and his spiritual posterity. However numerous the sources upon which he has drawn materially, his conception of *ishrāḳ* is so personal that it seems it was first illustrated in him by the fact that he received it directly from that being of light which, for each man, constitutes his "Perfect Nature".

In addition, some thinkers may have undergone Suhrawardian influences, although one cannot properly speaking rank them as *ishrāḳiyyūn*. Thus, in Ibn ʿArabī, illumination seems to be reduced, as in Plotinus, to the symbol of the mode of procession of the beings forming the *khalḳ*, while the theory itself of Being is markedly dialectical. Ṭūsī was able to take inspiration from Suhrawardī to interpret Ibn Sīnā, though without thereby being *ishrāḳī*. To sum up, H. Corbin writes very justly: "It remains to discover the influence which the theories of *ishrāḳ* exerted for example on Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, Ibn ʿArabī and the Iranian Shīʿī commentators on the last-named writer".

On the other hand, the term *ishrāḳiyyūn* will be applied without hesitation to all Suhrawardī's Iranian followers, whose numbers were very great until the 18th century and who still exist in Iran today. Two great names are outstanding, Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī (d. 1243) who, in his History of the Philosophers, gave the biography of his Master, commented on two of his treatises and wrote a personal work, and Mollā Sadrā Shīrāzī (d. 1840) who stated: "I have followed the doctrine of *ishrāḳ* of Suhrawardī, until God made me see its foundations clearly". It will be understood from these words that his fidelity to the *shaykh* did not prevent him from writing a most original work.

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(R. ARNALDEZ)

ISHTIB (ŠTIP), a town situated to the south-east of Skopje, in Macedonia, Yugoslavia. In antiquity, it was an important town in Paeonia, on the Roman road from Serdica to the Danube, known as Astibo; by the Byzantines it was called Stipion, by the southern Slavs Štip and by the Turks Ishtip. In the 14th century it was a fortress and district in the principality of Constantine Dejanovitch (Dragaš), in northern Macedonia (between the Vardar and the Strouma). After the battle of Čirmen (1371), the principality became tributary to the Ottomans. On the death of Constantine in 1394, at the side of the Turks at the battle of Rovine, the principality became a sandjaḳ (Kostand-ili = Küstendil). In the 9th/15th century it was the centre of a *vilāyet*, in the 10th/16th the centre of a *ḳażā*, attached to the *khāṣṣ* of the sanjakbey and administered by his voivoda. In Štip and its environs, Turkish colonization was not very extensive. Some *yürüks* of the "ovče pole" group were established there—81 *odjaḳs* in the *ḳażā* of Štip in 1566. The population was principally Christian. In 1489-91 the non-Muslim families in the *ḳażā* of Štip and Novkerič numbered 8,434. In the 11th/17th century there were 24 Muslim *maḥalles* in the town. Traces of islamization were insignificant.

A centre of commerce and craft-work, the town was famous for the manufacture of penknives and knives. Sheep-rearing was highly developed in the region, while in the town artisans devoted themselves to the preparation of the wool and to dairy and meat products. In the market there were local traders, as well as Jewish merchants and others from Dubrovnik. According to Evliyā Čelebi, there were 450 shops in the *čarshī*. The town's trading and craftwork activity was also served by a *bezestān*, caravanserai and seven inns (*khāns*).

The town had acquired a Muslim appearance owing to the public buildings—the numerous mosques, among them that of Sultan Murād (Fetḥiyye), the former Christian church of the Archangel Michael, transformed into a mosque, as was the case with the church of St. Elias; two public baths, and, in the 11th/17th century, a palace belonging to a local Turkish dignitary. There were also some Christian churches; Štip formed part of the diocese of the bishopric of Kolassia. In the 19th century the town was attached to the Bulgarian eparchy of Küstendil.

During the war of 1683-99, Austrian troops reached Štip. In the 19th century, Amy Boué found Štip to be a flourishing centre of commerce and craft-work, with 15-20,000 Turks and Bulgarians and a Jewish community. In about 1894 the population of Štip included 10,900 Bulgarians, 8,700 Turks, 800 Jews and 500 gypsies—in all, 20,900.

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ISHTIĶĀĶ, a technical term in Arabic grammar, translated approximately as "etymology"; *shaķķa 'l-shay'* "he split the thing", *ishtaķķa 'l-shay'* "he took the *shiķķ*, half of the [split] thing" (Lane, *Lex.*, 1577a): *ishtiķāķ*, inf. of *ishtaķķa*, in the technical sense of etymology, derives from the first sense, a word being thought of, so to speak, as split open so that the *mushtaķķ*, the derivative that it contains, may be extracted. *Ishtiķāķ* in its general sense, in fact, signifies: *naz' lafẓ min ākhar*, "taking one word from another", under certain defined conditions (al-Djurdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*, 17).

Many ancient authors wrote special studies of *ishtiķāķ*; al-Suyūṭī (*Muzhir*[3], i, 351, l. 4-6) lists twelve: al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. 170/786), Ķuṭrub (d. 206/821), al-Aṣma'ī (d. 216/831), al-Akhfash (d. 215/830), Abū Naṣr al-Bāhilī (d. 231/846), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), al-Zadjdjādj (d. 310/922), Ibn al-Sarrādj (d. 316/929), Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/949), Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980), al-Rummānī (d. 384/994). Since all these studies are lost, except that of Ibn Durayd (but which only contains examples of *ishtiķāķ*), we are obliged to have recourse to the data that are given in passing in various works: a chapter of the *Muzhir*[3] of al-Suyūṭī (i, 345-54), quoting Ibn Diḥya (d. 633/1236); the preamble of Ibn Djinnī to *al-Munṣif sharḥ Kitāb al-Taṣrīf li'l-Māzinī* (i, 3-4), the *Khātima* of the editors (Cairo 1373/1954, iii, 278-9); also the definitions of al-Djurdjānī (*Ta'rīfāt*, 17) and the account in the *Dict. of Technical Terms* (i, 766-70).

Ishtiķāķ: "etymology"; it must, however, be understood how the Arab grammarians practised this etymology. According to Ibn Djinnī, *taṣrīf* occupies a position intermediate between *lugha* and *naḥw* (*yatadjādhabānih*,"they tear it between them").There is considerable affinity (*nasab ķarīb*) and connexion (*ittiṣāl shadīd*) between *ishtiķāķ* and *taṣrīf*, but *ishtiķāķ* has more to do with *lugha* (*aķ'ad fi 'l-lugha min al-taṣrīf*, *Munṣif*, i, 3, line 17-4, line 10). *Lugha* is concerned with vocabulary itself; *naḥw* deals with *i'rāb*: it studies the variations of the *ḥarakāt* at the end of the words of the *lugha* and the morphological formations of the *taṣrīf* (as inacc. of the verb), in terms of the different *'awāmil* (things governing) [see I'RĀB]. *Taṣrīf* analyses the great number of forms (called *wazn*, pl. *awzān*, or *binā'*, pl. *abniya*, or *ṣīgha*, pl. *ṣiyagh*) found in the words of the *lugha* and in the morphological formations mentioned above. *Ishtiķāķ* deals with the same material as *taṣrīf*, but considers it from the point of view of its origin: *ukhidha min* . . . "it is taken from . . ." is the information that it gives.

To understand the great affinity and connexion that Ibn Djinnī saw between *ishtiķāķ* and *taṣrīf*, it is necessary first to be introduced to *taṣrīf*. *Taṣrīf* was practised in two ways. The first, that of Sībawayhi and the ancients, was concerned only with *masā'il al-tamrīn* "training questions", and its object was *al-riyāḍa wa'l-tadarrub* "practice and habituation". An *imaginary* word was formed on the pattern of an *existing* Arabic word, and the peculiarities of the form (*binā'*) of the existing word were exactly reproduced in the imaginary word; see Sībawayhi, title of ch. 511 (ii, 343) and ch. 557 (ii, 436-42). In order to carry out this operation it was necessary to know the morphological data, set out, interspersed with *naḥw*, in the *Kitāb*. The exercises in question were a means of remembering these and making oneself familiar with them.

The second method thought of *taṣrīf* as a discipline to be studied in its own right and made an independent science of it; this is done in the *K. al-Taṣrīf* of al-Māzinī (d. 247/861). This *taṣrīf* takes as its object existing Arabic words and studies their forms. It regroups the necessary data in this way; Ibn Djinnī, in the *Mukhtaṣar al-taṣrīf al-mulūkī* (ed. G. Hoberg, 8, l. 9-10), systematizes them according to the following divisions: *ziyāda*, *badal*, *ḥadhf*, *taghyīr bi-ḥaraka aw sukūn*, *iddighām* [see TAṢRĪF].

The affinity and connexion of ishtiķāķ with taṣrīf. We have seen above that Ibn Djinnī asserts that there is a great affinity and connexion between *ishtiķāķ* and *taṣrīf*. The method that he adopts to demonstrate the functioning of *ishtiķāķ* with respect to *taṣrīf* is instructive here; Ibn Djinnī considers then *taṣrīf* as did Sībawayhi and the ancients, working with imaginary words, and he uses for this conception of *ishtiķāķ* exactly the same examples as for the account of *taṣrīf* (see *Munṣif*, editors, iii, 278, l. 15-279). In *taṣrīf*, the object of these examples is to demonstrate the accidents that occur to *ḥurūf al-uṣūl* (the radical consonants) in roder to constitute the forms: *ziyāda*, *badal*, etc. *In ishtiķāķ*, the object of these examples is to show *how a form is taken from another* and they presuppose a knowledge (and a use) of the accidents referred to and the processes of *taṣrīf*. In these circumstances, Ibn Djinnī takes as his starting point the *maṣdar*, the origin of the verb, *ḍarb*, and he lists all that can be taken and formed from this *maṣdar*: *māḍī* (*ḍaraba*), *muḍāri'* (*yaḍribu*), active participle (*ḍārib*), etc. This is a good illustration of the affinity and the connexion that Ibn Djinnī sees between *ishtiķāķ* and *taṣrīf*. *Ishtiķāķ*, however, is less general then *taṣrīf* (see below).

Ishtiķāķ and lugha. Ibn Djinnī says, besides, that *ishtiķāķ* is based more than *taṣrīf* on *lugha*. A chapter of the *Muķtaḍab* of al-Mubarrad (Cairo 1386, iii, 185) helps us to understand this; al-Mubarrad distinguishes first of all the nouns (*asmā'*) that are *ghayr* (non-) *mushtaķķ*, such as *ḥadjar* "stone", *djabal* "mountain". *Ishtiķāķ* is silent concerning these, for no original form is found from which their form can be taken; they are simply common nouns (*asmā' al-adjnās*). As far as the *Taṣrīf* is concerned, it places them in the form *fa'al*; *taṣrīf* is thus seen to be more general than *ishtiķāķ*, as the Arab grammarians state (*e.g.*, Ibn Diḥya, *Muzhir*[3], i, 351, l. 1); al-Mubarrad then gives the *mushtaķķ* nouns that are *na't* (qualifying); these are adjectives that are connected with a verb where their meaning is found again: *ṣaghīr* "small" with *ṣaghura*, *djāhil* "ignorant" with *djahila*, *aḥmaķ* "stupid, foolish" with *ḥamiķa*; then the *mushtaķķ* nouns that are not used as *na't* (qualifying); the examples given are proper names:

ḥanīfa, muḍar, ʿaylān. Their *ishtiḳāḳ* varies according to the semantic links to be found between these nouns and others from the same root; *ḥanīfa* is said simply to come from *ḥanīf* (the word is explained), *muḍar* from *maḍara 'l-laban* "the milk became sour" and *ʿaylān* from *ʿayla*, the inf. of *ʿāla* "to be poor", form *faʿlān*. Thus *ishtiḳāḳ* deals with vocabulary, seeking for the point of departure, the *mushtaḳḳ minhu*, while remaining, according to the rule, within one single root and its forms, whereas *taṣrīf* does not go beyond the word whose *wazn* it has to determine.—Other examples of *ishtiḳāḳ* are to be found in the indices to the *Muḳtaḍab*, iv, 149-50, in the discussion on the *ishtiḳāḳ* of the *ism* and the verb taken from the *maṣdar* (Ibn al-Anbārī *K. al-Inṣāf*, ed. Weil, disputed questions 1 and 28). Ibn Durayd devoted his *K. al-ishtiḳāḳ* (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1854) to the names of the Arab tribes (but without any preliminaries about methodology).

The Arab grammarians practised *ishtiḳāḳ* only for *Arabic* words; see Ibn al-Sarrādj's warning as reported by al-Djawālīḳī (*K. al-Muʿarrab*, ed. Sachau, 3, l. 10-4, l. 3) and al-Suyūṭī (*Muzhir*³, i, 351, l. 7-9). This Arabic *ishtiḳāḳ* introduces no historical perspective into the study of the language. The relations or origin that are detected form merely part of the revealed language and are given with it (cf. *Dict. of Technical Terms*, i, 766, l. 15-6). The explicative value of this *ishtiḳāḳ* is meagre; first, depending exclusively as it does on the Arabic grammatical system, it suffers from the deficiencies of this (*e.g.*, the two disputed Questions mentioned above); then, the derivation of one term from another is stated merely when the conditions are satisfied. Thus al-Djurdjānī gives the definition of *ishtiḳāḳ*: *nazʿ lafẓ min ākhar bi-sharṭ munāsabatihimā maʿnan wa-tarkīban wa-mughāyaratihimā fi 'l-ṣīgha* (*Taʿrīfāt*, 17) "taking one word from another, on condition that they are related in sense and in composition [of the radical consonants] and that they differ in form". There is no concern to demonstrate the linguistic processes that legitimate this derivation; al-Mubarrad says that *ṣaghīr* comes from the verb *ṣaghura* (see above), but how does this come about? The mind must be continuously alert to notice the cases in which this *ishtiḳāḳ* gives acceptable information. It is particularly useful, too, by reason of the studies on vocabulary that it has involved, as in the *K. al-ishtiḳāḳ* of Ibn Durayd.

Ishtiḳāḳ is called: a) *al-ṣaghīr* "the small", when, for the *tarkīb* of al-Djurdjānī's fore-going definition, the order of succession of the *same* radical consonants remains identical in the two terms; this is the normal *ishtiḳāḳ*. b) *al-kabīr* "the large", when the *maʿnā*, the actual sense of the root, is preserved, but not the order of succession for the *tarkīb*, *e.g.*,: *djabadha* [metathesis of *djadhaba*], taken from the *maṣdar*: *djadhb*. c) *al-akbar* "the largest", when neither the actual sense of the root nor the order of succession are preserved. This *ishtiḳāḳ* was invented by Ibn Djinnī and set out in the *Khaṣāʾiṣ* (Cairo 1371/1952, i, 5-17 and Cairo 1374/1955, ii, 133-9); he considered all the relative positions of the three consonants of a root, *e.g.*, for *ḳ w l*: *ḳ l w, w ḳ l, w l ḳ, l ḳ w, l w ḳ*, combinations existing in the language, with their special meanings, and he extracted from them a sense common to all: *al-khufūf wa-'l-ḥaraka* "haste and movement". The Arab world admired his force and ingenuity of mind but did not follow him in normal studies of the language (see Ibn Diḥya, *Muzhir*³, i, 347, l. 4-348, l. 2).

Remarks: a) al-Djurdjānī sees *al-ishtiḳāḳ al-akbar* in the case in which the identity of the radical consonants in the two terms is reduced to that of their *makhradj*, as with *naʿaḳa*, derived from the *maṣdar*: *naḥḳ* (cf. *Dict. of Techn. T.*, i, 767, l. 6-8). b) For the difference between *al-ishtiḳāḳ al-ṣaghīr* and *al-ʿadl*, see *ibid.* 767, 2 ff.

Bibliography: in the text. ʿAbd Allāh Amīn, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, Cairo 1376/1956, a personal study, in order to regroup under one concept of *ishtiḳāḳ* the three divisions that have been discussed, and also *naḥt*. This study is useful, too, by reason of its full documentation of the denominative verbs and *naḥt*. Fuʾad Ḥannā Ṭarazī, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, Beirut 1968, application of *ishtiḳāḳ* to nouns and verbs, preceded by a criticism of the preceding and of the doctrines of the ancients. (H. Fleisch)

ISHTIĶĀĶ, rhetorical term [see TADJNĪS].

ISHTIRĀK [see TAWRIYA].

ISHTIRĀKIYYA, from *ishtirāk*, sharing, the modern Arabic term for socialism. The word seems to have been first used in this sense in 19th century Turkish, in the form *ishtirāk-i emwāl*, literally "sharing of property", whence *ishtirakdji*, a socialist, and *ishtirākī*, socialistic. In Turkish the term fell into disuse, and was replaced by *Sosyalist*. Adopted in Arabic, it soon gained universal currency in the Arab lands. (Ed.)

The Ottoman Empire and Turkey: Among Turks interest in socialism began toward the end of the 19th century, but it was only after the 1908 revolution that this cause could be openly advocated in the Ottoman Empire. The European, particularly the French, socialist movement served as the inspiration and model for socialist activity in Turkey. Always small-scale and élitist, socialist organizations were not able to play much role in their own right in the turbulent politics of the Young Turk era. The Ottoman Socialist Party (*ʿOthmānlı Sosyalist Fırḳası*) set up by Ḥüseyn Ḥilmī in 1910 was suspended after three months; it re-emerged for a year in mid-1912 during a momentary lull in governmental repression. Its Paris branch under Dr. Refiḳ Nevzāt operated more freely and conducted a virtually independent liaison with the Second International until France entered the First World War.

More important than this organizational activity was the impact of socialist concepts on the Turkish nationalist movement that began to gather impetus after the 1908 revolution. Ziya Gökalp and his "Turkist" followers had connexions with the active multicommunal socialist current in Salonika during the years before 1911. Thereafter in Istanbul Parvus (Alexander Helphand) continued to indoctrinate the "Turkists" with socialist ideas, stressing anti-imperialism. Moreover, an acquaintance with Marxism was relatively common in both civil and military schools during the Young Turk era. Many nationalist leaders, including Muṣṭafā Kemāl [Atatürk] himself, showed the influence of socialist doctrine.

Turkey's defeat in the First World War stimulated renewed efforts to organize socialist parties. In 1919 Ḥilmī revived his old organization under the name of the Turkish Socialist Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Fırḳası*), again with a Paris branch. This party was so successful in securing benefits for workers through strikes and demonstrations that in 1921 its membership numbered close to 7,000, including a branch in Eskişehir. But as a result of internal conflicts, the party had all but vanished by the time of Ḥilmī's murder in November 1922.

More lasting was the Turkish Worker and Peasant Socialist Party (*Türkiye Ishči ve Čiftči Sosyalist*

Fırkası) set up in September 1919 as the continuation of a similarly named organization formed by Turkish students in Germany. Initially this party had far more in common with French radical socialism than with Bolshevism, and it drew much of its inspiration from Henri Barbusse's *Clarté* movement. But with the end of the Allied occupation of Istanbul in 1923, it fell under the direct influence of Moscow. The party published a monthly theoretical journal (until March 1920, *Ḳurtulush*; from 1921 to 1925, *Aydınlık*), which soon became the rallying point for elements who were later to play a major role in Turkey's ideological development. Dr. Shefīḳ Ḥüsnü [Deymer], a founding member of the Istanbul organization, was the acknowledged leader of the Turkish communist movement until his death in 1959. In 1923 the Turkish Worker and Peasant Socialist Party leaders were tried on charges of treason, but were soon acquitted. After the Law for the Maintenance of Order (*Taḳrīr-i Sükūn*) was enacted in 1925, Atatürk closed *Aydınlık* and prosecuted a number of the party's leaders for carrying on subversive activity.

The Turkish Communist Party (*Türkiye Komünist Partisi*) proper emerged from several diverse sources: the communists clustered around the Turkish Worker and Peasant Socialist Party, the emigré movement of Muṣṭafā Ṣubḥī in Russia, and the People's Communist Party of Turkey (*Türkiye Khalḳ Ishtirākiyyūn Fırḳası*), organized in Ankara in December 1920 by Nāẓim, the deputy for Tokat. Muṣṭafā Ṣubḥī's organization fell apart after his murder in January 1921 during his return to Anatolia. The Ankara communists from the first came into conflict with Atatürk, who had formed his own "Official" Communist Party in October 1920 in an effort to bring the burgeoning communist movement under his control. In February 1921 the People's Communist Party suspended its activity, though as a result of Soviet pressure it was permitted to revive. From March until October 1922 this party published the weekly *Yeñi Ḥayāt*, a periodical that became increasingly critical of the government. But with victory over the Greeks, Atatürk no longer felt the need to tolerate this opposition, and in October 1922 he suppressed the Ankara party. The remnants of this organization followed Ṣubḥī's supporters in joining the Turkish Communist Party, that was apparently organized clandestinely in Istanbul in the fall of 1920 by Deymer and Ṣadreddīn Djelāl [Antel]. This party was in contact with communists among the non-Turkish communities in Istanbul and sent representatives to gatherings of the Third International in Moscow. It attempted to organize youth groups and trade unions, but without much success. Since its leaders were arrested or forced to flee abroad in 1925, it carried on only underground activity inside Turkey. Deymer convened a party congress in Vienna in 1926; another seems to have been held in 1933 somewhere outside Turkey. The party's main overt activities consist of publishing pronouncements in Soviet and other communist publications and since the mid-1950s in broadcasting its views over "Bizim Radyo" located in Eastern Europe.

From 1932 to 1935 a group of former communists made important contributions to Kemalist ideology through debate in the monthly *Kadro*, which sought to adapt Marxist ideas to serve Turkish nationalism. Even though the government closed *Kadro* in 1935 at the urging of more conservative Turkish nationalists, the ideas espoused by *Kadro* undergirded the famous "Six Arrows" of the Republican People's Party (*Djumhūriyyet Khalḳ Fırḳası* [*q.v.*]), which were enshrined in the constitution in 1937.

With the relaxation of political restrictions after the Second World War came new efforts to form socialist and communist-oriented parties. The Turkish Socialist Worker and Peasant Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Emekçi ve Köylü Partisi*) that Deymer set up in 1946 and the Turkish Socialist Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Partisi*) of Esat Adil Mustacaplıoğlu were closed within the year by the government, however, on charges of promoting communism. In this atmosphere of suspicion, even moderate socialists met a chilly reception; until the end of the *Demokrat Parti* [*q.v.*] regime in 1960 socialism was generally regarded as virtually illegal by the Turkish élite.

The military revolt in 1960 stimulated ferment that gave socialism and communism new relevance. In the new constitution of 1961 a more favourable climate toward socialism was apparent. Also, for example, central planning by the government was ordained as the remedy for the excesses of the *Demokrat Parti* era; labour unions received the right to strike. Under these circumstances, the periodical *Yön*, which began in December 1961, attracted much attention in intellectual circles with its increasingly anti-(Western)imperialist pronouncements in favour of state-directed development. Books and publications on socialism flooded the market and were read especially by students, who were attracted by the emphasis on social justice. A Socialist Cultural Association (*Sosyalist Kültür Derneği*) was formed in Ankara in 1963 to propagate these views.

This activity saw the emergence on the political scene in February 1961 of the Turkish Labour Party (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*) as the culmination of efforts in train even before the 1960 military revolt. When the small group of labour officials who dominated this organization were unable to arouse enough popular support to qualify to take part in the 1961 elections, they sought the co-operation of some prominent leftist intellectuals. In 1962 Mehmet Ali Aybar became President General of the party. By 1965 the Turkish Labour Party was able to run candidates in 51 provinces and received some 276,000 votes, electing 15 deputies to the lower house that year. While the party increased somewhat its percentage of the vote cast in the senatorial elections in 24 provinces in June 1968, it failed to elect a single senator.

The Turkish Labour Party promotes an essentially Marxist line, but seeks to come to power by exclusively parliamentary means. From the first it has been rent by factionalism. At its congress in February 1964 there was dispute over the balance between workers and intellectuals in the ruling organs of the party. This problem was intensified when the party leaders selected a preponderance of intellectuals as deputies in the 1965 elections. Differences within the party led to a revolt against Aybar's leadership at the party congress in November 1968, necessitating an extraordinary conclave at the end of December of the same year. This did not completely heal the rift. Moreover, the party is challenged on the left by individuals advocating a more revolutionary line.

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(G. S. Harris)

2. *The Arab lands*: As early as the first decade of this century members of the Egyptian intelligentsia (*e.g.*, Shiblī Shumayyil, Salāma Mūsā and Ismāʿīl Maẓhar) discussed aspects of Socialism in its European, and particularly British Fabian and French Continental sense and tradition. They considered it in the context of scientific rationalism, social reform and state welfare doctrines. A Socialist Party of Alexandria Workers was formed in 1920 by Maḥmūd Ḥusnī al-ʿArabī, followed by a Communist Party in Alexandria two years later. Several Communist parties also appeared in the Fertile Crescent and the Levant.

In the nineteen-thirties, the success of National Socialism in Europe (Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Spain, Greece and elsewhere) indirectly encouraged the rise of radical national socialist groups, parties and movements in the Arab countries. All of them, to one degree or another, proposed some form of "state socialism". Among these were the Young Egypt Association of Aḥmad Ḥusayn in Egypt, later renamed the Socialist Democratic Party; the *Parti Populaire Syrien* of Anṭūn Saʿāda in the Levant; the *Ahālī* group of Kāmil al-Chādirchī in ʿIrāḳ (many of its adherents or members coming from the Fascist-oriented *al-Muthanna* Club), later renamed the National Democratic Party; the Progressive Socialist Party in Lebanon; and others.

After the Second World War, attention concentrated on what was called Arab Socialism (*al-ishtirākiyya al-ʿarabiyya*) the main exponent of which was the Arab *Baʿth* Party, founded by Michel ʿAflaḳ and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bīṭār in 1941-3, which ten years later in 1953 merged with Akram Ḥūrānī's Arab Socialist Party. In the periods 1955 to 1961 and 1961 to 1967, Arab Socialism had two major advocates: President ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser) of Egypt, and the various *Baʿth* party organisations and regimes in the Fertile Crescent countries, particularly Syria and ʿIrāḳ. In Egypt, under ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, even the official religious establishment of the Azhar was recruited (massively after the Azhar Reorganisation Law of June 1961) to the task of expounding, explaining and justifying the link between Arab Socialism and Islam. The slogan, "Islam, the religion of justice and equality," was followed by "Muḥammad, the first socialist". The Islamic religion was identified as a "revolution which first laid down the socialist principles of justice and equality". After 1967, new and violent revolutionary groups appeared especially among the Palestinians and South Arabians professing a Marxist-Leninist and Maoist-oriented Arab Socialism.

Algeria after independence in 1962 also adopted Arab Socialism as the political and economic basis of its revolution; so too did the Yemen after the Sallāl coup in September 1962; the new People's Republic of South Yemen under its National Liberation Front rulers; the Sudan after the coup led by Colonel Djaʿfar al-Numayrī in May 1969; and the new Republic of Libya when the military coup led by Colonel Muʿammar al-Ḳadhāfī overthrew King Idrīs in September 1969.

Arab Socialism as expounded by the *Baʿth* Party or other so-called Arab revolutionary leaders and regimes has little in common with European or Marxist Socialism. Its principles are rather linked to those of pre-nationalist and radical nationalist ideologies, and particularly an interpretation of the ethical and moral teachings of Islam. Its emphasis is on social justice in a traditional Islamic sense, and on economic and social reform. It rejects both the materialist philosophy and historical determinism of Marxist Socialism. It is opposed to the class struggle and the dictatorship of the working class or the proletariat. Instead it proclaims the eradication of class divisions with a view to achieving a harmonious "democratic, cooperative society", in which classes cooperate with, not oppose or antagonise, one another. It does not share socialism's opposition to private property, even though it accepts and, in certain cases, practices state ownership of the major means of production and state control of the economy. Because the economies of many of these countries are mainly agricultural their socialists pay greater lip service to the impoverished masses of peasants and less to the urban working classes or proletariat. The latter group on the whole is still a small one in these countries, where industrial development is in its early stages. Finally, Arab Socialism rejects Marxist Socialism because the latter is theoretically opposed to nationalism.

It can be argued that Arab Socialism as articulated by the regime of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir and that of his successor in Egypt, or by the *Baʿth* in the Fertile Crescent, is a primitive socialism: it is for the confiscation of wealth by its expropriation from the small wealthy landed and old official or governing classes, but not for its abolition. It wishes to eradicate poverty by the nationalisation of capital and other productive wealth and by its redistribution in order to level society; but so far it has only managed to further generalise poverty. Basically it claims that it wishes to share out property, not to abolish it. And as property in most Arab countries implies the ownership of land, there have been several, not very successful, agrarian reform measures in Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Algeria.

If one examines the utterances and policies of President ʿAbd al-Nāṣir of Egypt (the nationalisation decrees of July-November 1961, his National Charter of 1962, and the Expropriation measures of 1963-4), or those of the *Baʿth* (for example, ʿAflaḳ's writings, and the proceedings and resolutions of the Party Congresses, especially those of the Sixth Congress), one observes that Arab Socialism is the "radical" expression of Arab nationalism. It is also the justification of radical state economic policies, characterised by central planning and greater centralised state control over all aspects of national economic activity and life. Any structural social changes introduced by the so-called socialist measures of Arab rulers have not so far also envisaged changes in the power structure. Nor does the Arab Socialism of these states envisage any uniform regulation of the consumption of material goods on the basis of strict equality.

Arab Socialism is useful when one wishes to indicate and identify the domestic, regional or inter-Arab, and international policies of individual Arab states. In Egypt, for example, Arab Socialism became a term applied to President ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's domestic economic, Arab and international policies after 1955, and more so after 1961. By 1962, Arab Socialism in Egypt, as well as in other Arab states

which identified or associated their regimes with it, came to be an amalgam of nationalism, of involvement in inter-Arab state conflict, state political control by the military, state ownership and control of the economy, and an orientation in international politics towards the Soviet Union. Beginning as a protest movement against the concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a small governing class in *anciens régimes* in Egypt, ʿIrāḳ and Syria for instance, Arab Socialism under military regimes and in the conditions of inter-Arab and international events moved towards an association with the new influential superpower in the Middle East, the Soviet Union. At home, and in practice, it became a bureaucratic, police socialism in the service of the regimes in power, without a firm basis either in a working class proletariat, or its more populist aspiration for a base among the agrarian peasant masses. Socialist parties were proscribed, and local, or native, socialists were persecuted and politically neutralised. Single parties, such as the Arab Socialist Unions in Egypt and ʿIrāḳ or the *Baʿth* parties in Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and the FLN in Algeria were also at variance with socialism properly defined and understood. These single parties never controlled government; rather government controlled the parties which served the security and other purposes of the state.

It is difficult for example to adduce anything about the meaning of Arab Socialism from the voluminous writings of ʿAflaḳ or the proceedings and resolutions of the *Baʿth* Party Congresses beyond the suggestion that the Party considered economics important and relevant to politics; or that one of the Party's goals is the expansion of the economic opportunities for the lower classes of society and the enhancement of their social status.

Domestically then Arab Socialism has meant the opposition by military regimes and those who aspire to overthrow regimes in their respective countries to the dynastic or other governing and official classes, which are often identified as "feudalist". Arab Socialists link the interests of these classes to those of outside powers (mainly those they refer to as Imperialist, *i.e.*, the Western powers), so that their overthrow and dispossession are justified on the grounds that they are the agents of Imperialism. In the context of inter-Arab politics Arab Socialism also serves as the slogan of so-called radical rulers and regimes in their conflicts with so-called conservative and reactionary rulers and regimes for influence, primacy, prestige or domination in the Arab Middle East. Generally, therefore, on the level of international politics, Arab Socialism has been associated with the opposition of Arab states to what remained of Western influence in their area and with radical Arab nationalism and its manifestation in heightened inter-Arab struggle. This coincided with the entry of the Soviet Union into the Middle East in 1955 and its offers of massive economic and military assistance to several Arab states. Inevitably, the orientation of Arab Socialist regimes towards the Soviet bloc followed, gradually at first (1955-62), and rapidly after 1962.

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ĪSHWAR-DĀS [see Īsar-dās].

al-**ISKĀFĪ**, Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. Maḥmūd, official in the ʿAbbāsid administration and the first vizier of al-Muʿtazz (251/866); he held this post for only a short time, but the Caliph was obliged to give in to Turkish pressure and reinstate him in 255/869. He kept the post at the beginning of al-Muhtadī's caliphate, but real power was in the hands of Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad [*q.v.*]. Though al-Ḥuṣrī (*Zahr*, 873) lets it be understood that al-Iskāfī was friendly with al-Muʿtazz before the latter acceded to the caliphate, Ghars al-Niʿma (*Hafawāt*, 273) maintains that he was imposed on the caliph by the Turks. The *Fakhrī* (333-4, 335) confirms this point of view, adding that al-Muʿtazz did not like him at all, that it was suspected he had Shīʿī sympathies, that he was completely uncultured and only attracted sympathy by his generosity. Lines of poetry quoted by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 58) suggest that he occupied important posts long before his accession to the vizirate.

Bibliography: Besides the references quoted, Ṭabarī, iii, 1550, 1707, 1709; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī. 316, 318, ed. de Goeje, 365 (Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad); idem, *Murūdj*, vii, 365, 366, 370 (Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad); D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index. (Ed.)

al-**ISKĀFĪ**, Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, a Muʿtazilī of the Baghdād branch and a native of Samarḳand. The date of his birth is unknown, but he is known to have reached a great age and to have died in 240/854. He began life as a tailor, and his parents prevented him from continuing his studies, but Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*] took him under his care and initiated him in the *Iʿtizāl*. Possessing a lively intelligence, knowledge of many subjects, and a lofty moral sense, he enjoyed the esteem and respect of al-Muʿtaṣim, who seems to have used him as a propagandist for the Muʿtazilī doctrine. In general, he adhered to the opinions of his master Djaʿfar, departing from these only over some details, but he certainly seems to have been one of the most productive of the Muʿtazilīs. Like the other members of the school, he maintained that the Ḳurʾān was created, but that it existed wherever it was read, written and heard. God existed outside time, and His existence could be deduced from the existence of things. In his view, bodies consisted of a combination of two elements. He established a distinction between the created action and the free action which derived directly from man's free-will. In politics, although he seems to have recognized the legitimacy of ʿUthmān as caliph and supported the imāmate of the *mafḍūl*, he declared himself in favour of the superiority of ʿAlī to Abū Bakr, and refuted at some length the *Kitāb al-ʿUthmāniyya* of al-Djāḥiẓ, in a text preserved in part by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*

Nahdj al-Balāgha, and reproduced at the end of the refuted work (Cairo 1374/1955, 282-343). This text, which is not expressly referred to by Ibn al-Nadīm, seems to be the only one to have survived; the other works attributed to him are:— *K. al-Laṭīf*; *K. al-Badal*; *K. ʿala 'l-Naẓẓām fī anna 'l-ṭabʿayn al-mukhtalifayn yafʿal bi-himā faʿlan wāḥidan*; *K. al-Maḳāmāt fī tafḍīl ʿAlī*; *K. Ithbāt khalḳ al-Ḳur'ān*; *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-Mushabbiha*; *K. al-Makhlūḳ, ʿala 'l-Mudjbira*; *K. Bayān al-mushkil, ʿalā Burghūth*; *K. al-Tamwīh, naḳḍ K. Ḥafṣ*; *K. al-Naḳḍ li-K. al-Ḥusayn al-Nadjdjār*; *K. al-Radd ʿalā man ankar khalḳ al-Ḳur'ān*; *K. al-Sharḥ*(?) *li-aḳāwīl al-Mudjbira*; *K. Ibṭāl ḳawl man ḳāl bi-taʿdhīb al-aṭfāl*; *K. Ḥaml ḳawl ahl al-ḥaḳḳ*; *K. al-Naʿīm*; *K. mā'khtalafa fī-hi al-Mutakallimūn*; *K. ʿalā Ḥusayn fi 'l-istiṭāʿa*; *K. Faḍāʾil ʿAlī*; *K. al-Ashriba*; *K. al-Ḳuṭub* (?); *K. ʿalā Hishām*; *K. Naḳḍ K. Ibn Shabīb* (?) *fi 'l-waʿīd*.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Malaṭī, 27, 30, 33; Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, index; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 155; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, index; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, v, 416; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 221; Ibn al-Nadīm, ed. Fück, in *Prof. Muḥ. Shafīʿ Presentation Vol.*, Lahore 1955, 66-7; Ṭūsī, *Fihris*, 254; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 35; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Muʿtazila*, index; A. N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956, index.

His son, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ISKĀFĪ, was also a Muʿtazilī but he took up an administrative career and was appointed head of a *dīwān* by al-Muʿtaṣim. Regarded as a talented scribe, he is the author of a *Kitāb al-Miʿyār wa 'l-muwāzana fi 'l-imāma*. (Not to be confused with the vizier to al-Muʿtazz; see preceding art.).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, in *Muḥ. Shafīʿ Pres. Vol.*, 67 (which calls him simply Ibn al-Iskāfī). (ED.)

AL-**ISKĀFĪ**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ MUḤAMMED B. AḤMAD AL-KARĀRĪṬĪ secretary and vizier during the ʿAbbāsid era. Born in Iskāf on the Nahrawān, in ʿIrāḳ, he appears for the first time in 320/932 as the secretary of the police chief of Baghdād, Ibn Yāḳūt; he was arrested at the same time as his master, in Djumādā I 323/April 935, and had to pay a large fine. He was appointed vizier by the Caliph al-Muttaḳī in Shawwāl 329/July 941, but was dismissed by the great *amīr* Kūrankīdj as early as Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 329/July-August 941.

Having regained his post under Ibn Rā'iḳ after the flight of the *amīr*, he was arrested soon afterwards in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 329/September 941. Al-Iskāfī regained his vizirate when the supreme emirate was entrusted by the caliph to the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla, who, on his arrival in Baghdād in Shawwāl 330/June-July 942, found the new vizier already installed. But, after eight months, al-Iskāfī was once more dismissed (Radjab 331/March-April 943) and obliged to pay a fine; he seems to have been the victim of intrigues woven in the *amīr*'s entourage by two Barīdī agents. We know little of the end of his career: it seems he was the secretary of Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo in circumstances which have never been explained, and then that he returned to Baghdād in the time of the vizier al-Muhallabī and died in 357/968.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, viii, *passim*; Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, i, 236, 318-9, ii, 28-9, 38 and n.; M. Canard, *Akhbâr ar-Râdi billâh*, Algiers 1946-50, i, 79 n. 3, ii, 26 n. 1; idem, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, Algiers 1951, 429. (D. SOURDEL)

AL-**ISKANDAR**, Alexander the Great. It is generally agreed both by Muslim commentators and modern occidental scholars that Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, "the two-horned", in Sūra XVIII, 83/82-98 is to be identified with Alexander the Great. The story is told in reply to questioners, often said to be Jews. Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn was given power on earth, and made his way to the furthest west and furthest east; and in response to an appeal from oppressed people built a wall or rampart of iron and brass against the incursions of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj [*q.v.*]. The origin and precise significance here of the name Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn has been much discussed (cf. al-Bayḍāwī, *ad loc.*; Nöldeke-Schwally, i, 140, note 5). The name had been previously applied to the Lakhmid al-Mundhir al-Akbar (III) ibn Mā' al-Samā' (cf. Imru' al-Ḳays, 60.3; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaḳ*, 340; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 111-3, with further references). Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn was accepted as a believer or Muslim since he spoke to the people of the west about God's punishment of wrongdoers and his reward for the upright; but it was disputed whether he was a prophet. Al-Wāthiḳ is said to have sent a man to explore the wall (*BGA*, vi, 1 62-70; quoted by G. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, 26, note 63).

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ISKANDAR NĀMA, the Alexander Romance.

i. Arabic. Sura XVIII (59 ff.) shows that the Arabs have known of the Alexander Romance (pseudo-Callisthenes) from early times, since what is said about Mūsā in this Ḳur'ānic passage is in fact derived from this romance. On the earlier history of the Romance, see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*, in *Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Vienna, xxxiii. According to this scholar, the source of the Syriac and Arabic stories is to be found in a primitive Pahlavi version, the author of which, according to Fraenkel (*ZDMG*, xlv, 319), may have been a Syriac Christian who wrote in Persian. The oldest Arabic versions, provided by the *ḥadīth*, have been collected by Friedländer in *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, 67 ff. [see AL-KHAḌIR]. On more recent versions in Arabic, see Friedländer's article and also E. García Gómez, *Un texto arabe occidental de la leyena de Alejandro*, Madrid 1929. (ED.)

ii. Persian. The "Book of Alexander", consisting of two parts, the *Sharaf Nāma* and the *Iḳbāl Nāma*, is the fifth poem of the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*]. It constitutes the fullest synthesis of the image which Muslim Iran conceived and assimilated of the Macedonian conqueror, who at the start was regarded as the most odious of enemies and who, in the last analysis, became the model of the Muslim hero, the Iranian knight, through his own merits worthy of acceding to the rank of prophet of the One God.

The *Sharaf Nāma* (6,896 verses) is the story of the hero, in its main outlines conforming with the traditional accounts going back to the pseudo-Callisthenes, but altered in many of the details and, what is more, assuming a highly original character from the manner in which Niẓāmī treats it. The *Iḳbāl Nāma*, where the individual stamp of the author's genius is even more apparent, is a shorter work, with less embellishment but with a greater wealth of reflection, and in it the image of excellence of the hero is subordinated to that of the wise man, the

model ruler who through the constancy of his meditation deserves to be invested with a true prophetic mission. (For the Arab tradition, Iskandar—Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn already combines [see above] the characteristics of the warlike hero with those of the prophet of universality).

For Iranian tradition, he is essentially "the wretched Mar, inspired by the Druj (the spirit of discord)", guilty of the destruction of the good religion, its altars and its books (M. Molé, *Culte, Mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1963, 211; cf. Pagliaro, *Letteratura persiana*, Milan 1950, 38, 96). But in islamised Iran the idea, which was fixed by the commentary of al-Ṭabarī on the Ḳur'ān, XVII, 82 ff. (*Tafsīr*, xvi, 6 ff.) and by the same author's *Annales* (I, 692-702), of a universal mission made manifest through his conquests, is substituted for this pejorative image.

In the *Shahnāma*, Firdawsī already makes Iskandar an exemplary figure, whom the companionship of Aristotle helps to rise still higher, by the path of wisdom and moderation, in the direction of abstinence and contempt for this world. And Firdawsī laid stress on the defeat of Dārā (the Darius of the Greeks) as something desired by "the rotation of the Heavens".

Already, too, for Firdawsī, Alexander bears on his brow the marks of the Kayānids and, thereby, a quality of legitimacy which Niẓāmī emphasizes by making him, as his predecessor and as al-Ṭabarī had done, a son of Dārāb and consequently a half-brother of Dārā who is thus able to transmit power over Iran to him, and to see in him the just king, the successor of the Kayānids.

At the time of Niẓāmī, however, Islam is from then onwards well established in Iran, and it is the prophetic and ecumenical aspect of his destiny that the poet makes evident in his hero. As a learned Iranian poet, Niẓāmī, who demonstrates his eclecticism in the information he gives (he says, "I have taken from everything just what suited me and I have borrowed from recent histories, Christian, Pahlavī and Jewish . . . and of them I have made a whole"), locates the story of his hero principally in Iran. He makes him the image of the Iranian "knight", peace-loving and moderate, courteous and always ready for any noble action. Like all Niẓāmī's heroes, he conquers the passions of the flesh, and devotes his attention to his undertakings and his friendships. These features appear in the account, which follows ancient tradition, of his conduct towards the women of the family of Darius, in his brotherly attitude on the death of that ruler, in his behaviour towards queen Nushaba (the Kaydaf of Firdawsī, the Kandake of the pseudo-Callisthenes) whom he defends against the Russians. And if he subdues the king of China, the Khāḳan, and the Indian king Kayd (Porus), it is to establish a deep and lasting friendship with them.

In the *Sharaf Nāma* particularly, the itineraries of his expeditions are Iranian and Muslim. It is in Egypt that he introduces the rule of justice, after delivering the country from the threat of the Zandj, and it is the religion of the One God of Abraham that, in the *Sharaf Nāma*, he makes it his mission to spread, and for which he was to eliminate from Mecca the family of Khuzāʿa, who had distorted the religious tradition of the Kaʿba. And it is through Armenia that he starts his march to the East, on the way founding Tiflis and Bardaʿ, occupying the legendary castle of Dar Band, and finding in the castle of Sakīr the fabulous relics of Kay Khusraw. He traverses Rayy, Khurāsān and central Asia, to reach India and then China. He was to return to Bardaʿ, in this same Ādharbāydjān, the homeland of Niẓāmī, to rescue Queen Nushaba when she was attacked by the Russians (there was in fact an invasion in 946-7).

Niẓāmī did not fail, afterwards, to crown the *Sharaf Nāma* with the theme of the vain quest for the source of life, in which may be seen a foreshadowing of the nihilist philosophy which was to be that of the *Iḳbāl Nāma*.

The *Iḳbāl Nāma* is a hymn to wisdom—that of the Greeks, that which Iskandar would have derived from the old Iran—to that also which the hero, dedicated to Prophecy, was to elaborate, before his death in the company of the wise, and in regard to which Niẓāmī, after reviewing the final solutions of the old sages, was to recall the primordial role of celestial reason, *Khrat*, already sung by Firdawsī before him.

The encyclopaedic character of the *Iskandar Nāma*, far more than the treatment of the legendary subject, is perhaps what most strikes the reader: the passion for and justification of asceticism, for which on several occasions Iskandar emphasises his respect; the geographical and historical recollections relating particularly to the Byzantines; the pronounced taste for the mysterious sciences, where the episode of Mary the Copt and her authentic conception of speculative alchemy administers a corrective to the episodes where the hero creates a magic mirror or takes pleasure in conversations with the semi-legendary Bālīnās (Apollonius).

Study of the *Iskandar Nāma* is not yet wholly complete, and it holds in store rich and important discoveries, not only for historians of literature but also for those engaged in comparative studies, for historians of the history of religious ethics in Iran, and for students of folklore.

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(A. Abel)

iii. In classical Ottoman literature the Alexander legend was used relatively rarely, perhaps (as E. J. W. Gibb suggested, *HOP*, i, 284) because its subject-matter gave little scope for the allegorical treatment of the theme of love. The one famous and very popular poem on the subject is the *Iskendernāme* of Aḥmadī [*q.v.*] (d. 815/1412-3) (the story as related by Aḥmadī is summarized by Gibb, *HOP*, i, 270-84; for its character, as a kind of encyclopaedia, see Fr. Taeschner, in *Hb. der Orientalistik*, I. Abt., V/1, 1963, 276; for the most up-to-date list of Mss., see B. Flemming, *Verzeichnis der or. Handschriften in Deutschland*, xiii/1, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 36). Some Mss. are half in verse, half in prose (see, *e.g.*, Nihad Sami Banarlı, in *TM*, vi (1936-9), 110). There are also prose versions, some anonymous, some attributed to Aḥmadī's "brother" Ḥamzevī (*HOP*, i, 255; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1327; see also F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı . . . Türkçe yazmalar kat.*, nos. 2744-69, some or all of which are presumably Ḥamzevī's prose version); their connection, if any,

with Aḥmedī's poem remains to be investigated.

A certain Fighānī of Karaman (flor. ca. 906/1500) is reported to have composed a verse *Iskendernāme* (Laṭīfī, 266-7), but it seems not to have survived. An *Iskendernāme* composed by Aḥmed Riḍwān (Sehī, p. 36; Laṭīfī, p. 88), *i.e.*, the *defterdār* "Tütünsüz" Aḥmed Beg (flor. under Bāyezīd II) and closely following Aḥmadī, survives in a single Ms. in Ankara (see Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Aḥmed Rižvān'ın İskendernāmesi*, in *Türk Dili*, vol. i, no. 3 (Dec. 1951), 23-31, where (p. 24) the author mentions another verse *Iskendernāme* in his private library, by a certain Ḥayātī). His contemporary Bihishtī [*q.v.*] completed an *Iskendernāme* in 909/1503-4 (Ushaw College MX).

In Čaghatay Turkish literature the Alexander-legend provided the theme for the fifth poem in the *Khamsa* [*q.v.*] of Navā'ī [*q.v.*], on which see J. Eckmann, in *Philologicae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, 346-8 and (bibliography) 355-7.

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AL-ISKANDAR AL-AFRŪDĪSĪ, Alexander of Aphrodisias (about 200 A.D.), Peripatetic philosopher. In mediaeval Europe and at the time of the Renaissance he was regarded as the most authoritative of the ancient commentators of Aristotle. He had the same influence in Islamic countries. A certain illuminism, his concept of the active intellect coming from outside to the human soul, fitted in with the Neoplatonic trend prevailing in Arabic philosophy. On the other hand his materialistic arguments against the immortality of the human soul gave rise to wide discussions which spread from Islamic to Christian learned circles; the difference between Aristotle and Alexander over this question is a major theme in the correspondence between Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen and the Ṣūfī Ibn Sab'īn [*q.v.*] (see *JA*, 7ᵉ série, xiv (1879), 404-49).

Little being known about Alexander's life, the Arabic biographical tradition considerably exceeds what can be derived from the Greek sources. It calls him al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī al-Dimashkī, thus identifying him with a certain Alexander of Damascus, who quarrelled in Rome with Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS] and was afterwards appointed professor of Peripatetic philosophy at Athens (see Galen xiv, 627-9 and ii, 218, ed. Kühn). Just the same honour was awarded to Alexander of Aphrodisias, and we do not know whether the identification is due to some erroneous reasoning or is based on better information than we nowadays possess. Chronological considerations are of no value here: Alexander of Aphrodisias was called to Athens in or after 198 A. D., and though Galen wrote the chapter of *De anatomicis administrationibus* where the relevant remark on Alexander of Damascus is found before 180 A. D., he may have inserted this statement later, at the end of his life, for he often used to complete his earlier works with new references (cf. K. Bardong, in *Nachrichten von der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1942, 604, 631, 633). Besides Galen's account of his quarrel with Alexander of Damascus, the Greek sources reveal nothing about any such strife with Alexander of Aphrodisias; the Arab authors, however, even know the nickname "mule's head", which their Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī al-Dimashkī bestowed on the philosophizing physician (for some literary refutations of Galen as extant in Arabic see below). In this context it is interesting that the Arabic tradition gives Galen the same teacher of Peripatetic philosophy as Alexander of Aphrodisias, viz. Herminus, and this statement can surely be accepted as correct (cf. Heinrich Schmidt, *De Hermino Peripatetico*, Phil. Diss. Marburg 1907, 6; F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 69, 79; S. Pines, in *Isis*, lii (1961), 23).

The works of Alexander were made accessible to the Arabs by various translators, such as Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn [*q.v.*], Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd al-Dimashkī, Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus, Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, and others. The Arab bibliographers refer to most of his expanded commentaries on the writings of Aristotle, but only some quotations of them are still extant in Arabic translation (cf., *e.g.*, A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, *Abhandlungen der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., Dritte Folge*, no. 66, 1966, 181 f.), the most voluminous being those preserved by Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*] (see J. Freudenthal, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1884; cf. M. Bouyges, in *Revue du moyen âge latin*, iv (1948), 280). On the other hand over 35 small treatises on various subjects are found in Arabic manuscripts the edition and study of which has begun only in the last decades. About 15 can be identified with the Greek text of the so-called *quaestiones* (ed. Bruns, ii/2) or parts of them (see Dietrich, *Differentia specifica*, 94-9; van Ess, 153; Gätje, *Überlieferung*, 261-4, 274-8). Three other tracts are found in the collection *De Anima Libri Mantissa* (*Fi 'l-'aḳl 'alā ra'y Arisṭūṭālīs*, ed. Finnegan; *Fī kayfa yakūnu 'l-ibṣār 'alā madhhab Arisṭāṭālīs*, see Gätje, *Überlieferung*, 267-70, 272 f.; *Fi 'l-radd 'alā man yaḳūlu inna 'l-ibṣār yakūnu bi-'l-shu'-ā'āt al-khāridja min al-baṣar*, Ms. Tashkent 2385, lxxxv = Bruns ii/1, 127, 28-130, 12). The titles of these Arabic treatises are certainly not original; they also differ sometimes in the lists of the bibliographers and in the various manuscripts, where they may even be left out, the result being a confusion with the preceding tracts (see Gätje, *Überlieferung*, 261 f.—the same coherent text in Ms. Tashkent 2385, lxxxiv). A number of these secondary headings indicate a polemic against Galen (cf. J. Ch. Bürgel, in *Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen, I. phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1967, 282 f., 387), but it remains for further investigation to decide whether these refutations are really directed against him in each case.

Sometimes the Arabic version appears to be merely a shortened paraphrase of the Greek with occasional additions. In one case two Arabic tracts on the *differentia specifica* (ed. Dietrich) are so similar, that one of them seems to be the paraphrase of the other (cf. van Ess, 154-9). It is difficult if not impossible to get an idea when all these alterations were introduced, whether by Alexander himself or in which stage of the Greek-(Syriac-) Arabic tradition. A similarly puzzling problem is posed by the second part of the commentary to Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, as extant in Greek and commonly regarded as a forgery, and its relation to the quotations made by Ibn Rushd (cf. Moraux, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise*, 14-9). It should further be noted, that in the Arabic tradition passages of Proclus's *Elements of theology* [see BURUḲLUS] appear among Alexander's genuine writings and under his name

(see van Ess, 159-68). The bilbiographers give also the titles of two medical tracts ascribed to Alexander (*Fi 'l-mālīkhūliya* and *Fi 'l-ʿilal allati taḥduthu fi fam al-miʿda*); they are quoted, apparently, by al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] in his *al-Ḥāwī* (cf. Th. Puschmann, *Alexander von Tralles*, i, Vienna 1878, 94 f.).

Bibliography: *Fihrist* (index), cf. the German translation by August Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Überlieferung*, Halle a. S. 1873, 23 f.; Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam*, ed. ʿA. Badawī, Madrid 1958, 291, German tr. by F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zurich and Stuttgart 1965, 55; al-Shahrastānī, 344 f., German tr. by Th. Haarbrücker, Halle a. S. 1851, ii, 207 f.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903 (index); Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. A. Müller, Cairo 1882, i, 69-71, 84; al-Shahrazūrī, *Rawḍat al-afrāḥ wa-nuzhat al-awāḥ*, Ms. Berlin, Landberg 430, fol. 4v and 33r; M. Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, 7ᵉ série, xiii, no. 4 (1869); idem, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893 (repr. Graz 1956), 1049 (index); idem, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, repr. Graz 1960, p. (251) (index); *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis praeter commentaria scripta minora*, ed. I. Bruns, Berlin 1887, 1892 (*Supplementum Aristotelicum* ii); G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, Baltimore 1927, 318 f.; P. Kraus, in *MIE*, xlv (1942), 324 f.; P. Moraux, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise. Exégète de la noétique d'Aristote*, Liège and Paris 1942 (*Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège*, xcix), on the authenticity of the *quaestiones* cf. now *Hermes*, xcv (1967), 161; ʿA. Badawī, *Arisṭū ʿind al-ʿarab*, pt. 1, Cairo 1947 (*Dirāsāt islāmiyya* v), contains the edition of eleven treatises of Alexander; J. Finnegan, *Texte arabe du* περὶ νοῦ *d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise*, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, xxxiii (1956), 157-202, cf. Roger Paret, in *Byzantion*, xxix-xxx (1959-60), 410-5; H. Ley, *Studie zur Geschichte des Materialismus im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1957; P. Thillet, *Un traité inconnu d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise sur la Providence dans une version arabe inédite*, in *L'homme et son destin d'après les penseurs du Moyen Âge*, Louvain and Paris 1960, 313-24, deals with Ms. Escurial 798, the same text in Ms. Carullah 1279 is examined by S. Pines in *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 34ᵉ année, xxvi (1959), 295-9, for some Greek fragments quoted by Cyril of Alexandria cf. R. M. Grant, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, N. S. xv (1964), 275-9; S. Pines, *A new fragment of Xenocrates and its implications*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N. S. li/2 (1961); idem, *Omne quod movetur necesse est ab aliquo moveri*: *A refutation of Galen by Alexander of Aphrodisias and the theory of motion*, in *Isis*, lii (1961), 21-54; R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962; Moses Maimonides, *The guide of the perplexed*, transl. S. Pines, Chicago 1963, p. lxiv-lxxv; A. Dietrich, *Die arabische Version einer unbekannten Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Differentia specifica*, in *Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen*, *I. phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1964, no. 2, see p. 92-100 a list of manuscripts and treatises still extant; J. van Ess, *Über einige neue Fragmente des Alexander von Aphrodisias und des Proklos in arabischer Übersetzung*, in *Isl.*, xlii (1966), 148-68, contains comprehensive additions to the list given by Dietrich; H. Gätje, *Zur arabischen Überlieferung des Alexander von Aphrodisias*, in *ZDMG*, cxvi (1966), 255-78, at p. 278 is to be added that the Tashkent Ms. has the full text; idem, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Farbe*, in *Nachrichten des Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen. I phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1967 no. 10; F. E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, Leiden 1968; P. Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen*, pt. 1, ii (forthcoming). (G. STROHMAIER)

ISKANDAR AGHA B. YAʿḲŪB B. ABKĀR, an Armenian of Beirut, better known by the name ABKARYUS (d. 1885). Becoming devoted to the study of Arabic literature, he endeavoured to provide his readers with anthologies based upon works still unpublished and thereby rendered great service to orientalism in the 19th century. His best known work is the *Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-ʿArab* (Marseilles 1852; revised ed. under the title *Tazyīn Nihāyat al-arab*, Beirut 1867). In Beirut he also edited (1864, 1881) the *Dīwān* of ʿAntara (*Munyat al-nafs fī ashʿār ʿAntar ʿAbs*), and published in the same town *Rawḍat al-adab fī ṭabaḳāt shuʿarā' al-ʿArab* (1858), and *Rayḥanat al-afkār*... (1880). His stay in Egypt from 1873 inspired several of his writings, notably a biography of Ibrāhīm Pasha, *al-Manāḳib al-Ibrāhīmiyya* (Cairo 1299/1882), and some articles published in *Djinān* in 1874; it was also in Cairo that he published, in 1883, his *Dīwān*, under the title *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-zīnat al-ṭurūs*, in which he gave particular praise to the Khedives Tawfīḳ and Ismāʿīl.

Finally, he is the author of a narrative of the events which marked the history of Lebanon from 1860 to 1869, *Nawādir al-zamān fī waḳā'iʿ djabal Lubnān*; several Mss. of this work exist (see *D.M.*): the text has been published in 1920 in New Haven, by J. P. Scheltema, under the title: *The Lebanon in turmoil*; *Syria and the powers in 1860*; *Book of the marvels of the time concerning the massacres in the Arab country*. His brother Yūḥannā, d. 1889, was also interested in history and literature; his principal works are *Ḳaṭf al-zuhūr fī ta'rīkh al-duhūr* (Beirut 1883), *Nuzhāt al-khawāṭir* (Beirut 1877), and an English-Arabic dictionary printed several times in Beirut (wrongly attributed to his brother by Brockelmann, in EI[1], s.v. ABKĀRIŪS).

Bibliography: F. Bustānī, in *Dā'irat al-maʿārif* ii, 258. (ED.)

ISKANDAR BEG AL-SHAHĪR BI-**MUNSHĪ**, born *ca.* 968/1560, died probably *ca.* 1042/1632, author of the *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, one of the greatest works of Persian historiography. The *muḳaddima*, on the origins of the Ṣafawids and the reigns of Ismaʿīl I and Ṭahmāsp I, is followed by a detailed history of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I. The bulk of the work (*Ṣaḥīfas* I and II, or, according to another reckoning, *Ṣaḥīfa* I and *Ṣaḥīfa* II, *Maḳṣad* i) was completed in 1025/1616. A later portion, variously termed *Ṣaḥīfa* III, or *Ṣaḥīfa* II, *Maḳṣad* ii, was completed in 1038/1629, the year of Shāh ʿAbbās's death. In the same year, Iskandar Beg, at the age of seventy, commenced a history of Shāh Ṣafī, but probably only the first four years of this chronicle are the work of Iskandar Beg. For a discussion on the authorship of this so-called *Dhayl-i Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, see Storey, i/I, pp. 312-14, and V. Minorsky's observations in *BSOAS*, x (1940-2), 540-1.

Iskandar Beg began his professional career as an accountant, but soon abandoned accountancy for *inshā'*. He obtained an appointment in the royal sec-

retariat, and rose rapidly to the rank of *munshī-yi ʿaẓīm*. From 1001/1592-3 onwards, he was an eye-witness of many of the events he describes.

Bibliography: Storey, i/I, pp. 309-313; Fr. von Erdmann, *Iskender Munschi und sein Werk*, in *ZDMG*, xv (1861), 457-501. Printed edition of the *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, 2 vols. Tehran, 1334-5 s./1955-6. (R. M. SAVORY)

ISKANDAR BEG [see ISKENDER BEG].

ISKANDAR KHĀN [see Supplement].

AL-**ISKANDARIYYA**, the name of a great number of towns of which Alexander (al-Iskandar) was the founder, real or legendary, or for which he was chosen as eponymous protector when they were built after his death. The relevant ancient texts are listed in the *Real-Encyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa (i, 1377-98 and Suppl., i, 54) and, in less detail, by M. Besnier, *Lexique de géographie ancienne*, Paris 1914, 32-4. These towns are:

1. Alexandria in Egypt [see following article]. - 2. Alexandria Arion: Harāt (cf. Suhrāb, *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-akālīm al-sabʿa*, ed. von Mžik, Leipzig 1930, 29). - 3. Alexandria in Margiana, in the region of Mraw. - 4. Alexandria Eschate: Khodjand; in this region, the permanence of the legendary memory of Alexander finds expression also in the name of the town of Iskander, 50 km. north-east of Tashkent (cf. *Times Atlas of the world*, ii, London 1959, map 43). - 5. Alexandria of the Paropanisades: Ghazna or, more probably, Begrām, to the north of Kābul. - 6. Alexandreia Opiane, on the east bank of the Indus (Besnier appears to confuse this with the last-named locality). - 7. Alexandria apud Oritas, on the coast of Gedrosia, near Cocala: Sonmiani, at the mouth of the Pourali. - 8. Alexandria in Macarene, in the Makrān, on the river Mashkil. - 9. Alexandria in Carmania: known to the Arab geographers as Walāsh-djird (cf. Yāķūt, s.v.). - 10. Alexandria in Arachosia: Ķandahār. - 11. Alexandria in Susiana (Alexandria ad Tigrim) between the Tigris and the Eulaeus (Kārūn). - 12. Alexandria in Troas: Eski Stabul. - 13. An Alexandria in Assyria (according to Pliny, *Histoire naturelle*, vi, 42). - 14. Alexandria in Syria: Alexandretta [see AL-ISKANDARŪN]. - 15. An Alexandroskene 16 km. south of Tyre. This Iskandarūna (Skandelion) was in fact built by Alexander Severus, but legend subsequently attributed it to Alexander, who was said to have set up his tent (*skene*) there during the siege of Tyre (cf. Besnier, 34; *Guide Baedeker Palestine-Syrie*, Leipzig 1893, 274; *Guide bleu Moyen-Orient*: *Liban, Syrie, Jordanie, Iraq, Iran*, Paris 1965, 160). On the other hand, alexandrine legend does not appear to have annexed the fortress of Alexandrium, to the south-east of Nābulus, built by Alexander Jannaeus (102-76), cf. Strabo, xvi, 2, 40, and *Guide bleu*, 480. 16. An Alexandria in Latmos, to the south of Magnesia ad Maeander. - 17. An Alexandria in Cyprus. - 18. An Alexandria in Thrace. - 19. An Alexandria in the Gulf of Saros (Melas sinus, to the north of the Chersonesus). - 20. An Alexandria in Armenia. - 21. An Alexandropolis in Thrace. - 22. An Alexandropolis in Parthia (Khurāsān), in the region of the Nasā of the Arab geographers. - 23. Alexandreia Boukephalos, on the right bank of the Hydaspe, near the modern Djalālpur, in the North of the Pundjāb. - 24. An Alexandria on the Acesines (Čenāb), near its confluence with the Indus. - 25. Alexandria of the Sogdians (of India), to the south of the preceding locality. - 26. An Alexandreia "para Sorianois" (perhaps that of Diodorus Siculus, xvii, 102 ?), in India. - 27. Alexandri portus, at the mouth of the northern arm of the Indus: Karāčī. - 28. Alexandria near Bactra (Balkh). - 29. Alexandreia Oxiane (on the Oxus: Djayḥūn). - 30. Alexandreia Eschate (different from No. 4, on the Upper Oxus, in the Khuttal; the Sikandara of the Arab geographers (cf. Ibn Ḥawķal-Kramers-Wiet, 432, 434; Muķaddasī, 291). - 31 to 35, or 31 to 39, according to the authors, various other Alexandrias in Bactria and Sogdiana.

The memory of these towns has been preserved in an erratic and uncertain manner: Ibn Rusta, for example, claims for his own city, Iṣfahān, the honour of having been founded by the hero (Ibn Rusta - Wiet, 186; Ibn Ḥawķal - Kramers - Wiet, 355; another trace of this onomastic tradition is in the name Eskandarī, a locality 110 km. west of Iṣfahān). Ķudāma, for his part, names as towns built by Alexander (*BGA*, vi, 265): Samarķand, al-Dabūsiyya (modern Ziandin in the region of Bukhārā; cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 113, 352), al-Iskandariyya al-Ķuṣwā (Khudjand), Bukhārā, Marw, Harāt, Zarandj, al-Rayy, Iṣfahān and Hamadhān. It is apparent that the Iranian tradition tends to monopolize the memory of the hero. But it is Ibn al-Faķīh who represents the starting-point of the most interesting links. No doubt, apart from the Alexandria in Egypt, he knew merely of Alexandretta (p. III) and the tradition of the founding of Marw by Alexander (71; al-Muķaddasī, 298). But Yāķūt, who had at his disposal the complete version of Ibn al-Faķīh's work, states that in it he found traces of thirteen Alexandrias, out of all those that Alexander founded "almost everywhere" and to which he gave his name, a name "which was later to be changed". In fact, Yāķūt's text enumerates twelve towns mentioned by Ibn al-Faķīh, to which he adds three others. The whole of this information is repeated by Muḥammad Murtaḍā (*Tādj al-ʿarūs*, iii, 276).

These Alexandrias are: - A. An Alexandria "on the bank of the great river" (*TA* defines this—"namely, the Djayḥūn") = 29. - B. An Alexandria "in the country of Babylon (Bābil)": this is Iskandariyya, a small township 68 km. South of Baghdād, according to popular tradition founded by Alexander; the same name is also borne, in the same region, by a canal (cf. *Guide bleu*, 626; *Iraq and the Persian Gulf, September 1944*, Geographical Handbook Series of the Naval Intelligence Division, Oxford 1944, s.v.; *Times Atlas of the world*, map 34). - C. An Alexandria "in the country of Sogdiana (Ṣughd): this is Samarķand" (*TA*: "in the Ṣughd of Samarķand") = 4. - D. An Alexandria which "is called Marghabulūs: this is Marw" (*TA*: "at Marw"). No doubt, in the name Marghabulūs we may detect the association of two traces, referring respectively to Margus (the river of Margiana: Murghāb) and *polis* = 3. - E. An Alexandria "called Kūsh, and which is Bactra (Balkh)" (*TA*: "this is the name borne by Balkh, for it was Alexander who founded it") = 28. - F. An Alexandria "in the basin of the rivers, in India" (*TA* adds: "which are five in number and known by the name Pundjāb") = 6, 23 or 24. - G. An Alexandria (*TA* gives the name al-Iskandara and adds: "large") "in the country of India", with no further details = 6 or 23-27. This onomastic tradition has remained strong in India (see the many occurrences of the name Sikandara in northern India: *Times Atlas of the world*, s.v. and map 30). - H. Alexandria in Egypt, known as "the Great". - I. Alexandretta, if this is indeed the town denoted by the poor description given by Yāķūt, "a small town between Aleppo and Ḥamāt". *TA*, on the other hand, leaves no

doubt on the subject. - J. An Alexandria, "which is a small town on the Tigris, opposite al-Djāmida, 15 parasangs from Wāsiṭ", the home of the Shāfiʿī Abū Bakr al-Iskandarānī (for whom see Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, ii, 98) = 11. - K. An Alexandria which is "a small town between Mecca and Medina, mentioned by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Nadjdjār in his dictionary" (Kaḥḥāla, *op. cit.*, xi, 317).

The *Tādj al-ʿarūs* adds, without further details, that five other Alexandrias also exist, to make up the total number mentioned at the beginning of the passage, of sixteen towns "commemorating the name of Alexander". In fact, this figure takes into account the mistake made by Yāḳūt over the number of cities given by Ibn al-Faḳīh (twelve, not thirteen); the true total is therefore fifteen, the same as that of Yāḳūt.

The four towns which figure in Yāḳūt, and whose names disappear in *TA*, for the evident reason that they are more difficult to locate, are: - A. A town which Alexander founded *fī Bāūrnaḳūs*; at first sight indecipherable, this name may be read as Bārūnaḳūs, a possible corruption of Paro(pa)nisos, the land of the Paropanisades = 5. - B. A town called the Fortified (al-Muḥaṣṣana): cf. 26, where Diodorus says: *ektise polin Alexandreian* (Latin, *oppidum condidit Alexandriam*). - C. An Alexandria *fī Djaliḳūs*: the epithet Gallicus may here refer (cf. Propertius, 2, 13, 48) to the Gallus, a river of Phrygia or Galatia, or to the Glaucus, a small river in the North of Armenia or the gulf between Lycia and Caria (Strabo, xiv, 2, 2) = 20 or 16. - D. An Alexandria "in the country of al-Saḳūyāsīs": in this name it is possible to detect a corruption of Satnioeïs (Satniols, Saphnioïs: Strabo, vii, 7, 2, xiii, I, 50 and 3, I), a river which flows to the South of Alexandria of Troas = 12.

Bibliography: In the text. (A. MIQUEL)

AL-**ISKANDARIYYA** (also al-Askandariyya), the principal seaport of Egypt, in Ptolemaic times the second city of the world. One of the few important seaports on the African shore of the Mediterranean, Alexandria enjoys a particularly important position. With a population of about 1,576,234 (in 1960), the city lies at the Western angle of the Delta in latitude 30°11′N. and longitude 29°51′E. It was founded in 332 B.C. by Alexander the Great. When it came into Arab hands, though its glory had diminished, it was still a great and splendid city.

When Alexandria was surrended to the Arabs in 21/642 a considerable number of Greeks left the city. The new rulers, on taking possession, did not molest the inhabitants. The well-known story of the burning of the great library by order of the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, which is related by a 7th/13th-century Arabic author, cannot be accepted as historical. The Arab newcomers were at first overwhelmed by the city of Alexandria, whose buildings and monuments must have seemed to them the work of a superhuman power. Time and again we are told by the traditions that the city shone so brightly by night that the tailor needed no artificial light to thread his needle. The famous 12th-century Arab geographer, Yāḳūt, refuted this same assertion when he declared that the town was as dark as any other during the night. Its houses shone simply because they were coloured white, while the façades and throughfares were built of marble. Accounts by Arab writers of the 3rd/9th to 7th/13th centuries, when pieced together, give only a general description of Alexandria and materials for reconstructing the plan of the city are quite insufficient. It seems fairly certain, however, that the city retained its overall layout through the Middle Ages and up to the present time. Eight straight streets intersect eight more at right angles, producing a chess-board pattern of direct and continuous throughfares. The riches of antiquity were utilized by the new rulers as when, for example, during a monetary crisis at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, the governor of Egypt allowed a copper statue to be melted down to provide metal with which to strike money. In the reign of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, the government made use of lead from an underground tunnel, which still existed at that time in the city, in building the canal of Alexandria. A remarkable feature of medieval Alexandria, and one that was taken over from ancient times, was that the houses were built on columns, rising above one another in as many as three tiers. In this way, the city made full use of the land while securing its water supply by means of a carefully planned subterranean system of canals, cisterns and wells. In winter Alexandria had and still has a fairly considerable rainfall, while in summer the waters of the Nile were directed and stored there.

The city of Alexandria was well fortified. There is no precise information about the origins of the medieval fortifications. When ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ met with resolute resistance to his siege of the city, after the invasion of Manuel in 25/645, he swore to destroy the city's walls after its reconquest. The authenticity of such reports, however, may well be doubted despite their widespread repetition. A soldier with the circumspection of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ could scarcely, seriously, have wished to leave a frontier city as important strategically as Alexandria without the protection of a wall. We learn, moreover, that the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (234/848-247/861) had Alexandria furnished with a city wall. Since the Arabic word *banā*, in medieval times, meant restore as well as build, we can draw no firm conclusions from this. Similar statements are made about Ibn Ṭūlūn (254/868-270/884), Saladin (567/1172-589/1193), al-Ẓāhir Baybars (659/1260-674/1277), al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (764/1363-778/1376) and others after them. Hence we may well question the assertion that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ left the city walls razed and assume that al-Mutawakkil, Ibn Ṭūlūn and the other rulers gradually added improvements to them. At the same time, the view that the walls were built in pre-Islamic times gains credence. It is particularly important for the history of the city that the new walls, supposedly erected by al-Mutawakkil, included about half the area of those which dated from the Hellenistic-Roman period. About a hundred towers were built along the walls in the Middle Ages and fitted out with suitable equipment including cannon. In addition, the city was protected by a moat in front of the walls.

The medieval seaport of Alexandria consisted of an eastern and a western harbour. The original island of Pharos was flanked by these harbours and joined tc the mainland by a causeway seven stadia in length, and hence known as the Heptastadium, which separated the harbours. On the north-eastern point of the island stood the Pharos, the great lighthouse begun in the time of Ptolemy Soter. This famous building, the prototype of all our lighthouses and one of the wonders of the ancient world, survived the Arab conquests by several centuries. The Arab writers call it the *manāra*, *manār* or *fanār* and we are indebted to al-Balawī for a precise

description of it dating from the year 561/1165. When the Pharos was destroyed in the course of various earthquakes, the port came, in the later Middle Ages, to be watched over from a knoll, Kom al-Nadura (*Kawm al-Nāẓūra*), where the arrival and departure of the ships was noted. In 882/1447, under Sultan Ḳā'it Bay [*q.v.*], a tower was built on the ruins of the Pharos which still bears his name.

It is worth remembering the remark of al-Masʿūdī that the imperial anchorage on the eastern side of the eastern harbour, renowned in ancient times, was not used in the Middle Ages. For closer supervision of the eastern harbour, a second lighthouse was built. Construction began in the time of Sultan Ḳalāwūn or in that of his son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, and was completed in 767/1365.

The eastern harbour was strengthened by this addition. The western harbour, on the other hand, was protected by an iron chain. On grounds of security, the eastern harbour was reserved for Christian shipping and that from the *dār al-ḥarb*, while the western harbour was for Muslim vessels. Entering the eastern harbour required particularly careful navigation. To reach the anchorage protected from wind and rough sea, ships had to sail close by the Pharos and hold hard to the western bank of the eastern harbour lest they plunge into the danger zone of submerged rocks. It was impossible to avoid these rocks by sailing around the eastern side because of the shallow water. The harbour authorities had pilots and launches to accompany the great Frankish ships to their anchorage. A wooden landing-stage connected the anchorage to the shore, by means of which the vessels could be loaded and unloaded. Anchoring in the western harbour raised no technical difficulties.

Apart from al-Abdarī's book of travel (7th/13th century), none of the known oriental sources provides a detailed description of the city gates of Alexandria. Impressed by the achievement of the pre-Islamic period, al-Abdarī describes them as follows: "Their uprights and lintels, despite the extraordinary size of the gates, are made of hewn stone of wonderful beauty and solidity. Every door-post is formed of a single stone as is every lintel and step. There is nothing more astonishing than the collection of these stones in view of their immense size. The passage of time has not affected them or left any trace on them; they remain still in all their freshness and beauty. As for the panels of the gates, they are tremendously strong, clad inside and out with iron of the most delicate, most beautiful and most solid workmanship possible."

The city had four main gates: Bāb al-Baḥr led to the Heptastadium and the eastern harbour while Bāb Rashīd (the Rosetta gate) was the eastern gate with the road leading to Rosetta and Fuwwa. The southern gate was called Bāb Sidra (also called Ṣadr in the late Middle Ages), known to the western sources as Port du Midi or Meridionale, also as the Gate of Spices, Bāb al-Bahar, or Gate of St. Mark. The caravans from the Maghrib and the Egyptian hinterland came and went through this gate. The fourth, Bāb al-Akhdar or Bāb al-Khiḍr, in the northern section of the wall led to one of the city's three large cemeteries and was opened only once a week for visitors, on Fridays. There were to be found innumerable places of pilgrimage (*mazārāt*) and the graves of scholars and pious men. In the western area of the city lay the royal buildings like the Dār al-Sulṭān (a magnificent complex going back to antiquity), Dār al-ʿAdl, Dār al-Imāra, Ḳaṣr al-Silāḥ and Dār al-Ṭirāz. Near the Dār al-Ṭirāz and opposite Bāb al-Baḥr lay the famous Arsenal of Alexandria which, however, by the later Middle Ages, no longer played any important part in the history of warfare. By this time it was used simply as a customs house.

Alexandria was at some distance from the Rosetta branch of the Nile and governments were faced with the difficult problem of linking the city with the river, of securing the supply of Nile water, and of permitting and maintaining traffic with the Nile valley. In 331 B.C. a canal was dug between Alexandria and Schidia (present day al-Nashw al-Baḥrī) and, indeed, by using the Kanope branch of the Nile, joined Alexandria to the next branch of the Nile at the same time. Since the Kanope branch dried up, as a result, and could no longer supply the canal of Alexandria with water, the bolbitine branch took over this function. This means that this development was complete some time before the Arab conquest of Egypt. The mouth of the canal which opened into the Nile became silted up from time to time. The duty of the Muslim administration to keep the canal in good order was fulfilled only to a limited extent, and at times the people of Alexandria had to rely on their cisterns for their water supply as they had done in ancient times. In the 3rd/9th century, the canal was only twice cleaned out. Information about the canal of Alexandria during the Fāṭimid period is very scarce. We are rather better informed about the canal in the period of Ayyūbid rule. In this period too, however, no decisive steps were taken for the utilization of the canal throughout the year for irrigation and transport. The Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars, and, to a greater extent, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalawūn, gave special consideration to the significance of the canal for Alexandria and for state trade as well as for the fertility of the surrounding area. In the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, from 710/1310 until 770/1368, the waters of the Nile flowed to Alexandria all the year round. Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay, too, took care to keep the canal in good condition and make it navigable throughout the year, partly with an eye to his own policy of trade monopolies. In the second half of the 9th/15th century, however, once again less attention was paid to the upkeep of the canal.

The journey by Nile from Cairo to Alexandria usually took seven days. During the flood season, the Nile boats plied between Alexandria and the other towns of the Nile valley, especially Cairo and Ḳūṣ-the assembly points for goods from the Orient.

It is difficult to give an estimate of the population of Alexandria. When the Arabs invaded the city some 40,000, or, according to other reports, 70,000, Jews were living there. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam puts the number of Greeks living there, after the conquest, at some 600,000 men (women and children not included), although he gave the total number of Greeks, without counting women and children, as 200,000, at the time of the conquest. Both these figures are unreliable. Bishop Arculf, who visited the city some 25 years after the beginning of Arab rule, wrote of the numerous population housed within the city, without giving any estimate as to its size. More reliable figures have come down to us from later times. The Jewish travellers, particularly, show a keen interest in establishing the number of their co-religionists in Alexandria. Benjamin of Tudela (5th/12th century) puts the number of Jewish residents, at this time, at 3,000, while E. Ashtor notes that this figure includes only those

from whom taxes were levied and assumes that the total number of Jews may be estimated at about 9,000. According to the writings of another traveller, dating from 886/1481, their number seems to have diminished to some sixty families. A few years later, another Jewish traveller put the number of the Jewish community at about 25 families (cf. E. Ashtor, *The number of Jews in mediaeval Egypt*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, xix (1968) 8-12).

In the 13th century, the total population of the city was estimated at 65,000, which, however, decreased sharply in the middle of the 8th/14th century. In the years between 748/1347 and 751/1350, on several days people died at the rate of one to two hundred a day and the number rose to seven hundred at the height of the plague. The Dār al-Ṭirāz and Dār al-Wikāla were closed because of the lack of manpower and the absence of commercial traffic. The markets and customs houses, too, ceased to function. The city, however, was able to survive this catastrophe and the population, once more, rapidly increased. Frescobaldi put its number at 60,000 (786/1384), while in the same year Simon Sigoli estimated the population at about 50,000. These figures, despite their variations show that the population was again on the increase. It is important to remember that the growth of the population of Alexandria was dependent, in the first place, on the development of the city's trade and was greater than that of any other city or region of Egypt, with the exception of Cairo where most of the army was stationed. As early as 788/1386, then, Alexandria was returning to prosperity after the plague.

In the medieval city, the central government, whose powers had accumulated in the course of time, was the source of authority. In the earlier Middle Ages, Alexandria had enjoyed a special position, as it had in former times before the Arab invasion. Henceforward, however, its governors were appointed by the central administration. Nevertheless, in these circumstances, the city remained either a polis, a self-contained administrative area, or was included in the western Egyptian coastal area (to which Libya also sometimes belonged). The governor of Egypt soon came to reside, for some of the time at least, in Alexandria. As a polis or provincial centre, Alexandria had a treasury which was usually administered by a Muslim. Not infrequently at this time, however, the financial and civil administration was given over to Copts. From the documents which date from the first century of Arab rule, it is apparent that Copts were also nominated as governors of Alexandria; thus, for example, the Christian Theodosius was appointed to this office by the Caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya.

During the governorship of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (from 256/870), Alexandria was "independent". The special position of Alexandria lasted from that time until the 3rd/10th century and Grohmann rightly recognizes in this some reflection of the position in Roman law whereby Alexandria, as a polis, lay outside the *kūra* of Egypt. It is in this light that we must understand the division of the ʿAbbāsid budget for Egypt in 337/958 into Miṣr and Alexandria, as reported by Ḳudāma.

Under the Fāṭimids, the governor of Alexandria went even further towards taking on the role of the erstwhile Augustalis by extending his authority over the province of Buḥayra. On this point, Grohmann's observations are at one with the historical development of the city. His view that the Crusades served so to diminish the importance of the city that an appointment as governor there should be understood as an indication of royal disfavour, is not, on the other hand, consonant with the facts. Certainly the city continued to lose its independent position after the fall of the Fāṭimids but from the commercial and strategic point of view it regained its earlier importance. Through the international transit trade the city became a market for East and West.

Some demonstration of all this is provided by the fact that up to about the 3rd/10th century a kind of public meeting was occasionally held in Alexandria concerning the acceptance of government precepts or to choose a Coptic Patriarch. In the first half of the 4th/11th century the Coptic Patriarch had to transfer his seat from Alexandria to Cairo. In the later medieval period it was not unusual for the city to be given as an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*]

The governor was a military official while the *ḳāḍī* was both a civil official and a judge in the religious sphere. He is sometimes referred to in the chronicles as *raʾīs al-madīna* (town chief) and in times of crisis had sometimes to govern the city himself, though this in no way altered the status of the city. In Mamluk times, the governor of Alexandria had the rank of an *amīr ṭablkhāna*. After the attack of Peter of Lusignan in 766/1365, the Mamluk government paid more attention to the city and established an *amīr miʾa* there; *i.e.*, the governor of Alexandria had the same rank as those of Tripoli, Ṣafad and Ḥamāt in Syria.

In Alexandria, the Mālikī school was prevalent. This resulted from the proximity to North Africa and the activity of the Maghribīs and Spanish Muslims who settled in Alexandria in the later Middle Ages, driven before the *Reconquista* in Spain and the upheavals in North Africa. In the later Middle Ages, the *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* was almost always a Mālikī. In a few instances the government choice fell on a Shāfiʿī. Nevertheless, the three schools, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī were all represented in the administration of justice. Several sultans saw to it, in addition, that foreign as well as native merchants had legal protection as far as their persons and goods were concerned. Thus, for example, it was said of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalawūn, with regard to the judge of Alexandria, Ibn Miskīn, that he supported a Frank in 735/1334 in opposition to his own official. Sometimes the diplomas of appointment for *ḳāḍīs* give prominence to these responsibilities in respect of the merchants as well as the usual stipulations about the just treatment of citizens. The *muḥtasib* was ranged alongside the governor and *ḳāḍī* with responsibility for the supervision of the market and those concerned in it, producers as well as retailers, though his powers were, *de facto*, restricted to the sphere of smaller transactions.

Alexandria was an important source of revenue for the state or rather for those in power. Besides the high duties paid by the Kārimīs and the foreign merchants, the state authorities made money from almost every transaction and every shop in the city. The state profited too from the mint, Dār al-Ḍarb, where native and foreigner alike had their metal coined. Particular groups of participants in trade, such as money-changers, sailors, brokers, interpreters, auctioneers and donkey-drivers made good profits in this city and paid high taxes. Camel-drivers, or rather the leaders of caravans, had to pay their tax, the so-called *Maks al-Manākh*, outside the city where their camels were halted. As we have no statistics regarding this tax, we must be content

with a single example. According to the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, the annual revenue of the city from duties came to 28,613 *dīnārs*, not an exaggerated claim in view of other reports from the 14th and 15th centuries. The sultan's *dīwān* levied some 50,000 *dīnārs* in tolls, duties, etc. from ships entering Alexandria in 721/1321 and this, according to the text, did not even include all the ships that arrived. Fidenzio of Padua's observation (dating from the 8th/14th century) coincides with the information given by a governor of Alexandria in the 9th/15th, that Alexandria was worth 1,000 *frinti* or *dīnārs* a day to the sultan in the 8th/14th century. This, of course, was during the trading season. Al-Maḳrīzī writes of a Frankish vessel which paid 40,000 *dīnārs* duty on its cargo, in Alexandria, in 703/1303, an incredible sum when one thinks of the total naval fleet of a single Frankish merchant republic. It seems no exaggeration to estimate the total duties brought to Alexandria, for the state, by the foreign trade, at about 100,000 *dīnārs* a year.

Alexandria was always an important centre for cloth manufacture. Its products reached as far as India. It is believed that much of the fabric donated by the popes to Italian churches in the 8th and 9th centuries was produced by workers in Alexandria. Besides the looms (for linen, silk, wool and cotton), *buyūt al-g̲h̲azl*, there were also workshops for raw silk, *buyūt al-ḳazzāzīn*. The city housed a large public workshop for brocade, Dār al-Ṭirāz, which produced primarily for the luxury requirements of the court, not least for official gifts such as those to the Mongol K̲h̲ān or for the annual clothing of the Kaʿba with costly material. In 767/1365, the Dār al-Ṭirāz was burnt down in a Crusader raid but was restored again by the government. Private individuals too played an important part in the commercial life of the city by virtue of the fabrics they produced. We have a representative example: an 8th/14th century loom owner, the *faḳīh* Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr al-Damāmīnī, had invested his capital in the production of silk fabrics. Made bankrupt by a fire at his home, he fled to Upper Egypt for fear of his creditors and there was arrested and brought back to Cairo. His creditors met together to come to some arrangement. Al-Damāmīnī later went off to India to find better opportunities for advancement. He died there in 827/1423.

The outstanding achievements of the Alexandrian weavers were widely recognized. When the government of Yemen planned to expand their production of silk they asked for an Alexandrian weaver to be sent there. The authorities in Egypt agreed to this request and in 788/1386 sent a mission to Yemen. According to one report there were some 14,000 looms in Alexandria at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. By 837/1434, in the course of the general decline of the city, the number had fallen to 800. At that time, imports of cheaper fabrics rose, in particular those of cloth from Flanders and England from which the Venetians made considerable profit.

That glass was manufactured in Alexandria cannot yet be established from the medieval Arabic sources. Nevertheless, a page of the famous Atlas compiled by French scholars who accompanied Gen. Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1789, shows that glass was produced in Alexandrian workshops. Excavations at Alexandria, at Kom al-Dikka, prove that besides local products, ceramics were imported from North Africa, Iran and elsewhere. Chinese porcelain too was brought to Alexandria. In contrast to Damietta, the production of Egyptian sugar had no place in Alexandria, though during the later Middle Ages sugar was exported by way of Alexandria to the West. Not all the wine handled in Alexandria was imported; Egypt's own wine production (namely in Cairo) developed to such an extent that in the 9th/15th century it came to occupy an important place in the state commerce of Alexandria. From Alexandria, the only Egyptian outlet for the substance, the Matd̲j̲ar al-Sulṭānī exported about 5,000 *ḳanṭārs* of alum a year. Ibn Mammātī, in his capacity of inspector of the alum monopoly, sold some 13,000 *ḳanṭārs*, in 588/1192, to the Christian buyers who had come to Alexandria; a record in the selling of Egyptian alum. There was a state monopoly too on natron (sodium hydroxide), essential for cloth manufacture, which was sold to weavers in Cairo and Alexandria at prices which were kept very high.

Alexandria enjoyed a special place in international trade. While it is still difficult to establish the existence of this international trade with regard to Alexandria before the 5th/12th century, it can be seen quite clearly in this century itself. Natives of various Christian countries were to be found gathered there. Benjamin of Tudela names 28 Christian cities or countries alleged to have commercial representation there. William of Tyre says that Alexandria, in the second half of the 12th century, had become the emporium of East and West. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa wrote that Alexandria was one of the most important ports in the world: "In the whole world I have not seen its equal, save only those of Kaulam and Ḳālīḳūṭ in India, that of the infidels at Sudāḳ in the land of the Turks, and the harbour of Zayṭūn in China." Neither the establishment of the Crusader states nor that of the Mongol empire affected its position in world trade or detracted from it.

Close supervision was exercised over the three main gates of the city. Ibn D̲j̲ubayr could only enter Alexandria after the harbour authorities had taken his name and his goods had been investigated by customs officials. Similarly, the foreign Christians had to be identified by the consul of their country. Their possessions too were examined by the authorities of Alexandria. Once the customs formalities were completed, the oriental merchant made for the *funduḳ* of his countrymen, whenever a particular *funduḳ* was assigned to them; otherwise, he might find accommodation in a private *funduḳ* or *k̲h̲ān*. The western merchant was restricted to the *funduḳ* designated for his country and to which he could bring his merchandise. After the establishment of these *funduḳs* for foreign states, the trade of Alexandria was no longer simply a commerce of the coast. The foreign merchants enjoyed exterritorial privileges [see IMTIYĀZĀT]. As a result, these *funduḳs* were administered by officials or consuls of the friendly nations which stood under Egyptian protection. Venice, as the leading commercial power, gained a second *funduḳ* in the course of the 13th century. In addition, the merchants were able to rent shops and storerooms in the vicinity of their *funduḳs*. Besides Christians from the West, from the Byzantine Empire and from Ethiopia, there came to Alexandria Muslims from Spain, North Africa, Mesopotamia, Syria and the neighbourhood of India.

Al-Nuwayrī, who lived in Alexandria in the 7th/14th century, has left us the longest account of the city that has yet come to light. But he was not as concerned with the trade of this cosmopolitan city as was al-Maḳrīzī with that of Cairo. The short accounts which have come down to us, however, give us a clear and detailed picture of the markets of

the city. First of all, it must be noted that the customs house with its 30 storerooms was not simply concerned with the imposition of duties and with harbour control but was also used for public auctions. The Dār al-Wikāla, too, served business in a special capacity. Notices of this Dār in Alexandria can be traced back as far as the 4th/11th century. It is the Dār Wikālat Bayt al-Māl which is meant, a public administration which ensured the imposition and collection of taxes for the head of state, supported state trade and took a decisive role as an intermediary, selling only, in principle, imported merchandise to the Muslim entrepreneurs. As in every major Islamic city, in Alexandria each essential trade had its own market. Among the most important markets in the city were the Sūḳ al-ʿAṭṭārīn and al-Bahār, the pepper and spice market, probaby the centre of the Kārimī merchants in Alexandria. The Sūḳ al-Murdjāniya, the market of the coral-workshops and of the dealers in coral, was one of the most important coral markets in the whole of the Mediterranian area. The coral was worked in Alexandria: in its home port, a pound of coral cost 5 silver *dirhams*; after being worked in Alexandria its price rose to three or four times this amount. The chief outlets in the south were Aden and Ḳālīḳūṭ. The coral brought from Alexandria found good markets in the Ḥidjāz, in Yemen, in India, and, particularly, in the Far East.

The linen trade had its own special *sūḳ*, the Wikālat al-Kittān, where dealers handled large transactions. The slave market of Alexandria was no less important than that of Cairo. The money-changers, fruit-merchants, druggists (perfumers), sellers of sugared almonds or nuts, confectionary, dried fruits etc. always found a ready market. Alexandria had, in addition, like Cairo, a Sūḳ al-Ḳashshāshīn (flea-market = bric à brac bazaar), like the so-called Funduḳ al-Djawkandar and Funduḳ al-Damāmīnī, which were private *funduḳ* undertakings. The city's requirements of grain were met by imports supplementing home-grown supplies, as can now be shown from the documents. The bazaars of the candle and wax-dealers, like those of the dealers in wood, were especially important. Individual markets and bazaars were designated according to the race or nationality of the merchants. Thus, for example, the Sūḳ al-Aʿādjim was that of the Iranian merchants concerned, notably, with the import of silk fabrics and costly goods to Alexandria. Alongside these important and specialized markets and *funduḳs*, Alexandria was provided with a number of lesser, more general markets where pedlars with their tables and stalls, their cooking vessels and saucepans, sold their comestibles to the passers-by. Some dealers had old-established businesses on the Pharos peninsula and along the canal of Alexandria, where the ships entered, as well as in the town.

We should not overlook the fact that big business in the city was not completely monopolized by the state, nor confined to men; women too participated in commerce. We know of a woman of such standing among the merchants of Alexandria that she was known, as a result, by the nickname of Sitt al-Tudjdjār (lady of the merchants). She died of plague in 749/1348.

In Islamic history, political office and participation in business were by no means mutually exclusive. Leading members and high officials of the governments of Egypt were closely involved in big business. The organization of the *Matdjar al-Sulṭānī* (state trade), supposed to have been founded in the time of the famine which occurred under the reign of the Fātimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir, had in fact already existed and played a particularly important part during the Ayyūbid and Mamluk periods. Besides slaves and wood, the *Matdjar* imported iron and sheet metal, tin, silver and copper (later gold as well), and offered in return monopoly goods such as alum, natron, corn, flax, and later spices, sugar and soap. Egyptian mummies, too, found a ready market in Alexandria. Still, the principal line of business was the pepper trade. Frederic C. Lane has established that, before the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, Venetian vessels loaded, on average, about 1,500,000 pounds of pepper a year.

The merchant always made a good living. No less a person than the renowned *faḳīh* and ascetic, al-Ṭurṭūshī, came to Alexandria to preach against the money-lenders. It was not just by chance that the Alexandrian moneychangers were in a position to lend the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalawūn the sum of 10,000 *dīnārs* in the year 737/1337: sufficient proof, in itself, of the profitable nature of the business conducted by these brokers whose operations were not restricted to the changing of money.

Lively trade and flourishing crafts allowed the city to amass wealth. The "guilds", or, more exactly, the social groups involved in trade, did not function as independent entities with certain rights, which would have permitted them to defend their rights against the aggression of the city governor or the central authority. In fact, it was the central government who kept the power of decision and solved their problems while promulgating the laws and the regulations according to the juridical principles of Islam. Although the form of government and religious ideology hemmed in the dynamic development of Alexandria, it was commerce, with its traditions, its methods and its "code of honour", which determined the rhythm of city life. It is possible to construct a picture of attitudes prevalent among foreigner and native in the city and in regard to the city, not simply from the chronicles and treaties but from references in the most belletristic forms of literature like, for example, *The Thousand and One Nights* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and hence to draw inferences as to forms of government, methods of taxation, and the sort of risks involved in business.

In Alexandria the state was the primary ruler and rule was exercised in the interest of the state rather than that of the community. There is no clearer demonstration of this than the revolt of 727/1326 and the events leading up to it. Heavy tax burdens led to a rebellion which was put down with the utmost severity. It is worth noting the penalties which the government inflicted on the Kārimī merchants (among them the sons of al-Kuwaik or al-Kawbak, a respected Kārimī merchant), as well as on the silk dealers and producers. In addition to the fines and confiscations which were exacted, totalling about 260,000 *dinars*, the leaders of the revolt were crucified.

The diminishing power of the ruler and the weakness of the army in the city, nevertheless, came to be felt to the disadvantage of business and the execution of trade for, in troubled times, soldiers and mercenaries had extended their protection, *ḥimā*, to those involved in business, for large sums of money. Alexandria came to concentrate primarily on long-distance trade. Those who conducted this trade, the government officials, the long-distance dealers or big businessmen, were far removed from the retail dealer with his shop in the bazaar supervised by the *muḥtasib*.

The early and later Middle Ages formed two clearly distinct periods in the religious and scholarly life of Alexandria. In the early Middle Ages, the Christian and Jewish elements were supreme. After the Arab conquest the Greek Patriarch was forced to leave the city, the Coptic Patriarch entered and the Copts supported the Arabs in their later struggle with the Byzantine Empire and fell in with their plans for expansion. This period prepared the ground in Alexandria for the development of Islamic science —here a centre was established for the translation of the cultural works of antiquity which were of immense value, providing a basis for Islamic culture and its spiritual achievements. In respect of purely Islamic science, which, as al-Sakhāwī maintained, began first with al-Silafī, Alexandria was dependent on Fusṭāṭ and Cairo. At that time, men journeyed to the capital of Egypt to study the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*. The *wazīr* Riḍwān b. al-Walakhshī founded a Sunnī *madrasa* in Alexandria in 531/1137 (before the end of the Fāṭimid period) in which the *faḳīh* Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAwf taught *ḥadīth*. Scarcely fifteen years later al-ʿĀdil b. al-Sallār established a second Sunnī *madrasa* in Alexandria for the famous al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī. As is well known, Saladin himself later studied the *Muwaṭṭa'* of the *imām* Mālik with him. It was Saladin too who, after his assumption of power, had a school, a hospital and a hostel built for the Maghribīs, where they could find free lodging, teachers of various subjects, medical care and financial support.

The sources refer repeatedly to the names of various *ribāṭ*s in the city, while the *faḍā'il* literature on Alexandria expounds the strategic importance for Islam of this border harbour.

It was not only statesmen and warriors, however, who contributed to Islamic culture, the merchant too played a part. Several wealthy merchants of Alexandria were famous by virtue of their generosity and donations. They built mosques, schools and other religious foundations and encouraged Muslim learning. From the circle of famous Muslim Kārimī merchants of Alexandria we may take as an example ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Rushayd al-Takrītī (d. 714/1314). He had a mosque and *madrasa* built, called after him Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Takrītiyya, a place of learning for *ḥadīth* and Shāfiʿī *fiḳh* (the school is known today as the Masdjid Abī ʿAlī). The contemporary sources write with delight of the Kārimī merchant family of Kuwayk who could provide the cost of building a mosque or school with the profits of a single day's business.

Alexandria can look back on many renowned legal and religious scholars, poets and poetesses, Ṣūfīs and *murābiṭūn* housed within its walls: Ibn Ḳalāḳis, Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh, al-Sakandarī, al-Shāṭibī, Ibn al-Munayyar, Ibn al-Mudjāwir, Ibn al-Ṣawwāf, Ibn Sulaym, Ibn Ḳāsim al-Nuwayrī, Abu 'l-Ḥādjib, al-Ḳabbar and al-Būṣīrī.

Of the famous mosques of Alexandria, mention should be made of the Masdjid al-ʿUmarī or Djāmiʿ al-Gharbī (the former Theonas Church) and the Masdjid al-Djuyūshī or al-ʿAṭṭārīn (formerly the Church of St. Athanasius). Various details are known too about the *ribāṭ*s of the city such as the Ribāṭ al-Wāsiṭī (d. 672/1274), to the east of the mosque of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī, (outside the city wall on the northern side), now a *zāwiya*, and also the Ribāṭ Siwār, where Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Shāṭibī (d. 672/1274), a *muḳri'* and *zāhid*, had his quarters. Outside the city and in the vicinity of the Rosetta gate the scholar and *mutawallī al-thaghr*, Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Hakkārī (d. 683/1284), built a *ribāṭ* which was called after him. He was also buried nearby. Towards the end of the 7th/13th century the *khānḳāh*, Bīlīk al-Muḥsinī, was built by the *darwīsh* order of the city.

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ISKANDARŪN, Alexandretta, a port in the eastern Mediterranean, the ancient Ἀλεξάνδρεια κατὰ Ἰσσόν, the Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ μικρά in Malalas (ed. Bonn, 297), known to the Arabs as al-Iskandariyys or Iskandarūna (diminutive Aramaic form); from this last form came the Ἀλεξανδρών of Skylitzes (ii, 677) which in its turn gave rise to ἡ Ἀλεξανδρός (Michael Attal., 120; Zonaras, iii, 691; Georgius Cyprius and the list of bishops in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, i, 248). The diminutive Romance form Alexandretta was already in use among western pilgrims during the Middle Ages. Iskandarūna (which must not be confused with another place of the same name, situated between Tyre and Saint-John of Acre) formed part of the *d̲j̲und* of Ḳinnasrīn; the castle is said to have been built under the caliph al-Wāt̲h̲iḳ (Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, ii, 2,33). During the wars between the Byzantines and the Arabs, the town was captured by the former on several occasions (Muralt, *Chronogr. Byz.*, a. 1068; Ibn Ḥawḳal, index) and in the time of Abu 'l-Fidā' it was deserted. Later it regained some importance as a port for the then flourishing city of Aleppo, though it was unable to develop on a very large scale. It was the centre of a *ḳaḍā'* and at the beginning of the 20th century it contained from 10 to 15,000 inhabitants. The population according to the census of 1960 was 62,061.

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On 27 November 1918, the French military administration in Syria created the "Sand̲j̲aḳ of Alexandretta" from occupied territories over which Turkey had to abandon her rights under the Treaty of Lausanne; it included the towns of Alexandretta, Antioch and Kïrïk K̲h̲ān, and contained over 120,000 inhabitants. It had an autonomous regime providing, in particular, for the use of the Turkish language and the employment of Turkish officials. From 1928, national feeling began to develop among the Turkish community in the Sand̲j̲aḳ; in 1928 the *Genç Spor Klübü* (Sports Club for the Young) was founded, its aims being cultural and later political, rather than sporting. In the same year, some young joiners tried to transform the traditional guilds, in accordance with Kemalist ideas. In the spring of 1934, members of the Arab and Turkish communities reciprocally abstained from buying each other's produce; some Turks became bakers and butchers, traditionally trades of the Nuṣayrīs. On 26 March 1934, the visit to Antioch of a senior Turkish official triggered off a series of pro-Kemalist demonstrations—the celebration of Turkish national festivals, the wearing of the Turkish colours, etc. On 7 July 1936, Turkish d monstrators in Antioch clashed with Syrian troops of Nuṣayrī and Armenian origin. The Turkish press asserted that "deturkification" was in progress—restrictions in the teaching and the use of Turkish, in the employment of Turkish officials, etc.

The negotiations leading up to the Franco-Syrian Treaty and then its signature on 9 September 1936, and the statements by M. Hās̲h̲im al-Ātāsī (Ankara, 23 September 1936) confirming that Syria, now independent, would uphold the autonomy of the Sand̲j̲aḳ, unleashed a vigorous campaign in Turkey; national opinion refused to contemplate the idea that this Turkish community should pass under the exclusive domination of Syria. Negotiations between France and Turkey were then started, and the matter was brought before the Council of the League of Nations; a status for the Sand̲j̲aḳ was laid down in the Geneva Agreement of 29 May 1937 and brought into force on 29 November, although the Syrian Chamber had rejected it, and the Turkish flag was hoisted in Alexandretta. After some disturbances, a Turkish notable was elected president of the Sand̲j̲aḳ, which from then on took the name Hatay, and new Franco-Turkish negotiations finally led, on 23 June 1939, to the cession of the Hatay to Turkey.

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ISKENDER BEG, Ottoman name for George (Gjergj) Kastriota (b. 808/1405, d. 872/1468), in Western sources Scanderbeg, etc., hero of the Albanian "resistance" to the Turks in the mid-9th/15th century.

By the first half of the 9th/15th century the Kastriota family, with their centre at Matia, had supplanted the Bashas as the most influential power of Northern Albania. They had acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty since 787/1385; Iskender's father John/Ivan (in Ottoman sources Yovan) had been a buffer between the Venetians installed in Scutari (Is̲h̲kodra [*q.v.*]) and the Ottomans, ready to flee to Venetian protection in the event of an Ottoman attack and

dependent upon Venetian goodwill for the crucial import of salt. A document in the archives of Topkapı Sarayı (E 6665) shows that he had attempted to seize Kruje/Croia (T. Akčaḥiṣār) to the south of his territories, which, for a time under Bāyezīd I and continuously since 818/1415, had been the centre of an Ottoman *subas͟hllk*.

The statement of Barletius that his son George Kastriota had been sent to the Ottoman palace as a hostage (at the age of nine) is confirmed by Ottoman historians (Tursun Beg, Idrīs). During the war with Venice of 826/1423-833/1430 Ottoman pressure was increasingly put upon his father John (N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits* . . . , i, 435), who, in Rad͟jab 831/ April 1428, informed Venice of his growing anxiety that his Muslim son would be ordered by the sultan to occupy his territory The son, raised in the palace as an *ič-og͟hlanı*, was, by the normal procedure of *čikma* [see G͟HULĀM], granted a *tīmār* near to his father's territories of "Yuvan-éli" (Topkapı Sarayı Archives, E 6665), and in 842/1438 he was appointed *Subas͟hı* of Aḳčaḥiṣār (H. Inalcık, ed., *Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid, tīmār* no. 314). In the same year nine villages of his in Yuvan-éli were made over to Andre Karlo (*ibid.*, no. 335). His father's centre of Mus (Mysja) was made a *zi*ʿ*āmet*, and Iskender asked for it to be granted to himself (Topkapı Sarayı Archives, E 6665, undated), but a *sand͟jaḳ-begi* (? of Okhri) objected to the granting of this important district, adjacent to the sea, to John's son. This refusal may have been one of the reasons for Iskender's throwing off his allegiance to the sultan. The extension to areas of Albania of the Ottoman *tīmār*-system had induced various prominent seigneurs in the south—Ghin Zenebissi, Andre Thopia and, especially, George Araniti—to revolt (from 835/ 1431), and Iskender joined them in S͟hawwāl 847/December 1444. After Ottoman authority was weakened by the battle of Izladi (Zlaticá) (3 Ramaḍān 847/25 December 1443), members of the former ruling families were encouraged to attempt to recover their lost lands and independence (Chalcocondyles, ed. Darko, ii, 96; Iorga, *op. cit.*, ii, 145). The story that Iskender, fleeing from the camp of Ḳāsim, the *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli (who had been defeated near Niš), seized Aḳčaḥiṣār (Gegaj, 45-6) is probably true (cf. *G͟hazavātnāme-i Sulṭān Murād*); he certainly threw off Islām and re-embraced Christianity (see especially the contemporary historian Tursun Beg, ed. in *TOEM* p. 136), to be known henceforth to the Ottomans as "*k͟hāʾin* (treacherous) Iskender". On 11 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 847/1 March 1444, under the patronage of Venice, he summoned the Albanian leaders to a meeting at Alessio (a typical *Kuvend* in accordance with Albanian tribal custom, see M. Hasluck, *The unwritten law in Albania*, Cambridge 1954, 148), and was there recognized as the leader of the struggle against the Ottomans. The pope later recognized him as a crusading hero; in the 19th century Albanian nationalists depicted him as a national hero working for the unification and the independence of his homeland; and Venice regarded him as a valuable *condottiero*. In reality, he was a combination of Albanian tribal chief and medieval feudal lord, the other Albanian leaders being bound to him primarily by links of kinship. The importance which he attached to his own family is revealed in the terms of his alliance with the King of Aragon, made with "Georgio Castrioti, S[re] dela dita citate de Croya e de soi parenti, baruni in Albania" (Radonić, no. 38). Hence it is not surprising to find other Albanian lords frequently allied with Venice or with the Ottomans against him. Since 818/1415 the introduction of the Ottoman *tīmār*-system and tax-structure had caused widespread discontent among both the feudal families and the mountain tribesfolk; Iskender was merely taking over, in Northern Albania, the leadership of this movement of revolt, favoured, however, unlike his predecessors, by the support of the pope, the King of Naples, and Venice. He was able to muster a following of perhaps 8-10,000 men, his own numbering no more than 2-3,000 (Gegaj, p. 125); he owed his success to guerilla tactics, based on a few fortresses in remote mountain regions (Stelush, Letrella, and especially Kruje, his capital), these fortresses being held for him by troops, trained in the use of firearms, who were provided by his foreign allies, although he could rely on some revenue from his flocks of sheep and the trade in salt.

His long struggle with the Ottomans—maintained over a quarter of a century—falls into several phases.

Until 852/1448, the Ottomans were content to ignore him. In this period he fought against Venice over the possession of Dagno (851/1447), and indeed there are indications that he co-operated with local Ottoman forces (the sultan also claiming this territory) (Iorga, *op. cit.*, ii, 227; Venice, it should be noted, still regarded him as a vassal of the sultan: *op. cit.*, ii, 226). He abandoned his claim to Dagno by the treaty signed on 4 October 1448. In the summer of 852/1448 Murād II's army took Svetigrad (Ḳod͟jad͟jlk Ḥiṣārı) (ʿAs͟hlkpas͟hazāde 119 and the chroniclers dependent on him erroneously relate these events to Aḳčaḥiṣār), and so opened the way into northern Albania. Murād then laid siege to Kruje, but was obliged to withdraw to Sofya by Hunyadi's invasion of Ottoman territory.

In 853/1449 an attempt by Iskender and Mois Dibra to re-take Ḳod͟jad͟jlḳ was repulsed, and in the following summer Murād again besieged Kruje. The fortress held out, and Iskender, retreating to the mountains, harried the besieging troops. The abandonment of the $4^1/_2$ month siege made Iskender the hero of all Christendom, and Pope Nicholas V called on all the Christian powers to assist him. But Kruje was still under blockade (Iorga, iii, 260-1), and Iskender offered to hand it over to Venice. He finally won the effective support of Alfonso V of Naples: by the agreement of 26 March 1451 he acknowledged the suzerainty of the king and agreed to hand Kruje over to his forces, Neapolitan troops occupying Kruje in June. Alfonso was at this time attempting by diplomatic and military measures to establish a front against the Ottomans throughout Albania and Epirus. The Neapolitan troops consisted only of small detachments trained in the use of firearms, the mass of soldiery being composed of Iskender's Albanians (Iskender and other Albanian leaders were also receiving money subsidies from Alfonso, Iskender's share being 1500 ducats). This arrangement weakened Iskender's authority in Albania, and Alfonso's rival Venice and the Ottomans were able to induce some Albanian chieftains to come over to them; thus Pavlo Dukagin, who in 853/1449 had been proclaimed a rebel and deprived of his *tīmār*, recovered it in Ṣafar 855/March 1451 (see *Sûret* . . . *Arvanid*, no. 154), and other memberis of this family threw in their lot with Venice. Mois Dibra, Gjergj Balsha and Iskender's nephew Ḥamza went over to the Ottoman side. In 857/1453 Iskender visited Alfonso in Italy. In the summer of 859/1455, assisted by about 1000 Neapolitan troops, Iskender besieged Berat (Belgrade), but a relieving force under Evrenos-og͟hlu ʿĪsā Beg defeated them,

the Neapolitans being killed almost to a man (10 Shaʿbān 859/26 July 1455). Although Iskender's biographers speak of a great victory in the next year (the Ottomans losing 10,000? men), Mois Dibra and Ḥamza once more went over to the Ottomans and the fortress of Modric (in the Dibra region) was sold to the Ottomans. This disaffection probably arose from Iskender's attempts to win control of the territory of the other Albanian chieftains and to extend his authority over them. When in 861/1457 a certain ʿĪsā Beg (probably the son of Isḥāḳ Beg of Üsküp) marched against Kruje, Iskender attacked his camp at Albulena near Mount Tumenish and took Ḥamza prisoner; this success was celebrated in Italy as a great victory: the pope proclaimed him the "Captain-General of the Holy See" (Radonić, no. 163) and presented him with 500 ducats.

The death of Alfonso in 862/1458, however, deprived Iskender for a time of foreign support (the new king Ferdinand wanted him to come to Italy to aid him against rebels), so that in 864/1460 he and the other Albanian leaders were obliged to recognize Ottoman suzerainty. By his treaty with the sultan (which he called "treuga per tre anni", see V. Makušev, *Monumenta Hist. Slav. Merid.*, ii, Warsaw 1874, p. 123) he agreed to send troops to join Ottoman campaigns, to pay an annual tribute (in sheep) and to supply lads for the Janissaries (Critoboulos, Eng. tr. by C. T. Riggs, Princeton 1954, p. 147, where the date given is 1459; cf. Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 201). In 865/1461 Iskender, as the loyal vassal of Ferdinand, went to aid him against the rebels, returning to Albania on 11 February 1462. His truce with the sultan was renewed on 7 Shaʿbān 867/27 April 1463 (see Gegaj, p. 132), but that summer, with the outbreak of the Ottoman-Venetian war, Iskender found a new patron and ally (for the text of his pact with Venice, of 20 August 1463, see Radonić, no. 248). The Ottoman sources (Tursun, p. 123; cf. Critoboulos, 147) emphasize Iskender's "breaking of faith" as the reason for the Ottoman operations against him from 868/1464 onwards. By permitting Venetian troops to garrison Kruje he had created a real threat to the Ottoman forces in Albania. In 868/1464 and 869/1465 the neighbouring *sandjak-begis*, and especially the governor of Okhri, Balaban, launched swift attacks; Iskender seems to have countered them by guerilla raids launched from the mountains, although the leading Albanian chieftains, including Mois Dibra, were taken. Meḥemmed II, who since 867/1463 had been intending to march against Iskender (Tursun, p. 123), finally moved in the spring of 871/1466. In the *fetḥnāme* which he sent to his son Bāyezīd (N. Lugal and A. Erzi, *Münşeât Mecmuası*, Istanbul 1956, 63-4), he announced that the campaign had been undertaken because of the Albanians' "breach of faith", that he had taken six important fortresses and that he had built a fortress (Elbasan) to ensure his hold over the land. In this year Meḥemmed did not press the siege of Kruje (defended by a Venetian commander), but left Balaban to continue the blockade. Elbasan [*q.v.*] was built in 25 days. Seeking help from Italy, Iskender visited Rome (12 December 1466; he received 5000 ducats from the pope) and Naples. On hearing that he was proposing to attack Elbasan, the Sultan wintered at Filibe (Tursun, p. 136). Iskender returned to Albania in early April 1467 and began to raid Balaban's blockading force at Kruje and his supply lines (it was reported in Italy that Balaban had been killed and the Ottoman force dispersed [Radonić, nos. 359, 360], but Balaban was still alive in September [Radonić, no. 379]). Meḥemmed II entered Albania with a great army in June 1467 and, by fierce pursuit in the steep mountain region of Buzurshek south of Elbasan, gained control of the pass. He marched against Durazzo, sending Maḥmūd Pasha against Ishkodra, and then advanced on Kruja, but did not undertake a determined siege (end of July). According to Tursun (who was on the campaign), Iskender fled to the coast: he had taken refuge in the Venetian fortress of Alessio, where he died on 21 Djumādā II 872/17 January 1468.

Ishkender's name lived on in Albanian folklore as the type of native heroism (see the articles of Q. Haxhihasani and A. Fico in *Studia Albanica*, iv/2 (1967), 135-55, and G. Marlekaj, in *Atti 5. convegno intern. di studi albanesi*, 221-38) and he is a leading character in the national literature of modern times inspired by Barletius's biography.

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(H. İnalcık)

IṢLĀḤ (A.), reform, reformism.

i.—The Arab world

In modern Arabic, the term *iṣlāḥ* is used for "reform" (cf.: *RALA*, xxi (1386/1966), 351, no. 15) in the general sense: in contemporary Islamic literature it denotes more specifically orthodox reformism of the type that emerges in the doctrinal teachings of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, in the writings of Rashīd Riḍā, and in the numerous Muslim authors who are influenced by these two masters and, like them, consider themselves disciples of the Salafiyya (see below). *Iṣlāḥ* will be examined under the following general headings: A. Historical; B. Fundamental principles; C. The principal doctrinal positions; D. *Iṣlāḥ* in the contemporary Arab world.

A.—Historical.—1.—Background.—The idea of *iṣlāḥ*, so widespread in modern Islamic culture, is also very common in the vocabulary of the Ḳurʾān, where the radicals *ṣ-l-ḥ*. cover a very wide semantic field. Amongst the derivatives of this root employed in the Ḳurʾān are: a) The verb *aṣlaḥa* and the corresponding infinitive, *iṣlāḥ*, used sometimes in the sense of "to work towards peace (*ṣulḥ*)", "to bring about harmony", "to urge people to be reconciled with one another" and "to agree" (cf. II, 228, IV, 35, 114, XLIX, 9, 10), and at others in the sense of "to perform a pious act (*ʿamal ṣāliḥ*)", "to perform a virtuous act (*ṣalāḥ*)", "to behave like a holy man (*ṣāliḥ*, plur. *ṣāliḥūn*/*ṣāliḥāt*)" (cf. II, 220, IV, 128, VII, 56, 85, 142, XI, 46, 90); b) The substantive *muṣliḥ*, plur. *muṣliḥūn*: those who perform pious acts, who are saintly in spirit, who preach peace and harmony, who are concerned with the moral perfection of their neighbours, and strive to make men better. It is precisely in this sense that the modern Muslim reformists can be defined, reformists who proudly claim the title of *muṣliḥūn*, upon which Revelation confers a certain prestige (cf. Ḳurʾān, VII, 170, XI, 117, XXVIII, 19) The adherents of *iṣlāḥ* consider themselves in the direct line of the reformer-prophets whose lives are quoted as examples in the Ḳurʾān (cf. especially *sūras* VII, X, XI, XX); but they claim to be influenced above all by the example of the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad, whom they consider to be the Reformer par excellence (cf. *al-Shihāb*, May 1939, 183: *Muḥammad, al-muṣliḥ al-aʿẓam*). Thus *iṣlāḥ* is deeply rooted in the basic soil of Islam, and cannot therefore be viewed solely in relation to the intellectual trends that appeared in the Muslim world at the beginning of the modern period.

2.—The historical continuity of *iṣlāḥ*.—In so far as it is on the one hand an individual or collective effort to define Islam solely in relation to its authentic sources (*i.e.*, the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna* [*q.v.*] of the Prophet) and on the other an attempt to work towards a situation in which the lives of Muslims, in personal and social terms, really would conform to the norms and values of their religion, *iṣlāḥ* is a permanent feature in the religious and cultural history of Islam. This two-fold approach characterizing *iṣlāḥ* is quite justified from a ḳurʾānic point of view. For a) Islam is simply that which Revelation contains, as it is transmitted and explained by the Prophet (see below: *The return to first principles*). b) To work for the Good, and aspire to improve (*aṣlaḥ*), is simply to attempt to restore Islamic values in modern Muslim society. From this point of view, *iṣlāḥ* can be seen as an intellectual, and frequently practical, response to the injunction of "commanding what is good and prohibiting what is evil" (see on this subject the two fundamental references, Ḳurʾān III, 104, 110). This canonical obligation (*farḍ*, *farīḍa*)—a major obligation on the head of the Community (*imām*)—is constantly invoked by the reformers, both as a justification for their action, and as an appeal to the faithful, who are also bound, each according to his social standing and means, to play his part in "commanding the good". (On this important question of Muslim ethics see the classic text of al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* chap.: *Kitāb al-amr bi ʾl-maʿrūf wa ʾl-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, trans. L. Bercher, *De l'obligation d'ordonner le Bien et d'interdire le Mal selon al-Ghazālī*, in *IBLA*, 1st and 3rd trim. 1955; the neo-Ḥanbalite doctrine (so illuminating for reformist teaching) in H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines ... d'Ibn Taymīya*, 601-5; the position of Muḥ. ʿAbduh in: *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 113 (Fr. trans., 121), and *Tafsīr al-Manār*, ix, 36; a complete account of the question by Rashīd Riḍā: *ibid.* iv, 25-47 on *sūra* III, 104, and 57-64, on *sūra* III, 110; L. Gardet, *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 445 ff.).

Like all Muslims who cherish an ideal of the pious and virtuous life (*ṣalāḥ*), the reformists like to refer to the many ḳurʾānic verses which praise "those who do works of *iṣlāḥ*" (VI, 42, VII, 170, XXVIII, 19) and particularly to XI, 90, which they hold to be the perfect motto of Muslim reformism: "Ô mon peuple! ... Mon unique désir est de vous rendre meilleurs" (trans. Savary)—"Je ne veux que réformer" (trans. Blachère)—"I desire only to set things right." (trans. Arberry). These scriptural statements are illustrated by the tradition that the Prophet intimated that Islam would need to be revitalized periodically and that in each century Providence would raise up men capable of accomplishing this necessary mission of moral and religious regeneration. (On this tradition, cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 204 b: "At the end...").

The Community has never lacked men willing to assume precisely this prophetic mission. In its early stages and also in its later developments, *iṣlāḥ* has been identified with the service of the *Sunna*, which is thought to provide the best model for the Islamic way of life (cf. Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 21), as well as supplying the essential elements which lie at the base of the earliest orthodoxy of Islam. The Ḳurʾān is without doubt the most important point of reference for modern *iṣlāḥ*; yet, in its earliest manifestations, it appears to be above all the expression of a total allegiance to the Prophet's Tradition. This active, sometimes militant, allegiance is best expressed in its defence of the *Sunna* against "blameworthy innovations" (*bidaʿ* [*q.v.*]) which are judged incompatible with the objective facts of the Book, the unquestionable teachings of the Prophet, and the testimony of the "pious forefathers" (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). Upholders of strict primitive orthodoxy were particularly aware of the increase of *bidaʿ*: a) at the dogmatic level: cf. the speculation nurtured by the dawning rationalist theology (*kalām* [*q.v.*]); ḳurʾānic exegesis of Bāṭinī tendency; the theses of extremist Shīʿism; and b) in the sphere of worship: asceticism, excessive piety, paraliturgical practices inspired by Ṣūfism (*taṣawwuf* [*q.v.*]), all of which they believed indicated a spirit of exaggeration (*ghulū*) contrary to the essence of Islamic spirituality Such innovations were held to be blameworthy because they were looked upon as sources of error and seeds of heresy; they therefore seemed to constitute a serious threat to the confessional unity and moral and political cohesion of the *Umma*.

The historical development of *iṣlāḥ* must, it seems,

be related to that new spirit which gave rise to *bidaʿ* throughout the cultural evolution of the Community. The following are a few milestones:—1. The political and moral crisis following the battles of Ṣiffīn (37/657 [*q.v.*]) and Nahrawan (38/658 [*q.v.*]) engendered ardent political and religious polemics between the Khawāridj [*q.v.*] and the Shīʿa [*q.v.*] on the one hand and the supporters of the established authority on the other. In this climate of schism the doctrinal tendencies which classical Sunnism decried as heretical to a greater or lesser extent began to grow (cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, i, 27). The period of the Prophet's companions was hardly over (*ca.* 90/708) when the theologico-philosophical speculations which were to disturb the Muslim conscience for many years began to appear.—2. At the end of the 1st/7th century, the general evolution of the Muslim community was sufficiently advanced for the unity of faith and monolithic convictions of the first decades to be replaced by a diversity of intellectual and religious attitudes towards the ḳurʾānic revelation and the problems posed by it (predestination and free will, the problem of evil, the attributes of God, the nature of the Ḳurʾān, etc.). Despite its dominant position (at least in theory), official Sunnism was neither dynamic nor homogeneous enough to condition effectively the moral and religious behaviour of the new generations. Many factors (especially socio-cultural and political ones) gradually weakened the religious and cultural impact of the *Sunna*, whose sociological base was anyway being diluted among the diverse populations of the vast empire. It is worth noting in this respect the geographical dispersion and gradual extinction of the main witnesses of primitive Islam, those who were later called the "pious forefathers". These were essentially the Prophet's Companions (*ṣaḥāba*)and the most eminent of their immediate successors (*tābiʿūn*) —3. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (died 110/728 [*q.v.*]) marks the end of the *Sunna*'s first era, before the spread of the great controversies which were to divide the Muslims (in the field of ḳurʾānic exegesis, and as a result of a free philosophical enquiry on the revealed Book). The famous break between al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Wāṣil b. ʿAṭā (d. 131/748 [*q.v.*]) prefigures the doctrinal disputes and later conflicts which resulted above all in the creation of a Traditional Party (*ahl al-sunna*), the "pious forefathers" (*ṭāʾifat al-salaf*), as a reaction against the new sects and tendencies (Shīʿa, Khawāridj, Djahmiyya, Muʿtazila, etc.) which were judged more or less heretical (cf. H. Laoust, *Schismes*, 84 ff.).—4. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]) represents a strongly entrenched Sunnism ready to fight the new schools of thought which questioned the dogma of the primitive orthodoxy (cf. his *Radd ʿala ʾl-zanādiḳa wa ʾl-djahmiyya*).

The desire to refute the errors of their century, to combat those sects believed to have introduced blameworthy innovations into Islam, to bring the faithful back to the purity of primitive faith and worship, and to restore the *Sunna* by the study and imitation of the Prophet's Tradition, these are the aspirations of many reformers who appear periodically in the religious history of Islam from the very beginnings of Sunnism. For Rashīd Riḍā, in each generation men emerge who are firmly committed to the defence of the *Sunna* and the struggle against *bidʿa* (*Tafsīr*, vii, 143); each century has produced a "regenerator" (*mudjaddid*) of the faith and the *Sunna*, men like "the *imām* Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], the *mudjaddid* of the 5th century..., the doctor of Islam, Aḥmad b. Taymiyya [*q.v.*], the *mudjaddid* of the 7th century..., the great traditionist (*ḥāfiẓ*) Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī [*q.v.*] in the 9th century..., and the famous *imām* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī (1173/1760-1260/1834), the Yemeni *mudjaddid* in the 12th century." (*Tafsīr*, vii, 144-5). All these men, and each in his own way, were indisputable architects of *iṣlāḥ*; among the many others who share this honour, al-Ghazālī springs to mind. Rashīd Riḍā notes with regret (*Tafsīr*, vii, 143), however, that such exceptional men were generally alone (*ghurabāʾ*) in the world, like Islam itself. (Cf. the *ḥadīth*: "Islam was born alone, and will become alone again, as at its beginning. Happy the solitary men. Those are they who will come to reform that which will be debased after me" [cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 114 A: "·Originated"]). Although solitary, because of their opposition to the spirit of their times, and often the butt of authoritarian arrogance, worldly scepticism, and the hostility of conformist *ʿulamāʾ* and sycophants, the reformers nonetheless committed themselves to safeguarding the *Sunna* and, through it, the continuity of the original values of Islam. It is in this spirit, that of the reformers and renovators who animated the religiouis and cultural evolution of the *Umma*, and in tune with the defenders of the *Sunna* and the community's cohesion, that modern Muslim reformists are attempting to carry out their mission, over and above all ideologies, tendencies, and sectarianism. On the historical continuity of *iṣlāḥ* from the age of the Salaf to the dawn of the modern era, cf. ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī al-Nadawī, *Ridjāl al-fikr wa ʾl-daʿwa fi ʾl-islām*, Damascus 1379/1960 (ends with Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī 672/1273); ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī, *Al-Mudjaddidūn fi ʾl-islām...* (100-1370 H.), Cairo 1382/1962; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman...*, 29 ff.; H. Laoust, *Schismes*.

3.—*Iṣlāḥ* in modern Islam.—Viewed as part of the historico-cultural process outlined above, the modern reformism of the Salafiyya is an exceptionally fruitful period. In the breadth of its first manifestations, the diversity and stature of the talents it employed, the energy of its apostolate, and the relative speed of its diffusion in the Arab world and even far beyond, *iṣlāḥ* constitutes one of the most remarkable phenomena in the evolution of Islam since the end of the 19th century. It is a result of the cultural movement born of the renaissance (*nahḍa* [*q.v.*]) which marked the reawakening of the Arab East (along with that of the Muslim world in general) as a consequence of the influence of Western ideas and civilization. This awakening has been interpreted as a direct result of the actions of several forceful Muslim personalities living in the second half of the 19th century. Those most frequently mentioned are Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-97 [*q.v.*]), Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905 [*q.v.*]) and Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1854?-1902 [*q.v.*]). However, the awakening of Arabo-Muslim consciousness was preceded by a period of gestation which was encouraged by a combination of internal and external factors; most decisive of these were:

a) *The pressure of Wahhābism* [*q.v.*], which aimed (initially in Arabia) at restoring Islamic piety and ethics to their original purity and cultivated a sort of idealization of the primitive Islamic social organization, that of the "pious forefathers" *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ* (hence the tendency called Salafiyya). Despite their zeal (which sometimes seemed excessive) in defence of their conception of the *Sunna*, their intransigence and their occasionally intolerant strictness, the Wahhābīs never lost sight of the need for a moral and political renewal of modern Islam. While

appealing to their co-religionists to recognize only the authority of the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna* in matters of religion (*dīn*), they urged them to abandon superstitions inherited from the Middle Ages and countered the general tendency to fatalistic resignation, reacting against the spirit of *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] which predominated at that time (end of the 18th- beginning of the 20th century). Through these efforts and their attempt to modernize the values of primitive Islam, *dj̲ihād* [*q.v.*], in particular, in the hope of rousing Muslims to a political dynamism equal to their past greatness, the Wahhābīs played an important role in the evolution of modern Islam, thus deserving a place among "the first of those who worked together towards the Arab renaissance" (L. Massignon, in *RMM*, xxxvi (1918-19), 325).

b) *The development of the printed word* through the press and publishing, principally in the Arabic language. In this respect the remarkable role played by the Egyptian printing house at Būlāḳ [see MAṬBAʿA] must be stressed. From 1822 onwards, this became one of the most important tools of the Arab intellectual renaissance. The Egyptians and Syro-Lebanese contributed to the growth of a serious and informative press which reflected the political and cultural aspirations of the nationalist and pro-reformist sectors of the population. (Cf. ʿAbd al-Lāṭīf al-Ṭībāwī, *American interests in Syria 1800-1901*, Oxford 1966, 247-53; Ph. K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*[3], New York 1967, 452-64).

c) *The influence of Western culture.* European penetration of the Arab world in the first decades of the 19th century soon made itself felt, especially at an intellectual level. Cf. H. Pérès, *Les premières manifestations de la renaissance littéraire arabe en Orient au 19e siècle*, in *AIEO Algiers* (1934-5), 233-56; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought* (Bibl.); the succinct statement of the problem by Ḥusayn Mu'nis *La renaissance culturelle arabe*, in *Orient*, nos xli-xlii (1967), 16-27; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An introd. to the hist. of education in modern Egypt*[1], London 1939, reprinted 1968, 96-287.

d) *The liberal evolution of the Ottoman regime.* This first occurred under the sultan ʿAbd al-Madj̲īd I [*q.v.*], who inaugurated a policy of reforms (*tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]) with the *K̲h̲aṭṭ-i s̲h̲erif* of Nov. 3 1839 which granted his peoples the first imperial charter guaranteeing civil liberties. Despite the opposition of the traditionalists, these Western-inspired reforms were progressively put into effect, particularly after the *K̲h̲aṭṭ-i hümāyūn* of Feb. 1 1856, which finally opened the Near East to the ideas and influences of the modern world. Cf. TANẒĪMĀT; F. M. Pareja, *Islamologie*, 339 ff., 583.

e) *The structural renovation of the Eastern churches* and their awakening to Western spirituality and ideas. Cf., *e.g.*, on the exemplary case of the Uniate churches, the monograph by Joseph Hajjar, *Les Chrétiens uniates du Proche-Orient*, Paris 1962. As well as the renewal of local Christianity, thanks to a favourable concourse of religious and diplomatic events, the energy of Catholic and (above all) Protestant missions must be taken into account. On these missionary activities on Islamic soil, see the important material in *RMM*, xvi (1911), *A la conquête du monde musulman* (1 vol.); Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A hist. of the expansion of Christianity*, vi: *The great century* (1800-1914), London 1944, chap. II (*Northern Africa and the Near East*), 6-64; A. al-Ṭībāwī, *American interests in Syria*, 316-24).

This missionary activity did not simply provoke a defensive reaction in the Muslim world. In the eyes of many *ʿulamā'*, it was exemplary from two points of view: it was a remarkable example of zeal in the service of a faith, and the actual content of its preaching was of value. Thus, in imitation of the Protestants, the reformists attached paramount importance to the Scriptures, though without ever losing sight of cultural needs and working towards an ethical and spiritual renewal of Islam. At the same time they aimed at the social and intellectual emancipation of the Muslim population by tirelessly advocating the popularization of modern knowledge.

These different factors (which must be placed in the general context of the Eastern question) gave rise to the intellectual ferment which led to the *nahḍa*. After centuries of cultural stagnation, the Arab renaissance provoked a lively intellectual curiosity in the East. From the beginning of the 19th century, the Arab élites began to acquire modern knowledge, some through translations, others by direct contact with European scientific culture and techniques. A decisive role was played by Arab student missions in Europe, by Western schools (religious and secular) in the Near East, and by national institutions organized on the European model. Cf. on this subject: C. Brockelmann, S II, 730 ff.; Dj̲urdj̲i Zaydān *Ta'rīk̲h̲ ādāb al-lug̲h̲a al-ʿarabiyya*[2], Cairo 1914, iv 186-217; Jāk Tādj̲ir, *Ḥarakat al-tardj̲ama fī miṣr k̲h̲ilāl al-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿas̲h̲ar*, Cairo [1944]: the important study by J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An introd. to the hist. of education in modern Egypt*; Ph. K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, chap. xxxi.

For Arab writers this intellectual activity was accompanied by a historical and sociological enquiry in an attempt to analyse their social and cultural situation in order to determine the exact causes of their backwardness, naturally with a view to remedying it. This is the dominant theme of articles in *al-ʿUrwa al-wut̲h̲ḳā* (1884), then in *Manār* (from 1898 on), especially those by Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā and Muḥammad ʿAbduh (cf. for instance, the series of articles in vol. v (1902), under the general title: *al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniyya maʿa 'l-ʿilm wa 'l-madaniyya* (136 p.). This is also the central topic of *Umm al-ḳurā*, in which al-Kawākibī attempts a precise diagnosis of the evils and that sort of general indolence (*futūr*) which characterized the Muslim community at the end of the 19th century (cf. the 7th session, 109 ff. *passim*); on the theme of the "backwardness" of the Muslim peoples, see also two accounts: Muḥammad ʿUmar (d. 1337/1918), *Ḥāḍir al-miṣriyyīn wa-sirr ta'akhkhurihim*, Cairo 1320/1902; S̲h̲akīb Arslān, *Limād̲h̲ā ta'akhkhara 'l-Muslimūn wa-limād̲h̲ā taḳaddama g̲h̲ayruhum?* (Cairo ed. 1939).

The situation of Islam in the modern world thus became one of the most important themes in reformist writings. After Ernest Renan's famous lecture on *L'Islamisme et la Science* (Sorbonne, March 29 1883) and the subsequent controversy between Renan and Dj̲amāl al-Dīn al-Afg̲h̲ānī (cf. on this subject Homa Pakdaman, *Dj̲amâl-Ed-Din*, 81 ff.), one of the major preoccupations of reformist authors was to refute the thesis that Islam is contrary to the scientific spirit and can thus be held responsible for the cultural backwardness of the Muslim peoples. "We wore out our pens and our voices", cries Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā "through writing and repeating that the misfortunes of Muslims cannot be blamed on their religion, but rather on the innovations that they have introduced into it, and on the fact that they 'wear' Islam like a fur coat turned inside out" (*Manār*. iii (1900), 244). Cf. also the pleas of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniyya*, and Muḥammad

Farīd Wadjdī, *Taṭbīḳ al-diyāna al-islāmiyya ʿala 'l-nawāmīs al-madaniyya*, Cairo 1316/1898.

Having established their view of the situation, the reformists planned ways to stir up a new spirit in their co-religionists and to arouse in the Community the will to break out of its cultural and social stagnation. For this purpose, they continually referred to the kur'ānic verse: "Allāh altereth not what is in a people until they alter what is in themselves" (cf. *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā*, no. xvii (Sept. 1884), editorial reproduced by Rashīd Riḍā in his *Tafsīr*, x, 46-52; Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 178 (Fr. trans., 121); Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr* x, 41-5, on *sūra* VIII, 54). From this point of view, reformist thought seems to have crystallized around the idea of improvement (*iṣlāḥ*) of the existing situation. To achieve this goal, the adherents of *iṣlāḥ* advocated a struggle against those religious forces (in particular the brotherhoods) and social groups (conservative and traditionalist forces) which they saw as the incarnation of obscurantism. They also supported the reform of archaic teaching methods and courses and the popularization of scientific disciplines and modern techniques. Since they had no training in these last two fields, the reformists could do no more than stress the usefulness of Western sciences and techniques as essential instruments for the material and intellectual progress of the Muslim peoples. However, they devoted the greater and most effective part of their efforts to action in the moral and social fields, where they had more ready access to an adequate vocabulary.

Reformist appeals for social and intellectual evolution (*taḳaddum, taraḳḳī*) concentrated on the need to improve, correct, reorganize, renovate and restore: all these infinitives corresponding, *grosso modo*, to the different meanings of the *maṣdar, iṣlāḥ* (cf. Lane, i/4, 1714: *ṢLḤ*). From then on *iṣlāḥ* became a sort of leitmotiv in reformist literature. In the texts of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, for example, we frequently find this term used as the mark of an impelling idea even in his earliest writings; cf. his first articles in the paper *al-Ahrām* (1st year, 1876) reproduced by Rashīd Riḍā in *Ta'rīkh al-ustādh al-imām*, ii, 20, 22, 34; his articles in the official paper *al-Waḳā'iʿ al-miṣriyya*, 1880-1 (*ibid.*, 175-81). *Iṣlāḥ* also appears at every opportunity and in its different meanings in the review *al-Manār* (whose first no. dates from 22 Shawwāl 1315/16 March 1898). We find, for example, the following usages: *al-iṣlāḥ al-dīnī wa 'l-idjtimāʿī* ("religious and social reform", i (1898), 2); *iṣlāḥ kutub al-ʿilm wa-ṭarīḳat al-taʿlīm* ("improvement of textbooks and reform of teaching methods", *ibid.*, 11); *iṣlāḥ dākhiliyyāt al-mamlaka* ("reform (or reorganization) of the internal affairs of the Empire", *ibid.*, 736); *iṣlaḥ al-nufūs* ("regeneration of souls", *ibid.*, 737); *iṣlāḥ al-ḳaḍā' asās al-iṣlāḥ* ("law reform, as a basis for general reform", *ibid.*); in the editorial of the 40th no. (1898), Rashīd Riḍā calls for a "renovation from the pulpit eloquence" (*iṣlāḥ al-khiṭāba*); in no. 42, p. 822, he proposes: *muḥāwara fī iṣlāḥ al-Azhar* ("exchange of views on the reform of al-Azhar").

These few references show the variety of uses to which the concept *iṣlāḥ* was put. However, the following areas seem particularly to have attracted the attention of reformist authors: a) *Teaching*. The question of the reorganization of Muslim teaching, especially in institutes of higher education like al-Azhar, occupied an important place in the work of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā (cf. the account of the action carried out in this sphere by *shaykh* ʿAbduh in *Ta'rīkh al-ustādh al-imām*, i, 425-567). This problem can be linked to that of the reorganization of the mosques and *waḳf* possessions. Better management of these would supply the educational system with increased means and new buildings. (Cf. Rashīd Riḍā, *op. cit.*, i, 630-45; *al-Manār wa 'l-Azhar, passim*). b) *Law*. The reform of the Muslim legal system was also one of the constant preoccupations of the reformists (see the numerous articles in *Manār* on this subject and the *Report* made by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Muftī of Egypt, *Taḳrīr muftī al-diyār al-miṣriyya fī iṣlāḥ al-maḥākim al-sharʿiyya*, Cairo 1318/1900; cf. on this subject *Ta'rīkh al-ustādh al-imām*, i, 605-29). c) *The Religious Brotherhoods*. The reformists never ceased to press for the reform (if not for abolition pure and simple) of the brotherhoods, which they accused of maintaining blameworthy innovations in religious life, of encouraging the people in superstitious beliefs and practices, and of continuing to use a reactionary system of teaching in their educational establishments (cf. the articles in *Manār*, under the heading: *al-Bidaʿ wa'l-khurāfāt*; Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Manār wa 'l-Azhar, passim*). In their attempt to reform Muslim educational and legal systems and religious practice, the supporters of *iṣlāḥ* were aware that they were attacking the traditional structures of Muslim society, yet they felt it was essentially to renovate these structures so that a new much-needed social and cultural dynamism should be given to the Community. But their task did not stop there. For the *iṣlāḥ* advocated by Muḥammad ʿAbduh and his close supporters necessitated a vast movement of renovation which would embrace all sectors of Muslim life. Thus we see them advocating *iṣlāḥ* in purely secular domains (for example, language and literature, the organization of schools, the administration, the military regime, etc.). They believed that the *ʿulamā'* worthy of the name should devote themselves to an overall reform of Muslim social organization, and not just to a limited religions reformism.

These calls for a general *islāḥ* were fairly well received in Arab and Muslim intellectual circles at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. From the period of *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā* (1884) on, the combined efforts of al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh, and other propagandists of the quality of al-Kawākibī, succeeded in definitively integrating the idea of *iṣlāḥ* into modern Muslim thinking. From then on, no intellectual in the Arab world could remain indifferent to the reformist phenomenon (cf. *al-Manār*, i, (1899), 949: *al-iṣlāḥ al-islāmī wa 'l-ṣiḥāfa*: *iṣlāḥ* had become one of the principal and most topical subjects in the Arab and Turkish press; *Umm al-ḳurā*, 3). In literary circles, many profoundly secular writers and poets joined forces with the advocates of *iṣlāḥ*. Their sympathies did not lie with the religious movement, but with the powerful ferment that it then represented for Muslim society and for Arabs in general. For them, *iṣlāḥ* signified an appeal for progress, a breath of renewal and the promise of a better future for the Arab nation. Its fundamental call for religious renovation and moral regeneration was blurred in the eyes of many intellectuals by its social and cultural implications. Gradually *iṣlāḥ* acquired the shape of a sort of myth which attracted all, believers and unbelievers, Muslims or not, who were struggling for the social and cultural emancipation of their people. (The impact of *iṣlāḥ* in non-Muslim circles is apparent in writers like Salāma Mūsā; cf. *Tarbiyat Salāma Mūsā*,

Cairo 1944, 52 [Eng. trans. Schuman, *The education of Salāma Mūsā*, Leiden 1961, 35]). This is why, concurrently with the religious reformists (the Salafiyya), some concerned secular intellectuals took up the cry for *iṣlāḥ*, though with a purely social and cultural connotation. The most typical figure of this secular reformist current is the ʿIrāḳī poet Djamīl Ṣidḳī al-Zahāwī (1863-1936 [*q.v.*]), who advocated a form of *iṣlāḥ* devoid of any religious content (his beliefs are expressed in: *nas̲h̲artu fi 'l-nāsi arāʾ^an^ urīdu bi-hā/iṣlāḥa dunyā-humū lā 'l-ṭaʿna fi 'l-dīni*).

The relative receptivity of Arab intellectual circles (more or less influenced by Western culture) was a determining factor in the diffusion of *iṣlāḥ*. The reformists found allies, if not true sympathizers, among publicists and men of letters who were exasperated by the conservatism of the "old turbans", the defenders of clerical and university tradition (of al-Azhar, al-Zaytūna, etc.), by the apathy of the masses, and by the sluggishness of the political and administrative machine. Thus in the East as in the Mag̲h̲rib, the younger progressive intellectuals drew close to the reformists, who in their eyes represented a dynamic party which, in the face of different forms of foreign domination, proclaimed the right of their peoples to education, progress and national dignity.

But *iṣlāḥ* also benefited from a measure of support in liberal Sunnī circles. Frightened by the prospect of society drifting away from Islam in the more or less distant future, and by the dynamism of Christian missionary work in Muslim lands, they were happy to witness the birth of a movement which was profoundly attached to the *Sunna*, and firmly committed to the defence of the faith, while at the same time recognizing the need for social evolution and modern scientific and technical development in the Arab world.

Yet, despite the interest that it aroused in the young progressive generation and enlightened Sunnīs, *iṣlāḥ* encountered some difficulties at the outset. From its inception, the movement was suspect to the powers then ruling the major part of the Arab world (Turkey, England, France), because of its cultural and political orientation (exaltation of Arabism, Panislamism). Its social and political stand brought down on it the hostility of the ruling classes and the administrative authorities of the *status quo* (university, magistrates, religious hierarchy, brotherhoods). By its declarations of war on every sort of *bidʿa*, on magical and religious superstitions, on customs "worthy of paganism" (*d̲j̲āhiliyya*), and by the rigorously monotheist theology (*tawḥīd*), which led it to see manifestations of *s̲h̲irk* in many naive forms of popular piety, *iṣlāḥ* distressed conformist circles. For the same reasons is was mistrusted by ordinary people, who were attached to traditions and rites that they regarded as an integral part of religion.

Inevitably, *iṣlāḥ* was strongly attacked on several fronts (cf. for example, the long quarrel between supporters of *iṣlāḥ* against the defenders of the educational and doctrinal traditions of al-Azhar, in Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *al-Manār wa 'l-Azhar*). After all, it was a movement vowed to political resistance (anti- imperialist, if not anti-Ottoman) and social change (aimed at the traditional framework of Muslim society), and geared to moral and spiritual reform, attacking in particular certain ecclesiastical structures which were held as sacred (notably the brotherhoods and religious orders) and certain aspects of popular religiosity. Lacking a single magistrature amongst the *umma* and unable to invoke the moral authority of a reforming Church, the Salafiyya were open to the charge that they were changing and destroying the holy Sunnī tradition. They had to wage an unceasing struggle for acceptance of the sincerity of their intentions and what they saw as the eminently Islamic character of their attempts at reform. Nevertheless, neither the traditionalist Sunnīs nor the members of the brotherhoods were disposed to recognize the legitimacy of their efforts (cf. *Manār*, i, 807, 822; Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā attacked by his adversaries; Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-ustād̲h̲ al-imām, passim*: the difficulties Muḥammad ʿAbduh met with when he was Muftī of Egypt; Ẓāfir al-Ḳāsimī, *D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī*, 594; the bad reception given to Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā by the *ʿulamāʾ* of Damascus, 603-4; the lack of success of the Salafiyya in Syria; A. Merad *Le Réformisme musulman* . . . Book i: *the resistance of Algerian Sunnism and brotherhoods to reformist propaganda*). Whether presented as a "road to damnation" (*ḍalāla*) in the wake of the Wahhābī "heresy", or hastily assimilated to the progressive trends that were more or less favourable to the secularization of Muslim society, the Salafiyya movement met with strong opposition in Egypt and Syria, as in Algeria and Tunisia. Its adversaries rejected it in the name of the *Sunna*, which, in their eyes, could have no other form than that of classical Sunnism. The real meaning of *iṣlāḥ* appears when we examine its fundamental principles and its main doctrinal lines.

B.—Fundamental Principles.—In origin, *iṣlāḥ* is a religiously inspired movement. Yet an examination of the roots of the movement reveals that the arguments put forward by its proponents sounded a less profoundly moral and spiritual note than a social and cultural one. In the first reformist manifestos—the articles of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (and al-Afg̲h̲ānī) in the paper *al-ʿUrwa al-wut̲h̲ḳā* (1884)—social, cultural and even political considerations are more important than religious ones. In his *Umm al-ḳurā* and in his *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-istibdād*, al-Kawākibī made similar efforts. In the early stages of his review *al-Manār* (1898), Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā also paid a great deal of attention to social and cultural questions. Like his masters, he wished to persuade Muslims that the improvement of their moral and material condition depended upon a regeneration of Islam; this was to be accomplished by a "return to first principles", in order to rediscover Islamic teachings and values in all their authenticity and richness. The whole of the later reformist debate hinges on this essential theme.

The Return to First Principles.—The theme of the return (*rud̲j̲ūʿ*) to first principles is omnipresent in reformist literature. This constant reference to the beginnings of Islam is one of the most striking characteristics of *iṣlāḥ*, and the reason why the reformists of the Salafiyya have sometimes been accused of "addiction to the past". The need for a return to first principles is justified, in the doctrine of *iṣlāḥ*, by arguments of a canonical and historical nature. The former, drawn from the Ḳurʾān, can be resumed as follows: Islam in its entirety is contained in the Scriptures (Ḳurʾān, V, 3, VI, 38); the teaching of the Prophet—inspired by God (LIII, 3-4)—is the natural complement of revelation. The Religion can be received only from the hands of God and his Messenger (IV, 59), and Muslims must abide by what the Messenger of God has transmitted, in all matters of command and interdiction (LIX, 7). For the reformists, consequently, fidelity to Islam

is essentially defined by faithfulness to the two Sources, Revelation and the Prophet's *Sunna*.

The canonical argument, supported by an argument borrowed from historical tradition, is in fact a maxim attributed to Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]): "The later success of this Community will only ensue through those elements which made for its initial success" (*lā yaṣluḥu āk͟hiru hād͟hihi 'l-umma illā bi-mā ṣaluḥa bihi awwaluhā*). Now, we are told, the objective basis of the historical success of the Arabs was Islam (that is the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna*) authentically received and fully accepted (cf. Ras͟hīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, x, 437, xi, 210 (important) ix, 293; *S͟hihāb*, March 1939, 58). Like their far-distant predecessors (*Salaf*), Muslims of today could achieve temporal power (*siyāda*) and know the happiness of moral well-being (*sa'āda*), provided that they armed themselves with those moral convictions that constituted the strength and grandeur of the Salaf, and that they strove to demonstrate to contemporary Muslim society the values of faith and the general teachings of Islam, in their authentic purity (cf. Ras͟hīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ii, 339-41, x, 210; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 287 ff.). What exactly is this authenticity? The reformist reply is clear and simple: the whole of Islam is contained in the Scriptures and the *Sunna*, with the addition, solely as a guide and not as a canonical source, of the tradition of the Salaf. This position is not fundamentally different from that of traditional Sunnism. What distinguishes *iṣlāḥ* from the classical doctrine in this respect is the meaning given by the reformists to each of these three basic references.

1.—The reference to the Ḳur'ān.—On this point, *iṣlāḥ* has, in principle, the same position as the Salaf. This is true of the nature of the Ḳur'ān, its status as a canonical source, and the way of approaching its exegesis.

a) *Iṣlāḥ* identifies the Ḳur'ān with the Word of God, uncreated, intangible, unalterable (Ḳur'ān, XLI, 42, XV, 9), and affirms the eternity and universality of its message (XXXIV, 28, VI, 90; *Manār*, i, 1; Ras͟hīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ii, 163, iii, 289). Holding stringently to the dogma of the "uncreated Ḳur'ān" it rejects the harmonizing synthesis of As͟h'arism, since this does not simply reaffirm the stance of the Salaf (cf. Ras͟hīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ix, 178). This explains why the Salafiyya have never been able to supply the Muslims of their time with an original interpretation of the Ḳur'ān, despite the return to favour of reason in modern Islam (cf. R. Caspar, *Le renouveau du Mo'tazilisme*, in MIDEO, iv (1957), 141 ff.), and despite the historical investigations and psychological analyses made in the light of the *Sīra* by European orientalists and a few contemporary Muslim authors which have given us a better knowledge of the Prophet's personality. Their doctrine, immobilized by a desire to remain faithful to the past and to the positions—sometimes negative—of the Salaf, has prevented them from acquiring a deeper knowledge of the historical, sociological and psychological discoveries which would have given them a truer understanding of the problems of revelation and inspiration. (On the subject of the *waḥy* [*q.v.*], cf. the decisive statement by Ras͟hīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, xi, 146-94, in which he reaffirms the thesis of the revelation "that came down from God", without attempting to introduce any nuances into the traditional explanation; hence his long rebuttal (*ibid.*, 169-78) of the ideas expressed on this subject by certain authors, notably by E. Dermenghem (in *La Vie de Mahomet*, Paris 1929, chap. xviii)).

When discussing the nature of the Ḳur'ān, Muḥammad 'Abduh attempted to go further than traditional dogma in the original edition of his *Risālat al-tawḥīd* (Būlāḳ 1315/1898). The original text (28, Fr. trans., 33, 1.2, to 34, 1.4), expurgated at this point by Ras͟hīd Riḍā (2nd ed., Cairo 1316/1908), is once more available in the ed. of the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* prepared by Maḥmūd Abū Rayya (Cairo 1966, 52-2). Ras͟hīd Riḍā himself vigorously affirmed the divine character of the Book (*Tafsīr*, i, 132-3, 220, vi, 71, viii, 10, 280, 303, ix, 178, xii, 499)), wholly discounting any rationalist interpretation. The same stance is clear in the works of Ibn Bādīs, in his ḳur'ānic commentary on the *S͟hihāb*: "The Ḳur'ān is the Word of God and His Revelation" (Jan. 1934, 55).

b) *The Ḳur'ān, primary canonical source.* The Ḳur'ān is "the foundation of the religion" (*asās al-dīn*, *Tafsīr*, i, 369, vii, 139, 198, ix, 326; Ibn Bādīs, *S͟hihāb*, Feb. 1936, 95); more than that, it really constitutes religion in all its richness, *bal huwa 'l-dīn kulluhu* (*Tafsīr* vi, 154-67, vii, 139, 198, ix, 326). With the ḳur'ānic revelation, religion was accomplished, according to the divine proclamation: "Today I have perfected your religion . ." (V, 4). By "religion", explains Ras͟hīd Riḍā (taking up "the opinion of Ibn 'Abbās and the majority of the Salaf"), is meant the following: "matters of faith (*'aḳā'id*), legal injunctions (*aḥkām*) and ethical ones (*ādāb*)" (*Tafsīr*, vi, 166, at the foot of the page).

The Ḳur'ān is thus the supreme source of the religion. Moreover, it contains, in prototypal form, everything needed for the historical life of the Community. Paraphrasing XVII, 13, Ibn Bādīs concludes: "All that the servants of God have need of to acquire happiness in the two worlds, that is true beliefs, solid moral virtues, just laws, generous sentiments, all this has been clearly expressed in the Ḳur'ān" (*S͟hihāb*, Dec. 1929-Jan. 1930, 7). As far as the political organization of Muslim society and the running of its affairs are concerned, the Ḳur'ān only gives general indications, leaving to the lawful rulers of the Community, the *ūlu 'l-amr*, the task of making decisions according to circumstances and in the best interest (*maṣlaḥa*) of Muslims (cf. *Manār*, iv (1901), 210; *Tafsīr*, iii, 10-1, 12 (important), iv, 199-205 (important), vi, 123, vii, 140-1, 191, xi, 264). The Ḳur'ān is the supreme authority of Islam, and, as such, the problem of its understanding (and consequently of its exegesis) is of capital importance, for the way in which the Revelation is understood governs the manner in which the message is translated into action.

c) *The exegesis of the Ḳur'ān.* Linguistically, the content of the Ḳur'ān is presented in two categories (cf. III, 7). Most of the verses have a self-evident meaning (*muḥkam*) and pose no problems of interpretation. Certain other verses can be the cause of some uncertainty (*mutas͟hābih*) if their apparent sense is adhered to. In this case, the Believer must accept the revealed fact as it is presented (*imrār*) in its most literal sense, showing a confident belief in the truth it contains, a truth which transcends the immediately perceptible linguistic message (cf. *Tafsīr* viii, 453, x, 141). God being the only one to know the reality of the *mutas͟hābih*, the Believer must have the wisdom and humility to commend himself to Him (*tafwīḍ, taslīm*). In the eyes of Muḥammad 'Abduh this act of faith acquires the value of a canonical obligation (*Tafsīr*, i, 252). This is also the position of Ras͟hīd Riḍā and Ibn Bādīs (cf. *Tafsīr*, iii, 167, iv, 256, vii, 472, viii, 453, ix, 513, x, 141, xii, 378; *S͟hihāb*, Jan. 1934, 6 June 1939, 206).

The reformist doctrine on the subject of ḳur'ānic exegesis can be defined in relation to the problems of interpretation, *ta'wīl* [*q.v.*], and commentary, *tafsīr* [*q.v.*].

Iṣlāḥ severely condemns subjective interpretation *ta'wīl*), which claims to analyse a "hidden" sense beyond the literal sense, and a more or less gratuitous symbolism beyond the apparent images. On the subject of III, 7, Rashīd Riḍā clearly defines the reformist position (*Tafsīr*, iii, 166 ff.). *Ta'wīl* is a typical example of *bid'a* (*ibid.*, x, 141), since it cannot be justified either by the *Sunna* or by the tradition of the Salaf, who avoided interpreting uncertain passages (*mutashābih*) of the Scripture by relying on their own understanding (see also Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 7 [Fr. trans., 8]). The Salafiyya's distrust of *ta'wīl* includes all esoteric and mystical interpretations and those of the supporters of a rational explanation at any cost. Cf. *Tafsīr*, i, 252-3, iii, 172-96: an explanation of the reformist doctrine of the subject of the *ta'wīl*, with lengthy quotations from Ibn Taymiyya; criticism of the tendentious exegesis of the "men of *bida'*" (Djahmiyya, Ḳadariyya, Khawāridj, Bāṭiniyya, Bābiyya, Bahā'iyya, etc.), ix, 131-2; the "heretical" exegesis of the Bāṭiniyya and of excessive Ṣūfism; iv, 191; exegesis which is "orientated" in favour of one sect or another, and which in fact results in giving a purely arbitrary sense to the revealed statement. This is *taḥrīf* itself [*q.v.*], a concept applied in the Ḳur'ān to the "Possessors of the Scriptures" (*ahl al-kitāb*) and applied by the modern reformists to stigmatize the use of the ḳur'ānic exegesis for partisan ends (cf. *Tafsīr*, i, 430, iv, 97, 282, vii, 506; *Shihāb*, Sept. 1935, 344-5). Included in the term *taḥrīf* are pseudo-erudite commentaries which embroider the text with "false legends" (*abāṭīl wa-khurāfāt*), in the style of the *isrā'īliyyāt* [*q.v.*] so frequently denounced by the reformist authors (*Tafsīr*, i, 8, 18, 347, ii, 455, 471, iv, 466, vi, 332, 355-6, 449, ix, 190, 414, x, 384, xi, 474; *Shihāb*, July 1939, 254). The same warnings were issued against interpretation of the ḳur'anic passages dealing with the unknowable, *ghayb* [*q.v.*] (cf. *Tafsīr* i, 252, iii, 166 ff., iv, 254 ff. on III, 173, IX, 513; *Shihāb*, Oct. 1930, 534; Jan. 1934, 1-9).

Reformist exegesis tends to banish *ta'wīl* in favour of simple commentary, *tafsīr*, and lays down the principle that, apart from a few verses containing a certain mystery (particularly on the subject of divine attributes, *ṣifāt*, and the states of future life, *aḥwāl al-ākhira*), ḳur'ānic revelation can be made just as comprehensible to contemporary Muslims as it was to the Salaf. Thus, the function of *tafsīr* is revitalized. Freed from its historico-legendary husk and from commentaries of a largely grammatical and rhetorical nature, *tafsīr* becomes a preparation for reading and meditating upon the Ḳur'ān. Those commentators whose primary interest was in the didactic aspect of *tafsīr* have woven a veritable screen (*ḥidjāb*) between Muslims and their sacred book (*Tafsīr*, iii, 302). According to the reformists, the essential aim of *tafsīr* is to elucidate the moral values and spiritual "direction" (*hady*) which nourish religious feeling and guide the piety of the faithful (*ibid.*, i, 25); it must not be seen as a demonstrative discipline capable of establishing scientific and verifiable truths and satisfying the modern mind which is avid for rationality. The reformist commentators (and above all Rashīd Riḍā and Ibn Bādīs) were in no way tempted by scientific exegesis, and, with the odd exception, did not give in to the fashion for compromise which was widespread in their day (cf. the typical case of a Ṭanṭāwī Djawharī (1862-1940), in *MIDEO*, v (1958), 115-74). Consequently Rashīd Riḍā criticizes the lack of discernment with which Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] appeals to the scientific culture of his time to pad out his important commentary. He deplores an identical tendency amongst "contemporary commentators [...] who display so much seemingly scientific erudition in their *tafsīrs* that they succeed in diverting the reader from the object of the Revelation" (*Tafsīr*, i, 75). Moreover, when speaking of the biblically inspired stories recounted in the Ḳur'ān, Rashīd Riḍā, quoting Muḥammad ʿAbduh, criticizes those who would like to base the truth of the Book on the veracity of the facts it offers to the meditation of the Believers. "The Ḳur'ān is no more a historical work (*ta'rīkh*) than a narrative work (*ḳaṣaṣ*): it is only a moral guide and a source of edification" (*Tafsīr*, ii, 471). The historicity of the ḳur'ānic story is less important than its moral content and its virtue as a source of inspiration. The role of the reformist commentator is above all to bring the ḳur'ānic message as close as possible to the minds and hearts of Muslims. In his task, his goal will of course be to establish the meaning of the verses as exactly as human understanding permits. This implies a profound knowledge of all the resources of Arab lexicography and philology. There are some verses whose message is readily apparent; in some cases, what is revealed can be made more explicit with the help of references and parallels found in the Ḳur'ān itself (*tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān bi 'l-Ḳur'ān*); in other cases it is necessary to employ early exegesis by returning to the versions given by the Great Companions and their principal disciples amongst the *tābi'ūn*, following the explanations supplied by the Prophet in person as part of the revelation. Any exegesis not based on proofs (*dalā'il*) taken from the *Sunna* (in the absence of explicit scriptural reference) is suspect and thus unacceptab e (Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 129 (Fr. trans., 137); *Tafsīr* i, 8, 174-5, iii, 327). Hence the idea of the fundamentally complementary nature of the Scripture and the *Sunna*.

2.—The Sunna.—From the standpoint of *iṣlāḥ* the *Sunna* must be placed next to Revelation as second canonical source. However, reformist teaching is not in complete agreement on whether it is a constitutive source, like Revelation, or simply an explanation of the latter. The following are the main doctrinal positions:

The Sunna is of the same essence as the Ḳur'ān.—This is the point of view of Ibn Bādīs, who affirms the profound unity that links the *Sunna* and the Scriptures. "The expression: 'Revelation of the Lord compassionate', [Ḳur'ān, XXXVI, 58] means that the religion is, in its entirety, a revelation from God... for the source of Islam... is the Ḳur'ān, which is a divine revelation, and the *Sunna*, which is also a revelation, as these words of the Almighty prove [quotation of LIII, 4]" (*Shihāb*, Feb. 1936, 95). This radical position is similar to that of the Ẓāhirite Ibn Ḥazm, who also held the *Sunna* to be on a par with Revelation (cf. his *Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, Cairo 1345/1927, i, 121-2. *Ḥadīth* provides an argument in favour of this thesis (cf. Wensinck, *Handbcok*, 223 A: "—revealed to Muḥammad by Djibrīl just as the Ḳur'ān was revealed"). It was only partially shared by Rashīd Riḍā, but he admits that "revelation is not limited to the Ḳur'ān" (*Tafsīr*..., ii, 139, v, 279, 470). Some of the Prophet's teachings, on the inspiration of the Holy Spirit (*al-rūḥ al-ḳudus*)

have the same importance as the Kur'ān, but their level of expression does not assume the inimitable nature of the latter (*ibid.*, v, 279, § 3).

The Sunna makes Revelation explicit.—All the reformist authors agree on this point. The Ḳur'ān clearly says that the Prophet's mission is to make manifest to men (*li-tubayyina li 'l-nās*) the true meaning of the Scriptures (*Tafsīr*..., ii, 30, vi, 159, 472, vii, 139, viii, 255, 309; *S̲h̲ihāb*, Oct. 1930, 532; Feb. 1932, 73). The *Sunna* is second in importance to the Book, since it is an explanatory instrument (*Tafsīr*..., iv, 18, on III, 101); the Ḳur'ān constitutes the totality of the religion, and the *Sunna* is an integral part of the latter only in the sense that it explains what was revealed (*ibid.*, ix, 326). Herein lies the status of the *Sunna* as the second canonical source.

By *Sunna* is meant only the texts of *Ḥadīt̲h̲* the authenticity of which has been duly established (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 129 [Fr. transl., 132]), a very limited number of traditions which refer above all to the dogmas of faith and the forms of worship (e.g. prayer, pilgrimage). Beyond these descriptive traditions of holy acts, the remaining traditions about which there is no doubt (e.g. those with a moral content) "do not number more than a dozen" (*Risālat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā 202 note 2; *Tafsīr*..., v, 365). A tradition is not necessarily to be believed just because it is attributed to the Prophet, even if it carries the authority of an eminent traditionist or famous teacher. Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā cites the example of G̲h̲azālī, who gave as authentic traditions which were "insignificant or simply invented" (*Tafsīr*, vii, 31). He was also severely critical of the apocryphal traditions (*mawḍūʿ*), attributing their origin to various factors: *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*], sectarianism, flattery towards rulers, human error, and senile forgetfulness. Moreover, rigorism and puritanism encouraged the traditionists to incorporate into *Ḥadīt̲h̲* moral maxims which they considered just as edifying as certain traditions called "weak".

The problem of the authenticity of *Ḥadīt̲h̲* is extremely important from the reformist point of view, for the authenticity of a *sunna* is the basis of its authority as a canonical source. All that is transmitted by the Prophet originates from God and must therefore be an article of faith for Believers (Ḳur'ān, IV, 80: "Whoever obeys the Messenger has obeyed Allāh"). Thus Muslims have every right to reject any normative tradition the authenticity of which is not absolutely beyond doubt, as is the Ḳur'ān. Hence the necessity of great care in distinguishing between the *Sunna*, which carries the same authority as Scripture, and the traditions whose authenticity has not been completely established, even if they are in harmony with the "spirit" of the Salaf. In fact, the Salafiyya only recognize the normative value of a very small number of *ḥādīt̲h̲s* which are held to be rigorously authentic: *aḥādīt̲h̲ mutawātira, wa-ḳalīlun mā hī* (*Manār*, iii, 572). By stating that Muslims are obliged to follow "the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna*, and them alone" (al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 73; Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*..., *passim*; Ibn Bādīs, *S̲h̲ihāb*, Feb. 1936, 95), the reformists based their doctrine on the teachings of the Prophet (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 130 A: "Clinging to Ḳur'ān and *Sunna* alone"; 223 A: "Confining oneself to Ḳur'ān and *Sunna*"). But, bearing in mind their very limitative conception of the *Sunna*, they maintain in fact that Islam as a religion (*dīn*) can essentially be reduced to the Ḳur'ān.

The doctrine of *iṣlāḥ* tends to attach a greater importance to the Ḳur'ān as a source than to *Ḥadīt̲h̲* as it has generally been accepted in classical dogmas. This trend is taken to its logical conclusion in the works of recent authors, who reduce the authority of *Ḥadīt̲h̲* almost out of existence in favour of the Ḳur'ān and *id̲j̲tihād* [*q.v.*] (cf. Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, a former disciple of Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā: *Aḍwā ʿala 'l-sunna al-muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1958; and on present positions on the subject of *Ḥadīt̲h̲*: *REI*, 1954, *Abstracta*, 117-23; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the tradition literature*, Leiden 1969).

Logically, Islam could no doubt be defined exclusively in relation to the Ḳur'ān, a thesis upheld by another disciple of Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Ṣidḳī, in his work *al-Islām huwa 'l-Ḳur'ān waḥdahu* which is a programme in its own right (*Manār* ix (1906), 515-25, 906-25). For this author, the foundations of Islam are the Book of God and Reason. Any doctrinal element imputed to Islam which satisfies neither the criterion of the given facts of the Ḳur'ān nor the fundamental demands of reason must be declared unacceptable. Elsewhere, M. T. Ṣidḳī demands complete freedom in evaluating the *Sunna*. It must be limited in so far as it is in disagreement with the objective facts of the Book, but where it puts forward principles of wisdom (*ḥikma*) there is nothing to prevent the Believer from referring to it, as he might to any (profane) source. The Salafiyya certainly do not go to quite these lengths. The thesis of Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Ṣidḳī (presented with some reservations by Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā) was immediately refuted by a defender of the classical doctrine (cf. Ṭāhā al-Bis̲h̲rī, *Uṣūl al-Islām*: *al-Ḳur'ān, al-Sunna, al-id̲j̲māʿ, al-ḳiyās*, in *Manār*, ix, 699-711). In the eyes of the Salafiyya Islam cannot be reduced to matters of faith and canonical obligation (*ibādāt*) which can only be held to be true in so far as they originate from Revelation and the very small number of *ḥadīt̲h̲s* shown to be authentic (*mutawātir*). Islam is also a political and social system, a complex of ethical values, a culture. In matters of usage (*ʿādāt*) and human relations (*muʿāmalāt*) determined by a socio-cultural framework which is not ruled by scriptural dispositions (*naṣṣ*), the *Sunna* and the traditions of the Salaf are helpful and instructive; they are indeed exemplary and worthy of the attention of Muslims as an excellent reference for both action and moral life. Beside these two sources, *iṣlāḥ* attaches great value to the tradition of the Salaf, which it holds to be eminently representative of the Prophet's tradition and thus indispensable for anybody who wishes to grasp the authentic message of Islam at its source.

3.—The tradition of the Salaf.—To a large extent, *iṣlāḥ* appeals to the tradition of the Salaf as an explanatory source for the *Sunna* and an important reference point for understanding the general meaning of Islam. The term *salaf* designates a fact that is both historical and cultural. It implies firstly the idea of anteriority (cf. Ḳur'ān XLIII, 57), which in classical usage is naturally linked with the idea of authority and exemplariness. The Salaf are precisely the "virtuous forefathers" (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*), the predecessors whose perfect orthodoxy, piety, holiness, and religious knowledge make them men worthy of being taken as models and guides. But, in the absence of sure and sufficient biographical references, these are difficult to ascertain. It is not so much their personal qualities, however striking, that make for the authority of the Salaf, but rather their historical experience, their contact with the

Prophet in some cases and with his Companions and Successors in others. Among the innumerable witnesses of primitive Islam, the Salaf are exemplary. They represent a certain form of Islamic orthodoxy at a given period of history. Hence the need to sketch the historical context of the Salaf. The chronological points of reference are inexact and often contradictory. By *salaf* was meant, for example:—a. the "Mother of the Believers", ʿĀʾisha, and the Patriarchal Caliphs, as well as Ṭalḥa and Zubayr (Lane, Book iv, 1408 C);—b. the principle *tābiʿūn* (*ibid.*);—c. the Prophet's Companions (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Maʿārif, i, 93);—d. The Companions and their successors (*tābiʿūn*, on the one hand in relation to the founders of the four *madhhabs* (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal who talks of "our pious forefathers", *salafūna al-ṣāliḥ*, Wensinck, *Concordances* ..., i, 505 B); and on the other the latter and their immediate disciples in relation to succeeding generations (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. Khayyāṭ, iii, 676-7). In the works of modern reformist authors the definition of the Salaf is just as vague. For Rashīd Riḍā they are the most eminent representatives of the primitive Islamic community, *al-ṣadr al-awwal* (*Tafsīr*, ii, 81, vii, 143, 198), those of the "first epoch", *al-ʿaṣr al-awwal* (*ibid.*, vi, 196, iii, 572), which covers the first three generations, *ḳarn* (this term is not to be taken in the modern sense of "century" but in that of a "generation of men" (*djīl*) who lived during the same period of seventy to eighty years [*ibid.*, xi, 314, xii, 190]). In the works of Rashīd Riḍā and Ibn Bādīs we find the same traditional definition of the three first generations; *i.e.*, that of the Prophet and his Companions (*ṣaḥāba*), that of their Followers (*tābiʿūn*) and that of the Successors of the latter, *atbāʿ al-tābiʿīn* (*Tafsīr*, viii, 50; *Shihāb*, April 1937, 434), generations "which surpass in excellence (*khayriyya*) all others, as is witnessed by the Impeccable [*i.e.*, Muḥammad]" (Shihāb, Feb. 1932, 66, allusion to the *ḥadīth*: "the best of generations is mine, then the following, then that which comes after", cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 48A, lg. 40: "the best...". This is worth comparing with the other *ḥadīth*, quoted by al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, ed. A. M. Shākir, 474, no. 1315: "Honour my Companions and those who follow them and those who follow these; after which untruth will appear", cf. Wensinck, *Handbook* 48 B "Muḥammad admonishes...").

A few chronological points of reference will serve as rough definitions of the three groups which make up the Salaf:—a) The *ṣaḥāba* (or *aṣḥāb*), who date from the first conversions (at Mecca in 610 and Medina in June 621) until the death of Anas b. Mālik (91/710 or 93/712), considered to be the last survivor of the Prophet's Companions (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, i, 138; Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, iv, 152);—b) The *tābiʿūn*: a large number of these were contemporaries of the Prophet's Companions; some might even have been alive during the Prophet's lifetime but without satisfying the conditions which would have permitted them to be classed among the *ṣaḥāba*. The last of the *tābiʿūn* died around 180/796 (*e.g.*: Hushaym b. Bashīr al-Sulamī, d. 183/799. He transmitted to Mālik and Sufyān al-Thawrī among others).—c) The *atbāʿ al-tābiʿīn*. There are no sufficiently precise criteria enabling us to define exactly this group of men; the reformists refer to them less frequently than to the other two, especially on the important question of ḳurʾānic exegesis (cf. *Tafsīr*, iii, 179, 208). In fact, they are essentially the most eminent disciples of the great *tābiʿūn*, *kibār al-tābiʿīn* (like al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, 101/720; al-Shaʿbī, d. 104/723; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, d. 110/729; Ibn Sīrīn, d. 110/729). The middle of the 3rd/9th century can be taken as the *terminus ad quem* of this last group of Salaf. Also covered by the term Salaf are "the doctors of the second and third generations" (*Tafsīr*, ii, 82), notably the founders of the four Sunnī *madhhabs* and a certain number of their contemporaries, the strongest religious personalities from the early days of Islam, such as al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), al-Layth b. Saʿd (d. 175/791) and Isḥāḳ b. Rāhwayh (d. 238/853, cf. *Tafsīr*, vii, 552, viii, 453). Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) would appear to be one of the last representatives of the age of the Salaf.

In reformist usage, the Salaf are sometimes mentioned in opposition to the *Khalaf* or "later generations", under whose influence the message of Islam has been obscured, if not distorted, by innovation, the fanaticism of the Schools, and the mushrooming of sects (cf. *Tafsīr* viii, 269). This conception might appear simplistic, implying that reformists should cut themselves off from the cultural current which has never ceased to refresh the body of the *Umma* throughout the centuries. In fact the position of the Salafiyya is more subtle: outside the period of the Salaf defined above, the modern reformists do not refuse to take into consideration the contributions made by the "independent" (*mustaḳill*) doctors —independent of the Schools and Parties—who, following the example of the Salaf, were free from all sectarianism and all narrowmindedness, and whose only concern was to safeguard the integrity of the *Sunna* and the unity of the Community. Thus Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388) is highly esteemed by Rashīd Riḍā (cf. the eulogistic article that he devoted to him in *K. al-Iʿtiṣām*, Cairo 1332/1914, i, 1-9; *Tafsīr*, vi, 156-63, vii, 193). Moreover, the Salafiyya venerate a number of outstanding Sunnī teachers and mystics such as al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), al-Djuwaynī (d. 438/1047), his son the Imām al-Ḥaramayn (d. 478/1085), and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), even though they came later than the Salaf (cf. *Tafsīr*, xi, 378). These they consider as "guides to salvation" (*aʾimmat al-hudā*), seeing them as bearers of the light which brought about the periodic revival of Muslim spirituality. In the line of such men who rejuvenated Islam and faithful transmitted the ideas of the Salaf is Muḥammad ʿAbduh; to the supporters of modern reformism he is the master (*al-ustādh al-imām*) the one who really inaugurated the renewal of Islam at the dawn of the 20th century.

Fidelity to the moral and religious tradition of the Salaf is a fundamental demand of *iṣlāḥ*. Besides the two sources, the reformists proclaim this tradition as their only basic point of reference, justifying their attitude by the following arguments:—a) *The Salaf received the sacred inheritance from the Prophet* (the dogmas of the faith, the form of worship), and transmitted it faithfully, in word and deed, *ḳawlan wa-ʿamalan* (*Tafsīr*, vi, 277). They are the guarantors of the *Sunna* (*ibid.*, ii, 30, 82), and their liturgical tradition must be adhered to as an ideal norm, in the sense that it actualizes the spirituality of the Prophet, and to imitate this must be the highest ambition of every Muslim.—b) *The Salaf best understood and followed the ḳurʾānic message*, as it was handed down to them fresh from the Revelation (*ghaḍḍan kamā unzila*). After the Prophet, they are most qualified to interpret the Scriptures (*Tafsīr*, iii, 178, 182, vi, 196; cf. R. Blachère, *Introd. au Coran*, 225 ff.). Their reading and their meditations on the Book are indispensable for a modern understanding of the Ḳurʾān, which must avoid being both too literal or too subjective—and thus arbitrary—

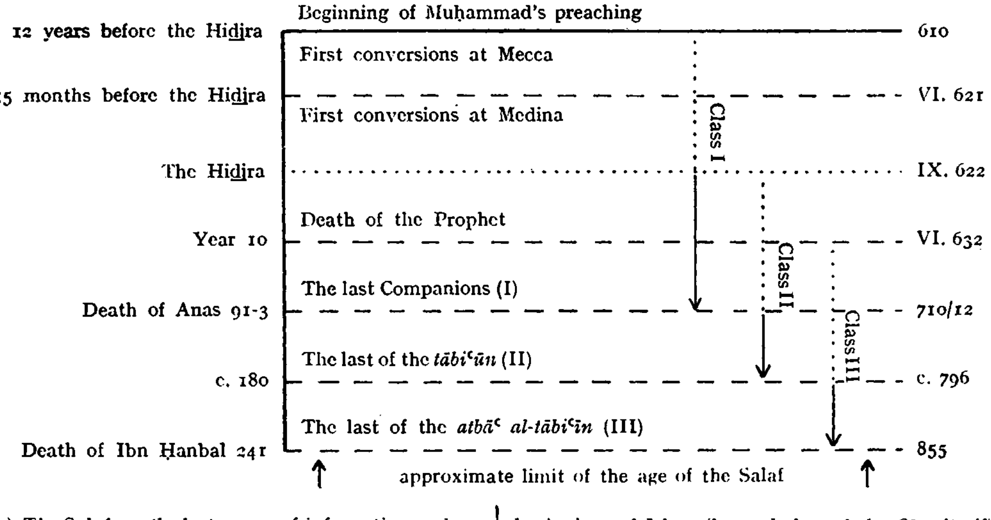

c) ***The Salaf are the best source of information we have about the life*** of the Prophet and about the way he put the Revelation into practice. On many factual points their unanimous accounts (*idjmāʿ*) are irreplacable, rounding off information given by the two sources. The Salaf thus provide the necessary framework for an understanding of the Revelation and the *Sunna*.

A complement to the *Sunna* and a source of inspiration in Islamic life (in spiritual matters as well as in secular acts), the tradition of the Salaf is more than an object of veneration for the modern reformists. The Salafiyya do not wish to be a group frozen in admiration of an ideal image of Islam reflected by the Salaf. They aspire rather to live Islam within modern society, in a simple and true manner, following the example of the Salaf. Moreover, for the theoreticians of *iṣlāḥ*, this ideal expresses their desire to rebuild the Muslim personality, not by copying foreign values and cultures but by drawing from the moral and cultural tradition of early Islam. It is this ideal that Ibn Bādīs defended in his column in *Shihāb*: *Ridjāl al-Salaf wa-nisāʾu-h* ("[famous] Men and Women in early Islam"): "Our aim is to make our readers aware of a number of our pious forefathers—men and women—underlining the eminent qualities they owed to Islam and the lofty acts they performed in its service; for their example can strengthen the hearts of Muslims, contribute to their moral improvement, inspire them with great projects, and breathe new life into them. There is no ***life*** for the generation of today without the ***life*** of the Salaf, which is nothing but their living history and the everlasting memory of them" (*Shihāb*, Jan. 1934, 14). In like manner, reformist authors tended to exploit systematically the historical and literary facts relating to the Salaf in order to point moral as well as social and political lessons. (Cf. the examples given in *Tafsīr*, iii, 92: ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, 374: Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl; 375: ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar; 376: ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar; vii, 21-23: ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; viii, 225: Zayd b. ʿAlī and his companions, cited as martyrs (*fidāʾiyyūn*) of religious and political *iṣlāḥ*; x, 654-5: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf; see also the examples presented in A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 287 ff.; ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit and his wife Umm Ḥarām, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAdī al-ʿAdawī; 325-6: Laylā al-Shifāʾ bint ʿAmr). Biographical literature concerning the beginnings of Islam (beyond that of the *Sīra* itself) became an inexhaustible mine of historical and moral meditation for the reformists (cf. the column of *Manār*: *Āthār al-salaf ʿibra li 'l-khalaf*: that of *Shihāb* (already referred to): *Ridjāl al-salaf wa-nisāʾu-h* (from 1934 on); the lyrical and moralizing odes to the glory of the Patriarchal Caliphs like the *ʿUmariyya* (Feb. 1918, 190 lines) by Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (d. 1932) and the *ʿAlawiyya* (Nov. 1919, more than 300 lines) by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 1931); Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, *Maʿa 'l-raʿīl al-awwal*[2], Cairo, 1378/1958).

The historico-cultural importance of the Salaf in the methodology of *iṣlāḥ* is considerable. Even though the Salafiyya give priority to the two sources, they put forward the principle that the Revelation and the *Sunna* inaugurated a new order in human history, and that that order became a complete living reality in and through the acts of the Salaf. Thus the reformist conception of Islam could be summarized in a statement of the following type: "The constituents of Islam are the ḳurʾānic revelation, Muḥammad's *Sunna*, and the tradition of the pious forefathers (*wa-mā kāna ʿalayh al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*)", viewing this tradition from the aspect of its moral and dogmatic content (*Tafsīr*, vii, 143, 198, ix, 132, xi, 378; Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Feb. 1934, 99). Because they felt it was the concrete expression of the ideal "way" of Islam, the reformists continually cite the tradition of the *Salaf* in support of their missionary activity (*daʿwa*) and their teaching in matters of ḳurʾānic exegesis or social and political ethics. This fidelity to the Salaf governs one of the main doctrinal premises of *iṣlāḥ*.

C.—The Principal Doctrinal Positions.—*Iṣlāḥ* aims at a total reform of Muslim life.

1.—***For the reform of worldly matters***, *iṣlāḥ* employed oral teaching (*waʿẓ*, *irshād*) in mosques and through cultural circles well-disposed toward the Salafiyya movement. Screened by their educational and scholastic (*al-tarbiya wa 'l-taʿlīm*) or charitable (*khayriyya*) works, these associations attempted to implement the great aims of the reformists. In addition, *iṣlāḥ* was diffused by means of many publications and periodicals, some of which, like the *Manār* in the East (1898-1935), run by Rashīd Riḍā, or the *Shihāb* in the Maghrib (1924-39), edited by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs, had a deep and lasting influence.

The general reformist themes propagated among the masses can be summarized as follows: the restora-

tion of worship to its original form (which entailed certain liturgical changes, minor in themselves, but extremely irritating to traditionalist Sunnīs); preaching against a host of practices which seemed religious but had no foundation either in the Prophet's *Sunna* or in the tradition of the Salaf (funeral rites such as the public recitation of the Ḳurʾān over the tomb, the celebration of the *mawlid* [*q.v.*] etc.); and warning against pious beliefs and practices which the Salafiyya felt bore traces of the survival of paganism or the manifestation of *shirk* [*q.v.*] (cult of the saints, invocation of the dead, etc.). The reformers also exhorted the faithful to unite, to worship in solidarity aside from the divergences of Schools and to overcome the traditional opposition between Sunnism and Shīʿism; and they encouraged the development of a moral censorship designed both to ensure the canonical obligation to obey God and eliminate Evil, and also to cleanse Muslim society of vice, gambling, the use of alcoholic beverages and drugs, etc. The education of Muslim men (and especially women) in elementary hygiene and domestic economy (including the encouragement to save) was important, as was the cultivation of a taste for order and work well done. Other educational aims were the awakening of the Muslims' intellectual curiosity, so that they might study modern science and foreign languages; and the support of projects for youth such as scouting, artistic activities, cultural activity within the many circles (*nādī*) and associations of Young Muslims (*djamʿiyyat al-shubbān al-muslimīn*). All this comprised an attempt to hasten the birth of new Muslim men, capable of facing fearlessly—and without the risk of alienation—the problems of the contemporary world.

2.—*For theoretical reform.* It is important to stress that the principal reformist authors were above all men of action who did not have the time to elaborate well-developed doctrinal works. The main religious ideas of Muḥammad ʿAbduh are set out in his *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, in 133 small pages. The rest of his teachings can be found scattered piecemeal through the bulky *Tafsīr* by Rashīd Riḍā, where his work cannot easily be distinguished from his disciples'. Al-Kawākibī (who died prematurely in 1902) produced no more than two essays: *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-istibdād* and *Umm al-ḳurā*, which contain only a small proportion of theoretical thought. The Algerian reformer, Ibn Bādīs, who, like ʿAbduh, introduced many new ideas throughout his life, left no more than a series of articles of ḳurʾānic commentary (that is, about 500 octavo pages), published in the *Shihāb* (cf. A. Merad, *Ibn Bādīs, commentateur du Coran*). There remains the considerable work of Rashīd Riḍā, in particular his *Tafsīr* (*Tafsīr al-Manār*), which is the most important source for the study of the dogmatic positions of modern *iṣlāḥ*. The many secondary reformist authors simply developed the ideas of their masters when they were not simply imitating their writings and teaching.

The efforts of the Salafiyya centered particularly on criticism of the fashionable doctrines of their time, either on the grounds that they were a rigid form of classical doctrine (that of the Sunnī schools), or that they were rash analyses and formulations, the result of a modernism that was dubious in principle and incompatible with the criteria of orthodoxy which *iṣlāḥ* had set up. At the same time, the reformists attempted to work out "ideal" Islamic positions, bearing in mind the objective facts given in the two sources and the fundamental conceptions of the Salaf; the latter were essentially viewed through the interpretation of Ibn Taymiyya and his pupil Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350), whom they considered the soundest authorities on the tradition of the Salaf (cf. *Tafsīr*, i, 253: it is thanks to these two that the author adhered so serenely (*iṭmaʾanna ḳalbī*) to the doctrines attributed to the Salaf). From the critical works and commentaries of the reformists (cf. *Bibliography*) we can distinguish the following doctrinal positions:

I.—*Methodology.*—The dominant Sunnī doctrine based canonical knowledge (*ʿilm*) on four fundamental sources (*uṣūl* [*q.v.*]): the Ḳurʾān, the *Sunna*, the *idjmāʿ* and the *idjtihād* (cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, 478-9, nos. 1329-2; J. Schacht, UṢŪL, in *EI*[1]; idem, FIḲH, in *EI*[2]). Starting from these four sources, juridical and moral rules (*aḥkām*) are deduced according to well-defined criteria which are the subject-matter of the science of the *uṣūl*. *Iṣlāḥ* adheres to the classical theory of the four sources (*Tafsīr* v, 187, 201, xi, 267), without accepting traditional criteria in their entirety (*ibid.*, v, 187, 201, 203, 208, 417). The reformist stance can be summarized under the following headings: the authority of the two Sources; the rejection of *taḳlīd*; a new conception of *idjtihād* and *idjmāʿ*; and the necessary distinction between the *ʿibādāt* and the *ʿādāt*.

1.—*The two Sources* (Ḳurʾān and *Sunna*) constitute the basis of the whole legal system in Islam. Their authority frees Muslims from exclusive submission to traditional doctrinal authorities, thus effectively wiping out the divergences (*ikhtilāf*) between Schools (*madhāhib*), the secular opposition between Sunnīs and Shīʿism, and the hatred nurtured in Sunnī circles for sects felt to be heretical (particularly all Khāridjism, in its present form of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*]). By returning to first principles, Muslims will be able to overcome the divisive effect of the Schools but will still be able to take up all that is best from each of the many contributions (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, March 1936, 654, Nov. 1938, 230). This would permit, for example, the possibility of an eventual unification of Muslim legislation. By preaching tirelessly for a return to first principles, the reformists were led to voice severe criticism of the orthodox Schools and their teachers, the *fuḳahāʾ* (cf. al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 72 ff.; Muḥ. ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 15, 101, (Fr. trans. 19, 107); Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ii, 258-9, iii, 9-11, iv, 49, 280, vii, 145 and following references). In their eyes, the Schools generally identified themselves with trends hostile to reason and science (*Tafsīr*, ii, 91-3); they hindered the research carried out by *idjtihād* and consequently helped to stop the cultural progress of the Community; they in fact gave priority to the study of *fiḳh* over knowledge based on the Ḳurʾān and on the Prophet's *Sunna* (*ibid.*, v, 106, 120, ix, 129-30, x, 429); they placed the authority of the "doctors" higher than the authority of the only legitimate and worthwhile *madhhab*: that of the Salaf (*ibid.*, ix, 133). By encouraging the unconditional submission of the masses to their doctors, the Schools ignored ḳurʾānic teaching, which says that Muslims must cling together (*djamīʿan*) to the one and only rope of salvation, the rope of Allāh (*ḥabl Allāh*), which is the Ḳurʾān (cf. the commentary of Rashīd Riḍā on this ḳurʾānic ref. (III, 98): *Tafsīr*, v, 20 ff.). The return to the two sources (and to the tradition of the Salaf) would thus be a unifying and reconciling factor for Muslims. Freed of their fanaticism and mutual prejudices, Muslims could reunite in the fundamental unity of their *Umma*, rediscovering their original fraternity, over and above their ethnic and cultural ties. (The theme of the return to first principles was a powerful argument in favour of pan-Islamism, an idea dear to the reformist authors).

Can the return to first principles advocated by the Salafiyya be seen as reactionary? The reformists were not trying to restore to the old symbols (such as *sunna, umma, d̲j̲amāʿa, imām, dār al-islām, id̲j̲māʿ, id̲j̲tihād*) the exact same significance they had had at the time of the Salaf. Rather, such a return expresses their desire to take the two sources as an essential (but not exclusive) basis for their reflection, in order to solve the moral problems that the modern world poses to Muslims. The use to which they put certain symbols found in the Ḳur'ān or the *Sunna* sometimes corresponds to preoccupations arising from daily life in the modern world. Behind what appears to be a fundamentalist return to the sources of Islam, the Salafiyya are in fact attempting to work towards a moral and doctrinal renewal by searching for subtle concordances between the Scriptures and present-day realities (see, *e.g.*, the concepts of *s̲h̲ūrā* (Ḳur'ān, II, 233; III, 159) and of *ūlū 'l-amr* (Ḳur'ān, IV, 59) and their respective interpretations by Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Tafsīr* ii, 414, iv, 199-205, v, 180-190). A logical consequence of the principle of a return to the sources is the rejection of *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] and the search for new ways of practising *id̲j̲tihād*.

2.—*Taḳlīd.* The reformists vigorously criticized the spirit of servile dependance upon traditional doctrinal authorities (notably in the orthodox Schools). The concept of *taḳlīd* obviously does not apply either to the pious imitation of the Prophet, which is held to be a canonical obligation (cf. Ḳur'ān IV, 59, XXXIII, 21), nor to the trusting acceptance of the tradition of the Salaf, whose moral and doctrinal authority is loudly proclaimed by the reformists (see above). In these cases, the word *ittibāʿ* (active fidelity) to the traditions of both the Prophet and the Salaf was used instead of *taḳlīd*. (Cf. in this respect the distinction made by Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, v, 238). Such a fidelity regulates and inspires the general mission of *iṣlāḥ*, which offers the imitation of the Prophet as an "ideal of knowledge and action" (H. Laouist, *Essai*, 226). For Ibn Bādīs, the better the imitation the better is the reformist mission (*daʿwa*) accomplished (*S̲h̲ihāb*, April 1935, 8). *Ittabāʿ* is the attempt to reach authenticity; it is the opposite of the spirit of speculation and innovation (*ibtidāʿ*), which is as reprehensible at a religious level as is the passive acceptance of the teachings of authority. In any case, *taḳlīd* is quite different from the attempt to model one's life on the exemplary lives (*iḳtidā'*) of people who, because of their piety or holiness, are worthy of imitation (*Tafsīr*, vi, 415). Finally, the considered acceptance of interpretations supplied by the most eminent *mud̲j̲tahid* cannot be described as *taḳlīd*, since they do not claim to be legislators (*s̲h̲āriʿūn*) independent of God and His Prophet, but only sound guides to a better understanding of the divine Law and the *Sunna* (*ibid.*, v, 238). The same applies to the obedience which is normally due to the *ūlū 'l-amr* (Ḳur'ān, IV, 59), who work together in explaining the Law, in applying it and, generally, in putting ḳur'ānic values into practice at every level of Muslim life. The reformist criticism of *taḳlīd* is aimed both at mindless conformism and the deliberate support given to social and political structures which prevent progress and personal initiative in the name of a static vision of religion and culture. For the *muḳallid*, the reformists feel, religious life is merely the expression of acquired habits and the passive acceptance of the *status quo*; their worship is reduced to verbal formulae which have no profound meaning; and religious rites dwindle to mechanically repeated acts which have no reforming and sanctifying value. Looked at in this light, *taḳlīd* is the opposite of the spiritual and ethical demands made by the Ḳur'ān.

The Ḳur'ān contains many statements condemning mindless submission to those who went before, to the "fathers" (*ābā'*), a theme much used by reformist writers: *Tafsīr*, i, 425, iv, 63 (the refusal to see *taḳlīd* as the distinctive mark of Islam); viii, 21, (ref. to *sūra* XC), ix, 570, x, 428 (*taḳlīd* is condemned by the Ḳur'ān); i, 425, ii, 83, vii, 143 (it is strongly discouraged by the Salaf and the first great thinkers); v, 296, viii, 30, 144 (it is a source of error); i, 448, iii, 236, v, 296 (it is an obstacle to personal meditation on Revelation); ii, 76, viii, 169, ix, 179, x, 432 (it encourages a new form of idolatry: the excessive veneration of authorities and masters); i, 429, iii, 202, 258, iv, 49, vii, 145 (it leads to sectarianism and fanaticism); ii, 76, 108, viii, 399 (it is a cause of disunion and weakness in the Community). Since it sets greater store on arguments from authority than on personal thought and experience, *taḳlīd* is contrary to the spirit of Islam, which recognizes in reasoning beings the faculty of taking decisions in all conscience (*ibid.*, xii, 220-1; see also Muḥammad Iḳbāl's remarks in *The Reconstruction* ..., 125-9 [Fr. trans., 136-41]). The reformist argument makes continual appeals to this sort of objection when denouncing the illegitimate (*buṭlān*) and illicit (*taḥrīm*) nature of *taḳlīd* and stressing its negative effects on Muslim teaching and ethics. *Taḳlīd* is also blamed for the cultural stagnation of Islam and the passive submission of the Muslim masses to traditional religious structures (*ʿulamā'* and *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* of the brotherhoods); cf. *Tafsīr*, iii, 325-7, x, 425-35, xii, 221; Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *al-Waḥda al-islāmiyya*, *passim*; Ibn Bādīs, *S̲h̲ihāb*, Nov. 1932, 552-57; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 275-6. In the reformist view, the concept of *taḳlīd* inevitably brings to mind that of *id̲j̲tihād*, with which it forms one of the antithetical couples (*tawḥīd/s̲h̲irk, sunna/bidʿa, ittibāʿ/ibtidāʿ, salaf/k̲h̲alaf*) around which the doctrine of *iṣlāḥ* is firmly articulated.

3.—*Id̲j̲tihād. Iṣlāḥ* affirms the necessity and legitimacy of the use of the *id̲j̲tihād*, which Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā sees as "a life-force in religion" (*ḥayāt al-dīn*, *Tafsīr*, ii, 399). The fiction of the "closing of the gate" of *id̲j̲tihād* (from the 4th/10th century on) is thus abandoned and with it the whole heritage of interdictions and myths which weighed heavily on the Muslim conscience for so long. But the reformists did not regard the opening of the mind to *id̲j̲tihād* as absolute freedom for the critical spirit to call everything into question. Complete liberty of conscience in religious matters would lead to speculation without end (*ibid.*, viii, 317), which was not what the Salafiyya wanted. Conservative Sunnism nevertheless blamed *iṣlāḥ* for encouraging innovation and favouring doctrinal "anarchy" (*ibid.*, ii, 273, xi, 253). The theme of *taḳlīd* has been a constant source of misunderstanding between the reformists and their traditionalist adversaries, because neither agreed on the definition of this principle nor on the extent to which it can be applied. The traditionalists, who thought of religion (in its broadest sense) as a divine work which is perfectly complete (Ḳur'ān, V, 5), were afraid that modern criticism might use *id̲j̲tihād* to undermine the essential foundations of Islam. But the reformist conception of *id̲j̲tihād* also had its limiting conditions.

Firstly, *iṣlāḥ* defined an intangible sphere, which included the dogmas of the faith (*ʿaḳā'id*), fundament-

al worship (*ʿibādāt*) and canonical prohibitions (*taḥrīm dīnī*), which are all based on the Scriptures, either because of their explicit and formal nature or because of the irrefutable authenticity of their interpretation (*mā huwa ḳaṭʿī 'l-riwāya wa 'l-dalāla*: *Tafsīr*, i, 118 (bis), xi, 268, 265; *al-Waḥda al-islāmiyya*, 136). In this domain there is no room for *idjtihād* (*Tafsīr*, v, 211, viii, 217, x, 432, xi, 268), for it would be intolerably presumptuous to attempt to question fundamental religious facts, which form "a divine institution, revealed by God" (*ibid.*, ii, 18, x, 432). Apart from these sacred matters, *iṣlāḥ* permits the use of *idjtihād*, while placing it on two distinct planes, each with a particular significance.

a)—As an effort to understand the two sources, *idjtihād* is part of the right—and duty—of every Muslim to seek to understand by himself Revelation and the *Sunna* (*ibid.*, ii, 399). One of the fundamental ideas of reformist preaching was that Muslims must feel personally concerned with the Word of God and the teaching of the Prophet which illuminates it. Constant meditation on the Scriptures, patient efforts to analyse and understand all the resources that it offers, should permit every Muslim to steep himself in the divine message and draw from it principles of moral and spiritual conduct (*hidāya*). This purely interior form of *idjtihād* helps to nourish the Muslim's spirituality and guide his conscience in his moral judgements and practical choices. Its implications are largely personal (cf. *Tafsīr*, i, 118,: the individual *idjtihād* in matters of worship, *ʿibādāt shakhṣiyya*). *Idjtihād* is also very important for the Community, which should employ a constant effort to interpret the two sources to determine the general principles of its "politics" (social, economic, foreign, etc.), in accordance with the fundamental commands of the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna*.

b)—In so much as it is a constructive effort with implications both for the Community and in practical affairs, at a legislative rather than dogmatic level, *idjtihād* comes under the authority of the *ūlū 'l-amr* [*q.v.*]. These latter are the legitimate holders of authority (Ḳurʾān, IV, 59) and because of their responsibilities, their religious knowledge, and their particular abilities are in charge of "binding and unbinding" (*ahl al-ḥall wa 'l-ʿaḳd*), that is the right to decide in the name of the Community and in its best interests. (On the definition and role of the *ūlū 'l-amr*, cf. H. Laoust, *Essai*, 596, and *Traité de Droit Public d'Ibn Taymiyya* (on the latter's point of view); al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 58; Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr* ii, 492, iii, 11-12, iv, 199-205 (important), v, 180-1 Muḥammad ʿAbduh's position), 211-2, vii, 140, 198, viii, 102, xi, 164). The acts of the *ūlū 'l-amr* should aim to bring about the moral good (*iṣlāḥ*) and material welfare (*maṣāliḥ*) of the Community. Their competence extends to affairs that are normally the responsibility of political leaders, but does not include matters of worship and personal status (*ibid.*, v, 211). In these matters, *idjtihād* would constitute a veritable heresy (*ibid.*, xi, 253). Muslims could refuse to recognize the *ūlū 'l-amr* (political and religious chiefs) who attempted to use their *idjtihād* in the sacred domain (*ibid.*, viii, 308), which is the "right of God" (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*) over men (*ibid.*, viii, 288). Hence those attempts at *idjtihād* suggested by some Arab heads of state in order to reform certain aspects of Muslim personal status which they considered incompatible with the spirit of contemporary civilization were invalid. In all that concerns canonical prescriptions which are authentically founded on the two sources, the role of the *ūlū 'l-amr* is essentially to safeguard orthodoxy, by making sure that the *Sunna*, as it was formulated by the Salaf, is respected in its entirety (*ibid.*, iii, 11-12). This is a natural corollary of the reformist doctrinal principle maintaining that *idjtihād* is incompatible with certainty (*yaḳīn*) emanating from the absolutely evident facts of the Scriptures (*ibid.*, ii, 18, 109). The Salafiyya only allow the use of *idjtihād* in the absence of any explicit scriptural reference (*naṣṣ*), prophetic tradition (*sunna*) or general consensus (*idjmāʿ*)—in this case the consensus of the Prophet's Companions—that would resolve a given problem (*ibid.*, viii, 219).

Given this important restriction, we can distinguish two types of problems to which the *idjtihād* of the *ūlū 'l-amr* is normally applicable. i)—Purely secular business (administrative organization, scientific and technical questions, military and diplomatic affairs, etc.). In these fields, the *ūlu 'l-amr* are quite free to chose and decide, in so far as their choices are governed by the overriding interests of the Communiity, in line with the specific goals of Islam. ii)—On the other hand, in business which has some connection with canonical doctrine, the *idjtihād* of the *ūlū 'l-amr* could necessitate the interpretation of ḳurʾānic texts whose apparent sense is not certain, *ẓannī al-dilāla* (*Tafsīr* ii, 109). In this case, to be acceptable, the interpretation must lead to conclusions that are in agreement with the two sources in spirit and letter, for it is understood that *idjtihād* can only be used in the context of the two sources and can only refer to the textual sources and different indications (*dalāʾil, ḳarāʾin*) that they offer. It is a basic principle in *iṣlāḥ* that consideration of the best interests of the *Umma* would never result in solutions incompatible with the spirit, and even more, the objective facts of the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna*.

In this light, *idjtihād* is not unlike the method of *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*] as it is defined, for example, in the *Risāla* of al-Shāfiʿī (cf. J. Schacht, *Origins*, 122 ff.). *Iṣlāḥ* denounces the "false *idjtihād* and the bad *ḳiyās*" (*Tafsīr*, iii, 238, v, 203), which would allow the incorporation into religious law (*sharʿ*) of elements based merely on individual opinion (*raʾy* [*q.v.*]) or on more or less arbitrary preferences (*istiḥsān* [see ISTIḤSĀN and ISTIṢLĀḤ]). In religious matters *raʾy* is held to be a sort of "calamity" (*baliyya*), for it only serves to hide dangerous innovations (*ibid.*, viii, 398). While the reformists are very suspicious of *ḳiyās*, *raʾy* and *istiḥsān* according to the technical use of the *fuḳahāʾ*, they nevertheless accept these very modes of reasoning and judgement in certain clearly laid-down conditions (*e.g.*, the *raʾy* of the most eminent religious men among the Companions (*ʿulamāʾ al-ṣaḥāba*); explanatory *raʾy* on the subject of ḳurʾānic exegesis; the *raʾy* of the members of the *shūrā* (*djamāʿat al-shūrā*), those responsible for the temporal affairs of the Community (*ibid.*, vii, 164)). On the different aspects of this question cf. *Tafsīr* vii, 164 (on the recommended *raʾy*, *maḥmūd*); vii, 190 (on the acceptable *ḳiyās*, *ṣaḥīḥ*); vii, 167 ff. (on the evil of rejecting *ḳiyās* totally [cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, vii, 53 ff., viii, 2 ff.] or of using it without restriction or intelligence). Throughout this debate, Rashīd Riḍā adopts—*grosso modo*—the neo-Ḥanbalite point of view, according to Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (*Iʿlām al-Muwaḳḳiʿīn*). In short, *raʾy* and *ḳiyās* are only particular aspects of *idjtihād* and, like the latter, are only acceptable in matters outside worship (*ʿibādāt*). When determining rules and legal statutes (*aḥkām*), *idjtihād* in all its forms is only to be used when there are no antecedents in either the Ḳurʾān or the *Sunna* nor in the irrefutable

practice of the Patriarchal Caliphs (*Tafsīr*, vii, 164). Beyond the attempt at personal interpretation of the divine Word, and the desire to be open to the grace (*hudā*) which flows from it, reformist doctrine limits *idjtihād* to the type exercised by the *ūlū 'l-amr* in public affairs of a secular nature. But so that it should not be a source of quarrel and conflict, the *idjtihād* of the *ūlū 'l-amr* must be derived from mutual consultation (*shūrā*) in accordance with the ethical demands of the Ḳur'ān (XLII, 36). The Community is not bound by the personal and maybe even contradictory opinions of individual *mudjtahids*. Its acceptance by the *ūlū 'l-amr* is a condition *sine qua non* of the validity of their *idjtihād*. Moreover, from the reformist point of view, this represents the most perfect form of *idjmā'* [*q.v.*], by means of which the *Umma* will be able to solve the innumerable problems of its adaptation to the realities of the modern world.

4.—*Idjmā'*. On this point (as on *idjtihād*), the reformist position is very different from the doctrine of the classical theoreticians of the *uṣūl* (cf. al-Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, 471 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, iv, 132-235 (a criticism of Ḥanafī, Mālikī, and Shāfi'ī ideas on the subject); H Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique d'Ibn Taymīya*, Cairo, 1939; idem, *Essai*, 139 ff.; J. Schacht, *Origins*, 82-94; Muḥammad Iḳbāl, *Reconstruction*..., 164 ff.; L. Gardet, *Introduction*..., 403 ff.; idem, *La Cité Musulmane*, 119-29; see also: IDJMĀ'). *Idjmā'* is recognized as third of the fundamental sources of Islam (and not only of the "Law"; cf. al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 104; *Tafsīr*, v, 187, xi, 267); but the reformists do not accept the traditional classification and formulations which arose from it (*Tafsīr*, v, 203-9). For them, classical conceptions of the subject are not justified by the two sources, (*ibid.*, v, 213) even though the idea of *idjmā'* is implicitly contained in the Ḳur'ān (IV, 115) and the *Sunna* (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 48A; Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, iv, 132 ff.). This methodological principle must not be defined in terms of the concept of "unanimity" (*idjmā'*) but rather in terms of that of "community" (*djamā'a*), the latter being understood as "the legitimate custodians of authority" (*ūlū 'l-amr*) instead of in the usual sense of the Muslim community as a whole (*Tafsīr*, v, 213-4). Thus the reformists do not confer on *idjmā'* the status of either a general consensus of the Community (cf. al-Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, 403, no. 1105 and 471 ff.), or that of a unanimous agreement of the *mudjtahids* of a given period on a given question (*ibid.*, v, 417). Like the doctrinal line of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the neo-Ḥanbalite school, the Salafiyya limit (*ḥaṣara*) *idjmā'* at a canonical level to that of the Prophet's Companions (al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 67, 103; *Tafsīr*, ii, 108, 454, v, 187, 206, vii, 118, viii, 254, 428). Any *idjmā'* later than the era of the Companions is without value, particularly if it ratifies doctrines that contradict the tradition of the latter: *idjmā' al-mukhālifīn* (*Tafsīr*, v, 206, vii, 198). Just as matters concerning worship (*'ibādāt*) are to be judged with reference to the consensus of the Companions (including, if need be, that of the *tābi'ūn*,), which is the sole criterion of orthodoxy, the agreement of the *ūlū 'l-amr* on secular matters is a criterion of legality, for they are the custodians of the Community's legitimacy (*ibid.*, iii, 12: the *ūlū 'l-amr* are those whom the *Umma* recognizes as having controlling power over the leaders and their public acts, *tadj'aluhum musayṭirīn 'alū ḥukkāmihā wa-aḥkāmihā*). The obediance due to the *ūlū 'l-amr* (by virtue of sūra IV, 59, constantly invoked by the reformists) is justified not by the argument of infallibility (*'iṣma* [*q.v.*]) but by considerations of public interest (*maṣlaḥa*; *ibid.*, v, 208). To summarize reformist thought on the matter, Rashīd Riḍā defines the consensus of the *ūlū 'l-amr* as the "true *idjmā'* that we hold to be one of the bases of our Law (*sharī'a*)" (*ibid.*, v, 190).

In the absence of any consultative system in Islam that would enable the function of the *shūrā* to be exercised at Community level, most reformist authors have felt the need to fill the gap by using *idjmā'*, modernizing its form and content. But the thinking of the Salafiyya on this theme was never sufficiently elaborated for us to be able to define a coherent reformist doctrine on the practical application of *idjmā'* in the contemporary Muslim world. Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1934) expressed the wish that the *idjmā'* should be organized in the form of "a permanent legislative institution" (*Reconstruction*.., 164). Rashīd Riḍā (1922) considered the idea of using the *Djamā'a*, a consultative body appointed to assist the supreme head (*al-imām al-a'ẓam*) of the Community (cf. H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de Rashīd Riḍā*, 1938, 21 ff.), but such a notion has meaning only within the perspective of a restoration of the Caliphate. With greater realism, Ibn Bādīs sets aside the problem of the Caliphate ("that vain fancy") and suggests the establishment of a *Djamā'at al-Muslimīn*, a sort of permanent assembly composed of men of learning and experience, which would be designed to study specifically Muslim problems in order to find Islamic solutions. This important moral and religious body, acting in the name of the whole Community, would serve no one state and would be of a totally apolitical nature, so that its essential independence and liberty would be guaranteed (cf. A. Merad, *Réformisme*, 376 ff.; idem, *Ibn Bādīs Commentat.*, Chap. IV).

Though they never managed to agree on the practicalities of its establishment, the reformists did tend to see the institutionalization of *idjmā'* as a decisive step in the evolution of the *Umma* in accordance with Islamic principles and the ideals of the Salafiyya All who wrote on these lines held in common the idea that the *Djamā'a* would be the privileged setting of the Community's *idjmā'*. It would play two roles: at a religious level, it would effect regulations by stating the orthodox position on matters that gave rise to serious disagreement (*ikhtilāf*); in secular affairs, it would be the instigator of action, through applying the principle of *idjtihād* in the vast area within its competence. It would thus work towards preventing any confusion between the respective levels of the *'ibādāt* and the *'ādāt*, and would contribute to encouraging the free enquiry that the Community requires in the spheres of applied science and material progress.

5.—*The distinction between the* 'ibādāt *and the* 'ādāt. Following the neo-Ḥanbalī school (cf. AḤMAD B. ḤANBAL; H. Laoust, *Essai*, 247-8, 444), modern *iṣlāḥ* tends to make a clear distinction between the concerns of the *'ibādāt* [*q.v.*] and those of the *'ādāt*. Once again they justify their stand by the principle that in matters of worship everything has been completely and definitely decided by God (Ḳur'ān) and the Prophet (*Sunna*); for the rest, that is to say everything concerned with the organization of material life, the *ūlū 'l-amr* are free to come to their own decisions (see above: *idjtihād*).

a)—The *'ibādāt* come under commands (or interdictions) originating from the Ḳur'ān or from formal prescriptions laid down by the Prophet. They cover

all acts (including those of worship) and observances (of *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* [*q.v.*]) which constitute the service of God (*taʿabbud*). It is out of the question for anybody to introduce the slightest innovation, either because of an *idjtihād* or out of simple religious zeal. The fact of recognizing the inalterable quality of the *ʿibādāt*, the very centre of faith, is itself an act of fidelity in what the Believers hold in certainty from God and his Prophet; it is the sign of a sincere and total belief in the latter's *Sunna*.

b)—The *ʿādāt* (habits, customs, usage) cover a vast field of "earthly affairs" (*umūr dunyawiyya*) "which are individual or communal, particular or general" (Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, vii, 140), and above all affairs of a political and legal nature (*ibid.*, iii, 327, vii, 140, 200) which vary according to time and place. It is thus not a matter merely of the traditional legal rules (*muʿāmalāt*) or matters of "customary right", as the term *ʿāda* [*q.v.*] is understood in the usual classical sense of *fiḳh*. In the domain of the *ʿādāt*, the reformists counsel tolerance (*ʿafw*) and claim for the *ūlu 'l-amr*, if not for private individuals, freedom of decision and the free exercise of *idjtihād* (al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 67; *Manār*, iv, 210, vii, 959; *Tafsīr*, iii, 327, vii, 140-41, 191).

By virtue of this distinction, the reformists showed a prudent reserve about everything that has not been expressly decided by God or prescribed by the Prophet. For Rashīd Riḍā that which has not been prohibited by God cannot be prohibited by Man; that which God has made licit, Man cannot make illicit (*Tafsīr*, vii, 169); that which God has passed over in silence must be held to be tolerable, *ʿafw* (*ibid.*, iii, 328, vii, 169). The "wise men" of the religion have no right to make things permitted or forbidden. Their role is simply to put into practice the revealed Law (*sharīʿa*): in this function only is obedience due to them. As for the ḳur'ānic or prophetic references to certain secular matters (the use of food and remedies, etc.), they cannot be taken as binding: they are simply "suggestions" about what is preferable and not canonical prescriptions, *irshād lā tashrīʿ* (*ibid.*, vii, 201).

The distinction between the *ʿibādāt* and the *ʿādāt* permitted the Salafiyya to condemn the proliferation of devotional practices and interdictions propagated throughout the centuries in the name of Ṣūfism and eventually adopted by popular religion, even though they are not based on the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna*. It enabled them, moreover, to point to their pruning of classical judicial and moral doctrine (by means of *fatwās*) and the reduction of traditional observance, in support of their claim to be the apostles of a disciplined and discreet religious temper, which they believed to be closer to the spirit of moderation that had characterized authentic Islam (the "gentle religion", *al-ḥanifiyya al-samḥa*), and more in harmony with the modern world. This distinction would also encourage a more tolerant view of local legal and social usage through classifying them as *ʿādāt*, and permit the toning down of doctrinal differences (*ikhtilāf*) between the important currents in the Islamic world; perhaps it would also weaken the religious quarrels inherited from old schisms. Taken to its logical conclusion, this attitude would make it possible to envisage calmly the coexistence—in the bosom of the *Umma*—of different political, socio-economic and idealogical systems, provided that the fundamental unity of Muslims in faith and worship was safeguarded and their common attachment to the essential content of Islamic law (*sharīʿa*) unimpaired.

However, such a distinction between the *ʿibādāt* and *ʿādāt* has more of an apologetic value than any real practical implication. The fragmentary (and rather vague) notions on this subject put forward by Rashīd Riḍā and al-Kawākibī do not enable us to make an exact analysis of which aspects of traditional Muslim legislation must be considered fundamental, and thus untouchable, and which can be subsumed under the *ʿādāt*. The postulated tolerance in matters of *ʿādāt* is itself ambiguous, because of the restrictive conditions—derived from the Ḳur'ān—which were put forward by the Salafiyya each time they were obliged to define their political, economic, social or cultural standpoints (although these are, in theory, the field in which *ʿādāt* can be used). In the reformist perspective, indeed, there are few matters that can be envisaged independently of the moral commands and general principles contained in Revelation and the *Sunna*; and whatever creative activity is envisaged, its goal must be examined in the light of the ethical and religious criteria of the two sources. *Iṣlāḥ* admits of the possibility of adapting Muslim institutions and life to the realities of the modern world, so long as this adaptation does not result in the destruction of the fundamental values contained in the two sources. Thus, on the subject of feminism and the relations between the two sexes, the Salafiyya declare themselves favourable to the emancipation of Muslim women, but not to the extent that the liberalization of their legal status would come into conflict with the legal dispositions established in the Ḳur'ān, or the family and sexual ethics of Islam (cf. on this subject, *Tafsīr*, xi, 283-87: "Islam confers on women all human, religious and civil rights"; Rashīd Riḍā, *Nidā' li 'l-djins al-laṭīf*, Cairo 1351/1932; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 315-31 ("Les Réformistes et le Féminisme")).

Although they claim the necessity of distinguishing between profane and religious matters, between man's relations with God and merely human activities (which are not ruled by scriptural commands), the Salafiyya did not make any decisive contribution to the separation of theology and law. From their point of view, the ambiguity of the relationship *dīn*/*sharīʿa* (which they never really attempted to clarify) makes any systematic criticism of traditional legal and moral doctrine that attempts to establish a clear-cut distinction between purely religious and social matters extremely difficult and *a priori* suspect. (It is worth noting the vigorous reaction of the reformists against the attempts made by ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ (1888-1968), in his *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm*, Cairo 1343-44/1925, to dissociate institutional and political problems from moral and theological ones; cf., Kerr, *Islamic Reform*, 179 ff.). Rashīd Riḍā notes in passing the respective values of the concepts *dīn* and *sharīʿa*, which he considers it unjustifiable to confuse (*Tafsīr*, vi, 147), but he does not draw any logical conclusion from the distinction. The distinction *dīn*/*sharīʿa* (which is no less vital than that between the *ʿibādāt* and the *ʿādāt*) could have had important consequences had it been the point of departure for serious research into the possibilities of rigorously limiting the field of application of "religious law", and thus removing from the "sacred" domain everything that did not have a fundamental link with belief or worship and should therefore come under *idjtihād*. It was left to Modernism (*tadjdīd* [*q.v.*] to undertake this research (cf., *e.g.*, the essays of Muḥammad Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh, in particular his *al-Ḳur'ān wa-mushkilāt ḥayātinā al-muʿāṣira* (Cairo 1967), in

which he proclaims the legitimacy of "a new interpretation of the fundamental principles of the *sharīʿa*, in the light of modern experience" (31)). Incomplete though it be, the distinction between the *ʿibādāt* and the *ʿādāt* suggests a need for rationality and a desire to be pragmatic, which served the Salafiyya as an argument against the stubborn conservatism of the traditionalists (*djumūd*) and in support of the broadmindedness of *iṣlāḥ* on the subject of progress and the modern world. At the same time it is a reply to those who preach out-and-out modernism, to the detriment of fidelity to authentic Islam (as it was illustrated by the tradition of the Salaf). The reformists see in this modernism a renunciation of the "spirit of compromise" which their apologetics present as the ideal tendency of Islam.

II—Apologetics.—Alongside criticism of the traditional aspects of Islam as they appear in conservative Sunnism, in the magical and superstitious beliefs of popular religion and in the religious systems of the brotherhoods, apologetics form an important part of the principal reformist works. Though centred on internal problems of Muslim society, and often argued with missionary zeal, reformist apologetics are also addressed to the "adversaries" of Islam either directly (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *al-Islām wa 'l-radd ʿalā muntaḳidīh*, art. of 1900, Cairo 1327/1909 (Fr. trans., Ṭalʿat Ḥarb, *L'Europe et l'Islam*, Cairo 1905); idem, *al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniyya*, art. of 1901, in *Manār*), or indirectly, in the form of warnings to Muslims against the seductions of Western civilization and ideologies. In both cases, the reformists attempted to demonstrate the excellence of Islam, as a "religion", as an ethical code, and as a legal, social and political system. Such apologetics develop along the following broad lines:

1.—*The liberating message of Islam.*—a. As a spiritual message. Here the argument is confined essentially to the exaltation of *tawḥīd* [*q.v.*] as a principle of human liberation. Moral liberation: the affirmation of divine unity abolishes all worship that is not directed to God (the Unique), and all pretension to infallibility, since the only infallible source is the Revelation and the Prophet, who is inspired by God (this argument is elsewhere used to refute *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*], to the extent that the latter supposes submission to an authority which is believed, or pretends to be, infallible). On the other hand, the affirmation of divine transcendance condemns any domination based on the principle of intercession (*shafāʿa* [*q.v.*]). Consequently, *tawḥīd* denies any legitimacy to intermediary structures between man and God (as in institutional Churches), and destroys any need for the belief in the mediating function of certain categories of men (saints, mystics, etc.). Social Liberation: belief in the omnipotence of God is the basis of men's equality, for all men are equally subject to God and all men participate equally in the eminent dignity of their condition (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 155-6; Fr. trans., 106; Eng. trans., 125); it emancipates minds from all resigned or passive submission, either to arguments based on authority (*taḳlīd*), or to a status of inferiority or slavery imposed by the "great" (cf. *Ḳur'ān*, XXXIII, 67, XXXIV, 31-4,; *alladhīn ustuḍʿifū*). The form of worship itself (common prayer, pilgrimage, etc.) underlines the egalitarian character of Islam.—b. The liberating message of Islam is also illustrated by the ethics of the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna* which accept the fundamental unity of mankind and reject all discrimination based on differences of race or social condition (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 172; Fr. trans., 116-7; Eng. trans., 135; *Tafsīr*, 448 ff.; an identical position in Muḥammad Iḳbāl, *Reconstruction* 89; Fr. trans., 103).

2.—*The universal quality of Islam.*—a. *As a religion* (*dīn*). Reformist apologetics merely take up the traditional theme of the universality of Muḥammad's mission (*ʿumūm al-baʿtha*). For the Prophet was "elected to guide all nations towards Good (. . :) and call all men to a belief in the One God" (Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 139; Fr. trans., 95; Eng. trans., 114; cf. also, *Tafsīr*, vii, 610, on sūra VI, 90). Like many other Muslim thinkers in our own time, reformist authors believe that Islam is the perfect universal religion, since it incorporates what is essential in previous revelations (and especially Judaism and Christianity) and perfects their message (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 166 ff., Fr. trans., 112 (bottom) ff.; Eng. trans., 132 ff.; *Tafsīr . . .*, x, 448-456).—b. *As a social, legal and political system* (*sharīʿa*). The reformists proclaim the excellence, eternal nature and universal character of Islamic law, in opposition to human legislation, which is always imperfect, despite constant revision and correction. The *sharīʿa*—at least in those parts that are based on the Revelation—draws its essence from divine wisdom; it is thus the legislation best suited to the needs (*maṣāliḥ*) of men (*bashar*) in all places and at all times (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Jan. 1934, 57; *Tafsīr*, vi, 146) for it envisages man's well-being from two points of view, those of earthly happiness and of their future salvation (an idea dear to the reformists and developed at great length by Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār*, i, (1898), 1, v, (1902), 459-65; *Tafsīr*, i, 11, ii, 330-41, x, 210, 437; cf. also Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 124, 169; Fr. trans., 84, 115; Eng. trans., 104, 134). This does not mean that the Salafiyya think of Muslim legislation as a closed system, sufficient unto itself in its definitive truth and perfection. Though they believe that certain rulings of the *sharīʿa* (*e.g.*, the personal status of woman) are ideal norms, which neither the old legislations (of the biblical sort for example), nor modern legislation (inspired by western concepts) are capable of matching, they do not dismiss the idea that Muslims can copy certain doctrines upheld in advanced countries. However, the Salafiyya refuse to admit that all aspects of western progress are good, and that one has to accept *en bloc* the triumphant civilizations of Europe or America, for fear of seeming reactionary (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Jan. 1932, 11). Moreover, the *ūlu 'l-amr* ought to co-operate in the adaptation of Muslim legislation (by means of reciprocal consultation (*shūrā*) and *idjtihād*), taking into account new realities, but respecting absolutely the fundamental aspects of the Law and observing the general ethics of Islam. The Salafiyya constantly repeat that in areas of every-day life, Islam gives man entire freedom (*fawwaḍ*) to act according to his well-being in the world (*Tafsīr*, ii, 205: ref. to the *ḥadīth*: "You are best placed to judge worldly affairs", vi, 140; Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Oct. 1930, 70). From the preceding, the reformists drew arguments to establish the liberal nature of Islam and to justify its ability to adapt (not, of course, as a *dīn*, but as *sharīʿa*) to all human situations at any time and in any place.

3.—*The liberal spirit of Islam.*—Outside matters of faith and the unalterable elements of the *sharīʿa* (both of which were expressly laid down in Revelation), Islam assigns no limit to the exercise of reason. This aspect of reformist apologetics, which has been amply dealt with by Muḥammad ʿAbduh

(*Risālat al-tawḥīd, passim*), Rashīd Riḍā (cf. J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manâr*, chap. III), and Ibn Bādīs (cf. A. Merad, *Ibn Badis, Commentat. du Coran*, chap. II, Vth), will not be discussed in detail here. On the problem of faith and reason (*ʿaḳl*), the reformist position is that the ḳurʾānic message addresses itself both to the conscience (*wudjān*) and to the mind (*fikr*), and requires not only acceptance by faith but understanding by means of reason. If the Ḳurʾān limits reason, it is only in those areas which are part of the unknowable (*ghayb* [*q.v.*]), and to prevent man from falling into inevitable errors and attributing to God things which are not part of His Being.

The reformists frequently invoke the argument of reason in order to maintain not only that Islam puts no obstacles in the way of intellectual research and the exercise of *ʿaḳl*, but even that it positively encourages both and incites men to cultivate the gift of intelligence, which is a God-given privilege (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, March 1931, 78 ff., ref. to sūra XVII, 70). *ʿAḳl* in reformist usage is not exactly the knowing consciousness or reasoning reason, which seeks to reach truth independently of faith and revelation. Orthodox reformist writers understand *ʿaḳl* in opposition to blind passion (*hawā*), which smothers the voice of "healthy nature" (*fiṭra* [*q.v.*]), and doubtless in opposition to the (hyper-) critical mind. The *ʿaḳil* is not a man who can perform speculative exercise with ease and is dedicated exclusively to the cult of reason, but a man capable of judicious balanced thinking, which implies a spirit of moderation, even a certain reluctance to attempt to submit everything to one's judgment, and to explain everything solely by the light of one's intelligence.

The debate on the subject of faith and reason points to one of the contradictions of reformist thought: *i.e.*, its desire to adopt a language, and sometimes even intellectual methods, that are in conformity with the modern mind, while at the same time clinging to principles and positions which they feel are in perfect agreement with the doctrines of the Salaf. It is notable in this respect that the liberal tendencies of certain reformist writers are held back by the fear that reasoning reason will encroach on areas reserved to faith, and the temptations of human passion (*hawā*) will conquer progressively the directing principles (*hudā*) of Revelation (cf. *Tafsīr*, v, 416: opposition *hudā/hawā*).

However, the reformists are not particularly interested in theological and philosophical speculation. Apart from the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* by Muḥammad ʿAbduh (which describes a fundamental schema rather than a theological totality), and the *Risālat al-shirk* by Mubārak al-Mīlī (which is a refutation of Maraboutic beliefs), no truly elaborated theology can be found in the doctrinal system of the Salafiyya. They were satisfied with massive affirmations, based on texts in the Ḳurʾān, which are, from their point of view, decisive arguments. Thus they never fail to underline everything in the Ḳurʾān which seems to encourage intellectual research and constitutes an incentive for the exploration of nature and its exploitation in the service of man. They underline those parts of the Revelation that encourage men to think, to understand things, to persuade others by means of demonstrative proofs (*burhān*); they make the utmost use of all the resources of the ḳurʾānic vocabulary which deal with knowledge and the activity of the mind (cf., the *Concordantiae* by G. Flügel, in which we can see the richness of the themes formed from the radicals *ʿbr*, *ʿḳl*, *ʿlm*, *ḥkm*, *fkr*, *fḳh*); in short they attempt to show that Islam lets human reason play an important role, and that it encourages (in theory, if not in practice) human progress in the domains of knowledge and civilization (cf. the particularly vigorous doctrinal statement by Rashīd Riḍā in *Tafsīr*, 244 ff., under the eloquent title: *al-Islām dīn al-fiṭra al-salīma wa 'l-ʿaḳl wa 'l-fikr wa 'l-ʿilm wa 'l-ḥikma wa 'l-burhān wa 'l-ḥudjdja*).

The theme of knowledge and civilization plays an important role in reformist propaganda (cf. J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manâr*, chap. IV; A. Merad, *Ibn Bādīs, commentat. du Coran* chap. IV, IIIrd). Thanks to the intelligence with which God has endowed him, man can rise above erroneous belief and superstition, cultivate the sciences and adopt healthy beliefs: using it, he should also be able to increase his power over nature, to profit by the various resources of Creation, in order to achieve material power (*ʿizz, ḳuwwa*) and know a happy moral well-being. Presented in this way by the reformists, Islam appears as a religion which is particularly attentive to the moral and material progress of humanity. It was therefore an effective refutation of arguments of the type put forward by Renan (Islam is contrary to the scientific spirit) and useful in revealing the inadequacy of Marxist-orientated criticism (Islam is a reactionary doctrine). The reformists deplore the judging of Islam by the behaviour and excesses of some of its followers who distort its image through their innovations, by superstitious beliefs born of ignorance, by the imposture of false "scholars", and by the immorality of its politicians (cf. the objections enumerated by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 195-9; Fr. trans., 132-5; Eng. trans., 151-3). For when traced back to its authentic expression, to the Revelation and the *Sunna*, Islam is a religion compatible with science and civilization (*Tafsīr* . . . , ix, 23); it encourages progress and science (*ibid.*, iii, 26, 34, 106); and exalts science and freedom of research, which are the conditions of man's greatness (*ibid.*, v, 258); Islam is capable of regenerating civilization in the East and saving that of the West (*ibid.*, ix, 22). What is more:

4.—*Islam is the reforming principle of mankind* (*iṣlāḥ nawʿ al-insān, Tafsīr*, xi, 206). As a *dīn* and as a *sharīʿa*, Islam is a progression beyond previous religions (*ibid.*, 208-88: the enumeration of the various domains in which Islam has been beneficial to mankind). Hence the Muslim duty to reveal the truth of Islam: this is part of the canonical obligation to "invite to Good" (Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 171; Fr. trans., 116; Eng. trans., 135; *Tafsīr* iv, 26-46, on sūra III, 104) and to "call to God" (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, April 1935, 6, ref. to sūras XVI, 125 and XII, 108). To call to God, in this case, consists in proclaiming the values of Islam, refuting, through its "proofs", the false ideas ascribed to it, and in making known its "beauties"; all this in order to fortify Muslims in their faith and to enlighten non-Muslims, less perhaps in order to convert them than to dissipate their prejudices and fanaticism. However, the notion of missionary work is not foreign to the reformists (cf. J. Jomier, *Le Comment. Coran. du Manâr*, chap. X). Nevertheless, Muḥammad ʿAbduh gives priority to the duty of Islamic tolerance over conversion: "Islam is capable, through its own light, of penetrating the hearts of men" (*Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 172). In practice, the act of calling to God leads to a certain number of religious, moral and cultural attitudes, towards both Muslims and non-Muslims.

—a. Calling to God consists above all in leading a life that is in perfect agreement with the general commands of Islam. This is the best way to ensure that the influence of the ideals contained in the Ḳur'ān will grow. On a spiritual as well as a moral level, the Prophet's example, and that of the "pious forefathers", must inspire believers: "the more perfect their imitation, the more perfect their accomplishment of the mission of calling to God" (Ibn Bādīs).—b. Preaching the truths contained in the Ḳur'ān and thus helping to transmit the revealed message (*tablīgh al-risāla*) is also "calling to God": since this message has universal implications, each part of it must be made comprehensible to all men. This theme can be related to that of the *djihād* through the Ḳur'ān (cf. *Shihāb*, April 1932, 204 ff.): for Ibn Bādīs, this ḳur'ānic expression seems to justify a militant theology and an energetic conception of religious preaching, both to rouse the masses from their inertia and indifference and to denounce the blindness of "bad religious teachers" (*ʿulamā' al-sū'*) in the face of the spiritual riches of the Revelation and their reluctance to make them manifest to men.—c. Calling to God also implies the attempt to bring back to the Islamic fold those Muslims who, seduced by secular ideologies or intoxicated with modern scientific knowledge, regard Islam as "a worn-out piece of clothing that a man would be ashamed to be seen wearing", and deride its dogmas and precepts (Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 198; Fr. trans., 134-5; Eng. trans., 153). —d. The idea of calling to God also implies a struggle against the corruption (*fasād*) spread in Muslim society in the name of "so-called modernism" (*Tafsīr*, x, 45) and against atheism like that of Kemāl Atatürk (*ibid.*, ix, 322-3); warning against excessive individual freedom, which generates all sorts of abuse (*ibid.*, viii, 530-1) and is more or less directly responsible for the "moral crisis of the West"; enlightening people on the dangers inherent in the separation of science and religion, the cult of science *per se*, and the frantic quest for material goods without any moral goal (*ibid.*, xi, 243).—e. It also means unmasking professional politicians who may not be sincere and practising Muslims, but nevertheless use Islam for demagogic ends, either in subservience to government, or to serve their own personal ambition (*ibid.*, ii, 440). Similar strictures could be passed on recent tendencies to use religious arguments in support of some socio-economic ideology (cf. "Muslim Socialism" to which some theoreticians of "Arab Socialism refer) or political doctrine (cf. *e.g.* Khālid Muḥammad Khālid, *La Religion au service du peuple*, in *Orient* xx, (1961), 155-61). —f. In opposition to the type of nationalism encouraged by jingoistic modernists, and beyond particular fatherlands, the call to God gives pride of place to the religious link above ethnic and political ones (*ibid.*, ii, 304). It means stressing the fraternity of Islam (*ibid.*, iv, 21) and persuading Muslims that greatness and pride do not lie in the insistence on particularities of race or nationality—that new form of the age-old clan-spirit (*ʿaṣabiyyat al-djāhiliyya*)—but in belonging to the "Islamic human community" (*ibid.*, xi, 256). This is one aspect of the ideology of panislamism (*al-djāmiʿa al-islāmiyya*) which corresponds to the political and cultural doctrine of the Salafiyya. Since Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, reformist authors have unceasingly called for not only the elimination of doctrinal disagreements above all in matters of the interpretation of religious Law) between orthodox Schools and even between the Sunnī and Shīʿī worlds, but, by reminding Muslims of their duty to confessional solidarity, they have pleaded the cause of a policy of strengthening political ties and interislamic co-operation. Thus would the unity of the *Umma* be recreated, even if only symbolically, through the mediation of a supreme moral assembly that would represent every Muslim country —for example in the form of the permanent assembly (*djamāʿat al-muslimīn*) which Ibn Bādīs suggested (cf. A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 376 ff.). Even this would be second best compared with the organic unity of the Community under the banner of one supreme *Imām*, which had been Rashīd Riḍā's dream (cf. his *Khilāfa*; trans. H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de R.R.*).—g. In reply to those who proclaimed the social and cultural values of the West, the reformists exalted the values specific to Islamic ethics, if need be by referring to the "accounts" (*shahādāt*) of Western thinkers who were sensitive to the virtues of Islam and perturbed by the moral degradation that they perceived in the materialist civilization of the Western world (cf. *Tafsīr*, x, 412, 420; xi, 243).

Reformist apologetics reveal the attitude of the Salafiyya in the face of two realities: on the one hand the material and cultural seduction of Muslim intellectual élites and ruling classes by the West; and on the other the modernists' attempt at a systematic renewal of Muslim society so that it could face, as immediately and effectively as possible, the necessities of modern life. It is thus not simply a defensive reaction against, or even rejection of, certain aspects of western civilization, but a way of replying to Muslims who believed in progress and modernism (*tadjdīd*) and who wanted to look for a compromise between the fundamental demands of Islam and the necessary adaptation of Muslim life to the realities of the modern world.

The apologetic work of the Salafiyya was not simply episodic, for it demanded that they make an effort to understand their adversaries' point of view and develop a measure of cultural open-mindedness (often, it is true, timid), and sometimes led them to moderate those aspects of their theological and moral doctrine which might have seemed too fundamentalist. But at the same time it revealed the diversity of their temperaments and attitudes in the face of practical problems, especially when they had gone beyond discussing the place of absolute fidelity to the two sources in the liturgical and dogmatic spheres, and to the tradition of the Salaf in the general ethics of Islam. Apart from the more or less favourable historical and cultural conjuncture, the success of *iṣlāḥ* in the different parts of the Arab world has been linked, to some extent, to the way in which the Salafiyya have been able to cope with the concrete problems facing Muslim society as a result of its progressive entry into the social, economic, technical and cultural norms of the modern world.

D.—IṢLĀḤ IN THE CONTEMPORARY ARAB WORLD.—At the end of almost a century of development, we can assess the ground covered by the Salafiyya reformist movement from the time of *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā* (1884) to the present day; at this moment the Arab world is the scene of important debates on the methods of interpreting the Ḳur'ān and the authenticity of *Ḥadīth* on the one hand, and the function and autonomy of religion on the other. This is particularly true in countries in which research and cultural activity are more or less "orientated" toward—if not "mobilized" in the service of—politic-

al and social objectives that are held to be sacred, and in which national energy is often geared primarily toward social reorganization and economic construction in an attempt to overcome underdevelopment. The development of *iṣlāḥ* in a changing Arab world can be divided into three important stages:

1. — *The heroic stage*, during which Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ʿAbduh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī laid the essential foundations of a total reform of Islam (cf. the programme defined in *Umm al-ḳurā*). Reformist action during this period aimed above all at the material and moral improvement of the Community, which had barely emerged from the Middle Ages. The social, political and cultural demands made by the three leaders of modern *iṣlāḥ* had more effect than their doctrinal intervention (with the exception of Muḥammad ʿAbduh's *Risālat al-tawḥīd* which is a sort of guide for a basic theology). The reformists' written and oral propaganda thus contributed to the Community's growing awareness of notions of evolution, progress and creative effort (*idjtihād*) on a spiritual and practical plane. It is true that the cultural climate of the period—end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century—was favourable to the adoption of these ideas in Muslim thought, for this was the era of scientism, the optimism brought about by technical progress, and the growth of the idea that efficiency was an essential element of economic prosperity and social success. Yet the function of the Salafiyya was to confer on these notions—and at first the idea of *idjtihād*—a legitimacy that would satisfy the *Umma*, by assimilating them to authentic principles of Islam (seen from an ethical and cultural angle). In its initial form the reformist current of contemporary Islam hastened the birth of Arabo-Muslim awareness of the modern world, but also gave rise to aspirations (of a socio-cultural nature etc.) and questions which the succeeding Muslim generation had to face.

2. — *The second stage* (approximately 1905 to 1950).—This period saw the emergence of a doctrinal system in which Rashīd Riḍā and *shaykh* Ibn Bādīs played a vital part. The example of these two strong personalities inspired writers whose numerous essays (in reviews like *al-Manār*, *al-Shihāb*, *Madjallat al-shubbān al-muslimīn*, *al-Risāla*, *al-Madjalla al-zaytūniyya*) enriched the thought of *iṣlāḥ* and consolidated its doctrinal positions. The principal reformist authors during the first half of the 20th century will now be briefly examined.

a) In Syria Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī (1866/7-1914) was a faithful disciple of the neo-Ḥanbalī tradition. His compatriot Ṭāhir al-Djazāʾirī (1851-1919) put his vast erudition at the disposal of *iṣlāḥ* (notably in the publishing field).—ʿAbd al-Ḳadīr al-Maghribī (1867-1956), who in his youth was influenced by direct contact with Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, made a very fruitful contribution to *iṣlāḥ* in Syria.—Shakib Arslān (1869-1946) a brilliant writer (called *amīr al-bayān*, "Prince of Eloquence") and politician, was a firm believer in Arabism (cf. his monthly revue, *La Nation Arabe*, Geneva 1930-9); a personal acquaintance of the editor of *al-Manār*, he made a greatly appreciated contribution to that review.—Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (1876-1953), ex-president of the Arab Academy at Damascus (1920-53), although not properly speaking a reformist author, was a firm believer in Muḥammad ʿAbduh's ideas and can be counted among the literary and political personalities of the Arab world whose moral support of *iṣlāḥ* was greatly valued.

b) In Egypt there were many "spiritual sons" of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who were more or less faithful to the original ideas of their master: Muḥammad Farīd Wadjdī (1875-1954), the author of a ḳurʾānic commentary with concordist tendencies, was the energetic editor of the review *al-Risāla* (founded in 1933) and a fervent propagandist for Islam.—Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī (1881-1945) was twice (1928, 1935) principal of al-Azhar, where he contributed to the spread of reformist ideals and struggled to strengthen the links between the orthodox schools; he attempted reforms in the spirit of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, of whom he was a worthy successor.—Maḥmūd Shaltūt (1893-1963): another grand master of al-Azhar (cf. *Djamāʿat al-taḳrīb bayn al-madhāhib* and his trimestrial revue *Risālat al-Islām*, Cairo, 1949-). —Aḥmad Amīn (1886-1954), author of an immense fresco of Islamic culture and history (*Fadjr-*, *Ḍuḥā-* and *Ẓuhr al-Islām*), was one of the principal artisans of the Arab-Islamic cultural renewal to which the promotors of modern *iṣlāḥ* aspired. By his teaching and his writing (cf. his revue *al-Thaḳāfa*, Cairo 1939), he attempted, like Muḥammad ʿAbduh, to guide Muslim thought towards a doctrine that was a sort of neo-Muʿtazilism.

c) In Tunisia the main representatives of orthodox reformist thought were Bashīr Ṣfar (d. in 1937), the much respected teacher of Ibn Bādīs, the two *shaykhs* Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir b. Āshūr (born in 1879) —author of a ḳurʾānic commentary (now being published, i-iii, Tunis 1956-71)—and his son Muḥammad al-Fāḍil b. ʿĀshūr (1900-1970) (cf. Muḥammad al-Fāḍil b. ʿĀshūr: *al-Ḥaraka al-adabiyya wa 'l-fikriyya fī Tūnis*, Cairo 1956).

d) In Algeria, besides Ibn Bādīs, notable reformists were Mubārak al-Mīlī (1890-1945), the theologian of the Algerian reformist school (see *Biblio.*); Ṭayyib al-ʿUḳbī (1888-1962), a supporter of *iṣlāḥ* who was greatly influenced by Wahhābī tendencies (he had spent his childhood in the Ḥidjāz), and owned a newspaper, *al-Iṣlāḥ* (Biskra 1927-) which appeared irregularly; Muḥammad al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī (1889-1965) [see AL-IBRĀHĪMĪ]; Aḥmad Tawfīḳ al-Madanī (born in 1899), historian and politician, who was very active in the cause of Algerian national culture in the context of the reformist movement.

e) In Morocco, where the orthodox reformism of the Salafiyya was diffused at a relatively late date, few important names and workes emerged (cf. J. Berque, *Çà et là dans les débuts du réformisme religieux au Maroc*, in *Etudes... dédiées à la mémoire d'E. Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, ii, 471-94).

Amongst the representative personalities of *iṣlāḥ* in the Sherifian empire, we might mention: Abū Shuʿayb al-Dukkālī (d. 1937); Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit (1894-1949), who was more interested in censuring public morality than any real renewal of Islam (cf. the art. by A. Faure on Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit in *Hespéris*, 1952, 165-95); ʿAllāl al-Fāsī (born in 1910), a writer and political leader (Independence Party, *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl*) who claims to be a Salafī (cf. his *Autocritique*, *al-Naḳd al-dhātī*, Cairo 1952).

These various authors would seem to be continuators of the doctrinal and pedagogic work of the first teachers of *iṣlāḥ*. It is nevertheless worth noting that numerous writers and poets, such as Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1872-1932), Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī (1876-1924), ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-Aḳḳād (1889-1964), Muḥammad al-ʿĪd (born in 1904) etc., indirectly helped to spread *iṣlāḥ* by employing its moral and social themes in their works.

Despite its undeniable fertility (which Brockelmann only partially describes in S III, 310-35, 435-6), the

fifty-year-long work of the reformists brought no solutions which satisfied the problems of all social classes within the Community. Their doctrines—social and political as well as theological and moral—seemed to correspond more closely to the aspirations of the newly emergent urban middle class. As a group, it was relatively enlightened, and sometimes combined a minimum Arab-Islamic culture with a gloss of modern culture in one of the European languages. It wished to demonstrate its allegiance to a particular form of tradition—that of the Salaf as defined above —and at the same time to show a certain interest in things modern. The ideals of this class were expressed in terms of moderation and compromise; in the religious sphere they sought "reasonable" positions that excluded popular traditionalism (which they saw as the sign of ignorance or a reactionary spirit), as well as intransigent fundamentalism (represented by certain Muslim Brothers (*al-ikhwān al-muslimūn* [*q.v.*]). They also rejected modernism which they judged excessive (such as the advocacy of a completely secular state). The orthodox reformism of the Salafiyya was thus assured of a fairly wide public which believed in order and prudent evolution, which respected the moral authority of the religious leaders, and was convinced that the Community needed "guides" to take it along the road of a progress that would be compatible with reformist faith. But the apparently harmonious development of *iṣlāḥ* was to suffer from the political upheavals and social and moral changes reulting from the Second World War.

3. — *Recent developments* (*since the '50s*).—The post-war period marked the beginning of a complete change in the religious make-up of the Arab world. The make-up of the reformist camp underwent profound qualitative and quantitative changes. The spokesmen of *iṣlāḥ* were no longer of the calibre of Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) or ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid b. Bādīs (d. 1940), and at the same time the Muslim Brothers movement came to the forefront. It attracted attention by means of political action and through the doctrinal works of several remarkable personalities, like Ḥasan Ismāʿīl al-Huḍaybī, leading guide and successor of Ḥasan al-Bannā [*q.v.*]; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, a publicist of Syrian origin, ex-director of al-Maṭbaʿa al-Salafiyya (in Cairo); the Syrian Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī (d. 1965); Sayyid Ḳuṭb (executed in 1966), author of a ḳur'ānic commentary, *Fi ẓilāl al-Ḳur'ān*; Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, whose apologetic and doctrinal works amcunt to more than 7,000 pp. (cf. *REI*, *Abstracta*, 1961, 105-6); and Saʿīd Ramaḍān, founder and still editor of the revue *al-Muslimūn* (Cairo-Damascus, 1951- ; Geneva, 1961-).—b. The reformist movement lost that place in society which was its strength between the wars: the supporters of the main current of *iṣlāḥ* (in direct line from Rashīd Riḍā, for example) were quickly regarded as inheritors and supporters of a moral and social order already described as "traditional"—c. Paradoxically, the historical success of the reformist movement—in Algeria and, up to a point, in Egypt—contributed to its disintegration and fall. Attracted by power (and some actually absorbed into public office), many missionaries of *iṣlāḥ* abandoned their former zeal for the triumph of Islamic values and settled for a prudent opportunism. Forced by events to supply "official" religion with structures and a doctrine, they in their turn became a conformist force. The defence of pure Islam, which had been the aim of *iṣlāḥ* in opposition, was taken up by men who were enemies of any compromise with regimes which they held to be unjust or illegal, the same men whom their opponents happily called fascist or reactionary. —d. The younger generation, less and less restricted by the ability to speak Arabic only, succeeded in discovering a new vision of social and moral realities around the world (through the cinema, the illustrated press, and foreign literature); new philosophies (cf. the success of Existentialism after the War and the increasing dissemination of Marxism—which followed Communist penetration—in Arab countries); new more or less revolutionary ideologies (anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, Arab Scoialism and unity); and a new political ethic inspired by the "Spirit of Bandung" (1955). All these factors made the young generation sceptical about the virtues of *iṣlāḥ* and doubtful of its fundamental principles, principles which had seemed as satisfying to the mind as they were reassuring to the faith of the preceding generation.—e. The rise to power of new social forces in the newly independent countries (Syria-Lebanon: 1946; Libya: 1952; Sudan: 1955; Morocco and Tunisia: 1956; Algeria: 1962), or those whose monarchies were supplanted by republican regimes (Egypt: 1952; ʿIrāḳ: 1958; Tunisia: 1957; Libya: 1969), relegated to the background the notables and national bourgeoisie, who had held power in the shadow of the previous regime. In taking over the apparatus of state, the younger generation naturally sought to extend its power to different sectors of public opinion, in order to gain control of the "national orientation". As a result, religion, wooed to an increasing extent by politics, found itself involved in a struggle—if not in a "revolution"—whose objectives were beyond its scope. Religious leaders (*muftī*s, *ʿulamā'*) can hardly constitute an independent class, as they did in the past, which formulates doctrines (for example about political ethics) in the name of an ideal Islam and independently of the ideology in power, or of its directives.—f. In those Arab societies engaged in a process of political liberation and social and economic transformation, *iṣlāḥ* ceased to be a reformist and progressive ideology. Its doctrinal positions on social and economic matters seemed out of date. Its calls for constant meditation of the Ḳur'ān as a source of inspiration for Muslims, in both their private and their public acts, went unheeded by young people, who were presented by modern states with more important (and in some ways obligatory) terms of reference in the form of programmes, charters, etc. The tradition of the Salaf, which *iṣlāḥ* attempted to present in an exalted light, was received by the young people without enthusiasm. For them concrete reality with its social, professional and material problems, the collective tasks it imposes, the needs that it creates (for consumer goods, leisure etc.), the amusements it offers (entertainment, sport, travel) was much more important. Reflecting the moral and aesthetic aspirations of their age, young people preferred to seek happiness in this world rather than to aim at the reformist goal of felicity in this world and the next. In its values and in the problems it posed, *iṣlāḥ* gave the appearance of being out of harmony with the rising generation, who tended to see economic, political and cultural problems as more important than ethical and spiritual ones. The younger generation willingly identified with the principles of liberalism and secularism, seeing them the ideal guiding forces of human relations and life in Muslim society today. If young people considered religion at all, it was as a secondary factor in the political strategy of the regime, especially applicable in questions of the civic and political education of the masses and as a means of sanctifying national unity. *Iṣlāḥ* was thus often

invoked in support of official ideology, not for the religious values it represented or for its references to Islamic authenticity.

This complex of phenomena which has become apparent throughout the Arab world over the last few decades clearly shows two things: the striking weakening of *iṣlāḥ* as a "driving force" in Muslim society, and its replacement by politics, which is now becoming the moving spirit on every level of national life. Politics is the most important factor of life today, for, considerably helped by the mass media and propaganda techniques, it seizes public attention, concentrating it on the acts of its rulers; in this way the life of a whole nation hangs on the "historic" speeches and oracular utterances of national leaders, those heroes and demi-gods of modern times. (Thus it is that it is possible to talk of the charisma of such and such an Arab chief of state who has become idolized by the masses). Political language itself has acquired such prominence over other forms of expression (literature, religion, etc.) that it impregnates them with its concepts and its dialectic. (In many cases the religious vocabulary seems to be nothing more than the simple transposition of the political). New powers—the state, the party—have taken over the primary role in the life of the *Umma*, and have directed its social and cultural orientations. Sometimes these powers, armed with totalitarian might, try to force the citizen's duties and beliefs on him. From this moment, religion ceased to be the most important factor in Muslim life and found itself dispossessed of its traditional function as interpreter of symbols and record of the community's conscience.

In this social and cultural context, the voice of *iṣlāḥ* lost much of its strength and effectiveness. The reformist public itself moved in the direction of modernism and atheism or became reformist groups whose concept of the role of *iṣlāḥ* in the modern world differed from that held by the Salafiyya. Such tendencies seem to be the logical result of the ideas implicit in the two main strands of reformist thought since the beginning of the 20th century—the liberal trend, which favoured a global realignment of Muslim life to the modern world, and a strictly orthodox current that hoped to preserve the initial message of Islam in its entirety within contemporary civilization, despite all opposition and obstacles.

1.—The liberal tendency was already latent in several authors of the inter-war period. Claiming more or less explicitly to be the heirs to the spirit—if not the religious thinking—of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, they had some success after the war, during a period in which the differences between reformism and modernism made themselves felt more and more acutely. The *de facto* separation of political and religious affairs resulting from the institutional and cultural development of many Arab (and Muslim) countries—a development influenced by a certain liberal spirit—led some people to examine Islamic problems and subjects which until then had been taboo. This sort of free inquiry no longer exposed them to the vengeance of the administration or to persecution at the hands of conservative religious and university circles, as had been the case for ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ in 1925, and Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād in 1930. (Some delicate problems like the nature and mode of interpretation of the Ḳurʾān or the authenticity of *Ḥadīth* nevertheless continued to provoke violent arguments between orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* and avant-garde representatives of Muslim thought (cf., for example, J. Jomier, *Quelques positions actuelles de l'exégèse coranique en Egypte . . . (1947-51)*, in *MIDEO* (1954), 39-72, on the subject of a thesis by Muḥammad Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh, *Al-Fann al-ḳaṣaṣī fi 'l-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*, Cairo 1951). The idea of a social and cultural modernism that would respect personal belief was gradually accepted. This liberalism included matters of political organization, but attempted to reform traditional teaching to eliminate those aspects of religion that were holding back the evolution of Muslim society. On the religious plane, this trend supported a more flexible interpretation of the Scriptures, which, while satisfying reason and the scientific spirit, would permit the resolution of difficulties arising between practical life and the principles of the *sharīʿa*, as they were formulated by traditional orthodoxy and taken over by the Salafiyya. Taken to its logical conclusion, this trend is identical to secular modernism, which had once been combatted vigorously by Rashīd Riḍā, Ibn Bādīs and their respective schools.

2.—At the same time, the partisans of energetic reformism, worried by the success of secular tendencies and by the growth of laxity in Muslim society, reacted in the direction of an Islamic renewal on the part of the individual and the state. By reinvigorating the doctrinal positions of moderate *iṣlāḥ*, they provided sympathizers and followers for the Muslim Brothers, whose fundamental principles (discounting the political activism of some of them) are very close to the strict orthodoxy professed by the Salafiyya (cf. the brief account of their doctrine by the first supreme guide of the Muslim Brothers, Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ (1906-1949 [*q.v.*] in his pamphlet: *Ilā ayy shayʾ nadʿu 'l-nās?*, Cairo, 1939 (?). Because it attempted to restore Islamic values in their original purity, and gave the appearance of deliberately ignoring the new values of modern culture and civilization, this trend did not gain the sympathy of either the modernists—fervent defenders of social and cultural liberalism and freedom of conscience—nor that of the young who were still attached to Islam, but aware of the social and political changes taking place around them. Fully committed to the "logic of history" and hoping to avoid both the ambiguities of a reformism that was not progressive enough for them and the intransigent fundamentalism of the religious movements, which they felt to be reactionary, the young opted for a populist *iṣlāḥ*, and, taking the part of the mass of the population which previous regimes had for so long ignored, fought for social justice (one of the dominant themes in the politico-religious literature of the post-war years; cf. Sayyid Ḳuṭb, *Al-ʿadāla al-idjtimāʿiyya fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo 1952; Eng. trans. J. H. Hardie, *Social Justice in Islam*, Washington 1953). They pleaded for the socialization of culture (cf. the Egyptian "Cultural Library", aimed at the popularization of science and making it accessible to the common people). They attempted to establish a new Arabo-Islamic humanism, based on a socialist state which would put and end to exploitation and oppression, without itself employing terror (cf. in this respect the principles set down by one of the theorists of Arab Socialism (*Baʿth*), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bayṭār, *Al-Siyāsa al-ʿarabiyya bayn al-mabdaʾ wa 'l-taṭbīḳ*, Beirut 1960; Fr. trans. by Marcel Colombe, in *Orient*, xl (1966), 173 ff.). Finally the reformist writers of this avant-garde group refused to adhere not only to social and political forms that they considered to be decisively condemned by History, but also to collective representations and ideas that they felt were the product of a medieval mentality. On the other hand, to the extent that they express, in the language of our day, something that is essential to the ḳurʾānic

message, they attempted to integrate with Muslim thought the leading concepts of contemporary culture (notably in relation to the Third World), even in the case of ideas that are the product of nominally aetheistic ideologies such as socialism (*ishtirākiyya* [*q.v.*]) and the revolution (*thawra* [*q.v.*]).

In conclusion, even though *iṣlāḥ* no longer appears to be a religious and cultural current with the force, homogeneity and unity of tone that it had had in the inter-war period, it continues to evolve different forms, some vehement, others more moderate. Whether we consider the liberal *iṣlāḥ* of the moderate intellectuals who claimed for Islam tolerance and freedom of investigation, preached the emancipation of peoples through education and instruction, and based their optimistic vision of human evolution of the triumph of Reason and Science; or the militant *iṣlāḥ* of the Muslim Brothers, with their mystique of fidelity to the Muḥammadan mission and their desire to give Islam an effective presence in the world; or the *iṣlāḥ* of the idealistic youth, expressed in "left-wing" terms and motivated by a desire for social justice and political morality; each of these trends represents one of the fundamental options preached by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, and carried on by their faithful followers in the East and in the Maghrīb.

At a time when cultures interact more rapidly than ever before, when the spirit of oecumenism is developing not merely in a Christian context, Muslim reformism could no longer remain enclosed within the static universe of the Salafiyya. By the very diversity of its current trends *iṣlāḥ* can escape from the rigid dogmatism which always haunts monolithic movements. In this way *iṣlāḥ* becomes the meeting-ground where many thinkers and university teachers who feel personally concerned with the future of Islam in the modern world can attempt to give Islamic culture a "new start". This has given rise to a proliferation of essays and critical works, claiming to be inspired by *iṣlāḥ*, everywhere in the Arab world (Egypt, Lebanon, Tunisia etc.), and even in Pakistan, where the ideas of Muḥammad Iḳbāl, for example, continue to be a fertile source of inspiration.

Bibliography: 1. Background: C. Brockelmann, S III, 310-55; F. M. Pareja *et al.*, *Islamologie*, Beirut 1957-63, 724-43; H. Laoust, *Le Réformisme orthodoxe des "Salafiya" et les caractères généraux de son orientation actuelle*, in *REI*, 1932, 175-224; Ch. C. Adam, *Islam and modernism in Egypt*, London 1933, (reprinted American University at Cairo, 1968); H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947 (on reformist *and* modernist trends); A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the Liberal Age—1798-1939*, Oxford 1962; L. Gardet, *La Cité musulmane*, Paris [1]1954, [3] 1969 (especially *Annexe III*); Muḥammad Iḳbāl, *The Reconstruction of religious thought in Islam*, Oxford[2] 1934.

2. Historical account of modern *iṣlāḥ*: a) The neo-Ḥanbalī influence: basic ref. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-D-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymiya*, Cairo 1939, 541-75.—b) The Wahhābī antecedents: H. Laoust, *Essai*..., 506-40; 615-30, Bibliogr. 648-51; L. Massignon, *Les vraies origines dogmatiques du Wahhabisme*..., in *RMM*, xxxvi (1918-19), 320 ff.; WAHHĀBĪYA, in *EI*[1]; IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB, in *EI*[2].

3. The main representatives of the modern reformist trend: a vast quantity of literature treats the subject from a general point of view. Cf.: Aḥmad Amīn, *Zuʿamāʾ al-iṣlāḥ fi 'l-aṣr al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1368/1949 (on ten reformist personalities of the Arab world and the Indian subcontinent). Special studies: a) Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838-1897): *EI*[2], s.v.; Brockelmann, S III, 311-5; Aḥ. Amīn, *Zuʿamāʾ al-iṣlāḥ*..., 59-120; Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī": a political biography*, Los Angeles 1972; E. Kedourie, *Afghani and ʿAbduh*, London 1966; Homa Pakdaman, *Djamal ed-Din Assad Abadi dit Afghani*, Paris 1960, Bibliogr... 369-82 (tends to demystify the character by underlining the weakness in the man). Complementary study: A. Albert Kudsi-Zadeh, *Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. An annotated Bibliography*, Leiden 1970.—b) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1854?-1902): Brockelmann, S III, 380; R. Riḍā, *Muṣāb ʿaẓīm*... (*In memoriam*), in *al-Manār*, v (1902), 237-40, 276-80; Aḥ. Amīn, *Zuʿamāʾ al-iṣlāḥ*..., 249-79; Muḥ. Aḥ. Khalaf Allāh, *Al-K.*, *ḥayātuh wa-āthāruh*, Cairo 1962; Khaldūn S. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Three Reformers*, Beirut 1966, 55-112.—c) Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905): *EI*[1], s.v.; Brockelmann, S III, 315-21; the basic ref. still remains: R. Riḍā, *Taʾrīkh al-ustādh al-imām al-shaykh M. ʿA.*, 3 vols. Cairo, i, 1350/1931 (essentially biographical, with autobiographical notes by Muḥ. ʿAbduh, 20-5), ii, 1344/1925 (list of works and diverse writings), iii, 1324/1906 (funerary orations; obituary notices); H. Laoust, *Essai*..., 542 ff.; Aḥ. Amīn, *Zuʿamāʾ al-iṣlāḥ*..., 281-338; J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manâr*, chap. I. The personality of Muḥ. ʿAbduh has been the object of numerous studies, unequal in interest and often in the nature of an apologia (cf. ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād, *ʿAbḳarī al-iṣlāḥ wa 'l-taʿlīm al-ustādh al-imām Muḥ. ʿAbduh*, Cairo n.d.). A general bibliogr. on the life, work and thought of Muḥ. ʿAbduh still remains to be compiled.—d) Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935): Brockelmann, S III, 321-3; autobiographical notes in his *al-Manār wa 'l-azhar*, 129-200; Shakīb Arslān, *al-Sayyid R.R. aw ikhāʾ arbaʿīn sana*, Damascus 1356/1937; H. Laoust, *Essai*..., 557 ff.; J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manâr*, chap. I.—e) ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs (1889-1940). *EI*[2]. s.v.; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940*, 79-86 and *Index*; idem, *Ibn Bādīs, Commentateur du Coran*, Paris 1971.—f) On secondary characters whose names are still linked to the history of the reformist trend in contemporary history, see above (*D*).

4. Works on doctrine. We will restrict ourselves here to the major works. For the rest, see the refs. mentioned in the article. a) Afghānī and Muḥ. ʿAbduh, *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā*, Beirut 1328/1910, (new ed., Cairo 1958); Fr. trans. Marcel Colombe, *Pages choisies de Dj. al-D. al-A.*, in *Orient*, xxi-xxiv (1962), and xxv (1963).—b) Afghānī, *Ḥaḳīḳat-i madhhab-i nayshari wa-bayān-i ḥāl-i nayshariyān* (directed against Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*]), Ḥaydarābād 1298/1880 (Arabic trans. by the author, same date and place); another Arabic version, based on the original Persian, by Muḥ. ʿAbduh: *Risālat al-radd ʿala 'l-dahriyyīn*, Beirut 1303/1886, then Cairo 1321/1903 (Fr. trans. based on the Arabic text): A. M. Goichon, *Réfutation des Matérialistes*, Paris 1944; (Eng. trans. based on the original Persian): Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism—Polit. and Relig. Writings of Sayyid J. al-D. "al-Afghānī"*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1968.—c) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, [Cairo 1899], fragments in *al-Manār*, v (1902), Cairo 1350/1931, Aleppo

1959: this little work gives a summarized form of all the main themes of reformist propaganda to be developed by R. Riḍā and Ibn Bādīs.—d) Idem, *Ṭabā'iʿ al-istibdād*, Cairo 1318/1900, enlarged re-ed., Aleppo 1957. This essay was to have less impact in reformist cirles than the preceding work. —e) Muḥ. ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo, 1315/1897; new ed. (expurgated as far as the question of the "created Ḳur'ān" is concerned), with notes, by R. Riḍā, Cairo 1326/1908. This ed. was considered as definitive for more than half a century (17th. reprint 1379/1960). A new ed. by Maḥmūd Abū Rayya uses the text of the original ed. revised and corrected by the author, Cairo, Maʿārif, 1966). Fr. trans. based on the 1st. ed. by B. Michel and Moustapha Abdel Razik, *Rissalat al-Tawhid—Exposé de la religion musulmane*, Paris 1925; Eng. trans.: [Isḥāḳ] Musaʿad and K. Cragg, *The Theology of Unity*, London 1966.—f) Idem, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ al-Dawānī li 'l-ʿaḳā'id al-ʿaḍudiyya*, Cairo 1292/1875; re-ed. in Sulaymān Dunyā, *Al-shaykh, M. ʿA. bayn al-falāsifa wa-'l-kalāmiyyīn*, Cairo 1377/1958, 2 vols. In the Introduction (64 pp.) the ed. situates the thought of M. ʿA. in relation to the problems of faith and reason, and criticizes the "excessive" rationalism of ʿAbduh. For the same sort of approach note his *Risālāt al-wāridāt* (written in 1294/1877), 1st ed., Cairo 1299/1882. According to R. Riḍā the author reconsidered, towards the end of his life, a large part of his youthful work (which deals with *kalām*, Ṣufism and the *falsafa*). —g) Idem, *Al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniyya maʿa 'l-ʿilm wa 'l-madaniyya*, Cairo 1320/1902 (replies and apologetic refutations).—h) Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān al-ḥakīm al-shahīr bi-Tafsīr al-Manār*, in 12 vols., Cairo 1346-53/1927-34 (this commentary stops at verse 52, sūrah XII, and thus only covers 2/5 of the ḳur'ānic text).—i) Idem, *Ta'rīkh al-ustādh al-imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh* (see above, 3, c).—j) Idem, *Al-Khilāfa aw al-imāma al-ʿuẓmā*, Cairo 1341/1922-23 (Fr. trans. H. Laoust, *Le califat dans la doctrine de R.R.*, Beirut 1938. —k) Idem, *al-Manār wa 'l-azhar*, Cairo 1353/1934 (polemics with the conservative circles at *al-Azhar*). Many pamphlets which gather together the art. extracted from *Manār*, above all: l) *Al-Waḥda al-islāmiyya wa 'l-ukhuwwa al-dīniyya*, Cairo 1346/1928 (on the themes of *taḳlīd* and *idjtihād*).—m) ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs, *Madjālis al-tadhkīr min kalām al-ḥakim al-khabīr*, part. published with *Introd.* by M. B. Ibrāhīmī, by Ahmed Bouchemāl, Constantine 1948, 96 pp.; complete, but not critical ed., by Muḥ. Ṣāliḥ Ramaḍān and ʿAbd Allāh Shāhīn, Cairo 1384/1964, 496 pp.—n) Mubārak al-Mīlī, *Risālat al-shirk wa-maẓāhirih*, Constantine 1356/1937 (a theologico-moral work strongly influenced by Wahhābī doctrine).—o) M. al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī, *ʿUyūn al-Baṣā'ir*, Cairo 1963 (editorials from the paper *al-Baṣā'ir*, Algiers 1947-56, on questions of relig., soc., polit., and culture, in pure reformist tradition. —p) Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *al-Islām ʿaḳīda wa-sharīʿa*, Cairo n.d. [1959].—q) Principal reformist papers and revues: *al-Manār* (monthly, Cairo, 1898-1935; ed. Rashīd Riḍā); *al-Fatḥ* (weekly, Cairo, founded in 1926; ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb); *Madjallat al-shubbān al-muslimīn* (monthly, Cairo, founded in 1928; organ of the *Society of Young Muslims*); *al-Shihāb* (Constantine, 1925-39; monthly from 1927 on; ed. Ibn Bādīs); *al-Baṣā'ir* (weekly, Algiers 1936-9; ed. Ṭayyib al-ʿUḳbī; new series. 1947-56; ed. Bashīr Ibrāhīmī).

5. Analytical and critical studies: Besides the names of Muḥ. Iḳbāl, H. Laoust, H. A. R. Gibb, L. Gardet, J. Jomier, quoted above, cf.: I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, repr. 1970 (Arab trans. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Nadjdjār, *Madhāhib al-tafsīr al-islāmī*, Cairo 1374/1955; The *Introduction* to the Fr. trans. of *Risālat al-tawḥid* (p. IX-LXXXV); Osman Amin, *Muḥ. ʿAbduh: Essai sur ses idées philos. et relig.*, Cairo 1944 (Eng. trans., Ch. Wendell, *Muḥammad ʿAbduh*, Washington 1953. Cf. the corrections made to this trans. by Fr. Rosenthal in *JAOS*, lxxiv (1954), 101-2); idem, *Rā'id al-fikr al-miṣri, M. ʿA.*, Cairo 1955 (enlarged version of preceding title); R. Caspar, *Le Renouveau du Moʿtazilisme*, in *MIDEO*, iv (1957), 141-202 (very thorough study, indispensable ref. on the question); P. Rondot. *L'Islam et les Musulmans d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, i (1968), ii (1960) (work of popularization based on personal experience); J. Berque, J.-P. Charnay and others, *Normes et valeurs de l'Islam contemporain*, Paris 1966 (some interesting judgements on reformist currents of Muslim thought in the 20th C.); M. Kerr, *Islamic Reform (The Polit. and Legal Theories of Muh. ʿAbduh and R. Riḍā)*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1966 (underlines certain contradictions in reformist thought); A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940* (Book II, p. 211-432, is an examination of the doctrine); idem, *Ibn Bādīs, Commentateur du Coran* (thematic analysis of the ḳur'ānic commentary of the *Shihāb*).

6. Periodicals which frequently deal with the problems of reformism in an Arab context: *L'Afrique et l'Asie*; *Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain*; *IBLA*; *Islamic Culture*; *JAOS*; *MIDEO*; *Orient*; *OM*; the old *Revue du Monde Musulman*; the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* and its *Abstracta*, etc. (A. Merad)

ii.—Iran

Islamic thought and expression bearing a distinctively modern stamp has been of less quantity and importance in Iran than either the Arab lands or the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. No figure has emerged comparable in influence or literary output to, for example, Sayyid Ḳuṭb or Muḥammad Iḳbāl [*qq.v.*]. This may be attributed in part to the relative isolation of Iran from intellectual currents in other parts of the Muslim world by virtue of its profession of Shīʿism, and in part, too, to the very nature of Shīʿism, which being in its essence an esoterism, is less susceptible to those storms of historical change that have provoked modernist reaction elsewhere. Traditional learning and institutions have, moreover, been unusually well preserved in Iran, and while Islamic modernism in other lands has frequently arisen from "lay" impatience with *ʿulamā'* attitudes to the faith and a desire to expound and implement its dictates independently of them, the Iranian *ʿulamā'* have, by contrast, maintained a high degree of influence and prestige. There have nonetheless been certain currents of modernist expression in Iran, elicited in large part by the western impact and tending to the presentation of Islam above all in terms of social and political reform and compatibility with modern science and rationality.

The beginnings of such expression are to be traced to the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834), when the crown prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā invoked ḳur'ānic sanction for the introduction of certain military reforms of western provenance. The depiction of social and

political reform as deriving from religious precept and duty thereafter became a commonplace of reformist thought. It received little systematic exposition, however, and was frequently voiced by persons themselves lacking in substantial religious belief and concerned above all with the forging of a tactical device for gaining *ʿulama'* and mass upport for reform and westernization. Most prominent and influential among this class was the Perso-Armenian Mīrzā Malkum Khān (1834-1908). On the basis of his private statements (particularly to his friend and confidant, Ākhūndzāda), it may be concluded that he was a freethinker; yet he belongs to the history of Islamic modernism in Iran by virtue of his expedient and influential exposition of the Islamic acceptability, even necessity, of reform. This theme he put forward in a number of treatises, especially *Kitābča-yi Ghaybī*, and above all in the celebrated journal *Ḳānūn*, published in London from 1890 to 1898.

In the identification of religious duty with the need to reform, the question of law played a crucial part: whether the law of a regenerated state was to be the *sharīʿa* or a code of western inspiration. The problem was solved — if only in the most immediate sense — by the equation of both on the basis of allegedly shared fundamentals: the just and orderly functioning of society for the increase of prosperity. This equation, implicit in the very title of Malkum's journal, was set forth more clearly (and probably with a greater degree of inward conviction) by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dawla in his treatise entitled *Yak Kalima* (1870). The "one word" of the title is law, which constitutes the sufficient solution to all of Iran's problems, and the law in question consists of the French legal codes, which Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān attempts to prove compatible with Islam by means of quotation from the Ḳur'ān and *Ḥadīth*. He wrote another work in similar vein, *Rūḥ-i Islām*, in which he stated: "I have found proofs and evidences from the Glorious Ḳur'ān and reliable traditions for all the means of progress and civilization, so that none shall henceforth say, 'such-and-such a matter is against the principles of Islam,' or, 'the principles of Islam are an obstacle to progress and civilization'."

The influence of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī (Afghānī) [*q.v.*] in Iran tended in a similar direction of westernizing reform, although the religious tone and content of his thought was far more considerable than in the case of either Malkum or Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān. It is now fully established that he was of Iranian birth; yet his impact upon his homeland was almost certainly of less importance than his role in other parts of the Muslim world. His major work in "defence" of religion, *Ḥaḳīḳat-i madhhab-i nayčirī*, was written and first published in Ḥaydarābād (1881), largely in response to certain local Indian conditions, and the Arabic version of the work, *al-Radd ʿala 'l-dahriyyīn*, was probably more widely read than the Persian orignal. Nonetheless, during Djamāl al-Dīn's two trips to Iran in 1886-1887 and 1889-1891, he came into contact with a variety of persons upon whom he appears to have made a considerable impression. Among these may be mentioned Sayyid Ṣādiḳ Ṭabāṭabā'ī, father of Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī, one of the most prominent *mudjtahids* active in support of the constitutional revolution, and Mīrzā Naṣr Allāh Iṣfahānī Malik al-Mutakallimīn, the celebrated constitutionalist preacher. While taking refuge at the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm to the south of Tehran in 1890, he also met many lesser persons, and he may in general be presumed to have strengthened the current of Iranian modernism, although to a degree inferior to that claimed by posthumous legend.

Foremost among the themes traditionally associated with the influence of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn was Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*], which did indeed come to occupy a certain place in Islamic modernism in Iran, despite the separateness resulting from Shīʿism. It was felt that both the Ottoman Empire and Iran were exposed to the same danger of extinction at the hands of western imperialism, and that union under the Ottoman ruler, as sultan thought not caliph, was a desirable measure of defence. While in Istanbul in 1892, Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn formed a circle of Iranian exiles—Azalīs for the most part, strangely enough—to conduct propaganda with a view to strengthening such feelings. Letters were sent to the Shīʿī *ʿulamā'* both in Iran and at the shrine cities of ʿIrāḳ which elicited a favourable response. Contacts between Istanbul and the Shīʿī *ʿulamā'* survived Djamāl al-Dīn's death and played a role of some importance in the affairs of Iran for a number of years, particularly from 1900 to 1903. The only substantial treatment of Pan-Islamism in Persian was the tract entitled *Ittiḥād-i Islām* by the Ḳadjar prince Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Shaykh al-Ra'īs (published at Bombay in 1894). In recent years aspirations towards Islamic solidarity have received renewed expression in Iran, but with Sunnī-Shīʿī rapprochement as their aim rather than political union or federation.

Certain modernist themes, in particular the religious desirability of social and educational reform and the duty of acquiring modern scientific learning, were adumbrated in works not primarily religious in tone and intention: *Kitāb-i Aḥmad* (1896) and *Masālik-i Muḥsinīn* (1905) of the Ādharbāydjānī Ṭālibov, and the *Siyāḥatnāma-yi Ibrāhīm Bīg* (3 vols., 1903-1909) of his compatriot Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Marāgha'ī.

None of the works or tendencies indicated so far emanated from the *ʿulamā'*, although they may have been influenced by some among them to various degrees. It is not until the years of the constitutional revolution (1905-1911) that we find a coherent and serious statement on questions of political and social reform, inspired by genuine concern and expressed in scholarly terms, issuing from the *ʿulamā'* class. The work in question is a treatise on constitutional government from the viewpoint of Shīʿī Islam, entitled *Tanbīh al-umma wa tanzīh al-milla dar asās wa uṣūl-i mashrūṭiyat* (first published 1909, reprinted with an introduction by Sayyid Maḥmūd Ṭāliḳānī in 1955). The author was Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā'īnī (1860-1936), a *mudjtahid* resident in Nadjaf who had been a pupil of the celebrated Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī, author of the *fatwā* so effective in the tobacco boycott of 1891-1892, and who enjoyed the close friendship of the great constitutionalist divines, Mullā Kāẓim Khurāsānī and Mullā ʿAbd Allāh Māzandarānī. The participation of a large and significant number of the Iranian *ʿulamā'* in the constitutional revolution has often been regarded as a result of confusion and circumstantial pressure, as the continuation of traditional *ʿulamā'* hostility to the state in a situation the novelty of which they failed to recognize. Nā'īnī's book delineates the positive doctrinal reasons for their support of constitutionalism, firmly grounded in the Ḳur'ān and *Sunna*. He defines the functions of the state as the establishment of equilibrium within society and its defence from external attack. The power enjoyed by the state should be limited to that necessary for fulfilling these functions; any excess tends inevitably in the direction of tyranny, which in turn tempts the ruler to usurp the divine attribute of sovereignty, and thus to commit the cardinal sin of *shirk*.

Such perversion can be fully prevented only by the *ʿiṣma* of the ruler, his freedom from sin and error, and it was for this reason that legitimate rule belonged to the Imāms during their lifetime. After the occultation of the twelfth Imām, legitimacy has withdrawn from the earthly plane, and a degree of usurpatoriness is bound to haunt all existing regimes. It is nonetheless both possible and desirable to reduce that degree to a minimum by limiting the power of the ruler and instituting an assembly (*madjlis*) of representatives which shall implement the consultative principle enunciated in the Ḳurʾān. Such an assembly may act as a legislature only with regard to matters not already covered by the *sharīʿa*, or by giving specific implementation to items legislated for in general manner by Ḳurʾān and *Sunna*. The functioning of the assembly is to be regulated by a constitution, and objections that the constitution somehow vies with the *sharīʿa* as a new, comprehensive code are ill-informed or mischievous. There results from conceding to the assembly a limited legislative power a duality of religious and secular law; but the innocuity of secular law will be guaranteed by the presence in the *madjlis* of a number of *mudjtahids*, and in any event, perfect implementation of the *sharīʿa*, with all aspects of life integrated according to its ordinances, will be possible only with the return of the Imām to the plane of manifestation. Nāʾīnī's statement of the desirability of constitutional rule in Shīʿī terms indicates not only how the *ʿulamāʾ* were able, in later decades, to refer to both the Ḳurʾān and the constitution as sources of authority for political life, but also how it was possible for them to ally themselves with secular elements in the pursuit of common political objectives.

Modernist thought and expression, in Islamic terms, remained dormant throughout the reign of Riḍā Shāh (1926-1941), under whose auspices a nationalist ideology with secularist and anti-Islamic tendencies was fostered, although not as energetically as in neighbouring Turkey. After his deposition and the succession to the throne of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh, a certain freedom of expression came into being of which use was made by various religious circles, and although the possibilities of uninhibited expression have since suffered a sharp decline, Islamic modernism in Iran has continually developed in the post-war period. During the last decade in particular, a large body of religious literature has made its appearance, modern in its tone of thought and its preoccupation with socio-economic problems, the interrelations of science and religion, and the task of restating Islam in a manner comprehensible to secularly educated youth.

In the period between the accession of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh and the overthrow of prime minister Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ in July 1953, the resurgence of Islam as a visible factor in public affairs was marked by an extreme degree of political activism, largely unaccompanied by intellectual or literary activity. This observation applies both to the organization of the Fidāʾiyān-i Islām [*q.v.*], under the leadership of Nawwāb Ṣafavī, and to the figure of Āyat Allāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī. The Fidāʾiyān never evolved a consistent ideology or any serious programme for reshaping the life of state and society in Islamic terms. Their organ, *Zilzila*, consisted largely of commentaries on questions of the day, with more permanent questions receiving only fragmentary treatment. Kāshānī, although temporarily co-operating with the Fidāʾiyān, represented the tradition of the constitutionalist *mudjtahids* of the early part of the century and had indeed been one of the foremost pupils of Mullā Kāẓim Khurāsānī in Nadjaf. In his speeches and correspondence, Kāshānī reflected the thinking of this earlier generation of *ʿulamāʾ*, accepting, like Nāʾīnī, the Ḳurʾān and the constitution as dual sources of political authority. His expression of the theme had an abrasive polemical edge that reflected the extreme tensions of the period.

At this time, the dominant figure in the religious life of Iran was not Kāshānī, but Āyat Allāh Ḥusayn Burūdjirdī (1875-1962), a figure universally acknowledged to have exceeded Kāshānī in piety and learning, while quietist—and even occasionally loyalist—in his political attitudes. Burūdjirdī cannot, in any important sense, be called a modernist, for he did not concern himself to any remarkable degree with political or social problems. Nonetheless, during the one-and-a-half decades that he functioned as sole *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] of the Ithnā ʿasharī Shīʿī community, he initiated a process of renewal and self-criticism within the religious institution which has gathered momentum after his death and largely contributed to the contemporary spate of religious concern and thought in Iran. Burūdjirdī established a network of communication reaching out from Ḳum to all regions of the country to regularize the collection of *sahm-i imām*, a measure that later proved useful for the dissemination of religious guidance and directives. In the field of pure scholarship, he revived the independent study of *ḥadīth* and instigated a critical revision of the fundamental Shīʿī manual, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmulī's *Waṣāʾil al-shīʿa ilā taḥḳīḳ masāʾil al-sharīʿa*. He demonstrated a serious concern for a Sunnī-Shīʿī rapprochement, and to this end entered into correspondence with successive rectors of the Azhar. With their co-operation, there was established in Cairo, with a branch in Ḳum, an institution called *Dār al-taḳrīb bayna'l-madhāhib al-islāmiyya*, issuing an organ under the title of *Risālat al-Islām*. This concern of Burūdjirdī has survived his death, and while the absence of diplomatic relations between Tehran and Cairo for a number of years made it difficult to pursue contacts with the Azhar, this obstacle was removed in September 1970, and the rector of the Azhar, Muḥammad al-Faḥḥām, paid an extended visit to Iran in the summer of 1971 in the course of which he met a number of leading *mudjtahids*, including Ayat Allāh Muḥammad Hādī Mīlānī in Mashhad. Another initiative of Burūdjirdī which has continued to bear fruit was the dispatch of Shīʿī emissaries to western Europe, both to cater to needs of Iranians abroad and to propagate Shīʿī Islam among interested Europeans.

The death of Burūdjirdī deprived the Shīʿī community of its sole *mardjaʿ*, and the problem of leadership and direction posed itself in an unusually acute manner. It was widely felt that the traditional process whereby one or more of the *mudjtahids*, qualified by piety and pre-eminence in religious learning, had emerged to be sources of guidance, was defective and incapable of answering the true needs of the community. For all the deep respect that Burūdjirdī had enjoyed, his failure to provide authoritative guidance during the events that had convulsed Iran in the Muṣaddiḳ period was felt to be a defect from which his successors should ideally be free. It was recognized, moreover, that the mastery of the traditional religious disciplines was by itself no longer an adequate training for the effective guidance of society and the application of Islamic solutions to contemporary problems. On the other hand, acquisition of the various branches of specialized knowledge that seemed necessary for the task was clearly beyond the capacities

of a single individual. Some therefore concluded that a collective *mardja*ʿ was desirable. Many of these considerations, together with suggested solutions, were adumbrated in a collective volume entitled *Baḥth̲ī dar bāra-yi mardjaʿiyat wa rūḥānīyat*, first published in 1963 and since reprinted with supplementary material. This book, the work of seven authors, including both *ʿulamāʾ* and lay writers, was probably the most influential and substantial piece of religious writing to appear in Persian since Nāʾīnī's discussion of constitutional government. It concluded a brief and clear exposition of certain fundamental concepts such as *taḳlīd*, *idjtihād* and *walāyat* (treated by Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī and Murtaḍā Muṭahharī), and of the proper social function of the religious classes in general and the *mardja*ʿ in particular (discussed by Mahdī Bāzargān and Sayyid Muḥammad Bihishtī). Possibly the most important sections were those in which Muṭahharī discussed the need to provide an independent financial basis for the religious institution, thus freeing it of subservenience to either state or populace, and those in which Bāzargān and Sayyid Murtaḍā Djazāʾirī proposed the replacement of an individual by a collective *mardja*ʿ (termed by the latter *shaurā-yi fatwā*).

In addition to such discussion of problems peculiar to Shīʿism in the present age, the postwar religious scene in Iran has also witnessed the translation into Persian of modernist works produced elsewhere in the Islamic world. Some of the authors most frequently translated are Sayyid Ḳuṭb, Muḥammad Ḳuṭb ,Yūsuf al-Ḳarḍāwī and others associated with the Ikhwān al-Muslimīn [*q.v.*], and Mawlānā Abu 'l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī, leader of the Pakistani Dhamāʿat-i Islāmī. Among the more influential of the works translated, special mention may be made of Sayyid Ḳuṭb's *al-ʿAdāla al-idjtimāʾiyya fī 'l-Islām*. The translations are occasionally supplied with footnotes to indicate Shīʿī divergent opinions when deemed necessary.

The most prolific and influential writer of original modernist literature in Iran today is Mahdī Bāzargān, one of the contributors to the collective volume already mentioned. His work is characterized by the clear influence of certain Sunnī modernists, a concern with demonstrating the confluence of scientific fact with religious truth, and a fluent and persuasive style. His first book was *Muṭahhirāt dar Islām* (1943; later reprinted), a detailed demonstration of the biological and hygienic utility inherent in the Islamic prescriptions for ritual purity. Of his later production, totalling some twenty titles to date, mention may be made of *ʿIshḳ wa parastish* (1963), a work subtitled "the thermodynamics of man"; *Duʿā* (1964), discussing the psychological benefits of prayer; and *Dars-i Dīndārī* (1965), stressing the continuing need of man and society in the modern world for religion. Bāzargān has also been politically active as one of the moving spirits behind the Nihḍat-i Āzādī, a religiously orientated component of the proscribed oppositional National Front. One of his associates in this venture has been Sayyid Maḥmūd Ṭāliḳānī, author of a number of works including the significant treatise *Djihād wa Shahādat* (1965).

Most of the works of Bāzargān and Ṭāliḳānī have been published by a Tehran house known as Shirkat-i Intishār, which continues to put out an ever-increasing volume of modernist religious literature. A few specimens may be cited by way of example: ʿAlī Ghaffūrī's *Islām wa iʿlāmīyya-yi djahānī-yi ḥuḳuḳ-i bashar* (1964), aiming to show how Islam has prefigured the notion of universal human rights; Muḥammad Taḳī Sharīʿatī's *Tafsīr-i Nuvīn* (1967), a commentary on the last *djuzʾ* of the Ḳurʾān, markedly rationalist in tendency; and Muḥammad Mudjtahid Shabistarī's *Djāmiʾa-yi insānī-yi Islām* (1969), a work stressing the universalist and fraternal aspects of Islam.

There are too certain special classes of religious literature worthy of note. One is the popular religious biography, of which the chief exponent is Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Rahnamā. His immensely successful biography of the Prophet, *Payāmbar*, first published in 1937, has gone through more than fifteen editions and been translated into French (Paris 1957). Rahnamā's work is characterized by skilful narrative technique and a free use of invented dialogue. A two-volume *Zindagānī-yi Imām Ḥusayn* (new edition 1966) has enjoyed similar popularity. Also deserving of mention in the same genre is the Persian translation of C. V. Gheorghiu's French biography of the Prophet under the title of *Muḥammad, payghambarī ki az nau bāyad shinākht* (1964).

Polemical literature forms another notable division of contemporary religious writing. Numerous works have been written stressing the unique identity of the Shīʿa, partly as an adjunct to and partly in contradiction of, moves towards a Sunnī-Shīʿī rapprochement. Probably the best work in this category is Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī's *Shīʿa dar Islām* (1969). The vast work in Arabic on the supposed appointment of ʿAlī as successor to the Prophet at the pool of Khumm, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Amīnī's *al-Ghadīr*, has been partially translated into Persian. A more popular treatment of the same subject is the anonymous and collective work *Ḥassāstarīn farāz-i tārīkh yā dāstān-i ghadīr* (1969). Other works are aimed at refuting the attacks made on Shīʿī Islam by the radical anti-clerical Aḥmad Kasravī in his frequently reprinted *Shīʿagarī*. In this category mention may be made of Ḥādjdj Sirādj Anṣārī's *Shīʿa chi mīgūyad* (third edition, 1966), and Muḥammad Taḳī Sharīʿatī's *Fāʾida wa luzūm-i dīn* (1965). Finally, there exists an extensive literature in refutation of Bahāʾīsm, chiefly in pamphlet form.

In addition to the printed word, the broadcast lecture on religious subjects has played a part of importance in the diffusion of contemporary Islamic thought, particularly in an era of decreasing mosque attendance. The names of Muḥammad Taḳī Falsafī and Ḥusayn Rāshid stand out among the especially celebrated preachers; the texts of their lectures have been collected and published in book form.

Another innovation of the postwar period has consisted of societies and organizations devoted to *tablīgh*, to the propagation of the faith by means of the printed and spoken word. The earliest of these was the Andjuman-i Tablīghāt-i Islāmī, founded in 1943 by Dr. ʿAṭā Allāh Shihābpūr with headquarters in Tehran and branches in a number of provincial cities. It published a number of booklets on the fundamentals of religion, as well as a magazine entitled *Nūr-i dānish* and a yearbook bearing the same name. The activities of the organization seem to have faded out in the late 1950s.

In 1965 there was established in Ḳum an institution called the Dār al-Tablīgh al-Islāmī, the fulfilment of the wishes of the late Burūdjirdī and under the auspices of another *mudjtahid*, Āyat Allāh Muḥammad Kāẓim Sharīʿatmadārī. The institution trains students in the religious science, not, like the traditional *madrasas*, for the sake of pure knowledge, but with a view to the effective propagation of religion among the masses. English is among the subjects taught, and it is intended to institute missionary activity abroad. On the occasion of the fourth anniversary

of the institution, a lavish volume entitled *Sīmā-yi Islām* was published, containing contributions by leading contemporary religious writers. Closely associated with the activities of the Dār al-Tablīgh is an author by the name of Sayyid Hādī Khusraushāhī, a figure well-known in international Islamic circles and editor of the popular religious magazine *Maktab-i Islām* (appearing since 1958).

More recently still, there has been founded in Tehran the institution known as Ḥusayniya-yi Irshād, a centre where well-attended lectures on religious subjects are given by prominent figures both from the *ʿulamāʾ* and the world of learning. It too has publications to its credit, the most notable being a two-volume collection of papers entitled *Muḥammad, khātam-i payghambarān* (1969). During the *ḥadjdj* season, the Ḥusayniya establishes a temporary branch at Minā, where Iranian pilgrims go to receive guidance and hear lectures on the significance of the pilgrimage.

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(Hamid Algar)

iii.—Turkey

Within the Ottoman-Turkish context *iṣlāḥ* seldom meant modernism in religion. The word has more often been associated with political reform which, in turn, meant at first (during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries) the restoration of the old political order, and later (approximately after 1800), a reconstitution of the political system on the basis of principles more and more remote from those of sultanate and caliphate. There is no word consistently used to denote the idea of religious modernism, as distinct from the modernization of religious institutions such as the *madrasas*, where again the term used was *iṣlāḥ*. There is no major movement of religious modernism comparable with those found elsewhere in the Islamic world.

The absence of a concept and movement of religious modernism seems to be a result of the characteristic Ottoman fusion of religion and state, symbolized by the frequent use of the term *dīn-u-devlet* by Ottoman writers. In an institutional or in a theological sense, very little scope was left for the rise of a religious modernism independent of political reform movements. The Ottoman polity had succeeded more than any other in maintaining Islam and its representatives, the *ʿulamāʾ*, within the framework of the state organization. The religious institution, which represented no spiritual or ecclesiastical authority, was merely a segment of the ruling institution, and was organized into an order or *odjaḳ* [*q.v.*]. Its role lay mainly in the cultivation of jurisprudence (*fiḳh*), the giving of opinions on legal matters (*iftāʾ*), and the execution of the *sharīʿa* law and the *ḳānūn* (*ḳaḍāʾ*). The *madrasa* was not primarily a school of theology, but was chiefly a training centre of jurisprudence. Through its judiciary, the state had adopted Sunnī orthodoxy, with an emphasis on Māturīdī theology and the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence, and thus limited the possibilities for theological controversies.

However, besides the orthodox religious institution, with its educational and judicial regimentation and hierarchy, scope was also given to another stream of religious institutionalization which came closer to what might be regarded as an autonomous spiritual institution. These were the mystic orders or *ṭarīḳas*, of which there was a rich variety as a result of their tendency to split and multiply. Most of them, however, adhered, at least ostensibly to one or other of the main conservative, moderate, and extremist trends in terms of their attitudes toward the world and the state. It was only when a clash took place within the accepted limits of discrepancy between the *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfī orders that there was the possibility of some kind of religious controversy. When such a clash extended to the basic tenets of orthodoxy, the *ʿulamāʾ* tended to view it more in political than religious terms and treated the exponents of such views as heretical. In all such cases the *ʿulamāʾ* easily obtained the support of the political power. The majority of the *ṭarīḳas*, however, avoided open antinomianism and maintained their position within the framework of the Ottoman polity. They adopted quietism or indifferentism on theological-political matters and were inclined more and more to ritualism and incantation or to poetry and art. This tendency not only safeguarded their existence, but also added prestige and enhanced their popularity among various classes of society, particularly among the artisans, the military, and the bureaucracy. The *ṭarīḳa* thus represented another example of the union between religion and state, attracting the participation not only of the *ʿulamāʾ* but also of high ranking statesmen, often even of the rulers themselves. Furthermore, the Ottoman state succeeded, in the later period, in making the *ṭarīḳas* a semi-official pillar of the state by recognizing the *mashāyikh* alongside the *ʿulamāʾ* in various ceremonial affairs.

After a fairly long period of partnership between the state, the *ʿulamāʾ*, and the *ṭarīḳas*, religious and spiritual controversies arose when in the 11th/17th century all of them faced the earliest challenges of the modern world. The objects of their controversies, such as coffee-drinking, smoking, intoxication, the use of silk or jewellery, emotional extravagance in daily life or in religious observance, belief in powers above or beyond the state and God may seem unimportant, but they were innovations partly introduced by the material affluence of the ruling class and the monetary and fiscal crises caused by the advent of an inflated economy and the concomitant disruption of the traditional orders of the Ottoman polity, accompanied by the impoverishment of the masses. The confluence of these factors made the problem of innovation (*bidʿa*) the central theme of religious controversies. The *ʿulamāʾ* and the *mashāyikh* accused each other of such innovations while the state, perhaps the real culprit, took the occasion to tighten its grip upon both.

However, no basic change in the traditional outlook of the *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfī orders took place before the challenge of the modern world, although one should not conclude that the *ʿulamāʾ* always took a negative attitude toward innovations. Because of their vested interest in the maintenance of the Ottoman system, their attitude to change was dictated by their principle of *maṣlaḥa*, political expediency. Only in a few cases did the *ʿulamāʾ* openly oppose government policies and attempts at reform. In periods of tension the *ʿulamāʾ* turned against the Ṣūfīs rather than against the state, and under their attacks, the *ṭarīḳas* became more docile. This was an important stage on the road towards their later decline and discredit. The *ʿulamāʾ* as a whole stood firmly on the side of the state, although with a relative degree of elasticity, but they survived the first phase of the crisis only with a tangible loss of religious vitality and initiative. Both of these religious institutions were thus in decline, long before 1800. Already in the middle of the 11th/17th century Ḳoči Beg [*q.v.*], in his *Risāla*, had described the corruption of the corps of *ʿulamāʾ*, and later Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*]) in his *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ fī ikhtiyār al-aḥaḳḳ* (English translation by G. L. Lewis, *The balance of truth*, London 1957) ridiculed the nonsensical controversies raging between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *shaykh*s and deplored the depth of ignorance in rational and religious sciences in the *madrasas*. While the *ʿulamāʾ* had become thoroughly worldly, the *ṭarīḳas* tended to become more removed from reality.

The reign of Selīm III (1789-1807), as the first period of serious attempt at comprehensive reforms, found the *ʿulamāʾ* more active in worldly affairs than interested in religious reform. Among the reform projects submitted to this ruler the best one was prepared by ʿAbd Allāh Molla, a high ranking member of the *ʿulamāʾ*. None of his recommendations for the reforming of the religious institution, however, had any effect upon the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the head of the *ʿulamāʾ*, nor upon his colleagues, and produced nothing tangible which could be called modernism in religion. The *ṭarīḳas* fell into further disrepute and, at least one of them, the Bektashiyya, received a deadly blow from the *ʿulamāʾ*-supported destruction of the Janissaries under Maḥmūd II in 1826, because of the alleged association between the two. Since then, the *ṭarīḳas* have never recovered, with the exception of two intervals, the first during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909) and the second from the 1940s on.

The earliest sign of a fundamental change in the position of the religious institution only appeared when some of the provisions of the *Tanẓīmat* charter were implemented. At first, the *ʿulamāʾ* managed to ignore the implications of the *Tanẓīmat* reforms for religious modernism. While the *Tanẓīmat* proved to be a new step in further involving the religious institution in politics, at the same time it marked the first split between religion and state. For example, while the *Shaykh al-Islām*, as the head of the religious institution, was given a permanent and prominent position in the cabinet, half of the judiciary was reserved for the new Ministry of Justice, the regulation of all pious foundations was assigned to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of *Awḳāf*, and all newly formed schools were put under the Ministry of Education [see BĀB-I MASHĪKHAT].

Despite this trend of laicization of the institutions which were traditionally under the control of the religious institution, the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *madrasas* continued to play conspicuous roles in wordly affairs. That these activities varied from combating the laicized institutions, or sabotaging the codification of the *Medjelle*, to backing the state against the interference of the European Powers aimed at further secularizing reforms and participating in secret conspiracies for the deposition of rulers, is an indication of the fact that the *ʿulamāʾ* had lost their internal unity, and their association with the state had become tenuous.

During the *Tanẓīmat*, as well as the constitutional movement of the young Ottomans, the *ʿulamāʾ* produced no prominent religious thinker. The only outstanding figure who came from the *ʿulamāʾ* class was Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha (1822-1895 [*q.v.*]), but he became prominent only after he left the religious institution and became a secular statesman. Djewdet was perhaps the greatest reformer of the period, but as a legal reformer and not as a religious thinker. He succeeded in curbing the tendency of the *Tanẓīmat* statesmen toward a wholesale adoption of new codes from France on the one hand, and, on the other, recognized the inability of the *ʿulamāʾ*, as the spokesmen of the *sharīʿa*, to fulfil the requirements of a modern legal system. The *Medjelle* [*q.v.*] (1870-77) and the *Ḳānūn-u-Erāḍī* (1858) were the major products of his attempts at the modernization and codification of Islamic law. His englightened modernism, however, did not extend to constitutionalism. While he received the acclaim of the Young Ottomans as a modernist on matters of *fiḳh*, he sided with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II against the constitutionalists, although it was the very same ruler who interrupted Djewdet's work in codification under pressure of the famous reactionary *Shaykh al-Islām*, Ḥasan Fehmī [*q.v.*].

The reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909 [*q.v.*]) was a period of total eclipse for any type of religious reform. It became instead a period of resurgence for the *ṭarīḳas*, particularly for those which had no historic position in the Ottoman empire but were imported, mostly from North Africa, and which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd seems to have encouraged in order to renew Ottoman influence in Arab countries. These *ṭarīḳas* became centres of obscurantism, and the attempt to use them for political purposes sealed the fate of these once vigorous foci of popular religiosity. It is to be noted that during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who espoused pan-Islamism, no trace of the modernist ideas of men like Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] is discernible, although there was an abundance of the literature of the "Refutation of the Materialists" type inspired by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*].

Some influence of Muḥammad Abuh's modernism was found, on the other hand, in pre-1908 writings of the secular intelligentsia who were at war with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Dr. ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet, who is regarded as one of the most extreme atheists among the Young Turks, was the first to give space to Muḥammad ʿAbduh's ideas in his review *Idjtihād*, published in exile. After the restoration of the constitutional regime in 1908, the first modernist review, *Sirat-ı Mustaḳīm* (later *Sebīl ul-Reşad*), appeared as the organ of the younger *ʿulamāʾ*, who no longer constituted a clerical order in the Old Ottoman sense. The leading figures of this modernist review, however, were handicapped by the complications created by the impending clash between the Pan-Ottomanism of the Young Turks and the Islamic-Arab nationalism of the Egyptian modernists. The review appeared to be more in the footsteps of Rashīd Riḍā than Muḥammad ʿAbduh. In reality, very little space was given to ʿAbduh in *Sirat-ı Mustaḳīm*; only two arti-

cles were published about him, both being translations. What was believed to be modernism in Arab countries thus appeared in Turkey to be a religious reaction against the Ottoman caliphate. The secular Westernists also denounced these modernists as reactionaries. A controversy between the two poets of the two camps, Tewfīḳ Fikret and Meḥmet ʿĀḳif [Ersoy], has remained ever since as the model of the conflicting views of the secularists and the modernists.

While the modernists of the *Sirat-ı Mustaḳīm* steadily turned conservative in *Sebīl ul-Reşad* as they were challenged by Westernists and nationalists, the cause of religious modernism was taken up more strongly by the secularist intelligentsia. ʿAbh Allāh Djewdet [see DJEWDET] and Kilīçzāde Ḥaḳḳi, both writing in *Idjtihād*, launched attacks against the traditional *ʿulamāʾ* as well as the modernists. The most prominent and influential figure, however, appeared from among the ranks of the Turkist nationalists. This was Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924 [see GÖKALP]). Unlike his contemporay Mūsā Djār Allāh or Bigief (1875-1949), the theologian and reformer of the Turkish Muslims of the Russian Empire, Gökalp was neither a theologian nor a religious thinker. As a romantic populist and nationalist sociologist he developed a three-principled ideology, in which Islam was significant only within the limitations of westernizing modernism and of the cultural revival of the Turkish nationality. In the scattered writings of Gökalp (ed. and trans. by N. Berkes) we find his views on Islamic modernism inseparable from his ideas of the secular state and national culture.

The religious modernism of Gökalp paved the way for the more radical secularism of the Kemalist era (1923-1938). Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) was even more remote from the tradition of the "Islamic sciences", the *ʿulamāʾ*, the *madrasas* and the *ṭarīḳas*, which he always associated with backwardness, ignorance, superstition and conspiracy, and he saw no place for them in the increasingly laicized political and social institutions. The most spectacular of his revolutionary changes were the abolition of sultanate, caliphate, and Islamic law. The *ʿulamāʾ* organization, the *madrasas*, and *zāwiyas* of the *ṭarīḳas* were closed and their properties transferred to the *waḳf* administration, which had already become a department of government.

It would be misleading to regard the Kemalist reforms as a total eradication of Islam in Turkey. What was really eradicated was Islam in its entanglements with the Ottoman pattern of state and religion. To the extent to which Islam had been institutionalized within this historic polity, within which it had always suffered from formalism and sterility, it inevitably suffered from the disestablishment of that polity. Islam was now made dependent upon the voluntary adherence of the believer; the places of worship were kept open and their administration put under a department of religious affairs financed by the state, but deprived of any prerogative of theological or dogmatic authority. While the recognized religions (Islam, Christianity, and Judaism) were taken under the protection of the law, any political formation in association with any of these religions was banned, and the establishment of any new sect or *ṭarīḳa* was prohibited. The decline, stagnation, and corruption of the old religious institutions, which were nothing but aspects of the decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire, made the Kemalist reforms easier and more acceptable than we are some imes led to believe.

It was only after the cooling of the national fervour (which had greatly facilitated the implementation and acceptance of the Kemalist religious reforms) after World War II that a new interest in Islam re-appeared. Here again we see no sign of *iṣlāḥ* in the sense of modernism, as was always the case in the Turkish tradition. Four lines of development may be distinguished. (1) Scholarly interest in Islam. Works of a historical nature, editions or translations of texts, and some sociological studies. (2) A growing interest of the rising bourgeoisie in religion, mainly expressed in raising funds for repairing old religious buildings or for the construction of new mosques, and in various manifestations of religiosity such as the observance of religious holidays, recitals of the Ḳurʾān or *Mawlid* poetry, alms-giving, pilgrimage, and fasting (3). The rise of new illegal *ṭarīḳas*, mostly of non-traditional types, as sectarian protest groups, favoured on the whole by artisans, small shopkeepers and traders. (4) Anti-secular ideological tendencies clamouring for the restoration of the *sharīʿa* and even of an Islamic state. This decidedly anti-Kemalist trend is mostly favoured by dissatisfied groups of Westernized intelligentsia and a faction of the nationalist youth. The fact that all of these were given a free hand, partly because of the rise of the multi-party system in opposition to single party rule, and partly because of the relative consolidation of democratic freedoms, has led those who took them as signs of a religious modernism and those who believed that they are the signs of a reactionary return to the past to attach an exaggerated importance to them as representing a stage going beyond the Kemalist conception of religious reform. That all appear to have class, occupation, region, and party motivations and alignments indicates that the Kemalist reforms succeeded in changing the Ottoman polity into one in which religion can become a point of political conflict as it is in all modern democracies.

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iv.—India-Pakistan

Indian Muslims were among the first Muslim peoples to come in contact with Western civilization; but it was only after the establishment of the rule of the British East India Company in the wake of the Battle of Plassey (1757) that the direct impact of western institutions came to effect their lives and minds. The reform of the civil and criminal, but not the personal branches of the *sharīʿa* law into the form of Anglo-Muhammedan law, which developed in the last decades of the 18th century [see sharīʿa], was the first major injection of reformism affecting the legal and social life of the Indian Muslims. But in the formulation and development of this reformism they played no part.

The direct impact of Europe was felt by some Indo-Muslim travellers during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. These included Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn, Yūsuf Khān Kammalpūsh, and Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib Khān. Of these the last [*q.v.*] was by far the most receptive and analytical. The influence, if any, of these travellers on the formation of opinion among the Indo-Muslim élite was insignificant.

The apologetic formulation of modernism is traced usually to Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*], whose writings are, no doubt, the foundation of its subsequent development; but the actual pattern of this apologetic was formulated a decade or so earlier by Karamat ʿAlī Djawnpūrī (d. 1873) in his *Maʾākhidh al-ʿulūm* (Eng. tr. ʿUbaydī and Amīr ʿAlī, Calcutta 1967). He presents the later quite familiar apologetic thesis that modern scientific discoveries not merely coincide with, but have actually resulted from the inspiration of the Ḳurʾān, transmitted to Europe through Spain; and that in absorbing the discoveries of modern Western sciences, Muslisms would really be reverting to the truth implicit in their own religion.

The towering figure of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān dominates the entire edifice of Indo-Muslim modernism. He equates the implied and interpreted truth of ḳurʾānic revelation with his understanding of two 19th-century criteria of judgement, "reason" and "nature". Revelation is the word of God, and "nature" the work of God; between the two there can be no contradiction. Of the four traditional sources of Islamic law, he rejects *idjmāʿ* (consensus) [*q.v.*]; substitutes *ḳiyās* (analogy [*q.v.*] by *idjtihād* (use of individual reasoning) [*q.v.*], which he considers to be the right of every educated and intelligent Muslim; doubts the authenticity, and therefore the validity, of much of the corpus of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]; and concentrates almost exclusively on a re-interpretation of the Ḳurʾān. In his ḳurʾānic exegesis he denies the validity of *naskh* (abrogation) [*q.v.*], considering it relevant only to the historical sequence of Jewish, Christian and Muslim scriptures, the later scriptures abrogating the earlier ones. His eschatology, angelology and demonology is non-material and based on rationalizations. In his interpretation of the social structure of Islam he argues against the permissibility of either slavery or polygamy. On the other hand, he justifies interest on capital and property, equating the forbidden *ribā* (usury) with compound interest.

Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's work was supplemented by that of his associates, of whom Čirāgh ʿAlī, who wrote extensively of the possibilities of reform in a modern Muslim state and on *djihād* [*q.v.*], was more radical. Mahdī ʿAlī Khān Muḥsin al-Mulk, who was also Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's successor in implementing his educational and political policies, was comparatively more moderate in his religious views. The apologetics of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and his colleagues were only partly accepted by the Indo-Muslim upper middle class élite; they were rejected in various details, but on the whole broadened the horizon and liberalized the concept of religious faith. They were totally repudiated by the *ʿulamāʾ*.

Amīr ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who wrote exclusively in English, with a mixed Muslim and western readership in mind, did not belong to Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's Aligarh movement, but was very considerably influenced by it, and propagated its apologetic and reformist formulations.

Whereas Sayyid Aḥmad Khān was opposed to revivalism as backward-looking, it became a recurrent theme in the drama of modernization with the *Musaddas* and other poems of his associate Ḥālī [*q.v.*]; this element reached its zenith in the pan-Islamic verse of Iḳbāl [*q.v.*].

Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1875?-1938) is the most outstanding figure of 20th-century Indo-Muslim modernism; but compared to Sayyid Aḥmad Khān his modernist orientation and analysis is more subtle, vague, less easy to grasp in its totality and at times even contradictory. His appeal is primarily poetic, to some extent intellectual, but not effectively theological.

The set of values which Iḳbāl more or less arbitrarily selects as necessary for the development of the individual self and the community are not directly derived from the Ḳurʾān, but traced to it apologetically. These values are movement, power and freedom, which form the recurring leitmotifs of his poetic work and of much of his sustained writing. In his religious thought intuition is a basic concept and defined as a higher form of intellect; at certain stages it is equated with prophethood; and it plays an important role in Iḳbāl's Bergsonian view of evolution, which is basically moral despite its reliance on the value of power. In law Iḳbāl also places a great deal of emphasis on *idjtihād*; but unlike Sayyid Aḥmad Khān he accepts the validity and broadens the concept of *idjmaʿ* equating it with democracy or a parliamentary system of government; at the same time making some concessions to the view that the *ʿulamāʾ* have also a role to play in any movement aimed at reformism in order to balance it—a view which to a great extent has influenced the pattern of constitution-making in Pakistan. For Indian Islam he proposes a role of conservatism which may counter-balance the secularism adopted by Turkey.

His contemporary Abu'l-Kalām Āzād (1888-1958) is not exactly a modernist; but he liberalizes and humanizes Islamic belief, in his exegesis of the Ḳurʾān, by stressing the attributes of God as the Nourisher, the Provider, the Merciful One and the Beautiful One. Whereas Iḳbāl had placed man at the centre of the universe as God's viceregent with limitless potentialities, Āzād again restores God to the supremely authoritative position in the scheme of the universe, and leaves man little choice but to admire, obey, worship and follow Him.

Both Iḳbāl and Āzād influenced the thought of

Ghulām Aḥmad Parwīz (Parwez) whose modernism is, on the whole, this-worldly and pragmatic, but based on an untenable extravangant and far-fetched interpretation of the ḳur'ānic terminology. Because of his exegetical extravagance his influence on the modernist élite has been minimal.

These landmarks of the intellectual history of modern Islam in India had some effect on the social modernization of the Muslim upper classes up to 1947. Only after that date did the great debate between westernization and orthodoxy begin in Pakistan, and it still continues. In terms of social reform the one precarious gain so far made by modernism in Pakistan has been confined to the revision of Muslim family law, which has made polygamy a little more difficult and divorce a little less easy. The élite which created Pakistan and which has been ruling it subsequently is, on the whole, modernist and westernized in social outlook as well as in the processes of administrative decision-making; but in politics and in constitution-making modernism is heavily under the pressure of orthodoxy, especially of the fundamentalist movement of Abu 'l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī.

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(AZIZ AHMAD)

v.—CENTRAL ASIA [see Supplement]

ISLĀM, submission, total surrender (to God) — *maṣdar* of the IVth form of the root *S L M*.

I. DEFINITION AND THEORIES OF MEANING.

1.—Ḳur'ānic references.—The "one who submits to God" is the *Muslim*, of which the plural *Muslimūn* occurs very often throughout the sūras. *Islām*, on the other hand, occurs only eight times there; but the word must be considered in conjunction with the fairly common use of the verb *aslama* in the two meanings which merge into one another, "surrender to God" (an inner action) and "profession of *Islām*", that is to say adherence to the message of the Prophet. The eight occurrences of *Islām* are as follows:—

a). Three verses stress its quality of interiority: "Whomsoever God desires to guide, He expands his breast to Islam" (VI, 125); *Islām* is a "call " from God, which must prohibit falsehood (LXI, 7) and which places whoever receives it "in a light from his Lord" (XXXIX, 22).

b). Three other texts, constantly quoted through the centuries, stress the connection between *islām* and *dīn* [*q.v.*]. It is certainly appropriate in this context to translate *dīn* as "religion", though without forgetting the idea of debt owed to God which it connotes. "Today, I have perfected your religion (*dīn*) for you; I have completed My blessing upon you; I have approved *islām* for your religion" (V, 3), and "the religion, in the eyes of God, is *islām*" (III, 19). The surrender of the whole Self to God can alone render to Him the worship which is His due; whosoever should seek for another religion, his search would not be approved (cf. III, 85).

c). The action which operates *islām* supposes a "return" to God, *tawba*, a conversion. The Ḳur'ān speaks of "conversion to *islām*"—to condemn the unbelief (*kufr*) of those who had nevertheless made a profession of faith (IX, 74). Similarly it condemns the complacency of the Bedouins who boast of their *islām* "as if it were a favour on their part" (XLIX, 17). In addition: "Say: 'Do not count your *islām* as a favour to me; nay, but rather God confers a favour upon you, in that He has guided you to belief, if it be that you are truthful" (*ibid.*). A little earlier, the very important verse XLIX, 14 had made a clear distinction between *islām* and *īmān*: "The Bedouins say: 'we believe'. Say: you do not believe; rather say, 'We surrender' (*aslamnā*). Faith has not yet entered into your heart".

It would therefore be an exaggeration to state, with A. J. Wensinck (*The Muslim Creed*), Cambridge 1922, 22), that "in the Ḳur'ān the terms *islām* and *īmān* are synonymous". It is true that to recognize oneself as a Muslim and to be a believer are two existential realities which together take possession of a man's whole being to ensure his salvation (*ibid.*). But the Ḳur'ān (XLIX, 14 and 17, and still more IX, 74) evokes an explicit profession of *islām* which is in no way a guarantee against the sin of *kufr*, and has no saving value unless it is the expression of faith. On comparing these verses with III, 19 and V, 3 (insistence on the idea of *dīn*), we see that the ḳur'ānic statements themselves urge men to make *islām* not merely a (general) act of submission and surrender to God, and not merely obedience to God's commandments, but also an affirmation which grants

admission to the *ummat al-nabī*, the "people of the Prophet", whatever their inner dispositions. These diverse connotations were to recur throughout the ages, as a result of the self-awareness brought about by the *umma*.

2. — Some *ḥadīth*s. — In the collections of *ḥadīth*s the emphasis, in defining *islām*, will be placed upon submission to God, expressed by deeds: above all, the prescribed acts of worship, including adoration of the One God, but also the *khayrāt*, "good works". Thus, by way of example: in al-Bukhārī, ii, 37 (*ḥadīth* of Gabriel), after defining *īmān* by its content ("to believe in God, in His angels, in the future life, in the prophets, in the resurrection"), the Prophet, in reply to the question "What is *islām*?", replies: "*islām* is to adore God without associating anything with Him, to observe the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), to pay *zakāt*, to fast during the month of *Ramaḍān*" (similar text in Muslim). But it is also "to give food (to the hungry) and to give the greeting of peace (*salām*) to those one knows, just as to those one does not know" (al-Bukhārī, ii, 5). And the best *islām* will be that of the *Muslim* of whom one has to "fear neither the hand nor the tongue" (*ibid.*, 4).

The *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal (iii, 134; cf. A. J. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 23) states: "*islām* is external, faith belongs to the heart". The act of "surrender to God" is therefore expressed by holding fast to the ritual observances and social behaviour prescribed by the religious Law. God alone judges men's hearts, and hence the reality of faith; the judgement of men may concern itself with *islām*. The "science of *fiḳh*" has been called *maḳām al-islām* by the Ṣūfīs.

3. — The relations between *islām* and *īmān*. — The essential question of a theological order, which was discussed at a very early time and upon which the schools of *fiḳh* and *kalām* were divided, was that of the distinction or non-distinction between *islām* and faith, and of their connection. The answers will depend upon the view taken of each of these concepts. We shall not go again into the question of the various definitions of *īmān* [*q.v.*]. Here, very briefly, are the principal positions adopted.

a). The Muʿtazilī schools, who identify faith and prescribed works, similarly identify faith with *islām*: it being clearly understood that the right intention, the *niyya*, is necessary for the validity of the deed —"actions are valid only through the intentions," says the *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, ii, 41). Whoever commits a grave transgression of the prescriptions of the Law loses the status of *muʾmin* and *Muslim*, and reverts to the status of *kufr* according to the Khāridjīs, to an "intermediate status" (between faith and unbelief) according to the Muʿtazilīs.

b). Many Ḥanafīs (Ḥanafī-Māturīdīs) similarly consider *islām* and *īmān* to be synonymous, but define each of them essentially as verbal confession (*iḳrār*), sometimes linking this with intimate adherence, or at other times, following the Murdjiʾīs, with knowledge of the heart, or both of these. The Ḥanafī-Māturīdī texts of the *Fiḳh Akbar I* (doubtless 2nd/8th century) and of the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa* (3rd/9th century) ignore the question. Towards the end of the 4th/10th century, however, the *Fiḳh Akbar II* was to draw an at least nominal distinction. It was to state (a. 18) that current language distinguishes between *īmān* and *islām*, and that *islām* is defined as "total surrender (*taslīm*) and total obedience (*inḳiyād*) to the divine commandments". The text adds: "there is no faith whatever without *islām*, and *islām* could not exist without faith; the one and the other are like the outside and the inside ["back and belly", in the literal translation of A. J. Wensinck]; and religion (*dīn*) is a name which covers both of them, and all the commandments of the Law". Here then *īmān* is as it were the inner, hidden reality of *islām*, from which it could not be separated.

c). In its definition of faith, the Ḥanbalī line insists upon affirmation by the tongue (*ḳawl*) and by deeds (*aʿmāl*), either with or without the addition, according to the texts, of adherence of the heart (*taṣdīḳ*). So much so that al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941) was to say, according to the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*: "We cannot testify to the reality of the faith in a man so long as he does not carry out the totality of the laws of *islām*" (quoted by H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 82, n. I). *Islām* in the sense of observance becomes the guarantee of faith. The Ḥanbalīs however were to remain faithful to the text of the *Musnad* cited above, and to the *ʿAḳīda VI* of Ibn Ḥanbal, who affirms the distinction between *islām* and *īmān*. Accordingly, in the 4th/10th century, Ibn Baṭṭa returns to the Ḳurʾān, XLIX, 14 and affirms: "The term *islām* does not have the same meaning as the term *īmān*. *Islām* is a word which denotes the community of religion (*milla*), and *īmān* is a word which expresses an adherence of faith (*taṣdīḳ*)" (from the translation of H. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 50/82). The choice of *milla*, and not *dīn*, in this text is characteristic: *islām* is "religion", no longer solely in the sense of a debt due to God, but in the sense of a "religious community" attached and connected to a prophet (cf. below). Thus, in the 4th/10th century, we find the use of *islām* to denote the Muslim religion as an organized and differentiated religion. A century later, Ibn ʿAḳīl in the same way was to make *islām* obedience to the commandments of God. But he who commits a great transgression "does not lose his status of *muʾmin* to become merely *Muslim*, for *islām* forms part of *īmān*" (G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963, 527).

d). The Ashʿarīs and the Shāfiʿī jusrists also made a distinction between *islām* and *īmān*. After defining faith as words and deeds, and then by its content according to the "*ḥadīth* of Gabriel", al-Ashʿarī, in the *credo* of the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., i, 322, identifies *islām* with the two constituent parts of the *shahāda*, in other words with the verbal testimony which grants admission to the Community of the Prophet, and concludes: "*islām* is different from *īmān*". The *credo* of the *Ibāna* (ed. Cairo 1348, 10), without defining *islām*, states that it is "wider than faith" and specifies "that all *islām* is not faith". If we compare these views with the text of the *Lumaʿ* which above all regards faith as inner adherence (*huwa taṣdīḳ bi-llāh*; cf. R. J. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 75/104), we understand that the later Ashʿarīs were able to claim that *islām*, the observance of the prescriptions ordained by the Law, and above all the explicit profession of the *shahāda*, can be "practised" without faith, and that faith (inner *taṣdīḳ*) can exist without *islām* (here contradicting the Ḥanbalī line, for whom every believer is a Muslim). But *islām* without faith is the way of hypocrites (*munāfiḳūn*), consigned to God's chastisement; faith without *islām* need not be culpable, in the event of some invincible external obstacle; it would become so if the testimony to *islām* was not given through cowardice, weakness or half-heartedness. It would then be a fault not of unbelief (*kufr*) but of grave prevarication (*fisḳ*).— When he summarizes the Shāfiʿī theses (which he contrasts with the identification made by the Ḥanafīs),

al-Djurdjānī says that "*islām* is the verbal profession of faith without the agreement of the heart, while faith is the agreement of the heart and the tongue" (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 23).—This thesis was later to be generally accepted.

Whatever definition of faith might be proposed, it remains true however, for the Ḥanbalīs and the Ashʿarīs alike, that *īmān* and *islām*, without becoming identical, imply one another. *Islām*, says H. Laoust in summarizing the philosophy of Ibn Taymiyya (*Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique de* (...) *Ibn Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 74, n. 3), is the "external and so to speak social application of the Law", and *īmān* in the "interiorization of *islām*". (Thus once again, despite the difference of the conceptions involved, we come across "the outside" and "the inside", *ẓahr* and *baṭn*, of the *Fiḳh Akbar II*). —An outline of the most usual teaching is provided in the 19th century by the Ashʿarī al-Bādjūrī (*Ḥāshiya* ... *ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥid*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 28-9), who says: "*Īmān* and *islām* are different in their significance but not in truth, that is to say in the subjects (who profess them) ... But it is a question here of faith which assures salvation, and of *islām* also, otherwise there would be no reciprocal connection". The same nuances occur in the 20th century, for example in the *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (Cairo 1358/1939, 506).—It should be noted finally that only certain Ashʿarīs and Shāfʿīs applied the term *muʾmin*, but not *Muslim*, to the man who has faith in his heart and who dies without having been able to profess *islām*. In general, it was considered preferable to call him *Muslim*, not before men but in the eyes of God.

4. — The "world of *islām*". — In this way, therefore, *islām* is "to give oneself *unconditionally* to God" (G. Makdisi, *op. cit.*, 324); so much so that, as the Ḥanbalīs were to take pleasure in saying, "the religion of all the prophets is *islām*". Abraham, Moses and Jesus are true *muslimūn*. But it is the "seal of the prophecy", manifested in the Ḳurʾān, which was to "perfect the religion". According to the first part of a much quoted *ḥadīth*, "the best of all things is *islām*; the foundation of *islām* is the ritual prayer" and, with the *ṣalāt*, all the other obligations (*ʿibādāt*) prescribed by the Law. Now, it is the observance of the Law, its "external and so to speak social application" (H. Laoust), which is the binding force of the Community of the Prophet. And so wherever the ḳurʾānic prescriptions are observed communally, there *islām* will be; such will be "the lands of *islām* (*bilād al-islām*), "the world, the house, of *islām*" (*dār al-islām*).

Such expressions are traditional. It was in this way that, at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, al-Māwardī examined the various categories into which the *bilād al-islām* are divided (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, beginning of chap. xiv, ed. Cairo. n.d., 151 ff.). The implication remains that *islām*, practised in this way, is the testimony, rendered socially, to faith in the One God and to free adherence to the prophetic mission of Muḥammad. The Ḥanafī Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 654/1256) in his *Mirʾāt al-zamān* mentioned the "purchased" conversions of Jews and Christians, which the Ashʿarīs sought to make in Baghdād in the 5th/11th century, and he repeats the protests of the supporters of the *sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar, a Ḥanbalī: "This is the *islām* of gifts, not the *islām* of conviction" (quoted by G. Makdisi, *op. cit.*, 356). Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī was similarly to question the degree of validity of a forced conversion to *islām*.

"There is no compulsion in religion" (Ḳurʾān, II, 256), and "religion, in the eyes of God, is in truth *islām*" (III, 19). Even in the writings of those who distinguish most sharply between *īmān* and *islām*, at no time will this reference to inner conviction be found absent. But the point of first importance, for the jurist who is studying and formulating the statutes and laws of the *bilād al-islām*, is not so much the degree of invidual interiorization of the *muḳābal* of reciprocal relationship *islām-īmān*, as the communal observance of those prescriptions which make *islām*, those *shaʿāʾir al-islām* "the blazon of Islam" (L. Massignon), which are symbolized by the banners of the *imāms*, the guides of the Community.

This is so true that a synonym of *dār al-islām* was to be *dār al-ʿadl* "the world of justice", in which "the rights of God and of men", ordained by the Ḳurʾān are observed and protected. On the other hand there was to be the *dār al-kufr* "world of unbelief", which is the *dār al-ḥarb* "world of war". The jurists analyse the circumstances in which it can become "obligatory" to abandon the *dār al-kufr* in order to enter the *dār al-islām* or at least the *dār al-ṣulḥ*, which has concluded a treaty of "reconciliation" with the *dār al-islām*.—Anyone who describes himself as a *Muslim* means to affirm thereby not so much his care for the practice and personal observances (although certainly not neglecting such matters) as for adherence to a Community of those who acknowledge the Ḳurʾān and Muḥammad. It is here perhaps, far more than in any "sacral" conception of the political organization, that this specific spiritual-temporal fusion of the Muslim City has its root.

5. — From *islām* to Islam.— In European languages, it has become customary to speak of Islam to denote the whole body of Muslim peoples, countries, and states, in their socio-cultural or political as well as in their religious sphere. And it is in a similar sense that modern Arabic often uses *al-islām*. What connection does this very general meaning retain or not retain with the etymological significance of the word, and its evocation of "surrender to God"?

This question, an important one if we wish to avoid misconceptions and misunderstandings, has been discussed recently in a well-documented and apposite manner by Professor Wilfred Cantwell Smith in *The Meaning and End of Religion* (New York 1964, chap. iv "The special case of Islam", 75-108). As the author indicates, it is only recently (19th-20th centuries) that Islam has incontestably become the chosen term to signify both a religion and a politico-social area (fortunately replacing "Mohammedanism" "Islamism" and other such terms). Religious and cultural history thereby adopts the very name by which the *bilād al-islām* designate themselves, as with a title of honour. And it is merely since the beginning of the 19th century, probably under the influence of Western ideas, that writers in Arabic have employed it in an equivalent way.

W. Cantwell Smith emphasises, by reference to Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, that this term *islām*, though comparatively rare in the Ḳurʾān, with the passage of time appears more and more frequently in the titles of works in Arabic. In the classical period (the Western Middle Ages) it was already used more commonly than *īmān*, and often in correlation with *niẓām*, system, organization; in the 19th century, the relative figures for *īmān* and *islām* are 7% and 93% respectively. It is this that Prof. Cantwell Smith calls "reification in Islam". The emphasis thus appears to be placed on Islam as the organization and self-defence of the Community which is its expression, and much less on the inner

personal values which the etymology of the word connotes. It appears however that our present brief examination of the use of *islām* according to Muslim formulations and usage itself may suggests a few remarks here, which do not invalidate, but which limit and qualify the slightly different perspective of Prof. Cantwell Smith.

a). If it strue that *islām* signifies primarily the action and state of the man who surrenders himself totally (to God), nevertheless it would be erroneous to regard it, in this etymological sense, as a kind of synonym for *tawakkul bi-llāh*, the (interiorized) "abandoning" of oneself entirely into the hands of God. As the Ḳur'ān understands the word, *islām* is indeed, as the *Fiḳh Akbar II* says, a surrender (*taslīm*) to the divine Will as *expressed* by the ḳur'ānic teaching, and an obedience (*inḳiyād*) to His commandments; and, by this very means, admission to the Community, "the best to have arisen among men" (Ḳur'ān, III, 110). Quite soon, admission to the Community was to be the aspect preferred. If the requisite inner attitude does not correspond to it, there is some grave individual failing (*fisḳ*), there is no abandonment of *islām*.

b). Prof. Cantwell Smith observes that, in the classical age, the diversity of religious beliefs was to express itself by *milal* rather than by *adyān*. But we have already noted that the Ḥanbalī Ibn Baṭṭa, in the 4th century, defined *islām* as a *milla*, hence a community, the Community of Muḥammad. The difference between *dīn* and *milla*, al-Djurdjānī said (*Ta'rifāt*, iii), is that "*dīn* relates to God, and *milla* to the Prophet".

c). The Ḳur'ān however defines *islām* as religion, *dīn* (III, 19; V, 3); but not as *a* religion, Prof. Cantwell Smith justly notes. The plural of *dīn*, *adyān*, he further notes, does not occur in the Ḳur'ān. But if the religion, *al-dīn*, which renders to God that which is due to Him, is indeed *islām*, it is, through that very fact, *millat al-nabī* and *ummat al-nabī*. For the Muslim, Islam is not one religion among others, it is *the* religion, and the other religions (*al-adyān*) are such only in so far as they participate in Islam. Each prophet sent from God has his *milla*; but the *dīn* is unique, accomplished by surrender to God and obedience—the very definition of *islām*— already lived by the prophets that preceded it, and expressed accordingly to all its needs by the "seal" of the revelation, the Ḳur'ān.

We do not think that these various connotations are absent from the Muslim works of the contemporary period. To take one example only, we find them in the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* of Muḥammad 'Abduh. "The religion of Islam, or Islam", says 'Abduh, "is the religion brought by Muḥammad" (Cairo 1353, 152). And the whole final section of the *Risāla* constantly speaks in this sense of Islam, its principles, its spirit and its extension in the world (*ibid.*, 152-206, French trans., Paris 1925, 104-40). As soon as the *ummat al-nabī* began to expand in space and time in the face of other religious communities, what Prof. Cantwell Smith calls "reification" was found to be inscribed in the original fundamental data. Historical realities on the one hand, and the progress of the phenomenology of religions on the other, have not ceased to confront Muslim thought with this twofold fact: the existence of non-Muslim religions, established in their faith and their ritual observances, and, moreover, the uncertain faith and the failure to "practise" by certain men who none the less continue to invoke the help of the *umma*. Hence the anxiety to defend Islam as a religion and a community, while nevertheless the old Ḥanbalī and Ash'arī distinction between *imān* and *islām* is repeated and emphasized.

But this distinction, however generally admitted it may be, is in no way intended to justify the proclamation of *islām* by one who denies *īmān* or who even does not bother to appreciate the true values of faith. Those who are Muslims simply through having heard the call of Islam, or because they were born of Muslim parents, but who do not have faith in their hearts, then, according to what Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal more or less says (*loc. cit.*), their *islām* is feeble and sickly. Only those who seek for a sincere faith (*īmān ṣādiḳ*) hear the call to *Islām* with regard to God alone.

At the present time there are three meanings of the word *islām* says Prof. Cantwell Smith (*op. cit.*, 107): 1) the immediate existential meaning of personal surrender of oneself entirely to God; 2) the empirical reality of the "world of Islam", as it exists sociologically; 3) the ideal Muslim community—"a concrete historical ideal" we would gladly say—as it must tend towards its realization. These three meanings in fact remain closely bound together in Muslim thought, today as in the past, and no study of Islam, no analysis of the Muslim Community or of the world of Islam should separate them.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. Gardet)

ii.—Diffusion of Islam

In our present state of knowledge, the diffusion of Islam can only be studied in broad outline. In the first place, with regard to numbers, we often have to be content with approximations; nor should it be forgotten that, with the world population increasing at an accelerated pace, even the most accurate statistics prove to be out of date within a few years. Moreover it sometimes happens that in certain countries Muslims and non-Muslims adopt different sets of figures, particularly when these figures serve as the basis for political claims or considerations of honour. In the second place, such figures do not reflect the qualitative aspect of this diffusion. It is possible for conversions on a massive scale to be produced within the space of a few years (as in the case of the Galla tribes in Ethiopia, to the west of Harar, in about 1930-50). But it must not be forgotten that, for these conversions, the way had sometimes been prepared over a long period, by a whole process of maturing and by favourable circumstances which, in themselves, cannot be statistically expressed.

A. — General Survey. The diffusion of Islam has been the consequence of a certain number of factors which are more or less easily discernable; over and above the particular attraction this religious movement has exerted upon men, the personality of its first leaders and the economic circumstances of Arabia at the time, among other things, there is a further point which requires to be examined—the part played by wars. Even if, in the vast majority of cases, the conquered remained free not to change their religion, the introduction by force of arms of a Muslim régime which took upon itself the administration of their country represented the first stage of a process which was bound to end in their gradual conversion.

The conquest itself was not brought about suddenly. It was often achieved in waves, with ebb and flow, but it was governed by a tide which, save in Europe, proved to be rising ever higher. Thus Damascus, reached as early as 13/634 by reconnaissance units, was attacked and conquered much later; recaptured by the Byzantines, it finally fell into the Arabs' hands

in 636. Similarly Tunisia, where a first raid in 26/647 was followed by a respite of more than twenty years before the final conquest and the founding of Ḳayrawān (50/670). So too Transoxiana to which, after an initial invasion in 52-4/672-4, the Arabs returned at the beginning of the following century; or Chinese Turkestān, reached in 93/713, and to which they returned in 133/751. Kābūl in Afghānistān was reached by the end of the 1st/7th century, without being occupied, and two centuries were to pass before the Muslims came back in strength to stay. Muslim warfare had been a war of movement, a war of wide spaces, steppes or deserts.

The first period of expansion extends from the death of Muḥammad to the end of the Umayyad caliphate of Damascus. One century was enough for the Muslims to achieve an extraordinary epic feat. The dynamism of the new community combined with favourable circumstances to allow their success. The weakness of the Persians and the Byzantines after decades of war between them, their exhaustion, which caused them to underestimate the newcomers' strength, the internal conditions within the Roman empire of Byzantium which was then in difficulties, with its territory being engulfed by the barbarian invasions, the resentment of the various peoples ruled by Byzantium, the divisions among the Christians, all these considerations worked in favour of the Muslims. But the new fact, as compared with the multiple barbarian invasions of the time, is that the barbarians were assimilated by the countries they conquered, whereas Islam on the contrary imposed itself upon the old civilizations. The most remarkable point about the diffusion of Islam is not so much the fact of the conquests as that of their permanence. When Islam became the religion of a territory, it never thereafter ceased to be so, except in Europe (and even then under armed pressure), and except in the centre and south of India, where many of the Hindu sultanates were revived after the first Muslim conquests.

In this way, we can trace the conquests of Syria-Palestine (13/634-19/640), Egypt 18/639-22/642), the Maghrib (49/699-85/705), Spain and Narbonnese Gaul 92/711-85/705), and, in the east, of ʿIrāḳ (15/636-20/641), Armenia and then Iran (21/642), as far as Transoxiana and Chinese Turkestān. The river Indus was reached in 91-4/710-3, but these advanced positions were afterwards abandoned.

In the direction of Byzantium, which was besieged without success, the Muslim advance was blocked in Asia Minor where a state of flux for long prevailed.

In East Africa, colonies of Muslim merchants are recorded at a very early date at trading depots on the shores of the Indian Ocean.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, these conquests were rounded off with the capture of Mediterranean islands such as the Balearics and Sicily. But, most important, Muslim culture was gradually taking shape, increasing the spread of Islam, and the populations, while left free to retain their faith, little by little adhered to the new religion, the religion of the ruling class and of the new society. In Spain, however, Islam was confronted by the Reconquest, which started early and eventually culminated in the fall of Granada in 1492.

Everywhere else, however, expansion continued, sometimes by force of arms, sometimes by peaceful proselytism. Towards the year 1000, the first stage in the conquest of India began: finally the whole Ganges valley was conquered in about 488/1192-606/1209. Various raids during the 8th/14th century succeeded in bringing almost the whole peninsula under the domination of the Muslims. They were however obliged to withdraw from many regions, especially in the centre and south. Islam came to Indonesia by way of a Muslim centre situated in the north-west of Sumatra, at the end of the 7th/13th century; in the 8th/14th century, Java was governed by Muslim rulers.

In sub-Saharan West Africa, it was shortly after the year 1000 that Islam was established. There is mention of a Muslim prince at the head of the Sonraïs at Gao on the Niger as early as 400/1009-10. Islamic rulers are found at Kanem (north of Lake Chad) in about 473/1081-90/1097. Little by little, Muslim kingdoms appeared (in particular Mali, in the 7th/13th century); but their Islam was still a religion of the court of the warlike or literate aristocracies, which had no contact with the masses. It was later, with the military activities (especially of the Fulanis) and the activities of the brotherhoods that the islamization of the masses was brought about, during the 18th and 19th centuries. Under colonial rule the process of conversion was extended still further.

In East Africa, Islam began to spread from Zaylaʿ (a port situated opposite Aden) a centre of islamization even in the 6th/12th century. Climbing up to assail the high Ethiopian plateaux, where they never succeeded in gaining a real foothold, the Muslims established themselves firmly in the less elevated regions to the east and south (especially in Harar).

In the Nile valley, the Christian kingdoms of Nubia held out until the 8th/9th-14th/16th centuries, when they disappeared. The islamization of Nilotic Sudan was followed by that of the minor kingdoms situated between the Nile and Chad. In the 18th century, Islam came to predominance to the south of the Sahara, from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, except only in the Ethiopian Highlands.

Along the Gulf of Guinea, the impenetrable equatorial forest—even when not infested with tsetse flies—for a long time halted the shepherds who were the Muslim conquerors of the territory. But with the modern age the situation has changed. With the conversion of a section of the Yorubas (near Lagos) and penetration into other tribes hitherto reputed to be impossible to convert, with the movements of populations characteristic of countries today, this forest no longer forms a boundary, and many Muslims intermingle with the inhabitants of the coastal towns.

The commercial centres on the African coast of the Indian Ocean, which remained isolated in their world of business transactions, gradually became stronger (especially in the 4th/10th century). But it was in the 19th and 20th centuries that they became centres of islamization; the suppression of slavery and the opening of the hinterland had swept away the barriers that confined them to their trading-ports. Consequently there has been a considerable, though recent, advance by Islam in these zones during the last half-century (Kenya, Tanzania and even to the eastern Congo).

In all these conquered lands in Asia or Africa, or in all the sultanates ruled by Muslims, a special world was created, the Muslim world, where life, art and thought were marked by Islam, even though many traces of the past still survived. The simple imposition of a foreign political framework was very quickly followed by the adoption inwardly of Muslim values.

Finally, to conclude this general survey, it should be noted that the attack launched by the Ottoman Turks finally, in 1453, swept away the barrier of

Constantinople. Europe was invaded as far as Vienna which was twice besieged, in 1529 and 1683, though without success. The ebb then followed, particularly in the 19th century and at the start of the 20th.

B. — Present characteristics. If we attempt to trace on a modern map the distribution of Muslims throughout the world, it becomes apparent that Islam is a religion which is almost confined to Asia and Africa. The only exceptions to this rule are some millions of Muslims in Turkey in Europe and in the Balkans, migrant and transient workers in western Europe, and immigrants in North and South America.

In the countries where Christian minorities remain, as well as in pagan countries, Islam is making progress, above all because, in order to be truly integrated into Muslim society, it is necessary to be a Muslim. Since this integration alone permits certain marriages, the proportion of the conversions to Islam undertaken on the occasion of marriages is very high. This integration also facilitates the finding of employment and advancement to higher posts. In certain countries, questions of social castes sometimes enter, since conversions take place particularly in certain strata of the population. But however that may be, in view of the simplicity of the Muslim dogma which places man face to face with God the Creator and Providence, and in view too of the aspect of fraternity which Islam presents to the newcomer (especially when he is received into a brotherhood), man's fundamental religious sense is satisfied. Thus the step to be taken does not deter anyone who is no longer greatly attached to his old religion.

Tolerance for ancient customs has also played a part in many countries, since Islam requires merely a profession of faith for a convert to be able to enter the community. Then, little by little, islamization has been effected in depth. Moreover, Muslim society, which gave the new member the satisfaction of belonging to a vast community covering the entire world, with its own military, cultural, religious and political renown, has always exerted effective control over him. While leaving those who served it very free, from the moment they made their profession of faith, it has always been at pains to protect its members from any possible proselytism and, above all, to prevent them from leaving Islam once they have adopted it. Until recently, the apostate was put to death; even now, proselytism is still strongly disapproved, and the man who deserts Islam cuts himself off from his own people, save in exceptional cases, even though modern jurists no longer authorize the death penalty for apostasy.

Paradoxically, among the features which have favoured the expansion of Islam during these last decades must be included colonial occupation. In many cases the occupying powers relied on Muslim elements possessing a higher degree of civilization than the pagans, in the countries where these still survived. Alternatively, it placed without discrimination under the same legal system inspired by Islam, both Muslims and those who were neither Muslim nor Christian. In the same way, by destroying the tribal framework of African paganism, colonialism created the great numbers of rootless people who have found in Islam a justification for social existence. All the more since Islam has presented itself as a native religion, not as a colonial importation, while the difference in the standard of living, so obvious in the case of Christians newly arrived from Europe, did not arise between Muslims and pagans, who all sprang from the same soil. Peace too has assisted the movement of preachers or merchants belonging to brotherhoods.

In Black Africa, the ḳur'ānic schools have been centres of Muslim expansion, both through the scope they have given for zeal to have effect, and also through the number of future propagators of Islam who have been formed there. The poverty of the material equipment in the great majority of these establishments, like that of the curricula, must not be misinterpreted. Thanks to these, the values which the children there have learnt to respect, above all the sense of dedication and pride in belonging to the Muslim community, have profoundly marked whole regions. The story of David and Goliath is repeated in these schools in the triumph of poor resources. At the present time, incidentally, in many Muslim countries the official school has replaced the ḳur'ānic school.

The conditions affecting the expansion of Islam are extremely variable, according to the countries concerned, and we should not make any attempt to systematize them. There are large organizations working through pamphlets (like the Aḥmadiyya in Pakistan); there is the sending out of teachers and preachers; there is a whole system of instruction by radio. But the Muslim missionary apparatus is infinitely less cumbrous than that of the Christians. It is the natives of the country concerned who open schools, after having been sometimes (though not always) educated at centres abroad. It is the Muslims themselves, especially the merchants, who bear the chief responsibility for the missions. Finally, the brotherhoods have played a very great part in this movement. But whatever the differences, it is striking to observe wherever Islam is established, the same pride in the community, with as a consequence a certain number of common basic attitudes, affecting the manner of life and thought. This pride and its consequences, by favouring a certain impermeability to foreign influences, have been powerful weapons in resistance to colonialism.

For some thirty years, the Muslim world has been evolving very rapidly. Universities have been founded [see DJĀMIʿA]. The instability of the world economy has made itself felt everywhere. Travels and contacts have multiplied. Socialism has changed the face of many societies. But, above all, Islam has adopted modern methods of communication—pamphlets, radio, relevision, etc. The number of people who listen on their transistors to sermons in *Ramaḍān* is now vast.

C. — Statistical outline. Basing themselves on the figures for world population valid in about 1960, some good authors privately estimated that there might be 435 million Muslims in the world. At the present time, with the increase in population, they now exceed 500 millions.

The figures which follow will indicate a total based upon the statistics for the populations of individual countries (in 1966), as contained in the *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook* (1967). After that, the article will provide details, so far as it is possible to do so, of the proportion of Muslims within the different countries. Figures given without further details signify the number in terms of *thousands*.

1.—Africa (perhaps 130 million Muslims out of 318 million inhabitants).

a) *Arabic speaking Africa* (perhaps 70 million Muslims)
— Morocco 13,451 (Muslims only)
— Mauritania 1,070
— Algeria 12,102 (total population)
— Tunisia 4,458 (id.)
— Libya 1,676 (id.)

— E.A.R. (Egypt) 30,083, two million of whom are Christian
— Sudan (Khartoum) 13.940, 70% of whom are Muslim
b) *Africa south of the Sahara*, excluding the Sudan (perhaps 60 million Muslims)
— Somalia 2,580, of whom 99% are Muslim
— Nigeria 58,600 (?), of whom 43% are Muslim
— Ethiopia 23,000 (?), of whom 40 to 50% are Muslim
— Senegal 3,490, of whom 75% are Muslim
— Niger 3,433, of whom 72% are Muslim
— Mali 4,654, of whom 65% are Muslim
— Guinea 3,608, of whom 62% are Muslim
— Chad 3,361, of whom 55% are Muslim
— Upper Volta 4,955, of whom 26% are Muslim
— Tanzania 10,717, of whom 23% are Muslim
— Ghana 7,945, of whom 20% are Muslim
— Cameroon 5,350, of whom 20% are Muslim
— Kenya 9,643, of whom 10% are Muslim

Smaller numbers of Muslims are found in the following countries, in which they represent respectively the proportion of the population as indicated: — Sierra Leone 33%, Gambia 73%, Portuguese Guinea 26%, Ivory Coast 25%, Dahomey 15%, Liberia 15%, Mozambique 11%, Malawi 7%, Botswana 5%, Togo 5%. Elsewhere the proportion is still smaller.

N.B. A better knowledge of the countries to the south of the Sahara made it possible, in about 1945, to assert the existence of numerous isolated pagan communities in regions thought to be wholly islamized (certain zones of Chad, North Cameroon, North Nigeria). Since then, a movement has been started among these pagans for conversion to Islam; in north-western Nigeria, this was vigorously supported by the political authorities, in the years preceding the disturbances of 1965.

For Nigeria, the reader will note a very clearly marked break in the rate of growth of population. As, until 1952, this was following a regular increasing curve, the figures given since that date correspond with an acceleration which requires to be explained before it can be accepted.

For Ethiopia, to which Eritrea has since been added, the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 1954, accepts only half the figure officially given (cf. p. 389).

2.—Asia (perhaps 390 million Muslims out of 1,868 million inhabitants)
a) *Arab countries of Asia* (perhaps 29 million Muslims), the principal centres being:
— Saudi Arabia 6,870
— Yemen 5,000
— Irak 8,338, of whom 95% are Muslim
— Syria 5,450, of whom 88% are Muslim
— Lebanon 2,460, of whom 50% are Muslim
— Jordan 2.040, of whom 92% are Muslim
b) *Islam in the USSR*, 30 million (?) Muslims
c) *Islam in the Middle East* (perhaps 72 million Muslims), in
— Turkey 31,880, of whom 99% are Muslim
— Iran 25,781, of whom 98% are Muslim
— Afghanistan 15,960 (almost all Muslim).
d) *Islam in Pakistan, India, Ceylon and Burma* (perhaps 145 million Muslims), the two major groups being
— Pakistan 105,044, of whom 86% are Muslim
— India 498,680, of whom perhaps 11% are Muslim
e) *Islam in China*, 15 million (?) Muslims
f) *Islam in South East Asia* (perhaps 100 million Muslims), chiefly located in
— Indonesia 107,000, of whom 87% are Muslim
— Malaysia and Singapore 10,212, of whom 44% are Muslim
— Philippines 33,477, of whom 5% are Muslim.

3.—Europe.
A little less than 5 million Muslims in the Balkans, to whom must be added the Muslim workers in western Europe, so far as they have not been included in the figures for their respective countries of origin.

To conclude this survey, the figure of 525 million Muslims might be suggested for the year 1966, a year during which the total world population has been estimated at 3,356 million inhabitants. The Muslims would represent about one-sixth of all human beings, or slightly less.

Bibliography: Since the list of books concerning this subject is too long to be given in full, the reader is referred to the bibliographies relating to the different countries dealt with above. A general survey of the expansion of Islam will be found in some historical atlases, such as the *Historical Atlas of the Muslim Peoples*, Djambatan-Amsterdam 1957. See also: L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, Paris 1955; U.N.E.S.C.O., *Statistical Yearbook*, 1967 (giving the figures for 1966). Some statistics are published by a number of countries: *Religion in the Middle East*, ii, London 1969; *Bilan du Monde 1960, Encyclopédie du Monde Chrétien*, ed. Casterman, ii, 1964; J. Ducruet and M. Martin, *Statistiques Chrétiennes d'Egypte*, in *Travaux et Jours*, Beirut no. 24 (July-Sept. 1967), 65-75.

(J. Jomier)

ISLAM, Encyclopaedias of [see mawsūʿa].

ISLĀMĀBĀD, the name given by the emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] to several towns in India, for reasons not precisely known. All these towns were already included in the Mug͟hal territories and were not freshly conquered from the Hindus to provide an excuse for their rechristening. Of these Čittāgong [*q.v.*], now in E. Pakistan, at the head of the Bay of Bengal, is still known occasionally in religious circles as Islāmābād, the official name remaining the original Čittāgong. Mathurā, on the river Yamunā, known for its numerous temples and Hindu shrines, was given the name Islāmābād after a serious insurrection by Gokalā D̲j̲āṭ, a leading zamindar of the area, had been suppressed by the imperial forces under Ḥasan ʿAlī K̲h̲ān, in 1080/1669-70. The name never became popular and the town continued to be known as Mathurā, although coins of gold, silver and copper were struck there with the mint name of Islāmābād from the time of Awrangzīb till the reign of S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam II (reg. 1173/1759-1221/1806). Amantnāg in the Kashmir valley, situated at 33° 44′ N. and 75° 12′ E. about a mile from the Nīlāb (Jhelum), also received the name Islāmābād and is still known to the Muslims of the area by this name. Known for its shawls, spas and springs, it is not known when this new name was given to Anantnāg or why. The fort of Čākana, near Poona, one of the strongholds of Sīvād̲j̲ī, the Mahratta chief, was named Islāmābād after it had been taken by Awrangzīb's general S̲h̲āʾista K̲h̲ān in 1073/1662-3, after bitter fighting.

Bibliography: Jadunath Sarkar, *A short history of Awrangzīb*², Calcutta 1954, 152; *Imperial gazeteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xiii 371.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ISLĀMĀBĀD, the new capital of Pakistan [*q.v.*], was set up in 1960 on the recommendation of a special commission, headed by General Yaḥyā K̲h̲ān, then (1971) president of Pakistan. Situated between 33° 19′ and 33° 50′ N. and 72° 34′ and 72° 23′ E.,

some 8 miles from Rawalpindi, the general headquarters of the Pakistan army, the site elected "answers all questions relating to climate, landscape, communication, defence...". Off the road to Murree, a nearby hill station, and spreading over an area of 351 sq. miles, consisting mostly of natural terraces, rising from 1700 to 2000 ft. above sea level, it is divided into 40 sectors, each measuring 800 acres, reserved for residential purposes. The climate is extreme, the temperature reaching 115° F in summer and dropping down to 27° F in winter. Rainfall is plentiful, but the area around is mostly arid and the town depends on supplies of fruit and vegetables from the plains. Construction work, started in 1961 under the Capital Development Authority, a statutory body, still continues and will take many more years to complete. In early 1970, 8,000 houses of various types had been constructed, accomodating more than 60,000 people, mostly government officials and their families. Schools and colleges, markets and shopping centres, hospitals and dispensaries, post and telegraph offices, cinemas, hotels and restaurants, public parks and other civic amenities have been provided. The Islāmābād University, meant for advanced post-graduate studies in science and technology, has started functioning. A grand mosque, designed by a Turkish architect, will be built at the foot of the Margalla hills, the backdrop of Islāmābād, out of the funds provided by Saudi Arabia. The court-yard and the pyramidal sanctuary roofed by tilted flat slabs, supported on double beams, will accommodate 100,000 persons.

The plan of the town is based on the principle of "dynapolis", *i.e.*, allowing for growth in scale and size. Practically all the government offices and ministries, including diplomatic missions, are now housed in Islāmābād. The president of Pakistan, however, still lives in Rawalpindi.

A fast expanding town, the population is expected to reach the half million mark by 1980. Besides the President's House and the National Assembly building, two major landmarks, provision has been made for setting up a national library, archaeological and war museums, national archives etc. Over a million trees have been planted all along the 125 miles of roads and boulevards to give colour to the landscape.

Bibliography: *Pakistan Year Book 1969*, Karachi 1969, 271, 274, 358, 361, 369, 371, 412, 464, 467, 483; *20 Years of Pakistan—1947-67*, Karachi 1968, 534-35. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ISLĀM GIRĀY, the name of three Khāns of the Crimea.

Islām Girāy I (938/1532) was the son of Mengli Girāy [*q.v.*]. As the leader of the party wishing to follow an independent policy, he embarked on a struggle with his brother, the khān Saʿādet Girāy, the appointee of the Ottoman sultan, enjoying the support of the Crimean tribal aristocracy, who wished to wage unrelenting war on the Russians. With this following, in 933/1527 he ravaged the region of Ryazan and threatened Moscow. In 938/1532, Saʿādet Girāy, assisted by the Ottoman governors of Kefe and Azak, brought him to battle but was defeated and fled to Istanbul (May). Islām Girāy did not dare, however, to defy the sultan, and so consented to serve as *ḳalghay* [*q.v.*] to the new khān sent from Istanbul, Ṣāḥib Girāy. As such, he made overtures of friendship to Moscow. Two months later he rebelled against the khān and withdrew into the steppe region of Or-Kapī. Defeated by Ṣāḥib Girāy, he asked for pardon and was allowed to settle at Or-aghzī. Soon afterwards he was killed in a raid by one of the *mīrzās*, Bāḳī Beg.

Islām Girāy II (992/1584-996/1588). Having lived as a hostage in Istabul under Süleymān I and Selīm II, he fell from favour upon the accession of Murād III and withdrew to Konya, where he devoted himself to Mevlevī mysticism, but after the rebellion of Meḥmed Girāy he was appointed khān, being escorted to the Crimea by an Ottoman squadron under the Ḳapudan Pasha. The *mīrzās* acknowledged him as khān, and Meḥmed Girāy, while attempting to take refuge with the Nogāys of the steppe, was taken and executed (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 992/end of 1584). But Meḥmed's son Saʿādet Girāy, with his Nogāy followers, defeated him, and he took refuge, wounded, in Kefe. With Ottoman support he defeated his rival (battle of Andal, 992/1584) and entered Baghčesarāy. A second uprising having failed, Saʿādet Girāy finally fled to the Volga region. His brother Murād, however, had gone to Moscow and returned, with Nogāy and Cossack followers, planning to attack the Crimea. The Ottoman sultan warned the czar against intervening and preparations were made for a campaign against Astrakhan, where Murād's force was gathered; but Murād unexpectedly died. Thenceforward Islām Girāy made repeated raids into Russian territory (Krapivna taken, 995/1587). During Islām Girāy's reign Ottoman suzerainty over the Crimea was strengthened, and the practice began of mentioning the sultan's name before the khān's in the *khuṭba*. He died in Ṣafar 997/December 1588, and was buried by the Ulu Djāmiʿ at Aḳkermān.

Islām Girāy III (1054/1644-1064/1654), the eldest son of Selāmet Girāy, was, as a young man, taken prisoner by the Poles during a raid. Released after seven years, he settled at Yanbolu. In 1045/1635 Bahādīr Girāy made him *ḳalghay*; and with this office he helped to preserve the khānante's influence over the Manṣūr tribe. When, on the death of Bahādīr Girāy, Meḥmed Girāy was appointed khān, Islām Girāy lost the office of *ḳalghay*, and was banished, first to Ḳalʿa-i Sulṭāniyye and then to Rhodes. Finally, thanks to the backing of Djindji Khodja, [see ḥusayn djindji], he procured the khānate in Rabiʿ II 1054/June 1644. He applied himself first to restoring control over the Circassians by eliminating Hakshumak, the *beg* of the Zhana. He came into conflict with the *ulugh-agha* (*i.e.*, vizier) Sefer Ghāzī, who had helped procure his elevation to the khānate, and the *mīrzās*, who wished to engage in a policy of raids into Russian and Polish territory. In the first trial of strength (Radjab 1055/August 1645) they were defeated, but not crushed; and in 1057/1647 they succeeded in procuring Sefer Agha's re-appointment as *ulugh-agha*.

Successful raids made in 1055-6/1645-6 forced the czar to sign a treaty by which he undertook to send the annual "tribute" of *ulugh-khazīne* and *bölek*s and to put an end to Cossack raids on Azak and other Ottoman territory (text in V. Velyaminov-Zernov, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du Khanat de Crimée*, St. Petersburg 1864, no. 104). A raid led by the *beg* of the Shīrīn tribe into Russian territory in 1057/1647 was a failure, and there ensued a long period of peace between Russia and the Crimean Khānate.

As for Poland, a critical situation arose when the Cossacks of Zaporozh under Boghdan Khmelnitsky rebelled against the King of Poland and sought Crimean protection. In spite of protests from the Ottoman authorities, who wished to maintain the state of peace with Poland, Islām Girāy could not let this opportunity slip: he granted Khmelnitsky the rank of *hetman* and put at his disposal a Crimean force of 4000 men under the Ur-begi Tughay.

These Cossack and Tatar troops won several victories over the Poles in Rabīʿ II 1058/May 1648, and the mediation of the khān enabled the Cossacks to conclude a very favourable treaty with the King of Poland (Treaty of Zborov, 1059/1649). Under pressure from the khān, Lupul, the *voyvoda* of Boghdān (Moldavia) concluded an alliance with Khmelnitsky (1060/1650), and in the following year the Ottoman sultan took him overtly under his protection; but in that year Khmelnitsky and a Tatar army commanded in person by the khān were defeated by the Poles (there is no justification for attributing the defeat to treachery by the khān: *Cambridge History of Poland*, Cambridge 1950, 514). The Cossack-Tatar alliance was maintained until the conclusion of peace between Poland and the khānate on 24 Muḥarram 1064/15 December 1653: in 1064/1653 Khmelnitsky, while negotiating with the Ottoman sultan (who sent him a horsetail and standard, see Naʿīmā, v. 278), was also seeking the protection of the czar.

Islām Girāy died in Shaʿbān 1064/June 1654.

Bibliography: See, for the dynasty in general, the bibliography to the article GIRĀY, and for details the articles *Islâm-Giray I, II, III*, in *İA*, fasc. 52, pp. 1104-8. (HALİL İNALCIK)

ISLAMBOL [see ISTANBUL].

ISLAND [see DJAZĪRA].

ISLY, a river on the Algero-Moroccan borders, a sub-tributary on the left bak of the Tafna. Of little importance in itself, this river was the scene of several battles, since it constitutes an obstacle on the East-West route between Algeria and Morocco. Battles occurred here between the Marīnids and the ʿAbd al-Wādids in 648/1250 and 670/1271, and above all there was the battle between the French troops under Marshal Bugeaud and the Moroccan troops commanded by Mawlāy Muḥammad, the son of Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Bugeaud's army consisted of some ten thousand men, the Moroccan army of about 30,000, more than two-thirds of whom were tribal cavalry. The vital part of the battle was fought during the morning of 14 August 1844 on the right bank of the river. The tactics and discipline of the French troops soon triumphed over the spirited but disorderly attacks of the Moroccan cavalry. The Moroccan camp fell almost entirely into the hands of the French. This victory earned for Bugeaud the title of Duke of Isly.

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Studies: Ph. de Cossé-Brissac, *Les rapports de la France et du Maroc pendant la conquête de l'Algérie*, Paris 1931; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine*, Paris 1964, i, 198-9.

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ISM (A.), name. In Arabic-Islamic usage the full name of a person is usually made up of the following elements: 1) *kunya*; 2) *ism*; 3) *nasab*); 4) *nisba*. A certain number of persons are also known by a nickname (*laḳab*) or a pejorative sobriquet (*nabaz*) which, when the name is stated in full, comes after the *nisba*. From the end of the 3rd/9th century, the use of an honorific before or after the *kunya* became more and more frequent with persons of some importance.

1) The *kunya* [*q.v.*], usually a name compound with *Abū* ("father of") or *Umm* ("mother of"): Abu 'l-Faḍl, Umm al-Ḥasan.

2) The *ism*, also called *ʿalam*, *ism ʿalam*, is the name properly speaking. It can be of several types: a) Ancient Arab names, mostly of pre-Islamic origin, and in the form of adjectives, elatives, substantives, participles or verbs of uncompleted action: *e.g.*, (al-) Ḥasan, Aḥmad, Asad, Muḥammad, Yazīd. Some are normally used with the article (*e.g.*, al-Namir), others sometimes with sometimes without (*e.g.*, ʿAbbās/ al-ʿAbbās), but the majority are without it. It is not always easy to know a priori whether they are diptotes or triptotes (*e.g.*, ʿUmar^{u} and ʿAmr^{un}); a proper name being by its nature definite, the tendency has always been to treat them as diptotes, and in present usage the case-ending itself tends to be suppressed. Furthermore, the usual indication of the feminine is not necessarily taken as such, and Tazīd, for example, or Djāriya are men's names. In general only the names of the Prophet (Muḥammad, al-Muṣṭafā etc.) or of some of the figures of the early Islamic period (ʿUmar, ʿAlī, ʿUthmān, etc.) have survived from among these ancient names, specimens of which will be found in Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab des Ibn Kalbi*, Leiden 1966. b) Biblical names in their ḳurʾānic forms: Ibrāhīm = Abraham; Isḥāḳ = Isaac; Mūsā = Moses; Ismāʿīl = Ishmael. c) Compound names in two main patterns: i. ʿAbd (slave [of]) followed by Allāh or one of the divine names [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ]; the ancient theophorous names made up of ʿAbd and the name of a pagan divinity (ʿAbd Manāt etc.) have disappeared with Islam. ii. Allāh preceded by a construct substantive (*e.g.*, Hibat Allāh "gift of God"). d) Persian names drawn from old Iranian history and legend (*e.g.*, Khusraw, Djāmshīd, Rustam). e) Turkish names (Arslān, Tughrul, Timur). These were common in the period of the first Turkish migration into the Middle East and regularly appear (though much distorted in the orthography) as the names of military commanders in the medieval Arabic chronicles of Syria and Egypt. Thereafter they fell into disuse, but they were revived in modern Turkey under the influence of nationalist movements. They frequently consist of, or comprise, names of predatory animals and birds: Babur, (Bay)bars, (Alp)arslan, Lačin, Sonkur, (Er)toghrıl. They sometimes express the parents' wishes: Yeter ("enough"-after a succession of girls), Ṭursun ("may he survive"—after a series of stillborn babies; the same root probably appears in Ṭur-ʿAlī, Ṭur-Ḥasan), Satılmısh ("he has been sold" —by a hitherto barren mother through a vow to a saint). f) Names of diverse origins, especially Berber (e.g. Yidder "he lives"). g) Names based on abstract nouns, sometimes with the suffix ī (Tawfīḳ, Ḥikmet, Fikrī). These became common in Ottoman times. h) Names based on honorific titles (see *laḳab*, below).

3) The *nasab* or pedigree, a list of ancestors, each name being introduced by the word *ibn* [*q.v.*], "son of". The second name of the series is preceded by *bint*, "daughter of", if the first name is that of a woman. Muslim historians quote as many generations as they feel to be necessary and som times go back a very long way when dealing with an important person or in order to avoid confusion, but the usual practice is to limit the *nasab* to one or two ancestors. It is not uncommon for one or more of the ancestors in the list to be mentioned by a name other than his *ism* (*e.g.*, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib). If, in the genealogical series, two persons bearing the same *ism* are known in history, the elatives *al-akbar* and *al-aṣghar* are sometimes used: Marwān al-aṣghar b. Abi 'l-Djanūb Yaḥyā b. Marwān al-akbar b. Abī Ḥafṣa. Converts whose natural fathers had not embraced Islam were conventionally given, especially in the Ottoman

period, the *nasab* Ibn ʿAbd Allāh (or ʿAbd and one of the divine names); but such a *nasab*, known to be fictitious, was employed only when custom demanded the use of one, *e.g.*, in a legal attestation or epitaph.

In Persian the word *ibn* is usually omitted and replaced by the genitive particle *-i*: *e.g.*, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. In the Muslim lands generally, with the exception of Arabia and the Maghrib, *ibn* is no longer used, and the name and father's name are simply juxtaposed: Aḥmad ʿAlī=Aḥmad, son of ʿAlī. The Persians, followed by the Turks, often use *zāde* (son), added as a suffix to the father's name, nickname or title, which is placed before the *ism*: *e.g.*, Ḳāḍīzāde ="son of the judge"; Shāriḥ al-Manār-zāde="son of the commentator on *al-Manār*"; Pīrīpashazāde= "son of Pīrī Pasha". The Turkish word *oghlu* is also used in the same way, but usually for noble or ruling families, rather than *ʿulamāʾ*: *e.g.*, Mikhaloghlu= "son of Mikhal". Many of these names in *zāde* and *oghlu* have become surnames of a sort, borne by whole families and referring to a common ancestor rather than to an immediate progenitor: *e.g.*, Köprülüzāde, a name borne by a family claiming descent from the famous Ottoman viziers. In the same way the Arabic *ibn* may sometimes refer to an ancestor rather than a parent, and be used as a kind of a surname: *e.g.*, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Kemāl (also Kemālpashazāde).

4) The *nisba* is an adjective ending in ī, formed originally from the name of the individual's tribe or clan, then from his place of birth, origin or residence, sometimes from a *madhhab* or sect, and occasionally from a trade or profession. A man may thus have several *nisbas* which are normally given progressing from the general to the particular and in chronological order of residence: *e.g.*, al-Ḳurashī al-Hāshimī al-Baghdādī *thumma* al-Mawṣilī al-Sayrafī="of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, of the clan of Hāshim, of the city of Baghdād and then Mosul, the moneychanger". The speciality is often indicated at the end without the suffix ī: al-Ḥāfiẓ. In Arabic the *nisba* is always preceded by the definite article (*al-*) which in Persian disappears. Among the Turks the place-*nisba*, with the ending *li* (or *lu*), is normally placed at the beginning of a name; *e.g.*, Izmirli ʿAlī Riḍā, "the Smyrniot Ali Riza". The *nisba* may be arbitrarily handed down from father to son, though its original relevance is lost.

These are the elements which normally make up a name. The *laḳab*, an honorific or descriptive epithet which is usually placed after the *nisba* and sometimes represents a nickname, often a title, might be added. In its original and simplest form it is a descriptive nickname usually referring to a physical characteristic: *e.g.*, al-Ṭawīl, "the tall", al-Aʿwar "the one-eyed", al-Aṭrash "the deaf". It follows the *ism*. These nicknames are felt to be less pejorative than the sobriquets (*nabaz*) such as al-Ḥimār "the ass" (=Marwān I).

Laḳabs of a different sort were adopted as regnal names by the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs of Baghdād (see B. Lewis, *The regnal titles of the first Abbasid, Caliphs*, in *Dr. Zakir Husain Presentation volume*, New Delhi 1968, 13-22), and after them by most other Muslim rulers: *e.g.*, al-Rashīd "the rightly guided", al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh "who entrusts himself to God". At a later date Persian and Turkish *laḳabs* are encountered, as well as Arabic: *e.g.*, Djahāngīr "world seizer", Yïldïrïm "thunderbolt".

Independently of the names of the Kings of the Yemen, consisting of Dhū followed by a substantive [see AL-ADHWĀʾ], early on there appeared in Arabic nicknames composed of Dhū (fem. Dhāt) and a noun in the dual commemorating a notable trait or deed: *e.g.*, Dhāt al-Niṭāḳayn "the woman with the two waistbands" (=Asmāʾ bint Abī Bakr); Dhu 'l-Hidjratayn "the man who has been made the two *hidjras*" (=Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib); Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn "the ambidextrous" (=Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn). Under the ʿAbbāsids honorifics of the same type were given to high personages: *e.g.*, Dhu 'l-Ḳalamayn "the man of the two pens", Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn "the man of two vizierates".

From the end of the 3rd/9th century and especially from the 4th/10th *laḳabs* of honour were bestowed by the Caliphs upon princes, statesmen, generals an high officers of state. These were usually compounds with *Dawla* ("State"), *Dīn* ("Faith") or both: *e.g.*, Badr al-Dīn "full moon of the Faith"; Nāṣir al-Dawla "Defender of the State". Similar compounds may be formed with *Mulk* "Kingdom" (Niẓām al-Mulk "Order of the Kingdom"), with *Islām* (Sayf al-Islām "Sword of Islam") etc. Many persons are known principally by their *laḳabs*, *e.g.*, Saladin (=Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn).

In the course of time many of these *laḳabs* ceased to be titles borne only by ruling princes and their officers, and became little more than personal names. In the Ottoman period the members of the *ʿulamāʾ* were usually known by a combination of *laḳab* and *ism*, with a tendency for each *ism* to be linked with a specific *laḳab*: *e.g.*, Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf, Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad (see F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi). The carefully graded honorifics employed in Islamic chanceries in addressing members of the "religious" and "secular" institutions and foreign rulers and ambassadors, corresponding to the *inscriptio* of European diplomatic practice, were known by the plural of *laḳab*, *alḳāb* (Turkish *elḳāb*). These, understandably, became progressively more elaborate, so that manuals drawn up for the guidance of chancery clerks usually contain a section devoted to them (*e.g.*, Ferīdūn, *Munshʾāt al-Salāṭīn*[2], i, 2-13) (see DIPLOMATIC).

The use of nicknames of various types was encouraged in the Ottoman Empire by the fact that so many prominent personages—not to speak of the whole corps of Janissaries, etc., for whom payrolls had to be kept—were of non-Muslim origin, so that a dozen men with the same *ism* could not be distinguished, as could the Muslim-born, by their *nasabs*. By Turkish syntax, a nickname usually precedes the *ism*, while a title, arising from the individual's actual rank or employment—Pasha, Agha, Müteferriḳa, Reʾīs (for sea-captains), Čawush, etc.—usually follows it. The apparent exceptions are Sulṭān, which invariably precedes the name of the ruler (but follows the name of a princess or of a few conspicuous saints), and Shehzāde, "prince"; but here too the word when preceding may be in origin a nickname and when following a "title of honour".

Nicknames may be *nisbas*, either referring in the strict sense to a town (Filibeli, Edirneli, etc.) or family (Sokollu) or vaguely "ethnic" (Arnavud, Ungurus, Čerkes, ʿArab [which in Turkish usually means "negro"]); they may refer, sometimes, unkindly, to personal characteristics: Uzun ("tall"), Sarï ("fair"), Tabanï-yassï ("flat-footed"); they may be bestowed posthumously by chroniclers: Maḳtūl ("the executed"), Khāʾin ("the traitor"), Hezārpāre ("hacked to pieces"); they may refer to the individual's position or employment: Nishāndjï, Miʿmār, Dāmād, and frequently (and somewhat confusingly) may survive from a former employment, for example in the

Palace service: Lala ("tutor [to a prince]"), Silihdār ("sword-bearer" [to the sultan, while a page]); they may be a religious appelation Ḥādjdjī, Akhī, Ṣofu, Gâvur, etc.

Even the sultans are usually distinguished by nicknames rather than regnal number: "Fātiḥ" Meḥemmed [II], "Genč" ʿOthmān [II], "Avdjī" Meḥemmed [IV]. When the nickname follows the *ism*, contrary to the usual rule in Turkish, we probably have a suppressed Persian *iżāfet*: Meḥemmed [-i] Fātiḥ, Bāyezīd [-i] Welī [II].

In the late 10th/16th century there was a transitory fashion, especially in the chancery, for the adoption of "Iranian" names (2d, above) (thus the famous Ferīdūn is called in his *waḳfiye* "Aḥmed Agha... al-shahīr bi-Ferīdūn Agha"), and also for the use of just one letter of the personal name, *e.g.*, Dāl Efendi, for Dāl-i Meḥmed, cf. ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, Lām-i ʿAlī (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine*, Oxford 1960, 16 and note).

A Turkish custom is the *göbek adï*, "navel name". This is a name given to a new-born child by the midwife as she cuts the umbilical cord; it is invariably a good "Muslim" name, such as Meḥmed or ʿAlī for boys, Fāṭma or ʿAyshe for girls. The explanation for it may be that since it is considered unlucky to choose a name before the birth this provisional name is given at the very inception of the infant's independent existence in order to ensure that if it does not live it will have died a Muslim. The *göbek adï* is in practice not used, being superseded by the *ezan* (< *adhān*) *adï*, the regular *ism*, which, having been chosen at leisure by the family, is bestowed, with a recitation of the *adhān*, a few days later (usually after three days, but avoiding the inauspicious Tuesday). Another Turkish custom is to change a baby's name if it does not thrive or is fractious. In Turkey, and particularly in the country districts, regular Islamic names may take on barely recognizable hypocoristic forms: Muṣṭafā > Mïstïk, Fāṭima > Fadik, Meḥmed > Memo or Memi, Süleymān > Sülü, Ibrāhīm > Ibish, etc.

Among other onomastic elements the most important is the *takhalluṣ* or pen-name adopted by a poet or writer, *e.g.*, Firdawsī "the Paradisiac".

A person may be mentioned by one or more of these components, or by several of them at the same time; there are no fixed rules, and only usage seems to decide, although there is not always unanimity upon a single appellation. Thus the poet usually called Abū Nuwās is sometimes referred to by the name al-Ḥasan b. Hāniʾ or by the *nisba*, al-Ḥakamī. In the biographical works the authors class persons according to their *ism* in order to avoid confusion, and indicate the *kunya*, the *nisba*, and the *laḳab* after the *nasab*, specifying at the same time the name most commonly used. Thus the biography of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, the author of the Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, whose full name is Abū Yaʿlā Ḥamza b. Asad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Dimashḳī al-ʿAmīd ibn al-Ḳalānisī (the father of Yaʿlā, Ḥamza the son of Asad the son of ʿAlī the son of Muḥammad, of the tribe of Tamīm, of the city of Damascus, the Chief (of the Chancery), the son of the hatter), will be found under Ḥamza b. Asad.

None of these components strictly speaking amounts to a surname, though in practice the *laḳab* or *nisba* or *maʿrifa* (as in the case of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī [see IBN] is sometimes so used.

In the contemporary Orient the custom is to use two names the first of which is a sort of personal name, the second being usually the father's name. It may, however, be equally the name of a grandparent or remoter ancestor, or a second personal name adopted by choice or given in the family, at school, in the army, etc., or one of the above mentioned categories. The use of surnames is spreading among the upper classes, and the introduction of compulsory registration in several Islamic countries will accelerate their adoption. In Turkey (1934) and Persia the adoption of a surname was imposed by law. (ED.)

ISM (A.), "name", is the technical term used in Arabic grammar to signify the noun. *Ism* is a biliteral and, as such, belongs to a very ancient linguistic stock (see H. Fleisch, *Traité de la philologie arabe*, i, § 52 b) it has been given a *w* as a third radical consonant so that it may be included in the scheme of morphological formations: broken pl. *asmāʾ*, denominative verb: *samā, yasmū*, more frequently *sammā, yusammī*, "to call, name". Of the Arab grammarians, the Kūfans derive *ism* from *wasm* "sign" ($\sqrt{w\,s\,m}$). The Baṣrans from *sumuww* "elevation" ($\sqrt{s\,m\,w}$) (see their discussions, Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, first question discussed).

Ism is the first term of the great tripartite division: *ism, fiʿl, ḥarf*, which begins the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi: on its origin, [see FIʿL and in E.I.[1] ISM].

Sībawayhi gives no definition of *ism*; he merely gives examples: *radjul* "man", *faras* "horse", *ḥāʾiṭ* "wall". Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) records (*al-Ṣāḥibī*, 82-3, ed. Beirut 1382/1963) the definitions suggested by the masters who followed: al-Akhfash (disciple of Sībawayhi), al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/865), al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), Hishām al-Ḍarīr (d. 209/824), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), al-Zadjdjādj (d. 310/922). None satisfies Ibn Fāris. In fact, these masters, except the last, do not give a true definition, but a description of the noun in its grammatical relationships; thus al-Farrāʾ says: "the noun (*ism*) is that which admits the *tanwīn*, the *iḍāfa* (construct) or *alif* and *lām* (the article)". Ibn al-Anbārī also records another definition of al-Mubarrad (op. cit., 2, l. 10) and the definition of Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) (*ibid.*, l. 4). As Ibn al-Anbārī himself says (*ibid.*, ll. 10-11), concerning al-Mubarrad, their dicta might serve for an etymology (*ishtiḳāḳ*) but not for a definition. With al-Zadjdjādj (d. 310/922), on the contrary, we find a true definition of the noun, but here it is under the influence of Greek logic.

Aristotle, in the *Organon*, in the *Peri Hermēneias* (the *De Interpretatione*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello, Oxford 1966), gives the two following definitions: for the noun (16a, 19-20): *onoma* (a noun) *esti* (is) *phonē* (a sound) *sēmantikē* (with meaning) *kata sunthēkēn* (by agreement) *aneu khronou* (without time), and he adds: "no part of which has meaning in isolation"; for the verb (16b, 6-9): *rhēma* (a verb) *esti* (is) *to prossēmainon* (that which indicates also) *khronon* (a time) [*i.e.*,: that which, in addition to its proper meaning, contains the indication of a time], and he adds the same remark as for the noun.

The Aristotelian definition of the noun is found in that of al-Zadjdjādj: *ṣawt muḳaṭṭaʿ mafhūm dāll ʿalā maʿnā, ghayr dāll ʿalā zamān wa-lā makān*: *phōnē*, here *ṣawt*, is qualified by *muḳaṭṭaʿ* "cut off [from others]", *mafhūm* "understood", *dāll ʿalā maʿnā* = *sēmantikē*; for *aneu khronou*, the exclusion of place is added to that of time; *kata sunthēkēn* is omitted; it refers to the large question of the origin of language, whether by institution (*tawāḍuʿ wa-ʾṣṭilāḥ*) or by revelation (*waḥy wa-tawḳīf*).

The Arab definition that, with some variants, subsequently became the general one is given by al-

Sīrāfī (d. 368/978) in the *Sharḥ* of the *Kitāb* (Ms Cairo², ii, 134): *kullshay' dalla lafẓuh ʿalā maʿnā ghayr muḳtarin bi-zamān muḥaṣṣal min muḍiyy aw ghayrih fa-huwa ism* (1st part, 7 end), "everything the expression of which indicates a meaning unconnected with a specific time, past or otherwise, is a noun".

This defitiniton qualifies the preceding one by indicating a *zamān muḥaṣṣal* "a specific time", but that is not enough to satisfy Ibn Fāris's objection, (*al-Ṣāḥibī*, 84, l. 13-15), that al-Zadjdjādj's definition of the noun is equally valid for the *ḥarf*. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143) omits the qualification *muḥaṣṣal* (*Mufaṣṣal*, ed. J. P. Broch, § 2) [see FIʿL], but adds *fī nafsih* "in itself": *al-ism mā dalla ʿalā maʿnā fī nafsih dalālatan mudjarradatan ʿan al-iḳtirān*. Al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413) (*Taʿrīfāt*, 15) explains simply what is to be understood by this absence of *iḳtirān*: *al-ism mā dalla ʿallā maʿnā fī nafsih ghayr muḳtarin bi-aḥad al-azminat al-thalātha*.

Remarks: the philosopher al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), in the *Sharḥ Arisṭūṭālīs fi 'l-ʿibāra* (the *Peri Hermēneias*) (ed. W. Kutsch and S. Marrow, Beirut 1960), 29, ll. 25-6, prescribes, concerning *aneu khronou* (translated: *mudjarrada min al-zamān*, "deprived of time"), the addition of *bi-dhātih wa-bi-shaklih* "by itself and its form", if it is necessary because of the fear of *maṭāʿin al-mughāliṭīn*, "attacks of the 'Sophists' "; if not, it should be omitted. But, in the definition of al-Zamakhsharī, *fī nafsih* was introduced in order to separate *ism* from *ḥarf*.

It is, incidentally, strange to note that grammarians such as Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987) and Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002), who must have been aware of al-Sīrāfī's *Sharḥ* to the *Kitāb*, adhered, as far as the noun (and the verb) were concerned, to definitions of the type of those of al-Zadjdjādj's predecessors: Abū ʿAlī *Iḍāḥ* (Ms Cairo², ii, 81) 3; Ibn Djinnī, *Lumaʿ* (Ms Berlin 6466) 2.

The definitions of the noun and verb that became general in the Arab grammarians appear to derive from Greek logic. It has, besides, been adequately shown under FIʿL how unjustified the tense-system (introduced following Aristotle) is in Arabic. These definitions were difficult to establish. Long discussions about them have taken place in modern linguistics (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, i, § 53 a and add. p. 525-6; *BSLP*, liv/i, XXVII-XXVIII). The *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique* by J. Marouzeau, 3rd ed., gives a definition of the verb (236), but not of the noun (156).

Because of the great tripartite division referred to above, Arab grammarians included under the *ism* first the noun proper: *ism al-djins* "common noun", *al-ism al-ʿalam* or *ism al-ʿalam* "proper noun" [see ʿALAM], *ism al-ʿayn* "concrete noun", *ism al-maʿnā* "abstract noun", then *ism al-fāʿil* "*nomen agentis* (active participle)" and *ism al-mafʿūl* "*nomen patientis* (passive participle)". These two are, strictly speaking, *ṣifa* [see ṢIFA]; the adjective (*ṣifa mushabbaha*) is assigned to the *ṣifa*; the *ṣifa* and its extensions are called *naʿt*, in its use as epithet. Then *al-maṣdar* "infinitive", and all the nomino-verbal derivatives: *ism al-zamān wa-'l-makān* "noun of time and place", etc. Then the pronouns: the personal pronouns: *al-muḍmarāt* [see MUḌMAR], the demonstrative pronoun: *ism al-ishāra*, the relative pronoun: *al-ism al-mawṣūl*, collectively called *al-mubhamāt*. Then the numerals, the noun of number: *ism al-ʿadad*. All these categories will be found in the *Tables* of the *Mufaṣṣal* referred to above (212-3), with references to the text and a still further developed nomenclature in Wright's Ar. Gr.³ (i, 104-10).—The Arab grammarians found an *ism* in the interrogatives: *kayfa* "how?", *ayna* "where?", *kam* "how much?", *matā* "when?", in *idh*, *idhā* (generally conjunctions), in *ḥaythu* "where" (Ibn Fāris, *ibid.*; for *kam*, Sībawayhi, i, 250, l. 13, ed. Paris; for *matā*, Ibn Hishām, *Mughni 'l-labīb*, s.v.). Finally, they included in the *asmā' al-afʿāl* "verbal nouns" expressions that would seem to us to be interjections or exclamatory locutions, or even onomatopoea, when they perceived in them some verbal action, particularly an imperative sense, see §§ 187-99 of the *Mufaṣṣal*.

Bibliography in the text; in addition: *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, i, 710, l. 24-715, l. 18; the *K. al-masā'il al-khilāfiyya fi 'l-naḥw* of Abu 'l-Baḳā' ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUkbarī (d. 616/1219) (Ms Cairo², ii, 158) contains a discussion of the definition of *ism* (2nd question) and of the etymology (*ishtiḳāḳ*) of *ism* (4th question); in the latter, like the Baṣrans, he derived *ism* from *sumuww*, in the former, he attributes to Ibn al-Sarradj (d. 316/929), a contemporary of al-Zadjdjādj (d. 310/922), a definition of *ism* so sophisticated that it appears improbable: *huwa kull lafẓ dalla ʿalā maʿnā fī nafsih, ghayr muḳtarin bi-zamān muḥaṣṣal* (93 r, lines 4-5). As a matter of fact, in *al-Mūzadj fi 'l-naḥw*, Beirut 1385/1965, 27, Ibn al-Sarrādj simply gives a definition of *ism* of the type of those of al-Zadjdjādj's predecessors. (H. FLEISCH)

ʿIṢMA, as a theological term meaning immunity from error and sin, is attributed by Sunnīs to the prophets and by Shīʿīs also to the imāms. In early Islam moral failures and errors of Muḥammad were freely mentioned, although there was an inconsistent tendency to minimize the shortcomings of the Prophet and in particular to deny that he had ever participated in the worship of idols. The term and the concept of *ʿiṣma* do not occur in the Ḳur'ān or in canonical Sunnī *Ḥadīth*. They were first used by the Imāmī Shīʿa, who at least since the first half of the 2nd/8th century maintained that the imām as the divinely appointed and guided leader and teacher of the community must be immune (*maʿṣum*) from error and sin. This doctrine has always remained a cardinal dogma of Imāmism. While the early Imāmī theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795-6) restricted this impeccability to the imāms, holding that prophets might disobey the commands of God and then would be criticized by a revelation, later Imāmī doctrine always ascribed it equally to prophets and imāms. The extent of the immunity was gradually expanded. Ibn Bābūya (d. 381/991), representing the view of the tradionalist scholars of Ḳumm, affirmed that prophets and imāms, though fully immune from major (*kabā'ir*) and minor (*ṣaghā'ir*) sins, were liable to inadvertence (*sahw*), which God might induce in them in order to demonstrate to mankind that they were merely human. His opinion was refuted by Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), who held that prophets and imāms after their vocation were immune from inadvertence and forgetfulness (*nisyān*), while admitting that they (except for the Prophet Muḥammad) might have committed minor, not disgraceful (*ghayr mustakhaffa*) sins before their vocation. Al-Mufīd's disciple al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), who wrote a book on the impeccability of the prophets and imāms, held that they were fully immune both before and after their vocation. This has become the accepted Imāmī doctrine, later expressly including immunity from inadvertence. It is, however, admitted that imāms may chose the less com-

mendable alternative or neglect commendable supererogatory acts. *ʿIṣma* is commonly defined as a kindness (*luṭf*) bestowed by God and, as in Sunnī doctrine, is not a natural quality of prophets and imāms. It does not cause incapacity to commit acts of disobedience and thus does not invalidate the right of prophets and imāms to reward.

The Imāmī doctrine of the *ʿiṣma* of imāms and prophets is shared by the Ismāʿīliyya. The Zaydiyya do not consider *ʿiṣma* a qualification of the imām, though some later Zaydī authorities have attributed it to ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn specifically.

Outside Shīʿism the *ʿiṣma* of the prophets was first and most consistently upheld by the Muʿtazila. Already al-Naẓẓām in the late 2nd/8th century taught the impeccability of the prophets, and by the time of al-Ashʿarī immunity from unbelief and from major sins both before and after the prophetic mission was considered the unanimous doctrine of the Muʿtazila. There was some dispute as to whether prophets might commit minor sins consciously or not. While al-Naẓẓām held that the sins of prophets reported in the Ḳurʾān could arise only from inadvertence or erroneous interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of God's commands, al-Djāḥiẓ maintained that they must have been committed knowingly, since unconscious infraction of the divine law in his view was not sinful. In the classical doctrine since the two al-Djubbāʾīs the extent of the immunity was defined as including all major sins and minor sins "causing aversion" (*munaffira*). This definition resulted from the premise that prophecy was an act of kindness incumbent on God for the guidance of mankind and must be protected by Him from any impediments to its effectiveness. Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī (d. 303/915-6) asserted that even minor acts of disobedience, if intentional, must be considered as causing aversion and admitted only sins by inadvertency or erroneous interpretation. Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933) and the majority of later scholars held that intentional minor sins were not necessarily "causing aversion". The immunity applied equally to the time before and after the mission, though Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī was not quite consistent in rejecting major sins before it.

Ashʿarī doctrine on the *ʿiṣma* of the prophets varied, generally moving from a negative attitude toward wider affirmation. Scholars with traditionalist leanings were more reserved in affirming the sinlessness of the prophets, since this conflicted with a literal acceptance of passages in the Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth*. The view later ascribed to al-Ashʿarī, that prophets were immune from error and sin after, but not before, their mission is probably not authentic. It reflects, however, the later common Ashʿarī doctrine, which restricted the immunity to the time after the mission, admitting both major and minor sins, though not unbelief, before it. Concerning the extent of immunity after the mission the views differed. Al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1012), against the Muʿtazilī doctrine, denied any rational basis for the claim of *ʿiṣma* of the prophets beyond immunity from intentional lying in the transmission of the divine message, admitting the possibility of errors by inadvertence or forgetfulness. The latter admission was rejected by his contemporary Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāyīnī and the later school doctrine. Al-Bāḳillānī's denial of a rational basis of the claim of immunity from sin was commonly accepted by later doctrine, though major sins were excluded on the basis of revealed texts (*samʿ*) or consensus. Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015) held that prophets may commit minor sins intentionally, but not major sins. It is thus evident that ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037) expresses his wish rather than the fact in claiming an Ashʿarī consensus affirming the immunity of prophets from all sins after their mission. After him al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085) stated as his personal view that prophets commit minor sins, and al-Djuwaynī's disciple al-Ghazālī affirmed that prophets commit sins and are obliged to ask God for forgiveness. Even Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), who argued at length for the *ʿiṣma* of prophets on rational grounds, admitted unintentional minor sins after, and major sins before, their mission. Against the Ashʿarī school tradition, full immunity of the prophets was upheld by the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149) and al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), the former expressly including the time before the mission.

Māturīdī doctrine generally was more positive in claiming sinlessness for the prophets. Although some Māturīdī scholars admitted minor sins in prophets, others, especially those of Samarḳand, strictly denied all sins including "slips" (*zallāt*). No difference was made between the time before and after the mission. The importance given to the doctrine of *ʿiṣma* is reflected by the fact that it is usually included in Māturīdī creeds in contrast to Ashʿarī and Ḥanbalī creeds. Under the Saldjūḳs the charge of imputing sins to the prophets figured among the accusations against Ashʿarism which were used to justify its suppression in favour of Māturīdī Ḥanafism.

The doctrine of the sinlessness of the prophets was opposed by traditionalists upholding the literal meaning of the passages in the Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth* mentioning their failures. Ibn Karrām (d. 255/840), the founder of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*], expressly affirmed that prophets may commit sins, without qualifying their nature. Later Karrāmī doctrine excluded sins requiring legal punishment (*ḥadd*) or impairing probity. The Ḥanbalīs did not adopt the doctrine of impeccability of the prophets. Ibn Baṭṭa (d. 387/997) in his profession of faith emphasizes that the prophets have committed sins, citing relevant passages of the Ḳurʾān. Later Ḥanbalī scholars like Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350) stressed the *ʿiṣma* of the prophets in respect to their transmission of the revelation, but did not include immunity from sins.

Particular views on *ʿiṣma* were developed in Ṣūfī circles in connection with their doctrine of mystical sainthood. Some Ṣūfīs from al-Djunayd (d. 298/910) to Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) have attributed virtually complete impeccability, far beyond the common Sunnī doctrine, to Muḥammad as the ideal Ṣūfī saint. *ʿIṣma* was also often, against some dissent, attributed by Sunnī, Muʿtazilī, and Shīʿī theologians to the angels.

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ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifāʾ bi-taʿrīf ḥuḳūḳ al-Muṣṭafā*, Cairo 1329, ii, 79-157; al-Rāzī, *al-Arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, Hyderabad 1353, 329-68; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., ii, 268; al-Īdjī, *al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Th. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, 218-38; al-Bazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. H. P. Linss, Cairo 1963, 167-72; Ibn Baṭṭa, *al-Sharḥ wa 'l-ibāna ʿalā uṣūl al-sunna wa 'l-diyāna*, ed. H. Laoust, Damascus 1958, 63, trans. 120; al-Kalābādhī, *al-Taʿarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1933, 43 f; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 220-5; idem, *Aus der Theologie des Fachr al-dīn al-Rāzī*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 238-45; T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918, 124-74; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shīʿite religion*, London 1933, 320-38; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939, 186-94. (W. MADELUNG)

ʿIṣma denotes also infalibillity, in "the total knowledge of the meaning of the revelation and its prescriptions" and, consequently, in absolute authority for instruction. In Shīʿism, it is recognized in the imāms, in whom it is innate. It is recognized in Sunnism also, but in respect of the community (*ʿiṣmat al-djamāʿa*) in its general *consensus* or *idjmāʿ*—infallibility in the interpretation of the law, and even in the establishment of new juridical solutions. In both meanings, *ʿiṣma* was carried to its most extreme limits in the Shīʿī (*ghulāt*) doctrines from the time when they deified the imāms, in varying degrees.

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ISMĀʿĪL, the biblical Ishmael, is already mentioned in four places in the Ḳurʾān which date from before the Hidjra, in a list of holy men of antiquity: in Sūra XIX, 54 f. it is said of him: "He was one who spoke the promise truly, and he was a messenger and a prophet. He enjoined upon his people the prayer and the almsgiving, and was in his Lord's eyes approved"; in Sūra XXXVIII, 48 he is mentioned together with Elisha (al-Yasaʿ) and Dhu 'l-Kifl as "one of the good"; in Sūra XXI, 85 f. together with Idrīs and Dhu 'l-Kifl as "one of the patiently enduring and the righteous, whom God caused to enter into his mercy"; in Sūra VI, 86 it is said of Ismāʿīl, Elisha (al-Yasaʿ), Jonas and Lot, that "God gave each one preference above the worlds". These references to Ismāʿīl and others are, in each case, part of a larger context in which more holy men of antiquity are mentioned. Each time, at either a lesser or greater distance before Ismāʿīl, Abraham (Ibrāhīm) is also praised as one of the earlier holy men. Nowhere, however, is a direct link established between Abraham and Ismāʿīl, so that it must be assumed that originally Muḥammad was not well informed about the family relationship between Abraham and Ishmael, as at that time he seems to have counted Jacob, not Ismāʿīl as another son of Abraham together with Isaac (Sūra XIX, 49; XXI, 72; XXIX, 27; VI, 84; XI, 71).

In other places, which, on the whole, are to be attributed to the Medinan period, the isolation of Ismāʿīl has given way to an intimate connexion with Abraham. At this period Ismāʿīl stands alongside his father in the attempt to build up the Kaʿba in Mecca as a centre of pilgrimage and make it a place of the pure monotheistic faith (Sūra II, 127-9). In so far as Isaac is also named, Ismāʿīl is given precedence as Abraham's son (Sūra XIV, 39; II, 132 f.; II, 136 = III, 84; II, 140; IV, 163). In the interpretation of the relevant passages, chronological difficulties indeed arise. Sūra XIV, 35-41, in which Abraham champions the security of the holy territory of Mecca and (verse 39) praises God for having given him Ismāʿīl and Isaac in spite of his great age, is usually attributed to the third Meccan period. And in Sūra XXXVII, which is even attributed to the second Meccan period, the birth of Isaac is first mentioned in verses 112 f., so that it must be assumed that the preceding verses 100-7, which also deal with a son of Abraham and with his (intended) sacrifice, refer to Ismāʿīl Consequently there would already be evidence for the connexion between Ismāʿīl and Abraham from the period before the Hidjra in two passages. Edmund Beck, however, who has critically examined the problem, takes Sūra XIV, 39 to be a Medinan interpolation and he supposes that even in the two verses II, 125 and 127, which are no doubt Medinan, the name of Ismāʿīl is a later addition. Thus he concludes that Ismāʿīl was first connected with Abraham in the Medinan period (*Le Muséon*, lxv (1952), 80-3). Beck does not commit himself concerning Sūra XXXVII (see above); Richard Bell, however, does: he considers the section which deals with the sacrifice of Abraham's son (verses 102-7) as a later Medinan addition, and further concludes that verse 101 ("So we felicitated him with a mild-tempered youth") "probably referred to Isaac, but when Ishmael began to assume importance to Mohammed, it was taken as referring to him, and verses 112 and 113 (Annunciation of Isaac) added". However these explanatory attempts by Beck and Bell may now be regarded, Ismāʿīl in any case takes a subordinate part in the ḳurʾānic legend concerning the foundation and purification of the cult of the Kaʿba. It is true that he is numbered among the patriarchs who have been given revelations (Sūra II, 136 = III, 84; IV, 163), but the leading part remains reserved for Abraham; for these matters, therefore, see IBRĀHĪM. Remarkably enough, there is in the Ḳurʾān—if we disregard the brief hint in Sūra XIV, 37—still no reference to the genealogical role which, according to Genesis XVI and XXV (and later also according to Arabic-Islamic tradition), fell to Ismāʿīl as a connecting link between the Israelites (Jews) and the Arabs. He is considered only as the son of Abraham, and in Sūra II, 133 is mentioned together with Araham and Isaac as one of the "Fathers" of Jacob.

The commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, the "stories of the prophets" (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*), and the universal histories give various details concerning the part played by Ismāʿīl in the building of the Kaʿba and the introduction of the pilgrimage ceremonies (here Ismāʿīl plays the same subordinate role as in the Ḳurʾān). The story of the sacrifice of Abraham's son also is further elaborated, whereby the question of whether this son is to be identified with Ismāʿīl or Isaac remains open. The information on a few episodes from Ismāʿīl's early youth and married life is more detailed. The expulsion of Hagar and her child Ismāʿīl is described in accordance with Jewish tradition (which for its part goes back to Genesis XXI). According to Islamic tradition, Abraham does not simply send them both into the desert, but accompanies them himself as far as Mecca. There of course, he leaves them to their fate, since he has to go back to his wife Sarah. Hagar, full of pity for the

thirsty child, runs back and forth between the two hills al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa—the origin of the later pilgrimage ceremony of the Saʿy [*q.v.*]. Meanwhile, however, the little Ismāʿīl scratches the sand and thus helps the spring of Zamzam to break through. Thereupon the Arab tribe of Djurhum settles in the neighbourhood with the permission of Hagar, and, after Ismāʿīl has grown up, he takes a girl of the Djurhum as his wife. Abraham, who with Sarah's permission shortly comes on a visit, meets her while her husband is away, is treated inhospitably, and leaves behind for his son the order, cryptically expressed, that he should divorce her. On a later visit, Abraham meets, again in the absence of Ismāʿīl, the latter's second wife, is hospitably welcomed by her, and leaves behind for his son the request, similarly coded, that he should maintain the marriage with her. On a third visit Abraham calls on Ismāʿīl to help him in the building of the Kaʿba (see above). After his death Ismāʿīl is buried near his mother Hagar in al-Ḥidjr inside the Ḥaram.

By the post-ḳurʾānic tradition Ismāʿīl becomes linked with Mecca and the Arab world even more closely than by the Ḳurʾān. He is said to have learned Arabic (from the Djurhum). In the genealogical trees which the Arab genealogists have drawn up, he is counted as the ancestor of the northern Arabs and in consequence of the (subsequently) Arabized tribes. These are, without exception, traced back to ʿAdnān, but the connecting links between ʿAdnān and Ismāʿīl are—partly in accordance with Genesis XXV—variously related.

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(RUDI PARET)

ISMĀʿĪL (IZMAIL), an Ottoman fortress town situated in the Budjak [*q.v.*] region of Bessarabia, on the left bank of the Kilya arm of the river Danube. Ewliyā Čelebī states that a certain *ḳapudān* named Ismāʿīl brought this area under Ottoman domination in 889/1484 at the time when Sultan Bāyazīd II took Kilya and Aḳ-Kermān from Moldavia. Evidence dating from 997/1588-9 (cf. Uzunçarşili, IV/i, 576, note I) indicates that a small fort (palanka) was built at Ismāʿīl in that year, craftsmen from Wallachia and Moldavia being summoned to share in the work of construction. In 1003/1595, during the long war of 1001/1593-1015/1606 between the Ottoman Empire and Austria, Ismāʿīl fell to a mixed force of Transylvanians, Moldavians and Wallachians under the command of "Andrea Barzai" (cf. Hurmuzaki, III/ii, 95). A few years later Georgius Dousa was to describe the town as noted for its trade in fish—*Smieli uberrima est optimorum piscium captura, atque ex eo vilitas.* Ismāʿīl suffered from Cossack raids in 1010-1011/1602 and in 1033-1034/1624. Ewliyā Čelebī, recounting his travels in the year 1067/1657, gives some details of interest about Ismāʿīl. He notes that it had a superintendent of customs (*gümrük emini*), but no fortress commandant, since there was no fort there (*ḳalʿe olmadighından dizdārī yoḳdur*). The town contained two thousand houses (*khāne*), with a population of Muslims (located in three distinct areas—*üç islām maḥallesi*), Greeks, Armenians and Jews. Tatars inhabited the regions adjacent to the town. Ismāʿīl conducted a flourishing trade in such products as butter, cheese, salt from Wallachia (*eflāḳ ṭuzu*), grain, sturgeon and caviar. Some two thousand waggon loads of fish pickled in brine (*balik salamurasi*) went each year, through Ismāʿīl, to Poland and to the territories of Moscow. State-owned fisheries existed along the banks of the Danube. Ismāʿīl had also a market where white slaves of either sex might be found for sale. A little more than a hundred years later de Tott, passing through the Budjak in 1182-1183/1769, observed that Ismāʿīl was an *entrepôt pour la traite des grains par le Danube* and also a centre for the manufacture of *chagrins de Turquie*, *i.e.*, of shagreen. Ismāʿīl, standing at the intersection of routes from Galatz, Khotin (Choczim), Bender and Kilya, became a fortress of importance during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries as a result of the confrontation between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in the lands bordering the Black Sea. Russian troops took Ismāʿīl in 1184/1770. The town was restored, however, to the Ottomans at the Peace of Küçük Kaynardja in 1188/1774. Employing the services of foreign experts, the Turks now fortified Ismāʿīl anew, transforming it into an *ordu ḳalʿesi*—a stronghold designed to function as a base controlling large forces. The Russians, under the command of Suvorov and in the face of a desperate resistance, stormed Ismāʿīl in Rabīʿ II 1205/December 1790, an event which was celebrated in the verse of Byron and Deržavin. At the Peace of Iaşi (Jassy) in 1206/1792 Ismāʿīl was handed back to the Ottomans, who soon began to repair its defences. The town, in 1224/1809, came once more into the hands of the Russians. General Tučkov, in the following year established near Ismāʿīl a settlement named after himself, but destined, in the course of time, to be merged into Ismāʿīl. The Peace of Bucharest concluded in 1227/1812 gave Ismāʿīl to Russia. In 1272/1856, at the Peace of Paris, which brought the Crimean War to an end, southern Bessarabia, with Ismāʿīl (its fortifications now demolished), was transferred from Russia to Moldavia. Russian forces re-occupied Ismāʿīl in 1294/1877, the town being ceded to Russia at the Congress of Berlin in 1295/1878. It came under Rumanian control at the close of World War I and under Soviet rule at the end of World War II. Ismāʿīl is included now in the Ukrain-

ian Republic of the U.S.S.R. The town, with a population, in 1956, of some 43,000 inhabitants, amongst them Rumanians, Ukrainians, Turks, Bulgarians, Russians and Jews, functions as a river port and commercial centre dealing above all in grain, timber and hides.

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(T. Menzel—[V. J. Parry])

ISMĀʿĪL I (Abu' l-Muẓaffar), born 25 Radjab 892/17 July 1487, died 19 Radjab 930/23 May 1524, shah of Persia (907/1501-930/1524) and founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty [see ṢAFAWIDS].

1. *Biographical and historical*: Under Ismāʿīl, Iran became a national state for the first time since the Arab conquest in the 1st/7th century. An important factor in this process was the proclamation by Ismāʿīl of the Ithnā ʿAsharī (Djaʿfarī) form of Shīʿism as the official religion of the Ṣafawid state. By this action, Ismāʿīl decisively differentiated his dominions from those of the Ottomans, who were threatening to absorb Iran into their empire, and imparted a sense of unity among his subjects in the face of their arch-enemies, the Ottomans in the west and the Özbegs in the east.

Although Ismāʿīl was related, through both his mother and his grandmother, to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu rulers, the Ṣafawid-Aḳ Ḳoyunlu alliance had broken down during the lifetime of his father Ḥaydar [*q.v.*], and Ismāʿīl, while still an infant, was arrested with his elder brothers ʿAlī and Ibrāhīm, and imprisoned for 4½ years in the fortress of Iṣṭakhr in Fārs (end of Rabīʿ II 894/March 1489—end of Shawwāl 898/August 1493. Civil war broke out between rival Aḳ Ḳoyunlu princes, and one of them, Rustam, made use of Ṣafawid support to defeat one of his rivals (Shawwāl 898/August 1493). In 899/1494 Rustam, realizing that rising popular support for the Ṣafawids constituted a threat to his own position, had ʿAlī killed. Ismāʿīl fled to Ardabīl and thence to Gīlān.

For nearly five years (899/1494-905/1499), Ismāʿīl remained in hiding at Lāhīdjān, where he had been given sanctuary by the local ruler. During this time he maintained close contact with his *murīds* in Rūm, Ḳarādja-dāgh, Ādharbāydjān and elsewhere. Since these *murīds*, also known as *ḳizilbāsh* [*q.v.*], were mainly Turcoman tribesmen, Ismāʿīl in order to make the Ṣafawid *daʿwa* more effective, addressed to them simple verses in their own Turkish dialect, using the *takhalluṣ* of Khaṭāʾī [see below]. In 905/1499 Ismāʿīl emerged from Gīlān to make his bid for power, and the following year some 7,000 Ṣūfīs of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa* assembled at Erzindjān. After a campaign in Shīrwān in which Ismāʿīl avenged the deaths of his father and grandfather [see DJUNAYD; ḤAYDAR], he defeated a large Aḳ Ḳoyunlu army under Alwand at the decisive battle of Sharūr. This victory gave Ismāʿīl control of Ādharbāydjān, and in 907/1501 he was crowned at Tabrīz.

Ismāʿīl spent the next decade extending the Ṣafawid empire: Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam were conquered in 908-9/1503; Māzandarān and Gurgān, and Yazd, in 909/1504; Diyār Bakr in 911/1505-913/1507; Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab in 914/1508 (the local rulers of Khūzistān, Luristān and Kurdistān acknowledged his suzerainty); Shīrwān in 915/1509-10. Finally, on 30 Shaʿbān 916/2 December 1510, Ismāʿīl routed the Shībānī Özbegs in a great battle at Marw. A few days later, Ismāʿīl entered Harāt, and proceeded to consolidate his conquest of Khurāsān.

The following year, 917/1511, Ṣafawid troops penetrated as far eastwards as Samarḳand, in support of the Tīmūrid prince Bābur, who was hoping, with their aid, to recover his Transoxanian dominions. Any idea Ismāʿīl may have entertained of annexing Transoxania to the Ṣafawid empire was dashed in 918/1512, when a powerful Özbeg army swept the Ṣafawid expeditionary force back across the Oxus. This was followed by an uneasy truce with the Özbegs which lasted some eight years, but Ismāʿīl proved himself unable to arrive at a permanent solution to the problem of the defence of the north-east frontier.

By 916/1510, therefore, the whole of Persia was in Ismāʿīl's hands, but the establishment of a militant Shīʿite state on the Ottoman border constituted a challenge which Sultan Selīm could not afford to ignore, and in 920/1514 he invaded Persia and inflicted a crushing, but not decisive, defeat on Ismāʿīl at the battle of Čāldirān [*q.v.*]. His aura of invincibility dispelled, Ismāʿīl never again led his troops in battle. During the last ten years of his life, he took a less and less active part in political affairs, and gave his viziers virtually a free hand in administrative matters.

After his defeat at Čāldirān, Ismāʿīl became more interested in exploring the possibilities of an alliance with European powers, in order to attack the Ottomans on two fronts. In 921-2/1516 he received an

envoy from Louis II, King of Hungary, in the person of a Maronite monk named Fr. Peter, and an ambassador from Charles V of Germany also reached him about the same time. In Shawwāl 929/August-September 1523, Ismā'īl sent a letter to Charles, expressing his astonishment that the Christian powers, instead of devoting all their energies to fighting the Turks, were squabbling among themselves (details from unpublished material made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. L. Lockhart). The Ṣafawids thus carried on the series of diplomatic exchanges with the West, which had begun in Aḳ Ḳoyunlu times, and which had as their chimerical objective the organizing of joint military operations against the common foe, the Ottomans.

Ismā'īl's achievements have been overshadowed, perhaps unfairly, by those of his illustrious descendant, 'Abbās I [*q.v.*]. Ismā'īl possessed the charismatic appeal, the powers of leadership, and the personal valour, to bring to a successful conclusion more than half a century of active revolutionary endeavour. In addition, he displayed a high degree of political acumen and statecraft. On his accession, he was faced by complex problems of great urgency. There was the problem of how to incorporate the Ṣūfī organization of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa*, of which Ismā'īl was the ***murshid-i kāmil***, in the newly established Ṣafawid state, of which he was the ***pādishāh***. There was the problem of how to reconcile the "men of the sword", the Turcoman military élite which had brought him to power, with the "men of the pen", the Persian bureaucrats on whom he depended for the efficient functioning of his empire. There was the problem of imposing doctrinal uniformity as rapidly as possible, while at the same time maintaining political control of the religious institution, in order to prevent the *'ulamā'* from assuming a dominant position in the state (the undue growth of the power of the ***mudjtahids*** was later to become one of the principal causes of Ṣafawid decline). The fact that Ismā'īl's policies, original and ingenious though they frequently were, ultimately failed to solve these problems, indicates not so much the inadequacy of his policies as the insolubility of the problems.

On his death in 930/1524, Shāh Ismā'īl was buried in the Ṣafawid family mausoleum at Ardabīl. He had four sons: Ṭahmāsp [*q.v.*], who succeeded him; Sām; Alḳāṣ [*q.v.*], and Bahrām; and five daughters.

Bibliography: *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia*, Hakluyt Society, London 1873; H. Braun, *Eine unerschlossene Darstellung des Lebens des Ersten Safawidenschahs*, unpublished dissertation, Göttingen 1946; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin and Leipzig 1936; Gh. Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī*, Aligarh 1939 (useful for checking facts); R. M. Savory, ***The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Ismā'īl I*** (*907-930/1501-1524*), in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 91-105; idem, ***The struggle for supremacy in Persia after the death of Tīmūr***, in *Isl.*, xl (1964), 35-65; idem, *The consolidation of Ṣafawid power in Persia*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 71-94; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (translated and explained by V. Minorsky), London 1943. Persian sources: The principal chronicles for the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl are: Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran (particularly detailed on events in Khurāsān); *A chronicle of the early Ṣafawīs, being the Aḥsanu'l-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū*, ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1931; Khwurshāh b. Ḳubād al-Ḥusaynī, *Tārīkh-i Īlčī-yi Niẓāmshāh*, British Museum Ms. Add. 23, 513; British Museum Ms. Or. 3248 (an anonymous history of Shāh Ismā'īl); Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlīsī, *Sharafnāma* (ed. Véliaminof-Zernof), St. Petersburg 1860-2; Budāḳ Munshī Ḳazwīnī, *Djawāhir al-Akhbār*, Leningrad Ms. Dorn 288. See now also the anonymous chronicle on the reign of Ismā'īl, recently discovered in Iran, entitled *'Ālam-ārā-yi Ṣafawī*, edited by Vad Allāh Shukrī, Tehran 1971.

(R. M. Savory)

2. *His Poetry*: The founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty was also a poet who wrote under the pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) of Khaṭā'ī. His poems, with few exceptions, are in the Turkish language of Ādharbāydjān, or Ḳizilbashī (a term used in the indigenous sources, as distinct from Čaghatā'ī and Rūmī). Khaṭā'ī's poetical output consists of: (a) The ***Dīwān***, the oldest and most authentic Ms. of which was completed in 948/1541, eighteen years after Shāh Ismā'īl's death. This *Dīwān* contains 254 ***ḳaṣīda-ghazals***, three ***mathnawīs***, one ***murabba'*** and one ***musaddas***. The first twenty-four religious and didactic poems are, however, not in alphabetical order. Some of the poems of this Ms. contain outspoken utterances such as "I am the absolute Truth", and "I am God's eye (or God himself)", etc. These poems and a number of technically imperfect poems together with a poem in syllabic metre are omitted in the later Mss., which have apparently undergone a process of "expurgation". The great part of the content of Khaṭā'ī's *Dīwān* consists of the lyrical poems. (b) The ***Dah-nāma***, which was composed in 911/1506 in the ***mathnawī*** form, and in the ***hazadj*** metre. The subject of this poem is the exchange of ten letters between the lover and the beloved, which ultimately leads to their union. It includes a number of ***ghazals*** in the same metre. This ***Dah-nāma*** belongs to a literary genre which was very popular in the Persian and Turkish literatures of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. (See T. Gandjeï; ***The Genesis and Definition of a literary composition: The Dah-nāma ("Ten love-letters")***, in *Der Islam*, xlvii (1971), 59-66).

A collection of poems in syllabic metre, which bear the *takhalluṣ* Khaṭā'ī, and exist, not in the Mss. of the *Dīwān*, but in various miscellaneous Mss., can with confidence be ascribed to poets of 'Alawī-Bektashī circles, in which the royal poet was venerated (see T. Gandjeï; *Pseudo-Khaṭā'ī*, in *Iran and Islam*, Edinburgh 1971, 263-266). The songs called χαται ~ *catai* in praise of Shāh Ismā'īl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp, which Michele Membré mentions (*Relazione di Persia (1542)*, Naples 1969, 48), were most probably the syllabic poems bearing the pseudonym of Khaṭā'ī.

Khaṭā'ī was greatly influenced in his poems by the work of the Ḥurūfī poet, Nesīmī [*q.v.*]. Khaṭā'ī's poetry, besides its literary merit, which is far from negligible, is important, in that it contains data concerning the true nature of early Ṣafawid Shī'ism. Although the poets who composed Turkish poems in Ṣafawid Persia were for the most part influenced by Nawā'ī and Fuḍūlī, there is evidence of a certain influence by Khaṭā'ī on some poets of this period, such as Amānī, Ẓafar and Ṣā'ib. But it was in 'Alawī circles that the poems and the person of Khaṭā'ī exercised a lasting influence. His poems were recited for centuries in 'Alawī-Bektashī circles of Anatolia. In his native Ādharbāydjān, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, who incorporated him in the syncretic pantheon of their sect, considered him to be the ***pīr*** of Turkestān (*i.e.*, Ādharbāydjān and the neighbouring Turkish-speaking lands), in whose person God spoke in Turkish, *Khaṭā'ī de türki dedi*, and finally the adepts of the extremist Shabak sect in 'Irāḳ included the poems

ascribed to Khaṭā'ī in their sacred book, the *Buyruḳ*.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1314 s, 6-9; Fakhrī Harawī, *Rawḍat al-Salāṭīn*, ed. Khayyāmpūr, Tabriz 1435 s, 67-70; Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, ed. Ḥasan Sādāt-i Nāṣirī, Tehran 1336, 57-8; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā*, Tehran 1284-95, 22-3; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbāydjān*, Tehran 1314, 136-7; Saddedin Nüzhet Ergun, *Hatâyî Divanı, Şah İsmail-i Safevî, Hayatı ve Nefesleri*, Istanbul 1946; V. Minorsky, *The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I*, in *BSOS*, x (1938-42), 1006a-1053a; *Deh-name*, ed. H. Araslı, Baku 1948; *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḫaṭā'ī*, ed. T. Gandjeï; Naples 1959; Shah Ismayil Khetai, *Eserleri*, I, ed. H. Araslı-Ezizaga Memmedov, Baku 1966; Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Ṣarrāf, *al-Shabak min firaḳ al-ghulāt fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ*, Bagdad 1954; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet*, Istanbul 1962; V. Minorsky, *The Sect of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ*, in *Iranica*, London 1964, 307-16. (T. Gandjeï)

ISMĀʿĪL II, born 940/1533-4 (this is conjectured from the available evidence; no chronicle gives his date of birth), died 13 Ramaḍān 985/24 November 1577, second son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp [*q.v.*], shah of Persia (984-5/1576-7) of the Ṣafawid dynasty.

After the rebellion of his uncle Alḳāṣ [*q.v.*], Ismāʿīl was appointed governor of Shīrwān (954/1547), and conducted several successful campaigns against the Ottomans in the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia. In 962/1555 he married a daughter of the marriage between a sister of Ṭahmāsp and Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī [*q.v.*]. The following year, in Shaʿbān 963/June 1556, he was appointed governor of Khurāsān.

After only a few months at Harāt, Ismāʿīl was suddenly arrested (Ṣafar 964/December 1556), and taken to the fortress of Ḳahḳaha in Ādharbāydjān, where he remained a prisoner for nearly twenty years. Various reasons are put forward to account for Ṭahmāsp's action. Some sources point out that Ismāʿīl's arrest followed closely upon the signature of the Treaty of Amasya (962/1555), which ushered in more than thirty years of peace with the Ottomans, and that Ṭahmāsp feared that Ismāʿīl's bellicose nature might endanger this peace; but the transference of Ismāʿīl, from Shīrwān, adjacent to the Ottoman frontier, to Harāt, would seem designed to obviate just such a danger. Other sources declare that the puritanical Ṭahmāsp could no longer tolerate Ismāʿīl's dissolute way of life. The real reason for Ismāʿīl's sudden fall from favour, however, seems to have been Ṭahmāsp's fear that Ismāʿīl might be nursing an ambition to supplant him, a fear which was assiduously played upon by the powerful *wakīl* Maʿṣūm Beg Ṣafawī, who was a bitter enemy of Ismāʿīl. Ismāʿīl's high-handed behaviour on his arrival at Harāt gave colour to Ṭahmāsp's suspicions, and moved Ṭahmāsp, for whom the defection of his own brothers Alḳāṣ and Sām was a recent and vivid memory, to take action against him. This situation may, then, be reflected by what at first sight appears the vague statement in *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (i, 125), that Ismāʿīl was imprisoned "in the best interests of the state, and because of various improper acts which displeased the shah".

On the death of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (984/1576), 30,000 *ḳizilbāsh* assembled at Ḳahḳaha and swore fealty to Ismāʿīl, who was enthroned as Shāh Ismāʿīl II at the capital, Ḳazwīn, on 27 Djumādā I 984/22 August 1576. Ismāʿīl's mind, however, had been unhinged by his long imprisonment, and, on attaining power, his sole idea was to maintain his position at all costs. To this end, he carried out a widespread purge of *ḳizilbāsh* officers of the Ustādjlū tribe, which had supported an abortive coup in favour of his brother Ḥaydar. He then began systematically to murder, or blind, any prince of the blood royal who might conceivably become the centre of a conspiracy against him. Five of his brothers and four other Ṣafawid princes perished in this way. When Ismāʿīl began to put to death officers whose only crime was that of having held important positions under his father, the *ḳizilbāsh* regretted that they had placed him on the throne, and conspired to assassinate him. Ismāʿīl is alleged to have been a less than enthusiastic Twelver Shīʿite. This gave the *ḳizilbāsh* both an added incentive to remove him, and also a plausible excuse for their action. Ismāʿīl's addiction to narcotics made it easy for the *ḳizilbāsh* both to carry out the murder and to give it the air of death by misadventure. With the connivance of Ismāʿīl's sister, Parī Khān Khānum, the conspirators placed poison in an electuary containing opium, which was consumed by Ismāʿīl and one of his boon-companions. Ismāʿīl was succeeded by his elder brother Muḥammad Khudābanda [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: W. Hinz, *Schah Esmāʿīl II, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ṣafaviden*, in *MSOS*, xxxvi (1933), 19-100, with full details of the European and Persian sources at pp. 20-24.

(R. M. Savory)

ISMĀʿĪL, MAWLĀY [see ʿalawids and mawlāy ismāʿīl].

ISMĀʿĪL b. ʿABBĀD [see ibn ʿabbād].

ISMĀʿĪL b. AḤMAD, Abū Ibrāhīm, called al-Amīr al-Māḍī or al-Amīr al-ʿĀdil, the first member of the Sāmānid family effectively to rule all Transoxania and Farghāna as an independent sovereign. Born in 234/849, he spent 20 years as governor of Bukhārā on behalf of his brother Naṣr, who himself resided at Samarḳand (260/874-279/892). The unsettled conditions in Khurāsān during the years between the fall of the Ṭāhirids and the final establishment there of ʿAmr b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] were reflected in Transoxania also. Ismāʿīl had in Bukhārā to fight off an invading army from Khwārazm under one Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir al-Ṭā'ī (who was not necessarily, *pace* Barthold, a member of the Ṭāhirid family, cf. Vasmer in *Num. Zeitschr.*, lxiii (1930), 148), and to maintain relations with his mistrustful brother Naṣr, who twice sent armies against Bukhārā.

When Naṣr died in 279/892, Ismāʿīl became master of all Transoxania, transferring the capital to Bukhārā, where it was to remain till the end of the dynasty, and securing recognition from the ʿAbbāsid Caliph. In the following year he led an expedition into the Turkish steppes against the camp of the Ḳarluḳ Ḳaghan at Talas (modern Djambul), capturing an immense booty of slaves and beasts and converting the principal church of Talas into a mosque; he also subdued the local Iranian dynasty of rulers of Ushrūsana in the Syr Daryā valley. In view of the claim of the Ṣaffārids [*q.v.*] to be successors in the east of the Ṭāhirids, ʿAmr b. al-Layth's attempt to assert his suzerainty over Khwārazm and Transoxania was predictable. Ṣaffārid might in Persia was such that in 285/898 the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid was forced to issue a decree deposing Ismāʿīl and awarding an investiture diploma to ʿAmr for Transoxania and Balkh. ʿAmr marched

northwards to take possession of his new territories, and summoned Ismā'īl, the Abū Dā'ūdids of Ṭukhāristān and the Farīghūnids of Gūzgān to allegiance. There was considerable fighting south of the Oxus between the Sāmānids and Ṣaffārids, until in 287/900 'Amr was defeated near Balkh and captured. Although Ismā'īl was technically in rebellion against the 'Abbāsids, the caliph was overjoyed at the removal of so dangerous a rival as 'Amr. Ismā'īl's victory gave the Sāmānids the preponderance in Khurāsān, and they held the province all through the 4th/10th century until it passed to Maḥmūd of Ghazna.

In the last years of his life, Ismā'īl halted a Turkish invasion from the steppes (291/904), and was busy extending Sāmānid power into nothern Persia and the Caspian region. The Shī'ī ruler of Ṭabaristān, Muḥammad b. Zayd, was repulsed from Khurāsān, and an offensive launched against Ṭabaristān itself. By 287/902 the Sāmānids held territory as far west as Rayy and Ḳazwīn, although Ismā'īl's successors were unable to hold this in face of the resurgence of Daylamī peoples. Ismā'īl died in 295/907. The historical and anecdotal sources unanimously praise him for his moderation and justice; influenced by his victory over the Ṣaffārids, they commend his faithfulness to the Caliphs and his Sunnī piety. His tomb is still shown in Bukhārā (cf. Schroeder in *Survey of Persian art*, iii, 946-9), but the mausoleum seems in fact to belong to the later Sāmānid period.

Bibliography: See the long section on Ismā'īl in Narshakhī, tr. R. N. Frye, 77-94, to be supplemented by such historical sources as Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr; amongst *adab* works, those of Niẓām al-Mulk and 'Awfī; Barthold, *Turkestan*², 222-6; R. N. Frye, *Bukhara, the medieval achievement*, Norman, Okla., 1965, 38-49.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ISMĀ'ĪL B. BULBUL, Abu'l-Ṣaḳr, vizier of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mu'tamid [*q.v.*]. Of Persian or Mesopotamian origin, he was born in 230/844-5 and claimed to belong to the Arab tribe of the Shaybān. Abu 'l-Ṣaḳr, who had been a secretary and had been in charge of the dīwān of the Royal Domains, appeared on the political scene in 265/878, when the regent al-Muwaffaḳ had him appointed vizier, a post which he had to abandon shortly afterwards only to regain it at the end of the year. But Ismā'īl played a minor role while the regent had Ṣā'id b. Makhlad [*q.v.*] as his personal secretary, and it was only from the year 272/885-6 that he really exercised the functions of vizier. Though not responsible for military affairs, he ran the administration and was in charge of the appointments to the various state offices. It was then that he appointed the Banu 'l-Furāt brothers to the financial offices. These brothers, whose Shī'ī convictions he shared, helped him in his attempt to face the difficulties that beset him at the time. But he came up against the hostility of al-Muwaffaḳ's son, the future al-Mu'taḍid, whom his father had prevented from going off on an expedition against the Ṭūlūnids and whom Ismā'īl himself attempted to eliminate from public affairs first during his absence and then during the regent's illness. After the death of the latter, in Ṣafar 278/May 892, al-Mu'taḍid, who had become regent, hastened to arrest Ismā'īl who died shortly afterwards, a victim of his attachment to the Caliph, but also of the support he had lent the Shī'īs and perhaps of his unorthodox opinions.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; S. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī*, Beirut, 1967, 157-66.

(D. Sourdel)

ISMĀ'ĪL B. AL-ḲĀSIM [see Abu 'l-'Atāhiya].

ISMĀ'ĪL B. NŪḤ, Abū Ibrāhīm al-Muntaṣir, the last of the Sāmānids of Transoxania and Khurāsān. When in 389/999 the Ḳarakhānid Ilig Khān Naṣr occupied the Sāmānid capital Bukhārā, Ismā'īl and other members of the family were carried off to Uzkend. He contrived, however, to escape to Khwārazm, and for the next four years kept up a series of attacks on the Ghaznavids in northern Khurāsān and the Ḳarakhānids in Bukhārā. In 393/1003 he obtained the help of the Oghuz, traditional allies of the Sāmānids, and according to Gardīzī, it was at this point that the leader of the Saldjūḳs became a Muslim. Ismā'īl's attempts to restore his dynasty's power all ended in failure; he took refuge in the Ḳara Ḳum desert, where he was killed in Rabī' I or Rabī' II 395/Dec.-Jan. 1004-5 or Jan.-Feb. 1005 by a group of Arabs of the Banū 'Idjl. According to 'Awfī, Ismā'īl was the most gifted of his dynasty in regard to poetry and its transmission, and his short-lived courts at Bukhārā attracted many literary figures.

Bibliography: 'Utbī-Manīnī, i, 320-46; Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 63-5; 'Awfī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1333/1954, 23-4; Barthold, *Turkestan*², 269-70; Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 45-6.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ISMĀ'ĪL B. SEBÜKTIGIN, Ghaznavid amīr, third son of the founder of the Ghaznavid empire and last of the family to recognize the suzerainty of the Sāmānids. When Sebüktigin died in Sha'bān 387/August 997, he left the provinces of Ghazna and Balkh to Ismā'īl, and command of the army in Khurāsān to his eldest son Maḥmūd; this allocation of Ghazna to Ismā'īl was probably influenced by the fact that he was Sebüktigin's son by a daughter of Alptigin [see Alp-Takīn], the original commander of the Turks in Ghazna. Maḥmūd refused to accept these arrangements, and demanded recognition as supreme overlord in the Ghaznavid dominions. He obtained the help of his brother Naṣr, governor of Bust, and of his uncle Bughračuḳ, governor of Harāt, and in a battle outside Ghazna defeated Ismā'īl (Rabī' I 388/March 998). Thus after a reign of only seven months, Ismā'īl was deposed and imprisoned for the rest of his life in Gūzgān.

Bibliography: M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 38-41, 179; C. E. Bosworth, *A Turco-Mongol practice amongst the early Ghaznavids?*, in *Central Asiatic Jnal.*, vii (1962), 237-8; idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 44-5.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ISMĀ'ĪL B. YASĀR al-Nisā'ī, Medinan poet, who died at a very advanced age some years before the end of the Umayyad dynasty (132/750). The descendant of an Ādharbaydjānī prisoner, he was a *mawlā* of the Taym b. Murra of Ḳuraysh and it is said that he owed his *nisba* to the fact that his father prepared meals—or sold carpets—for weddings, but this interpretation should be treated with caution. At Medina, where he lived, he had become a supporter of the Zubayrids, but his friendly relations with 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] (in whose company he went to the court of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān after the fall of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (73/692)) gained him access to the caliph, to whom he addressed a panegyric; in spite of his secret hatred of the Marwānids, he later wrote in praise of several Umayyad caliphs and princes, up to al-Walīd b. Yazīd (125/743). To judge from the notice in the *Aghānī*, Ismā'īl

b. Yasār's poetical work contained hardly any satires but consisted of panegyrics, *marthiyas* (notably of his brother Muḥammad and of a son of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr) and *ghazals*, which were set to music. However, the most striking feature of his poetry seems to be a clearly expressed desire to disparage the Arabs and to glorify the ʿAdjam; one verse refers to the *waʾd* of new-born girls, others to the poet's own illustrious origin; it is said that he was even bold enough to recite before Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, at al-Ruṣāfa, a poem in which he omitted to praise the caliph but held forth at length on his own glorious ancestors; he was punished for this audacity by being thrown fully-clothed into a pond and then banished to the Ḥidjāz. In this respect, Ismāʿīl b. Yasār al-Nisāʾī may be considered as one of the first Shuʿūbīs; his son Ibrāhīm followed him in this, according to the *Aghānī*, which however devotes to him only a few lines. His brothers Muḥammad and Mūsā, known as Shahawāt, were also poets [see MŪSĀ SHAHAWĀT].

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 366 = 559; Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, 345-6; *Aghānī*, iv, 119-27 (Beirut ed., iv, 409-26); Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 144 (Cairo ed., i, 271); Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *al-Adab al-djāhilī*, 176; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 160; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 186-8; Nallino, *Letteratura*, 139-40 (Fr. tr., 214-5); Brockelmann, S I, 95.

(CH. PELLAT)

ISMĀʿĪL RUSŪKH AL-DĪN ISMĀʿĪL B. AḤMAD AL-**ANḲARAWĪ**, (?-1041/1631-2), a commentator of the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. His date of birth is unknown, but it is known that he was born in Ankara, received a good education, was active in trade and entered the Khalwatiyya order of dervishes (cf. *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī*, i, 11, introduction). Having contracted an eye disease, Ismāʿīl went to Ḳonya where he became a follower of the Mawlawī *shaykh* Bostān Čelebī (d. 1040/1630), who named him *khalīfa*. Ismāʿīl then went to Istanbul, where he became *shaykh* of the Mawlawī-khāne (Mevlevī dervish house) of Galata, a position which he kept until his death. He lies buried in the *turba* in the courtyard of his Mawlawī-khāne.

Ismāʿīl was proficient in both Arabic and Persian, and became known for his commentaries on works written especially in these two languages (cf. M. Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı Muʾellifleri*, i, 24 ff.; Khwādja-zāde Aḥmad Ḥilmī, *Ziyāret-i Ewliyā*, Istanbul 1325 A.H., 71). His main works are:

1. *Fātiḥ al-abyāt*, a commentary on the first 18 couplets of the *Mathnawī*, and of certain difficult terms.

2. *Djāmiʿ al-āyāt*, a commentary on the ḳurʾānic verses, *ḥadīths* and Arabic verses in the *Mathnawī*.

3. *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī*, written after the two preceding works. This commentary, on which Ismāʿīl's fame rests, and which until recent times was the most popular work explaining the *Mathnawī*, is largely inspired by the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). It dwells on the mystical rather than the grammatical significance of Rūmī's couplets. It was, nonetheless, criticized by the Mawlawīs because it included a commentary on an apocryphal seventh volume of the *Mathnawī* (see A. Gölpinarli, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, Istanbul 1953, 143). Ismāʿīl's seven-volume commentary was printed in Istanbul in 1289/1872-3. It was also translated into Arabic, in a somewhat abridged form, under the title *al-Minhādj al-ḳawī sharḥ al-Mathnawī*, by Djangī Yūsuf Dede of Tripoli (d. 1080/1669), and published in Cairo in 1289/1872-3. Ismāʿīl's work also forms the basis of R. A. Nicholson's *Commentary on the Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rumi*, London 1937. It was finally translated into Persian by Dr. ʿIṣmat Sattār-zāde (*Sharḥ-i Kabīr-i Anḳarawī dar Mathnawī-yi Maʿnawī-yi Mawlawī*, Vol. i, Tehran 1348 solar).

4. *Zubdat al-fuḥūṣ fī naḳṣ al-fuṣūṣ*, a commentary consisting of an abridgment of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.

5. *Sharḥ hayākil al-nūr* (or *Iḍāḥ al-ḥikam*), a commentary on the work of that name by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl (d. 587/1191).

6. *Sharḥ ḳaṣīda-i tāʾiyya*, a commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's famous *ḳaṣīda* of that name.

In addition to these commentaries, Ismāʿīl composed independent treatises (for full list see M. Ṭāhir and Aḥmad Ḥilmī, *op.* and *loc. cit.*), the best known being:

1. *Miftāḥ al-balāgha wa miṣbāḥ al-faṣāḥa*, written in Turkish, but based on Arabic and Persian manuals of rhetoric. It was printed in Istanbul in 1284/1867-8.

2. *Minhādj al-fuḳarāʾ*, an explanation of Ṣūfī terminology, based largely on the *Manāzil al-sāʾirīn* of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1088-9). It was published in Istanbul in 1286/1869-70.

3. *Ḥudjdjat al-samāʿ*, a brief treatise in defence of the *samāʿ* dance of the Mawlawī Whirling Dervishes. This has been published both separately and also together with the preceding work.

Finally, Ismāʿīl's poetry was collected in a *Dīwān* (see catalogue of *Dīwāns*). He himself was the subject of a eulogistic *ḳaṣīda* by the poet Shaykh Ghālib, a proof of the wide respect in which he was held for his religious and mystical knowledge (see Aḥmad Ḥilmī, *op. cit.*, 73-6).

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited, Ṣāḳib Dede, *Safīna-i Hafīsa-i Mawlawiyān*, Cairo 1283/1866-7, ii, 37-44, which corresponds to *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī*, i, 1-11, introduction; Esrār Dede, *Tadhkira-i Shuʿarā-i Mawlawiyya*, Ist. Univ. Lib., TY 89, 125-7; ʿAlī Anwar, *Samāʿkhāna-i Adab*, Istanbul 1309/1891-2, 80-83. (TAHSIN YAZICI)

ISMĀʿĪL ʿĀṢIM EFENDI [see ČELEBI-ZĀDE].

ISMĀʿĪL GASPRINSKI [see GASPRALĪ].

ISMĀʿĪL GHĀLIB, (1848-1895), noted Turkish historian and numismatist. Son of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Edhem Pasha [*q.v.*], brother of Ḥamdī Bey [see ʿUTHMĀN ḤAMDĪ], director of the Imperial Museum, and of the historian Khalīl Edhem [see ELDEM], he was born in Istanbul, entered government service at an early age, became a member of the Council of State and in 1894 was appointed a special assistant to the governor of Crete. Taken seriously ill there, he returned to Istanbul and died the following year. His grave is in the cemetery of the Iskele Djāmiʿa in Usküdar. Ismāʿīl Ghālib's lasting reputation as a scholar rests on his accomplishments in the field of Islamic numismatics. During and after Ḥamdī Bey's administration he was responsible for putting in order and expanding the museum's great collection of Islamic coins. His private collection was bought after his death by the Imperial Mint. His principal works, models of meticulous cataloguing and description, were: *Taḳwīmi meskūkāti ʿothmāniye* (1307/1890), *Taḳwīmi meskūkāti seldjūḳiye* (1309/1892), *Meskūkāti türkmāniye ḳatālōghi*, also in a French edition (1311/1894), *Essai de numismatique turcomane* (his private collection) (1311/1894), *Meskūkāti ḳadīmeyi islāmiye ḳatāloghi* (1312). For several monographs and articles by him see L. A. Mayer. *Bibliography of Moslem Numismatics*, 2nd ed., and Halil Ethem, *Islâmî Nümismatik için bir bibliografi tecrübesi* (Ankara 1933).

Bibliography: J. H. Mordtmann in *EI*¹, s.v. GHĀLIB (Turkish translation in *IA*, s.v. GĀLIB); Ibrahim Alaeddin Gövsa, *Meşhūr Adamlar Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul 1933-1935). (G. C. MILES)

ISMĀ'ĪL ḤAḲḲĪ 'ĀLĪSHĀN (also 'ALĪSHĀN-ZĀDE ISMĀ'ĪL ḤAḲḲĪ, in modern Turkish ISMAIL HAKKI ELDEM), 1871-1944, Turkish writer and diplomat. Educated in the Imperial School of Political Science (*Mülkiye*), he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and served as director of Consular Service and as consul general in Marseilles, Zurich and Munich. Soon after his retirement in 1923, he joined the staff of 'Abd Allāh Djewdet's *Idjtihād* [see DJEWDET] to which he contributed literary, social and economic articles regularly until 1932. He had married 'Azīze Hanim, a grand-daughter of the former grand vizier Ibrāhīm Edhem Pasha (1818-1893 *q.v.*). Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳi began his career as writer when still a student and published a number of books and pamphlets and many articles, mainly literary biographies, monographs on literary topics and translations from French literature. In the 1890s he began to publish two series of literary biographies under the general titles *On dördün-djü 'aṣīr Türk muḥarrirleri* and *'Othmānlī meshāhīr-i üdebāsi*. Only five booklets of about hundred pages each were published: *Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi* (1308/1892), *Djewdet Pasha* (1308/1892), *Redjā 'izāde Ekrem Bey* (1308/1892), *Mu'allim Nādjī Efendi* (1311/1895), *Shems ed-Dīn Sāmī Bey* (1311/1895). These biographies are early examples of modern Turkish literary criticism which remained almost unnoticed as the author did not belong to any active literary grouping of the period. His *Müntakhabāt-i terādjim-i meshāhīr* (1307-1891) is an anthology of French literature in translation made by various Turkish writers. Among his many translations from the French (André Maurois, Pierre Benoît, etc.), his prose rendering of Charles Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal, Elem čičekleri* (Istanbul 1927), helped to make the French symbolist poet a favourite of Turkish poets of the 1930s.

Bibliography: F. E. Karatay, *Istanbul üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe basmalar alfabe Kataloğu*, Istanbul 1956, i, 183-84; *Idjtihād, passim*; *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. (S. H. Eldem); written communication of his son Sadi Eldem, Turkish ambassador in Madrid (1971). (FAHIR İZ)

ISMĀ'ĪL ḤAḲḲĪ, SHAYKH ISMĀ'ĪL ḤAḲḲĪ AL-BRŪSAWĪ or AL-USKUDĀRĪ (1063/1652-1137/1725), Turkish scholar, mystic and poet, born at Aydos near Edirne, where his family had moved after a fire destroyed their house in Istanbul. His *Kitāb al-Silsila* (Ms Beyazid Library No. 3384), the ultimate source for all subsequent biographies, gives his grandfather's name as Bayram Čawush, the son of Shāh Khudā-bende, and his father's name as Muṣṭafā. He lost his mother at an early age and, on the suggestion of Shaykh 'Othmān Faḍlī, was sent to Edirne for his education, where a scholar named 'Abd al-Bāḳī, relative of the Shaykh, guided his training in grammar, syntax, rhetoric, logic, *fiḳh*, theology, *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*. In the meantime he had acquired a substantial library with the money left to him by his mother. Completing his studies in 1084/1673, he went to Istanbul to attend the lectures of 'Othmān Faḍlī who, after fifteen years' teaching in Filibe, had settled in the capital. 'Othmān Faḍlī initiated the young Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī in the order of the Djilwatiyya, of which he was the head. Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī also attended the lectures of many other scholars in Istanbul; he learnt Persian and studied the great masters of Persian literature, particularly 'Aṭṭār, Rūmī, Ḥāfiẓ and Djāmī. He also studied calligraphy and music and set to music many hymns of the 11th/17th century mystic Hudāyī [*q.v.*]. In 1086/1675 'Othmān Faḍlī sent him to Üsküb (Skopje) to preach, where he founded a convent of the Djilwatiyya order and married the daughter of Shaykh Muṣṭafā 'Ushshāḳī. There he fought the intolerance and bigotry of ignorant imāms and "apparent" shaykhs for six years. Constantly encouraged by his master's letters, he wrote there his most brilliant sermons (for a good Ms copy of his sermons see: Bayezid library-Veliyeddin No. 1901). Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī preached also in Köprülü and Usturumča (Stroumitza); when 'Othmān Faḍlī's representative in Bursa died in 1097/1685, the Master asked him to go there and to become the head of the Djilwatiyya convent. His first years in Bursa coincided with the difficult period after the disastrous Austrian campaign of 1095/1683 and Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī had to sell his books to survive. He made occasional journeys to Mecca for the Pilgrimage and to Famagusta in Cyprus to visit his master 'Othmān Faḍlī (who had been exiled there because of his insistent criticism of Ottoman foreign policy) and participated in various campaigns; he resided for a few years in Damascus, and later in Usküdar, to settle eventually in Bursa (whence his surname Brūsawī). On the death of his master in 1103/1691 he succeeded him as the head of the order. He built a mosque and a convent in Bursa and founded a library to which he left all his books. He died in Bursa in 1137/July 1725 where he is buried in his convent near Tuzpazarı.

Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī was one of the most prolific Ottoman scholars. Of his 106 books and pamphlets, 60 are in Turkish, the rest in Arabic. The autograph copies of most of his works are kept in the Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī Library in Bursa. He wrote on the whole in comparatively simple Turkish and avoided the flowery style of many contemporaries.

He is the author of the following main works: (1) *Rūḥ al-bayān*, in 4 volumes, Būlāḳ 1276, a Ḳur'ān commentary with, at times, original mystic interpretations; (2) *Rūḥ al-Mathnawī*, 2 volumes, Istanbul 1287-89, a commentary on the introductory part of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī* on traditional lines; (3) *Faraḥ al-Rūḥ*, a commentary on Yazīdjīoghlu Meḥmed's *Muḥammadiyya*, Būlāḳ 1252; (4) *Sharḥ-i Pand-i 'Aṭṭār*, a translation with grammatical notes and commentary of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭar's *Pand-nāma*, Istanbul 1250; (5) *Silsila-i ṭarīḳat-i Djilwatiyya*, a treatise on the order, with biographies of the leading shaykhs including his own, Istanbul 1291; (6) *Dīwān* followed by *Maḳālāt* in the same volume, Būlāḳ 1257, Istanbul 1288; (7) *Kanz-i Makhfī*, where he expounds his approach to pantheistic Ṣūfism, Istanbul 1290; (8) *Tuḥfa-i Khalīliyya*, a collection of moral admonitions, Istanbul 1256; (9) *Mi'rādjiyya*, a verse narrative of Muḥammad's ascent to Heaven, Istanbul 1269; (10) *Kitāb al-natīdja*, his last work, written in 1136/1724, not printed (for a good Ms see Atıf Efendi Library, No. 1483). His short commentaries to various poems by Yūnus Emre, Ḥādjdjī Bayram and Niyāzī-i Miṣrī are to be found in many *medjmū'as* containing his various treatises. See bibliography.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 440 and S II, 652; Bursalı Ṭāhir, *Mewlānā Shaykh Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī al-Djilwatī*, biographical note with complete bibliography of the author's published and unpublished works, Istanbul 1329; idem, *'Othmānlı Mü'ellifleri*, i, 28-32; Meḥmed 'Alī 'Aynī, *Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī Bursawī ḥaḳḳında bir tedḳīḳ*, Istanbul 1928;

idem, *Ismaïl Hakki, Philosophe mystique*, Paris 1933; I. A. s.v; Ruhnevaz Deringör, *Ismail Hakki Bursavi: Hayatı ve Türkçe eserleri*, unpublished thesis, Türkiyat Library, Istanbul, No. 475; Mahir Iz, *Tasavvuf*, Istanbul 1969, 197-9.

(GÜNAY KUT)

ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ, MANASTIRLI [see Supplement].

ISMĀʿĪL PASHA, khedive of Egypt, 1863-79, second son of Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] and grandson of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], was born in Cairo on 31 December 1830. He received his early education in the private palace school founded by his grandfather for his family, where he studied Arabic, Persian and Turkish. At fourteen, he spent some time in Vienna, where he was sent for treatment of an eye complaint. Two years later, in 1846, he was sent to Paris to join one of the Egyptian educational missions under the preceptorship of the Armenian Istifān Bey. There he studied French, some of the modern sciences and certain aspects of engineering. He returned to Egypt in 1848.

Upon the death of Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1848, Ismāʿīl's cousin, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I [*q.v.*] (son of Ṭūsūn Pasha) succeded to the pashalik. After the death of his grandfather, Muḥammad ʿAlī, the following year, ʿAbbās I reportedly distrusted his uncle Saʿīd Pasha and his cousins, with all of whom he disputed the disposition of Muḥammad ʿAlī's inheritance. Consequently, Ismāʿīl, along with other princes of the House, went to live for a time in Istanbul and to solicit the assistance of the sultan against ʿAbbās I. Sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd appointed Ismāʿīl a member of the State Judicial Council. A few years later, upon the accession of his uncle Saʿīd Pasha to the viceregal throne in 1854, Ismāʿīl returned to Egypt, and was appointed president of the State Judicial Council. The following year (1855), he was entrusted with a mission to the court of Napoleon III in Paris in connection with Saʿīd Pasha's policy of seeking greater independence from the Porte, for this purpose taking advantage of Egypt's participation in the Crimean War (1854-6). He also headed another diplomatic mission on behalf of Saʿīd Pasha to the Vatican. In 1861, Saʿīd appointed him sirdar (commander in chief) of the army at a time when the tribes in the Sudan had been rebellious

By the time Ismāʿīl became viceroy of Egypt on 18 January 1863, he had thus had relatively wide experience in the administrative, diplomatic and military affairs of the country. Moreover he had first-hand experience of Europe and of the politics and administration of the Porte in Istanbul.

In contrast to the relatively unimaginative and uneventful rule of his two predecessors, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I (1848-54) and Saʿīd Pasha (1854-63), Ismāʿīl's reign brought Egypt material prosperity, and economic, social and cultural advancement. But is also brought financial bankruptcy and domestic and international difficulties. As ambitious as his illustrious grandfather, the founder of the dynasty, yet operating in changed circumstances and without his grandfather's military resources or force of personality and character, Ismāʿīl attempted to accomplish too many things too quickly. His policy, disastrous though it turned out to be for himself and Egypt, had three major objectives. One of these was to secure greater autonomy, and ultimately complete independence, for Egypt from the Ottoman sultan. The second was to accelerate the commerical, military and cultural modernization of the country. The third was to acquire an African empire. All three objectives entailed complex and hazardous relations with ambitious European powers (Britain and France for example); a risky confrontation with the Ottoman suzerain of the country; and a huge—and in the end ruinous—financial outlay. Domestically, this policy of vast, radical and rapid Europeanization involved grave dangers to the ruler, because it sowed the seeds of economic, social and cultural dilocation. This policy, directed against the Ottoman sultan, was dependent on European powers for money and political support and thus led inevitably to foreign intervention in the affairs of Egypt and eventually to its occupation by British forces. These consequences, in turn, aroused the resentment and opposition of the Egyptians to Europe and to their own rulers, who were associated with the coming of European control, that is, with the forfeiture of the autonomy Egypt enjoyed before 1875.

In seeking to achieve the first objective of his policy, that of greater independence, Ismāʿīl purchased from the sultan the firman of 27 May 1866, by which the order of succession was changed to one of primogeniture in his own line. He also secured the right to increase the size of his army, coin his own money and confer titles. Another firman of 8 June 1867 granted him the title of khedive, autonomy in the conduct of his internal and financial affairs, the authority to conclude treaties with other sovereign states regarding customs, ports, trade transit and the regulation of foreign community affairs. A brief interlude of strained relations with the Porte, arising out of the Egyptian involvement in the Cretan uprising of 1866 and Ismāʿīl's financial extravagance over the opening of the Suez Canal, as well as his intrigues with foreign powers, led the sultan to issue a firman on 29 November 1869 practically rescinding Ismāʿīl's gains from that of 1867. However, Ismāʿīl's visit to Istanbul and lavish bribery of Turkish officials secured him two more firmans: one of 10 September 1872, abrogating and superseding that of 1869, restored to him the right to borrow from and raise loans in Europe; another of 8 June 1873 ratified and recognized its conditions.

At home and in Europe Ismāʿīl affected the trappings of a modern ruler. The participation of Egypt in the Paris Exhibition of 1867 was followed by the gala opening of the Suez Canal two years later. Despite the fact that the American Civil War (1861-5) had produced a great boom in the export of Egyptian cotton, Ismāʿīl's pusuit of an African empire involved expensive military campaigns in the Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda. In the meantime his expensive extraction of firmans from the sultan coincided with the decline of French influence in Egypt after the fall of Napoleon III in 1871. Ismāʿīl began to look towards England for financial and other assistance.

Added to these ventures were the vicissitudes of his domestic policies. Ismāʿīl reorganized the army and navy as well as army education. He also built new schools and allowed more Europeans to found their own in the country; subsidized newspapers and journals; expanded and improved the government press at Būlāḳ [*q.v.*]. He founded a national library (later, Dār al-Kutub), a geographical society and a museum under the direction of the French archaeologist Mariette Pasha. He signed a convention outlawing the slave trade in his dominions, and organized the first state postal service in Egypt. His organization of the country into fourteen provinces, or districts, became the basis of the administration of Egypt for the next one hundred years.

During Ismāʿīls reign the country's exports doubled

in a decade, and the annual revenue of the state rose from £ 5,000,000 in 1864 to £ 145,000,000 in 1875.

The telegraph and railway networks were extended in Egypt and the Sudan. The town of Ismāʿīliyya was built, and the new major irrigation canals of Ibrāhīmiyya in Upper Egypt and Ismāʿīliyya between Suez and Cairo were constructed. Ismāʿīl developed further the sugar refining and textile industries. Moreover, the municipal edification of Cairo and other major towns attracted foreign investment and commerce, while some Egyptian companies and banks were also founded.

By 1870, however, Ismāʿīl was in great financial difficulties. At home, he tried to raise money through the notorious *Muḳābala* Law of 1871, by which the government invited landowners to pay six times the annual land tax in advance in return for a perpetual reduction of one half of the tax. His borrowing in Europe had raised the Egyptian public debt to nearly £ 90,000,000. In 1875, he was forced to sell his 176,602 shares in the Suez Canal Company to the British government for an immediate cash payment of £ 4,000,000.

Ismāʿīl's financial difficulties led to the setting up of a European Control Commission over Egyptian finances, the institution in 1876 of a *Caisse de la Dette Publique* with representatives from European creditor states. The previous year, 1875, the Mixed Tribunals, empowered to adjudicate disputes between Egyptians and foreigners, as well as between foreigners resident in Egypt, were established, further diluting Egyptian autonomy and eroding the authority of the khedive and his government.

Inevitably, the financial crisis of the years 1875-9 had repercussions within Egypt, and particularly in the relations between Ismāʿīl and his ministers, landed notables, religious leaders and army officers. Attempts to associate all of these with his policy of independence and Europeanization began with his experiments in representative institutions. A Consultative Assembly of Deputies was instituted in 1866. A diluted and weak form of cabinet government was tried in 1878-9, shortly before Ismāʿīl's deposition, by making the khedive's government responsible to the Assembly. But all of these measures were of no avail in salvaging the deteriorating financial condition of the country, or in saving Ismāʿīl's own position. Instead, sedition in the army was accompanied by mounting pressure from his foreign creditors who suspected his insolvency. His desperate attempts to use a national Egyptian base against the European control of his finances failed. Moreover, his expensive promotion and subvention of an incipient native press served to undermine his position further. Nor did his participation in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 on the side of his Ottoman suzerain prevent the latter from deposing him at the insistence of the European powers on 25 June 1875. The next day, Ismāʿīl left Egypt for Europe. He died in Istanbul on 6 March 1895.

Even though the social and economic changes which occurred during Ismāʿīl's reign came to constitute the foundations of the further development and modernization of the country, the khedive's impatient Europeanization programme was politically a superficial one Together with the financial problems and their international repercussions, it is fair to suggest that the reign of Ismāʿīl generated complex problems for Egypt, with which its inexperienced leaders and emerging élite of modern administrators could not adequately cope. These led to the occupation of the country by Britain and the subsequent political difficulties which this event generated for the next seventy-five years.

Nonetheless, by his ambition and financial recklessness, Ismāʿīl forcefully stimulated and induced the emergence of modern Egypt, and outlined its future development. To this extent, he cannot be viewed facilely as the disastrous khedive of Egypt, but as one of the country's creative rulers.

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ISMĀʿĪL PASHA, BAGHDĀDLĪ [see Supplement].

ISMĀʿĪL PASHA, NISHĀNDJĪ, Ottoman grand vizier, came from the township of Ayash, now in the *il* of Ankara. Since he was over 70 at the time of his death in 1101/1690, he was born towards 1030/1620. Nothing is known of his family or his antecedents. He was somehow introduced into the Palace and brought up in the Enderūn-i humāyūn. On 13 Rabīʿ I 1078/3 September 1667, at Edirne, he was promoted from *Khāṣṣ-oda eskisi* to *Kiler ketkhudasī*, and soon afterwards became *Čokhādar*. On 13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1079/25 May 1668 he was retired to the Kapucrtasī with the status (*pāye*) of Rumeli and a daily stipend of 250 *aḳčes*. On 20 Muḥarram 1089/15 March 1678 he was made *nishāndjī*, holding this post for years. From 20 Shaʿbān 1089/8 October 1678 he acted as temporary *ḳāymaḳām* in Istanbul with the rank of vizier, until Köprülü-zade Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha, promoted from *muḥāfiẓ* of the Straits to the post of *ḳāymaḳām*, could come to the capital. During this period he was instructed to arrest the former grand vizier Süleymān Pasha and Firārī Ḳāymaḳām Redjeb Pasha. A week later he resumed the post of *nishāndjī*, with the rank of vizier of two *tughs*. On 2 Muḥarram 1099/8 November 1687 he entered the Dīwān as fifth vizier. As a result of further disturbances in Istanbul at the end of February 1688 caused by the execution of the notorious rebel leader Bash-čavush Ḥüseyn Akha (known as *fetwādjī*), he was appointed *ḳāymaḳām* by Süleymān II (27 Rabīʿ II 1099/1 March 1688). As such he had to deal with further disturbances: the killing of the grand vizier Siyāvush Pasha (son-in-law of Köprulü Meḥmed Pasha) and the sacking of his mansion, the summoning of the townsfolk under the Holy Banner by a certain Yaghllkčī Emīr to put down the rebel citizenry, and the massing of crowds at the Imperial Palace. At a meeting of the Dīwān at which Ismāʿīl Pasha was present, the townsfolk protested to the sultan against the excesses of the rebels. The rebels were sending threatening messages to the Palace and demanding that (since there was no grand vizier at the time), Ismāʿīl Pasha and the Kapu Aghasī should prevent the Holy Banner from being brought out. Finally, as representatives of the townsfolk gathered under the Holy Banner in front of Orta Kapu, Seyyid ʿOthmān Efendi entered the sultan's presence and urged that a new grand vizier be appointed immediately (instead of the *muḥāfiẓ* of Özi, who had not yet assumed office). The Kapu Aghasī Ḥadjdjī Meḥmed Agha's proposal that Ismāʿīl Pasha be appointed was

supported by the Dīwān and accepted by the sultan. But the grand vizier's seal was in the hands of the Shaykh al-Islām Faḍl Allāh Efendi, who was supporting the rebels. The rebel leaders were placated by being granted various offices: Faḍl-Allāh came to the Palace and handed the seal to the sultan; and Ismāʿīl Pasha was finally officially installed. Thereupon all the high-ranking members of the *ʿulemā'* (including the Shaykh al-Islām and the ḳāḍī of Istanbul) were dismissed. The crowds at the Palace approved the new appointees and dispersed, so that on 26 Rabīʿ II 1099/2 March 1688 Ismāʿīl Pasha embarked on office with his authority unquestioned. The rebel leaders and their supporters were apprehended and immediately put to death, and numerous changes were made in Palace posts and in provincial governorates. But these measures led only to new friction between the townsfolk and the Kapîkullarî and between the *ʿulemā'* and the grand vizier. Furthermore the loss of various strong points in the Eğri-Kîrka region and the fortress of Kanin increased the tension at the capital. The grand vizier now made the capital error of appointing Yeğen ʿOthmān Pasha, governor of Rumeli and one of the rebels, as *Serdār*, on the Austrian front with the rank of vizier. ʿOthmān Pasha rallied to his side some of the dissidents who had managed to escape from Istanbul and the Sarîdjas and Segbāns of Rumeli, and demanded the Grand Vizierate, obliging Ismāʿīl Pasha to proclaim a call to arms (*nefīr-i ʿāmm* [see NAFĪR]) in Rumeli and Anatolia against his supporters. The hostility which the Shaykh al-Islām Debbāgh-zāde Meḥmed Efendi had felt from the first towards Ismāʿīl Pasha now spread to all the *ʿulemā'*. On the ground that they had accepted bribes, Ismāʿīl Pasha wished to dismiss the sultan's *Khodja* ʿArab-zāde ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Efendi and the Dār al-Saʿada Aghasî Muṣṭafā Agha, who made common cause with the *ʿulemā'* and began making secret complaints to the sultan. The sultan, persuaded by his intimate Muṣṭafā Agha, finally dismissed Ismāʿīl Pasha on 28 Djumāda II 1099/30 April 1688.

Ismāʿīl Pasha was ordered to stay in seclusion in his *yalî* at Anadoluḥiṣār and then, on 10 Radjab 1099/11 May 1688 was banished to Kavala. When in August the Venetian fleet besieged Eghriboz, Ismāʿīl was removed to Rhodes, where, during the Grand Vizierate of Köprülü-zāde Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha, he was executed (Shaʿbān 1101/May 1690). The main reasons for his death were his differences with Fāḍil Muṣṭafā and other members of the Köprülü family; the complaints of the sons of Zaun al-ʿĀbidīn Pasha, who had allegedly been unjustly executed during his Grand Vizierate; and the allegation that he had extorted money from the heirs of Siyāvush Pasha. His head was sent to Istanbul and his body was buried in Rhodes. He is described as a covetous and irritable man, who, though intelligent, often took rasher measures than he really meant to.

Bibliography: Archive documents: two firmans of Radjab 1101/April 1690 ordering him to pay 400 purses to the treasury (fom his exile in Rhodes) Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme* register No. 99, pp. 155, 159; order for his execution, etc. same register, pp. 162, 163, 173; firman ordering the searching of his house and the recovery of moneys wrongly appropriated, *Mühimme* register No. 100, p. 35.

Chronicles etc. Defterdār Ḥādjdjî Meḥmed Pasha, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, Ist. Un. Lib. Ms T 2389, ff. 89a-93a, 98a, and Ms T 5, 124a-129b; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbdī Pasha, Ms of *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (photocopy in Türkiyat Enstitüsü, Istanbul), ff. 132, 137, 208; Fîndîklîlî Meḥmed Agha, *Silāḥdār ta'rīkhi*, Istanbul, 1928, i, 388, 473, 671, 728-9, 762, ii, 240, 283-4, 287, 295-8, 303, 325, 330-70, 396, 402, 478, 509, 575, Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1282, i, 345, 526, ii, 36-7, 119; Sheykhī Meḥmed Ef., *Waḳā'iʿ-i fuḍalā'*, Ist. Un., Lib., Ms T 2489, fol. 35b; ʿOthmān-zāde Tā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271, 113-4; Ṭayyār-zāde Aḥmed ʿAṭā', *Ta'rikh-i ʿAṭā'*, Istanbul 1293, ii, 72; Ferā'idī-zāde Seyyid Meḥmed Saʿīd, *Ta'rīk-i Gülshen-i maʿārif*, Istanbul 1252, ii, 967-78; De La Croix, *Abrégé chron. de l'hist. ott.*, Paris 1768, ii, 600-2; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 247-57, 308-9; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 354-5; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli tarihi*, iii/2, Ankara 1954, 427-9; I. H. Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, iii, 465-6, 517; IA, art. *Mehmed IV* (M. Cavid Baysun).

(MÜNIR AKTEPE)

ISMĀʿĪL ṢABRĪ, an Egyptian poet (1886-1953), distinguished by his *kunya* of Abū Umayma from another and better known Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī. His earliest poetic works date from 1910, and his writings as a whole were collected and published after his death. His "love songes" (*Ghazal al-aghānī*, p. 183-258 of the *dīwān*) deserve especial attention for the technique of his prosody and a certain purity of language and style; some of these songs, of remarkable lyrical inspiration, have been set to music and are a worthy addition to the legacy of the most romantic and pathetic sentimental songs of the period. While it is of no great importance that, in the writings of his maturity, Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī succeeded in redeeming the intellectual inconsistency of some of his youthful *ḳaṣīdas*, it should be emphasized that this author, who possessed a very good knowledge of an admiration for classical Arabic poetry, sometimes yielded to the temptation to insert in his own poems hemistichs from al-Buḥturī, al-Mutanabbī and other celebrated ʿAbbāsid poets; where this has happened, the editors of the *dīwān* have indicated this idiosyncrasy with a note.

The two poems entitled respectively *al-Nūniyya al-kubrā* and *al-Hamziyya al-kubrā* (p. 27-75 and 76-104 of the *dīwān*) contain compositions of various lengths, in which the poet has expressed in verse his meditations on certain hymnological, apologetical and eschatological subjects of frequent occurrence in the historical and religious tradition of Islam. But along with glorification of God, exaltation of Muḥammad and celebration of the prophets, regarding whom the Ḳur'ān provided more or less legendary information, we find, here and there, sententious and parenetic themes, also perhaps deriving from the Ḳur'ān. In this work few descriptive passages occur, but on the other hand there is more occasional verse, inspired by purely contingent social events, a feature which the author shares with other more celebrated contemporary poets such as Aḥmad Shawḳī [*q.v.*] and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*]. Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī was also the author of works for the theatre, "school hymns", and translations, some extracts from which are contained in the last section of the *dīwān*.

Bibliography: The edition of the *dīwān*, which contains little information regarding the author's life and professional activities, is the work of Aḥmad Kamāl Zakī, ʿĀmir Muḥammad Buḥayrī and Muḥammad al-Ḳaṣṣāṣ; it was published in Cairo (n.d.) by the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance. (U. RIZZITANO)

ISMĀʿĪL ṢABRĪ PASHA, Egyptian poet and statesman, was one of those who contributed

to the awakening of national consciousness in Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century. Born in Cairo on 16 February 1854, Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī benefitted from the influence of two cultures, classical Arabic and French, with which he came into direct contact when he was sent away to Aix-en-Provence in order to complete his legal studies. On his return to Egypt in 1878 after obtaining a degree in law, he turned first to the magistracy, taking a post at al-Manṣūra, then became governor of Alexandria (1896-9) and later nnder-secretary of state at the Ministry of Justice. He died on 16 March 1923.

Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī's poetic talent manifested itself early in life, as can can be seen from the youthful compositions which he published in the review *Rawḍ al-Madāris al-Miṣriyya* at the age of sixteen. These admittedly simple exercises in poetry nevertheless already displayed that admiration for classical models of the ʿAbbāsid period which the poet was to retain even in his mature years. However, the beneficial contact with modern French poetry as it evolved at that time not only helped to enrich his mind, but especially to make keener his perception in regard both to the contingent social and political problems of his country, and the reflections of a more general nature and meditations on the destiny of humanity.

Opposed to the occasional poetry to which many of the writers of his time applied their talents, Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī was a patriot of exemplary rectitude, incapable of lending himself to easy compromises with the two powers who at time controlled the policies of Egypt, Turkey and England. His *dīwān* contains no *ḳaṣīda* dedicated to the sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, nor to other dignitaries in his services. Love, death, and the fatherland were the themes of his poetry, the brilliance of which is due to the loftiness of style and profundity of thought expressed in unlaboured imagery. His poetic works are not numerous, especially when compared with the production of his contemporaries, probably because he wrote to please himself, refusing all demands other than those of inspiration.

Bibliography: The *Dīwān* was published fifteen years after the poet's death by Aḥmad al-Zayn, Cairo 1938; the preface to the work by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn is interesting from the critical standpoint. Abundant source material can be found (in essays and articles published in reviews) in the works of Dj. A. Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabiyya*, ii/1: *al-Rāḥilūn 1800-1955*), Beirut 1956, 534-6, and ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1376/1957, 272-3; Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādjī, *Ḳiṣṣat al-adab fī Miṣr*, v, Cairo 1956, 138-47; ʿUmar al-Dasūḳī, *Fi 'l-adab al-ḥadīth*, ii, Cairo 1950, 117-25; some differences concerning certain events of his life in Brockelmann, S III, 18-21. It should also be added that Aḥmad Shawḳī dedicated a long elegy to him (*al-Shawḳiyyāt*, iii, Cairo 1936, 113-8). (U. Rizzitano)

ISMĀʿĪL ṢAFĀ (1867-1901), Turkish poet of the transition period between the Tanẓīmāt and the *Therwet-i Fünūn* schools. Born in Mecca where his father, Meḥmed Behdjet, a native of Trabzon and a minor poet of the old school (see Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, Istanbul, 1930, i, 177-178), was chief secretary (*mektūbdju*) of the Ḥedjāz province, he lost his mother Sāmiye ʿĀ'ishe at the age of seven. On his father's death in 1880, Ismāʿīl Ṣafā and his two brothers moved to Istanbul. His happy life in Arabia and the desert left a strong impression on his memory which is reflected in many of his early poems. In Mecca his father had taught him Arabic and Persian. In Istanbul he passsed, with his two brothers, the entrance examination, as a boarder, to the Dār al-shafaḳa, a well known high school for gifted orphans. On his graduation in 1890 he served for a short time in the Telegraph Office and later taught literature in various secondary schools. He married very young but lost his wife and contracted tuberculosis himself. After a short stay in the island of Midilli (Mytilene), where he went in the hope of a recovery, he returned to Istanbul. Because of his liberal ideas, which he did not care to hide (see below), he was marked down as a suspect by the Hamidian secret police. His house in Gedik Pasha, where he and his progressive friends frequently met, was constantly watched. At the suggestion of Ismāʿīl Kemāl (a deputy for Berāt in Albania after the 1908 constitution), a group of prominent intellectuals, including Ismāʿīl Ṣafā and the leading *Therwet-i Fünūn* poet, Tewfīḳ Fikret, went to the British Embassy to congratulate Britain on her victory over the Boers. Unaware of the contradiction with their own professed ideals, they claimed later that they did this as a gesture against the sultan. This was used as a pretext to round them up and to send them into provincial exile. Ismāʿīl Ṣafā was banished to Sivas where he succumbed to the harsh climate a year later (1901).

Ismāʿīl Ṣafā published his first poems in Nādjī's *Memdjūʿa-i Muʿallim* and later in the periodical *Mirṣād*. At the age of twenty he was a well known poet in literary circles. Verses poured from his pen with such ease and spontaneity that Nādjī "the Master" (*Muʿallim*), whose influence on these early poems is obvious, gave him the nickname of *Shāʿir-i Mādetzād* ('the born poet'). He soon became leader-writer of the *Mirṣād* until it was closed by the censor. Gradually Nādjī's literary influence was replaced by those of Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem, ʿAbd ül-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid and particularly Tewfīḳ Fikret with whom he had become close friends and regularly contributed to his *Therwet-i Fünūn*. Critics of both old and new schools were unanimous in recognizing his unusual poetical gift. Owing to his early poems, which are mostly sentimental reminiscences of his childhood, Ismāʿīl Ṣafā is generally accepted as a fine sensitive poet who wrote, with a spontaneous style, simple melancholic poems of nostalgic, lyric and religious inspiration. This early and incomplete judgment of his work strongly influenced later criticism, but leaves out most of his posthumously published work, which reveals him as a poet with unusual gifts of humour and social and political satire. In particular his poem *Taẓallum* ('Complaint of injustice'), first published in Aḥmed Riḍā's Young Turk organ *Meshweret* in Paris (supplement to No. 9, 1893) and reproduced with minor variants and omissions in ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet's *Idjtihād* (No. 105, 8 May 1330), is a true forerunner of the political satire of the later Eshref and Fikret tradition: "You gathered around you a few vile individuals and tyrannized people on their advice.. You gave power to the corrupt, ignorant and unpatriotic, you ennobled informing into a profession, you made great men suffer in banishment, you insisted on the execution of a very great man (*i.e.*, Midḥat Pasha), tell, o Khalīfa, are you any different from an exectutioner? They informed you of unjust acts, you ignored it; your slaves harmed people, you ignored it; foreigners made profit out of the country, you ignored it; friends warned you about everything, you ignored it. You preferred delator's reports (*jurnals*) to guiding sermons... The treasure of the state is in the hands of a few thieves... The country is in ruin, the

people hungry... The day of your fall will be a feast day for the people...". In the circle of close friends Ismāʿīl Ṣafā used further to expound his naive projects of plots to overthrow ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, Istanbul 1936, iv, 79).

Another important poem which seems to have passed almost unnoticed is his *takhmīs* of the Dāmād Maḥmūd Pasha's *ḳaṣīda*, an ironical eulogy of Ḥasan Pasha, the Minister of the Navy during the Greco-Turkish war of 1897. It is a biting satire, full of pungent wit, inspired by Ziya (Ḍiya) Pasha's famous *Ẓafer-nāme* against ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd who had kept the Turkish fleet perpetually at anchor in the Golden Horn, during his reign, thus causing its utter decline. Ismāʿīl Ṣafā describes, with vivid images, the sorry plight of the decaying ships, and expresses in vitriolic terms the indifference of the irresponsible and corrupt minister and his staff.

Ismāʿīl Ṣafā is the author of the following published works: (1) *Khudh mā ṣafā*, Istanbul 1308 (includes his father's unpublished poems); (2) *Maghdūre-i Sevdā*, Istanbul 1308 (a verse narrative); (3) *Sünūḥāt*, Istanbul 1308; (4) *Mensiyyāt*, Istanbul 1312; (5) *Mevlid-i Pederi ziyāreti* (a short poem about his first visit to his father's native town, Trabzon), Istanbul 1312; (6) *Intāḳ-i Ḥaḳḳ'ın Takhmīsi*, Istanbul 1328; (7) *Hissiyyāt* (with an important introduction by his brother ʿAlī Kāmi (Akyüz), Istanbul 1328.

Bibliography: Ismail Hikmet, *Ismail Safa*, Istanbul 1933; Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil *Kırk Yıl*, Istanbul 1936, iv, 79 ff.; Hüseyin Cahid Yalçın, *Edebî Hatıralar*, Istanbul 1933, *passim*; see also most monographs on Tewfik Fikret [*q.v.*] where there are frequent references to Ismāʿīl Ṣafā.

(Fahir İz)

ISMĀʿĪL SHAHĪD, Muḥammad, the only son of Shāh ʿAbd al-Ghānī, youngest son of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*], was born at Phulat (dist. Muẓaffarnagar, India) on 12 Rabīʿ II 1193/29 April 1779. His father having died in Radjab 1203/April 1789, when he was only ten years old, he was adopted by his uncle Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], the first Urdu translator of the Ḳurʾān, who had no male issue and who later married his grand-daughter Kulthūm to him. Educated by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, he also drew upon the vast learning of his uncles Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn, another Urdu translator of the Ḳurʾān, and the celebrated Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. A child prodigy, he completed his education in both rational and traditional sciences at the age of 16. He often surprised his contemporaries by answering even the most abstruse problems of *fiḳh* and logic without referring to books. He began his career as a preacher in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Delhi, and soon established himself as a forceful orator. He preached mainly against vices like saint- and grave-worship, innovations and other heretical and idolatrous practices which were common among the Muslims of India of those days. For almost a quarter of a century he continued to preach in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid. His preaching aroused bitter controversy, and he was once officially silenced by the city *kōlwāl*, at the instance of Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], court reader to the British Resident at Delhi, who did not see eye to eye with him. In 1235/1819 he came into contact with Sayyid Aḥmad of Rāe Bareilly [*q.v*], who had received his religious and spiritual instruction from his uncle Shāh ʿAbd al-Azīz and soon afterwards became his disciple, along with his kinsman ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, a son-in-law of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The three were destined to play an important role in the religious history of Indian Muslims. In 1236/1820 he went on the pilgrimage to Mecca along with Sayyid Aḥmad and a large number of his followers. On their journey from Delhi to Calcutta they were accorded a very warm reception at the numerous places where they stopped. Collecting money and gifts en route in the name of Islamic revival, the party reached Djidda in 1237/1821. They returned to India in 1239/1823 after an absence of fourteen months, having performed the ḥadjdj, visited the holy places in the Ḥidjāz and met there scholars from Istanbul, Egypt, Syria and Bulgaria.

Fresh from his visit to the Ḥidjāz, he openly began to preach *djihād* in the congregational mosque at Delhi. This must have been only against the Sikhs who were oppressing their Muslim subjects, and not against the British as Ghulām Rasūl Mihr (cf. *Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd*, Lahore 1952, i, 250 ff.) and others have unsuccessfully tried to establish. The British, being politically influential at Delhi, could not watch with complacency such an open incitement to insurrection and also later allow money and material to be collected within their sphere of influence and sent to the *mudjāhidīn*, as the followers of Sayyid Aḥmad later came to be commonly known, in their strongholds in the northern parts of the country. In 1241/1824-25 he left, along with his leader Sayyid Aḥmad, for Yāghistān via Sind. Passing through Bahāwalpūr [*q.v.*], Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] and Shikārpūr (Sind), this voluntary force, which had considerably swelled on the way, reached Kābul from Ḳandahār, from where the volunteers slipped into Peshāwar. Making it their general headquarters they launched a holy war against the Sikhs, fighting the first battle at Akōṛa, near Nowshera, on 20 Djumāda II 1242/21 December 1826 and defeating the enemy with considerable losses. A number of other engagements followed bringing victory after victory to the *mudjāhidīn*. Flushed with their success they set up their own government in the areas under their occupation with Peshāwar as the seat of administration. Certain reforms introduced by them in the social sphere conforming to the laws of the *Sharīʿa*, for instance the remarriage of widows and the collection of *ʿushr*, resulted in the disaffection of the local population, who, at the instigation of the tribal chieftains, deposed and dispossessed by Sayyid Aḥmad, rose against the *mudjāhidīn* and in a secret night-attack killed all the tax-collectors and sub-administrators appointed by the Sayyid. This massacre was a serious set-back to the movement, and practically the whole of the territory around Peshāwar slipped out of the control of the *mudjāhidīn*. The Sikh ruler of the Pandjāb, Randjīt Singh, a shrewd politician and skilled statesman, took full advantage of the situation and inflicted a series of reverses on the rapidly dwindling forces of the Sayyid, who now also faced financial difficulties, for practically all the routes through which money came had been cut off either by the invading Sikhs or the hostile Pathan tribes—mainly the Yūsufzaʾīs.

The *mudjāhidīn*, now led by Ismāʿīl, were driven out of Peshāwar, which they had occupied in 1246/1830 by ousting Sultan Muḥammad Khān, a brother of the amīr of Afghanistan, who ruled Peshāwar as the tributary of the Sikh chieftain Randjīt Singh. Considering it a challenge to his sovereignty, Randjīt Singh marched in person and with the help of his European mercenaries, Generals Ventura and Avitabille, re-occupied the city, entrusting subsequent operations to his son Shēr Singh. Better equipped, better trained and numerically superior, the forces of Shēr Singh inflicted the final defeat on the *mudjāhidīn* at the battle of Balakote (24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1246/6 May 1831), in which Ismāʿīl and his leader Sayyid

Aḥmad lost their lives. He was buried on the edge of the battlefield where his tomb still exists. No attention was paid to his grave during the Sikh or the British rule. It has now been renovated and the government of Pakistan has paid due attention to its upkeep and maintenance.

In spite of his pre-occupation with *d̲j̲ihād*, travelling and delivering sermons, S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl yet found time for writing books and small tracts. His writings include: (1) *Taḳwiyat al-īmān* (ed. Cawnpore 1343/1924), deals mainly with the unity of God and deprecates idolatrous practices such as the invocation of saints, angels etc. Its supplement *Tazkīr al-Ik̲h̲wān* was composed by Muḥammad Sulṭān in 1250/1834. English trans. by Shahamat Ali in *JRAS*, xiii, 316 ff.; (2) *Manṣab-i imāmat* (in Persian), deals with the concept of *imāma* in Islam and its various kinds (ed. Karachi² 1962, Urdu trans. Lahore 1949); (3) *Risāla Uṣūl al-fiḳh* (in Arabic, ed. Delhi 1311/1893), a short treatise of 36 pp. on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence; (4) *Tanwīr al-ʿaynayn fī it̲h̲bāt rafʿ al-yadayn*, (in Arabic, ed. Lahore n.d.) in support of raising the hands in prayers as practised by the Ḥanbalīs; (5) *Risāla Yak Rūza* (still in Ms.) composed as a rejoinder to the criticism offered by Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] of K̲h̲ayrābād on the *Taḳwiyat al-īmān*; (6) *Īḍāḥ al-ḥaḳḳ al-ṣarīḥ fī aḥkām al-mayyit wa 'l-ḍarīḥ* (in Persian, on the burial of the dead), denouncing many of the funerary innovations current among the Muslims of the sub-continent; (7) *ʿAbaḳāt* (in Arabic, ed. Karachi 1380/1960, Urdu trans. by Manāẓir Aḥsan Gēlānī, Hyderabad n.d.) deals mainly with abstruse problems of *taṣawwuf*; the aim was to reform the Ṣūfīs of the day who wielded exceptionally strong influence with the illiterate and simple masses of Indian Muslims, mainly residing in backward rural areas; (8) *Al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḳīm* (in Persian, Meerut 1285/1868, Delhi 1322/1904), of which only the first part was composed by Ismāʿīl; it comprises the *dicta* of his spiritual guide Sayyid Aḥmad and helps understand his teachings and the tenets professed by him; an exposition of what he and his followers stood for (for its contents see *JASB*, i (1832), 479 ff.); (9) *Radd al-is̲h̲rāk* (in Arabic), Asafiyya; 666; (10) *Irs̲h̲ād al-ʿibād ilā sabīl al-ras̲h̲ād*, (Br. Mus. Ms. Arabic); (11) *Mad̲j̲mūʿat al-K̲h̲uṭab* (Br. Mus. Ms. Arabic); His minor works include a short treatise on logic, a lengthy letter in Arabic addressed to one Mullā Bag̲h̲dādī (ed. Cawnpore 1343/1924), and another letter in Persian addressed to Nawāb Wazīr al-Dawla of Tonk, formerly a princely state in India, exhorting the ruler to help the *mud̲j̲āhidīn* in every possible way in their struggle against the Sikhs. He also tried his hand at poetry but this is not of a high order.

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ISMĀʿĪL ṢIDḲĪ, Egyptian politician and statesman, was born in 1875 into a family of Egyptian notables. Both his father and maternal grandfather enjoyed high positions in the official hierarchy of khedivial administration. Like most of his contemporaries who aspired for a political career, he studied law and took part in the anti-British student agitation encouraged by the khedive. Upon completing his studies in 1894, he was appointed a minor official in the Ministry of Justice. He rose quickly, partly through his own effort and initiative but mainly through the wide circle of friends his family had, to be come the permanent under-secretary at the Ministry of Interior in 1908. In 1914 Ṣidḳī had his first cabinet appointment in the government of Rus̲h̲dī Pas̲h̲a, from which he resigned soon after.

When the First World War ended in 1918, Ṣidḳī joined the Wafd movement and was exiled with Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl to Malta in 1919, but when the Wafd was allowed to proceed to the Peace Congress he was among its members. In Paris differences arose among the delegates and Ṣidḳī, forseeing the futility of Wafdist demands, left for Cairo. His departure from the Wafd marked a turning point in his career, for he became the moving spirit of the anti-Wafdist element in Egyptian politics. He played a leading role in the drafting and implementation of the Declaration of 1922 which granted Egypt her independence, as well as the Constitution of 1923, both documents abhorrent to the Wafdists. Henceforward and until his retirement in 1946, Ṣidḳī was tireless in his confrontation with Wafdist policies in the conduct of Egypt's public affairs. He did not hesitate to employ armed force, including the use of British troops, to suppress Wafdist opposition and silence their publications. It was this that earned him the doubtful distinction of being the strong man of Egyptian politics. His reputation as a financial expert, however, was justly deserved.

Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī became prime minister of Egypt twice, in 1930 and 1946, each time in the wake of nationalist ferment and public disturbances caused by the Wafdist failure to reach agreement with Britain on her position in Egypt and the Sudan. In 1931 Ṣidḳī amended the Constitution, restricting suffrage, and he formed the People's Party to give him support in Parliament. Ṣidḳī's terms of office were unhappy and unpopular. He failed to obtain sufficient concessions from Britain to normalize the relationship between the two countries, and he did not succeed in marshalling the support of Egyptian moderates to contain the extremism of the Wafd. In 1946 an agreement was initialled in London between Ṣidḳī and Ernest Bevin, British foreign secretary at the time, but once more Wafdist opposition made ratification impossible. Upon his return from Eng-

land, a sick and broken man, he retired from public life. Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī died in 1948.

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ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, a major branch of the Shīʿa with numerous subdivisions. It branched off from the Imāmiyya [see ithnā ʿashariyya] by tracing the imāmate through Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ's son Ismāʿīl, after whom it is named.

History: Pre-Fāṭimid and Fāṭimid times. After the death of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ in 148/765 a group of his followers held fast to the imāmate of his son Ismāʿīl, who had been named by him as his successor but had predeceased him. Some of them maintained that Ismāʿīl had not died and would reappear as the Ḳāʾim or Mahdī. Others recognized Ismāʿīl's son Muḥammad as their imām. Nothing is known about the history of the Ismāʿīlī movement developing out of this nucleus until after the middle of the 3rd/9th century, when it appeared as a secret revolutionary organization carrying on intensive missionary efforts in many regions of the Muslim world. In the area of al-Kūfa its propaganda was spread from about the year 264/877-8 by Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ [*q.v.*], who was later aided by his brother-in-law ʿAbdān [*q.v*]. Ḥamdān's followers were named after him Ḳarmaṭī, a name which came to be applied derogatorily also to other sections of the movement. In the area of al-Rayy the mission was started about the same time by Khalaf, whose followers became known as the Khalafiyya. In Fārs a brother of ʿAbdān was active. In Khurāsān Nīshāpūr and later Marw al-Rūdh became centres of Ismāʿīlī activity (see S. M. Stern, *The early Ismāʿīlī missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 56-90). A convert of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*], one of the *dāʿī*s of Khurāsān and Transoxania, was the first to carry the propaganda to Sidjistān, probably in the early decades of the 4th/10th century. Presumably in the first half of the 4th/10th century, the Ḳufṣ tribe in Kirmān was converted by *dāʿī*s from Khurāsān. In the Yemen two missionaries, ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl and Ibn Ḥawshab, known as Manṣūr al-Yaman [*q.v.*], in 268/881 established themselves in the area of the Djabal Maswar and succeeded in gaining strong tribal support. In 270/883 Ibn Ḥawshab sent his nephew al-Haytham as a missionary to Sind. Later he sent Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] to the Maghrib, where he arrived in 280/893 and won the support of the Kutāma Berber tribe in western Algeria, thus laying the foundation for Fāṭimid rule. In 286/899 Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī [*q.v.*], a follower of Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ and ʿAbdān, founded a Ḳarmaṭī state in al-Baḥrayn, from where he later conquered al-Ḳaṭīf, ʿUmān and al-Yamāma. The whole movement was centrally directed, at first probably from al-Ahwāz and al-Baṣra and later from Salamiyya in Syria. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was acknowledged as the imām, who had disappeared and was about to reappear as the Ḳāʾim and to rule the world. The leaders of the movement in the absence of the imām claimed the rank of *ḥudjdja*s [*q.v.*].

In the year 286/899, after the succession of the future Fāṭimid Caliph ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī to the leadership in Salamiyya, a schism split the movement, provoked by the claim of ʿUbayd Allāh to the imāmate for himself and his ancestors. Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ and ʿAbdān, who may have previously drifted slightly away from the doctrine propagated by the leadership, broke off their support. ʿAbdān consequently was murdered by a subordinate *dāʿī*, Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh [*q.v.*], who at first pretended to be loyal to the leadership. Zikrawayh and his sons organized the "Ḳarmaṭī" revolts among Syrian bedouin tribes from the year 289/902 until his capture and execution in 294/907. Doubts concerning Zikrawayh's loyalty, which soon turned out to be justified, induced ʿUbayd Allāh to leave Salamiyya for the journey which ended with his establishment as caliph in Raḳḳāda in 297/910.

Though information concerning the attitude of the various Ismāʿīlī groups following the split of the movement is scanty, the results can be summarized with some degree of probability as follows: The community in the Yemen at first remained faithful to ʿUbayd Allāh. ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, however, in 299/913 renounced his allegiance to him and made war on Ibn Ḥawshab, who remained loyal. After ʿAlī's death in 303/915 his party disintegrated rapidly. The *dāʿī*s in the Maghrib and probably in Sind, having been sent by Ibn Ḥawshab, also remained loyal. There are indications that the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān generally maintained its allegiance to ʿUbayd Allāh, who was able to appoint some *dāʿī*s there, but there were probably also counter-currents. The communities in ʿIrāḳ, al-Baḥrayn, and western Persia refused to recognize the Fāṭimid claim to the imāmate. Among the Ḳarmaṭīs of ʿIrāḳ ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, a nephew of ʿAbdān, continued the latter's work propagating the imāmate of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who would return as the Ḳāʾim. After 320/932 he was active in Baghdād. He and other *dāʿī*s in ʿIrāḳ ascribed their writings to ʿAbdān, thus stressing the doctrinal continuity. The *dāʿī*s of al-Rayy were in close contact with those in ʿIrāḳ and with the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn and like them were expecting the reappearance of the Mahdī-imām for the year 316/928. At least in the twenties of the 4th century (1030-9) they controlled the missions in Mosul and Baghdād. They worked successfully among the Daylamīs and won at least the temporary allegiance of Daylamī leaders like Asfār, Mardāwīdj and later of some rulers of the Musāfirid dynasty. The Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn, led by Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī, were predicting the appearance of the Mahdī-imām for the year 316/928. In 319/931 they accepted a Persian prisoner of war as the Expected One, and Abū Ṭāhir turned the rule over to him. The early disastrous end of the affair weakened the ideological vigour of the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn and their influence among the *dāʿī*s in ʿIrāḳ and Persia, but did not generally lead to an expansion of Fāṭimid influence. Soon afterwards the great revolt of the Khāridjī Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] under the Fāṭimid Caliphs al-Ḳāʾim and al-Manṣūr stifled any Fāṭimid activity among the eastern Ismāʿīlī communities. Only the fourth Fāṭimid, al-Muʿizz (341/953-365/975), was in a position to lead an intensive campaign to regain the allegiance of the schismatic Ismāʿīlīs. His efforts were partially successful, but failed in regard to the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn, whose hostility erupted, after the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969, in open warfare against the Fāṭimid armies. After concluding a peace with the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz in 369/979-80 and a severe defeat by a bedouin tribe in 378/988, the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn were reduced to a local power unable to exert any ideological influence beyond its boundaries. The movement still supporting the doctrine of the return of Muḥammad

b. Ismāʿīl rapidly disintegrated about the same time. The Ḳarmaṭī state in al-Baḥrayn survived until 470/1077-8. (See M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn*[2], Leiden 1886; idem, *La fin de l'empire des Carmathes*, in *JA* 9th ser. v (1895), 5-30; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen*, in *Isl.* xxxiv (1959), 34-88; S. M. Stern, *Ismāʿīlīs and Qarmaṭians*, in *l'Élaboration de l'Islam*, Paris 1961, 99-108).

In the time of al-Muʿizz a Fāṭimid vassal state was established in Multān in Sind. The Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* there succeeded before 348/959 in converting a local ruler. Multān became an Ismāʿīlī stronghold where the *khuṭba* was read in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph. This success probably strengthened the Fāṭimid cause also in the neighbouring regions, for in Mukrān the *khuṭba* was also read for the Fāṭimids about the year 378/988. The *dāʿī* Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī [*q.v.*], who supported the Fāṭimid doctrine at least from the time of al-Muʿizz on, probably was active in Sidjistān before his death in the second half of the 4th/10th century. In Djīruft in Kirmān a Fāṭimid *dāʿī* was residing toward the end of the 4th/10th century. The Ismāʿīlī state in Multān lasted until 401/1010-1, when Maḥmūd of Ghazna annexed the town, took its ruler prisoner and massacred many Ismāʿīlīs (see S. M. Stern, *Ismāʿīlī propaganda and Fāṭimid rule in Sind*, in *IC*, xxiii (1949), 298-307).

During the last years of the reign of al-Ḥākim (386/996-411/1021) extremist Ismāʿīlīs in Cairo began to proclaim the divinity of this Fāṭimid caliph. Their leadership soon passed to Ḥamza b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who became the founder of the Druze religious doctrine. The official Fāṭimid *daʿwa* organization remained adamantly opposed to this movement, although al-Ḥākim at times showed it favour. After al-Ḥākim's death it was persecuted by the Fāṭimid government and wiped out in Cairo, but succeeded in solidifying its hold over the mountainous regions in Syria which, with some modifications, became the permanent home of the Druze community. The Druze religion [see DURŪZ], though derived from Ismāʿīlī doctrine, transformed its basic ideas to such a degree as to be usually considered as falling outside the range of Ismāʿīlism.

In Ifrīḳiya the Ismāʿīlī communities were practically exterminated by popular riots after the accession of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, Zīrid vassal of the Fāṭimids, in 407/1016. The missionary efforts of the Fāṭimids during their residence in Ifrīḳiyya had achieved the conversion of only small groups of the urban population, while the masses, led by the Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ*, were solidly opposed to Fāṭimid rule and Shīʿism. Large numbers of Kutāma tribesmen, who traditionally furnished the main body of the Fāṭimid army, left for Egypt with the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz. Most of the leading *dāʿīs* also departed at that time. The Ṣanhādja tribe, which supported Zīrid rule, only superficially adhered to Ismāʿīlism. During the year 407/1016-7 the Ismāʿīlīs in al-Ḳayrawān, al-Manṣūriyya, al-Mahdiyya, Tūnis, Tripoli, and other towns were attacked and massacred by the populace with the countenance of the government. Sporadic massacres took place also during the following years. The Ismāʿīlī communities were thus extinguished long before al-Muʿizz in 440/1049 renounced his allegiance to the Fāṭimids and recognized ʿAbbāsid suzereignty (see H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, 143-9).

During the reign of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir (427/1036-487/1094) the Ismāʿīlī cause achieved new successes in the Yemen and India. In the Yemen the *daʿwa* after the death of Ibn Ḥawshab had suffered major setbacks and survived only precariously, though in the period 379/989-387/997 it had gained the allegiance and support of the Yaʿfurid amīr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳaḥṭān, ruler of Ṣanʿāʾ and conqueror of Zabīd from the Ziyādids. In 429/1038 ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, Fāṭimid *dāʿī* and founder of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty, rose in Masār in the Ḥarāz region. Through the activity of the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] Fāṭimid sovereignty came to extend over all of the Yemen and temporarily over other parts of Arabia like ʿUmān and al-Baḥrayn (see Ḥ. F. al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, Cairo 1955). The Ṣulayḥids also furthered renewed efforts at spreading Ismāʿīlism on the Indian subcontinent. Although parts of the Ismāʿīlī community in Sind evidently had survived the persecution under Maḥmūd of Ghazna and Ismāʿīlism seems to have been espoused by the Sūmra dynasty of local Hindu origin (see A. H. al-Hamdani, *The Beginnings of the Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in Northern India*, Cairo 1956), contacts with the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* faded. The Ismāʿīlīs in Sind may have drifted partially back to Hindu practices and beliefs. A new Ismāʿīlī community was now founded by Yemenite *dāʿīs* in the area of Cambay, Gudjarāt, which had close commercial ties with the Yemen. According to the traditional account an Arab *dāʿī*, ʿAbd Allāh, arrived with two Indian assistants in Gudjarāt in 460/1068, sent by the Yemenite chief *dāʿī* Lamak b. Mālik. Less than a decade later the existence of a flourishing Ismāʿīlī community is confirmed by official letters of the Fāṭimid chancery. This new Ismāʿīlī community remained closely tied to, and controlled by, the Yemenite *daʿwa* and was the nucleus of the modern Bohorā [*q.v.*] community.

After the middle of the 5th/11th century the Persian poet and philosopher Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] was active as a Fāṭimid *dāʿī* in Yumgān in the Upper Oxus area for over 15 years. Expelled from Balkh because of Ismāʿīlī activity, he came to Yumgān before 453/1061 and remained there until his death. Several of his extant philosophical and religious works were composed there. He became the founder and patron-saint of the Ismāʿīlī community of Badakhshān in the wider sense, though it may have been changed in composition by later Ismāʿīlī refugees (see W. Ivanow, *Problems in Nasir-i Khosraw's Biography*, Bombay 1956; A. E. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khcsrov i Ismailizm*, Moscow 1959).

In the last years of the reign of al-Mustanṣir the Ismāʿīlī cause in Persia was reinvigorated by the activity of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*]. After travelling widely and carrying on propaganda in various regions of the country, he seized the fortress of Alamūt [*q.v.*] in the mountains of Daylam in 483/1090, thus opening a new phase in the Ismāʿīlī activity in Persia. The clandestine missionary work to which the *daʿwa* in Persia had mostly been restricted was replaced by a policy of open revolt which, in the face of the overwhelming military strength of the Saldjūḳ government, was based on the seizure of impregnable mountain fortresses and spectacular political murder aimed at intimidating the enemy's leadership. In the following years other rock fortresses were occupied in the Elburz range. In 484 or 485/1091-2 Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ sent the *dāʿī* Ḥusayn Ḳāʾinī to Ḳuhistān to raise the revolt there. In short order the Ismāʿīlīs seized control of several towns in eastern Ḳuhistān, Ṭabas, Ḳāʾin, Zūzan, Tūn, and others. Another *dāʿī*, Abū Ḥamza, captured two castles near Arradjān in the border region between Fārs and Khūzistān. After the death of al-Mus-

tanṣir in 487/1094, a major split occurred in the Ismā'īlī movement concerning the succession to the imāmate. Al-Mustanṣir had originally designated his eldest son, Nizār [*q.v.*], as his heir. Later his youngest son, Aḥmad, found the support of the vizier al-Afḍal [*q.v.*], who after the death of al-Mustanṣir placed him on the throne with the title al-Musta'lī [*q.v.*]. Nizār fled to Alexandria, where he rose in revolt, was defeated, seized and immured. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and the Persian Ismā'īlīs upheld the right of Nizār to the succession and refused to recognize al-Musta'lī. In the absence of the imām, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ became the supreme chief claiming the rank of *ḥudjdja*. After his death the leadership continued with the rulers of Alamūt. Beginning with the fourth ruler, Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi 'l-salām* (557/1162-561/1166), they came to be recognized as imāms. Against numerous Saldjūḳ attacks the Nizārīs were able to hold and expand their territories in the Elburz mountains and Ḳuhistān. The fortress Shāhdiz near Iṣfahān, which they seized about the year 494/1100, was lost again in 500/1107. Some time afterwards the Nizārī fortresses near Arradjān were overcome. Among the Ismā'īlīs in Egypt and Syria there were also partisans of Nizār. In Egypt they were gradually suppressed. In Syria, which fell largely outside the Fāṭimid territory, they were soon organized by emissaries from Alamūt and and seriously rivalled the supporters of the Fāṭimid caliphate, especially in Damascus and Aleppo. The Djabal al-Summāḳ and surrounding area north of Ḥamāt soon became a stronghold of the Nizārīs. As in Persia they aimed at acquiring fortresses, but failed in their first attempts, and practised political murder. In 520/1126 Tughtagīn, ruler of Damascus, ceded to them the fortress of Bānyās on the frontier with the Franks and gave them official recognition in Damascus. His son Būrī in 523/1139 encouraged anti-Ismā'īlī rioting in Damascus in which the Nizārī community was virtually wiped out. The fortress of Bānyās was consequently surrendered by the Nizārīs to the Franks. Soon afterwards they achieved lasting success in the Djabal Bahrā' area west of Ḥamāt. In 527/1132-3 they acquired the fortress of Ḳadmūs, and other fortresses came into their possession during the following decade. Maṣyāf, the most important stronghold, was seized in 535/1140-1. The Syrian Nizārīs continued to be ruled by agents sent by the lords of Alamūt. The most famous one, Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān [*q.v.*] (557/1162-588/1192), showed signs of independence, and there are reports that agents were repeatedly sent from Alamūt to kill him. A complete break was avoided.

The imāmate of al-Musta'lī was recognized by most Ismā'īlīs in Egypt, many in Syria, and by the whole community in the Yemen and that in India dependent on it. A new schism developed, however, among the Musta'lian Ismā'īlīs after the assassination of al-Musta'lī's son and successor al-Āmir [*q.v.*] in 524/1130. Eight months before al-Āmir's death a son, al-Ṭayyib, had been born to him and had immediately been proclaimed as his heir. After al-Āmir's death his cousin 'Abd al-Madjīd was put on the throne in Cairo as regent, officially in expectation of the delivery of a pregnant wife of the late caliph Mention of the infant al-Ṭayyib was suppressed, and nothing is known about his fate. Four days later 'Abd al-Madjīd was overthrown and imprisoned by al-Afḍal Kutayfāt [*q.v.*], who declared the Fāṭimid dynasty deposed and proclaimed the sovereignty of the Twelfth Imām of the Imāmiyya. Kutayfāt was overthrown and killed in Muḥ. 526/Dec. 1131, and 'Abd al-Madjīd returned to the throne as regent. In Rabī' II 526/Feb. 1132 he was proclaimed imām with the caliphal title al-Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*]. The succession of al-Ḥāfiẓ, though in violation of the accepted rule that the imāmate could be inherited only by a direct descendant, was supported by the official *da'wa* organization in Egypt and accepted by the majority of the Musta'lian Ismā'īlīs in Egypt and Syria. They were known as the Ḥāfiẓiyya or Madjīdiyya. There were, however, some Musta'lian communities in Egypt and Syria which continued to support the rights of al-Ṭayyib and were known as Āmiriyya. In the Yemen most of the leaders of the established *da'wa* organization upheld the rights of al-Ṭayyib. Encouraged by the Ṣulayḥid queen al-Sayyida they founded the independent Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in the Yemen headed by a *dā'ī muṭlaḳ*. The first of these was al-Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā, who was succeeded in 546/1151 by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*]. The Ṭayyibī *dā'īs* worked successfully despite the fact that after the death of the Ṣulayḥid queen in 532/1138 they did not have the support of any of the rulers in the Yemen. The Ḥāfiẓī *da'wa* was supported by the Zuray'ids of 'Adan, who, beginning with Muḥammad b. Saba', were officially appointed Fāṭimid *dā'īs* in the Yemen, and by at least some of the Hamdānid rulers of Ṣan'ā' (see S. M. Stern, *The succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir, the claims of the later Fatimids to the Imamate, and the rise of Ṭayyibī Ismailism*, in *Oriens*, iv (1951), 193-255). There are no reports as to whether the Ḥāfiẓī *da'wa* ever had adherents in India. In any case the community in India, which continued to be closely tied to the Yemenite *da'wa*, soon was solidly Ṭayyibī.

The post-Fāṭimid period. Ḥāfiẓiyya: After the overthrow of the Fāṭimid caliphate in 567/1171 the Ḥāfiẓiyya, no longer enjoying official support, gradually disintegrated. Al-'Āḍid, the last Fāṭimid caliph, had appointed his son Dā'ūd as his successor with the title al-Ḥāmid li'llāh. Dā'ūd was generally recognized by the Ḥāfiẓīs as the imām after al-'Āḍid. He and all other members of the Fāṭimid family were permanently detained as prisoners by the Ayyūbids. As a result of a pro-Fāṭimid conspiracy in Cairo in 568/1172-3 many of the supporters of the deposed dynasty were exiled to Upper Egypt, which became a hotbed of pro-Fāṭimid activity. In 572/1176-7 a pretender claiming to be Dā'ūd found wide support in Ḳifṭ. When the real Dā'ūd died as a prisoner in Cairo in 604/1207-8, the Ḥāfiẓīs asked the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil for permission to mourn him in public. Al-Kāmil granted them permission, but used the occasion to arrest their *dā'īs* and confiscate their property. After Dā'ūd his son Sulaymān mostly seems to have been recognized as the imām. Sulaymān died without child as a prisoner in 645/1248, but some of his partisans claimed that he had a son who was hidden (see P. Casanova, *Les derniers Fāṭimides*, in *MIFAO*, vi (1897), 415-45). In 697/1298 a pretender appeared in Upper Egypt who claimed to be Dā'ūd b. Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd. Still later, about the year 723/1324, Ismā'īlīs are mentioned in 'Uṣfūn in Upper Egypt. In Syria a Ḥāfiẓī community is mentioned at the same time in the Baḳī'a mountains near Ṣafad. In the Yemen the Ḥāfiẓī cause also lost all official backing with the Ayyūbid conquest. The Ṭayyibī *dā'ī muṭlaḳ* 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd (d. 612/1215) still composed polemical treatises and poems against the "Madjīdiyya", but they were already becoming a rare minority.

Ṭayyibiyya [*q.v.*]: The insignificant Ṭayyibī communities in Egypt and Syria, known as Āmiriyya, are only rarely mentioned in the sources. Toward the end of the 6th/12th century there is a vague reference

to the presence of Āmiriyya in Egypt. In Syria a community of Āmiriyya is still mentioned about the year 723/1324 in the Baḳiʿa and Zābūd mountains near Ṣafad. These isolated communities probably did not survive much longer. Only in the Yemen and India could the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, under the undisputed leadership of the *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*, establish itself permanently. After Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī the position of *daʿi muṭlaḳ* remained among his descendants until 605/1209, when it passed to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad of the Banu 'l-Walīd al-Anf family, which was named after his ancestor Ibrāhīm al-Anf, who was a prominent supporter of the Ṣalayḥids and a descendant of the Umayyad al-Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān. It remained in this family, with only two interruptions in the 7th/13th century, until 946/1539. The traditional stronghold of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the Yemen was in the Ḥarāz [*q.v.*] mountains, though there were scattered communities in other parts of the country. The *dāʿīs* generally enjoyed the support, or at least protection, of the Hamdānids [*q.v.*], who permitted them to reside in Ṣanʿāʾ and later, in the 8th/14th century, in the fortress of Dhū Marmar. Their relations with the Ayyūbids and the Rasūlids were fair, but the Zaydī imāms were mostly hostile. The Zaydī pretender al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn expelled them from Dhū Marmar in 829/1426 after a prolonged siege, and they established their residence in the Ḥarāz mountains. The Zaydī Imām al-Muṭahhar b. Sharaf al-Dīn in the 10th/16th century relentlessly persecuted the Banu 'l-Anf and seems to have practically extirpated the family. The relations with the *daʿwa* in India remained close. There the Ṭayyibī community grew mostly undisturbed, though in the first half of the 9th/15th century persecution under the Sultanate of Gudjarāt resulted in mass conversions to Sunnism. In 946/1539 the position of *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* passed to an Indian, and after his death in 947/1567 the headquarters were transferred to Gudjarāt in India.

After the death of Dāʾūd b. ʿAdjabshāh, the 26th *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*, in 999/1591, the succession was disputed. While in India Dāʾūd Burhān al-Dīn was established, Dāʾūd b. Adjabshāh's representative in the Yemen, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan al-Hindī, claimed to have been designated successor by the deceased *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. The dispute was not resolved and led to the permanent schism between the Dāʾūdī and Sulaymānī factions which accepted separate lines of *dāʿīs*. Among the Sulaymānīs, whose cause had only few adherents in India, the position of *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* in 1050/1640 passed to the Yemenite Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Fahd of the Makramī [*q.v.*] family, in which it has remained since with few interruptions. The Makramī *dāʿīs* established themselves in Nadjrān [*q.v.*], where they were supported by the Banū Yām [*q.v.*]. Before 1131/1719 they conquered the Ḥarāz region in the Yemen and held it against all attempts of the Zaydī imāms to expel them. The Dāʿī al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1189/1775) conquered Ḥaḍramawt and unsuccessfully fought the rising Suʿūdī dynasty in Central Arabia. From Ḥarāz the Makramīs were expelled in 1289/1872 by the Ottoman general Aḥmad Mukhtār Pasha, who took their fortress ʿAttāra and treacherously killed the Dāʿī al-Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl Āl Shibām al-Makramī. The present *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the Sulaymānīs is Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Makramī, who succeeded his father in 1939 (see A. A. A. Fyzee, ***Three Sulaymānī Dāʿīs: 1936-1939***, in *JBBRAS*, xvi (1940), 101-4). Besides the Banū Yām in Nadjrān, the people of the Djabal Maghāriba in Ḥarāz are Sulaymānīs. In India the Sulaymānī *dāʿīs* are represented by *manṣūbs* residing in Baroda. Sulaymānīs live mainly in Bombay, Boroda, and Ḥaydarābād, Dekkan.

The Dāʾūdī *dāʿīs* after the split continued to reside in India, where the great majority of their followers live. The *daʿwa* generally was able to develop freely, though there was another wave of persecution under Awrangzīb (1044/1635-1118/1707). Since 1200/1785 the headquarters of the *dāʿīs* have been in Sūrat. The present *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* is Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn, who succeeded his father Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn in 1966. Dāʾūdī Ismāʿīlīs live chiefly in Gudjarāt, Bombay, and Central India. In Yemen there are Dāʾūdīs in the Ḥarāz region. (For minor secessions from the Dāʾūdīs [see BOHORĀS]).

Nizāriyya [*q.v.*]: The imāmate of the Nizārīs remained vested in the lords of Alamūt until the surrender of the fortress to the Mongol conqueror Hulāgū in 654/1256 and the consequent execution of the imām Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh. Practically nothing is known about the imāms following him. Later lists of the imāms differ widely concerning their names, number, and sequence. The list now considered official in the Āghā Khānī branch has come to be generally accepted only since the later 19th century. There are vague indications that the imāms after the fall of Alamūt resided in Ādharbāydjān. A split occurred in the line of imāms after Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, usually considered the son of Khurshāh, or his son Muʾmin-Shāh, who is omitted in some lists. One line continues with Ḳāsim-Shāh, the other with Muḥammad-Shāh. The Ḳāsim-Shāhī imāms in the latter part of the 9th/15th century resided in Andjudān, a village near Maḥallāt, where the tombs of some of them are preserved. From this time until the 19th century the imāms were usually affiliated to the Niʿmat Allāhī Ṣūfī order. After a lapse of nearly one and a half centuries there are further tombs of imāms in Andjudān dating from 1043/1634 to 1090/1680. It is unknown where the family lived in the intervening period. Imām Shāh Nizār, who died in 1134/1722 is buried in Kahak, a village near Andjudān (see W. Ivanow, *Tombs of some Persian Ismaʿili Imams*, in *JBBRAS*, xiv (1938), 49-62). In the time of Nādir Shāh (1148/1736-1160/1747) Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Beg moved to Shahr-i Bābak and acquired a winter residence in Kirmān. The imāms now rose from their previous obscurity to involvement in political life. Imām Abu 'l-Ḥasan Shāh was governor of Kirmān from 1169/1756 until his death in 1206/1791-2. His son Shāh Khalīl Allāh, who enjoyed the favour of the Ḳādjār Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, returned to Kahak and later moved to Yazd, where he was killed by a mob in 1232/1817. Khalīl Allāh's son, Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh Maḥallātī, was granted by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh the title Āghā Khān [*q.v.*], which has remained hereditary among his successors. After a vain attempt at gaining independent rule of Kirmān, Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh moved to India in 1259/1843 (see H. Algar, ***The Revolt of Āghā Khān Maḥallātī and the Transference of the Ismāʿīlī Imamate to India***, in *SI*, xxix (1969), 55-81). Bombay became the permanent seat of the imāmate. The present (1971) Āghā Khān, Karīm Khān, succeeded his grandfather, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, in 1957.

The branch of Muḥammad-Shāh apparently was closely associated with the Nizārī community in Daylam. In 776/1374-5 Khudāwand Muḥammad, who may be identical with Muḥammad-Shāh, gained possession of the fortress of Alamūt with the support of the local Nizārīs. He was consequently expelled and sought refuge with Tīmūr, who sent him

to confinement in Sulṭāniyya. The family continued to live in Sulṭāniyya until after 894/1489. Members of it, however, were repeatedly active among the Nizārīs in Daylam until the middle of the 9th/15th century. The most famous imām of the Muḥammad-S̲h̲āhī line, S̲h̲āh Ṭāhir Ḥusaynī Dakkanī, because of his religious following aroused the suspicion of the Ṣafawid S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl, was exiled to Kās̲h̲ān and later forced to leave Persia. In 928/1522 he came to Aḥmadnagar in the Dekkan, where he was instrumental in bringing about the proclamation of S̲h̲īʿism as the official religion by the ruler Burhān Niẓām S̲h̲āh. S̲h̲āh Ṭāhir probably died in 956/1549. His descendants lived in Aḥmadnagar and later in Awrangābād (see W. Ivanow, *A forgotten branch of the Ismailis*, in *JRAS*, 1938, 57-79). The last imām of this branch, so far as is known, was Amīr Muḥammad Bāḳir, whose last contact with his Syrian followers was in 1210/1796. As well as in Daylam, the Muḥammad-S̲h̲āhī line had supporters in Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān and the Kabūl area in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, though by the beginning of the 13th/19th century the Ismāʿīlīs there seem to have generally adhered to the Ḳāsim-S̲h̲āhī line. The community in Syria generally recognized the Muḥammad-S̲h̲āhī line. In a period of troubles contact with the Imām Muḥammad Bāḳir was lost after the year 1210/1796. In 1304/1887, after a vain search for descendants of Muḥammad Bāḳir, a section of the Syrian community recognized the Āg̲h̲ā K̲h̲ānī line. In 1957 about 30,000 Syrian Nizārīs, living in Salamiyya and the villages of al-K̲h̲awābī, adhered to the Āg̲h̲ā K̲h̲ānī line. About 15,000, known as D̲j̲aʿfariyya and living in Ḳadmūs, Maṣyāf, and some villages near Salamiyya, continued to adhere to the Muḥammad-S̲h̲āhī line (see ʿĀ. Tāmir, *Furūʿ al-s̲h̲ad̲j̲ara al-Ismāʿīliyya al-Imāmiyya*, in *al-Mas̲h̲riḳ*, li (1957), 581-612).

The Nizārī communities, widely dispersed territorially and partially separated by language barriers, developed largely independently of each other, especially after the fall of Alamūt. They were led by local leaders, *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* or *pīrs*, who alone could claim access to the hidden imāms The Syrian Nizārīs during the later Alamūt period continued to be ruled by Persian agents sent by the imāms. After the fall of Alamūt they at first preserved their political independence and joined the Muslim efforts to expel the Mongol invaders in 658/1260 from Syria, but later were gradually subdued by the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars I. By the end of the year 671/1273 Baybars controlled all their fortresses. The Ismāʿīlīs remained subjects of the Mamlūks and later of the Ottomans, paying a special tax. During the late 18th and the 19th centuries they were frequently involved in clashes with their neighbours, especially with the numerically stronger Nuṣayrīs, who repeatedly occupied their fortresses. About the middle of the 19th century the Ismāʿīlīs restored the town of Salamiyya [*q.v.*] and settled the surrounding area east of Ḥamāt, where now approximately two thirds of the community live. The last Nuṣayrī attack and occupation of Ḳadmūs took place in 1920, causing much damage to property and manuscripts (see N. N. Lewis, *The Ismāʿīlīs of Syria today*, in *Royal Central Asian Studies Journal*, (1952), 69-77).

In Persia the Ismāʿīlī communities were decimated by massacres but survived after the surrender of Alamūt and the other fortresses in Daylam and Ḳuhistān. Alamūt was briefly reoccupied in 674/1275, but lost again in the next year. In the second half of the 8th/14th and the first half of the 9th/15th centuries it was repeatedly, though only for short spans of time, in Nizārī hands. The Nizārī community in Daylam was still a force in the local power struggle in this period, though it was usually on the defensive, especially against the Zaydī rulers of Lāhīd̲j̲ān. After this time it gradually disappeared. In Ḳuhistan small Ismāʿīlī communities have survived in the area of Ḳāʾin and Bīrd̲j̲and. Other Nizārī communities are found in the area of Nīs̲h̲āpūr in K̲h̲urāsān, around Kirmān, in Sīrd̲j̲ān and the D̲j̲abal Bāriz, and in the area of Maḥallāt and Yazd.

The Ismāʿīlīs of the Upper Oxus region seem to have accepted the Nizārī imāmate before the end of the Alamūt period, though the exact date and circumstances are unknown. Local tradition in S̲h̲ug̲h̲nān [*q.v.*] mentions two *dāʿīs*, Sayyid S̲h̲āh Mālang and S̲h̲āh K̲h̲āmūs̲h̲, who were sent by the imām and became the founders of the dynasties of *pīrs* and *mīrs* ruling S̲h̲ug̲h̲nān. In 913/1507-8 S̲h̲āh Raḍiyy al-Dīn, who is perhaps to be identified with the imām of the Muḥammad-S̲h̲āhī line of that name, the father of S̲h̲āh Ṭāhir Dakkanī, came from Sīstān to Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān and with the support of the local Ismāʿīlīs established his rule over large parts of the region. In consequence of quarrels among his supporters he was killed in spring 1509. In the 11th/17th century another imām of the Muḥammad-S̲h̲āhī line, K̲h̲udaybak̲h̲s̲h̲, seems to have taken up residence in Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān and died there in 1074/1663-4. The Ismāʿīlī communities continued to be guided by local dynasties of *pīrs*. There are Nizārī communities recognizing the Āg̲h̲ā K̲h̲āns also in the area of G̲h̲azna, in Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza, where they are known as Mawlāʾīs, and in the area of Yārkand and Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar.

The date and circumstances of the introduction of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in India are obscure. A continuity of Ismāʿīlī activity in Sind, especially the Multān area, ever since the early *daʿwa* there, is attested by sparse notices in the sources. In the first half of the 7th/13th century this activity extended to Dihlī. It may at this time well have been inspired by emissaries of the imāms of Alamūt, but definite evidence is lacking. The first *pīrs* mentioned in the religious literature of the Indian Nizārīs cannot be dated with any degree of certainty. The shrine of the earliest one, Satgur Nūr, is in Nawsari in Gud̲j̲arāt, where the religious texts place his activity. The presence of non-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs in Gud̲j̲arāt is vaguely attested for the first half of the 7th/13th century. Pīr S̲h̲ams al-Dīn according to the texts came from Persia to Sind and became the founder of the dynasty of *pīrs* there. If the traditional pedigree of *pīrs* is reliable, he may have lived in the first half of the 8th/14th century, as some sources suggest. Other sources date him one or two centuries earlier. His mausoleum is in Multān. Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn and Pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn of the 9th/15th century are buried near Uch, south of Multān. Ṣadr al-Dīn is traditionally considered the founder and organizer of the K̲h̲od̲j̲a [*q.v.*] community, which consists mostly of converts of the Hindu Lohana caste. Kabīr al-Dīn's son Imām-S̲h̲āh after about the year 875/1470-1 was active in Gud̲j̲arāt where he converted numerous Hindus.

Imām-S̲h̲āh died in 926/1520 and is buried in Pīrāna near Aḥmadābād. His son and successor Nar (Nūr) Muḥammad-S̲h̲āh (d.940/1533-4) repudiated the recognition of the imām in Persia and claimed the imāmate for himself, thus founding a separate sect whose adherents are known as Imām-S̲h̲āhīs or Satpanthīs. The sect later split further around different lines of *pīrs*. It has tended to revert toward Hinduism. Its followers, who are to be found chiefly in Gud̲j̲arāt

and Khandesh, consider themselves mostly as Imāmī Shī'īs or Sunnīs rather than Ismā'īlīs, though they recognize the Ismā'īlī imāms before the split (see W. Ivanow, *The sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat*, in *JBBRAS*, xxii (1936), 19-70). Other Nizārīs in Gudjarāt remained faithful to the imāms in Persia. The great majority of Nizārīs on the Indian subcontinent belong to the Khodja community. There are, however, other Nizārī groups, such as the Shamsīs, followers of Pīr Shams al-Dīn in Pandjāb and others. The Khodjas live chiefly in lower Sind, Cutch, Gudjarāt, Bombay, and in diaspora in East and South Africa, Ceylon, and Burma.

Doctrine. Pre-Fāṭimid and Fāṭimid times: Nothing definite is known about the doctrine of the early supporters of the imāmate of Ismā'īl and his son Muḥammad. Imāmī sources maintain that the Khaṭṭābiyya [*q.v.*], the followers of the extremist Shī'ī Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], constituted the bulk of the early Ismā'īliyya. Later Ismā'īlī doctrine, however, generally condemns Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and does not appear to be substantially influenced by the heresies ascribed to him and his followers (see W. Ivanow, *Ibn al-Qaddāḥ*, Bombay 1957). The *Umm al-kitāb* preserved by the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān, in which Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb appears as a saintly disciple of Imām Muḥammad al-Bāḳir and his sons are called the founders of Ismā'īlism, is a syncretistic compilation written not earlier than the beginning of the 4th/10th century and perhaps as late as the early Alamūt period. The ideas of the Shī'ī *ghulāt* [*q.v.*] represented in it are for the most part not specifically Ismā'īlī and evidently not derived from Ismā'īlī sources. The work thus must not be considered "proto-Ismā'īlī".

The doctrine propagated by the pre-Fāṭimid Ismā'īlī revolutionary movement of the second half of the 3rd/9th century can be derived in its outlines from later Ismā'īlī works and reports of anti-Ismā'īlī authors. It embodied already the basic framework of the later Ismā'īlī religious system, though it was consequently modified in some important respects. Fundamental was the distanction between the *ẓāhir* exterior or exoteric, and the *bāṭin* [see BĀṬINIYYA], inward or esoteric, aspects of religion. The *ẓāhir* consists in the apparent, generally accepted meaning of the revealed scriptures and in the religious law laid down in them. It changes with each prophet. The *bāṭin* consists in the truths (*ḥaḳā'iḳ*) concealed in the scriptures and laws, which are unchangeable and are made apparent from them by the *ta'wīl* [*q.v.*], interpretation, which is often of a cabalistic nature relying on the mystical significance of letters and numbers. These truths form a gnostic system comprising a cosmology and a cyclical hierohistory. At the basis of the pre-Fāṭimid cosmology was a myth, only imperfectly reflected in the later sources, according to which the divine imperative *kun*, consisting of the letters *kāf* and *nūn*, through duplication formed the two original principles *kūnī ḳadar*. *Kūnī* was the female and *ḳadar* the male principle. The seven letters of *kūnī ḳadar* were known as the seven higher letters (*al-ḥurūf al-'ulwiyya*), which are the archetypes of the seven messenger prophets and their revealed messages. From the two first principles proceeded three spiritual powers, *djadd*, *fatḥ*, and *khayāl*, identified with the three archangels Djibrā'īl, Mīkā'īl, and Isrāfīl, which mediate between the spiritual world and man in the physical world (on this triad see H. Corbin, *Le livre réunissant les deux sagesses*, Tehran-Paris 1953, *Étude préliminaire*, 91-112). The cyclical history progresses through seven eras, each inaugurated by an enunciator (*nāṭiḳ*) prophet bringing a revealed message. Each of the first six *nāṭiḳs*, Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, 'Īsā, and Muḥammad, was followed by a fundament (*asās*) or silent one (*ṣāmit*), who revealed the *bāṭin* of the message, and by seven imāms. The seventh imām in each era rises in rank and becomes the *nāṭiḳ* of the following era, abrogating the law of the previous *nāṭiḳ* and bringing a new one. In the era of Muḥammad, 'Alī was the *asās* and Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl the seventh imām. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl on his reappearance in the near future will become the seventh *nāṭiḳ*, the Ḳā'im or Mahdī [*q.v.*], and will abrogate the law of Islam. His message will, however, consist in the full revelation of the *bāṭin* truths without any *ẓāhir* law. He will rule the world and then end the physical world, sitting in judgment over humanity. During his absence he is represented by twelve *ḥudjdjas* residing in the twelve regions (*djazā'ir*) of the earth. The cyclical history was sometimes coupled with astrological speculations, and astrological predictions were made specifically concerning the date of the coming of the Ḳā'im.

Before the coming of the Ḳā'im the *bāṭin* must be kept secret and can be revealed to the neophyte only on swearing an oath of initiation with a vow of secrecy and on payment of a due. The initiation, known as *balāgh*, was no doubt gradual, but there is no evidence of a strictly fixed sequence of grades generally followed as described by anti-Ismā'īlī sources. Beneath the imām and the *ḥudjdjas* a hierarchy of *dā'īs* was in charge of the initiation and instruction (*da'wa* [*q.v.*]). Little is known about the actual organization of the *da'wa* in the pre-Fāṭimid and Fāṭimid age. The widely differing enumerations of the grades (*ḥudūd*) of the hierarchy given in Ismā'īlī religious texts serve mostly ideal functions and cannot be taken as corresponding closely to the actual organization (see W. Ivanow, *The organization of the Fāṭimid propaganda*, in *JBBRAS*, xv (1939), 1-35).

From about the beginning of the 4th/10th century onwards the early cosmology was superseded and partially replaced by a cosmology of Neoplatonic origin, apparently first propounded by the *dā'ī* al-Nasafī [*q.v.*]. In this cosmology God is described as absolutely beyond comprehension, beyond any attribute or name, beyond being and non-being. Through his divine Order or Volition (*Amr*) he originated (*abda'*) the Intellect (*'Aḳl*). The *'Aḳl* is the First Originated Being (*al-Mubda' al-Awwal*), since the *Amr* is united with it in existence From the Intellect the Soul (*Nafs*) proceeds through emanation. From the Soul proceed the seven spheres with their stars and move with its movement. Through the revolution of the spheres the single elements (*al-mufradāt*) or natures, humidity, dryness, cold, and warmth, are mingled to form the composites (*al-murakkabāt*), earth, water, air, and ether. As the composites mingle, the plants with the vegetative (*nāmiya*) soul develop From them the animals with the sensitive (*ḥissiyya*) soul develop, and from the latter, man with the rational (*nāṭiḳa*) soul. Al-Nasafī's cosmology was generally adopted in its essentials, though refined and elaborated by the later authors. Some minor points aroused controversy among them. The principles of the spiritual world in this cosmology were identified with terms of the religious sphere. Thus the Intellect in religious terminology was equated with the Pen (*Ḳalam*) and the Throne (*'Arsh*), and the Soul was identified with the Tablet (*Lawḥ*) and the Footstool (*Kursī*) etc. Much stressed were the analogies between the spiritual, astral, and physical worlds and between man as the

microcosm and the physical world as the macrocosm. The official Fāṭimid *daʿwa* apparently did not accept this cosmology until the time of the Caliph al-Muʿizz.

A somewhat different cosmological system was propounded by the *dāʿī* Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī [*q.v.*] (d. about 411/1021). Instead of the duality of the Intellect and the Soul his system comprises ten intellects in the spiritual world. The Soul is replaced by the Second Intellect or First Emanation (*al-Munbaʿith al-Awwal*), proceeding from the higher relation (*al-nisba al-ashraf*) of the First Intellect. The Third Intellect or Second Emanation and First Potential Being, proceeding from the lower relation (*al-nisba al-adwan*) of the First Intellect, is equated with matter and form (*al-hayūlā wa 'l-ṣūra*). From the First and Second Intellects proceed seven further intellects. The tenth one is the Active Intellect (*al-ʿAḳl al-Faʿʿāl*) or demiurge governing the physical world. The structure of the astral and the physical worlds and of the religious hierarchy were similarly modified by al-Kirmānī in close analogy to the spiritual world. The system of al-Kirmānī was not adopted by the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*. Only among the Ṭayyibīs in the Yemen did it replace the earlier traditional system.

Fāṭimid doctrine, because of the Fāṭimid claim to the imāmate, was forced to modify the early doctrine concerning the role of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the final imām and Mahdī and the restriction of the number of imāms to seven. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī at first radically broke with this earlier doctrine by asserting that the imām after Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ had been his son ʿAbd Allāh rather than Ismāʿīl and that the imāmate continued to be handed down among his descendants without restriction in number. Soon, however, attempts were made to accomodate the Fāṭimid claim to the imāmate with the earlier theory. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was again recognized as imām and as ancestor of the Fāṭimids. His return as the Ḳāʾim was sometimes interpreted spiritually, as being realized in the rise of the Fāṭimids, who would gradually fulfil the predictions concerning the Ḳāʾim. A second heptad of imāms, often called the deputies (*khulafāʾ*) of the Ḳāʾim, was admitted in the era of Muḥammad as a special privilege of the latter. The eschatological expectations in respect to the Ḳāʾim were to be fulfilled after the expiration of the second heptade of imāms. This theory also had to be abandoned as the Fāṭimid caliphate continued, though even then the eschatological events generally were expected in the near future (see W. Madelung, ***Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre***, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 43-135).

Fāṭimid doctrine, in contrast to the pre-Fāṭimid attitude which tended to depreciate the *ẓāhir*, invariably insisted on the equal importance of the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* and made every effort to suppress antinomian trends, which, however, often came to the surface among more radical Ismāʿīlī groups. The Ismāʿīlī *fiḳh* was elaborated chiefly by the Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] (d. 363/974), whose work *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* became the most authoritative exposition of it. Ismāʿīlī law agrees in general with Imāmī law, but does not permit the *mutʿa* [*q.v.*] temporary marriage and nullifies bequests to a legal heir except with the consent of the other heirs (see A. A A Fyzee, ***Compendium of Fatimid Law***, Simla 1969). In the ritual, Ismāʿīlī *fiḳh* also agrees generally with Imāmī doctrine (see R. Strothmann, ***Recht der Ismailiten***, in *Isl.*, xxxi (1954), 131-46). It gives, however, full authority to the imām for determining the beginning of a new month rather than requiring the sight of the new moon. In practice the beginning of the month was fixed by astronomical calculation. Thus it fell often one or two days earlier than for the other Muslims. This often led to friction in particular in respect to the beginning and end of the fasting month of Ramaḍān.

Post-Fāṭimid times. Ṭayyibī doctrine: The Ṭayyibī community in the Yemen and India preserved a large part of the Fāṭimid religious literature and retained the interest in the gnostic cosmology and cyclical history of the Fāṭimid age. Ṭayyibī doctrine, however, from the beginning adopted the cosmological system of al-Kirmānī in place of the traditional Fāṭimid system, and modified it by introducing a mythical "drama in heaven", first described by the second *dāʿī muṭlak* Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*], which profoundly shaped the Ṭayyibī gnosis. According to this myth, the two emanations from the First Intellect, the Second and Third Intellects, were rivals for the second rank after the First Intellect. As the Second Intellect reached this position by his superior efforts, the Third Intellect refused to recognize his superiority in rank. In punishment for this failure he fell from the third rank behind the following seven intellects and, after repenting, became stabilized as the Tenth Intellect and demiurge (*mudabbir*). The physical world was produced out of the spiritual forms (*ṣuwar*) which together with the Tenth Intellect refused to recognize the superiority of the Second Intellect and out of the darkness generated by this sin. The Tenth Intellect, also called the Spiritual Ādam (*Ādam al-Rūḥānī*), tries to regain his original rank by calling the fallen spiritual forms to repentance. The first representative of his *daʿwa* on earth was the First and Universal Ādam (*Ādam al-Awwal al-Kullī*), owner of the body of the *ibdāʿ* world (*al-djuththa al-ibdāʿiyya*), who opened the first cycle of manifestation (*dawr al-kashf*) and is distinguished from the Partial Ādam (*Ādam al-Djuzʾī*), who opened the present age of concealment (*dawr al-satr*). After his passing he rose to the horizon of the Tenth (Intellect) and took his place, while the Tenth rose in rank. Similarly the Ḳāʾim of each cycle after his passing rises and takes the place of the Tenth, who thus gradually rises until he will join the Second Intellect. Countless cycles of manifestation and concealment succeed each other until the Great Resurrection (*Ḳiyāmat al-Ḳiyāmāt*) which consummates the megacycle (*al-kawr al-aʿẓam*), sometimes specified to last 360,000 times 360,000 years.

The soul of each believer on his initiation is joined by a point of light, which grows as he advances in knowledge. On his passing it rises to join the soul of the holder of the rank (*ḥadd*) above him in the hierarchy. It continues to rise from *ḥadd* to *ḥadd* until it is gathered together with the souls of all other believers in the light temple (*haykal nūrānī*) in the shape of a human being which constitutes the form of the Ḳāʾim (*ṣūra Ḳāʾimiyya*) of his cycle, which then rises to the horizon of the Tenth. The souls of the unbelievers remain with their bodies, which are dissolved into anorganic matter which is consequently transformed into various harmful creatures and substances in descending order. Depending on the gravity of their sins they may eventually rise again through the ascending forms of life and as human beings may accept the *daʿwa* or end up in Sidjdjīn in torment lasting as long as the megacycle.

Continuing the Fāṭimid tradition Ṭayyibī doctrine

maintained the equal validity of the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* and repudiated antinomian trends. Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* remained the authoritative work of *fiḳh*.

Nizārī doctrine: Owing to the upheavals in the political history of the Nizārī communities, their wide dispersal, the language barriers between them, and the repeated loss of large parts of their religious literature, Nizārī doctrine is marked by major shifts in time and nearly completely independent local traditions.

Doctrine of Alamūt: The vigorous activism of the movement led by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ even before its break with the Fāṭimid caliphate was associated with a new preaching (*daʿwa djadīda*), most eloquently formulated, though perhaps not originated, by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ himself. The new preaching entailed an apologetic reformulation of the old Shīʿī doctrine of *taʿlīm*, *i.e.*, the authoritative teaching in religion, which could be carried out only by a divinely chosen imām in every age after the Prophet. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ reaffirmed the need for such a teacher as a dictate of reason and went on to prove that only the Ismāʿīlī imām fulfilled this need. In his argumentation he seems to have stressed the autonomous authority of each imām, independent of his predecessors, thus unwittingly authorizing the later shifts of doctrine. The doctrine of *taʿlīm* had a strong impact in the Sunnī world, as is reflected by its elaborate refutation by al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] and others.

A religious revolution took place under the fourth lord of Alamūt, Ḥasan *ʿalā dhikrihi al-salām* (557/1162-561/1166), who on 17 Ramaḍān 559/8 Aug. 1164 solemnly proclaimed the resurrection (*ḳiyāma*) in the name of the imām, whose *ḥudjdja* or deputy (*khalīfa*) he declared himself to be. In consonance with the Ismāʿīlī expectations concerning the *ḳiyāma* he announced the abrogation of the *sharīʿa*, which so far had been strictly enforced by the lords of Alamūt. The resurrection was interpreted spiritually as the manifestation of the unveiled Truth in the imām which actualized Paradise for the believers who could grasp it, while it condemned the non-Ismāʿīlī opponents to spiritual non-being, *i.e.*, Hell. After the murder of Ḥasan by a brother-in-law opposed to the abolition of the *sharīʿa*, the doctrine of the *ḳiyāma* was further elaborated by his son and successor Muḥammad (561/1166-607/1210). Ḥasan before his death seems to have hinted that he himself was the imām at least spiritually. Muḥammad now maintained that his father had been the imām also by physical descent, apparently alleging that he was the son of a descendant of Imām Nizār who had secretly found refuge in Alamūt. The line of imāms thus continued through Ḥasan and Muḥammad in the lords of Alamūt. Muḥammad put the imām, and specifically the present imām, at the centre of the doctrine of the *ḳiyāma*. The resurrection consisted in viewing God in the spiritual reality of the imām. This doctrine entailed the exaltation of the imām over the prophet, which became characteristic of Nizārī thought. At the same time a new figure, the imām-ḳāʾim, was introduced in the cyclical history. The imām-ḳāʾim in the various eras was identified as Melchizedek (Malik al-Salām), Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, Khiḍr, Maʿadd, and, in the era of Muḥammad, as ʿAlī. He was recognized by the prophets in each era as the locus of the divinity. In the *ḳiyāma* the imām-ḳāʾim, i.e., the present imām, who is identical with ʿAlī, appears openly in his spiritual reality to the believer, who in his spiritual relationship to the imām is identical with Salmān [*q.v.*]. The ranks of the teaching hierarchy intervening between the imām and the believer have, also in agreement with the Ismāʿīlī expectations concerning the *ḳiyāma*, faded away. There are only three categories of men left: the opponents (*ahl al-taḍādd*) of the imām who adhere to the *sharīʿa*, the ordinary followers of the imām or people of gradation (*ahl al-tarattub*), who have gone beyond the *sharīʿa* to the *bāṭin* and have found partial truth, and the people of union (*ahl al-waḥda*), who see the imām in his true nature discarding all appearances and have reached the realm of full truth. The *ḳiyāma* doctrine was clearly influenced by Ṣūfī ideas and terminology and prepared the way for the close relationship between later Nizārī Ismāʿīlism and Ṣūfism.

The *ḳiyāma* doctrine was repudiated by Muḥammad's son and successor Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (607/1210-618/1221), who proclaimed his adherence to Sunnī Islam, publicly cursed his predecessors, and imposed the Sunnī *sharīʿa* on his followers, inviting Sunnī scholars to instruct him. As he continued to be considered by them as the imām, his orders were accepted without opposition. There is evidence that at least before his death he acted towards his followers again in the fashion of an Ismāʿīlī imām. Under his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (618/1221-653/1255) the enforcement of the *sharīʿa* was relaxed, though it was not officially abolished. The adjusted doctrine which now was developed to explain the new religious situation is expounded in the contemporary Ismāʿīlī works of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*]. The reimposition of the *sharīʿa* by Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan was interpreted as a return to precautionary dissimulation (*taḳiyya*) and a new period of concealment (*satr*), when the truth is hidden in the *bāṭin*, in contrast to the preceding period of *ḳiyāma*, when the unveiled truth was apparent and available to all. The *ḳiyāma* proclaimed by Ḥasan *ʿalā dhikrihi 'l-salām*, coming at about the middle of the millenium of the era of the Prophet Muḥammad, was merely anticipatory of the final *ḳiyāma* at the end of it. In the era of Muḥammad periods of *satr* and *ḳiyāma* may alternate according to the decision of each imām, since every imām is a potential imām-ḳāʾim. The state of spiritual union (*waḥda*) in the time of *satr* is restricted to the *ḥudjdja* of the imām, who partakes of the divine Support (*taʾyīd*) and possesses the truth of the imām, with whom he is consubstantial. The *ahl al-tarattub* are divided into the strong (*aḳwiyāʾ*) and the weak (*ḍuʿafāʾ*) according to their closeness to the truth.

Conditions in the post-Alamūt period favoured the adoption of Ṣūfī ways of life by the imāms and their followers also externally. Ismāʿīlī ideas were often camouflaged in Ṣūfī forms of expression, especially in poetry. Doctrinal works were written again from the 9th/16th century on, at a time when the victory of Shīʿism in Persia permitted the Nizārīs and their imāms to act somewhat more openly. The doctrine of the late Alamūt period as expressed by Nāṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī was essentially retained. Works of the Fāṭimid age, which still influenced al-Ṭūsī, were no longer available. Interest in the Ismāʿīlī cosmology and cyclical history waned. The role of the *ḥudjdja* as the revealer of the spiritual truth and only access to the essence of the imām, already stressed by al-Ṭūsī, was further elaborated.

A special literary tradition within Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in Persian was retained by the community of Badakhshān. Although many works of the Alamūt and post-Alamūt period found their way there, the community remained particularly attached to the works, genuine and spurious, of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Fāṭimid doctrine in the adaptation of Nāṣir, including the Fāṭimid cosmology, thus maintained their influence. The community of Badakhshān also transmitted and revered the *Umm al-kitāb* representing largely non-Ismāʿīlī thought.

Syrian Nizārī literature, written in Arabic, developed independently of the Persian literature, even during the Alamūt period. Persian works were not translated into Arabic or vice-versa. The Syrian community preserved a substantial selection of Fāṭimid religious literature, partially different from those preserved by the Ṭayyibīs. Even though the *ḳiyāma* was proclaimed, apparently with some delay, in Syria, the *ḳiyāma* doctrine had practically no impact there. The scholarly doctrine continued mostly in the Fāṭimid tradition. Syrian doctrinal works, while concentrating on the traditional cosmology and cyclical history, virtually ignore the current imām, the central figure in the Persian Alamūt and post-Alamūt doctrine. In religious literature of a popular type Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān is extolled as a saintly hero and his cosmic rank is described in terms appropriate to the imām. Much of the Syrian Ismāʿīlī literature was destroyed later during the feuds with neighbouring communities.

Among the Khodjas Ismāʿīlī literature, both Persian and Arabic, has been virtually unknown. Only a single Persian work, the *Pandiyāt-i Djavānmardī* containing a collection of religious and moral admonitions of the Nizārī Imām al-Mustanṣir (end of the 9th/15th century), was accepted as a sacred book, perhaps a century after his death. The traditional religious literature of the Khodjas and the Imām Shāhis is known as Satpanth [*q.v.*] literature, Sat Panth, *i.e.*, True Path, designating the religion preached in it. It consists of numerous writings in verse form, called *gnans*, written in, or translated into, several Indian languages. Most of them are ascribed to the medieval *pīrs*, but cannot be dated exactly and probably have undergone changes in the transmission. They contain hymns, moral and religious instruction, legendary histories of the *pīrs*, and descriptions of their miracles, but no formulated creed or theology. Their religious content is a mixture of Islamic and Hindu, especially popular Tantric, elements. While idol worship is condemned, Hindu mythology is accepted. ʿAlī is described as the Tenth Avatar or incarnation of the deity, and the imāms are identical with him. The Ḳurʾān is considered the last of the Vedas, which are viewed as holy scriptures whose true interpretation is known to the *pīrs*. The religious role of the *pīr* or *guru* is extolled. Acceptance of the true religion will free the believer from further rebirths and open Paradise for him, which is described in Islamic terms, while those failing to recognize the imāms must pass through another cycle of rebirths. The traditional Ismāʿīlī cosmology, cyclical history, and hierarchy are unknown (see W. Ivanow, *Satpanth*, in *Collectanea* I (The Ismaili Society), Leiden 1948, 1-54).

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(W. MADELUNG)

ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, town in Egypt on the western bank of the Suez Canal and on the northern shore of Lake Timsāḥ. The town originated from huts of workers and engineers engaged in excavating the Suez Canal. Its foundations were laid by the Inspector General of the Suez Canal Company on 27 April 1862. After the succession of the Khedive Ismāʿīl to the throne on 18 January 1863 it was called Ismāʿīliyya. In 1864 a network of streets and quarters, a central square (*maydān*), a government building (*sarāy*) and a pump for water-supply were established, and in 1868 the town was connected to the Egyptian railway network. When the digging of the Canal was completed, most of the personnel engaged on it moved to Port Saʿīd, and from 1870 onwards the number of Ismāʿīliyya's inhabitants was unchanged (about 3,000) for almost two decades. From the 1890s the town grew steadily tc more than 15,000 inhabitants after World War I and more than 50,000 after World War II. From World War I until the final evacuation of British troops in the 1950s, a large British army and airforce base was situated near Ismāʿīliyya, and many foreign residents dwelt in the town. In 1928 Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*] founded in Ismāʿīliyya the movement of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn [*q.v.*]. After the unilateral abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 in October 1951, Ismāʿīliyya became the scene of frequent clashes between British troops and Egyptian police, culminating in a six-hour battle on 25 January 1952. This resulted, one day later, in the Cairo riots known as "black Saturday".

Until 1960 Ismāʿīliyya formed part of the Canal Governorate, but in that year it became the centre of a separate province (*muḥāfaẓa*) which included al-Ḳanṭara to the north and al-Tall al-Kabīr to the west. In 1966 the number of inhabitants of Ismāʿīliyya province amounted to 344,789, of whom 162,370 dwelt in rural settlements (*rīf*) and 182, 419 in urban ones (*ḥaḍar*). After the war of June 1967 most of Ismāʿīliyya's inhabitants left the city or were evacuated.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, viii, Cairo 1305, 59; H. de Vaujany, *Alexandrie et la Basse-Égypte*, Paris 1885, 245; Population censuses of Egypt, 1897-1966; *al-Ahrām*, October 1951-January 1952, and 26 July 1965.

(G. BAER)

ISNA, Arabic name of a town in Upper Egypt (Egyptian Te-snet, Coptic Sne; Greek Latopolis, from the fish Latos worshipped there; in European accounts Esne, Esnèh), lying on the left bank of

the Nile halfway between Luxor and Edfu. It was for a time the capital of a *mudīriyya*, and is now a *markaz* in the *mudīriyya* of Ḳinā' [*q.v.*], with over 20,000 inhabitants. It is celebrated for the ruins of the temple of the god Chnum, which dates from the Ptolemaic period, in which a number of Roman emperors are depicted in the garb of the Pharaohs. In the Muslim period Isna was a flourishing provincial town. According to Edfūwī quoted by Maḳrīzī the town had 10,000 houses, and produced annually 40,000 *irdabb* of dates and 10,000 *irdabb* of *zabīb*. At the present time blue cotton fabric used throughout Egypt is woven there.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 265 f.; Maḳrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, i, 237; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte*, 172; A. Boinet Bey, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1899, 183. The most detailed account, which also takes account of economic conditions, is ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ Djadīda*, viii, 59. See also Baedeker, *Egypt*[8]; Guide Bleu, *Égypte*, 1956, 439-40. (H. Ritter)

ISNĀD, chain of authorities, an essential part of the transmission of a tradition. Little need of this was realized in the earliest times, but as the first century of Islam advanced, the need for stating one's authority developed. The collections of traditions which were compiled mainly in the 3rd/9th century onwards give complete *isnāds*.

See al-djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl and ḥadīth. Add to the Bibliographies Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, London 1966, chap. 3 *passim* and Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri II, Qur'anic commentary and tradition*, Chicago 1967, see Index. (J. Robson)

ISPAHBADH, Persian, "army chief", the Islamic form of a military title used in the pre-Islamic Persian empires and surviving in the Caspian provinces of Persia down to the Mongol invasions.

In Achaemenid times the *spādhapati* was the commander-in-chief of the army. In the Arsacid period, the office of *spāhpat* was apparently hereditary in one of the great Parthian families; the Armenian geographer Moses of Choren (8th century A. D.) says that when Koshm or Komsh, daughter of King Arshavir (sc. Phraates IV) married the commander-in-chief of the Parthian army, their descendants acquired the name of Aspahapet Pahlav (see Marquart in *ZDMG*, xlix (1895), 635-9; idem, *Ērānšahr*, 71-2; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], 104). The term was in fact twice borrowed into Armenian: once in Arsacid times from the Old Persian, giving (*a*)*sparapet*, and again in early Sāsānid times from the Middle Persian form, giving *aspahapet* (which in the Armenian version of the Book of Genesis translates the Greek ἀρχιστράτηγος "supreme commander") (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, 22-3, 240). In the Byzantine historians of the Persian wars, M. Pers. *spāhpat* is rendered as ἀσπαβέδης. The military title even travelled as far as Eastern Turkestan, and comes into the Saka language of Khotan as *spāta*, later form *spā* (H. W. Bailey, *Indo-Scythian studies. Khotanese texts iv*, Cambridge 1961, 7, 55); it does not, however, appear to be attested in Soghdian.

In the early Sāsānid period there was a supreme military overlord and war minister, the *Ērān-spahpat* "commander-in-chief of all the realm"; but one also finds *spahpat*s appointed for specific regions, e.g. for the Sawād of Mesopotamia (Christensen, *op. cit.*, 130). After the Emperor Kawādh was forced to humble his over-mighty subject, the *Ērān-spahpat* Zarmihr or Sūkhrā, his son and successor Khusraw Anūshirvān introduced certain military reforms, whereby instead of one all-powerful commander, there were to be four *spahpat*s, one for each of the quarters of the empire, north, east, south and west. In the table of precedence in the Sāsānid empire given by Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, i, 202, the *Spahpat* comes after the chief minister (*Buzurg-framadhār*), the *Môbadhān-Môbadh*, the *Herbadhan-Herbadh* and the chief secretary (*Dibherbadh*); this seems to reflect the pre-reform position. The list in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 156, on the other hand, places the four *spahpat*s after the ministers of state and the *Môbadhān-Môbadh*; although Masʿūdī says that this was the position under Ardashīr, it obviously reflects that under Anūshirvān and afterwards (see Nöldeke-Ṭabarī, 139, 155-6, 444; Marquart, in *ZDMG* (1895), *loc. cit.*; Christensen, 336, 370-1). In the Armenian kingdom, the *Sparapet* or commander-in-chief occupied a similar high rank, and his office, the (*a*)*sparapetʿiun*, was hereditary in the Mamikonian family (see Hübschmann, 240; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 165-7).

At the time of the Arab invasion of Persia, the Sāsānid *Spahpat* of the East established himself in the Caspian fastnesses of Ṭabaristān, where he invited the fugitive Emperor Yazdigird III to take refuge (Christensen, 507). We now have the New Persian form *ispahbadh*, defined in the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, 420, as "Amīr" or "Amīr-Sipāhsālār". In Arabic this becomes *iṣbahbadh* (cf. Djawālīḳī, *al-Muʿarrab*, ed. Sachau, 99; *Lisān al-ʿarab*[1], v, 8; in *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, ii, 569, we have *iṣbahbadhān*, said to occur in a verse of Djarīr), or, more rarely, *iṣbāhbadh* (cf. Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, 101, tr. 109, following Marquart's correction of *anābadh*, the alleged title of the princes of Gurgān).

The Ispahbadhs of Gīlān are early mentioned in the Arabic accounts of the conquests. Thus in 22/643 Suwayd b. Muḳarrin wrote to al-Farrukhān "the Iṣbahbadh of Khurāsān over Ṭabaristān and the Djīl-i Djīlān" (Ṭabarī, i, 2659). Later in the century, the references become more frequent, e.g. in the story of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a's revolt (Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 329, years 78-9/697-9), and in that of ʿUmar b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt's revolt in Ray (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 395-6, year 83/702). Coins of these Ispahbadhs, with Pahlavi legends, appear shortly after this (see A. D. Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii (1879), 110-12; R. Vasmer, *EI*[1], art. *Māzandarān*, appendix on coins). These Ispahbadhs are those of the Dābūyid family (40-141/660-758), a parallel line of which formed the long-lived Pādhūspānid dynasty of Rūyān and western Ṭabaristān [see dābūya and bādūsbānids].

Another local line in the mountains of Ṭabaristān which used *Ispahbadh* as the title of its chiefs was that of the Ḳārinwand or Sūkhrāniyyān (572 to 225/839-40), who latterly recognized the Bāwandids (see below) as overlords. The last ruler of this line was the celebrated Māzyār b. Ḳārin [*q.v.*], who was executed during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim for plotting a Zoroastrian revolt, and who claimed to be "Djīl-i Djīlān, Iṣbahbadh Khurāsān, al-Māzyār, Muḥammad b. Ḳārin, Muwālī (*sic*, not Mawlā) Amīr al-Mu'minīn" (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 277, tr. 81, cf. idem, *Historiae*, ii, 582, and Ṭabarī, iii, 1298).

Lastly amongst these Caspian dynasties, the Bāwandids of Ṭabaristān used the title of *Ispahbadh*. This family can be traced from the time of the Arab invasions till well after the Mongol conquests; the second of the three lines of the dynasty (466-606/1074-1210) is specifically known as that of the Ispahbadhiyya [see Bāwand]. As well as being thus used as a regnal title by the Bāwandids of the early 7th/13th century, we find *ispahbadh* used in this region

as a common noun meaning "local chieftain"; cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, *Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Iḳbāl, ii, 171, tr. Browne, 255, where Shams al-Mulūk Rustam II b. Ardashīr is greeted on his accession in 602/1206 by "the *iṣfahbadān*, the Bāwandān, the military leaders and the town notables".

However, the title was also known amongst the Daylamīs of the south-western corner of the Caspian, as well as in the south-eastern one; in the time of the Ziyārid Wushmagīr (mid-4th/10th century) there was an Ispahbadh of Mūghān, named as *pisar-i D. lūla* (A. Kasravī, *Shahriyārān-i gum-nām*, i, 57-8). During the first two centuries or so of Islam, the title also persisted to the east of the Caspian, on the northern and eastern marches of Khurāsān. The Ispahbadh of Balkh was amongst the local princes of Bādghīs and Ṭukhāristān who were persuaded by the Hephthalite Ṭarkhān Nīzak [see HAYĀṬILA] to throw off allegiance to Ḳutayba b. Muslim's Arabs in 90/709 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1206, 1218, cf. also 1300); and shortly afterwards, in 119/737, an Ispahbadh of Nasā, named as al-Ishkand (see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 142), acted as commander of the Khāḳān of the Western Turks' army against the Arabs (Ṭabarī, ii, 1597-8). An interesting usage of the term is in an inscription on the Kaʿba dating from 200/815-16 in al-Ma'mūn's Caliphate. This commemorates the forwarding to Mecca from Khurāsān of the captured throne of "the Iṣbahbadh Kābul-Shāh" (Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 158; *Répertoire*, i, 92-3, No. 116); but the usage of this title by the Kābul-Shāhs is not attested elsewhere. It also appears as the personal name of a Turkish slave commander of the Saldjūḳs: in 487/1094 or 488/1095 the Amīr Iṣfabadh b. Sāwtigīn al-Turkumānī expelled the ʿAlid governor of Mecca and held the city for a while (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 163; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl ta'rīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Amedroz, 130, cf. also 158).

Finally, one may note that in Georgian texts of the 6th/12th century, the loanword *spaspeti* "commander-in-chief" < *ispahbadh* is used as a synonym for *amir spaslari* (see the Georgian Academy of Sciences' *Dictionary of Georgian*, ed. A. S. Chikobava, Tbilisi 1950, vi, col. 1134; M. Andronikashvili, *Studies in Iranian-Georgian linguistic contacts*, Tbilisi 1966, 371-2; and also ISPAHSĀLĀR).

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ISPAHSĀLĀR, SIPAHSĀLĀR, Persian, "army commander", Arabized form *isfahsalār*, *iṣbahsalār*: the title given to commanders-in-chief and general officers in the armies of many states of the central and eastern mediaeval Islamic world. On the component *sālār* and its Middle Persian origins, see SĀLĀR. The compound *spāhsālār* is already attested in Pāzand (i.e. Middle Persian transcribed from Pahlavi into Avestan script), e.g. in the 9th century *Shkand-gumānik vičār* (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 235).

i. THE ISLAMIC WORLD EXCEPTING INDIA

The Ispahsālār as a military leader appears to be the Islamic counterpart of the Sāsānid *Spāhpat* "commander-in-chief", the New Persian derivative *Ispahbadh* having in Islamic times a restricted application as the regnal title of certain Iranian families in the Caspian provinces and in certain localities of Khurāsān [see ISPAHBADH].

The use of the term *Ispahsālār* became widespread during the 4th/10th century as a concomitant of the political and military upsurge of Daylamī and other Iranian peoples. Amongst the Būyids, the Arabic sources normally use Arabic expressions like *Ḥādjib al-Ḥudjdjāb*, *al-Ḥādjib al-Kabīr* or *Ṣāḥib al-Djaysh* for the supreme commander of the Būyid army [see ḤĀDJIB. iii. Eastern dynasties], but *Ispahsālār* was also used and carried with it an especial honour. Thus in 360/971, ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār conciliated the Turkish slave general Sebüktigīn al-Muʿizzī by ordering, amongst other things, that he should be addressed as "Isfahsalār"; after this commander's death, Bakhtiyār in 364/974-5 offered the title to the general Alptigīn, leader of his rebellious Turkish troops (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ii, 258, 293, tr. v, 273, 314; Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Rasā'il*, Beirut 1899, 263; see also instances in Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse*, iii, 81, 107, tr. vi, 82, 111). But as disorder grew in the Būyid provinces under ʿAḍud al-Dawla's weaker successors, the title became debased, and as appears from several citations in the sources it came merely to mean "commander" or even just "officer" as distinct from the rank-and-file; cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, viii, 72: *djamāʿa min al-ḳuwwād wa'l-iṣbahsalāriyya*, and on the whole topic of Būyid usage, M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, 137-9.

Amongst other dynasties of the east, however, the title usually retained its original, more exalted meaning. It is attested in this sense for the Ṣaffārid army of Khalaf b. Aḥmad's time (reigned 352/963-393/1003), and is distinguished in the sources from the *Ḥādjib al-Ḥudjdjāb*, who may have been the commander of the slave troops only (C. E. Bosworth, *The armies of the Ṣaffārids*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 547 n. 52). The Turkish dynasties who established themselves in the eastern and central lands of the Caliphate from the end of the 4th/10th century onwards adopted the existing Arabic and Persian military terminology just as they adopted much of the existing administrative practice. In Ghaznavid usage, *Sipahsālār* alternates with Arabic equivalents for "supreme commander" like *Ḥādjib al-Ḥudjdjāb* and *al-Ḥādjib al-kabīr* and with the Turkish one *Sübashi*, and these are used, for example, to denote the commanders-in-chief of the armies in Khurāsān or India; the simple term *sālār* or *ḥādjib* apparently denoted a step lower, that of "commander" or "general officer". Yet the compound and simple terms are both used for the commanders of special component divisions of the army as a whole; we hear of the commander of the Indian troops, the *Sipahsālār-i Hindūyān*, and the *Sālār* of the *ghāzīs* or volunteer fighters on the frontiers, this latter officer being normally stationed at Lahore, convenient for raiding into India (C. E. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 44).

Great Saldjūḳ military terminology frequently employed such expressions as *Ispahsālār-i Buzurg* or *Amīr-i Ispahsālār* for the commander-in-chief of the

whole Saldjūḳ forces (cf. İ. Kafesoğlu, *Sultan Melikşah devrinde büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu*, Istanbul 1953, 158), or else for the commander of the army in an important region like Khurāsān (cf. Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, 56). These phrases were further used as general terms for "commander, general officer", alternating with such expressions as *Amīr al-umarā'*, *Amīr-i amīrān*, *Amīr-sālār*, *Muḳaddam al-djaysh*, *Sübashi*, etc.; this diversity of nomenclature was handed on to the Saldjūḳs of Rūm in the 7th/13th century (cf. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 59-60). The *Amīr-i Ispahsālār* often appears in official letters and investiture diplomas emanating from both the Great Saldjūḳs and their eastern neighbours and initial vassals, the *Khwārazm-Shāhs*. This title was usually conferred on a newly-appointed *Shiḥna* [*q.v.*], military governor or commander of the police. One document in Muntadjab al-Dīn Djuwaynī's *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. Ḳazwīnī and Iḳbāl, Tehran 1329/1950, 74 ff., emanating from Sandjar's chancery, describes how both the deceased amīrs ʿImād al-Dīn Ḳamač and his son ʿAlā' al-Dīn Abū Bakr were amīrs of Khurāsān with the title of *Amīr-i Isfahsālār*; this designation and the governorship of the Balkh region are now conferred on Abū Bakr's son ʿImād al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ. Especially interesting is the detailing of the insignia of a *Sipahsālār* and *Ṣāḥib-ṭaraf* (i.e. the governor of a strategically-situated frontier province): distinctive official robes; a horse with special saddle and accoutrements; a jewelled collar; a shield and sword-belt; the right to a salute of kettledrums in the military encampments; a standard; a tent of regal dimensions; etc. (see also H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 116).

A peculiar expression found in the military titulature of the Khwārazm-Shāhs is that of *Ḳīr Isfahsālār*, apparently meaning "commander of a *thaghr* or frontier region" (*ḳīr*, Turkish "frontier region", roughly synonymous with *uč*, see Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 324-5: *ḳīr* "uncultivated, vacant land"). In 594/1198 at Hamadhān, the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish made his general Mayačuḳ or Mayančuḳ governor of ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī, and amongst his titles were those of "Ulugh Ḥādjib, Ghāzī, Ḳīr Isfahsālār" (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 396-7). Amongst the line of Atabegs of Yazd founded by Rukn al-Dīn Sām (d. 590/1194), we find *Isfahsālār* as the personal name of the fourth of the family to rule, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr Isfahsālār (Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad Djaʿfarī, *Ta'rīkh-i Yazd*, ed. I. Afshār, Tehran 1338/1960, 23 ff.).

Use of the title was in the Mongol period somewhat eclipsed by the popularity of Mongol and Turkish military terminology, but it never went entirely out of use. In particular, we find it very much alive during the Mongol and Il-Khānid periods in the Caspian provinces, which were conservative in their usages and often pursued a path divergent from that of the major part of Persia. Many references to the title in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, and to the office of *sipahsālārī*, can be found in such local histories of Gīlān and Daylam as Ẓāhir al-Dīn Marʿashī's *Ta'rīkh-i Gīlān u Daylamistān*, ʿAlī Lāhidjī's *Ta'rīkh-i Khānī* and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūmanī's *Ta'rīkh-i Gīlān*. The title persisted, too, into Ṣafawid times, although the question of the position and powers of the *Sipahsālār* becomes extremely complex and confused at this time. It does not appear in the earliest Ṣafawid period at all, when it was the *Amīr al-Umarā'* who was commander-in-chief of the Ḳizilbāsh forces. It seems to have been revived during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I (996/1588-1038/1629), when we find a Georgian convert, Ḳarčaghāy Khān, as *Sipahsālār-i Īrān* in 1032/1622-3 and then finally becoming *Sipahsālār-i kull-i lashkar-i Īrān*, implying that the *Sipahsālār* was then superior to the *Ḳūrčībāshī* or commander of the remainder of the Ḳizilbāsh troops (Iskandar Munshī, *Ta'rīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, iii, 1039-40). Under ʿAbbās's successor Shāh Ṣafī I, there was the famous *Sipahsālār* Rustam Khān, governor of Tabrīz and *Beglerbegi* of Ādharbāydjān, executed in ʿAbbās II's reign. When the latter ruler dismissed his *Sipahsālār* ʿAlī Ḳulī Beg, ʿAlī Ḳulī's office was divided into that of the *Sardār* and the *Ḳūrčībāshī*. This fact supports Chardin's observation that the post of *Sipahsālār*, till then usually held by the *beglerbegi* or governor of Ādharbāydjān, was in his time (sc. 1664-77) abolished, and a *sardār* appointed *ad hoc* in times of war (cited in Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, introd., 36). Under the Ḳādjārs, *Sipahsālār-i Aʿẓam* appears as an honorific title granted to two high ministers during the second half of the 19th century. Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār was appointed minister of war, with the title of *Sipahsālār-i Aʿẓam*, in 1275/1858 (Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Marāghī, *al-Ma'āthir wa'l-āthār*, Tehran 1306-7/1889, 16, 29). The same honour was conferred on the Mushīr al-Dawla Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Ḳazwīnī when he in turn became minister of war in 1288/1871; it was he who built the Sipahsālār mosque in Tehran, next to the present Madjlis building, which was indeed originally his house. In present-day Iran the title is not in normal usage, H.I.H. the Shah being denoted, in his rôle as commander-in-chief of the Iranian Army, by such titles as *Farmāndih-i Kull*.

Usage of the title was in the mediaeval period by no means confined to the Iranian world, or even to the *Dār al-Islām*. It was probably Saldjūḳ influence which brought it into the Armenian vocabulary, where (*a*)*spasalar* "commander" occurs in the 12th-century historian Matthew of Edessa (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 239). Saldjūḳ example certainly explains how the term *Amir Spasalari* found its way into 12th- and 13th-century Christian Georgia; under Queen Tamara (1184-1212), this officer ranked as one of the four great ministers of state (cf. W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*, London 1932, 253, 260 ff.; the Georgian Academy of Sciences' *Dictionary of Georgian*, ed. A. S. Chikobava, Tbilisi 1950, i, col. 311: "minister of war, commander-in-chief"; M. Andronikashvili, *Studies in Iranian-Georgian linguistic contacts*, Tbilisi 1966, 371-2).

The prestige and military might of Iranian powers like the Būyids and Turkish-Iranian ones like the Great Saldjūḳs favoured the westwards spread of Persian military terminology. Ḳalḳashandī quotes Ibn al-Ṭuways as an authority on Fāṭimid administrative and military practice, that under the Fāṭimid Caliphs the commander-in-chief of the forces or Isfahsalār (a term which Ḳalḳashandī glosses as *Muḳaddam al-ʿaskar*) was equal in status to the Ṣāḥib al-Bāb or Wazīr al-Ṣaghīr, the Head Chamberlain [*q.v.*]; all questions of military organization came to these two officials (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 483, vi, 7). Historical and epigraphical sources demonstrate that amongst the Atabeg dynasties of 6th/12th century Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and then subsequently amongst the Ayyūbids, the title *Isfahsalār* and the abstract *isfahsalāriyya* "chief command" were extremely common. The Atabegs themselves used the title, and it was

further given to the commanders of provincial armies or town garrisons, especially when these were formed of mercenary troops (*ʿaskariyya*). Van Berchem's examination of Börid inscriptions indicated that the titles *al-Amīr al-Isfahsalār al-Adjall al-Sayyid al-Kabīr* were a set formula in the designation of these Atabegs of Damascus, from Ẓahīr al-Dīn Ṭughtigīn onwards; an interesting point is that though the lesser titles might be borne by subordinate members of the family, e.g. the Atabeg's *walī al-ʿahd* or heir, the exalted titles *al-Atabak* and *al-Isfahsalār* were reserved for the Atabeg himself. As examples of other leading figures of the period using the titles *al-Amīr al-Isfahsalār*, one may cite Aḳ Sonḳor al-Bursuḳī of Mosul; Shīrkūh when he was in the service of Nūr al-Dīn al-Zangī; the commander of Shīrkūh and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Ḳara Ḳush; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's commander Ḳaradja; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself as addressed in letters from Nūr al-Dīn; and by al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā's *Ustādh al-Dār* when he was governor of Ṣalkhat in the Ḥawrān, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak (M. van Berchem, *Épigraphie des Atabeks de Damas*, in *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, Paris 1909, 32-9; idem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*. i. *Égypte*, Paris 1903, 638-42, No. 458; idem, *Eine arabische Inschrift aus dem Ostjordanlande*, in *ZDPV*, xvi (1893), 85-6, corrected in *Matériaux*, i, 640-1; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 167, 193, 197, 327 and *passim*; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287-8/1870-1, i, 161; Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alḳāb al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1957, 156-7).

The title *Isfahsālār* and the *nisba* of *al-Isfahsalārī* both survived into the 7th/13th century and beyond amongst the Mamlūks of Syria and Egypt, the former term being found as a component in the titles of the great amīrs and the second term in their designations on objets d'art and in inscriptions (e.g. the inscription on the *madrasa* and mausoleum built in 715/1315 by the Amīr Sonḳor al-Saʿdī, see *Matériaux*, i, 733, No. 529). According to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, cited in *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 7-8, the honorific *al-isfahsalārī* was specially reserved for the *umarāʾ al-ṭablakhānāh*, but he goes on to say that its use had been abandoned in his own time (sc. the last decades of the 8th/14th century), perhaps because of the term's debasement, the common people were using the term *Isbahsalār* for all the guards around the sultan's circle.

Nevertheless, we still meet *Isfahsalār* in use as one of the titles of the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Yashbak, the *Dawādār* and commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, carved on his palace in 880/1475-6 (*Matériaux*, i, 452, No. 305).

This seems to be the end of its usage in the central lands of Islam. Although *sipahsālār* appears as a common noun in Ottoman sources, it was not a specific rank; in the Ottoman Empire the usual title of the commander-in-chief was Serdār or Serʿasker [*qq.v.*] (C. E. Bosworth)

ii. Muslim India

From Ghaznavid usage (see above), the term passed to the Ghūrids and thence to the Dihlī sultans in Muslim India. In the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries we can discern two or probably three usages of *Isfahsālār*. Firstly, it denotes the commander-in-chief of the Ghūrid army; in his inscription on the Ḳuwwat al-Islām mosque in Dihlī (587/1191), Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak describes himself as *Amīr-i Isfahsālār-i Adjall-i Kabīr* (J. Horovitz, *The inscriptions of Muḥammad Ibn Sām*, in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, Calcutta 1911-12, 13). Secondly, it denotes in the 7th/13th century an officer who in theory commanded 100 cavalry, that officer below the rank of amīr (see the description of the decimal chain of command in Baranī's *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, ed. Syed Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1862, 145); but in the 8th/14th century under the Tughluḳids, the *isfahsālār* had probably sunk to the command of 10 men only, the equivalent of a *sarkhayl* of the century before (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Indian section ed. and tr. into Urdu by K. A. Fariq, Delhi 1961, 24, 26; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 91-2). Finally, it seems to be a general term denoting "commander of high rank, general officer"; the historian ʿIṣāmī refers to his grandfather ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿIṣāmī, who was *ʿĀriḍ* or chief of military affairs and *Wakīl-i Dar* under Balban (later 7th/13th century), as *Sipahsālār* (*Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948, 447-8). By a curious coincidence, the maternal grandfather of the historian Baranī also held the office of *Wakīl-i Dar* [and] *Bārbak* in the same reign, and is called the Sipahsālār Ḥusām al-Dīn (Baranī, op. cit., 41). The title [*Sipah*] *Sālār* is given already in the early 8th/14th century to the warrior-saint Masʿūd Ghāzī of Bahrāič, who allegedly flourished in early Ghaznavid times; this title is probably meant in a general sense, unless it is a reminiscence of the Ghaznavid title *Sālār* given to the commander of the Indian *ghāzī*s (see above, and also ghāzī miyān). Under the Lodī sultans of Dihlī in the 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, *Sipahsālār* was possibly used in the sense of "general officer" (ʿAbbās Khān Sarwānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Sher Shāhī*, ed. S. M. Imām al-Dīn, Dacca 1964, i, 6).

In Mughal usage, the term *Sipahsālār* is sometimes applied to the Khānkhānān, being especially applicable when that officer took the field in the absence of his sovereign (see Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, ed. B. De, Calcutta 1931, ii, 425-6, and Kāmgār Ḥusaynī, *Maʾāthir-i Djihāngīrī*, B. M. Ms. Or. 171, ff. 117b, 120a). Similarly in the Deccan, the historian Firishta appears to use *Sipahsālār* as a synonym for *Amīr al-umarāʾ* (see *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta*, Kānpūr 1290/1874, 279). In the Sultanate of Bengal during the 9th/15th century, *Sipahsālār* was evidently used for "supreme commander". The Chinese interpreter Mahuan, who visited Bengal with a Chinese embassy in about 811/1408-9, remarks that "they have a standing army which is paid in kind, the commander-in-chief of which is called *Pa-szu-la-urh*" (G. Phillips, *Mahuan's account of the kingdom of Bengala*, in *JRAS* (1895), 532, also in N. K. Bhattasali, *Coinage and chronology of the early independent Sultans of Bengal*, Cambridge 1922, 171).

(S. Digby)

ISPARTA, town in south-west Turkey (Pisidia), situated at an altitude of 1025 m., in a fertile plain between Burdur and Egridir, the Apollonia-Sozopolis of antiquity. The modern name preserves that of the Byzantine fortress Saporda (not Baris Pisidiae, see E. Honigmann in *Byzantion*, xiv (1939), 655); in Muslim sources of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries it appears as Sabarta. After its capture by the Saldjūḳs in 600-1/1203-4 it belonged to the Western frontier-province of their dominions. With the break-up of the Saldjūḳ empire, the Ḥamīd-oghullarï [*q.v.*], whose base was Egridir, incorporated Isparta in their principality. In 783/1381 the Ottoman ruler Murād I persuaded the Ḥamīd-oghlu Ḥüseyn Beg to cede most of his territory, Isparta included, in return for a cash payment, so that the town now belonged to the Ottoman Sandjak of Ḥamīd-ili, later becoming its *chef-lieu*. It was the native town of the

reformer Khalīl Ḥāmid Pasha (d. 1785) who erected there several public buildings and a library. As the seat of the Metropolitan of Pisidia (from the middle of the 8th/14th century) Isparta had several churches and a considerable number of Christian inhabitants, who were removed during the exchange of populations after the First World War. In earlier days its chief products were textiles and attar of roses; the carpet industry has become increasingly important since the end of the 19th century.

The town, which in later Ottoman times was called Ḥamīdābād, is now the capital of the *vilâyet* of Isparta, which comprises the *kazas* of Isparta, Eğridir, Uluborlu, Yalvaç, Sarkî Karaağaç and Sütçüler. The population of the town in 1960 was 35,981.

Bibliography: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 266; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 639-40; Evliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 283; P. Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*... i, 246 f.; V. J. Arundell, *A visit to the Seven Churches of Asia*, London 1828, 118-32; idem, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, London 1834, i, 346 f., ii, 1-22; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, i, London 1842, 483; F. Sarre, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, Berlin 1896, 167-8; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890, i, 850 f.; Illustration in de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1838, 106; *IA*, s.v. (by Besim Darkot), with fuller bibliography.

(B. Flemming)

ISPENDJE, Ottoman name of an *ʿörfī* (*ʿurfī*) tax levied on adult non-Muslim subjects, and amounting usually to 25 *aḳčas* a year. Neither of the explanations advanced for its etymology (*pendjik* [*q.v.*], Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 213; *spenza*: C. Truhelka, in *THIM*, i, 63) is convincing; in texts of the first half of the 9th/15th century (*e.g.* H. İnalcık (ed.), *Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, p. 130) it is spelled *ispenče*. The oldest reference to this tax belong to the reign of Bāyezīd I (*Arvanid*, p. 103). According to this register (of 835/1431; see its introduction, p. xxxiii), *ispendje* of 25 *aḳčes* was collected from married males, whilst 6 *aḳčes*, under the name *bīve resmi*, was collected from widows. According to the *ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II (*MOG*, i, 28-9) every married non-Muslim was to pay 25 *aḳčes* to his *sipāhī*, and if he had an adult son living at home he was to pay *ispendje* for him too. The same amount usually is prescribed in *ḳānūns* of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, index); occasionally it is less (20 *aḳčes*: Kerkük) or more (30 *aḳčes*: Cyprus). A non-Muslim who embraced Islam became liable instead to *bennāk resmi* [*q.v.*].

The Ottomans regarded this tax as a poll-tax paid to the timariot or as the counterpart of *čift-resmi* [*q.v.*]. It is in origin very probably a poll-tax paid in the empire of Stefan Dushan and maintained under the Ottomans; the old *kapu-resmi* of Hungary was treated as *ispendje* by the Ottomans. The *ispendje* was introduced in Anatolia only in the 10th/16th century as a characteristic Ottoman tax. Christian troops who ranked as *ʿaskerī* (*voynuk*, *doghandjī*, *eflāḳ*, etc.) were exempt from *ispendje*, while peasantry serving mines or guarding passes were either totally exempt or paid only 6 or 12 *aḳčes*. Although usually belonging to the timariot's revenue, it was occasionally payable to the Imperial Treasury.

Bibliography: H. İnalcık, *Osmanlılar'da raiyyet rüsûmu*, in *Belleten*, xxiii (1959), 602-8, with full references.

(H. İnalcık)

ISRĀʾ [see miʿrādj].

ISRĀFĪL, the name of an archangel, which is probably to be traced to the Hebrew *Serāfīm* as is indicated by the variants *Sarāfīl* and *Sarāfīn* (*Tādj al-ʿArūs*, vii, 375). The change of liquids is not unusual in such endings. His size is astounding; while his feet are under the seventh earth, his head reaches up to the pillars of the divine throne. He has four wings: one in the west, one in the east, one with which he covers his body and one as a protection against the majesty of God. He is covered with hair, mouths and tongues. He is considered to be the angel who reads out the divine decisions from the well-kept Tablet and transmits them to the Archangel to whose department they belong. Three times by day and three times by night he looks down into Hell and is convulsed with grief and weeps so violently that the earth might be inundated by his tears.

For three years he was the companion of the Prophet, whom he initiated into the work of a prophet. Gabriel then took over his task and began the communication of the Ḳurʾān.

Alexander is said to have met him before his arrival in the land of darkness; there he stood upon a hill and blew the trumpet, tears in his eyes. If he is called Lord of the Trumpet, it is mainly because he continually holds the trumpet to his mouth in order to be able to blow at once as soon as God gives the order for the blast which is to arouse men from their graves. It is however also said that Isrāfīl will be first aroused on the day of the Resurrection. He will then take his stand upon the holy rock in Jerusalem and give the signal which will bring the dead back to life.

In Egypt, in Lane's time, it was said that his music would refresh the inhabitants of Paradise.

Bibliography: Kisāʾī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Malakūt*, Ms. Leiden, 538 Warner, fol. 4f.; Ḳazwīnī, *Adjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 56-7; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1248 f., 1255; Pseudo-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed. Gautier, 42; M. Wolff, *Muhammed. Eschatologie*, 9, 49; Sale, *The Koran, Preliminary Discourse*, 94; Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, 171, 208; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1899, 80.

(A. J. Wensinck)

ISRAEL [see banū isrāʾīl, filasṭīn, yaʿḳūb].

ISRĀʾĪLIYYĀT, an Arabic term covering three kinds of narratives, which are found in the commentators on the Ḳurʾān, the mystics, the compilers of edifying histories and writers on various levels.

1. Narratives regarded as historical, which served to complement the often summary information provided by the revealed Book in respect of the personages in the Bible (*Tawrāt* and *Indjīl*), particularly the prophets (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*).

2. Edifying narratives placed within the chronological (but entirely undefined) framework of "the period of the (ancient) Israelites" (*ʿahd Banī Isrāʾīl*).

3. Fables belonging to folklore, allegedly (but sometimes actually) borrowed from Jewish sources. The line of demarcation between this class and the preceding one is difficult to establish.

The prophetic legends appeared very early in Muslim literature, although few if any traces still survive which in fact go back, in the form in which we have them, to the first century of the Hidjra.

The earliest sources of information were either converted Jews or, perhaps, Arabs who had had contacts, before their conversion to Islam, with the Jews and Christians of the Arabian peninsula and the neighbouring regions. Mention may be made of ʿAbīd/ʿUbayd b. Sharya al-Djurhumī [see ibn sharya], whose narrations concerning the ancient history of the kings of the Arabs and Persians and biblical

history (the confusion of languages, the dispersal of mankind) were said to have been recorded in writing by order of Muʿāwiya, ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām [*q.v.*], Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] and, later, Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*]; the last-named is believed to have written a *K. al-Mubtadaʾ*, entitled also *Isrāʾīliyyāt*; there is no reason to question the authenticity of this belief, and it may be accepted that authors like Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām (d. 218/833) made extracts from it which in turn were passed on to later authors; however, the particular compilations which claim to relate certain traditions of these personages do not offer the smallest guarantee of their authenticity or antiquity, or of their earlier date in relation to the great compositions of *taʾrī<u>kh</u>*, *tafsīr* and *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* produced from the 3rd/9th to the 5th/11th centuries.

Narratives of the second category were perhaps already utilized by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], d. 110/728, and thus contemporary of Wahb; they certainly formed part of the stock of edifying parenesis, at least from the time of Mālik b. Dīnār [*q.v.*], d. about 131/748; it may therefore be thought that this genre made its first appearance in devotional literature during the period of the *tābiʿūn*. Al-Muḥāsibī [*q.v.*] did not hesitate to have recourse to it (*Riʿāya*, ed. M. Smith, 234, l. 11-12, 242 f.); Ibn Abi ʾl-Dunyā [*q.v.*] used it freely, and, of the later and very popular authors, besides Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (*Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*), <u>Gh</u>azālī (*Iḥyāʾ*) and Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma (*K. al-Tawwābīn*, ed. G. Makdisi, Damascus 1962).

The practice of introducing folklore themes (such as the motif of the "three wishes") into narratives set in the time of the Banū Isrāʾīl is one which the moralists and men of letters readily adopted.

It was the works of pure imagination of this kind, and also the extravagant flights of fancy of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* in their over-loaded, embellished versions of the histories of the prophets which have caused the *Isrāʾīl yyāt* to be condemned by strict scholars such as Ibn Ka<u>th</u>īr (cf. H. Laoust, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 75, where the reference should be *Bidāya*, i, 6), a condemnation repeated in more specific terms by al-Sa<u>kh</u>āwī (*Iʿlān*, trans. apud Fr. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*,² Leiden 1968, 335); however, the feeling of distrust and the warnings sounded on this subject go back to a very much earlier date; they are to be found in Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*], in his *Taʾwīl mu<u>kh</u>talif al-ḥadī<u>th</u>* (see G. Lecomte, *Le Traité des divergences du ḥadī<u>th</u> d'Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus 1962, 310-16), and they have left traces in the classical collections of *ḥadī<u>th</u>* (cf. G. Vajda, in *JA*, 1937, 115-20).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text and the accounts of Brockelmann, S I, 101 and Sezgin, I, 305-7, see also M. Lidzbarski, *De propheticis, quae dicuntur, legendis arabicis*, Leipzig 1893; I. Goldziher, *Isrâʾîliyyât*, in *REJ* xliv (1902), 63-5; C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, I. 8 f., Heidelberg 1906; L. Cheikho, *Quelques légendes islamiques apocryphes*, in *MFOB*, iv (1910), 33-56; B. Chapira, *Légendes bibliques attribuées à Kaʿb al-Ahbâr*, in *REJ*, lxix (1919), 86-107, lxx (1920), 37-43; R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1924-7 (cf. B. Heller, *Récits et personnages bibliques dans la légende mahométane*, in *REJ*, lxxxv (1928), 113-36; idem, *La légende biblique dans l'Islam*, *ibid.*, xcviii (1934), 1-18; idem, *The Relation of the Aggada to Islamic Legends*, in *MW*, xxiv (1934), 281-6; J. Horovitz, in *IC*, i (1927), 553-7; S. D. Goitein, *Isrâʾîliyyât* (in Hebrew), in *Tarbiz*, vi (1934-5), 89-101, 510-22; G. Vajda, in *REJ*, ci (1937), 94-6; J. Finkel, *An Arabic story of Abraham*, in *HUCA*, xii-xiii (1937-8), 387-409; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 95 f., 305, 356, 430, 567; ʿA. ʿA. Duri, *ʿIlm al-taʾrī<u>kh</u>*, Beirut 1960, 103-17; N. Abbot, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, Chicago 1957, 36 (cf. A. Dietrich, in *Isl.*, 1959, 202); G. Vajda, *La description du Temple de Jérusalem d'après le* K. al-masālik wal-mamālik *d'al-Muhallabi*, in *JA* 1959, 193-202; H. Schützinger, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der arabischen Abraham-Nimrod Legende*, Bonn 1961; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the tradition literature*, Leiden 1969, 121-38. See further BANŪ ISRĀʾĪL. (G. VAJDA)

ĪSSĪK-KUL (Turkish "warm lake"), the most important mountain lake in Turkistan and one of the largest fresh water lakes in the world, situated in between 42° 11′ and 42° 59′ N. Lat. and between 76° 15′ and 78° 30′ E. Long., 1605 m. (5,116 feet) above sea level; the length of the lake is about 115 miles, the breadth up to 37 miles, the depth up to 702 m. (1, 381 feet), and the area 6,205 sq. km. (2,400 sq. miles). From the two chains of the Tʿien-<u>Sh</u>an, the Kungey-Alatau (in the north) and the Ters-key-Alatau (in the south), about 80 large and small mountain streams pour into the Īssīk-Kul, of which the most important, Tüp and <u>Dj</u>ergalan, flow into it from the east. Of the others there may be mentioned: on the south bank, the Karakol, Ḳīzīl-Su, <u>Dj</u>uka (or Zauka), Barskoun and Ton, on the north bank, the two Aḳ-Su and three Ḳoi-Su. On the origin of the depression Kutemaldi, which now connects the Ču with the Īssīk-Kul [see ČU], views differ. It is said that the Ḳočḳar, now the upper course of the Ču, previously flowed into the Īssīk-Kul and the latter had an exit in the Ču. At present the Ḳočḳar sends an arm to the Īssīk-Kul through the Kutemaldi only when it is flooded; at other times there are only a few ditches there filled with water, without any definite current. The question is only of importance for geology and physical geography; in the historical period the Īssīk-Kul has, as all accounts show, always been a lake without an exit.

The oldest of these descriptions we owe to the Chinese writer Hüan-Čuang (7th century A.D.); the Chinese name (*Že-Hai* = warm sea; the lake never freezes) corresponds exactly to the Turkish name. The latter first appears in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982-3, ed. Minorsky, 54, 62, 71); Kā<u>sh</u><u>gh</u>arī, ed. K. Rīfat (Brockelmann, 244) has Isik Köl; in Ḳudāma (ed. de Goeje, 262) the lake is only mentioned, but not named. The Ms. of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* has Īskūk or Īskūl; the form was probably the same in the *Mu<u>dj</u>mil al-Tawārī<u>kh</u>* (the Ms. has S-kūk, cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* i, 19; ed. by M. <u>Sh</u>. Bahār, Tehran 1318 h.s., 100, l. 1); Gardīzī, *Kitāb Zayn al-A<u>kh</u>bār*, ed. Muhammad Nāzim, Berlin 1928, writes Īsi<u>gh</u>-Kūl; <u>Dj</u>ayhānī quotes Īskūl from al-<u>Kh</u>araḳī in Nallino, *al-Battānī*, 175, but with *ta<u>sh</u>dīd* over the *k*. In the history of Tīmūr's campaigns, in <u>Sh</u>araf al-Dīn (*Ẓafar-Nāma*, Ind. ed., i, 494, ii, 634), as well as in Ibn ʿArab<u>sh</u>āh (Egyptian ed., 136) the form is Īsī Kūl, in the *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i Ra<u>sh</u>īdī* (cf. the text in Barthold, *Otcet* etc., 50 note 1), Īsī<u>gh</u> Kūl.

In the oldest Chinese accounts (from the 2nd century A.D.) the land appears in the possession of the nomadic people of the Wu-sun. But from the 7th century A.D. on, permanent settlements and even towns are mentioned. One of the trade routes from China to Western Asia at that time led through the Badal pass to the south bank of the Īssīk-Kul and from there

into the valley of the Ču. The most important market on the Ïssïk-Kul was Barsk͟hān, the name of which is probably identical with the modern name of the river Barskoun. Gardīzī gives a legend due to a popular etymology about Alexander the Great and Persians left behind him on the Ïssïk-Kul; this popular etymology makes certain the reading Barsk͟hān against the form Nus͟hd͟jān given by Yāḳūt, iv, 823. According to Gardīzī, Barsk͟hān could put 6,000 men in the field; according to Ḳudāma, the principal place on the shore of the lake could itself raise 20,000 men (Barsk͟hān, according to Ḳudāma, consisted of nine towns, four of some size and five small ones; cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, ed. Minorsky, 292 ff.; W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 94; *Mappae Arabicae* ed. K. Miller, Stuttgart 1926-9, Band IV = Arab II, 87, 89, 143, 145, 148 (al-Kās͟hg͟harī). Three days journey west of Barsk͟hān lay Tūnk, the name of which obviously corresponds to the name of the river Ton. Between Barsk͟hān and Tūnk there were only to be seen tents of the nomad D͟jikil. Twelve *farsak͟hs* west of Tūnk was the town of Yār, which could raise 3,000 men. In *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 90, there is further mentioned "a prosperous place, visited by merchants", the town of Sīkūl, on the border between the settlements of two nomad peoples, the D͟jikil and the K͟halluk͟h (Ḳarluḳ); the town probably bore the name of the lake. A town "Yssicol" on the north shore of the lake of the name is still given in Carta Catalana of the year 1375 A.D. There was said to be an Armenian monastery with relics of the Apostle Matthew (*Notices et Extraits*, xiv/2, 132 f.).

Of this civilization, which was probably destroyed about the same time (8th/14th century) and under the influence of the same causes as the civilization on the Ču [cf. ii, 66 f.], only a few walls and mounds of brick, and some cemeteries have survived, including a Muslim cemetery on the Küngey-Aḳsu with inscriptions of the 6th/12th century (*Protokolî Turk. Kružka Ljub. ark͟h*, xi, 5 f.) and a Nestorian cemetery discovered in 1907 on the D͟juka with inscriptions in Syriac and Turkish; one of these inscriptions (of 1330 A.D.) was published by P. Kokovtsov (*Bulletin de l'Académie, etc.* 1909, 774 f. 788 f.; cf. B. Spuler, *Die Morgenländischen Kirchen*, Leiden 1964, 155 [37] with note.).

The Turkish and Mongol nomads liked to use the shores of the Ïssïk-Kul as a winter resort on account of the favourable weather conditions (the snow here rarely lies to any considerable depth), so that the Ïssïk-Kul is several times mentioned in the military history of Central Asia. A fortress was built by Tīmūr "in the middle of the lake", *i.e.*, on an island, to which, amongst others, the Tatars deported from Asia Minor were banished. It is probably the same fortress as is called Ḳoi-su by Ḥaydar Mīrzā [*q.v.*], *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ras͟hīdī*, tr. Ross, 78. A Mongol amīr is said to have sent his family there in the 9th/15th century, to put them in safety from the inroads of the Kalmucks. At the present day there are no islands in the lake; the disappearance of the island mentioned, with the fortress upon it was probably caused by an earthquake. Connected with this perhaps is the fact that pieces of bricks and other fragments are frequently washed up on the shores of the Ïssïk-Kul. On the Ïssïk-Kul itself it is said that a great town here was overwhelmed by the waves of the lake and its walls and buildings can be seen in clear weather; but this story has so far not been confirmed and is probably based on folklore about sunken cities (which is to be found in the most diverse countries). The catastrophe, if there was one, can only have happened comparatively recently. Ḥaydar Mīrzā, to whom we owe the latest and fullest account of the Ïssïk-Kul in Muslim literature (*Taʾrīk͟h-i Ras͟hīdī*, 366 f.), knows neither of the disappearance of an island nor of rubble being washed up, nor of any sunken town. What Ḥaydar Mīrzā has to say about the Ïssïk-Kul corresponds in general to the facts, but there are a few peculiar assertions. He says for example that on account of the great proportion of salt in it the water is unsuitable for washing in; in reality the proportion of salt is very slight.

In the 17th and 18th centuries the shores of the lake were under the rule of Buddhist Kalmucks; Tibetan inscriptions in the country south-east of the lake still recall this period. The Mongol name of the Ïssïk-Kul was Temurtu-Nor, "iron lake": many of the mountain streams flowing into the Ïssïk-Kul carry ferriferous sand; small knives, etc. are made from this iron by the Ḳirgiz. Even in the Kalmuck period the Ḳirgiz [*q.v.*] had grazing grounds here. The land remained in their possession after conquest of the Kalmuck kingdom by the Chinese; Chinese rule was never firmly established here in spite of several attempts. About the middle of the 19th century the Russians advanced across the Ilī. The Ïssïk-Kul was reached in 1856 by Colonel Khomentovskiy. A part of the Ḳirgiz was forced to submit to Russian rule as early as 1855 and the remainder in 1860. The Russians founded the town of Karakol, called Prževal'sk since 1888, so far the only town in the country round the Ïssïk-Kul (according to the census of 1897, 7,987 inhabitants, now about 15,000), and several villages. All these settlements are in the eastern part of the Ïssïk-Kul valley: the western part has been reached by the railway to Rïbač'e since May 1948. There is steamer traffic on the lake. The settlements are still, as in the Middle Ages, called after the rivers on which they lie. The official Russian names are rarely used, even by the Russians; even the Russian peasant always says "Tüp" for "Preobraženskaya" and "Ḳïzïl-su" (which is corrupted to "Kozeltzi") for "Pokrovskaya". Thanks to the fertility of the soil, the villages are in a flourishing condition, in spite of the frequent earthquakes.

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(W. Barthold- [B. Spuler])

IṢṬABL and istabl (A.; pl. *iṣṭablāt* and rarely *aṣābil*, according to *LA*, *s.v.*), etymologically *stable*, that is to say the building in which mounts and baggage animals (equidae and camelidae) are kept tethered and, by metonomy, the actual stock of such animals belonging to one single owner. *Iṣṭabl* is the arabization of the low-Greek στάβλον/σταβλίον/σταυλίον (see Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lyons 1688, *s.v.*), which

in turn derives from the Latin *stabulum*. This is one of the so-called terms "of civilization" which have been disseminated most widely, since it is to be found with the same meaning in all the western languages; well before Islam, Arabic had adopted it through the medium of the Ghassānids [*q.v.*] in Syria.

(i) The central Islamic lands: The practice of keeping horses under cover is peculiar to sedentary peoples, that is to say the idea of a stable was unknown to the nomadic Arabs, whose steeds were merely given the shade of a tent or bush to which they tethered them (*marbaṭ, marbiṭ*); incidentally this custom was to be perpetuated even within the towns, in caravanserais (*funduk, khān* [*qq.v.*]) where the shelter of a roof was reserved for men and merchandise, while the animals remained tethered in the vast central courtyard. In the same way, the Muslim cavalry in their encampments *extra muros* (*muʿaskar*) provided their horses with nothing more than some sort of light shelter (*miẓalla*) made of palm-leaves, which gave adequate protection from sun and rain and allowed the cavalry to move off rapidly, since they had to remain constantly on the alert. Thus, the term *iṣṭabl* applied only to permanent constructions of solid materials, such as only rulers and high dignitaries who owned many horses were able to have built near their palaces. Even so, such buildings were rather rare, and the pre-Islamic Arabs had almost no opportunity of seeing them, except at Ḥīra of the Lakhmids [*q.v.*] or at Damascus, in the Byzantine period; but the presence of the imposing ruins left from vanished civilizations, both in Mesopotamia and all along the eastern Mediterranean, gave credence to the legend of sumptuous ancient stables such as those of King Solomon which, in the light of recent archaeological discoveries, have proved to be merely vast granaries. The same is true, in an instance very much closer to us, of the stables of the sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (see below), which seemed to Fr. Busnot "the finest part of the palace, with their two lines of arcades extending for three-quarters of a league and the canal which provided them with water. The horses, tethered by all four legs to two rings by means of a hair cord, were tended by Muslim grooms and Christian stable-boys" (Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, 504; Eng. tr., London 1970, 260). The missionary's account gives a perfect idea of the plan and arrangement of stables as conceived in Antiquity and as adopted by the Muslim world in the Middle Ages. These cloister-like galleries of arcades (*riwāḳ*) housed the stalls (low Latin *stallum* from *stabulum*, Ar. *shiḳḳa* pl. *shiḳaḳ*), separated from one another by low partitions of wood or netting; the animals were tethered in these by three legs (not four), by means of a flexible halter (*shikāl* pl. *shukul*) passing through two rings fastened to the wall to a wooden cross-bar in the corner (*ākhiyya* pl. *akhāwī, akhāyā* and *iry, ariy* pl. *awārī*). Their heads being left free, they were given their feed of barley in nose-bags, while hay (*ʿalaf*), mixed with straw, was provided as litter; there seems to have been no knowledge of the fixed manger or the wall-rack, upon which so much stress is laid in the entirely theoretical descriptions of the model stables to be found in various Arabic treatises on hippiatrics and hippology (such as that of Ibn Hudhayl [*q.v.*], see L. Mercier, *Parure...*, 365-6), which merely repeat the remarks of the Greeks on the subject (cf. Xenophon, *On equitation*, chap. iv).

The historians and chroniclers who wrote in Arabic in fact provided only the most scanty information regarding the stable buildings of the caliphs, sultans and high dignitaries of Islam. Among the very scattered and often laconic particulars that may be gleaned on this subject there is one description of the highest importance, relating to the stables in Baghdād belonging to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Muḳtadir bi-llāh, which is contained in the *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa'l-tuḥaf* (Kuwayt 1959), attributed to al-Ḳāḍī al-Muhadhdhab (d. middle of the 5th/11th century), and of which al-Maḳrīzī made use for his *Khiṭaṭ*. It deals with the visit of an embassy from the emperor Constantine VII to the caliph, in 305/917, and the following passage occurs (*Arabica*, vii/3 (1960), 295, from the translation by M. Hamidullah who discovered and edited the manuscript): "... The envoys from the Ṭāghiya (the emperor of Byzantium) took horse, with their interpreter Ibn ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, on the Thursday, the sixth day before the end of Muḥarram (that is to say, the 24th of the month) and entered by the corridor of the great public gate (of the palace), to make their way into the building known as the Stables (*khān al-khayl*). The greater part of this building consisted of colonnades with marble pillars. On the one side were 500 horses, with an equivalent number of saddles (*markab*) of silver and gold, of different kinds, and without cloths. On the other side there were 500 horses, all with trappings of patterned silk and veils. Each horse was held by a man of the *shākiriyya* class (regular soldiers)". The reader will note the similarity of this description with that left by Fr. Busnot, mentioned above, despite the interval of eight centuries separating them and their location at opposite ends of the Islamic world; here is confirmation of the conservatism, referred to earlier, in architectural practices relating to stables. Whether privately owned or the property of the state, such buildings required large areas of land since, in addition to the actual quarters for the stabling of hundreds of animals, they also called for smithies, stores for harness and saddles, hay-barns, places for manure and paddocks for the daily exercise and rolling in the sand (*tamrīgh*) of the regular stock; in the absence of a paddock, resort was made to the hippodrome (*maydān*). When to all these is added the housing needed to lodge the various classes of employees, it is no exaggeration to regard such stables as a small city within the city. As such, it is obvious that one of their prime requirements was an abundant water-supply; for this reason, the locality selected was close to some water-course, from which a canal was excavated to bring water to it.

In the case of Damascus [see DIMASHK], it is still very difficult to locate the stables of the Umayyad caliphs since, according even to the testimony of al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century), "... their buildings were only of wood (*khashab*) and pisé (*ṭīn*) ..." (ed. De Goeje, 156; tr. Miquel, 165). In the toponymy of Damascus, however, the reader will note the *Dār al-khayl*, the inn reserved for ambassadors, situated alongside the former Ghassānid residence which became the residence (*al-Khaḍrāʾ*) of the first Muslims, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān and his brother Muʿāwiya, and later of the caliphs. From this denomination, which is certainly Arab, it is very reasonable to suppose that the building replaced the old Byzantine stables whose name was translated, perhaps under the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65/685-86/705). As for the fortified residences which were built on the edge of the desert, on the orders of several Umayyad sovereigns, insufficient archaeological study has as yet been made to determine in what manner the stables were laid out.

When Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr, the second ʿAbbāsid

caliph, founded his "Round Town" of Baghdād [*q.v.*] in 146/763, there was no provision for including stables for the ruler or his dependents, perhaps owing to lack of space, and these had to be erected on the outskirts: "... Another quarter extended from the Khurāsān gate, on the one side as far as the bridge of boats over the Tigris, and on the other to the point opposite the Khuld (palace). It is in the last-mentioned place that the royal stables were situated, and also the parade ground and a palace looking out on the Tigris: Abū Djaʿfar always lived there, and al-Mahdī also, until he moved to his palace of Ruṣāfa, on the east bank of the Tigris" (al-Yaʿḳūbī/Wiet, *Les Pays*, 31). Further to the south, facing the square opposite the Kūfa gate "... was located the concession granted to Yāsīn, the head of the dromedary staff, the dromedaries' stables being alongside it. On this side of these stables were the freedmen's stables" (*ibid.*, 20).

Once caliph, and having by then settled in Ruṣāfa, al-Mahdī organized a general removal of the administrative departments from the other side of the river; the stables also were transferred, and we then find them established in the Mukharrim quarter, under the direction of the *mawlā* Nāzī (*ibid.*, 40), and containing horses, dromedaries and elephants. From the last of these the *Dār al-fīl* was to take its name, and it was succeeded by the zoological park (*ḥayr al-wuḥūsh*). These State stables remained in the Mukharrim quarter until, apparently, it fell into ruin; al-Ṣūlī mentions them in his chronicle (*Akhbār ar-Rāḍī*, tr. M. Canard, 30 and n. 6) of the caliphate of al-Muttaḳī (329/940-333/944), in connection with the Daylamites' assault on Baghdād, under the leadership of Kūrānkidj, their aim being to dislodge Ibn Rāʾiḳ, and it was in the stables that, in the end, the assailants and their leader were massacred, on 25 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 329/20 September 941. It appears that, in due course, the buildings were demolished in 448/1056 by the Saldjūḳ Ṭughril Beg, in order to make way for the rampart surrounding Mukharrim and the *Dār al-fīl*, one part of which became a cemetery.

When al-Muʿtaṣim, an excellent horseman (see Kushādjim, *Maṣāyid* ..., Baghdād 1954, 5 and trans. F. Viré, *Art de volerie*, in *Arabica*, xii/2, 119), left Baghdād for Sāmarrā in 223/838, he was careful to take with him his own stables and those of his household. Thanks to al-Yaʿḳūbī (*op. cit.*, 52), we know that these were established along the main avenue of Sarīdja, the *decumanus* of the city: "... It was also in this avenue that the concessions of the Khurāsān officers were located ..., that of Ḥizām ibn Ghālib. Behind Ḥizām's concession were the stables for the caliph's horses, his own private horses and those for the government departments, the management of which was entrusted to Ḥizām and his brother Yaʿḳūb" (It is appropriate to call attention here to an error in the reading of the manuscript of al-Yaʿḳūbī, since it is in fact a question of one single personage, named Akhī Khazzām, whose functions were continued by his son Yaʿḳūb, as will be shown later; the misunderstanding is due to the "knightly" title of akhī [*q.v.*], already borne by the Turk Khazzām as "constable" (*comes stabuli*) to the caliph). These great stables were to survive until Sāmarrā was abandoned by the Caliph al-Muʿtamid (256/870-279/892). Besides the caliph's stables, Baghdād possessed many others, varying in size according to the rank of their owners. They were to be found particularly in the residential quarter and belonged to the luxurious dwellings which, following the example of al-Mahdī, the high dignitaries caused to be built along the east bank of the Tigris. In the 5th/11th century, Ibn ʿAḳīl (d. 463/1071) left (in *Manāḳib Baghdād* of Ibn al-Djawzī, Baghdād 1342/1923) a description of this wealthy quarter, with its boulevard running from *al-Ṭāḳ* to the banks of the river: "... As for its streets, there is one that closely follows the Tigris. On one of its sides, it has palaces overlooking the river, and disposed in such fashion as to spread all the way from the Bridge to the beginning of the Zāhir Garden. ... On the other side of the street are the mosques of the owners of these palaces and the dwellings of their soldiers, in between which they have their stables." (G. Makdisi, *The topography of eleventh century Baghdād*, in *Arabica*, vi/2, (1959), 186). The size of these stables may be judged when he notes specifically (idem, 187): "... and the castle of al-Wāfī, whose horses every day consume about a thousand rations of forage". Now, in the same period, the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-ḥāwī*, an actual record made for the use of taxation officials, evaluates the monthly consumption for one horse at 40 *ḳafīz* [*q.v.*] of forage (see Cl. Cahen, *Problèmes économiques de l'Iraq buyide*, in *AIEO Alger*, x (1952), 337).

In Cairo, the stables of the Fāṭimid sovereigns were in no way inferior to those of the Baghdād rulers, and an idea of their extent is given in the description which Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (*Nuzhat al-muḳlatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn* ...), a source common to al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 416), Ibn Taghribirdī (*Nudjūm*, iv, 79) and al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 503), gave of the review of his own private horses held by the caliph, in the courtyards of the palace, on the eve of the procession at the New Year or that at the Ending of the Fast (see M. Canard, *La procession* ..., in *AIEO Alger*, x (1952), 376 f.); here too it was a matter of a thousand horses and more, which were made to parade before their sovereign. While we must allow for exaggeration, the fact remains that the stock of horses in these stables was considerable, and the same was true under the Ayyūbid and Saldjūḳid régimes. Often there was insufficient space to house so many animals, and the owners did not hesitate to tear down ancient palaces in order to build stables in their place (*Khiṭaṭ apud* De Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, ii, 44).

Besides these great stables in the cities, there were also *iṣṭablāt* in all the posting-houses (*sikka*), which came under the department of Posts and Information (*barīd* [*q.v.*]), all along the main routes in the Muslim empire; this department, active under the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids, suffered a decline under the Ayyūbids, but it was thoroughly reorganized by the Sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] who rebuilt its stables (see J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941). Moreover, all the fortresses or citadels (*ḥiṣn*, *ḳalʿa*) marking out the frontiers of Islam, and those in Syria which resisted the inroads of the Crusaders, contained their own stables of war-horses and pack animals (see Usāma b. Munḳidh, *Iʿtibār*, 46, 60).

It will readily be seen that all these establishments called for a numerous personnel divided into a hierarchy based on competence. At the bottom of the ladder was the stable-boy or lad (*ghulām*), whose duty it was to keep the stalls clean and remove the dung; above him was the groom (*saʾis* pl. *suwwās*, *sāsa*, *siyās* and *rāwī* pl. *ruwāt*), who was responsible for the grooming (*ḥass*) of one or more animals; the daily outings to the paddock and to the water were, it seems, the special province of the harnessman (*shaddād*) who in addition prepared the mount when the

master wished to make use of it. The general responsibility for the working of this domestic system fell upon the "constable" or master of the stables (*ṣāḥib al-iṣṭablāt* and, according to the regions and periods involved, *ḳayyim-*, *mudabbir-*, *mutawallī-*, *ustādh-*, *mushrif al-iṣṭablāt*), a high office which required its holder to possess a perfect knowledge of the study of the horse in all its aspects, besides skill as an administrator and controller in supervising purchases of provender, in regard to both quality and quantity, and also its correct distribution, since fraud and waste are vices common to all generations. If he was not himself qualified, the master of stables was assisted by a veterinarian (*bayṭār* [*q.v.*]) who must have been kept very busy with treating the various ailments from which horses suffer, the urgent surgical operations and the foaling of the mares. Every stable of importance in fact included a stud-farm, to ensure the continuance of the line of thoroughbreds [see FARAS] and the replenishing of the stock; the Muslim ethic did not permit the gelding of stallions, since the Prophet was formally opposed to the practice, according to certain traditions (see L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, 41 and note).

Management of the stables was a delicate and difficult task; for this reason, it could be entrusted only to specialists, some of whom succeeded in allowing their sons to benefit from their own experience, as in the case of the Khuttalīs (from the village of Khuttal, near Baghdād). The first of these to hold office, Akhī Khazzām b. Ghālib was constable to al-Muʿtaṣim, and in the same position we later find his son Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, and then his two grandsons Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad and Aḥmad, down to the caliphate of al-Muʿtaḍid (279/892-289/902). These members of one single family have left, as collective works, several remarkable treatises on the equestrian art, farriery and the handling of arms on horseback, which deserve to be collated and published (see Brockelmann, I, 243-4 and S I, 432-3, which needs to be amended: L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, xii-xiii, 433-6). Better known, since it has been published and translated, is the treatise of the Mamlūk Ibn al-Mundhir [*q.v.*], known as al-Bayṭār al-Nāṣirī, who controlled the stables and stud-farms of the sultan of Egypt al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn (693/1294-741/1341).

The upkeep of these princely stables entailed the investment of enormous sums of money, both in wages for the staff and also to meet the costs of equipment, supplies, upkeep and purchases of animals from nomadic breeders; numerous local and private craftsmen profited from the lucrative source of business offered by the stables, with their constant and varying needs. For the financing of their private stables, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs generally drew upon their own personal treasuries which, under al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and al-Hādī, were supplied from the *bayt māl al-maẓālim*. Al-Rashīd and his successors had recourse to the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] *al-nafaḳāt al-khāṣṣa* (see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 595-6), while the staff was paid by the *dīwān al-aḥshām* of the sovereign (see al-Yaʿḳūbī/Wiet, 15), and, later, under al-Mutawakkil, by the *dīwān al-mawālī wa'l-ghilmān*.

The state stables, for their part, were dependent upon the *dīwān al-barīd* and their provisioning was charged to the budget of the *dīwān al-ahrāʾ*. The Buwayhid period [*q.v.*] saw almost no far-reaching changes in this organization. In Egypt, under the Fāṭimids, we find almost the same budgetary division, though with different terminology; the caliph's private expenses were covered by the *dīwān al-madjlis* and the upkeep of the State stables was dependent on a special department, this time the *dīwān al-iṣṭablāt*, the 13th of the 14 departments of the financial administration (*dīwān al-amwāl*). With the Ayyūbid emirates [*q.v.*] the question of control remained somewhat imprecise, and it appears that the stables, as a whole, were given to the *dīwān bi'l-bāb*. Finally, the strongly militarized Mamlūk administration included the sultan's private stables within the competence of the *dīwān al-khāṣṣ*, while the State stables were the responsibility of the *barīd*, which was remodelled by Baybars (659/1261) for political and strategic reasons and placed under the control of the privy secretary (*kātib al-sirr*); this political organization then perished with the invasion of Timur (803/1400).

The leading part played by the horse and the dromedary in the eventful history of Islam seems, if not to have escaped attention, at least to have been neglected by all who have written on this subject, and thus one cannot be surprised at the poverty of information regarding Muslim stables during the Middle Ages, although they then flourished actively; the survival of the term *iṣṭabl* and its present-day use in Arabic speech in the Near East and in Egypt is a manifest proof of this fact (see Cl. Denizeau, *Dictionnaire* . . ., Paris 1960, s.v.).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, a few other scraps of information may be gleaned from encyclopaedic works and the main historical chronicles. (F. VIRÉ)

(ii) Spain and the Maghrib

The term *iṣṭabl* seems not to have survived in the vocabulary of present-day Arabic speech in North Africa; but it must have been current in the Spanish dialect. Indeed, the *Vocabulista in arabico*, edited by C. Schiaperelli (Florence 1871), which is based on the dialect of the kingdom of Valencia in the 7th/13th century, translates the Latin *stabulum* not merely by the classical *iṣṭabl*, but also by an alleged dialectal variant, *ṣabal*, plur. *ṣubūl*. Maltese has the word *stabal*, but this may be a direct borrowing from a romance vernacular.

As the equivalent of *iṣṭabl*, the same *Vocabulista* gives *riwā*, plur. *arwiyah*, with the gloss *domus magna stabuli*. As regards the Arabic spoken in Granada at the end of the 9th/15th century, P. de Alcalá recognizes only this last word, pronounced with the Granadine *imāla* [*q.v.*], *riwī*, plur. *arwiya* (ed. De Lagarde, 145, 245).

In the form *rwa* and with various plurals (*rwīya*, *rwāyāt*), this word is still employed in present-day Arabic dialects in the Maghrib, from Morocco to Tunisia; in these countries it always denotes a covered place, intended to provide shelter for valuable mounts, whether horses or mules.

For Spain under the Umayyads in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, we possess some details about the royal stables intended for saddle horses and beasts of burden (*al-iṣṭablāt li'l-ẓahr wa'l-kirāʾ*). Al-Ḥakam I had two stables built near his palace at Cordoba, each of which housed a thousand war-horses. Their riders were divided into squadrons of a hundred men, commanded by an officer with the title of *ʿarīf*. The cavalry as a whole were under the command of the *ḳāʾid al-khayl*, known also as the *ḳāʾid al-aʿinna*. The famous al-Manṣūr, the "mayor of the palace" of the "roi fainéant" Hishām II, had 12,000 regular cavalrymen under his command.

The general controller of the stables or master of stables was called *ṣāḥib al-khayl*. Another official (*ʿarīf*) was responsible for the beasts of burden,

mules and pack-horses (*zawāmil, khayl al-ḥumlān*). A different official dealt with camels used for transport.

Stud-farms existed on the grassy islands in the Guadalquivir, above Seville. Horses were also imported from North Africa (*khayl ʿidwiyya*), the famous *jinetes* which derive their name from that of the Berber tribe of the Zanāta [*q.v.*].

For Granada in the Naṣrid period, P. Alcalá (*op. cit.*, 245) gives the title *ḳāyid ar-riwī*. On the famous stables built by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl for his horses and mules in about 1089/1678 at Meknès, see above.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, in Morocco, the outside staff of the palace included a special corps, known as the *mwālīn er-rwā* "people of the stable", who were responsible for looking after the sovereign's horses and mules. Working with the grooms (sing. *ruwwāy*) were stable-men whose duty it was to clean out the stables (*kennās*) or to wash the animals in deep water (*ʿawwām*). Certain stable-men (*sāis* or *siyyās*) concerned themselves particularly with dressage. Throughout Morocco, the sovereign owned many vast stretches of pastureland, known as *ʿadhīrs*, where his horses were put out to grass after operations against rebel tribes; some of these lands were used as stud-farms.

With the corps of grooms properly speaking there were combined: — 1. the corps of muleteers (*ḥammāra*, sic), with responsibility for the transport of baggage; 2. the corps of cameleers (*jammāla*); 3. servants with the special duty of dealing with ceremonial carriages (*kōdshi*, from the Spanish *coche*, or *ʿaraba*) and travelling litters (*mḥaffa*), used by the sovereign and the women of the harem who accompanied him.

Bibliography: For Spain under the Umayyads — E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xe siècle*, 55, 133, 141, 145; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmal al-Aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 1934, 70, 115-9. For the stables at Meknès, Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, *K. l-Istiḳṣā*, Cairo 1312, iv, 25; idem, trans. Fumey, i, 72; Busnot, *Histoire du règne de Mouley Ismaël*, Rouen 1714, 56-9; *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, 2e série*, France, iv, 189, 689; Windus, *A journey to Mequinez*, London, 1725, 174. — For Morocco in modern times, E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, 198, 200; *Archives Marocaines*, v/6, 308; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 314; G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 209.

(G. S. Colin)

(iii) The Ottomans [see MIR ĀKHŪR].

(iv) Persia. The autonomous and latterly independent states which arose in Persia during the period of the disintegration of the caliphate generally endeavoured to imitate ʿAbbāsid palace administration as far as was suitable in the circumstances. Hence it is probable that dynasties like the Būyids [*q.v.*] in southern and western Persia and the Sāmānids [*q.v.*] in Transoxania and Khurāsān had royal stables attached to the court, although little specific is known about this. The institution of royal stables came into being for several reasons. Mounts had to be on hand for games like polo and for hunting, which last was not only a sport and a para-military activity, but also a significant means of adding to the court's comissariat (hence we hear of the *Amīr-Shikār*, Commander of the Hunt, under the Khwārazm-Shāhs, in charge of hunting animals and falcons, and in Ṣafavid times the *Amīr-Shikār-Bāshī* was a high-ranking commander who might combine his office with a provincial governorship, in one instance, that of Astarābād, see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 19, 102; K. M. Rohrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1966, 27; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. Minorsky, ch. xiii = tr. 51). The royal stables were further used as a source of mounts for the ruler's personal bodyguard which was, of course, normally made up of his own military slaves or *ghulāms* [*q.v.*]. Finally, a reserve of horses had always to be on hand, for fine horses (and in the case of some eastern Iranian dynasties, elephants) were often amongst the presents forwarded to other potentates or presented to governors, along with robes of honour, a standard, etc., as the insignia of office (see HIBA).

The officer in charge of the sultan's stables under the Ghaznavids [*q.v.*], the *Ākhur-Sālār* or *Amīr-i Ākhur*, was usually a general of the palace *ghulāms*. Elephants were used extensively for military purposes by the Ghaznavids (see FĪL As beasts of war.), and as well as stables for horses, there was at Ghazna a *pīl-khāna* with accommodation for 1000 elephants and a staff of Hindus to attend them (Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran, 994-1040*, 112, 113, 117). Officials from the royal stables were also to be found in the provinces of the empire, where horses were bred or sent out for pasture, for instance, in the horses-rearing regions along the upper Oxus in Khuttal and Ṭukhāristān, cf. Spuler, *Iran*, 392.

The Great Saldjūḳ sultans had such towns as Ray, Iṣfahān and Marw as fixed centres of government even though the *dargāh* or court accompanied the sultan in his progresses through the provinces and on his campaigns (cf. Lambton, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v. 222-3). Sandjar, and presumably other sultans, seems personally to have had extensive herds of horses (*ibid.*, 226). The royal stables were doubtless located in these centres of government; certainly, Niẓām al-Mulk says that oversight of the stables was one of the duties of the *Wakīl-i Khāṣṣ*, Intendant of the Royal Household, although he complains that the office had fallen into desuetude in his time (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xvi = text ed. Darke, 112, tr. 92). The Master of the Royal Horse in Saldjūḳ times, usually designated *Amīr-i Ākhur*, *Ākhur-Beg*, etc., was frequently a *ghulām* commander of the sultan, *e.g.*, the *Akhur-Sālār* Ḳīzīl, *Shiḥna* or military governor of Baghdād in 536/1141-2 and a former *ghulām* of Sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 89; Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūḳiyya*, 117).

It is uncertain whether a Turkish dynasty like the Ḳarakhānids of Transoxania (see ILEK-KHĀNS), whose khāns seem to have led a semi-nomadic existence during the summer months at least, had a permanent royal stable. One khān, Shams al-Mulūk Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān (460/1068-472/1080), built a palace complex at Shamsābād outside Bukhārā, and a continuator of Narshakhī mentions that adjacent to this was a walled enclosure (*ghuruḳ*, see Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 558-9) for the royal horses and other beasts (*Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 29). Such royal preserves, *ghuruḳs* or *ḳoruḳs* (cf. the old Arabian institution of the *ḥimā*) were established later by the Mongol khāns, and the royal stables as a fixed building probably only re-appears after the Mongol interlude in Persian history.

The institution of the royal stables is certainly well-attested for Ṣafavid times, both by European travellers like Chardin and Kaempfer, and by the late Ṣafavid administrative manual, the *Tadhkirat al-*

Mulūk. This latter source (chs. xv, xvi, xc, xci = tr. 52, 87, commentary 120-1) distinguishes between two Masters of the Stables, the *Mīr-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi Djilaw* and the *Mīr-Ākhūr-Bāshī Ṣaḥrā'*, the first official being the higher paid. The *Mīr-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi Djilaw* (*djilaw* = Mongol "rein, halter", see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. i Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, 296-7; hence *djilaw-dār*, the groom who rides ahead of his master and holds his bridle) was in charge of the royal stables in the capital. Chardin says that there were three such stables in Iṣfahān, with a very numerous staff; these comprised the subordinate marshals (*mīr-akhūrān*), grooms, watercarriers, farriers, saddlers, veterinary specialists, etc. Since the royal stables were an integral part of the court, appointments made by the *Mīr-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi Djilaw* had to be confirmed by the *Nāẓir Buyūtāt*, the Chief Intendant of the Royal Household or *Khāṣṣa*. The second Master of the Horse, the *Mīr-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi Ṣaḥrā'*, was in charge of equestrian establishments out in the countryside, the *ṣaḥrā'*, *i.e.*, the royal stud farms. An important part of his duties was to make an annual inspection, in company with the *Nāẓir-i Dawābb* or Overseer of the Animals, of the studs (the *ʿarḍ-i īlkhī*), and also to keep an eye on affairs in the royal reservations (*ḳuruḳāt*). Also mentioned in *ibid.*, chs. cxliii, clx = tr. 97, 100, are a *Ṣāḥib-Djamʿ* (*i.e.*, head of one of the *buyūtāt*, departments or workshops, of the royal household) of the saddlery (*zīn-khāna*), and one of the stables (*iṣṭabl*).

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(C. E. Bosworth)

(v) Muslim India: the term *iṣṭabl* is rather uncommon in Indo-Persian literature but is attested for the royal stables of the Indian Mughals (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, i, 48-54) and for those of the 9th/15th- century sultans of Mālwa (Farishta, *Ta'rīkh*, Bombay 1832, ii, 474). In India stables are more usually designated by the Persian word *pāygāh*, which is also used for non-royal establishments: *e.g.*, the stables of a *khānaḳāh* where the travellers' horses are lodged (Sidjzī, *Fawā'id al-fu'ād*, ed. M. L. Malik, Lahore 1966, 344: cf. Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 554).

The nomenclature and organization of royal stables in Muslim India reflect the eastern Persian tradition transmitted through the Ghaznavids [see section (iv) above], though Indo-Muslim stables also inherited a body of veterinary lore and knowledge of certain breeds of horses — *e.g.*, the *t'angan* from the north east of the sub-continent — from the large and diversified stables of earlier Hindu rulers (for those of the 1st/7th- century ruler Harṣa, see Bana, *Harṣacarita*, tr. E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, London 1897, 50, 201). The main purposes for which royal stables were maintained were similar to those which prevailed in Persia — to mount the sultan and his dependants, including considerable numbers of royal *ghulāms* or *čelās*, to supply a service of postal couriers and to provide horses for distribution as largesse or despatch as gifts. The main body of cavalry at all times consisted of troopers who maintained their mounts independently of the royal stables (for the sultanate of Dihlī, see Baranī, 303, 313; ʿAfīf, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 220-1, 301; for the Mughal period, W. Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls*, London 1903, 47-51; see also istiʿrāḍ).

In the sultanate of Dihlī [*q.v.*] the *pāygāh* was an important department of state (*kārkhāna*: ʿAfīf, 339-40) presided over by the *mīr ākhur* (Djūzdjānī, *Tabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 232, 242), *Shaḥna-yi Ākhur* (Djūzdjānī, 252) or *ākhur beg* (Barnanī, 174, 241, 424, 537); at times this office was divided between an *ākhur beg-i maysara* and an *ākhur beg-i maymana* (of the left and right wings: Baranī, 24, 454). The term *pāygāh* embraced both the stables and the royal horses and might be said to accompany the sultan when he left the capital (Sihrindī, *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, 109). ʿAlā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Khildjī (695/1296-715/1316) is said to have had 70,000 horses in his *pāygāh* (Baranī, 262). *Circa* 1340 A.D. the sultan of Dihlī (sc. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ) is said to have distributed 10,000 Arab horses annually to his retinue and given away countless others (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. K. A. Fāriḳ, Dehli 1961, 28). Horses were presented by the sultan to visiting Mongol chieftains (Baranī, 462) and to foreign potentates: *e.g.*, 100 horses were despatched by Muḥammad b. Tughlu to the emperor of China (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Paris 1853-7, iv, 2); 500 *Turkī* and *Tāzī* horses were bestowed by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ on Sultan Sikandar of Bengal in 761/1360 (ʿAfīf, 159). Subject chieftains and provincial officers who were close to import routes despatched horses to the sultan (ʿAyn-i Māhrū, *Inshā'-yi Māhrū*, ed. S. A. Rashīd, Lahore 1965, 111). In some cases money was paid from one of the *dīwāns* for horses sent to the *pāygāh* (Māhrū, 204, 207). In other instances horses were to be sent as an annual tribute. When in 778/1376 Shams Dāmghānī took over the farming of the revenues of Gudjarāt (Sihrindī, 132) he undertook to send 200 horses annually. The Djāms of Thattha, Sind, agreed to provide each year 50 horses worth 100,000 *t'ankas* (Māhrū, 187).

In the later 8th/14th century the *pāygāh* was divided into five physically separated establishments. The "large" *pāygāh* and one other were probably more than 100 miles away from Dihlī in the east Pandjāb. The third *pāygāh* was within the palace precinct of the capital (*pāygāh-i maḥall-i khāṣṣ*); the fourth, with 1,200 horses, was attached to the royal falconry or department of the hunt (*pāygāh-i shikarakhāna-yi khaṣṣ*; while the fifth provided mounts for royal slaves and dependants (*pāygāh-i bārgīrdārān-i bandagān-i khāṣṣ*: ʿAfīf, 318, 340). A modern reference to the breeding of horses in the Dihlī *pāygāh* in this period (I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Dehlī*[4], Karachi 1958, 70) is not substantiated, but it is suggestive that in the east Pandjāb where the great *pāygāh* was now situated non-Muslim tribes had earlier been engaged in horsebreeding for the military needs of the Dihlī sultanate (Baranī, 52-3; S. Digby, *War-horse and elephant in the Dehli sultanate*, Oxford 1971, 27-8). As in later Indo-Muslim states, the *pīlkhāna* (elephant stable) was a different department from the *pāygāh*. It was headed by another great officer, the *shaḥna-yi fīl* ("with an *iḳṭāʿ* the size of a great clime like ʿIrāḳ" according to al-ʿUmarī, 51-2; see fīl, pīlkhāna). In the decade before Timur's invasion of 801/1398, possession of the *pāygāh* and *pīlkhāna* in the capital city were important assets in the struggle for power (S. Digby, 75-80).

Information regarding royal stables in the 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries is scarce. In 810/1407-8 a *Farasnāma* which adapted a Sanskrit work on farriery into Persian was dedicated to Aḥmad Shāh (I) Walī Bahmanī of the Deccan (r. 825/1422-839/1436), as was a similar work to Shams al-Dīn Muẓaffar (II) of Gudjarāt (r. 917/1511-932/1525) in 926/1520 (for these works and their textual tradition see M. Z. Huda in *JASP*, xiv, 2 (1969), 144-65). In the sultanate of Kashmīr, control of the royal stables

gave an advantage in power struggles on at least two occasions (Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmīr under the sulṭāns*, Calcutta 1959, 201). The sultanate of Mālwa provides a possibly unique instance of a Muslim ruler turning horsedealer. Around 825/1422 Sultan Hū͟shang (r. 808/1405-838/1435) led a valuable string of horses across the difficult terrain of central India to trade them for war-elephants with the Rāy of Jājnagar (evidently Bhānučandra IV of the Eastern Gangā dynasty of Orissa: Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, iii, 295-6: Farishta, *Ta'rīkh*, Bombay 1832, ii, 466), but there may be mythical elements in this story. When Sultan Hūshang of Mālwa was on his deathbed, his son Ghaznīn Khān sent a demand for 50 horses from the *iṣṭabl*; this was refused by the *mīr ākhur* and the demand gave offence to his dying father (Farishta, ii, 474). We have no information regarding the stables of the Sayyid and Lodī sultans of Dihlī and of the sultans of Djawnpūr and Bengal. Kālā Lodī, father of Sultan Buhlūl Lodī (r. 855/1451-894/1489), first rose to political power as a horsedealer importing from the hills of the north-west frontier (Muḥammad Kabīr, *Fisāna-yi shāhān-i Hind*, B. M. Add. Ms. 24, 409, fols. 7-9).

From the end of the 10th/16th century we possess a detailed description of the regulation of the *iṣṭabl* of the Mughal emperor Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar [see AKBAR] (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, i, 140-6, tr. H. Blochmann and D. C. Phillott, ²Calcutta 1927 (1939), i, 140-50). As in the earlier period the most valued horses were imported, mainly from central Asia, Iran and the Persian Gulf. The *iṣṭabl* was divided into a number of *ṭavīla*, literally "strings", but probably lodged in separate stables. There were 12,000 horses in all, but this number probably does not include the Indian countrybreds, of which the better varieties were also collected. Accomodation was provided for horsedealers under an *amīn-i kāravān-sarāy*. There were six *ṭavīlas* of *khāṣṣa* horses ridden by the emperor himself, as well as *ṭavīlas* of the royal princes and a *ṭavīla* of central Asian post-horses (? *rahwār-i turkī nizhād*). Inferior horses were also grouped in *ṭavīlas* according to their value. The allowance of fodder was closely regulated (for the identification of foodstuffs see D. C. Phillott's notes to tr., i, 142-3). Annual sums were assigned for the maintenance of harness and saddlery, for shoeing and for stabling and grooming equipment. The department (*kārkhāna*) of the *iṣṭabl* was in the charge of the *atbegi* (also called *ākhtabegi* in 17th-century sources). The office was filled by grandees of the highest ranks: *e.g.*, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khānkhānān, at that time premier noble of Akbar's court. The staff of a *ṭavīla* was headed by a *dārūgha* (overseer), *mushrif* (accountant) and *dīdavar* (inspector). Other employees were the *āghtačī* (responsible for the harness), *čābuksuvār* (who tested and reported the speed of the horses), *Hād'ā* (a Rādjpūt horsetrainer), *mīr daha* (in charge of ten grooms), *bayṭār* (horse-doctor) and *naḳīb*. There was one *sā'is* (groom) for every two horses. The other classes of servant employed in the *ṭavīla* were *jilavdār* (see section (iv) above), *naʿlband* (farriers), *zīndār* (saddlers), *ābkash* (water-carriers), *farrāsh*, *sipandsūz* (burners of wild rue) and *khākrūb* (sweepers).

Mounts from the *iṣṭabl* were issued to *bārgīr-suvārān* (inferior cavalry without their own horses) on the production of written orders to the effect. The horses were branded to prevent fraudulent exchange. Employees of the *ṭavīla* paid graduated fines if a horse in their charge died, was stolen or was injured through negligence. A rota of horses from the *ṭavīlas* was kept in readiness for the emperor and imperial couriers to mount. The *shuturkhāna* (camel stables), *gāvkhāna* (ox byres) and *astarkhāna* (mule-stables) were subject to similar though less copious regulation (*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, i, 146-53). The regulation of the *fīlkhāna* took precedence even over that of the *iṣṭabl*, but the *kārkhāna* lacked a head of corresponding rank to the *atbegi* (cf. the *Shaḥna-yi pīl* of the Dihlī sultanate); this may reflect the idea that the command of elephants was an attribute of sovereignty (*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, i, 127-40).

Two developments in Muslim principalities established in the Deccan during the 12th/18th century deserve further research. In the Āṣafdjāhī state of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], the amirs of the *pāygāh* became a leading faction of the nobility which survived till recently. In the new Muslim state of Maysūr (Mysore), under its rulers Ḥaydar ʿAlī (r. 1174/1761-1197/1782) and Tipū Sulṭān (1197/1782-1213/1799) a large portion of the cavalry were mounted by the royal stable. This variety of *bārgīr* horse (troopers who do not provide their own mounts) is referred to in Tipū Sulṭān's terminology as *suvār ʿaskar* and by British sources of the period as "stable horse" and "regular cavalry" (M. H. Gopal, *Tipu Sultan's Mysore*, Bombay 1971, 28-62; W. Kirkpatrick, *Select letters of Tippoo Sultan*, London 1811; W. Miles, *A history of Hyder Naik*, London 1842, 173).

Bibliography: Given in the article. References to texts, where no date or place of publication is given, are to those in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. (S. DIGBY)

IṢṬAKHR, a town in Fārs. The real name was probably Stakhr, as it is written in Pahlavi; the Armenian form Stahr and the abbreviation S T on Sāsānian coins point in the same direction. The form with prosthetic vowel is modern Persian; it is usually pronounced Istakhar or Iṣṭaḥar, also with inserted vowel Sitakhar, Siṭakhar, Siṭarkh; cf. Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, i, 94ᵃ, 97ᵃ, ii, 223, and Nöldeke in *Grundr. der Iran. Philol.*, ii, 192. The Syriac form is Iṣṭahr (rarely Iṣṭaḥr), in the Talmud probably Istahar (אסתהר, *Megilla* 13ᵃ, middle). According to the statements of Persian authors, the town received its name from the lakes or swamps there. Perhaps, however, it is better to be derived with Spiegel (*Erânische Altertumskunde*, i, 94, note I) and Justi (*Grundr. der Iran. Philol.*, ii, 448) from the Avestan *stakhra* "strong, firm"; for the latter word cf. Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, p. 1591.

Iṣṭakhr lies in 29° 50′ N. Lat. and about 53° E. Long., a short hour's journey north of Persepolis, in the narrow valley of the Pulwar or Murghāb (also called Sīwand-Rūd). It may be assumed with certainty that its foundation took place very soon after the decline of the Achaemenid capital Persepolis, which was caused by Alexander the Great. The ruins of the latter in any case formed a quarry which was much used for the building of the new town. Iṣṭakhr was at first merely the chief town of the district of Fārs, the centre of which had probably always been in this neighbourhood. A few decades before the collapse of the Arsakid kingdom, it figures as the residence of local chiefs. The Sāsānians came from the region of Iṣṭakhr. Sāsān, grandfather of Ardashīr I, was superintendent of the fire-temple of the goddess Anāhīd in the town of Iṣṭakhr (Ṭabarī, i, 814), the fire of which is said to have suddenly been ominously extinguished in the night of the birth of Muḥammad. After the foundation of the Sāsānian kingdom this town was also considered its religious centre and

Iṣṭak͟hr was henceforth considered the official capital of the New Persian monarchy.

The inhabitants of Iṣṭak͟hr in particular opposed a stubborn resistance to the advance of the Muslims. The first attempt to take the city, undertaken in 19/640 by al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, governor of Baḥrayn, with insufficient forces and against ʿUmar's express orders, failed completely and it was not till 23/643 that Iṣṭak͟hr had to capitulate to an Arab army commanded by Abū Mūsā al-As͟hʿarī and ʿOt͟hmān b. al-ʿĀṣ. But its citizens afterwards rebelled and slew the Arab governor set over them. The governor of Baṣra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], whom the caliph sent against the rebels, was only able to take the town after severe fighting. In the suppression of the revolution many Persians met their death. This second capture of Iṣṭak͟hr probably took place in 29/649 (cf. on this question J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi (1899), III f. For other details of the Arab expeditions against Iṣṭak͟hr see: Balād͟hurī (ed. de Goeje), p. 389, f., Ṭabarī, i, 2546 f., 2549, 2696 f., 2830; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ii, 420 f., iii, 30 f., 77 f.; *Chronique de Ṭabarī* (Pers. vers., by Belʿamī), trans. Zotenberg, iii, 452-3; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i, 86-7, 163, and thereon A. D. Mordtmann in *ZDMG*, vi, 455-6; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv, 151 f., v, 19-27, vii, 219-20, 248-56).

Iṣṭak͟hr remained a fairly important place during the early centuries of Islam. However it gradually sank to be merely the chief town of a province and was the capital of the *kūra* bearing its name, the largest of the five districts into which the province of Fārs was divided, comprising its northern and north eastern parts. The heaviest blow suffered by the erstwhile Sāsānian capital was the foundation in 64/684 of S͟hīrāz (a day's journey south of Iṣṭak͟hr), which soon became the capital of the province of Fārs and attained great prosperity, particularly from the 3rd/9th century. Henceforth Iṣṭak͟hr declined visibly. From the description of the geographer al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, a native of the town, it was about the middle of the 4th/10th century a town of medium size of the area of an Arab (= Roman) mile; the wall around it was in ruins. Al-Muḳaddasī, writing about thirty years later (985), praises the splendid bridge over the river in Iṣṭak͟hr and the fine park. Concerning the chief mosque, situated in the bazaars, he mentions the remarkable pillars with "bull"-capitals. This probably refers not to an original Achaemenid building, but to a Sāsānian — al-Muḳaddasī mentions that the mosque was thought to have been previously a fire-temple — in the building of which pieces of carving from Persepolis had been used. Only a few years after the date of al-Muḳaddasī's account, a fatal catastrophe overwhelmed the town, brought upon it by the rebellious attitude of its citizens to their suzerain Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, a son of ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. The latter sent against it an army under the amīr Ḳutulmis͟h, who laid it in ruins. This sealed the ruin of Iṣṭak͟hr. In a description of the province of Fārs dating from the beginning of the 6th/12th century, in the Persian *Fārs-Nāma*, it is described as a modest village with barely a hundred inhabitants.

As to the mint of Iṣṭak͟hr, coins struck here in the Sāsānian period bear the abbreviation ST (𐭮𐭲) in Pahlavi characters; this certainly means Iṣṭak͟hr. Numerous specimens of these coins exist from the reign of Yezded͟jird II (from 438 A.D.) to the end of the dynasty. In the Islamic period also the Pahlavi legend with the above abbreviation was retained for a considerable time. Such coins struck in the name of the caliph or of governors are known down to the year 78/697-8, cf. J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian coins* (*A Catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum*), London 1941, cxxix-cxxx, 116. Coins of post-reform type were struck at Iṣṭak͟hr during the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods (see G. C. Miles, *Excavation coins from the Persepolis region, Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 143, New York 1959 and J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umaiyad coins*, London 1956, 112-4).

The present system of ruins at Iṣṭak͟hr has been excavated in 1935 and 1937 by a team from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (see: E. F. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis* (Oriental Institute Communications, No. 21, Chicago 1939), 105-21; idem, *Flights over ancient cities of Iran* (Oriental Institute, Chicago 1940), plates 8-10; and G. C. Miles, *op. cit.*).The remains of the town are mainly recognizable in the mounds of earth of varying height. Here and there parts of the surrounding walls still exist. The most remarkable seems to be a place lying towards the village of Ḥād͟jd͟jī-ābād͟h — called Ḥarīm-i D͟jams͟hīd = "D͟jams͟hīd's Harem" (cf. below) by the travellers J. Morier and Ker Porter — where a column stands erect in the midst of an area covered with fragments of pillars. Its capital, composed of bodies of bulls, at once shows it to have been removed from Persepolis. The most detailed account of the ruins of Iṣṭak͟hr, aside from that of Schmidt, is that of Flandin and Coste, who spent two months in the neighbourhood about the end of 1840; cf. the pictures in the great volume of plates, *Voyage en Perse*, ii (Paris, 1843 f.), Pl. 58-62, and the archaeological text accompanying it, p. 69-72, and also Flandin's *Relation du Voyage*, ii, (1852), 137.

In the vicinity of Iṣṭak͟hr there are several other sites remarkable for their monuments of history. For example, about 700 yards north of the village of Ḥād͟jd͟jī-ābād͟h, there are natural caves, one of which contains an inscription of historical importance of Sapor I (241-272 A.D.); it is usually called S͟hayk͟h ʿAlī by the Persians, as a pious ascetic of this name is said to have ended his days in it; at the same time one hears it called Zindān-i D͟jams͟hīd, "D͟jams͟hīd's prison". Prominent buildings and monuments of antiquity are frequently attributed to D͟jams͟hīd, a mythical ruler of ancient Iran whom the Muslim Persians identified with the Salomon of legend.

Another place of historical importance is the Naḳs͟h-i Rad͟jab, "Sculpture of Rad͟jab" (a legendary personage), about ¾ mile S.W. of Iṣṭak͟hr. This is a ravine-like split in the wall of rock on the south bank of the Pulwar, which is adorned with three Sāsānian reliefs.

On account of their considerable remains from the ancient and mediaeval Persian periods, the best known sites are Tak͟ht-i D͟jams͟hīd and Naḳs͟h-i Rustam, the former a short hour's journey south of Iṣṭak͟hr on the south bank of the Pulwar, the latter on the north bank of this stream about 1½ miles from Iṣṭak͟hr.

Tak͟ht-i D͟jams͟hīd is the most usual name among Orientals for the complex of Achaemenid palaces of Persepolis. Besides Tak͟ht-i D͟jams͟hīd one also hears the older name Čihil, or abbreviated, Čīl Minār (also Menāre), "the 40 pillars", which is found as early as the Persian historians of the 14th century. This name is taken from the most noteworthy parts of the whole site, the colonnade of King Xerxes I with its pillars, originally 72, now only 13 in number. The Arab geographers of the Middle Ages from about the 3rd/9th century know the ruins of the Persepolitan

terrace by the name Malʿab Sulaymān, "Sulaymān's playing-ground", with which we may compare the name Kursī Sulaimān, "Solomon's stool (throne)", found in the Persian history *Mudjmil-i Tawārīkh* (beginning of the 5th/11th century), which in its turn may have been the model for the present synonymous name Takht-i Djamshīd.

The "Bench" or "Throne" of Djamshīd (Salomon) is an artificial stone terrace of polygonal, almost rectangular shape, which lies at the foot of a steep, dark grey mountain of rock. The latter, according to the reports of modern travellers, now bears the name Kūh-i Raḥmat, "hill of mercy", but this is not to be found in literature; it apparently dates only from the post-mediaeval period (first mentioned by Sir Thomas Herbert in the beginning of the 17th century). The name still heard by Ouseley, Shāh Kūh, "royal hill", might be older; it coincides with the βασιλικὸν ὄρος of Diodoros (xvii, 71). At the same time, according to the same authority, the inhabitants also use the name Kūh-i Takht, "hill of the throne (of Djamshīd)". The section of the Kūh-i Raḥmat which forms the back wall of the platform contains three tombs of Achaemenid kings. The people know these by the names of the "mosque", the "bath" and the "mill of Djamshīd", according to Stolze (*Verhandl. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x., 1883, p. 273).

Iranian tradition varies regarding the founder of Persepolis-Iṣṭakhr; sometimes it is Kayūmarth, the mythical ancestor of the Persians, sometimes the builders or extenders are legendary rulers of the past like Kayūmarth's descendants Hoshang (Ūshhandj), Taḥmūrath, Djamshīd, Kai Khusraw. Solomon also is named, for whom the spirits (*djinn*) subject to him carried out marvellous works. A legendary princess, Humāy, who plays the role of Semiramis as a builder in Iran, is also mentioned. Persian tradition transfers to Persepolis-Iṣṭakhr the residence of the old Iranian kings and makes them be buried there also. According to Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*, the town was the residence of the reigning dynasty from the time of Kai Ḳubādh. Muslim writers connect the origin of Persepolis with Solomon; the name given by them, Malʿab Sulaymān, has been mentioned above. According to their legend, this king dwelled alternately here and in Syria and was rapidly carried by the *djinn* from one place to the other. Separate buildings on the terrace of Takht-i Djamshīd bear in Arabic writings the names "mosque" and "bath of Solomon" (cf. with these the above mentioned names of two royal tombs of Kūh-i Raḥmat). Solomon — so the story goes — shut the wind up in a room there; Persian sources of the 13th and 14th centuries still speak of a "prison of the wind" here (Zindān-i Bād) (cf. the reports in Ousely, *op. cit.*, ii, 381, 387).

Unfortunately the Arab accounts of the monuments of Persepolis are rather defective and moreover in parts distorted into fairy tales; cf. especially the accounts of the geographers al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Muḳaddasī and al-Ḳazwīnī (see Schwarz, *Īrān*); various not uninteresting information is given by Persian historians of the later Middle Ages, especially Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (see Ouseley, ii, 380 f., 387 f.). According to these two, the pillars of the ruins there were celebrated as a source of zinc oxide (*tūtiyā*) important for medical purposes. The vandal disfigurement of the heads of the figures on the bas-relief of Takh-i Djamshīd (and still more so in Naḳsh-i Rustam) is primarily due to the fanaticism of the Muslims with its objection to the representation of human faces.

The caliph al-Manṣūr (754-775) wished to use the ruins of Persepolis, like those of al-Madāʾin-Ctesiphon, as a quarry, but was persuaded against it by the advice of his vizier Khālid al-Barmakī, who said that Persepolis was used as place of prayer by ʿAlī; see *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (ed. de Goeje), p. 256.

Various Muslim rulers have perpetuated their visits to the ruins of Persepolis by having inscriptions incised. Here are to be seen three Arabic inscriptions in Kufic characters by members of the Būyid dynasties (4th/10th century), three inscriptions, two Persian and one Arabic, of Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibrāhīm, a grandson of Tīmūr (9th/15th century), also three inscriptions (2 Arabic and 1 Persian) of ʿAlī b. Khalīl, a grandson of Uzūn Ḥasan (9th/15th century). These inscriptions were thoroughly discussed by de Sacy in his *Mém. sur diverses antiquités de la Perse* (Paris 1793), p. 139 ff.. Some emendations thereon were given by Nöldeke in Stolze, *Persepolis*, ii, 6. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii, 188, also mentions an inscription of the Muẓaffarid Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Manṣūr (d. 765/1363), See also V. Minorsky, *Later Islamic Inscriptions at Persepolis*, in *BSOS* (1939), 177-8. The various verses scratched on the walls show the high respect in which Persepolis has always been held among the Persians; their modern poets often make allusions to the ancient capital of the country.

As to Naḳsh-i Rustam, its primary significance is only the steep south wall of the long, high mass of rock, Ḥusayn Kūh, which has in niches four Achaemenid royal tombs and Sāsānian reliefs. But the name is often extended to the whole of Ḥusayn Kūh. The name Naḳsh-i Rustam is due to the popular idea that the sculptured figures there represent the Iranian national hero Rustam. Before the wall of the tombs there rises a remarkable towerlike building, now called Kaʿba-i Zardusht, "the Kaʿba of Zoroaster". Probably it has something to do with a former fire temple. Two other small buildings are perhaps to be similarly regarded, not far from the Kaʿba-i Zardusht on the summit of a rock called Sang-i Sulaymān, "the stone of Sulaymān", cf. Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 300. We may also mention that the Sāsānian sculptures of Berme Delek 5 miles E.S.E. of Shīrāz are also called Naḳsh-i Rustam. (But see now, E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* III, *The Royal Tombs and other monuments* (Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1970), 122 ff.; W. B. Henning, *The Great Inscription of Šāpūr* I, in *BSOAS* IX (1937-39); M. Sprengling, *Third-Century Iran. Sapor and Kartir* (Oriental Institute, Chicago 1953); E. Honigman & A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*Mémoires, Acad. Royale de Belgique*, xlvii, Brussels, 1953).

A stone platform in two layers on the south bank of the Pulwar (about 500 yards W. of Naḳsh-i Radjab) is called by the inhabitants of the district, Takht-i Rustam, "the throne of Rustam". The latter, in view of its limited dimension, can only have served as the pedestal of a sepulchral monument or of a fire temple. Cf. Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii. 72-73 (and Pl. 63). Instead of Takht-i Rustam, the name Takht-i Ṭāʾūs, "peacock-throne", is also used. The name Takht-i Rustam is found elsewhere in Irān also: cf. Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 522).

At a somewhat greater distance from Iṣṭakhr, about 3-4 hours journey N.W., on rocky peaks stand three forts within 1½ to 2 miles of each other. All three, which lie practically in a straight line, are frequently comprised under the name Ḳalʿa or Kūh-i Iṣṭakhr, "the citadel" or "the mountain of Iṣṭakhr", also Kūh-i Rāmdjird, from a district of

this name on the left bank of the Kur (into which the above mentioned Pulwar flows). Firdawsī in a distich speaks of the Sih Diz-i Gumbadān-i Iṣṭakhr, "the three fortresses of Iṣṭakhr" (cf. Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 386). At the same time the separate castles have each their own names, which have however changed frequently in course of time according to the reports of the older historians and travellers. The most important of the three, the Ḳalʿa-i Iṣṭakhr in the narrower sense, is also called Miyān Ḳalʿa, "the central fort" from its position between the other two. Flandin and Coste heard it called Ḳalʿa-i Sarw, "the cypress castle", from a single cypress tree standing there. For the two other citadels Persian authors, for example, give the names Ḳalʿa-i Shikastah, "the broken (ruined) castle", and Ashkunawān (Sakunawān and similar names).

In the Muslim history of Fārs, especially in that of Iṣṭakhr, these inaccessible fortresses played an important part. They were regarded as most essential military points d'appui for the holding of the surrounding country. The most prominent is the "citadel of Iṣṭakhr" proper, the origin of which Persian legend places in mythical times by assuming it was built by King Djamshīd. The old Iranian ruler Gushtāsp is said to have deposited the *Avesta*, written on cowhides with golden ink, in the castle of Iṣṭakhr, after his conversion to the doctrine of Zoroaster; the citadel is therefore also called Diz-i Nibisht (Castle of the writing) or Kūh-i Nibisht (Hill of the writing; so in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī); cf. Ṭabarī, i, 676; and Ibn al-Athīr, i, 182, 9, as well as the Persian reports in Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 344, 364, 370-1, 375, 384. Under the caliphate the governor of the province of Fārs very frequently resided in this stronghold, which was easily defended by its natural situation. Thus the governor Ziyād b. Abīhi was able to hold out up here against Muʿāwiya for a considerable time after Alī's death; cf. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, etc. (Berlin 1902), 76. The Būyids, who not infrequently stayed in the region of Iṣṭakhr (cf. the inscriptions dating from their time mentioned above, at Takht-i Djamshīd; ʿImād al-Dawla [*q.v.*] was buried in Iṣṭakhr), paid particular attention to the citadel of Iṣṭakhr. ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in the 4th/10th century built on it a great system of cisterns, taking advantage of a natural pond already there, which could provide water for several thousand persons for a whole year and which aroused the admiration of contemporaries and of later generations. In 467/1074 the rebel Faḍlūya, who had seized the government of Fārs, was besieged by the troops of Niẓām al-Mulk in the sultanate of Malik Shāh in the citadel of Iṣṭakhr. An earthquake which suddenly caused the cisterns to overflow forced the besieged to a premature capitulation. Faḍlūya was then kept a prisoner in the fortress and put to death next year after an unsuccessful attempt to escape. The castle was later much used as a state prison for high officials and princes. About 1590 the citadel was still in good condition and inhabited. Some time afterwards a rebel general of Fārs took refuge in it and it was besieged by Shāh ʿAbbās I, stormed and destroyed. Pietro delle Valle, who stayed here in 1621, therefore found it in ruins.

The citadel of Iṣṭakhr has so far been only rarely visited by European travellers, *e.g.*, by Morier, Flandin (and Coste), and Vambéry. According to the account by Flandin and Coste, to whom we also owe drawings and plans of the citadel, it stands on a plateau 300 yards round, about 1300 feet above the plain. Of the old defences there have survived the powerful ramparts solidly built of stone; the great system of cisterns of the Būyids, among which a well hewn deep into the rock is specially remarkable, is still to be seen. All the ruins that survive seem only to date from the Muslim period. Cf. on the castles of Iṣṭakhr the accounts from Persian sources in Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 371, 376, 385 f., 389, 395-7, 399, 405-5, 407, 531; Ritter, viii, 863-5, 868, 877; Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii, 71-72; *Flandin's Relation du Voyage*, ii, (1852), 140-2; Vambéry, *Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse in Persien*, Pest 1867, 250; Cl. Huart in *Revue sémitique*, i, (1893), 259 f., 337 f. and in *Hist. de Bagdad* (Paris 1901), 28, 31; G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 276; Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 114-5 (Pl. xvi. and Fig. 45).

Bibliography: *BGA*, ed. de Goeje, *passim*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld,) i, 299 f.; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii, 99; Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, *passim* (s. Ind.); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā* (vers. lat. by Norberg, Lund 1878), i, 284-6; P. Schwarz, *Īrān im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, i (1896), 13-16 (13-30 on the Province Iṣṭakhr); G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 275-6, 294-5. Full accounts of Iṣṭakhr-Persepolis are given from Oriental, mainly Persian, sources by Ouseley, *Travels of various countries of the East*, ii, London 1821, 339-441. — C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschr. nach Arabien* etc., Copenhague 1778, 120-165; Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 187-191, 224-420; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 858-941; A. J. Rich, *Collected Memoirs*, London 1839, 231-261; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii, (Paris 1843 f.), Pl. 57-112, and the accompanying Vol. of text, 68-155; Flandin's *Relation du voyage*, ii (1852), 88-214; F. Stolze, *Persepolis*, Berlin 1882, 2 Vol.; idem, in *Verhandl. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x (1883), 251-276, Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur pers. Geschichte*, Leipzig 1887, 134-146; Geiger in *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii (1896 f.), 390 f.; Justi, *ibid.*, ii, 447-456; A. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York 1906, 294-320; E. Herzfeld in *Klio*, viii (1907), 1-68 (*passim*); Fr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910 (on Iṣṭakhr: see especially p. 100-2). — Of the old Persian inscriptions of Persepolis and Naḳsh-i Rustam the best accounts are given in E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* i, *Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, Oriental Institute, Chicago 1953, who includes earlier references. — On Sāsānid monuments and inscriptions see Schmidt, *op. cit.* — The best maps of Iṣṭakhr-Persepolis and its immediate neighbourhood are given by Schmidt, *Persepolis*, i and iii, and *Flights*.

(M. STRECK [G. C. MILES])

AL-IṢṬAKHRĪ, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD AL-FĀRISĪ AL-KARKHĪ, one of the first and most important representatives of the new trends adopted by Arabo-Muslim geography in the 4th/10th century.

His biography is unknown, or almost so. If the various forms of his *nisba* are to be believed, he was a native of Fārs and, more precisely, of Iṣṭakhr. Following Yāḳūt, orientalism has in fact accepted the *nisba* al-Iṣṭakhrī, but others, in particular Ibn Ḥawḳal, his direct continuator, designate him by the *nisba* al-Fārisī. Al-Muḳaddasī, who does the same, also adds the *nisba* al-Karkhī (ed. De Goeje, 475; compare with *ibid.*, 5, n. *a*), from which it might be supposed that, at some period in his life, the writer settled in Khūzistān or in ʿIrāḳ, and perhaps, to be more precise, in the quarter of Baghdād of that name (cf. Yāḳūt, s.v.).

One certain element at least in the life of al-Iṣṭak͟hrī is his meeting with Ibn Ḥawḳal. It is of little positive importance whether this took place in Sind, the description of which in Ibn Ḥawḳal (tr. Kramers-Wiet, 322) leads to the recalling of this meeting, though without any further details as to the place, or in Bag͟hdād, bearing in mind that this would be the most probable place for a meeting between the old master who had retired there and the young geographer who stayed there (*ibid.*, 336), completed his training and decided to set out on his travels (*ibid.*, 3, 322).

The work of al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* (another work, a *Risāla*, probably on Fārs, is recorded in connection with the description of that country: cf. ed. al-Ḥīnī, 67), at all events may be placed between that of al-Balk͟hī, by which it was inspired, and that of Ibn Ḥawḳal, which continues it: as Kramers writes very justly (*Analecta*, 196), "the manuscripts of al-Iṣṭak͟hrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal represent one single standard original text, which was revised and corrected several times." Written towards the end of the first half of the 4th/10th century, the *Kitāb* repeats, while it also develops, the "atlas of Islam" introduced by al-Balk͟hī. As in al-Balk͟hī, the *iḳlīm* [*q.v.*] is no longer the "climate" of Ptolemean geography but, in the Iranian tradition of the *kes͟hwars*, is a geographical entity, a "country". As with al-Balk͟hī, in the Persian "national" spirit prevailing in Sāmānid K͟hurāsān where the original work made its appearance, Iran holds a favoured position, by length of the passages devoted to it. Lastly, as with al-Balk͟hī, the spirit and methods of the cartography are very close to Persian models; far closer, in any event, than Ibn Ḥawḳal was to be. This Iranism explains how it is that al-Iṣṭak͟hrī's work, unlike that of Ibn Ḥawḳal (and of al-Muḳaddasī who represents the last link in the chain) was the subject of Persian translations (and also Turkish: cf. V. Minorsky, *A false Jayhānī*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1949-50), 156-9).

A further relationship exists: so far as one can judge, the cartographical representation, which for al-Balk͟hī was the essential feature, in the eyes of his successor remained the fundamental element of the geographical work, even if the commentary on the map was expanded considerably. This fact explains the reservations expressed by al-Muḳaddasī who described the *Kitāb* as "a book with very carefully prepared maps, but confused in many places and superficial in its commentaries, and it does not divide the provinces into districts (*wa-lā kawwara 'l-aḳālīm*)" (ed. De Goeje, 5, n. *a*).

Al-Muḳaddasī's severity towards his precursors is well-known. In essence, even if his basic principle is justified, it conceals the degree of progress between al-Balkhī and al-Iṣṭak͟hrī. Thanks to the commentary, not only does one pass gradually, as has been suggested, from the atlas to the descriptive atlas; in addition the scientific method is refined by the exercise of a critical judgement and by the desire to pass on information from oral or written sources, selected by personal observation (*ʿiyān*). These two principles are so closely interwoven in the work, and the author's modesty is so great in respect of the journeys he had had to undertake, that the map of al-Iṣṭak͟hrī's travels is difficult to reconstruct; in the case of Sind, for example, is the validity of the information provided due to the reliability of the informants or to travel notes? In any event, it is almost certain that al-Iṣṭak͟hrī visited Arabia (at least as far as Mecca), ʿIrāḳ, K͟hūzistān, Daylam and Transoxiana.

Al-Iṣṭak͟hrī's successors were not deceived as to the value of the work or the originality of his methods. Despite his criticism, al-Muḳaddasī did not fail to make use of it, as did the anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* and Yāḳūt. Even more than these writers, however, it is Ibn Ḥawḳal who appears as the privileged successor of al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, even as his designated heir: "I have met Abū Isḥāḳ al-Fārisī", wrote Ibn Ḥawḳal (trans. Wiet, 322); "this man had drawn this map of Sind, but he had made some mistakes, and he had also drawn Fārs, which he had done extremely well. For my part, I had drawn the map of Ad͟harbayd͟jān, which occurs on the following page and of which he approved, as well as that of Upper Mesopotamia, which he considered excellent. My map of Egypt however he condemned as wholly bad, and that of the Mag͟hrib as for the most part inaccurate. He then told me: 'I have made a careful study of your birth and have drawn up your horoscope. I ask you to make corrections in my work wherever you find any mistakes'. I made some alterations in more than one place, and wanted to publish them under his name. But I thought it good to leave my own name only on the edition of this work."

Ibn Ḥawḳal's decided views, and often his lack of constraint with regard to al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, have played in his favour; in reading him, one slightly forgets what the pupil owes to the master. But, whatever the just merits of the work of Ibn Ḥawḳal [*q.v.*], a careful study makes evident, on more than one page and far more than Ibn Ḥawḳal would have us to believe, how much he owes to his precursor (see an example in A. Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, 367-90). Thus the greatest prudence is called for when one starts to read a work which, in the final analysis, is a collective one, and in which the merits of al-Balk͟hī, al-Iṣṭak͟hrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal cannot be dissociated from one another.

The text of the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* has been edited in part by J. H. Moeller (*Liber climatum*, Gotha 1839; trans. A. D. Mordtmann, *Das Buch der Länder*, Hamburg 1845); a partial translation (on Sid͟jistān) has been made by A. Madini (Milan 1842). Later came the edition of De Goeje (*BGA*, i, Leiden 1870 and 1927), and then that of M. G. ʿAbd al-ʿĀl al-Ḥīnī (Cairo 1381/1961).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal — Kramers-Wiet, X, XIII, XIV, XVI, 13, 31, 318 (n. 545), 322; Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, xvii-xix, 21-2; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd͟jam al-buldān*, trans. W. Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-buldān*, Leiden 1959, 10; Kaḥḥāla, 104; M. Reinaud, *Introduction générale à la géographie des Orientaux* (*Géographie d'Aboulféda*), I), Paris 1848, lxxxi f.; the same author, *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, Paris 1849, 22; De Goeje, *Die Istakhri-Balkhi Frage, in ZDMG*, xxv, 42 f.; Brockelmann, S. I, 408; J. H. Kramers, *L'influence de la tradition iranienne dans la géographie arabe*, in *Analecta orientalia*, i, Leiden 1954, 148-56; idem, *La littérature géographique classique des Musulmans, ibid.*, 195 f.; Blachère-Darmann, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du moyen âge*, Paris 1957, 112-3, 134-5; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 196-8 (Arabic trans. [chap. I-XVI so far published] by Ṣ. D. ʿUt͟hmān Hās͟him, Cairo 1963, 199-200); A. Miquel, *Géographiqie humaine*, Paris-The Hague 1967, index. (A. Miquel)

ISTĀN [see USTĀN].

ISTANBUL, the capital of the Ottoman Empire from 20 Djumādā I 857/29 May 1453 to 3 Rabīʿ II 1342/13 October 1923. In strict Ottoman usage the name is confined to the area bounded by the Golden Horn, the Marmara coast and the Wall of Theodosius, the districts of Ghalaṭa, Üsküdār and Eyyūb being separate townships, each with its own ḳāḍī; occasionally however the name is applied to this whole area.

NAME. In the period of the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Anatolia (see Kamāl al-Dīn Aḳsarāyī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1944, index at p. 344) and under the early Ottomans (*Die altosm. anon. Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, Breslau 1922, 8, 28, 33, etc.) the spelling استنبول ("Istinbol", "Istanbol" or "Istanbul") was used; the pronunciation "Istimboli" is attested by J. Schiltberger (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Constantinopolis Oberhummer) for the end of the 8th/14th century (cf., for the 6th/12th century, the Armenian form Stampol: H. Dj. Siruni, in *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, iii (1960), 164). The spelling ستنبول ("S(i)tinbol", "S(i)tanbol") occurs in Ottoman poetry (Laṭīfī [*q.v.*], *Evṣāf-i Istanbul* in Ms.).

Al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 136) mentions, as early as the 4th/10th century, that the Greeks called the city "Būlin" and "Stanbūlin"; towards the end of the 10th/16th century F. Moryson (*An itinerary* ..., ii, 97) notes that the Greek inhabitants called the city "Stimboli", but the Turks "Stambol". It is no longer in question that the Turkish forms (Stinbol/Stanbol > Istin(m)bol/Istan(m)bol > Istan(m)bul) derive from the Greek εἰς τὴν πόλιν (for the arguments against the derivation Constantinupolis > Constandipol see Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*; D. J. Georgacas, *The name of Constantinople*, in *American Philological Association: Transactions*, lxxviii (1947), 347-67).

The punning name Islām-bol ("where Islam abounds") was, according to a contemporary Armenian source (see Siruni, *op. cit.*, 173), given to the city by its conqueror Meḥemmed II (for similar "meaningful" names invented by him, cf. Boghaz-Kesen, Elbasan, Bögür-delen); it is found in documents of the 9th/15th century (*e.g.*, Ayasofya Evkaf Defteri, Maliye no. 19; *Tarih Vesikaları*, ii/7, 37); in the 11th/17th century the educated classes regarded it as the "Ottoman" name of the city (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 55-6); and a firman of 1174/1760 decreed that it should be substituted for the mint name Ḳosṭantiniyye on coins (text in A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, p. 185). In popular usage however the forms Istanbul or Istambul prevailed. The present-day official spelling is İstanbul.

From 330 A.D. onwards, the official name in the Eastern Roman Empire was Constantinupolis (for the various forms, see Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*). Adopted by the Arabs and the Persians as Ḳu(n)sṭanṭīniyya in official and literary usage, this name continued to be used in Ottoman educated circles and in the Ottoman chancery, and appears in firmans and *waḳfiyyas* and upon coins (cf. too *Die alt. anon. Chr.*, ed. Giese, 28, 74, 78, etc.).

The original name Byzantion, of Thracian origin (Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*), is occasionally mentioned in Ottoman texts as the former name of the city, in various Arabic and Armenian forms: Byzantia, Byzandia, Buzantiye, Puzanta, Buzantis (see *EI*[1], i, 889; Evliyā Čelebi, i, 55; Siruni, *op. cit.*, 164).

The names *Rūmiyya al-kubrā*, *Takht-i Rūm* (cf. Μεγαλόπολις) and *Ghulghule-i Rūm* found in Muslim literary works (Evliyā Čelebi, *loc. cit.*) derive from the early Byzantine names (Nova) Roma, (Néa) Rhōme.

In Islamic chancery usage, cities, like human dignitaries, were accorded particular epithets and benedictory formulae (*duʿā, salutatio*). Those used for Istanbul by the Ottomans reflect old Iranian and Muslim concepts of centralized authority: Pāytakht-i Salṭanat, Takhtgāh-i Salṭanat, Maḳarr-i Salṭanat, Dār al-Salṭana, Dār al-Khilāfa; also, Dār al-Naṣr, Madīnat al-Muwaḥḥidīn (cf. Islām-bol). In continuation of the traditional notions that the ruler's authority and "fortune" are interlinked (cf. in Old Turkish titulature *Kut, Kutluğ*) and that justice is dispensed at the gate or threshold of the palace, Istanbul is often indicated by such names as Der-i Saʿādet (Der-saadet) Āsitāne. The usual benedictory formula Istanbul is *al-maḥmiyya* or *al-maḥrūsa*, *i.e.*, "the Well-Protected" (by God, against disaster; and also by the sultan, against injustice). A typical reference to Istanbul in chancery usage is: Dār al-Khilāfa al-ʿaliyya ve maḳarr-i salṭanat-i seniyyem olan maḥmiyye-i Kosṭanṭiniyye" (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, p. 110).

The ḳurʾānic phrase بلدة طيبة (XXXIV, 14/15), a chronogram for the date of the Ottoman conquest (857/1453), and the phrase *ḥasrat al-mulūk* (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 33, 55) are used for Istanbul only as literary conceits. As in Greek, so in Ottoman usage Istanbul was frequently referred to simply as "The City" ("*shehir*") (see, *e.g.*, İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, no. 727).

The following sections deal only with the Ottoman city. For Muslim attacks on the city before 1453, Muslim travellers' accounts of Constantinople, etc., see ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA. For the Bosphorus, see BOGHAZIČI. For the townships closely associated with Istanbul, see EYYŪB (in Supplement), GHALAṬA (in Supplement) and ÜSKÜDAR.

I. Results of the Conquest; Events up to 861/1457

The future development of the city was determined by the circumstances of the Ottoman conquest. When Meḥemmed II proclaimed the assault and promised his troops a three-day sack, he announced: "The stones and the land of the city and the city's appurtenances belong to me; all other goods and property, prisoners and foodstuffs are booty for the troops" (see H. İnalcık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxiii-xxiv (1969-70), 232-5). The result was that the city was denuded of its former inhabitants and the character which it had possessed in the Byzantine period was radically changed. The Ottoman troops entered the city through the breach opened in the walls at dawn, on 20 Djumādā I 857/29 May 1453, and fought their way towards Hagia Sophia (Aya Sofya), but some defenders continued to resist (the Cretan sailors in the towers of Alexius held out out until after midday, see Sphrantzes, tr. Ivanka, 80; cf. Braun-Schneider, *Bericht*, 32) and the fighting ended only towards the middle of the afternoon. Practically all the survivors were made prisoner and taken to the ships or to the Ottoman camp outside the walls (Tursun, 55; Critoboulos, tr. Riggs, 76; Tādjī-Beğ-zāde, 21). The sultan, wishing to prevent the further destruction of the city which he intended to be henceforth his capital, proclaimed that afternoon that the fighting was to cease and made a brief tour of the city (Ducas, ed. Grecu, 375; Sphrantzes records that the sack lasted for three days, but it is clear that from 30 May onwards there was no serious plundering or enslavement). On 30 May the sultan made his ceremonial entry (Tādjī-Beğ-zāde, 22); he

toured the city to inspect its buildings and visited the harbour district. Entering Aya Sofya, he proclaimed that it should be the Great Mosque (*djāmiʿ-i kebīr*) (Tādjī-Beğ-zāde, 23; Tursun, 56-7), and announced that henceforwards Istanbul should be his capital (*takht*) (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 233). His first and principal concern was to encourage the repopulation of the city, so that on the third day after the conquest he proclaimed *amān*: any fugitive who returned within a specified time should freely re-occupy his home and practise his religion, and the Greeks were invited to elect a Patriarch as religious head of their community (Sphrantzes, tr. Ivanka, 85; cf. Zorzo Dolfin, ch. xviii).

Before returning to Edirne on 13 Djumādā II/21 June, the sultan appointed Karīshdīran Süleymān Beg as *subashī* (military prefect) of the city, with a garrison of 1500 Janissaries, and Khiḍr-beg Čelebi as *ḳāḍī*, and ordered the repair of the walls, the building of a citadel (Yedi Ḳule) by the Golden Gate, and the construction of a palace for himself at the Forum Tauri in the centre of the city (later known as Eski Sarāy). To commence the repopulation of the city, he settled the fifth of the prisoners falling to him as ruler, with their families, "along the shores of the city harbour", *i.e.*, along the Golden Horn. He gave them houses and "freed them from taxes for a specified time". Immediately after the conquest he had considered appointing the Megadux Lucas Notaras as city-prefect and entrusting him with the task of repopulation, but his viziers dissuaded him; Notaras and the other Byzantine notables were executed (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 240). He permitted enslaved prisoners who had paid ransom or who undertook to pay ransom within a specified time to settle in the city, granting them houses and a temporary exemption from taxation; he encouraged such slaves to earn their ransoms by working on building projects (Critoboulos, 83, 93; Sphrantzes, *loc. cit.*; N. Barbaro, Eng. tr., New York 1969, 72). Before the siege began, many inhabitants had fled the city (Sphrantzes, 47); others had managed to conceal themselves during the sack or had fled to Ghalaṭa. These, with the ransomed prisoners, formed the first Greek population of the city; that they were numerically few is shown by the census (*taḥrīr*) of 860/1455 (for which, see below), which further confirms the tradition that some of these Greeks embraced Islam. (A great many of the prisoners had been sold, at Edirne, Bursa and Gelibolu.) The *amān* did not cover any Venetians: the *bailo* Girolamo Minotto and his son were executed; 29 other Venetian nobles were ransomed, but their male children were drafted into the corps of ʿAdjemī oghlans [*q.v.*]. The Venetians received permission to settle and engage in commerce only after the conclusion of the capitulations of 19 Rabīʿ II 858/18 April 1454.

The most effective measure taken to repopulate the city was certainly that of *sürgün* [*q.v.*], the compulsory re-settlement of people from various parts of the empire. Before leaving Istanbul, Meḥemmed II issued firmans ordering the sending of Muslim, Christian and Jewish families from Rūmeli and Anatolia (Critoboulos, 93; Ducas, ed. Grecu, 393: 5000 families by September; a document published by Jorga (*Notes et extraits*, iv, 67) speaks of 4000 families from Anatolia and 4000 from Rūmeli). In the autumn of 1453, the sultan returned to Istanbul; finding that the repopulation was proceeding only slowly because of opposition to the deportations, he moved to Bursa and set severe measures in hand (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 237). It was at this time that he appointed George Scholarius patriarch (6 January 1454) (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 236; Runciman, *Fall*, 155). In autumn 859/1455, when he again visited Istanbul, he was pleased to find the walls repaired and Yedi-Ḳule and the palace completed; but upon learning that Muslim settlers had left the city, he sent orders to Anatolia and Rūmeli that *sürgün*-families should again be sent without delay.

A fragment of a *taḥrīr defteri* for Istanbul and Ghalaṭa, dated Muḥarram 860/December 1455, has survived, the extant leaves covering the Fātiḥ district, part of Akserāy, and the areas along the land walls and the Marmara shore (see *Bibl.*). In the 22 *maḥalle*s, 918 *khāne* (here: "houses") are listed, and 291 of them are noted as "empty" or "ruinous". The houses are distinguished as one-storeyed (*süflī*), two-storeyed (*ʿulvī*) and "large", "the sumptuous (*mükellef*) houses called by the Greeks *drapez*". Some houses are noted as being split into three or four, or as inhabited by more than one family. One- or two-storeyed *čardak*s are noted, especially in the courtyards of monasteries (for such habitations within monasteries, see the plans of Buondelmonte and Vavassore; Oberhummer, *Konst. unter Sultan Suleiman*, pp. 19, 22; F. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten ...*, 1959, p. 4). Of 26 monasteries listed, only one is still occupied by Greeks; the others are deserted or inhabited by Muslim immigrants. 42 churches are listed, many of them situated in monasteries. Only two still belong to the Greeks, but the Greeks of the *maḥalle* of Altī-Mermer use a big house there as a church. Five churches are inhabited by Muslim immigrants, one has been converted to a mosque, most of the others, having no congregations, are ruinous.

The first Great Mosque of Istanbul was Aya Sofya and the first stages in the development of Istanbul as an Ottoman city are revealed by the study of its *waḳf*s. These include, besides the mosque and *medrese* of Aya Sofya, other Byzantine religious buildings now converted to Muslim use: the Zeyrek Djāmiʿi and its *medrese* (Pantocrator) (see S. Eyice, *Istanbul*, 57), the Ghalaṭa Djāmiʿi/ʿArab Djāmiʿi (St. Dominic) (see Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, Istanbul 1944, pp. 25, 28), the mosque in the citadel at Silivri, the Eski ʿImāret Mesdjidi (St. Saviour Pantepoptes) (see Eyice, 68), the Mevlevī convent Ḳalenderkhāne (Schneider, *Byzanz*, 51; Eyice, 54; under Bāyezīd II it was made a *medrese* and then a mosque). Meḥemmed II's Great Mosque ("Fātiḥ") was completed only in 875/1471. The mosques constructed up to that date (Rūmeli-Ḥiṣārī; the Yeñi Kerbānsarāy/Čukhadjī Khānī mosque; the Debbāghlar Mesdjidi at Yedi-Ḳule; Yeñidje Ḳalʿe/Anadolu Ḥiṣārī) were all attached to the *waḳf*s of Aya Sofya.

In 861/1457 Meḥemmed II made over to the *waḳf*s of Aya Sofya the Byzantine buildings still standing in the city; these are noted in the documents as "*sulṭānī*" and "*muḳāṭaʿalī*". In 898/1492 the total of these *muḳāṭaʿalī* houses was 1428 (Aya Sofya Evkafı Tahrir Defteri, Maliye 19). (By this time many houses had of course fallen into ruin.) Since a survey of 895/1489 notes 1093 *muḳāṭaʿalī* houses in Istanbul and Ghalaṭa "apart from the Byzantine houses occupied by *kul*s of the Padishāh", these latter must have numbered 335; it was the practice that *muḳaṭaʿa* (in effect "rent") should not be levied on a house held by a *kul*, so long as the *kul* actually resided there. Similarly, in the reign of Bāyezīd II the attempt to levy *muḳāṭaʿa* on Byzantine houses granted as *mülk* ("freehold") before the *waḳfiyya* for Aya Sofya was drawn up (*i.e.*, before 861/1457) was finally abandoned; but under Meḥemmed II it had been imposed and

removed more than once (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 241). The 502 such houses in Istanbul itself were located in the *maḥalles* of Aya Sofya, Sîrt Ḥanımâmî (near the Bedestân), Ḥādjdjī ʿAbdī, Ḥekīm Yaʿḳūb, S̲h̲ahin Üsküb (between Unḳāpānî and Djibali), Edirne-Kapîsî, Üstād Ayās (at Sarrādjkhāne), Arslanlu Makhzen, and Top-Yîkîghî (Topkapu), a distribution which gives an indication of the pre-Ottoman centres of habitation.

Apart from these Byzantine buildings, Meḥemmed II donated to the *waḳfs* of Aya Sofya other revenue-producing establishments which would at the same time meet the economic and social needs of the population and encourage settlement, namely: the Bedestān, with the Büyük Čars̲h̲î built round it (see below); the Bodrum Kerbānsarāyî; the Eski Kerbānsarāyî and Yemis̲h̲ Kapanî Kerbānsarāyî at Takhtaḳalʿe; the Yeñi/Beg Kerbānsarāyî near the Bedestān; the Un-Kapanî, Yemis̲h̲ Kapanî, Tuz Anbārî, Mūmkhāne, Sābūnkhāne, Djenderekhāne, Debbāghkhāne, Sellākhkhāne, Boyakhāne, and Mūy-tābān Kārkhanesi. There were furthermore two baths, 46 butchers' shops, 41 cookshops, 28 *boza-khānes*, and bakeries, and, in various parts of the city, some 2000 shops. Many of these shops were built in rectangular blocks or in facing rows (see the miniature in *İA*, art. *Istanbul*, facing p. 1214), each devoted to a single craft or industry.

II. The Principles observed in the Development of the Ottoman Capital

The fundamental principle observed in the development of Ottoman Istanbul was that it should receive the character of a Muslim city, so that the Muslim community should be able to live in accordance with the prescriptions of their religion and enjoy the traditional facilities of Muslim city life. This principle was the continuance of the ancient Middle East tradition by which the city was created around a place of worship and the urban functions were harmonized with the religious obligations. Aya Sofya was the Great Mosque *par excellence*, where the ruler and the Muslim community met together at an accession and at every Friday prayer, where the ruler received petitions, and where the great religious ceremonies were held; and the social and economic institutions and establishments which fostered the life of the city and the well-being of its inhabitants came into existence first as *waḳfs* of this Great Mosque (cf. *Middle Eastern Cities*, ed. I. M. Lapidus, Berkeley 1969).

This "Islamic" character is demonstrated by the city's topographic development: its first *nāḥiye* is the *nāḥiye* of Aya Sofya. The other *nāḥiyes* grew up around the mosques (*djāmiʿ*) built later by sultans and viziers, whilst the smaller units, the *maḥalles*, constituting the *nāḥiye* each grew up around a local mosque (*mesdjid*). From the very first, also, attempts were made to give Istanbul the status of a sacred city of Islam. Immediately after the conquest, the holy region of Eyyūb (Eyüp) received its character with the building of the *türbe* of the Companion Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (M. Canard, *Les expeditions des Arabes* ..., 70; its *waḳfiyya* in *Fatih Mehmet II. Vakfiyeleri*, Ankara 1938, 283-340. See also S. Ünver, *Istanbul'da Sahâbe Kabirleri*, Istanbul-Ankara 1953; P. Wittek, *Ayvansaray*, in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. orientales et slaves*, xi (Brussels 1951), 505-26). The profound Ottoman devotion to mystics and to dervish *s̲h̲eykh̲s* led to the establishment of many *maḥalles* in the name of a saint or around his *zāviye* or tomb (already under Meḥemmed II: S̲h̲eykh̲ Ebu'l-Vefā; S̲h̲eykh̲ Ak S̲h̲emseddîn; S̲h̲eykh̲ Sevindük Kh̲alvetī, known as Kovadjî Dede; S̲h̲eykh̲ Maḥmūd Resmī; etc.). A further indication of the desire to "Islamize" the city is the occasional use, already under Meḥemmed II, of the name "Islām-bol" (the city "full of Muslims") in official records (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 246). Sporadically, under Meḥemmed II and later sultans, Muslim fanaticism was aroused and pressure would be brought on the authorities to close the churches and synagogues on the grounds that the city had been taken "by force", so that the S̲h̲aykh̲ al-Islām himself would cast round for "evidence" to protect the *dhimmī* status of the non-Muslim inhabitants (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, p. 233, n. 11). For security reasons, Meḥemmed II's policy here, as in other conquered cities, seems to have been to ensure that the Muslims remained in the majority.

The Islamic ideal, as reflected in the tolerant outlook of Ottoman society, was easily reconciled with social and economic reality, so that from the very beginning Muslims and non-Muslims worked side by side in the commercial districts and even (at first) lived intermingled in residential areas; non-Muslims, in commercial dealings among themselves, would resort to the *ḳāḍī*, and a feeling of "fellow-citizenship" of the cosmopolitan capital transcended distinctions of religion and origin.

The "Ottoman" character of Istanbul sprang not only from the Muslim ideal but also from the traditional Middle Eastern view of state and society, a way of life characterized by the existence of a thriving class of merchants and craftsmen under the governance of a class of military administrators (see H. İnalcık, *Capital formation* ..., in *J. Ec. Hist.*, xxix (1969), 98-140). Thus the same patterns, based on the institution of the *waḳf*, which had been evident in all the cities of the Middle East began to appear in Istanbul. This tradition demanded the construction for the merchant class of a *bezzāzistān* (Ottoman: *bedestān*), near which were the caravansarais (*khān*) where the merchants lodged. The members of the principal crafts were gathered in the shops which constituted the great *čars̲h̲î* around the *bedestān*, each craft being concentrated systematically in one *sūḳ* or *čars̲h̲î* (as was easily ensured when blocks of shops were built together as *waḳf*). Various central "markets" for basic commodities were established, in order to ensure the authorities' control of the importation and distribution of the raw materials needed by the craftsmen and of the foodstuffs to provision the inhabitants, and in order to facilitate the collection of the tolls and taxes due to the state. These "markets" were called *kapan* (< Ar. *ḳabbān*, a public balance, a steelyard): the *yagh ḳapanî*, *un ḳapanî*, *bal ḳapanî*, *yemis̲h̲ ḳapanî* (for oil, flour, honey, fruit), etc., and in Istanbul these were situated in the harbour area (elsewhere, by the city gates). For goods imported by sea, there was in the harbour a customs' post called Gümrük-ḳapanî (later called, after the *gümrük emîni*, Emîn-öñü), while goods imported overland paid duty at the Kara-Gümrügü near Edirne-Kapîsî. The tannery and the slaughterhouse were outside the walls, while dye-works, fulling-mills, oil-presses, etc. were built near the appropriate craft centres; all these were set up as *waḳf* by members of the "ruling class". Other provisions, usually also set up as *waḳf* or forming part of elaborate *waḳf*-complexes (see below), had in view the welfare of the populace in general—water-supply, paving of roads, public security, hospitals, street-cleaning, the shelter and feeding of the poor and of travellers.

The interpretation that Istanbul's development as an oriental city can be viewed as originating from a

single nucleus (*Stadtkern*), consisting of the market-area, from which the main streets radiated and with the *maḥalles* stretching out in concentric circles (R. Mayer, *Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul*, Vienna 1943, pp. 9, 20, 254) is true not of the city as a whole but only of each individual *nāḥiye* growing up around a "foundation". For in the Ottoman period, as in Byzantine days, the city's development was controlled by the special characteristics of certain districts and by its geographical features. The two basic features of the Ottoman city (as in Bursa, Edirne, etc.) were a Great Mosque and a central market-district, and these features appear in Istanbul at first with Aya Sofya and the Bedestān; later however come the Fātih complex, with the Sulṭān Pāzārî and Sarrādjkhāne nearby; and thereafter the city was to develop as a series of such "foundation complexes" created by sultans and by leading statesmen; whilst less prominent individuals brought into existence smaller complexes of the *mesdjid* with its school which was to serve as the centre of a new *maḥalle*. There was thus, as it were, a hierarchical gradation of complexes.

Nevertheless, whilst these complexes tended to make Istanbul a series of semi-independent communities, two features preserved its organic unity: (1) the harbour area on the Golden Horn, and (2) the main thoroughfare, the Dîvān-yolu, along which armies and caravans passed; it was along this thoroughfare that the principal complexes were built, and the great commercial buildings and the main market area were situated between this thoroughfare and the harbour. It is evident that the location of the principal complexes did not arise from any plan drawn up in advance; hence, with the exception of the few main thoroughfares, the network of streets grew up haphazard, as a jumble of crooked alleys and culs-de-sac (this confusion was not the result of fires, as is sometimes suggested, but had existed from the beginning).

iii. — The Formation of the Principal Urban Installations

Before the building of the Fātiḥ complex and the Sulṭān Pazarî, the two commercial centres of Istanbul were (A) the Bedestān and Büyük Čarshî, and (B) Takhtakalʿe and the harbour area.

(A). As early as 1456 it had been decided that a *bedestān* should be built in the *maḥalle* of Čakîr Agha (a *subashî* of Istanbul) (Critoboulos, 104). A *bedestān*, where valuable imported wares were sold and which was the centre for financial transactions, was the centre of a city's economic life as being the place of business of the leading merchants (termed at this period *khwādja*). The Büyük Bedestān of Istanbul (*bezzāzistān, dār al-bazzāziyya*; later Djewāhir-Bedestānî or Ič-Bedestān) with its 15 domes, constructed with the strength of a fortress to protect merchants' wares and wealthy citizens' fortunes against theft, plunder and fire, is a supreme example of a genre of Ottoman architecture which had flourished since the building of the *bedestān* of Bursa at the end of the 8th/14th century (see E. H. Ayverdi, *Fatih devri mimarisi*, 404-7; S. Eyice in *İA*, art. *İstanbul*, p. 1214/114; idem, *Les "Bedensten"s*..., in *II Congresso Int. di Arte turca*, Venice 1963, 35-9). Neither its design nor the references to it in the sources give any hint to connect it with a Byzantine construction. In the Muslim world, as in the Byzantine, such a solid building for the storing and selling of valuable wares was a normal feature of the city (in the Byzantine Empire *basilike*, see Janin, *Const. byz.*, 97, 99, 157; in the Arab lands *ḳaysariyya*, see Lapidus, *Muslim cities*, 59-60). In the flourishing period of Constantinople's history, this area, between the Forum Constantini and the Forum Tauri, had been a thriving commercial district with a *basilike* and the *artopoleia* of the bakers' guild; it was the central site of the city, the meeting place of the roads leading in from the city gates and the roads leading up from the commercial quays of the harbour (between Neorion/Baghčekapî and Porta Droungariou/Zindān-kapî). The main road leading from here down to the Basilike quay in Byzantine times (probably the Vasiliko Kapîsî frequently mentioned in Meḥemmed II's *waḳfiyya*, later Zindān kapî), the Markos Embolos Maurianon, was in the Ottoman period, with the name Uzun Čarshî, to be the busiest commercial district of the city.

The most detailed information on the Bedestān, the Kapalî Čarshî, and the tradespeople working there is to be found in the registers of the *waḳf*s of Aya Sofya. In the Bedestān there were originally 126 *ṣandūḳ* (in 893/1488: 140; a *ṣandūḳ* is a shop with a store-room behind it and having a safe for valuables, cf. C. White, *Three years in Constantinople*, i, 174: "strong fire-proof boxes sunken in a wall of masonry under the floor") and 14 "*köshe*" shops (the rent for the first was 20 *akče* per month, for the second, 3, 5 or 15 *akče*). In 898/1493 ten of the merchants in the Bedestān were Armenians, five Jews, three Greeks, and the rest Muslims. (For the Bedestān in the 10th/16th century, see Ramberti, *apud* Lybyer, 241; Dernschwam, 93, 113; Schweigger, 129-30; in the 11th/17th century, Evliyā Čelebi, i, 613-18; Mantran, 465-6; an excellent description for 1844 in White, i, 3-34).

Some time later, but before 878/1473 (Evliyā, i, 617; the *waḳfiyya* ed. O. Ergin, in *Fatih İmareti*, Istanbul 1945, 6), Meḥemmed II built, at the south-east corner of the Büyük Čarshî a "new" *bedestān* (*dār al-bazzāziyya al-djadīda*) for silks, later called the Sandal Bedestānî (now the auction hall), which was to remain the largest *bedestān* of the Empire; it contained 124 *ṣandūḳ* and there were 72 shops outside it, occupied by various craftsmen.

As in Ottoman cities created before the conquest of Constantinople (see *La ville balkanique*, in *Studia Balcanica*, iii, Sofia 1970; D. Kuban, *Anadolu Türk şehri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vii (1968), 53-74), on each side of the four main roads (*shāhrāh*) leading away from the four gates of the Bedestān and of the streets parallel to them, rows of shops were built in a checker-board pattern for merchants and craftsmen. In the 641 shops (*dükkān*) there were, according to the *waḳf*-register of 894/1489, 33 shoemakers, 33 slipper-makers, 44 cap-makers, 50 workers in felt and tailors, 76 jewellers and other craftsmen (for the description of a *dükkān*, see Dernschwam, 93-4; White, i, 174). Shops of Muslims, Armenians, Jews and Greeks were not in separate streets but mixed up together; the majority however, not only of the craftsmen but of the jewellers and bankers (*ṣarrāf*), were Muslim Turks.

This Čarshî was repeatedly extended, so that finally it contained about a thousand shops; it was roofed over, to become the "Kapalî" Čarshî, with 12 large and 20 small gates, and since the Bedestān regulations were enforced here too, it became in effect an extension of the Bedestān (S. Eyice, in *İA*, art. *İstanbul*, pp. 1214/114-5; S. Tekiner, *The Great Bazar of Istanbul, Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*, no. 92).

The second great *čarshî* in this region was the block of shops known as *Maḥmūd Pasha Dükkānlarî*,

constructed near the ʿimaret of Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a and containing, with the shops around and behind it, 265 shops. It was annexed by Meḥemmed II to the *waḳf*s of Aya Sofya but returned by Bāyezīd II to the *waḳf*s of Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a's foundation (Aya Sofya register for 894/1489).

K̲h̲āns. The *k̲h̲ān*, which served as a lodging for the merchant engaged in trade between different regions and provided him with safe storage for his goods in the upper rooms or in the store rooms on the ground floor, and where also bulk sales of merchandise were made, was an essential element in Ottoman commercial centres (for *k̲h̲ān*s, see Mayer, *op. cit.*, 112-17; M. Erksan, *İstanbul hanları*, İst. Un. Edebiyat Fak., thesis, 1956). Meḥemmed II promoted the construction of four *k̲h̲ān*s, two in the commercial quarter of Tak̲h̲taḳalʿe, two near the Bedestān. The oldest is probably the so-called Bodrum Kerbānsarāyl near the Bedestān. With two storeys and 31 rooms, it had in its front wall 15 shops and 9 "*ḥüd̲j̲re*" (*i.e.*, a largish room used as a workshop or lodging) (for its situation, see S. Ünver, *Suyolu haritası*, pl. 3). The annual income from the *k̲h̲ān* was 15,500 *akče* and from the shops and "rooms" 3108 *akče*. The dealers engaged in the sale of cotton- and linen-cloths imported into Istanbul used this *k̲h̲ān* (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, Istanbul 1940, doc. 77).

The *k̲h̲ān* called Süleymān Pas̲h̲a Odalarl (after the *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli, K̲h̲ādim Süleymān) became in 894/1489 the *Kerbānsarāy-i üserā'*, commonly known as Esīr Pazarl. It contained 52 rooms on two floors, with an 8-room annex, a bath, and a large stable; it brought in an annual income of 19,500 *akče* (about 400 gold ducats) (on the *Suyolu haritası* it is marked on Dīvān-yolu, by the ʿAtīḳ ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a mosque; a good description in White, ii, 280).

The Beg Kerbānsarāyl east of the Büyük Čars̲h̲l (called in the *waḳfiyya* a *k̲h̲ān*, later Čuk̲h̲ad̲j̲l K̲h̲ānl) was constructed before 878/1473 (see the *waḳfiyya*, ed. O. Ergin, p. 6). It is a typical Ottoman *k̲h̲ān* with 98 rooms on two storeys around a rectangular courtyard. There are 42 shops (in the *waḳfiyya*: 44) against its wall, formerly occupied by druggists. The income was 40,000 *akče* from the *k̲h̲ān* and 19,548 from the shops.

Before the creation of Meḥemmed II's foundation, the leather-workers were congregated in this district, at the Eski At pazarl, whilst near the Eski Sarāy were the arrow- and bow-makers and the mint for silver *akče*s.

(B). The second region where Meḥemmed II's earliest constructions were built was Tak̲h̲taḳalʿe, the harbour area on the Golden Horn. Before the Ottoman conquest, this area, between Porta Perama/Ballk Pāzārl Kapısl and Porta Droungariou/Odun Ḳapısl, was controlled by Latin colonists, in the last years the Venetians (Janin, *Const. byzantin*, 235-44); harbour activity extended even to the Neorion/Bag̲h̲če Kapısl. In the negotiations following the Ottoman conquest, Venice endeavoured to recover the old palace of the *bailo*, the *lobia* where Venetian goods were stored, and the two Latin churches. By the capitulations of 858/1454 the new *bailo* Bartholomeo Marcello was apparently permitted to occupy the church and residence of the Anconans (Thiriet, iii, pp. 195, 201); the Aya Sofya register of 898 speaks of the "former" church of the Venetians (*al-kanīsa al-mansūba ila 'l-Vanadikiyyīn ḳadīman*) and the *bailo*'s palace, whilst the Arabic *waḳfiyya* (p. 60) mentions a "Venedik Lond̲j̲asl Maḥallesi" and the "Arslanlu Ev/Arslanlu Mak̲h̲zen Maḥallesi" (see the text, ed. T. Öz, p. 70; *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, ed. Ayverdi-Barkan, no. 570).

The quay at the Perama/Ballk Pāzārl gate continued to be the principal embarcation point for crossing to G̲h̲alaṭa, but later further landing-stages for transit were used (Yemis̲h̲, Limān, Balat, etc.). All early views and plans of İstanbul show masses of shipping in this area (see M. Lorichs, Tafel VII-IX; Le Bruyn, p. 39; F. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten...*). The slopes between this harbour area and the Bedestān were rapidly covered with commercial installations: Meḥemmed II built here, as *waḳf*-property for Aya Sofya, two *k̲h̲ān*s, a *gümrük ḳapanl*, a *yemis̲h̲ ḳapanl*, a salt-depot, a *mūm-k̲h̲āne*, three *boza-k̲h̲āne*s, 7 warehouses and 422 shops. The K̲h̲ān-i Sulṭānl was a square, roofed building, with 361 shops around it, the whole constituting an important *čars̲h̲l*. The synagogue (M. Lorichs, Tafel VIII) and the *k̲h̲ān* of Murād Pas̲h̲a were nearby. East of it was the Yemis̲h̲ Ḳapanl (later Bal Ḳapanl) *k̲h̲ān*, with 11 store-rooms below and 16 rooms above (S. Eyice, in *İA*, art. *İstanbul*, 1214/115; T. Bertelé, *Il palazzo degli Ambassatori di Venezia a Const.*, Bologna 1932; R. E. Koçu, in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, iv, 2053-6; its lower floor is probably Byzantine).

The principal *ḳapan*s of Istanbul were located here —for wax, salt, and soap—and the customs' house (M. Lorichs, Tafel VII; cf. also Grelot, p. 283). Firewood and timber were brought to the Ag̲h̲ač-Pāzārl at Bag̲h̲če-kapısl (*waḳfiyya* publ. by Vakıflar Um. Müd., p. 249; this landing-place was still so used in the 19th century: M. Żiyā, *Istanbul*, 319). The city prison was at Vasiliko Kapısl/Zindān Kapısl (*waḳfiyya*, ed. O. Ergin, p. 83); it was later known as Baba D̲j̲aʿfer Zindānl.

The Aya Sofya register of 898/1493 records, in Istanbul and G̲h̲alaṭa, 2350 shops, 4 *k̲h̲ān*s, 2 baths, 21 *boza-k̲h̲āne*, 22 *bas̲h̲-k̲h̲āne* and 987 *muḳātaʿalı* houses, with an annual revenue of 718,421 *akče* (some 14,000 ducats; in 894/1489 the revenue had been nearly a million *akče*: Barkan, in *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, xxiii, 344).

Elsewhere in the city, local *čars̲h̲l*s were built: that of Aya Sofya (39 shops); the "Yeñi Dükkānlar" at Kemer (17 shops: *waḳfiyya*s, ed. Ergin, 43; Vakıflar Um. Müd., 84; T. Öz, 25); that of Dikilü Tas̲h̲/Čenberli Tas̲h̲ on Dīvān-yolu (77 shops, with the mint for copper coins nearby) and of K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Pīrī Mesd̲j̲idi (26 shops; these two are perhaps rather extensions of the Bedestān area); at Tavuk-pazarl, 24 shops of dyers (*waḳf* of Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a). The first Janissary barracks ("Eski Odalar") were on the present Şehzadebaşı Caddesi (S. Ünver, *Suyolu haritası*, no. 3; Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, i, 238-42), with a *čars̲h̲l* of ten shops nearby (Tahsin Öz, 24); west of this were a *čars̲h̲l* of 35 shops in Ustād Ayās Maḥallesi, the Ḳāḍīʿasker Dolabl Čars̲h̲ısl of 19 shops, and, by the Church of the Holy Apostles, the Karaman Pāzārl.

Another important commercial district occupied the area outside the wall between the modern Unkapanı and Cibali (the Byzantine Plateia). Meḥemmed II built here the Un-Ḳapanl (M. Lorichs, Tafel IX) and a *čars̲h̲l* of 31 shops. Further up the Golden Horn were the city's first slaughterhouse and tannery, with the Debbāg̲h̲lar Maḥallesi (O. Ergin, pp. 12, 34). Further still, towards the Kynegion (Kinikoz) Gate, were fishermen's houses and imperial gardens (O. Ergin, 12; M. Lorichs, Tafel XII-XVII; Le Bruyn, p. 39).

The year 863/1459 was important in the city's development, for according to Critoboulos (tr. Riggs, 140), Meḥemmed II called his notables together and commanded them each to choose an area which should be called after him, anywhere in the city (cf. Vakı-

flar Um. Müd., p. 34), and build there a mosque, a *khān*, a bath and a market; he himself, selecting the site for the New Palace on Sarayburnu, also picked the finest area in the middle of the city for building a mosque "which should surpass Aya Sofya". Work on the mosque began only in the winter of 867/1462-3, the area (around the Church of the Holy Apostles) already having a large Muslim population. This construction encouraged the expansion of the city northwestwards towards the walls and north-east to the Golden Horn.

(C). The mosque and *ʿimāret* of Fātiḥ and its district (875/1470).

The mosque itself, begun in Djumādā II 867/February 1463, was completed in Radjab 875/January 1471 (inscription over the main door: Ayverdi, *Fatih devri mimarisi*, 143). The ancillary buildings were of two types: (1) *Khayrāt* around the mosque (*medrese*, hospital, *ʿimāret* (hospice), school, library, etc.), and (2) buildings of public utility to provide the income for the upkeep of the foundation. Such complexes had formed the nuclei of all Ottoman cities since Orkhān's foundations at Bursa (see O. Nuri, *İmaret sistemi*, Istanbul 1939; Ö. L. Barkan, *Quelques observations sur l'organisation économique et sociale des villes ottomanes*, in *Recueil Soc. Jean Bodin*, vii (1955), 289-311; Emel Esin sees their origin in Central Asia: *IV. Int. Congress of Turkish Art*, Aix-en-Provence 1970).

An area of about 100,000 m² is occupied by the following *khayrāt*: the mosque, with an extensive outer courtyard entered by eight gates; on two sides of it, 8 large and 8 small *medreses* (the Themāniyye and the Tetimme); to the east, in a separate court, a *tābkhāne*, a hospice and a *khān* (later Deve Khānī); and in a further court, a hospital. Between the two front entrances to the mosque-court were two smaller buildings, a children's school (*dār al-taʿlīm*) and a book-store (A. S. Ülgen and B. Kunter, *Fâtih camii ve Bizans sarnıcı*, Istanbul 1939; Ayverdi, *op. cit.*, 125-71). There were also residences for the *ʿulemā*ʾ employed in the *medreses*. The buildings of the second category were, principally, a great *čarshī* (Sulṭān Pāzārī), the Sarrādjkhāne, and a bath (Čukur Ḥamām or Irgatlar Ḥamāmī) north of the mosque. The Sulṭān Pāzārī, between the mosque and Sarrādj Khāne, on the site of the Djān-alldjī Church comprised 280 shops (so the register of 898/1493; in the *waḳfiyye* published by T. Öz: 286), and the Khīḍr-beg Čelebi Odalarī 32 workrooms and 4 storerooms. (On Vavassore's plan, the Sulṭān Pāzārī is shown surrounded by walls; in the registers it is called "*buḳʿa*".) Sarrādjkhāne (also a "*buḳʿa*") comprised 110 shops within a wall (S. Ünver, *Suyolu haritası*, Pl. 1); against its west and south wall were 35 shops and 19 "rooms", referred to as *Beglik dükkānlar ve odalar*. The register of 898/1493 lists 142 saddlers, all Muslims (some of them Janissaries), working here. The saddlers formerly working near the Bedestān were all brought here, henceforward the sole centre for that trade (*berāt* of 879/1475 publ. by Ç. Uluçay in *Tarih Dergisi*, iii/5-6 (1951-2), 151-2; renewal of 1119/1707 in A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, pp. 41). To the north were the horse-market and stables; round about were concentrated ancillary crafts—stirrup-makers, furriers, etc. In time of war this district was thronged with troops equipping their horses. (Schweigger, p. 129, comments that the Turks surpassed all nations in leatherwork.) Only in the 19th century, with the growing importation of European products, did this commercial centre decline (White, iii, 255 ff.).

South of Sarrādjkhāne, towards Aksaray, Meḥemmed II built new barracks for the Janissaries, the Yeñi Odalar in the Et Meydānī (replacing the Eski Odalar built probably in 864/1460); these, though often rebuilt after fires, remained the Janissary barracks until the destruction of the corps in 1826 (see also İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocaklari*,i, 241-3).

The following summary, for the Fātiḥ complex, illustrates the financial position of such a foundation (after Barkan, in *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, xxiii, 306-41). The income in 894/1489 and 895/1490 was about 1½ million *akče* (30,000 ducats, far exceeding the income of the Aya Sofya *waḳfs*), arising from 12 baths in Istanbul and Ghalaṭa, the *djizya* of these two cities, the tax-income from over fifty villages in Thrace and various rents. The expenses for the *khayrāt* were:

stipends	869,280 *akče*
food for the hospice	461,417
expenses of the hospital	72,000
repairs, etc.	18,522
	1,421,219

The personnel of the mosque numbered 102 in all, of the *medreses* 168, of the hospice 45, of the hospital 30. There were further agents and clerks to collect the revenues (21), and builders and workmen (17). Besides these 383 persons, regular payments were made to indigent *ʿulemā*ʾ and their children and to disabled soldiers; these charities amounted to 202, 291 *akče* per year. 3300 loaves were distributed at the hospice each day and at least 1117 persons received two meals. Besides being a religious and educational centre, therefore, this complex—drawing some half of its revenue from outside Istanbul—was a nucleus for the economic and social prosperity of this area of the city.

IV. The Formation of Nāḥiyes and Mahalles in the 9th/15th century

In accordance with Meḥemmed II's orders issued in 863/1459, the *pashas* constructed complexes of their own in the various quarters of the city, each of which served to encourage settlement and prosperity, so that within seventy years of the conquest 13 *nāḥiyes* had come into existence and the Ottoman city had taken its shape. The whole city constituted one *ḳaḍāʾ*; each *nāḥiye* comprised a number of *maḥalles* (represented by the *imām* of its local mosque). The establishment of a *djāmiʿ* or a *mesdjid*, with its appurtenances, in a sparsely populated area served to encourage settlement and the creation of a *maḥalle* (the process termed *shenlendirme*). The *mesdjids*, like the *djāmiʿ*s, were supported by *waḳfs*. The following table (after Ayverdi-Barkan, *Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 1970) shows the number of *waḳfs* recorded for each *nāḥiye*:

nāḥiye	number of *maḥalles*	*waḳfs* in 953/1546	*waḳfs* in 1005/1596
1. Aya Sofya	17	191	345
2. Maḥmūd Pasha	9	96	115
3. ʿAlī Pasha	5	44	76
4. Ibrāhīm Pasha	10	106	129
5. Sulṭān Bāyezīd	23	198	319
6. Ebu 'l-Vefā	12	165	306
7. Sulṭān Meḥemmed	41	372	681
8. Sulṭān Selīm	7	33	90
9. Murād Pasha	23	119	330
10. Dāvūd Pasha	13	84	264
11. Muṣṭafā Pasha	30	65	227
12. Topḳapī	7	13	39
13. ʿAlī Pasha	22	108	259
Totals:	219	1594	3180

(These registers do not record *maḥalles* of non-Muslims: the total was probably between 250 and 300, see below).

The first of these *nāḥiyes* to be established were presumably nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, and 12. Of the *maḥalles* within the walls in the 10th/16th century, some 30 % were established under Meḥemmed II, some 50 % under Bāyezīd II, and some 15 % between 1512 and 1546. This does not imply, however, that the population increase slackened in the 10th/16th century, for *maḥalles* founded earlier became more densely populated, as is apparent from 15th and 16th century plans: Vavassore's plan, derived ultimately from a plan of the period of Meḥemmed II (see Babinger), *Drei Stadtansichten* . . ., 5), shows the densest occupation east of a line drawn from the eastern side of the Langa Bostānlarī to Unkapanı (and along the southern shore of the Golden Horn); and by Ayverdi's map (*İstanbul mahalleleri*, Ankara 1958), the area east of the line contains 92 *maḥalles*, and that to the west —twice as extensive—98. But in plans of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (that of Velī-djān in the *Hünernāme*; of Pīrī Re'īs, Oberhummer, Tafel XXII), the area within the walls is all inhabited, with the exception of a strip within the land-walls by Yedi-Ḳule, Bayram Pasha Deresi, the Yeñi Baghče area and the Langa Bostānlarī. An increase in population density is to be deduced also from the increase in the number of *waḳf*s, as under:

between:	*waḳf*s established:
857 and 927/1521	1163
927 and 953/1546-7	1268
953 and 986/1578-9	1193
986 and 1005/1596-7	407

In 1005/1596-7 3180 *waḳf*s were in existence (some having been extinguished). The first seventy years after the conquest saw the establishment of 1163 *waḳf*s, the next 78 years (927-1005) 2858 (Ayverdi-Barkan, *op. cit.*, table 1); but most of these later *waḳf*s are concerned not with the establishment of new *mesdjid*s and *maḥalles*, but with supplements to existing *mesdjid*s, the provision of prayers for founders, etc.

Maḥmūd Pasha Nāḥiyesi (II on the plan). Maḥmūd Pasha [*q.v.*] chose for his complex a very suitable site, on the road linking the Bedestān to Takhtaḳal'e and the quays of Baghče Kapīsī. The *khayrāt* are the mosque (inscription dated 867/1462), the *medrese* (only the *derskhāne* survives), a hospice (beside his *khān*), a school (no longer extant) and his own *türbe* (inscription dated 878/1473). Most of the buildings supporting these are on the busy road to the harbour: a *čarshī* of 265 shops (see above); a *khān* (later the Kürkčü Khānī, still standing); a *ḥammām* (with a men's and a woman's side; inscription dated 871/1466); 14 dyers' shops at Tavukpāzārī; in various districts 139 shops, 67 houses, 47 "rooms" and 2 gardens. Outside Istanbul were: a *bedestān* at Ankara for the sale of mohair (now the Hittite Museum) with a *khān* beside it; a *khān* (Fidan Khānī) and shops at Bursa; *ḥammam*s at Khāṣṣköy and Gügerdjinlik; and 14 villages in Rūmeli (the *waḳf*s were all consolidated in a single *waḳfiyye* dated 878/1473, see Ayverdi-Barkan, pp. 42-5). The total revenue was 606,513 *akče* (over 13,000 ducats). The area where the *khayrāt* were built remained the most important commercial district until the 19th century. Maḥmūd Pasha also built here two *mesdjid*s, leading to the establishment of two *maḥalles*.

Murād Pasha Nāḥiyesi (IX on the plan). This consisted of 23 *maḥalles* around the mosque of Khāṣṣ Murād Pasha (the Palaeologue), d. 878/1473 [*q.v.*]. The complex comprised the mosque at Aksaray (inscription dated 876/1471), a *medrese* and a hospice, supported by 45 shops, 2 *bozakhāne*, a *bashkhāne*, and a bath at Aksaray, a *khān* and a *bashkhāne* at Takhtaḳal'e, and 9 shops at Yeñibāghče. This *nāḥiye*, which now covers the modern Aksaray, Lâleli, Cerrâh Paşa, Langa and Yeni Kapı, was at first sparsely populated, but under Bāyezīd II eleven further *maḥalles* were formed.

Ebu 'l-Vefā Nāḥiyesi (VI on the plan). Even in early days thickly populated, it was situated between the Eski Sarāy and Unkapanı Caddesi, extending to the Golden Horn. A mosque and *zāviye* were built by Meḥemmed II for Sheykh Abu 'l-Wafā (d. Ramaḍān 896/July 1491). It was a residential area, with *mesdjid*s built especially by the *'ulemā'* of the day (Mollā Khusrev, the first Ḳāḍī of Istanbul Khıḍr Beğ, Mollā Gūrānī, etc.), but also by wealthy merchants. Under Bāyezīd II many members of the *'askerī* class established rich *waḳf*s (among them Bāyezīd's daughter 'Ayshe Sulṭān and her husband Sinān Pasha).

The reign of Bāyezīd II saw much economic expansion, and the establishment of six further *nāḥiyes* (nos. 3, 4, 5, 10, 11 and 13 in the list above). The areas of habitation stretched out from Fātiḥ and Aksaray towards the landwalls, so that several Byzantine churches and monasteries in this region were now converted to mosques (see Plan).

Sulṭān Bāyezīd Nāḥiyesi (V on the plan). The mosque, on the Forum Tauri south of the Eski Sarāy, was built between 906/1501 and 911/1505; there was also a *medrese*, a school, and a hospice, together with a *ḥammām* and a *khān* in the same area (Vavassore's plan shows the area before this building work was undertaken). This complex was the centre of a *nāḥiye* embracing 23 *maḥalles* and extending from the modern Bayezid Meydanı to Kum-Kapı on the Marmara (the complex of Nishāndjī Meḥmed Pasha, nearer the sea had previously been a second nucleus in this area) and along Dīvān-yolu from the Büyük Čarshī to Sarrādjkhāne. In the reign of Meḥemmed II, Bayezid Meydanı had been surrounded by the *mesdjid/maḥalle* foundations of Čakīr Agha (*waḳfiyye* dated 864/1459), Dīvāne 'Alī Beğ (866/1461) and Balaban Agha (888/1483), while to the south of the modern road to Lâleli were the *maḥalles* of Emīn Beğ (868/1463), Segbān-bashī Ya'ḳūb and Mi'mār Kemāl. Many new *maḥalles* were established under Bāyezīd, mostly by members of the *'askerī* class but some by craftsmen. The Eski Odalar (see above) were in this *nāḥiye*, as was the shipyard for galleys (Kadīrga Tersānesi); the Byzantine port of Sophia was used as a naval base immediately after the conquest (for its use as a galley harbour in the days of the Palaeologues, see Janin, *Const. Byzantine*, 223-4), and between 1459-61 Meḥemmed II made a shipyard here (Critoboulos, 140, 177). The *taḥrīr* register of 860/1455 shows that *'azeb*s [*q.v.*] were living between Yeñi-kapī and Kum-kapī, a district originally called 'Azebler Maḥallesi. The shipyard, with its great gate, built around the enclosed harbour is clearly shown in the plans of Vavassore and of Velī-djān. Later, probably in the 18th cent., the harbour silted up to become the modern Cündî Meydanı and Kadırga Bostanı.

A very important building, of the Conqueror's time, in this *nāḥiye* was the mint [see DĀR AL-ḌARB, pp. 117], in the *maḥalle* of Segbān-bashī Ya'ḳūb, the principal mint for silver and gold coins (later known as the Sīrmakesh/Sīmkesh Khānī); a small *čarshī* of 8 shops was built near it.

'Alī Pasha Nāḥiyesi (III on the plan). Khādim

(ʿAtīḳ) ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], twice Grand Vizier and killed in 917/1511, founded on Dīvān Yōlu in part of the Forum Constantini a mosque (902/1496), a *medrese*, a school, a hospice and a *k̲h̲ānkāh*, with a *k̲h̲ān* and shops. The *nāḥiye* (no. 3 above) contained 5 *maḥalles* (see S. Eyice, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xiv/19 (1964), 99-114; R. E. Koçu, in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 1281).

The same ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a constructed a mosque (later Zindjirli-kuyu Djāmiʿi) near the Edirne Kapisi and converted the K̲h̲ora monastery church into a mosque (Kilise Camii/Kariye Camii) (see S. Eyice, *op. cit.*). This *nāḥiye* (no. 13 above, VIII on the plan) embraced an extensive and sparsely populated area of 22 *maḥalles*. These *k̲h̲ayrāt* were supported by a large *k̲h̲ān* and a "*kös̲h̲k*" near his hospice at Çenberli Taş (see S. Eyice, *Elçi Hanı*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 24 (1970), 93-130; in the early 10th/16th century this *k̲h̲ān* brought in a revenue of 13,000 *akče* per year); a bath at Yeñi-bag̲h̲če; 178 shops, 246 "rooms", one bakehouse and one breadstore in the commercial districts of Istanbul; 44 villages, 4 baths, 7 mills and various shops in Anatolia and Rūmeli; and a *bedestān* at Yanbolu. The annual revenue (mostly from outside Istanbul) was 471,998 *akčes* (over 8000 ducats) in 915/1509. Most of the *maḥalles* (15) in this *nāḥiye* were established under Bāyezīd II in the Balat-Edirne Kapı-Bayram Paşa Deresi area.

Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a Nāḥiyesi (IV on the plan). Čandarli Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a (*ḳāḍīʿasker* in 890/1485, Grand Vizier for one year from 904/1498) built at Uzun Čars̲h̲ī a mosque (the roofed building shown in Lorichs, Tafel IX), a *medrese* and a school, supported by a bath, a slaughterhouse of 14 shops at Eyyūb, 5 shops, 28 houses and 40 "rooms" (together with 3 villages and 3 mills in Rūmeli and Anatolia, a *bedestān* at Serez, etc.). Although the foundation was relatively poor (annual revenue 135,880 *akče*), the *nāḥiye* included the busy commercial district between the Büyük Čars̲h̲ī and the harbour, and some of its *maḥalles* had been established by wealthy merchants in the reign of Meḥemmed II.

Dāvūd Pas̲h̲a Nāḥiyesi (X on the plan). "Kodja" Dāvūd Pas̲h̲a (Grand Vizier from 887/1482 to 902/1497) built a mosque, a hospice, a *medrese*, a school and a public fountain (inscription dated 890/1485) near the Forum Arcadii, with an extensive *čars̲h̲ī* of 108 shops and 11 "rooms" around the mosque. He also brought into occupation the area now named after him on the Marmara coast (west of the former Port of Eleutherios), building there a palace, a bath, a *bozak̲h̲āne*, 11 shops and a landing-stage (Ayverdi-Barkan, p. 345). Six baths, in Istanbul and elsewhere, a *bedestān* at Manastir, shops at Üsküb and Bursa, and the revenue of 12 villages brought in an annual income of 378,886 *akče* (ca. 7,500 ducats). Although some *maḥalles* had existed here before, it was particularly this foundation which promoted the growth of the area, 8 *maḥalles* being set up under Bāyezīd II.

Kodja Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a Nāḥiyesi (XI on the plan). It is evident that towards the end of Bāyezīd II's reign the Muslim population was increasing in the region towards Silivri Kapisi, and here, in 895/1489 (inscription), the later Grand Vizier Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a converted the church of St. Andrew in Krisi into a mosque. According to the *waḳfiyya*, the complex comprised also a hospice, a *medrese*, a *k̲h̲ānkāh*, a school, and houses for the *imām*, etc. (for his *k̲h̲ayrāt* at Eyyūb and elsewhere, see Ayverdi-Barkan, pp. 366-9), supported by a large *ḥammām* (annual income 65,000 *akče*) and 81 shops near the complex, by numerous shops and two *k̲h̲āns* in various parts of Istanbul, and by 27 villages in Rūmeli (details in Ayverdi-Barkan, 365-7). The annual income was over half a million *akčes*. No fewer than 17 *maḥalles* were formed under Bāyezīd II.

The *maḥalles* in the four *nāḥiyes* bounded by the landwalls—Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a, Dāvūd Pas̲h̲a, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a and Topḳapi—were relatively large but their *waḳfs* were few, an indication that the population was sparse; and many of the *mesdjids* had to be supported from the sultan's treasury. Most of the new *maḥalles* established under Süleymān were in this region—four in Topḳapi and three in ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a. The foundation in 973/1565 of the complex by Mihrumāh Sulṭān at Edirne-Kapi (mosque, *medrese*, school and fountain, supported by a *k̲h̲ān* and a *čars̲h̲ī*) promoted the settlement of the area (see below). The establishment of the mosques of Kara Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a at Topḳapi (ca. 961/1554) and K̲h̲ādim Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a al Silivri Kapisi (958/1551) suggest a concentration of settlement near the city gates.

Nearly 90 % of the *maḥalles* were named after the founder of the local mosque. The local people would make new endowments to ensure the repair of the mosque and the support of the mosque officials and teachers, but there are few cases where the local people clubbed together to build a mosque. Among the individuals who founded more than one *mesdjid* in the years after the conquest are the *subas̲h̲ī* Čakir Ag̲h̲a, the Ḳāḍīʿasker Mollā K̲h̲usrev, and some merchants (Elvān-zāde K̲h̲ʷādja Sinān, Üsküblü Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, K̲h̲ʷādja Üveys, K̲h̲ʷādja K̲h̲alīl). According to the *waḳf* register of 953/1546, 65 % of the founders of mosques belonged to the "ruling" *ʿaskerī* class (palace officials, army officers, *ʿulemā* and "bureaucrats"). The distribution is as follows:

ʿulemā and *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲s*	46
merchants and bankers	32
tradesfolk	28
ag̲h̲as of the Palace	18
begs	16
pas̲h̲as	14
officers of the Ḳapı-Ḳulu	12
"bureaucrats"	8
architects	6
others	39
Total	219

High-ranking members of the *ʿaskerī* class were, in fact, far richer than merchants and craftsmen, and were more inclined to found *waḳfs*, partly perhaps for reasons of social and political prestige, but also as a means of retaining within the family's control capital derived originally as income from the Public Treasury (see İnalcık, *Capital formation* . . ., 133-40).

V. Developments in the 10th/16th century

The 10th/16th century sees a rapid increase in the population dwelling within the walls, so that old *maḥalles* become more densely populated, some *mesdjids* are replaced by *djāmiʿs*, new *mesdjids* are built, and new complexes are erected and new *maḥalles* are created in formerly deserted areas, especially towards the landwalls, along the Bayram Pas̲h̲a Deresi (the Lycus) and even outside the walls; whilst around G̲h̲alaṭa the inhabited area extends up the Golden Horn and down the slopes to Topk̲h̲āne, and the new districts of Findikli, Djihāngir and Ḳāsim Pas̲h̲a come into being. The demand for new buildings which this increase in population produced led to a period of great activity by the Palace department of *K̲h̲āṣṣa miʿmārlari*, already directed by the great

architect Sinān [*q.v.*] (in 932/1525 the department had 13 architects, all Muslim; in 1013/1604 there were 23 Muslims and 16 Christians; for its organization see Ş. Turan, in *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, i/1 (Ankara 1963), 157-202), so that the finest monuments of Ottoman architecture and art belong to these years. The mosque of Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], twice Grand Vizier, was erected over warehouses and shops on the site of the *mesdjid* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīl (see A. S. Ülgen, *Rüstem Paşa heyeti*, in *Mimarlık Dergisi*, ix (1942), 23-8). Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha (Grand Vizier 923/1517-929/1523) established an extensive *waḳf* with a mosque and *medrese* in the Zeyrek district, a mosque at Merdjān, a mosque and a *khānḳāh* at Mollā Gūrānī, and a complex of mosque, *medrese* and hospice at Silivri, supported by the annual income of 6000 ducats from a *khān* near the Bedestān, another *khān* in Ghalaṭa and shops at Takhtaḳalʿe and Balîk-Pāzārî, while his garden north of the Golden Horn was the origin of the later quarter of Pîrî Pasa (Evliyā, i, 411)

In 946/1539 the sultan, Süleymān, built in the name of his wife Khurrem a complex of mosque, *medrese*, hospital, hospice and school at ʿAvret-Pāzārî (the "women's market") in Aksaray, which was becoming an important market area (for this market, round the Column of Arcadius, and its prosperity at this period, see C. de Villanon, 306, and cf. Sanderson, 77); a khān, a *ḥammām*, a wood-store, a slaughterhouse, and various shops and warehouses in different areas of Istanbul brought in an annual income of half a million *akče* (8,400 ducats). In memory of his son Meḥmed, the sultan built on Dīvān-yolu, between Vefā and Sarrādjkhāne, a truly imperial (Evliyā, i, 162) complex (951/1544-955/1548; mosque, *medrese*, hospice, school, *türbe*; also a *kerbānsarāy*); whilst for his son Djihāngīr he built at Fîndîklî the mosque and school which gave its name to the Djihāngīr district (Evliyā, i, 442).

Finally, exploiting an area cleared by a fire in the centre of the city, Süleymān entrusted to Sinān the construction, on a hill overlooking the harbour, of the most elaborate building-complex of the capital. This, the Süleymāniyye (mosque begun Djumādā II 957/July 1550 and completed Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 964/ October 1557; for the inscription see C. Çulpan, in *Kanunî Armağanı*, Ankara 1970, 293), is composed of no fewer than 18 elements (S. Eyice, *İstanbul*, pp. 49-52, bibliography). Within the court are the mosque, the tombs of Süleymān and of Khurrem Sulṭān and the house of the *türbedār*; outside, on two sides of the mosque are four *medrese*s and the *dār al-ḥadīth*, the highest institutes of learning of the Empire; the other large buildings are a hospital, a *dār al-ḍiyāfa* and a *ṭābkhāne*; smaller buildings are a college for *mülāzim*s (students preparing to enter a *medrese*), a library, a pharmacy, and a children's school. The complex is completed by several houses near the mosque for teachers and mosque-servants, a *khān*, and shops in front of the *medrese*s, which constitute a *čarshî*. According to Evliyā Čelebi (i, 157) the Palace of the Agha of the Janissaries (later the office of the Sheykh al-Islām) belonged also to this complex. (For the Süleymaniyye and the Agha's palace, see M. Lorichs, Tafel X).

The registers of expenses for these constructions are valuable evidence for the procedures followed in such a major enterprise (see Ö. L. Barkan, *L'organisation du travail dans la chantier d'une grande mosquée à Istanbul au XVIe siècle*, in *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, xvii (1962), 1093-1106; for similar registers relating to the Mosque of Aḥmed I, see T. Öz, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, i (1938), 26; cf. also *Taʾrīkh-i Djāmiʿ-i Sherīf-i Nūr-i ʿOthmānī*, *ʿilāve* to *TOEM*, no. 49). Materials and craftsmen were gathered from Istanbul and from other parts of the Empire, the workmen being kept under strict discipline. Of the craftsmen receiving pay over the whole period of 5 years and 7 months, 29 % were from Istanbul, 14 % from Rūmeli and the Islands, 13 % from Anatolia (with no indication for 44 %). 51 % of the 3,523 craftsmen were Christians, 49 % Muslims. The builders of walls, the ironworkers and the sewermen were mainly Christian, the stone-carvers, carpenters, painters, glassworkers and lead-workers were mainly Muslim. Of the total workforce 55 % were free men receiving a wage, 40 % were *ʿadjemī oghlan*s and 5 % were galley-slaves.

All the *waḳf*s of Süleymān (besides the foundations already mentioned, the *medrese* of Sultan Selīm and the *zāviye* in the *maḥalle* of Fīl-damî) were consolidated in one *waḳfiyya* (ed. K. E. Kürkçüoğlu, Ankara 1962). According to a *taḥrīr* made in the reign of Murād III (Ayverdi-Barkan, *op. cit.*, xvii, n. 31), the annual income was then 5,277,759 *akče* (88,000 ducats); it may be noted that 81 % of this income arose from the taxes of 230 villages in Rūmeli. The whole complex had a staff of 748, whose stipends amounted to nearly one million *akče* a year.

Foundations made during this century near the landwall gates and in the Lycus valley testify to an increase of population in these areas. In the region of Edirne-Kapîsî, besides the Mihrumāh foundation (see above), there were the mosque-complex of Mesīḥ Pasha between this gate and Fatih (inscription: 994/ 1586; see T. Bozkurt, *Mesih Paşa Külliyesi*, İst. Ün. Ed. Fak. thesis, 1964); the mosque of the dragoman Yūnus Beg at Balat (948/1541); the mosque of Ferrukh Ketkhudā (970/1562); and the mosque of Ḳāḍī Saʿdī.

At Topḳapî the Kara Aḥmed Pasha complex, the work of Sinān (962/1554: mosque, medrese, *dār-al-ḳurrāʾ*, school, fountain; see Ş. Yaltkaya and Ali Saim Ülgen, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (1942), 83-97 and 169-71), was an important factor in promoting the district's prosperity. The Arpa Emīni (Defterdār) Muṣṭafā mosque should also be mentioned.

The district of Yeñibaghče was evidently favoured by the ruling class, to judge from the foundation of the mosque and *medrese* of Sulṭān Selīm; the mosque of the Ḳāḍīʿasker ʿAbdurraḥmān Čelebi; the mosque of Khurrem Čavush; the mosque and *medrese* of the Kapudan Pasha Sinān Pasha; the mosque of Miʿmār (Kodja) Sinān; the Yeñičeri Kātibi mosque; the mosque of the Grand Vizier (944/1537-947/1540) Luṭfī Pasha, together with the palace, fountain, bath and tomb of his wife Shāh-i-Khūbān. The Palace of Maḥmūd Agha was also here.

The Silivri Kapîsî district received the stimulus of the foundation of Khādim Ibrāhīm Pasha, which comprised a mosque (958/1551), a *medrese*, a school, 3 *ḥammām*s, 4 large residences and 7 houses (see A. Erdoğan, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, i (1938), 29-33). The mosque and *ḥammām* of Ḥādjdjī Evḥad (by Sinān) were also founded near the walls, by Yediḳule.

Along the Marmara walls and the Golden Horn walls too, new foundations appeared: at Akhur Kapî, the mosque of Maḥmūd Agha; at Kum Kapî, the mosque of Ibrāhīm Pasha's wife; at Langa, the mosques of Bāzirgānzāde and Sheykh Ferhād; at Kadırga, the mosque, *medrese* and *zāviye* of Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha/ Esmā Khātūn (see S. Eyice, in *İA*, art. *İstanbul*, p. 1214/68); at Un-Kapanı, the mosques of Süleymān Subashî and of the Tüfenkkhāne are listed among the

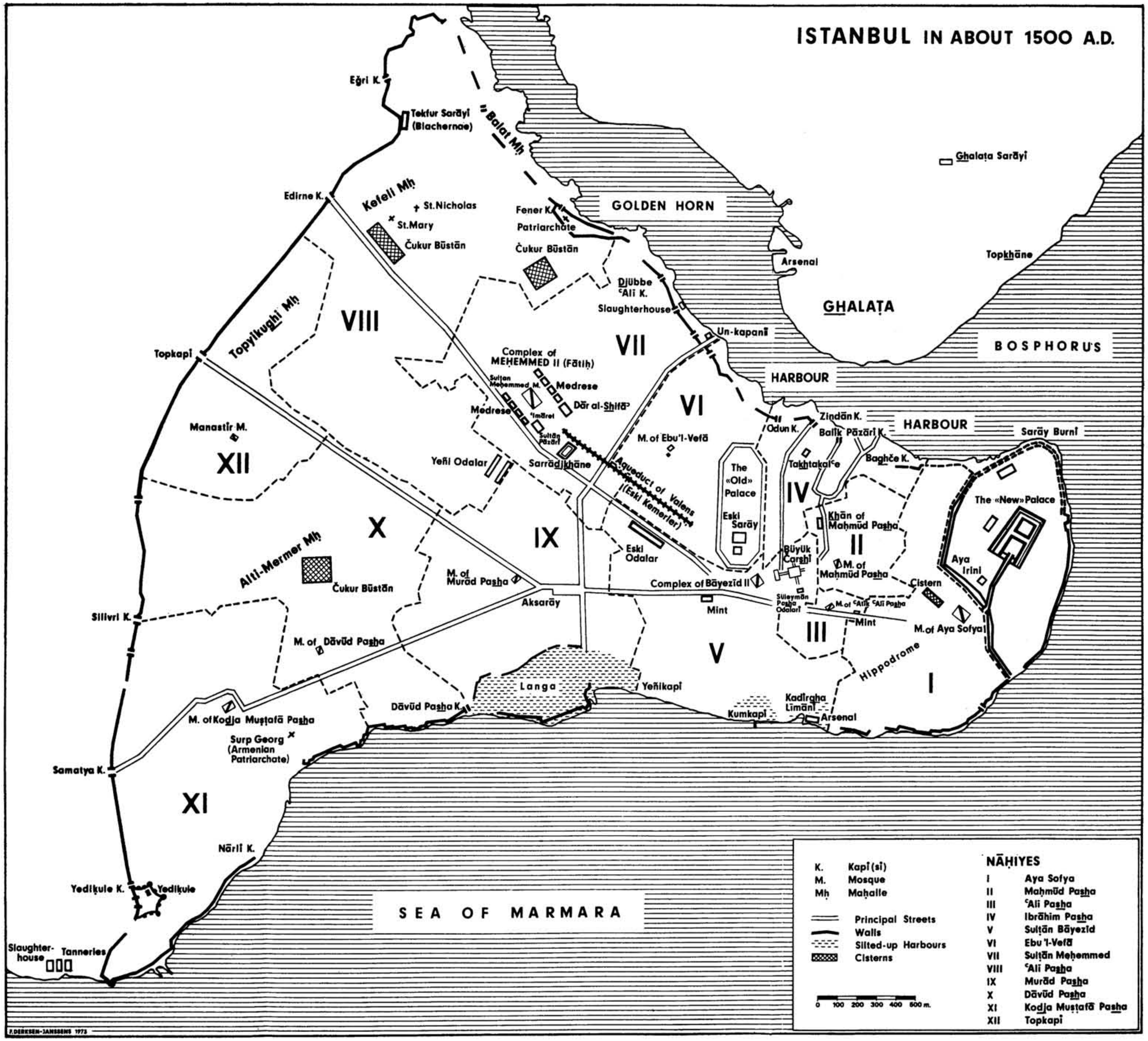
ISTANBUL IN ABOUT 1500 A.D.
Eğri K.
Tekfur Sarāyî (Blachernae)
Balat Mḥ
Edirne K.
Kefeli Mḥ
St.Nicholas
St.Mary
Čukur Būstān
Fener K.
Patriarchate
GOLDEN HORN
Ghalata Sarāyî
Topkhāne
Arsenal
GHALAṬA
Djübbe ʿAlî K.
Slaughterhouse
Un-kapanî
BOSPHORUS
HARBOUR
HARBOUR
Topyikughi Mḥ
Topkapî
VIII
VII
VI
Complex of MEḤEMMED II (Fātiḥ)
Medrese
Dār al-Shifā
Medrese
ʿImāret
Sulṭān Pāzārî
Zindān K.
Balîk Pāzārî K.
Sarāy Burnî
Odun K.
M. of Ebu'l-Vefā
Manastîr M.
XII
Yeñi Odalar
Sarrādjkhāne
Aqueduct of Valens (Eski Kemerler)
The «Old» Palace
Eski Sarāy
Takhtakalʿe
Baghče K.
The «New» Palace
IV
Khān of Maḥmūd Pasha
II
X
IX
Eski Odalar
Büyük Čarshî
M. of Maḥmūd Pasha
Aya Irini
Alti-Mermer Mḥ
Čukur Būstān
M. of Murād Pasha
Complex of Bāyezîd II
Cistern
Aksarāy
Mint
Mint
M. of Aya Sofya
Silivri K.
III
M. of Dāvūd Pasha
V
Hippodrome
I
Langa
Yeñikapî
Kadîrgha Limānî
Dāvūd Pasha K.
Kumkapî
Arsenal
M. of Kodja Musṭafā Pasha
Surp Georg (Armenian Patriarchate)
Samatya K.
XI
Nārlî K.
Yedikule K.
Yedikule
SEA OF MARMARA
Slaughter-house
Tanneries
K. Kapî(sî)
M. Mosque
Mḥ Maḥalle
Principal Streets
Walls
Silted-up Harbours
Cisterns
0 100 200 300 400 500 m.
NĀḤIYES
I Aya Sofya
II Maḥmūd Pasha
III ʿAlî Pasha
IV Ibrāhîm Pasha
V Sulṭān Bāyezîd
VI Ebu'l-Vefā
VII Sulṭān Meḥemmed
VIII ʿAlî Pasha
IX Murād Pasha
X Dāvūd Pasha
XI Kodja Musṭafā Pasha
XII Topkapî
F. DERKSEN-JANSSENS 1973

works of Sinān (see R. M. Meriç, *Mimar Sinān*, Ankara 1965).

Indeed the period from 947/1540 to 996/1588 may justly be called the "period of Sinān", for he and his subordinates constructed in Istanbul, for the sultans and notables, 43 *djāmiʿ*s, 52 *mesdjid*s, 49 *medrese*s, 7 *dār al-ḳurrāʾ*, 40 *ḥammām*s, 28 palaces and *köshk*s, 3 hospices, 3 hospitals, and 6 *khān*s. Other important constructions attributed to Sinān in the outlying districts are: at Eyyūb, the mosque of Zāl-oghlī Maḥmūd Pasha (fountain dated 958/1551), the mosque of Defterdār Maḥmūd Čelebi (948/1541) and the mosque of Shāh-Sulṭān; at Topkhāne, the mosque of Kïlïč ʿAlī Pasha (988/1580), and the mosque of Muḥyīeddīn Čelebi; at Fīndïklī, the mosque of Djihāngīr, and the mosque, school and *ḥammām* of the Ḳādīʿasker Meḥmed Vuṣūlī (Mollā Čelebi) (973/1565); at Beshiktash, the mosque of Sinān Pasha (963/1555); at Sütlüdje, the Čavush-bashī mosque; at Usküdār, the mosque of Mihrumāh Sulṭān (954/1548), the mosque of Shemsī Aḥmed Pasha (988/1580) and the Eski Vālide (Nūrbānū) Sulṭān mosque (991/1583); at Ḳāsïm Pasha, the Ḳāsïm Pasha complex of mosque and *medrese* (the value of the *waḳf* being 2,630,000 *akče*s in cash and 117,000 *akče*s in real estate); and towards Okmeydānī the Piyāle Pasha complex of mosque, *medrese*, school, *tekke*, fountain and *ḥammām* (*waḳfiyya* dated 981/1573).

The quarter of slaughterhouses and tanneries outside Yediḳule grew considerably: originally consisting of 27 shops of tanners, 32 of butchers, and 5 of catgut-makers (*waḳfiyya*s of Meḥemmed II and the Aya Sofya register of 898/1493), it was in the middle of the following century, according to Evliyā Čelebi (i, 391), a "flourishing township" with one *djamiʿ*, seven *mesdjid*s, 300 tanners' shops, 50 glue shops and 70 catgut-makers. These tanners claimed the right to buy the hides of all animals slaughtered in Istanbul (see ʿO. Nūrī, *Medjelle-i umūr-i Belediye*, i, Istanbul 1922, 830-2; for a list of the Istanbul slaughter-houses in 1016/1607: A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, Istanbul 1931, pp. 30-1).

In the second half of the 10th/16th century and the first half of the 11th/17th, the inhabited areas extended outside the landwalls towards Eyyūb (*maḥalle*s of Otakčïlar, Nishāndjī Pasha and Čömlekčiler, described by Evliyā Čelebi, i, 391-6). In the same period settlements grew up around mosques and convents built outside the principal gates: at Topkapī, the mosque of Taḳyedji Ibrāhīm Agha (d. 1004/1595-6: M. Ziyā, *Istanbul*, p. 128; foundation inscription dated 1000/1591) gave rise to the Taḳyedji *maḥallesi*; whilst at Yeñi-Kapī the mosque and *zāviye* of Merkez Efendi (d. 959/1551; see T. Yazıcı, in *Ist. Enst. Dergisi*, ii (1956), 104-13) and the great Mevlevīkhāne founded by the Yeñičeriler Kātibi Malkoč Meḥmed Efendi in 1006/1597 (later much enlarged, see M. Ẓiyā, *Yeñi-Kapī Mevlevīkhānesi*, Istanbul 1329; idem, *Istanbul*, 115-8) both fostered a growth in population (see Evliyā Čelebi, i, 392).

The last great mosque-complexes to be constituted in the classical tradition of Ottoman architecture are those of Aḥmed I on the Hippodrome and the Vālide Djāmiʿi (Yeni Djāmiʿ) at Emīn-öñi.

The former, built between 1018/1609 and 1026/1617 at a cost of one million and a half gold pieces, comprised a mosque, a *medrese*, a hospital, a food-kitchen, a *dār al-ḍiyāfa*, lodgings (*misāfirkhāne*), a school, a public fountain, and an *ārāsta*-type *čarshī* (see Evliyā Čelebi, i, 216-19; Tahsin Öz, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, i, 25-8; S. Eyice, in *İA*, art. 'Istanbul', p. 1214/59). The *djizya* of the inhabitants of Ghalaṭa was made over as *waḳf* for this mosque.

The Yeñi Djāmiʿ was begun in 1006/1597 by Ṣafiyye Sulṭān [*q.v.*], but the work was suspended for many years and completed only in the years 1071/1660-1074/1663 by Turkhān Sulṭān [*q.v.*], to comprise the mosque, a *dār al-ḳurrāʾ*, a school, fountains, the tomb of Ṭurkhān, and a market (*miṣr čarshïsï*) and shops (see S. Ülgen in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 387, and S. Eyice, p. 1214/60; detailed engraving of the area in Grelot, p. 283).

The 12th/18th century saw the construction of the Nūr-i ʿOthmāniyye complex beside the Büyük Čarshī (1161/1748-1169/1756); mosque, *medrese*, library, public water-point (*sebīl-khāne*); (see *Taʾrīkh-i Djāmiʿ-i Sherīf-i Nūr-i ʿOthmāniyye*, supplement to *TOEM*, Istanbul 1337; Doğan Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, Istanbul 1954) and of the Lāleli complex (1174/1760-1177/1764; mosque, *medrese*, fountain): these are in a hybrid style influenced by European baroque, and no longer belong to the classical Ottoman tradition.

It is not without significance that in this period of decline hospices and hospitals, requiring a substantial annual expenditure, tend to be replaced as elements of a complex by libraries and fountains. This tendency is evident in the foundations of the Grand Viziers. Three viziers of the Köprülü family built complexes along Dīvān-Yolī (Meḥmed Pasha: tomb, *medrese*, library; Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha, 1101/1690: mosque, *medrese*, school, fountain; ʿAmdja-zāde Hüseyn Pasha, 1112/1700: mosque, *medrese*, library, fountains). Here too were the foundations of Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha (1120/1708: mosque, *medrese*), of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha (1132/1720: *dār al-ḥadīth*, fountain), and of Seyyid Ḥasan Pasha (1158/1745: *medrese*, school, fountain, shops, bakehouse; see ʿO. Nūrī, *Medjelle* . . ., i, 1054-5). Another characteristic of this period is the foundation of new complexes, on the model of the old, in sparsely populated areas of the city (*e.g.*, that of Ḥekīm-oghlu ʿAlī Pasha in the *nāḥiye* of Kodja Muṣṭafā Pasha, of 1146/1733-1147/1735) or in newly settled districts at Üsküdār and along the Bosphorus.

The most important of such foundations are those of Kösem Vālide Sulṭān [*q.v.*] (mosque, *medrese*, hospice, bath, *khān*; for the *waḳfiyya* see W. Caskel, in *Documenta islamica inedita*, Berlin 1952, 251-62) and of Gülnūsh Sulṭān ("Yeni Vālide", of 1120/1708-1122/1710: mosque, fountains; see A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 42) in Üsküdār, the mosque of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I (1192/1778, with other properties in Istanbul at Baghčekapī) at Beğlerbeği, and the complex of Mihrishāh Sulṭān (1210/1795: hospice, fountain, school) at Eyyūb.

By and large, until the 17th century practically all the expansion of Istanbul took place within the walls. This area, of 17.2 km.², was not all built over even at the height of the Byzantine period (see *e.g.*, Schneider, Mayer, Jacoby). In 950/1543, in the middle of the reign of Süleymān I, there were numerous and extensive uninhabited tracts (Mayer, 63: M. Lorichs shows the area between the Süleymāniyye and the Golden Horn as an open space). Although in the course of that century complexes and palaces of notables were built along the Lycus Valley and near the land gates, these sections of the city continued to be sparsely populated, with numerous pleasure-gardens and market-gardens: in the 11th/17th century, for example, Yeñi-baghče (S.W. of Edirne Kapīsī) is described as a vast meadow with ten thousand horses out at grass (Hezārfenn, *Talkhīṣ al-*

bayān). So too (note the names) there were wide open spaces at Agha-čayîrî (between Silivri Kapîsî and Yedi-Ḳule), in the extreme southern corner of the city around Yedi-Ḳule, at Böstān-yeri on the Marmara shore between Samatya and Dāvūd-Pasha-Kapîsî, and further east the Langa Böstānlarî, the Ḳadırgha Bostānlarî, and the Djündî Meydānî. Near the landwalls were the enormous Byzantine open reservoirs (all called "Čuḳur Bostānî") at Altî-Mermer, Edirne Ḳapîsî and Sulṭān Selīm. Even in the thickly-populated areas of the city the courts and gardens of the Old Palace and of the New Palace (0.67 km.²), and the courtyards of the Great Mosques remained unoccupied (it was estimated that 100,000 people could be accommodated in the mosques: *Medical and surgical history of the British army*, London 1858).

These open spaces were not wasted. The mosque courtyards, with their attractive views and their shady trees, were favourite places of recreation (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 481), and were sometimes used for markets (*e.g.*, Bāyezīd). Conversely, shops and houses progressively intruded on the *fora* of the Byzantine city, to the extent that some of them entirely disappeared (forum Constantini = Čenberli Tash meydānî, or Tavukpāzārî Dikili-Tashî meydānî; forum Tauri = Bāyezīd meydānî; forum Arcadii = ʿAvret-Pāzārî; Forum Bovis = Aksaray) (Mayer, 16-20; Le Bruyn, 48). The Hippodrome (At Meydānî), however, though reduced in area, remained the most extensive and important public space of Istanbul (fine engraving in Grelot, 271); besides being a place of recreation, it was also a market and the scene of equestrian exercises. The ʿAvret-Pāzārî (restricted, like similar markets in other Ottoman cities, to women only) gradually disappeared (descriptions: Dernschwam, 98; Sanderson, 77; Le Bruyn, 47). Equestrianism and archery were practised not only in the Hippodrome but in Langa Meydānî and Djündî Meydānî (*TOEM*, ii, 547), which were also places of recreation (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 481), where the building of houses or the laying out of gardens was forbidden (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 112).

VI. Structure of the *Mahalle*; Highways; Building Regulations; Domestic Architecture; Fires; Earthquakes

(a). The *mahalle*.

By the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II, Istanbul was reckoned to be composed of 182 *mahalles* (E. H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul mahalleri . . .*, Ankara 1958, 84), a figure which had risen to 219 by 953/1546 (*Istanbul vakıfları defteri*, ed. Ayverdi-Barkan, Istanbul 1970, p. 425) (non-Muslim *mahalles* being excluded). In 1044/1634 there was a total of 292 *mahalles* and also 12 *djemāʿat* ("communities") (M. Aktepe, in *İstanbul Enstitüşü Dergisi*, iii, 114). By 1083/1672 there had been a decline to 253 Muslim and 24 non-Muslim *mahalles*. In 1288/1871 the area within the walls contained 284 Muslim, 24 Greek, 14 Armenian and 9 Jewish *mahalles*, with a further 256 *mahalles* outside the walls, along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, in Üsküdār and in Ḳāḍīköy (A. Djevād, *Maʿlūmāt al-kifāya*, Istanbul 1289, 111).

The *mahalle* was an organic unity, a community with its own identity, settled around a mosque, a church or a synagogue. The individuals of this community were linked not only by a common origin (in many cases), a common religion and a common culture, but also by external factors making for social solidarity. The meeting-place of the community and the symbol of its unity was the place of worship, the repair of which and the maintenance of whose staff were the joint responsibility of the inhabitants, and after which the *mahalle* was named. Practically every *mahalle* had also its own school and fountain, and the wealthier inhabitants aided these foundations by *waḳf*-endowments (see, *e.g.*, *İstanbul vakıfları defteri*, *passim*).

Similarly too the authorities treated the *mahalle* as a unity having joint responsibility for the maintenance of order, the payment of taxes, and other obligations to the state. The *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] tax demonstrates this clearly, being collected from each *mahalle* according to the pre-determined number of its *ʿawāriḍ khāneleri*; many *mahalles* had a joint "*ʿawāriḍ* fund", supported by *waḳfs*, from which the *ʿawāriḍ* of the poor or of absconders were paid and from which loans, at a light interest, were made to applicants from the *mahalle* (O. N. Ergin, *Türkiyede şehirciliğin inkişafı*, Istanbul 1938, 27). Again, the *ketkhudās* of guilds and the *mütevellīs* of *waḳfs* were, like the *imām* of the mosque, officially recognized as intermediaries between the government on the one hand and the artisans and *waḳf* staff on the other.

Finally, the inhabitants of a *mahalle* bore a joint responsibility for the maintenance of order. It was not easy for an outsider to be recognized as belonging to a *mahalle*: the usual view was that four years' uninterrupted residence was necessary (Tash-Köprülüzāde, *Mawḍūʿāt al-ʿulūm*, ii, 654); the period for Istanbul was fixed at five years (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayātı, 1553-1591*, 145). In 987/1579 the inhabitants of each *mahalle* were declared to be *kefīls* (sureties) for one another, with the intention of preventing criminals of unknown antecedents from finding refuge from the law; for the same reason, in 986/1578 the idea of erecting gates between the *mahalles* was considered (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayati, 1553-1591*, 144). Each *mahalle* had its night-watchman, the inhabitants performing the duty in rotation in the 10th/16th century, while later a salaried night-watchman (*pāsbān*) was paid by the inhabitants. By a decree of 1107/1695, each *mahalle* was to support two watchmen, guaranteed by sureties, who were to patrol the *mahalle* with lanterns in their hands and to arrest any strangers found there after the bed-time prayer (*Medjelle*, i, 965). The "*bekči*", so important in the life of the *mahalle*, became a characteristic figure in the folklore of Istanbul. Similarly too each *mahalle* was obliged to pay two or three street-cleaners (firman of 1131/1718, in *Medjelle*, i, 965). In 1285/1868 certain *mahalles* were obliged to maintain fire-fighting equipment and some of the young men of each *mahalle* were appointed as *ṭulumbadji* to create a new "type" in the life of Istanbul, the colourful "*ṭulumbadji*" (*Medjelle*, i, 1188, 1195-1204).

The *imām* of its mosque was the representative of the *mahalle* in all dealings with the authorities. The sultan's decrees were passed on to the *imāms* in the *ḳāḍī*'s court or proclaimed by criers (*münādī*) in the streets, and the *imām* was responsible for seeing that the *mahalle* fulfilled all its obligations to the government: he could appeal to the authorities, particularly to the *ḳāḍī*, for assistance in dealing with refractory members of the community. The election of a *mukhtār* for each *mahalle* in 1242/1826 was the first step towards the "secularization" of the local authorities.

As time went on, the tendency increased for co-religionists and co-sectarians to settle together in separate *mahalles*, and for these *mahalles* to form distinct districts (for clashes between Muslims and Christians in a "mixed" *mahalle*, see A. Refik, *İstan-*

bul hayatı, 1000-1100, doc. 100; idem, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-1591* 53; for the formation of distinct Greek, Armenian and Jewish districts, see below). This tendency was encouraged by government action. Thus when the Church of the Pammakaristos was converted into a mosque in 999/1591, attempts were made to create a Muslim *maḥalle* around it, by selling the vacant site in lots, each sufficient for building a house, exclusively to Muslims (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000-1100* 14; cf. also Stolpe's plan).

The tendency for each district to have its own traditions, occupation, even style of pronunciation, is reflected for the 11th/17th century by Evliyā Čelebi and Eremya Čelebi (see *Bibl.*), and in the 19th century by such novelists as A. Midḥat, Meḥmed Tewfīḳ and Hüseyn Raḥmī; see M. Kaplan, in *İA*, s.v. Istanbul, 1214/157-68.

(b) Streets.

Vavassore's plan shows quite broad streets leading to each region of the city, but these have disappeared in plans of the next (10th/16th) century (*Hünernāme*) (the street plan is shown clearly only in the map by the dragoman Konstantin of 1228/1813: Topkapı Sarayı no. 1858). Indeed in the 19th century, *Dīvān yolu*, the most important street of the city, was only 3.5-5.5 metres wide (*Medjelle*, i, 1067).

The streets of Istanbul were typically those of a mediaeval Eastern city (Mayer, *op. cit.*, 4-32), twisting and full of blind alleys, so that the delimination of the *maḥalle*s, far from being planned in advance, was a matter of pure chance (Mayer, 9-24, 104, 254). A study of the detailed city map of 1293/1876 (Ayverdi, *19. asırda İstanbul haritası*, Istanbul 1958) shows that streets still preserve the alignment they had had under Meḥemmed II, for the *miʿmār-bashî*, during rebuilding operations after fires, would try to preserve the old street-plan (*Medjelle*, i, 1066, 978). Occupants of property on a street, however, persistently attempted to incorporate areas of the highway into their properties and would, by erecting upper storeys projecting far over the street, cut down the light and air at ground-level. These difficulties of communication in the narrow streets meant that goods were usually transported by sea, from the various gates and landing-places on the Golden Horn.

Documents of the 10th/16th century attest that streets were paved (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553 1591*, 67), and Evliyā Čelebi claims (i, 446) that the streets of Istanbul, Eyyûb, Topkhāne and Ḳāsîm Pasha were all completely paved in the middle of the 11th/17th century. The construction and repair of the paving was carried out by contract with the *ketkhudā* of the guild of paviours (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 66), the work being supervised by the *shehr-emîni*, the *miʿmār-bashî* or the *su-yolu nāẓiri*. For main roads the cost was met by the government, for side roads by the householders, shop-keepers and *mütevellî*s whose properties benefited (a document of 1087/1676 in *Medjelle*, i, 1147; A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 30)

The cleaning of the principal squares and streets was carried out by the *ʿadjemî oghlanlarî* and other military units under the authority of the Yeñičeri *aghasî*, while each property-owner in a side-street was responsible for keeping the area in front of his property clean; street-sweepers (*süprüntüdjü*) were later employed in the *maḥalle*s. The removal of rubbish was the responsibility of the *čöplük subashîsî* (also termed *ṭāhir subashîsî*), who let out the work on contract to a group known as *arayîdjî* ("searchers", 500 in number; Evliyā Čelebi, i, 514). These would collect rubbish in baskets and throw it into the sea, after sifting through it for anything worth keeping; the usual area for the disposal of rubbish and rubble was Langa, or, on the Takhtakalʿe side, at the place near Odun Kapîsî known as Bokluk (see Oberhummer, Tafel XXII). Firmans repeatedly forbade the throwing of filth into the streets, the breaking-up of paving and the building of steps or stairways in front of houses (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, docs. 25-38).

Except during Ramaḍān, everybody had to be within doors after the bed-time prayer (Dernschwam, 70; *Medjelle*, i, 964). There were no arrangements for lighting the streets, and anyone obliged to be out had to carry a lantern (*Medjelle*, i, 965-7; White, iii, 250). The first street to be lit by gas was Beyoghlu Djāddesi in 1273/1856, the main streets of Istanbul being lit by gas in 1879 (*Medjelle*, i, 971)

Inhabitants of Istanbul and foreign observers unite in reporting the neglected and dirty state of the streets in spite of the stringent decrees periodically issued. In 1839, for the first time, various plans were drawn up for modernizing the city by (*e.g.*) opening up blind-alleys and creating broad interesting streets and squares, but such measures began to be carried out only after the great "Khodja Pasha" fire of 1865 (details in *Medjelle*, i, 987-991).

(c). Building regulations.

Regulations issued to control building-styles, the streets, and the city's cleanliness had their effect on the appearance and plan of Ottoman Istanbul. Such regulations were issued by the *shehr-emîni* [*q.v.*] and his subordinates the *khāṣṣa miʿmār-bashî* and the *su-yolu nāẓiri*, and put into effect through the *ḳāḍî* and the *subashî*. In 1831 these duties passed to the *ebniye-i khāṣṣa Müdürlüğü* (*Medjelle*, i, 981-3).

In the first place, all building was under the control of the state. Before building could begin, the right to the site had to be acquired by an approach either to the public treasury (*mîrî*) or to the appropriate *waḳf* and by the payment of the *idjāre-i müʾeddjele*. If the freehold was held by a *waḳf*, the consent of the state authorities was necessary. The *miʿmār-bashî* would grant permission for construction of the building according to the current regulations and the permitted dimensions, and check that these were observed (for an example of an *istidjāze* made when a *waḳf* was being established, see S. Eyice, *Elci Hanı, TD*, no. 24, plate 1 opposite p. 130; *Medjelle*, i, 1044-8). In 1196/1782 it was decreed that builders who erected buildings for non-Muslims without obtaining a firman of permission should be put to death (*Medjelle*, *loc. cit.*).

The government intervened in these matters for various reasons: to regulate land-tenure, to prevent fires, to avert water-shortage, and to protect the walls, mosques, and other public buildings. According to building regulations of 966/1559 (the time of Sinān), houses were not to be more than two storeys high, the upper storey was not to project over the street, and balconies and eaves were not to be made (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-1591* 58-9). That these prohibitions had to be repeated so often (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 66; *Medjelle*, i, 1052-4) shows clearly that they were not observed. After great fires it was ordered that houses, especially those adjacent to public buildings and *khān*s, should be constructed of stone or brick (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, doc. 34) (yet after earthquakes construction in wood was decreed). Thanks to its cheapness, most of the houses of Istanbul were always built of wood. To limit the danger of fire and to facilitate approach to the city's gates and

landing-stages, orders were issued in 966/1558 to demolish all houses and shops abutting on the walls (an order later re-issued, see *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 67), leaving a clear space of 4 *dhirāʿ* (in 1131/1718, five *dhirāʿ*, *i.e.*, 3.25 m.; see Oberhummer, Tafel XXII). To conserve water, the construction of new palaces and baths needed the sultan's permission; sometimes indeed the building of baths was forbidden. To prevent overcrowding, the building of "bachelors' quarters" (*bekār odalarï*) (see below) where newcomers would stay was strictly controlled and sometimes forbidden (*Medjelle*, i, 1052).

These regulations were rarely followed. The increase in population from the second half of the 10th/16th century meant an increased demand for housing, so that palaces with extensive gardens were pulled down to be built over with contiguous wooden houses and shanties (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 67-8).

Non-Muslims were subject to severer regulations: they could not build or occupy houses near a Muslim place of worship (*Medjelle*, i, 1071); their houses were not to be more than nine *dhirāʾ* high or built of freestone, and they could not construct baths (*Medjelle*, i, 1056, 1090); it was forbidden to Muslims to sell houses or building-sites to *dhimmīs* or to non-Muslim foreign residents (*Medjelle*, i, 1072-4) (but a legal device (*ḥīla*) could usually be found to circumvent this). By the code of regulations of 1233/1817, the permitted height of houses for non-Muslims was increased to 12 *dhirāʿ*, and for Muslims to 14 (in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. the maximum height permitted in Constantinople had been about 33 m.: Mayer, 81). The old ban on building more than two "storeys" led to the construction of all sorts of "extensions" upwards—*čardak, bālākhāne, takhtapūsh, djihānnümā, čatï-ara* (see the views in M. Lorichs). After the Tanẓīmāt, the height limitations were abolished, for Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

It is very probable that these building restrictions —together with fear of plague—were the principal cause for the settlement of non-Muslims outside the walls, on the northern side of the Golden Horn and along the Bosphorus: as their houses grew in number, in 1160/1747 it was forbidden that non-Muslims should build on empty sites in these areas (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200* 213).

(d). Domestic architecture.

The types of houses in Istanbul can be considered under five heads: (1) "Rooms" (*oda, hudjra*). Houses of one room only were built either detached, in rows, around a court (*muḥawwaṭa*), or in the style of a *khān*; they were often built over a shop. Such houses were usually built by a *waḳf*, to be rented out, and since they were generally occupied by unmarried men who had come to Istanbul in search of employment they were termed *bekār odalarï*. Such "bachelors' quarters" were not encouraged in a *maḥalle*, where only married households were permitted (firman of 1044/1634 in *Medjelle*, i, 1053). Unmarried workmen frequently used a single room in a *khān* or a caravanserai both as a workshop and as living-quarters, a *khān* occupied only by such residents being called *müdjerredler khānï*. In 950/1543 a "room" brought in an annual rent of about 100 *akčes*. In 1083/1672 there were reckoned to be 12,000 *bekār odalarï* in Istanbul (Hezārfenn, *Talkhīṣ*, Paris Ms., f. 13b; for the areas concerned see Evliyā Čelebi, i, 326).

(2). *Maḥalle* houses. Poor craftsmen and people in humble circumstances usually occupied primitive one- or two-storeyed houses of wood or mud-bricks (Ramberti, *apud* Lybyer, 239; Dernschwam, 63; Schweigger, 105; Alberi, iii/I, 393: "Le case delle città sono per la maggior parte di legno e terra"). In less densely populated areas the typical house, as in the towns of Anatolia, was a small wood and brick building, with a courtyard and garden shut off by a wall from the street (see Mayer, 106-12 and bibliography, 381-4; S. Eldem, *Türk evi plân tipleri*, Istanbul 1955); such a house covered about 400 square *arshïn* (A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, 14) and in the middle of the 10th/16th century cost about 100 gold pieces (*İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, no. 1346).

(3). Houses with gardens, walled about. The court of some of such houses was divided into two, an inner and an outer court; the residence comprised one house, or more than one, and also perhaps a "room" or more than one; there might also be a belvedere, a privy, a stable, a bakehouse, a bath, a shed, an arbour, a storehouse, a "cool room" (*serdāb*), a mill, quarters for servants or slaves, a hen-coop, a pleasure garden, a well, a fountain, and a *čerāghlïk* (a fire kept constantly burning); most houses had at least a garden, a stable, a bakehouse, a well and a privy (see, as examples, in *İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, nos. 732, 780, 1037, 1111, 1237, 1648). Larger houses known as *khāne-i kebīr* (*ibid*. no. 132) are less common: an example is the house of Miʿmār Sinān (İ. H. Konyalı, *Mimar Koca Sinan*, İstanbul 1948, 53; description of a 19th-century *ḳonaḳ* in White, iii, 176).

(4). Palaces and villas (*ḳaṣr*). The palaces of statesmen and rich merchants consisted of a large mansion in an extensive court with numerous subsidiary buildings; they are therefore merely a grander version of type (3) above. They usually had two courts, the whole site being surrounded by a high wall (Schweigger, 106) (Sinān Pasha bought up and demolished 300 houses to build his palace; see C. de Villalón, *Viaje de Turquia*, 74). The mansion, divided into *ḥarem* and *selāmlïk*, was usually built of wood and contained numerous rooms (there were 300 rooms in the famous palace of Siyāvush Pasha, cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 66).

In the courts of such palaces there would be, beside kitchens, bakehouses, baths and stables, also a school for the dignitary's *ič oghlanlarï* [see GHULĀM, p. 1090], workshops for the craftsmen employed to supply the numerous household, and even shops (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 322-4) (for the organization of Kara Aḥmed Pasha's palace at Topkapı see *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 88). The villas (*köshk, ḳaṣr*) in such a palace's gardens were monumental specimens of architecture (S. Eldem, *Köşkler*, Istanbul 1969; K. Altan, *Siyavuş Paşa Kasrı*, in *Arkitekt*, v, 268). Palaces built by viziers usually passed on death into the ownership of the sultan, who would present them to princesses or to other dignitaries. It was estimated in the middle of the 11th/17th century that the palaces of members of the royal house and of viziers numbered about 120 (*Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 66, 69) and those of other notables and of merchants about 1000 (Hezārfenn, *loc. cit.*; Evliyā Čelebi, i, 322-4). The greatest and most famous palaces were built under Süleymān in the Ayasofya and Süleymāniyye districts (listed in Evliyā, *loc. cit.*).

(5). The villas and *yalïs* of sultans and dignitaries, built outside the land walls of Istanbul (at Khalḳalï, Florya, Dāvūd Pasha), on the northern side of the Golden Horn (at Kara aghač, Pīrī Pasha, Ḳāsïm Pasha, Kāghidkhāne), along the Bosphorus and at Üsküdār, situated in extensive and well-tended gardens and woods, became very numerous, and later formed the nuclei of select residential *maḥalles*. They served for recreation, as hunting-lodges, and as summer residences, and also as alternative accommo-

dation after a fire or during an epidemic (details in the registers of the *bostāndjī-bashī*, see R. E. Koçu, in *Istanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, iv, 39-90; Fatih Libr., Ms Ali Emîrî 1033; for the royal palaces and gardens, the Khāṣṣa Baghčeler Maḥṣūlāt defterleri in the archives of Topkapı and of the Başvekâlet. See further Evliyā Čelebi, i, 391-486; Eremya Čelebi, 34-58; P. Inciciyan, *Istanbul*, tr. H. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1956, 95-113; Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de C.*, Paris 1819; J. von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus*, ii, Pest 1822; M. Rā'if, *Mir'āt-i Istanbul*, Istanbul 1314; T. Gökbilgin, in *İA*, art. "Boğaz-içi"; series of articles by H. Şehsuvaroğlu in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, 1947-9). In the 12th/18th century, sultans created new *maḥalles* by giving or selling sections of their gardens and woods as building sites (*e.g.*, Muṣṭafā III, at Iḥsāniyye and Beğlerbeği).

(e). Fires.

The frequent conflagrations in this thickly populated city, with its narrow streets of houses mostly built of wood, had as great an effect on social and economic life as they did on the physical configuration (for fires in the Byzantine period, see F. W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinische Kunstgeschichte*, i, Vienna 1879, 74 ff.; Mayer, *op. cit.*, 102). The number of fires was indeed abnormally high: Ergin calculated that in the 53 years between 1853 and 1906 there were 229 fires, with the destruction of 36,000 houses (*Medjelle*, i, 1333). The dates of the greatest fires are: Radjab 977/1569, 27 Ṣafar 1043/2 September 1633, 16 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'de 1070/24 July 1660, 3 Shawwāl 1104/7 June 1693, 18 Sha'bān 1130/17 July 1718, 13 Ramaḍān 1196/22 August 1782, 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1241/2 September 1826, 14 Rabī' II 1249/31 August 1833, 27 Rabī' II 1282/19 September 1865 and 1 Ramaḍān 1336/10 June 1918. (See A. M. Schneider, *Brände in Konstantinopel*, in *BZ*, xli (1941), 382-403; *Medjelle*, i, 1254-1356; M. Cezar, *İstanbul Yangınları*, in *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları ve Incelemeleri*, i (1963), 327-414).

Many of the worst fires began in the Djibali (Djübbe 'Alī) district, burning the whole centre of the city and reaching to the Marmara coast at Kumkapī, Yeñikapī or Langa. Djibali was particularly prone to the risk of fire because of the trades—such as caulking—carried out there, the exposure of the Djibali-Unkapanī valley to the north-east wind and the density of the housing on the slopes up to Fātiḥ (see the views in Lorichs and Le Bruyn). Fires starting here often swept in two lines, via Fātiḥ and Aksarāy to Langa, and via Vefā, Shehzāde-bashī and Lāleli to Yeñikapī. Fires breaking out in the Jewish quarter (Čufut Kapīsī) on the Golden Horn and liable, for the same reasons, to spread would extend in one direction to the walls of the palace and, in another, over Djaghaloghlu, destroying all the houses on the slope up to the Büyük Čarshī. Other districts frequently burnt down are Takhtaḳal'e, the Büyük Čarshī area, and the Fener-Balat region.

Although the reports of the damage caused are frequently exaggerated, yet they do indicate that there was very substantial damage. It was said that 20,000 houses were destroyed in the fire of 1043/1633 (both Kātib Čelebi in his *Fedhleke* and Knolles (*Generall historie*, London 1631, 47) speak of "a third of the city"); two thirds of the city in 1070/1660, with 4,000 deaths; 18 *djāmi'*s, 19 *mesdjid*s, 2547 houses and 1146 shops in 1104/1693 (Cezar, 344); one eighth of the city in 1142/1729 (Cezar, 353-5); two-thirds of the city in 1169/1756 (Mayer, 102); 20,000 houses in 1196/1782; and half the city in 1249/1833. More reliable figures are available for the second half of the 19th century: in the 30 odd years between 1854 and 1885 fires—minor as well as major—destroyed 27,000 houses and the single Fātiḥ fire of 1918 destroyed 7,500.

In the fires at Takhtaḳal'e and round the Čarshī stock and goods of great value were often lost. It was estimated that the goods lost in the Mīṣr Čarshīsī alone in the fire of 1102/1690 were worth three million *ghuru sh*(*c.* 2 million gold pieces); after a fire in the Bedestān in 922/1516 many merchants went bankrupt.

Fires caused various political, social and economic crises in the life of Istanbul. Many fires were deliberately started by dissident Janissaries and *'adjemī-oghlanlarī*, abetted by the riffraff of the city. In palace circles fires caused considerable anxiety as being a sign of unrest in the soldiery and in the lower classes (Djewdet, xi, 4), and might be a factor in the dismissal of leading government figures. It was often reported that the Janissaries, among whose duties was fire-fighting, had in fact encouraged the spread of fires (e.g., in 977/1569: 'Ālī, *Künh al-akhbār*, Ms.; Silāḥdār, ii, 349); and the Grand Vizier, the agha of the Janissaries, the *bostāndjī-bashī* and the *djebedji-bashī* would in person direct operations in fighting a large fire, while the sultan often felt it necessary to put in an appearance in order to sustain discipline and morale. Looting by troops and the mob could not be prevented (for looters who enriched themselves, see Cezar, 330, n. 6). Those made homeless would take refuge, with the goods they had managed to save, in mosque-courtyards, *medreses*, and open spaces such as Langa Bostānī, but even here sometimes they could not escape. After a fire there would be shortages both of food and of building materials, with consequent rises in prices, compelling numbers of people to move away to neighbouring towns (*e.g.*, after the fire of 1196/1782, to Čorlu, Edirne, Izmīd, etc.; see Cezar, 365). Even buildings of stone, though not destroyed, would be made uninhabitable, involving the government in heavy expenditure and obliging *waḳf*s to draw on their reserve funds. A sultan would often instruct notables and wealthy individuals to undertake the repair of public buildings. In the period of decline, the poor could not be prevented from erecting shanties on the site of a fire, which thus was never restored to its former order; this, and the principle of *waḳf*s with "two rents" (*idjāratayn*: see WAḲF), which led to the erection of tumble-down booths around a *waḳf*, meant that in the 19th century Istanbul looked more ramshackle and neglected than it had ever done.

Fire-fighting was the responsibility of the Janissaries, the *Bostāndjī*s, the *Djebedji*s, and also, in return for exemption from certain taxes, the city's water-carriers and the guild of *baltadjī*s. After 1130/1718, fire-engines with pumps, introduced by a French convert named David, were recognized to be of great value (Rāshid, v, 306; Küčük-čelebi-zāde 'Āṣim, 255), and "fire-brigades" were formed: a unit of *tulumbadjī*s attached to the Janissaries in 1132/1719, *tulumbadjī*s for each *maḥalle* in 1285/1868, and a regular fire-brigade in 1290/1873; fire-insurance began only in 1890 (*Medjelle*, i, 1170-1219).

(f). Earthquakes too had their effect on the city's general appearance (Mayer, 98-101; Istanbul is one of the cities most subject to earthquake in the world, suffering 66 shocks between 1711 and 1894). Besides the great earthquakes of 1099/1688, 1180/1766 and 1894 (Cezar, 380-92), there was the major disaster beginning on 6 Djumādā I 915/22 August 1509, called by the chroniclers "Küčük Ḳīyāmet", when the shocks continued for weeks. The walls were seriously

damaged, all the minarets collapsed, and 109 mosques and 1070 houses were destroyed; estimates of the killed range from 5000 to 13,000. Many Byzantine buildings (*e.g.*, ʿĪsā Kapîsî) were badly damaged. The authorities took emergency action to carry out the re-building, one person and a *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] of 22 *akče* being levied from each household in Istanbul, and workmen being conscripted from outside (37,000 from Anadolu and 29,000 from Rūmeli), so that the work was quickly completed (Cezar, 383).

vii. — The Inhabitants: Re-Population; Religious Minorities; the Military; Epidemics; Population Statistics.

(a) Re-population.

Throughout his reign, one of Meḥemmed II's main preoccupations was to re-populate Istanbul. Various methods were employed, particularly and especially in the early years, the deportation [see SÜRGÜN] of households from every part of his dominions; later, the useful elements of newly-conquered cities—the nobility, craftsmen and merchants—were transferred to Istanbul; and, always, immigrants of whatever religion or race were encouraged to come from anywhere in the world (see H. İnalcık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxiii-xxiv, 237-49).

The census of 860/1455 shows that many of the Muslim immigrants brought from Kodja-eli, Sarukhan, Aydîn, Balîkesir, etc. had fled *en masse*, to be replaced (*e.g.*) in the *maḥalle*s of Kir Nikola and Kir Martas by immigrants from Tekirdagh and Čorlu. One of the reasons for this "flight", besides the general difficulty of making a living in a ruined city, is certainly the sultan's attempt to levy *muḳāṭaʿa* on the immigrants' houses, as related by ʿĀshiḳpashazāde (H. İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 242-3). In about 860/1455 a numerous group of Jewish deportees from Rūmeli was settled in the city: 42 families from Izdin (Lamia) in houses at Samatya abandoned by Muslims from Balîkesir; 38 families from Filibe in houses in the *maḥalle* of Top Yîkughî abandoned by immigrants from Paphlagonia and Tekirdagh; others came from Edirne, Niğbolu, Trikkala, etc.

Among the Muslim immigrants there were tradesfolk (tailors, blacksmiths, etc.) and many men of religion, including adherents of dervish-orders. Soldiers (Janissaries, Doghandjîs, etc.) often became householders in various *maḥalle*s; the ʿ*azeb*s of the navy settled together in ʿ*Azebler maḥallesi*. Groups of immigrants usually settled together in one *maḥallesi* or monastery (though occasionally Greeks, Jews and Muslims are found living in the same building; and in 860/1455 there were at Samatya 42 Jewish, 14 Greek, and 13 Muslim families). The register shows that at this date the *maḥalle*s which it covers were sparsely populated, with only a few shops, the churches and monasteries deserted, and the houses empty and ruined. Soon afterwards, it seems, the sultan took up permanent residence in the now-completed palace and began the active promotion of building activity, of economic prosperity, and of new settlement. In 863/1459 he commanded all the Greeks who had left the city before or after the conquest to return (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 237-8). It was in these years too that, with the aim of making his capital the centre of a world-wide empire, he appointed an Orthodox patriarch (6 January 1454), an Armenian patriarch (865/1461) and a chief rabbi (see below); and in line with old Islamic tradition he encouraged the settlement of craftsmen and merchants.

Enslaved peasants were settled, as the sultan's serfs (*khāṣṣ, ḳul, ortaḳči ḳul*), in the villages round about in order to restore their prosperity. In the 10th/16th century, by now being ordinary *raʿāyā*, they would form an important element of the population of the so-called *khāṣṣ-köy*s (for which see Ö. L. Barkan, in *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, i (1940), 29 ff.). In 904/1498 of the 163 villages in the *Ḳaḍā* of Eyyūb (which was known as *Khāṣṣlar Ḳaḍāsî*), 110 contained about 2000 adult *khāṣṣ ḳul* (the rest of the inhabitants being ordinary *raʿāyā* or *sürgün*). The *khāṣṣ köy*s covered the area from the two Čekmedjes and Bakîr-köy to the Black Sea coast and to the Bosphorus and Beshiktash (but there were no *khāṣṣ kul*s actually in Istanbul).

The deportations from conquered cities are shown in the following list (see A. M. Schneider, in *Belleten*, xvi/61, 41-3; İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 237-8; Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucharest 1972, 48-62):

863/1459 Armenian and Greek merchants from the two Fočas and Amasra
864/1460 Greeks from the Morea, Thasos, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace
865/1461 Greeks from Trebizond
866/1462 Greeks from Mytilene
867/1463 Greeks from Argos
873/1468-879/1474 Muslims, Greeks and Armenians from Konya, Larenda, Aksaray, Eregli
875/1470 Greeks from Euboea
880/1475 Armenians, Greeks and Latins from Kaffa.

The 1542 Greek households whose *djizya* was made over by Meḥemmed II to his *waḳf*s (Başvekâlet arşivi, Tapu defteri 240) are listed in "*djemāʿat*s" (of "people from Foča", "from Midilli", etc.), the most numerous of these being *djemāʿat-i Rūmīyān-i Midillüyān*. By the middle of the 10th/16th century these *djemāʿat*s were scattered over the various Greek *maḥalle*s of Istanbul and Ghalaṭa. The same register shows 777 households of Armenians in 24 *djemāʿat*s (from Larende, Konya, Sivas, Akshehir, etc.) and 1490 Jewish households (from Lamia, Salonica, Euboea, etc.).

*Waḳfiyya*s of Meḥemmed II show the Baghčekapî-Emînönü region almost exclusively inhabited by Jews, the *maḥalle* of Fīl-damî inhabited by Greeks, Jews and Muslims, and *maḥalle*s along the harbour (Khalīl Pasha Burghosî, ʿAdjemoghlu, Ḥādjdjî Khalîl) mainly inhabited by Jews. They give also the names of Muslim immigrants from Karaman, Ankara, Iznîḳ, etc., and of Greeks from Trebizond and Mytilene.

Intense voluntary settlement in Istanbul began later, when the first measures of recovery had been taken and the city started to prosper. In spite of the deaths by plague in 871/1466, a census of 882/1477 (Topkapı Sarayı Archives, D 9524) shows that Istanbul was already then as populous as any other Mediterranean city:

i. Istanbul

	households	= %
Muslims	8951	60
Greek Orthodox	3151	21.5
Jews	1647	11
Kaffans	267	2
Armenians of Istanbul	372	2.6
Armenians and Greeks from Karaman	384	2.7
Gypsies	31	.2
	14,803	

ii. Ghalaṭa

	households	= %
Muslims	535	35
Greek Orthodox	592	39
Europeans	332	22
Armenians	62	4
	1521	

Grand total: 16,324.

This total does not include soldiers, *medrese*-students, or slaves. Barkan, estimating these to amount to one-fifth of the population and taking five persons to the household, considers the total population to have numbered about 100,000 (*JESHO*, i/I, 21; Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 44, estimates 60-70,000; Ayverdi's estimate, *Istanbul mahalleleri*, p. 82, is 167-175,000.

Later sultans continued the policy of settling deportees from newly conquered regions. Bāyezīd II settled 500 households from Akkerman at Silivri Kapîsî (Schneider, p. 44; the *djizya*-registers of 894/1489 show the settlers from Akkerman as 670 households, see Barkan, in *Belgeler*, i/I, 38, table 2). The Ottomans' readiness to welcome Jews expelled from Spain, Portugal and Southern Italy in 1492 and the following years led to an increase in the Jewish population of the city (estimated at 36,000 by von Harff, p. 244). Selīm I brought 200 households of merchants and craftsmen from Tabrīz (Luṭfī Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, 237) and 500 from Cairo (some of whom were permitted to return by Süleymān). After his capture of Belgrade, Süleymān settled Christians and Jews near Samatya Kapîsî (later Belghrad Kapîsî) to form the Belghrad *maḥallesi* (Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 14; Uzunçarşılı, *Osm. Tarihi*, ii/2, 312; see also U. Heyd in *Oriens*, vi, 306). One other immigration deserving notice is that of the Moriscos from Spain after 978/1570 (referred to in Ottoman records as *Endülüslü* or *Müdedjdjel* (read *müdedjdjen*; see Dozy, Suppl., *s.v.* and MUDEJARES) *ʿArablarî* (see A. Hess, *The Moriscos*, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, lxxxiv/1); these settled together in Ghalaṭa around the Church of S. Paolo and S. Domenico (later called ʿArab Djāmiʿi; see, for the date, Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, Paris 1894, 217); they stirred up much anti-Christian feeling in Istanbul (Charrière, iii, 787; Hasluck, ii, 727).

The Ottoman authorities seem to have taken little account of the damage suffered by the cities subjected to deportations; the importance attached to centralization, and the conscious determination to make Istanbul the principal city not merely of the empire but of the world and the centre of world commerce overrode other considerations (see T. Stoianovich, *The conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant*, in *JEH*, xx, at p. 239).

The deportees enjoyed a special status. They were exempt from *ʿawāriḍ* for a certain period, but could not leave the city without the permission of the *Subashî*. For some time after their arrival—either because of their own inclinations or because of their special status — each group was treated as a distinct *djemāʿat*, living together and named after their native region. Hence in the various censuses of the city new arrivals are separately listed as *djemāʿats*, not included in the residents of *maḥalles*. Thus the immigrants from Kaffa and Karaman are *djemāʿats* in the census of 882/1477, but have been absorbed in the general Christian population by 1489/894; in that year only the immigrants from Akkerman are listed as a *djemāʿat*. In the 11th/17th century there are listed besides 292 *maḥalles*, 12 Muslim *djemāʿats*, referred to as "of Tokat, of Ankara, of Bursa", who are presumably arrivals from those places (M. Aktepe, in *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, xi, 116-24). The *djemāʿat* is either absorbed into *maḥalles* of its co-religionists or forms a new *maḥalle* under a different name (usually that of the founder of the *maḥalle*'s mosque). This process of assimilation worked most quickly on the Muslims, and most slowly on the Jews (U. Heyd, in *Oriens*, vi, 305-14).

In the first half of the 10th/16th century the population increased considerably, mainly for economic reasons. Registers of *waḳf*s show that many merchants and craftsmen immigrated from Edirne, Bursa, Ankara, Konya, Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo and even (though they were not numerous) from Persia; but the chief increase was caused by the immigration of young men or of whole peasant families (termed *ev-göčü*) from the poorer regions of the empire who had left their holdings to work in the city. Coming from central and eastern Anatolia, and from Rūmeli (especially Albania), they worked as porters, water-carriers, boatmen, bath-attendants, hawkers and labourers. Some returned home after saving a little money, but the majority stayed on.

In the 16th century the population of Ottoman cities in general increased by 80% (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 25-31), and Istanbul probably showed a still higher percentage. The authorities began to be aware of the problem of over-population in the middle of the century (yet as late as 935/1528 the laws encouraging immigration and granting exemptions to Christian settlers were still in force; see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 24). The reasons they found for the movement from the countryside into Istanbul were these (see A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-1591*, 145; idem, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 110, 131, 199; Rāshid, iv, 120; *Medjelle*, i, 355; M. Aktepe, in *TD*, ix/13, 1-30) (1) the better facilities for making a living; (2) the absence of *raʿiyyet* taxes [see ČIFT RESMI]; and (3) freedom from exposure to the illegal *tekālif-i shāḳḳa* and other exactions levied at all periods by soldiers and officials and in later times by *aʿyān* and *derebeğis* (see İnalcik, *Adâletnâmeler*, in *Belgeler*, ii/3-4). These peasant immigrants built houses for themselves in the outlying areas of the city (chiefly Ḳāsîm Pasha and Eyyūb; see A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-91*, 140) or lodged within the city in *bekār odalarî* or *bekār khānlarî* (see above). When the provinces were suffering abnormal dearth or disorder, the extent of the movement into Istanbul seriously alarmed the authorities. During the Djelālī disturbances of 1005/1596-1019/1610 many thousands of families fled to Istanbul (40,000 (?) families of Armenians alone, see *Polanyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnâmesi*, tr. H. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1964, p. 4; most or many of these were later sent back to their homes).

Not only was life more secure in Istanbul, no-one need starve. The religious foundations naturally attracted immigrants, and thousands lived on doles of food from a hospice (the hospice of Fātiḥ alone fed a thousand people a day) or on a minute income from a *waḳf* as a *medrese* student or as a "bedesman" in a mosque or at a tomb (see Ramberti, *apud* Lybyer, 240; Barkan, in *IFM*, xxiii, 281). A foreign visitor observed that if it were not for the hospices the inhabitants would be eating one another (Dernschwam, 67). When in 1026/1617, as a result of the disturbances created by *medrese* students (*sukhte*) in Anatolia, it was decreed that *medrese* education should cease except in a few principal cities and the provincial hospices were closed (Ç. Uluçay, *Saruhanda*

eşkiyalık, 24), the students flocked to Istanbul, where they offered a fertile soil for the incitements of bigoted preachers (the number of these students ranged at different times from 5-8,000). Beggars and dervishes were always a problem: particularly in Ramaḍān thousands of them came to Istanbul to throng the streets (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-91*, 139); and under Süleymān measures of control were taken at Alexandria and Damietta to prevent Egyptian beggars from travelling to Istanbul (Mühimme Defteri, no. 16, p. 193).

Among the floating population of the city were, for example, *ʿazeb* troops coming from the provinces to serve in the fleet, deputations from various districts come to carry out local business, to lodge complaints about their local authorities or to appeal against taxes, and bodies of workmen brought in to build ships or do construction work for the state (Barkan, in *Annales*, xvii (1962), 1098, 1105).

The authorities considered that this over-population caused three principal problems: (1) the water-supply was becoming inadequate, it was more difficult to ensure the supply of food, and the cost of living was rising (Selānikī, 3; *Medjelle*, i, 1052); (2) security was breaking down, with an increase in robbery and murder (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-91*, 145), and frequent fires and lootings; (3) as the number of unemployed vagrants increased in Istanbul, tax revenue from the provinces declined. From time to time therefore, and especially after the crisis of a riot, a fire or a food-shortage, the authorities would take such measures as these: (1) Since unmarried labourers were the chief cause of the troubles, all those who had come to Istanbul within a prescribed period (five years, ten years) were rounded up and expelled; similarly beggars were occasionally rounded up and set to work in nearby towns (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 145; idem, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 110, 131, 194, 199). Since Albanian vagrants had played a main part in the rebellion of Patrona Khalīl in 1143/1730, stringent repressive measures were taken against them (A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 110-12). In 1829, during a food-shortage, it was decided to expel unmarried men who had come to the city within the past ten years, and 4000 were removed (Luṭfī, ii, 63). (2) Anyone proposing to come to Istanbul for a court case had to receive first a certificate of permission from his local *ḳāḍī*, and deputations were not to be too numerous. (3) Check points on immigrants, particularly on the *ev-göčü*, were set up on the roads and at the entrances to the city (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 80-105). (4) The inhabitants of a *maḥalle* were ordered to stand surety for one another (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 145) and *imāms* were instructed to keep strangers out A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 139-40). (5) No one was admitted to a *khān* or to a *bekār odası* unless he had a surety. (6) The construction of new "bachelors' quarters" was forbidden.

But it was all in vain, as effective control was impossible; and in later years the defeats and losses of territory in Europe brought new waves of refugees to Istanbul (see A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 80-105), the last being the great migration of 1912 during the Balkan Wars.

(b) Non-Muslims.

The non-Muslims of Istanbul were in 1001/1592 classified in six groups: Greeks (*Rūm*), Armenians, Jews, Ḳaramānlı, Franks of Ghalaṭa and Greeks of Ghalaṭa (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, 4). Only the Orthodox and the Armenian churches and the Jewish rabbinate were officially recognized.

The only Roman Catholic group within the walls were those families brought from Kaffa in 880/1475 (numbering, with the Armenians, 267), who were granted the churches of St. Nicholas and St. Mary at Edirne Kapısı. Over the years they dispersed or moved to Ghalaṭa, and the churches were converted to mosques, to be called Kefeli Djāmiʿi (in 1038/1629) and Odalar Djāmiʿi (in 1050/1640) respectively (Belin, *op. cit.*, 112-19). Thereafter Catholic churches were found only in Ghalaṭa, protected by the Capitulations, and "Franks" were permitted to live only in Ghalaṭa: when some of them set up in business as doctors and drapers at Baghče Kapı and on Dīvān Yolu in the early 19th century, the sultan ordered their premises to be closed (*Medjelle*, i, 649).

The areas particularly inhabited by Greeks and Armenians were the Marmara coast of the city, the Fener-Balat district, and the Rūmeli side of the Bosphorus. Non-Muslims usually formed distinct *maḥalles*, each with its own church or synagogue; Muslims were reluctant to allow non-Muslims to settle among them, finding it repugnant to have to observe their practices (see A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-1591*, 46, 48, 50, 52; *1000-1100*, 29; *1100-1200*, 10, 88).

Occasionally popular feeling among the Muslim populace whould show that it wanted Istanbul to be an exclusively Muslim city, and the sultans were obliged to re-proclaim and to enforce the various regulations and restrictions imposed on *dhimmīs* (distinctive dress: see Djewdet, vii, 277; *Medjelle*, i, 502; A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1593-91* 47, 51; *1000-1100*, 20, 52; *1100-1299*, 182; not to ride horses or employ slaves: idem, *1553-91*, 43, 50; demolition of churches improperly built: idem, *1553-91*, 44, 45; *1100-1200*, 81, 139; not to sell wine: idem, *900-1000*, 49). Mistrust of and hostility to non-Muslims was brought to the surface by various incidents: the question of the occupation of *mīrī* houses under Meḥemmed II (İnalcık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 240-9), fear of an attack by a Christian fleet (in 944/1537, 979/1571, 1066/1655), Austrian and Russian attacks after 1094/1683, and the Greek revolt of 1821. Such tensions, together with fires and the building of mosques near non-Muslim *maḥalles*, encouraged non-Muslims to move away and settle in the outlying *maḥalles* along the Marmara Coast and the Golden Horn and near the walls (A. Refik, *1000-1100*, 53-4).

On the other hand, Muslims and non-Muslim tradesmen and artisans, whose activities were controlled by the same *ḥisba* regulations, worked side by side in the bazaars; protection of non-Muslims was in the financial interest of the treasury and of the state dignitaries; and above all, the authorities appreciated their obligation to observe the tolerance prescribed by Islam. The government would therefore intervene to prevent attacks on non-Muslims by *medrese*-students, *ʿadjemī-oghlanları* or the mob (Dernschwam, 116; Charrière, iii, 262; A. Refik, *Rāfiḍilik*, in *Edeb. Fak. Medjm.*, ix/2, doc. 11). The non-Muslims, particularly the Armenians from Anatolia, were strongly influenced by Turkish culture. Although each community used its own language, the common language of Istanbul was Turkish, and for motives of political or social prestige non-Muslims would try to live and dress like Turks. Conversely, however, the Turkish of Istanbul and its folklore were influenced by the minorities (see W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929; M. Halit Bayrı, *İstanbul Folklore*, repr. Istanbul 1972; idem, *Halk âdetleri ve inanmaları*, Istanbul 1940; R. E. Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, *passim*).

The Greek Orthodox, the Armenians and the Jews

were regarded as separate *millet*s or *ṭā'ife*s, under the authority of the Greek patriarch, the Armenian patriach and the chief rabbi respectively, and enjoyed autonomy in their internal affairs [see MILLET; PAṬRĪḲ]. The Greek patriarch and the *Rūm milleti ru'esāsi* took precedence over the two other groups of dignitaries (A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 28). The three religious leaders were elected by their communities but their authority derived from their *berāt*s (which had to be obtained, by payment of a "*pīshkesh*") granted by the sultan. The community could petition the sultan to dismiss its leader (C. Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, Istanbul 1970, 161) and the leader could ask the sultan to give effect to his commands (for the Greek patriarchate, see S. Runciman, *The Great Church in captivity*, Cambridge 1968; *Rūm Patrīḳliği niẓāmāti*, in *Düstūr*, i, 902-38).

Until the 12th/18th century there were some 40 Greek churches in Istanbul, only three of which had existed before the conquest (listed in Schneider, *Byzanz*, 38-49). When the question was raised how it was possible for these churches to exist in a city taken by force, the fiction of a willing surrender was accepted to legalize the situation (see İnalcık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 233; Runciman, 153, 157, 199, 204; for the Jews, see A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 13).

The patriarchate was obliged to make itself responsible for various civil matters relating to the Greeks of the city, and its duties increased as the treasury resorted more and more to the collection of taxes from the community *en bloc* (*maḳṭū'*). The patriarchate's bureaucracy therefore became increasingly influential (for the influence of the Logothete, see A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 13).

Economically the Greeks were far better off than they had been in the last decades of the Byzantine Empire (Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, repr. Bucharest 1971; T. Stoianovich, *op. cit.*; *The Greek Merchant Marine, 1453-1850*, ed. S. A. Papadopoulos, Athens 1972; A. E. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation*, 1970-72; İnalcık, in *Isl.*, xliii, 153-5), and were satisfied with their lot (Runciman, pp. 180, 394). They held an important share of *iltizām* state contracts, they had supplanted the Italians in maritime trade in the Black Sea and the Aegean, and they controlled a large part of the city's food trade. In Fener, the new seat of the patriarchate, there grew up a genuine Greek aristocracy of eleven families made rich by trade and by *iltizām*-contracts, who claimed descent from the great families of the Byzantine Empire; they increased their power and influence by supplying the sultans with personal physicians and commercial agents and by filling the posts of Chief Interpreter of the Dīvān and of the Fleet in the 11th/17th century; and from them later the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were chosen (Jorga, *op. cit.*, 226-47; J. Gottwald, *Phanariotische Studien*, in *Leipziger Vierteljahrschr: Südosteuropa*, v (1941), 1-58). In the census of 1833 the *Rūm millet* numbered 50,343 males in Greater Istanbul.

A group of Orthodox Christians deported from Ḳaraman, Turkish-speaking and ignorant of Greek (Dernschwam, 52), were under the authority of the Greek patriarch but preserved the character of a separate *djemā'at*. In the middle of the 10th/16th century they were settled near Yediḳule, but a century or more later Eremya Čelebi reported them as living at Narlïkapı, inside and outside the city wall. They were skilled goldsmiths and embroiderers, and were rich (N. de Nicolay, *Navigations* . . . Anvers 1577, 239).

The Armenians first elected a patriarch, on the sultan's orders, in 1461. He made his residence the Church of Surp Kevork (Sulumanastïr; F. Babinger, *Ein Besitzstreit um Sulu Manastir* . . . , in *Festschrift für Jan Rypka*, Prague 1956, 29-37) at Samatya, where the most important Armenian community then dwelt (and where later Eremya Čelibi (p. 3) mentions over a thousand Armenian families living alongside Greeks). In the 11th/17th century the Armenians were most numerous at Kumkapï, and in 1051/1641 the seat of the patriarchate was transferred here, to the Church of Surp Asduadzadzin (H. Andreasyan, notes to Eremya Čelebi, pp. 87-90). The Armenians were concentrated particularly at Yeñikapï, Kumkapï, Balat and Topkapï. Many of the Armenian families of Ghalaṭa had been settled there since Genoese times. There were Armenians living among Jews at Beshiktash, Kuručeshme and Ortaköy (Eremya Čelebi, 43-52). In the 11th/17th century the Armenians controlled the silk trade between Persia, Turkey and Italy [see ḤARĪR, 214], and many of them made fortunes from *iltizām*-contracts and banking (Y. Çark, *Türk Devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler*, Istanbul 1953). From the early 19th century they ran the mint and came to control the state finances (see Djewdet, xi, 28: White, iii, 188, 287). Attempts by the banking families to control the patriarchate and the Armenian tradesfolk led to dissensions in the community (H. G. O. Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, London 1854, 131-2). Earlier, the activity of Catholic missionaries had aroused dissensions, which prompted vigorous action by the Porte after 1696/1108 (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 21, 32, 35, 160; Djewdet, ii, 93; xi, 8, 34); yet later a Catholic (Uniate) community was established composed particularly of the wealthier and educated Armenians: according to the census of 1826 (Luṭfī, 275) they numbered about a thousand (L. Arpee, *The Armenian awakening* . . *1820-1860*, Chicago 1909). In the census of 1833 the Armenian *millet* in Greater Istanbul numbered 48,099 males.

The Jews of Istanbul, numbering 1647 households at the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II (see above), consisted of the following main groups: those that had survived the conquest; Karaites brought from Edirne and settled in the harbour area; Rabbanite and Karaite communities later brought, usually by force, from various towns of Anatolia and Rūmeli where they had been living, known as Romaniots, since Byzantine times (see Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, New York 1959, 140); the *djizya* registers for the *waḳf*s of Meḥemmed II (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 240 and no. 210) give the numbers and original homes of each. It seems that Meḥemmed II granted *amān* to the Jews living in Istanbul at the conquest (see Ankori, *op. cit.*, 59-64) and left them in their homes (for an alleged agreement, see Schneider, *in Belleten*, xvi/61, 40; Heyd, p. 305; A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 11). A *djizya*-register (Tapu defteri no. 240, 10) notes them as numbering 116 families. As a result of Rabbi Isaac Sarfati's letter urging the Jews of Europe to settle in Ottoman territory, some families migrated from Germany, Austria and Hungary (H. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, Leipzig 1881, viii, 214; Heyd, 306); but the register just cited notes the *djemā'at-i Eskinas-i Alaman* as numbering only 26 families. By 894/1489 the number of Jewish households had risen to a total of 2027.

Jews settling in Istanbul were organized in *djemā'at*s, each with its own synagogue, as a spiritual and administrative unit (A. Galanté, i, 75, 99-101). In the middle of the 10th/16th century there were 40-44 synagogues and *djemā'at*s (Heyd, 303;

Dernschwam, 107-11 [42 schools, and further important details; total Jewish population, 15,035]). In 959/1552 the Marranos settled in Istanbul under the sultan's protection, and the Marrano banking family of Mendès acquired a dominating position in the state finances and in commerce with Europe (see İnalcık, *Capital formation*, *JEH*, xxix, 121-3; S. Schwarzfuchs, *Annales*, xii, 1957, 112-18). Jews from Spain and Italy brought various new techniques with them (Ramberti, 241; Villalón, 116; Dernschwam, 111).

The Romaniot, Sephardic and Karaite communities retained their separate identities until the 11th/17th century; but as a result of the changes of residence caused by the fires of 1043/1633 and 1071/1660 the communities became mixed (Heyd, 313) and finally there was only a single community; the Sephardim, being economically much the strongest, assumed responsibility first for the Ashkenazim and then for the Romaniots. Already in 990/1582 the three communities made a joint application to the sultan to open a new cemetery at Khāṣṣköy (A. Refik, 53). The Jews of Khāṣṣköy became very numerous (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 413). In 1044/1634 there were in Istanbul 1255 Jewish *ʿawāriḍ-khānesi* (Aktepe, 110) and at the end of that century 5000 Jews paying *djizya* (for their *maḥalle*s, see Heyd, 309-12).

When construction of the Vālide Djāmiʿi was begun (1006/1597), the Jews of Emīnönü (about 100 houses, see Eremya Čelebi, p. 164) were transferred to Khāṣṣköy (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 413-4). In 1139/1727 Jews living outside the Balīk pāzārī gate near the mosque were ordered to sell their properties to Muslims and move to other Jewish *maḥalle*s (A. Refik, *1100-1200* 88-9). Khāṣṣköy became hereafter the main residential centre for the Jews of Istanbul (Galanté, 54). In the 19th century the Jews were estimated to number 39,000, in 12,000 households (White, ii, 230; official figures in 1833, 1,413 males; cf. L. A. Frankl, *Nach Jerusalem*, Leipzig 1858-60, 194-5, whose estimates are supported by the 1927 census figure of 39,199).

Individual conversions to Islam were frequent, new converts being particularly zealous to promote conversion (Villalón, 72; Dernschwam, 111). The Dīvān supplied funds (*nev-müslim akčasī*) to provide the convert with new clothes, and he was paraded on horseback through the streets. But the principle of abstaining from forced conversion was carefully observed, and the authorities appear to have taken little interest in promoting conversions. One example of a mass conversion is that of the Armenian gipsies at Topkapī (Eremya Čelebi, 23). Muslim men often married non-Muslim wives (this was regarded as commendable), and this led to much conversion. Slaves usually embraced Islam. Not only were there, as a result of the *ghulām* [*q.v.*] system, numerous slaves in the palace and in the houses of great men; anyone of any means owned one or several slaves for various domestic duties. To own slaves was a profitable investment: slaves or freedmen (*āzādlu*, *ʿatīḳ*, *muʿtaḳ*) were used also as commercial agents or as an industrial work-force, and were often hired out. The principle of *mukātaba* [*q.v.*] was common (for the treatment of slaves see esp. Villalón, 56 f.; Dernschwam, 111, 121, 129, 140-2, 161).

(c) The *ʿaskerī* class.

Since they paid no taxes, the personnel of the palace and the *ḳapī-ḳulu* troops do not figure in the various registers providing statistics for the population of Istanbul; but in numbers and in view of their duties, they played an important part in the life of the city.

Date	Palace personnel	Ḳapī Ḳulu troops	Fleet and arsenal	Total
880/1475(1)	12,800		?	12,800
920/1514(2)	3,742	16,643	?	20,385
933/1526(3)	11,457	12,689	?	24,146
1018/1609(4)	12.971	77,523	2,364	92,858
1080/1669(5)	c. 19 000	c. 80,000	1,003	c. 100,000

(Sources: (1) Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis, ed. Babinger, Munich 1957, 48; (2) Barkan, *IFM*, xv, 312; (3) Barkan, *IFM*, xv, 300; (4) ʿAynī ʿAlī, *Risāle*, Istanbul 1280, 82-98; (5) Barkan, *IFM* xvii, 216, 227).

The above figures show that the number of *ḳapī-ḳulu* increased in the century after 920/1514 by about five times: this increase was mainly in the members of the Janissaries, and occurred particularly between 1001/1593 and 1015/1606 with the demand for infantrymen (see *CH Isl.*, i, 344-50); only 15,000 Janissaries took part in the campaign of 1006/1597, but there were 37,000 Janissaries by 1018/1609. Some of the Janissaries lived in Istanbul, some were stationed in provincial towns and on the frontiers, of 49,500 Janissaries, 20,468 were in Istanbul in 1076/1665 and 37,094 in 1080/1669 (*IFM*, xvii, 216). The Köprülüs attempted to reduce their number, so that in 1083/1672 the Janissaries numbered only 18,150 and the total *ḳapī-ḳulu* force only 34,825 (Silāḥdār, i, 499, 580). In the 12th/18th century, the Janissaries numbered 40,000, but it was estimated that throughout the empire 160,000 men were, or claimed to be, Janissaries (the distinction must be borne in mind, for many individuals who entered the corps to obtain its privileges were not effective troops). Conversely, as early as the reign of Meḥemmed II some Janissaries had been absorbed in the general population as tradesmen and artisans, and the numbers of these increased, for with depreciation a Janissary's daily pay, never more than eight *akče*s, became practically worthless, so that more and more of them became *eṣnāf*. At the end of the 10th/16th century the authorities had great difficulty in mobilizing these "trading" Janissaries for service (Selānikī, *passim*; Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, docs. 15, 19). In the 11th/17th century we encounter in Istanbul (as elsewhere) many individuals called "Janissary" (*rādjil*, *beshe*) or "*sipāhī*" (*djündī*) who are in fact very wealthy and influential. The penetration of Janissaries and other *ḳapī-ḳulu* into the economic life of the city was to have important effects, especially since they regarded themselves as outside the *ḥisba* jurisdiction.

Janissaries were widely used to supply the "police" forces of the city, with the duties of maintaining order and of providing guards in the markets, at the quays and in other public places, and this authority enabled them to impose various illegal exactions and even sometimes attempt to corner a commodity; the lives and property of non-Muslims were in effect at their mercy. During the ever more frequent Janissary mutinies after 1600 the city was in complete anarchy with the populace terrified, the shops shut, and the ever-present fear of fires and looting (see Hammer-Purgstall, x, index s.v. *Janitscharen-Aufruhr*). With so many nominal Janissaries engaged in trade, some of these disturbances may be regarded as popular risings against the state authorities (see Porter, *Observations*, p. xxviii).

The *ʿadjemi-oghlanlarī* [*q.v.*] also had a significant place in Istanbul social life. Those in the Istanbul barracks numbered at first 3000 (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu ocakları*, i, 79), 7000 in 1555 (Dernschwam, 65).

They were an important labour force, employed in public works (Barkan, *L'organisation du travail ...*, *Annales*, xvii, 1094; A. Refik, in *Edeb. Fak. Medjm.*, v/1, 6-10, 12) and in the sultan's gardens (Dernschwam, 64-5). Their daily pay was very small (1/2-2 *akča* in 1555). Since they enjoyed the immunities of the sultan's slaves, they were a turbulent element in the population, over-bearing and always ready to make trouble.

Practically the whole palace and *ḳapiḳulu* establishment accompanied the sultan on campaign. At such a time, the life of the markets was completely disorganized: prices rose, commodities were cornered and shortages appeared (Selānikī, Ms.). Janissaries engaged in trade were obliged to close their businesses; a proportion of the members of various guilds were conscripted to accompany the army as *ordudju* (*Medjelle*, i, 619-36); so that a fair proportion of the townsfolk too left the city. This, of course, occurred practically every year until the reign of Selīm II; and the consequent disruption was one of the reasons why the statesmen became reluctant that the sultan should campaign in person (cf., for 1570, Hill, iii, 892; for 1596, Selānikī, Ms.).

(d) Epidemics.

Just as fires repeatedly destroyed habitations, so too great numbers of the inhabitants were frequently carried off by epidemics —of plague, cholera and smallpox. In the plague of 871/1466, 600 people died each day, and many fled the city for good: "the City was emptied of its inhabitants" (Critoboulos, tr. Riggs, 220-2), and four years later plague again put a halt to trade (W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, ii, 341). Later serious epidemics occurred in 917/1511, 932/1526, 969/1561, 992/1584, 994/1586 (see *The Fugger Newsletters*, ed. V. von Klarwill, London 1928, 104), 998/1590, 1000/1592 (Selānikī, MS.), 1008/1599, 1034/1625, 1047/1637, 1058/1648 (Chalkokondyles, *Histoire de la décadence* ... tr. B. de Vigenère, Rouen 1660, 1013), 1063/1653, 1084/1673 (Galland, ii, 178), 1179/1765 (H. Grenville, *Observations*, ed. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 72, 74, 106), 1207/1792 (Djewdet, x, 94), 1812 (Andréossy, 178-84), 1837 (*Memoire of Mrs. Elisabeth S. Dwight*..., New York 1840), 1845-7 (M. P. Verrolet, *Du Choléra-morbus en 1845, 1846* et *1847*, Constantinople 1848), and 1865 (H. Leach, *Brief notes*..., London 1866). These outbreaks lasted for months and sometimes, becoming endemic, for years, giving rise to thousands of deaths: 1000 a day in 1592 and 1648, 3000 a day in 1792. The total deaths in the 1812 outbreak are recorded as 150,000 (Andréossy, 180)—and in another account (*Lettres écrites des missions étrangères*, Lyon 1819, p. 2) even 200-300,000. In 1837, according to von Moltke (letter 26) a twentieth of the population (25,000 people) perished. The principle of quarantine was adopted in 1838 (with a *Karantina Nāẓirlīghī* set up in 1839), but with little effect (S. Ünver, *Osmanlı tababeti ve Tanzimat*, in *Tanzimat*, i, 947-50; B. Şehsüvaroğlu, *Türkiye Karantine tarihine bir bakış*, Istanbul 1958). The plague helped in the decline of Istanbul's commerce, English quarantine regulations having the effect of diverting an important proportion of its trade to Leghorn in the 18th century (Porter; Grenville, p. 64).

(e) Population.

The most reliable sources for estimates of the city's total population at different periods are certainly the various Ottoman registers, but even these, being compiled for taxation purposes, do not cover all the inhabitants (women and children, the *ʿaskerī* class, students and others exempt from taxes do not appear), and the unit they employ is often the *khāne*, "household"; the *djizya* registers list only the adult males, and the *ʿawāriḍ* taxes are levied on the basis of another, fictitious, "*khāne*" comprising several households [see ʿAWĀRIḌ]. Nineteenth-century figures (see below) indicate that a household rarely numbered more than 3-4 persons on average (in Byzantine times, 2.6-5.2, see Jacoby, p. 102), and this figure is probably valid for earlier times, in a city where many of the inhabitants lived in miserable conditions of nutrition and hygiene, where the average expectation of life was only 25 years, and where unmarried men were so numerous (45,000 in 1856: workmen and *medrese*-students).

In the present state of research, the figures below must be taken as the basis for comparison.

Thus the 1477 population (Ghalaṭa included) of 16,326 *khānes* had increased nearly five times by about 1535. In about 1550 C. de Villalón (*Viaje de Turquia*, p. 306) estimated the population of Istanbul and its environs at about 120,000 households, which would represent an increase of 50% over 15 years. In fact Barkan (*JESHO*, i/I, p. 28) has shown that there was an increase of over 80% in Ottoman cities generally in the 10th/16th century. Modern authors estimate the total population in the 16th century at about

Year	Unit	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Total
882/1477(1)	*khāne*	9,517	5,162	1,647	16,326
894/1489(2)	*khāne*	[ ]	5,462	2,491	
c. 942/1535(3)	*khāne*	46,635	25,295	8,070	80,000
1044/1634	*ʿawāriḍ khānesi*	1,525	[ ]	1,255	
1102/1690(4)	*khāne*	[ ]	14,231	9,642	
1102/1690(5)	poll-tax payers	[ ]	45,112	8,236	
1242/1826(6)	males	45,000	50,000	[ ]	
1245/1829(7)	individuals	———	———	———	359,890
1249/1833(8)	males	73,496	102,649	11,413	
1273/1856	*khāne*	29,383	19,015 (Christians and Jews)		
	individuals	73,093	62,383 (Christians and Jews)		
1918(9)	individuals	———	———	———	700,000
1927(10)	individuals	447,851	243,060		690,911

(Notes: (1) See above, p. 238; (2) Barkan, Belgeler, i, 39; 447 mixed Jewish and Christian *khānes* are included in the total for Christians; (3) Barkan's estimate in *JESHO*, i/I, 20; (4) Topkapı Sarayı Archives no. 4007, suburbs included; (5) Mantran, *Istanbul*, 46-7: a further 14,653 persons are exempt; Mantran estimates 62,000 *khāne* in all; (6) Luṭfī, i, 279; (7) Luṭfī, ii, 62; (8) Topkapı Sarayı Archives no. 750; (9) *Istanbul rehberi*, 1934, 163, foreigners excluded; (10) the first census).

700,000 (Lybyer, *Constantinople as capital*..., see Bibliography., 377; Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 272 Mantran's estimate for the next century (*Istanbul*, 44-7) is 650-750,000, or 700-800,000 with the suburbs included. Other estimates tend to bear out these figures: Sanderson, 1,231,000; G. Moro (Alberi, ser. 3, iii, 334), 800,000 (but the bailo Garzoni (Alberi, 389) says only "piu di trecento mila persone").

However, these figures for Ottoman Istanbul *intra muros* seem to be exaggerated. The population of Istanbul and Ghalaṭa together never exceeded 400,000 in the Byzantine period (see Jacoby, in *Byzantion*, xxxi (1961), 82-109). The reliable figures of the last fifty years are:

1927	245,000
1940	272,000
1950	350,000
1960	433,000
1965	482,000

and it is difficult to accept that the total for pre-19th-century Istanbul was higher than these (given that most houses consisted of a single storey, and there were such wide areas of garden and open space; building upwards, with several storeys, began slowly after the Crimean War). The 1927 figures (covering 17.2 km.²) give a density of 145 persons per hectare (the pre-15th century density for European cities being under 200, see Jacoby, 105). Garzoni's estimate of over 300,000 for 1573 and the 1829 count of 360,000 seem more probable. (Other estimates for Istanbul *intra muros*: J. E. Dekay (1833): 250,000; Hoffman: 380,000; Visquenel (1848): 321,000; Verrolot (1848): 360,000; for all these see V. Michoff, *La population*..., i-iv). The relative proportions for the population of Istanbul *intra* and *extra muros* can be seen approximately from these figures for bakeries:

	1083/1672	1169/1755	1182/1768
Istanbul	84	141	297
Ghalaṭa	25	61	116
Usküdār	14	22	65
Eyyūb	11	7	28

and for chandlers' premises (1083/1672):

Istanbul	24	
Ghalaṭa	5	
Usküdār	4	
Eyyūb	9	(high, in view of the slaughter-houses at Yediḳule).

Of imported groceries, in 1018/1609 three-fifths went to Istanbul and only two-fifths to the three "townships", who consequently complained (see A. Refik, *1000-1100*, doc. 74) One eighth of imported fruit went to Ghalaṭa at the end of the 9th/15th century (*iḥtisāb* regulation in *TV*, i/5, 339). Although the population increase was greater in Ghalaṭa in the 17th and 18th centuries, and Topkhāne, Beyoghlu and Ḳāsim Pasha expanded greatly, yet up to about 1840 "Istanbul" meant Istanbul *intra muros*.

Until 1945, the distribution of population between Istanbul *intra muros* and "Greater" Istanbul was similar to the 19th-century distribution. Since that date there has been some redistribution, as is shown by these figures:

Year	Population of Turkey	Istanbul *intra muros*	"Greater" Istanbul (including Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş, Şişli, Kadıköy and Eyüp
1927	13,648,000	245,982	694,292
1940	17,821,000	266,272	841,611
1950	20,947,000	349,909	1,035,202
1960	27,755,000	433,629	1,466,435
1965	31,391,000	482,451	1,541,695

While therefore the increase in the population of Greater Istanbul is proportional to that in the whole country, the increase for Istanbul *intra muros* is relatively less.

Bibliography: A. Ottoman Documents. (i) Documents relating to *waḳfs*. 1. *Waḳfiyyas*. Published: facsimile of the original *waḳfiyya* for Eyyūb, dated 861/1457, in *Fâtih Mehmed II vakfiyeleri*, publ. by Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara 1938, 336-40; for Kalenderkhāne (Church of Akataleptos), in *Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmet II. Fatih*, ed. T. Öz, Istanbul 1935, 1*-15*. Individual *waḳfiyyas* such as these were all combined in a single *waḳfiyya* after the completion of the mosque and complex of Meḥemmed II. The oldest copy of this, in Arabic, originally preserved in the *türbe* of Meḥemmed II, is now in the Türk-İslâm Eserleri Müzesi (old no. 1872, new no. 667); it belongs to 877/1472 or 878/1473, and has been published in (poor) facsimile in O. N. Ergin, *Fâtih İmareti vakfiyesi*, Istanbul 1945, 1-68. Later in the reign a new comprehensive *waḳfiyya* was drawn up, and an official copy (*tughra* of Bāyezīd II) has survived; facsimile in *Zwei Stiftungsurkunden*..., pp. 1-149. In the mid 10th/16th century (see Ergin, *op. cit.*, 29-34) this *waḳfiyya* was translated into Turkish (with some rearrangement and stylistic expansion), facsimile in *Fâtih Mehmet II vakfiyeleri*, 14-198.—Süleymān I (facsimile): K. E. Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye vakfiyesi*, Ankara 1962.—Published in *Vakıflar Dergisi*: Kara Aḥmed Pasha, in i, 83-168 (Ş. Yaltkaya); Kaymak Muṣṭafā Pasha, in viii, 15-35 (M. Aktepe).—Most of the *waḳfiyyas* relating to Istanbul which are preserved in the archives of the Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü at Ankara are accessible in register copies in the *Istanbul* series.

2. Registers of inspection (*teftīsh*) and rents (*djibāyet*). These registers, drawn up to record the income of *waḳfs* and to be used by rent-collectors (*djābī*), are of great importance as detailing the properties that supported a *waḳf*. The oldest known is the *Djibāyet* register for Ayasofya of 895/1489 (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliyeden müdevver no. 19, 56 ff., Arabic; some of the leaves out of order; drawn up by the *ḳāḍī* Yūsuf b. Khalīl); a similar register had existed, drawn up in 874/1469. A similar detailed register was drawn up by Meḥmed b. ʿAlī al-Fenārī, *ḳāḍī* of Edirne, in 926/1519 (Belediye Libr., Ms Cevdet O 64, 444 ff.). Registers for all the *waḳfs* of Meḥemmed II in Istanbul: Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 210 (947/1540) and no. 240 (952/1545).

Other similar registers refer to the *waḳfs* of ordinary citizens. The most important of these (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 251) has been published: *İstanbul vakıfları Tahrir defteri, 953 (1546) tarihli*, ed. Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, Istanbul 1970. Two similar, unpublished, registers are: Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri 670, drawn up by Ḥasan b. Yūsuf between 986/1578 and 988/1580, and Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü, Ankara, Eski Kayıtlar nos. 542 and 543, drawn up after 1005/1596.

Registers of annual accounts also survive. The summary balances (*idjmāl*) for the mosques of Fātiḥ and Ayasofya for the years 894/1489-896/1491 have been published by Ö. L. Barkan (*İFM*, xxiii (1962-3), 342-79); see also, idem, *Süleymâniye Camii ve imareti tesislerine ait yıllık bir muhasebe bilânçosu, 993/994*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ix, 109-62.

(ii) Documents relating to *ḥisba* (*iḥtisāb*). These

are of three main types: 1. regulations, lists of fixed prices; 2. registers of *rüsûm-i iḥtisābiyye*; 3. registers of guildsmen made for various purposes. 1. Regulations dated 907/1501, published by Ö. L. Barkan in *Tarih Vesikaları*, i/5 (1942), 329-40; Fr. tr. by R. Mantran, in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, no. 14 (1956), 213-41. Very similar provisions are found in later codes (Âtif Ef. Libr. Ms. 1734; Bayezid Libr., Ms Veliyüddin 1070; University Libr., Ms. T. 734; Sarajevo, Orientalni Institut, Ms. 1054). Firmans relating to *iḥtisāb* are preserved in records of daily business (see (*iii*) below) and price regulations (*narkh*) in *ḳāḍīs*' registers; for examples of the latter, see O. Nūrī Ergin, *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, Istanbul 1922. 2. These registers list the tradespeople of Istanbul in 15 sectors, giving for each the location of his business, his trade, the owner's name and the amount of tax payable. They give similar information regarding the ships importing provisions are found in later codes (Âtif Ef. Libr., det B 2 (of 1092/1681), B 10 and B 23; Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliyeden müdevver nos. 514 and 526. Partial publication of such a document by R. Mantran, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1957, iii, 127-49; see also Nihat Gôl, *1763 tarihli esnaf tahrir defterine göre...*, Istanbul University, Edebiyat Fakültesi, tez 1971. 3. Register of the watermen (*kayîkčî*): Belediye Libr., Ms. Cevdet B 8; of the bakers: Topkapı Arşivi, D 9580.

(iii) Numerous documents relating to Istanbul are to be found dispersed in various collections in the Ottoman archives. As examples only, the following may be cited: 1. Mühimme Defteri. Many documents in this series have been published by Ahmed Refik [Altınay], in the series *Hidjri Onundju aşırda Istanbul ḥayātı*, 961-1000, Istanbul 1333 (2nd ed., Istanbul 1935);... *1100-1200*, Istanbul 1931; ... *1100-1200*, Istanbul 1930;... *1200-1255*, Istanbul 1932. Many documents from the Mühimme registers are given in Ergin's *Medjelle*, i.

2. *Maliye ahkâm defterleri*. Nos. 2775 and 9824 in the *Maliyeden müdevver* series are especially important for Istanbul.

3. *Ḳuyûd-i aḥkām al-shikāyāt* series. Registers relating to Istanbul start from 1155/1742. Much information on the tradespeople.

4. Registers of the *ḳāḍīs*. Most of the registers of the *ḳāḍīs* of Istanbul, Ghalaṭa and Üsküdār are lost, but some important examples survive in the archives of the Istanbul Müftülüğü and of Topkapı Sarayı. Some docs. published by Ergin, in *Medjelle*, i.

5. *Muḳāṭaʿa* registers (recording the income of the State Treasury). For an important example from the reign of Meḥemmed II, see *JESHO*, iii (1960), 132. Customs registers: Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliye no. 312 (of 992/1585), no. 5227 (of 1098/1687), no. 3129 (of 1102/1690), no. 918 (of 1108/1696), no. 6164 (of 1138/1725); no. 2996 (of 1206/1791); also Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi nos. 4241-4368, 5207-66.

6. The *Muḥāsebe idjmāl defterleri* (the oldest is Belediye Libr., Ms. Cevdet O 91) record the expenses for official institutions in Istanbul.

7. The affairs of Istanbul fell within the purview of the Shîḳḳ-î Sānî Defterdārı, so that documents emanating from his various offices, especially the *Istanbul muḳāṭaʿasî ḳalemi*, are of importance.

8. The most important assemblage of individual documents is that made by Cevdet, under the heads Belediye, İktisat, Sıhhiyye, Saray, Zaptiye and Maarif (see M. Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi*, Istanbul 1955, p. 71).

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(H. İNALCIK)

ISTANBUL-MONUMENTS [see SUPPLEMENT]

ISTANKÖY [see ON IKI ADA].

ISTĀR (στατήρ), a weight in the apothecary's or troy system, taken over from the Greeks and usually estimated according to two different scales. On the one hand we find the equations: 1 *istār* = 6 *dirham* and 2 *dānaḳ* = 4 *mithḳāl* (an apothecary's stater); on the other, we have 1 *istār* = 6½ *dirham* = 4½ *mithḳāl* (commercial *istār* in the East). The first equation will only be correct if the coined *dirham* and the *mithḳāl maiyāl* are taken ($\frac{2.97 \times 2 \times 2.97}{6} = 18.81 = 4.72 \times 4 = 18.88$). The second equation is approximately correct only if we take the coined *dirham* and the old *mithḳāl* (gold dinār) (2.97 × 6.5 = 19.3 = 4.24 × 4.5 = 19.125). In both cases the result is a much larger amount than that of the usual Greek stater. The further ratio that 20 *istār* go to the *raṭl* (pound) is only true of the *istār* of 6½ *dirham* and the Baghdād *raṭl* of 130 *dirham*.

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(E. V. ZAMBAUR)

ISTIʿĀRA, term in rhetoric commonly used in the sense of metaphor. This term is among those most frequently discussed by authors of all periods and it is impossible to give a complete account of all definitions, systems of classification, and technical terms, many of which are found in texts that do not specifically deal with rhetoric. The following is an attempt to outline the views of some representative authors.

In the early period the term *istiʿāra* is used occasionally in the sense of "borrowing of a theme by one author from another" (see, for instance, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1359/1940, v, 338-40) and the metaphor may be indicated by the term *mathal*, "figurative expression" (see, for in stance, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, Oxford 1921, 173, l. 4; Sukkarī, *Sharḥ Ashʿār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrādj, Cairo 1383/1965, iii, 1200; Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1380/1961, i, 109; and cf. Bonebakker, *Notes on the Kitāb Naḍrat al-Ighrīḍ*, Istanbul 1968, 37) or simply *badīʿ*, "ornate style" (see Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, ed. ʿAbd al-

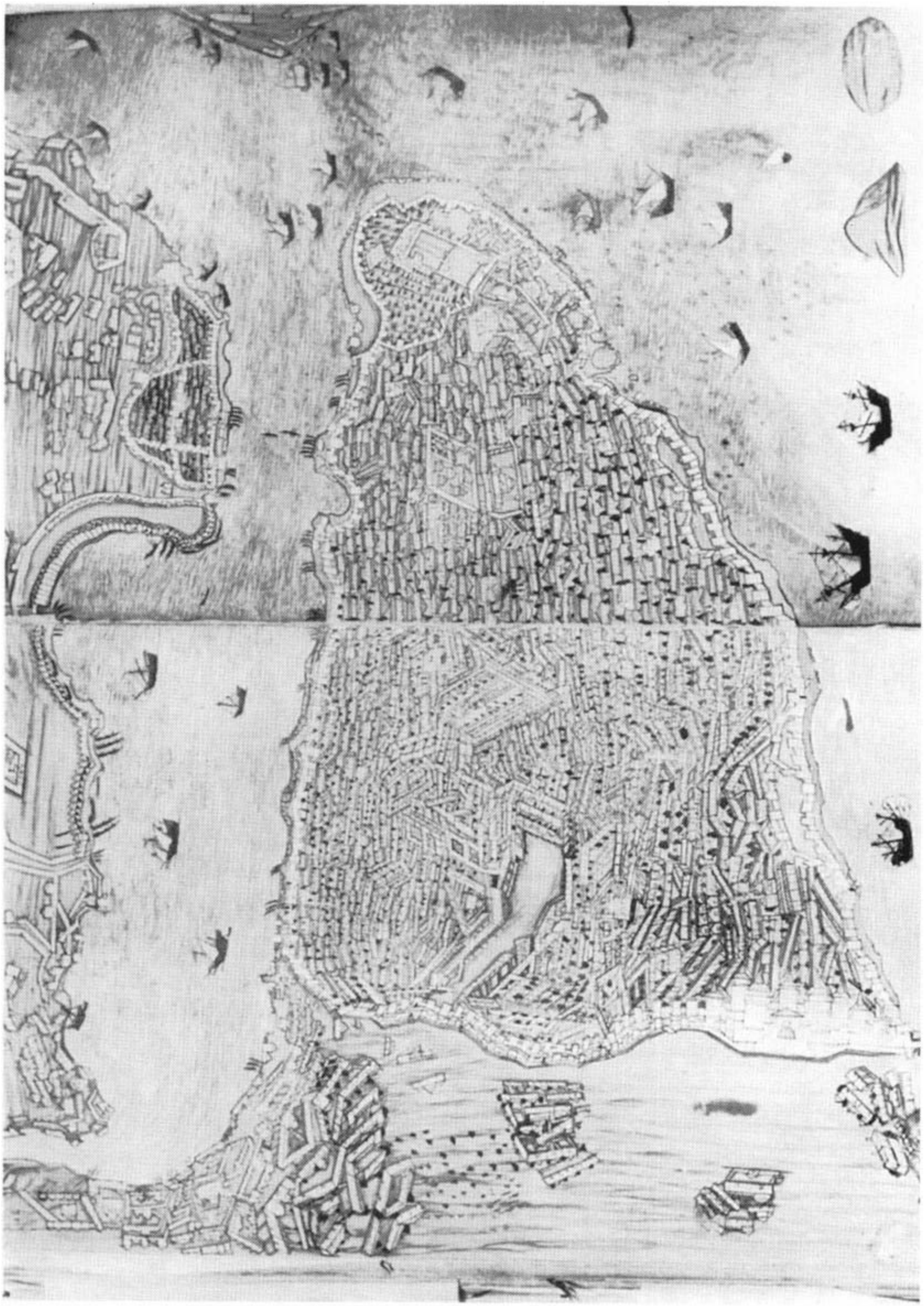

Plan of Istanbul, *circa* 1580, attributed to Velican (*Hünernâme*, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, Nº 1523, ff. 158b-159a).

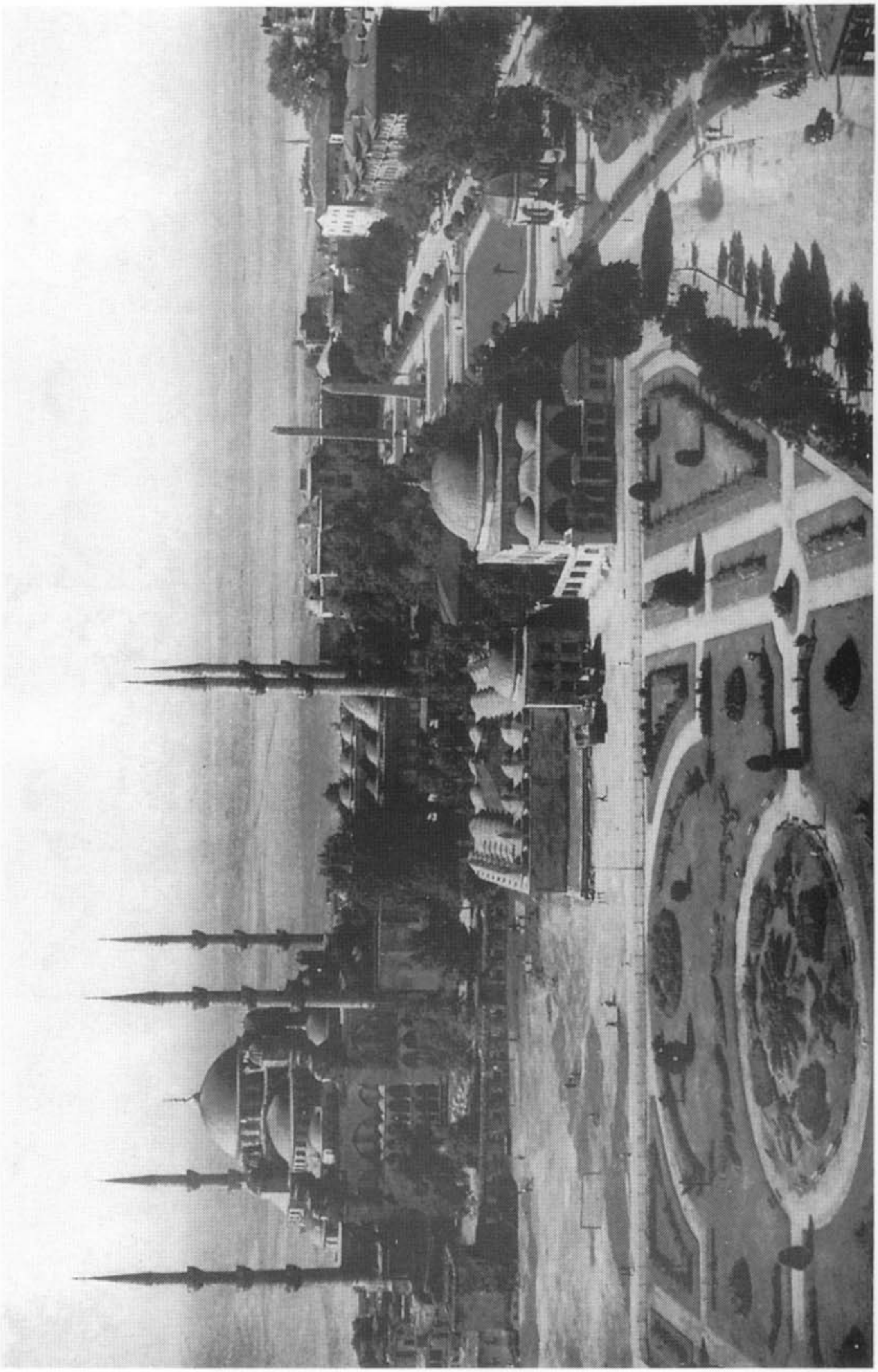

Mosque of Sultan Aḥmed and Hippodrome.

Süleymāniyye mosque with the *medreses*.

View of Rumeli Hisarı on the Bosphorus.

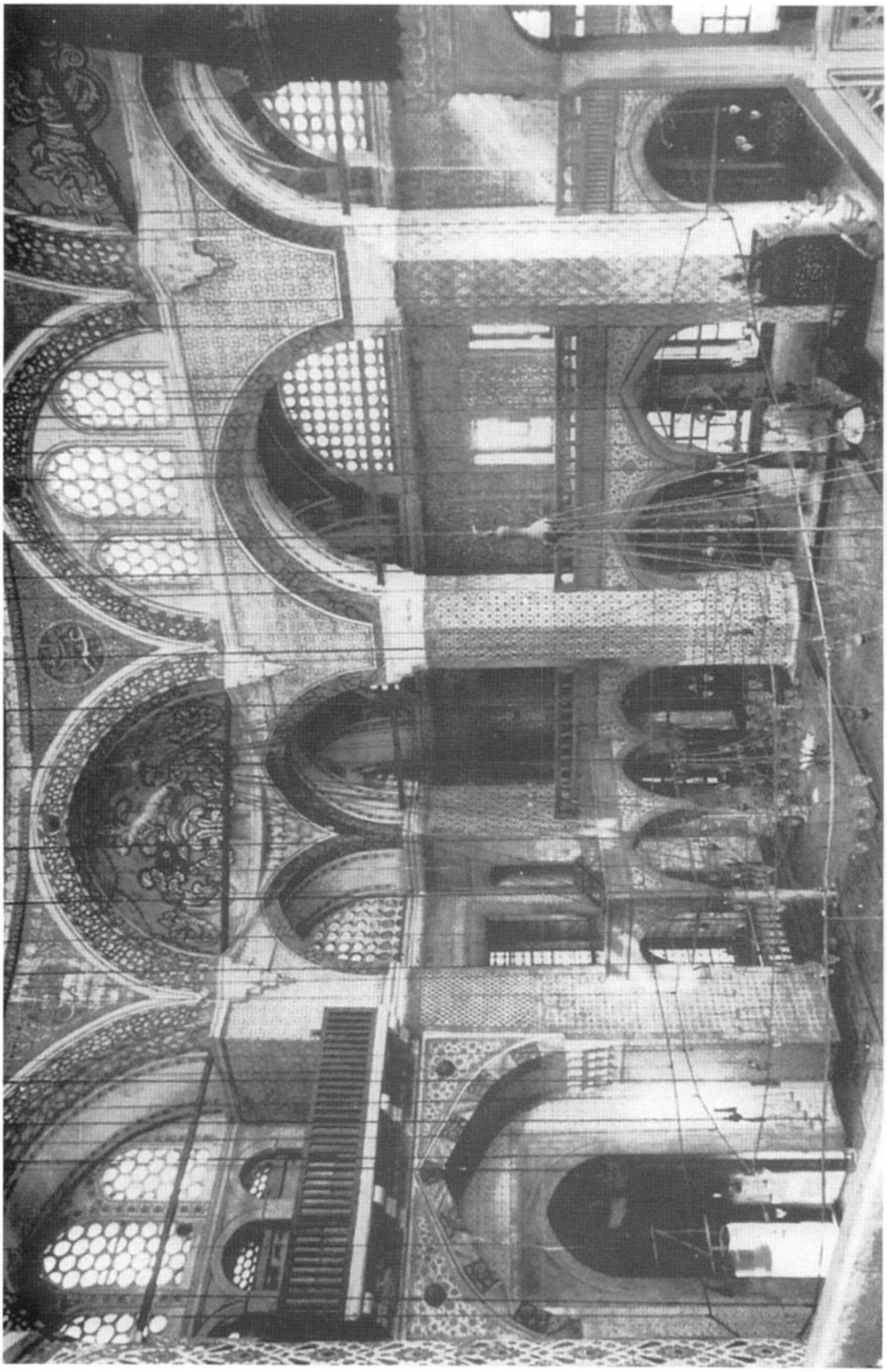

Interior of the mosque of Rüstem Pasha. (Photographs by courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Press)

Salām Muḥ. Hārūn, Cairo 1367/1948, iv, 55 [but cf. i, 153]; idem, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. Hārūn, iii, 58-9; and the saying by ʿAttābī [d. beginning of third/ninth cent.] reported in Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, Cairo 1343/1923, 271). In the sense of "metaphor" it is reported to have been common already with such early philologists as Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. around 154/770) (see Ḥātimī, *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, Ms Fez, Karawiyyīn 2934, f. 4b; Bāḳillānī, *Iʿdjāz*, ed. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1374/1954, 108 [= G. E. von Grunebaum, *A tenth century document*..., Chicago 1950, 7]; Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1353/1954, i, 239), Ḥammād (d. 155/772 or 156/773), Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/824-5), and Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/808) (see *Iʿdjāz*, 108), but since Aṣmaʿī is also said to have used the term *mathal* in speaking of the metaphor (see *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 855, l. 13) it may be suggested that the term *istiʿāra* was substituted in later versions of these reports for some other expression. However that may be, it appears already in what is probably the first systematic treatise on poetics in Arabic, the *Ḳawāʿid al-shiʿr* (ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1966, 57-60) of Thaʿlab (Thaʿlab lived from 200/815 till 291/904; the date of composition of the treatise is unknown and there is some question about Thaʿlab's authorship) and is there defined as "to borrow for something the name of something else or [to attribute to it] a characteristic that is not its own" (*an yustaʿāra li-ʾl-shayʾi ismu ghayrihī aw maʿnan siwāhu*). The definitions offered by Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) in his *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1373/1954, 102) and by Ibn al-Muʿtazz (wrote 274/887) in his *K. al-Badīʿ* (ed. Kratchkovsky, London 1935, 2) are hardly more precise. In fact the two last authors quote examples which later critics would have qualified as "trope" (*madjāz*), "simile" (*tashbīh*), or "metonymy" (*kināya*), though the majority of the examples would also be *istiʿāra*s according to later definitions of the term and are often repeated in later handbooks. The same is true of Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (d. after 320/932) who, moreover, in his *Naḳd al-Shiʿr* (ed. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956) gives examples of the metaphor under the headings *tamthīl* (pp. 90-2) and *istiʿāra* (pp. 104-5) without making sufficiently clear how the two figures are related. He sees the acceptable *istiʿāra* as essentially a simile and the *tamthīl* as the use of a figurative expression (*mathal*) to convey the idea the poet has in mind (see also the definitions and examples in the *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ*, Cairo 1351/1932, 5, 7-8, attributed to Ḳudāma). The often quoted example from the poetry of Imruʾu ʾl Ḳays: *ḳayd al-awābid*, "shackles upon the legs of wild animals", for a horse that overtakes wild animals in chase is quoted (p. 88) in Ḳudāma's chapter on the "metonymy" (*irdāf*). The same confusion exists between the chapters on *istiʿāra* and *mumāthala* (= *tamthīl*) in the *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, (Cairo 1371/1952, 268-306, 353-6) of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 395/1004). Abū Hilāl, however, offers a more detailed explanation of the mechanism of the metaphor pointing out frequently, especially in examples taken from the Ḳurʾān, how the tropical expression is related to the concept the author wishes to put into words and why the metaphor is more effective than the conventional expression. His discussion of ḳurʾānic metaphors closely resembles that of his contemporary, Rummānī (d. 384/994), in his *K. al-Nukat fī iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Muḥ. Khalaf Allāh and Muḥ. Zaghlūl Salām in *Thalāth Rasāʾil*, Cairo n.d. 79-87), though Rummānī's formulations are somewhat more accurate. Both authors also indicate that the metaphor makes it possible to illustrate abstract concepts with concrete analogies and insist that a metaphor is acceptable only if it is more striking than the conventional expression. This last question is also the subject of a discussion by Ḥātimī (d. 388/998) who in his *al-Risāla al-mūḍiḥa fī dhikr sariḳāt Abi ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī*... (ed. Muḥ. Yūsuf Nadjm, Beirut 1385/1965, 69-73, 90-4) distinguishes three types of *istiʿāra*: The first type conforms to the above standard and consists of metaphors that can be justified. He calls this type the "elegant metaphor" (*istiʿāra mustaḥsana*). The second is characterized by the use of terms applicable to animals instead of the corresponding terms used in speaking of human beings, *e.g.*, *ḥāfir*, "hoof", for "foot", *mishfar*, "camels' lip" for *shafa*, "lip [of a human]", etc. He calls this the "ungainly metaphor" (*istiʿāra mustahdjana*). The third type which he considers less ugly than the second consists of using terms applicable to human beings instead of terms specifically used for animals (cf. the discussion of examples belonging to the second type in Ibn Ḳutayba, *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Ḳurʾān*, 116-7; the discussion of the term *muʿāẓala* in Ḳudāma, *Naḳd*, 103; Ibn Durayd, *Djamhara*, Ḥaydarābād 1344/1925, iii, 489b-91a; Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, i, 43-4; Abū Hilāl, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, 301; and ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī's views on this type of expression below). In what appears to be a fourth category he mentions cases (like "my thoughts stumble [while reflecting] on your glory") where the metaphor is "obscure and far fetched" (*khāfiya baʿīda*).

Probably the first to distinguish carefully between the *tashbīh* and the *istiʿāra* and to formulate a closer definition of the figure is ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Djurdjānī (d. 392/1001). In a passage in his *al-Wasāṭa* (Cairo 1370/1951, 41) he makes clear that the line by Abū Nuwās: "Love is a mount and you are its rider; turn its bridle and it will obey you" is not an *istiʿāra*, but a simile (*tashbīh*) or a proverbial saying (*ḍarb mathal*). In a proper *istiʿāra* the borrowed term (*al-ism al-mustaʿār*) completely replaces the proper term (*al-aṣl*). The *istiʿāra*, according to him, is "based on establishing a close similarity, on [the existence of] an affinity between the proper and the borrowed expression, on the blending of the [new] term with the concept [to which it is applied]", etc. (**wa-milākuhā** *taḳrību ʾl-shabahi wa-munāsabatu ʾl-mustaʿāri lahū li-ʾl-mustaʿāri minhu wa-ʾmtizādju ʾl-lafẓi bi-ʾl-maʿnā*, etc.; a different reading and interpretation in Ritter's translation of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī's *Asrār*, 429; cf. also *al-ʿUmda*, i, 240). He condemns (pp. 429-33) the anthropomorphism in an *istiʿāra* by Mutanabbī: "Many schemes are found together in his mind, though one of these would be [large enough to] occupy the *mind of* [*this*] *time*" and compares this with an *istiʿāra* by Ibn Aḥmar where the wind is characterized as "having no constancy in its mind" (*laysa li-lubbihā zabrū*). In the second example the *istiʿāra* is based on the similarity between the wind blowing from different directions and the erratic behaviour of a person of unstable character. In the case of the first example no such similarity suggests itself to the hearer. The only way to make such *istiʿāra*s to some degree acceptable is to think of the frequent occurrence of personifications of time or fate, or to assume an ellipse ("this time" for "the people living in this time"), though by expecting his audience to do so the poet goes beyond what is aesthetically or grammatically acceptable (the lacunae in the text should be completed from the quotations in Khafādjī, *Sirr*, 144 ff.; Khafādjī does not agree with ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī's qualified acceptance of these and similar examples).

Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1063-4 or 463/1070-1) in his *K. al-ʿUmda* (Cairo 1353/1934, i, 239-50) shows himself familiar with the definition of ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī, but nevertheless draws no clear distinction between simile and metaphor in his examples, and, like his predecessors, fails to explain the exact relation between this last figure and the *tamthīl*, though he classifies *tamthīl* as a type of *istiʿāra* (p. 247; cf. however p. 245, l. 4-5, and on pp. 247 bottom and 249, l. 15 his observations on the absence of the comparative particle in both *tamthīl* and *istiʿāra*). He prefers metaphors that can be easily understood, like "Daybreak carried away the Pleiades in its yellow (or white) cloak" for "Daybreak made the Pleiades fade away" in which, he says, the metaphor is based on a simile (the poet's comparison of the bright cloak with the light of daybreak), to metaphors that are less easy to understand, like "The reins of the morning had come into the hands of the north wind" for "The north wind held sway over the morning" where the poet gives to the morning and to the north wind each an attribute that cannot be associated with it (*mā laysa minhu wa-lā ilayhi*). He does not accept the view of some "radical" (?) (*mutaʿaḳḳib*) theorists who prefer the second type of metaphor (which is based on personification and analogy) and consider the first type inferior because it is based on an [easily understandable] simile. He further illustrates this principle, but fails to analyse it properly, and also points out that the same kind of metaphor may be fitting in one context and ugly in another.

Khafādjī (d. 466/1073-4) in his *Sirr al-Faṣāḥa* (Cairo 1372/1953, 134-69) bases his discussion of the *istiʿāra* on Rummānī and ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī. He does not, however, accept as *istiʿāra*s sentences like "She dropped pearls from narcissi", etc. which he classifies as *tashbīh*. He does not offer an explanation. What he has in mind is perhaps that because *asbalat*, "she dropped", in this context only allows us to take "pearls" and "narcissi" as standing for "tears" and "eyes" a simile is forced upon the hearer and it becomes impossible to argue that the two words are not to be understood in their proper sense (but cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al Mathal*, i, 359). In "And the head is ablaze with hoariness" (Ḳurʾān, XIX, 3) "hoariness" as the notion to which the metaphor is applied (*al-mustaʿār lahū*) is compared to "fire" as the notion from which it is derived (*al-mustaʿār minhu*), but the fire is not mentioned, only one of its attributes, and there is good reason to qualify "to be ablaze" (*al-mustaʿār*) as a term used in an improper way (*Sirr*, 134-6). He prefers *istiʿāra*s that are immediately apparent to the hearer to those that cannot be justified as based on intelligible similarities or are derived from expressions that are themselves metaphors. One may speak of "the eye of a flower" since there is an obvious similarity, but not of "the eye of faith that finds consolation", since there is nothing in faith that could be compared to an eye. The metaphor in "the saddle feeds on (= takes away) the fat of the hump of the camel" is more obvious than that in "the horses and riding animals of passion have become unharnessed", since the latter example derives from another, more common, metaphor: "He rode his passion and ran on its race track". As usual the distinction between *istiʿāra* and *tamthīl* is not clearly defined (see the examples on pp. 166 below and 167 above repeated as *tamthīl* on p. 325).

The most important discussion of the *istiʿāra* is found in the *Asrār al-balāgha* (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954; German translation H. Ritter, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst des ʿAbdalqāhir al-Curcānī*, Wiesbaden 1959) of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078). In his *Dalāʾil al-Iʿdjāz* (Cairo 1367/1947-8, 331-46) which, according to Ritter (see the Introd. to this ed. of the *Asrār*, 6) was probably written earlier than the *Asrār*, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir takes his predecessors to task for defining the *istiʿāra* as a transfer (*naḳl*) of terms. He argues that the *istiʿāra* is a claim (*iddiʿāʾ*) that something is identical to something else. The very effect of the figure depends on this claim and consequently there is a transfer of a concept before there is a transfer of a term. In the *Asrār*, however, he describes the *istiʿāra* as generally speaking (*fi 'l-djumla*) the incidental use (*naḳl ghayr lāzim*) of a term in a sense different from its original sense (i.e. the well-known sense supported by literary evidence), so that it appears like a loan (*ʿāriya*) (p. 29 = tr. p. 46; cf. p. 379-81 = tr. p. 441-3) and recognizes that his concept of the figure is essentially that of his predecessors among whom he mentions Āmidī (d. 370/980) and ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī (p. 298 = tr. p. 348, p. 368 = tr. p. 429, p. 370-1 = tr. p. 431-2). They differ from him in that they did not offer a detailed analysis of simile (*tashbīh*), analogy (*tamthīl*), and metaphor (*istiʿāra*), and were content to offer a few examples of these figures without a proper definition. (p. 26-8 = tr. p. 43-5). For ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir the *istiʿāra* is one of various types of trope (*madjāz*) inasmuch as there is always an association (*mulāḥaẓa*) with the normal sense of the term (p. 325-6 = tr. p. 378-80, p. 365 = tr. 425-6). However, in the case of the *istiʿāra* there must exist some property common to the object to which the term is normally applied and the object to which it is applied metaphorically. He draws attention to the etymology of the term *istiʿāra* as derived from *ʿāriya*, "borrowed good", "loan". The owner's claim to his property does not cease to exist, but the borrowed goods perform in the hands of the borrower the same function as in the hands of the owner (p. 372-3 = tr. pp. 432-4; cf. pp. 300-2 = tr. pp. 350-2). If one says: "I see a lion", meaning a courageous man, what one has in his mind is to attribute to the man the most striking property of the lion, its courage; but if one uses the word *yad*, "hand", in the sense of "favour" in "I owe him a favour" (*lahū ʿindī yadun*), one has no intention to describe a property of the hand. It becomes possible to argue that "favour" and not "hand" is the original meaning of the word *yad*, though upon closer examination one finds that there exists a reference to an activity originally involving the hand (cf. also p. 326 ff. = tr. p. 380 ff.). ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir makes a further distinction by pointing out that the *istiʿāra* is more striking than the conventional expression (and as such has an aesthetic function): When a poet uses the term *shafa*, "lip" in speaking of the lip of a horse (*djaḥfal*) or the lip of a camel (*mishfar*) there is only a free use of near synonyms or the use of a general instead of a specific term (p. 30-1 = tr. p. 48-9, p. 373-4 = tr. p. 434-5), but when he uses "horse's lip" or "camel's lip" in speaking of a human being one already has a borderline case, since one can easily imagine that what the poet is trying to say is that the man's lips are thick or that he is as miserable as an animal (p. 34 ff. = tr. p. 52 ff.). ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir distinguishes three types of metaphors:

(a) metaphors based on a comparison of notions that show a close affinity and in any case belong to the same category: "flying" for "running".

(b) metaphors based on a comparison of objects that share certain qualities: "sun" for "beautiful face".

(c) metaphors based on a similarity that can only be understood intellectually, the metaphor consisting of (1) things sensually perceived for intellectual concepts: "light" for "convincing argument", (2) things sensually perceived for other things sensually perceived though the similarity remains a matter of the intellect: "green plants on a dung-hill" for "beautiful women of evil character", and (3) intellectual concepts for other intellectual concepts: "death" for "ignorance", "meeting death" for "facing a serious crisis". For metaphors based on abstract similarity, as well as for the various types of explicit similes that would correspond to them, he uses the term *tamthīl.* The similarity can only be established by analysis (*taʾawwul*), since the metaphor or simile is not based on a common property (as in the comparison of a rose with a cheek), but on something conditioned by a property (it is as difficult to deny the existence of the sun as to deny the truth of a convincing argument), In some cases there is "a similarity between two groups of objects in each of which there exists an inner relation between, not only a simple coordination of, various elements, a relation which can only be expressed in the form of a sentence" [or its equivalent] (*Asrār*, Introd., 14), and the *tamthīl* is therefore closely related to the proverbial sentence (*mathal*): "The bow is in the hands of the bow-cutter" for "The matter has been entrusted to a competent person" (p. 94 = tr. p. 120). According to ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir such sentences owe their peculiar effect to the fact that the mind accepts a not so familiar concept more readily if the author can illustrate it with a situation with which it is thoroughly familiar, such as when one uses an old friend to introduce a newcomer (*Asrār*, Introd., 15). In such sentences the terms themselves are, of course, used in their proper meaning, and hence it becomes possible to explain apparent anthropomorphisms in the Ḳurʾān like "The whole earth is in the grip of his hand on the Day of Resurrection" (Ḳurʾān XXXIX, 67) as analogies for intellectual concepts (p. 331-2 = tr. p. 386-7; Intro., 11), though he warns against arbitrary explanations (p. 363-4 = tr. p. 422-4).

ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī also examines the use of metaphors to create fantastic aetiologies such as are common in post-classical Arabic and Persian poetry. In "Be not surprised that his shirt is torn: He buttoned it in moonlight" the poet assumes that the common metaphor, "moon" for "beautiful face", is accepted as a reality and then alludes to the common belief that moonlight wears out linen (*Asrār*, Introd., 21-2).

An essential difference between ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī and some of his predecessors and followers is that he does not accept as metaphors sentences like *zaydun asadun* or *zayduni ʾl-asadu*, "Zayd is a lion", where a simile is expressed without the help of a specific particle or a verb (cf. however p. 304-5 = tr. p. 354-5). Nor does he consider as such *tadjrīd* expressions like *laḳītu bihī asadan, raʾaytu minhu laythan*, "I met/I saw in him a lion" (p. 310-11 = tr. p. 361-2). He hesitates however in cases like "[He is] a full moon that spreads its light over the earth from east and west, but leaves the place of my camel's saddle in the black darkness", since one cannot compare somebody to the moon and then ascribe to him a property that the moon does not have. Such sentences are based on the assumption that the hearer has already accepted that the subject of the poem is a special kind of moon, so that the poet can attribute to this moon some unusual qualities (p. 305 ff. = tr. p. 355 ff.; for a more detailed discussion of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir's theories see *Asrār*, Introduction, from which some of the above definitions and translations have been taken).

The compendiums based on ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, beginning with the *Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz* (Cairo 1317/1899) of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī ([*q.v.*] d. 606/1209) and the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* (Cairo 1356/1937) of Sakkākī ([*q.v.*] d. 626/1228-9), together with the numerous commentaries on these compendiums, almost completely superseded the *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz* and the *Asrār al-balāgha*. In the *Nihāya*, which contains a useful summary of Djurdjānī's ideas, Fakhr al-Dīn attempts to clarify the two opposing viewpoints expressed by Djurdjānī on the character of the *istiʿāra*. After offering interesting arguments in favour of the theory outlined in the *Dalāʾil* he declares himself in favour of Djurdjānī's later theory as presented in the *Asrār*: By calling a man a "lion" one attributes to him the lion's courage, not his physical qualities, which means that the word *asad* is used in a more restricted sense (p. 84-5; cf. *Asrār*, 379-81 = tr. 441-3). Hence the metaphor has to be considered a "trope of the language" (*madjāz lughawī*; cf. however Djurdjānī's observations on the *madjāz ʿaḳlī*, the "trope of the intellect" in the relation between a verb and its agent in *Asrār*, 342-5 = tr. 399-402, 376 ff. = tr. 437 ff. and Intro., 23-4). Among the works based on the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*: the *Talkhīs al-Miftāḥ* (a digest of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*) of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*], also known as the Khaṭīb Dimashḳ (d. 739/1338); *al-Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar* of Taftāzānī (d. between 791/1389 and 797/1395); and the *ʿUḳud al-djumān* of Suyūṭī ([*q.v.*] d. 911/1505) have been summarized in A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber* (Copenhagen/Vienna 1853). The question whether the *istiʿāra* constitutes a claim that something is identical with something else (and is therefore a figure depending solely on the intellect, *ʿaḳlī*) or an improper use of a term (and therefore a semantic phenomenon, *lughawī*) is resolved in favour of the last point of view by postulating that in claiming for a man the characteristics of a lion (*asadiyya*) one claims that there are two possible types of lion covered by the term, one generally known (*muta-ʿāraf*) and possessing all the psychical and physical characteristics of the animal, and one not generally known and possessing the psychical, but not the physical characteristics. The context (*ḳarīna*) indicates that not the generally known meaning is intended and distinguishes the *istiʿāra* from a false claim where it would be essential for the author not to include anything in the context that would disprove this claim (*Miftāḥ*, 175-6). Though the author's intention to use a word metaphorically would thus be clear from the context, this context may still contain elements that support its common meaning, as in "Those are they who have purchased error with right direction, and their trade was not profitable" (Ḳurʾān, II, 15) where the common meaning of "purchasing" in the sense of "purchasing goods in the market" is supported by "their trade was not profitable". In this case we speak of an *istiʿāra murashshaḥa* or "prepared *istiʿāra*". In case no such elements exist we have an *istiʿāra mudjarrada*, or "bare *istiʿāra*", as in "I attacked a lion groaning under [the burden of] his armour" (to be distinguished from the *istiʿāra muṭlaḳa* or "absolute *istiʿāra*" in *ʿindī asadun*, "with me is a lion" *i.e.*, a courageous man, where there are no elements in the context supporting "lion" in its proper or in its metaphorical sense; various interpretations of this type of *istiʿāra* in *Shurūḥ al-Talkhīṣ*, Cairo 1937, iv, 127-8). Following Djurdjānī's discus-

sion of the "substratum" (*dhāt*) of the *istiʿāra* (*Asrār*, 42-7 = tr. 63-8), these authors furthermore distinguish an *istiʿāra takhyiliyya* or "fantastic *istiʿāra*", as in the famous line by Abū Dhuʾayb al-Hudhalī: "When fate plunges its talons in its prey, you find that no amulet will help", where the attribution of talons to fate suggests that fate is a wild animal. Since "fate" is here still indicated by its proper term, the *istiʿāra* is achieved "metonymically" (*bi-'l-kināya*; Sakkākī's point of view as expressed in the *Miftāḥ*, 178, l. 6-15 differs from that of Ḳazwīnī, *al-Īḍāḥ*, v, 165 ff. and Suyūṭī, *ʿUḳūd al-djumān*, 99-100). These as well as other terms and definitions adopted by the followers of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, though they help to present ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir's ideas in a well-ordered form, do not seem to offer an essentially new approach to his theory of the figure (for further details see Mehren, 31-40, 75-91), but numerous works by authors belonging to this school still remain to be investigated.

Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) in his *al-Mathal al-sāʾir* (Cairo 1358/1939, i, 57-64, 355-88) sees the metaphor as a shortened simile (*tashbīh maḥdhūf*). He considers it essential that the original notion and the notion substituted for it should share a common characteristic that is obvious and therefore easily recognizable and analogous to the acquaintance (*maʿrifa*) that exists between lender and borrower in a loan transaction. He therefore does not consider as *istiʿāras* examples like the line by Abū Nuwās: "Hoarse is the voice of property (*buḥḥa ṣawtu 'l-māli*) from complaining against you and raising its voice [against its being spent too liberally]", apparently because he sees no good reason for comparing property to a human being with a voice (cf. Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 240). He considers this and similar examples as no more than a trope (*madjāz*) resulting from an extension of usage (*tawassuʿ fi 'l-kalām*) and closely resembling the simile by virtue of the annexation in the genitive (pp. 356, 361-2). Nor does he consider as *istiʿāras* anthropomorphisms like "And neither the heaven nor the earth wept over them" (Ḳurʾān XLIV, 28) and the Prophet's description of Uḥud: "This is a mountain we love and that loves us", though the absence of the annexation in the genitive makes these expressions acceptable. Though he offers interesting discussions of the views of some of his predecessors, Ibn al-Athīr's own definitions of the *istiʿāra* are obscure and his choice of examples shows inconsistencies.

Similar inconsistencies exist in the *K. al-Ṭirāz* (Cairo 1332/1914, i, 197-260) of Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī (d. 747/1346), though otherwise this book offers a useful summary of the views of some early as well as some later authors (Ibn al-Athīr and the followers of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī). The author inclines towards considering expressions like *zaydun asadun* as metaphors, but *zayduni 'l-asadu*, as well as expressions that make use of particles of comparison, as similes (pp. 202-9), a question much debated by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir. His subtitution of the term *istiʿāra muwashshaḥa*, "ornamented *istiʿāra*", for *istiʿāra murashshaḥa* is no doubt the result of a misreading.

Chapters on the *istiʿāra* in later handbooks likewise offer no more than summaries of earlier definitions and repeat or elaborate the essential elements of the theories of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī and his school along with some refinements, such as the observation that in "Those are they who have purchased error with right direction, and their trade was not profitable" we have an *istiʿāra murashshaḥa* in which two *istiʿāras*, "buying" and "profitable trade" support each other (Ibn Ḥidjdja, *Khizāna*, Cairo 1304/1886, 49). They sometimes offer copious examples of *istiʿāras* in the work of post-classical poets.

On Abū Bishr's (d. 328/939) translation of the Poetics of Aristotle and the resulting misconceptions on the metaphor in the digest of the Poetics by Avicenna and Averroes see F. Gabrieli in *RSO* xii (1929-30), 293, 301 n. 3, 304, 318, 321; Ḳudāma, *Naḳd*, Intro., 42 (but cf. S. Afnan, *The commentary of Avicenna on Aristotle's Poetics* in *JRAS* (1947), 188; W. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung und Griechische Poetik*, Beirut 1969, 156).

Bibliography: in addition to the fundamental works mentioned in the text: Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, Cairo 1380/1961, i, 245-64; Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr*, Cairo 1383/1963, 97-101; idem, *Badīʿ al-ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1377/1957, 17-27; Shams al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Ḳays al-Rāzī, *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, ed. Mirzā Muḥ. al-Ḳazwīnī, Leiden 1909, 336-40; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī, *al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿulūm al-balāgha*, Cairo 1368/ 1949, v, 43-183 (detailed notes on the theories of authors belonging to the school of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī); Taftāzānī, *al-Sharḥ al-muṭawwal*, Istanbul 1330/1911, 354-405; Suyūṭī, *ʿUḳūd al-djumān*, Cairo 1358/1939, 92-100; ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, Cairo 1367-1947, ii, 132-72; Ibn Maʿṣūm, *Anwār al-rabīʿ fī anwāʿ al-badīʿ*, Nadjaf 1388/1968, i, 243-97; H. Ritter, *Über die Bildersprache Niẓāmīs*, Berlin 1927; T. Sabbagh, *La métaphore dans le Coran*, Paris 1943 (uncritical); M. Khalafallah, *Naẓariyyāt ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī*, in *Farouk I University Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, ii (1944), 14-48. A useful discussion of contemporary western definitions of the metaphor raising some questions that were also familiar to the mediaeval Arab critics is *Die Metapher* (Bochumer Diskussion) in *Poetica, Zeitschr. für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, ii (1968), 100-30. See also articles KINĀYA, MADJĀZ, TAKHYĪL, TAMTHĪL, TASHBĪH in *EI*².

(S. A. BONEBAKKER)

ISTIBDĀD [see ẒULM].

ISTIBRĀʾ, the period of sexual abstinence imposed on an unmarried female slave whenever she changed hands or her master set her free or gave her in marriage. Literally, *istibrāʾ* means to make sure of the "freedom", that is the "emptiness", of the womb. In fact, this period of abstinence was imposed to avoid confusion over paternity since—as there is hardly need to mention—female slaves, especially young ones, were nearly always the concubines of their masters. Nevertheless, the majority of *fuḳahāʾ* often lost sight of the point of this institution and imposed *istibrāʾ* in hypothetical cases where, by the very nature of things, there was no danger of confusion over paternity.

1) When a female slave passed from the ownership of one person to another, for whatever reason—sale, gift, cancellation of sale, exchange, succession, division of spoils or legacy—she had to observe *istibrāʾ*. In theory, all female slaves came under this obligation, not only those who, by reason of their age, were able to bear children but also pre-pubertal girls, even the very young, and post-menopausal women, excepting only, in Mālikī law, girls who were so young that any sexual relationship with them was impossible (Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, ii, 125).

Istibrāʾ was imposed even on a female slave who was virgin at the time of transfer of ownership, though in such a case there was no possibility of confusion over paternity if she became pregnant later. It is surprising to observe the unanimity of the schools on this point; only the Ẓāhirīs gave virgins dispensation

from *istibrāʾ* (Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, x, 315). A classical example is a good illustration of the irrational demands of *fiḳh* in this matter. Suppose that a female slave had been sold by a woman or a eunuch (in such cases *istibrāʾ* was "recommended" but not obligatory), the sale having been rescinded by mutual consent (*iḳāla*), she returned to the woman or the eunuch. In this case there could be no possible doubt at all about the origin of a possible pregnancy, yet this female slave had to observe *istibrāʾ* after the dissolution of the sale, even though this took place before the buyer had taken possession of her. Only the Ḥanafīs avoided such an absurdity by waiving *istibrāʾ* except when the dissolution of the sale, by common consent, took place after the buyer had taken possession.

2) Every female slave had to observe *istibrāʾ* at the time of her manumission, including an *umm walad* [see ʿABD] at the death of her master. Here too the Ḥanafīs deviated from the solution common to the three other schools by demanding in the case of the *umm walad* not an *istibrāʾ* of one menstruation but an *ʿidda* of three inter-menstrual periods, as for a free woman, whether the manumission occurred during the lifetime of the master or was a consequence of his death (al-Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, iii, 30).

3) Finally, a slave whose master gave her in marriage to a free man or to another slave had to observe *istibrāʾ*, as it is defined below, except in Ḥanafī law where the position on this point seems, moreover, curious.

In spite of their tendency to insist on *istibrāʾ* on the occasion of any change in the juridical status of a female slave, the *fuḳahāʾ* avoided carrying their system to absurd lengths. Thus exemption was granted to the slave who had had intercourse with her master and was then freed when he married her after manumission. In this case *istibrāʾ* would in fact have had no purpose. Such a hypothetical case should not be confused with one where a man buys a female slave whom he frees on the spot and seeks to marry without *istibrāʾ*. In this case, and with good reason, the Mālikī, Shafiʿi and Ḥanbalī schools insist that there must be an *istibrāʾ*. Their scholars explain that if Ḥanafī law says otherwise this is because Abū Yūsuf, wishing to oblige Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who was impatient to possess a slave he was going to buy, had advised him to set her free and then marry her. This was certainly an instance of word-play (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, vii, 507-8).

Duration of *istibrāʾ*. The waiting period which constitutes *istibrāʾ*, during which the female slave was forbidden to have any sexual intercourse, lasts until her accouchement in the case of a slave who is pregnant at the time of her sale, manumission or marriage. For women who are menstruating, the time must embrace one complete menstruation (*ḥayḍ*), that is, the menstruation which proves the emptiness of the womb must begin during the period of "purity" (*ṭuhr*), prior to which the transfer of property, manumission or marriage has taken place. Pre-pubertal or post-menopausal slaves observe a period of retreat of one lunar month. The waiting period is the same whatever the reason for the *istibrāʾ*, with the sole exception, mentioned above, of the *umm walad*, which, in Hanafī law, entails the observation of an abstinence of three *ḳurūʾ*, that is, according to the Ḥanafī definition of the word, of three menstruations. Noteworthy in this respect is a curious rule of Ḥanbalī law which lays down that when a female slave is sold by two co-owners, both of whom have had sexual relations with her, two *istibrāʾ* must be observed (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, vii, 509). These intervals belong to the *istibrāʾ* proper, that is the period of abstinence applying to an unmarried slave. When a slave is married and her marriage is dissolved by repudiation or by the death of her husband, it is no longer a matter of *istibrāʾ* but of a genuine *ʿidda* [*q.v.*]. Because of the unquestioned rule of Muslim law that a slave's legal obligations are half those of a free man, this would last for two months and five days if the marriage was dissolved by death and two *ḳurūʾ* if the woman had been repudiated. Remembering the different interpretation of the word *ḳurūʾ* by the various schools, this could mean two inter-menstrual periods (the majority of schools) or two menstruations (Ḥanafī school).

Istibrāʾ in the case of termination of slavery. In all cases when a female slave changes master, it is incumbent on the man who acquires her (by sale, gift, inheritance etc.) to see that the said slave fulfils her obligation; in other words he must abstain from sexual intercourse with her until the time of *istibrāʾ* has expired. The four schools are unanimous on this point and, apart from a few isolated jurists, only the Ẓahirīs imposed this obligation on the vendor (Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, x, 315). Mālikī law worked out an ingenious system that enabled all the pertinent regulations of *fiḳh* to be both effective and easily workable. It entailed giving the slave who should observe *istibrāʾ* into the hands of a trustworthy person, preferably a woman, who forbade the new owner to come near her until the period of abstinence had elapsed. This system was known as the *muwādaʿa*, from *wadīʿa*, a trust.

Sanctions for default in *istibrāʾ*. The man who acquires a new female slave and has sexual relations with her without respecting the waiting period of *istibrāʾ* commits a grave sin (*ithm*); although purely religious, this sanction was somewhat awkward for a man who was a believer but also impatient. For his benefit, Ḥanafī jurisconsults invented a *ḥīla* [*q.v.*], or legal expedient, which permitted the law to be evaded but not infringed. This *ḥīla* consisted of marrying the newly acquired slave to a man of straw, often the dealer himself, who repudiated her then and there, that is before consummating the marriage. In this way she was released from the *ʿidda* and since she had been married *istibrāʾ* did not apply to her. The schools who condemned *ḥiyal* in principle, such as the Ḥanbalīs and Mālikīs, rejected this expedient without hesitation. (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, vii, 513; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, ii, 123).

Yet the acquirer who had not respected *istibrāʾ* could suffer indirectly the consequences of his negligence. Supposing, for example, that the slave gave birth to a child less than six months after she had been bought; this was proof that she had been pregnant by her previous master and therefore an *umm walad*; since this meant that she should have been neither sold nor given away, the act of acquisition by her new master was automatically annulled and the slave returned to her former master.

All possible combinations of *istibrāʾ* with the *ʿidda*s of freed slaves (identical with those of free women) and the *ʿidda*s of married slaves have been the object of lengthy discussions in works of *fiḳh*, to which reference should be made.

Bibliography: The works on *fiḳh*, generally in the chapter on the *ʿidda*, especially Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Cairo 1936, iv, 65 ff.; Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-Muḥtādj* (Shāfiʿī), Cairo 1938, vii, 154-62; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, ii, 123-8; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī* Cairo 1367, vii, 500 ff. For a comparison between the schools see Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-*

umma on the margin of Shaʿrānī's *Mizan*, ed. Ḥalabī, ii, 88-9; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, Rome 1925, i, 252-3. See also ʿABD, ʿIDDA and UMM WALAD.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

ISTIBṢĀR (KITĀB AL-), an anonymous geographico-historical work of which the full title is *K. al-Istibṣār fī ʿadjāʾib al-amṣār*. The text does not provide any precise information about the author, who is most probably a Moroccan living in the second half of the 6th/12th century. Indeed it seems likely that the original text is the work of a writer referred to as *muʾallif* or *wāḍiʿ*, and that it was subsequently revised and brought up to date by a *nāẓir*, who states (p. 226) his intention of writing a history of the Maghrib together with a composition which he had offered to the sovereign in 580/1184-5 (probably Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣur, 580/95/1184-99). Although the author states that he was writing in Ramaḍān 587/September-October 1191, events occurring after this date are also related, which suggests that the "reviser" restricted his activity to making additions without deleting conflicting facts. The work is dedicated to a certain Abū ʿImrān ibn Abī Yaḥyā b. Waḳtīn, who is otherwise unknown.

The *K. al-Istibṣār* is divided into three parts, which contain respectively a detailed description of Mecca and Medina, some more or less legendary information on the history and geography of Egypt, and finally a description of North Africa and of the Bilād al-Sūdān interspersed with historical information; the work is of very uneven value, fantastic stories being related side by side with contemporary documents of undeniable interest.

It was the subject of a partial edition by A. von Kremer, *Description de l'Afrique par un géographe arabe anonyme du 6e siècle de l'hégire*, Vienna 1852; thanks to the Mss. Algiers 1560 and Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2225, E. Fagnan was able to fill in some gaps in the rather incomplete text of von Kremer and to give a French translation of it, *L'Afrique septentrionale au XIIe siècle de notre ère*, in *Recueil de notices et mém. de la Soc. archéol. de Constantine*, xxxiii (1899), Constantine 1900; finally, Saad Zaghloul Abdel-Hamid published the complete text, based on the Mss. Bibl. Nat. 2225 and Algiers 1560 and 3216, together with a translation into French of the section relevant to the Holy Places and to Egypt, under the title *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, etc., Alexandria 1958. Two manuscripts, identical to those used by von Kremer and Fagnan respectively, are in the Bibl. Gén. of Rabat, nos. 415 and 415 *bis*. It is probable that the manuscripts so far used still contain gaps, because the one author who quotes from the work, Ibn Abī Zarʿ (*Ḳirṭās*, 24), reproduces a passage which is not in the text as it has been preserved.

Bibliography: In the article. (CH. PELLAT)

ISTIDJA, ECIJA, a town in the centre of Andalusia, to the south-west of Cordova, which today contains 50,000 inhabitants; it is situated on the banks of the river Genil, which was formerly navigable as far as its confluence with the Guadalquiver. Of Iberian origin and colonized by the Greeks, the town was occupied by the Carthaginians, who have left no trace of their stay there, and then was fortified and embellished by the Romans who, at the time of Augustus, made it a *conventus*, the juridical centre of the district. Nothing is known of it under the Visigoths. The town surrendered to the Arabs after the defeat of Don Rodrigo at Lago de la Janda, and the whole surrounding region submitted to the victors without resistance. In the reign of the amīr al-Ḥakam I, a dispute over the succession broke out between the ruler and his two uncles, Sulaymān and ʿAbd Allāh, sons of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I; Sulaymān attempted to seize Cordova, and continued to struggle for two years before being defeated in the neighbourhood of Ecija and in the valleys of the Genil and the Guadalquiver; he was finally overcome, captured and put to death, while his brother ʿAbd Allāh went to Aix-la-Chapelle to seek support from Charlemagne.

Ecija remained comparatively peaceful until the time when the rebellion of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn incited the inhabitants, who for the most part were Mozarab, to rise against the government of Cordova, an action which caused Ecija to be regarded as a cursed city inhabited solely by enemies of the Umayyad regime. The amīr ʿAbd Allāh attacked it, and his successor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, on coming to the throne and launching his decisive campaigns against Ibn Ḥafṣūn, sent against Ecija his *ḥādjib* Badr with an army which dismantled the town and destroyed its bridge (later rebuilt by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿAmīr).

On the fall of the caliphate, Ecija was for a time ruled by the Djahwarids of Cordova, but it then passed under the domination of the Banū Birzāl who had made themselves independent in Carmona; but al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville, who had seized all the small Berber states, from Morón to Ronda, mercilessly attacked the territories subject to the petty ruler of Carmona, and this town, together with Ecija, Osuna and Almodovar, came under the rule of Seville. Later, at the beginning of the siege of Cordova by Ferdinand III, al-Mutawakkil Ibn Hūd attempted to oppose the besieging army; he took his troops as far as Ecija, but did not dare to engage in battle; he withdrew to Almeria, and the Cordovans, running short of supplies, surrendered on 22 Shawwāl 633/29 June 1236. The Muslims who wished to remain did not leave the town until 681/1282, when they were expelled and replaced by Christians. From then onwards, Ecija formed one of the bases from which the reconquest of the kingdom of Granada was organized.

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ISTIḌLĀL [see MANTIḲ].

ISTĪFĀʾ [see MUSTAWFĪ].

IṢṬIFAN B. BASĪL (STEPHANOS), the first translator of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa speaks of him in two passages in his book: in the first he is cited along with Mūsā b. Khālid as one of the experienced scribes (*kuttāb naḥārīr*), skilled in the art of translating, whom the caliph al-Mutawakkil placed at the disposal of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], who was responsible for checking (*yataṣaffah*) their work; the second and more important reference to him is derived from information provided by Ibn Djuldjul in his lost book on the *Explanation of the names of simples according to the treatise of Dioscorides*. The translation of the *Materia medica* from Greek into Arabic, he says, was made in Baghdād in the time of al-Mutawakkil by Iṣṭifan b. Basīl (*al-turdjumān*), under the supervision of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (*al-mutardjim*) who authorized it (*adjāzahu*). Iṣṭifan gave the Arabic equivalents for the Greek names of the drugs with which he was familiar in his day. Those names for which he knew of no Arabic equivalents he left in Greek, "trusting that God would later send someone who would know

them". It should be noted that this first translation was made directly from the Greek, without any intermediate Syriac version.

Bibliography: M. Steinschneider, *Die griechischen Aerzte in arabischen Uebersetzungen*, in *Virchows Archiv*, cxxiv (1891), 480-3; Max Meyerhof, *Die* Materia medica *des Dioskurides bei den Arabern*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft und der Medizin*, iii/4 (Berlin 1933). (R. Arnaldez)

IṢṬIFĀN al-DUWAYHĪ, Maronite cleric and historian, born in Ihdin, in the northern Lebanon, in 1629. He studied at the Maronite College in Rome from 1641 until his graduation in 1655, then returned as a priest and missionary to serve his community in Mount Lebanon and Aleppo. In 1668 he was promoted to the rank of bishop and appointed to the diocese of Cyprus; two years later, on 20 May 1670, he was elected to succeed as Maronite patriarch.

As head of the Maronite church, Duwayhī proved an efficient reformer and reorganizer. His administration was notable, among other things, for the establishment of the Maronite order of the Antonines in 1695, and the confirmation of its rules in 1700. He died at Ḳannūbīn, the seat of the Maronite patriarchate, on 3 May 1704.

While certainly remembered as a great patriarch, Duwayhī is even better remembered as a historian of the Maronite church and community and of Syria, his three principal historical works being a history of the Maronites (*Taʾrīkh al-ṭāʾifa al-mārūniyya*) which argues for their perpetual orthodoxy (the Maronites are known to have been originally Monothelites), a chronology of the Maronite patriarchs (*Silsilat baṭārikat al-ṭāʾifa al-mārūniyya*), and a chronicle of the history of Syria from the First Crusade until 1699 (*Taʾrīkh al-azmina*) which is valuable particularly for the period following the Ottoman conquest in 1516, and for its references to the history of the Maronites and the northern Lebanon in the earlier centuries. In general, the historical work of Duwayhī reflects his own exceptional intelligence and his careful Roman training, and even the polemics in his history of the Maronite church, which clearly stand out for what they are, do not detract from the scholarly quality of his work.

Bibliography: K. S. Salibi, *Maronite historians of mediaeval Lebanon*, Beirut 1959; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*. Vatican City 1944-53. (K. S. Salibi)

ISTIFHĀM (a.), inf. of the verb *istafhama* "to interrogate", a technical term in Arabic grammar signifying interrogation.

Interrogation can be indicated simply by the intonation of the sentence, particularly in prose that is close to the spoken language. Arabic generally uses two interrogative particles: *a-* (negative *a-lā*, *a-mā*, *a-lam*), *hal*. The second (*hal*) is more energetic than the first (*a-*), but is of more restricted use (Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 19, 10). Sībawayhi (i, 434, line 19-435, lines 1-2) represents the difference between *a-* and *hal* thus: "if you say: *hal taḍribu Zayd^{an}*? "do you hit Zayd?", you are not implying that the act of hitting Zayd is a reality in your mind; you can say: *a-taḍribu Zayd^{an}*?, and then you are implying that the act of hitting is a reality". This amounts to saying: *a-* for interrogation concerning a reality, *hal* concerning an act or a possibility, without the implication of any opinion about their realization (cf. Reckendorf, *loc. cit.*, 35 n. 2). W. H. Worrell (in *ZA*, xxi, 126) sees the essential difference as being one of emphasizing the interrogation in the case of the use of *hal*, that is to say that an emotional element is introduced. It is then of use to consider the usages of *a-*, *hal* and *am* found by G. Bergsträsser, at least in the Ḳurʾān, in *Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln und Verwandtes im Ḳurʾān* (*Leipziger semitische Studien*, v/4 (1914), §§ 68-9). Besides, *a-* can be followed by *-wa-*or *-fa-*(stronger expressions): *a-wa-taḍribu*?, *a-fa-taḍribu*? *a-* can be followed by the inversion of the direct object complement: *a-Zayd^{an} taḍribu*? All these constructions are prohibited with *hal*.

Disjunctive interrogation: the *ʿarabiyya* of the desert used: *a-* ... *am* (called *al-muttaṣila* "the joined up"), or *aw*: *a-Zayd^{un} ʿindaka am ʿAmr^{un}* or *aw ʿAmr^{un}*? "is it Zayd or ʿAmr that is with you?"; *a-Zayd^{an} laḳīta am Bishr^{an}* or *aw Bishr^{an}*? "did you meet Zayd or Bishr?". "In the course of its development, the language did not preserve this lack of distinction and reserved *aw* for non-interrogative sentences and *am* for interrogative sentences" (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes and R. Blachere, *Gr. Ar.*^{3}, 470, lines 1-4). The Arab grammarians make a subtle distinction between *aw* in interrogative sentences and *am*: see Sībawayhi, ch. 281; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, § 542 and Ibn Yaʿish, 1153-4; this doctrine was reported by Wright, *Ar. Gr.*^{3}, 308 B and Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 311, lines 16 f. This distinction is a subtlety invented *a posteriori* to bring order to a lack of distinction, as Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Blachere state (*loc. cit.*, 470, n. 1).

On the use of *hal*...*aw* or *hal*...*am*, more frequently *bal am*, see Sībawayhi, ch. 280, Wright, ii, § 167, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 311; *am* "but rather" is then called *al-munḳaṭiʿa* "the separated" by the Arab grammarians. This *am al-munḳaṭiʿa* is also found in *am* of: *a-*.... *am* (see Bergsträsser, *loc. cit.*, §§ 73-4).

Remarks: a) For a negative answer to one of the two terms of a disjunctive interrogation, see Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, § 160 c.

b) *a-lā* is very frequently an exclamatory particle: "well, now! come on! look here!" *a-mā* is also found in this sense. See examples: Wright, ii, § 168; Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 39.

allā (*alā* = *a-lā*, less strong than the preceding one), *hal-lā*, are used as exclamatory particles exhorting someone to do something (with the imperfective), or reproaching someone for not having done something (with the perfective); see Wright, ii, § 169, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 39.

c) For rhetorical questions, see Reckendorf, *ibid.*, § 21.

d) In dialect *ha-* is found for *a-*: *ha-mā* for *a-mā*, and *vice-versa*: *al* for *hal*, *allā* for *hallā* (Wright, i, 284 C and 288 A).

Bibliography: in the text; in addition, Arab authors: Sībawayhi, i, ch. 28-9, 46 (for indirect interrogation that has no other peculiarity than that of being dependent), 277-81, 283-4, ed. Paris; Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, §§ 541-2, 581-4, 2 ed. Broch and *Sharḥ* of Ibn Yaʿish, 1151-4, 1201-4, ed. G. Jahn; Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī, *Mughnī 'l-labīb*, i, 13-16, ii, 349-53, ed. Muhyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Raḍī 'l-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, ii, 361-2, ed. Istanbul 1275. For a critique of the Arab sources (in particular *Mughnī 'l-labīb*), see: W. H. Worrell, *The Interrogative Particle* hal *in Arabic, according to Native Sources and the Ḳurʾān*, in *ZA*, xxi (1908), 116-50. (H. Fleisch)

ISTIḤḌĀR [see istinzāl].

ISTIḤSĀN and **ISTIṢLĀḤ**, two methods of reasoning much discussed in the books on the-

Uṣūl al-Fiḳh [*q.v.*] in connection with the doctrine of *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]. The two conceptions as a result of their close relationship are sometimes confused (cf. S̲h̲āṭibī, iv, 116-118; Ibn Taymiyya, v, 22). But no one ever seems to have reached a clear and lucid definition of their mutual relationship.

I. The authorities for *istiḥsān* which the followers of this method quote from the Ḳur'ān (XXXIX, 18, 55), *ḥadīth* (*mā ra'āhu 'l-muslimūn ḥasanan fa-huwa ʿinda 'llāhi ḥasanun*) and *idjmāʿ* (going to the bath without previous arrangement about payment etc.), are easily deprived of weight by the opposition and therefore need not be further discussed. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that *istiḥsān* already leaves its literary impress in *ḥadīth*, thus going back to the first half of the 8th century A.D. (see Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, 59). For example we already find in Buk̲h̲ārī (*Waṣāyā*, bāb 8) the expression *istaḥsana* in the meaning of "to make a decision for a particular interpretation of the law as a result of one's own deliberation". Half a century later, Mālik (d. 179/795) uses the expression in connection with legal decisions for which he cannot find authority in tradition (*Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323, xvi, 217; similarly xiv, 134: "This is a matter on which I have received no instruction from my predecessors. It is rather something that we have decided according to opinion" [*wa-innamā huwa s̲h̲ay'un istaḥsannāhu*]). About the same time Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798, Ḥanafī) says: *al-ḳiyās kāna an . . . illā annī istaḥsantu . . .* ("according to the *ḳiyās* this and that would be prescribed but I have decided according to my opinion" [*Kitāb al-K̲h̲arādj*, Būlāḳ 1302, 117]). *Istiḥsān* is thus contrasted even more distinctly with the usual method of deducing legislation (*ḳiyās*). The term, in later centuries also, means a method of finding the law which for any reason is contradictory to the usual *ḳiyās*.

It is noteworthy that S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 820), the founder of the science of the *Uṣūl al-Fiḳh*, fundamentally rejected *istiḥsān*, because he feared that in this way by going beyond the methodically secure and generally recognized principles of legal interpretation a loophole would be made for arbitrary decision. "God has not permitted any man since his Messenger to present views (*ḳawl*) unless from knowledge that was complete before him" (*Risāla*, 70). If any one in spite of this uses *istiḥsān* he is bungling the work of God, the highest legislator (*man istaḥsana fa-ḳad s̲h̲araʿa* [quoted in G̲h̲azālī, i, 274 and *pass.*]). G̲h̲azālī (d. 504/1111) and Bayḍāwī (681/1282 or later, also a S̲h̲āfiʿī) resumed and developed the discussion initiated by S̲h̲āfiʿī in a more comprehensive and systematic fashion. *Istiḥsān* in their view can only be approved in so far as it can be traced to the principle of *tak̲h̲ṣīṣ* (the preference of a particular to a general prescription). But as *tak̲h̲ṣīṣ* is already contained in the doctrine of *ḳiyās*, *istiḥsān* has really no special part to play. Later S̲h̲āfiʿī authorities like Subkī (d. 1370) and Maḥallī (864/1460) express similar views.

The supporters of the doctrine of *istiḥsān*—they belong for the most part to the Ḥanafī *mad̲h̲hab* (Pazdawī [d. 482/1089], Sarak̲h̲sī [d. 483/1090], Nasafī [709/1310] etc. down to Baḥr al-ʿUlūm [1225/1810])—make every effort to deprive these objections of their force. To the assertion that the arbitrary opinion of the individual legist is given too much scope, they reply by defining and systematizing *istiḥsān* more accurately. Their principle of diverging in certain cases from *ḳiyās* and using *istiḥsān* is—they say—not decided by personal inclinations or by a lack of methodical thinking but on the contrary by purely material considerations provided for in the law. It is a "concealed *ḳiyās*" (*ḳiyās k̲h̲afī*), a divergence from an externally obvious *ḳiyās* to an inner and self-conditioned decision. The reason for the preference of *istiḥsān* might be given in the Ḳur'ān, in the Sunna, in the *idjmāʿ* or in the principle of *ḍarūra*, but in any case it is sanctioned by generally recognized methods of proof. Nor it is true that *istiḥsān* can be traced back to the principle of *tak̲h̲ṣīṣ* and thus be brought within the sphere of *ḳiyās* proper. It really lies outside of this narrow sphere and must therefore be recognized as a special form of deduction. For the rest, if we investigate more carefully, we can assert that the form of *istiḥsān* represented by the Ḥanafīs is also used by representatives of other *mad̲h̲habs*. It is in practice the common property of all legists.

If we consider the very minute work of systematization which the later Ḥanafīs (*e.g.*, Ibn al-Humām [d. 861/1457]—Ibn Amīr al-Ḥādjdj [879/1474] and Bihārī [1120/1708]—Baḥr al-ʿUlūm [1225/1810] have done on *istiḥsān*, we may actually agree with this last deduction. This method of reasoning, which originally aroused such misgiving because it was undefined, is given a place in the casuistic stepladder of the *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and its possibility of application thus limited to a few accurately definable cases. If nevertheless discussion continued on whether it is justified or not this can only be explained by the fact that the followers of the S̲h̲āfiʿī school felt themselves bound from a certain traditional principle not to drop the polemic against *istiḥsān* which had long ago been originated by their master—under different conditions and with more justice.

II. *Istiṣlāḥ* is, as regards its negative side, closely connected with *istiḥsān*; here we have again a question of principle by which the otherwise usual method of deduction is to be excluded in the preparation of legal decisions. The difference from *istiḥsān* is seen only when we enquire into the guiding idea which forms the positive foundation for this principle which is negative in its effects. We then see that *istiṣlāḥ* is more limited and more closely defined in content than *istiḥsān* in so far as it replaces the, in itself only formal, "finding-good" of the latter by the material principle of *maṣlaḥa*. It argues with the demands of human welfare in the widest sense. It might therefore be contrasted with the more comprehensive and more indefinite general conception of *istiḥsān* as a more exactly defined or subordinated species, as indeed al-Is̲h̲bīlī (Mālikī, d. 546/1151) already pointed out (S̲h̲āṭibī, p. 117). It is just through this greater definiteness that *istiṣlāḥ* gains in force compared with *istiḥsān*. For it is evident that such a plausible idea as that of anxiety for human welfare carries much more conviction in the derivation of legal decisions and can be more readily established than the formal and empty criterion of *istiḥsān*. In this way it is probably to be explained why the principle of *istiṣlāḥ* was on the whole not so strongly disputed as that of *istiḥsān* and why it occasionally, going beyond the denial of the usual *ḳiyās*, even questioned the validity of legal principles emanating directly from the Ḳur'ān, Sunna and *idjmāʿ* (see below).

Relying on the *ḥadīth lā ḍarara wa-lā ḍirāra fi 'l-islām* (in Islām there is no injury or malicious damage) and on other testimony from the Ḳur'ān, Sunna and *idjmāʿ*, later representatives of the *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiḳh* championed the principle that the whole S̲h̲arīʿa furthers or is intended to further the welfare of man (*riʿāyat al-maṣāliḥ*). This however does not

yet admit the principle of *istiṣlāḥ* but only a basis for it. *Istiṣlāḥ* is not yet found in operation in the normal deduction of the thesis of *riʿāyat al-maṣāliḥ*, but first occurs in the exceptional case only, namely when the legal principles of the S̲h̲arīʿa afford no direct basis for it. It is therefore called more accurately the principle of *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala, i.e.*, of those cases of the *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa* in which the chain of deduction does not run smoothly and free from gaps back to the starting point of legislation (cf. the use of the expression *mursal* in the science of Tradition). *Istiṣlāḥ*, like *istiḥsān*, is therefore as a kind of *ḳiyās k̲h̲afī* (see above) always in contrast to the more obvious method of deducing legal decisions. It is intended to eliminate or at least to correct deductions which take no note of the idea of *maṣlaḥa* in the sense of the latter. If for example—to take a frequently quoted example—the enemies of Islam attack the Muslims and to protect themselves drive Muslim prisoners in front of them, the Muslim ought properly not to shoot at them in view of the prohibition to kill innocent co-religionists. If nevertheless it is decided to do so and this latter prohibition is disobeyed, this is done with the support of *istiṣlāḥ*: it is believed to be more in keeping with the spirit of the law if a few Muslims are sacrificed than if the whole community is handed over to destruction.

The history of the origin and development of *istiṣlāḥ* cannot be traced so far back as that of *istiḥsān*. It is true that it is asserted by different authorities that Mālik (d. 179/795) was the first to use *istiṣlāḥ*, and indeed there is some ground for this, as for example when he declares it permitted in special cases to sell fresh dates not yet picked for ripened dates—against the usual regulation that fresh fruits cannot be sold for dried (*Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323, x, 90 ff.: *Kitāb al-ʿArāyā*). But in the first place it is not quite certain whether this opinion goes back to Mālik (see p. 94), and secondly a justification of this decision comparable to *istiṣlāḥ* (*li-mā yuk̲h̲āf min iddik̲h̲āl al-maḍarra ʿalā ṣāḥib al-ʿarāyā*: p. 93 f., cf. p. 95) quite obviously comes not from him but—according to Saḥnūn (d. 854)—from the circle of his pupils. It should further be remembered that the term *maṣlaḥa* or *istiṣlāḥ* is not mentioned at all in this connection; and finally it should also be noted that S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 820) in his famous *Risāla* confines the discussion to *istiḥsān*. From this it is probably safe to deduce that the problem of *istiṣlāḥ* was not yet ripe for discussion in his time—unless it was then still regarded as a subdivision of *istiḥsān* and therefore not particularly emphasised. The assertion that Mālik was the first to use *istiṣlāḥ* is therefore in all probability a later ante-dating of the fact that the Mālikīs made the most frequent use of this principle.

Nor in the period following Mālik and his generation is it possible yet to demonstrate clearly the development of *istiṣlāḥ*. The names which are quoted as authorities in the later works in discussion of the principle—apart from Mālik and S̲h̲āfiʿī (!)—belong at earliest to the 11th century. Perhaps the gap could be filled to some extent if the old and still unpublished *uṣūl* works were systematically studied. In any case the fact that the principle of *istiṣlāḥ*, according to the present state of our knowledge of the sources, is first found at a comparatively late date, does not yet allow us to deduce with certainty an outside influence (*e.g.*, of the *ratio utilitatis* in Roman law). It is equally unjustifiable, in view of the lack of the necessary preliminary work, to assert the quite natural hypothesis that *istiṣlāḥ* is ultimately to be derived from the Muʿtazilī principle of *ʿadl*.

Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-D̲j̲uwaynī (d. 478/1085, S̲h̲āfiʿī) is the first of those who are mentioned as followers of the principle of *istiṣlāḥ*. Unfortunately he does not discuss it in his brief *uṣūl* work *al-Waraḳāt* (but see the quotation from his *Mug̲h̲īt̲h̲ al-K̲h̲alḳ* in Goldziher, in *WZKM*, i, 229, note 5). On the other hand, we possess authentic expressions of opinion by the *imām* G̲h̲azālī (d. 1111), also quoted as an authority, which take us into the heart of the discussion (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 284-315). G̲h̲azālī defines the legal term *maṣlaḥa* as "consideration for what is aimed at for mankind in the law" (*al-muḥāfaẓa ʿalā maḳṣūd al-s̲h̲arʿ ... min al-k̲h̲alḳ*: p. 286 f.). By this he means five things: maintenance of religion, of life, of reason, of descendants and property. The consideration of *maṣlaḥa* and its counterpart, the averting of corruption (*dafʿ al-mafsada*), is, according to G̲h̲azālī, generally given by the legal text and therefore coincides with the usual *ḳiyās*. In the cases in which it cannot be deduced by the usual process (*maṣlaḥa mursala*) it is only decisive when there are cogent and unequivocally defined considerations affecting the whole community (*ḍarūrī, ḳaṭʿī, kullī*), for example in the case of defence against an attack made upon the community of Muslims under cover of Muslim prisoners (see above). Otherwise it is not allowed to use *istiṣlāḥ*. If nevertheless a man uses it, he is bungling the work of the divine legislator (p. 311: *wa-man ṣāra ilayhā fa-ḳad s̲h̲araʿa*, with reference to S̲h̲āfiʿī's above-quoted remark on *istiḥsān*). For the rest G̲h̲azālī refuses to include *istiṣlāḥ*, which he recognises in this limited form, as a special "root" with the other *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, as in his view it depends on a combination of proofs from the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīt̲h̲* etc. and therefore does not constitute an integral base.

After G̲h̲azālī, other S̲h̲āfiʿī legal theorists express themselves on the problem of *istiṣlāḥ*, *e.g.*, Bayḍāwī (d. 1282 or later)—Isnawī (772/1370) and Subkī (771/1370)—Maḥallī (864/1460)—Bannānī (1198/1784). They discuss at considerable length the views of their predecessors, especially G̲h̲azālī, but contribute very little that is new. On the other hand, the tendency to systematization of the different cases of *istiṣlāḥ* increases. This tendency to systematization however only reaches its height in the later Ḥanafī works on *uṣūl* by Ṣadr al-S̲h̲arīʿa Maḥbūbī (d. 747/1346)—al-Taftāzānī (792/1390 or later)—al-Fanarī (c. 905/1500) and especially Ibn al-Humām (861/1457)—Ibn Amīr al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ (879/1474) and al-Bihārī (1120/1708)—Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (1225/1810). Here we cannot go into the details of their explanations, which are often difficult to follow.

Among the pronounced opponents of *istiṣlāḥ* are mentioned al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233, originally Ḥanbalī, later S̲h̲āfiʿī) and Ibn al-Ḥād̲j̲ib (646/1249, Mālikī) (Bayḍāwī-Isnawī, iii, 135). At a somewhat later period we may probably include under this heading the celebrated Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). In one of his epistles he gives his views on *maṣāliḥ mursala*. His exposition is rather obscure but it is at least clear that the whole question caused him much misgiving. He laments that many rulers and also ordinary mortals have used the principle of *maṣāliḥ* contrary to the law or in ignorance of it and so—just as with *istiḥsān*—have acted illegally as law-makers. The S̲h̲arīʿa—he thinks—has not neglected *maṣlaḥa*. If the human understanding thinks it may assume a *maṣlaḥa* which is not represented in the law they are only two possibilities: either the law has already indicated it

without his knowledge or it is a question only of an imaginary and not a real *maṣlaḥa*.

In the foregoing it has already been mentioned that the Mālikīs are regarded as the principal champions of *istiṣlāḥ*. But too much stress should not be laid on this general opinion. It is of course true that Mālikī legal theorists like Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194) and Ḳarāfī (684/1285) took up the discussion of *maṣāliḥ mursala* and carried it further. But on the other hand Ibn al-Ḥādjib who was also a Mālikī is reckoned one of the opponents of the principle (see above). On the contrary, the circle of those who recognise the principle of *istiṣlāḥ* in practice extends far beyond the limits of the Mālikī school. Ḳarāfī even points out that "if one looks carefully, it is in general use in the *madhhabs*" (p. 170). Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs—although with certain limitations and in part under other names—have adopted it and developed it further. The most radical upholder of *istiṣlāḥ* is however a certain Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭawfī (d. 716/1316). He is considered a Ḥanbalī but in reality may be claimed as an independent student of law (*mudjtahid*)—precisely on account of his attitude to the question of *istiṣlāḥ*.

Ṭawfī in his *Risāla fi 'l-maṣāliḥ al-mursala* (extracted by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī from his commentary on Nawawī's *Arbaʿūna ḥadīthan*) puts the ticklish question: What is to be done if the text of the law (*naṣṣ*) and *idjmāʿ* cannot be reconciled with regard for the general welfare (*riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa*)? His answer is unambiguous: The *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa* is decisive, in so far as the legal aspects of everyday life (*muʿāmalāt*) are in question (the sphere of duties relating to worship, *ʿibādāt*, is not affected thereby as they relate to something fundamentally different from the preservation of the welfare of humanity). *Naṣṣ* and *idjmāʿ* are however not simply to be excluded. They are rather to be reconciled subsequently with the demands of the *maṣlaḥa* by the help of exegesis (*bayān*) or specification (*takhṣīṣ*, *i.e.*, by separating a subdivision from the general and the principles applicable to it). In any case however, the *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa* represents the highest court of appeal.

In order to strengthen the principle of *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa* and justify placing it above *naṣṣ* and *idjmāʿ* Ṭawfī quotes evidence from Ḳurʾān, Sunna, *idjmāʿ* and *naẓar* (reasoning), of course giving first place to the saying attributed to Muḥammad: "there is no injury or malicious damage" (*lā ḍarara wa-lā ḍirāra*). He further points out that the legal texts are of different kinds and contradictory while the idea of *maṣlaḥa* is an integral base, and thus gives a better clue to the solution of legal problems (reference to Ḳurʾān III, 103: "Hold fast together to the cord of Allāh and do not split into parties!"). He takes this opportunity to combat the assertion that the variety of legal interpretation is a special advantage of the Muslim religion (cf. the *ḥadīth*: *ikhtilāfu ummatī raḥmatun*). The disadvantages which result are greater than the advantages: simply because there are such different interpretations, it is sometimes possible to find a lax interpretation to suit one's own wishes and to neglect the more rigorous injunctions. Besides, many non-Muslims, who would readily adopt Islam, are prevented from taking the final step by the multitude of opinions held by jurists and the resulting lack of uniformity in the legal system of Islam.

The author is well aware that his views go beyond the *istiṣlāḥ* of the Mālikīs (p. 60 f.). He is reproached with abandoning by his thesis the path that has been taken by the bulk of the Muslim community (*al-sawād al-aʿẓam*) and attention is called to the words of the Prophet: "Follow the majority! He who takes his own way will go his own way to Hell also" (*ittabiʿū al-sawād al-aʿẓam fa-inna man shadhdha shadhdha fi 'l-nār*). But this would mean reducing every new view and every new method *ad absurdum*. The majority which has to be followed according to the words of Muḥammad is rather the path of clear demonstration. And the latter condition is fulfilled in his (Ṭawfī's) method of *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa*.

Ibn Taymiyya in his already mentioned *Risāla* points out emphatically that the mind of man easily makes mistakes in using *maṣlaḥa*, especially if the text of the law does not agree with it. Ṭawfī, his contemporary and for a time pupil, on the other hand, concludes his *Risāla fi 'l-maṣāliḥ al-mursala* with the following words: "As to *maṣlaḥa* with regard to the legal relationships of man to man, it is known to those whom these legal relationships concern by reason of custom and intelligence. If we now see that the deduction given by the law does not comply with it (the *maṣlaḥa*), we know that to obtain it we must let it speak for itself (*fa-ʾidhā raʾaynā dalīl al-sharʿ mutaḳāʿidan ʿan ifādatihā ʿalimnā annā uḥilnā fī taḥṣīlihā ʿalā riʿāyatihā*) ... And God knows best what is correct".

Ṭawfī lived at a time when the systematization of Islamic law had already been achieved. As a champion of the principle of *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa* he was, and still is, an outsider. His *Risāla*, it is true, appeared in print in 1906 in a collection of treatises on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and again in the periodical *al-Manār*. It seems, however, to have had no immediate effect upon those circles which, in Egypt and elsewhere, have been agitating for a reform of Islamic Law in recent times. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that its radicalism provoked contradiction, it did provide the impulse for a scientific discussion of the theoretical legal importance of *maṣlaḥa*.

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(R. Paret)

ISTIḲBĀL in astronomy means the opposition of Sun and Moon, that is, the situation wherein their elongation from each other amounts to 180°. The word can refer to either a mean or a "true" opposition. The opposite of *istiḳbāl* is *idjtimāʿ*, the conjunction (again mean or "true") of the two luminaries. The practical importance of these two concepts is twofold. Eclipses can occur only at the two syzygies, lunar eclipses at opposition and solar eclipses at conjunction. Further, only when the time of the conjunction is known can the time of the first sighting of the New Moon be computed. For these two reasons every *zīdj* contains tables for computing *istiḳbālāt* and *idjtimāʿāt*.

These two terms are sometimes employed in astrology to refer to the diametric aspect and the conjunction of the planets, though generally astrologers prefer the terms *muḳābala* and *ḳirān*. In turn, the latter two terms are sometimes used by astronomers in place of *istiḳbāl* and *idjtimāʿ*. Other astrological aspects are sextile (*tasdīs*), quartile (*tarbīʿ*) and trine (*tat̲h̲līt̲h̲*) at elongations (variously computed) of 60°, 90°, and 120° respectively.

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(David Pingree)

ISTIK̲H̲ĀRA (A.), deriving from a root *k̲h̲-y-r* which expresses the idea of option or choice, consists of entrusting God with the choice between two or more possible options, either through piety and submission to His will, or else through inability to decide oneself, on account of not knowing which choice is the most advantageous one. To the first category belong the *ak̲h̲yār* or "chosen", who regulate their lives according to the model inspired by God in the Ḳurʾān and the Law; to the second belong the *mustak̲h̲īrūn*, those who seek to escape from indecision with the help of divine inspiration. The divine voice expresses itself either by means of a *ruʾyā* [*q.v.*] or dream, or else by *ḳurʿa* [*q.v.*] or rhapsodomancy.

As a result of its affinities with the ancient practice of incubation, used especially in hiatromancy or medical divination and in necromancy, *istik̲h̲āra* is abhorred by Muslim orthodoxy (cf. A. Fischer, in *ZDMG*, lviii (1914), 325), but it is fairly widespread in popular circles, where it is sometimes found in conjunction with the casting of spells and, in effect, the use of ordeals (cf. L. Massignon, in *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 41e année, 1940-1, 86). To prevent the return to pagan customs, Islam fixed the rules under which the rite of *istik̲h̲āra* might be practised. A tradition of Djābir relates that the Prophet taught his disciples *istik̲h̲āra* in all things, as though he were teaching them a *sūra* of the Ḳurʾān. The practice followed by the Prophet consisted in two *rakʿas*, followed by a prayer, emphasising the omniscience and omnipotence of God and including a reference to the subject of the consultation (cf. al-S̲h̲awkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, quoted by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *al-ʿIbādāt fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo n.d., 180). Neither time nor place is fixed for a consultation of this kind. The inspiration revealing the decision to be taken is immediately perceived, or, if the response be insufficiently clear in the consultant's mind, he has recourse to a drawing of lots from the various possible solutions, written separately on pieces of paper (cf. Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 413 f.).

This orthodox practice is generally interpreted in a sense which makes it comparable with incubation. After the invocation, the formulae for which are of different kinds and varying in length (cf. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Tawḥīd*, no. 10, and *Daʿawāt*, no. 48, ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv, 202 and 450; al-Tirmidhī, ed. Būlāḳ 1292, ii, 266; al-Nawawī, *Ḥilyat al-abrār*, ed. Cairo 1300, 56), the devotee goes to sleep, and it is in a dream that the revelation is made to him. This procedure is observed universally, especially in North-Africa, although it is considered to go beyond the letter of the Law (cf. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *al-Madk̲h̲al*, Cairo 1320, iii, 54).

A further step in the direction of incubation is taken by those who insist that the efficacy of this rite is dependent upon its being performed in a mosque. According to al-ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, 210, l. 12, one goes into the mosque to perform the *namāz-i istik̲h̲āra*. The practice of sleeping in the sanctuary is sufficiently well attested before Islam, just as in the time of the

Prophet. It was by the Kaʿba, where he slept that night, that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have had the dream concerning Zamzam (cf. *Divination*, 262 f.); again, it was by the Kaʿba, where Muḥammad slept, that for the second time (?) there apparently took place the rite for the purification of the heart and entrails (*shaḳḳ al-baṭn* and *fatḥ al-ṣadr*), performed for him by the two angels (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 1157); it is even said, on this occasion, that "the Ḳurayshites were accustomed to sleep beside the Kaʿba" (cf. *ibid.* and al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 306). The *isrā'* is also said to have taken place when the Prophet slept in the court (*ḥidjr*) of the Kaʿba (cf. *Divination*, 358). This custom does not appear to be limited to the Kaʿba (for its permanence, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 16, n. 3 and 139); the attendant of al-Djalsad, an oracular divinity, slept in the sanctuary (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 53 ff.; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968 (*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, lxxxviii), 84-7).

Orthodoxy is opposed to this practice, apparently out of regard for ritual purity (cf. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal*, Cairo 1348, ii, 215, 241); but a short work in manuscript of Muḥammad al-Shawā'ī al-Shāfiʿī al-Khaṭīb (d. 954/1644), entitled *Risālat al-akhyār fī-man manaʿa 'l-nawm fi 'l-masādjid min al-ashrār*, which we have consulted in Bursa (Ulucami 3496, fol. 1-20), refutes the arguments put forward in support of the prohibition of this custom (cf. details in *Divination*, 365 ff.).

In North Africa, where *istikhāra* is very close to the ancient incubation (cf. Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 414), and more especially in Morocco, people go and sleep in the grottoes, the refuge of the spirits, or beside ancient tombs, or, what is more usual today, in the sanctuary of a marabout, in order to elicit a response to the prayer of *istikhāra* (*ibid.*, 411 ff.). There even exists magic recipes to ensure the success of this rite (cf. al-Būnī, *Shams al-maʿārif*, ii, 8). One of these, for example, is utilized in the search for a thief; a magic formula is written on one's hand, and one then goes to sleep, with this hand placed under the right cheek; the thief is then revealed in a dream (Doutté, *op. cit.*, 357). But the most characteristic is that of *ḥālūmat al-ṭibāʿ al-tāmm*, mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 190, when referring to the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* of the Pseudo-Madjrīṭī (cf. ed. Ritter and Plessner, Leipzig 1933, 187 ff.; German trans. by the same authors, London 1962, 199 f., in which the term *ḥālūma* does not occur), and which is a technique consisting of obtaining, in a dream of "perfect nature", a response to a question posed at the time of lying down to sleep, after purifying one's conscience, concentrating one's intention, pronouncing the following gibberish words: *Tamāghīs baghdīsawād, waghdās, nufānāghadīs*, and formulating one's wish. During sleep, the answer to the question is given. Ibn Khaldūn states that he had tried this himself and obtained good results (cf. *Divination*, 364 f.).

The *istikhāra* procedure seems to have been followed by some mystics, such as Ruzbahān Baḳlī, Ibn ʿArabī and Tīpū, sulṭān of Mysore. Their progress along the mystical path of perfection is marked by dreams, recording the passage from one stage to the next (cf. L. Massignon, *Thèmes archétypiques en onirocritique musulmane*, in *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, xii (1945), 242). Some authors claim, in their introductions, to have written their works after an *istikhāra* (*e.g.*, *apud* al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 237). In literary texts, however, the term *istikhāra* is merely a pious formula for a request to God for aid and advice, with no ritual character (cf. for example *Aghānī*, xviii, 72, xix, 92).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources named in the text, see: T. Fahd, *Divination*, 363-7; Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 410-4. According to Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 744, l. 3, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī (F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, i. 495) is said to have written a *K. al-Istishāra wa 'l-istikhāra*. (T. Fahd)

ISTIKHDĀM [see TAWRIYYA]

ISTIḲLĀL, an Arabic verbal noun, from the tenth form of the root *ḳ-l-l*. In Classical and Middle Arabic this form is used with a variety of meanings (see Dozy and other dictionaries), and especially to convey the notion of separate, detached, unrestricted, not shared, or sometimes even arbitrary. It occurs occasionally in a political context—*e.g.*, of a dynasty, a region, a people or a city quarter not effectively subject to some higher authority. Such occurrences are, however, rare, and the word was in no sense a political technical term. In Ottoman official usage, it acquired the meaning of unlimited powers, *e.g.*, in the terms of appointment of a provincial governor or military commander. It seems to have retained something like this meaning in the early 19th century. Thus, in the Turkish translation of Botta's *Storia d'Italia* (*Italya ta'rīkhi*, Cairo 1249/1834, 4, 8, 9 etc.), it is used to contrast unbridled aristocratic rule (*ber wedjh-i istiḳlāl*) with free government (*ber wedjh-i serbestī*), and is commonly linked with *rukhṣat* to denote the arbitrary authority of a ruler.

It was in this sense, the independence of the holder of power from restraints by either subjects or suzerain, that *istiḳlāl* is commonly used in both Turkish and Arabic in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. During the same period, under the influence of European political thought and practice, it began to acquire the modern meaning of political sovereignty for a country or nation (for examples, see the Turkish texts of the treaty of Küčük Kaynardja of 1774 concerning the "independence" of the Crimean Tatars (cit. above s.v. ḤURRIYYA ii) and of the London Protocol of 1830 on the independence of Greece (*istiḳlāl-i kāmil*; text in Luṭfī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 15); A. L. Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901*, London 1961, 147-8, citing a British consular despatch of 1858).

The following article deals with political movements for independence in the Arab countries. (Ed.)

ISTIḲLĀL. In Arabic *istiḳlāl* is a fairly recent addition to the political vocabulary. Despite its use in common parlance, viz., *anā mustaḳill* ("I am independent", that is, free or unfettered), or sometimes to refer to economic independence, that is, autarky (*istiḳlāl iḳtiṣādī*), it is primarily associated with the national independence movements among the Arabs of this century. It is with these movements that this article is concerned.

After World War I, the peace settlement regarding the Ottoman dominions imposed by the Allied Powers in 1919-20 gave Britain and France wider control over the Arab territories in the Fertile Crescent, in addition to the existing arrangements in Egypt, North Africa, South Arabia and the Gulf. Without these developments and the consequences of the Arab Revolt, 1916-18, the term *istiḳlāl* might have had only a limited use, or probably remained obscure, for in the period immediately preceding World War I, Arab political agitation against the Ottoman state was centred upon the attainment of autonomy within

the framework of the political arrangement of decentralization, *al-lāmarkaziyya*. In fact, *istiḳlāl* had no meaning or import in Islamic political thought and vocabulary. It is strictly a modern, imported political notion, which became common and acquired significance with the establishment of European control, or tutelage, over much of the Arab Middle East and North Africa.

Fayṣal's short-lived Arab Kingdom in Damascus in 1918-20 marked the appearance of two variants, or strands, of *istiḳlāl* in Arab political thinking and agitation. One, which originally centred around the Fayṣal, or Arab Revolt, establishment and, after 1920, was represented in Syria, Transjordan, Palestine and ʿIrāḳ by the *Istiḳlalists*, or Istiḳlāl party, tended towards a pan-Arab orientation. It deplored the destruction of Fayṣal's kingdom in Damascus and opposed the mandates in the Fertile Crescent. The other comprised the several, separate independence movements against British or French mandatory and other control in such countries as Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, as well as Transjordan and the Sudan, though movements in the latter two areas were less tumultuous. Palestine was a special case. In that country the Palestinian Arab movement for independence failed, and instead Zionism succeeded in founding Israel as the successor state to the British Mandate. After 1922, therefore, *istiḳlāl* referred specifically to the aspiration of ending the mandatory or other tutelory relationship between the newly established Arab political territories, or entities, and Britain or France.

Rather differently in the case of Egypt, *al-istiḳlāl al-tāmm* (complete independence) became the political slogan of at least two parties: the National (*Waṭanī*) party and the Wafd. It referred to the movement for greater independence than had been achieved under the unilateral British Declaration of February 1922 with its Four Reserved Points. It became the slogan of practically every political party and the avowed priority, if not foremost policy, of every government in Egypt. At the outset, it aimed specifically at changing the terms of the particular relationship with Britain. Later it sought to sever that relationship altogether. The first objective was attained by the Wafd with the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty on 26 August 1936. The second, which became a bitterly contested area of Egyptian politics from 1936 to 1952, was not achieved until the signing of the Evacuation of British Forces from the Suez Canal Area Agreement on 19 October 1954 and, more dramatically, in 1956.

Istiḳlāl was never associated with notions of freedom and civil liberty in Arab states, nor has this situation changed [see ḤURRIYYA]. It refers exclusively to independence from foreign political control, even in certain circumstances from any treaty relationship. To a great extent, this narrow interpretation of *istiḳlāl* derives partly from the present weak economic, social, cultural and political condition of the Arab states generally; so that any relationship with foreign powers is inevitably viewed as one between an inferior and a superior partner.

Those kingdoms and s̲h̲ayk̲h̲doms in the Arabian peninsula and the Gulf—patriarchal, religious-tribal and dynastic states—were not involved in the independence movement, so that *istiḳlāl* was hardly part of their political vocabulary. Saudi Arabia, carved out by Ibn Suʿūd and his Wahhabi warriors, formally became a kingdom in 1932. His dominion was established by victory in battle over other tribal claimants, *e.g.*, the Āl Ras̲h̲īd in Nad̲j̲d and the S̲h̲arīf of Mecca in the Ḥid̲j̲āz. The Zaydī Imamate of the Yemen had been an independent, and under the Ottomans autonomous, theocracy since Islamic times, and the petty s̲h̲ayk̲h̲doms of the Gulf (until December 1971 the Trucial States under British protection) were autonomous, desert, tribal family enclaves. Under a similar though later protection treaty with Britain in 1899, oil-rich Kuwayt, at the northern end of the Gulf, ruled by the Āl Ṣabbāḥ, became independent in June 1961. With the radicalization of inter-Arab politics in more recent times, particularly under the leadership of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser) and the Baʿt̲h̲ party in the 1950s and 60s and the withdrawal of Britain from Aden and South Arabia, the establishment of the South Yemen Republic on 27 November 1967 and the elevation of the Federation of Arabian Emirates, formed on 30 March 1968 and comprising the Trucial States in the Gulf, to sovereign independent status in December 1971, this easternmost part of the Arab world has been brought into the mainstream of the Arab ideology of *istiḳlāl*. Bahrain, following its insular instinct and distinctiveness from the rest of the Federation of Arabian Emirates, opted for its own independence in September 1971.

Istiḳlāl as a political conception and movement must therefore be more appropriately associated with the recent political history of the Fertile Crescent and North African states. Thus the British Mandate over ʿIrāḳ came to an end in October 1932 when that country was admitted to the League of Nations. Yet the independence attained by virtue of the Anglo-ʿIrāḳ Treaty of Preferential Alliance of 30 June 1930 was circumscribed by Britain's control of the conduct of ʿIrāḳī foreign relations and retention of her air bases at S̲h̲uʿayba (Baṣra) and Ḥabbāniyya (Bag̲h̲dād). Efforts at further *istiḳlāl* which led to the signing of the Portsmouth Treaty on 15 January 1948 were nullified by violent protests against its terms, which led to its rejection by the ʿIrāḳīs. The accession of Britain to the Bag̲h̲dād Pact in 1955 led to a rearrangement of the basis of relations between the two countries. However, the secession of ʿIrāḳ from the Pact under President Ḳāsim may be considered the final act in the severance of the forty-year-old relationship with Britain and, psychologically at least, the attainment of *istiḳlāl tāmm*.

Syria and Lebanon too in the interwar period sought to move from limited autonomy under French tutelage to independence. *Istiḳlāl* became the slogan and political umbrella for the activities of practically all political groups and parties in those two countries. In fact, it became the contentious issue between rival groups. An uncompromising stand for its attainment became the mark of patriotism and political respectability. In any event, both Syria and Lebanon existed as autonomous republics under French Mandate from the mid-1920s. The November 1936 Treaty between Lebanon and France constituted a step towards independence within three years. Earlier in the year, the Syrians had rejected a similar treaty with France. These treaties provided a special relationship with the ex-mandatory power in return for assistance towards and recognition of independent status. The outbreak of World War II in 1939 intervened, and it was not until 1941 that the Free French declared publicly their intention of granting their two wards independence: thus the Free French General Catroux's proclamations regarding Syria and Lebanon in September and November 1941 respectively. Difficulties and disturbances over the transfer of power continued until 1945. The last French forces departed both countries by the end of

1946, at which time they became fully independent.

As a semi-independent emirate under ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn, after World War I Transjordan remained ultimately under the control of the British High Commissioner in Jerusalem. By an agreement in 1923, Britain recognized it as an autonomous constitutional state under Amīr ʿAbd Allāh with British tutelage. The activities of the Istiḳlālists with their Arab nationalist demands for complete freedom from British control indirectly helped ʿAbd Allāh to secure greater legislative and administrative autonomy for his fledgling state in a treaty concluded with Britain in 1928. In 1934, he was permitted to establish consular representation abroad, and in 1939 his Legislative Council was transformed into a cabinet. The Treaty of London, concluded with Britain on 22 March 1946, recognized the independent Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan and ʿAbd Allāh was proclaimed its first king. The treaty, which was followed by another in 1948, was modelled on the 1936 Egyptian treaty in the sense that Jordanian independence was circumscribed by a special relationship with Britain. This last vestige of dependence was severed on 13 March 1957.

As far as the decades of the 20s, 30s and 40s are concerned, *istiḳlāl* belonged to Egypt and the Fertile Crescent. With the waning of British power overseas generally and the consequent withdrawal of its presence or influence, heralded by the voluntary dissolution of the Indian Empire in 1947, *istiḳlāl* movements erupted elsewhere in the Arab East. Similarly, the winding up of the French Empire after World War II, first in Indochina and later in Africa, undermined the French position in the Maghrib. In the 50s *istiḳlāl* reached Libya, the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco. Kuwayt in the east and Algeria in the west followed suit in 1961 and 1962 respectively. Unlike all the other Arab countries, Algeria only attained independence after seven years of bitter war against the French armed forces.

Despite the long historical connection between Egypt and the Sudan, after 1924 the latter was governed in practice solely by Britain, thus ending the Anglo-Egyptian condominium devised in 1899. Greater Sudanization of the country's local administration followed. The 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty led to the rapid evolution of Sudanese nationalism and a movement for an independent Sudan, especially after World War II, not without British encouragement. It proved a much stronger current than the Egyptian plan, backed by Egypt's political protégés in Sudan, for an independent united Nile Valley comprising Egypt and the Sudan under the Egyptian crown or, after 1952, under the Egyptian Republic. As part of the Anglo-Egyptian settlement of 1953-4 for the British evacuation of the Canal, the Sudan, after a three-year transition period, became independent on 1 January 1956.

Paradoxically, Libya, the least developed North African country, was the first to attain *istiḳlāl* on 24 December 1951. Any independence movement during the Italian occupation (1911-42) was no more than the desire of the Sanūsī brotherhood under Idrīs to rid itself of Italian rule. It was also largely a Cyrenaican affair, closely linked in the 30s and 40s with Egypt, where Idrīs, together with his main political lieutenants, had taken refuge. This is not to say that Tripolitanians were not involved in the struggle for independence, but they were more oriented towards the Maghrib and, in the Arab East, towards Syria. It was the British, however, who restored Idrīs to power in Libya in 1949-50. As they were abandoning their positions in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, the British introduced the old pattern of special arrangements with Libya, which they had helped to independence: this time with a bases agreement concluded in 1952-3. Like other Arab states before it, however, by 1964 Libya demanded the removal of foreign (British and American) bases from its territory in the name of *al-istiḳlāl al-tāmm*, and in response to pressures generated by inter-Arab states conflict as well as a more radical Arab nationalist movement. An army coup d'état on 1 September 1969 overthrew the Sanūsī monarchy, proclaimed a republic and pressed for the immediate removal of all vestiges and semblances of foreign encumbrances on *istiḳlāl*: bases, foreign enterprises and other interests, as well as the large Italian community.

Tunisia and Morocco became independent in 1956. *Istiḳlāl* in Tunisia was led by a combined Western—that is French—educated, secular, bourgeois élite in the Destour party and a more conservative Muslim Arab leadership whose antecedents went back to the constitutional reform movement of K͟hayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī [*q.v.*]. There being no specific term for independence in Arabic, the expression *istiḳlāl dāk͟hilī* (internal) was used to describe an intermediate stage which would have provided the substance of independence. Unlike Tunisia, where the Beys of Tunis were not associated with the modern independence movement, in Morocco the Sherifian Alawite sultan Muḥammad V was recognized as the leader of the struggle against the French protectorate. Yet the battle for *istiḳlāl* fought by both Morocco and Tunisia differed from that of Algeria because although France controlled them by earlier protectorate arrangements, they retained a measure of local autonomy. Indigenous Islamic authority and its institutions survived in both countries under French tutelage. Algeria, however, was made an integral part of metropolitan France by legislation, so that the separatist, *istiḳlāl* movement eventually developed into a bitter and bloody war. While the ʿAlawite monarchy survived after independence in Morocco, the hereditary dynasty of the Bey of Tunis did not. The last Bey, Muḥammad al-Amīn, was deposed when the Constituent Assembly abolished his office on 25 July 1957 and proclaimed Tunisia a republic.

On the whole, over the past 50 years, the several Arab movements for national-state independence often co-existed and contended with the desire of some to expand the connotation of *istiḳlāl* to encompass a projected wider entity, that of the Arab nation, cutting across existing state boundaries. The rôle played by this wider conception of *istiḳlāl* in the radicalization of inter-Arab politics became apparent under the Baʿt͟h party's central aspiration towards Arab unity in the 1950s. In individual Arab states, political parties wishing to advance a more pan-Arab and anti-Western national policy often adopted the name of *istiḳlāl*, as for example, the Istiḳlāl party of ʿIrāḳ led by Muḥammad Mahdī Kubba, Ṣiddīḳ S͟hans͟hal and Fāʾiḳ al-Sāmarrāʾī, or that of Morocco led by ʿAllāl al-Fāsī.

It is interesting to note that during a particularly intense period of inter-Arab state conflict in the years 1957 to 1967, *istiḳlāl* acquired further ideological dimensions. In that period, the Arab states were polarized into a revolutionary Arab socialist, or radical nationalist, camp on one side, and a conservative or reactionary one on the other. The first camp, which identified with Nasser's leadership and in other respects with Baʿt͟h ideology, comprised mainly those Arab states in which military coups d'état had over-

thrown previous regimes invariably associated with an earlier link with one or another of the European powers. By the late 50s many of these were veering in their foreign policy orientation towards the Soviet Union. Such was the case of Egypt, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Algeria and the Yemen after 1962. The second camp comprised mainly the traditional monarchies, some of them oil-rich, such as Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Kuwayt and Jordan. The revolutionary camp argued that there was no genuine *istiḳlāl* in the adversary or rival Arab camp because the regimes within it were reactionary and still maintained commercial, economic and political links with Western European and/or American powers. In these circumstances they were considered "agents of imperialism and neo-colonialism" and therefore not "truly independent". Much of this "cold war" between the states in the Arab East and Arab West subsided after the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967. The realization dawned upon most of the Arab states that even with *istiḳlāl* the economic, political and strategic facts of their environment and the requirements of their own survival forced them to maintain a client relationship with a foreign power.

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ISTIḲSĀM (A.), 10th form of the root *ḳ-s-m* which embraces two groups of meanings, the one of a magical nature and the other divinatory. The first is applied to formulae and methods for conjuring up demons, for adjuration and exorcism; this latter is the meaning acquired by the 2nd and 4th forms, *ḳassama* and *aḳsama*, particularly in the Christian Arab world, clearly influenced by the Hebrew *ḳesem* (*e.g.*, Deut. xxiii, 23), which has the same meaning. This usage is late, colloquial, and most frequently found among Christian Arabs, who also employ *ḳisām*, "adjuration, exorcism formula, priestly ordination", *taḳsīm*, "conjuration", and *usḳuf ḳāsim*, "ordinant bishop" (cf. Dozy, *Supp.*, ii, 345 ff.; Fagnan, *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*, 142). Such a usage does not appear in Classical Arabic, or at least is confined to the action of "having someone swear an oath" (*istaḳsamahu*) or "swearing by something" (*istaḳsama bihi*) in the sense of *aḳsama* (cf. *TA*, ed. Būlāḳ, ix, 26; W. R. Smith in *Journal of Philology*, xiii (1885), 278; T. W. Davies, *Magic, divination and demonology among the Hebrews and their neighbours*, London 1899, 44-7).

The second group of meanings was applied everywhere to the whole spectrum of cleromantic methods, understood as the essence of divination, in the sense of the Syriac *ḳsam*, "to practise divination", from which *ḳōṣūmō*, "soothsayer", was derived (cf. ref. in *Semitica*, viii (1958), 73, n. 4). Initially, *istiḳsām* designated belomancy only (*al-istiḳsām bi'l-azlām*), condemned in the Ḳurʾān (V, 3) along with *maysir* (V, 90), another type of belomancy. Because this condemnation was extended to all similar divinatory practices which were based on chance (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*[1], ii, 201, l. 3 ff.), *istiḳsām* and *maysir*, roughly representing respectively the religious and profane aspects of belomancy, as I have attempted to establish in *Divination* (180 ff., 204 ff.), became the symbols of pagan divination.

This article deals with *istiḳsām* in the strict sense of sacred belomancy only, as it was practised in association with certain Arab divinities. For other cleromantic methods, the reader should consult the following articles: DJAMRA (plur. *djimār*), for lapidation, an article which, as far as the divinatory aspect is concerned, should be augmented by the section dealing with this practice in *Divination* (188-95); RAML for geomancy and lithomancy, originally grouped together under the word *ṭarḳ* (for the time being, reference can be made to *Divination*, 195-204); MAYSIR for profane belomancy and games of chance (*al-ḍarb bi 'l-kiʿāb*; cf. *ibid.*, 204-14); ḲURʿA for rhapsodomancy (*ibid.*, 214-19); DJAFR, MALĀḤIM, ḤURŪF, AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ (as far as divination is concerned, the latter should be supplemented by *Divination*, 234-41), KHAWĀṢṢ AL-ḲURʾĀN and ZĀʾIRDJA for onomatomantic methods (for all these systems, in addition to the articles already completed the sections devoted to them in *Divination*, 219-45, should be consulted).

The ancient Arabs practised three types of belomancy (more suitably termed rhabdomancy, since *zalam*, plur. *azlām*. like *ḳidḥ*, plur. *aḳdāḥ*, designates a dart without point or feather: cf. *Divination*, 181 ff.). The first, that of the nomads, employed two darts tossed in a little goatskin (*ḳirāba*) or a leather bucket (*mudāra*). They made use of it in disputes; the arbitrator must have been the *kāhin* [*q.v.*] of the tribe and the darts must have been part of the cultic equipment in his charge, somewhat in the manner of the Urim and Thummim of the nomadic Hebrews.

The second type was that practised at the sanctuary of al-Khalaṣa. Three darts responded to the questions of visitors; these darts bore names: al-Āmir (the Commanding), al-Nāhī (the Forbidding) and al-Mutarabbiṣ (the Awaiting). It was the *sādin* or guardian of the sanctuary who tossed the darts. The last occasion they were consulted is supposed to have been by the poet Imruʾ al-Ḳays (*Aghānī*[1], viii, 70), who is said to have broken them for forbidding him to avenge his father.

The third and best-known type was that practised in front of Hubal [*q.v.*] at the Kaʿba. Seven darts were used in this consultation, set in motion by the *sādin* in return for a gratuity and an offering to the god. These arrows bore the following designations: *al-ʿaḳl* (blood-price), used to determine who should pay for any bloodshed: *naʿam* (yes) and *lā* (no), used to find out if action or abstention were appropriate; *minkum* (yours), *min ghayrikum* (not yours) and *mulṣaḳ* (the attached), used to decide an individual's tribal affiliation, the first dart replying in the af-

firmative, the second in the negative, and the third with doubt; *al-miyāh* (water), used to ascertain the presence of water in a specified place (cf. Ibn Hishām, 97 f.).

The people of Mecca consulted the opinion of the darts of Hubal, tossed by the *sādin* in the quiver (*kināna*) of the god, in return for a hundred *dirhams* or one camel, every time a serious dispute arose among them. The *Sīra* recounts the story of two belomantic consultations made by the Prophet's grandfather, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, at two important moments of his life: the first to decide to whom to return the precious finds he had made when clearing out the well of Zamzam (Ibn Hishām, 94); the second to discover which of his ten sons should be sacrificed at the Kaʿba in fulfilment of a vow he had made to sacrifice one of his sons should their number reach ten (*ibid.*, 97-100).

Pilgrims too could not have refrained from the practice and belomantic consultation must have been one of the many attractions of the great metropolis of Arab paganism. Numerous texts indicate that the practice of consulting the throw of darts was very widespread. Alongside those attached to the sanctuary, there were others, manipulated either by the *kāhins*, the elders or the notables (see the examples in *Divination*, 189 f.). Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iii, 112 f., supplies a longer and more diversified list of darts that were used outside the sanctuary, tossed in a *maḍāra* (a skin stitched into a bucket) by a *kāhin* wherever there was one to be found or by any other person who held some rank in the tribe or city. To the *naʿam*, *lā* and *mulṣaḳ* known to Ibn Isḥāḳ and his abridger, Ibn Hishām, al-Nuwayrī adds ten other darts with the following names: *ifʿal* (do!), *lā-tafʿal* (don't!), *khayr* (good), *sharr* (evil), *baṭīʾ* (slow), *sarīʿ* (fast), *ḥaḍar* (presence), *safar* (journey), and *ṣarīḥ* (equivalent to Ibn Hishām's *minkum*). Finally, white darts (*ḳidāḥ bayḍāʾ*) were prepared that could bear more precise and detailed inscriptions or equivalent meanings inscribed by explicit agreement between the *kāhin* and the man consulting him. In this way the field of consultation was enlarged and belomancy adapted to the demands of any sphere in which it was practised.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources cited in the article, Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 73-4; Ṭabarī, i, 1074-8; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 2-4; T. Fahd, *Une pratique cléromantique à la Kaʿba préislamique*, in *Semitica*, viii (1958), 54-79; in spite of its many defects of form, this monograph will give the reader the basic information about belomancy. It should be supplemented by T. Fahd, *Divination*, 180-8. (T. Fahd)

ISTIMṬĀR [see istisḳāʾ]

ISTIʾNĀF, from *istaʾnafa* (to recommence, to renew), means in modern Arabic appeal, because the case is examined again from the beginning when brought before the court of appeal. In classical *fiḳh* the word is used with this sense of recommencement with regard to the *ʿibādāt*, the religious duties, especially prayer.

Istiʾnāf (the Mālikīs call it *ibtidāʾ*) occurs when the entire prayer, which has been interrupted by the occurrence of a ritual impurity, *ḥadath* [*q.v.*], has to be begun again.

In certain circumstances the *fuḳahāʾ* decided that the continuation (*bināʾ*) of the prayer from the moment when it was interrupted by a fact independent of the believer's will, and which does not, strictly speaking, constitute a ritual impurity, *e.g.*, a serious nose-bleed, is preferable to complete *istiʾnāf*. The schools, and scholars within the same school, do not always agree upon the circumstances which give rise to *istiʾnāf* or, on the contrary, to *bināʾ*.

Bibliography: Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Cairo 1937, i, 39-40; Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, Cairo 1313, i, 145; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, i, 46-7; Dardīr-Dasūḳī's commentary on it, *al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, Cairo, ed. Ḥalabī, i, 204 ff. See also Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, Cairo 1347, iii, 202-3 and iv, 153, 177.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ISTINBĀṬ [see māʾ and riyāfa].

ISTINDJĀʾ, purification incumbent upon the Believer after the fulfilment of his natural needs. This practice, which is described in detail, is obligatory (recommended only according to Abū Ḥanīfa) and must be carried out either immediately, or before performing the *ṣalāt* or any other act which requires a state of ritual purity.

Bibliography: All the works of *fiḳh*, *ikhtilāf*, etc. deal with this subject in the chapter on *ṭahāra*; similarly Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, in the same chapter (iii = 22 of Bousquet's analysis). (Ed.)

ISTINSHĀḲ, the inhaling of water through the nostrils at the time of the *wuḍūʾ* and *ghusl*. This practice is recommended by the various rites (obligatory according to Ibn Ḥanbal). In practice this is not really important since the Believer always performs it during his ablutions.

Bibliography: See istindjāʾ. (Ed.)

ISTINZĀL, a term denoting hydromancy, according to Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers 1909), 389; but in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 137 ff., *istinzāl rūḥāniyyāt al-aflāk* is a technique belonging to *sīmyāʾ* [*q.v.*], natural or phantasmagoric magic (cf. T. Fahd, *Divination*, 49, n. 1). The Pseudo-Madjrīṭī prefers to use *istidjlāb* (cf. *Sources Orientales*, vii (1966), 170 ff.). Elsewhere, in al-Būnī and Ibn al-Muwaḳḳiʿ, *istinzāl al-arwāḥ wa-'stiḥḍāruhā fī ḳawālib al-ashbāḥ* denotes the techniques of spiritism, although these are generally denoted by the name *ʿilm al-istiḥḍār*.

According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, this art consists in invoking the presence of djinns or angels and making them perceptible to the senses; only the prophets can achieve this result with the celestial angels; with regard to terrestrial angels, the question is in dispute. It is distinguished from *ʿilm al-ʿazāʾim*, the talismanic art, by the fact that the latter calls upon djinns and angels for the performance of some project, without the need for incarnation, whereas their incarnation is the principal aim of *istiḥḍār* [see siḥr].

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 275 f.: definition with reference to the encyclopaedia of the sciences of Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*. Among the works devoted to this art, he mentions *K. dhāt ad-dawāʾir wa-'l-ṣuwar*, "illustrated book on the invocation of djinns and their subjection (to man), a ccording to Āṣāf b. Berekhyā, vizier to Solomon . . .; this is no doubt a falsehood" (i, 276, and iii, 324); *Ilhām al-Fattāḥ bi-ḥikmat inzāl al-arwāḥ wa-baththihā fi 'l-ashbāḥ* of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Wafāʾ, known under the name Ibn al-Muwaḳḳiʿ, d. 1162/1748-9 (i, 423; cf. Brockelmann, S II, 981; *al-Bustān li 'stiḥḍār arwāḥ al-djinn wa'l-shayāṭīn fī ʿilm al-siḥr ʿalā ṭarīḳat al-Ḳifṭ wa 'l-ʿArab*, anonymous (ii, 50); *Tanzīl al-arwāḥ fī ḳawālib al-ashbāḥ* of Aḥmad al-Būnī, d. 622/1225 (ii, 440). We have not succeeded in seeing any of these writings, which have not yet come to light among any of the manuscript collections which we have at present been able to consult. The *ʿilm al-istiḥḍār* cannot be properly

studied until these specialised writings have been discovered. On magic, pending the appearance of the article SIḤR, see a sketch and brief bibliography in *Le Monde du sorcier*: T. Fahd, *Le Monde du sorcier en Islam*, in *Sources Orientales* (vii), 1966, 155-204. For angelology and demonology in Islam, see *Génies, anges et démons*: T. Fahd, *Anges, démons et djinns en Islam*, in *Sources Orientales*, viii (1971), 155-214. (T. FAHD)

ISTIʿRĀḌ, ʿARḌ, the mustering, passing in review and inspection of troops, the official charged with his duty being known as the *ʿāriḍ*, pl. *ʿurrāḍ*. The institution of the *ʿarḍ* was from the start closely bound up with the *Dīwān al-Dj̲ays̲h̲* or that department of the bureaucracy concerned with military affairs, and these duties of recruitment, mustering and inspection comprised one of the *dīwān*'s main spheres of activity, the other sphere being that concerned with pensions and salaries [see DĪWĀN and DJAYSH]. The *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Dj̲ays̲h̲* of the early ʿAbbāsid Caliphate or *ʿĀriḍ al-Dj̲ays̲h̲* of its successor states (and especially of those in the central and eastern regions of the caliphate) thus fulfilled the duties of a modern war minister, paymaster-general and quartermaster-general, together with those of a muster-master of former times. Given the strongly military bias of the early caliphate and its epigoni, his office was necessarily of high importance and was not frequently a stepping-stone to the highest of offices, such as the vizierate; thus ʿAlī b. al-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT] was head of the Department of the Army towards the end of al-Muktafī's reign, just before becoming vizier, and the Saldj̲ūḳ official and historian Anūs̲h̲irwān b. K̲h̲ālid [*q.v.*] acted as *ʿĀriḍ al-Dj̲ays̲h̲* for Sultans Muḥammad b. Malik-S̲h̲āh and Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, and eventually acted as vizier on various occasions to both the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the Saldj̲ūḳs.

The idea of holding reviews of the army, often with the sovereign as inspecting officer, is rooted in the pre-Islamic past of the Near East. The functions of the Islamic *ʿĀriḍ* were in the Byzantine Empire exercised by the department of the *Logothetes tou Stratiōtikou*. In the Sāsānid Empire, evidence for the existence of a distinct department of military affairs is not explicit, although Christensen believed it probable that there was such a department under the emperors (cf. *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], 213-14). We certainly possess a detailed account of a Sasanid *ʿarḍ* recounted by both Dīnawarī and Ṭabarī. According to this, K̲h̲usraw Anūs̲h̲irwān (531-79) appointed one of his high-born secretaries, Bābak, over his *Dīwān al-Muḳātila*. For the actual review, a wooden platform was set up for the inspecting official. Even the emperor himself was required to present himself, with the cavalryman's equipment of mailed coat, breastplate and leg armour; sword, lance, shield and mace; axe or club, and quiver with the bows already strung and thirty arrows, at his waistbelt; and two spare bowstrings. Nöldeke considered this account too anecdotal to be relied upon, but he was probably unduly sceptical here; we may reasonably assume that some review procedure existed in pre-Islamic Persia (Dīnawarī, 74-5; Ṭabarī, i, 963-5 = Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 247-9; cf. the anonymous *Mudj̲mal al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 74, where it is said that the Mōbad̲h̲ or Zoroastrian chief priest acted as *ʿĀriḍ* under Anūs̲h̲irwān).

The early ʿAbbāsid period saw the operations of the *Dīwān al-Dj̲ays̲h̲*, which had developed from the *Dīwān al-Muḳātila* or *Dīwān al-Dj̲und* of Muʿāwiya's time, increase in complexity, so that the *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Dj̲ays̲h̲* become an influential figure. (It should be noted, however, that the function of *ʿarḍ*, which was one of the duties of the vizier in his rôle as private secretary to the caliph, refers to the term's further meaning of "presentation of petitions, requests", *i.e.*, *ʿarḍ al-maṭālib*, and not to any military duty; cf. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 622-3. Similarly, the *Mīr-ʿArḍ* in the Mug̲h̲al Empire in India was the official responsible for conveying petitions to the sovereign.) The concerns of the *Dīwān al-Dj̲ays̲h̲* included, *inter alia*, the recruitment and registration of soldiers; and the keeping of up-to-date registers of the troops' fighting qualities, their weapons and their mounts, could only be ensured through regular reviews. A careful recording of the physical features of soldiers (the *ḥulā al-ridj̲āl*) and the brands or marks of mounts (*simāt*) was necessary to prevent intruders or substitutes entering the ranks or good horses being switched round or removed from the stables. Such malpractices led to the *Dīwān* being cheated over unmerited pay issues, and there was also a fear lest enemy spies insinuate themselves into the ranks. So it is natural that writers like Ḳudāma, Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, Miskawayh and Māwardī should stress the prime importance of these identificatory procedures, cf. W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der ʿAbbāsiden*: *Dīwān al-ǧaiš*, in *Isl.*, xxix (1949-50), 268 ff. These reviews and inspections were also normally the occasions for pay issues, when the financial aspect of the *Dīwān* was displayed.

Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ gives the detailed analysis of a caliphal budget from the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid (probably to be dated to Muḥarram 280/March-April 893), and in the course of this he describes the *ʿarḍ* procedure under that ruler. Al-Muʿtaḍid made the whole army muster before him personally in the "Lesser Square" in Bag̲h̲dād, whilst he sat overlooking it from the galleries of the Ḥasanī Palace. Below him were positioned the secretaries responsible for pay arrangements (*kuttāb al-ʿaṭāʾ*). The commanders and their *g̲h̲ulāms* [*q.v.*] or military slave troops were drawn up before the caliph. The review now began, with the individual officers presenting registers of the names and pay entitlements of the men under them. The vizier ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb summoned each man separately, and he was tested for his proficiency at the game of *birdj̲āṣ*, in which the contestant had to get his lance-point through a metal ring fixed to the top of a wooden column, thus revealing his skill or otherwise in controlling his horse and aiming his weapon (four or five centuries later, tilting at the *birdj̲āṣ* was a prominent feature of the *furūsiyya* [*q.v.*] exercises and training of the Mamlūk cavalrymen). According to the man's performance, al-Muʿtaḍid graded him in the register (*dj̲arīda*) by a *dj̲īm* (= *dj̲ayyid*, excellent), a *ṭāʾ* (= *mutawassiṭ*, moderate) or a *dāl* (= *dūn*, inferior). After this part of the *ʿarḍ*, the secretaries responsible for practical military matters (*kuttāb al-dj̲ays̲h̲*) came forward and examined the physical features of the men to check that they corresponded with the details set down in the registers; they were thus able to detect and eject intruders and substitutes (*duk̲h̲alāʾ*, *budalāʾ*). The registers with the caliph's marks were handed back to the vizier, and the secretaries then prepared a fresh series of registers on the basis of the threefold proficiency grading. The *dj̲ayyid* soldiers were formed into the caliph's "Personal Army", *ʿaskar al-k̲h̲āṣṣa*, with a pay-period (*razḳa*) of 90 days. The *mutawassiṭ* soldiers were placed under the command of the *Ṣāḥib al-S̲h̲urṭa* or Police Commandant of Bag̲h̲dād, Badr, and used for garrisoning strategic points on

the routes from Baghdād to Lower ʿIrāḳ and western Persia; these were called the "Army of Service", *ʿaskar al-khidma*, with a pay-period of 120 days. The troops considered as *dūn* were sent out to the provinces to help with the tax-collecting, were employed for horsebreaking and stable duties, or were attached to the police commandants of Baghdād, Wāsiṭ and Kūfa (Hilāl, *Wuzarā'*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farādj, Cairo 1958, 17-19, tr. H. Busse, *Das Hofbudget des Chalifen al-Muʿtaḍid billāh (279/892-289/902)*, in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 17-20, cf. Hoenerbach, *loc. cit.*). Al-Muʿtaḍid was also particularly concerned with overseeing of the royal stables, and excepting the "Personal, Stable", which was part of the palace proper and continuously under his eyes, he used to conduct an *ʿarḍ* each month of all the stables in the *Dār al-ʿĀmma*, the complex of ancillary buildings and workshops attached to the palace, thus ensuring that standards of care and attendance were maintained (Hilāl, *op. cit.*, 22-3, tr. Busse, 24-5; see also IṢṬABL).

The dynasties which from the later 3rd/9th century onwards arose in the outlying provinces of the caliphate generally modelled their administrative institutions on those of the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād. Amongst the Fāṭimids of Egypt and Syria, Ḳalḳashandī speaks of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* as one of three divisions of a general *Dīwān al-Djaysh wa'l-Marātib*, the other divisions of which were concerned with keeping the registers of the troops and with the allocation of *iḳṭāʿ*s. The *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Djaysh* and his assistant *ḥādjib* had the duty of holding *ʿarḍ*s of the troops, in which the physical features of the troops and the marks of their mounts were scrutinised, and he was kept informed of the state of the military personnel by a staff of representatives attached to the army commanders (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 492-3).

In the Iranian lands, the designation of *ʿĀriḍ* for the head of the military affairs department gradually supplanted the more general ʿAbbāsid ones like *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Djaysh*. The Ṣaffārid brothers Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr b. Layth built up a vast if transient empire which stretched from eastern Afghanistān to the fringes of ʿIrāḳ; and a *Dīwān al-ʿArḍ* must have grown up inevitably to control and pay the Ṣaffārid forces. The *ʿĀriḍ* or *Ra'īs-i Lashkar* held periodic *ʿarḍ*s for issuing pay and before important battles; Ibn Khallikān, in his long and important article on the two brothers, describes how ʿAmr was the first warrior to appear before the *ʿĀriḍ*, when his physical appearance, arms and mount were inspected before he was given his pay allotment, and the author explicitly compares this procedure with that at the Sāsānid *ʿarḍ* of Khusraw Anūshirwān described above (see Bosworth, *The armies of the Ṣaffārids*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 548-51).

The establishment of the Daylamī Būyids in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ saw, amongst other things, a perceptible increase in the amount of territory given as grants (*iḳṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*]) for the upkeep of civilian officials and the military. Hence the Būyid *Dīwān al-Djaysh* expanded greatly in its scope of operations, both military and financial, and grew to dwarf other government departments (see Cahen, *L'Evolution de l'iqtaʿ du IXe au XIIIe siècle*, in *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*, viii (1953), 36-7). Muʿizz al-Dawla laid out a new palace at Baghdād along the Tigris banks and outside the Shammāsiyya Gate, which included a *maydān* or open space for polo (a polo game being frequently part of an *ʿarḍ*; cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, *Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, tr. Browne, 249, where the Bāwandid Shāh Ghāzī Rustam plays a stroke of polo at his final *ʿarḍ* at Sārī just before his death in 558/1163) and for reviews of his troops (Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, ed. and tr. Margoliouth, *The table-talk of a Mesopotamian judge*, text 70-1, tr. 75-7). Under ʿAḍud al-Dawla an increased staff of secretaries and clerks was taken on in the *ʿĀriḍ*'s department to expedite the punctual payment of salaries and thus keep the turbulent soldiery peaceful (Rūdhrāwārī, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, iii, 43, tr. vi, 40). When the Būyids were at the summit of their power, under monarchs like ʿAḍud al-Dawla and his son Bahā' al-Dawla, there were two separate *ʿĀriḍ*s, one for the Daylamīs and one for the Turks, Kurds and Arabs, reflecting ethnic divisions within the forces which could at times prove a source of weakness. Since there seems to have been amongst the Būyids a certain care for purity of Daylamī or Djīlī blood, the expulsion of intruders from the ranks was an especial feature of the Būyid *ʿarḍ*s, when experts on tribal genealogies were employed to assist the *ʿAriḍ* in his work. The *ʿarḍ*s were also occasions when the allocation of *iḳṭāʿ*s was reviewed or these grants converted into cash payments, but the amīr had to be able to act from a position of strength. It is not infrequently recorded, amongst the Būyids and amongst other dynasties, that the threat to hold an *ʿarḍ* (at which financial and territorial privileges would be reviewed and possibly cancelled) provoked a mutiny of the troops. See for the whole topic of the Būyid *ʿarḍ* and the *ʿĀriḍ*'s functions, Bosworth, *Military organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1965-6), 143-67, esp. 162 ff., and also Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut 1969, 314-15, 340-1.

Little is known about the formal constitution of the military department under the Sāmānids of Transoxania and Khurāsān, although a *Dīwān Ṣāḥib al-Shuraṭ*, sc. for the Commandant of the Guard, existed in Bukhārā during the time of Naṣr b. Aḥmad (early 4th/10th century), cf. Narshakhī, *The history of Bukhara*, tr. Frye, 26; and Khwārizmī mentions a special "black register" (*al-djarīda al-sawdā'*) in which the names and duties of the troops were recorded (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 56, 64; see DAFTAR). Hence the institution of the *ʿarḍ* very probably existed for the Sāmānid army (on which see Bosworth, *An alleged embassy from the Emperor of China to the Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad: a contribution to Sāmānid military history*, in *Yād-nāme-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 17-29), for the Sāmānid administration was the immediate model for that of their successors, the Ghaznavids, and the administration of the latter certainly included a *Dīwān-i ʿArḍ* as one of the five great departments of state.

The Ghaznavid *ʿĀriḍ*'s duties comprised the usual range of financial and military ones, and the office was accounted second only in importance to that of the vizier. *ʿArḍ*s of the whole army, cavalry, infantry and elephants, were held annually on the plain of the Shābahār outside Ghazna, and Gardīzī states that at the *ʿarḍ* of 414/1023 54,000 cavalry and 1,300 elephants were reviewed; on occasions like this, the names of the troops were checked against the muster-roll or *djarīda-yi ʿarḍ*, the troops received their pay and the whole proceedings often ended in a magnificent feast for all present given by the sultan. Subordinate *ʿĀriḍ*s were attached to each of the Ghaznavid armies stationed in the provinces, and these officials held local reviews of the troops and paid them with funds drawn from the provincial treasuries. As was the case all through the Islamic lands at this time, the office of *ʿĀriḍ* was invariably

held by a member of the civilian bureaucracy, Arab or Persian, and not by one of the Turkish soldiery, administrative expertise rather than prowess in the field being the desideratum. See on all these questions, M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 137 ff.; Bosworth, *Ghaznavid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 68 ff.; and idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 122 ff.

A particularly interesting account of how an *ʿarḍ* should be conducted is contained in the treatise on kingship and military practice by the 7th/13th century Ghūrid author Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārak-shāh, the *Ādāb al-mulūk wa-kifāyat al-mamlūk* or *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa'l-shadjāʿa* (*bāb* 18 of the more complete India Office Ms 647, *bāb* 12 of the B.M. Ms Rieu, ii, 487-8 = 267-8 of the printed text by A. S. Khwānsārī, Tehran 1346/1967). There is clearly some factual basis for this account, however much it has been idealised, and it presumably reflects the institution as it developed on the eastern fringes of the Islamic world under such dynasties as the Ghaznavids and Ghūrids, and probably in northern India under the Ghūrids' slave commanders. According to Fakhr-i Mudabbir's account, the *ʿĀriḍ*—described as "the mainstay, the very mother and father of the army, upon whom the strength and reliance of the troops rests"—was accompanied for the *ʿarḍ* by his deputy and by the *Naḳīb*, and they stood on an eminence and inspected the left wing, centre and right wing of the army, in that order. Within this framework of review, the heavy cavalry, the light cavalry, the regularly-salaried infantry and the auxiliary infantry were successively inspected, and the lists given to the *Naḳīb* so that he could arrange these troops on the day of battle. The commanders themselves were all reviewed, and each ordinary cavalryman was written down under his superior officer. The *ʿĀriḍ* is cautioned not to demand that horses and weapons be produced during a pre-battle *ʿarḍ*, but he should encourage the troops with promises of rewards and promotions, so that they will be stimulated to feats of heroism. At the end of the *ʿarḍ*, the *ʿĀriḍ* brings the troops' leaders before the ruler and praises their soldiers. The fear of enemy spies was omnipresent; the *ʿĀriḍ* should, accordingly, make his report to the ruler discreetly, and if cavalrymen already reviewed slip back and mingle with the unreviewed, the spies will become confused and acquire an exaggerated idea of the army's strength. From this passage of the *Ādāb al-mulūk*, there emerge two vital and practical reasons for holding an *ʿarḍ*: firstly, it provided a check on the feudal cavalrymen who of course provided their own arms, equipment and mounts, for the ruler could only be expected to supply these for his household guard at the most; and secondly, the marshal of the army (here to be equated with the *Naḳīb*) utilised knowledge gained from the *ʿarḍ* concerning the exact condition and composition of the troops to set them out in their battle stations when they reached the field.

Under the Great Saldjūḳs, the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* or *Dīwān-i ʿArḍ* was part of the *Dīwān-i Aʿlā* or Great *Dīwān*, and, as under the preceeding dynasty of the Būyids, it was as much a financial as a military organ of government, with the responsibility, for instance, of overseeing *iḳṭāʿ*s and reallocating them when they fell vacant. Till the death of Malik-Shāh, the *ʿĀriḍ al-Djaysh* or *Ṣāḥib-i Dīwān-i ʿArḍ* was usually a civilian official, but thereafter, the office was occasionally held by a Turkish amīr (Lambton, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 233, 259-60). As well as the central military department, provincial offices doubtless existed. This last fact may be inferred from the text of an investiture diploma for an *ʿĀriḍ* given in the second part of the collection of Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ's letters, the *Wasāʾil al-rasāʾil wa-dalāʾil al-faḍāʾil* compiled for the Khʷārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn's brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīrshāh or Shīrshāh; it thus reflects the common Saldjūḳ and Khʷārizmshāhī tradition. In it, the appointee is described as *ʿĀriḍ dar djumla-yi mamālik*, and his duties characterised as firstly, a care for the correct pay entitlements of the soldiers, and secondly, the proper conduct of *ʿarḍ*s, with due inspection of equipment and weapons (H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselğūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 39-41, 109-10). *ʿArḍ*s were held at such usual times as the opening of campaigns (e.g., before the expedition of Alp Arslan to Anatolia which culminated in the victory of Mantzikert); but *ʿarḍ*s could still give rise to disaffection, for the 7,000 troops whom Malik-Shāh dismissed from his army after an *ʿarḍ* at Ray in 473/1081 joined his brother Tekish in eastern Khurāsān, and the latter used them to rebel (Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 90).

Although the Great Saldjūḳ empire disintegrated, the military traditions associated with the maintenance of a standing, professional army lived on beyond the cataclysm of the Mongol invasions and were passed on to the later Saldjūḳs of Rūm in Anatolia and to the various Mongol and Türkmen dynasties which came to dominate the whole region from Syria to Afghanistān. Under the Il-Khānids, we find the office of *ʿĀriḍ* or *Amīr-i ʿĀriḍ* still flourishing; his duties included oversight of the army's *iḳṭāʿ*s and, probably, assistance to the khān at army reviews (cf. I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilatına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 257). The *ʿArḍ-nāma* or account of a review written by Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (d. 908/1502) [*q.v.*] shows the institution of the *ʿarḍ* in common use amongst the Turkmen Aḳ Ḳoyunlu under their greatest ruler, Uzun Ḥasan. In this document there is described an *ʿarḍ* held by Uzun Ḥasan's son Sulṭān Khalīl, governor of Fārs, at Band-i Amīr near Persepolis, which lasted for three days. Some 23,000 troops, comprising the provincial army of Fārs, presented themselves for inspection in the tripartite formation characteristic of Turkish armies, of left wing, right wing and centre. Members of the royal family headed the list; these were followed by the officers, including the élite group of the *tawadjīs*; and then successive detachments (*ḳoshuns*) of the rank-and-file, the *nokars*, comprising armoured troops and archers, and the servants, the *ḳullughčīs* (Minorsky, *A civil and military review in Fārs in 881/1476*, in *BSOS*, x (1940-2), 141-78; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 304-12).

Amongst the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria, the traditional occasions for army reviews figure, as one would expect, in the chronicles; thus when in 832/1428-9 al-Ashraf Barsbāy prepared his expedition against the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh, the *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*] was reviewed in the Royal Square (*al-ḥawsh al-sulṭānī*), and even the very young, the aged and the blind were required to go on the venture (D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamlūk army. II*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 455). The civilian head of the military department was the *Nāẓir al-Djaysh*, but the official whose duties corresponded in many ways with those of the earlier *ʿĀriḍ* as overseer of reviews was the military official called the *Naḳīb al-Djuyūsh* (also found with various other titles like *Muḳaddam al-Djuyūsh*,

Amīr al-Djuyūsh, Naḳīb Nuḳabāʾ al-Djuyūsh and *Atābak al-ʿAsākir*), whose office in Cairo had two branches, one for Egypt and one for Syria. He exercised military police functions, being therefore something like a Provost-Marshal. It was he who announced to the army that it should get ready and parade for inspection before an expedition, and for this he sent round his subordinate officials, the *nuḳabāʾ adjnād al-ḥalḳa*, to Cairo and district, and despatched messengers of the *Barīd* or postal service [*q.v.*] to other regions of Egypt (cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, lxii; Uzunçarşılı, *Medhal*, 383; and Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 64 ff.).

In the early Ottoman empire, many administrative and military traditions stemmed from the Ottomans' predecessors, the Rūm Saldjūḳs. The terms *ʿarḍ* and *ʿāriḍ* were not generally used, but a similar institution of military reviews existed under the designation of *yoḳlama*, the officials charged with organising these inspections and recording the results being known as *yoḳlamadjılar*. This institution was certainly flourishing by the time of Süleymān the Magnificent. The *yoḳlama* can best be documented from the journals of campaigns, such as those found in Ferīdūn Beg's *Münsheʾāt-i selāṭīn*. When a campaign was set on foot, the troops arrived from the provinces and were reviewed in the army camp in front of the sultan's tent; the state of the musters was then recorded in special registers or muster-rolls, *yoḳlama defterleri*, and these were then presented to the sultan or commander-in-chief. The *yoḳlama* was particularly important as a means of checking on absentees from the forces, since absenteeism became an increasing problem as a disinclination from the fighting grew after the 10th/16th century. Documents giving orders for the holding of *yoḳlama*s are frequently couched in minatory language. In one document regarding the Janissary cavalry and sent to the *ḳāḍī*s of the *sandjaḳ* of Bursa before departure on an expedition in 980/1572-3, threats of all sorts of dire punishment (*enwāʿ-i ʿitāb we-ʿiḳāb*) are made against those not present at the *yoḳlama*. When Murād IV prepared for his Erivān expedition of 1044/1634-5, even retired soldiers and local defence troops were summoned to the colours, with the death penalty threatened as the ultimate deterrent for absence; the Janissaries were reviewed near the frontiers of eastern Anatolia, and the officers reprehended over absentees from their units (texts in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943-4, i, 368, ii, 244). It should be noted, however, that our information relates only to reviews held before or during specific campaigns, and not to regular peace-time reviews such as are attested for earlier Islamic times.

It is probable, although it is difficult precisely to document the process, that the institution of the *ʿarḍ* was transferred to the Indian Muslim armies via such epigoni of the Ghaznavids and Ghūrids as the Slave Kings of Delhi. The 8th/14th century historian Baranī, writing under the Delhi sultans, recommends that the *ʿarḍ* should be held twice yearly and that it should include tests in equestrian skill, and inspection of weapons and arrows and of horses' brands, and a recording of the *ḥulā*, physical characteristics of the troops (*Fatāwā-yi djahāndārī*, tr. M. Habib and A. U. S. Khan, Allahabad n.d., 25; *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1862, 319, 328). The main musters were held in the capital Delhi itself, possibly inside a great walled enclosure, which was called *alang*, a term also applied to the review itself; the 8th/14th century tower still extant in Delhi called the *Bidjay mandal* "viewing area" seems to have been designed as a viewing platform for the *ʿarḍ*. The sultans' *Dīwān-i ʿArḍ* was headed by an official called in the mid-7th/13th century the *Rāwat-i ʿArḍ* (*rāwat* = Hindi "warrior") or the *ʿĀriḍ al-Ḥasham*, and there were subordinate officials called *nāʾibān-i ʿarḍ-i mulūk*. One duty of these deputy *ʿĀriḍ*s seems to have been that of accompanying military expeditions when there was a chance of plunder, and of then transmitting the sultan's share of the booty back to Delhi. The founder of the Khaldjī dynasty, Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz (689-95/1290-6) held the office of *ʿĀriḍ-i Mamālik* when he seized power (Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 114, 116, 197, 326, 450).

Almost nothing is known of the *ʿarḍ* in Muslim India in the immediate post-800/1398 period, although it seems likely that the traditional processes of muster and review were preserved in the Indian sultanates rather than re-introduced *de novo* by the Mughals. The recording of the *ḥulā al-ridjāl* is said to have been revived by Shīr Shāh Sūr of Delhi (945-52/1538-45); a *Dīwān-i ʿArḍ-i Mamālik* existed in Mālwa in the 9th/15th century; and the functions of the *ʿĀriḍ* may have been performed in the Bengal sultanate of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries by the official known as the *Wazīr-i Lashkar* or *Lashkar-Wazīr*.

In Mughal India, many of the functions of the classical *ʿĀriḍ* devolved on the *Mīr-Bakhshī* or *Bakhshī al-Mamālik* (*bakhshī*, originally "writer, secretary", a term stemming from Mongol administrative usage), assisted by a number of other *Bakhshī*s, which grew from one to three between the late 10th/16th century and the 12th/18th century; in addition, a *Bakhshī-yi Lashkar* was sometimes temporarily appointed to accompany a specific expedition. The chief *Bakhshī*'s duties were broadly those of an Adjutant-General and a Muster-Master; he was concerned with recruitment, keeping lists of the *manṣabdār*s or officers, arranging a duty roster for the palace guards, issuing grants of pay (*tankhwāh*), and keeping registers of deserters and absentees from reviews. The Mughal army, like other Islamic forces, suffered from the evils of false musters and absenteeism. The Emperor Akbar revived the practice of the Delhi sultans in strictly enforcing a system of descriptive rolls for men and horses and of brands for the animals. The soldiers' rolls were called *čihra*, literally "face", because as well as recording the genealogical and ethnic affiliations of the warrior in question, physical details were also noted; the rolls of the horses were likewise called *čihra-yi aspān*. Horses had normally to be branded by the *Bakhshī*'s subordinate, the *Dārūgha* [*q.v.*], the procedure being known as *dāgh u taṣḥīḥa* "branding and verification". Only commanders of 5,000 and above were exempt from the branding requirements, according to a late 11th/17th century administrative manual, one of those with the title *Dastūr al-ʿamal* (B.M. Ms 6599, second work in the Ms), but they had to parade their horses for inspection when required (it is, however, known from other sources that high officers had their personal brand marks). It thus appears that the general process of *taṣḥīḥa*, requirement of the troops' appearing on parade and the checking of their equipment, is a direct descendant of the classical *ʿarḍ*, and that it was carried out in peacetime at regular intervals, the precise period of time depending on the nature and rate of pay. Thus a *manṣabdār* whose men were paid in *djāgīr* or personal grants (see under IḲṬAʿ) had to parade them for review once a year, whereas those paid in cash had to appear at rather

more frequent intervals. During a military expedition, the *Mīr-Bak͟hs͟hī* or *Bak͟hs͟hī* accompanying the army was expected to lay before the emperor or commander-in-chief a detailed muster-roll on the morning of battle. It was also he who, like the ideal *ʿĀriḍ* in Fak͟hr-i Mudabbir's *Ādāb al-mulūk*, deployed the troops in the positions which had often been assigned to them before the actual campaign. In the absence of the emperor, the *Bak͟hs͟hī* was not infrequently appointed commander of the force, and on many other occasions he commanded a division of it; but even the *Mīr-Bak͟hs͟hī* might serve beneath an ordinary amīr as commander. See W. Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls: its organization and administration*, London 1903, 36-56, also in *JRAS* (1896), 539-55; Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Moghul empire*, Karachi 1966, 77-9, 125.

Bibliography: Given in the article. There are no special studies devoted to the topic, but see Bosworth, *Muster, recruitment and review in mediaeval Islamic armies*, in *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, London, forthcoming.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ISTIʿRĀḌ (A), technical term of the K͟hawāridj [*q.v.*], used, in a general sense, of religious murder, the putting to death in particular by the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] of Muslims and pagans who objected to their still rudimentary doctrine. However this meaning seems to be the result of a semantic evolution (even an involution), the verb *istaʿraḍa* (tenth form) meaning "to ask someone to display his possessions" and, thence, "to give an account of his opinions"; the *istiʿrāḍ* is thus the interrogation to which the enemies of these sectarians were subjected on falling into their hands. There seems also to have occurred an overlapping with the eighth form *iʿtaraḍa*, which means "to examine one by one, to pass under review", but also "to attack someone" and "to strike in all directions, indiscriminately" (cf. al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, i, 119). In al-Ṭabarī (i, 3368, line 1) there is found, concerning Misʿar b. Fadakī, the phrase *aḳbala yaʿtariḍu 'l-nās* which Mme. Veccia Vaglieri (*Il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya*, in *AIUON*, iv (1952), 63) translates "presero a far subire interrogatori alla gente", perhaps while fighting, since the verb could well have here the meaning of "attack"; another attestation appears more certain: al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 616; Cairo ed., 1041; cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *S͟harḥ Nahdj al-balāg͟ha*, i, 382) says in fact of Nāfiʿ that at al-Ahwāz *yaʿtariḍu 'l-nās* (*i.e.*, he made them undergo an interrogation) and killed the children (*wa-yaḳtul al-aṭfāl*) but it is quite clear that the interrogation was followed, in most cases, by the victim's being put to death, and this act is obviously implied in the verb *yaʿtariḍu*. *Iʿtaraḍa* and *istaʿraḍa* seem therefore to mean about the same thing. Concerning *istiʿrāḍ*, when al-Dīnawarī (*Ṭiwāl*, 221) refers to the *istiʿrāḍ al-nās*, he is certainly referring to the inquisition, since he adds *yaḳtulūnahum*; al-Ṭabarī does the same (i, 3380, line 11-2) when he reports the wording of an invitation to rally to the banner of ʿAlī *man lam yaḳtul wa* (*-lam*) *yastaʿriḍ*. However, when, concerning Ḳaṭarī [*q.v.*], al-Djāḥiẓ says (*Bayān*, iii, 264) that he "professed (*yadīn*) the *istiʿrāḍ*, the bringing (of the women) into captivity (*sibāʾ*) and the murdering of children", the term certainly implies a doctrine involving not only the subjecting to an interrogation but also the putting to death of any recalcitrants (or the proving the sincerity of those who had rallied to the cause by giving them the task of slaughtering a prisoner; cf. H. Laoust, *Schismes*, 45); *istiʿrāḍ* is used in the same sense in a saying attributed to Abū Bayhas (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 616; Cairo ed., 1041) which justifies this form of terrorism. Hence, *istiʿrāḍ* came to imply less inquisition than the execution, by the extremist groups of K͟hāridjīs, of enemies who were reluctant to join the cause wholeheartedly.

Bibliography: In the article. (Ch. Pellat)

ISTIṢḤĀB, evokes, etymologically, the idea of an implied connection between a present situation and a previous one. In the vocabulary of the *fuḳahāʾ*, it designated the principle by which a given judicial situation that had existed previously was held to continue to exist as long as it could not be proved that it had ceased to exist or had been modified. In general, the institution has not been well understood; it has been regarded as the S͟hāfiʿī equivalent of *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ* [*q.v.*]. But *istiṣḥāb* is not a source of objective law and besides, to the extent that it is a means of preserving rights that have already been established, it is accepted by the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs as well as by the S͟hāfiʿīs and Imāmīs. The presumption of continuity embodied in *istiṣḥāb* explains, for example, why the wife of a missing man cannot remarry, why his heirs cannot benefit from his estate until his death has been established; and why, when someone has set out poverty-stricken on a journey and nothing further has been heard of him, he is considered a pauper for the entire duration of his absence.

The S͟hāfiʿīs gave *istiṣḥāb* a much weightier significance than did the Ḥanafīs, which explains why this method of juridical reasoning has been generally, though erroneously, associated with S͟hāfiʿī teaching. The word *istiṣḥāb* does not even appear in the *Umm* of the Imām al-S͟hāfiʿī and he had recourse to the concept on one occasion only, without naming it (Schacht, *Origins*, 126). However, it is true that later S͟hāfiʿī scholars considerably expanded the area of its application by deciding that it was possible, through using this measure, not only to preserve already established rights (as did the other schools) but also to permit the acquisition of new rights. Thus in this school a missing man whose death cannot be established may inherit, which is impossible under Ḥanafī law; in the same way, in S͟hāfiʿī law a pre-emptor may avail himself of *istiṣḥāb* in order to prove that he is a co-proprietor, which the Ḥanafīs do not allow (al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ*, v, 14). Examples of *istiṣḥāb* which might be used for the acquisition of new rights abound in S͟hāfiʿī works. It should be noted that Zufar, among the Ḥanafīs, upheld ideas which were very close to those of the S͟hāfiʿīs on this point.

Bibliography: The works on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, including G͟hazālī, *Mustaṣfā*, Būlāḳ 1322, i, 217; Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, ed. Dār al-Maʿārif, iv, 166 ff.; S͟hawkānī, *Irs͟hād al-fuḥūl*, Cairo 1327, 228 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, ed. al-Saʿāda, v, 2 ff.; Ḳarāfī, *Tanḳīḥ al-fuṣūl*, Cairo 1306, 198 ff. Among modern authors, ʿAlī al-K͟hafīf, *al-Istiṣḥāb*, in the review *al-Ḳānūn wa'l-iḳtiṣād*, nos. 3-4, (Cairo 1951), 229-45 of the Arabic section; Goldziher, *Istiṣḥāb*, in *WZKM*, i (1887), 228 ff. (Fr. tr. by G. H. Bousquet, in *Études islamologiques d'I. Goldziher*, Leiden 1962, 12 ff.); Santillana, *Istituzioni*, ii, 621-3; especially Lapanne-Joinville, *Istiṣḥāb*, in *Travaux Sem. Int. de Droit musulman*, Paris 1952, 80-100; N. J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh 1964, 92-3. (Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ISTIS͟HRĀḲ [see mustas͟hriḳūn]

ISTISḲĀʾ, a rogatory rite still practised at the present day (notably in Jordan and Morocco) and dating back to the earliest Arab times (ʿĀdite ac-

cording to Ibn al-Athīr, i, 61; Abrahamic according to Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 22) which is a supplication for rain during periods of great drought. The rite must have been both astral and magical in nature. Obliged to retain it because of its great popularity, primitive Islam tried to remove these features. A precise ritual was established—as in the case of *istikhāra* [*q.v.*], another custom deriving from pagan cultic practices —so that the faithful would not succumb to the temptation of returning to the ways of the Djāhiliyya. With this end in view, *istisḳāʾ* in the pagan manner, that is through the intermediary of the planets (*al-istiṣḳāʾ bi 'l-kawākib*) is condemned in a *ḥadīth*, where it features alongside *hidjāʾ*, insult by reference to genealogy, which was thought of as an action with magical results, and *niyāḥa*, the use of hired mourners (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2424; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, i, 299; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, 11, n. 2).

Pagan *istisḳāʾ*, or rather *istimṭār*, required the use of fire; *nār al-istisḳāʾ* was one of the numerous sacred fires of ancient Arabia (cf. *Panthéon*, 9-18). It consisted of driving, onto a hilltop that was difficult to reach, oxen with branches of wild grape (*salaʿ*) and mudar plant (*ʿushar*) attached to their tails and hocks. When they reached the top, these branches were fired. The bellowing of the beasts and the cries and supplication of the men rose clamorously towards the astral divinities, imploring them to send down rain (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 466-8; id., *Tarbīʿ*, index s.v. *istimṭār*; Ibn Abī Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ii, 252 ff., 418, iv, 434; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, i, 109). The fire had two functions: it symbolised the devastating drought and caused the bellowing of the bulls so that the gods would hear their dreadful cries.

The magical nature of *istiṣḳāʾ* is also revealed in the manner in which it was practised by Ibn al-Hayyabān, a very pious Palestinian Jew who arrived in Yathrib a few years before the advent of Islam. He lived amoung the Banū Ḳurayẓa, who applied to him every time a drought had lasted too long. He demanded that those who came to him place at their doors a *ṣadaḳa* consisting of one measure of dates or two measures of barley per person. A procession was formed behind him; clouds rolled over and the rain fell as soon as the procession crossed the dried-up stream (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 104 f.; *Panthéon*, 13; *Sources orientales*, vii (1966), 187 f.).

This magical symbolism even appears in the *istisḳāʾ* rite as it seems to have been performed by the Prophet. In fact, according to al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), *Nayl al-awṭār* (a commentary on the *al-Muntaḳā min akhbār al-Muṣṭafā* of Ibn Taymiyya, d. 652/1254), citing a narrative placed in the mouth of ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet stood on the top of a *minbar* erected for him in an oratory (*muṣallā*) and recited a short doxology which closed with a plea for rain; he then raised his arms to the sky, so high that the whiteness of his armpits could be seen; then he turned his back on the people and turned his cloak inside out while still holding his arms aloft. Turning towards the faithful once more, he came down from the *minbar* and performed two *rakʿas*. Then God sent forth a cloud which brought thunder, lightning and rain (quoted by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *ʿIbādāt*, 179).

While still a small boy, Muḥammad is said to have played a part in the rogations celebrated at Mecca as a result of a dream that the mother of Makhrama b. Nawfal al-Zuharī had: she had heard a voice announcing the imminent appearance of a prophet and describing to her a man, who proved to be ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, whose intervention would bring about the rain. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib convened the members of his family, including his grandson Muḥammad, and one representative from each of the families of Mecca. They made their way in procession to Mount Abū Ḳubays. After a prayer uttered by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, rain swelled the streams. Recounting this story, Ibn Saʿd concludes (i/1, 54): "and they were refreshed because of the Messenger of God".

Even after his death the Prophet is said to have demonstrated his attachment to this custom: he appeared in a dream to a chief of the Muzayna, during a long drought, to command him to go and see the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ask why he delayed in uttering the *istisḳāʾ* prayer. At once ʿUmar assembled the people and recited a brief orison and two short prayers. Then he invoked God in these words: "O God, our watercourses have dried up; our strength is exhausted; our souls are weary! There is no strength nor power but Thine, O God; send us water and revive the creatures and the earth" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2575-6; cf. *Divination*, 265; *Panthéon*, 11 f.).

Among the nomads, the prerogative of *istisḳāʾ* was allied to possession of the *bayt* or bethel and the *ḳubba* or sacred tent; in the temples some divinities were famed in this role [see HUBAL]. In Mecca the leader of the city held this prerogative, which had been transmitted by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to Muḥammad and thence to the caliphs (cf. H. Lammens, *Le culte des Bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites*, in *BIFAO* (1919-20), 86). The Prophet's entire family inherited this prerogative (cf. ref. *apud* I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente*, 308 ff.). ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb himself once officiated at the *istisḳāʾ* prayer by holding the hand of al-ʿAbbas, the Prophet's uncle (Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 19). Some of the martyrs of primitive Islam also enjoyed this privilege; because of this, the tomb of Abū Ayyūb, who died at the gates of Constantinople during the rule of Muʿāwiya and was buried in a spot that took his name (Eyyüp, at the base of the Golden Horn), was considered by the Byzantines as a propitious place to pray for rain (according to Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 50).

In later folklore the power to make rain fall was conferred on certain *walīs*; an opening in the dome of their tombs symbolised this power. Their prestige among the people was so great that everyone wanted to number a "rainmaker" among his ancestors (cf. ref. *apud* I. Goldziher, *loc. cit.*). This phenomenon was particularly pronounced in the Maghrib, where, moreover, pagan rites dating from very early times survive among the Berbers (see Bibliography). For the *ṣalāt al-istisḳāʾ*, see ṢALĀT.

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 10-14; I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, i, Giessen 1906, 308-12; idem, in *RHR*, lii (1905), 225-9; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 582-96; idem, *Marrakech*, 383-90; A. Bel, *Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie en temps de secheresse chez les musulmans maghrébins*, in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes par les professeurs de l'École supérieure des lettres et des Médresas*, Algiers 1905, 49-98; Narbeshuber, *Aus dem Leben der arabischen Bevölkerung in Sfax*, Leipzig 1907, 26-9; most notably E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 202-47; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes en pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 2nd ed. 1948 (*Etudes Bibliques*), 323-30; Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *al-ʿIbādāt fi 'l-islām*, 1st ed. Cairo n.d., 179 f.

(T. FAHD)

Rain-making ceremonies among the Turks.

The magico-religious practices most generally employed in Turkey to produce rain are (with some regional variations) the following:

(1) Appropriate formulae are recited over a large number of pebbles, which are then put in a bag and sunk in a stream; care must be taken that not a single pebble falls loose in the water, for this would produce a torrential rainfall. When sufficient rain has fallen, the bag is withdrawn from the water.

(2) Collective prayer is offered led by a *k͟hodja*, preferably by a sacred site upon an eminence. During the prayer, the suppliants turn their clothes inside out and stretch their half-open hands in gestures simulating the fall of rain. In some areas it is the custom to make babies cry and lambs bleat by separating them from their mothers. There exist in manuscript anthologies of popular poetry some *ilāhi*s in Turkish composed to be sung during these collective prayers.

(3) Besides prayers addressed to God, attempts to procure the intervention of a saint and rites of sympathetic magic, there are found also collective meals provided for the poor of the community, with the same object of appeasing the Divine wrath by works of charity (drought being regarded as a punishment from heaven).

(4) Another group of ceremonies is found in the traditions of the children, which similarly belong to the domain of sympathetic magic. These are ceremonies with the character of games, when children go from door to door to collect money, singing appropriate words and carrying a doll usually representing a woman dressed in fantastic style. This doll is called by different names in different areas: *Çömçe-gelin* "ladle-bride", *Kepçe-kadın* "strainer-woman", *Yağmur-gelini* "rain-bride". The children eat, all together, a meal bought with the proceeds of the collection. In some regions (Samsun, Sinop) this ceremony is called *Göde-göde* ("frog-frog"); money is collected by children taking from door to door a bucket of water with a frog in it. The common feature of these "children's collections" is that the doll or the children themselves are sprinkled with water by the housewives as they pass in procession in front of the houses.

Some less common ceremonies, such as the immersion in water of a horse's skull, on which prayer formulas have been written, are probably survivals from ancient practices of sacrifice.

The use of stones which after a magico-religious ceremony acquire the power to induce rainfall is the most widespread method of all, and is probably the Anatolian form taken by the very old Turco-Mongol practice of inducing rain by the "*yada*-stone". For the data on this subject found in Chinese and Arabic sources, see the communication by Köprülüzāde M. Fuʾād in *Actes du Congrès International d'histoire des religions*, held in Paris, 1923, vol. 2.

Bibliography: For the subject in general, and especially for Anatolian Turkish practices, see the addendum by P. N. Boratav to the article *Istisḳā* in *İA*. See also *Söz Derleme Dergisi*, supp. ii: *Folklor Sözleri*, s.vv. *Çömçe-gelin* and *Göde-göde*. For data collected since 1949, see the abstracts of *Türk folklor araştırmaları* by P. N. Boratav in *Oriens*, headings XI and XIV. (P. N. Boratav)

ISTIṢLĀḤ [see ISTIḤSĀN]

ISTIṬĀʿA, capacity, power to act, *maṣdar* of the tenth form of *ṭāʿ*, to obey. If the term itself is not ḳurʾānic, the verb *istaṭāʿ* is used frequently in the text. Like its *maṣdar*, it was to become a technical term of the *uṣūl al-dīn* and the *ʿilm al-kalām*. The translation "capacity" is generally used (for example Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London 1947, 68 and n. 2). Wensinck prefers "faculty", others "power" (*pouvoir*). In this last sense, the *ʿilm al-kalām* readily considers *ḳudra* and *istiṭāʿa* to be identical (see remarks of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *S͟harḥ al-uṣūl al-k͟hamsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUt͟hmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 393). As quasi-synonyms for *istiṭāʿa*, al-Djurdjānī was to suggest (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 18) the terms *ḳudra* (power), *ḳuwwa* (faculty, in the sense of potentiality), *wasʿ* (faculty, in the sense of power) and *ṭāḳa* (faculty, power).

The idea in question dominates the analysis of the act of free choice (*ik͟htiyār*). It was to be discussed, from the earliest elaborations of the science of *kalām*, under extremely diverse meanings, or nuances of meanings. In his *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, al-Asḥʿarī summarises at length the opinions of his forerunners. — A detailed analysis of the various theses here brought together will be found ap. R. Brunschvig, *Devoir et Pouvoir*, in *St. Isl.*, xx, 1-46. We shall restrict ourselves to certain references:

1) G͟haylān and the Murdjiʾīs made almost no distinction between *istiṭāʿa* and *ḳudra*, or even *ḳuwwa*. And for them, the capacity of a man in regard to his acts depends above all upon his physical aptitude to accomplish them.

2) Among the Muʿtazilīs, the Bag͟hdād school was likewise to see in *istiṭāʿa* the physical integrity which renders the act possible. For Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl and other Baṣrians, however, it is an accident which is superimposed upon this integrity (cf. R. Brunschvig, *art. cit.*, 14). For the Muʿtazilīs in general, in any case it precedes the act, it does not compel action, and it ceases when the act is performed. Once the act is created by man, the notion of "capacity to act" no longer enters into the question. An exposé of the subject, from the Muʿtazilī point of view, will be found in ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *op. cit.*, 390 ff. (see p. 390, the note of ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUt͟hmān; cf. also al-K͟hayyāṭ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg and trans. Nader, Beirut 1954, 62-72). — But for Ḍirār, the capacity which precedes the act continues to exist during its performance.

3) The group known as *Mudjbira*, to whom al-As͟hʿarī, regarding them to some extent as his precursors, was to give the name *Ahl al-it͟hbāt*, defined *istiṭāʿa* as the whole body of elements which join together in the performance of the act. — The Rāfiḍī S͟hīʿī His͟hām b. al-Ḥakam enumerates five of these: health and integrity (physical); favourable circumstances; the desired time; instruments; motive (*sabab*). The act is produced, and it cannot be not produced, when all these elements are present (cf. al-As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., i, 110-2; and W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination*, London 1948, 116-7). With these tendencies may be linked the opinion of al-Nadjdjār, already very close to the As͟hʿarī line: "the capacity" does not last, it does not exist before the act, it is created by God for the act and at the instant of the act whose accomplishment it governs.

4) Al-As͟hʿarī deals with *istiṭāʿa* from his own point of view in the *Ibāna* (ed. Cairo n.d., 53-5), and devotes to it a chapter of the *Lumaʿ* (ed. and English trans. R. McCarthy, Beirut 1953, 54-9, 76-96). The "capacity" is created directly by God "with the act and for the act". It does not pre-exist it, a point of difference from the Muʿtazilī thesis. A man who does not have the requisite physical integrity is stricken with powerlessness (*ʿadjz*); he would certainly be incapable

of performing the act, but that is not the true conception of *istiṭāʿa*. If, on the contrary, the power (*ḳudra*) to act fails him, and whatever his physical integrity may be, the power to act fails the man, it is because God has not created in him the corresponding "capacity"; in this way He has not attributed to him the *kasb* or *iktisāb* which permits the subject to "acquire" the act, and which is the source of moral qualification. It is in this sense that one can say that God is "the creator of human acts", of any act whatever, whether good or bad. Must it thereby be concluded that man is "constrained"? On this point copious Ashʿārī discussions are to be found on the "acquisition" of acts. Al-Bāḳillānī for example, who treats at length of *istiṭāʿa* in his *Tamhīd* (ed. McCarthy Beirut 1957, 286-95), is at great pains to distinguish it from "constraint" (*iḍṭirār* [*q.v.*]); the trembling of the hand of the paralytic man is "constrained"; on the contrary, thanks to *istiṭāʿa* created by God, man chooses and likes the act which he elicits. One could not therefore call him "constrained", *muḍṭarr* (*ibid.*, 393). In his *Irshād*, al-Djuwaynī does no more than mention *istiṭāʿa* (ed. and French trans. Luciani, Paris 1938, 122/196, 125/201) as a quasi-synonym for the "power" which guarantees the *kasb*. And this power seems indeed to be in accord with the integrity of the means and instruments. The fact remains that, like every accident, it is directly created by God and that, like every accident, it does not "last". Therefore, it does not precede the act, as the Muʿtazilīs would have it, but is concomitant with it (*ibid.*, 125/201). Throughout the Ashʿārī treatises there are repeated affirmations, similar in their basis but with nuances peculiar to each author. Al-Djurdjānī condenses these in his *Taʿrīfāt* (18-19), defining "capacity" as "the accident created by God in animate beings who, thanks to it, perform acts of free choice". He specifies that "real" capacity (*ḥaḳīḳiyya*) is the perfection of the "power" which obligatorily determines the beginning of the act and is concomitant with it. To put it briefly, let us say that the notion of *istiṭāʿa* is at the very root of the Ashʿarī notion of *kasb*, the relationship or linking together of the effect produced and the agent.

5) Unlike al-Ashʿarī, al-Māturīdī in his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (see analyses and ref. ap. R. Brunschvig, *art. cit.*, 25-6) was to introduce, as two successive periods of time: a) the integrity of the physical means, which is a gift of God and which precedes the act—thus giving the name "capacity" to what al-Ashʿarī called the absence of *ʿadjz*; b) a qualification (*maʿnā*) which causes the act to be performed, which relates it to recompense or punishment, and gives it moral value. This "qualification" which defines *istiṭāʿa* is as it were the counterpart of the Māturīdī notion of *kasb*; it is a "quality" corresponding to human "contingent power".

6) We find a fairly closely related distinction in Ibn Ḥazm, but with different presuppositions: a) health and physical integrity, prior to the act; b) an accident directly and instantaneously created by God for the fulfilment of the act; it is, and is no more than, concomitant with this last. This second sense, says Ibn Ḥazm, is "the perfection of capacity". From this it ensues that the unbeliever has "the capacity to believe" according to the first meaning; but no longer so according to the second (*Kitāb al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal*, ed. Cairo 1347, iii, 21-6, 31).—It may be added that similar theses were maintained by some jurists or theologians whose line of thought was far removed from Ẓāhirism, for example the Ḥanafī al-Taḥāwī and the Imāmī al-Kulaynī. Moreover, a comparison may be made with the thinking of Ibn Taymiyya. It is true that he no longer referred to *istiṭāʿa*, but spoke rather of a *ḳudra* preceding the act, which conditions it without necessitating it, and of a *ḳudra* concomitant with the act and rendering it necessary (cf. R. Brunschvig, *art. cit.*, 41).—Doubtless it is to the "antecedent" *istiṭāʿa*, accepted by al-Māturīdī and Ibn Ḥazm, that al-Djurdjānī refers (*Taʿrīfāt*, 19) when he adds to the Ashʿarī definitions quoted above that the capacity is "healthy" if impediments such as sickness and other similar things disappear.

A multiplicity of further references could be given. These would emphasise that the notion of *istiṭāʿa* as a technical term varies with the different schools, and sometimes with the writers; and that it is always closely dependent upon theses founded on the intrinsic reality or non-reality of human freedom of choice.

Bibliography: In the article. (L. Gardet)

ISTITHNĀʾ (A.), inf. of the verb *istathnā* "to except", a technical term in Arabic grammar signifying "exception". This assumes, first of all, a complete sentence; then (when the proposition has been stated) one or more beings are excepted from the functions exercised in the sentence. In English, *except* is used, *e.g.*: *Everyone came* except *Zayd*. Arabic uses means of expression of various origins (Sībawayhi, i, ch. 185): *ghayra* (a noun signifying "difference"); *siwā*, *suwā* (more rarely *sawāʾa*, *siwāʾa*) (also a noun); *illā* (= **in-lā* "if not") "except"; the verbs *khalā*, *ʿadā* (invariable 3rd pers. masc. sing.); *ḥāshā* (> *ḥāsha*) (an ancient verbal noun, used exclamatorily, transferred from its original sense, see Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, 405); very much more rarely, as a substitute for *illā*: *lā yakūnu*, *laysa*, followed by the accusative.

Ghayra, *siwā*, *ḥāshā*, as nouns, are the first term of an annexation and the second goes into the genitive; the English sentence above is rendered: *djāʾa 'l-ḳawmu ghayra*, or *siwā* or *ḥāshā*, *Zaydin*; al-Farrāʾ and al-Mubarrad also accept the accusative after *ḥāshā* (see the account of Ibn Yaʿīsh, 269, lines 2-19).

Illā, *khalā*, *ʿadā*, are followed by the accusative: *djāʾa 'l-ḳawmu illā*, or *khalā* or *ʿadā*, *Zaydan*. Ibn Mālik (*Alfiyya*, verse 329) also accepts the genitive after *khalā* and *ʿadā*, as did al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (for *khalā*, see also al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 31, line 7 and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 261, lines 16-20).

Illā is regarded as being added to a complete affirmative sentence; if this sentence is negative (or interrogative with a negative sense) the accusative can be used, or, preferably, the case of the preceding general term (Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, verses 316-7 and Ibn ʿAḳīl, i, 507): *mā djāʾa 'l-ḳawmu illā Zaydun* (or *Zaydan*) (see Wright, ii, 336). If the thing excepted is different in kind from that from which it is excepted, the Ḥidjāz uses only the accusative after *illā*, and the Tamīm the accusative or the case of the preceding general term; thus, following the pattern sentence: *mā djāʾa 'l-ḳawm illā ḥimāran* (Ḥidjāz), *illā ḥimārun* (Tamīm) "the people did not come, only a donkey" (Ibn Yaʿīsh, 264, lines 8-17). Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik*, § 37) gives still further variations in the construction of *illā*.

In our opinion, if one wishes to account for the different constructions of *illā*, one should start with *ghayr*. This was a noun and the important word in the construction: *ghayra Zaydin*, literally: "with the difference of Zayd" (*ghayra*, in the acc., as indicating the state (the *ḥāl*) of the subject, or if one wishes, as complement of manner). *Illā* was a simple particle; by analogy, in view of the similarity of sense, the

construction of *ghayra* in the accusative was transferred to the noun following *illā* "except". It is thus a simple analogical construction. The non-observance of this analogy leaves scope for variations in construction, *e.g.*, *mā djāʾa 'l-ḳawmu illā Zaydᵃⁿ* (analogical construction), *illā Zaydᵘⁿ* (construction merely *ad sensum*).

Remarks: a) The Arab grammarians (cf. Sībawayhi, i, 314, line 17; Ibn Yaʿīsh, 260, line 17) see in *illā* the *ḥarf* proper of the *istithnāʾ*; but *ghayra* is frequently used, and *siwā* is not uncommon in the texts; *khalā*, *ʿadā* and particularly *ḥāshā* are found less often. Detailed investigations by numerical analysis of texts, however, have not yet given us the respective frequencies. In fact, differences of distribution must have occurred in the Arab tribes.

b) Fleischer (*Kleinere Schriften*, 734) sees in *ghayr* "difference" an ancient infinitive of a 1st form verb *ghāra* (i), now disappeared, which served as the basis of *ghayyara* "to change". Reckendorf (*Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse*, 146, *Anm.* 1) finds the etymology of *ghayr* obscure. Comparative Semitics gives no satisfactory explanation, so Fleischer may perhaps be right.—For the etymology of *siwā*, see Fleischer, *loc. cit.*, 735, lines 13 f.

c) Annexation accounts for the construction of *ghayr*, *siwā*, *ḥāshā* with the genitive; but it is quite certain that frequency of use tended to obscure the origin of these words and to reduce them to mere grammatical tools. *Ghayra* retains its nominal character because of other constructions. For the Baṣrans, *siwā*, *sawāʾa* were merely *ẓarf*; for the Kūfans, they were *ism* and *ẓarf* (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, Discussion 39). In *ḥāshā* the Kūfans saw a verb (*ibid.*, Discussion 37).

Bibliography: Apart from the references in the text: W. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*³, ii, 335-43; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes and R. Blachère, *Gr. Ar. Classique*³, §§ 386-7; J.-B. Belot, *Gr. Ar.*⁵, a résumé: 293-5; Lane, *Lexicon*, the articles on the words concerned; Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, § 262. Arab authors: Sībawayhi, i, ch. 185-202 (ed. Paris), particularly: ch. 185-7, 190, 193, 199, 201-2; Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 2nd ed. Broch, §§ 88-96, particularly: §§ 88-90 and *Sharḥ* of Ibn Yaʿīsh, 258-82, particularly: 258-75, ed. G. Jahn; Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, verses 316-31 and *Sharḥ* of Ibn ʿAḳīl, i, 505-27, ed. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 205-28, ed. Istanbul 1275, to be consulted last, interesting, but more difficult to follow in its discussions. (H. Fleisch)

ISTIWĀʾ (khaṭṭ al-), the line of equality, of equilibrium, that is to say the equator, which divides the earth into two hemispheres, the northern and the southern, and joins together all those points of the globe where day and night are equal. The particulars relating to the equator and to the division of the earth are furnished by the *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, which is of Greek, Indian or Persian inspiration, and revised and corrected through the observations of scholars of the time of al-Maʾmūn [cf. djughrāfiyā].

The equator is the largest circle of the earth; as such, it corresponds to the circle of the zodiac, which is the largest of all the circles of the celestial sphere. Its circumference is estimated at 360 degrees, or generally at 9,000 parasangs (equivalent to about 54,000 km.), and its distance from each of the two poles is 90 degrees. Other estimates fix the equatorial circumference at 24,000 miles (1 mile = one third of a parasang), corresponding to a diameter of 7,636 miles, approximately 48,000 and 15,000 km. respectively; Al-Masʿūdī himself gives very variable figures: 13,500 miles for half the circumference, or 20,160 miles for the total circumference, corresponding to a diameter of 6,414.5 miles, or again, still for the total circumference, 6,600 parasangs (= 19,800 miles) corresponding to a diameter of 2,100 parasangs (= 6,300 miles), or lastly 24,000 miles for a diameter of 7,667 miles. Yāḳūt for his part gives figures that range from 6,800 to 27,000 parasangs.

The division of the earth into two hemispheres is not the only function of the equator. It also marks the limit of inhabited lands in their furthest longitudinal extent, from East to West, from the extremities of China to the Fortunate or Eternal Islands (*al-Djazāʾir al-khālidāt* [*q.v.*]). Mid-way, according to a conception inherited from India, an island is situated, at the same distance from the North and the South as from the East and the West: this is the dome of the earth (Arin, Uzayn, Udjdjayn [*q.v.*]).

Finally, the equator plays an essential part in the division of climates (*aḳālīm*, sing. *iḳlīm* [*q.v.*]), and, through these, in the distinction between inhabited and uninhabited lands, this time in the North-South direction. Just as in the North, towards Thule, at a latitude of about 60°, life ceases to be possible on account of the intense cold, so in the South, at a latitude generally estimated at from 21° to 24°, life disappears on account of the excessive heat. On the whole from North to South, life extends merely over a latitude of approximately 80 degrees. Although certain authors attribute to the southern hemisphere seven climates corresponding to those of the northern hemisphere, it remains true that a parallel situation does not hold good in respect of life, which is thus limited to only one quarter of the globe—from 0 to 180 degrees from East to West and from —20 to +60 degrees in the South-North direction. In general, if, in the architecture of the world, it was perceived to be a line of equilibrium, in the description of inhabited lands the equator was always regarded more or less as a limit, with the risks which its crossing imply: reflecting this state of mind and this latent mistrust, the Arab geographical texts, even when describing the countries of the South, have nothing to say on the theme of "crossing the line", so dear to modern explorers.

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ISTOLNĪ (ISTŌNĪ) BELGHRĀD (also Ustōlnī, Ustōnī Belghrād)—cf. Serbian: Stolni Belgrad; German: Stuhlweissenburg; Latin: Alba Regia; Hun-

garian: Székesfehérvár—a fortress town to the south-west of Buda. Here, during the 10th-16th centuries, was held the coronation of the Hungarian kings in the Church of St. Stephen—a church which was also their burial place. Istolnī Belg͟hrād (*beyāẓ iskemle ḳalʿesi*, to use the words of Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 55) was located where the stream Sarvisius (Isthvanfius, 267—cf. Nehr-i S͟harwīz in Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 63), flowing from Lake Balaton, spread outward to form reed-filled marshes. Reinforced with bastions controlling the approaches across the fens and also protected by a wall and a ditch (cf. Giovio, *Historiae*, ii, 308 r), the fortress was difficult to attack. It fell nonetheless to the Ottoman Turks in 950/1543. Thereafter Istolnī Belg͟hrād became the centre of a large Ottoman *sand͟jaḳ* embracing in 995/1586-7 (cf. Fekete, *Siyāqat-Schrift*, i, 442) a number of important places, amongst them Pesperīm (Vezprém), Pōlāta (Palota), and Yanīḳ (Györ). The Christians besieged and took the fortress in 1010/1601, only to lose it again to the Ottomans in 1011/1602. Istolnī Belg͟hrād remained under Turkish rule until the War of the Sacra Liga (1684-99) when, reduced to narrow straits (*ultimâ esurie confracta*: Wagner, ii, 43) by a strict blockade, it surrendered to the Christians in 1099/1688, thereby coming definitively and finally into their possession.

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(V. J. Parry)

IṬĀʿA [see ṬĀʿA].

ĪṬĀʾ [see ʿARŪḌ, ḲĀFIYA]

IʿTĀḲ [see ʿABD]

ĪṬALIYA, Italy, a name which seldom occurs in the classical Arab authors and which al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] uses only once in his *Nuzhat al-mus͟htāḳ* (cf. M. Amari, *BAS*, 15); in the Arab works on history and geography, together with less common expressions like *arḍ Ifrand͟j* [see IFRAND͟J] and *al-arḍ al-kabīra* (which sometimes denotes Calabria alone), one finds the terms أنكبردة, أنكبردية, الأنبردية, which more specifically denote the regions in the centre and south of Italy under the domination of the Lombard principalities, although, in the *Muʿd͟jam al-buldān* of Yāḳūt, the territory denoted by the term الأنكبردة (strangely transliterated as al-Ankaburda) extends from Provence to Calabria.

The particulars furnished by Arab geographers and travellers in regard to Italy, both the peninsula and the islands, are not all equally complete and trustworthy. It need hardly be emphasised that, in their writings, Sicily (as will be made clear in the article ṢIḲILLIYYA) was given a place of particular importance, in view of the fact that, for almost two and a half centuries, the island formed part of the *Dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*]. Among the remarkable output of Arab geographical writings, one work outstanding for the wealth and detail of the information it contains is the *Nuzhat al-mus͟htāḳ*, four sections of which are devoted to Italy—three to its mainland territory (3rd section of the IVth climate, 2nd and 3rd sections of the Vth) and one to its island territory (2nd section of the IVth climate).

Although it should sometimes be treated with reserve, the information given by al-Idrīsī is only rarely the fruit of pure imagination: a typical and perhaps unique example is the fanciful, legendary description of the city of Rome. As regards the topicality of the particulars given, it should be borne in mind that they sometimes reflected the political and ethnic situation of certain cities in the 12th century (the *Nuzhat al-mus͟htāḳ* was completed in S͟hawwāl 548/January 1154), but at other times they derived from out-of-date sources, and show that the compiler or his informants found it impossible to bring the material up to date (on this question, cf. G. Furlani, *La Giulia e la Dalmazia nel "Libro di Ruggero" di al-Idrīsī*, in *Aegyptus*, vi, Milan 1925, 60 ff.).

The fullest, but also the least trustworthy, descriptions offered by geographers and travellers from the 3rd/9th to the 9th/15th centuries relate to the city of Rome (transcribed *Rūma*, *Rūmiya* and *Rūmiyya*); other much less comprehensive descriptions refer to various towns such as Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Naples and, further to the south, Reggio, Taranto, Otranto and Brindisi; an allusion to Lucera (the transcription of which varies from Lūs͟hīra to Lūd͟jāra), where the emperor Frederick II consigned the last nucleus of Muslims from Sicily, is found in the writings of certain geographers who lived at least until the middle of the 7th/13th century, such as al-Ḥimyarī (cf. U. Rizzitano, *L'Italia nel "Kitāb arrawḍ*

al-mi'ṭār fi khabar al-akṭār" di Ibn *'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyari*, in *Madjallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb*, University of Cairo, xviii (1956), 174), Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalūsī (in *BAS*, 136), Abu 'l-Fidā' (*ibid.*, 149, 421), Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid.*, 491) and some others.

At a later period Italy was visited, and sometimes even partially described, though in a superficial way, by a number of Arab travellers whose works were listed in H. Pérès, *Voyageurs musulmans en Europe aux XIXe et XXe siècles, Notes bibliographiques*, in *Mélanges Maspero* (Mémoires de l'Institut français du Caire, lxviii (1935), 185-95).

The earliest information provided by the Arab chroniclers about the Saracen attacks on continental Italy concerns the defeat of the Venetian fleet off Taranto (in 225/840 according to certain Arab historians, in the following year if the Latin sources are to be believed) and the accompanying attacks on Bari which were the prelude to the establishment in that town of an emirate which survived for a quarter of a century; it was on the occasion of these first incursions onto the mainland that the Muslims made their entrance into the complex and treacherous political intrigues of the Lombard principalities; indeed, the support of the Saracen forces, a step to which one or other of the Lombard rulers resorted, often exerted such influence on the economy of the civil wars which racked southern Italy from the middle of the 3rd/9th century that these troops rapidly became the masters of the situation, while such men as Radelgise, prince of Benevento, and Siconolfo, prince of Salerno and Capua, vied with each other in seeking to make an alliance with their daring commanders. Among these were two adventurers, Massar and Apolaffar (probably corruptions of the Arabic *kunyas* Abū Ma'shar and Abū Dja'far), who are worthy of note and who commanded respectively the Saracen troops of Benevento and Taranto; on the subject of these two men the Latin sources give merely a few details, while their exploits are passed over in complete silence by the Arabic historians who, here as elsewhere, had little inclination to give prominence to the achievements of men who, at best, were soldiers of fortune, often in revolt against established authority in Sicily or Ifrīkiya.

In the same way, the two events which caused Christendom to experience, firstly its most tragic hour and then, three years later, the joy of exultant victory, were not of a kind to arouse the interest of of the Arab chroniclers; in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 231/August 846, Saracen contingents reached the walls of Rome and sacked the basilica of St. Peter, and in 234/849 a large Muslim fleet was defeated at Ostia, whence it would probably have attempted to open up a way to the Eternal City, if the outcome of the battle had not been a decisive victory for the Christians.

On the question of the earliest Saracen moves against Bari (باره in the texts, which must be read as *Bāru*, representing the Latin forms *Barum* and *Varum*), and especially regarding the emirate which was set up there in about 232/847, we possess only a number of details, collected by al-Balādhurī (in *BAS*, appendix i, 2) and reproduced by Ibn al-Athīr (*ibid.*, 239, 260). From the various particulars furnished by these two historians it emerges that, in this minute state based on the Adriatic town, there were three successive amīrs—Khalfūn, a Berber of the Rabī'a tribe, who ruled the principality for about five years; al-Mufarradj b. Sallām, who built a mosque there and tried, though without success, to legitimize his situation in relation to the caliph of Baghdād; and lastly Sawdān, also a Berber, who came to power in 243/857 and, more fortunate than his predecessor, after various mishaps (described by al-Balādhurī who was himself a contemporary), succeeded in securing from Baghdād an official investiture with his fief, the end of which came about in Rabī' I 257/February 871.

Another city in Apulia, Taranto, was the scene of Muslim occupation for more than thirty years (approximately 231/846-266/880), but in Ibn al-Athīr we find only a brief allusion, repeated by Ibn Khaldūn with some omissions (*ibid.*, 470). The Arab chroniclers give no information about the numerous Saracen exploits in southern Italy, and particularly those which took place in the Garigliano valley, where a fortress, built in 269/883, enabled activities on a formidable scale to be maintained until 302/915; it may be supposed that the Saracen adventurers, operating in this sector as elsewhere, were encouraged by the news of the landing in Calabria in Shawwāl 289/September 902, under the Aghlabid amīr Ibrāhīm II b. Aḥmad (261/875-289/902); references to this renewal of Muslim expansionist activity in southern Italy may be found, particularly in Ibn al-Athīr (in *BAS*, 242), al-Nuwayrī (*ibid.*, 453), Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb (3rd chapter of *A'māl al-a'lām*, ed. al-'Abbādī and al-Kattānī, under the title *al-Maghrib al-'arabī fi 'l-'aṣr al-wasīṭ* Casablanca 1964, 120), Ibn Khaldūn (*BAS*, 475-6) and some other sources of less importance.

From the beginning of 298/end of 910 and until 336/948 the Fāṭimids, who had at first come up against a legitimist body of opinion, supported principally by the pro-Aghlabid Ibn Ḳurhub, succeeded the Aghlabids in Sicily; for this period the Arab historical sources gave prominence not only to the Saracens' constant offensives in Calabria and Apulia but also to the campaign led by Ṣābir, a *ghulām* of al-Mahdī's court, who in 316/928 attacked the Lombard principalities on the Tyrrhenian coast and occupied several fortified places whose identity it is not easy to establish on account of uncertain toponymy of the Arab texts (*BAS*, 170, 368). The Fāṭimid *imām* al-Ḳā'im (322/934-334/946 [*q.v.*]) planned a daring invasion of the Ligurian coast, under the leadership of Ya'ḳūb b. Isḥāḳ who, in 322/934, made an attack on Genoa, which he conquered in the following year (*BAS*, 170, 254, 368, 437, 459, 478; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 267; in the *A'māl al-a'lām* (53) we read that the expedition was entrusted to Djawhar [*q.v.*], the famous freedman of the Fāṭimid *imām* al-Mu'izz).

From the middle of the 4th/10th century until about the middle of the following century, Sicily was governed by amīrs of the dynasty of the Kalbids [*q.v.*], and no acts of war of any particular importance took place, apart from the usual raids, noted by certain Arab chroniclers, in southern Italy and especially in Apulia and Calabria [see ḲILLAWRIYA]; for the invasion of Sardinia by Mudjāhid b. 'Abd Allāh in 405/1015 see SARDĀNIYA.

After the conquest of Sicily by the Normans, which began in 453/1061 and ended with the surrender of Palermo in 464/1072, the interest felt in a territory now finally lost to Islam diminished considerably, and the Arabic historians restricted their references to Italy to the limited sphere of the relations of that country with the rulers of the Mashriḳ and the Maghrib.

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(U. Rizzitano)

ITĀWA (from *atā*, apparently a doublet of *ʿaṭā*) literally "gift", a general term met with, especially in pre- and proto-Islamic times, meaning a vague tribute or lump payment made, for example, to or by a tribe or other group; later the words describes, sometimes in a denigrating way, a tip or bribe.

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ITĀWĀ (Eṭāyā), a district in the south-west of Uttar Pradesh, India, lying between 26° 21′ and 27° 1′ N., 78° 45′ E.; and also the principal town of that district, 26° 46′ N., 79° 1′ E., on the river Djamnā [*q.v.*]. The common spelling of the name is Etawa; other forms are Etaya (Elphinstone), Itay (de Laet), and sometimes Inṭāwa in the Muslim chronicles. Popular etymology connects the name with *int āwā*, "brick kiln".

The region of Iṭāwā was probably within the kingdom of Kanawdj [*q.v.*] at the time of the raid on that kingdom by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 409/1018, and again at the capture of Kanawdj by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak for Muḥammad b. Sām in 589/1193. Many Rādjpūt chieftains seem to have brought their clans to settle in this region in the early 7th/13th century, and gathered round them the more turbulent of the disaffected Hindū population. Their intransigence persisted, and many expeditions to enforce the payment of revenues were launched by successive Dihlī sultans; thus Fīrūz Shāh (Tughluḳ) was compelled to put down a rebellion of *zamīndārs* there in 779/1377 (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, ed. Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1931, 133-4; tr. K. K. Basu, Baroda 1932, 141; Firishta, Lucknow lith., i, 148); the refractory chieftains Sumer Sāh, Bīr Singh and Rāwat Uddharan—these names are much distorted in the Muslim chronicles and their translations—were in 794/1391-2 defeated by the sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (Tughluḳ) in person, who is said (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 152, tr. 161) to have destroyed the fort, although references to a fort abound in later years. Maḥmūd Tughluḳ's governor, the Khwādja-i Djahān Malik Sarwar [*q.v.*; see also Sharḳids], began his governorship by leading a force against the rebels of Iṭāwā and Kanawdj in Radjab 796/May 1394 (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 156, tr. 164). After this time the Iṭāwā region, lying between the spheres of influence of the Djawnpur sultans and the factions contending for power at Dihlī, was frequently invaded from both sides; thus by Mallū Khān Lōdī [*q.v.*] in 803/1400-1 (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 169 ff., tr. 175 ff.) and again in 807/1404-5, when after a four months' siege the rebels offered tribute and a gift of elephants. In 817/1414, shortly after his accession, the Dihlī sultan Khiḍr Khān the Sayyid sent out a large force under Tādj al-Mulk who, having received homage from Sumer and others, punished the infidels of Iṭāwā (*kuffār-i iṭāwa rā gūshmāl dāda*; *ibid.*, 185); he led further expeditions there in 821/1418 and 823/1420 when the village of Dīhulī (Deoli, Duhli, even Delhi in translations!) was destroyed and Sumer besieged in Iṭāwā. It would thus appear that the annual revenues of the district could be collected only by armed force, and only in 825/1422, when the son of Sumer had temporarily joined the forces of Mubārak Shāh, was no foray made against this region.

After the conclusion of a further expedition in 831/1427 the region was invaded by the army of the Djawnpur sultan Ibrāhīm under his brother Mukhtaṣṣ Khān, and the Dihlī army had to return to meet the danger; not for two years, however, could an army be spared to bring Iṭāwā again under subjection, but Sayyid power was declining and the fragmentation of the old Dihlī sultanate left the district little disturbed thereafter. In the division of the lower Dōʾāb territories between the first Lōdī sultan, Bahlūl, and Maḥmūd Shāh Sharḳī in 855/1451, Iṭāwā passed to Djawnpur. A series of inconclusive disputes followed between Bahlūl and the three successive Djawnpur sultans Maḥmūd, Muḥammad and Ḥusayn, the last of whom seems to have made Iṭāwa his temporary headquarters ("Bībī Rādjī" the queen mother died here in 891/1486), and in 892/1487 Ḥusayn's attack on Bahlūl was repulsed and Iṭāwā taken for the Lōdī kingdom. It remained in Lōdī hands until 934/1528 when, on Bābur's invasion of the district, it was surrendered to him.

After the defeat of Humāyūn in 952/1545 the region passed to Shēr Shāh, who effected the partial pacification of the district by bringing in a force of 12,000 horsemen and by his efforts in opening up the country through a road-building programme. Neither he nor Akbar seems to have found its absorption into the state administration easy, although it retained some prestige when Akbar made the town of Iṭāwā the chief town of a *pargana*; the town is mentioned in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* as possessing a brick fort, and some reference is occasionally made to Iṭāwā as a banking centre. It seems never to have been settled by Muslims to the same extent as other towns of the Dōʾāb, and after the decline of the Mughal power fell into Marāṭhā or Djāṭ hands, with Awadh sometimes powerful enough to gain control over it. Even after the district became part of the lands ceded by Awadh to the East India Company in 1801, many local chiefs retained a considerable measure of independence; the town had some prominence in the struggles of 1857.

Iṭāwā town has an interesting *Djāmiʿ masdjid*, built out of Hindū temple spoil, the western *liwān* of which has a massive central propylon-type arch similar to those of the Djawnpur [*q.v.*] mosques; it has not been adequately studied, the only account

being C. Horne, *Notes on the Jumma Masjid of Etawah*, in *JASB*, xxxvi/1 (1867), 74-5. The central square of Iṭāwā is called "Humeganj", the name commemorating A. O. Hume, the Scots collector of the district who played a prominent part in the foundation of the Indian Congress Party.

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(J. Burton-Page)

ITBĀʿ [see MUZĀWADJA]

ITHBĀT, verbal noun of the fourth form of the root *th-b-t*, has the general meaning of to witness, to show, to point to, to demonstrate, to prove, to establish, to verify and to establish the truth, to establish (the existence of something).

For the Ṣūfīs, *ithbāt* is the opposite of *maḥw*. This latter word means literally to efface. In the mystical vocabulary, it denotes the effacement of the "qualities of habit" (*awṣāf al-ʿāda*) while *ithbāt* is the fact of performing one's religious obligations. It comprises three ways: to efface the degradation of appearances (*dhillat al-ẓawāhir*), to efface the negligences of the conscience, to efface all the deficiencies of the heart (according to al-Tahānawī, 1356, who quotes the commentary of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf on the *Mathnawī*). Other definitions are given: *maḥw* consists of getting rid of the attributes of the carnal soul and *ithbāt* is the strengthening of the attributes of the heart so that he who casts away the bad and replaces them by the good is called *ṣāḥib maḥw wa-ithbāt*. A further definition is given: *maḥw* consists in putting aside the "vestiges" (*rusūm*) of actions by looking with an annihilating look at the carnal soul and all its emanations. On the other hand, *ithbāt* consists in maintaining the vestiges but in affirming that it is God who is their source; the Ṣūfī is thus established in God and not in himself.

The origin of these two words is ḳurʾānic: "God effaces (*yamḥū*) and confirms (*yuthbit*) what He will" (XIII, 39); *i.e.*, according to the Ṣūfī commentary, God effaces from the hearts of the initiated all inattentiveness towards Him and all mention of deities other than Himself, and He confirms on the lips of the beginners the mention of God. Above *maḥw*, there is *maḥḳ*: while the first leaves a trace, the second leaves none.

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(G. C. Anawati)

ITHNĀ ʿASHARIYYA, the name of that branch of Shīʿī Islam [see SHĪʿA] that believes in twelve *Imāms* (*ithnā ʿashar* meaning "twelve" in Arabic) beginning with ʿAlī and ending with Muḥammad al-Mahdī.

Within the whole body of Shīʿism the Ithnā ʿasharī school is both the most numerous in terms of adherents and theologically the most balanced between the exoteric and esoteric elements of Islam. Other branches like the five-imāmī school of the Zaydīs [*q.v.*] and the seven-imāmī school, known as Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*], are also of significance and continue to have adherents, while those believing in other numbers of *Imāms* or different interpretations of their functions have also existed during Islamic history but have been extremely small in number and have died out within a short period of their birth.

The religious history of Ithnā ʿasharī Shīʿism can be divided into four periods:

1). *The period of the twelve Imāms*: This period extends from the time of ʿAlī to the major occultation [see GHAYBA] of the twelfth *Imām* in 329/940. The twelve *Imāms* are as follows:

1. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661)
2. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (d. 49/669)
3. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d. 61/680)
4. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn) (d. 95/714)
5. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir (d. 115/733)
6. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765)
7. Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799)
8. ʿAlī al-Riḍā (d. 203/818)
9. Muḥammad Djawād al-Taḳī (d. 220/835)
10. ʿAlī al-Naḳī (d. 254/868)
11. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874)
12. Muḥammad al-Mahdī (al-Ḳāʾim and al-Ḥudjdja) (entered major occultation in 329/940).

This period was unique in that it was one in which the *Imāms* lived among their followers and instructed them directly. They left behind not only a large number of disciples but sayings which were collected by their followers and became the basis of later Shīʿī intellectual life. In Shīʿism the *ḥadīth* literature includes the sayings of the *Imāms* in addition to those of the Prophet. Moreover, two major works survive which are ascribed to the *Imāms* themselves, the *Nahdj al-balāgha* to ʿAlī and the *Ṣaḥīfa sadjdjādiyya* to Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. The *Nahdj al-balāgha*, compiled from the sermons and orations of ʿAlī by Sayyid Sharīf al-Raḍī, remains to this day the most venerated book among the Shīʿīs after the Ḳurʾān and prophetic *ḥadīth*, while the *Ṣaḥīfa* contains prayers of such beauty that it has been called the "Psalm of the Household of the Prophet" (*Zabūr-i āl-i Muḥammad*).

Some of the followers of the *Imāms* like Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], the disciple of the sixth *Imām*, and Abū Djaʿfar al-Ḳummī, friend of the eleventh *Imām*, themselves became famous Shīʿī authorities, while the instruction of the *Imāms* reached even the Sunnī segment of the Islamic community especially with *Imām* Djaʿfar, who had many Sunnī students. This period terminated with the minor occultation (*al-ghayba al-ṣughrā*) and the major occultation (*al-ghayba al-kubrā*) of the Mahdī. During the minor occultation the Mahdī spoke to his community through his deputies or "gates" (*bāb* [*q.v.*]). The major occultation began when the last "gate" through whom the Mahdī spoke to the community, ʿAlī al-Sāmarrī, died.

2.) *The period extending from the beginning of the major occultation to the Mongol invasion and Khwādja Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*. This was the period of the compilation of the major collections of Shīʿī *ḥadīth* and the formulation of Shīʿī law. This elaboration of Shīʿism began with Muḥammad ibn Yaʿḳūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940), author of the monumental *Uṣūl al-kāfī*, to be followed by such figures as Ibn Bābūyah, also called Shaykh al-Ṣadūḳ (d. 381/991), Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) and Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) with whom the principal doctrinal works of Shīʿī theology and religious sciences became established. This was also the period of other renowned Shīʿī scholars such as Sayyid Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015), who assembled the sayings of ʿAlī, his brother Sayyid Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā (d. 436/1044), Faḍl al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153 or 552/1157), known for his monumental ḳurʾānic commentary, Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn al-Ṭāʾūs (d. 664/1266), at once theologian and gnostic, and finally Naṣīr al-Dīn (d. 632/1273), whose *Tadjrīd* marks the beginning of systematic Shīʿī theology.

3.) *The period between Naṣīr al-Dīn and the Ṣafavid revival*. During this rich period Shīʿī theology continued to develop in the hands of such men as Naṣīr al-Dīn's student ʿAllāma Ḥillī (d. 726/1326) while a convergence took place between the Ṣūfism of Ibn ʿArabī and Shīʿī theology and theosophy producing

such men as Radja b. Bursī (d. around 774/1372), Ṣā'in al-Dīn b. Turka (d. 830/1427), Ibn Abī Djumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. around 901/1495) and, perhaps the foremost Shīʿī thinker of the period, Sayyid Ḥaydar al-Āmulī (d. after 787/1385), author of the monumental *Djāmiʿ al-asrār*. This period marks also the beginning of that wedding between Avicennan philosophy, the Illuminationist theosophy of Suhrawardī [see ISHRĀḲ], the Ṣūfism of Ibn ʿArabī and Shīʿī theology which gave birth to the great theosophical and gnostic figures of the Ṣafavid period.

4.) *From the Ṣafavid period to the present.* During this period Iran itself witnessed a remarkable revival of intellectual activity especially in the religious and philosophical sciences, while Shīʿism was spreading in the sub-continent and the influence of the Ṣafavid thinkers of the "School of Iṣfahān" was felt ever more deeply among the Indian Muslims and even among some Hindus. This period began with such figures as Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631) and Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640), masters of metaphysics with whom Islamic philosophy reached a new peak, Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, at once a Shīʿī theologian and a mathematician, and Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Lāhīdjī, foremost among later theologians of Shīʿism. It also produced the two Madjlisīs, the second, Muḥammad Bāḳir, being the author of the most voluminous compendium of the Shīʿī sciences, the *Biḥār al-anwār*.

During the Ḳādjār period while the *uṣūlī* and *akhbārī* debates—between those who believed in the exercise of reason within the confines of religious scripture and those who relied solely on the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*—continued, major contributions were made to the science of the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), which in fact reached its perfection in the hands of Waḥīd Bihbihānī (d. 1205/1790-1) and Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864/-5). During this period Shīʿism was also witness to the establishment of the Shaykhī movement by Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsā'ī, which continues to this day, and by the Bābī movement, which prepared the ground for the Bahā'ī [*q.v.*] movement.

Religious Practices: Ithnā ʿasharī religious practice does not differ in any essential way from that of the Sunnīs. The fasting and the pilgrimage are the same while in the daily prayers two phrases are added to the call to prayer. There are also minor differences in other parts of the canonical prayers (*ṣalāt*) but not much more than those between the different Sunnī rites. The Shīʿites, however, place a great deal of emphasis upon the pilgrimage to the tombs of the *Imāms* and saints [see IMĀMZĀDA] so that Nadjaf, Karbalā', Mashhad, Ḳum and other sanctuaries have gained a remarkable prominence in religious life. As for other questions of the Sharīʿa, the Shīʿa differ from the Sunnīs in demanding the "one fifth" tax, called *khums*, in addition to *zakāt*, and in permitting temporary marriage or *mutʿa* [*q.v.*]. They also condone hiding one's faith (*taḳiyya* [*q.v.*]) when its manifestation would endanger one's person.

As far as the sources of law are concerned they are nearly the same as the Sunnī, namely, Ḳur'ān, *ḥadīth*, *idjmāʿ* and *ḳiyās*, except that *idjmāʿ* is connected with the view of the *Imām* and more freedom is given to *ḳiyās* than in Sunnī Islam. In Shīʿism the gate of *idjtihād* is always open and in the absence of the Mahdī every Shīʿī must follow a living *mudjtahid* who in every generation re-interprets the Sharīʿa in the light of its immutable principles and the situation in which the community finds itself [see MARDJAʿ-I TAḲLĪD]. The *mudjtahids* thus perform as representatives of the *Imām* a task which in reality belongs to the *Imām* himself.

Doctrine: The "principles of religion" (*uṣul al-din*) as taught in Shīʿism include unity (*tawḥīd*), justice (*ʿadl*), prophecy (*nubuwwa*), imamate and resurrection (*maʿād*). Unity, prophecy and resurrection are common to Shīʿism and Sunnism. Shīʿism considers the quality of justice as an intrinsic aspect of the divinity rather than an extrinsic one and its perspective is based more on intelligence than on will. As for the imamate, it is the cardinal doctrine which separates Shīʿism from Sunnism. According to Shīʿism revelation has an exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and an esoteric (*bāṭin*) aspect, both possessed in their fulness by the Prophet, who is at once *nabī* and *walī*, the *nubuwwa* being connected with his exoteric function of bringing a divine law and the *walāya* with his esoteric function of revealing the inner meaning of religion.

With the death of the Prophet the "cycle of prophecy" (*dā'irat al-nubuwwa*) came to an end but the "cycle of initiation" (*dā'irāt al-walāya*) continues in the person of the *Imām*. The word *imām* itself means etymologically he who stands before, therefore, he who is a guide and leader. In its specifically Shīʿī meaning it signifies he who possesses the function of *walāya*. According to Shīʿism the *Imām* has three functions: to rule over the Islamic community, to explain the religious sciences and the law, and to be a spiritual guide to lead men to an understanding of the inner meaning of things. Because of this triple function he cannot possibly be elected. A spiritual guide can receive his authority only from on high. Therefore, each *Imām* is appointed through the designation (*naṣṣ*) of the previous *Imām* by Divine command. Moreover, the *Imām* must be inerrant (*maʿṣūm*) in order to be able to guarantee the survival and purity of the religious tradition. Seen in this light his function is clearly one that is concerned at once with the daily word of men as well as the spiritual and unmanifested world (*ʿālam al-ghayb*). His function is at once human and cosmic.

This view of the *Imām* can be seen clearly in the Shīʿī concept of the hidden *Imām*, the *Mahdī*. He is alive yet not seen by the majority of men. He is like the *axis mundi* around whom the spheres of existence rotate and he is the guarantee of the preservation and continuation of the Sharīʿa. Finally he is the supreme spiritual guide (*ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*]), literally "pole" and in Shīʿī Ṣūfī orders the master is inwardly connected to the *Mahdī* as the supreme pole. Yet, the *Mahdī* remains hidden from the external eye and will appear to the outside world only in an eschatological event through which the inward will once again dominate over the outward and the outward is prepared for its absorption in the inward. The Hidden *Imām* is for the Shīʿīs the continuation of the personality and *baraka* of the Prophet and the means whereby the Ḳur'ān is preserved and its true meaning based upon unity (*tawḥīd*) revealed to men. Without the *Imām* men would cease to understand the inner levels of meaning of the revelation. Also without him all temporal rule is marked by imperfection and only his reappearance can establish that ideal state based on divine justice which Islam envisages in its teachings.

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IʿTIBĀR KHĀN, a Khwādja-sarā'i (eunuch) who ultimately rose to the high office of a provincial governor under the emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*]. Originally in the service of a grandee of Akbar's court, on his death he joined the service of the Great Mogul who appointed him *nāẓir* (comptroller) of the household of Prince Salīm (later Djahāngīr) on his birth in 977/1569. He served the prince well and soon after his accession to the throne Salīm rewarded him by assigning to him the district of Gwāliyār as his *djāgīr* in 1025/1607. Thereafter he received one promotion after another both in rank and status rising to that of 6000 men and 5000 horse. In 1031/1622 he was appointed governor of Āgra, the capital of the empire, was honoured with the title of Mumtāz Khān in recognition of his distinguished services, and the fort and the imperial treasury were placed in his charge. Having faithfully served Djahāngīr, who pays him a generous tribute (cf. *Tūzuk*, Eng. tr. ii, 285), for a long period of 56 years he died, over 80 years of age, in 1033/1623-24.

Bibliography: *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Eng. tr. by Rogers and Beveridge, London 1914, i, 113, 282, 319, 372, ii, 94, 231, 257-8; Shāhnawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, Bib. Ind. i, 133-4; *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. by Blochmann, 433; Shaykh Farīd Bhakkari, *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, still in Ms. ii.
(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

IʿTIḲĀD, the act of adhering firmly to something, hence a firmly established act of faith. In its technical sense, the term denotes firm adherence to the Word of God. It may be translated in European languages by the words "croyance", "belief", "Glauben", with the proviso that this "belief" is not a simple "opinion" or "thinking" (*pensée*), but is the result of a deep conviction. As the root *ʿ-ḳ-d* indicates, the idea of a "knot", a bond established by contract, persists. The VIIIth verbal form combines with this a greater measure of firmness and coherence.

Iʿtiḳād recurs many times in chapters or works which treat of faith [see Īmān, § I]. It may be compared with and distinguished from two other technical words, *taṣdīḳ* and *ʿaḳīda*.

At first glance, as D. B. Macdonald has pointed out (*EI*¹, s.v. *Iʿtiḳād*), *iʿtiḳād* seems to be synonymous with *taṣdīḳ*: both terms denote inner adherence to the fundamentals of faith. It must however be said that *taṣdīḳ* is the act of judging and *iʿtiḳād* the act of adhering. *Taṣdīḳ* is then seen as an inner judgment of veridicity which affirms the reality and authenticity of the divine Word, a judgment which cannot fail to resolve itself in adherence. Let us say there could be no authentic *taṣdīḳ* without *iʿtiḳād*. It will then be understood that these two terms, each with the connotations belonging to itself, are sometimes interchangeable in definitions of *īmān*, in particular those of the Ashʿarī school, which make inner adherence the "pillar" of faith. The majority of authors however prefer to explain faith by means of *taṣdīḳ*. Al-Djurdjānī states specifically (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 41) that faith, *taṣdīḳ* of the heart from the lexicographical point of view, becomes from the point of view of the Religious Law (*sharʿ*) *iʿtiḳād* of the heart.

In the *Iḥyā'*, to define faith, al-Ghazālī makes use of the term *ʿaḳd* in the sense of adherence, and in his *Iḳtiṣād* he uses the term *taṣdīḳ*. But in the actual title of the latter work, *iʿtiḳād* becomes religious belief *in globo*, and therefore signifies not only the inner act which adheres but also the content of the faith. This meaning is common, both in Shīʿī literature and also in Sunnism.

In this connection, *iʿtiḳād* is associated with another word from the same root, *ʿaḳīda* [*q.v.*], pl. *ʿaḳā'id*, articles of faith. Credos will be called *ʿaḳīda* or *ʿaḳā'id*. But the ḳur'ānic prescriptions which directly involve faith will alone be defined, in the ordinary way, as pertaining to *iʿtiḳād* (cf. al-Nasafī, *ʿAḳā'id*, ed. Cairo 1321, 7). According to the comments of D. B. Macdonald (*art. cit.*), they will be called "fundamental" (*ʿaṣliyya*) or again *iʿtiḳādiyya*; and distinguished from "derived" prescriptions concerning the action (*ʿamaliyya*), for example in the later manuals of al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen, al-Badjūrī, etc. Hence it will follow that the singular noun *iʿtiḳāda* and the plural *iʿtiḳādāt* will be used in the sense of *ʿaḳīda* and *ʿaḳā'id*. Finally, in some cases, *iʿtiḳādāt* may have the meaning of "convictions rationally acquired". It is used in this way in the work of the Jewish theologian Saʿadyā Gaon, *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa'l-iʿtiḳādāt*.

It remains to state that the inner act denoted by *iʿtiḳād* connotes above all the idea of firmness in adherence. If some doubt should be felt, this would not be on account of the actual weakness of the act of adherence. It is, rather, that the motives upon which it relies are insufficiently elaborated, or are compounded with lack of knowledge not recognized as such. When on the other hand they are based on science or certain knowledge (*ʿilm*), they lead to an *iʿtiḳād* which can assume the quality of unassailable certainty (*yaḳīn*). Here, on the question of inner adherence, we once more find an equivalent to the problem of the degrees of faith—faith of pure tradition, faith based upon science, faith of certainty (see Īmān, IV, 2).

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IʿTIḲĀD KHĀN, a Kashmīrī of obscure origin, whose name was Muḥammad Murād, was originally in the service of Bahādur Shāh I (*reg.* 1119/1707-1124/1712), enjoying a rank of 1,000 and the title of Wakālat Khān. On the accession to the throne of the ill-starred Farrukhsiyar [*q.v.*] in 1125/1713 his name was included among those listed for execution but on the intercession of the (Bārha) Sayyid brothers, ʿAbd Allāh Khān and Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān, known as king-makers (*Bādshāh-gar*), he was spared, promoted to a high office, appointed as *basāwal* (harbinger) of the army, and given the title of Murād Khān. Acting as a spy on the leading nobles, he soon won the confidence of the emperor who conferred on him the rank of 7,000 men and 10,000 horse and the grandiloquent title of Rukn al-Dawla Khān Bahādur Farrukhshāhī. Later he became closely involved in the political machinations and intrigues which were going on to depose Farrukhsiyar. He was responsible for the clash between the emperor and the Sayyid brothers which resulted first in the emperor's being blinded and later in his cold-blooded

murder in 1131/1719. On the deposition of his patron, he was disgraced and thrown into prison, his house and property confiscated and his accumulated wealth and jewels seized. Subsequently he was released, his rank restored and he was given a financial grant; but all this fell short of his expectations. He died during the reign of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (*reg.* 1131/1719-1161/1748).

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IʿTIKĀF, a particularly commended pious practice consisting of a period of retreat in a mosque, the vow for which stipulates a certain number of days in accordance with the believer's own wish. He must not leave it, save for the performance of his natural functions and his ablutions. He will there practise fasting, ritual prayer and recitation of the Ķurʾān; with regard to other activities, for example the instruction given in the mosque, the schools are not in agreement. There is a divergence between the theory of *fiķh* and sociological reality in that retreat is very seldom practised. *Iʿtikāf* can be undertaken at any time, but in particular during the last ten days of the month of Ramaḍān, when the *Laylat al-Ķadr* [see ramaḍān] is presumed to have taken place. According to tradition, it was at that time that Muḥammad is said to have engaged in it. It is therefore dealt with in books of *fiķh*, etc. immediately after the ritual fast. Popular traditions have widely exploited the theme of the wonderful occurrences which characterize this mysterious Night of Destiny, but this has no connection with *iʿtikāf*: pardon for sins, the bowing down of everything found on the surface of the earth including trees and mountains, the determining of each man's destiny for the coming year, direct entry into Paradise for anyone who dies on that night, wishes fulfilled, and so on.

Bibliography: The books of *fiķh* and *ikhtilāf*, even though only of a general nature, deal with this question. Also Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, book vi (analysis by Bousquet, § 36). (G. H. Bousquet)

ITIL (Etil, Idil), the river Volga, called Ītil by Kāshgharī, i, 30, line 17, and 70, line 6 (= Brockelmann 244), Atīl by the Volga-Bulgars, Idel by the Volga-Tatars, Rau by the Mordve, Iul by the Čeremiss and Adel by the Čuwash. (List of Turkish forms of the name in Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Z. V. Togan, § 50 d and in D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton N.J. 1954, 91, n. 8). The largest river in Europe, the Volga is some 3,694 km. long but has a descent, in all, of only some 229.5 m.: it rises at the village of Volgino Verkhovʾe in the Valday mountain range and flows into the Caspian Sea 28 m. below sea level south of Astrakhān. The Itil was called Ὄαρος or Ῥᾶ by the ancient Greeks (cf. Pauly-Wissowa vol. xvii, 1937, col. 1680 f.); Herodotus confused it with the Aras [see al-rass] while Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela took the Don and the Itil for two branches of the same river.

The Volga-Bulgars and the Khazars [*qq.v.*] came to its banks in the course of the Turkish tribal migrations of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. Their capital city Itil or Atil [*q.v.*] was situated on both sides of the river, at its mouth, the site of the later Astrakhān [*q.v.*]. In the early Middle Ages, and to some extent up to the present time, Finnish peoples, predominantly Mordve (Burṭās [*q.v.*]), lived on the upper reaches of the river; here and there, Slav settlements reached it even then.

The Volga-Bulgars were the first to be touched by (Sunnī) Islam in the form of an embassy of 310/922-23, described in detail by Ibn Faḍlān. About 349/960, the Itil is mentioned as the western frontier of the Turks who went over to Islam, at that time, as a result of intensive propaganda from the regions of the Sāmānids (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 355 ff.). The Byzantine sources, too, mention the river as the Atil (Ἀτήλ, Ἀτέλ) cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*², Berlin 1958, ii, 78 ff.).

The Muslim geographers thought of the Kama as the upper course of the Itil and hence increased its length still further (W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen zur Geschichte Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 112 ff.; Ibn Ḥawķal², ii, 387, 389; Ibn Rusta, (B.G.A. vii), 141; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, (B.G.A. viii), 62; *Mappae Arabicae*, ed. K. Miller, Stuttgart 1926/29, i/3, 79, ii, 153-6, v, 118, 142, 145 (Kāshgharī), vi, Map No. XVI = Pl. 46-8).

Sunnī Islam was further strengthened by the advance of the Mongols in the 13th century and the establishment of the Empire of the Golden Horde (Altïn Orda [*q.v.*]), whose capital cities of Old and New Saray were situated on the lower reaches of the river, and by the consequent increase in the number of Turks on its banks. In the 14th century, at the latest, they became assimilated with the Mongols and peoples already established there, such as the Volga-Bulgars and Volga-Finns, and also Slavs—particularly through the harem—to the Turkish speaking, Muslim Volga-Tatars. The 13th-century travellers who got as far as the Itil give it various names: William of Rubruck talks of the Itil, John of Plano Carpini of the Volga; the Austrian envoy Siegmund Freiherr of Herberstein (1486-1566) sometimes calls it this and sometimes the Rha.

Meanwhile, the town of Kazan' on the middle course of the Itil emerged as the centre of the later Tatar region. As early as 618/1221, the town of Nižniy-Nóvgorod had been established at the mouth of the Oká, to be overtaken by Kazan', in the course of time, as the central market of the middle-river region. With the Muslim merchants acting as intermediaries, Kazan' remained the centre for trade with central Asia until the 19th century. On the lower Itil, Astrakhān took over the role of the Khazar capital of Atil as the centre for trade. The gradual advance of the rulers of Moscow at the expense of the Tatars brought with it the establishment of Russian fortresses and strongholds in the Volga region. Thus, under Vasili III (1505-33) Vasilʾsursk was built at the mouth of the Sura for protection from the Tatars.

With the fall of Kazan' (1552) and Astrakhān (completed by 1557) into Russian hands, the Slav settlement expanded by force into the Volga basin with the river acting as line of advance. Many of the towns on its banks with Turkish names (Kazan': Cauldron; Saratov = Sarï Tau: Pale Mountain; Kamyshin: reed bank; Tsaritsyn (now Volgograd); Astrakhān) became Russian towns in which Tatars or other Turks were and still are only a small minority. The Russians took over many villages deserted by the Tatars and drove the Tatars completely away from the fertile river meadows and into the sandy and forested regions far from the water. In addition, new Slav villages and towns were established: as early as 1551, Sviyažsk, later Čeboksarï (now the principal town

of the Čuwas̲h̲ lands and called in their language S̲h̲upas̲h̲kar) was founded. The state consciously encouraged the Slav settlement and gave land over to the vassals of the tsar (*služilïe lyudi*) and the clergy. Henceforward, indeed, the peasants remained in the control of the regime and found it oppressive in many ways. Very many tried to settle in more remote areas where they could remain unmolested. This too led to the expansion of the lands of the Slav peoples and the displacement of the Muslim Tatars, or those who were still pagan, by the Finns and Čuwas̲h̲ who were, at least nominally, Christian. Samara (officially Kuybïs̲h̲ev since 1935) was founded in 1586 to protect the area, as later was Ufa to ward off the Nogay [*q.v.*] particularly. Alongside other smaller settlements, Simbirsk (after 1924 Ul'yanovsk) was built in 1648, and Sïzran' in 1683.

The Muslims of the banks of the Itil were by no means happy with these developments. As early as 1569, a Turkish force from the Crimea tried to hinder the movement and make a way through for the Turkish fleet by means of a canal between the Don and the Volga at the point where there was least distance between them, at Tsaritsyn (Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 841 ff.; cf. bibliography for specialist literature). But the project had to be abandoned because of the season and the alliance of the tsar with the shah. Later the Tatars, though Sunnīs, turned to the S̲h̲īʿī shah ʿAbbās the Great (1587-1629) for aid. On the Russian side, the first Ukrainian settlements (*Slobodï*) were founded in the 17th century. At the same time, the Orthodox mission won over part of the Muslim population including the Kres̲h̲čane around Kazan', as well as various noble families, so that the strength of the Muslim population along the Itil declined still further. The river became a route for traffic from central Russia to the south; the boatmen (*Burlaki*) became famous with their songs. The unrest on the Volga in the 17th and 18th centuries was an internal Slav problem, but, in 1667-71, Sten'ka Razin sailed over the Caspian Sea with his fleet and inflicted great damage on the Persian population on its southern shore. The revolt of Emilian Pugačev in 1773-4 found a positive response among the Tatars. The slavization of the banks of the river regions was completed in the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus the attempt of the Muslims of the area between the Volga and the Urals to build up an "Idel-Ural" state in 1917/18 came to nothing. In view of the overwhelming preponderance of the Russo-Ukrainian population in the area by this time, the project found no support among the majority of the inhabitants along the banks of the river. The Itil, as a result of all this, has no longer any special significance for Muslims.

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(B. SPULER)

IʿTIMĀD AL-DAWLA, literally: "trusty support of the state", a title of Persian *wazīrs* during the Ṣafawid period and subsequently.

The title *iʿtimād al-dawla* does not occur during the reign of Ismaʿīl I (907-30/1501-24), and first appears towards the end of the reign of Ṭahmāsp I, *ca.* 976/1568-9 (see *Tārīkh-i Īlčī-yi Niẓāms̲h̲āh*, B. M. Ms. Add. 23,513, fol. 480a). The introduction of this title reflected the growing importance of the bureaucracy in an increasingly centralized administration, and marked a significant increase in the power of the *wazīr* at the expense of the *wakīl* [*q.v.*]. Under the Ḳād̲j̲ārs, the title *iʿtimād al-dawla*

was rarely used, that of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* [*q.v.*] being preferred.

For a discussion of the function and powers of the *iʿtimād al-dawla*, see WAZĪR.

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(R. M. SAVORY)

IʿTIMĀD AL-DAWLA, title of Mīrzā Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Teherānī, commonly known as Ghiyāth Bēg, son of Khwādja Muḥammad Sharif, one-time minister to the Ṣafawid Shah Ṭahmāsp [*q.v.*], father of Nūr Djahān, wife of Djahāngīr [*q.v.*]. Both his father and an uncle Khwādja Aḥmad, father of the historian Amīn-i Rāzī, author of *Haft Iḳlīm*, held high offices of state under Ṭahmāsp. After the death of his father in 984/1576-7 he, for reasons not precisely known, left for India to seek his fortune. It is, however, clear that he was in straitened circumstances when he undertook this journey for on his way to Akbar's new capital, Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, near Āgra, he had to content himself with only two mounts for a party of five persons including two women. His youngest daughter, Mihr al-Nisāʾ, better known to history as Nūr Djahān, was born during this journey. Of noble birth, he was welcomed by Akbar [*q.v.*] in whose service he gradually rose to the personal rank of 1,000 and the office of Dīwān-i Buyūtāt (Minister for stores and royal factories). On accession to the throne in 1014/1605 Djahāngīr appointed him joint vizier of his empire and conferred upon him the title of Iʿtimād al-Dawla with the rank of 1,500 (cf. *Tūzuk*, Eng. tr. ii, 22). He was also assigned the *dīwānī* (collection of revenue) of the Pandjāb. In 1015/1606 Djahāngīr, before leaving the capital on his punitive campaign against his rebel son Khusraw, put the fort of Āgra in his charge. In 1016/1607-8 his son Muḥammad Sharīf was executed by the orders of the emperor for his complicity in the plot, devised by Khusraw, to assassinate Djahāngīr. He himself was placed under arrest and had to pay two lacs of rupees to purchase his freedom. As Djahāngīr was contemplating marrying Nūr Djahān, who after the death of her husband, Shīr Afgān, was then living in the royal palace, as a preliminary he honoured his prospective father-in-law in 1020/1611 with the rank of 2,000 men and 500 horse and also gave him 5,000 rupees as gift. The same year Djahāngīr married Nūr Djahān and as a mark of respect honoured her father with the *wakāla* (chief ministership) of the empire although Djahāngir describes this as a reward for Iʿtimād al-Dawla's "previous service, great sincerity and ability" (cf. *Tūzuk*, Eng. tr. ii, 200). In view of the execution of Iʿtimād al-Dawla's son Muḥammad Sharīf and his own confinement this statement sounds rather implausible. The *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ* (*Bib. Ind.* i, 129) is quite clear on the subject and attributes the rapid promotion of Iʿtimād al-Dawla to his daughter's marriage. In addition to the office of Wakīl-i Kull (Prime Minister), Iʿtimād al-Dawla was awarded in 1024/1615 the rank of 6,000 men and 2,000 horse as well as kettle-drums and a standard, a very high mark of distinction in Moghul nobility. He moreover enjoyed the special privilege of beating his drums in the emperor's presence. In 1026/1617 Djahāngīr conferred upon him the highest honour that a grandee of the empire could ever enjoy, of placing his own turban on his head thus confirming his close relationship with the royal family. He died in 1031/1622 near Kāńgŕa, on the way to Kashmir in the entourage of Djahāngīr. His dead body was brought to Āgra where he was buried on the bank of the Yamuna in a beautiful garden laid out by him. Later a white marble tomb (completed in 1038/1628) with extremely fine lattice work was built over his grave. (For a description of his tomb see S. M. Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta 1896, 182-4; Gavin Hambly, *The cities of Mughul India*, London 1968, 41, 73-4, 83-4; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic Period*), Bombay n.d., 109).

A man of genial disposition, he was a popular figure in court circles and Djahāngīr describes his company as far better than "a thousand strong tonics". He had the unique distinction of writing a few pages of Djahāngīr's *Tūzuk* at the command of the emperor, who could not do so for emotional reasons (cf. *Tūzuk*, Eng. tr. ii, 326-8), which incidentally establishes his command over the Persian language and his skill in penmanship. A man of learning and culture, an accomplished letter-writer, a brilliant conversationalist, he was noted for his self-control. Greedy and avaricious, he had no scruples in freely accepting bribes.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ʿITḲ [see ʿABD].

ʿITḲNĀME, *ʿitḳnāme*, also *ʿatāḳnāme*, an Ottoman term for a certificate of manumission, given to a liberated slave [see ʿABD]. The document normally gives the name and physical description, often also the religion and ethnic origin of the slave, together with the date and circumstances of his manumission, and is dated, signed, witnessed, and registered. The issue of such certificates goes back to early Islamic times (for examples see A. Grohmann, *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian library*, i, Cairo 1934, 61-4; idem, *Arabische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, in *Isl.*, xxii (1935), 19-30). A collection of 18th-century Ottoman certificates was edited by K. Jahn, *Türkische Freilassungserklärungen des 18. Jahrhunderts (1702-1776)*, Naples 1963. Other and earlier examples are cited in Jahn's introduction. (ED.)

ʿIṬR [see ʿANBAR, MISK, etc.].

ITTIḤĀD, verbal noun of the VIIIth form of the root *w-ḥ-d*. The first form *waḥida* and *waḥuda* means to be alone, unique; the VIIIth *ittaḥada*, means to be united, associated, joined together.

Muslim theologians understand the word in five different ways; three of these are metaphorical (*ʿalā sabīl al-istiʿāra*), the two others are real (*ʿalā sabīl al-ḥaḳīḳa*).

1. — The real sense of *ittiḥād* is that a thing be-

comes another while remaining itself. This is called real because it is the first meaning that comes to mind when the word is used in its absolute sense. This real sense comprises two categories: 1) Where two objects unite together in such a way that it can be said that one is the other and reciprocally. In this case, there are, before their association, two distinct objects and after it only one of the two continues to exist. 2) Where there is one object which, while remaining the same, becomes something other than it was before. In this real sense *ittiḥād* is considered necessarily impossible. From this comes the principle: *al-ithnān lā yattaḥidān.*

2. — In the second sense, the metaphorical sense, there are three meanings, depending on whether it means: -a) that an object changes into another suddenly or gradually. Thus, for example, water becomes air: a substantial form is replaced by another; or black becomes white (in which case one attribute of an object disappears and is replaced by another). -b) that an object becomes another by composition so that it gives birth to a third; thus earth joined to water becomes clay. -c) when a being becomes another, as for example when an angel takes on human form. All three sorts of metaphorical *ittiḥād* can be found in reality.

In the history of Muslim doctrines, the word *ittiḥād* evokes two problems above all: that of the Incarnation of the Word in the person of Jesus (*ittiḥād al-lāhūt bi'l-nāsūt*) and that of the "mystic union" of the soul with God.

Muslim apologists have always vigorously rejected the idea of the Christian incarnation. *Ittiḥād* and *ḥulūl* are here generally taken as synonymous, and the concept of a "union" of divinity with humanity is rejected as contradictory. (Cf., for example, al-Bāḳillānī who, in his *Tamhīd*, enumerates the different Christian opinions concerning what he calls "*al-ittiḥād*" without further qualification, *ittiḥād* considered as *ḥulūl*, or as *ikhtilāṭ* and *imtizādj* or as dwelling in a temple or as the appearance of the image of man in a mirror (ed. McCarthy, 75-103; A. Abel, *Le chapitre sur le christianisme dans le "Tamhid" d'al-Baqillani (mort en 1013)*, in *Etudes Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris, 1962, 1-11). Christian apologists, in turn, strove to show that by distinguishing between "nature" (*ṭabīʿa*) and "person" (*uḳnūm*), one could formulate, without contradiction, the doctrine of the Incarnation (and of the Trinity). (Cf., for example, Théodore Abū Kurrā, *Mayāmīr*, ed. Bacha, 1904, *passim*; Paul Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche, Evêque melkite de Sidon (XIIᵉs.)*, Beirut 1964, above all page 81 and notes 12 and 13).

From the point of view of Muslim mysticism, three theories of divine union were advanced in the 3rd/9th century. Union is considered as: a) either a union (*ittiṣāl* or *wiṣāl*) which excludes the idea of an identity of the soul and God; b) or as an identification (*ittiḥād*) which itself has two meanings which are quite different: the first, which is synonymous with the preceding, and the second which refers to a union of nature; c) or as an inhabitation (*ḥulūl*); God's Spirit lives, without losing its identity, in the purified soul of the mystic. Orthodox Muslim scholars only accept the idea of union in the sense of *ittiṣāl* (or its equivalent, the first meaning of *ittiḥād*), but reject vehemently any idea of *ḥulūl* in which they see, wrongly, a sort of equivalent of the Christian idea of Incarnation. The charge of *ḥulūl* was one of the most serious raised against al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*].

Sometimes the expression *ittiḥād* comes to designate the experience of *tawḥīd* or of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* (the monism of being): things have no consistency of their own, they are only one with God. As M. Gardet so pertinently remarks, the great Ṣūfī exponents of the oneness of being always hesitated to admit the idea of an intentional union of love, in which the "two" become "one" in spirit while remaining "two" in being. Normally everything is considered at an ontological level. Consequently, in order to maintain the idea of divine transcendence, the term substitution is used in preference to union (cf. Anawati-Gardet, *Mystique musulmane*, 182). The personality of the Ṣūfī is, so to speak, possessed and volatilised by God (cf. the characteristic examples in the *Tāʾiyya kubrā* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *ibid*, 118-9).

According to ʿAlī b. Wafā (quoted by al-Shaʿrānī in *al-Yawāḳīt wa'l Djawāhir*, Būlāḳ 1277, 80, *l.* 18-9), *ittiḥād* means, in Ṣūfī terminology, the evanescence of the will of the creature in the divine will.

Bibliography: In addition to that given above and in the article ḤULŪL, see: Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 1468; Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flugel, 6; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, tr. Nicholson, 254; Maḥmūd Shabistarī, *Gulshān-i Rāz*, ed. Whinfield, i, 452-5; Tholuck, *Sufismus*, 141 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *Religious attitude and life in Islam*, 258; R. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, esp. 218-25, cf. also index iii, 279, s.v. *ittiḥād*.

(R. NICHOLSON/G. C. ANAWATI)

ITTIḤĀD-I MUḤAMMEDĪ DJEMʿIYYETI, generally translated as the "Muhammadan Union", was a politico-religious organization which acquired notoriety as the instigator of the insurrection in Istanbul on 13 April 1909. Its formation was announced publicly on 5 April 1909 (= 23 Mart 1325, by the Turkish "financial" calendar), though Ḥāfiẓ Dervīsh Waḥdetī, its leading spirit and editor of the daily newspaper *Volkan* ("Volcano"), claimed that the Muhammadan Union had in fact been founded on 6 February 1909 (= 24 Ḳānūn II 1324) (see T. Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyede Siyasi Partiler 1854-1952*, Istanbul 1952, 261 ff.). It seems to have been a paper entity made up of members drawn from the religious orders around the country. It had no representation in parliament, although many deputies sympathized with its stand against the modernizing policies of the Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti [*q.v.*], usually known as the Committee of Union and Progress or (in works in English) C.U.P. Thus the activities of the Muhammadan Union were virtually restricted to the inflammatory articles in *Volkan* and other opposition papers such as *Ṣadā-yi Millet*, *Serbestī* and the British Embassy financed *Levant Herald*.

The doctrines and programme of action of the Muhammadan Union were explicitly clerical, and therefore hostile to modernization and reform. Its professed aim was non-political, namely to reform public morals and to bring them within the prescriptions of the Sharīʿa. Its members were strictly forbidden to participate in politics. Yet the writings in *Volkan* seemed to suggest that the Muhammadan Union's only commitment was to the destruction of the C.U.P. This commitment was shared by the Liberal opposition.

The founding of the Muhammadan Union coincided with a mounting campaign launched by the opposition against the C.U.P. This campaign began immediately after the fall of Grand Vizier Kāmil Pasha [*q.v.*], on 13 February 1909. On 18 February *Volkan* announced that it was "the propagator of the views of the Muhammadan Union" (*Ittiḥād-i Muḥammedī Firḳasīnïñ murewwidj-i efkārī*) (Tunaya, 265) and

thereafter became the most virulent critic of the C.U.P. It called the constitutional regime the "régime of devils" (*s̲h̲eyṭānlar dewri*) (Tunaya, 264), and by exploiting religious prejudice succeeded in mobilizing opinion against the C.U.P.

This propaganda became so alarming that the government decided to take precautionary measures. Press Laws and Laws of Associations were introduced in parliament, and on 6 April the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām issued a manifesto to counteract *Volkan's* charges that the policy of the cabinet was anti-religious. Since Waḥdetī's propaganda was making alarming headway in the army, on 10 April Maḥmūd Muk̲h̲tār Pas̲h̲a, the commander of the Istanbul garrison, issued a proclamation forbidding his troops to have any dealings with the religious *k̲h̲od̲j̲as* and *ṣoftas*. Kāmil Pas̲h̲a's exposé of C.U.P. politics, published on 3 and 4 April, and the murder and funeral of Ḥasan Fehmī [*q.v.*], editor of *Serbestī*, on 7 and 8 April, inflamed passions and prepared the ground for the insurrection which broke out on the night of 12-13 April 1909. It was crushed by the Third Army from Salonika (*Ḥareket Ordusu* [*q.v.*]), and the Ittiḥād-i Muḥammedī was proscribed, while some of its adherents, including Dervīs̲h̲ Waḥdetī, were arrested and hanged. On account of the religious overtones of the insurrection, the Muhammadan Union has been held mainly responsible for it; but closer scrutiny of this organization as well as of events suggests that many other forces were at work. This group only provided a religious cover for the activities of all those elements which were determined to destroy the Committee of Union and Progress.

Bibliography: T. Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyede Siyasî Partiler 1859-1952*, Istanbul 1952, is the best starting point for a study of the Ittiḥād-i Muḥammedī, especially for the notes and bibliography. The press of the period—*Volkan, Serbestī, Ṣadā-yi Millet, Iḳdām* (opposition) and *Ṭanīn* (C.U.P.)—to give only a selection, is invaluable. There are also accounts by contemporary observers: Yunus Nadi, *Ik̲h̲tilāl we Inḳilāb-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, Istanbul 1325 A. H., extracts from which appeared in *Cumhuriyet*, March-April 1959; A. F. Türkgeldi, *Görüp İşittiklerim*, Ankara 1951; Ali Cevat, *Ikinci Meşrutiyetin Ilânı ve Otuzbir Mart Hadisesi*, ed. F. R. Unat, Ankara 1960; Abdülhamid, *İkinci Abdülhamid'in Hatıra Defteri*, Istanbul 1960; I. H. Danişmend, *31 Mart Vak'ası*, Istanbul 1961 (this work is based on the Grand Vizier Tewfīḳ Pas̲h̲a's official and private papers); P. Farkas, *Staatsstreich und Gegenrevolution in der Türkei*, Berlin 1909; F. McCullagh, *The fall of Abd-ul-Hamid*, London 1910; Ismail Kemal, *The memoirs of Ismail Kemal*, ed. Somerville Story, London 1920; Halide Edib, *Memoirs*, London 1926; P. P. Graves, *Briton and Turk*, London 1941. See also Y. H. Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*[2], i/2, Ankara 1964; B. Lewis, *The emergence of Modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968; and Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks, the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914*, Oxford 1969. (Feroz Ahmad)

ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ D̲J̲EMʿIYYETI, better known in Europe as the Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P.), was the political movement responsible for the destinies of the Ottoman Empire from the revolution of 1908 to its destruction in 1918. The Committee had its immediate origins in a group called the "Ottoman Freedom Society" (*ʿOt̲h̲mānlī Ḥürriyet D̲j̲emʿiyyeti*), founded in Salonika in August-September 1906. Spiritually, however, its antecedents went back to the conspiratorial activities of the Young Ottomans and their successors, both inside and outside the Ottoman Empire. (See T. Z. Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasî partiler 1859-1952*, Istanbul 1952; E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: prelude to the revolution of 1908*, Princeton 1957; and Bernard Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968).

The Ottoman Freedom Society began as a group of ten, numbered one to ten according to age, the eldest member, Bursalī Ṭāhir, being designated number one. A central committee (*hey'et-i ʿāliye*, later *merkez-i ʿumūmī*) of four—Meḥmed Ṭalʿat, Raḥmī [Evranos], Midḥat S̲h̲ükrü [Bleda], and Ismāʿīl D̲j̲ānbulāt—was chosen from amongst the ten. (See Ziya Şakir, *"Ittihat ve Terakki nasıl doğdu? nasıl yaşadı? nasıl öldü?"* in *Son Posta*, 8 and 9 February 1933 and *passim*). Seven of the ten had some connexion with the military though in the central committee only Ismāʿīl D̲j̲ānbulāt was a soldier. While it is true that initially soldiers were numerically dominant in the C.U.P., the civilians were aware of the political threat this posed and therefore always tried to keep it under control. In the constitutional period the military-civilian rivalry became a constant political theme. In the organizational phase soldiers, and to a lesser extent administrators, played a vital role since they alone were mobile and had communications with virtually every part of the empire. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Rumelian branches of the Ottoman Freedom Society were set up in Monastir, Ohri, Kıracova, Vodina, İşkodra, Serez, Drama and Edirne, junior officers like Enwer [*q.v.*], Meḥmed Ṣādiḳ, Eyyüb Ṣabrī and D̲j̲emāl [*q.v.*], to mention but a few, were instrumental in this.

In 1907 the Salonika group made contact with exiled Young Turks in Europe. Later in the year Dr. Nāẓim, a prominent member of Aḥmed Riḍā's group in Paris, returned to Salonika and in September the two groups agreed to merge and adopt the older and more established name *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī* (Ramsaur, *Young Turks*, 121 ff.). This move had no practical significance because both groups remained autonomous and did not collaborate, since the centre of activity had shifted to the Ottoman Empire. However, in the minds of the exiles the merger created the illusion that they had a right to share the political power acquired by the C.U.P. as a result of the 1908 revolution. The Committee had no intention of allowing this and it soon destroyed the illusions of one such exile who returned to Salonika to be told: "Doctor . . ., this Committee of ours is not the one you worked with abroad. This Committee is the product of Monastir and Salonika. . . ." (İbrahim Temo, *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyetinin teşekkülü ve hidematı vataniye ve inkılâbı milliye dair hatıratım*, Mecidiye 1939, 215).

If the Committee was unwilling to share power, it was not equipped, in terms of either organization or ideology, to exercise it alone. Its professed aim had been to restore the constitutional régime. Having achieved this in July 1908 the Committee had lost its *raison d'être* and many who had supported it in the struggle against the Palace were no longer committed to its policies. The extent of its power and organization was uncertain. There were no accepted or recognized leaders. Only the central committee exercised a collective leadership, in theory controlling the entire political machine, arbitrating, recommending and issuing directives which were binding on all Unionist branches at various levels, from the *wilāyet* to the *nāḥiye*. Furthermore, as representa-

tives of the newly emerging middle class, the Unionists lacked the social status to assume power in a traditional society which they were unwilling to overthrow by force. They therefore permitted the bureaucracy of the Sublime Porte to rule while they acted as guardians of the constitutional régime, hoping to subvert their society through established institutions.

The C.U.P. remained a secret organization with its headquarters in Salonika. It exercised its political influence through small deputations of two or three prominent Unionists like Ṭalʿat, Raḥmī, Djāwid [*q.v.*], Dr. Nāẓim, Bahāeddīn Shākir and Aḥmed Riḍā. These deputations visited the sultan, the grand vizier or foreign embassies and made known to them Unionist policies. This method was impossible to reconcile with the principles of constitutional government. It drew from the opposition the charge that the secret Committee was exercising power without responsibility and creating an *imperium in imperio*. At the C.U.P. Congress of 1908 held in secret sessions in Salonika, the Committee did nothing to meet the opposition charges. Decisions relating to the internal organization were kept secret. It was announced that Unionists returned to parliament would work together under the name of the Party of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Firḳasi*). A central committee of eight, elected by the Congress, was to continue to run the affairs of the C.U.P.

The Committee intended to maintain control through its parliamentary majority. But the independent behaviour of the deputies frustrated this scheme. After the parliament's abject surrender to the counter-revolutionaries on 13 April 1909, the Committee decided on active participation in government by having Unionist deputies appointed under-secretaries. When this measure was defeated in the parliament (May 1909) the C.U.P. had two of its members—Djāwid and Ṭalʿat—appointed Ministers of Finance and the Interior respectively. (See F. Ahmad, *The Young Turks: the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish politics, 1908-1914*, Oxford 1969, 50-53 and *passim*). Internal dissension and conflict with the senior officers who had assumed control after crushing the counter-revolution continued to undermine the Committee's position. The dissidents failed to be appeased and organized another opposition (see ḤIZB, ii and ḤURRIYET WE ITILĀF FIRḲASI). The Unionists responded to the new threat by having the Chamber dissolved (15 January 1912) and in the new elections, which they manipulated unscrupulously, they won an overwhelming victory. The opposition adopted extra-parliamentary methods and a group of officers intervened, bringing about the downfall of the Committee-backed cabinet of Saʿīd Pasha in July 1912. The Unionists made a comeback by staging a successful *coup* in January 1913 and by June they had suppressed the opposition and consolidated power.

The period from July 1908 to June 1913 was a period of intense political activity. In these five years the Unionists had learned from bitter experience that neither the country nor their Committee could be run along inflexible and centralized lines. At the 1913 Congress the Committee tried to rectify this. The programme of modernizing the entire political, socio-economic and administrative structure of the empire would henceforth be applied to a quasi-federalist, multi-national framework.

New regulations defined the powers and functions of the Committee's hierarchical structure, from the general assembly at the top to the local clubs at the lbottom. Once again the Committee declared itselt a political party which its headquarters in Istanbul, Saonika having been lost to Greece the previous year. The C.U.P. was organized as a general assembly (*medjlis-i ʿUmūmī*) consisting of about twenty members and chaired by the president (*reʾīs-i ʿumūmī*), a central committee (*merkez-i ʿumūmī*) of about a dozen members under the general secretary (*kātib-i ʿumūmī*), and a general secretariat (*ḳalem-i ʿumūmī*) of about six members headed by the vice president (*wekīl-i ʿumūmī*). The function of the general assembly was to co-ordinate the work of the central committee, which dealt with all Unionist organizations outside the parliament, and the general secretariat, which handled Unionist deputies in the parliament. Thus the power to make decisions was no longer restricted to a single body which could be monopolized by a clique. Decisions were now made in the *medjlis-i ʿumūmī*, where all shades of opinion could be represented. The *merkez-i ʿumūmī* remained the most powerful single body; the new regulations merely restricted its freedom of action.

After Turkey's entry into the first world war the C.U.P. formed an exclusively Unionist cabinet and thereafter Turkey became a one-party state. The influence of a small group like the *merkez-i ʿumūmī* was further eroded and during the war the organization of the C.U.P. became more decentralized. During the years 1915-18 it is possible to talk in terms of the prevalence of consensus politics. Policy was now discussed at four different levels—the cabinet, the central committee, the general assembly and the parliamentary party (*firḳa*). Factions in the capital, led by figures like Enwer Pasha, Ṭalʿat or Kara Kemāl, also exercised an influence, while provincial administrations under powerful governors like Raḥmī (Aydīn) or Djemāl (Syria) were virtually autonomous. The *firḳa* became the substitute for parliamentary opinion since the parliament met only infrequently. For day-to-day business the general assembly, made up of members from all the other groups, replaced the central committee as the most important single body.

The war proved disastrous for Turkey and the C.U.P. By the middle of 1918 Unionists were considering establishing a political party not tarred with their brush, which could negotiate a peace treaty with the Entente Powers. The situation developed too rapidly for such calculated action. The 1918 Congress, scheduled to meet on October 1, was postponed on account of the new situation created by the Bulgarian armistice (*Ṭanīn*, 30 September 1918). The Congress opened on November 1, after the signing of the Armistice of Mudros. Talât Pasha presided over the morning session and during the afternoon session he and the central committee withdrew from the Congress, escaping to Europe soon after. Ismāʿīl Djānbulāt, one of the founder members of the Ottoman Freedom Society, was left formally to dismantle the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* and to reconstitute it under a new name, the *Tedjeddüd Firḳasi* (Renewal Party).

Bibliography: Works by Tunaya, Ramsaur, Lewis and Ahmad cited in the text give extensive bibliographies. For the constitutional period it is essential to consult the contemporary press, especially newspapers like *Ṭanīn*, *Shūrā-i Ümmet*, *Iḳdām*, *Ṣabāḥ*, *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* and *Ātī* to mention only a few. See also, Aḥmed Niyāzī, *Khāṭirāt-i Niyāzī*, Istanbul 1326, Leskovikli Muḥammad Raʾūf, *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī ne idi?*, Istanbul 1327; Albert Fua, *Le comité d'union et progrès contre la*

constitution, Paris 1912; 'X', *Doctrines et programmes des partis politiques ottomans*, in *RMM*, xxii (1913), 151-64; Rıḍā Nūr, *Ḥürriyet we İtilāf nasıl doghdu, nasıl öldü?*, Istanbul 1334; Djemāl Pasha, *Khāṭirāt, 1913-1922*, Istanbul 1922, English trans. *Memories of a Turkish statesman, 1913-1919*, London 1922 (edited and abridged); modern Turkish ed. Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, Istanbul 1959; *Harp kabinelerinin isticvabı*, (first serialized in the Istanbul daily *Vakit* and published by Vakit Matbaası, Istanbul 1933); Husrev Sami Kızıldoğan, *Vatan ve Hürriyet = Ittihat ve Terakki*, in *Bell.*, i (1937), 619-25; Mehmet Cavit, *Meşrutiyet devrine ait Cavit beyin hatıraları*, in *Tanin*, 3 August 1943-22 December 1946; Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Talât Paşa*, Istanbul 1943; idem, *Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın'ın 50 yıllık siyasî hatıraları*, in *Halkçı* (*Yeni Ulus*), 13 June-31 December, 1954; Talât Paşa, *Talât Paşa'nın hatıraları*, ed. H. C. Yalçın, Istanbul 1946; A. B. Kuran, *Inḳılâp tarihimiz ve Jön Türkler*, Istanbul 1945; idem, *Inkılâp tarihimiz ve Ittihad ve Terakki*, Istanbul 1948; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *1908 yılında ikinci meşrutiyetin ne suretle ilan edildiğine dair vesikalar*, in *Bell.*, xx/77 (1956), 103-74; and Kâzım Nami Duru, *Ittihat ve Terakki hatıralarım*, Istanbul 1957.

(Feroz Ahmad)

ITTIṢĀL [see ittiḥād].

IVORY [see ʿādj].

ʿIWAḌ, exchange value, compensation, that which is given in exchange for something. In a very broad and generally accepted sense, the word is used in works of *fiḳh* to denote the counterpart of the obligation of each of the contracting parties in onerous contracts which are called "commutative" (*muʿāwaḍāt*, from the same root as *ʿiwaḍ*); that is, contracts which necessarily give rise to obligations incumbent upon both parties. Thus in a sale, the price (*thaman*) and the thing sold are each the *ʿiwaḍ* of the other. Understood in this sense, compensation must be exactly determined and, in theory, equal in value to the thing of which it is the counterpart. Should it be lacking, then unjust enrichment (*faḍl māl bilā ʿiwaḍ*) will follow. Should the balance between the two dues be merely uneven then there is an illicit profit (*ribā*) gained by the man who receives more than he has given.

In unilateral contracts, the word *ʿiwaḍ* (*badal* and *thawāb* are also used) is employed in a more restricted sense; it is applied to the compensation offered by one of the two parties who is not absolutely obliged to give any. Two examples of this kind of *ʿiwaḍ* are the onerous gift and the *khulʿ* (agreed repudiation). In theory the donee is under no obligation whatsoever, but if he offers compensation (*ʿiwaḍ*) to the donor this need not have the same value as the thing given; it can even be purely symbolic, or, conversely, be worth far more; in Mālikī law it is even permitted to be undetermined. A husband has the right to repudiate his wife unilaterally and, of course, without demanding anything from her; if he makes the statement of repudiation dependent on payment of an *ʿiwaḍ*, compensation paid by the woman, the repudiation becomes *khulʿ*, but the *ʿiwaḍ* that the woman agrees to pay can have no more than an absurdly low value and be undetermined both in its total amount and even in its existence, all of which is quite impossible when the *ʿiwaḍ* constitutes an obligation corresponding to another obligation in a *muʿāwaḍa* contract.

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *Introduction*, Oxford 1964, 145, 152; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni*, Rome 1938, ii, 109; Concerning compensation in the *khulʿ*, see Ibn Ḳudāma's exposition of comparative Muslim law. *Mughnī*, Cairo 1367, vii, 61-4. For *ʿiwaḍ* in the gift, Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1910, vi, 130; Shīrāzī, *Muhadhdhab*, ed. Ḥalabī, i, 446-7; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, trans. Bousquet, iii, 153.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ʿIWAḌ WADJĪH, a leading scholar and theologian, originally from Akhsīkat near Samarḳand [*q.v.*], was considered peerless in his day in both rational and traditional sciences. He received his education at Balkh in the "*dars*" of his namesake Mīr ʿIwaḍ Tāshkentī. After completing his education he returned to his native village where he began teaching. Later he moved to Balkh and was still teaching when that town fell to the Mughal army under Awrangzīb. He came to India in 1056/1646; he entered the imperial service and was appointed *muftī* of the army. In 1069/1659, soon after his accession to the throne, Awrangzīb appointed him censor of the imperial troops, with an annual salary of 15,000 rupees paid against the rank of 1,000 men and 100 horse. He could not, however, hold this office for long and by his over-strictness earned the displeasure of the emperor who, while returning from a visit to Kashmīr, replaced him by Khwādja Ḳādir (on whom see extract from *Mirʾāt al-ʿĀlam*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1953, 75), in 1073/1662 at Lahore. A year later he succeeded in regaining the favour of the Emperor, though not his office. He was appointed tutor to prince Muḥammad Aʿẓam and his rank was restored. On the termination of this assignment he was appointed a teacher at the royal *madrasa* in Delhi, which post he held till his death. Held in high esteem, he was asked to act as a witness at the marriage of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, Awrangzīb's son, to Dūstdār Bānū Begum in 1082/1672 along with Chief Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. He again seems to have lost his rank, for the *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (cf. Eng. tr. 92) speaks of its restoration in 1086/1676 while he was living as a hermit. He spent the greater part of his life in teaching, "being highly honoured by the nobility".

A fanatical Sunnī, he insisted on the execution of one Muḥammad Ṭāhir, a Shīʿī who had slandered the first three orthodox caliphs, in 1082/1672. The criticism which his action aroused and the memory of his fall from grace twice during his life perhaps made him adopt the life of a hermit. No other work by him is known to exist except a gloss on *Aḳāʾid-i Nasafī* which was preserved in the Berlin Library (cf. Brockelmann, *GAL* S I, 760). Brockelmann incidentally transliterates the second part of his name as al-Wadjīh which indicates that it most likely was his sobriquet. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*, the official history of the first ten years of Awrangzīb's reign, at places describes him as "Mullā ʿIwaḍ" only. *Farḥat al-Nāẓirīn*, a Persian history of the times of Awrangzīb (only partially published; see bibliography), follows this practice.

His younger brother Muḥammad Ṭāhir was also a noted scholar. He was sent on a diplomatic mission to the court of Awrangzīb by Subḥān Ḳuli Khān, ruler of Balkh, in 1086/1675 only a year prior to the death of his elder brother. He was well-received at the court and presented with robes of honour, 21,000 rupees, a *pālkī*, an elephant and a jewelled stick before his return to his native land (cf. *Maʾāthir*, Eng. tr., 92, 96). He died in 1088/1677, apparently at an advanced age, and was buried in Delhi.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Kāẓim, *ʿĀlamgīr-*

nāma, Calcutta 1868, 232, 392, 428, 840, 858; Muḥammad Sāḳī Mustaʿid Khān, *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīri*, Eng. tr. by Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta 1947, 14, 74, 77, 92, 96 (indexed under Auz Wajih); Khwāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Bib. Ind., ii, 80, 555; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, Calcutta 1939, iii, 391-2; Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirʾāt-al-ʿĀlam*, still in Ms., partially published by Muḥammad Shafīʿ in *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Supplement, Aug.-Nov. 1953, 74-5 (this notice differs at places from that contained in the Asafiyya Ms. of which a transcript has been obtained by me); Muḥammad Aslam Anṣārī b. Muḥammad Ḥafiz Anṣārī Pasrurī, *Farḥat al-Nāẓirīn*, still in Ms., partially published by Muḥammad Shafīʿ in *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, iv/4 Aug. 1928, 77 (almost a verbatim copy of the notice in Asafiyya Ms. with a few omissions); ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād (India), 1375/1955, v, 294 (a very useful notice in Arabic). (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ĪWĀN, also eyvān and at times in spoken Arabic līwān, a Persian word adopted by the Turkish and Arabic languages and then by western travellers, archaeologists and art historians to refer to certain characteristic features of Near Eastern and especially Islamic architecture. Since there are notable differences in the meanings given to this term in mediaeval texts and in modern scholarship, the two must be clearly separated.

It has been suggested that the word itself derives from Old Persian *apadana* (E. Herzfeld, *Mythos und Geschichte*, in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, vi (1936), 88, n. 1; W. B. Henning in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*: *Iranistik*, Leiden 1958, 71, n. 6). This derivation, which has often been taken for granted, may not be as secure as has been believed but its investigation is not pertinent to Islamic times.

Four meanings can be given to the term when it appears in mediaeval texts; these meanings are probably all connected historically and typologically in ways which still require study. A first meaning is that of a chamber or of a hall which is open to the outside at one end, either directly or through a portico; it is similar in this sense to one of the meanings of *ṣuffa* and it is curious to note that the architectural units known to art historians as *īwāns* (cf. below) are at times called *ṣuffa*s in texts, as in L Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-i Āthār taʾrīkh-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1344, 86 ff.; Lane's *Lexicon* s.v. *īwān*. A second meaning is that of an estrade or of a raised part of a floor; such a higher part could have been singled out because of its formal importance as a place of honour in an architectural composition or because of some purely functional need as in the case of the part of a bath in which one undressed (E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Everyman edition, London 1954, 344-5 (note existence of an attendant called a *līwāndjī*) and 12 for other meanings of the word). A third meaning is that of a palace or at least of some sort of very formal and official building; in this sense it appears to refer to a complete architectural entity rather than to part of a complex as in the instance of the first two meanings of the word. Thus a Muẓaffarid prince built in Yazd gardens with a pool and an *īwān* with four storeys; Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh djadīd-i Yazd*, ed. I. Afshar, Tehran 1345, 86 ff. It is probably in this sense of palace that the term should be understood when it was used so commonly to refer to the celebrated Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon; for instance, Ṭabarī, ii, 1056, comments on *īwān kisrawī* (E. Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*: *Alep*, Cairo 1956, 391). In many texts dealing with the Ctesiphon monument it would appear that *īwān* and *ṭāḳ* are synonymous or almost (cf. Max van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in *JA*, 8th ser., xix (1892), 399 ff.) but in reality they are quite distinct since one refers to a form and the other to a function. *Īwān* in this sense is synonymous with *ḳaṣr*, as for instance in the case of the Fāṭimid palace in Cairo which could be called either *al-ḳaṣr al-kabīr* or *al-īwān al-kabīr*. Also in the *Shāh-nāma* most instances of the word's use appear to refer to palaces and not to some precise architectural form (N. V. Diakonova and O. I. Smirnova, *K voprosu ob istolkovaniy pendjikentskoy rospisi*, in *Sbornik v česti I. A. Orbeli*, Leningrad 1960). Finally a fourth meaning has been given to the word, mostly in contemporary interpretations of Mamluk descriptions of Cairo or of Damascus (Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*: *Le Caire*, Cairo 1903, 95, n. 2). The *īwān* would be any one of the halls in a religious building, a *madrasa* or a mosque, which opens on a courtyard; it would be used most commonly for large units of the type implied by our first definition but by extension could be used also for other architectural forms such as the hypostyle. The *īwān ḳiblī* would be the one such hall which is located in the direction of Mecca. While this particular meaning is (or was) certainly found in colloquial usage, there is some uncertainty as to whether the term is ever correctly used for the columnar wings of a mosque; none of the several meanings which can be given to the word *īwān* in the many instances of its occurrence in texts such as the description of Damascus translated by H. Sauvaire seems to apply to a hypostyle building (H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in *JA*, 9th ser., iii-vii (1894-6), index by E. Ouéchek, Damascus 1954, esp. vol. vi, 260 as opposed to vol. v, 301 or 392).

Altogether then the word has clearly two formal meanings and one functional meaning with a second functional meaning somewhat less obviously ascertained. It is possible that the functional meaning of palace was the original one and that, through the Ctesiphon ruins which played such an important role in the formation of mediaeval architectural concepts and terminology, the references to forms developed more slowly, but this question requires a systematic chronological analysis of texts, which has never been done.

Art historians and archaeologists have given the term *īwān* a technically precise meaning, that of a single large vaulted hall walled on three sides and opening directly to the outside on the fourth. The formation of the form has been the subject of many discussions and theories; cf. F. Oelmann, *Hilani und Liwanhaus*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft cxxvii (1922); G. Gullini, *Architettura Iranica*, Turin 1964, 326 ff.; J. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine*, Paris 1947, 163 ff. These discussions and theories are fortunately not pertinent to the Islamic period, for it can easily be established that Sasanian architecture had consistently utilized such a unit of planning and construction as the main feature of its palaces in ʿIrāḳ and in western Iran. Although some nuances may have to be introduced into this statement after further excavations and interpretative studies, this particular hall was the main audience and reception hall of Sasanian princes (as at Ctesiphon). But no evidence exists that it was actually called an *īwān* nor is it certain that an official function

was the only one associated with the form. On a number of occasions a domed room was just behind the *īwān* and in one instance (Ḳalʿa-i Dukhtār near Fīrūzābād), *īwān* and dome formed the only unit of a royal building.

This secular function of the *īwān* was carried together with the form into early Islamic secular architecture. It occurs in the Umayyad palace at Kūfa, was transferred to the western part of the Fertile Crescent at Mshatta, and defines the main official parts of the great ʿAbbāsid palaces at Ukhayḍir and at Sāmarrā; in this last place it also occurs in simple house architecture; see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols., Oxford 1932 and 1940; O. Grabar, *Al-Mushatta, Baghdād, and Wāsiṭ*, in *The World of Islam*, ed. J. Kritzek and R. B. Winder, London 1959; B. Fransīs and Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Jāmiʿ Abī Dulaf*, in *Sumer*, iii (1947). Even minor modifications which may appear to have been of western origin such as the transformation of the *īwān* into a tripartite hall through colonnades have a background in the architectural vocabulary of Sasanian Iran. In the often quoted and discussed texts describing the palaces of Wāsiṭ and Baghdād, the use of the word does not necessarily mean that this particular form was used—as had automatically been assumed by Creswell and Grabar in the works quoted above—but it is likely that it was, for the *īwān* became established quite early as the main form of palace and house architecture from Afghanistan to Egypt. In details of course there were many differences from one part of the Muslim world to another and from one period to another and it is not certain that the function of the form was always the official one of an audience hall. Secular architecture unfortunately has not been sufficiently well preserved or studied to allow for definitive conclusions and, since most of the sources for it are literary, the difficulty of interpreting correctly a mediaeval architectural vocabulary occurs constantly.

The appearance of the *īwān* in religious architecture is equally problematic, even though it is in religious architecture that the most celebrated examples of the form are found. The situation can be summarized in the following manner. With the exception of the rather peculiar mosque in Nīrīz, it is not until the early 6th/12th century that a group of some twelve mosques in western Iran acquire what became the typical shape of a courtyard on which open four *īwāns*; for a summary of the history of this form, for a list of examples and for bibliographies see O. Grabar in *Cambridge History of Iran*, iv (forthcoming) and v (Cambridge 1968). The four-*īwān* mosque became then the standard form for almost all buildings of religious inspiration in Iran until today and the changes which do occur are mostly stylistic, as the form reflected the modifications in taste which occurred over the centuries. The puzzling questions are those of the origins of the plan and of the reasons for its formation. On the first point, evidence exists to show that both ʿIrāḳ and Central Asia used the form of four *īwāns* around a courtyard in house and probably monumental architecture before the 6th/12th century (cf. *Sumer*, iii (quoted above) and, among others, G. A. Pugačenkova, *Iskusstvo Turkmenistana*, Moscow 1967, 102; also A. Godard in *Ars Islamica*, xvi (1951)). Since the main direction of cultural and artistic influences in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries was an east-west one, a north-eastern Iranian or Central Asian background for the form seems likely. It would then be from the example of the western Iranian mosques of the 6th/12th century that the type spread over the whole of Iran.

As to the reasons for the adoption of the plan, the main existing theory (Godard's, modifying Max van Berchem, but see critique by K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, ii, Oxford 1959, 132-3) is that it was connected with the spread of the *madrasa* as an official building from north-eastern Iran westward. The theory is far from being convincing and for a variety of reasons it may be easier to confess either that the question is unresolved or that a form hitherto used primarily for secular purposes was adapted to the mosque as part of the imposition of a new Saldjūḳ taste all over Iran.

West of Iran the *īwān*, either singly or in a pattern of four, was rarely used for mosques but became the characteristic architectural feature of *madrasas*, *ribāṭs*, hospitals, and of most of the numerous functions which were either introduced in Zangid and Ayyūbid times or acquired a new monumentality. The earliest use of an *īwān* in a *madrasa* seems to occur in the 530/1136 *madrasa* in Bosra (Creswell, *Egypt*, ii, 107) but the rather primitive construction and planning of this building makes it a rather doubtful witness. Without searching for an (anyway) accidentally "first" example, it may be simpler to conclude that, while the *īwān* as such was already fairly common in house architecture (as for instance in the private houses of Fusṭāṭ), its use in monumental official architecture was a result of the general impact of Iran following the Saldjūḳ reconquest. In the Arab Near East, however, it never became the unique architectural feature it was in Iran, although in the monuments of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus (N. Elisséeff *Les Monuments de Nūr al-Dīn*, in *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, xiii (1949-51) or much later in the superb *madrasa* of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo (among others L. Hautecoeur & G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, 103 ff.), we have superb examples of the ways in which a form originally developed in lands of brick architecture was turned into stone.

Several attempts have been made in the past, especially by Max van Berchem and by E. Herzfeld (see for instance his *Damascus, Studies in Architecture*, in *Ars Islamica*, vols. ix ff. (1942 ff.), to suggest that the spread and development of the *īwān*-based plan, especially in *madrasas*, is to be related to precise functional requirements (teaching for instance) and even to symbolic ones as in the Sunnī oecumenism of a building like the Mustanṣiriyya in Baghdād. Suggestive and interesting though they may be, these arguments do not seem to be entirely acceptable and it may be preferable to consider the *īwān* as one of the several ways in which the mediaeval Muslim world sought solutions to the problem of architectural space without attributing to it concrete or symbolic meanings permanently attached to the form itself. Like the domed hall or the tower it was a form which could be used for a variety of purposes determined by the needs and tastes of society at any one time; cf. as an example of unique use of known forms, L. Golombek, *The Timurid Shrine at Gazur Gah*, Toronto 1969.

One last aspect of the *īwān* as it appears to the art historian may deserve attention. It is that, regardless of the functions which were given to it, it has a very precise aesthetic value. It is a strong, dominating feature which serves as the main axis of an architectural composition both in plan and in elevation. As a result it is generally the shape and the proportions of the *īwān* which determined the rhythm

and the relations between parts found in most later Iranian facades and in most interior compositions of Iranian architecture. While not as richly inventive nor as exuberant as the Islamic dome, the *iwān* served as a major vehicle for the growth and development of one of the world's most impressive vaulting traditions and its walls were covered with all the various types of decorative techniques and ornamental designs known in the Muslim world.

Bibliography: Most of the immediately appropriate bibliography will be found in the text. Additional examples and discussions of individual monuments can be found in standard books on Islamic and especially Iranian and Central Asian architecture. For textual information on the uses of the *iwan*, see D. Sourdel, *Questions de Cérémonial Abbaside*, in *REI*, 1960. For the development of the religious building with four *iwan*s in Iran recent investigations and discoveries have made the traditional interpretation far less certain; see, for instance, O. Grabar, *Notes on the Great Mosque of Isfahan*, in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute in Memory of A. U. Pope* (Shiraz, 1972).

(O. Grabar)

IYĀD, an ancient Arab tribe whose ancestor Iyād is according to the genealogists the son of Nizār b. Maʿadd and the brother of Rabīʿa, Anmār, and Muḍar. They dwelt first in the Tihāma. The Meccan tradition (see Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, ii, 137 ff.) tells that they drove the Djurhum from Mecca and made themselves masters of the Kaʿba, but were turned out after a quarrel with the Khuzāʿa. They went to Baḥrayn, where they formed with other tribes the confederation al-Tanūkh [*q.v.*]. Then they moved into ʿIrāḳ where the Sawād, the fertile region between the desert and the Euphrates, offered them grazing grounds and ʿAyn Ubāgh a perennial waterplace; this happened about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. if the statement is correct that they clashed with the ruler of al-Ḥīra, Djadhīma b. Malik al-Azdī, who was a contemporary of Zenobia of Palmyra. Some Iyād settled at al-Ḥīra and became urbanized and christianized, if they had not been converted earlier; some were employed by the Sāsānids: Laḳīṭ b. Yaʿmur [*q.v.*], (for his father's name see al-Shammākh, *Dīwān*, 1302 h., p. 29, 2) was secretary in the department of Arab affairs; the poet Abū Duwād [*q.v.*] was in charge of the horses of al-Mundhir III b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ (reigned 505-54 A. D.). Others remained Bedouins wandering about the desert, often harassing the peasants. In the reign of Khusraw I (r. 531-79) they even kidnapped a Persian lady and defeated the Persian cavalry sent against them at Dayr al-Djamādjim [*q.v.*]; but being heedless of the warnings given them by Laḳīṭ in his famous poems they were crushed by the Persians; the survivors fled, some into the desert, others into Syria and even into Byzantine territory to a place called Anḳara (mentioned by al-Aswad b. Yaʿfur an-Nahshalī, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, No. 44 = Aʿshā Nahshal, No. 17 Geyer) at the exit of the Euphrates from the mountains, whilst a third group went to Kūfa, the Djazīra, and Takrīt; from Takrīt they were driven out by the Persians but later came back, for in 16/637 the Iyād secretly supported the garrison of Takrīt against the Muslims. Those who remained in ʿIrāḳ had to join the Persian forces; they were sent against the Bakr b. Wāʾil in the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*], c. 604 A. D., but went over to the Bakr; so the Persians were defeated for the first time by Bedouins.

The rise of Islam had no immediate influence upon the Iyād; the story (*Aghānī*¹, xiv, 41 f.; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 55) that they sent a deputation to Mecca in 8/629 belongs to the legends about Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*]. Some Iyād joined the pseudo-prophetess of the Tamīm Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*]. We find Iyādīs, who were doubtless Muslims, in Kūfa (Ṭabarī, i, 2482, 2495), freedmen (Ibn Saʿd, vi, 270, 277) as well as landowners (Balādhurī, 283, 5). When in 12/633 Khālid b. al-Walīd conquered ʿIrāḳ the Iyād together with other tribes and with Persian troops opposed him *e.g.* at ʿAyn al-Tamr (Ṭabarī, i, 2062) and Ṣandawdāʾ (Balādhurī, 310; Yāḳūt, ii, 420); the statement (Ṭabarī, i, 2074) that the Iyād, Taghlib and Namir together with Byzantines and Persians were defeated by Khālid at the fords (*al-firāḍ*) of the Euphrates in 12/634 is dubious. About the same time, 13/634, the conquest of Palestine by the Muslims began. Towards the end of the same year Ḥimṣ was taken. Here in the northern parts of Syria lived Bedouins and amongst them Tanūkh, established there for centuries, often in separate settlements (*ḥāḍir*). In 17/638 many Iyādīs and other Bedouins of ʿIrāḳ joined the Byzantine army which tried to regain Syria, but when the Muslims conquered Mesopotamia the Iyād went over and became Muslims, whilst the Byzantines were defeated and fled to Cilicia. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb demanded from Heraclius their extradition and the emperor was forced to send them back (Bakrī, 49). They settled in Syria and Mesopotamia. In later times Iyādīs are seldom mentioned. The best known of them are the *ḳāḍī* of al-Maʾmūn, Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād [*q.v.*], whose claim to this descent was, however, contested by his enemies. Also Iyādīs were Ibn Abi ʾl-Layth, *ḳāḍī* of Egypt, d. 250/864 (Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 292), and Ẓāfir b. Sulaymān, *ḳāḍī* of Sidjistān (*ibid.*, viii, 494); see further *ibid.*, iii, 65 no. 1020; iii, 106 no. 1104; iv, 325 no. 2135; xii, 97 no. 6525). There were Iyādīs in Spain (Maḳḳarī, i, 186, 15), amongst them the famous family of Ibn Zuhr [*q.v.*], in Seville.

The Banū Iyād b. Sūd were a clan of the Azd.

Bibliography: in the article; see also al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam* (Wüstenfeld), 44-51 and *passim*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 97; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ* (Wüstenfeld), 104 f.; Hamdānī (gives on pages 178²¹-179¹⁵ a list of their settlements); see further the indices to Ṭabarī, Yaʿḳūbī, Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd* (indices by Muḥammad Shafīʿ), Masʿūdī, *Aghānī*, *Fihrist*, Ibn al-Athīr, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* and also W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat al-nasab des Ibn al-Kalbī*, i, 174; ii, 359 f. (J. W. Fück)

ʿIYĀḌ b. MŪSĀ b. ʿIyāḍ b. ʿAmrūn al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī al-Ḳāḍī (476/1088-544/1149) was one of the most celebrated figures of Mālikism in the Muslim West. His existence coincided almost exactly with that of the Almoravid dynasty to whom throughout his life he remained inflexibly attached.

His family, of Yemeni origin through the Yaḥṣub, emigrated to the West very early and finally settled at Ceuta, after residing in Basta [*q.v.*], in Muslim Spain, in Fez, and also in Ḳayrawān at some indeterminate date. His great grandfather ʿAmrūn was the first of the family to win fame, by reason of his perfect knowledge of the Ḳurʾān, and above all by his service under the celebrated al-Manṣūr ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]. It was he who left Fez with his entire fortune—probably acquired in the service of al-Manṣūr—to settle in Ceuta, where he died in 397/1007 and where his descendants enjoyed a high rank among the notables of the town.

Of all these, ʿIyāḍ was the most famous. On completing his studies in his native town, he went in

507/1113, to perfect his knowledge, not to the East —which he never visited, not even for the pilgrimage—but to Spain. In the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwā, (i, 446, no. 972, reproduced by al-Nawāwirī, *Simṭ* Ms. B. N. Tunis no. 11,396, p. 10), the expression *bi'l-Mashriḳ*, which occurs in connection with the studies he made under the direction of Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī, denotes the east of Spain and not the Orient, as is made clear in the *Muʿdjam* which Ibn al-Abbār had dedicated to the disciples of the last-mentioned master. The traditional travelling for study (*riḥla*) lasted about one year: in all ʿIyāḍ had about a hundred masters, to whom he dedicated his *Ghunya* (still in ms.). These include Ibn Ḥamdīn (439/1047-508/1115), the most virulent opponent of the *Iḥyā'* of al-Ghazālī; Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī (468/1075-543/1149), who had met al-Ghazālī in the East and had probably introduced his *Iḥyā'* to Morocco and Spain in 493/1100; and also the celebrated traditionist Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī (d. 514/1120-1).

On returning to Ceuta, ʿIyāḍ was raised to the rank of *shūra* [*q.v.*] and then, in 515/1121-2, to that of *ḳāḍī* of the city of his ancestors. On 1 Ṣafar 531/29 Oct. 1136, he was entrusted with the office of *ḳāḍī* of Granada. He was already a great personage, and his new place of residence gave him a triumphal welcome. The triumph was ephemeral. Being regarded as too censorious, ʿIyāḍ was discharged after some months at the request of Tāshfīn, then governor of the city. Tāshfīn's death (26 Ramaḍān 539/23 March 1145) won back for him the favour of the now tottering Almoravids. Towards the end of 539/1145, he was again nominated by the short-lived Ibrāhīm b. Tāshfīn as *ḳāḍī* of Ceuta, where he was to play a political role of the first importance, in regard to which his biographers, unlike the historians, prefer to remain very reticent.

A convinced and militant Mālikī, ʿIyāḍ in effect constituted the centre of resistance to the Almohads in Ceuta. After the final triumph of the latter, he was at first exiled to Tadla, among the nomadic tribes, and then, together with other notables from the suspect city, was sent to forced residence in Marrākush where he died, dejected and exhausted, on 7 Djumādā II 544/13 Oct. 1149. Legend, echoing the hostility which he incurred under the Almohads, attributed his sudden death while in the baths (*ḥammām*) to the invocations of al-Ghazālī, or else, with the accusation of secretly practising Judaism, alleges that he was put to death by the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart.

ʿIyāḍ was not without literary talent, but he was pre-eminently a traditionist and *faḳīh*. He was a truly typical *faḳīh* of the Almoravid period, strictly orthodox, and for whom there existed only one single unique truth, that which had been taught by Mālik and his school. He wrote more than twenty works, not all of which have survived. His best-known published works are: *al-Shifā' bi-taʿrīf ḥuḳūḳ al-Muṣṭafā'*, which enjoyed an enormous success and which still continues to play an important part in popular piety; *Mashāriḳ al-anwār ʿalā ṣiḥāḥ al-āthār*; *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taḳrīb al-masālik bi-maʿrifat aʿlām madhhab Mālik*, which constitutes the best defence for and illustration of the Mālikī school.

Bibliography: This will be found in Brockelmann, I, 455-6, and S I, 630-2, and in M. Talbi, *Biographies aghlabides extraites des Madārik du Cadi ʿIyāḍ*, Tunis 1968, 51-8. In addition: Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf al-sādāt al-muttaḳīn bi-sharḥ Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, ed. Būlāḳ, n.d., i, 27; Muḥammad Ḳuwaysim b. ʿAlī al-Nawāwirī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, ms. B. N. Tunis no. 11396, i, 10-14; M. A. Enan, *ʿAṣr al-Murābiṭīn wa-'l-Muwaḥḥidīn*, Cairo 1964, i, 41-4; A. Merad, *ʿAbd al-Mu'min à la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord (1130-1163)*, in *AIEO (Alger)*, xv (1957), 126-8; *al-Iʿlām bi-ḥudūd ḳawāʿid al-Islām*, ed. al-Ṭandjī, Rabat 1964; *al-Ilmāʿ ilā maʿrifat uṣūl al-riwāya wa-taḳyīd al-samāʿ*, ed. A. Ṣafar, Cairo-Tunis 1970. See also AL-MAḲḲARĪ. (M. TALBI)

ʿIYĀFA (A.), as opposed to *fa'l* [*q.v*] which denotes human omens (cledonism), is applied in a general sense to animal omens (zoomancy) and, in the strict sense, to ornithomancy, that is to say the art of divining omens in the names of birds, their cries, their flight and their posture (*TA*, vi, 207, *l.* 24 ff.). With certain names of birds a fatal quality is associated, though why this is so is not always known; in general, black and greenish plumage and down constitute the only justification. This is the case with the crow, the roller, the jay, and with any animal or bird with a coat or plumage of dark colour interspersed with white, such as a she-camel, a she-wolf or a dove (for animals regarded by the Arabs as a subject of divination, cf. *Divination*, 498-519).

Even more than with regard to the nature of birds (that is to say, their consecration to some particular divinity of either a propitious or an ill-fated character) and their categories (that is to say, those whose flight and cries are the basis for divination), the rich ornithomantic and zoomantic documentation gathered from ancient Arab literature makes it possible to give a precise statement of the principles and rules of mantic interpretation of the flight and cries of birds, as well as of their posture, and of the movements of certain quadrupeds.

For the flight of birds, two techniques originally existed, *ṭīra* and *zadjr*.

Ṭīra is the observation and mantic interpretation of the spontaneous flight of birds. This was progressively extended, particularly with sedentarization, to include all kinds of manifestations of animate or inanimate beings, and especially to domestic divinations which a man based upon the gestures and utterances of his wife, the inhabitants of the house, the utensils, or the animals in his service. Originally, it included divination of both good and ill; but Islam condemned it as a pagan practice, consigning favourable omens to *fa'l*, which is permitted, whilst it prohibited *ṭīra* as an act of faith in the blind forces and the gods who represented these forces.

Zadjr too lost its primitive meaning in assuming a wider significance, in the same way as *ṭīra*, with which it is generally confused. Originally, *zadjr* consisted in causing a bird to take flight by throwing a stone in order that its flight might be interpreted; if the bird flew to the *zādjir*'s right, it constituted a good omen for him, if to the left it was a bad omen (cf. *Divination*, 438). But Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 195, already defined it as though it were a question only of *ṭīra*. This also is a consequence of the change from nomadic to sedentary conditions.

Ṭīra and *zadjr*, the two techniques of *ʿiyāfa*, consist essentially in the interpretation of the direction of birds' flights and their cries. The technical terminology used in this field derives from hunting and is applied to all zoomantic divination. It is not possible here to expatiate on these terms, which have been studied in *Divination*, 440-6; it will suffice to mention the two most commonly used terms, namely *al-sāniḥ*, "that which comes from your right, proceeding towards your left", and *al-bāriḥ*, which is its antonym. These are their present meanings but they are sometimes found in the reverse sense, according to whether they are used in connection with ornitho-

mancy or hunting (cf. details in *Divination*, 440 ff.). In general, *al-sāniḥ* is favourable and *al-bāriḥ* is unfavourable; but here also there are numerous divergencies. According to Ibn Barrī (quoted in *TA*, ii, 170, 24 f.), this depends upon regional customs: "The inhabitants of Nadjd," he says, "regard *al-sāniḥ* as favourable, but it can happen that a Nadjdī may use the vocabulary of the Ḥidjāzī". We believe, on the contrary, that these divergencies bear witness to a very ancient state of affairs, where the right side did not necessarily signify "favourable" and the left "unfavourable", as was the case in Assyro-Babylonian divination.

The interpretation of the cries of birds is widely attested in respect of the crow (cf. texts and translations in *Arabica*, viii (1961), 34 ff. and 49 f.); but the Arab also deduced omens from the cooing of pigeons, from the call of a bird, from the crowing of the cock, from the braying of donkeys, from the bleating of sheep, from the cry of the camel, from the barking of a dog, etc. (cf. details in *Divination*, 446-9).

For the Arab, the posture and behaviour of a bird provided material for divination. That a crow croaked on a withered tree, on a leafy tree or on a recently constructed wall would modify the meaning of the divination. That the bird shook itself, stretched its wings, pecked the ground, grubbed in the soil, wiped its beak—all these things are taken into consideration in the interpretation of the divination (cf. *Divination*, 449 f., and *Arabica*, *loc. cit.*).

For the relations between *faʾl*, *ṭira* and *zadjr*, see FAʾL.

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 431-50 and 498-519, where the reader will find the basic texts and their analysis; idem, *Les présages par le corbeau. Etude d'un texte attribué à Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *Arabica*, viii (1961), 30-58, where texts of Arab divinations are compared with texts of Assyro-Babylonian and Iranian divinations. (T. FAHD)

ʿIYĀR [see SIKKA].

IYĀLA [see EYĀLET].

IYĀS B. MUʿĀWIYA B. ḲURRA AL-MUZANĪ, Abū Wāthila, was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Baṣra during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 99/718 (the date 95/714 given by Wakīʿ is incorrect, for ʿUmar did not succeed to the caliphate until 99, and also it was ʿAdī b. Arṭāt, governor of the town from 99-101, who chose Iyās for the post on the caliph's orders); he did not accept this post very enthusiastically (see especially an anecdote related by Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 62, which shows incidentally that parallel jurisdictions were still in existence), and in fact gave it up in 101 or 102/720-1; he died in 121/739 or the following year, aged 76.

Iyās, who is considered to be one of the leading lights of Muḍar (for his genealogy see Ibn Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, tab. 88), became proverbial for his perspicacity, to such an extent that one said *azkan min Iyās* (see Freytag, *Prov. Arab.*, i, 593; al-Maydānī, i, 338). His ability to extract precise information from hints unnoticed by others and his shrewdness are often praised (cf. especially a verse of Abū Tammām, ii, 249, in which his *dhakāʾ* is compared to the *ḥilm* of al-Aḥnaf [*q.v.*]).

Adab literature presents him as a kind of Solomon, and he is the hero of a large number of anecdotes, probably originally borrowed from al-Madāʾinī, who had composed a *Kitāb Akhbār Iyās b. Muʿāwiya* (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 152). However, he is criticized for his tendency to gossip, his pride and the confidence he placed in dubious traditions.

Bibliogyaphy: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 98-101 and index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, i, 149-51 and index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 467; Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo 1947, i, 312 ff. (see D. Sourdel, in *Arabica*, ii/1 (1955), 112); Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/2, 4-5; Ṭabarī, ii, 1347; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 157-8; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, iii, 123-5, no. 227; Sharīdhī, *Sharḥ*, i, 113; Ibn Khallikān, i, 382; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, s.v.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* no. 576; idem, *Tahdhīb*, i, 39; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, iii, 175-85; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ*, 141-6, 231; R. Basset, in *Revue des trad. pop.*, vi, 67. (CH. PELLAT)

IZMAIL [see ISMĀʿĪL].

IZMĪD [see *Supplement*].

IZMĪR [see *Supplement*].

IZNĪḲ, the ancient and Byzantine Nicaea (*Niḳīya* in Ibn Khuradādhbih and al-Idrīsī), was besieged in vain by the Arabs in their first campaigns against Byzantium in 99/717 and 107/725 (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, i, 397 and 405 ff.) and fell at the beginning of 1081 (middle of 473) into the hands of the Saldjūḳ Sulaymān, son of Ḳutlumush, who made his residence there. The first Crusaders under Walter Sans-Avoir were severely defeated before Nicaea in 489/1096 by Alp Arslān, son and successor of Sulaymān; next year, however, the town could not withstand the onslaught of the Crusaders, led by Godfrey de Bouillon, and surrendered on 5-6 Radjab 490/19-20 June 1097 to the Byzantines in alliance with the Crusaders, in whose possession it remained till the Ottoman invasion. Sultan ʿOthmān I is said to have attacked Nicaea, but it was not till the time of Orkhān that it was taken after a prolonged siege in 731/1331; he moved his capital thither for a time (ʿĀshiḳpashazāde and Leunclavius, *Hist.*, 195; cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, iii, 508 f.). In 804/1402 the town was taken and devastated by a raiding body of Timūr's troops (Ducas, 72; Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 454), but it soon recovered from this blow, and it is described as flourishing and prosperous at the time of the rebellion of Prince Muṣṭafā (Leunclavius, *Hist.*, 525, l. 46). Bāyazīd II is said to have intended after the death of his father Muḥammad II, to renounce the throne and retire to Nicaea.

The decline of the town began about the middle of the 11th/17th century; the population, then estimated at 10,000 (Grelot), had sunk to about 1,500 by the end of the 19th century; in 1960 it was 6,290. Administratively Iznīḳ is now the centre of an *ilce* belonging to the *il* (*vilâyet*) of Bursa. The present town occupies a relatively small part of the area enclosed within the ancient city walls. The best preserved of the ancient buildings are the Roman and Byzantine walls consisting of a double rampart (best described by Prokesch and Texier; cf. thereon Körte, *Mitt. des Deutsch. Arch. Instituts*, Athens xxiv, 398-409) with their monumental gateways and 238 towers (Texier). The Byzantine part of these defences dates from the time of Leo III the Isaurian, who had them built after the Arab invasion of 726 (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, n° 8864); Michael III in 858, and later Theodore Lascaris (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, nos. 8745-8747) completed and improved them.

The town is very rich in Islamic monuments, some of which date from early Ottoman times. Sultan Orkhān, soon after the conquest of Iznīḳ converted the Aya Sofya church into a mosque. It was redecorated in the early 11th/17th century, when its *ḳibla* wall was covered with faience tiles (Katharina Otto-Dorn, *Das islamische Iznik*, Berlin 1941, 9-13, abb. 1-3, Tables 2-3). Orkhān also built a *medrese* next

to this mosque, which was the first *medrese* in the Ottoman Empire (Dorn, *op. cit.*, p. 10). Another building erected by Orkhān is a small mosque, bearing his name, outside the city walls some 400 m. from the Yenişehir Gate. Previously it was believed that it dated from before the occupation of the town, but excavations there in 1963 and 1964 revealed an inscription giving its date as 735/1334 (Oktay Aslanapa, *Iznik'te Sultan Orhan Imaret Camii Kazısı*, ..., 16-31; also Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in early Ottoman architecture*, 78-9, figs. 77-78). Another mosque dating from the reign of Sultan Orkhān is the Ḥādjdjī Özbeg Djāmiʿi (also known as the Čarshï Mesdjidi). This is the earliest Ottoman mosque where the original dating inscription has been preserved, giving the date of construction as 734/1333. (Otto-Dorn, 15-18, *abb.* 5-6, Tables 4-5; Kuran, 34-5, figs. 6-8). The mosque and *türbe* complex of Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza Beg were erected in 746/1345 and 750/1349 respectively (Otto-Dorn, 18-20, *abb.* 6, Tables 5/3, 6/1-2). It is interesting to note that none of these early mosques had minarets. Later mosques, like the Yeshil Djāmiʿi (780/1378-794/1391), the Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Djāmiʿi (*c.* 821/1418), the Maḥmūd Čelebi Djāmiʿi (846/1442) and the Eshrefzāde-i-Rūmī Djāmiʿi (874/1469) have minarets built in the Saldjūḳ style. Of these perhaps the Yeshil Djāmiʿi, which has faience tile decoration inside and on the minaret, is the most significant. The *miḥrāb* is built of marble and is richly carved, the earliest of its kind in Ottoman mosque architecture (Otto-Dorn, 20-33, abb. 7-11, Tables, 6/3-17; Kuran, 61-33, figs. 52-7). It was erected by Khayr al-Din [see DJANDARLÏ]. The dating inscription gives the name of the architect as a certain Ḥādjdjī Mūsā. The Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Djāmiʿi has no date, but Otto-Dorn reasonably dates it to 821/1418, the year when Ḳuṭb al-Dīn died (Otto-Dorn, 33-5, abb. 12, Tables 19-20). The Maḥmūd Čelebi Djāmiʿi is well preserved and its minaret has glazed blue and green faience tiles (Otto-Dorn, 35-9, abb. 13-15, Tables 21-2). The Eshrefzāde-i Rūmī Djāmiʿi is actually part of a complex, which included a *türbe* and a *tekke* (monastery). It was erected for Eshrefzāde, a holy man who lived for 120 years (779/1377-899/1493). It is very much ruined and only its minaret, parts of the walls and the *ḳibla* wall survive with the *miḥrāb* (Otto-Dorn, 39-48, abb. 16-18, Table 23). Out of the few secular buildings that have survived in Iznīḳ the Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza *ḥammām* should be mentioned, dating from the late 8th/14th or early 9th/15th century (Otto-Dorn, 89-95, abb. 39-40, Tafeln 34-5).

Iznīḳ was once a flourishing pottery centre. Excavations there between 1963 and 1966 have established that the so-called "Miletus ware" was manufactured in Iznīḳ. This ware had a red clay body and the designs were painted in blue, turquoise-green and purple (Oktay Aslanapa, *Türkische Fliesen und Keramik in Anatolien*, 29-32, abb. 4-58, Tables 1231, in colour). This red ware was suddenly replaced, obviously under outside influence, by a sophisticated white-bodied faience which resembled porcelain. The classification of Iznīḳ faience was first attempted by Arthur Lane, who divided it into three groups (*Later Islamic Pottery*, London 1957, 40-60; idem *The Ottoman pottery of Isnik*, in *Ars Orientalis* ii (1957), 254-81). Chinese influence is clearly visible on the earliest group, which can be dated to the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries. At a later stage purple and green colours were added (Lane's second group), while around the middle of the 10th/16th century, a lively red colour appears on them (third group). The Iznīḳ excavations revealed shards, kiln-wasters and pottery kilns as well, attesting that all these groups were manufactured locally (Oktay Aslanapa, *Pottery and kilns from the Iznik excavations*, 140-6). Manufacture of tiles and pottery still continued at Iznīḳ in 1736 (Otter, *Voyage en Turquie*, i, 44), but it soon came to an end and was forgotten. It seems that potters moved to Kütahya, where they tried to revive the old Iznīḳ traditions in pottery making.

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(J. H. Mordtmann-[G. Fehérvári])

ʿIZRĀʾĪL (in European literature one also finds ʿAzrāʾīl), the name of the angel of death, one of the four archangels (next to Djibrīl, Mīkhāʾīl, Isrāfīl). Like Isrāfīl, whose office of trumpet-blower at the last judgment is sometimes given to him, he is of cosmic magnitude; if the water of all the seas and rivers were poured on his head, not a drop would reach the earth. He has a seat (*sarīr*) of light in the fourth or seventh heaven, on which one of his feet rests; the other stands on the bridge between paradise and hell. He is however also said to have 70,000 feet.

The description of his appearance agrees almost exactly with that in Jewish literature: he has 4,000 wings and his whole body consists of eyes and tongues, the number of which corresponds with that of the living. He, however, is also said to have four faces.

At first he was an angel like the others. When Allāh wanted to create man, he ordered Djibrīl to snatch from the earth for this purpose a handful of its main constituents. The earth, however, stirred up by Iblīs, offered resistance, so that neither Djibrīl, nor Mīkhāʾīl nor Isrāfīl could carry out the commission. But ʿIzrāʾīl managed to do it. Because of his pitilessness (*ḳillat al-raḥma*) Allāh then appointed him angel of death.

Because of his strength he is also master of death. When Allāh had created Death, he summoned the angels to look at him. When they saw his astonishing strength, they fell down unconscious and remained lying for a thousand years. Then they awakened and said "Death is the most powerful of creatures". But Allāh said: "I have appointed ʿIzrāʾīl to be lord over him".

Several angels of death are mentioned, as in Jewish literature; and it is said that ʿIzrāʾīl deals with the souls of the prophets while the souls of ordinary men are under his *khalīfa*. Special stress is laid on the beginning of Sūra LXXIX, as authority for a number of angels of death: "By those who tear forth and by those who draw forth" etc. The former are said to be those angels who drag the souls of the unbelievers by force from their bodies, while by the latter are meant those who have to separate the souls of the believers from their bodies. The explanation of the verse however is not certain. In Sūra XXXII, 11 mention is made of the angel of death (in the singular).

ʿIzrāʾīl keeps a roll of mankind. But he does not know the date of death of the individuals. Whether one belongs to the blessed or the damned he sees from the fact that the names in the first category are surrounded by a bright and those in the second by a dark circle.

When the day of a man's death approaches, Allāh causes to fall from the tree below His throne the leaf on which the man's name is written. ʿIzrāʾīl reads the name and has to separate the person's soul from his body after 40 days.

But there are some people who strive against the separation, and object that the angel of death is acting arbitrarily. The latter then goes back to Allāh and tells him his experience. Allāh then gives him as credential an apple from paradise on which the *basmala* [*q.v.*] is written; when the man sees this, he yields.

Man also has other means of making it difficult for the angel of death to carry out his task. If the latter wants to creep into his throat to fetch out his spirit, the dying man recites a *dhikr* [*q.v.*] and thus closes the entrance. The angel then returns to Allāh, who advises him to try to take the dying man's hand. If the latter however is just making a *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*] the angel's entrance is again impossible. Finally, however, ʿIzrāʾīl writes the name of God on the man's hand. Then the bitter feeling of separation disappears and the angel can enter to fetch the spirit. It is also said that he pierces men with a poisoned lance. Another account is as follows: When a believer is on his deathbed, the angel of death stands at his head and draws his soul out as gently as water runs out of a skin. He hands it to his assistants, who carry it through the seven heavens up to the highest and then place it with the body in the grave (the soul's journey to heaven; cf. Bousset in *Archiv. f.d. Religionswissenschaft*, iv).

If an unbeliever dies, the angel of death tears the soul out of his body in the roughest fashion. The gate of heaven closes before the soul as it is carried up, and it is thrown down to earth again.

Characters like Idrīs, Ilyās, ʿĪsā and al-Khaḍir [*qq.v.*], as is well known, were not subject to death. As regards Moses the same thing could not be asserted; but the Bible throws a veil over his death. Muslim tradition accordingly says that Moses defended himself against the angel of death, who came with the fatal message to him, and bruised his eye. Allāh said to the angel when he came back: "If he places his hand on a cow, as many years are to be granted him as his hand covers hairs". "And then?" asked Moses. "Death", said Allāh. It is also related that the angel of death came to Moses with an apple from paradise; when he had smelled this, he died.

On an experience of Solomon's with the angel of death, see al-Bayḍāwī on Sūra XXXI, 34; on his visit to Idrīs, see that article.

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ʿIZZ AL-DAWLA, an honorary title (*laḳab* [*q.v.*], pl. *alḳāb*) of the kind which came into being at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, conferred by caliphs and later also by other sovereigns. The first person to receive an honorary title composed with *dawla* was the vizier of the caliph al-Muktafī (902-8), al-Ḳāsim; in 289/902 he was entitled Walī al-Dawla (Friend of the Dynasty). Originally *dawla* [*q.v.*] signified: turn, reversal (especially in battle), then it became the designation of the old Mahdī propaganda, and from the middle of the 3rd/9th century attained the meaning still in force today: "dynasty, state". With this meaning *dawla* became an element of those honorary titles which began to be granted shortly before the middle of the 4th/10th century, became customary at the time of the Būyids [*q.v.*], and are a marked characteristic of this period.

According to their meanings, concepts and words (*muḍāfāt*) linked with *dawla* can be divided into six groups: 1) verbal forms which describe an activity of the bearer in connection with the dynasty, *e.g.*, Muʿīn (helper) al-Dawla, Nāṣir, Muʿizz, Musharrif, etc.; 2) metaphors, mostly weapons or parts of the body, *e.g.*, Sayf, Ḥusām, ʿAḍud (and developed from these: Yamīn, ʿAyn) etc.; 3) concepts from the cosmos, *e.g.*, Nūr, Diyāʾ, Bahā, and Shams al-Dawla, Samāʾ al-Dawla (borne in this sequence by father and son, so that the development and intensification becomes especially clear); 4) concepts from architecture, *e.g.*, ʿAmīd, ʿImād, Rukn, Sanad, ʿUmda, Ḳawām, etc.; 5) insignia and titles of sovereigns, *e.g.*, Tādj (crown), and Sulṭān (a title which until then belonged only to the caliph), also Zaʿīm; 6) the concepts fame, glory, honour: Fakhr, Djalāl, Madjd, Sharaf, ʿAlāʾ, ʿIzz.

In 348/959-60, while still crown prince, Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*], the son of the Būyid chief amīr Muʿizz al-Dawla, was granted the title ʿIzz al-Dawla, clearly as a modification of the *laḳab* of his father. This tradition was continued when Bakhtiyār named his son al-Marzubān, governor of Baṣra, as his successor, and the caliph bestowed upon him the honorary title of Iʿzāz al-Dawla. When ʿAḍud al-Dawla appeared in Baghdād, decisively wiped out the Būyids of Baghdād in 977 and Bakhtiyār met with an inglorious end,

the tradition of the *dawla* title derived from ʿIzz and others also came to an end, at least among the Būyids. The later Būyids in Shīrāz and Baghdād, without exception descendants of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, chose other *alḳāb* from the six groups listed above.

Besides the Būyids, almost all contemporary rulers who acknowledged the ʿAbbāsid caliphate were recipients of *alḳāb* in the form discussed here: the Marwānids, Mazyādids, Mirdāsids, Ghaznawids etc. In addition, the Sāmānids, who for a time did not acknowledge the caliph of Baghdād appointed by the Būyids, adopted the practice, bestowing such *alḳāb* on their own authority upon the governors of Khurāsān in order to bind them closer to themselves. In Fāṭimid Egypt, on the other hand, *alḳāb* were chosen on a different principle. In North Africa and Spain *dawla* titles appear only occasionally. There, clearly by deliberate intent, only rare resort was made to this ʿAbbāsid practice.

The honorary title ʿIzz al-Dawla was evidently so compromised by the inglorious memory of the Būyid Bakhtiyār that it reappeared only later, and indeed principally in Persia. In particular the following holders of the title can be taken as examples: 1) the Ghaznawid ʿAbd al-Rashīd (1050-3); 2) the Baduspānids Hazārasb b. Nāmwar (470/1077-510/1117 in Māzandārān) and Ḳubād b. Shāh Ghāzī (780/1378-801/1399); 3) the Ustādhdār of the Artuḳids, Abū Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan in Diyārbakr 551/1156-565/1170).

Later *alḳāb* with *dawla* are still found, though only occasionally; from Saldjūḳ times they were displaced by *alḳāb* with *dīn* as an element. In the time of the Ṣafawids the *dawla* title was revived to some extent in Persia. The grand vizier took *ex officio* the title Iʿtimād al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. Under the Ḳādjārs they deliberately continued the Būyid (and Ṣafawid) traditions, and again made frequent use of *alḳāb* in the form outlined here. All the compounds classified in groups 1) to 6) can be found, with the addition of several new formations. However, the title ʿIzz al-Dawla is infrequent. Under the Ḳādjār princes only ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Mīrzā, a son of Muḥammad Shāh (1250/1834-1264/1848), held this title. It seems that the eulogizing *ʿazza wa-djalla* (only used in association with the name of God) hindered the use of *alḳāb* of similar form; Djalāl al-Dawla also appears very infrequently among the Ḳādjārs, who preferred *alḳāb* with Amīn, Iʿtimād, Muʾayyid, Muʿtamad, and Niẓām.

Bibliography: given at the end of the article ʿIZZ AL-DĪN. (H. BUSSE)

ʿIZZ AL-DAWLA [see BAKHTIYĀR].

ʿIZZ AL-DĪN. This *laḳab* originated within the same historical context as *alḳāb* constructed with *dawla*. The *muḍāfāt* are for the most part identical with those mentioned under ʿIZZ AL-DAWLA, and can be classified according to their meaning in the same groups, at least in earlier times. In the light of this nomenclature, it is very doubtful if the *laḳab* on a coin from Wāsiṭ of the year 256/869-70 should indeed read ʿAlī al-Dīn. The first indubitable *laḳab* with *dīn* mentioned in the narrative sources was granted to the Kurdish Barzikānī amīr Badr b. Ḥasan-wayh in 388/998, almost a hundred years later than the first *dawla* title. The close connection with the *dawla* title can be seen very clearly in the combination Nāṣir al-Dīn wa ʾl-Dawla. The Kurdish amīr insisted on such a title, and could refer to his numerous merits in relation to the *dīn* (especially his ardent encouragement of the pilgrimage to Mecca). Ambition and the special political and religious circumstances of the Būyid period led the Būyids themselves and other local princes to request a *dīn* title also as an adjunct to their *dawla* title granted by the caliph. Alongside the conventional *muḍāfāt* with *dawla* there appears the *laḳab* Muḥyī al-Dīn (Restorer of Religion), conferred upon Abū Kālidjār (415/1020-440/1048), which is surprising for a Shīʿī Būyid. As with the Kurdish prince Badr, the granting of a *dīn* title was then generally connected with services on behalf of orthodoxy. When in the year 403/1012-13 the Ghaznawid Maḥmūd (389/998-421/1030) refused a robe of honour from the Fāṭimid caliph, the ʿAbbāsid caliph bestowed on him the *laḳab* Niẓām al-Dīn wa-Nāṣir al-Ḥaḳḳ (Order of Religion and Helper of the Right). The *laḳab* ʿIzz al-Dīn does not appear in the Būyid period and is also relatively rare at later times, for the same reasons as those mentioned at the end of the article ʿIZZ AL-DAWLA.

With the arrival of the Saldjūḳs the *dīn* titles displaced the *dawla* titles. Unlike the Būyids, who on political and religious grounds insisted on the expression of a personal link with the caliphate, the Saldjūḳs preferred to stress their link with the abstract idea *dīn*, which expressed their view of themselves as restorers and protectors of orthodoxy. While Ṭughril Beg still retained the combined *laḳab* Rukn al-Dunyā wa ʾl-Dīn (*dawla* is here replaced by *dunyā*!), his successors held to *alḳāb* with *dīn* only. The same is true of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, the Ṣaffārids from 496/1103, the Artuḳids from 538/1144, the Zengids of Aleppo, the Dānishmendids in Anatolia, the Salghurids in Fārs, the Ghūrids in east Iran and India, the Shāhs of Khwārizm, and the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia from 564/1166.

The *laḳāb* ʿIzz al-Dīn, amongst others, appeared several times under the Zengids of Aleppo and the Rūm Saldjūḳs of Konya. In the course of the 7th/13th century, however, the *laḳab* lost its status as an honour granted by the caliph or a local prince, and became simply a name which a man assumed himself or which was attributed to deserving people by contemporaries without any official procedure. Ibn al-Fūwaṭī (d. 723/1323-4) enumerates in his work *Madjmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿdjam al-alḳāb* (ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād, Damascus 1962) more than five hundred bearers of the *laḳab* ʿIzz al-Dīn, covering all classes of the population: the sultan and the courtiers, officials in the capital, in the provinces and in the administration, holders of religious offices (judges, witnesses, professors at *madrasas*), theologians and jurists without official positions, and members of secular professions (poets, druggists, doctors, merchants, etc.). The earliest datable bearers of the title belong to the first years of the 6th/12th century (*e.g.*, a *faḳīh*, no. 231). By the end of the Saldjūḳ period, at the latest after the arrival of the Mongols, who were first converted to Islam with Ghāzān Khān (694/1295-703/1304), the *laḳab* must have lost the character of an officially bestowed honour. Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) in the *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, vi, 38 ff., mentions in the list of *alḳāb* under *ʿIzz* only the *laḳab* ʿIzz al-Islām as the title "of some *mulūk*".

Like the *dawla* titles, the *dīn* titles remained confined to the eastern Islamic world. In the East Bīrūnī had already criticized the *alḳāb*, but on political and practical grounds: they were a sign of the decadence of the caliphate, an expression of vanity, and moreover too long for practical use. The Egyptian Ibn Taghribirdī mocked the Persians, amongst whom all things were connected with *dīn*. The Maghribī ʿAlī b. Maymūn (c. 900/1495) designated the *alḳāb* simply as "diabolical innovation" (*bidʿa shayṭāniyya*).

After Ibn al-Fūwaṭī and al-Ḳalḳashandī, from the

beginning of the 10th/16th century at the latest, *dīn* titles were no longer considered as *alḳāb* in the true sense, being reduced to mere proper names. In the Ottoman empire, there developed a predilection for double names composed of a *laḳab* with *dīn* and a proper name, as F. Babinger has noted. Quite apart from absurd combinations which go as far as ʿUmar al-Dīn (see J. H. Kramers), in more recent times a downward trend in the choice of names with *dīn* may be observed ; in the biographical dictionary *Türk Meşhurları*, ʿIzzeddīn appears only rarely. In Egypt names originally ending in *dīn* are habitually shortened to the *muḍāfa*, Kamāl, Djamāl, etc. The Turkish name Izzet may perhaps have arisen in the same way (but cf. Ḥikmet, Fikret etc.; see also ISM).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Fūwaṭī and al-Ḳalḳashandī (referred to in the article); G. Flügel, *Husam ed-Din*, in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Section II, Part 12, s.v.; F. Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-Din, der Sohn des Richters von Simāw*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 20, n. 3.; J. H. Kramers, *Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn*, in *AO*, v (1926/27), 53-67; Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alḳāb al-islāmiyya fi 'l-ta'rīkh wa 'l-wathā'iḳ wa 'l-āthār*, Cairo 1957; A. Dietrich, *Die mit ad-dīn zusammengesetzten Personennamen*, in *ZDMG*, cx (1961), 43-54 (with valuable supplements to the lists drawn up by Flügel and Kramers); H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969 (*Beiruter Texte und Studien*, Vol. 6), (with chronological lists of the *dawla* and *dīn* titles until about 446/1055, pp. 167-73). (H. Busse)

ʿIZZ AL-DĪN KAYḲĀWŪS II [see KAYḲĀWŪS].

ʿARAB **ʿIZZET** [see *Supplement*].

ʿIZZET MOLLA, KEČEDJI-ZĀDE (1200/1785-1245/1829) Turkish poet, born in Istanbul, the son of the *ḳāḍīʿasker* Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ. His family originated from Konya and took their surname from Süleymān Efendi, the *imām* of the Toprak Sokak mosque who made his living as a felt-maker (*kečedji*). His son Muṣṭafā (d. 1181/1767) went to Istanbul for his education and became a *ḳāḍī* and trained his son Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ (the poet's father) for the same profession. ʿIzzet was only fourteen when Ṣāliḥ Efendi died and his two brothers-in-law, the *ḳāḍīʿasker* Ḥāmid and the poet Esʿad, took care of his upbringing, and trained him for the *ʿulemā* profession. But under the influence of the latter's too free and easy life, ʿIzzet soon took to drink, squandering what little he had been left by his father, and his enemies got his name struck off the register of the profession. This ignominy, coupled with being in straitened circumstances, brought him to the verge of despair and he decided to commit suicide. The strange circumstances in which this act was being carried out and how he was dissuaded from it and was eventually introduced to Ḥālet Efendi [*q.v.*], the powerful confidant of Maḥmūd II, are told in detail in a biographical article by Reshād Fu'ād, a great-grandson of his and with some variants by Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal (İnal) (see bibliography).

Ḥālet Efendi presented him with a house, secured his livelihood and introduced him to the sultan (for a discussion of this relationship see: A. H. Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*², Istanbul 1956, page 56, n. 1). Again thanks to Ḥālet, he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Galata in 1236/1820. When Ḥālet fell into disgrace and was banished to Konya and later executed there (1238/1822), ʿIzzet, his favourite confidant, was the only one of his entourage who escaped the purge. But he did not resist the temptation of praising his benefactor and denouncing his enemies in private conversation. An indecent couplet, (reproduced in Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, xii, 67), composed to this effect, seems to have been the last straw. He soon found himself banished to Keshan near Tekirdağ (Rodosto) in Thrace, where he stayed about a year (1238-9/1823-4) and where he wrote his masterpiece, *Miḥnet-Keshān*. It was the new grand-vizier Ghālib Pasha, who, although a former arch-enemy of Ḥālet, mediated to obtain his pardon from the sultan when ʿIzzet sent to him a *ḳaṣīda* in submission. ʿIzzet had no difficulty in regaining the favours of Maḥmūd II. He was successively appointed *ḳāḍī* of Mecca (124/1825) then of Istanbul (1242/1826) and Inspector of the Ḥaramayn (Mecca and Medina). But his prosperity did not last long. In a War Council, which met in the spring of 1243/1828 in the office of the Shaykh al-Islām, to decide whether or not to declare war on Russia, which had invaded Turkey, following the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino a few months earlier, ʿIzzet joined, half-heartedly and reluctantly, the majority which favoured war. But immediately afterwards, he composed, together with ʿÖmer Rāsim Efendi, the treasurer of the *Defterdār*, a memorial (*lāyiḥa*) which he submitted to the sultan through the Silāḥdār Agha. In it ʿIzzet expressed in detail what he did not dare to say publicly: he enumerated the reasons why it was not advisable to wage war. Maḥmūd II, who was highly angered, had his memorial rejected by a countermemorial (*reddiyye*) and ordered that ʿIzzet be banished to Cyprus and Rāsim to Rhodes; ʿIzzet's place of exile was later changed to Sivas. Nine months later, upon the disastrous outcome of the Russian campaign of 1243/1828, ʿIzzet, who proved to be right, was pardoned, but the ailing poet died a few hours before the sultan's *fermān* reached Sivas. It was attached to his breast at the burial (Ṣafar 1245/August 1829). He was forty-four years old. In 1916 his remains were brought to Istanbul and buried in the family tomb.

ʿIzzet Molla married Hibet Allāh Khanım, the daughter of Ismāʿīl Makkī Beg (and not of Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha as asserted by Fevziye Abdullah in *I A* s.v.), a descendant of Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha (executed in 1095/1683). The eldest of his four sons was the famous 19th-century statesman Fu'ād Pasha [*q.v.*].

ʿIzzet Molla is the last great representative of *Dīwān* poetry. During the closing stages of the old school, when many of his contemporaries repeated themselves with interminable *clichés* and hackneyed similes, he showed comparative originality, thanks to his strong sense of humour, his penchant for satire and repartee, allied with his unusual power of observation. Unlike many traditional poets, he did not shut himself in a world of allegory, but reflected, in most of his works, the real world around him.

Except for the short biography of his father, where he gives an example of the lofty ornate style (*inshā'*), his prose, particularly his memorial on reforms (*lāyiḥa*), is simple, fluent and to the point. ʿIzzet Molla is the author of the following works: (1) *Dīwān* I, compiled in 1241/1825 under the title of *Bahār-i Efkār*, contains most of his verse outside his *mathnawīs* (Būlāḳ 1255). His many chronograms have unusual documentary value; (2) *Dīwān* II, compiled under the title of *Khazān-i Āthār*, contains his few later poems (Istanbul 1257); (3) *Gülshen-i ʿAshḳ*, completed in 1227, a short allegorical *mathnawī* on mystic love, on the lines of Ghālib Dede's *Ḥusn u ʿAshḳ* and, like it, inspired by Djalāl al-Dīn

Rūmī's Ṣūfī theories. ʿIzzet, who was a member of the *Mawlawī* order, appears himself as a leading character in the work. For a synopsis see Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 306-308 (lithograph ed. Istanbul 1265); (4) *Miḥnet-Keshān* ("The Sufferers" with a pun on Keshān, as the title could also be read *Miḥnet-i Keshan* "The Suffering at Keshan"), his most important work, which immediately secured his reputation and which distinguishes him from many contemporary *dīwān* poets. It is a narrative poem in *mutaḳārib* and in *mathnawī* form of about seven thousand couplets, interspersed with many *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *murabbaʿ* and chronograms, which relate in great detail and with pungent humour mixed with vital realism, the circumstances of his arrest in a public bath, this adventurous journey to Keshān, the colourful life in this little provincial township, the many local characters he meets and all his experiences there. Many reminiscences of his earlier life and people he knew in Istanbul are added with the same joyful humour to this lively and very spontaneous narrative, which make it a unique documentary work for the last period of Ottoman society before the great reforms of the 19th century. ʿIzzet wrote most of the *Miḥnet-Keshān* in Keshān and completed it on his return to Istanbul in Djumāda II 1239/February 1824. But the work was in the form of hurried notes on scattered pages. It was later arranged and copied out by two of his friends. (Lithographic edition, Istanbul 1269); (5) *Dawḥat al-maḥāmid fī tardjamat al-wālid*, a short biography of his father, Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ Efendi, written in a flowery style of the best *inshāʾ* tradition, published in 1916 (*TOEM*, No. 41, December 1332); (6) *Lāyiḥa*, a reform memorial on the line of many *lāyiḥas* submitted to Selīm III, written in 1243/1827 by order of Maḥmūd II. It has not been edited (two Mss. are in the libraries of the Turkish Historical Society and of the University of Istanbul, Ibnülemin Collection). The text of his other *lāyiḥa*, the famous anti-war memorial which he composed with ʿÖmer Rāsim Efendi and its "rejection" (*reddiyye*) prepared by ʿĀkif and Pertev Efendis (later pashas), are given in ʿAṭā, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 267-275.

Bibliography: Faṭīn, *Tedhkire*, s.v.; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Müʾellifleri*, ii, 320; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 304 ff.; ʿA. Sheref, *Taʾrīkh Muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1339, 39 ff.; Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, 1937, s.v.; Fevziye Abdullāh, in *I A* s.v.; A. H. Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*², Istanbul 1956, 54 ff.

(Fahir İz)

ʿIZZET PASHA (Aḥmed ʿIzzet Furgaç 1864-1937) Ottoman soldier and statesman. Aḥmed ʿIzzet was born in the Macedonian hamlet of Nasliċ, near Göridje (today Korcë in southeastern Albania) in the *wilāyet* of Manastīr (today Bitola in southern Yugoslavia). The family were Ottoman-Muslim notables of the region; there is some dispute whether they were of Turkish or Albanian origin (see İnal, p. 2020, quoting General ʿAlī Fuʾād [Erdem], and Klinghardt, p. 12). Under the Turkish "Family Name Law" of 1934 he took the name of Furgaç.

ʿIzzet's father, Ḥaydar, had entered the Ottoman civil service, in which he rose to *mutaṣarrif*, and ʿIzzet first grew up with his grandfather, Timut, in Nasliċ, and then followed his father to assignments in Macedonia, Anatolia and Istanbul. He entered the military secondary schools in Istanbul at 13, and continued (1881-87) at the Ḥarbiye [*q.v.*], where he graduated from both the regular and the advanced general staff course (finishing the latter ninth in a class of 14). He rose, rapidly at first, in military rank: captain (1887), *ḳolaghasī* (1889), major (1894), lieutenant-colonel (1898), colonel (1901), brigadier-general (1905), lieutenant-general (*ferīḳ*, 1907), general (*birindji ferīḳ*, 1908), marshal (1918). In 1913 he was made the sultan's aide-de-camp (*yāwer-i ekrem*) for life; from 1912 onward he also was a member of the senate (*aʿyān*).

Upon graduation from the Ḥarbiye, ʿIzzet stayed as instructor in military geography and aide to Colmar Baron von der Goltz-Pasha, inspector-general of Ottoman military schools. After advanced training in Germany (1891-94) and a brief assignment at al-Lādhiḳiyya in Syria, he became military aide in the Ottoman high commission in Sofia (1895-96). When a court favourite became the next commissioner, he asked for a transfer. With the outbreak of the Greek-Turkish War, ʿIzzet was appointed to the general staff of the army mobilized on the Thessalian front and to the office of war operations. His energetic stand against corruption and inefficiency led to his interrogation at the palace and, eventually, a punitive transfer to the reserve division at Damascus (1897). There he proved his military and diplomatic talents in pacifying the rebellious Djabal Durūz (1902), and his administrative skills in supervising work on the Ḥidjāz railway near ʿAḳaba. From 1903-08 he served in Yemen, first as chief of staff to ʿAlī Rīżā Pasha, the later grand vizier, whose forces were dispatched against the rising of the Zaydī sect under Imām Yaḥyā, then as commander of the division in Ḥudayda (1907). The Young Turk Revolution interrupted his summer leave in Lebanon, and ʿIzzet returned to Istanbul.

ʿIzzet's reputation as one of von der Goltz's star disciples, his field experience in Yemen, and his rare courage in standing up against the abuses of the Ḥamīdian regime led to his appointment, following the 1908 revolution, as chief of the Ottoman general staff. For two and a half years he worked, often in conjunction with von der Goltz and Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha, to reform the system of training for officers and non-commissioned officers, to create a reserve officer corps, to introduce new model regiments, to arrange manoeuvres, and on transportation and mobilization schemes for the defence of the European parts of the empire. During the April 1909 Counter-Revolution, ʿIzzet helped to establish order within the capital as the *Ḥareket Ordusu* approached Istanbul. Differences with Maḥmūd Pasha, the minister of war, and his old teacher von der Goltz contributed to ʿIzzet's desire for reassignment. ʿIzzet disagreed with Shewket's method of handling unrest in Albania, and resented what he thought to be encroachment by the minister of war in matters of manoeuvres and personnel management. Meanwhile, Imām Yaḥyā had resumed his revolt and laid siege to the Yemeni capital of Ṣanʿāʾ. Upon the death of ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, commander-in-chief in Yemen, ʿIzzet was dispatched to take his place (February 1911-December 1912), while officially on leave from his post as chief of staff. He succeeded in relieving the besieged Yemeni capital of Ṣanʿāʾ and in concluding a compromise peace at Daʿān whereby Imām Yaḥyā was recognized as temporal and spiritual head of the Zaydī sect, with the prerogative of appointing local officials on the sultan's behalf. In return, Yaḥya acknowledged the sultan's suzerainty and joined an alliance with Ottoman forces against the rebellious Sayyid Idrīs to the north.

While in Yemen, ʿIzzet was dismayed to learn that upon the outbreak of the First Balkan War, the new war minister, Nāẓīm Pasha, had acted in com-

plete disregard of ʿIzzet's careful strategic plans by proceeding to the offensive before preparations were complete. Because of transportation difficulties, ʿIzzet managed to return only as Turkish forces were withdrawing to Čataldja, outside the gates of the capital. When members of the Committee of Union and Progress seized power in the *coup d'état* of 23 January 1913, ʿIzzet was offered the post of generalissimo under the new cabinet of Maḥmūd Shewket. At first he declined, having opposed the Unionist plot and being profoundly shocked at the death of Nāẓim Pasha, who was shot during the *coup*. He subsequently reconsidered in view of the danger of renewed war on the Balkans and of the prospect that Enwer [*q.v.*], whom ʿIzzet considered impetuous, political, and less than competent, might obtain the post. Accordingly, ʿIzzet on 30 January 1913 was named to the post of deputy commander-in-chief (*bashkumandan wekili*—the sultan himself being the nominal *bashkumandan*) and, following Maḥmūd Shewket's assassination by anti-Unionist conspirators in June, that of minister of war in the cabinet of Saʿīd Ḥālim Pasha. As generalissimo ʿIzzet was in charge of the campaign resulting in the recapture of Edirne in the Second Balkan War (July 1913). Since he gave priority to his post as supreme commander, the minister of marine, Čürüksulu Maḥmūd Pasha, frequently acted as interim minister of war, *e.g.*, in concluding the agreement in the autumn of 1913 by which the German military mission under General Otto Liman von Sanders was brought to Turkey.

ʿIzzet had some reservations about the far-reaching powers of that mission which, he believed, threatened the integrity of the Ottoman command structure. Subsequently, the purge of the incompetent officers after the Balkan Wars proved, for ʿIzzet's taste, too sweeping in scope and too political in the details of its implementation, and these differences with the dominant Unionist partly led to his resignation both as minister of war and deputy commander-in-chief around the end of 1913. He was succeeded in both posts by Enwer Pasha.

According to ʿIzzet's own account (İnal, 1979; Klinghardt, 231 f.), the Ottoman government about this time favoured making ʿIzzet prince of Albania. Although the plan received some backing among Albanian leaders both in Istanbul and in Albania itself, ʿIzzet rejected it out of fear that "Albania might suffer harm on my account" (*yüzümden Arnavudluğa fenalık geleceği*).

ʿIzzet spent two years in semi-retirement, but early in 1916 took command of the front against Russia with headquarters at Diyārbakr. The disastrous defeat at Sarıḳamısh, under Enwer's personal command, had all but destroyed the Eastern front the year before. The best ʿIzzet could do with his decimated and ill-supplied troops was to slow down the Russian advance through the Armenian and Kurdish mountains. When the revolution of February 1917 led to the collapse of the Russian armies, ʿIzzet asked to be relieved of what was no longer an actual front command. He subsequently served as Ottoman military delegate to the peace conferences at Brest Litovsk, with Russia, and at Bucharest, with Roumania (December 1917-May 1918).

Following the collapse of the Palestinian-Syrian front, the resignation of the Ṭalʿat-Enwer cabinet, and Aḥmed Tewfīḳ Pasha's fruitless attempt to form a government, the task was assigned to ʿIzzet Pasha. He served as grand vizier (*sadr aʿẓam*), from 14 October to 11 November 1918, at the head of a government that included a few moderate Unionists, notably Djāwīd [*q.v.*] at the Ministry of Finance; the parliamentary leader of the Unionist anti-war faction that had formed early in 1918, ʿAlī Fetḥī [Okyar]; and various non-political figures, such as the naval hero Ḥüseyin Raʾūf [Orbay] and the imperial historiographer ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref. The most urgent task was the conclusion of an armistice, and ʿIzzet tried to make contact with the Allied powers through a variety of channels. The successful one proved to be the dispatch of the British General Charles Townshend, captured at Kut in 1916, to the headquarters of Vice-Admiral Sir Somerset Arthur Gough-Calthorpe in the harbour of Mudros on the Aegean island of Lemnos. The Ottoman delegation that went to Mudros soon after was headed by Ḥüseyin Raʾūf and Reshād Ḥikmet, under-secretary of foreign affairs. On the grand vizier's instructions, the delegates insisted on obtaining safe-conduct for the German and Austrian military personnel stationed in Turkey; but they yielded on such points as the Allies' right to occupy key cities, harbours, and railway junctions throughout what remained of the Ottoman Empire. Determined not to jeopardize relations with the Allies through disputes over the interpretation of the armistice, ʿIzzet ordered that no resistance be offered when British troops moved substantially beyond the lines attained when the armistice took effect on October 31, occupying the cities of Mosul and Iskenderun. (This decision led to a spirited exchange of telegrams with Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, then commander of the Syrian front, which Kemāl published in 1926).

When it became known that Enwer, Ṭalʿat, Djemāl, and other leading Unionists had fled Istanbul on 2 November 1918, thereby evading any criminal or political responsibility for their war policies, ʿIzzet's political authority was seriously undermined. He had had no advance knowledge of the escape and indeed tried to get German and Austrian authorities to return the fugitives from Odessa (the co-operation he received probably being less than sincere). In view of the political pressures against him, ʿIzzet resigned on November 8, and three days later the sultan replaced his middle-of-the-road government with a clearly anti-Unionist one under Aḥmed Tewfīḳ.

In May 1919 ʿIzzet briefly entered the second Dāmād Ferīd [*q.v.*] government as minister without portfolio as part of a show of national unity in view of the Greek landings at Izmir. In July he refused to enter Ferīd's next cabinet which undertook to mount a military campaign against the Kemālist "rebels". In October 1920 he accepted the ministry of the interior in a cabinet under Aḥmed Tewfīḳ that took a more conciliatory line. ʿIzzet and Ṣāliḥ Khulūṣī [Kezrak] Pasha were dispatched to Biledjik (midway to Ankara) in December to negotiate some arrangement with Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha and his Grand National Assembly. But Kemāl refused to recognize the delegation as representing any kind of government in Istanbul or to let his guests return to their capital. Instead Kemāl detained them in Ankara, hoping that Kemālist successes against irregular forces (under Čerkes Edhem [*q.v.*]) and against the Greek armies would sufficiently impress them to join his side. Upon their steadfast refusal, ʿIzzet and his colleagues were at last allowed to return to Istanbul, in March 1921, on promise of resigning their government offices there. When in June ʿIzzet Pasha re-entered the next cabinet under Aḥmed Tewfīḳ Pasha as foreign minister, he

received a reproachful telegram from Muṣṭafā Kemāl; in reply he did not repudiate his earlier promise as having been extorted but rather pleaded patriotic duty and his manifest lack of personal ambition. He continued in his post until the dissolution of the sultan's government in November 1922.

ʿIzzet Pas̲h̲a was a soldier of outstanding talent and high-minded patriotism. Pomiankowski (p. 38), as Austrian military plenipotentiary one of the most reliable observers of the late Ottoman military and political scene, refers to him on the occasion of his resignation in early 1914 as "in the best years of his many powers, an enlightened and experienced soldier, and at the time respected as the only competent and energetic Turkish military commander" (*damals als der einzige tüchtige türkische Heeresführer angesehen*). His administrative and diplomatic gifts became evident at various junctures, but he retained a life-long distaste for factionalism and political manoeuvring. It was his misfortune to have risen to the top of the military profession at a time when military and political questions were inextricably intertwined, both through domestic instability and through the empire's decline and eventual collapse under foreign pressure. His devotion to duty rarely allowed him to refuse a responsible assignment; his probity rarely allowed him to keep it for long. Thus he repeatedly saw others dissipate the fruits of his labours—only to find himself called back to retrieve or liquidate their mistakes. His political moderation and lack of party ambition typically kept him in the middle—between Unionists and anti-Unionists, or Kemālists and anti-Kemālists. A loyal servant of the Ottoman Empire until the very end, he lived under the Turkish Republic in quiet retirement in his home in Istanbul until his death.

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(D. A. Rustow and G. W. Swanson)

ʿIZZ al-DĪN b. al-SULĀM al-SULAMĪ [see al-sulamī].

ʿIZZĪ (Süleymān Efendi), d. 1168/1755, Ottoman official historiographer (*waḳʿa-nüvīs* [*q.v.*]), was the son of a certain K̲h̲alīl Ag̲h̲a, the *ketk̲h̲udā* of the Baltad̲j̲ī guard of Meḥemmed IV's daughter K̲h̲adīd̲j̲e Sulṭān. Educated by his father and private tutors, he also learned calligraphy (Mustaḳīmzāde, *Tuḥfe-i K̲h̲aṭṭāṭīn*, Istanbul 1928, 212). His father's connexions with the court procured him a series of secretarial posts, so that he rose to be *Mektūbī-i ketk̲h̲udā-i ṣadr-i ʿālī* in 1152/1739. As such he was present at the operations round Belgrade, and the recovery of the city inspired him to make a copy of the *Süleymān-nāme* of Karačelebizāde [*q.v.*] and append a short memoir of his own on this second conquest (autograph Ms: Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Emanet Hazinesi 1395 = Karatay, No. 684). On 1 Rad̲j̲ab 1158/30 July 1745, on the recommendation of the Reʾīs al-Küttāb, he was appointed *waḳʿa-nüvīs* in succession to Ṣubḥī [*q.v.*]. In 1160/1747, without resigning as *waḳʿa-nüvīs*, he was appointed "master of ceremonies" (*tes̲h̲rīfātčī*). He died in D̲j̲umādā II 1168/March-April 1755, and was buried near Edirne Kapîsî, beside S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ Murādzāde who had initiated him into the Naḳs̲h̲bendī order.

His official history covers the years 1157-65 (1744-52), and was printed in Istanbul in 1199/1785. Manuscripts are numerous (see Babinger, 288; *Ist. küt. türkçe tarih ve coğ. yazmaları kat.*, i/2, no. 82; Karatay, nos. 930-9, no. 937 being the "presentation copy" to the sultan; etc.). In a preamble he describes the value of history as a guide to conduct and policy, so that the historian's duty is to write honestly and frankly. He gives very full details on appointments and changes in the *Dīwān-i hümāyūn*, so that the work is a valuable source for the biographies of statesmen; it occasionally incorporates the accounts of eye-witnesses which he commissioned. The work is written in the most elaborate and ornate style of *ins̲h̲āʾ*, and abounds in chronograms. He composed a *dīwān*, but won little fame as a poet. In the field of mysticism, he translated from Persian the *Anīs al-ṭālibīn* of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Mubārak al-Buk̲h̲ārī.

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(İSMET PARMAKSIZOĞLU)

J

JACOB [see YAʿḲŪB, ISRĀʾĪL].

JAÉN [see DJAYYĀN].

JAFFA [see YĀFĀ].

JAIN [see DJAYN].

JANISSARIES [see DEVSHIRME, YEÑI-ČERI].

JAPHET [see YĀFITH].

JASMINE [see YĀSAMĪN].

JAWNPUR [see DJAWNPUR].

JAVA [see INDONESIA].

JEREMIAH [see IRMIYĀ].

JERUSALEM [see AL-ḲUDS].

JESUS [see ʿĪSĀ].

JINNAH [see DJINĀḤ]. The name, commonly believed to be from Arabic *djanāḥ*, is in fact from *jheeṇā*, Gujerati for "thin". (ED.)

JOHN THE BAPTIST [see YAḤYĀ].

JONAH [see YŪNUS].

JORDAN [see URDUNN].

JOSEPH [see YŪSUF].

JOSHUA [see YŪSHAʿ].

JUDAEO-ARABIC, the usual name for the spoken —or in some cases the written—language of the Jews in the Arabic-speaking countries.

i. JUDAEO-ARABIC DIALECTS.

The traditional term "Judaeo-Arabic" has certainly less justification when used in connection with the spoken usage than with the written usage defined above. It suggests the erroneous idea of a form of speech common to all Arabic-speaking Jews, and offering characteristics linked in some way to religious or ethnic facts. Now though it cannot be denied that the religious factor has influenced the Arabic spoken by the Jews, that influence is limited to what is least central to the language, to the cultural and particularly the cultic vocabulary, where forms of Hebrew or Aramaic origin abound. The actual structures of Arabic remain in all particulars untouched and do not reflect those of the religious language. In other respects there is no one form of Arabic common to all Arabic-speaking Jews, but dialectical usages as varied as those characteristic of the different groups of Muslims. There is thus properly speaking no such thing as Judaeo-Arabic. But it is possible, nevertheless, to bring out, at numerous points within the Arab domain, particular characteristics which within a certain locality serve to distinguish the usage of the Jews from that of their Muslim neighbours.

These particularities may be few in number. Thus in Cairo the Jewish community (today virtually extinct) seems in its latter days to have been differentiated linguistically from the Muslim community merely by a few characteristics of which the only relatively important ones were, in the field of phonetics, the virtual disappearance of "emphasis", and in the field of morphology the use of the prefix *n-* to mark the 1st pers. sing. of the imperfect. But the Coptic language also displays a weakening of the "emphatic" pharyngalization and the *n-* form is in general use in Alexandria. In Jerusalem, apart from the religious vocabulary, only minor, sporadic, unstable differences were to be noted, affecting above all the intonation of phrases, occasionally the production of vocalic variants or the frequency of certain adaptations of adjacent phonemes. Insofar as the few clear data at our disposal permit us to gain a comprehensive idea of this phenomenon, it appears that in the greater part of the Arab East (Arabian peninsula, northern ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan), the facts may be compared to the situation in Jerusalem; but different circumstances prevailed in southern ʿIrāḳ on the one hand and the Maghrib on the other.

As far as the East is concerned, it is in Baghdād that the speech patterns of the various communities diverged most clearly. That of the Jews (J) before their emigration presented certain analogies with the dialect used by the Christians and on the other hand differed from that of the Muslims (M) in various essential points. On the plane of phonology the following correspondances between the speech of the Muslims (M), that of the Jews (J), and classical Arabic (C) may be observed: (C) *ḳāf*: (M) *g*: (J) *ḳ*; (C) *kāf*: (M) *tsh* (in certain defined situations): (J) *k*; (C, M) *r*: (J) *gh* (for a large number of people); to (C) *l* there often corresponds when a velar is present (M) *ḷ* but (J) *l*. (C) *ŭ* and *ĭ* merge in (J) *ə*: M keeps a distinction between the two sounds but with a distribution different from that of (C): (M) occasionally equates *ŭ* or *ə* to (C, J) *a*; more often than (M), (J) has *-ā* corresponding to (C) *-ā*; equally, (J) demonstrates the *imāla* [*q.v.*] of *ā* that is unknown in (M); some differences in syllabic structure and accentuation may be illustrated by the following forms: (M) *ṣāḥbi* "my friend, *gubti* "my room": (J) *ṣaḥə́bi*, *ḳəbbə́ti*. On the plane of morphology, the most outstanding items concerned conjugation. For the perfect the suffixes were: (M) sing. 1. -t, 3.f. *-at*; plur. 2. *-tu*, 3. *-aw*: (J) *-tu*, *-ət*, *-təm*, *-u*; for the unattached pronouns, compare (M) sing. 1. *āni*, 3.m. *huwwa*, plur. 1. *əḥna*, 2. *əntu*, 3. *humma*: (J) *āna*, *huwwi*, *nəḥna*, *əntəm*, *hummi*; suffix pronouns: (M) sing. 1. *-i*/*-ya*, 2. f. *tsh*, 3. m. *⁴*, *-a*, f. *-ha*: (J) *-i*/*-yi*, *-k*(*i*), *-*(*n*)*u*, *-*(*h*)*a*, *-*(*h*)*əm*. The feminine ending was (M) *-a*/*-at* but, frequently, (J)*-i*; to obtain the *nomen unitatis* the suffix *-a*/*-at* was added in Baghdād (M), *-āyi* in Baghdād (J). Lastly we must note the difference in value of the verbal prefix *da-* which constituted the mark of the jussive and the progressive present for (M), but only the jussive for (J). (J) utilised for the present the verbal prefix *ḳa*(*d*)-, (M) had also, less frequently, a form *gāəd* for this purpose). On the lexical plane the following are particularly noteworthy: (M) *batshər* "tomorrow": (J) *ghada*; (M) *hwaya* "much" (J) *ktīgh*; (M) *hnā* "here": (J) *hōni*.

In the Maghrib, although the phenomenon is not universal, Jewish speech forms which differ markedly from those of neighbouring Muslims were frequently encountered. At Fez for example, distinguishing features were numerous and important. The following, in particular, are noteworthy: the pronunciation ʾ of *ḳāf* (M *ḳ*), *z*, *s* (*ẓ*, *ṣ* in association with an "em-

phatic") of *djīm* and *shīn* respectively; the form of the 3rd pers. fem. sing. of the perfect in CCVC-*t* (*ktəbt*) identical to the 1st and 2nd pers. (M CVCCV*t* *kətbət*), the conjugation of an "unvoiced" verb in the perfect without the element -*i*- before the flexional ending (M *ḥabbīt*, J *ḥabbət*); the pattern -CVCC- of the imperfect (*idakhl* "he is entering"); for the personal pronouns, the forms of the 1st pers. *yāna* (after a vowel) and the alternating forms in *n*- for the 3rd pers.: *nōwa* and *hōwa*, *nīya* and *hīya*, *nōma* and *hōma*; the running together, in the form *ntīn*, of the 2nd pers. sing. masc. and fem. pronouns; as far as lexicography is concerned, the use of *rā* "to see" (M *shāf*). It must be added that the Jewish speech form used, in current speech, derived verbal patterns with the prefix *n*- to express the passive, and acknowledged a form with the prefix *t*-/*tt*- with lengthening of the theme vowel: *itta*ʿ*māl*.

Information about the speech forms of Jews in other Moroccan cities is rare, but one might note at Marrakesh the same assimilation of the prepalatal fricatives to the corresponding sibilants, *i.e.*, *s* for *shīn*, *z* for *djīm*, and the same treatment of the singular forms of the perfect: *ḍrabt* "I have, thou hast, she has hit". In other areas, for example at Tinghir, one noted once more the assimilation of sibilants and palatal fricatives, but this time, as in some Tunisian towns, to the advantage of the latter; *sīn*>*sh*, *zāy*>*j*, except in conjunction with "emphatics" which compelled the pronunciation *ṣ* and *ẓ*. The speech of the Debdu Jews was characterized by a tendency to lose the "emphatic" articulation, the pronunciation *k* for *ḳāf*, and above all by the conjugation of the perfect, which gave in the sing. a 1st and 2nd pers. masc. with the form *kötlət*, and a 3rd pers. fem. with the form *ktəlt*.

At Tlemcen a bringing forward of the point of articulation of velars and palatals made *k* and *tsh* correspond respectively to *ḳ* and *k* among the Muslims. Apart from this, *h* was often reduced to nil, the diphthongs to long vowels homophonic with the semi-consonant. We must note also that the Muslim preposition *m*ʿ*ā* "with" (in constructions including a suffix pronoun) was replaced by *mā*ʿ (before a vowel)/*ma*ʿ (before a consonant) amongst the Jews. Beside this the latter were differentiated by the use of the forms *dāba* for "now" (M *dərwoḳ*), *līyāsh* "why?" (M *līyāh*), *ashte*, *ashən-hūwa*/*hīya* "what?" (*Māsh*).

In Algiers one noticed as differentiating characteristics of the speech of the Jews—which is now used only by a few elderly people who live outside Algeria—the extreme weakness of the "emphatics", often reduced to the corresponding simple consonants; the non-affrication of the unvoiced dental (J *t*: M *ts*), the tendency in certain cases to the affrication of *d* (M. *d*: J *dz*), the tendency to make the prepalatals into sibilants (often *s* for *sh*, *dz* for *dj*), the bringing forward of the point of articulation of *kh* and *gh*, the transfer from *ḳ* to ʾ, the frequent dropping of *h*, the reduction of the series of short vowels to a single phoneme of neutral sound (with variants tending one way or the other according to neighbouring sounds), and a very pronounced *imāla* on the end syllable. As for morphology, particular note must be taken of the form of the masculine suffix pronoun after a vowel: *u* for Muslim -*a*. Furthermore J utilised *mā*ʿ "with" (M *m*ʿ*a*), *innā* "here" (M *hna*), *dābā* "now" (M *dərwoḳ*), *lbārah* "yesterday" (M (*y*)*āməs*).

The differences between various usages amongst Jews and Muslims respectively were also very pronounced in Tunis. The two phonological systems diverged widely over whole sectors. The two series of M dentals, occlusive and spirant, were replaced by a single occlusive series in J. J had brought together *s* and *sh* on the one hand, *z* and *j* on the other. The sounds produced were, generally, *sh* and *j*, with *s* and *z* constituting conditioned variants before non-emphatic *r*; in association with emphatics, *sh* and *j* resulted respectively in *ṣ* and *ẓ*. J had no laryngeally articulated phonemes. To M *h* corresponded, according to context, either nothing or a lengthening of the adjacent phoneme. The vowelling of J had reduced the former *ā* and *ī* to a single phoneme *ə*; moreover *ū* remained distinct only within narrow limits. M had only partially operated this reduction, so that very frequently the vowel sounds for the same word were not identical in the two forms of speech. On the other hand, in most cases, J had kept the diphthongs *aw* and *ay* which have become *ū* and *ī* in M. The morphology also displayed fairly clear-cut differences. For example in detached personal pronouns plural were (M) *aḥna*, *əntūma*, *hūma*: (J) *öhna*, *əntumān*, *ūmān*; the masc. sing. attached pronoun for the 3rd pers., after a vowel, was (M) -*h*: (J) -*u*; for verbs with the 3rd radical -*y*, the 3rd pers. plur. in (M) *nəmshīu*: (J) *nəmshyu*; the verbs which formerly had a 1st radical hamza were of the type (M) *āmər*: (J) *amər*(*r*); the intensive pattern of verbs with a 2nd radical semi-vowel was (M) *zawwəz*, *ṣeyyir*: (J) *juwwəj*/*jūwəj*, *ṣiyyar*/*ṣīyar*; to the copula of being (M) ʿ*ād*, *ma* ʿ*ātsh* "there is (still), there is no longer" corresponded (J) *bḳa*, *ma bḳāsh*, etc. Reasonably similar situations might be discerned in other Tunisian cities, and particularly in Sousse.

The speech patterns of Jews in Libya have not been sufficiently studied before the displacement of their communities. For Tripoli itself we can only mention a few characteristics, though these are significant. Thus the Jews of this town pronounced as an unvoiced back velar *ḳ* the sound pronounced by their fellow citizens *g*. Also notable are (M) *t*: (J) *tsh* before *i* and *e*, and on the morphological plane (M) *mōlā-i* "my master": (J) *mōlā-ya*; (M) *ishūf* "he sees": (J) *yāra*.

The essential problem was that of the meaning of this phenomenon of differentiation. It must be stressed that this phenomenon was not solely nor even particularly characteristic of the Jewish minorities in the domain of Arab Islam. To remain within this domain, which nonetheless is not the only one where such observations can be made, one may call to mind that where groups of Christians exist, for example, linguistic differences may also mark them out. So it is in southern ʿIrāḳ and in Baghdād itself where a speech pattern similar but not identical to that of the Jews clearly distinguishes Christians from Muslims. In the West where the only Arabic-speaking Christians are of Maltese origin, their own dialect has withstood several centuries of contact, and right up to the present day distinguishes them linguistically from other groups. We are speaking, in fact, of the normal consequence of the situations of relative isolation in which minorities may have lived. The development has taken place in a partly autonomous fashion in proportion as socio-historical conditions may have differed.

a) The retention in Jewish usage of characteristics which had disappeared or been transformed in neighbouring Muslim speech patterns was often due to the greater resistance of the Jews to certain socio-cultural pressures. Thus in numerous places where nomads had become part of the sedentary population,

their linguistic influence had operated with much greater force on the Muslims than on the Jews. The clearest example is that of ʿIrāḳ, where Muslim speech is of the Bedouin type, closely related to that of the nomads in lower ʿIrāḳ, whereas Jewish speech was clearly allied to that of the ancient cities of upper ʿIrāḳ, free from Bedouin characteristics. In some Maghribī towns also, the unvoiced articulation of *ḳāf* distinguished the speech of the Jews from that of the Muslims who pronounce it *g* like the nomads. This is so in Tripoli, Oran, Sidi Bel Abbes, etc.

b) Developments particular to Jewish speech forms may, on the other hand, have been provoked or precipitated by cultural contacts alien to or less intense for the Muslims. Doubtless there are particular contacts, maintained with more or less facility according to the period, between Arabic-speaking Jewish communities of nearby or relatively distant regions: the links between the Jews of Algiers and Tlemcen can perhaps explain the use by Jews from Algiers of the form *dāba* "now", a western form not used by the Algiers Muslims. But the most decisive contacts, in known cases, seem to have been with non-Arabic speaking groups. Thus in the Maghrib the influence of Spanish-speaking immigrants operated, more strongly in the west than in the east, and was responsible notably for lexical modification, but perhaps also at least partially for certain phonetic phenomena such as the treatment of sibilants. Furthermore the influence of foreign colonies in Arab cities has often been more decisive for the Jewish community. Thus in North Africa French, which moreover finally supplanted Arabic almost entirely in some strata of the Jewish population, to a greater or lesser extent according to the country, had contributed in numerous instances to the changing of the Jewish speech forms, not only by the addition of a large new vocabulary, but also by the model it provided for new syntax patterns. On the phonetic plane, for example, a weakening of the "emphatics" or even their replacement by the corresponding simple consonants, as well as the back pronunciation of *r*, was common amongst the bilingual French-Arabic speakers.

c) One must also take into account the original heterogeneousness of the population of a certain number of cities. The various ethnic groups, often taking up residence at different periods, may come from separate regions with linguistic habits already differentiated. An obvious example is that of the Christian population of Baghdād which seems to be made up largely of relatively recent immigrants from Mosul. This fact is reflected in their speech pattern which is of the sedentary type, similar to but not identical with that of the Jews whose arrival in Baghdād took place at a very much earlier date, but very analogous precisely to that of Mosul. (As has been pointed out above the speech of the Muslims is of the "Bedouin" type.) In this regard, the case of Tunisian speech patterns is also striking. All those of the Jews displayed the assimilation of the interdentals to their corresponding dentals, whereas the distinction is maintained in all speech patterns of Muslims, except at Mahdiya. This last type doubtless represented the old *koine* of Ḳayrawān. Now it certainly appears that the Ḳayrawān area was the centre from which numerous colonies of Jews were dispersed to the Tunisian cities. It is interesting to note also from this same point of view, that the speech of the Jews of Tlemcen and Oran seems to have been of the same type as that of the Msirda and Trara hill Muslims, whereas that of the old sedentary Muslims of Tlemcen belongs to a different type.

These linguistic particularities of certain groups of Arabic-speaking Jews have, in general, no common underlying features, except that of being speech patterns related to old urban dialects in contact with dialects which have occasionally been "Bedouinised", and which have evolved in relatively autonomous fashion. The traits which were most commonly cited as being characteristic, at least for the Maghrib: change from *ḳ* to ʾ or velarized *k*, palatalization of *k* (*k*>*tsh*), apart from the fact that they are sporadic were in no way specifically Jewish; they arose from phenomena spread over vast areas, where they concerned Muslims equally. (See art. ʿARABIYYA: the Maghribī dialects). In the same way the pronunciation *gh* of *r* and the weakness of *h* are frequent amongst the oldest settled peoples. More characteristic, however, is the deterioration of the sibilants which has often been noticed in the speech of Maghribī Jews, Berber speakers, incidentally, as well as Arabic speakers. This deterioration is not everywhere, as is frequently stated, a lisp, the reduction of palatal to alveolar fricatives. Certainly this is the case in the speech of Fez or Marrakesh, and a tendency in this direction had been noted at Algiers. But it is the opposite, the change from alveolar to palatal fricatives, in the absence of complicating factors, which has been ascertained among other Moroccan Jews (Toghda) or those of certain Tunisian cities (Tunis or Sousse for example). What is in question, therefore, is the tendency to assimilation of the two series which is produced according to different patterns in the various speech forms concerned. It is possible that there may be here a characteristic of a particular group of Jews which was dispersed across the Maghrib. It seems, however, more realistic to see a sort of Spanishness which the Spanish-speaking immigrants introduced, as people with prestige, in the course of their Arabization.

Private language. A form of slang used by Jewish traders and artisans was spread across the whole area. It was normally called *lāshōn*, from the Hebrew word meaning "tongue, language", occasionally *ishūrūni* from *yəshurūn* which in the Bible is applied to the people of Israel. This slang was based on the utilisation of a basically Hebrew vocabulary in accordance with completely Arabic morphology and syntax.

Written language. The majority of the Arabic-speaking Jewish communities used Arabic as a written language (by means of Hebrew characters provided where necessary with diacritical marks). This use, which often depended upon a linguistic level superior to that of the spoken language, is not to be confused with the variety of Middle Arabic called Judaeo-Arabic (see below under ii). At least in the few cases which it has been possible to study, in the absence of a more complete record, it was a question of using the local dialects, often purified of what was most strictly characteristic of them, taking as a general norm the Muslim speech of the large cities. For instance, in the Maghrib the confusions between *sīn*, *zāy* on the one hand, and *shīn*, *djīm* on the other, and again between *ḳāf* and *hamza*, were avoided because these confusions are particular to certain forms of speech and, moreover, felt to be more or less ridiculous changes for the worse. In the same way an effort to restore *h* could be noted everywhere, leading at times to hyper-correction. On the other hand the dentals were rarely distinguished from the interdentals, since few urban speech forms, Jewish or Muslim, had retained this distinc-

tion. Often these kinds of *koine* had their own characteristics, absent from all or most Jewish speech patterns, and appeared as archaisms; thus to take as an example a *koine* current at least throughout the eastern Maghrib, one could see in it the distinction, relatively rare in the Jewish speech forms of this region, between the second persons masculine and feminine singular of the perfect, the formation of feminine plurals for adjectives in *-at*, the use of the relative *ʾldy* (read as *əldi*), of the adverb *hākda*, "thus, like that", of the conjunction *ʾn* (read as *ən*), at times *ʾyn* (read as *in*), "if", of the preposition *mtl* (*mətl*), "as", etc.

Bibliography: An attempt at a general characterisation of Arabic speech in Jewish groups is found in H. Blanc, *Communal dialects in Baghdad*, Cambridge Mass. 1964, 12-16 and *passim*, which has provided the points mentioned here concerning Jerusalem and Baghdād. See also J. Mansour, *The Arabic dialect of the Jews of Baghdad* ..., in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, viii (1957), 187-98. The general tendencies of M. Mièses, *Die Entstehungsursache der jüdischen Dialekte*, Vienna 1915, are doubtful.—See scattered information in D. Cohen, *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe*, Paris 1970, 105-25.—On the Yemen, information is to be found in S. D. Goitein, *Jemenische Geschichten*, in *ZS*, viii (1932), 162-81, ix (1933), 19-43; *Jemenica, Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Central-Jemen*, Leipzig 1933. D. Tomiche in *Encyclopédie de la Pleiade* (Vol. *Le Langage*), Paris 1968, 1179-80, deals rapidly with the Arabic dialects of the Egyptian Jews. —For the Maghrib W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe de Tlemcen*, Paris 1902, *passim*; M. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, Paris 1912; G. Millon, *Les parlers de la région d'Alger*, in *RA*, lxxxi (1937), 345-51; J. Cantineau, *Les parlers arabes du département d'Alger*, in *RA*, lxxxiv (1940), 220-31; Ph. Marçais in *Initiation à l'Algérie*, Paris 1957, 215-37 and *EI*[2] article ALGERIA; G. S. Colin, *EI*[1], article MOROCCO; L. Brunet, *Notes sur le parler arabe des Juifs de Fès*, in *Hesperis*, xxii (1936), 1-32; L. Brunet and E. Malka, *Textes judéo-arabes de Fès*, Rabat 1939; *Glossaire judéo-arabe de Fès*, Rabat 1940; Ch. Pellat, *Abraham et Nemrod dans le parler arabe des Juifs de Debdou*, in *Hespéris*, xxxix (1952), 121-45; H. Zafrani, *Les langues juives du Maroc*, in *Revue de la Mediterranée et de l'Occident musulman*, iv (1967); *Pédagogie juive en terre d'Islam*, Paris 1969 (Moroccan texts, pp. 145-58); D. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, Textes et documents*, Paris 1964, 1-17; *Grammaire* (in press); *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe*, Paris 1970, 150-71. —For Tripoli: E. Cesàro, *L'arabo parlato a Tripoli*, Milan 1939, 24, 46, 224n. On the literature, see above all E. Vassel, *La littérature populaire des Israélites tunisiens*, Paris 1906-7. (D. COHEN)

ii. MEDIAEVAL JUDAEO-ARABIC.

Judaeo-Arabic (= JA) as used by mediaeval Arabic-speaking Jews in their writings, mainly in those written by Jews *for Jews*, especially in the first half of the second millennium A.D. is one of the main branches of Middle Arabic (= M A; see ʿARABIYYA (3)). Since Jews, like Christians, were less inclined to use the Classical language in their writings than their Muslim contemporaries, their writings are especially apt for the investigation of MA. Like MA texts in general, JA writings are not written in genuine MA vernacular, but in what may be styled "MA Literary Standard", exhibiting a whole range of styles with infinitely varied mixtures of classical and MA elements. Accordingly, the phenomena characteristic of (MA in general and) JA (in particular) have to be collected from deviations from classical features. Yet even among these deviations one has to distinguish carefully between genuine MA and pseudo-correct (including hyper-correct) features. The latter are original MA forms which were "corrected" because of the author's desire to write classical Arabic. As a result of these "corrections", however, non-existent forms came into being; these corrected forms were, as a matter of fact, neither classical (because the author, lacking sufficient knowledge of classical Arabic, did not succeed in forming the intended classical feature) nor living vernacular (because the author had "corrected" them).

As to the linguistic character of (MA in general and) JA (in particular), it already clearly exhibits all the structural peculiarities that characterize modern Arabic dialects. Perhaps the most important event in the field of phonetics was the change in the nature of vowels, partly, at least, caused by the accent becoming strongly centralized: they became weakened, becoming liable to change and elimination. Final short vowels have disappeared (this being one, but not the only, reason for the disappearance of cases and moods). In the sphere of the consonants the most conspicuous change is the weakening and disappearance of the glottal stop. As to the linguistic structure, so far as such different and intricate features may be reduced to a common denominator, the most conspicuous deviation from classical Arabic was that MA detached itself from the synthetic type and instead approached the analytic type, which generally indicates one concept by one word. The most striking outward sign of this phenomenon is the disappearance of the mood and case endings. The status constructus has been somewhat reduced. The dual is often replaced by the plural, and the relative pronoun *alladhī* has become invariable (in many cases apparently being a classical spelling for vernacular *illī*, which is very rare in MA texts). The differences between relative clauses after determinate and indeterminate antecedents, strictly maintained in classical Arabic, are blurred. Asyndetic clauses occur in every syntactic environment, both in coordination, especially after verbs indicating movement, and in subordination, particularly in object clauses. Indirect questions often take the form of conditional clauses. The most frequent negation is *mā*. The feminine plural is widely replaced by the masculine, and the passive, formed in classical Arabic by internal vowel change, by reflexive verbal forms. The most far-reaching changes have affected the numerals. Moreover, the fixed and accurate style of classical Arabic is largely replaced by an inconstant and careless language.

Despite the basic linguistic similarity of JA and other branches of MA, there were important differences between them, though mostly not linguistic distinctions proper: Jews, as a rule, wrote Arabic in Hebrew characters, dealt almost exclusively with Jewish topics and made use of Hebrew (and ARAMAIC) phrases, thus making their literature virtually unintelligible to gentiles. One has the feeling that Jews themselves regarded JA as distinct from other forms of MA, as one may infer from special literary traditions in JA literature.

Bibliography: The general background of JA and its main linguistic trends are dealt with in

J. Blau, *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic*, Oxford 1965, its language in J. Blau, *A Grammar of Mediaeval JA*, Jerusalem 1961 (in Hebrew). For additional bibliography, see *Scripta Hierosolymitana IX*, 1961, 208-9, J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic I*, Louvain 1966, 39-41. (J. Blau)

iii. Judaeo-Arabic Literature.

While the presence of organized Jewish groups in both the north and south of the Arabian Peninsula antedates the birth of Islam, there is no definite evidence that Arabic was employed as a means of written expression adapted to the needs peculiar to the cultural and religious order of this minority, although it was widely used in everyday life. The Jewish Arabic-speaking poets, such as al-Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyā [*q.v.*] differ very little from their contemporaries, the *dj̲āhiliyya* Arabs of the original stock. Not is there any genuine proof of the existence of Arabic versions of the Bible at this period which were initiated by Jews: the biblical elements found in the Ḳurʾān, from almost literal borrowing to vague allusions, doubtless arise from oral communication, part of which is incontestably of Christian origin. (On the problem of Christian-Arabic versions of the Bible, see A. Baumstark, *Islamica*, iv (1931), 562-75; on the subject of biblical echoes in the Ḳurʾān, consult the article by G. Graf, *GCAL*, i, 41-3 and J. Ḥaddāu, *al-Ḳurʾān wa'l-Kitāb*, Beirut (1961-2).) After the foundation and consolidation of the Muslim Empire, the Arabic language and the related culture were only slowly diffused among the Jewish population of the *dār al-Islām*; it is not to be seen before the second half of the 3rd century of the Hid̲j̲ra, and only became of real importance in their civilization from the 4th/10th centuries onwards.

One general observation must be made at the outset. There was always a measure of guilt in the Jewish intellectuals' use of Arabic in their writings in place of Hebrew, which was still in literary usage in Palestine long after the Muslim conquest, or of Aramaic in its Palestinian and Mesopotamian ("Babylonian") dialects, and, more rarely, of the language of the academies derived from the Babylonian Talmud, which to this day is reserved for juridical-casuistic and ritual works. (Whenever Arabic literary, scientific, theological and medical texts were copied for a Jewish public they were frequently reproduced in Hebrew characters, irrespective of the faith of the author). The writers excused their use of Arabic on the grounds of the loss of a large part of the Ancient Hebrew vocabulary, hence the inadequacy of what remained for expressing the new ideas put into circulation by Arabic civilization, in which, willy nilly, they had become participants and dependants. One of the indications of this ambiguous attitude towards the use of Arabic as the medium for treating subjects relating to Jewish teaching is the existence in two editions, Arabic and Hebrew, of several works in this field. (On this question see A. S. Halkin, *The Medieval Jewish Attitude towards Hebrew*, in *Biblical and other Studies*, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, Mass. 1963, 233-48). It must also be emphasised that the use of Arabic in poetry, profane as well as religious, remains the exception during the Middle Ages. (Cf. on this point S. M. Stern, *Arabic Poems by Spanish-Hebrew Poets*, in *Romanica et Occidentalia*, Jerusalem 1963, 254 ff., and *Papers of the Institute of Jewish Studies*, i, London 1964, 186 ff.; *Hagut Ivrit be'Eyropa*, Jerusalem 1969, 91-103).

The written language used by the Arabic-speaking Jews during the first centuries of their incorporation into Muslim civilization is that designated "Middle Arabic". [Cf. ʿarabiyya,, and judaeo-arabic (language)]; at its various stylistic levels, this idiom does not constitute a deliberate and systematic break with the rules of "Classical" Arabic; free recourse to the dialectal is very rarely encountered among the Judaeo-Arabic writers of the Middle Ages. Later, the rift between the Jewish minority and Muslim culture, which was accentuated from the 9th/15th century onwards, resulted, especially in the Mag̲h̲rib, in the loss of the ability to understand the oldest texts in written Judaeo-Arabic. Some continuity of the literary tradition is barely affirmed only in the Yemen, a Muslim environment with a geographical area more impervious to external influences than the rest of the *dār al-Islām*, and where there was never any sizeable settlement by Jews expelled from Spain. This continuity was no doubt due to the relatively small divergence between "Middle Arabic" and the spoken language and the conservatism and integration of the group concerned, bearing in mind the limits set by the irreducible differences of belief and the social repercussions resulting from them.

The rift between the Islamic literary culture and the Arabic-speaking Jewish minorities did not put an end to the latter's use of Arabic as a means of literary expression. However, the literary output in Judaeo-Arabic in the course of the last five centuries differs, except to some extent in the Yemen for the reasons indicated above, from that of the early period (4th/10th-9th/15th centuries) in two respects, giving it a radically new character in relation to the former situation. On the one hand, the language used has a dialectal base, although it is too conventional to reflect faithfully the living speech in use in the many different areas of Arabic-speaking Jewish diaspora. On the other hand, this literature was produced solely in answer to the needs of the less educated strata of the population, whether the work in question is liturgical or paraliturgical poetry (epithalamia, ballads etc.), religious instruction, edification, or, more recently, entertainment and general information (in the case of poetry there is a need for study of its formal relationship with vernacular poetry by Arabic-speaking Muslims; nothing significant has been done in this field). Henceforward the culture of the scholars was entirely in Hebrew; in this respect, it can be said that Judaeo-Arabic dialectal literature is essentially "popular", even in the case of a version, based on a mediaeval Hebrew translation, of a "classical" work, originally written in Arabic, such as the "Duties of the Heart" by Baḥya Ibn Pakūdā. In short, despite its relative poverty and insignificance, this Judaeo-Arabic "popular literature" reveals some characteristics in common with the Judaeo-Spanish and Judaeo-German literatures, richer, more abundant and of a cultural importance far above that of their poor relation though they are. The whole spectrum of Judaeo-Arabic writing of the earlier period, however, though of greater cultural range, but most of the time lacking in aesthetic preoccupations, cannot be classified as literature in the strict sense of "belles lettres".

Given these conditions it is difficult to speak of "the history of Judaeo-Arabic literature". Therefore the present summary will be limited to recording succinctly, albeit with many omissions, the works composed in the Judaeo-Arabic literary language, mainly theological and philosophical, as well as devoting some space to the other disciplines: exegesis

and biblical philology, ritual legislation and casuistry. The most important editions of texts will be indicated. References to works dealing with the popular literature in dialect will be included in the selected bibliography. For convenience and very schematically, even at times arbitrarily, the writings mentioned will be grouped under four headings: theology and philosophy; Hebrew philology and biblical exegesis; law and rites; miscellaneous. On the subject of the authors and the works cited general reference should be made to the paragraphs of M. Steinschneider's old, but still fundamental and indispensible repertory, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden* (*ALJ*), Frankfurt 1902 (republished Hildesheim 1964); to lighten the bibliography, reference will rarely be made (with the exception of the publication of texts) to information given in this work and in G. Vajda's *Jüdische Philosophie* (*Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie*, 19) Berne 1950 (*JP*, the figures referring to the corresponding issues).

A. *Theology and Philosophy*.—The oldest theological treatise in Judaeo-Arabic which has come down to us, with considerable lacunae in the text, is the *Ish̲rūn Maḳālāt* of David b. Marwān al-Raḳḳī, called al-Muḳammiṣ (?), from the second half of the 3rd/9th century: *ALJ*, § 25; *PJ* 7. 11; cf. G. Vajda, *Oriens*, xv (1962), 61-85, and in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Harvard 1967, 49-73. An important part of the abundant work of Saʿadyā b. Yosēf al-Fayyūmī (b. 882, d. *Gaon* of Baghdad in 942) comes under this heading, in particular his theological treatise *K. al-Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiḳādāt*, ed. S. Landauer, Leiden 1880, and his commentary on the *Sēfer Yeṣīrāh* ("Book of Creation"), ed. M. Lambert, Paris 1891: and J. Ḳāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1970 (see *ALJ*, § 31); *JP* 6. 11-62; G. Vajda, *Sa'adya, Commentateur du Livre de la Création*, in *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences religieuses*, 1958-9, 3-35; H. A. Wolfson, *Saadia on the Trinity and Incarnation*, in *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman*, Philadelphia 1962, 547-68; H. Davidson, *Saadia's List of the Theories of the Soul*, in *Jew. Med. and Ren. St.*, 75-94; for criticism, in Judaeo-Arabic, of some of his doctrinal positions by a younger contemporary see: *A Critique against the Writings of R. Saadya Gaon by R. Mubashshir Halevi*, edition with commentary (in Hebrew) by M. Zucker, New York 1955 (remainder, Sh. Abramson, *Sinai*, lvii (1964-5), 15-17; S. M. Stern, *REJ*, cxxvi (1967) 113-117).

The Arabic originals of the philosophical writing of Isaac Israeli (died in Ifrīḳiya around 349/950 [see ISḤĀḲ AL-ISRĀʾĪLĪ]) are for the most part lost: *ALJ*, § 28; *PJ*, 8, 11-15, 21-22; A. Altmann and S. M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, Oxford 1958. The same applies to the commentary on the "Book of Creation" by his disciple, Abū Sahl Dūnas̲h̲ b. Tāmīm: *ALJ*, § 36; *PJ*, 8. 23 (cont. *REJ*, cx (1949/50); cxii (1953); the fragments in Arabic, *ibid.*, cxii (1954), 37-61; cxxii (1963) 149-162). In Spain, where the Arabic language served as a means of expression for a good number of Jewish philosophers and theologians until the middle of the 8th/14th century, not only in the territories under Muslim domination but also at Toledo, reconquered by 1085, the list of authors of books in these disciplines is headed by Salomon Ibn Gabirol [see IBN GABIROL] (J. Schlanger, *La philosophie de Salomon Ibn Gabirol*, Leiden 1968), but of the original Arabic of his "Source of Life" only tiny fragments are extant; edition of his short manual of ethics ("*Iṣlāḥ al-ak̲h̲lāḳ*") by S. Wise, New York 1901. On the other hand the original Arabic of the treatise on spiritually *al-Hidāya ilā farāʾiḍ al-ḳulūb* by Baḥyé (Baḥya) b. Yōsēf Ibn Paḳūdā (last quarter of the 5th/11th century) has been preserved; it has been edited by A. S. Yahuda, Leiden 1912: *ALJ*, § 86; PJ 11. 11-14, 21-24; C. Ramos Gil, *Bahya Ibn Paquda, El Puro Amor Divino*, in *Miscellanea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, Granada 1952, 85-148. The works of religious philosophy by Joseph Ibn Ṣaddīḳ of Cordova (d. 1149): *ALJ*, § 102; *PJ* 12. 15, 22, 28, and of Abraham Ibn Dāwud of Toledo (d. 1180): *ALJ*, § 104; *PJ* 15. 01-2, have only been preserved in their Hebrew versions; the treatise in anti-philosophical vein by Judah Halevi (d. after 1140), *al-Ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a wa'l-dalīl fī naṣr al-dīn al-d̲h̲alīl*, commonly called *Kuzari*, has, on the other hand, been preserved almost in its entirety (ed. H. Hirschfeld, Leipzig 1887, also, N. Allony, *Kirjath Sepher*, xxxviii (1962/3), 113-121); *ALJ*, § 103; *PJ* 13. 11-15, 21-23; S. Pines, *Notes sur la doctrine de la prophétie et la réhabilitation de la matière dans le Kuzari*, in *Mélanges de Philosophie et de Littérature Juives*, i-ii (1956/7), 253-60.

Two other works—one certainly composed in the East and the other more than probably so—bear the imprint of Arabic Neoplatonism to a more pronounced extent than in the philosophical compositions of Isaac Israeli and his school: the *K. Maʿānī al-nafs*, by an unknown author, wrongly attributed to Baḥyé Ibn Paḳūdā, ed. I. Goldziher, Berlin 1907; *PJ*, 12, 11, 23; A. Borisov, in *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S.*, Humanities School, 1929, 786; M. Plessner, *NGW* Gött., Ph. Hist. Kl., 1971, 5; and *Bustān al-ʿuḳūl*, by Nathanael Fayyumi probably in the Yemen around 545/1150); this treatise reveals the influence of Ismāʿīlī metaphysical speculation; ed. D. Levine, New York 1908, reissued and improved by Yosēf Ḳāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1954; S. Pines, *Nathanaël ben Al-Fayyumi et la théologie ismaëlienne*, in *Revue d'Histoire Juive en Egypte*, i (single instalment), 1947, 5-22.

The zenith of philosophical and theological activitv among Arabic-speaking Jewry was the work of Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), who was born and brought up in Andalusia: *Dalālat al-Ḥāʾirīn*, "Guide of the Perplexed", ed. S. Munk, Paris 1856-1866, and with some additions, I. Joel, Jerusalem 1931; an edition transcribed and, when necessary, translated into Arabic by Hüseyin Atay is in the press in Ankara (1972); the complete text of his short treatise on logic, *Maḳāla fī ṣināʿat al-manṭiḳ* (greatly influenced, as is all his philosophical thought, by al-Fārābī), which was discovered a short time ago by Mübahat Türker-Küye, has recently been re-edited by J. Efros in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, xxxiv (1966); corrections by L. V. Berman, in *JAOS*, lxxxviii (1968), 340-2; see also the same author, *ibid.*, lxxxix (1969), 106-11; a fragmentary, and probably apocryphal, treatise, ed. H. S. Davidowitz and D. H. Baneth, *De Beatitudine Capita Duo R. Mosi b. Maimon adscripta*, Jerusalem 1939; cf. the article IBN MAYMŪN, *supra*; G. Vajda, *La pensée religieuse de Moïse Maïmonide: unité ou dualité?*, in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, ix (1966), 29-49. His contemporary, Yosēf Ibn ʿAḳnīn, who almost certainly never left the Mag̲h̲rib (he should not be confused with Joseph Judah, a disciple of Maimonides, cf. D. Z. Baneth, *Tesoro de los Judios Sefardies*, vii (1964), 11-20), also left important works, still not fully investigated: ALJ, § 3. 170; on his ethical treatise *Ṭibb al-nufūs*, see A. S. Halkin, *Classical and Arabic material in Ibn ʿAknīn's* Hygiene of the Soul,

in *Proceedings* . . ., xiv (1944), 27-167; idem, in *Harry A. Wolfson Jubilee Volume* III, 93-111 (in Hebrew), and cf. *B.* below. The Judaeo-Arabic work of Abraham (1237), the son of Moses Maimonides, is also considerable: *ALJ*, § 159: the remnants of his work which is at the same time both ritual and theological-spiritual (in sympathy with Ṣūfism), *Kifāyat al-ʿābidīn,* have been edited by S. Rosenblatt, *The High Ways to Perfection of Abraham Maimonides*, New York 1927 and Baltimore 1938; cf. *B* and *C* and S. D. Goitein, *Abraham Maimonides and his Pietist Circle*, in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 145-64; Gerson D. Cohen, *The Soteriology of R. Abraham Maimuni*, in *Proceedings* . . . ., xxxv (1967), 79-98 and xxxvi (1968), 33-56. On a short treatise on spirituality composed by "Obadyah, son of Abraham" (*ALJ*, § 161), see G. Vajda, *The Mystical Doctrine of Rabbi "Obadyah, Grandson of Moses Maimonides"*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vi (1955), 213-25. Dwelling no further on other texts, little known and studied, of more or less Ṣūfī and Neoplatonic inspiration (cf. F. Rosenthal, *A Judaeo-Arabic Work under Sufic Influence*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xv (1940), 433-84), we will mention only three authors from Spain and a fourth from Morocco, from the second half of the 7th/13th and the first two-thirds of the 8th/14th century: Moses ben Joseph Halevi, cf. G. Vajda, *Un champion de l'avicennisme*, in *Revue Thomiste*, 1948, 480-508; Moses Ibn Crispin: *ALJ*, § 127, and G. Vajda, *A propos de l'averroïsme juif*, in *Seferad*, xii (1952), 3-21; Joseph ben Abraham Ibn Waḳār of Toledo, author of an important treatise on the harmony of philosophy, astrology and the Kabbalah: *ALJ*, § 130 and G. Vajda, *Recherches sur la philosophie et la Kabbale dans la pensée juive du moyen âge*, Paris 1962, 116-297; Judah ben Nissim Ibn Malka, a Moroccan who expounded his ideas in the form of commentaries on the "Book of Creation" and the "Midrash of Rabbi Eliezer", which was believed to be very ancient: *ALJ*, § 134; G. Vajda, *Juda ben Nissim Ibn Malka*, Paris 1954 (cf. idem, in *Homenaje a Millàs Vallicrosa*, ii, Barcelona 1956, 483-500). The philosopher Ibn Kammūna [*q.v.*], although he remained a Jew, belongs more to the history of Islamic philosophy.

The Karaite branch of Judaism in its turn produced theological treatises in Arabic in which the influence of Muʿtazilite *kalām* [*q.v.*] prevails. The principal author is Yōsēf (Yūsuf) ben Abraham al-Baṣīr (first third of the 5th/11th century): *ALJ*, § 50; *PJ*, 7. 15, 21, 22, 25; Z. Ankori, *Ibn al-Hiti and the Chronology of Joseph al-Baṣīr the Karaïte*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, viii (1957), 71-81; G. Vajda, *La démonstration de l'unité divine d'après Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to Gershom G. Scholem*, Jerusalem 1967, 285-315; idem, *L'universalité de la loi morale selon Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, in *REJ*, 1969, 132-201. Of the work of his disciple, Joshua ben Judah, little has been preserved in Arabic (these fragments, moreover, pose unresolved questions of authenticity); the bulk of it has come down only in a Hebrew version: *ALJ*, § 51; *PJ*, 7. 22. Cf. also *B* and *C*.

B. *Philology and Biblical Exegesis.* The all-too-short outline given here may be amplified from H. Hirschfeld's concise manual, *Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers*, Oxford 1926 and above all with the help of the introductions to the scholarly editions cited below. One of the first of the Judaeo-Arabic authors who wrote on these disciplines is Judah Ibn Ḳuraysh of Tahert, around 900; his *Risāla* to the Jews of Fez, in which he compares Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, has been edited by J. I. L. Bargès and D. B. Goldberg, Paris 1857: *ALJ*, § 35; G. Vajda, *La Chronologie de Juda Ibn Quraysh*, in *Sefarad*, xiv (1954), 385-7. Saʿadyā (*supra, A*) produced an immense oeuvre, which has been published in part only and even more incompletely studied, in his translations of the Hebrew Bible (his versions influenced those of the Arabic-speaking Christians and Samaritans) and commentaries on it, and as the founder of the systematic grammar and lexicology of Hebrew; for the bibliography prior to 1920 consult H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon, His Life and Works*, Philadelphia, 1921 (repr. 1969); an important step in research is marked by M. Zucker's work in Hebrew, with a summary in English, *Rav Saadya Gaon's Translation of the Torah*, New York 1959. A complete if not critical edition of his annotated translation of the Psalms was produced by Yōsēf Ḳāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1966. As Saʿadyā's contributions to the grammar and lexicography of Hebrew were eclipsed by the work of the Judaeo-Arabic philologists in Spain, they were only fragmentarily preserved; this aspect of his work has been principally studied for about forty years by S. L. Skoss (d. 1953) and N. Allony; here we will cite only S. L. Skoss, *Saadia Gaon, The Earliest Hebrew Grammarian*, in *Proceedings* . . . ., xxi (1952), 75-100 and xxii (1953), 65-90; N. Allony, *Ha'Egron, Kitāb uṣūl al-shiʿr al-ʿibrānī*, Jerusalem 1969. Samuel ben Hofni (d 1034), head of the academy in Baghdād, wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch: *ALJ*, § 65, 15.

The contribution of the 4th/10th century Karaites [*q.v.*] to Hebrew Lexicography and biblical exegesis occupies an important place in the scholarly output in Judaeo-Arabic. In lexicography, the *Djāmiʿ al-alfāẓ*, compiled by David ben Abraham al-Fāsī (who seems to have lived mainly in Palestine), has been edited in exemplary fashion (unfortunately not in its most extensive redaction) by S. L. Skoss, 2 vols., New Haven 1936 and 1945. Strongly marked by polemics against all doctrinal adversaries of the Karaite sect, the exegetic work of Salmōn ben Yerūḥīm and Yefet ben ʿElī (second and last third of the 4th/10th century respectively, but they had some precursors, both identifiable and anonymous, which lack of space makes it impossible to mention here) embraced a large part if not the whole of the Hebrew Bible; the edited texts and, with greater reason, the parts satisfactorily studied, cover only a small portion of the fairly plentiful material which has been preserved: *ALJ*, § 40, 44, which may be extended by the notes in G. Vajda, *Deux Commentaires Karaïtes sur l'Ecclésiaste*, Leiden 1970. Of the Arabic-speaking Karaite exegetes of later centuries, we will mention only ʿĒlī (ʿAlī) ibn Sulaymān (10th/12th century), who does little more than abridge his precursors; his commentary on Genesis was edited by S. L. Skoss, Philadelphia 1928.

The application to Hebrew grammar of the theory of triliteral roots, borrowed from Arabic grammarians, opened up a new period in the history of Hebrew philology; the Arabic-speaking authors who brought renown to the discipline between the end of the 4th/10th and the middle of the 6th/12th century were almost all Jews from Spain; most important are: Judah ben David (Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā) Ḥayyūdj: *ALJ*, § 75; Jonah (Abu 'l-Walīd Marwān) Ibn Djanāḥ [*q.v.*]: *ALJ*, § 81; Isaac Ibn Bārūn, *ALJ*, § 97; P. Wechter, *Ibn Bārūn's Arabic Works on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography*, Philadelphia 1964; Saʿdyā Ibn Danān (d. Granada 1485) one of the last

to write in Judaeo-Arabic in the West, also made a contribution to lexicography: *ALJ*, § 139.

What remains of the exegetic works of the brilliant Arabic school in Spain is quantitatively of less importance. Here we will mention Isaac b. Judah Ibn Ghiyāth (Ghayyāth), whose commentary on Ecclesiastes, published under the name of Saʿadyā by Y. Ḳāfiḥ (*Ḥāmesh Megillōt*, Jerusalem 1962, 161-296), is above all philosophical in character: *ALJ*, § 90[a]; S. Pines, *Tarbiz*, xxxiii (1963/4), 212-3; G. Vajda, *Quelques observations en marge du commentaire d'Isaac Ibn Ghiyath sur l'Ecclésiaste*, in *The Seventy Fifth Anniversary Volume of the Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia 1967, 518-27; Moses Ibn Giḳaṭilia (Chiquitilla), likewise a grammarian: *ALJ*, § 91; Judah (Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā) Ibn Balʿām: *ALJ*, § 92; S. Poznanski, *Arabischer Kommentar zum Buche Richter von ... Ibn Balʿām*, Frankfurt 1909; idem, *The Arabic Commentary of Ibn Balʿam on the twelve Minor Prophets*, 1924. In the Maghrib, Joseph Ibn ʿAḳnīn, already mentioned above (A), wrote a predominantly philosophical commentary on the Song of Songs, published under the title of *Divulgatio Mysteriorum Luminumque Apparentia*, by A. S. Halkin, Jerusalem 1964. In the East, Abu 'l-Barakāt [*q.v.*] Hibat Allāh composed a philosophical commentary on Ecclesiastes before his conversion to Islam, which S. Pines intends to edit: cf. *ALJ*, § 148, and *Nouvelles Etudes sur Awḥad al-Zamān Abū l-Barakāt...*, Paris 1955. Abraham Maimonides wrote a full commentary, for the most part preserved, on Genesis and Exodus, edited by E. Wiesenberg, Letchworth 1959. Finally let us mention the exegetic and lexicographic work of Tanḥūm ben Yōsēf ha-Yerushalmī (second half of the 7th/13th century): *ALJ*, § 174; the first part of his *al-Murshid al-Kāfī*, a dictionary of the Mishnah and of Moses Maimonides' Hebrew "code", was published by B. Toledano, Tel Aviv 1961, an edition continued by H. Shy (Shay), *Lešōnenū*, xxxiii (1968/9), 196-207, 280-6.

C. Laws and Ritual. — The need to give Arabic-speaking Jews access to the rules and instructions concerning the observances prescribed by religion and the conduct of everyday life, including the rules of law applicable by the courts of scholars within the limits of internal autonomy allowed to the *ahl al-dhimma*, frequently led spiritual leaders, Rabbanite and Karaite alike, to employ Judaeo-Arabic in a field which is exclusive to Judaism, liturgical directives, commentaries on the Talmud, more or less elementary manuals concerning the various aspects of Jewish law, contractual, matrimonial and successional rights, rituals for celebrating the feasts, food regulations, and finally the "consultations" (*She'elot u-teshūbot*, "Responsa"; cf. the *fatwā* in Islam). We shall mention only a small number of these texts (in addition to *ALJ* there are fuller notes, already no longer entirely up to date, in S. W. Baron's *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vi (1958), 356-61).

Saʿadyā found it expedient to accompany his recension of the Jewish liturgy with instructions in Arabic (*Siddūr*. ed. I. Davidson S. Assaf and I. Joel, Jerusalem 1941); what remains of his treatise on the laws of inheritance, *K. al-Mawārith*, has been published by J. Müller, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. IX. Ḥēfeṣ ben Yaṣlīaḥ, a native of Ḳayrawān it seems, compiled his *Kitāb al-Sharāʾiʿ*, an account of the pentateuchal precepts, towards the end of the 4th/10th century: *ALJ*, § 62, edition of the fragments preserved by B. Halper, *Book of Precepts*, Philadelphia 1915; an important complement in the paper of M. Zucker, *Proceedings...*, xxix (1960/61), Hebrew section, 1-68. Arabic fragments of works on casuistry and the Talmud by Nissim of Ḳayrawān (mid 5th/11th century: *ALJ*, § 59) are published and studied in the Hebrew work of Sh. Abramson, *R. Nissim Gaon, Libelli quinque*, Jerusalem 1965. The preserved fragment of a commentary, probably from the 6th/12th century, by a Moroccan rabbi on the talmudic "précis" by Isaac Ibn al-Fāsī (d. 1103; very little remains in the original text of what al-Fāsī himself wrote in Arabic: *ALJ*, § 95), has been published in facsimile by J. Leveen, *Zekaryah b. Judah al-Agmati, A Digest of Commentaries on the ... Babylonian Talmud*, London 1961. The most comprehensive and probably the most important work in this field is that of Moses Maimonides, who also composed a "Book of Precepts" (ed. M. Bloch, Paris 1880), a commentary on the *Mishnah* (published in complete form by Yōsēf Ḳāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1963-68), just as he drafted his letters and responsa in Arabic when they were destined for Arabic-speaking correspondents; the most complete and recent edition of the responsa is that of Y. Blau, *R. Moses b. Maimon Responsa*, Jerusalem 1957-61; the responsa of his son Abraham, also for the most part drafted in Arabic, were published 20 years earlier by A. H. Freimann and S. D. Goitein, *Abraham Maimuni, Responsa*, Jerusalem 1937.

From the corresponding and highly developed Karaite branch of this genre, most noteworthy is the great code of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf al-Ḳirḳisānī (mid-4th/10th century), which is also an outstanding theological treatise; entitled *K. al-Anwār wa-'l-marāḳib*, it has been largely preserved, and edited by L. Nemoy, New York 1939-43: *ALJ*, § 43, *PJ*, 7. 12-14 (add. G. Vajda, in *REJ*, cxx (1961), 211-57 and cxxii (1963), 7-74). The ritual code of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (*K. al-Istibṣār*), as well as his *Masāʾil*, of which sizeable portions are extant, have remained unpublished and unstudied. A small part only of a much more recent treatise has been published: *al-Murshid* by Samuel ben Moses al-Maghribī, completed in Cairo in 1434: *ALJ*, § 199; F. Kaufmann, *Traktat über die Neulichtbeobachtung...*, Leipzig 1903.

D. Miscellaneous.—As was observed at the beginning of this outline, the Arabic-speaking Jews made little use of their "vernacular", which to a greater or lesser degree was in line with the written language, for those genres which are covered by the term "literature" in the narrow sense, for prose and poetry; moreover, they hardly ever used it in compiling historical works, a genre with little popularity which was relatively neglected by the Jews of the Middle Ages. The exceptions are few and without much difficulty can be attributed to theological preoccupations, even if those are blurred or to some extent have been lost sight of. Thus it was with a view to reaffirming belief in divine justice as much as to divert the Jewish public from reading Muslim books that Nissim b. Jacob of Ḳayrawān (said to be Ibn Shāhīn, cf. *supra* C) composed a treatise on consolations, made up of edifying narratives, probably in imitation of Arabic works on the theme of *al-faradj baʿd al-shidda*, but composed of material borrowed from the Jewish Aggada and from universal folklore. As well as a language which deviates appreciably from the norms of the literary idiom, this composition presents difficult problems: in the absence of more detailed research, Sh. Abamson's discovery of versions that differ from a manuscript long considered to be unique has confused rather than clarified these. The Leningrad manuscript forms the subject matter of a valuable if not definitive edition by J. Obermann:

The Arabic Original of Ibn Shahin's Book of Comfort known as the Hibbur Yaphê of R. Nissim b. Ya'aqob, New Haven 1944; the new fragments appear in *R. Nissim Gaon Libelli quinque*, 363-526.

Moses Ibn Ezra, one of the most brilliant Hebrew poets of Spain (around 1070-1140), composed two works in Arabic: *al-Muḥāḍara wa 'l-muḏhākara*, in type a book of *adab* but with Hebrew poetry as its subject, and *al-Ḥadīḳa fī maʿna 'l-maḏjāz wa 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*, which is reminiscent of *ʿilm al-bayān*; it is likely that the author's aim in these works was to enable biblical exegesis and national poetry in Hebrew to benefit from the attainments of Arab rhetoric and poetics as much if not more than to amuse the reader while instructing him; neither of these works has yet been published in entirety, although they have been the subject of several scholarly studies: *ALJ*, § 101; A. Diez Macho, *Mošê Ibn 'Ezra como poeta y preceptista*, Madrid-Barcelona 1953.

The exhortation to study written by Mūsā Ibn Ṭūbī of Seville (first half of the 8th/14th century?) in highly popular language, is a rhymed composition of 70 lines, hence the title *al-Sabʿīniyya*; in spite of its date, it is already in the line of the work of the versifiers which continues to be produced in the Maghrib to this day: *ALJ*, § 131; ed. H. Hirschfeld, *Program of Montefiore College*, 1893-94.

Bibliography: To the information in the body of the article should be added the notes and corrections to *ALJ* by S. Poznanski, *Zur jüdisch-arabischen Literatur*, in *OLZ*, vii (1904), 257-74, 304-15, 345-59. An outline of the whole, *Judaeo-Arabic Literature*, was written by A. S. Halkin for the collective work: *The Jews, their History, Culture and Religion*, ed. Louis Finkelstein, New York 1960³, 1116-47. The collection of pieces in the original language, H. Hirschfeld, *Arabic Chrestomathy in Hebrew Characters*, must be used with care because of its many inexactitudes. References may also be made to the encyclopaedia articles (especially *JE* and *Encyclopaedia Judaica*) concerning the authors mentioned above. Of the fairly numerous scholarly works touching more or less on the early Judaeo-Arabic literature, we shall cite here only S. Poznánski, *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadia Gaon*, London 1908 (extract from *JQR* 18-20, 1905-8, repr. *Karaite Studies*, New York 1971, 131-223); J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, i, Cincinnati 1931, ii, Philadelphia 1935, repr. 1972. For popular literature in the various Judaeo-Arabic forms of speech, we shall limit ourselves to some references only: W. Bacher, *Die hebräische und arabische Poesie der Juden Jemens*, Budapest 1910; idem, *Zur neuesten arabischen Litteratur der Juden*, in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, years 1903, 1908, 1911; S. D. Goitein, *Jemenica*, Leipzig 1934; idem, *Travels in Yemen* (ed. of the account written in Judaeo-Arabic of the journey of Joseph Halevy to the Yemen, by his guide Ḥayyim Ḥabshūsh), Jerusalem 1941; the bibliographic essay in Hebrew by Y. Ratzaby, "The literature of the Jews in Yemen", in *Kirjath Sepher*, xxviii (1952/3), 255-78, 394-409, and cf. *ibid.*, xxxiii (1957/8), 111-7, xxxiv (1958/9), 109-16; Eus. Vassel, *La littérature populaire des Israélites tunisiens*, Paris 1904-7; R. Attal, *Aperçu sur la littérature populaire des Juifs Tunisiens*, in *Ben Zvi Institute Studies and Reports*, iii, Jerusalem 1960, 50-4; David Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, Paris 1964; L. Brunot—E. Malka, *Textes judéo-arabes de Fès*, Paris 1939; H. Zafrani, *Pédagogie juive en terre d'Islam*, Paris 1969; finally, there is a fair amount of bibliographic data in *Abstracta Islamica* (appendix to *REI*) under the heading *Judaeo-Arabica* from 1936 onwards. (G. VAJDA)

JUDAEO-BERBER. The Berber-speaking Jews of the Shleuḥ and Tamazight regions had their own living dialects, and a folklore that was in no way inferior to that of their Muslim neighbours [see BERBERS], as well as an oral traditional and religious literature of which unfortunately only a few vestiges remain. These have been collected recently by the author of the present article. Living in the valleys of the Atlas, in the Sous and on the borders of the Sahara (and in all likelihood in certain parts of Algeria and Tunisia), they formed small communities grouped in *mellahs* and had been established there for centuries, or even one or two millenia. Today there is scarcely a trace of them. After Moroccan independence they emigrated to Israel en bloc. Setting aside the problem of the origin of these communities and the very controversial hypothesis concerning the "Judaization of the Berbers" (H. Z. Hirschberg, *History of the Jews of North Africa*, Jerusalem, 1965, two volumes in Hebrew, reviewed in the *Journal of African History*, viii/3 (1966)), it is important to note that until recent years Berber was one of the vernacular languages of the Jewish communities living in the mountains of Morocco and the south of the country. Most of these communities were bilingual (Berber and Arabic speaking); others seem to have been strictly Berber speaking, as at Tifnut; of the latter category several isolated individuals, who had emigrated to Israel, have been discovered in Ashkelon (on the geographic distribution of the Jewish communities in Morocco, notably in the Atlas and the Moroccan south, and on the internal migrations of their populations, see H. Zafrani, *Vie intellectuelle juive au Maroc, Pensée juridique et Droit appliqué dans leur rapports avec les structures socio-économiques et la vie religieuse*, doctoral thesis, typed, 210-14; on the Jews of the Dadès and the other Berber speaking communities, see *ibid.*, 171 ff., and by the same author, *Pédagogie juive en Terre d'Islam*, Paris 1969, 33-38). In the valley of the Todgha (Tinghir), in the regions of Tiznit (Wijjan, Asaka), of Warzazat (Imini), at Ufran in the Anti-Atlas, at Illigh and elsewhere, Berber was used by the Jews not only as a means of communication in the family, social and economic milieus and in contacts with the other ethnic and religious communities, but it also constituted, alongside Hebrew, the language of culture and traditional instruction used in the elucidation and translation of sacred texts, as had been the case of Judaeo-Arabic or old Castilian in Arabic-speaking Jewish communities or those of Spanish origin. Certain prayers, benedictions of the Torah among others, were said solely in Berber; this usage, as we shall see below, is attested in the Passover liturgy. Written and oral documentation has been collected of the folklore and the intellectual life of these Berber-speaking communities: some biblical texts in their Hebrew and Berber versions, liturgical cantos, festive songs which mark the peaks of Jewish life (circumcision, *bar-miṣwā*, marriage, etc.) and especially the Passover Haggada, the most important and precious piece in the collection. The latter is of the greatest interest for the understanding of the linguistic and cultural traditions of a world that was too little explored when there was still time, a world belonging to a diaspora which had long been ignored and has now disappeared. (A

list of these documents was published by H. Zafrani, *Compte-rendu d'enquête*, in *JA*, cclii/1 (1964); others were collected later in Israel itself). This Haggada is the integral Berber version of the liturgical composition which the Jews recite on the eve of Passover, the basic theme of which is the story of the exodus from Egypt, accompanied by the *hallēl* (a group of Psalms from CXIII to CXVIII which are a part of the liturgy for the high holy days and some other festivals). Like those in Judaeo-Arabic or old Castilian, it is a traditional translation of the Hebrew text, but it presents nevertheless some variants and nuances of interpretation. The text was transcribed recently (around 1959) in vocalized square Hebrew characters at Ting͟hir in the valley of the Tod͟gha (there is no other known manuscript of a Berber text in Hebrew characters). Some morpho-syntactic ambiguities and oddities which sometimes make understanding difficult are consequences of the usual procedure of literal translation, being Berber calques of the Hebrew text; the Berber recitation coincides with the Hebrew original and follows the same rhythm and melody. The language of this Haggada is akin to Tamazig͟ht, a group of Berāber vernaculars (here we should note the connection which South Moroccan Jews make between Berber and "the language of the Philistines"; the Hebrew *plis͟htīm* of the biblical texts is always rendered as *brābər* in Moroccan Judaeo-Arabic translations; see H. Zafrani, *Pédagogie juive en Terre d'Islam*, 153, n. 31); it is nevertheless characterized by composite traits which make it difficult to assign it a specified location; it presupposes the existence of a literary language which is not the speech of a given group or a specific period (see P. Galand-Pernet and H. Zafrani, *Une version berbère de la Haggādāh de Pesaḥ, Texte de Ting͟hir du Tod͟gha (Maroc)*, Paris 1970, *Supplément au tome XII des Comptes Rendus du G.L.E.C.S.*).

Bibliographie: Apart from the references given in the text, H. Zafrani, *Les langues juives du Maroc*, in *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, iv (1967), 175-88. (H. Zafrani)

JUDAEO-PERSIAN, New-Persian written in Hebrew characters.

i. — Literature

If we define as Judaeo-Persian literature strictly "literary" works composed by Jews in the Persian language but in Hebrew characters, then the first fruits of such literary endeavours could have emerged only when the Persian language had penetrated deeply enough into the life of Persian Jews to become a vehicle for their literary expression. This condition for the birth and growth of a genuine Judaeo-Persian literature seemed to have been fulfilled only during the rule of the Īl-K͟hān dynasty over Persia, from the end of the 7th/13th century on.

1. *Early Judaeo-Persian Documents.*

Long before this period, however, evidence of the infiltration and penetration of the Persian language —always in Hebrew characters—among Persian-speaking Jews is available. There have come to light in widely scattered regions of the Eastern lands of the Caliphate inscriptional sources, business letters, and tombstone inscriptions such as the three stones from Tang-i Azao about 200 kilometers east of Herāt with Judaeo-Persian inscriptions, incised in the year A.D. 752-3; (according to Henning, though Rapp disagrees); a fragment of a Persian business letter of the eighth century found by Sir Aurel Stein at Dandān-Uylīk, near Khotan, in Chinese Turkestan (Sin-Kiang), containing thirty-seven lines in Persian, written in Hebrew characters by a Jewish merchant; and those four signatures in Persian with Hebrew characters by Jewish witnesses on a copper plate referring to a grant for a Christian church on the coast of Malabar, in the early ninth century, known as the Quilon Copper Plate. A further proof of the use of Judaeo-Persian as a vehicle of correspondence is supplied by a Judaeo-Persian Law report found near Hormshir, the modern Ahvāz in K͟hūzistān, written in the year 1020-21, as well as a Judaeo-Persian document dealing with the sale of some land, found in the region of Khotan, ascribed to the year 1107. There is also a fragment of apologetics in the British Museum (Ms. Or. 8659) going back to the same period.

To the category of early Judaeo-Persian inscriptions belong also those fifty-four Judaeo-Persian tombstone inscriptions, accidentally discovered in the mountainous region of G͟hūristān, east of Herāt near the former capital of Fīrūzkūh. Those Judaeo-Persian inscriptions with texts ranging from one line to eight and covering the period from about 1189 A.D. to 1216 A.D. contain, along with Hebrew and Aramaic, many Persian names and terms. Fragments of Persian letters in Hebrew characters sent by the heads (Geonim) of the Jewish academies in Bag͟hdād in the 12th century to scholars in Hamadān, then the seat of a rabbinical college, testify to the ever-increasing use of the Persian language in Jewish circles.

All these inscriptions and other literary records can, however, hardly be classified as literature. It was only from the 13th century on that Jews began to create Jewish literary values through the medium of the Persian language in their own Hebrew script.

This Judaeo-Persian literature, which was developed in many Jewish communities in the Persian speaking diaspora, encompassed three major fields: the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Judaeo-Persian and lexicographical treatises connected with it; the composition of original Judaeo-Persian poetry; and the transliteration of classical Persian poetry into Hebrew characters.

2. *Judaeo-Persian Bible translations.*

There can be no doubt that Persian Jews were steadily engaged in the study and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. Fragments of biblical books written or copied as early as the ninth century in Hebrew —not in Judaeo-Persian—among them a manuscript of the later prophets in Hebrew with Massoretic notes from Yazd, and a commentary on Ezekiel preserved in Leningrad with a Middle-Persian form of a passive and a Judaeo-Persian Daniel text attest to this.

The first Judaeo-Persian translation of the Pentateuch in Hebrew characters became known as late as 1556 and is attributed to Jacob b. Joseph Tavus, a Jewish scholar from Persia, who apparently functioned as a teacher at the Jewish Academy in Istanbul, established by Moses Hamon ([*q.v.*] 1490-1576). It was published in Istanbul as part of the Jewish Polyglot Bible by Solomon b. Moses Mazal Tov, together with the Hebrew original, the Targum and the Arabic *Tafsīr* of Saʿadyā Gaon.

This Judaeo-Persian product, the first printed book in modern Persian of any sort, remained relatively unnoticed at the time and failed to attract the attention of scholarly circles. Only when, over a century later, in 1657, the Tavus Pentateuch version was transliterated from its Hebrew characters into Persian characters by Thomas Hyde and incorporated into the famous London Polyglot Bible of Bishop

Bryan Walton was an interest aroused in this new branch of Jewish-Persian literature.

It was long believed that until then this Judaeo-Persian Pentateuch translation was not only the oldest, but also the sole literary achievement produced by Persian Jews. It became evident, however, that this Tavus Pentateuch translation actually represents the culmination of Judaeo-Persian Bible studies which had been going on for many centuries long before Tavus completed his own translation.

This assumption has been corroborated by early Judaeo-Persian Bible manuscripts, the oldest of which is a Pentateuch version of 1319 A.D., now in the British Museum, and by the systematic collection of Jewish-Persian Bible manuscripts at the beginning of the 17th century by the Florentine scholar Giambattista Vecchietti. The manuscripts he had recovered in the Jewish communities of Hamadān, Iṣfahān, S̲h̲īrāz, Lār and Yazd represented Judaeo-Persian versions of the Pentateuch and the Psalms and of all other biblical books, as well as books of the Apocrypha, all belonging to the early 14th century.

Despite the different origins of these Judaeo-Persian translations, they show a certain uniformity in style, which leads to the assumption that they were the work of the same school of translators who flourished in the 14th and 15th centuries.

The authors of Judaeo-Persian Bible translations and lexicographical treatises such as *Sefer ha-Meliṣa* or *Agron* and dictionaries show an astounding degree of familiarity with leading biblical and rabbinical authorities of the West, and, following faithfully the traditional method of Bible interpretation, utilized not only Targum Onkelos, Talmud, Midrash, Saʿadyā Gaon and Hai Gaon, but also Western commentators such as Rashi, Redaḳ, Abraham b. Ezra and others.

3. *Judaeo-Persian Poetry.*

The literary abilities of the Persian Jews found their most characteristic manifestation in the field of original Judaeo-Persian poetry. This new branch was opened up by the 14th century Jewish poet Mawlānā S̲h̲āhīn of S̲h̲īrāz, who dedicated his talents to the writing of Bible-centred poetry and who can be regarded as the first Judaeo-Persian poet. Under the influence of classical Persian poetry, inspired by a keen desire to promote a deeper knowledge of the Jewish past and imbued with a profound Jewish consciousness and loyal adherence to his religious heritage, S̲h̲āhīn began to make the biblical narrative the topic of his writings.

His life work represents a poetical paraphrase, a reinterpretation of the Pentateuch, using the traditional epic style of the classical Persian poets. It is known as *Sefer S̲h̲arḥ S̲h̲āhīn ʿal ha-Torah*, written in Persian with Hebrew characters.

Four distinct works of S̲h̲āhīn can be discerned: a Moses-nāma, a commentary to Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy (completed about 1327); an Ardas̲h̲īr-nāma (completed about 1332) consisting of the story of Esther and Mordecai and the story of Shero and Mahzad, a typical Iranian love story; an Ezra-nāma, dealing mainly with the ascension and rule of King Cyrus the Great and the building of the Temple of Jerusalem; and a Genesis-nāma (completed about 1358), which includes the story of Yūsuf and Zulayk̲h̲ā.

In all his poetical writings, S̲h̲āhīn has taken over the typical features of the Persian poetic art and applied the patterns, forms, technique, metre and language of Persian classical poetry, particularly that of Firdawsī and Niẓāmī, to his presentation of Israel's religious heroes and events as told in the biblical narrative.

By selecting Jewish themes as the subject of his poetry and by celebrating the heroes of the Bible in a way typical of Persian classical poetry, S̲h̲āhīn has indeed produced the most typical literary monument of the centuries-long association of Jews with Iran. In the memory of Persian-speaking Jews all over the Eastern diaspora, S̲h̲āhīn is admired as "Our Master S̲h̲āhīn of S̲h̲īrāz" (Mawlānā S̲h̲āhīn S̲h̲īrāzī), and hailed as the founder of Judaeo-Persian poetry.

By writing his poetry in the Hebrew script, however, S̲h̲āhīn prevented his work from becoming known in Muslim-Persian literary circles and thus never gained admittance to the annals of Persian literature.

Two centuries later another Judaeo-Persian poet appeared in S̲h̲īrāz, the birthplace of S̲h̲āhīn, in the person of ʿImrānī. Inspired by S̲h̲āhīn's poetical epic of the Jewish past, ʿImrānī made the post-Mosaic period, the historical books of the Bible including Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings up to the time of David and Solomon, the subject of his poetical presentation. His major work, *Fatḥ-nāma* (The Book of the Conquest), was composed around 1523; followed by *Gand̲j̲-nāma* (The Book of the Treasures), a free poetical paraphrase and commentary of the first four chapters of the Mishna treatise *Pirḳê Âbôt̲h̲* (Sayings of the Fathers).

That type of Judaeo-Persian poetry was continued by Yahuda Lārī, of the city of Lār; only a small part of his verses has been preserved, including *Maḵ̲h̲zan al-Pand* (The Treasure House of Exhortation).

4. *Classical Persian Poetry in Hebrew Transliteration.*

Persian Jews, far from living in a cultural vacuum in isolation, took also a keen interest in the literary and poetical works of their Muslim neighbours and shared with them the admiration for the classical Persian poetry of a Firdawsī, a Niẓāmī, Rūmī, Saʿdī, Ḥāfiẓ, D̲j̲āmī and others. In order to introduce selections of these literary products into the Jewish community they transliterated the Persian texts into the Hebrew script while retaining the language, metre and rhyme of the original Persian poetry. Through this remarkable process a new branch of Judaeo-Persian literature came into being.

Among the various types of Persian classical poetry, the romantic, the lyrical and the didactic, there have been preserved: K̲h̲usraw and S̲h̲īrīn and *Haft Paykar* (The Seven Images) by Niẓāmī (d. 1201); some poems of the *Mat̲h̲nawī* by D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273): some parts of the *Gulistān* by Saʿdī (d. 1291): the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1390): *Yūsuf and Zulayk̲h̲ā* of D̲j̲āmī (d. 1414): portions of the *Dīwān* of Ṣāʾib of Iṣfahān (d. 1678) [*qq.v.*] and some others, all of which were made accessible in Hebrew transliteration and are preserved in various libraries in Europe, America and in Jerusalem.

Persian Jews evinced a lively interest also in the pictorial art and miniatures of their neighbours. In some of the S̲h̲āhīn and ʿImrānī manuscripts and in those of the classical poetry in Hebrew transliteration, large coloured miniatures and illuminations of exceptional beauty have been incorporated. They could well be regarded as typical Persian pictorial art were it not for the Hebrew lines on each miniature, which lends it a distinct Jewish character. Whether this pictorial art was cultivated by Jewish artists, or whether the Hebrew written explanations alone were the work of Jews, cannot be established. Nor can it

yet be ascertained whether and if so where there existed a school of such Jewish artists.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, under the impact of the persecution of the Jews and the policies of the Ṣafawid rulers, the literary productivity of Persian Jews was of a different genre. The literary output of that period mirrors the tragedy of Jewish existence. The torch of literary activity was carried on by a certain Bābā'ī b. Luṭf of Kāshān and Bābā'ī b. Farhād, who wrote *Kitāb-i Anūsī*: The Book of the Events of the Forced Conversions of Persian Jewry to Islam, a chronicle composed in Persian but written in Hebrew characters, which deals in poetic form with the martyrdom of the Jews in the time of Shāh ʿAbbās I and Shāh ʿAbbās II and his successors.

5. *Literary Activities of the Jews of Bukhārā.*

In Bukhārā, where the Jews were not subjected to the persecution their brethren endured in Ṣafavid Persia, there appeared Jewish poets and translators who began to create Jewish literature and poetry in their own Tādjikī dialect. The most outstanding was Yūsuf Yahūdī (d. 1755), an exponent of biblical narrative. He wrote *Mukhammas*, an ode in praise and glory of Moses; *Haft Birāderān* (The Seven Brothers), based on the Midrash of the martyrdom of the seven brothers and their mother; and bilingual and trilingual hymns honouring biblical heroes. He wrote also a commentary (*tafsīr*) to *Megillat Antiochus* and translated many of the *Zemirōth* of Israel Najāra into the dialect of Bukhāran Jews, incorporated into the Judaeo-Persian song-books used until today.

Inspired by him, a school of Jewish poets in Bukhārā emerged, among them Benjamin b. Mishal, known also as Amina, who published *Megillat Esther* in Judaeo-Persian translation, in metric form and translated some poems of Ibn Gabirol [*q.v.*], such as *Azharōth* and *Yigdal*, into Judaeo-Persian.

One of the finest poetical products in the Bukhāran Jewish dialect of the end of the 18th century we owe to the Jewish poet Mollā Ibrāhīm b. Abu'l Khayr. In his *Khodādād* he narrated the tragic story of a Jewish merchant by the name of Nathaniel (Khodāydād) who, refusing to become a Muslim despite all the promises and temptations of the ruler and his neighbours, died a martyr. In making this event the subject of his poem, the author gives an interesting picture of the religious and political conditions in which the Jews of Bukhārā lived in the second part of the 18th century under the rule of Emīr Maʿṣūm (1788). This poetical work furnished at the same time a most authentic documentation of the linguistic peculiarities of Bukhāran Jews.

6. *Revival of Judaeo-Persian literature in Jerusalem.*

Judaeo-Persian literature experienced an unforeseen development in the second half of the 19th century, not in Persia but in Jerusalem. This was precipitated by a wave of immigration into Palestine of Persian speaking Jews from Bukhārā, Turkestan, Afghanistan and Persia, who initiated the establishment in Jerusalem of a publishing centre, a printing press for Judaeo-Persian literature, intended to meet the literary and liturgical needs of the Persian Jews in Jerusalem and in the Diaspora. Though Jerusalem was not the first place of Judaeo-Persian printing activities, and some Judaeo-Persian books had been previously published by European scholars as well as by Bukhāran Jews (particularly in Vienna and Vilna by the latter)—not to mention the first Judaeo-Persian print of any time in Istanbul in 1546—Jerusalem became the exclusive centre of Judaeo-Persian printing activities. From then on, all the liturgical and literary needs of Persian-speaking Jews were satisfied from Jerusalem and its Judaeo-Persian press.

It can hardly be attempted, nor is it intended here, even to enumerate the results of these printing and publishing activities in Jerusalem; their extent and quantity would preclude such a survey. Almost everything that was thought fit to strengthen the religious and literary interests of Persian-speaking Jews was printed and published. Every field of Jewish literature, Bible, Bible commentaries, prayer books for every occasion, rabbinical writings, Mishna and *Zohar*, religious philosophy, medieval Jewish poetry, *Piyyuṭīm*, *Selīḥōth*, *Pizmonīm*, *Midrashīm*, historical narratives, anthologies of songs and stories—all these were translated into Judaeo-Persian, printed and distributed. Even secular literature from other than Jewish sources, such as parts of the Arabian Nights, and a part of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, which appealed greatly to the imagination of the Oriental Jew, found its way to the translators and printers. It is of great significance that these Judaeo-Persian publishing activities represented a collective effort, a co-operative endeavour of all the various groups of Persian-speaking Jewry; Jews of Bukhārā joined hands with the Jews of Persia and Afghanistan and participated in the greatest common cultural enterprise in the history of Oriental Jewry.

Among the many outstanding figures who participated in this collective enterprise, mention ought to be made of Solomon Babadjān b. Pinchasof of Samarḳand, an editor, author, translator and publisher, and of Simon Ḥākhām of Bukhārā.

One of the most outstanding Bukhāran Jewish scholars in the last centuries who can be credited with a major share in the promotion of Judaeo-Persian literature was Simon Ḥākhām, who, born in Bukhārā in 1843, moved in 1890 to Jerusalem, joining the rapidly-increasing colony of Bukhāran Jews, and it was there that he began his activities as author, translator, editor, and publisher of Judaeo-Persian works. The crown and glory of his many impressive literary accomplishments was his translation of the Bible into the Judaeo-Persian dialect of the Bukhāran Jews, into Tādjik.

With this monumental achievement, Simon Ḥākhām entered the ranks of the great Jewish Bible translators. What Saʿadyā Gaon accomplished for the Arabic-speaking Jews, what Moses Mendelssohn did for the German-speaking Jews, and what Joseph b. Tavus did for the Persian-speaking Jews, Simon Ḥākhām created for the Tādjikī-speaking Jews of Bukhārā and Central Asia.

The interest in Judaeo-Persian literature led in the early decades of this century to the establishment of a Hebrew printing press also in Tehran, which produced many Judaeo-Persian works aiming at a revival of the religious and cultural life of Persian Jews.

7. *The European investigation of Judaeo-Persian literature.*

The ever-increasing number of Judaeo-Persian manuscripts which in the last century had reached European libraries (Parma, the Vatican, Paris, London, Oxford, Copenhagen, Jerusalem, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Berlin and others) aroused the interest of Western scholars and led to important publications and investigations. An unexpected development in the field of Judaeo-Persian studies took place when the London scholar, Elkan N. Adler, brought back from his journeys to Bukhārā and Persia in 1896-8 hitherto unknown Judaeo-Persian manuscripts which

opened up entirely new vistas. The more than one-hundred Judaeo-Persian manuscripts which he recovered changed fundamentally the prevaiing conceptions as to the genre, scope and quality of the literary productivity of Persian-speaking Jews. While most of the manuscripts in European libraries were translations of books of the Bible or of the Apocrypha, creating thus the impression that their works were mostly of a religious character, Adler's collection revealed an all-embracing literature, not only translations, but also original works, not only religious literature, but literature of a secular character, poetry and prose, stories and philology. This collection showed that no sphere of literary endeavour had been neglected by Persian Jews in their own language. In 1923 Elkan Adler's manuscript collection was acquired by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York.

The most decisive contribution to the investigation of Judaeo-Persian literature was made by the Hungarian scholar, Wilhelm Bacher (d. 1913) who, stimulated by the literary treasures long dormant in the European libraries and above all E. N. Adler's collection, turned his attention to this field; and through a continuous flow of studies and monographs he became the undisputed authority.

In the early 20th century, Tehran emerged as a centre of Judaeo-Persian printing activities, supplementing the Judaeo-Persian publications issued in Jerusalem. It is a sign of the cultural assimlation of the Persian-speaking Jews to their surroundings that they began to express their literary compositions no longer through the Hebrew script but through Persian characters, thus terminating, probably forever, the once flourishing Judaeo-Persian creativity.

The importance of Judaeo-Persian literature has most recently been summed up by J. Rypka (*History of Iranian Literature*, 1968, p. 740), in these words: "Judaeo-Persian literature may be regarded as lying near the periphery yet within the circumference of Persian literature. Nevertheless it is of extreme importance in its national and religious aspects for the Jewish colonies in the regions concerned, and linguistically for Iranian studies as a whole. The larger the collections of Judaeo-Persian manuscripts become, and the more minutely they are subjected to expert investigation, the greater will be their value for Iranistic scholars. A great deal has already been achieved in both these aspects, but it is still far too little. It is quite possible that the ancient Judaeo-Persian transliterations will prove valuable in the preparation of critical editions of many a Persian text."

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ii —LANGUAGE

A number of Judaeo-Persian writings display linguistic characteristics which are not found in Persian texts in Arabic script. Amongst these one must distinguish between on the one hand stylistic peculiarities common to the translation of Scripture (word for word rendering of the Semitic text, use of certain rare or archaic forms), and on the other dialectal traits which reflect local varieties of spoken Persian. In all probability, these local dialects of New Persian were not peculiar to the Jews, but they have left scarcely any trace in literature written in Arabic script, where the classical language predominates to the virtual exclusion of other forms; however a considerable proportion of the Judaeo-Persian writings, notably all the earliest ones, are written in a language close to that of everyday speech. They are therefore of great interest for the light they throw on the historical dialectology of Persian.

Judaeo-Persian literature is not linguistically homogeneous. Several dialectical variations may be perceived, and with systematic exploration still others will probably be discovered.

1) The Dandān-Uylīk letter is noteworthy for certain archaisms (use of the *iḍāfa* particle to denote the relative (as in Middle-Persian), paucity of Arabic words) and by the presence of some Sogdian words.

2) In spite of differences of detail, the fragment in the British Museum, the commentary on Ezekiel, and the Story of Daniel, mentioned above, a translation of the Pentateuch preserved in the Vatican, and a few other texts, are a reflection of a single dialectal group, which can probably be situated in the south of Iran (Fārs and K͟hūzistān). In these texts various morphological characteristics (optative particle *hy*, preposition ʾ-, the form *tys* "thing" = classical *čiz*) are found, along with a fairly large number of words which are otherwise unknown in Persian but appear in Middle-Persian. Rather than being archaisms peculiar to this form of Judaeo-Persian, these traits must have been characteristic of spoken Persian around the 5th/11th-8th/14th centuries in the south of Iran, which had remained much closer to Middle-Persian than the classical language.

3) Writings which can be classified as literature, especially poetry from the 8th/14th-12th/18th centuries, are generally free from dialectical characteristics. Imitations of the great classical works, they are usually couched in the same idiom.

4) The literary and exegetic texts composed at Buk͟hārā from the 11th/17th to the 19th centuries bear the marks of their origin, all the more clearly when the style does not reach a particularly high standard. Their language, which might properly be called "Judaeo-Tād͟jīk", is very close to the present day literary language of the Soviet Republic of Tād͟jikistān.

Judaeo-Iranian dialects. — Unlike Judaeo-Persian in the true sense, the unwritten dialects still in current use among certain communities in Persia, at Kās͟hān, Hamadān, Iṣfahān, Kirmān, and S͟hīrāz, are not varieties of Persian, but are related to the local dialects of these regions. The Judaeo-Tāt of the Caucasus (Soviet Dag͟hestān and Ād͟harbāyd͟jān) is a variation of the Tāt dialect, in use among the Muslim population also: Tāt was raised to the status of a written language during the Soviet period. All these dialects could be designated "Judaeo-Iranian".

A curious language reported in 1924 among the Jews at Herāt appears to be merely a jargon based on Persian.

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JUDGE [see ḲĀḌĪ].

JUDGMENT [see ḤUKM].

JURISPRUDENCE [see FIḲH].

JUSTICE [see ʿADL].

For other words generally written in English with J, see D͟j.

K

ḲĀʾĀNĪ, ḤABĪB ALLĀH (1808-54) was the greatest Persian poet of the Ḳād͟jār period. He was born at S͟hīrāz, lost his father, the poet Guls͟han, at the age of eleven and found a patron in the governor of S͟hīrāz, Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā S͟hud͟jāʿ al-Salṭana, who gave him the pen-name of Ḳāʾānī. As a court panegyrist he was granted by Muḥammad S͟hāh the title of *Ḥassān al-ʿAd͟jam*. He settled in Tehran shortly before 1848 and was favoured by Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh with the title of *Malik al-S͟huʿarāʾ*. Ḳāʾānī was a man of erudition, and the first Persian poet to master French. His *dīwān* contains 23,000 verses mostly of panegyrical character. His critical attitude towards society is reflected in his *Kitāb-i Paris͟hān*, conceived on the model of Saʿdī's *Gulistān*. As a poet Ḳāʾānī was a past master in the classical *ḳaṣīda* of the K͟hurāsānī style; however, apart from stylistic virtuosity his poetry contains little serious content.

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KAARTA, a region of Mali with an area of around 54,000 square km. It is bounded on the north by Mauritanian Hōd͟h, on the south by Beledugu and Fuladugu, and on the west by the River Senegal from the western branch of the River Kulu as far as the Baoulé junction. The rivers of this vast schistose plateau tilting to the south east flow into Senegal. The climate is that of the Saharan zone: a brief season of abundant rain followed by a very long dry season. The vegetation is wooded or shrubbed

savannah. The land on the river banks often produces two harvests. The main crops are millet, maize, rice, peanuts, cotton and indigo. In the villages gardens are cultivated around the wells. Stock-farming is relatively well developed. The districts of Kaarta are Diafunu (Tambaraka) and Diomboko (Koniakari), Guidioumé (Niogomera) to the north of Diafunu; Tomora (Dida), Baghé and Kaarta Biné to the north of Fuladugu; Dianghaté to the east, and Kingui (Nioro). The main peoples are the Bambara and the Soninke, but the population also includes Khassonke, Fulani and Maures. The Bambara Massassi have a secret religious association known as the *Bouri*. Missionary activity for Islam is considerable.

Kaarta was visited by the British explorers Houghton and Mungo Park in 1795 and described by Duranton in 1828, Raffenel in 1864, Mage and Quintin in 1863 and Lenz in 1880.

Previously part of the empire of G͟hāna [*q.v.*] and then that of Mali, Kaarta was divided between a number of principalities after the Mali uprising. At the end of the 17th century, a Bambara chief, Niangolo, settled in Sunsana, near Murdia, and created the Bambara kingdom on the left bank of the Niger. His son Sunsa married a girl named Keita, and it was their son Massa who gave his name to the Bambara Massassi. A notable farmer as well as progenitor, he had such good-looking children that their profitable marriages added to the extent of the kingdom.

Benefali enlarged the country still more, but his brother Fulekoro was defeated by Biton Kulubali, who united the two kingdoms (1754). Fulekoro's successors, Sey Bamana and Deniba-Bo, were little more than chiefs of a band of brigands who conducted raids. Sira-Bo (1761-80) took up residence in Guémauo and extended his kingdom. Desse Kulubali (1788-99) took advantage of the dissension between the Bambara princes of Segu, sons of Ngolo Diara. He supported Namiankoro, but the latter was defeated by Da Manson, who then invaded Kaarta and captured the capital, Guemu (1796). Succeeding his brother, Mussa Kurabo (1799-1808) waged a campaign against ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *almamy* of Futa Toro. N'tin Koro (1808-11) and Sakhaba (1811-15) preceded Bodian Moriba (1815-32), who joined combat with Diawara and Khassohke. After Garan (1832-43), Mamady Kahdian (1843-54) left Yelimane and settled first in Kadie and then in Nioro (1847); the Diawara were driven back towards the desert before being defeated by the Tuculors of al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar (1854).

The latter installed a viceroy; in 1874 this position was held by Mutaga, brother of Ahmadu. When besieged in Nioro, Mutaga blew up his establishment. Meanwhile the Massassi who had been defeated by al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar took refuge in Bangassi (Fuladugu) under Mori, commander of Diringa, who died in 1870. Under his successor, Bussei, the Massassi split into two factions: one settled in Guemu-Kura (Kaarta-Bine) while the other moved to Diani (Gadiaga). The Bambara Massassi were reunited by Archinard, leader of Kaarta in 1891, after the capture of Nioro. Kaarta was divided once again between the provinces of Nioro, Kita and Kays in former French Sudan. No striking changes in local political structure have resulted from Mali independence in 1960.

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(R. Cornevin)

BANŪ KAʿB, an Arab tribe which occupies, at present, parts of K͟hūzistān in South Western Iran. The Banū Kaʿb comprise several clans, and they are therefore known to the inhabitants of eastern Arabia and southern ʿIrāḳ as *al-Kuʿūb* (in 18th century European sources *Chaub*). Arab authors and genealogists do not speak of them in detail but usually list them under Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa. They are said to belong to Ḳays ʿAylān, a major central and eastern Arabian tribe. They do not seem to have emigrated from there to southern ʿIrāḳ and south western Iran before the 17th century. By the time of the Danish traveller Niebuhr (1765), they seem to have gained some notoriety among the inhabitants of that area. The Turks, the Persians and the British were among their victims, and each of these powers failed to subdue S͟hayk͟h Salmān, the Kaʿb chief, during the second half of the 18th century. Ḳubbān, Dawraḳ and Fallāḥiyya are mentioned among their fortified towns. Their second prominent ruler after Salmān was his great grandson T͟hāmir (1837-40).

Like other Arab tribes inhabiting Iran, they mingled with the non-Arab population and are slowly losing their Arab identity. The main divisions of the tribe are: the Drīs, the Muḳaddam, the K͟hanāfira and the Ḥazbih.

The Banū Kaʿb cannot be described as completely settled, nor on the other hand is any considerable portion of them truly Bedouin. The bulk of the tribe is now semi-nomadic. At the zenith of their power shortly after 1775, the jurisdiction of their chief seems to have extended from the neighbourhood of Baṣra to the confines of Bihbahān; but their influence declined as that of the Muḥaysin of Muḥammara rose, and the chiefs of the Banū Kaʿb, stripped of political power, sank into undistinguished vassals of the S͟hayk͟h of Muḥammara, who early in the 20th century became, in turn, a vassal of the Iranian monarchs.

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(A. M. Abu-Hakima)

KAʿB B. AL-ASHRAF, opponent of Muḥammad at Medina, reckoned to belong to his mother's clan al-Naḍīr, though his father was an Arab of the Nabhān section of Ṭayyiʾ. He presumably followed the Jewish custom of taking his religion from his mother, but it is doubtful if he was a scholar, as the words in a poem *sayyid al-aḥbār* (Ibn Hishām, 659, 12) would imply, if the poem were genuine. Aroused by the deaths of many leading Meccans at Badr, he went to Mecca and used his considerable poetic gifts (he is called *faḥl faṣīḥ* in *K. al-Aghānī*) to incite Ḳuraysh to fight the Muslims. On his return to Medina he composed amatory verses of an insulting nature about Muslim women. When Muḥammad asked for someone to rid him of this man, Muḥammad b. Maslama offered. He collected four others, including Kaʿb's foster-brother Abū Nāʾila b. Salāma. By pretending to have turned against Muḥammad they enticed Kaʿb out of his *uṭum* (fort, castle) on a moonlight night and killed him in spite of his vigorous resistance. The date is given by al-Wāḳidī as 14 Rabīʿ I 3/4 Sept. 624, but this conflicts with the date he gives for Muḥammad's expedition to Dhū Amarr (12-22 Rabīʿ I/2-12 Sept.), since Muḥammad was present in Medina at the time of the killing. In view of this, and of the report of al-Ḥalabī that, when Banu 'l-Naḍīr were attacked in Rabīʿ I 4/Aug. 625, they were mourning for Kaʿb, it has been suggested that Kaʿb's death was shortly before this attack (cf. Ibn Hishām, 658.18; 659.12). The alleged ruins of Kaʿb's *uṭum* are still extant at Medina (M. Hamidullah, *The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, Woking 1953; reprinted from *The Islamic Review*, 1952, 1953).

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(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

KAʿB B. DJUʿAYL AL-TAGHLABĪ, a minor Arab poet of the 1st/7th century whom Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 485-9) places in the 3rd rank of Islamic poets. His genealogy varies with the different authors (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 165, no doubt provides the most accurate one), and very little is known of his life. Probably born during the earliest years of the *Hidjra*, he made his appearance at the time of the battle of Ṣiffīn (37/657) as an intimate of Muʿāwiya, of whom, like most of the Taghlib [*q.v.*], he was a passionate supporter. The conflict with ʿAlī inspired him to write a number of poems, in particular a verse which Muʿāwiya considered worthy of appending to a letter addressed to his adversary and to which al-Nadjāshī made a reply (al-Dīnawarī, *Ṭiwāl*, 170; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 281-2), and later some elegies on the death of ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Khaṭṭāb, killed in the battle (Ibn Sallām, 488-9; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3315; *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 355-6; Yāḳūt, s.v. Ṣiffīn; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, 336, 410; *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 498-9; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 265), and a poem in praise of Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn Sallām, 486-7; al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 344; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 632; Yāḳūt, s.v. Adhruḥ). Among the surviving fragments of his writings (about 80 verses) there also exist some panegyrics of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd (*Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 325-6), a *hidjāʾ* of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba (d. 50/670; *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya*, ii, 182) and some verses composed between 50 and 59/670-9 in Medina, where he was to be found in the company of the governor, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn Sallām, 255, 271; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2838, cf. ii, 107), enjoying the poetry of al-Farazdaḳ.

According to tradition, it was to Kaʿb b. Djuʿayl that his young fellow-tribesman al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*] owed his soubriquet (Ibn Sallām, 250, 396; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, viii, 280-1); according to a frequently quoted *khabar* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 63, 172; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 456, 631-2; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 153; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xv, 83), he is said to have suggested to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya who, prior to 60/680, had ordered him to write some poems attacking ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit, that he should entrust al-Akhṭal with this mission, since he himself refused to attack the Anṣār. On the basis of certain variants which are to be found in the reply made by Kaʿb (and which incidentally are far from conclusive), L. Cheikho (*Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya baʿd al-Islām*, 204) tries to show that the poet was then still a Christian, but all the evidence leads to the assumption that he had been converted to Islam.

He appears again (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, v, 13), at some uncertain date, on the Mirbad of Baṣra, in the company of several poets, in particular al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī (on the relations between the two men, see M. Nallino, in *RSO*, xiv (1934), 404-5 and *Le poesie di an-Nabigah*, Rome 1953, 120). If al-Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, xi, 212) is correct, he lived long enough to write a panegyric of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65/685-86/705); the lines which he quotes appear however in a long *ḳaṣīda* of al-Ḳuṭāmī (ed. J. Barthe, Leiden 1902, 88, lines 89-90).

Ibn Sallām describes Kaʿb b. Djuʿayl as a *mufliḳ* poet, but his *dīwān* does not appear to have been collected, although his poems have enjoyed a certain reputation since Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*] set some of his lines to music (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, iii, 275). Finally, the anthologists have been guilty of some errors in attributing to him verses by the pre-Islamic poet ʿUmayra/ʿAmīra b. Djuʿayl/Djuʿal (Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-N. ḳabl al-Islām*, 195-6) or in regarding this poet as his brother (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 631-2; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, i, 458 = Cairo, iii, 44). The passage quoted by Ibn Sallām (486-7) and other authors affords evidence of these misunderstandings.

Bibliography: The only account of any length is that of L. Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya baʿd al-Islām*, 203-12. In addition to the sources mentioned in the art., see: Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 345; Dīnawarī, *Ṭiwāl*, 192; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 84; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, ix, 72; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 203; Sharīshī, *Sharḥ*, ii, 86; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, 619; Yāḳūt, s.v. al-Ḥīra; Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 79-80; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, index; R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 65-6 and bibl. under reference. (CH. PELLAT)

KAʿB B. MĀLIK, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH or ABŪ ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, one of the poets supporting Muḥammad, was an Anṣārī of the clan of Salima of the tribe of al-Khazradj [see AL-ANṢĀR]. He must have been born before 600 A.D., since he is said to have taken part in the internal fighting in Medina before the Hidjra, and to have been present at the second ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*], when allegiance was sworn to Muḥammad. He was not present at Badr, but took part in most of the subsequent expeditions led by Muḥammad. At Uḥud he received several wounds and was the first to recognize Muḥammad after the rumour

that he had been killed. Some reports say that it was he who was charged with collecting the *ṣadaḳa* from the tribes of Aslam and Ghifār. For a reason which is not clear he remained in Medina during the expedition to Tabūk in autumn 9/630, and afterwards, with two others, was "sent to Coventry" until reprieved by the revelation of Sūra IX, 117/18 f. He seems to have had some links with Ghassān, and this may have had something to do with his avoidance of the expedition. When the Emigrants first came to Medina, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh was assigned to him as "brother", and some association continued between the two. He was later known as a partisan of ʿUthmān (ʿUthmānī), supporting him as caliph and composing an elegy after his death. In accordance with this attitude he refused to pay homage to ʿAlī. He later became blind and died in 50/670 or 53/673.

Many members of his family were noted for poetical gifts. Muḥammad realised the importance of poets in forming public opinion, and, following Sūra XXVI, 227 (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*), regarded Kaʿb as one of his poets along with Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [*q.v.*]. Much of Kaʿb's poetry is found in the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām. Its authenticity has been disputed but most appears to be genuine. The sentiments are nobler than those of Ḥassān and there is genuine enthusiasm for Islam. The poems deal with Badr, Uḥud, Biʾr Maʿūna, Banū 'l-Naḍīr, the Khandaḳ, Khaybar, Muʾta and other expeditions. Stories about Kaʿb seem to have been preserved in his family, and his sons ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and other descendants are mentioned as sources by Ibn Hishām and al-Wāḳidī.

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, ed. Sami M. Al-Ani, Baghdād 1966; Ibn Hishām, 290, 294-301, 310, 345, 574 f., 896, 908-13, 520-871 passim (poems); al-Ṭabarī, i, 1217-25, 1406, 1695, 1705, 2937, 3049, 3062, 3070; al-Wāḳidī (ed. Marsden Jones), 235 f., 249, 251, 260 f., 293, 335, 389, 447, 646, 802, 973, 996 f., 1049-56, 1073, 1075; *Aghānī*[1], xv, 26-33; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 295-7; Ibn Rusta, 224; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iv, 247 f.; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 66; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Rifāʿī, *Kaʿb b. Mālik al-Ṣaḥābī al-adīb*, Riyāḍ 1971.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

KAʿB B. ZUHAYR, an Arab poet and contemporary of the Prophet. A son of Zubayr b. Abī Sulmā [*q.v.*], he seems to have given proof of his poetic talent at an early age; although belonging to the Muzayna, he lived with the Dhubyān and was involved in the wars of his tribe against the Ṭayyiʾ, the Ḳuraysh and the Khazradj. His brother Budjayr was converted shortly before year 7 of the *Hidjra*, but he refused vehemently to follow suit and wrote some satirical verses attacking Muḥammad. The latter officially sanctioned his murder. From that day, "the earth became too confined" for Kaʿb, who resolved to make his submission. He presented himself without warning, in the year 9, in a mosque in Medina where Muḥammad was present and recited to him his famous piece known by the name of *Bānat Suʿād* (Suʿād has disappeared). Transported with admiration on hearing the praises of himself and of the Ḳurayshites, the Prophet threw onto the poet's shoulders his own striped mantle from the Yemen, his *burda*, from which came the name *al-Burda*, applied also to this *ḳaṣīda* (the same title was to be adopted by al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*]).

The *Bānat Suʿād* has none of the characteristics of a religious poem; it takes its inspiration from the sentiments of pagan poetry, and it begins with a commonplace observation so frequently employed that Ḥammād al-Rawiya [*q.v.*] boasted of knowing 700 other poems with the same opening. Nevertheless it is the most authentic example in existence of the eulogistic poetry of the period; "the extended themes, the repeated clichés, the style and the vocabulary can serve for comparison with the traditional writings; in this work, the essential elements of the laudatory genre are defined for the first quarter of the 1st/7th century" (R. Blachère). It has frequently been reproduced, in the form of *tashṭīr* and *takhmīs*. Commentators on it are numerous: the most celebrated are Thaʿlab, Ibn Durayd, al-Tibrīzī (ed. F. Krenkow, in *ZDMG*, lxv, 241-79), Ibn Hishām (ed. Guidi, Leipzig 1871), Ibn Ḥidjdja, al-Suyūṭī, and al-Bādjūrī (v. Brockelmann, I, 38-9, S I, 68-9). It was published for the first time by Lette (Leiden 1748), and was later produced in several editions, in particular by G. Freytag (with Latin translation, 1823) and T. Nöldeke (*Delectus*, Berlin 1890, 110-4). R. Basset brought out (Algiers 1910) an edition accompanied by a French translation and two unpublished commentaries. Finally, it appears in the *Dīwān* of Kaʿb published by T. Kowalski (Cracow 1950), containing 33 poems and fragments.

The date of Kaʿb's death is not known, but he appears to have lived to a ripe old age.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *La Bânat Soʿâd*, 14-82, and the authors mentioned 9-13; R. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 270-1 and bibl. (R. BASSET*)

KAʿB AL-AḤBĀR, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ B. MĀTIʿ B. HAYSUʿ/HAYNŪʿ, a Yemenite Jew who became a convert to Islam, probably in 17/638 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2514), and is considered the oldest authority on Judaeo-Islamic traditions. *Ḥibr/ḥabr*, from the Hebrew *ḥāber*, the scholarly title immediately below *rabbi* current among Babylonian Jewish scholars, is presumed to be equivalent to the Arabic *ʿālim* (al-Khawārizmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 35); in Kaʿb al-Aḥbār the plural is a determinative complement, while in the less frequent Kaʿb al-Ḥabr the latter element is in apposition to Kaʿb.

Lidzbarski (*De propheticis ... legendis arabicis*, Leipzig 1893, 34-5) assumes that Kaʿb was originally called ʿAḳībā or Yaʿḳōb, but very little is known of this man who, according to tradition, came to Medina during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, accompanied the latter to Jerusalem in 15/636 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2408) and after his conversion was on intimate terms with the caliph, whose death he predicted three days before it took place (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2722). He was a vigorous champion of ʿUthmān, which led on one occasion to his corporal chastisement by the pious Abū Dharr (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2946-7). Subsequently, Muʿāwiya tried to attract him to Damascus to become his counsellor, but it seems most likely that he withdrew to Ḥimṣ, where he died in 32/652-3, in 34 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2474-5) or in 35 (Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 40). According to al-Harawī (*Ziyārāt*, 9/20-1) his burial place and *maḳām* are in this town, but Yāḳūt (ii, 595) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 222; tr. Gibb, i, 139) locate his vault in Damascus (where a gravestone bearing his name is still extant; Gibb, *loc. cit.*). Ibn Djubayr (55) and al-Maḳrīzī (ed. Wiet, iv, 6) consider that it is situated in al-Djīza in Egypt, while al-Harawī (14/35) reports that some people believe him to be buried in Medina and states (39/94) that the tomb of one of his sons is at Djīza.

Though his true figure is difficult to discern, so wrapped is he in legendary trappings, Kaʿb is considered to have possessed a profound knowledge of the Bible and southern Arabian tradition, as well as a personal wisdom attested by the numerous state-

ments attributed to him without argument because he inspired so much confidence (al-Nawawī, *Tahḏhīb*, 523); he is also the originator of traditions concerning ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb which are considered authentic; al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 202-3) believes him to be trustworthy and would appear to be coming to his defence by implying that, in discussing the external data of the Pentateuch, Kaʿb did not say, "It is written in the Torah" but, "We find it in the books of the prophets". Sometimes he is accused of introducing Jewish elements into Islam, e.g. in a story, preserved by Ṭabarī (i, 2408-9), in which ʿUmar charges Kaʿb with Judaizing when he treats the temple mount in Jerusalem as a holy place. See further ISRĀʾĪLIYYĀT.

Posterity sought to add lustre to his name by crediting him with a great variety of traditions, particularly those relating to the prophets, such as the *Ḥadīth Dhi 'l-Kifl* printed at Būlāḳ in 1283 (Brockelmann, S I, 101) or the legend of Joseph [see YŪSUF] in Aljamiado [see ALJAMIA], edited in a Latin transcription by F. Guillen (*Legendas de José hijo de Jacob y de Alejandro Magno*, Saragossa 1888) and studied by M. Schmidt (*Über das altspanische Poema de José*, in *Roman. Forschungen*, xi (1901), 321), which is in fact a borrowing from al-Thaʿlabī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*. Al-Kisāʾī cites Kaʿb in his story of Joseph and he is also mentioned as an authority in Firdawsī's *Yūsuf u-Zalīkhā* (ed. H. Ethé in *Anecdota Oxoniensa*, Aryan Series, vi/i, Oxford 1908, 258, verse 2599).

Bibliography: Apart from references within the text: Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 156: Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; *Fihrist*, 32; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 121; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 7496; idem, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 438-40; *Aghānī*, ii, 50; Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, index; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Musulmänner*, 10; M. Grünbaum in *ZDMG*, xliv, 458, 477; Lidzbarski, 31-40; H. Hirschfeld in *Jewish Encycl.*, vii, 400; B. Chapira, *Légendes bibliques attribuées à Kaʿb al-Ahbar*, in *REJ*, lxix, 86 ff., lxx, 37 ff,; M. Perlmann, *A legendary story of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār's conversion to Islam*, in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, New York 1953; idem, *Another Kaʿb al-Aḥbār story*, in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, xlv (1954), 48-58.

(M. SCHMITZ*)

KAʿBA, the most famous sanctuary of Islam, called the temple or house of God (*Bayt Allāh*). It is situated almost in the centre of the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims throughout the whole world direct their prayers to this sanctuary, where every year hundreds of thousands of pilgrims make the greater (*ḥadjdj*) or lesser (*ʿumra*) pilgrimage. Around it they gather and make their ritual circuits; around the Kaʿba the young Muslim community spent the early years of Islam. For the Muslim community the Kaʿba holds a place analogous to that of the temple in Jerusalem for ancient Jewry.

I. The Kaʿba and its immediate vicinity. The name Kaʿba is connected with the cube-like appearance of the building; formerly the word was also used to designate other similarly shaped sanctuaries. The structure is 50 ft. high, with a flat roof sloping gently to the north west corner, where is the water spout (*mīzāb*); the shorter walls are about 35 ft. long and the façade is 40 ft. long.

The façade, which contains the door (at about 7 ft. above ground level), faces north east and the Black Stone (*al-ḥadjar al-aswad*) is built into its eastern corner. Beyond the northern corner is the beginning of the *Ḥidjr*. In front of the façade are the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, the arch-shaped gate known as that of Banū Shayba, and the Zamzam well. Also in front of the façade, but outside the mosque enclosure, is the ritual walk from Ṣafā (south east) to Marwa (north). Photographs showing the Kaʿba in the foreground with the Maḳām Ibrāhīm in the middle ground (and consequently with the *Ḥidjr* to the left of the Kaʿba) reveal in the background, outside the mosque, the ritual walk from Ṣafā to Marwa, an area which cannot be seen on photographs where the Kaʿba stands out in front of the Maḳām Ibrāhīm and the Banū Shayba gate.

The Kaʿba is built of layers of the grey-blue stone produced by the hills surrounding Mecca. It stands on a marble base (*shādharwān*) 10 inches high, projecting about a foot. The four corners (*rukn*, pl. *arkān*) roughly face the four points of the compass. At the east is the Black Stone corner (*al-rukn al-aswad*): perhaps an astral orientation towards the Levant in pre-Islamic times? At the north is *al-rukn al-ʿirāḳī* (the ʿIrāḳī); at the west *al-rukn al-shāmī* (Syrian); and at the south *al-rukn al-yamanī* (Yemenite).

The four walls of the Kaʿba are covered with a curtain (*kiswa*), which in Egypt is called *al-burḳuʿ* (the veil). In front of the door is a special curtain, embroidered in gold and silver, with numerous inscriptions. Since Mamluk times (mid 7th/13th century) this *kiswa* has been traditionally provided by Egypt except during periods of political tension (*e.g.*, 1926-36 and after 1962). At one period the black *kiswa* was replaced by a white one between the 25th (or 28th) Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda and the end of the pilgrimage (cf. al-Batanūnī). Witnesses affirm that this practice has been discontinued. The curtains are occasionally fixed to the ground by rings and cords, or the base is raised by cords placed out of reach of human hands. The *kiswa* is usually of black brocade, with the *shahāda* outlined in the weave of the fabric. About two-thirds of the way up runs a gold embroidered band (*ḥizam*) covered with ḳurʾānic texts. (Numerous photographs can be found in Ibrāhīm Rifʿat, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaram*, i, Cairo 1925). Each year, when the curtains are replaced, the Banū Shayba divide the old ones into small pieces which are distributed and sold as relics.

In the north-east wall, about 7 feet from the ground, is the door, parts of which have mountings of silver-gilt. When the Kaʿba is opened, a wooden staircase (*daradj*, *madradj*) running on wheels is pushed up to the door; when not in use, it is kept between the Zamzam and the Gate of the Banū Shayba (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilderatlas zu Mekka*, no. ii; for a picture of the staircase, see Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 80).

In the interior of the Kaʿba are three wooden pillars, which support the roof, to which a ladder leads up. The only furnishings are the numerous hanging golden and silver lamps. On the inner walls there are many building inscriptions. The floor is covered with slabs of marble.

On the outside of the Kaʿba, in the eastern corner, about 5 feet above ground, not far from the door, the Black Stone is built into the wall; formerly broken into three pieces and several small fragments, it is now held together by a ring of stone mounted in a silver band. The stone is sometimes described as lava and sometimes as basalt; its real nature is difficult to determine, because its visible surface is worn smooth by hand touching and kissing. The surface is hollowed out irregularly, as can be seen in sketches and photographs. Its diameter is around 12 inches. The colour is reddish black with red and yellow particles.

The part of the wall between the Black Stone and the door is called *al-multazam*, because the visitors press their breasts against it while praying fervently.

In the east corner too, about five feet above the ground, another stone (*al-ḥadjar al-asʿad*, the "lucky"), is built into wall. It is only touched and not kissed during the perambulation.

Outside the building there is still to be mentioned the gilt water-spout (*mīzāb*), which juts out below the top of the north-west wall, and has an appendage which is called the "beard of the *mīzāb*". The spout is called *mīzāb al-raḥma*, "spout of mercy" (on it cf. Ben Chérif, *Aux Villes Saintes de l'Islam*, p. 75); the part between it and the west corner is the exact *ḳibla* [*q.v.*]. The rain-water falls through the spout on to the pavement below, which here is inlaid with designs in mosaic. The ground all round the Kaʿba is covered with marble slabs.

Opposite the north-west wall, but not connected with it, is a semi-circular wall (*al-ḥaṭīm*) of white marble. It is three feet high and about five feet thick; its ends are almost six feet from the north and west corners of the Kaʿba. The semi-circular space between the *ḥaṭīm* and the Kaʿba enjoys an especial consideration, because for a time it belonged to the Kaʿba; in the perambulation therefore it is not entered; the *ṭawāf* goes as close as possible along the outer side of the *ḥaṭīm*. The space bears the name *al-ḥidjr* or *ḥidjr Ismāʿīl*. Here are said to be the graves of the patriarch and his mother Hagar. The pavement on which the *ṭawāf* is performed is called *maṭāf*; a depression in it just opposite the door has still to be mentioned; it is called *al-miʿdjan* "the trough"; according to legend, Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] here mixed the mortar used in building the Kaʿba.

The *maṭāf* and the buildings around it have not always remained the same throughout the ages. Only the arch-shaped gate, the Banū Shayba (once also called the *bāb al-Salām*), still marks the traditional entrance to the *maṭāf*. Between this archway and the façade (N.E.) is a little building with a small dome, the *maḳām Ibrāhīm*. In it is kept a stone bearing the prints of two human feet. The patriarch Ibrāhīm, father of Ismāʿīl, is said to have stood on this stone when building the Kaʿba and the marks of his feet were miraculously preserved. Beside the *maḳām Ibrāhīm*, slightly to the north, is the pulpit (*minbar*); at the beginning of this century it was made of white marble in the classical *minbar* shape. The dimensions of the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* were considerably reduced during the recent reconstruction. The relic is now closely surrounded by glass and bars set into a polygonal base, the whole structure, capped by a much narrower kind of "helmet", being about three yards above ground level.

The pavement which is used for the *ṭawāf* was relaid during the important work on the mosque which began in 1956. On old photographs the slender columns which surrounded the *maṭāf*, clearly demarcating it, can be seen. They were used to hold the lamps which lighted pilgrims at night. Today a new electric lighting system has been installed. On Ali Bey's plan of the mosque there were two further buildings, at the edge of the outer pavement and to the north east of the Zamzam building; these were called *al-ḳubbatayn*; by Snouck Hurgronje's day they had disappeared. For many years the Zamzam well was covered by a building or *ḳubba*. A description of this well can be found in the *Rapport quarantenaire* of 1905 by Dr. Soliman Bey (p. 13; published in Egypt; a résumé of the text is given by J. Jomier in *Le Mahmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mekke*, Cairo 1953, 154-6), but the situation nowadays is completely different. There are no buildings on the surface and pilgrims can take advantage of this extra space. A staircase leads to a sort of underground hall divided into two sections, one for men and one for women, with water distributed by means of a system of taps.

The three little buildings previously situated on the exterior of the *maṭāf* also vanished during the course of the recent works, not only to provide some open space but also because, to an increasing extent, the diversification of rules has become of secondary importance to many Muslims. Such buildings housed the *imāms* of the four main schools during the prayers. The largest building (*maḳām* or *muṣallā ḥanafī*) was north west of the Kaʿba in front of the *Ḥidjr*; the Ḥanbalī was to the south east and the Mālikī to the south west. The Shāfiʿīs used the Zamzam well building.

Finally we must mention the work begun in 1956 which has transformed the promenade from Ṣafā to Marwa into a spacious covered passage with a lofty ceiling. A group of huge galleries, with a floor overlooking the courtyard of the mosque, has been built on the outside of the old arcades of the *īwān*, which have been allowed to remain.

II. The history of the Kaʿba.

Aside from Muslim traditions, practically nothing is known of the history of the Kaʿba. The sole reason for presuming that the Kaʿba was already in existence in the 2nd century A.D. is the mention of Mecca, under the name of Macoraba, by the geographer Ptolemy (*Geography*, vi, 7). Glaser (*Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii, 235) believes that this name may have signified the same as the south Arabian or Ethiopian *mikrab*, *i.e.*, a temple. The accounts of the campaign of Abraha [*q.v.*], which have been elaborated with legendary features, also suggest the existence and worship of the Kaʿba in the sixth century but tell us nothing of its appearance or equipment. The Tubbaʿ Asʿad Abū Karib al-Ḥimyarī, who came to Mecca, is said to have for the first time provided the building with a *kiswa* and with a door with a lock. The information available regarding the distribution of the offices [see below iii.] among the sons of Ḳuṣayy shows that the worship of the sanctuary had developed into a carefully regulated cult several generations before Muḥammad.

In matters pertaining to the history of the building of the Kaʿba, modern Muslims tend to hold fast to the letter of the Ḳurʾān and discount, to an increasing extent, other accounts. It is in fact in the Ḳurʾān, and in the Medinan *sūras*, that Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl are said to have laid the foundations of the Kaʿba (Ḳurʾān, II, 121/127). The *maḳām Ibrāhīm* is indicated as a suitable place for the *ṣalāt* (II, 119/125). At God's command, Ibrāhīm ordained the pilgrimage (XXII, 28/27). The Kaʿba was the first sanctuary to be established on earth, and was now named the sacred house (V, 98/97), the ancient house (XXII, 30, 34/29, 33). We can only speculate about the milieus in which these tales circulated in pre-Islamic times. Were these stories similar to the Coptic traditions concerning the Holy Family's flight to Egypt which the Judaized milieus of Arabia transposed to Abraham's journeys to Mecca? We will never know. For Muslims, these accounts are grounded on the authority of the Ḳurʾān and the Ḳurʾān alone. Whether or not in pre-Islamic days Ḳuṣayy demolished and rebuilt the edifice, as historians say, is impossible to determine.

The historical references only begin with Muḥammad. When Muḥammad had reached man's estate, the fire of a woman censing the Kaʿba is said to have caught the building and laid it waste. It happened that a Byzantine ship was thrown ashore at Djudda [*q.v.*] and the Meccans brought its wood hither and used it for the new building. In connection with this the name of a man Bāḳūm (it is given in various forms) is always mentioned, sometimes as the captain of the ship, sometimes as the carpenter whose advice was taken; he is said to have been a Coptic Christian.

The old Kaʿba is said to have been only of the height of a man and to have had no roof. The threshold is said to have been on the level of the ground so that the water had an easy entrance in the frequent floods (*sayl*). The Kaʿba was then built of alternate layers of stone and wood, its height was doubled and a roof covered it. The door was placed above the level of the ground so that whoever wished to enter had to use a ladder. Unwelcome visitors were tumbled down from the high threshold. When the Black Stone was to be put in its place, the Meccans quarrelled among themselves as to who should have the honour. They had just decided that the first comer should be given the task when Muḥammad (who had been engaged in helping to carry the stones) came past. With grave authority he is said to have placed the precious object in a cloak —or in his cloak—and to have ordered the heads of tribes each to take an end. He himself then took out the stone and placed it in position.

At the conquest of Mecca in 8/629, Muḥammad left the Kaʿba as a building unaltered. But according to tradition, he later said that only the very recent conversion of the Meccans prevented him from instituting all kinds of innovations. These real or alleged intentions of Muḥammad were brought to realization in 64/683 by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. As anti-caliph he was besieged by al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr [*q.v.*] in Mecca. Catapults were erected on the hills round Mecca, which hurled a hail of stones on the town and sanctuary and so damaged the house of Allāh that it finally looked "like the torn bosoms of mourning women". ʿAbd Allāh and his helpers pitched their tents beside the sanctuary (he henceforth called himself *al-ʿĀʾidh bi 'l-Bayt*, "he who took refuge at the temple") and again a conflagration threatened to complete the destruction. In the fire the Black Stone was split in three pieces.

When the Umayyad army was withdrawn, ʿAbd Allāh discussed with the Meccan authorities the demolition and rebuilding of the Kaʿba. When he had made his decision and the ruins had to be cleared away, no one dared to begin the work. The bulk of the populace, with Ibn ʿAbbās at their head, had left the town because they feared a punishment from heaven. But ʿAbd Allāh climbed up himself, axe in hand, and began the grim task. When his people saw that he remained unharmed, they took courage and assisted.

During the building a covered scaffolding was left on the spot to mark the *ḳibla* and the *maṭāf* at least. The masons are said to have worked behind the covering. ʿAbd Allāh guarded the Black Stone, wrapped in a piece of brocade, in the council hall (*dār al-nadwa*). When put back into its place it, or rather the three pieces into which it was broken, was bound with a band of silver.

The Kaʿba was then built entirely out of Meccan stone and Yemen mortar and built to a height of 27 ells. According to the tradition of the Prophet, the *ḥidjr* was included in the building and two doors were made on the level of the ground, the eastern as an entrance and the western as an exit. In the *ṭawāf* the four corners were kissed.

These alterations lasted only a short period. In 74/693 al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] conquered Mecca and killed ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. In agreement with the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik he again separated the *ḥidjr* from the Kaʿba and walled up the west door. The building, in keeping with the wish of the Umayyads, thus practically received its pre-Islamic form again and this form has survived to the present day. The piety of the populace has always resisted any considerable innovations. Only to an unimportant degree have the authorities now and then made improvements. As was the case in the pagan period, floods have continued to be a danger to the building. When in 1611 it threatened to collapse, a girdle of copper was used to avert the disaster. But a new *sayl* made this support also insufficient, so that in 1630 renovations were decided upon. But the old stones were used as much as possible for the rebuilding.

The Kaʿba successfully withstood the Ḳarmatian invasion of 317/929; only the Black Stone was carried off. After an absence of some twenty years it was sent back to Mecca (cf. de Goeje, *Mém. sur les Carmathes*², 104-111, 145-8).

The custom of covering the Kaʿba is said to have been introduced by the Tubbaʿ. The annual re-covering of the Kaʿba only became an established custom in modern times; for the oldest Muslim period, the ʿĀshūrā day is mentioned as the day of covering, but in Radjab also and in other months the building has changed its covering. The *kiswa* consisted sometimes of Yemeni and sometimes of Egyptian or other cloth; during ʿUmar's caliphate the building threatened to collapse on account of the many coverings hung on it. All sorts of colours are mentioned also. The Wahhābīs even covered the Kaʿba with a red *kiswa*.

The *maḳāms* around the Kaʿba are mentioned as early as the ʿAbbāsid period, sometimes under the name *ẓulla* ("a shade"). The present buildings are said to date from 1074/1663. A dome over the Zamzam well is mentioned at an equally early period; the present one was built in 1072.

The Kaʿba had offerings dedicated to it in the pagan as well as the Muslim period. Al-Azraḳī devotes a detailed chapter to this subject (155-6). Many a worldly ruler has used these treasures for political purposes. Tradition reports that ʿUmar said: "I will leave neither gold nor silver in the Kaʿba but distribute its treasures". To this, however, ʿAlī is said to have raised vigorous objections so that ʿUmar desisted from his plan.

III. The Kaʿba and Islam.

Every man living in Mecca in the 6th-7th century A.D. must of necessity have had some relationship with the Kaʿba. On Muḥammad in his Meccan period the Ḳurʾān is silent in this respect. All that is known is that the early community in Medina turned to face Jerusalem in prayer. This was in the early days when it was still reasonable to hope that the Medina Jews would be won over. Subsequently, about a year and a half after the *Hidjra*, the community turned to Mecca in prayer and in Mecca itself faced the Kaʿba.

"Turn then thy face towards the sacred mosque and wherever ye be turn your faces towards that part" (Ḳurʾān, II, 139/144).

At this same period the Ḳurʾān began to lay

stress on the religion of Ibrāhīm, presenting Islam as a return to the purity of the primitive religion of Ibrāhīm which, obscured by Judaism and Christianity, shone forth in its original brightness in the Ḳurʾān. Guarded support for this interpretation is advanced by Sprenger and followed by Snouck Hurgronje in his *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (cf. *EI*[1], appendix to article IBRĀHĪM; for a contrary opinion see Yoakim Moubarac, *Abraham dans le Coran*, Paris 1958).

It is incontrovertible that an entire pre-Islamic ritual, previously steeped in paganism, was adopted by Islam after it had been purified and given a strictly monotheistic orientation. The pilgrimages to the Kaʿba and ritual progressions around the building were continued, but were now for the glorification of the One God. The abrahamic vision of the Kaʿba created a means of discerning an orthodox origin buried in the midst of pagan malpractices to which the first Muslims pointed the way.

In 6/627 a prospect of taking part in the Mecca cult was held out to the Muslims by the pact of al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*]; in connection with it, the *ʿUmrat al-Ḳaḍāʾ* took place in the year 7. Muḥammad's political endeavours culminated in the conquest of Mecca in 8/629.

All the pagan trappings which had adhered to the Kaʿba were now thrust aside. 360 idols are said to have stood around the building. When touched with the Prophet's rod they all fell to the ground. The statue of Hubal which ʿAmr b. Luḥayy is said to have erected over the pit inside the Kaʿba was removed as well as the representations of the prophets. When they began to wash the latter with Zamzam water, Muḥammad is said to have placed his hands on the pictures of Jesus and Mary and said: "Wash out all except what is below my hands". He then withdrew his hands. A wooden dove also which was in the Kaʿba is said to have been shattered by Muḥammad's orders. The two horns of Abraham's ram did not crumble to dust until the rebuilding of the Kaʿba by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

At the capture of Mecca, Muḥammad made arrangements regarding the religious and secular offices which had been filled in Mecca from ancient times. The historians say that in the old heathen period Ḳuṣayy, after a fierce struggle with the tribe of Khuzāʿa, became master of the Kaʿba and held all the important offices, religious and secular: the administration of the *Dār al-Nadwa* and the tying of the standard, the provision of the pilgrims with food (*rifāda*) and with drink (*siḳāya*) as well as the supervision of the Kaʿba (*sidāna* and *ḥidjāba*). His descendants:

ʿAbd Manāf — Hāshim — ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib — ʿAbbās, Abū Ṭālib

ʿAbd al-Dār — ʿUthmān — ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā — Abū Ṭalḥa ʿAbd Allāh

administered the offices after his death, ʿAbd Manāf and his descendants getting the *rifāda* and *siḳāya* etc., while ʿAbd al-Dār and his descendants saw to the *sidāna* and *ḥidjāba* etc.

When Muḥammad conquered Mecca his uncle ʿAbbās or, according to another tradition, ʿAlī asked for the administration of these offices. But Muḥammad said he had abolished all of them except the *siḳāya* and the guardianship of the Kaʿba. The former remained in the hands of ʿAbbās; the latter he gave to ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa who allowed his cousin Shayba b. Abī Ṭalḥa to act as his deputy. The Banū Shayba are the doorkeepers at the Kaʿba to this day. The *rifāda*, which was in the hands of Abū Ṭālib, was taken over by Abū Bakr in 9/630; after his death the caliphs looked after the feeding of the pilgrims.

Muḥammad's control over Mecca and the Meccan cult was first clearly marked at the *Ḥadjdj* of the year 9. As plenipotentiary of the Prophet, who did not participate in the pilgrimage, Abū Bakr announced to the assembled pilgrims the latest arrangements, which were put in the form of a revelation. They are contained in Sūra IX, which from them is often called the Sūra of Immunity (*barāʾa*) (v. 1-12, 28, 36-7).

According to it, idolators are henceforth forbidden to participate in the Meccan festival as they are impure (*nadjas*). Moreover, they are declared outlaws. A period of four months is given them during which they can go freely about the country; but after that "kill them wherever ye find them". Excepted are those with whom an alliance has been made in so far as they have punctiliously observed its terms and helped no one against the Muslims.

In 10/631 Muḥammad himself led the pilgrimage, at which therefore according to tradition not a single idolator was present: the Kaʿba had become an exclusively Muslim sanctuary. At every *ṣalāt* Muslims throughout the world turn towards Mecca and at the ceremonies of the pilgrimage the Kaʿba forms the beginning and the end of the holy rites.

Two special ceremonies concerning the Kaʿba may here be mentioned, the opening and the washing of the building. The opening takes place on definite days and men are first admitted, then the women. On this occasion the above-mentioned staircase is pushed up to the building. The days in question change at the will of the Meccan authorities—but some usually fall in the month of the pilgrimage and one on the 10th Muḥarram (ʿĀshūrā day). It is considered particularly meritorious to perform the *ṣalāt* in the Kaʿba.

The procedure for the washing of the inside of the Kaʿba was as follows at the beginning of the 20th century. After the *Ḥadjdj* is completed, at the end of the month Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the Kaʿba is washed, a ceremony in which the Grand Sharīf, the governor and other authorities, as well as a number of pilgrims, take part. The first to enter is the Sharīf, who after a *ṣalāt* of two *rakaʿ*s himself washes the ground with Zamzam water which flows away through a hole in the threshold. The walls are washed with a kind of broom made of palm leaves. The Sharīf then sprinkles everything again with rose-water and finally the building is fumigated with all manner of perfumes (cf. *al-Ḳibla*, no. 409, 1). The Sharīf throws the broom away among the crowd of pilgrims, who fight among themselves for possession of it. Al-Batanūnī says (109) that the *zamzamī*s and the *muṭawwif*s sell the pilgrims similar brooms for a minimum of half a real.

As is evident from this example, the veneration for the sacred building extends to all that comes in contact with it: to the Black Stone, the water-spout, the *multazam*, and above all to the Zamzam water. It is however said—and probably with truth—that ʿUmar thus expressed himself on the Black Stone: "I know that thou art a stone, that neither helps nor hurts, and if the messenger of Allāh had not kissed thee, I would not kiss thee". But then he kissed the stone. And hardly a single pilgrim will think of ʿUmar's words during the *ṭawāf*. The *ṣalāt*

under the water-pipe is described as particularly efficacious: "Anyone who performs the *ṣalāt* under the *mat̲h̲ʿab* becomes as pure as on the day when his mother bore him" (al-Azraḳī, 224). The Zamzam water, which the pilgrim has poured over him again and again, is useful for every purpose for which it is drunk (*māʾ Zamzam li-mā s̲h̲uriba lahu*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, 34).

There is abundant testimony in Muslim as well as European literature to the intensification of devotional feeling which the sight of the Kaʿba produces in the pilgrims. We may here quote al-Batanūnī's description of the *ṣalāt* at the Kaʿba as particularly characteristic (26): "The whole assembly stood there in the greatest reverence before this highest majesty and most powerful inspirer of awe before which the greatest souls become so little as to be almost nothing. And if we had not been witness of the movements of the body during the *ṣalāt* and the raising of the hands during the prayers, and the murmuring of the expressions of humility and if we had not heard the beating of the hearts before this immeasurable grandeur we would have thought ourselves transferred to another life. And truly we were at that hour in another world: we were in the house of God and in God's immediate presence, and with us were only the lowered head and the humble tongue and the voices raised in prayer and weeping eyes and the fearful heart and pure thoughts of intercession" (cf. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1909, 216-7; Ben Chérif, *Aux villes saintes de l'Islam*, ii-iii, 45-6, 68).

Even the S̲h̲īʿīs and the Wahhābīs have left the Kaʿba its place in Islam. Only the Ḳarmatians form an obvious exception.

Many moderns lay stress on the fact that Mecca was chosen by God as the place of revelation; they emphasise that the Kaʿba is a symbol of the unity of the Muslim world, the place of God's grace, His worship, and the proclamation of His glory.

As to the mystics, their attitude to the Kaʿba depends on their position regarding the law. For the, so to speak, nomistic mystics like al-G̲h̲azālī, the Kaʿba is, it is true, the sacred building which one has to go round in the *ṭawāf*. The *ṭawāf* and its object however only receive their value for men when they give them an inducement to rise to a higher spiritual level. Ibn al-ʿArabī goes a step further when he says that the true Kaʿba is nothing other than our own being (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, i, 733); the Kaʿba however also plays a part in his mystic experiences. Hud̲j̲wīrī however quotes some sayings of mystics, who no longer require the Kaʿba as an inducement to rise, and even despise it. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl says: "I wonder at those who seek His temple in this world: why do they not seek contemplation of Him in their hearts? The temple they sometimes attain and sometimes miss, but contemplation they might enjoy always. If they are bound to visit a stone, which is looked at only once a year, surely they are more bound to visit the temple of the heart, where He may be seen three hundred and sixty times in a day and night. But the mystic's every step is a symbol of the journey to Mecca, and when he reaches the sanctuary he wins a robe of honour for every step". Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī also says: "On my first pilgrimage I saw only the temple; the second time, I saw both the temple and the Lord of the temple; and the third time I saw the Lord alone. In short, where mortification is, there is no sanctuary: the sanctuary is where contemplation is. Unless the whole universe is a man's trysting-place where he comes high unto God and a retired chamber where he enjoys intimacy with God, he is still a stranger to Divine love; but when he has vision the whole universe is his sanctuary. The darkest thing in the world is the Beloved's house without the Beloved.

Accordingly, what is truly valuable is not the Kaʿba, but contemplation and annihilation in the abode of friendship, of which things the sight of the Kaʿba is indirectly a cause" (al-Hud̲j̲wīrī, tr. Nicholson, 327).

IV. The Kaʿba in Legend and Superstition.

In the article KAʿBA in *EI*[1] there is an account of a whole series of legends concerning the origins of the Kaʿba; we will not go into these here. It is common knowledge that when protesting against his coreligionists' imaginative excesses Muḥammad ʿAbduh even cited certain current legends about the Kaʿba (*Tafsīr al-Manār*, i, 466-7). Well known too is the fact that after the Saʿūdī conquest of Ḥid̲j̲āz (1924-6), a number of popular cultic places, such as the tomb of Eve in D̲j̲udda, were suppressed. Among the legends relating to the Kaʿba are those describing its creation at the beginning of the world, what happened to it during the flood, how Abraham was guided to make his way to Arabia, details of his conduct during the construction of the Kaʿba, how Gabriel brought the Black Stone which had been preserved since the flood in Abū Ḳubays [*q.v.*]. Originally white, the stone had taken on its present colour after contact with the sins of the pagan era. There are also legends about the Zamzam well, especially concerning the role of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the two golden gazelles he discovered. These had been concealed by the D̲j̲urhum, along with swords and armour. All this was deposited at the Kaʿba or used to decorate the buildings.

From analogous theories developed earlier with relation to Jerusalem, Mecca was considered the navel of the world (cf. the account of these theories in the article KAʿBA in *EI*[1]).

Mecca is also a burial ground. Not only Ismāʿīl and his mother but a whole series of prophets, numbering hundreds, is said to have been buried round the Kaʿba.

V. Religious history before Islam.

From the fact that Ptolemy calls Mecca "Macroba" (*i.e. mikrāb*, temple) we may conclude that in his day the Kaʿba was regarded as a sanctuary dedicated to one or more deities. According to a statement of Epiphanius (*Haereses*, v, following the text in *Philologus*, 1860, 355), D̲h̲u 'l-S̲h̲āra had in Petra his χααβου, a word which is probably the same as Kaʿba. It is not clear from Epiphanius, however, whether the temple in Petra was meant, or the quadrangular black stone which represented D̲h̲u 'l-S̲h̲āra. Al-Bakrī (*Muʿd̲j̲am*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 46) relates that the tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*], as well as the main body of the Iyād tribe, had their centre of worship in Sindād in the region of Kūfa and that their holy tent (or temple, *bayt*) there was called D̲h̲āt al-Kaʿabāt (but cf. al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat D̲j̲azīrat al-ʿArab*, 171, l. 14, 17, 230, l. 12). What was the relationship between the sanctity of the Kaʿba and the Black Stone? We can do no more than offer hypotheses, like Wellhausen's.

No tradition suggests that the Black Stone was connected with any particular god. In the Kaʿba was the statue of the god Hubal, who might be called the god of Mecca and of the Kaʿba. Caetani gives great prominence to the connection between the Kaʿba and Hubal. Besides him, however, al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and

al-Manāt were worshipped and are mentioned in the Ḳurʾān; Hubal is never mentioned there. What position Allāh held beside these in pagan times is not exactly known.

Many other idols are mentioned in the Kaʿba and the vicinity, among them the 360 statues.

The Kaʿba possessed in a high degree the usual qualities of a Semitic sanctuary. First of all it made the whole surrounding area into consecrated ground. Around the town lies the sacred zone (*ḥaram*) marked by stones, which imposes certain restrictions on each one who enters it [see IḤRĀM]. Moreover, the sanctity of the area is seen in the following points. In the *ḥaram* the truce of God reigns. When the Arab tribes made a pilgrimage to the Kaʿba, all feuds were dormant. It was forbidden to carry arms. Next, the *ḥaram*—and the Kaʿba especially—is a place of refuge. Here the unintentional manslayer was safe just as in the Jewish cities of refuge. On the Kaʿba there was a kind of handle to which the fugitives clung (al-Azraḳī, 111), an arrangement which recalls the purport of the horns on the Jewish altar. Blood was not allowed to flow in the *ḥaram*. It is therefore reported that those condemned to death were led outside the *ḥaram* to execution.

The idea of peace extended even to the flora and fauna. Animals—except a few injurious or dangerous sorts—are not to be scared away; hence the many tame doves in the mosque. Trees and bushes were not cut down except the *Idhkhir* shrub, which was used for building houses and in goldsmiths' work. These regulations were confirmed by Islam and are in force to this day.

As to the rites, it is said that in the heathen period animals were sacrificed at the Kaʿba. Among the ancient Arabs the idol of stone replaced the altar; on it they smeared the blood of the sacrificial animals. In Islam the killing takes place in Minā.

It is a question whether and how far the Kaʿba was connected with the *ḥadjdj* in the pre-Islamic period. On the one hand, the *ḥadjdj* was an integral part of the ceremonies carried out outside Mecca, notably at ʿArafāt: the halt there is the summit of the pilgrimage. On the other hand, the Ḳurʾān (III, 91/97) uses the formula *ḥidjdj al-bayt* to refer to the Kaʿba. It is therefore most probable that in pre-Islamic times there was a fusion of two groups of ceremonies which, in a fashion still followed by the Arabs, united two adjacent holy places in the same celebration. It cannot be denied that the cult of the Kaʿba in the pagan era reveals traces of an astral symbolism. Golden suns and moons are repeatedly mentioned among the votive gifts (al-Azraḳī, 155 ff.). According to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 47, ed. and tr. Pellat, § 1373), certain people have regarded the Kaʿba as a temple devoted to the sun, the moon and the five planets. The 360 idols placed round the Kaʿba also point in this direction.

However, such a view cannot be safely propounded as foremost. In the pagan era the cult of the Kaʿba was certainly syncretistic, conforming to the usual features of Arab paganism. It is impossible to discern to what extent North Semitic cults were represented in Mecca.

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ḲABAḲBĀZĪ [see LAʿB].

KABAKČI-OGHLU MUṢṬAFĀ, chief of the rebellion which overthrew the Ottoman sultan Selīm III. Originally from Kastamuni, a town in north western Anatolia, he was chosen as their leader by the *yamak*s (supernumerary janissaries) of the Rumelikavak fortresses on the Bosphorus, who rioted on 17 Rabīʿ I 1222/25 May 1807 upon the instigation of the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the grand vizier, Köse Mūsā Pasha, and the *Shaykh al-Islām* ʿAṭāʾ Allāh Efendi. He conducted the rebellion in an orderly manner, put to death the principal organizers of the *Niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*] and served the aims of the instigators of the riot in preparation for the enthronement of Muṣṭafā IV [*q.v.*] (21 Rabīʿ I/29 May). Nominated commandant of the fortresses on the Rumelian side of the Bosphorus with the rank of *turnadjī-bashī*, he exercised influence in government affairs through his collaboration first with the *Shaykh al-Islām*, later with Maḥmūd Ṭayyār Pasha, appointed *ḳāʾim maḳām* in Shaʿbān/October, and again with the *Shaykh al-Islām*. He was killed on 19 Djumādā I 1223/13 July 1808 in Rumelifener by ʿAlī Agha, the *aʿyān* of Pınarhisar, sent with a troup of soldiers by Muṣṭafā Pasha Bayrakdār [*q.v.*], who was marching with the Ottoman army toward Istanbul to restore Selīm III [*q.v.*] to the throne.

An uneducated man, he showed a remarkable capacity for leadership in conducting the rebellion. Nevertheless he has been rightly criticized for his harmful action which resulted in the suppression of

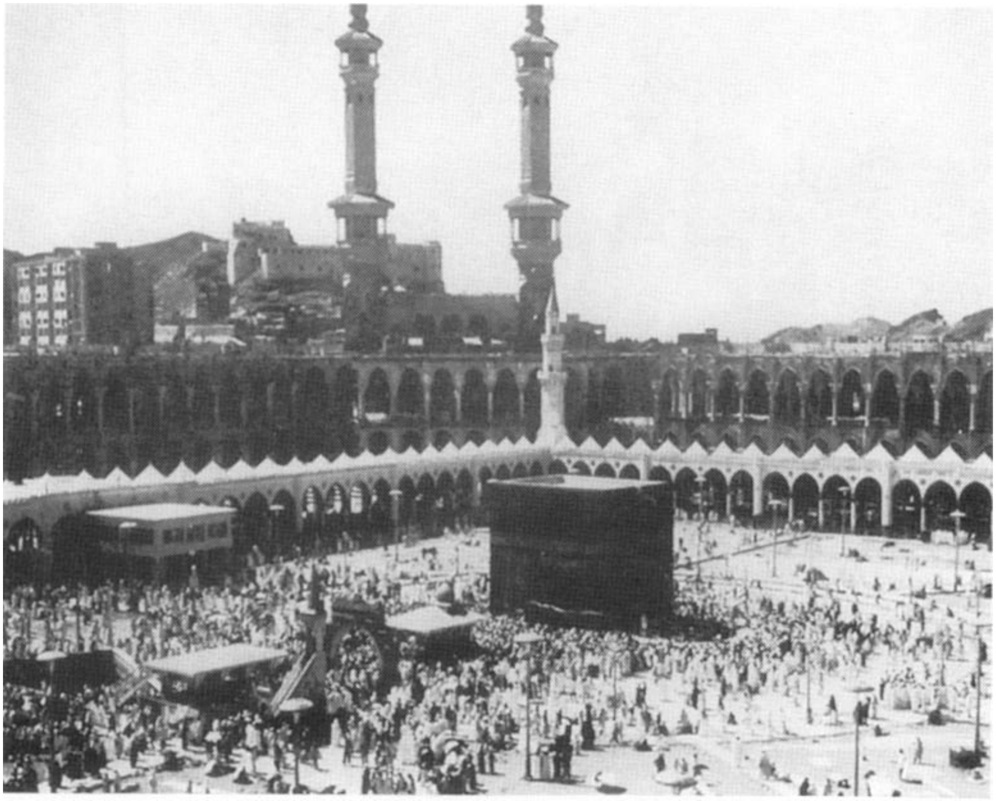

1. North-eastern façade. In the foreground, to the left, are the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*, the *Bāb Banī Shayba*, the *Minbar* and the Zamzam well; the building (*ḳubba*) of the latter is obscured from view.

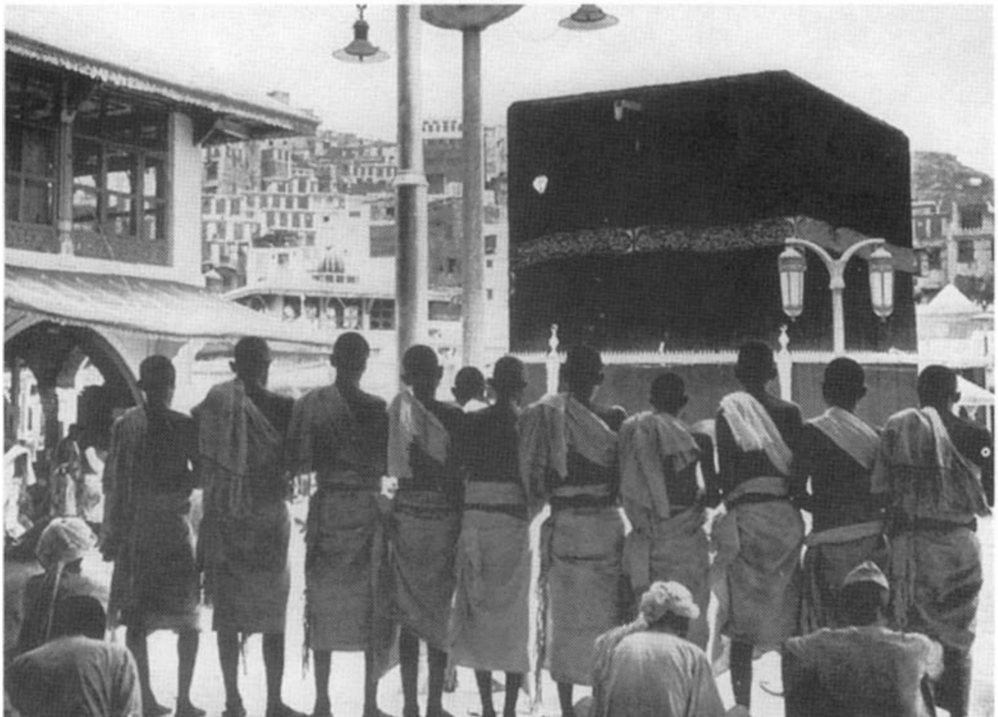

2. North-western wall with the *mīzāb*; to the left are the Zamzam building and the *Maḳām Ḥanafī*.

a

b

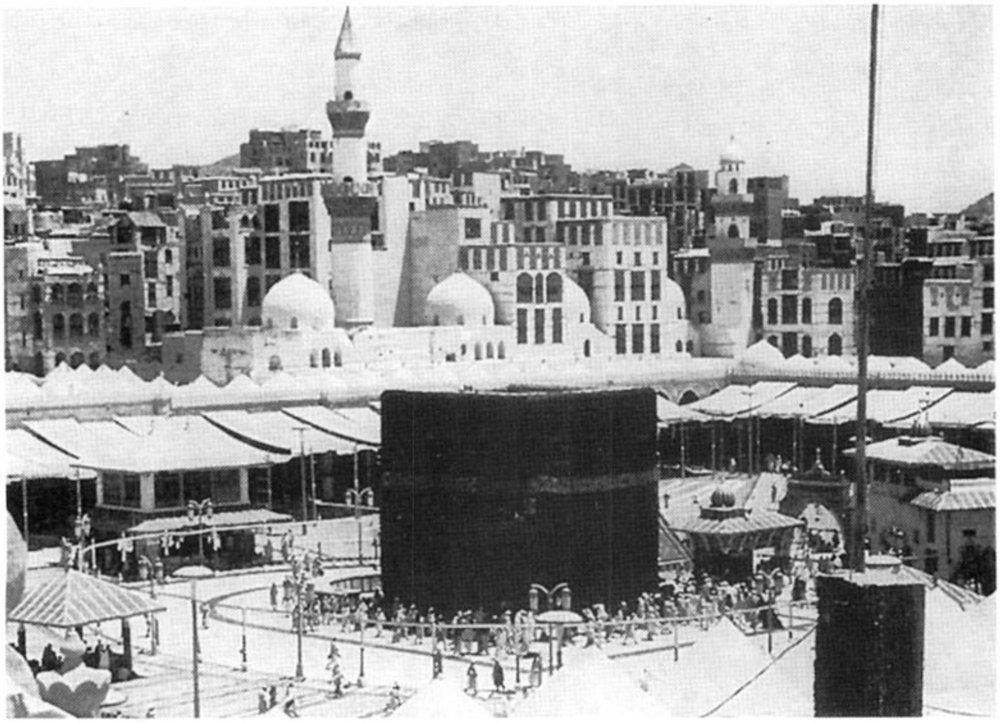

3. South-western corner before the recent works. Opposite the north-western wall is part of *al-ḥaṭīm* with *al-ḥiḏjr*: to the right lie the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*, the *Bāb Banī Shayba* and the *ḳubba*. a. *Maḳām Ḥanafī*; b. *Maḳām Mālikī*.

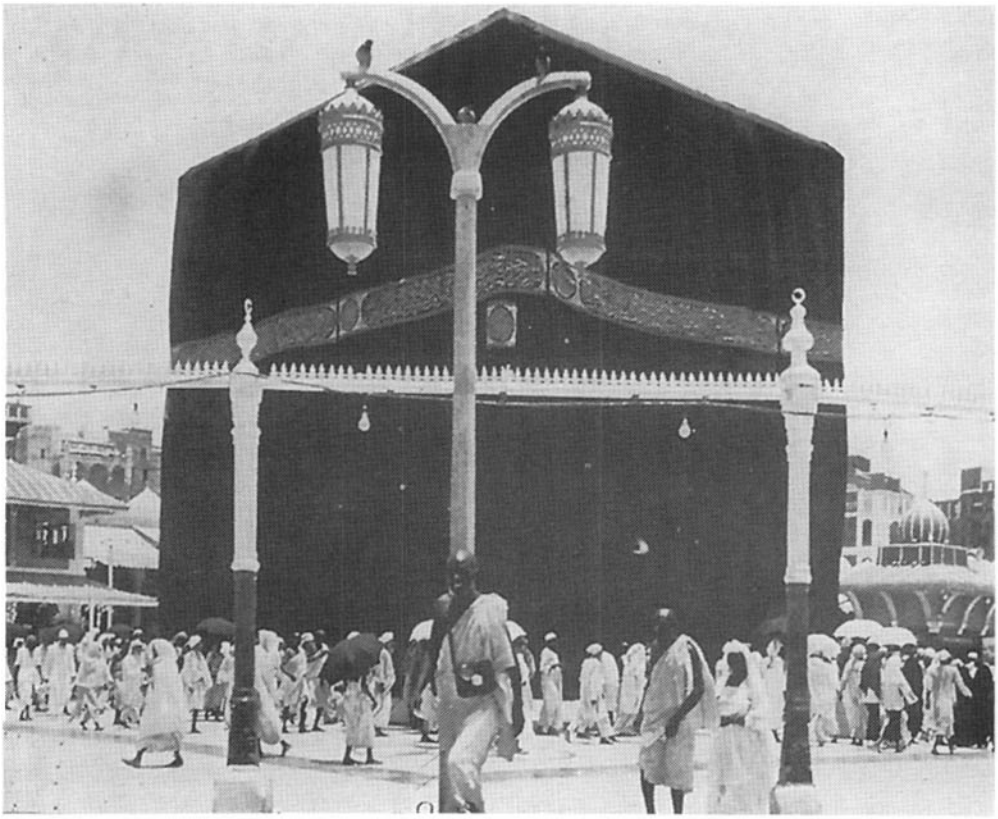

4. South-western corner; to the left is the *Maḳām Ḥanafī*, to the right the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*.

the reform movement which was followed under Selīm III.

Bibliography: *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iv, 459 f.; A. de Juchereau de Saint-Denis, *Révolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808*, Paris 1819, ii, 113-71; ʿĀṣim, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul n.d., ii, *passim*; Aḥmed D̲j̲ewdet, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ʿ*, Istanbul 1309, viii, 157-297; Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾid̲j̲ al-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul, 1294-1327, iv, 48-55; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Meşhur Rumeli ayanlarından ... Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1942, index; idem, *Kabakçı Mustafa isyanına dair yazılmış bir tarihçe*, in *Belleten*, vi (1942), 253-67; idem, *Kabakçı vak' asına dair bir mektup*, in *Belleten*, xxix (1965), 599-604; Zinkeisen, vii, 463-71, 552-57; N. Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Gotha 1910, v index; A. F. Miller, *Mustafa Pasha Bayraktar*, Moscow-Leningrad 1947; S. I. Shaw, *Between old and new; the Ottoman Empire under Selim III 1789-1807*, Cambridge Mass. 1971; H. D. Andreasyan, (tr.), *Georg Oğulukyan'ın ruznamesi 1806-1810 isyanları: III. Selim, IV. Mustafa, II. Mahmud ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1972. See also Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Kabakd̲j̲ī Muṣṭafā*, Istanbul 1331.

(E. Kuran)

ḲABĀLA (A.) "guarantee", a juridical term used mainly in connection with fiscal practice, in a manner which is still very difficult to define precisely. The particular field with which this discussion is concerned is a double one—that of the levying of the land-tax, *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* [*q.v.*], and that of special taxes, *mukūs*. As was already the case before the Arab conquest both in the Byzantine Empire and under the Sasanids, local communities were held jointly responsible by the Treasury for the payment at the required time of the full amount of land-tax demanded. Nevertheless, it frequently occurred that many individuals had difficulty in finding the necessary ready money immediately. In these conditions, as a result of an agreement between the inhabitants and the administration, application was made to a notable, often but not necessarily a man of the locality, to advance the sum required, for which he had to ensure that he would be reimbursed later. The matter having generally been agreed in advance, this notable in effect acted as a guarantor for the debt of the locality in question. This procedure constitutes the contract of *ḳabāla*, the offer being called *taḳbīl* and the person named *mutaḳabbil*. In this form, Abū Yūsuf does not disapprove of *ḳabāla*. But in practice it appears that matters often happened otherwise, that is to say that not only the principle of the guarantee but also of the amount were known in advance; here, jurists and traditionists, such as Abū Yūsuf and Abū ʿUbayd, disapproved—traditionists, more particularly when, as the harvest could not be estimated in advance, the tax to be levied on it was likewise not calculable if it consisted of a percentage; and jurists, because the total sum envisaged, being necessarily less or greater than the eventual proceeds of the tax, was bound to be injurious either to the taxpayers or to the Treasury. But it is precisely on account of the anticipated profit that the military leaders began to seek out *ḳabālāt*. At the start, they had been allotted emphyteutic concessions (*ḳaṭāʾiʿ*; pl. of *ḳaṭīʿa* [see iḳṭāʿ]) on the State lands (*ṣawāfī*). But as these were practically hereditary, it was not possible to find new ones, and they therefore turned their attention to the private *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* lands, so that they might succeed either in retaining the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* for themselves while only paying the tenth (see *Arabica*, i (1954), 358), or, a less serious offence, contract an advantageous *ḳabāla*. However, the *ḳabāla* disappeared quite rapidly in face of the development of the new type of *iḳṭāʿ*, although definitions of it are still to be found occasionally in the later lexicographers, such as al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī. Clearly it possessed some of the characteristics of tax-farming, and the texts sometimes confuse *ḳabāla* and *ḍamān*; nevertheless, *ḳabāla* usually denotes merely the operation at the basic level of the whole local community, whilst *ḍamān* also applies, throughout the whole course of Muslim history, to the far wider concession of the right to organize and levy taxes, for some years, from a vast district, in return for the payment—more or less in advance—of a sum which is guaranteed, but markedly smaller than the scheduled revenue. Sometimes the texts also compare the *ḳabāla* with the *muḳāṭaʿa* which, in the case of a small estate, in effect probably differs only in the matter of duration, but which also applies to vast semi-autonomous districts or provinces in whose entire internal administration the State definitively renounces all interest, in return for the settlement of a guarantee.

What has just been said appears to be applicable in some measure to Muslim Asia in general. In the Mag̲h̲rib and in Spain, where the *ḳabāla* is to be found in regard to *mukūs*, it is not certain if the term occurs in connection with *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*; occasionally it denotes the fixed dues owed by the administrator of a *waḳf*. But it is above all with reference to Egypt, always distinctive in agricultural and fiscal matters, that some particularly delicate questions arise.

In Egypt, indeed, it seems that no *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* were distributed, although State lands and private lands possessing some degree of autonomy existed there before the conquest and were retained afterwards. But no doubt both because the Arab population of Egypt was originally limited to the garrison towns, and because control of the Nile and the resultant agricultural organization created, throughout all the irrigated territories, a unified administration which deprived each of them of part of its own effective autonomy, the very term *ḳaṭīʿa* in this sense seems unknown (although in the plural *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* it denotes the Ṭūlūnid quarter of Fusṭāṭ created on the model of Samarrā). *Ḳabālāt*, however, do exist, often in the hands of persons whom the papyri call *māzūt*, μειζότερος. Then in the 2nd/8th century, Arab tribal groups settled in Egypt and, as it was not possible to give them *ḳaṭāʾiʿ*, they were granted lands for which they assumed the *ḳabāla*, under conditions which guaranteed an income for the State but which also left them with a substantial profit for themselves. It appears that this was brought about by distribution by auction, held in Fusṭāṭ for four years, with a revision of the basic tax survey every thirty years. Despite reforms in the methods employed (particularly under al-Afḍal and al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī, in the second century of Fāṭimid rule,) it seems that the system was maintained in certain respects until the Ayyūbid conquest introduced into Egypt a new system more or less inspired by the eastern *iḳṭāʿ*. In short, the old system differed from similar systems in the Near East only in its systematic and durable character, and by its adaptation to the specific agricultural organization of Egypt.

However, this does not solve all of the problems. Papyri, and later the fiscal treatises from the Fāṭimid and subsequent periods, reveal that there was a distinction between lands lying outside the *ḳabālāt*, which were subjected to permanent surveys (*misāḥa*), deciding each year the areas to be flooded and the different types of cultivation to be employed on them,

and lands of *ḳabālāt*, which were themselves *bilā misāḥa*, and for which therefore it was sufficient to have a contract drawn up independently of the annual verification of the surface area and type of cultivation. In the fiscal treatises of al-Makhzūmī, Ibn Mammātī and al-Nābulusī, the first system is called the *mufādana*, imposition by *faddān*, or simply *zirāʿa*, and the second *ḳabāla*, but also, at least in certain cases, *munādjaza*, settlement after dispute, sometimes *mushāṭara*, equal division (Ibn Hawḳal, i, 133 distinguishes between *maʿḳud* and *maḥlūl*). On the other hand custom tended increasingly to give *ḳabāla* the sense of *arḍ al-ḳabāla*, land subjected to the system of *ḳabāla*, and if one or two papyri give the impression that a *ḳabāla* can include several small properties of another sort, as in the Asiatic system, others on the contrary suggest relatively small pieces of land, and the later fiscal treatises reveal a situation where the tax agents controlled the entire body of lands consisting both of divisions of land in *mufādana* and of others in *ḳabāla*, and had the right to transfer certain of these from one category to the other, according to the types of cultivation dependent upon the condition of the land after inundation: this suggests that now that the distinction between the Arabs and the converted native inhabitants is blurred, the difference between the two categories of lands is connected with a difference of agricultural utilization, the *ḳabāla* being applicable only to those lands used for the cultivation of cereals and leguminous plants, to the exclusion of orchards and economic crops (flax, sugar, etc.). We do not know if this was already the situation at the time of the earliest adjudications.

Finally, if we come down to the Mamlūk period, we see that this evolution continues. There remain some lands for which the "rent" (*idjāra*) is fixed at a sum determined in advance by *tanādjdjuz* = *munādjaza*, but what is now called *ḳabāla* is no more than the agricultural unit of land generally subjected to *misāḥa*, and within it a distinction is made between the different types of land imposed on the *faddān* according to the type of cultivation: in other words, integration with the common system is complete, without adjudication or tax-farming or any other "guarantee" save that of paying what is due. This is a normal conclusion since frequently these dues now go not to the Treasury but to the *muḳṭāʿ*, the true heir to the profits of the former *mutaḳabbil*. In the Ottoman period, if there are *muḳāṭaʿāt* and *iltizāmāt* (the meaning of which is etymologically related to *ḍamān*, but in fact corresponding rather to *iḳṭāʿ*s) the word *ḳabāla* disappears from the vocabulary of land taxation; and, with Bonaparte's scholars, *munādjaza* was explained as signifying merely poor lands.

Alongside its use with regard to taxation on land, as described above, the word *ḳabāla*, as well as *ḍamān* in this context, occurs in a more permanent sense to signify the farming of special revenues, generally of *mukūs*, especially in towns, such as the sale of salt or the management of baths or even of a local customs office. It is most often in this sense that we must interpret those passages which show rulers abolishing or condemning *ḳabālāt*, like *mukūs* elsewhere; and it is in reference to such *ḳabālāt*, which are perhaps more often designated in this way in the West than in the East, that Europeans have understood the word and adopted it (Spanish *alcabala* attested in 1101, Italian *gabella* current in ports and among the Normans in Sicily in the 12th century, from which the French *gabelle*, which however has so far not been found before the beginning of the 14th century; Provençal *gabele*). (It should be noted however that, in the account of Ramon Muntaner of the Catalan expedition to the East, at the beginning of the 14th century, *gabella* denotes the Turkish tribes, and therefore derives from *ḳabīla* and not from *ḳabāla*.) For these taxes, see provisionally ḌARĪBA above, but no study has been devoted to the methods employed for levying them.

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KABARDS, a Muslim people of the Caucasus. In Russian they are called Kabardintsī, in Turkish Kabartaylar; other designation, Käsäg. The name of the Kabards was first mentioned as *Cheuerthei* by Barbaro, who visited the Caucasus in 1436. Its etymology remains uncertain.

The Kabard language belongs to the eastern branch of the Adīghe (Čerkes) linguistic group, which is also referred to as "high Adīghe".

According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were 139,925 Kabards ethnically and 138,925 linguistically. The census of 1939 records 164,000 Kabards.

The Kabards live in the basin of Upper Terek and some of its tributaries and are divided into two groups: one, forming the tribes of the Great Kabarda, lives between the rivers Malka and Terek to the west of the Terek; the other, forming the tribes of the Little Kabarda, lives between the Sunja and the Terek, to the east of the Terek.

The Kabards arrived in their habitat in the 13th century from their original homeland further to the west, after the Alans had been weakened by Mongol invasions, and after the collapse of the Golden Horde they began to play a leading role in the history of the Caucasus. In the 16th century Kabard princes maintained friendly relations with the rulers of Moscow. The second wife of Ivan IV was a Kabard princess, Marie, daughter of Temrük. In the 17th century the Kabards led the coalition of Caucasian peoples against the Ḳalmuḳs. Because of the dominating role they played in the Central Caucasus and their location near the Daryal pass, they were the first to come under Russian control in the 19th century, accepting it without any strong resistance. At the time of the Russian conquest a number of Kabards settled between the upper Kuban and the Zelenchuk and were called Fugitive Kabards. After 1864, some Kabards, mostly of the fugitive group, emigrated into the Ottoman Empire.

Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* was introduced in the second half of the 16th century by the Crimean Tatars, in competition with Christianity. They were completely islamized by the end of the 17th century.

The traditional Kabard economy consisted of horse-breeding, agriculture, horticulture, apiculture and home industry. Traditional Kabard society had a complex structure which consisted of eleven classes grouped in two main divisions: the noblemen, or the free group, and the *pshətlə*, or the non-free group. At the head of society were the princes (*pshə*), among whom the *wālī* was the chief of the Kabard people. They were followed by the nobles (*uork*, or *uorkkh*). These in turn were subdivided into four classes according to the rights and obligations which bound them to the princes. The nobles were followed by the free peasants (*tfokhotl*). The non-free group consisted of the *azat* (freed peasants who were bound by some servitude to their former masters); *og* (serfs); *loganaput* (between *og* and slaves); *unaut* (slaves).

In the 19th century attempts were made by K. Atažukin to create a literary language, and in 1865 he published a Kabard alphabet based on the Cyrillic script. However, Kabard did not attain the status of a literary language until 1924. The speech of the Great Kabarda was used as the basis of the literary language, and this language is used officially in the Kabardo-Balkar A.S.S.R. and the Karačay-Čerkes A.R. The first newspaper in the Kabard language was published in 1924 under the title *Kara Khalk*. According to the *Letopis' periodičeskikh izdanij S.S.S.R.* there were in 1960 two Kabard newspapers and two magazines.

The Kabards were first organized into the Kabard Autonomous Region on 1 September 1921. On 16 January 1922 they were joined with the national district of Balkar, which on 5 December 1936 became the Kabardo-Balkar Autonomous Region. In 1944 the Kabard Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was announced, which further changed into the Kabardo-Balkar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on 9 February 1957. The territory of the Republic occupies 12,400 sq. km. In 1959 there were 420,115 people in the A.S.S.R. Of these 45 % were Kabards, 8.1 % were Balkars, 38.7 % Russians, and the rest other groups of Caucasians.

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AL-ḲABBĀB, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. ḤUSAYN AL-TAMGRŪTĪ AL-DARʿĪ AL-RAḲḲĪ (from al-Raḳḳa [*q.v.*], his native town), a very famous Moroccan saint. Born in the *zāwiya* of Sayyid al-Nās as it was called (from the name of the Prophet), the founder of which was Abū Isḥāḳ al-Anṣārī, known under the name of Sayyidī Ibrāhīm al-Ḥādjdj, he grew up there in prayer and asceticism. Accompanied by the son of this latter, Aḥmad, he went to the *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt, founded by Abū Ḥafṣ, ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, in Ramaḍān 983/Dec.-Jan. 1575-76, and settled there until his death on Friday 12 Djumādā II 1045/23 Nov. 1635. He was buried in the place since called *rawḍat al-ashyākh*, on the Sidjilmāsa road. His fame had attracted many disciples, whom he initiated into the *dhikr shādhilī* and who acquired some fame, such as the aforementioned Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm and the two brothers Muḥammad and Ḥusayn Ibn Nāṣir al-Darʿī. The teaching of the *ṭarīḳa*, which he had received from Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥadjdjādj al-Darʿī, derived from Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Zarrūḳ, whose teaching was transmitted by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ghāzī, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sidjilmāsī and ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Rāshidī.

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ḲABBĀN [see MĪZĀN].

ḲABḌ (A.), verbal noun meaning "seizure", "grasping", "contraction", "abstention", etc., and used in the special vocabulary of various disciplines.

i.—In *fiḳh* the word signifies taking possession of, handing over. In Mālikī law *ḥiyāza* is more frequently used. *Tasallum* is also employed to mean the act of handing over. Taking possession is accomplished by the material transfer of the thing when movable goods are involved; by occupation when it is a question of real estate, but also symbolically by the handing over of the keys or title deeds of the property. *Ḳabḍ* only has a subsidiary role to play in the sale, since *fiḳh*, from the very beginning and in all its versions, recognized that the ownership of the thing which has been sold, when a definite object is involved, is transferred immediately by the agreement of the parties, before any formal transfer.

The part played by the *ḳabḍ* in the matter of gifts (*hiba*), loan (*ḳarḍ*), commodate (*ʿariyya*) and security (*rahn*), is a subject of dispute amongst the legal schools. The Mālikīs excepted, most authors teach that the agreement of the parties on which these contracts are founded does not carry with it any legal obligation on the part of the one who gave the undertaking, nor any absolute right on the part of the beneficiary. The former cannot be forced to hand over the thing he has promised, nor can the latter demand its transfer, *ḳabḍ*. These contracts are "efficacious", therefore, only on the basis of the *ḳabḍ*, freely agreed. The formula of the classical authors, according to which *ḳabḍ* is useful for the completion (*tamām, luzūm*) of these contracts, is

not sufficiently significant. Properly speaking, these contracts only become juridically valid through the operation of the *ķabḍ*. Only the Mālikī school holds that immediately after the agreement of the parties relative to a gift, loan, commodate or security the beneficiary may constrain the man who made the contract to hand over the object (Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr*, ii, 344 for the gift; ii, 226-9 for the commodate; ii, 121 for the security).

However the *ķabḍ* becomes a condition of the validity of the agreement itself (*sharṭ al-ṣiḥḥa*) as regards two contracts which become invalid if the material transfer does not take place at the time of the agreement: these are the *salam*, or forward sale (the price to be paid at the time of the contract) and the *ṣarf*, contract of exchange (exchanged currencies must be transferred there and then).

Ķabḍ amāna and *ķabḍ ḍamān*. In regard to contracts which involve the temporary transfer of something from one contracting party to the other, in particular hiring, commodate, safe custody and mandate, there arises the question as to whether this taking possession is a *ķabḍ amāna*, in which case the trustee is only held responsible if he has been at fault or in transgression (*taʿaddī*) of the rules of the contract or of the customary dealings in such matters, or if it is a case of a *ķabḍ ḍamān*, which holds the trustee responsible for any loss arising in respect of the object, even through chance or circumstances over which he has no control. The Ḥanafīs are of the opinion that in all these contracts, without exception, *ķabḍ amāna* is the only possibility. The Shāfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs make a distinction according to whether the contract is concluded in the interests of the trustee (commodate, hiring), in which case the *ķabḍ* is *ḍamān*, or whether the contract is profitable chiefly to the owner of the thing (safe custody, mandate), and in this case it is *ķabḍ amāna*. As for the Mālikīs, they adopt another criterion. According to whether the thing held in trust in accordance with one of the contracts outlined above can be concealed easily (*mā yughābu ʿalayhi*) or with difficulty, in the first case they enforce the consequences of *ķabḍ ḍamān*, and in the second those of *ķabḍ amāna*.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, *al-Amwāl wa-naẓariyyat al-ʿaķd*, Cairo 1953, 449; Muṣṭafā Aḥmad al-Zarķāʾ, *al-Madkhal al-fiķhī al-ʿāmm*, Damascus [8]1964, no. 163. For Mālikī law: Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr* (with the commentary of Ṣāwī, Būlāķ 1289, ii, 226-7 (commodate), ii, 344 (gift), ii, 121 (security); D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1938, i, 316, ii, 379, 477 and *passim*; Chafik Chehata, *Les concepts de qabḍ ḍamān et de qabḍ amāna en droit musulman hanéfite*, in *St. Isl.*, xxxii (1970), 89 ff. (Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ii.—In Ṣūfism, a technical term used to denote a spiritual state of "contraction" as opposed to "expansion", *basṭ* [*q.v.*].

According to al-Ķushayrī [*q.v.*]: "just as *ķabḍ* is above the degree of *khawf* (fear) and *basṭ* above that of *radjāʾ* (hope), so *hayba* (reverential awe) is above *ķabḍ*, and *uns* (intimate ease) is above *basṭ*". The explanation of this hierarchy is clearly that *ķabḍ* and *basṭ* denote the pure objectivity of the *ʿārif* (gnostic) untinged with any individual subjective reaction such as fear and hope, while on the other hand *hayba* and *uns* denote a greater degree of unveiling on the part of the Divinity. The end of the path is when Divine Subjectivity obliterates the objective experience of *ķabḍ* and *basṭ* in a transcendent synthesis of the two. The terms themselves, as used by the Ṣūfīs, spring from the Divine Names [see al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā] *al-Ķābiḍ* (He who causes contraction) which is an *ism djalālī* (Name of Majesty) and *al-Bāsiṭ* (He who causes expansion), which is an *ism djamālī* (Name of Beauty); and the Ṣūfīs frequently use *djalāl* and *djamāl* as synonyms of *ķabḍ* and *basṭ* when referring to the divinely subjective experiences of the *ʿārif* (gnostic). Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī [see ibn ʿalīwa] quotes his Shaykh as saying, in moments of *ķabḍ*: "My Majesty is One with My Beauty"; and he comments: "Since the gnostic is with Him who contracts, not with the contraction itself, and with Him who expands, not with the expansion itself, he is active rather than passive and has thus become as if nothing had happened to him... Let your attribute be *kamāl* (perfection) which is beatitude in both *djalāl* and *djamāl*".

Bibliography: Ķushayrī, *Risāla*; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Risālat al-Ķuds* (for examples of *ķabḍ*); Ibn ʿAlīwa, *al-Minaḥ al-Ķuddūsiyya*[2], 283-5. (M. Lings)

iii.—In prosody *ķabḍ* means "contraction". To the exposition in the article ʿarūḍ, 671-2 and in G. Weil, *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metern*, Wiesbaden 1958, 27, 30, the following may be added (on some of the rules governing the *ķabḍ* there is no agreement and a complete survey cannot be given):

The *ķabḍ* is a suppression of the fifth quiescent letter in the feet *faʿūlun* and *mafāʿīlun* which occur in the metres *ṭawīl* [*q.v.*], *hazadj*, *muḍāriʿ* [*q.v.*], and *mutaķārib* [*q.v.*], so that these feet are reduced to *faʿūlu* and *mafāʿilun* respectively. A foot suffering this alteration is called *maķbūḍ* (this last term occurs already in a discussion of poetry in the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāķ [*q.v.*], but its meaning is uncertain, see R. Blachère, *Deuxième contribution*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 133, 141).

The shortening of *mafāʿīlun* to *mafāʿilun* is obligatory in the last foot of the first hemistich (*ʿarūḍ*) of all varieties of the *ṭawīl*, so that this foot can never appear in its "primitive" form, except in case the first hemistich rhymes with the second (*taṣrīʿ*, see ķāfiya). The same is true of the last foot of the second hemistich (*ḍarb*) of the second variety (which would imply that the *ķabḍ* belongs not only to the *ziḥāfāt*, but also to the *ʿilal*, see Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣabbān, *al-Kāfiya al-shāfiya fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūḍ wa'l-ķāfiya*, Cairo 1321, 10). The *ķabḍ* is also recommended (according to some it is obligatory) in the penultimate foot of the third variety of the *ṭawīl*. In this variety the last foot of the second hemistich is reduced to *faʿūlun*, and the penultimate foot, which is also *faʿūlun*, should become *faʿūlu*. This rule also applies to the first hemistich in case of *taṣrīʿ*. On the other hand the *ķabḍ* may not occur in the metre *mutaķārib* when the penultimate foot of either hemistich has been reduced to a single closed syllable (*fal* or *faʿ*, but cf. *Darstellung*, 283), and in all cases where the foot *mafāʿīlun* has already been reduced to *mafāʿīlu* (*kaff*). Finally it should be noted that in the metre *muḍāriʿ* the foot *mafāʿīlun* appears never in its primitive form, but is always changed into *mafāʿilun* or *mafāʿīlu* (cf., however, Ṣabbān, *al-Kāfiya*, 32, l. 7-8).

Bibliography: Tibrīzī, *al-Wāfī fi 'l-ʿarūḍ wa'l-ķawāfī*, Aleppo 1390/1970, passim; Zamakhsharī, *al-Ķisṭās al-mustaķīm fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*, Baghdād 1389/1970, passim; G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830 (repr. Osnabrück 1968), 80, 89-90, 92, 93-4, 94, 108-11, 161, 163-4, 166-70, 172-4, 176-8, 227-8, 272-4,

283-4; Silvestre de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*[2], Paris 1831, ii, 626-7 (and table), 629-30, 636, 643, 645; D. Vernier, *Grammaire arabe*, Beirut 1891, ii, 516, 519, 529, 534-5, 555, 574, 580-1.

(Moh. Ben Cheneb-[S. A. Bonebakker])

KABID (according to lexicographers the only correct form) or Kabd, Kibd, "the liver".

1. Names for the liver and their semantic field. The Muslim peoples, like all others, recognised the internal organs of the human body and identified them with the analogous organs of animals. They also attributed to them one or another physiological and psychosomatic function based on observations which they interpreted according to mental structures that are only partially clear to us.

Language itself testifies to these early identifications. As E. Bargheer says, "these are significant characteristics which very often endow an organ with a pre-eminent place in the conceptual world of the people; in the case of the heart it is its beating or rhythmic movement, of the lungs breath, and of the liver its central position, its exceptional size in relation to the other organs, its variable shape and edible nature" (*Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, hrsgb. von E. Hoffman-Krayer, Berlin 1927-42, v, col. 976, s.v. *Leber*).

In Arabic the classical name of the liver is *kabid*, but the frequent dialectal forms, *kabd* and *kibd*, are also encountered at a very early date (cf. *Wörterbuch der klassischen Arabischen Sprache*, i, Wiesbaden 1970, 18). As in other Semitic languages, it is the great weight in the liver that attracted attention The noun for liver, common to all Semitic tongues, comes from the root *k-b-d* or *k-b-t* where the Western Semitic *d* seems to derive from an assimilation (to *b*) of the Accadian *t* (*kabattu* later *kabittu*, poetically *kabtatu*), which is thought to be the original form (Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik d. semit. Sprachen*, Berlin 1908-13, i, 152). But we also find in Accadian *gabidu*, *kabīdu*, probably borrowed from Western Semitic. It seems clear that this is a metaphorical derivation from the adjective "heavy" (Acc. *kabtu*, fem. *kabattu*, *kabitu*; Heb. *kāḇēḏ*; Ugar. *kbd*; Gəʿəz *kəbūd* etc.) and the corresponding verb (cf. Arab. *kābada*, "to endure, to support"; cf. H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen*, Leipzig 1911, 78; P. Fronzaroli, *Studi sul lessico comune semitico*, *Rend. Linc.*, series 8, vol. 19, fasc. 5-6, 1964, 32 f., 47, 54). The use of this metaphor to denote the liver ("the heaviest and thickest of vessels", Galen, *De usu partium*, vi, 17 = iii, 495, ed. C. G. Kühn; i, 360, l. 19 f. ed. G. Helmreich) is a Semitic innovation in comparison with Hamito-Semitic, which has a number of very different words for it. It is questionable whether, as A. Cuny avers, it is to be found in Indo-European (*Recherches sur le vocalisme ... en "nostratique"*, Paris 1943, 68 f.). The word most frequently found in Indo-European (from an etymon **yekʷ-r̥(t-)* is perhaps linked to the idea of lump, swelling tumour (J. Pokorny, *Indo-germanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, i, Berne-Munich 1948-59, 504). In our field it is represented chiefly by the Persian *djegar* (Lat. *iecur*, Gr. ἧπαρ, etc.), which was borrowed by Ottoman Turkish (and Serbo-Croat for the liver of animals).

The Turkish word, in its most current form *baghır* (attested as early as the runiform inscriptions of the Yenisei, cf. V. G. Egorov, *Étimologičeskiy slovar' čuvašskogo yazıka*, Čeboksary 1964, 155, who also gives all the forms of the word in Turkish languages), is perhaps associated with the idea of a tie, a bundle, a sack or a pocket (cf. the Ottoman Turkish noun *bagh* and the verb *baghlamaḳ*, but L. Bazin notes that the relationship presents some phonetic difficulties).

It should be said that the words cited above were stabilized at a very early date as corresponding to a "normal" or "central" meaning (L. Bloomfield, *Language*[2], London 1935, 149) which is the organ "liver". But they also correspond, from no doubt as early a period, to a semantic field comprising "marginal" or "metaphoric" values, the result of "transfers".

Through contiguity of meaning, some of these "transfers" (cf. S. Ullmann, *The principles of semantics*, Glasgow 1951, 231 ff.) led the words in question to be used to designate the parts of the body in the vicinity of the liver. Thus in classical Arabic *kabid* can denote the surfaces of the body more or less close to the liver as well as the chest and even the belly; a woman is described as having *kabidᵘⁿ malsāʾᵘ*, "a sleek stomach" (Aʿshā, *Dīwān*, ed. R. Geyer, London 1928, 77: 15a = Ṭarafa, *Dīwān* in W. Ahlwardt, *The divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870, 11: 6a) and so on (references in *Wörterbuch der klassischen Arabischen Sprache*, i, Wiesbaden 1970, 18-20). Similarly Uyghur has *beghirgha basmaḳ*, "clasp to the breast or heart", *baghri yoghan palvan*, "a hero (or athlete) with a mighty chest" (É. N. Nadžip, *Uygursko-russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1968, 226) and likewise in Azeri *baghrına basmag* means "to embrace, seize in one's arms, clasp to one's bosom" (H. A. Azizbekov, *Azerbaydžansko-russkiy slovar'*, Baku 1965, 47).

In Persian, the composite *djegar-band*, "the liver complex" (attested for example in Saʿdī and Shams-i Tabrīzī) denotes the pluck, the internal organs of the chest as a whole: lungs, heart, liver. The Turkish languages had already borrowed the word *djegar* in the sense of "liver" in the Turkish translation of the *Gülistān* prepared in Egypt by Sayf of Saray (1391; cf. É. Fazylov, *Starouzbekskiy yazık*, Tashkent 1966-71, i, 370). But the existence of another word (*baghır*, etc.) for the same concept in the same languages, and probably the use of *djegar-band* in the sense indicated above as well, led to the extension of *djegar* itself to another organ of the thoracic cavity, the lung, despite the existence of a properly Turkish word to designate this (*ök(k)ä*, *öpkä*, *övkä*, *ökpe*, etc., with the anciently recorded metaphorical sense of "anger, grief, dissatisfaction, affliction" (cf. Egorov, *Étim. slovar'* ..., 280 f.), which remains the only meaning in current Ottoman for the word *öfke*, Lat. orthog. *öfke*, alongside the dialectic term *öygän*, "lung"). Consequently it was necessary to use an adjective to distinguish between the "black liver" (Azeri *gara djiyär*, Ottoman *ḳara djiger*, Lat. orthog. *kara ciğer*)—that is the liver itself—and the "white liver" (Azeri *agh djiyär*, Ottoman *āḳ djiger*, Lat. orthog. *ak ciğer*), that is the lungs. Other languages within the sphere of the Ottoman Empire borrowed this same distinction, for example Bulgarian (where the distinction was applied to the Slav word *drob* rather than to the loanword *džiger*, "lungs and liver", cf. *Bălgariski etimonologičen rečnik*, v, Sofia 1966, 362) and Serbo-Croat (forms *crna džigerica*, "liver", *bijela džigerica*, "lung", cf. Abdulah Škaljic, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*, Sarajevo 1965, 240 f. while the Indo-European word *jetra* is strictly specialized in an anatomical sense). The expression "white livers" (*kubūd bīḍ*) was also used in Arabic, at least occasionally, probably for the lungs (Ibn Djazla, *Minhādj al-bayān*, s.v. *kabid*, Ms. Paris, Bib. Nat., Ar. 2949, fol. 159 v., etc.).

The process of transfer of meaning by contiguity extended the semantic field covered by the word "liver" not only to the organs of the thoracic cavity but also to all the internal organs of the trunk. Moreover these organs as a whole are described, in a more or less vaguely limited fashion, by the plural of the word "liver". Thus in the Persian translation of al-Ṭabarī (4th/10th cent.), *dj̲igarān* denotes the entrails (G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 195). But in Turkish *bag̲h̲ïr* as such (or with a suffix *bag̲h̲ïrsaḳ* and variants) means "belly, paunch" and also "entrails" (cf. refs. in *Drevnetyurskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969, 77, 78). From this is derived the Uyg̲h̲ur *beg̲h̲irlimaḳ*, for example, which means "to grovel, to drag oneself along on the belly". In the modern languages of Ethiopia too the Proto-Ethiopic word corresponding to the Gəʿəz *kabd*, "liver", has acquired the meaning of "belly, heart, interior, intestines, paunch" (Tigre *käbd*, Tigriña *käbdi*), and this has become the only meaning of *hod* in Amharic (from *kabd*, cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i, 204), which has therefore had to use another word to designate liver (*gubbät*).

Such shifts in meaning explain the use of these terms generally to cover the middle, centre, interior (we would say heart) of something. Thus Arabic has *fī kabad^i dj̲abal^in*, "in the heart of a mountain", *ʿalā kabid^i 'l-baḥr^i*, "in the heart of the sea", etc. (refs. in *Wörterbuch* ..., 20). In Old Turkish *ya bag̲h̲rï*, "the liver of a bow" denotes its central curve (Maḥmūd Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī, *Dīwān lug̲h̲āt al-Turk*, Istanbul 1333-35, i, 301; C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, Budapest 1928, 28) as does the Arabic *kabid^u 'l-ḳaws^i* (F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 260, 265 f.; A. Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution à l'étude de l'archerie musulmane*, Damascus 1968, 164, see index p. 179 and plate iii). In Tatar *Ural bavïrï* means the "centre (liver) of the Urals" (*Tatar'sko-russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1966, 51). Similarly Persian has, for example, *dj̲igar-i gil*, "the bowels of the earth, the tomb". Passing from space to time, we find expressions like *fī kabid^i 'l-layl^i*, "in the middle, the heart of the night" (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 205[21]).

In Turkish this generalization of meaning also frequently embraced the front, the fore and also the side. In Uzbek, for example, *tog̲h̲ bag̲h̲rida* means "on the mountainside" (A. K. Borovkov (ed.), *Uzbeksko-russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1959, 58). In the S̲h̲or dialect of Altaï it even acquires a prepositional sense in *pag̲h̲rïnda*, "beside" (W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuch der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1893-1911, iv, col. 1134).

2. **Primitive and popular psycho-physiology of the liver.** Whatever marginal meanings the word for liver acquired to denote other organs or parts of the body and of the world, from the pre-theoretic stage the organ itself was attributed with one or another physiological and psychosomatic function.

Thus the liver, alongside the heart, was very widely regarded as the centre or one of the centres of psychic life, in other words as the prop of "the soul" or of a "soul" (cf. W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*[3], iv, Leipzig 1920, 105 ff.; A. Merx, *Le rôle du foie dans la littérature des peuples sémitiques*, in *Florilegium ... Melchior de Voguë*, Paris 1909, 427-44; M. Jastrow, *The liver as the seat of the soul*, in *Studies in the History of Religion presented to C. H. Toy*, New York 1912, 143-68; F. E. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, xxxii/2 (1932), 233 f.; Bargheer, *Leber*, 977 f.; id., *Eingeweide, Lebens- u. Seelenkräfte des Leibensinneren*, Berlin and Leipzig 1931, 93; W. D. Wallis, ERE, x, 373 ff.). It was probably because of the liver's central importance as the seat of qualities with magical undertones that the noun in Semitic languages is frequently feminine. It is feminine in Syriac and also in Ancient Hebrew, contrary to the traditional view (cf. G. R. Driver, *JRAS*, 1948, 175, n. 2), and most frequently in Arabic although in Arabic it can also be masculine and grammarians generally consider using both genders permissible (A. J. Wensinck, *Some Aspects of Gender in the Semitic Languages*, Amsterdam 1927 (Verh. Ak. Amst., xxvi/3), 30, cf. 36 f.; M. Feghali and A. Cuny, *Du genre grammatical en sémitique*, Paris 1924, 55).

In more analytic fashion, the internal organs are generally credited with a causal function in engendering feelings, emotions and passions (a conception which is not entirely erroneous). Therefore for the Mesopotamians and perhaps partly for the Hebrews the liver was the seat of joy (when it is "illuminated" in a state of well-being) and of sorrow (when it is "ill" or aching), of anger (when it is burned up), of calm (when it is appeased) and finally, alongside the heart, of desire (cf. E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien*, Paris 1923, 128 ff.; Merx, *Le rôle du foie*, 436 ff., 439 ff.). For the Arabs the liver is wounded by the sorrows which we attribute to the heart, the pangs of love. The liver of the bashful lover or one who suffers in like fashion is "rent" (radicals *ṣ-d-ʿ*, *f-ṭ-r*, *f-l-ḳ*), broken (*kabid marḍūḍa*, Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. Silvestre de Sacy, 2nd ed. Paris 1847-53, 57[3]), wasting away, thirsty, weighed down, burnt up. It is said of someone that "the pangs of love are consuming his liver". A slender, delicate liver is the mark of a tender spirit, a sensitive heart. A saintly man has a black body but a white liver (Ibn Dj̲ubayr, 240[5]), that is a pure soul (a very widespread metaphor found as far as the Ndembu of Zambia; cf. V. W. Turner, *The Drums of Affliction*, Oxford 1968, 48, 283; cf. Bargheer, *Leber*, 979; id., *Eingeweide*, 95 ff.). To eat or strike the liver is to inflict great sorrow. As a result, the liver is regarded as a particularly precious part of the body and beloved persons are located in or assimilated to pieces of liver. A child is "the deep-seated blood" (*muhdj̲a*) of the liver; a dear friend or a venerated man is placed "between the liver and its membrane" (*k̲h̲ilb*). More generally, people dear to one are "pieces (*ḳiṭʿa*) of liver". (Refs. in *Wörterbuch* ..., 19 f. and A. Merx, *Le rôle du foie* ..., 429-33). This last expression is still current in, for example, the Tunisian village of Takrūna (W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, i, Paris 1925, 80-1, 272, 292, n. 42, with information from old texts, including a 6th/12th-century Mozarab deed between Christians) where the word "liver" simply means a cherished person, especially a child: *yā kubdī*, "my precious" (W. Marçais, *ibid.*, ii, bk. vii, Paris 1960, 3354-6). In the region of Constantine children are described as *kbād*, "livers" of their parents (M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionelle dans le Constantinois*, Strasburg 1966, 121).

Exactly similar expressions are found in Persian literature, which Merx believes to be direct transpositions from Arabic. (See, for example, the expressions in Merx, *Le rôle du foie* ..., 434-5 and in *Farhangi zaboni todj̲ikī*, Moscow 1969, 779b, as

well as those in the various dictionaries). To take only two examples: to a father his son is like the blood of his liver, *khūn-i djegar*, already in Firdawsī (*Shāhnāmah*, i, 256, ed. Mohl) and *djegar-pare*, "a piece of liver" (or *djegar-gushe*, "lobe of the liver") is a current expression for a dearly loved child.

Similar expressions are also found in Turkish languages; in these cases it is not easy to distinguish between those influenced by Persian and Arabic and those which could be original. A ruthless man is said to have a liver of stone or to be "liver-less" (*baghïr-sïz*) in Kutadghu Bilig (5th/11th cent.; ref. in *Drevnetyurskiy slovar'*, 78). In contemporary Uyghur "my liver" means "my dear, my dearest" (É. N. Nadžip, *Uygursko-russkiy slovar'*, 226). In Turkish literature in Turkestan during the 8th/14th century there are numerous texts which speak of love in terms of the liver being broken in two, rent, torn apart, burnt up, used as a target, eaten on skewers (these are often translations from Persian); a good choice of these has been collected by E. Fazylov in *Starouzbekskiy yazïk*, i, Tashkent 1966, 201-2. Elsewhere the liver is occasionally described as the seat of anger (some unconvincing references in Radloff, *Versuch*, iv, col. 1431 f.; in most cases it is the lung, cf. above).

Popular psycho-physiology of this kind underpinned metaphysical and moral speculation on the soul and its seat. Plato's division of the functions of the soul were pushed to greater or lesser lengths by the philosophers, who tended to incorporate these functions or modes in souls which were to some degree separate. Plato himself located the parts of the soul he distinguished in distinctive organic seats. Under the influence of a hepatoscopy originating in Mesopotamia, he placed the "appetitive soul" (ἐπιθυμητικὴ ψυχή, *al-nafs al-shahwāniyya*) in the immediate neighbourhood of the liver and in connection with it (*Timeos*, 69-72, known in the Islamic world through Ḥunayn b. Isḥāk's [*q.v.*] translation of Galen's compendium, XVII c, ed. and tr. P. Kraus and R. Walzer, *Galeni ... Compendium = Plato Arabus*, i, London 1951, Arab. p. 23, Lat. p. 74). The soul, identified with the breath (πνεῦμα, *rūḥ*), being at the same time the mainstay of the affections and psychological faculties and of the physiological functions, it was proper to allot these to the different bodily organs, following popular notions that were corrected to some extent according to the logic of a particular system. The medical school known as "pneumatic" (founded by Atheneos of Attalia in the 1st century) only recast these conceptions. Galen introduced this doctrine (which, as we will see, accords the liver an important place) into his system alongside the theory of humours and through him it was adopted by later physicians, notably the Arabs.

In the pneumatic doctrine, both in antiquity and among the Arabs, sites were made more specific or modified according to current ideas, especially those which were conveyed by the language (for the liver cf. H. Hagen, *Die physiologische und psychologische Bedeutung der Leber in der Antike*, thesis, Bonn 1961; Syriac and Hebrew authors in Merx, *Le rôle du foie*, 437 ff.). Thus the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'* criticizes the notions of non-specialist scholars who distribute the affections and psychological faculties among the various bodily organs and locate, for example, passion (*shahwa*) in the liver (ed. Cairo 1347/1928, bk. i, 200 f.). According to the *Hārūniyya*, a compilation of popular medicine very widely known in various versions and reputedly the work of one Masīḥ b. Ḥakam, who had compiled it for Hārūn al-Rashīd, "the liver is the fount of mercy" (Vatican Ms. cited by M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionelle dans le Constantinois*, Strasburg 1966, 121); Greek and Indian authorities are cited in support of this view.

The association of the liver with love for children, as noted above, is apparent in expressions current among the people of the region of Constantine. If grand-parents or parents are over-indulgent with a child, this is because "their liver prevents them from punishing them"; the liver "burns" to a decline in the absence of a child, and it is "torn apart" when a child dies (Belguedj, *op. cit.*, 121).

This conception also lies at the root of some ritual practices, for example the ritual consumption of liver during an infant's naming celebrations. In Morocco on this occasion a sheep is sacrificed and its liver divided between the members of the family so that tender love for the infant will be born in them (J. Jouin, *Hespéris*, xliv (1957), 308; Legey, *Essai de folklore marocain*, Paris 1926, 95; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 390). Also in Morocco the liver is associated with conjugal love; in some tribes the bridal couple eat at one of their first meals together the liver of a sheep that was slaughtered on the occasion of their marriage (E. Westermarck, *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914, 101; European parallels in Bargheer, *Leber*, 978 f., idem, *Eingeweide*, 216).

Popular physiological ideas deem the liver to be the fount of liquids drunk or secreted by the body. This idea, clearly expressed in the 13th century by Hildegard of Bingen (*Causae et curae*, 98, 110) and often conveyed by current German idioms (Bargheer, *Leber*, 984; idem, *Eingeweide*, 387), is attested in the Islamic world by the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'* (bk. ii, 162), which describes the liver as governing the field of liquid food (*bayt al-sharāb*).

3. Scientific knowledge and scholarly theories. Rational study of the liver conducted by Muslim writers falls into the categories of anatomical descriptions of the organ, its psycho-physiological role—of interest to philosophers as well as anatomists and physicians—its pathology and therapeutics, and the use of animal liver in pharmacology.

All the general treatises on medicine include extensive statements on the liver, in view of its central role in the Galenic physiology adopted by Muslim science. Monographs on the liver and its pathology, along the lines of Greek monographs like those by Rufus of Ephesus and Philagrius, were compiled by Kusṭā b. Lūkā and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, iii, Leiden 1970, 68, 156, 273, 292), although these may be chapters only of general works.

As far as the anatomy of the liver was concerned, Muslim writers, who, like the Greeks for the most part, were forbidden to make dissections, made do with copying Galen's descriptions of the organ; Galen himself had followed Herophilos of Chalcedon (3rd cent. B.C.), who had dissected corpses in Alexandria and made studies of the liver, but had apparently allied observations of unhealthy human livers and the livers of animals to his study of the normal liver. Galen's faith in Herophilos on this point was confirmed by dissections of monkeys (cf. Ch. Daremberg, *Oeuvres anatomiques, physiologiques et médicales de Galien*, Paris 1854-56, i, 293, n. 1; Max Simon, *Sieben Bücher Anatomie des Galen*, Leipzig 1906, ii, xxxiv, xxxvii f.). Muslim physicians followed him in teaching that the human liver had sometimes two or three lobes (*aṭrāf*) or extensions (*zawā'id*), but

most commonly four or five, surrounding the stomach. Descriptions of the liver of this type are to be found in the *Manṣūrī* of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī and the *Malakī* of ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās in an edition with French translation opposite by P. de Koning (*Trois Traités d'anatomie arabe...*, Leiden 1903, 68-71, 374-9), as well as a French translation of the relevant chapter of Book iii of Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn*, *fann* 14, chap. 1 (*ibid.*, 706-15; ed. Rome 1593, 455-6; Lat. tr., Venice 1564, 740-2) with the parallel texts of Greek authors.

The ideas of Arab physicians on the psycho-physiological role of the liver derive first from the physiological system of humours that Galen had codified from earlier teachings, a system that was generally accepted in the countries conquered by the Arabs and in the Christian West (cf. the excellent recent account of the matter by Luis Garcia Ballester, "Galeno" in P. Lain Entralgo, *Historia Universal de la Medicina*, ii, Barcelona, 1972, 209-268; idem, *Galeno en la sociedad y en la ciencia de su tiempo*, Madrid 1972; simplified summary by G. Sarton, *Galen of Pergamon*, Lawrence, Kansas, 1954; diagram of blood formation and distribution in *Historia Universal*, 244 and in A. C. Crombie, *Augustine to Galileo, A.D. 400-1650*, London 1952, i, 132). In this system the liver plays a role of prime importance: "all organs act by virtue of it, but it acts independently" (Ibn Sīnā, *Urdjūza fi 'l-ṭibb*, verse 417, ed. and tr. H. Jahier and A. Noureddine, Paris 1956, 40). The blood takes shape in it through purification and consolidation of food, which has previously been digested ("cooked") in the stomach and reduced to the state of "chyle" or "chyme" (*kīlūs* or *kimūs*, sometimes vocalized as *kaylūs*, *kaymūs*, the two words interacting as in Greek χυλός and χυμός, cf. Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 181; Cairo 1349/1930, 107). Another preliminary digestive process ("coction") could have taken place in the mesenteric veins (μεσαραϊκαὶ φλέβες, *māsāraykā* or *māsaraykā*, Lat. *mesaraicae*) which, participating in the nature of the liver, partially transform the chyle into blood (Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, iii, *fann* 14, *maḳāla* 1 ,beginning; for Galen's doubts on this point see Mani, i, 68, which gave rise to disputes in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance). The gastric "coction" had already taken place under the prime influence of the liver, the source of heat, whose lobes were thought to surround the stomach like fingers.

The chyle, already transformed to some extent, reaches the liver by the vena porta (ἡ ἐπὶ πύλῃ φλέψ, ἡ πύλη, tr. as *al-ʿirḳ al-usṭuwānī*, Simon, *Sieben Bücher...*, i, 346, then as *al-bāb*) into which pour the mesenteric veins. There it is transformed into blood proper, fitted for the nourishment of the body (the adage *sanguificatio est chyli in sanguinem mutatio* was dogma until the 19th century, Mani, i, 59). A part of this blood becomes the substance of the liver, which can be regarded as coagulated blood (Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, i, *fann* 1, *taʿlīm* 3, *faṣl* 2; *ibid.*, iii, *fann* 14, *maḳāla* 1), a formulation that goes back at least as far as Aretaios of Cappadocia (2nd century; Mani, i, 58, cf. p. 64). The liver, as the organ of formation of the blood proper, may be regarded as the place of origin of the four "humours" (*mansha' al-akhlāṭ*, Ibn Sīnā, *urdjūza*, verse 416; cf. *Ḳānūn*, i, *fann* 1, *taʿlīm* 4, *faṣl* 2). Two of these are produced immediately, heavy dregs which constitute the black gall or atrabile (χολὴ μέλαινα, *al-mirra al-sawdā'*, Lat. *atra bilis*) and tenuous, light parts, a kind of scum which constitutes the yellow gall (χολὴ ξανθή, *al-mirra al-ṣafrā'*, Lat. *cholera*), both drawn mostly by two vessels (*wiʿā'*), kinds of necks (*bi-manzilat al-ʿunḳ*, οἷον στομάχου τινός in Galen) which join the liver to the spleen and to the gall-bladder respectively (cf. Rāzī, *Manṣūrī*, *apud* Koning, *Traités*, 76 f., ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās, *malakī*, *ibid.*, 177, 378 ff., Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, *ibid.*, 706, with parallel Greek texts opposite, first Galen, *De usu partium*, iv, 4, profitably commented on by Daremberg, *Oeuvres... de Galien*, i, 282, n. 1).

The blood, still loaded by other elements, is distributed, starting from the liver (this is not exactly circulation, but ebb and flow with a slow renewal) through the venous system. All the veins (*ʿawrida*, *al-ʿurūḳ al-sawākin*) originate in the liver, while the heart is the place of origin of the arterial system. The veins branch out from the vena porta which takes its departure from the liver cavity, and the vena cava (κοίλη φλέψ, *al-ʿirḳ al-adjwaf*), which issues from its convex side (*Ḳānūn*, i, *fann* 1, *taʿlīm* 5, *djumla* 5).

Theories establishing a connection between the elements of the cosmos on various planes place the yellow bile along with the igneous element which predominates there and the "temperament" (κρᾶσις, *mizādj*) which makes manifest its dominance, in a special relationship with the liver. But one variant links this organ rather with the blood, in which air predominates and, naturally, the sanguine temperament (see the diagram in M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1970, 99 and that of R. Herrlinger, with colours showing the development since the Hippocratic corpus, at the end of E. Schöner, *Das Viererschema in der antiken Humoralpathologie*, Wiesbaden 1964; the common modern form taken from popular manuals can be found in T. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, Hamburg 1914, 33).

Muslim physicians naturally also followed Galen in his linking of the principles of pneumatic teaching to the theory of humours, the inspiration for which we saw above. Some "spirits" (πνεύματα, *arwāḥ*), subtle vapours, animate the body and are thought to explain the performance of the vital functions. One of them, the natural or physical spirit (πνεῦμα φυσικόν, *rūḥ ṭabīʿī* or *ṭabīʿiyya*), has its seat in the liver according to Muslim medicine, which follows not so much Galen, who had doubts and vacillated on this point, as the Alexandrians and the Syrians, who systematized his ideas in a simplified fashion. This "spirit" is put on the same plane as the vital or animal spirit and the psychic spirit, which have their seat in the heart and in the brain respectively (classic treatment by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, *al-mudkhal fi'l-ṭibb*, cf. O. Temkin, "On Galen's Pharmacology", *Gesnerus* [Aarau], viii (1951), 180-189). It is distributed with the blood by the veins.

Every one of these spirits, still according to Galenism, corresponds with a chief "faculty" or a group of "faculties" (δυνάμεις, *ḳuwā*, Lat. *virtutes*) and physiological and psychological phenomena are attributed to the actions of these. Thus the physicians claim that the "natural" faculty or faculties are subdivided into one type whose function (*fiʿl*) is to conserve and make up the individual, which presides over nourishment and is situated in the liver, and a second type which conserves the species and is situated in the sexual organs. Taking their cue from Aristotle, Ibn Sīnā and many others differ from this theory to some extent and place the heart as the first substratum and mainspring of the faculties (cf. Mani, ii, 21). The nutritive faculty spread out from the heart towards the liver (Ibn Sīnā, *Shifā'*,

ṭabīʿiyyāt, fann 6, *maḳāla* 5, *faṣl* 8, ed. J. Bakoš, *Psychologie d'Ibn Sīnā* ..., i, Prague 1956, 265; cf. *Ḳānūn*, i, *fann* 1, *taʿlīm* 6). More precisely, pure Aristotelians like Ibn Rus̲h̲d took issue with Galen in order to demonstrate that the principle of nutrition resided in the heart and not in the liver (*Kulliyyāt*, ii, ch. 9; cf. J. C. Bürgel, *Averroes "contra Galenum"*, *NGW Gött.*, i, 1967, No. 9, 292 f.). Various lists of faculties are given and they are conceivea of as acting on other organs alike.

We will not deal here with the Muslim physician's pathology or therapeutics. A clear and simple exposition of them can be found in one of the oldest treatises, *Firdaws al-ḥikma* by ʿAlī b. Sahl Ṭabarī (ed. M. Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928, 40 f., 218 f.), and a full treatment which has become classic in *fann* 14 of Book iii of Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn* (ed. Rome 1593, 455-79; ed. Tehran 1295 H., 179-204; Lat. tr. Venice 1564, 740-81); the first *maḳāla* of this is devoted to the anatomy of the organ (see above). Surgical treatises speak of cauterisation of the liver or in cases of liver infections (cf., finally, P. Huard and M. D. Grmek, *Le premier manuscrit chirurgical turc*, Paris 1960, 109, 113, 121, fig. 27, 31; present-day application, M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionnelle* ..., 148).

The *Ḳānūn* also contains numerous scattered pieces of information on the liver which can be easily found thanks to the very careful index to the Latin translation published in Venice in 1564. In the copious treatise on simple drugs in Book 2 (ed. Rome 1593, i, 249-347, put into Latin alphabetical order in the Venice 1564 translation, i, 124-280), as well as in the pharmacology of Book 5, there are notes on herbs and foods and simple and complex drugs known to have some effect on the liver. These complex drugs are listed in an abridged version in *maḳāla* 12 of the first *d̲j̲umla* (*summa*) of Book v (ed. Rome 1593, vol. ii, 243; Lat. tr. Venice 1564, ii, 305-6), classified according to the diseases for which they are remedies.

One pharmacological chapter in Book 2 of the *Ḳānūn* treats of the liver of animals (*ed. cit.*, i, 196; *tr. cit.*, i, 299). Ibn Sīnā's finding are among those taken up and developed from a dietetic point of view in Ibn D̲j̲azla's widely circulated treatise on dietetics, *Minhād̲j̲ al-bayān* (Mss. Bib. Nat., Paris, Ar. 2949, fol. 159 v., 2950, fol. 279 r., 2952, fol. 231 r.-v.). One general disadvantage in eating liver is its production, during digestion, of blood so thick that it flows very sluggishly through the blood vessels. This can be remedied by eating it along with saumure or oil. The liver of quadrupeds should generally be avoided. The liver of a fat duck or chicken is the best, and fattened goose liver is also excellent, especially with a milky paste. Salt and oil should be added to avoid burdening the stomach. Roasted sheep liver is good for diarrhoea. Goat's liver (especially the male goat's) is a useful test for epilepsy, for it brings on a fit. As an eye lotion, to be eaten or used to fumigate, it is also good for infections of the iris (cf. a similar remedy in use in present-day Ḥaḍramawt, R. B. Serjeant, *BSOAS*, xviii (1956), 7). The dried and pounded liver of a partridge made into a potion is also good for epilepsy, as is roast ass liver taken on an empty stomach. Wolf liver is effective in cases of liver complaints. The liver of the *wazag̲h̲a* (a kind of large lizard) eases toothache. Finally, the liver of a mad dog cures rabies, particularly when eaten by a person bitten by that particular dog. This remedy (already mentioned by Pliny, xxix, 32, and widespread in Europe until the 19th century, cf. Bargheer, *Eingeweide*, 283 f.) was apparently known in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 20th century, for it is mentioned in S. Y. Agnon's novel *Tmōl s̲h̲ils̲h̲ōm*, iv, 18 (Fr. tr. *Le chien Balak*, Paris 1971, 565 f.).

4. Developments in magic, religion and fable. Alongside a popular psycho-physiology which, like its scientific counterpart, considers the role of the liver in the body, in conjunction with scientific pathology, dietetics and pharmacopoeia from which (as a rule) cures for infection are derived, as well as an estimate of the value of animal liver as food or remedy, there exist the rudiments of basically symbolic and magical doctrines which were also developed for practical use. These sometimes appear in scientific treatises and are occasionally supplemented there.

Following Galen, Ibn Sīnā reports, though with some doubt, that the size of an animal's liver is in proportion to its greed and timidity (cf. P. de Koning, *op. cit.*, 708, 711). Employing the magical principle of like to like, it was thought that eating sheep's liver strengthened the liver of man (Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tad̲h̲kira*, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 207).

The scholarly conception of the liver as being formed (ontogenically, it could be said) from coagulated blood is understood literally or linked to a popular conception to give rise to a *ḥadīt̲h̲* excepting the liver and the spleen from the general prohibition of blood: "two bloods have been permitted us" (liver and spleen: Ibn Mād̲j̲a, xxix, 31; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 97).

Talismans are used in cases of hepatic disorders. Thus the *Kitāb d̲h̲ak̲h̲īrat al-Iskandar*, a Hermetic collection purporting to be of Greek origin, contains a descriptions of a talisman consisting of a liver-shaped red stone with an ibex and an enigmatic inscription painted on it. This is a useful remedy for liver pains (J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, Heidelberg 1926, 98 f.). Books of practical medicine contain many prescriptions which contain a mixture of empirical observation, magical deductions (the use of wolf liver pulverized in oil), pure charlatanism (camel urine), and the use of washed talismans etc. (cf. for example, Pseudo-D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (Muh. al-Ṣanawbari, d. 815/1412), *Al-Raḥma fi 'l-ṭibb wa 'l-ḥikma*, Cairo 1357, 106 f. ch. 102). In Morocco pieces of prickly pear cut into the shape of a liver are attached to the outside walls of a Marabout sanctuary; they are thought to cure the sick as they dry (E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, i, 202). Another Morroccan practice consists of drying on a terrace the liver and kidney of a sheep skewered to a piece of prickly pear cut into the shape of the sole of the sick man's shoe and stabbed repeatedly with a knife (A.-R. de Lens, *Pratiques des harems marocains*, Paris 1925, 12). The Bedouin of central Arabia eat for breakfast cinnamon, known moreover as *d*[z]*irf el-l*[e]*ebūd* (*ḳiraf al-kubūd*), "skins of liver", as a cure for liver complaints (J.-J. Hess, *Von den Beduinen des Innern Arabiens*, Zürich and Leipzig 1938, 148 f.).

Divination by means of the liver (hepatoscopy), which was so important in ancient Mesopotamia and Etruria but already renounced by the Arab queen Zenobia in the 3rd century (Zosimus, i, 59), was not practised by the Arabs (cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 397, 527) although it is mentioned by Ibn K̲h̲aldūn in a general list of methods of divination (*Muḳaddima*, i, 191, 194, ed. Quatremère; i, 369, 371 ed. Wāfī) and referred to by a Rabbi Levi of uncertain date who compares the king of Babel's

practice of hepatoscopy in Ezekiel xxi, 26, with "some Arab who slaughters a sheep and studies its liver" (Midrash Rabbā to Eccles. xii, 7, etc. in *Monumenta Talmudica*, v, *Geschichte*, Vienna and Leipzig 1914, 48, § 84).

The liver plays a minor role in folklore, mostly as a curative. In Turkish tales the liver of a prince is the sole cure for a mad princess (W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, 302), a young girl sells an animal's liver for a kiss (*ibid.*, 224), and there is a cannibal who eats human liver (*ibid.*, 172). One version of the universal theme of the heart of a magic bird (A. Aarne and S. Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*², Helsinki 1964, 208, type 567) has the liver in place of the heart; this is sometimes replaced by the kidneys, the crop, or the heart once again (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen* . . ., 196-8). A story from Adakale tells of a miser who eats liver as an economy, an indication that the tale is a recent one (*ibid.*, 88; cf. below).

The theme of a magical cure effected by a bodily organ (cf. Bargheer, *Eingeweide*, 159 ff., 229 ff.) combined with that of the extraordinary powers of marvellous beings is at the root of the *Shāhnāma*'s account of the cure of Kay-Kāwūs and the Iranians blinded through spells cast by the white *dīw* during the invasion of Māzandarān (cf. s.v. DĪW above, ii, 323). Blood drawn from the liver of the white *dīw*, which Rustam had wrenched from its breast when he defeated it, gave them back their sight (ed. J. Mohl, Paris 1838-76, Kay-Kāwus, verse 652 ff.; ed. E. E. Bertels *et al.*, ii, Moscow 1962, 109, Māzandarān, verse 613 ff.; tr. J. Mohl, i, Paris 1876, 428 ff.). The efficacy of the liver against blindness on this occasion came close to a principle of Taoist magical biology (J. C. Coyajee, *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, n.s., xxiv, 1928, 187 f.). But, as we have seen above, the use of goat's liver for eye infections appears in Avicennian scientific medicine, and in the Book of Tobit the liver, heart and gall of a fish help cast out demons (Tobit, vi, 5; viii, 2) and the gall gives sight to a blind man (vi, 9; xi, 8). Thence without doubt the frequent use of the liver in European popular opthalmology (Bargheer, *Eingeweide*, 284 f.).

The prime importance of the liver in the body no doubt explains, by magical deduction, a group of practices. To chew or at least nibble the liver of an enemy seems to mean annihilation or the highest curse. This gesture, Hind's nibbling Hamza's liver at Uḥud (Ibn Hishām, 581), was the origin of Muʿāwiya's derogatory sobriquet, *ibn ākilat al-akbād*, "son of the liver eater" (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 439, French tr. Pellat § 1742, Pseudo?-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb ithbāt al-waṣiyya li 'l-imām ʿAlī*, cited by Ch. Pellat in *Le shīʿisme imâmite*, Paris 1970, 85). The Sinai Bedouins believe that Druzes eat the liver of Muslims (W. P. Zenner, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, viii, no. 3, Oct. 1972, 411). See parallels in Bargheer, *Leber*, 977; id., *Eingeweide*, 93, 216; W. D. Wallis, *ERE*, x, 373 ff.

In the sacrifice of the "great feast" on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the liver of the victim must be eaten first, following a well-documented custom of the Maghrib allegedly supported by some *fuḳahā'* and the Prophet's own example (E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 473; J. Desparmet, *Coutumes, institutions, croyances des indigènes de l'Algérie*, i, Algiers 1939, 275; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926, i, 234 f.; ii, 120 f.; J. Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, 113 f.; J. Jouin, *Hesperis*, xliv (1957), 320; A.-M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927, 264).

Among some tribes in Morocco, the bridegroom makes the gift of a bull to his bachelor friends: the liver, which must be eaten first, conveys the *baraka* and must be distributed among all the men present, but not the women (E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914, 126).

5. Animal liver as food. Liver, often classed with offal and tripe, was despised and left to the destitute. Thus in southern Libya a proverb says that impoverished men grab at something *məṯl en-nawār ʿal-kəbdē*, "like gypsies after a piece of liver" (F. J. Abela, *Proverbes populaires, adages et locutions proverbiales du Liban-Sud* (in the press)). Yet in other regions liver and heart are regarded as choice morsels, as in Ḥaḍramawt (F. Stark, *The Southern Gates of Arabia*, Harmondsworth 1945, 78). In Aden today offal is imported from Somaliland, where it is not eaten (information given by Yūsuf Ṭālib). Raw liver is sometimes looked upon as a delicacy, as in the Lebanon and Jordan (A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 65). In the Sahara, an animal killed in the hunt is speedily disembowelled. Liver, heart and lungs are tossed onto live charcoal and covered with burning sand, then eaten immediately or on the following day (M. Gast, *Alimentation des populations de l'Ahagger*, Paris 1968, 136).

In the Middle Ages, Arab markets always had their *kubūdīs*, "liver vendors", who sold liver cooked with onions or roasted on skewers to people who ate on the streets or did no cooking. Manuals on *ḥisba* forbid the mixing of goat or cattle liver with that of sheep. They describe in minute detail the type and quantity of ingredients which must be added ("Ibn al-Ukhuwwa", The *Maʿālim al-ḳurba* . . ., ed. R. Levy, London 1938, 95 ff. of the Arabic text). Such food was often adulterated. A treatise entitled *Kīmiyā' al-ṭabā'ikh*, which denounces cooks who sell fried liver that contains no liver, is already attributed to the philosopher Yaʿḳūb al-Kindī (3rd/9th century) (Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, *apud* Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *ibid.*, 107, n. 8 and Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, in *Mashriḳ*, 10, 1907, 1081). On the other hand scrapings of dried or pounded and roasted liver were used as spurious musk (Saḳaṭī, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, ed. G.-S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, i, Paris 1931, 46; tr. P. Chalmeta-Gendron, *El-"Kitāb fī ādāb al-ḥisba"*, Madrid 1968, 116 = *al-Andalus*, 33, 1968, 193) and Spanish and Moroccan *balādja* (a sort of pâté made from meat and offal) was also adulterated with liver that had gone bad, a great deal of bread, spices, etc. (*ibid.*, text p. 39, l. 13; tr. cited p. 180).

The type of rich cooking shown in mediaeval cookery books makes little use of liver. Of the many oriental treatises of this type only the *Wuṣla* has recipes for liver, one in which boiled liver is roasted on skewers in a caul (in the fashion of the *sharā'iḥ kurdjiyya*, which is made from pounded giblets and includes liver), and one for liver boiled and stuffed with whole or chopped spices (*Wuṣla*, Ms. A, fol. 59 r.-v.; cf. Rodinson, *Recherches* . . ., 135). Apart from that, liver is mentioned, chopped with the fat tail of a sheep (*aliya*) in the "artificial brain" (*Wuṣla*; cf. Rodinson, *ibid.*, 158) and fried black in sesame oil along with poultry giblets or pieces of lamb to make a sort of sauce utilized in various dishes (*Wuṣla*; cf. Rodinson, *ibid.*, 133, n. 4, 156). There is no real recipe for liver in the Baghdādī cookery book

of the 7th/13th century of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī nor in the Hispano-Maghribī culinary treatise of the same era edited and translated by A. Huici Miranda.

In present-day Lebanon recipes are found for mutton or beef liver which is usually grilled on skewers. These are called *miʿlaḳ*, strictly speaking "pluck, the viscera of the thorax" (M. K. Khayat and M. C. Keating, *Food from the Arab World*, Beirut 1961, 32 f.; P. Bazantay, *Enquête sur l'artisanat à Antioche*, Beirut 1936, 47; a Lebanese recipe for liver fried in vinegar in Claudia Roden, *A Book of Middle Eastern Food*, London 1968, 180). Small pieces of liver, lightly fried and served hot or cold, are used as *mezze*, hors d'oeuvres served with an aperitif (Roden, 33). In the Maghrib, brochettes of liver and heart, formerly the food of the poor, have recently become a smart dish. Since the pieces are wrapped in caul they are called *malfūf* (M. Beaussie, *Dictionnaire pratique arabe-francais*², Algiers 1931, 904 b; M. Gast, *Alimentation des populations de l'Ahaggar*, Paris 1968, 134, 135, n. 2), and in Morocco *bū lfāf* (L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, Paris 1952, 744; Z. Guinaudeau, *Fès vu par sa cuisine*, Rabat 1957, 39). When pieces of liver are alternated with chunks of mutton fat the dish is called *kwaḳ* (the name for tripe, pluck, etc.) in Morocco (Z. Guinaudeau, *ibid.*, 41; cf. H. Mercier, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Rabat 1951, 101). The specialist chef of the grill is called a *kwayḳi* (*ibid.*).

In Egypt, various kinds of poultry are often eaten stuffed with a mixture made from chopped liver and gizzards mixed with crushed raw wheat or minced meat (C. Wissa Wassef, *Pratiques rituelles et alimentaires des Coptes*, Cairo 1971, 381).

In Iran offal of sheep or chicken is used in a number of dishes, but liver is only mentioned in a comprehensive cookery book, probably compiled by the shah's cook and edited in 1301/1884, in kebabs grilled on skewers or in a kind of stew called *ḥasrat al-mulūk*, "the sigh" or "desire of kings" (ʿAlī Akbar b. Mehdī Kāshānī, *Sofre-ye aṭʿeme*, Ms. collection P. Ikowski, ed. and tr. M. Ghavam-Nejad, unpublished thesis, Paris 1967, 26, 27; the first recipe is found at a slightly later date in the books by Josephine Richard, alias Neshāt al-dawla, *Ṭabbakhi-yi Neshāt*, Tehran n.d., 22, and Badr al-mulūk-i Bāmdād, *Rāhnamā-yi ṭabbākhī*⁶, Tehran n.d., 36).

Until recently liver was not eaten in Turkey and the butchers threw it to cats or dogs. However, consumption of liver and lungs (called *takım*, "the whole") and of pluck and tripe has recently gathered a little ground, being the speciality of itinerant Albanian merchants (called *sakatçıs*, "tripe-sellers"; information given by P. Boratav; cf. W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, 88). Recipes for pilau using liver are found in present-day cookery books (*kuzulu pilav*, I. Orga, *Turkish Cooking*, London 1958, 125; *ič pilav*, with goose or chicken liver, C. Roden, *op. cit.*, 248), and found in Bursa by a Turkish ethnographical survey (H. Z. Kosay and A. Ülkücan, *Anadolu yemekleri ve türk mutfağí*, Ankara 1961, 101). Cf. also the brochettes of liver rolled in yoghurt in I. Orga, *Cooking with yoghurt*, London 1956, 40.

In Uzbekistan also liver is cooked en brochette (*djigar kabob*) and sometimes, as in Soviet Ādharbāydjān, with pieces of fat-tail of sheep alternating with morsels of liver (*dumba kabob*); liver is also grilled then stuffed (*ḳovurilgan djigar*) (K. Mahmudov, *Uzbekskie bljuda*, Tashkent 1962, 98, 102; N. K. Alhazov et al., *Azerbajdžanskaya kulinariya*, Baku 1963, 43).

Bibliography: in the article. See also: Nikolaus Mani, *Die historischen Grundlagen der Leberforschung*, 2 vols., Basle 1959-67.

(M. Rodinson)

ĶĀBIḌ (?—934/1527), heretic of the early 10th/16th century. Originally from Persia, he came to Istanbul, where he was educated. In 934/1527 he was publicly maintaining, in different parts of the city, that the Ḳurʾān depended in large measure upon the Old and New Testaments, and that Jesus was superior to Muḥammad. Complaints being made to the authorities, on 8 Ṣafar 934/3 November 1527 Ḳābiḍ was brought before the imperial *dīwān*, where he was interrogated by the *ḳāḍīʿaskers* of Rumeli (Fenārīzāde Muḥyī al-Dīn) and Anatolia (Ḳādirī Čelebi). He defended his doctrines by citing ḳurʾānic verses and *ḥadīths*, and the *ḳāḍīʿaskers*, failing to refute him in argument, resorted to violent language and insults. The grand vizier (Ibrāhīm Pasha) intervened, saying that if Ḳābiḍ's teachings were false, their falsity should be demonstrated; but that it was unfitting that *ʿulemāʾ* should lose their tempers. He suspended the meeting of the *dīwān*, and Ḳābiḍ was freed. Shortly afterwards Ibrāhīm Pasha explained the position to the sultan, Süleymān, who had been following the proceedings from behind the grille (*ḳafes*). The sultan commented that there were other *ʿulemāʾ* than the *ḳāḍīʿaskers*, and in accordance with his command the case was re-opened next day, when the *Shaykh al-Islām* Kemāl Pasha-zāde Aḥmed [*q.v.*] and the *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, Saʿdī Čelebi, were summoned. When Ḳābiḍ repeated his arguments, Kemāl Pasha-zāde demonstrated the true significance of the texts upon which Ḳābiḍ relied and reduced him to silence. When Ḳābiḍ was invited to renounce his doctrines, he refused; whereupon the *Shaykh al-Islām* referred the matter to the *ḳāḍī* for him to pronounce sentence according to the *sharīʿa*. The *ḳāḍī* too invited him to recant and return to the true doctrine, and when he again refused sentenced him to death. He was executed immediately. Ḳābiḍ was evidently a fearless and tenacious adherent of his doctrines, from the trend of which he is assumed to be the founder of the Khūbmesīḥī [*q.v.*] sect. The incident illuminates the religious currents of the period, and the personalities of the individuals involved.

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hatırasına armağan, Ankara 1964, 53-6; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 178, n. 3; *İA*, art. *Kâbiz*; art. *Süleyman I.*, by M. T. Gökbilgin, at p. 110; art. *Kemâl Paşazâde*, by I. Parmaksızoğlu, at p. 564 (this gives references for *risāla*s written in refutation of Ķābiḍ); Rycaut, *Present state*, book ii, chap. 12 (for the Khūbmesīḥī). (Hüseyin G. Yurdaydin)

ĶĀBĪL [see hābīl].

ĶABĪLA (a.) denotes a large agnatic group, the members of which claim to be descended from one common ancestor; this word is generally understood in the sense of tribe. It derives from the Arabic root *ķ-b-l*, of which the form *ķābala* signifies to meet, to be face to face with. The definition given by al-Nūwayrī (*Nihāya*, ii, 269), the only one, we believe, which refers to its morphology, refers specifically to this etymology: "the *ķabīla* was so named because its component parts are placed face to face and in equal numbers". Its structure seems indeed to be connected with that of the skull, in which the four bones, also denoted by the word *ķabīla*, are placed opposite to one another (*LA*, root *ķ-b-l*).

This term is often found in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. Curiously enough, it is there employed almost exclusively in the plural, *ķabā'il* (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, ii, 81, vii, 285; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, Cairo 1959, 19, 41, 50; al-Sūwaydī, *Sabā'ik al-dhahab fī ma'rifat ķabā'il al-'Arab*, Cairo n.d., 104). The Ķur'ān uses it only once: "We have established you in peoples (*shu'ūb*) and tribes (*ķabā'il*) so that you may know one another" (XLIX, 13). On the strength of its inclusion in the ķur'ānic vocabulary, this substantive has been the subject of various explanations. Unfortunately, these are at once imprecise, contradictory and unsatisfactory. As examples of *ķabīla*, al-Ķalķashandī (i, 308) cites the Rabī'a and Muḍar groups, which others regard as *shu'ūb*; the tribe would in that case include a considerable number of divisions and sub-groups. Al-Bayḍāwī (*Anwār al-tanzīl*, Istanbul 1303, ii, 453) and al-Ṭabarsī (*Madjma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ķur'ān*, Beirut 1961, xxvi, 96) consider it to be of more modest size. According to the former writer, the Kināna would belong to this type of group, while the latter names the Bakr. In the story of 'Antar, the Banū 'Abs are described as a *ķabīla*, which is thereby reduced to a very limited size. In reality, such examples are valid only when placed in precise historical perspective. An endogamous group, of unilineal descent, does not retain either the same size or the same rank in the social hierarchy throughout its existence. Thus the Ķuraysh, a mere branch of the Kināna in about the middle of the 6th century A.D., after some decades had become a powerful tribe. It would therefore be difficult to accept the models suggested by the classical authors. All that can be deduced from them with certainty is that the *ķabīla* is a smaller group than the *sha'b*, which is made up of several tribes, and larger than the *'ashīra* ([*q.v.*] cf. Ķur'ān, XXL, 214; IX, 24; LVIII, 22).

The Arabic dictionaries prove, in the event, to be of little more help. Like the genealogists, in classifying the technical terms of social architecture they have relied solely on one criterion, that of size. The groups fit into one another like a set of boxes: the *djidhm* (the stock or origin) contains the *djumhūr* (population, mass), which contains the *sha'b*, which contains the *ķabīla*, which contains the *'imāra* (sub-tribe, small tribe), which contains the *baṭn* (belly or division), which contains the *fakhdh* (thigh or section), which contains the *'ashīra* (clan), which contains the *faṣīla* (kindred; cf. Ķur'ān, LXX, 13), which contains the *rahṭ* (family; cf. Ķur'ān, XI, 91 f.). Although more complete than that of al-Māwardī (*Aḥkām*, Bonn 1853, 353), the above list drawn up by al-Nūwayrī likewise omits the word *ḥayy*, to which Robertson Smith attached much importance. Despite this plethora of technical terms, the social structures of the ancient nomadic Arabs remain extremely fluid.

In the writings of contemporary authors, *ķabīla* is often synonymous with *'ashīra*, although they are agreed in regarding it as numerically inferior to the latter. The same variability is to be observed among the desert Arabs, who use the two words indiscriminately to denote the clan, while the tribe is sometimes called *ķabīla*, sometimes *ṣaff*. In the face of such uncertainty, some ethnologists eventually gave up using a vocabulary which appears to be unsuitable for translating the social reality which nevertheless it claims to express (R. Montagne, *La civilisation du désert*, Paris 1947, 50).

We are scarcely better informed in regard to the ancient tribal organization. When seen from outside, no social group appears to be as homogeneous and united as the *ķabīla*. The traditional conception regards it as a large patriarchal family whose members, all closely linked with each other, bear the same patronymic name, that of their common ancestor. The homogeneity of the tribe, not to say that of the ethnic community itself, would appear to result from the process of its development, thanks to an uninterrupted series of endogamous marriages, from the time of the original founder. The groups claiming to derive from the same origin would therefore be connected with one another, like the links of a chain, and in this way they would form an enduring consanguineous unit.

The over-simplified nature of this representation is evident. Criticism is all the more justified in denouncing the artificial aspect of the classical theory since, at the tribal level itself, an extraordinary intermingling, brought about by migrations, wars and the constant movement to and fro between the desert and the city, periodically challenged even the surest of the genealogical foundations. The clan itself accepts the presence among its own people of certain foreign elements (dependents, protégés, confederates) who in the end become totally integrated with it by marriage or through the alliance of blood.

Does this mean that everything in the traditional theory of relationship among the Arabs must be rejected, and that one is confronted with a later construction, fashioned during the first century of Islam? Despite the well-known thesis of Robertson Smith, the existence of a system based on matrilinearity, in pre-Islamic Arabia, today seems very problematical. The genealogists' theories, although manifestly exaggerated, would not appear to be devoid of foundation. Certainly there could be no question of accepting the thesis of the consanguineous unity of the tribe. However, taken at the level of the line of descent, this unity is effective and serves as a basis for determining the *damawiyya*, formerly the *'āķila* [*q.v.*], that is to say those jointly responsible for a crime committed by one of their members. A system of endogamy, carried to the limit of incest and practised on a very wide scale, forces the group back upon itself to such an extent that, when it extends, it does not cease to regard itself as a large family.

In short, it follows from this cursory examination of the classical documents that the exact significance of the word *ķabīla* remains as indeterminate as its morphology. We are therefore compelled to resort

to ethnological research in order to define each of these aspects. For this purpose, then, instead of citing examples from the ancient authors, let us consider the tribe as it exists today among the Bedouin. The *ḳabīla* appears as an independent political group, varying in size from a thousand to two thousand persons, and even larger when the process of sedentarization has started. It is generally composed of two or three sections, nominally united by ties of kinship and in principle interdependent upon each other. Its members claim to be descended from one common ancestor, whose name they generally bear, along with those of their own section and of the clan, they jointly own an area of grazing-land, and they are ruled by one single ruler, formerly the *sayyid*, today the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, old man, elder, a title also borne by the head of the clan.

Despite its monolithic appearance, the *ḳabīla* falls into as many small, practically autonomous groups as it contains different lines of descent. The genealogists who have dwelt so insistently upon the unity of the Arab tribe have almost entirely lost sight of its heterogeneity. Now, the division of Bedouin society into interlocking groups has resulted from a fundamental duality which sets them against each other at all levels of the social structure: ʿAdnān/Ḳaḥṭān, Rabīʿa/Muḍar, Ḥimyar/Kahlān, Bakr/Tag̲h̲lib, Aws/K̲h̲azrad̲j̲, ʿAbs/Zubyān, His̲h̲ām/Umayya, etc. Bedouin society has in fact been subjected to a progressive process of segmentation. At each stage, two blocks of apparently equal strength confront each other, and attract or repel one another in accordance with the interests of the moment. At the family level, the division should cease to operate and should be replaced by absolute solidarity, for any conflict between the members of this group would be tantamount to an act of suicide. In fact, the duality pursues its way inexorably. The division begins even within the patriarchal family, where each male is a contestant for power. To restrict ourselves to an examination of the tribe, we may state that it is often divided into two large subdivisions which strive against each other for supremacy and even make war. The Banū Ṣak̲h̲r, for example, are divided into the Ṭuwaga and the Kaʿābina; for a long time the leadership belonged to the latter, and then it passed into the hands of their rivals. Indeed, the tribe may be composed of several divisions, but it seems that a pluralism then tends to be reduced to a duality; an entire little world gravitates, like satellites, around the two principal leaders. When the *ḳabīla* consists of three subdivisions, it often happens that the most recent of these, if not the least important, endeavours to preserve the balance between the other two. Thus the Ḥuwayṭāt are divided into three large groups, two of whom show no liking for each other (Ibn D̲j̲āzī and Abū Tāyih), while the third (Ibn Nd̲j̲ād) observes a positive neutrality, trying to make the best possible use of this ambiguous situation. Even within the subdivision, the relations of the clans with each other are not free from duality. Each one of them seems to have its twin, the other half of the cell, for whom it is both rival and supporter, and with whom it avoids contracting marriages.

In the light of these ethnographical data, the definition of *ḳabīla* given by al-Nūwayrī and referred to above is seen in a new aspect. Its component parts are indeed symmetrical and of evidently equal strength.

Al-Hamdānī confirms the existence of this type of organization. The author of the *Iklīl*, who is not particularly careful in his use of the terms of relationship, does nevertheless give most useful information on the organization of the Nas̲h̲ḳ, a branch of the Bakīl; they were divided into two factions (*baṭn*), the Yumd̲j̲id and the D̲h̲u 'l-D̲j̲irāb, and lived in the lower part of D̲j̲awf in Rawt̲h̲ān. The two groups had their own areas—over against one another and separated by the width of the valley. Each tribe (*ḳabīla*) had about three hundred members. Fratricidal war decimated the two *ḥayy*s (*Iklīl*, ed. K̲h̲aṭīb, Cairo 1369, x, 123 f.).

Is the structure of the *ḳabīla* then of a dualist type? It would appear rather to be a matter of a particular kind of dualism, since the different sections in question, far from intermarrying, practise strict endogamy. This hypothesis seems all the more probable in that, when the tribe becomes settled, it projects the image of its divisions onto the soil itself. On the eve of the *hid̲j̲ra*, Mecca was divided into two concentric, rival and complementary halves: in the centre were the Ḳurays̲h̲ al-Biṭāḥ, on the periphery the Ḳurays̲h̲ al-Ẓawāhir. A similar situation was observed in Medina where the two sister tribes were rivals for power. The K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ had taken possession of the principal points of the city, while the Aws were relegated to the outskirts. This same type of structure is found today in many small Jordanian towns inhabited by former Bedouins, particularly in Maʿān and Karak.

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KABĪR PANTHĪS [see Supplement].

ḲĀBIS (Gabès), a town in Tunisia on the gulf of the same name (the Little Syrte of antiquity), 404 km. to the south of Tunis and 150 km. from Gafsa [see ḲAFSA]; it has 40,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,200 are Europeans, and is the chief town of a governorate with a population of 204,000 (1966 census). The town of Gabès, divided since 1957 into four districts, includes the old townships of Manzil, situated higher up the Oued-Gabès, and D̲j̲āra, situated downstream, localities which have always been divided by fierce and still potent rivalry. A new quarter, Bab-Bhar or Gabès-Port, which is located further downstream, dates from the time of the French protectorate, and another built-up area extending towards the south has been added in more recent times. In 1959 and 1962 Manzil and D̲j̲āra suffered severely from the devastating floods of the Oued-Gabès, which is now kept under control by an additional channel that drains off the flood-waters directly to the sea. In effect, Gabès is situated at the bottom of a basin which is enclosed on the north by a loop of the *oued*, and on the south shut in by the

hills of Sidi-Boulbaba—the site of the sanctuary of the patron saint of the town, alleged to be a companion of the Prophet—and the Manâra, a superb view-point where, in the Middle Ages, a lighthouse stood, and where, since 1962, a working-class district has been constructed to house those made homeless by the recent floods.

According to A. Bechraoui, who has devoted a very recent study to the subject, the oasis of Ḳābis contains a stock of 1,400,000 trees, of which 650,000, that is 47 per cent of the total, are rather mediocre date palms. Next in order of importance come the pomegranate trees, 107,000 in number and of excellent quality, which are the second most important crop produced in Tunisia; then come peach trees, vines and apricot trees. Olive trees succeed only in the Kettana-Teboulbou-Oudref-Metouia region. Banana trees produce ripe fruits, but they are rather sparse. Cultivated land is devoted to the production of cereals in small quantities, fodder (especially lucerne), tobacco, henna and also market-gardening, asparagus being a recent introduction. Live-stock are few in number; animal rearing is mainly carried out on a domestic basis and is regarded as a means of making a little extra money. The coastal waters, which are shallow and contain an abundance of fish, have been left almost unexploited. With the help of irrigation, the oasis has been extended as far as possible. Some 60 borings having been made between 1890 and the present day, the over-exploited underground water-supply is in fact on the verge of becoming exhausted.

Ḳābis has recently been selected as a development centre for southern Tunisia: equipment has been provided for a port carrying vessels of 50,000 tons; Industries Chimiques Maghrébines (I.C.M.), a company specializing in the manufacture of nitrate fertilizers, has been set up; and a gas pipe-line connecting the town with the El-Borma fields, providing fuel for brick-kilns and the power station, has been installed. Craft-work and tourism provide additional employment and can be developed still further.

History.—Ḳābis is the Arabic form of the name of the city known in antiquity as Tacape, Tacapa or the plural form Tacapae. The Arabic form derived from the very commonly used accusative, Tacapas, with the elision of the Libyan Berber prefix *ta*. The site of Ḳābis has certainly been inhabited since the neolithic period, as is shown by many remains. Later, the Phoenicians were probably the first to establish an emporium specializing in trade with Numidia and across the Sahara. The emporium became a Carthaginian port, before being transformed into a Roman colony; after this date, specific information regarding the town is to be found.

From the reign of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) the systematic development of the region began, as is attested by the *comitia centuriata*. Tacapas was connected with Carthage by the main coastal road. In the year 14 a strategic route was opened, connecting it via Capsa (Ḳafsa) with Thelepte and Ammaedara (Haïdra) where the 3rd Legion (Augusta) was stationed. As a result of the Carthaginians' efforts in an earlier period, and as a result also of this network of roads which stimulated the port's activity, as well as of the abundant waters of the Oued-Gabès and of the Pax Romana, the town, the centre of which was certainly located upon the eminence where the sanctuary of Sidi Boulbaba now stands, was extensively developed—as to the scale of this development, however, there is some disagreement —and during the Christian period it became the seat of a bishopric. However, it was fortified only at a comparatively late date. "Until the middle of the 6th century Gabès at least still possessed no ramparts", wrote Ch. Diehl (*L'Afrique byzantine*, i, 229). It was defended only by a *castellum* barring the invasion route, that is to say the isthmus between the coast and the Chott El-Fedjedj, linking Byzacena with Libya. It was there that, in 547, the Byzantine forces suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Astrices tribe. No doubt it was after this disaster that a wall was erected round Tacapas which survived at least until the 16th century. Today, no monuments from its ancient past remain in Ḳābis though, to be strictly accurate, there are traces of the "Roman dam" across the Oued-Gabès, several pillars and capitals that have been incorporated in the mosque of Sīdī Idrīs or in the sanctuary of Sidi Boulbaba, and also some other fragments of lesser value which have been used in buildings in the old quarters.

The circumstances under which Ḳābis came to Islam remain obscure. It is however certain, despite assertions made later by al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj (*Ḥulal*, i, 344), that ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd [*q.v.*] did not besiege the town during his invasion of Byzacena in 27/647-8. It was only later that it was captured, probably during the campaigns directed by Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudaydj or his successor ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, between the years 34/654 and 50/670. It was later evacuated, after the defeat and death of ʿUḳba in Tahūda, in about 64/684. The victor, Kusayla, established himself in Ḳayrawān and from there, according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ*, 70-1), he extended his rule over the neighbouring regions, including the "Gate of Ḳābis". It was through this gate that, in about 74/693-4, the forces of al-Kāhina [*q.v.*] expelled Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] from the country he had come to recover. Some years later, however, the same gate once more served as his route.

From this time, Ḳābis was finally acquired by Islam and became intimately involved in its existence. In particular, Ḳābis was not spared the violent Khāridjite storm which racked the whole of Ifrīḳiya from 122/740 to 155/772. The Zanātī ʿUkāsha b. Ayyūb al-Fazārī, of Ṣufrite persuasion, captured it in 123/741 and threatened Ḳayrawān, before being defeated and killed (125/743). Some years later, under the rule of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, it once again fell into the hands of the Khāridjites, this time those of Ibāḍite tendencies. Again, it was recovered and the rebel leader Ismāʿīl b. Ziyād al-Nafūsī was defeated and killed in about 131/748-9. The assassination of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb (137/755) was the signal for new disturbances and a new Khāridjite outbreak, during which the town passed from one to another of the opposing factions. The Ibāḍite Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb captured it at the beginning of 141/middle of 758. It was liberated by Ibn al-Ashʿath in 144/761, only to be lost once more. Finally Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, the founder of the Muhallabid dynasty, entered the town on 20 Djumādā I 155/28 April 772 and for a quarter of a century brought an end to the bloodshed that had tormented the region for several decades.

In the Aghlabid period, Ḳābis became the chief town of the district and the seat of a governor. From the testimony of al-Shammākhī (*Siyar*, 203), who mentions an *ʿāmil* of the *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (168/784-208/823), it might be thought that the town formed part of the Rustamid kingdom. In fact, this *ʿāmil* was merely a tax-collector who in a somewhat clandestine manner was organizing the *ṣadaḳāt*

of the Ibāḍites of the "diocese" on Tāhart, since we know for certain that, throughout the 3rd/9th century, the town was at all times dependent upon the political authority of Ḳayrawān. For Ḳābis it was a period of peace, scarcely broken by the battle at which, in 283/896, not far from its walls, Ibrāhīm II crushed the Nafūsa Ibāḍites, who had become too menacing. In the 4th/10th century it passed into the hands of the Fāṭimids, who had it governed by the Kutāma Banū Luḳmān, whose liberality was immortalized by the poets.

The rule of the Zīrids was less peaceful. It began with a Khāridjite revolt (361/972). Ḳābis was besieged and the suburbs devastated. The Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim (386/996-411/1021 [*q.v.*]) then attempted, though in the end without success, to take both Gabès and Tripoli from the Zīrids. The town was governed for the Zīrids by the Banū ʿĀmir, and afterwards by a brother of Bādīs (386/996-406/1016 [*q.v.*]), Ibrāhīm, who in turn was succeeded by Manṣūr b. Mawās. Its last governor, nominated by al-Muʿizz (407/1016-464/1062) was Ibn Walmiya. The town then broke away from the Zīrids.

In fact, it was in the same region, at Ḥaydarān [*q.v.*], in 443/1052, that the disaster occurred as a result of which Ifrīḳiya passed into the hands of the Hilālīs [see HILĀL]. It should however be explained that the Hilālīs caused no damage either to the town —which was by then surrounded by a strong wall— or to the oasis, although it was undefended. Some sort of understanding, naturally based on the payment of tribute, must certainly have been reached between the invaders and the governor of the town since, from 445/1053-4 and thanks to the protection afforded by the Riyāḥid chief Muʾnis b. Yaḥyā, certain members of the Zīrid dynasty who were in extreme danger openly took refuge in the safe haven of the town. Ḳābis did not immediately break off relations with Mahdiyya. It was in about 454/1062-3 that the governor, al-Muʿizz b. Muḥammad b. Walmiya, angered by the way in which his brothers Ibrāhīm and Ḳāḍī had been treated by the Zīrid amīr, plotted with Ḳāḍī and proclaimed himself independent, under the protection of Muʾnis b. Yaḥyā. "This was the beginning of the occupation of the town by the Hilālī Arabs", remarks al-Tīdjānī (*Riḥla*, 96). Ibrāhīm succeeded his father, and then came the turn of Ḳāḍī, who was put to death (489/1095-6) by the inhabitants of Ḳābis in retaliation against his tyranny.

This assassination brought to power the Banū Djāmiʿ who, through the medium of the Dahmān, were allied with the Riyāḥ Hilālīs. We are told, it is true, that the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir (427/1036-487/1094), at the same time as he unleashed the Banū Hilāl upon Ifrīḳiya, had offered Tripoli and Ḳābis to the Zughba group as their share. In fact, these latter were satisfied with Tripoli, and it was a Dahmano-Riyāḥid, Makkī b. Kāmil b. Djāmiʿ (al-Tīdjānī, *Riḥla*, 71, 97), who founded a dynasty in Ḳābis, after eliminating a brother of the amīr Tamīm (454/1062-501/1108), ʿUmar b. al-Muʿizz, whom the Ḳābis insurgents had placed in authority. Makkī's successor was his son Rāfiʿ, who in turn was succeeded first by Rushayd b. Kāmil b. Djāmiʿ (about 515/1121-541/1147) and then, after the brief seizure of power by the freedman Yūsuf, by Muḥammad b. Rushayd, and finally by Mudāfiʿ b. Rushayd.

From the middle of the 5th/11th to the middle of the 6th/12th century, both under its independent governors who enjoyed Riyāḥid protection and also under the direct administration of the Banū Djāmiʿ, the history of Ḳābis was one of constant turmoil, at home through a whole series of intrigues and fruitless struggles in the attempt to seize power, and in external affairs through the expansionist policy of the Normans of Sicily, who were trying to establish control over the coast of Ifrīḳiya. Despite various sieges (in 474/1081-2, 479/1086-7, 486/1093-4 and in about 511/1117-8) which finally failed, the town was only recovered for brief periods (in 489/1095-6 and 542/1147) by the successors of al-Muʿizz. In order to oppose these successors, the town in its turn adopted a frankly aggressive policy, welcoming their enemies and sending its troops, either alone or with allies, to assault their capital (in 476/1083-4, 493/1099-1100, and in about 511/1117-8). Against them, it made alliances not only with the Hilālīs but also with the Normans of Roger II, who sent the usurper, at his own request, a diploma of investiture in fair and correct form as well as certain Christian decorations, and then provided a successor, Muḥammad b. Rushayd, after the occupation of Mahdiyya (543/1148) and the whole of the Sahel. Despite all these conflicts, the town does not appear to have suffered immoderately. It was even embellished with a fine palace, that of al-ʿArūsayn, begun probably by Ibn Walmiya and completed by Rāfīʿ, who took the credit for it. It should incidentally be noted that Rushayd struck coins in his own name, a gesture affirming his independence.

The coming of the Almohads put an end to the independence which Ḳābis had already practically lost since 541/1146-7 by passing under the domination (tolerant, admittedly, but effective) of the Normans. The town, which had risen against the Normans in 553/1158-9, was captured by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, the son of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], in 554/1160. The period of peace it then enjoyed lasted only for a few decades. Soon Ḳābis became in fact a subject of contention between the Almohads and two adversaries who at certain times were allies, at other times hostile to one another, Ḳarāḳūsh [*q.v.*], already master of Tripoli, and the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*]. Al-Manṣūr (580/1184-596/1199) had to intervene personally in Ifrīḳiya since he was in danger of losing it and, by his victory at al-Ḥāmma (583/1187-8), he succeeded in recovering the town, which Ḳarāḳūsh, in alliance with ʿAlī b. Ghāniya, had turned into a fortified base. Ḳarāḳūsh soon established himself there once again, but then, having fallen out with his former ally, he lost the town again to the Almohads, who had taken advantage of the situation. Yaḥya b. Ghāniya had meanwhile succeeded ʿAlī, and after crushing Ḳarāḳūsh and taking Tripoli from him, he laid siege to Ḳābis in 591/1195; to force it to surrender, he laid waste the oasis where, it is claimed, he left only one palm-tree standing to mark the spot. On his victory, he made Ḳābis his capital and extended his authority over the whole of Ifrīḳiya, including Tunis, which had been captured in 600/1203. Al-Nāṣir (596/1199-609/1213) thus had to reconquer the whole of the eastern part of his kingdom. He inflicted a decisive defeat on Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya near Ḳābis (Rabīʿ I 602/October 1205) and recaptured the town, which was then finally acquired by the Almohads.

But the Almohads' reign in Ifrīḳiya was nearing its end. Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā (625/1228-647/1249), the founder of the Ḥafṣid dynasty, was the ruler of Ḳābis when he was nominated by the caliph al-Maʾmūn (624/1227-629/1232) as governor of the whole of Ifrīḳiya. Supported by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Makkī, the most influential land-owner in the city,

he succeeded in capturing Tunis from his brother, who was dismissed from office. This date marks the rise to fortune of the Banū Makkī, who, from 681/1282 to 796/1394, constituted what was truly a small, local and largely autonomous dynasty in Ḳābis—and, in actual fact, independent. The two most powerful members of this dynasty were ʿAbd al-Malik b. Makkī and his brother Aḥmad; the latter was ruler of D̲j̲erba, in particular, and from there for a time he succeeded in extending his authority as far as Tripoli. The two brothers were of Luwāta origin; they were cultured—they liked to affect the style of a *faḳīh*—and also clever, and they often succeeded in influencing Ḥafṣid policy, in which they took an active part, to their own advantage.

In Rad̲j̲ab 681/October 1282, ʿAbd al-Malik opened the gates of Ḳābis to the usurper Ibn Abī ʿUmāra (1282-4) and helped him to ascend the throne. In his gratitude, he is said to have presented ʿAbd al-Malik "with all the young slaves who were in the palace of the late sultan" (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 106) and to have appointed him as his vizier, with particularly wide financial powers. But the reign of Ibn Abī ʿUmāra did not last long, and ʿAbd al-Malik returned to his fief of Ḳābis. In 1286, the town was besieged by the amīr Abū Zakariyyāʾ and its palm-grove was laid waste. During the disturbances that followed, ʿAbd al-Malik did not remain inactive. In 1287-8 he gave his support (this time without success, however) to the pretender Ibn Abī Dabbūs against Abū Ḥafṣ (683/1284-692/1293); then, in 693/1294, he rejected the suzerainty of Tunis in order to lay claim to that of Bougie where a grandson of Abū Zakariyyāʾ, the man who had besieged Ḳābis in 1286, was seeking to obtain his ancestor's inheritance. In 732/1332 a new pretender, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Liḥyānī, also received his support against Abū Bakr (718/1318-747/1346). The years that followed saw the apogee of the Banū Makkī. From 751/1350, while hostile to the powerful and crafty chamberlain Ibn Tafrād̲j̲īn, they succeeded in enlarging their territory and in making their authority more firmly based. Their prestige was such that, in about 1355, Venice concluded an advantageous treaty with them separately. Consistently hostile to Tunis, they gave their support to the second Marīnid invasion (752/1352-757/1357), led by Abū ʿInān [*q.v.*].

But some decades later, the reign of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (772/1371-796/1374) marked the end of independence for all the cities in the south. The reconquest of Ḳābis was not easy, however. In D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 781/February-March 1380, the town was taken and a Ḥafṣid governor, Yūsuf b. al-Abbār, was installed there. But in the following year ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, a grandson of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Makkī, made himself master of the town and put the governor to death. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās had to lay siege to it in person in 789/1387 and, to force it to surrender, he had its date-palms cut down, a step which gave it a somewhat healthier climate, according to Ibn K̲h̲aldūn. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb then surrendered, handed over one of his sons to the Ḥafṣid sovereign as a hostage, and paid a substantial indemnity. But ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was assassinated in 792/1390 by his uncle Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Makkī, who proclaimed his independence. In 796/1393-4 a successful plot delivered him into the hands of the Ḥafṣid sovereign, Abū Ḥafṣ, who had him put to death. This was the end of the Banū Makkī and of the independence of Ḳābis.

From then onwards, little was heard of the town. Like the rest of the south, it again broke away from the authority of the last Ḥafṣids, who were under Spanish protection, before coming under Turkish domination along with the whole of Tunisia, which was organized as a *pas̲h̲alik* (1574). ʿUt̲h̲man Dāy (1590-1610), who made great efforts to restore peace in the country, established in D̲j̲āra a colony of *kūlug̲h̲līs* (*kul-og̲h̲lu*), that is to say those of mixed breed, the progeny of Turks and native women. With its population of citizens, and with its situation on the edge of the Sahara, Ḳābis suffered more than many other towns from the anarchy which preceded the French occupation. It was under two-fold pressure, both from the nomads, who used to vanish into the desert or take refuge beyond the Libyan frontiers on the approach of regular troops, and from the beylical authorities. Thus, without being at the centre of the storm, Ḳābis was not spared in the insurrection of ʿAlī b. G̲h̲ad̲h̲āhum (1864). In 1870, it was actually plundered by the *k̲h̲aznadār*.

At the time the Protectorate was set up, a split developed between the two rival groups over the attitude to be adopted—D̲j̲āra opted for acceptance, Manzil for resistance. The occupation of the latter place was thus relatively difficult: it began on 24 July 1881, but was not completed until the end of November, after the fortifications had been entirely destroyed.

During the Second World War a defence line was constructed to the south of Ḳābis, at Mareth, as a result of which the town was bombarded violently and severely devastated, but it did not escape occupation by the German army (19 Nov. 1942). It was recaptured by British and French forces on 29 March 1943.

Historical Geography:—Ḳābis has been well defined as "a maritime oasis". At all periods, its prosperity has been bound up with the richness of its luxuriant vegetation and the activity of its ports, the natural outlet for Saharan trade. Strabo (c. 58 B.C.-c. 25 A.D.) already described it as "a very large market" where merchandise from the regions of the Sahara was exchanged for goods being sent to Numidia. The elder Pliny (23-79 A.D.) speaks of the equitable sharing of water for irrigation, according to a fixed quota, among the inhabitants—a system still in force—and of the richness of the vegetation, which falls into three categories—date-palms; then olives, figs, pomegranates and vines; and lastly cereals and market-gardening.

No further precise geographical particulars relating to Ḳābis, which in the meanwhile had become Muslim, are recorded until the 3rd/9th century. Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih (d. 272/885-6) refers to it, without further comment, as "the town of the foreign *Afāriḳa*" (*madīnat al-Afāriḳa al-aʿād̲j̲im*), *Masalik*, 6-7; this expression suggests that in his time the *Afāriḳa*, that is to say the descendants of the Graeco-Romans and the latinized Berbers, mostly Christian, still constituted the major part of the population. It is certainly these *Afāriḳa* who are designated by the term *ʿAd̲j̲am* in al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. about 282-92/895-905), who adds that the "very mixed" population was composed of Arabs and Berbers alike. Al-Yaʿḳūbī also notes that Ḳābis was "an important and prosperous town, where trees and fruit are abundant".

In the middle of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawḳal tells us that it was inhabited predominantly by Berbers, and for the first time records a community of Jews, who were subject to a special tax. He remarks that its inhabitants "are not over-endowed by nature in matters of beauty and cleanliness and are somewhat simple" (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 72; trans. Kramers-Wiet, 66). He notes that it was surrounded by a wall and a ditch, and that outside the walls there

was a suburb—here recorded for the first time—where the markets were held. Of its varied and abundant produce he makes particular mention of oil, wool, great quantities of silk of excellent quality, and very good leather, soft to the touch and perfumed, which was exported to all parts of the Maghrib. Alas! the hinterland was inhabited by thieving Khāridjites who had sacked and burnt the suburb, bearing a particular grudge against the possessions of merchants and *Dhimmīs*.

At the end of the 4th/10th century, al-Muḳaddasī depicts it as a town "smaller than Tripoli", "built of stone and brick, rich in date-palms, grapes and apples" (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 12-13). Its "hinterland was inhabited by Berbers" and its walls "pierced by three gates".

The description given by al-Bakrī and often repeated by later geographers is the most detailed and goes back to the middle of the 5th/11th century, the time when the town was ruled by Ibn Walmiya under the protection of the Hilālī chief Muʾnis b. Yaḥyā. The town was then still contained within its ancient wall, constructed of hewn stone, the wall being reinforced with a ditch which could be flooded in time of danger. Since the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal, however, it had seen great developments. In particular it was surrounded, not by one but by several suburbs to the south and east, and by markets and inns (*fanādiḳ*), a sign of intense commercial activity. It was embellished with a rich mosque and possessed numerous *ḥammāms*.

The only shadow in this picture was that the climate had become unhealthy—this had not been so earlier—as a result of the destruction of a talisman which had come to light during the search for some treasure. This legend of the talisman certainly refers to the demolition of the ancient buildings situated within the walls on the heights of Sidi Boulbaba, where the air is always very healthy, to allow for the construction, from the middle of the 4th/10th century, of the suburbs in the unhealthy basin enclosed by the *oued*. At the end of the 5th/11th century the suburb furthest away from the ancient walls, on the site of the present quarter of Djāra, was already fully urbanized, as is shown by the mosques of Sīdī Idrīs, Sīdī al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar and Sīdī b. ʿĪsā. which G. Marçais attributed to the Banū Djāmiʿ (*Architecture*, 77-8) and which are all concentrated in this quarter. It was noted earlier that some fragments from buildings of antiquity have been re-used in these and also in other old buildings. Thus, from the middle of the 5th/11th century, the ancient city had begun to be deserted and eventually disappeared entirely, being replaced by the suburbs, an operation that intensified the unhealthy situation condemned by all the geographers from al-Bakrī onwards, whereas there had been no question of this beforehand.

Among the inhabitants, according to al-Bakrī, a distinction was still made between Arabs and *Afāriḳa*, which indicates that the ethnic fusion was still incomplete. The populace was the subject of various gibes—which are repeated in the *Masālik* somewhat complacently—on the grounds that the houses were not equipped with any latrines, and that excrement was used to improve the orchards, customs which can all still be verified (A. Bechraoui, *La vie rurale dans les oasis de Gabès*, 317). The Berbers lived in huts (*akhṣāṣ*), and principally they inhabited the hinterland. They were composed primarily of Luwāta, Lamāya, Nafūsa, Mazāta, Zuwāgha, Zuwāra and other smaller groups. The oasis of Ḳābis produced great quantities of bananas, sugar cane and all kinds of fruit which provided supplies for Ḳayrawān. Unique in Ifrīḳiya, it possessed a huge forest of mulberry trees which made it possible for excellent silk to be produced in abundance. In this connection it should be noted that Geniza [*q.v.*] documents confirm that Ifrīḳiya was a great exporter of silk in the 5th/11th century, but that S. D. Goitein has failed to find any specific reference there to Ḳābis. Finally, al-Bakrī tells us that the port of the town, marked by a lighthouse which was praised as a marvel—a tower of which nothing now remains except its site on an eminence still known by the same name, *al-Manāra*—was visited by ships "from all corners of the earth".

In the middle of the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī still speaks of the *Afāriḳa*, but in an incidental way, and there can be no doubt that, in that period, they no longer constituted a really important and distinct element of the population. The people, he adds, "are lacking in elegance, but are correctly and cleanly dressed" (*Nuzha*, 77). The town was still developing rapidly. Al-Idrīsī gives especial praise to its *ruṭab*, a variety of honey-like dates conserved in large jars. It still produced oil, "exported in great quantities in all directions". It had however undergone various changes—the harbour, once so frequented according to al-Bakrī, was said by al-Idrīsī to be barely navigable on account of its shallowness and the wind; there was no longer any reference to the lighthouse; the silk industry, now in decline, had withdrawn to the little village of Ḳaṣr Sadjdja, at the source of the *oued*; the leather industry, praised by Ibn Ḥawḳal and passed over in silence by al-Bakrī, had on the contrary become outstanding and its products were exported in large quantities.

Writing at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, Yāḳūt tells us nothing new, merely repeating al-Bakrī word for word. Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (618/1221-681/1282), reproduced by al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, describes Ḳābis as "a large town" and states that, among its inhabitants, three elements could still be distinguished—Arabs, Berbers and *ʿAdjam*, that is to say *Afāriḳa*. This is the last time that the division of the populace into three ethnic groups is mentioned. Towards the end of the 7th/13th century, al-ʿAbdarī, when travelling through the city while on the pilgrimage, formed a very poor impression of the place: it is a dirty, evil-smelling town, he remarks, the pretentiousness of whose inhabitants is only equalled by their ignorance and impiety.

The account given by al-Tīdjānī, who spent four days in the town in the middle of Djumādā I 706/end of November 1306, is different again. "This is a beautiful maritime and Saharan town", he exclaims, "a true earthly paradise, in short a Damascus on a smaller scale". However, an important transformation was in progress. It is true that the ancient walls were still standing, but the centre of activity had moved out to "the suburbs, which were extensive and included most of the markets" (*Riḥla*, 86-7). In the heart of the old town, the minaret of the Grand Mosque had lost its equilibrium and was leaning dangerously; the Ḳaṣaba and the palace of the Banū Djāmiʿ, "the Ḳaṣr al-ʿArūsayn a marvel unparalleled in the world", were nothing more than ruins (*Riḥla*, 94-5). The air was unhealthier than ever, the inhabitants' faces were pale and epidemics frequent, on account of the oleanders (*al-diflā*), al-Tīdjānī explains, for they polluted the water, apart from two springs, ʿAyn al-Amīr and ʿAyn Salām.

We then have to wait until the beginning of the 16th century—that is to say, for the account of Leo Africanus, who visited Tunisia in 1517 (*Description*, ii, 398)—for further details of the development of

Ķābis. It was, it seems, still "a very large town", and the old city was still surrounded by its "high ancient walls". But the fact that "it has been sacked by the Arabs" has brought about its decline. Its inhabitants were scattered about in the oasis. "Their skins are black. They farm or they fish, in poverty, and under constant pressure from the Arabs and from the king of Tunis" (*Description*, ii, 398). In short, the town's ruin was complete; there was no longer any reference to its abundance of fruit, to its industries, its exports in all directions. Not one word of the activity of its port, or of its markets: insecurity had killed its trade, including the trans-Saharan trade which had left such a strong mark, doubtless through interbreeding with black slaves, upon the complexion of the inhabitants, who finally became of one single type in their poverty.

In the middle of the 19th century, V. Guérin was unable to discover any traces of the ancient walls. Nothing survived except for old hovels in Manzil and Djāra which, according to F. Laffite and J. Servonnet, scarcely deserved to be called houses. Manzil then had 3,500 inhabitants and Djāra 4,000, out of a total population for the oasis estimated at 10,000. In 1873, Captain Roudaire conceived the idea, which when examined proved to be impracticable, of an inland sea, inundating the region of the Chotts by means of a canal linking it with the Gulf of Ķābis.

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AL-ĶABĪṢĪ, ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. ʿUTHMĀN B. ʿALĪ, ABU 'L-ṢAĶR, astrologer, came from one of two towns called Ķabīṣa (Yāķūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, iv, 308 of the Beirut ed.), the one two farsakhs east of Mawṣil and the other near Sāmarrā. He is said by Ibn al-Nadīm (ed. Flügel, 265; quoted by Ibn al-Ķifṭī, ed. Lippert, 64) to have studied Ptolemy's *Almagest* under ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿImrānī of Mawṣil (d. 344/955-6) "in our time"; Ibn al-Ķifṭī adds that this refers to 370/980-1. Al-Ķabīṣī is in fact cited by al-ʿImrānī in his *In electionibus horarum* (J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales*, Madrid 1942, 338).

Al-Ķabīṣī's principal surviving work, *al-Madkhal ilā ṣināʿat aḥkām al-nudjūm* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 473 and 476) in 5 *fuṣūl*, is dedicated to Sayf al-Dawla, the Ḥamdānid ruler of Aleppo from 333/944-5 to 356/966-7. In *faṣl* 4 he uses, in an example, the year 317 Yazdidjird (A.D. 948-9). This book is, as its title indicates, an introductory exposition of some of the fundamental principles of horoscopy; its present usefulness lies primarily in its quotations from al-Andarzghar, al-Kindī, al-Hind, Ptolemy, Dorotheus, Māshā'a'llāh, Hermes, and Valens. But it was highly valued in the Middle Ages; there are many Arabic manuscripts (including some in Hebrew script), though no commentaries. A Latin version was made by Ioannes Hispalensis in 1144, a French translation (presumably from the Latin) by Pèlerin de Pousse in 1362; Ioannes' Latin translation was commented on by Ioannes de Saxonia at Paris in 1331 and by V. Nabod in 1560, and probably was also the text commented on by Francesco degli Stabili (Cecco d'Ascoli) (1269-1327).

In the preface to *al-Madkhal* al-Ķabīṣī mentions his (now lost) *Kitāb fī ithbāt ṣināʿat aḥkām al-nudjūm*, which answers the equally non-extant *Risālat ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī fī ibṭāl aḥkām al-nudjūm* (see also al-Bayhaķī, *Tatimma*, 85). ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī may be the well-known Ḥarrānian astronomer who made observations at Baghdād and Damascus in 214/829-30 and 217/832-3. A manuscript in Istanbul (AS 4832) contains three short treatises written by al-Ķabīṣī: *Risāla fī anwāʿ al-aʿdād wa ṭarā'if min al-aʿmāl mimmā djamaʿahū min mutaķaddimī ahl al-ʿilm bi hādhihi al-ṣināʿa*, a *Risāla fī 'l-abʿād wa 'l-adjrām*, and a *Mā sharaḥahū min Kitāb al-fuṣūl li 'l-Farghānī*. The first two are dedicated to Sayf al-Dawla. We also have a poem describing the rainbow which Ibn Khallikān (*Wafiyāt*

al-aʿyān, iii, 79 of the Cairo ed.) says some (including al-T͟haʿālibī in his *Kitāb yatīmat al-dahr*; not located therein) attribute to Sayf al-Dawla, others to al-Ķabīṣī. There also exists, in a Latin translation by Ioannes Hispalensis and with a commentary by Ioannes de Saxonia, a *De planetarum coniunctionibus* attributed to Alchabitius; it was translated into French by Oronce Finé (1551). It is not, as Steinschneider suggested, *fuṣūl* 4 and 5 of *al-Madk͟hal*, and perhaps it is not by al-Ķabīṣī at all; it was not known either to al-Bayhaķī or to Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa.

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AL-ĶĀBISĪ (or Ibn al-Ķābisī), Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. K͟halaf al-Maʿāfirī (324/935-403/1012), one of the principal representatives of the Mālikī school of Ķayrawān, of which he was the leader after the death of Ibn Abī Zayd (d. 386/996). His father, a native of al-Maʿāfiriyyīn in the neighbourhood of Gabès, had married a woman from Ķayrawān. An oral tradition affirms that al-Ķābisī, Ibn Abī Zayd and Sīdī Maḥrez (Muḥriz b. K͟halaf) were first cousins, since their fathers had married three sisters. His principal teachers in Ifrīķiya were Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ibyānī, a Tunisian with S͟hāfiʿī leanings, Ibn Masrūr al-Dabbāg͟h, and Darrās al-Fāsī who professed As͟hʿarism; he was influenced by two devoutly religious men of Ķayrawān, al-Sabāʾī and al-D͟jabanyānī. His *riḥla* in the East lasted from 352/963 until 357/968; he was accompanied by Darrās al-Fāsī and the Spaniard al-Aṣīlī. Since he was blind, his companions acted as his secretaries. Before devoting himself to *fiķh*, he taught ķurʾānic "reading". An *Uṣūlī* of As͟hʿarī tendencies, he had a predilection for the work of Ibn al-Mawwāz, but above all he was a traditionist of high repute and spread in the Mag͟hrib the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buk͟hārī, a *riwāya* of which, attributed to al-Ķābisī, is known to us. Of his works, we may mention a collection of *ḥadīt͟h*s of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, highly esteemed particularly in Spain, and still extant in manuscript; a treatise on the rules of conduct of schoolmasters, largely inspired by the work of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, which has been published; a voluminous but incomplete compilation of traditions, classified according to the headings of *fiķh*; various epistles on ķurʾānic exegesis, practices of worship, articles of faith, the rites of the *ḥad͟jd͟j*, the enclosures of *ribāṭ*s, *ʿadāla* and objection to witnesses, fear of Allāh, repentance, etc.; one on al-As͟hʿarī and another in which he refutes the "Bakrites". Particularly after the death of Ibn Abī Zayd and Ibn S͟hiblūn, he became a jurisconsult of very high authority. His role as spokesman for and *s͟hayk͟h* of the jurists of Ķayrawān was clearly revealed in the affair of the nephew of the nurse of Bādīs. He had countless disciples. At the end of his life he was still teaching some 80 Ķayrawānīs, Andalusians and Mag͟hribīs. Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī were his principal continuators, bringing to its completion a work which was crowned by the breach between the Zīrids and the Fāṭimids, the consecration of the definitive triumph of Mālikism in Ifrīķiya.

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AL-ĶABĶ, D͟jabal al-Ķabķ (the most common rendering), al-Ķabk͟h (*e.g.*, Masʿūdī) or al-Ķabd͟j (*e.g.* Ṭabarī, Yāķūt), Turkish Kavkaz, the name given by the Muslims to the Caucasus Mountains. The form *ķabķ* may derive from Middle Persian *kāfkōh* "the mountain of Kāf", Armenian *kapkoh*; in Firdawsī we find the Caucasus called *kūh-i ķāf* (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, 45, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 94). A village called Ķabķ is also mentioned by Ibn Rusta, 173, tr. Wiet, 201, as being the first stage on the road from Harāt to Isfizār and Sīstān.

1. *Topography and ethnology.*

The Caucasus became known to the Muslims from the time of the Orthodox caliphs, when the first raids northwards were launched through Ād͟harbāyd͟jān to Arrān and beyond. Early Muslim geographers, apparently following Iranian concepts which may go back to Babylonian cosmological ideas, regarded the Caucasus mountain chain as part of the Ķāf mountain range which forms a girdle round the earth, to the south of which lie the lands of civilization, but to the north of which lies the Land of Darkness. Thus Ibn Ḥawķal, on the authority of Ḥasdāy b. Isḥāķ, connects the Caucasus with the Carpathians, Alps and Pyrenees as a mountain chain dividing Europe (ed. Kramers, i, 192; 193 (=map), 194, tr. Kramers and Wiet, i, 188-9 and Map 8; see also B. Munkácsi, *Der Kaukasus und*

Ural als 'Gurtel der Erde', in *Keleti Szemle*, i (1900), 236 ff., and ḲĀF). Because of this identification with the mountains of Ḳāf, Muslim exegetes and antiquarians located in the Caucasus and Caspian Sea region the rock, sea and town mentioned in the story of Moses and al-Khiḍr in Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 59 ff.; thus Ibn Khurradādhbih, 124, and Ibn al-Faḳīh, 287, say that "the rock is the rock of Sharwān, the sea is the sea of Djīlān (sc. the Caspian) and the town is the town of Bādjarwān ("the bazaar place", in Mūghān, south of the Araxes or Aras River"). Furthermore, the Caucasus region was regarded by these early authorities as the location of the *Saddayn*, the two mountains between which Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn or Alexander the Great erected a barrier against Gog and Magog [see YĀDJŪDJ WA-MĀDJŪDJ]. Commentators like Ṭabarī and Bayḍāwī identify the *Saddayn* with the mountain massifs of Armenia and Ādharbāydjān, and the *Epistles* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' apparently refer to the Caspian when they mention the *Baḥr Yādjūdj wa-Mādjūdj*. The more careful amongst the Muslim geographers placed the Caucasus either in the fifth clime (*e.g.*, Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 91-3, tr. Le Strange 92-4), or in the sixth (*e.g.*, Maḳdisī, 61, tr. Miquel 135).

The conception of the earth-encircling mountain girdle of Ḳāf also led the geographers to fit the Caucasus into their orographical conceptions as a westward extension of the Alburz Mountains or as a northwards prolongation of the mountains running up from the Yemen and Ḥidjāz. In the anonymous Persian geography of the late 4th/10th century, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, we find quite a detailed consideration of the topography of the Caucasus (for which the author, who wrote in Gūzgān in what is now northern Afghanistan and was not himself a traveller, probably drew to a considerable extent on the Abū Zayd al-Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī tradition). The *Ḥudūd* regards the Caucasus as a northern continuation of the Sinai-Syrian Mountains-Armenian Taurus chain, running southwest to northeastwards to Arrān and Sharwān, but then turning northwestwards south of Sarīr to the land of the Alans (al-Lān, the modern Ossetes; see ALĀN). But then this range, roughly connecting Darband or Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*] on the Caspian coast with the Alan Gate or Darial Pass in the central Caucasus, is made by the *Ḥudūd* to turn directly northwards through the Khazar and Pečeneg lands to eastern Russia, instead of continuing westwards to Circassia and the Black Sea. According to this author, the range was only called Ḳabḳ as far as the Alan land; thereafter, each section of the range was named after the towns or districts along it. He also mentions a subsidiary range running eastwards, which must be that separating the Terek and Ḳoy-Su basins in Dāghistān [*q.v.*], sc. that marking the southern frontier of the modern Čečen province. Finally, he describes the western terminus of the true Caucasus as being after the Alan Gate and in the present Mount Kazbek region (*Ḥudūd*, tr. Minorsky, §§ 18, 48, 49).

Thus the Caucasus was early known to the mediaeval Muslims as a region of tightly-knit mountain ranges and deep, inaccessible valleys, highly fragmented politically and a refuge area for diverse ethnic groups, their social customs and their faiths. Its linguistic complexity was proverbial. Already in classical times, Strabo, xi, 4, attributed 26 languages to Caucasian Albania, sc. Arrān. The earlier Muslim geographers ascribe to the Caucasus 70 or 72 different languages, all mutually unintelligible (see Yāḳūt, iv, 31, and Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, 437); by Abu 'l-Fidā's time (early 8th/14th century), we find a figure of 300 tongues, with the region characterised as *Djabal al-alsun* "Mountain of languages" (*Géographie*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 71).

During classical antiquity, the Caucasus had formed a major channel of entry into the Near East for peoples sweeping down from the Eurasian steppes, whence the remnants of various Indo-European, Ugrian and Turkic peoples to be found in the Caucasus in mediaeval times and even, in some cases, today. The Ās or Alans settled in Ossetia; the Magyar Sevordi (Armenian Sewordikʿ "company of black ones") were established in the district of Shamkūr northwest of Gandja and were known to Masʿūdī as the *Siyārwardiyya*, producers of fine-quality battleaxes used by the Persian troops (*Murūdj*, ii, 75; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 36-40); and the Avars, Hunnic or Turkic nomads who appeared in the Caucasus in the 6th century A.D. left behind remnants in Dāghistān in what became in Islamic times the region of Sarīr (see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, commentary, 447-8, and AVARS).

In the period immediately before Islam, the little information which we have relates mainly to events in Transcaucasia; Ciscaucasia was at this time exposed to the full force of barbarian onslaughts, and little is known about it. But to the south of the Caucasus range, the Christian kingdom of Iberia (sc. Georgia, see KURDJ), and to the east of Iberia, the region of Albania (sc. the territory between the Kur River and the Caucasus, Islamic Sharwān and the northern part of Arrān [*qq.v.*]), were caught up in the prolonged Byzantine-Sasanid warfare. In general, Albania, though largely Christian from an early period, tended to fall within the Persian sphere of influence, and Persian culture thus made itself felt as far north as Darband; whereas Kakhetia and Georgia were more deeply imbued with Byzantine and Christian influences. A perpetual aim of the Persians was to hold the passes through the Caucasus against barbarian pressure from the north, such as that from the Avars, Huns, West Turks and latterly, the Khazars. Hence Darband and other strongpoints in the Sharwān and Masḳaṭ regions were fortified afresh c. 560 A. D. by the Emperor Khusraw Anūshirwān, and Persian diplomacy endeavoured at various times to get the Greeks to contribute to the cost of garrisoning fortresses at the Alan Gate (often misleadingly called the Caspian Gate by classical authors) and the Caspian Gate proper at Darband (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 94-118, and Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², 238-9, 281, 373, 448). When the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius invaded the Sasanid dominions, the Khazars moved southwards to Darband; but when the first Muslim armies appeared at Bāb al-Abwāb in 22/642, there was still a Persian garrison there under a governor with the name or title of Shahrbarāz. However, like the Persian governor Bādhām, who was similarly isolated in the Yemen, Shahrbarāz submitted to Surāḳa b. ʿAmr and rallied to Islam (Ṭabarī, i, 2663-71; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut 1385-7/1965-7, iii, 28, 29-30; D. M. Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 47-50).

Something of the internal political organization and ethnic complexion of the Caucasus on the eve of the Muslim incursions can be gauged from Balādhurī's information on Khusraw Anūshirwān's allocation of the Caucasian principalities to various rulers—or more probably, his confirmation of existing arrangements there. In his section on the conquest of Armenia (*Futūḥ*, 197), Balādhurī states that the emperor

conferred princely power (*shāhiyya*) on (1) the Khāḳān al-Djabal or Ṣāḥib al-Sarīr who is called *Wahrazān-Shāh; (2) the ruler of Fīlān, called Fīlān-Shāh; (3) the Ṭabarsarān-Shāh; (4) the ruler of Lakz, called *Khursān-Shāh; (5) the ruler of Masḳaṭ, "whose principality has now disappeared"; (6) the ruler of Lāyzān, called Lāyzān-Shāh; (7) the ruler of Sharwān, the Sharwān-Shāh; (8) the ruler of *Balkh; and (9) the ruler of Zirīkarān. Most of these names can be identified and their principalities are traceable into Islamic times.

The Ṣāḥib al-Sarīr or "Master of the Throne" eventually gave his name to the geographical district of Sarīr, the middle Ḳoy-Su valley in southern Dāghistān. His other title, *Wahrazān-Shāh, may possibly relate to the undoubted identity of the people of Sarīr with the Avars, Armenian Awrhazkʿ (see Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, 98-9). The Fīlān are somewhat mysterious, but were probably an Avar group in southern Dāghistān; according to Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, 41-2, they were later absorbed into the principality of Sarīr. Ṭabarsarān [*q.v.*] is the mountainous district inland from Darband, often under the suzerainty of the Sharwān Shāhs in later Islamic times. Lakz also lay in southern Dāghistān, inland from Masḳaṭ (which itself was situated on the Caspian coast south of Darband), and formed an important buffer-state for Sharwān against attack from the north; Masʿūdī, ii, 5, describes it as "the bulwark (*muʿawwal*) of the kingdom of Sharwān". Lāyzān corresponds to the present Lāhīdj valley in the Garmadān river region of southern Sharwān, and was later incorporated into that principality. The precise location of the Caucasian *Balkh (Minorsky's restoration of the text's *B. kh*) is unknown, but it may refer to the modern places of Balkha or Balkhar in Dāghistān north of Bākū; in an early 6th/12th century collection of correspondence relating to Arrān, Sharwān and the adjoining lands, Balkh is placed in Lakz (Minorsky and Cl. Cahen, *Le recueil transcaucasien de Masʿûd b. Nâmdâr*, in *JA*, ccxxxvii (1949), 121). The Zirīkarān (read *Zirīhgarān, glossed in *Murūdj*, ii, 40, as *ʿummāl al-zard* "makers of cuirasses") lived in the region of the southern branch of the Ḳoy-Su, adjacent to Sarīr, and corresponding to the modern village of Kubači (Turkish *kübedji* "maker of mailed coats", cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 1517). Noteworthy is the absence of information about the northwestern Caucasus, that part beyond Ossetia, which tended to fall within the sphere of influence of the steppe peoples controlling the Kuban-Don regions. (See for an excellent survey of the geography and ethnology of the eastern Caucasus, Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, 75 ff., and for Sarīr in particular, idem, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, commentary, 447-50.)

2. *The early Islamic period.*

The Arabs came up against the Caucasus barrier after they had overrun Ādharbāydjān and Armenia. Their general position here was not without parallel to that of the Arabs in Spain when they reached the Pyrenees. In both cases, the Arabs were able initially to cross the mountains, but came up against hostile and powerful peoples beyond them, sc. the Khazars and Turks and the Franks. The Arabs in Spain could only hold the Narbonnaise for a short time, and in the eastern Caucasus, the Arabs made no permanent conquest north of their bastion of Darband. The Khazars [*q.v.*] and Turks remained for nearly four centuries factors inhibiting Muslim expansion into the Ciscaucasian steppes; and even the islamization of Dāghistān and the central and western parts of the Caucasus took many hundreds of years, with no total victory over the rival faiths of Christianity and paganism. See for an appraisal of the existence of the Khazar state as a barrier to Islamic expansion, Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 46-7; but note also the insistence of K. Czeglédy, *Khazar raids in Transcaucasia in 762-764 A.D.*, in *AO Hung.*, xi (1960), 76-9, that in the fighting in the whole Caucasus region, one should distinguish—at least in the earlier period—between the Khazars and their West Turkish suzerains, the Khāḳāns, with their capital at Atil [*q.v.*] or Itil. It is undoubtedly true that Ṭabarī, if not Balādhurī, speaks of *al-Turk wa'l-Khazar* and of the *Khāḳān al-Turk* in connection with these Arab campaigns.

As mentioned above, the Arabs were in Darband before the close of ʿUmar's Caliphate. At this time, and during ʿUthmān's reign, Muslim warriors from Kūfa were raiding across the Araxes and into the Kur valley, *i.e.*, into Arrān. Ḥabīb b. Maslama penetrated to Tiflīs, and from Bardhaʿa, the administrative centre of Arrān, places on the southern slopes of the Caucasus like Baylaḳān, Ḳabala and Shamkīr were reduced by Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī's forces, and the local ruler of Sharwān agreed to become tributary (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 201-4). It was probably here that groups of Khazars were first encountered, for the disintegration of the Sasanid empire had drawn the Khazars into the eastern Caucasian power vacuum (cf. Balādhurī, 197). However, the first full-scale clash with the Khazars took place north of the Caucasus and is well-documented by Ṭabarī. In 32/652-3 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī, emboldened by what had been only token resistance on previous probes, went against the expressed wishes of ʿUthmān and advanced to the important Khazar centre of Balandjar ([*q.v.*]; it was probably located in the Ḳoy-Su basin in Dāghistān, to the north of Darband). But there, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was heavily defeated, with the slaughter of 4,000 Kūfans (Ṭabarī, i, 2889-94, 2896-7; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, iii, 131-3).

The eruption of *fitna* or internecine strife within the Caliphate for a time deflected Arab energies from conquests in hazardous and less-rewarding highland zones like the Caucasus and Central Asia. Yet Khazar counter-raids meant that, once the Umayyads were firmly established on the throne, the Caucasian frontiers could not be neglected. Moreover, the raids into the Caucasus and Khazaria must have had an economic importance as a source of slave captives. In ʿAbbāsid times, the *nisba* of "al-Khazarī" is quite common amongst military slaves and others; this may well have been a blanket designation for Caucasian peoples as well as for Khazars proper and Turks. The Arabic sources for this warfare in the Caucasus are much less detailed than those for the conquests in the Iranian east, and the picture which has to be constructed from such sources as Balādhurī, Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr is somewhat skeletal. Dunlop has observed (*The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 58) that the antipathy of historians in the ʿAbbāsid period towards the Umayyads and all their works has prevented a just appraisal of the exploits of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik's son by a slave mother, Maslama [*q.v.*], and of Hishām's cousin and eventually the last caliph of the Umayyad line, Marwān b. Muḥammad.

According to Armenian sources, cited in Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 443, the Khazars raided into Georgia, Arrān and Armenia during Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya's Caliphate and again in the opening years of ʿAbd al-

Malik's, on this second occasion killing the Mamikonian prince of Armenia. It seems that the Khazars recaptured and temporarily garrisoned Darband soon after this, and it is probable that control of this strategic point oscillated between the Khazars and Arabs for a time. At a critical juncture after a Khazar invasion of Armenia, al-Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī al-Madhḥidjī was in 104/722-3 appointed governor of the northwestern provinces of the Caliphate, with its attendant responsibility for the defence of the Caucasus frontier. From Bardhaʿa, he appeared in southern Dāghistān and attacked the people of Ghūmiḳ, that Caucasian people known later as the Ghāzī- or Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ or Lak [*q.v.*], who lived on a branch of the Ḳoy-Su, and then he successfully reduced the Khazar centre of Balandjar, returning to Ḳabala and Shakkī. During the two following campaigning seasons, al-Djarrāḥ operated in the central Caucasus, through the Alan Gate, attacking the Khazars in 105/723-4 and making the Alans tributary in 106/724-5. The Alans were Christian, at least in part. They were natural allies of the Byzantines against the Arabs, and were to be found in Byzantine armies as auxiliary troops; whence the Muslims' need to secure as far as possible the Darial Pass entry into Transcaucasia. Noteworthy at this point is the mention of a practice common in later times, the planting of colonies of Khazar captives in Ḳabala (which perhaps corresponded to the ancient town of Shakkī, see Minorsky in *EI*[1], SHEKKĪ) by al-Djarrāḥ (Balādhurī, 206; Ṭabarī, ii, 1200, 1453, 1462, 1472; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, iv, 540, 555, v, 110-13, 125, 134; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 59-66).

After 109/727, the energetic warrior-prince Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik took charge, an indication of the importance attached by the Caliph Hishām to the Caucasus frontier. Maslama led raids through the Alan Gate against the Khazars, and at some time during his governorship, re-fortified what Masʿūdī, in *Murūdj*, ii, 43-4, calls "the Alan castle", *Ḳalʿat al-Lān*, a stronghold allegedly built in the first place by the Persian hero Isfandiyār to hold back the Alans. But not even Maslama's skill could contain the violence of the Khazars. In 112/730 they poured down through the Alan Gate, defeated and killed al-Djarrāḥ, overran Ādharbāydjān and Armenia, and penetrated as far south as Diyār Bakr and al-Djazīra before the invasion was stemmed and Maslama carried the war back into the Khazar lands. Maslama is said now to have received the submission of various "kings of the mountains", including the rulers of Sharwān, Lāyzān, Ṭabarsarān, Fīlān, Khursān and Masḳaṭ. Whether acceptance of Islam was required as a condition of submission is unclear. At all events, the impact of Muslim religion must have been very superficial at this time. The general picture in Arrān and the Caucasus region resembled that in Armenia: the Arabs made no attempt at imposing direct political control, but were content to leave local rulers in power as their tributaries.

Some years after the great Khazar invasion of 112/730, the new governor Marwān b. Muḥammad campaigned against rebels in Armenia and then against the Alans, occupying the Darial Pass and three fortresses there before returning through Georgia (118/736). In the next year, he penetrated into Khazaria, reportedly reaching the Khazar capital and converting the Khazar king to Islam. (Minorsky suggested the possibility that Marwān's expedition was directed at the lower Don rather than the lower Volga region, since large numbers of Ṣaḳāliba, *i.e.*, Slavs, were taken captive, some of whom, according to Balādhurī, 207-8, were settled in Kakhetia; see *A new book on the Khazars*, in *Oriens*, xi (1958), 127-8.) The shortlivedness of Maslama's agreements with the various native princes of the Caucasus is shown by the fact that Marwān had to re-impose them, exacting tribute in the form of slave boys and slave girls and of grain for the upkeep of the Darband garrison. Amongst the rebels whom Marwān subjugated were the Dūdāniyya (read *Didūwaniyya, according to Minorsky, the modern Didos of central Dāghistān [*q.v.*]); but it was very long before Islam made much impression there, and a part of the Didos was still pagan in the 12th/18th century. See Balādhurī, 197-209; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 381, 395; Ṭabarī, ii, 1506, 1526, 1530-1, 1560, 1573, 1635; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, v, 145, 159-62, 173-4, 177-9, 198, 215, 240; F. Gabrieli, *Il califfato di Hishâm. Studi di storia omayyade*, in *Mêms. de la Société d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie*, vii/1, (1935), 75-81; idem, *L'eroe omàyyade Maslamah ibn ʿAbd al-Malik*, in *Rend. Lin.*, Ser. 8, Vol. v (1950), 30-1; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 67-87; Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 28-9; Czeglédy, *Khazar raids in Transcaucasia in 762-764 A.D.*, 77-8.

The advent of the ʿAbbāsids brought no improvement in the generally weak pattern of Arab control over the Caucasus region, a control that could in any case only have practical significance on those infrequent occasions when Muslim armies entered the mountains to enforce the terms of agreements. The military and political influence of the Arabs was, if anything, diminished by the disorders in the Caliphate consequent on the progress of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*. The Turkish and Khazar menace remained, and there were no commanders now of the calibre of the great Umayyad generals.

Al-Manṣūr's governor of Armenia, Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī, took over Sharwān in eastern Transcaucasia (see Barthold in *EI*[1], SHIRWĀN), including its naphtha wells (*naffāṭa*) and its saltpans (*mallāḥāt*), and the caliph attempted to neutralise his northern enemies c. 142/759 through a marriage alliance between Yazīd b. Usayd and the daughter of the Turkish Khāḳān or of the Khazar king; this plan, however, came to naught. Relations worsened, and in 145/762 there was a major Turkish and Khazar invasion via Darband as far as Armenia. This was followed by an even more devastating one two years later, affecting Arrān, Kakhetia, Georgia and Armenia, under a commander whom Czeglédy identifies as a leader of the Dāghistān Avars or Huns, one Rās (or Ās) Ṭarkhān. See Balādhurī, 309-10; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 446-7; Ṭabarī, iii, 318, 647, 648 (under years 182 and 183 A. H.); Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, v, 571, 577; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 179-81; and Czeglédy, *op. cit.*, 78-88. In the closing years of the 8th century A.D., the ʿAbbāsids were beset by rebellion in Armenia; in general, the Turks and Khazars did not take advantage of these embarrassments, although in 183/799 the Khazars did answer an appeal by the discontented local nobility of Darband and invade Arrān (Ṭabarī, iii, 648; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, vi, 163; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 183-5).

The revolt of the Khurramī heresiarch Bābak [*q.v.*], the epicentre of which was at Badhdh, just south of the Araxes, had some repercussions in Transcaucasia. It was the Armenian prince of Shakkī, Sahl-i Sumbatian, who captured Bābak and handed him over to the ʿAbbāsids in 222/837, and this prince came to dominate Arrān and the adjacent parts of Armenia and Georgia till Bughā's drive against the local rulers there, described below (see Minorsky, *Caucasica IV. 1. Sahl ibn Sunbāṭ of Shakkī and Arrān*, in *BSOAS*,

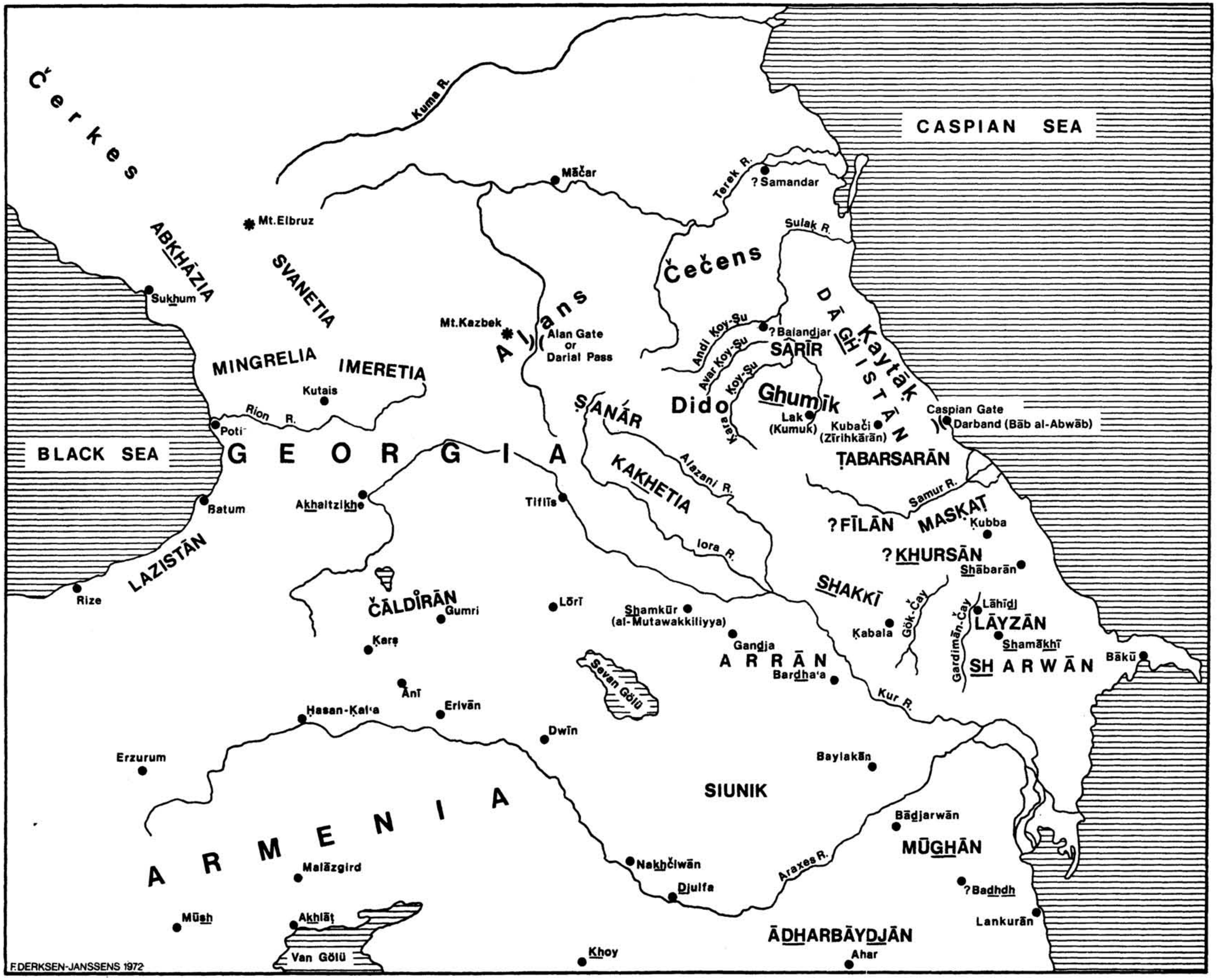
Čerkes
Kuma R.
CASPIAN SEA
Mǟčar
Terek R.
? Samandar
Mt. Elbruz
ABKHĀZIA
SVANETIA
Sulaḳ R.
Čečens
Sukhum
Alans
Mt. Kazbek
Alan Gate or Darial Pass
Andi Ḳoy-Ṣu
? Balandjar
Avar Ḳoy-Ṣu
SARĪR
Ḳara Ḳoy-Ṣu
DĀGHISTĀN
Ḳaytāḳ
MINGRELIA
IMERETIA
Kutais
Ghumīk
Dido
Lak (Kumuk)
Kubači (Zīrihkārān)
Caspian Gate
Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb)
Rion R.
Poti
ṢANĀR
BLACK SEA
GEORGIA
ṬABARSARĀN
KAKHETIA
Alazani R.
Akhaltzikhe
Tiflīs
Samur R.
Batum
MASḲAṬ
? FĪLĀN
Ḳubba
Iora R.
? KHURSĀN
Shābarān
LAZISTĀN
SHAKKĪ
Rize
ČALDIRĀN
Gumri
Lōrī
Shamkūr (al-Mutawakkiliyya)
Gök-Čay
Gardimān-Čay
Lāhīdj
LĀYZĀN
Ḳabala
Shamākhī
Ḳarṣ
Gandja
ARRĀN
SHARWĀN
Bākū
Sevan Gölü
Bardha'a
Ānī
Kur R.
Ḥasan-Ḳal'a
Erivān
Dwīn
Erzurum
Baylakān
SIUNIK
ARMENIA
Bādjarwān
MŪGHĀN
Nakhčiwān
Araxes R.
Malāzgird
Djulfa
? Badhdh
Mūsh
Akhlāṭ
Lankurān
ĀDHARBĀYDJĀN
Van Gölü
Khoy
Ahar
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xv (1953), 504-14). In al-Mutawakkil's Caliphate, the Turkish general Bughā the Elder [see BUGHĀ AL-KABĪR] was appointed governor of Ādharbāydjān and Armenia in 237/851-2, and over the next few years he conducted operations in the course of which he sacked Tiflīs and deposed and killed its Arab amīr, Isḥāk b. Ismā'īl. This line of Arab amīrs was either of Kurashī origin or was descended from a client of the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad; the amīrate had long been a focus of Arab power in the Caucasus, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 66, dates the decline of Arab power and influence in the Caucasus from this senseless act of destruction. Bughā also reduced to obedience various Christian and non-Christian rulers of Arrān and Kakhetia, including the Christian Ṣanāriyya (Georgian Ts'anar) of the central Caucasus region to the north of Georgia (see on this people Minorsky, in *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, commentary, 400-2; it is possible that they were ethnically related to the Čečens, even though in Mas'ūdī's time they allegedly claimed descent from the North Arabian tribe of 'Ukayl; see *Murūdj*, ii, 67). Many of the rebels and malcontents were deported by Bughā to 'Irāk. The techniques of deportation and resettlement were further employed by him in 240/854 in regard to Khazar families who were planted on the old site of Shamkūr in Arrān, now re-named al-Mutawakkiliyya in honour of the caliph; and he is also said to have brought in 3,000 Alan families through the Darial Pass. See Balādhurī, 211-12; Ya'kūbī, ii, 518, 598; Ṭabarī, iii, 1407-9, 1414-16; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, vii, 58-9, 67-8; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 408 ff. (Armenian sources); Minorsky in *EI*[1], TIFLIS; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 193-4; and C. J. F. Dowsett, tr., *The history of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxuranci*, London 1961, 218-19.

3. *The ascendancy of local Caucasian, Daylamī and Kurdish dynasties.*

With the opening of the 4th/10th century, we reach an age during which the Caucasus region, in so far as the Caliphal representatives had had any influence there at all, becomes wholly abstracted from the direct control of Baghdād; this is merely one aspect of the general enfeeblement of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate at this time. In particular, the eastern Caucasus and Transcaucasia begin to be affected by the dynamic upsurge of hitherto submerged western Iranian elements, the Daylamīs and Kurds, who in the course of the century extended their power into the Araxes-Kur basin and beyond, once the firm hand of the Sādjid governors [*q.v.*] had passed away in 317/929. Hence there emerge in eastern Transcaucasia three Muslim principalities of significance, that of the Arab Banū Hāshim in Darband [see BĀB AL-ABWĀB], the Arab Banū Yazīd in Sharwān [see SHARWĀN-SHĀHS], and the Daylamī Musāfirids in Arrān, supplanted there in 360/970 by the Kurdish Shaddādids [see MUSĀFIRIDS and BANŪ SHADDĀD].

As for the indigenous peoples and chieftains of the mountain massif itself, information continues to be sparse, except inasmuch as events there impinge on the history of the adjoining Muslim, Georgian and Armenian principalities. The Muslim geographers of the period devote some space to the Caucasus in their works. The information of the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* has been noted above; amongst the other authorities, see Ibn Khurradādhbih, 123-4; Ibn Rusta, 89, 147-9, tr. 99, 165-8, discussed in detail by Minorsky in *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, 166-9; Ibn al-Fakīh, 286-98; Iṣṭakhrī, 180-93; Ibn Ḥawkal[2], ii, 331-55, tr. ii, 325-48; and Makdisī, 374-84.

Also from this period is the very important information on the Caucasus in the historian Mas'ūdī, dating from c. 332/943, and given in *Murūdj*, ii, 1-7, 19-22, 25-6, 39-50, 65-77; this has been translated, with many corrections to Barbier de Meynard's rendering of the names, by Minorsky in *op. cit.*, 142-65. From Mas'ūdī's text, we glean many interesting items of information on the political and religious condition of the Caucasus at this time. He describes the then Sharwān-Shāh, the Arab Muḥammad b. Yazīd (d. 345/956), and the ruler of the Avar principality of Sarīr as descendants of the Sāsānid emperor Bahrām Gūr, an indication of the strength of Iranian cultural influence in the eastern Caucasus. The expansionist tendencies of the Sharwān-Shāhs are illustrated by the fact that they had by Mas'ūdī's time absorbed the adjoining principalities of Lāyzān and the Mūkān which lay to the north of the Kur (to be distinguished from the better-known Mūkān or Mūghān south of the Araxes), and the lands of the *Khursān-Shāh and the Wardān-Shāh. Ṭabarrsarān was controlled by a relative of the Darband Hāshimī amīrs. Of non-Muslim peoples, he mentions the people of Khaydāk or Kaytāk in Dāghistān, dependents of the Khazars and continual harassers of the Muslims in Darband, despite the fact that their ruler was nominally a Muslim himself. The rulers of Ghumīk and Sarīr were Christian, as were those of the Alans, except that Mas'ūdī says that in 320/932 they had renounced their Christianity (this must have been a temporary apostasy only, for in the Mongol period the Alans were Greek Orthodox in faith). The great power of the Alan king and the impregnability of his fortresses is stressed; and the Alan capital is named as *Maghaṣ, the exact location of which is still unknown (see Minorsky, *Caucasia II. The Alan capital Magas and the Mongol campaigns*, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 232-8). On the southern slopes of the Caucasus lay several Christian, or partly Christian, partly Muslim, partly pagan, principalities, like those of Georgia, Ṣanār, Shakkī and the adjacent Kabala, etc. Finally, we have some information on the Čerkes of the northwestern Caucasus, named as the Kashak or Kasak (= the Kasog of the old Russian chronicles, see below) and already praised by Mas'ūdī for their handsome men and beautiful women, the features that were to make them so highly-prized as slaves by the Mamlūks and Crimean Tatars. Mas'ūdī describes them as *madjūs* or fire-worshippers, but by this time Christianity must have had at least a foothold in the indigenous paganism [see further ČERKES].

Amongst the geographers proper, the information in Ibn Ḥawkal's *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, in particular, in ii, 342-4, 348, 354-5, tr. ii, 335-7, 341-2, 347-8, is likewise of prime value, since it dates from a generation later than that of Mas'ūdī and is particularly concerned with the contemporary political situation in Arrān, Armenia and the adjacent parts of the eastern Caucasus. Ibn Ḥawkal himself probably did not penetrate very far to the north of the Araxes, but relied on "reports" (*akhbār*).

These passages on Arrān and Armenia have been extensively studied by Minorsky in *Caucasica IV. The Caucasian vassals of Marzubān in 344/955*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 514-26. They show how Daylamī influence, in the expansionist stage of that obscure people's history, was able to extend a considerable distance northwards from Daylam proper at the southwestern corner of the Caspian. From a base at Ardabīl in eastern Ādharbāydjān, the Musāfirid Marzubān b. Muḥammad (330-46/941-57) was able to penetrate well beyond the Arxes and for a period draw several of the border and mountain potentates of

eastern Transcaucasia into his orbit. The greatest achievement here was the incorporation of Sharwān within the Daylamī sphere of influence as a result of two Musāfirid invasions, the first by Marzubān b. Muḥammad at some time between 334/945 and 337/948, and the second by his son Ibrāhīm c. 357/968. On the first of these occasions, the Sharwān-Shāh (apparently Abū Ṭāhir Yazīd b. Muḥammad, see Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, § 9) was compelled to pay tribute of a million dirhams. Amongst other rulers who came to terms with the Daylamīs at this time were the lord of Shakkī, who is given the Armenian-sounding name of *Ishkhānīḳ (text, Ishdjānīḳ); the lord of *Dj.r.z, which Minorsky tentatively restored as Khazar, referring to Ḳabala between Shakkī and Sharwān, where Khazars had long been settled (see above); and one Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Dj.y.dhānī. Minorsky thought that this last name might conceivably be read as *Khayzānī, referring to the Khayzān on the Caspian coast north-west of Bākū, rather than *Khaydhāḳī, referring to the Dāghistān district of Khaydāḳ or Khaydhāḳ mentioned by Masʿūdī, see above. Miskawayh in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ii, 161, tr. v, 172, refers to Marzubān as successfully quelling in 344/955 a people who had rebelled against him in the region of Darband, but it seems improbable that Musāfirid suzerainty could have been effectively extended into the northeastern corner of the Caucasus.

The Musāfirid empire in eastern Transcaucasia was only a transient achievement, and under pressure from the Kurdicised Arab family of the Rawwādids [*q.v.*], the Musāfirids had lost even Ādharbāydjān by 374/984-5. From now until the middle Saldjūḳ period our most valuable single source on Caucasian history is the anonymous *Taʾrīkh Bāb al-Abwāb*, a local history of Darband, Sharwān and Arrān preserved in Münedjdjim-Bashī's compilation the *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*; it stems, according to the compiler, from the opening years of the 6th/12th century, and the quotations from this history of the eastern Caucasus have been published and translated by Minorsky in his *Studies in Caucasian history* (concerning the Musāfirids, Shaddādids and Rawwādids) and in his *A history of Sharvān and Darband*. The fortunes of the two originally Arab lines of the Hāshimīs in Darband and the Yazīdīs or Mazyadīs in Sharwān were closely intertwined, and there were frequent marriage alliances between the two reigning houses (e.g., in 426/1035, when the amīr of Darband ʿAbd al-Malik b. Manṣūr married the sister of the Sharwān-Shāh Abū Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Yazīd; see *A history of Sharwān*, §§ 16, 39). However, there were also frequent rivalries and disputes, with the intermediate zone of the western Caspian shore, including Masḳaṭ and Shābarān in northern Sharwān, forming a bone of contention. The lords of Darband on occasion employed the Dāghistānīs of Sarīr as mercenary troops against Sharwān, *e.g.*, in the reign of the Sharwān-Shāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (345-70/956-81), see *A history of Sharvān*, § 12. But more frequently Darband, as the bastion of Islam in the north, suffered from the depredations of these mountain peoples; thus in 360/971 there was a violent battle outside Darband with the people of Sarīr, in which the Muslims lost 1,000 of the Darband garrison and *ghāzī*s from outside (*ibid.*, § 35).

The Muslims in turn retaliated by punitive expeditions into the interior, which served as outlets for the bellicose piety of volunteer fighters for the faith (*ghuzāt, muṭṭawwiʿa*), and doubtless provided some economic return in the form of the prized Caucasian slaves. The Sharwān-Shāh Aḥmad's son Muḥammad marched into the interior of the Caucasus in 371/981-2 and captured the town of Ḳabala from its ruler ʿAbd al-Barr b. ʿAnbasa, presumably the son of the ʿAnbasa al-Aʿwar mentioned in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 68, and described as "the shelterer of thieves, brigands and malefactors". A further clash took place in 389/999, when the Sharwān-Shāh Yazīd b. Aḥmad defeated Ibn ʿAnbasa again and captured the fortress of Gurzūl on the Gök-čay river, a stronghold which was still in the shah's hands a quarter of a century later and which constituted a strategically-valuable salient into the southern slopes of the Caucasus massif (*A history of Sharvān*, §§ 13, 14).

However, there were throughout the whole Caucasian and Transcaucasian region frequent shifts of alliances and groupings, in which religious affiliations were seldom decisive. An amīr of Darband could recruit a guard of pagan Rūs (see below). In Tiflīs, Muslims and Christians lived side-by-side, and in the three-cornered struggle in the second quarter of the 5th/11th century for control of the city between Bagrat IV of Georgia, his powerful vassal Liparit and the Muslim incumbent ruler of Tiflīs, Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī, Bagrat and Djaʿfar could at times be found ranged against Liparit; Djaʿfar had also joined a coalition of Georgian and Armenian magnates against the Shaddādid Faḍl or Faḍlūn b. Muḥammad b. Shaddād in c. 417/1026-7 (see Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, 43-4, 56-7). As in similar frontier regions, such as Anatolia and the Iberian peninsula, interconfessional marriages were quite common. Thus in 416/1025 the *History of Sharvān*, § 38, records the marriage of the amīr of Darband Manṣūr b. Maymūn to a daughter of the ruler of Sarīr Bukht-Yishūʿ, whose religion is clearly shown by his Syriac Christian name.

It is in the 4th/10th century that the Rūs (probably by now mixed bands of Scandinavians and Slavs; see RŪS) impinge on the history of the Caucasus and of the steppe region to the north of the mountain zone. A notable event in Islamic history, from the alarm and terror which it caused, was the Rūs descent on Bardhaʿa in Arrān in 332/943-4, when these adventurers sailed up the Kur, sacked the town and occupied it for several months [see BARDHAʿA]. It was the Khazars who bore the brunt of Rūs raids down the Volga basin, and these attacks seem to have destroyed the Khazar state as it had existed in its heyday, or at least, left it seriously enfeebled and thrown back on the southerly Khazar lands, the Kuban steppe region. According to the Russian Primary Chronicle, Sviatoslav of Kiev in 965 defeated the Khazar Khān and took the Khazar town of Biela Vieža or "White tent or tower", usually identified with Sarkil on the lower Don, the Greek Aspron Hospition (*Chronicle*, § 32, tr. S. H. Cross, in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, xii (Cambridge, Mass. 1930), 171; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 240-1; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 2-3, 479). Ibn Ḥawḳal², i, 15, tr. i, 14-15, states that in 358/969 the Rūs utterly destroyed Bulghār and "Khazarān, Samandar [on the Caspian coast, south of the Volga mouth?] and Atil" (Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 241 ff.). The Russian Primary Chronicle further relates that after taking Biela Vieža, Sviatoslav subdued the Yas (sc. the Ās or Alans) and the Kasog (sc. the Kashak or Čerkes), implying that their raids reached to the northwestern and central parts of the Caucasus. After the Rūs raids of 965, the Khazar chiefs seem to have sought and received help from the Sharwān-Shāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (or possibly

this may be Ibn Ḥawkal's mistake for this shah's father, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, who reigned in Sharwān till 370/980-1) to enable him to return to Atil and Khazarān (Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], ii, 397-8, tr. ii, 388; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 246, and ATIL).

There were certainly Rūs ships operating along the western shores of the Caspian around this time. The amīr of Darband, Maymūn b. Aḥmad, endeavoured in 377/987 to employ some of the Rūs who had arrived there in 18 mercenary ships as mercenary troops (*ghilmān*), even though they were still pagan. The understandable unpopularity of these Rūs contributed to popular disturbances in Darband against Maymūn in 379-80/989-90, leading to his temporary deposition (*A history of Sharvān*, §§ 13, 36). The inability of the remnants of the Khazars to keep the lower Volga course closed to Rūs raiders must have allowed the Rūs frequent access to the Caspian. In 421/1030, 38 Rūs ships appeared off the coast of Sharwān and defeated the Shāh Manūčihr b. Yazīd at Bākū. They apparently repeated the pattern of events of 90 years previously by sailing up the Kur, and entered the service of one of the contending parties in a dynastic dispute of the Shaddādids of Gandja (*ibid.*, §§ 15, 38). They eventually passed on to the western Caucasus and the Black Sea, making a circuit of the mountain region. It is possible that they then turned northwards to the Taman peninsula, where the Kievan prince Mstislav had in 988 founded the Rūs principality of Tmutorokan (*Russian Primary Chronicle*, § 43, tr. 207, cf. § 52, tr. 223). This Rūs foothold south of the Azov Sea enabled them to exert pressure on the Čerkes and other peoples of the western Caucasus. In 1022 the Chronicle records that Mstislav attacked the Kasog under their ruler Rededya, and in the next year he was using Kasog and Khazar troops (Khazars of the Taman peninsula region?) in a dynastic dispute with his brother Yaroslav (§ 52, tr. 223). Later in the century, in 1066, Mstislav's son Rostislav received tribute in Tmutorokan from the Kasog and other peoples, and the Khazars of the region are mentioned as late as 1083 (tr. 234, 258).

It seems that the Rūs raiders were no longer exclusively water-borne. Two years after the attack of 421/1030 on Sharwān, there is mentioned a punitive expedition of *ghāzīs* led by the amīr of Darband Manṣūr b. Maymūn which harassed plunder-laden Rūs returning from Sharwān through the Caucasus. In reprisal, a coalition of Rūs and Alans tried to crush the little principality of Karakh, which was a frontier region to the west of Darband and whose ruler bore the title of *Marzbān*, according to Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 40; but the Rūs and Alans were decisively defeated by the warriors of Karakh, themselves converted to Islam only a generation previously (*A history of Sharvān*, §§ 15, 36, 38).

4. *The Saldjūḳ period.*

The appearance of the Oghuz Turcomans in northern Iran and Armenia, once the Ghaznavid defences in Khurāsān were down, eventually injected a new factor into Caucasian affairs, for both the Christian principalities of western Transcaucasia and the Muslim ones of the east generally felt the effects of disturbances in Ādharbāydjān, Armenia and the Byzantine frontier sooner or later. Already in 436/1044-5 or 437/1045-6 the Sharwān-Shāh Ḳubādh b. Yazīd fortified his capital of Yazīdiyya (founded by the amīr Abū Ṭālib Yazīd b. Muḥammad, the unifier of Sharwān, in 306/918, see *A history of Sharvān*, § 9) with a strong stone wall and iron gates for fear of the Oghuz (*ibid.*, § 17).

The Christian kingdoms of western Georgia or Abkhāz and eastern Georgia or Kakhetia, under the Bagratids and the family of Gagik respectively, had felt the Turcoman threat on their southern flanks before this. Certain sources, and especially the Syriac and Armenian Christian ones, mention a long-distance incursion of Turcomans under Čaghrī Beg Dāʾūd, brother of the later Saldjūḳ Sultan Ṭoghrīl, into Ādharbāydjān and Armenia in the years 409/1018 or 412/1021, although other sources place the raid several years later (cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, Edinburgh 1963, 223-4). If the raid took place at one of the earlier dates, it may have been a contributory factor in the abandonment by the last Ardzrunid, Senekʿerim or Sanḥārīb, of the exposed province of Vaspurakan to the Byzantines in exchange for lands in Anatolia (1021), although the sources mention other factors; see E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935, 168 ff. For the moment, the threat to Georgia and the surviving Armenian principalities came more from the vigorous policies of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II Bulgaroctonus, but after his death in 1025, the Georgian ruler Bagrat IV, the ruler of Kakhetia Kiurike III and other Georgian and Armenian nobles pursued a confused but generally expansionist policy against the Shaddādids of Arrān and the amīr of Tiflīs, Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī, this latter city coming sporadically under Georgian control after Djaʿfar's death c. 438/1046-7 (see Minorsky in *EI*[1], TIFLIS, and idem, *Caucasica in the history of Mayyāfāriqīn*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1949-50), 29, 31; the line of Amīr Djaʿfar in Tiflīs went back, according to Ibn al-Azraḳ, to c. 315/927).

The Shaddādids suffered further from other marauders from Dāghistān and the mountain regions. After the death in 441/1049-50 of the amīr Lashkarī ʿAlī b. Mūsā, the leading men of the state abandoned several outlying fortresses constructed against the men of Shakkī, the Dādīdiyya (Didos?), the Abkhāz or Georgians, and the Rūm or Byzantines, hoping thereby to discourage their incursions (*Studies in Caucasian history*, § 13, cf. pp. 27-9). Hence when the roving bands of Oghuz, and later, the Saldjūḳs and their amīrs, appeared in Transcaucasia, they found plenty of troubled waters in which to fish.

The Oghuz had harassed Arrān during the reign of Lashkarī ʿAlī (425-41/1034 to 1049-50) (*Studies in Caucasian history*, § 12), but when Ṭoghrīl came to Ādharbāydjān and Arrān in 446/1054-5, the Shaddādid Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwur, his Rawwādid rival Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad, and other potentates of the region, all submitted to the Saldjūḳ and made the *khuṭba* for him (Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, ix, 598-9, cf. *Studies in Caucasian history*, 54). The Shaddādids continued to feel Georgian pressure, and it was doubtless Georgian incitement which stimulated a large-scale invasion of Arrān in 454/1062 by the Georgians' Alan allies, compelling Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwur to fortify Gandja (*ibid.*, § 15, cf. pp. 74-5).

Ṭoghrīl's successor Alp Arslan followed a similar policy of deflecting Turcoman and *ghāzī* elements from Persia to the western frontier zones, and in 456/1064 himself campaigned in Armenia, capturing Ānī from the Byzantines and Armenians (Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, x, 37-41; eventually the town was granted to a branch of the Shaddādids, see ĀNĪ and *Studies in Caucasian history*, 79 ff.). Two campaigns were made into Georgia against Bagrat IV, and Alp Arslan consolidated his influence there by marrying one of the king's nieces; see W. E. D. Allen, *A history*

of the Georgian people, London 1932, 91-2. Alp Arslan's second Caucasian campaign of 460/1068 seems to have been connected with a second incursion through the Darial Pass into Arrān by the Alans, who were joined by infidels from S̲h̲akkī; the invaders shut the terror-stricken S̲h̲addādid forces up within Gand̲j̲a, penetrated to the Araxes and took back with them an immense booty (*A history of Sharvān*, § 40; *Studies in Caucasian history*, § 16). Nevertheless, Abu 'l-Aswār was at other times himself able to pursue an aggressive policy against S̲h̲arwān, invading it on four separate occasions, and making the S̲h̲āh Farīburz b. Sallār his tributary. In turn, Farīburz intervened in a dynastic dispute at Darband during 457/1065, imposing his son Afrīdūn there as ruler in 458/1066 (*A history of Sharvān*, §§ 19, 41).

Darband was, indeed, racked by internal strife between members of the ruling family and between the Hās̲h̲imī amīrs and the local notables, exposing it on various occasions to fresh attacks from the Avars of Sarīr and the G̲h̲umīḳ of northern Dāg̲h̲istān, see *ibid.*, § 40. Possibly the raids of the pagan G̲h̲umīḳ were lessened by their reported conversion to Islam at some time in the last decades of the 5th/11th century and their adhesion to the S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āh Farīburz's cause when he was at Darband. Two letters from the shah's chancery describe how, through the intermediacy of the Muslim Laks of Ḳuwā or Fuwā (to be connected with modern Ḳubba, north of Bākū?), the G̲h̲umīḳ agreed to accept Islam, and how the S̲h̲āh sent to them his son ʿAḍud plus an *imām* and a *k̲h̲aṭīb* to teach the rudiments of Islam (Minorsky and Cahen, *Le recueil transcaucasien de Masʿūd b. Nāmdār*, 118-19, 131-3, 138-41).

S̲h̲arwān began to suffer from Turcoman marauders towards the end of Ṭog̲h̲rïl's reign. During the second attack of the Og̲h̲uz leader Ḳaratigin in 459/1066-7, Yazīdiyya and Bākū were attacked, so that in the next year Farīburz agreed to pay a tribute to keep them away. Later in the same year Sultan Alp Arslan appeared in person and received the submission of both the S̲h̲addādids of Gand̲j̲a and the S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āh. Farīburz tried to placate Turkmen chiefs who claimed to have been granted S̲h̲arwān as an *iḳṭāʿ*, until there arrived in 468/1075 the "amīr of the Two ʿIrāḳs" Sawtigin, who had been granted all the Caucasian marches as his *iḳṭāʿ*. S̲h̲arwān was now definitely reduced to the status of a Sald̲j̲ūḳ vassal-state and tributary. Sawtigin's appearance also meant the deposition of Faḍlūn b. Faḍl b. Abi 'l-Aswār S̲h̲āwur and the end of the main branch of the S̲h̲addādids in Gand̲j̲a, and in Darband there was a third Sald̲j̲ūḳ occupation (*Studies in Caucasian history*, §§ 18-19; *A history of Sharvān*, §§ 20-9, 42, 46).

With the end of the narrative of the *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bāb al-Abwāb* in 468/1075-6, our detailed information on eastern Transcaucasia and the Caucasus tails off. It seems, however, that lines of the S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āhs and the amīrs of Darband re-emerged as the Great Sald̲j̲ūḳ empire passed its apogee under Malik-S̲h̲āh and fell into dissension. The scattered mentions of Darband in the later Sald̲j̲ūḳ period have been collected together by Minorsky as Annex II of his *A history of Sharvān*, 139-41; it seems that some of the 6th/12th century amīrs of Darband may have been scions of the earlier Hās̲h̲imīs. Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im-Bas̲h̲ï gives some information on the later S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āhs, whom he calls "the third race" of Kasrānids; it is, however, clear that these "Kasrānids" of the 6th/12th century are lineal descendants of the earlier Yazīdīs, albeit increasingly Persianised in culture and outlook (see *A history of Sharvān*, 68-9, and Annex I, 129-38, and Barthold in *EI*², S̲H̲ĪRWĀNS̲H̲ĀH). The period before the Mongol invasion was one of great florescence for the descendants of Farīburz, who had himself managed to survive the imposition of Sald̲j̲ūḳ rule by Sawtigin and whose skill had put the principality on a firm footing once more. The court of S̲h̲arwān became a centre of Persian culture, attracting poets like Niẓāmī and K̲h̲āḳānī (whose nom-de-plume or *tak̲h̲alluṣ* stems from the title *K̲h̲āḳān-i Kabīr* adopted by the S̲h̲āh Manūčihr b. Afrīdūn b. Farīburz) and the astronomer-poet Falakī S̲h̲arwānī (see J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 202-4, 208-9).

The S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āhs continued to assert their hegemony over Darband, but during this period were to a considerable extent under the protectorate of Georgia, whose kings themselves took the title S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āh. The shahs proper further acknowledged themselves as nominal vassals, at least, of the Great Sald̲j̲ūḳs of ʿIrāḳ and western Persia, and this acknowledgement appears on coins minted in S̲h̲arwān down to the death of the last Sald̲j̲ūḳ, Ṭog̲h̲rïl b. Arslan, in 590/1194. The shahs made alliances with the Georgians aimed at recovering Darband, and marriage links were frequent; the S̲h̲āh Ak̲h̲satān b. Manūčihr b. Afrīdūn was the son of a Georgian princess.

This century was, of course, the Georgian monarchy's great period of expansion, under such rulers as Dmitri I (1125-56), Giorgi III (1156-84) and Queen Thamar (1184-1212), when the southern frontiers were held against the Ildegizids of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and Arrān [*q.v.*] and Georgian arms frequently penetrated to the Caspian shores. Already in 1124 David II "the Restorer" had led an army to Darband in support of his son-in-law the S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āh's claims there. Dmitri I was operating in Ossetia and as far as Darband and Lāyzān in S̲h̲arwān in 548-9/1153-4, just after the historian of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ibn al-Azraḳ, entered his service as the royal secretary (Minorsky, *Caucasica in the history of Mayyāfāriqīn*, 31, 33, 35; Minorsky also notes here how the engagement of Ibn al-Azraḳ was a sign of the growing influence of Arabic culture in the capital Tiflīs and other parts of Georgia, Arabic now becoming a diplomatic language).

Giorgi III repelled an invasion of S̲h̲arwān by the amīr of Darband Beg-Bars b. Muẓaffar in 569/1173-4 or 571/1175-6, and one of K̲h̲āḳānī's odes describes how the vanquished Darband forces included Alans, Avars of Sarīr, Rūs and K̲h̲azars (these last being, in the plausible surmise of Minorsky, Ḳïpčaḳ or Polovtsi rather than remnants of the historic K̲h̲azars). This Darband expedition was apparently a combined land and sea one, probably with the Rūs supplying the naval forces; K̲h̲āḳānī, whose patron was at this time Ak̲h̲satān b. Manūčihr of S̲h̲arwān, claims that 73 Rūs ships were destroyed and that operations took place near the mouth of the Kur and also well upstream of that river (see Minorsky, *K̲h̲āqānī and Andronicus Commenus*, in *BSOS*, xi (1943-6), 557 ff., also in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 1964, 127 ff.).

In general, the Sald̲j̲ūḳ and Mongol periods saw the beginning and development of a gradual process of Turkicisation in many parts of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, especially in the lower-lying areas. The Turcoman begs brought with them their followers, and many parts of Arrān and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān proved suitable for their flocks. In these provinces, too, the establishment of the Ildegizid Atabegs, with a powerful military machine of Turcomans and Ḳïpčaḳ, favoured an increase in the Turkish ethnic elements there. The indigenous princes of the Caucasus were quick to

discern that the Turks could be used as mercenaries in their internal quarrels. In the 6th/12th century, Darband, under pressure from the Sharwān-Shāhs and their Georgian allies, tended to look towards the Saldjūķs for help, although geographical distance inhibited much direct assistance. Great Saldjūķ influence in the Caucasus was, at least in the earlier part of the century, more successfully exercised in Georgia and the southern Georgian fringes, symbolised in King Dmitri's acknowledgement of the names of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the Saldjūķ sultans of ʿIrāķ on his coins.

The Georgian monarchs were often in military alliance with the Christian Alans, and there were frequent marriage alliances between the two princely families, as also between the Alans and the Byzantine emperors (see *Studies in Caucasian history*, 74-5). Alan troops were used in the Georgian armies, and David the Restorer specially constructed fortresses to keep open the route to the Alan Gates and Ossetia; in 1189 Queen Thamar took as her second husband the Alan prince David Soslan (Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*, 104). C. 1118, David further formed a special guard of 5,000 Ķïpčaķ military slaves, converts to Christianity, and settled Ķïpčaķ families brought from north of the Caucasus in the devastated districts of Georgia and Armenia recently reconquered by him. During Thamar's reign, the Ķïpčaķ military element in the Georgian state was at times influential; militarily, it was used with effect on such occasions as in 599/1203, when the Ildegizid Nuṣrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr was repulsed from Arrān by an army of Georgians and Ķïpčaķ, allowing Shamkūr, Gandja and Dvīn to fall into Georgian hands (Allen, *op. cit.*, A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumî türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 190-1).

5. *The Mongol and Tīmūrid periods.*

The period of the Khwārazmian and Mongol invasions brought devastation and upheaval to the Caucasus, and, for one thing, broke up the unity of Georgia and destroyed the Bagratids' ambitions for a greater Georgia dominating Transcaucasia. After pursuing to his death the Khwārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, Čingiz Khān's generals Djebe and Sübetey in 617/1220 passed through western Persia to Ādharbāydjān, receiving the submission of the Ildegizids, and then entered Arrān. They passed via Baylaķān into Sharwān, devastated Shamākhī and went on to Darband. By means of a stratagem, they got the Sharwānīs to guide them through the Caspian Gate. The Alans were humbled, and the Mongols then emerged into the South Russian steppes, defeated an army of Russians and Ķïpčaķ and rejoined Čingiz in Central Asia (cf. Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 148-9).

The new Khwarazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn appeared in Ādharbāydjān in 622/1225; he defeated the Georgians at Garni in Siunik in that year, and in the following year 623/1226 occupied Tiflīs, massacring all the Georgians and Armenians there (see Minorsky, in *EI*[1], TIFLIS). In Sharwān, Djalāl al-Dīn claimed to exercise the suzerainty rights of the Great Saldjūķs, and imposed on the Sharwān-Shāh Farīburz b. Garshāsp the same tribute as had been paid in Malik-Shāh's time, till the shah protested that his dominions had considerably shrunk in the intervening century-and-a-half; eventually, Sharwān was assessed at 30,000 *dīnārs* only. Transcaucasia remained open to the pillagings of the undisciplined Khwārazmian troops, and in 625/1228 the Khwārazm-Shāh returned. At Mindor near Loré he encountered a confederacy of Caucasian peoples under the Georgian commander-in-chief Iwané Mkhargrdzeli. The allies are described as comprising Georgians, Alans, Armenians, Avars of Sarīr, Lakz, Ķïpčaķ, Suwāniyān (*i.e.*, the Svan, the mountain people of northern Georgia), Abkhāz, Čanīt (*i.e.*, Čʿanetʿi, the Georgian name for the Laz, corresponding to the Greek *Sannoi* or *Tsannoi*), Syrians and Rūmīs or Anatolians; but they failed to stand up to Djalāl al-Dīn and were defeated (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 438).

Although Djalāl al-Dīn left the region soon afterwards, Transcaucasia continued to be disturbed, till a further catastrophe took place in the shape of the Mongol invasion of 633/1236. In the previous year, the Mongol general Čormaghun had raided Sharwān and eastern Caucasia as far as Darband, and now he entered Georgia via Gandja. The political unity of Georgia was now shattered. Hostages were taken from the Georgian nobles, and the kings forced to attend the Mongol *ķuriltay*s. Georgians were pressed into the Mongol armies, and there were Georgian contingents present at the fall of Baghdād in 656/1258 and at ʿAyn Djālūt in 658/1260. Only the internal divisions which arose within the Mongol royal house, and, in particular, the disputes between the Il-Khānids of Persia and ʿIrāķ and the Djočids or Bātūʾids of the Golden Horde, permitted the Georgian monarchs some freedom for political manoeuvre. The Bātūʾids claimed that Anatolia, and *a fortiori* the Caucasus, had been granted by Čingiz as an appanage for Djoči and his heirs. Much fighting between Bātū's brother Berke [*q.v.*] and the Il-Khānids took place in Arrān and eastern Transcaucasia. Hülegü's forces reached as far as the Terek river before being defeated in 661/1263 by Berke's troops. Three years later, Berke returned to the Caucasus, occupying Gandja and sacking Tiflīs, where he died in 665/1267 (Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*[2], 42-4, 49-51). Only after the reign of the Il-Khānid Öldjeitü was the Georgian king Giorgi V (1316-46) able to drive out the Mongols and bring much of Transcaucasia, including Sharwān and Arrān, under Georgian rule.

Sharwān was thus frequently a battlefield for the Il-Khānids and Bātūʾids, and the constriction of the indigenous dynasty's authority is shown by the fact that during the Il-Khānid period, the Sharwān-Shāhs do not seem to have minted any coins. Despite its inaccessibility, Ossetia suffered from the attentions of the Mongols, and the Alan capital, *Magas, was destroyed in 636/1239 after a long siege, see Minorsky, *Caucasica III. The Alān capital Magas and the Mongol campaigns*. The period of the Mongol invasions nevertheless allowed the Christian Alans to break out of their mountain fastnesses and play a rôle on the wider stage of European and Inner Asian history. Papal missions reached them, and in turn, Alan missions are mentioned at the court of the Christian Great Khān Güyük (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 259). Alan colonies were planted in centres of the Golden Horde such as Saray on the Volga and Kertch in the Crimea (Spuler, *op. cit.*, 237, 239, 284, 314). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 448, tr. Gibb, ii, 516, the Alans in Saray had a special quarter and had become Muslim. Moreover, Alan troops found their way as far east as the borders of China.

Further havoc was wrought in the southern parts of the Caucasus region by Tīmūr. Tīmūr first appeared in the winter of 788/1386-7, and undertook a campaign, described as a *djihād* or holy war, against the Christian Georgians. In defence of Transcaucasia, the Georgians were joined by the Muslim governor of Shakkī, Sīdī ʿAlī of the Arulat tribe of the Čaghatayid *ulus*, but this alliance brought forth further

Tīmūrid invasions, culminating in the campaign of 805-6/1403-4, when Tiflīs was again devastated and all the lands from Arrān to Trebizond given to the Tīmūrid prince Khalīl Mīrzā. The 9th/15th century was a confused one in Georgian history, with attacks from the Turkmen Ḳara Ḳoyunlu amīrs and internal weaknesses, so that towards the end of the century, the kingdom became divided into three parts (see Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*, 131 ff.).

The Sharwān-Shāh Shaykh Ibrāhīm (784-820/1382-1417) had to submit to Tīmūr and accompany him during his campaign against the Khān of the Golden Horde Toḳtamīsh in 797/1395, but he did manage to retain his throne. In the post-Tīmūrid period, Sharwān enjoyed considerable prosperity, with a flourishing cultural life and with many fine buildings erected in Bākū and Shamākhī. The shahs were latterly allied with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu amīrs, in particular with Uzun Ḥasan, but Shāh Farrukh-Yasār b. Khalīl Allāh was eventually killed in 906/1500 near Shamākhī by Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī, and Sharwān was in 945/1538-9 incorporated into Persia. As for the adjoining district of Shakkī, Sīdī ʿAlī's son Sīdī Aḥmad was re-established there c. 801/1398-9. The mention of Ḳabala by Don Juan of Persia shows that it was still of importance in the later 10th/16th century, when Shakkī, after falling to the Ṣafawids in 958/1551, eventually became an Ottoman *sandjaḳ* (984/1576); see Allen, *Notes on Don Juan of Persia's account of Georgia*, in *BSOS*, vi (1930-2), 181, Minorsky in *EI*[1], SHEKKĪ.

The northern parts of the Caucasus fell within the lands of the Golden Horde. Dāghistān was conquered by Tīmūr in 797-8/1395-6, but it is about this time that the three main powers in Dāghistān, the Ḳaytāḳ, the Ghāzī-Ḳūmūḳ and the Maʿṣūmī princes of Ṭabarsarān, emerge [see DĀGHISTĀN]. The north-western part of the Caucasus, sc. Circassia, played an important rôle in Golden Horde affairs and also in Islamic military history. The Čerkes were still mainly Christian, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 448, tr. Gibb, ii, 516, mentions that the Christian Čerkes and Ḳīpčaḳ had their own quarters in Saray, just like the Alans (see above). From the inauguration of the Mamlūk Sultanate in Egypt anc Syria in the middle of the 7th/13th century, Čerkes military slaves, carried from Circassia by the Genoese of Kaffa and other merchants, were a notable element in the state, and after 784/1382 provided most of the Mamlūk Sultans themselves.

The general process of Turkification in the Caucasus region must ultimately have favoured the spread of Islam. The steppelands to the north of the Caucasus must have been islamised fairly early after the decline of the Khazars there. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Māčar on the Kuma river (to be identified with Burgo-madžary). He found it a fine Turkish city. It was a flourishing trade centre of the Golden Horde Tatars, with a *ḳayṣāriyya* (chief bazaar), and a famous Ṣūfī shaykh of the Rifāʿiyya order, Muḥammad al-Baṭāʾiḥī, had his *zāwiya* there (*Riḥla*, ii, 375-9, tr. Gibb, ii, 479-81). But the spread of Islam was a slow process, and the mountainous heartland long resisted islamisation. The Laz of Mingrelia on the Black Sea coast, a people of Georgian stock and Christian since the beginning of the 6th century, maintained their faith through their close political and cultural connections with the adjacent Byzantine principality of Trebizond. Only after Trebizond fell to the Ottoman Sultan Meḥemmed II in 865/1461 were the Laz gradually converted to Islam and the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* (see Minorsky in *EI*[1], LAZ).

The rise of the Ottomans, together with pressure from the Muslim powers in Arrān and Ādharbāydjān, also brought about the end—in very obscure circumstances, but probably towards the end of the 9th/ 15th century—of Christianity in Dāghistān. As part of the Roman Church's attempts in the Mongol period to unite the Eastern Christian churches and then win over all the oriental peoples for Christianity, Dominicans had been installed in Tiflīs in the 7th/13th century. A Roman Catholic archbishopric was set up at Matrega or Azov in the succeeding century, and a vigorous missionary campaign undertaken into Dāghistān (*in Chaydakensi patria*, sc. the land of the Ḳaytāḳ or Khaydāḳ). Helped by Genoese trading enterprises aimed at opening up a route to the east via the Caspian, this Christian church flourished till the ousting of the Genoese from the Black Sea and the establishment of Ottoman supremacy there (see J. Richard, *Les missionaires latins chez les Kaïtak du Daghestan* (*XIV*e*-XV*e *siècles*), in *Trudy XXV Kongressa Vostokovedov 1960*, iii (Moscow 1963), 606-11). However, by 872/1466, when the Russian merchant Afanasii Nikitin was travelling across the Caspian, the ruler of the Ḳaytāḳ was a Muslim, one Alil (Khalīl?) Beg, brother-in-law of the Sharwān-Shāh Farrūkh-Yasār.

Bibliography: An extensive bibliography of the older geographical and travel literature was given by C. van Arendonck in his *EI*[1] article. For the classical period, see the article Καύκασος in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie der classische Altertumswissenschaft*[2], xi, 1, 59-63. An important addition to the Islamic geographical literature is the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, *GMS*, London 1937. A geographical survey of the Caucasus is given in A. Sanders, *Kaukasien*, Munich 1944, and there is much useful information in the article *Kavkaz* in *BSE*[2], xix, 248-63.

The historical literature proper has been mentioned in the course of the article. Amongst all this, the works of V. Minorsky are outstanding, especially his *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, his *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, and his four *Caucasica* articles in *BSOAS*, xii-xv (1948-53); see also his article *Transcaucasica*, in *JA*, ccxvii (1930), 41-111 (deals mainly with topographical and historical-geographical problems). Some of the many obscurities of Caucasian history have been illuminated by numismatic researches, in which the Bākū orientalist E. A. Pakhomov was a pioneer. The results of Russian and Armenian research have recently been utilised in the Ph.D. thesis of Dickran Kouymjian, *The numismatic history of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan based on the Islamic coinage from the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th centuries*, Columbia University, New York, 1969 (unpublished).

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

LANGUAGES.

The indigenous languages of the Caucasus form a family with three distinct branches. It is to the languages of this family still or formerly spoken in the area that the name Caucasian languages is applied. In the course of time, however, speakers of languages belonging to the Indo-European and Turkic families have also penetrated the region and these languages have in turn been influenced by those of the Caucasian family, according to the length and closeness of their contact. The most significant of these languages is Armenian, a separate branch of the Indo-European family, which has a literary tradition, both Christian and secular, going back to the

fifth century of our era. The modern Eastern dialect is spoken by over two million people in the Armenian S.S.R. and in urban communities throughout the Caucasus. There are a number of representatives of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family, the oldest established being Ossetic. This Eastern Iranian language, spoken by the remnant of the Alans living in the Central Caucasus and south thereof in Georgia, has two main dialects: Iron, used as a literary vehicle, and the more archaic Digoron, the latter spoken by a partly Muslim population. Ossetic is unique among modern Iranian languages in being little affected either by Islam, i.e. by Arabic loans, or by Persian culture. Other Iranian languages, all of the Western branch, are Northern Kurdish, Tālis͟h, and Tātī. Kurds are scattered throughout Armenia and the Ād͟harbāyd͟jān S. S. R. Tālis͟h is spoken in a region along the Caspian coast astride the Irano-Soviet border and Tātī on both slopes of the eastern end of the Caucasus chain and on the Apsheron peninsular. Almost half of the Tātī speakers are Jews; the remainder, and all the Tālis͟hi, are Muslims. About a quarter of the Kurds are Yazīdīs, the rest Muslims. Other Indo-European languages represented are Greek, and the German, Russian, and Ukrainian introduced by comparatively recent settlers.

Among Turkic languages the most widely spoken, by well over two million people in Soviet territory, is Āzerī, which has been a literary language since the 8th/14th century. To the north-east of the Caucasus languages of the Ḳïpčaḳ group are found, namely Kumuk, Ḳaračay, Balkar, and Nog͟hay. All these Turcophone peoples are Muslims. Kalmuk, a Western Mongolian language, is spoken in the North Caucasus. The only Semitic language found in the Caucasus is the Neo-Syriac spoken by the scattered communities of so-called "Assyrians".

The Caucasian languages proper are divided geographically into Southern, North-Western and North-Eastern branches. The Southern, or Kartvelian, branch comprises four languages: Georgian, Svanetian, Laz and Mingrelian, the last two together forming the Zan group. Georgian alone is a literary language, the oldest texts dating from the fifth century of our era. The Laz and two groups of Georgian speakers, the Ačar and some Ingilo, are Muslims. There are three languages of the North-Western branch, Abk͟hāz, Circassian, and Ubək͟h, but the last is no longer spoken in the Caucasus, being kept alive only by a diminishing number of refugees in Turkey. The Circassians (Čerkes, or Adig͟he) have two main dialects, Kabardian and Kiakh, both having a modern literature. The Abk͟hāz living south of the Caucasus have three related dialects; those living north of the Caucasus among the Circassians, known as Abaza, speak two different dialects. The great majority of Circassians and Abk͟hāz are Muslims.

The North-Eastern branch of the Caucasian family comprises a large number of languages and dialects, spoken for the most part in Dāg͟histān by an almost entirely Muslim population. They fall into six groups: I. the so-called Veinakh ("we people") group, consisting of Čečen, Ingus͟h, and Bats (the latter a small Christian community); II. the Avaro-Andi group, comprising Avār, Andi and its fellows (numbering eight in all), Dido (four languages) and Arči; III. the Lak-Dargwa group, i.e. five dialects of Lak and three of Dargwa; IV. the Samurian group, comprising Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran (Ṭabarsarān), Ag͟hul, Budug, and D͟jek; V. K͟hinalug, and VI. Udi, the language of a Christian people thought to be the remnant of the Caucasian Albanians. Čečen, Ingus͟h, Avār, Lak, Dargwa, Lezgian, and Tabasaran are written languages, a status Udi formerly enjoyed. Avār is especially widely used as a *lingua franca*.

Although the three branches of the Caucasian family are very distinct they have a number of features in common. One is the richness of their consonant structures. Georgian, for example, has 29 consonants, including contrasting series of aspirated and glottalized voiceless stops and affricates, *p*, *t*, *c*, *č*, *k*, (*q*), *ṗ*, *ṭ*, *c̣*, *č̣*, *ḳ*, *q̇*; a similar contrast is found in Armenian, Ossetic and Northern Kurdish. Some North Caucasian languages have well over 50 consonant phonemes, including labialized and non-labialized pairs. In contrast to this, vowel phonemes are few; Georgian has five vowels and both Abk͟hāz and Circassian have systems reducible to two vowel phonemes. A syntactic feature widespread among Caucasian languages is the "passive construction" of transitive verbs, wherein the agent of such a verb is expressed in an oblique case and the patient is the subject of the verb. This type of construction does occur, but only with the past tenses of transitive verbs, in many Iranian languages, including Northern Kurdish, and it is so restricted in Kartvelian, but in other Caucasian languages it applies to all tenses of the verb; thus "I am doing the work" is expressed as "by-me the-work is-being-done". The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is absolute; a transitive verb must involve an object, so that, in Georgian for example, the sixth commandment can only be expressed "thou shalt not kill *men*". In the North-Western, and to a lesser extent the Southern, languages there is a multiple attachment of pronominal particles to the verb, each taking an appropriate position; for example, "the bread which the mother gives her daughter" is expressed in Abkhaz as "mother her-daughter which-to-her-by-her-give bread", the pronominal particles representing subject, indirect object, and agent in turn. In modern Georgian many of these pronominal forms are elided, leaving the unambiguous minimum; e.g. *g-ḳlav* "(I)-you-kill", *m-ḳlav* "(you)-me-kill", *ḳlav* "(You-him)-kill", *ḳlavs* "he-(him)-kills". The North-Eastern branch alone has a system of noun classes, whereby signs indicating the class of thing involved (e.g. male, female, inanimate, material) run through the sentence; cf. Avār *be·ca-w či ro·q̇o-w w-ugo: be·ca-y ·ču žu ro·q̇o-y y-igo: be·ca-b ču ro·q̇o-b b-ugo* "the blind man/woman/horse in-the-house is". In combinations with the passive construction this system produces such intricate concord as (Čečen) "I work *it*-being-done *I*-am" for "I work", "by-me work *it*-is-done" for "I am working", and "by-me *it*-being-done *it*-is work" for "I am (actually) working". Although these and other features more or less common to the Caucasian languages can be matched both in languages of the ancient Near East and, among other modern languages, in the Basque of the Pyrenees and the Burus͟haskī of Hunza [*q.v.*], no valid connexion between these and the Caucasian family has yet been shown.

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(D. N. MacKenzie)

KABOU, a locality in Togo (9° 25′ N., 0° 50′ E.), 24 km. to the north of Bassari, an important market whose prosperity, in pre-colonial times, was based

partly on the barter of crude iron given to the Kabre iron-smiths of Lama-Kara in exchange for slaves, and partly on its function as a halting place on the kola-caravan routes. The presence in Kabou of Muslim outsiders (particularly Ḥawsa and Dj̲erma) was therefore not unusual.

It was a certain Oukpane, a native of Kalanga (about ten km. to the west of Bassari), who founded the village of Kabou, probably during the first third of the 19th century. Shortly afterwards Biraima, a Tyokossi of Sansané Mango, arrived, becoming the first Muslim actually to settle there; to some extent, no doubt, he was the representative of the authority of the Tyokossi sovereigns, which extended over Bapure (20 km. to the west of Kabou), of which Kabou was probably a dependency at that time. After Oukpane, the supreme chief was Outoune, who reigned for thirty-five years. At that period, Kabou had its third *imām*, Baba Toma (in succession to Biraima and Saliya). In Outoune's reign, the surviving members of the communities of Kalanga settled round Kabou.

Karakpe, a younger brother of Outoune, received the French explorers Baud and Vermeersch in April 1895, and Baud for the second time in January 1896, before the Treaty of Paris (23 July 1897), which left Kabou in the *Schutzgebiet* of Togo. At the time the Europeans arrived a Muslim quarter already existed, containing several dozen Dj̲erma mercenaries.

The leaders of this pagan country, for many years a vassal of the Tyokossi warlords of Sansané Mango, had appealed for help to the Muslim warriors of the Dagomba chief of Yendi. The prestige of Islam was so great that Mama Bonfoh, the first of the Bassari race to be converted to Islam, was nominated as chief by the German administration at the beginning of the century. The pro-Muslim policy of the German administration brought about the conversion of large numbers of the inhabitants, following the chief's lead.

Although the town (whose various districts comprise 4000 to 5000 inhabitants) is predominantly Muslim, the surrounding country is inhabited by Kabre and Losso from the over-populated regions of Lama Kara. Very few of these "immigrant settlers" appear to have been converted to Islam. (R. Cornevin)

ḲABR (A.), tomb was first applied to the pit used as a burial place for a corpse, as was the term *ḍarīḥ*, giving rise to its habitual use in the text of numerous epitaphs containing the expression *hād̲h̲ā ḳabru...* "this is the grave of...". Originally distinguished from the term *ṣandūḳ*, "cenotaph" (cf., J. Sauvaget, "*Les perles choisies*" *d'Ibn ach-Chihna*, Beirut 1933, 212 and "*Les trésors d'or*" *de Sibt al-ʿAjami*, Beirut 1950, 184), it had the more general meaning of the tumulus or construction covering the grave to bring it to notice, a custom current in Islamic countries from early times. Contrary to the formal injunction in *ḥadīt̲h̲* to practise *taswiyat al-ḳubūr*, that is making the tomb level with the surrounding earth (cf. G. Wiet, *CIA Egypte*, ii, 64 f.), which was the outcome of juridical discussions and was linked with doctrinal controversies concerning "saint-worship" and the various rites of veneration of tombs (including that of the "pious pilgrimage" or *ziyāra* [*q.v.*]), funerary monuments of all kinds, ranging from a simple heap of pebbles or mound of earth, with perhaps also a raised stone, to a mausoleum occasionally reaching monumental scale and forming part of a veritable architectural complex, in fact always constituted a significant portion of Islamic art.

Without going into the legal prescriptions and customary practices associated with the notion of "burial place" and therefore "tomb" in the Muslim world, we find that the word *ḳabr* designates a definite archaeological reality, though one which is sometimes difficult to define. In part this is due to lack of documentation, as regards both eras and regions, of the available monuments. To a greater extent it stems from a reluctance to group under the same heading the greatly differing remains covered by a variety of terms relating not only to differences in language and dialectal usage but more especially to distinctions in appearance and architectural style (*e.g.*, *radj̲am*, *karkūr* [*q.v.*], *ḥaws̲h̲*, *tābūt*, *ḥawīṭa*, *mḳābriyya*, *ḳubba* [*q.v.*], *ḳaṣr*[*q.v.*], *gunbād̲h̲*, *gūr*, *turba* or *türbe*[*q.v.*]), or even qualitative differences applying to the dead man and therefore to the value of the sanctuary (*e.g.*, *rawḍa*, *mas̲h̲had*, *imām-zāde* [*q.v.*], *s̲h̲āh-zāde*, *walī*, *marbūṭ*, *mazār*, *maḳām* and even *makān*). Nevertheless, it is permissible to make a preliminary distinction in the midst of such confusion, following the usage proposed by Max van Berchem and justified by Arabic texts (cf. M. van Berchem, *CIA Egypte*, i, 286, note, and 293; *CIA Jérusalem*, i, 6, 124), between the tomb itself, treated here under the word *ḳabr*, and the "mausoleum" (*ḳubba* or *turba*), that is "the construction consecrated to the tomb, either free-standing or joined on to another edifice", which is sometimes confused with those indeterminate structures that can be grouped under the heading of "commemorative monuments".

This article therefore excludes the many funerary edifices which constitute one of the most representative categories of ancient Islamic art and include notably the open-air funerary enclosure, the domed cubic monument and the funerary tower—the most widespread interpretations of the functional theme of the mausoleum. Yet the tomb situated directly over a real or assumed burial place is far from conforming to a simple, uniform type varying according to the time and region discussed. The existence of an original primitive element that can easily be recognized in many cases—hummock of earth, tombstone or stone-work bench, rectangle defined by pebbles or low walls, raised block at the head or feet of the corpse—does not alter the fact that in detail of forms and even in decoration and inscription, Muslim tombs reveal a great variety to be seen in the archaeological remains from various epochs; it is to be regretted only that there does not yet exist an exhaustive catalogue of these monuments.

Such a lack is made even more apparent by the fact that cemeteries preserved intact for centuries on the outskirts of town and containing truly venerable tombs in the midst of more recent ones—in cities as diverse as Salé, Ḳayrawān, Cairo, Damascus and Istanbul, for example—have often had to give way to urban development and the extension of dwelling-areas. At the same time some popular and traditional customs or regular visits to particular sites are disappearing (for such religious attitudes before "our secularization of urban cemeteries" see L. Massignon, *La cité des morts au Caire, Qarâfa—Darb al-Aḥmar*, in *BIFAO*, lvii/19, 25-79). However, many groups of tombs situated in places that are protected or difficult of access still provide a rich documentation which should be submitted to detailed study. In the light of a broadened perspective and on more solid chronological and statistical bases, we must look again at the sole systematic attempt of this kind, the fifty-year-old study of old, decorated steles in the cemeteries of Salé and Rabat which lends itself to comparisons with examples as far

distant as Egypt and Turkey (see J. Bourrilly and E. Laoust, *Stèles funéraires marocaines*, coll. *Hespéris IHEM*, no. 3, Paris 1927).

In the absence of any new studies, research on the tombs erected throughout the Islamic world is dependent on a paucity of information and on data gathered in the course of some other research, mainly epigraphic. The first necessity is to sift the basic compilations of Arabic inscriptions made by town or by region (such as the series of *Materiaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* impressively begun by Max van Berchem, or the several volumes, ordered according to slightly varying norms, which have appeared under the title *Corpus des Inscriptions arabes de Tunisie*) and the vast inventories of the epigraphic productions of a given region such as Sicily or Spain (see the section *Epigrafi sepolcrali* by M. Amari, *Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia*, in the new edition, corrected and published by F. Gabrieli, Palermo 1971; and see especially E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris 1931, in which pages xxiii-xxv of the introduction are devoted to the form or embellishment of epitaph stones).

Interesting descriptive notes may also accompany the publications of series of Arab steles, or of isolated examples, preserved in museums (the documentation of the Arab steles of Egypt contained in *Catalogue du Musée arabe du Caire, Les stèles funéraires*, i and iii by H. Hawary and H. Rached, Cairo 1932 and 1938, ii, iv-x by G. Wiet, Cairo 1936-42 is of particular interest, as are also G. Wiet's comments on Iranian steles of the 6th/12th century in *L'exposition persane de 1931*, Cairo 1933). They are also found, with more accurate information than in the case of uprooted funerary inscriptions, in those rare epigraphic works centred on a homogeneous series of epitaphs which were published while the epitaphs were still *in situ* (see, *e.g.*, the descriptions in B. Roy and P. Poinssot, *Inscriptions arabes de Kairouan*, IHET Paris 1950-58, and J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Stèles arabes anciennes de Syrie du Nord*, in *Annales Arch. de Syrie*, vi (1956), 11-38, or *Stèles arabes de Bust (Afghanistan)*, in *Arabica*, iii (1956), 285-306; see also the important inventory of Akhlāṭ steles recently published by B. Karamağaralı, *Ahlat mezartaşları*, Ankara 1972). Finally a few rare studies attempt to trace the stylistic evolution of tomb decorations or inscriptions (see, *e.g.*, J. Strygowski, *Ornamente altarabischer Grabsteine in Kairo*, in *Isl.*, ii (1911), 305-36, or J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Epitaphes coufiques de Bâb Saghir* apud *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, bk. iv, Paris 1950, or the series of articles relating to the tombs bearing figurative representations in Anatolia, the latest of which is B. Karamağaralı, *Sivas ve Tokat'taki figürlü mezar taşlarının mahiyeti hakkında*, in *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, ii (1971), 75-109).

However, such notations as we have are so ill-assorted that in the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to draw up even an approximate chart showing the development of a funerary art and epigraphy which gave birth to true works of sculpture in stone and contributed to a large extent to the rise of the most elaborate kinds of ornamental Arab scripts. At this moment no more can be said than that in Islamic civilization—setting aside temporary periods of austerity—as in many others tombs present a true reflection of the wealth and degree of refinement of a society in any one era; they also register the cultural and religious climate in which the epigraphs were composed, with their information about the personality, circle and opinions of the deceased.

Inscriptions of a greater or lesser length are a constant characteristic of the majority of tombs, apart from those rustic ones which stand in humble anonymity. While here we will deal only with those in Arabic, it must not be forgotten that a number of important epitaphs were composed in later times in other languages. Such inscriptions appear on steles, cippi or cenotaphs and are inscribed on surfaces of a variety of shapes (most frequently rectangular panels or bandeaux), but in both style and disposition they always occupy the foreground of the tomb's layout. The prime purpose of such inscriptions being to record the name of the person buried there and to bear witness to his faith (through a variable use of ḳur'ānic quotations) by calling blessings down on him, they are above all epitaphs. They are classified in Arabic under the vague term *kitāb* and follow a classical schema apparent from the end of the 2nd/8th century (more exactly from 174/790, the date of the oldest stele in the Cairo museum).

From this date the inscriptions generally include, after the obligatory *basmala*, either commonplace introductory phrases, such as the *taṣliya* or less frequently the *ḥamdala*, or pious sentences consisting of "the solemn affirmation of certain divine prerogatives, and the assertion that the death of a creature is due to God's divine decree". Subsequent to this comes the name of the deceased, announced in various stereotyped fashions and accompanied by a varying amount of detail on his genealogy or titles. Usually this is followed by eulogies in his honour, ranging from one to many and sometimes including "transferred eulogies". The verb which was employed earliest to introduce the name of the deceased was *shahida*, "has testified", found on the first Arab epitaphs in Egypt. The parallel usage of *tuwuffiya*, "X is deceased", which was first used especially to introduce the date of death, was later sometimes used alone in brief funerary texts (*e.g.*, in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th century in northern Syria). Likewise *hādhā ḳabr*, noted above, which appears on a third of the earliest Islamic steles in Egypt, became the sole formula used without exception in later epitaphs from Ifrīḳiya, al-Andalus, Syria, Anatolia and even eastern Iran.

Another important element, at least in the early period, was the confession of faith, with or without the *risāla*, sometimes supported by quotations from the Ḳur'ān such as verse IX, 33. Later, the absence of the *shahāda* can be noted in some regions (rural epitaphs cut in Syria in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries or contemporary ones from Anatolia) and in some types (epitaphs of children, for example, as attested by examples from Ḳayrawān). Likewise verse IX, 33 was used less frequently in Egypt from the Fāṭimid era; although still popular in the same period in Ifrīḳiya and al-Andalus, it no longer appeared in Syria or the eastern provinces, nor in Anatolia from the 6th/12th century. This evolution parallels that observed in the case of other verses from the Ḳur'ān which were put to different use according to place and period. In Egypt, for example, verse XXII, 7, stressing the necessary advent of the final hour, was in vogue until the 4th/10th century and was also found in Ifrīḳiya. In al-Andalus, XXXV, 5, on the vanity of earthly life, was widely used, as was the phrase "every soul tastes of death", taken from Ḳur'ān III, 182 or XXIX, 7, in the whole of the mediaeval east from the 6th/12th century. Depending on period or region, basic religious texts

enjoyed greater or lesser favour, although verses II, 256, III, 16-18, and Sūra CXII were always popular.

Also to be taken into account is the presence or absence of religious maxims whose precise meaning is known to us through studies like those done on the saying, "reliving the mourning for the Prophet" (cf. L. Massignon, *La Rawḍa de Médine, cadre de la méditation musulmane sur la destinée du Prophète, annexe 1*, in *BIFAO*, lix (1960), 260-7), and also those moral maxims, complementary invocations and poetic texts which constitute, along with information on the date cf death, the "accidental" portions of the funerary inscription. As a general rule, the wealth of doctrinal allusion and religious sentiment revealed by the epitaphs of the first four centuries of the *Hid̲j̲ra* are contrasted with the later poverty of traditional formulas, compensated for by new tendencies such as the development of the titular description of the deceased according to new customs of society, the abundance of quotations from the Ḳurʾān as a feature of ornamental design (as in some Iranian steles in *miḥrāb* form from the beginning of the 6th/12th century), the progressive introduction of "literary" customs leading to an increasingly bombastic style and multiplying the occasional verses or snatches of rhythmic or assonant prose (see examples of epitaphs of Maltese or Sicilian origin).

The epigraphic decoration of the most sumptuous tombs—not always those most venerated, for popular devotion was often given to graves marked by a simple heap of stones—cannot be separated from their fform, material used, nor from the other decorative elements of which it was an intrinsic and harmonious part. It is not fortuitous, for example, that a particular type of ornate inscription, associated in Syria from the 6th/12th century with artistic influences from Upper Mesopotamia, was developed on a class of tombs which were also highly specialized in origin and in the circumstances of their appearance (see J. Sauvaget, *La tombe de l'Ortokide Balak*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 207-15; cf. J. Sauvaget, *La madrasa Djahârkasiya*, apud *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, 41-50); a number of comparable cases could be cited, especially with reference to the arched steles whose stylistic evolution was parallel to the flat *miḥrāb* and contemporary door frames.

However, the various currents which joined forces to give rise to the curious parallelism of methods of constructing funerary monuments from one end of the Islamic world to the other cannot yet be determined with any precision and we must confine ourselves to the following observations. Firstly, it would appear that the tabular steles used "to create that which is known in Arabic as *s̲h̲āhid*, the witness" constitute the oldest type of Muslim funerary stones (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, xxiii), a type which is attested in Egypt from the 2nd/8th century and endured until the Ottoman era, many specimens of the latter being known. These variously carved slabs, sometimes bearing the name of *ruk̲h̲āma* or *lawḥ*, were most frequently set at one or sometimes at either end of the tombs, being classified as archaic since they are in the shape of "boxes without lids" found in backward regions and isolated rural districts.

These steles vary greatly in appearance. They may consist of double rectangular steles, rounded or disc-shaped, of moderate size and quite simple decoration, sometimes without inscriptions, as in Spain and northern Syria. They may also be single, monumental steles, frequently remarkably ornamented, sometimes with abundant and finished inscriptions; these latter may still be seen *in situ* at Salé or Ak̲h̲lāṭ, for example, and are exemplified in museums by the so-called Almerian steles of the early 6th/12th century and by a no less interesting series of Iranian slabs of the same period. At times they consist of a rectangular framework surrounding inscriptions which are incised or sculpted in relief on a hollowed ground; this is the most dominant pattern in the first centuries of the *Hid̲j̲ra* from Egypt to Spain. At others the central motif is the inscribed arch, single or double, around which are arranged beautifully patterned ornamental compositions; this type appears in both east and west. Yet sometimes the tabular steles give way to shafts of columns embellished with inscriptions (*ʿamūd ḳabr* and *sāriyat ḳabr*), which predominated in cemeteries in Toledo and Ḳayrawān in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries and still indicate Ottoman graves, where the cylindrical stele is usually crowned by a "turban" carved in marble.

On the other hand, from the 5th/11th century scaled-down sarcophagi were also popular. These consisted of strips of stone laid in tiers or of "long, low steles of white marble forming a prism standing on a pedestal", which are often given the Mag̲h̲ribī names *mḳābiriyya*, *d̲j̲annābiyya* or *ṣanam*, and are generally recognized as schematic imitations of the primitive pile of earth. These stones or low constructions may also be accompanied by raised slabs, a hybrid style which appears in a number of regions. Examples are the old Syrian tomb of al-Maʿarrī (cf. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Inscriptions du mausolée d'Abū l-ʿAlāʾ à Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 289-94) and especially the various combinations seen in the tombs of Ak̲h̲lāṭ. But in this case too there is a great diversity of shapes enabling the tombs to be allotted to different categories, limited by neither place nor period, from the earliest archaeological evidence furnished by the tomb of Subuktakīn at G̲h̲azna, most probably c. 387/997 (cf. S. Flury, *Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna*, in *Syria*, 1925, 61-90). Ayyūbid examples from Syria can be interpreted as imitations in stone of the sculptured wood cenotaphs well known elsewhere (Mesopotamian, Syrian and Egyptian examples cited by J. Sauvaget, *Le cénotaphe de Saladin*, in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, vi (1929-30), 168-75, or by G. Wiet, *Les inscriptions du mausolée de Shafiʿi*, in *Bull. Inst. Eg.*, xv (1933), 167-85). Other prismatic steles are closer to the type of stepped platform identified by D. S. Rice in a papyrus preserved in Vienna and attributed to the 3rd/9th century by A. Grohmann, of which he found later representatives modelled in brick and stone-work in the miniatures accompanying many copies of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt* (cf. D. S. Rice, *The oldest illustrated Arabic manuscript*, in *BSOAS*, xxii (1959), 207-20 and fig. on p. 219). A whole new chapter could be written on the funerary stones bearing representations of animals in relief which forms part of an even more original chain of tradition. The popularity of this style in Turkey has been the subject of many studies (see the most recent, noted above).

Bibliography: in the article.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

In works of *fiḳh* (usually in the chapter dealing with obsequies) two problems connected with tombs are discussed. Mav they be decorated to a certain extent? Is it permitted to visit them? On the first point it is surprising to observe the complete unanimity of the *fuḳahāʾ* (no matter what school they belong to) in disapproving of all ornamentation on tombs, however

simple it may be. To mark the site of the tomb the more lenient among them permit at the most the construction of a lowly erection of unfired brick (*labin*); the use of fired brick (*ādjurr*) is firmly advised against as it would be the first step towards ornamentation. This modest construction must not be rough cast (though this is permitted by the Ḥanafīs only) and must bear no inscription relating to the deceased (paradoxically enough, Ibn Ḥazm allowed his name to be inscribed) nor even passages from the Ḳur'ān. It is blameworthy to build a dome or any monument whatsoever above a tomb. It is obvious that this teaching, which the *fuḳahā'* based on traditions that they traced back to the Prophet, was never respected, except in impoverished villages. In the presence of the considerable number of richly decorated tombs found in all Muslim countries, it must be admitted that there are few areas where the divorce between theory and practice was so marked. No doubt this was the result of the nature of the condemnation formulated by the legal scholars: the decoration of tombs is blameworthy, reprehensible (*makrūh*), but not *ḥarām*, that is, categorically forbidden; this has given rise to the almost general belief that their decoration does not absolutely infringe religious law.

The permissibility of visiting tombs (*ziyārat al-ḳubūr*) was admitted very early on by *idjmā'*; all the schools, including the Ḥanbalīs and Ẓāhirīs, even went so far as to recommend the practice, while forewarning the faithful to shun the behaviour characteristic of Christian pilgrimages (carrying candles, chanting, distributing alms).

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(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

ḲABRA, in Spanish Cabra, a town in a mountainous region of Andalusia to the south-east of Cordoba, situated at an altitude of 448 m. on the slopes of the Sierra de Cabra; at present it is the centre of a *partido judicial* of the province of Cordoba and has a population of 20,000.

The Muslim town of Ḳabra, which succeeded the Roman Igabrum — one of the principal cities of Baetica according to Pliny — ranked as one of the fortresses of al-Andalus. Colonised by the *djund* of Wāsiṭ in 'Irāḳ in the time of the governor Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Kalbī (125/743-127/745) under the Umayyads it was the centre of a relatively small district (*kūra*) which took in Ecija. A single *ḳāḍī* had jurisdiction over both these towns. The bishopric of Ḳabra, which date from the 4th century A.D., continued to exist under the Umayyad caliphate. Some rare, and unfortunately too brief, descriptions by Arab geographers speak of the equable climate, the abundance of running water, the profusion of olive groves and the luxuriant vegetation of Muslim Ḳabra; they bear witness to the existence of a great mosque with three aisles and a busy street-market. Not far from the town some lead mines were worked.

Muḳaddam b. Mu'āfā (d. 299-300/912 [*q.v.*]), the originator of the *muwashshaḥ*, was a native of Ḳabra.

Ḳabra was involved in the frontier disputes between the Castilians and the Andalusian Muslims. Ḥabbūs b. Māksan, the Zīrid dynast of Granada, captured it in 419-20/1029-30. Conquered by Ferdinand III (the Saint) in 641/1244, the town belonged successively to the Council of Cordoba and to the Order of Calatrava. In 733/1333 the Naṣrid Muḥammad IV seized Ḳabra, destroyed the ramparts and part of the castle, and sent the inhabitants to captivity in Granada. Re-populated shortly afterwards by the Master of the Order of Calatrava, Ḳabra subsequently reverted to the Crown of Castile. In 849/1445 Henry IV gave the town to Diego Fernandez of Cordoba in reward for his services and granted him the title of Count of Cabra.

Various remains dating from the time of the Muslim occupation, in particular a ruined castle, can still be seen in Ḳabra.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and De Goeje, 174, 205; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *La Péninsule Ibérique...*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1938, *notice* 134, 149-50 (Arabic text), 178-9 (French tr.); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, 78; idem, *Iḥāta*, ed. 'Inān, i, 440, 541; idem, *A'māl al-a'lām*, 229; *Crónica de D. Alfonso XI*, *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, lxvi, new ed., Madrid 1953; P. Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar*, v, Madrid 1840, 40-50; *Sobre el nombre y la patria del autor de la "muwaššaḥa"*, in *al-Andalus*, ii (1934), 215-22; E. Lévi-Provençal, *H.E.M.*, iii, index.

(R. ARIÉ)

KABSH [see BADW (IIa), YÜRÜK, ZAKĀT, and SILĀḤ].

AL-ḲABTAWRĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM KHALAF B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ AL-GHĀFIḲĪ, poet and letter-writer, from the island in the Guadalquivir called Ḳabtawra or Ḳabtūra (formerly Caput Tauri, Ibn Khaldūn—de Slane, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 113; today Isla Mayor, south of Seville). The son of a Sevillian scholar, he was born in Shawwāl 615/December 1218-January 1219. After the fall of Seville (646/1248) he moved to Ceuta, where he became head of the chancellery of the 'Azafid emirate; following the death of the amīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-'Azafī he left Ceuta for Tunis and there taught *ḥadīth*. He made two pilgrimages to Mecca, the first from Ceuta and the second from Tunis in 696/1297. Subsequently he settled in Medina, dying there in 704/1304. Among his teachers were Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Dabbādj and Ibn Abi 'l-Rabī', then, in the East, al-Gharrāfī, while his students included Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Ibn Djābir al-Wādiyāshī, 'Abd al-Muhaymin al-Ḥaḍramī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Tudjībī and Ibn Rushayd [*q.v.*].

Only a portion of his poetic output survives, but to judge from the extracts preserved in the works of biographers and the *riḥla*s of al-Tudjībī and Ibn Rushayd, al-Ḳabtawrī was a minor poet who conformed to the tastes of his age by cultivating formal stylishness. His letters date from the period when he was head of the chancellery at Ceuta. M. H. El-Hila (*Lettres d'al-Gāfiqi*, Sorbonne thesis 1967) has collected eleven letters preserved in the 'Abdelliyya Library in Tunis (no. 2804) and two other communications reproduced in *al-Dhakhīra al-saniyya*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920, 113-23 (the author is unnamed but the historical data, in conjunction with internal textual criticism, make their attribution to al-Ḳabtawrī extremely likely).

This body of correspondence supplies new particulars about political aspects of the relationship between the countries of the Maghrib and the connexions between the Maghrib and Spain in troubled and confused times. Strong light is thrown on the policy of Ceuta vis-à-vis both the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada and the two Moroccan states (Almohad and

Marīnid). From a literary point of view these letters, models of the type prevailing at the period, are characterized by affectation, *sadj*ʿ, and a wealth of metaphors, antitheses and borrowings from the Ķurʾān and *ḥadīth*. At times the striving for literary effects transforms some sentences into punning riddles. There is one striking oddity in this correspondence: a letter addressed to the Prophet, which is a sort of panegyric expressing an ardent desire to visit him at Medina. This letter is probably the oldest of its kind still in existence, for it antedates the two known letters of Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 469).

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ĶABŪL [see BAYʿ].

KĀBUL. 1. A river of Afghānistān and the North-West Frontier region of Pākistān, 700 km. long and rising near the Unai Pass in lat. 34° 21′ N. and long. 68° 20′ E. It receives the affluents of the Pandjhīr, Alingar, Kunar and Swat Rivers from the north, and the Lōgar from the south, and flows eastwards to the Indian plain, joining the Indus at Atak (Attock). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (end of 4th/10th century) calls it "the River of Lamghān", and describes it as flowing from the mountains bordering on Lamghān and Dunpūr, passing by Nangrahār (sc. the Djalālābād district) and running down to Multān and the ocean. Bīrūnī calls it "the River of Ghōrwand", because one of the arms of the Pandjhīr River rises near the Ghōrband Pass. From these and other statements in the geographers, it is clear that the Kābul River was at this time considered as the main course of the Indus. It is probable that the Kābul River (in Sanskrit Kubhā, one of the seven rivers of the Ṛig-veda) gave its name to the region and eventually the town of Kābul, see below.

Bibliography: J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 46; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*, Reihe 1, xi, 1361-2, *s.v.* Kophen, Kophes.

2. The name of a region, and then of a town, in eastern Afghānistān, the city of Kābul being now the capital of that kingdom. The city lies in lat. 34° 30′ N. and long. 69° 13′ E. at an altitude of 1,750-1,800 m. on the Kābul River in a fertile and well-watered plain surrounded by chains of mountains and hills. Its excellent position as a communications centre, where the route up the Kābul River valley meets the various routes across the Hindū Kush and the route from Ghazna and the south, made it a place of importance at an early date.

In pre-Christian times, the Kābul region formed part of the Hellenized Bactrian states-system, but early in the Christian era it was overrun by invaders from the steppes to the north such as the Kushans and Kidarites and then the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA]. Buddhism flourished there and in the whole of the Gandharan region, as the numerous stupas surviving in the Kābul valley attest, and as the travel narrative of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsang, who knew Kābul as Kao-fu, likewise shows. Yet the diffusion of cultural influences from the Hindu Gandharan kingdom, based on Udabhāṇḍapur or Wayhind, favoured the indianisation of the Hephthalite rulers of Kābul and the replacement of Buddhism by Indian cults. At this period, Kābul remained the name of the whole district of the upper Kābul River valley rather than a specific town [see KĀBULISTĀN]. Hence a Muslim geographer like Yaʿķūbī, *Buldān*, 290-1, tr. Wiet, 106-7, gives as the chief town of the region the cryptic حروس, and the capital of the Kābul-Shāhs as the fortress of حرربدس, possibly to be identified with the citadel of Kābul itself (Wiet reads these names as applying to a single place, Djarwīn, following Marquart's Djurwīn in *Ērānšahr*, 277-89).

The name Kābul was known to the Arabs even in pre-Islamic times. The Djāhilī and Mukhaḍram poets (sc. those of the intermezzo between the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods) use the phrase *Turk wa-Kābul* as a synonym for remoteness, an *Ultima Thule*; see T. Kowalski, *Die ältesten Erwähnungen der Türken in der arabischen Literatur*, in *KCsA*, ii (1926-32), 38-41. However, first-hand knowledge of eastern Afghānistān came only with the expansion of the Arabs from their basins in Sīstān and at Bust eastwards into Zamīndāwar and Zābulistān [*qq.v.*], the territories of the Zunbīls, epigoni of the southern branch of the Hephthalites. These local rulers strongly resisted the Arabs for over two centuries, barring the way to the Kābul valley, and the fact that these Zunbīls seem to have been related to the Kābul-Shāhs made for solidarity against the Muslim raiders.

During Muʿāwiya's caliphate, the governors of Sīstān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura and al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād, raided as far as Kābul, compelling the local rulers there and in Zābulistān to pay tribute. The main product yielded by the raids through these inhospitable regions was, of course, slaves. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān brought back slaves captured at Kābul to his house at Baṣra, where they built for him an oratory in the Kābulī architectural style (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 397). The famous Syrian *mawlā* scholar Makḥūl al-Dimashķī, teacher of al-Awzāʿī (d. 118/736), had been captured at Kābul during the first Muslim raid there (Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 161; Ibn Khallikān, tr. iii, 437). Yet the political effects of these and subsequent raids were invariably transitory, and in ʿAbd al-Malik's caliphate, a Muslim army under ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra suffered a grievous defeat in the Kābul region (78/697-8); it was to retrieve the Muslim position that the famous "Peacock Army" was sent out under Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*]. In Hārūn al-Rashīd's time, the governor of Khurāsān, al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, sent expeditions into northern and eastern Afghānistān which strengthened the hold of Islam on certain parts of the region. In 179/795 the general Ibrāhīm b. Djibrīl attacked Zābulistān and then penetrated to Kābul, at that time under the rule of the Turk-Shāhī dynasty; and under al-Maʾmūn there was a further raid entailing the capture of the ruler of Kābul and his adoption of Islam. For some time under the governorship in Khurāsān of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213/828-230/845), the Kābul-Shāh paid tribute to the Muslims in the form of 1½ million *dirhams* annually plus 2,000 Oghuz Turkish slaves (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 38).

Only under the Ṣaffārids of Sīstān [*q.v.*] was real headway made by the Muslims. Thus Yaʿķūb b. Layth's expedition of 256/870 via Balkh to Bāmiyān, Kābul and the silver mines of Pandjhīr brought about the first lengthy Muslim occupation of Kābul. Arab historians record the wonder excited in Baghdād by the presents of elephants and pagan idols from the Kābul valley forwarded by the Ṣaffārids (Ṭabarī, iii, 1841; cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 125-6). The islamisation of the Kābul region progressed considerably under Alptigin and the Turkish slave governors of Ghazna in the later decades of the 4th/10th century; under the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*], Kābul seems to have been a depôt for the army's force of elephants

(Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 116-17). It now begins to be considered as administratively within the orbit of Ghazna rather than in that of the Bāmiyān-Ghōrband area, cf. Maḳdisī, 297.

The geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries give a somewhat vague and confused account of the Kābul region, especially since it was peripheral to the experience of most of them. Long before it became islamised, Muslim merchants resorted to Kābul, primarily because it was an entrepôt for the products of India: in the enumeration of Ibn Khurradādhbih, 38, for inferior aloes wood, coconuts, saffron, and above all, myrobalanus (*ihlīladj*, *halīladj*), the astringent medicament, of which a special Chebuli or Kābulī variety was distinguished (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, 607-10, and Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 378). Towards the beginning of the Ghaznawid period, Kābul begins to be distinguished as a town, with a mixed Muslim and Indian population (the Indians regarding Kābul as a pilgrimage centre), a strong citadel and a prosperous *rabaḍ* or commercial quarter (Muḳaddasī, 304; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 111).

The dominance of the capitals Ghazna and then Fīrūzkūh [*qq.v.*], under the Ghaznawids and Ghūrids respectively, inevitably overshadowed Kābul, and contemporary sources do not have a great deal to say about it at this time. Such destructions of Ghazna as those of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ghūrī and Tīmūr favoured the gradual rise once more of Kābul, although the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa still found there in 733/1333 a mere village, with nothing there of note save a *zāwiya* or hermitage of the Ṣūfī Shaykh Ismāʿīl al-Afghānī (*Riḥla*, iii, 89-90, tr. Gibb, iii, 590-1). Eastern Afghānistān formed part of the Tīmūrid empire, and after Tīmūr's death it became an appanage (*soyūrghāl*) for Tīmūrid princes. Thus Abū Saʿīd's son Ulugh Beg (not to be confused with the more celebrated Ulugh Beg b. Shāh Rukh, d. 853/1449, [*q.v.*]) reigned in Kābul and Ghazna from 865/1461 to 907/1501-2. After his death, Kābul came temporarily under the control of the Arghūnid Muḳīm, who had married a daughter of Ulugh Beg, until in 910/1504 Bābur came from Transoxania and took over Kābul, compelling Muḳīm to retreat to Ḳandahār. Kābul now flourished under Bābur, who is eloquent in his memoirs about the climate and natural beauties of the region, its amenities and its products, and the fact that it was a mecca for trading caravans, bringing thither the products of India, China, Central Asia and Persia; and it was at Kābul that Bābur laid out numerous gardens. He made it his centre for campaigns against Ḳandahār and into northern India, and his successors the Mughal Emperors of India kept it firmly within the orbit of their dominions. For the first time, Kābul becomes a mint centre for gold and silver coinage, and Mughal coins were produced there down to the reign of ʿAzīz al-Dīn ʿĀlamgīr (1167/1754-1173/1759). It was to his favoured centre of Kābul that Bābur's body was brought, in accordance with his express desire, some years after his death at Āgra in 937/1530; his tomb is now a pleasant spot on the slopes of the Shīr Dawāza mountain on the west side of modern Kābul (see *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 188 ff., 705-6, 709-11, lxxx-lxxxi).

Nādir Shāh captured the citadel of Kābul in 1151/1738, en route for his famous Indian campaign, but after his death in 1160/1747, the Ḳizīlbāsh garrison of Kābul yielded it up to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī of Ḳandahār [*q.v.*]. Under Aḥmad's son and successor Tīmūr Shāh, it became clear that the Durrānī empire in north-western India could not be satisfactorily held from Ḳandahār, so Kābul became the capital. In this way began Kābul's modern rôle as capital of Afghānistān, even though at times in the 19th century the authority of the amīrs of Kābul was geographically fairly circumscribed [for the history of the period, see AFGHĀNISTĀN, v]. The town suffered during the first two Afghān-British Wars and the civil strife between rival members of the Sadōzay and Muḥammadzay or Bārakzay families. Thus when British forces returned to Kābul in autumn 1842, they burned the great bazaar of Kābul in retaliation for the murder of Macnaghten and the sufferings of the British forces during their retreat from Kābul at the beginning of that year. In recent decades, Kābul has expanded to a city of 435,000 people (1965 estimate), has acquired paved roads and has become a considerable industrial centre; in particular, it has expanded northwestwards in the Shahr-i Naw suburb towards the British Embassy and southwestwards towards the University of Kābul and King Amān Allāh's former palace of the Dār al-Amān.

Bibliography: For the geographical position of Kābul and the development of the modern city, see J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, 130-9, and the detailed social, demographic and economic survey in H. Hahn, *Die Stadt Kabul (Afghanistan) und ihr Umland. i. Gestaltwandel einer orientalischen Stadt. ii. Sozialstruktur und wirtschaftliche Lage der Agrarbevolkerung im Stadtumland*, Bonner geographische Abhandlungen, Hefte 34-5, Bonn 1964-5 (contains many useful maps). For Kābul's history during the mediaeval period, see scattered references in R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, Cairo 1948; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901; C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids*, Rome 1968; H. C. Ray, *The dynastic history of Northern India*, i, Calcutta 1931; M. Forstner, *Yaʿqūb b. al-Laiṯ und der Zunbīl*, in *ZDMG*, cxx/1 (1970), 69-83. The information of the Muslim geographers is subsumed in Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 348-50, to which should be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 11, 343-7. The *Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1921, devotes much space to the topography and products of the Kābul region. For the modern period, see the sources quoted in the bibliography to AFGHĀNISTĀN, i, and v; the accounts of 19th and early 20th century travellers and officials like Mountstuart Elphinstone, Alexander Burnes, J. P. Ferrier, Sir Thomas Holdich, etc., are especially valuable here.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KĀBULISTĀN, the upper basin of the Kābul River (see preceding article), vaguely defined in early Islamic times as the region between Bāmiyān in the west and Lamghān in the east. The geographer Muḳaddasī (c. 375/985) includes within it all the country north of Ghazna and Zābulistān, *i.e.*, the Lōgar valley, cf. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 349; and it is only about this time that the term "Kābul" becomes specialised for the name of the town rather than being applied to the whole region of Kābulistān. In contemporary Afghānistān, the heart of the mediaeval Kābulistān has since 1964 formed the *wilāyat* or province of Kābul.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲĀBŪS B. WUSHMAGĪR B. ZIYĀR, SHAMS AL-MAʿĀLĪ ABU'L-ḤASAN (reigned 366-71/977-81 and

388-403/998 to 1012-13), fourth ruler of the Ziyārid dynasty which had been founded by Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār [*q.v.*] and which ruled in Ṭabaristān and Gurgān (Djurdjān). Like other families rising to prominence in the "Daylamī interlude" of Persian history, the Ziyārids endeavoured to attach themselves to the pre-Islamic Iranian past, and Ḳābūs's grandson Kay Kā'ūs makes Ḳābūs's ancestors rulers of Gīlān in the time of Kay Khusraw (*Ḳābūs-nāma*, Preface). As under his predecessors, suzerainty over the Caspian coastlands continued in Ḳābūs's time to be disputed by the Sāmānids in Khurāsān and the Būyids of western Persia. It seems to have been support from the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] which enabled Ḳābūs to succeed his brother Ẓahīr al-Dawla Bīsutūn in 366/977, for the great Amīr's overlordship is acknowledged on Ḳābūs's first coins; it was also at this point that he received the honorific of 'Shams al-Maʿālī' from the Caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ.

However, Ḳābūs soon afterwards gave help to his son-in-law Fakhr al-Dawla [*q.v.*], the Būyid ruler of the Kurdish region of Djibāl, against the latter's brothers ʿAḍud al-Dawla and Muʾayyid al-Dawla. This course proved disastrous for Ḳābūs. He lost control of much of Ṭabaristān by 369/979-80, and in 371/981-2 the remainder of his kingdom was invaded by Būyid forces under Muʾayyid al-Dawla in person. After a defeat at Astarābād, Ḳābūs and Fakhr al-Dawla were compelled to seek refuge in Nīshāpūr with the Sāmānid general Ḥusām al-Dawla Tāsh. Despite Sāmānid aid, the two fugitives were unable to stage a revanche as long as ʿAḍud al-Dawla lived. The Caspian region remained under Muʾayyid al-Dawla's control until his death in 373/984, when Fakhr al-Dawla returned from Nīshāpūr and with the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād's support, became ruler in Rayy and Djibāl. Būyid ingratitude prevented Ḳābūs from sharing in this reversal of fortunes, and it was not until after Fakhr al-Dawla's death that Ḳābūs, after 17 years' exile among the Sāmānids, returned at the invitation of the local people to his ancestral lands (388/998).

The events of Ḳābūs's second reign are less well-documented in the sources; nor do we possess any coins from these later years. The historians relate that Ḳābūs's tyrannical and bloodthirsty rule, which had culminated in the execution of the governor of Astarābād for alleged Muʿtazilī beliefs, finally led to a military revolt. Ḳābūs agreed to abdicate in favour of his son Manūčihr; but shortly afterwards the rebels murdered him by exposure to the winter cold (403/1012-13). His mausoleum, erected in 397/1006-7, may still be seen outside the modern town of Gurgān [see gunbadh-i ḳābūs]. After Ḳābūs's death, the Ziyārid kingdom fell increasingly under the influence of the Ghaznawids, heirs to the Sāmānids in Khurāsān.

Despite his reputation for cruelty, Ḳābūs achieved a great contemporary renown as a scholar and poet in both Arabic and Persian. His long exile among the Sāmānids brought him into fertile contact with the luminaries of the brilliant Bukhārā court culture. In the *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Thaʿālibī calls him "the seal of rulers, the outstanding figure of the age, and the fountainhead of all equity and beneficence", whilst Ibn Shuhayd, cited in Ibn Bassām's *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 202 (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Shuhayd, Ḥayātuhu wa-āthāruhu*, Amman 1966, 132), links him with Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as the leading figures in the new wave of rhymed-prose writers. The extant Arabic works of Ḳābūs comprise a collection of *rasāʾil* and a work on *adab* and proverbs, but ʿAskarī gives high praise to a *Risāla fi'l-iftikhār wa'l-ʿitāb*, now lost (see Brockelmann, S I, 154). Ḳābūs was also an expert calligrapher and authority on astrology. As a patron of the arts, he received the dedication of verses by several of the great poets of the time, but the greatest lustre accruing to him came from his association with Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), who fled from Khwārazm for refuge at Ḳābūs's court before going on to Rayy, and also from his association with Bīrūnī, who came to Gurgān shortly after Ḳābūs's restoration in 388/998 and there dedicated to the amīr his *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*.

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ḲĀBŪS-NAME [see kay kāʾūs].

KABYLIA, a mountainous region in the Algerian Tell. The word Kabylia, coined by the French, means "land of the Kabyles" (*bilād al-Ḳabāʾil*). This name is of fairly recent origin, however, for it is not found in the works of Arabic historians and geographers; it is probably of oral origin and intended for use by foreigners, *i.e.*, Europeans; it seems to have been introduced into geographic nomenclature by European writers from the 16th century onwards. The word "Kabyle", the etymology of which is sometimes questioned, seems to correspond to the Arabic word *ḳabāʾil*, plural of *ḳabīla* "tribe", which certain Arabic writers used as a synonym for the Berbers. It was already employed with this meaning by the author of the *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās* who, in various passages enumerating the contingents of the Marīnid armies (notably pp. 217 and 238 of the Arabic text), carefully distinguishes between the *Ḳabāʾil* and the Arabs.

Geography and Economy. To the east of the plain of Mitidja a barrier of high land extends as far as the Tunisian frontier; these mountainous regions constitute the Kabylias, whose unity is as much physical as human. Close to the Mediterranean the base of ancient rocks, granite and micaceous, which in all probability constitutes the geological basis of North Africa, rises and forms a coastal rim, outcropping as plateaux, deeply dissected by erosion

into long parallel projections: such are the massifs of the Arbaa n-Ath-Iraten (formerly Fort National), Collo, and Edugh. The crystalline rocks have more recent strata, of which two are of great geographic importance: the secondary calcareous rocks were folded into long ranges spiked with peaks; the highest point of one of them, the Djurdjura, is the Lalla Khadidja at 2308 m.; the Djebel Babor rises to 2004 m. The tertiary sandstones spread out in an increasingly continuous surface layer from the west to the east, and because of the nature of the soils deriving from them are forested. Near the sea, torrents plunge over the Kabylian rim, where they gouge out virtually inaccessible vertical gorges; the gorges of Palestro and Kerrata and the canyons of Rhumel have a certain grandeur.

The northern flanks of the Kabylias are exposed to the masses of humid air originating in the Atlantic, thus receiving heavy rainfalls. One of the highest annual average rainfalls in Algeria, 1773 mm., was recorded at Bessombourg in the Collo massif. By reason of the altitude the precipitation can take the form of snow in midwinter, even reaching the depth of one metre at the ʿAyn al-Ḥammām station (formerly Michelet). Abundant humidity and the predominance of siliceous soils favour the spread of forests. Here they cover vast areas; in the main they are of oak, carpeting the middle slopes: the cork on the Numidian sandstones, the *zān* (*chênes zéens*, *quercus Mirbeckii*), the *afares* (*quercus castaneafolia*) and *ballūt* or hazelnut oak. Above 1,500 m. the cedar takes over; it used to grow on the scree on the slopes of the Djurdjura. Trees are important in the everyday life of the people of Kabylia: ash trees close to their houses are used to support vines; their leaves are used as fodder for cattle in summer and the wood is used in the manufacture of agricultural tools and domestic utensils. Olives and figs, which flourish as high as 600 m. and 1,000 m. above sea level respectively, are important components of the diet of the mountain dweller.

All these geographical elements, relief, humidity, low temperatures and forests, contribute to making the Kabylias an unproductive mountainous environment which became the refuge of a population determined to preserve its identity in the face of invaders. The Berber ethos has been maintained for centuries; it has kept its essential characteristics: its old social organization and its customs. Islam may have been accepted, but it was wholly vested with beliefs peculiar to Berber traditions. Arabic has not wholly supplanted Berber dialects, which are still in use throughout Great Kabylia.

The Kabylian mountains are closely kin to those of the western Mediterranean, their landscape bearing the imprint of the same ancient civilization. This is borne out first by the type of dwelling. In the Arbaa n-Ath-Iraten massif the village predominates: it runs along a single central street which follows the line of the ridge. Stone houses roofed with round tiles are inhabited by a group of families, the *kharrūba*, who refer to each other as brothers; each conjugal family occupies one room divided in two by a bench: on one side the people, on the other the livestock. The rooms are arranged around a central courtyard shut off on the outside by a double wooden door. In contrast to the collective village or *thadderth* is the *tūfiḳ*, which is made up of scattered hamlets. Such dwelling places, perched high up and reached by winding paths, seem to have been imposed by the concern common to the populations of the Mediterranean world for protection against the attacks of neighbours or strangers. Another possible explanation is that they meet the requirements for working a soil which is particularly difficult to utilize. Threshing floor and oil presses are installed at the entrance to the village. Under the walls of the houses the women cultivate small vegetable gardens. The slopes, rarely terraced, support groves of olive and fig trees, and fields of barley. The valley bottoms, where the wadis flow between steep banks covered with brushwood, are chilling, narrow, damp and gloomy, and it is easy to see why they remain uninhabited. The people are concentrated on the high land, moving from ridge to ridge. Where the valleys widen out into alluvial plains, the population abandons the high land, spreading out into *tūfiḳ*s among the of barley fields. As in Lesser Kabylia, people are occasionally so dispersed that family huts are isolated in the midst of grazing for the oxen.

The geographer will be surprised at the almost total absence of terrace agriculture and the pastoral movement of flocks which have enabled other Mediterranean mountain dwellers to turn their environment to the best account. Instead, the Kabylian works silver, copper and wood to make coarse jewellery, carved tables and engraved dishes, while his wife weaves woollen carpets and makes pottery decorated with geometric figures. Pedlars travelled beyond the Mediterranean to sell these objects. Such ingenuity does not suffice to explain the great densities of population concentrated in such an unfavourable geographical environment: more than 140 inhabitants to the square kilometre in the major part of the Great Kabylia of Tizi Ouzou, with a maximum of 250 inhabitants in the district of Arbaa-n-Ath Iraten; between 95 and 140 in the Lesser Kabylia of Bidjāya (formerly Bougie); between 70 and 95 in the Lesser Kabylia of Collo and the districts of Skikda (formerly Philippeville) and ʿAnnāba (formerly Bône). These extraordinary population densities characterize a strongly structured human environment, appearing to be an instinctive defence to ensure the survival of a population which believes itself constantly threatened.

Be that as it may, the Kabylians could not have survived in such numbers if they had been reduced to living off the produce of their mountains. To these scanty resources they added the far more abundant ones available through emigration. The massifs are reservoirs of manpower from which the plains, settled at an early date, and the developing towns tapped a supply of workers when they needed them. Algiers is in part a Kabylian city; the outskirts constitute a waiting zone where those who still dare not face the unknown of the city crowd together: Aïn Taya has grown at the fastest rate, increasing from 2,910 inhabitants in 1954 to 21,906 in 1966. The urban centres of the mountains are also growing: in 12 years the population of Tizi Ouzou has risen from 6,056 to 25,852; that of Bidjāya from 29,748 to 59,991; that of Constantine from 111,315 to 240,672.

Since the beginning of the 20th century mountain dwellers from the east of Algeria have even crossed the sea to look for jobs in France and neighbouring countries. The 1966 census brings the number of emigrants living abroad who have remained in touch with their families by sending letters and money up to 268,000; according to the 1968 French census there were 612,000 natives of all regions of Algeria living in France. The two Kabylian départements of Tizi Ouzou (Great Kabylia) and Sétif (Lesser Kabylia) account for 20.77% and 25.99%, *i.e.*, over 46% of all Algerian emigrants, which represents 16.9% and

14.5% of their total populations: thus one in six of those born in Great Kabylia lives abroad. The sums (savings and allowances) remitted by workers to their families have risen annually to 900 million Algerian *dīnārs*, a currency contribution exceeding that derived from the export of wine or citrus fruit. Almost half of this income is sent to the Kabylias, whose basic resource is now their labour force of young men.

The results of emigration have not all been happy. The equilibrium of the mountain settlements has been upset. Several regions in Great and Lesser Kabylia have temporarily lost 20-50% of their adult male population. Old people, women and children predominate: there are not enough workers to cultivate the fields and shrub plantations. Agriculture is reduced to gardening on the outskirts of the villages and is declining. The wasteland gains more ground each year. Goats or poultry are reared on a small scale at the expense of flocks, which are decreasing in size. Traditional society has been disturbed, with a monetary economy supplanting the exchange of goods in kind. As food and clothes are bought from the local trader, the number of shops increases: the old pedlar has settled down. Often the standard of living has risen: foodstuffs such as sugar, tea, coffee and bread baked from wheat are becoming part of the regular diet. The returning emigrant often brings back luxury goods like cameras and transistor radios as presents. On his lavishly celebrated arrival, he introduces new ideas, tastes and desires which transform the outlook of his people. It is difficult for a young worker from a Renault factory to accept the absolute authority of an old man whose experience owes nothing to the modern world; breaking with tradition, he leaves the paternal roof and settles with his wife and children in a more open house, equipped with chimneys. Thus conjugal families often leave the *kharrūba*.

The Algerian government is aware of the dangers involved in emigration: if France should refuse to take in these workers, the economic and social consequences in Kabylia would be extremely grave. To put an end to this dependent state, the establishment of new jobs is envisaged to attract the emigrants home and to ensure their reintegration into the national economy by 1985. This goal can be reached only through large-scale industrialization of the mountain regions. For several years the number of newly-created jobs there has been increasing. The largest textile complex in Algeria, which will employ 2,200 workers, has been established in Great Kabylia at Drāʿben Khedda (formerly Mirabeau). In Lesser Kabylia Bidjāya today is an oil port capable of handling 14 million tons a year. Further to the east Constantine has a textile factory. Skīkda will soon have a huge factory producing methane. The region of ʿAnnāba, which houses the leading metallurgical complex of al-Ḥadjar (formerly Duzerville), is tending to become a focal point of development, the centre for a vast mountain hinterland.

In spite of its indisputable unity, the Kabylian world is divided into several differentiated regional entities. Great Kabylia is unquestionably the most individualistic, comprising from north to south the slight mountainous ridge of the Mizrana, behind the sheer slope from Dellys to Tigzirt, the rich valley of Sebaou, the ancient massif of Tizi-Ouzou, and the mighty limestone sierra of Djurdjura, whose southern slope comes down into the Soummam valley. Here the Berber ethos has been preserved: the people living in the heights have remained firmly attached to their own language and customs, resisting changes brought by Islam and French colonization. Beyond the forested borderland of Yakouren, the Kabylias are populated by Arabic-speaking Berbers. The Lesser Kabylia of Bidjāya, comprising the lower valley of the Soummam and the Babor mountain range, is occupied by small communities who make a living by tilling the soil and raising oxen. The Kabylian Collo massif shelters wild peoples in the heart of its dense forests. Eastern Kabylia is a region of wooded mountain ranges, interspersed by basins where richer agriculture and facilities for transport have allowed towns to develop; Skīkda, Constantine, ʿAnnāba, Guelma and Souk Ahras are poles of attraction for the mountain dwellers.

(H. Isnard)

Ethnography. A significant proportion of the inhabitants of Kabylia, though the precise number is impossible to determine, is Berber-speaking, occupying Kabylia of the Djurdjura or Great Kabylia in particular. Although the inhabitants of Lesser Kabylia or Kabylia of the Babors are Berber-speaking to a slight degree only, Berber customs are firmly rooted among them. However, the Kabyles cannot be considered as constituting one true ethnic group, for all the evidence points to their being ethnically different, although their origins are obscure. They form part of the relatively ancient, pre-Carthaginian peoples of North Africa who probably arrived from different directions, but at least some from the Mediterranean. Living together for centuries in the Maghrib, they eventually built up a common civilization with a single language, which was not written down in the majority of cases and diversified into a great number of dialects with many features in common.

This essentially rural civilization has lasted until the present day in spite of historical vicissitudes and the other civilizations—Carthaginian, Roman, Arabic, Turkish and French—which confronted it. Perhaps the Kabyles became more firmly attached to their ancestral way of life the humbler and more rustic they perceived it to be; at any rate, they had no wish to sacrifice it for the elaborate civilization of the Arabs, for example. That the latter was accommodated to a greater extent than any other was the result of a long association, it is true, but also because of the numerous eastern elements in Berber civilization and the affinities established at an early date. Much has been written on the customs of the Kabyles which, generally speaking, vary from community to community. Their rule of law, which until practically the present day was hardly ever written down but was preserved in the memory of all, differs on several points, notably the disinheritance of women, from Muslim law. Under French occupation a number of customs were recorded in French for the benefit of the magistrates, and French law gradually came to modify local custom and Muslim law.

That the Kabyles have been Muslims for a very long time is certain. Perhaps they embraced Kharidjism during its greatest expansion (from the middle of the 2nd/8th century), but no information is available on this point. At the time of the French occupation it was apparent that Kabylian society professed an Islam more pietist than dogmatic, and that numerous holy men and women were venerated in the country. Religious figures, members of religious brotherhoods, and marabouts or *Shurfāʾ* enjoyed great esteem, often using their influence to settle differences arising between families or tribal groups, and had such privileges as exemption from tax. They

were almost the sole bearers of the written, that is Arabic, culture, which on the evidence of the work of Shaykh al-Warthīlānī (12th/18th century) was fairly rudimentary. They were however capable of teaching the basics of Arabic and a smattering of theology and Muslim law. Significant also were the religious brotherhoods, that founded by Sīdī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Ḳabrayn (Bū Ḳabrīn) (1126/1715-1208/1798) being by far the most important. Alongside God, the Prophet and the saints, the Kabyles believed firmly in the existence of maleficent and beneficent forces closely interwoven with man's existence.

Finally, we must consider the oral tradition in the Kabyle language, as distinct from the limited literature written in Arabic. Numerous specimens from this very rich field have been collected, transcribed and very often translated by orientalists or Kabyles. It was handed down within the framework of the family or village and subject to all the hazards inherent in a purely oral transmission. The tradition was also preserved by professionals who travelled from village to village singing the praises of God and the saints and recounting the struggles of tribes and the exploits of warriors. Others were practitioners of a more lighthearted, even bawdy, style. Verse was important, for it was more easily remembered than prose, and pious, moral and humorous tales were popular. This largely unexplored treasure is in great danger of disappearing, for the young are no longer interested in such old ways.

History. It is more or less established that neither the Carthaginians nor the Romans penetrated deeply into the Kabylian bloc. There are significantly few Roman ruins in Djurdjura, except in some coastal settlements. Arab civilization reached Kabylia of the Babors by the end of the 3rd/9th century, as evidenced by the welcome given by the Kutāma to the Fāṭimid missionary Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, but seems to have reached Kabylia of the Djurdjura only in the shape of Islam, which was probably introduced at an early date though in superficial fashion. In fact, throughout the Middle Ages little is heard of Kabylia. It was subject to the Almohads, but we have no idea under what conditions it then came under the authority of the Ḥafṣids or of the Zayyānids of Tlemcen, and sometimes, for very short periods, even the Marīnids of Fez. Kabylia seems rather to have survived these vicissitudes than to have played a prominent rôle, and it may be supposed that during this period of more than two centuries it was largely autonomous.

It is not until the 10th/16th century that the Kabyles, perhaps unwittingly, took an active part in the history of the Maghrib. The Barbarossa brothers, ʿArūdj and then Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], made the Djidjelli region their first base of operations, with Algiers as their final objective. Since the Kabylian massifs constituted a screen between Djidjelli and Algiers, the Turks were forced to take account of the local inhabitants who could cut off their route, and the latter had to adopt attitudes which obviously influenced subsequent events. At that time the Kabyle peoples were divided between three powers, which Western writers called the kingdom of Kūko, the kingdom of Labbès (Banū ʿAbbās) and the principality of the Banū Djubar. The last-named held sway over the tribes inhabiting the coastal zone to the east of Bidjāya. The kingdom of Labbès was situated to the east of the Wādī 'l-Sāḥil or Summām, and spread over at least part of Kabylia of the Babors; that of Kūko stretched from Djurdjura to the sea and was served by the port of Azeffūn: in other words it included the major part of Kabylia of the Djurdjura. At the time of ʿArūdj, the leader of Kūko was named Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāḍī; ʿArūdj concluded an alliance with him, obtaining contingents of mountain fighters as reinforcements for his scanty Turkish army. During this time the Banū Djubar and the Banū ʿAbbās usually sided with the Spaniards from Bidjāya. Under Khayr al-Dīn the scene changed: having quarrelled with him, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī went so far as to attack him, and played no small part in his short-lived surrender of Algiers (1520-25). The Turks then turned back towards the Banū ʿAbbās and regained the upper hand. A similar state of affairs must have obtained during almost the whole of Turkish domination, with the different Kabyle groups sometimes allying themselves with the rulers of Algiers, then rebelling against them for a time, until, besieged in their mountains, they were obliged to negotiate in order to gain breathing space. Occasionally a matrimonial alliance strengthened the bonds between the Kabyles and Algiers, (the marriage of Ḥasan Pasha to a daughter of the king of Kūko in 1560); often Kabyle contingents arrived to reinforce the Turkish troops (during the Turkish expedition against Morocco in 1574). This did not prevent the Kabyles from continuing their intermittent relationship with Spain nor from welcoming Christian prisoners who escaped from Algiers: it was in this way that in 1559 the chief of the Banū ʿAbbās had at his disposal "a good troop of musketeers" (Haïedo, *Histoire des Rois d'Alger*, 119) and that for about ten years, from 1598 to 1608, the leader of Kūko maintained close relations with Philip III of Spain, who at one point thought of taking Algiers with the help of the Kabyles (Carlos Rodriguez Jouliz Saint Cyr, *Felipe III y el Rey de Cuco*, Madrid 1954). These vicissitudes sometimes brought in their wake internal political changes, such as the disappearance of the kingdom of Kūko and its transformation into a confederation of the Zwāwa, or the birth of a new confederation of the Geshṭūla (Igushdal) in the western part of Djurdjura at the instigation of a shaykh named Gassem (Ḳāsim).

Right up to the end, Turkish authority remained very shaky. The theoretically subject tribes were split into two Kaidates, Boghni and Sebaou plus the town of Bidjāya. To maintain law and order and to raise taxes the Kaids had at their disposal several hundred janissaries, stationed at fortified posts, and troops of auxiliaries, some black (*ʿabīd*). They intervened as little as possible in local affairs and held the country by the constant threat of a blockade which it could not withstand, for the resources brought from outside were indispensable. In addition the Turks fostered local discord and gave their support to religious personalities by helping them erect sacred buildings. On the whole Turkish rule left no bitter taste in Kabylia since it was not rigidly enforced: "In popular songs the Turk is represented as a brave, dignified character; when the poet wishes to praise one of his compatriots, he compares him to a Turk" (Hanoteau, *Poésie populaire de la Kabylie du Djurdjura*, 63-4, n. 3).

During the Turkish period the Kabyle populations preserved their political and administrative institutions intact. These constituted an aggregate of small republics grouped into a federation extending over a small area. The political and administrative unit was the village (*thaddarth*), which was subdivided into groups, called *adrūm*, *tharifth*, *takherrūbt* and *kharrūba* according to locality. A collection of several

villages bound by reciprocal obligations constituted a tribe, *ʿarsh*. At the time of the French conquest there were 1,400 villages divided among 120 tribes. A federation of several tribes was called *thaḳbilth* (Arabic *ḳabīla*). In certain cases several confederations united as a temporary measure for communal military action, but any alliance outside the tribe was very unstable.

The village seems to have been a municipal republic subject to the authority of the citizens' assembly (*thadjmaʿith*, Arabic *djamāʿa*), which had very far-reaching powers. It appointed a president (*amoḳ-ḳrān*, *amghār*, *amīn*) charged with carrying out its decisions, and *ṭemmān* (sing. *ṭāmen*, Arabic *ḍāmin*) as his deputies, or perhaps his supervisors. The *djamāʿa* assessed the quota and allocation of taxes, decided on war and peace, regulated relief funds and modified local customs if the need arose. It was composed of all the male inhabitants old enough to observe the fast of Ramaḍān, but in reality decisions were made by an oligarchy of rich and influential men who laid down the law. The authority of the *djamāʿa* was limited by the respect it owed to the rights of individuals and families, and by customs in force. Tribes and confederations employed the same type of organization, but the more widespread the grouping the looser the bonds of solidarity between its members. Moreover this solidarity was restricted by the existence within all the groups of *ṣoff*, or parties, of whose origins and methods of functioning little is known. In short, Kabylia was made up of very small units whose relations with each other were perpetually unstable, and as the traveller al-Warthīlānī bears witness, the country lived in a state of endemic anarchy.

Such was the situation in Kabylia when the French disembarked at Algiers in 1830. They immediately came into contact with the Kabyles, since the latter were numerous in the capital, but had no thought of occupying their country, because, for several years, they were not even sure if they would remain in Algiers. After the departure of the Turkish garrisons, Kabylia enjoyed a period of complete independence which was hardly conducive to the cohesion of the country. Nevertheless an immediate understanding was reached between the Kabyles and the new occupants, since from August 1830 onwards Bourmont contemplated establishing military units of Zwāwa (Zouaves); the chequered career of these units opened on 1 October 1830.

Before the French took any real interest in the Kabyles the amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir made approaches to them, since he considered them part of his sphere of influence as defined by the treaty of Tafna, and since he knew them to be hostile to French domination. He appointed a *khalīfa* of Sebaou, but was not recognized as sultan by the Kabyles. When Bugeaud was appointed governor-general and commander-in-chief, he was too absorbed in his struggle against ʿAbd al-Ḳādir to attend to Kabylia; this he did in 1844, when, as soon as he gained a slight respite, he occupied Dellys. In 1847, in spite of French government opinion, he embarked on a fresh campaign and had some successes on the periphery of the territory, but the problem of the Kabyle massif remained more or less untouched. It was only after the election in France of Prince-President Louis Napoleon Bonaparte that the Kabylian question was taken up again. A campaign against the supposed *sharīf* Abū Baghla opened in 1851, followed by another in Kabylia of the Babors led by General de Saint Arnaud which resulted in the decisive occupation of Djidjelli. Kabylia of the Djurdjura remained unconquered, however, and disturbances were frequent, especially at the instigation of the Raḥmāniyya brotherhood. On each occasion the French reacted, finally deciding to occupy the Kabylian massif completely, under the leadership of Marshal Randon, the governor-general. After a campaign, made difficult by the nature of the terrain and the tenacity of the tribes, the latter submitted at the beginning of July 1857. In return for hostages and a war tax the Kabyl tribes secured the preservation of their municipal regime, but the great native commands which had continued to exist in the face of many vicissitudes progressively disappeared.

The two Kabylias played an active part in the 1871 insurrection, and were harshly punished by confiscation of land and heavy fines; the municipal assemblies were theoretically suppressed, but the *amīn*s of the communities were maintained; French magistrates were introduced into the Djurdjura, charged with preserving Kabyle custom. Later, from 1880 onwards, Kabylia of the Djurdjura was divided into four "communes mixtes" and four judicial districts, and for several years gallicization was pursued with a measure of success. With the agreement of his principal councellors, Jules Cambon then clamped down on Kabyle politics, which he considered illusory. At the time of the creation of the Financial Delegations (1898), the Kabylias provided six (four for Kabylia of the Djurdjura) out of 21 native delegates. This mark of favour was followed by a new tendency to gallicize Kabylia, especially through the schools, which were relatively well-developed in this part of Algeria. At about the same period Kabyle emigration to France began. At first it was slight, but it conformed to avery ancient Kabyle tradition and need, and increased in volume during World War I. It produced quite a considerable rush of capital into the country with the workers sending all their savings to their families.

Thus it is not surprising after that that the Kabyles took a large part in the development of the "North African Star", founded in Paris in 1926 at the instigation of the French Communist Party and largely composed of Kabyles. As this group, which from 1927 was led by Maṣṣālī Ḥādjdj, soon clamoured for the independence of Algeria, a number of Kabyls found themselves at the head of the Algerian independence movement, although in the country itself tradition remained strong. It was on the border of Kabylia or in Kabylia of the Babors that the 1945 Algerian insurrection broke out; like that of 1871, it was firmly punished. From 1947 onwards a small group of Kabyles under the leadership of Belkasem Krim (Ibn al-Ḳāsim Karīm) decided, for political reasons, to live as outlaws: this group became the core of the 1954 revolt in Kabylia.

Individual Kabyles, like Krim, Aït Ahmad, Boudiaf, Ouamran, etc., played a decisive role in triggering the Algerian War, whether they were directing action on the spot or living outside Algeria and travelling the world over to promote the Algerian cause. There was even a period (1955-7) when the action undertaken in Algeria was directed by the Kabyle Ramdan Aban. The apogee of this period came in August 1956 with the Soummam Valley Congress, inspired and brought into being by Aban and Krim. Of the death of the former in 1959 little is known; the latter was one of the negotiators of the Evian Agreement, which, in March 1962, put an end to the Algerian War. Not content with providing several influential leaders, a very large part of the population of Kabylia partici-

pated in the war, and the entire population maintained silence about the movements of the members of the National Liberation Army. At the end of the war the sector of Kabylia of the Djurdjura (*Wilāya* III) was under the command of a Kabyle, Colonel Moḥand u l-Ḥādj. After the war and the referendum instituting independence, a fierce struggle for power began in Algeria, especially between the members of the N.L.F. who arrived from abroad and certain resistance groups (*Wilāya* III and IV); among the latter were the Kabyles of *Wilāya* III, including Belkasem Krim. On several occasions (July and the end of August) they united in their mountain stronghold, and then matters were settled, at least on the surface. But the uneasiness continued, as witness the referendum and presidential election of September 1963 in which a great many abstentions were recorded in the electoral constituencies of the Djurdjura.

Not long afterwards, on 29 September 1963, Kabylia of the Djurdjura rose under the leadership of Aït Ahmed and Colonel Moḥand u l-Ḥādj, seemingly on the pretext of the government's dissolution of the Socialist Forces Front, founded by Aït Ahmed. The actual hostilities were insignificant, and the Algerian-Moroccan fighting which broke out on October 11 was made the occasion of smoothing over the conflict; everything returned to normal after October 20, although Aït Ahmed remained underground. This general protest by the Kabyles had an important consequence: the meeting of the N.L.F. Congress of April 1964, where, for the first time since the end of the war, it was possible to speak freely in outlining a common programme for the new Algerian state. In spite of this, outrages still took place in several places in Kabylia from April to June 1964 and Kabyle participation in the legislative election of 20 September was small: 57.38% voters and an appreciable number of blank papers.

Subsequently Aït Ahmed was arrested (17 October 1964), condemned to death and reprieved (12 April 1965). Escaping on 30 April he went to swell the opposition group living outside Algeria. Belkasem Krim founded an opposition movement abroad on 15 October 1967. For the moment all this is of little consequence. On the spot, the local elections of February 1967 were still marked by a large percentage of abstentions in Kabylia. But the government of Colonel Boumedienne (Abū Madyan) has ensured that Kabylia is peaceful, and in October 1968 published an economic and social development programme for Great Kabylia, matched by a sizeable number of millions of Algerian *dinārs*.

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KAČČH [see Supplement].

KAČČHĪ or **KAČČH GANDĀWA**, province of Pākistānī Balūčistān extending from 27° 53′ to 29° 35′ N. and from 67° 11′ to 68° 28′ E. It forms a level plain enclosed on the north and east by the southern Sulaymān range and on the west by the Kirthār Ranges. To the south it is open, being bounded by the plain of northern Sindh.

The history of the region is more closely connected with that of Sindh than that of Balūčistān. Its chief town, Kandābīl (probably Gandāwa) is said to have been taken by the Brāhman Rāy Čač in the 7th century A.D., and to have been despoiled by the Arabs many times after the conquest. The region later passed into the control of the Sūmras and Sammās of Sindh. The Balōč arrived in the 9th/15th century, but they were never a strong political force and control passed first to the Ar<u>gh</u>ūns, then to the Mu<u>gh</u>als, and at last to the Kalhōrās of Sindh. In 1153/1740 Mīr ʿAbd Allāh, the Aḥmadzay <u>Kh</u>ān of Kalāt, was killed by the Kalhōrās, and Nādir <u>Sh</u>āh made the region over to the Brāhūī in compensation. Later, before the creation of Pakistan, it formed part of the <u>Kh</u>ānate of Kalāt [*q.v.*] with the exception of small areas in the eastern half of Kaččhī, where the Dōmbkī, Umarānī and Kahīrī tribes were only nominally subject to the <u>Kh</u>ān. These tribes lie to the east of the railway from Jacobabad to Quetta, which traverses the province from south to north. The territory west of this line is also mainly occupied by Balōč tribes with the exception of the area near <u>Dh</u>ā<u>dh</u>ar in the north, where nomadic Brāhūīs are found. Everywhere there is a large settled population of <u>D</u>jaṭ's (i.e. <u>D</u>jaṭ [*q.v.*]). There are no large towns; Gandāwa, <u>Sh</u>orān, <u>Dh</u>ā<u>dh</u>ar, Sibī and Lahrī are the principal places. Cultivation is carried on by irrigation from the small streams and hill-torrents which issue from the mountains: the Nārī and Bōlān on the north, the Mūla and Suklē<u>dj</u>ī on the west, and the Lahrī and Čhattār on the east. The valleys of the Mūla, Bōlān and Nārī form passes by which communication with the uplands has been carried on from time immemorial. The two first-named are now traversed by railways which lead to Quetta and Pe<u>sh</u>īn by the Bōlān and Harnai countries. The population is scattered but denser than in most parts of Balūčistān.

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(M. Longworth Dames*)

ḲAḌĀʾ (A.), originally meaning "decision", has in the Ḳurʾān different meanings, according to the different contexts: e.g., "doomsday" (XLV, 17; X, 93), "jurisdiction" (XXVII, 78; XXXIX, 69; XL, 20), "revelation of the truth" (XXVIII, 44) and "predestination, determination, decree" (XL, 68) (cf. E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*², Leiden 1960, 65). In *A Dictionary of Islam* (London 1885, 479), T. P. Hughes gives the following concise definitions of the word: (1) the office of a *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*], or judge; (2) the sentence of a *ḳāḍī*; (3) repeating prayers to make up for having omitted them at the appointed time; (4) making up for an omission in religious duties, such as fasting, etc.; (5) the decree existing in the Divine Mind from all eternity, and the execution and declaration of a decree at the appointed time; (6) sudden death. In the *EI*¹, D. B. Macdonald gives as the first "technical" meaning: "the office and functioning of a judge (*ḳāḍī*)," although this may not be the original (first formed) conceptual sphere of the word. D. S. Margoliouth has pointed out, in refuting J. Hammer's incorrect interpretation, that had the *ḳaḍāʾ* been a ḳurʾānic institution, the word would be found in this sense in the Ḳurʾān (*Omar's Instructions to the Kadi*, *JRAS* (1910), 312-3).

On the basis of the Ḳurʾān the word *ḳaḍāʾ* can be understood as God's "eternal decision or decree" concerning all beings. It is given different interpretations, especially when contrasted with another term, *ḳadar* [see AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA-ḲADAR], meaning "destiny, predestination". For instance, according to al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī[*q.v.*] *ḳaḍāʾ* is the eternal, universal and all-embracing decree of God, while *ḳadar* denotes the details of His eternal, universal decree. Contrary

to this, al-Rāghib [*q.v.*] interprets *ḳadar* as predestination and *ḳaḍāʾ* as the detailed, definite decree. Akhtarī [*q.v.*] (in the middle of the 10th/16th century) may have been influenced by him when he concluded that: "*Ḳader dewlet-i ʿaliyyede defter-i idjmāl ve ḳaḍāʾ anıñ terdīʿ ve taḳsīmi menzilindedir*" (*Ḳāmūs terdjümesi*, iv, Istanbul 1305/1888, 1136). He also quotes a saying which is highly relevant to this differentiation; when the caliph ʿUmar on his way to Damascus turned back for fear of plague, Abū ʿUbayda al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*] asked him: "Are you running away from the *ḳaḍāʾ*?", to which the caliph answered: "I am fleeing from Almighty God's *ḳaḍāʾ* to His *ḳadar*". The meaning of this, according to Akhtari, is that "insofar as the *ḳadar* does not appear in the form of *ḳaḍāʾ*, there is a chance of averting it" (*op. cit.*, 1136). The essential point in all interpretations, however, is that the *ḳaḍāʾ* is the "decree or decision" of God that must be fulfilled in all circumstances. This sense of the word was related to the neglected performance of religious duties (*ṣalāt*, *ṣawm* [*qq.v.*]), which was therefore also called *ḳaḍāʾ* (Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamisches Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910, 68, 122). This concept of the word later passed into legal terminology, so that *ḳaḍāʾ* came to mean "payment of a debt" (J. Schacht, *An introduction to islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, 148).

As well as this, it also acquired a more important legal interpretation: the judgement of the *ḳāḍī*, which he could never withdraw once it had been uttered, was also called *ḳaḍāʾ* (Schacht, *op. cit.*, 196 and Tyan, *op. cit.*, 445). The *ḳaḍāʾ* announced by the *ḳāḍī* was always binding while the *fatwā* [*q.v.*] given by the *muftī* was not. In forming his *ḳaḍāʾ* the *ḳāḍī* could rely not only on the *sharīʿa* but also on the *ʿurf*, for when some local customs grew stronger, the *örfī ḳażā* gained ground alongside the *sherʿi ḳażā* (M. Fuad Köprülü, *Fıkıh*, *İA*, iv, 614).

In the Ottoman empire *ḳażāʾ* meant not only the judgement of the *ḳāḍī* but also the district which his administrative authority covered. The extent of the *ḳażā*s, however, varied, for local circumstances (the importance of a place, density of its population, etc.) dictated whether a city was made a separate *ḳażā* or how many *ḳażā*s a *liwā* contained. For instance, in 936/1530 in Rumelia the *liwā* of Aladjaḥiṣār was divided into five *ḳażā*s and the *liwā* of Hersek into four; the *liwā* of Izvornik contained only one *ḳażā*, while the *liwā* of Bosna consisted of six, and so on (T. Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 8-12). The term *ḳażā*, denoting an administrative district, has remained in use in the Turkish republic.

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AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA ʾL-ḲADAR. When combined into one expression, these two words have the overall meaning of the Decree of God, both the eternal Decree (the most frequent meaning of *ḳaḍāʾ*) and the Decree given existence in time (the most frequent sense of *ḳadar*). Other translations are possible: for example, *ḳaḍāʾ*, predetermination (usually eternal but according to some schools operating within time); *ḳadar*, decree (usually operating within time but according to some schools eternal) or fate, destiny, in the sense of determined or fixed. It is also possible to use *ḳaḍāʾ* alone for Decree in its broadest sense and define *ḳadar* more precisely as existential determination. The expression combining them is in general use and has become a kind of binary technical term of *ʿilm al-kalām*.

A.—Analysis of the terms.—1. *al-ḳaḍāʾ*. The dictionary meaning of this is judgement, decision (from which comes the corresponding technical sense of this in the "science of law"). In *ʿilm al-kalām* (and secondly *falsafa*) it means a "universal" judgement or divine decree operating from all eternity and for eternity on whatever has existence (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 185). Al-Bādjūrī (*Ḥāshiya ʿalā ... Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 66) takes pleasure in noting that *ḳaḍāʾ* can have seven possible meanings.

The verb *ḳaḍā* recurs frequently in the text of the Ḳurʾān, usually referring to an act of God. However in XXXIII, 36 Muḥammad's name is joined to His ("when God and His Prophet have resolved. . ."). On four occasions (II, 117, III, 47, XIX, 35, XL, 68) *ḳaḍā* indicates the absolute power of God, free from any type of intermediary, allied to the single creative Word: "Whenever He has decreed (*ḳaḍā*) something, He says 'Be it (*kun*)' and it is so".

Understandably, in order to magnify the transcendant Will of the Almighty, the Ashʿarī school laid stress on this sovereign Decree. Two references will suffice: a) In the *Lumaʿ* (ed. and Eng. tr. by R. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 45-6/65), al-Ashʿarī distinguishes two aspects of *ḳaḍāʾ*. In so far as it is (realized within) creation (*khalḳ*), it relates as much to the true as to the false, to acts done in obedience to the Law as to impious acts. Nothing escapes it: the decree and its object coincide. But in so far as it is the Command (*amr*) of God, the Decree is simply rectitude and justice, for it is distinguished from that which is decreed.—b. Al-Bāḳillānī's *Tamhīd* (ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 325-6) takes up these themes almost word for word, substantiating them with ḳurʾānic proofs. For the Ashʿarīs as a whole, *ḳaḍāʾ* was the very expression of the Divine Will. Like Will it is "an attribute of essence" and thus eternal.

Those of Māturīdī tendencies, however, understood *ḳaḍāʾ* as the bringing into being of things in time, and therefore as "an attribute of action". Because of this, the Ashʿarīs accused the Māturīdīs of making *ḳaḍāʾ* a "contingent" attribute, while the latter retorted that in their view "attributes of action" had an eternal nature and that *ḳaḍāʾ*, allied not only to the Divine Will but also to the Prescience, was the eternal attribute which dictates the production of things, *takwīn*. (Cf., for example, al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-ʿaḳāʾid al-nasafiyya*, ed. Cairo 1321, 95; also ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī, *Naẓm al-farāʾid*, ed. Cairo [2] n.d., 28-30).

—2. *al-ḳadar* has the meaning of measure, evaluation, fixed limit (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *K. al-Fiṣal fiʾl-milal*, ed. Cairo 1347, iii, 31). "God distributes widely and measures out (*yaḳdiru*) His gifts to whom He pleases" says the Ḳurʾān in several places (XIII, 26, XVII, 30, XXVIII, 82, XXIX, 62, XXX, 37). In its 1st and 2nd form the root *ḳ-d-r* has the general sense of to determine, to establish, to decree. God is "He who established [the fate of men] (*ḳaddara*) and directed them on the straight road" (idem, LXXXVII, 3). There are a great number of *ḥadīth*s on the subject (cf. *kitāb al-ḳadar* in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*). The Decree of God "for good or evil, weal or woe", which is stressed by several *ḥadīth*s, is presented as one of the articles of faith which must be explicitly professed.

In its technical sense *ḳadar* therefore designates the divine decree in so far as it sets the fixed limits for each thing, or the measure of its being. It is often practically synonymous with the *maṣdar* of the 2nd form, *taḳdīr*, the act of determining or decreeing. Two of al-Djurdjānī's definitions (*Taʿrīfāt*, 181) summarize the Ashʿarī conception of *ḳadar*, singly and in its relationship with *ḳaḍāʾ*: "*ḳadar*: the relationship of the essential Will with things in their particular realization", and "*ḳadar*: the passage of possible entities from non-being into being, one by one, in accordance with *ḳaḍāʾ*. *Ḳaḍāʾ* pertains to pre-eternity, while *ḳadar* belongs to the present order of things".

Thus Ashʿarī traditions stresses: a) both *ḳadar* and *ḳaḍāʾ* belong to the eternal Divine Will; and (b) that the former, the determining principle of contingent entities, is no longer "an attribute of essence", like *ḳaḍāʾ*, but "an attribute of action", itself designated "contingent" by reason of its end. In al-Ashʿarī's *Lumaʿ* (*ed. cit.*, 37-53), the chapter dealing with the Divine Decree and its relationship with men's actions is entitled *al-ḳadar*, with questions concerning *ḳaḍāʾ* forming only one rather short section. Here too the Māturīdī line relates *ḳadar* not to the Will but to the eternal Prescience and considers it (unlike *ḳaḍāʾ*) "an attribute of essence".

Right from the first centuries the question of the Decree was one of the most frequently debated. According to Nallino (*Raccolta*, Rome 1940, ii, 176-80), all the thinkers who centred their discussions around *ḳadar*, no matter to which tendency they belonged, were termed *Ḳadariyya* from the outset. Yet al-Ashʿarī, in the *Ibāna* and the *Lumaʿ*, intends this term to be reserved for those early trends of *ʿilm al-kalām* which, affirming human freedom, deny that the Divine Decree was pre-determined. They are usually considered as predecessors of the Muʿtazilīs. Subsequently they were sometimes confused with the latter (as by Ibn Taymiyya) and sometimes distinguished from them, it being emphasised that if the Muʿtazilīs held it to be true that man measures and determines his actions himself by his *ḳadar*, this is by reason of a *ḳudra*, an effective power which belongs to him but which has been created by God in each man. Ashʿarite tradition considers that the *Ḳadariyya* argument deserves the stigma of impiety (*takfīr*); that of the Muʿtazilīs is "false, though less reprehensible" (al-Bādjūrī, *op. cit.*, 65). On this meaning and the various meanings of the word *Ḳadariyya*, see W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination...*, London 1948, 48 ff.; see also ḲADARIYYA below.

The *ḳadarī*, says the *Lumaʿ*, is he who maintains that man's actions are determined by man himself, not by God, and that man therefore possesses personally not only the power to act (*ḳudra*) but also the power to determine his action and decree its effect. It is in this sense that the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* summarized al-Djubbaʾī's standpoint. Al-Ashʿarī protested against those who wish to call *Ḳadariyya* the proponents of a divine Decree which alone creates and determines the acts of men.

This last meaning, however, which is etymologically defensible, was allowed by Ibn Taymiyya in his treatise *al-Irāda wa'l-Amr*, in which he distinguishes between the *Ḳadariyya-mudjabbira* and the *Ḳadariyya-ʿadliyya*. The first, among whom he lists, jumbled together, Djahmīs and many Ashʿarīs, are seen as preaching belief in an absolute divine Decree at the expense of all human initiative. The second, comprising Muʿtazilīs, *Falāsifa* and Shīʿīs, are the defenders of the liberty and responsibility of man at the expense of divine Omnipotence. Ibn Taymiyya sets off one type of *Ḳadariyya* against the other and affirms both divine Omnipotence and the responsibility of man, who becomes free only through obedience to the Law (cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad B. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 165-7, and refs.).

—3. Finally, the *Falāsifa* integrated the conceptions of *ḳaḍāʾ* and *ḳadar* (or *taḳdīr*) and defined them by and large in the same way as the Ashʿarīs, except that they placed the absolute divine Decree (*ḳaḍāʾ*) and its existentialization within time (*ḳadar*) in accordance with the universal determinism of things, in a sense very close to their conception of divine providence or *ʿināya* [*q.v.*]. Near the end of the *Ilāhiyāt* of the *Shifāʾ* (ed. Cairo 1960, 414 ff.), when Ibn Sīnā enquires how it is that evil comes under the absolute Decree of the Prime Being, he reminds himself of the conception of *ʿināya*. He distinguishes moreover between *ḳaḍāʾ* and *taḳdīr* by locating each within the divine creative Knowledge (cf. also *Nadjāt*, ed. Cairo 1357/1938, 302). "Every thing", say the *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 185), "(...) is attained by His existential determination (*ḳadar*), which is the particularization (*tafṣīl*) of His first Decree (*ḳaḍāʾ*), and necessarily so since that which is not necessary does not exist". Here, the production of beings is seen as an emanation from the Prime Being, necessary and willed. A similar viewpoint is found in a variety of Shīʿī sects or schools.

B.—The problems posed.—1. The expression *al-ḳaḍāʾ wa'l-ḳadar* was frequently used to designate the absolute nature of the Divine Decree in the aggregate, in eternity as much as in its contingent realizations. Depending on whether we are dealing with Ashʿarī traditions or Māturīdī tendencies, as we have seen, the precise meanings of these two terms differ, as does their relationship with one another and their relationship with the Divine Essence and attributes. Yet every time that *ʿilm al-kalām* deals with the acts of the Almighty, one of the most frequently asserted instances is the problem of *ḳaḍāʾ* and *ḳadar*. At the will of school or writer, it is constantly allied with conceptions of "contingent power" (*ḳudra ḥāditha*), the "capacity" for action (*istiṭāʿa*), and the "acquisition" of his deeds by man (*kasb*, *iktisāb*). In *ʿilm al-kalām* it is the very expression of the aporia of divine Omnipotence and the absolute freedom of God in comparison with freely chosen human action (*ikhtiyār*).

It was occasionally *ḳaḍāʾ* but oftener *ḳadar* (or both together) which was compared with human freedom. The Ashʿarī and Māturīdī *mutakallimūn* endeavoured to affirm both the existence of the Divine Decree and man's responsibility, which latter is dependent on the Decree itself, through the *kasb*, the relationship, created by God, between acts and the subjects who performed them. (Cf. L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane*: *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 116-20, 128-32).

Agreeing with this, Ibn Taymiyya upheld the absolute nature of the Decree (*ḳadar*) and the human faculty of free choice, but considered it pointless and futile to resort to the conception of *kasb* or *iktisāb*, the "acquisition" or "endorsement" of acts in R. Brunschvig's translation. (See Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhādj al-Sunna*, ed. Cairo 1382/1962, i, 85-7, and R. Brunschvig, *Devoir et Pouvoir*, in *St. Isl.*, xx, 40-1 and refs.). This "pragmatic" attitude is found once more among the modern *salafiyya*, such as

Muḥammad ʿAbduh in the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* (Cairo 1353, 61).

—2. Must man give his consent (*riḍā*) to the Decree of the Almighty? The question was clearly put by the Muʿtazilīs. If every thing that exists comes under the divine *ḳaḍāʾ*, they said, then the acceptance of the impiety of the ungodly (an acceptance which is itself impious) is obligatory ... (Cf. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿUthmān, Cairo 1348/1965, 771 ff.). Among the possible replies, we may cite a short chapter of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, a text of the *Tamhīd* of al-Bāḳillānī and the *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on Ḳurʾān XXXIII, 37-8 ("God's Command must be carried out", XXXIII, 37 .... "God's Command is an enacted Decree", *ibid.*, 38).

a) The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Cairo 1347/1928, 133-6) define *ḳadar* as the reward which the "fates" (*maḳādir*) have in store for the soul, by "fates" meaning here the necessary astral laws. *Ḳaḍāʾ* is God's eternal Knowledge, from which these same astral laws derive. For a man to give his consent to and acceptance of *ḳaḍāʾ* thus understood, says the text, is extremely rare, but it is the noblest of the conditions (*sharāʾiṭ*) of faith and the most deserving of the virtues which designate the Believer (*ibid.*, 134).

This recourse to the action of the stars on human destiny—which is in no way independent of Divine Knowledge but emanates from it—and the affirmation that all that happens occurs for the good of the soul are points of view belonging to the Ismāʿīlī atmosphere of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*. Other points of reference can be found among Shīʿī scholars which, like the *Falāsifa*'s conception of Providence, are always dominated by an emanistic view of the world. This is the sense in which we should understand, for example, Mullā Ṣadra Shīrāzī's statement in his *Kitāb al-Mashāʿir* mentioning among the central themes of his thought "knowledge of the *ḳaḍāʾ* and the *ḳadar*", "*du Décret prééternel et de la Destinée*" in H. Corbin's translation (Arab. and Pers. ed. and Fr. tr. by H. Corbin, Tehran 1342/1964, 5/90).

Here, in comparison, are two Sunnī elaborations:

—b) "We give our consent to and acceptance of God's Decree taken as a whole and for each single thing" (*Tamhīd*, 327). But what if it is a case of *kufr* and sin? Here al-Bāḳillānī makes a distinction between *ḳaḍāʾ* in the aggregate and its particularization. Assent is not given to *kufr*, even though every thing in existence and every accomplished act come under the Divine Decree, just as child, companion, wife and partner are not ascribed to God, although all that exists belongs to Him.

c) As far as vocabulary is concerned, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī distinguishes more clearly between *ḳaḍāʾ* and *ḳadar*, which are both understood in the Ashʿarī sense. Consent and acceptance are given, with no difficulty, to *ḳaḍāʾ*, the eternal Decree. The existentialization of existing things, one by one, belongs to *ḳadar*, and here the question becomes delicate. Every Muslim must adhere to both *ḳaḍāʾ* and *ḳadar* together, but it is difficult for the ordinary man to reconcile such an adhesion, which is ordained by the Law, with condemning evil and wicked deeds, as the Law also demands. The solution sought by al-Rāzī lay in extending the distinction which al-Ashʿarī had already made between *ḳaḍāʾ* understood as the sovereign Command of God and what is enacted in the order of creation; or, in more precise terminology, between *ḳadar*, the attribute of action which determines every contingent thing, and *maḳdūr*, the enacted object: it is not *ḳadar* but *maḳdūr*, once placed by God in being or contingent action, which can be the object of reward or punishment, of praise or blame.

After having commanded the aporia of divine Omnipotence and human freedom, *al-ḳaḍāʾ waʾl-ḳadar* is as it were in the centre of the problem of good and evil, and of the moral qualification of actions.

Bibliography: in the text; to this may be added all the chapters on *ʿilm al-kalām* which deal with the question, which was considered again and again, for example in the manuals of "set conservatism", such as those of Sanūsī of Tlemcen, Laḳānī, Fuḍālī, Bādjūrī, etc. (L. GARDET)

ḲADAM SHARĪF (KADAM RASŪL ALLĀH). Among the miracles (*muʿdjizāt*) popularly attributed to Muḥammad was the fact that when he trod on a rock, his foot sank into the stone and left its impress there. This miracle is usually referred to along with others, *e.g.*, that he cast no shadow, that if one of his hairs fell in the fire, it was not burnt, that flies did not settle on his clothes etc. (cf. al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, Būlāḳ, 1292, iii, 407), or that his sandals left no imprint on the sand (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, commentary on *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Hamziyya*, l. 176. (Ind. Off, Ms., Loth, no. 826, fol. 94). No early authority refers to such a miracle, nor can any *ḥadīth* be quoted in corroboration of it, as Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī himself pointed out (see al-Ḥalabī, *loc. cit.*, i, 497). But sufficient evidence of this miracle is considered to be provided by the numerous impressions of one or both of the feet of the Prophet, which are venerated in different parts of the Muslim world. The most famous of these footprints is that in the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā, at Jerusalem, on the rock from which Muḥammad mounted Burāḳ [*q.v.*] for his journey to heaven (al-Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf al-Akhiṣṣāʾ fī Faḍāʾil al-Masdjid al-aḳṣā*, in JRAS, n.s. xix (1887), 258-9); this footprint is on a stone separated from the Rock at the extremity of the south-west corner; Sultan Aḥmad ordered an iron grill inlaid with silver to be placed over it in 1018/1609 (Mudjīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Uns al-djalīl*, Būlāḳ 1283, 371, tr. H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem*, Paris 1876, 106).

In the ancient village of Ḳadam, which lies to the west of the present district of the same name in the south of Damascus, there still exists a *masdjid al-ḳadam* which seems to have been connected originally with the memory of Moses then transferred to that of Muḥammad; the latter's foot also left an imprint on a black stone that was carried from Ḥawrān and preserved in the Mudjāhidiyya *madrasa* in the days of al-Harawī (*Ziyārāt*, 14/36) and today is in the library of the oratory of Sitt Ruḳayya (A. Talass, *Mosquées de Damas*, Beirut 1943, 230; J. Sourdel-Thomine, in *B. Ét. O.*, xiv (1952-4), 76). According to popular belief, the first footprint was made by the Prophet, when he half-alighted from his camel, but was warned by the angel Gabriel that God had given him the choice between the Paradise of this world and that of the next; whereupon he relinquished his intention of entering Damascus (W. G. Palgrave, *Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, ii, 19). In Cairo there are two footprints, one in a mosque called Āthār al-nabī (*Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, ix, 689), the other at the tomb of Ḳāʾit Bāy [*q.v.*] (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1914, 113), who, according to Aḥmad Daḥlān [*q.v.*], purchased it for the sum of 20,000 *dinars*; in Ṭanṭa, there are impressions of both the feet of the Prophet, in the shrine of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī (*Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, xxii, 410), as also at Istanbul in the tomb of Sultan ʿAbd

al-Ḥamīd I, in the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*], and (six) in the Khirḳa-i Saʿādet room of the Topkapı Palace [see SARĀY] (Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Topkapu Sarayı*, Istanbul n.d., p. 79; for a colour photograph of one of these see Kemal Çığ, *al-Amānāt al-muḳaddasa*, Istanbul (Turizm ve Tanītma Bakanliği) 1966, p. [9]).

Closely connected with the veneration of the footprints of Muḥammad, is that paid to representations of his sandals. Copies of these are hung up in the houses of the pious, as a protection against the assaults of Satan, the evil eye, the depredations of robbers, etc.; they are also said to relieve the pangs of childbirth (al-Ḳasṭalānī, *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Cairo 1281, i, 337). Such representations are common in Algeria, Egypt, India and Syria.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the text: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maḳḳarī, *Fatḥ al-Mutaʿālī fī Madḥ al-Niʿāl*, (Ahlwardt, *Verz. der Arab. Handschr. Berl.*, no. 2593); Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf, *Muʿdjizāt al-Anbiyāʾ* (*ibid.*, 2553); Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Khādim al-Naʿl al-sharīf* (*ibid.*, 9644); Shāh Muḥammad ʿUmar, *Istishfāʾ wa-Tawassul bi-Āthār al-Ṣāliḥīn wa-Sayyid al-Rusul*, Delhi 1319; R. Basset, *Les empreintes merveilleuses*, in *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, no. vii.-xxii., *passim*; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 362-3; P. Anastase Marie de St. Elie, *Le culte rendu par les Musulmans aux sandales de Mahomet*, in *Anthropos*, v, 363-6; R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḳadam bei Damaskus*, in *OLZ*, 1913, 115-8.

(T. W. ARNOLD *)

India and Pakistan: The footprints of the Prophet, whether accepted as genuine relics or frankly admitted as mere token representations, are accorded special veneration in India and Pakistan. One may suspect here an Islamization of an old Indian reverence for the footprints of gods and sages; the Buddha was represented symbolically by the soles of his two feet, often embellished with auspicious marks, before representations of his person appeared in Buddhist iconography; and similar representations of the footprints of the god Vishṇu continue that tradition in Hindū terms. Literary references (bowing to or touching the feet in homage, the sanctity of the dust of the teacher's feet, etc.) are commonplace. The accepted genuine relics may be placed in mosques, as at Gawr [see LAKHNAWTĪ], or be housed in special buildings, as in the Ḳadam Rasūl building at Lakhnaʾū (Lucknow) whence the relics disappeared in 1857, or in the best known example, the Ḳadam Sharīf at Dihlī [*q.v.*], where the prints, imported from Arabia with great ceremony by Fīrūz Shāh b. Radjab, were placed over the grave of his son Fatḥ Khān who predeceased him in 776/1374; here the relics are kept constantly covered by water and garlanded with marigolds, and the relic shrine, with its accompanying graveyard, is contained within a fortified enclosure.

Both relics and token representations are accorded special ceremonies at the Bārah Wafāt, *i.e.* 12 Rabīʿ I, the *ʿurs* of the Prophet's death; for a description of these in India see Djaʿfar Sharīf, *Ḳānūn-i Islām*, tr. G. A. Herklots as *Islam in India* and ed. W. Crooke, Oxford 1921, s.v. Bārah Wafāt.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḲADAR [see AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA ʾL-ḲADAR].

ḲADARIYYA, a name commonly used by Islamists to denote a group of theologians, not in itself homogeneous, who represented in one form or another the principle of *liberum arbitrium* (free will) in the early period of Islam, from about 70/690 to the definitive consolidation of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. In Islamic sources the notion is ambivalent; only authors of a determinist standpoint use it in the above sense (in later works the term can also refer to the Muʿtazila). Authors of a non-determinist standpoint, on the other hand, apply it (apparently synonymously with *mudjbira*) to defenders of divine omnipotence (the earliest examples at present are the title *Kitāb al-radd ʿala ʾl-Ḳadariyya* of ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd [*q.v.*] d. 143/760 or 144/761, cf. *GAS*, i, 597) and a passage in Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's ([*q.v.*] d. (after?) 139/ 756) translation of the Middle Persian Letter of Tansar, cf. the New Persian version in Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Iqbāl, Tehran 1954, i, 40, 4). The word was always derogatory, never applied to oneself. Even sources fundamentally of the same tendency may therefore differ as to the scope of the notion, according to the rigour of their polemical intention. Conversely it may happen that one and the same phenomenon may be described with differing terminologies in different sources (for example Ḳadarites are often called "Murdjiʾites" in Muʿtazilī texts, and also elsewhere). Regional differences of meaning also seem to have played a part. The term apparently arose in ʿIrāḳ; previously such locutions as *al-mukadhdhibūna bi ʾl-ḳadar* (*bi-maḳādīr Allāh*) or *alladhīna yaḳūlūna lā ḳadar* were used. Cf. C. Nallino, *Sul nome di « Qadariti »*, in *RSO*, vii (1916-18), 461 ff. (= *Scritti*, ii, 176 ff.); W. M. Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, 48 ff.; J. van Ess in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1965-6), 127 ff.

Sources: 1) Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's "Ḳadarite" *Risāla* to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (ed. H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xxi (1933), 67 ff.; for the content cf. J. Obermann in *JAOS*, lv (1935), 138 ff., and M. Schwarz in *Oriens*, xx (1967), 15 ff.). 2) Several references in the anti-Ḳadarite composition (genuine?) of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafiyya (d. c. 100/718), which we know through its refutation by the Zaydī *imām* al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/910; cf. *GAS*, i, 595). 3) The *Risāla* of the caliph ʿUmar II against a more extreme faction of the contemporary Ḳadariyya, preserved in Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, v, 346 ff. (cf. *GAS*, i, 594; for its genuineness, *Abr Nahrain*, xii (1971), 19 ff.). 4) The heresiographical report of Khushaysh (d. 253/867), preserved in Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Dedering, 126 ff. (cf. Watt, *Free Will*, 51 ff.). 5) Lists of Ḳadarites, mainly traditionists, in Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1960, 625, 8 ff.; repeated with several corrections and supplements, by Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa* *, *BGA*, vii, 220, 7 ff.), in Ibn Ḥadjar (*Hady al-sārī*, Cairo 1347/1928, ii, 112 ff.), in Suyūṭī (*Tadrīb al-rāwī*, Cairo 1385/1966, i, 328 f.), in Ibn al-Murtaḍā (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Diwald-Wilzer, 133 ff.) etc; in addition the corresponding biographical details in Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, etc. 6) Scattered historical data, especially in Ṭabarī. 7) Counter-polemic in the standard collections of *Ḥadīth* (e.g., the *Kitāb al-Ḳadar* in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim), in the works dealing with *mawḍūʿāt* (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Kitāb al-mawḍūʿāt*; Suyūṭī, *al-Laʾālī al-maṣnūʿa*, etc.), in other books of traditionist outlook (cf., e.g., the *Kitāb al-Sharīʿa* by Abū Bakr al-Ādjurrī, Cairo 1369/1950, 149 ff.; the material of the relevant chapter is obviously mainly taken from the *Kitāb al-Ḳadar* by Firyābī, cf. *GAS*, i, 166), and finally also in works of *adab* (*e.g.*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, ii, 376 ff.).

Historical development: The sources mentioned

der 5) list 40 certain names for Baṣra, about fifteen for Syria, six for Mecca, five to seven for Medina, about five for Kūfa, three for Yemen, and not a single one for Egypt and the whole of the East. These figures, however, express only part of the reality; they mirror above all the variable state of our information. The interest in a biographical listing of the Ķadariyya apparently arose in Baṣra, where the pupils of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and their pupils in turn, began to quarrel over the correct interpretation of his doctrine; here, therefore, contemporaries were classified in accordance with a particular understanding of the idea, and for the past relevant material was most systematically collected. Elsewhere fuller information existed only for Syria, where, in the last twenty years of Umayyad rule, Ķadarites played a part in history through their revolutionary activity. It is possible that in many other areas, for example in Egypt, the doctrine never became a problem. According to the nature of the information, the Ķadariyya is seen in Syria primarily as a political movement; in Baṣra on the other hand it is viewed as a school of theology. The political argument developed from the principle that a ruler is answerable for his actions, and in the case of unrighteousness should therefore be deposed or should abdicate; the theological stance arises from the idea that one must not "ascribe evil to God". In the consequences which were drawn from this latter interpretation, a moderate and an extreme wing can be discerned.

The earliest document of the movement is the *Risāla* of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; it was certainly composed between 75/694, the arrival of Ḥadjdjādj in ʿIrāķ, and 80/699, the beginning of the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath. From it the moderate wing of the Ķadariyya drew its argument: God creates only good; evil stems from men or from Satan. Man chooses freely between the two; but God knows from all eternity what man will choose. He only "leads him into error" (*iḍlāl*) if man has first given him occasion for this through his sin. Ḥasan viewed this thesis, which he supports with subtle ķurʾānic exegesis, as "orthodox" (p. 68, 9 ff.). In fact this was certainly no "innovation", but it was only now systematically formulated for the first time. This is confirmed by the fact that among Ḥasan's contemporaries are found other Ķadarites, all of whom could hardly have been his followers: in the Yemen Wahb b. Munabbih (c. 34/655-114/732 [*q.v.*]), whose non-deterministic sayings (in his *Ḥikma* and in his *Kitāb al-Ķadar*) could not be disregarded, even in later times; in Syria the ascetic Khālid b. Maʿdān b. Abī Kurayb al-Kalāʿī (d. between 103/722 and 108/727; a Ķadarite according to Ibn Ķutayba, *Maʿārif*, 625, 14) and the famous jurist Makḥūl b. Abī Muslim (d. perhaps 113/731; at any rate he first came to Damascus as a prisoner of war from the region of Kābul); in Baṣra itself, amongst others, the ascetic ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār al-Hilālī (d. 103/722 or 104/723). In its moderate form the Ķadarite doctrine was a rule of practical piety.

The absence of earlier theoretical formulations prevents our going back beyond Ḥasan's treatise. We are given to understand that the purport of divine predestination had been "first" discussed when, at the siege of Mecca by the troops of Yazīd I in 64/683, the Kaʿba caught fire (cf. *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1382/1962, i, 185, 15), or, conversely, that Muʿāwiya was the first to justify his use of force by divine "compulsion" (*djabr*) (Ķāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, viii, 4, 3 ff., after Djubbāʾī; cf. in addition the speech of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, the rebel against ʿAbd al-Malik, in Ṭabarī, ii, 784, 18 ff.). But these are only answers to the wrong question. There was never a point in time when *Ķadar* was spoken of "for the first time"; there are only particular moments at which theological solutions emerge for the first time, or become generally significant or controversial. The alleged Ķadarite beliefs of the last Sufyānid, Muʿāwiya II (reigned 64/684; cf. Maķdisī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, vi, 16, 13 ff. and Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, 181 ff.) probably derive from the belief that he abdicated of his own accord, before his early death, which was perceived to be in accordance with the political programme of the Ķadariyya (cf. Lammens, *Etudes*, 183, 192 ff.; Wellhausen, *Arabisches Reich*, 106). The letter from Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (d. probably 49/669-70) to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī on the question is manifestly a forgery (cf. the determinist version in Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf al-ʿuķūl*, Nadjaf 1385/1965, 162, 10 ff., and, shorter, in ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd, *Tādj al-ʿAķāʾid*, ed. Tāmir, Beirut 1967, 180, 1 ff.; a Ķadarite version in Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaķāt al-Muʿtazila* 15, 3 ff.).

Probably two decades after Ḥasan's *Risāla*, Ķadarite doctrine is again encountered in ʿIrāķ in a group called by Khushaysh (in Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 133, 22 ff.) Shabībiyya, the adherents of the Khāridjite Shabīb al-Nadjrānī who lived about 100/718 (cf. Ashʿarī, *Maķālāt*, 116, 2 f.; contrary to a conjecture made by H. Ritter in his indices to Ashʿarī's *Maķālāt*, 637, and by W.M. Watt, *Free Will*, 53, he must be differentiated from the earlier Khāridjite Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī who was drowned in the Tigris in the year 77/697 when fleeing the forces of Ḥadjdjādj). There is no direct connection with Ḥasan's theology; the doctrinal outlook is considerably different. The Shabībiyya believed that the deeds of men and their destinies in the hereafter are not foreknown by God; God has no will concerning their actions, leaving them to their own discretion (*tafwīḍ*; cf. Malaṭī, *ib.*, and Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, 94, 5 f.; also Ashʿarī, *Maķālāt* 93, 7 ff. concerning the Maymūniyya who seem to have borrowed from them).

This comes very close to—and is perhaps identical with—the Ķadarite "innovations" attacked by ʿUmar II (reigned 99/717—101/720) in his treatise preserved in Abū Nuʿaym. God knows that one will sin, but also that one could abstain from sin (*Ḥilya*, v, 347, 3 ff.); His knowledge has only the function of recording, not of effecting (*ḥāfiẓ*, not *nāfidh*; 350, 3 and 351, 1 f.). A murder is not the same thing as the preordained destiny of death, since it originates in the autonomous will of a man (*adjal*; 352, 18). There is neither *hudā* nor *iḍlāl* (351, 1; 348, 10 ff.); it is "left to man's own discretion" (*tafwīḍ*) whether he decides for good or for evil (351, 4; 352, 2 f.). ʿUmar II sees that this is more extreme than Ḥasan's doctrine; he accepts expressly the Ķadarites of the old school as *ahl al-Sunna* (351, 15). He, however, makes no explicit mention of a possible Khāridjite background. We have some reason to assume that these ideas went beyond the small sectarian circles of the Khāridjites; Khushaysh mentions, besides the Shabībiyya, a so-called *mufawwiḍa* (cf. Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 133, 1 ff, and 134, 14 ff.).

Politically the doctrine was not yet considered dangerous or subversive. ʿUmar's predecessor, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (reigned 96/715—99/717), is said to have "talked about *ķadar*" (cf. Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, trans. B. Dodge, 381) and ʿUmar II himself took no action against the "deviationists" he attacked. Ķadarites who later came into conflict with the government were entrusted with offices of state under

him: ʿUmar b. Hāniʾ al-ʿAnsī, who in 127/744-5 was put to death on the orders of Marwān II on account of his participation in Yazīd III's revolt against Walīd II, was governor of Batanaea and Ḥawrān under ʿUmar (cf. Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh kabīr*, iii/2, 535), and Ghaylān al-Dimashḳī [*q.v.*], whose critical opinions he knew throughout (cf. Ghaylān's *Risāla* to him in Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, 25, 9 ff.), was in his time apparently active in the financial administration (cf. I. ʿAbbās in *al-Abḥāth*, ix (1956), 329 after Balādhurī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 26, 9). It was known that the Ḳadarites were not conformists; several of them had taken part in the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath, and Maʿbad al-Djuhanī, a friend of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, was executed for this reason under ʿAbd al-Malik.

But Ghaylān was the first to develop a political programme, not indeed under ʿUmar II, but first under Hishām, when ʿUmar's measures to give the same rights to *mawālī* as to Arabs were once more negated; significantly Ghaylān himself was a Copt. He denied the exclusive claim of Ḳuraysh to the Caliphate; anyone may be chosen who lives by the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna*. If the ruler disregards these principles he may be deposed (cf. the passage in al-Nāshiʾ al-akbar, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, ed. van Ess, Beirut 1971, paras. 107-8; tr. in van Ess, *La Qadarīya et la Ġailānīya de Yazīd III* in *Stud. Isl.*, xxxi, 1970, 269 ff.) At first Ghaylān had been on good terms with Hishām; in 106/725 he made the pilgrimage with him (cf. Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, iv, 290, 2 ff. and Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh kabīr*, iv/1, 102 no. 457); it was only later, obviously during a mission to Armenia after the defeat of the Muslim troops in 112/730 and perhaps through the enmity of Marwān b. Muḥammad, later Marwān II, who was at that time the commander-in-chief in the war against the Khazars, that he clashed with the authorities (cf. Balādhurī in ʿAbbās, *loc. cit.*, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā, 26, 16 f.). In principle, Ghaylān's propaganda was unrelated to Ḳadarite teaching; at about the same time it was represented in Transoxiana by Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], who apparently was himself a determinist. On his return from Armenia Ghaylān was arrested in Ḳaryatayn on the edge of the Syrian desert, and executed in Damascus together with an adherent of whom we know little, Abū ʿAbd al-Salām Ṣāliḥ b. Suwayd al-Dimashḳī (cf. Ibn Badrān, *Tahdhīb Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, vi, 369 f.). Other Ḳadarites were banished to the island of Dahlak [*q.v.*] in the Red Sea (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1777, 14), among them Abu 'l-Mughīra ʿAmr b. Sharaḥīl al-ʿAnsī, whose subversive *ḥadīth*s are preserved in the *Taʾrīkh Dārayyā* of ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Khawlānī, Damascus 1369/1956, 93 ff. About this time in Medina, under the governorship of Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī (executed 125/743), Ibn Isḥāḳ ([*q.v.*] 85/704-150/767 or 151/768) was flogged on account of his Ḳadarite leanings (cf. Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, iii, 472, 15 ff.; also *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, i, 225, 5 ff.). The execution of Ghaylān was manifestly felt to be harsh; numerous legends attempted to justify it, and above all to obliterate his good relations with ʿUmar II (cf. S. Diwald, *Der Bericht des Ibn ʿAsākir über Ġailān ad-Dimašqī*, in *Festgabe für Hans Wehr*, Wiesbaden 1969, 40 ff., especially 53 ff.). We learn characteristically little about the theological basis of Ghaylān's Ḳadarite beliefs. Nevertheless, contrary to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's purely exegetic judgements, a stronger theoretical theological motivation can be perceived: God's will has no determining influence on the actions of men (Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 513, 5 ff.; Watt, *Free Will*, 41); men are determined above all by their reason (*ʿaḳl*) in the direction of freedom of action (cf. *Tahdhīb Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, iii, 177, 11 ff.; and Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Hyderabad 1375/1955, i, 147, 3 f.).

Walīd II kept up Hishām's anti-Ḳadarite policy (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1777, 15 ff.). Yazīd III, on the other hand, took over Ghaylān's political programme in his declaration from Damascus when he proclaimed the revolt against Walīd (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1835, 6 ff., etc.). Therefore his supporters are called Ghaylāniyya, and often also simply Ḳadarites. The latter is perhaps precipitate; it is not always easy to decide whether those who took up this position because of the political programme were also Ḳadarite in the theological sense. Many of them were Kalbites, particularly from Mizza near Damascus; thanks to the political development by which the Kalb saw themselves increasingly neglected in favour of the Ḳays, the former *mawālī* party now received support from the indigenous Arabs. After Yazīd's premature death, the hopes of the Ḳadarites were transferred to his brother Ibrāhīm; when the latter capitulated before Marwān II they were again persecuted (cf. Marwān's letter in Ṭabarī, ii, 1851, 7 ff.). The names of several traditionists who took up a position in favour of Yazīd III are known to us; with the assumption of power by Marwān, they had to flee from Syria, one of them being killed at the instigation of the caliph (cf. in detail van Ess in *Stud. Isl.*, xxxi, 1970, 277 f.). With that the political role of the Ḳadariyya was played out; it remained confined to Syria.

In Baṣra, apparently, the movement remained confined to personal statements: ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd approved of Yazīd III's revolt (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā's *Ṭabaḳāt*, 120, 12 ff., and Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 17, 15); his "orthodox" opponent Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī censured it (cf. *Aghānī*[3], viii, 82, 10 f.). The political development in the town proceded differently (cf. Caetani, *Chronographia*, 1591). The quietistic Ḳadariyya in the style of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was continued by his pupil Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma (d. 117/735) and henceforth predominated. Militant characters, especially refugees from Syria, were finally integrated with the arrival of the ʿAbbāsids. Instead, theological antagonisms intensified. For a long time there survived a moderate wing, which, following Ḥasan and Ḳatāda, exempted sin from predestination, and obviously derived its argumentation from ḳurʾānic exegesis; it was represented among the *muḥaddithūn* and others by Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūba al-ʿAdawī (d. 156/773) and his school, Hishām b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Dastuwāʾī (d. 153/770 or 154/771) with his son Muʿādh (d. 200/815-6), Sallām b. Miskīn al-Namarī (d. 164/781), Abū Hilāl Muḥammad b. Sulaym al-Rāsibī (d. 167/784), ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Khaffāf (d. 204/820 or 206/821-2), and, furthermore, by numerous ascetics and *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, whose names we learn particularly from Ibn al-Murtaḍā, and certainly by many others in whose deeds the authors of lists of Ḳadarites have no interest (cf., *e.g.*, for the grammarians of Baṣra, Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, ed. Kaylānī, iii, 592, 8 ff.; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, ii, 38, 4 etc.). At the same time there developed a stronger theologically aligned group around ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, which later merged with the Muʿtazila; apparently of their number were Abū Salāma Ḥasan b. Dhakwān, ʿAmr b. Fāʾid al-Uswārī, Ḥamza b. Nadjīḥ, Bashīr al-Raḥḥāl, ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Saʿīd al-Tannūrī (d. 180/796), perhaps also the Ḳāḍī ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr al-Nādjī (d. 152/769). They took as their starting point divine justice in-

stead of human "freedom to do evil": God must keep His word (cf. the anecdote in van Ess, *Traditionistische Polemik gegen ʿAmr b. ʿUbaid*, Beirut 1967, 31 ff.: *waʿd* here still covers the later Muʿtazilī *waʿd wa-waʿīd*); a *taklīf bimā lā yuṭāḳ* is impossible (cf. Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, iii, 223, 1 ff.). Here, too, the consequences for ḳurʾānic exegesis are for the moment in the foreground: verses of the Ḳurʾān in which someone is explicitly given over to damnation (cf. Sūra CXI, 1 for Abū Lahab; as a further example Sūra LXXIV, 11) cannot have been in this form in the original text in Heaven, because otherwise they would have had preordaining power (cf. *Traditionalistische Polemik*, 16 f.; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Ḳadar 16, no. 2244).

This accentuation of the teaching aroused opposition. In ʿIrāḳ it came mainly from Kūfa. In Baṣra it was at first still weak; until the middle of the 2nd/ 8th century the boycott of the Ḳadarites there remained confined to small circles, to which greater significance was only ascribed in later accounts projecting their own attitudes back to an earlier period. But gradually the opinions polarised; the more the Muʿtazila itself became conscious of itself, the more the belief in a strict determinism was strengthened on the other side. It was expressed in the form of *ḥadīth*, and because of this in the course of time gained stronger and stronger authoritative force. Pro-Ḳadarite *ḥadīth*s are rare (cf. Dhahabī, *Mīzān* no. 2441 = i, 634, 5 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 129, 5); the Ḳadarites obviously placed much more reliance on the persuasive power of their ḳurʾānic exegesis. However, it can be proven that a large number of the anti-Ḳadarite *ḥadīth*s are also late, or were first raised to the rank of sayings of the Prophet as time went on; those respected traditionists who at that time were still Ḳadarite cannot have thought them authentic. Some of them are obviously in direct reference to the arguments Ḥasan al-Baṣrī developed in the course of his *Risāla*; particularly effective was the reproach that the Ḳadarites were "the Magians of this community" (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, v, 318a), in so far as they attributed evil to any other than God, or even to Satan himself. The mediating position of Ḥasan became increasingly untenable under the influence of these centrifugal tendencies; in the first decade of the 3rd/ 9th century the moderate Ḳadariyya in the old style apparently became extinct in Baṣra. After that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was claimed by both sides; the determinists sought to rescue his "orthodoxy" by increasingly emphasising the role of his contemporary Maʿbad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUkaym al-Djuhanī (this is the correct form of his name) as "founder" of the Ḳadariyya. Nothing more was known about his doctrine; but it was known that together with his brother he took part in Ibn al-Ashʿath's revolt, and that both were executed on the orders of Ḥadjdjādj (cf., *e.g.* Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo 1930 ff., i, 201, 9 f., and 200, 14 f.; also 206, 16 ff.). Obviously they wanted to discredit the whole movement by pointing to the military origins of such a "Syrian" type.

Little can be said about the other centres of the movement. In Mecca it focused on the traditionist and exegete Abū Yasār ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Nadjīḥ al-Thaḳafī (d. 131/748 or 132/749), who adhered to Ḥasan's doctrine, and also attended Abū ʿUbayd's lectures (cf. on his circle Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, ii, 515, 10 f.); one of his adherents, Zakariyyāʾ b. Isḥāḳ al-Makkī, was banned from lecturing on account of his doctrine (at the time of Hishām or Marwān II? cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, 329, 7 f.). In Medina several Ḳadarites obviously supported the revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (145/762; cf. Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 72 f.); that there were still Ḳadarites in the town at the time of the Caliph al-Mahdī, to be precise during the governorship of Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī (160/777-166/783), is testified by an account in Ṭabarī (iii, 534, 11 ff.). In the Shīʿite circles of Medina and Kūfa opinions about the problem were divided: Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya (d. *c.* 100/718) had been a supporter of predestination, and so too were the immediate disciples of Zayd b. ʿAlī (fell 122/740) as he himself was probably a supporter of predestination (cf. Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 55 ff.); otherwise they frequently steered a middle course, which while coming near to that of the moderate Ḳadariyya did not give anyone occasion to call them Ḳadarites (the formula: *lā djabr wa-lā tafwīḍ*). The term *tafwīḍ* was almost always rejected or at least avoided (cf. the otherwise rather contradictory sayings of the *imām*s in Kūlīnī, *Kāfī*, Tehran 1334/1955, i, 150 ff.). Here there was no necessity for a political Ḳadariyya, since the Shīʿīs had their own political motivations to offer.

Occasionally in polemic the Ḳadarite doctrine was attributed to Christian influence (in fact much more rarely than one would expect; the *Ḥadīth*s speak of the "Magians" instead of the "Christians" of this community). This was expressed in the anecdote that Maʿbad al-Djuhanī, the "first" Ḳadarite, had taken over from an (erstwhile) Christian: Sanhōya, the husband of Umm Mūsā (cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/2, 27, 1 ff.), perhaps a former concubine of ʿAlī (cf. Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, no. 11036), or from Abū Yūnus Sansōya al-Uswārī, who is perhaps the same person (cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 181-6 f.), or a certain Sūsān (cf. Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 305, 14 f. etc.). The theological relationship is in fact unmistakable: for John of Damascus sin arises ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ῥᾳθυμίας καὶ τῆς διαβόλου πανουργίας (Migne, *PG*, 94, 1589), and in that respect he takes his place in a tradition for which we already find models in Efrem Syrus and Theodore of Mopsuestia (cf., *e.g.*, references in A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 258 f.). Ghaylān al-Dimashḳī, as a *mawlā* of Coptic origin, built upon Christian ideas (cf. Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 239, and M. S. Seale, *Muslim Theology*, 18 ff.). The Khāridjite founder of the Shabībiyya came from Nadjrān, the Christian centre of the Arabian peninsula. But it must not be concluded from that that the Ḳadariyya had been engendered by Christian polemic against Muslim predestination (as in the thesis of C. H. Becker, *Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung*, in *ZA*, xxvi (1911), 175 ff. = *Islamstudien*, i, 432 ff., especially p. 441; cf. against it the argument of W. M. Watt, *Free Will*, 58, n. 27, and the counterargument of W. Thomson in *MW*, xl (1950), 209). Predestination is "earlier" only in the sense that it is strongly connected with certain "*djāhilī*" ideas (cf. H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism*, Uppsala 1951, *passim*, especially 116 ff.); in the Ḳurʾān deterministic and non-deterministic sayings stand side by side, on the basis of the idea of a personal God (cf. Watt, *Free Will*, 12 ff.). There was nothing to prevent Muslim neophytes, at least after the conquest of Syria (cf. Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, i, 50, 4 ff.), from naively solving the theological problem posed by the ambiguity of the Scriptures with categories familiar to themselves; we have no evidence to show that at the time this was thought strange or un-Islamic. How far

the interdependence of the two religions could go is best shown by the well-known argument based on the child born of adultery. Christian theologians have from the earliest times cited adultery as an example of the sins that man may not ascribe to God (cf. the Nestorian Bābai in Vööbus, *School of Nisibis*, 260), and the Ḳadarites said the same thing later (cf. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, 92, n. 1). Muslim determinists counter with the question, inspired by the Ḳurʾān, who then created the foetus engendered by adultery in the mother's womb? (cf. Sūra XCVI, 2; XXII, 5 etc.). To that question Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (cf. Schwarz in *Oriens*, xx (1967), 19) and, diverging somewhat, John of Damascus a generation later (cf. Becker in *Islamstudien*, i, 440, and G. C. Anawati in *L'Oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà*, Rome 1964, 542 f.) provide an answer; the latter's argument agrees with the Ḳadarite position reported in Khushaysh (in Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 134, 8 f.). John of Damascus was active in Damascus at the time of Hishām; when he as a Christian assailed the predominant Islamic belief of his time, it was natural for him to use the same arguments as the Ḳadarites. Only later, when, as a result of the internal development of Islam, the Ḳadariyya was forced from a moderate to an extreme position, did this plausible but accidental "alliance" cause offence.

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ḲADĀSA (A.), a neologism of comparatively recent creation, generally understood in the sense of holiness. The word does not occur either in the Ḳurʾān or in *ḥadīth*, and the *LA* ignores it. On the other hand, the root *ḳ-d-s* is well known to the Arab lexicographers; the Ḳurʾān (II, 30, 87, 253; V, 21, 110; XVI, 102; XX, 12; LIX, 23; LXII, 1; LXXIX, 16) and *ḥadīth* (Wensinck, *Concordance*) use it sporadically. Basically, it is used to denote beings and objects that are pure, wholly unsullied or in touch with the divine.

This religious meaning seems to be alien to Arabic and borrowed from Aramaic (A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 1938, 232; however, cf. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 1905, 145 n. 7, where the religious meaning is regarded as original in Arabic). But the borrowing would have taken place before Islam, as might be concluded from a verse of Imruʾ al-Ḳays who speaks of the garment of a pilgrim to Jerusalem (*muḳaddasī*) torn to pieces by the children (*LA*, root *ḳds*).

As a manifestation of purity, *ḳadāsa* is not merely the negation of impurity, *nadjāsa*, it is also its antonym. It does not indeed signify the absence of any impure element in persons and things, a condition denoted by *ṭahāra*, in the current sense of the word; it implies also the presence in them of supernatural forces, of celestial origin, which might make them dangerous to the profane. Nevertheless, with the help of certain precautions it would be possible to approach them: "I am thy Lord", said Allah to Moses, "take off thy sandals for thou art in the sacred (*muḳaddas*) valley of Ṭuwa" (Ḳurʾān, XX, 12).

In the ethnological meaning of the word, *ḳadāsa* represents the positive pole of the sacred, *ḥarām*. This last word is applied in fact to everything that is forbidden to the profane and separated from the rest of the world. The cause of this prohibition could be either impurity (temporary or intrinsic) or holiness, which is a permanent state of sublime purity. *Ḳadāsa*, in short, is merely the manner of existence of what is pure and sacred, that is to say of the divine, of that which contains a divine breath, of that which is the immanence of divinity, in touch with it or rightfully belonging to it. In its ordinary manifestations, it takes the form of *baraka*.

Bibliography: The sacred has been the subject of a very large number of studies which cannot be listed here. Some bibliographical outlines on this question will be found in J. Chelhod, *Les structures du sacré chez les Arabes*, Paris 1964, ch. 1. (J. CHELHOD)

ḲADDŪR AL-ʿALAMĪ, the name by which is known the famous Moroccan popular poet ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ABI-LʾḲĀSIM AL-IDRĪSĪ AL-ʿALAMĪ AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ AL-ṬĀLIBĪ AL-ʿABD AL-SALĀMĪ. He grew up in Meknes in an austere atmosphere, renouncing the pleasures of this world, spending his time visiting the tombs of the saints and enjoying the company of the pious. His teachers were al-Ḥādjdj al-Mukhtār al-Baḳḳālī, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān known as al-Djamal, Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib al-Wazzānī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣiḳillī, and other eminent masters of his time. He gained numerous disciples no less famous, amongst whom were the Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ al-Dabbāgh, the *imām* Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Riḍwī, al-ʿArabī b. al-Sāʾiḥ al-Sharḳī and Muḥammad Gharrīṭ. Sayyidī Ḳaddūr al-ʿAlamī, although unable to read or write, composed poems in the neo-classical and popular language, with astonishing skill and eloquence. These poems, which were long believed to have largely disappeared, or to have been burnt according to his wishes, have fortunately survived. Whether they were composed in *zadjal* or in *malḥūn*, almost all deal with the glorification of God, the praise of the Prophet, and of the saints and important people of Islam. As for wine, beauty and love, of which they sing, these are to be interpreted allegorically, recalling thereby the mystical works of Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn al-ʿArabī. The poem which had the most success is the one devoted to the saints of Meknes, and which begins thus: *āsh mən ʿār ʿalīkum a rdjāl Məknās? mshāt dārī fī ḥmākum yā hl ləkrāyəm'* About four years before his death, which took place at Meknes on 25 Ramaḍān 1266/4 Aug. 1850, he went into a trance, and never again set foot in the *Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*, where he had been accustomed to perform the Friday prayer.

He is said to have lived 112 *hid̲j̲ra* years, *i.e.*, 109 Gregorian years, which would give as the date of his birth 1154/1741.

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(M. Lakhdar)

ḲADDŪRA AL-D̲J̲AZĀʾIRĪ. Of Tunisian ancestry, but settled in Algeria, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammād b. Saʿīd was, like his father, Saʿīd b. Ibrāhīm (d. S̲h̲awwāl 1066/July-Aug. 1656), the most learned man and greatest mufti of Algeria of his time. Amongst his most brilliant disciples was Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad Ibn Zākūr al-Fāsī, to whom he was the last to grant an *id̲j̲āza* (beginning of Rad̲j̲ab 1094/26 June 1683). He died at Algiers on 15 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1098/12 Oct. 1687.

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(M. Lakhdar)

ḲAD̲H̲F (a.), slanderous accusation of fornication (*zinā* [*q.v.*]), or of illegitimate descent; in this latter case, it amounts to accusing the mother of fornication. The guilty party is punished by a fixed penalty (*ḥadd*) of 80 lashes, laid down by the Ḳurʾān (XXIV, 4). A slave guilty of the same crime therefore receives only 40 lashes, on account of the general principles of *fiḳh*. According to the majority of *fuḳahāʾ*, *ḳad̲h̲f* only occurs if the expressions used by the slanderer expressly relate to the fornication or illegitimate descent of the person who is slandered. The Mālikīs alone consider as *ḳad̲h̲f* an accusation expressed by allusion (*taʿrīḍ*) or by preterition, which considerably extends the scope of the crime amongst them.

It is necessary to make clear at once that if, on account of the very restrictive interpretation put upon *ḳad̲h̲f* by the majority of schools, certain slanderous accusations are not of a kind to warrant punishment by the ḳurʾānic penalty, the judge may in such a case, by virtue of his discretionary powers (*taʿzīr* [*q.v.*],) inflict on the guilty party another penalty less than the ḳurʾānic *ḥadd* (but in Mālikī law it may be greater).

Any person having attained puberty and being in possession of his reason, whether he be slave or free, Muslim or not, may be punished for committing *ḳad̲h̲f*. The only ones to escape, apart from those who can produce four witnesses to prove the truthfulness of their statements, are the progenitors (except in the Mālikī school which admits no exceptions) and the husband if, after formulating an accusation of adultery against his wife, he has recourse to the procedure of *liʿān* [*q.v.*]. But, on the other hand, *ḳad̲h̲f* in the technical sense only occurs if the slandered person is *muḥṣan*. This expression in the context of *ḳad̲h̲f* (unlike that of *zināʾ*) can only be applied to a person who has reached puberty (except in Mālikī law, which protects even people below the age of puberty against the accusation of illegitimate descent, for example); this person, being in the possession of reason, must, moreover, be free, Muslim, and have no previous conviction for fornication. If the slandered person lacks one of the qualities set out above, the author of the crime may only be given a punishment by *taʿzīr*, and not by the Ḳurʾānic *ḥadd*. The slandered person need not be alive at the time of the action; all his heirs, according to the majority of the *fuḳahāʾ*, or certain of them (according to the minority), may instigate a court action to punish for the *ḳad̲h̲f* if the *de cujus* had not done it in his lifetime.

Bibliography: All the works of *fiḳh* include a chapter on *ḳad̲h̲i*. See, for example, Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327, xvii, 40-65; K̲h̲alīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Muk̲h̲taṣar*, tr. Bousquet, Algiers 1962, iv, 50-1. For comparisons between schools: Aḥmad Fatḥī Bahnasī, *al-D̲j̲arāʾim fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1959, 123 ff.; L. Bercher, *Les Délits et les peines de droit commun prévus par le Coran*, Tunis 1926, 119-28; J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, 179.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ḲĀḌĪ (a.), "judge", a representative of authority, invested with the power of jurisdiction (*ḳaḍāʾ*). In theory, the head of the community, the caliph, is the holder of all powers; like all other state officials, the *ḳāḍī* is therefore a delegate (*nāʾib*)—direct, if appointed by the Caliph in person, indirect and in varying degrees according to the situation if nominated by intermediate representatives (*wazīr*, governor of a province, etc.). But in all cases the delegator retains the power to do justice in person (the principle of „*retained justice*.")

There is a *ḳāḍī* in the capital and a *ḳāḍī* in the leading town of each of the great territorial divisions. But each of these can appoint direct delegates. The *ḳāḍī*'s justice has always been exercised by a single *ḳāḍī*. At the most he may be instructed to consult qualified jurists (*s̲h̲ūrā*). In the Muslim West, particularly in Spain, this practice was even elevated into a system; alongside each *ḳāḍī* was a *consilium* of jurists, whose role was purely consultative. The collegiate system was applied only in the extraordinary justice of the *maẓālim* [*q.v.*]. Moreover, there were no degrees of jurisdiction; every *ḳāḍī*, although delegated by another, pronounced judgement without appeal, apart from recourse to the *maẓālim*.

The objective being the application of the *s̲h̲arʿ*, which is essentially religious law, the function of the *ḳāḍī* is of this same character.

In theory, the competence of the *ḳāḍī* is general, embracing both civil and penal cases. The religious nature of his office has led to the acquisition of administrative functions of the same nature, such as the administration of mosques and *waḳf*s [*q.v.*]. However, his competence in penal matters is extremely limited; being responsible for enforcing the *s̲h̲arʿ*, he is restricted solely to the very few crimes envisaged by that law, while their repression is concurrently undertaken by the *s̲h̲urṭa* [*q.v.*], the organism responsible for the maintenance of public order. In fact, it is this organism which undertakes repressive jurisdiction in general, a function which it fulfills officially, and outside the constraints and limitations of the *s̲h̲arʿ* (the discretionary punishment of crimes).

In those Islamic states—such as the Ottoman empire—which in the middle of the 19th century set out to modernize their structure, the office of *ḳāḍī* had been maintained until that time. Thereafter, it has survived only within the limited sphere of personal status and certain other specialised questions (inheritance, *waḳfs*).

The institution of the *ḳaḍāʾ al-ḳuḍāt* (the holders'

title being *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* "the judge of judges") was so to speak the crowning point of the system of judicial organization of the Islamic state, and, combined with the institution of the *wizāra*, to which was delegated the executive power and which appeared during the same period, it was the final and highest step in the organization of that state, under the authority of the caliph.

Until the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the only *ḳāḍīs*, in the capital and in the various provinces, were of uniform status, with no hierarchy among themselves. The procedure for introducing the new régime was very simple: between the years 174/786 and 182/798, the caliph elevated the office of *ḳāḍī* of his capital to that of *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt*, while delegating to the holder authority for the general administration of justice. In fact, the institution of *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* was an adaptation of the Persian institution of *mōbedān-mōbed*. The ancient Arab authors did not fail to notice the close relationship between them.

The evolution of the office was to pass through four successive stages. While the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate more or less maintained its general authority, until the appearance of the Fāṭimid Caliphate (372/984), there existed only the one *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Baghdād. However, the Fāṭimid Caliphate introduced an identical organism in Cairo. Subsequently, and corresponding with the process of the divesting of authority particularly within the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, the various kingdoms or principalities set up on their own account some *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* (very markedly after the 6th/12th century).

From the beginning of the Mamlūk period (663/1264) two new phenomena appear. On the one hand, the number of *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* increased; they were to be found within the principal divisions of the realm (*niyābāt*). But despite their title, these officials were merely the delegates of the *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* of the capital. The second phenomenon was the institution, in the capital, in addition to the previously existing office of *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* of the Shāfiʿ *madhhab*, of three other positions of *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* for the three other Sunnī *madhhabs*—Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Ḥanbalī. These also had their corresponding figures in most of the principal *niyābāt*.

The *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* is, above all, a judge. But to him is delegated the judicial administration: the nomination, control and dismissal of the *ḳāḍīs*; the special jurisdictions (*shurṭa, ḥisba, ḳaḍāʾ al-ʿaskar*) fall outside his authority; still more is this true of the jurisdiction of the *maẓālim*, which is the prerogative of the sovereign or his qualified representative, a minister or a governor of a province. This additional responsibility has moreover remained of "political" character; it has not been recognised in doctrine.

In outline, the powers of judicial administration of the *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* were exercised, more or less successively, in two different forms. From the start of the institution until the end of the 3rd/9th century and even, in general, during the 4th/10th, the *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* in the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate did not exercise his authority in his own name. Thus, the deeds of nomination of *ḳāḍīs* emanated from the caliph himself. The *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* plays a role only in presenting candidates. This situation continued for some time during the Fāṭimid Caliphate. But from then onwards, the *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* exercised their powers personally, as part of the general delegation that they had received.

The delegating authority was at first the caliph, and then, from the middle of the 4th/10th century, the sultan; finally, it was often the minister.

The *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa*. In its origins, the institution of the *ḳaḍāʾ al-djamāʿa* of Muslim Spain differs considerably from the *ḳaḍāʾ al-ḳuḍāt* of the East. At that time it was merely a matter of a new title which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān gave, between 138/755 and 141/758, to the *ḳāḍī* of the Spanish territory already conquered, until then known as *ḳāḍi 'l-djund* (*ḳāḍī* of the military district). No doubt it was to indicate that the territory over which he had just asserted his independent authority was no longer merely a province of the Caliphate, that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān rejected the old name; and moreover that, in place of *djund*, he substituted the term *djamāʿa* (community of Muslims), both to signify that henceforward he was the sole legitimate authority of the Muslim world, and also as a mark of distinction from the judges of the native populations, the vast majority of whom remained strangers to Islam. Thus, in the particular circumstances, it was not a question of borrowing some foreign institution; nor was it a matter of new duties coming to be added to the jurisdictional function, properly speaking. Moreover, the term *djamāʿa* had already been in use for a long time, in Arabo-Muslim circles, to denote the holder of an office concerned with these circles, when the Muslim were still in a minority. Thus, the judge of the group of Muslims at the battle of Yarmūk (15/636) had been called *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa*. However, by reason of the general conditions under which he had to perform his duties, the new *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa*, a confidant of the sovereign who for his part was absorbed by his other occupations, was naturally bound to play the part of counsellor to the sovereign, as far as judicial administration was concerned.

Having once started upon this path, the institution was not slow to coincide with the *ḳaḍāʾ al-ḳuḍāt*. Moreover, at some period after the 3rd/9th century which cannot however be defined more precisely, it is known that the *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa* directly exercised powers of judicial administration and nominated provincial *ḳāḍīs*. From the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the name *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* was applied indiscriminately to the *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa*.

Moreover, as was the case in the East, the small kingdoms which came into being as a result of the decline of the Umayyad Caliphate showed their independence by each creating on its own account the office of *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa*, also called *ḳāḍi'l-ḳuḍāt*. It should be added that the institution did not remain peculiar to Muslim Spain, but became general throughout the Muslim West.

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(E. Tyan)

Ottoman Empire. According to the Turkish chronicles the appointment of the first *ķāḍī* can be related to the events that made ʿOthmān independent. Karadjaḥiṣār was occupied as early as about 1290 A.D., but ʿOthmān did not appoint a *ķāḍī* there until around 1300; it was then that the *faķīh* Dursun, who became jointly *ķāḍī* and *khaṭīb*, first read the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*] in the name of ʿOthmān as the sign of sovereignty (ʿĀshıķpashazāde, German tr., ed. R. Kreutel, 39-40; Neshrī, ed. F. R. Unat, 108-10). With the expansion of the Ottoman empire the number of the *ķāḍīs* increased so quickly that a new office soon had to be set up to supervize them. Therefore when Murād I appointed the first *ķāḍī ʿasker*[*q.v.*] in Bursa around 764/1363, he put him in charge not only of the military jurisdiction but also of the supervision of the *ķāḍīs*.

The *ķāḍīs* were already paid under Orkhān (Neshrī, *op. cit.*, 186) but the amount was so inconsiderable that Bāyazīd—although he was on the point of punishing them severely for corruption—on discovering this, ordered that they should be given two per cent of every inheritance and two *aķčes* for each written document (ʿĀshıķpāshazāde, *op. cit.*, 104 and Neshrī, *op. cit.*, 338). Their salary was reviewed on later occasions, and according to Meḥemmed II's code they were authorized to receive seven *aķčes* for a *sidjill* (record), 12 for a copy of the *sidjill*, 32 for a *hüdjdjet* (certificate), 12 for their signature, 30 *aķčes* on the marriage of a maiden and 15 on that of a widow, and two per cent of every inheritance. Besides this, they also received a daily allowance, fixed at between 10 and 500 *aķčes* in the time of Meḥemmed II.

The district over which a *ķāḍī* had jurisdiction was called a *ķaḍāʾ* [*q.v.*] or *ķażāʾ*, consisting of one or more *nāḥiye* [*q.v.*]. According to the extent of the *ķaḍāʾ*, the *ķāḍī* had a certain number of deputies, called *nāʾibs* [*q.v.*]. Next in rank to the *ķāḍīs* of the *ķażāʾ*s were the *ķāḍīs* of the *sandjaķs* [*q.v.*], then the *eyālets* [*q.v.*]. The *ķāḍī* districts of the larger or more important places were called *mewlewiyets* [*q.v.*]. In the 9th/15th century the districts of the *ķāḍīs* in Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa, Selānik, Filibe and Sofia were *mewlewiyets*; their number increased greatly as the empire expanded.

The *ķāḍīs* were appointed by the *ķāḍī ʿasker* if their daily allowance was less than 150 *aķčes*; otherwise their appointment was proposed to the sultan by the grand vizier, on the basis of the *ķāḍī ʿasker*'s opinion. From the end of the 10th/16th century, however, the increased influence of the *shaykh al-islām* [*q.v.*] was reflected in the appointment of the *ķāḍīs*. The latter were appointed to the *ķaḍāʾ*s for 20 months and to the *mewlewiyets* for one year, and after the expiry of their term they became unpaid ex-office-holders (*maʿzūl ķāḍīs*) until their turn came round again. In the meantime, the number of the free schools, supported by the *waķfs* [*q.v.*] (religious foundations) increased so much that in the reign of Sulaymān I the number of applicants for the offices greatly exceeded the number of the posts available in the empire. Therefore from 965/1557 on, on the advice of the grand *muftī* Abu 'l-Suʿūd, all who graduated from higher schools and passed their final examination were officially listed in order that they would be granted posts in due course. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century there were ten applicants waiting for one *ķāḍī* post to fall vacant (*Koçi Bey Risalesi*, ed. A. K. Aksüt, 108). The *maʿzūl* system which resulted reduced not only the *ķāḍīs* but all the functionaries to idleness, thus affecting basically the whole administration of the Ottoman empire. Only after the *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] was it decided that beside officials of higher ranks (*e.g.*, the *ķāḍī* of Istanbul) every ex-office-holder should receive according to his merits a half, a third or a quarter of his pay while he was unemployed. This system was called *maʿzūliyet maʿāshī*.

The authority of the *ķāḍī* covered such a large area of responsibility that the full meaning of the title cannot be accurately rendered by the word "judge". Besides the usual legal matters, they held confidential posts to which they were appointed by the government, which expected them to report from time to time on the activities of high ranking officials, the general situation and the mood of the population. They had to see that crafsmen were attached to the army before it set off to war, that roads were safe, and that goods needed for domestic consumption were not exported. As well as this they had to supervise the public affairs of the cities, the suitability of buildings, the guilds, the quality of goods and their prices. They were also responsible for seeing that foodstuffs were sold at officially fixed prices and the *devshirme* [*q.v.*] conducted properly. They were important as public notaries; their function was to issue different kinds of certificates and documents concerning sales, contracts, loans and the occasional manumission of slaves, to attest private and public documents, and to supervise the accounts of the *waķf* incomes and endorse them with an authentication clause.

This extended authority of the *ķāḍīs* was restricted in the 19th century by the endeavours of reformers, and after the proclamation of the Turkish republic the very title was abolished. Thus the institution became a thing of the past, but the vast written material pertaining to it is of great interest to historians. The *ķāḍīs* recorded in their *sidjills* the directives of the central government and the judicial and notarial affairs brought before them and these records are one of the most valuable sources of Turkish history.

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ĶĀḌĪ ʿASKAR (a.), "judge of the army". The first data relating to the institution of the *ķāḍī ʿaskar* date from the 2nd/8th century: Kindī mentions that after Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī had become the governor of Egypt (c. 132/750), he organized a military expedition and appointed a judge over each unit of his army (E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*², Leiden 1960, 529-30). In the Ayyūbid state the office of the *ķāḍī leshker* (*i.e.*, *ķāḍī ʿaskar*) first came into being in Saladin's time (1138-93) (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâ-*

tına medhal[2], Ankara 1970, 387). The Anatolian Saldjūḳs also had the institution of *ḳāḍī leshker*, as is first mentioned in sources referring to the 1270s (*op. cit.*, 122-3, 140).

In the Ottoman empire Murād I appointed the first *ḳāḍī ʿasker* in Bursa in 765/1363, with authority for military jurisdiction and also supervisory powers over all *ḳāḍīs*. Later, in 886/1481, Meḥemmed II established a second office of *ḳāḍī ʿasker* with the same wide range of functions, thereby dividing the empire into two parts each containing a *ḳāḍī ʿasker*, one for Anatolia and the other for Rumelia; the latter was the more important of the two. As a result of further conquests, in 922/1516 Selīm I set up a third *ḳāḍī ʿasker* office in Diyārbekir with the title *ʿArab we ʿAdjem ḳāḍī ʿaskerligi*, but soon after the occupation of Syria and Egypt he abolished it.

Up to the 11th/17th century the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* was appointed on the advice of the grand vizier, and later that of the *muftī* of Istanbul, although it was considered desirable that both should be in agreement. The *ḳāḍī ʿasker*, like the *ḳāḍīs* [*q.v.*] of higher rank, was appointed for an annual term, but this could be prolonged if it seemed necessary. Their daily payment (500 *aḳčes*) was not more than that of the *ḳāḍīs*; their income, however, was a great deal higher because they were awarded 15 per thousand of the soldiers' estates (recorded separately in the *ḳassām defteri*).

The influence of the Anatolian and Rumelian *kādī ʿaskers* was greatly increased by the fact that both were members of the imperial council (*dīwān-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*]). Besides this, they were authorized to appoint *ḳāḍīs* who received less than 150 *aḳčes* as well as to fill vacancies in schools and mosques. However, they began to lose their influence and leading position after the middle of the 16th century when, as a result of the activity of Abu 'l-Suʿūd, power passed into the hands of the spiritual leader of Islam, the grand *muftī* of Istanbul. The *ḳāḍī ʿaskers*, however, remained members of the *dīwān-i humāyūn* until the middle of the 19th century. The offices of the Anatolian and Rumelian *ḳāḍī ʿaskers* existed until 1914, when the two were united. However, the reorganized office of the Anatolian *ḳāḍī ʿasker* was short-lived, for it was abolished under the Turkish republic.

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AL-ĶĀḌĪ AL-FĀḌIL, Abū ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Lakhmī al-Baysānī al-ʿAsḳalānī, Muḥyī (Mudjīr) al-Dīn, the famous counsellor and secretary to Saladin, was born on 15 Djumādā II 529/3 April 1135 at ʿAsḳalān [*q.v.*], where his father, a native of Baysān, known as al-Ḳāḍī al-Ashraf, was the judge. He was put by his father into the *Dīwān al-inshā'* at Cairo as a trainee, about 543-4/1148-9. Already before 548/1153 he entered the service of the *ḳāḍī* of Alexandria, Ibn Ḥadīd, as a secretary. As the elegant reports he drafted there brought him to the attention of the Cairo authorities, he was recalled to Cairo by the last representative of the family of viziers, the Banū Ruzzīk, al-ʿĀdil Ruzzīk b. al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ, as head of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* [see dīwān]. A little later, when Ruzzīk had been set aside by Shāwar, the prefect of Ḳūṣ, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil entered the service of Shāwar's son Kāmil as secretary, and, after the murder of Shāwar, the service of Shīrkūh, his successor as vizier. In 563/1167-8 he replaced Ibn al-Khallāl, the director of the *Dīwān al-inshā'* under whom he had begun his career, in his functions, and, after the death of the latter on 23 Djumādā II 566/4 March 1171, he became his successor, Saladin having meanwhile taken over the functions of vizier. The following year, after the death of the last Fāṭimid, when Saladin himself became ruler of Egypt, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil was his right hand man in the execution of the necessary reforms in the fiscal and military administration. He then accompanied the sultan on his expeditions to Syria; from 585 to 586/1189-90 he remained in Egypt to control the administration of finance and reorganise the army and the fleet. Subsequently he returned to Syria and stayed with Saladin until his death on 27 Ṣafar 589/5 March 1193. When al-Malik al-Afḍal, who had seized power in Damascus, rapidly compromised his position by imprudent actions, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil went to Egypt to serve al-Malik al-ʿAzīz. Soon afterwards war broke out between the two brothers, but al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, through his mediation, brought it to an end in 591/1195. After this he returned to private life. He died suddenly on 6 or 7 Rabīʿ II 596/26 or 27 January 1200.

Of the official writings of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil while at the *Dīwān al-inshā'*, many examples have survived, in manuscript form (Helbig, see below), in early collections such as that of his emulator a century later, Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Durr al-naẓīm min tarassul ʿAbd al-Raḥīm*, ed. Cairo 1959, in the works of chroniclers such as, in particular, his colleague and friend ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] or at a later date Abū Shāma, in compilations of *inshā'* such as that of al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*] in particular, and lastly in various works such as the *Kharīda* of the same ʿImād al-Dīn (for a correspondence with Usāma b. Munḳidh see H. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousama*, 383 ff.). While he was in office, he also edited an official diary known by the name of *Mutadjaddidāt* (according to Maḳrīzī) or *Mādjarāyāt* (according to Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm; according to the latter the compilation was partly the work of the historian of the same period Abū Ghālib al-Shaybānī), of which considerable extracts have been preserved by these writers. Al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil was also the author of a considerable volume of poetry in part mingled with his correspondence.

It has often been said that al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil was vizier to Saladin. This he never was: Saladin, who first achieved power in Egypt as vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph, never took a vizier himself. Al-Fāḍil was, however, a counsellor whose advice was heeded, and the director of his chancellery. The personal prestige he enjoyed in his old age was considerable; but it was not so much to the loftiness of his moral purpose, as to the exceptional quality of his private and official epistolary style that he owed his extraordinary reputation among his contemporaries and his emulators in subsequent generations. This style, which can be compared to that of his collaborator and friend ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, combines richness (perhaps a little less prolix) and suppleness of form with a realistic treatment of the facts, a lesson too often forgotten by later writers, which makes his correspondence a valuable historical source. It is all the more strange to note that the work, which was considered to be a model by thousands of secretaries, has not yet found an editor in modern times. The Diary is lost, the *Dīwān* has been published recently

(by Aḥmad A. Badawī and Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, Cairo 1961, 2 vols.), but the correspondence is still only accessible in the form of extracts found in the works mentioned above. The ideal would be to establish a concordance of all these extracts and manuscript collections; a long, exacting, but indispensable task, which was begun but by no means finished by Helbig, and which will be taken up again.

Bibliography: Almost everything said by the numerous authors who devote a biography to al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil goes back to the chroniclers of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and to the account given by his friend ʿImād al-Dīn, who died a few months later, and reproduced by Abū S̲h̲āma *s.a.* 596. In addition, see in particular Ibn K̲h̲allikān, no. 384, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *op. cit.* In modern literature the fundamental work is still that of Ad. Helbig, *Al-Qadi al-Fadil*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1908. See also Walther Björkmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, 1928, and Horst-Adolf Hein, *Beiträge zur Ayyubidischen Diplomatik*, Diss. Freiburg/Br. 1968, with bibliography; *GAL*, I, 315, S I, 549; Hilmy M. Ahmad, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Holt and Lewis, 95-6 and n. 16; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany N. Y. 1972, index.

(C. Brockelmann-[Cl. Cahen])

AL-ḲĀḌĪ AL-HARAWĪ [see AL-ʿABBĀDĪ].

ḲĀḌĪ K̲H̲ĀN, Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr al-Farg̲h̲ānī, 6th/12th century Ḥanafī jurist (d. Ramaḍān 592/August 1196), a native of Transoxania, who wrote commentaries on those works of Muḥammad al-S̲h̲aybānī, Abū Ḥanīfa's disciple, recognized as *ẓāhir al-riwāya* (authentic version). A few manuscript copies of his commentaries are extant, notably a *S̲h̲arḥ al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-ṣag̲h̲īr* and a *S̲h̲arḥ al-Ziyādāt* in the Cairo National Library. Ḳāḍī K̲h̲ān's fame rests on his *Fatāwā*, also called *al-Fatāwā al-k̲h̲āniyya*, not, as the name would seem to suggest, a collection of practical decisions but rather a theoretical work, analogous in form and in essence with all treatises on *fiḳh*. Nevertheless, Ḳāḍī K̲h̲ān was less preoccupied than the other *fuḳahāʾ* with abstract explanations and methodology (*uṣūl*). This was perhaps the reason for the success of the *Fatāwā* in the eyes of practitioners, especially in India, where the first printed editions of the work appeared (Calcutta 1835). Nowadays the preferred text is the Būlāḳ one, where the text is printed on the margin of the first three volumes of *Fatāwā hindiyya* (1310).

Ḳāḍī K̲h̲ān was one of those men whom the Ḥanafī school agreed should be classed as qualified to handle *id̲j̲tihad* [*q.v.*] and to put forward new solutions in legal matters. He was the last jurist of the classical period of Ḥanafī law, a time when a measure of legislative creativity was still possible.

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(Th. W. Juynboll — [Y. Linant de Bellefonds])

ḲĀḌĪ 'L-ḲUḌĀT [see ḲĀḌĪ].

ḲĀḌĪ MUḤAMMAD, a Sunnī of the S̲h̲āfiʿī *mad̲h̲hab*, b. *c.* 1895, was head of the leading aristocratic and religious family of Mahābād [*q.v.*] (the principal town of the Kurdish part of the province of Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān since separated as the Third Ostan), where there was a tradition of lively Kurdish cultural activity. After succeeding his father, ʿAlī, as *ḳāḍī* he quickly established a reputation for outstanding competence and incisiveness alike as judge, orator and practical man of affairs.

In August 1941 the Anglo-Russian invasion of Persia was followed by a general rising of the Kurdish tribes and the total breakdown of the machinery of government. At Mahābād a committee of townsmen, headed by the *ḳāḍī* and supported by the tribal chiefs, took over the local administration. A political party, the Society for the Revival of Kurdistan, formed by a group of young nationalist intellectuals, later co-opted the *ḳāḍī* as president. Kurdish was introduced as the language of instruction in the schools, and nationalistic emotions were aroused by theatrical productions, the publication of anthologies of patriotic verse, and other journalistic activities in that tongue. Although the last vestiges of government authority had long disappeared, it was not until 22 January 1946 that the Autonomous Kurdish Republic was proclaimed with Ḳāḍī Muḥammad as president.

The withdrawal of the Soviet forces four months later opened the way for the central government to reassert its authority. With the reoccupation of Tabrīz on 13 December both the Mahābād Republic and the larger Communist "Democratic Republic" of (Persian) Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, set up in the Turkic-speaking parts of the province, collapsed. Ḳāḍī Muḥammad surrendered four days later and, after trial on a charge of treason, was hanged on 31 March 1947.

Although the Kurdish Republic, as such, lasted only eleven months, the committee led by the *ḳāḍī* had administered the district with commendable efficiency and success for over five years.

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AL-ḲĀḌĪ NUʿMĀN [see NUʿMĀN].

AL-ḲĀḌĪ AL-TAHARTĪ [see IBN AL-RAHĪB].

ḲĀḌĪZĀDE RŪMĪ [see Supplement].

ḲAḌĪB, rod, one of the insignia of sovereignty of the caliph. As early as the Umayyad era, the rod (*ḳaḍīb*) or staff (*ʿaṣā*) was already, along with the seal, one of the badges of rank which was conveyed with speed to the new caliph on the death of his predecessor. This custom was adhered to under the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs, notably after the death of al-Manṣūr, who ended his life at Mecca, and after the deaths of al-Mahdī and Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, who perished during an expedition to the eastern provinces; in these cases a special messenger, bearing the *ḳaḍīb* and the seal, was despatched to the heir presumptive, who was then in the capital. In the 4th/10th century narratives dealing with caliphal audiences describe the caliph holding the *ḳaḍīb* along with other badges of rank. Considered the staff of the Prophet which was received in succession by the first caliphal dynasties who ruled over the Islamic east, and thus endowed with a religious significance borne out by ḳurʾānic references to a "staff" carried by biblical prophets such as Mūsā, this rod seems also to have served as a kind of sceptre.

A like appurtenance of sovereign dignity is also attested in Muslim Spain, where the Umayyad caliphs possessed, along with other badges of rank, a rod called *k̲h̲ayzurān*. On the other hand, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs of Cairo in the Mamlūk era had lost the rod, but even so it did not pass into the hands of the sultans

and seems no longer to have figured in the Ottoman ceremonial. Nevertheless the rod or staff (*ʿaṣā*) of the sovereign became in later literature the symbol of power, as is demonstrated in a passage from Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, part iv, ch. 1).

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ḲADĪM [see ḲIDAM].

ḲADĪN [see MARʾA, SARĀY].

AL-**ḲĀDIR** [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ].

AL-**ḲĀDIR BI'LLĀH**, 25th caliph of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, who reigned from 381/991 to 422/1031. Born in 336/947-8, Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ was the grandson of the Caliph al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*] and cousin of the Caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ, who was deposed in 381/991 by the amīr Bahāʾ al-Dawla. Called to assume the caliphate by the latter, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās received the regnal name of al-Ḳādir bi'llāh. The amīr, who had met with some vestiges of resistance in al-Ṭāʾiʿ, hoped to find a more tractable ruler in the person of al-Ḳādir, who had had to flee from the capital to escape the vengeance of his cousin after a family quarrel. In fact, the new caliph at first appeared to make common cause with the amīr and seemed disposed to support his policies. Moreover, the proclamation was not initially recognized by the amīrs in the eastern provinces; it was not until around 390/1000 that the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids decided to recognize the new caliph installed by their Buwayhid rivals. Obliged to give way to the various demands of the chief amīr, in the first stage of his reign al-Ḳādir bestowed on the latter honorific titles comparable with those awarded to ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], was satisfied with ratifying the nominations he proposed, and agreed to marry Bahāʾ al-Dawla's own daughter, though in fact she died before the marriage was celebrated. He was also content with very limited financial resources. The only demonstrations of his authority were the construction of the sixth Great Mosque in Baghdād, that of Bāb Ḥarb (383/993), and the announcement, before an assembly of pilgrims from Khurāsān (390/1001), that his heir was his son, who was given the appellation al-Ghālib bi'llāh.

From around 390/1000, however, the chief amīr Bahāʾ al-Dawla, who had settled in Shīrāz, treated ʿIrāḳ merely as a province of the kingdom. On account of this the caliph began to enjoy greater freedom. He was thus able to re-establish the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba* in Yamāma and Baḥrayn. Similarly, he opposed the nomination as chief *ḳāḍī* of a man whom the chief amīr wished also to appoint as *naḳīb* of the ʿAlids, president of the *maẓālim* court and amīr of the pilgrimage, the *sharīf* Abū Aḥmad al-Mūsawī (394/1004). The caliph thus managed to block the universal application of Imāmite law and to ban an ʿAlid from the office of chief *ḳāḍī*. He had previously had the occasion to demonstrate his determination to defend the Sunnī régime which he embodied; in 390/1000 he had addressed a letter to the new *ḳāḍī* of Djīlān asking him to urge the populace to obey the caliph. A few years afterwards, there occurred the incidents which led him to intervene against Imāmism; following controversies concerning Ibn Masʿūd's ḳurʾānic recension, which the Sunnīs considered inexact, and the ensuing disturbances in the capital, the caliph convened a commission of Sunnī scholars, who condemned the suspect version (Radjab 398/April 1006), and soon after arrested and executed a Shīʿī who at Karbalāʾ had dared to anathematize "those who had burned the *muṣḥaf*" of Ibn Masʿūd. In these circumstances the chief amīr intervened to pour oil on troubled waters and to prevent the situation from becoming more grave. As a matter of fact there was a new danger threatening caliph and chief amīr alike: Fāṭimid propaganda making itself felt in the Shīʿī quarters of Baghdād. The name of the Caliph al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*] was hailed during the affair of Ibn Masʿūd's Ḳurʾān and shortly afterwards the amīr of al-Mawṣil, Kirwash, whose authority stretched as far as al-Anbār [*q.v.*], threw in his lot with the Fāṭimid regime and delivered a *khuṭba* in which he professed Ismāʿīlism (Muḥarram 401/August 1010). At once al-Ḳādir sent an emissary to the chief amīr in the person of the theologian al-Bāḳillānī, who had for many years been greatly favoured by the Buwayhid amīrs, and obtained the amīr's intervention in the matter of Kirwash, who re-established the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba* soon afterwards. He played his part by having read publicly in the palace, in Rabīʿ II 402/November 1011, a manifesto condemning the Fāṭimid doctrine, criticizing the genealogy of the Fāṭimid caliphs, and numbering the Ismāʿīlīs among the enemies of Islam. The manifesto was signed by Imāmī as well as Sunnī scholars.

The death of Bahāʾ al-Dawla in 403/1012 and the succession of his son Sulṭān al-Dawla made no great change in the political situation. It should not be forgotten that for a number of years the agitation of the Arab and Kurdish elements in ʿIrāḳ had progressively weakened Buwayhid power, while the long-standing rivalry between Daylamites and Turks was ignited again in the course of any local disturbances, and incidents between Sunnīs and Shīʿis in Baghdād and other towns could break out at any moment. Al-Ḳādir's main preoccupation was the struggle against any doctrines deemed pernicious and especially those which constituted a danger to the caliphate. From 408/1017 he demanded that the Ḥanafī jurisconsults who had shown some sympathy with Muʿtazilism make an act of penitence; at the same time he forbade the teaching of Muʿtazilī and Shīʿī doctrines. Then, in 409/1018, he had a reading given in the palace of the text called *al-risāla al-ḳādiriyya*, a profession of faith defining the official doctrine which also conformed to the ideas of the Men of Old (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 109; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 198-201; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 299 ff.). Inspired by Ḥanbalite ideas, this text condemned not only Shīʿism in all its forms but also Muʿtazilism and even Ashʿarism, which was denounced for taking a stance that was a dangerous compromise with Muʿtazilism, and also put forward the veneration of the Companions as a genuine obligation. In the same period the chief amīr Sulṭān al-Dawla appeared in Baghdād for the first time; soon after, he retired to Iran and ceded his position to Musharrif al-Dawla, who turned up in Baghdād in Muḥarram 414/March 1023 and demanded that the caliph come to meet him. Al-Ḳādir complied, but he protested soon afterwards when, without seeking the caliph's authorization, the chief amīr wanted to renew the Turkish chieftains' oath of allegiance and procured the amīr's vow of submission and fidelity.

The rivalry which broke out between the Buwayhid princes after the death of Musharrif al-Dawla in 416/1025 gave the caliph the opportunity to play a truly political role once more. Opposed were Djalāl al-

Dawla, the brother of Mus̲h̲arrif al-Dawla, who at once secured the proclamation in the *k̲h̲uṭba* of his name, and Abū Kālīd̲j̲ār [*q.v.*], his nephew, who had himself proclaimed chief amīr by the troops, an announcement ratified by the caliph until those same troops were deserting Abū Kālīd̲j̲ār and rallying to D̲j̲alāl al-Dawla. The latter arrived in Bag̲h̲dād in 418/1026, installed himself in the amiral palace and assumed certain caliphal prerogatives, but less than a year later the troops clamoured for his dismissal. Al-Ḳādir despatched the chief notables, the two *naḳībs* and the *ḥād̲j̲ib*, to inform him that he must withdraw; he did so and was prohibited from returning to the capital for some time afterwards.

The caliph devoted the last years of his reign to reinforcing ʿAbbāsid propaganda. During 420/1029 three letters were solemnly read aloud from the palace: the first denounced Muʿtazilism anew; the second attacked in particular the doctrine of the "created Ḳurʾān"; while the third proclaimed the superiority of the early caliphs and affirmed the obligation to "command good and forbid evil". At the same time doctrines favourable to Muʿtazilism had to be duly amended and the preacher at the mosque of Barāt̲h̲ā was dismissed as a S̲h̲īʿi extremist. Moreover the caliph received frequent reports of events in the eastern provinces, where Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azna harried the S̲h̲īʿīs and further extended Islamic power by setting out on the conquest of India, while at the same time engaging in battle against the Buwayhids, seizing Rayy in 420/1029 then attacking Kirmān in 422/1031. In 421/1030 the ageing caliph secured the succession by declaring his son Abū D̲j̲aʿfar his heir without any reference to the chief amīr. On his death in 422/1031, though it had not regained its traditional power, the caliphate had won a considerable amount of prestige. Above all al-Ḳādir had worked effectively for the restoration of threatened Sunnism and in this way achieved ends as much political as religious. Al-Ḳādir's activities were reflected by the redaction of two treatises on public law, the two works entitled *Al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, the one by the S̲h̲āfiʿī al-Māwardī [*q.v.*] and the other by the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: The basic sources are: Abū S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ, *D̲h̲ayl tad̲j̲ārib al-umam, passim*; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii-viii; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr. Other sources are mentioned in the following: M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, *passim*; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, Die Buyiden im Iraq*, Beirut 1966, *passim*; see also H. Laoust, *La pensée et l'action politiques d'al-Māwardī*, in *REI*, xxxvi (1968), 11-92; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1963, *passim*.

(D. Sourdel)

AL-**ḲĀDIRĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḥasanī al-Ḳādirī, *s̲h̲arīf*, Moroccan historian and biographer, born in Fās on 7 Rabīʿ I 1124/14 April 1712, died in the same town on 25 S̲h̲aʿbān 1187/ 11 November 1773. He was a pupil of the leading scholars of his time but, unlike them, throughout his life revealed an almost complete detachment from the good things of this world. Quite early he turned to Ṣūfism and, to make his living, was content to act as an *ʿādil* (legal witness to a deed). Al-Ḳādirī left a fairly considerable number of writings. In the list of works, compiled by himself (*Iltiḳāṭ al-durar*, fol. 104 v.), some of the most noteworthy of these (apart from works relating to Muslim learning) are a monograph relating to the saint Ḳāsim al-K̲h̲aṣāṣī, a short work devoted to the *as̲h̲rāf* of Sicilian origin, an obituary in *rad̲j̲az* on the family of the Fāsiyyūn [*q.v.*], an appendix to the *Kifāyat al-muḥtād̲j̲* of Aḥmad Bābā [*q.v.*], etc.: but the most important of al-Ḳādirī's works are his dictionaries of the celebrities of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, the *Iltiḳāṭ al-durar* and the *Nas̲h̲r al-mat̲h̲ānī*. The first exists only in a few manuscripts. The second, thanks to the lithographed edition (2 vol., Fās 1310/1892 [with an error of pagination in vol. ii between pages 161 and 249]) and the French translation (vol. i, tr. A. Graulle and Maillard, in *Arch. Maroc.*, xxi (1913); vol. ii, tr. E. Michaux-Bellaire, *ibid.*, xxiv (1917)) is well known. These two works, probably the last written by the author, fulfilled the same purpose. While the hagiographic record compiled by Ibn ʿAskar [*q.v.*] had been continued for the 11th/17th century by al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*], for this same century there existed no dictionary of Muslim celebrities of all types. It was this gap that al-Ḳādirī set out to fill, although he seems to have been unaware of the existence of the *Ṣafwat man intas̲h̲ar* of al-Kattānī [*q.v.*], written at about the same time. The first results of his researches were recorded in the *Iltiḳāṭ al-durar wa-mustafād al-mawāʿiẓ wa'l-ʿibar min ak̲h̲bār aʿyān al-miʾa al-t̲h̲āniya wa'l-ḥādiya ʿas̲h̲ar* (which also contains substantial autobiographical elements). In a revised, completed and often abridged form, this work was presented under a new title, *Nas̲h̲r al-mat̲h̲ānī li-ahl al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿas̲h̲ar wa'l-t̲h̲ānī*. The two works thus resemble each other closely. They possess an original feature in that, following the obituaries for each year, they almost always give a résumé of the outstanding political events of that year. It seems that al-Ḳādirī also produced another version of the *Nas̲h̲r al-mat̲h̲ānī*, apart from the one lithographed at Fās; this is stated by al-Kattānī (*Salwat al-anfās*, iii, 361), who had in his possession a more complete *Nas̲h̲r*, covering the period until 1183/1769. This more extensive edition was said to be entitled *al-Azhār al-nādiya fī ak̲h̲bār ahl al-miʾa al-ḥādiya ʿas̲h̲ar wa'l-t̲h̲āniya*.

Al-Ḳādirī was familiar with the whole body of literature relating to the Saʿdids [*q.v.*], but his sympathies lay primarily with Muslim scholars, whether they were like himself Moroccan or not.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see: Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās, 1316/1898, ii, 351 (Graulle in the introduction (of his translation), without regard to the original order has translated Kattānī's note on al-Ḳādirī); E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 319-26 (indispensable); ʿAbd al-Salām b. Sūdā, *Dalīl muʾarrik̲h̲ al-Mag̲h̲rib al-aḳṣā*, Tetuan 1369/1950, no. 3; I. Allouche and A. Regragui, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, 2nd series, Rabat 1958, nos. 2306-8 and 2161; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie ʿalawide*, Rabat 1971, 240-1 and index. (G. Deverdun)

AL-**ḲĀDIRĪ AL-ḤASANĪ**, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (and Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil) Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, Moroccan mystic who was also a man of the pen and of the sword. He owed his education to his stay at the *zāwiya* of Dilāʾ, profiting from the teaching of qualified masters such as al-Yūsī. He made the pilgrimage twice, in 1083/1673 and in 1100/1689. During his first stay in the East, he followed courses given by doctors learned in Islamic sciences, amongst whom were: ʿAlī al-Ud̲j̲hurī, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Zurḳānī, and Muḥammad al-K̲h̲irs̲h̲ī. At the end of his second journey he composed a *riḥla* with the title *Nasmat al-ās fī ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲at Sayyidinā Abī*

'l-ʿAbbās (it deals with Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Maʿn al-Andalusī, in whose company he had visited the Holy Places). He is also the author of the following works: *Djawāb fi 'l-nasab al-ḥasanī wa 'l-ḥusaynī*; *Ta'līf fī nasab al-shurafā' al-ʿAlawiyyīn*; three poems in *radjaz* metre: one on the Companions of the Prophet who had emigrated to Abyssinia, the second on the mosques in which the Prophet had prayed, and the third in *yā'* rhyme on the masters of his time. He passed the rest of his days in the odour of sanctity, devoting himself to the perusal of works of mysticism, and associating only with saints, such as Ḳāsim al-Khaṣāṣī, Muḥammad al-ʿArabī Bardalla, and the aforementioned Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Maʿn. Previously at Fez, he had followed the courses of al-Yūsī and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī. He died at Fez, Monday 19 Djumādā I 1133/18 March 1721, and was buried outside the Bāb al-Futūḥ near the oratory of ʿAdwat al-Andalus.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 294; Ḳādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 201; idem, *Iltiḳāṭ*, 61v; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, 71v-72v; idem, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*; Ifrani, *Ṣafwa*, ii, 353; R. Basset, *Recherches*, 28, n. 75; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 80-1, 91, ii, 368, 434; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 353.

(M. LAKHDAR)

AL-ḲĀDIRĪ AL-ḤASANĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-ʿARABĪ B. AL-ṬAYYIB, Moroccan scholar very learned in history and genealogy. He had eminent teachers in the various branches of knowledge, notably ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī, his two sons Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, and the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī. He frequented well-known mystics, amongst others Ḳāsim al-Khaṣāṣī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Maʿn al-Andalusī, in whose company he made the pilgrimage, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Yamanī. All his works are devoted to mysticism: *al-Ṭurfa fi 'khtiṣār al-Tuḥfa* (which is a history of the Djazūlī and Zarrūḳī movement from the beginning until his own time, and a résumé of the work of al-Mahdī al-Fāsī), a treatise on the descendants of *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Mūsā al-Ḥasanī al-Djīlānī, and another on the saints of Fez with the title *al-Taʿrīf bi-ṣulaḥā' Fās wa-akhbārihim*; he had given the draft of this, when he was about to travel to the east, into the keeping of Muḥammad b. ʿAyshūn al-Sharrāṭ, who appropriated it, passing it off as his own. Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Ḳādirī also composed a *kunnāsh* which, his biographers say, contained most interesting information. He died at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1106/11 Aug. 1695, and was buried outside Bāb al-Futūḥ at Fez in the place called Maṭraḥ al-Djamra.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 275-6; ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḳādirī, *al-Durr al-sanī*, 62; Dilā'ī, *Natīdjat al-taḥḳīḳ*, 20; Ḳādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 158; idem, *Iltiḳāṭ*, 46v; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, 184v-187r; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 345; R. Basset, *Recherches*, 27, no. 69; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 51, 200, ii, 294, 314, 463.

(M. LAKHDAR)

AL-ḲĀḌIRĪ AL-ḤASANĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. AL-ṬAYYIB, celebrated Moroccan genealogist of the Chorfa. Born at Fez, 10 Ramaḍān 1058/28 Sept. 1648, he followed there the courses of eminent teachers, including ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī and his two sons, Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, al-Yūsī, al-ʿArabī b. Aḥmad al-Fishtālī, and Aḥmad b. al-ʿArabī b. al-Ḥādjdj. He was accomplished in lexicography, rhetoric, logic, dialectic, and *ḥadīth* and its principles (*ʿuṣūl*). But his speciality was genealogy in general and that of the Banū Hāshim and of the ʿAlawī branch in particular. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḳādirī left an important body of work dealing with most aspects of learning. The following works may be cited, according to discipline: a) Literature: a *dīwān* and a *fahrasa*—b) Mysticism: *Adā' al-ḥuḳūḳ fī ibdā' al-furūḳ*—c) Tradition: i) a rendering in verse of the *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-Sīra* of Ibn Fāris, ii) *al-Durra al-khaṭīra fī muhimm al-Sīra*—d) Biography and Hagiography: i) a notice of Ibn Abī Zarʿ, ii) of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Maʿn al-Andalusī: *al-Maḳṣad al-aḥmad*, iii) of Aḥmad al-Shāwī: *Muʿtamad al-rāwī*, iv) of Abū Bakr al-Dilā'ī and his son Muḥammad: *Nuzhat al-fikr*, v) of Ḳāsim al-Khaṣāṣī: *al-Zahr al-bāsim* (or *al-ʿUrf al-nāsim*)—e) Genealogy: i) *al-Durr al-sanī fi man bi-Fās min ahl al-nasab al-ḥasanī*, ii) *al-ʿUrf al-ʿāṭir fī man bi-Fās min abnā' al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir*, iii) *al-Ishrāf ʿalā nasab al-Aḳṭāb al-arbaʿa al-ashrāf*, iv) *Tuḥfat al-nabīh bi-nasab Banī Ṭāhir wa-Banī 'l-Shabīh*, v) *ʿUḳūd al-la'āl wa-wasīlat al-su'āl bi-mā lahu s.l.m. min al-āl*, vi) *Maṭlaʿ al-ishrāḳ fi 'l-shurafā' al-wāridīn min al-ʿIrāḳ*.

He died at Fez on Friday 13 Rabīʿ I 1110/19 Sept. 1698, and was buried outside the Bāb al-Futūḥ.

Bibliography: *al-Durr al-sanī*, supra, e) i, 62; *al-ʿUrf al-ʿāṭir*, supra, e) ii, tr. Giacobetti, *Kitāb al-nasab*, 145; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 276-80; Dilā'ī, *Natīdjat al-taḥḳīḳ*, 20; Ḳādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 162; idem, *Iltiḳāṭ*, 48v; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, 39v—45v; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 348; Fuḍaylī, *al-Durar*, ii, 192; R. Basset, *Recherches*, 27, no. 71; ʿA. al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, i, 132-3, ii, 165, 292; Brockelmann, S II, 682-3; al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī, *al-Durr al-sanī*; Ibn Zaydān, *al-Manzaʿ al-laṭīf*, 309; M. al-Bashīr, *Yawāḳīt*, 20; M. Dāwūd, *Ta'rīkh Tiṭwān*, i/3, 361, 374; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, *passim*; A. al-Namīshī, *Ta'rīkh al-shiʿr*, 74.

(M. LAKHDAR)

ḲĀDIRIYYA, Order (*ṭarīḳa*) of dervishes called after ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*].

1.—Origin. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (d. 561/1166) was the principal of a school (*madrasa*) of Ḥanbalī law and a *ribāṭ* in Baghdād. His sermons (collected in *al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī*) were delivered sometimes in the one, sometimes in the other; both were notable institutions in the time of Ibn al-Athīr, and Yāḳūt (*Irshād al-Arīb*, v, 274) records a bequest of books made to the former by a man who died in 572/1176-7. Both appear to have come to an end at the sack of Baghdād in 656/1258, till when it is probable that their headship remained in the family of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, which was numerous and distinguished. In the *Bahdjat al-Asrār*, where an accurate account of his descendants is given (pp. 113-117), it is stated that ʿAbd al-Ḳādir was succeeded in the *madrasa* by his son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (552/1151-593/1196), who was followed by his son ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 611/1214). Another son, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (528/603-1134/1206-7), was a notable ascetic. Several members of the family perished during the sack of Baghdād, when it would appear that both these institutions came to an end.

A *ribāṭ* was at this time distinguished from a *zāwiya*, the former being a *coenobium*, the latter a place where an ascetic lived in solitude (al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, margin of the *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1306, i, 217). In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa *zāwiya* had come to be used in the former sense also, and his description of the religious exercises practised at the *zāwiya* (i, 71) would probably suit what went on at ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's *ribāṭ*. The body of rules and doctrines which had his authority was sufficient to constitute a system (*madhhab*; *Bahdja*, p. 101), and by accepting the *khirḳa* from the *shaykh* the *murīd*

signified that he subordinated his will to that of the former (al-Suhrawardī, i, 192). A long list is given in the *Bahdja* of men who attained various degrees of distinction who had received the *khirḳa* from ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, two of them at the age of seven and one at the age of one. These persons were said to "ascribe themselves" (*intasaba* or *intamā* or even *tasammā*) to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, and could bestow the *khirḳa* on others as from him; in doing so they would stipulate that the *murīd* was to regard ʿAbd al-Ḳādir as his *shaykh* and director after the Prophet. In a tradition which is likely to be apocryphal (*Bahdja*, p. 101, dated 592/1196), ʿAbd al-Ḳādir declared that assumption of his *khirḳa* was not absolutely necessary for entry into his Order; personal attachment to himself was sufficient. It would appear that during his lifetime several persons carried on propaganda in favour of his system; one ʿAlī b. al-Ḥaddād obtained proselytes in Yemen, and one Muḥammad al-Baṭāʾiḥī, resident in Baalbek, did likewise in Syria; one Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, also of Baalbek, was another propagandist, and one Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad in Egypt "ascribed himself to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir and in treading the Path relied on him after God and His Apostle" (*Bahdja*, pp. 109, 110). Since all who ascribed themselves to him were promised Paradise, the Order is likely to have been popular; and even in recent times missionaries in Africa appear to have little difficulty in obtaining fresh adherents to it (cf. O. Lenz, *Timbuktu*, ii, 33).

That ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's sons had some share in spreading it is likely, though Ibn Taymiyya (d.728/1328) mentions that he had associated with one of his descendants who was an ordinary Muslim and not a member of it, and so did not agree with those who held fanatical views about him (*Bughyat al-Murtād*, p. 124). The *Bahdja* however does not bear out Le Chatelier's assertion (*Confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz*, p. 35) that in ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's life-time some of his sons had been preaching his doctrine in Morocco, Egypt, Arabia, Turkestan and India. It says much of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, but nothing of the "mosque now in ruins, whose seven gilded domes have often served as the subject of description by Arabic historians", which this son is supposed to have built. Indeed this mosque appears to be later than Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (740/1339-40), the first author later than the *Bahdja* who mentions ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's tomb (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, p. 42). Nor does it confirm the statement that this ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ introduced the use of music in the ritual, and indeed the employment of this was earlier than ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's time, and is discussed by al-Suhrawardī (ii, 116) without allusion to ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ. E. Mercier (*Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, iii, 14) asserts that the Ḳādiriyya Order existed in Berbery in the 6th/12th century and was closely connected with the Fāṭimids (whose rule terminated 567/1171), but he gives no authority for these statements.

Al-Suhrawardī holds that the exercises of each *murīd* should be determined by his *shaykh* in accordance with his individual needs, whence it is unlikely that ʿAbd al-Ḳādir instituted any rigid system of *dhikr*, *wird* and *ḥizb*, and indeed those in use among different Ḳādirī communities differ (Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 183 ff.). The initiation ceremonies given on Turkish authority by J. P. Brown (*The Darvishes*, p. 98) are quite different from those furnished by Rinn on North African authority. In one of these latter there is a tendency to set ʿAlī above Muḥammad and to insist on the importance of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, which cannot well represent the views of the Ḥanbalite ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. The *wird* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in *al-Fuyūḍāt al-Rabbāniyya* is given on the authority of one ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdjamī, who lived 185 years (536-731) and may be regarded as mythical.

2.—Development. Ḳādirism seems from an early period to have developed on different lines according as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir was regarded as the founder of a system involving rites and practices, or as a worker of miracles. In the latter direction it meant the deification of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, the extremists holding that he was Lord of Creation after God, absolutely, whereas the more moderate supposed that he was so only in his own age (*Bughyat al-Murtād*, *loc. cit.*). The latter was the view of Ibn ʿArabī, who takes him as an example of a *khalīfa* who showed himself and practised sovereignty (*taṣarruf*; *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, ii, 407); such a *khalīfa* in his system is independent of the revelation to Muḥammad (*Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, § 16). But there was also a theory that ʿAbd al-Ḳādir practised in his grave all the activities (*taṣarruf*) of the living (Ibn al-Wardī, (d. 749), *Taʾrikh*, ii, 70); and Ibn Taymiyya (*al-Djawāb al-Ṣaḥiḥ*, i, 323) mentions him among saints who in his time still appeared to people, being in reality impersonated by demons. In the initiation ceremonies recorded by J. P. Brown, *loc. cit.*, the candidate for admission to the Order sees ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in dreams; in one case so often and so clearly that without having seen ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's portrait he could recognize him among a thousand. The form of Ḳādirism which means the worship of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir seems to prevail in North Africa, where it is called Djilālism (or Djīlānism), and whole communities are called Djilāla. Their system has been described as the application of Ṣūfī mysticism to beliefs that are certainly pre-Islamic, and the materialization of that mysticism under the form of a cult of hidden subterranean powers (E. Michaux-Bellaire, in *Archives Marocaines*, xx, 235). Here the word *khalwa* is used for a heap of stones where women attach rags to reeds planted between the stones and where they burn benzoin and styrax in potsherds (*ibid.*, xvii, 60). Such *khalwas* are to be found in all the Arab villages. Similarly "in the province of Oran on all the roads and on the summits of the chief mountains *ḳubbas* are to be found in the name of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Jilali" (E. de Neveu, *Ordres Religieux chez les Musulmans d'Algérie*, p. 30). The society of the Genāwah or Negroes of Guinea has placed itself entirely under the protection of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḳādir with all his array of male and female demons; wherein Michaux-Bellaire found traces of the powers which, according to the Ḳurʾān (and even earlier authorities), belonged to Solomon. The cult of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir is most ardently practised by the women in the Khloṭ and Ṭlīḳ, who come to the *khalwa* for every sort of object, and to satisfy their loves and hates in all the acts of their existence. The men on the other hand chiefly go to the *khalwa* when they are ill (*Arch. Maroc.*, vi, 329).

That this development is inconsistent with Islamic orthodoxy is evident, and it is attacked by such authorities as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibrāhīm al-Shāṭibī (*Iʿtiṣām*, i, 348 ff.). The system to which the name Ḳādiriyya is more ordinarily applied differs from other orders mainly in ritual, although, through circumstances connected with its origin, "it has not that homogeneity of statutes which is to be found in other congregations, which seem to form small exclusive churches outside which there is no salvation" (Rinn, p. 186). Though the founder was a

Ḥanbalī, membership is by no means confined to that school, and the Order is theoretically both tolerant and charitable.

3.—Geographical Distribution. Since historical and geographical works rarely distinguish between the different *ṭuruḳ* in their accounts of religious buildings, little can be said with certainty of the date at which the first Ḳādirī *zāwiya* or *khānḳāh* was established in any country save ʿIrāḳ. The Order is said to have been introduced into Fez by the posterity of two of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's sons, Ibrāhīm (d. 592/1196 in Wāsiṭ) and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (who died in Djiyāl, a village of Sindjar); they had migrated to Spain and shortly before the fall of Granada (897/1492) their descendants fled to Morocco. The full genealogy of the Shurafāʾ Djīlāla of Fez is given in *Arch. Maroc.*, iii, 106-114, on the authority of *al-Durr al-Sanī* of al-Ḳādirī al-Ḥasanī (1090/1679), who claims to have used a series of authentic documents. The *khalwa* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in Fez is mentioned as early as 1104/1692-3 (*ibid.*, xi, 319). The order was introduced into Asia Minor and Istanbul by Ismāʿīl Rūmī, founder of the *khānḳāh* known as the Ḳādirīkhānah at the Topkhāne. This personage (d. 1041/1631), who is called *Pīr thānī*, "Second *Shaykh*", is said to have founded some 40 *tekiye*s in these regions (*Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*). A Ḳādirī *ribāṭ* in Mecca is mentioned by Ṣāliḥ b. Mahdī in *al-ʿAlam al-Shāmikh*, p. 381, about 1180/1767, but the assertion that a branch was established there during the lifetime of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (Le Chatelier, *op. cit.*, p. 44) is not improbable, since Mecca has a natural attraction for the Ṣūfīs. In the *Āʾīn-i-Akbarī* (about 1600; tr. Jarrett, iii, 357) the Ḳādiriyya Order is mentioned as one that is highly respected but is not included among those recognized in India; nor does there appear to be any allusion to it in the list of Indian Ṣūfīs in the *Maʾāthir-i Kirām* (1752), though some other Orders are noticed, and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir himself is mentioned. Yet see Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, ii, 604 and art, HIND, p. 432.

Some statistics (to be received with caution) of the Ḳādirīs and their *zāwiyas* are given by Depont et Coppolani (*Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, pp. 301-18). Much of its development is admittedly recent, and may be due to the fame won by the namesake of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] who for so many years resisted the French occupation of North Africa. It is doubtless represented in all Islamic countries, though it would appear that certain derived *ṭuruḳ* enjoy greater popularity in many places. Thus the Ḳādirism of Touba in Guinea, which has become a distinct sign whereby the Diakanke tribe can be recognized, is derived through the Sidia from the Ḳādirism of the Kounta of Timbuctu (P. Marty in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, xxxvi, 183). These Kounta however form a *filiale* of the Ḳādiriyya, and some of them prefer to call themselves Shādhiliyya (*ibid.*, xxxi, 414).

4.—Organization. The Ḳādirī community acknowledges nominal allegiance to the keeper of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's tomb in Baghdād, and the deeds of investiture published by Rinn, p. 179, and in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, ii, 513 and ix, 290, are from this source. It would seem however that the actual authority of this personage is chiefly recognized in ʿIrāḳ and Pakistan. The latter periodically send gifts which form the main source of the revenues of his establishment; the members of this family find it worth while to learn Urdu. The Meccan *zāwiyas* were subject to the *Shaykh al-Ṭuruḳ*, who had the right to nominate their *muḳaddam*. The Egyptian branch was under the control of the Sayyid al-Bakrī, who was also *Shaykh al-Ṭuruḳ*; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak (iii, 129; see also P. Kahle in *Der Islam*, vi, 154) reckons the order as one of the four which go back to a *ḳuṭb*, but asserts that it has neither *furūʿ* nor *buyūt*. In Africa, according to Rinn, each *muḳaddam* names his successor; in the event of one dying without having nominated anyone, an election is made by the *ikhwān* at a *ḥaḍra*. The approval of the head of the Order in Baghdād is then solicited, and has never been refused. The organization of the Order in North Africa is described somewhat fully by Rinn, Depont and Coppolani, in the works cited. The system appears to be in general congregational, *i.e.*, the *zāwiyas* are independent, and the relation between them and the central institution in Baghdād is very loose. The principle whereby the headship of a *zāwiya* is hereditary is generally recognized.

5.—Symbols and rites. The sign of the Turkish Ḳādirīs was said to be a rose which is green, having been adopted by Ismāʿīl Rūmī. The candidate for admission to the Order after a year brought an *ʿaraḳiyya* or small felt cap, to which if the candidate be accepted the *Shaykh* attached a rose of 18 sections, with Solomon's Seal in the centre. This cap is called by them *tādj*. The symbolism of this is explained by J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 98 ff. (copied by Wilberforce Clarke, tr. of *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, p. 159; the Urdu translation *Kashf Asrār al-Mashāyikh* adds nothing to Brown's information). According to him, they preferred the colour green, though they allowed others; in Lane's time the turbans and banners of the Ḳādirīs in Egypt were white; most members of the Order were fishermen, and in religious processions they carried upon poles nets of various colours (*Modern Egyptians*, 1871, i, 306). There are festivities in honour of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir on 11 Rabīʿ II, and pilgrimages are made in many places in Algeria and Morocco to the *zāwiya*s and shrines of the saint (Rinn, p. 177). The *Mawsim* of the Djīlāla at Salé is described at length by L. Mercier in *Arch. Maroc.*, viii, 137-9; it commences the seventh day of the *Mūlud* (*Mawlid*), *i.e.*, the Feast of the Prophet's Birthday, and lasts four days 17-20 Rabīʿ I. Sheep and oxen are presented to the descendants of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. Michaux-Bellaire distinguishes in Morocco between the ceremonies of the Ḳādiriyya, who recite the *ḥizb*, and the Djīlāla, who recite the *dhikr* to the accompaniment of instruments; and again between the Djīlāla of the country, whose instruments are the *bender* (a sort of big tambourine without bells) and *ʿawāda*, and those of the town, whose instruments are the *ṭebīla*, *ṭabal* and *ghayṭa* (*Arch. Maroc.*, vi, 330 and xvii, 60). A description of the *ḥaḍrat al-mallūk*, a performance executed with these last instruments, which leads to ecstasy, is given by him in the first passage cited. He further records some special ceremonies connected with the Awlād Khalīfa in the Gharb (*ibid.*, xx, 287). All the Hilālī of the Gharb are Djīlāla, and in all the *ḥaḍra*s (services) of the Djīlāla the presence of at least one Khalīfī is necessary for the direction of ceremonies, and when no actual Khalīfī is present, someone there takes the name in order to perform the priestly duty. The origin of the name Awlād Khalīfa is obscure (p. 284); it may be noticed that the *Bahdja* mentions one Khalīfa b. Mūsā al-Nahrmalikī as having played a leading part in the propagation of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's system. "The *ḥaḍra* of the Djīlāla of the country contains neither the *ḥizb* nor the *dhikr* instituted by the *Shaykh*, but a plain *dhikr* of improvised words in the ceremonial rhythm of the *banādir* (plur. of *bender*). These improvisations always terminate with the

words 'Thus spoke Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḳādir' or 'O Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḳādir'." (Michaux-Bellaire, p. 288).

Various collections of rituals supposed to have been recommended by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir have been published in Egypt, Turkey and India. In *al-Fuyūḍāt al-Rabbāniyya* he who is about to enter upon *khalwa* (retreat) is advised to fast in the day and keep vigil at night. The *khalwa* lasts forty days. "If a figure reveals itself to him saying 'I am God', he should say 'Nay rather thou art in God', and if it be for probation, it will vanish; but if it remain, then it will be a genuine revelation (*tadjallī*)" (Dihlī 1330, p. 60). Reduction of food during the 40 days should be gradual till for the last three fasting is complete. At the end he returns by degrees to his former diet.

Some practices peculiar to the Djīlāla of Tangier are recorded by G. Salmon (*Arch. Maroc.*, ii, 108). Those who make vows to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir are in the habit of depositing in the *zāwiya* white cocks, which are called *muḥarrar* (Sūra III, 31); they do not kill them, but leave them free to rove about the *zāwiya*, where however they do not long survive; the sharīf who lives hard by takes them for his food. The four daughters of a deceased sharīf continued to live on the revenues of the *zāwiya* and carry away the *muḥarrar* fowls. The *muḳaddam* at this *zāwiya* was the sharīf, who conducted the ceremonies at which the Ḳurʾān is repeated without the *ḥizb* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir being pronounced, and where dances similar to those of the ʿĪsāwā [*q.v.*] are performed. Circumcisions are performed at the *zāwiya* on the first day of the *mawlid*. A nightly meeting called *layla* is held on the eve of this day, at which the *ḥizb* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir is recited. At El-Qsar, where there are also some local practices, all the potters belong to the Djīlāla, among whom the richer members of the community are to be found (*ibid.*, ii, 163).

The first time that the Ḳādirīs appear to have played a political part was during the French conquest of Algeria, when the chief of the Ḳādiriyya, Muḥyi 'l-Dīn, having been offered the leadership in the war against the infidel, permitted his son ʿAbd al-Ḳādir to accept it. This person was able to utilize the religious organization of his Order in order to establish the sovereignty which the French had accorded him, and when his sovereignty was threatened could fall back on his rank as *muḳaddam* of his Order to win fresh recruits (H. Garrot, *Histoire générale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1910, p. 800, 863 ff.). After his fall and exile it seems that the Ḳādirīs in Africa lent their support to the French government. "In 1879 when there was a local insurrection in Aurès the shaykh of the Ḳādiriyya of Menāʿa, Sī Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās, displayed unimpeachable loyalty [see AWRĀS]; and the same Order helped the French government to extend their influence in the Sahara at Wargla and El-Wad. Their *nāʾib*, Sī Muḥammad b. Ṭayyib, fell on the French side at the battle of Charouin, March 2, 1901." (Israel Hamet, *Les Musulmans Français du Nord de l'Afrique*, Paris 1906, p. 276).

Bibliography: Oriental editions cited: ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Shaṭṭanawfī, *Bahdjat al-Asrār*, Cairo 1304; *al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī*, Cairo 1302; Ṣāliḥ b. Mahdī, *al-ʿAlam al-Shāmikh fī Īthār al-Ḥaḳḳ ʿala 'l-ʿĀbāʾ wa'l-Mashāʾikh*, Cairo 1328; *Kashf Asrār al-Mashāʾikh*, Lucknow 1881; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Bibl. Ind., 1869-74; *Bughyāt al-Murtād*, Cairo 1329. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

ḲĀDIS (Spanish: Cádiz; English: Cadiz; French: Cadix), the capital (pop. 117, 871) of the province of the same name, the most southerly in Spain; it prides itself on being the oldest town in the West, since it is said to have been founded by the Phoenicians in about 1500 B.C.; in Phoenician, it is named Gad(d)ir [cf. AGADIR], from which the Greeks derived the name Γάδειρα, the Romans Gadir and Gades, and the Arabs Ḳādis. Under the domination first of the Greeks and later the Carthaginians (after 500 B.C.), it became the most important place in the south of the peninsula. The Romans succeeded in capturing it from the Carthaginians (206 B.C.), and Julius Caesar named it *Augusta Urbs Julia Gaditana*. Then followed a period of obscurity during which the legends of the Greek and Roman historians regarding the temple of Hercules, later adopted by the Muslims, first took shape.

Neither under the Muslims, who captured it in 93/711, nor under the Visigoths did the town experience any great prosperity. It was occupied by the Normans, for the first time in 229/844 and then attacked once again in 245/859, but it played only a very minor role, and finally fell into the hands of Alfonso the Wise on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 660/24 September 1262.

The occasional references to Ḳādis by Arab historians and geographers were above all due to the famous pillars of Hercules (*aṣnām Hirḳil*), the most celebrated of these being the *ṣanam Hirḳil* or *manārat Hirḳil*.

Thanks to the geographer of Almeria who is known by the name al-Zuhrī, we have some idea of the appearance of the tower at Cadiz, since we possess the eye-witness account of a writer who saw it on several occasions before its demolition in 540/1145 and who states that the building in question was not the temple of Hercules with which it has often been confused, notably by the author of the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*. This square *manāra*, 100 cubits and three storeys high, was constructed of dressed granite (*kadhdhān*); the second storey was about one-third the size of the first, and the third, triangular in shape, was surmounted by a statue of a man looking towards the East, from the ocean, with his left arm outstretched and his fingers curled, except for the index finger, which pointed the way to the straits of Gibraltar. His right hand held a baton which seemed to indicate the sea (the author states explicitly that it was not a key).

The date of construction of the Cadiz tower is unknown, but we must assume that it goes back to a period before the official introduction of Christianity to Spain, since the account refers solely to a statue, a purely Roman sign.

A member of the celebrated family of the Banū Maymūn of Denia became amīr of Cadiz at the end of the Almoravid period. Having been led to believe that the *manāra*, erroneously called the Tower of Hercules, had been constructed on top of a vast treasure, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Maymūn summoned a force of stone-masons and labourers who set to work removing the outer stonework; each time a block of stone was removed, a wooden beam was inserted into the empty space, with the result that in the end the vast mass of the tower rested only on wood. Then, after the spaces had been filled with wood, this support caught fire and the tower collapsed with a stupendous crash; all that could be found in the rubble were the lead that had served to bind the blocks of stone together and the brass from which the statue had been made. Ibn Maymūn's vain pretensions were thus exposed, and shortly afterwards he was assassinated by Yaḥyā, the grandson of the founder of the Almoravid dynasty.

Bibliography: Zuhrī's text on the tower at

Cadiz has been published by Dozy in his *Recherches* [3], appendix xxxv; it will be found in §§ 239-40 of the *K. al-Dja'rafiyya*, published by M. Hadj-Sadok in *BEO*, xxi (1968), 7-312; cf. *al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 145 in the text, 173-8 in the tr.—The Arabic and mediaeval sources on legends relating to the temple of Cadiz and the pillars of Hercules have been collected by Dozy, *Recherches* [3], ii, 311-4; see also R. Basset, *Hercule et Mahomet*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1903; Madoz, *Diccionario*, v, 193-204.

(A. Huici Miranda)

al-**ḲĀDISIYYA**, the name of several places in 'Irāḳ and al-Djazīra. The *Mushtarik* of Yāḳūt (337) lists five places of that name of which the two most important were situated near Sāmarrā and al-Kūfa. The history of these places is most difficult to trace.

1. A town in 'Irāḳ, on the Eastern bank of the Tigris, 8 miles S.E. of Sāmarrā. It seems to have been closely connected with the latter in its period of prosperity. We do not know what special part al-Ḳādisiyya played at that time. Herzfeld, (*Reise*, i, 107) suggests it is really identical with the town of al-Ḳāṭūl which Hārūn al-Rashīd or the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim began to build before the foundation of Sāmarrā. Yāḳūt and other Arab geographers mention the glassworks of al-Ḳādisiyya, and it is reported to have been a large village (*ḳarya kabīra*) but little is known of its history. It is probable that it ceased to be of any importance shortly after the abandonment of Sāmarrā towards the end of the ninth century, for the 4th/10th century geographers al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal make no mention of it. It is found in al-Muḳaddasī, but the reference seems to indicate the existence of a single structure, presumably the octagonal building which still survives today. In the middle ages the important Dudjayl Canal left the Tigris opposite the town. The ruins of al-Ḳādisiyya lie in Lat. 34°5′ N., between the two canals still existing out of the former three Tigris canals, called al-Ḳāṭūl. They are a short quarter of an hour distant from the bank of the Tigris. The old name has survived and is now popularly pronounced Djādisiyya (occasionally corrupted to Djāsiyya and Djālisiyya). We owe full accounts of these ruins particularly to Ross and Jones; E. Herzfeld also investigated the ruins. Jones gives a plan of the ruins of the town, which Herzfeld says is entirely correct.

The enclosing walls, which measure about 6000 paces, form a regular octagon. They are flanked by towers at the corners and defended by 16 bastions at intervals. They were built of bricks which in technique, plan and preservation resemble the castra of Sāmarrā. According to all criteria, these ruins belong —in Herzfeld's opinion—to the 'Abbāsid period, not to an older one. Ten minutes from al-Ḳādisiyya, just on the river bank, are also mounds of ruins, called al-Ṣanam. They mark the site of a medieval or ancient town, half of which has already been eroded by the Tigris. On a remarkable find of statues made here, see Cl. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, 1836, ii, 152. Al-Ṣanam perhaps was within the area of al-Ḳādisiyya and is to be regarded as its port.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv, 9, l. 13; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 228-9; Lynch, in the *Journal of Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, xviii (1848), 5; H. Kiepert, in the *Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde* (Berlin), 1883, 25, 27; M. Fhr. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* ii, (Berlin 1900), 229; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, Leiden 1900 f., i, 33, 223-4; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, i, 1911, 105-107 (where the references to Rich, Ross and Jones are given).

(M. Streck-[J. Lassner])

2. A place lying to the south-west of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] and to the south-south-west of the plain where al-Kūfa was later founded. This al-Ḳādisiyya is famed as the site of the resounding victory of the Muslims over the army of the Sāsānian king Yazdadjird III [*q.v.*] at a date between 14/635 and 16/637. This victory was of no small importance to the Muslims for it opened up the route to Ctesiphon-Seleucia (= al Madā'in [*q.v.*]), the winter capital of the Sāsānids, put them in the position of carrying off another great success at Djalūlā' [*q.v.*] and finally, after the whole of 'Irāḳ had fallen to them, enabled them to cross the Zagros and undertake the conquest of the Iranian plateau. Al-Ḳādisiyya was situated in the western part of the Ṭaff, that steppe region rising above the cultivated land (*al-Sawād*) and characterized by springs (*e.g.* that of al-'Udhayb) which is the transitional area to the high plateau of the Arabian desert. In the Sāsānian period the Ṭaff was protected by a series of watch-houses (*maslaḥas*) and a great fortified ditch (*khandaḳ*) from the raids of Arab tribes. The last village of the Ṭaff, just before the desert, was al-'Udhayb, later a station on the Baghdād-Mecca road.

The exact location of al-Ḳādisīyya was unknown until quite recently. An attempt had been made to identify it with the early Islamic ruins of al-Ukhayḍir (25 miles S.S.W. of Kūfa)—for example by Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 956, Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, 64 note, and Justi in the *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 546. This identification, however, is definitely to be rejected as erroneous (cf. the article of W. Caskel, *Uḳaiḍir*, in *Isl.*, xxxix (1964), 28-37, which calls for an 'Abbāsid date for these ruins). Besides, Ritter, *op. cit.*, x, 186 places al-Ḳādisiyya much too far north, while the locations of al-Ḳādisiyya and al-'Udhayb given by Wagner (*Nachr. d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, 1902, 257-9) are fairly correct. A. Musil, on his journey of exploration in 1912, was the first to discover the real site of al-Ḳādisiyya, cf. his report in the *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Kl. der Wien. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1913, i, 11 (12 of the reprint). Musil there remarks that the spring al-'Udhayb rises in the valley of Msheyžīž; on the left bank of that valley, on the edge of a swampy *hōr* he was shown the ruins of al-Žādsiyye or Dār al-Ḳāẓī (= Ḳādisiyya). According to the map which Musil appends to his essay in the *WZKM*, xxix (1916), 461, the ruins mentioned are situated in 31°45′ N. Lat. and 44°8′ E. Long. directly south of Nadjaf and 19 miles from Kūfa.

The locality of Ḳaïdes, which in his excursion to the ruins of Babylon in 1790 Beauchamp visited and reported as the find-spot of a statue some considerable distance away (see the reprint of his account of his journey in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, x, 190), is perhaps also identical with the remains of al-Ḳādisiyya discovered by Musil. Ḳaïdes probably = Ḳādis, the shorter form of the name, which is occasionally found alongside Ḳādisiyya, as for example in an old Arab poet (see al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 226), in al-Ṭabarī, etc. Firdawsī writes Ḳādisī and Ḳādisiyya. In the neighbourhood of al-Ḳādisiyya there was a village called al-Ḳudays, "little Ḳādis". The poets give the whole district round al-Ḳādisiyya the collective name al-Ḳawādis.

The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century (al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī) describe al-Ḳādisiyya as a small town with two gates and a mud

fortress, in the midst of cultivated fields and groves of date-palms, watered by a canal led from the Euphrates, the last running water in ʿIrāḳ. In ancient times the Persian Gulf seems to have stretched up to the region of al-Ḳādisiyya. The main arm of the Euphrates once flowed, as al-Masʿūdī notes (*Murūdj*, ed. Paris, i, 215 = § 229), towards al-Ḥira, where its ancient bed was still visible and was called al-ʿAtīḳ "the old (river)". It flowed between al-Ḳādisiyya and al-ʿUdhayb; at al-Ḳādisiyya there was a bridge across it called Djisr al-ʿAtīḳ or Djisr al-Ḳādisiyya.

The battle. To this one single battle of al-Ḳādisiyya al-Ṭabarī has devoted around one hundred pages and nearly another hundred pages to the preceding and subsequent events which must be taken into account for an understanding of this vitally important occurrence. The greater part of his account, however, is based on traditions of Sayf b. ʿUmar, whom some Islamists have accused of falsification. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of such accusations: it is sufficient to observe that Sayf's account also forms the basis of the story related by the majority of Arab and Persian historians to such an extent that we have no alternative but to make use of this traditionist for any account of the battle, correcting him where possible with the help of other accounts.

After the disastrous defeat of the Muslims at the Bridge [see DJISR] (Shaʿbān or Ramaḍān 13/October or November 634) the campaign in ʿIrāḳ suffered a setback, despite the arrival of reinforcements from Medina, the victory of al-Buwayb (Ramaḍān 13/Nov. 634 or Ṣafar 14/April 635, or one year after the Battle of the Bridge) and several fruitful raids and *razzias*. Al-Muthannā [*q.v.*], fearing that the hostilities would take a dangerous turn since Yazdadjird III was preparing to react vigorously, believed it prudent to withdraw to the outskirts of the desert, to disperse his warriors to various spots where there were watering places and to limit his actions to *razzias*. So as to be able to seize the offensive once more, he appealed to Medina for help. Making a general levy among the Bedouins (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 13/Feb. 635 or Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 14/Jan.-Feb. 636), the caliph ʿUmar assembled and equipped at Ṣirār, near Medina (Muḥarram 14/March 635 or Muḥarram 15/Feb.-March 636?), an army under the command of Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], ordering him to leave for ʿIrāḳ.

En route Saʿd was joined by other contingents sent by ʿUmar, then halted at the beginning of winter (Shaʿbān 14/635 or 15/636?) in the Nadjd at Zarūd (or al-Thaʿlabiyya, near Zarūd) to call to arms the tribes of the surrounding area. He then made his way to Sharāf, which was at the western end of the Arab plateau near al-Aḥsāʾ and was well supplied with waterholes. While waiting in a well-organized camp for the arrival of several thousands of other Bedouins (who also included some Christian bands), he divided his men into decuries, established a hierarchy of command and sent al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] to occupy various localities in order to secure his forces against a possible attack. It was at Sharāf that Saʿd was to meet up with al-Muthannā, but the latter died during the winter of the wounds he had sustained at the Bridge. At last Saʿd advanced as far as ʿUdhayb al-Hidjānāt, leaving there the women who had followed the expedition and going on to strike camp in the plain of al-Ḳādisiyya. While awaiting the enemy—for a month it is said—he carried out *razzias* to secure his supplies.

Meanwhile, Yazdadjird had assembled a large army and compelled his marshal, Rustam [*q.v.*], to advance, taking no heed of the latter's reluctance to face the Arabs on ground he considered unfavourable. At last the Persians pitched camp, separated from the Muslims by the channel called al-ʿAtīḳ. Hostilities did not open immediately; on the contrary, they entered into negotiations, which proved fruitless. During the month of Muḥarram Rustam built a kind of dyke with reeds, earth, straw and pack-saddles. In this way he enabled his army to cross the channel and the following day battle commenced; this occurred on a Monday in Muḥarram 15/636 or 16/637; the date given by Sayf, 14/635 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2289 and 2298) is undoubtedly an error. The Persians had behind them the channel and the Muslims the moat of a fortress named al-Ḳudays. Saʿd, who suffered from abcesses (*ḥubūn*) on the thighs and hips and could neither mount a horse nor remain upright, remained lying down and relayed his orders from the top of the fortress to his lieutenant, Khālid b. ʿUrṭufa, by means of notes. According to Sayf the battle lasted three days and one night; as the latter was drawing to a close the Persian retreat began and by the fourth day they were completely and irreparably routed. Rustam fell in the melée, killed by an unknown Arab warrior. Each day of the combat and the night of the third to fourth day have been given special names: 1) *Yawm Armāth* = Day of the Rafts (perhaps a reference to the dyke on the channel?); 2) *Yawm Aghwāth* = Day of Help (an allusion to the arrival of reinforcements from Syria?); 3) *Yawm ʿAmās* = Day of the Hard War and *Laylat al-Harīr* = Night of the Cries of Sorrow (maybe a reference to the relentless savagery of the fray); 4) the last part of this night: *Laylat al-Ḳādisiyya* = the Night of al-Ḳādisiyya and the fourth day: *Yawm al-Ḳādisiyya* = the Day of the Battle of al-Ḳādisiyya (perhaps so called because the decisive hours of this night and the next day truly merited the name?).

Caetani, in his *Annali*, gives a detailed summary of al-Ṭabarī's traditions. Noteworthy among the interesting details are: the Muslims were very badly equipped; the Persians made use of a number of elephants but their adversaries discovered a method of extricating themselves from this difficulty; some Syrian reinforcements arrived on the second and third day; the poet Abū Mihdjan [*q.v.*], who had been put in irons, succeeded in playing a valiant part in the fray; Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid [*q.v.*], the "false prophet" who had been defeated by Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] during the *ridda* and later joined the Muslim ranks, proved himself to be a brave defender of Islam; for the first two days fighting took place during the day only—the night was employed in burying the corpses, giving water to the dying and carrying away the wounded Muslims, enemy wounded being despatched with blows of a staff; 30,000 (?) Persians, who had chained themselves to one another so that they could resist to the bitter end, fled when defeat was inevitable but were drowned in the channel, which the pursuing Muslims were able to cross using their bodies as a bridge; the Muslims seized the great Persian royal banner known as Dirafsh-i Kāviyān.

Subsequent events. Saʿd sent a section of his forces in pursuit of the fugitives and remained at al-Ḳādisiyya for a month longer. One of the Persian commanding officers, Djālīnūs, was killed while trying to protect his retreating forces; other attempts to reassemble the fleeing troops, in the district of

Bābil for example, and to resist the Muslim advance became no more than a few battles which in no way altered the situation. Finally Saʿd marched on al-Madāʾin and, after having besieged and conquered Bahudasīr, one of the seven or ten towns which made up the al-Madāʾin ("the towns") group, was even able to ford the Tigris; this remarkable occurrence was regarded as the result of divine favour. After reaching the east bank of the river the Muslims occupied the other towns of al-Madāʾin, which had been abandoned without a struggle by Yazdadjird (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 15 or 16?). Another battle of some importance took place on ʿIrāḳī soil, at Djalūlāʾ (on Ṣafar 16 or 17?; other dates are also mentioned in the sources), marking the definitive overthrow of Sasanid dominion in ʿIrāḳ by the Muslims.

Problems associated with the battle. There are two such problems which, in all probability, must remain insoluble: 1) The total strength of the forces which met at al-Ḳādisiyya, for there is too great a difference between the figures given in the sources and every attempt to arrive at an evaluation comes up against the impossibility of finding any solid foundation to build on; 2) the chronology of the events preceding the battle and following it and thus of the battle itself—dates given in the sources for the battle vary between the years 14 and 16, but the earlier date must be rejected since there is too much circumstantial evidence against it. Islamists working on the chronological problem, such as Wellhausen, Caetani and S. M. Yusuf, have looked for an answer by reasoning from the facts, and since it has proved impossible to reconcile the data given in the sources have chosen those which shored up their own beliefs. They consider it impossible that the Muslims could have recovered their strength almost immediately after the defeat at the Bridge and have dated the battle of al-Buwayb in 14 (according to Caetani no earlier than Ramaḍān), which obliges them to date the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya at the beginning of 16 (Wellhausen adds further considerations of the supervening events of the period which occurred between this battle and the battle of Djalūlāʾ). In addition, Caetani and S. M. Yusuf consider the relationship between the campaign in Syria and that in ʿIrāḳ and decide that the caliph ʿUmar could not have concerned himself with the second until after the end of the first, that is after the battle of Yarmūk: as this celebrated victory of the Muslims over the Byzantines took place on 12 Radjab 15/20 August 636, the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya could not have been fought before the early months of the year 16. S. M. Yusuf places it a little after Radjab 15, i.e. a month after Yarmūk.

After a fresh examination of the facts as they developed and as they are set down in chronological accounts in the sources, the author of the present article has concluded that Muḥarram 15/February-March 636 is the date to be preferred for the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya. The Muslim success at al-Buwayb soon after their defeat at the Bridge is not to be considered impossible for the following reasons: 1) the troubles which broke out at al-Madāʾin stopped the Persians from capitalizing on their victory at the Bridge; 2) Muslim reinforcements from Medina arrived immediately. Nor is it necessary to suppose that ʿUmar could not have been concerned with the ʿIrāḳī campaign until after the battle of Yarmūk, for such a view makes it extremely difficult to determine the date when the caliph resolved to send a fighting army into ʿIrāḳ; in fact, 1) if ʿUmar did not take his decision until after Yarmūk, there is not a sufficient interval of time between the great battles of Yarmūk and al-Ḳādisiyya for Saʿd's march, with the halts he made and his waiting period for the enemy (which the sources describe with too great detail for them to be ignored); it was perhaps this difficulty which led Caetani to propose that the battle did not take place in Muḥarram 16 but some months later; 2) if, to allow the necessary time for Saʿd's march and his waiting for the enemy, the caliph were presumed to have taken his decision in 15 during the month preceding the battle of Yarmūk, then ʿUmar would have directed his forces towards ʿIrāḳ precisely at the moment when he must have been greatly preoccupied by the news of the Byzantine emperor's preparations for the offensive. On the contrary, if we concede that Sayf has given an exact account of the assemblage of the army at Ṣirār during Muḥarram 14 and of Saʿd's long march, then it follows that ʿUmar decided at the end of the year 13 to renew with vigour the campaign in ʿIrāḳ, that is during the period when his victories in Syria were following one after the other. These considerations, which are also supported by other circumstances—which the author of this article intends to set forth in another work—lead us to decide on the date of Muḥarram 15/February-March 636 for the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya.

Bibliography: Arabic sources: Ṭabarī, i, 2202, 2347, 2349-59 (after Ibn Isḥāḳ), 2377 (after Wāḳidī), 2336-8 (after ʿAwāna), 2211-9, 2221-35, 2244-85, 2285-2341, 2344-6, 2361-7, 2341-3, 2419-55, 2456-67, 2470, 2474-9 (after Sayf b. ʿUmar) and index; Ṭabarī-Zotenberg, iii, 385-400 (with a few details absent from other sources but in general following Sayf's account); Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Būlāḳ 1302, 16-7 (tr. Fagnan, 45-7, 48-9); Ibn Saʿd (for the chronology), iii/1, 30 and index (ix/2, 31 s.v. al-Ḳādisiyya); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 254-65; Dīnawarī, 125-36; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 163-5, 173; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 201-4, 207-25 = ed. & tr. Pellat §§ 1532-4, 1538-57; *Aghānī* (the episode of the poet Abū Miḥdjan), xxi, 212-7 and index; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ waʾl-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Gottwaldt, Leipzig 1844, 151-3; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb* (episode) 745, no. 3191 (for other sources of the same episode, see Caetani, 16 A. H., §§ 102, 107); Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 7 f., i, 769, iv, 323, ii, 107, and index; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 344-52, 354-77, 393-410; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, Ms. Aya Sofia, fols. 141r-20v (beginning of the year 15) fols. 28v-31v (beginning of the year 16); Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 15, 230, 285, ii, 692, iii, 135 (tr. Rosenthal, i, 17, 259, 320-1, ii, 77-8, iii, 168-9); idem, *ʿIbar*, ed. Beirut² 1966-8, i, 14, 220 f., 278, 483, ii, 325, 561, 637, 657, 915-9, 921-3, 935-42 and index of the first three volumes (Ibn Khaldūn's account of the battle is a resumé of traditions collected by Sayf, as are the brief accounts of Miskawayh, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, Nuwayrī, Dhahabi and Ibn al-Furāt, and the longer ones in *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Ahlwardt, 106-14, and Ibn Zaynī Daḥlān, *al-Futūḥāt al-Islāmiyya*, Mecca 1311, i, 54-69.—Citations of warriors who fell in the battle given in *Istīʿāb*, *Usd*, *Iṣāba*, *Tadjrīd* of Dhahabī can be found in L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, 16 A.H., § 118, note 1.

Greek, Syriac and Armenian sources: summarized in Caetani, 16 A.H., §§ 113-7, 172, 173; see also F. Baethgen, *Fragmente syrischer und arabischer Historiker*, Leipzig 1884 (Abhandl.

für die Kunde des Morgenlandes DMG, viii, 3), text 16, tr. 110.

Persian sources: Mirkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*, lithograph Bombay 1825, ii, 270-8; Khwandamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, lithograph Bombay 1857, 14, 20-3.

Western authors: G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i, 65-73, 83; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i (1885), 235-43; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1899, 68-83; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*: (the events) iii, 14 A.H. §§ 5, 9-11, 19, 23-5, 45-63, 66, 16 A.H., §§ 3-35, 39-118, 134-228; (critique of the sources and critical résumé of the events): 13 A.H., §§ 1-3, 14 A.H. §§ 1-3, 16 A.H., §§ 1-2, 119-33, 229-37; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 88 f.; S. M. Yusuf, *The battle of al-Qadisiyya*, in IC, xix (1945), 1-18.

(L. Veccia Vaglerii)

iii. In addition to the two towns mentioned above, Yāḳūt knows three other places called al-Ḳādisiyya, namely two villages in the district of al-Mawṣil in the Nahr al-Khāzir between al-Mawṣil and Irbid, and a third near Djazīrat b. ʿUmar; see Yāḳūt, *al-Mushtarik* ed. Wüstenfeld, 337. Ibn al-Athīr also mentions an al-Ḳādisiyya near Baghdād (xii, 91). For the possible relationship of these places and others similarly named to a people (Ḳādishaeans) that may have settled them, see Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 157 f., 162; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Pseudo-Moses Xorenacʿi* (*Abhandlungen der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1901), 77, 78. (M. Streck-[J. Lassner])

ḲĀDJĀR, Turcoman tribe, from which sprang a ruling dynasty of Persia (see next article). There is no foundation for the statements of later historians that the Ḳādjār tribe entered Iran with Hūlāgū [*q.v.*]. In the 9th/15th century they formed part of the Boz Ok branch of the Turcomans of Anatolia, dwelling in the Kayseri-Sivas region and recognizing the suzerainty of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr rulers. They probably take their name from a leader named Ḳaraçar (= Ḳarçar). In the 9th/15th century they were divided into four sub-tribes (*oba*): Aghča Koyunlu, Aghčalu, Shām Bayātī, Yīva. The first two of these were branches of the great tribes belonging to the *ulus* of the Dulḳadīrlī. The third was a branch of the Bayāts of northern Syria (it is very probable that the Dulḳadīrlī dynasty sprang from the Bayāts); Shām Bayātī owes its name to the fact that it wintered in Syria, but we do not know to which of these subtribes the Ḳādjār dynasty belonged. After the Ḳādjārs had entered Iran and settled in northern Ādharbāydjān (Arrān) they were joined by an important clan called Igirmi (= Yirmi) Dört.

The defeat of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu by the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, who thenceforth ruled much of Iran, prompted important branches of the Turcoman tribes of Anatolia to move into Persia: thus towards the end of the 9th/15th century the Ḳādjār settled in the Ḳarabāgh (Gandja) district of northern Ādharbāydjān. In 897/1491-2 a member of the ruling house of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, named Dana Khalīl-oghlu Ibrāhīm Beg and known as Ayba (or Iba) Sulṭān, with the support of the Ḳādjār raised to the throne Uzun Ḥasan's grandson Rustam Beg. When Rustam Beg was defeated by Aḥmad b. Ughurlu Muḥammad b. Uzun Ḥasan Beg he took refuge with the Ḳādjār in 1497. Although the Ḳādjār supported Rustam, the latter was defeated again and killed. Soon afterwards a part of the Ḳādjār rallied to Shāh Ismāʿīl and, like so many other Anatolian Turcoman tribes, contributed to the establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty. For the next two centuries, however, they were not held in such esteem by the shahs as were, *e.g.*, the Ustadjālu (Ustadjlu), Tekelü, Shāmlu and Dhulḳadr (Dulḳadīr). At this period the Ḳādjār were again dwelling in north Ādharbāydjān. At the end of the 10th/16th century Imām Ḳull Khān, who was *beglerbegi* of Ḳarabāgh, was a member of the Yīva *oba* of the Ḳādjār. But during Ṣafawid times the Ḳādjār were administered mostly by the Ziyād Oghlu family from which sprang the future ruling Ḳādjār dynasty. At the time of Shāh ʿAbbās some of the Ḳādjār were transferred to the district of Astarābād, to be a barrier against the raids of the Yaḳa Turcomans.

In the 12th/18th century, whereas some tribes—Shāmlu, Dulḳadīr, etc.—broke up and lost their power, the Avshar (Afshar) and Ḳādjār remained numerous and strong. Hence under Nādir Shāh the Afshar were able to put an end to the Ṣafawid dynasty and seize power, and at the end of the century the Ḳādjār could succeed the Zand. In the 18th century the Astarābād Ḳādjār were divided into two branches: the Ashāḳa Bāsh and the Yūkhārī Bāsh. The Ashaḳa Bāsh were formed by the Ḳoyunlū (or Ḳowānlū), ʿIzz al-dīnlū, Shām Bayātī, Ḳarā Mūsānlū (Mūsālu?), Wāshlū (Ashlū?) and Ziyādlū subtribes. The Ḳādjār dynasty belonged to the Ḳoyunlū (or Ḳowānlū) subtribe of the Ashāḳa Bāsh. As for the Yūkhārī Bāsh, they were formed by the other six subtribes, *i.e.*, Dawālū, Sāpānlū, Köhnalū, Khazīnadarlū, Ḳayāḳlū, and Kerlū(?). The chief subtribe of this branch was the Dawālū.

The Ḳādjār rulers never forgot that they were Turks. They were even proud of it. Thus, some members of the Ḳādjār dynasty bore the names of Ilkhānid and even Ottoman rulers, *e.g.*, Hülāgü, Abaḳa, Arghun, Ildirim Bāyazīd etc. We see also some Ḳādjār clans (*oymak*) in Anatolia in the Ottoman period, between the 16th and 20th centuries.

Bibliography: F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, Ankara 1967, 152, 154, 155, 228, 234, 286, 287, 358, 366; idem, *Safevi devletinin kuruluş ve gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin rolu* (in press). (F. Sümer)

ḲĀDJĀR (*kačar* "marching quickly", cf. Sulaymān Efendī, *Lughat-i Čaghatai*, Istanbul 1298, 214; P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la horde d'or*, Paris 1950, 203-4), a Turcoman tribe, to which the Ḳādjār dynasty of Persia belonged; also a village in the Lītkūh district of Āmul [*q.v.*]. Nineteenth century Persian historians assert that the Ḳādjār took their name from Ḳādjār Noyān b. Sirtāḳ Noyān. The latter was the son of Sābā Noyān b. Djalā'ir, and was appointed *atabeg* [*q.v.*] to Arghūn (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Ta'rīkh-i rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi nāṣiri*, Tehran 1961-2, ix, 4). It is also alleged that the Ḳādjār migrated from the Mughān steppe to Syria towards the middle of the 8th/14th century and that they came back to Persia with Tīmūr. This may well be so, but there does not appear to be any mention of a tribe by the name of Ḳādjār in Mongol or Timurid times. What may be the earliest mention of them is in 897/1491-2 when the *lashkar-i ḳādjār* is said to have joined Dānā Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlū to free Rustam Beg b. Maḳṣūd from the fortress of Alindjak, where he had been held captive by rival khāns (Yaḥyā Ḳazvīnī, *Lubb al-tawārīkh*, 1936-7, 225-6, quoted by F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, Ankara 1967, and Ibn Karbalā'ī, *Rawḍāt al-djinān wa-djannat al-djanān*, ed. Djaʿfar Sulṭān al-Ḳarā'ī, Tehran 1946-7, 526), but it should be pointed out that Ḳādjār may here be simply the name of a person.

Ḳarā Pīrī Beg Ḳādjār is mentioned as being among

Simplified Genealogical Tree of the Ḳādjār Ruling House

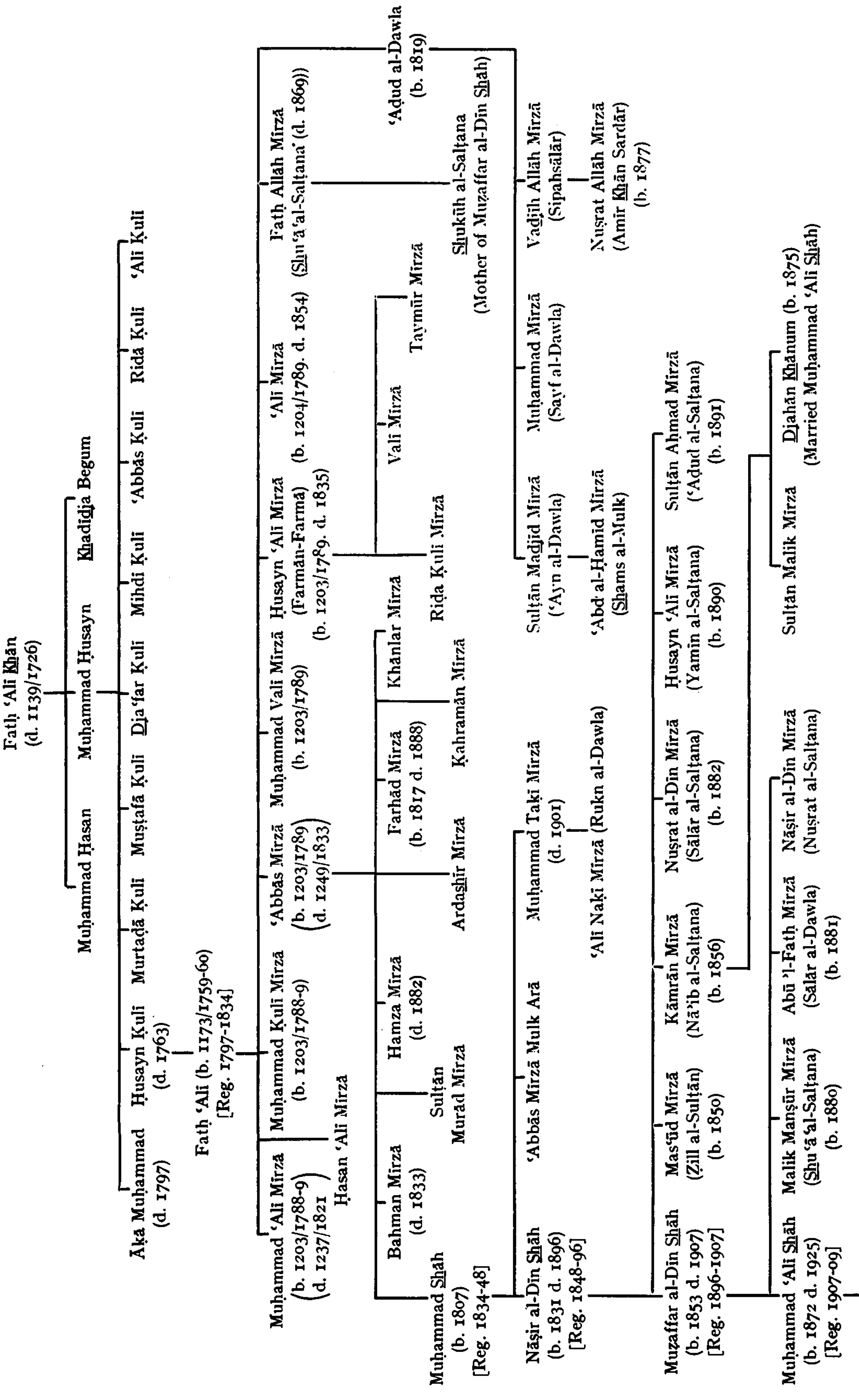

the followers of the Ṣafawid Shaykh Ḥaydar, and Sulṭān ʿAlī nominated Ismāʿīl (later Shāh Ismāʿīl I) his successor and sent him to Ardabīl, he was accompanied, among others, by Ķarā Pīrī Beg Ķādjār (W.Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1936, 79, 96). Later, when Ismāʿīl defeated the Aķ Ķoyunlū Aḥmad at the battle of Sharūr in 907/1501, the Ķādjār were among his supporters and formed one of the Ķizilbāsh tribes. Ķādjār khāns held important offices under Ṭahmāsp I and Shāh ʿAbbās I (Iskandar Munshī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, Tehran 1956, i, 140, ii, 1085). One, Shāh Ķulī Ķādjār, was sent by the former in 962/1555 and 975/1567 to treat for peace with the Turks (Pečewi, i, 327, 334; v. Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, French tr., vi, 69, 320; Riḍā Ķulī Khān, ix, 5, is wrong in giving the date as A.H. 969). Another, Allāh Ķulī Beg, became *ķurčibāshī* to Shāh ʿAbbās in 1000/1591-2 (*ʿĀlamārā*, i, 439). Ķarābāgh was the main Ķādjār centre in the 10th/16th century and the office of *beglerbegi* of Ķarābāgh was held by various Ķādjār khāns. Muḥammad Khān b. Khalīl Khān b. Shāhverdī Sulṭān Ziyādoghlū, who succeeded Imām Ķulī Khān on his death in 996/1587-8, was later appointed governor of Gandja in 1015/1606 (*ibid.*, i, 385, ii, 716). The offices of *beglerbegī* and *amīr al-umarāʾī* of Ķarābāgh appear to have remained in the hands of the Ziyādoghlū family (*ibid.*, ii, 657). Another Ziyādoghlū khān, Ḥasan, was made *dārūgha* [*q.v.*] of Shīrāz in 998/1590 (Aḥmad Ķummī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, ed. H. Müller, Wiesbaden 1964, Persian text, 68). Amīr Gūna Khān Ķādjār became governor of Erivan in 1011/1603 (*ʿAlamārā*, ii, 652), while his son Ṭahmāsp Ķulī Khān was governor of Erivan and Čukhur Saʿd in the reign of Shāh Ṣafī (Iskandar Munshī and Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Dhayl-i taʾrīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, ed. Suhaylī Khwānsārī, Tehran 1938-9, 293). Ķādjār khāns also held governorships in Astarābād and Marv. Ḥusayn Khān Ziyādoghlū is mentioned as being governor of Astarābād in 1010/1601-2 and in 1011/1602-3 when he was recalled to Ķarābāgh to take part in operations against the Ottomans (*ʿĀlamārā*, ii, 604, 657). Mihrāb Khān Ķādjār became governor of Marv in 1017/1608-9; his son, Murtaḍā Ķulī Khān, who was governor of Marv on behalf of Shāh Ṣafī in 1042/1632-3 (*Dhayl-i taʾrīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, 103), became *sipahsālār* to Shāh ʿAbbās II in 1057/1647-8. (See further K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 33-7, 40-2).

Ķādjār historians attribute the dispersal of the Ķādjārs in the frontier areas of the empire to the deliberate policy of Shāh ʿAbbās, aimed on the one hand at reducing their power because they had by this time become very numerous in Ķarābāgh, and on the other at protecting the empire against inroads made by the Uzbegs and Tatars. By the end of the 11th/17th century the main concentration of Ķādjārs appears to have been in Astarābād, and they played a prominent part in the struggles for power in northern Persia on the fall of the Ṣafavids. They were divided in Astarābād into two main groups, the Ķoyunlū, who were flock-keepers, and the Develū, who were camel-herders. According to Riḍā Ķulī Khān the Ķoyunlū, ʿIzz al-Dīnlū, Shāmbayātī (whose name suggests that some sections of the Ķādjār had sojourned for a period in Syria), Ķarāmūsālū, Ishlū, and Ziyādlū had pastures below the Mubārakābād fortress of Astarābād and so were called Ashāķabāsh, while the Develū, Sipānlū, Kuhanlū, Khazīnadārlū, Ķiyāķlū and Karlū had pastures above the fortress and were therefore called Yukhārībāsh. He adds that according to another tradition the origin of these terms is to be sought in the period before the Ķādjār were settled in Astarābād (ix, 7-8, 49). In the 12th/18th century the Ashāķabāsh and the Yukhārībāsh were split by internecine strife.

During the reign of the Ṣafawid Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Muḥammad Khān, a Turcoman from Ķazwīn, was appointed governor of Astarābād. He was induced by the Yukhārībāsh to seize Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, the leader of the Ashāķabāsh, who lived in the Mubārakābād fortress, and his brothers, Faḍl ʿAlī and Muḥammad ʿAlī Beg. Fatḥ ʿAlī subsequently escaped but his two brothers were killed. He took refuge with the Yamūt of Ṣāʾin Khānī and in due course recovered possession of Astarābād (*ibid.*, ix, 7-8; Mīrzā Mihdī, *Djahāngushā-yi nādirī*, ed. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anvar, Tehran 1963-4, 58-9). The sources vary in their account of the activities of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān during the last years of Ṣafawid rule. According to most Ķādjār historians he went to the help of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn during the Afghan invasion, though the precise circumstances in which he did this are not clear. Being denounced by some of the shah's officials as dangerously ambitious, he left Iṣfahān. Subsequently after an engagement with the Afghans near Varāmīn, he joined Ṭahmāsp II, who had come to Māzandarān, brought him to Astarābād, and assumed the title of *nāʾib al-salṭana* and *wakīl-i dawla*. Mīrzā Mahdī, however, gives a less favourable account of Fatḥ ʿAlī's actions, and alleges that Ṭahmāsp, who had appointed Fatḥ ʿAlī governor of Simnān, ordered him to relieve Tehran, which had fallen into the hands of the Afghans. After an inconclusive battle with the Afghans near Varāmīn, Fatḥ ʿAlī took Dāmghān, and then turned his arms against Ṭahmāsp, defeating him in May 1726 near Ashraf and taking him captive (Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 280: see also Muḥammad Hāshim Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, *Rustam al-tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī, Tehran 1969, 122 ff., 142 ff., 174 ff.; Riḍā Ķulī Khān, ix, 12).

Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān and Ṭahmāsp subsequently set out for Khurāsān. Nādir Ķulī (afterwards Nādir Shāh), with whom Ṭahmāsp had entered into communication, joined them at Khābūshān with a force of Afghans and Kurds. They reached Khwādja Rabīʿ outside Mashhad in the autumn. By this time acute rivalry had developed between Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān and Nādir Ķulī, who succeeded in persuading Ṭahmāsp that Fatḥ ʿAlī was plotting against him. Accordingly on 14 Ṣafar 1139/11 October 1726 Ṭahmāsp had Fatḥ ʿAlī put to death (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, Cambridge 1938, 25-6).

Fatḥ ʿAlī had two sons, Muḥammad Ḥasan and Muḥammad Ḥusayn, the second of whom died in youth. Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ alleges that Muḥammad Ḥasan was, in fact, a son of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, the latter having given to Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, when he came to Iṣfahān about the time of the Afghan invasion, a woman from the royal *ḥaram*, a daughter of Ḥusayn Ķulī Āķā, a descendant of Yaʿķūb Sulṭān Ķādjār, who had served Shāh ʿAbbās I, and whose mother was the niece of Bikandj Khān Bahādur, the leader of the Yamūt and Guklān. This woman, according to Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, was pregnant by the shah, and in due course gave birth to Muḥammad Ḥasan (139, 157, 266, 399-400; see also Khān Malik Sāsānī, *Siyāsatgarān-i dawra-i Ķādjār*, Tehran 1959-60, introduction). After the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, Muḥammad Ḥasan, because of the enmity of Nādir

and the intrigues of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū, who had been appointed *beglerbegī* of Astarābād, retired to the Turcoman steppe. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān was later responsible for the murder of Ṭahmāsp and his two sons in or about Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1152/February 1740 during Nādir's absence in India (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 177-8). Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān in due course gathered together a force of Yamūt Turcomans, Ḳādjārs and others and in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1156/January 1744 took Astarābād from Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān (see J. Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, i, 129 ff., for an eyewitness account of this event). Nādir Shāh ordered Bihbūd Khān, the *sardār* of the Atak, to punish Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān. An engagement took place to the east of Astarābād. Initially the Ḳādjār army had the advantage, but after defections to Bihbūd Khān, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān fled. Some months later he appeared in Khwārazm with Yamūt allies. In a battle with Nādir's forces under the latter's nephew, ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān, and Bihbūd Khān, during which Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān engaged Bihbūd Khān in single combat and wounded him, the Ḳādjār forces were defeated a second time and Muḥammad Ḥasan forced to flee for his life (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 243-5). After the death of Nādir in 1160/1747, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān appears to have joined Shāhrukh and subsequently to have been appointed *beglerbegī* of Astarābād and Gurgān and leader of all the nomadic groups of Ḳādjār in the province by Sulaymān II, who was crowned on 21 Muḥarram 1163/31 December 1749, and occupied the throne for forty days. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān took possession of Astarābād and Gurgān and on the deposition of Sulaymān became virtually independent. He extended his power to Māzandarān and Gīlān. He moved down towards Kirmānshāh to aid ʿAlī Mardān in 1164/1751 but retired to Astarābād on receiving news of the latter's defeat. Karīm Khān marched on Gīlān, pursued him to Astarābād in 1165/1751-2 and besieged him there (Muḥammad Khalīl Marʿashī, *Madjmaʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1949-50, 120, 149; Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Nāmī, *Taʾrīkh-i gītīgushā*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1938-9, 25-6). The Zand army was unable to make headway and finally Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān reinforced by Guklān and Yamūt defeated Karīm Khān's army, after which he was joined by, or took possession of, Ismāʿīl III, the Ṣafawid puppet, who had been with Karīm Khān.

In 1168/1754-5 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, who had taken possession of Mashhad, made a bid to extend his power over northern Persia, but was defeated by Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān near Sabzavār in the summer of 1169/1755. The Ḳādjār leader, after taking Ḳazwīn and reasserting his power in Gīlān, marched on Iṣfahān and in 1169/1756 inflicted a second defeat on Karīm Khān, who retired to Shīrāz. At this point Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was forced to return to the north to deal with the incursion of Āzād Khān, the Afghan holder of Ādharbāydjān, who had seized the opportunity to march on Gīlān and Māzandarān. Āzād Khān's army was defeated near Lāhīdjān in the winter of 1170/1756. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān then seized the initiative, marched on Ādharbāydjān and decisively defeated Āzād Khān near Urūmiyya in the summer (1170/1757). In the spring of the following year, he set out for Ḳarābāgh, which, together with Mughān and Arrān submitted, and the local Ḳādjār khāns, in particular the Ziyādoghlū khāns of Gandja, joined him. He left his eldest son Āḳā Muḥammad (whose mother was a daughter of Sulāymān Khān Ḳoyunlū and who, as a child, had fallen into the hands of ʿĀdil Shāh about 1161/1748 and been castrated by him), then aged about sixteen, as his deputy in Tabrīz and returned himself to Māzandarān (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ix, 39-40). If, however, Sir John Malcolm's statement that Āḳā Muḥammad Khān was aged sixty-three at his death is correct, he would have been about twenty-two at this time. (See *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 203). From there Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān set out for Iṣfahān and Shīrāz, where he besieged Karīm Khān in 1171/1758. After about a month, the Ḳādjār force encamped round Shīrāz experienced difficulty in provisioning itself and many of their livestock were captured by the enemy (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ix, 48-9).

The internecine strife between the Ashāḳabāsh and the Yukhārībāsh, which had been temporarily checked after Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān had established his authority and included khāns from both factions among his followers, broke out again, and when a group of Afghans defected in Shawwāl 1171/June-July 1758, disorders ensued and the army began to disperse. Meanwhile Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū, who had remained in Iṣfahān, seized the opportunity offered by the absence of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān in the south to return to Astarābād and take possession of it, but evacuated it when the latter returned. He retired to Dāmghān, where Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān besieged him. Karīm Khān, hoping to benefit from the renewal of internecine strife among the Ḳādjārs, sent an army under Shaykh ʿAlī Khān Zand to Māzandarān, where several of the local tribes joined him. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān raised the siege of Dāmghān and proceeded to Māzandarān to meet this new threat. Disorders among the Turcomans and Ḳādjārs in the neighbourhood of Astarābād, however, forced him to return there, and he took with him the Ṣafawid, Ismāʿīl III, who was then living in Sārī (*ibid.*, ix, 58). Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū now joined Shaykh ʿAlī, while Karīm Khān himself advanced from Tehran towards Astarābād. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, who had been joined by Aḳā Muḥammad Khān (who had failed to maintain himself in Ādharbādjyān), and also by some Shādillū Kurds from Khurāsān, Giraylīs and Hadjdjīlars, joined battle with Karīm Khān near Ashraf. Victory went to the Zand army and Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was killed in flight in 1172/1759 (or according to some sources 1171). Muḥammad Khān Ḳoyunlū, who had been made *beglerbegī* of Astarābād by Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, escaped with Āḳā Muḥammad, his full brother Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān and various other members of the family to the Gurgān steppe to the *awba* of Murād Khān Djaʿfarbāyla of the Yūmūt (*ibid.*, ix, 75).

Shaykh ʿAlī Khān Zand reappointed Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū governor of Astarābād. These events further exacerbated relations between the Ashāḳabāsh and the Yukhārībāsh, and in due course Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān captured Muḥammad Khān Ḳoyunlū and the sons of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān who were with him. Later he persuaded Karīm Khān to take Āḳā Muḥammad Khan and various of his brothers and relations to Shīrāz to prevent any attempt by them to reassert the supremacy of the Ashāḳabāsh, though keeping with himself Āḳā Muḥammad's halfbrothers, Murtaḍā Ḳulī and Muṣṭafā Ḳulī, whose mother was his sister (*ibid.*, ix, 77-8). In 1176/1762-3 Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū died of plague and was succeeded as *beglerbegī*

of Astarābād by his younger brother Muḥammad Ḥasan.

Āķā Muḥammad Khān and his brothers, together with other local leaders, were held by Karīm Khān in Shīrāz as hostages for the good behaviour of their respective tribes. Khadīdja Begum, Āķā Muḥammad's paternal aunt, was married to Karīm Khān. His brother, Ḥusayn Ķulī Khān, was made governor of Dāmghān in 1182/1769, and from then until his death in 1191/1777 he had a turbulent career in northern Persia (hence his title Djahānsūz). Seeking revenge for the death of his father, he made war on the Develū and also on the Zand governors of Māzandarān, Bisṭām and elsewhere, in spite of Āķā Muḥammad's advice to him to adopt a peaceful policy. Astarābād changed hands several times but remained, for the most part, in Develū hands. In or about 1188/1774, Ḥusayn Ķulī sent his son Fatḥ ʿAlī (born in 1173/1759-60 of an ʿIzz al-Dīnlū Ķādjār mother and known as Bābā Khān) [*q.v.*] to Shīrāz to conciliate Karīm Khān. He was well received and sent back to his father and given Dāmghān as a *suyūrghāl* (Riḍā Ķulī Khān, ix, 90 ff.).

Āķā Muḥammad Khān appears to have been treated with favour and consulted by Karīm Khān on affairs of state (ʿAbd al-Razzāķ, *Maʾāthir-i sulṭāniyya*, entitled *Dynasty of the Kajars*, tr. by Sir Harford Jones Brydges, London 1838, cxi ff.; Riḍā Ķulī Khān, ix, 78; Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, 338; Malcolm, ii, 176). He was not, however, reconciled to captivity, and the death of Karīm Khān in 1193/1779 enabled him to escape. He proceeded to Māzandarān, where he was occupied for some years in contests with rival khāns of the Ashāķabāsh and the Yukhārībāsh, the latter of whom held Astarābād and the country extending from there to Khwār and Varāmīn. Various of the khāns, including Āķā Muḥammad's half-brothers, Murtaḍā Ķulī Khān and Riḍā Ķulī Khān, co-operated with the Zand forces in the north (Riḍā Ķulī Khān, ix, 127 ff.; Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, 444 ff.; Malcolm, ii, 93 ff.). In 1194-5/1780-1 Āķā Muḥammad Khān came into conflict with the Russians, who had established a settlement in Ashraf, and expelled them (J. McNeill, ***Progress and present position of Russia in the East***, 2nd ed. London 1836, 33-4).

By 1199/1785 Āķā Muḥammad Khān had made himself master of Gurgān, Māzandarān and Gīlān, and on the death of ʿAlī Murād Khān in that year, he set out for Iṣfahān, which Djaʿfar Khān Zand had seized. He defeated a Zand force near Ķumm and entered Iṣfahān. Reappointing as governor Bāķir Khān Khurāskānī (whom Djaʿfar Khān had turned out), he retired again to the north. In 1200/1786 he made Tehran his capital (cf. Riḍā Ķulī Khān, who wrongly states that he was crowned in Tehran in that year, ix, 200). From this time onwards Tehran continued to be the capital, and the importance of northern Persia relative to southern Persia for strategic and economic reasons and because of its more numerous population increased.

In 1201/1786-7 Djaʿfar Khān recovered possession of Iṣfahān, but was again dispossessed by Āķā Muḥammad, who on this occasion appointed his half-brother Djaʿfar Ķulī Khān governor before retiring to the north again (Riḍā Ķulī Khān, ix, 188 ff.; Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, 448 ff.; Malcolm, ii, 102-3). Luṭf ʿAlī Khān succeeded Djaʿfar Khān Zand in 1203/1789-90 and in the following year Āķā Muḥammad made another expedition to the south. Luṭf ʿAlī fled to Shīrāz. Āķā Muḥammad besieged the city, but raised the siege after about three months and returned to Tehran. In the following year Āķā Muḥammad was occupied in asserting his authority in Ādharbāydjān, where a number of local leaders had been virtually independent since the death of Karīm Khān. In 1205/1791 Luṭf ʿAlī Khān made an abortive attempt to recover Iṣfahān, leaving Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, the ***kalāntar***, together with one of the Zand khāns, in charge of Shīrāz. During the absence of Luṭf ʿAlī, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm seized the city. Luṭf ʿAlī turned back but failed to regain possession and retired to the south. Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm meanwhile entered into negotiations with Āķā Muḥammad Khān, who, after a Ķādjār force had suffered a reverse at the hands of Luṭf ʿAlī, marched in person on Shīrāz. A surprise attack near Persepolis by Luṭf ʿAlī failed, and Shīrāz was handed over to Āķā Muḥammad Khān. Renewed disorders by the Guklān and Yamūt, however, forced him once more to return to Tehran and Astarābād. Luṭf ʿAlī who had fled to the east, after various vicissitudes, took Kirmān in 1208/1794. Āķā Muḥammad set out once more for the south and laid siege to Kirmān. The city fell after some months and large numbers of the inhabitants were massacred. Luṭf ʿAlī, who escaped before the city actually fell, was eventually captured near Narmāshīr and sent to Āķā Muḥammad, who killed him (Malcolm. ii, 110 ff. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāʾī, ***Fārsnāma-i nāṣirī***, lith., Tehran 1894-6, i, 232 ff.).

Having thus disposed of his Zand rivals and established his authority over the greater part of Persia except Khurāsān, Āķā Muḥammad Khān planned to restore to Persia Georgia, the ruler of which, Heraclius, had placed himself under Russian protection in 1783, renouncing all dependence on Persia. He reached Ardabīl in the spring of 1209/1795 and on Heraclius' refusal to return to the status of a tributary of Persia (which had been Georgia's position under the Ṣafawids), he invaded Georgia and sacked Tiflis. He spent the winter in Mughān and then returned to Tehran, where he was crowned in the spring of 1796 (Riḍā Ķulī Khān, ix, 273-4). His next step was directed to the reimposition of Persian control over Khurāsān, which was nominally ruled by Shāhrukh, the blind grandson of Nādir Shāh, and to the prevention of raiding by the Uzbegs, whose leader Djānī Beg ruled Bukhārā. Mashhad was entered without fighting. Missions were sent to Djānī Beg demanding the release of all Persian prisoners who had been taken by raiding parties, and to Zamān Shāh, the ruler of Kābul, proposing co-operation for the conquest of Bukhārā. A Russian force meanwhile marched against Persia in retaliation for the sack of Tiflis. Although this was withdrawn on the death of the Empress Catherine in the same year, Āķā Muḥammad abandoned his Khurāsān plans, returned to Tehran in the autumn, and in the spring of 1211/1797 set out again for Georgia. Crossing the R. Aras, he took Shūsha. A few days later, on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1211/19 June 1797 he was murdered in camp by two slaves, who, although under sentence of death for some misdemeanour, had been left free overnight. His nephew, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān (Bābā Khān), who at the time of his uncle's death was governor of Fārs, succeeded as Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh.

Āķā Muḥammad Khān, realizing the weakness brought about by internecine strife, had been much concerned to heal the breach between the Ķoyunlū and the Develū. Accordingly he married Fatḥ ʿAlī to one of the daughters of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Develū, and laid down that the crown should pass to ʿAbbās Mīrzā (b. 1203/1789), Fatḥ ʿAlī's third son, and the eldest of his sons born to Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Develū's daughter (Nādir Mīrzā, *Taʾrīkh wa djughrāfiyā-yi*

dār al-salṭana-i Tabrīz, Tehran lith., 1905, 190-1; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ix, 226). ʿAbbās Mīrzā, however, pre-deceased Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1249/1833-4 and the succession passed in 1250/1834 to his son Muḥammad Mīrzā (b. 1222/1807), whose mother, Āsiyā Khānum, was also a Develū, being the daughter of Muḥammad Khān Develū and granddaughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Develū. Malik Djahān Khānum, the mother of Nāsir al-Dīn (b. 1247/1831-2), who succeeded his father Muḥammad Shāh in 1264/1848, was a granddaughter of Sulaymān Khān Ḳoyunlū, Aḳā Muḥammad Khān's maternal uncle. Nāṣir al-Dīn's son and successor Muẓaffar al-Dīn (b. 1269/1853, reg. 1896-1907) was the son of Shukūh al-Salṭana, the daughter of Shuʿā al-Salṭana b. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. Although not all of Nāṣir al-Dīn's sons who were successively declared to be his *walī ʿahd* were the sons of Ḳādjār mothers, the normal convention was for the mother of the *walī ʿahd* to be a Ḳādjār. One of the arguments raised against the possible succession of Ẓill al-Sulṭān, the eldest son of Nāṣir al-Dīn, who became for a period the virtual ruler of southern Persia, was that his mother, ʿIffat al-Salṭana, was not a Ḳādjār. The mothers of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (b. 1289/1872, reg. 1907-9) and his son Aḥmad Shāh (b. 1314/1898, reg. 1909-25) respectively were Ḳādjārs. Failure to establish a stable system of succession proved a weakness and led to repeated intrigues over the appointment of the *walī ʿahd*, and Fatḥ ʿAlī, Muḥammad Shāh and Nāṣir al-Dīn all faced some degree of armed opposition by various Ḳādjār princes when they severally assumed the throne.

On the death of Āḳā Muḥammad, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, his chief minister, put himself at the head of the troops and returned to Tehran, where Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār had closed the gates pending the arrival of Fatḥ ʿAlī from Fārs. The new shah had to contend with a number of rebellions, including one led by his brother Ḥusayn Ḳulī Mīrzā, but none of them were of any magnitude. He continued the practice of appointing princes of the royal house to the provincial governments which the Ṣafawids had abandoned but the Zands had largely resumed. In 1799 ʿAbbās Mīrzā, then aged about fourteen, was made governor of Ādharbāydjān, and from 1818, when he was appointed *walī ʿahd*, the province was normally held by the *walī ʿahd*. Its good order and security was considered crucial to the safety of the Persian state because of the critical nature of Perso-Russian relations and the fear that disorders would invite Russian intervention. From 1810 onwards Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh entrusted foreign relations to ʿAbbās Mīrzā and for that reason foreign envoys resided from then until his death at Tabrīz and not Tehran. Ādharbāydjān was one of the largest and richest of the Persian provinces, and its capital Tabrīz rapidly became politically and commercially the second city of the empire. There were, however, certain disadvantages in making Tabrīz the seat of the *walī ʿahd*: on the one hand he became more vulnerable to Russian influence and on the other the faction between Turk and Persian was heightened, since his entourage in Tabrīz tended to be composed largely of Ādharbāydjānī Turks, many of whom accompanied him when he came to Tehran to assume the crown.

When ʿAbbās Mīrzā was made governor of Ādharbāydjān his eldest brother Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, whose mother was a Georgian, was confirmed as governor of Kirmānshāh. This province was also of considerable importance in view of the repeated disputes between the Persian and Ottoman empires. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā Farmān-farmā, whose mother was the daughter of an Arab chieftain of Khurāsān, was made governor of Fārs, Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā governor of Khurāsān, and Muḥammad Ḳulī Mīrzā governor of Māzandarān. In due course several other princes, too young to administer their governments themselves, were sent to other provinces accompanied by viziers who carried on the administration for them, much as had the atabegs for their wards in Saldjūḳ times. The Ḳādjārs never succeeded in establishing family solidarity, and this in view of the numerous progeny of each of the shahs is, perhaps, not surprising. Rivalry between the sons of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, especially Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā and ʿAbbās Mīrzā,, several times threatened to break into open conflict. When ʿAbbās Mīrzā died in 1833, Fatḥ ʿAlī delayed until June in the following year before he declared Muḥammad Mīrzā *walī ʿahd*, for fear that a nomination would give rise to civil war.

Under the Treaty of Gulistān the way to the intervention of foreign powers in the matter of the succession to the throne was opened. By Art. 4 the Russian tsar undertook for himself and his heirs to recognize the prince who should be nominated as heir apparent and afford him assistance in case he should require it to suppress an opposing party.

When Fatḥ ʿAlī nominated ʿAbbās Mīrzā in 1818 he took steps to secure the agreement of the tsar to his nomination because he suspected that Yermolov, the Russian viceroy of the Caucasus, was preparing to intrigue with Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā. Fatḥ ʿAlī, to assure ʿAbbās Mīrzā's accession, also granted him the revenues of Gīlān as well as Ādharbāydjān for the support of his army, placed the governors of Khamsa and Ḳazvīn, through which he would have to pass on his way to Tehran, under his orders, and sent a battalion of ʿAbbās Mīrzā's troops to Tehran to garrison the capital. In 1828, under Art. 7 of the Treaty of Turkomānčāy, the Russian tsar recognized ʿAbbās Mīrzā as successor to the throne and undertook to consider him the legitimate sovereign from the moment of his accession. This limited Fatḥ ʿAlī's freedom of action, raised the possibility of ʿAbbās Mīrzā succeeding to the throne with the support of Russian troops, and endangered his personal and political independence. The appointment of Muḥammad Mīrzā as *walī ʿahd* was recognized by the British and Russian governments in an exchange of notes expressing their mutual desire to act together over the matter of his succession and in the maintenance of the internal tranquility, independence and integrity of Persia.

So far as the provincial governments were not held by Ḳādjār princes they were, for the most part, entrusted to tribal leaders, though Fatḥ ʿAlī, in so much as he was able, decreased the power of the tribes apart from the Ḳādjārs [see ILĀT]. There was, however, no clear dividing line between the provincial governor, the tribal leader, the landowner and the military commander. This facilitated rebellion and made the shah's control almost always precarious. The provincial governors were required to remit to the central government annually a definite sum, based on the tax assessment prepared by the *mustawfī*'s office in the capital together with a new year present (*pīshkash*) and to provide troops when called upon to do so. The cost of the provincial administration in addition to the regular assessment was collected locally. At each major provincial capital there was a replica of the court at Tehran. This, in the absence of financial control, imposed an added burden upon

the local people. Ambitious princes, moreover, were encouraged to use the provincial resources to rebel.

The remission of provincial taxes was frequently in arrears, and their collection often necessitated a military expedition. Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh had, in fact, set out on such an expedition to collect arrears from Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā Farmān-farmā, the governor of Fārs, when he died, en route for S̲h̲īrāz, in Iṣfahān on 23 October 1834. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā thereupon read the *k̲h̲uṭba* in S̲h̲īrāz in his own name and marched on Iṣfahān. Muḥammad Mīrzā was in no state to set out from Tabrīz. His treasury was empty and his troops mutinous. The means to make the troops march were collected largely owing to the initiative and energy shown by the British envoy, Sir John Campbell. On 10 November a force set out, and Muḥammad Mīrzā followed shortly afterwards. Tehran, where ʿAlī Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān had proclaimed himself shah, was taken in December, and an expedition despatched to the south. Farmān-farmā's forces, led by his brother Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā and his three sons, Riḍā Ķulī Mīrzā, Taymūr Mīrzā, and Walī Mīrzā, were defeated near Ķumis̲h̲a. Farmān-farmā surrendered and later died. Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā was blinded and imprisoned at Ardabīl. Farmān-farmā's sons escaped, finding their way via the Ottoman Empire to England, whence they returned in 1836 to the Ottoman Empire and spent the rest of their lives there in exile (see Riḍā Ķulī Mīrzā, *Safar-nāma-i Riḍā Ķulī Mīrzā, nava-i Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh*, ed. Aṣg̲h̲ar Farmān Farmāʾī-i Ķād̲j̲ār, Tehran 1963-4; J. B. Fraser, *Narrative of the residence of the Persian princes in London, in 1835 and 1836*, 2 vols., London 1838).

Several other Ķād̲j̲ār princes were seized by Muḥammad S̲h̲āh and kept in captivity in Ardabīl, lest they became rebels, while some, fearing for their lives, placed themselves under foreign protection. In 1835 Muḥammad S̲h̲āh nominated his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn, then a child of four, as *walī ʿahd*. In view of his youth he was not made governor of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, which had been given to Ķahramān Mīrzā, Muḥammad S̲h̲āh's full-brother. In January 1842 another full brother, Bahman Mīrzā, was made governor of the province. In the same year Muḥammad S̲h̲āh's health gave rise to anxiety, and it seemed unlikely that Nāṣir al-Dīn would be able to establish his claim against Bahman Mīrzā in the event of the shah's death. The latter, however, recovered, to fall ill again in 1845. Once more it seemed likely that Bahman Mīrzā, who was a successful and popular governor of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, might press his claim to succeed, or to establish himself as regent. The shah again recovered. Bahman Mīrzā, meanwhile, fell foul of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mīrzā Āķāsī, the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, and resigned his government under pressure in 1847. It was now that the question of succession became confused with that of protection. On 1 March 1848, Bahman Mīrzā, alarmed for his safety, took sanctuary in the house of the Russian envoy and was subsequently granted asylum in Russia. The incident caused anger, alarm and consternation in Tehran. On 15 May Bahman Mīrzā left Tehran and took up residence in Tiflis.

The shah died on 4 September. Riots and disorders broke out in Tehran. The queen mother took charge pending the arrival of Nāṣir al-Dīn, who had been sent to Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān as governor in February. Funds having been provided for his march by the merchant community of Tabrīz, he set out and arrived in Tehran on 20 October. He took possession of the capital without difficulty, but there were disorders in Iṣfahān and Kirmān, and a prolonged rebellion in K̲h̲urāsān. Āṣaf al-Dawla, Muḥammad S̲h̲āh's maternal uncle, who had been at one time Fatḥ ʿAlī's *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, and governor of K̲h̲urāsān for some twelve years under Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, had, with his son Sālār al-Dawla, been driven into rebellion by the enmity of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mīrzā Āķāsī. In 1847 he was recalled to Tehran and exiled to Turkey. Sālār al-Dawla continued the rebellion and was not finally overcome until 1850, when, together with his brother, he was captured and executed.

During the early years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn, consideration was given to the question of a regency in the event of the shah's death and again in 1858 when the child he had proclaimed *walī ʿahd* died, and the claims of Bahman Mīrzā, who was then residing at Tiflis, and ʿAbbās Mīrzā Mulk-ārā were canvassed. The latter's mother, a Kurdish lady, K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a Begum, Muḥammad S̲h̲āh's favourite wife, had appealed on Muḥammad Shāh's death, to Colonel Farrant, the British chargé d'affaires, to protect her son, because she feared for his safety at the hands of the queen mother. ʿAbbās Mīrzā finally went in 1853 to Bag̲h̲dād where he lived under quasi-British protection. The shah was equally suspicious of both. The question, however, remained academic: no regent was appointed and Nāṣir al-Dīn survived until 1896.

In the later years of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign the rivalry of the *walī ʿahd*, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, governor of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, and his two half-brothers, Ẓill al-Sulṭān, who became governor of Iṣfahān in 1874 and was the virtual ruler of most of southern Persia from 1881 to 1887 when he was deprived of all his governments except Iṣfahān, and Kāmrān Mīrzā, the Nāʾib al-Salṭana, Nāṣir al-Dīn's favourite son, who was commander-in-chief of the army, threw the question of succession into doubt. In the event, Muẓaffar al-Dīn's succession was uncontested. During the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī and Aḥmad S̲h̲āh, various Ķād̲j̲ār princes took part in the struggles against the constitutional government, notably S̲h̲uʿaʿ al-Salṭana and Sālār al-Dawla, Muḥammad ʿAlī's half-brothers, while Muḥammad ʿAlī, who, after his deposition in 1909, lived in Russia under the protection of the tsar, made an abortive attempt, with Russian connivance, to regain the throne in 1911.

The Ķād̲j̲ārs, having established themselves as the rulers of Persia, ceased to be tribal leaders and, like earlier rulers, became absolute monarchs. To impress their subjects with their power, they sought to emphasize the high, almost sacred, character of their rule. The pomp and circumstance of the royal court after the reign of Āķā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān rapidly increased and great attention was paid to ceremony, though the shah, it is true, was still, in theory at least, accessible to the lowest of his subjects. Similarly, after the death of Āķā Muḥammad, the administration, based on the pattern of the Ṣafavid empire, became more elaborate. All officials were the shah's deputies, elevated and degraded at his pleasure. He was the sole executive. In circumstances in which intrigue and corruption were rife, and the exercise of power called forth the enmity and intrigues of rivals, bribery and nepotism were almost inevitable.

The chief minister was the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* (sometimes known as the Muʿtamid al-Dawla). His functions were much the same as the *wazīr-i dīwān-i aʿlā* of Ṣafawid times [see DĪWĀN]. His main duty was to provide money for the administration and defence of the state. The three chief officials under him were the *mustawfī al-mamālik*, the *wazīr-i las̲h̲kar* and the *muns̲h̲ī al-mamālik*. The minister for foreign affairs (*wazīr-i k̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī*), because of the increasing import-

ance of Persia's foreign relations, also became an influential official. From the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn onwards various attempts were made to modernize the administration [see ḤUKŪMA].

Āķā Muḥammad K͟hān was well served by Ḥād͟jdjī Ibrāhīm, who became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* in 1209/1794. He was also joint vizier with Mīrzā S͟hafīʿ to Fatḥ ʿAlī. His power and nepotism led to intrigues, which aroused Fatḥ ʿAlī's suspicions against him, and he was blinded and killed in 1801. Many of his relatives were also seized and his estates confiscated. Various ministers subsequently attempted without success to assert control over Fatḥ ʿAlī. ʿAbbās Mīrzā as *walī ʿahd* was served with distinction by Mīrzā Īsā Mīrzā Buzurg (d. 1822), who was succeeded by his son, Abū-'l-Ķāsim Ķāʾim Maķām, also a talented man. He later became minister to Muḥammad Mīrzā, over whom he established his ascendancy. When Muḥammad Mīrzā succeeded to the throne, Ķāʾim Maķām became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*. His rule, reputedly corrupt, was extremely unpopular and he fell from power in 1835 and was executed on 26 June 1835. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āķāsī, a Georgian from Erivan, who had been Muḥammad Mīrzā's tutor in Ād͟harbāyd͟jān, succeeded him. He, too, eventually concentrated power in his own hands, holding a number of offices in addition to that of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*. This also brought unpopularity upon him, and on the death of Muḥammad S͟hāh, in fear for his life, he took refuge in Russia.

Nāṣir al-Dīn on his accession made Mīrzā Taķī K͟hān Amīr Niẓām, who had been deputy-governor of Ād͟harbāyd͟jān since 1843, *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*. He, partly because of the youth and inexperience of the shah, also concentrated power in his own hands, and treated his royal master with a certain measure of contempt. An able man, he perhaps attempted too much at once. His severe rule and vigorous attempts to reform abuses met with opposition, and in 1851 he was overthrown and murdered. The queen mother, among others, played a prominent part in his overthrow (see further Firaydūn Ādamiyyat, *Amīr Kabīr wa Īrān*, 3 vols., Tehran 1956-7). He was succeeded by Mīrzā Āķā K͟hān Nūrī, whose energies were largely taken up in defeating the machinations of numerous rivals and in a contest with the shah for the sole exercise of power. Corruption, which placed every office within reach of the highest bidder, was his weakness and rendered him accessible to the attacks of his enemies. He was deprived of the office of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* in 1853 when the government was reorganized [see ḤUKŪMA].

By the middle of the century, the resurgence of the bureaucracy, after its relative eclipse under the early Ķād͟jārs, was becoming evident. In the second half of the century its influence continued to grow. The position of officials, however, was still fundamentally insecure. This was why they so often sought support for their schemes from outside sources, in particular the British and Russian missions. It also explains in part the apparently equivocal behaviour of ministers such as ʿAlī Aṣg͟har K͟hān Amīn al-Sulṭān, who, until the fiasco of the Tobacco Regie, worked for the modernization of Persia in close co-operation with the British minister, Sir Drummond Wolff, but later fell under Russian domination.

During the Ķād͟jār period there was a contraction in the area over which Persia claimed sovereignty, but within the frontiers as they were eventually established the control of the central government gradually became more effective. Āķā Muḥammad K͟hān's attempt to regain Georgia proved abortive. Hostilities with Russia in the Caucasus, which had been intermittent from about 1805, were resumed in 1811, and the Persian army was decisively defeated at Asländūz on 31 October/1 November 1812. In the following year a preliminary treaty was signed at Gulistān on 13 September 1813 by which Persia ceded Georgia, Darband, Baku, S͟hīrvān, S͟hakī, Gand͟ja, Ķarābāg͟h, Mug͟hān and part of Ṭālis͟h to Russia. Neither side regarded the peace as permanent and the war was eventually resumed in 1827. The Russian advance was rapid. Tabrīz fell and a treaty of peace was signed at Turkomānčāy on 21 February 1828. Erivan and Nak͟hd͟jivān were ceded by Persia and the cessions made unter the Treaty of Gulistān confirmed (for texts, see C. U. Aitchison, *A collection of treaties, engagements and sanads*, Calcutta 1933, xv ff. and xxiii ff.).

The Perso-Turkish frontier, which was broadly as laid down in the Treaty of Zuhāb of 1049/1639 (which was in turn based upon the earlier settlement of 962/1555), also gave rise to many disputes. The Kurdish section, some 700 miles, in particular, was difficult country to settle and control. Like Ķarābāg͟h, Mug͟hān and Ṭālis͟h, it was inhabited by semi-nomadic tribes. These moved to and fro between the Pas͟halik of Bag͟hdād and Persia, while the frontier authorities of both countries were in the habit of giving asylum to marauders and refugees from the other. Relations with Turkey were also embittered by S͟hīʿī-Sunnī strife and, in ʿArabistān, by Perso-Arab antipathies.

In 1804 and 1805, the Ottoman Sultan Selīm III had allowed Russian forces to use the south-eastern coasts of the Black Sea in their operations against Persia. Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, governor of Kirmāns͟hāh, subsequently engaged in intermittent hostilities with Turkey. War was declared in 1821 and continued until 1823 when hostilities were concluded by the Treaty of Erzerum (for text see Aitchison, xix ff.). A series of major incidents between 1833 and 1842, including the burning of Muḥammara by the pas͟ha of Bag͟hdād in 1837 and the temporary occupation of Sulaymānī by Persia in 1840, again brought the two countries to the brink of war. In 1843 an Anglo-Russian offer of mediation was accepted. The proceedings were nearly wrecked at the outset by a massacre of S͟hīʿīs at Karbalāʾ. A second Treaty of Erzerum was finally signed on 31 May 1847, by which the lowlands of Zuhāb were ceded to the Ottoman Empire and the highlands to Persia (for text see Aitchison, xlvi ff.). The latter gave up all claim to Sulaymānī while the Ottoman Empire recognized Persian sovereignty over Muḥammara. The two parties further agreed to appoint commissioners to delimit the frontier. The commission consisting of four commissioners, one each appointed by Persia, Turkey, England and Russia, met in 1849. Its proceedings were interrupted first by the Crimean war (1854-6) and then the Anglo-Persian war (1856-7). In 1869 a protocol was signed, laying down a band of territory twenty-five to forty miles wide within which the commissioners considered the frontier ought to be found. Repeated disputes between Persia and Turkey and acts of armed aggression bedevilled the work of the commission, and the frontier was not finally delimited until 1914 shortly before Turkey's entry into World War I (see further C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London 1957, 125 ff.).

When Āķā Muḥammad K͟hān left K͟hurāsān in 1796 Persian control had not been fully restored. The reconquest of Harāt, which had formed part of the Ṣafawid empire in its heyday, together with the reassertion of Persian power up to the Oxus remained

the aim of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, and, in the first part of his reign, Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh. In the event, the reincorporation of Harāt into the Persian Empire was largely frustrated by British actions, and Persia and Britain were brought to the brink of war in 1838-9 (see *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Persia and Afghanistan*, London 1839; J. W. Kaye, *History of the war in Afghanistan*, 3 vols., London, 1857; J. A. Norris, *The first Afghan war 1838-1842*, Cambridge 1967, 82 ff.), and to actual war in 1856 (G. H. Hunt, *Outram and Havelock's Persian campaign*, London 1858; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968, 452 ff.). By the Treaty of Paris (4 March 1857) which brought the war to a close, Persia recognized the independence of Afghanistan (for text see Aitchison, 81 ff.). In 1870, the shah proposed that the boundaries between Persia and Kalāt should be settled. Commissioners nominated by Persia, Kalāt and Britain met and their proposals were accepted in the following year. The rival claims of Persia and Afghanistan to Sīstān, which more than once threatened to rupture their friendly relations, were also settled by British arbitration in 1872.

The subjugation of the Guklān, Yamūt, and Tekke Turkomans, who were in the habit of raiding deep into Persia and kept the Turkoman steppe in a state of permanent disorder, also proved beyond the power of the Persian government, and opened the way to a Russian advance to Marv and the Ak̲h̲al. Persia was forced to abandon her claim to sovereignty over the area and in 1869 Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh signed an agreement with Russia for a new frontier along the Atrek River, which was later superceded by the Ak̲h̲al-K̲h̲urāsān boundary convention of 1881 (for texts see Aitchison, liv ff. and lxxi ff.).

Persia's geographical situation on the frontiers of Russia on the one hand and of India and the Persian Gulf on the other, if nothing else, would have involved her in the political rivalries of Napoleonic France and England (with both of whom treaties were signed; for texts see J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, New York 1956, i, 77 ff., and Aitchison 45 ff.) and later in the struggle between Russia and Britain, even if she had not herself, at first, sought to use these rivalries to regain some of the territories which she had held at the height of Ṣafawid power. Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh and ʿAbbās Mīrzā quickly realized that if Persia was to resist the Russian drive through Georgia, she must have modern weapons and adopt modern military methods. Modernization, thus, first began in the military field. But neither Fatḥ ʿAlī nor ʿAbbās Mīrzā understood that modernization, whether in the military field or any other, to be successful, demanded a fundamental change in the finances and administration of the country. The result of this failure, which was equally marked in the case of the later rulers, was that the material resources to carry out the desired changes were not made available.

As in earlier times, the army was largely formed by provincial contingents, irregular cavalry and infantry, and a small body of regular troops. Under Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh there was a considerable expansion in numbers, the most numerous contingents coming from Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAd̲j̲am, while the Ḳād̲j̲ār tribe furnished a large proportion of the standing army. Pay was often in arrears and while on campaigns the army lived on the country. Partly because there was no proper provision for the pay of the troops and partly for climatic reasons, campaigns were seasonal. Some knowledge of European tactics was brought by Russian deserters and renegades, but the first serious attempt at military reform was made under the guidance of French officers who accompanied General Gardane's mission, which reached Persia in December 1807 under the Treaty of Finkenstein (4 May 1807). The treaty was rendered null and void by the Peace of Tilsit (1 July 1808) and the mission was withdrawn.

The next attempt to introduce European discipline and methods was made by a number of English officers who came to Persia with the mission of Sir John Malcolm in 1810 and passed into Persian service (see further J. Morier, *Second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, 211 ff.). Under the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1814 the British government continued to supply officers for drill and discipline, arms and munitions, but most of the officers were withdrawn in 1815 consequent upon a dispute over the subsidy to be paid under the treaty. After Napoleon's reverses in 1814 various officers came to the east, some of whom were engaged by ʿAbbās Mīrzā and Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, but in the years between the peace of Gulistān and the renewal of the Russian war in 1826 the army was neglected. In the last years of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh's reign renewed efforts were made to reorganize the army and a detachment of officers and sergeants from India arrived shortly before his death and were employed in various parts of the country raising and drilling troops. They withdrew in 1836 on the rupture of Anglo-Persian relations over Harāt. A number of French officers were subsequently engaged but achieved nothing. By the end of the reign of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh the army, including the artillery, which Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, in spite of his complete ignorance of military arts, had taken under his personal supervision, was in a state of decay.

Mīrzā Taḳī K̲h̲ān, after he became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* to Nāṣir al-Dīn, began to reorganize the army as part of his policy to extend the power of the central government. Recruitment was reorganized and based on a system of quotas to be furnished by each village, district and tribe. In practice, however, the system was somewhat irregularly applied. Officers for the new army were to be trained in a new school, the *Dār al-Funūn*, which was opened in 1851, and had on its staff a number of Austrian and other foreign military and civil instructors. These various steps, however, had little immediate success, and the emptiness of the treasury after the Harāt campaign of 1856-7 precluded more radical reform. Subsequent efforts at military reform made during the ministry of Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Mus̲h̲īr al-Dawla were also unsuccessful.

Nāṣir al-Dīn was not unmindful of the advantages of an efficient military force to maintain his own position, if nothing else, and on his second European journey, he asked the emperor of Austria for the loan of a number of instructors. A mission arrived in January 1879, to be followed shortly afterwards by a Russian mission to reorganize the cavalry, for which the shah had similarly applied to the tsar. The Austrian mission failed to achieve any results and left in 1881. The Russian officers remained and organized the Cossack Brigade, which became the most efficient regiment in the Persian army. It was a ready instrument for the Russians in the furtherance of their aims in Persia and was used by Muḥammad ʿAlī S̲h̲āh in his struggles against the constitutionalists (see further G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 571 ff.; F. Kazem-

zadeh, *The origin and early development of the Persian Cossack Brigade*, in *The American Slavic and East European review*, xv (Oct. 1956), 351-63).

The disparity in power between Persia on the one hand and Russia and Britain on the other had been demonstrated by the Russian wars and the disputes over Harāt. Efforts at military reform, even if successful, would have done little to redress the balance between them, but would have contributed to the stability of the government and the maintenance of order, and so limited the intervention of Russia and Britain in internal affairs. As it was, both increasingly intervened in internal affairs because of the prevailing insecurity and maladministration, though their motives in doing so were different. Neither could regard with equanimity the prospect of civil war. Britain was not prepared to see the *walī ʿahd*, or another Persian prince, riding down to Tehran supported by Russian troops and the establishment of a puppet government, since this would have meant the establishment of Russia on the frontiers of India, while Russia could not afford civil war for fear that it might lead to a British occupation of southern Persia which would have blocked a Russian advance to the Indian Ocean. Persia, for her part, had no wish for subservience to either, but her dependence upon them grew, and in these circumstances it was natural that society should become divided into those who looked to Russia and those who looked to Britain.

Nāṣir al-Dīn probably had a clearer appreciation of Persia's weakness than his predecessors. Realizing that foreign intervention could not be prevented, he adopted a policy of encouraging foreign powers to invest in Persia in the hope that they would contribute to its development and prosperity, but he too did not recognize the need for radical financial and administrative reform if this policy was to be successful. It failed largely because of the disunity of Persian society, the rivalry of the powers, and the greed of the various parties concerned in the scramble for commercial monopolies and concessions. Thus, while the intrusion of France, Russia and England acted first as a stimulus to modernization, from the middle of the 19th century onwards, if not earlier, it added to the prevailing insecurity and intrigue, and so discouraged, rather than stimulated, progress and, in effect, contributed to the maintenance of the *status quo*.

The key to Persian independence was financial reform, which in turn presupposed administrative reform. Successive *ṣadr-i aʿẓams*, particularly in the second half of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, were harassed by demands for more money. In the reign of Āḳā Muḥammad K͟hān the revenue was small, but broadly speaking expenses were met. Even in the time of Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh, in spite of the depletion of reserves by the Russian wars, the revenue from ordinary taxes (land revenue, cattle taxes, taxes on real estate in towns, and duties on merchandise), and extraordinary taxes (revenue from fines, new year presents, *ad hoc* presents, and public requisitions) balanced expenditure, though the pay of officials and of the army was frequently in arrears. During his reign there was, however, a constant drain of specie. This trend continued under Muḥammad S͟hāh and resulted in a heavy depreciation in the value of the *tūmān*, a rise in prices, and a general shortage of money, though conditions varied greatly from place to place and year to year. In the last three or four years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh an excess of copper coinage caused much distress among the poorer sections of the population and almost paralyzed small trade. This was withdrawn after the accession of Muẓaffar al-Dīn S͟hāh at great loss to the government.

By the middle of the 19th century government offices were being sold in an attempt to secure ready money, and there were signs of a financial breakdown comparable to that which had prevailed in Būyid times, prior to the emergence of the land assignment (*iḳṭāʿ*) as the dominant political and economic institution of the state. Scarcely any provincial revenue was reaching Tehran and payments by the government were almost entirely in the form of bills, whose value was nominal. At the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh, Mīrzā Taḳī K͟hān made an abortive attempt to effect financial reform. Venality and corruption in the tax administration thereafter continued unrestrained.

Various expedients, notably the grant of monopolies and concessions to foreign concerns, were adopted by Nāṣir al-Dīn and Muẓaffar al-Dīn to provide themselves with funds. Muẓaffar al-Dīn also sought foreign loans to pay for the growing extravagances of the court, the allowances and pensions of the Ḳād͟jār princes and others, and general expenses (see further R. L. Greaves, *British policy in Persia, 1892-1903*, in *BSOAS*, xxviii (1965), I, 34-60, II, 284-307, on the question of Anglo-Russian loans). Both policies gave rise to great discontent on the grounds that Persian resources were being sold and placed under the control of foreigners.

The first major concession was the concession granted in 1872 to a British subject, Baron Reuter, providing *inter alia* for railway and road construction, irrigation works and the establishment of a national bank. There was much criticism of this concession both inside Persia and abroad, and it was cancelled as a result of heavy pressure from Russia in 1873. It was finally remodelled and signed in January 1889, Baron Reuter being accorded for a term of sixty years the grant of the Imperial Bank of Persia, which was established under a British Royal Charter in September of that year. This was the beginning of a modern banking system in Persia. In 1890 a Russian subject obtained a concession for a loan bank, which some years later became an agency of the Russian State Bank.

In March 1890 a monopoly for the sale and export of tobacco was acquired by a British subject. This was the occasion for the open expression of popular discontent. The protest against the monopoly led by the religious classes resulted in the cancellation of the monopoly (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Tobacco Regie: prelude to revolution*, in *St. Isl.*, xxii, 119-157, xxiii, 71-90; N. Keddie, *Religion and rebellion in Iran. The tobacco protest of* 1891-2, London 1966). The compensation paid to the Imperial Tobacco Corporation was provided by a loan contracted with the Imperial Bank of Persia in 1892.

A third concession of outstanding importance was granted in 1901, namely the concession to Mr. William Knox d'Arcy for the exploitation of natural gas, petroleum, asphalt and ozokerite throughout the Persian empire, with the exception of the five northern provinces, for sixty years. In 1909 the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was formed to operate the concession. In due course the exploitation of Persian oil resources transformed the economy of the country and profoundly affected her relations with Britain, but these developments did not reach their climax until after the fall of the Ḳād͟jārs (see further Aitchison, 23 ff.).

In the course of the 19th century there were

changes in the direction and sources of Persian trade (see further M. L. Entner, *Russo-Persian commercial relations*, 1828-1914, Florida 1965). Customs duties, which were farmed, by the end of the 19th century, formed an increasingly important proportion of the revenue. Because of the provisions of the commercial agreement concluded under Art. 10 of the Treaty of Turkomānčāy, Persia's hands in the matter of fixing the rate of duty were tied. The connexion between the customs and Persia's foreign relations was reinforced when the various foreign loans which Persia contracted were secured on the customs revenue. In 1899 Belgian officials were appointed to reorganize the customs administration. Greater efficiency in the collection of customs dues under the Belgian administration, coupled with new tariff charges secured by the Russian and British governments by agreements concluded in 1901 and 1903 respectively, aroused discontent among the merchant classes. This was an important factor in the support of these classes for the constitutional movement.

An arrangement of a rather different character from the normal concessionary agreements, but one which also emphasized Persia's weakness, was the secret agreement made with Russia in 1887 by which the shah pledged himself not to give permission for the construction of railways or waterways to foreign governments before consulting the tsar, and in 1890 a railway agreement was signed with Russia placing a ten-year embargo on railway construction (for text see Aitchison, lxxxi). There were still no railways by the end of the Ķādjār period except for a few miles between Tehran and Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm and a line from Djulfā to Tabrīz made in 1916. Lack of communications were an obstacle to trade and to the assertion of the control of the government in the provinces. In 1889 Persia had only two carriageable roads of any extent, namely from Ķazvīn to Tehran and Tehran to Ķumm (Curzon, i, 486 ff., 613 ff.). Various concessions for road construction were given in the last decade or so of the 19th century, but little progress was made in road-building. In 1888 the Kārūn River was opened to international navigation (see further R. L. Greaves, *Persia and the defence of India*, 1884-1892, London 1959, 161 ff.).

Insecurity, misgovernment, poverty, and the usurpation of power were not new to Persia, and there is plenty of evidence of unrest in the Ķādjār period —of rebellions by tribal leaders and others, such as the revolt of Āķā Khān Maḥallātī in 1840 (which also disturbed Anglo-Persian relations), mob violence in the towns, and movements of protest led by the religious classes, one of the most serious of which was the Bābī movement led by Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad, who declared himself to be the long awaited *mahdī* in 1260/1844 [see BĀB]. This movement was primarily a messianic movement, the intellectual bases of which went back to mediaeval Islamic movements of revolt and heresy, and like these earlier movements was provoked largely by a sense of injustice and frustration at the shortcomings of the government.

In spite of outbreaks of unrest the control of the central government by the middle of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was more firmly settled. It was weakest in the tribal and frontier areas. An important factor contributing to the extension of government control was the establishment of the telegraph under a series of conventions, the first of which was concluded in 1863 (see Aitchison, 25 ff.; Curzon, ii, 609 ff.). Both Nāṣir al-Dīn and Muẓaffar al-Dīn felt sufficiently secure to undertake extensive European journeys, the former in 1873, 1878 and 1889 and the latter in 1900, 1902 and 1905.

Although the government had succeeded in making its influence more widely felt by the last quarter of the 19th century, the increasing dominance of non-Muslim nations over Persia, which was a marked feature of the century had, by the turn of the century, given a new dimension to internal unrest [see also IMTIYĀZ]. Hostility to the government began to be expressed in terms of a nationalist movement, which was at once pro-Islamic and anti-foreign. The fact that Russia could at almost any moment send troops into Persia made the Persian government increasingly reluctant to resist Russian pressure, while at the same time Persia's subservience to Russia gave rise to growing resentment. Similarly, Britain's failure to give Persia the support to which she had felt she was entitled under the various treaties which had been concluded in the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and her refusal during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn to give a clear commitment to come to Persia's aid in the event of a Russian attack had created annoyance, which was added to by the Harāt question, measures to suppress slavery and piracy in the Persian Gulf, and the British presence there, which, from time to time, was felt to threaten Persian independence.

New intellectual currents coming through diplomacy, travel, trade, Islamic modernist movements outside Persia, and education (though apart from the *Dār al-funūn* there were few modern schools until the end of the 19th century) also contributed to this development, and to the progressive dissolution of the old institutions of government and society. Little by little a new system of government was worked out and the people who were to work it came to the fore. In the last ten years or so of the 19th century these trends were accelerated and reached their climax with the grant of the constitution in 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Laws in 1907 [see DUSTŪR and DJAMʿIYYA]]. In the first instance it was members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who first began to seek the reasons for Persia's backwardness *vis-à-vis* Europe and remedies for her ills. Among those who played a leading part in this respect were Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla, who had served in consular posts in India and the Ottoman Empire, Malkam Khān, a Persian Armenian from Iṣfahān, who had been educated in Paris and was Persian minister in London from 1872 to 1889, Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dawla, Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Madjd al-Mulk Sīnakī (d. 1881), Amīn al-Dawla, and others. Persians living abroad, or who had travelled abroad, such as Mīrzā Āķā Khān Kirmānī, who lived in Constantinople, and Āķā Mīrzā Furṣat Shīrāzī, who travelled in India, and merchants engaged in foreign trade also contributed to the spread of new ideas. An important part was also played in this by the Persian press published abroad (there were no newspapers apart from the official gazette in Persia until after the death of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh), such as *Akhtar* founded by Mīrzā Āķā Kirmānī in Constantinople in 1875, *Ķānūn* founded by Malkam Khān in London in 1890, and *Ḥabl al-Matīn* first published in Calcutta in 1893 (see also ĶAWMIYYA, Persia).

The *ʿulamāʾ* also played a prominent part in the events leading up to the constitutional revolution and largely provided its leadership. This was not due only, or even chiefly, to the influence of the pan-Islamic movement led by Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī [*q.v.*], though this had a considerable effect, but rather to the position of the *ʿulamāʾ* in society. Under

the Ķādjārs the religious institution once more stood over against the state and was not wholly incorporated into it. The *ʿulamāʾ* fulfilled certain functions for the government and many of them received allowances and pensions from the government, which to some extent compromised them, but on the whole they were listened to with respect, both by the government and the people. From time to time they were able to exercise restraint upon the government and to act as peacemakers, though they were also sometimes associated with movements leading to outbreaks of violence in the cities. In the last resort, they provided a refuge for the people against injustice, and the people looked to them for protection and the fulfilment of their aspirations.

Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh took pains to win the favour of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Later rulers were more concerned to limit their power. Muḥammad Shāh, although he gave pensions and allowances to the religious classes, was more inclined to the Ṣūfīs than to orthodox Islam and he attempted to bring the *ʿulamāʾ* under closer control. At the outset of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Mīrzā Taḳī Khān continued this policy and alienated the religious classes by reducing their salaries and pensions. He also attacked the practice of asylum [see BAST], which Bahman Mīrzā, when governor of Ādharbāydjān on behalf of Muḥammad Shāh, had also sought to limit. Tentative efforts to control *waḳf* revenue, the spread of secular education with the setting up of the Dār al-Funūn, and attempts at judicial reform by Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla when he was *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* also created disquiet among the *ʿulamāʾ*, who began to feel their position menaced by the actions of the government. They also felt Persia's traditional way of life and national independence threatened by the intrusion of foreigners. Partly for these reasons, when dissatisfaction at increasing internal misgovernment and hostility to growing foreign intervention came to a head in the early 20th century, it was expressed in a nationalist movement, articulated paradoxically largely in terms of Islam and led mainly by the *ʿulamāʾ* (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian* ʿulama *and constitutional revolution*, in *Le Shiʿisme imamite*, Paris 1970, 245-70; eadem, *The Persian constitutional revolution of* 1905-6, in *Revolution in the Middle East*, ed. P. J. Vatikiotis, London 1972). It was not, as such, a revolutionary movement, and the understanding and aims of the various groups supporting it varied. In essence it was a protest against tyranny. So far as there was a demand for the adoption of modern techniques of government, its purpose was to restrain the arbitrary exercise of power by the shah in order to limit tyranny and to secure the country from foreign influence and intervention. So far as there was a demand for freedom, the freedom envisaged was seen strictly within the limits set by Islam and did not involve a revolutionary concept. The underlying intention of the majority of people who supported the movement was to carry out the Islamic duty of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil in such a way that the ruler would be duly warned and restore just government. Their aim was the restoration of "good" government. Since it followed from the traditional dichotomy between Islamic, *i.e.*, just, government and usurpation, *i.e.*, *ẓulm*, that the reassertion of just government meant "good" government by a just ruler, they did not demand a reformulation of the theory of government such as would provide for checks and balances in the exercise of power.

The victory of the constitutionalists in 1906 was shortlived. There was little to hold the various groups together once they had overthrown the despotism. Their confidence, moreover, was shaken by the conclusion of the 1907 Anglo-Russian agreement, which roused great resentment (see further R. L. Greaves, *Some aspects of the Anglo-Russian Convention and its working in Persia*, 1904-14, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), I, 69-91, II, 290-308). Muḥammad ʿAlī's counter attack against the constitution was, nevertheless, defeated and he was forced to abdicate. His son, Aḥmad Shāh, succeeded him with a regency. By 1911, however, when the constitution was suspended under Russian pressure, the leadership of the constitutional movement had passed into the hands of the bureaucracy and the landowning classes.

During the First World War of 1914-18 Persia proclaimed her neutrality but this was violated variously by herself, the central Powers and the Entente. At the end of the war a chronic state of disorder prevailed and the country once more seemed on the point of dissolution. In an attempt to forestall this, the abortive Anglo-Persian agreement, which recognized the independence and integrity of Persia, provided for military advisers, a loan, and co-operation in the improvement of communications, was signed in 1919. In the following year the Bolsheviks invaded Enzeli and occupied Rasht, and a revolutionary government was set up in Gīlān under Kūčik Khān.

The last phase of Ķādjār rule began with the *coup d'état* organized by Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn and Riḍā Khān in 1921. The first action of the new government was to conclude the Perso-Soviet treaty of 1921, by the terms of which the Soviet government declared all treaties and conventions concluded with Persia to be null and void, but made it a condition that these concessions should not be ceded by Persia to a third power. The measures taken by Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ to create an orderly administration quickly aroused opposition. He quarrelled with Riḍā Khān and was overthrown. The latter, as minister of war, then began to reassert the authority of the central government. The movement led by Kūčik Khān collapsed owing to internal dissension and the withdrawal of Russian support. In 1923 Riḍā Khān became prime minister. Some two years later, in 1925, Aḥmad Shāh was deposed and the crown of Persia conferred by a Constituent Assembly upon Riḍā Khān as Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī.

Although Persia, at the close of the Ķādjār period, was once more in a state of disorder and weakness, and Riḍā Shāh like Āḳā Muḥammad was faced, in a rather different form, with the problem of reimposing the authority of the central government and reasserting Persian independence against foreign powers, Persia had been transformed during the Ķādjār period from a mediaeval into a modern state. At the beginning of the Ķādjār period the theoretical purpose of the state had been to secure a temporal framework within which the individual Muslim could live the good life according to the precepts of the *sharīʿa*, from which it followed that the stability of the state and good government were bound up with right religion. The functions of government had been confined broadly to defence against external aggression and the maintenance of internal order. Political power had lain in the hands of the military classes, consisting primarily of the tribal leaders. The land assignment (*iḳṭāʿ*; *tuyūl*; *suyūrghāl*) was still one of the most important political and economic institutions of the country. The functions of the bureaucracy had been mainly limited to the provision of the financial means to enable the government to carry out its duties. The *ʿulamāʾ*, on the whole, had been a sta-

bilizing force, while the merchants had played an important part in the transmission and provision of funds for the state. By the end of the period Persia had become a modern territorial secular state, drawn into and affected by international politics. She had acquired a constitution and modern forms of government (though the spirit in which the new institutions were worked had not been transformed to the same extent as had been the outward forms). The functions of government had been greatly extended, and political power had become more widely based.

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(A. K. S. Lambton)

ḲADR [see ḳaḍā, ramaḍān].

ḲADRĪ, Persian poet born at Shīrāz, who flourished in the first half of the 11th/17th century (and is not to be confused with his namesake Ḳadrī Shīrāzī, active in India during the reign of Akbar). The account of his early years is given by Taḳī al-Dīn Kāshī in the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār*. He is known for two short epic poems, *Djangnāma-yi Ḳishm* and *Djārānnāma*, commemorating the conquest of the island of Ḳishm and the town of Hormūz by Imām Ḳulī Khān of Shīrāz during the reign of ʿAbbās I in 1032/1623.

A manuscript of the first, brought to Italy by Pietro della Valle, was published by L. Bonelli in *Rend. Lin.*, vi; the second is preserved in a British Museum Ms, Add. 7801 (copied in 1109/1697).

Bibliography: Ethé, in *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, ii, 237; idem, *Neupersische Litteratur*, Persian tr. S. R. Shafaḳ, Tehran 1337/1958, 63; Rieu, *CPM*, ii, 681; N. Falsafī, *Zindigānī-yi Shāh ʿAbbās-i awwal*, Tehran 1346, iv, 219; A. Iḳbāl, *Yādigār "Ḳismatī as-mādjarī-yi Khalīdj-i Fārs"*, no. 4, 1326, 39-45.

(M. Mohaghegh)

KĀF, 22nd letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *k*, numerical value 20, according to the eastern order [see abdjad].

Definition: *occlusive, postpalatal, surd*; postpalatal, the medial position of *k* in the variations that it can be subjected to, according to the vowel with which it is in contact (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 2 b). According to the Arab grammatical tradition: *shadīda, mahmūsa*, in *makhradj*: the region a little less further back than that of *ḳāf*, the furthest back in the mouth (Sībawayhi, ii, 453, l. 6-7, ed. Paris; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 188, l. 17, 2nd ed. Broch); the region in question is the postpalatal or prevelar region, but the Arab grammarians are not specific; al-Khalīl describes the *kāf* as *lahawiyya*, like the *ḳāf* (al-Azharī, *Le Monde Oriental*, xiv (1920), 45, l. 7-8; *Mufaṣṣal*, 190, l. 19-20); this is placing the *makhradj* of the *kāf* too far back.

Remark: H. Blanc (*The "sonorous" vs. "muffled" distinction in old Arabic phonology*, in *To honor Roman Jakobson*, The Hague-Paris 1967, 306) sees in the pronunciation of Arabic in the time of Sībawayhi, in ʿIrāḳ in the eighth century, two occlusives, *aspirated*, surd and probably strong: *k* and *t*; he adduces (*ibid.*, 298) the researches and reconstructions of I. Garbell in *Remarks on the historical phonology of an East Mediterranean Arabic* (*Word*, xiv (1958), 303-37) and also his own documentation, with reference to his communication: *The fronting of Semitic* g *and the* Qāl-gāl *dialect split in Arabic*, in the *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies* (Jerusalem 1969). A correct interpretation of Sībawayhi's doctrine, in phonetics, does not, in our view, allow us to see in *k* and *t aspirated* occlusives; moreover, the reconstructions of I. Garbell depend on the basic principles that she has provided for herself (*Word*, 306-9, *Stage* 1) (see the presentation of H. Blanc, *loc. cit.*, 298).

The articulation described is a phoneme; for the phonological oppositions that define the phoneme *k* see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'Arabe classique* (in *Mémorial J. C.*, Paris 1960, 173); for the incompatibilities see *ibid.*, 201.

Kāf in classical Arabic is a continuation of *k* of common Semitic, preserved in ancient Semitic, but subject to spirantisation (*k* > *kh*) in Aramaic and Massoretic Hebrew, when it is immediately preceded by a vowel, however short.

Alterations: Sībawayhi (ii, 452, l. 13-4) mentions a faulty pronunciation of *k*: *kāf* between *djīm* (in fact g^y*īm* [see djīm]) and *kāf*; this is, in our view, very probably a *g* pronunciation (cf. M. Bravmann, *Materialien*, 49). According to Ibn Durayd (Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, 1463, l. 11-2, ed. G. Jahn), it was a dialectal pronunciation of the Yemen, widespread among the people of Baghdād, *e.g.*: **gamal* for "camel", **ragul* for "man". J. Cantineau considers that it must be an affrication of *k*: *k* > *č* (*Cours de Phonétique arabe*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 64-5), an unconditional alteration. *Kashkasha* and *kaskasa* were known among certain Arab tribes. These phenomena caused *k* to become, respectively, *č* (or even *sh*) and *ts* (or even *s*), see H. Fleisch (*Traité*, § 11 d and the references)—final *k* of a word may be assimilated to initial *ḳ* of the following word, thus: *-k ḳ-* > *-ḳḳ-* (see *ibid.*, § 12 o).

For the conditional and unconditional alterations of *k* in the modern Arabic dialects see J. Cantineau, *Cours* (in *Mémorial J. C.*, 66-7) and the references of D. Cohen (*Le dialecte arabe Ḥassānīya de Mauritanie*, Paris 1963, 31, n. 1).

Bibliography: Apart from the references in the text: H. Fleisch, *Traité de Philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, § 44, c. j. § 45 g, § 46 a, § 49 i, k; M. Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen*

zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber, Göttingen 1934, 47, for aspirated *k*. (H. Fleisch)

ĶĀF, 21st letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *ķ*, numerical value 100, according to the eastern order [see abdjad].

Definition: *occlusive, uvulovelar, surd*. According to the Arab grammatical tradition: *shadīda, madjhūra*, in *makhradj*: the rear-most part of the tongue and the highest part of the upper palate (Sībawayhi, ii, 453, l. 5-6, ed. Paris; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 188, l. 16-7, 2nd ed. Broch), that is to say: the root of the tongue is in contact with the very lowest part of the soft palate and the uvula and the latter disappears during the retention in the articulation: al-Khalīl correctly says *lahawiyya* "uvular" (al-Azharī, *Le Monde Oriental*, xiv (1920), 45, l. 7-8; *Mufaṣṣal*, 190, l. 19-20).

The Arab grammarians place *ķāf* not among the *muṭbaķa* "velarised" (emphatics), but among the *mustaʿliya*, which prevent *imāla* [*q.v.*] (Sībawayhi, ii, 285, l. 17-20; *Mufaṣṣal*, 190, l. 8). *Ķāf*, in fact, is not an emphatic in Arabic: thus, in the form *iftaʿala*, a *ķ*, as the 1st radical consonant, has no effect upon the *t* with which it is in contact, unlike the emphatics. So we find, for example: *iķtatala*; it is its velar articulation that may involve the velarisation of *s* (*s* > *ṣ*), a consonant of the same root (Sībawayhi, ii, 279, l. 18; H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 11 c). However, like the emphatics, it has the peculiarity of provoking a movement of the glottis: a constriction, which may become an occlusion and convert the *ķāf* into *hamza*.

Remark: there exists currently, among populations that have preserved the pronunciation of *ķāf* by living tradition, a deeper articulation: an occlusion against the wall of the pharynx, which causes the uvula to appear spread out on the tongue during the retention (see H. Fleisch, *Études de Phonétique arabe*, in *MUSJ*, xxviii (1949-50), 242, n. 2).

Arab grammarians since Sībawayhi (ii, 453, l. 17) have placed *ķāf* among the *madjhūra* (voiced); "but the traditional pronunciation of classical Arabic makes a surd of it" (J. Cantineau, *Cours de Phonétique arabe*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 67). A voiced pronunciation of *ķāf* must certainly have existed, at least in an important part of the ancient Arab world, otherwise it would be difficult to explain precisely how the manner of pronouncing this ancient *ķāf* should have become at present a principle in discriminating between the vernaculars of nomads, in which it is *voiced*, and those of sedentary populations, in which it is a *surd* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 46 h and the references; J. Cantineau, *Cours*, *ibid.*, 68 and the references). See (*ibid.*, 68-9) the vernaculars that have a surd *ķāf* or one reduced to *hamza* and (69-70) those that have a voiced *ķāf*, a *gāf*.

The *ķāf* is a phoneme; for the phonological oppositions that define it, see J. Cantineau (*Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'arabe classique*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 174); for the incompatibilities (*ibid.*, 201).

The *ķāf*, which is not an emphatic in classical Arabic, is the continuation of a common-Semitic *ķāf* that was emphatic (J. Cantineau, *Le consonantisme du sémitique*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 287; M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le Vocabulaire et la Phonétique du Chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947, 123); but it is difficult to indicate precisely the nature of this emphasis (see J. Cantineau, *ibid.*, 291), and, according to M. Cohen (*ibid.*) it cannot be determined whether the Hamito-Semitic phoneme had a surd or a voiced articulation, but it can be confidently stated that its quality of surd or voiced was of secondary importance in comparison to its emphasis.

Alterations: final *ķ* of a word can be assimilated to initial *ķāf* of the following word, thus: *-ķ ķ-* > *-kk-* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 12 o). Arab sources speak of an unconditional change: *ķ* > *k* among some tribes; this fact is difficult to interpret (see *ibid.*, § 9 h).

In modern dialects, we have seen above the transfer of *ķāf* to *hamza* and the question of voiced *ķāf*. J. Cantineau (*Cours*, *ibid.*, 70) suggests a possible dissimilation of *ķ* into *k* before a *t*, in oriental as well as North-African vernaculars. The explanation involving a dissimilation seems an inadequate solution to D. Cohen (*Le dialecte arabe Ḥassānīya de Mauritanie*, Paris 1963, 35). There are examples of the change of *ķāf* into *ghayn*: in Syria (G. Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palestina*, in *ZDPV*, xxxviii (1915), 216 (§ 95) and *Karte* 37; J. Cantineau, *Cours*, *ibid.*, 70-1); in certain "North-Arabian nomad" vernaculars, in the majority of the vernaculars of the Algerian, and, apparently, Moroccan, Sahara (J. Cantineau, *ibid.*, 72); in *Ḥassāniyya* (D. Cohen, *ibid.*, 35-7 and the references).

Bibliography: Apart from the references in the text: H. Fleisch, *Traité de Philologie arabe*, I, Beirut 1961, § 2 c, § 44 c, j, n, § 46 a, § 48 b, § 49 i; M. Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber*, Göttingen 1934, 21, 45-6 and the references; A. Schaade, *Sībawayhi's Lautlehre*, Leiden 1911, 14, 66 (n. 17); H. Blanc, *Ibn Durayd on the* Qāf *of the Banū Tamīm*, in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies*, Jerusalem 1969, 33-4; see also, *ibid.*, 15-16, 28-32. (H. Fleisch)

ĶĀF, in Muslim cosmology, the name of the mountain range surrounding the terrestrial world. There is little doubt that this conception is borrowed from Iranian traditions. These make the Alburz [*q.v.*] the mythical mountain at the edge of the world, and the home of the gods. All the other mountains in the world have come from the Alburz by underground ramifications. This mountain (the high mountain: Hara-berezayti) surrounds all the world, but also a lake with the name of Wurukasha; however, according to the *Bundahishn*, this lake itself, although confined to the edge of the world, does not form a circular moat around it. The same work, talking of the geography of these mythical regions, gives the name of a mountain: Ķāf (cf. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, Berlin 1863, 7, 73, 75, n. 1).

This geography interlocks with another, again an Iranian one, but with horizons limited to those of the Iranian world itself, and not the universe taken as a whole. Here the Alburz is the mountain rampart which bounds the Iranian world to the north. This is doubtless what makes Yāķūt say (iv, 18) that the Ķāf was formerly called Alburz; cf. also Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ķulūb*, *GMS*, xxiii, i, 191-2. Geiger (*Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen 1882, 42-3) thinks that Lake Wurukasha originally referred to a definite place (Aral or Caspian Sea), but that since then, from the time of the *Avesta*, it has been relegated to the realm of myth. On the Alburz - Haraberezayti system and Lake Wurukasha (Vārukasha), cf. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie*, Berlin 1822-9, viii, 42-3; F. Spiegel, in *ZDMG*, vi, 85, and *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i, Leipzig 1871, 191 ff.; W. Gieger, *op. cit.*, 42-3; F. v. Adrian, *Der Höhenkultus asiatischer und europäischer Völker*, Vienna 1891, 287-8.

Iranian cosmology has fairly close links with that of the Hindus. In their writings, particularly in the *Purāṇas*, they deal with the question of the fabled

mountain chain of Lokāloka, which separates the visible from the invisible world, and which rises above the utter darkness. On the Lokāloka, cf. Spiegel in *ZDMG*, vi, 86, J. Dowson, *Classical dictionary of Hindu mythology*, London 1879, 180. According to the doctrine of the Jaina, the circular mountain of Mānuṣottara, which is situated in the midst of the continent of Puṣkarawara, forms the frontier of humanity: cf. Jacobi, in *ZDMG*, lx, 312.

In general terms, the idea of a mountain-boundary of the world, situated in the north, as it appears in the Indo-Iranian tradition, was very widespread among the peoples of the ancient Orient. Perhaps, in the last analysis, the origin of this could be sought in Babylonian cosmology; cf. F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, 29, 117-8; F. Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, ii, Munich 1900, 345-6; Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, Berlin 1903, 353, 355, 620. Traces of the same conceptions are also to be found among the ancient Hebrews: cf. W. Gesenius, *Kommentar uber den Jesaia*, ii, Leipzig 1821, 316-7 (where analogous opinions found outside the Bible are also examined in detail); Dillmann-Kittel, *Der Prophet Jesaia*, Leipzig 1898, 134. Lastly, to return to the Hindus, the Meru which in ordinary Buddhist thought is considered to be the centre and navel of the earth (cf. W. Foy, in *Festschrift E. Windisch*, Leipzig 1914, 213-4; E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strasbourg 1915, 253, index; Roscher, *Neue Omphalos-Studien*, Leipzig 1915, 72), is at times thought to be the mountains of the Himalaya bounding the Hindu world to the north. In this connexion it may be remembered that for the Greeks too, Olympus, the home of the gods, marked the frontier of their world to the north, in Thessaly.

Already Gesenius (*op. cit.*, 317) and Rosenzweig (in his edition of the *Yūsuf u-Zalīkha* of Djāmī, Vienna 1824, 185) realized that the Muslim conception of the mountain Ḳāf had precedents, the most ancient being those Indo-Iranian traditions we have mentioned. But these legacies have connexions with the cosmological traditions of Islam itself as they are presented in the Ḳurʾān and Ḥadīth; an account of these themes can be found in T. Fahd, *La naissance du monde selon l'Islam*, in *Sources orientales. La naissance du monde*, Paris 1959, 237 ff.

The general tendency of the classical Muslim world, apart from learned theories, is to consider the world as a flat disc. This manner of looking at it, which seems to result from certain ḳurʾānic passages (cf. *e.g.*, Ḳurʾān, XV, 19, LXXIX, 30: God *spread out* the earth), is found in the traditions and consciousness of the people. The mountain of Ḳāf is separated from the terrestrial disc by a region which men cannot cross, a dark area which would stretch for four months walking, according to a saying of the Prophet (cf. the Persian version of Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. Zotenberg, i, Paris 1867, 33). But the mountain of Ḳāf does not only surround the earth: it also encloses the Ocean which forms a girdle around the earth.

According to the descriptions, in particular those of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, Yāḳūt, Ḳazwīnī and Ibn al-Wardī, the mountain of Ḳāf is made of green emerald, of which the sky reflects the colour. But others say that only the rock on which Ḳāf rests is of emerald. This rock (*al-ṣakhra*) is also called a stake (*watad*); God made it to support the earth, which without it would not be able to stand up by itself. That is why the Persian version of Ṭabarī affirms that if Ḳāf did not exist, the earth would shake constantly, and no creature would be able to live on it: this latter idea can be compared with the role assigned to mountains in the architecture of the world by the Ḳurʾān (XIII, 3 and *passim*).

The existence of Ḳāf combines with other conceptions relating to the supports of the earth. A tradition contained in Ḳazwīnī, i, 146, tells how in the first ages, since the earth was oscillating in all directions, God created an angel who took it on his shoulders and grasped it with his hands (compare with the myth of Atlas); the angel had as his support a rectangular rock of green hyacinth, itself borne upon a giant bull which rests upon a fish swimming in the water. Ibn al-Wardī, who repeats these details (p. 12, 15-6), specifies that the mountain Ḳāf has as its base the rock of hyacinth. Elsewhere the same author (13, 17-8) increases the number of the supports of the earth, with the exception of the angel, and varies the hierarchy of elements already quoted. Other variants are pointed out by A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the literature of the western Semites*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, Phil. Sect., new series, xix/2 (1918), 18 and n. 2, and J. Meyer, *Die Hölle im Islam*, Basle 1901, 46. The Muslim Iranians describe the animal supporting the earth now as a bull (cf. Djāmī, *op. cit.*, 13; Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, 190b; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii, 946a), now as a hybrid of bull and fish (cf. Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, Leiden 1877-84, 38, 444; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii, 947a). Similarly, popular belief in Baghdād long talked of a bull and a fish as supports for the earth (cf. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii, Leipzig 1861, 301). Amongst the inhabitants of the countries round the Red Sea, there reigned the belief that the earth rests on the back of gigantic bulls (cf. E. Rüppel, *Reise in Abyssinien*, i, Frankfurt-am-Main 1838, 256). Ḳazwīnī gives for the bull and the fish the names of the biblical monsters Leviathan and Behemoth, proving in that way that these conceptions, taken over by the tradition of the Muslim world, are connected with ancient biblical ideas, which themselves go back to the Babylonian tradition of the chaos. But, on the other hand, the theme of the bull carrying the earth is also found in India, and the rock from which the mountain Ḳāf springs can doubtless be identified with the stone Shetiyya in which Jewish legends see the umbilical stone of the earth, which God cast down into the depths of chaos or of the Ocean as the support of the earth (cf. for this legend Feuchtwang in *MGWJ*, liv (1910), 724-5; W. H. Roscher, *op. cit.*, 73-4). It must be noted, however, to end the theme of the supports, that one tradition (Ḳazwīnī, i, 144) maintains that God placed the earth in the universe without anything surrounding it or supporting it.

Ḳāf is thought to be the mother-mountain of all the mountains of the world. They are linked to it by subterranean ramifications; when God wants to punish a people, or to destroy a country, He sets one of these ramifications in motion, thereby causing an earthquake. Others believe that the earthquakes are due to the fact that the bull, wearied by his burden, kicks, thus shaking the earth. However it might be, Ḳāf plays an essential role in the cosmos: it is the primary mountain, the one which sees the sun pass on its course, and it is given a certain human appearance with a head and a face.

Inaccessible to men, it marks the edge of the world; therefore its name is used metonymically with this latter meaning (cf., *e.g.*, Djāmī, *op. cit.*, 1). No-one knows what lies beyond; but some, while maintaining that this beyond belongs to the realm of eternal life, undertake to describe it: the country would be white like silver, stretching over forty days'

walk, and inhabited by the angels; stretching beyond Ḳāf there would be a land of gold, seventy of silver, and seven of musk, each one stretching in each direction over ten thousand days travelling, and each one populated by angels. Ḳāf with all the countries beyond can also be given as the home of the djinns. But above all, Ḳāf is thought to be the haunt of the fabulous bird Sīmurgh, a sort of griffon with characteristics similar to those of the ʿAnḳā, [*q.v.*] of the Arabs. Existing since the beginning of the world, this marvellous bird then withdrew to Ḳāf in complete solitude, and lives there contented as a wise counsellor consulted by the kings and heroes of old. Ḳāf, its home, on account of this has been given the name, especially in poetry, of "mountain of wisdom", or "mountain of contentment". In the *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr*, the Persian poet Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] describes the pilgrimage of the Ṣūfī by way of the seven stations through which the soul must pass before it loses itself completely in God, by means of the allegory of a very difficult journey filled with adventures, accomplished by a bird, traversing the seven valleys, until it reaches the mountain Ḳāf, where their very wise king Sīmurgh is enthroned.

Ḳāf also plays a certain role in the literature of tales; this mountain is found in the *Thousand and One Nights* (486th, 624th, and 778th Nights). On their side some exegetes of the Ḳurʾān interpret the letter *ḳāf*, which stands at the head of Sūra L, as referring to the mountain Ḳāf (references in R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, Paris 1959, 147).

In purely terrestrial geography, no longer cosmological, Ḳāf at times denotes the part of the high Asiatic chain of mountains which borders the Muslim world to the north, especially the Caucasus and the mountains of northern Persia; that is why the Dāmarwānd [*q.v.*], celebrated in the *Shāhnāma* as the scene of the wonderful deeds of the sovereigns, rulers and heroes of ancient Iran, is also given as the country of Sīmurgh. These conceptions naturally assumed less importance with the progress of geographical knowledge, but the Caucasus in particular remained as the stage for stories "of the far ends of the earth", for example the one in the Ḳurʾān of the rock of Moses and the spring of life (cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 124, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 287, Muḳaddasī, 46, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 449; on the Caucasus from this viewpoint as border-mountain, cf. B. Munkácsi, *Der Kaukasus und Ural als "Gürtel der Erde"*, in *KS*, i, 236 ff.).

Let us note finally the connexions between the Muslim conception of Ḳāf and that of the Mandaeans. According to them (cf. H. Petermann, *op. cit.*, 452), the earth in the shape of a disc is bathed by the Ocean except on the northern side, where the Ocean is separated from it by a great mountain made of the purest turquoise, whose reflection constitutes the blue of the sky. Despite the opposite opinion of de Goeje (cf. Ṭabarī, Intr., CDXXXVII), it is probable that the Mandaeans drew this cosmology from Islamic sources.

Bibliography: Besides the references in the text: Ibn Rusta, 23-4; Yāḳūt, i, 154; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 19, 376; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i, 170; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-ʿadjāʾib*, Cairo 1324, 13, 118; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, 4; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *Kitāb al-badʾ wa 'l-Taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, ii, 6, 35-6, 44-6, iii, 140, 146; Vullers, *op. cit.*, ii, 706; Gesenius, *op. cit.*, 323-4; Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, 200; Lane-Zenker, *op. cit.*, 30, 232, 235; Reinaud, Preface to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, tr., i, clxxxi—ii; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, ii, Berlin 1862, 469-70; A. J. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 17-8; idem, *The ideas of the western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, xvii (1), 5-6, 37-8. (M. Streck-[A. Miquel])

AL-KĀF (El-Kef), a town in Tunisia (pop. 18,000), capital of an administrative district with a population of 306,000 (census of 3 May 1966), situated in the region of Haut-Tell about 30 km. from the Algerian border; the altitude varies from 700 to 850 m. Since 1962, an effort has been made to replace the traditional cereal cultivation with a greater agricultural diversification, although the attempt at co-operative collectivization of the land was abandoned in September 1969. The town has also benefited from a degree of urbanization and cultural promotion. To this end, since September 1967 an annual festival has been held in honour of Jugurtha, promoted to the rank of a local hero.

The site of al-Kāf has been inhabited since the Paleolithic era, but when the town itself was founded is unknown; it was probably a Libyan or Punic foundation. The name first appears in texts dated 241 B. C. relating to mercenaries sent there by Carthage after the First Punic War to fend off the threat to the capital. The Romans called it Sicca Veneria after a Punic goddess who was identified with Venus. There seems to be no doubt that ritual prostitution was practised at her sanctuary. Under the Empire the town was called Colonia Julia Cirta Nova; it later came under Muslim control under the name of Shiḳḳa Banāriya (a corruption of Sicca Veneria) and continued to be referred to as such in Arab texts until the end of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) knew it under no other name. The name al-Kāf appears for the first time in the works of Ibn Abī Dīnār, who wrote around 1110/1698-9, and al-Wāzir al-Sarrādj (d. 1149/1736-7). The latter, citing Ibn Shabbāṭ on Shiḳḳa Banāriya, found it necessary to add, "which is the town now called al-Kāf" (*Ḥulal*, i/2, 525), indicating that the old name had been completely forgotten. The change of name must have begun at the beginning of the period of Ottoman control (1574), which marked a new stage in the life of the town. Around a score of sites in Tunisia bear names containing the vocable al-Kāf (R. Vaufrey, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique*, index to vols. i and ii; L. Balout, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, index; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat...*, 35, 62; *Guide Bleu de la Tunisie*, index). An al-Kīfān (pl. of al-Kāf) is noted in the vicinity of Fez (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, i, 229 n. 270), and Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, iv, 431) mentions a fortress in Syria bearing the name al-Kāf, undoubtedly the same one which Ibn Khaldūn called al-Kahf (*ʿIbar*, v, 842) and which Ẓāhir Baybars (658/1260-676/1277) captured from the Ismāʿīlis. It is apparent that the toponym al-Kāf is very widespread. No doubt a corruption of the Arabic word *al-kahf* ("cave") through the dropping of the unvoiced spirant *h*, it was used to denote any agglomeration occupying a cavernous site, particularly one that was raised up. In this respect, al-Kāf merits its name. "Standing on one of the main shoulders of a massif which can be considered as a natural citadel, the town dominates the great plains of Sers, Zanfour, Lorebus and Oued Mellègue, and at the same time commands the main routes from Tunis to Algeria" (Tissot, *Géographie comparée...*, ii, 378).

This "natural citadel" was frequently mentioned during the Jugurthine war, and he made it one of his bastions. When it came under Roman control, it was

raised to the status of a colony and enjoyed real prosperity under the Empire, reaching some eminence when the celebrated rhetor Arnob of Sicca (d. *c.* 327) taught there. Numerous vestiges of its ancient past remain in al-Kāf (the basilica of Dār al-Ḳūs, dedicated to St. Peter, vast cisterns, various statues, epigraphic texts, mosaics, etc.) and recent excavations have led to new discoveries (a Byzantine basilica, public baths, etc.), details of which have not yet been published. The town's great mosque is in fact an ancient building slightly altered by the addition of a minaret and a *miḥrāb*.

During the Muslim expansion in the Maghrib, al-Kāf was conquered (about 69/688-9) along with other places in the region by Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī after the rout of Kusayla at Mams (al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 30; Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, *Ṣilat al-Simṭ*, Ms. 3208, Nat. Lib. of Tunis, fol. 82 v.—83 r.). From then on and throughout the Middle Ages al-Kāf gave way to Laribus, which became the most important fortress in the region. In the middle of the 10th/16th century Leo Africanus could still sing the praises of Laribus, now no more than a few ruins 30 km. east of al-Kāf and totally eclipsed by the latter. No Arab geographer mentioned al-Kāf again until al-Bakrī (d. *c.* 461/1068) and he only incidentally in the course of relating a legend concerning a Berber deacon who was martyred in Christian antiquity. Yāḳūt (574/1178-626/1229) reveals his ignorance of it when he says (*Buldān*, iii, 354): "Shiḳḳa Banāriya: a number of places in Ifrīḳiya (*amākin bi-Ifriḳiya*)". The first and only description of mediaeval al-Kāf comes from the pen of Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (618/1221-681/1282). It is significant that this author is concerned solely with the town's old monuments, the evidence of its former grandeur.

Despite its eclipse, al-Kāf figures from time to time in mediaeval history. In 171/788 the Ibāḍī Khāridjīs suffered a crushing defeat there during the rule of the Muhallabid Dāwūd b. Yazīd. Its fall, without a single blow having been struck, into the hands of the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* was a preliminary to the definitive defeat of the Aghlabid troops at Laribus. Under the Zīrids, the town played some part in the conflict between Bādīs (386/996-406/1016) and his uncle, Ḥammād, and during the Hilāli invasion (443/1052) a certain ʿAyyād (or ʿAbbād or ʿImād) b. Naṣr al Kilāʿī led a band of adventurers and founded a little kingdom there, successfully resisting all invaders. In 554/1159 the Almohads drove out his descendants and united the Maghrib. Al-Kāf is not mentioned under the Ḥafṣids, except for a battle which raged in the vicinity in the summer of 724/1324.

The town did not regain its former importance until the Ottoman era. Facing Constantine, its task was to defend the Regency of Tunis against invasion from Algeria. It was involved in the successive conflicts between Algiers and Tunis (1628, 1685, 1694, 1705, 1746, 1756, 1807) and in the squabbles among the various pretenders to the throne of Tunis. A *ḳasba* was built in 1675, and remained fortified. In 1739-40 ʿAlī Pasha built a rampart around the town. The bey Ḥammūda Pasha (1782-1813) restored the *ḳasba* in 1806 and consolidated the enceinte. During his reign al-Kāf, alongside Tunis, Ḳayrawān and Bādja, was one of the four main fortresses of the kingdom, permanently endowed with a strong garrison of at least 500 men under the command of an *agha*. Yet the town lost its strategic value: the installation of the French in Constantine in 1837 made its fortifications henceforth useless.

From then on, its decline began. V. Guérin, who visited the town between the 8th and 10th of June 1860 observed: "Two quarters are almost in ruins and barely inhabited, which means that the town contains less than half the number of people one at first imagines. The total population consists of 4,500 Muslims, around 600 Jews, a few Maltese, and the employees of the French post-office" (*Voyages*, ii, 53-4). In 1864 it was taken in the insurrection of ʿAlī Ibn Ghadhāhum, and was hit by the famine and cholera of 1867. The railway linking Tunis and Suḳ el-Arba (now Djandūba), built in 1878, accelerated its decline by depriving it of its traditional role as a commercial station between Algeria and Tunisia. The population of the town continued to decrease. In 1881 "its 45 hectares, which could have accommodated 8,000 people, contain no more than 3,500" (Monchicourt, *La région du Haut-Tell...*, 408). When the French protectorate was established in Tunisia, General Logerot took the town without a struggle on 26 April 1881. Three years later, in June 1884, the first French school in the interior was opened there; on July 8 in the same year it was raised to the status of a commune and from 1886 it was made the seat of a civil controller who governed alongside the caïd. The municipal census of 1911 indicates its new composition, revealing also the resurgence it had begun to enjoy. Its 6,312 inhabitants comprised 4,462 Muslims, 269 of them Algerians, 650 Jews, and 1,200 Europeans, 800 of them Italians and 340 French. During the Second World War it became a vice-residency, administering that part of Tunisia which was not occupied by the Axis forces.

Al-Kāf, formerly one of the centres of Maraboutism, still possesses many *zāwiyas*, but the political influence of the brotherhoods, in the past of some importance, is now practically nil.

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(M. Talbi)

KAFA [see kefe].

KAFĀʾA (a.), a term which in common usage signifies at one and the same time equality, parity and aptitude, but in the terminology of *fiḳh* designates equivalence of social status, fortune and profession (those followed by the husband and by the father-in-law), as well as parity of birth, which should exist between husband and wife, in default of which the marriage is considered ill-matched and, in consequence, liable to break-up. In fact, in *fiḳh*, *kafāʾa* works in a single direction and protects only the wife who must not marry beneath her station; it matters little, on the other hand, if the man marries a woman of socially inferior status except in two cases. The scope of the theory of *kafāʾa*, which varies from school to school, and the sanctions provided for by them in regard to an ill-matched marriage are discussed in the article nikāḥ. Here, we shall restrict ourselves to a consideration of the historical, sociological, and practical factors which have contributed to the elaboration of this theory, and its social effect through the centuries.

In pre-Islamic Arabia, it was obligatory that a married couple be well-matched on a racial and tribal level, as well as in social status. It was difficult to reconcile this pre-Islamic custom, if not with the letter of the Ḳurʾān, at least with that spirit of relative equality between men which is inherent in it. However, from the very beginnings of Islam, the rule was generally accepted that there could only be misalliance, lack of *kafāʾa*, for the woman, the misalliance of the man being of no consequence with two exceptions. On the method of interpreting this lack of *kafāʾa*, always limited to the woman, there were two tendencies amongst the *fuḳahāʾ*; on the one hand that of the scholars of Medina, who reduced *kafāʾa* to almost nothing, simply forbidding a pious woman to marry a libertine, and on the other hand the tendency of the jurists of Kūfa, from which the exacting theory of the Ḥanafī school has arisen, according to which a husband is well-matched with his wife only if he is of the same lineage, the same social status, of the same seniority in Islam, and of the same morality. In addition, in Ḥanafī law, it is required that he exercise a profession at least as honourable as that of his father-in-law; from this arises a comparative table of the different professions, which is found in most Ḥanafī works. The conflicts between these two interpretations may be explained by the influence of the social climate in which each was developed. At Kūfa there was a population in which Arabs and non-Arab Muslims lived in close proximity, and which in the past had been marked by the idea of social class so deeply rooted in the Sasanid empire, an influence which the inhabitants of Medina had escaped. Consequently, one might think that during the succeeding centuries considerations of social hierarchy and equal standing of the families of husband and wife, which have played and continue to play such a large part in the concluding of marriages in the Ḥanafī and S̲h̲āfiʿī East, were unknown in the areas which had adopted Mālikī law. In actual fact, *i.e.*, on the plane of social realities, scarcely any difference is to be seen in this respect between the East and the Mālikī Mag̲h̲rib. Here, as there, questions of social, family and economic parity have retained all their importance, even though as in the Mag̲h̲rib, inequality of status is not the object of judicial sanction.

One must therefore resign oneself to explaining the importance attributed to *kafāʾa* by the Ḥanafī system, not by sociological reasons, but by the fact that in this school the woman who had reached the age of puberty was permitted to conclude her own marriage without the assistance of a *walī* [*q.v.*], even though such a proceeding was considered blameworthy. In these countries therefore the risks of misalliance were much greater for the wife's family than in countries under Mālikī law where the indispensible assistance of the *walī* gave an important guarantee to the wife's family. This explains the tendency in certain Mālikī countries (Morocco for example), counterbalancing the relative freedom at present enjoyed by the woman to arrange her own marriage, to introduce in their recent code of personal status attenuated forms of *kafāʾa*, unknown to classical Mālikī law.

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KAFĀLA (*ḍamān* in all but the Ḥanafī school), aninstitution corresponding to some extent to the surety-bond in Western juridical systems, with the difference that the *fuḳahāʾ* distinguished two types of surety-bond. On the one hand there is the type for which the surety (*kafīl*) is binding to secure only the appearance in court of the debtor (*aṣīl* or *makfūl*); this, known as the *kafāla biʾl-nafs*, is an institution peculiar to Muslim law. There also exists the *kafāla biʾl-māl*, by means of which the surety stands as a pledge to the creditor (*makfūl lahu*) that the obligation of the principal debtor will be fulfilled. Moreover, the two types of surety bond may well cover a number of things.

Conditions of validity common to both types of surety-bond. Ḥanafī law insists on a formal agreement between the surety and the creditor, except according to Abū Yūsuf (whose opinion, however, has not prevailed), who regarded the

surety-bond as a unilateral commitment on the part of the surety. This conception was adopted by the other schools in which the surety-bond is an action that is valid solely through the will of the surety. The surety-bond being seen as an act of generosity on the part of the surety, it was deduced that the latter must be able to dispose of it freely; that is he must be in full enjoyment of his capacities, and must not be a minor, madman, nor "prohibited". On the other hand, the creditor being in the position of a donee profits, in Ḥanafī law (where his acceptance is insisted upon), from the same facilities as any other donee. Only debts and obligations which are capable of being fulfilled by the security in place of the principal debtor may be the object of a surety-bond. Therefore penal obligations and talion (*ḳiṣāṣ*) are excluded, except in the case of *kafāla bi'l-nafs*, in which circumstances the surety-bond only guarantees the debtor's appearance in court.

a) *Kafāla bi'l-nafs*. This original form of surety-bond underwent a lengthy evolution in all works of *fiḳh* no matter to which school they belonged. The first Shāfiʿīs and the Imam al-Shāfiʿī in his second teaching were opposed to it: later the Shāfiʿī school, "influenced by public opinion and the pressure of necessity", finally permitted it. This surety-bond assumes that judicial proceedings may be instituted against the debtor; it is therefore invalid when the debtor has disappeared after the conclusion of the agreement and it is not known where he may be reached (except in Shāfiʿī law, in which trial by default is permissible). For the same reason the bond no longer holds good when the debtor dies, and of course the death of the surety has the same effect.

The schools deal differently with the defaulting surety, that is someone who fails in his obligation to make the debtor appear in court. In the view of the Ḥanafī school if, after a certain period of grace has been accorded him (for his failure may be due to the temporary absence of the debtor), he is still unable to fulfil his obligations then he is to be imprisoned, at the decision of the *ḳāḍī*. In these circumstances the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs give to the surety the benefit of the same waiting period as the Ḥanafīs; if the debtor has still not appeared in court after this period the surety is sentenced to pay the debt of the debtor. Shāfiʿī law is less precise on this point, but it does not, under any circumstances, provide for the imprisonment of the defaulting surety.

b) *Kafāla bi'l-māl*. All debts may be bonded, even though their exact total is not known by the surety at the time when he enters into the contract or it is a question of an advance credit in the patrimony of the creditor (except in Shāfiʿī law). It is sufficient if the obligation can be fulfilled by a third for the account of the debtor, excluding (as we have seen above) obligations pertaining to the person of the debtor (*ḥadd*, *ḳiṣāṣ*, fee for contractual release, etc.).

The surety bond is subject to the same restrictive clauses as those attending the principal obligation. From this it is deduced that if the creditor concedes a limit to the surety, the debtor, who has firmly pledged himself, benefits from it also. Nevertheless, in Ḥanafī law (in which the surety-bond assumes an agreement between creditor and debtor), the creditor is allowed to consent to a limit to the surety and to make the express stipulation that the debtor may not benefit from this. The creditor's release of the surety from his bond does not free the debtor but, in the reverse case, the release of the debtor frees the surety. If, instead of guaranteeing the payment of the debt, the surety takes over the debt this is not *kafāla* but *ḥawāla* [*q.v.*], that is conveyance or assignment of the debt.

The moment that the debtor's obligation falls due, the creditor has the right to proceed against the principal debtor or the surety as he pleases, or both at once. Therefore in Muslim law there is no benefit of discussion on behalf of the surety as there is in Western law, where the surety can constrain the creditor to begin his proceedings with the debtor, unless there is legal and conventual liability. Only the Mālikī school allows the surety the opportunity of obliging the creditor to begin his proceedings with the debtor when the latter is solvent; the same is true when the debtor is absent, as long as the existence and stability of his goods can be established without difficulty. These conditions hold good in the absence of any contrary stipulations made by the parties concerned. The surety who has paid the reckoning of the debtor has no remedy at law unless the latter asked him to guarantee him and, this being so, he is able to dispose of his goods. In default of one of these conditions, the surety is bereft of any remedy, except in Mālikī law where he always retains his right of legal remedy provided that the discharge of the debt is established.

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(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

AL-KAFF (ʿilm-), a divinatory process which belongs to the realm of physiognomy [see firāsa], and designates more specifically chirognomy, or the art of deducing the character of a person according to the shape and appearance of the hands, whereas chiromancy proper is designated by *ʿilm al-asārīr* (lines of the hand) or *khuṭūṭ al-yad*. One can also say *naẓar fi 'l-yad*, *firāsat al-kaff*, *ʿalāmāt asārīr al-kaff* (cf. T. Fahd, *Divination arabe*, 393 ff.). But the use of the term *ʿilm al-kaff* has become general, and this has supplanted the others. It covers both chirognomy and chiromancy; it also includes dactylomancy (prognostications drawn from the observation of the finger joints) and onychomancy (divination from the finger nails).

Although this form of divination, considered by the Chinese to be the first step in the science of the occult, has been and continues to be very widespread, literature on the subject remained rare until the Middle Ages (cf., for example, the recent collective work entitled *La divination*, studies collected by A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, Paris 1968, where chiromancy, mentioned only twice, appears to play a very minor rôle in the divinatory tradition).

In the West, a pseudo-*Ciromantia Aristotelis* (cf. L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A catalogue of incipits of Mediaeval scientific writings in Latin*, revised and augmented edition, London 1963, The Mediaeval Academy of America, no. 29, pp. 225, 303, 830) seems to have been at the origin of several short treatises or pamphlets on chiromancy attributed to Albertus Magnus (*op. cit.*, 282, 350), Michael Scott (*ibid.*, 531) and other scholastic theologians. This *Ciromantia*, said to have been translated (from the Greek?) by John of Seville and Adelard (of Bath?), appears to

have been unknown to the Arab translators of the writings of Aristotle. This pseudo-Aristotelian tradition arrived rather late in the Christian East, through the medium of mediaeval Latin works, as can be seen from three Christian manuscripts known to us: a) Beirut, Fac. Or. 271 (no. 579), entitled *Firāsat al-kaff*, dealing, in a first section of twenty-four chapters, with the nature of the hand and its aspects (with rough drawings), and a second section, also of twenty-four chapters, concerned with the mysteries of life according to the hand; b) Aleppo, P. Sbath, 529, with the same title, done in the 19th century by a monk in Jerusalem (41p.); c) Berlin, Cat. Ahlwardt, 4255, an anonymous work of 55 fol., citing Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus, among others.

This Christian tradition, based on Aristotle, was illustrated by numerous authors in the West, such as Antiochus Tibertus, *De chiromantia*, ed. from 1494, Andrea Corvo, *De chiromantia*, frequently ed. since 1513, Jean Indagine, *Introductio in chiromantiam*, published at Lyons in 1582, Jean Belot, Curé of Mil-Monts, teacher of divine and celestial sciences, *Traité de la chiromance*, Joh. Meteham, *Treatise on chiromancy from the Latin of Aurelian*, Joh. Montroy, *Libellus de chiromantia*, Laur. Mendelkern, *Chiromancie*.

In the East, where for once Aristotle was not invoked as the initiator of this art, two traditions come together in Arab divination: the Indian tradition represented by an anonymous work now lost, which was quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 314), *K. Khuṭūṭ al-kaff wa 'l-naẓar fi 'l-yad li 'l-Hind*, and the Hellenistic tradition starting with Polemon of Laodicea (d. 144), the famous sophist of Smyrna, author of the Φυσιογνομονίκα, of which the original Greek is lost, but which has come to us through an Arabic translation made in the middle of the 3rd/9th century (cf. details and references in *Divination arabe*, 384 ff.).

This Islamic tradition, based on the Indian and the Hellenistic, is represented by a very small number of writings. In addition to the Arab Polemon, who devotes a paragraph to chiromancy (cf. Chap. 4 of the Leiden Ms., ed. and Latin tr. G. Hoffmann, in R. Förster, *Scriptores physiognomonici Graeci et Latini*, i, 201), there are two paragraphs in a *madjmūʿa* of writings on physiognomy from Bursa, of which the first treats "of the signs which result from the measurements of the fingers of the hand" (Ḥüsayn Čelebi 882, fol. 64r-66r) and the second with "signs relative to the large or small number of children which one will have, drawn from the examination of the front face of the thumb" (*ibid.*, fol. 66r-67r; cf. *Divination arabe*, 395, n. 1., where the added *min* should be deleted). If to this are added a folio (99v-100) of Vatican 938, 14 (other references in Brockelmann, I, 508, SI, 924), attributed to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and a page (fol. 240v) of the Ms. 1601 of the Köprülü collection at Istanbul, this constitutes all that has been discovered of this literature. In order to know more about it, we must await the rediscovery of *al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, a document dealing with several divinatory techniques, amongst which are *al-kaff* and *maḳādīr al-aṣābiʿ* (titles reminiscent of the two Bursa texts: the author lived in this town), attributed to the historian Muṣṭafā b. Ḥasan al-Djannābī (d. 999/1590) by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 576.

Meanwhile, in order to gain a clear idea of the object of this art according to the Arab authors, we have at our disposal two definitions: the first is found in the *K. al-firāsa* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (ed. and tr. Y. Mourad, Paris 1939, 11; cf. the fol. quoted above) and the second in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 236. From this it appears that chiromancy allows the prediction of the length or brevity of a man's life, his destiny, happy or unhappy, his wealth or poverty, etc., based on the lines of the hand or the sole of the feet by observing whether they are close or far apart, long or short, whether the spaces which separate them are wide or narrow, and by looking at the patterns which they form.

Finally, as in the case of the *Firāsa*, *ʿIlm al-asārīr* was applied in medical prognostication. Hippocrates and Galen practised it, as they practised physiognomy (cf. *Divination arabe*, 381 ff.; cf. R. Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*, Leiden 1951, where an appendix is devoted to the "pronostics akkadiens et pronostics grecs", pp. xxxv-xlv). In this respect it would be useful to verify the contents of the *K. Asrār* (= according to al-Rāzī, *loc. cit.*: lines of the hand and of the sole of the foot) *al-nisā'* and the *K. Asrār al-ridjāl*, attributed to Galen and translated by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (cf. *AS* 4838, resp. fol. 57v-74v, and 76v-105v; Bağdatli Vehbi, 1409, fol. 19r-26r and 26v-32v).

Bibliography: Apart from the sources mentioned in the text, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 393-7; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 370; Osman Bey, *Les Imams et les derviches*, Paris 1881, 132. (T. Fahd)

KAFF, term used in prosody [see ʿArūḍ]; term with politico-religious meaning [See Ḳuʿūd].

KAFFA [see Kefe].

KAFFĀRA, an expiatory and propitiatory act which grants remission for faults of some gravity. This technical term, which is only employed four times in the Ḳur'ān, is said to have been borrowed from Hebrew *kappārā* (A. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary of the Qur'an*, 250; D. S. Margoliouth, art. *Expiation and atonement* (*Muslim*), in *Hastings Enc.*) For the reasons set out below, this thesis should be considered as unproven. On the other hand the root *k f r* is undoubtedly Arabic.

Speaking strictly etymologically, *kaffāra* "covers" sins rather than wipes them out. The root, which is frequently used in the Ḳur'ān, in fact means "to cover", "to cover a thing or person so that it is hidden from view". The renegade is called *kāfir* [*q.v.*] because his heart is wrapped in blasphemy; the same word refers to the night, for then things are shrouded in shadow (*LA*, root *k f r*). Thus the *kaffāra* is intended to cover wicked deeds with a veil so that they are concealed. From this point of view, fault and expiation are regarded in a material sense, the moral content developing rather later.

Comparison with other Semitic languages leads to a closer understanding of the original meaning of the root *k f r*. In Syriac, *kefar* means to wipe, and the fault would seem to be seen as a stain which must be removed. Similar conceptions lie behind *kapâru* in Assyrian, for it has the meaning of to wipe, to remove, to clean. The form *kuppuru* expresses the idea of a magico-medical operation by means of which an illness is driven away or a demon expelled. In Hebrew, *kippêr* appears to be close to the Arabic meaning. According to Ed. König, "cover" is the only appropriate translation. True, this scholar's opinion has been criticized and *kippêr* can also have the meanings of to rub, to blot out and to wipe. The dominant idea is of expiation. Thus the *kôfer* is simply a ransom, the expiatory sum of blood; the *kappôreth* is the region of the Ark which acts as a lid and serves as the instrument of expiation; finally,

kappārā is specifically the expiation of a fault and wiping out of a blemish by means of a victim whose blood is used to rub or sprinkle the person or thing that is to be purified.

It is tempting, therefore, to consider that the ancient Arabs held a material conception of the remission of sins. It should be noted here that other Arabic words currently used to signify pardon also conjure up the image of an object to be hidden or a stain to be wiped away. This is true of the ḳur'ānic terms *g͟hafara*, *ʿafā* and *ṣafaḥa* (XXIV, 22, LXIV, 14), which have the sense of to cover, to efface, to smooth away; in the same way *maḥā*, to erase by rubbing or covering, has the meaning of to pardon. Furthermore, according to al-ʿUmarī the Arabs sought pardon for their misdeeds by confessing them before an assembly and requesting those whom they had wronged to bury their misdemeanours. This act, known as *dafn al-d͟hunūb* [see D͟HUNŪB, DAFN AL-] was enacted physically.

Although etymologically *kaffāra* may be understood as "that which covers" sin, it should be noted that this meaning figures least in the Ḳur'ān, where essentially the root has the sense of to repudiate, to redeem, to pardon. In addition, the verb *kafara*, to be a renegade or infidel, often appears alongside *āmana*, apparently its antonym (III, 156, IV, 137, XXIX, 12); the form *kaffara* is employed with the sense of to erase (III, 195, IV, 31, V, 12, 65); *kufrān* expresses forgetfulness (XXI, 94) and annihilation (while demolishing the sanctuary of al-ʿUzzā, K͟hālid b. Walīd says: "Your annihilation and no longer your glory", *kufrānaki lā subḥānaki*). It is therefore hardly surprising that *kaffāra* is employed essentially in the sense of atonement: the *kaffāra* for perjury and violating the ban on hunting when in a state of *iḥrām* is the manumission of a slave, fasting or the distribution of food or clothing to the poor (V, 89[2] and 95). Yet this is also a propitiatory act from which the idea of expiation seems lacking: "If a man grants pardon [for talion, this] will be a *kaffāra* for him" (V, 5).

Therefore it is evident that *kaffāra*, in its ḳur'ānic conception, is obtained without the help of a blood sacrifice, unlike the levitical system, where the means of expiation is usually blood. We have thus eliminated the notion that this is a borrowing from Hebrew in spite of the similarity of pure form.

Other instances where the sinner must do penitence are dealt with in the Ḳur'ān: an attack on the physical integrity of the person (IV, 92), pronouncing the *ẓihār* oath (LVIII, 4), breaking the rules of fasting during Ramaḍān (II, 183 f.), violating the prohibitions of the pilgrimage (II, 195; V, 94, 95). In fact there are no grounds for claiming that these were cases of *kaffārāt stricto sensu*, and it is by analogy that *fiḳh* applies this term to acts (fasting, liberation of a slave, feeding the poor, sacrifice) on whose exact nature the Ḳur'ān is silent (is it a case of redemption, expiation or propitiation?). It is also advisable to stress that *fiḳh* tends to regard *kaffāra* as a punishment (*ʿiḳāb*, *d̲j̲azā'*; cf. Ibn Rus͟hd, *Bidāyat al-mud̲j̲tahid*, Cairo 1335, i, 212; al-Buk͟hārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-ḥudūd*), which is not exactly the position of the Ḳur'ān, where there is a distinction between *d̲j̲azā'* and *kaffāra* (V, 95) and the latter is even considered a propitiatory act (V, 45). Following the standpoint of the legal schools, as is obligatory, the acts by which *kaffāra* can be obtained include blood sacrifice, to be exact the *hady* for complete infringement of the rules of the pilgrimage, particularly those of *iḥrām*.

The expiatory nature of Islamic sacrifice is brought out especially by the rôle of the blood redeemer (J. Chelhod, *La sacrifice chez les Arabes*, 59, 174 f.). The Bedouins too believe that the blood of a victim gives protection against epidemics, averts ill fate, banishes the wrongdoer and casts out chthonian spirits. Such beliefs were widespread among ancient Semitic peoples. In Babylonian ritual, purification and atonement are obtained through blood sacrifice. As we have seen, the same means were used to obtain expiation in the levitical system. The Mineo-Sabians confessed their sins publicly and atoned for them by offering a bleeding victim (G. Ryckmans, *La confession publique des péchés en Arabie méridionale préislamique*, in *Le Muséon*, lviii, 1-14).

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(J. CHELHOD)

ḲĀFILA [see TID̲J̲ĀRA].

KAFĪL [see KAFĀLA].

KĀFIR (A.), originally "obliterating, covering", then, "concealing benefits received" = "ungrateful"; this meaning is found even in the old Arab poetry and in the Ḳur'ān, Sūra XXVI, 18. In the Ḳur'ān the word is used with reference to God: "concealing God's blessings" = "ungrateful to God", see Sūra XVI, 57 and XXX, 33: "That they are ungrateful for our gifts"; cf. also Sūra XVI, 85. The next development—probably under the influence of the Syriac and Aramaic where the corresponding development took place earlier—is the more general meaning of "infidel" which is first found in Sūra LXXIV, 10 and is henceforth very common; plural *kāfirūn* or *kuffār*, once (Sūra LXXX 42) *kafara*. The term is first applied to the unbelieving Meccans, who endeavour to refute and revile the Prophet: Sūra L, 2 and elsewhere. The subject of incredulity is sometimes more nearly defined with added *bi-*, *e.g.*, Sūra XXXIV, 33: "We do not believe in your mission"; Sūra VI, 89. In the early Meccan period a waiting attitude towards the unbelievers is still recommended (Sūra LXXXVI, 17; LXXIII 10 f.; see also Sūra CIX entitled *al-Kāfirūn*), but later the Muslims are ordered to keep apart from them (Sūra III, 114, also 27), to defend themselves from their attacks and even to take the offensive against them (Sūra II, 186 and elsewhere). In most passages the reference is to unbelievers in general, who are threatened with God's punishment and Hell [cf. the article D̲J̲AHANNAM].

In the literature of Tradition also the *ḥadīt͟hs*—with minute elaboration in details—deal partly with the fate of the *kāfir* on the day of judgement and his punishment in hell, and partly with the believer's attitude towards him. For the rest they reflect the great controversy in early Islam on the question whether a Muslim should be considered a *kāfir* for committing a "major sin" (cf. al-Buk͟hārī, *Kit. al-Īmān*, Bāb 22). Thus we find *ḥadīt͟hs* such as: "If a Muslim charges a fellow Muslim with *kufr*, he is himself a *kāfir*, if the accusation should prove untrue"; or "The reproach of *kufr* is equivalent to murder" etc. Nevertheless, *kāfir* in theological polemics is a fairly frequent term for the Muslim protagonist of the opposite view (see further TAKFĪR).

Eternal damnation for the *kāfir* has remained an

established dogma in Islam. In the dogmatic controversies of the early centuries the reasons were discussed for which a Muslim could be identical with a *kāfir* and have to suffer eternal punishment. The most tolerant is the view of the Murdji'a that all the *Ahl al-Ḳibla*, even if they commit a mortal sin (*kabīra*) are to be considered believers and their ultimate fate is to be left to God. The most striking contrast to this is the strict view of Khāridjīs (and Ibāḍīs) that every Muslim who dies with a mortal sin—and this means with them every sin which has not been repented of—on his conscience is to be considered just a *kāfir*. For this special case the Mu'tazila assume an intermediate position between believer and unbeliever, the so-called "rejected" *fāsiḳ* [cf. the article ĪMĀN]. According to Nallino, in the *Riv. degli Studi orientali*, vii, 436 ff., the names Mu'tazila, Murdji'ā, etc. [*q.v.*] are probably closely connected with their attitude on this point.

According to the *Lisān al-'Arab*, vi. 459 f., the following kinds of unbelief are distinguished: 1) *kufr al-inkār* = neither recognizing nor acknowledging God; 2) *kufr al-djuḥūd* = recognizing God, but not acknowledging Him with words, that is remaining an unbeliever in spite of one's better knowledge; 3) *kufr al-mu'ānada* = recognizing God and acknowledging Him with words but remaining an unbeliever (obdurate) out of envy or hatred; 4) *kufr al-nifāḳ* = outwardly acknowledging, but at heart not recognizing God and thus remaining an unbeliever, that is being an hypocrite [cf. MUNĀFIḲ]. Cf. the modernist Muḥammad 'Abduh's opinion on *kufr al-ni'am, kufr khāṣṣ, al-Kufr djuḥūd al-ḥaḳḳ*, etc. in his *Tafsīr*, ii, 49, 102, iii, 20, iv, 11.

In the systematic *Fiḳh* books the *kuffār* are discussed in the following passages: 1) in the *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra*. For the opinion deduced from Sūra IX, 28 that the unbeliever is unclean, we find all views represented, from the strictest to the most tolerant; just as on all questions of purity, the strictest is the Shī'a which reckons the unbeliever among its *dah nadjāsat*; but on this point al-Nawawī, for example, was particularly lenient; he considers the believer and unbeliever equal as regards purity. The *Ahl al-Kitāb* [*q.v.*] are usually regarded more leniently than other *Kuffār*; for their benefit for example the questions of the *dhabā'iḥ* and of *munākaḥa* with Muslims are discussed.—2) In the *Kitāb al-Djihād* (*wa'l-Siyar*). The *djihād* [*q.v.*] against the unbeliever inhabitants of the *Dār al-Ḥarb* [*q.v.*] is a *farḍ 'ala 'l-kifāya*. The *Ahl al-Kitāb* again occupy a special position as by paying *djizya* and *kharādj* [*q.v.*] they become *dhimmīs* [see DHIMMA] and can receive *amān* [*q.v.*] These categories of unbelievers in the *Dār al-Islām* called *dhimmī* and *musta'min* have a legal claim to protection. Another class also distinguished from the mass of the *kāfirūn* are the renegades [see MURTADD] for whom the law prescribes death, with the opportunity first of obeying a demand to return to Islām. The others, the unbelievers proper, who in this sense are also called *kāfirūn aṣliyyūn* (or *mushrikūn*, in the narrower sense) have only to expect death or slavery [see 'ABD] if they fall as prisoners of war into the hands of Muslims; if they are fortunate, they may be exchanged or released. (In many cases, *e.g.*, in the gradual advance of Islam into Africa, the distinction between renegades and pagans was difficult to ascertain and there are writings extant which deal specially with this question, cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *al-I'lām bi-Ḳawāṭi' al-Islām*, lith. 1293).—3) In several further points the law discriminates between *kuffār* and believers; the very strict interpretation of the law is however in practice only held by a small minority.

To understand the historical development in the attitude of Islam to the unbeliever, it should be observed that it was settled in the early centuries not so much by religious as by political and social conditions. Even down to the time of the Crusades there prevailed in Islam a tolerance towards the unbeliever, especially the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, such as is impossible to imagine in contemporary Christendom. We find for example Christians in the highest official positions. In this early period there is no question of any religious fanaticism towards unbelievers. It was only aroused and nourished by the repeated wars with unbelievers (Crusades, wars with the Turks). War-psychology, on the other hand, at the time of the wars between Persia and Turkey could even bring it about that the Persians were called *kuffār* in Turkish *fetwās* etc. (see Pečewi, i, 311, 319), a name which the Turks themselves had applied to them in the proclamations of the Mahdī of the Sūdān.

Since in the modern period the trend of affairs has apparently been quite in the opposite direction, and Muslims have been more and more impeded in carrying out measures against the *kuffār* by the political decline of Islam and the rise of the unbelieving nations (pressure of the Powers, capitulations, etc.), the very feeling of impotence in face of these facts may have contributed not a little to the strengthening of hatred and to periodical manifestations of it (in massacres etc.). This also explains the grotesque caricature of the *kāfir*, which has sometimes been found in the popular imagination at the present day (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 48 f.) and which is connected with the ideas of the Arch-Kāfir, Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*] who bears *k-f-r* on his forehead (cf. I. Goldziher, in *Der Islam*, xi, 178).

It may also be due to the hatred of the Franks (and to dogmatic squabbles) that *kāfir* had developed into a term of abuse, so frequent in the Turkish form *g'awr* (the Persian *geber* [see DJĀBIR] is said to be the same), although in theory it is (*ZDMG*, lviii, 562) affirmed that the Muslim commits a punishable offence if he says to the Christian or Jew: "Thou unbeliever". From the Turkish the word *kāfir* has entered into most Slavonic languages. The Spanish *cafre* and the French *cafard* also go back to *kāfir* or *kuffār*. (Cf. Erwin Rosen [*i.e.* Erwin Carlé], *Cafard, Ein Drama aus der Fremdenlegion in 4 Akten*, Munich 1914). In two cases *kāfir* has actually become a proper name, the name of a people, the Kaffirs, and of a country, Kāfiristān [*q.v.*].

Kāfir and *kufr* underwent a special development of meaning in the terminology of mysticism. Compare, for example, the well-known verse of Abū Sa'īd [*q.v.*]: "So long as belief and unbelief are not perfectly equal, no man can be a true Muslim", with the various explanations given in Muḥammad A'lā, *Dict. of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger, etc.), s.v., according to one of which *kufr* is just the equivalent of *īmān-i ḥaḳīḳī*.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources already quoted above, see for the Old Arab poetry *Ztschr. d. Dtsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xliv, 544.—On the development of *k f r* in Syriac s. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, i, 1798 f., in Aramaic: Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, p. 381 and his *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, ii, 383 ff.—For the literature of Tradition the whole material is available in the *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*

of Prof. A. J. Wensinck, who kindly called my attention to the *ḥadīth*s quoted above (cf. *Handbook*, s.v. *Kāfir*, *Kufr*). Dogmatic: al-Māturīdī, *Sharḥ al-Fiḳh al-Akbar* (Ḥayderābād 1321), 2 f., 9 et *passim*; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī 'l-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal* (Cairo 1320), iii, 142 ff.; Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma in den Islam tot op el-Ashʿari*, 16 ff.; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 101, 182 f., 202, 205; idem, *Richtungen*, 138, 156, 163, 179; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, 60, note.—For other classifications of *Kuffār* see Muḥ. Aʿlā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, s.v. (and following him, Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, s.v. *Kāfir*); cf. also al-Djurdjānī, *al-Taʿrīfāt* ed. Flügel, s.v. *Īmān*.—For *Kuffār* in *Fiḳh*: Goldziher, *Die Ẓāhiriten*, 59 ff.; idem, *Vorlesungen*, 182; Juynboll, *Handb. d. islām. Gesetzes*, 173.—Historical: Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 183 f.; Becker, *Christentum und Islam*, 15 ff.; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms* (Heidelberg 1922), 28 ff., especially 47 ff. On the so-called *Kuffār al-Turk*, of whom Barhebraeus also speaks (*Chronicon*, ed. Bruns u. Kirsch, Leipzig 1789, 324), cf. Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apologet. Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, 296.—*Kāfir* in European languages: Miklosich, *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen*, in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, xxxvii, (1888), 68, 154; Dozy and Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leiden 1869, 245; Diez, *Etymolog. Wörterb. der roman. Sprachen*, 5. Ausg., Bonn 1887, 435; Lammens, *Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe*, Beirut, 64 f.; Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*[2] (1903), s.v. *Caffer*.—On the Mystics cf. now also Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, 23, and idem, *La passion d'al-Hosayn ibn-Mansour al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, p. 99 of the Index. *Kāfir*, *Kufr*, *Takfīr* and *Ikfār* have often interested Muslim writers, and there are many titles in Brockelmann, for instance *al-Adjwiba al-fākhira raddan ʿan al-milla al-kāfira*, *Risāla fī ṭāʿat al-kāfir*, *Risāla fī muṣāḥabat al-kuffār*, *Risāla fi'l-kufr wa 'l-īmān*, *Djamʿ alfāẓ al-kufr*, *Kashf al-ḍarar ʿamman nakaha wa-kafar*, *Risāla fī takfīr al-shīʿa*, *Tanbīh al-ghabī ʿalā takfīr Ibn al-ʿArabī*, *al-Khiṣāl al-mukaffira wa 'l-dhunūb al-muḳaddama wa 'l-muʾakhkhara*, *Takfīr al-kabāʾir wa 'l-nāfiya*, *Ikfār al-rawāfiḍ*, *Risāla fī lafẓ al-kufr wa 'l-ikfār wa 'l-takfīr*

(W. Björkman)

KĀFIRISTĀN ("land of the unbelievers"), the name of a mountainous region of the Hindu Kush massif in north-eastern Afghānistān, until 1896 very isolated and politically independent, but since the Afghān conquest of that date and the introduction of Islam known as Nūristān ("land of light").

Some older European writers mentioned what might be termed a "greater Kāfiristān", comprising such regions as Kāfiristān in the restricted sense (see below), Laghmān, Čitral, Swāt, Badjawr, Gilgit, etc. This corresponds roughly with the mediaeval Islamic region of Bolōr (the Po-lo of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Bolor of Marco Polo), which seems to have extended as far as Baltistān on the borders of Kashmīr and Tibet; the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (end of the 4th/10th century), tr. Minorsky, 121, 369-70, describes Bolōr as a vast country ruled by the Bulūrīn-Shāh who was a Child of the Sun. Modern usage restricts Kāfiristān to the region lying roughly between latitude 35°-36° N. and longitude 70°-71°30′ E., bounded on the west by the Pandjhīr River valley; on the east by the mountain range separating the Kunar-Bashgali valley from Čitrāl (sc. the modern Afghān-Pakistani border); on the north by the mountains forming the watershed between the rivers of Kāfiristān draining southwards and those of Mindjān and Badakhshān draining northwards to the Oxus; and on the south by the Kābul River valley. This last southern fringe of Kāfiristān, the regions of Laghmān and Kunar (called by the Afghāns *Kāfiristān-i suflā*), is ethnically Afghān and Pashto-speaking and forms the hinterland of Djalālābād. It is the more northerly region (*Kāfiristān-i ʿulyā*) which is Kāfiristān proper, comprising from west to east the basins of the Alishang and Alingar, of the Pēč or Praisun and the Waigal, and of the Bashgal; above these steep-sided river valleys the Hindu Kush mountains rise almost to 20,000 feet. The inaccessibility of the region had made it a refuge area for a very old group of Indo-European peoples, probably mixed with an older substratum, and for a distinctive group of Indo-Iranian languages, the Kāfirī ones, which form part of the wider Dardic group [see AFGHĀNISTĀN, ii, Ethnography, and DARDIC and KĀFIR LANGUAGES].

The enduring paganism of the local peoples and their imperviousness to the Islam which came largely to surround them, account for the name Kāfiristān, although an influence from the district names within Kāfiristān of Katwar or Kator and the ethnic designation Kati has been suggested. The distinction of "wearers of black" (Pers. *Siyāh-pūsh*, Pto. *Torkāfir*), comprising five sub-tribes speaking Kati, and "wearers of white" (Pers. *Safīd-pūsh*, Pto. *Spīnkāfir*), comprising the Prasungeli, Wangeli, Wamais and Ashkuns, is an old one, but does not seem to have any scientific or ethnological basis. Anthropologically, the Kāfirs are dolichocephalic, with abundant, usually dark, hair, but with a noticeable strain of blue-eyed blonds. Whence popular tales that the Kāfirs are descendants of Alexander the Great's troops; a deputation came to Sir William Macnaghten in 1839 at Djalālābād during the First Afghān-British War, claiming kinship with the British troops.

Parts of Kāfiristān were in pre-Christian times probably part of the Greek satrapy of Paropamisa and inhabited by a people called the Kambodjas, mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions. Alexander the Great campaigned in the Kunar valley en route for India (see Sir Thomas Holdich, *The gates of India*, London 1910, 102-4). Then, in early Christian times, it came within the Kushan kingdom and the Buddhist province of Kapiśa, so that southern Kāfiristān, the region known as Lamakān, later Lamghān, was strongly Buddhist, as the survival there of stupas attests (see L. Edelberg, *Fragments d'un stûpa dans la vallée du Kunar en Afghanistan*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, iv/3 (1957), 199-206). It is probable that at this time the ethnic Kāfirs occupied a wider geographical area than in more recent times, but were pushed northwards into the mountain fastnesses.

The Muslims only reached the borders of Kāfiristān through the extension of Ṣaffārid rule to the Kābul and Pandjhīr River valleys (later 3rd/9th century), and then through the establishment of the Ghaznawid sultanate in eastern Afghānistān. It is in the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī that the occurence of the name Kator/Katwar seems first to arise, when Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd is mentioned in connection with the *Kwtr* (424/1033 or 425/1034) (*Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 407, tr. Arends, *Istorya Mas'uda*[2], Moscow 1969, 504).

Mas^cūd's father, the great Maḥmūd of Ghazna, had previously led an expedition in 417/1020-1 against the lion-worshipping infidels of what Gardīzī calls the Nūr and Ḳīrāt valleys, the first name possibly to be connected with the modern place-name Nūrgal in the lower Kunar valley, *i.e.*, southeastern Kāfiristān (*K. Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, 78-9, tr. Bosworth, in *East and West*, N.S. xvi (1966), 341-2; cf. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, (Cambridge 1931, 74-5, and Beveridge's Appendix X to her tr. of the *Bābur-nāma*, xxiii-xxiv).

Marco Polo mentions the land of the Pasciai idolators, ten days' journey south of Badakhshān, which may refer to the Kāfirs as much as to the Pashaʾīs proper of the south-western fringes of Kāfiristān; a 10th/16th century source, the account of the Muslim expedition of 990/1582 (see below), shows that some of the so-called Kāfirs of that time were in fact Pashaʾī speakers. It is clear, however, that Marco Polo never visited this area himself, but must have relied on reports of the Mongol general Neküder's march from Badakhshān to Čitrāl and Kashmīr across the Kāfiristān mountains in c. 658/1260 (see Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, London 1871, i, 155; Cordier, *Notes and addenda to Sir Henry Yule's edition*, London 1920, 23, 25).

En route for his Indian campaign in 800/1398, Tīmūr acceded to the complaints of the people of Andarāb about the depredations of the pagan "Kators and Siyāh-pūsh", and led an expedition via the Khāwak Pass into western Kāfiristān. Some of the Kāfirs are said to have accepted Islam, but this can only have been a temporary conversion; an important part of his troops was ambushed, and he finally retreated (*Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī*, in Elliott and Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, London 1866-77, iii, 400-8). The Tīmūrid Maḥmūd Mīrzā b. Abī Sa^cīd (d. 900/1495) is said to have campaigned twice in Kāfiristān, gaining thereby the title of *Ghāzī*, and Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, the future conqueror of Kashmīr, led a raid in 934/1527-8 into what he calls "Bulūristān" (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1912-21, i, 46; Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī, a history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, tr. E. Denison Ross and N. Elias, London 1895, 384-6). Bābur gives a valuable geographical description of southern Kāfiristān, with emphasis on its rich fruits and on the wine produced by the Kāfirs, who exported it to Badjawr. He also speaks of Muslim *nimčas* or half-breeds, who were probably converted Kāfirs and who still mixed with the Kāfirs, living at Čaghānsarāy at the confluence of the Kunar and Pēč Rivers (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. i, 210-14, 371-2). Bābur himself made various incursions via the Lamghān district into the southern fringes of Kāfiristān. In the winter of 913/1507-8 he crossed the Bād-i Pīsh or Bād-i Pakht Pass linking the lower Alishang and Kābul River valleys, causing an inscription to be carved above the pass commemorating his transit (the existence in modern times of this inscription has been noted by several observers, but it has not so far been scientifically described); in 926/1520 at the Bād-i Pīsh Pass again, he received the submission of certain Kāfirī chiefs, who brought gifts of wine (*Bāburnāma*, tr. i, 209, 343-4, 421-3).

In the Mughal period, the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* laconically mentions that in 990/1582 the Emperor Akbar, whilst at Djalālābād, sent an expedition against the infidels of Katwar (Elliott and Dowson, *op. cit.*, v, 425). This detail can now be amply supplemented by the account in 16 *dāstāns* or epic narratives of the Ḳāḍī Muḥammad Sālim, who accompanied this expedition as a preacher and encourager of the Muslim troops; Ḳāḍī Muḥammad's work has been edited by G. Scarcia as the *Ṣifat-nāma-yi Darvīš Muḥammad Ḫān-i Ġāzī, cronaca di una crociata musulmana contro i Kafiri di Laġmān nell' anno* 1582 (Rome 1965). The leader of the expedition, Muḥammad Ḥākim (d. 992/1584 or 994/1586), was Akbar's younger brother and governor of Kābul, and was also a strong adherent of the missionary-minded Naḳshbandiyya Ṣūfī order. The area attacked was the south-western part of Kāfiristān, including the lower basin of the Alishang and Alingar Rivers, where the Muslim forces established various strongpoints against the Kāfirs.

After this period, there is substantially silence until the 19th century, when British travellers and officials began to take an interest in Kāfiristān as a still-independent buffer-zone between British India and the amirate of Afghānistān. Thus Mountstuart Elphinstone described the topography of the land of the "Seeapoosh Caufirs, a strange and interesting people", and gave the pioneering account of the Kāfirs' customs and social organization, based on the reports of a Muslim envoy to Kamdesh in the Bashgal valley (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul, and its dependencies, in Persia, Tartary, and India* ³, London 1842, i, 130-2, ii, 373-87). D. Masson also wrote on Kāfiristān in his *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, London 1842. Col. J. Biddulph, like these previous writers, did not know Kāfiristān at first-hand, though he was familiar with the adjacent regions of Čitrāl, Hunza, Gilgit, etc., and had received deputations of Kāfirs in Čitrāl in 1878. In his *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (Calcutta 1880), he devoted a chapter to the "Siah Posh", in which he included the Kalash of southern Čitrāl, still today pagan in part, with considerable ethnological comment, and gave specimens of the Bashgali (*i.e.*, Kati) language (*op. cit.*, 126-33, cxlv-cliii). The first European to penetrate deep into Kāfiristān personally was Col. Lockhart, who was heading a mission in 1885-6 to examine the Hindu Kush passes and who spent some days amongst the Katis of the upper Bashgal valley. Soon afterwards, Capt. (later Sir) George Robertson, later British Agent in Gilgit, spent almost a year (1890-1) amongst the Katis at Kamdesh in the upper Bashgal valley adjacent to Čitral; his account of the Kāfirs still in their pre-Muslim phase of existence, *The Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush* (London 1896), remains a classic of ethnology.

The paganism of the Kāfirs was a mixture of polytheism and animism. The *Ṣifat-nāma* of Ḳāḍī Muḥammad Sālim mentions three of the gods whom the Kāfirs invoked against the Muslims, sc. Pāndād, Sh.r.w.y. and Lāmandī, and Scarcia has suggested a possible connexion with the cult of Śiva, in view of the long exposure of the Kābul River valley to Indian cultural and religious influences (*op. cit.*, CLL ff.). Robertson says that the Kāfir pantheon was headed by Imra the creator god, from whom sprang other gods such as Gīsh the war god, the goddess Dīzanē and many lesser ones; there was also much emphasis on demons and evil spirits who needed constant propitation. The politico-social system was locally-based, tribal and oligarchical. Tribal affairs were directed by a council of senior clan headmen (*jasts*), and 13 magistrates (*ur, urir*) were elected annually for the actual conduct of government. Status was measured by wealth, symbolized

by the giving of feasts and potlatches, and by prowess in warfare, especially when the killing of Muslims was involved. As well as the full tribesmen, there was a class of poor freemen, mainly herdsmen; a class of artisans, the *baris*; and a small slave class, who were captives from warfare and who were considered to be ritually impure. The status of Kāfirī women was low, with polygamy as the norm; marriage was exogamous outside the clan. Noteworthy as part of the material culture of the Kāfirs was the carving of wood into images and into the characteristic stools and chairs. Specimens of these may be seen in the Kābul Museum and in western ones like the Linden-Museum of Stuttgart; and see on the craft, R. Henkl, *The wooden sculptures of Kafiristan*, in *JRAS Bengal*, Letters, xvi/1 (1950), 65-72, and J. Auboyer, *The art of Afghanistan*, London 1968, Pls. 134-40.

In the 1893 Kābul agreement between Sir Mortimer Durand and the Afg͟hān amir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān K͟hān [*q.v.*], Kāfiristān was left outside the British Indian territory, and the amir in 1895-6 led an expedition into Kāfiristān, bringing the territory under Afg͟hān sovereignty and implanting Islam amongst the pagan Kāfirs (see Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed Khan, *The life of Abdur Rahman*, London 1900, i, 199-202). Today, most of Kāfiristān, now Nūristān, falls administratively within the provinces or *wilāyat*s of Lag͟hmān and Kunar, with Mirtalam in the lower Alingar valley as an important centre; the population of the region has been estimated at between 40,000 and 60,000.

Bibliography: Most of the detailed studies have been cited within the article. Scarcia's edition of the *Ṣifat-nāma* of Ḳāḍī Muḥammad Sālim, CVI-CLVI, contains an extensive account of the early history of Kāfiristān. For geography and topography, see W. Barthold, *Istoriko-geografičeskii obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 56-7; M. Voigt, *Kafiristan*, Breslau 1933; and J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 91-2, 107-10. For a synthesis of the information of Robertson and the earlier writers with recent ethnological and anthropological fieldwork in Kāfiristān, see P. Snoy, *Die Kafiren, Formen der Wirtschaft und geistigen Kultur*, diss. Frankfurt a/M 1962 (with detailed bibliography on all aspects of the region), and also A. R. Palwal, *History of former Kafiristan*, 10 parts in *Afghanistan*, xxi-xxiv (Kabul 1968-71). Snoy, *Nuristan und Mungan*, in *Tribus, Veröffentlichungen des Linden-Museums*, no. 14 (Stuttgart 1965), 101-48, repr. in *Sonderdrucke der Mitglieder der Südasien-Institut der Universität Heidelberg*, no. 8, deals with the material culture and artifacts of these two regions and their economic relations. Amongst historical and general works on Afg͟hānistān which include sections on Kāfiristān or refer to the region, see V. M. Masson and V. A. Romodin, *Istoriya Afganistana*, Moscow 1964-5, index; D. N. Wilbur *et alii*, *Afghanistan, its people, its society, its culture*, New Haven 1962, 50-2; M. Klimburg, *Afghanistan, das Land im historischen Spannungsfeld Mittelasiens*, Vienna 1966, 133-4; and W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan, a study of political developments in Central and Southern Asia* [3], London 1967, 5, 57-60.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KĀFIRKŪB, which is recorded only in the plural form *kāfirkūbāt*, is formed from the Arab word *kāfir* [*q.v.*] (impious, unfaithful) and the present participle of the Persian verb *kūbīdan* (to strike, to crush). It denotes a club, literally a "heathen-basher". The term is testified, in ʿIrāḳ, from the end of the 2nd/8th century, by Arab writers and chroniclers: al-Djāḥiẓ, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, etc. (see Bibl. below), but al-Ṭabarī already cites it when describing the incidents arising in 66/685 during the revolt of al-Muk͟htār [*q.v.*], and his S͟hīʿite followers, al-K͟has͟habiyya [*q.v.*], who were given the name because they fought with *k͟hus͟hub* (clubs; see De Goeje, *Glossary to al-Ṭabari*, CCXXI, CDLV); however, other interpretations of the name of this sect have been put forward (see *TA*). According to Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Ak͟hbār al-ṭiwāl*, 343, the appellation *kāfirkūbāt* originated on the contrary in the uprising of Abū Muslim's [*q.v.*] followers in K͟hurāsān: *indjafal al-nās ʿalā Abī Muslim min Harāt . . . fa-tawāfaw djamīʿan musawwidī 'l-t͟hiyāb wa-ḳad sawwadū anṣāfa al-k͟hus͟hub allatī maʿahum wa-sammawhā kāfirkūbāt*: "the men converged on Abū Muslim from Herāt... they arrived dressed entirely in black and had also blackened the short clubs they called *kāfirkūbāt*".

It should be noted that this term does not appear in such Arab dictionaries as the *LA*, *Ḳāmūs*, *TA*, etc., nor in Desmaison's French-Persian dictionary. Nor does it seem to have been used outside the ʿIrāḳi sphere. It is not to be found in the works of Egyptian writers such as al-Maḳrīzī or al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, who use the term *dabbūs* for a club; Ibn K͟haldūn does not employ it nor does Dozy mention it. It would thus seem to be a term born of a particular period and in a relatively circumscribed area which swiftly became obsolete.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Sandūbī, i, 142 (in an anonymous verse); idem, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 20 (in a list of arms carried by the Turks); Abū Hanīfa Dīnawarī, *al-Ak͟hbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Cairo 1330, 343, [2]Cairo 1960 (in connection with the uprising of Abū Muslim's followers); Ṭabarī, ii, 694, l. 15 (the year 66/685, in connection with al-K͟has͟habiyya), iii, 1686, l. 13, 1587, l. 4, 1689, l. 17 (the year 251/865, in connection with the war waged by the pro-al-Amīn ʿ*Ayyārūn* of Bag͟hdād against al-Maʾmūn); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 114 = ed. Pellat, iv, § 2328 where *kāfirkūbāt* has been substituted in an anecdote concerning Umm Salama, the wife of Caliph al-Saffāḥ; *Ag͟hānī*, ed. Dār al-kutub, iv, 346 (another anecdote concerning the same caliph); De Goeje, *Glossary to Ṭabarī*, CDLV; I. Friedlaender, *The heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *JAOS* (xxix), 1908, 93-5.

(M. Chouémi)

ḲĀFIYA (a.), plur. *ḳawāfin*, term in prosody, meaning "rhyme". Goldziher (*Abh. zur Arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896, i, 83-105; cf. R. Blachère, *Deuxième contribution*, in *Arabica* vi (1959), 141) has shown that the word meant originally "lampoon", then "line of poetry", "poem" and, that these earlier senses survived in Islamic times after the word had also come to be used in the technical sense of "rhyme". He derives *ḳāfiya* from *ḳafan*, "nape of the neck" (and the corresponding verb *ḳafā*, "to hit the nape of the neck") and draws attention to passages in which lampoons and curses are compared to dangerous missiles wounding the head or other parts of the body. The native lexicographers connect the term in various ways with the verb *ḳafā* in the sense of "to follow" (*e.g.*, it "follows upon every line of poetry"). They believe that "rhyme" is the original meaning and that "line of poetry", "poem" are secondary (see Freytag, *Darstellung*, 296-7).

The theory of the *ḳāfiya* is usually considered a special science distinct from the ʿ*ilm al-ʿarūḍ* or

"science of metre" [see ʿARŪḌ]. It teaches how verses should end as regards consonants and vowels and which letters can be used as rhyme consonants and which not.

Many authorities attribute to Khalīl b. Aḥmad[*q.v.*] a definition according to which the *ḳāfiya* comprises the group of consonants beginning with the vowelled consonant (one version says: the vowel of the vowelled consonant) immediately preceding the last two quiescent consonants of the verse, but various other definitions are attributed to him as well as to later authorities (Ibn Kaysān, *K. talḳīb al-ḳawāfī*, 48, 54, asserts that Khalīl b. Aḥmad used the term *ḳāfiya* in the sense of "rhyme consonant"). According to the Arab view a verse always ends in a quiescent consonant, since they also consider as such the *alif wāw*, and *yāʾ* of prolongation. A distinction is made, however, between a *ḳāfiya* in which the rhyme consonant is not followed by a letter of prolongation, called *ḳāfiya muḳayyada*, "fettered *ḳāfiya* (as in *yaḳtul*), and a *ḳāfiya* to which such a letter of prolongation is attached (as in *yaḳtulū, yaḳtulī, yaḳtulā*). In the case of *ū* and *ī* the *wāw* and *yāʾ* of prolongation are usually not written and their presence (in a vowelled text) is marked only by a *ḍamma* or *kasra* added to the rhyme consonant. This type of *ḳāfiya* as well as the various types where the rhyme consonant is followed by a short vowel and a vowelled or quiescent *hāʾ* is called *ḳāfiya muṭlaḳa*, "loose *ḳāfiya*" (some speak of the *rawī muḳayyad* and the *rawī muṭlaḳ*, the "fettered rhyme consonant" and the "loose rhyme consonant").

The consonants of the *ḳāfiya* are six in number: (1) the *rawī* or rhyme letter which, since it occurs in every type of *ḳāfiya*, is considered its principal consonant after which famous poems are often named, *e.g.*, the *Lāmiyya* of al-Shanfarā, the *Tāʾiyya* of ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ; (2) as an annex to the *rawī*, the *waṣl* or *ṣila*, *i.e.*, a letter of prolongation following the *rawī* (as noted above the *alif* is the only one that is always written in this capacity). The *waṣl* can also consist of a vowelless *hāʾ* preceded by a short vowel (as in *yaḳtuluh, yaḳtulih, yaḳtulah*) or a *hāʾ* followed by a letter of prolongation and preceded by a short vowel; (3) the *khurūdj*, the letter of prolongation following the *hāʾ* as *waṣl* (as in *yaḳtuluhū, yaḳtuluhā, taʿṣihī*, etc.). Being a letter of prolongation it is considered quiescent, but indicated only in the case of *alif*; (4) the *ridf*, *i.e.*, the *wāw* and *yāʾ* immediately preceding the *rawī* as letters of prolongation or to mark the diphtongs *aw* and *ay*, and the *alif* as letter of prolongation in the same position; (5) the *taʾsīs*, an *alif* of prolongation placed before the *rawī* and separated from it by a consonant, the *dakhīl*, which may be changed at will. In case the *taʾsīs* and the *rawī* belong to different words, the second word should be a separate pronoun or a preposition with a pronominal suffix (as in "*annahā hiyā, badā liyā*, but cf. *Luzūm*, 11-2; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 84-5); (6) the *dakhīl* just mentioned.

The vowels of the *ḳāfiya* are likewise six in number: (1) the *madjrā* or *mudjrā*, the vowel of the *rawī*; (2) the *nafādh*, the vowel of the *hāʾ* serving as *waṣl*; (3) the *tawdjīh*, the vowel before the quiescent *rawī* (according to others also before the vowelled *rawī*); (4) the *ḥadhw*, the vowel immediately before the *ridf*; (5) the *ishbāʿ*, the vowel of the *dakhīl* (there is some confusion over this term since it is sometimes limited to the vowel of the *dakhīl* in a *ḳāfiya muṭlaḳa*, and is also reported to have been applied to the short vowel preceding the *rawī* in a *ḳāfiya muṭlaka* without *taʾsīs*); (6) the *rass*, the vowel immediately before the *alif* of the *taʾsīs* (always *a* of course).

The two quiescent consonants of the *rawī* may be separated by as many as four vowels. Thus five different types can be distinguished: (1) the *mutakāwis* in which the two quiescent consonants are separated by four vowelled consonants (as in *faw[ḳa ḳadami]h*); (2) the *mutarākib* in which three vowelled consonants stand between the two quiescents (as in *fī[djabali]y*); (3) the *mutadārik* in which two vowelled consonants separate the two quiescents (as in *ḳad[faʿa]l*); (4) the *mutawātir* in which there is one vowelled consonant between the two quiescents (as in *bā[li]y*); (5) the *mutarādif* in which the two quiescent consonants come in immediate succession. This happens in principle only in *ḳāfiya*s with a *ridf* (*ḳāl, layl.* etc.) and forms like *al-naḳr* are rare and not considered permissible by some scholars.

Two different types of *ḳāfiya* may not be used in one and the same poem, except in certain forms of the metres *sarīʿ* and (rarely) *kāmil* where *faʿlun* may alternate with *fāʿilun*. Nor are any changes allowed in five of the six consonants mentioned above (the *dakhīl* being the exception), and, generally speaking, in the vowels (see the exceptions noted below). Violations of these rules were designated at an early date by special terms on the meaning of which considerable uncertainty existed at first (see Bonebakker, *The Kitāb naḳd al-shiʿr*, Leiden 1956, Intro., 20-2, 25-6, 34-5; Blachère, *op. cit.*, 137-40, 149-50): (1) the *iḳwāʾ*, the change of the vowel *madjrā*. The older poets occasionally allow themselves to alternate *u* with *i* (see J. Fück, *ʿArabīya*, Paris 1955, 41; al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ[*q.v.*]; *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 42, suggests that this change was very common), and less frequently *u* or *i* with *a*. If, however, the *rawī* is followed by the letter *hāʾ* as *waṣl*, the *iḳwāʾ* seems to be rare (*Luzūm*, 32-3; but cf. *ʿIḳd*, v, 508); (2) the *ikfāʾ*, the substitution of a cognate letter for the *rawī*, *e.g.*, *nūn* for *mīm*, the substitution of a letter that is unrelated being sometimes designated by the special term *idjāza* or *idjāra* (for other interpretations of these terms see *ʿUmda*, i, 132-3, 143-4; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 134); (3) the *sinād*, a violation of rules applying to vowels and consonants that precede the *rawī*, namely (a) the *sinād al-tawdjīh*, the changing of the vowel immediately preceding the quiescent *rawī*, though the interchange of *u* and *i* is generally allowed and even the alternation of the *a* with the two others occurs frequently; (b) the *sinād al-ishbāʿ*, the changing of the vowel of the *dakhīl*, the alternation of the *u* with the *i* being a less serious defect than that of the *a* with the other two (especially in the case of a *ḳāfiya muḳayyada*, see *Luzūm*, 25-7, 31 and *Umda*, i, 138); (c) the *sinād al-ḥadhw*, the changing of the vowel immediately preceding the *ridf*. The *ḥadhw* and the *ridf* together form the long vowels *ū* and *ī* and the diphthongs *aw* and *ay*. One can alternate *ū* with *ī* and *aw* with *ay* (undesirable in the case of a *ḳāfiya muḳayyada* according to *Luzūm*, 28-9; cf. also Akhfash. *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 15; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 90, 110-11), but other combinations, *e.g.*, *ī* with *ay* constitute a *sinād*; (d) the *sinād al-ridf*, the rhyming of a line that has a *ridf* with one that has not (though occasionally this happens with *aw* and *ay*, the *wāw* and the *yāʾ* being considered consonants in such cases; see *Luzūm*, 21-2 and Freytag, *op. cit.*, 313-4); (e) the *sinād al-taʾsīs*, the rhyming of a line that has *taʾsīs* with one that has not (though again it may happen that such a line is introduced in a poem without *taʾsīs*, especially in cases where the vowel of the *dakhīl* is *fatḥa*; see *Luzūm*, 20-1; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 130-1; and cf. Akhfash, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 15-6).

It should be noted, however, that no uniformity of opinion exists on the extent to which alternations of vowels are permissible (somewhat different rules apply to strophic poetry, see W. Hoenerbach, *Die vulgärarabische Poetik... des Ṣafiyaddīn Ḥillī*, Wiesbaden 1956, Intro., 22-3), and that the short vowel immediately preceding the *rawī* in a loose *ḳāfiya* (for which some adopt the term *is̲h̲bāʿ*) may alternate freely.

Two futher defects of the rhyme should be mentioned here, the *īṭāʾ* and the *taḍmīn* or *taḍmīm*. The *īṭāʾ* occurs when the same word in the same meaning is repeated in the *ḳāfiyas* of lines belonging to the same poem, though this repetition is permissible in cases where more than seven lines intervene, there is a change of theme, or cases where one of the two words has the article and the other not (for further details, including a stricter interpretation of what constitutes an *īṭāʾ* attributed to K̲h̲alīl, see Ak̲h̲fas̲h̲, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 55-64; *ʿIḳd*, v, 508; *Wāfī*, 242-3). The *taḍmīn*, "enjambement", occurs when one line runs into another in such a way that the end of the line only gives a complete sense when we add the beginning of the next (for further details see TAḌMĪN).

The above by no means covers all the defects of the rhyme and the terms for these defects listed by the critics. It also makes no mention of the various defects connected with the common practice of rhyming the first two hemistichs of a poem (see below). For further details see especially Ak̲h̲fas̲h̲, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 64-8; Tanūk̲h̲ī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 65-8, 123-4, 135-6; *ʿUmda*, i, 149-54; *Wāfī*, 250-3.

In general the letters *alif*, *hāʾ*, *wāw*, and *yāʾ* cannot be used as *rawī*, unless they belong to the root of a verb or noun, important exceptions being the pronominal suffixes *-hu* (*-hi*) and *-hā* following a long vowel or a *sukūn*, the *wāw* and the *yāʾ* in the diphthongs *aw* and *ay*, and the *yāʾ* that is preceded by a long vowel or is itself vowelled, and the *yāʾ* marking long *ī* in a shortened *nisba* ending (*ʿAdī* for *ʿAdiyy*). Thus, for instance, the *hāʾ* in *ʿaṣāhū*, the *wāw* in *ramaw*, and the *yāʾ* in *irḍay* and in *fuʾādiyā* can be *rawī* though these letters are not part of the root, but the *alif* in *dak̲h̲alā* (inflexion of the dual of a verb), the *yāʾ* in *uḳtulī* and *kitābī* (inflexion of the feminine of a verb and pronominal suffix of a noun respectively), the *wāw* in *ḳatalū* (inflexion of the plural of a verb), and the *hāʾ* in *kitābuhū* (prenominal suffix of a noun) and in *raḥmah* (where the *hāʾ* replaces the feminine ending *t* of a noun) are *waṣl*. The *nūn* of the *tanwīn* and the second energetic form of the verb cannot be used either as *rawī* or as *waṣl*. But there is no agreement on these rules. Exceptions occur and letters belonging to the root, *e.g.*, the *hāʾ* in *ablah* from *b-l-h* and the *wāw* in *yaḥlū* from *ḥ-l-w*, can also be *waṣl*. Some prefer adopting the pronominal suffixes *-ka* and *-ki* of the second person singular and the *tāʾ* of the third person fem. sing. of the perfect tense as *waṣl* rather than as *rawī*, so that for instance *ḍarabat* rhymes with *katabat*, but not with *wazanat*. Where the poet doubles the rhyme consonant, adopts a second rhyme consonant, or imposes upon himself some other rule that is not prescribed by the theorists we have the figure *luzūm mā lā yalzam* [*q.v.*], also called *iltizām*, *iʿnāt*, or *tas̲h̲dīd*.

In the *ḳāfiya* the final syllables of word are often subject to changes, the most important of which are the following: (1) final short vowels are dropped or lengthened, the *tanwīn* disappearing at the same time (*zayd* or *zaydū* for *zaydun*, *al-nār* or *al-nārū* for *al-nāru*) (2) the *tāʾ* of the feminine ending may be changed into *hāʾ* and in that case the ending is dropped (*raḥmah* for *raḥmatun*); (3) in the *ḳāfiya muḳayyada* the vowel of the final letter may be transferred to the penultimate letter if it is unvowelled (*al-naḳur* for *al-naḳru* to avoid the unacceptable form *al-naḳr*); (4) a quiescent *hāʾ* may be added to verbal forms from which the last letter of the root has disappeared (*iḳtadih* for *iḳtadi*) and to the pronominal suffix of the first person singular; (5) the *hamza* at the end of a word may be replaced by a *wāw* or *yāʾ* of prolongation which may serve as *waṣl* (*hāzī* for *hāziʾ*). Ibn Kaysān, *Talḳīb*, 53-4, 60-1, draws attention to the musical qualities of the *taʾsīs*, the *ridf*, the *ṣila*, and the *k̲h̲urūd̲j̲* as vowels that can be lengthened in recitation and singing, thus marking clearly the end of a metrical unit. Others discuss in detail the practice of *tarannum*, *i.e.*, the lengthening of the final vowel in the *ḳāfiya muṭlaḳa* in singing, and three alternate modes of solemn recitation: (a) the method followed by the Ḥid̲j̲āzīs who pronounced these vowels as long even when there was no *tarannum*, (b) the practice of the tribe of Tamīm (according to Ak̲h̲fas̲h̲, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 105, also of Ḳays) who pronounced the final vowel with *tanwīn*, and (c) the rejection of final vowels, apparently even in cases where one of these three methods would violate the metrical pattern of the verse (see also Ak̲h̲fas̲h̲, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 12-3, 34-7; Freytag, *op. cit.*, 323-4, where specific terms for the long vowels are mentioned).

In all classical forms of poetry the same rhyme is maintained throughout the poem. Moreover, the rhyme also appears at the end of the first hemistich of the first line (except in the metre *rad̲j̲az*[*q.v.*] where there are no hemistichs), resulting often in a shortening or lengthening of its last foot to make it conform to the pattern of the last foot of the second hemistich. This practice is called *taṣrīʿ* and the critics note that some of the older poets omit the *taṣrīʿ* in the first line, but use it in some other line of the poem. They also quote early examples of the use of internal rhyme (see Ḳudâma, *Naḳd*, 14-9; for the possible connections between these examples and the post-classical forms of strophic poetry see E. García Gómez, *Una "pre-Muwaššaḥa"* in *Al-Andalus*, xxi, 1956, 406-14; E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 227 ff.). The common term for internal rhyme is *tarṣīʿ*, but a number of other terms was introduced by later theorists to distinguish different and sometimes complicated patterns (see A. F. M. von Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Vienna 1853 [repr. Hildesheim 1970], 168-9, for definitions and examples of some of the most important terms). Other devices include the repetition at the beginning of the line of the rhyme word of the preceding line and the use of a double *ḳāfiya* throughout the poem, each *ḳāfiya* marking the end of a metrical pattern (see Mehren, *op. cit.*, 165, 173).

In keeping with the critics' view that each line of poetry should, as far as possible, contain a complete statement, all treatises on rhetoric give attention to questions of style and figures of speech that affect the choice of the rhyme word. Besides formulating some obvious conclusions on how to avoid stopgaps, the critics recommend structuring the line in such a way that the listener can almost predict the *ḳāfiya*. This may be achieved, for instance, by leading the hearer to anticipate the repetition of a word that has occurred earlier in the line or one of its paronyms, or by making some rhetorical device depend on the last word of the line, *e.g.*, *ḥarām*, "forbidden", in the *ḳāfiya* to create an antithesis with *muḥallal*, "declared lawful", earlier in the line (*tas̲h̲īm*, *taws̲h̲īḥ*,

irsād, see Mehren, *op. cit.*, 102-3; cf. also 161-4). Some authorities recommend basing the line, if possible, on a *ḳāfiya* one has selected in advance and Ṣafadī[*q.v.*] holds that in the *double entendre* (*tawriya*) the effect of the figure will be more striking if the homonym on which it depends comes only at the end (see Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the tawriya*, The Hague 1966, 97). The *ḳāfiya* should not contain any expression from which an evil omen could be drawn.

Bibliography: Discussions of the *ḳāfiya* appear in almost every work on literary theory and criticism and it is impossible to offer a comprehensive bibliography. The following list, moreover, does not mention treatises and special monographs that have already been summarized in Western handbooks or in the article ʿARŪḌ.

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AL-KĀFIYADJĪ, MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN AL-ḤANAFĪ, 9th-15th century scholar and prolific writer on many subjects. Born in, or rather, after, 788/1386-87 in Ṣarūkhān [*q.v.*] in a place called Kökdjekī, apparently situated near Bergama as indicated by the additional *nisba* al-Barghamī, he came to Egypt after 830/1427 and was soon welcomed into the leading scholarly circles there. Čaḳmaḳ appointed him a professor in the Zāwiyat al-Ashraf Shaʿbān and later promoted him to the academic deanship (*mashyakhat al-tadrīs*) of Shaʿbān's Turba. The identical post at the Shaykhūniyya was given him by Īnāl in 858/1454. He was a successful teacher as indicated by the names of his students and also by the affection and esteem shown to him by al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī. He died on Friday morning, 4 Djumādā I 879/16 September 1474.

His *nisba*, Kāfiyadjī or Kāfiyādjī, was earned by his fondness for the *Kāfiya*, the famous grammatical treatise by Ibn al-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*]. A grammatical work, a commentary on the *Ḳawāʿid al-iʿrāb* of Ibn Hishām (Brockelmann, II, 29, S II, 18), was praised by al-Kāfiyadjī's biographers as his most important publication. But his interests were unusually wide, comprising, in addition to points of law and religion, the full range of the linguistic disciplines, history, the mathematical sciences and astronomy, and, above all, logic. His basic work on logic is a commentary on the *Tahdhīb* of al-Taftāzānī (Brockelmann, II, 278, also mss. Laleli 2592 and Bursa Haraççı 1378). His numerous treatises (often carrying the date of their composition at the end) are preserved to a large part but, with one exception, have been neither edited nor studied. Most of them are brief essays that focus on specific problems and try to organize the subject matter along general lines based on formal logic. As was noted by al-Sakhāwī, al-Kāfiyadjī thereby founded, or gave the impression of founding, new disciplines as in the case of his treatise on historiography (cf. Bibliography) or, for instance, in a little essay entitled *al-Rawḥ fī ʿilm al-ruḥ* (ms. Atif Ef. 2828, 167a-169b, also Berlin or. fol. 4249, cf. M. Weisweiler, *Der islamische Bucheinband*, Wiesbaden 1962, 83), which defines a mystically tinged knowledge of the spirit as a special discipline. His sense of brevity ran in a way contrary to the dominant scholarship of the time, so that his treatment of Kurʾān science, *al-Taysīr fī ḳawāʿid ʿilm al-tafsīr* (written for Abū Saʿīd Timurbughā in 856/1452) provoked words of dissatisfaction by the otherwise well-disposed Suyūṭī in the introduction of the *Itḳān*. But in sum, it would seem that al-Kāfiyadjī's writings deserve recognition and study for their author's effort to be interesting and original.

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ḲAFĪZ [see KAYL].

ḲAFSA (GAFSA), a town in Tunisia 360 km. south-west of Tunis, 200 km from Ḳayrawān, and 100 km from Gabès [see ḲĀBIS], population 30,000; the chief town of an administrative region with a population of 300,000 whose principal mineral resour-

ces consist of the phosphate deposits of M'Dilla, Metlaoui, Redeyef, and Moularès, which were discovered in 1885. The oasis of Ķafsa contains about 100,000 palm trees producing dates of second-rate quality, to which must be added orchards of orange trees, lemon trees, apricots and figs, vineyards and, very recently, olive groves and attempts to grow pistachio trees. Irrigation is supplied by copious springs which arise in the heart of the town itself, and also by the sinking of artesian wells. As it is the first oasis on the road from Ķayrawān towards the region of the Chotts, and is moreover likely to detain the visitor on account of its prehistoric and classical remains, the town has begun to take an interest in tourism and has therefore been able to take advantage of some recent improvements such as that of the road system and equipment of hotels; development of parks; the restoring of the "Roman baths", the Ķaṣaba and the Great Mosque; the partial reconstruction of the Byzantine city wall etc. Handicrafts, consisting mainly of the fabrication of brightly coloured blankets and carpets decorated with simple motifs, are also making some progress.

History: Ķafsa is the Arabic form of the classical name of the city called Capsa, the toponym from which J. Morgan, in 1909, created the term "Capsian" to designate the Upper Paleolithic or Mesolithic type of civilization of which this region was one of the most important centres, as can be seen from the numerous "snaileries" and other traces of prehistoric industries.

When we come to historical times, the past of Ķafsa is less clear. In particular, it is not known precisely when, nor by whom, the city was founded. It is reputed to have been founded by a god, the Lybian or Phoenecian Hercules, which together with other indications suggests a Punic origin. However no archaeological discoveries have been found to confirm this hypothesis. According to the Arabs, the founder of the city was Shantiyān, the slave (*ghulām*) of Nemrod (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 47/100), the legendary king of Chaldea. In fact the foundation of the city, whose origin is unknown, can be explained by the topography of the site. As S. Gsell says (*Histoire*, v, 279): "there was there a junction of natural routes leading to the oases of the Chotts, to Gabès, to the Byzacena, to Maktar and to Tébessa". It is by no means impossible that a Punic town should have been established at these crossroads, of benefit to their trade.

In later years the town was part of the Numidian kingdom of Jugurtha who treated it well, even going so far as to exempt it from taxes, in order to keep it in his power. It paid a high price for these privileges, and their corollary, fidelity to the Numidian king. In the course of a daring campaign, Caius Marius, whom Rome had given the task of subduing Jugurtha, took it by surprise and set fire to it (107 B.C.). But it was reborn from the ashes and at the time of Trajan (98-117) became a commune administered by suffetes, which gives some indication of an earlier Punic organization which was retained under the Empire. Then came the reign of Diocletian (284-305). The Berbers became more aggressive, and Rome had to resign itself to the gradual evacuation of the area. This withdrawal continued under the Vandals and on the death of Genseric (428-77) Capsa became the capital of a Berber kingdom. Then it returned to the fold of Byzantium in the reign of Justinian (527-65), who had recreated the unity and greatness of the Empire. For a time Capsa even became the chief town of the province of Byzacena. About the year 540, Solomon built a new city wall, and it received the name of Capsa-Justiniana.

Ķafsa has now few traces of its sumptuous, ancient past: the "Roman baths", a few columns and capitals, and other remains of lesser value, largely re-used, mainly in the Great Mosque, but also in other buildings of the old town. Yet right up to the 6th/12th century, the town retained the appearance of a classical city, even to the use of a Romanic language unique in Ifrīķiya, and the profession of the Christian religion by a large part of the population. Al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 47/100), who was writing in the middle of the 5th/11th century, noted that "the town was entirely built on columns (*asāṭīn*) and arches of marble (*ṭīķān*)", and that its ancient wall was so well preserved "that it seems as if it was only finished yesterday". A century later al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, 75) specified further that "it was inhabited especially by Berbers and that the majority of them spoke Ifrīkiyan Latin (*al-lisān al-laṭīnī al-ifrīķī*)"; cf. T. Lewicki, *Une langue romane oubliée de l'Afrique du Nord*, in *RO*, xvii (1953), *passim*.

The first waves of the Muslim conquest swept past the ramparts of Ķafsa as early as the year 27/647, after the victory of Sbeïtla (Sufetula) and the death of the Patrician Gregory. Twenty years later the town was taken by ʿUķba b. Nāfiʿ, and then, after breaking free of the Arabs with the whole of Ifrīķiya, was definitely recaptured by Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān about 78/697-8.

At the end of the 2nd/8th century and the beginning of the 3rd/9th, the region was largely inhabited by Khāridjīs—Luwāta, Zuwāgha and Miknāsa. In 224/839 they took part in the revolt of the district of Ķasṭīliya and were severely punished by the Aghlabid amir Abū ʿIķāl. According to al-Shammākhī (*Siyar*, 203), the imām ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (168/784-208/823) had an *ʿāmil* there; by this is to be understood a tax collector who raised the ķurʾānic taxes from the Ibāḍis and sent them more or less secretly to Tāhart, for the town had never been politically a part of the Rustamid kingdom.

After being under the authority of the Fāṭimids and then the Zīrids, for more than a century Ķafsa became the capital of a real independent little state including the whole of the land of Ķasṭīliya, present day Djērid, (445/1053-554/1159). The Hilāli invasion had profoundly modified the political context and the ethnic equilibrium of the area. The authority of the central government collapsed, and anarchy reigned everywhere. The Zīrid governor of the town, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muhammad b. al-Rand, in common with others proclaimed himself independent (445/1053-465/1073) and, by paying tribute to the Arab nomads—above all the Riyāḥ—with whom he formed an alliance, he strengthened his authority and the security of his realm, attracting to his court poets and *fuķahāʾ*.

The rule of the Almohads, who united the whole of the Maghrib, put an end to the independence of Ķafsa. The town was taken in 554/1159 by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī after a quite difficult siege. From that time, like all the south of Ifrīķiya, it had a troubled existence. There were attempts to take it from the Almohads by an adventurer of Armenian origin, Ķarāķūsh, and above all by the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*]. The Banu 'l-Rand on their part would not admit they were defeated. This dynasty was restored by Ibn al-Muʿizz at the request of the inhabitants, dissatisfied with their Almohad governor, whom they had put to death. The caliph Abū Yaʿķūb Yūsuf came from Marrakesh to lay siege to the town in person

(575/1180), but its submission did not last long. In fact it soon fell into the hands of the Banū G͟hāniya. It was then the turn of al-Manṣūr to besiege it with a powerful army (583/1187-8). This time Ḳafsa was severely punished: its ramparts were completely razed, and the inhabitants were permitted to retain their lands only as sharecroppers.

During the Ḥafṣid period, the life of the city was no more tranquil. It was taken by the pretender—or usurper—Ibn Abī ʿUmāra (681-3/1282-4) in 681/1282. Then it regained its former independence under a local dynasty, that of the Banu 'l-ʿĀbid who were in favour of Arab predominance. The Ḥafṣid Abū Bakr (718/1318-747/1347), whose very turbulent reign was marked at the beginning by the loss of the southern provinces, besieged it in 735/1335, retook it, and handed it over to be governed by his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās. At the same time, by grants of land to needy inhabitants, he tried to make it more attached to his rule. However, following the brief Marīnid hegemony (748-50/1348-50), it was not long before it recovered its autonomy once more under the rule of Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. al-ʿAbid, then that of his son Muhammad. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (772/1370-796/1394) had to reconquer his kingdom. In 780/1378 he came to lay siege before Ḳafsa, ravaging its oasis in order to force the inhabitants to capitulate, and left his son Abū Bakr there as governor. Thanks to the disturbances which followed the death of the governor al-Turayki (793/1391), a certain al-Dunaydin restored the dynasty of the Banu 'l-ʿĀbid for his own ends. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās had to intervene once again. About the middle of 795/spring 1393, he again laid siege to the town, again laid waste the palm grove, experienced some failures, and with considerable difficulty at length succeeded in gaining control of the situation a few months before his death. This lasted for a short time only. The Banu 'l-ʿĀbid again arose in the town under his successor Abū Fāris (796/1394-837/1434) who was in his turn obliged to capture it (802/1400), and raze its ramparts, eliminating definitively the rebel dynasty. Some decades later Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir (837-9/1434-5) paid a visit to the town and improved the Ḳaṣaba endowed by his predecessor.

From this time on Ḳafsa is rarely mentioned in history. After a fruitless attempt in 957/1550, Dragut [see TURG͟HUD], made governor of Tripoli by the sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent (1520-66), succeeded in taking it on 17 Ṣafar 964/20 December 1556. The Turkish occupation failed to restore prosperity. Subsequently, under pressure both from the nomads and a central government incapable of protecting it, it continued to decline until it became merely a minor town of little importance, which was occupied without difficulty by the French (20 November, 1881), when the protectorate was established.

Historical geography. — Ḳafsa is a steppe town which rises between the Orbata mountains in the south-east, and the Assalah and Ben Younès mountains in the north and north-west, on a high point at an altitude of 345 m. in a position which, in historical times, has always had a rather desolate appearance. It was a typical example of a fortress-town depending for its importance on its water reserves in an otherwise arid region, and its position which made it, according to Ch. Tissot, "both one of the gateways to the Sahara and one of the keys to the Tell" (*Geographie*, ii, 668). Sallust (86-35 B.C.) while describing it as a "large and strong city", already stressed the vast and lonely deserts which isolated it and made access to it difficult for invading armies.

Thanks to these advantages, Ḳafsa was able to maintain its importance and prosperity right up to the end of the Classical era, despite the decadence of Byzacena. After the Arab conquest its importance grew even greater. We have noted that it kept the appearance and style of a Classical city for many years. About the end of the 3rd/9th century, al-Yaʿḳubī, who is the first Arab geographer to leave some detailed personal observations about this town, described it thus: "A fortified town, surrounded by stone walls. There are springs in the interior of the town; the streets are paved. The suburbs are very prosperous, and the fruit there is famous" (*Les Pays*, 212). In the middle of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawḳal—who was at Ḳayrawān in 336/947 (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 94, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 92)—informs us that Ḳafsa was an "autonomous (*mustaḳilla*)" town, and that "its prosperity was perfect (*fī g͟hāyat al-kamāl*)" before 330/942, at which date it was devastated by Abū Yāzīd [*q.v.*] (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 92, tr., 93). It must have recovered quickly from these devastations. In fact, towards the end of the 4th/10th century, al-Muḳaddasī (d. 378/988) counts it among the great centres of Ifrīḳiya. In the middle of the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī (d. about 461/1068), who had not visited the country and in general reproduces the Ifrīkīyan al-Warrāḳ (d. 363/973-4), gives us a very favourable description of it. This description, which is one of the most detailed we possess of the mediaeval stronghold, lays emphasis on the Classical monuments, still in an excellent state of repair, its gushing springs, providing an abundant supply of water for its orchards, which produced, among other things, large quantities of pistachios exported to all parts of Ifrīḳiya, and even to Egypt, to Sid͟jilmāsa and to Spain. There were also to be found, he adds, dates as big as pigeons' eggs. In the surrounding area there were no less than two hundred villages, called *Ḳuṣūr Ḳafsa*, all flourishing. Lastly, and the final uncontrovertible indication of wealth, he informs us that the taxes raised there furnished no less than 50,000 *dinār*s to the Treasury. It is certain that this description related to the highest degree of prosperity attained by the town, probably at the time of al-Warrāḳ, that is the end of the 4th/10th century. This prosperity was doubtless maintained during the following century, that of al-Bakrī, despite the invasion of the Hilālīs with whom the Banu 'l-Rand succeeded in finding a modus vivendi which, though costly, was at least acceptable. The town continued to flourish until the middle of the 6th/12th century, when al-Idrīsī was writing, and he described it as "a fine town (*madīna ḥasana*)", with its walls still intact, its abundant water supply, its well stocked markets, its numerous traders, its industries in full expansion (*ṣināʿa ḳāʾima*), its vast palm grove producing dates of magnificent quality (*ʿad͟jīb*), its populous villages, its gardens, its orchards, and its varied plantations providing, amongst other things, henna, cotton and cumin, all of which were highly prized in the Middle Ages.

From the time of the Almohads, the scene changed. The town, jealous of its independence, rebelled frequently, and paid a high price for its excessive love of freedom. Several times over, as we have seen, its ramparts were razed and its palm grove laid waste. Its economic decline can be traced back to that time. In the 7th/13th century, Yāḳūt (574/1178-626/1229), though he recounts its former splendours, mentions it at the time only as "a small town (*balda ṣag͟hīra*) on the borders of Ifrīḳiya. . . . in the middle of a sterile saline region" (*Buldān*, iv, 382). Its sur-

rounding villages, which were the most exposed to devastation, disappeared. In the time of Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (618/1221-681/1282), reproduced by al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj (*Ḥulal*, i, 437), "only a few of them survived". In the middle of the 10th/16th century, Leo Africanus, after reporting the destructions ordered by al-Manṣūr, wrote: "Today Caphsa is completely repopulated, but its buildings are only small, with the exception of a few mosques. Its streets are very wide and paved all over with black stone like those of Naples and Florence. The population is under control, but poor on account of the taxes by which they are burdened by the king of Tunis" (*Description de l'Afrique*, ii, 444). He continues, pointing out that its climate is unhealthy, and praising its cloths, its pottery, its dates, its orange trees and its olive trees, which gave "an oil as perfect in taste as in colour". After this it is not until the 19th century, that is in the accounts of travellers such as Guérin, Zaccone and Mayet, that we have other descriptions of the town, which in fact was then no more than a wretched village.

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ḲAFṬĀN [see Libās]

KĀFŪR (also *ḳāfūr*, *ḳaf(f)ūr*, see the dictionaries; from Hindu *karpūra*, *kappūra*, Malayan *kapur*), camphor, the white, translucent substance which is distilled together with camphor oil from the wood of the camphor tree (*Cinnamomum camphora*) indigenous to east Asia (China, Formosa, Japan); it is to be distinguished from the Borneo camphor derived from *Dryobalanops aromatica* coming from Indonesia (Sumatra, Borneo). Both kinds were used as perfumes and medicines, but the latter, according to the Muslim sources native to Fanṣūr (Ḳanṣūr, Faiṣūr, and variants) in Sumatra, production of which must have been greater in the Middle Ages than today, was much more expensive and efficacious than the East Asian variety; according to Marco Polo it was worth its weight in gold.

Camphor seems to have been unknown to Greek and Roman antiquity, but in the Near East, by Sāsānid times at the latest, it was used as spice and perfume; when the Arabs conquered Ctesiphon in 16/637, they found there rich stores of camphor, which they thought was salt (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 264; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ii, 401). It was also known in ancient Arabia, for according to Ḳur'ān LXXVI, 5, devout Muslims are refreshed in paradise with a drink flavoured with camphor. Camphor was known to ancient Arabic poets, at least by name; it is often put metonymically with musk (*misk* [*q.v.*]) as a symbol of the opposition of white and black, *e.g.*, 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, ed. Schwarz, 10, 16; 16, 14; 32, 1; 115, 12; 171, 6; 183, 3; Imru 'l-Ḳays in Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, ed. Müller, 198; anon. in Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 747. Cf. further A'shā, ed. Geyer, 80, 6; Akhṭal, ed. Ṣālḥānī, 35; Ibn al-Rūmī in Ibn Abī 'Awn, *Tashbīhāt*, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān, 323, etc. On the whiteness of camphor, see further Dozy, ii, 447a and A. Dietrich, *Zum Drogenhandel im islamischen Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1954, 30.

The technology of camphor, its provenance, extraction, preservation, utilisation etc., is fairly comprehensively described by the geographers and cosmographers. The camphor tree grew on river banks and became so large that it could give shade to a hundred men. In general it was dealt with as follows: the bark was cut so that the resin ran out. It was collected in large vessels and kept cool. In so far as the camphor tree was usually in areas infested by tigers (*numūr*, several mss. mistakenly *nusūr*, "eagles"), the resin could only be obtained at fixed times of the year when the tigers had dispersed. The wood is described as white, soft and very light. After the drawing off of the resin, the tree dies off. The diverging descriptions in the sources imply no contradiction, but only different procedures existing side by side. Cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih (*BGA*, vi), 65; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 338, 340,iii, 49, 56 = ed. and tr. Pellat, §§ 371, 375, 892, 899; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 262 f. = tr. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, new impression Hildesheim 1970, 379; Dimashḳī, *al-Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra*, tr. Wiedemann, *loc. cit.*, 9; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, tr. Wiedemann, *loc. cit.*, 231 f.; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 456; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Paris), iv, 141.

The main significance of camphor lay however in its officinal uses. Already al-Kindī (*The Medical Formulary or Aqrābādhīn*, tr. M. Levey, 1966) brought together a series of camphor recipes useful for swollen liver, complaints of the larynx, inflammations of the mucous membrane of the mouth, and so on (nos. 11, 24, 61, 77, 89, 91, 104, 152). The same author, or one of his pupils, composed a document about the production of fragrant oils and salves by means of "heightenings" (*taṣʿīdāt*, primitive distillations), in which camphor played an important part: *Kitāb Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿiṭr wa 'l-taṣʿīdāt*, ed. K. Garbers, Leipzig 1948, 242-6. Camphor is useful as a source of perfume, as a compress for acute fevers, headache, etc.: Ibn al-Ḳuff, *Djirāḥa*, see H. G. Kircher, *Die "Einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Diss. phil., Bonn 1969, no. 214; Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, see W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-ḥikma des ʿAlī ibn Sahl Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī*, Diss. phil., Bonn 1969, no. 610; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Hyderabad 1362, ii, 109; al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, *ʿUmdat al-kuttāb*, see M. Levey, *Mediaeval Arabic bookmaking and its relation to early chemistry and pharmacology* (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S., Vol. lii/4 (1962), 17 f., 47 f.; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 212. By far the most exhaustive description, together with a statement of his sources, is provided by Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ*, Cairo 1291, iv, 42-44 = tr. Leclerc, iii, 127-31. On camphor in Syriac literature see Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* ², 341b, 686a.

The same word *kāfūr* (variants *kufurrā*, *kifirrā*, *djufurrā*, *et al.*, Lane 2622b; *Lisān* (Beirut), v, 149 f.) also designates the integument of the palm leaf or of the grapevine. The word came through the Aramaic *gop̄arrā* probably from the Akkadian. Cf. Aṣmaʿī, *al-Nakhl wa 'l-karm*, ed. Haffner, Beirut 1908, 6; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xi, 119 f.; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, no. 206; Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, 147; Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*², 129a.

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KĀFŪR, Abu'l-Misk, a black eunuch (the name al-Lābī, given to him by al-Mutanabbī, suggests his origin from Lāb in Nubia) became the dominant personality of the Ikhshīdid [*q.v.*] dynasty in Egypt. Sold to its founder, Muḥammad ibn Ṭughdj al-Ikhshīd [*q.v.*], Kāfūr so impressed his new master that the latter sponsored his rise to positions of political and military influence. As a field commander Kāfūr participated in the Egyptian expedition of 333/945 to Syria; he was also involved in the diplomatic exchanges between al-Ikhshīd and the Caliph of Baghdād. Of great significance was his appointment as the supervisor of the princely education of the two sons of al-Ikhshīd. Upon the death of Ibn Ṭughdj Kāfūr safeguarded the interests of his master's dynastic legacy by securing a formal succession of the Ikhshīdid princes, Abu'l-Ḳāsim Anūdjūr (Unūdjūr) in 334/946, and ʿAlī ibn al-Ikhshīd in 349/961. Although during that period Kāfūr enjoyed complete executive authority, he found it expedient to operate behind the façade of the Ikhshīdid establishment. Only in 355/966, following the death of ʿAlī, did Kāfūr publicly declare himself as the sole master of Egypt. This declaration was justified because of the minority of another prospective Ikhshīdid successor, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, and was sanctioned by an official diploma of investiture allegedly received from the Caliph of Baghdād. Until his death on 21 Djumādā I 357/23 April 968, the name of Kāfūr replaced the Ikhshīdid names in the Egyptian *khuṭba* [*q.v.*]. His official title was *al-ustādh* [*q.v.*]. There is no evidence, however, that his exalted political status included the prerogatives of *sikka* [*q.v.*] or *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*].

The main significance of Kāfūr in Islamic history lies in the fact that during the twenty-two years of his government he successfully protected the Ikhshīdid establishment against dangerous outside pressures (the Fāṭimids, the Ḳarmaṭians, the Nubians and the Ḥamdānids). All this he accomplished in spite of internal political complications (rebellion of Ghalbūn in 335/947-336/948; an abortive coup d'état by Anūdjūr in 343/954; persistent spread of subversive Ismāʿīlī propaganda) and serious economic setbacks (a devastating fire in the business section of Fusṭāṭ in 343/954; major earthquake in Egypt in 344/955; recurrence of famine, food-price inflation, and consequent civil disturbances, in 338/949, 341/952, 343/955, 352/963-357/968). His effective military and diplomatic measures helped secure an advantageous agreement with the Ḥamdānids in 335/947 concerning the Ikhshīdid hold over Damascus. Above all, Kāfūr was able to delay the Fāṭimid expansion to Egypt. "The black stone (*i.e.*, Kāfūr) stands between us and thee (*i.e.*, the Fāṭimid Caliph)" complained frustrated Iṣmāʿīlī agents in Egypt. (Cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, Cairo 1948, 147).

In spite of economic adversities and heavy government expenditure, Kāfūr's administration refrained from extortionate fiscal practices. Its gold coinage, though fluctuating in wight, displayed a remarkable stability as to the standard of fineness. Kāfūr's domestic accomplishments must be partially attributed to his ability to enroll the services of competent administrators, one of them the famous Yaʿḳūb ibn Killis [*q.v.*].

Kāfūr also gained popularity in Islamic history because of his patronage of scholars and writers. The most celebrated of them was the great poet al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], who immortalized the black ruler in a number of panegyrical and satirical verses. Kāfūr has been credited with the construction of a number of sumptuous palaces, of two mosques (in Gīza and on al-Muḳaṭṭam), of a hospital, and of the Kāfūriyya gardens in the capital. No archaeological traces of his architectural contributions have been discovered.

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(A. S. Ehrenkreutz)

KĀFŪR, Malik, known as ʿIzz al-Dawla, Tādj al-Dīn and Hazār-dīnārī, eunuch general and minister of Sultan ʿAlā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Khaldjī [*q.v.*] of Dihlī, is stated to have been of Marhat't'a (Marāt'ha) origin (see ʿIṣāmī, p. 319). In youth he was the slave of a wealthy Khwādja ("Khodja"—sc. Nizārī Ismāʿīlī) of Kanbhāyat (Cambay). In the Muslim conquest of Gudjarāt of 698/1299 he was taken by the commander Nuṣrat Khān and presented to Sultan ʿAlā al-Dīn in Dihlī. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 187) may be in error in stating that the epithet *Alfī* (= *Hazār-dīnārī*—"the thousand guinea man" acc. S. Lane Poole, p. 113) refers to a sum paid by the sultan himself for Kāfūr. Kāfūr was evidently of great physical beauty and Baranī refers in coarse terms to passive homosexual practices as well as to the Sultan's infatuation with him. His advance through the following few years is undocumented and he next appears as an outstandingly successful military commander. Ca. 705-6/1305-6 he commanded an army which in the Pandjāb defeated the Mongol invader Kebek/Köpek/KNK (identification with the future Čaghatāyid ruler poses difficulties, as Indian sources are unanimous in stating that he was put to death in Dihlī). Kāfūr is now referred to as *Nā'ib-i Bārbak*, "assistant master of ceremonies", whence his name Malik Nā'ib, thought by some historians to refer to the more important role of *Nā'ib-i Sulṭān* (see Tripathi, p. 180). He was next sent as commander of a series of great military raids into the Deccan, which laid the foundations of Muslim power there. On the first of these he arrived at Devgīr (Devagiri) on 19 Ramaḍān 706/24 March 1307: Rādja Rāmadeva (Rāmačandra) of Devgīr was taken to Dihlī with rich spoils. On 25 Djumādā I 709/2 October 1309 Kāfūr was again despatched to the Deccan and besieged the Kākatīya ruler, Pratāpa Rudraveda of Warangal, until the latter surrendered spoils and agreed to pay tribute: Kāfūr arrived back at Dihlī on 11 Muḥarram 710/9 June 1310. On 24 Djumādā I 710/19 October 1310 he was despatched upon his third great expedition, which reached the extremity of peninsular India. On 5 Shawwāl/25 February 1311 he arrived at Dhorasamudra, where the Hoysala Vīra Ballāla III surrendered and joined Kāfūr's army on its way to plunder the southernmost Indian kingdom of the Pānd'yas. From there great quantities of gold and elephants were taken by Kāfūr, but the hostile ruler Vīra Pānd'ya eluded capture. Camp was struck from Madura on 4 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/24 April; Kāfūr reached Dihlī in triumph on 4 Djumādā II 711/18 October 1311. At court Kāfūr now appears to have excited the enmity of a faction headed by Māhrū Malika-yi Djahān, second wife of ʿAlā' al-Dīn, her brother Alp Khān and Khiḍr Khān, the sultan's eldest son by her. Probably at his own request, Kāfūr was sent south once more ca. 713/1313-14 to displace Singhana, son of Rāmadeva, from Devgīr and to consolidate Muslim rule and settlement in the northern Deccan. He performed this task ably until he received an urgent summons to Dihlī, where ʿAlā' al-Dīn's health was deteriorating. After his swift return there and at any rate with ʿAlā' al-Dīn's acquiescence, Kāfūr had Alp Khān murdered and Khiḍr Khān exiled from the presence. ʿAlā' al-Dīn died on 6 or 7 Shawwāl 715/ 3 or 4 January 1316: contemporary rumour accused Kāfūr of hastening his end. Kāfūr secured the recognition as sultan of Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar, the six-year-old son of ʿAlā' al-Dīn by Čhit'ā'ī, daughter of Rāmadeva of Devgīr: some sources state that Kāfūr also married this lady. In the struggle for power he succeeded in having Khiḍr Khān blinded and two other elder sons of ʿAlā' al-Dīn imprisoned, but failed in the case of a fourth, the future Sulṭān Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak. About 35 days after the death of ʿAlā' al-Dīn, Kāfūr was murdered by four *pā'iks*, palace bodyguards: in consequence Sulṭān Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar was by stages set aside in favour of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak, who later put to death Kāfūr's murderers.

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(S. Digby)

KĀGHAD, Kāghid (from the Persian *kāghadh* perhaps of Chinese origin), paper. In the early period of development of Muslim culture the east was acquainted only with papyrus (*ḳirṭās*) as writing-material. It was Chinese prisoners of war brought to Samarḳand after the battle of Aṭlakh near Ṭālās who first introduced in 134/751 the industry of paper-making from linen, flax or hemp rags after the method used in China. The various kinds of paper then made were the following: *firʿawnī* ("Pharaonic"), a kind which was to compete with papyrus even in the land of its origin (the oldest paper with Arabic writing on it found in Egypt dates from 180/796-200/815); *sulaymānī*, from Sulaymān b. Rāshid, the treasurer of Khurāsān under Hārūn al-Rashīd; *djaʿfarī*, called after Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 187/803); *ṭalḥī*, from Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir, the second ruler of the Ṭāhirid dynasty; *ṭāhirī*, from Ṭāhir II of the same dynasty; *nūḥī*, after the Sāmānid Nūḥ I, 331/942-343/954.

To judge from these names it must be supposed that paper achieved some importance as early as the second half of the 2nd/8th century. About that time or at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century paper had, according to al-Djāḥiẓ, the same importance for the east as papyrus had for the west, especially since Hārūn al-Rashīd had ordered the use of paper as a writing material in the government offices because it was not possible to erase a text written on paper, or to scratch it out without this being noticed. In the first half of the 3rd/9th century paper made in Samarḳand had already replaced papyrus as well as parchment in Baghdād, although we do not know precisely when the manufacture of paper began in Baghdād or in Cairo. According to al-Thaʿālibī (350/961-429/1038) the paper made in Cairo was especially fine and smooth, but on the other hand it is stated that the Ikhshīdid vizier, Djaʿfar b. Ḥinzāba (d. 391 or 392/1001), had brought the paper which he used directly from Samarḳand.

Paper-mills were erected elsewhere on the plan of those in Samarḳand; al-Faḍl, brother of Djaʿfar al-Barmakī, who had been governor of Khurāsān in

178/794, probably founded the paper-mill in the Dār al-Ḳazz quarter in Baghdād. Soon afterwards others arose in the Tihāma, Yemen and Egypt, where paper ultimately drove out papyrus, also in Damascus, Tripoli, Ḥamāt, Manbidj, Tiberias, the Maghrib, Spain (at Jativa), Persia and India. *Kāghadh-kunān*, the "paper-makers", was the name taken by the people of the village of Khūnadj or Khūna in Ādharbāydjān, two days' journey from Zandjān, on account of the excellent paper made there. The place was destroyed by the Mongols, who, however, founded a colony, Mughuliyya, there (Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, 219; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Istanbul 1145/1732-3, 298, tr. Norberg, i, 365).

On the preparation of paper and the different methods of colouring it, interesting details are given by J. von Karabacek, *Neue Quellen z. Papiergeschichte*, in *Mitt. aus der Samml. der Papyrus Erzh. Rainer*, iv, 75 ff. The raw material for paper-making consisted of rotten linen or hemp ropes, cut into small pieces, cleaned and bleached. It was then pounded in mortars, stampers or paper-mills, and water was added to make a pulp which was dressed with glue made of wheat starch (*nashā*). The pulp was then led off into a pulp-vat (*ḳaṣriyya*), water was added, and the pulp drawn through a deckle (*ḳalib*) and shaken. It was smoothed by hand, left on the deckle as long as seemed necessary, then laid on a table, attached to a clean, even wall and left to dry. Then each side of the sheet was rubbed with a concoction of flour and starch, left to dry and polished. The fineness of the paper depended on the nature of the deckle, the finest, like our vellum, coming from a very fine wire sieve.

In the rubbish heaps of the old towns in Egypt (*e.g.*, al-Ushmūnayn, Madīnat al-Fayyūm, al-Fusṭāt), great masses of ancient paper of different kinds and colours have been discovered. Besides very white and off-white papers, artificially coloured ones—yellow, pale blue, violet, pink, green and red, have been found. Paper was much cheaper than papyrus; according to a 4th/10th century document in the collection of Archduke Rainer in the National Austrian Library, 6 2/3 dinars were paid for 125 sheets. The price naturally depended on the quality and kind. That made in Baghdād (*al-warak al-Baghdādī*) was considered the best.

The paper used in the east is now almost entirely of European manufacture. In Persia we still find a Chinese paper called Khān Balīḳ (Turkish name of Peking), a scarce paper, sought after for its durability. The Cairo printers prefer a strong yellow-coloured paper called *nabātī* (Pers. *nabāt*, sugar-candy).

A paper-mill long ago destroyed (*Kāghad-Khāna*, popularly *K'at-Hāne*) gave its name to the Imperial Kiosk and the public promenade of the "Sweet Waters of Europe" in Istanbul.

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(CL. HUART — A. GROHMANN)

KAGHAN [see KHAḲĀN].

KAHF [see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF]

AL-**ḲAḤḤĀL** [see ʿALĪ B. ʿĪSĀ].

KĀHIN, a term of controversial origin (cf. T. Fahd, *Divination arabe*, 91 ff.), belonging to Canaanite, Aramaic and Arab traditions. At the earliest stage known to us it appears to have been used by the "Western Semites" to designate the possessor of a single function with related prerogatives, that is to say, the offering of sacrifices in the name of the group, the representing of this group before the deity, the interpretation of the will of the deity, and in addition the anticipation and communication of his wishes. The evolution of this function and these prerogatives follows the social evolution of these three groups themselves; with their transition from a pastoral to an agricultural civilization, their conception of the deity and of the service due to him changed to suit the conditions of daily life. As the pre-Islamic Arabs were the last followers of the pastoral way of life, their conceptions of the priesthood probably reflect more or less faithfully the earliest stage of the priestly function, so far, of course, as the post-Islamic data at our disposal have remained faithful to their oral or written sources.

In this respect, although the accounts in which the *kāhin* appears may be fanciful and tendentious, it remains true that, in order to recreate a proper context for these stories and to avoid anachronisms, the people who told them and the people who used them must have tried to reconstitute and preserve the original terminology. For those who know the Semitic theodicy in particular, the importance of the names and epithets given to the deities in polytheism and to God in monotheism in the elaboration of theology is obvious, bearing in mind above all that the true Muslim theodicy is to be found in the treatises of the *asmā' al-ḥusnā* [*q.v.*] rather than in those of the *mutakallimūn*.

We are of the opinion that the same reasoning applies to the terminology designating the personnel and the accoutrements of the cult. Therefore we have chosen as our point of departure the various names and attributes designating the function and prerogatives of the *kāhin*, in the hope of gaining a clearer picture of his characteristics as they must have appeared in the religious outlook of the greater part of the Arabs, since we lack documents of sufficiently established authenticity that deal with the conception of the *kāhin* held by the élite of the people and the ruling class.

Like the Greek ἱερεύς and the Latin *sacerdos*, the Arab *kāhin* combined the functions of sacrificer and guardian of the sanctuary, and those of the μαντις and the *augur*; hence it is possible to render the word *kāhin* by "priest", in the sense of agent of the official cult. But the predominance of nomadism, where it was usually the head of the family or tribe who offered sacrifices, after the manner of the patriarchs in the Old Testament, and in which frequent migra-

tions prevented the establishment of an official form of worship and fixed places of worship, weakened the first role of the *kāhin* while favouring the development of the second, more in keeping with the expectations of most of his fellow-tribesmen. Thus it is virtually necessary to translate *kāhin* as "diviner" (since we lack an exact equivalent) with the dual meaning of the Latin *divinus*, that is to say "one inspired" and "prophet", without excluding his strictly priestly role in places where social conditions allowed it, such as at Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, and near a few important holy places of Arabia (Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa, al-Djalsad, al-Fals, for example; cf. details in T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968).

The oracular, mantic and augural role of the *kāhin* is for all practical purposes the only one recognized in the evidence we possess, which derives essentially from folklore. The numerous special divinatory functions which he exercised are known to us only through the various names which designated the exercise of these functions, illustrated by a few examples. These names, frequently used as synonyms for *kāhin* (as are for example for "diviner and the female equivalent: "augur", "haruspex", "magus", "pythoness", "sybil", "seer", etc.), are: *afkal, ḥāzī, dhū, ilāh, sādin, ʿarrāf, ʿā'if, zādjir, ḳā'if, nāshid*, etc. Our knowledge of the *kāhin* amounts in practice to no more than the significance of those names and the deductions to be drawn from the stories which illustrate them.

To begin with the term *kāhin* itself: its etymological origin is obscure (possibilities are the Semitic root *k w n*, "to be, to stand up", and the Akkadian root *k ' n*, giving the idea of prostration; but the unusual permutation of the consonant *h* is still unexplained). However, it seems to have been part of the earliest religious vocabulary of the Western Semites, after the manner of the *bārû* at Mari and in Akkad. Like the *bārû*, he combined the functions of guarding the holy place, transmitting the oracle, offering sacrifices, and interpreting signs by divination. These were the functions of the Hebrew *kōhēn* before the institution of the Monarchy, as described in the Bible (cf. H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion*, 1966).

The Arab *kāhin* had not developed beyond this stage when the advent of Islam brought about his disappearance because of the absence, in the nomadic environment in which he lived, of a permanent stable kingship which, as in neighbouring kingdoms and elsewhere, would have organized the priesthood if only to keep it under control. This lack of organization resulted in making the *kāhin* the sole repository of supernatural knowledge, dispensed in Israel by the *kōhēn* and the *nabī*, and this led them to the practice of both divinatory and ecstatic techniques. Thus, like the *bārûm* of Mari (cf. A. Finet, *La place du devin dans la société de Mari*, in *La Divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines*, Paris 1966, 93), the *kāhin* of ancient Arabia held in his hands the fate of the entire tribe, in both peace and war.

The oracular and ecstatic aspects of his functions appear more overtly in the *kāhina*, who like the "ecstatic prophetess" of Mari (*muḫḫutum*, cf. G. Dossin, *Sur le prophétisme à Mari, ibid.*, 80) had visions and was in charge of an oracle (*rabbat bayt*: cf. examples and references in *Divination arabe*, 98 ff.). The most famous of these women was Ṭ(Ẓ)arīfa.

As far as the *kāhin* is concerned, these aspects are revealed more particularly by two names borne by certain of their numbers: *afkal* (ʿAmr b. al-Djuʿayd, the *s ayyid* of theRabīʿa) and *ḥāzī* (Zuhayr b. Djanab, the *sayyid* of the Kalb). In fact *afkal*, from the Sumero-Akkadian *apkallu* and preserved in several Semitic languages with the meaning of high priest (cf. *Divination arabe*, 103 f.), seems to have acquired an ecstatic character among the Arabs (*loc. cit.*); in the same way the *ḥāzī*, a term of Aramaic origin comparable to the Hebrew *ro'eh*, the forerunner of the *nabī*, must have been originally a "seer", as is indicated by his name; but he became increasingly an observer of omens, and the term became a generic one covering different divinatory and magical practices (*op. cit.*, 112 f.). [On the oracular utterances of the *kāhin* and the *kāhina* see SADJʿ].

The aspect of guardian and sacrificer in holy places and places of worship appears in the following names given to the *kāhin*: *rabb*, who like the *r b* of Ugarit and the Ḳatabānī *r b y* had to manage the affairs of the holy place (territories and entrances); *dhū ilāh*, caretaker of the bethel, the "sacred stone" itself entrusted to his keeping during the movements of the tribe, expressing at the same time the close link arising from the proximity between the deity and his servant (compare with *ʿabd, taym, imru'*, and their Semitic equivalents); *sādin* and *ḥādjib*, which properly speaking designated the function of guardian in the holy places and the *cellae* where the *sacra* of a tribe or a group of tribes were deposited. This presupposed, therefore, a measure of settlement and all that this implied with respect to institutions, organizations and established customs. The observation of what was happening in other temples of the world around (compare for example the reforms introduced by ʿAmr b. Luḥayy [*q.v.*] after a stay in a Hellenistic spa, and the institutions founded in the 5th century by Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], who came from a Byzantine area where ecclesiastic and monastic organization were highly developed) aided the development of the office of the *sādin*, and stability made possible the creation and preservation of traditions, myths and legends. But the function of the *sādin* was not restricted to the guardianship of the holy place; he took the place of the *kāhin*, and like him performed sacrificial and divinatory rites, as did the Ugaritic *n ḳ d* (compare Hebrew *nōḳedh* from the Meshaʿ stela) who also bore the titles *r b* and *k h n* (see *Divination arabe*, 111).

The divinatory aspect of the function of the *kāhin* is covered generically by the term *ʿarrāf*, and specifically by names derived from the divinatory specialities which he practised, such as *ʿā'if* and *zādjir* [see ʿIYĀFA], *ḳā'if* [see ḲIYĀFA], *nāshid* and several other secondary designations for particular occasions, such as *ḥakam* (arbitrator on the occasion of a *munāfara*), *khaṭīb*, (spokesman and messenger), *shāʿir* (incantator and inciter to battle), *ṭabīb* (medicine man), *khabīr* (valuer).

The *ʿarrāf* is the *kāhin*, even though the former occupies a lower rank than the latter in the hierarchy of seers because he does no more than exercise the divinatory prerogatives of the *kāhin*; however, since in a nomadic society these predominated, *ʿarrāf* and *kāhin* were eventually applied to the same person.

ʿIrāfa is the knowledge of things unseen or of things to come, on the basis of things visible or present. It implies a gnostic knowledge (compare *maʿrifa* in relation to *ʿilm*), and consequently a knowledge restricted to the initiated, an implication contained in the Akkadian and Hebrew equivalents of *ʿarrāf*: *mûdû* and *iiddeʿonī*. Therefore *irāfa*, while belonging essentially to the realm of divination, comes close to that of enchantment and magic.

ʿArrāf and *ʿarrāfa* are inspired by a *tābiʿ* or *tābiʿa*

(familiar spirit) or a *ra'iyy* or *ri'iyy* (inspirer for particular occasions); therefore the *ʿarrāf* is called *matbūʿ* (flanked by a demon), and *ʿirāfa* is at times assimilated to sorcery and to *shaʿbadha* (legerdemain, conjuring). The lowest stage of the function of the *ʿarraf* and the *kāhin* is rendered by the term *nāshid*. This epithet refers both to his role as exorciser (*munāshada*) and to his role as finder of lost animals and other objects. It is often in this guise that the *kāhin-ʿarrāf* appears in the apologetic folktales of primitive Islam.

Before Islam, the *kāhin* in central Arabia was the spiritual and intellectual guide of the tribe, a role filled by all agents of a cult in underdeveloped societies at every period and every place. By reason of the geographic, historic and social circumstances in which he practised, he was an independent holy man, like his Greek counterpart, even though at times connected with an oracle, rather than an official in the service of a centralizing state, like his Assyro-Babylonian and Roman counterparts.

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AL-KĀHINA ("the Sorceress") was the guiding spirit of Berber resistance to the Arab invaders led by Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] after the collapse of Byzantine power marked by the fall of Carthage (73/692-3).

Her true personality—which must have been highly complex—is very difficult to discern, for only the distorted reflections of her real features can be detected behind the legend. There is no agreement even on her real name, for al-Kāhina is only a nickname given to her by the Arabs. It is said that she was named Dihya—Ibn Khaldūn (tr. de Slane, *Berbères*, i, 172) mentions a Berber tribe known by this name—of which Dahyā, Dāhiya, Damya, Dāmiya, or Daḥya could be merely variant spellings. There is the same doubt about her descent; she is said to be the daughter of Tātīt, or again of Mātiya (= Matthias, Matthew) son of Tīfān (= Theophanus). If this means that al-Kāhina was descended from those Berbers of mixed blood, the issue of mixed marriages, it would help to explain her authority, not only over her compatriots but also over the Byzantines. Several other indications confirm this hypothesis. Al-Kāhina herself is said to have married a Greek. We are told that she had two sons: the one of Berber descent, the other of a Greek father (*Yūnānī*). She was also, contrary to general belief, Christian by religion rather than Jewish. Her tribe, the nomadic and pastoral Djarāwa, a subdivision of the Zanāta, themselves related to the Buṭr, had indeed first adopted Judaism, but like many other tribes, such as the Nafūsa, had afterwards been converted to Christianity. When al-Kāhina appeared on the scene of history she was a widow, and was certainly very old. Legend relates that she lived for 127 years, 35 of them as "queen" (*malika*) of the Aurès, where in 477, following a successful rebellion against the Vandals, a first independent Berber kingdom had already been set up, governed by Iabdas. Like those "Arab queens" cited by T. Fahd (*Divination arabe*, 98), she was clearly an "ecstatic". At the moment of inspiration she became wildly excited, let her hair stream out, and beat her breast. She also practised more orthodox techniques of divination, such as reading the future in gravel, and there is no doubt that she owed a large part of her power to her prophetic gifts.

Al-Kāhina took up the challenge thrown down by Kusayla, who had mobilized in particular the settled Barānis. At first she was victorious. After taking Carthage and destroying the organized Byzantine forces, Ḥassān turned towards the Aurès, the stronghold of Berber resistance. He regrouped his forces on the banks of the Meskiana and attacked. Al-Kāhina did likewise, after demolishing Bāghāya, which was probably her capital and which she wished to avoid falling into the aggressors' hands. The decisive confrontation took place on the banks of the Oued Nīnī, probably not far from the railway station of the same name which today is situated 16 km. to the south of Aïn-Beïda on the railway line to Khenchela. The battle was so disastrous for Ḥassān that for many years afterwards the Arabs called the *oued* where it took place *Nahr al-Balā'* ("river of trials"), or, for less apparent reasons, *Wādī 'l-ʿAdhārā* ("valley of the virgins"). This campaign, Ḥassān's first setback, had an epilogue in the territory of Gabès in the course of a final battle which drove the invaders out of Ifrīḳiya.

Ḥassān was ordered to halt his retreat four stages to the east of Tripoli, where he established his camp (Ḳuṣūr Ḥassān) and bided his time. Al-Kāhina enlarged the area of her authority, but her power certainly did not spread over the whole Maghrib, nor even the whole of Ifrīḳiya, as is stated in some sources (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 36; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, in de Slane, *Berbères*, i, 340). She treated the Arab prisoners well; she had adopted one of them according to the Berber rite of simulated suckling, an influential chief,

Khālid b. Yazīd (sometimes called Yazīd b. Khālid), who was regarded as a spy from Ḥassān's camp. Perhaps she wished to establish good relations with the Arabs and bring them to renounce their designs, of which she was doubtless informed, by means more reliable than divination. It was probably the failure of this policy which forced her in despair to devastate the country, adopting in the face of a stubborn enemy a "scorched earth" policy, which Solomon had already employed in 539 against King Iabdas when he was entrenched in the Aurès (Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *Berbérie et Ibérie*, ... in *Rev. Historique*, fasc. 488, p. 300, citing Procopius). These alleged devastations have been a matter of controversy for many years. Some modern historians deny them altogether. The Arab chroniclers exaggerated them to an enormous extent. In fact, it seems that they cannot be denied completely, but nor should they be seen as a cataclysm. They could not have extended beyond certain regions of Ifrīḳiya, but they must nevertheless have been sufficiently serious to disaffect large sections of the settled population, who, when they did not seek refuge in the Mediterranean islands or even in Spain, were ready to beg Ḥassān to intervene.

Ḥassān, who had kept himself informed of the situation and had received reinforcements, once more invaded Ifrīḳiya, probably in 78/697-8 (the chronology is not clear), this time probably with the support of some Berber contingents hostile to the policy of al-Kāhina. Henceforth the indigenous peoples no longer made common cause. From this moment an air of defeatism began to prevail in the Aurès, and this inspired Kāhina, her hair flowing, in ecstasy (*nāshiratan shaʿarahā*), to give voice in her desperate state to those alarming prophecies which were but the warnings of despair and have come down to us as so many oracles. The first clash took place in the Gabès region and was unfavourable to al-Kāhina. This is the logical moment to place the dramatic episode, unlikely yet probably true, in which the "queen", certain of her forthcoming destruction, advised her sons to change sides before it was too late. She herself, with Ḥassān on her heels, fled for refuge to the mountains of the Aurès. The final engagement took place in a place which al-Mālikī (*Riyāḍ*, i, 36) calls Ṭarfa: the form Tabarka given by al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 57, trans. 121), Ibn Nādjī (*Maʿālim*, i, 61), and Ibn Abī Dīnār (*Muʾnis*, 35) is surely a graphic corruption of this. Here, probably at the exit of Djabal Neshshār about 50 km. north of Tobna, al-Kāhina fought her last battle, which, we are told, both sides regarded as a fight to the death, before perishing beside a well which long bore her name. Her energy and determination made a considerable impression, and some modern historians have seen in her a sort of Berber Joan of Arc (de Lartigues, *Monographie*, 182).

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AL-ḲĀHIR BI'LLĀH, 19th ʿAbbāsid Caliph, who reigned from 320/932 to 322/934 in succession to his brother al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*]. He had previously been temporarily chosen as caliph after the abortive palace revolution in Muḥarram 317/March 929. Al-Muḳtadir's death followed after the sortie he made at the head of his troops against the *amīr* Muʾnis [*q.v.*] in 320/932. When the dignitaries came to nominate a new caliph, Muʾnis's judgement in favour of Aḥmad, the son of al-Muḳtadir, was ignored and Muḥammad, son of al-Muʿtaḍid, was proclaimed on 27 Shawwāl 320/31 October 932. The headstrong and vindictive personality of the new caliph had an immediate effect on the extremely shaky political situation. Al-Ḳāhir made his mark right from the beginning of his reign through his ignominious treatment of his mother, whose property he seized after having ill-treated her, and his conduct towards the sons and officials of the former caliph. The reins of government were held by the vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] and the *amīr* Muʾnis, who encountered grave difficulties: the opposition of the former supporters of al-Muḳtadir and a financial crisis. The caliph himself tried to reinforce his authority; he succeeded in thwarting the schemes of the chamberlain, Ibn Yalbaḳ, and had Muʾnis arrested, while the vizier took flight (Shaʿbān 321/July 933).

The new vizier, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh, supported the anti-S̲h̲īʿite policy of the caliph, who had Ibn Yalbaḳ and Muʾnis put to death, declaring himself *al-muntaḳim min aʿdāʾdīn Allāh* and having this slogan engraved on the coinage. Al-Ḳāhir wasted no time in ridding himself of his vizier and replacing him with Aḥmad al-K̲h̲aṣībī; but he too soon found himself in insurmountable financial difficulties, while the former vizier, Ibn Muḳla, plotted against the caliph and managed to stir up the Sād̲j̲ī guard, who rising on 6 D̲j̲umādā I 322/24 April 934, seized the caliph and imprisoned him.

The son of al-Muḳtadir, taking the name of al-Rāḍī, was proclaimed the new caliph. Since al-Ḳāhir had refused to abdicate, in spite of the pressure put upon him, the chief of the Sād̲j̲ī guard, supported by al-Rāḍī, had him blinded. Al-Ḳāhir was released only eleven years later, on the orders of the following caliph, al-Mustakfī, and he died in D̲j̲umādā I 339/ October 950.

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AL-**ḲĀHIRA**, capital of Egypt and one of the most important centres of religious, cultural and political life in the Muslim world. The city is situated on both banks on the Nile, at 30°6′ Lat. N. and 31°26′ Long. E. respectively, at ca. 20 km. south of the delta where the Muḳaṭṭam Mountain almost comes down to the river. This strategical point dominating the access to Lower Egypt had been inhabited since early times, but became of primary importance during the arab invasion in 22/643, when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ established the foundations of a permanent encampment at al-Fusṭāṭ. The actual name of the city is derived from *Miṣr al-Ḳāhira*, a town established in 359/970 by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz, which gradually embraced the surrounding places. The remains of al-Fusṭāṭ are found in the quarter of modern Cairo called Maṣr al-ʿAtīḳa, Old Cairo. See also BABALYŪN, AL-FUSṬĀṬ, MIṢR, AL-RAWḌA. (ED.)

MONUMENTS

Numbers in square brackets after monuments are those given in the *Index to the Mohammedan monuments in Cairo* (Survey of Egypt 1951). An asterisk after a monument indicates that it is dated by reference to a foundation inscription (often more than one).

Nomenclature. A considerable difficulty in the identification of monuments is orthographic, since current pronunciation of a name (Ṣarg̲h̲atmis̲h̲) [218], the literary sources (Ṣarg̲h̲ītmis̲h̲ [Budagov], Ṣuyurg̲h̲utmus̲h̲ [Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*]) and the inscriptions (Ṣirg̲h̲itmis̲h̲, carefully pointed) often diverge markedly. For the sake of convenience, in reference to the standard art-historical authorities a modified form of the colloquial arabicized Turkish has been adopted (Ḳūṣūn [224] and not Ḳawṣawn, as it appears pointed on the porch of his mosque), except when popular etymology has so distorted the name (Tag̲h̲rībirdī/Tañrīverdī [209] which has become Sag̲h̲rīwardī) that the original is difficult to reconstruct.

Topography. The vast extent of the modern city of Cairo creates problems for the history of its monuments. Exceptionally among Middle Eastern cities, its development has been horizontal, rather than in terms of vertically superimposed layers, extensive rather than intensive. The original enceinte of al-Ḳāhira, located well to the north of the agglomerations of al-Fusṭāṭ, al-ʿAskar and al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ, was intended essentially as a centre of government, well outside the main habitation areas, containing a palace-complex, the barracks of the Fāṭimid armies and the new congregational mosque of al-Azhar [97]. For a time the walled city of old Cairo, Ḳaṣr al-S̲h̲amʿ/ Bābalyūn and al-Fusṭāṭ maintained their importance as industrial centres with the chief port installations on the Nile and the major blocks of tenements. However, the progressive westward deflection of the course of the Nile, and the attraction of al-Ḳāhira as the centre of government led to a steady population movement northwards, so that the original mud (*labin*) walls of D̲j̲awhar (358/969 onwards) had twice to be expanded, by Badr al-D̲j̲amālī [6, 7, 199] in 480/1087-484/1091*, and by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲ under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 572/1176-589/1193. The 5th/ 11th-century expansion, allegedly motivated by fear of an attack by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ, Ātsīz, was less extensive than the latter, which included large areas between the walls of D̲j̲awhar and the Nile (see Fig. 1), now commemorated only in the names of certain quarters of modern Cairo, the Bāb al-Lūḳ, the Bāb al-Ḥadīd, the Bāb al-K̲h̲alḳ (K̲h̲arḳ), etc. The steady northward population movement led to the desertion of large areas of al-Fusṭāṭ, which by the mid-6th/12th century had become abandoned (*k̲h̲arāba*) and which in 572/1176 were partially connected to the inhabited areas by a wall, which remained incomplete at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death.

From the Fāṭimid period onwards the areas of al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ south of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn became increasingly associated with the southern cemetery (the Ḳarāfa al-Kubrāʾ, see below). The first major expansion outside the Fāṭimid enceinte was the Citadel built for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 572-1176 onwards, not to fortify the city but as a place of refuge.

The Citadel was supplied with water from the Nile by means of an aqueduct [78] (*ḳanāṭir*) which in its present state dates only from the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 255-9), who in 712/ 1312 (sic) built four *sāḳiyas* on the Nile to raise water to the aqueduct of the Citadel and in 741/1341 incorporated into it the remains of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's wall, which had been intended to enclose the *k̲h̲arāba* of al-Fusṭāṭ. It was restored and lengthened at various times during the 9th/15th century and particularly in the reigns of Ḳāʾit Bāy and Ḳānṣawh al-G̲h̲awrī [*qq.v.*], to whom the large water-tower, now known as the Sabʿa Sawāḳī and still more or less on the Nile, must probably be attributed [78].

A second Ayyūbid fortress, no longer extant and destroyed and rebuilt several times during the Mamlūk period, was the Ḳalʿat al-Rawḍa/Ḳalʿat al-Miḳyās, erected on the Island of Rawḍa (Roda) by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, though the island was almost exclusively a residential area, like D̲j̲īza (Giza), and very few monuments of any architectural importance now survive there.

Under the Baḥrī [see AL-BAḤRIYYA] Mamlūks the expansion continued mainly outside the Fāṭimid walls, those foundations within being almost exclusively funerary and royal. The south-western slopes of the Citadel, which had remained unfortified in the Ayyūbid period, were walled by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad but were principally occupied by the sultan's palace and the houses of his high amīrs. In this period we see the creation of the great Mamlūk thoroughfares, the Darb al-Aḥmar leading from the Citadel to the Bāb Zuwayla [199]*, the S̲h̲āriʿ al-Ṣalība leading from the Citadel towards the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, and the K̲h̲alīd̲j̲, originally a canal (now the S̲h̲āriʿ Port Saʿīd). The expansion to the north of the walled city of al-Ḳāhira was not so marked:

the only two remaining foundations of any importance are the Mosque of Baybars in the Maydān Ḍāhir (Ẓāhir) [1], 665-7/1266-9*, built on one of the royal polo grounds (see Pls. 3, 3a, 3b) and Ḳubba-al-Fadāwiyya [5], dated by Creswell to 884-6/1479-81*.

Under the Ottomans the expansion of Cairo appears to have taken a different direction, to the west of the walled city of al-Ḳāhira, particularly in the Būlāḳ area, which then became the principal port of Cairo. There are only two pre-Ottoman buildings surviving in this quarter, the mosque of the Ḳāḍī Yaḥyā [344], 852-3/1448-9, and the mosque of Abu 'l-ʿIlā [340], c. 890/1485. By contrast, the quarter contains the mosque (*kulliyya*) of Sinān Pās̲h̲ā [349], 979/1571*, a large number of 17th- and 18th-century foundations and many less important but interesting *k̲h̲āns* (*wikālas*) as well as wooden houses of a distinctively Istanbul type. The area has been only cursorily surveyed and stands in need of a detailed study. The change of direction initiated by the Ottomans was continued with the development of residential quarters, at D̲j̲īza and ʿImbāba on the west bank of the Nile, at Shubra, where a palace of Muḥammad ʿAlī built by 1850 (E. Pauty, *L'architecture au Caire depuis la conquête ottomane*, 52-8) attracted a residential suburb, at ʿAbbāsiyya, and ultimately in the development of Garden City and Heliopolis (see Pl. 8).

The history of settlement of al-Ḳāhira shows a secular northward movement continuing from that of al-Fusṭāṭ to al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ. Al-Ḳāhira itself, at least within the walled area enclosed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, remained of central importance as the seat of government and in the 19th century, with the Europeanized town plan imposed upon the Ezbekiyya quarter, the centre of commerce as well. The same development, however, was not followed in the cemeteries which now virtually surround the city and which are perhaps the most remarkable architectural feature of Cairo to strike the visitor.

Cemeteries. The great southern cemetery (al-Ḳarāfa al-Kubrāʾ), the principal burial place of Cairo since the invasion of ʿAmr, remained in full use in the Fāṭimid period, when it was the centre of a considerable cult, which was made acceptable to Sunnī orthodoxy by the foundation of a *madrasa* at the tomb of the Imām al-S̲h̲āfiʿī soon after the Ayyūbid conquest of Egypt (the present mausoleum [281], 608/1211, was built by al-Malik al-Kāmil; see Pls. 2, 2a). At the south of the cemetery are a group of Fāṭimid *mas̲h̲hads*, the most important of which is that of Yaḥyā al-S̲h̲abīhī [285], *c.* 545-6/1151, the mausoleum of the Imām al-Layt̲h̲ [286] rebuilt by al-G̲h̲awrī in 911/1505* and restored in 1201/1786-7*, the *k̲h̲ānḳāh* and mausoleum of S̲h̲āhīn al-K̲h̲alawātī [212], 945/1538, and the mausoleum of Sīdī ʿUḳba rebuilt by Muḥammad Pās̲h̲ā Silāḥdār in 1066/1655-6* and restored in 1099/1688 [608], better known as the Sādāt al-Wafāʾiyya. Remains of the Mamlūk period in this area are now sparse, though a detailed survey would doubtless permit the location of many funerary foundations mentioned by Maḳrīzī and others. Behind the mausoleum of the Imām al-S̲h̲āfiʿī are the tombs of the late royal family, the Ḥaws̲h̲ al-Pās̲h̲ā.

The northern part of this cemetery contains a larger and more important group of Fāṭimid *mas̲h̲hads*, including that of Sayyida Nafīsa (of which only restoration inscriptions dated to the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ now exist; the reconstruction proposed by D. Russell, *A note on the cemetery of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the shrine of Sayyida Nafīsa*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1939), 168-74, is highly speculative), Sayyida Ruḳayya [273], 527/1133*, and Sayyida ʿĀtiḳa [333], *c.* 1125. The sequence continues almost without interruption with the mausolea of late Ayyūbid and Baḥrī Mamlūk sultans or princesses, including S̲h̲ad̲j̲ar al-Durr [169], *c.* 648/1250, the *ḥaws̲h̲* and mausoleum of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs [276], possibly as early as 640/1242-3, and the mausoleum of al-As̲h̲raf K̲h̲alīl [275], 687/1288*, the last Mamlūk sultan to be buried in this area. Doubtless to be included within the same cemetery, in the area to the south-west of the Citadel, is a group of funerary foundations. The earliest of these is conventionally known as the mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Pās̲h̲ā [279], (?) 666/1267-672/1273, and they include the mausoleum and *k̲h̲ānḳāh* of Ḳūṣūn [290-1], 736-7/1335-7*, and a remarkable mausoleum with minaret, the Sulṭāniyya [288-9]; by reason of its domes, which resemble superficially Tīmūrid domes at Samarḳand and Herāt, Creswell dates the latter to the mid-9th/15th century but it may well be a century earlier.

The fringes of the southern cemetery merit attention. The Christian cemeteries appear to have been located, as they are now, in the vicinity of Ḳaṣr al-S̲h̲amʿ, though nothing of any antiquity remains there (those of the D̲j̲abal al-Aḥmar to the north-east of Cairo appear to date from the present century). The Jewish cemeteries were located even further south in the area of Basātīn al-Wazīr. The most puzzling of these fringe monuments, however, is the Mas̲h̲had al-D̲j̲uyūs̲h̲ī [304], 478/1085*, the mausoleum of Badr al-D̲j̲amālī, which now stands completely isolated on the Muḳaṭṭam hills, though the literary sources refer to pavilions and other buildings (*e.g.*, the Masd̲j̲id al-Tannūr built on the supposed site of the Tannūr Firʿawn) which no longer remain. It is, in any case, the only funerary monument in this area.

The cemetery of the Bāb al-Wazīr to the north and north-east of the Citadel lies immediately outside the northern walls of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The most important, as well as the earliest, foundation there is that of Mand̲j̲ak al-Yūsufī [138], 750/1349*, described as a mosque in the *Index*, but, exceptionally, having a separate entrance gateway, and a tomb attached to the mosque in the form of a *madrasa*. The other monuments are also 8th/14th century, the *sabīl* of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ū [144], 755/1354*, the earliest free-standing *sabīl* in the architecture of Cairo, the *masd̲j̲id* and *k̲h̲ānḳāh* of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Niẓām al-Dīn [140], 757/1356*, and the mausoleum and *k̲h̲ānḳāh* of Tankizbug̲h̲ā, situated in an isolated position some distance away on a low spur of the Muḳaṭṭam [85], 764/1362*. The latest of this group is the mausoleum of Yūnus al-Dawādār [139], pre-783/1382. None of the foundations is royal, and since the foundation of Mand̲j̲ak is not significantly smaller than those of the Baḥrī Mamlūk sultans, the creation of this small cemetery is an index of the pressure upon space created by the grand funerary constructions of the Mamlūk sultans *intra muros* and in the main streets leading from the Citadel towards the centre.

The great northern, or north-eastern, cemetery, known misleadingly as the Tombs of the Caliphs, though almost contiguous with that of the Bāb al-Wazīr and now apparently separated from it only by a recent road, the S̲h̲āriʿ Ṣalāḥ Sālim, would appear (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 363) to be a separate development; the first tomb to be built in this area (known in his time as the ʿAwāmid al-Sibāḳ) was that of Yūnus al-Dawādār [157], 783-4/1382, actually the burial place of Ānas*, father of Barḳūḳ. There is a topographical problem here, however, since in the southern sector of this cemetery, contiguous to that of Bāb al-Wazīr,

1. Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (H1)
2. Mausoleum of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Ṭūmānbāy (K1)
5. al-Ḳubba al-Fadāwiyya (K1)
6. Bāb al-Futūḥ (H3)
7. Bāb al-Naṣr (H3)
9. *Khān* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (H3)
11. *Khān* of Ḳūṣūn (H3)
15. Mosque of al-Ḥākim (H3)
20. Musāfirkhāna palace (H4)
21. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā (H4)
22. *Zāwiya* of Āydumur al-Pahlawān (H4)
24. Mosque of al-Čūkāndār (H4)
31. *Madrasa* of Ḳarā Sunḳur (H4)
32. *Khānḳāh* of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Djāshenkīr (H3)
33. Mosque of al-Aḳmar (H3)
34. Palace of Beshtāk (H4)
35. Mosque of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār (H4)
37. Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* (H4)
38. Mausoleum and *madrasa* of al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb (H4)
43. *Madrasa* and *māristān* of al-Manṣūr Ḳalāʾūn (G4)
44. *Madrasa* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (H4)
49. Mosque of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr Muẓhir (H3)
50. *Ḳāʿa* of Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn (Waḳf ʿUthmān Katkhudā) (H4)
51. Maḳʿad Māmāy (Bayt al-Ḳāḍī) (H4)
52. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of Khusraw Pāshā (H4)
53. Bāb al-Bādistān (al-Ghūrī) (H4)
54. Façade of Wikālat al-Ghūrī (H4)
56. Gate of al-Ghūrī (H4)
61. *Ribāṭ* of the wife of al-Ashraf Īnāl (Khwānd Zaynab) (G3)
62. *Ḥawḍ* and *sabīl* of Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab (H5)
64. Wikālat al-Nakhla (H5)
66, 67. Mausoleum, *madrasa*, and *khānḳāh* of al-Ghūrī (GH5)
75. *Khān* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (H5)
76. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (H5)
78. Aqueduct (D10)
81. Mausoleum and remains of *khānḳāh* of Khwānd Ṭughāy (Umm Anūk) (K5)
85. Mausoleum, *khānḳāh*, and *madrasa* of Tankizbughā (K7)
92. Tomb of Ṭashtīmūr (K5)
94. Mausoleum of Ibn Ghurāb (K5)
96. Ghannāmiyya *madrasa* (H5)
97. Mosque of al-Azhar (H5)
98. Mosque of Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab (H5)
99. Mosque and mausoleum of Ḳāʾit Bāy (K5)
101. *Maḳʿad* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (K5)
104. *Rabʿ* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (K5)
109. Mosque of al-Fakahānī (G5)
112. Mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahāʾī (H6)
114. Mosque of Ḳidjmās (Ḳačmāz) al-Isḥāḳī (G6)
115. Mosque of Aḥmad al-Mihmāndār (G6)
116. Mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ (G6)
120. Mosque of Altinbughā al-Māridānī (G6)
121. *Khānḳāh* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (L4)
123. Mosque of Āḳsunḳur (Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustaḥfiẓān) (H7)
130. Mosque of Ālmās (Yīlmāz) (F7)
132. Ḳubbat ʿAṣfūr (L4)
133. Mosque of sultan Ḥasan (G8)
135. Mosque al-Maḥmūdiyya (G8)
138. Mosque of Mandjak al-Yūsufī (H8)
139. Mausoleum of Yūnus al-Dawādār (H7)
140. *Masdjid* and *khānḳāh* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Isḥāḳ (H7)
141. *Ribāṭ* of Yaḥyā Zayn al-Dīn (G4)
142. Mosque of Khādim Sulaymān Pāshā (H8)
143. Mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (H8)
144. *Sabīl* of Shaykhū (H7)
146. Zāwiyat al-ʿAbbār (F8)
147. Mosque of Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī (F8)
149. *Khānḳāh* of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ (L4)
152. *Khānḳāh* and mausoleum of Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī (F8)
153. *Madrasa* of Khūshḳadam al-Aḥmadī (F8)
157. Tomb of Ānas (Yūnus al-Dawādār) (L4)
158. Mausoleum, *ribāṭ*, and mosque/*khānḳāh* of Sulṭān al-Ashraf Īnāl (L3)
162. *Khānḳāh* and mausoleum of Amīr Ḳurḳumās (L3)
164. Mausoleum of Ḳānṣūh Abū Saʿīd (L3)
169. Mausoleum of Shadjar al-Durr (F9)
177. *Khānḳāh* of Muḳbil al-Zimām al-Dāʾūdī (G4)
187. Mosque and *madrasa* of Sultan Barḳūḳ (H4)
190. Mosque of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (G5)
199. Bāb Zuwayla (G5)
200. Mosque of Malika Ṣafiyya (F6)
201. Mosque of al-Burdaynī (G6)
202. Remains of the mosque of Ḳūṣūn (F6)
205. Minaret and door of the mosque of Beshtāk (E7)
209. *Madrasa* of Taghrībirdī (F8)
211. Mausoleum of Azbak al-Yūsufī (E8)
217. Façade of the mosque of Lādjīn al-Sayfī (E8)
218. Mosque and *madrasa* of Ṣarghatmish (E8)
220. Mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (EF8,9)
221. Mausoleum of Salār and of Sandjar al-Djāwilī (E8)
223. *Madrasa* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (E8)
224. Gate of the mosque of Ḳūṣūn (G7)
225. al-Takkiya al-Sulaymāniyya (G7)
228. "Palace" of Ḳāʾit Bāy (G6)
244. Bath of Beshtāk (G7)
247. Gate of Mandjak al-Silāḥdār (G7)
248. Mosque of Khayr Beg (H7)
249. Palace of Khayr Beg (H7)
257. *Māristān* of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (G8)
263. Tomb and *madrasa* of Sunḳur Saʿdī Ḥasan Ṣadaḳa (F8)
266. Palace of Amīr Yushbak (F8)
267. Palace of Amīr Ṭāz (F8)
273. *Mashhad* of Sayyida Ruḳayya (F9)
275. Mausoleum of al-Ashraf Khalīl (F10)
276. *Ḥawsh* and mausoleum of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (F10)
279. Mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Pāshā (G10)
288, 289. The Sulṭāniyya and the northern minaret (G10)
290. Minaret of Ḳūṣān (G10)
291. Mausoleum and *khānḳāh* of Ḳūṣūn (G10)
298. Mausoleum and *madrasa* of Tankizbughā (H10)
301. Ḳubbat Ikhwān (Ikhwāt) Yūsuf (J10)
304. *Mashhad* of al-Djuyūshī (J10)
306. *Takkiya* and *sabīl* of Sultan Maḥmūd (F6)
321. Bayt al-Kiridliyya (F9)
324. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (G8)
330. Gate of Malika Ṣafiyya (F6)
333. *Mashhad* of Sayyida ʿĀtiḳa (F9)
356. Gate of Ḥārat al-Mabyaḍa (H4)
360. Mausoleum of Ḳānṣūḥ Abū Saʿīd (G8)
372. Tomb of Ṭāybughā al-Ṭawīl (K6)
382. Mosque and *sabīl-kuttāb* of Sulaymān Āghā al-Silāḥdār (H3)
406. *Rabʿ* of Raḍwān Bey (G6)
410. Bath of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (G5)
455. The fort of Muḥammad ʿAlī (J9)
463. al-Sādāt al-Wafāʾiyya (F7)
472. Mosque of Dāʾūd Pāshā (E7)
503. Mosque of Muḥammad ʿAlī (G8,9)
505. Palace of al-Djawhara (GH9)
511. Ḳubbat Badr al-Djamālī (J2)
555. Bāb al-ʿAzab (G8)
561. *Sabīl* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (H4)
599. Shrine of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (CD9,10)
605. Archives (H8)
606. Mint (H9)
612. Ḥarīm palace (H8)

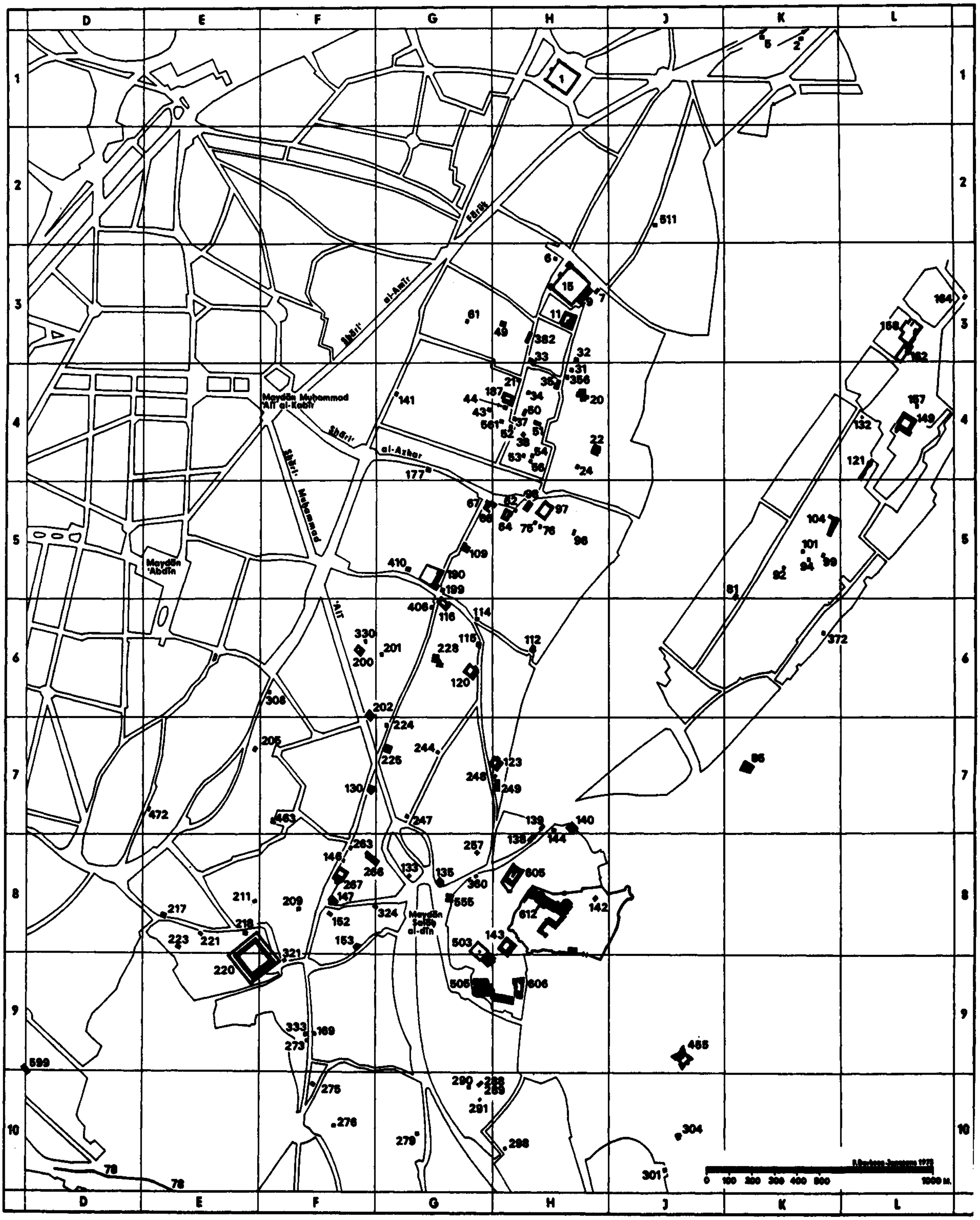

Both the numbers of the monuments, and the numbers and letters of the sections of the map correspond with those of the *Map of Cairo showing Mohammedan monuments*, Survey of Egypt, 1950 (enclosed in K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, i, Oxford 1952), and the *Index of Mohammedan monuments in Cairo*, Survey of Egypt, 1951.

are three important Baḥrī foundations, of Ṭashtīmūr [92], 735/1334*, Ṭāybughā al-Ṭawīl, pre-768/1366 [372]* and Khwānd Ṭughāy [81], known locally as Umm Anūk, pre-749/1348 (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 66-7), a mausoleum and *khānḳāh* with remains of rich stucco decoration and some interesting faience mosaic at the base of the surviving dome. North of this group all the surviving monuments are Burdjī (in spite of all the maps which indicate, without numbering, Baḥrī remains); all are on a larger scale and many are royal. These include the *khānḳāh* complex of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ [149], 803/1400-813/1411*, the funerary complex of Ḳā'it Bāy [94, 99, 101, 104], 877-9/1472-4* (see Pl. 6) and the combined foundations of Sultan Īnāl [158], 855/1451-860/1456*, and of the amīr Ḳurḳumās [162], 911-3/1506-7*. Once again, it is easy to ascribe the growth of this cemetery to the pressure upon building space within the city, all the more so since expropriation was discouraged and substitution (*tabdīl*) of *waḳf* property generally required a special *fatwā*, the practice only becoming general, according to Ibn Iyās, in the 9th/15th century. However, the larger royal foundations of this cemetery included elements like the *rabʿ* (plural *rubūʿ*) of a decidedly commercial nature, and there is evidence (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 316-31) that Faradj b. Barḳūḳ hoped to transfer the Sūḳ al-Ḥarīr to the neighbourhood of his *khānḳāh*. The area has only recently been colonized and was for much of its extent isolated from Cairo itself by the line of rubbish heaps known as the Barḳiyya. Access to the cemetery would appear, therefore, to have been not from the Bāb al-Wazīr but from the Bāb al-Barḳiyya, remains of which, dated 480/1087 by an inscription, were discovered late in the 1950s (G. Wiet, *Une nouvelle inscription fatimide au Caire*, in *JA*, ccxlix (1961), 13-20).

The cemetery to the north of the walls of Cairo, now known as the cemetery of Bāb al-Naṣr, now contains only one monument of any antiquity, the Ḳubbat Shaykh Yūnus [511], *c.* 487/1094. Maḳrīzī (ii, 414) states that the quarter was particularly frequented after 700/1300 and that Mamlūk notables even built houses there: it was deserted under al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (776/1375-6) when prices rose and the Sūḳ al-Lift was forced to move. This emphasis upon habitation, reinforced by the lack of monuments, shows that the area was of very minor significance as a cemetery, and that its chief period of growth has been during the last hundred years. With this cemetery should perhaps be associated two isolated Burdjī Mamlūk mausolea, al-Ḳubba al-Fadāwiyya [5], probably the mausoleum of Yushbak al-Dawādār, an amīr of Ḳā'it Bāy, 884-6/1479-81*, and that of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Ṭūmānbāy [2], 906/1501*, in the quarter of Ḥusayniyya. They are both so far north of the walls of al-Ḳāhira that they cannot easily be attributed to any cemetery, but the former is so influential in the architecture of the Ottoman period in Cairo that mere eccentricity of location is irrelevant to their architectural importance.

With the Ottoman conquest the chronological development of the cemeteries comes to an end. The Istanbul custom of having small cemeteries attached to pious foundations within the city was not adopted in Cairo; most of the Turks who happened to die in Egypt were buried in the *ḥawshs* of Mamlūk cemeteries already in existence. No collection of Ottoman funerary inscriptions has ever been made. There are moreover few mausolea to show for 300 years of occupation, and the only remarkable building dating from this period is the tomb of Sulaymān Pāshā (Colonel de Seves), Commander in Chief of the Khedive Ismāʿīl's troops, who is buried in a cast-iron pavilion on the east bank of the Nile just opposite the southern tip of Rawḍa.

History.

FĀṬIMIDS

Palace. The Fāṭimid palace, the political, religious and administrative centre of al-Ḳāhira from the 4th/10th-6th/12th centuries, has completely disappeared, though a tolerable reconstruction based upon al-Maḳrīzī's description has been made by Ravaisse (see Bibliography). It almost certainly consisted of various quite separate abodes, each with a central *ḳāʿa* (an elongated hall with two axial *īwāns* [A. *līwān*] and a sunken central area, usually square, known as the *durḳāʿa*) and their appurtenances. Remains of one of these, most probably to be identified with the Dār al-Ḳuṭbiyya, have recently come to light in the course of excavations in the courtyard of the *madrasa* of Ḳalā'ūn. The *ḳāʿa* also appears to have been an element of the domestic architecture of Fāṭimid Cairo, as witness the Ḳāʿat al-Dardīr (Creswell, *MAE*, i, 261-3), which exceptionally has vaulted *īwāns* instead of the more usual flat roof. The *īwāns* could sometimes be closed off from the *durḳāʿa* by palatial doors, as in the case of a *ḳāʿa* (Dayr al-Banāt) in the Greek Orthodox monastery of St. George at Old Cairo (Ḳaṣr al-Shamʿ), a construction of indeterminate date but with such doors of the Fāṭimid period, and as in the case of a similar pair of doors in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo found in excavations at the mausoleum of Ḳalā'ūn (Inventory No. 554 [Pauty, *Bois sculptés*, Plate lx]).

Fortifications. The mud-brick *labin* fortifications of Djawhar had disappeared by al-Maḳrīzī's time, the result not of the instability of the material but of the population pressure on the compound of al-Ḳāhira, in spite of all attempts to exclude the public from its precincts. (There is an unrecorded mud-brick *muṣallā* or *masdjid* in the al-Ḳarāfa al-Kubrā' near the Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya which is almost certainly Fāṭimid in date). The present Fāṭimid fortifications of al-Ḳāhira, therefore, date from the time of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir and even before their extensive repair by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in various sectors were much more characteristic of North Syrian than of Cairene architecture, being of squared stone and strengthened with transversely placed columns. The chief remaining elements of the north wall, in which the wall and the north porch of the mosque of al-Ḥākim are embedded, are the Bāb al-Futūḥ and the Bāb al-Naṣr [6, 7], 480/1087* [see BĀB]; on the east is the Bāb al-Barḳiyya of the same date* (not marked on the monuments map) and on the south the Bāb Zuwayla, 484/1091 (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 381). For a precise reconstruction of the walls of al-Ḳāhira, showing the fortifications of Djawhar, Badr al-Djamālī and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, see Fig. 1.

Mosques. The earliest of the mosques of al-Ḳāhira was that of al-Azhar [97], situated to the south of the palace, dated 359-61/970-2 (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 273) and built very much on the lines of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn with a *ṣaḥn* and *riwāḳs* surrounding it which are multiplied in the *ḳibla* side [see MASDJID]. Very little of the building is original (for a reconstruction see plan in Creswell, *MAE*, i, 58-60, Fig. 20). It was not originally founded as a teaching institution though little more than a year after its foundation it had become the centre of the propagation of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*. It was this change of function, as much as the population increase within the enceinte of al-Ḳāhira, which doubtless explains

the foundation soon afterwards of the mosque of al-Ḥākim [15], founded by al-ʿAzīz in 380-1/990-1 and completed by al-Ḥākim no later than 403/1012, outside the walls of Djawhar, to the north. Creswell has deduced that those parts of the stucco facing of the *ḳibla riwāḳ*s of al-Azhar which are not 19th-century inventions may go back to the original date of foundation; but the courtyard façades and the domed pavilion at the entrance to the raised crossing on the axis of the *miḥrāb* cannot be earlier than the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh, 526/1131-534/1149. For the Ayyūbid period there is only the testimony of ʿAlī Pās̲h̲ā Mubārak (iv, 16) that any upkeep of the mosque at all was attempted, al-Malik al-Kāmil being said to have erected a *ḳibla ṣag̲h̲īra min k̲h̲as̲h̲ab bi-ḳurb riwāḳ al-Sharḳāwiyya* in 627/1230. With the exception of this dubious period, however, al-Azhar was reorganized, restored and added to by almost every important ruler of al-Ḳāhira from al-Ḥāfiẓ to Ḳāʾit Bāy, who added a *miḥrāb* and a minaret (both undated) as well as a monumental porch (*bawwāba*), and al-G̲h̲awrī, who added its second minaret, also undated. The adjacent *madrasa*s of Ṭaybars and Āḳbug̲h̲ā (709/1309-10 and 734/1333-4 to 740/1339*) were enclosed within the complex when the *bawwāba* (the Bāb al-Muzayyinīn) was added by Ḳāʾit Bāy (873/1469*), though the present entrance is Ottoman, 1167/1753-4*, probably the work of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katk̲h̲udā, who considerably enlarged the mosque at this time.

The mosque of al-Ḥākim was even more traditional in that it boasted a *ziyāda* or temenos on at least one side (identified by Creswell, *MAE*, i, 115-7 and dated by him 411/1021-427/1036), though it added two minarets based on great salients at the north-west and south-west corners and adopted the plan of three monumental entrances, the northern one being subsequently embedded in the wall of Badr al-Djamālī. The mosque suffered badly in the earthquake of 702/1303 but was restored immediately by Baybars al-Djās̲h̲enkīr (Čās̲h̲negīr)*, who added pyramid-like casings to the two stone minarets and a *mabk̲h̲ara* or pepperpot-like top to each. In spite of a further restoration attributed by al-Maḳrīzī (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 277) to Sultan Ḥasan the mosque is now in a ruinous condition and the decoration judged so important by S. Flury (*Die Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar Moschee*, Heidelberg 1912, 9-26, 43-50) can scarcely now be made out.

The other two extant Fāṭimid mosques of Cairo, both modifications of the *ṣaḥn* plan, merit attention. Al-Aḳmar [33], 519/1125* (see Pls. 1, 1a), the work of the vizier Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾihī, has the earliest decorated façade in Cairo, with a rich complement of foliate and epigraphic ornament, but is equally significant because although the mosque is *ḳibla*-oriented (at least approximately) the façade follows the street, which is not parallel to the *ḳibla* wall: this is the first case of what was to become a standard Cairene practice. The mosque of the vizier al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ [116], 555/1160*, the last dated Fāṭimid building of Cairo (misleadingly restored in the present century), also combines architectural interest—a colonnaded narthex or loggia as façade and a basement of shops (*dakākīn*)—with rich interior stucco decoration, partly restored by the amīr Bektimūr al-Čūkāndār in 699/1300* or 702/1302*. This mosque, situated injudiciously outside the walls of Badr al-Djamālī immediately opposite the Bāb Zuwayla, had been intended as a shrine for the head of al-Ḥusayn. This was placed in a mosque-shrine inside al-Ḳāhira on a site now occupied by the mosque of Sayyidnā al-Ḥusayn, the work of an unidentified 19th-century architect under the influence of the railway station architecture of the Gothic revival in Europe.

Tombs, Mas̲h̲hads. The tombs of the Fāṭimid caliphs were inside the palace in the actual region of the Khān al-K̲h̲alīlī [53-4, 56] and were thus destroyed on the fall of the dynasty. (A fragment of the only remaining inscription has been published in *RCEA* 2104; see G. Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre* 34-5, no. 51.) Many other funerary inscriptions have been published (see Bibliography), most from the typical Cairene *ḥaws̲h̲*, an unroofed burial enclosure, which may be provided with one or more *miḥrāb*s in the *ḳibla* wall, which contains graves covered by cenotaphs, or sometimes one or more domed mausolea, usually *ḳibla*-oriented but following no clear chronological sequence. Some domed mausolea of private persons survive, among which may be the Sabʿa Banāt, four mausolea, not all with *miḥrāb*s, to the south of the ruins of al-Fusṭāṭ and identified by Creswell on the basis of *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 459 with the mausolea of those members of the family of the vizier Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Mag̲h̲ribī put to death by al-Ḥākim in 400/1010. More characteristically Cairene are the *mas̲h̲had*s of the late 11th-12th centuries built over suppositious ʿAlid graves in the southern cemetery in various groups. Among the best conserved are the Ik̲h̲wān (Ik̲h̲wāt) Yūsuf [301], *c.* 500/1100, Sayyida ʿĀtiḳa [333], *c.* 520/1125, Sayyida Ruḳayya [273], 527/1133*, the only precisely dated member of the group, Yaḥyā al-S̲h̲abīhī [285], *c.* 545/1150 and Umm Kult̲h̲ūm nearby (not marked on the monuments maps), pre-550/1155. Small constructions, sometimes with a central courtyard, the *mas̲h̲had*s consisted of sanctuary chambers covered by domes on squinches, with richly decorated carved stucco friezes and *miḥrāb*s, often in threes, and containing one or more cenotaphs, which were perhaps surrounded by a *maḳṣūra*. These were conceived essentially as centres of pilgrimage (*ziyārāt*). Not all Fāṭimid funerary monuments take these forms, however: the "Ḳabr Luʾluʾ bint al-Muḳawḳis", among the mysterious remains of al-Ḳarāfa al-Kubrāʾ, is a three-storey construction, each storey with a *miḥrāb*; and it has yet to be explained why the Mas̲h̲had al-Djuyūs̲h̲ī on the Muḳaṭṭam [304], 478/1085*, the mausoleum of Badr al-Djamālī with very rich stucco decoration, should be in the form of a *mas̲h̲had* rather than a *ḳubba*. The cave in the Muḳaṭṭam directly below it, the Mag̲h̲awri or Kahf al-Sūdān, which has been associated by Massignon (see Bibliography) with the cult of the Aṣḥāb al-Kahf [*q.v.*] and which appears on the Arabic version of the *Special 1:5000 scale Map* as containing Fāṭimid remains, has been a military area for so long that it has not been possible to check the suggestion that it also may have been a *mas̲h̲had* of a sort.

AYYŪBIDS

Fortifications. The Citadel and the walls of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn have been authoritatively described and analysed in detail by Creswell (*MAE*, ii, 1-40 ff.). The former, the largest Ayyūbid fortification ever undertaken, occupies a spur of the Muḳaṭṭam Hills on its north-west side: the south side is an artificially built up terrace. The Ayyūbid remains are confined to the more or less rectangular northern enceinte, which had four gates, the Bāb al-Mudarradj built by the Amīr Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲ in 579/1183-4*, two gates at the Burdj al-Maṭar and the Burdj al-Imām and the Bāb al-Ḳulla. To this first period may also be assigned a long stretch of curtain wall with fairly uniformly spaced half-round towers which starts at the east of

the Burdj al Muḳaṭṭam and runs round the south, east and north sides of the enceinte. The ramparts were connected by a *chemin de ronde* and had rounded crenellations. These fortifications which, Creswell judges, must have been virtually complete at the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death, were strengthened by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in 604/1207-8, when he added three great square towers, the Burdj al-Ṣuffa, the Burdj Kerkyalān and the Burdj al-Ṭurfa, all built athwart the southern sector of the walls, cutting the *chemin de ronde* so as to form individually defensible redoubts in case of need. The Bāb al-Ḳarāfa at the Burdj al-Imām was also reinforced, and, among other works, two towers on the eastern sector, the Burdj al-Ḥaddād (Ḥadīd?) and the Burdj al-Raml were converted into circular bastions. On the completion of these works al-Malik al-ʿĀdil took residence in the palace there. Maḳrīzī states that the Citadel was built with stone from the pyramids at Djīza; most of it is, however, of soft Muḳaṭṭam limestone which was quarried on the spot. In Creswell's view the rusticated masonry is easily attributable to al-ʿĀdil since he employed it for fortifications at Buṣrā, Damascus and elsewhere.

The purpose of the Citadel was internal defence, against the possibility of a Fāṭimid counter-attack or an insurrection of the populace of al-Ḳāhira. A second Ayyūbid fortress with the same purpose, a secure palace complex, the Ḳalʿat al-Rawḍa, was built on Rawḍa by al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, 638/1240-1. It contained a *ḳāʿa* (Creswell, *MAE* ii, 84-7) with an enlarged *durḳāʿa* to take a free-standing dome, probably wooden. It also had a Gothic doorway, doubtless carved on the spot by some of the Frankish prisoners taken by al-Ṣāliḥ on his Syrian campaign. Although nothing now survives of this fortress of sixty towers, it remains of interest, for it was here that al-Ṣāliḥ installed the garrison of Mamlūks known, from their station on the Nile (Baḥr al-Nīl), as Baḥrī, which eventually supplanted the Ayyūbid dynasty (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, Ziyāda i, 341).

Mosques. There are no surviving Ayyūbid mosques in Cairo, and no Ayyūbid restoration inscriptions from either the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn or the mosque of ʿAmr, which under their occupation was the only mosque in which the *khuṭba* was permitted, in an attempt to eradicate the importance of al-Azhar as the centre of Fāṭimid propaganda. More curiously, the restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn by the Fāṭimid vizier al-Afḍal, who added a *miḥrāb c.* 487/1094*, appears to have been respected, since the ʿAlid *shahāda* which appears on it has never been defaced.

Madrasas. It would appear probable that the Ayyūbids relied more upon the institution of the *madrasa* to combat the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*. Time has dealt harshly with these foundations however. One of the first foundations of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's occupation of Egypt was a Shāfiʿī *madrasa* near the grave of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī in the southern cemetery (begun 572/1176-7). Of this nothing remains but the magnificent teak cenotaph of al-Shāfiʿī dated 574/1178-9* and the work of the *nadjdjār* ʿUbayd b. Maʿālī. The combination of venerated tomb with *madrasa* was an interesting exploitation of the principle of the Fāṭimid *mashhads* for orthodox Sunnī ends. Elements of the *madrasa* probably survived until the late 12/18th century, but the tomb of the Imām underwent one great transformation, under al-Malik al-Kāmil, who in 608/1211 [281] built an enormous wooden-domed mausoleum, which has been frequently restored since but is still arguably the most impressive mausoleum-shrine of Cairo (see Pls. 2, 2a). (For the chronology see G. Wiet, *Les inscriptions du mausolée de Shāfiʿī*, in *BIE*, xv (1933), 167-85.) Remains of a *madrasa* in the Sūḳ al-Naḥḥāsīn attest a second foundation of al-Kāmil, the Kāmiliyya [428], 622/1225 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 375), but the best conserved of all is a double two-*īwān madrasa* on the Ḳaṣaba, the main street of Fāṭimid Cairo, by al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb [38], 641/1243-4*, with a single minaret crowned by a *mabkhara* above the porch in the centre of the façade and a street between which separates the two buildings. Apart from a decorated street façade which depends for its ornament on the tradition of the courtyard façades of al-Azhar, the *madrasas* are almost in ruins, though the crown of the vault of the west *īwān* of the left-hand *madrasa* has inserts of stone vaulting in the brick substructure, which are executed without centring as in Upper Egypt, an architectural practice which has attracted little attention from archaeologists working on Cairo but which is fairly frequent in the 7th/13th-8th/14th centuries. The most significant feature of the foundation, however, is the mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ [38], 667/1249* but completed (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 374) 648/1250. One of the last post-mortem funerary constructions of Cairo, it is also the first conspicuous funerary foundation, the *ḳibla*-oriented mausoleum essentially forming part of the street façade and thus one of the most conspicuous features of the building. This approach was to become so much a standard feature of the architecture of Mamlūk Cairo that where a choice between a *ḳibla* orientation and a street façade arose it was often the latter which prevailed.

Tombs. A funerary construction of a more traditional type is the "Tomb of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs" [276] near Sayyida Nafīsa, possibly as early as 640/1242-3, with very rich decoration of carved and painted plaster, which contains the cenotaphs of many of the caliphs who lived in Egypt as Mamlūk puppets after the fall of the caliphate of Baghdād. The domed mausoleum is enclosed in a vast *ḥawsh* with seven *miḥrābs* in the *ḳibla* wall and the remains of a monumental entrance. In the post-Ayyūbid period such isolated mausolea without appurtenances are very much the exception.

Few public works of the Ayyūbid period survive. The Ayyūbid elements of the aqueduct which supplied the Citadel with water were incorporated into the works of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Two bridges on the Djīza road remain, however, with inscriptions from the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the name of Ḳarāḳūsh (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 465 ff.) and restoration inscriptions of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, 716/1316, Ḳāʾit Bāy, 884/1479 and Ḥusayn Pāshā, 1087/1676.

Mamlūks

Fortifications. There are no considerable Mamlūk fortifications extant in Cairo. The Ḳaṣr al-Rawḍa was restored under Baybars and the restoration inscriptions of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel relate principally to the building of an irregular southern enceinte and to the construction of a new aqueduct connecting the Citadel with the Nile and incorporating into it part of the wall of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn which had been intended to connect the *kharāba* of al-Fusṭāṭ with al-Ḳāhira but was never completed. The aqueduct was begun as early as 712/1312 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 229: Casanova's translation erroneously has 711/1311, cf. Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 255-9 also for the later history of the aqueduct). The buildings of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel included a large mosque on the *ṣaḥn* plan [143] with a

foundation inscription of 718/1318*, which was considerably modified in 735/1335 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 212, 325- when the large wooden dome over the *miḥrāb* supported on ten columns of Aswan granite was doubtless added. The mosque also has two minarets said to have been decorated by craftsmen from Tabrīz: if this report is really to be believed the craftsmen appear to have forgotten their skill on the way to Cairo. The palace of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the Ḳaṣr al-Ablaḳ (so called from its use of bi-coloured voussoirs for the arches of the main *ḳāʿa*), also known as the Bayt Yūsuf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, was destroyed in 1824. It has been possible to reconstruct it, however, from descriptions given by Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (Bibliothèque Nationale MS arabes 583, folio 190a) and al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 209-10, which gives the date of construction as 713-4/1313-5). The palace consisted of a great *īwān* (cf. Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 260-4) and a central *ḳāʿa*, which appears to have had flat-roofed *īwān*s and a central dome on wooden pendentives. The palaces of the amīrs which in Maḳrīzī's time covered the southern slopes of the Citadel have now entirely disappeared, those which still remained doubtless being destroyed when the palace of al-Djawhara [505] was built by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1229/1814.

Mosques. The earliest of the Baḥrī Mamlūk mosques is that of Baybars in the Maydān Ḍāhir [1], 665/1266* (see Pls. 3, 3a, 3b), completed two years later, on a polo-ground well to the north-west of the Fāṭimid walled city. Built very much on the plan of the mosque of al-Ḥākim, though without the *ziyāda* and without the two minarets, it has three monumental entrances, the decoration of which is a curious blend of North Syrian motifs and the ornament of the Fāṭimid mosque of al-Aḳmar (see above). The building has been largely gutted; the wood and marble brought for it by Baybars from Djaffa has disappeared and only fragments of the rich stucco decoration of the window frames remain. Its most conspicuous feature is the large square *maḳṣūra* in front of the *miḥrāb*, doubtless originally covered with a wooden dome and unparalleled in scale in the mosque architecture of Cairo. With the exception of Lādjīn's restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (see *Restorations* below), the principal period of mosque construction in Cairo would appear to be from 715/1315 onwards, partly following on the foundation of the mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel and partly taking rather belated advantage of the relaxation of the restriction of the *khuṭba* to a very limited number of mosques inside Cairo. The foundations, often on a large scale, are all of amīrs, not of sultans, and are chiefly on the main arteries to the south and south east of the Fāṭimid walls leading towards the Citadel. They include Ālmalik (?) al-Čūkāndār [24], 719/1319*, Aḥmad al-Mihmāndār [115], 725/1324-5*, Ālmās [Yilmāz, less probably Ölmez] [130], 730/1329-30* (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 307), Ḳūṣūn [202], 730/1329-30*, which has a monumental porch on the east at some distance from the mosque itself, Beshtāk [205], 735/1335, and Altinbughā al-Māridānī [120], 739-40/1339-40*, the grandest and most inventive of the lot, with many columns of Aswan granite complete with Ptolemaic capitals, glazed ceramic window-grilles, carved wooden *mashrabiyya* screens separating the *ḳibla riwāḳ*s from the *ṣaḥn*, and a very curiously indented façade on the Darb al-Aḥmar. There are three further mosques of this period, Aṣlam al-Bahāʾī [112], 745-6/1344*, Āḳsunḳur [123], 747-8/1346-8*—better known from its restoration by Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustaḥfiẓān in 1062/1652*, who covered part of the interior with (bad) blue and white tiles and made it known as the Blue Mosque, and Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī [147], 750/1349* (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 312-3 has 756/1355-6). These foundations vary considerably in their dimensions, but their façades always follow the line of the street in which they are built, any divergences from the *ḳibla* orientation which this might entail being reconciled by setting the interior plan askew. None are primarily funerary constructions and some are quite definitely not, for example the mosques of Ḳūsūn, who built a mausoleum and *khānḳāh* [290-1] in the southern cemetery 736/1335 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 425), and of Shaykhū, whose *khānḳāh* and mausoleum are directly opposite [152], 756/1355*—.

The Cairene mosques from the time of Sultan Ḥasan onwards, if even grander in scale, are fewer in number and, even in the case of royal foundations, usually form part of a more complex institution. This is reflected in the terminology of the literary sources, which becomes steadily more diverse. The mosque of Sultan Ḥasan [133], 757/1356-764/1363* (see Pl. 4), described in its *waḳfiyya* as *hādha'l-masdjid al-djāmiʿ wa'l-madāris*, is variously described by al-Maḳrīzī as *madrasa* and *djāmiʿ*. Its central feature is indeed a vast cruciform *madrasa* for the four *madhhab*s with an open courtyard containing a domed fountain (*fawwāra*). The principal *īwān*, allotted to the Ḥanafīs for teaching purposes, contains a marble *minbar* and a monumental *miḥrāb*, leaving no doubt that the functions of *madrasa* and *masdjid djāmiʿ* were not exclusive. Remarkably, the *ḳibla īwān* gives on to a palatial tomb-chamber, originally covered with a wooden dome. The *madrasas* occupy each corner of the main courtyard and consist of many storeys of cells disposed round a small interior courtyard. Annexed to the construction are still to be found a *mīḍāt* or ablution courtyard (in Cairene architecture it is unusual for fountains in the courtyards of mosques or *madrasas* to be used for ablutions before the late Ottoman period), a high water-tower, a *ḳayṣāriyya* with the remains of shops, and a *rabʿ*, which may also have served as a hospital. Complete specification of the appurtenances, many of which have disappeared in the last hundred years, must await publication of the *waḳfiyya* of the institution. In the architecture of 8th/14th-century Islam as a whole, not only of al-Ḳāhira, the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan is outstanding for the vastness of its conception and scale and is particularly remarkable for its height. The interpretation of its architectural history has not significantly advanced since the publication of Max Herz Bey's monograph (see Bibliography), except that unconfirmed speculations that the porch might be of Anatolian inspiration have now been confirmed by comparison with the two-minaret porch of the Saldjūḳ Gök Medrese at Sivas [see SALDJŪḲS: ARCHITECTURE] 670/1271-2 (J. M. Rogers, *Seljuk influence on the monuments of Cairo*, in *Kunst des Orients*, vii/1 (1972), 40-68). The building, which remained unfinished at the time of Sultan Ḥasan's death, had an eventful history under the early Burdjī Mamlūk sultans and its vast scale made it rather unsuitable for general imitation. The façade was, however, imitated by al-Muʾayyad Shaykh in his mosque, with its other dependencies, including two minarets placed on top of the Bāb Zuwayla [190], 818/1415-823/1420 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 328-30), and he paid the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan the further compliment of appropriating the great bronze doors from its entrance and a bronze chandelier from the interior for his own construction.

The mosque of al-Muʾayyad, the last considerable mosque of Mamlūk Cairo, is built on the *ṣaḥn* plan,

and the remains of its courtyard façade show it to have been also the last imitation of the blind arcading and rosettes which were taken over by al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh from the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn for his refection of the courtyard of al-Azhar. Polychrome marbles on a vast scale were expropriated for the decoration of the *ḳibla* wall, and the mausoleum even contains fragments of an Ikhshīdid cenotaph; decoration of such richness, or rapacity, was not subsequently possible in the architecture of the Mamlūk period. The later 9th/15th century mosques of Cairo, even royal foundation like that of Djaḳmaḳ in the Darb Saʿāda, 853/1449*, are comparatively on a very small scale indeed. Their plans become progressively more similar to those of *madrasas*, chiefly of the two-*īwān* type with a reduced *ṣaḥn*, which eventually becomes roofed with a wooden lantern, and the approximation of plan is doubtless due to the fact that the mosque became simply a minor element of complex foundations. Ḳāʾit Bāy, the most considerable builder of the Burdjī Mamlūks, built no mosques which were not primarily some other institution, and the chief interest of those few buildings of his reign which might be classified as primarily mosques, like that of Ḳidjmās (Ḳačmāz) al-Isḥāḳī [114], 885-6/1480-1*, is not their scale or comprehensiveness but the architectural problems they solve. In the last case an island site is used, and the ablution courtyard, the *shaykh*'s house and a *sabīl-kuttāb* (see below, *Ottomans*), which lie across a street, have to be connected by a bridge. The elements of the foundation are remarkably compressed, and the maximum use is made both of the street façades and of their symmetrical decoration. However, pressure on space inside the city, and doubtless a sufficiency of mosques in the various quarters of al-Ḳāhira, made the lavish foundations of the Baḥrī Mamlūks either impossible or unnecessary.

Madrasas. With the probable exception of al-Azhar itself and the *madrasas* associated with it—those of Ṭaybars, 709/1309-10, Aḳbughā, 734-40/1333-39*, Gawhar (Djawhar), 844/1440* (Wiet *CIA* 118 No. 572), and possibly the Ghannāmiyya [96], 774/1372-3*—the *madrasas* of Cairo in the Mamlūk period had no comparable function to the metropolitan *madrasas* of Ottoman Istanbul, which served as schools for those of the *ʿulamāʾ* destined to hold the highest administrative positions in the empire. They are almost invariably funerary constructions, to which the mausoleum of the founder was attached, well before his death if possible, and in fact provided an excuse for the erection of a conspicuous tomb, prejudice against which still existed among the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* in the 7th/13th-8th/14th centuries. Moreover, at least with royal foundations, where more land for building might be available, the prime consideration was that the mausoleum should face on to the street in order to be as conspicuous as possible, preferably at the *ḳibla* side of the foundation, which explains the preponderance of royal mausolea on the west side of the Ḳaṣaba. The reconciliation of the conflicting demands of *ḳibla*-orientation, a façade on the street for the mausoleum, symmetrically disposed windows and doors for the attached foundation and so far as possible a symmetrical internal disposition, partly explains the labyrinthine convolutions of the entrance to the *ṣaḥn* of the *madrasa* of Taghrībirdī [209], 844/1440*, or the bizarre assemblage of passages and closets against the *ḳibla* wall of that of the Ḳāḍī Abū Bakr Muẓhir [49], 884/1479-80*. In principle the *ḳibla* came first, and in the Burdjī period a certain revival or rigorism led to the correction of defectively oriented buildings, for example a 9th/15th-century *miḥrāb* built into the *ḳibla* wall of the mausoleum of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī; however, in cases of conflict the symmetry of the street façade in funerary foundations generally took first place.

The exceptional character of the independent, non-funerary *madrasa* is shown by the fact that in the Burdjī period only two *madrasas*, both founded by Ḳāʾit Bāy (on the Ḳalʿat al-Kabsh [223], 880/1475*, and on the Island of Rawḍa, described also as a mosque by Ibn Iyās (text ii, 205, 211, 271, 301) and completed by 896/1491, the only standing monument of any antiquity on the island), can be considered as non-funerary foundations. One funerary *madrasa* did not exclude the possibility of other funerary foundations either. The amīr Ḳarāsunḳur, who built a *madrasa* [31] in 700/1301 in Cairo, built a tomb at Aleppo when *nāʾib* of that town and is buried in a tomb, the Gunbadh-i Ghaffāriyya, at Marāgha [*q.v.*] in N.W. Iran, whither he had fled in 712/1312. The amīr Tankizbughā actually built two foundations inside Cairo, one in the southern cemetery [298], *c.* 760/1359 (Creswell's dating), and one on a spur of the Muḳaṭṭam to the east of the Citadel [85], 764/1362*, which contains a canopy mausoleum (*čahār ṭāḳ*) completed four years after his death. Even Barḳūḳ, who had founded a funerary *madrasa intra muros* [187], 786-8/1384-6*, is reported to have asked on his deathbed to be buried in a *ḳubba* near the graves of various venerated *shaykh*s, which is one of the motives given by al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 464) for the location of the *khānḳāh* of Faradj in the desert [149], 803/1400-813/1410*, where Barḳūḳ is indeed buried. This suggests that whereas institutionally speaking *madrasa* and *khānḳāh* are not exclusive terms, the latter were preferred as places of burial; in any case Barḳūḳ's reported wish is curiously similar to the Tīmūrids' motives for the development of Shahr-i Sabz (Kish, Kishsh) and the Shāh-i Zinde at Samarḳand [*q.v.*] as their family cemeteries.

Regarding the evolution of the plans of Cairene *madrasas*, in particular of the cruciform *madrasa*, an authoritative account has been given by Creswell (*MAE*, ii, 104-34). The institution was imported from Syria by the Ayyūbids, but no surviving Ayyūbid monument in Egypt or Syria is cruciform in plan and the lists of the known *madrasas* of Damascus up to 695/1295 and of Cairo up to 639/1242, mostly Shāfiʿī or Ḥanafī, show few for two rites and none at all for four. The Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriyya at Baghdād (631/1233) was intended for four rites, but Creswell has shown (*MAE*, ii, 126-7), that it was not cruciform, whereas the first Cairene cruciform *madrasa* built by Baybars, the Ẓāhiriyya [37], 660/1262*, does not appear to have been intended for all four rites. This is also untypical in that it does not appear to have been a funerary construction, Baybars having built his tomb in the Madrasa al-Ẓāhiriyya at Damascus [see DIMASHḲ]. The cruciform plan was not immediately adopted for the *madrasa*, that of Ḳalāʾūn [43], 683-4/1284-5*, having one *īwān* only and a sanctuary three bays deep. The first cruciform *madrasa* in Cairo for all four rites was that of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad [44], 695/1295-703/1304*, and only two others appear to be recorded by Maḳrīzī, those of Sultan Ḥasan (see above) and Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 401) [35], 811/1408*. The cruciform plan was, of course, more widely employed, for mosques as well as for *madrasas*, though always with a tendency for the axial *īwāns* to enlarge at the expense of the side ones. It was, however, most conspicuously employed in the two surviving hospitals (*māristāns*) in Cairo,

that of Ḳalāʾūn [43], 683/1284, and that of al-Muʾayyad [257] (see Pls. 5, 5a), 821-3/1418-20 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 408), the façade of which suggests some direct acquaintance with the Mengüdjükid hospital at Divriği in Central Anatolia (626/1228 onwards). The hospital of al-Muʾayyad was, however, turned into a mosque in 825/1421-2.

The great majority of the Mamlūk *madrasas* of Cairo are modifications of the two-*īwān* type. Even if we cannot accept Creswell's suggestion that the plan of such *madrasas* was entirely determined by that of the domestic architecture of Cairo, in particular the *ḳāʿa*, we may readily admit that domestic architecture and the *madrasas* of the Mamlūk period developed *pari passu*. There are even two *madrasas* which bear inscriptions proving that they were originally houses, al-Ghannāmiyya [96], 774/1372-3*, and that of Khūshḳadam al-Aḥmadī, formerly the palace of Tashtimūr al-Dawādār [153], 768/1366-7 or 778/1376-7. The dates of their conversion to *madrasas* are curiously late: the former must have been a *madrasa* by 827/1423 when the *Khiṭaṭ* was completed, but according to Ibn Iyās the first *khuṭba* was pronounced in the latter only in 891/1486. The conversion was, of course, simple: it required only the hollowing out of a *miḥrāb* on the *ḳibla* side and the construction of a minaret, both essential features of the Cairene *madrasa*.

Khānḳāhs. Mamlūk Cairo is rich in religious foundations of a quasi-monastic type, *zāwiyas*, *khānḳāhs* (pl. usually *khawāniḳ* or *khānḳāhāt*) and *ribāṭs*. The first of these were generally small constructions housing a *shaykh*, with room for students to group informally round him. They are rarely of architectural importance, and were often not endowed at the express request of the *shaykh*. Of the only two mentioned in Creswell's *Brief Chronology*, the Zāwiyat al-ʿAbbār [146] (*c.* 684/1285-6, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 420) consists of two domed mausolea and is equally well known as the Khānḳāh al-Bunduḳdāriyya, and the Zāwiyat Āydumur (Āydemir) al-Pahlawān [22], the date of which is disputed (see Van Berchem, *CIA*, 125), was almost certainly a *madrasa*. Where the sources speak of other *zāwiyas* they may say no more than that they consisted of a *rukn* or a *riwāḳ*: they are, therefore, extremely difficult to identify architecturally.

The earliest *khānḳāh* founded in Egypt was Ayyūbid (569/1173-4), in the palace of Saʿīd al-Suʿadā, a freed slave of al-Mustanṣir (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 415-7, 422). The site may still be identified, but the building has been so often changed that no idea of its original disposition can be formed. Curiously enough, throughout the period up to the Ottoman conquest, only seven buildings are named, or implied, in their foundation inscriptions as *khānḳāhs*: those of Baybars al-Djāshenkīr [Čāshnegīr] [32], 706-9/1306-9*, Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī [152], 756/1355, Niẓām al-Dīn Isḥāḳ [140], 757/1356*, Muḳbil al-Zimām al-Dāʾūdī [177], 797-8/1395*, and three in the eastern cemetery, Faradj b. Barḳūḳ [149], 803/1400-813/1410*, al-Ashraf Barsbāy [121], 835/1432*, and al-Ashraf Īnāl [158], 854-60/1450-6*. The conception of a *khānḳāh* as an independent construction, with kitchens, a bath and living quarters either disposed round a central courtyard or in separate blocks, as in that of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ, is well established by Maḳrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ibn Iyās and al-Sakhāwī; but the extreme divergence in the numbers of *khānḳāhs* they give, from twenty-nine in the first case to a mere four in the last, and the fact that each gives a slightly different list shows that the term, like *madrasa*, is far from having an exclusive sense in the architectural history of Cairo. The general tendency in the Burdjī period is for *khānḳāhs* to be subsumed in epigraphy under *madrasa* or *djāmiʿ*, though reference may be made to a *mashyakhat taṣawwuf* or *mashyakha ṣūfiyya*, and, as in the case of the foundation of al-Ashraf Barsbāy [121] above, the "*khānḳāh*" of the inscription may become "*madrasa*" in the *waḳfiyya* (A. Darrag, *L'Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, Damascus 1961, 50). Up to the end of the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, which coincides with the foundation of most of the *khānḳāhs* mentioned in the sources, it seems to have been the rule for Ṣūfīs to live in *khānḳāhs*, in cells either grouped round a courtyard, as in the foundation of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Djāshenkīr [Čāshnegīr] [32] above, and of Salār and Sandjar al-Djāwilī [221], 703/1303-4*, on the Djabal Yashkur, or in an annexe, usually of cruciform plan, or, finally, as in the foundations of Īnāl, Ḳāʾit Bāy and Ḳurḳumās, in a *rabʿ* or block of living-units set within the main enclosure but structurally independent of it. In the latter two types there is no necessary resemblance between the annexe and the main construction.

By the first quarter of the 9th/15th century living quarters were being suppressed from new foundations within the city, though whether this was for lack of space or of Ṣūfīs is unclear. A condition of residence within the *khānḳāhs* of the Baḥrī period often stipulated in their *waḳfiyyas* (cf. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm ʿAlī, *Dirāsāt taʾrīkhiyya wa āthāriyya fī wathāʾiḳ min ʿaṣr al-Ghūrī*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cairo, 168-9, for the *waḳfiyya* of Baybars al-Djāshenkīr was that Ṣūfīs, as well as taking vows of poverty and piety, were obliged to relinquish salaried appointment within the administration or in any other religious institution. Non-residential *taṣawwuf* was permitted in the Baḥrī period under some circumstances, *e.g.*, to married Ṣūfīs, but *khānḳāhs* founded at this time were seen as essentially places for private *dhikr* to which non-residents were in principle not admitted. From the time of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh onwards (*waḳfiyya* quoted by ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 128) the emphasis changed to the communal *dhikr*, the previous restrictions on alternative employment for Ṣūfīs were less rigorously enforced, and the important element of *taṣawwuf* became daily attendance at the *ḥuḍūr*. The later Burdjī *khānḳāhs* were dependent parts of complex funerary foundations, and were sometimes no more than *maḳʿads*, like that of al-Ghūrī [66-7], 908-10/1503-4*, a large oriented hall where the daily *dhikr djamāʿī* or *ḥuḍūr waẓīfat al-taṣawwuf* was celebrated at certain specified hours.

Much more work is required on the development of the *khānḳāh* in Mamlūk Egypt (for a survey see S. Mehrez, *The Ghawriyya in the urban context, an analysis of its form and function*, *IFAO* Cairo, forthcoming). It has been suggested that the change from residential to non-residential Ṣūfī centres was at least partly the result of the decadence of the *ṭarīḳas* in 9th/15th century Egypt; this may be true, but the sources are extraordinarily silent on the precise *ṭarīḳa* for which a given *khānḳāh* was intended or which eventually took control of it. Divergences in the practices of the *ṭarīḳas* led in 8th/14th-9th/15th century Iran and in Ottoman Turkey to profound modifications in the architecture of the *khānḳāh*, and it would not be reasonable to suppose that Cairo was any different in this respect. The only hope of clarifying this question appears to lie either in the publication of the Mamlūk *waḳfiyyas* of Egypt (*e.g.* the *waḳfiyya* of Barsbāy (Aḥmad Darrādj, *Ḥudjdjat waḳf al-ashraf Barsbāy* 72, 74) tells us that he founded,

to the west of his *khānḳāh* in the desert, a *zāwiya* for the benefit of the *Ṣūfīs* (*Rifāʿīs*)) or in a prosopographic analysis of the *shaykhs* of the various *khānḳāhs* during the 8th/14th-9th/15th centuries.

Ribāṭs. *Ribāṭs* (used always in the religious sense and not in the sense of *khān*) are rare foundations in Cairo and the only foundations named as such in inscriptions are Burdjī, that of Yaḥyā Zayn al-Dīn [141], 856/1452* (*CIA*, 746, No. 270), and two of al-Ashraf Ināl, one attached to his mausoleum in the desert [158], 854/1450-860/1456*, and one inside al-Ḳāhira in the Khurunfīsh [61], 857/1453-865/1461*. There is little evidence that the foundations were intentionally associated with the early Islamic *ribāṭs* for the *mudjāhidūn* [see RIBĀṬ], and the occurrence in the *ribāṭ* of Ināl [158] of a second foundation inscription describing it as a *khānḳāh* (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 399 No. 274) suggests that the two terms were by this period virtually synonymous.

Tombs. The most splendid of the mausolea of the Mamlūk period are, of course, those "attached" to the great funerary foundations—of Ḳalāʾūn, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Barḳūḳ *intra muros* and of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ on to Ḳāʾit Bāy in the eastern cemetery, though, as C. Kessler has observed, it was really the foundation which was attached to the mausoleum, providing its justification, so that, as the prejudice against monumental mausolea gradually waned, the tombs took over a progressively greater part of the foundation or became even more central to its plan. On the other hand there are a number of smaller mausolea from this period, if not exactly isolated then certainly worthy of remark. That of Küčük*, for example, incorporated into the mosque of Aḳsunḳur [123], 747-8/1346-7*, is exceptional in being neither oriented nor having a *miḥrāb*. That of Azbak (Özbek) al-Yūsufī is simply one of the side niches of his two-*īwān madrasa* [211], 900/1494-5*, with a wooden *mashrabiyya* grille to separate if from the *durḳāʿa*. The Ḳubbat ʿAsfūr [al-ʿAsfūr?] in the eastern cemetery [132], post 913/1507, is attached merely to a *sabīl*. So concerned was al-Ghūrī that his mausoleum [67], completed 909/1504*, should be on the Ḳaṣaba that the dependencies are almost eliminated and the mausoleum reaches right from the street to the *ḳibla* wall. The mausoleum of Khayr Beg is attached to his palace, [249], pre-910/505, and the space between filled by a mosque or *muṣallā* with a *miḥrāb* which deviates 28° with reference to the *ḳibla*. There are a few Mamlūk canopy tombs (*čahār ṭāḳs*), notably those of Tankizbughā [85], 764/1362*, and a mausoleum within the *khānḳāh* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy in the desert [121], 835/1432*, though most Mamlūk tombs are domed chambers (hence the general use of the term *ḳubba* for mausoleum). Most interesting of these isolated constructions is al-Ḳubba al-Fadāwiyya at ʿAbbāsiyya [5], a vast domed edifice datable to 884-6/1479-81* on a high basement, part of which serves as a *muṣallā*, but which has no ground floor porch and which is reached by a grand staircase on the exterior.

General considerations. It is often asserted that the architecture of Cairo shows a progressive decline from the Baḥrī to the Burdjī periods. There was certainly a change of taste in the later period with an elaboration of surface ornament on both exterior and interior surfaces, in marble veneer, glass paste or simply carved stone, the exterior surfaces of the domes of the larger royal foundation, from that of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ onwards, being carved with elaborate tracery in high relief. Wood was scarce and an expensive import, no marble appears to have been quarried after the Byzantine period, and despite all expedients the supply of antique material had almost dried up by the mid-9th/15th century. The devices resorted to to supply this deficiency, for example the use of bitumen or red paste to fill in grooved designs on white marble and thus create the illusion of polychrome marble veneer (*Madrasa* of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr Muẓhir [49], 884/1479-80*; Kidjmās [Ḳačmāz] al-Isḥāḳī [114], 885-6/1480-1*; funerary *madrasa* of Ḳāʾit Bāy [99] completed 879/1474* (see Pl. 6); *madrasa* of al-Ghūrī [66] completed 910/1504*), show technical inventiveness rather than decadence. Pressure on space within the confines of al-Ḳāhira doubtless explains the smaller size of funerary foundations, in order to accommodate the standard appurtenances, and there is a tendency for the proportion of height to ground area to increase. There also does seem to have been a misguided preconception among Mamlūk builders that a plan or elevation could be reduced by a factor of two or four without losing in effectiveness, and this smaller scale naturally makes allover surface decoration even more conspicuous. However, where space was freely available, as in the eastern cemetery, the Burdjī monuments of the whole of the 9th/15th century remain architecturally imposing. This period also saw a tremendous development in the technology of stone work. The few stone domes of the Baḥrī period are small and mainly experimental constructions: where a large area was to be covered the dome had necessarily to be wood (as in the mausoleum of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī or of Sultan Ḥasan, both incidentally restored in their original material by Ḳāʾit Bāy) or of brick, as in the mausoleum within the *madrasa* of Sarghatmish [218], 757/1356*. In the Burdjī period the enormous span of the domes of the *khānḳāh* of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ represents perhaps the apogee of Mamlūk stone-work in Egypt, but the technique was maintained right up to the fall of the Mamlūks, in the tomb and palace of Khayr Beg [248-9], 906-8/1501-2*. These are scarcely grounds for speaking of decadence.

Domestic Architecture. In the discussion of the Cairene *madrasa* the central rôle of the *ḳāʿa* in the grand domestic architecture of al-Ḳāhira has already been stressed. In many cases a *salsabīl* in the wall of an *īwān* emitted a trickle of water which flowed down into a pool in the centre of the *durḳāʿa* (*ḳāʿa* of Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn [50], otherwise known as the *waḳf* of ʿUthmān Katkhudā, dated 751/1351* not 651/1253 as in Creswell, *Brief Chronology*). Ventilation was assured by wind-funnels or towers (*malḳaf*, plur. *malāḳif*), facing north to catch the evening breeze, and these also occur in some religious buildings (the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ [116], 555/1160*, where the shaft inconveniently issues at the top of the *minbar*, and in the *khānḳāh* of Baybars al-Djāshenkīr [32], 706-9/1306-9*). The main *ḳāʿa* may not be on the ground floor, and as in the case of the palace of Beshtāk [34], 738 or 740/1337 or 1339, the *piano nobile* is reached by an exterior staircase up the side of a basement which contained the stables as well as a street façade of shops incorporating a *masdjid* of Fāṭimid foundation, the Masdjid al-Fidjl. In the storeys above the *ḳāʿa* were the private apartments, often looking on to it through wooden *mashrabiyya* screens: the result was to make some of the great houses of Cairo extremely high. Of most of these palaces the chief remains are the monumental porch giving on to the street (Mandjak al-Silāḥdār [247], 747-8/1346-7*; the Amīr Ṭāz [267], 753/1352, on the Shāriʿ al-Suyūfiyya), but one palace, of the amīr Yushbak, who to judge from an inscrip-

tion of 880/1475-6 was the last owner of the building, has been preserved almost in its entirety [266]. Its other current name, the Ḥaws͟h Bardaḳ, suggests that it should be identified with the *iṣṭabl* (both stables and residence) built by Ḳūṣūn as an enlargement of a palace of Sand͟jar and pillaged in 742/1341-2. After Yus͟hbak's death in 887/1482 the palace was given by Ḳā'it Bāy to yet another amīr, Āḳbardī, the last recorded occupant, who died in 904/1498-9. The sequence of owners suggests that this palace, and possibly others as well, may have been an official residence, but this is so far undemonstrable and its continued use may simply be due to the lack of suitable housing for amīrs holding high positions. It became customary, indeed, to incorporate earlier palace buildings within later structures, or to amalgamate adjoining buildings, so that they came to form rambling complexes of *ḳā'as* and *maḳ'ads*, north-facing loggias generally at mezzanine level on a basement of storerooms or servants' quarters (*e.g.*, that of Mamāy [51], 901/1496*, now known as the Bayt al-Ḳāḍī), disposed round irregular courtyards. The Rab' Raḍwān Bey [406] near the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bayt al-Kirītliyya, adjoining the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn [321], both 11th/17th-century constructions, incorporate earlier elements, and the same would appear to be true of the 9th/15th century, for example, the "palace" of Ḳā'it Bāy [228], 890/1485*, in the Darb al-Aḥmar.

This tradition of appropriation of earlier houses and the resultant constructions rambling round a *ḳā'a* probably changed little from the Fāṭimid period onwards. It was certainly little affected by the Ottoman occupation, and Turkish influence on the architecture of al-Ḳāhira was probably at its least in this sphere. The Musāfirk͟hāna palace [20], 1193/1779-1203/1788, is arguably more of an Istanbul-type construction, and Muḥammad 'Alī's palace of al-D͟jawhara [505], 1229/1814, shows much French influence. But the less elaborate houses of Ottoman Cairo continued the local tradition.

Commercial Architecture. The tenement houses or *rab'*s of Cairo have never been studied architecturally as a group (most appear on the *Index* as "house-*waḳf*s"). The Mamlūk baths of the city, numerous as they once were, scarcely survive. The entrance to the bath of Bes͟htāk [244], pre-742/1341*, and the central hall of a bath which formed part of the endowments of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad S͟hayk͟h [410] (cf. 'Alī Pās͟hā Mubārak, v, 35-6, vi, 71) are the only important remains of the Mamlūk period. The *k͟hān*s of the Mamlūk period are slightly better preserved, though, given the lavish documentary evidence from the Fāṭimid period onwards for *k͟hān*s in which foreign merchants lodged and the fact that many of the high Mamlūk amīrs engaged in trade, it is surprising that there should be only one surviving *k͟hān* of the Baḥrī Mamlūk period, the earliest in Cairo, that of Ḳūṣūn [11] in the D͟jamāliyya quarter, pre-742/1341, the date of his death. Two *k͟hān*s founded by Ḳā'it Bāy are preserved (the inscriptions use the word *k͟hān*, though the literary sources almost invariably use the word *wakāla/wikāla*), one at al-Azhar with a *sabīl-kuttāb* attached [75-6], 882/1477*, and one [9] at Bāb al-Naṣr, 885/1481. The best preserved, however, is the Wikālat al-Nak͟hla [64]*, which bears the cartouches of al-G͟hūrī, 906/1501-922/1516. It consists of a courtyard approached through a monumental entrance surrounded by a ground floor of booths (*dakākīn*) or depôts (*mak͟hāzin*) with two upper storeys of rooms for lodging and, possibly, originally another storey as well. The plan differs little from that of contemporary *k͟hān*s in Aleppo and Damascus, though the building is much higher in proportion to its ground area, and the street façade has windows for each storey above the ground floor. These late Mamlūk *wikāla*s, organized, as in Syria, according to trade as well as to the nationality of the merchants who inhabited them, changed very little after the Ottoman occupation, most of the surviving *k͟hān*s being 10th/16th-12th/18th century in date.

Al-G͟hūrī also built a *ḳayṣāriyya* [53-4, 56] (undated), now known as the K͟hān al-K͟halīlī, which was in fact a *k͟hān* of 8th/14th century date ('Alī Pās͟hā Mubārak, v, 90, 301). It has been assumed that al-G͟hūrī merely restored the *k͟hān*, but the incomplete foundation inscription in his name (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 596, No. 406) leaves no doubt that it was a new foundation.

OTTOMANS

Most assertions of the disruptive effect of the Ottoman conquest upon the architecture of Cairo are based on prejudice or on superficial acquaintance with the monuments. The Mamlūk tradition as it had evolved under the Burd͟jī Mamlūks was extraordinarily persistent, and, in contrast to Damascus, the Ottoman metropolitan tradition of architecture made itself felt only sporadically. Changes of various sorts did take place. The *Irsāliyye K͟hazīnesi*, a tax first fixed under K͟hādim Sulaymān Pās͟hā (931/1524-941/1534) [see IRSĀLIYYE], left the Ottoman *wālī*s with little money for building, and most of them left Egypt with heavy debts. In the later 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, when the Mamlūk beys prevented its remission to Istanbul, larger foundations were undertaken, like the mosque and dependencies of Muṣṭafā S͟hurbagī [Čorbad͟ji] Mīrzā at Būlāḳ [343], 1110/1698*, the extensive restoration of al-Azhar, 1167/1753, and the mosque, *ḥawḍ* (drinking trough) and *sabīl* of Muḥammad Bey Abū D͟hahab [62, 98], 1187/1774*. The changes however, were by no means entirely the result of economic pressure. The Ottoman governors, generally in Egypt *en poste* for short periods, preferred to endow large funerary *kulliyyas* [*külliyes*], complex foundations, in Istanbul, where large areas of land were still freely available for building in the central districts of the city. They did not intend, if they could help it, to die in Egypt; they did not have the Mamlūk tendency to build more than one mausoleum (the last Mamlūk to do this in Cairo was Ḳānṣūh Abū Sa'īd with two mausoleums [360, 164] both dated 904/1499*), and the discovery on their arrival that Cairo was almost entirely built up already and that land was too difficult, or too expensive, to expropriate must have greatly contributed to their lack of enthusiasm for large-scale foundations there. However, two early governors appear to have been exceptional in building in Egypt and not in Istanbul, K͟hādim Sulaymān Pās͟hā (*wālī* 931/1524-941/1534), who built a mosque of Ottoman plan but Mamlūk decoration on the Citadel [142], 935/1528* (chronogram), with a very curiously planned *tekke* behind it, and Iskandar Pās͟hā (governor 963/1556-966/1559) whose mosque, *tekke* and *sabīl* at the Bāb al-K͟halḳ (K͟harḳ) have all disappeared. The former is exceptional in having continued to build in Egypt after relinquishing his official duties: he is credited with a *wikāla* at Būlāḳ [539], 948/1541, and a *tekke intra muros*, al-Sulaymāniyya [225], 950/1543-4* (but described in the foundation inscription as a *madrasa*).

Sabīls. The distinction between Ottoman and Mamlūk architecture in Cairo is perhaps best shown

by considering the history of the *sabīl*, the earliest surviving example of which is that in the name of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad [561] at the porch of the foundation of Ḳalā᾽ūn. The cistern cannot be located, and the later elements of Cairene *sabīls*, a carved stone *salsabīl* or *s̲h̲ād̲h̲irwān* down which the water flowed into an interior pool and bronze grilles through which the water could be taken with a dipper, do not survive. The date is disputed: *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 97 (followed by Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 274-5) gives 726/1326, but there are clear signs of a subsequent restoration, when a *kuttāb* (Ḳur᾽ān school) may have been added above. One free-standing Baḥrī *sabīl*, that of S̲h̲aykh̲ū [144], 755/1354*, appears to be without a *kuttāb*, but by the early Burd̲j̲ī period the joint construction, generally at the corner of a façade so that it might be accessible from two or three sides, becomes a feature of larger foundations, for example that on the façade of the *k̲h̲ānḳāh* of *S̲h̲aykh̲ū* [152], later than the foundation of 756/1355*, and the pair at either end of the façade of the *k̲h̲ānḳāh* of Farad̲j̲ b. Barḳūḳ in the desert [149], 803/1400-813/1411*. However, where a site at an important street junction could be employed, the *sabīl-kuttāb* might become free-standing in the later Burd̲j̲ī period, for example, that of Ḳā᾽it Bāy [324], 884/1480, with a magnificent revetment of marble veneer and a complex of small rooms behind.

In the Ottoman period the *sabīl-kuttāb* became the most frequent of all commemorative foundations, doubtless for reasons of economy. It was almost invariably an independent foundation, even when built up against some earlier building. That of K̲h̲usraw [*q.v.*] (Husrev) Pās̲h̲ā [52], 942/1535*, is both typical of the genre and symptomatic of general Ottoman practice. Governor of Egypt from 940/1534 to 942/1536, he had built mosques at Diyārbakr (925-35/1519-29), Sarajevo (actually a *kulliyya* (*külliye*); cf. Mayer, *Architects* ..., 50) (938/1532) and Van (975/1567), a mosque and double *madrasa*, the K̲h̲usrawiyya, at Aleppo (953/1546-7), and a *türbe* in Istanbul, all these three built by Sinān, a canopy tomb at Van (989/1581) and a *k̲h̲ān* on the Van-Bitlis road. His architectural activities are by far the most flagrant example of the Ottoman governors' neglect of Cairo, although his case is paralleled by that of Sinān Pās̲h̲ā, twice governor of Egypt, whose numerous constructions in Syria and at Istanbul are represented in Cairo now only by his mosque at Būlāḳ [349], 979/1571*. If (improbably) sheer poverty was K̲h̲usraw Pās̲h̲ā's excuse, the habit of founding *sabīl-kuttābs* in Cairo persisted throughout the period of Ottoman domination. The best known is that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katk̲h̲udā [21], 1157/1744* (see Pl. 7), an elegant Mamlūk pastiche which fully exploits the advantages of its situation at an important street junction. Architecturally, however, it is far from untypical; the *čes̲h̲mes* of 11th-12th/17th/18th century Istanbul do not appear to have been copied at all, and the typically bow-fronted wooden-eaved Istanbul *sabīls* (known as *ṣibyān mektebleri*) are not imitated in Cairo until the 19th century (mosque of Sulaymān Āg̲h̲ā Silāḥdār [382], 1255/1839).

Fortifications. The Ottoman fortifications of the Citadel cannot ever have served much purpose. The Bāb al-ʿAzab [555], 1168/1754, a premature revival of romantic Crusader architecture, was restored by Muḥammad ʿAlī when he occupied the Citadel and built there the Mint [606], 1227/1812, two palaces, the D̲j̲awhara and the Ḥarīm [505, 612], 1229/1814 and 1243/1827, the Archives [605], 1244/1828, and ultimately the mosque of Muḥammad ʿAlī [503], 1265/1848, the plan of which, in spite of frequent assertions to the contrary, is based on that of the Yeñi D̲j̲āmiʿ at Istanbul. The Citadel was no longer a fortress in any strict sense of the word, and an earlier fortress of Muḥammad ʿAlī on the Muḳaṭṭam Hills [455], 1225/1810, connected to the Citadel by a ramp, is so disposed that it cannot ever have had more than decorative value. Various gates of quarters (*ḥārāt*) datable to the Ottoman period remain within the walls of al-Ḳāhira, for example that of the Ḥārat al-Mabyaḍa in the D̲j̲amāliyya [356], 1084/1673. There is no reason, however, to posit a revival of fortification within the city in the Ottoman period. The existence of such gates is well documented in the Mamlūk period, though none dating from this time has yet been identified.

Mosques. Although the principal religious foundations of Cairo in the Ottoman period are mosques, not *madrasas*, there is only one royal foundation, that of Malika Ṣafiyya [200], 1019/1610, though it is royal only by error in that its founder, ʿUt̲h̲mān Āg̲h̲ā, the Dār al-Saʿādet Āg̲h̲āsī, had not been manumitted, so that the foundation was judged to revert to his owner, Malika Ṣafiyya. Although the masonry and much of the decoration is Cairene, the mosque plan comes closer to the metropolitan mosques of Istanbul than any other Ottoman building in Cairo. It is set in a walled enclosure of which one gateway [330], 1019/1610*, still stands, on a high basement without shops and consists of a courtyard surrounded by domed arcades leading to a sanctuary with a dome on a hexagonal base which goes back in plan to that of the Üč S̲h̲erefeli mosque at Edirne. The next mosque in order of size is that of Sinān Pās̲h̲ā at Būlāḳ [349], 979/1571,* which was subsequently imitated by that of Muḥammad Bey Abū D̲h̲ahab [98], 1187/1774*. The use of a dome similar to that of al-Kubba al-Fadāwiyya [5], 884-6/1479-81*, rather than one of the dome types evolved in Istanbul, as a model for both mosques appears at first sight remarkable, though Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (*Ta᾽rīk̲h̲ al-masād̲j̲id*, i, 671) has adduced evidence that by the late 11th/17th century at least this Mamlūk mausoleum had become one of the sights for visitors to Cairo. Both mosques, like others of the 10th/16th-11th/17th centuries, introduce certain features which are more characteristic of the Ottoman architecture of Istanbul: a narthex with *miḥrābs*, allegedly for late-comers to prayers, and, inside, a balcony above the entrance (it is not always clear whether a royal box or a gynaeceum was intended), and a sunken transverse passage across the sanctuary, a reconciliation, perhaps, of the Istanbul practice of entry into the sanctuary directly from the street rather than via a *ṣaḥn* or a *miḍāt*, as in Cairo. The balcony above the entrance first occurs in the architecture of Cairo in the mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel, when it may actually have been a royal box; there appears to have been a gynaeceum right from the start in the mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahā᾽ī [112], 745-6/1344-5*, and the sunken passage across the sanctuary occurs in various Burd̲j̲ī monuments, including the mosque within the *k̲h̲ānḳāh* of al-As̲h̲raf Barsbāy in the desert [121], 835/1432*. Such Ottoman modifications, therefore, were mainly ritual rather than architectural.

This general point also applies to other Ottoman mosques of Cairo, for example the Maḥmūdiyya [135], 975/1568, very much a Burd̲j̲ī Mamlūk building in construction but based on the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan opposite, even to the tomb-chamber behind the *ḳibla* wall, though the choice of a steep hill as a site makes the whole idea rather ineffective. The mosque of Dā᾽ūd Pās̲h̲ā [472], 955/1548, combines an

irregularly shaped *muṣallā* of late 9th/15th-century type with an entrance more like a *ḳāʿa* with a staircase incongruously occupying it; and the Ribāṭ al-Āthār [320], 1073/1662-1224/1809, a much restored building which is now in part a basilical mosque, has a *ḳubba* attached which is no mausoleum but a repository for two limestone feet of Pharaonic workmanship, now revered as the *āthār al-nabawiyya* [see ḲADAM SHARĪF] (For earlier restauration, in the name of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ and Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī, see Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre* 79-80, nos. 107, 129). There is a general tendency for basilical mosques, sometimes with a central lantern, like that of Muṣṭafā Shurbagī [Čorbadjī] Mīrzā, [343] 110/1698*, to replace those with an open *ṣaḥn*, the last of which is the mosque of al-Fakahānī [109], 1148/1736*; but this again is the continuation of a Burdjī development. In general, the continuity of Mamlūk plans and materials is striking, and while, to judge from the extant remains, tile revetments of low quality were employed in some Ottoman buildings, when a flashy marble mosaic was required it could easily be executed by local craftsmen (mosque of al-Burdaynī [201]*, 1025/1616-1038/1629*).

Madrasas and tekkes. The Cairene *madrasas* of the Ottoman period are conspicuous only by their absence. The Takkiya Sulaymāniyya [225], 950/1543-4*, and the *takkiya* and *sabīl* of "Sulṭān Maḥmūd" [308], 1164/1751*, which closely follows it in plan, are both described in their foundation inscriptions as *madrasas*, but there are scarcely any others known and a complete survey of the Ottoman epigraphy of Cairo is required to determine the question. Both these buildings follow the plan of an Istanbul *madrasa* with a raised courtyard surrounded by arcades with cells and a projecting axial *īwān* (*darskhāna*): unlike their Istanbul counterparts they are oriented, so that the *darskhāna* also serves as a *masdjid*. If they were also *tekkes* we have no information regarding the *ṭarīḳa* which occupied them. The situation is little better regarding the foundation of *khānḳāhs* in the Ottoman period. There is a *tekke* of the Mawlawiyya (Mevlevī) order attached to the tomb and *madrasa* of Ḥasan Ṣadaḳa (Sunkur Saʿdī) [263], 715/1315*-721/1321*, with a late 12th/18th-century wooden *semāʿkhāne* on an upper floor, and there is also a *tekke* of the Rifāʿiyya [442], 1188/1774. Yet a third extant *tekke* of the Ottoman period is a Bektāshī convent at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam, an early 10th/16th-century foundation of considerable potential interest but which has long been totally inaccessible and has never been surveyed.

Commercial architecture, etc. It has already been remarked that the commercial and domestic architecture of Cairo appears to have changed little from the Mamlūk to the Ottoman period: almost all the major architectural changes in these spheres have been from the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī onwards. This impression remains to be confirmed, however, and on this, as on the architecture of the 19th-century city, the basic work remains to be done.

Restorations. Any account of the architecture of al-Ḳāhira would be incomplete without some reference to the major restorations which the monuments have undergone. Almost all those still standing have undergone generally accurate major restoration at the hands of the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* over the past ninety years. By no means all earlier restorations are commemorated by inscriptions (for example those of Ḳāʾit Bāy in Sultan Ḥasan and the Imām al-Shāfiʿī) or thought worthy of record by the literary sources: much of the Islamic architecture of the city owes its relatively well preserved state to the fact that for most of the time *waḳf* revenues must have been adequate for the upkeep of the foundation. Where this was not the case, in the Mamlūk period at least, money available for building was usually spent on a new foundation to commemorate the individual donor rather than on the repair of another's monument. Only this can explain the rarity of inscriptions commemorating major restorations in the architecture of al-Ḳāhira: it was, ultimately, more glorious to demolish a dilapidated building than to restore it.

The major restorations, therefore, are generally explained by special considerations. The Fāṭimid restorations of the mosques of ʿAmr, Ibn Ṭūlūn and al-Azhar had a political motive, the propagation of the *daʿwa*, as well as the necessity of coping with a population increase, and the Mamlūk and Ottoman restorations of the Citadel, the aqueduct and the main bridges extant in the Cairo area are readily comprehensible in terms of the necessity of maintaining public, or royal, utilities. The continuous series of inscriptions attesting additions to or restorations of al-Azhar by the Baḥrī and Burdjī sultans are an index of its importance in the 8th/14th-9th/15th centuries as a teaching institution; while the restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn [220] by Lādjīn, 969/1296-7ā, the most considerable of the whole period involving two *miḥrābs*, a domed fountain (*fawwāra*) in the centre of the courtyard, a sundial and the virtual rebuilding of the minaret as well as, doubtless, unspecified structural repairs, was in prompt fulfilment of a vow, as is shown by the dating of the *minbar* he also erected there a fortnight after his accession, 696/1296. The earthquake of 702/1303 was evidently destructive enough to demand widespread repairs, of the mosque of al-Ḥākim by Baybars al-Djāshenkīr, of the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ [116] by Bektimūr al-Čūkāndār, and the mosque of ʿAmr by the amīr Salār, who probably built the *miḥrāb* on the outer wall by the main entrance.

The other recorded Mamlūk restorations appear capricious in the extreme: a further restoration of the mosque of al-Ḥākim by Sultan Ḥasan, 760/1359 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 277), a restoration of the mosque of al-Aḳmar [33] by Yilbughā al-Sālimī, 799/1397*, a *minbar* in the name of Sultan Djaḳmaḳ in the *madrasa* of Barḳūḳ *intra muros* [187], a *minbar* in the name of Ḳāʾit Bāy in the *khānḳāh* of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ in the desert, 888/1483, and a re-endowment inscription of Barsbāy, 838/1435, in the *ḥawsh* of Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (Wiet, *CIA*, 70, No. 565). Why they should be so few or so various is beyond the state of our knowledge.

In the light of this general lack of concern for older buildings without special importance, however, the scarcity of Ottoman restoration inscriptions becomes much less scandalous. Some restorations certainly appear capricious: for example that of the mosque of Āḳsunḳur by Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustaḥfiẓān, 1062/1651-2*, or that of Sultan Ḥasan by Ḥasan Āghā, 1082/1671-2*, the latter of which may in any case refer only to the rebuilding of the fountain in the courtyard. Other Ottoman restoration inscriptions indicate a curious revival of interest in Fāṭimid *mashhads*: the Mashhad al-Djuyūshī to which are attached the remains of an undated Ottoman *tekke*, Sayyida Nafīsa, which was apparently burned down at the Ottoman conquest, by ʿAlī Pāshā Ḥekīmoghlu, twice pāshā of Egypt (1170/1757); the Imām al-Layth (1201/1786-7); the mausoleum of Sīdī ʿUḳba, by Muḥammad Pāshā Silāḥdār (first rebuilt 1066/1655-6* and

now known as al-Sādā al-Wafāʾiyya [463]); and the shrine of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn [599], which bears a somewhat defective Ottoman copy of a foundation inscription dated 549/1154, restored by ʿUthmān Āghā Mustaḥfiẓān (1225/1810, cf. ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 4). Two earlier Fāṭimid buildings were completely rebuilt: a mosque founded by the amīr Abū Manṣūr Ḳusṭah, 535/1141 (Sīdī Sāriya), in the Citadel, which re-appears as the mosque of Khādim Sulaymān Pāshā [142], 935/1528*, and the mosque al-Ẓāfir ibn Naṣr Allāh, 543/1148, rebuilt by Aḥmad Katkhudā Mustaḥfiẓān Kharpūtlū, 1148/1735, as the mosque of al-Fakahānī [109], into which the wooden doors of the Fāṭimid mosque were incorporated.

The Ottoman inscriptions of al-Azhar (given in Mehren, ii 59, see Bibliography) chiefly coincide with the substantial enlargements of the mosque undertaken by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā. The only other inscriptions which demonstrate a concern for public utilities are those of the Great Aqueduct, restored by ʿAbdī Pāshā, 1139/1727, with a chronogram also giving the date 1140/1728 (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 591).

This brief account of restoration work in al-Ḳāhira over a period of seven hundred years or so is based mainly on the published inscriptions: if suggestive in certain respects, it is clearly lacunary. It is more than possible that not a few inscriptions which claim to refer to the founding of a building are really recording pretentious restorations. However, if the record of restoration under Ottoman dominion is poor, it is scarcely worse than in the earlier history of al-Ḳāhira. Concern for the monuments of others, one may conclude, was not a pronounced Cairene characteristic.

Bibliography: (apart from references cited in the text): The bibliography of the monuments of al-Ḳāhira is so scattered that no complete survey of the source material can be attempted. Much work remains to be done before even a corpus of the Islamic architecture of Cairo can be assembled, and the present brief account demonstrates the extent to which generally received opinions are based upon *a priori* generalizations rather than detailed publication. The most recent and complete bibliographical work is K.A.C. Creswell's *A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam to 1st January, 1960* (American University in Cairo Press 1961); *Supplement, to 1st January 1970*, in the press. The monuments of al-Ḳāhira up to 726/1326 have full chronological bibliographies in idem, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, abbr. as (*MAE*), i, Oxford 1952, ii, Oxford 1959, those for monuments founded before 358/969 being found in *Early Muslim architecture*, (*EMA*), ii, Oxford 1940, which gives details of repairs and additions to them subsequent to the foundation of al-Ḳāhira. The latest general bibliography of Cairo by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *A bibliography of the literature of Cairo*, Cairo 1964, is to be consulted for recent articles in Arabic, though in general it supersedes none of Creswell's works cited above.

The material available falls into six classes: (1) maps; (2) primary sources and accounts based directly upon them, rather than upon the monuments; (3) detailed publication of the monuments themselves; (4) epigraphy; (5) general studies, including less pretentious works which aim to be partly guide books; (6) guide books proper. Work in hand will be indicated at the end of the account.

(1) Maps. For the whole period 358/969-1272/1856 the *Special 1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo*, 2 sheets (Survey of Egypt 1951), published in English and Arabic versions with numerical, chronological and alphabetical *Indexes* of the Muslim monuments in each language, are a necessary source and supersede the earlier monuments map of Cairo by Max Herz Bey (Egyptian Department of Antiquities 1914). They do not indicate monuments declassified before 1950, and buildings destroyed since 1856 are not shown. For this reason, certain quarters of Cairo which have become built up during the present century, for example the island of Rōḍa (Rawḍa), appear as misleadingly unimportant, and for a more accurate impression of their constitution in the post-mediaeval period the maps in M. Jomard, *Description de l'Egypte. Etat moderne*, 1809-22, ii, 579-788, should be consulted.

There are many differences of detail between the 1951 maps and those attached to *MAE*, i-ii: in cases of divergence the latter are generally the more reliable. The *Indexes* do not correspond exactly in their Arabic and English versions, showing discrepancies of orthography or even classification; and, particularly for the Ottoman period, some monuments numbered on the maps do not appear in the *Indexes*. The basic work of their collation and revision is at present being undertaken by a seminar of the American University in Cairo under the direction of C. Kessler.

(2) Primary sources. For the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalāʾūn, D. P. Little, *An introduction to Mamlūk historiography*, Wiesbaden 1970, is a useful guide to the material available. It is regrettable that no similar survey has yet been attempted for any other period of the history of al-Ḳāhira. Of all the primary sources, al-Maḳrīzī, *Mawāʿiẓ* (*Khiṭaṭ*), for the period up to the reign of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh is by far the most useful and is often a first-hand source (ed. Būlāḳ 1270/1853; ed. G. Wiet, in *MIFAO*, xxx, xxxiii, xlvi, xlix, liii (Cairo 1927-), covering i, 1-322 of the Būlāḳ edition; tr. U. Bouriant, in *MMAF*, xvii, fascicules 1-2 (Paris 1895-1900), covering Būlāḳ ed. i, 1-250; tr. P. Casanova, in *MIFAO*, iii (Cairo 1906), covering Būlāḳ ed., i, 251-347). This should be supplemented by al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda, i-iii, Cairo 1934-70; tr. E. Quatremère as *Histoire des Sultans mamlouks*, i-ii, Paris 1837-44; continued by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-Sulūk*, ed. A. Zeki Bey, *Revue d'Egypte*, ii-iii, Būlāḳ 1896-7; E. Gaillardot (Cairo 1897), also al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-albāb*, i, Cairo 1937. Among other sources of primary importance are Ibn Duḳmaḳ, *Kitāb al-intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ʿiḳd al-amṣār*, Būlāḳ 1309/1891-2; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo [see ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN]; Ibn al-Zayyāt's guide to the Ḳarāfa, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra fi 'l-Ḳarāfatayn al-kubrā wa 'l-ṣughrā*, Cairo 1325/1907; and Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311-14/1893-7 [for other editions see IBN IYĀS], translated G. Wiet as *Histoire des Mamlouks circassiens*, *IFAO*, Cairo 1945, covering the period 1467-1500, and as *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, i, Paris 1955-6, covering the period 1500-16; ii, Paris 1960, covering the period 1516-22.

For the Ottoman period the chief source remains ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda*, Cairo 1306/1888-9 (new edition, Cairo 1969-). With the exception of Aḥmad Darrādj, *L'Acte de waqf de Barsbay* (*Ḥudjdjat waḳf al-ashraf Barsbāy*), Cairo 1963 and of L. A. Mayer's valuable study, *The buildings of Qāytbāy as described in his endowment deed*, Fascicule i (all pub-

lished), London 1938, the substantial collections of *waḳfiyyas* in the Ministry of Waḳfs in Cairo remain largely unexploited, nor does any published catalogue of them exist. Extracts from a number of *waḳfiyyas* are given by al-Maḳrīzī, ʿAlī Pās͟hā Mubārak and other historians, but the only studies of the *waḳfiyya* material relating to Cairo are by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, *al-Wat͟hāʾiḳ fī k͟hidmat al-āt͟hār*, in *al-Muʾtamar al-t͟hānī li āt͟hār al-bilād al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1958; idem, *Silsilat al-wat͟hāʾiḳ al-tārīk͟hiyya al-ḳawmiyya I. Wat͟hīḳat Amīr al-Ak͟hūr al-Kabīr Ḳarāḳud͟ja al-Ḥasanī*, in *B. Fac. Ar.*, xviii/2 (1959), 183-251; idem, *al-Tawt͟hīḳa al-s͟harʿiyya wa'l-is͟hhādāt fī zuhr wat͟hīḳat al-G͟hūrī*, in *B. Fac. Ar.*, xix/1 (1960), 293-420. These two articles cite documents dated 846/1442-3 and 911/1505 (Awḳāf No. 853) respectively.

Among topographical works which draw mainly upon the literary sources should be mentioned first C. H. Becker, CAIRO in *EI*[1], and A. Breccia and E. Kühnel, *Cairo*, in *Enciclopedia italiana*, viii, 281-7. More detailed works of this type are A. R. Guest and E. T. Richmond, *Miṣr in the fifteenth century*, in *JRAS* (1903), 791-816; G. Salmon, *Etude sur la topographie du Caire, le Kalʿat al-Kabsh et la Birkat al-Fil* in *MIFAO*, vii, Cairo 1902; P. Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et la topographie du Caire d'après Maqrizi*, in *MMAF*, i/3, iii/4, Paris 1887-90; P. Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire*, in *MMAF*, vi, Paris 1891-2. W. Popper's *Systematic notes to Ibn Taghrībirdī's Chronicles*, i, *The Cairo Nilometer*, Berkeley 1951, and ii, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Mamlūks*, Los Angeles 1957, contain much valuable topographical material. Mention should also be made of L. Massignon's *La cité des morts au Caire* (*Qarâfa Darb al-Aḥmar*, in *BIFAO*, lvii (1938), 25-79. Much hitherto unpublished material, not all, obviously, of equal relevance to the city of Cairo, is to be made available in a series of translations (general editor S. Sauneron) by the IFAO (Cairo) of the accounts of foreign travellers to Egypt, which it is hoped to turn into a corpus, Collection des voyageurs occidentaux en Égypte. The following are to appear: Pierre Belon (1547), Jean Palèche (1581), Jean Coppin (1638), two anonymous Florentine and Villanovan accounts (1589-90) and Lichtenstein, Kiechel, Fernberger, Von Teufel, Lubenau and Miloïte (1587-8).

(3) Detailed publication of monuments. For its detailed publication of the monuments up to 726/1326, K. A. C. Creswell's *EMA*, ii, and *MAE*, i-ii, the latter two volumes incorporating the author's earlier publications of isolated monuments or types of architecture in Cairo and presenting his most recent views on the problems he had earlier considered, are basic works. For plans and descriptions of monuments no longer extant, M. Jomard, *Description de l'Egypte. Etat moderne* (cited (1) above) is sometimes useful. For the period 726/1326-923/1517, K. A. C. Creswell, *A brief chronology of the Muhammadan monuments of Egypt to 1517*, in *BIFAO*, xvi (1919), 39-164, has still, for the majority of the monuments it catalogues, not been superseded. Monographs, some of them no more than preliminary studies, devoted to monuments not treated in *MAE*, i-ii, include: Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Masd͟jid Aṣlam al-Silāḥdār*, in *al-Handasa*, xvi (1937), 469-80; idem, *Madrasat Abī Bakr Muẓhir*, in *al-Handasa*, xv (1935), 17-23; M. Herz Bey, *La mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire*, Cairo 1899; idem, *La mosquée de l'emir Ganem al-Bahlaouan au Caire*, Cairo 1908; Franz Pasha, *Die Grabmoschee des Sultans Kait-Bai bei Kairo* (= *Die Baukunst*, i/3), Berlin/Stuttgart 1897; R. L. Devonshire, *Abu Bakr Muzhir et sa mosquée au Caire*, in *Mélanges Maspéro*, iii (*MMAF*, lxviii), Cairo 1940, 25-31; and Saleh Lamei Mostafa, *Kloster und Mausoleum des Farağ ibn Barqūq in Kairo* (= *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe*, ii, Glückstadt 1968), cf. review by K. Brisch in *Kunst des Orients*, vi/2 (1970), 182-3, the only detailed contribution up to the present to the study of the growth of the Eastern cemetery in Cairo. To these should be added M. Meinecke, *Das Mausoleum des Qalāʾūn in Kairo. Untersuchungen zur Genese der mamlukischen Architekturdekoration*, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo*, xxvii/1 (1971), 47-80, the first serious attempt to broach the problem of the origins of Mamlūk architectural decoration.

With the exception of an unpublished doctoral thesis by Kamāl al-Dīn Sāmiḥ (good plans, poor text) on the work of the 18th-century patron and builder, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katk͟hudā (Faculty of Engineering, Fouad I University, Cairo 1947) and A. Raymond, *Les constructions de ʿAbd al Raḥmân Kathudâ au Caire*, in *Mélanges Islamologiques de l'IFAO*, x, 1973, the period after 923/1517 remains largely untreated, except in general accounts of the architecture of Cairo (see (5) below). For this period, and for other periods as well, the *Comptes rendus du Comité des monuments de l'art arabe* (Cairo 1882 onwards: most recent volume, covering the years 1954-61, Cairo 1963 [since 1956 reports have been in Arabic]; *Index* up to 1914 edited by M. Herz Bey, Cairo 1915; list of contents by volume, 1882-1940, in K. A. C. Creswell *Bibliography* (cited above), columns 89-96) remains an important source. For the 19th century onwards, with the exception of E. Pauty, *L'architecture du Caire depuis la conquête ottomane* (see (5) below), there appear to be only two useful studies, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *Mabānī al-Ḳilāʿ fī ʿaṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī Pās͟hā*, in *al-ʿImāra*, iii/3-4 (1941), 89-98; and J. Fleming, *Cairo Baroque*, in *Architectural Review*, xcvii (1945), 75-82.

Archaeological investigation of the mediaeval domestic architecture of al-Ḳāhira has in recent years been on a minor scale and has remained largely unpublished. Of primary importance, however, are G. T. Scanlon's preliminary reports of five seasons of work at al-Fusṭāṭ, *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt* (1964 onwards), for the considerable revisions they entail of the conclusions advanced by A. Bahgat and A. Gabriel, *Fouilles d'al-Foustat*, Paris 1921, and A. Gabriel, *Les fouilles d'al-Foustat et les origines de la maison arabe en Egypte*, Paris 1921. Owing to the unfortunate fact that the rebuilding operations within mediaeval Cairo have rarely been accompianed even by salvage excavations, the curious apparent incongruity between the Ṭūlūnid-Fāṭimid-Ayyūbid domestic architecture of al-Fusṭāṭ and the Mamlūk architecture of al-Ḳāhira *intra muros* has remained so far unexplained, though it is to be hoped that the forthcoming publication by R. Mantran and the late A. Lézine, under the general title, *Etude scientifique des palais et maisons du Caire et de Rosette* (*XVIe-XVIIIe siècles*), will throw light on this problem. E. Pauty's, *Les palais et les maisons d'époque musulmane au Caire*, *MIFAO*, lxii (Cairo 1932), and *Les hammams du Caire*, *MIFAO*, lxiv

(Cairo 1933), are poorly documented general studies with few plans and give little idea of the history of the domestic architecture of Cairo.

For the Coptic architecture of Cairo in the Islamic period, A. J. Butler, *Ancient Coptic churches of Egypt*, i-ii, Oxford 1884; reprinted with Butler's corrections, Oxford 1970, is to be supplemented with discretion by M. Simaika Pasha, *A brief guide to the Coptic Museum and to the principal ancient Coptic churches of Cairo*, Cairo 1938. On the architecture of the other non-Muslim minorities, all of which is apparently 18th century or later, there appears to be nothing published at all.

(4) Epigraphy. The epigraphy of the monuments of Cairo, the most valuable source for their history, should be approached with the caution that, especially in the Burdjī [*q.v.*] Mamlūk period, a foundation inscription may specify only one of the buildings of the complex to which it applies. This custom partly accounts for the misdescriptions or inconsistencies in the Arabic and English *Indexes* to the *Special 1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo* (see (1) above). The still incomplete *RCEA*, a secondary compilation, has not superseded M. Van Berchem's *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum (CIA). Première partie, Egypte*, i, Paris 1903; ii (continued by G. Wiet), *MMAF*, lii, Cairo 1929-30. The two volumes contain only a selection of the inscriptions from the Ottoman period. *CIA*, i-ii, supersedes Van Berchem's *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in *JA*, 8e série, xvii (1891), 411-95; xviii (1891), 46-86; xix (1892), 377-407. The CIA should now be completed with G. Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre* (*Catalogue général du Musée de l'Art Islamique du Caire*), Cairo 1971. Some volumes of the *Catalogue général du Musée Arabe du Caire* are also relevant, particularly because of the striking rôle which wood plays in the architectural decoration of all periods in Cairo: J. David-Weill, *Bois à épigraphes*, i, *Jusqu'à l'époque mamlouke*, Cairo 1931; ii, *Depuis l'époque mamlouke*, Cairo 1936; E. Pauty, *Bois sculptés d'églises coptes* (*époque fatimide*), Cairo 1930, and idem, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide*, Cairo 1931. The volumes of the *Catalogue général* dealing with the tombstones in the Islamic Museum in Cairo, *Stèles funéraires*, i-ix, Cairo 1932 onwards, to which Ḥasan al-Ḥawwārī, Ḥusayn Rāshid and G. Wiet have all contributed, are of less value, partly because in most cases the tombstones have only the vaguest provenance and partly because of the common Cairene practice of building earlier stelae into a mausoleum of later date. C. Prost, *Les revêtements céramiques dans les monuments musulmans de l'Egypte*, i (all published), in *MIFAO*, xl (Cairo 1916), is a preliminary study of the curious problems, epigraphic and technological, raised by the scanty use of ceramic revetment in Mamlūk and Ottoman architecture. Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb *Tawḳīʿāt al-ṣunnāʿ ʿalā āthār Miṣr*, in *BIE*, xxxvi (1955), 533-58, gives craftsmen's signatures, generally of workers in the minor arts and not of architects proper, on the monuments of Cairo, with comment upon their exceptional rarity for Islamic architecture. It is on this work that Mayer, *Architects*, largely depends. Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, Oxford 1933, includes occurrences of Mamlūk blasons on the architecture of Cairo: the list is no longer complete but it is still a basic adjunct to the epigraphic material relating to al-Ḳāhira.

On the difficult problems raised by Mamlūk names there is a preliminary study by J. Sauvaget, *Noms et surnoms des Mamelouks*, in *JA*, ccxxxviii (1953), 31-58. On the Turkish side this may be supplemented by P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, and by L. Rásonyi, *Sur quelques catégories de noms de personnes en turc*, in *Acta linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, iii (Budapest 1953), 323-51, though many Mamlūk names of Turkish origin remain problematic. Further enlightenment may be obtained from G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i-iii, Wiesbaden 1963, 1965, 1967, which is all the more important since the studies of the Mongol and Circassian Mamlūk names, by L. Hambis and G. Dumézil respectively, announced by Sauvaget (*art. cit.*), do not appear to have been published.

(5) General works. Apart from C. H. Becker's still useful short account CAIRO in *EI*[1], there is no adequate, comprehensive work on the architecture of Cairo. Of those so far attempted that of Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Taʾrīkh al-masādjid al-athariyya allatī ṣallā fīhā farīḍāt al-djumʿa ḥaḍrat ṣāḥib al-djalāla al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Fārūḳ al-awwal*, i-ii, Cairo 1946, which, as its title indicates, is selective, is the most useful compilation of historical, epigraphic and architectural information. L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, volume of text with album of plates, is a premature attempt to order the monuments, hastily compiled and with some prejudices which have evoked little sympathy (cf. review by K. A. C. Creswell in *JRAS* (1934), 199-203). Nevertheless, while many of their generalisations have turned out to be unjustified, some chapters on technology, particularly the Mamlūk taste for marble revetment, contain much valuable, if not precisely documented, information. The lavishly illustrated production of the Ministry of Waḳfs, *The mosques of Egypt from 641 to 1946*, i-ii, Gīza 1949, has a text which is too brief to be informative. Aḥmad Fikrī, *Masādjid al-Ḳāhira wa-madārisuhā*, i-ii, Cairo 1965-9, in fact covers only the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. D. Brandenburg, *Islamische Baukunst in Ägypten*, Berlin 1966, despite its title chiefly devoted to the monuments of Cairo, is somewhat arbitrary in its selection of monuments and relies heavily upon *MAE*, i-ii, thus giving insufficient weight to the period after 726/1326, and upon a not always critical reading of Hautecoeur and Wiet. The most recent general work on Cairo, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *Mawsūʿāt madīnat al-Ḳāhira fī alf ʿām*, Cairo 1969, gives much information, particularly relating to the architecture of Cairo in the 18th-19th centuries, which is not otherwise available, but the work is too short for completeness and the treatment of the earlier monuments is highly selective. It is, indeed, a significant comment on the paucity of recent published work on the monuments of Cairo that for the period after 726/1326 two of the best general works should still be A. F. Mehren, *Câhirah og Kerâfat*: i, *Gravmonumenter paa Kerâfat eller de Dodes Stad udenfor Câhirah*; ii, *Religieuse Monumenter i Câhirah*, Copenhagen 1869-70, which record many otherwise unpublished monuments, and M. S. Briggs, *Muhammedan architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924.

Recent collections of essays dealing in general with the history or archaeology of Islamic Egypt contain some material directly related to the architecture of Cairo, in particular, *Mélanges Maspéro*, iii, = *MMAF*, lxvii (Cairo 1940), and *Studies*

in Islamic art and architecture in honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell, Cairo 1965. However, it is noteworthy that in the most recent collections of essays on Cairo to appear, *Annales Islamologiques*, viii, *Volume commémoratif du Millénaire du Caire 969-1969*, IFAO Cairo 1969, and *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire*, Ministry of Culture of the ARE, Berlin 1973, the emphasis of recent research—following the lead established by M. Clerget, *Le Caire, Etude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire géographique*, i-ii, Cairo 1934, a work which can still be consulted with profit—has been upon the problems of urbanism in Cairo and the extent to which the architecture of the mediaeval city was successful in resolving them. The most recent work of this kind, best for the late 18th-20th centuries, is J. Abu Lughod, *Cairo. One thousand and one years of the City Victorious*, Princeton 1972. In the light of the unbalanced publication of the monuments such a shift of emphasis may appear premature, but it is to be hoped that it will lead to a revival of interest in the basic archaeological problems.

Among what may be best described as informative guide books to the monuments of al-Ḳāhira, D. Russell, *Mediaeval Cairo*, London 1962, is the most detailed and to a considerable extent succeeds in overcoming its defects of organization (into tourist itineraries rather than historical periods or coherent quarters), occasional inaccuracies, lack of plans and a perhaps excessive prejudice in favour of the monuments of the Fāṭimid period. Other useful works of the same type, though they aim to cover more limited areas of Cairo, are Maḥmūd Akkūsh, *Ta'rīkh wa-waṣf al-djāmiʿ al-Ṭūlūnī*, Cairo 1346/1927; R. L. Devonshire, *Rambles in Cairo*[2], Cairo 1931; E. Pauty, *La mosquée d'Ibn Touloun et ses alentours*, Cairo 1936; Maḥmūd Aḥmad, *Concise guide to the principal Arabic monuments in Cairo*, Būlāḳ 1939; and Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Djāmiʿ al-Sulṭān Ḥasan wa-mā ḥawlahu*, Cairo 1962.

For much of the Ottoman architecture of Cairo these general works remain the only source, though they may with discretion be supplemented by E. Pauty, *L'architecture au Caire depuis la conquête ottomane, Vue d'ensemble*, in *BIFAO*, xxxvi (1936), 1-69, a general work in spite of its apparently promising title. The author's lack of acquaintance with Metropolitan Ottoman architecture and the small number of Cairene monuments he considers in detail have contributed to the generally held, though highly misleading, impression of the Ottoman period in Cairene architecture as one of decadence and inactivity. It remains for subsequent research to correct this. See A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIème siècle*, 2 vols., Damascus 1973, and G. Wiet, *Cairo, city of art and commerce*, Norman, Okl. 1964.

(6) Guide books. The text of the *Guide Bleu*, which has not substantially changed for the mediaeval monuments of Cairo since its first edition (compiled by M. Baud Paris 1950), is of little use for all but the most obvious of the Islamic monuments. *Murray's Handbook for travellers in Egypt* (many editions: I cite the 10th edition edited M. Brodrick, London 1900) depends largely upon the work of S. Lane-Poole and other late 19th-century authors and, despite its literary bias, is both more complete and less misleading, containing much information on no longer extant buildings of the 18th-19th centuries. K. Baedeker, *Handbuch für Reisende, Ägypten und der Sudan*, 8th edition 1928, with preface on the monuments by K. A. C. Creswell, is particularly useful for its description of monuments on the outskirts of Cairo, which do not always appear on the *Special 1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo* and for its directions for reaching them.

Work in progress. Apart from works mentioned above, in particular G. T. Scanlon's *Final Report* on his excavations at Fusṭāṭ and the publication of Cairene houses and palaces by R. Mantran and the late A. Lézine, work in hand includes a major publication of the funerary architecture of Cairo, Fāṭimid to Mamlūk periods, by C. Kessler, to appear as a volume of the *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe*, with contributions by Layla ʿAlī Ibrāhīm on the Mamlūk foundations of the 14th century. The work of these authors, to which should be added that of M. Meinecke, Shahīra Mehrez (Muḥriz), J. Raghib and M. Keane, may be expected in the course of the next few years to advance substantially the present state of knowledge on the monuments of al-Ḳāhira and their history. (J. M. Rogers)

The Modern City

General outline. Modern Cairo took shape under Muḥammad ʿAlī (1805-49), from whose reign date the first beginnings, modest as yet, of new institutions. Once begun, the movement could no longer be stopped. So far as town-planning, the press, and the birth of Egyptian nationalism are concerned, the reign of Khedive Ismāʿīl ([*q.v.*] 1863-79) was a watershed. During this period, Cairo began to take on the appearance of a modern city. Owing to a fall in the production of cotton in the United States following the American Civil War (1861-5), Egypt easily found markets for her crop and money poured in. Besides this, the opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869 drew the eyes of the world to Egypt; control of this area appeared even more of a decisive element in the struggle for worldwide power. For this reason the debts of the Khedive were made the pretext for the first stages of foreign intervention and in due course this was also the reason for the British occupation (1882).

Throughout all these events the city developed and public services such as gas, water and tramlines were laid on. Foreigners as well as migrants from other Ottoman territories settled there. The First World War marked the definitive separation of Egypt from the Ottoman Empire. With the Cairo demonstrations which followed immediately after the armistice in 1918, Egyptian nationalism became a genuinely popular movement, given concrete expression in the Wafd Party. Political pressure was still held to be the best means of achieving liberation, and the importance of economic factors on the road to freedom was given but scant recognition through the establishment of the Bank of Egypt in 1920, and that within the framework of a national capitalism. A measure of independence was proclaimed under the aegis of King Fu'ād (1922). The opening of the first state university in Cairo in 1925 was a significant moment, and indeed, in his novels Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ presents this event as the dawning of a new era in the history of the Egyptian middle classes.

One after another the institutions characteristic of a large modern city were set up. The Free Officers' revolution (23 July 1952) brought in its train the abolition of the monarchy and the eviction of the old ruling classes. The new political orientation was

demonstrated in the city even at the level of urban development through the opening up of thoroughfares, the establishment of schools, workers' housing, institutions and factories and by the development of radio, the building of new mosques, etc. The Anglo-French military intervention of October to December 1956 led to wholesale nationalization of French and British enterprises. With the ending of the three-year long union with Syria in 1961, the country clearly took the path of Arab socialism, with the stress on the essential economic struggle facing the Third World. Finally, the Palestine war of 1967, on both the political and the military fronts, continued to impose a burden on Cairo which remained very heavy.

Today Cairo is undoubtedly one of the liveliest capitals in the world. The city has a dual aspect, truly Egyptian and yet at the same time cosmopolitan, the latter arising from her geographical situation.

The genuinely Egyptian aspect is revealed in the drama of a people rudely forced into changing their way of life by demographic pressures. Thanks to modern medicine, both pressure and change have led to the disappearance of many ancient customs and the proletarianization of a section of the population. The efforts of the present-day authorities to create a new Egypt are a response to this demographic challenge. As for the cosmopolitan aspect of the city, this is partly related, as in former days, to the presence of students and teachers who come from all over the world. It also arose because of the succession of foreign rulers (Mamluk, Turkish and British). Now that Cairo is governed by Egyptians, the foreign element is confined to tourism, technical aid and "co-operation".

Town planning. The map drawn up by Bonaparte's expedition depicts the city as bounded in the west by the Ezbekiyya, with fields lying between it and Būlāḳ. "The great builder and earth-mover", Muḥammad ʿAlī, embellished and cleared façades and drained the Ezbekiyya but built very little apart from a palace and mosque in the citadel (between 1830 and 1848) and a large palace at S̲h̲ubrā (1808, rebuilt in 1823); he had a road built across the fields so that there was a direct route to the latter (now S̲h̲āriʿ S̲h̲ubrā). A few institutions were set up in the city, such as the School of Medicine, founded in 1827 at Abū Zaʿbal and transferred in 1837 to S̲h̲āriʿ Ḳasr al-ʿAynī. The *sikka d̲j̲adīda* was constructed in 1845 to clear congestion in the al-Azhar quarter. Workshops were opened in Būlāḳ [*q.v.*]. "Despite this progress", writes M. Clerget, "the boundaries, area and general appearance of Cairo around 1850 were the same as in the 18th century". P. Marthelot also observes that "a second city was born in the second half of the 19th century".

The eccentric ʿAbbās, grandson of Muḥammad ʿAlī, pas̲h̲a, then viceroy, from 1849 to 1854, gave his name to the al-ʿAbbāsiyya district, originally a small township composed of quarters for military personnel.

Under the viceroy Saʿīd (1854-63) the *Bāb al-Ḥadīd* railway was constructed (1856), linking the city with Alexandria; in 1858 it was continued to Suez. From 1857 British troop reinforcements sent to suppress the Indian Mutiny crossed Egypt from Alexandria to Suez, completing the last part of the route on foot. The barracks and viceregal palace of Ḳaṣr al-Nīl were built on the river in 1863 (destroyed in 1947 after the British withdrawal).

The reign of Viceroy (later Khedive) Ismāʿīl (1863-79) saw the construction of the palace ʿĀbadīn, begun in 1863; from 1874 the ruler took up residence there, finally quitting the citadel, which was formerly the seat of the Turkish pas̲h̲as. A canal, al-Tiraʿ al-Ismāʿīliyya, was dug between the Nile and the K̲h̲alīd̲j̲, passing between Būlāḳ and the Ezbekiyya, then to Bāb al-Ḥadīd and finally to G̲h̲amra (it was filled up shortly after 1897). The Ḳubba palace dates from 1863. In 1867 Khedive Ismāʿīl saw Haussman's Paris. He too had new quarters laid out: the streets of the Ismāʿīliyya district, south of the road from the Ezbekiyya to Būlāḳ, have the same layout today (cf. the 1873 plan of Cairo). For the celebrations which marked the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), the Opera House (destroyed by fire in 1972) was built near the Ezbekiyya; a building was added to the Khedive's palace on the island of Gezirah (al-D̲j̲azīra) which later became the ʿUmar K̲h̲ayyām Hotel. The road from Gizā (al-D̲j̲īza) to the Pyramids was transformed into a splendid boulevard. In 1871-2 a modern bridge spanned the Nile (the Ḳaṣr al-Nīl, now the Kūbrī 'l-taḥrīr, which was rebuilt in 1931), with another over the other arm of the river (rebuilt in 1914). In 1872 two large arcaded thoroughfares were laid out: Clot Bey street from the station to the Ezbekiyya and Muḥammad ʿAlī street from al-ʿAtaba al-k̲h̲aḍrāʾ to the Citadel.

The establishment of modern means of transport played an essential part in the development of both suburban and peripheral areas. Relatively central districts like Tawfīḳiyya (named after Khedive Tawfīḳ, 1879-92) or Faggala (Fad̲j̲d̲j̲āla), which began around 1880, or residential areas like Garden City (which dates from 1905) could be populated without the need for trains and tramlines. But Zaytūn and Maṭariyya in the suburbs could only come into being after the construction of the railway from Pont Lemoun (Kūbrī Limūn) to Maṭariyya and al-Marḍ̲j̲ (1889-90). The same was true of the tramlines which were laid in 1896 and linked al-ʿAtaba al-k̲h̲aḍrāʾ with ʿAbbāsiyya (1896), via Faggala, or with S̲h̲ubrā in 1903 (the first large-scale development in S̲h̲ubrā took place in 1898). The K̲h̲alīd̲j̲ seems to have been filled in on the 1897 plan of Cairo; the process was completed in 1899 and the tramline from Ḍaher (al-Ẓāhir) to Sayyida Zaynab made use of it in 1900.

The Zamalek district (al-Zamālik, from a word for the huts where the soldiers on guard duty camped near the palace) began to be inhabited around 1905-10. A plan made in 1910 shows the layout of all the present-day streets. The Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ bridge linking the island with Būlāḳ dates from 1912. In the desert to the north-east of the city, Heliopolis (Miṣr al-d̲j̲adīda) arose in 1906 following the granting of a concession to a Belgian company in 1905. An express tramline, called the "metro", connected Heliopolis to Cairo (cf. the commemorative album published by the company, nationalized since 1960, *Ḍāḥiyat Miṣr al-d̲j̲adīda, māḍīhā wa mustaḳbaluhā*, 1969). On the southern suburban line to Helwan (al-Ḥulwān), which is 27 km. long, the area of present-day Maadi (al-Maʿādī) 11 km. from the city began to be developed by a company in 1907. Only Helwan was undeveloped, and so it remained until the 1952 revolution when it became an industrial centre with iron and steel works, armaments factories, etc.

Apart from those already mentioned, notable bridges are the Embabeh (Imbāba) railway bridge (1890-91, rebuilt in 1925); the Giza bridge (formerly ʿAbbās: 1907, rebuilt in 1966-7); and the bridge from Zamalek to west bank (1912). The University Bridge, constructed in 1958, should be added to this group.

All these developments in Cairo were brought

about by companies, especially foreign ones, who were given contracts for the work. Public services were also carried out by non-Egyptians: the post office in 1843, water in 1865, gas and then electricity, run by the Le Bon company from 1873 to 1948, telephones in 1881, trams in 1896, etc. Much later the Egyptian government recovered these concessions, some when they expired and others through buying them back or through nationalisation. The part played by foreign architects can be seen in a number of façades in the Italian style. Telegraphic communications began with the railways, and Cairo was connected by submarine cables with Bombay, Aden, Malta, Gibraltar and Great Britain as early as 1870.

Health services, types of housing and a study of the population have been covered by Clerget. The various groups of citizens moved to different districts: thus the Greek minority could be found in the south and south-west of al-Azhar, the Jews south of Khoronfish and later at Sakākīnī, the Europeans around the Rossetti Garden and Muski, where the different Catholic churches also sprang up, and later in Garden City or Zamalek, and the Copts around the patriarchate at Clot Bey and later in S̲h̲ubrā. The Syro-Lebanese Christians were particularly attracted to the new district of Faggala, where churches and schools were to be found (the Jesuit school opened there in 1885); later many moved to Heliopolis and Zamalek and the Copts settled there. In the heart of the city the Muslim bourgeoisie still lived in the palaces and traditional dwelling houses, the exodus to Ḥilmiyya or to cooler districts not yet having become general. The Gamaliyya quarter is the subject of a special study by J. Berque.

After the 1914-18 war the expansion of the town continued. Gardens and villas made way for large modern blocks. Around 1926-8 two large thoroughfares were built connecting al-ʿAtaba with al-Azhar (s̲h̲āriʿ al-Azhar) and al-ʿAtaba with al-ʿAbbāsiyya. The widening of K̲h̲alīd̲j̲ street, decided upon in 1937, was not effected until after the revolution, in 1956. On the west bank of the Nile, Giza was developed between the world wars although the bank opposite Zamalek was still fields in 1945. But in 25 years (1945-70) a veritable town grew up on these open spaces, notable for its districts developed entirely for various classes of officials, so that there is a teachers' estate, an engineers' estate, etc.

On the east bank of the Nile the withdrawal of the British (1946) and the destruction of Ḳaṣr al-Nīl barracks made possible the construction of a large and beautiful square, which from 1952 has been called Mīdān al-Taḥrīr and which encompasses the old Ismāʿīliyya square. Here an enormous government and administrative block has been erected, the Mogammaʿ (al-Mud̲j̲ammaʿ, *c.* 1950), and the meeting place of the League of Arab States (1961). The revolution realised the old dream of a corniche on the Nile: for the first time the city has a façade on the river-side.

Blocks of apartment buildings at reasonable rents of a type new to the country sprang up here and there after the Revolution: at the foot of Muḳaṭṭam, at S̲h̲ubrā and elsewhere, but especially on the waste ground of Tilul Zeinhom to the south of the Ibn Ṭūlūn quarter, where there is nowadays a veritable town.

Developments in civil aviation, evident especially from 1930 on, made Cairo a staging point for the big international airlines. After being in use for many years, Almāẓa airport, which was too close to Heliopolis, was superseded by an international airport situated in the desert further to the north-east. It was equipped with a new air terminal in 1963.

To relieve the pressure on the over-crowded city, the revolution established new housing estates, such as Naṣr, which lies between Heliopolis and ʿAbbāsiyya on military land turned over to civilian use and to which it is hoped to move the greater proportion of governmental departments. A stadium holding 100,000 people has been built here. A large trunk road joins the airport and the citadel via Naṣr then links up with the Nile corniche at Fusṭāṭ. An attempt to set up a semi-touristic estate was made in 1954-6 at Muḳaṭṭam on the flat area to the south of the tomb of al-D̲j̲uyūs̲h̲ī, but the date was inopportune and the enterprise stagnated.

In which directions will the present-day city develop? Committees are discussing this problem at this very moment. But in the meantime the lack of suitable legislation has caused historic sites to be swamped by ugly housing and the splendid buildings of the past are vanishing, gutted or abandoned. Some determined Egyptians are fighting to ensure that the necessary expansion respects some of the legacies of the past. The public services face problems which grow daily more complex in the realms of transport, sewage and the road network posed by the ever-increasing number of inhabitants.

Population and occupations. Clerget (i, 241) estimates that Cairo had 245,000 inhabitants at the end of the 18th century. The census figure he gives for 1882 is 396,683 and for 1907, 678,433. His remarkable study has been completed by P. Marthelot (*Le Caire, nouvelle métropole*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, Cairo, IFAO, viii (1969), 189-221). From his work we learn that there were 1,070,857 inhabitants in 1927 and 3,348,799 in 1960, the latter figure covering the whole metropolitan area of Cairo, including Helwan and Maṭariyya. In 1947 Cairo had two million inhabitants, discounting the population of the outlying suburbs but including the people of Doḳḳi and ʿAgūza in the *ḳism* of ʿĀbidīn (cf. Janet Abu-Lughed and Ezz el-Din Attiya, *Cairo Fact Book*, Cairo, The American University in Cairo Social Research Center, 1963). Taking into consideration the whole of Greater Cairo, the correct figure for 1965 would be around four million. By 1970 it had passed five million, a rapid increase due to the strong tendency towards immigration from the countryside.

To the craftsmen and workshops described by M. Clerget must be added the newly founded factories noted by P. Marthelot. One of the aims of the 1952 revolution was industrialization to achieve eventual economic independence. Noteworthy in this respect is the role played by the Cairo banks and their nationalisation in 1956-61. As well as the already existing textile factories in the northern suburbs, the cement works at Ṭūrā, electrical industries in the centre and various assembly-works, new enterprises were founded, especially in the southern suburbs around Helwan: a car assembly plant, an armaments factory, blast-furnaces and steelworks, an airplane works, a factory producing fertilizers, a porcelain works, etc.

Tourism was also envisaged as a source of revenue. The hotel infrastructure had been in private hands for many years; now numerous hotels have been nationalised. According to the 1965 statistics (as noted by P. Marthelot), 66.8 % of the active population of Cairo was employed in some undefinable activity; 23.5 % held regular jobs in the administration; and only 7.5 % was employed in industry. From such figures we can only guess at the number of underemployed, a considerable proportion, though only a minority are totally unemployed.

The question of accommodation has always been difficult. With the initiation of Arab socialism in 1961 and the creation of the Ministry of Housing and Utilities in 1965, the state became a builder on a large scale. But private activity also continued in this sphere, facing, with considerable difficulty, the influx into the capital.

"The same is true of Cairo as of many cities in the so-called Third World", writes P. Marthelot (p. 197), "which stand out against a rural background subject to demographic tension or marked by structural flaws: the city is the receptacle in which are concentrated all those whose lives tend to be disturbed because of this, whether or not it is able to answer to the demands made on it. But this is at the price of the stagnation at a very low standard of living of a very important section of the population".

In both Clerget and Marthelot there are numerous data about town planning—the density of the inhabitants varying a great deal according to district (cf. *al-Ṭalīʿa*, February 1970, 70, pointing out that in Būlāķ over 60 % of families live in one room)—the expansion of the city, transport, etc. They are based on statistics compiled by the governmental department concerned. As far as health is concerned, Cairo has one doctor per 910 inhabitants, as opposed to one per 3,420 in Lower Egypt and one per 2,990 in Upper Egypt. Similarly, the city has one hospital bed for every 233 people, as against one in 584 and one in 636 in Lower and Upper Egypt. There is one telephone for every 27 inhabitants, while in Lower and Upper Egypt the figures are one in 362 and one in 301 respectively (cf. *al-Ṭalīʿa*, *ibid.*, 74-5). The government is making a determined effort to remedy this state of affairs and to this end has enacted new socialist laws.

Culturally speaking, Cairo has two aspects, on the one hand the development of national institutions —schools, universities, specialised institutes—and on the other the holding of international meetings and congresses. A large number of schools have been opened. Around 1950 only 40 % of children in Egypt received a primary education; by 1970 the number had risen to over 75 % for the country as a whole and was said to exceed 90 % in Cairo (cf. *Cairo Fact Book*; education in 1947 listed by *s̲h̲iyāk̲h̲a*, a subdivision of the *ķism*). Examples from higher education are the Dār al-ʿUlūm [*q.v.*], the Free University of Cairo (1908; converted in 1925 into Fuʾād al-Awwal University and now the University of Cairo), and ʿAyn S̲h̲ams (1950), the former a religious educational establishment attached to al-Azhar [*q.v.*]. Since the publication of the article AL-AZHAR in *EI*², considerable changes have been wrought by a law of 1961, with a remodelling of curricula and the creation of new faculties of secular studies—medicine, polytechnic, etc.—in addition to the three formerly in existence. There are a number of advanced institutes in Cairo (see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *Mawsūʿa*, s.v. *maʿhad*) which are devoted to the sciences, art, theatre, cinema, etc. The majority are Egyptian [see FUʾĀD AL-AWWAL, INSTITUT D'EGYPTE], but a few are foreign (one example of these is the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, founded in 1880). The Arabic Language Academy (*Mad̲j̲maʿ al-lug̲h̲a al-ʿarabiyya*), established in 1932, maintains surveillance over the language.

There are over 20 museums in Cairo (cf. the list of the major ones in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, s.v. *matḥaf*). The famous Museum of Egyptology founded at Būlāķ by Mariette has occupied its present home in Mīdān al-Taḥrīr since 1902. Other important collections are the Coptic Museum (founded as a private collection in 1910, it has been a national museum since 1931), the Museum of Islamic Art (which has been in its present building at Mīdān Bāb al-K̲h̲alķ since 1903), the Museum of Agriculture, the Military Museum, etc.

Especially since 1952, new mosques have been built in Cairo itself. Outstanding among many are the mosque of ʿUmar Makram in the Mīdān al-Taḥrīr, where most official funeral prayers are usually held, and the mosque of Kūbrī 'l-Ķubba, which contains mausoleum of D̲j̲amāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser, died September 28, 1970).

Bibliography: M. Clerget, *Le Caire, étude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire économique*, 2 vols., Cairo 1934, a work of major importance for both text and bibliography; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *A bibliography of the literature of the city of Cairo*, Cairo (Egyptian Geographical Society), 1964. Apart from these two basic works and those already cited in the text: *Annales Islamologiques*, viii, the commemorative volume of the Cairo millennium (969-1969), Cairo (IFAO) 1969; *The Millennium of Cairo, 969-1969*, Ministry of Culture, Cairo 1969 (an album with a collection of photographs of ancient and modern art, views of the city and of its institutions, commerce, industry, etc., published in six editions, which differ only in their text but have the same photographs, in Arabic, English, French, German, Russian and Spanish); J. W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *Mawsūʿat madīnat al-Ķāhira fī alf ʿām*, Cairo 1969; J. Berque, *L'Égypte, impérialisme et révolution*, Paris 1967 (Eng. tr., *Egypt, imperialism and revolution*, London 1972); M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt today; social and political aspects of popular religion*, Cambridge 1970; G. Baer, *Egyptian guilds in modern times*, Jerusalem 1964; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The modern history of Egypt*, London 1969; Anouar Abd el-Malek, *Egypte, société militaire*, Paris 1962. For particular aspects of the cultural life of Cairo since 1954, see the publications in the series *MIDEO*, Cairo.

(J. JOMIER)

ĶAHRAMĀN-NĀMA, or *Dāstān-i Ķahramān*, a popular romance in prose, several versions of which are known in both Persian and Turkish. It belongs to a series of prose works which develop themes from the Iranian epic tradition, embellishing them with fabulous touches borrowed from folk literature. Like the *Hūs̲h̲ang-nāma*, the *Ṭahmūrat̲h̲-nāma* and the *Ķiṣṣa-i D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd*, the story takes place in the earliest period of the legendary history of Iran, the times of the *pīs̲h̲dādīyān*. The central hero is Ķahramān, nicknamed Ķātil, "the slayer". His name is in fact a common noun, the arabicized form of an Iranian word, probably of Median origin, the Middle Persian counterpart of which is *kārframān*, meaning "manager, superintendent" (cf. W. B. Henning, *Handbuch d. Orientalistik. Iranistik. Linguistik*, Leiden 1958, 49, n. 2). This meaning was also attached to the word in classical Arabic (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.) and in mediaeval Persian (cf., *e.g.*, Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw, *Dīwān-i as̲h̲ʿār*, Tehran 1355 s̲h̲., 5; Sanāʾī, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1341 s̲h̲., 20; Abu 'l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh Muns̲h̲ī, *Tard̲j̲ama-i Kalīla va Dimna*, ed. M. Mīnowī, Tehran 1343 s̲h̲., 132, 155). In modern Persian and Turkish, however, the word *ķahramān* has acquired the meaning of "hero, champion", a semantic change which might very

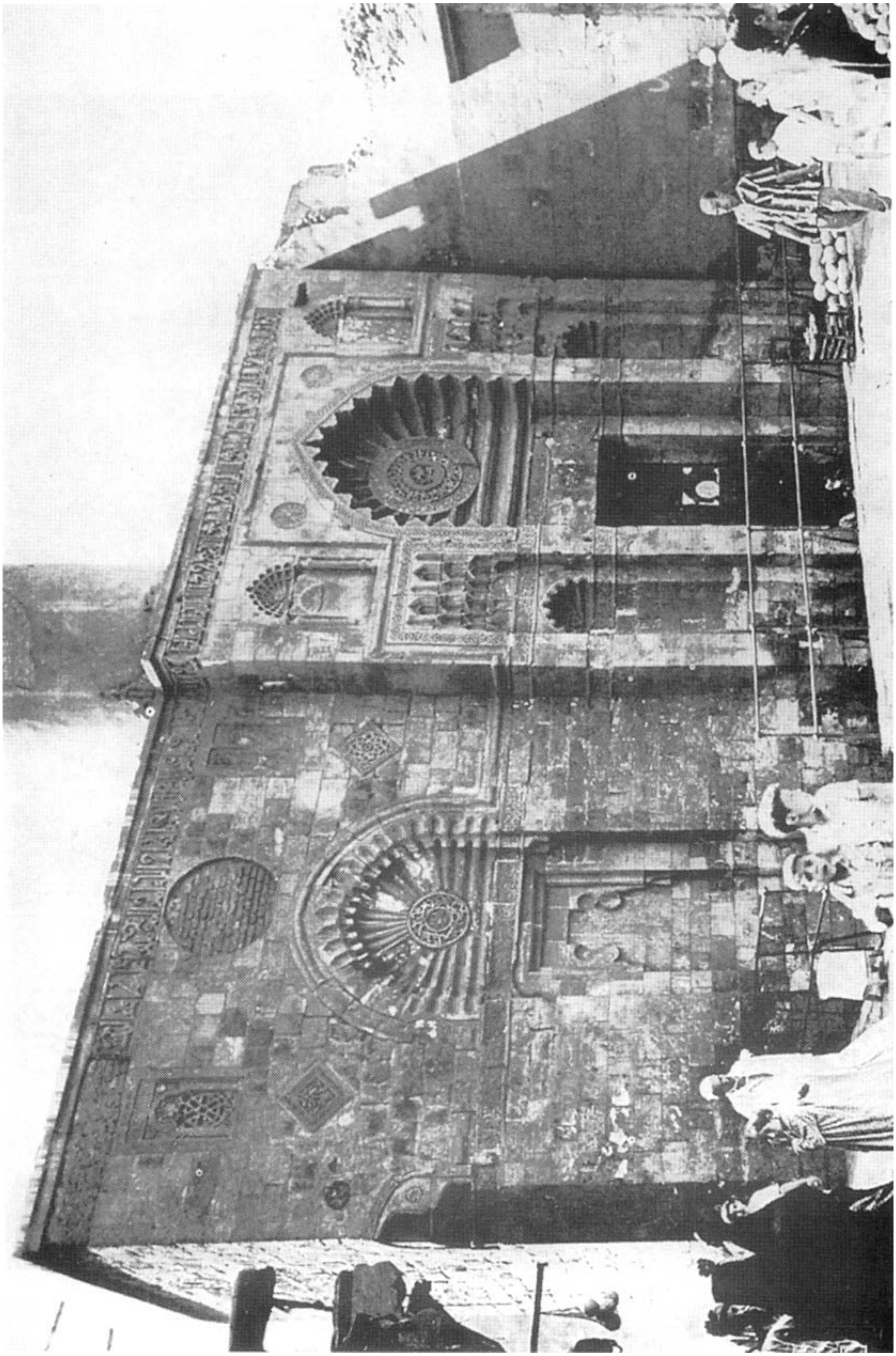

1. Mosque of al-Aḳmar. Façade. 519/1125. (No. 33 on the map)

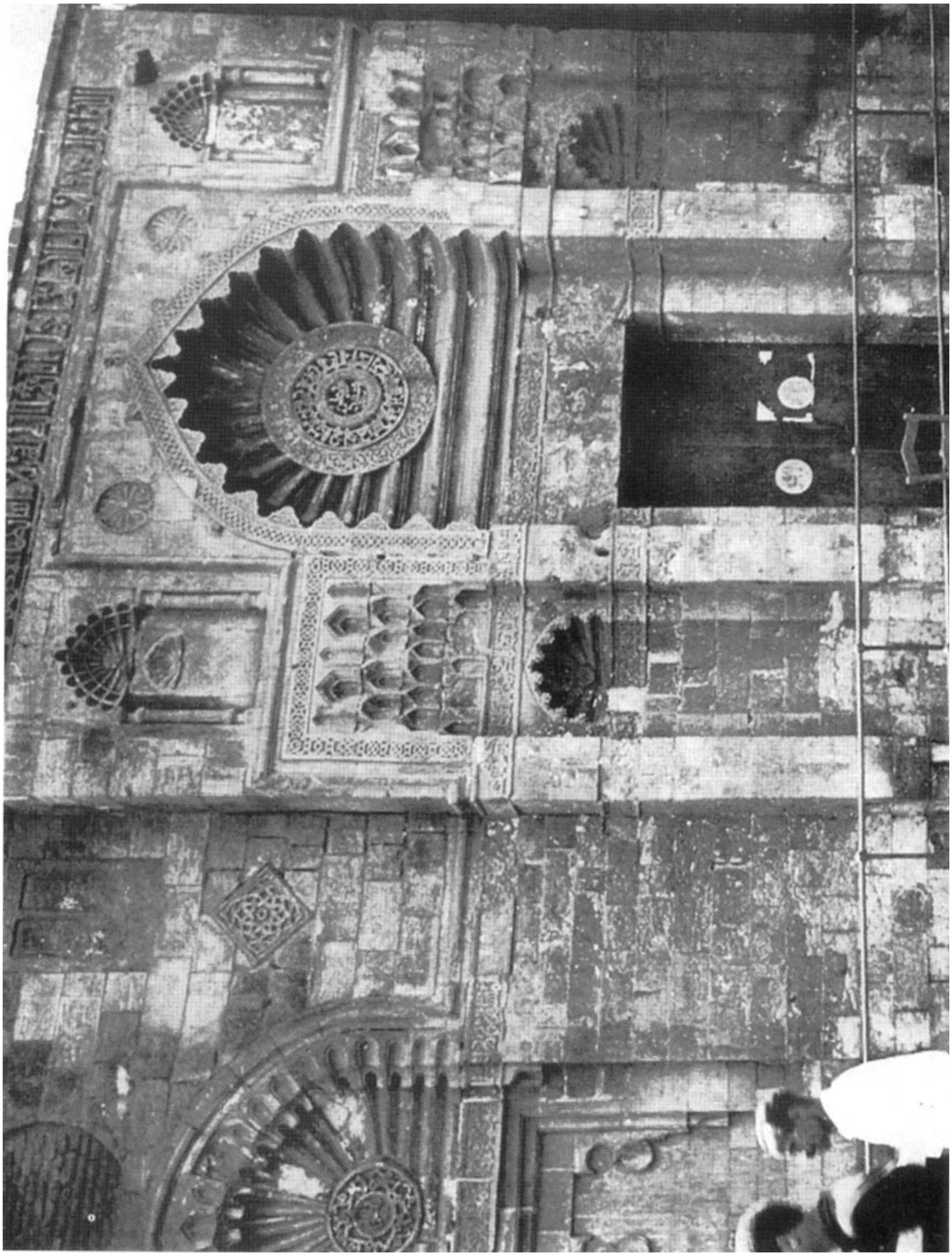

1a. Mosque of al-Aḳmar, Façade. 519/1125.

(No. 33 on the map)

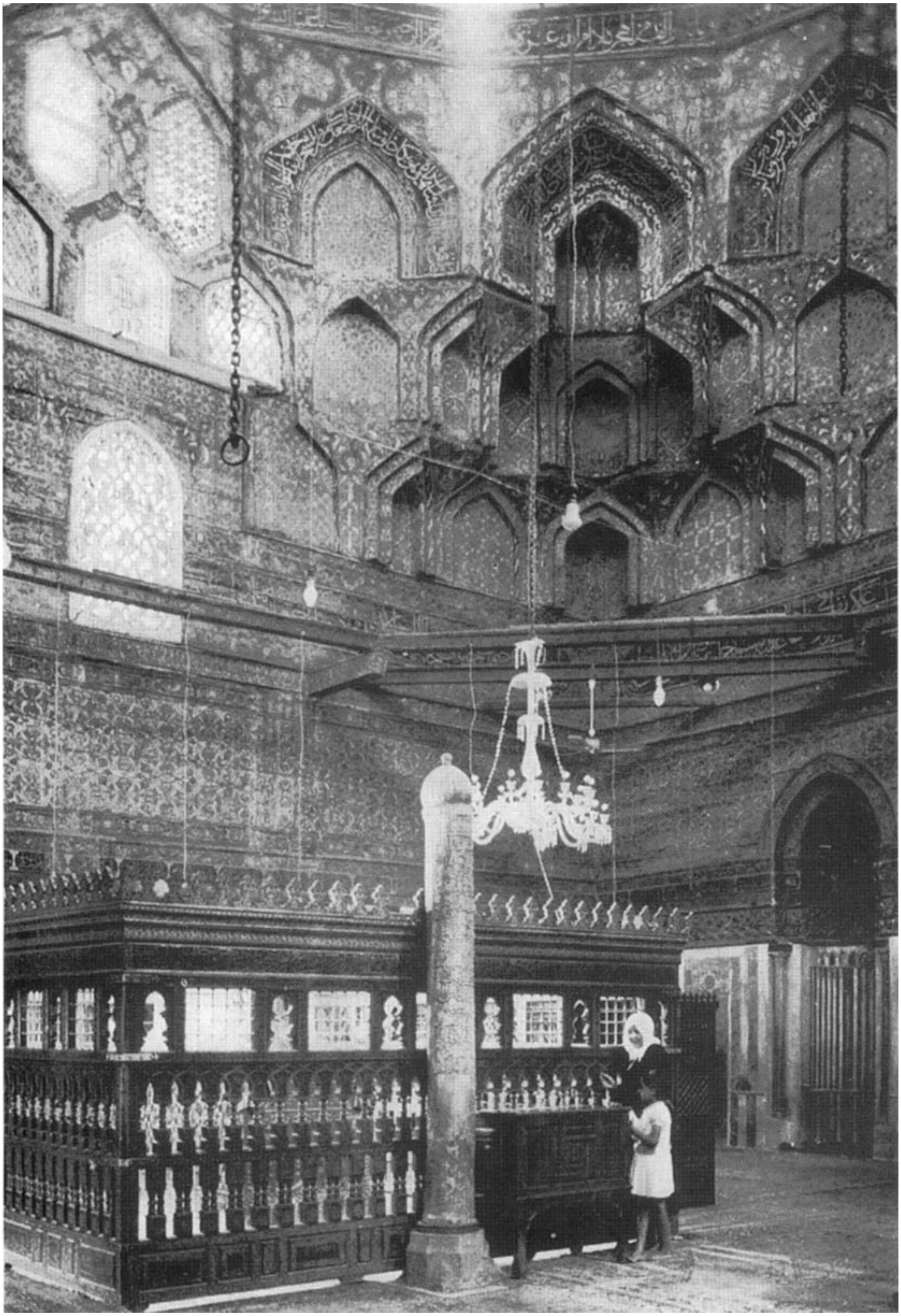

2. Mausoleum of Imām al-S̲h̲āfiʿi, 608/1211.

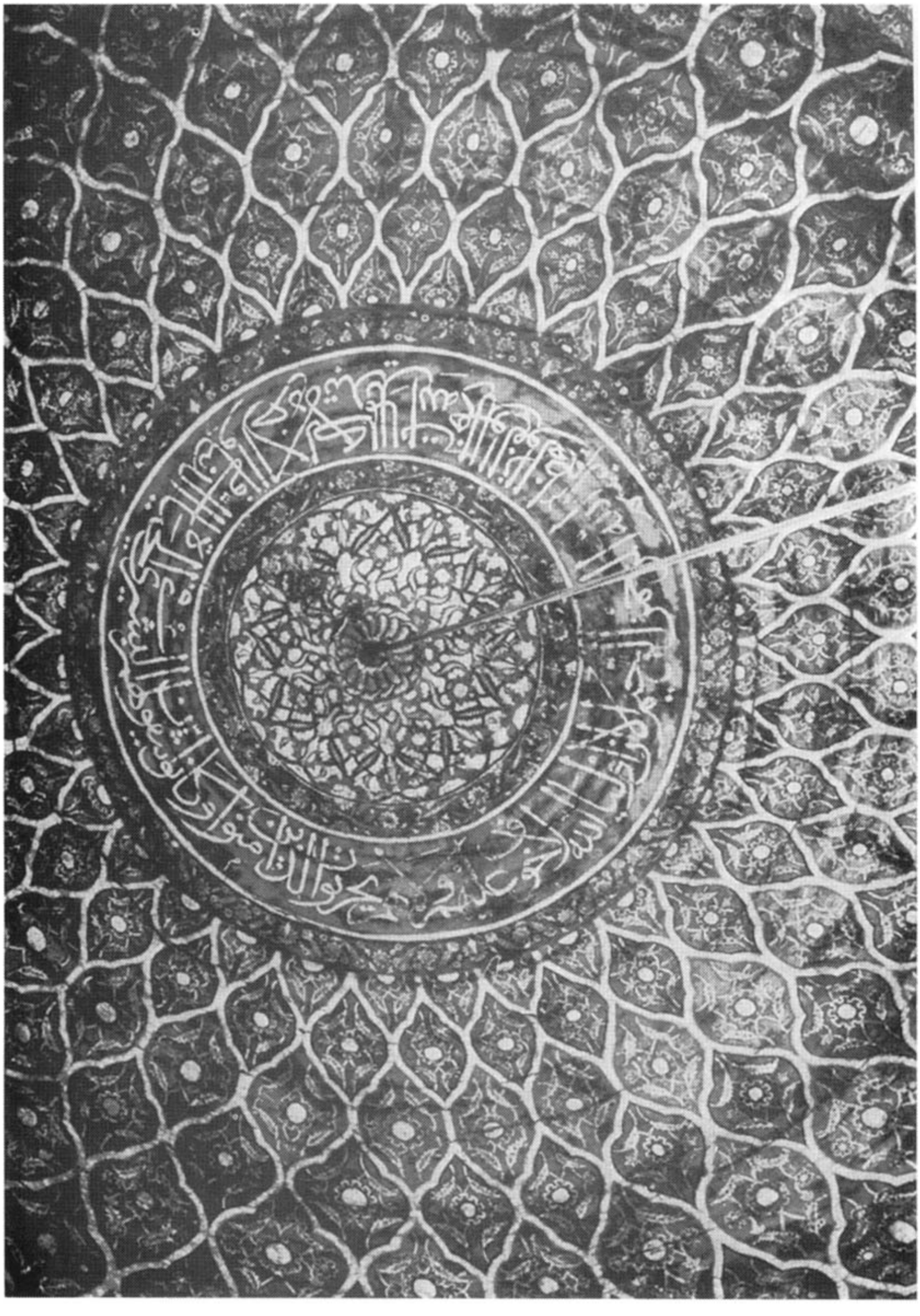

2a. Mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, 608/1211.

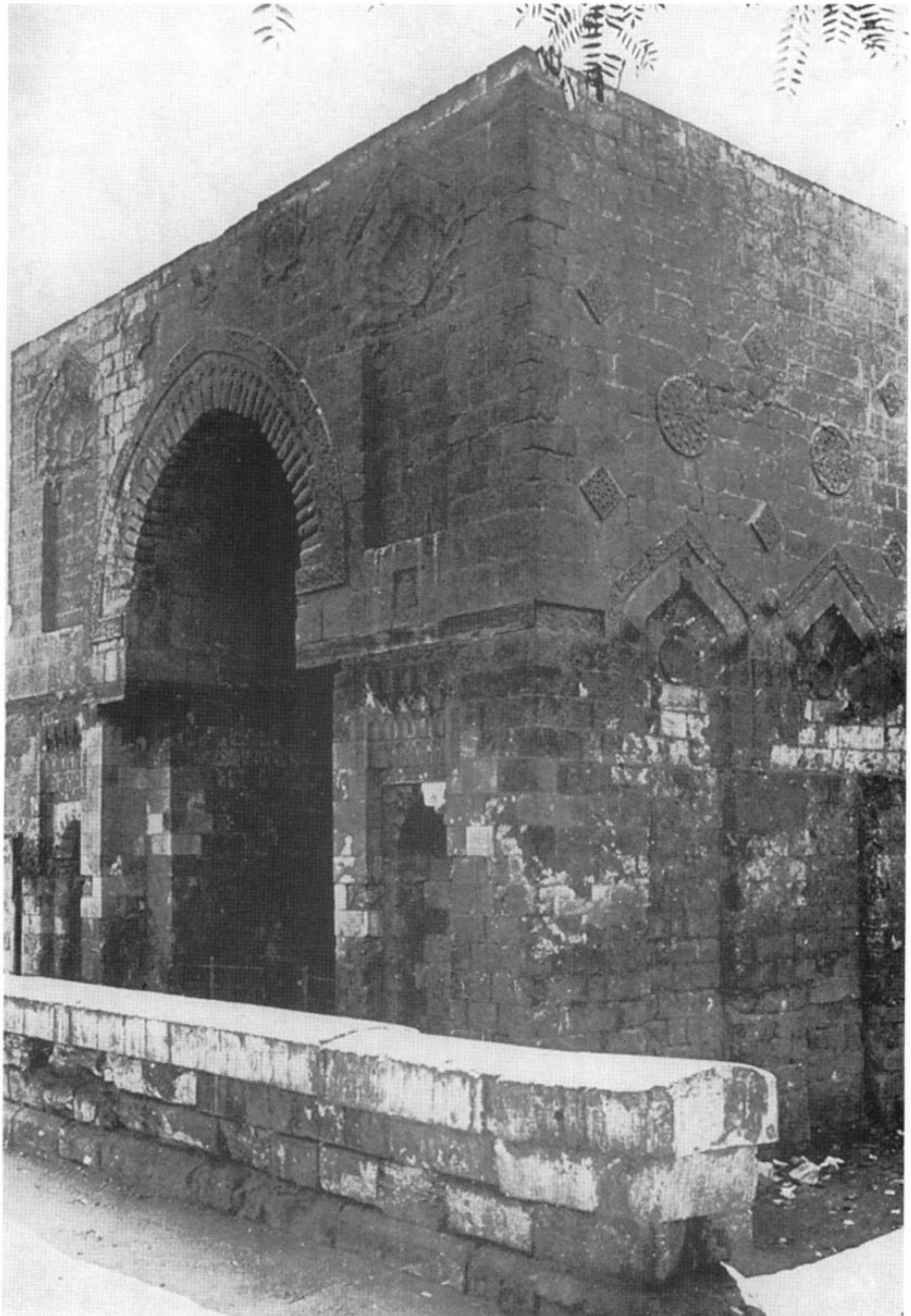

3 Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, Maydān Ḍāhir. 665-7/1266-9.
(No. 1 on the map)

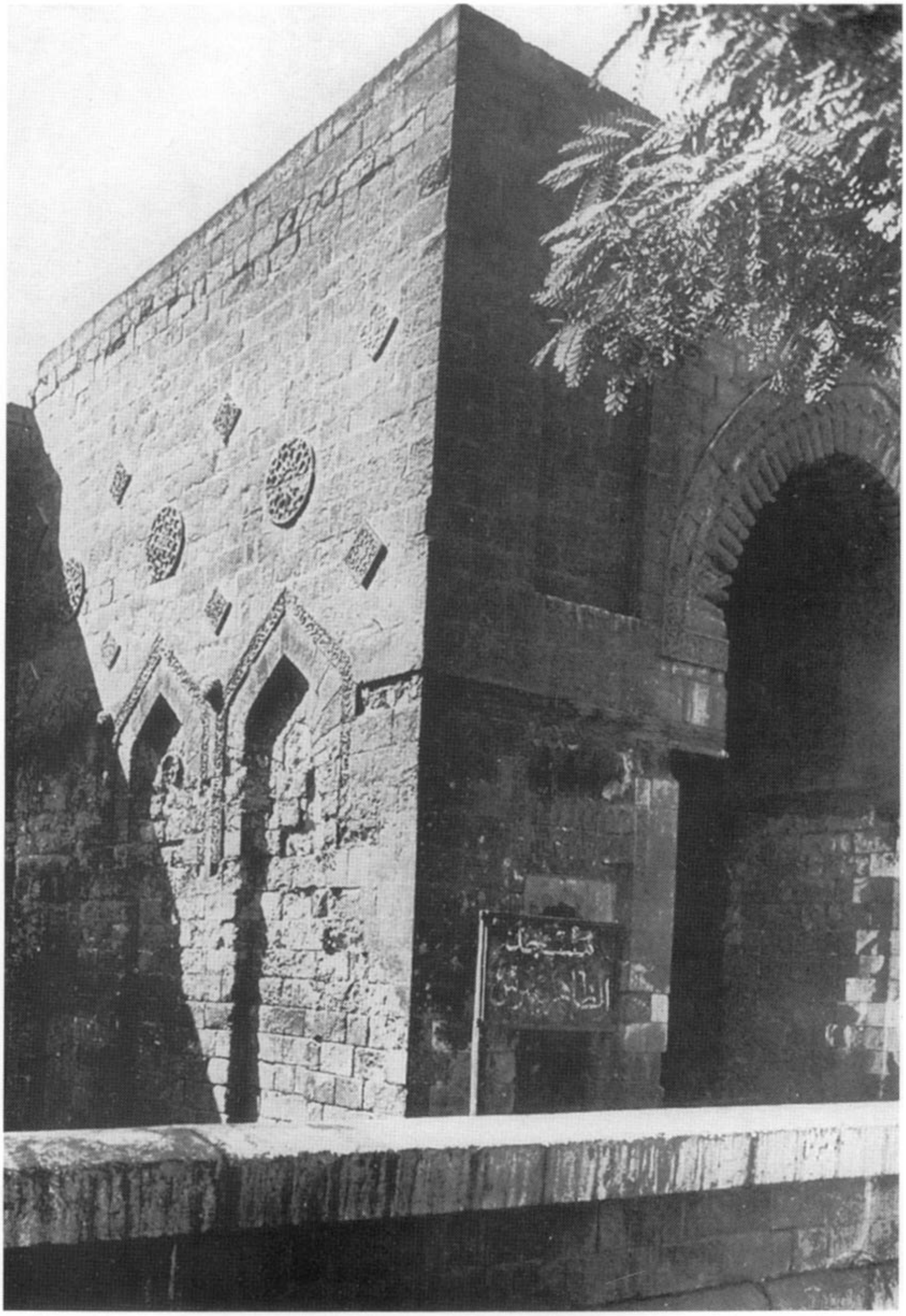

3a. Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, Maydān Ḍāhir. 665-7/1266-9.

(No. 1 on the map)

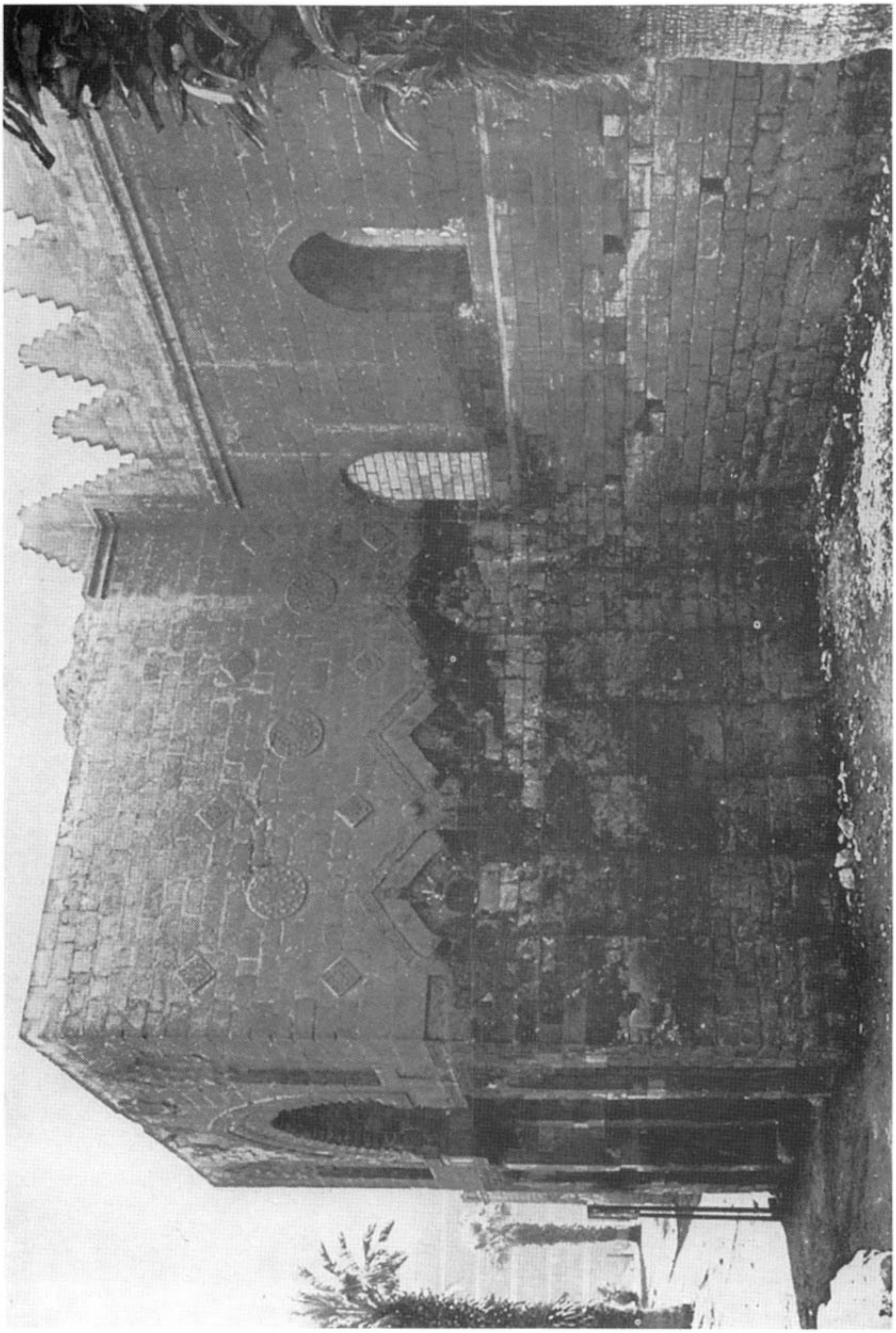

3b. Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, Maydān Ẓāhir. 665-7/1266-9. (No. 1 on the map)

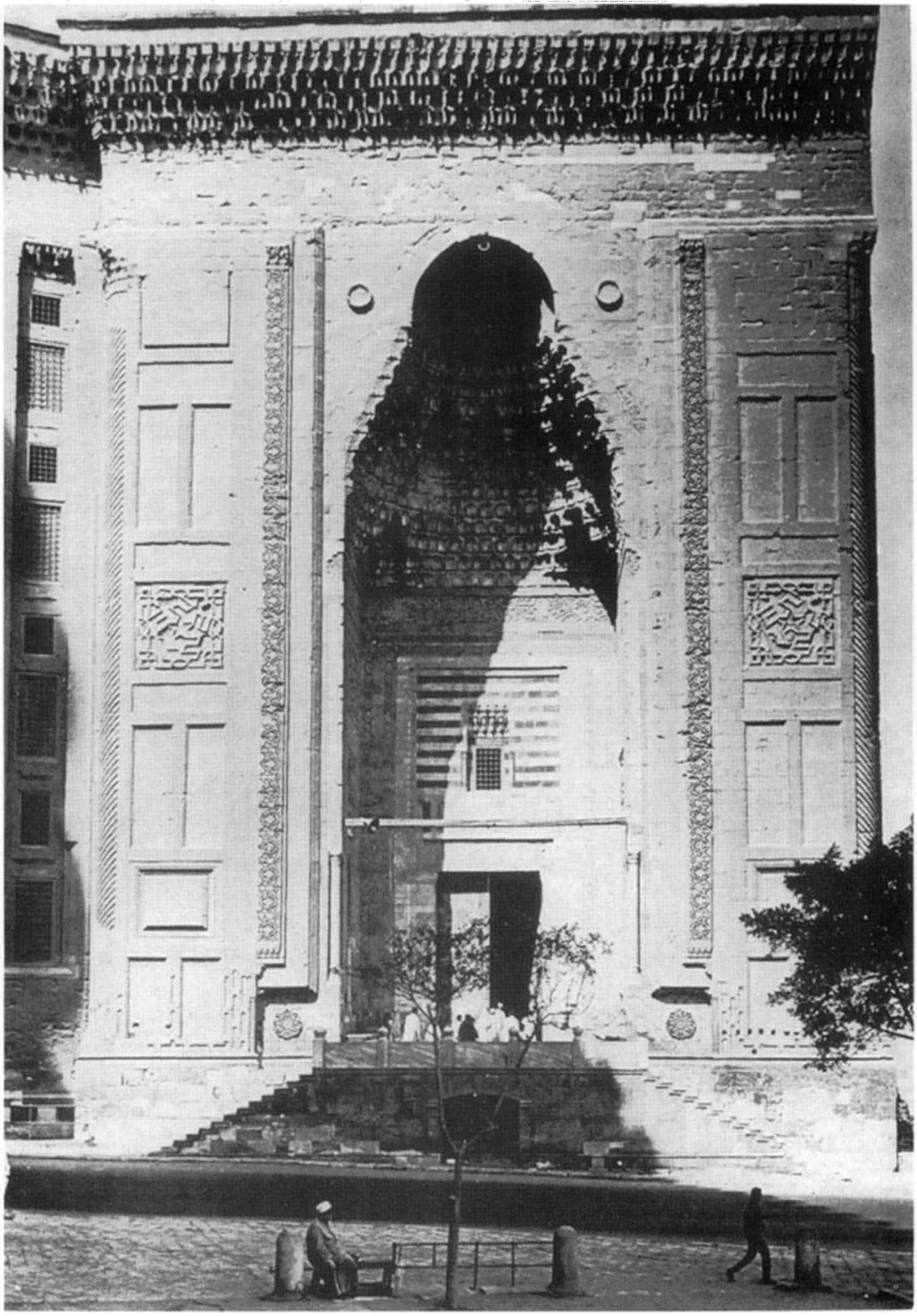

4. Mosque-*madrasa* of sultan Ḥasan. 757-64/1356-62/3.

(No. 133 on the map)

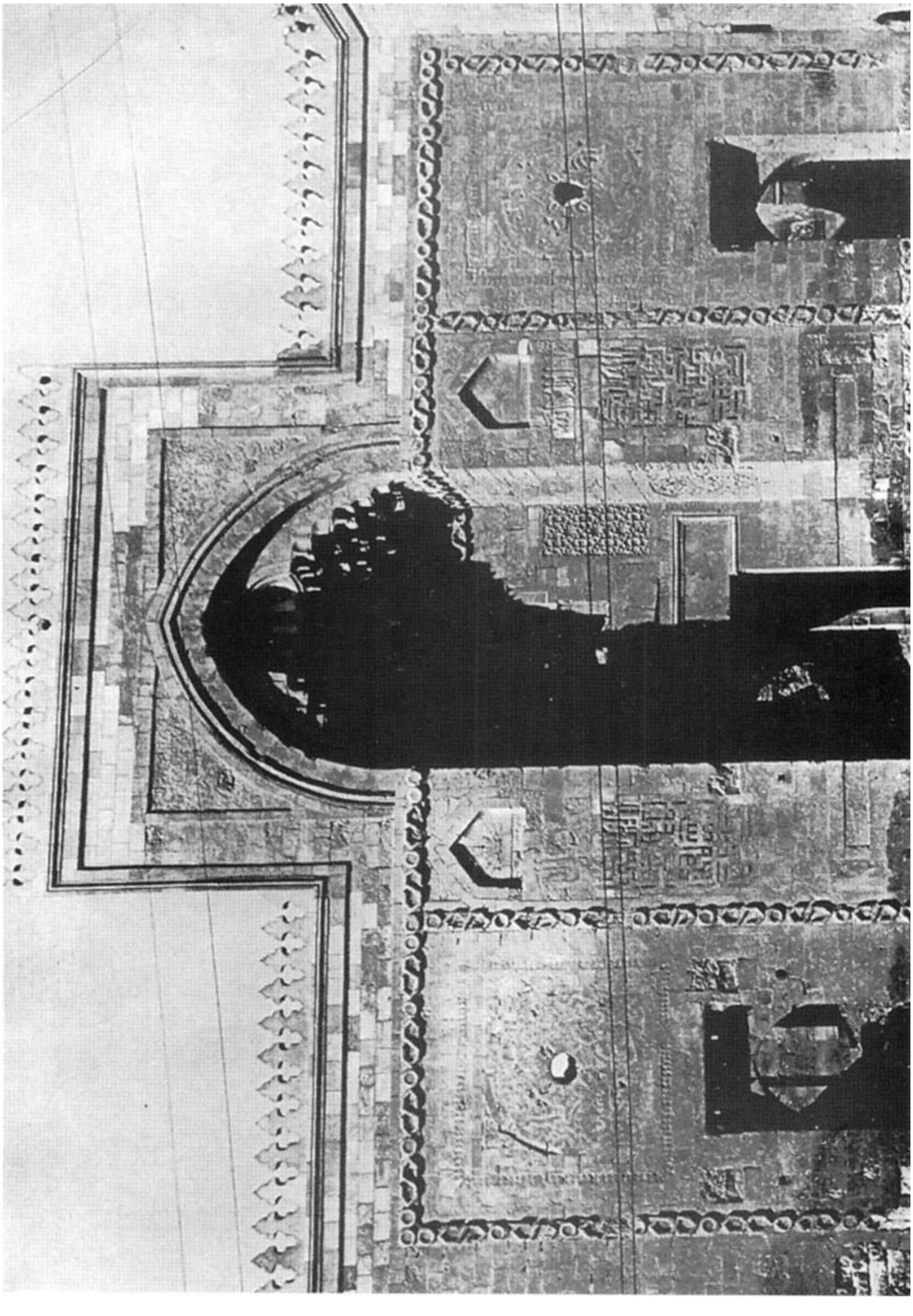

5. *Māristān* of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh. 821-3/1418-20. (No. 257 on the map)

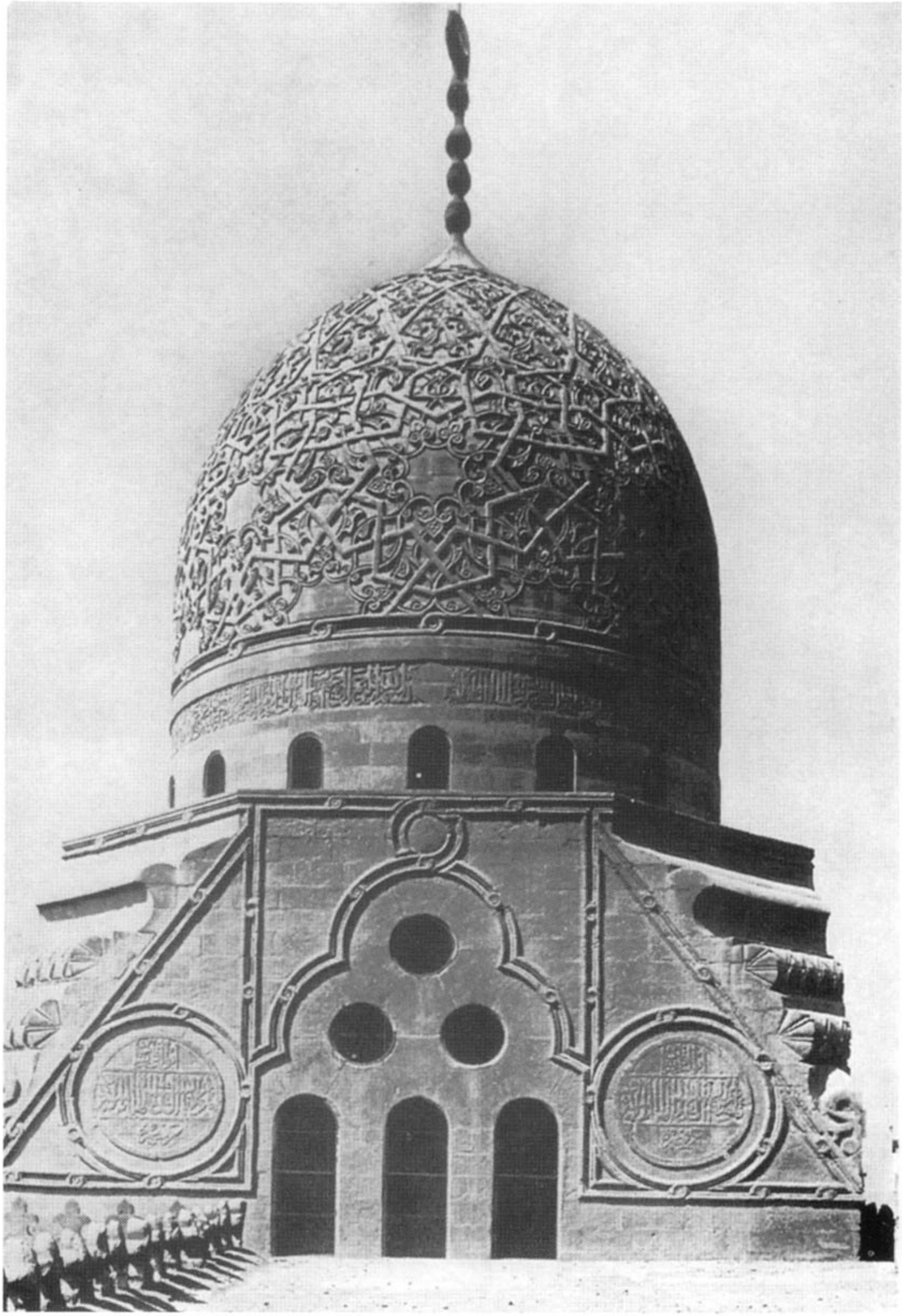

6. Mausoleum of Ḳāʾit Bāy. Dome. 877-9/1472-4.

(No. 99 on the map)

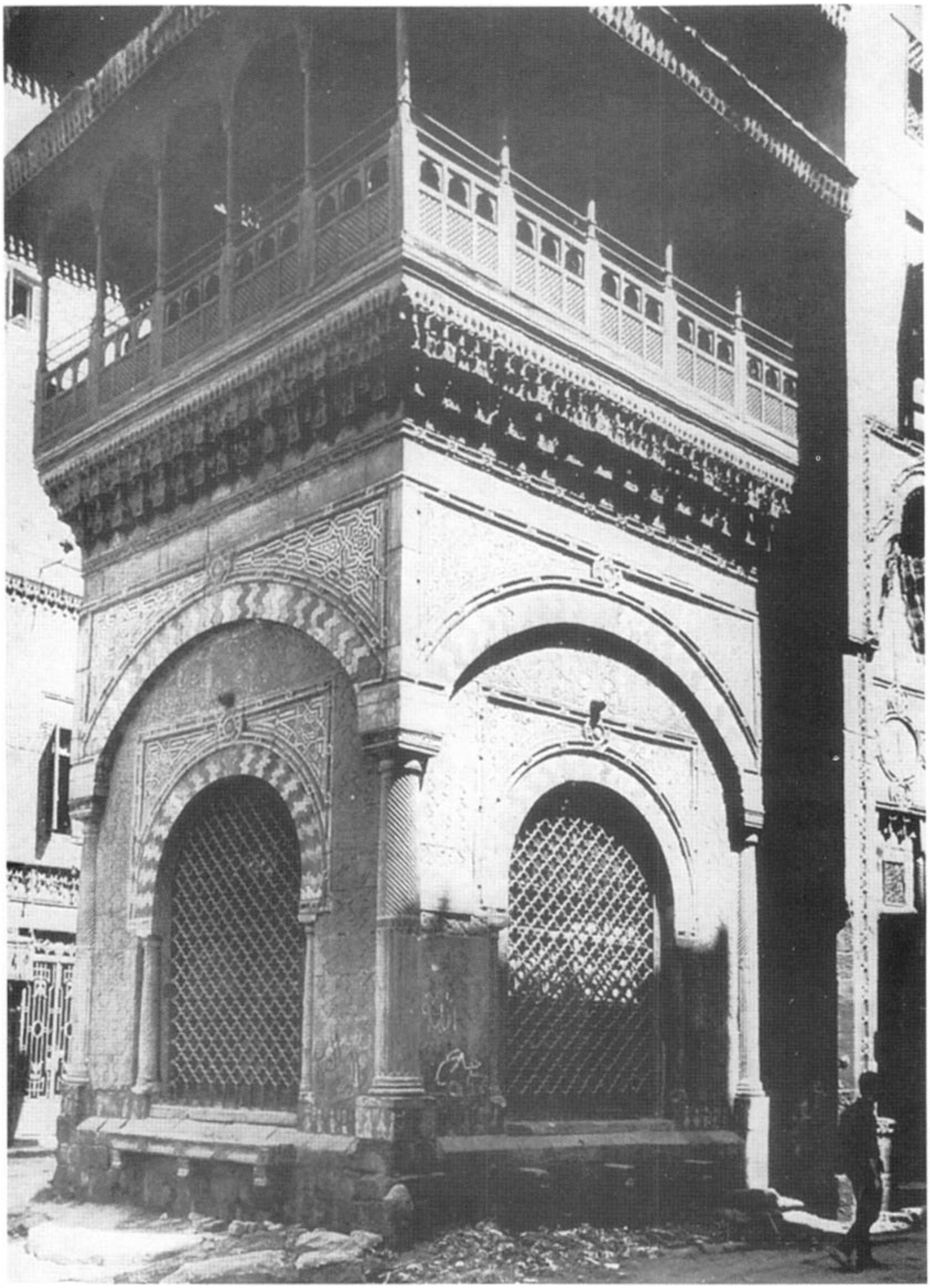

7. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā. 1157/1744.

(No. 21 on the map)

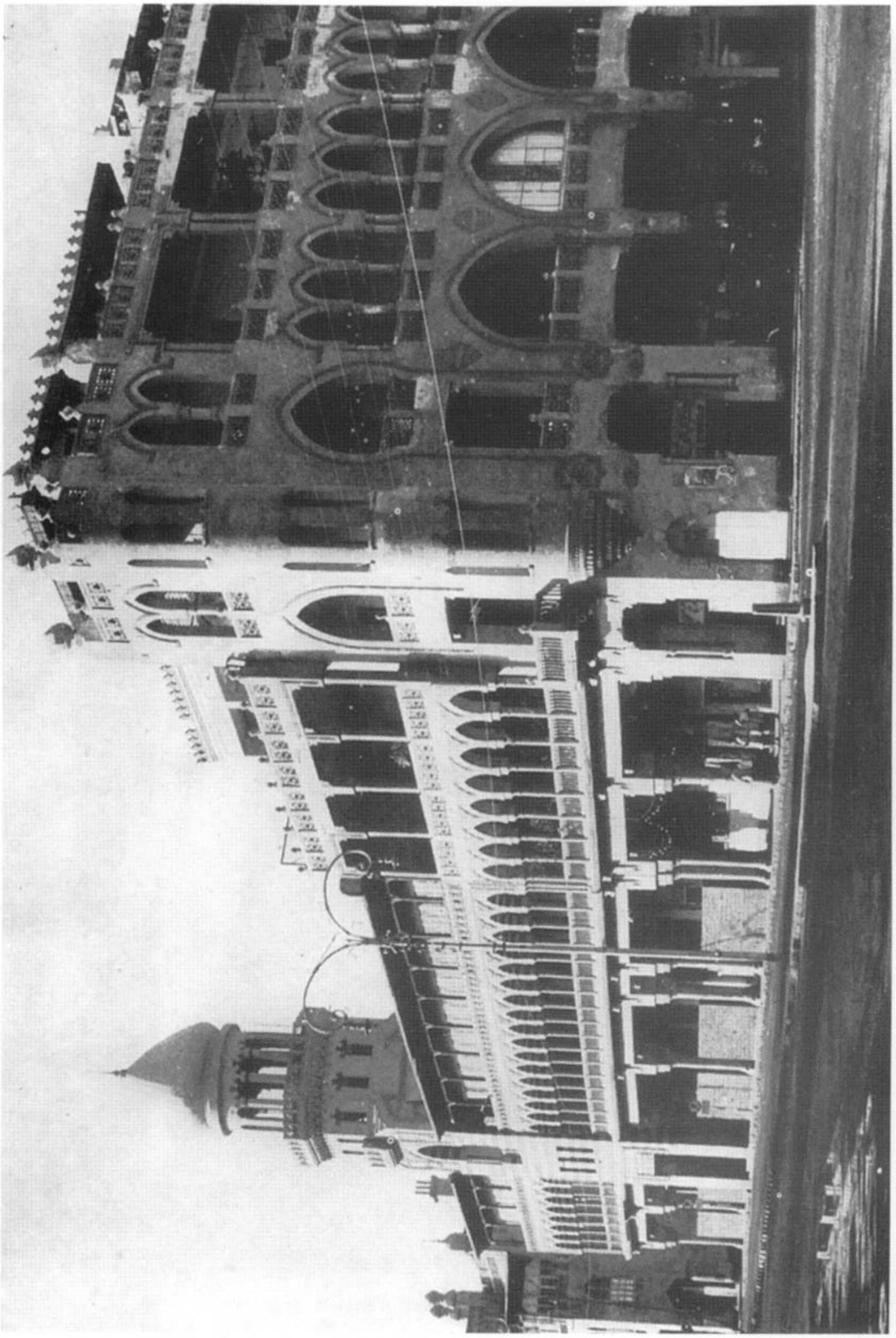

8. The main street of Heliopolis.

All photographs by Sophie Ebeid

well have resulted from the existence of the romance. It is also not unlikely that the name of the hero was derived from the rôle of superintendent which he seems to play with regard to the shah of Iran, Hūshang. On behalf of this king, Ḳahramān subdued *dīvs* and sorcerers and acted as the leading champion of the Iranian army when Hūshang invaded India in order to complete an empire comprising the seven climes of the world. The story varies greatly in its particulars in the existing manuscript and printed versions of the romance, a confusion undoubtedly resulting from the long history of its development in popular literature. A few versions, all in Turkish, have been summarized in a more or less detailed form (cf. H. O. Fleischer, *Catalogus libr. manuscr. qui in Bibl. Senatoria Civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur*, Grimae 1838, 522 f.; Th. Menzel, in *EI*[1], s.v. *Ḳahramān-nāma*; E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1932-3, i, 137-8, 144-5, 356, ii, 23).

According to some of these, Ḳahramān (or a another person called Ḳahrām, who sometimes takes over part of his functions) was the king of the man-eaters living in Sīstān who at first opposed the king of Iran. But he is also represented as a prince of royal Iranian blood who as a youngster had been carried off by the *dīvs* to the mountain Ḳāf. Through his enormous strength he is able to master the demons. When he returns to the world of human beings he rides a monstrous creature which he has caught and tamed himself. Woven into the main plot of the romance is a tale about the king and queen of the fairies and their son Bahrām-i Djabalī, as well as a series of picaresque stories of the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*]. The origin and early history of the *Ḳahramān-nāma* is still obscure. A reference to Ḳahramān as the guardian of the treasures of Hūshang in the *Dīwān* of ʿUnṣurī (ed. Y. Ḳarīb, Tehran 1323, 129; ed. M. Dabīr Siyāḳī, Tehran 1342, *bayt* 2416) proves that at least the kernel of this romance already existed in the time of Firdawsī. It would seem that elements of the legends about Hūshang [*q.v.*] and Rustam have been used to build up a new epic cycle. The composition of a voluminous version in Persian is attributed to Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarsūsī [see ABŪ ṬĀHIR]. Of this only some manuscripts of a Turkish translation are known, the oldest dating from the 10th/16th century. Much more condensed versions are known in both Persian and Turkish. In the Ottoman empire the romance became very popular and was incorporated into the repertoire of the *meddāḥ* [*q.v.*]. It has been printed several times in Turkey and Iran and has inspired modern writers in Kazakh and Uzbek (cf. *Philologiæ Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1966, 744; A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostočnikh rukopisey AN Uzbekskoy SSR*, ii, Tashkent 1954, 440, no. 1875).

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KAHRUBĀ (also writen as *kāhrabāʾ*; for other forms see *Wörterbuch der klass. arab. Sprache*, s.v. كهربا and W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 414), yellow amber. The word is of Persian origin (for Pehlevi quotations see G. Jacob, *ZDMG*, xliii (1889), 358) and means "a straw-attracting substance". It occurs in the Arabic translation of Dioscorides, ed. E. Terés, Tetuan 1952-Barcelona 1957, p. 84, s.v. αἴγειρος (Greek text, ed. Wellmann, i, 82); but since this text, originally translated by Stephanos b. Basileios, was revised by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] and, moreover, there is no indication whether the edited text takes into consideration the well-known additional translations of names made for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in Cordoba (see M. Meyerhof, *Die Materia Medica des Dioskurides bei den Arabern* [*Index Islamicus*, No. 5351]), we cannot be sure whether this mention of the word is the oldest known. Anyhow, two Arabic authors of the 3rd/9th century use the word: ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, written 236/850 (see for a full list of references *Wörterbuch*, *loc. cit.*, and for a relevant discussion Schmucker, *loc. cit.* ["Qurṭ." means Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, 1940!]) and al-Kindī, *Aḳrābādhīn* (see M. Levey, *The medical Formulary*, 1966, no. 224 and p. 320). Today the word is also used for "electricity" (ἤλεκτρον).

The very name of the substance, the only one used in Islamic sources, points to the lands from which the knowledge of amber reached Islam. Al-Muḳaddasī includes it in a list of goods imported from Khwārazm via the Bulghars [*q.v.*]; this corresponds to Scythia mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny. The origin of the amber imported from there is the shore of the Baltic Sea.

Most Islamic sources are well aware of the botanical nature of amber. Al-Bīrūnī, in his *K. al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir*, 210-212, says that he deals with this substance because it is popular among the eastern Turks, who store it like various kinds of horn (*khutū*). He mocks at authors who do not know of its non-mineral origin, as if they had not observed leaves and insects enclosed in the pieces. The resemblance between amber and sandarac is always stressed.

Apart from its use in gems, jewellery and for talismans, amber is also employed as a drug: when pulverized, it is administered as a hemostatic and astringent. The amber trade routes have been studied by Jacob, *loc. cit.* and vol. xlv (1891).

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ḲAḤṬABA B. SHABĪB B. KHĀLID B. MAʿDĀN, Abu ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭāʾī of Banū Nabhān (*Djamhara*, 178; *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 216), an Arab general and one of the most prominent leaders of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* in Khurāsān. According to Balādhurī, his real name was Ziyād, Ḳaḥṭaba being

a nickname derived from the verb *ḳ-ḥ-ṭ-b*, which means, *inter alia*, "to strike with a sword" (*LA*, s.v.). In one place his *kunya* is given as Abū Ḥamza (*Muḥabbar*, 465); it is quite possible that he had two *kunyas*, like some other leaders of the *daʿwa* who took the precaution of adopting a new one on becoming active in the movement.

Practically nothing is known about Ḳaḥṭaba before his appearance as one of the ʿAbbāsid emissaries in Khurāsān. Some information, however, exists about his grandfather, Khālid b. Maʿdān, which may explain the origins of Ḳaḥṭaba's connections with a Shīʿite movement. Khālid b. Maʿdān supported ʿAlī in the Battle of the Camel and was on that occasion the standard-bearer of his tribe, the Banū ʿAmr b. al-Ṣāmit (*Djamhara, loc. cit.*). Later, in the year 38/658, he was commander of ʿAlī's army at the battle against the Khawāridj at Nahrāwān (Ṭabarī, i, 3431; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 309). He took the field against the Khawāridj once more in 43/663-4 (Ṭabarī, ii, 54), but this time he refused to pursue them after they had been expelled from Kūfa, asserting that his sole responsibility was the defence of his *miṣr*. It can thus be deduced that Ḳaḥṭaba's family settled in Kūfa at least as early as in ʿAlī's time. An isolated apocalyptic tradition in Yaʿḳūbī mentions that as a young man Ḳaḥṭaba was also resident in Kūfa (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 411). As such he must have been familiar with the ʿAlid ideas and Shīʿite activity in the town. His name, however, does not feature in the detailed list of Abū Hāshim's supporters in Kūfa which appears in *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* (183-4, 191-2). The list is mentioned on the occasion of Abū Hāshim's death, in 98/716-7, and it is highly likely that by that time Ḳaḥṭaba was already in Khurāsān, although there is no mention of this in the sources.

That Ḳaḥṭaba was familiar with the Hāshimiyya and its ideology, and that in Khurāsān he actually joined the clandestine movement, is demonstrated by his election as one of the *nuḳabāʾ*, the twelve most prominent leaders, when the movement organized its leadership in Marw. According to the tradition transmitted by al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1358), the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* in Khurāsān was inaugurated by the visit there of the emissary Abū ʿIkrima and his nomination of the *nuḳabāʾ* in the year 100/718-9. In later Islamic tradition this acquired apocalyptic significance through the messianic expectations associated with the beginning of a new century—an association somewhat similar to the millenarian hopes in Christianity. It was thus politic of the ʿAbbāsids, after they had come to power, to link the inception of their *daʿwa* to the year 100, stressing that the new order brought to Islam by their *dawla* was the embodiment and fulfilment of the messianic hopes attached to the turn of the century.

The discovery and publication of the *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* has permitted a detailed reconstruction of the history of the *daʿwa*. From the unique traditions contained in this source it is quite clear that the Hāshimiyya movement in Khurāsān pledged itself to the ʿAbbāsid cause only around the year 126/743-4. Until then it had been organized in secret, mainly in Marw and in Nīshāpūr, in the form of small, clandestine groups. Towards the year 111/729, Marw took the lead with the arrival there of Khidāsh [*q.v.*], the competent Hāshimite leader from Nīshāpūr, who was undoubtedly responsible for the creation of a strong organized leadership of the movement in Marw. To him too the movement owed the formulation of its ideology, basically an ʿAlid one, which explains why later ʿAbbāsid tradition went out of its way to blacken Khidāsh's name. Although the leaders in Marw, Ḳaḥṭaba amongst them, were aware that the *imāma* of Abū Hāshim had been formally transferred in an unprecedented legal act to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], they were not inclined to accept him as their sole leader and for a long time refrained from any communication with the new *imām* and with the mother-centre of the movement in Kūfa. The suppression of the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] in Kūfa in 125/742-3 and the crucifixion of his son Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān a year later was a severe shock to the Shīʿa. Remorseful and disappointed, the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān was drawn to the *imām* in Ḥumayma [*q.v.*], who emerged as the only hope for the cause of *Ahl al-Bayt* [*q.v.*].

When Bukayr b. Māhān [*q.v.*], the ʿAbbāsid emissary from Kūfa, was sent to Khurāsān in 125 or 126/742-4 to organize the movement according to the *imām*'s specifications, he must have ratified the organization that had existed there from the time of Khidāsh. This included a supreme council of twelve *nuḳabāʾ* in Marw and a great number of *duʿāt* (formally 70), 40 of whom were in Marw and its vicinity and the rest scattered throughout the main urban centres of Khurāsān. At the end of 125 or 126, soon after the death of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and the succession of his son Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], a delegation of three *nuḳabāʾ*, Ḳaḥṭaba amongst them, met the new *imām* during the *Ḥadjdj* in Mecca and swore allegiance to him in the name of their Khurāsānī *shīʿa*. Henceforward Ḳaḥṭaba was the chief link between Khurāsān and the *imām*. The stringent secret measures, undertaken by the *daʿwa* in order to keep the identity of the *imām* hidden from the movement's followers as much as from most of its leaders, demonstrated the importance of his role. A later tradition, attempting to legitimize the status of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ [*q.v.*] as the first ʿAbbāsid caliph, made Ḳaḥṭaba the man who met Ibrāhīm before his death in the prison of Marwān II and received from him his testimony in favour of the *imāma* of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (*Frag.*, 190-1; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, iii, 251).

Ḳaḥṭaba's real genius was revealed when he served as general in the army of the *daʿwa*. When Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] was sent to Khurāsān in 128/745-6 to organize the movement for the decisive campaign against the Umayyads, Ḳaḥṭaba was appointed to lead his army. His son Ḥasan was his lieutenant. In the middle of Djumādā II 129/March 747, Ḳaḥṭaba accompanied Abū Muslim in a tour of the *daʿwa* centres in western Khurāsān in preparation for the revolt, which was to begin in Muḥarram 130/August-September 747. When they reached Ḳūmis, Abū Muslim returned to the vicinity of Marw and Ḳaḥṭaba continued westwards at the head of a small delegation in order to meet the *imām* during the *Ḥadjdj* of that year. After meeting the *imām* in Mecca and informing him of the detailed plans for the revolt, he returned to Khurāsān, having been formally nominated by Ibrāhīm as head of his armies.

Meanwhile the plans for open revolt in Khurāsān received a setback through some unforeseen development in the province. The black banners of the *daʿwa* were hoisted on 25 Ramaḍān 129/17 September 747, but military activity was delayed until after the coming of winter, affording ample time for Ḳaḥṭaba to return from Mecca and for Abū Muslim to recruit large numbers of warriors (mainly the *muḳātila* of the Yamanī tribes) and thoroughly organize the army. In Rabīʿ II 130/January 748, Abū Muslim entered Marw and drove out Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*],

the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, who fled to the west (*Akhbār*, 315 f.). Soon afterwards Ḳaḥṭaba returned to Khurāsān and took over from his son Ḥasan as the head of the army. He was accompanied by a group of military commanders, most of whom were Arabs, and by two competent administrators, Khālid b. Barmak [*q.v.*] and Djahm b. ʿAtiyya, whose task was the organization of the campaign, including the regular payment of the troops, and the administration of the occupied territories.

The winter over, the campaign opened in Shaʿban 130/April 748 (*Akhbār*, 321). Ḳaḥṭaba marched on Sarakhs, there encountering his first adversary, the Khāridjite Shaybān, whom he defeated and slew. After the fall of Sarakhs, Ḳaḥṭaba advanced swiftly westwards, revealing his military genius in the strategy he adopted. One of his main strategic principles was to keep the flanks of his advancing army constantly protected and free. By chosing to advance on the main route of northern Khurāsān, which passed from Marw through Ṭūs, Dāmghān and Rayy, he ensured that his left flank was protected by the great desert of central Iran while making his way through old-established centres of *daʿwa*. As we shall see, Ḳaḥṭaba had to deviate from this route twice, once in Gurgān and the second time when he reached Rayy and had to turn southwards to Iṣfāhān and Nihāwand instead of continuing on the short way to ʿIrāḳ.

The main campaign started out from Abīward. Advancing on Ṭūs, Ḳaḥṭaba met an Umayyad army led by Tamīm b. Naṣr b. Sayyār. Defeating and killing his adversary, he captured Ṭūs then swiftly pressed on to Nishāpūr, which he took at the end of Shaʿbān 130/4 May 738. Meanwhile a strong Umayyad army, commanded by Nubāta b. Ḥanẓala al-Kilābī, captured Gurgān and endangered Ḳaḥṭaba's right flank. At once Ḳaḥṭaba diverted the whole of his army northwards. He met Nubāta on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 130/1 August 748, defeated and killed him, and dispersed the remnants of his army. Having secured his right flank, Ḳaḥṭaba resumed his original route and captured Ḳūmis in the beginning of 131/September 748. A grave danger now emerged from the south. ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra al-Murrī assembled a huge army in Iṣfahān (*ʿaskar al-ʿasākir*, Ṭabarī, iii, 4). Leaving Rayy, which had fallen without a struggle, Ḳaḥṭaba turned with the main body of his army against this new threat. At the same time his son Ḥasan was sent with a strong contingent to engage the garrison of Nihāwand and cover his father's right flank. On 23 Radjab 131/18 March 749, Ḳaḥṭaba engaged Ibn Ḍubāra in battle at Djābalḳ and there secured the greatest victory for the *daʿwa*. The battle of Djābalḳ, which resulted in the death of one of the best Umayyad generals and the destruction of one of their most illustrious armies, proved to be fatal to the Umayyad cause.

The remnants of the shattered Umayyad legions retreated to Nihāwand, where the defence of the town was organized by Malik b. Adham al-Bāhilī. The original garrison of the city had consisted of troops of the *Ahl al-Shām* but a strong contingent of Khurāsānī warriors who opposed the *daʿwa* had also found refuge there. Soon tension was apparent between the two groups. When Ḳaḥṭaba joined his son in the siege of the city and began bombarding it with *mandjaniḳs*, Malik b. Adham entered into secret negotiations with the ʿAbbāsid general. Securing safe conduct for his Syrian troops, he opened the city gates to Ḳaḥṭaba. Adhering to the terms of the *amān*, Ḳaḥṭaba allowed the Syrians to go free, but captured the Khūrāsānīs and put most of them to death (131/749). Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, the Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ, alerted by the defeat of Ibn Ḍubāra and the fall of Nihāwand, left Kūfa in haste to block Ḳaḥṭaba's approach to al-Madāʾin. Ḳaḥṭaba moved to Khāniḳīn, arriving there in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 131/July 749. Danger then threated his northern wing from the direction of the Djazīra. Marwān II, alarmed by Ḳaḥṭaba's successes, sent a strong force to impede his progress at Shahrazūr. Adhering to his original strategy, Ḳaḥṭaba dispatched a contingent under Abu 'l-ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd al-Azdī to deal with this new danger. Abu 'l-ʿAwn's venture was crowned with success: he defeated ʿUthmān b. Sufyān, the commander of the Umayyad army in Shahrazūr, and captured the city.

As a result, it seems that Marwān decided to organize his forces for the defence of the Djazīra. His decision not to join forces with Ibn Hubayra had fateful consequences, but it was apparently based on the assumption that Ḳaḥṭaba was aiming to strike at the heart of the caliphate in the Djazīra and Syria rather than in ʿIrāḳ.

Meanwhile Ḳaḥṭaba prepared his last move into ʿIrāḳ. From Khāniḳīn the shortest route to al-Madāʾin was blocked by Ibn Hubayra, who assumed that Ḳaḥṭaba would take the direct route to Kūfa. Outwitting him, Ḳaḥṭaba planned a swift and daring move that took him into the heart of ʿIrāḳ. He marched out of Khāniḳīn in a north-westerly direction, leaving the highroad and outflanking Ibn Hubayra's camps in Daskara and Djalūlāʾ. Crossing the Ḳāṭūl canal near Bādjisrā, he assembled his army near Awānā and crossed the Tigris there on a bridge of boats. Once safely on the right bank of the Tigris, he hastened to Anbār, captured it and crossed over the Euphrates at Dimimmā. Ibn Hubayra, too late to intercept these swift moves, had to retreat with speed towards Kūfa. Meanwhile Ḳaḥṭaba advanced southwards along the western bank of the Euphrates. On reaching the eastern bank, Ibn Hubayra moved simultaneously opposite him. A few miles to the south of Fam al-Furāt, Ḳaḥṭaba caught sight of a shallow stretch of the river which he decided to ford. During the night of 8-9 Muḥarram 132/27-8 August 749, he mounted a surprise attack on Ibn Hubayra and defeated him, forcing him to relinquish Kūfa and retreat with the remnants of his army along the Nīl canal to Wāsiṭ.

In the confusion of the battle, Ḳaḥṭaba was either slain or drowned. His place was immediately taken by his son Ḥasan, who led the victorious army into Kūfa on 10 Muḥarram 132/29 August 749.

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ḲAḤṬĀN, according to the consensus of opinion among Muslim genealogists, historians, and geograph-

ers, and in popular tradition, the ancestor of all the South-Arabian peoples [see YAMAN], whence he is sometimes known as "father of all Yaman", the Yamanīs themselves being called *banū Ḳaḥṭān, ḳabāʾil Ḳaḥṭān,* or simply *Ḳaḥṭān.* He thus corresponds to ʿAdnān [*q.v.*], the common ancestor of the northern Arabs, though some authorities prefer to contrast him with one or other of ʿAdnān's descendants, *e.g.*, his son, Maʿadd (al-Dīnawarī, 281; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1056, 1084; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 88), or his grandson, Nizār (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 223, vi, 42 f., 46, 143, 150; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 273). The normal genealogy given for Ḳaḥṭān is Nūḥ—Sām—Arfakhshadh—Shālakh—ʿĀbar—Ḳaḥṭān, and he is also credited with a brother, Fālagh. In this we may see an adaptation of the Yahwist tradition in the Table of the Nations (*Genesis*, X, 21-5; *I Chronicles*, I, 4, 17-9); Noah—Shem—Arphaxad—Shelah—Eber—Peleg + Joktan, and this is confirmed by the Arab insistence on the identity of Ḳaḥṭān with Joktan (Yaḳṭan), who was the ancestor of several peoples of patent South Arabian reference. Some genealogists do admittedly make Yaḳṭan a brother or son of Ḳaḥṭān (*e.g.*, Ibn Ḳutayba, 14; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 79 f.; al-Ṭabarī, i, 217), but this is certainly a confusion on their part. The claim, however, that Ḳaḥṭān is an Arabicized form of Yaḳṭan (*e.g.*, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s.v.) is phonologically hazardous and need not be pressed. Hebrew *Yoḳṭān* is rather to be related to the verb *ḳāṭan* "to be small, weak", thus "the younger (brother)", and one might compare the occurrence in Old South Arabian of the term *qṭn* to denote collateral descent from a clan-head. Ḳaḥṭān, on the other hand, is now attested as a tribal name even before Islam. An inscription of the time of the second century Hamdānid ruler, ŠʿR m ʾWTR (Jamme 635/26-7) alludes to campaigns in the country to the north of Nadjrān against a king of Kinda and Ḳaḥṭān (*mlk/kdt/wqḥtn*), and this may provide additional support for the identification of Ptolemy's Κατανῖται (*Geogr.*, book vi, chapter 7, §§ 20, 23) with Ḳaḥṭān. Though virtually nothing is known of the rôle of this people in pre-Islamic times, it seems reasonable to suppose that the apparent similarity of the name with Yaḳṭan led the Arab genealogists to make the identification in order to provide the South Arabian peoples with a respectable biblical ancestry, just as the Northern Arabs, under the influence of the Bible and the Kurʾān, had been linked with Ishmael, son of Abraham, through the fictitious ʿAdnān.

The tribal confederation of the Ḳaḥṭān is subdivided into two groups, the smaller of the Ḥimyar and the larger of the Kahlān. The two were officially regarded as brothers and their descent from Ḳaḥṭān was established by the interpolation between biblical Joktan and his son Sheba of two further generations represented by Yaʿrub and Yashdjub. The Ḥimyar, as progenitors of the great pre-Islamic kingdoms of South Arabia, were probably settled, while the Kahlān were essentially nomads (cf. Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 116 ff.). Most, indeed, of the Southern tribes which had settled in North Arabia, Syria, and ʿIrāḳ by the advent of Islam claimed descent from Kahlān.

The hostility between the Ḳaḥṭān and the Maʿadd seems to go back to pre-Islamic times and may find its origin in the opposition between the desert and the sown. This enmity was intensified by the repeated raids of the Yamanīs into the lands of the Ishmaelites as well as by the later antagonism between the Anṣār (Medinans) and the Ḳuraysh, which came to a head after the death of the Prophet and influenced the history of the first two centuries of Islam in the most baneful fashion. It was perhaps this feud that first linked the Yamanī tribes on the one side and the Ishmaelites on the other into closer ethnological unities. One of its more innocuous results was the *mufākhara*, the struggle for rank and glory, which continually prevailed between the two rivals. The Ḳaḥṭān, in view of the splendour of the ancient South Arabian kingdoms, had the more right at first to feel the more distinguished. But the mission of Muḥammad and the primacy of the Ḳuraysh brought the Maʿadd a tremendous superiority. The Yamanīs endeavoured to counterbalance this by creating a South Arabian saga, which pictured their past greatness in the most splendid colours. They then made Ḳaḥṭān son of the prophet Hūd [*q.v.*], whom they next partly identified with ʿĀbar. (The present-day Ḳaḥṭān still regard Hūd as Ḳaḥṭān's father, though they are unaware of his shrine in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt.) Finally they tried to connect themselves with the ʿAdnān genealogy, partly by making the ancient Djurhum [*q.v.*], the brothers-in-law of Ismāʿīl, to be direct descendants of Ḳaḥṭān, but especially by giving Ḳaḥṭān a genealogy direct from Ismāʿīl, who thus became "father of all the Arabs". They may also be responsible for the theory that the Ḳaḥṭān, together with the so-called "lost Arabs" (*al-ʿArab al-bāʾida*), represent the genuine (primary) Arabs (*al-ʿArab al-ʿāriba* or *al-ʿarbāʾ* etc.), while the Maʿadd were Arabicized (secondary) Arabs (*al-ʿArab al-mutaʿarriba*). Another theory makes the "lost Arabs" *al-ʿArab al-ʿāriba*, while the Ḳaḥṭān are *al-ʿArab al-mutaʿarriba*, and the Maʿadd *al-ʿArab al-mustaʿriba* (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *al-ʿArab*).

The Ḳaḥṭān at present are for the most part beduin and form a very large group of tribes covering the area between Bīsha in ʿAsīr and Ḥawṭa in Central Arabia. Those that Doughty met in Ḥāʾil claimed descent from Hūd and traced their ancestral home back to the mountainous country around al-Ṭūr in ʿAsīr. Perhaps because of their isolated habitat on the northern fringe of the great southern desert, strange tales were reported of their customs and way of life and they acquired a reputation, perhaps justified, for savagery and cruelty. They are said to be Ḥanbalī Sunnīs and derive their livelihood from camel breeding. The Ḳaḥṭān of ʿAsīr differ from their nomadic relatives by living well-conducted lives and prospering in trade and agriculture. They form a federation of six autonomous tribes in the region just east of Abhā, living independently of one another and uniting only in times of crisis. Although al-Hamdānī knew of the individual tribes, he was apparently unaware of their description as Ḳaḥṭān. It is not improbable, however, that they are survivals of the pre-Islamic tribe. Al-Muḳaddasī, writing some fifty years after al-Hamdānī, mentions a district of Ḳaḥṭān between Zabīd and Ṣanʿāʾ and alludes also to a clan, the Āl Ḳaḥṭān, northwest of Nadjrān, whom he describes as "the oldest princes of Yaman".

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(A. Fischer[—A. K. Irvine])

ḲAHWA, an Arabic word of uncertain etymology, which is the basis of the usual words for coffee in various languages. Originally a name for wine, found already in the old poetry (see Landberg, *Etudes* ii, 1057 and *al-Aghānī*, 1st ed., vi, 110[7], viii, 79[16], xx, 180[8]), this word was transferred towards the end of the 8th/14th century in the Yemen to the beverage made from the berry of the coffee tree. The assumption of such a transference of meaning is not, it is true, accepted by some who consider *ḳahwa* —at least in the sense of coffee—as a word of African origin and seek to connect it with the alleged home of the coffee tree, Kaffa, although they also assume contamination with *ḳahwa* "wine" (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiii, 566; Vollers, in *ZDMG*, i, 657; *Hobson-Jobson*; Landberg, *op. cit.*, ii, 1057-66). On the other hand, it should be noted that the holders of this view do not prove that coffee was exported from Kaffa as early as 1400, and do not quote a similar word in the languages of Ethiopia and adjoining lands, while the usual word for coffee there (*būn* for tree, berry and beverage; see Armbruster, *Initia Amharica*, ii, Cambridge 1910, 58; Coulbeaux and Schreiber, *Dict. de la langue tigraï*, Vienna 1915, 408; I. Reinisch, *Die Kafa-Sprache* etc., ii, in *Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., cxvi, 1888, 273; see also Landberg, *op. cit.*, ii, 1055 f.) has passed in the form *bunn* (in rhyme also *būn*) as a name of the tree and berry into Arabic. But as it is probable that the drinking of coffee spread in the Yemen out of Ṣūfī circles and a special significance was given to wine in the poetical language of the mystics, a transference of the poetic name for wine to the new beverage would not be at all impossible.

The coffee tree was not indigenous to South Arabia and was probably introduced from the highlands of Ethiopia, where it is found in profusion growing wild, notably in Kaffa. But there is no trace of authority for the assertion (Deflers and *Handbook of Arabia*) that the coffee tree was already introduced into Yemen in the period of the Ethiopian conquest and of the fall of the Ḥimyar kingdom, about a century before the Hidjra. In this case the older literature would hardly have left it unnoticed.

The earliest mention of coffee so far found is in writings of the 10th/16th century. According to (Aḥmad) Ibn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, quoted by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazīrī in his essay (see below, *Bibliography*), the popularity of *ḳahwa* as a beverage in the Yemen was first known in Cairo in the beginning of the 10th/16th century. It was there taken especially in Ṣūfī circles, as it produced the necessary wakefulness for the nightly devotional exercises. According to this authority, it had been brought to Aden by the jurist Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Dhabḥānī (died 875/1470-1), who had become acquainted with it during an involuntary stay on the African coast and on his return devoted himself to mysticism; it soon became popular.

Another reference in al-Djazīrī, however, ascribes the introduction of the beverage to ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Shādhilī. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUmar of the family of Daʿsayn died in 821/1418 according to al-Shardjī. He also might have become acquainted with coffee in Ethiopia, for after entering the Shādhiliyya order, he lived for a period in the entourage of the king Saʿd al-Dīn (*i.e.*, between 788/1386 and 805/1401-2 or 807/1404-5, cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Ilmām bi-Akhbār man bi-Arḍ al-Ḥabash min Mulūk al-Islām*, ed. Rinck, Leiden 1790, p. 24; Paulitschke, *Harar*, Leipzig 1888, 504 *infra*), who gave him his sister to wife. Even after he had founded his *zāwiya* in al-Makhā (to follow al-Shardjī) gifts continued to reach him from admirers in Ethiopia.

In the treatise by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (Ibn) al-ʿAydarūs (see below, *Bibliography*), ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, the saint of al-Makhā, alone is mentioned as the introducer of the beverage *ḳahwa* (*muḥdith al-ḳahwa*, fol. 341b; *wāḍiʿuhā*, fol. 347b, in a verse by Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs, died 990/1582). His claim to fame is, it is true, qualified by the note "that, before he prepared the beverage, only the kernel of the husk, *i.e.*, the *bunn*, was used and the husks were thrown on the dung-heaps (fol. 342a). In a verse attributed to him, however, he praises the *ḳahwat al-bunn* as a dispeller of sleep and aid to devotional exercises (fol. 342b). While al-Shardjī says not a word of his connection with coffee, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-ʿAydarūs numbers the introduction of the beverage among his miracles (*karāmāt*, fol. 342a).

The legend as given by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa seems to have made two individuals out of ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, of whom Alī represents the founder of the Shādhiliyya order, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 656/1258; see al-Shaʿrānī, *Lawāḳiḥ al-Anwār*, Cairo 1299, ii, 5) and his disciple ʿUmar the saint of al-Makhā (Mukhā). The latter was ordered to settle, by command of his teacher who had appeared to him at his own funeral, at the place where a wooden ball which he gave him should come to rest. This is how he came to Mukhā. On the charge of having misconducted himself with the daughter of the king who was staying with him for a cure, he was banished into the mountains of Uṣāb (Wuṣāb, N.E. of Zabīd).

He and his disciples, who followed him into exile, are said to have sustained themselves with *kahwa* (here the berry) and finally to have made a decoction from it. His visitors were cured of an itch, epidemic in Mukhā, by taking coffee and this procured the saint an honourable return.

The third person who is given credit for the introduction of coffee is Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs. An essay by ʿAlawī al-Saḳḳāf (see below, *Bibliography*) contains a statement from the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Nadjm al-Ghazzī (*i.e.*, apparently *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-manāḳib ʿulamāʾ al-miʾa al-ʿāshira* by Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, Brockelmann, II, 376), according to which the Ṣūfī, who is called here a Shādhilī, once came upon a coffee tree in his wanderings and ate the berries. As he noticed their stimulating effect he took them as a food and recommended them to his disciples, so that they became known in different countries. The reference here is probably to the Ṣūfī of this name who died in Aden in 914/1508-9 (Abū Makhrama, Leiden Ms. 1956, fol. 188; al-Nabhānī, *Djāmiʿ karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1329, i, 263), whose grave is still honoured there. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (Ibn) al-ʿAydarūs only mentions his fondness for coffee and quotes his *ḳaṣīda* in praise of it. On the other hand, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī in his treatise *Iṣṭifāʾ al-ṣafwa li-taṣfiyat al-Kahwa*, fol. 2b mentions Abū Bakr al-ʿAydarūs as the introducer (*munshiʾ*) of *ḳahwa*.

According to Glaser (*Mitt. der Geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxx, 25), it is stated in a Turkish source (which he does not name) that in the 10th/16th century the *wālī* Özdemir (cf. Aḥmed Rāshid, *Tārīkh-i Yemen ve Sanʿāʾ*, i, 83 ff.) transplanted coffee from Africa to Yemen.

The fact that the merit of introducing coffee as a beverage is given to different individuals, suggests that we have to deal with various local traditions. The tradition of Mukhā is the most firmly established and most widely known; therefore ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Shādhilī—who is frequently confused with the founder of the Shādhiliyya order (d'Ohsson, von Hammer, Rinn)—has become the patron saint of coffee-growers, coffee-house keepers and coffee-drinkers (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, p. lxxxviii). In Algeria coffee is also known as *shādhiliyye*, after him (Beaussier, *Dict. pratique arabe-français*, Algiers 1871). He is popularly regarded as the founder of Mukhā, which is, however, already mentioned by al-Hamdānī (74^{16}, 87^{5}, 119^{18}), although it owed its rise to coffee. A well, a gate and the mosque over his grave preserve the memory of al-Shādhilī in Mukhā (Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, i, Copenhagen 1774, 438-40; cf. also the legend in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, and ʿAbd al-Karīm Kashmīrī, *Bayān-i Wāḳiʿ*, French tr. by Langlès entitled *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mekke par Abdoûl Kérym*, Paris 1797, 202 f.).

Al-Shādhilī and al-ʿAydarūs (probably not Ḥaydar, as de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe₂*, i, 461, thinks) have become Christian monks named Sciadli and Aidrus in the legend given by Naironi. The motif of the camels or goats on which the enlivening effects of coffee were first noticed has so far not been found in Oriental sources. According to a popular legend, the coffee tree shot up from goat's dung sown by the saint (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Atchehnese*, Leiden 1906, i, 260).

The legends are probably correct in saying that the taking of coffee in Arabia first began among Yemenī Ṣūfīs. They were particularly fond of the beverage because its effect facilitated the performance of their religious ceremonies. They therefore considered this as its original "destination" (*mawḍūʿ aṣlī*) and found that it incited to good and hastened on the mystical raptures (*fatḥ*) (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, fol. 342b). The pious intention with which it was taken made the drinking of coffee a good work (*ṭāʿa*). It received a ceremonial character, being accompanied by the recitation of a so-called *rātib*. This *rātib* consisted in the repetition 116 times of the invocation *yā ḳawī*. This usage is based—apart from the similarity in sound between *ḳahwa* and *ḳawī*—on the fact that the numerical value of *ḳhwh*, *i.e.*, 116, is the same as that of *ḳwy*, *i.e.*, *ḳawī*, "strong", one of the most beautiful names of Allāh [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ]. According to Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs, the recitation of the *fātiḥa* [*q.v.*] should precede it. Shaykh b. Ismāʿīl Bā ʿAlawī of al-Shiḥr, however, prescribed the fourfold repetition of the Sūra *Yā-Sīn* (Sūra XXXVI) with a hundredfold *taṣliya* on the Prophet as *rātib* (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, fols. 344b *infra* f., 345b, 347a). Thus when taken with a righteous intention and devotion and genuine religious conviction, coffee-drinking leads to the enjoyment of the *ḳahwa maʿnawiyya*, the "ideal *ḳahwa*", also called *ḳahwat al-Ṣūfiyya*, which is explained as "the enjoyment which the people of God (*Ahl Allāh*) feel in beholding the hidden mysteries and attaining the wonderful disclosures (*mukāshafāt*) and the great revelations (*futūḥāt*)" (*op. cit.*, fols. 341b, 345a *supra*, 345b *infra* f.).—ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Shādhilī is reported to have said that coffee, like the water of Zamzam, serves the purpose for which it is drunk (*op. cit.*, fol. 348a, cf. above ii, 588a, *infra*), and the saying has been handed down of Aḥmad b. ʿAlawī Bā Djaḥdab (d. 973/1565-66; cf. al-Nabhānī, *op. cit.*, i, 330), who in his last years is said to have lived on nothing but coffee:—"He who dies with some *ḳahwa* in his body enters not into hell-fire" (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, fol. 344b).

Coffee was probably not known as a beverage in South Arabia much earlier than the turn of the 8th/14th century. Whether the tree was introduced long before this is doubtful. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī [*q.v.*] speaks in his *Iʿāb* (commentary on *al-ʿUbāb*, probably by ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Sayfī; cf. Brockelmann, II, 531) of a beverage which appeared (viz. in Mecca) shortly before the 10th/16th century and was prepared from the husk of the *bunn*, a tree introduced from the region of Zaylaʿ, and called *ḳahwa* (quotation in ʿAlawī al-Saḳḳāf, p. 9). Among the jurists who gave an opinion in favour of coffee, the oldest is Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Kabbin al-ʿAdanī (died in Aden 842/1438, cf. Abū Makhrama, fol. 149b f.; according to al-Nabhānī, *op. cit.*, i, 155 f.: 829/1425-6).

An *urdjūza* of Sharaf al-Dīn al-ʿAmrīṭī gives the year 817/1414-5 as the date at which coffee became domesticated in Mecca (Pertsch, *Die Arab. Handschr. zu Gotha*, iv, no. 2107). According to the *ʿUmdat al-ṣafwa*, however, the drinking of a decoction of coffee husks first appeared towards the end of the 9th/15th century, while previously only the eating of the fruit as a delicacy (*naḳl*) was known. The drinking of coffee dropped out of use again for a time, but it finally established itself and soon people drank coffee even in the sacred mosque and regarded it as a welcome tonic at *dhikr* and *mawlid*. Coffee-houses (*buyūt al-ḳahwa*) were soon opened, where men and women met to listen to music or where they played chess or a similar game for a stake. This and the custom of handing round the coffee in the manner of wine naturally aroused the indignation of the ultra-

pious, many of whom had from the first set their faces against the beverage as an objectionable innovation. They found a champion in Khā'ir Bey, who was appointed chief of the police in Mecca in 917/1511 by Ḳānṣūḥ al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*]. He carried through the proclamation of coffee as forbidden (*ḥarām*) in the same year, in an assembly of jurists of the different schools in which the unfavourable judgment of two well-known physicians and the evidence of a number of coffeedrinkers regarding its intoxicating and dangerous effects ultimately decided the issue. The *ḳāḍīs* signed the protocol of the assembly. Only the then *muftī* of Mecca dared to decline his co-operation and became therefore the object of damaging suspicions. By putting the questions in a clever way they were at the same time able to get an opinion condemning coffee from the *faḳīhs* of Cairo. The rescript which Ḳānṣūḥ issued in reply to the protocol sent to Cairo did not completely fulfil the hopes of the opponents of coffee as it contained no absolute interdiction but only allowed measures to be taken against any concomitant features contrary to religion. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, as late as about 950/1543, had a vigorous discussion, at a wedding feast (*walīmat ʿurs*) where coffee was offered to the guests, on the new beverage with a prominent *muftī*, who declared it intoxicating and forbidden. Ibn Ḥadjar refers to the assembly abovementioned and cannot find words strong enough to condemn its decision and the manner in which it was reached (*ṣafwat al-ṣafwa*, fols. 352b-356a, quotation from the *Muʿdjam Mashā'ikhihi*).

In accordance with this verdict, Khā'ir Bey forbade the taking and sale of coffee and had a number of vendors punished and their stocks burned, so that coffee husks (*ḳishr*) disappeared from the market. But Ḳānṣūḥ's rescript again gave the coffeedrinkers courage and when in the next year one of the leading opponents of coffee was subjected to disciplinary punishment by a high official from Egypt and Khā'ir Bey was replaced by a successor who was not averse to coffee, they were again able to enjoy with impunity the beverage, to which these measures had only attracted the attention of wider circles. Only occasionally do we read of action being taken thereafter against disgraceful proceedings in coffeehouses. An edict forbidding coffee issued by the Ottoman sultan during the Ḥadjdj in 950/1544 was hardly respected at all.

In Cairo coffee was first made known in the first decade of the 10th/16th century in the Azhar quarter by Ṣūfīs from Yemen, who held their *dhikrs* in the mosque with their associates from Mecca and Madīna while partaking of coffee. After it had been publicly sold and drunk there for a time, the *faḳīh* Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Sunbāṭī, famous as a preacher, declared it forbidden in 939/1532-3. Two years later in a meeting for exhortation in the Azhar mosque he so incited his hearers against the beverage that they fell upon the coffee-houses, made short work of their contents and maltreated the occupiers. The difference of opinion thus emphasized caused the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. Ilyās al-Ḥanafī to take the opinions of prominent scholars; as a result of personal observation of the effects of coffee he confirmed the opinion of those who considered the beverage a permitted one. Although in the following years coffee was from time to time for brief periods forbidden in Cairo, the number of its devotees, even among the religious authorities, steadily increased.

Several notable theologians had given *fatwās* in favour of coffee, for example, Zakariyā al-Anṣārī (died 926/1520), Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Sayfī (d. 930/1523-4), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīḳī (died between 950 and 960/1543-1553), who in verses in praise of coffee also gives the advice that the opinion of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ should be set aside and the *fatwā* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan followed (*Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa*, fols. 349a, b; cf. also al-Ṣiddīḳī's verses in Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī's *al-Kashkūl*, Būlāḳ 1288, i, 19), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād al-Zabīdī (d. 975/1567-8) and others (*Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa*, fol. 348b).—Gradually the view came to prevail that coffee was in general permitted (*mubāḥ*), but that under certain circumstances the other legal categories could be applied to it also.

Intercourse with the holy cities and with Egypt brought coffee to Syria, Persia and Turkey. Rauwolf in 1573 found the beverage widely known in Syria (Aleppo). In Istanbul and Rūmili coffee first appeared in the reign of Sulaymān I (926/1520-974/1566). In 962/1554 a man from Aleppo and another from Damascus opened the first coffee-houses (*ḳahwe-khāne*) in Istanbul. These soon attracted gentlemen of leisure, wits and literary men seeking distraction and amusement, who spent the time over their coffee reading or playing chess or backgammon, while poets submitted their latest poems for the verdict of their acquaintances. This new institution was jokingly called also *mekteb-i ʿirfān* (school of knowledge). The coffee-house met with such approval that it soon attracted civil servants, *ḳāḍīs* and professors also (*Tārīkh-i Pecevī*, i, 363 ff.; English translation in B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman, Oklahoma 1968, 132 ff.; Kātib Čelebi, *The balance of truth*, tr. G. L. Lewis, London 1957, 60-2). Poets like Māmiya al-Rūmī (cf. Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, *op. cit.*, p. 147) and later Belīghī sang the praises of coffee, and the opinion expressed in 928/1522 by Sulaymān's court physician, Badr al-Dīn al-Ḳūṣūnī (Leiden Ms. 945, fol. 58) was not unfavourable. The coffee-houses increased rapidly in number. Among the servants of the upper classes were *ḳahwedji*, whose special task was the preparation of coffee, and at the court they were subordinate to a *ḳahwedjibashî* (Gibb-Bowen, i/1, index). In religious circles, however, it was found that the coffee-house was prejudicial to the mosque, and the *ʿulamā'* thought the coffee-house even worse than the wine-room. The preachers were specially eager for the prohibition of coffee and the way was paved for them by the *muftīs* (according to d'Ohsson: Abu 'l-Suʿūd) with an opinion that (roasted) coffee was to be considered as carbonized and therefore forbidden (the same argument is found in the treatise by Muḥammad (ʿAlī?) Dede, Leiden Ms, 682, i, fol. 4b). The fact that current politics were discussed in the coffee-houses, the government's acts criticized and intrigues concocted, was the principal cause for the intervention of the authorities. Edicts issued in the reigns of Murād III (982/1574-1003/1595) and Aḥmad I (1012/1613-1016/1617) were not strictly enforced and still less obeyed. The religious authorities met public opinion by declaring coffee legal, if it had not reached the degree of carbonization.

Murād IV 1032/1623-1049/1640) issued a strict prohibition of coffee (and tobacco). He had all the coffee-houses torn down and many forfeited their lives for the sake of coffee. Under Meḥemmed IV (1058/1648-1099/1687), while the sale of coffee in the streets was allowed, the prohibition of coffee-houses was at first renewed by the Grand Vizier Köprülü for political reasons. This prohibition could not possibly be kept in force permanently, and later we even read of measures taken by the government to lower the high

price of coffee. From Sulaymān's time a tax was levied on coffee which was at a rate of 8 aspers per *oḳḳa* for Muslim buyers and 10 for Christian; in 1109/1697 there was added an extra tax of 5 paras the *oḳḳa*, which was called *bidʿat-i ḳahwe*, for both.

According to Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, v, 713, the question of the correct spelling of *ḳahwa* with *h* or *ḥ* has been disputed in Turkey. *Ḳaḥwa* is actually found in several manuscripts *e.g.*, in the opinion of al-Ḳūṣūnī above mentioned.

The coffee tree flourishes in south-western Arabia and does best on the western side of the Sarāt at a height of 1100 to 2200 m., where it finds in the depths of the valleys and on the slopes a fertile, moist soil and the uniform warm temperature necessary for it. The plantations on the slopes arranged in terraces (see the picture in *Handbook of Arabia*, Pl. xiv), however, needed regular watering; in addition, the mist (*ʿumāʾ*, *sukhaymānī*) that rises in thick clouds out of Tihāma brings them moisture. To protect the trees from the heat of the sun and from locusts they are surrounded by shady trees like carob trees, tamarinds, etc. The tree, which is raised from seed (or propagated from layers), reaches a height of 2 to 5 m. with a diameter of 5 to 6 cm. and yields berries in the fourth year. It is an evergreen and throughout the year bears both blossom and berries in various stages of ripeness so that there is really no fixed harvest-time. The main harvest, however, varying with kind and locality, usually falls in the months from March to June. After the berries have been carefully gathered and allowed to dry they are shelled in a mill. The beans and the husks are then dried in the sun a second time.

The coffee tree is found as far north as ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] where it is said to flourish exceedingly on mount Sh-dh-y (Shadhā?) in the land of the Zuhrān (north of the Wādī Dawḳa, Doka on Stieler's map). (Sharaf ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Barakātī, *al-Riḥla al-Yamāniyya*, Cairo 1330, 16; cf. J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, ii, 377; for other places in ʿAsīr see *Handbook of Arabia*, 136, 137). The most southern areas of coffee cultivation are Bilād al-Ḥudjriyya, Wādī Warazān and Wādī Banā. To the east we find coffee grown in the land of the Yāfiʿ and in the Djawf. But it is the Ḥarāz mountains, the valley of al-Farsh belonging to the land of the Banū Maṭar, the Djabal Rayma and the district round ʿUdayn that are particularly celebrated for their excellent coffee. (For further information see Grohmann's book in the *Bibliography* where, too, the varieties are detailed.)

It has always been the custom in Yemen to drink preferably a decoction of the husks, which like the latter is called *ḳishr*, and is to be obtained in numerous coffee-houses (*miḳhāya*). To *ḳishr* as well as to the coffee made from beans, flavourings such as cardamom, ginger, cloves, etc., are often added.

The fresh ripe fruit is pleasing to the taste and nourishing. The eating of the *bunn*—it is not stated whether fresh or dried—is particularly recommended in a *ḳaṣīda* by Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nāshirī (*Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa*, fol. 358b f.) on account of its various health-giving virtues. No information is available as to whether the custom usual among the Galla and in Kaffa of eating ground coffee mixed with butter is also usual in South Arabia. In Persia the eating of dry ground coffee is not unusual.

For Arabic and Persian works on coffee in addition to those quoted above and in the *Bibliography*, see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn. der arab. Handschr. ... zu Berlin*, nos. 5476-5480; Pertsch, *Die arab. Handschr. ... zu Gotha*, nos. 94(9), 2105-2109, 2777; *Cat. Cod. Orient. Bibl. Acad. Lugduno-Batavae*, iii, no. 1401; Brockelmann, II, 414 and 437, no. 16.

Ḳahwa is also the name of the room in which coffee is served and thus comes to mean "reception-room" and "coffee-house". The word is also used in the sense of "tip" and "present".—On coffee-houses in the East, see the works mentioned below by Olearius, Chardin, Russell, von Hammer, Snouck Hurgronje.—On coffee-vessels see Lane, Snouck-Hurgronje, von Oppenheim, Socin, Euting, Landberg.

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(C. van Arendonk*)

Trade with Europe

The arrival of European merchants in Mukhā and the Red Sea in general was significant for the coffee trade in more than one way. Hitherto, the southern Yemen together with some areas of Ethiopia had supplied the entire Islamic world with coffee beans. Indeed, the Yemeni rulers passed stringent rules against any attempts made by foreigners to export coffee seeds and seedlings (see Ellis, 29). But with the rapid spread of the habit of coffee drinking in Europe and other parts of the world during the 17th and 18th centuries and the consequent rise in demand, the monopoly enjoyed by the coffee growing areas of the Red Sea was broken for ever, and its cultivation extended to Ceylon, Java, the Caribbean and South America (*India Office Records*, London, letter of 22 August 1732; *Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 301, 160). Another unlooked-for consequence was the greater availability of documentation on the volume and structure of trade, which the purely Islamic sources seem to lack. The descriptions left by European travellers and traders and the records of the English and Dutch East India Companies not only provide general accounts of the trading conditions at Mukhā and Bayt al-Faḳīh, the chief centres of the coffee trade, but also detailed information on exports of various nations, prices, methods of purchase, commercial regulations, the areas of coffee growth, and the economics of marketing. There can be little doubt that coffee was one of the most valuable commodities entering the international trade of the Middle East and played a vital part in the flow of silver specie it ins eastward journey from Europe to India, bringing in the process considerable prosperity to regions that had few alternative sources of wealth.

The existence of coffee as a plant and a beverage became known in Europe towards the end of the 16th century. Jean de La Roque, who wrote the first scholarly historical treatise on the origins of coffee both in the Near East and Europe, attributed its first botanical reference to Prosper Alpinus, whose book was published in Venice in 1592. The work of Alpinus went through several editions in the 17th century and was followed by the treatises of Philip-Sylvester Dufour, Nicholas de Blegny and John Ray. The interest aroused by Arabian coffee among the scientific world of Europe was matched by its economic and commercial prospects as seen by merchants. As early as 1609-10 the ships of the English East India Company were sent to Mukhā to inquire about trading possibilities, and the commander of the Sixth Voyage, Sir Henry Middleton, succeeded in making a journey to Ṣanʿā' (*The First Letter Book*, 240). In 1616, the Dutch merchant, Pieter van den Broecke, learned about coffee at Mukhā and managed to obtain very favourable commercial terms from the *imām*, much to the surprise and annoyance of Arabian, Persian and Indian merchants at Ṣanʿā' (F. de Haan, *Priangan*, iii, 804; K. Glamann, 183; E. Macro, 37). But it was not until the middle of the century that coffee appears to have been regularly imported into Europe by the Cape route. In the 1660s coffee was sold under the name of "coho seeds" in the public sales of the English East India Company in London, while the first reference to "cauwa de Mocha" in the Amsterdam auctions of the Dutch Company occurs in 1661-62 (*A Calendar*, 27; Glamann, 183).

Although the servants of the Dutch East India Company were perfectly aware of the economic importance of coffee in Middle East trade and often exported it from Mukhā to other Asian ports, they made little effort to import it to Europe on a regular basis before 1690 (*Dagh-Register 1664*, 311). In contrast, the English imports were much greater during this period and there were few years between

1664 and 1700 when coffee was not imported and sold in London. In 1664 the total quantity listed in the account books amounted to 44,912 lb. valued at £ 1,138, while in 1690 there was a peak import of 298,816 lb. worth £ 9,821 (*India Office Records*, London, vols. 26 etc.). In the first half of the next century the average annual imports were well over a million lb., the peak being reached in 1724 when the total imports were 2.67 million lb. The English sources also provide interesting information on the total exports of coffee from Yemen and the share of the different trading groups in the total. In 1726, for example, out of a total estimated export of 19,267 bales (each bale containing approximately 280 lb.), the Arab and Turkish merchants handled 10,330 bales or 54 per cent. The next largest exports were those of the English, both the Company and private, with 5020 bales (26 per cent), followed by the Dutch with 2000 bales (10 per cent), the French (1300 bales or 7 per cent), and the Persian and Indian merchants with 617 bales (3 per cent). However, it is probable that these figures were either underestimated or the season for this year was exceptionally bad. For in 1731 the chief merchant of the English factory stated that in good years the quantity of coffee exported varied between 60,000 and 70,000 bales, although in none of the actual reports sent home by the servants of the East India Company do the exports ever exceed 40,000 bales (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 201, p. 518; vol. 2, no. 261, pp. 79-80). A possible explanation for the discrepancy lies in the difference between the weight of coffee in an English bale and in an indigenous bale, the latter being much smaller. (For the weights and measures of Mu<u>kh</u>ā, see *Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 209, p. 11, no. 311, p. 106). It is evident from these and other figures that even at the height of the European trade in Yemen, the share of the Middle East as a consumer of coffee was overwhelmingly large. But with European demand at 40 per cent, its effect was both a rapid increase in cultivation and a progressive rise in the price of coffee. In 1672, a year of high demand, the price of coffee in Mu<u>kh</u>ā was 45 Spanish dollars per *bahar* (approximately 450 lb.). In the 18th century coffee was frequently sold at 100 dollars and in years of short harvest the price could rise to well over 170 dollars per *bahar* (*Factory Records Surat*, 16 Sept. 1672, vol. 3, fol. 16; Ovington, 271; *Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 29, p. 56; vol. 2, nos. 334, 342, 344, 348 pp. 302, 324, 330, 342; *Abstract*, vol. 449, p. 496). The Turkish and Arab merchants seem to have purchased their coffee exclusively in the great inland mart of Bayt al-Faḳīh [*q.v.*] and seldom used Mu<u>kh</u>ā. Coffee was brought down to the coast by camels and shipped off through the ports of Luḥayya and al-Ḥudayda. According to Ovington, Luḥayya came into prominence when the trade of Mu<u>kh</u>ā was disrupted by English warships during the short war with the Mu<u>gh</u>al emperor in 1687-88 (Ovington, 273). But it is also possible that the proximity of al-Ḥudayda and Luḥayya to <u>D</u>judda, which was the main intermediate market for coffee in the Middle East, was the reason why these ports were used by the Muslim merchants in preference to Mu<u>kh</u>ā. Coffee was distributed in the Ottoman Empire through two separate routes. The most important one was through the <u>D</u>judda, Suez, and Cairo, but substantial quantities also went through Baṣra and up the Euphrates. The demand in India and Persia was small and seldom exceeded 500 bales unless the Sūrat merchants were especially commissioned by the European trading companies in western India to purchase coffee on their behalf. However, with the increase in the consumption of coffee in Europe towards the end of the 17th century, the chartered companies fell into the practice of buying coffee directly in Mu<u>kh</u>ā. The Dutch Company re-opened its factory in Mu<u>kh</u>ā in 1696 after previously closing it in 1684 (Glamann, 186, 188). The English East India Company had sent their servants from Sūrat to Mu<u>kh</u>ā during the trading season and had also despatched ships direct from London with supercargoes who had the responsibility of purchasing coffee in Yemen. But in 1716 the Bombay Council decided to establish a permanent factory in Mu<u>kh</u>ā with the aim of buying coffee all the year round and thus avoiding the high prices of the main trading season (*Bombay Public Proceedings*, 6 February 1716, vol. 4; *Abstract*, vol. 449, para. 49, p. 229). From Mu<u>kh</u>ā it was only a short step to Bayt al-Faḳīh, and during the early 18th century English, Dutch and French merchants regularly made their appearance alongside the Arab, Turkish and Indian traders in the coffee market of the inland town.

One of the reasons why the directors of the English East India Company had hesitated before opening a regular trading post at Mu<u>kh</u>ā was the fear of religious intolerance and on one occasion it was definitely stated that the Muslim pilgrims on the Ḥa<u>dj</u>dj considered it a meritorious deed to insult and abuse any Christians they met with in the Red Sea area (Court of Directors' letter to Bombay Council, 17 April 1701, Despatch Book, vol. 93, para. 56, p. 223). But the Company's servants who had closer acquaintance with the actual conditions in Yemen took a different view and considered that the treatment of Europeans there was in no way different from the treatment of the Christians in Europe (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 5, p. 23). Indeed, the commercial terms on which the Europeans were allowed to trade in Mu<u>kh</u>ā and Bayt al-Faḳīh were consistently more favourable than those given to the indigenous or Indian merchants. The export duty paid by the former was only 3 per cent *ad valorem* while the latter paid 5 per cent (Hamilton, i, 36). In addition, after the civil war of the late 1720s in Yemen, the new *imām* allowed the European companies to export 500 bales of coffee duty-free each year (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 211, p. 19). It is true that the formal commercial capitulations given out at Ṣanʿāʾ were often violated by the local governors who demanded additional payments for themselves, and the sellers of coffee to some extent had to make up the fiscal loss in the shape of a special levy on coffee sold to the Europeans. In 1721, for instance, it was reported from Mu<u>kh</u>ā that very little coffee had come onto the market that season because the normal excise duty of one dollar per *bahar* had been suddenly raised to five dollars (*Abstract*, vol. 449, para. 8, p. 406). In Bayt al-Faḳīh, according to La Roque, the tax was paid only by the seller (La Roque, 105). That the coffee trade yielded to the local rulers a lucrative source of income is shown by the high transit duty imposed on it by the governors of Mecca and <u>D</u>judda and the pa<u>sh</u>a of Egypt, who raised the duty to 12 1/2 per cent in 1699 (Alg. Rijksarchief, The Hague, Koloniale Arch. Oost-Indië en de Kaap, no. 1810, 7 and 10 July 1719; Glamann, 192). There was also evidence that the Porte was alarmed by the effect of European competition on the trade of the Turkish merchants and sent several diplomatic missions to Yemen to try to persuade the *imām* to prohibit the export of coffee by the Europeans. The missions ended in failure when the *imām* demanded a compensatory income equal to the duty and the total purchase

value paid by the Europeans (*ibid.*). It is no exaggeration to state that the place formerly occupied by pepper and spices in the Levant trade was in some measure taken by coffee.

The international demand and the commercial expertise of the visiting merchants were responsible for creating a fairly sophisticated organization in the coffee trade. Very little information is available on the economic structure of its cultivation, but it seems that coffee was grown mostly by smallholders who brought the ripened and dried berries to the market themselves, although there were also large growers who employed the big merchants of Bayt al-Faḳīh to market their products (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 166, p. 481). The markets of Mukhā and Bayt al-Faḳīh were served by distinct and separate growing areas, the supplies coming to Mukhā being from villages to the south. The areas supplying Bayt al-Faḳīh were much more extensive and varied from one and a half day's journey from the latter to six days. The best coffee came from Wosab and Saffal, but the output of this type was generally small. The next grade purchased by the Europeans was grown in Harrass, Rimah, Himmah and Doran, while coffee from Selba, Sinan and Aden was brought to the market in a very dirty condition and seldom bought for Europe (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 19, p. 42). The beans were nearly always cleaned and given an initial degree of processing before being sold, although in years of high demand they could be offered "ungarbled" and protests made by the English and the Dutch against such practices met with the rejoinder from the governors that they could not compel their subjects to sell coffee only in a particular state if the Turkish and other merchants were prepared to buy what was offered (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 319, p. 227).

The main trading season in Mukhā and other ports extended from March to August, when ships from Suez, Djudda, Baṣra and Sūrat arrived to buy coffee and exchange their cargoes of foodstuffs and Indian piece goods as well as European woollen goods. The coffee market was particularly sensitive to the timing of the ships' arrival and departure, and the mere rumour of the sighting of a European or Turkish merchantman at sea could send up the price at Bayt al-Faḳīh or lead to the withholding of supplies from the market in the hope of higher prices. On several occasions the Dutch servants made competitive bids, but each time gave way before the higher bids of other Europeans and ended up without purchasing any coffee. It was only later that the servants of the English Company discovered that this was a deliberate plan in order to keep up the price of Yemen coffee, so that the product of their own plantations in Java could be sold more advantageously in the home market (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 216, p. 9). But in general the most important influence governing the price at Mukhā or Bayt al-Faḳīh was the wholesale price obtaining at Djudda and Cairo, the Yemeni merchants keeping themselves fully informed by a system of local correspondence. One of the by-products of the coffee trade was a very large influx of precious metals, largely silver, into the Red Sea area, which enabled the traders to import luxury goods from India and elsewhere, and the Indian ships returning to Sūrat mostly carried specie. There was also an active banking system and the European companies frequently supplemented their import of treasure with funds obtained by purchasing bills of exchange in the local capital market, which were later repaid in Sūrat.

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(K. N. Chaudhuri)

KAHYĀ (Ketkhudā) or **DJENĀZE HASAN PASHA**, Ottoman grand vizier under Sultan Selīm III. A slave of Circassian origin, he served different Ottoman dignitaries until he became *kahyā* (*ketkhudā* [*q.v.*]) of Melek Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], thus being known later as Ketkhudā Ḥasan Pasha. His military skill first became evident during the Greek rebellion in Morea, when as *mütesellim* of Tripolitza he defeated the rebels besieging the town on 23 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1183/19 April 1770. He was appointed commander of the fortress Vidīn with the title of vizier in Muḥarram 1202/November 1787 while Melek Meḥmed Pasha became *serʿasker* of Vidīn. On the latter's dismissal in Rabīʿ II 1202/January 1788, Ḥasan Pasha succeeded him. During the Russian and Austrian war his victories in the summer of 1788 at Orsova, Mehadiya and Sebes against the Austrians won him such a reputation that the new sultan, Selīm III [*q.v.*], appointed him grand vizier on 3 Ramaḍān 1203/28 May 1789. As he was ill, he arrived at the army headquarters in Rusčuk on a stretcher, thus acquiring his second nickname of Djenāze (corpse). His grand vizierate proved to be unhappy. Indeed an Ottoman army under the command of Kemānkesh Muṣṭafā Pasha was beaten by the Austro-Russian allies at Fokshani on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/1 August. Furthermore, the main army under his own command was defeated at Martineshti, near the Rimnik River, on 2 Muḥarram 1204/22 September 1789. With the ensuing capture of Belgrade and Bucharest by the Austrians and that of Akkerman and Bender by the Russians, Ḥasan was dismissed from the grand vizierate on 5 Rabīʿ I/23 November and replaced by Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], who had success-

fully defended Ismāʿīl against the Russians. Nominated commander of Rusčuk, he was exiled to Bozdja-Ada (Tenedos) in Djumādā I/January 1790. Two years later, in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1206/June 1792, he was appointed governor of Silistre, but was later transferred to Crete. He was governor of the Morea when the French landed in Alexandria on 1 July 1798. After a period of retirement in Yeñi-Shehir (Larissa), he later became commander of Bender, but a sudden attack by the Russians obliged him to surrender it on 27 Ramaḍān 1221/8 December 1806 and he was taken to Russia as a prisoner-of-war. After being released, he lived in Yeñi-Shehir until his death around 1225/1810. Although a brave soldier, he possessed the qualities neither of a military leader nor of a statesman.

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(E. Kuran)

ḲĀʾID (A.), an imprecise term, but one always used to designate a military leader whose rank might vary from captain to general. Semantically, it is the equivalent of the Latin *dux*. The plural most frequently employed by historians is *ḳuwwād*.

For the army in Muslim Spain, this title corresponded to general or even commander-in-chief. In the navy, *ḳāʾid al-usṭūl* (= *ḳāʾid ʿala 'l-usṭūl*) or *ḳāʾid al-baḥr* (= *ḳāʾid ʿala 'l-baḥr, ḳāʾid fi 'l-baḥr*) was equivalent to "admiral". But Ibn Khaldūn intimates that the term current among sailors of his day was *al-miland* (pronounced with a back *lām*), a Catalan loan-word (*lughat al-Ifrandja*) which is evidently related to the Castilian and Portuguese *almirante*. The *ḳāʾid al-asāṭīl* was the admiral-in-chief. On a warship the *ḳāʾid* commanded the fighting men on board (*muḳātilūn*) while the *raʾīs* directed the actual handling of the ship by the sailors (*baḥriyyūn*).

In Morocco under the Saʿdids, *ḳāʾid* denoted a general, and *ḳāʾid al-ʿaskar* or *ḳāʾid al-ḳuwwād* was used for commander-in-chief.

After the establishment of the tribal *djīsh* [see djaysh, iii], the commander of each of the militarized tribes was given the title of *ḳāʾid* or *bāshā*. Beneath him were the *ḳāʾid raḥā*, who led a unit of 500 men (*makhāziniyya*) and the *ḳāʾid miʾa*, who commanded 100 men. In large cities a military governor, called *ḳāʾid al-madina* or *ḳāʾid al-ḳaṣaba* (*al-ḥākim* is also found), was responsible for dealing with cases of murder, theft and offences against public morality (cf. the Spanish *alcaide*). The *ḳāʾid al-dawr* or "chief of the watch" was responsible for keeping watch at night; under his command were the *dawwāra* (sing. *dawwār*).

At the court of the ʿAlawid sultans, the *ḳāʾid al-mashwar* directed the external administration of the palace (the internal administration was the responsibility of the chamberlain, *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*]). He performed the duties of a master of ceremonies, putting into the appropriate hands correspondence addressed to the sultan and admitting to his presence those ambassadors and dignatories who had been granted audience. Under his command was a troop of horsemen, called *mashāwiriyya*, whom he employed as couriers on confidential missions.

Each of the departments of the palace (*ṭāʾifa*, pl. *ṭawāʾif*; *ḥanṭa*, pl. *ḥanāṭi*), internal and external, was directed by a special *ḳāʾid* (dialect pl. *ḳuyyād*).

The non-militarized tribes, who were liable to a land-tax known as *nāʾiba*, were governed by a *ḳāʾid*, usually one of the notables of the tribe. The office went to the most open-handed candidate, who was chosen by the *ḳāʾid al-mashwar*. Appointed for an indeterminate period, the *ḳāʾid* of a tribe risked dismissal if a more generous candidate were to make an offer to the palace. The new *ḳāʾid* was given a warrant (*ẓahīr*) of investiture, a horse, a tent of state (*ḳubba*) and a round seal (*ṭābaʿ*) made of silver. On its top half was inscribed *khadīm* (or *waṣīf*) *al-maḳām al-ʿālī bi 'llāh*, and on its lower half, under a horizontal line, the name of the *ḳāʾid* followed by *waffaḳahu 'llāh*. Since the letters were cut into the seal, when it was smeared with greasy ink the text stood out in white on the paper.

The *ḳāʾid*'s duties were of three types: fiscal, judicial and, in a subordinate sense, military. He was responsible for allotting and collecting the normal and special taxes. He had to ensure public security and pass judgment in all cases which did not come under the jurisdiction of the *ḳāḍī*. Finally, it was he who had to raise the auxiliary troops demanded of the tribe to make up the strength of the regular army. As they were sent in a *ḥarka* (= classical *ḥaraka*), these militiamen were called *ḥurrāk* (sing. *ḥārik*).

The *ḳāʾid* was assisted in his duties by a lieutenant (*khalīfa*), who was frequently a member of his family. To carry out his orders, arrest offenders, etc., he had at his disposal a number of mounted policemen (*makhāziniyya*). He also nominated a *shaykh* to take charge of the concerns of each section of the tribe.

Whenever a powerful *ḳāʾid* was removed from office and the government deemed it dangerous for him to dwell within his native tribe, he was compelled to live at court, with the honour due to his rank. Such a powerless *ḳāʾid* was known as a *ḳāʾid raʾsih* (dialect *ḳāid rāso*), "governor of himself".

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(G. S. Colin)

ḲĀʾIF [see ḳiyāfa].

ḲĀʾIM ĀL MUḤAMMAD, "the Ḳāʾim of the family of Muḥammad", in Shīʿī terminology commonly denotes the Mahdī [*q.v.*]. The term *ḳāʾim*, "riser", was used in Shīʿī circles at least from the early 2nd/8th century on in referring to the member of the family of the Prophet who was expected to rise against the illegitimate regime and restore justice on earth, evidently in contrast to the *ḳāʿid*, or "sitting", members of the family, who refused to be drawn into ventures of armed revolt. The term thus was often qualified as *al-Ḳāʾim bi 'l-sayf*, "the one who shall rise with the sword". It also appears frequently qualified as *al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh* meaning both "the one who shall rise by the order of God" and "the one who carries out the order of God". With the latter connotation the term could be applied to any *imām*. Thus some Imāmī *ḥadīths* stress that every *imām* is the Ḳāʾim of his age (*Ḳāʾim ahl zamānihi*). In its specific sense the term meant, however, the eschatological Mahdī, who as such was sometimes called *Ḳāʾim* (more commonly: *Ṣāḥib*) *al-zamān*, "the Lord of the (final) age". Various early Shīʿī sects expected the return of the last *imām* recognized by them, whose death they usually denied, in the role of the Ḳāʾim. In Imāmī and Ismāʿīlī usage the term Ḳāʾim has widely replaced that of Mahdī.

Among the Imāmiyya, whose *imāms*, especially

from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] on, made it a principle to refuse involvement in revolutionary activities, numerous traditions were related concerning the rising (*ḳiyām*) of the expected Ḳāʾim *imām*, the signs (*ʿalāmāt*) indicating his appearance, his acts and his conduct. After the death of the eleventh *imām*, the twelfth, Hidden *Imām* was identified with the Ḳāʾim who on his appearance will fulfill the predictions about his actions and miracles. Imāmī doctrine distinguishes between inevitable (*maḥtūma*) signs for the coming of the Ḳāʾim and conditional (*mushtaraṭa*) ones which may be cancelled by God. The traditions do not fully agree as to which signs are inevitable. Most often mentioned are: 1. The coming of the Yamānī who shall appear in the Yaman calling for the support of the Ḳāʾim; 2. the appearance of the Sufyānī [*q.v.*] who will rise in the Dry Wādī (*al-Wādī al-Yābis*) in the month of Radjab in the same year as the Ḳāʾim and will seize Damascus and the five provinces of Syria before being killed by the Ḳāʾim; 3. a voice (*nidāʾ* or *ṣayḥa*) from heaven calling the name of the Ḳāʾim; 4. the swallowing up (*khasf*) of an army sent by the Sufyānī against the Ḳāʾim in the desert (*al-baydāʾ*); and 5. the killing of the Pure Soul (*ḳatl al-nafs al-zakiyya*), whom the Ḳāʾim will send to Mecca as a messenger, by the Meccans between the *Rukn* and the *Maḳām*. Connected with the coming of the Ḳāʾim in Imāmī doctrine is the *radjʿa* [*q.v.*], the return to life of some of the wicked and the righteous of earlier generations, giving the latter the chance of taking revenge for the injuries they had previously suffered. The Ḳāʾim is expected to proceed from Mecca where he will reside and rule the world. His reign, according to a well-attested tradition, will last seven years, each of which will be like ten years of the normal time scale. According to another tradition he will rule nineteen years. Although some traditions speak of the reign of a son of the Ḳāʾim, the majority affirm that there will be only forty days of turmoil after the passing of the Ḳāʾim until the Resurrection and the Judgment.

Ismāʿīlī doctrine added a further dimension to the concept of the Ḳāʾim describing him as *Ḳāʾim al-ḳiyāma*, "the Ḳāʾim of the Resurrection", who shall act as the Judge of mankind, and attributing a cosmic rank to him above that of prophets and imāms. For details see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, *Doctrine*. Druze doctrine recognizes Ḥamza b. ʿAlī as the *Ḳāʾim al-zamān*. See DURŪZ.

Bibliography: For Imāmī *ḥadīth* and doctrine see especially: al-Nuʿmānī, *al-Ghayba*, Tehran 1318; Ibn Bābūya, *Ikmāl al-dīn*, Tehran 1301, 364 ff.; al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, al-Nadjaf 1382/1962, 346 ff.; Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, *al-Ghayba*, al-Nadjaf 1385; al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1305, xi-xiii; al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, iv/2, Damascus 1937, 470 ff.

(W. MADELUNG)

AL-ḲĀʾIM BI-AMR ALLĀH, 26th ʿAbbāsid caliph, whose rule lasted from 422/1031 to 467/1075, corresponding with the end of the Buwayhid period and the beginnnig of the Saldjūḳ period in ʿIrāḳ. Born in 391/1001, the son of an Armenian concubine, he was named heir shortly before the death of his father, al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] and succeeded to the throne unopposed. The usual oath of allegiance was taken on 13 Dhuʾ l-Ḥidjdja 422/12 December 1031.

At this period, although the caliph had only very limited personal resources at his command, he had recovered a measure of freedom, to the extent that he was able to arbitrate in the rivalry between the Buwayhid amīrs. The *amīr al-umarāʾ* Djalāl al-Dawla [*q.v.*] was in fact threatened by his nephew, Abū Kālīdjār [*q.v.*], ruler of Fārs, and was trying to impose his authority. As early as 423/1032, al-Ḳāʾim entrusted the jurist al-Māwardī with a confidential mission to Abū Kālīdjār, refusing to grant the latter any title but that of Malik al-Dawla; soon after, Djalāl al-Dawla, who had incited the Turks against the caliph, was reconciled with al-Ḳāʾim and even agreed, after an incident which cast doubt on the morality of the amīr, to apologize to him. A few years later, in 428/1032, Djalāl al-Dawla had Abū Kālīdjār recognized as his delegate, then requested new titles, those of *shāhānshāh al-aʿẓam* and *malik al-mulūk*; in spite of hostile public opinion, the caliph awarded these exceptional titles to the amīr after he had obtained the consent of the principal *fuḳahāʾ* (429/1038). The situation remained tense, from a political as much as from a religious point of view, and in 432/1091 al-Ḳāʾim thought it opportune to give a new reading of his father's profession of faith, *al-risāla al-ḳādiriyya*. Then in 434/1043 he had to make a vigorous protest against Djalāl al-Dawla's wish to take from him the collection of taxes paid by tributaries or *djawālī*; after having threatened to leave the capital and have the mosques closed, he managed to make the *amīr al-umarāʾ* capitulate on this point.

The following year, when the authority of the caliph of Baghdād was once again recognized in Ifrīḳiya by the Zīrid sovereigns, who had been formerly Fāṭimid vassals, and when the town of Aleppo similarly escaped from the control of the rulers of Egypt, a new problem arose through the approach of the Saldjūḳ amīrs. In 435/1044 Ṭughrīl Beg seized the town of Rayy, and the caliph sent al-Māwardī to him as ambassador. The object of this embassy is explained in different fashions by the chroniclers, but it seems that the caliph, while bestowing the title of *mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn* on Ṭughrīl Beg, wished at the same time to protest against the pillage of the recently captured town. However, the policy of keeping a balance between the Buwayhid amīr and the Saldjūḳ amīr which the caliph initiated was speedily compromised by various events.

The death of Djalāl al-Dawla in 435/1044 brought the fulfilment of Abū Kālīdjār's ambitions; proclaimed *amīr al-umarāʾ*, he received the title of *Muḥyī 'l-dīn* and applied himself to limiting the caliph's freedom of action. After first opening hostilities with Ṭughrīl Beg, he made peace with him in 439/1048; he died soon after and was replaced by his son, who received the title of al-Malik al-Raḥīm [*q.v.*]. Until 444/1052-3, Ṭughrīl Beg, after having seized Iṣfahān and approached ʿIrāḳ, remained at the borders of the country, where troubles multiplied: incidents between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, agitation by the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*], and Fāṭimid propaganda. When the Turkish amīr al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] accused the caliph's vizier, Ibn al-Muslima, of summoning the Saldjūḳs to defend the caliphate, the vizier denounced him as a Fāṭimid agent; whereupon the caliph was informed that al-Basāsīrī was preparing to overthrow him. Then, according to some chroniclers, the caliph himself or his vizier Ibn al-Muslima decided to appeal to Ṭughrīl Beg for help. In fact, the outcome of these events suggests that the caliph, who never willingly accepted the advent of the Saldjūḳ amīr in Baghdād, was not responsible for this action, which in any case was inevitable, whatever the vizier's true attitude might have been.

At the end of Ramaḍān 447/December 1055, Ṭughrīl Beg entered Baghdād, though declaring that he was simply passing through, and the *khuṭba* was

proclaimed in his name. A few days later, on 2 Shawwāl/25 December, he took up residence in the "royal palace" and received from the caliph the titles of *rukn al-dīn*, *shāhānshāh*, and *sulṭān*. The caliph also consented, despite himself, to give Ṭughrīl Beg the hand of his own daughter. Only two years later, in 449/1057, was he received in solemn audience by the caliph, who conferred on him the new title of *Malik al-mashriḳ wa 'l-maghrib* and gave him authority over the lands controlled by the Fāṭimid caliphs.

The rebellion of al-Basāsirī broke out in 450/1058; for a few months the rebel succeeded in having the *khuṭba* pronounced in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph while Ṭughrīl Beg was occupied in Iran in suppressing a revolt by his brother. Though first choosing to stay in Baghdād, al-Ḳāʾim was exiled on the order of al-Basāsirī and forced to stay for around a year at ʿĀna, while the rebel attempted to negotiate with Ṭughrīl Beg and make use of his hostage to obtain various assurances from the Saldjūḳ sultan. Finally Ṭughrīl Beg made a direct approach to the amīr who was guarding al-Ḳāʾim: he secured the freedom of the imprisoned caliph, and the death of al-Basāsirī soon after enabled him fully to exercise his powers as sultan once again. The caliph could therefore no longer continue to play off rival amīrs one against the other and found himself confronting Saldjūḳ sultans as he had earlier confronted Buwayhid amīrs. The only difference, though that an important one, was that the new controller of the reins of military power supported a policy of Sunnī restoration that was closer to the caliphal position than Buwayhid policy had been.

In spite of appearances, relations between the caliph and Ṭughrīl remained no less strained. The sultan's reign was dominated in this respect by his marriage with the caliph's daughter; not only did he succeed in marrying her, he also managed to take her far from Baghdād in spite of her father's opposition.

The death of Ṭughrīl Beg on 8 Ramaḍān 455/3 September 1063 inaugurated a somewhat confused period during which Alp Arslān [*q.v.*] was mainly concerned with eliminating his rivals and fighting the Byzantines. Al-Ḳāʾim smoothed matters for him by opposing the ambitions of the ʿUḳaylid amīrs and refusing the offer of the Kurdish amīr, Hazārasb, governor of al-Ahwāz. For his part, Alp Arslān showed himself desirous of gaining the favour of the caliph by returning his daughter to him and having imprisoned, then put to death, al-Kundurī, the former vizier of Ṭughrīl Beg who had been held responsible for the intrigues leading up to the marriage. Alp Arslān was thus recognized as *āmīr al-umarāʾ* and sultan in Rabīʿ II 456/March-April 1064. He never lived in Baghdād and died in Rabīʿ I/January 1073. After receiving the privilege of the *khuṭba* from the month of Radjab, his son Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] obtained the official investiture from the caliph a few months later. The latter died on 12 Shaʿbān 467/March 1073, having in the usual way named as his heir his grandson ʿUbayd Allāh, who was to take the name of al-Muḳtadī [*q.v.*]. Religious strife was a particular feature of this latter period. The foundation of the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in 459/1067, which was put under the direct protection of the sultan and aimed at the diffusion of Shāfiʿī law, triggered off the hostility of the Ḥanbalīs. Various incidents took place in the capital and the caliph, who hesitated to make a stand without consulting the sultan, was unable to control them.

Thus al-Ḳāʾim, who had followed in his father's footsteps, was unable either to restore the power of the caliph or to impose the doctrine defined in the *Risāla ḳādiriyya*; all the same, the caliphal concept had been successfully defended in his day by the first authors of treatises on public law, al-Māwardī [*q.v.*] and Ibn al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*]. It was up to his successors to try to pursue his policy.

Bibliography: The main chronicles are Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, Ms. Paris BN, ar. 1506; Ibn al-Athīr; *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūḳiyya*, Lahore 1933; Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 11-51. See also H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1966, *passim*; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, Damascus 1963, *passim*; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, ii, *Sultanat et califat*, Paris 1957, *passim*.

(D. SOURDEL)

AL-ḲĀʾIM (BI-AMR ALLĀH), second caliph of the Fāṭimid [*q.v.*] dynasty. One of the less illustrious members of the dynasty, his name evokes the memory of grave defeats and is eclipsed by that of the "man on the donkey", the famous Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*].

As a ruler, however, al-Ḳāʾim does not appear to have been inadequate for his task nor to have lacked energy in exercising authority. Before his accession to power in 322/934, he had already had long experience of public affairs since from his youth he had been entrusted by al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] with a share in governing Ifrīḳiya.

While still a child, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad, the future al-Ḳāʾim, along with his "father" al-Mahdī, then *imām* of the Ismāʿīli community, had to endure the long and dangerous emigration which took them in 289/902 from Salamiyya in Syria to Sidjilmāsa, the capital of the Midrarite Berber principality of Tāfilelt, in the remotest part of the Maghrib. Then, in 299/912, aged 20 and only recently appointed heir presumptive to a caliphate that had just arisen from the ruins of the Aghlabid emirate, he was immediately compelled to undertake certain military commitments, leading the Fāṭimid armies into Lesser Kabylia, into Tripolitania, and then into the central Maghrib. The two Egyptian expeditions which al-Mahdī hastened to place under his command, more or less in rapid succession, in 301-2/914-5 and again in 307-9/919-21, won him some renown, even though their outcome did nothing for his reputation as a soldier. Thus, at his accession he had already been put to the test, both as heir to the throne and as general.

On becoming *imām* and caliph, al-Ḳāʾim restricted himself to governing the powerful and prosperous realm he had inherited in conformity with the rules laid down by his "father", and to pursuing the same policy of hegemony in regard both to the ʿAbbāsids and to the Umayyads of Spain. For most of his reign Ifrīḳiya enjoyed a period of peace, passed over in silence by the chroniclers, who gave special prominence to bloody deeds and revolts, until the Khāridjī threat burst upon him, darkening his last two years.

It would be impossible to trace the career and achievements of al-Ḳāʾim, in however summary a way, without briefly raising the thorny question of his ancestry. A comparative study of the Ismāʿīli and the Sunnī sources led B. Lewis to put forward an original interpretation based on spiritual paternity and the theory of the *mustaḳarr* and *mustawdaʿ imām*s, According to this theory, there was, after the death of Ismāʿīl, a true imāmate in the line of descent from al-Ḥusayn and a tutelary imāmate in the line of descent from al-Ḳaddāḥ, the former ending with al-Ḳāʾim, the latter with al-Mahdī, the first Fāṭimid caliph. The latter is thus, B. Lewis argued, merely

the tutor, the spiritual father of al-Ḳāʾim, the *mustaḳarr imām*, to whom he handed over the imāmate of which he was the "trustee". The first genuine Fāṭimid caliph was thus al-Ḳāʾim, and the Fāṭimids' *nasab* can be traced back from al-Ḳāʾim to Fāṭima, through her son al-Ḥusayn.

Criticised by Ivanow in his *Rise*, discussed in detail by S. M. Stern in *Heterodox Ismāʿīlism* and again in the present author's (unpublished) thesis *Le Califat faṭimide au Maghreb*, the idea put forward by B. Lewis remains attractive. The notion of *istīdāʿ* would correspond to an established fact: the persecutions endured by the Fāṭimid pretenders, under the ʿAbbāsids, compelled them to act in a clandestine manner and to entrust the imāmate during the period of occultation (*satr*) to their "trustees" (*mustawdaʿ*) or "proofs" (*ḥudjdja*).

On his death, al-Mahdī had left a critical situation in the remotest part of the Maghrib, caused by the volte-face of the lord of the Miknāsa, Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya, who had transferred his allegiance to the Umayyads of Spain. Immediately after his accession to the throne, al-Ḳāʾim launched an expedition aimed at re-establishing his power in Morocco and extirpating the influence of his rival, the Umayyad al-Nāṣir. The Fāṭimid army, under the command of the slave Maysūr, crossed the Maghrib in a single thrust and reached Fez. Another of al-Ḳāʾim's officers, the slave Ṣandal, had meanwhile descended upon Nakūr, which he captured, killing the local Ṣāliḥī ruler in Shawwāl 324/September 936. He then rejoined Maysūr outside the gates of Fez, which at that time was under siege. Finally the city surrendered, and the Fāṭimid general re-established the authority of the Idrīsid Banū Muḥammad, who had remained loyal to the Fāṭimids, before returning victorious to Ifrīḳiya.

In order to restrain the hostile Berber tribes who had settled on the frontiers of his kingdom, al-Ḳāʾim took steps to strengthen the authority of ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, an Arab of Djudhamī origin and ruler of Masīla [*q.v.*], over the territory of the Kamlān who, during the Ifrīḳiyan campaign, had been moved to the south-east of Ḳayrawān. To counter the Maghrawa, a powerful branch of the indomitable Zanāta, he procured an alliance with the Ṣanhādja of Zīrī b. Manād, whom he helped to found the city of Ashir [*q.v.*], in 324/936, in the heart of the Algerian Atlas. The Huwwara of the province of Tripoli, who had risen in revolt under the leadership of a Ḳurashī named Ibn Ṭālūt, a pseudo-*imām*, were swiftly brought to heel.

His authority being thus re-established in the south of his realm, al-Ḳāʾim at once considered a resumption of hostilities against the ʿAbbāsids in their Egyptian province. As it is recorded under the year 323/935, this campaign against Egypt appears to have been organized by al-Mahdī himself shortly before his death. In fact, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, al-Ḳāʾim must have resolved to employ the troops stationed at the base at Barḳa, reinforced with elements from Ifrīḳiya, to attack Egypt, where he had already suffered two successive defeats. It was therefore in his reign, as al-Kindī states categorically, that the third raid on Egypt took place, again without success. This time, however, the Fāṭimid attack was made at an unpropitious moment. Having rebelled against the Ikhshīdid governor Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*], the officers commanding the fleet, ʿAlī b. Badr and Badjkam, and also the commander of the garrison of Alexandria, Ḥabashī, fled to Barḳa where they placed themselves under the authority and in the service of al-Ḳāʾim. To reinforce them, al-Ḳāʾim sent troops under the command of his freedman Zaydān and his officer ʿĀmir, known as al-Madjnūn. The Kutāma occupied Alexandria on 6 Djumādā I 324/1 April 936, but Ibn Ṭughdj, reacting swiftly, succeeded in freeing the town and forcing the Fāṭimid troops to withdraw towards Barḳa.

In the year of his accession, al-Ḳāʾim resolved to resume naval operations against the Christians. A strong squadron of twenty sailing vessels, under the command of an Arab officer from the *djund* of Tripoli, Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ b. al-Ward, left Mahdiyya on 7 Radjab 322/23 June 934 and sailed towards Italy. Yaʿḳūb intercepted a number of Christian merchant-ships on their way from Spain and proceeded as far as Genoa, which his men captured after a fierce siege. Having sacked the town and carried off much booty, the Fāṭimid admiral set sail for Mahdiyya, arriving on 25 Ramaḍān 323/28 August 935. In addition to this attack, al-Ḳāʾim endeavoured to intensify the *djihād* in the Byzantine territories in eastern Sicily and Calabria. To Palermo he sent a new governor, Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, the brother of the admiral Yaʿḳūb and a talented poet and his favourite general, who subjected the island to a reign of terror. For four years, from 325/937 to 329/941, Khalīl made himself notorious by his tyranny over Muslim and Christian alike. Some Arab elements who had settled there under Aghlabids were forced to flee to Christian territory, and a number of them were constrained to adopt Christianity. Native Sicilians were dispossessed of their lands and compelled to settle in forts situated along the frontiers of the Christian territories. The cadastral register [see ḲĀNŪN] was burnt, thus rendering the verification of land taxes impossible in certain regions such as Agrigento.

After his accession al-Ḳāʾim proved particularly anxious to increase his military strength and to consolidate his authority in the interior of the kingdom. For this reason, from the time of his reign the internal policy of the new rulers of Ifrīḳiya became more severe. Under al-Ḳāʾim, the country seems to have suffered to a greater extent from excessive taxation and religious persecution, and the Khāridjī agitation which sprang up in the Aurès and Ḳasṭīliya thus found suitable soil.

However, al-Ḳāʾim's attitude towards this agitation seems strangely passive. He allowed the rebellion to take root among the hostile tribes of the Aurès whom the garrison of Baghāya were unable to hold in check and, when the Berbers poured through the valley of the Oued Mellegue under the banner of their Nukkārī leader, Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], capturing in succession Tebessa, Marmādjanna, Laribus, Sbiba and Dougga (Tugga Terebinthina), in 332/944, he limited himself to a static defensive strategy. His reaction was lacking in both energy and foresight. Yet he had at his disposal large numbers of troops (70,000 men, according to al-Nuʿmān), well equipped and well organized. Instead of launching a vigorous counter-offensive and sending his powerful forces directly against the enemy, he adopted the unfortunate idea of dividing his troops among different strategic points, thus compelling them to remain stationary and to await the invaders, and also dividing his own effort, while leaving the enemy free to take the initiative in operations. In this way, a body of troops under the command of the slave Bushra took up their position at Béja, another at Ḳayrawān under the command of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, and a third was on the road between Ḳayrawān and Mahdiyya, led by the slave Maysūr. Abū Yazīd had no difficulty in defeating each of these

three adversaries in turn, and in Djumādā I 333/January 945 he began a siege of the capital, Mahdiyya. Al-Ḳāʾim, however, succeeded in arousing vigorous resistance to Abū Yazīd in this maritime stronghold. Repeated attacks by the rebels were checked at the gates of Mahdiyya, which remained impregnable despite the rigours of the siege. The ardour of the rebels ultimately evaporated, and many tribal contingents returned to their mountains since there was nothing more in Ifrīḳiya to pillage. Harrassing operations were successfully conducted by Fāṭimid troops outside Tunis and Sousse, at Cape Bon in particular, and on Abū Yazīd's rearguard, and his threat to the capital was reduced considerably. Thus, when al-Ḳāʾim died there in Shawwāl 334/May 946, the moment had already come for his son and successor Ismāʿīl, the future al-Manṣūr, to pass over to the offensive and to spend many months on the task of crushing the revolt.

Bibliography: the principal sources are Ismāʿīli: Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān, *al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt* (ms.); idem, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī, Beirut 1970; ʿAzīzī Abū ʿAlī Manṣūr, *Sīrat al-ustādh Djawdhar*, ed. Kāmil Ḥusayn and ʿAbd al-Hādī Shaʿīra, Cairo 1954, tr. M. Canard, *Vie de l'ustādh Jawdhar*, Algiers 1957; Yamānī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Sīrat Djaʿfar al-Ḥādjib*, ed. in *B. Fac. Ar.*, iv, tr. M. Canard, *L'autobiographie d'un chambellan du Mahdī ʿObeidallāh le Fâtimide*, in *Hespéris*, 1952; Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* (ms.), vi.

Of the works devoted to Ismāʿīlism and the Fāṭimids, the principal ones to be noted are: W. Ivanow, *Rise (Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids)*, Oxford 1942, *Islamic Research Association Series*, no. 10, with particular reference to the extracts from Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, *Zahr al-maʿānī* and Djaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Asrār al-nuṭaḳāʾ*; idem, *A creed of the Fatimids*, according to the *Tādj al-ʿaḳāʾid maʿādin al-fawāʾid* of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, Bombay 1936; B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismailism. A study of the historical background of the Fatimid caliphate*, Cambridge 1940, Arabic tr. *Uṣūl al-Ismāʿīliyya*, Cairo 1947; S. M. Stern, *Heterodox Ismaʿilism at the time of al-Muʿizz*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955); idem, *Ḥātim b. Ibrāhim on the history of the daʿwa in Yemen*, in *Oriens*, 1951; W. Madelung, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii-xxxviii (1961); M. Canard, *L'impérialisme des Fatimides et leur propagande*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi (1942-7).

Of the Sunnī sources, see particularly: Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, Beirut 1959; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ*, Cairo 1948; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, i, ed. Lévi-Provençal and Colin, Leiden 1948-51; Ibn Ḥammād, *Histoire des rois ʿObaydides*, ed. and tr. Vonderheyden, Algiers-Paris 1927.

(F. Dachraoui)

ḲĀʾIME (t., originally a.; cf. ḳāʾim), the name formerly used for paper money in Turkey, an abbreviation for *ḳāʾime-i muʿtebere*. The word *ḳāʾime* was originally used of official documents written on one large, long sheet of paper; the first paper money was also manuscript on large sheets, and was also known as *sehim ḳāʾimesi*, *ḳāʾ ime-i naḳdiyye*, *ewrāḳ-i naḳdiye*, and *ewraḳ-i muʿtebere*. Although in the 20th century bank notes have been called *ḳāʾime*, this term was not used for notes of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, a private bank under government charter, but only for paper issued by the government itself.

The early *ḳāʾime* were interest-bearing treasury notes; they are, however, to be distinguished from the many other kinds of short and long-term interest-bearing paper issued by the Ottoman government or its individual departments and known variously as *khazine taḥwīlāti*, *sergi*, *eshām-i djedīd*, *eshām-i mümtāz*, etc. [see ashām], and also from the Ottoman bonds sold principally to European investors from 1854 on. The *ḳāʾime* became paper money, while the other sorts of paper did not, since from the start *ḳāʾime* were intended to circulate on a par with coin and to be accepted as such by state offices and tax collectors. When, in addition to forced circulation, later issues of *ḳāʾime* were in low denominations and without interest, it became even more obvious that this was paper money.

The first issue of *ḳāʾime* probably occurred in July or August of 1840, in the crisis period, as ʿAbd al-Madjīd [*q.v.*] began his second year as sultan. (*Taḳwīm-i Weḳāyiʿ*, 15 Radjab 1256; London *Times*, 18 September 1840). These handwritten treasury notes had a face value of 500 piastres, matured in eight years, and bore interest payable semi-annually to the bearer. Modern Turkish scholars uniformly put the interest rate at 8%, but it appears that the first issues bore 12½%. The total value of the first issue amounted to 160,000 Turkish pounds. Other larger issues followed in September and October in denominations of 50, 100, 250, 500, and 1,000 piastres; the format was somewhat reduced for convenience of circulation. These series were unnumbered and easy to counterfeit, although in the second issue indelible ink was used and the *tughra* [*q.v.*] and seals of the finance minister and ministry were affixed.

As a further measure against the growing counterfeiting, new printed *ḳāʾime* were decreed in 1841 (though perhaps not issued until 1842) and the holders of manuscript issues were given three months to exchange theirs for the new. Circulation of the *ḳāʾime* was now restricted effectively to Istanbul, since provincial officials were unable to distinguish the counterfeit from the genuine. These issues were popularly called *Ṣāʾib Pasha ḳāʾimesi* after the then finance minister. When the printed *ḳāʾime* were also counterfeited, a new printing (1844?) was done in *taʿlīḳ* letters. Interest was reduced in 1844 to 6%.

Interest was regularly paid in the 1840's, and some holders simply kept the *ḳāʾime* as an investment. But new issues included smaller denominations, down to 10 and 20 piastres at the time of the Crimean War (known as *ordu ḳāʾime*), that bore no interest. An estimated 1,750,000 pounds of *ḳāʾime* circulated at the start of the war. During the war this amount was more than tripled, and the value of *ḳāʾime* declined seriously. Three efforts to retire the *ḳāʾime* after the war, through two foreign loans and a capital levy on the Istanbul populace, narrowly failed. A very large issue of 12,500,000 pounds to meet current needs in March/April 1861 produced chaos. On December 12 of that year, when the *ḳāʾime* had depreciated to one-third or less of face value, merchants refused it, shops were sacked, and panic gripped Istanbul. Fuʾād Pasha, newly appointed grand vizier, drew up a plan involving a new foreign loan to retire the *ḳāʾime*, government economies, the institution of a central government budget, and the creation of the Imperial Ottoman Bank. With English backing, the loan of 1862 sufficed to retire all *ḳāʾime*, which were redeemed 40% in coin and 60% in so-called *Ḳonsolide* (Consols) or *eshām-i djedīd*, government bonds at 6% interest.

No further *ḳāʾime* were issued until the crisis period initiated by the revolt in Bosnia-Herzegovina: two million pounds on 13 August 1876, one million

on 11 November, seven million on 5 January 1877, and six million on 3 September. Denominations ranged from 100 piastres down to five and later one piastre; none bore interest. Only about two million were retired as intended, and the value plummeted rapidly to a bottom of 1200 piastres *ḳāʾime* for one gold pound. Though legally valid in all provinces except the Ḥidjāz, the Yemen and Tripoli, circulation was largely in Istanbul as provincials distrusted and refused the paper. The government redeemed the outstanding 14 million pounds of *ḳāʾime* in 1879-80 at one fourth its value in gold.

Again, the critical years of World War I brought further issues of paper money. When the Ottoman government pressed Germany for gold shipments to meet war expenses, the German government urged the Turks to issue paper money instead. This they refused to do without gold cover. The solution contrived was that the Ottoman Public Debt Administration acted as a bank of issue for seven issues of *ḳāʾime*, 1915 to 1918, totalling 160 million Turkish gold pounds. Each issue but the last was covered either by gold or by treasury certificates deposited by the German government in Berlin under the seal of the Ottoman Public Debt. The paper money, which bore no interest, ranged from 1,000 pounds down to five piastres. This paper also depreciated greatly and was refused in the provinces. With Germany's defeat the gold backing was lost to the Allies. The paper money, nevertheless, continued to circulate.

The Turkish Republic inherited this same paper currency, which was not increased in amount after 1918, but decreased somewhat through wear. After 1923 the value remained relatively stable. Worn bills were replaced in 1927. From the 1930s to the present (1973) the Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Merkez Bankası has issued paper money, earlier referred to as *evrak-ı nakdiye* and now usually just as *kâğıt para* or *banknot*; the term *ḳāʾime* has become obsolete.

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ḲĀʾIM-MAḲĀM In the Ottoman Empire the title of *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* was borne by a number of different officials, the most important of whom was the *ṣadāret ḳāʾim-maḳāmī* or *ḳāʾim-maḳām pasha* who stayed in the capital as deputy when the grand vizier had to leave for a military campaign. The appointment of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* seems to have begun in the 10th/16th or even in the 9th/15th century and it lasted until the end of the Empire. The *ḳāʾim-maḳām* enjoyed almost all the authority of the grand vizier, issuing firmans and nominating functionaries, but he was not allowed to intervene in the area where the army was operating. He was especially influential in the administration of the capital. Selected earlier from among the viziers, he often intrigued against the grand vizier with the aim of succeeding him. A *ḳāʾim-maḳām* was also appointed at the removal of a grand vizier when the successor had to travel from some provincial governorate. In this case the tenure of the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* lasted only for a short period without having much distinction. During the last decades of the Ottoman Empire a cabinet minister or the *shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*] was usually nominated *ḳāʾim-maḳām* upon the grand vizier's illness or his absence from the capital.

The reform movement in the Empire added new meanings to the term. The position of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* was now instituted as a military rank corresponding to lieutenant-colonel in the *ʿAsākir-i Manṣūre-i Muḥammediyye* Army, established by Maḥmūd II in 1241/1826. The term remained in common use until the 1930s, to be replaced then by that of *yarbay*. The governor of a *sandjāḳ* [*q.v.*] was equally called *ḳāʾim-maḳām* when the Ottoman civil administration was reorganized in the first years of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. By the law of 8 November 1864 revising Ottoman provincial government, the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* became the governor of a *ḳaḍāʾ* [*q.v.*], appointed by the sultan. The republican regime maintained in essence the 1864 law, and thus the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* ("*kaymakam*") still continues to be the administrator of a *ḳaḍāʾ*.

Bibliography: *MTM*, i, 523 f. (*ḳānūnnāme* of 1087/1676); M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire Othoman*, Paris 1788-1824, vii, 157 f.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 96; Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāyidj al-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul 1327, iv, 106, 109; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 180-85; Pakalın, ii, 219-22; Gibb-Bowen, i, index; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1962, 127 and index; R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* Princeton, N.J. 1963, index. (E. KURAN)

In OTTOMAN EGYPT, while possessing in general the sense of "lieutenant" of a higher official, *ḳaʾim-maḳām* had a number of specific usages.

(a) Before Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, the term was applied (i) to the acting viceroy, who held office between the death or removal from office of one viceroy and the installation of the next. After 1013/1604, the office seems invariably to have been held by a bey, hence, in practice, by a member of a Mamlūk household. The deposition of a viceroy and the appointment of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* became, particularly in the 12th/18th century, a device by which a

Mamlūk faction would legitimize its ascendancy. The term was also used in this period, (ii) for the general agent of a *multazim* in the administration of his *iltizām*; he would usually be a member of the *multazim*'s Mamlūk household; (iii) for the agent of a naval commander (*ḳapūdān*), administering his master's financial assignments in *emānet*.

(b) Under Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, the old usages of the term became obsolete, and it was applied to specific grades in the military and administrative hierarchies: (i) In the reorganized and westernized army, the rank of *ḳāʾim-maḳām* was equivalent to lieutenant-colonel; (ii) in the administration the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* was in charge of a *nāḥiya* (subdistrict) and had special responsibility for the maintenance of the irrigation-system. His immediate superior was the *ḥākim al-khuṭṭ* (district officer).

Bibliography: P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516-1922*, London 1966; Helen Anne B. Rivlin, *The agricultural policy of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961; Stanford J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*, Princeton, N.J. 1962; idem, *Ottoman Egypt in the age of the French Revolution*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964: in all, consult indexes *s.v.* (P. M. Holt)

ḲĀʾIM-MAḲĀM-I FARĀHĀNĪ. In the early Ḳād̲j̲ār [*q.v.*] period the title of *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* [see above] was held by two statesmen, Mīrzā ʿĪsā Farāhānī, better known as Mīrzā Buzurg (b. *ca.* 1167/1753-4 d. 1237/1822), and his son Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim-i Farāhānī (1193/1779-1251/1835), both of whom were ministers of the crown prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*]. A quasi-official title, *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* signified the representative of the Ṣadr-i aʿẓam [*q.v.*] at the petty court of the crown prince in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. Both father and son were of energetic and incorruptible character, but the latter was more remarkable, not only as a poet, but also as "a true Persian diplomatist, acute and far-sighted", to use J. B. Fraser's words. Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim succeeded to his father's office in 1238/1822, and served the crown prince with much loyalty and zeal. He accompanied the crown prince in battle and was the instigator of his attempts at reform. ʿAbbās Mīrzā died (1249/1833) before his father, but the political skill of Ḳāʾim-maḳām-i Farāhānī secured the throne for Muḥammad Mīrzā, ʿAbbās's son, when Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh died shortly after. At Muḥammad S̲h̲āh's accession, Mīrzā Abu'l-Ḳāsim became prime minister of Persia, but his accurate budgeting of court expenditure, together with his haughty and disdainful attitude towards the court grandees, earned him powerful enemies who brought about his arrest, followed by his tragic death.

Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was an outstanding prose-writer and also wrote poetry. His style is distinguished and is still considered a model of good writing. Numerous editions of his works exist, the best of which is the *dīwān*, *S̲h̲iʿr Ḳāʾim-Maḳām*, ed. Ḥ. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1926, and the *Muns̲h̲aʾāt Ḳāʾim-Maḳām*, ed. D̲j̲ahāngīr-i Ḳāʾim Maḳāmī, Tehran 1337 s.

Bibliography: Biographical data concerning the two Ḳāʾim-maḳāms are to be found in most of the historical and anthological works of the Ḳād̲j̲ār period. See, for instance, Storey, ii, 2, 332 ff. Among other references the following deserve special attention: Maḥmūd Mīrzā Ḳād̲j̲ār, *Safīnat al-Maḥmūd*, ed. A. K̲h̲ayyāmpūr, 2 vols., Tabriz 1968, i, 74-6; Riḍā Ḳuli Mīrzā, *Safar-Nāma*, ed. A. F. Ḳād̲j̲ār, Tehran 1346 s., 30-35; D̲j̲ahāngīr-Mīrzā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Naw*, ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1327 s., 197-240; Riḍā-Ḳuli Hidāyat, *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, lith. Tehran 1295, ii, 87-91, 425-6; Nādir-Mīrzā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ wa-D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfi-yi Tabrīz*, lith. Tehran 1323, 39-40; Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Ṣadr al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. M. Mus̲h̲īrī, Tehran 1349 s., 117-51. Among western accounts see: G. Drouville, *Voyage en perse*, Paris 1825, i, 241; J. B. Fraser, *A winter's journey from Constantinople to Tehran*, London 1838, ii, 181-8; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 287-8; S. G. W. Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, London 1887, 77-8. For a literary evaluation of the Ḳāʾim-Maḳām's works see M. Bahār, *Sabk-S̲h̲ināsī*, iii, index; A. H. Zarrinkoob, *Naḳd-i adabī*, Tehran 1338 s., 492-4; Yaḥyā Ārian-Pūr, *Az Ṣabā Tā Nīmā* Tehran 1350 s., i, 62-75; Browne, iv, index; (Pagliaro-)Bausani, *Storia della letteratura Persiana*, Milan 1960, 839-40; Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, 1968, index. (A. H. Zarrinkoob)

ḲĀʾIT BĀY, al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf Abu 'l-Naṣr Sayf al-Dīn al-Maḥmūdī al-Ẓāhirī, sultan of Egypt and Syria (872/1468-901/1496), was purchased by Barsbāy [*q.v.*], manumitted by Sultan D̲j̲aḳmaḳ, became a life-guard, then *Dawādār Ṣag̲h̲īr*, *i.e.*, assistant *dawādār* in the office of the Grand Dawādār [see dawādār], then amīr of 10 Mamlūks under Īnāl [*q.v.*], *Ṭablak̲h̲āna* (*i.e.*, amīr with the right to have a band accompanying him), under Sultan K̲h̲us̲h̲ḳadam [*q.v.*], inspector of houses of refreshment and shortly afterwards commander of a thousand (*Muḳaddam Alf*). In 872/1467-8 he became *Raʾs nawbat al-Nuwwāb* (*i.e.*, Commander of the Mamlūks of the guard).

When Temirbog̲h̲ā ascended the throne in D̲j̲umādā I 872/Dec. 1467, he appointed his friend Ḳāʾit Bāy *atābek* but the sultan had no real power, as he had very few supporters among the Mamlūks under his command. He had not the money to win over new followers; the treasury was empty. After an unsuccessful rising by the Ustādār K̲h̲āʾir Bey the crown was offered in the month of Rad̲j̲ab of the same year (Feb. 1468) to Ḳāʾit Bāy, who accepted it after some hesitation. Temirbog̲h̲ā retired into private life to Damietta, to which he was not taken as a prisoner but travelled in perfect liberty accompanied by some friends. Unlike other Mamlūk sultans, Ḳāʾit Bāy treated deposed sultans or descendants of former sultans throughout his reign with magnanimity and honour, frequently invited them to polo tournaments in Cairo, allowed them to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and even allowed them to visit the capital in his absence without any suspicion or fear of conspiracies.

Ḳāʾit Bāy's chief political problem was his relations with the Ottomans. The rivalry between them and the Egyptians found expression in the fighting among their vassals in Asia Minor. The ruler of Albistān [*q.v.*], S̲h̲āh-suvār [see d̲h̲u 'l-ḳadr] was at war with Egypt [see k̲h̲us̲h̲ḳadam] and was secretly supported by the Ottomans, while Ḳāʾit Bāy assisted prince Aḥmad of Ḳaramān in his war with Meḥemmed II. The first two expeditions sent against S̲h̲āh-suvār (872 and 873) ended disastrously through the carelessness of the Egyptian commanders and more especially the lack of discipline among their troops and the rivalry between the Egyptian and the Syrian corps. Ḳāʾit Bāy later succeeded in depriving S̲h̲āh-suvār of the help of the Ottoman sultan by agreeing to cease assisting Aḥmad of Ḳaramān. Thus weakened, S̲h̲āh-suvār was decisively defeated in 876/1471 by the Atābek Ezbek. S̲h̲āh-suvār fell back to Zamanṭū. Besieged there, he capitulated on condition that he was allowed to remain in possession of his kingdom as vassal of the sultan; but he was taken prisoner, brought to Cairo and executed contrary to the laws

of war. The prince of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, Uzun Ḥasan, the ruler of Diyār Bakr and a part of Persia, was a dangerous rival to Ḳāʾit Bāy, and advanced from triumph to triumph; in 872/1468 he defeated the sultan of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu and in 873 the sultan of Samarḳand, but when in 876/1471 he declared war on Meḥemmed II he was defeated and thus became less dangerous for Ḳāʾit Bāy. He died in 880/1475 and was succeeded by Yaʿḳūb Bey. A quarrel arose between Bayindir, the latter's governor in al-Ruhā (Edessa), and the sultan's general Yes̲h̲bek, because Bayindir had given shelter to Sayf, the rebel chief of the Beduins of Ḥamā. Yes̲h̲bek advanced on al-Ruhā and, although satisfaction was offered in every respect, he insisted on besieging the town, but was defeated during a sortie and killed with several of his staff; otber Egyptian notables were taken prisoner. Ḳāʾit Bāy could not wipe out this defeat and had to make peace, as he was threatened with a struggle with the new Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd [*q.v.*]. Apart from continual friction regarding the ownership of Albistān, Bāyazīd felt himself threatened, because Ḳāʾit Bāy had given a friendly welcome to his brother D̲j̲em [*q.v.*], the pretender to the throne, and had even encouraged him to fight against Bāyazīd. An embassy sent to Bāyazīd to endeavour to maintain peace was unsuccessful. The Ottomans invaded Cilicia in 891/1485 and occupied Ṭarsūs and Adana; other Ottoman troops besieged Malaṭya. The Egyptian forces operated with success against both armies especially as Ḳāʾit Bāy had won over ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, prince of Albistān. In 893/1488 the Ottomans were no more successful. An endeavour to land a considerable body of troops in the bay of Iskandarūn [*q.v.*] failed. In 895/1490 the Atābek Ezbek inflicted a decisive defeat on the Ottomans at Ḳayṣariyya in Asia Minor, where several generals were captured. Ḳāʾit Bāy showed a wise moderation in maintaining his inclination for peace, recognizing the enormous resources of the Ottomans, and peace was concluded in 896/1491. The rest of the reign of Ḳāʾit Bāy was peaceful but the domestic situation did not improve. It is true that he succeeded by his authority alone in preventing a fight between the hostile Mamlūk factions, but he could not permanently restrain their outbursts and he did not succeed in introducing a sound financial system.

Ḳāʾit Bāy's reign stood out above those of the other Circassian Mamlūks because of its duration but also because of his initiative and effectiveness. Ḳāʾit Bāy was well disposed towards the trading nations. While many of his predecessors, Barsbāy in particular, had put obstacles in the way of the activities of Italian merchants, Ḳāʾit Bāy granted them new privileges and made no attempt to monopolize the spice trade. It is quite probable that trade between the sultan's lands and Christian Europe did in fact make great strides during his reign; but Ḳāʾit Bāy also introduced measures to protect the interests of native merchants, taking appropriate action in relation to the governments of other states. His understanding of the economic interests of his country is also attested by the many inscriptions, which have recently been published, dealing with his abolition of certain taxes that weighed heavily on various branches of industry. Moreover, he spent considerable sums of money in construction work, such as the new buildings in the citadel of Cairo, his mausoleum, a Ṣūfī monastery (at K̲h̲ānḳāh, near Cairo), the repair of the mosque of Medina and the aqueduct supplying water to the mosque at Jerusalem.

It was his military activities above all, however, which swallowed up his financial resources. According to Ibn Iyās, for the conduct of all his wars Ḳāʾit Bāy spent more than 7 million *dīnārs* (*as̲h̲rafī*), discontinuing the gratuities he had to pay to his troops when they returned to Cairo, which was also an enormous sum. This information is borne out in the accounts of other writers. To this must be added his expenses connected with fortifications, such as the repair of the fortresses of Alexandria, Aleppo and other towns. Since the Mamlūk sultans had never succeeded in establishing a regular system of taxation, Ḳāʾit Bāy was obliged to extort arbitrary contributions, known as *muṣādara*, from his subjects. When he was in need of money and the treasury was empty he levied contributions from leading citizens, from merchants, from the non-Muslim communities and even imposed new taxes on various branches of commerce and property in mortmain. Such measures reinforced the economic recession which had long marked industrial and commercial development in Egypt and Syria. In spite of the increase in international trade and the great efforts of the sultan, who embarked on tours of inspection in all the provinces (though not before his old age), the seemingly rich and powerful Mamlūk state under Ḳāʾit Bāy was heading for disaster. When he abdicated, one day before his death, the Mamlūk kingdom was so impoverished and enfeebled that it was no match for Ottoman Turkey.

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(Sobernheim—[E. Ashtor])

AL-ḲAʿḲĀʿ, Arabic term for a man whose foot-joints can be heard cracking when he walks, but often found as a proper name in the first days of Islam and particularly among the Tamīmīs; the last to bear this name seems to have been al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. Ḍirār al-Tamīmī, chief of police for ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*], governor of Kūfa from 132/750 to 147/764 (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 465; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 131, 347). Among those who bore this name, apart from al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. ʿAmr [see the following article] and the poets cited by al-Marzubānī (*Muʿd̲j̲am*, 329-30), especially noteworthy was the Companion of the prophet al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Ḥadrad, who took part along with his father in the events at Wādī Iḍam in 8/629 [see ḤAMD], after which was revealed the ḳurʾānic verse IV, 96/94, a warning and even a reprimand (*Sīra*, ii, 626-7; see also Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, iii, 263; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Iṣāba*, nos. 7126, 7342).

Another Companion was al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. Maʿbad b. Zurāra al-Tamīmī, the nephew of Ḥād̲j̲ib b. Zurāra [*q.v.*] and *sayyid* of the Dārim, who made common cause with Sad̲j̲āḥ [*q.v.*]; he was renowned for his generosity and nicknamed Tayyār al-Furāt (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 465; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1913; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 88; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, 258, 771; Ibn His̲h̲ām, *Sīra*, ii, 621; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*,

141; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 265, 419; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, iii, 263; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣābā*, no. 7128).

Also worthy of note are the names of al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. ʿAṭiyya al-Bāhilī, who lived in Khurāsān and was taken prisoner by the Khāridjites (Mubarrad, 996); and al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. Khulayd al-ʿAbsī, who was secretary to al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik between 86/705 and 96/715 (al-Djahshiyārī, 47; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 837, 1300, 1312; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 465; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 373). A *tābiʿī*, whose generosity became proverbial, thanks to two verses in his praise, al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. Shawr b. ʿIḳāl al-Dhuhlī, is cited among the associates of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*]; he is numbered among the witnesses against Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] in 51/671 and among the officers who took part in the action against Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*] at Kūfa in 60/680 and that against al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*] (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 327; idem, *Tarbīʿ*, 85; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 152; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 133, 256-7, 272, 523; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii 465; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, iii, 311; al-Marzubānī, 330; Ibn Durayd *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 211; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 99; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 474-5). Lastly, there is another belated *tābiʿī*, al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. Ḥakīm al-Azdī, who settled in Baṣra and was a contemporary of al-Mahdī, (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 407; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 66; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 257; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 513-4). (Ed.)

AL-ḲAʿḲĀʿ b. **ʿAMR** b. Mālik al-Tamīmī, a warrior of the early Islamic period who, after the death of the Prophet, joined Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*] for a time and became the lieutenant of Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], taking part in the battle of Buzākha [*q.v.*] as early as 11/632. After the capture of al-Ḥīra, he commanded a detachment which won a victory over the Persians in the region of al-Anbār, probably in 12/633. In Radjab 13/August-September 635, he took part in the conquest of Damascus and the following year led a troop of cavalry at the battle of Yarmūk [*q.v.*]. He fought with distinction at al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], where his intervention was timely. He is cited among the brave warriors who captured al-Madāʾin [*q.v.*] and he must have commanded the vanguard at the battle of Djalūlāʾ (16/637 [*q.v.*]) and established a garrison at Ḥulwān [*q.v.*]. He also took part in the capture of Nihāwand (21/641-2). Before the battle of the Camel [see al-djamal] ʿAlī sent him to Baṣra to negotiate with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. Later he settled at Kūfa. Al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ, a much-loved heroic figure, was also known as a poet; a few of his verses celebrating his military exploits are extant.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 211-2, 217, 222 (ed. and tr. Pellat, §§ 1541-3, 1548, 1555); Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, iii, 263; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 294-5, 300, 303 ff., 316, 329, 367-8, 370 ff., 400 ff., iii, 7 ff., 186 ff., 195, 198, 200, 208 ff.; idem, *Usd*, iv, 207; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 7127; Yāḳūt, i, 321, 602. 937, ii, 107, 280; *Aghānī*, xv, 57, 58; Weil, *Gesch, der Chalifen*, i, 36-7, 82, 88, 203, 207-8; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi, 14, 39, 45, 49, 65, 72, 77, 86, 105; Caetani, *Annali*, index. (K. V. Zetterstéen)

KAKHTĀ, a fortress, now an imposing ruin, which stands on a precipitous ridge dominating the ancient site of Arsaneia in Commagene, recently identified by F. Dörner; the name does not appear before the 6th/12th century. The region, of which Gerger, on the upper reaches of the Euphrates at the mouth of the gorges, was in reality the chief centre, played only a minimal role in the Arab-Byzantine wars during the first centuries of Islam, since the main passes lie further to the west or north, and there was no need for the fortress of Kakhtā, which commanded the outlet of a valley in the eastern Taurus, to be built and developed until the time of the Armenian immigration, followed by the Turkish conquest and the short-lived Frankish conquest (by the County of Edessa). The land was then relatively fertile, and upstream from Kakhtā was situated the monastery of Mar Barṣawma, one of the principal residences of the Patriarchate of the Christian Monophysite (Jacobite) Church. It was only after the fall of the County of Edessa that Kakhtā became a Muslim fortress, at first in the hands of Artuḳids [*q.v.*] of Āmid and Khanzit (545/1150) and then of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm (623/1226), who made it one of the bases for their power in the eastern Taurus and for expansion into Upper Mesopotamia. For a short time it had a more important role, during the struggles between the Mongols and the Mamlūks for possession of the borderland between Syria, the Djazīra and Anatolia. Aided by the Turkomans, the Mamlūks arrived in the 8th/14th century, and thrust a wedge between the Mongol protectorates as far as Malatya. The occupation of Kakhtā by the Mamlūk sultan al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] (1280) marked one of the principal stages in this advance, and it is to the participation in this expedition of his private secretary, the historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, that we owe the valuable description of the fortress and its condition at that time, which the author inserted in the biography of his master. Considerable work in rebuilding and enlarging the fortress was begun on Ḳalāwūn's orders, and completed by his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; some fine inscriptions bear witness to this work (it is hard to see why Ḥamdī Bey, quoted in *EI*[1], attributed to an al-Manṣūr in 525 an inscription which is clearly from 685/1286), and its full extent will be revealed by the excavations and studies being made at the present time under the direction of F. Dörner. However, the decline of the Īlkhānid empire caused the eastern Taurus to become an isolated area once again; the wars left only Kurds and Turkomans in the region, and after the final episodes, in which Kakhtā passed alternately into the hands of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu and of the Mamlūks, it ultimately disappeared when the Ottomans became the sole rulers of all the neighbouring countries. Today, at the foot of the ruins, there is nothing more than a poor hamlet in the middle of the heaps of stones.

Bibliography: Sources: Michael the Syrian, ed. J. B. Chabot, iii, 198, 283-8, 294; *Chronique anonyme syriaque*, tr. A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb, in *JRAS* (1933), 87; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, tr. E. A. W. Budge, 405; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 458; Ibn Bībī, tr. H. Duda, *Seltschukengeschichte...*, 122-4, 248-50; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, ed. Murād Kāmil, Cairo 1961, 27-9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, vi, 367-71, 594; Ibn Iyās, *Journal*, tr. Wiet, i, 267; Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 22.— Ernst Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 1935; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 124-5; idem, *Note additionnelle à deux ouvrages d'archéologie orientale médiévale*, in *Cahiers Techniques de l'Art*, ii (1949), 83-8 and photos; see particularly F. Dörner and R. Naumann, *Forschungen in Kommagene*, Berlin 1939, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, x, the studies of F. Dörner and Theresa Goell in *Istanbuler Forschungen*, xxiii, and the general work prepared by F. Dörner (in which the mediaeval history of the fortress is dealt with by the present writer). Some useful details will also be found in the article of J. Mordtmann in *EI*[1] and an illustration of the state of the

ruins in about 1890 in Humann und Puchstein, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 1890, 186. (Cl. Cahen)

KĀKŪYIDS, or Kākwayhids, a dynasty of Daylamī origin which ruled over part of Djibāl or west-central Persia during the first half of the 5th/11th century as virtually independent sovereigns, and thereafter for more than a century as local lords of Yazd, tributary to the Saldjūḳs. The rise of the Kākūyids is one aspect of the "Daylamī interlude" of Iranian history, during which hitherto submerged Daylamī and Kurdish elements rose to prominence. Under the dynamic leadership of the greatest member of the dynasty, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad, the Kākūyids played an important rôle in the politics of western Persia at a time when three great powers, the Būyids, the Ghaznawids and then the Saldjūḳs, were striving for power there.

i. *Political and dynastic history*.

The founder of the line, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār (thus in most of the literary sources: Kākūyid coins invariably have Dushmanzār, lit. "afflicting the enemy [through his military prowess]", cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 88), was the son of a Daylamī officer, Rustam Dushmanziyār, who was in the service of the Būyids of Rayy and Djibāl. Muḥammad often appears as "Ibn Kākūya" or "Pisar-i Kākū" in the historical texts. These sources generally explain kākūya as a hypocoristic from Daylamī kākū "maternal uncle", Dushmanziyār being the uncle of the famous Sayyida, mother of the Būyid amīr of Rayy, Madjd al-Dawla Rustam b. Fakhr al-Dawla (387-420/997-1029), cf. the modern Lurī use of *kākā* = "uncle" in a jocular, friendly sense. Sayyida was thus Muḥammad's first cousin. Dushmanziyār was granted Shahriyār in the Elburz Mts. region by Madjd al-Dawla. The date of his death is uncertain, but in about 398/1007-8 we find his son Muḥammad governing Iṣfahān on behalf of the Būyid amīr; and thus begins the Kākūyid hold on that city which was to endure substantially down to the Saldjūḳ conquest of Iṣfahān at the beginning of 443/1051. The internal weakness of the local Būyid amīrate, with Madjd al-Dawla dominated by his forceful mother, enabled Muḥammad to constitute himself as the military defender of the Būyids. In 411/1020-1 we find him suppressing a revolt of Turkish soldiers in Hamadhān for Madjd al-Dawla's brother Shams al-Dawla; in 414/1023-4 he seized Hamadhān from the Daylamī garrison there and went on to attack the Kurdish ʿAnnāzids [*q.v.*]; in 417/1026 he put down unrest among the Kurds of Djūraḳān or Gūrān; and in 418/1027 he repelled the concerted invasion of Djibāl by the Bāwandid Ispahbadh of Ṭabaristān and the Ziyārid Manūčihr b. Ḳābūs, who had come to the aid of local Daylamī rebels. Whilst still acknowledging Būyid overlordship on his coins, Muḥammad was now largely undisturbed in his control of western Djibal and the adjacent parts of Kurdistān. There are extant coins of his from Iṣfahān, Hamadhān, Asadābād, Ḳirmīsīn, al-Ḳaṣr, Burudjird, Djurbādhḳān, Shābūr-Khwāst, Dīnawar, Karadj in the Rūdhrāwar district, Rayy and Yazd; their legends show how he gradually acquired an impressive string of *alḳāb* or honorific titles, comprising those of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, ʿAḍud al-Dīn, Fakhr al-Milla and Tādj al-Umma.

When Maḥmūd of Ghazna occupied Rayy in 420/1029 and overthrew the Būyids there, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad's position was threatened by the efforts of Maḥmūd's son Masʿūd to extend Ghaznavid control over north-western Persia, and shortly afterwards, the appearance of Oghuz raiding bands further complicated the situation. On more than one occasion, he lost Iṣfahān and Hamadhān to the Ghaznawids, fleeing for refuge to the Būyids of Khūzistān or to the Musāfirids of Ṭārum. But the Ghaznawids always regarded "Pisar-i Kākū" as their implacable opponent, as Bayhaḳī's history shows. His statesmanship and pertinacity were such that he was always able to recover his position after reverses. On two occasions he even held Rayy, and it was probably in 421/1030 that he captured Yazd and minted coins there, the farthest outpost in the east of Kākūyid power. Possession of the rich towns of Djibāl enabled him to hire mercenaries, Daylamī and Kurdish, for his army, and also to recruit Oghuz Türkmen fleeing westwards from the Ghaznawids in Khurāsān. The historian of Iṣfahān, Māfarrukhī, praises ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad for his care to maintain all fortresses in his territories, his ingenuity in planting spies in neighbouring regions, and his sense of realism, knowledge of when resistance was possible and when conciliation and yielding were wisest.

Genealogical Table of the Kākūyids

Marzubān
- Rustam Dushmanziyār
  - 1. Muḥammad (d. 433/1041-2)
- Fulāna
  - Sayyida, mother of Madjd al-Dawla (d. 419/1028)

Children of 1. Muḥammad:
- 2. Farāmurz
  - 4. ʿAlī (d. 488/1095)
    - 5. Garshāsp (d. 536/1141)
      - Fulāna
      - Fulāna = Rukn al-Dīn Sām, first Atabeg of Yazd
        - ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Ata-Khān
- 3. Garshāsp (d. 443/1051-2)
- Abū Ḥarb
- Fulāna = Masʿūd of Ghazna

With the collapse of Ghaznawid authority first in the west and then in Khurāsān, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad was for a brief period completely independent and acknowledged no suzerain on his coins. The increasing strength of the Saldjūks and the relentless extension of his power westwards by Ṭoghrïl Beg were, however, bound to press on the Kākūyids. In 429/1037-8 ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad built a protective wall around Iṣfahān, but he died in 433/1041-2. His eldest son, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Shams al-Mulūk Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz had already discerned the trend of events; he was present with Ṭoghrïl on the battlefield of Dandānḳān in 431/1040, when the victorious Saldjūḳ leader granted to him Rayy and Iṣfahān. When ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad died, there ensued a struggle amongst his sons over the Kākūyid inheritance. Farāmurz's succession in Iṣfahān was contested by his brother Abū Ḥarb, who secured help from the Būyid amīr of Fārs and Khūzistān, ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār, but nevertheless failed to capture Iṣfahān. From 438/1046-7, when Ṭoghrïl besieged him in Iṣfahān, till 433/1051, Faramūrz acknowledged on his coins Ṭoghrïl as suzerain. In Muḥarram 433/May-June 1051 Ṭoghrïl finally captured Iṣfahān after a year's siege, razed its walls and moved his capital thither from Rayy. Farāmurz received in compensation the towns of Yazd and Abarḳūh in northern Fārs, and ended his days as a faithful vassal of the Saldjūḳs; thus he was a member of the delegation led by

Kundurī in 453/1061 to seek the hand of the caliph al-Ḳā'im's daughter for Ṭoghrïl, and of the sultan's retinue when he went to Baghdād two years later to meet his wife.

A further brother of Farāmurz, ʿAlā' al-Dawla Abū Kālīdjār Garshāsp, had been governor of Hamadhān and Nihāwand, *i.e.*, the western part of the Kākūyid dominions, during his father's lifetime, and had defended Hamadhān against the so-called "ʿIrāḳī" Türkmen when they besieged it in 420/1029. In 430/1038-9 the town was again attacked by the Oghuz, suffering a frightful sacking, but the Türkmen were soon afterwards repulsed by ʿAlā' al-Dawla Muḥammad himself. When the latter died, Garshāsp succeeded him in Hamadhān and Nihāwand, recognizing Farāmurz as his overlord. But Garshāsp soon clashed with Ṭoghrïl Beg, and tried to get help from the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār; in exasperation, Ṭoghrïl in 437/1045-6 sent his half-brother Ibrāhīm Ināl to seize first Hamadhān, and then, two years later, Kangu-wār. Unlike Farāmurz, Garshāsp remained hostile to the Saldjūḳs down to his death in exile in Khūzistān in 443/1051-2; just before this, he had been in Iṣfahān and had been in touch with Mawdūd b. Masʿūd of Ghazna, who was endeavouring to organize a grand anti-Saldjūḳ coalition.

The descendants of Farāmurz lived out their lives as provincial *muḳtaʿ*s under the Great Saldjūḳ sultans, honoured as former minor rulers and now closely linked by marriage to the Saldjūḳ royal family. References to these later Kākūyids are very sparse in the general chronicles, and the main source for them is the local history of Yazd by Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad Djaʿfarī. They do not seem to have exercised minting rights; at least, no Kākūyid coins are extant after those of Farāmurz.

Mu'ayyid al-Dawla or ʿAlā' al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Farāmurz, ruler of Yazd, married Čaghrï Beg's daughter Arslan Khātūn in 469/1076-7. He spent much of his time in Iṣfahān at Malik-Shāh's court, as is shown by the anecdote in Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī's *Čahar maḳāla* (ed. Browne, 41-3, revised tr. 46-8), where Amīr ʿAlī commends the poet Muʿizzī to the sultan's patronage. Eventually he died in battle near Rayy fighting for the claimant Tutush b. Alp Arslan against Sultan Berk-yaruḳ (488/1095). ʿAlī's son ʿAlā' al-Dawla ʿAḍud al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār Garshāsp also held Yazd and was high in the favour of Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh and then in that of his son Maḥmūd. According to Anūshirwān b. Khālid, Maḥmūd at first regarded Garshāsp like a brother, but he fell from grace and was imprisoned by the sultan; henceforth he became a fierce partisan of Sandjar (he had married the sister of Muḥammad and Sandjar), and in 513/1119 urged him to invade western Persia and join battle with Maḥmūd at Sāwa. There is mentioned in Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's history of the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān a dispute within the Kākūyid family in Yazd during the later years of the Saldjūḳ amīr Arslan-Shāh b. Kirmān-Shāh (495-537/1101-42), in which the amīr intervened to restore the dispossessed party; this incident must have fallen within Garshāsp's time, but no further details are known. A somewhat confused later source implies that Garshāsp was killed fighting at Sandjār's side at the battle of the Ḳaṭwān Steppe in 536/1141 against the Ḳara Khiṭay. The last decades of the Kākūyid family are very obscure. Garshāsp seems to have left no male heir and during the reign of the penultimate Great Saldjūḳ sultan, Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl (556/1161-571/1176), his two daughters governed Yazd. The Sultan decreed that one of the commanders of the Yazd garrison should become Atabeg for them. In this way, there begins the line of Atabegs of Yazd, that of Rukn al-Dīn Sām b. Lankar and his brother ʿIzz al-Dīn Lankar. These Atabegs were at the outset linked by marriage to the last Kākūyids, since Rukn al-Dīn married one of Garshāsp b. ʿAlī's daughters; the Atabeg ʿAlā' al-Dawla Ata-Khān, who was killed in 624/1227 fighting for the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn against the Mongols, was their offspring. The line of Atabegs persisted in Yazd throughout the 7th/13th century, after which Yazd eventually came under the control of the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*].

ii. *Cultural.*

By the time of the Kākūyids' rise to power, the Daylamī rulers of Persia had emerged from their pristine barbarism and grossness, and we find ʿAlā' al-Dawla Muḥammad assuming the responsibilities of the paternalistic Islamic ruler in his principality. The cost of the walls which he built around Iṣfahān, their circuit running to 15,000 paces not counting the defences of the outlying suburbs, was a burden on the local population, but in such troubled times the walls were regarded as a great benefit. One of ʿAlā' al-Dawla Muḥammad's special claims to fame is that he gave refuge to Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), after the latter had been in the service of the Būyid Shams al-Dawla of Hamadhān; the great scholar wrote his Persian encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Dānish-nāma-yi ʿAlā'ī*, for the Kākūyid amīr, and he died in 428/1037 whilst accompanying his patron from Iṣfahān to Hamadhān.

The Kākūyid governors of Yazd did much to beautify the town and to make it a centre of intellectual life, and under them and their epigoni, the Atabegs, Yazd enjoyed one of its most flourishing periods. The local historian of Kirmān, Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī, says in his *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā* that "ʿAlā' al-Dawla [ʿAlī b. Farāmurz], who was the ruler of Yazd, continually sought to attract the eminent men of both Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ, encouraged them with all sorts of promises and expressions of favour, and brought them to Yazd" (ed. ʿĀmirī, Tehran 1311/1932, 102). ʿAlī was particularly noted as an early patron of the outstanding poet of the Saldjūḳs, Muʿizzī, and several of the latter's odes are dedicated to the Kākūyid. The *Ta'rīkh-i Yazd* and the other local histories deal at length with the many palaces, mosques, *madrasas*, caravanserais, libraries and mausoleums constructed in the town by the Kākūyid amīrs; of prime value in Yazd, situated as it was on the edge of the central desert, was their extensive construction of *ḳanāt*s.

Bibliography: i. Primary sources. The history of the dynasty can only be pieced together from scattered notices in general histories like that of Ibn al-Athīr and Mustawfī's *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, from Ghaznawid sources like Bayhaḳī, and from Saldjūḳ ones like Bundārī and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's *Ta'rīkh-i Saldjūḳiyān-i Kirmān*. The local histories supplement these, in particular, Ibn Isfandiyār's *Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabaristān* (on Rustam Dushmanziyār b. Marzubān and the antecedents of the dynasty); Māfarrukhī's *Kitāb Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Ṭehrānī, Tehran 1312/1933, cf. E. G. Browne, *Account of a rare manuscript history of Iṣfahān*, in *JRAS* (1901), 23, 42, 50 of offprint; Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad Djaʿfarī's *Ta'rīkh-i Yazd*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1338/1960; Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Kātib, *Ta'rīkh-i djadīd-i Yazd*, ed. Afshār, Tehran 1345/1966; Muḥammad Mufīd Mustawfī Bāfḳī, *Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, i, iii, ed. Afshār, Tehran 1340-2/1961-3.

ii. Secondary sources. For the general back-

ground to the rise of the Kākūyids, see V. Minorsky, art. DAYLAM, and idem, *La domination des Dailamites*, Paris 1932, also in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran-London 1964, 12-30; and for their place in the general history of Persia, see C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, *The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, Cambridge 1968, 37-40. On the chronology of the dynasty, see Zambaur, *Manuel*, 216-17, and Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 97-8. A detailed history of the dynasty is given by Bosworth, *Dailamīs in Central Iran: the Kākūyids of Jibāl and Yazd*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, viii (1970), 73-95.

iii. Numismatics. The coinage of the Kākūyids has been well covered. See Zambaur, *Nouvelles contributions à la numismatique orientale*, in *Wiener numismatische Zeitschrift*, xlviii (1914), 142-7; G. C. Miles, *The coinage of the Kākwayhid dynasty*, in *Iraq*, v (1938), 89-104; idem, *Notes on Kākwayhid coins*, in *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, ix (1960), 231-6; idem, *A hoard of Kākwayhid dirhems*, in *ANS Museum Notes*, xii (1966), 165-93. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**ḲALʿA** [see ḲALʿAT BANĪ ḤAMMĀD].

ḲALʿA-I SEFĪD [see ḲALʿE-I SEFĪD].

ḲALʿA-I SULṬĀNIYYA [see ČANAḲ-ḲALʿE BOGHAZĪ].

ḲALʿA [see AGADIR, BURDJ, ḤIṢĀR, ḤIṢN, ḲAṢABA].

AL-**ḲALʿA** (A.), castle, fortress. a word which has passed into Spanish in the simple form Alcalá, and as Cala—or Calat—in compounds, occurs as a place-name throughout the entire peninsula—*e.g.*, Alcalá de Henares, Alcalá la Real (also named after Ibn Zayd), Alcalá de Guadaira, or Calahorra (castle of Hurra), Calatrava (Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ [*q.v.*] = ʿAlī b. Rabāḥ ?), Calatayud (Ḳalʿat Ayyūb [*q.v.*]), Calatorao (from *turāb* = land, as in Madīnat al-turāb = Valencia), Calatañazor (Ḳalʿat al-nusūr, the site of the alleged defeat of al-Manṣūr). The dimunitive Alcolea (from the Arabic *al-ḳulayʿa*) is also the name of various places of less importance, such as Alcolea in the neighbourhood of Cordoba, Alcolea del Cinca, etc. The northern zone of Old Castile and the Alava region were known by the Muslims as al-Ḳilāʿ, "the castles", a term comparable with the names Castilla and Cataluña = regions of castles.

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 681; E. Lévi-Provençal, *HEM*, *passim*; Madoz, *Diccinario geográfico*, i, 356-96. (A. HUICI-MIRANDA)

AL-**KALĀBĀDHĪ**, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ISḤĀḲ, author of one of the most celebrated manuals on Ṣūfism. In spite of the fame of his work, he himself is practically unknown. He is believed to have died in 380/990 or 384/994; his *nisba* indicates that he lived in Kalābādh, a district of Bukhārā, according to Yāḳūt [s.v.], and manuscript sources (see Arberry, *India Office Catalogue*, no. 1218) confirm that he died in Bukhārā, where "his tomb is visited and revered". Of the five or six works by al-Kalābādhī, two have come down to us, one of them unpublished and without any great merit: *Maʿānī 'l-akhbār* (for other titles of this work see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 669), a kind of brief ethical commentary on some of the Prophet's *ḥadīths*. The other is *Taʿarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, a basic work for the understanding of Ṣūfism in the first three centuries of Islam (tr. A. J. Arberry, *The doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*, Cambridge 1935). The work is divided into three parts. The first, historical, section defines the meaning of the word *ṣūfī* and gives a swift survey of the most important figures of Ṣūfism; the second part is apologetics, going back to the articles of the creed *al-Fiḳh al-Akbar II* to demonstrate the accord between the doctrine of the Ṣūfīs and Ashʿarism (see Arberry, *Sufism*, 69); through using quotations from the Ṣūfīs and commenting on them, the third part sets out the major stages on the mystic path. The author frequently quotes al-Ḥallādj, indicating that he lived in an environment favourable to mysticism but one in which Ṣūfism had begun to deteriorate. According to the introduction, the book was written in response to this decay and with the intention of delineating true Ṣūfism.

Bibliography: In the article. (P. NWYIA)

KALABAND (Ottoman) [see NAFY].

KALAH (KALĀH, KALĀ, KILĀ, KILLAH), the mediaeval Arab geographers' name for an island or peninsula (*djazīra*) which played an important intermediary role in commercial and maritime relations between Arabia, India and China. It was particularly well-known for its tin mines, and the Arabic word *ḳalʿī/ḳalaʿī* [*q.v.*] for this metal derives from Kalah; the place was also portrayed as the centre of trade in camphor, bamboo, aloes, ivory etc. Its capital also was named Kalah (cf. *e.g.*, al-Dimashḳī, *Cosmographie*, 152, 170); so too the sea which washed its shores and was very difficult to navigate was called the Baḥr Kalah (*e.g.*, al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, 152, 169).

The identification of Kalah, of no small importance for the history of trade in the Indian Ocean, has engendered a vast bibliography. Various clues, the production of tin in particular, have suggested the Malacca peninsula; Walckenaer (*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Paris 1852, 19) was the first to identify Kalah with a town whose name is written as Quedah in the Portuguese sources, but is pronounced Kĕdah; this town lies on the west bank of the Malacca peninsula (6° Lat. N.). The province of Kĕdah, watered by the Kalang River (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, v, 20-1), is still of importance in this region of Malacca because of its brisk trade in tin; the town itself, though a flourishing port in the past, has declined considerably.

Walckenaer's identification was accepted by L. A. van der Lith (ed. of *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind*, index), De Goeje (in *De Gids*, Amsterdam 1889, iii, 297), Tomaschek (*Die topogr. des indischen Seespiegels Moḥīṭ*, Vienna 1897, 86) and G. Le Strange (tr. of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 194). Quatremère (in *Journal des Savants*, 1846, 734) and Yule and Burnell (*Hobson-Jobson*₂, 145) think it likely; the latter believe that Kalan should also be identified with Ptolemy's Κῶλι, but this town seems to have been situated elsewhere (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, art. *Koli*, xi, 1073). J. Sauvaget (*Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, 43) favours this identification but points out that Kĕdah, Kĕrah (Kra isthmus) or even Kĕlang, north of the town of Malacca, are all possibilities. Although the Malay *d* is pronounced in such a way that an Arabic speaker might hear *l*, the Chinese transcribed the name as *Ko-lo* and the vocalization of the first syllable of K-lah is in fact unknown (P. Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIIIᵉ siècle*, in *Bull. de l'École fr. d'Extrême-Orient*, iv (1904), 351 n. 6).

Moreover, it must be noted that G. Ferrand (in *JA*, 2nd series, xiv (1919), 214-33) came to reject the possibility of identifying Kĕdah with Kalah and to conclude: "geographically, between Qara = Kra, about 10° latitude North, and Kara, near Kĕdah, I prefer the first of these ports as the site of Kalah and its variants in the Arabic texts"; Ferrand's study giving the reasons for his preferences has not been published, and the claims of Kĕdah and Kĕlah (Kra)

cannot be considered as settled. Other reasonable suggestions for the site of Kalah are: in Ceylon (the port of Ghālī, Galle, Galle Point; *e.g.*, Reinaud, *Relations des voyages* . . . Paris 1845, i, pp. lxi-lxii and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Geographie*, i, cdxiv, cdxviii-cdxix; Dulaurier, in *JA*, 4th series, viii, 209), Malabar (Renaudot, cf. Ouseley, *Travels*. . ., i, London 1819, 53 n.) and Coromandel (Gildemeister, *Script. Arab. de rebus Indicis loci*, Bonn 1838, 57-8).

Alongside Kalah, Arab geographers use the compound word Kalāh-bār (*e.g.*, *Rel. de l'Inde et de la Chine*, § 15; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 330, 340 = tr. Pellat, §§ 361, 374), where *bār* is explained as deriving from the Sanskrit *vāta*, from which come *vād* and *vār*, "district". However in Sanskrit and in Tamil *pāram* (= *bāram* in compounds) designates "the opposite coast" and is used by sailors from another country for the coast to which they usually travel; *Relation* (§ 15) gives two explanations ("kingdom" and "coast"), the second being the correct one, so al-Mas'ūdī (i, 340-374) was wrong when he took *bār* to mean "sea".

Bibliography: apart from references in the text: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 66; Djawālīķī, *Mu'arrab*, ed. Sachau, 56-7, 125; S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the* Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq . . . *of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, 116-7; Yāķūt, index; Ķazwīnī, *Āthār*, ii, 38; Abu 'l Fidā', *Taķwīm*, 375; Bākuwī, *Talkhīṣ al-āthār*, tr. de Guignes, in *Notices et Extraits*, ii, 405; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-'adjā'ib*, Cairo 1324, 86; G. Ferrand, *Relations des voyages*. . ., Paris 1913-4, index; idem, in *JA*, 2nd series, xii (1918), 89, 109, xiii (1919), 312, 438 n. 2, 439-40, xiv (1919), 214-33, xxi (1923), 31; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 187.

(M. Streck*)

AL-**KALĀ'Ī**, Abu 'l-Rabī' Sulaymān b. Mūsā b. Sālim al-Ḥimyarī al-Balansī, often known as Ibn Sālim al-Kalā'ī, a Mālikī scholar, historian, orator and poet from al-Andalus who traced back his genealogy to the Ḥimyarite family of Dhu 'l-Kalā'. Born in Ramaḍān 565/May-June 1170, in the neighbourhood of Murcia, he was still a child when his family moved to Valencia, where he began his studies, pursuing them in other Spanish cities, especially Cordoba. A pupil of Ibn Maḍā' [*q.v.*], Ibn Ḥubaysh, Ibn Zarķūn and a number of other celebrated teachers, he discharged the office of *khaṭīb* at the Great Mosque of Valencia, and probably also that of *ķāḍī*; his reputation, however, rested on his numerous works and on the eulogies bestowed on him by his disciples, principally Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*], who was indebted to him for advice and assistance in undertaking the sequel (*Takmila*) to the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*]. Another of his pupils was al-Ru'aynī [*q.v.*], who maintained an unbroken correspondence with him and devoted a long notice to him in his *Barnāmadj*. When forced to leave Valencia in 587/1191, al-Kalā'ī composed an elegy on his exile which attests to his technical skill; the surviving fragments of his *dīwān* also reveal his talent as a poet. On his eventual return to Valencia, despite his advanced age he played an active part in the battle of Anīsha (El Puig de Cebolla) which preceded the capture of the town by James I of Aragon (16 Ṣafar 636/28 September 1238) and there lost his life (20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 634/15 August 1237). Ibn al-Abbār mourned his death in a *marthiya* of about 100 verses (see H. Massé, intro. to the *Iktifā'*, 16-23, 40).

Al-Kalā'ī was the author of more than a score of works, but the only one which has been preserved is the *Kitāb al-Iktifā' fī maghāzī 'l-Muṣṭafā wa 'l-thalātha 'l-khulafā'* (Vol. i (all published), ed. H. Massé, Algiers-Paris 1931, *Bibliotheca arabica*, vi); this *Sīra Kalā'iyya*, a history of the *maghāzī* of the Prophet and of the first three caliphs only, is based on sources many of which are now lost. The volume published by H. Massé covers the Prophet's mission, the conversion of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the emigration to Abyssinia. Some quotations from *al-Iktifā'* are to be found in al-Diyārbakrī's *Ta'rīkh al-khamīs* (Cairo 1283, 1302); Khurshīd Aḥmad Fāriķ has published in Delhi (Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, 1970) from a Ms. preserved in Dar al-kutub (Cairo), as *Ta'rīkh al-ridda*, the passages in *al-Iktifā'* relating to the *Ridda* [*q.v.*].

Most biographers of al-Kalā'ī agree on the list of his works; these reveal that this *muḥaddith*, celebrated for his erudition and fine handwriting, was particularly concerned with the Companions of the Prophet (notably *Kitāb Maydān al-sābiķīn*, etc.; *al-Mu'djam fī dhikr man wāfaķat kunyatuh kunyat zawdjih min Ṣaḥābat al-Muṣṭafā*) and the transmission of *ḥadīth* (in particular, *Ruwāt al-Bukhārī wa-akhbāruh*, in 4 vols.; *Arba'ūn*, etc.). Independently of his masters' *Mu'djam*, he collected his poetical works in a *dīwān*, as well as his correspondence and his *khuṭbas* (numbering about 80). Finally, we should note two imitations of al-Ma'arrī and a selection of proverbs. Although it is difficult to form a judgment on the sole basis of titles which are not always explicit, it would appear that posterity did no injustice to al-Kalā'ī in preserving from his voluminous output only the *Iktifā'*, a work which deserves some attention.

Bibliography: H. Massé has reproduced in his intro. to the *Iktifā'* the bibliographical accounts contained in: Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa*, al-Bashtakī's abridgement of the *Iḥāṭa* (Ms.), Ibn al-Abbār's *Takmila* (708, no. 1991 and additions, 540), Dhahabī's *Tadhkira* (Ḥaydarabād, iv, no. 14), Suyūṭī's *Ṭabaķāt al-ḥuffāẓ* (Göttingen 1833, iii, 56), Ibn Farḥūn's *Dībādj* (Fez 1316, 125), Maķķarī's *Analectes* (ii, 502, 655, 768), Nāṣirī's *K. Zahr al-afnān* (Fez 1314, i, 307), al-'Arabī al-Mashrafī's *Fatḥ al-Mannān*. To this list should be added: Ru'aynī, *Barnāmadj*, ed. I. Shabbūḥ, Damascus 1381/1962, 66-72; M. Bencheneb, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès des Orient.*, Paris 1907, iv, no. 334; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, v, 164; Pons Boygues, 283-4, no. 239. See also Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, ed. H. Mu'nis, ii, 102, 215, 267; Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ mi'ṭār*, 32; Nubāhī, *Marķaba*, 119; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 388, v, 579; R. Basset, in *Bull. Corr. Afr.*, 1884, 375; F. C. Seybold, in *Homenaje a D. Fr. Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 115 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 371, S I, 634; F. Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*$_2$, index.

(Ch. Pellat)

KALĀM, in the sense of *kalām Allāh* the Word of God, must here be distinguished from 1) *kalām* meaning *'ilm al-kalām* [*q.v.*], "defensive apologetics", or "the science of discourse" (on God); and 2) *kalima* [*q.v.*] which, in the expression *kalimat Allāh*, means "a" (single) divine utterance.

Kalām Allāh is found at least three times in the Ķur'ān (II, 75, IX, 6, XLVIII, 15). God spoke to the prophets (II, 253); He spoke "clearly" to Moses (IV, 164, VII, 143), who had been chosen to transmit His messages and His Word (VII, 144); God does not speak to men "except by revelation or from behind a veil" (II, 118); but He has never spoken to the ungodly (II, 174, III, 77); and an idol made by man, such as the Golden Calf, cannot speak (VII, 148; cf. Ps. 115, 135).

In the list of "the most beautiful (divine) names" (cf. AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ), neither *kalām* nor *mutakallim* is found. God speaks, but the Ḳurʾān does not "name" Him as "speaker". *Kalīm Allāh*, "God's spokesman", is the name of Moses. Yet in the treatises on "God, His existence and His attributes", God is described as *mutakallim* ("speaking"), since He possesses *kalām*.

Two groups of questions arise: 1) on the basis of the ḳurʾānic texts, *kalām*, Word, is attributed to God and "theologians" were quick to examine the question of *kalām* as a divine attribute (*ṣifa*); and 2) God having addressed His word to the prophets (II, 253), by antonomasia *kalām Allāh* designates the Ḳurʾān, which gave rise to the problem of the relationship between the Ḳurʾān and the Word as attribute. Throughout the centuries, this was to remain one of the most controversial questions.

I.—Kalām, a divine attribute. This problem is directly linked to reflections and debates on the nature of the Ḳurʾān (created or uncreated). Did such discussions come into being, as has been frequently stated (by C. H. Becker, for example), through the wish to reply to the Christian theologians of Damascus, who proclaimed that the Logos, the Word of God, was both uncreated and creator? No doubt this influenced the way in which the problem was posed in some instances, but the ḳurʾānic source of the question is no less evident.

If there is a Word of God, there is therefore a divine attribute of the Word, according to the most customary process of scriptural "determination" (*tawḳīf*). But of what sort is this attribute? And what relationship does it have to the divine Essence?

a) The Muʿtazilites (and the Dj̲ahmiyya) denied that there was an uncreated Word subsisting in God, for "it cannot be established that there subsists in the soul an entity which could be called 'word' (*kalām*)" said the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Dj̲abbār (*Mug̲h̲nī*, vii, *K̲h̲alḳ al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1380/1961, 179). The expression "Word of God", which should be retained, in fact signifies that God created in contingent beings phrases and words so that He could communicate His law to men.—b) The Falāsifa and various related groups understood it to mean a divine, eternal Idea, a necessary emanation of the flux (*fayḍ*) which is bound to flow from the Prime Being, is received by the separate Intellects, transmitted to men by the illumination of the single Active Intellect and is broken down into words on account of the structure of mankind's passive intellect (*biʾl-ḳuwwa*).—c) According to the Karrāmiyya, the Word of God is not strictly speaking eternal: God becomes the agent and speaker by producing within Himself (*iḥdāth̲ fi ʾl-d̲h̲āt*) the Act and the Word. It is therefore proper to speak of "an attribute of the Essence", but one which has "begun".—d) The "pious Forefathers" and the Ḥanbalite tradition affirm the absolute eternity of the Word, subsisting in God and revealing Him, communicated as and when God wishes in His coeternal mystery.—e) Finally, the As̲h̲ʿarites (and apparently also the Kullābiyya) affirm this same coeternity: the *kalām Allāh* is *ḳadīm*, uncreated and without beginning. But they distinguish (cf. II below) between the Word subsisting in the divine Essence, which is without speech (*ḳawl*), and its expression by means of letters and sounds. In itself, *kalām* is not an "attribute of action" (*ṣifat al-afʿāl*), like the Creation or the Decree; it is, like Will, Knowledge, Life, an attribute that is *maʿānī*, "which adds a concept to the Essence" but itself subsists within the essence by the very existence of God. Thus al-Dj̲uwaynī, after having argued at length against the Muʿtazilites, teaches that the Word is eternal, it is "an attribute of the Essence", and has always the nature of a commandment, a prohibition, or information. Therefore it applies to things which arise within time, without itself having begun in time (cf. *Irs̲h̲ād*, text and Fr. tr., J. D. Luciani, Paris 1938, 73/120). On this point the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī theses differ only in minor respects from the As̲h̲ʿarī view.

No doubt in order better to underline the *bilā kayf* of the Word of God in comparison with human speech, later treatises make the following distinction: while the unity of divine attributes is said to be dependent on the *ʿaḳliyyāt* [*q.v.*], meaning that which human reason, illuminated by the Law, is fitted to substantiate, the *kalām* attribute of God—like Hearing, Sight and Visibility—is dependent on the *samʿiyyāt*, knowledge which is available to man only *ex auditu*, through the teaching of the prophets. The very existence of these four attributes falls outside the scope of reason.

II.—The Ḳurʾān, Word of God. While everyone acknowledged the identification Ḳurʾān = *kalām Allāh*, the various schools interpreted this according to different principles, which are outlined above. Logically, therefore, the arguments concerning the created or uncreated Ḳurʾān are an application of the teaching on attributes, but in fact the positions adopted on the subject of the Ḳurʾān took precedence and influenced developments relating to the attribute of the Word.

a) the Muʿtazilite theory of the created Ḳurʾān is based on the concept of word as speech, presuming articulation and movement, which would be incompatible with pure divine immutability. All prophetic utterances, above all the Ḳurʾān, may be called the "Word of God" in that they express what God wishes to communicate to mankind; but this Word is created on the lips of prophets or reciters, or on the pages where they are recorded. In the same way, when God spoke to Moses in the "burning bush", strictly speaking it was the bush which spoke, through sounds and words directly created within it by God.

b) It is not easy to define to its ultimate consequences the thinking of the "pious Forefathers", especially that of Ibn Ḥanbal. The affirmation that the Ḳurʾān is the uncreated Word of God is absolute. The definitive thinking of Ibn Ḥanbal is that the Ḳurʾān pertains not to the world of creation (*k̲h̲alḳ*) but to the world of commandment (*amr*). Now, nothing appertaining to *amr* can perish. "The Ḳurʾān went out from God and will return to Him" (*ʿAḳīda*, v, 313; quoted by H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 84, n. 3); according to Ibn Baṭṭa, this applies to each word, each letter of the Book (*ibid.*, 51/86). And anyone who asserts that the Ḳurʾān is created, or reserves any doubt on this subject, or simply refuses to make a pronouncement (*wuḳūf*), is impious (*kāfir*); so too is anyone who refuses to condemn such a man as an unbeliever (*takfīr*). When God makes His Word appear in a body, said Ibn Taymiyya (*Fatāwa* v, *Tisʿīniyya*, Cairo 1329, 265), He does not create anything in that body; it is He Himself who speaks, as He did in the bush which revealed to Moses: "I am God and there are no other gods but Me".

H. Laoust has made an excellent summary of Ibn Taymiyya's thinking on this point, which is in itself an echo Ḥanbalī tradition (*Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad B. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 171 and ref.). The attribute of

the Word is subordinate to the attribute of the Will (*irāda*). God speaks or (in opposition to the Salāmiyya) ceases to speak when and how He wishes. His Word is at the same time "an idea, sounds and letters organized with an end in view (*maḳṣūd*)" (H. Laoust, *ibid.*). It may convey information (*ikhbār*) or ordain a command (*inshā*ʾ). In this last case, it will either bring about a creation (*takwīn*: *e.g.*, the five ḳurʾānic *kun*) or formulate a law (*tashrī*ʿ). The Word is therefore multiple in its formulation. It is also hierarchically graded: the best of the *sūra*s is the *Fātiḥa*, followed by the *sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*; Ḳurʾān, Tawrāt and Indjīl are indeed the Word of God, but the Ḳurʾān is superior to the Tawrāt, which itself is superior to the Indjīl.

Are the pronunciation (*lafẓ*) and reading (*tilāwa*) of the Ḳurʾān by the faithful also uncreated? The professions of faith of Ibn Ḥanbal declare that to assert that its pronunciation and reading are created, when the book is *kalām Allāh*, is the mark of the condemned sect of the Djahmiyya (*ʿAḳīda* I, 21, 32). Al-Barbahārī makes the same assertion, adding that it is also *djahmī* to opt for *wuḳūf*, a deferment of judgment, on this precise point.

But there is a Ḥanbalī tradition which tends to qualify—or at least make more exact—the position of Ibn Ḥanbal. It is said that he protested vigorously against those who averred that pronunciation and reading were created; but he never adds that they were definitely uncreated. Ibn Taymiyya came to the following conclusion: those who hold that the pronunciation and reading of the Ḳurʾān are uncreated are in fact similar to the Djahmiyya and thus to be condemned; but, also according to Ibn Ḥanbal, those who support the opposite view are guilty of "blameworthy innovation" (*bidʿa*). It was Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, remarks H. Laoust (*Essai*... 172, n. 2), "who attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal the dogma that recitation of the Ḳurʾān is uncreated". Was this in fact a position of reserve (*tawaḳḳuf*) which Ibn Ḥanbal adopted for fear that such an uncreated recitation would lead to the acceptance of *ḥulūl*, an "infusion" of divine substance in the reciter? Ibn Taymiyya avoided saying that the *lafẓ* was uncreated and confined himself to asserting: "The Word (*kalām*) is the Word of God, and the voice (*ṣawt*) is the voice of the reciter" (*ibid.*, 172), and again: "When men recite the Ḳurʾān, or when they write it down on paper, the Ḳurʾān remains in reality (*ḥaḳīḳatan*) the Word of God. A word, in fact, can be attributed only to him who first formulated it and in no respect to him who transmits it or spreads it abroad" (tr. H. Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, 85, note referring to *Wāsiṭiyya*, 22).

c) The Ashʿarites and Ḥanafites-Māturīdites preferred a compromise to this prudent *tawaḳḳuf*. Their solution was presented, especially by the earliest scholars, as the middle way between the Muʿtazilites and those whom they called *Ḥashwiyya*: according to the latter, the Ḳurʾān was uncreated, not only on the lips and in the hearts of the faithful but also in so far as it was reproduced in writing on paper; following a *khabar* attributed to ʿĀʾisha, whatever lies between the two covers of the book is the Word of God (and thus uncreated).

The thesis of the Ḳurʾān as the Word of God, eternal and uncreated, was forcefully proclaimed in the professions of faith of al-Ashʿarī (*Ibāna*, ed. Cairo 1348, 10; *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Cairo 1369/1950, i, 321); and also in the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa* (article 9) and the *Fiḳh Akbar* II (article 3) and III (article 16). Al-Ashʿarī cites the authority of Ibn Ḥanbal. Throughout the centuries, the schools remained faithful to this total affirmation.

But what part of the *kalām Allāh* is communicated by the prophets and recited or read by the faithful? Al-Ashʿarī's professions of faith are silent on this point; yet on the other hand the problem is posed in basic Ḥanafī-Māturīdī texts. The Ḳurʾān, says the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa* (article 9), the uncreated Word of God, inspired and revealed by Him, "is not He, nor other than He, but His real Attribute, written in the copies, recited by the tongues, preserved in the breasts, yet not residing there. The ink, the paper, the writing are created, for they are the work of men. The word of God on the other hand in uncreated, for the writing and the letters and the words and the verses are manifestations (*dalāla*) of the Ḳurʾān for the sake of human needs. The word of God on the other hand is self-existing in His Essence, and its meaning is understood by means of these things. Whoso sayeth that the word of God is created, he is an infidel (*kāfir*) regarding God... His speech being recited or written and retained in the heart, yet never dissociated from Him" (tr. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, 127). *Fiḳh Akbar* II (article 3) goes further as far as this distinction is concerned: "Our pronouncing, writing and reciting the Ḳurʾān is created, whereas the Ḳurʾān itself is uncreated."

What exact relationships can be established between the divine attribute of the Word and the Ḳurʾān, read, written or recited? A venerable tradition distinguishes between the heavenly Ḳurʾān, written for all eternity on the "protected table" (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ* [*q.v.*]) and the earthly and created books. Burning one of these earthly Ḳurʾāns would not destroy the Word of God. Certain later writers, such as al-Fuḍālī, wondered if the words which "descended" on the Prophet were the very words of God (those of the *lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*) or the words spoken by the Angel.

Ashʿarī answers were usually more elaborate. In an analysis reproduced by Ibn Ḥazm, al-Bāḳillānī explains that the Ḳurʾān is the Word of God in the sense that it is an "expression" (*ʿibāra*) of it (see A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 151, and *EI*[1], D. B. Macdonald, s.v. Kalām and refs.). He says further: "The *kalām* is an entity (*maʿnā*) subsisting within the soul (*ḳāʾim bi 'l-nafs*) which sometimes expresses itself in audible sounds" (*Tamhīd*, ed. R. J. McCarthy, Baghdad-Beirut 1957, 251).

This distinction led to the famous theory of the *kalām al-nafs* or *kalām nafsī*, the internal word, which, as we have seen, was rejected by the Muʿtazilites. Al-Djuwaynī stresses this point forcefully (*Irshād*, 58-78/98-131; see also his *Lumaʿ*). We have a brief and clear account of it in al-Ghazālī's *Iḳtiṣād* (ed. Cairo, n.d., 80). It is not true that there can be no speech without letters and sounds. Internal speech, "the discourse of the soul", *kalām al-nafs*, is a reality. The attribute of the Word, subsisting in the divine Essence, is first and foremost this internal Word in God, which is eternal and uncreated, without future or past, without multiplication or division. It in is no way impossible that God makes it manifest *ad extra* by created sounds and letters. It is essentially in this that prophetic revelation resides. Contrary to the belief of the Muʿtazilites, it is not a matter of words created in certain bodies. It is indeed God who speaks, but through sounds and letters belonging to the world of creation which manifest and express His single and immutable Word. Later Ashʿarī and Māturīdī manuals take up these points again with greater or lesser felicity (*e.g.*, al-Bādjūrī,

Ḥāshiya... *ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 43).

Finally, it should be noted that if "the Word of God is one attribute without multiplicity" (al-Bādjūrī, *ibid.*), its manifestation through verbal words allows us to make a distinction in the Ḳurʾān between information and commandment as the Ancients insisted (cf. above, the Ḥanbalī doctrine). In turn, commandment may be divided into prohibition, promise and threat; but these are "distinctions made by reason" (*aḳsām iʿtibāriyya*; *ibid.*).

d) In the modern period, Muḥammad ʿAbduh emphasized the Ashʿarī distinctions to the extent of presenting an answer which seems an attempt at a synthesis between Ashʿarism and Muʿtazilism (see *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1353, 44 ff.): the Word is an eternal attribute of the essence; the Ḳurʾān is the Word of God without any intermediary, but in as much as it is expressed in words that are uttered or written down, recited or read, it belongs to the world of creation. In this sense it can be said that God created the Ḳurʾān, but without the intervention of any creature.

Bibliography: As well as references within the article, all manuals on *uṣūl al-dīn* and *ʿilm al-kalām* and all works in European languages devoted to these disciplines contain a chapter or some paragraphs on *kalām* as an attribute of God.

(L. Gardet)

KALĀM, theology [see ʿilm al-kalām].

ḲALAM (κάλαμος, reed), the reed-pen used for writing in Arabic script. It is a tube of reed cut between two knots, sliced obliquely (or concave) at the thicker end and with the point slit, in similar fashion to the European quill and later the steel pen. The reed has to be very firm so that it does not wear away too quickly; the best kind comes from Wāsiṭ and grows in the marshes (*baṭāʾiḥ*) of ʿIrāḳ, but those from the swamps of Egypt (al-Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 203, l. 13) or from Fāris were also recommended. Those from a rocky ground were called *ṣukhrī*, those from the seashore *baḥrī* (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Būlāḳ 1876, ii, 221, l. 18 ff., al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, 441, l. 7 f.). It is allowed to steep like hemp and is kept in the water until its skin has taken on a beautiful dark brown colour. Its fibres should be quite straight so that the slit may also be even. After the nib of the *ḳalam* has been cut, it is laid on a long, flat piece of ivory or bone *miḳaṭṭa*, which is specially used for this purpose; the point is then slit with a sharp transverse cut with a special very sharp knife with a long handle (penknife, Turkish *ḳalamtirāsh*). The length of the reed-pen should be, according to Ibn Muḳla, 12-16 finger-breadths or a span, but could not exceed this by more than the length of the *djilfa* (nib). The width should be that of the index and the little finger (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, ii, 444, ll. 14-16), but a medium thickness—not too long or short, not bent or curved—would be the best one (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, ii, 440, ll. 16-19). The internode should not be too long. The pen should also not be dry, although well-ripened; it should be browned by the sun, golden, shining like a pearl and silvery on the sides.

Each kind of script needed a special pen, and the cutting of the nib (*djilfa*) was an art in itself. It was the prime necessity for good handwriting, and excellent cutting was considered as "half the script". It is worth noting that in the Fāṭimid period a kind of "fountain-pen" was invented in Egypt.

The part of the point to the left of the incision is called *insī*, "human", because it is turned towards the writer, and the right *waḥshī*, "savage". If the former is slightly softer than the latter so much the better. It became a rule that in the kinds of writing called *naskh*, *thuluth* and *riḳāʿ* the *waḥshī* side ought to be twice as broad as the *insī* side; in the kinds called *dīwānī* and *ḳirma*, it is the other way about. The *nastaʿlīḳ* is written with a pen slit exactly down the centre.

To protect the *ḳalam* from damage it is kept in a holder (*miḳlama*). These are of two kinds: 1) a metal box in the form of a long flat tube closed at one end by a lid with hinges and often adorned with arabesques. Attached to it is an inkwell (*dawāt*, popularly *dawāya*). This kind of holder is peculiar to the Arabs. In Ottoman Turkish it is called *diwit* (from Ar. *dawāt*); at an earlier period it was also called *ḳubūr* (strictly, plur. of *ḳabr* "grave") by the Ottoman Turks, a word which is found as early as Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj* (Cairo 1302, p. 17), with the meaning of "holder", "case"; 2) a papier-mâché box adorned with lacquerwork. In it is a drawer which also holds an inkwell. This kind is used particularly in Persia and is called *ḳalamdār*, "pen-box".

Sūra LXVIII of the Ḳurʾān (*Sūrat Nūn*) is sometimes called *Sūrat al-Ḳalam* from its opening: "N.—By the pen and what they write...". According to the traditions quoted by al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1323-30, xxix, 107) the *ḳalam* was the first thing created by God so that He could write down events to come. Two explanations have been given of this *ḳalam*: 1) the implement used for writing, a divine gift like the latter; 2) a *ḳalam* of light, as long as the distance from heaven to earth, which wrote down all things that are to happen until the last judgment (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, Cairo 1278, vi, 330; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *Kitāb al-badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, i, text 161 f., tr. 149).

The *ḳalam* is the emblem or symbol of the administrative services as opposed to the *sayf*, which marks the military officer. Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) wrote a *Mufākharat al-sayf wa 'l-ḳalam* and Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366) a work with a similar title; Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Asad al-Dawānī (d. 907/1501), ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Umm al-Walad-zāde (d. 920/1514) and Ḳlnalī-zāde (d. 979/1572) each wrote a *Risāla Ḳalamiyya* on the same subject (Brockelmann, II, 140, 211, 430, 433).

Bibliography: Al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, Cairo 1331, 434-5; A. P. Pihan, *Notice sur les divers genres d'écriture... des Arabes*, etc., Paris 1856, 47 f.; Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et miniaturistes de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1908, 13, 16, 17 (with pictures); L. Th. Bogdanow, *Persia* (in Russian), St. Petersburg 1909, 81; F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München*, 1910, Munich 1912, ii, Plate 152; A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I. Teil (Denkschr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften), Vienna 1967, 117-23.

(Cl. Huart—[A. Grohmann])

ḲALAM. In Ottoman usage the word *ḳalam*, pronounced *ḳalem*, was used figuratively to designate the secretariat of an official department or service, and then came to be the normal term for an administrative office. This usage has survived in modern Turkish, and is also current in Arabic. (Ed.)

ḲALAMDAN [see ḳalam, kitāba].

ḲALAMKĀRĪ (from Persian *ḳalam*, "pen", and *kār*, "work"), the hand-painted and resistdyed cottons of India, also known as chintz (from the Western Indian vernacular word *chiṭṭa*, "spotted

cloth"). In true *ḳalamkārī*, printing-blocks are not employed. The design is sometimes drawn free-hand, but more commonly "pounced" (*i.e.*, applied by rubbing powdered charcoal through a perforated paper stencil), after which the mordants (fixing-agents), some of the colours themselves, and the wax-resist which protects parts of the fabric during red and blue dyeing operations, are applied by hand, with *ḳalams* made of reed or bamboo. The *ḳalams* incorporate a cotton wad or hair ball impregnated with the colour or with wax. Although India had understood the principles of mordant-dyeing for at least 2,000 years (there is some evidence that is was even practised in the Harappa civilization, c. 2000 B.C.) there are no surviving specimens of the work earlier than about 1600 A.D. The finest *ḳalamkārīs* of that period were made in the hinterland of Masulipatam (Golconda), the craftsmen being Hindus who worked mainly under the patronage of Muslims and Europeans, although some were also produced as temple-hangings. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, large quantities were shipped to Europe by the Dutch, English and French East companies and had an important influence on the decorative arts of the West. Laws were introduced in France and England to forbid importation in the interests of home industry, but they were often defied. When the laws were relaxed in the second half of the 18th century, the fate of the trade was already sealed by advances in European technology, and in particular by the application of the copperplate process to fabric-printing. Henceforth the standard of the craft in India declined.

Bibliography: J. Irwin and Katharine B. Brett, *Origins of chintz*, London 1970; *Census of India*, 1961, ii, part VII-A (1): Selected crafts of Andhra Pradesh. (J. Irwin)

AL-ḲALAMMAS, appellation bestowed on the man who, according to tradition, was the first *nasī*ʾ [*q.v.*] of the Arabs, Ḥudhayfa b. ʿAbd b. Fuḳaym b. ʿAdī, of the Banū Mālik b. Kināna; al-Marzubānī (*Muʿdjam*, 250), however, echoes a tradition according to which al-Ḳalammas al-Akbar was ʿAdī, great-grandfather of Ḥudhayfa, and al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1327/1909, x, 2) states that three men were the first to be designated *nasī*ʾ, but he does not mention Ḥudhayfa by name. However he does mention him in this respect in *Annales*, i, 1134. According to al-Masʿūdī (Murūdj, iii, 116 = § 965), the latter bore the *kunya* of Abu ʾl-Ḳalammas, while biographers of al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], a *mawlā* of this family (see *Milieu*, 51 and biblio.), attribute this *kunya* to a *nasī*ʾ by the name of ʿAmr b. Ḳalʿ, who does not appear in the current lists (much later it was borne by ʿUthmān b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar; see al-Ṭabarī, index; Abu ʾl-Faradj, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyin*, 296). It is probable that al-Masʿūdī's Abu ʾl-Ḳalammas derives from a confusion with the *kunya* of the last of the *nasaʾa*, Abū Thumāma, a contemporary of the Prophet. The function of *nasī*ʿ was handed down from father to son for several generations (Caussin, *Essai*, i, 244, who dates the institution from 412 A.D.) until the aforesaid Abū Thumāma. The latter's genealogy differs according to the various writers: Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel (Tab. 47) called him Djunāda b. Umayya b. ʿAwf b. Ḳalʿ b. Ḥudhayfa, and in the *Sīra* (i, 44) he appears as Djunāda b. ʿAwf b. Umayya b. Ḳalʿ/Ḳalaʿ b. ʿAbbād b. Ḥudhayfa; Ibn Ḥabīb (*Muḥabbar*, 157) and al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, 12) add another Ḳalʿ/Ḳalaʿ between ʿAbbād and Ḥudhayfa. On the other hand, however, Ibn Nubāta (*Sarḥ*, 406) makes al-Ḳalammas a contemporary of Hind bint al-Khuss [*q.v.*], who was thought to be responsible for introducing taboos relating to certain domestic animals which Allāh denies having introduced (Ḳurʾān, V, 102/103).

The direct descendants of Ḥudhayfa were known collectively as al-Ḳalāmis, the plural of *ḳalammas*, the meaning of which is not clear; Arabic dictionaries give the meaning of the word as "sea, copious well" (cf. *ḳalammas* in *LA*, s.v.) and, by extension, "a generous, able man" etc. It may be related to *ḳāmūs* (*okeanos*) and perhaps also to *calendas*, as A. Moberg has suggested (*An-Nasīʾ in der islam. Tradition*, Lund-Leipzig 1931, 44, 53-4).

Bibliography: in the article. (Ch. Pellat)

ḲALANDAR, name given to the members of a class of dervishes which existed formerly, especially in the 7th/13th century, in the Islamic world, within the area extending from Almalīk in Turkestan in the east to Morocco in the west; they resembled, with some minor differences, the "hippies" of today, distinguishing themselves from other Muslims by adopting Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] doctrines and by their unconventional dress, behaviour and way of life. The origin of the term has not yet been established: it is first encountered in a *rubāʿī* of Baba Ṭāhir ʿUryānī (*JA*, 8th series, 1885, vi, 516) and in a short treatise entitled *Ḳalandar-nāma* (ed. Sulṭān Ḥusayn-i Tābanda-i Gunābādī, Tehran 1319, pp. 87-95) by the well-known *ṣūfī* ʿAbd Allāh-i Anṣārī (d. 481/1088-9).

It passed into Arabic in the form *karandal* (see Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi ʾl-wafayāt*, Berlin, Westdeutsche Bibliothek, Ms. Orient, fol. 3145, f. 3a f.; Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 340) and *ḳalandar* (al-Nuʿaymī, *Tanbīh al-ṭālib wa irshād al-dāris*, al-Ṭandjī's Ms., f. 368b f.). The suggestions put forward that the word derives from Persian *kalandar* ("ugly and ungainly man"; "a whittled piece of wood put behind a door to stop it opening", *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, ed. M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1342, ii, 1680a), Persian *kalāntar* (from *kalān*, "large, great") (*ibid.*), or from Greek *kaletor*, from the root *kaleo* (Ivanov, *Truth-workers*, p. 60, note 1) are still no more than hypotheses (cf. *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, iii, 1540, editor's note 3). In Turkish, it came to mean "a dervish who has withdrawn from the world and who wanders about like a vagabond; a man who has renounced all worldly things and who has seen the truth, a philosopher" (see Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i Türkī*, Istanbul 1318, ii, 1081; cf. J. W. Redhouse, *Turkish-English dictionary*, Istanbul 1921, 1471).

There exists, especially in Turkish works, vivid and detailed information concerning the *ḳalandar*'s outward appearance: they are depicted in the chapter on them in the *Khwādja-i Djihān wa natīdja-i djān*, by the 10th/16th-century Turkish writer Wāḥidī (Istanbul University Library, Ms. TY 9504, f. 31b), as clean-shaven, with shaven eyebrows and heads, wearing a conical hat of woven hair and a yellow or black shawl, and carrying a drum and a standard (*ʿalam*); to this should be added the information concerning the appearance of the dervishes connected with the Abdālān-ı Rūm and the Shamsī groups (cf. Wāḥidī, *ibid.*, ff. 20a-21b).

In an illustration to Nicolas de Nicolay's *Les navigations*... (Lyons 1567) and reproduced in Blaise de Vigenère's translation (Paris 1612) of Chalcocondyles, the *ḳalandar* is wearing a coarse garment of horse-hair which reaches only to just below the hips; his hair and face are completely clean-shaven; on his head is a felt hat with a horse-hair brim of one hand's lengthl He is wearing rings in his ears, on his wrists and on his genitals.

There were great similarities between the *ḳalandars* and the Ḥaydarī, Djāmī and Bektāshī sects,

which differed to some extent in their appearance and dress but had adopted the same way of life (Wāḥidī, ff. 43a, 57b ff., 60a ff.; cf. *Türk halk edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, no. 1, p. 52b; Faḳīrī, *Taʿrīfāt*, Ist. Un. Lib., Ms. TY 3051, f. 13b). In Old Ottoman texts, the words *is̲h̲ik* and *torlak* are used as equivalents of *ḳalandar* (*Türk halk edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, p. 34a).

In the Punjab, the word *kalender* usually means "a trainer of performing monkeys" (see Rose, *Glossary of the tribes of Panjab and N. W. Frontier*, iii, 257).

Bibliography: In the text. (Tahsin Yazıcı)

ḲALANDARIYYA, name of a Muslim *ṭariḳa* and, earlier, name given to a (not strictly organized) movement, which probably began after the appearance of the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] (3rd/9th century) and whose adherents, holding in general to Malāmī doctrines, gave them a different interpretation; as manifested in the 7th/13th century, the movement was strongly under Buddhist influence (see M. Habīb, *Chishti mystics*..., in *Med. Ind. Qtly.*, i/2 (1950), n. 1). The existence of the movement in K̲h̲urāsān in the 5th/11th century is clearly attested; its adherents then may have been Buddhist ascetics maintaining their Buddhist beliefs and way of life under a Muslim guise; alternatively, the (earlier) Malāmīs had been inspired by such Buddhist ascetics. Since the *ḳalandar*s looked with envy at the way of life of these Indian ascetics (see K̲h̲atīb-i Fārisī, *Manāḳib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī*, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1972, 12), the second alternative is more likely. The movement was at first confined to individuals and to the eastern Islamic world (K̲h̲urāsān, Turkestan, etc.); its spread westward, in the early 7th/13th century, is due to the activities of D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī (d. *ca.* 630/1223-3). Until his day the movement, like the Malāmatiyya, possessed general basic principles, but remained no more than a corpus of ideas; al-Sāwī, systematizing and adding to this corpus, produced in effect a new movement—so new, that in some sources (*e.g.*, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *Fusṭāṭ al-ʿadāla*, ed. O. Turan, in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 555 ff.) he is represented as the founder not of the Ḳalandariyya but of the D̲j̲awlaḳiyya branch of the Ḳalandariyya. The history of the movement must therefore be treated in two phases, before and after al-Sāwī.

In the first phase, the basic principles of the movement consisted of a kind of existentialism. Whereas the Malāmatīs, without boasting or ostentation, carried out scrupulously God's commands, the Ḳalandarīs sought to destroy all custom and tradition and to conceal their actions from public view (D̲j̲āmī, *Nafaḥāt*, Turkish tr. by Lāmiʿī, Istanbul 1289, 20; cf. al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif*, Cairo 1358/1939, 56-7, partial Eng. tr. in J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 267). Al-Suhrawardī's description is supported by the statements of *ḳalandars* in ʿAbd Allāh-i Anṣārī's *Ḳalandar-nāma* (ed. Sulṭān Ḥusayn-i Tābanda-i Gunābādī, Tehran 1319 s., 87 ff.), which presents a system of thought advocating inner contentment, the unimportance of learning, the avoidance of all display, and contempt for the transient world and everything in it (*op. cit.*, pp. 88 f.).

In practically any society some individuals, naturally enough, will adopt such ideas; but their systematization was probably due to the influence of Indian ascetics. In the 3rd/9th century there were to be found in Mesopotamia and adjacent regions wandering non-Muslim ascetics, practising poverty, seeking uprightness (*ṣidḳ*), purification and sanctity, traveling in pairs and never spending two nights in the same place (D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 147; cf. I. Goldziher, *Le dogme et la loi de l'Islam*, Paris 1920, p. 133). It is very possible that Muslim ascetics, impressed by these holy men, looked for, and found, in the Ḳur'ān (*e.g.*, X, 112) and in *ḥadīt̲h̲* the authority to imitate them.

Apart from Anṣārī's *Ḳalandar-nāma*, no work is known which treats of the movement before the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the time when it attracted the attention of the whole Muslim world, no doubt because of the appearance of D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī, with his unusual style of dress, and his attraction of adherents. He and his followers shaved the beard, the moustache, the eye-brows and the head; they wore a hair-cloth garment; and they regarded any action as licit. Such distinctive behaviour provoked reaction in some, attracted others, and caused them to be mentioned in several literary works. Al-Sāwī probably died in about 630/1232 (the birthdate 382/992-3 given in his *Manāḳib* (ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1972, intr. p. iv, text p. 5; cf. M. F. Köprülüzāde, *Andolu'da islâmiyet*, offprint from *EFM*, p. 52) is to be rejected). The name *d̲j̲awlaḳiyya* presumably arose from the founder's distinctive garb (Pers. *d̲j̲awlak̲h̲*, "sack-cloth"). The D̲j̲awlaḳiyya (under that name) had penetrated into Anatolia in the first half of the 7th/13th century (see O. Turan, *loc. cit.* above; cf. D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, *Mat̲h̲nawī*, ed. Nicholson, i, 18). Convents of the movement were found principally in Anatolia and Egypt, but the movement itself spread as far as the Mag̲h̲rib and India (see Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī, *ʿUs̲h̲s̲h̲āḳ-nāma*, ed. and tr. A. J. Arberry, Oxford 1939, 2-26; cf. Dawlats̲h̲āh, pp. 215 f.; D̲j̲āmī, *Nafaḥāt*, Turk. tr., p. 671).

*Ḳalandar*s were numerous in Syria and Egypt in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, and their unconventional behaviour occasionally produced a reactiod from the authorities: thus in 761/1360 the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir obliged them to adopt normal dress. They were found in Anatolia in the first half of the 7th/13th century (cf. Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı, ii, 596; Fr. tr. Huart, ii, 100; cf. O. Turan, *op. cit.*, p. 561), and in the Ottoman period (they were active until the 12th/18th century) are referred to also under other names: *Abdālān-i Rum*. *S̲h̲amsiyān*, etc. "*Abdāls*" are recorded from the early 8th/14th century (see, *e.g.*, the *Vilâyetnâme* of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bektās̲h̲, ed. A. Gölpınarlı, Istanbul 1958, 46). In the 10th/16th century, attacks on such dervish-groups began: a certain Wāḥidī wrote his *K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a-i D̲j̲ihān wa Natīd̲j̲a-i D̲j̲ān* (in the press, ed. T. Yazıcı) as a condemnation of the adherents of ten *ṭariḳa*s of this type; and in the next century, when they were still active, Karakas̲h̲-zāde ʿUmar Ef. produced a modernized redaction of Wāḥidī's work (*Nūr al-hudā li-man ihtadā*, Istanbul 1286). When later authors (*e.g.*, Ḥarīrī-zāde Kemāl al-Dīn, *Wasā'il al-ḥaḳā'iḳ fī bayān salāsil al-ṭarā'iḳ*, Ms Fatih 432, ff. 74 v. ff.) allege that the Ḳalandariyya derives from the Mawlawiyya, they are misled by the fact that the dress of the S̲h̲amsiyya, a branch of the Mawlawiyya, resembled that of the *Ḳalandars*. In Anatolia *Ḳalandar*s are also called *is̲h̲ik* and *torlak*.

In Iran the usual name was *Ḳalandar* (*Türk halk edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, p. 34). In the Ṣafawid period they were numerous, especially around Ardabīl (A. Olearius, *Vermehrte*... *Reisebeschreibung*, n. p. 1656, 685).

The movement was firmly established in India as early as the reign of Iltutmus̲h̲ (607/1210-633/1236) see M. Habib, in *Med. Ind. Qtly.*, i/2 (1950), 3). In the 7th/13th century Ḳalandar-type dervishes came

to Delhi, and aroused curiosity by their odd behaviour (Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī*, Calcutta 1860-2, 202); especially in the Punjab and in Sind they influenced such personalities as Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī (d. 686/1287-8), Amīr Ḥusaynī (d. 718/1318-9) and Shāhbāz Ḳalandar (ʿUthmān-i Marandī, d. 724/1324). They had convents in the neighbourhood of Delhi. They flourished particularly in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 560), but were later absorbed into other orders (C. A. Storey, *Persian literature*, i/2, 1036).

Doctrines. Influenced by Hindu and Buddhist (especially Mahayana and Sangha) traditions, the Ḳalandariyya were distinguished from other Muslim orders by the following features: (1) The shaving of the head, eye-brows and face (especially after the time of al-Sāwī) in order fully to reveal the beauty of the face. (2) The wearing of a *khirḳa*; in India the usual garb was a blanket over the body and a blanket or a cotton sash round the waist (*Khayr al-madjālis*, no. xxxviii; *Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, p. 119; *Manāḳib-i Khʷādja-i Djihān*, quoted in *Manāḳib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī*, intr. p. xi); (3) The wearing round the neck and on the arms of iron rings called *ḥaydariyya* (*Fawā'id al-fuwād*, 25 Djumādā I, 708). (4) Austerities and seclusion were not considered important, and they were lax in following the obligatory precepts and practices of Islam, usually refraining from engaging in worship (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 301), or at least in corporate worship (*Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, p. 97). (5) They usually subsisted on charity, owned nothing but a few personal possessions, and did not marry. They were notorious for their coarse behaviour (Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*). The adherent should remain unmoved by any ill-treatment and never feel sorrow or grief; he should be satisfied with one morsel of food and one garment; he should absolutely eschew hypocrisy (*riyā'*); he should despise all precious objects; he should remain aloof from the mass of the population and always be on the move; and he should always love a beautiful countenance (*Manāḳib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī*, intr. pp. xii f.). In spite of the obligation to keep on the move, some *ḳalandars* did settle in convents, in Egypt and Syria and (*e.g.*, in the 7th/13th century) in Konya (Aflākī, *loc. cit.*).

Bibliography: Further to references in the text: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1870, ii, 332 f.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 61-4; Farishta, *Ta'rīkh-i Hind*, Bombay 1831, ii, 774; *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ*, ed. M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1342 s., iii, 1540, 1670; A. Olearius, *Persianischer Rosenthal*, Schleswig 1654, book 8, § 67; de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*², i, 263 ff.; *Notes et Extr.*, xii, 341; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*², iv, 664; J. P. Brown, *The Darvishes*, ed. H. A. Rose, London 1927; A. le Chatelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, 253 ff.; R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1890, 216; F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 94 n.; J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 264-9.

(Tahsin Yazici)

ḲALANSUWA [see libās].

KALĀNTAR (Pers. *kalān*, "big, great") is used in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries to mean "leader" (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Cinq opuscules de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū concernant l'histoire de l'Iran au temps de Tamerlan*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1959, 7; Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i muʿīnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 257, 258, 261), and occurs especially with reference to the tribal and military classes. The phrase *īl va ulūs va kalāntarān va sar khaylān va aʿrāb va aḥshām va farīḳ-i Balūč* is found in a document dated 874/1470 issued by Uzun Ḥasan for the government of Khurāsān and Transoxania (*Asnād va mukātabāt-i ta'rīkhī-i Īrān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī, Tehran 1962, 322), in which *kalāntarān* clearly means tribal leaders (cf. also the phrase *kalāntarān va tūshmālān va sar khaylān-i īl va ulūsāt* in a farman of Shāh Ṣafī dated 1043/1634, *Yak ṣad o pāndjāh asnād-i ta'rīkhī*, ed. Djahāngīr Ḳā'im-maḳāmī, Tehran 1969, 44). From the late 9th/15th century onwards *kalāntar* designates (i) an official belonging to the "civil" hierarchy in charge of a town or district or the ward of a town, (ii) the head of a guild, and (iii) the head of a tribe or sub-tribe. In its first sense, which is now obsolete, the term *kalāntar* sometimes overlapped or was synonymous with *ra'īs*, *dārūgha* [*q.v.*], and *kadkhudā*. The use of the term *kalāntar* for the head of a guild is rare, but is attested in two documents, one dated 928/1522 for the *kalāntar* of the singers and musicians of the empire (Ḥādjdjī Ḥusayn Nakhdjawānī, *Dhayl-i Ḥabīb al-siyar ta'līf-i Maḥmūd b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khʷāndamīr*, in *Nashriyya-i dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Tabrīz*, x/3 (1958), 246-7), and the other for the *kalāntar* of the *naḳḳārakhāna* in the *Sharafnāma* of ʿAbd Allāh Marwārīd (H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, fol. 20b ff.). As a tribal term *kalāntar* is still current and is common among the tribes of Fārs and Kūhgīlūya, and among the Bakhtiyārī.

As the head of a town or district the *kalāntar* held a position of respect similar to that of the *ra'īs* in the Saldjūḳ period, though it must not be assumed that the *kalāntar* necessarily carried out the same functions everywhere or that his status was always the same. He was, like the earlier *ra'īs*, the link between the government and the taxpayers and his main duty was to reconcile the interests of the two parties. In some cases he received his appointment from the ruler (cf. the appointment of a village *kalāntar* by Tīmūr mentioned by J. Aubin, *Un santon Quhistānī de l'époque Timouride*, in *REI* (1967), 211). The analogy between the *kalāntar* and the *ra'īs*, however, must not be pressed too far. Under the Ṣafawids, the *kalāntar* was more fully integrated into the official hierarchy than had been the *ra'īs* in Saldjūḳ times. In the case of Iṣfahān and some of the major towns, the *kalāntar* received his appointment from the shah. Iskandar Beg, referring to the appointment of a certain Adham Beg as *kalāntar* of Tabrīz in 1015/1606-7, states that this office was "among the most important affairs" (*az muʿẓamāt-i umūr*) (*ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Iṣfahān 1956, ii, 725). Muḥammad Mufīd also mentions that the office of *kalāntar* was "among the high offices" (*az manāṣib-i ʿaliyya*) (*Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran, iii, 244).

In Ṣafawid times the *kalāntar* of Iṣfahān held a position of eminence and was reckoned among the notables (*ashrāf wa aʿyān*). Together with the *wazīr* of Iṣfahān, he was authorized to designate the heads of the districts, subject to the agreement of two-thirds of the population concerned, and the heads of the craft guilds (Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānish-pazhūh in *Rev. de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, Univ. of Tehran*, xvi/4, 421-2). His functions were primarily concerned with the assessment and collection of taxes. In the first three months of the year, he would appoint a tax collector (*muḥaṣṣil*), assemble the heads of the craft guilds and the heads of the districts or wards of the city and send them to the *naḳīb al-ashrāf*, who would transmit to them a statement of their tax quota. After the members of the different guilds and the inhabitants of the different districts had, with the

approval of the *kadkhudās*, allocated this among their members and the inhabitants of the districts respectively and the documents recording this had been signed by the *naḳīb*, these would be brought to the *kalāntar* for his signature and would be registered by the *muḥaṣṣiṣ-i mamlakat*, who kept a register of the break-down of the taxes among the individual taxpayers belonging to the guilds and districts. The *muḥaṣṣiṣ-i mamlakat* was, in effect, the *kalāntar*'s clerk and appointed with his approval. The seal of the *kalāntar* was required on orders for the payment of drafts made on the taxes of the guild or districts.

It was also the duty of the *kalāntar* to investigate and decide any disputes which might occur between the guilds or the inhabitants of a district concerning their trade, business, or activities and to prevent them exercising tyranny or oppression against one another. A number of attendants belonging to the *dīwān* (*mulāzimān-i dīwān*) were allocated to him to act as his subordinates to perform the various tasks which were referred to him by the *dīwān* (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/4, 421-2, 427, xvi/5-6, 549; see also *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, GMS, 1943, Persian text, fol. 76a ff.). He received wages, allocated on the taxes, and dues which he collected annually from the guilds according to custom (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/4, 422). Dues levied for the *kalāntar* (*Kalāntārī, rusūm-i kalāntarī, marsūm-i kalāntar*) are also attested in Āḳ Ḳoyunlū documents (see text of a *suyūrghāl* granted by Rustam Beg dated 902/1496 and a grant of immunities from Aḥmad Beg dated 903/1497, given by J. Aubin in *Arch. persanes commentées 12, Note préliminaire sur les archives du Takya du Tchima-rud*, Tehran 1955, 6, and A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, Oxford 1953, 103, for a document dated 904/1498-9 for a *suyūrghāl* from Amīr Alvand Āḳ Ḳoyunlū).

The *kalāntar* of Iṣfahān had certain functions in connection with the reception of foreign envoys, and was consulted by the *mihmāndārbāshī* and the *wazīr* over the designation of their lodgings (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/4, 427; cf. also a document dated 1130/1717 from Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, instructing the *dīwānbegī*, vizier, *kalāntar*, and officials of Iṣfahān to hand over to a certain Frenchman the house in which he was to live, H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 229). When Humāyūn, the Great Moghul, came to Ḳazwīn during the reign of Ṭahmāsp he lodged with the *kalāntar* Khwādja ʿAbd al-Ghanī Djalādatī (Iskandar Beg, *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 98). Tavernier, when he arrived in Iṣfahān in 1664, was met by the *kalāntar* of the Armenians, who was ordered to provide him with men to transport the presents he had brought for inspection at the court (*Voyages en Perse*, Geneva 1970, 116).

The duties which the *kalāntar* performed on behalf of the government were only one aspect of his functions. He was also, in the words of the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, the representative of the people (*wakīl-i raʿāyā*). As such, it was his responsibility to present their affairs to the shah and others in authority, to remove tyranny and oppression which might afflict them, and to see that the orders and regulations issued by the guilds concerning their business and work were carried out. Similarly, he was required to be present on occasions when measures were taken affecting the interests of the people, as, for example, when claims for a reduction of taxation after some natural calamity were examined by the *rayyāʿ* (surveyor), or when disputes over the use of the water of the Zāyandarūd were investigated (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/5-6, 552).

The population probably had greater influence on the appointment of the *kalāntar* in the provinces than in the capital. A document dated Rabīʿ I 1107/1695 for the dismissal of a certain Khwādja Muḥammad Taḳī, the *kalāntar* of Gīlān-i Biyā Pas (Rasht and its dependencies), and the appointment of Khwādja Muḥammad Saʿīd as his successor, states that the *wazīr*, deputy *wazīr* and *mustawfī* of Gīlān-i Biyā Pas, the local *shaykh al-islām* and the *wazīr* of the *buyūtāt-i khāṣṣa* had investigated the dissatisfaction of the *kadkhudās*, taxpayers (*arbāb-i buniča*), and people of the province with Khwādja Muḥammad Taḳī and their wish that Khwādja Muḥammad Saʿīd, the former *kalāntar*, should be reappointed. The document records that they had reported that only 469 persons had expressed their satisfaction with Khwādja Muḥammad Taḳī as *kalāntar*, while 2,127 persons had signified their desire for the reappointment of Khwādja Muḥammad Saʿīd; of these 983 had complained against Khwādja Muḥammad Taḳī, while the rest had merely stated their support for the appointment of Khwādja Muḥammad Saʿīd. In the light of this, the latter was reappointed *kalāntar* and the population of the province were instructed not to oppose him in anything which he considered would contribute to the ease of the people or increase the revenue of the *dīwān*. The document states that the *wazīr* and *mustawfī* were not to make allocations on the revenue or interfere without his knowledge or permission (or that of the officials he might appoint). It was his responsibility to make charges on the revenue in accordance with the details received from the *dīwān* and to send to the *dīwān* at the end of the year a statement of these charges and of the taxes and dues and their allocation among the individual taxpayers together with the relevant documents and receipts duly sealed. He was also given general oversight of the purchase of silk from Gīlān by the royal administration, and had a watching brief over matters connected with law and order: disputes between the people were to be decided by the *dārūgha* in his presence or that of the officials he appointed (*Barrasīhā-yi taʾrīkhī*, Tehran, iii/2, 80-2; also in *Yak ṣad o pandjāh sanad-i taʾrīkhī*, *op. cit.*, 54). An undated *farmān* issued by Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn in favour of Amīr Muḥammad Zamān b. Amīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn, after establishing the hereditary claim of Amīr Muḥammad Zamān to the office of *kalāntar* of some of the provinces (*walāyāt*) of Sīstān and mentioning that the claim of his grandfather Mīr Muḥammad Muʾmin had been recognized in Ramaḍān 1068/June-July 1658, subject to two-thirds of those whose names were on the tax-roll (*buniča*) being agreeable to his holding the office of *kalāntar*, appoints him to that office, provided his appointment is also supported by two-thirds of the people. His duties were similar to those of the *kalāntar* of Gīlān-i Biyā Pas, except that he did not have special duties in connection with the silk trade (*Asnād-i khāndān-i Kalāntarī-i Sīstān* in *Barrasīhā-yi taʾrīkhī*, Tehran, iv/5-6, 12-14). Cf. also two diplomas for the office of *kalāntar* of Tabrīz issued by Karīm Khān Zand, dated 1764 and 1773 respectively, which show that the wishes of the inhabitants were considered in the appointment of the *kalāntar*, at least in theory. Nādir Mīrzā, *Taʾrīkh va Djughrāfiyā-yi dār al-salṭana-i Tabrīz*, Tehran lith., 1905, 291 ff.)

In the smaller towns also the *kalāntar* was the spokesman of the people and could sometimes make his voice heard. For example when the *kalāntar* of

Sāva and the people of that region complained to S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās in 999/1590-1 of the tyranny and exactions of S̲h̲āh Ḳulī Sulṭān, the Turkoman governor, he was replaced by Gand̲j̲ ʿAlī K̲h̲ān (Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳummī, *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. H. Muller, Wiesbaden 1964, Persian text, 90). Several European observers in the 17th century state that the *kalāntar*'s function was to defend the people against the injustice and extortion of the government (cf. Du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Paris 1890, 36; Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse*, 260; Corneille le Brun, *Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes orientales*, Amsterdam 1718, i, 209).

The *kalāntar* of the Armenians of New D̲j̲ulfā outside Iṣfahān, where S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās established an Armenian colony, was an important and influential official in Ṣafawid times. He was normally an Armenian. His functions were similar to those of the *kalāntar* in other towns or districts of towns (see further H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, 138 ff.; J. Carswell, *New Julfa*, Oxford 1968, 78). An official known as the *kalāntar* was also well-known in Georgia in the 17th and 18th centuries and his functions seem broadly to have corresponded to those of the *kalāntar* in Persian towns (cf. Joseph Karst, *Le Code de Vakhtang VI, Commentaire historique-comparatif*, in *Corpus Juris Ibero-Caucasici*, Strasbourg 1937, iii, 564).

Usually, the *kalāntar* was a local man, and as with many other local officials there was a strong hereditary tendency in his office. Occasionally the *kalāntar* of one city might be transferred to another, but this was rare. Sometimes the *kalāntar* held some other office as well (cf. the case of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Beg, a Tabrīzī, who died in 1031/1621-2, after having been at one time *wazīr* of S̲h̲īrwān and later *wazīr* and *kalāntar* of Ḳumm; Iskandar Beg, *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ii, 991).

The fact that the *kalāntar*, while acting as the spokesman of the people, was also integrated into the official hierarchy made it easy for him, as soon as the hand of the central government was removed, to use the power and influence which he held as a government official to assert his independence. In the 18th century the *kalāntars* and *kadk̲h̲udās* of the cities and towns often emerged as local leaders in times of crisis. One such was Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Ibrāhīm, whose father Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Has̲h̲im had been *kadk̲h̲udābās̲h̲ī* of the Ḥaydarī quarters of S̲h̲īrāz under Nādir S̲h̲āh. He became *kalāntar* of S̲h̲īrāz after the death of ʿAlī Murād K̲h̲ān Zand and continued to hold this office under Luṭf ʿAlī, and in 1205/1791, when the latter absented himself from S̲h̲īrāz in an abortive attempt to seize Iṣfahān, took possession of the city, to surrender it in due course to Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Ḳād̲j̲ār, whose *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* he later became. Amīn al-Dawla, one of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh's first ministers, was also, at the beginning of his career, *kadk̲h̲udā* of one of the districts of Iṣfahān and later *kalāntar* of the city.

Sir John Malcolm, writing in the early 19th century, states that "the Kalantar, or chief magistrate of the city, and the Kut-khodahs, or magistrates of the different wards, though nominated by the king, must be selected from the most respectable inhabitants... Although these officers are not formally elected, the voice of the people always points them out: and if the king should appoint a magistrate disagreeable to the citizens, he could not perform his duties, which require all the weight he derives from personal consideration to aid the authority of office" (*History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 324-5). James Morier, about the same time, states that a *kalāntar* besides "the real governor resides in every city, town and village and superintends the collection of the tribute". His account shows that there was a marked continuity of practice in the office of *kalāntar*. He states, "The *Kelounter* is a man of consequence wherever he presides; he is an officer of the crown, and once a year appears before the Royal presence, an honour which is not permitted to the *Ket Khoda*. He also receives wages from the King's treasury, which the *Ket Khoda* does not. The *Kelounter* is the medium through which the wishes and wants of the people are made known to the King: he is their chief and representative on all occasions, and brings forward the complaints of the *Rayats*, wherever they feel oppressed. He also knows the riches of every *Rayat*, and his means of rendering the annual tribute: he therefore regulates the quota that every man must pay; and if his seal is not affixed to the document which the *Rayat* brings forward in the time of the levy, the assessment is not valid, and the sum cannot be received" (*A journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, 235-6).

From about the middle of the 19th century, as the central government extended its operations, the office of *kalāntar* lost its importance. Its financial functions were largely taken over by officials of the ministry of finance. The *kalāntar* continued, however, under the governor, to have some responsibility for local affairs, the guilds, and, to some extent, public order, but his duties and influence varied from place to place (cf. E. Aubin, *La Perse*, Paris 1908, 37, 38, 51). With the grant of the constitution in 1906 and the adoption of modern forms of government, the office of *kalāntar* lapsed, its various surviving functions being taken over by municipal and police officials. During the reign of Riḍā S̲h̲āh, the term *kalāntarī* became the official designation of a police-station.

Bibliography: see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The office of kalântar under the Safawids and Afshars*, in *Mélanges Massé*, ed. ʿAli Akbar Siyassi, Tehran 1963, 206-18; W. M. Floor, *The office of* kalāntar *in Qājār Persia*, in *JESHO*, xiv, iii (1971), 253-68; Mīrzā Muḥammad Kalāntar-i Fārs, *Rūznāma*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1946. (Mīrzā Muḥammad was made *kalāntar* of Fārs by Karīm K̲h̲ān (54). The *Rūznāma* contains a number of references to *kalāntars* in southern Persia between the years 1142/1729-30 and 1199/1784-5).

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

AL-ḲALAṢĀDĪ, ABŪ 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-ḲURAS̲H̲Ī AL-BASṬĪ, Muslim mathematician, jurist and scholar, born in Baza (Basṭa) in Spain, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. He studied in his native town, following ʿAlī b. Mūsā's courses in law, Ḳurʾān exegesis, *belles-lettres* and the science of the fixed shares in an estate (*farāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*]). Afterwards he settled in Granada, where Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Futūḥ and the *imām* ʿAbd Allāh al-Saraḳusṭī were his teachers. The specialised teachings of the former were oriented towards philosophy, science and philology, while the latter's courses introduced him further in Muslim law. From Granada he set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, sojourning in the most important cities of the Mag̲h̲rib and Egypt, where he met the outstanding authorities in *belles-lettres* and science. In his *Riḥla*, some extracts of which are preserved in Aḥmad Bābā's [*q.v.*] *Nayl al-ibtihād̲j̲*, he gives a list of these scholars, together with interesting biographical and bibliographical

information: thus at Tlemcen he met al-Ḳāsim b. Saʿīd al-ʿUḳbānī (d. 854/1450) and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Zāghū (d. 849/ 1445), both of whom had a great influence on him and acquainted him with the methods of arithmetic and their application to the problems of the *farāʾiḍ*. In Egypt he attended the lectures of Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī (in 852/1448). Having returned from his pilgrimage, al-Ḳalaṣādī settled in Granada, consecrating his life to teaching and editing his numerous works. Of his pupils, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al Mallālī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sanūsī, and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Balawī may be mentioned. The political and military situation was, however, deteriorating: the united houses of Aragon and Castile decided to launch the final attack against the last Muslim stronghold in Spain. Courageously, al-Ḳalaṣādī exerted himself in trying to organize resistance, but he was soon forced to join the Andalusian hordes of refugees that were spreading over the Maghrib. He died in Ifrīḳiya at Bedja, on 15 Dhū 'l-Ḥidjdja 891/10 December 1486.

Al-Ḳalaṣādī was a prolific author on widely-varying topics, some of whose works enjoyed considerable renown both in East and West. He was certainly a compiler, but distinguished himself by the carefulness of his composition and the multiplicity of personal examples. In his mathematical works, one notices the first use of a symbolization which he uses quite extensively in the presentation and writing down of equations, sc. the use of the letter *sh* (abbreviation of *shayʾ* to represent the unknown (x), of the letter *m* (for *māl*) $= x^2$, of *k* (for *kaʿb*) $= x^3$, of *l* (for *taʿdīl*) to represent the symbol $=$, of *dj* (for *djadhr*) $= \sqrt{\ }$ Al-Ḳalaṣādī's commentary on Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-Marrākushī's [*q.v.*] *Talkhīṣ* contains a fairly advanced formula for finding the approximate square root. Finally, attention may be drawn to a rational classification of the fractions by him and an exhaustive study of arithmetical procedures [see AL-KASR]. Here follows a list of his works:

Arithmetic and algebra: 1. *Ghunyat dhawī 'l-albāb fī sharḥ Kashf al-djilbāb*, MS. Tunis 14554; 2. *Inkishāf al-djilbāb ʿan funūn al-ḥisāb*, MSS. Alex. Ḥisāb, 4; Br. M. 418, 903_2 (see M. Ben Cheneb and É. Lévi-Provençal, in *R. Afr.*, 1922); 3. *Ḳānūn al-ḥisāb wa-ghunyat dhawī 'l-albāb*, MS. Berlin 5995, lx. 8534; 4. *Kashf al-asrār* (*astār*) *ʿan ʿilm* (*ḥurūf*) *al-ghubār*, MSS. Paris 2473, 5350; Tunis 168 R, 402 R, 3292, 2934, 4775; Algiers 399, 17, 1448, 9; Rabat 455, 456; Brill 295, 532; Beirut 239; several MSS. in the collection of the author. The text has been published in Cairo (1309/1891) and Fez (1315/ 1897); 5. *Kashf al-djilāb ʿan ʿilm al-ḥisāb*, MSS. Paris 2463, 13; Cairo I v, 178; Esc. 2853, 4; Br. M. 418, 903_{11}; Woepcke, in *JA*, I (1854); Tunis 2054; Tetouan, 227; 6. *Risāla fī maʿānī 'l-kasr wa-'l-basṭ*, MS. Tunis, 2039; 7. *Risāla fī maʿrifat istikhrādj al-murakkab wa-'l-basīṭ*, MS. Tunis 2043; 8. *Sharḥ al-Urdjūza al-yasmīniyya*, MS. Br. M. 621; another MS in the collection of the author; 9. *Sharḥ dhawāt al-asmāʾ*, MS. Rabat 456; several MSS. in the collection of the author; 10. *Sharḥ Talkhīṣ Ibn al-Bannāʾ*, MS. S. 331; Paris 2464; 11. *Tabṣirat al-mubtadī bi-'l-ḳalam al-hindī*, MS. Rampur, I, 409, 3; Tunis 2043 (copy, dated 1020); 12. *Al-Tabṣira al-Wāḍiḥa fī masāʾil al-aʿdād al-laʾiḥa*, MS. Tunis 2049.

The fixed shares: 1. *Bughyat al-muhtadī* (*sic*) *wa-ghuniyat al-muntahī*, Mard. 340. Published in Fez. No doubt one should read *al-mubtadī*, as is clear from a copy in my private collection; 2. *al-Ḍarūrī fī ʿilm al-mawārīth*, quoted in *al-Aʿlām*, V, 163; 3. *al-Kulliyyāt fī 'l-farāʾiḍ*, with commentary, MS. Tunis 418; 5. *Lubāb Taḳrīb al-mawārīth wa-muntahā 'l-uḳūl* (*ḳawl*) *al-bawāḥith*, MS. in the coll. of the author; 5. *al-Mustawfī li-masāʾil al-ḥawfī*, quoted in the *Nayl*, 208; 6. *Sharḥ al-farāʾiḍ* of Ibn Ḥādjib, of *al-ʿAttābiyya*, of the *Talḳīn*, of the chapters regarding the *farāʾiḍ* of Khalīl's *Mukhtaṣar*, quoted in the *Nayl*, 208; 7. Two *sharḥs* of the *Tilimsāniyya*, S. 1, 666; 8. *Taḳrīb al-mawārīth wa-tanbīh al-bawāʿith*, quoted in the preface of the *Bughyat al-mubtadī*.

Mālikī law, ḥadīth, apologetics concerning the Prophet. The *Nayl al-ibtihādj* gives a long list of works, the greater part of which has not come down to us: 1. *Ashraf al-masālik ilā madhhab Mālik*, quoted in *al-Aʿlām*; 2. *Hidāyat al-ānām fī sharḥ Ḳawāʿid al-Islām*; 3. *Sharḥ al-Burda*; 4. *Sharḥ Ḥikam Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh*; 5. *Sharḥ al-Anwār al-saniyya fī 'l-ḥadīth*; 6. *Sharḥ Lubb al-azhār*, MS. Br. II, 378; 7. *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Khalīl*; 8. *Sharḥ Radjaz Ibn Barrī*; 9. *Sharḥ Radjaz Abī ʿAmr b. Manẓūr fī asmāʾ al-Rasūl*; 10. *Sharḥ Radjaz al-Ḳurṭubī*; 11. *Sharḥ al-Risāla*.

Grammar, prosody, etc.: 1. *Ghunyat al-nuḥāt*, with commentary; 2. *Sharḥ al-Djarrūmiyya*; 3. *Sharḥ al-Djumal* (of Zadjdjadjī); 4. *Sharḥ Mulḥat al-iʿrāb*; 5. *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-ʿarūḍ*; 6. *Sharḥ al-Khazradjiyya*; 7. Commentary on the *Eisagoge*; 8. *Sharḥ* of the *urdjūza* of Ibn Futūḥ on the constellations; 9. *Riḥla*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 378; Ibn Maryam, *Bustān*, 141-3; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, II, 445; Maḳḳārī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, II, 684; Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw al-lāmiʿ*, 5, 14; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, 1519; Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-ʿikyān*, 131; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, 208; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, V, 163.—S. Enestrom, *Sur une formule d'approximation des racines carrées donnée par Alkalasadi*, in *Bibl. Math.* (1886), 236-9; Colin, in *JA*, ccxxii; F. Hoefer, *Histoire des mathématiques depuis leurs origines jusqu'au commencement du XIXe siècle*, Paris 1874, 302; J. A. Sanchez Perez, *La aritmetica en Roma, en India y en Arabia*, Madrid-Granada 1949, 105; id., *Biografias de matemáticos arabes que florecieron en España*, Madrid 1917; Woepcke, *Traduction du traité d'arithmétique d'Alkalaçadi*, in *Actes Ac. Lincei*, xii (1859).

(M. SOUISSI)

KALĀT [see BALŪČISTĀN].

ḲALʿAT AYYŪB, now Calatayud, a fortress town in the Upper March (*al-Thaghr al-aʿlā*) to the south-west of Saragossa, built near the site of the ancient Bilbilis (Labla in Yāḳūt); it took its name from the *tābiʿ* Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī, a *wālī* who succeeded ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. Situated 25 miles from Tudela and 50 miles from Medinaceli and Saragossa, the town possessed fertile, well-watered lands with orchards of figs and many fruit trees, yielding a wide variety of produce which was sold at moderate prices. According to al-Bakrī, the local mountains produced a gum-resin (*murr*) of good quality. A type of ceramic with a golden glaze was manufactured in the town and exported. Al-Idrīsī included the *balad* of Ḳalʿat Ayyūb in the *iḳlīm* of Arnedo (Arnīt), along with Daroca, Huesca, Saragossa and Tudela, but in al-Bakrī's opinion it must have come under the last-named place for administrative purposes; according to al-Maḳḳarī, Molina was its *madīna*. The territory of Ḳalʿat Ayyūb suffered from incidents arising from the behaviour of two powerful families who were not always subject to Cordoba, the Banū Ḳasī (*muwallad*) and the

Banu 'l-Muhādjir or Tudjībīs (Arab). According to al-ʿUdhrī, the amīr Muḥammad rebuilt Ḳalʿat Ayyūb in 248/862. Under the domination of the Tudjībīs, it was compelled on several occasions to submit to Cordoba during the caliphate. In the 5th/11th century it was ruled by Sulaymān b. Hūd who, on his death, left the town to his son Muḥammad, but the latter swiftly handed it over to his brother Aḥmad, lord of Saragossa. It is reasonable to suppose that Ḳalʿat Ayyūb was under the control of the Almoravids at least from 503/1109, and it remained in their possession until 25 Rabīʿ I 514/24 June 1120, when it was captured by Alfonso I of Aragon. The Muslims who stayed on in Calatayud after the Christian conquest formed a community living alongside Christians and Jews; they must have been far superior in numbers. The Jalón valley, where Calatayud is situated, was one of the regions of Aragon where there was a strong concentration of Moriscos.

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(J. Bosch-Vilá)

ḲALʿAT BANĪ ʿABBĀS, a town in Algeria in the Bībān mountains, about 35 km. northwest of Bordj Bū ʿArridj. Situated at an altitude of about 1050 m., the town stands in a strategic position on a plateau surrounded on three sides by sheer ravines from about 500-600 m. in depth, its only link with the surrounding country being a narrow strip of ground bordered by precipices. The town is divided into four quarters which in the past were frequently in conflict with one another, and one of these is now almost in ruins. It is the most important centre of the Banū ʿAbbās tribe, whose ill-defined territory extends from the Oued Sahel to the Medjana. Its inhabitants were once renowned for the making of woollen burnouses which they used to sell throughout Algeria and Tunisia; in the Tell towns, another occupation was embroidering burnouses. At the present day, many of the inhabitants are leaving their homes, mainly to go to France.

Ḳalʿa was founded in the second half of the 9th/15th century by the marabout Sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who is said to have established a *zāwiya* on the rock of Ḳalʿa and to have placed himself at the head of the Banū ʿAbbās in their rising against the Zwāwa, of whom they had hitherto been tributaries. His son Aḥmad erected a *ḳaṣba*, proclaiming himself sultan, and extended his authority over the country lying between the Ḥodna and the sea (the kingdom of Labès, of Marmol). ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, his successor, further increased his power with the aid of the Turks, whom he supported against the Kabyles of Kūkū and helped in their expeditions against the Moroccans and the people of Tuggūrt and Wārgla. The breakdown of this alliance (1552) led to fighting between the Turks and the Banū ʿAbbās which continued until the end of the 10th/16th century. Though besieged on various occasions during this period, Ḳalʿa could never be taken. After the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who was killed while defending his capital, his son Amoḳḳrān took power. The latter defended his territory as far as the Sahara, repulsed several attacks by the Turks, and died while fighting against them (1600); his son Sīdī Nāṣir, a man of the *zāwiya* rather than a warrior, aroused the displeasure of the Banū ʿAbbās, who assassinated him. At this, the kingdom of Ḳalʿa ceased to exist and the town became no more than the family citadel of Sīdī Nāṣir. By the 12th/18th century, the town had declined swiftly: "the country is without a master", wrote al-Warthīlānī, "the people are in revolt against God, His Prophet and His laws". Protected by its unassailable position, it remained independent until the French conquest. It served as a place of refuge for opponents of the Turks and for members of the great Muslim families who, in time of war, brought their grain and their valuables there for safe keeping, entrusting them to private persons. The honesty of these trustees was proverbial. Thus, admidst the disorders which laid waste the land, Ḳalʿa enjoyed the benefits of a real neutrality. The tomb of Sīdī Aḥmad, the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ancestor of the Ūlād Muḳḳrān, was an object of veneration in the 18th century. It was also in Ḳalʿa that Muḳrānī, the leader of the 1871 revolt, was buried.

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(L. Golvin)

ḲALʿAT BANĪ ḤAMMĀD, a mediaeval town in the Central Maghrib, situated in the Maadid mountains, capital of the Banū Ḥammād dynasty [see HAMMĀDIDS]. It is also known as Ḳalʿat Abī Ṭawīl (al-Bakrī, *Istibṣār*, etc.). The site of the town, now a mass of ruins, is in the form of a vast amphitheatre opening out onto the plain of the Hodna which it dominates from a height of about 550 m. The average altitude of the old city is 990 m. above sea level. To the north of it rises the massive truncated cone of Taḳarbūst (1418 m.), an arid mountain whose contorted slopes are marked by projecting spurs where the folds of rock are inverted; to the west is the Gorein range, which can be transversed in the direction of Msila only by a pass at the foot of the peak, which rises to 1190 m.; to the south, the Djabal Raḥma largely bars the view, except over its eastern flank, which is cut by the narrow valley of the Oued Fradj, running from north to south, a gap revealing in the distance the plain with the glittering Chott

Hodna. The same torrent, flowing down from the mountain through narrow gorges with steep sides, runs past the eastern part of the town. Beyond its deeply embanked course rise various mountains ranging from 1000-1400 m. in height.

Well protected against any possible attacks from the plain, which can easily be watched, and situated only a short distance from the most usual east-west routes, the site has doubtless been occupied from the earliest times. Ruins dating from antiquity—not yet investigated scientifically and including the remains of some baths—indicate Roman occupation, though it is impossible to estimate either its extent or its character. In 335/947-8, the place may have seen the tragic end of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], the "Man on the donkey", since Mount Kiyāna, still called the mountain of the ʿAdjīsa, seems to tally closely with the modern Takarbūst on whose summit some ruins are to be seen. There can be no doubt that the strategic value of the place was well known to the Ṣanhādja; the reasons motivating Ḥammād, son of Buluggīn, son of Zīrī, in his partial abandonment of the ancient capital Ashīr are thus apparent. By choosing the Ḳalʿa site, he secured for himself a second base that was strong and particularly well protected against the ambitions of the Zanāta in the plain; but also and above all, by building a stronghold there, he made clear his desire for independence from Bādīs, the Zīrid of Ḳayrawān. Ḳalʿa was to appear as a spearhead directed towards the East. Some years later (405/1015), Ḥammād raised "the standard of revolt" and "proclaimed the sovereignty of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs". A new dynasty was born, and Ḳalʿa became the capital of an independent state.

If Ibn Khaldūn is correct, the town was built and populated by the forced transfer of the inhabitants of Msila and Sūḳ Ḥamza (Bouira); other elements of the population, particularly the Djarāwa, settled there themselves. Ḥammād's first care was the building of strong ramparts, a palace, "several mosques, caravanserais and other public buildings". It is hard to believe, however, that as early as 401/1010, Ḳalʿa "attained a high degree of prosperity" and that "artisans as well as students flocked there from the remotest regions and the furthest points of the empire". In fact, at this period Ḥammād still seems to have been closely attached to Ashīr, regarding Ḳalʿa as merely a secondary town. Bādīs, who had reacted vigorously against his uncle's initiatives, attacked Ḳalʿa in 406/1015; it seemed that the town could not resist his assault, when the Zīrid suddenly died.

The very short-lived apogee of the town came during the reign of al-Nāṣir, son of ʿAlannās (454/1062-481/1089) and his son and successor al-Manṣūr (481/1089-498/1105). The sudden prosperity of Ḳalʿa is due to the misfortunes of Ifrīḳiya when it was invaded by the Arab nomads. The towns in the interior, Ḳayrawān in particular, were depopulated, while Ḳalʿa, according to al-Bakrī, became the metropolis after the ruin of Ḳayrawān: "the inhabitants of Ifrīḳiya flocked there to settle..., the town is a trading centre which attracts caravans from ʿIrāḳ, the Ḥidjaz, Egypt, Syria and all parts of the Maghrib". However, from the beginning of his reign al-Nāṣir sought an emergency outlet to the sea; he had the little port of Bougie put into order, and there his son built al-Manṣūriyya, where he later took refuge. The Hilālīs [see HILĀL] held the whole Hodna plain as well as that of Sétif, as far as the Iron Gates; despite a treaty, the Athbadj made the city's existence more and more difficult, subjecting it to a veritable blockade. In the 6th/12th century, the power of Ḳalʿa declined continuously, to the advantage of Bougie, and in 543/1148-9 Yaḥyā the son of al-ʿAzīz removed all articles of value and transported them to Bougie. Shortly after 547/1152, Ḳalʿa was taken by storm by the Almohads, who "destroyed it utterly". However, the armies of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin installed themselves there and formed a garrison, restoring various ruined buildings and reconstructing a small oratory in the remains of the Great Mosque. The Banū Ghaniyya occupied the town for a time, but they were dislodged by the Almohads after a three month's siege (1185). After this date, nothing more was heard of the former capital of the Ḥammādids.

The population consisted firstly of the Ṣanhādja, kinsmen of Ḥammād who probably constituted a privileged class, secondly of the citizens of Msila and Sūḳ Ḥamza, whose origin was complex, and finally of the Djarāwa, whose quarter, to the east of the town, seems to have been walled off from the other quarters of the town. There stood the Ḳaṣr al-Manār and its keep, the top of which commanded a view over the whole city and its environs. This situation corresponds so very closely to the text of Peter the Deacon that it is tempting to see in the Djarāwa the famous Christians cited in the *Chronique du Mont Cassin* who were said to have had a church dedicated to the Virgin. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century the population was augmented by new arrivals from Ḳayrawān, heterogeneous ethnic elements who included some Jews (there is in fact a record of the presence in Ḳalʿa of the Jewish scholar Isaac Alfāsī, who apparently left for Spain at the end of the 11th century).

The topography of the town reveals an almost rectangular enceinte facing the south (approximately 950 by 500 m.), enclosing on three sides the town which is built upon the last ridges of Taḳarbūst; despite the natural defence afforded by the precipitous flanks of this massif, to the north of the town, the wall climbs high up the mountain, runs across its peak and comes down on the east to rejoin the quarter of the Djarawā. Similarly, on the west it follows the summit ridge of Gorein and climbs up to the peak, descending sharply to the bed of the oued, beyond which is the gate known as Bāb al-Djanān, leading to Msila. An almost rectilinear axis connects this gate with Bāb al-Aḳwās, leading to Burdj Redir, to the north-east of the city, at the edge of the Djarāwa quarter; a third gate, to the south-east, Bāb al-Djarāwa, opens towards the Hodna valley. To the south of the east-west axis stand the ruins of the Great Mosque whose minaret still rises to a height of more than twenty metres. To the north of the same axis, on ridges fairly well isolated from one another, towards the west, can be seen the ruins of the Ḳaṣr al-Salām and then, further to the east, the Ḳaṣr al-Kawkab and the Ḳaṣr al-Mulk, better known as Ḳaṣr al-Baḥr because of the large sheet of water lying to its south, upon which nautical jousting (*istibṣār*) probably took place. Finally, towards the east, in the Djarāwa quarter can be seen the ruins of the Manār keep and those of the palace of the same name.

Identified by Méquesse in 1886, the old Ḥammādid city was investigated by P. Blanchet and A. Robert in subsequent years. Excavations on a quite considerable scale were undertaken by General de Beylié; they concentrated upon the Manār keep, the Ḳaṣr al-Baḥr and the mosque. From 1951 to 1962, new excavations were conducted by L. Golvin, particularly on the

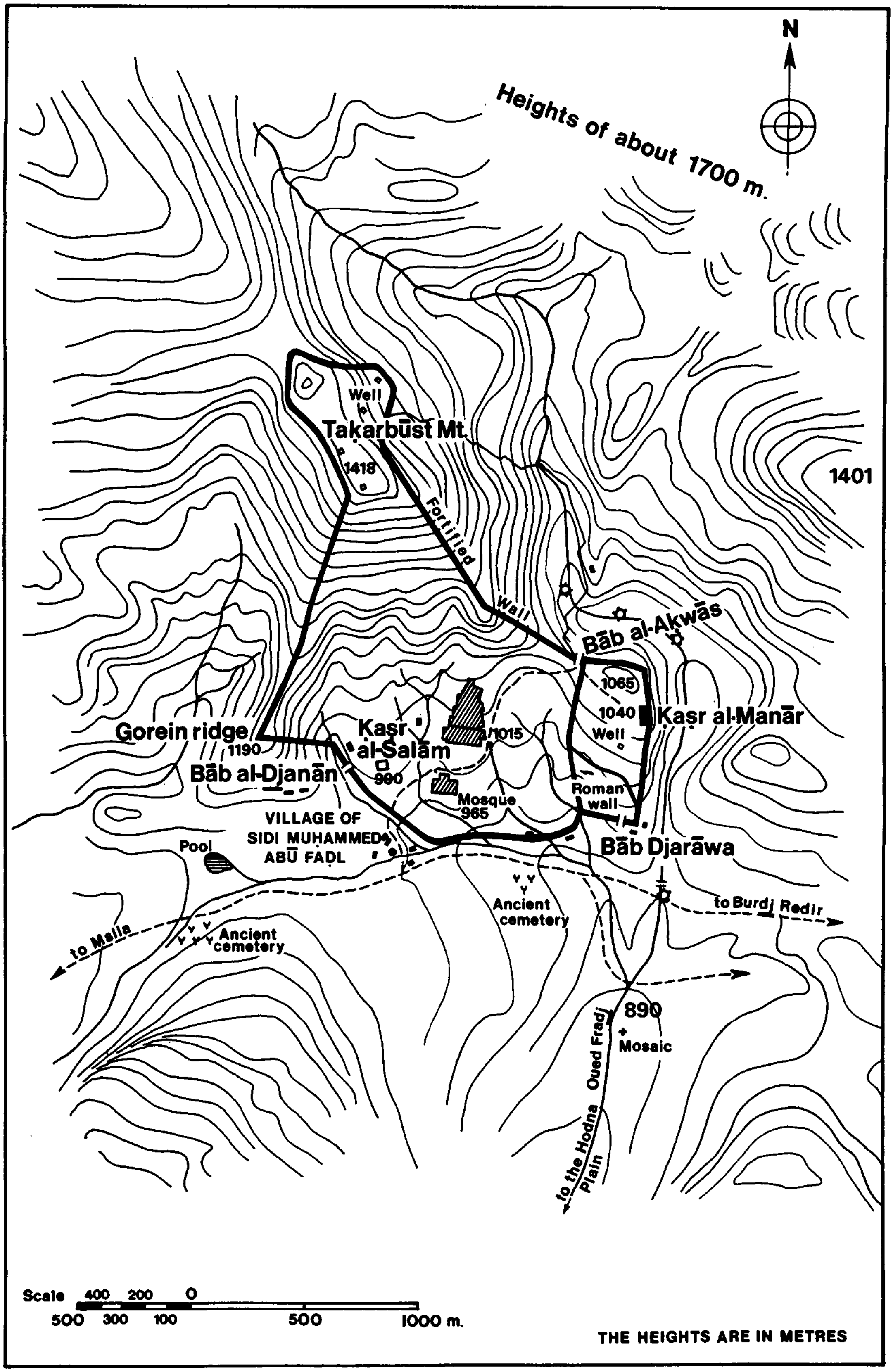

Ḳalʿat Bani Ḥammād [After V. Huot]

Ḳaṣr al-Manār and the Ḳaṣr al-Salām; numerous silos were discovered in the latter group of buildings, appearing to confirm al-Idrīsī's statement: "There were... stores of such excellence that it (corn) could be kept for one and even two years, without fear of the least deterioration". Still more recent excavations, which are being undertaken at the present time under the direction of R. Bourouiba, have succeeded in isolating the Ḳaṣr al-Manār completely, and in enabling a far more convincing plan of the mosque than that given by Beylié to be drawn up.

The art of Ḳalʿa reveals some originality, particularly in the deeply cut vertical niches in the façades of the Manār, and above all in its system of square, superimposed rooms, forming a central hub around which ramps are placed, roofed over with cradle vaulting, a foreshadowing of the great Almohad minarets at the end of the 6th/12th century (Kutubiyya, the Ḥassān Tower, the Giralda). The minaret of the mosque, square in shape, is much closer to those in Muslim Spain than to those in Ifrīḳiya; on its south face it is ornamented with a rich decoration of deeply cut recesses set with polychrome tiles, the antecedents and continuation of which are little understood, while lobed interlaced arches, sometimes bordering shell-shaped semi-domes, call to mind Fāṭimid Egypt. To Egypt should be attributed the hanging honeycomb vaulting (*Muḳarnas*), probably the earliest in the Muslim West. Elsewhere, decorations of carved plaster may be compared with those in Sāmarrā, but here also is a reminder of Egyptian craftsmanship; and very beautiful carved marble water channels (*shadirwān*) recall those at Fuṣṭāṭ. Several painted frescoes, numerous ceramic fragments of the most diverse techniques—pottery with engraved or painted decoration, polychrome tiles, tiles with metal lustre, impressed tiles, tiles known as "a cuerda secca"—worked bronzes, jewels of gold and silver, coloured glassware, cut crystal, many sculptures of marble, stone and plaster, all these objects testify to a varied and sometimes scholarly craftsmanship which reveals the twofold influences of the Orient and of Spain.

The wealth of the city, much vaunted by historians and geographers, doubtless explains this artistic flowering. Though there is little information about intellectual life in Ḳalʿa, the name of one of its scholars is known, the ascetic Abū Faḍl, son of al-Naḥwī, whose mausoleum stands in a small hamlet bearing his name near the Bāb al-Djanān. Other personages who brought renown to Bougie were born in Ḳalʿa and no doubt were given their earliest education there. Here too, without question, the heritage from Ḳayrawān was of particular value.

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(L. Golvin)

ḲALʿAT DJAʿBAR [see DJAʿBAR].

ḲALʿAT HUWWĀRA, a town in Algeria in the *wilāya* of Mostaganem, a *dāʾira* of Ighil Izane (Relizane), about 30 km. north-east of Mascara, on the Wādī Ḳalʿa. Population: 12,332 (1966 census). This Ḳalʿa was founded in the 6th/12th century by a chieftain of the Hawwāra, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ. About a century later, the Hawwāra [*q.v.*] were supplanted by a tribe from the Djabal ʿAmūr, the Banū Rāshid. The town came under the rule of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād, and following them under the Marīnids and then the Turks; it was at this period that Leo Africanus described it as a fortified township with about forty houses belonging to artisans and merchants. Little by little it became inhabited by Kulughlis and even by Turks who came to take refuge there. The inhabitants were employed in agriculture, soap manufacture and carpet weaving. After 1830, the town recognised the authority of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who drove out the Kulughlis, then it came under the authority of the French in 1845. At the present time, it remains a centre of several industries such as carpet-weaving (done by women), tanning, shoemaking, saddlery, metal-work and welding. The carpets of the Ḳalʿa, in which Berber (Djabal ʿAmūr), Spanish and eastern influences are combined, have enjoyed a measure of fame.

In the 11th/17th century, it was the birthplace of a celebrated marabout, Sīdī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, the author of satirical aphorisms of great popularity in Algeria (cf. R. Basset, *Les dictons populaires attribués à Sidi Ahmed ben Yûsuf*, Paris 1890).

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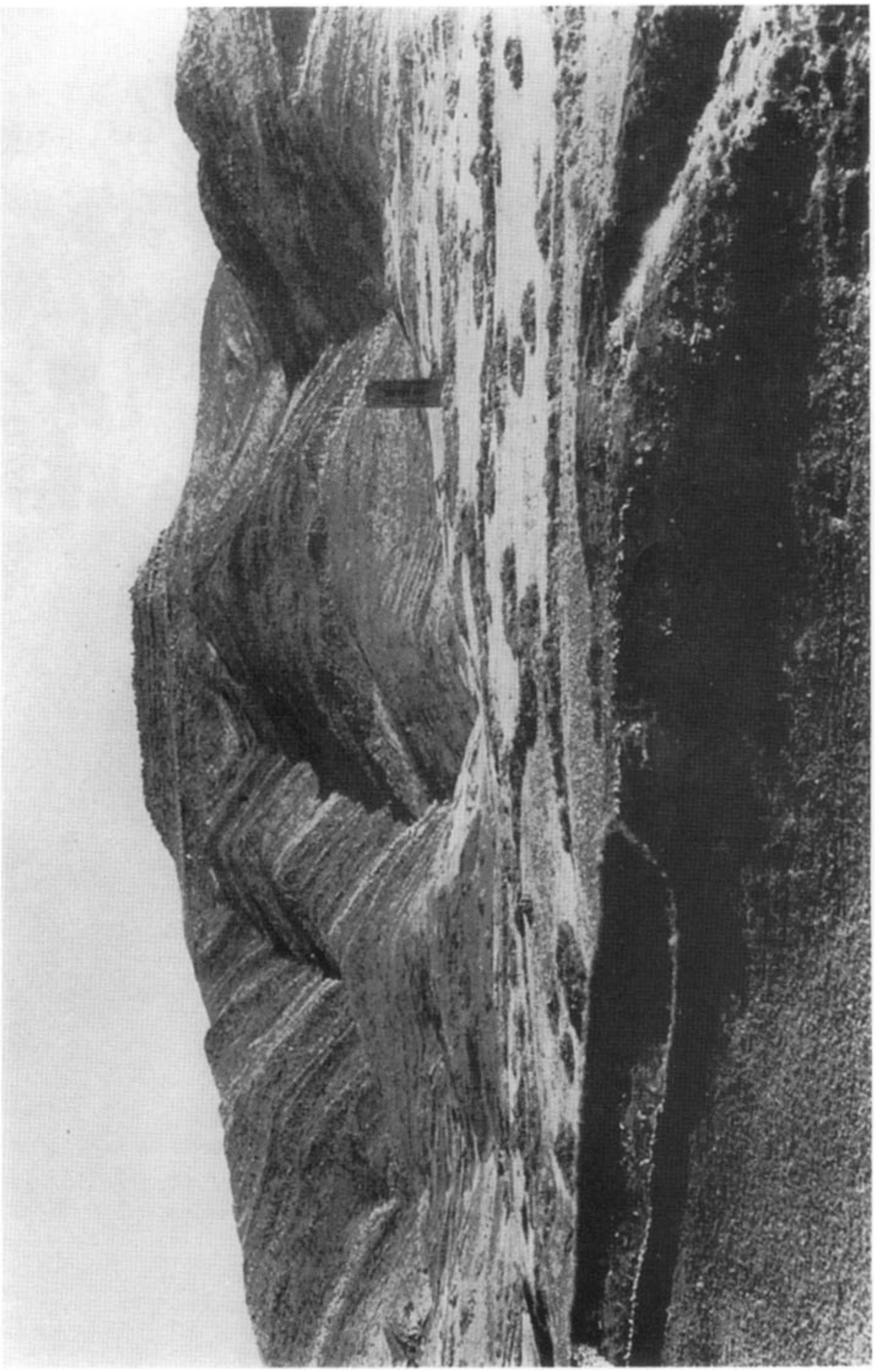

1. General view of the Taḳarbūst and the mosque.

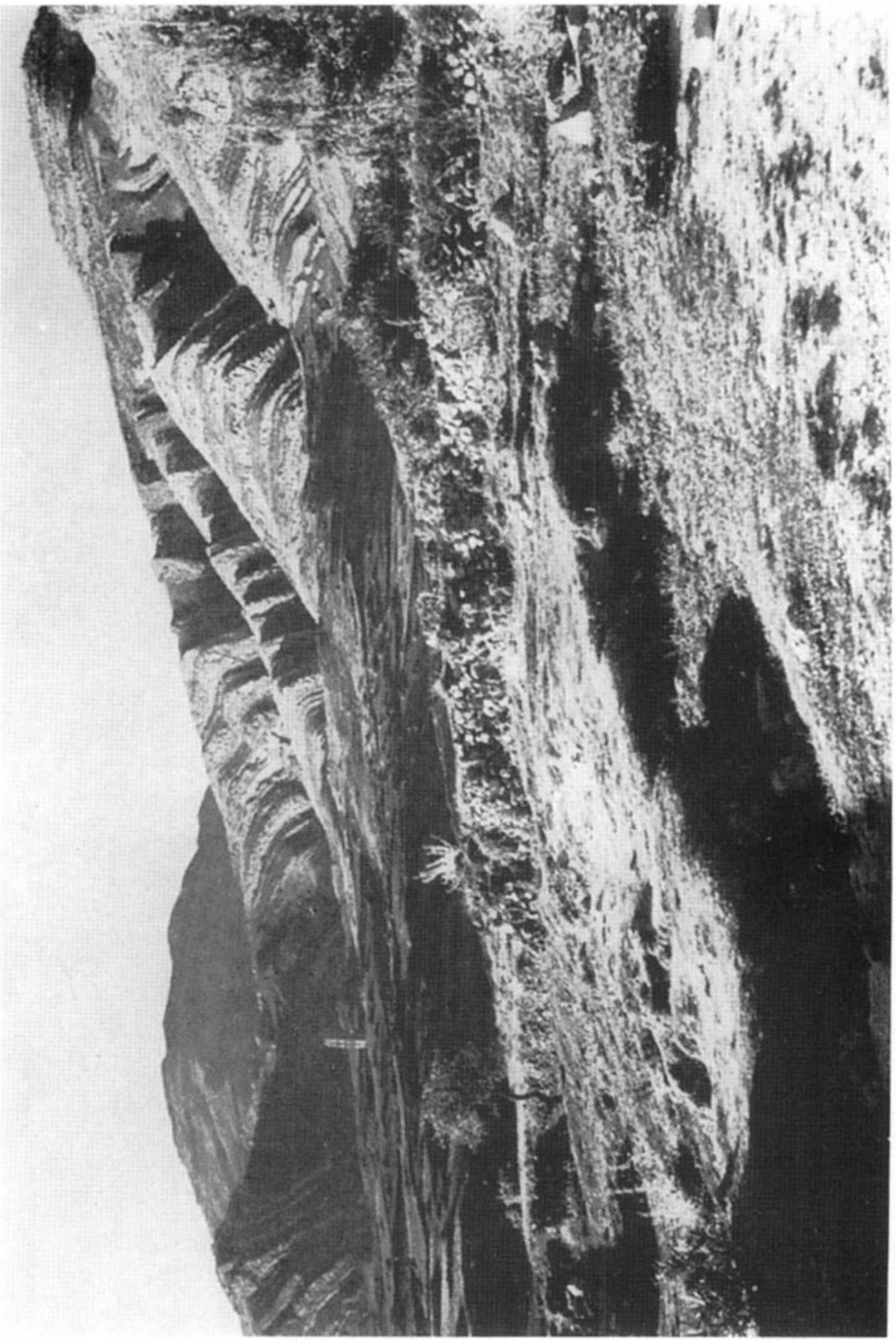

2. View of the Taḳarbūst and the Gorein.

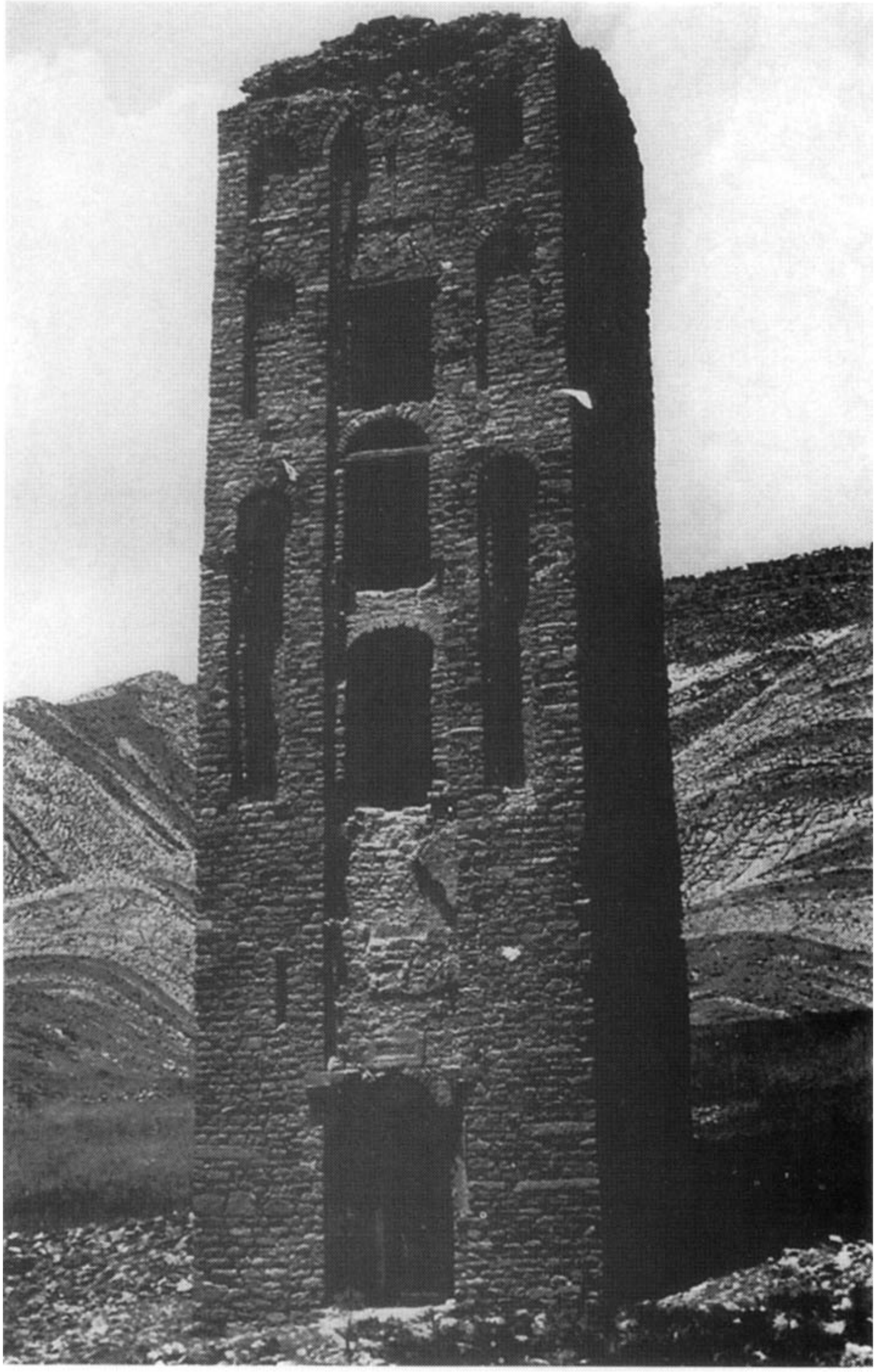

3. Minaret of the mosque.

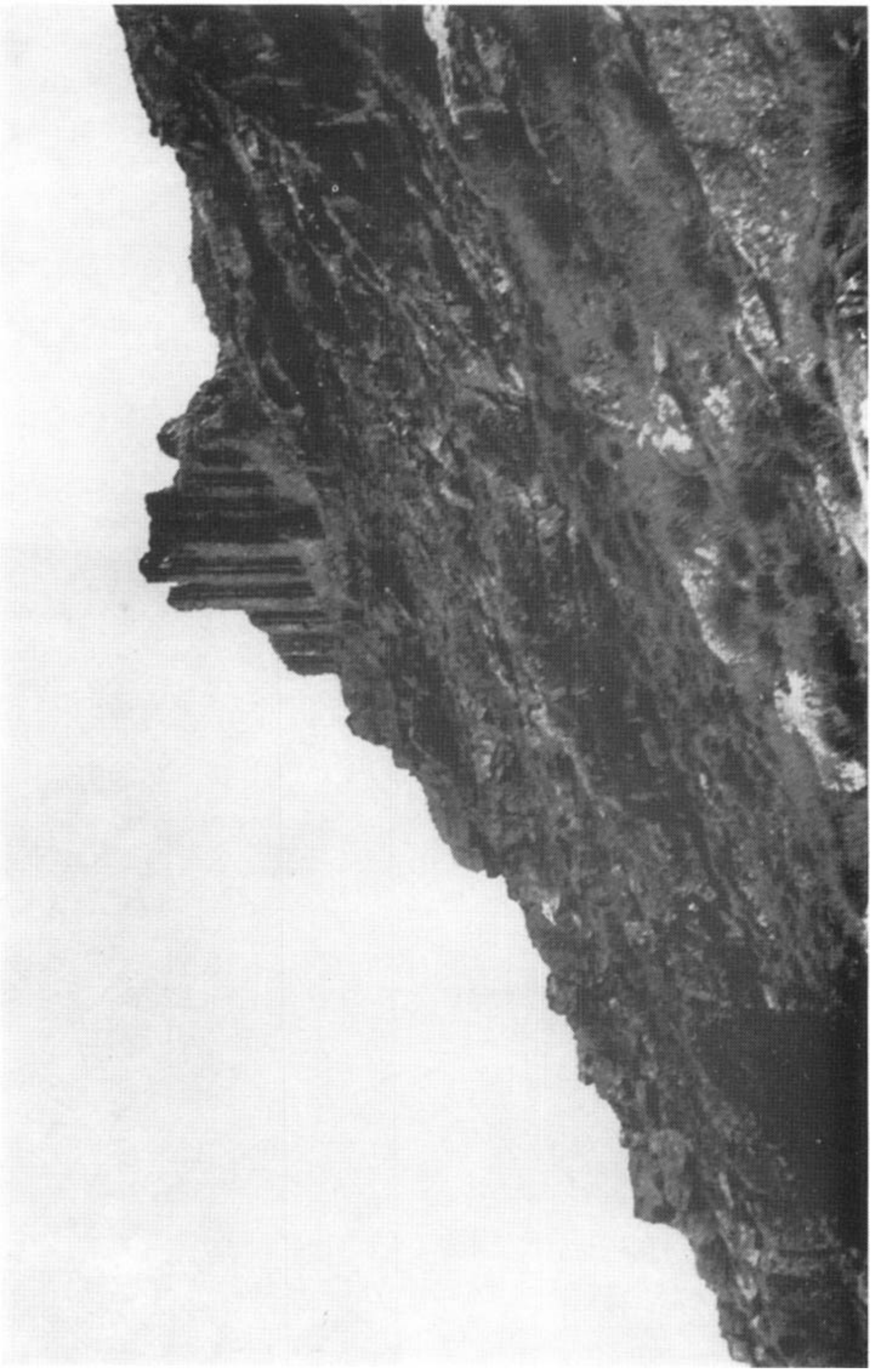

4. The keep of Ḳaṣr al-Manār.

gérie, ii, *Les tapis algériens*, Algiers 1953, 521-80.
(R. Le Tourneau)

ḲALʿAT NADJM, a fortress in northern Syria, situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, which in the medieval period commanded the route from Ḥalab to Ḥarrān, in Upper Mesopotamia, via Manbidj. This fortress stood at a point where the Euphrates was relatively easy to cross, owing to the existence of two small islands which facilitated the construction of pontoon bridges. It is thought that the fortress stands on a Classical site, but the identification of this presents some problems: the most tenable hypothesis appears to be the identification of the site with the *Caeciliana* of Roman itineraries.

In the oldest Arab texts, the locality is called Djisr Manbidj, and these add that the bridge over the Euphrates, which had formerly existed, was constructed at the order of the Caliph ʿUthmān. The name of Ḳalʿat Nadjm was rarely mentioned before the 6th/12th century; it seems to derive from a certain *ghulām* called Nadjm who, in 300/912, re-founded the town. Certain maps and even texts are therefore mistaken when they give the name as Ḳalʿat al-Nadjm. However, it seems that this name was deliberately adopted by these authors as more poetic, dubbing the fortress "the castle of stars".

The bridge of Ḳalʿat Nadjm played an important role from the earliest years of Islam. The region was conquered in 18/639 and the bridge is mentioned in accounts of the struggle between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya. By this route the Umayyad armies won Mesopotamia. Subsequently, Ḳalʿat Nadjm was part of the Ḥamdānid [*q.v.*] domain, then that of the Mirdāsids [*q.v.*], and the Banū Numayr [*q.v.*], before falling into the hands of Zankī, of Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], and then of the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*]. Nūr al-Dīn restored the fortress (which twenty years later Ibn Djubayr called a "new castle"), placing an important garrison there.

Later, probably in 658/1260, Hūlāgū had to give battle to secure the fortresses which commanded the Euphrates crossings; at that time Barhebraeus, bishop of Aleppo, made his way to the conqueror to seek mercy for the Christians and was imprisoned at Ḳalʿat Nadjm.

The fortress of Ḳalʿat Nadjm, which was described by many travellers of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, stands isolated on a rocky eminence at a height of about 50 metres. The castle itself comprised two storeys and certain parts were damaged when the castle, where a rebel Arab had taken refuge, was captured by the Ottomans in 1820. Three Arabic inscriptions mention works undertaken at the orders of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, between 605/1208 and 612/1215. Of the little town which, according to the Arab geographers, lay along the bank of the river and at the foot of the fortress, no identifiable vestiges remain. The ancient bridge has also disappeared.

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(D. Sourdel)

ḲALʿAT RABĀḤ, Sp. Calatrava, town of Muslim Spain, of which the ruins are to be seen at Calatrava la Vieja on the left bank of the R. Guadiana about 15 km. north-north-east of Ciudad Real. According to the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* the town was founded in Umayyad times and peopled by the inhabitants of decaying Urīṭ (Oreto), about 40 km. to the south. The eponymous Rabāḥ is unidentified; the common belief that the place was named after the *tābiʿ* ʿAlī (or ʿUlayy) b. Rabāḥ seems to be an unfounded conjecture. It was the capital of an extensive region divided into *djuz'*, which word in Andalusian usage (says Yāḳūt) was the equivalent of *iḳlīm*. The *adjzā'* of Bakr, Lakhm and Djudhām are recorded. The marshy region to the north-east of Ḳalʿat Rabāh was well known to topographical writers as the place where the upper Guadiana (under which name they confused several rivers, *e.g.*, Gigüela, Riánsares) disappeared underground and reappeared several times before emerging finally at Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ [see wādī yāna]. Dimashḳī says that red arsenic or realgar (*rahdj al-ghār*) is found there.

Standing in Toledan territory on the main highway between Córdoba and Toledo not far from Christian lands, Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ had an eventful history and is frequently mentioned in the literature, though without details. It fell into Christian hands for the first time in 478/1085 when Alfonso VI annexed Toledo, but this occupation came to an end with the arrival of the Almoravids (Battle of Zallāḳa [*q.v.*], 479/1086) though Toledo itself was not retaken and never again came under Muslim rule. With the erosion of Almoravid power Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ was once more under Christian rule by 541/Jan. 1147 and remained so until the Muslims, in the shape of the Almohads, again reasserted their authority for a few years in 592/1196. (Alarcos, the scene of the celebrated Almohad victory in the previous year, is a short distance downstream from Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ [see al-arak]). It finally surrendered to Alfonso VIII in 609/1212 immediately before the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa [see al-ʿiḳāb]. It did not recover any measure of prosperity and in 1252 the capital of the region became Villa Real, newly founded by Alfonso the Wise. It was renamed Ciudad Real in 1420.

The religious order of the Knights of Calatrava was founded in 1158 during the second Christian occupation with the purpose of fighting the Moors. The name Calatrava still exists as an element in numerous toponyms of the region.

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ḲALʿAT AL-RŪM [see rūm ḳalʿesī].

ḲALʿAT AL-SHAḲĪF (the "Citadel of the Rock") is the Crusaders' castle of Beaufort. It is also known by the name of Shaḳīf ʿArnūn. On the testimony of the Arab authors, Yāḳūt among others, it was long believed that ʿArnūn was the Arabic transcription of the name Arnould, a Frank said to have been lord of the region. In fact, it is a toponym which occurs even in the Bible (Joshua, XII, 1); its position to the west of the Jordan indicates that it corresponds to the present village of ʿArnūn which, in former times, marked the frontier of the land of Moab. From the earliest remains it may be supposed that a

military settlement existed on the site during the Roman period, beside the Leuctrum.

The castle, which was considered impregnable, is situated at an altitude of 670 m., high on a rocky crest, at the extreme southern end of the mountain range of Lebanon. To the east, standing above a sheer drop of 300 m., it dominates the deep and narrow valley of the Nahr al-Līṭānī, while to the west the mountain falls away in a fairly steep slope to the level of the plain where the village of ʿArnūn is situated. Below the castle, the Līṭānī changes direction sharply towards the west and then takes the name Nahr al-Ķāsimiyya, forming the dividing line between the mountains of Lebanon and the plateau of Galilee.

Ķalʿat al-Shaķīf stands in an important strategic position, for it effectually controls a two-arched bridge over the Līṭānī, the Djisr al-Khardalī, as well as several roads which meet at the bottom of the valley, including the roads from Bānyās to Ṣaydāʾ via Nabaṭiyya and from Bānyās to Beirut via Djazzīn and Dayr al-Ķamar, and the road from Ṣūr (Tyre) to Damascus. The castle commands the entrance to Palestine; it guards the southern passage from the Biķāʿ, access to Syria from the south, and access from the coastal region of Ṣūr and Ṣaydāʾ. It is linked with several other fortresses, including Subayba to the south-east, Ḥūnīn to the south, Tibnīn to the south-south-west, Ķalʿat Marūn to the south-west and Ṣaydāʾ to the north-west.

The whole complex of buildings, constructed on two levels, follows the configuration of the ground and takes the form of an elongated triangle about 140 m. long, with its base (about 38 m. wide) at the southern end. A ditch 15 to 36 m. wide, cut out of the rock on the north, west and south sides, forms a barrier between the plateau and the site of the fortress, which is inaccessible from the east. Opposite the entrance, two piers about 4.30 m. apart made it possible to cross the ditch by means of a bridge which could be destroyed in the event of an attack, and to reach a small artificially levelled area on the south side of the crest. Today Ķalʿat al-Shaķīf is in a very ruined condition. It is divided into various sections surrounded by two enceintes constructed of courses of large blocks of stone, the surface of the stone-work being left rough: to the east, above the ravine, is a group of buildings in the lower courtyard defended by four round towers linked together by curtain walls, and to the west is the upper part, which forms a redoubt accessible by means of an interior ramp. Such is the fortress itself, which includes several sections built at different periods. For the mediaeval period we can distinguish five separate programmes of alterations and construction: 1139 to 1190 (Crusaders), 1190 to 1240 (Ayyūbids), 1240 to 1260 (Franks of Ṣaydāʾ), 1260-1268 (Templars), 1268 onwards (Mamlūks). When the Crusaders arrived, Ķalʿat al-Shaķīf formed part of the province of Damascus. In 533/1139, the atabeg Shihāb al-Dīn ceded the fortress to Fulk, king of Jerusalem, who entrusted it to Reynald, lord of Ṣaydāʾ, since it controlled access to his territory. The irregularly shaped keep standing in the middle of the west front and typical of the Crusaders' earliest constructions dates from this period; it consists of two storeys and a terrace, the old curtain wall of the enceinte leaving it projecting; the rough surface of the stone-work and the narrow arrow-slits are characteristic features of the period. After the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn [*q.v.*] the Frankish castles still retained their garrisons, but through lack of man-power they no longer received any reinforcements or relief troops, and one after another they fell into the hands of the Muslims. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] prepared to lay siege to Ķalʿat al-Shaķīf on 17 Rabīʿ I 585/5 May 1189. Reynald of Sagette obtained a three months' truce, and took advantage of it to improve the castle's defences: the curtain walls were strengthened, and living-quarters were constructed in the courtyard. Stone-work with a more finished surface and stirrup-shaped arrow loops characterize this second period. In Radjab/August, the siege was resumed; in the end the fortress was starved out and surrendered on 15 Rabīʿ I 586/12 April 1190. Then began half a century of Muslim occupation (586-637/1190-1240). The Ayyūbid al-Malik al-ʿĀdil [*q.v.*] undertook various building operations, including some alterations to the first enceinte on the south side; he also constructed a new section of wall flanked by massive cylindrical towers with an entrance, to the east, giving access to an oblong armoury leading to the terreplein of the castle.

In 637/1240 al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, prince of Damascus, was in conflict with his nephew al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the ruler of Egypt; to win the support of the Franks and Templars, he offered to restore to them the region of Ṣaydāʾ, Ķalʿat al-Shaķīf, Tiberias and Ṣafad. The garrison of al-Shaķīf refused to surrender the fortress, and Ismāʿīl was compelled to besiege it in order to gain possession and to hand it over to Balian of Sagette, the son of Reynald and a member of the Ibelin family. Balian died almost immediately, and his son Julian inherited the fortress, which he held until 1260. Crippled by debts and unable to strengthen the fortress to meet the threat from the troops of Baybars [*q.v.*], he sold it to the Templars and joined their ranks. The Templars improved its defences: on the east side, opposite the keep, they built a large hall with two vaulted bays over ogival windows and, about 245 m. to the south, the new castle, a small outwork destined to be destroyed eight years later.

On 19 Radjab 666/4 April 1268, the sultan Baybars appeared before al-Shaķīf and bombarded the fortress with 26 siege-engines for ten days. The garrison of Templars surrendered, the women and children were sent to Ṣūr, and the garrison itself, consisting of 480 men and 22 knights, was sent into captivity. The sultan appointed the amīr Ṣārim al-Dīn Ķaymaz Kāfūrī as governor and the amīr Sayf al-Dīn Balabān Zaynī as superintendent of works; the latter restored the fortress and placed on the walls the heraldic device of Baybars, a feline passant. In the Mamlūk period, Ķalʿat al-Shaķīf was the centre of one of the eleven districts of the ***niyāba*** of Ṣafad.

At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, when the amīr Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*] revolted against the Ottomans, he drove out the Ottoman garrison and tried to repair the citadel's defences, to withstand the troops sent by Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Pasha from Damascus in 1022/1613. The fortress had stocks of water, oil and provisions for 500 men. Al-Shaķīf possessed three cannons for defence, while the attacking forces had only one which exploded at the second shot; the only damage suffered by the fortress was the destruction of an outer tower caused by the accidental explosion of a powder store. Eventually the troops from Damascus withdrew, after a siege lasting for 84 days. Fakhr al-Dīn entrusted the fortress to a Sukmānī chief, Ḥusayn Ṭawīl, with stocks of food for three years. Shortly afterwards, the Sukmāniyya betrayed the Maʿn and joined the Ḥarfūsh. Sappers sent from Damascus then dismantled the fortresses of Bānyās and al-Shaķīf in 40 days.

At the beginning of the 18th century, al-Shaķīf

became the centre of one of the three districts of Djabal ʿĀmila, a region inhabited by the Mutawālī, whose chiefs at that time belonged to the Yemeni section of the Shīʿite tribe of the Banū Ṣaʿb. At the end of the 18th century, the fortress was included in the territories of the Druzes and came under the *pashalik* of Ṣaydā', while all around it, according to Volney, the best tobacco in Syria was grown. At the beginning of the 20th century al-Shaḳīf formed part of the district of Ṣaydā', on the borders of the districts of Ṣūr and Mardj ʿUyūn. In 1970 the castle was under the *ḳaḍā'* of Nabaṭiyya.

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(N. Elisséeff)

ḲALʿAT SHARḲĀT [see athūr, in Suppl.].

ḲALAṬA, GHALAṬA [see Istanbul].

ḲALĀWDHIYA, Claudias, a locality of ancient origin (the Claudiopolis of Pliny? cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.), the exact site of which has not been determined but which almost certainly commanded the entrance to the Euphrates gorges below Malaṭya/Melitene, between the eastern Taurus and the Khanzit [*q.v.*]. One of the fortified places on the frontier that were captured and re-captured by the Arabs and the Byzantines, it was restored by al-Manṣūr, but again fell into Byzantine hands, together with the province of Melitene, in the middle of the 4th/10th century. In fact, having become practically valueless, like the other fortresses in the same line of strong-points below the Taurus (Ḥadatha, etc.), it declined rapidly, and Michael the Syrian, writing in the neighbourhood, knew only of "the land of Claudias", but never says anything about the locality itself. From the end of the 5th/11th century the region was in the hands of the Turks, but the later authors who mention Ḳalāwdhiya/Claudias, from Mustawfī and Ḳazwīnī to Otter, do so solely on the strength of ancient literary sources.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 186-7; Yāḳūt, iv, 167 (who believes that Ptolemy was a native of this place); Leo the Deacon, Bonn ed., 250; Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, ii, 518, iii, 309; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 88-9, and also the article by J. H. Mordtmann in *EI*[1].

(Cl. Cahen)

ḲALAWRIYA [see ḳillawriya].

ḲALĀWŪN, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Ḳalāwūn al-Alfī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Nadjmī al-ʿAlā'ī, the fifth Mamūlk sultan, ruler of Egypt and Syria from 678/1279 to 689/1290. One of the most eminent sultans of the Baḥrī [*q.v.*] Mamlūk sultanate, he followed the policies of Sultan Baybars I [*q.v.*] especially in his campaigns against the Mongols and the Crusaders.

Ḳalāwūn was born in the country of the Kipčak Turks on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The date of his birth is unknown and the sources tell us nothing about his childhood. A slave-merchant eventually brought him to Egypt and sold him to the amīr ʿAlā' al-Dīn Aḳ-Sunḳur al-ʿĀdilī al-Sāḳī (the cupbearer), one of the *mamlūks* of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-ʿĀdil [*q.v.*], for a thousand *dīnārs*; hence the nickname *al-Alfī* (the "Thousander"). After ʿAlā' al-Dīn Aḳ-Sunḳur died in 647/1249, Ḳalāwūn and other *mamlūks* passed into the possession of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb (637/1240-647/1249). He sent Ḳalāwūn together with other newly acquired slaves for military training (*furūsiyya* [*q.v.*]) in the military quarters which he had established on the island of al-Rawḍa in the Nile. When Ḳalāwūn had finished his training and proven his efficiency as a fully qualified soldier, he was manumitted and given the title of amīr. His master died in 647/1249 and was succeeded by his son Sultan Tūrān Shāh in in the following year. The death of Tūrān Shāh—the last Ayyūbid sultan—inaugurated a period of confusion which led ultimately to the establishment of the Mamlūk sultanate.

During the reign of Aybak, the first Mamlūk sultan, Ḳalāwūn rose to a higher position among the Mamlūks, becoming one of their leading figures. In 652/1254 he fled with other Mamlūk leaders such as Baybars, Sunḳur and Baysara to Syria in order to escape the likely revenge of Aybak, whom they had tried to depose. He spent about three years in Syria in the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir II Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (648/1250-658/1260). In 655/1257 Ḳalāwūn and his fellow Baḥrī Mamlūks fell foul of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf and were forced to leave him. They thereupon entered the service of al-Malik al-Mughīth Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUmar in Karak. The amīr Ḳuṭuz, the deputy of the Mamlūk sultan Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aybak, sent an army to meet the fugitive Baḥrī Mamlūks on their way to Karak. The Mamlūks were defeated and Ḳalāwūn was taken as prisoner to Egypt. He did not stay long in Cairo but disappeared and fled to Karak in the same year (655/1257).

Ḳalāwūn remained in Karak for about two years, until 657/1259, when he returned to Egypt accompanied by other exiled Mamlūks. They were welcomed by the new Sultan Ḳuṭuz, at that time preparing troops to meet the invading Mongols, who were defeated near Nābulus in 658/1260. Ḳalāwūn was among the Mamlūks who helped Baybars I in his attempt to kill Sultan Ḳuṭuz and seize the throne in the same year. Baybars trusted Ḳalāwūn and promoted him to the position of commander of a thousand (*amīr alf*). In 671/1272 Ḳalāwūn accompained Sultan Baybars in a campaign against the Mongols. He distinguished himself as the first amīr to cross the Euphrates, thus gaining an advantage over the enemy. During the reign of Baybars, he became very close to the sultan, and in 675/1276 gave his daughter in marriage to Baybars' son, al-Malik al-Saʿīd Baraka Khān. Baybars celebrated the event with great festivity.

In 676/1277 Baybars died, and was succeeded by his son. Ḳalāwūn, as father-in-law of the sultan, became the most eminent and important of the amīrs. In 676/1277 Sultan Baraka Khān sent Ḳalāwūn on a campaign against the Armenians. During Baraka Khān's short reign of about two years, the older amīrs who had served under his father, resentful of his disregard of them, rebelled against him, and besieged him in the citadel of Cairo, forcing him to abdicate. The Mamlūks then asked Ḳalāwūn to accept the throne, but he refused because he foresaw opposition. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Salāmish, Baybars' seven-year-old son, was consequently chosen as sultan in 678/1279 and the Mamlūk amīrs appointed Ḳalāwūn his *atabak* [*q.v.*]. Sultan Salāmish reigned for only three months, during which time his *atabak* Ḳalāwūn was the real ruler. Ḳalāwūn's name was mentioned in the Friday

prayer and struck on the coins along with that of Salāmis͟h. At last in 678/1279 Salāmis͟h was deposed, and Ḳalāwūn was saluted as sultan, taking the title al-Malik al-Manṣūr.

As soon as he was acknowledged as sultan, Ḳalāwūn arrested a group of Ẓāhirī amīrs, that is to say, amīrs belonging to the late Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars. Prompted by purely political motives, Ḳalāwūn abolished certain taxes such as a war-tax which was collected whenever the sultan made preparations for a campaign. During the first year of his sultanate, Ḳalāwūn faced opposition from several of Baybars' amīrs who had their own claims to the sultanate. One of them, the amīr Sunḳur al-As͟hḳar ("the ruddy") proclaimed himself sultan in Syria with the name al-Malik al-Kāmil. Sunḳur gained the support of Baybars' Mamlūks, the Bedouin tribes of Syria and the Ayyūbid amīr of Ḥamāh. Ḳalāwūn sent against him a strong army headed by the amīr Badr al-Dīn Baktās͟h al-Fak͟hrī. The two armies met at al-D̲j̲asūra near Damascus in 679/1280. Sunḳur was defeated and fled to the Bedouin Arabs, asking the Mongols for assistance. In the following year, when both sides learned about the advent of the Mongols, Sunḳur made peace with Ḳalāwūn.

Like Baybars I, Ḳalāwūn was successful in defending Syria against the Mongols, who had now taken advantage of the confusion in Syria resulting from Sunḳur's revolt. Led by Mangūtīmūr, a brother of the Īlk͟hān Abāḳā, the Mongols, together with their Georgian, Frankish and Armenian allies, had managed to cross the Euphrates and invade Syria. Ḳalāwūn came to Syria with his army, which was augmented by additional troops from various parts of Syria. The two armies met at Ḥimṣ in 680/1281. The Mongols were severely defeated and forced to withdraw from Syria. Both Mangūtīmūr and Abāḳā died in the same year. Abāḳā's successor, Aḥmad Tegüder (Takūdār), was a convert to Islam. He tried to establish good relations with Ḳalāwūn, exchanging letters and embassies with him. In 683/1284, Aḥmad Tegüder was murdered and his brother Arg͟hūn succeeded him. Arg͟hūn, who remained a pagan and was very hostile toward the Muslims, attempted, unsuccessfully, to persuade the pope and the king of France to help him in a Crusade against the Mamlūks.

As for the Crusaders, Ḳalāwūn followed the example of Baybars I in pursuing the holy war against them in Syria. During the struggles with Sunḳur and the Mongols, Ḳalāwūn had made a truce with the Crusaders, which led to a temporary cessation of hostilities. Having brought these struggles to a successful conclusion, he broke the truce and conducted a series of raids into Crusader territory. In 684/1285 he attacked the fortress of the Knights Hospitallers at Marḳab and, after a siege of 38 days, succeeded in capturing it. The historian Abu 'l-Fidā (d. 732/1331), who was at that time 12 years old, was present at the siege of Marḳab, having accompanied his father on the expedition. The Knights Hospitallers retired to Tripoli. Bohemund VII of Tripoli wanted to appease Ḳalāwūn, so he handed over to him the coastal stronghold of Maraḳiya. In the same year (684/1285) Margaret of Tyre purchased peace with Ḳalāwūn for ten years on humiliating terms. The best fortified port and largest town taken by Ḳalāwūn was Tripoli. He took advantage of the quarrel over the throne of Tripoli after the death of Bohemund, and besieged the town in 688/1289. Although Tripoli received help from Cyprus, Ḳalāwūn with his strong mangonels ruined the walls of the town as well as its citadel and captured it by assault. Abu 'l-Fidā—then 16 years old—participated with his father and cousin in this battle. He reports that after the capture of Tripoli he crossed over to an island outside the port where he was oppressed by the foul smell of decaying corpses lying there. In the following year (689/1290) the people of ʿAkkā (Acre) broke the truce by robbing and killing some Muslim merchants. Ḳalāwūn proclaimed a holy war, but as he was about to attack Acre, he died in his tent on the outskirts of Cairo. This task was therefore left to his son and successor al-Malik al-As͟hraf al-K͟halīl, who captured the city in 690/1291.

Ḳalāwūn also took the offensive against the Christian Armenians. The Kingdom of Little Armenia was raided in 682/1283. After two years the Armenians were forced to conclude a truce for ten years. They agreed to pay an annual tribute consisting of a large quantity of Armenian silver coins, and to release all Muslim prisoners.

In order to extend Mamlūk rule in the south, Ḳalāwūn waged war against Nubia in 686/1288 and 688/1289. He sent two expeditions, headed by some of the ablest amīrs, to punish S͟hamāmūn of Nubia. S͟hamāmūn had been playing a kind of "hide and seek" with the Mamlūk army. At last he sent a delegation, bearing a gift and the normal tribute, *baḳt* [*q.v.*], to Egypt and begged forgiveness. These offerings were accepted and the delegation was kindly received. Nubia remained subordinate to the Mamlūk sultanate.

Ḳalāwūn preserved and strengthened the good diplomatic and trade relations established by Baybars I with foreign powers. He also maintained good relations with the Mongols of the Golden Horde, Andronicus II Palaeologus of the Byzantine Empire, King Alfonso of Castile, James of Sicily and Rudolf I of Habsburg. He concluded, further, a commercial treaty with the republic of Genoa. Hoping to attract merchants to Egypt as a means of encouraging Egyptian trade, Ḳalāwūn issued a charter of safe conduct (*amān* [*q.v.*]) to foreign merchants coming from China, India, Yemen and others countries which is preserved in Ḳalḳas͟handī's [*q.v.*] *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿs͟hā*. As an encouragement to internal trade Ḳalāwūn abolished a subcategory of the *zakāt* tax, called *zakāt al-dawlaba*, which was payable by Muslim shopkeepers on their merchandise, realizing that it tended to impoverish the merchants.

Ḳalāwūn bequeathed the most important monuments of the Mamlūk period. He restored the citadels of Aleppo, Baalbek and Damascus. In Cairo, he erected a hospital (*al-bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī*), which is perhaps the most remarkable building of the Mamlūk era. It consists of many wards for various diseases, a lecture room, laboratories, a dispensary, baths, kitchens and store-rooms. This hospital was open to men and women, rich and poor, residents and transients from all countries and provinces, without distinction of origin or rank. Every patient leaving the hospital received a gift of money and clothing. The hospital was connected with a school mosque and a mausoleum which is decorated with remarkable arabesque tracery and fine marble mosaic. The school mosque, which was designed for the education of approximately 60 orphans, was equipped with a library containing a fine collection of medical, theological and legal books. Nuwayrī, who was the *nāẓir* of Ḳalāwūn's hospital and its *waḳf*, provides in his book *Nihāyat al-arab* valuable data about the properties, shops, public baths, and farms which constituted the *waḳf* assigned by Ḳalāwūn for the maintenance of his tomb, school and hospital.

Ḳalāwūn died on Saturday 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 689/11 November 1290. He had proved to be brave, patient, generous, just and mild. It is said that he could express himself in Arabic only with great difficulty. He was the only Mamlūk sultan who succeeded in founding a dynasty capable of holding the sultanate for several generations. All the Mamlūk sultans from 689/1290 until 784/1382 were his descendants, except those who were his Mamlūks; *i.e.*, Kitbughā, Lādjīn, and Baybars II al-Djāshnikīr. Ḳalāwūn established the Burdjī regiment of Mamlūks [see BURDJIYYA], mostly Circassian slaves, whom he bought and quartered in the towers (Arabic sing. *burdj*) of the Cairo citadel. The Burdjī or Circassian Mamlūks, the second line of the Mamlūk sultans, ruled Egypt and Syria from 784/1382 until the end of the Mamlūk sultanate in 922/1517.

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(HASSANEIN RABIE)

ḲALB pl. *ḳulub* (A.), "heart".

I. — MYSTICISM

In Ṣūfī terminology the "heart" plays a large part, for it is viewed both as the source of man's good and evil aspirations and as the seat of learning or religious apprehension and of divine visitations. The *'ilm al-ḳulūb wa 'l-khawāṭir*, "science of hearts and movements of the soul", owes its origin to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, one of the earliest writers on *taṣawwuf* (cf. L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1922, 468).

The role allotted to "heart" in the personality and understanding of man is in strict conformity with Semitic tradition, and the Ṣūfī "science of hearts" is firmly based on the Ḳur'ān. While *'aḳl*, "intellect", has no place in the vocabulary of the Ḳur'ān, *ḳalb* is very frequently employed. It is with his heart that man "understands", just as he sees with his eyes and hears with his ears (*e.g.*, *Ḳur'ān*, VII, 179, XXII, 46). Of those who neither understand nor hear (the Word of God) it is said, "it is not their eyes that are blind, but the hearts in their breasts" (XXII, 46). Such blindness of the heart is a denial, the origin of ignorance. Thus God "seals the hearts" of "those who do not know" and does not guide them in the true way (VII, 101, X, 74, XXX, 59, etc.). God "sets a seal on the heart of every haughty tyrant" (XL, 35). In *tafsīr* and *'ilm al-kalām*, the "seal affixed to the heart" was to become one of the most controversial questions in the consideration of man's freedom of action (*e.g.*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, on Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 23).

So it is from his heart that man's awareness or ignorance of God originates. But far from being merely an intellectual apprehension, this is a knowledge which demands the whole of one's life. So that the heart may be truly the seat of divine knowledge, it must be "assuaged by a remembrance of God" (XIII, 28), be pure (XXVI, 89; XXXVII, 84) and contrite (L, 33); it must be filled with *taḳwā*, reverential awe of the Lord (XXII, 32). It is the seat of the religious sciences; it is also the home of that mercy, that "faith above faith" which is the divine dwelling-place: God Himself "causes His Presence (*sakīna*) to descend to the hearts of Believers so that they may add faith to their faith" (XLVIII, 4). The hearts of those who are guilty, however (XV, 12; XXVI, 200), which are "marked out for severe punishment", and the hearts of "those who do not believe in the Hereafter" (XXXIX, 45), "shudder" (*ibid.*); terror will strike the hearts of the impious (*kuffār*, III, 151, VIII, 12).

Closely related to these texts is L. Massignon's comment (*op. cit.*, 489): "In sum, the Ḳur'ān made the heart the source of knowledge and conscience; since he can in no way 'hold back' the irreversible and irremediable dispersion of his resources (in movements and feelings), man can regain possession of himself only within his own self, in his *taḳlīb*, in his heart". This he does "against the grain of the countermanding fleshly lusts, which all Muslim writers locate in the liver and bile" (*ibid.*, n. 7).

Consequently, the deepening experience of faith and the search for union with God, which are the first and constant aims of *taṣawwuf*, become linked with the study of the "science of hearts", the *'ilm al-ḳulūb* to use al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's expression. The following distinctions were formulated: the seat of thought and awareness of self lay not in the brain but in the heart, a bodily organ (*djismī*), a morsel of flesh (*muḍgha*, *maḍīgha*), situated in the hollow of the breast whose beats both gave life and indicated the presence of life. There in the heart lies the "secret and hidden (*sirr*) home of the conscience, who's secrets (*nadjwā*) will be revealed on Judgement Day" (L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 478). The role of the spiritual master (*shaykh*) regarding the novice (*murīd*) is to teach him this "science" of desires, thoughts and inner impulses, to teach him to recognize and overcome those aspirations which come from the "physical soul" (*nafs*), and to gather up and protect the inspirations from the "heavenly spiritual breath" (*rūḥ*) through which God reveals Himself to man. Everything that enables man to battle against cupidity and the passions, all that can strengthen his faith (*īmān*) and foster his surrender to God (*islām*), becomes part of "the science of hearts". Thus the celebrated Ṣūfī treatise by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (4th/10th century), which covers ritual acts as well as revealing steps in the path to divine union, is called *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* ("Food for Hearts", numerous eds., especially Cairo 1351/1932). In a closely related sense, Baḥya

ibn Paḳūda, an Andalusian Jew who wrote in Arabic in the 5th/11th century and was strongly influenced by Ṣūfī ideas, entitled his spiritual treatise "Introduction to the Duties of the Heart", *Ḥidāya ilā farā'iḍ al-ḳulūb*.

This stress placed on the "heart", the organ of conscience and seat of religious knowledge and of life in the presence of God, is in no respect an emotionalization of religious values. It stems from an experimentally based anthropology in which understanding and will are united in an existential mode of behaviour which binds man and his destiny. It remains in complete harmony with one of the most dominant notes in ḳur'ānic teaching. Here, *ḳalb* comes close to the Ṣūfī idea of *ma'rifa*, the direct awareness of the "initiate" (*'ārif*).

A great many works of *taṣawwuf* deal with the "science of hearts", but here we will restrict our enquiry to one of the most characteristic examples. One of the best, and most famous, expositions is that of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, notably in his *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, which follows in the same tradition as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and in fact reproduces whole passages from the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*. However, the influence of Hellenic philosophy led al-Ghazālī to set out clearly the problem of the heart as one of the foundations of the human personality. While it may be legitimate to stress the ethical end of the "science of hearts", as does al-Ghazālī, for example, in *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* (cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī*, London 1953), the close intertwining of knowledge and the moral life which is also affirmed there should not be forgotten. These are its presuppositions:

The first book of the third part of the *Iḥyā'* is called *Sharḥ 'adjā'ib al-ḳalb*, "A commentary on the wonders of the heart". The preliminary definitions where al-Ghazālī analyses the four concepts *ḳalb, rūḥ, nafs* and *'aḳl* are well known. For each concept al-Ghazālī distinguishes a "physical" and a spiritual meaning. In the first sense *ḳalb* is a bodily organ: *rūḥ* the "vital spirits" in the blood (cf. contemporaneous ideas of physiology); *nafs* is the sum of man's passions, the root of his "blameworthy qualities"; and *'aḳl* the faculty of knowing, which "has its seat in the *ḳalb*". In the second sense *ḳalb* is a "subtle, divine and spiritual" principle which is "the reality of man" (*ḥaḳīḳat al-insān*); *rūḥ* is that spiritual substance in man that acts and understands; *nafs* is man in his reality but capable of being qualified by different attributes according to how his soul controls his carnal desires (*ammāra*, cf. Ḳur'ān, XII, 53) or chastises his passions and struggles to reform itself (*lawwāma, ibid.*, LXXV, 2), or is "at peace" (*muṭma'inna, ibid.*, LXXIX, 27), "pleased by and pleasing to" the Lord; *nafs* in that case corresponds to the "rational soul", the *nafs nāṭiḳa* of the philosophers. Finally *'aḳl* in this second sense is "that which understands knowledge", in short "the heart itself". In their spiritual interpretation, these four terms designate man's "reality", but under four different aspects.

The Ghazālian text *Risāla ladūniyya* (in *Djawāhir al-ghawālī*, Cairo 1353/1934, 23-7) lays greater stress on the synonymity of the terms: "By the 'rational soul' I mean that matter to which all schools give a special name. Philosophers call it the 'rational soul'; the Ḳur'ān calls it the 'soul at peace' and 'the spirit which descends from the Word of God' (cf. XVII, 87); the Ṣūfīs call it 'the heart'. These are simply differences in terminology, but they cover a single concept (*ma'nā wāḥid*): there are no conceptual differences. The heart, the spirit and the soul at peace are all names for the rational soul, which is a substance endowed with life, action and perception. Wherever we speak of the 'spirit' in absolute terms, or of the 'heart', it is this substance we are discussing".

Thus it would be a mistake to take al-Ghazālī's stress on the heart as indicating his "subjectivity" in the western sense of the term (cf. J. Oberman, *Der philosophische und reliogiöse Subjektivismus Ghazalis*, Vienna 1921). If, as A. J. Wensinck observes (*La Pensée de Ghazzālī*, Paris 1940, 64), "the heart comprises reason and will", then rather than perceiving an emotionalization of rational values (see above), we should be aware of a total apprehension of what is distinctive of man according to an existential psychology common to biblical and ḳur'ānic traditions: "the heart in a Pascalian sense" indeed, but only to the extent that Pascal's statements are themselves inspired by the Bible. "The heart has two gates", said al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyā'* (cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 66-7), one opening on to the external world, the impressions of the senses, passions and desires and thus open to devilish whispers, and the other opening on to the "internal Kingdom". This second gate is "that of inspiration, of the breath of awe of God, and of revelation". Though the terminology is different, this is very close to the "two faces of the soul" found in St. Augustine and mediaeval Latin writers.

In the experience of *dhikr* [*q.v.*], increasingly intensified repetition of the Holy Name passes from the tongue to the heart (cf. *Iḥyā'*, iii, 17): the formula uttered, and thus the Object it evokes, are impressed first on the very organ of the heart (and the circulatory system) and then, by this means, on the spiritual heart, that is in the very depths of being. (N.B.: the "heart" plays a very similar role in Ṣūfī *dhikr* and in the hesychasm of Mount Athos or in the *Account by a Russian Pilgrim*). Al-Ghazālī appears to distinguish only two stages, "*dhikr* of the tongue" and "*dhikr* of the heart"; others add a third, "*dhikr* of the inmost heart of hearts (*sirr*)", which takes possession of the whole being of the man at prayer (cf. Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh of Alexandria, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ wa 'l-miṣbāḥ*, Cairo, n.d., 4-6).

To sum up: we have seen that for al-Ghazālī and Ṣūfī tradition as a whole, the bodily organ of the heart (and not the brain) is the seat of *'aḳl*, the faculty of knowledge. *'Aḳl*, in the meaning of "the understanding of knowledge", is "in short the heart itself", and the heart is the home and source of *ma'rifa*. Now the "spiritual heart" is the province of the moralist (in man as in animals the "bodily heart" belongs to medicine). Thus while *'aḳl* may be identified with *ḳalb*, the reverse does not hold. *Ḳalb* is not only the faculty of knowing, it is also the seat of all moral impulses, both evil desires and instincts and the struggle to be free of them and attentive to divine teaching (cf. the analysis of texts of the *Iḥyā'* by H. Laoust in *La Politique de Ghazālī*, Paris 1970, 218-21). Salvation comes only from the heart's purified knowledge in its dual and inseparable aspects, speculative and actual. Thus it is a complete education of the "heart" that spiritual teachers must constantly develop and enrich in themselves and their disciples.

In Ṣūfism the analysis of the cardinal virtue *ṣidḳ* [*q.v.*], "sincerity" or "truthfulness", is wholly dependent on the "science of hearts"—see the *Kitāb al-Ṣidḳ* of al-Kharrāz (ed. and tr. A. J. Arberry, Oxford 1937). On Judgement Day the answer to the *su'āl al-ṣidḳ*, "the question of sincerity", will be revealed in two fashions by those prophets who are

also saints (*walī*): it will be stamped on the tongue, visible to the hearers, and on the heart, the seat of divine inspiration.

Al-Ḥallādj, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn ʿArabī comment in this manner on Jesus' answer to the *su'āl al-ṣidḳ* (cf. L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 686 and ref.).

Bibliography: in the article. (L. Gardet)

II. — Poetry

Although accorded from the outset an important place in the *nasīb* of the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], the word "heart" is emphasized only rarely in the ancient literature of Arabia. This situation conditioned the evolution of the word in all subsequent poetic literature. It was rediscovered and re-assessed as the progressive development of feeling caused the word to be employed more and more freely in the traditional context of Arab poetry. It would appear that this represented the righting of a deliberate omission, the precise reasons for which have yet to be determined.

In fact, the old Arab *nasīb* contains hardly any mention of the heart as the seat of the passions, at least in the collections generally held to be the most Bedouin (one example in Zuhayr, two in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 13 in Djarīr, who was influenced by the poetry of the cities). It is permissible to suppose that the rarity of the word "heart" in the works of the founders of the Arab lyric is related to the nature of the love which was celebrated in their *nasīb*, though it is true that the few examples found in their verse show that they did not neglect the affective meaning of the term. But for them "matters of the heart" had a social, even sociological, importance. In fact the *nasīb* reveals many of the features of the "Rites de passage" (Van Gennep, Paris 1909). The poet is searching for a protector, a stronger or older "neighbour" whose intervention entails a new tribal affiliation, *nasīb* (cf. al-Buḥtūrī, *al mawlā 'l-ṣarīḥu nasību*); the *ḥimā*, or "abandoned encampment", appears to be the place where the "binding" rites took place, in the ceremony perhaps called *ʿaḳīḳa* (Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 152); the poet becomes the bondsman of a new clan, the clan of the Lady who is presumed to hold him in captivity (*sabī*); he becomes a "hostage" (*rahn*) of the Lady's clan (used in the sense of captive in *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 402; cf. al-Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ*, 177, verse by Hilāl b. al-ʿAlā'). He is a captive (*asīr*) of the Lady's clan like the devotees of a god dwelling in the midst a of sanctuary in classical antiquity. Furthermore, for the *Lisān*, each child is called *rahīna*, pledge or captive in respect of the *ʿaḳīḳā* he has undergone; the same root implies the idea of *ḳidāḥ*, the sacred sport of arrows, which is compared with the "arrows of the Lady". The same is true of the poet's she-camel; we know that in Arabic folklore (*e.g.*, in al-Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ*, 101) the lover is in search (*nishdān*) of a stray she-camel, perhaps also *ṭalab al-ḥādja*, the visit of the Lady being a sign that the poet's quest is crowned with success.

Like the *ʿaḳīḳa*, the *nishdān* is an old pagan rite (cf. *ḥadīth* on the prohibition on gleaning in the *ḥaram* of Mecca, the former *ḥimā*). The *munshid*, the pilgrim of the *ḥimā* and acolyte of the "visit", is searching for "signs", as the meaning of the root indicates. These signs are those provided by the *zadjr*: these become commonplaces in the classical *nasīb*. Sometimes the *munshid*'s quest is ended by the *ʿazā'*, a term with clear sociological implications (the tribal affiliation being connoted by the 5th and 7th forms of the root). The visit to the Lady or pilgrimage of the *ḥimā* (*iʿtimār*) seems to be linked to the season, the spring equinox, *radjab*, for the first encounters (the ideal month of the *ʿumra* or the *iʿtimār*), after a visit had been made to the sanctuary of the Kaʿba; it is possible, on the evidence of the Ḳur'ān, that *waʿd* and *ikhlāf* were related to the vicissitudes of this quest of the Arab lover, which in later literature became that of the "heart" as such.

From these fleeting but converging indications, we can speculate with some probability that "Arab love" corresponded to a "passage ritual", related, at least in the composition of its vocabulary, to the presence of a lady from another tribe who mysteriously bound the lover by a tie, the duration and exact nature of which remained imprecise because of the same "tabu" which affected "matters of the heart".

This "tabu" no longer operated where the Bedouin significance of the love poem had been completely obliterated, and when it had succumbed to the joint influence of the poetry of the cities, music and religious terminology. After the breakdown of tribal ties, those poets who preferred to turn to the past rather than to the future, with the exception of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, transferred the main import of Bedouin love to the heart, but weakened it into mere metaphor. The following ideas were retained:

1) Now it is the heart of the poet which, always in straitened circumstances or abroad, "searches" for the Lady.

2) Having become the seat of passion, that is of the Memory and the Secret, the heart is for that very reason an indispensable part of courtly dialectic, at the same time confidant and actor. Naturally the latter is the element which we shall see emphasized when we turn from the poetry of Ḥidjāz to that of ʿIrāḳ.

The heart is on a never-ending quest, journeying after the caravan in which his beloved rides (*Ḥamāsa* of al-Marzūḳi, i, 51; al-Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ*, *ḳalbu man tayyamū*, 141; Djamīl's *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, 118; al-ʿAbbās, 232). This heart is called *murtahin* (ʿUmar, 179 and 295), for it is no longer clear where it dwells and the uncertainty condemns the poet to perpetual wandering. Dissociated from the person of the poet and his group, it is fragmented (*inṣadaʿa*), or else it flies through space, in the grip of such an intense emotion that it cannot recognize its true country (*marūʿ*, 185), a metaphor later employed by the mystic Djunayd (al-Daylamī, *ʿAṭf*, 32).

Such an instability, arising from uncertainty about its home and where it really belongs, turns the heart into a nomad with no clearly defined pastureland, doomed to follow the whims of the seasons (*mitbāʿ al-waṭan*, ʿUmar, 279). Strictly speaking, this situation is *taṭayyum*, slavery in exile (ʿUmar, 192; cf. al-Daylamī for an analysis of the equivalent notion of *huyām*, 23). It is also the *ṣibā*, the call of passion (coming after the signs given to the *munshid*), flashes of lightning, the language of birds which set the heart on the right road. Vagabond and wanderer, the heart is at the same time imprisoned in the net of love which condemns it to strive unceasingly for the *waṣl* or *wiṣāl* (the Lady's favour, originally integration within the Lady's group; ʿUmar, 295, a synonym: *mawadda*, Abū Nuwās, 704; cf. ʿUmar, 222 and 326). During this *ṭalab*, this quest, the heart is truly the quarry (a gazelle of the sacred enclosure) hunted by the Lady and eventually tracked down by her and pierced by her arrows, perhaps like the animals that are no longer defended by the prohibition of the *ḥimā* (ʿUmar 319: *muṣayyad* coupled with *muṭayyam*, *ibid.*, 360; the Lady hunts the heart though she herself has the appearance of a gazelle).

The heart which has been subjected to such harsh blows (*muṣāb*) is lovesmitten and dependent upon the Lady's pleasure (*muʿallaḳ, muwakkal*, 362). These metaphors are interchangeable between the lover, represented by his heart, and the Lady; the victim is endowed with the traits and attributes of his tormentor, and vice versa. Thus the poet is led to declare that the Lady occupies his heart (*ibid.*, 355), the heart itself having become the sacred enclosure where the Lady's whims are given free rein. The Lady occupies the best seat in the poet's heart, the "highest place" (ʿUmar, 190: *muḥtallan, rafīʿan*). There she can do exactly as she pleases, knowing herself to be in a vanquished land (*abāḥat Umm Ḥazra min fuʾādī s̲h̲iʿāb al-ḥubb*, D̲j̲arīr, 65; cf. al-ʿAbbas, 39, 191, and Abū Nuwās, 497). At the end of love's "quest", the heart can be possessed by the Lady through a variety of means (magic, the hunt, capture, captivity, chains, bonds, cords, nets, pledge, loan, deposit with every kind of alienation, the result of the departure for strange lands which is the "quest" inherent in the Arab concept of love).

Yet in still deeper fashion, by means of a psychology which endows the heart with many "membranes' (al-Hamad̲h̲ānī, *al-Alfāz al-kitābiyya, bāb ṣamīm al-ḳalb*; cf. Daylamī, *ʿAṭf*, 16 and al-S̲h̲arīf al-Murtaḍā, i, 86), it can be considered that the heart contains the Lady or her image (a trace of the encampment) in whole or in part.

Thus it is with a love which is more internal, more courtly or more normative that the poet from the cities of ʿIrāḳ (*e.g.*, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf; fifty examples in the K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ī edition; the pseudo-*dīwāns* of the romantic heroes) must come to terms when he endeavours to look into his heart.

The heart is the seat of the Memory of Love (al-ʿAbbās, 182). This Memory is identical with Love (281: "I am astonished that a heart can love you"). To compare the lover to the Lady is to compare the respective state of their hearts (*ibid.*, 53: "if my heart were like yours"). The heart experiences the fires (*nīrān*) of passion (*ḳad aḥraḳat nīrānuhu ḳalbī*). The Lady rules the heart of the lover as absolute monarch (*ibid.*, 16). Little distinction is made between Memory and the image of the Lady which resides in a heart that can contain no other object (*ibid.*, 19). On the other hand, there is less insistence on the breaking or cracking of the heart (*ṣudūʿ, fuṭūr*), that symbol of the restless life of the lover and his separation from his tribe.

Arab poetry henceforth invested the heart with an importance which remained characteristic of the courtly spirit. But the heart also had conflicts and problems which occupied theorists as well as poets. In the first place, since the heart seemed to be the principle of love, the question arose whether it shared this role with the eyes, whose act of looking had wounded the poet. This question brought to the forefront the related question of the "licentiousness of the glance" cast at the beloved object, which is the main object of courtly ethics. To recognize the priority of the glance is to uphold the imperative of a strict morality which condemns the lover and perhaps courtly love in the name of social order. To speak of the predominant if not determinant role of the heart (which can develop the image without the help of the eyes with the assistance of an intensive literary culture) is to admit the fatality of passion and its justification by the absurd, which was the gist of the Ẓāhirite scandal sparked off by Ibn Dāwūd. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this debate, the influence of which had already made itself felt in the work of the ʿIrāḳī "logographs" and story-tellers in the 3rd/9th century.

It could well be that a number of narratives concerning the story of the heroes of romances reveal rather indirect stances relating to this central debate. It should be added that both mysticism and theology put the idea of the heart's vision in the forefront (al-Daylamī, 85). Finally, the Memory of the Lady engraved on the heart—a traditional image no doubt but a deeply felt one—was in this theophany assimilated to the divine face, "yearning" for which haunted Islamic thought, theological as well as philosophical (the *ruʾyā* predominates: in the last chapter of al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī's *Risāla*, *ruʾyā ḥasana* is seated in the "heart", which in mystic *sālimiyya* is considered as being the "domain" of the Angel; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, i, 131). A vision of the heart and of yearning which are mutually linked and associated in the light of a new conception, or at least a broader one, of "heart" helps to confer on oriental courtly love that shadowy vagueness and dreamlike dimension which strikes the western observer.

Thus the heart begins by referring to a Bedouin love about which little is known except that it involved a change of status where the sacred element had already infiltrated tribal customs. In the poetry of the cities, the heart eventually seems to be the focus of poetic modes of expression; later, under other and still more complex influences, the heart becomes the authorized seat of the Memory of Love and the Vision of the Lady. To determine to what extent this "vision of the heart", the offspring of a highly elaborated civilization, remained faithful to the ideas of primitive Arab culture, is not one of the least of the problems posed by the appearance in the Arab language of a literature composed in a clearly courtly spirit.

Bibliography: Examples of the use of the word *ḳalb*: *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Aḥmad S̲h̲ākir, 93, 301; Zuhayr, ed. Ahlwardt, 91; D̲j̲arīr, ed. al-Sāwī, 65, 91, 100, 147, 158, 159, 181, 210, 227, 240, 257, 300, 301; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 67, 84, 105, 106, 160, 178, 179, 185, 190, 192, 195, 201, 203, 217, 219, 222, 225, 227, 229, 279, 295, 319, 323, 326, 355, 360, 362. For the relationship which may have existed between the condition of the poet and the heart's "captivity", see J. C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968, 61. For the role of the heart in "courtliness", see Vadet, *op. cit.* and IBN DĀWŪD; *Iʿtilāl al-ḳulūb*, Ms. Bursa 1535 and especially Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya, *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn*, ed. ʿUbayd, 104 (*munāẓara* between the heart and the eyes). For the original meaning of *muns̲h̲id* and *ins̲h̲ād*, see the romance of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa in *Ag̲h̲ānī*, i, 199, Daylamī, *ʿAṭf*, 88, the legal treatises on the relationship between *yamīn* and *munās̲h̲ada*. (J. C. VADET)

KALB (fem. *kalba*, pl. *kilāb*, *kalīb*, *aklub*, secondary pl. *kilābāt*, *akālib*), the general name for the domestic dog (*Canis familiaris*) with no distinction of breed. A fundamentally unclean (*nad̲j̲as*) animal and therefore forbidden food according to ḳurʾānic law, the dog is generally if not despised, then at least avoided, throughout Islam. This is particularly true of urban areas, at any rate insofar as the animal does not assist its master in the pursuit of a permitted activity. For Muslims this reservation is compounded by a superstitious caution arising from the belief that the dog is a demonic emanation belonging to the category of evil spirits (*min al-d̲j̲inn wa 'l-ḥinn*). In Arabic, as in most languages, the word "dog" is a biting insult and it appears pejoratively

in numerous proverbial sayings. In addition, throughout Asia and the Near East, and particularly in the cities, disdain for the animal was buttressed by the scourge of rapidly increasing packs of dogs, regarded as "maroons" (from Sp. *cimarron, i.e.*, reverted to the wild state) by some cynologists and as "pariahs" by others. However, like that of the vultures, the presence of these constantly famished outlaws was tolerated to some degree for their indispensable services as scavengers. Istanbul was notorious for its hordes of pariahs; yet in the words of Xavier Marmier, writing in the mid-19th century: "disagreeable as these animals may be, in the State of Constantinople they are practically a necessary evil. Rectifying the lack of foresight of the city police, they cleanse the streets of a great quantity of matter which otherwise would putrefy and fill the air with pestilential germs". The same was true of Cairo and Alexandria; so prolific were the dogs that they became a disaster for the inhabitants, and in the 19th century the viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī (1769-1849), rounded up enough of them to fill a ship and drowned them. The Maghrib too suffered from this "invasion" and there the indefinable and particularly aggressive breed of "douar (gypsy) dog" or "kabyle dog" was prevalent. Such a proliferation of carriers of the virus easily explains the endemic nature of rabies (*kalab*) in all Islamic countries at all periods. It is also obvious why the Prophet, faced with the problem of a plague of stray dogs in Medina in his day, at first took the implacable decision to exterminate "all dogs" (according to the *ḥadīth*s), and then, mitigating his decree because the canine race were a race of Allāh's creatures (*inna-hā umma min al-umam*) and because man needed certain categories of dog, decided to exterminate the black-coated strays and particularly those with light patches (*zabībatānʿ*) on each eyebrow, the undisputable mark of the devil in the eyes of all Arabs. It should be noted that this physical trait occurs frequently among black herd- and sheep-dogs of many occidental breeds and could be regarded by cynologists as an identifying mark of oriental pariahs. Freed from the Prophet's condemnation were all useful dogs who obeyed a master, *i.e.*, trained hunting dogs (*kalb al-ṣayd, ḍārī*, pl. *ḍawārī*) and watchdogs, whether they guarded houses (*kalb al-dūr*), alleys (*kalb al-darb*), flocks (*kalb al-ḍarʿ, kalb al-rāʿī, kalb al-ghanam*), or crops and vineyards (*kalb al-zarʿ*). In the general opinion of the doctors of law and jurisconsults it was permitted to possess, maintain (*iḳtināʾ*), buy, sell and bequeath such dogs, even black ones so long as their use could be justified. In addition, one who killed one of these dogs had to recompense the owner (*kālib*) at the rate of forty *dirhams* for a hunting dog, one ewe for a sheep-dog, one *faraḳ* (= 16 *raṭl*s) of wheat for a crop-guarding dog and one *faraḳ* of good earth for a house watchdog.

Though socially useful dogs are tolerated, the animal remains unclean with respect to religious practices. Everything a dog touches or licks is rendered impure and the place where it has lain must be purified with water, following the practice of the Prophet on one occasion. A dog prowling close to a Believer in prayer makes void the *ṣalāt*, and its presence prevents angels from visiting a house. Finally, anyone who keeps a useless and vicious (*ʿaḳūr*) dog lessens his final reward by one (or two) *ḳīrāṭ* [*q.v.*] each day. All these unfavourable dicta on the dog are derived from the standard collections of *ḥadīth* and commentaries on them are found in the major treatises of the four Sunnī legal schools: Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, al-Shaybānī's revised *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and *Kitāb al-Aṣl*; Saḥnūn's *Mudawwana*, al-Shāfiʿī's *Kitāb al-Umm*, al-Sarakhsī's *Mabsūṭ*, al-Muzanī's *Mukhtaṣar*, Ibn Ḳudāma's *Mughnī*, etc. (in the chapters on *al-ṣayd, al-dhabāʾiḥ, al-dhakāt, al-ḍaḥāyā, al-aṭʿima* and *al-buyūʿ* according to the individual writers); they are likewise found in works on the differences among jurists (*ikhtilāf al-fuḳahāʾ*) such as the *Bidāyat al-Mudjtahid* of Ibn Rushd. An inventory, classification and analysis of the data on the dog in all these sources is clearly set out by Erwin Gräf in his detailed study of ritual slaughter in Muslim law (*Jagdbeute und Schlachttier im islamischen Recht*, Bonn 1959).

Famine drove some Arab tribes in pre-Islamic days to eat the flesh of the dog; this was true of the Banū Asad [*q.v.*] and of one branch of them, the Banū Faḳʿas, among others. If we can believe some satirical verses written in the beginning of the Islamic period (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bukhalāʾ*, Leiden 1900, i, 259; idem, *Ḥayawān*, i, 267), these people acquired a taste for such food. In the Maghrib, al-Muḳaddasī (ed. and tr. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 61, and the cited bibliography, 87) observes that the inhabitants of Kasṭīliya and Nafṭa are cynophages and, in the 8th/14th century, al-Tidjānī accused the inhabitants of Tozeur, in the Djarīd of Ifrīḳiya, of the same deplorable custom (*Riḥla*, Tunis 1927, 115). According to gourmets, however, the flesh of plump pups (*djirw*, pl. *djirāʾ*, *adjrāʾ*) is succulent, similar to that of pigeons (see *Ḥayawān*, ii, 169, iv, 42). Finally we may speculate that, for pre-Islamic Arabs, eating dog-flesh could have been a relic of old totemic rites, since the dog was "tabu" in the ancient civilizations of the East.

In spite of the unfavourable attitude towards the dog arising from ḳurʾānic law and public opinion, nomadic and rural Muslims were not completely unaware of the high qualities of man's first companion, in the aspects both of usefulness and of devotion. As early as pre-Islamic times, the dog was the only domestic animal whose personality was sufficiently noticed for him to be given a proper name which had no connection with his external appearance, like Saʿd, Masʿūd, Anīs, Murdjān or Samḥa, and the chroniclers recount a number of anecdotes illustrating the compassion shown to dogs. The Prophet himself promised a divine reward to an old woman for her act of charity to a thirsty dog. S. H. Leeder (in *Veiled Mysteries of Egypt*, 1912) twice mentions wills or *waḳf*s made in favour of dogs (cf. G. H. Bousquet, *Des Animaux et de leur traitement selon le Judaïsme, le Christianisme et l'Islâm*, in *St. Isl.* ix (1958), 31-48). Nor does the Muslim forget the edifying and touching story of Ḳiṭmīr, the dog belonging to the Seven Sleepers (Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 17), the symbol of fidelity [see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF]; he will be the only dog allowed to enter Paradise. In the opinion of al-Bayḍāwī (*Anwār al-tanzīl*, Leipzig 1848, i, 557), Allāh gave this dog the gift of speech, while al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, xv, 141) believed him to be the reincarnation of a human being, a view that tallies with the Ismāʿīlī belief that Ḳiṭmīr's doglike exterior hid the huntsman (*mukallib*) Salmān (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 189, iii, 44; al-Damīrī, s.v. *kalb*, ii, 278-312; Massignon, *Les Sept Dormants d'Ephèse en Islam et en Chrétienté*, in *REI*, xxii-xxx (1954-62).

It was al-Djāḥiẓ who restored the dog to its just place in Muslim society in his remarkable treatise "On Animals" (*Ḥayawān*, i and ii). Pleading the case for the defence of the dog in a disputation between the supporter of the dog (*ṣāḥib al-kalb*) and the supporter of the cock (*ṣāḥib al-dīk*), he gathers together the Greek scientific data alongside Aristotle, whom he can, when necessary, refute, Arabic sayings in

prose and verse, travellers' tales and contemporary information, with the addition of his own observations on canine ecology and ethology. All this he examines critically in the light of a logic which in his case may owe more to an innate feeling for method than to his penchant towards the rationalist tendency of the Muʿtazilites. In any case, we may be grateful to al-Djāḥiẓ for not having contented himself with an apology for one type of hound, the "Saluki" (*salūḳī* [*q.v.*]) harrier, the noble hunter (*ʿitāḳ*) which was all that poets and writers on the hunt before and after al-Djāḥiẓ could do. Thanks to him, although we cannot speak of breeds, we are nevertheless able to distinguish the most common dogs of his day. Apart from the Saluki, there were the Kurdish sheep-dog (*kurdī*), a large animal introduced into Turkey in the 6th/12th century by the Kurds, probably the fore-runner of the Hungarian herd-dog, the Kuwatz. Since it had a keen sense of smell, the Kurdish sheep-dog was also used to track game and, when mated with a Saluki, produced a "cross" (*khilāsī*) with the qualities of both its parents. This, the first hound to hunt by smell and not by sight, was described succinctly by the poet ʿAlī b. al-Djahm al-Sāmī (d. 249/863), the favourite of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (see *Aghānī*, x, 239). Half a century later, this verse portrait was summarized by Ibn al-Muʿtazz in two of his *ṭardiyya*s [*q.v.*] (see *Dīwān*, Istanbul 1945, 26, no. 30; Damascus 1952, 297; Beirut 1961, 282-3), where this great hunting dog is described as *nayradj/nawradj*, "a tireless tracker". The many subsequent crosses of this strain, which falconers used as "bird dogs" to flush small furred and feathered game for their birds of prey, led to a great many varieties of "mastiff hounds" or mongrels (*khāridjī* and in the Maghrib *balhūt*, *barhūsh*). The pointer known as *zaghārī*/*zughārī* (pl. ---*iyya*), from its old High German name, *zeigari*, "pointer", appeared in the 6th/12th century with the Crusades. It was imported into Islamic countries at great cost for use as a bird dog; quieter than the *khilāsī*, it was described as *kalb al-bandj*, "the bush dog". Because of its origins and its clear and light-coloured coat, the *zaghārī* pointer greatly resembles the present-day Italian pointer and Hungarian Vizsla, who are assumed to be the ancestors of all other breeds of pointer. From its pale beige coat, the *zaghārī* pointer was given the nickname *zabībī* (dry grape colour); thus named, it is listed among the presents set by the Byzantine emperor Michael VI Stratiotikos to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh in 444/1052 (see M. Hamidullah, *L'Europe et l'Orient musulman*, in *Arabica*, vii (1960), 289).

Among the smaller breeds, al-Djāḥiẓ mentions a basset sheep-dog, the *ziʾnī*/*zīnī*, which is reminiscent of the Hungarian Puli and Pumi. He also mentions the *ḳalaṭī*, the "stocky dog", which seems to belong to the same type as the Pomeranian, and the *ṣīnī*, "the Chinese", which corresponds to the pug or Pekinese. This dog was easily trained to perform tricks for ladies such as holding a lamp on its muzzle without moving or running errands in the market place with a basket round its neck (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 179). Mountebanks and travelling showmen made wide use of its skills as a performing dog (*mutalaḳḳin*), putting it to work with monkeys in public performances.

Following the Greeks, the Muslims were not aware of any breeds of wild dog, believing the painted hyena or cynhyena (*simʿ*) and the aardwolf (*ʿisbār*) to be hybrids resulting from a cross between domestic dogs and wolves or hyenas. Al-Djāḥiẓ was the first to refute these errors (*Ḥayawān*, i, 183-5).

Rabies (*dāʾ al-kalab*) was widespread in Arab countries from the earliest days because of the hordes of pariah packs transmitting the virus. For a long time, a man smitten with the disease (*kalib*, *maklūb*) was considered as one possessed by *djunūn* and treated accordingly by methods designed more for exorcism than therapy; drinking the blood of a king was held to be the supreme remedy and empirical treatments, which were kept secret, were passed on from father to son in some families. Driven by the urgent need to act against the growing scourge, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, governor of Baṣra (45/665-6), made public a form of treatment by having it posted up on the wall of the Great Mosque which he had restored (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 10-2); unfortunately we do not know the nature of this treatment, which appears to have produced good results. The clinical symptoms of rabies, especially hydrophobia, were known precisely; al-Djāḥiẓ describes them and, after him, so do Kushādjim (*Maṣāyid*, Baghdād 1954, 138-9), al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī (s.v. *kalb*).

On the analogy of shape, the Arabs gave the name *kalb* to other animals; thus *kalb al-māʾ* (fresh-water dog) is the name for the otter, and in the western Islamic world for the beaver. Greed was the analogy which led to the name *kalb al-baḥr* (dog of the sea) being given to the little shark which we too call the dog-fish and which Arab naturalists also call the *kawsadj* or *lakhm*. It is from this "little shark" (*ḳuraysh*) that Muḥammad's tribe probably took its name, apparently through totemism. Finally, in the world of the invertebrates (*ḥasharāt*) we find the *kalb al-mayy*, the mole-cricket (*gryllotalpa vulgaris*), also called *ḥālūsh* and *ḥarrāthā* by horticulturalists, while arboriculturalists call all wood-eating worms *kalb*. By a similar process of analogy, the word *kalb* and its derivatives were given to a large number of objects, instruments and tools, whose contours or functions were to a greater or lesser degree reminiscent of the animal (see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.).

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The dog in astronomy. The ancient astronomers gave the name "dog" (κύων, *canis*) to a number of constellations and stars because of the allegorical figures which they believed they would perceive in

their dispositions in the sky. After the rise of Islam, the Muslims adopted the same principle and, translating the Greek and Latin terms, gave the name *kalb* to the following stars: a) *al Kalb al-akbar*, the Great Dog—also known as *Kalb al-dj̲abbār*, "the dog of the giant" (*i.e.*, of Orion)—is a sub-zodiacal constellation lying to the east of the Hare, beneath and to the left of Orion, on the edge of the Milky Way. In the European Middle Ages it was called the *quelb alagbar* and *quelb elgebar*. There are seven stars in the constellation and one of these, Sirius the Dog (α *Canis majoris*, magnitude 1,58) or *al-S̲h̲iʿrā al-yamaniyya* (*Elschere aliemini*), rises soon after the summer solstice. b) *al-Kalb al-aṣg̲h̲ar*, "the Little Dog"—also called *Muḳaddam al-kalb*, "the forerunner dog"—is a sub-zodiacal constellation lying under Gemini between Hydra and Orion. *Quelb alazgar* embraces two stars: Procyon (α *Canis minoris*, mag. 0,48) or *al-G̲h̲umayṣāʾ/Algomaisa* (= rheumy-eyed, a corruption of *al-dj̲umayzā*, the sycamore)—which is also known as *al-S̲h̲iʿrā al-s̲h̲āmiyya*, "Sirius of Syria" —and *al-S̲h̲iʿrā al-ʿabūr/Alhabor*, "Sirius which has crossed" (the Milky Way). They rise in mid-July. c) *al-Kalbānⁱ*, "the Two Dogs" (of Aldebaran), in the zodiacal constellation of Taurus are two stars situated between the Hyades and the Pleiades, corresponding to υ *Tauri*, mag. 4,5 and κ *Tauri*, mag. 4,6. d) *Kalb al-rāʿi/Celbalrai*, "the Shepherd's Dog", is a corruption of *Kitf al-rāʿi*, "the Shepherd's Shoulder" (Ariteus) and corresponds to β *Ophiuchi*, mag. 2,9, in the Serpentarius constellation. e) *Kilāb al-s̲h̲itāʾ*, "the Dogs of Winter", designates the four mansions of *al-D̲h̲irāʿ* (= Castor and Pollux, α, β *Geminorum*), *al-Nat̲h̲ra* (= γ, δ, ε *Cancri*), *al-Ṭarf* (= α *Cancri* and λ *Leonis*) and *al-Dj̲abha* (= ζ, γ, η, α *Leonis*) whose heliacal rising occurs successively from the end of June to mid-August and acronychal setting from the beginning of January to mid-February. Sirius (α *Canis majoris*) rises at the same time as *al-D̲h̲irāʿ*. This long period covers the time of the Dog (*al-kalb*) or "Dog Days" (cf. Fr. *jours caniculaires*, Ger. *Hundstage*), which are characterized by heatwaves (*wag̲h̲arāt*) and simooms (*samāʾim*), and also the time of the hoar-frost (*kulba, kalab al-s̲h̲itāʾ*), with its "black nights" (*al-layālī al-sūd*). In antiquity this whole period was regarded as ill-omened and thus held in dread. At the time of the rise of Sirius the Romans sought to placate him by sacrificing a red dog. The maxims of the nomadic Arabs concerning the *anwāʾ* [*q.v.*] of these four mansions indicate their apprehension in the face of the torrid summer with its shortage of water and pastureland and their fear of the harsh winter with its meagre supply of food and fuel. The star *al-D̲h̲irāʿ*, "the Arm" (for *al-d̲h̲irāʿ al-mabsūṭa*, "the outstretched arm" of Castor), which forms the seventh lunar mansion, is at its apogee at the beginning of October, and *al-Nat̲h̲ra*, "the Sneeze" (of Leo), the eighth lunar mansion, in mid-October. In the case of *al-Ṭarf*, "the Extremity" (of the southern rear claw of Cancer), the ninth lunar mansion, this occurs at the beginning of November, while for the tenth lunar mansion, *al-Dj̲abha*, "the Forehead" (of Leo), it takes place in mid-November. Thus the "Dogs of Winter" is a most appropriate name for these four mansions; it reveals a trace of the old solar astrological calendar of the Bedouins, based on their observation of the meteorological changes and atmospheric precipitations which took place during the heliacal rise and acronychal setting of well-known stars.

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KALB B. WABARA, the ancestor of the Banū Kalb, the strongest group of the Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*]. His mother, Umm al-Asbuʿ, was so called because all her sons were named after wild animals (T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 75 ff.). The Kalb were, according to the genealogical system (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Dj̲amharat al-nasab* etc.), of Yemenite descent, but sometimes they claimed for political reasons to belong to the Northern Arabs or even to Ḳurays̲h̲.

I.—Pre-Islamic period

Their greatest chieftain was Zuhayr b. Dj̲anāb, who had great authority among the northern tribes; so he was sent by Abraha [*q.v.*] to control the Bakr and Tag̲h̲lib (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, ed. Brünnow, 95; Ibn Ḳutayba, ed. de Goeje, 233). This cannot be the Abraha of the year in which the prophet Muḥammad was born, but is probably an earlier viceroy of the Yemen. Descendants of Zuhayr are enumerated in *Ag̲h̲ānī*, ed. Brünnow, 102 ff., amongst them a contemporary of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (d. 102/720). Zuhayr was later represented as one of the "long-lived" (*muʿammar*), who in his verses deplored his lost youth (Abū Ḥātim in I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii, 24 ff.; al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, ii, 172-6).

The grazing grounds of the Kalb (they were famous camel-breeders, see, *e.g.*, *Ag̲h̲ānī*[2], vii, 109, l. 4) were in the steppe between Syria and ʿIrāḳ (see map in vol. i, 891) called *samāwat Kalb* (Yāḳūt, iii, 131 etc.); here their centres were the oases in the low-lying valley (*al-k̲h̲abt*) formed by the Dj̲awf [*q.v.*] and the Wādī Sirḥān [*q.v.*] which opened to them the way to Syria long before the Muslims conquered it (see the verses in *Ḥamāsa*, Freytag, p. 659 and Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 83, n. 2). Thus, they had settled in Salamiyya, Palmyra, Damascus (especially in the G̲h̲ūṭa and al-Mizza), in Dj̲awlān, al-Suwaydāʾ, and in the region of Ḥarrān; there were small numbers of them in Ḥimṣ, Aleppo, Ḥamāt and Manbidj̲. They had also settled in Fadak, Dūmat al-Dj̲andal, Taymāʾ, and al-Ḥīra, and, according to al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī (*Ḳalāʾid al-dj̲umān*, 47) and Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (*ʿIbar*, ii, 521), there were many of them in "the Gulf of Constantinople" (*al-k̲h̲alīdj̲ al-ḳusṭanṭīnī*), as well as in S̲h̲īrāz in Persia, and in Manfalūṭ in Egypt. In Syria the Byzantines had placed them under the command of the G̲h̲assānids [*q.v.*], their phylarchs, to defend the Syrian *Limes* against the Sasanids and al-Ḥīra. In this way the Kalb became accustomed to military discipline and to law and order. Like the G̲h̲assānids they became converted to Christianity in its Monophysite form.

The Kalb clashed with the Muslims for the first time when Muḥammad sent, c. 6/627, an expedition against Dūmat al-Dj̲andal [*q.v.*] which led to the conversion of al-Aṣbag̲h̲ b. ʿAmr and a treaty (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 36; see J. Sperber in *MSOS As.*, xix (1916)). There were already some converted Kalb in Mecca, *e.g.* Muḥammad's step-son Zayd b. Ḥārit̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and Diḥya [*q.v.*]. In 8/639 the Kalb sent a deputation to Muḥammad to announce their conversion; it seems however that the majority stood aside, taking no part in the conquest of Syria.

Bibliography: in the article; in addition see the indexes to Ṭabarī, Yaʿḳūbī, Masʿūdī, Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, Ibn Durayd, *al-Is̲h̲tiḳāḳ*, the *Ag̲h̲ānī* (Tables), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd* (*Indices* by M. S̲h̲afīʿ), Hamdānī, ed. D. H. Müller (*BGA*, iv), al-

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II.—Islamic Period

The relations between Kalb and the Umayyads go back to the time of the caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (see above). Owing to their importance and strength in Syria, Muʿāwiya, who had married Maysūn [*q.v.*], whose father, Unayf [*q.v.*], belonged to the Kalb aristocracy, chose to rely on the Kalb in order both to secure his position at home, and to prepare himself to face ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in war. Thus the Yamanites in general and the Kalb in particular became the most influential of the tribes in Syria during the reigns of Muʿāwiya and his son, Yazīd, who also had married a wife from the Kalb, and during that of Muʿāwiya II [*q.v.*].

Conflicting interests led Kalb and Ḳays [*q.v.*] to support opposing political groups. In the period of political trouble that followed the death of Yazīd I, the support given by Kalb to the Umayyads was due to the favourable economic and political position which they had enjoyed under them. On the other hand, Ḳays gave their full support to Ibn al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], less because of their attachment to his cause, than because of their hatred for the Kalb and the Umayyads who supported them. Masʿūdī reports (*Murūdj*, v, 200) that al-Yaman, headed by the Kalbī Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal, stipulated before giving their full support to Marwān [*q.v.*] that they should be given the same concessions as they had enjoyed under Muʿāwiya I, Yazīd I and Muʿāwiya II. These were that two thousand of them should receive two thousand *dirhams* for their support each year, and, if a recipient died, his son or cousin should receive the payment. Kalb should take precedence at court, and should be consulted on every important matter. To all these terms Marwān gave his consent. Not unnaturally, therefore, Ḳays gave their full support in the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] (64/683) to Ibn al-Zubayr, while Kalb and others of Yaman took the side of Marwān. This battle, however, ended with a crushing defeat for Ḳays, a defeat which they never forgot and which deepened still further the conflict between themselves and Kalb. This was one reason for the feuds between them in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], for Ḳays found in the political disturbances at the time of his accession an opportunity to revenge themselves.

One such opportunity came in the battle on the Khāzir (67/686) when ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī, who was with those Ḳays serving in the Syrian army, deserted the field as soon as battle was joined, thus bringing about the victory of the ʿIrāḳīs. Following this treason, ʿUmayr took refuge with the leader of Ḳays, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, who had been holding out against the Umayyads in Ḳarḳīsyā' since the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ. Thenceforward there began the armed conflict between Kalb and Ḳays, which took the form of raids, called ʿ*Ayyām* ("days"), each of which usually bore the name of the place in which it had occurred.

Both Zufar and ʿUmayr began to make a series of raids on those Kalb who were living in the Samāwa desert between Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and these raids were met by retaliation from the Kalb under Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth b. Baḥdal. However, these constant Ḳaysī raids eventually caused the Kalb to leave the area and emigrate to al-Ghawr in Palestine. Thus Ḳays achieved unchallenged supremacy in the area.

However, the Kalb-Ḳays feud broke out in a different area. The raids of Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth on the Ḳays in the Djazīra had stirred up the Banū Fazāra [see FAZĀRA] in ʿIrāḳ, who complained to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. This led to another series of raids, the most celebrated of which was that of Banāt Ḳayn in which the Ḳays was victorious. As a result of the wise measures taken by ʿAbd al-Malik, the raiding ceased, and the day of Banāt Ḳayn was the last of the famous "days" between Kalb and Ḳays.

During the military struggle between the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids (132/750) 2,000 Kalb originally sent to help Salm b. Ḳutayba—the Umayyad governor of Baṣra—defected and took the side of the ʿAbbāsids. This may have been due to the fact that Marwān II relied almost exclusively on Ḳays; or the Kalb may have realized by this time that the Umayyad cause was lost and therefore have tried to win favour with the new regime. However, in the same year the Kalb, with others of Yemen, took part in the revolt of Abu 'l-Ward against the ʿAbbāsid army led by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. This might have been a result of their disappointment with the new régime.

Under Hārūn al-Rashīd [*q.v.*], Damascus was the scene of a tribal feud between the two factions of Yemen and Muḍar. It lasted with short intervals from 174/790 to 180/796. The chief reason for this feud was the Syrian Arab tribes' sympathy for the Umayyads, and it was fostered by the policies of the ʿAbbāsid governors, who supported one faction against the other. This feud emerged once more under al-Ma'mūn [*q.v.*] (213/828) in connection with the Yaman in Egypt.

In the later ʿAbbāsid period, the history of the Kalb was of less importance and took the form of Bedouin (*aʿrāb*) attacks on the central authorities. The following are the main events. The Kalb under ʿUṭayf b. Niʿma took part in the revolt of Ḥimṣ against the governor al-Faḍl b. Ḳārin and killed him in 250/884. But al-Mustaʿīn's general, Mūsā b. Bughā al-Kabīr, was able to defeat the rebels and capture Ḥimṣ. In the year 294/906, the *aʿrāb* of Kalb, together with al-Nimr b. Ḳāsiṭ [*q.v.*] and Asad, defeated al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, the governor of Mosul, and pursued him to the gates of Aleppo. In the same year al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān succeeded in defeating the *aʿrāb* of Kalb and Ṭay' [*q.v.*], but he was eventually captured. Under al-Mustarshid, the Kalb took part in the dispute between the ruler of Damascus and Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa, the ruler of Aleppo [see MAZYADIDS), by betraying the latter, who took refuge with them, to the former.

It is interesting to note that Carmathian propaganda found a response among some of the Kalb and especially the Banu 'l-ʿUlayṣ b. Ḍamḍam and their *mawālī*, who were living in the Samāwa desert. In 289/901 they paid homage to Yaḥyā b. Zakrawayh, the Carmathian propagandist, calling him *shaykh*. Banu 'l-Aṣbagh—another branch of Kalb—also joined Ibn Zakrawayh, and seem to have believed so sincerely in his mission that they called themselves "Fāṭimids". Taking by surprise al-Muʿtaḍid's army, which was pursuing them, they managed to kill its leader, Sabuk al-Daylamī. Then they pushed on to Damascus, burning the mosque of al-Ruṣāfa and surprising all the villages they passed through. Ibn Zakrawayh and his followers harassed Ṭughdj b. Djuff [*q.v.*], the ruler of Damascus, and imprisoned

him within his city. It was not until the Egyptians sent an army under Badr al-Kabīr, Ibn Ṭūlūn's slave, that the Carmathians were defeated and their leader Ibn Zakrawayh was killed. It is significant that one reason suggested for his death was the egalitarian policy he adopted towards his *mawālī* followers.

The death of Yaḥyā led Banu 'l-ʿUlayṣ and Banu 'l-Aṣbag͟h to follow his brother al-Ḥusayn b. Zakrawayh. The latter was able to defeat the Egyptian force and the troops of Ḥimṣ and of other Syrian provinces sent against him. He also made his authority felt to such an extent that he was recognized as Amīr al-Muʾminīn in the Friday *k͟hutba* all over Syria in 289/901-2. However, the caliph al-Muktafī was able to have him seized and put to death in 291/903.

Following the death of al-Ḥusayn b. Zakrawayh, the Banu 'l-ʿUlayṣ, Banu 'l-Aṣbag͟h and Banū Ziyād (all from Kalb) joined another Carmathian *dāʿī*, Abū G͟hānim Naṣr. They made several attacks on Buṣrā, Ad͟hriʿāt, Damascus and Ṭabariya. In Ṭabariyya, where some of the troops of Damascus joined them, they defeated and killed Ibrāhīm b. Bug͟hāmardī, the deputy governor of Jordan, impelling the caliph al-Muktafī to send an army against them under al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān. They then moved on to Samāwa and Hīt, which they devastated. Another army, under Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Kundād͟jīḳ, took the field against them. Finding themselves unable to face this joint army, the Kalb betrayed the Carmathian leader Naṣr, and killed him. By taking his head to the caliph as a sign of their loyalty, they averted any action against themselves.

The Kalb were also the most enthusiastic supporters of all the Sufyānī [*q.v.*] rebels. The revolt of Abu 'l-Ward (132/750) and that of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. K͟halid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (195/810) are good examples. This support is clearly reflected by the tradition that the Kalb would be the last adherents of the Sufyānī.

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III.—In Muslim Spain

The army of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] included Kalbī and Ḳaysī elements, among whom the memory of Mard͟j Rāhiṭ aroused an antagonism which showed itself in North Africa and particularly in Spain throughout most of the 2nd/8th century. The troops sent by His͟hām b. ʿAbd al-Malik to suppress the Berber revolt launched by Maysara [*q.v.*] were composed of Syrians; Bald͟j [*q.v.*], commander of their van, who was a member of the Ḳaysī aristocracy, took refuge at Ceuta, appealing for assistance to the governor of Spain, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan, a Medinan opposed to the Syrians. After refusing to help for some considerable time, ʿAbd al-Malik finally allowed Bald͟j to enter Spain, where the Berbers were also in revolt. Discord between Kalb and Ḳays soon broke out, and Bald͟j succeeded in supplanting ʿAbd al-Malik, whom he caused to be tortured. Bald͟j's pro-Ḳays policies provoked disturbances. His successor roused the wrath of other elements of the population and the Umayyad caliph in Damascus then sent to Cordoba the Kalbī Abu 'l-K͟haṭṭār al-Husām b. Ḍirār [*q.v.*], who adopted a policy which favoured his fellow-tribesman. His partiality earned him the hostility of a Ḳaysī chieftain, al-Sumayl b. Ḥātim [*q.v.*], who exerted considerable efforts and opened hostilities against the governor, allying himself even with some Yamanīs (Lak͟hm and D͟jud͟hām) against Kalb. The revolt launched in 127/745 was successful; Abu 'l-K͟haṭṭār, defeated and taken prisoner, was replaced by T͟habāba b. Salama al-D͟jud͟hāmī, who died in 129/746. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī [*q.v.*] was then chosen as governor of Spain. The Kalbī supporters of Abu 'l-K͟haṭṭār, who had fled, were defeated at Secunda (S͟haḳunda) in 130/747 by the Ḳaysī party, and in time passions cooled, especially since enduring famine encouraged the cessation of hostilities. In coalition with the Berbers, the Yamanīs moved to attack al-Sumayl, governor of Saragossa, but the Ḳaysīs succeeded in delivering him (137/755), with the aid, notably, of emissaries from the future ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I [*q.v.*]. Negotiations having broken down, the Kalb and other Yamanīs assisted the Umayyad pretender to come to Spain and establish himself there.

Subsequently, the hatred between Ḳays and Kalb diminished as the Andalusian personality took shape, but even in the 3rd/9th century the fires of fanaticism still flared up (*e.g.*, a war begun in 207/822 which lasted seven years in the region of Murcia, sparked off on some flimsy pretext).

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AL-**KALBĪ**, the name of a prominent family from Kūfa. Bis͟hr al-Kalbī and his sons al-Sāʾib, ʿUbayd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān took part in the Battle of the Camel [see AL-D͟JAMAL] on ʿAlī's side (36/656); al-Sāʾib b. Bis͟hr embraced the cause of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and, despite numerous defections in the

ranks of the Kūfans, was slain beside him at Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ [*q.v.*] in 71/690 by Warḳā' al-Nakhaʿī (al-Ṭabarī, ed. M. Ibrahim, Cairo 1964, vi, 103, seems to date his death to 67/686 and places it during the battle between Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and al-Mukhtār; whatever the facts of the matter, al-Sā'ib was not killed at Ṣiffīn in 36/657, as Ibn Ḥazm states, *Djamhara*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1962, 459). Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib (and not b. Mālik as in the *Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, 95) played an active part in the revolt of ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH] and fought in his ranks at Dayr al-Djamādjim [*q.v.*] (82/701); he left a partial account of this battle in which he recounts, *inter alia*, his honourable, even triumphant, return to his family in Kūfa in one single day without having had to abandon one of his weapons (al-Ṭabarī, vi, 349-50, 364).

To swordsmanship, the family added another claim to fame: learning; in fact it is rare to consult an early Arab book without finding some reference to an al-Kalbī. These references, brief or more detailed, concern three different persons, who were already difficult to distinguish in early days.

I.—Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (Abu 'l-Naḍr) died in Kūfa at the age of at least 80 in 146/763. He was interested in all contemporary branches of learning: universal history; the history of religions, pre-Islamic (al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, Cairo 1947, 1220-64), Jewish (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1948, i², 157) and Christian; poetry (Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, iii, 436), literature and philology; genealogy, tradition and ancient legends. He employed his wide knowledge in a commentary on the Ḳur'ān (*Tafsīr*), the longest ever composed (al-Dhahabī, *ʿIbar*, Kuwayt 1960, i, 106). So great was his fame in this sphere that Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, perhaps during his governorship of Baṣra (133-9), brought him to that city to teach ḳur'ānic exegesis. With the support of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, Muḥammad al-Kalbī put forward, despite the opposition of his hearers, an interpretation of the Ḳur'ān which went contrary to received opinion; it is probable that he expressed pro-ʿAlid views. His courses were written down (*Fihrist*, 95), but his *Tafsīr* is now lost, apart from a few sparse fragments in various works. This is perhaps to be explained by his use, direct or indirect, of written sources and chains of tradition (*isnād*) which did not conform to the norms fixed for *ḥadīth* criticism, and above all by the fact that, as a Shīʿī, he had advanced opinions contrary to Sunnī orthodoxy, especially in *ḥadīth* and in the different levels of ḳur'ānic interpretation (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1374, i, 76, 91, 216-7, etc.). He was sometimes accused of heresy, of *rifḍ*, of saba'ism, of *irdjā'* and so on, and sometimes of forgery and falsehood. Even in the 20th century he has impassioned opponents among the scholars of al-Azhar (Aḥmad Shākir, in his edition of the *Lubāb al-Ādāb* of Usāma b. Munḳidh, Cairo 1935, 123-4, n. 5). Yet he has remained an authority, and even his detractors draw on him as a source.

II.—Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, Abu 'l-Mundhir, generally called Ibn al-Kalbī, was probably born in Kūfa around 120/737 and educated in that town; he died there in 204/819 or 206/821, in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. His death was greatly regretted by the caliph (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Cairo 1931, xiv, 45-6) for reasons which are not particularly clear; we do know, however, that the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (d. 169/785) made use of Ibn al-Kalbī's knowledge when countering the Umayyad attack in Spain (al-Ṭabarī, viii, 172-3). It was probably during this caliph's rule that Ibn al-Kalbī stayed in Baghdād. Like his father, he was interested in all branches of knowledge of his time and he wrote a good number of works, more than 150 according to the *Fihrist*. This immense oeuvre was incorporated, to a great extent, in the works of his direct and indirect disciples: Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Ibn Durayd, al-Ṭabarī, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī and many others who borrowed a great deal from him without much concern for acknowledgement and often with over-vague references to the master's work. A few titles, however, have been recovered from this anonymous mass by Ibn al-Kalbī's fame:—1. *Djamharat al-Nasab*: W. Caskel and G. Strenzick have published two imposing volumes, one a study on everything closely or remotely connected with Arab genealogy and with Ibn al-Kalbī in particular, and the other genealogical tables culled from the work of Ibn al-Kalbī (*Ǧamharat an-Nasab des Ibn al-Kalbi*, Leiden 1966). Ibn al-Kalbī was the uncontested master of Arab genealogy, and in his *Djamhara* Ibn Ḥazm did no more than give currency to the work of his eminent predecessor, without acknowledging it to a great extent. In his lifetime Ibn al-Kalbī was the source, arbiter and sometimes amused dispenser of titles of nobility.—2. *al-Aṣnām*, published for the first time in Cairo in 1912 by Aḥmad Zakī, has been translated into German (by Rosa K. Rosenberger, Leipzig 1941), into English (by N. A. Faris, Princeton 1952), and into French (by M. S. Marmardji, in *Revue Biblique*, xxxv (1926), 397-420: a fragmentary translation; more recently, W. Atallah has published a new ed. of the text together with an annotated French translation (Paris 1969)). As on genealogy, Ibn al-Kalbī remains an authority on the history of Arab paganism; ibn Durayd, al-Nadjīramī, Yāḳūt, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī and others consulted his work, summarized it, and always cited him as a reference.—3. *Ansāb al-Khayl*, in which the author set forth genealogical accounts illustrated by short poetic pieces celebrating the most famous chargers of history (ed. Levi Della Vida, Leiden 1928; a copiously annotated edition by Aḥmad Zakī appeared posthumously in Cairo in 1946).—4. A few fragments of various length have been preserved, vestiges of lost works such as *K. al-Kulāb*, *K. al-Lubāb*, *Shiʿr Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī*, etc.

To some extent Ibn al-Kalbī's work has been mingled with that of his father, but only partially; in the narrative of the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim, for example, he naturally cites his father, who had taken part in the combat, but he also had recourse to other witnesses (al-Ṭabarī, vi, 342-50). He is so scrupulous in his pursuit of exactitude that he even quotes his own father through the medium of other narrators (*ibid.*, ii, 272, vi, 360). Apart from oral sources, Ibn al-Kalbī cited specialists who had access to biblical and Palmyran sources (*ibid.*, ii, 273); he was kept informed of archaeological discoveries in the Yemen (Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1958, 524); he seems to have had a secretary called Djabala who provided him with translations from Pahlavi (*Fihrist*, 244) and he himself consulted the archives and tablets of the Christian communities of al-Ḥīra (al-Ṭabarī, i, 628). Equipped with modern methodological criteria, it is easy to point to lacunae in Ibn al-Kalbī's knowledge and to criticize some of his opinions on the history of languages or some of his narratives, which are more legendary than historical. In his universal history he often had to fall back on oral sources alone, and he should be given credit for having written these down. All in all, his work is not inferior to that of other historians of

oriental or classical antiquity. Some Arab writers were fiercely critical of him, but such criticisms, sometimes based on scholarly rivalry, were often sectarian or motivated by religious fervour, for, like his father, Ibn al-Kalbī fell foul of Sunnī orthodoxy. On the other hand, he did have ardent supporters (Yāḳūt, Beirut 1956, ii, 187-8, 219, 504), and detractors and admirers alike were frequently largely dependent on his work. Among modern scholars, I. Goldziher has criticized Ibn al-Kalbī (*Muh. Stud.*, i, 185-7) by taking literally the early criticisms directed against him; he bases his arguments on the false, self-glorifying genealogies which Ibn al-Kalbī recounts with humour, and on his pro-ʿAbbāsid views (al-Ṭabarī, viii, 172-3), using these to throw doubt on his scientific worth. Th. Nöldeke (*Gesch. der Araber und Perser*, Leiden 1879, xxvii and index) restored the balance, and since then criticisms of Ibn al-Kalbī have been reduced to their proper dimensions: even so, neither ancients nor moderns have evaluated him at his true worth. Present-day research is confirming Ibn al-Kalbī's eminent role in the history of Arab literature.

III.—ʿAbbās b. Hishām, Hishām's son and not his brother as al-Kūfī states (*Fihrist*, 95). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (xvi, 46) speaks of an Ibn al-Kalbī who must be the grandson of Muḥammad al-Kalbī. Al-ʿAbbās transmitted his recollections of his father, Hishām, passing on some of his learning to philologists like Ibn Durayd (*Ishtiḳāḳ, passim*) and to historians like al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī. Nothing further is known about him.

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(W. Atallah)

KALBIDS, a family stemming from the tribe of the Kalb b. Wabara [*q.v.*], which Arab sources relating to the Maghrib call Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn (or al-Ḥasan).

In the Maghribī chronicles, governors and senior officials of the Umayyad administration in Ifrīḳiya who were of Kalbite origin appear frequently, as do others belonging to the rival Ḳays tribe. While the more astute of the caliphs in Damascus sometimes managed to steer an even course between these two adversaries, their representatives in the Maghrib, in Spain and in Sicily often leaned to one side or the other, guided either by their personal sympathies or by the circumstances obtaining at any particular time. Thus the disputes and often bloody battles provoked by the traditional antagonism of the two tribes intensified the chaos in a situation where a Kalbite *wālī* frequently followed a Ḳaysite one and *vice versa*.

Under the Aghlabids, who relied largely on Muḍarite elements, the Kalbites began to decline, but they were the main prop and stay of Fāṭimid political and religious policy; they therefore swiftly found in Ifrīḳiya a milieu favourable to their rise, so that by the middle of the 4th/10th century they were the governing element of Muslim Sicily. At this period Kalbite elements were probably already allied with the Kutāma Berbers.

For services rendered particularly to the first *imāms* of Ifrīḳiya, the Kalbites were speedily rewarded by the Mahdī and his descendants; in al-Ḳāʾim's day, ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ḥusayn al-Kalbī (one of the first dynasts of this family and son-in-law of Sālim b. Abi Rāshid, the Fāṭimid governor of Sicily from 305/917 to 325/936) died at the siege of Agrigento (326/938) in the midst of the struggle pursued by Sicilian Fāṭimid supporters against those who had remained faithful to the caliphate in Baghdād. His son al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, who had distinguished himself in Ifrīḳiya in the campaigns waged by al-Ḳāʾim and al-Manṣūr against the Khāridjite Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], was the first of a succession of Kalbite governors in Sicily, a kind of hereditary emirate (cf. *Kitāb Aʿmāl al-aʿlām* (see *Bibl.*)), which lasted until the mid-5th/11th century.

Confronted by that chaotic situation caused by the rebellions in Palermo and Agrigento against the Fāṭimid representatives, the Caliph al-Manṣūr deemed it logical and sensible to entrust Sicily's management to those whose fidelity was proven beyond doubt and who, moreover, could maintain a neutral stand between the rebels and the *imāms* of Ifrīḳiya. Only a few years after his arrival in Sicily, al-Ḥasan had two victorious encounters with the Byzantine forces in Calabria and Apulia. He took this opportunity to build a mosque at Reggio, but it was destroyed a few years later. On al-Manṣūr's death (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 341/March 953), al-Ḥasan returned to Ifrīḳiya, leaving the government of the island in the hands of his son Aḥmad, but without definitely abandoning his role as military commander in Sicily and Calabria. He was later recalled to the area by his brother ʿAmmār, who was hard-pressed by the Byzantines. Aḥmad, the second Kalbid *wālī* of Sicily (342/954-358-969), found himself involved in some decisive battles; most notable were the capture of Taormina (351/962), whose name was changed to Muʿizziyya in honour of the *imām* al-Muʿizz, and the fall of Rametta and the simultaneous victory at sea known as the *waḳʿat al-madjāz* (battle of the straits), which is celebrated in a turgid *ḳaṣīda* by Ibn Hāniʾ (*Dīwān*, ed. Zāhid ʿAlī, 1352/1934, no. 40, 540-59).

In the succeeding years the different Kalbid governors pursued sporadically their conflict with the Byzantines, but military offensives were rarely large-scale: Byzantium had now admitted the need to enter into peace negotiations with the Fāṭimids, especially since the ambitions of the Emperor Otto I regarding southern Italy had become known. These ambitions also fired his son, Otto II, who, when he ventured into Calabria, found himself faced with a coalition of Muslims and Byzantines, the latter driven by necessity to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Kalbid troops, the former providentially assisted by the rivalry of the two Christian empires. The clash between Otto II's troops and those of the Kalbid *wālī* ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, son of the first Kalbid governor of Sicily, took place in Muḥarram 372/July 982 at Capo Cotrone in Calabria. At first the Muslims seemed overwhelmed but the battle quickly turned in their favour. This was perhaps the last great Muslim victory against the Christians in Sicily, aside from a few offensives of little importance such as the forays of 376/986 into Calabria, the siege of Cosenza a couple of years later, new attacks on Taranto in 381/991, the storming of Matera in 384/994, a surprise attack on Benevento in 392/1002 and finally a brief siege of Capua.

In Egypt too the Fāṭimids employed the services of leading members of the Kalbid family, some of

whom were sent to Sicily by the *imāms* of Cairo to act as governors. This was true of, for example, Dja'far b. Muḥammad, in Egypt counsellor to al-ʿAzīz bi-'llāh (al-Muʿizz's successor in 364/975), who governed the island for two years (372/983-374/985). This period saw the apogee of Kalbid prestige: in Egypt, when al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh [*q.v.*] was proclaimed caliph, the Kutāma Berbers, Fāṭimid supporters, demanded that control of affairs be entrusted to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār, the victor of Rametta and nephew of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAli b. Abi 'l-Ḥusayn; in Sicily, the Kalbid Abu 'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh (379/989-388/998) governed the island with great wisdom for eight years. The former was granted the title of *Amīn al-Dawla* and the latter that of *Thiḳat al-Dawla*.

The fortunes of the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn family soon declined from this peak: in Egypt there was a conspiracy against al-Ḥasan, while Sicily sank into chaos under Djaʿfar (388/998-410/1019), son of Yūsuf. Although the steadily increasing autonomy enjoyed by Sicily from the outset of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt coincided with the greatest splendour of the amīrs' court in Palermo, it proved detrimental to the political realities of the moment, in the face of which the Kalbid rulers should have shown greater administrative prudence and zeal. Instead, they preferred relaxing in the mansions of Palermo, numerous at this period, to the efforts of military undertakings or the cares of political responsibility. Indeed Djaʿfar, amīr of the island for twenty years, seems to have been the founder of Castello di Maredolci in Palermo. The effects of this decline were apparent in all fields, but they were especially marked in military matters: the Muslims suffered their first setback in Bari in 394/1004 at the hands of the Byzantines and the Venetians, and the following year they were checked by the Pisans at Reggio.

This already serious state of affairs worsened under the rule of Djaʿfar's brother, the Kalbid amīr Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Akḥal (410/1019-427/1036), about whose campaigns in Calabria and Apulia the Arab chroniclers have little to say. It is certain, on the other hand, that during the 15-year span of this governorate a new element, the Zīrids, played a far larger part than formerly in the political and military life of Sicily. In fact, al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, at the instigation of many of al-Akḥal's opponents, who complained of his injustice and malpractices, sent his own son, ʿAbd Allāh, to the island at the head of a large military contingent. Al-Akḥal sought the help of the Byzantines, with whom he had already entered into negotiations. The latter defeated the Zīrid forces, but then withdrew to Calabria, leaving ʿAbd Allāh to effect the easy defeat of his opponent, whom he besieged and killed.

The struggle for power among Yūsuf's sons, their continual intrigues and boundless ambitions, characterized the governorate of al-Ḥasan, called al-Ṣamṣām, the last Kalbid amīr of Sicily (431/1040-445/1053; the latter date is given variously in the Arab chronicles). Various local *ḳāʾids* [see IBN AL-ḤAWWĀS and IBN AL-THUMNA], however, had already begun to lay claim to power on the island and their struggles for supremacy hastened Norman intervention in Sicily.

Of the total period of Muslim rule in Sicily, the Kalbid era was one of the most prosperous. As their reign began when the bloodiest and most devastating military offensives could be considered over, some of the most far-sighted of the rulers of the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn family, sustained by the prospect of autonomy, promoted the marked development of western Sicily. Palermo and some other urban centres prospered once more, thanks to the new impetus given to municipal enterprises, to public works and to cultural matters. In the capital especially, the study of the traditional sciences had already been inaugurated in the preceding period, and some of the most enlightened Kalbid amīrs, themselves often enthusiastic versifiers, encouraged an exceptional development of poetry, as may be seen from the few extant extracts of the vanished anthology compiled by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ al-Ṣiḳillī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: The historical, geographical and literary texts dealing with the Kalbids of Sicily have been collected by M. Amari in *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, appendix, Leipzig 1875 (Italian tr., i, Turin-Rome 1880; ii, 1881; appendix 1889); the historical data on this family have been studied by this same historian in *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², ed. C. A. Nallino, Catania 1933-39.

Some interesting information on the relationship between the Kalbids and the Fāṭimid *imāms* of Ifrīḳiya can be found in Abū ʿAlī Manṣūr al-ʿAzīzī al-Djawdharī, *Sīrat al-ustādh Djawdhar*, ed. Muḥ. Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Hādī Shaʿīra, Cairo 1954 (Fr. tr. by M. Canard, Algiers 1958); certain texts relating to these relationships have been translated into Italian by U. Rizzitano in *RSO*, xxxii (1957), 546-55; cf. also U. Rizzitano, *Gli Arabi in Italia*, in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell' Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 1965, i, 93-114; idem, *Un compendio dell'Antologia di poeti arabo-siciliani intitolata "ad-Durrah al-ḫaṭīrah min šuʿarāʾ al-Ǧazīrah" di Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ "il Siciliano"*, in *Atti del Acc. Naz. Lincei*, 8th series, vol. viii, Rome 1958, 335-78. In the *Kitāb aʿmāl al-aʿlām* of Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, one chapter is devoted to the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn family; cf. the edition by Aḥmad Mukhtār al-ʿAbbādī and Muḥ. Ibrāhīm al-Kittānī, Casablanca 1964, 122-36 (Sp. tr. by R. Castrillo Marquez, Madrid 1958). (U. RIZZITANO)

ḲALʿE [see ḲALʿA].

ḲALʿE-I SEFĪD, a fortress in Fārs, in 30° 10′ N. Lat. and 51°30′ E. Long. (Greenwich). It is built on a mountain with a flat top, in the eastern part of the valley of Kohra, which falls steeply down on all sides. On its summit, which can only be reached by cliff-paths, lies an extensive well-wooded plateau watered by numerous springs. A strong garrison is necessary for its defence, as is noted in the *Fārsnāma*. Descriptions of the fortress and the country round it are given, among Oriental writers for example, by Ibn al-Balkhī in the *Fārsnāma* (the pertinent passage is copied by Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ʿAlī Yazdī and Mīrkhwānd (see *Bibl.*). Of descriptions by European travellers in the 19th century, that of Stolze deserves special mention; along with Andreas he explored the mountain and castle thoroughly. The statements of Kinneir, who visited Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd in 1810, are unreliable, according to Stolze.

The name of the fortress is given in the Persian geographers and historians as Ḳalʿe-i Isfīd (Sefīd, Sepīd), the "white citadel"; Ḳalʿe-i Ispīd-diz (the "white fortress") is also found; Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd is the only form in use at the present day. Translated into Arabic the name is given in Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi, 46 as al-Ḳalʿa al-Bayḍāʾ. The name "white citadel", which is found elsewhere as a name for a castle in areas where Arabic and Persian are spoken (*e.g.*, in al-Ḥīra, al-Madāʾin, in the oasis of Ruḥba east of Ḥawrān, and in the region of Ḳayrawān, in Afghanistān, etc.; for Biredjik cf. above i, 1233), may

very probably originate in the dazzling white colour of the building-stone used. The name Ķalʿe-i Gul u Gulāb (citadel of the rose and rose-water), borne by Ķalʿe-i Sefīd in al-Bundārī (Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 183, 13) is remarkable.

Ķalʿe-i Sefīd is the most noteworthy point on the mountain road which leads from Behbahān to Shīrāz and furnishes communication between Khuzistān and Fārs. It may be regarded as certain that a commanding place like this was very early fortified. The "Persian passes" through which Alexander the Great tried to enter the ancestral home of the Achaemenids and which were defended by the Satrap of Persis, Ariobarzanes, with his strong forces, have often been sought in the valley of Ķalʿe-i Sefīd; *e.g.*, by Vincent, Mützel, Droysen, Forbiger. Ritter (*Erdkunde*, ix, 138), in differing from these, considers Ķalʿe-i Sefīd to be the stronghold of the Uxians and places the "Persian Gates" farther east. Ritter's view has been attacked particularly by Mützel in his edition of Curtius (Berlin 1841), p. 414 f. and by Stolze (*op. cit.*, 262 f.; see bibl.). That the region of Ķalʿe-i Sefīd does not correspond to the situation of the "Persian Gates" of the historians of Alexander and that the latter should be located elsewhere has been fairly convincingly proved by Stolze, *op. cit.*

Ķalʿe-i Sefīd is not mentioned by the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages. Like the adjoining town of Nawbandjān (Nawbandadjān) it must have been allotted to the Persian province of Sābūr in the Caliphate period. From the 4th/10th century on we find cropping up in the Oriental sources a nomadic people named the Shūl, after whom the whole area, inhabited by them from the west of Shīrāz to the frontiers of Fārs and Khūzistān was called Shūlistān. There is definite evidence to show that Ķalʿe-i Sefīd belonged to Shūlistān. On the Shūl and the land of Shūlistān cf. the references in Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, 380 f. (see bibl.) and also Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* (ed. Browne, GMS xiv), 538, 658, 660, 696, 726.

Ķalʿe-i Sefīd is frequently mentioned by Persian poets and chroniclers. It is first found in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* (ed. Mohl, ii, 92, 245 f.); here the conquest of the stronghold is related as one of the noteworthy deeds of the hero Rustam. As the *Fārsnāma* (written about 500/1106) reports, the fortress of Ķalʿe-i Sefīd had lain in ruins for many years until it was rebuilt by a certain Abū Naṣr from Tīr Murdān (a district of the province of Sabūr) during the turmoils of the last decades of Būyid rule, that is in the first half of the 5th/11th century. The mountain, difficult of access, served not infrequently in wartime as a secure hiding-place. For example in 534/1139 Buzāba, governor of Fārs, retired here before Ķarā Ṣonķor, atabeg of the Saldjūķ Sultan Masʿūd; cf. the article BŪZ-ABEH. The Salghūrid Abū Bakr [*q.v.*], atabeg of Fārs from 623 to 658 (1226-1260) (on him see SALGHŪRIDS) transported his treasures to Ķalʿe-i Sefīd and placed a garrison in the citadel in order to have a place of refuge here in case of a catastrophe. The last atabeg of Fārs of the Salghūrid dynasty, Saldjūķshāh, met his death at the foot of Mount Ķalʿe-i Sefīd in battle with one of Hūlāgū's generals in 663/1264; see J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. der Ilchāne*, Darmstadt 1842, i, 243 and cf. also Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 509.

Although Hūlāgū issued an order to destroy all the fortresses in the lands conquered by him, an exception was made of Ķalʿe-i Sefīd, as is expressly mentioned; cf. the passage in the *Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf* in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 382. The citadel could therefore continue to serve as a place of refuge, and was also on several occasions used as a state-prison for political opponents. Thus for example Masʿūd Shāh of the Īndjū dynasty, who ruled as governor of Fārs from 736/1335, imprisoned his brother Muḥammad in Ķalʿe-i Sefīd [see INDJŪ]; when later Abū Isḥāķ, a younger brother of the Masʿūd Shāh just mentioned, came into conflict with the Muẓaffarid Mubāriz al-Dīn and had to flee after the capture of his capital Shīrāz in 754/1353 he went to Ķalʿe-i Sefīd (see Mīrkhwānd's account in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 382; Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 658, 15 f.). A few years later the sons of Mubāriz al-Dīn, Shāh Sulṭān and Shāh Shudjāʿ, rebelled against their father, blinded him and imprisoned him in Ķalʿe-i Sefīd in 759/1358; see Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 681; Defrémery in *JA*, 1864, ii, 112. In 785/1383 Shāh Shudjāʿ had his son Sulṭān Shiblī sent to Ķalʿe-i Sefīd as an alleged rebel (see Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, 724; Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 382; Defrémery, *op. cit.* (1845), i, 437).

Ķalʿe-i Sefīd has attained special fame through its capture by Tīmūr. The latter on his second campaign in Fārs in 795/1393 passed by the road from Behbahān to Shīrāz, besieged this barrier fortress, considered impregnable, and stormed it on the third day. All the members of the Muẓaffarid dynasty were captured and put to death (cf. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, Calcutta 1887, i, 600 f.; Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, 751).

We read of the capture of Ķalʿe-i Sefīd by Ḥamza-Bey several centuries later, in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I; see Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 384. The Mamassanī have now settled in a large part of what was once called Shūlistān; they are a robber tribe, who centre round Ķalʿe-i Sefīd. On them see Layard in the *JR Geog. S.*, xv, 28; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 390. ix, 137; C. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, i, 210, 219 f., 262 f. When the Mamassanī in the latter part of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834) were in constant rebellion under a robber chief named Walī Khān Bakash, an army of Ādharbaydjānī troops was sent against them, who besieged Ķalʿe-i Sefīd and forced the stubborn defenders of the citadel to yield (cf. Curzon, *op. cit.*).

It should further be mentioned that below the fortress on the mountain there was at one time a second smaller castle, the name of which is variously given as Astak (*Fārsnāma*, 158, 17) or Nishnāk (Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 132, 5; further variants of the name are given here in note I).

The little village of Tell Espīd should not be confused with this; it lies northwest of Ķalʿe-i Sefīd in the adjacent plain on a hill some 2400 feet high; cf. Wells in the *Proc. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1883, v, 161 and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 85.

Bibliography:—Ibn al-Balkhī, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, GMS, New Series, vol.i, London, 1921, 158 and in addition the tr. by Le Strange in *JRAS* (1912), 878; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 129, 16, 131, 19, 132, 8; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, part. ed. by Quatremère as *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, i, Paris 1836, 382 f.; in the latter work Quatremère gives pertinent extracts from Persian histories by ʿAbd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh (*Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf*) and Mirkhwānd; Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Ṭabīb Shīrāzī, *Fārsnāme-i Nāṣirī*, litho. Tehran 1313, 334; Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 353; Le Strange, 264 f.; J. M. Kinneir, *A geogr. memoir of the Pers. Empire*, London 1813, 73; Malcolm,

Hist. of Persia (rev. ed., London 1829), i, 19 note, 295; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 137-144; Stolze, in *Verhandl. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x (1883), 262-5; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, ii, London 1892, 318 f.; E. Herzfeld, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1907, 84 f. (with the map on Plate vii).

(M. Streck)

ḲAL‘E-I SULṬĀNIYYE [see canaḳ-ḳal‘e boghazî].

ḲALENDER [see ḳalandar].

ḲALENDEROGHLÎ MEḤMED (d. 1018/1609), leader of the Djelālī [*q.v.* in Supp.] rebels of Anatolia, was born in the village of Yassîvīrān, in the *sandjaḳ* of Ankara. He managed to obtain a *tîmār* in this *sandjaḳ* and was promoted to *čavush* when Lālā Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] was *beglerbegi* of Anatolia. As one of the "deserters" (*firāri*) who fled at the critical moment in the battle of Mezö-Keresztes ([*q.v.*], 1005/1596), he was deprived of his *tîmār*; when he appealed, his dismissal was confirmed and he was threatened with further punishment, whereupon he, like so many others who had been proscribed as "deserters", joined the Djelālī movement under Karayazîdjî, then the virtual ruler of Anatolia. Karayazîdjî died in 1010/1601, and was succeeded as leader by his brother Deli Ḥasan. In 1011/spring 1603, Deli Ḥasan came to terms with the government in Istanbul and crossed into Rūmeli to serve as *beglerbegi* of Bosna, but Ḳalenderoghlî, together with such other leaders as Karakush Aḥmed and Kara Sa‘īd, stayed in Anatolia and maintained their resistance in the area of Ankara—Aḳshehir—Kütahya. He came to the fore as one of the officers of Ṭawīl Khalīl, who surprised the army of the vizier Naṣūḥ Pasha near Bolvadin (1014/1605), so that when the sultan (Aḥmed I) attempted to come to terms with the Djelālī leaders Ḳalenderoghlî was appointed *beglerbegi* of Ḳarāmān (and thus obtained the title of *pasha*). However, he did not assume the duties of this post but was granted Ankara as *arpalîk* [*q.v.*]. His position became precarious with the death of Lālā Meḥmed Pasha, who had been his protector, and the appointment of Murād Pasha ("Kuyudju" [*q.v.*], 1015/1606) as grand vizier. Moreover, the people of Ankara had refused to permit him to enter the city; he was obliged to leave one of his officers to deputize for him and to withdraw eastwards.

Meanwhile, Murād Pasha had marched against the rebels and summoned Ḳalenderoghlî to join him in the campaign against Djānpulātoghlî ‘Alī Pasha at Aleppo. Suspecting a trap, Ḳalenderoghlî disobeyed this order, thus revealing himself as a rebel. When Murād Pasha moved towards Aleppo, Ḳalenderoghlî, at the head of a numerous host of *segbāns* [*q.v.*], moved westwards, occupying the Aegean coastlands and the Bursa district, so as to threaten Istanbul itself. He defeated the government forces sent against him and even laid siege to Bursa; he failed to take the city but fired the suburbs. Greatly disturbed by Murād Pasha's decisive defeat of Djānpulātoghlî in 1016/1607, Ḳalenderoghlî summoned all the Djelālī leaders to join him; nearly all obeyed, with the exception of Muslu Čavush, who was operating around Silifke, and Djānpulātoghlî himself, who was attempting to take refuge in Istanbul. Ḳalenderoghlî's proposal to offer battle in the region of Mar‘ash - Aleppo was accepted, with a few dissenters. The army of over 70,000 *segbāns* was defeated in the *yayla* of Göksün [*q.v.*] by Murād Pasha's troops, composed entirely of *ḳapu ḳullarî* and reliable tribal levies from south-east Anatolia and the Arab lands (22 Rabī‘ II 1017/5 August 1608). Ḳalenderoghlî and his companions fled, hoping to reach safety in Persia. Hotly pursued, he managed to take refuge with Shāh ‘Abbās, but since he would not abandon his turbulent ways he was put to death.

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(M. Akdağ)

ḲALGHAY, Kalgha, Kaghalgha, a title best known as indicating the "deputy" or "heir apparent" of the khāns of the Crimean Khānate [see ḳirim]. The term has been subjected to a variety of linguistic, sociological and political analyses, the most important of which are summarized here.

Linguistically, the title has been associated with the Tatar word *ḳalghay*, "he will remain" or "let him remain", on the basis of an anecdote given by Ḥalīm Girāy (*Gülbün-i Khānān*, Istanbul 1287, 11 ff.). This popular etymology, followed by Hammer (*Geschichte der Chane der Krim*. . ., Vienna 1856, 39), Howorth (ii/1, 610) and Aḥmed Djewdet (*Ta'rīkh*, i, 73), is untenable. A Mongol origin (Pelliot, İnalcık) is unlikely, since the term is not encountered before 1475. For a full discussion of the problem, see Doerfer, iii, p. 499, and J. Matuz, *Qalga*, in *Turcica*, ii (1970), 101-29.

In a sociological or institutional sense, there were ample precedents for the office of *ḳalghay*. The Khānate of the Golden Horde and its successor state, the Crimean Khānate, like other stable governments, required a trusted official who could make decisions in the absence of the khān. The *ḳalghay*, as deputy and heir apparent, was invariably a brother or a son of the khān (M. de Peyssonel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer noire*, ii, Paris 1787, 252). As direct descendants of Čingiz-Khān [*q.v.*], the khāns of the Golden Horde and of the Crimea followed closely many Mongol or inner Asian traditions. In fact, the office of *ḳalghay* corresponds rather closely to the Mongol prince known as the *otčigin-äjän* or "master of the hearth and the home yurt or patrimony". (cf. B. Vladimirtsov, *Le Régime social des Mongols*, Paris 1948, 67 and 126). According to Mongol tradition, the home yurt was entrusted to the care of the khān's youngest son. It would appear significant that most *ḳalghays* were chosen from among the younger brothers of the khān until the end of the 10th/16th century, a time when Islamic-Ottoman practices became more influential in the Crimea (see girāy and the accompanying geneological table). İnalcık reports (*loc. cit.*) that slightly more than half of the khāns had previously served as *ḳalghay*, which emphasizes the role of deputy over that of their apparent. Clearly the Ottoman sultan (after 883/1478) and the tribal aristocracy could always impose their will, and often did, to disrupt an orderly succession and to weaken an able or over ambitious Girāy dynastic line. A convocation of the tribal dignitaries, termed a *kuriltay* [*q.v.*], also represented a weakened version of an inner Asian institution; the original *kuriltay*

apparently consisted only of family members of a ruling dynasty. In the Crimean Khānate, as in the Golden Horde, the privilege was extended to the tribal *mīrzās* [*q.v.*], thus weakening the authority of the ruling family (cf. B. Grekov and A. Iakoubovski, *La Horde d'Or*, Paris 1939, 121-3).

In accordance with the inner Asian practice of conferring an *indjü* or fief upon princes and holders of high office, the *ḳalghay* maintained his seat of power in Aḳmesdjid, exercising from there complete administrative and judicial authority over the inner Crimean territory from Aḳmesdjid to the Ottoman enclave of Kefe (Kaffa). He held his own daily *dīwān* [*q.v.*] and was attended by officials with ranks corresponding to those of the khān's *dīwān* in Bāghčesarāy. It was in the composition of the court and in the powers given to *ḳāḍīs* that one may observe Islamic political influences among the Krïm Tātār elite. The *dīwān* of the *ḳalghay* could recommend the death penalty for criminals within the *ḳalghay*'s territory, but this penalty was subject to the review of the khān and his *mufti* and *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* [*q.v.*]. The appointment of a *nūr al-dīn* [*q.v.*], a second deputy and heir apparent to the khān, after 992/1584, may indicate an Ottoman influence. Henceforth the tendency was to appoint a brother of the khān, younger or older, to the rank of *ḳalghay*, while the position of *nūr al-dīn* was reserved for his favourite son. Thus, a certain preference was given to seniority of line, as in the case of the later Ottoman sultans, rather than seniority in a given Girāy family.

In the 12th/18th century the revenues of the *ḳalghay* included 10,000 piastres from the customs dues of Karasubāzār [*q.v.*], 5,000 p. from the salt works of Kerč, 3,000 p. from the customs dues of Kaffa [*q.v.*] and a tribute of 2,500 p. from the honey tax of Moldavia and 1,000 p. of the same from Wallachia. He also received the capitation tax (*djizya*, [*q.v.*]) from certain Christian villages, a revenue which he often turned over to officers of the court, and he inherited the property of *mirzas* in his district who died without suitable heirs (Peyssonel, ii, 254).

The *ḳalghay* could be called upon by the khān to lead Tātār contingents to war (usually in support of the Ottoman army, at which time special subsidies were forthcoming) or on Tātār raids into the territories of Poland-Lithuania, Muscovy or Circassia; on these occasions the *ḳalghay* had full powers and received one tenth of all booty in keeping with Mongol custom. When the khān led the army, the *ḳalghay* often remained behind to guard the Crimea from Cossack or other attack. If he accompanied the khān, he was placed in command of the right wing of the army (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥātnāme*, x, 47-8). The *ḳalghay* generally could be expected to support the prerogatives of the dynasty against encroachment by the sultan or the *mīrzās*.

In the sphere of foreign affairs, the *ḳalghay* could send his own envoys together with those of the khān and could negotiate independently of the khān under certain circumstances. A proportional amount of all tribute (*tīsh*) payments from Muscovy, for example, had to be specifically allotted to the *ḳalghay*. (Note the lists of articles sent to the Crimea in H. Feyizhan and V. Velyaminov-Zernov, *Materiali po istorii Krimskago Khanstva*, St. Petersburg 1864, *passim*).

The palace of the *ḳalghay*, situated on high ground on the left bank of the Salgir river in Aḳmesdjid, was demolished after the Russian conquest of 1783. Close to the old town, the Russians built the new enclave of Simferopol, which became the seat of power for the Russian governor of the Crimea. The office of *ḳalghay* typified the combination of inner Asian and Islamic institutions, a feature common to the institutions of the Turco-Tatar peoples of western Asia.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see the bibliography to the article GIRĀY in *IA* (Halil Inalcik); H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1876-1929, especially vol. ii/2; V. D. Smirnov, *Krimskoye Khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoy Porti do Nacala xviii vv.*, St. Petersburg 1887; and C. M. Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus*, New York 1972.

(C. M. KORTEPETER)

ḲALHĀT (22° 42′ N., 59° 17′ E.), the chief coastal settlement of the Banū Salīma and Mālik b. Fahm (Azd) tribes of south-eastern ʿUmān, probably since pre-Islamic times. Their clans had also settled on the Persian side of the Straits of Hurmuz and, under the leadership of the Djulandā (b. Karkar), exercised a degree of control at the entrance to the Gulf from their fortresses at al-Dīkdān and Huzw until evicted from the latter by ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The collapse of Buwayhid power and its replacement by that of the Saldjūḳs, the demise of the Ibāḍī Imamate in ʿUmān and Ḥaḍramawt and a shift of Indian Ocean trade to the Red Sea brought about a radical change in political groupings at the entrance to the Persian Gulf and saw the final decline of the old trading centres of Sīrāf and Ṣuḥār. The merchants of Sīrāf had already started to develop the island of Ḳays in Buwayhid times and it was their princes who gained control of the entrance to the Gulf at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, gradually bringing back part of the Indian Ocean trade to the Gulf.

At the same time the traditional relationship between the peoples of south-eastern ʿUmān (who were mostly Ibāḍīs) and Hurmuz, then the local port for Kirmān, was activated. Ḳalhāt was fortified and became the new entrepôt of the "monsoon" trade, a role previously held by Ṣuḥār. In an effort to challenge the control of Ḳays, an alliance was made with the Salghūrids of Fārs; it was this that led to the capture of Ḳalhāt by the Khwārazmīs some time between 611/1214-5 and 617/1220-1. A few years later Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad *al-kwstī* (var. *kwshī*, *kāshī*) of Ḳalhāt subjugated Ḳays and brought the whole of the coast as far as Ẓufār (Dhofar) under his rule; his expedition sent to reduce the peoples of interior ʿUmān perished in the southern desert in 660/1261-2.

Although Maḥmūd made Hurmuz his capital, he never lost his attachment to Ḳalhāt and finally retired there; his descendants, however, became increasingly Persianized and estranged from the mainly Arab population oftheir second capital, repressing Ibāḍism, which was inimical to dynastic rule. Some time before the middle of the 8th/14th century Ḳalhāt was severely damaged by an earthquake and during the course of this century gave way to Masḳaṭ (Muscat) as the "monsoon" trade centre on the ʿUmān coast. Sacked by Alboquerque in 1508, it was never properly rebuilt by the Portuguese, who developed Ḳurayāt as their southernmost fortified settlement. In the second half of the 16th century, Ḳalhāt's trade was still worth a third of Masḳaṭ's to the Portuguese factors, but by the end of their occupation in the mid-17th century, its demise appears to have been complete, replaced even as a local port by Ṣūr.

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1875-1884, Index s.v. *Calayate*; J. Aubin, *Les Princes d'Ormuz du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, in *JA*, ccxli (1953); ʿAwtabī al-Ṣuḥārī (Salma b. Muslim), *Kitāb Ansāb al-ʿArab*, two Mss. including Bib. Nat. Paris Mss. arabes 5019, section Azd; de Barros, *Asia*, 6th ed., Lisbon 1945 ff., ii, 2, i, 44; Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*. . ., ed. Mehren, 1866, 166; S. D. Goitein, *Two eyewitness reports on an expedition of the king of Kīsh (Qais) against Aden*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954); Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 116; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 233-4; xii, 198; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 226; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. Löfgren, 1951, 1954, ii, 272-4, 287-91; Idrīsī-Jaubert, i, 152; F. M. Da Luz (ed.), *Livro das Cidades e Fortelezas da Índia*, in *Boletim Da Biblioteca Da Universidade De Coimbra*, xxi (1953), 55-6; Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. Col. H. Yule, London 1871, ii, 381-3; Muḳaddasī, 426-7, 432; al-Sālimī, (ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd), *Tuḥfat al-Aʿyān bi-Sirat Ahl ʿUmān*, Cairo 1961, i, 253; ii, 5; Sirḥān b. Saʿīd al-Ambū ʿAlī, *Kashf al-Ghumma*. . ., Damascus Ms. Taʾrīkh 347, 483, tr. E. C. Ross as *Annals of 'Omân*. . ., *JAs. Soc. Bengal*, 1874, 140; P. Texeira, *The travels of Pedro Teixeira*, Hakluyt Society, 1902, Appendix A (. . .*origin of the Kingdom of Harmuz*. . .) Appendix D (. . .*Chronicle of the Kings of Ormuz*); P. Della Valle, (Letter ix), *Les Fameux Voyages de Pietro della Valle*, Paris 1663-4, iv, 407-8; J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, i, 41-2; Yāḳūt, i, 502-3; ii, 211-2; 9, iii, 211-2, 368-70; iv, 168, 215-6, 974.

(J. C. Wilkinson)

ḲĀLĪ "carpet" [see bisāṭ, in Suppl.].

al-**ḲĀLĪ**, Abū ʿAlī Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAydhūn b. Hārūn b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān/Salmān (*mawlā* of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān or of his son Muḥammad) al-Baghdādī, great Arab philologist (288/901-356/967). The genealogy and following data are vouched for by his autobiography, which was preserved by his pupil, al-Zubaydī (p. 204 f.). He was born in the year 28(8)/901 in Manāzdjird [*q.v.*], to the north of Lake Van. In 303/915 he set out for Baghdād; after a longer stay in Mosul, he arrived there in 305/917, along with people from the frontier town of Ḳālīḳalā (Erzerum), whose *nisba* he took in the hope of receiving particular favours in his studies as a man of the frontier. In Baghdād he studied *lugha* and *akhbār* with the most renowned scholars of his time, such as Ibn Durayd, Ibn al-Anbārī, Nifṭawayh, Ibn al-Sarrādj, al-Zadjdjādj, al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar, al-Muṭarriz the *ghulām* of Thaʿlab, and others; under the direction of Ibn Durustawayh he studied thoroughly the *kitāb* of Sībawayh in al-Mubarrad's interpretation; he read Ibn Ḳutayba's books with the author's son Abū Djaʿfar and the books of Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim also with the author's son Aḥmad etc.; he also devoted himself to the study of the *ḥadīth* under the guidance of well-known traditionists such as Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baghawī; he read the Ḳurʾān with the *imām al-ḳurrāʾ*, Ibn al-Mudjāhid. In 328/939 he left Baghdād, apparently on the invitation of prince al-Ḥakam, the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, for al-Andalus, arriving in Cordoba on 27 Shaʿbān 330/17 May 942. He died there, as al-Zubaydī adds, highly honoured, in Rabīʿ II 356/March-April 967; according to Ibn al-Faraḍī, i, 65 f., no. 221; ²Cairo 1373/1954, i, 84, no. 223, he died on Saturday 7 Djumādā I 356/20 April 967 (this precise information is probably from al-Ḳālī's son Djaʿfar, from whom Ibn al-Faraḍī transmits, see Ibn Bashkuwāl, 129, no. 189; ²Cairo 1374/1955, 127, no. 292).

Al-Ḳālī, frequently cited also as Abū ʿAlī al-Baghdādī, became the key figure in the ʿIrāḳī tradition in the West. On his emigration to Cordoba, he managed to take with him a great part of his library. Books which he did not possess, or which had been mislaid on the way in Ḳayrawān, he either dictated from memory in his new home or made commentaries and critical observations on them, following the ʿIrāḳī tradition which he knew, and taking into account examples of other traditions (see Ibn Khayr, 395 *passim*; Zubaydī, 203; Ḳifṭī, i, 205; Sellheim, 95 ff.). As a grammarian he paid no heed to the quarrels of the schools, such as the well-known one between the Baṣrans and the Kūfans since the days of the two rivals al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab, but relied on his own judgement, although he agreed on the whole with the *madhhab* of the Baṣrans (cf. Ḳifṭī, i, 205). For his pupils see the passages mentioned in Fulton, 9, according to al-Ḍabbī, Ibn Bashkuwāl and Ibn al-Abbār.

Few of his numerous works remain (Ḳifṭī, i, 206; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 352; Fulton, 6 f.). The best known is his *K. al-Amālī*, which deals with every conceivable question of philology in so far as it concerns the *ʿarabiyya*; cf. ʿUmar al-Daḳḳāḳ in *MMIA*, xliv (1969), 515-37; the best edition is that of the Dār al-Kutub, Cairo 1344/1926; the third volume contains the *Dhayl al-Amālī wa 'l-Nawādir*, with Bakrī's *Tanbīh*; Bakrī's commentary on the whole work, with the title *Simṭ al-laʾālī fi sharḥ Amālī al-Ḳālī* was published by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī (Memon) in three volumes with indexes, Cairo 1354/1936. Ḳālī's great dictionary, the *K. al-Bāriʿ fi 'l-lugha*, was arranged according to a phonetic system very similar to the *K. al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, and must have comprised about 4,500 folios: see *A facsimile of the manuscript of al-Kitāb al-Bāriʿ fi 'l-Lugha by Ismāʿīl ibn al-Ḳāsim al-Ḳālī*, ed. with an introduction by A. S. Fulton, London 1933 (cf. Hāshim al-Ṭaʿʿān's thesis (M.A.), *al-Bāriʿ li-Abī ʿAlī al-Ḳālī*, Baghdād 1972(?)); J. Kraemer in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 212 f.; S. Wild, *Das Kitāb al-ʿAin und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden 1965, 65 ff. For two Mss. of his *K. al-Maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd*, see *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, Dār al-Kutub, ii, Cairo 1345/1926, 40; printed in Cairo 1392/1972. The *Kitāb al-Masāʾil al-Shīrāziyya*, listed by Brockelmann, S I, 944, 16, apparently has nothing to do with al-Ḳālī. So too, the *K. al-Amthāl* ascribed to him in the *Fihrist al-makhṭūṭāt*, Dār al-Kutub, 1936-55, i, Cairo 1380/1961, 78, is in fact the *K. al-Amthāl* of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī.

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al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 198; *al-Muzhir*, Cairo 1378/1958, index; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 48-52, index, ²Cairo 1367/1949, iv, 70-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 18; *TA*, s.v. *ḳalā*; Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1951, i, 208; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 112-4; F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 71 f., no. 33; Brockelmann, I, 132, S I, 202 f., 944, S III, 1196; M. Ben Cheneb, *L'Idjâza du Cheikh ʿAbd el-Qâdir el Fâsy*, Paris 1908, 438 f., no. 242 (Actes du XIVe Congr. Intern. des Orient.); O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1933, ii, 239-41; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, 's-Gravenhage 1954, 95 f., index, Arabic tr., Beirut 1971, 138 ff., index; Kh. al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1954, i, 319 f.; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1376/1957, ii, 286 f.; S. A. Bonebakker, in *Actas del primer Congreso des Estudios Árabes e Islámicos*, Madrid 1964, 453-66. (R. Sellheim)

ḲALʿĪ, Ḳalaʿī, the name used by the Arabs for tin (or for an especially good quality of tin), which is sometimes also called *al-raṣāṣ al-ḳalʿī* and *al-raṣāṣ al-abyaḍ*, that is, "*ḳalʿī* lead" or "white lead" (see *LA*, s.v.; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; Vullers, *Lex. pers.-lat.*, ii, 735; Quatremère, in *Journal des Savants*, 1846, 731). For the other names for tin in Arabic (*ḳayṣar* = κασσίτερος, etc.), see, for example, al-Dimashḳī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 54. The word probably comes from the Far East, whence the Arabs could have borrowed it directly, without the intermediary of modern Persian (although this is also possible) as al-Djawālīḳī believed (ed. Sachau, 125), considering the modern Persian *kalhā* to be the original. The correction *kalahi* for *kalhā* proposed there is based on Ibn Saʿīd, quoted by G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyage ...*, Paris 1913-4, 343. The word found in the Persian dialect of Māzandarān, *ḳalī* (in Gīlānī: *ḳālib*; see Melgunof, in *ZDMG*, xxii, 198), must have come from Arabic, and thence to the Turkish *ḳalay* and the modern Greek καλάϊ. As a loan-word *Ḳalaʿī* travelled further still, into Portuguese (*calaim, calin* = tin from India; see Dozy and Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*², Leiden 1869, 245; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*², 143). It has been thought that the region of Kalah [*q.v.*] in the Malacca peninsula, which was celebrated for its tin mines, gave rise to the word. The Arab geographers and lexicographers usually derive *ḳalʿī* from al-Ḳalʿa (= Kalah; *e.g.*, Yāḳūt, s.v.; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Ḳāmūs*, s.v.; cf. also Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 203). The word is also—and certainly erroneously—connected with an (alleged) source of tin called al-Ḳalʿa in Ceylon (Yāḳūt, i, 21, iv, 162), in Spain (Yāḳūt, iv, 162; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, 203) and in the Yemen (al-Fīrūzābādī, *op. cit.*).

The usual word for tin in present-day Malay appears to be *timah*. Also found with this meaning are *kaling, kaleng*—not *kelang* as Langlès, Quatremère, Dozy-Engelmann, Yule-Burnell and others write it—which, according to the dictionaries, means primarily tin-plate or tinned iron-plate (though the meaning tin may be an older one); cf. Wilkinson, *A Malay-Eng. Dict.*, Singapore, 1901, 497b; idem, *An abridged Malay-Eng. Dict.*, Singapore, 1919, and Klinkert, *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederl. Woordenboek*, Leiden 1916). It is clear that the Arab wordt *ḳalʿī* does not derive from *Ḳalʿa* (= Kalah), but from this Malayan word. Quatremère firmly supports this etymology but Dozy-Engelmann and Yule-Burnell do not commit themselves. It is difficult to credit that the Malayan *kaling* is a corruption of *ḳalʿī*. The possibility has also been considered that the name of the district of Kalah, from the Malayan *kaling*, means simply "land of tin"; this view was expressed as long age as Langlès in his edition of the Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor in *Grammaire de la langue arabe* by Savary (Paris 1813, 499 = offprint, Paris 1814, 63). Yule and Burnell quote as an analogy the fact that the little state of Salangor (north of the city of Malacca) was formerly known as Nagri Kalang, "the land of tin". Furthermore, according to Wilkinson, *Malay-Eng. Dict.*, 526b, *Kĕlang, Klang* properly only the name of a district of Salangor and a small urban town ship within that district, is also often extended to include the whole state of Salangor. Perhaps the origin of *ḳalʿī* is to be found in this *Kelang*.

Ḳalʿī, ḳalaʿī is also used for a type of sword which is often mentioned, especially in early Arabic poetry (cf., for example, Aws b. Ḥadjar, ed. Geyer, 33; Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj, ed. Ahlwardt, 49, l. 43; scholia to Ṭarafa, *Muʿallaḳa* (*apud* Arnold, *Septem Moallakat*, Leipzig 1850, 61). On al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 102, 130 (cited by Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 396b), see Fleischer in *Sitz.-Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, (1886), 45. Cf. also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 50). This kind of sword is generally considered to be of Indian origin (cf., *e.g.*, al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs*, s.v.), and indeed Indian swords were famous from early times among the Arabs and were celebrated by the poets (cf. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 127-8 and A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 88-9). As a more definite place of origin Arab geographers and lexicographers usually give al-Ḳalʿa, where the tin of the same name comes from (*e.g.*, Yāḳūt, s.v.). Sometimes the Syro-Arab desert (the Bādiya), or the district of Ḥulwān in ʿIrāḳ (cf. *LA* and *Ḳāmūs*, s.v.) is given as the place of origin. The Yemen, which produced the finest swords after India, is sometimes given as the place where the *sayf ḳalʿī* came from; as in the glossary of Ṭarafa's *Muʿallaḳa* cited above. Jacob, *Alt-arab. Beduinen-leben* (Berlin 1897, 149) would like to opt for the Yemen, more specifically the "fortress" (*ḳalʿa*) of Aden; in support of this hypothesis is the fact that a poem by ʿAlḳama (ed. Socin) no. 3, speaks of the "pearls of Ḳalʿa" (*ḳalaʿī*). Yet the derivations of the Arab word from an East Indian place called al-Ḳalʿa (= the Kalah of Malacca [*q.v.*]) seems more likely. The distinction between the two kinds of sword, *ḳalʿī* and *ḳalaʿī* (cf. Freytag, *Lex. Arab.-Lat.* s.v. *ḳalʿa* and *ḳalaʿa*), is in any case invalid (contra Schwarzlose, *op. cit.*, 130). (M. Streck)

KĀLIF, also Kaylif, a town on the Amu-Daryā (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 64 calls the latter "Kālif River"), west-north-west of Tirmidh. The main part of the town with the fortress *Ribāṭ Dhī-l-Ḳarnayn* lay to the south of the river; there was a castle nearby. On the outskirts on the northern bank lay the fortress called *Ribāṭ Dhī 'l-Kifl* [see dhu 'l-kifl]. In 1220 the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad II marched on the town to prevent the Mongols from crossing the Amū-Daryā. According to Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 156 (translation 153), Kālif was famous in the 8th/14th century for its fruit and had some importance as trading-post on the road from Balkh to Nakhshab (Nasaf) [*q.v.*] in Sogd. The town still exists (Russian Kelif) but is now situated on the northern bank of the river only. The ford in the Amū-Daryā is still of importance on the route to Afghānistān.

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī, 291, 343; Yāḳūt/

Wüstenfeld iv, 229 = Ed. Beirut iv, 432 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict.* 474; Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate* 442; Barthold, *Turk.*, index; *Enciklopedičeskoj Slovaŕ Brockhaus-Efron* xxviii (1895), 902.

(B. SPULER)

ḲĀLIḲALĀ [see ERZURUM].

KALIKAT [see Supplement].

KALIKĀTĀ [see CALCUTTA].

KALĪLA WA-DIMNA, title of an Indian mirror for princes, formed by the corruption of the Sanskrit names of the two principal characters, two jackals, Karaṭaka and Damanaka (in the old Syriac translation the forms are still Kalīlag and Damnag). It was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi and thence into Arabic, and became widely known in Muslim as well as Christian literatures.

1. The original work. The Indian original was composed by an unknown Vis͟hnuite Brahman, according to Hertel probably about the year 300 A.D. in Kas͟hmīr; the main argument for this, the transcription of denarius by *dīnāra* is, however, not conclusive, as the pronunciation of the η as *i* is older than Hertel supposes (see also A. Berriedale Keith in *JRAS*, 1915, 505). It consisted of an introduction and five books, each of which bore the name *tantra*, *i.e.*, "occasion of good sense". The book was intended to instruct princes in the laws of polity by means of animal-fables composed in perfect Sanskrit. The oldest descendant of the original work is the *Tantrākhyāyika*, rediscovered by J. Hertel (see *Tantrākhyāyika, die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra*, tr. from the Sanskrit with intro. and notes by J. Hertel, 2 parts, Leipzig-Berlin 1909). A second recension of the original work is called the *Añcatantra*. J. G. L. Kosegarten published an uncritical mixed text (Bonn 1848); on this Th. Benfey based his translation, *Pantschatantra, fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen*, tr. from the Sanskrit with intro. and notes, 2 vols., Leipzig 1859. In the introduction to this work the history of the spread of Indian literary themes to Europe was first exhaustively investigated.

2. The Pahlavi translation. A rather early recension of the *Pañcatantra* was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi by order of the Sasanian king K͟husraw Anūs͟harwān (531-579) by his physician Burzōe, whom he had sent to India for this purpose, and expanded by the addition of an appendix of fables from other Indian sources; of these the three first (chap. 11-13 in de Sacy) are taken from the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata* (*ibid.*, chap. 138, 139, 111); the other five (de Sacy's chap. 14, 15, 18, 18 and the story of the king of the mice, see below, not given in de Sacy) have so far not been found in Indian literature, although there is no reason to doubt their Indian origin. Burzōe prefaced his translation with an autobiographical introduction which the vizier Buzurd͟jmihr, it appears, signed with his own name as an honour to the author (see *Burzōes Einleitung zu dem Buch Kalīla wa-Dimna*, tr. and annot. by Th. Nöldeke, *Schriften der wissensch. Gesellsch. in Strassburg*, fasc. 12, Strasbourg 1912).

3. The old Syriac translation. Burzōe's Pahlavi translation itself is lost; but by about 570 A.D. it had already been translated by the Periodeut Būd into Syriac. This translation only survives in one manuscript, which was formerly preserved in the monastery at Mārdīn, then in the library of the Patriarch of Mōṣul and afterwards came into the possession of Mgr. Graffin in Paris. From a defective copy of this, which Socin had brought with him, Bickell prepared the first edition (*Kalilag und Damnag, alte syrische Übersetzung des indischen Fürstenspiegels*, text and Germ. tr. by G. Bickell, with an introduction by Th. Benfey, Leipzig 1876). F. Schulthess was later able to prepare a much more reliable text based on three new copies which Sachau had had prepared in Mōṣul (*Kalila und Dimna*, Syriac and German, Berlin 1911).

4. The Arabic translation. About two centuries later ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ [see IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ] translated Burzōe's Pahlavi version into Arabic. He wrote an original preface to his book, probably inserted in Burzōe's introduction the section on the uncertainty of religions, added after the first book of the *Pañcatantra* a chapter written by himself on Dimna's trial (chap. 6 in de Sacy), which by punishing the traitor satisfies the feeling of justice outraged by the immoral teachings of this book, and apparently also added the chapter "monk and guest" (no. 16 in de Sacy). Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's edition was originally a stylistic work of art intended for literary connoisseurs; but because of the nature of its contents it soon became very popular and therefore much corrupted in transmission. Even the numerous quotations in Ibn Ḳutayba's *ʿUyūn al-Ak͟hbār* already no longer reproduce Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's text word for word. The fairly numerous manuscripts of the work are all of late date. Sylvestre de Sacy's edition (*Calila et Dimna, ou Fables de Bidpai*, Paris 1816) is based on an inferior manuscript and is arbitrarily emended from other manuscripts (see Nöldeke, in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anz.*, 1884, 676). In de Sacy's text, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's preface is preceded by a new preface by an otherwise unknown Bahnūd b. Saḥwān or ʿAlī b. al-S͟hāh al-Fārisī, in which he gives an account of the history of the book in India, as well as a report said to have been written by Buzurd͟jmihr regarding Burzōe's mission to India with the commission to bring back the book; in several manuscripts this is followed by another story of Burzōe's being sent for a miraculous plant. Some manuscripts (see J. Derenbourg, *Directorium vitae humanae*, 323) add at the end two more fables, of the heron and the duck and of the dove, the fox and the heron from other, as yet unknown sources. This latter story is also inserted in the oldest Oriental reprint of de Sacy's edition, Būlāḳ 1249 (according to Chauvin, *op. cit.*, p. 13); from this it has passed into the more recent editions printed at Cairo, Mōṣul and Beirut, the list of which in Chauvin, p. 13 ff., according to Cheikho, p. 6, is not yet complete. Valuable contributions to the criticism of de Sacy's text from Italian manuscripts are given by I. Guidi, *Studii sul testo arabo del Libro di Calila e Dimna*, Rome 1873. The story of the king of the mice and his ministers, not given in de Sacy, which is shown by the Syriac text to belong to the Pahlavi work, was published by Nöldeke in text and translation in the *Abhandl. der Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, xxv/4 (1879). The complete material from 16 Paris manuscripts for the story of the ascetic and the broken jug was given by Zotenberg in the *JA* Ser. 8, vii (1886), 116-23.

While the numerous printed editions of the East (Būlāḳ 1249/1817; Cairo 1297/1835; Bayt al-dīn 1869; Mōṣul 1874, 1876; Beirut 1880, 1884) in the main reproduce the texts of the Sacy and Guide, A. N. Tabbara (*Kalila et Dimna, trad. arabe copiée d'après un ancien manuscrit trouvé à Damas*, avec notes, Beirut 1904) claimed to have discovered a new source for textual criticism; but his manuscript (of 1080/1675) is too modern to afford new material and his edition is, besides, bowdlerized. On the other hand I. Cheikho found in the Lebanon monastery of Dayr

al-Shīr a valuable manuscript of the year 749/1339, and made it accessible in an excellent edition: *La version arabe de Kalîlah et Dimnah d'après le plus ancien manuscrit arabe daté*, Beirut 1905 (many later eds.). A new edition by Khalīl al-Yāzidjī (*ibid.*, 1908) was followed by that of Salīm Ibrāhīm Ṣādir and Shāhīn ʿAṭīya (*ibid.*, 1910), intended for school use. The latest of note is that of T. Ḥusayn and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām (Cairo 1941), based on a Ms. from Aya Sofya dated 618/1221 and therefore earlier than that of Cheikho. The modern European translations from de Sacy's text are given by Hertel (*op. cit.*, 393); to these may be added M. Moreno, *La versione araba de Kalilah e Dimnah*, tr. into Italian, San Remo 1910 (see RSO, vi, 201), in his *Kalila et Dimna, fables de Bidpai* (Paris 1957); A. Miguel follows ʿAzzām's edition with the addition of chapters from Marṣafī (4th ed., Cairo 1934) and Derenbourg's *Directorium*).

5. Arabic versifications. The translation by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ has been three times put into Arabic verse. The first version was made by his younger contemporary Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*]; see also A. E. Krymski, *Abān al-Lāḥiqī, le Zindīq (environ 750-815), versificateur arabe des recueils des apologues indo-persans. Essai sur sa vie et ses écrits, tiré de l'unique manuscrit de Souli..., Bibl. Khéd. N°. 594, et d'autres sources primitives. Appendices: a. Barlaam et Joasaph, essai littéraire-historique; b. Texte arabe intact d'al-Awrāq par Souli, éd. en collaboration avec Mirza Abdoullah Ghaffarov* (also in Russian with Russian title) Moscow 1913; on the manuscript cf. Horovitz in the *Mitt. des Seminars für Orient. Sprachen*, Westas. Stud., x, 35. This version is lost; with the help of it, but on the basis of the text of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, about the year 1100, Ibn al-Habbāriya [*q.v.*] composed in ten days a poetic version in elegant and flowing language entitled: *Natāʾidj al-Fiṭna fī Naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna*, lith. Bombay 1317 (see Houtsma in *Orient Stud. Th. Nöldeke... gewidmet*, i, 91-6). A third versification of the book, entitled *Durr al-ḥikam fī amthāl al-hunūd wa'l-ʿadjam* was completed by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣaghānī after 80 days' work on 20 Djumādā 640/15 Nov. 1242). It exists only in a manuscript in Vienna (see Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hss. der ... Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, i, 469, no. 480).

6. The later Syriac translation. In the tenth or eleventh century a Syriac cleric translated the work from Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's text again into the then already dead language of his church; he endeavoured to give the book a Christian tinge and therefore amplified the verses of the Indian original, already much distorted in the Pahlavi translation, into long and weary moral discourses. He also made a series of mistakes in the translation. But as the text he used was much nearer the original than the most of our manuscripts, this translation is, in spite of its defects, of considerable value for textual criticism; it is edited by W. Wright, *The book of Kalīlah and Dimnah transl. from Arabic into Syriac*, London 1884. In contrast to the naturalism of the original, Keith-Falconer, the English translator of this version (Cambridge 1885) is even more prudish than the latter itself; on text and translation see Nöldeke in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anz.*, 1884, 673 ff., 1885, 753 ff.

7. Persian prose and verse translations. According to Firdawsī in the *Shāhnāma* (see de Sacy in *Not. et Extr.* X (1818), i, 140 ff.), Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's book was translated into Persian under the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Ahmad (302-31/914-43) by order of the vizier Balʿamī [*q.v.*]; but it appears that this translation was never completed. By order of the same ruler the poet Rūdhakī (d. 304/916) put the book into Persian verse of which, however, only 16 verses have survived in quotations in Asadī's *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. Horn, p. 18 sqq.

Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work was translated into Persian prose probably after the year 539/1144 (see Rieu, *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, 745-6) by Niẓām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who dedicated his work to Bahrām Shāh of Ghazna [*q.v.*]. Naṣr Allāh in a new preface announces his intention of reproducing the work completely, including the aphorisms which seemed to him particularly valuable, with all the rhetorical adornment of artificial prose; he gives only Burzōe's introduction in ordinary prose, as an artificial style does not suit its matter. The work was lithographed in Tehran in 1282/1864 (this disposes of Chauvin's doubts, p. 46/7), 1304 and 1305; cf. de Sacy in *Not. et Extr.* X, i, 96 ff.; E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, ii, London 1906, 349.

A metrical version of the book was composed for Sulṭān ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs (641-62/1244-63) by Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Ṭūsī Ḳāniʿī, a contemporary of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Konya, whither he had fled before the Mongols from his native city of Ṭūs; it was probably based on Naṣr Allāh's translation, which, however, he nowhere mentions (see Rieu, *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, 582 ff.; E. G. Browne, *A history of Pers. literature under Tartar dominion*, Cambridge 1920, 111).

This work was, however, put in the shade completely by the revision of Naṣr Allāh's translation done by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504) [see KĀSHIFĪ], the court-preacher of Ḥusayn Bayḳarā of Herāt [see ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ]. In honour of Ḥusayn's minister Aḥmad Suhaylī he called his work *Anwār-i Suhaylī*. He professed to be making the rhetorical artificial prose of Naṣr Allāh easier to understand by giving it a new version but in reality he created an even more florid and verbose concoction, "full of absurd exaggerations, recondite words, vain epithets, far-fetched comparisons and tasteless bombast and represents to perfection the worst style of those florid writers who flourished under the patronage of the Timurids" (E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, n. 352). But as this style remained predominant in Persia and particularly in India down to the threshold of the modern period, the work had an unparallelled success and was printed in England (first complete edition London 1836), where it was used as a text book for the examination of English officials in India in Persian and repeatedly printed and lithographed in India and Persia, translated into several Indian dialects, into Pushtu, Georgian and all the principal languages of Europe (see Chauvin, 26-43). Ḥusayn replaced the four prefaces of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ by a new introduction from a so far unidentified source; de Sacy supposes (*Not. et Extr.* X/i, 59) that in it we have the older *Djāwidān Khirad*, which al-Ṭurṭūshī was still able to use for his *Sirādj al-Mulūk*, Būlāḳ 1289, 97, 185. The Emperor of China, Humāyūnfāl, is persuaded to give up the idea of abdicating his throne by his vizier, who tells him how the Indian king Dabshalīm was directed by a dream to a cave in which an old man would give him a treasure. Of the latter Dabshalīm keeps only the testament of Hoshang, king of Persia, which contains 14 pieces of advice for rulers, and with these he goes to Ceylon where the Brahman Bidpai or Pilpai explains each of these precepts by stories which form the separate chapters of the book.

Dislike of the extravagant and luxurious style of

the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* induced the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) to commission his vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl to prepare a new edition of the work. This bears the title *ʿIyār-i Dānish* and was completed in 996/1578. It retains the arrangement of its model but restores Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's preface and Burzōe's introduction. The work itself is still unpublished but a Hindustānī translation by Ḥafīẓ-uddīn, entitled *Khirad Afrōz*, was published by Th. Roebuck (Calcutta 1815) and by Eastwick (Hertford 1857), London 1867) on account of its elegant diction.

8. Turkish translations. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work was twice translated into Eastern Turkī from Naṣr Allāh's translation; see the manuscripts in Dresden in Fleischer, *Cat. Codd. Mss. orient. Bibl. Regine Dresdensis* (Lipsiae 1831), 19, 136 and in Munich in Aumer, *Die pers. und türk. Hdss. der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek*, 54.

Naṣr Allāh's edition was translated into old Ottoman Turkish (not into Eastern Turkī, as Hertel, p. 407, says, relying on a somewhat misleading expression of Éthé's, *op. cit.*) by Masʿūd for ʿUmar Beg, prince of Aydīn (d. 748/1347) (a Ms. in the Bodleian, Marsh. 180). This prose text was put into verse by an unknown author who dedicated his work to Sulṭān Murād I (761/1359-792/1389); only about half has survived in a Gotha manuscript (see Pertsch, *Verz. der türk. Handschr. d. Herz. Bibl.*, 168, 189). A modern Ottoman prose version, which must have been made before 955/1548, exists in the Bodleian Ms. Marsh. 61; cf. H. Éthé, *On some hitherto unknown Turkish versions of Kalilah and Dimnah in the Actes du 6e Congr. internat. des Orientalistes*, 2nd sect., i, 241 ff.

ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ, called ʿAlī Wāsiʿ or ʿAlī Čelebī, translated the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* into Ottoman rhymed prose and dedicated his work to Sulṭān Sulaymān I (1512-20) with the title *Humāyūn-nāma*; it has been several times printed in Būlāḳ and Istanbul (see Chauvin, p. 50). Among the different European translations of the *Humāyūn-nāma*, the best known is the French of Galland, published after his death by Gueulette (Paris 1724); it was reprinted many times and "continued" in 1778 by D. Cardonne (see Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland*, Paris 1964, 180-8, 254-9). It was translated into German, Dutch, Hungarian and Swedish, and into Malay by Gonggrijp (Batavia 1866) and the latter version inspired a Javanese translation by Kramaprawira, which was put into Javanese verse by an anonymous poet. The luxuriousness of its language, in which the *Humāyūn-nāma* surpassed even its Persian original, induced the *muftī* Yaḥyā Efendī and ʿUthmānzāde, who died in 1139/1726 as *ḳāḍī* in Cairo, to prepare extracts from it (see Éthé, *op. cit.*, 242).

The *Anwār-i Suhaylī* was translated, apparently with the assistance of the *Humāyūn-nāma* by Faḍl Allāh b. ʿĪsā Tashkandī, at the instigation of Muḥammad Mūsā Bay Bāčča into modern Eastern Turkī prose (to be more accurate, into the language of Tashkant and Farghāna as the colophon says, or the language of Turkestān and Farghāna as the title states). Muḥammad then had the book lithographed by the calligrapher Mīrzā Hāshim Khodjandī, according to the colophon in 1306/1888; according to the title, the book was published in 1893.

Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's book was translated from the Arabic into Ḳazan Turkī by ʿAbd al-ʿAllām Fayẓ Khān Oghlu and printed at Kazan in 1889 (University Press, *Orient. Bibliographie*, iii, 1421), in the same year at Wjatschakof (*ibid.*, iv, no. 3935) and in 1892 at Čirkova (*ibid.*, vi, 167, no. 3166). The introduction, however, was borrowed from the *Anwār-i-Suhaylī*.

9. The Mongol translation. The Mongol translation which Malik Iftikhār al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, a descendant of Muḥammad Bakrī, prepared in Ḳazwīn has not survived (see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, Gibb Mem. xiv, 844-5, tr. 233; Browne, *A history of Persian literature under Tartar dominion*, 93, and correctly stated as early as Hammer-Purgstall in the *JA*, 3rd Ser., i, 580). This statement is confused in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 239, who ascribes a translation into Turkish (*lughat al-Turk*) to the ancestor Muḥammad Bakrī (see de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* X, 175; Éthé, *op. cit.*, 243, does not take notice of von Hammer's correct statement). As Flügel wrongly translates *in linguam Taterorum*, Hertel (p. 414) wrongly identifies this reported Tatar translation with the above mentioned Ḳazan Turkī (so-called Tatar) translation quoted in Chauvin, 78, n.

10. The Ethiopic translation. An Ethiopic version, which was certainly based on an Egyptian text of the Arabic of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, is also lost: it is mentioned in a work composed in 1582 (see Wright, *Cat. of the Ethiop. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, 816; see also Nöldeke, *Gött. Gelehrte Anz.* 1884, 676, n. 5).

11. The Hebrew and older European translations. At the beginning of the twelfth century a certain Rabbi Jōʾēl translated Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work into Hebrew (see S. de Sacy, *Notes et Extraits*, ix (1813), 397-466) from a valuable manuscript which, however, already contained the false story of Burzōe's mission and the two not genuine fables at the end of the heron and the duck and of the fox, dove and heron. From the unique manuscript, exceedingly corrupt in the beginning, J. Derenbourg published his translation along with that of Jacob b. Eleazar of the 13th century (*Deux versions hébraïques du Livre de Kalîlâh et Dimnâh* in the *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 49, Paris 1881). Jacob's version while based on a similar text to that of Jōʾēl is, however, very free, composed in elegant rhymed prose and full of biblical locutions. The version of Rabbi Jōʾēl was then translated into Latin by the baptised Jew John of Capua for Cardinal Ursinus between 1263 and 1278 with the title *Directorium vitae humanae* (cf. Johannes de Capua, *Directorium vitae humanae*, publ. and annot. by J. Derenbourg in the *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 72, Paris 1887). With the exception of an old Spanish version, which reproduces the same text as Rabbi Jōʾēl much more faithfully than John of Capua does (see Clifford G. Allen, *L'ancienne version espagnole de Kalila et Digna, texte des mss. de l'Escorial, précédé d'un avant-propos et suivi d'un glossaire*, thesis, Paris-Macon 1906), all later translations into Western European languages, with the exception of quite modern ones, are based on the Latin text of John of Capua (see Chauvin, 59-72; Hertel, 366-400). Most noteworthy are the Italian versions by Firenzuola (*Discorsi degli animali ragionanti tra loro*, Florence 1548) and Deni (*La filosofia morale del Doni*, Venice 1552), and the French adaptations by G. Pottier (*Plaisants et facétieux discours sur les animaux*, Lyons 1566) and P. de la Rivey (*Deux livres de philosophie fabuleuse*, Lyons 1579). In 1664 G. Gaulmier published a translation from the Arabic text entitled *Livres des lumières*. . ., attributing its elaborations to "David Sahod d'Ispahan". A version of a Greek translation (see below) appeared in 1666, prepared by P. Poussine. The last two works inspired La Fontaine (for the influence of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* on the *Roman de Renart* and

especially on La Fontaine, see M. F. Ben Ghazi, *ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, unpublished thesis, Paris 1957, ii, 153-82).

12. The Greek translation. Towards the end of the 11th century, Symeon son of Seth translated Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work fairly freely into Greek from a manuscript which was still free from later additions but contained the chapter on the king of the mice and his ministers. He called the book Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης, because he recognised in *Kalīla* the Arabic *iklīl* and in *Dimna* the Arabic word for "trace". See Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτη, *Quattro recensioni della versione greca del Kitāb Kalīlah wa-Dimna*, pubbl. da Vittorio Puntoni, *Publibcazioni della Soc. Asiat. Ital.*, ii, (1889). This version was in turn translated into Latin and German as well as into several Slavonic languages.

13. The Persian translation of the Hitōpadēsha. The later Sanskrit version of the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitōpadēsha*, was translated very freely into Persian, probably in the reign of Akbar, by a certain Tādj al-Dīn, under the title *Mufarriḥ al-ḳulūb* (see de Sacy, *L'électuaire des coeurs, ou traduction persane du livre indien intitulé Hitoupadésa par Tadj-eddin, ms. persan de la Bibl. du Roi, N° 380* in the *Not. et Extr.* X, i, 226-64). This work was then translated by the highly esteemed Hindūstānī author Mīr Bahādur ʿAlī Ḥusaynī in 1217/1802 into his mother tongue (see Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Litér. hindouïe ou hindoustanie²*, i, 699). A year later the latter was edited by Gilchrist as *Ukhlaqi Hindee or Indian Ethics, transl. from the Version of the celebrated Hitoopao'es or Salutary Counsel* by Meer Buhadoor Ulee,... under the superintendence of John Gilchrist, Calcutta 1803; cf. J. Hertel, *Die Akhlāq-ē Hindī und ihre Quellen* in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, lxxii, 65-86, lxxiv, 95-117, lxxv, 129-200.

14. The older Malay translation. On a mixture of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work and a Tamil text of the Pañcatantra is based the Malay version *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina*, which was first brought to notice by Werndly in his *Maleische Spraakkunst*, Amsterdam 1736, and was published in 1876 by Gonggrijp at Leiden (2nd ed. 1892; cf. J. J. Brandes in the *Feestbundel aan Professor M. J. de Goeje*, Leiden 1891, p. 77 ff.). This work was next translated into Javanese (Batavia 1878) and Madurese (*ibid.*, 1879).

15. Imitations of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Setting aside the fables included in the *1001 Nights*, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work has been three times imitated in Islamic literatures. Ibn al-Habbārīya (see above) followed up his versification with the *Kit. al-Ṣādiḥ wa'l-Bāghim* (printed in Cairo 1294). While this was only an imitation of the beast-fable, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ẓafar al-Ṣaḳalī (d. 565/1169 or 568/1172) in his *Sulwān al-Muṭāʿ*, which he first composed in 545/1150 and dedicated in 554/1159 in a new edition to the *ḳāʾid* of Sicily, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kurashī, intended to produce a mirror for princes, like the *Kalīla wa-Dimna*: in addition to beast-fables the book also contains historical anecdotes. It was lithographed at Cairo 1278, printed Tunis 1279, Beirut 1300; translated into Turkish by Ḳara Khalīlzāde (d. 1168/1754) and printed in Istanbul 1285; translated into Italian by M. Amari, *Solwan al-mota ossiano Conforti politici di Ibn Zafer, arabo siciliano del XII secolo*, Florence 1851, 1882 (Eng. tr. London 1852).

Another mirror for princes in which historic anecdotes are mingled with beast-fables for the edification of the reader, was composed about the end of the 4th/10th century by the prince of Ṭabaristān, Ispahbadh Marzubān, in the Persian dialect of his land. This work itself has not survived, but in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th century it was twice translated into classical Persian. This was first done at the court of the Saldjūḳ of Asia Minor, Sulaymānshāh by his vizier Muḥammad b. Ghāzī of Malaṭya; his work, entitled *Rawḍat al-ʿUḳūl*, exists in two manuscripts in Leiden and Paris. The *Marzubānnāma* of Saʿd al-Dīn-i Warāwīnī, composed between 607/1210 and 622/1225, enjoyed greater popularity. It has been edited by Mīrzā Muḥammad (Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. viii).

Warāwīnī's version was translated by an unknown author into Ottoman Turkish (a copy of 848/1444 in Berlin; see Pertsch, *Verz. der Türk. Hdss.*, no. 444); this Turkish version was again translated anonymously into Arabic (Ms. Berlin, see Ahlwardt, Verz., no. 8472). A second Arabic translation, which according to the Gotha Ms. (see Pertsch, *Die Arab. Hdss. der Herz. Bibl.*, no. 2692), is also based on the Turkish, was made by Ibn ʿArabshāh [*q.v.*]; there is another Ms. in Paris (de Slane, *Catal.*, no. 3524) and it was lithographed in Cairo in 1278. The same author then rewrote his work in artificial prose in his *Fākihat al-Khulafāʾ wa-Mufākharat al-Ẓurafāʾ*, and added several new stories.

The same recension, which had been translated into Ottoman Turkish and which is distinguished from Warāwīnī's vulgate as well as from the *Rawḍat al-ʿUḳūl* by the tenth (concluding) chapter *dar bayān-i ziyādat-i ʿumr wa-dawlat wa-zindagānī kardan bā dōst udushman*, was translated into Ḳazan Sulaymān Bek, son of Muḥammad Bek, and printed at Kazan in 1864 under the title *Kitāb Destūri Shāhī fī ḥikāyāti Dūdishāhi.*

16. Kalīla wa-Dimna in Muslim art. *Kalīla wa-Dimna* was one of those books which inspired the Muslim artists of the pre- and post-Mongol Iranian schools as much as those of Baghdād. A description of the miniatures illustrating a considerable number of the manuscripts would require a monograph and is outside the range of this article. Reference should be made to K. A. Creswell, *A bibliography of painting in Islam*, Cairo 1953, and a few basic works: E. R. Martin, *The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the VIIIth to the XVIIth C.*, London 1912; A. B. Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XXᵉ s.*, Paris 1929; I. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne... au Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1929; B. Gray, *Fourteenth century illustrations of Kalilah and Dimnah*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii (1940), 134-40; Blochet, *Les enluminures des mss. orientaux... de la B.N.*, Paris 1929; M. S. Diwand, *A handbook of Mohammedan decorative arts*, New York 1958; Z. Ḥasan, *al-Taṣwīr fi l-Islām*, Cairo 1936; Kühnel, *A Bidpai Ms. of 1343-4 in Cairo*, in *Am. Inst. Iranian Art and Arch.*, v (1937); Talbot-Rice, *The Paris exhibition of Iranian art*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 282-91; M. Muhriz, *Rusūm Kalīla wa-Dimna*, unpublished thesis, Cairo 1946.

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ḲALĪM ABŪ ṬĀLIB, Persian poet, was born according to contemporary evidence, in Hamadān. His life, until he went to India, was spent chiefly in Kāshān, and therefore he is often called Kāshānī. After receiving his education in Shīrāz during his early youth, he visited India in Djahāngīr's reign, but returned to Persia in 1028/1618-9. Two years later, however, he migrated permanently to India. On his arrival, he sought his fortune in various

provinces, including Deccan, where he attached himself to Mīr Djumla. Following Shāhdjahān's accession, Kalīm entered the imperial court, and became poet laureate to the emperor. He was commissioned to write a verse account of Shāhdjahān's reign on the model of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*. He died in Kashmīr in 1061/1651, and was buried there.

Kalīm's poetic output is said to comprise approximately 24,000 couplets. He tried his hand at almost every traditional form, but his claim to renown rests chiefly upon his *ghazals*, which are characterized by a subtlety of themes. His consistent use of the artifice known as *mithāliyya* (giving a statement in one line of the couplet and equating it with an appropriate illustration in the other) seems to have contributed to its popularity as an accepted poetic convention.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

KALĪM ALLĀH [see MŪSĀ].

KALĪM ALLĀH AL-DJAHĀNĀBĀDĪ, B. NŪR ALLĀH B. AḤMAD AL-MIʿMĀR (mason/architect), AL-ṢIDDĪḲĪ, one of the leading Čishtī saints of his time, who was responsible for the revival of this order in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent when Muslim society was in a state of utter disorder. He was born at Shāhdjahānābād (Delhi), whence his *nisba* al-Djahānābādī, on 24 Djūmādā II 1060/24 June 1650, eight years before Awrangzīb's accession to the throne. His ancestors, builders and masons by profession, originally hailed from Khodjand [*q.v.*]. His father and grandfather both played leading roles in the building of the famous Red Fort and the congregational mosque of imperial Delhi. Many of the inscriptions, mostly verses from the Ḳurʾān and the ninety-nine names of Allāh (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* [*q.v.*]), which decorate the mosque were made by his father, the *ustādh* Nur Allāh. He acquired his early education from local scholars, including Abu 'l-Riḍā Muḥammad, uncle of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*]. Later he left for the Ḥidjāz to make the *Ḥadjdj* and *Ziyāra* and stayed there for a long time. He contracted his *bayʿa* in the Čishtī order with Yaḥyā b. Maḥmūd al-Gudjarātī (d. 1101/1689), who had migrated to Medina and settled there. During his stay in the Ḥidjāz he was initiated into the Naḳshbandī and Ḳādirī orders by Mīr Muḥtaram and Shaykh Muḥammad Ghiyāth (cf. *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vi, 240-1). On his return to Delhi he stayed in a mosque situated between the Red Fort and the Djāmiʿ Masdjid in the quarter known as the Khānim kā Bāzār. He established a *madrasa* there which attracted a large number of students from far and wide who enjoyed free board and lodging. No details of this *madrasa* are available. The Ṣūfī poet Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i-Djānāń once saw him teaching the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī to students in this *madrasa*, which probably formed part of the mosque in which he stayed. According to Mīrzā Muḥammad Akhtar Gūrgānī (*Tadhkira-i Awliyāʾ-i Hind wa-Pākistān*, Lahore 1954 (?), ii, 272), the emperor Awrangzīb later ordered the construction of a *khānḳāh* for him, a complex of buildings comprising *ʿibādat-khāna*, *madjlis-khāna*, *langar-khāna* and private quarters. According to the same author the emperor Muḥammad Muʿaẓẓam Bahādur Shāh I [*q.v.*] became his disciple in his fourth regnal year (1123/1711), while engaged in an expedition against the rebellious Sikhs under Banda Bayrāgī. Kalīm Allāh led a life of austerity, depending mainly on the *futūḥāt* (offerings) received from devotees and disciples. Learning of his poverty, Farrukhsiyar [*q.v.*], during his short but eventufl reign, offered him financial assistance but he refused to accept it, perhaps fearing persecution at the hands of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān, one of the Sayyid king-makers known to Indian history.

As a rule he discouraged his disciples from coming close to the rulers and kings and even exhorted them not to approach or visit them. He also did not favour the *samāʿ*, as was in vogue in his days, although he himself enjoyed it. In one of his letters (no. 110) he vehemently condemns the immature or sham Ṣūfīs whom he describes as "*mulḥids* who have given up the *sharīʿa*". As against Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*], he favoured keeping good relations with the non-Muslims so that they might be impressed with the teachings of Islam. Similarly he did not shun the common people but rather liked their company. He discouraged the indiscriminate discussion of the knotty problem of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*. All his life he struggled for the glory and spread of Islam but like Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, his successor in the field, his efforts met with little success.

He died on 24 Rabīʿ I 1142/17 Oct. 1729 at an advanced age at Delhi and was buried in the compound of his own *khānḳāh*, which also served as his residence. The year of his death has been variously given as 1140/1727, 1141/1728 (cf. *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vi, 241), 1142/1729 (appendix to *Sawāʾ al-Sabīl*, 139) and 1143/1730 as given by Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī (cf. *Maʾāthir al-Kirām*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1910, 42). The year 1142/1729 has been adopted as the most reliable one, as many authorities agree thereon. After the mutiny of 1857 the entire quarter wherein stood his *khānḳāh* was pulled down by the British but his grave was spared. It had remained in a state of neglect and disrepair for some decades when Khʷādjā Ghulām Farīd, spiritual guide of the ruler of Bahāwalpūr [*q.v.*], contributed a large sum for its reconstruction. It was later repaired and renovated by one of his descendants, who set up a beautifully carved stone railing around his grave and paved the tomb floor with marble flags. The tomb still exists and is the lonely structure standing between the Red Fort and the Djāmiʿ Masdjid. An *ʿurs* is held every year at his tomb on the occasion of the anniversary of his death. It was regularly attended by the last Moghul emperor of Delhi, Bahādur Shāh "Ẓafar" [*q.v.*], and other princes of the royal family.

His leading *khalīfa* was Niẓām al-Dīn Awrangābādī to whom he addressed a number of letters on the problems of *taṣawwuf*. He left three sons and three daughters. His sons, however, were all minors at the time of his death.

He is credited with having written more than 20 books including: (1) *Sawāʾ al-Sabīl* (ed. Delhi 1343/1925), original in Arabic with Urdu tr., on various mystic problems; (2) *Irshādāt-i Kalīmī* (ed. Delhi 1346/1927), a selection of letters addressed to his principal *khalīfa* Niẓām al-Dīn Awrangābādī, with

Urdu translation; (3) *Kashkūl* (in Persian, Delhi n.d.), described as a *pot-pourri* of *taṣawwuf*, composed in 1101/1690, when he was nearly 41 years of age; (4) *Murakka'* (in Persian with Urdu tr., Delhi n.d.), comprising what the Čishtīs recite daily by way of *dhikr*, regarded as a supplement to No. 3; (5) *Maktūbāt* (Delhi n.d.), 132 in number, addressed to his principal disciples, outstanding among whom was Niẓām al-Dīn Awrangābādī, interspersed with personal and private affairs; (6) *Tilka 'asharat al-Kāmila*, in Arabic (ed. Delhi with Urdu tr., n.d.), discusses ten problems of *taṣawwuf* which he claims to have solved while in *i'tikāf* [*q.v.*] during Ramaḍān; (7) *Mā lā-budda fi 'l-taṣawwuf*, (ed. Delhi n.d., in Arabic with Urdu tr.), deals with the aims and objects of *sulūk* and *taṣawwuf*; (8) Keeping up the tradition of his family he wrote a treatise on astrology styled *Risāla Tashrīḥ al-Aflāk-i 'Āmili muḥashshā bi'l-fārisiyya* (Ms. in the Nadhīriyya Public Library, Delhi). He also wrote a commentary on the *Ḳānūn* of Avicenna of which a Ms. copy is preserved in the Raza (sic) Library, Rampur. A fine commentary on the Ḳur'ān, called *Ḳur'ān al-Ḳur'ān*, which was printed in the margin of a copy of the Ḳur'ān (ed. Meerut 1920), was also written by him. A certain *Kitāb al-radd* (*'alā*) *al-Shī'a* or *Risāla Radd-i Rawāfiḍ* and *Tasnīm*, the latter on certain problems of *taṣawwuf*, are also attributed to him.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

KALIMA (A.), the spoken word, utterance; can be extended to mean "discourse" and "poem". The *falāsifa* prefer to limit their discussion to the problems of grammar and logic: thus in the preamble to the *Nadjāt* (Cairo² 1357/1938, 11) Ibn Sīnā defines *kalima* as "a single word (*lafẓa*) which refers to an idea and the length of time that this idea is applied to any indeterminate subject whatsoever; for example, when we say 'he walked'." Cf. also *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, Cairo 1328/1910, 57-8, and p. 66 where *kalima* is given as a synonym for "that which grammarians call *fi'l*". But according to the *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 11), logicians use *kalima* to apply to any wholly descriptive spoken word, noun or verb, which designates an indeterminate entity in a fixed period of time. (Cf. A. M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, and Fr. tr. of *Ishārāt*, Paris 1951, 84, n.l.).

The term *kalima* and the plural *kalimāt* occur frequently in the Ḳur'ān. It is used on numerous occasions in the very general sense of "spoken word", good XIV, 24, XLVIII, 26) or bad (IX, 74, XIV, 26, XVIII, 5, XXIII, 100). Yet it most frequently pertains to the realised Word of God. "The words of God cannot be altered", says the Ḳur'ān, X, 64. Subsequently *kalima* acquires a sense closely akin to *amr*, "decision", "order", or indeed *ḳadar*, "decree". R. Blachère frequently translates *kalima* by *arrêt*. There are numerous references (*e.g.*, VI, 115, VII, 137, X, 33, 96, XI, 119, etc.; in the plural, VI, 34, 115, XVIII, 109, XXXI, 26, etc.). In XLIII, 28 it is said of Abraham: "and he made it an everlasting word (*kalimatan bāḳiyatan*) among his descendants". The commentators (see al-Bayḍawī, ed. Fleischer, ii, 237, 25) usually emphasised that this referred to an affirmation of the Oneness of God, the equivalent of the "first *shahāda*", as is suggested in XLIII, 26-7. One of the most frequently cited passages of the Ḳur'ān is III, 39 and 45, where Jesus is proclaimed as "a word coming from God". The commentators regarded this *kalimat Allāh* who is Jesus as a divine word linked to the creative *kun* ("be!"; cf. III, 47) and subsequently related the creation of Jesus to that of Adam: "Yes, in the case of Jesus God acted just as He did with Adam: God created the earth, then He said 'be!' and there he was" (III, 59).

Thus *kalima* is not an attribute of the Word [see KALĀM] but its expression, through which divine decisions are formulated and communicated. Ḳur'ānic commentaries discuss it with particular reference to the verses concerning Jesus, and also in the "professions of faith" (*'aḳā'id*), *e.g.*, *La Profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, ed. and Fr. tr. H. Laoust, Damascus 1958, 58/107-8).

In *'ilm al-kalām*, the problem of the *kalimat Allāh* is related to the problem of the attribute of *kalām Allāh*: created according to the Mu'tazila, uncreated according to the later schools. In the course of the Ash'arī scholars' lengthy refutations of the Mu'tazilites, *kalima* and *kalām* were confused once again. Thus in al-Bāḳillānī's *Tamhīd* (ed. McCarthy, Damascus-Beirut 1957, 253) the Christians and the Mu'tazilites are credited with holding that "the Word of God is created", *kalimat Allāh makhlūḳa*. Al-Djuwaynī has the same to say of the Christians (*Irshād*, ed. Luciani, Paris 1938, 75/123). From the doctrine of *kalām Allāh* it follows that the divine utterances must be innumerable. All contingent existences (*al-mumkināt*) were created by *kalimāt Allāh*, that is by the repeated creative commands (*kun*, "be!"); therefore the Expression of the Reality (*al-ḥaḳḳ*) is the self of the identities of the contingent existences, or the contingent existences themselves, *nafs a'yān al-mumkināt* (see *Dict. of Technical Terms*, 1271 ff., and al-Djurdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 194-5).

In the Shī'ī and Ṣūfī vocabularies (at least as far as the Ṣūfism of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* is concerned) *kalima* acquires frankly gnostic overtones. Consider the following examples:

a) From an Ismā'īlī lexicon. In the 4th/10th century Abū Ya'ḳūb al-Sidjistānī stated in his *Kitāb al-Yanābī'*: "the horizon of Understanding is contiguous to the Word of God (*kalimat Allāh*), which is outside the totality of all beings that have been

formed beneath the Prime Intelligence" (ed. and Fr. tr. H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaeliènne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, 10/23). "The Word of God", says Corbin (*ibid.*, 29, n. 44), "should be understood as the divine imperative (*amr Allāh*) by whose will the Prime Intelligence exists". Further on (70/92) al-Sidjistānī specifies: "Paradise is the *kalimat Allāh* by whose means He first founded those things which exist in Paradise". Finally, the penultimate chapter of the book considers the "meaning (*maʿnā*) of the Word (*kalima*) of the Primary Cause" (90-4/118-21). There *kalima* is analysed letter by letter (*k-l-m-h*) according to the principles of *djafr* [*q.v.*], with reference to the Ismāʿīlī hierarchies. To the extent that the Prime Intelligence is identified with *kalām Allāh* (91/119), *kalimat Allāh* becomes synonymous with the "First Cause, *i.e.*, the Oneness" (90/118).

b) From an Imāmī lexicon. In his *Kitāb al-mashāʿir* (ed. and tr. H. Corbin, Tehran-Paris 1342/1964) Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī (10th/16th-11th/17th c.) established the link between the Word of God and the Ḳurʾān. He deals with the *kalām Allāh*, but in specifying that the attribute of the Word (*kalām*) refers to the production of "perfect Words" (*kalimāt tāmmāt*) whose chief example is the creation of Jesus in Mary's womb (*op. cit.*, 57/193).

c) From a Ṣūfī lexicon. The chief exponent of *kalimat Allāh* was Ibn ʿArabī, who took it as his main theme in *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (ed. ʿAfīfī, Cairo 1365/1946). His meditations on the experience of each prophet are called "the divine Wisdom in the Word (*kalima*)" of Adam, Seth, Abraham, Isaac, etc. In the chapter on Jesus he stresses this (i, 139); while in the passages dealing with the experience of Moses (i, 197 ff.), he notes Ḳurʾān, X, 64 ("the words of God cannot be altered") and adds (ii, 211); "the words of God (*kalimāt Allāh*) are in fact the essence (*aʿyān*) of all things in existence; to them belongs eternity (*ḳidam*) by virtue of their immutability; to them belongs contingency (*ḥudūth*) because of their (concrete) existence and their burgeoning forth (within existence)".

Many other texts could be cited to show how *kalima* becomes the creative Logos of God, His Parole instauratrice, "instigating Word" (H. Corbin), the first and emanating Source of the production of all being which makes and is the essence of all things.

Bibliography: in the article. See also the main *tafsīrs* on the ḳurʾānic verses cited above.

(D. B. MACDONALD—L. GARDET)

KALIMANTAN [see Supplement].

KALĪMĪ [see YAHŪD].

AL-**ḲALḲASHANDĪ**, the *nisba* or gentilic of several Egyptian scholars of the Mamlūk and early Ottoman periods, the most important of whom are as follows:

(1.) Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī (ʿAbd Allāh?) b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Fazārī al-Shāfiʿī, legal scholar and secretary in the Mamlūk chancery, and author of several books. The main sources for his life are the fairly brief mentions of him in biographical and historical sources of the late Mamlūk period by al-ʿAynī, al-Maḳrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Sakhāwī and Ibn al-ʿImād; some of his compositions are recorded by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa; but it is above all from his own works that we gain most information. It is remarkable how little notice was taken of al-Ḳalḳashandī by contemporaries or near-contemporaries. Al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) even states in his *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ* that al-Ḳalḳashandī's *Ṣubḥ* comprises four volumes only, instead of the seven of reality, and he had obviously not seen an actual copy. Nor does he seem to have seen a copy of al-Ḳalḳashandī's *Nihāyat al-arab*, for he states in his defence of the study of history, *al-Iʿlān bi 'l-tawbīkh li-man dhamma ahl al-tawrīkh*, tr. in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 434, that it was dedicated to the Ustādār Djamāl al-Dīn, when the dedicatee in the *Nihāya* itself is another person altogether (see below). Hence we do not know much about al-Ḳalḳashandī's legal and professional life beyond the salient points and dates of his official career, let alone about his early years, education and private life.

He was born in 756/1355 at Ḳalḳashanda (the form Ḳarḳashanda in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, must be based on a mispronunciation or a dialectical variant pronunciation), a small town south of Ṭūkh and north of Cairo in the modern *mudīriyya* of Ḳalyūb [*q.v.*], into a family of scholars. In his *nasab* or genealogy, al-Ḳalḳashandī attached himself to the Banū Badr of the North Arab tribal group of Fazāra of Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*], see *Ṣubḥ*, i, 345, which had settled in this part of Lower Egypt after the Muslim conquest. In the course of his education at Alexandria, he concentrated on literature, tradition and law, with the aim of becoming a *ḳāḍī* of the Shāfiʿī law school, and his earliest compositions were in this sphere (see below). In 778/1376-7 he received his *idjāza* or licence to give judicial opinions and to lecture (*al-futyā wa'l-tadrīs*) on Shāfiʿī law and on the classic collections of traditions from the well-known scholar Shaykh Sirādj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, called Ibn al-Mulaḳḳin (d. 804/1401).

However, after a period of teaching, in 791/1389 al-Ḳalḳashandī became a secretary in the chancery or *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ* of the Mamlūk administration in Cairo, as a *kātib al-dast*, one of the secretaries who accompanied the chief secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) when the latter sat with the sultan for the dispensation of justice [see DĪWĀN, ii Egypt]. The background to this appointment of his under the *kātib al-sirr* Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, of the famous secretarial family of the Banū Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*], is indicated in the *maḳāma* in praise of the secretarial art and of his master which al-Ḳalḳashandī inserts in *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 112-28 (see on this Bosworth, in *BSOAS*, xxvii (1964), 291-8).

He died on 10 Djumādā II 821/16 July 1418 aged 65; it is not known whether he was still employed in the *dīwān* at that date. His son Nadjm al-Dīn Muḥammad, called Ibn Abī Ghudda (797/1395-876/1471), also achieved some fame as a legal scholar, a traditionist and a littérateur (Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, ed. Cairo 1353-5/1934-5, vi, 322-3; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. Cairo 1353-6/1934-6, iii, 821; cf. Brockelmann, II, 167, S II, 165).

Al-Ḳalḳashandī's compositions fall into three groups: (a) law, (b) *adab*, (c) *kitāba*, the secretarial art, together with its genealogical and historical ancillary disciplines.

In the legal sphere, he composed commentaries on the works of two earlier scholars. Firstly, on the *Djāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣarāt fī furūʿ al-shāfiʿiyya* of the Shāfiʿī scholar Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Nasāʾī al-Madlidjī (691/1292-757/1355), see Brockelmann, II, 254, S II, 271; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, VIII, gives this commentary the title *al-Ghuyūth al-hawāmiʿ*, without, however, specifying his source); and secondly, on the treatise *al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr fi 'l-furūʿ* of the Ṣūfī Shaykh Nadjm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 665/1266, see Brockelmann, II, 494-5, S I, 679). These two works are mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and

Sak͟hāwī respectively, but do not now seem to be extant.

In the realm of *adab*, al-Ḳalḳas͟handī wrote a short work, the *Ḥilyat al-faḍl wa-zīnat al-karam fi 'l-mufāk͟hara bayn al-sayf wa'l-ḳalam*, for the bearer of the royal inkstand or *dawādār* [*q.v.*], Zayn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ẓāhirī, when Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ appointed him to this high office in 794/1392; the text of this exists in independent manuscripts and is also inserted into *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 23-140 (see Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa, *Iḍāḥ al-maknūn*, Istanbul 1945-7, i, 421). Like so many other scholars, he wrote a commentary on Kaʿb b. Zuhayr's poem in praise of the Prophet, *Bānat Suʿād*, which he says in *Nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Abyārī, 420, was called *Kunh al-murād fī s͟harḥ Bānat Suʿād* and which, he further says, contains fine meanings and expressions not known to him in other commentaries; this work is extant in manuscript. It is not very clear what connection, if any, this commentary on *Bānat Suʿād* has with a poem in praise of the Prophet attributed to al-Ḳalḳas͟handī in Brockelmann, II, 167, and printed at Alexandria in 1288/1871; the ascription of this to al-Ḳalḳas͟handī is in any case doubtful, see Sarkis, ii, 1522.

However, it is the works on secretaryship and related topics dating from al-Ḳalḳas͟handī's later years which exhibit the full flowering and maturing of his genius, above all the stupendous *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs͟hā fī ṣināʿat al-ins͟hāʾ*, the culmination of the secretarial manuals and encyclopaedias of the Mamlūk period and, indeed, of the whole Arabic *adab al-kātib* literature (ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Rasūl Ibrāhīm, Dār al-Kutub al-K͟hadīwiyya, Cairo 1331-8/1913-20, 14 vols). The *Ṣubḥ* was completed in 814/1412 and comprised seven volumes, containing an introduction, ten discourses (*maḳālāt*) and a conclusion. Within it, al-Ḳalḳas͟handī gives a very detailed conspectus of the theoretical sciences and the practical skills required by a secretary concerned with official correspondence. The contents are analysed in detail in W. Björkman's indispensable guide to the *Ṣubḥ*, his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg 1928). A volume of indices has also been published (Cairo 1972). Noteworthy is the large number of original documents, going back to the earliest years of Islam, which al-Ḳalḳas͟handī cites, those pertaining to Egypt and its external relations, from the Fāṭimid period onwards, being especially valuable. The attention of European orientalists such as Amari and Lammens was drawn to these treaties, investiture diplomas, etc. even when the *Ṣubḥ* was known only in manuscript. Al-Ḳalḳas͟handī's sources embrace virtually the whole corpus of Arabic writers on *kitāba* and such related sciences as history and geography, but his proximate sources were the works of two authors of the 8th/14th century. These works comprise those of S͟hihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), his *al-Taʿrīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-s͟harīf*, its supplement, the *ʿUrf al-taʿrīf*, and his geography, the *Masālik al-abṣār*; and the *Tat͟hḳīf al-taʿrīf* of the *ḳāḍī* Taḳī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥibb al-Dīn, called Ibn Nāẓir al-Djays͟h (d. 786/1384). The sources of the *Ṣubḥ* are exhaustively discussed by Björkman, *op. cit.*, 75 ff., and the *Tat͟hḳīf* (so far unedited and not mentioned in Brockelmann) and its author have been examined by R. Veselý, *Zu den Quellen al-Qalqašandī's Ṣubḥ al-Aʿšā*, in *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis*, Philologica 2 (1969), 13-24.

In the *Ṣubḥ*, al-Ḳalḳas͟handī aimed at being encyclopaedic and exhaustive, but he later made a resumé of it, the *Ḍawʾ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-djanā al-dawḥ al-mut͟hmir*, dedicated to Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Bārizī, who later became *kātib al-sirr* (the first volume only of this printed at Cairo, 1324/1906). The *Ḍawʾ* appears to contain a few items of information not found in the *Ṣubḥ*.

The study of genealogies, important to the secretary for identifying and correctly addressing the recipients of official documents, is dealt with in *Ṣubḥ*, i, 306-71, but al-Ḳalḳas͟handī devoted two works specially to the science of genealogy. The chief one is the *Nihāyat al-arab fī maʿrifat ansāb al-ʿarab*, written after the *Ṣubḥ* and before the *Ḍawʾ* and dedicated to the Amīr Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf al-Umawī al-Ḳuras͟hī. As well as a great deal of information on the science of genealogy in general, it deals with early Arabian history, the *Ayyām al-ʿarab*, etc.; but the core of the book is an alphabetically-arranged dictionary of Arab tribal names. The book was printed at Bag͟hdād in 1332/1914 from an unspecified manuscript, and properly edited (with a good biographical introduction, summarized by G. C. Anawati in *MIDEO*, vi (1959-61), 274-6) by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Cairo 1959). One question discussed by Abyārī relates to the ascription by Ḥādjdjī K͟halīfa, iv, no. 9556, cf. vi, no. 14070, of a work also entitled *Nihāyat al-arab* to al-Ḳalḳas͟handī's son Muḥammad (see above), this work being written for Zayn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Djūd Baḳar b. Rās͟hid, "Amīr of the Bedouins of the Eastern and Western Regions", sc. of Lower Egypt; Brockelmann, II, 167, S II, 165, attributed this work to the son Muḥammad and repeats this dedication to Abu 'l-Djūd. Abyārī, on the other hand, thinks it improbable that father and son should both write a work on the same subject and with the same title, and convincingly suggests that Muḥammad transcribed the original manuscript of his father's *Nihāya* in 874/1443-4 and presented this copy to Abu 'l-Djūd (*Nihāya*, ed. Cairo, intro., *s͟hīn-t͟hāʾ*). Al-Ḳalḳas͟handī's other genealogical work, described as a supplement (*istidrāk*) to the *Nihāya*, is the *Ḳalāʾid al-djumān fī 'l-taʿrīf bi-ḳabāʾil ʿarab al-zamān*, dedicated to Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Muḥammad al-Djuhanī al-Muʾayyadī, and completed in 819/1416. This may well have been al-Ḳalḳas͟handī's last work; it has been edited by Abyārī (Cairo 1964).

Finally, we have al-Ḳalḳas͟handī's remaining work, the *Maʾāt͟hir al-ināfa fī maʿālim al-k͟hilāfa*. This is a treatise on the constitutional position of the Caliphate, the qualities necessary for office, the duties of the caliphs, the documents issued by them (of which many texts are quoted), together with a history of the caliphs and some of the later sultans. The whole work is dedicated to the ʿAbbāsid caliph in Cairo, al-Muʿtaḍid b. al-Mutawakkil (816/1414-845/1441), which places the composition of the work after that of the *Ṣubḥ* and in the last years of al-Ḳalḳas͟handī's life; the non-historical part of the *Maʾāt͟hir* is clearly dependent on the *Ṣubḥ*. The work has only recently become known with the identification of two manuscripts in Turkey by the late Mükrimim Halil Yınanç and İbrahim Kafesoğlu; a detailed analysis of the work, with the parallels in it to the *Ṣubḥ* indicated, is given by Kafesoğlu in his article *Kalkaşandi'nin bilinmeyen bir esseri, Meâsirü l'-İnâfe*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, viii, no. 11-12 (Istanbul 1956), 99-104. A printed edition of the *Maʾāt͟hir*, based on an unspecified manuscript and with no acknowledgement of the contribution of Turkish scholars, has been given by ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrādj (Kuwayt 1964 3, vols.).

(2.) A famous family of S͟hāfiʿī scholars, originally from Ḳalḳas͟handa but settled in Jerusalem, retained

the *nisba* of "al-Ḳaʾḳas̲h̲andī", including Taḳī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Maḳdisī (783/1382-867/1463) and his nephew Karīm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Maḳdisī (808/1405-855/1452), both of whom achieved fame in Cairo and in Palestine as teachers, authors and *muftīs*, see Sak̲h̲āwī, *Ḍawʾ*, iv, 311-12, xi, 69-71, and idem, *Iʿlān*, tr. in Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², 439-40. Probably to be attached to this Jerusalem family also is Burhān al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Maḳdisī, d. 922/1516 in Cairo, author of collections of traditions and of a treatise *Tat̲h̲bīt al-mulk bi-tafsīr ḳawlihi taʿālā ḳul allāhumma mālik al-mulk*, none of them published, see Brockelmann, II, 94, S II, 85.

Bibliography: As remarked above, the primary sources for al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī's life, outside his own works, are exiguous. See Sak̲h̲āwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, ii, 8; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arat al-d̲h̲ahab* vii 149; Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, iii, 821; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, Cairo 1375/1956, i, 330-1; Ṭās̲h̲köprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, i, 182. For secondary sources, see the biography prefixed to vol. xiv of the *Ṣubḥ*; Sarkis, ii, 1521-3; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-muʾallifīn*, i, 317; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, 172; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, V-XV; Brockelmann, II, 166-7, S II, 164-5; İ. Kafesoglu, *İA* art. s.v.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲALLALA, Guellala, a Berber-speaking village situated to the south of the Isle of D̲j̲arba [*q.v.*], famous for its pottery workshops. A great variety of models (at least 120 types) are made there and sold throughout Tunisia. Formerly, they were exported to Algeria, Sicily and Tripolitania, but in recent years the manufacture of pottery has suffered a slight setback as a result of the importation of cheap European ware, some of it made from plastic. Ḳallāla pottery is of two types. The large *ẓəffaya*, which demands great skill, is designed to support considerable pressure. Pieces can be as large as 1.50 m., with a low centre of gravity to allow the potter to operate the lathe and fashion the upper part at the same time. It is even necessary to make these pieces in several parts. The *səfri* (Berber *amīris*), a large container for oil or water (holding 200 to 250 litres), is made of four pieces mounted one on the other. The smaller *ḥarrās̲h̲a* type is more finely finished and is used for a great variety of receptacles (for water, flour, oil, delicacies, spices), for casseroles, lids, pipes, lamps, perfume-holders, etc. Enamelled and decorated pottery is also made here. On the occasion of a marriage, neighbouring potters give the young couple a large glazed earthenware jare for storing part of the trousseau (blankets and winter clothing).

The Berber spoken in Ḳallāla (Arabic *Gəllāla*, Berber *Iḳəllālən* = "the potters") has preserved a number of archaic features. The dynamic accent has a phonological value: they say *afruk̲h̲ ámás̲h̲kun*, "the little boy", and *tafruk̲h̲t támas̲h̲kunt*, "the little girl"; but *afruk̲h̲ d amə́s̲h̲kun*, "a little boy" and *tafruk̲h̲t tamə́s̲h̲kunt*, "a little girl"; the feminine is definite or indefinite solely according to the placing of the stress. Vowel length is also a phonological factor: *aghrum* is "bread", but *aghrūm-is* (with a long *ū*) is "his bread" and *aghrum-ənsən* (with a short *u*) is "their bread". There is a difference between *raḥḥag̲h̲ al-bāv-is*, "I have gone to his father's house" (movement, *bāv-is*) and *yəlla al bav-is*, "he is at his father's house" (rest, *bav-is*). On some occasions the noun following the genitive is shortened: *īmi*, "mouth" or "gate" (with a long *ī*), but *imi-lḥush*, "an area in front of the house" (with a short *i*). Numerals and prepositions can also influence the pronunciation of the nouns they accompany: *bərkūkəs*, "couscous", but *edh berkukes*, "with couscous" (with a short *u*). *əlḥush* means "house" but they say *usig̲h̲-d s-əlḥūsh* (with a long *ū*) for "I have come from the house". A number of nouns have a pronoun value: *alg̲h̲um*, "camel", *alag̲h̲m-is*, "his camel"; *əlləbg̲h̲əl*, "mule", *əlbag̲h̲l-is*, "his mule"; *əlḳahwət̲h̲*, "coffee", and *əlḳahḥəwt-is*, "his coffee". Two things should be noted in this last example: the voiceless dental is pronounced *t̲h̲* (aspirant) after a vowel and *t* (occlusive) after a consonant and the closed syllable remains so by means of gemination in a new syllabic structure. The treatment of *t* and *t̲h̲* resembles the *begadkefat* consonants in Hebrew and Aramaic. The opposing ones at Ḳallāla are *b*:*v*, *d*:*dh*, *g*:*y*, *k*:*x* (= postpalatal voiceless aspirant which tends to a "hushing" quality) and *ḍ*:*ḍ* (often pronounced *ḍ*). In some cases analogy and a massive intrusion of Arabic words have shattered the harmony of the system, but the whole has the same correlations to be found among the G̲h̲umāra of Morocco and the Zenaga of Senegal. Ḳallāla, along with Sedwikesh, Almay and Adjim, is one of the last strongholds of the Berber tongue on the Isle. An oral literature (songs, tales and riddles) still remains, but the language is sorely threatened by schooling, radio and television as well as by contact with the Arabic-speaking population.

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(W. Vycichl)

KALMUK, the Turkish name for a Mongol people, the Oyrat, who in the time of Čingiz-Khān [*q.v.*] inhabited the forests to the west of Lake Baykal. The name is derived (probably only by popular etymology) from the verb *ḳalmaḳ*, "to remain" and distinguishes the Oyrat, who "remained" pagans, from the Dungans (the Chinese-speaking Muslims), who had "returned" (the verb *dönmek*), according to the well-known Muslim idea, to Islam. A group of the Oyrat had accompanied Hülegü to the west and played a certain rôle in Īl-Khānid Persia. The people as a whole, however, came into their own only after the collapse of the Mongol dynasty in China, when they wrested the greater part of Mongolia from the Čingizids and laid the foundations of the Kalmuk empire.

From the time of Ways Khān (1418-28) the Mongols on the Ilī [*q.v.*] had to fight against the "infidel Ḳalmaḳ"; accounts of these wars are given in the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*. Ways Khān was twice taken prisoner by the Kalmuks and had to give his sister in marriage to their chief, Esen Tayshi. Toghon, the latter's father, was then ruling in Mongolia on the Chinese frontier, where he was succeeded in 1439 by Esen Tayshi. After the death of Esen Tayshi (1455) the great nomad empire of the Oyrat broke up; individual princes are mentioned from time to time later as ruling in the neighbourhood of Muslim lands; at the beginning of 864/end of 1459 a Kalmuk embassy appeared in Harāt. The Muslim sources also report the restoration of the Oyrat empire under Khara Khula (d. 1634). In Turkestan during this period also the Kalmuks were regarded as powerful foes of Islam. The Kazakh Khān Tawakkul (Tefkel in Russian) had to flee before them to Tashkent, where he was received by the Özbek ruler Nawrūz Aḥmad (d. 963/1556); in reply to his appeal for help, Nawrūz declared that even ten princes such as themselves would be no match for the Kalmuks. At a later date, however, on the occasion of his embassy to Tsar Feodor (1594), Tawakkul was described in Russian documents as "king of the Kazakhs and Kalmuks", perhaps because a few bands of Kalmuks had attached themselves to him. In the winter of 1603-4 there occurred the first incursion of the Kalmuks into Khwārizm. Soon after, under Tsar Vasili Shuisky (1606-1610), the Kalmuks entered into relations with the Russian government for the first time, though it was not until 1632 that they settled on the Volga on a large scale. This branch of the Kalmuks had separated from their kinsmen, under the leadership of Kho-Örlök, as early as 1618. The territory of the Volga Kalmuks did not therefore form part of the empire founded by Khara-Khula, although relations between the two branches of the people had not yet been severed. Representatives of the Volga Kalmuks still appeared at the *ḳuriltay* [*q.v.*] of 1640; Batur, the son and successor of Khara-Khula, gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Kho-Orlök. By the same *ḳuriltay* the dominance of Buddhism was firmly established among all branches of the Kalmuks. The progress made by Islam described in the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* (p. 91) in connexion with the above-mentioned marriage was apparently not maintained. Most of the Muslim territories in Turkestan were under the suzerainty of the Buddhist Kalmuk ruler on the Ili, the founder of the last great nomad empire in Central Asia, which lasted until it was destroyed by the Chinese in 1758; as late as 1749 the regent (*atalıḳ*) of Bukhārā and his opponent had to submit a dispute to the verdict of an embassy from the Kalmuk ruler. A great part of the Kazakhs' pasture land was now seized by the Kalmuks, and Islam was almost completely banished from the southern part of Semirečye. Several Buddhist monuments, including Tibetan inscriptions, date from this period. It was only after the decline of the Kalmuk empire that these areas were re-occupied by the Muslim Kazakhs. The wars of the Volga Kalmuks with the Crimean Tartars and their raids into Khwārizm had less effect on Islam; from 1724 the Kalmuk chiefs on the lower course of the Volga were regarded simply as viceroys (*namestnik*) of the Russian tsar. They had no longer any connexion with the ruler on the Ili. The decision of the "viceroy" Ubashi and a large number (about 300,000) of his people to migrate from Russia and settle in Chinese territory proved disastrous to the Volga Kalmuks. During the migration heavy losses were inflicted on them in Central Asia, especially by the Kazakhs (1771). Henceforth the Kalmuks were of no political significance in either Russia or in China. During the Muslim rising in the Ili valley the great Kalmuk temple of Buddha near Kuldj was destroyed.

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(J. A. Boyle)

The Modern Period.

After 1771, some 50,000 Kalmuks continued to live west of the Volga. Their descendants joined the anti-Bolshevik Southeastern League but after its disintegration in 1920 they were formed into an "Autonomous Oblast" (province), which was raised to the status of Autonomous Republic in 1933. In 1939 the population of the republic was 200,000 including 134,000 Kalmuks. It was partly occupied by the Germans in 1942 and abolished by the Soviet Government in 1943, when all the Kalmuks were deported to Central Asia on the grounds of alleged collaboration with the enemy. A Soviet decree of 1957 provided for the return of the Kalmuks to their territory, which was reconstructed an Autonomous Republic in 1958 with its capital at Elista (formerly Stepnoy), 150 miles south of Volgograd. According to the 1970 census, the population was 268,000, of whom 110,000 were Kalmuks. This constitutes 80 % of the Kalmuks living in the USSR. A few thousand still live in the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China, where they are known as Oyrats. Only a small number of Kalmuks, less than 2,000 living in Semireč'ye, ever embraced Islam, the rest remaining actual or nominal adherents of Buddhism.

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ḲALPAḲ [see libās].

KALPĪ, once a powerful town in Uttar Pradesh, northern India, 26° 8' N., 79° 45' E. The old town and fort stand on clay cliffs overlooking the river Djamnā [*q.v.*]; there is a modern town to the south-east of the old one, which has some commercial importance and where a fine quality paper is still made by hand. The town was traditionally founded by a *rādjā* of Kannawdj in the 4th century A.D., and fell into Muslim hands in the first conquest in 593/1196. The high fort, walled on three sides and defended on the fourth by the cliffs and river, was an important stronghold on the Dihlī sultans' line of communication along the Djamnā. In the early 9th/15th century, after Tīmūr's devastation of Dihlī, Kalpī became independent for a short time under a former governor, Muḥammad Khān b. Malikzāda Fīrūz, until in 837/1433-4 Ibrāhīm Shāh of Djawnpur sought to annex it to the Sharkī sultanate; a counter-attack by Mubārak Shāh Sayyid of Dihlī regained it, but in the following year during the Dihlī-Djawnpur wars it was seized by Hūshang Shāh Ghūrī of Mālwa and remained in the possession of Mālwa for the next ten years. About 847/1443 it was sacked by Maḥmūd of Djawnpur, but after the eventual fall of the Sharkī sultanate to Bahlūl Lodī, Kalpī reverted to Dihlī, and Bahlūl appointed Kuṭb Khān Lodī as its governor. There were in addition several minor incidents during the 9th/15th century in which possession of Kalpī fluctuated between Dihlī, Djawnpur and Mālwa. It fell into Mughal hands in 933/1527, and under Akbar became the headquarters of a *sarkār* and a copper mint. After the Marāṭhā wars in the early 18th century Kalpī became the residence of a Marāṭhā governor.

Among a number of old Muslim tombs to the west of the old town, one is outstanding, the Čawrāsī Gunbadh (lit. "84 domes"; this name is obscure). This is a square, nine-domed structure in a walled courtyard, with two graves under the central dome; popular belief assigns it to a Lōdī sultan; it is possible that it may have been of a Lōdī governor, as the style of its arches and the supporting systems is consistent with a late 9th/15th or early 10th/16th century date; certain Djawnpurī motifs in its decoration do not necessarily vitiate this conclusion, as stonemasons would have had no difficulty in travelling from one area to another on the Djamnā. It is possible that the "84" of its name represents a date; if so 1584 V.S., about 934/1527-8, would be the most likely.

Bibliography: A. Cunningham, in *ASI*, xxi (1885), 131-3; J. F. Blakiston, *The Jami Masjid at Badaun and other buildings in the United Provinces*, [= *MASI*, xix], Calcutta 1926, 6-7 and plates xvi-xxi. See also Bibliographies to DIHLĪ, DJAWNPUR, MĀLWA, SHARKIDS. For the Lodī style of building see HIND, Architecture.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḲALŪDIYA [see ḲALAWDHIYA].

KALWĀDHĀ, a locality situated on the left bank of the Tigris, not far south of East Baghdād, capital of a district (*ṭassūdj*) of the same name. Here the Nahr Bīn flowed into the Tigris; a branch of the Nahrawān, it provided East Baghdād with a network of canals. Kalwādhā was a large town endowed with a Great Mosque frequented by the people of Baghdād since it was only a short distance to travel (Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 214, estimates it at three parasangs, but *Yāḳūt*, s.v., reduces it to one parasang, specifying that in his day the place was in ruins). The town is often mentioned in verses of the 2nd/8th century which extol its pleasures.

Tradition attributes its foundation to Kalwādhā, son of Ṭahmūrath, but philologists connect the name with *kilwādh*, the Ark of the Covenant, which was supposed to be buried there.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal-Wiet, 234; Salmon, *Introduction*, 151 n. 1; Le Strange, index; idem, *Baghdad*, 195-6. (ED.)

AL-**KALWADHĀNĪ**, ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀB MAḤFŪẒ B. AḤMAD B. ḤASAN B. AḤMAD AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, a celebrated jurist (*faḳīh*) of the Ḥanbalī school and one of the architects of what Makdisi called "the resurgence of traditionalist Islam in the 11th century". Born on 2 Shawwal 432/6 June 1041, he was the disciple of Abū Yaʿlā during the same period as Ibn ʿAḳīl. He studied *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* under his master "until he was pre-eminent in his knowledge of the Hanbalī rite" (*baraʿa fi'l-madhhab*). His other teachers were less well known, apart from ʿAbd Allāh al-Wannī (d. 450/1058), under whom he studied the law of inheritance. It is said that he and Ibn ʿAḳīl attended al-Ghazālī's classes at the Niẓāmiyya, but nothing is known of his opinion about the young man from Khurāsān who had just arrived in Baghdād (484/1091, see Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, i, 177). Like the majority of Ḥanbalites, Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb did not share al-Ghazālī's taste for theology and philosophy. His speciality was *fiḳh*, and in this field he acquired the status of a *mudjtahid* who was accorded the right to put forward, in particular cases, new solutions according to his own judgement. Ibn Radjab (*op. cit.*, 147-54) gives a number of examples of these solutions; in one striking case Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb went against the consensus of scholars (*idjmāʿ*) in deciding that the marriage contract is not automatically broken when one of the partners is held prisoner of war by non-Muslims. In defence of his opinion he even declared that a *ḥadīth* of Abū Saʿīd, recorded in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, was not authentic; according to this *ḥadīth* a marriage is broken when the wife is held captive in the *dār al-ḥarb*, in the country of the impious.

Despite such independence of spirit, in most of his works al-Kalwadhānī is much more classical and less original than his rival, Ibn ʿAḳīl. Among his works, Ibn Radjab thought the most important were: *al-Hidāya fi'l-fiḳh*, *al-Khilāf al-kabīr*, also called *al-Intiṣār*, and *al-Khilāf al-ṣaghīr*, which is also known as *Ru'ūs al-masā'il*. Manuscripts of the first two are extant in Damascus, along with *al-Tamhīd fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* (see Brockelmann, S I, 687), an important work on the basic of the law.

Al-Kalwadhānī died in Baghdād, where he seems to have spent all his days, on Wednesday, 23 Djumāda II 510/3 November 1116, and was buried at the feet of Ibn Ḥanbal beside another celebrated Ḥanbalī contemporary, Abū Muḥammad al-Tamīmī. By far the most important of his disciples was ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī, who studied under him and Ibn ʿAḳīl at the same time.

Bibliography: Ibn Radjab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. H. Laoust and S. Dahan, Damascus 1951, 143-54; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle* Damascus 1963, 259-63. (P. NWIYA)

KALYĀNI, a fortified town of the Deccan [see DAKHAN], 17° 53' N., 76° 57' E., about 37 miles west of Bīdar [*q.v.*]. In the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, it was the capital of the Late Western Čālukya *rādjās*, passing later to the Yādavas of Devagiri (= Dawlatābād, [*q.v.*]); after the foundation of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] dynasty at Devagiri, Kalyāni was annexed as one of the strongholds on their northern borders; but there had presumably been a previous

Muslim conquest of the town since an inscription is preserved of a *djāmiʿ masdjid* founded by Ulugh Khān (later succeeded as Muḥammad b. Tughluķ) in 723/1323; and another Tughluķī inscription of 734/1333 is known. The fort was rebuilt by the Bahmanīs at the end of the 9th/15th century after the introduction of gunpowder. The fort was maintained in good repair, as is evident from a series of inscriptions on its bastions, in the 10th/16th century; these show that it was held by the Barīd Shāhīs [*q.v.*] as the successors to the Bahmanīs in Bīdar until 981/1573, after which it passed to the ʿĀdil Shāhīs of Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*]. It fell to the Mughal empire, after a protracted siege by Awrangzīb, in 1067/1657, and was included in the Mughal *ṣūba* of Bīdar. When the Deccan became independent of the Mughals under the first Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], Kalyāni was one of the possessions included. From 1178/1764 it was governed by a line of Nawwābs of Kalyāni, of whom the first was Mīr Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, a son-in-law of Āṣaf Djāh of Ḥaydarābād.

Bibliography: G. Yazdani, *Inscriptions from Kalyāni*, in *EIM 1935-36* (1939), 1-13; idem, *Kalyāni fort*, in *ARADHyd. 1344 F.*, 17-23 and Pl. I. (J. Burton-Page)

ĶALYŪB, a moderate-sized town in Lower Egypt with a railway station, 10 miles north of the central station at Cairo on the Cairo-Alexandria railway. The town proper lies about a mile west of the station and about 3 miles from the right bank of the Nile, on the Turʿat al-Sardūsiyya. Down to the middle of last century, Ķalyūb was the capital of the Mudīriyya al-Ķalyūbiyya, but then in 1871 under the Khedive Ismāʿīl, the Dīwān of the Mudīriyya was moved to Benhā. Since that date Ķalyūb has been a *markaz* (district capital). Branch lines run to Zaķāzīķ and the Barrage du Nil. The majority of the inhabitants are Muslims. According to ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, Ķalyūb possessed a Sharīʿa court (*maḥkama sharʿiyya*) and a hospital. Cf. ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xiv, 114 ff.; Baedeker, *Egypt*⁷ (1914), 34; Samībey, *Ķāmūs al-Aʿlām*, Istanbul 1314/1890, v, 3693ᵇ. The population of the *mudīriyya* of Ķalyūb was 988,000 in 1960.

A Greek Καλλιοπη—not yet, however, found—is at the base of the name. In the *Scalae* it is found under the form Καλιωπε (Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, Series i, 151).

Historical: John of Nikius mentions Ķalyūb in his *Chronicle*, ch. 113 (ed. Zotenberg, 321, 509). ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] had a bridge thrown over the canal at this town to be able to conquer the other towns of the province of Miṣr (*ca.* 20/641). In 549/1154-5 the caliph al-Ẓāhir granted Ķalyūb as a fief to his great favourite Naṣr b. ʿAbbās. Usāma b. Munķidh so depreciated this present in the eyes of Naṣr and his father that it became one cause of the murder of the caliph by Naṣr and ʿAbbās (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 126; Usāma b. Munķidh, ed. Derenbourg, i, 245; Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, 93). In the fighting between Selīm I and Tumān-Bey, Ķalyūb did not escape the raids of the Arabs (Ibn Iyās, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr*, under Ṣafar 923/March 10 1517). For embassies etc. Ķalyūb was the stage before Cairo. Thus, for example, in Rabīʿ I 925/March 1519 Khāʾir Bey had the Sulṭān's envoy received there with the greatest ceremony by the Ķāḍī Barakāt b. Mūsā (Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, iii, 109). The town had again to suffer exceedingly from the exortions and plundering of soldiers and Mamlūks in the years 1219-20/1804-5; cf. al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Āthār*, sub annos. Ķalyūb, as a result of its situation close to the gates of Cairo, probably did not escape on other occasions the effects of the political happenings in the capital. Ibn Duķmāķ (809/1406) and al-Ẓāhirī (839/1434-5) report that in their day Ķalyūb was for the most part lying in ruins.

Economic: Almost all sources praise the wealth of Ķalyūb in gardens and trees, among which the acacias (*sanṭ*) are mentioned as particularly valuble. In spite of the restrictive edicts of al-Malik al-Kāmil, the ground was very badly farmed, so that Ķalyūb's prosperity suffered considerably (cf. ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī—wrote 637-48/1240-9, Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 409—who devotes a longish section to Ķalyūb in his *Lumaʿ al-Ķawānīn al-Muḍīʾa fī Dawāwīn al-Diyār al-Miṣriyya*; quoted in ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *op. cit.*, 114 f.).—In 1240/1824-5 Muḥammad ʿAlī built a cotton mill in Ķalyūb and later a barracks and a remount depot were established there. The al-Shawāribī family deserves special mention for its share in the economic development of Ķalyūb, where they also built a seray with a mosque.

There are six mosques in Ķalyūb, in one of which the Friday service is held. Among these the "great Mosque", formerly called Djāmiʿ al-Zaynabī, with its great *Manāra*, made a great impression on Ibn Djubayr (578/1182-3 in Egypt; cf. Brockelmann, I, 629; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *op. cit.*, 114). According to the inscriptions on its minbar and above the door, it was renovated in 1148/1735-6 by the Shaykh al-ʿArab of Ķalyūb, Aḥmad al-Shawāribī. Among the tombs of saints the most important is that of Sīdī ʿAwwāḍ.

ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak gives a very full account of the above-mentioned al-Shawāribī family, as one of the most prominent in the town. Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars gave them charge of the new bridge over the Baḥr Abuʾl Manadjdja (cf. also al-Ķalķashandī, tr. Wüstenfeld, 28) and granted them large estates as fiefs and an annual pension (which lasted till 1275/1858-9). Muṣṭafā Pasha granted them the supervision of the whole province of al-Ķalyūbiyya. Various members of the family also filled important posts in the administration, besides the office of Shaykh al-ʿArab of Ķalyūb, which seems to have been hereditary amongst them. Sulaymān al-Shawāribī's patriotism cost him his life; in Radjab 1213/Dec. 1798 he was beheaded by the French for his part in an attempted rising (cf. al-Djabartī, iv, 37 f.).

According to Ibn Djīʿān (cf. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *al-Ifāda wa ʾl-Iʿtibār* etc., French tr. de Sacy entitled *Relation de l'Égypte* etc., 595) the province of al-Ķalyūbiyya comprised in his time (777/1375-6) 59 townships and yielded a revenue of 419,054 dīnārs (but on p. 599 a list of 61 townships is given). Ibn Duķmāķ gives 60 with a total revenue of 383,140 dīnārs. In the time of the French expedition, the revenues of the province from the estates (*Descr. de l'Égypte*, i, 306 ff.) amounted to: (1) for the payment of the *mīrī*, 3,390,742 dīnārs; (2) for the *kushūfiyya*, 1,710,462 dīnārs; (3) for the *fāʾiz* 15,119,199 dīnārs.

The Baḥr al-Dardūs—according to legend built by Pharaoh and enlarged by his "vizier Hāmān" (Ibn Duķmāķ, al-Ķalķashandī)—was, according to the enthusiastic description in Ibn Duķmāķ (whom al-Ķalķashandī follows), a large canal, apparently with water always in it. This is indicated also by two documents of the years 891/1486 and 1061/1650-1 (quoted by ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak) in the possession of the al-Shawāribī family. Al-Ķalķashandī notes that the canal in his time had disappeared and

that its place had been taken by the Abu ʾl-Manadjdja canal (cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 25 f.); Maspéro-Wiet, *op. cit.*, 105). According to ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, there was only a small canal in his time: the Turʿat al-Sardūsiyya. Ibn Khallikān, Buṭrus al-Bustānī and ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak give several scholars who bore the *nisba* al-Ḳalyūbī. The best known of them is Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḳalyūbī [*q.v.*].

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AL-**ḲALYŪBĪ**, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Salāma, Shihāb al-Dīn, an Arab author, pupil of the celebrated Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* Shams al-Dīn (al-Shams) al-Ramlī (d. 1004/1596), was regarded in his day as an unchallenged authority and died towards the end of Shawwāl 1069/July 1659. He composed numerous works, of which 21 have survived, in the fields of *fiḳh*, geography, medicine, secret sciences and *adab*. To the 17 works mentioned by Brockelmann, II, 364, we have to add: 1. a *Kitāb al-Mudjarrabāt* in Göttingen (see *Verzeichn. der Hss. im Preuss. Staate, I. Hannover, 3. Göttingen*, iii, Berlin 1894, no. 100); 2. *Miʿrādj al-nabī* in the Ẓāhiriya or ʿUmūmiya in Damascus (see Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt, *Khazāʾin al-kutub fī Dimashḳ wa-ḍawāḥīhā*, Cairo 1902, 74, no. 40; Houtsma, *Cat. d'une coll. de Mss. arabes et turcs* ..., Leiden 1889, no. 241); 3. *Risāla fī maʿrifat asmāʾ al-bilād wa-urūḍhā wa-aṭwālhā* in Princeton (see Littmann, *A list of Arabic Mss. in Princeton Univ. Library*, Princeton-Leipzig 1904, 9, no. 40; 4. a *K. Ḥikāyāt*, anecdotes of pious individuals, different from the *K. al-Nawādir* in the Brit. Mus. (see Ellis and Edwards, *A Descr. List of the Arabic Mss. acquired... since 1894*, London 1912, 62, Or. 7018). Of his works there have been printed: 1. *Ḥāshiya* to al-Maḥallī's (d. 864/1400) commentary on al-Nawawī's *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn*, along with the *Ḥāshiya* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Burullusī, Cairo 1306, 1318, 4 vols.; 2. *K. al-Ṣalawāt*, Būlāḳ 1300; 3. *al-Tadhkira fī ʾl-Ṭibb*, on the margin of al-Suwaydī's *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1302, alone Cairo 1305; 4. *Ḥikāyāt ghariba wa-ʿadjība* or *Ḥikāyāt wa-gharāʾib wa-adjāʾib wa-laṭāʾif wa-nawādir wa-fawāʾid wa-nafāʾis*, usually briefly quoted as *Nawādir al-Ḳalyūbī*, which was only assembled after his death (see *The Book of Anecdotes, Wonders, Marvels, Pleasantries, Rarities and Useful and Precious Extracts*, ed. by W. Nassau Lees and Mawlawī Kabīr al-Dīn, Calcutta 1856, 1864, also in Cairo several times since 1274, last ed. 1323, 1328, the conclusion of which differs from the Calcutta edition.

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar min aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, i, 175; after this ʿAlī Bāsha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xiv, 118; Sanguinetti, in *JA*, 1865, ii, 351; Leclerc, *Hist. de la Médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii, 303; Brockelmann, II, 364. (C. Brockelmann*)

ḲALYŪN [see baḥriyya and safīna].

KAMĀL [see kemāl]

KAMĀL AL-**DĪN IBN** AL-**ʿADĪM** [see ibn al-ʿadīm].

KAMĀL AL-**DĪN** AL-**FĀRISĪ**, Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan, was the brilliant student of the great scientist Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (634/1236-710/1311), and thereby the intellectual heir of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (597/1201-672/1274) and of the so-called "School of Marāgha" and its successor at Tabrīz. His most impressive work is the *Tanḳīḥ* on the *Optics* of Ibn al-Haytham (*ca.* 354/965-430/1039), to which he added appendices on the refractions and reflections of a sphere, the rainbow, the halo, the *camera obscura*, and other topics in optics. His theory of the rainbow is particularly important as he demonstrates the combinations of refractions and reflections of sunlight within a drop of water that result in both the primary and the secondary rainbows; his investigations of celestial and meteorological phenomena with the *camera obscura* were brilliantly conceived and executed. Unfortunately, this work has been little studied.

Besides the *Tanḳīḥ*, works by Kamāl al-Dīn existing in manuscript are: *Tadhkirat al-aḥbāb* (*e.g.*, Köprülü 941, fols. 128v-136, copied at Baghdād in 737/1337; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 257), on "friendly numbers"; *Asās al-ḳawāʿid fī uṣūl al-fawāʾid* (Köprülü 941, fols. 1-128v, and in other Istanbul manuscripts; see M. Krause, *Stambuler Handschriften*, 509, and cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa iv, 471), a commentary on the *Fawāʾid bahāʾiyya*, a mathematical treatise by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Khaddām (b. 643/1245); and *Kitāb al-baṣāʾir fī ʿilm al-manāẓir* (see Krause, *ibid.*), an independent work on optics. Nothing further is at present known of these works.

Bibliography: There are articles on Kamāl al-Dīn in Suter, 159, and Brockelmann, II, 273 and S II, 295. The *Tanḳīḥ* was published at Ḥaydarābād-Deccan in 2 vols., 1347-8/1928-9. Various sections of it are discussed by E. Wiedemann, *Ueber die Brechung des Lichtes in Kugeln*, in *Sitz. Phys.-Med. Soz. Erlangen*, xlii (1910), 15-38 (repr. in his *Aufsätze*, i, 597-640); *Eine Zeichnung des Auges*, in *Zentralbl. f. Augenheilk.*, xxxiv (1910), 204 ff.; *Zur Optik von Kamāl al-Dīn*, in *Arch. Gesch. Naturw. Techn.*, iii (1912), 161-77; and *Theorie des Regenbogens*, in *Sitz. Phys.-Med. Soz. Erlangen*, xlvi (1914), 39-56 (repr. in his *Aufsätze*, ii, 69-86); and by M. Naẓīf, *Al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham*, 2 vols., Cairo 1942-3, *passim*. (D. Pingree)

ḲAMĀL AL-**DĪN ISMĀʿĪL** (better known as Kamāl Ismāʿīl-i Iṣfahānī), a Persian poet of the Saldjūḳī-Khʷārazmshāhī period and a distinguished master of the so-called ʿIrāḳī School in Persian poetry. His father, Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, was also an eminent poet and upon his death (ca. 588/1192) Kamāl, when still under 20 years of age, composed elegies and panegyrics which secured him the protection of local patrons as heir to his father.

Although some scholars put his father far above him (see for instance Ulugh-Beg's judgement in Dawlat-Shāh, ed. E. G. Browne 1901, 141-2; cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Ḥazīn*, Bombay 1322 AH, 36-8), his reputation as a panegyrist has overshadowed that of his father.

Of his life very few details are known. He seldom left Iṣfahān, his native town, whence he sent pane-

gyrics to various patrons elsewhere. Nevertheless, he travelled to Khwārazm, and visited Rayy, Nishāpūr and Ṭabaristān, a journey which, he himself says, took no less than three years. The resentment of local patrons, the death of a son by drowning and the loss of a brother, physical sufferings, especially dry scab (*djarab*), ophthalmia, and tooth-ache, are the other autobiographical details which he mentions in his *dīwān*. Kamāl devoted a large part of his work to the praise of the leaders of two patrician families of Iṣfahān, the Shāfiʿī Āl-i Khudjand and the Ḥanafī Āl-i Ṣāʿid. Among other patrons to whom he dedicated panegyrics are: ʿAlā al-Dīn Tekish (568/1172-596/1199) and Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (617/1280-628/1230) of the Khwārazmshāhs [*q.v.*], Atābak Saʿd b. Zangī (ca. 594/1198-623/1226) and his son Abū Bakr (623/1226-658/1260) of the Salghurids, and Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr (d. 602/1205) and his son Sharaf al-Mulūk Ḥasan (d. 602/1205) of the Ispahbads of Ṭabaristān. He also wrote mystical odes in honour of the well-known Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar-i Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] (d. 632/1234), to whom he is said to have paid homage as a devotee (*murīd*). He apparently did not meet the *shaykh*, but certainly received letters from him since a unique copy of at least one letter has survived (see MDAT, 14). Dawlat Shāh tells us that toward the end of his days, Kamāl adopted an ascetic life and retired to a hermitage situated outside Iṣfahān, where he was tortured and killed by the Mongols. According to Dawlat Shāh, this happened in 635/1237-8. Other sources give 628/1230-1 and 639/1241-2, both improbable.

As a panegyrist Kamāl is admired and imitated by no less a poet than Ḥāfiẓ. His poetry is polished and rich in original ideas. The honorific title Khallāḳ al-Maʿānī (Creator of Subtle Ideas), by which he is mentioned in some *tadhkiras*, does not occur earlier than Djāmī and Dawlat-Shāh; it refers to the fertility of his imagination and his fine poetic figures, for which even the uncompromising Shams-i Ḳays praised him (*al-Muʿdjam*, ed. Tehran Univ., 360). He also wrote *ghazals*, quatrains, satires and obscene verses, in all of which the social conditions of his troubled time are mirrored. A short satirical *mathnawī*, a Persian letter addressed to an unknown friend, and an Arabic pamphlet dealing with the bow (*Risālat al-Ḳaws*), are among his other works.

Bibliography: For recent works published in Persia, including the literature of the *tadhkiras*, see: A. Khayyām-Pūr, *Farhang-i Sukhanvarān-i Iran*, Tabriz 1340 S., 487-8; Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl's *Kulliyāt* has been lithographed in Bombay 1307. A new edition of the *Dīwān-i Khallāḳ al-Maʿānī Abu'l-Faḍl Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl Iṣfahānī* has recently been published by H. Baḥr al-ʿUlūmī, Tehran 1349 S. See also: *The hundred love songs of Kamal Ad-Din of Isfahan*, tr. by L. Gray and rendered in English verse by Ethel W. Mumford, London 1930. The whole text of the *Risālat al-Ḳaws* is given in the *Maṭāliʿ al-Budūr* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bahāʾī, 1299, ii, 167-72; H. Ritter, in *Philologika*, vii, no. 20, in *Isl.*, xxi, ascribes to him a *mathnawī* on mystical love which is not to be found in the published *dīwāns*. Further references are in: C. Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. Ms. in the B.M.*, ii, 850-51; H. Ethé, *Neupersische Litteratur*, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 269; Browne, ii, 540-42; A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, 1958, 244-8; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 214; idem in the *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 585-6.

(A. H. ZARRINKOOB)

KAMĀL AL-DĪN SHĪR ʿALĪ [see BANNĀʾĪ].

KAMĀL KHUDJANDĪ (KAMĀL AL-DĪN MASʿŪD), Persian lyric poet and mystic, was born in Khudjand (Transoxania), later settled in Tabrīz, where he lived the rest of his life and, according to Khwāndamīr, died in 803/1400-1. Kamāl Khudjandī's modest *dīwān* contains short, exquisite *ghazals* of five to seven verses with love, *Lebenslust* and frustration as central themes, and permeated with a deep pantheistic mysticism reminiscent of the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. True to the tradition of the great Persian mystics, he never condescended to write panegyrics on potentates, and was often critical of the *ʿulamāʾ* (even in his capacity as *Shaykh al-Islām*) and the temporal authorities. Ḥāfiẓ held Khudjandī in high esteem and exchanged poems with him. Revered and much visited by the people, the shrine of Shaykh Kamāl was long regarded as a sanctuary.

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(M. SHAKI)

KAMĀL PASHA ZĀDE [see KEMĀL PASHA ZĀDE].

KAMANČA [see MALĀHĪ].

ḲAMĀNIČA (KAMIENIEC, KAMENETZ PODOLSKI), a fortress town of the Ukraine, situated in the region known as Podolia. Ḳamāniča rose to prominence as a stronghold guarding the southern border of Lithuania and (after 1432) of Poland against the incursions of the Tatars. It was important, too, as a station on the commercial route extending from the Black Sea and Moldavia to Poland and the Baltic. The fortress occupied a position of great strength on a high spur of rock, a little above the confluence of the River Smotric with the River Dnestr (cf. Dupont, 29, who describes it as "le boulevard de la chrétienté dans cette partie de l'Europe"). Ottoman forces appeared before Ḳamāniča in 1042/1633 (*Fedhleke*, ii, 160). Not until the Polish-Ottoman conflict of 1083-7/1672-6, however, did the town become subject to the Turks, falling to the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Köprülü in the first year of the war (1083/1672). Ḳamāniča was not destined to remain for long under Ottoman rule, being returned to Poland in 1110/1699 at the Peace of Karlowitz which brought to an end the War of the Sacra Liga (1684-99). The town passed into the hands of Russia at the time of the Second Partition of Poland in 1793. In 1918, at the end of World War I, it reverted to Poland once more, but since 1945 it has been included in the U.S.S.R.

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Dziejów Wojen Polsko-Tureckich, Warsaw 1960, 146 ff.; J. Woliński, *Wojna Polsko-Turecka 1672-1676 w Świetle Relacji Rezydentów Austriackich w Turcji*, in *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* [Wojskowy Instytut Historyczny Zakład Historii Dawnego Wojska Polskiego], vii/2 (Warsaw 1961), 322 ff.; L. Finkel, *Bibliografia Historyi Polskiej*, Warsaw 1956, ii, 1335, 1953 (index); *Cronicele Romaniei Séū Letopisețele Moldaviei și Valahiei*, ed. M. Koğalniceanu, iii, Bucharest 1874, 7 ff.; E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente la Istoria Românilor, Supl. privitoare*, ii/3, Bucharest 1900, 89 ff. (Peace of Zurawna, 1087/1676); *Mémoires du Sieur de La Croix*, Paris 1684, i, 325 ff.; Mons. de Jonsac, *Histoire de Stanislas Jablonowski, Castellan de Cracovie, Grand Général des Armées de Pologne*, Leipzig 1774, iii, 182 (plans of Kamieniec); P. Dupont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Vie et des Actions de Jean Sobieski III du nom, Roi de Pologne*, ed. J. Janicki, Warsaw 1885, 28 ff., 226 ff., 268 (index); E. Eickhoff, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen*, Munich 1970; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 385 ff., xii (Paris 1838), 158, 462; Zinkeisen, v, 71, 138, 213; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iv, Gotha 1911, 144, 203 ff., 272; Babinger, 179, 229, 238; Agâh Sirri Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler*. . ., Ankara 1956, 126 ff.; *İA*, s.v. Kamaniçe (Aurel Decei). (V. J. Parry)

AL-ḲAMAR (A.), the Moon.

I.—Astronomy.—Al-Ḳamar is the one celestial body that in fact orbits the earth as mediaeval Muslim astronomers, following their predecessors, assumed all seven "planets" to do. The actual motion of the moon in its orbit is extremely complicated, as it is effected by a combination of the gravitational pulls of the sun and of the earth. It was a major aim of Muslim astronomers to devise a cinematic model that would enable them to predict this motion accurately, as several lunar phenomena, and in particular the first visibility of the lunar crescent after conjunction (*ruʾyat al-hilāl*), which determines the beginning of a month, were of great significance to them. They did not fully succeed in their efforts, though they did conceive of a model essentially identical with that of Copernicus.

Among the pre-Islamic Arabs as among the Muslims, the basic calendaric unit was the lunar month, which began at the sunset following the first visibility of the lunar crescent after the moon's conjunction with the sun. The length of this month varies in accordance with the effects of two variables, the solar velocity and the lunar velocity; but in the mean the length of the lunar month is very close to $29^1/_2$ days, which can be accounted for by alternating months of 30 days (full) with months of 29 days (hollow). For several centuries before Muḥammad the Arabs intercalated months when necessary to make the lunar months fall within the same season every year (see al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ch. 5; Abū Maʿs͟har in *JA*, ser. V, xi (1858), 168-78 and Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 156-8), but Muslims allow the months to "wander" with respect to the solar year.

One method of intercalation of the pre-Islamic Arabs according to al-Bīrūnī was essentially by observation of the *manzil* (lunar mansion) occupied by the moon at first crescent. The risings of the 28 *manāzil* [*q.v.*], which are individual stars or groups of stars that the moon conjoins with roughly at the rate of one each night of a sidereal month, were originally used for weather-predictions (e.g., in the *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ* of Ibn Ḳutayba), but the conjunctions of the moon with these *manāzil* later became an important element of catarchic astrology on analogy with the Indian usage of the conjunctions of the moon with their 27 or 28 *nakṣatras*. In general, the moon plays an important role in astrology as the transmitter to the world of the four elements of the influences of all the higher celestial spheres as well as of its own.

Muslim astronomers date the epoch of their era, the Hid͟jra, variously at sunset of 14 or 15 July 622 A.D. Each normal year thereafter contains 354 days. But, because of the slight inaccuracy of the estimate of $29^1/_2$ days in a synodic month, an intercalation-cycle is employed according to which 11 years out of every 30 contain 355 days. The earliest known such intercalation-table, the *Mud͟jarrad*, is for 210 years (30 × 7), so that the weekdays on which years and months begin are also cyclical; it occurred in one of the works of al-Fazārī (*fl.* 145/762 - *ca.* 174/790) (D. Pingree, in *JNES*, xxix (1970), 110-1), but is often repeated thereafter.

The earliest Muslim theories of lunar motion were based on Indian and Indo-Sasanian developments of Greek theories as found primarily in the *Zīd͟j al-Sindhind* and in the *Zīd͟j al-S͟hāh*. In these theories there was only one inequality in lunar motion—that explained by the assumption of an epicycle on whose circumference the moon (or rather the moon's apogee) rotates in the opposite sense to the rotation of the centre of the epicycle on the circumference of the deferent (see, e.g., D. Pingree on Mās͟hāʾ 'llāh's *De elementis et orbibus coelestibus*). Rather crude "Indian" methods of estimating the time of the occurrence of the first visibility of the lunar crescent are often found in the early Muslim astronomers (see, e.g., E. S. Kennedy on Yaʿḳūb ibn Ṭāriḳ in *JNES*, xxvii (1968), 126-23), as are also Indian procedures for computing lunar parallax in latitude (see, e.g., O. Neugebauer, *The Astronomical Tables of al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1962, 71-2 and 121-6, and E. S. Kennedy in *Isis*, xlvii (1956), 33-53). In general, Muslim lunar eclipse-theory is Ptolemaic.

During the third century after the Hid͟jra Muslim astronomers gradually adopted Ptolemaic models of planetary motion, retaining from the earlier material mainly some new parameters and the use of sine and related functions in place of chords. For the moon Ptolemy hypothesized a deferent circle whose centre rotates on a small circle about the earth (the "crank-mechanism") in the direction opposite to the order of the signs at the rate of double the moon's elongation from the sun. On the circumference of the deferent in the direction of the order of the signs rotates the centre of the lunar epicycle at the rate of the moon's mean velocity. On the circumference of the epicycle in the direction opposite to the order of the signs rotates the moon itself at the rate of its anomalistic motion. The plane of this mechanism is inclined to that of the plane of the ecliptic, and the diameter of the intersection of the two planes rotates in the direction opposite to the order of the signs at the rate of the moon's nodal motion. Further, the apogee of the lunar epicycle, from which point the moon's anomalistic motion is counted, is not the intersection of the line extending from the earth through the centre of the epicycle with the epicycle's circumference, but the intersection of the line extending from the point on the little circle about the earth opposite to the centre of the deferent through the centre of the epicycle with the epicycle's circumference (prosneusis). The choice of different parameters (that is, ratios of the radii of the three circles to each other, rates of (mean) motion of the moon, the sun, the lunar anomaly, and the lunar node, and

inclination of the lunar orbit) for use in this model will lead to different predicted longitudes and latitudes for a given time, and generally Muslim astronomers simply adjusted the parameters so that these predicted longitudes and latitudes would better conform to observed or otherwise determined "true" longitudes and latitudes.

There are two principal exceptions to this rule. Astronomers at Marāgha in the late 7th/13th century began a process of revision of the Ptolemaic planetary models in order to obtain more "perfect" models in which all motion is circular and constant about the circle's centre and in which, for the moon, its distance from the earth at quadrature is not as small an amount as will result from Ptolemy's model. The culmination of these efforts lies in the brilliant work of Ibn al-Shāṭir (*fl.* 750/1350) of Damascus, whose lunar model is essentially identical with that of Copernicus; the latter must somehow be dependent on the former. Ibn al-Shāṭir achieves his desired result by replacing the circle about the earth on which the centre of the deferent revolves according to Ptolemy with a second epicycle bearing the moon, whose centre revolves on the circumference of the first epicycle (see V. Roberts in *Isis*, xlviii (1957), 428-32; F. Abbud in *Isis*, liii (1962), 492-9; and E. S. Kennedy in *Isis*, lvii (1966), 365-78). The second revision was due to the Jewish astronomer Levi ben Gerson (1288-1344) of Orange in southern France. His complicated lunar models will be described in a major forthcoming publication by B. R. Goldstein (meanwhile see B. R. Goldstein in *Proc. Israel Acad. Sci. Hum.*, iii (1969), 239-54). The "Aristotelian" model of al-Biṭrūdjī (B. R. Goldstein, *Al-Biṭrūjī*, New Haven 1971, i, 36-9 and 142-54) is no improvement over Ptolemy's.

One other problem relating to the moon that interested Muslim scientists was that of the nature of its light, or rather in what fashion the moon's light depends on the sun's. This problem was of prime importance for Ibn al-Haytham, whose treatise *Fī ḍawʾ al-ḳamar* (ed. in his *Madjmūʿ al-rasāʾil*, Ḥaydarābād-Deccan 1357/1938; cf. M. Schramm, *Ibn al-Haytham's Weg zur Physik*, Wiesbaden 1963, 70-189) is the most original mediaeval discussion of the matter.

Bibliography: The following published *zīdj*s, among many others, contain information about lunar theory: Caussin de Perceval, *Le Livre de la grande Table Hakémite, Notices et extraits*, vii, Paris 1803, 16-240 (Ibn Yūnus); L. A. Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oloug-Beg*, 2 vols., Paris 1847-53; Carra de Vaux, *L'Almageste d'Abū-l-Wefā al-Būzjānī*, in *JA*, ser. viii, xix (1892), 408-71; C. A. Nallino, *Opus Astronomicum*, 3 vols., Milan 1899-1907 (al-Battānī); F. Nau, *Le livre de l'ascension de l'Esprit*, Paris 1900 (Bar Hebraeus); A. Bjørnbo, R. Besthorn, and H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des ... al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1914; O. Neugebauer, *The astronomical tables of al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1962; al-Bīrūnī, *Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, 3 vols., Ḥaydarābād-Deccan 1954-6; B. R. Goldstein, *Ibn al-Muthannā's Commentary*, New Haven 1967; and G. J. Toomer, *A survey of the Toledan tables*, in *Osiris*, xv (1968), 5-174. See also, besides the articles cited above, D. Pingree in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xviii (1964), 135-60; E. S. Kennedy in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1967), 327-34; H. Salam and E. S. Kennedy in *JAOS*, lxxxvii (1967), 492-7; O. Neugebauer in *Mém. Ac. Roy. Belg., Cl. Lettres*, lix (1969), 5-45; and C. Jensen in *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, viii/4 (1972), 321-8.

(D. Pingree)

II.—Folklore, literature, art, etc.—The moon played an important role in pre-Islamic Arabia. Lunar cults had a significant place there, though this has perhaps been exaggerated, but the Mesopotamian lunar god Sīn undoubtedly became the supreme god of Ḥaḍramawt. The Bedouins of central Arabia, who carried on many activities during the night in order to avoid the heat of the day, revealed their interest in the moon through, among other things, a rich vocabulary designating its aspects and phases, the various nights of the lunar cycle, etc., as well as through kinds of rhyming riddles, questions posed to the moon which it is supposed to answer. The phases were sometimes likened to the progressive entry of the moon into a sheath (*ghilāf*), which was compared with a foreskin.

In Islam, apart from the moon's leading role as the regulator of the canonical acts, in scholarly astronomical theory and in the calendar of lunar mansions inherited from ancient Arabia [see ANWĀʾ], one of the astrological processes, that of *ikhtiyārāt* [*q.v.*] (*electiones*), was based on the moon's position in one of its mansions at the moment that a given action took place. In a vaguer sense, the idea of a lunar influence on all sorts of natural phenomena was widely held. A cyclical theory of universal history considered the epoch inaugurated by Muḥammad as a lunar era.

In alchemy, silver is under the influence of the moon. Numerous magical and divinatory systems relate the moon to, for example, the skin and the bones of the skull, Monday, the feminine sex, the letter *djīm*, etc.

In literature, the moon features in many poetical similes. The human face, especially that of a beautiful woman or a handsome young man, is often compared with the full moon (*badr*). Frequent similes employ the crescent moon. Such comparisons are generally laudatory. Some poets, however, apparently employing Bedouin maxims, lay stress on the deficiencies of the moon, in a manner which seems sacrilegious to literary theorists. The mystics sought to make it the symbol of ineffable realities, a symbolism reflected especially in Persian and Turkish poetry.

The crescent sometimes appears in Muslim painting, but mainly at a later date in India under European influence. Above all, however, it is a decorative theme, stemming from pagan religious symbolism. In astrological treatises representations of the moon derive from Babylonian models by way of orientalized Hellenistic imagery.

Popular traditions of many kinds, handed down from antiquity, associate the moon with particular agricultural practices, attribute particular illnesses to its influence, and so on; from it are derived meteorological predictions, omens and various signs. Popular literature, proverbs and riddles often refer to the moon. Likewise, it is often personified. In many cases this is no more than a rhetorical device, but often too a true personalization is involved. The vocabulary and tales usher in a whole sub-mythology which is rarely accompanied by associated popular ritual practices, and yet God is never absent. The Moon, although subject to God, has its own power. It is said to have rendered homage to Muḥammad through a miracle which places the apocalyptic forecast of the Ḳurʾān (LIV, i) "the Moon has been split", in the Prophet's day. Eclipses particularly induced mythological figurations. Popular magical practices in the Maghrib make appeals to the Moon.

Place-names bear traces of ancient lunar cults, and personal names often incorporate the moon. The

crescent, always employed as a decorative motif, eventually became the emblem of Islam to Europeans, and was adopted as such by the Ottoman empire in the 19th century [see HILĀL].

Pre-Islamic astral paganism endured for many years among the "Sabeans" of Ḥarrān, who invoked the Moon, among other deities. Traces of its influence can be found among the Yazīdīs and also the Nuṣayrīs of Syria, where ʿAlī and Salmān are identified with the moon and where a religious sub-group is called the *ḳamariyya*.

Bibliography: Apart from the articles cited above, see M. Rodinson, *La lune chez les Arabes et dans l'Islam*, in *La lune, mythes et rites*, Paris 1962 (coll. *Sources orientales*, 6), 153-215, where the relevant references will be found. (M. RODINSON)

ḲAMARĀN, coralline island (with numerous small islets) in Yemeni territorial waters, less than three miles from the Salīf peninsula, 200 miles north of Perim; its length is 14 miles, its maximum breadth 6 miles, its area 22 sq. miles. The impoverished inhabitants, who number between 1000 and 3000, are Sunnīs of mixed origin (Adeni, Ethiopian, Somali, Indian); they cultivate cotton and fish for pearls.

At the end of the 4th/10th century the king of Yemen kept prisoners on Ḳamarān; in the first half of the 10th/16th century the island was occupied and fortified by the Portuguese. In the second part of the 19th century Turkey, by virtue of the international health regulations, established there a quarantine station for pilgrims arriving through Bāb al-Mandab; they used to contract a disease called in Mecca "Ḳamarān sickness". In June 1915, as the Turks were attacking Aden, Ḳamarān was occupied by the British. Turkish sovereignty on all Red Sea islands ceased in 1923 under Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne. The quarantine station had passed under British administration; Holland became a participant in 1928, Italy in 1938; the Anglo-Italian Agreement provided that Great Britain should not "establish its sovereignty or erect fortifications or defences" on the island. When the quarantine station was closed in 1952, thanks to improvements in health controls on the mainland, it was said to receive 100,000 pilgrims yearly.

The international status of Ḳamarān is peculiar: in 1948 the Ḳamarān Order in Council declared that the United Kingdom had "power and jurisdiction" over the island and appointed the Governor of Aden as Governor of Ḳamarān, stating however that the island was not part of Aden Colony or of the Aden Protectorate, and that the Foreign Jurisdiction Act applied to it "as if it were a British colony or possession", a formula resembling that of trusteeship agreements (mandates). Since 1928 Yemen has constantly and unsuccessfully claimed sovereignty over Ḳamarān and protested against British concessions for oil research on it (the one given in 1955 to the D'Arcy Exploration Co. proved fruitless). On 1 December 1967 the "Peoples' Republic of South Yemen", following a British communication to the United Nations dated 30 November 1967 to the effect that the Kurya Murya islands would be restored to the sultan of Masḳat, issued a decree naming its own governor for Kurya Murya, Perim and Ḳamarān.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, 80; al-Muḳaddasī, 103; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, Leiden and London 1931, 218, note 1; idem, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1923, iii, 27, 32; *OM* (1938), 215, (1953), 29; L. Farago, *The riddle of Arabia*, London 1939, 284-7; E. Quadri, *L'île de Camaran*, in *Revue Égyptienne de Droit International*, xiii (1957), 1-30; B. Reilly, *Aden and the Yemen*, London 1969, Colonial no. 63; R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford 1963. (V. VACCA)

ḲAMḤ, the name for wheat in Syria and in Egypt; in ʿIrāḳ wheat is called *ḥinṭa* and in Arabia it was called *dhurr*. These different words are also used in the literary Arabic of the western and eastern provinces of the Muslim empire.

Wheat was the main grain crop in the Near East from the beginning of the Muslim period (and much earlier), while in Europe in the Middle Ages even the upper classes ate bread made from barley and rye. The predominance of wheat among cereals distinguished Muslim countries from the Far East also, as Chinese travellers observed.

Muslim physicians recommended abstention from other bread and literary evidence shows that in the caliphal period only the poor classes of southern ʿIrāḳ ate rice bread. In Khūzistān and in some Caspian provinces, such as Māzandarān, however, there were extensive rice plantations or rice was even predominant. But in the central provinces of the Muslim world people ate bread made of cereals other than wheat only in times of distress, e.g., famines, or when the general prosperity had declined considerably, as in Egypt at the end of the 9th/15th century. Bread made of barley was the food of ascetics.

The accounts of the ʿIrāḳī treasury of the 3rd/9th century, which have come down to us in extracts included in the works of the geographers Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar and Ibn Khurradādhbih, contain information on the quantities of wheat and barley received as taxes in kind. These figures point to a slight predominance of barley, but this cereal was used for animal fodder. Furthermore, the accounts show that barley was grown mainly in districts where the soil was apparently less adapted to wheat growing. It is worth noting that the equilibrium between wheat and barley was a striking feature of agriculture in ʿIrāḳ from Sumerian times and is still characteristic at the present day. In the days of the caliphs Upper Mesopotamia produced great quantities of wheat which were shipped to southern ʿIrāḳ. In Syria the provinces of Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ and Baʿlabakk, and particularly the Ḥawrān, were veritable granaries, supplying the surrounding regions with wheat. In Palestine wheat of excellent quality was grown in the coastal plain, so that al-Muḳaddasī could praise the quality of the bread of Ramla. Egypt, which had earlier supplied Rome and Constantinople with wheat, exported it in the days of the caliphs and their successors to the Ḥidjāz and to other countries. The main wheat-growing region was the Ṣaʿīd, the southern part of the country. Arabic authors emphasise that some types of Egyptian wheat were unequalled. Barley-growing had been decreasing in Egypt before the Muslim conquest and probably continued to decline thereafter. European travellers who visited Egypt in the 8th/14th century dwell on the excellent quality of its wheat bread. So over many centuries the predominance of wheat remained unchanged. Throughout the coastal regions of North Africa wheat was produced and was the staple food, at least of the town-dwellers. Speaking of the province of Būna, the geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal says that wheat and barley were so plentiful that their quantities could not be measured. The Muslim merchants of North Africa exported wheat to the countries then called Ghāna and Takrūr, now part of Senegal and Mali.

The predominance of wheat was universal in

Muslim lands. Only in very dry regions, such as Kirmān and Nubia, was *dhura* (sorghum) grown. Of course the wheat grown was not of the same variety elsewhere. The geographer al-Bakrī says that in the province of Sidjilmāsa, in western Morocco, there was grown a small-grain "Chinese" wheat. All the texts quoted so far refer to the golden age of Muslim civilization. In the later Middle Ages the cultivation of wheat declined in many regions of the Muslim world, as regards both the extent of the areas cultivated and the quality of the grain, this being a result of bedouinization.

The papyri, the Arabic chronicles and the writings of various Arabic authors contain extensive data on the prices of wheat and of barley. In the Near East in the ʿAbbāsid period their price ratio was 2:1 and in the later Middle Ages 3:2. It is evident that grain prices rose under the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, both in ʿIrāḳ and in Egypt, by 900 per cent or even more. Prices in Egypt were however much lower than in ʿIrāḳ. From the end of the 4th/10th century the price of wheat began to fall in ʿIrāḳ and from the end of the 5th/11th century in Egypt, a fact probably connected with the main trends of demographic development: the growth of population (i.e., of consumers) in the caliphal period and the decrease from the period of the Crusades.

The measures in which the grain prices are given are in the classic period the *kurr* (2925 kg.) in ʿIrāḳ, the *ghirāra* (208.8 kg.) in central Syria, the *makkūk* of Aleppo (about 82 kg.), the *tillīs* (67.5 kg.) and later the *irdabb* (69.6 kg.) in Egypt and various *mudd* in the provinces of North Africa.

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KĀMIL [see ʿarūḍ].

KĀMIL, MUSṬAFĀ [see muṣṭafā kāmil].

al-KĀMIL (al-Malik), title of two Ayyūbid princes.

1) al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī Muḥammad, the eldest son of al-ʿĀdil [*q.v.*] Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb, born 573/1177 or 576/1180. In 595/1199 he left the Djazīra, where he had begun his political career as his father's representative (from 587/1191), to come to the aid of al-ʿĀdil at Damascus in his struggle against al-Afḍal b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. After the latter's defeat, father and son marched into Egypt, entering Cairo on 22 Ramaḍān 596/6 July 1200. Al-ʿĀdil was proclaimed sultan of Egypt and Syria. After the formal investiture by the caliph in 604/1207, al-ʿĀdil distributed his provinces between his sons [see al-ʿĀdil]; al-Kāmil was to remain viceroy of Egypt for the rest of his father's reign. In 604/1207 he moved his residence to the newly finished Ḳalʿat al-Djabal.

In Ṣafar 615/May 1218 the Franks made an unexpected attack on Egypt (fifth Crusade [see crusades]), landing at Dimyāṭ [*q.v.*]. Al-Kāmil was unable to prevent their capture of the Burdj al-Salsala (Tower of the Chain), the main stronghold of the harbour. Shortly after receiving news of this, al-ʿĀdil died in his camp near Damascus (Friday 7 Djumādā II 615/31 August 1218), and al-Kāmil became sultan of Egypt and supreme head of the Ayyūbid realm. On 25 Shaʿbān 616/5 November 1219 the Franks finally succeeded in conquering the town of Dimyāṭ. For nearly two years al-Kāmil was able to hold them at bay from his new camp, called al-Manṣūra, south of Dimyāṭ, until the combined forces of al-Ashraf [*q.v.*], al-Muʿaẓẓam [*q.v.*] and other Ayyūbid princes, following their brother al-Kāmil's demand, reached Egypt in August 1221. The Franks, who had lost irretrievable time, tried to march against Cairo, but were encircled from all sides and after heavy fighting were forced to surrender (7 Radjab 618/27 Aug 1221) and to leave Egypt: the fifth Crusade had reached its inglorious end.

The second period of al-Kāmil's reign was marked by the struggle for the leadership among the Ayyūbid brothers: al-Kāmil against al-Muʿaẓẓam of Damascus (1221-1227) and—after the latter's death—against al-Ashraf, who succeeded him (1227-1237).

As early as 619/1222 al-Ashraf visited his brother in Cairo, and they concluded an alliance against al-Muʿaẓẓam, who subsequently had to give way to al-Ashraf in two separate disputes (succession at Ḥamāt, 619/1222; possession of Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*]). An alliance between al-Muʿaẓẓam and the Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*], concluded during 622/1225, tilted the balance of power, and al-Ashraf was compelled to seek an arrangement with his brother. In Shawwāl 623/September 1226 he went to Damascus to submit to al-Muʿaẓẓam and to renounce his supremacy over Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt; until Djumādā II 624/May-June 1227 he was forced to remain as *de facto* prisoner. The Ayyūbid realm was on the verge of dividing into two states when the situation was completely altered by the sudden death of al-Muʿaẓẓam (Friday, 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 624/12 November 1227). His son al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd [*q.v.*], a youth of 21 years, at once submitted to al-Kāmil, recognizing his supremacy.

In the same year 624/1227 rumours of a new Crusade reached Cairo. Presumably considering the situation desperate, al-Kāmil contacted Frederick II, offering him all Saladin's conquests. Frederick II accepted, and on 7 September 1228 landed at Acre. After hard bargaining the famous treaty which delivered Jerusalem to the Franks was signed on 11 February 1229.

Al-Kāmil's cordial relations with his nephew al-Nāṣir did not last. At a meeting with al-Ashraf at Tell al-ʿAdjūl (near Ghazza), he therefore agreed that al-Nāṣir should cede Damascus to al-Ashraf; a treaty was signed at the end of 625/1228. The two brothers then marched against the Syrian capital. After a short siege, al-Nāṣir surrendered (21 Radjab 626/15 June 1229) and had to accept the fortresses of al-Karak and al-Shawbak in exchange. Damascus was handed over to al-Ashraf; al-Kāmil was recognized as overlord of the realm. Princes favouring al-Kāmil were installed in all the minor principalities and took over al-Ashraf's possessions in the Djazīra, thus further enhancing al-Kāmil's influence and control.

After a prolonged visit to the Djazīra, al-Kāmil returned to Egypt in Radjab 627/May 1230, but only two years later the situation demanded his return. He marched to Salamiyya to prepare with the assem-

bled Ayyūbid princes against an expected attack by the Mongols. As no attack materialized, he decided to expel the ill-famed Artuḳid ruler of Āmid, al-Mas'ūd Rukn al-Dīn Mawdūd (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 629/October 1232). The Artuḳid soon surrendered and was sent into captivity at Cairo. Ḥiṣn Kayfā, the other important fortress of the prince of Āmid, capitulated soon afterwards and was given to al-Kāmil's son Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, who in 634/1236 also took over Āmid. Even in the Djazīra al-Kāmil had become the most powerful sovereign, so that the other Ayyūbid princes were bound to feel threatened by him.

Al-Kāmil returned to Cairo in about Djumādā I 630/February-March 1233, but his stay was once more brief. The capture of Akhlāṭ by the sultan of Rūm Kayḳobād [*q.v.*] (at the end of 629/1232) led him to mount a general attack on the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor; probably he planned to transfer—after the expulsion of the Saldjūḳs—the Ayyūbid princes from Syria to Asia Minor, Syria to be governed as a unitary state like Egypt. The invasion began from Salamiyya in Ramaḍān 634/June 1234, but failed. The distrust and opposition of the Ayyūbid princes then forced al-Kāmil to abandon his plans; he returned to Cairo in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 631/August 1234, but soon he had to hurry back to repel with the help of al-Ashraf the counter-attack of Kayḳobād. After a prolonged stay with al-Ashraf at Damascus, al-Kāmil then returned to Cairo in Muḥarram or Ṣafar 634/September-October 1236.

A new breach between al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf opened up over the succession at Aleppo. An alliance led by al-Ashraf was formed against al-Kāmil and a fraternal war seemed imminent, when al-Ashraf fell ill and after a few months died (4 Muḥarram 635/27 August 1237). His most dangerous enemy having disappeared, al-Kāmil marched against Damascus, together with his nephew al-Nāṣir, to whom he had promised that city. After two months' siege Damascus surrendered (19 Djumādā I 635/5 January 1238); the coalition against al-Kāmil disintegrated. Before al-Kāmil was able to reap the fruits of his triumph (to take Aleppo and install al-Nāṣir at Damascus), however, he suddenly fell ill. He died on Wednesday, 21 Radjab 635/6 March 1238, and was buried in the Citadel of Damascus.

Bibliography: H. L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, where all the sources are enumerated.

(2.) AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL NĀṢIR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MA'ĀLĪ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUZAFFAR SHIHĀB AL-DĪN GHĀZĪ B. AL-'ĀDIL MUḤAMMAD [*q.v.*] B. AYYŪB, nephew of the preceding, sultan of Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*]. He succeeded his father in 645/1247 and tried in vain to come to terms with the Mongols, who had already besieged Mayyāfāriḳīn in 642/1244 and repeated their attack in 645/1247. Thereafter al-Kāmil visited al-Malik al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*], the Ayyūbid sultan of Aleppo and Damascus, in order to persuade him to mount a joint action against the Mongols; but he failed, as al-Nāṣir hoped to appease them by dispatching his ambassador, the well-known historian 'Izz al-Dīn b. Shaddād [*q.v.*] (cf. H. F. Amedroz, *Three Arabic Mss. on the history of Mayyāfāriqīn*, in *JRAS* (1902), 785-812). The Mongols under Tashmūṭ b. Hūlāgū began the third siege of Mayyāfāriḳīn in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 656/October-November 1258 and conquered the town in 658/1260, in spite of the brave resistance of al-Kāmil and the inhabitants. Al-Kāmil and his brother al-Ashraf were brought before Hūlāgū [*q.v.*], who personally killed them both. It was said that al-Kāmil's head was carried round several towns of al-Djazīra and Syria and finally hung upon the Bāb al-Farādīs at Damascus; it was buried there at the *mashhad* of al-Ḥusayn after the city was reconquered by the Muslims.

3) AL-KĀMIL [see SHA'BAN].

Bibliography: 'Izz al-Dīn b. Shaddād, *al-A'lāḳ al-khaṭīra*, 3rd part, Bodleian Lib., Ms. Marsh 333, fol. 111 ff., Ms. Berl. 9800, fol. 72 ff.; al-Yunānī, Ḥaydarābād, i, 359, 430, ii, 75; Abū Shāma, *Dhayl*, Cairo, 205; al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, Cairo, 441; M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Armenien und Diyarbekr*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Kl.N.F. IX, 3, 16-17, n. 1; Spuler, *Mongolen*. (H. L. GOTTSCHALK)

ḲAML (A.), lice (the individual louse being *ḳamla*; some authorities believe that *ḳaml* applies only to females and that for males the term is *ṣu'āb*, pl. *ṣi'bān*, although the latter designates rather the nits). The family to which this hemipterous insect belongs has numerous species, but Arabic does not seem to have distinguished between them, for not even the head-louse (*pediculus capitis*) and the body-louse (*p. vestimenti*) are treated separately.

Although the existence of nits which clung to the skin was known of, the louse was thought to be engendered spontaneously in human sweat and body-dirt, in places covered by hair or clothing. At birth, the louse takes on the colour of the hair in which it emerges. Some men, called *ḳamil*, are more prone than others to give rise to lice, which in such cases have longer bodies. Measures of cleanliness are therefore useless, and the best way of avoiding the increase of these parasites is to wear silk clothing, since this fabric does not suit them. This is why 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, who were *ḳamils*, begged the Prophet to permit them to wear it. By a special divine dispensation, lepers are free from this pest, since they cannot scratch without danger. On the other hand, hens and pigeons do not escape them, nor do monkeys, who have many and eat them as they groom themselves.

Eating lice is of course prohibited, as is eating food with which they have come into contact. Before Islam, in periods of famine people ate *ḳurra*, which was flour mixed with hair, obtained from spreading the flour on the head and then shaving it, but picking the lice out of the mixture was enjoined.

The *fuḳahā'* expatiated on the conditions under which one could get rid of this most repugnant of vermin. In normal circumstances, the use of carthamus oil was recommended, or vinegar mixed with sea water, or even mercury and sesame oil. Muslims are also permitted to delouse themselves when they are neither in the mosque nor in a state of consecration (*iḥrām* [*q.v.*]), but they are not allowed to crush these insects with fruit stones, for this would make the latter unfit for cattle fodder. Lice are usually crushed between the nails, and women in particular enjoy the crackling noise this produces. Killing a louse in the mosque is prohibited; it must even be kept in the clothing until the person concerned leaves, although a *ḥadīth* permits it to be buried when the floor is suitable. In the state of *iḥrām*, the pilgrim must avoid killing vermin; a louse which affords great discomfort can be removed delicately, or even killed, but should the pilgrim engage in systematic delousing he must give alms in return for the relief he has been granted.

Seeing a louse in a dream is interpreted in slightly different ways depending on the circumstances surrounding it. The insect is also used to determine the sex of an unborn infant. A little milk from the

expectant mother is placed in the hand and the louse dropped into it; if it crawls out the child will be a girl, if not, a boy, since in the latter case the milk is thicker. Other beliefs are attached to this pest; for example, a man who throws away a living louse forgets his acquaintances.

Although translators of the Ḳurʾān, basing themselves on Exodus VIII, 16 ff., generally employ the word "lice" for *ḳummal* in VII, 130/133, where the plagues of Egypt are mentioned, commentators offer different explanations of this term, which is held to designate either crickets or a sort of moth (*ḳirdān*, *ḥalam*, etc.).

Other insects related to lice are bugs and fleas. Bugs, hemipters of the *cimex* family, are distinguished by their stench and by the odour of bitter almonds which is given off when they are crushed. They are called *baḳḳ* and *banāt al-ḥaṣīr* because they hide in the bedmatting, but they are sometimes included (see *LA*, s.v.) in the species called *baʿūḍ*, "mosquitoes", because the latter were regarded as a metamorphosis of the bug, as were fleas, of which, the Arabs thought, they constituted a variety. Bugs may be killed, under the same conditions as other vermin, but as they appear mainly at night and in dwelling places, they were less of a problem to the *fuḳahāʾ* than lice and fleas.

The latter, diptera of the *pulex* family, were called *burg̲h̲ūt̲h̲*, and also Abū Ṭāfir, Abū ʿAdī, Abu'l-Wat̲h̲t̲h̲āb, Ṭāmir b. Ṭāmir, colloquial names inspired by the backward leaps they make. They are born in the earth, in dark places, at the end of winter and in early spring, and they also change into mosquitoes. They can be got rid of by the use of talismans (as in Antioch) or of a reed smeared with asses' milk or billy-goat's fat, on which they will gather in return for a promise that they will be thrown outside without being killed and to the accompaniment of the appropriate formulas. It was popularly believed that if a fox whose coat was full of fleas took a tuft of wool in his mouth then the fleas would gather on it; if he slid gently into the water, they would be drowned.

According to tradition, injuring fleas is prohibited because they woke up a prophet in time for the morning prayer. However, killing them is permitted, except in the mosque or the state of *iḥrām*, and, as with lice, it is advised that they should not be thrown in the fire. At an early date the question of whether the blood (or rather excrement) of fleas on the clothing or body necessitated washing was discussed, but the majority of *fuḳahāʾ* consider that a few stains do not impair ritual cleanliness.

Bibliography: D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index, s.v. *ḳaml*; idem, *Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, ed. Ḥād̲j̲irī, 199 (*Arabica*, 1955/3, 327); Damīrī, s.v.; Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, index, s.v. *poux*. (Ed.)

AL-KAMMAD, by-name of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, a Ḥasanī *s̲h̲arīf* from Constantine who moved to Fez, where he taught *ḥadīt̲h̲*, logic and dialectic. None of his works has survived, but some noteworthy *responsa* (*ad̲j̲wiba*) on a number of cases of the category of (*nawāzil*) reveal his competence in the subject. He died in 1116/1704-5.

Bibliography: É. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 288 and n. 2; Ḳādirī, *Nas̲h̲r*, ii, 184; idem, *al-Nas̲h̲r al-kabīr*, ii, fol. 53 r.; idem, *Iltiḳāṭ*, fol. 57 r.; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie ʿalawide*, index. (M. Lakhdar)

KAMMŪN, cumin (*Cuminum Cyminum*), an umbelliferous plant which seems to be a native of eastern Iran. At an early date it was found in the Near East (Syria, Palestine, the upper valley of the Nile), then spread throughout the Mediterranean basin. The Hebrew is *kammōn*, Greek *kúminon*, Latin *cuminum*.

Wild or cultivated, its aromatic seeds were much sought after. Physicians recognized its many virtues: carminative, emmenagogic, sudorific, etc. in potions and in electuaries (*maʿād̲j̲īn*). Dieticians knew it as an aid to digestion.

Many varieties were known and these were variously appraised. Cumin from Kirmān [*q.v.*] was considered the best; pharmacists described it as *bāsiliḳūn*, "royal". After this came cumin from Fāris, Egypt, Syria, the land of the "Nabateans", and Abyssinia (*ḥabas̲h̲ī*).

Allied to a determinant specifying the type of plant, the word *kammūn* was used as a generic term to designate other plants, not necessarily umbelliferous ones, which bore aromatic or medicinal seeds. *Kammūn armanī*, "Armenian" or *kammūn rūmī*, "Byzantine" was in fact caraway (*Carum Carvi*). It was also called *kammūn barrī*, "wild cumin", as it is in some regions of France, where it is known as *cumin des prés*, "meadow cumin". *Kammūn ḥulw*, "sweet cumin", was one of the names for aniseed. In Bougie, in eastern Algeria, *kammūn al-d̲j̲abal*, "mountain cumin", was the name for *Meum athamanticum* Jacq.. *Kammūn aswad*, "black cumin", was fennel-flower (*Nigella sativa*), a ranunculus properly called *s̲h̲ūnīz*. It was also known as *al-ḥabba 'l-sawdā*, the "black grain", and is called *ḥabbet el-baraka* in modern Syria.

Alongside the word *kammūn*, diffused throughout the Arab world, is found another much rarer term. The consonantal outline of this word is *s-n-w-t*, but its exact pronunciation is not known: *sannūt*, *sunnūt*, or *sinnawt*? Lexicographers also give it the meaning of "honey", "fruit syrup" (*rubb*), "cheese" and several other condiments. This rare term appears in some *ḥadīt̲h̲*s; it seems to be a Yemenite word. A denominative verb, *sannata*, is attested, with the imprecise meaning of "to throw *s-n-w-t* in a pan".

The Muslim West. Seeds of cumin were cultivated and used widely, both in medicine and in cooking; they were also attributed with magical and beneficial properties. Muslim Spain differed from the rest of the Arabic-speaking world in using, alongside *kammūn*, a dialectical phonetic variant, *kāmūn*, where it seems that the reduction of the gemination was compensated for by the lengthening of the preceding vowel. This form *kāmūn* also gave rise to a derivative: *kaymūn*, *keymōn*. Here we find the mutation *ā-ū* = *ay-ū*, which is attested in Spanish Arabic dialect for other nouns of the same morphological type: *kānūn*, *tābūt*, *dāsūs* (for *d̲j̲āsūs*); this may be a case of pronunciation with *imāla* [*q.v.*].

The Spanish word *alcamonias*, signifying a range of aromatic seeds, cumin, caraway, aniseed, fennel-flower, etc., is an Arab loan-word given a Romance plural. It is the equivalent of the *quatre semences chaudes majeures*, "four main warm herbs", of the old French pharmacopoeia. In old Spanish the original Latin name for cumin often appears in a plural form, *cominos*.

In the Mag̲h̲rib, Morocco is characterized by the widespread use of the Spanish form, *kāmūn*. In the extreme north-west of the country (the regions of Tangiers and Tetuan), the variant *kaymūn* is preserved. Herbalists in Fez sell a variety of this grain called *kāmūn ṣōfī* or *kāmūn bū-ṣōfa*, "fluffy cumin", imported from the Tuat. A potion made from it is used to cure pains in the entrails or stomach. In the

rest of the Maghrib, it would seem, *kammūn/kəmmūn* is the one name used for cumin.

In Tunisia *kammūn* symbolizes grace, charm (*sirr*), the absolute perfection of a beauty. Its seeds, thought to generate attraction, are one of the essential ingredients of love potions. The plural, *kmāmən*, designates "an assortment of aromatic seeds: cumin, coriander, aniseed, caraway, fennel-flower, etc."; a synonym for this is the plural *zrārə*, "seeds". This is an equivalent of *alcamonias* and also of the Moroccan *rās 'l-ḥānūt*, lit. "the essentials in the shop (of the druggist, *ʿaṭṭār*)". In Malta cumin is called *kemmūn* and *kemmūn ḥelū* is used for aniseed (cf. above).

Throughout the Arab-speaking west the relative adjective *kammūnī* is used for a shade of green: in Spain a greenish brown, in Morocco a greenish khaki, in Algeria a pistachio green. In Takroûna, Tunisia, however, it is a bluish pink. Such descriptions are naturally related to the colour of the local variety of the seeds.

In the feminine substantive (*kammūniyya*), this epithet is applied to a variety of dishes seasoned with cumin.

The non-Arab-speaking Muslim world. The Persian name for cumin is *zīra*, *zīrè*. The composites *shāh-zīra* and *zīra-i rūmī* designate caraway. A particular dish, containing cumin, is called *zīrabā*, *zīrbā*; in the archaic form *zīrabādj* (for *zīrabāg*), the dish and its name passed into the Arabic culinary vocabulary of the east and Muslim Spain. Alongside the learned-word *kemmūn* the Turkish of Turkey uses a popular form, *kimyon*; the adjective *kimyoni* means olive green. The Persian dish mentioned above is called *zırva* and today describes "a dish of calves' feet with rice and garlic"—and apparently without cumin.

Finally, proverbs which feature cumin are found sporadically throughout the whole Islamic world. These belong to two series: in the first the cumin is promised that it will be well watered, tomorrow—this is the prototype of empty promises; in the second the cumin says, "rub me between your hands and I will release my good smell", which is the equivalent of "ring for service".

Bibliography: Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Traité des Simples*, tr. Leclerc, no. 1967; Ibn al-Hashshā, *Glossaire sur le Manṣūrī de Razès*, ed. Colin and Renaud, nos. 526, 693, 1181; *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*, tr. Renaud and Colin, no. 229; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, i, 405, iv, 1665, vii, 3496; Westermarck, *Wit and wisdom in Morocco*, nos. 1080, 1487; Huici, *Kitāb al-ṭabīkh*, Madrid 1961-2, 38 (tr. Madrid 1966, 36). (G. S. Colin)

AL-KAMMŪNĪ, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tamīmī, a Ḳayrawānī panegyrist of the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (first half of the 5th/11th century), was admired by the critics for the abundance and perfection of his laudatory, descriptive and elegiac poetry, remarkable alike for the choice of themes and images, the power of the language and the strict rhythm of the verse. But the vogue his poetry enjoyed during his lifetime was equally due to the verve, humour and sprightly imagination with which he recounted the vicissitudes of his disordered and picturesque life, and denounced the failings of some of his fellow citizens. However, very few lines of this classical yet personal output have survived.

Bibliography: text of Ibn Rashīḳ's *Unmūdhadj*, containing sample lines of poetry, quoted in part by: Ḳifṭī, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, Beirut 1970, 114-5; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Ms. 2327 Paris, xvii, 82 r.-83 v.; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ii, 4; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih*, Cairo 1278, 40; Ibn Manẓūr, [pseudo] *Nithār al-azhār*, Istanbul 1298, i, 20; see also Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Bisāṭ al-ʿaḳīḳ*, Tunis 1330, 23, 53; Maymanī, *Ibn Rashīḳ*. . ., Cairo 1343, 31, 32, 81; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, 785; ʿA.-R. Yāghī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān*, Beirut 1962, 161-3; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīḳiya sous les Zīrides*, Tunis 1972, 128-9, 279. (Ch. Bouyahia)

KĀMRĀN Mīrzā, second son of Bābur and of Gulrukh Begam, and half-brother of Humāyūn; he was born in Kābul *ca.* 915/1509. He was cleverer than Humāyūn and had a poetical turn, but he was cruel and vicious and a restless schemer. He repeatedly rebelled against Humāyūn, who was at last compelled by his officers to make him innocuous by blinding him in 960/1553. He went to Mecca in 961/1554 and died there in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 904/October 1557. The most interesting thing about him is the devotion of his wife, Māh Čīčak Bēgam Arghūn, daughter of Shāh Ḥasan of Sind. She insisted on accompanying him to Mecca, in spite of her father's remonstrances, saying that he had given her to Kāmrān in the days of his greatness (in 954/1546) and that she would not abandon him now in the time of his misery. She died at Mecca a few months after her husband.

Kāmrān was put in charge of Ḳandahār by his father, and in the beginning of Humāyūn's reign he was governor of the Pandjāb. During the interregnum, when Humāyūn was in Persia, Kāmrān and his younger brother, ʿAskarī, ruled over Afghānistān. He left one son and three daughters. The son, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who inherited his father's poetical talents, was confined in Gwalior by Akbar in 964/1557, and was put to death some years later as a dangerous competitor. All three daughters were given in marriage; one of them, named Gulrukh, was a woman of masculine spirit; she married Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Sulṭān, and she and her son were thorns in Akbar's side. (Firishta, lith. ed., 221, and Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, i; Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Taʾrīkh-i-Rashīdī*, Eng. version by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross; Djawhar Āftābčī, *Memoirs of the Emperor Humāyūn*, tr. Stewart (Or. Transl. Fund 1832); Bābur's *Memoirs*; Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*; Gulbadan Bēgam, *History of Humāyūn* (O. T. F.), London, 1902; Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, i, 451 ff.; Elliot-Dowson, iv, 498, v, vi. There is a copy of Kāmrān's *Dīwān* in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Cat., ii, 145, 215, where a biography of the author is given. (H. Beveridge*)

KĀMRĀN SHĀH DURRĀNĪ, ruler of Harāt in succession to his father, Maḥmūd Shāh (d. 1244/1828). By alienating the powerful Bārakzay family Kāmrān contributed to the downfall of Sadōzay rule in Afghānistān in 1235/1818. Subsequently, Maḥmūd and Kāmrān disputed possession of Harāt, which comprised an area extending from the Harī Rūd in the west to the Hilmand river in the east and from Sīstān in the south to Maymana in the north, although their authority in the outlying areas was always contested. In his early years Kāmrān revealed energy and ability, but during the last five years of his reign power passed to his able vizier, Yār Muḥammad Khān Alīkozay (d. 1267/1851), who secured his position by control of the only effective military force, of the revenue and of the British subsidy negotiated in 1255/1839 and who deposed and murdered Kāmrān in 1258/1842. Kāmrān and Yār Muḥammad contin-

ued the Harātī tradition of alternately acknowledging and rejecting Iranian sovereignty and in 1253-4/1837-8 withstood a prolonged Iranian siege which devastated the Harāt valley.

Bibliography: See AFGHĀNISTĀN; see also Commonwealth Relations Office, London, *Gazetteer of Afghanistan, Part 3, Herat*, Calcutta 1910; J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys*, 2nd ed. London 1857, Appendix F.; George W. Forrest (ed.), *Selections from the travels and journals preserved in the Bombay secretariat*, Bombay 1906; J. W. Kaye, *Lives of Indian officers*, 2 vols., London 1867 (arts. by Pottinger and Todd); A. Conolly, *Overland journey to India*, 2 vols., London 1831; H. L. O. Garrett and C. Grey, *European adventurers of Northern India, 1785-1849* Lahore 1929, Appendix, xxvii-xlviii (Court's Journal). (M. E. YAPP)

ĶAMŪNIYA [see AL-ĶAYRAWĀN].

KĀMRŪP, a region in western Assam [*q.v.*], the most north-easterly limit of penetration by Muslim armies in India. Conquest was not followed by any great settlement of Muslims in the region, which was in fact held only for limited periods. The few Muslims in the district today are mostly traders in the towns. For the history of the district as it affects Islam, see ASSAM. In the Muslim geographers (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Marwazī) it is often referred to as Ḳʾmrwn. (ED.)

ĶĀMŪS (A.), dictionary.

1. ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY

The word *ķāmūs/ķawmas*, from the Greek Ὠκεανός appeared in Arabic, at the latest at the time of the Prophet, with the meaning of "the bottom, the very deepest part of the sea". Nevertheless, following Ptolemy, the Arab geographers borrowed the Greek word again, in the form *Uķiyānūs*, and applied it to "the mass of water surrounding the earth", more particularly the Atlantic Ocean, which was called *Uķiyānūs al-muḥīṭ*, then more simply *al-Ķāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. As this latter term was employed in a metaphorical sense by al-Fīrūzābādī [*q.v.*] as the title of his great dictionary, *ķāmūs* eventually came to be a common noun denoting a dictionary, though it still carried some sense of "fullness, exhaustiveness", in contrast to *muʿdjam* [*q.v.*], "Lexicon". This distinction, however, was neither general nor absolute, so that nowadays *muʿdjam* tends to be used in the same sense as *ķāmūs*. In classical Arabic, the concept of "dictionary" was not covered by any single term, each lexicographical work bearing its own title. A number of these titles included the word *lugha*, "language", and lexicography was called *ʿilm al-lugha* "the science of language". Sometimes this was confused with "philology", which today is called *fiķh al-lugha*, an expression already employed in the Middle Ages by Ibn Fāris [*q.v.*] in the title of his celebrated *Ṣāḥibī*. The neologism *muʿdjamiyyāt* is now tending to gain currency.

In Persian, the general term for a dictionary was *farhang*, but, as in Arabic and also in Turkish, various expressions were also used in titles.

Mediaeval Arabic dictionaries may be classified in three groups, according to the arrangement used:

I. Those arranging roots anagrammatically, treating all permutations of a group of root letters under one heading, and separating biliterals, triliterals and longer roots. Almost all such dictionaries adopted an alphabetical order based on phonetic principles, beginning with gutturals, a practice somewhat reminiscent of the order of the Sanskrit alphabet. This system was first used by al-Khalīl [*q.v.*].

II. Those employing the "rhyme order"; that is, arranging roots primarily under the final radical, then the first and any intermediate radicals. Within this framework, the normal alphabetical order was followed. The first major work to use this system was al-Djawharī's *Ṣaḥāḥ*. This system soon gained the ascendancy in general dictionaries, and was not seriously questioned until the 19th century, under European influence.

III. Those arranged, more or less, on the modern European pattern insofar as roots are concerned. The earliest example, Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī's *Kitāb al-Djīm*, lists all words with the same initial in one chapter, but in no obvious order within the chapter. This has been called the "Kufan Method" (J. A. Haywood, *Arabic lexicography*). The modern arrangement proper goes back at least to Ibn Fāris. However, it found favour largely in specialized dictionaries such as those of the Ķurʾān and *ḥadīth*. Al-Zamakhsharī's *Asās al-balāgha* adheres most closely to this arrangement.

The following are the principal mediaeval Arabic dictionaries, arranged in rough chronological order. (The Roman numerals I, II, and III in brackets after titles indicate the arrangement used in accordance with the above classification).

2nd/8th century: Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], *Kitāb al-ʿayn fi ʾl-lugha* (I), survives in at least three manuscripts; Père Anastase Marie de Saint Elie embarked on an edition in 1914, but he was unable to continue it beyond 144 pages and almost all the printed copies are lost. The first volume of a new edition, prepared by ʿAbd Allāh Darwīsh, appeared in Baghdād in 1386/1967 (with an alphabetical index). Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybanī, *Kitāb al-Djīm fi ʾl-lugha* (III), is available only in manuscript (Madrid, Escorial no. 572).

3rd/9th century: Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*], *al-Djamhara fi ʾl-lugha* (I). This combines the anagrammatical arrangement with the normal alphabetical order. The Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) edition (1344 AH) has a useful index listing the content in the modern manner.

4th/10th century: Al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], *al-Muḥīṭ fi ʾl-lugha* (I), Ms. only (ʿIrāķ Nat. Mus.). Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī [*q.v.*], *Kitāb al-tahdhīb fi ʾl-lugha* (I), Cairo 1964. Al-Djawharī [*q.v.*], *al-Ṣaḥāḥ* (or *Ṣiḥāḥ*) (II), Cairo 1956 and Būlāķ n.d. Ibn Fāris [*q.v.*], *Maķāyīs al-lugha* (III), Cairo 1366-71 AH. idem, *al-Mudjmal fi ʾl-lugha* (III), vol. i (all published), Cairo 1958.

5th/11th century: Ibn Sīda/Sīduh [*q.v.*], *al-Muḥkam wa ʾl-muḥīṭ al-aʿẓam fi ʾl-lugha* (I), Cairo 1958. This work was compiled in Spain.

6th/12th century: al-Zamakhsharī [*q.v.*], *Asās al-balāgha* (III), Cairo 1953, largely concerned with the language of rhetoric.

7th/13th century: Ibn Mukarram or Ibn Manẓūr [*q.v.*], *Lisān al-ʿArab* (II), Būlāķ 1300-8 AH, Beirut 1955-6. This is still the best-known large-scale dictionary.

8th/14th century: al-Fīrūzābādi [*q.v.*], *al-Ķāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (II). This is the standard handy dictionary, containing a very large vocabulary compressed into small space by the omission of supporting examples. It has been frequently printed, mostly in Cairo and in four volumes.

12th/18th century: Though not strictly mediaeval, Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's *Tādj al-ʿarūs min djawāhir al-Ķāmūs* (II), Būlāķ 1306-7 AH, Kuwayt 1965, is best mentioned here. It is an expansion and extension of the *Ķāmūs*, on the scale of the *Lisān al-ʿArab*.

The modern (European) dictionary arrangement is now normally used by Arabs. Buṭrus al-Bustānī used it for his 2-volume *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* (Beirut 1867-70), basically a re-arrangement of the *Ḳāmūs*. No large-scale Arabic dictionary has appeared in the Arab world since the *Tādj al-ʿarūs*. The most popular one-volume work is Louis Maʿlūf's *al-Mundjid*, Beirut 1908, 18Beirut 1965.

Bi-lingual dictionaries were rare in the Arab world until the present century. Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī's [*q.v.*] *Dīwān lug̲h̲āt al-Turk* (5th/11th century) explains Turkish words in Arabic, while al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī's *Muḳaddimat al-adab* (*Samachstherii Lexicon Arabicum Persicum*, ed. J. G. Wetzstein, Leipzig 1843-50) gives the Persian equivalents of Arabic words. Neither is very conveniently arranged. To list all bi-lingual Arabic dictionaries published since the Renaissance would take several pages. Those mentioned below are of the literary language only, and do not include polyglot dictionaries.

Jacob Golius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Leiden 1653, with a Latin-Arabic index, was pre-eminent until G. W. Freytag's larger work, with the same title, was published, Halle 1830-7 (also has a Latin-Arabic index). Both are based on the *Ḳāmūs*, recast in modern arrangement. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski's *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris 1860, pays some attention to dialectical Arabic and is still very useful, since it is more complete than Père J.-B. Belot's *Vocabulaire arabe-français*, which has enjoyed general favour since 1883. Edward William Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1863-87, repr. 1955-7, though incomplete, is still widely used. These 19th-century works may well be superseded by two new dictionaries in the course of publication. The first, *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, published in Wiesbaden in fascicules since 1957, is sponsored by the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (the present editor (1974) is M. Ullmann). Definitions are in German and English. It begins at the letter *kāf*, where Lane's *Lexicon* becomes mere sketches, because of the urgent need to supplement the deficiencies of Lane. The second is the *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français-Anglais*, edited by Blachère, Chouémi and Denizeau, published in Paris in fascicules from 1961. It covers both the classical and the modern languages.

R. Dozy's *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols., Leiden 1881, Paris 1927, is invaluable for words used in Arab Spain and the Mag̲h̲rib, and for much late-classical vocabulary. Modern literary Arabic is well served by Hans Wehr's *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1952; Supplement, Wiesbaden 1958; Eng. ed., J. Milton Cowan, *A dictionary of modern written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1961.

The above account does not include dictionaries from European languages into Arabic. No comprehensive work has yet been published. Ellious Bochtor's *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, which appeared in a third edition revised and supplemented by Caussin de Perceval in Paris in 1864, has been practically forgotten. Belot's *Vocabulaire français-arabe* has gone through many revisions since 1889, but it is still inadequate. G. P. Badger's *English-Arabic Dictionary*, London 1913, is worthy of note. But the late Elias A. Elias's *Modern Dictionary English-Arabic*, Cairo 1913, has been very widely used. Munir Baalbaki's *al-Mawrid*, Beirut 1969, is fuller and more up-to-date, with considerable scientific and technical vocabulary, but Arabic definitions do not include some information—such as broken plurals—useful to European Arabists. There is a useful Russian-Arabic Dictionary by Baranov, Moscow 1964, while Götz Schregle's *Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch*, 1st fasc., Wiesbaden 1963, at present under publication, will be of benefit. Two French-Arabic dictionaries have been published in Beirut: the first, *al-Manhal*, is the work of D̲j̲abbūr ʿAbd al-Nūr and Suhayl Idrīs (1970); the second (1972) is a French-Arabic *Mundjid*.

Bibliography: The following general works contain bibliographies. R. Dozy, *Supplément*, v-xxix; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-G̲h̲afūr ʿAṭṭār, *al-Ṣaḥāḥ wa-madāris al-muʿdjamāt al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1956, a reprint of the author's introductory volume to his edition of the *Ṣaḥāḥ*; A. Darwīs̲h̲, *al-Maʿādjim al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1956; J. A. Haywood, *Arabic lexicography—its history and its place in the general history of lexicography*, Leiden 1959, 21965; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan K̲h̲ān, *al-Bulg̲h̲a fī uṣūl al-lug̲h̲a*, Istanbul 1296 AH, contains an alphabetical list of the chief mediaeval Arabic dictionaries. For a brief account of L. Kopf's important but unpublished thesis on Arabic lexicography see *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 617-8. See also W. Marçais, *Arabic lexicography* (in Arabic), in *Articles et Conférences*, Paris 1961, 145-70. (J. A. Haywood)

2. Persian Lexicography

The normal Persian word for "dictionary" is *farhang*, which also retains its original meaning of "learning, education". In its Middle Persian (Pahlavi) form it is applied to two glossaries which, though undated, preserve pre-Islamic material. The *Frahang-ī 'oīm ek'*, named after its first entry, lists Avestan words with their Pahlavi equivalents. The *Frahang-ī Pahlawīg* provides mainly the Persian equivalents of the basically Aramaic ideograms used in Pahlavi, with their traditional mnemonic readings. Owing to the great ambiguity of the Pahlavi script, many of these readings are fantastic, *e.g.*, *binmīn* (Aram. *brh* read as *bnmn*) for *pus*, "son".

The earliest named dictionary of modern Persian is the *Risāla* of Abū Ḥafṣ-i Sug̲h̲dī, variously attributed from the 1st/7th to the 5th/11th centuries. Although no longer extant, this work seems to have been still available to compilers of the 11th/17th century. The *Lug̲h̲at-i furs* by the poet Abū Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Asadī Ṭūsī is the oldest surviving Persian dictionary. Compiled about 450/1058-460/1068, its purpose was to explain about 1,200 rare and archaic words in the older poets of eastern Iran. It is arranged alphabetically by rhymes, each entry supported by a quotation in verse. A slightly earlier work by the poet Ḳaṭrān of Tabrīz, *Tafāsīr fī lug̲h̲at al-furs*, is lost. No other Persian dictionary is recorded until the beginning of the 8th/14th century. The lexicographers of the period devoted their energies instead to the analysis of Arabic, particularly of the Ḳurʾān, in both Arabic and Persian. Of lexica with Persian glosses we have the *Kitāb al-maṣādir* and *Tardjumān al-Ḳurʾān* of Ḥusayn Zawzanī (d. 486/1093), *Dastūr al-lug̲h̲a al-ʿarabiyya* and *Kitāb al-mirḳāt* by Ḥusayn Naṭanzī (d. 499/1106), *al-Sāmī fi 'l-asāmī* (497/1104) by Abu 'l-Faḍl Maydānī, the celebrated *Muḳaddimat al-adab* (before 521/1127) by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, *Tādj al-maṣādir* by D̲j̲aʿfarak Bayhaḳī (d. 544/1150; a work of this name is also ascribed, almost certainly wrongly, to the poet Rūdakī, d. 329/940-1), *Ḳānūn al-adab* (545/1150-1) by Abu 'l-Faḍl Ḥubays̲h̲ Tiflīsī, a work based on al-D̲j̲awharī's Arabic *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* called *al-Ṣurāḥ min al-ṣiḥāḥ* (681/1282-3) by D̲j̲amāl al-Ḳuras̲h̲ī, and several others.

Also based on the Arabic *Ṣiḥāḥ* is the Persian *Ṣiḥāḥ al-furs* (or, *al-ʿadjam*) by Muḥammad Hindū-shāh Nakhdjawānī Shams-i Munshī, written in 728/1327-8. The third oldest Persian dictionary, forming the fourth part of a treatise on poetics called *Miʿyār-i Djamālī*, by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Fakhrī Iṣfahānī (Shams-i Fakhrī), an older contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ, was written in 745/1344. It is modelled on Asadī's work, but the supporting verses for its 1,600-odd words are mostly by the author himself, and so less reliable.

After this time the centre of Persian lexicography moved to India. Two works of the 8th/14th century are preserved, the *Farhang-nāma* (*ca.* 700/1300) by Mubārak Shāh Ghaznawī, Fakhr-i Ḳawwās, and *Baḥr al-faḍāʾil* (*ca.* 795/1393 ?) by Muḥammad b. Ḳiwām al-Balkhī. The *Adāt al-fuḍalāʾ* (822/1419) by Ḳāḍī-khān Muḥammad Dihlawī Dhārwāl names other sources since lost. Many more Persian dictionaries were compiled in India in the next two centuries, of which it is possible to name only the *Sharaf-nāma-i Aḥmad Munayrī* (878/1473-4) by Ibrāhīm Ḳiwām al-Dīn Fārūḳī, based on the poets, the *Tuḥfat al-saʿāda* (916/1510-1) by Maḥmūd b. Shaykh Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, without quotations, *Muʾayyid al-afāḍil* (925/1519) by Muḥammad b. Lād Dihlawī, *Farhang-i Wafāʾī* (933/1526-7) by Ḥusayn Wafāʾī, *Kashf al-lughāt* (*ca.* 950/1543 ?) by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad Sūr, and *Madār al-afāḍil* (1001/1593) by Ilāhdād Fayḍī Sirhindī.

The same period saw the rise of another stream to feed the Persian sea, namely the efforts of Turks to interpret Persian writers. After the anonymous and undated *Aḳnūm-i ʿadjam*, the first important works of this type are the three compilations by Luṭf Allāh b. Abī Yūsuf Ḥalīmī, *Baḥr al-gharāʾib*, *Nithār al-mulūk* (872/1467-8) and the shorter *Ḳāʾima* (917/1511-2). Ḥalīmī stands out by reason of the critical attitude he adopted towards his sources. Among similar contemporary works were *Shāmil al-lughāt* (*ca.* 900/1495) by Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn Ḳaraḥiṣārī, *Wasīlat al-maḳāṣid* (903/1497-8) by Khaṭīb Rustam Mawlawī, and the *Tuḥfa-yi Shāhidī* (920/1514-5) in verse, by Ibrāhīm b. Khudāydede. All but the last of these works were used by Niʿmat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Mubārak al-Rūmī in the preparation of his celebrated *Lughat-i Niʿmat Allāh* (before 947/1540).

At the beginning of the 11th/17th century two major compilations appeared. In 1008/1599-1600 Muḥammad Ḳāsim Kāshānī Surūrī produced his *Madjmaʿ al-furs* for Shāh ʿAbbās Ṣafawī. Thirty-eight earlier dictionaries are named among his sources and nearly 6,000 words defined. At the same time, at the Moghul court, Djamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Indjū Shīrāzī was preparing the work named *Farhang-i Djahāngīrī* when it appeared in 1017/1608-9. More than 40 sources are quoted, though evidently not all directly, many in common with Surūrī, and some since lost. Surūrī, acquiring Indjū's work, revised his own dictionary by 1038/1628-9.

Later in the century two attempts were made to improve on these works. In 1062/1652 Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Khalaf Tabrīzī, Burhān, produced his famous *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ* in Ḥaydarābād, Dakhān, and two years later ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Ḥusaynī al-Tattawī his *Farhang-i Rashīdī*. Rashīd sought to shorten his work by omitting much of the quoted verse. Burhān's changes were more sweeping. For the first time the vocabulary, of some 20,000 words, was arranged completely alphabetically, in contrast with the complicated, partially alphabetic arrangements of his predecessors, and all attestation or indication of source was omitted.

From the very beginning mistakes had crept into Persian lexica, mainly owing to the ambiguity of badly written manuscript sources. Shams-i Fakhrī already had *grʾz* for *gavāz*, *pʾknd* for *yākand*, etc., and the number of errors mounted steadily with time. In the *Burhān* two major new types of falsity appeared. One was the inclusion of the traditional readings of the ideograms in Pahlavi, from the *Frahang-i Pahlawīg*, with the label "in Zand and Pāzand". The other was the tacit incorporation of the vocabulary of the *Dasātīr*, an anonymous and spurious "holy book of the ancient Persians" containing many distorted or invented words. The most flagrant errors in any dictionary, however, are probably to be found in the great Persian-Turkish *Farhang* (1075/1664-5) by Shuʿūrī Ḥasan Efendī. In addition to the vocabulary of his predecessors, almost every page of Shuʿūrī's work contains invented words, supported by bad verse attributed to fictitious poets. Their origin will probably never be known.

More than any previous dictionary, the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ* gave rise to a series of works criticizing or defending it. The most valuable of these is the *Sirādj al-lughāt* (1147/1734-5) by the poet Sirādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Khān Ārzū. This was shortly followed by a vast compilation called *Bahār-i ʿadjam* (1162/1749) by a pupil of Ārzū, Rāy Tēkčand Bahār, from whose time onwards the vocabulary of contemporary writers began to find a place in the dictionaries beside that of the classics.

By this time European contacts with Iran and India had led to a lexicographical interest. In 1669 Edmund Castell contributed the first printed Persian dictionary in his *Lexicon heptaglotton*, quoting Niʿmat Allāh's *Lughat* and a manuscript work by Jacob Golius (1596-1668) as his sources, but evidently also using Shuʿūrī *inter alia*. In 1680 Franz von Mesgnien Meninski's Turkish-Arabic-Persian *Thesaurus* appeared, incorporating the works of Ḥalīmī, Niʿmat Allāh and Shuʿūrī, and the *Djahāngīrī*. Meninski's was the mountain from which John Richardson's *Dictionary Persian Arabic and English* (1777-80) was quarried, later to be enlarged by Francis Johnson (1829). J. A. Vullers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* (1855-64) and J. J. P. Desmaisons' *Dictionnaire persan-français* (1908) both drew on these European works, but also on the *Burhān*, the baleful Shuʿūrī, the *Bahār-i ʿadjam*, and other oriental works. F. Steingass's *Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (1892) goes furthest on the downward path of omitting all references to sources.

In the 13th/19th century many more Persian dictionaries in the classical tradition appeared in India, including *Shams al-lughāt* (1220/1805-6) compiled under the direction of Joseph Barretto, *Haft ḳulzum* (1237/1822) by Ḳabūl Muḥammad, but ascribed to the sultan of Awadh (Oudh), *Ghiyāth al-lughāt* (1242/1826-7) by Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and the *Farhang-i Ānandrādj* (1306/1888-9) by Muḥammad Pādshāh Shād. In Iran Riḍā Ḳulī Hidāyat's compilation, *Farhang-i andjuman-ārā-yi Nāṣirī* (1286/1869-70), was the most significant, despite his swallowing the *Dasātīr* whole.

The foundations of modern lexicography in Persian, relying on direct recording of the spoken and written word, may be said to have been laid in 1874 by J. L. Schlimmer's *Terminologie médico-pharmaceutique et anthropologique française-persane.* The number of present-day Persian dictionaries is legion. Mention can be made only of two outstanding but disparate ventures: in Europe Fritz Wolff's *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname* (1935), with full references, and in Iran

the encyclopeadic *Lughat-nāma*, begun by ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā (1879/1956) and continued under the direction of Muḥammad Muʿīn and others.

Bibliography: P. de Lagarde, *Persische Studien*, Göttingen 1884; C. Salemann, *Bericht über die Ausgabe des Miʿjâr i Jamâlî, Beilage V, Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Farhange*, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, ix, 4 (1888), 505-94; ʿA. A. Dihkhudā *et al.*, *Lughat-nāma*, 40, *Muḳaddima*, Tehran 1959, 178-378; S. I. Baevskiy, *Opisanie tadžikskikh i persidskikh rukopisey Instituta Narodov Azii*, vip. 4, 5, Moscow 1962-8; F. Tauer, *Persian learned literature*, III, *Philology*, in J. Rypka *et al.*, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 429-37.

(D. N. MacKenzie)

3. Turkish Lexicography.

a) Oriental Dictionaries. Turkish lexicographers maintained the arrangement of Arabic and Persian dictionaries.

The first Turkic dictionary is Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, written in Baghdād in 466/1074 (ed. Kilisli Rifʿat, Istanbul 1333-5/1915-7; dictionaries based on it by C. Brockelmann 1928, B. Atalay 1943). It deals with the standard language of the Ḳarakhānid Empire, including a number of dialect words. The meanings are given in Arabic and illustrated by quotations from Turkic folk poetry.

Kāshgharī's work served as a model for the Kipčak Turkish dictionaries produced in Egypt and Syria in the 8th/14th-9th/15th centuries (O. Pritsak in *PhTF*, i, 75-6): Abū Ḥayyān, *K. al-Idrāk* (712/1313, ed. A. Caferoğlu 1931); the anonymous *Tardjumān Turkī* (743/1343, not 643/1245, cf. B. Flemming in *Isl.*, xliv (1968), 226-9, ed. M. Th. Houtsma 1894); Djamāl al-Dīn al-Turkī, *K. Bulghat al-mushtāḳ* (8th/14th cent., ed. A. Zajaczkowski 1954-8); the anonymous *K. al-Tuḥfat al-Zakiyya* (8th/14th cent., ed. T. Halasi Kun 1942, B. Atalay 1945); the anonymous *al-Ḳawānīn al-kulliyya* (9th/15th cent., ed. Fuad Köprülü 1928) and the recently discovered *K. al-Durra al-muḍīʾa* (partial ed. by A. Zajączkowski in *RO*, xxix (1965).

In Khwārazm al-Zamakhsharī's *Muḳaddimat al-adab* was popular. No less than 15 manuscript copies of this work, provided—fully or partly—with Khwārazmian Turkic glosses, have survived (Z. V. Togan in *TM*, xiv (1964), 81-92).

The Čaghatāy dictionaries were compiled primarily to facilitate the reading of the works of Nawāʾī (844/1441-906/1501). Their arrangement is alphabetical and the items under each letter are entered according to the vowel which follows the initial letter. Poetical quotations help to illustrate the meanings of a word. Important are: Ṭāliʿ Īmānī of Herāt, *Badāʾiʿ al-lughat* (Čagh.-Pers., before 912/1506, ed. A. K. Borovkov 1961); the anonymous *Abushḳa* (Čagh.-Ottoman, first half of the 10th/16th century, ed. A. Vámbéry 1862, V. Velʾyaminov-Zernov 1968); Mīrzā Mahdī Khān, *Sanglākh* (Čagh.-Pers., *ca.* 1172/1758, ed. Sir G. Clauson 1960).

Ottoman lexicography starts with versified vocabularies, averaging 2,000 Arabic or Persian words explained in Turkish. These vocabularies, destined to be memorized, are divided into *ḳiṭʿas* (sections) in which words of similar form or sound are grouped together. One of the earliest is the *Tuḥfe-i Ḥusāmī* (Pers.-Turk., 802/1399) by Ḥusām, mentioned in the *Tuḥfe-i Shāhidī* (see below). Famous were: Firishteoghlu ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. before 879/1474), *Lughat-i Firishteoghlu* (Ar.-Turk.), printed in the margins of another Ar.-Turk. versified vocabulary, *Subḥa-i Ṣibyān* (n.d.); Shāhidī Ibrāhīm Dede, *Tuḥfe-i Shāhidī* (Pers.-Turk., 920/1514, lith. 1275/1853); Sünbülzāde Meḥmed Vehbī (d. 1809), *Tuḥfe-i Vehbī* (Pers.-Turk., 1st ed. 1213/1798) and *Nukhbe-i Vehbī* (Ar.-Turk., 1st ed. 1220/1805); Ḥasan ʿAynī, *Naẓm al-Djawāhir* (Ar.-Pers.-Turk., printed 1250/1834-5); Aḥmed ʿĀṣim (d. 1235/1819), *Tuḥfe-i ʿĀṣim* (printed, Būlāḳ 1254/1838-9).

Large dictionaries were also produced. In the Arabic-Turkish dictionaries the Arabic words are arranged in *bāb*s either according to the initial or according to the last letter, and, under each *bāb*, divided into *faṣl*s according to the second and following letters. The best known are: Muṣṭafā b. Shams al-Dīn al-Ḳaraḥiṣārī, *Akhtarī Kabīr* (*Akhterī-i Kebīr*) or *Lughat-i Akhterī* (952/1545), at least 15 editions between 1826 and 1906; Aḥmed ʿĀṣim, *al-Oḳiyānūs al-Basīṭ* (1st ed. 1230/1814-1233/1818), the translation of al-Fīrūzābādī's *al-Ḳāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*; Meḥmed b. Muṣṭafā al-Wānī (Wānḳulu), *Tardjamat Ṣiḥāḥ al-Djawharī* (printed by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa, 1141-1729), the translation of al-Djawharī's famous *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. In the Persian dictionaries the Persian words are arranged in *bāb*s according to the initial letter, and within each *bāb* in three sections according to the vowel after the first letter. Important are: Niʿmat Allāh b. Aḥmed, *Lughat-i Niʿmat Allāh* (947/1540, unpublished), in which verbs and nouns are dealt with separately; Ḥasan Shuʿūrī, *Farhang-i Shuʿūrī* (1080/1669-1092/1682, printed by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa, 1155/1742); Aḥmed ʿĀṣim, *Tibyān-i nāfiʿ* (1st ed. 1214/1799-1800), the translation of al-Tabrīzī's *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, with an arrangement as in modern dictionaries. The best known Turkish-Arabic-Persian dictionary is Esʿad Meḥmed Efendi's *Lahdjat al-lughāt* (1145/1732-3, printed 1216/1801-2).

b) European Dictionaries. The conquest of Constantinople (1453) brought the Ottomans into close contact with the West. Owing to various interests, many dictionaries were produced first by European, later also by Turkish lexicographers. Famous dictionaries were: Fr. Meninski, *Thesaurus*, Vienna 1680, revised as *Lexicon turco-arabico-persicum*, Vienna 1780; J. D. Kieffer-T. X. Bianchi, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, Paris 1835-7; J. Th. Zenker, *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1866-76, reprinted 1967; J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English lexicon*, Constantinople 1890, ₂1921; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Dictionnaire français-turc*, Istanbul 1299/1882; I. Khlōros, *Lexikòn tourko-ellēnikón*, Istanbul 1899/1900. Unilingual: Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha, *Lehdje-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1293/1876; Sh. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i Türkī*, Istanbul 1317-8/1899-1900. Eastern Turkic: Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turk-oriental*, Paris 1870; Sheykh Süleymān Efendi, *Lughāt-i Čaghatāy we Türkī-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1298/1881.

Of the numerous modern dictionaries may be mentioned: Fritz Heuser, *Heuser-Şevket Türkisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden ₆1967; H. C. Hony-Fahir İz, *A Turkish-English dictionary*, Oxford ₂1957; eidem, *An English-Turkish dictionary*, Oxford 1952, several new editions, reprinted 1968; *New Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary*, ed. the American Board, Istanbul 1968. Unilingual: *Türkçe sözlük*, ed. Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara ₅1969. For more titles see A. Caferoğlu, *Yeni Çağ Türk dili lûgatleri*, in *Ist. Ün. Ed. Fak. Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, xiv (1966), 9-52.

The vast majority of (non-Ottoman) Turkic languages are spoken in the Soviet Union. Before the Soviet period dictionaries of several of these languages already existed. However, their systematic investigation began only after World War I. Today dictionaries

of all Turkic languages spoken in the Soviet Union and in China, *i.e.*, Altay, Ādharbaydjānī, Bashkir, Čuvash, Gagauz, Karačay-Balkar, Karaim, Karakalpak, Kazakh, Khakas, Kirghiz, Kumik, Nogay, Shor Tatar, Turkoman, Tuvinian, Uzbek, (New) Uighur, Yakut, are available, see *Slovari, izdannie v SSSR. Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel'*, Moscow 1966, 129-162. Turcologists set great value on the following: È. K. Pekarskiy, *Slovar' yakutskogo yazïka*, i, Petrograd 1917 (tr. into Turkish, *Yakut Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1945), ii-iii, Leningrad 1927-30; N. I. Ashmarin, *Thesaurus linguae Tschuvaschorum*, i-ii, Kazan, iii-xvii, Čeboksarï 1928-50; K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1940 (tr. into Turkish, *Kirgiz Sözlüğü*, Ankara 1945-8), ₂1965.

c) Special Dictionaries. Historical: K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, Copenhagen 1942; *Tarama Sözlüğü*, revised ed., Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1963- ; A. Caferoğlu, *Eski Uygur Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1968; *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969; È. Fazïlov, *Starouzbekskiy yazïk*, Tashkent 1966-71. Comparative: L. Budagov, *Sravnitel'nïy slovar' turetsko-tatarskikh narečiy*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1869-71, reprinted 1961; W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, 4 vols., St. Petersburg 1893-1911, reprinted The Hague 1960, Moscow 1963; H. Kâzim Kadri, *Türk lugati*, 4 vols., Istanbul 1927-45. Dialect: *Türkiyede Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi*, ed. Türk Dil Kurumu, 3 vols., Istanbul 1939-47, revised and enlarged ed., Ankara 1963; G. Jarring, *An Eastern Turki-English dialect dictionary*, Lund 1964. Etymological: M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*, Helsinki 1969; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972.

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ḲĀN [see KHĀN].

KĀN WA-KĀN, the name of one of the seven post-classical genres of poetry (*fann*, pl. *funūn*), the others being the *silsila*, the *dūbayt* or *rubāʿī*, the *muwashshaḥ*, the *ḳūmā*, the *mawāliyā* and the *zadjal* [*qq.v.*]. The genre was devised by the Baghdādī poets and its name derives from the formula used by storytellers to open their narratives: "there was and there was", *i.e.*, "once upon a time"; originally, in fact, the *kān wa-kān* was just a rhyming story and it was only later that the term was applied to various subjects, particularly those of a moral or didactic nature, or to wisdom tales. Always written in dialectical Arabic, it was popular only in the East and especially in Baghdād. A *kān wa-kān* poem is in monorhyme with a long vowel after the *rawī* [see ḲĀFIYA]; in each verse the first hemistich is longer than the second and the metre is as follows:

1st hemistich:

mustafʿilun,	*faʿilātun,*	*mustafʿilun,*	*mustafʿilun*
↓	↓		↓
mafāʿilun	*faʿilātun*		*mutafāʿilun*
	↓		
	mafʿūlun		

2nd hemistich:

mustafʿilun,	*fāʿilātun,*	*mustafʿilun,*	*faʿlān*
	↓		
	faʿilātun		

Bibliography: examples of *kān wa-kān* can be found in Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Būlāḳ 1292, ii, 273 f. = Cairo 1332, ii, 239 f. = Cairo n.d., ii, 288 f. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1286, iv, 158; Ḥurayfīsh, *al-Rawḍ al-fā'iḳ*, Cairo 1311, 23, 26, 29, 33, 34, 42, 53, 55, 71, 74, 77, 80, 86, 135, 137, 144, 169, 181, 191, 204, 217; Ḥillī-W. Hoenerbach, *Die vulgärarabische Poetik...*, Wiesbaden 1956, 42, 72, 148-70; M. Ṭalʿat, *Ghāyat al-arab fī ṣināʿat shiʿr al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1316, 92-110; N. Diyāb, *Ta'rīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo n.d., i, 129-50; H. Gies, *al-Funūn al-sabʿa. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis sieben neuerer arabischer Versarten*, Leipzig 1879, 53-62. (M. Ben Cheneb*)

ḲANĀ [see ḲUNĀ].

KĀNAMĪ [see KĀNEMĪ].

KANʿĀN, the biblical Kᵉnaʿan, is a personality regarding whom the few extant traditions agree on scarcely a single point. Al-Bayḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, i, 513) mentions him as the father of the famous Nimrūd (Numrūd according to the *LA* and the *TA*); he is also regarded as the ancestor of the Kanʿāniyyūn (*LA*, x, 191) and of the Berbers (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 266; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, vi, 93, 97). Very little is known about him. Many believe that the story in Sūra XI, 44 ff. about a son of Nūḥ who disregarded his father's fervent pleas and refused to take refuge in the Ark, thus perishing with the unbelievers, refers to him (al-Bayḍāwī, *ad loc.* and al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo 1324, 36). Al-Ṭabarī (i, 199) also mentions a son of Nūḥ called Kanʿān who lost his life in the Flood, but treats the ḳur'ānic verse in question as referring to Yām b. Nuḥ (see *Tafsīr*, *ad loc.*), although in i, 199 he identifies the latter with Kanʿān.

While Kanʿān appears here as a son of Nūḥ and Ibn al-Kalbī mentions "Shālūm, that is, Kanʿān" as Nūḥ's fourth son (in Yāḳūt, iv, 311), in the passage parallel to Genesis, ix, 25 (in al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, 212) he appears as a son of Ḥām b. Nūḥ (cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 13 ff., 16; cf. also al-Masʿūdī, iii, 240, 294). According to a third tradition (in Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*) Kanʿān was a son of Sām b. Nūḥ, and according to a fourth—but unreliable—tradition a son of Kūsh b. Ḥām (al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*). (B. Joel*)

KANʿĀN PASHA [see KENʿĀN PASHA].

ḲANĀT (A.), pl. *ḳanawāt*, *ḳanā*, *ḳunī*, *aḳniya*, "canal, irrigation system, water-pipe". Used also for a baton, a lance, etc., the term originally meant "reed" [see ḲAṢAB] and it is with this meaning and that of "rush" that the word *ḳanū* is known in Akkadian (cf. Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdwörter*, Leipzig 1915, 56); becoming *ḳanā* in Hebrew and *ḳanyā* in Aramaic, it passed into Arabic and was also borrowed in Greek and Latin in the forms κάννα, κάννη (κάνη), *canna*; by an evolution parallel to that of *ḳanāt*, the Latin word *canalis* "in the shape of a reed", acquired the meaning of "pipe, canal".

In Persian *ḳanāt* is used today especially for those underground water pipes which are the subject of this article (hydraulic methods in general are discussed in MĀ'; BI'R; FILĀḤA; see also ḲANṬARA, etc.).

I. In Iran

The *ḳanāt*, a mining installation or technique using galleries or cross-cuts to extract water from the depths of the earth, has been described as the greatest contribution made by Persians to hydraulics. *Ḳanāt*s are a special feature of the Persian plateau, where geological conditions are favourable to the enrichment of underground pools of water and so to the spread of *ḳanāt*s (see further H. Goblot, *Le problème de l'eau en Iran*, in *Orient*, xxiii (1962), 46-55, also published in an English translation in *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, ed. C. Issawi, Chicago 1971, 214-19). They are mainly associated with large alluvial fans in the piedmont zone between the high mountains and the *kavīr* or salt desert, or in large alluvial valleys on the desert margin, but are also found in the larger intermontane valleys of the Zagros Mountains. By means of a gently sloping tunnel, which cuts through alluvial soil and passes under the water-table into the aquifer, water is brought by gravity flow from its upper end, where it seeps into the gallery, to a ground surface outlet and irrigation canal at its lower end. In eastern and south-eastern Persia, Afg͟hānistān, and Balūčistān these installations are known as *kārīz*.

The origin of the techniques used in the construction of *ḳanāt*s is to be sought in the old kingdom of Urartu around Lake Urūmiyya (Riḍā'iyya in north-western Persia) (R. J. Forbes, *Studies in ancient technology*, Leiden 1955-8, i, 153 ff.). A *ḳanāt* built by Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), whose father, Sargon II, claims to have learnt the secret of tapping underground water in his campaign against Urartu, still carries water to the city of Erbil (J. Laessøe, *Reflections on modern and ancient oriental waterworks*, in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, vii (1953), 5-26). With the establishment of the Achaemenian empire *ḳanāt*s appear to have spread westwards to the Mediterranean and Egypt and southwards to Oman and Southern Arabia. In Egypt *ḳanāt*s, probably built during the Persian occupation, have been found in the K͟harga oasis and Matruh (A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian empire*, Chicago 1948, 224; H. J. L. Beadnell, *An Egyptian oasis: an account of the oasis of Kharga in the Libyan desert, with special reference to its history, physical geography, and water supply*, London 1909, 171; idem, *Remarks on the pre-historic geography and underground waters of Kharga oasis*, in *Geographical Journal*, 1933, 128-39; G. W. Murray, *Water from the desert: some ancient Egyptian achievements*, in *Geographical Journal*, 1955, 171-81; G. F. Walpole, *An ancient subterranean aqueduct west of Matruh*, in *Survey of Egypt*, Cairo 1932). The second major diffusion of *ḳanāt*s took place in the early centuries of Islam, when they were introduced into Spain by the Umayyads of Spain (see J. O. Asín, *Historia del nombre "Madrid"*, Madrid 1959) and thence to Marrakesh, where they are known as *khettara*s or *rhettara*s, the Canary Islands, Mexico and Chile (C. Troll, *Qanat Bewässerung in der alten und neuen Welt*, in *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen geographischen Gesellschaft*, 1963, 313-30; idem, *Techniques agricoles, milieu naturel et Histoire de l'Humanité*, in *Bull. de la société géographique de Liège*, December 1967). In the 4th/10th century they spread to southern Algeria, where they are called *foggara* (*faḳḳara*). They are also found in the Damascus oasis, east of the River Jordan near Shunat Nimrun, south-east of Riyāḍh at al-K͟hard͟j, north of D͟hahrān at al-Ḳaṭīf, in Cyprus and in the Turfān oasis, where the technique was apparently introduced in the 18th century (M. Cable and F. French, *The Gobi desert*, New York 1944, 184-5. See further C. Troll and C. Braun, *Madrid, Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt durch Qanate im Laufe der Geschichte*, in *Abhandlungen des mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, 1972, No. 5, 105-90 for a discussion of the geographical disposal of *Ḳanāts*).

*Ḳanāt*s are constructed by specialists called *muḳannī*s (*čāhk͟hū* in Kirmān and Yazd, cf. Muḥammad Mufīd, *D͟jāmi-i Mufīdī*, ed. Īrad͟j Afs͟hār, Tehran 1961, i, 127; Iskandar Beg, *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Iṣfahān 1956, i, 473; *ḳumus͟h*, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḳummī, *Ta'rīk͟h-i Ḳumm*, tr. into Persian by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik, ed. Sayyid D͟jalāl al-Dīn Tehrānī, Tehran 1934, 42; *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 473; *Kārīzkan* in Afg͟hānistān; and *Ḳumus͟hkan* in Kurdistān), whose knowledge and skill are largely passed from father to son. The inhabitants of certain districts, notably Yazd, are highly rated for their skill as *muḳannī*s. The traditional techniques of the *muḳannī* are described in a 5th/11th century Arabic work, *Anbāṭ al-miyā' al-k͟hafiyya*, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥāsib al-Karad͟jī, whose patron was Abū G͟hānim b. Muḥammad, the *wazīr* of Manūčihr b. Wus͟hmgīr. This work was printed in Ḥaydarābād, Deccan, in 1940, and an abbreviated translation entitled *The construction of subterranean water supplies during the Abbaside caliphate*, was published by F. Krenkow in 1951 (*Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, xiii, 23-32). In 1966 a Persian translation, with the title *Istik͟hrād͟j-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, by Ḥusayn K͟hadīv D͟jam appeared in Tehran. This clarifies some of the difficulties in the published Arabic text. Al-Karad͟jī states in his preface that he had referred to various books by earlier writers on the exploitation of subterranean water and found them lacking. No craft was more beneficial than that which was concerned with the exploitation of subterranean water, because by its help the earth was made to flourish, men's lives achieved order, and abundant benefit accrued (*Istik͟hrād͟j-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, 2). His account makes clear that the techniques employed by *muḳannī*s were mining techniques.

The first step in making a *ḳanāt* is to sink a trial shaft (*gamāna*) to prove the presence and depth of the ground-water-table. The choice of location of the trial shaft is affected by the slope of the land, general topographical conditions, variations in vegetation, and the site of the land to be irrigated or the settlement to be provided with domestic water (cf. *Istik͟hrād͟j-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, on the indications by which the presence of underground water can be recognised, 19 ff.). When the trial shaft is sunk and water reached, the *muḳannī* then has to determine whether the well has struck a constant flow of water in an impermeable stratum (*āb-i kahrī*). If this is the case, the alignment and slope of the *ḳanāt* from this shaft, which becomes the mother well (*mādar čāh*), to the point where the *ḳanāt* is to come to the surface above the land which is to be irrigated, has then to be established. If the gradient is too steep, the water will flow too fast and erode the walls and the tunnel will fall in. Work on the *ḳanāt* usually begins at the lower end, *i.e.*, where the water of the *ḳanāt* is to come to the surface. The *muḳannī*, using a small pick and shovel, digs back towards the mother well, though occasionally work is begun simultaneously at both ends. One of the most difficult problems of the *muḳannī* is to avoid the rush of water when the tunnel enters the water-bearing section and a break-through is made (cf. *Istak͟hrād͟j-i ābhā-yi panhānī*,

on the digging of the trial shaft or *gamāna*, 35).

Vertical shafts are sunk from the surface to the tunnel every 20-150 yards or so, or are sunk first and then connected by a tunnel. The cross-section of a tunnel is usually elliptical with a height of *ca.* 4 ft. and a width of *ca.* 2½-3 ft. It is usually unlined, but if it passes through soft soil, baked clay hoops (*kaval*, *nāy*, *tanbūsha*) are used to prevent collapse (cf. *Istikhrādj*, 54 ff., 60 ff.). The vertical shafts are approximately 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter and their upper portions are strengthened by mud or stone linings. Their purpose is to give ventilation and to enable the soil excavated to be hauled to the surface in a bucket by a windlass. If the shaft is unusually deep a second windlass may be set halfway down in a niche. Round each shaft a ring of soil accumulates, and from the air the *ḳanāt* has the appearance of a line of small craters. On the whole, in those parts of Persia where *ḳanāt*s are found in abundance, and also in Balūčistān and Afghānistān, conditions are favourable to the digging of wells and galleries by the methods and tools used by *muḳannī*s. The gravel of which the soil is largely composed crumbles easily under the pickaxe with no need of explosives or, at a normal pace, of extraordinary effort. Caving-in on a large scale is rare, though minor subsidence is common. The *muḳannī* carries a castor-oil lamp to test the ventilation, and if the air does not keep the flame alight another shaft is built (cf. *Istikhrādj*, 57-8). Al-Karadjī describes protective clothing suitable for the *muḳannī* (59).

The gradient of a *ḳanāt* is established by the use of a spirit-level suspended between two pieces of cord, each about 10 yards long. It varies from 1:1,000 or 1:1,500 in a short *ḳanāt*, but in a long *ḳanāt* is nearly horizontal (cf. *Istikhrādj-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, which discusses three types of levelling instruments, or *tarāz*, used by *muḳannī*s and a fourth invented by the author, 64 ff.). Al-Karadjī states that the gradient should be 1 *dhirā*ʿ per *farsakh*, *i.e.*, rather less than seems to be the general practice (115). The length of *ḳanāt*s varies. Some are quite short, but *ḳanāt*s of 5-10 miles are common and some may be 20 miles or more, as is the case with several in Yazd and Kirmān. The depth of the mother well varies: shallow ones may be less than 25 ft., while many are as much as 150-350 ft. The deepest known mother well is at Gūnābād in eastern Persia and is 1,000 ft. deep.

The discharge of the water of *ḳanāt*s varies according to ground-water characteristics, the nature of the soil and the season. Those which tap a permanent aquifer tend to have a constant flow throughout the year. If a *ḳanāt* does not tap a stable ground-water source or is in porous soil, its flow may be reduced to virtually nothing in summer, or in a dry year. The water of such *ḳanāt*s is known as *āb-i rūʾī*. The flow of some *ḳanāt*s may reach 400 gallons a minute, but that of most is much smaller, dropping to 30 gallons a minute or less. It is a disadvantage of the *ḳanāt* system that the water, since it flows all the year round, may be wasted when irrigation is not needed.

Regular cleaning and repair of *ḳanāt*s is required, though the frequency with which this is necessary varies with the soil and the configuration of the land (cf. *Istikhrādj*, 120 ff. on the maintenance of *ḳanāt*s). They are subject to damage and destruction by flash floods. The shafts are sometimes covered by a slab of stone to prevent them being filled by blown sand (see also below.)

In 1962 a distinguished French water engineer, M. Henri Goblot, estimated that about half the land under cultivation in Persia was irrigated by *ḳanāt*s, while some of the crops under dry farming in the plateau would not have been cultivated if the construction of a *ḳanāt* had not made it possible to establish a village in the neighbourhood. The total number of *ḳanāt*s is variously thought to be between 30,000 and 50,000 (see further H. Goblot, *Le problème de l'eau en Iran*, *op. cit.*). Dr. Esmail Feylessoufi, writing in 1958, put the number at the lower figure, of which he believed some 22,000 to be in running condition, and their estimated discharge to be 560 cubic metres per second (*Underground water kanats and deep wells in Iran*, publication of the Independent Irrigation Administration, Tehran 1958, 9 ff.). M. Goblot accepts a rather higher figure, namely 40,000, with a total discharge of 600-700 cubic metres per second (see also idem, *Le role de l'Iran dans les techniques de l'eau*, in *Technique: review de l'enseignement technique*, 155-6 (January/February 1962), 12).

*Ḳanāt*s have played an immensely important role in Persia, both in contributing to the spread of cultivation and also in influencing the site and nature of settlements. Hamadān, Ḳazwīn, Tehran, Nīshāpūr, Kirmān, Yazd (cf. the legend of the foundation of Yazd by Alexander, which was preceded by the

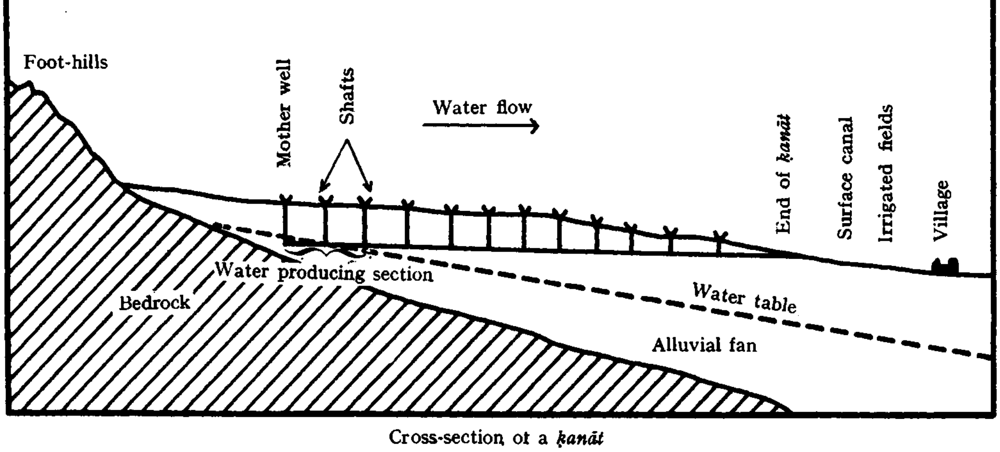

Cross-section of a *ḳanāt*

making of a *ḳanāt*, Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, iii, 731-2), and many other towns owe their existence to *ḳanāts*. Until 1930, the water supply of Tehran, the modern capital, was provided by twelve *ḳanāts*. In some districts there is a heavy concentration of *ḳanāts*. Aerial photos, for example, showed that there was a total of 266 *ḳanāts* in the Varāmīn plain, twenty-five miles south-east of Tehran, in the late 1950s (P. Beaumont, *Qanats in the Varamin plain, Iran*, in *The institute of British geographers, transactions and papers*, 1968, publication no. 45, 172). From the point where a *ḳanāt* comes to the surface, fields and gardens spread out round it and its branch canals, and settlements grow up along or near the *ḳanāt*, their size and number depending upon the volume of its flow.

Sometimes the ownership of the *ḳanāt* is in the same hands as the land which it waters. Sometimes the different parcels of land have a prescriptive right to the water of a *ḳanāt* with or without the payment of dues. Frequently the ownership of the land and of the *ḳanāt* is in different hands and the water is bought and sold. Many *ḳanāts* are *waḳf* property or *khāliṣa* (cf. a *nishān* granting tax immunities to Fayḍābād, Balkh, which states that four *dāngs* of any *ḳanāt* brought into operation belonged to the *dīwān*, H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 18 b).

The distribution of the water of a *ḳanāt* is based on time. The rotation period varies from *ḳanāt* to *ḳanāt*, and the order in which the different parcels of land receive the water is sometimes permanent and sometimes settled from year to year by the drawing of lots or some other method. Normally land higher up has the right to water before land lower down. The shares are often fragmented into very small units of time. If the flow of a *ḳanāt* is considerable and those having a right to the use of its water numerous, the distribution of the water is likely to be under an official known as the *mīrāb*, who is chosen by the joint users, or, in the case of a *khāliṣa ḳanāt*, by the government, and is paid by a special due. The division of the water of some *ḳanāts* through branch canals goes back many years: that of one in Ardistān is reputed to have originated in Mongol times.

The need for the careful regulation of the water of a *ḳanāt* among the various parcels of land it waters, or between the inhabitants of a town for which it provides domestic water, and the need to keep it in good repair impose a certain solidarity upon the users, though this does not prevent frequent, and sometimes bloody, disputes over the use of its water, or usurpation of this by those higher up to the disadvantage of those lower down. The maintenance of a *ḳanāt* in the case of joint ownership clearly poses certain problems, but there are numerous instances of *ḳanāts* owned by over a hundred persons being successfully operated. A substantial body of law concerning *ḳanāts*, based partly on custom and partly on the *Sharīʿa*, has grown up over the centuries. This includes especially the question of the *ḥarīm*, *i.e.*, the land bordering a *ḳanāt* in which another well or *ḳanāt* cannot legally be sunk, and access to *ḳanāts* (see *Istikhrādj-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, 42 ff.). Some of this law goes back to pre-Islamic times. Gardīzī mentions that ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (governor of Khurāsān 213/828-230/844) assembled the *fuḳahāʾ* from Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ to write a book on *ḳanāts* and rules for the distribution of their water, since disputes were continually taking place over them. He states that the book which resulted from their labours, the *Kitāb al-ḳunī*, was extant in his day (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, 8). In modern times customary law and the *Sharīʿa* have been supplemented or superseded by the civil law and governmental regulations (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, London 1953 and eadem, *The Persian Land reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1969).

There is frequent mention in histories of the repair of old *ḳanāts*, and the making of new ones by rulers and others. The upkeep of irrigation works (which included *ḳanāts*) was, indeed, one of the traditional functions of the ruler. There are also records of the destruction of *ḳanāts* by acts of war. In recent years, as a result of the use of power-operated wells in regions formerly watered entirely or partly by *ḳanāts*, and the construction of dams controlling surface irrigation water, the ground-water table has fallen, and many *ḳanāts* (whose flow is governed by the height of the water table) have become dry or their flow has been seriously depleted, (cf. P. Beaumont, *Qanats in the Varamin plain*, 177 ff. and idem, *Qanat systems in Iran*, in *Bull. of the International association of scientific hydrology*, xvi, 1.3/1971, 40). *Ḳanāts*, however, still remain the principal, and sometimes the only, source of irrigation and domestic water supply in many parts of Persia, but in the more densely populated districts they have lost their importance as the main suppliers of water.

Oman and Trucial Oman. A considerable number of *ḳanāts*, or *aflādj* (sing. *faladj*) as they are known, some in operation, others abandoned, are to be found in Oman, Trucial Oman, and Bahrein. Many of them are sited near *wādīs* and the alignment is often adjacent or parallel to the *wādī* bed. They are liable to damage in time of flood. For this reason the vertical shafts are frequently covered by stone slabs to lessen the danger of destruction. Tradition attributes the building of *aflādj* to Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd. It seems probable that, in fact, the *ḳanāt* system in Oman was developed first in Achaemenian and then in Sasanian times, while many *ḳanāts* appear to have been restored under Yaʿāriba rule (see further J. C. Wilkinson, *Arab settlement in Oman; the origins and development of the tribal pattern and its relationship to the imamate*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Oxford 1969). One of the *aflādj* of Iskī is by tradition supposed to have been destroyed by Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] during his expedition against Oman. At the present day the technique of making *aflādj* is confined to certain groups of the ʿAwāmir tribe.

In general the *ḳanāts* of Oman are neither so deep nor so long as those in Persia. At Nizwa there is a *faladj* the mother well of which is *ca.* 60 ft. deep; in the Buraymī oasis, which is irrigated by *aflādj*, the longest is *ca.* 9 km. In Central Oman an inverted syphon (*gharrāḳ fallāḥ*) is used in *ḳanāt* building to cross *wādīs*. There is considerable variation over the ownership of the *aflādj*, their administration, and the distribution of their water. In some cases the ownership of the *faladj* and the land it irrigates is in the same hands, but more often it is separate and the water is bought and sold. A special feature of the *aflādj* in Oman is that a share of the water belongs to the *faladj*, the revenue from which is devoted to its upkeep. Many *aflādj* have a special book recording the ownership, sale and distribution of the water. The rotation period of the water varies from *faladj* to *faladj*. It is measured by the sun by day and the stars by night. The water is divided into shares called *bāda* and subdivided into *rabīʿa*, *ḳāma*, *athar*, and *ḳiyās*. The official in charge of the water

distribution is commonly known as the *ʿarīf*, who, in some cases, has under him a subordinate official or officials, known as *bīdār*. Another official, the *wakīl*, is normally in charge of the upkeep of the *falad̲j̲*. The *ʿarīf* and the *wakīl*, who are elected by the owners of the water, are paid by dues or a share of the water.

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(A. K. S. Lambton)

II. In Arab Countries.

The Persian word *kahrēz/karez* (see Vullers, *Lex. pers.-lat.*, ii, 767, 927; Desmaisons, *s.v.*), which was originally applied to underground irrigation systems before being replaced by *ḳanāt*, passed into Arabic in the form *ṣihrīd̲j̲/ṣuhārīd̲j̲*, which generally designates a cistern, *ḳanāt* having a wider current use. Yāḳūt (s.v. *ḳanāt*) believes that the *kūra* of al-Ḳanāt (in the Sind̲j̲ār region of the D̲j̲azīra) took its name from underground water pipes, and these have been found near Ḳaryatayn on the ancient road from Damascus to Palmyra (Moritz, *Die antike Topographie der Palmyrene*, in *Abb. Pr. Ak.*, iv (1889), 12); and in *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient* (Paris 1946, 283 and fig. 85), J. Weulresse notes that near D̲j̲arūd (in the Damascus region) there are draining systems of 8 to 10 km. long, sunk at a level of 10 to 12 m., sometimes terminating in underground reservoirs whence the water is drawn by norias. Basing his observations on al-Nābulusī's *Riḥla*, J. Nasrallah (*Voyageurs et pèlerins au Qalamûn*, in *B.Et.Or.*, x (1943-4), 26) reports that a village named al-Ṣāliḥiyya, which lies between Yabrūd and al-Nabk (north of Damascus), had a *ḳanāt* which, legend has it, dried up when a Mag̲h̲ribī whom the village people had made unwelcome cast a spell on it; the ruin of the whole locality ensued. The same writer notes that the clearing of the *ḳanāt* begun shortly before the Second World War restored the prosperity of the region.

Methods of underground canalization spread from Iran to the Yemen and thence to Ḥid̲j̲āz where the canals were called *kiẓāma* (pl. *kaẓāʾim*). Among various meanings, this term, according to al-Aṣmaʿī (*apud LA* and *TA*, rad. *k-ẓ-m*; cf. Yāḳūt, s.v. *ḳanāt*), especially designates a series of wells sunk at a certain distance from one another and linked by a gallery (*ḳanāt*) laid out at a level that does not tap the underground water. The water tapped by this method flows gently towards the centre of habitation it supplies or irrigates. The water outlet is known as a *faḳīr* (pl. *fuḳur*), but this term (cf. *LA* and *TA*, rad. *f-ḳ-r*) is also used for a well or a group of wells linked by a gallery, that is, it is practically synonymous with *kiẓāma*.

Al-Aṣmaʿī's description corresponds to a method which consists of tapping underground water, from an altitude higher than that of the intake point, by means of a series of wells linked by a gallery high enough to permit a stooping man to move through it (1 m. to 1.50 m.). Such a technique has the virtue of dispensing with machinery to raise well water to the level of the ground, reducing loss due to evaporation, tapping the seepage water, and finally of giving a gentle, regular incline to the underwater draining system, less steep than that at ground level.

That the Romans may have known of this technique is suggested by remains found in the Ḳayrawān region in Tunisia (see M. Solignac, *Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques de Kairouan et des steppes tunisiennes du VIIe au XIe siècle (J.-C.)*, in *AIEO Alger*, (1952), 1-272, esp. 60 ff.), but the Arab origin of their works in North Africa is not in doubt. They have been found in Tunisia near Gafsa (Burseaux, *L'Oasis d'El-Guettar, ses ressources, sa décadence*, in *RT*, (1910), 364-73), among the Nafzāwa, where they are called *k̲h̲rīd̲j̲a*, and even in the immediate vicinity of Tunis (see M. Solignac, *Travaux hydrauliques ḥafṣides de Tunis*, in *R. Afr.* (1936), 517-80).

The method employed in the Algerian oases of Touat, Gourara, Sūf, Mzāb, Tidikelt and Figuig (Fid̲j̲īd̲j̲) is called *foggara* (< *faḳḳara*), pl. *fgāgīr*, which seems to come from the same root as *faḳīr*, although *f-d̲j̲-r* and *f-w-r* are also possible. Described many years ago by J. Brunhes (*Les oasis du Souf et du M'zab*, in *La Geographie*, v (1902), 180), they consist of underground canals sunk at a depth of 8 to 55 m., connected to the exterior by shafts originally designed to collect rainwater; at the outlet the main canal branches out so that gardens can be irrigated.

In the central Sahara and at Fazzān a pump well is called a *k̲h̲aṭṭāra* (pl. *k̲h̲ṭaṭər*), implying the notion of movement to and fro, but in Morocco this term is applied to the underground draining systems

existing in Tafilalt, here and there in other regions, and especially in Marrākush. Wells sunk to a depth of 40 m. at the outset and spaced out at 10 to 20 m. on average, with shafts set out at similar distances over a total course of 4 to 5 km., are linked as before with a gallery at a slope of about 1%. Water from the aquiferous stratum and stream-level was distributed by conduits lined with stonework and earthenware (*ḳādūs*; Sp. *arcaduz*) for use in irrigating gardens and as drinking water. There were around 350 *khṭaṭṭ* in Marrākesh but some of them are now in ruins (see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech*, Rabat 1959, 15-7, 85-90 and index; Guides Bleus, *Maroc*, s.v. Marrakech).

Al-Idrīsī (ed. and tr. Dozy and De Goeje, 68/78) states that this technique was introduced into the Almoravid capital by a *muhandis* by the name of ʿUbayd/ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūnus; G. S. Colin (*La noria marocaine*, in *Hespéris*, xiv (1932), 38) believes that he must have been a Jew from the oases of Touat and Gourara, but J. Oliver Asín's researches (*Historia del nombre "Madrid"*, Madrid 1959) throw new light on the problem raised by al-Idrīsī's note: it is in fact probable that the Arab name of Spain's present capital, Madjrīṭ, is formed from a Latin suffix *etum* and the word *madjrā*, which designates precisely those underground conduits of which traces have been found in the subsoil of Madrid; thus it is within the bounds of possibility that the engineer of Marrākush originated from al-Andalus. *Khṭaṭṭ* have also been noted in Ifni and the same system was known in the Canary Isles and, in the Mediterranean, in Cyprus (cf. Oliver Asín, *op. cit.*,365).

Bibliography: Among works cited in the article, the works of G. S. Colin, *La noria marocaine et les machines hydrauliques dans le monde arabe*, in *Hespéris*, xiv/1 (1932), and that of J. Oliver Asín are fundamental and also contain full bibliographies. See also J. Brunhes, *L'irrigation*. . ., Paris 1902; *Bull. Etudes arabes*, no. 40 (Nov.-Dec. 1948), 208-13 and no. 41 (Jan.-Feb. 1949), 11-2.

(Ed.)

ḲANAWĀT, pl. of *ḳanāt* [*q.v.*], is found as a toponym in Syria. It designates particularly "a canal of Roman origin which leaves the Barada upstream from Rabwa on the right bank, and divides into five branches which pass across Damascus, supplying the southern part of the city with water" (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Description de Damas*, tr. N. Elisséeff, Damascus 1959, 252).

Ḳanawāt is also the name of a place that lies 85 km. south of Damascus, on the west slope of the Ḥawrān. Because of its wealth of water this very ancient settlement cannot be identified with the biblical Ḳenāt (Num. xxxii, 42; 1 Chron. ii, 23). Ḳanawāt (Κανάθα, Canatha) enjoyed great prosperity in the first centuries of the Christian era; magnificent ruins dating from the Roman period still stand there. Under Trajan, the construction of a new canal is mentioned, but this was almost certainly the repair of an ancient one. The upper town still possesses an ancient water conduit in a good state of repair.

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(M. Streck*)

KANAWDJ or **KANNAWDJ** (Sanskrit Kanaakubdja; known to the Arabic geographers as Ḳannawdj, Ḳinnawdj, the latter form used also in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*), town in Farrukhābād district, Uttar Pradesh, India, 27°3' N., 79°56' E., formerly also the surrounding district. It has been identified, not beyond question, with Ptolemy's Κάναγορα/Κάναγοζα; it is certainly referred to in the travels of Fa-Hsien (A.D. 405) as a city under the Guptas, and as a capital and great Buddhist centre at the time of Hsüan Tsʾang's travels, *circa* A.D. 641, when under the great Harṣavardhana it had become the chief town of the Pančāla country. As the capital of the Gurdjara-Pratihāra dynasty (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, s.v. *Jurz*) it exercised strong control over north and north-west India from the Satladj to Bihār, bordered on the west by Sind; and it is presumably against this "kingdom" of Kanawdj rather than against the town that Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, the conqueror of Sind, is alleged by the *Čač-nāma* to have made war. At the time of the Ghaznawid invasions of the 6th/12th century, when north India was ruled over by numerous petty kingdoms, the Kanawdj region was under the Gāhaḍawāla Rādjpūts; together with Mālwā, Kalindjar, Dahgān and Badāʾun, Kanawdj bore the brunt of the Ghaznawid attacks (Masʿūd Saʿd Salmān, *Dīwān*, 28, 219, 247, 262-65, 307, 397). Muslim colonies at Kanawdj and other of these places seem to have existed from the times of these incursions. Under the Ghūrids the Gāhaḍawāla power was at first a formidable opponent, and Kanawdj was not annexed to the early sultanate until 595/1198-9; the hold seems to have been insecure, for it was necessary for Iltutmish to attack it again later — presumably decisively, for a few years later we find his young grandson ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Masʿūd appointing a cousin, Djalāl al-Dīn, to the governorship of Kanawdj in 640/1243. Thereafter it figures frequently in the histories of Khaldjī and Tughluḳid times, doubtless on account of its strategic importance on the banks of the Ganges; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa refers to it as well built and strongly fortified, and mentions its sugar trade. Kanawdj figures as one of 23 provinces in the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (*Masālik al-Abṣār*, Eng. tr. Spies, Aligarh 1943, 16).

Towards the end of the 8th/14th century Kanawdj was one of the centres of activity of the Hindū "rebels" against whom Malik Sarwar was despatched in 796/1394; and, in his new governorship which was soon to become the sultanate of Djawnpur, he was in charge of a region extending from Kanawdj to Bihār. When the *sulṭanat al-shark* achieved independence from Dihlī, Kanawdj, as its westernmost stronghold, was often a point of contention between the sultanates of Dihlī and Djawnpur, and there were many battles in its vicinity. The town was taken by Maḥmūd Tughluḳ in 804/1401-2, who held it as his temporary capital (probably with the connivance of the Sharḳī ruler) against his recalcitrant *wazīr* Mallū Iḳbāl Khān Lodī [*q.v.*]; after the death of the latter it was recovered by the Sharḳīs in 809/1407 (*Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, 175). It again figured in the Dihlī-Djawnpur conflicts at the time of Bahlūl Lodī versus Ḥusayn Shāh Sharḳī, and Sikandar Lodī versus his brother Bārbak [see sharḳī].

Humāyūn took Kanawdj for his father Bābur in the campaigns of 932/1526, to lose it, and his kingdom, to Shēr Shāh 14 years later. After the Mughal restoration the history of Kanawdj seems to have been largely peaceful, and the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* records it as the headquarters town of *sarkār*. In the 12th/18th century, with the decline of the Mughal power,

Kanawdj was variously in the hands of the Nawwābs of Farrukhābād, the Nawwābs of Awadh, and occasionally the Marāṭhās.

Kanawdj appears as a mint town, Kannawdj *ʿurf* Shērgaṛh, under Shēr Shāh and the later Sūrīs; its name was changed by Akbar to Shāhgaṛh, although under the later Mughals it appears as Shāhābād. Its monuments are poorly described, although there are many tombs and shrines in the neighbourhood. The Djāmiʿ mosque, built by Ibrāhīm Sharḳī, using much Hindu and Djayn temple spoil, shows the westernmost extension of the Sharḳī style [see DJAWNPUR, and HIND, Architecture].

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(M. LONGWORTH DAMES—[J. BURTON-PAGE])

ḲANBĀNIYA (also KANBĀNIYA, with ḲANFĀNIYA once attested in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*), from Spanish *campaña*, in general denotes in Spanish Arabic usage, the countryside, but in particular the Campiña, sc. the vast, gently-undulating plain which forms the southern part of the *kūra* of Cordova; al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. Dozy-De Goeje, 174, 209, makes it an *iḳlīm* whose capital was Cordova and its main towns al-Zahrāʾ, Ecija, Baena, Cabra and Lucena. After leaving the capital, the approach to it was first through the Bāb al-Ḳanṭara and across the Roman bridge spanning the Guadalquivir near the caliphal palace and the great mosque, and then through the famous Rabaḍ [*q.v.*]; several roads then ran across its expanse. In addition to cereals and fruit, this fertile plain produced a celebrated variety of grapes called *ḳanbānī*. The plain was much used for hunting, and the upper ranks of Cordovan society liked to reside in the numerous country houses (*munya*) built there; moreover, the Christians themselves had churches there.

The Campiña's strategic situation made it a route for the passage of troops to attack Cordova in times of trouble, and is specially mentioned in regard to the revolt of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], who managed to capture the fortress of Bulāy (Poley = Aguilar de la Frontera), from which he was able to send out expeditions, lay waste the agricultural lands and seriously threaten the capital's food supplies.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. de l'Esp. Mus.*, index and bibl. cited there; R. Castejon, *Cordoba califal*, in *Boletin Acad. Córdoba* (1929), 257; the Arabic geographers dealing with Muslim Spain (Yāḳūt cites a village called Ḳanbān, which he seems to have formed from the *nisba* of al-Ḳanbānī, but he also mentions the Ḳanbāniya). See also AL-ANDALUS, ḲURṬUBA. (ED.)

KANBĀYA [see KHAMBĀYAT].

KANBŌH [see Supplement].

ḲAND [see SUKKAR].

ḲANDĀBĪL (the earliest form of the name found in Arabic works), GANDJĀBĀ (current from the 16th century), or GANDĀVĀ (the form found in classical Balūčī poetry of the 15th century and widely used since the 18th century) was a town standing on a high elevation (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 445), alone on a desolate plain (Iṣṭakhrī, Cairo 1966, 106; Ibn Ḥawḳal, Beirut 1962, 281), and from it routes led west to Ḳuzdār, north to Mastandj, east to Multān and south to Manṣūra (cf. Ibn Khurradadhbih, Leiden ed., 55-6; Iṣṭakhrī, 106, 179; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 282; Muḳaddasī, Leiden ed., 456). Only the modern Gandāvā, situated 28°37′ N and 67°29′ E in the Kaččhi district of Balūčistān Province, Pakistan, answers this description in all details. It stands on a hill 321 ft. high, at the head of the flat, desolate plain of Kaččhi, and from it the old routes lead in the directions specified in the sources (see Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867, i, 385).

The founding of Ḳandābīl was ascribed to the legendary Bahmān Ardashīr "to demarcate the boundary between the Indians (Sindians) and the Turks" (*Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, 117-8), *i.e.*, between Turan or Kaykān and the flat Budha country of the Sindian people (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. Ḳandābīl). In the seventh century, Budha included within its boundaries the present district of Kaččhi and the western areas of the districts of Jacobabad, Sukkur, Larkana and Dadu (*Fatḥnāma-i Sind*, 15, 39, 125). Ḳandābīl was the chief town in the northern part, while the capital was at Kākarādj (= Kakar, in Dadu district) in the more fertile southern part. With the Arab conquest (93/712), the whole of southern Budha was integrated with the central province of Sind (*ibid.*, 122-3) and the subsequent boundaries of Budha embraced only the northern region of Ḳandābīl, *i.e.*, the present Kaččhi district and the country around it (Iṣṭakhrī, 104). The country was called Budha, Budhiya or Budhiyya, not because of any links with Buddha or Buddhism but because the bulk of the inhabitants were Budhs; Zuṭṭs also lived there (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 436, 445). Both these communities (now Muslim) have survived, the Budhs living mainly in Mutt and the Zuṭṭs scattered over the whole country.

According to *Fatḥnāma*, 73, the Arab armies reached the Ḳandābīl region as early as 23/644 but withdrew after receiving the news of Caliph ʿUmar's death. From 23/644 until 92/711, the Ḳandābīl region of Budha, though subjugated by the Arabs, became a refuge for Arabs fleeing from the Umayyad government and was occupied by the Brahmin kings of Sind. In 660, Čhačh, the ruler of Sind, led a successful expedition through the country of Ḳandābīl (*Fatḥnāma*, 49). During the caliphate of Muʿāwiya (42/661-61/680), the commander Sinān gained a victory in Kaykān (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433), but when he advanced through Kaykān into Budha on his second expedition he was killed there (*Fatḥnāma*, 83). In 69/688, the Khāridjī rebel ʿAṭiyya b. al-Aswad al-Ḥanafī was pursued by a section of Muhallab's army "to Kandābīl in Sind" and killed there (Balādhūri, *Ansāb*). Six years later ʿIlāfī rebels slew Saʿīd b. Aslam, commander of the Makrān district, at Kandābīl (Baladhūri, *Futūḥ*, 435). Al-Ḥadjdjādj despatched Mudjdjāʿa in 85/704 to punish the ʿIlāfīs, but they fled to Sind before his arrival; however, he subjugated the "tribes of Ḳandābīl" (*ibid.*, 435), who had probably aided the ʿIlāfīs. Subsequently (704-11), Ḳandābīl was occupied by Dāhār, ruler of Sind, who appointed his nephew, Dhol son of Čhandar, as the governor of "Budhiya" (*Fatḥnāma*, 94).

After the conquest of Sind, including "Budhiya",

by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳasīm in 92/711 (*ibid.*, 121-4), the region of Ḳandābīl became an administrative division of al-Sind province and peace reigned, apart from occasional disturbances. In 101/720, the rebel sons of Muhallab reached Ḳandābīl, regarding it as their last refuge, but their trusted ally Wadāʿ closed the gates and barred their entry into the town; they died fighting outside the walls of Ḳandābīl against the superior forces of Hilāl b. Aḥwaz al-Tamīmī, who had pursued them relentlessly [see AL-MUHALLAB. In 55/754 Ḳandābīl was occupied by a group of Arabs, but they were ousted by Hishām b. ʿAmr, governor of Sind. Some time in 222/837, another usurper, Muḥammad b. Khalīl, occupied Ḳandābīl, but ʿImrān, then governor of Sind, attacked him, conquered Ḳandābīl, and transferred the local chiefs involved to Ḳuzdār (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 445). Firmly checking all disturbances, ʿImrān brought lasting peace and prosperity to Ḳandābīl. A century later it had developed into the central market-place of the Budha hinterland, where "the Budh people" sold their produce and obtained all their supplies (Iṣṭakhrī, 105-6). Palm trees were planted later, and in the 11th-12th century Ḳandābīl was a "big city, prosperous and pleasant, producing large quantities of dates" (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 123).

Ḳandābīl remained an administrative district of Sind, under the rule successively of the Sumarās, the Sammās, the Arghūns and Turkhāns, the Moghuls and the Kalhorā rulers [see SIND]. In the second half of the 9th/15th century Ḳandābīl, then known locally as Gandāvā and associated with Sibi province, became the capital of the Lāshārī Baluch confederacy in alliance with the Sammās. In 924/1518, Shāh Beg Arghun, en route for his conquest of Sind, sent a force to occupy "Gandjābā". It fell to the Moghul Emperor Akbar in 1574, was included in the sub-division (*mahāl*) of Fatḥpur (*Taʾrīkh-i Sind*, 130, 186, 235-6) and was governed from Bakhkhar. Nadīr Shāh, who had subjugated the Kalhorās of Sind, transferred the Kaččhi district, including Gandāvā, to Kalāt in *ḍḍḍ*/1740 and thereafter (1740-1955) it became part of the khānate of Kalāt, political capital of the Kaččhi district and the winter resort of the khāns of Kalāt. The city wall, repaired by Murād (an able officer of the Kalhorās) in the early 18th century, was still intact in the 19th century, but is now dilapidated and in ruins.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, 1866; *Fatḥnāma-i Sind*, or *Čačnāma*, Persian text Hyderabad Daccan 1939; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, Leiden; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, Leiden 1883; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Taʾrīkh*, Cairo ed.; Ibn Khurradadhbih, Leiden 1889; Iṣṭakhrī, Cairo 1961; Ibn Ḥawḳal, Beirut 1962; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris; Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*, Leiden 1877; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Eng. tr. V. Minorsky, *G.M.S.*, London 1937; Yāḳūt, *Mudjam al-Buldān*, Leipzig; Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān*, Munich 1900 and Cairo 1936; Mir Maʿṣūm, *Taʾrīkh-i Sind*, Pers. text, Poona 1938; *Mudjmal al-Tawārīkh wa'l-Ḳisas*, Tehran 1318 S; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867; A. W. Hughes, *The country of Baluchistan*, London 1877; M. A. Stein, *Report of archaeological survey work in North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, 1904-5*, in *Baluchistan district gazetteer, Series vi a, Kachchi*, Bombay 1907. (N. A. BALOCH)

ḲANDAHĀR, a city in southeastern Afghānistān (in modern times giving its name to a province) situated in latitude 31°27′ N. and longitude 65°43′ E. at an altitude of 3,460 ft. (1,000 m.), and lying between the Arghandāb and Shorāb Rivers in the warmer, southern climatic zone (*garmsīr*) of Afghānistān. Hence snow rarely lies there for very long, and in modern times the city has been favoured as a winter residence for Kābulīs wishing to avoid the rigours of their winter (see J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 141-2; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 89, likewise recorded in the 8th/14th century that the inhabitants of Ghazna moved to Ḳandahār for the winter).

Since it is one component of the triangle Kābul-Ḳandahār-Harāt, possession of which gives military control of Afghānistān, and is also at the end of a route via the modern railhead of Čaman to Quetta and northwestern India, Ḳandahār has been of strategic and commercial importance all through recorded history. Even in the Stone Age, the inhabitants of the nearby settlements of Mundigak and Deh Morasi Ghundai (4th-2nd millenia B.C.) traded with northwestern India, eastern Iran and the Eurasian steppes. In Achaemenid Persian times, the region of Ḳandahār was possibly to be identified with the Achaemenid satrapy of Harahuvat; in the Persepolis Fortress tablets (*c.* 500 B.C.) there is more than one mention of the issue of rations for journeys between Susa and Kandarash (R. T. Hallock, *The evidence of the Persepolis tablets* [= ch. from the *Cambridge history of Iran*, ii], Cambridge 1971, 13, 29).

In Hellenistic times, the region of southeastern Afghānistān was known as Arachosia, and the town of Ḳandahār itself is probably to be identified with the μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας of, *e.g.*, Isidore of Charax (on the problem of the city's ancient name, Alexandria of Arachosia or Alexandropolis, see G. Pugliese Caratelli and G. Garbini, *A bilingual graeco-aramaic edict by Aśoka*, Serie Orientale Roma xxix, Rome 1964, 19-22). Then as now, Arachosia was famed for its grapes; the Indian author Kauṭilya (4th century B.C.) speaks of Hārahūraka as a place whence wine was obtained. However, Greek rule here can only have lasted some 25 years, 330-305 B.C., for in the treaty between Seleucus I and Chandragupta the frontier between the Seleucids and the Mauryas was apparently fixed to the west of Ḳandahār, on the Helmand. Soon afterwards, Emperor Aśoka had a series of rock inscriptions executed on a *tepe* in the old city of Ḳandahār, including one in Greek and Aramaic discovered in 1958 (see D. Schlumberger *et al.*, *Une bilingue greco-araméenne d'Asoka*, in *JA*, ccxlvi (1958), 1-48, and Caratelli and Garbini, *op. cit.*), one in Greek in 1963 (see Schlumberger, *Une seconde inscription grecque d'Asoka*, in *CRAIBL* (1964), 126-40) and an Aramaic one also in 1963 (see A. Dupont-Sommer and E. Benveniste, *Une inscription indo-araméenne d'Asoka provenant de Kandahar (Afghanistan)*, in *JA*, ccliv (1966), 437-65); these show that Greek and Aramaic were still recognized in Ḳandahār as administrative languages, the local Iranian tongue presumably being unwritten. It may have been Aśoka who introduced Buddhism to the region, though this is unproven. At all events, the faith appeared early, and the old city of Ḳandahār included a Buddhist monastery and its *stupa*, dated tentatively by G. Fussman to the 4th century A.D., see his *Notes sur la topographie de l'ancienne Kandahar*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, xiii (1966), 37-9.

The name Ḳandahār itself must be connected with Gandhāra, the ancient Indian kingdom on the upper Indus and Kābul Rivers which became a stronghold of Buddhism, and Arab historians do in fact use the form Ḳandahār/Ḳunduhār for Gandhāra proper. It is

possible that the name was transferred southwards to Arachosia by some migration of Gandhārans; there are stories, retailed by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, of the Buddha's begging bowl being preserved in Ķandahār (at a later date, it was shown in a Muslim shrine outside the city), brought thither by Gandhāran Buddhist refugees.

The actual site of Ķandahār has varied at different periods of history. The old city, abandoned since the time of Nādir Shāh, lay 3 miles (5 km.) to the west-south-west of the modern city, at the foot of a rocky spur called the Ķaytūl, the site being now called the *shahr-i kuhna*. Here archaeology has revealed a walled city, clearly dating back to Hellenistic times, and successively occupied in the ensuing Buddhist and Islamic periods (see Fussman, *op. cit.*, 33 ff.).

Very little is known on Ķandahār in the Kushan period, but under the rule of the southern branch of the Hephthalites, the Zabulites [see HAYĀṬILA], Kandahār fell within their kingdom (see R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, Cairo 1948, 104 ff.). In the Umayyad period, Arab raiders penetrated into the region of Ķandahār after their occupation of Sīstān and their establishment of a bridgehead of Muslim arms at Bust [*q.v.*]. Arabic sources call the region around Ķandahār al-Rukhkhadj (< Arachosia; the name survives today in the site of an Islamic settlement now called Tepe Arukh) or Zamīndāwar/ Bilād al-Dāwar. It was the centre of a powerful local dynasty who bore the title of Zunbīls, epigoni of the southern branch of the Hephtalites; down to the Ṣaffārid period (later 3rd/9th century) they constituted the main obstacle to the spread of Islam in eastern Afghānistān. Balādhurī records that the governor of Sīstān under Muʿāwiya, ʿAbbād b. Ziyād b. Abīhi, led a raid against Ķandahār and captured it after bitter fighting; the poet Ibn Mufarrigh probably accompanied the expedition, for he composed an elegy for the Muslim dead (these verses, not related to any specific occasion by Ch. Pellat, *Le poète Ibn Mufarriġ et son oeuvre*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, Damascus 1956-7, iii, 217, can therefore be pinned down to ʿAbbād's expedition). Balādhurī mentions the characteristic high caps (*ķalānisa ṭiwāl*) of the Ķandahārīs, and although his Arabic text is somewhat ambiguous here, it seems that ʿAbbād now re-named the town ʿAbbādiyya after himself (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 434, repeated in Yāķūt, *Buldān* (Beirut 1374-6/1955-7), iv, 402-3; cf. K. Fischer, *Zur Lage von Kandahar an Landverbindungen zwischen Iran und Indien*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landmuseums in Bonn*, clxvii (1967), 192-3, and Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 270). But Muslim control must have been thrown off by the time ʿAbbād was recalled from his governorship in 61/680-1; the name of ʿAbbādiyya is heard of no more, and at the time of the Muslim *débâcle* in Zamīndāwar in 79/698 (see C. E. Bosworth, *ʿUbaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the "Army of Destruction" in Zābulistān (79/698)*, in *Isl.*, 1 (1973), 268-83), there was no Muslim-controlled territory east of Bust.

In this early Islamic period, Muslim authors tended to reckon Ķandahār as part of the province of Sind (*e.g.*, Ibn Khurradādhbih, 65, and Yāķūt, *loc. cit.*; Yaʿķūbī, *Buldān*, 281, tr. 90, links Ķandahār with Sind also), probably because the indigenous religion of the people of Zamīndāwar, the cult of the god Zūn, was considered as related to Indian faiths. In the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr there is mentioned a campaign by the governor of Sind, Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī, against Multān, Kashmīr and Ķandahār, but Marquart, following Reinaud, identified this Ķandahār with the classical Gandhāra on the upper Indus, and in particular, with Wayhind, capital of the Hindū-Shāhīs [*q.v.*] (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 445; a fuller account in Yaʿķūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 448-9; cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 271-2, and Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 254).

However, Marquart commented how infrequently the name of Ķandahār in Afghānistān appears in early Islamic sources. More commonly mentioned as the main centres of the region of Zamīndāwar are the towns of Pandjwāy (Iṣṭakhrī, 250, says "al-Rukhkhadj is the name of a region, and Bandjwāy is its capital"), and then, one day's journey further on from Bust, Tigīnābād. Ancient Pandjwāy was apparently situated on the road from Ķandahār to modern Pandjwāy, according to Mir Husain Shah, *Panjwayee-Fanjuwai*, in *Afghanistan*, xvii/3 (Kabul 1962), 23-7; cf. Le Strange, 346-7. The exact site of Tigīnābād, mentioned by Djuwaynī in the 7th/13th century and appearing on an 18th-century European map as Tecniabad, is still unknown (see Fischer, *op. cit.*, 191-2). Marquart thought that *al-Rukhkhadjayn*, "the two Rukhkhadjs", mentioned in the account of a raid into the region by Hārūn al-Rashīd's governor ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. Māhān, referred to these two places Pandjwāy and Tigīnābād (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 127, cited in *Ērānšahr*, 272). It is certainly these two towns which are mentioned in sources from the Ghaznavid and Ghūrid periods (*e.g.*, Gardīzī, Bayhaķī and Djūzdjānī), but there is no doubt that Ķandahār itself continued to exist and to flourish. The Islamic old city of Ķandahār, in whose remains one can clearly discern the classical eastern Islamic division of a citadel (*ķalʿa, kuhandiz*), a town proper within the walls (*madīna, shahrastān*) and suburbs (*rabaḍ, bīrūn*), probably developed during this time (cf. Fussman, *op. cit.*, 39-42).

With the destruction of the Ghaznavid centre of Lashkarī Bāzār/Ķalʿa-yi Bist by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Djihānsūz in 545/1150 [see GHŪRIDS], the name of Ķandahār comes back into prominence and is henceforth mentioned continuously. In 680/1280-1 Ķandahār was conquered by Shams al-Dīn II b. Rukn al-Dīn Kart, the vassal ruler in Harāt for the Ilkhānid Abaķa (B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*$_2$, Berlin 1955, 158). Tīmūr conquered it and bestowed it on his grandson Pīr Muḥammad in 785/1383. In 821/1418 Ķandahār became part of Soyurghatmīsh b. Shāh Rukh's appanage, and in the later 9th/15th century it appears as a minting-place for Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bayķarā of Harāt (875/1470-912/1506). It was under this latter ruler's overlordship that the Arghunid Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg added the region of Ķandahār and the adjacent parts of what is now northeastern Balūčistān, scil. Sībī, Mustang and Quetta, to his other territories and made Ķandahār his capital. This eventually led to conflict with the Tīmūrid descendant Bābur [*q.v.*], who was carving out for himself a principality on the Indo-Afghān fringes. Bābur captured Kābul from Dhu 'l-Nūn's son Muķīm in 910/1504, and Muķīm was allowed to fall back on Ķandahār. However, Bābur felt that his hold on the Kābul River valley would be insecure whilst the Arghunids remained in eastern Afghānistān, so he attacked Muķīm and his brother Shāh Beg in Ķandahār in 913/1507-8. Nevertheless, Shāh Beg was able to obtain Shaybānid help and return. Ķandahār was not finally captured from him till 928/1522, after a drawn-out but intermittent siege (exaggeratedly enumerated in the sources as of five years' duration), the city's strong fortifications long preserving it; Shāh Beg now retreated southwards permanently to Sībī, Quetta and Sind (Mīrzā Muḥam-

mad Ḥaydar Dug͟hlat, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ras͟hīdī*, tr. N. Elias and E. D. Ross, London 1895, 202 ff., 357; *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, London 1921, 227, 332-9, 365-6, 429-36).

The Mug͟hals did not enjoy unchallenged possession of Ḳandahār for long. After Bābur's death it was held by his son Kāmrān Mīrzā, but was also coveted by the vigorous and aggressive Ṣafavid state in Persia under S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp I. After prolonged warfare with the Özbegs, the Ṣafavids had fallen heir to most of the Tīmūrid inheritance in K͟hurāsān, being in firm control of Harāt after 934/1527-8; they accordingly wished to consolidate their position by the addition of Ḳandahār. Kāmrān Mīrzā held the city against Ṣafavid attacks in 941/1534-6. In the internecine disputes of Kāmrān and his half-brother Humāyūn [*q.v.*], the latter was in 950/1543 forced to take refuge with S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp. In 952/1545 Humāyūn and a Persian army took Ḳandahār, but a month later Humāyūn turned on his Persian allies and seized the city for himself. In 965/1558 Ṭahmāsp recaptured it from the Mug͟hal Emperor Akbar, and the latter did not regain it till 1003/1594-5. The Persians again took it from D̲j̲ihāngīr b. Akbar in 1031/1622, and after ten years' reversion to Mug͟hal control it passed in 1058/1648 into the hands of ʿAbbās II, remaining with the Ṣafavids till 1121/1709. The Ṣafavid province of Ḳandahār also included the southerly districts of Mustang, Sībī, Kākarī, etc.; at various times in the 10th/16th century it was governed by royal princes of the Ṣafavid house (cf. K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 12-14, 35-6, 42). It is from the mid-11th/17th century that we have a drawing of the walled city of Ḳandahār as it existed before Nādir S͟hāh's destructions, given by J. B. Tavernier in his *Travels*; he passed through Farah, Ḳandahār and Kābul on his way from Iṣfahān to Āgra (the picture is reproduced in Fischer, *Zur Lage von Kandahar*, 149).

The end of Ṣafavid rule in Ḳandahār came at the hands of the G͟halzays [*q.v.*], an Afg͟hān tribe who had settled in the vicinity of Ḳandahār on lands left vacant when S͟hāh ʿAbbās I had moved a considerable part of the original Abdālī [*q.v.*] occupants to the Harāt region. In the course of the 11th/17th century, the G͟halzays had generally supported the Ṣafavid cause rather than that of the Mug͟hals, but the leader of the Hōtak clan of the G͟halzays, Mīr Ways, now rebelled against the Ṣafavids, and in 1121/1709 declared his independence, though he contented himself with the title of *wakīl*, "regent". On his death in 1127/1715, Mīr Ways was buried in Ḳandahār, and his grave was, until recently at least, regarded as a source of *baraka* or blessing, despite its being overshadowed by that of Aḥmad S͟hāh Durrānī (see below). Mīr Ways's son Maḥmūd (d. 1137/1725) consolidated his power, and it was from Ḳandahār that the G͟halzays streamed westwards into Persia and overthrew the decrepit Ṣafavid monarchy (see L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958). However, the G͟halzays were unable to build a lasting state in Persia out of their conquests, and in 1150/1738 their original centre of Ḳandahār was lost when Nādir S͟hāh [*q.v.*], with support from the Abdālīs of Harāt, captured it after a lengthy investiture (S͟hawwāl 1149-D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1150/February 1737-March 1738; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 114). Ḳandahār was at this time apparently called Ḥusaynābād after the city's G͟halzay governor Ḥusayn Sulṭān. Nādir now destroyed the "G͟halzay fortress", meaning here the whole of the walled city and not just the citadel. Today, the walls of the Islamic city are somewhat reduced in height, Nādir's destruction being aggravated by the depredations of local seekers of building materials, although as late as A. Le Messurier's time, substantial remnants of the triple enceinte were still visible (see his *Kandahar in 1879*, London 1880, 245-6). Nādir built a new military encampment, Nādirābād, to the southeast of the old city and of the modern one; coins were minted by him with the names of both Nādirābād and Ḳandahār, but the former was abandoned on his death in 1160/1747 (see Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 120).

The development of the present-day city of Ḳandahār is connected with the replacement of G͟halzay power in the area by that of the Abdālī Afg͟hāns, for Nādir (in whose army Aḥmad K͟hān Abdālī had been prominent) allowed the Abdālīs to return to their original home. After Nādir's assassination, Aḥmad established his power in eastern Afg͟hānistān. He founded a new city of Ḳandahār to the east of the old one, enclosing it with a wall and making it his capital; the city was named Aḥmad-S͟hāhī and this name, together with the epithet *As͟hraf al-bilād*, "most noble of cities", appears on the coins which he minted there [see AḤMAD S͟HĀH DURRĀNĪ]. He was buried there, and Elphinstone reports that 40 years after his death his tomb was much venerated by the Abdālīs or Durrānīs, and that a right of sanctuary existed at it (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*², London 1839, ii, 132).

Under the Durrānī *Amīrs*, Ḳandahār still remained liable to vicissitudes. In the civil warfare among Aḥmad's grandsons Zamān S͟hāh, Maḥmūd and S͟hud̲j̲āʿ al-Mulk possession of the city fluctuated between the contenders. The Bārakzay amīr Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*] became unchallenged ruler in Kābul in 1241/1826 and transferred the capital thither, leaving his brother Kūhandil K͟hān as governor in Ḳandahār. During the latter's governorship, S͟hāh S͟hud̲j̲āʿ, of the line of Sadōzay Durrānīs dispossessed from control of eastern Afg͟hānistān, had endeavoured to reconquer Ḳandahār (1250/1834); during the First Afg͟hān-British War, S͟hāh S͟hud̲j̲āʿ temporarily became amīr of both Ḳandahār and Kābul (1255/1839). In the Second Afg͟hān War, Ḳandahār became for a few months in 1297/1880 the centre of an independent Afg͟hān state under a member of the Sadōzay family, Sardār S͟hīr ʿAlī. But after the attempt to seize Ḳandahār made from Harāt by Ayyūb b. S͟hīr ʿAlī b. Dūst Muḥammad, and Ayyūb's subsequent defeat by the British general Roberts, separate existence of this state based on Ḳandahār was ended, and the united country handed over to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān K͟hān [*q.v.*]; for a detailed account of all these events, see AFG͟HĀNISTĀN, v, History.

The modern city of Ḳandahār had a population estimated in 1962 at *c.* 120,000, and the province of which it is the capital had in 1969 an estimated population of 724,000. The whole area round the city is a rich agricultural one, supplying the colder regions of northern Afg͟hānistān, and also Pakistan, with fruit and vegetables; water is brought to many parts of this agricultural hinterland by a complex system of underground channels or *kārīzs* from the nearby hills [see ḲANĀT]. In the 1960s Ḳandahār acquired an airport of international dimensions, and the roads connecting it with Kābul and Harāt were metalled. As opposed to the capital Kābul, Ḳandahār is in the centre of a strongly Pashto-speaking region, and has thus had an important rôle in the govern-

mental policy of encouraging that language; it was, for instance, in Ḳandahār that the Pashto propagandist society *Wis̲h̲ Zalmyān*, "Awakening Youth", was founded in 1947. It has nevertheless lagged behind the capital in social and educational progress. Holdich remarked on the tolerance towards foreigners of Kābul compared with the fanaticism of Ḳandahār (*The gates of India*, London 1910, 377). In connection with this, Ḳandahār was the scene of anti-government riots in 1959, primarily caused by grievances over taxation, but also involving an element of conservative protest at the permissory abolition of the veil for women.

Bibliography: Given substantially in the article. For earlier history, the two works of K. Fischer, *Kandahar in Arachosien*, in *Wiss. Zeitschr. der Martin-Luther-Univ., Halle-Wittenberg*, Geschichte-Sprachwissenschaft, vi/6 (1958), 1151-64, and *Zur Lage von Kandahar*..., in *Bonner Jahrbücher*..., clxvii (1967), 129-232, are valuable. For the Islamic and modern periods, see the bibliography to AFG̲H̲ĀNISTĀN, v. History, and scattered references in the standard histories of Afg̲h̲ānistān by, e.g., Fraser-Tytler and Masson and Romodin. For the 19th century onwards, the accounts of travellers, diplomats and soldiers (*e.g.*, Elphinstone, Masson, Bellew, Le Messurier, Holdich, etc.) contain much relevant information.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲANDAHĀR (Deccan), locally often spelt Ḳandhār, Kandhār to distinguish it from its illustrious Afg̲h̲ān namesake, is a plains fort and the surrounding *taʿalluḳ*, mainly agricultural, known to have been part of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] dominions, from whom it later passed to the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhīs. It seems, however, to have known previous Muslim occupation, since the main gate bears an inscription of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ [*q.v.*] (*EIM 1919-20*, 16-7) and was presumably occupied by him on his expedition to south India. The fort, 25 miles south-west of Nandeŕ, is remarkable for its highly developed military architecture, which shows, successively from the exterior, a large glacis with a retaining wall, a covered way, a moat 2 to 3 m. deep and 21 to 24 m. wide, a massive fausse-braye, built in large dressed masonry by Muslims out of Hindu materials, with defensive bastions at intervals, a second covered way, and the main ramparts of the enceinte with strong towers and bastions. Across the moat is a single drawbridge leading to a series of gateways, of which the first, the D̲j̲insī or Lohābandī Darwāza, facing north, is protected with steel plates and defended by a bastion; a barbican court leads to the main gate, the Makka or Mačhlī Darwāza, facing west. An inner court connects with the second covered way and leads to the third (Mānkalī) gate, flanked with high bastions, before the interior of the fort is reached. A *D̲j̲āmiʿ masd̲j̲id* of the late Bīd̲j̲āpur style stands inside the final inner court. Many of the bastions of the enceinte bear guns, and some have inscriptions showing their construction by "Āḳā Rūmī", presumably a Turkish engineer, of dates near 998/1590.

Bibliography: *Annual Report, Arch. Dept. Hyderabad*, 1331-3F. (= 1921-4 A.D.), 3 ff.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

KANDI, a town in North Dahomey (11° 2′ N., 2°9′ E.), is said to have been founded by a hunter from Nikki or Sinendé who, finding a large number of elephants, exclaimed *sinounou ba kamme!* ("I have come upon a great many elephants"). The word *kamme* is said to have become Kan-ni and then Kandi. According to another tradition, some women who slipped on the bank of a nearby watercourse fell down and broke their pitchers, *kanʾdi*.

Kandi was founded by Saka, the son of the king of Nikki. Having been sent by his father to fight against the king of Niampangou, he was welcomed with so many gifts that he revealed the purpose of his mission; unable therefore to return to Nikki, he settled in Kandi, his mother's homeland, where he fought against brigands and pacified the whole region. He gave himself the name *Mon* ("elder brother" in Bariba), which was corrupted to *Mo* by the local Mokolle. The seventh ruler, Guezere, was granted the insignia of authority by Nikki—a drum, covered with human skin, which was beaten with two human bones, and a commander's baton which was provided with a new leather cover every year. The most celebrated of the subsequent rulers of Kandi was Zibiri II (1911-29), who helped Geay, the administrator, to quell the revolt of 1917.

Since there were five generations between the first ruler and the 18th, it appears that the installation of the first Saka in Kandi occurred during the early decades of the 19th century. Although the first migration of the Bariba from the Niger was set in train by the invasion of the Muslim conquerors, hostility to Islam largely disappeared. Contact with islamized groups of Fulani led to the islamization of Bariba villages. In the town of Kandi, islamization appears to have been more rapid on account of the visits there by Hausa or D̲j̲erma merchants.

DYNASTIC TABLE OF THE RULERS OF KANDI

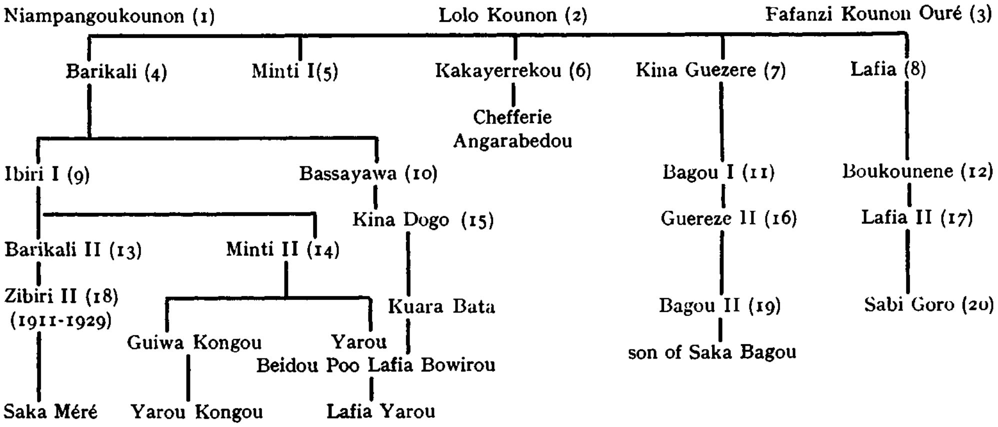

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ĶANDÎL [see ķindīl].

ĶANDIYA, Ottoman name of a town on the north coast of Crete, the Herakleion of antiquity, which was captured by the Ottomans in 1080/1669 after a twenty-seven month siege by the grand vizier Köprülüzāde Fāḍil Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a, this event marking the end of the struggle to wrest Crete from the Venetians which had been waged intermittently since 1055/1645.

The mediaeval Islamic name of the island of Crete, al-Iķrītis̲h̲ [*q.v.*], was not unknown to the Ottomans, nor were they unaware that Crete had once before formed part of Dār al-Islām (cf. the post-conquest historical excursus in Silaḥdār, *Ta'rīk̲h̲*, i (Istanbul, 1928), 530-8, which draws largely on the *K. al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* of Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im [*q.v.*] (wrongly attributed by Silaḥdār to a certain 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb); on S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Nuwayrī; and, for the 10th/16th century, on the *Baḥriyye* of Pīrī Re'īs). In common usage, however, the Ottomans preferred the forms Girit (*Baḥriyye*, 800), later Girid, for the island proper.

Ķandiya, deriving from Ar. *k̲h̲andaķ* (the "entrenched" fortification set up on the site by the first Muslim conquerors) > Gk. χανδαξ (accus. χανδακα) > Venetian Candica or Cantiga (13th century) > (by false etymology) Candida (15th century) > Candia, although commonly used (with variants: la Candie, etc.) in western sources during the entire period of Venetian and Ottoman rule to denote the island as well as the town, was used by the Ottomans to denote only the town and its encircling walls (*ķal'e-yi Ķandiya*) and the metropolitan *sand̲j̲āķ* which was dependent on it. Locally, among the Greek population, the name K̲h̲andaķ passed out of use after the Byzantine reconquest and was replaced by Megalokastron, or Kastron, the Castle par excellence (also occasionally found in 17th century western sources: Castron), which usage continued until the officially inspired revival of the ancient name of Herakleion, which the town has borne since the establishment of Greek rule in Crete at the end of the 19th century.

The fortress of Ķandiya capitulated to the Ottomans on 5 Rabī' II 1080/2 September 1669; after the handing over of the fortress and its contents, and the ceremonial entry of Ottoman troops, a truce was concluded between the two commanders on 9 Rabī' II/6 September. The history of Ķandiya in the period from the conquest to the temporary occupation of Crete by Muḥammad 'Alī Pas̲h̲a in 1821—*i.e.*, the years of more or less undisputed Ottoman rule—is obscure. For the immediate post-conquest period Ottoman historical and literary sources, most accessibly reproduced in Rās̲h̲id and Silaḥdār, and the vigorous account given by Ewliyā Čelebī, combine eyewitness accounts of the surrender of the fortress and its immediate "Ottomanisation" (sc. the conversion of the churches and other public buildings to Muslim use) with texts of the more formal *fetḥ-nāmes* and diplomatic correspondence engendered by the occasion. Cf. also the *Ķānūn-nāme* for Ķandiya, drawn up in 1081/1670 (text in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 350-3).

Both Muslim and western sources agree that the damage caused to the town and the fortifications by the prolonged siege was considerable. Despite repairs put in hand by Fāḍil Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a before his departure, and official attempts to encourage the inhabitants of the hinterland to settle in the town, the signs of depopulation and devastation remained visible for many years. An interesting byproduct of the destruction was the export to Venice or Zante of timber from the ruined houses. Described as "Cyprus wood", it was used for the manufacture of chests or cabinets, which found a ready market in England.

The Ottomans had entertained high hopes for the riches to be garnered from Crete after the conquest of Ķandiya: "a second Egypt", as Ewliyā Čelebī called it, but these hopes, particularly for Ķandiya itself, were not to be realised. Shortly after the conquest the population was estimated at "not above 10,000, with Greeks and Jews", and Canea (Ḥanya) was *ca.* 1680 spoken of as "much better inhabited than Candia" and as the main centre for the trade of the island.

Perhaps the most important reason for the steady economic decline of Ķandiya during the Ottoman period had little to do with its change of masters, being in fact the progressive silting up of its port. Already in the 1680s it was described as having "not water enough for ships of any considerable bigness" and as being largely choked with rubbish washed into it from the town, despite the initiative of a French merchant in bringing "an engine" from Marseilles to clean it. At this time, galleys were still being repaired in those bays ("arches", *göz*) of the Arsenal which had survived the siege, but no new construction of ships was carried on there.

There seems to be little to distinguish Ķandiya in the 12th/18th century from other Ottoman provincial centres of similar rank and function. Authority was vested in a pas̲h̲a of three *tug̲h̲s*, appointed triennially; real power obviously resided in the local military forces. These, in mid-century, apparently consisted of the 6,000 or so Turks who were able to bear arms, for, according to Richard Pococke, "all the Turks belong to some military body". The upkeep of the local military establishment was provided for from the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* and *gümrük* receipts, with the exception of the pay for the Janissaries, which was remitted from Istanbul.

Throughout the 12th/18th century, and into the nineteenth, Ķandiya steadily lost ground to Canea (Ḥanya) as a port and commercial centre. The necessity of transhipping cargoes into small lighters offshore, and the character of the town as a garrison centre and seat of a pas̲h̲a, together conspired to encourage particularly the economically-dominant Marseilles merchants and their consul to settle at Canea. Although Ķandiya remained, with its still splendid Venetian monuments and broad streets, the capital of the island until 1855, its day was long past. In the last decades of Ottoman rule its trade, largely in olive oil, soap, raisins and wine, amounted only to some 20 % of that of the island as a whole, while administratively it sank to the level of a *sand̲j̲āķ* under the charge of a *mutaṣarrif*. With the rising tide of Greek nationalism, the Muslim population of Ķandiya, which *ca.* 1889 had been estimated at 17,000 out of 24,000, shared the same fate as their co-religionists in other parts of the island. With the abandonment of Ottoman rule, and through communal strife, emigration and population transfer, Ķandiya had, by 1923, ceased to exist as a Muslim town.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii (Istanbul 1928), 376-570 (pp. 478-498 contain the so-called *Ķandiye-nāme*, Ewliyā's account of his participation in the siege); Fındıķlılı Meḥmed Silaḥdār Āg̲h̲ā, *Ta'rīk̲h̲*, i (Istanbul 1928), 511-51; Meḥmed Rās̲h̲id, *Ta'rīk̲h̲*², i (Istanbul 1282), 164-

245 (interpolation of a lengthy official account of the siege and its aftermath, with some diplomatic correspondence); references to unpublished *g͟hazawāt-nāmes* in A. S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler*... (Ankara 1956) 120-6; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 350-3; B. Randolph, ,*The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago*, Oxford 1687; O. Dapper, *Description exacte des isles de l'Archipel* 1688, Amsterdam 1703, 405-8, 441-2; Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East*..., London 1754-5, ii, 255 ff.; M. Savary, *Lettres sur la Grèce*, Paris, an VII, 178, 195 ff.; C. S. Sonnini, *Voyage à Grèce et en Turquie*, Paris, an IX, i, 342 ff.; J. M. Tancoigne, *Voyage à Smyrne*..., Paris 1817, i, 110-16; G. Gerola, *Monumenti veneti dell'Isola di Creta*, 4 vols. in 5 parts, Venezie 1905-32, especially i/1, pp. 6, 7, 99-154, 303-414; ii, *passim*; *Sāl-nāme* for 1294 (1877); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890, i, 581-3. (C. J. Heywood)

KANDŪRĪ or *kandūra* or *kandūrī* a Persian word meaning a leather or linen tablecloth; in Hindūstānī this word means also a religious feast held in honour of a venerated person like Fāṭima. In this latter meaning the word has been imported, apparently, from India into the Indonesian archipelago. In Acheen the word is unchanged, while in Java it is slightly altered into *ken̲duri* or *ken̲durèn*; it may be noted that nowadays the more usual terms in Java are *se̲dekah* or *si̲dekah*, from the Arabic *ṣadaḳa*, *slametan*, from the Arabic *salāmat*, or *ḥād̲j̲at*, a well-known Arabic word, meaning need, want of a man's presence at a feast, and hence the festival itself. In general it is a feast given with a religious purpose, or at least in conformity with religious law, just like the *walīma* in the books of *fiḳh*. The occasions which give rise to it are numerous, for instance: days of commemoration, domestic events, especially circumcision, the completion of teaching the Ḳur'ān, certain periods, such as pregnancy, sowing and harvest, and sundry reasons like setting out on a journey, occupying a new house and other enterprises, the averting of epidemics and calamities, etc. According to the Law each *kandūrī* should have a religious character: the poor must be invited, forbidden things should be avoided, but the strong local *ʿādat* is always prone to look for means of effecting a compromise. Every complete *kandūrī*, especially those in commemoration of deceased relatives and those given on the anniversary of a saint, is sanctified by means of recitation of the Ḳur'ān, *d̲h̲ikr*s or prayers; popular superstition, however, regards such *kandūrī*s as consisting of actual offerings of food to the deceased. Almost every *kandūrī* is opened by a prayer, the commemorative ones by the *doʿa ḳubur*. In Acheen some months are called *kandūrī* with a second word indicating the food the sacred meal consists of.

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KANEM (A. Kānim), today the name of a prefecture (capital Mao) in the republic of Chad. It is bounded in the north by Borkou, in the east by Batha, in the south by Chari-Baguirmi, in the southwest by the department of Lac and in the west by the republic of Nigeria (population 170,000). Its borders do not correspond exactly to those of the region which was one of the most ancient kingdoms of Africa and stretched, according to the most widely accepted view, as far as the caravan route from Kawar [*q.v.*] to Lake Chad in the west, to Baḥr al G̲h̲azal [*q.v.*] in the south, to the depression of the Egueï in the east, and in the north to a line drawn from Belgashipari to Birpo by the lake.

The most characteristic topographical feature of Kanem is the existence of numerous sand dunes running N.W. by S.E., separated from one another by hollows several hundred yards broad and sometimes four or five miles long. Dunes and depressions are specially marked in the northern part. The hollows, which are given the name of *wād* (*wādī*), are dry except during the rainy season, when ponds are formed in the deepest parts; their bottoms consist of soil impregnated with natron. Below this, to a depth of 3 to 30 feet, lies a vast waterbearing stratum. The climate of Kanem is that of tropical regions. The rains are unequally distributed and diminish from south to north. The date-palm grows wild in many of the *wād*s. It even forms a regular oasis at Mao. Cultivation is limited to the area around the villages, built on the slopes of the dunes. The commonest crop is the millet, to which may be added wheat, beans and cotton. The rearing of horses, cattle, sheep and camels is also a very important source of income for the inhabitants. The fauna is very rich and varied: the elephant, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, lion, buffalo and panther abound in Kanem proper and the ostrich, antelope, gazelle and giraffe on the northern steppes.

The population is far from being homogeneous. The diverse elements which compose it belong some to the negro group and some to the Arab group. To the first belong the Kanembū, the Buddūma, the Kūri; to the second the Ulād-Slīmān and the S̲h̲oa; the Tund̲j̲ur and Tubu are classed between the two. The Kanembū, descendants of the first settlers in Kanem, constitute basis of the population, upon whom they have imposed their language. They are dark grey (*azraḳ*) in colour and tall in stature. Industrious and peace-loving, they are settled and devote themselves to agriculture. They profess Islam and are fairly strict Muslims. In their midst live groups of individuals called Ḥaddād (in Kanembū *dogoa*) who, although differing from the Kanembū neither in language nor in physical type, are considered as belonging to an inferior race. Very warlike in disposition, armed with bows and arrows, they played an active part in the civil wars which desolated the country in the course of last century.

The Buddūma and the Kūri inhabit the islands of Lake Chad. The Buddūma, who occupy the northern archipelago, live by fishing, cattle-raising and the cultivation of millet. They have, for the most part, remained fetish-worshippers. The Kūri, on the other hand, while leading the same sort of life as the Buddūma, are completely islamized.

The Ūlād Slīmān who came from Tripolitania and Fezzān in the middle of the 19th century, speak Arabic. Nomads and robbers, almost their sole means of existence was the slave trade and brigandage. The S̲h̲oa, long established in Kanem, continue to use the Arabic language but their physical type has been altered by admixture with the black population. The Islam which they profess is fairly strict. Nomads in the dry regions near the desert, they become settled in the moister southern regions.

According to the Arabic sources studied by Marquart (see *Bibl.*), the kingdom of Kanem seems to have been founded by the Zag̲h̲āwa. Al-Bakrī (de Slane, 29) mentions the inhabitants of Kanem as idolators and al-Idrīsī (ed. Naples-Rome 1970, i, 29), who cites the town of Mānām, seems also to consider them as such. Islam was introduced in the 4th/10th

century by the Tubu (Teda). This occupation seems to coincide with the accession to the throne of the Yazanīs, who claimed to be descendants of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [*q.v.*] and became the disseminators of Islām, which had been introduced by al-Hādī al-ʿUthmānī, the predecessor of the Yazanīs. The *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* (ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, 32, tr. Fagnan, 61) places the conversion to Islam of Kanem about 500/1106-7. According to a Hausa legend, Abū Zayd al-Fāzārī (end of 6th/12th and beginning of 7th/13th century) preached Islam in Kanem and Borku. Another tradition refers the introduction of Islam to the end of the 5th/11th century, under Sultan Oumé (1085-97), who was probably assassinated during a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Sultan Selma (ʿAbd al-Djalīl) (1195-1220) enlarged the kingdom; his son Dunama I (1221-59) further extended it to Fezzān and Waday and in the west as far as Niger. During the latter's reign, some Muslims from Kanem founded a Malīkī school in Cairo (between 640/1242 and 650/1252), and in 657/1257 an ambassador was sent to the Ḥafṣid court in Tunis. The soi-disant descendants of Sayf remained in power as long as the kingdom existed. During a troubled period beset with the So and Būlala revolts, four kings of Kanem fell in campaigns against the Būlala. These latter, after a century of incessant battles, eventually conquered the country. Sultan Dāwūd (1377-85) was driven from his capital, Ndjimi. ʿUmar b. Idrīs (796/1394-800/1398) had to retire to the west bank of Lake Chad, where one of his successors founded the kingdom of Bornū [*q.v.*].

In the 16th century, the sovereigns of the new state took the offensive against the Būlala. ʿAlī Dunama (876/1472-909/1504) and his son Idrīs Katakarmabi (909/1504-932/1526) forced the Būlala to submit and regained their ancient capital of Ndjimi, but the sovereigns were represented there by an *alifa* (*khalifa*) and remained in Bornu, of which Kanem became a province. The submission of the Būlala, however, remained precarious; Idrīs Alaoma (978/1571-1011/1603) was compelled to send five expeditions against them. In spite of this victory, the weakening of Bornū soon enabled the Būlala to regain their independence. But towards the middle of the 17th century they were in their turn conquered by the Tundjur, who came from Wādāy, and settled in the west of Baḥr al-Ghazal, and then in Fitri. Meanwhile the Tundjur had to endure the attacks of the rulers of Bornu, who reduced them to the state of tributaries. Their chief settled in Mao as an *alifa*. In the second half of the 18th century, part of Kanem was conquered by Muḥammad al-Amīn, ruler of Bagirmi [*q.v.*]. In 1809 the king of Bornu, driven from his home by the Peuls, appealed to al-Amīn, who had a reputation for piety and energy. He crossed the lake and wiped out the Peul forces, but henceforward Bornu was no more than a protectorate of Kanem. Taking the title of *shaykh*, al-Amīn al-Kanemi made his capital at Kuka and, after numerous campaigns, subdued the Bagirmi (1817).

When the Ūlād Slīmān Arabs arrived in the middle of the 19th century, the sultan of Bornū entrusted them with the defence of the frontier against Wādāy, but they seized this opportunity to pillage the country; by the time of Nachtigal's visit to Kanem in 1871, they were its real masters.

ʿUmar b. al-Amīn moved his capital to Kuka; on his death, he was succeeded by his three sons, Abū Bakr I, Ibrāhīm and Hāshim (1884-93). The latter was unable to prevent Rabah from seizing the fortified town of Mamfa and proclaiming himself sultan of Bornu. ʿUmar Sawda, Hāshim's eldest son, finally became in 1902 the sultan of German Bornū.

Kanem, which was included in the French zone of influence at the Anglo-French conference of 21 March 1899, was occupied between 1901 and 1905. European domination provoked the hostility of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*], but the capture of their *zāwiya* at Biʾr Alali in 1902 weakened the rebels and their chief, Shaykh Aḥmad, submitted in 1905.

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AL-KĀNEMĪ (AL-ḤĀDJDJ MUḤAMMAD AL-AMĪN B. MUḤAMMAD NINKĀH), b. 1189/1775-6 1253/1837, a scholar of Kanembu origin who founded the Shehu dynasty of Bornū [*q.v.*]. Brought up in Murzuk (Fazzān) where his father had property, he received an Arabic education, travelled in Egypt and the Ḥidjāz, and eventually settled in eastern Bornū. There, his learning and the following he acquired among Arab and Kanembu tribesmen enabled him to play a decisive role in Bornuan politics at the time of the Fulani rebellion. Eventually the Mai Ibrāhīm (1818-46) came completely under his control, and he struck a seal in his own name in 1235/1819-20.

As the power behind the throne of the Mais, he succeeded in defending the ancient empire of Bornū from the serious dangers which faced it. His support of the Mai Dūnama ended the Fulani rebellion. Although he was unable to prevent the establishment of Sokoto emirates in the old western dependencies, he

engaged the Sokoto *ʿulamāʾ* in a famous correspondence which seriously weakened their resolve to continue *d̲j̲ihād* against Bornū, and he contained the emirates of Katagum and Haded̲j̲ia by a great campaign in 1826 which carried him as far as Kano before he was forced to withdraw. He secured the eastern frontier south of Lake Chad by operations against Bagarmi in 1821-4. In the first of these he was assisted by the Ottoman *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the Fazzān [*q.v.*], and he later maintained the Fazzānī connection (of commercial importance to Bornū) by alliance with the Awlād Sulaymān, who also helped him strengthen his influence in Kānem as a buffer against Wadāʿi.

As well as this, he radically reformed the structure of government in Bornū, replacing the ancient and ineffective feudal levies of the Mais by a new army of Kānembu infantry and S̲h̲uwa Arab cavalry with a *mamlūk* officer corps owing personal loyalty to him. The old Kanūri fief-holding offices remained in existence, but fiefs were progressively transferred to supporters of al-Kānemī, and a new council of advisers dominated the government. These advisers, mainly non-Kanūri, represented a new and reforming element in Bornuan politics.

Al-Kānemī, though a scholar of considerable standing, was not a prolific writer, only one short work of *fiḳh*, *Naṣīḥat al-ḥukkām*, and a poem, *Nasīm al-ṣabā*, being certainly attributable to him. A number of his letters, however, are preserved.

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(ABDULLAHI SMITH)

KANGĀWAR [see KINKIWAR].

ḲANG̲H̲LI, ḲANḲLĪ, the name of a Turkish people living in mediaeval times in the steppes of Turkestan and south-western Siberia. We do not find mention of the Ḳang̲h̲lī in the oldest Arab and Persian geographers and travellers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, as we do of several other Turkish tribes. For Maḥmūd Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī, *ḳankli* was not an ethnic designation, but was, as a proper noun, "the name of a great man of the Ḳïpčaḳ", and as a common noun, "a heavily-loaded cart" (*Dīwān lug̲h̲āt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, iii, 379). In some early Turkish sources on the legendary origins of the Turkish tribes, *e.g.*, the *Og̲h̲uz-nāma*, we find the story that the tribe got its name from the man who first constructed and used these heavy wagons for transport across the steppes (see Marquart, *Komanen*, 163); but Sir Gerard Clauson thought it equally likely that the wagon used by the Turks got its name of *ḳañlï*/*ḳang̲h̲lï* from the fact that it was introduced by the Ḳang̲h̲lī people to the steppe Turks, see his *The name Uyğur*, in *JRAS* (1963), 147-8, and *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 638.

The Ḳang̲h̲lī are most frequently mentioned in the sources pertaining to the century or so preceeding the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century, and are often spoken as part of the Ḳïpčaḳ confederation, *i.e.*, they belonged ethnically to the south-western group of Turkish peoples. They are also associated with the Kimäk [*q.v.*], themselves apparently one of the tribal groups eventually forming the Ḳïpčaḳ. Concerning their habitat, Abu 'l-G̲h̲āzī in his *S̲h̲ad̲j̲ara-yi Tarākima* retails a legend that the Ḳang̲h̲lī had a *k̲h̲ān*, Gök-Toñlï, whose centre was on the Yayik or Ural River (Barthold, *Four studies*, iii. *A history of the Turkman people*, 132), but by the beginning of the 7th/13th century they and the Ḳïpčaḳ were also close neighbours of the Mongol Nayman on the Irtis̲h̲ (idem, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 151, Fr tr. *Histoire des turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 118). Minorsky read a passage in one of the manuscripts of D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ānī's *Ṭabaḳāt-i nāṣirī*, where there is mentioned a punitive expedition into the steppes in 615/1216 by the K̲h̲ʷārazm-S̲h̲āh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, as referring to "Ḳadïr K̲h̲ān Yig̲h̲ur, ruler of the Ḳang̲h̲lï Tatars", whose lands stretched far north into the region of perpetual twilight in summer (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 309). It seems that the Ḳang̲h̲lī nomadised over an extensive area of western Siberia, but came as far south as the Sïr Daryā and northern fringes of Transoxania, where D̲j̲uwaynī mentions them several times in his story of the irruption of the Mongols into Transoxania. Ḳang̲h̲lï and Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] had been amongst the rebellious troops of the Ḳarā K̲h̲ānid ruler, and their unruliness had led the latter potentate to call in the Ḳarā K̲h̲iṭāy, with disastrous results to his line [see ḲARĀ K̲H̲IṬĀY].

At the time of the Mongols' appearance, the Ḳang̲h̲lï had a settlement called Ḳarākum on the lower Sïr Daryā, not far from D̲j̲and [*q.v.*], mentioned as the place to which the Merkit fled after Čingiz K̲h̲ān had defeated them and the Nayman on the Irtis̲h̲ in 1208; it was also the place where in 617/1220 the Mongol general Čïn Temür rested before going on to occupy D̲j̲and (Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 361-2, 370, 415). Many Ḳang̲h̲lï tribesmen obviously formed part of the K̲h̲ʷārazmian armies confronting the incoming Mongols, and they suffered heavy losses when Buk̲h̲ārā and Samarḳand were stormed by the Mongols; there seems to have been some dynastic connection between the K̲h̲ʷārazm-S̲h̲āhs and the Ḳang̲h̲lï, if D̲j̲uwaynī's report that Sulṭān D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn's mother Terken K̲h̲ātūn was a Ḳang̲h̲lï is true (see D̲j̲uwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 91, 106, 121, ii, 370, 465, and Barthold, *op. cit.*, 415; Nasawī, however, makes Terken K̲h̲ātūn from the Bayaʾut branch of the associated tribe of the Kimäk/Yimäk). Those of the Ḳang̲h̲lï not massacred by the Mongols must have melted into the Turkish hordes making up a large proportion of the Mongol armies; western travellers to the court of the Mongol K̲h̲āns like John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck mention them as the Cangitae and Cangle respectively. Thereafter, they disappear from recorded history. They can hardly have been touched by Islam; indeed, the only reference to their religious beliefs is that the Mongol general Toluy K̲h̲ān or Ulug̲h̲ Noyan employed a Ḳang̲h̲lï versed in the art of using the *yay* or rainstone (*i.e.*, he was a *shaman*) to conjure up rain during his campaign against the Chinese in 628/1231 (D̲j̲uwaynī-Boyle, i, 193; Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 37).

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KIANG̲H̲RĪ [see ČANKIRI].

KĀṄGṚĀ, the Nagarkoṭ of Muslim historians of India, occasionally referred to as Kōt Kāṅgṛā, is also the headquarters of the *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Indian Pand̲j̲āb. Kāṅgṛā lies between 30° 5' N. and 76° 16' E. on the northern slope of the

low mountain ranges which run through the district, facing Dharamsālā, a fine hill resort in summer, and commands a view of the verdant Kāṅgṛā valley below.

The pre-Mughal history of the town is not definitely known. It was, however, a stronghold of the Kaṭōč Rādjpūt rādjās who held sway over the entire valley and one of whom, Sansār Čand I, is mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription of c. 1430 A.D. found in the temple-wall of Dēvī Badjrēshrī which is dedicated to Djawālāmukhī, the local fire-deity. This historic inscription was unfortunately destroyed in the severe earthquake of April 1905.

Firishta describes Nagarkōṭ while recounting the exploits of Fīrūz Tughluḳ (cf. Brigg's tr., i, 454-5). The fabulous riches of the temple of Nagarkōṭ had earlier tempted Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who in 399/1008 overran the valley, captured the fort, which stood on the lofty ridge south of the town and was surrounded on three sides by extremely steep and inaccessible hills, and is reported to have carried off as booty an incredible amount of gold and silver, jewels, pearls, diamonds and rubies. However, neither Sudjān Rā'i Bhanḍārī, the Hindu historian of the reign of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] (cf. *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh*, Delhi 1918, 71-2), nor Muḥammad Aslam Anṣārī, the author of *Farḥat al-Nāẓirīn* (extracts published by Ayyūb Ḳādirī, Karachi 1972, 222-3) mention this plundering by Maḥmūd, although the latter mentions a *makān-i Sebüktigīn* in the fort of Kāṅgṛā. The temple sacked by Maḥmūd was not the temple of Badjrēshrī, still revered by the Hindus, but the one situated within the fort, now no longer in existence.

The town and fort were recovered by the Hindus in 436/1044 and they set up an imitation of the sacred image destroyed or carried away by Maḥmūd. Fīrūz Tughluḳ captured the town in 762/1360 and again plundered the temple, whose loss in riches had been made good by the pilgrims and votaries through their offerings and gifts. A unique library containing 1,300 ancient Brahmanical texts also fell into the hands of the sultan, who had some of them translated into Persian. One on philosophy, natural science, divination and omens was translated into verse and styled *Dalā'il-i Fīrūzshāhī* (cf. Firishta. *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Lucknow 1281 A.H., 148). Maḥmūd Tughluḳ (796-814/1394-1411) found asylum in this hill fastness while a fugitive from Delhi before his accession to the throne. In 990/1582 it was visited by Akbar at the head of a large force *en route* to Sind. The town (citadel) was included in the *Khāliṣa* while the surrounding hills were restored to the native chief Djay Čand. The Hindus seem not to have forgiven the Muslim violation of their temple, and twice rose in rebellion, to be ultimately starved into submission by an imperial force under prince Khurram (later Shāhdjahān) in 1030/1621. Djahāngīr, writing of the conquest of Kāṅgṛā by Khurram, boasts of his being the first Mughal emperor to have brought about the complete submission of the valley of Kāṅgṛā to Muslim rule (cf. *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Urdu tr., Lahore 1960, 654-6). By way of thanksgiving for this unique victory, Djahāngīr ordered the construction of a mosque within the fort, the sounding of the call to prayer, the recitation of the Friday *khuṭba*, and the slaughter, inside the fort, of a cow, so sacred to the Hindus (cf. *Tūzuk*, Urdu trans., 697). Djahāngīr also intended to build a summer residence for himself in the cool, salubrious climate of the valley, but the idea was never carried out. Obviously, Kashmīr was the pleasure-seeking emperor's first choice. Djagat Singh, the landlord of Nūrpur and *fawdjdār* of Kāṅgṛā, rose in rebellion during the reign of Shāh Djahān, but this was soon suppressed and the rebellious chief was pardoned and promoted in rank; his loyalty was thus secured. Iʿtimād al-Dawla [*q.v.*] the father of Nūr Djahān, died in Kāṅgṛā in the entourage of Djahāngīr. Shaykh Farīd Murtaḍā Khān Bukhārī also breathed his last near here while he was the governor of Lahore.

Nagarkōṭ formed a part of the Mughal possessions till its cession in 1167/1753 to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī by the effete Mughal administration of Delhi. In 1188/1774 a Sikh chieftain, Djay Singh, obtained it by a stratagem, but it was acquired by Sansār Čand of the line of the dispossessed Rādjpūt princes of Kāṅgṛa. In 1221/1806 the Gurkhas defeated Sansār Čand, who had attacked Bilāspūr and obtained possession of the valley. They perpetrated scarcely credible atrocities on the population. In 1224/1809 Kāṅgṛā was captured by Randjīt Singh, Sansār Čand's overlord. It passed to the British in 1262/1846 after the first Sikh War. During the military uprising of 1857, some disturbances took place in and around the valley but these were soon firmly suppressed.

Kāṅgṛā now forms part of the Indian Republic; its sacred temple of Djawālāmukhī is visited by thousands of pilgrims every year. Awrangzīb is said to have brought a canal here from the river Beas; when a burning torch or taper was cast into the water, the flames were not extinguished (cf. Muḥammad Aslam Anṣārī, *Farḥat al-Nāẓirīn*, extracts, Karachi 1972, 222-3).

The terrible earthquake of April 1905 resulted in irreparable damage to the fort and temples as well as harm to other buildings of archaeological importance. The place, apart from being a hill-station, abounds in game including several species of pheasants, partridges, quails, snipe and deer. Mango grows wild in abundance, but the fruit is poor. The handful of Muslims living in the valley, mainly members of the lower class, were expelled during the communal disturbances of 1947 in the wake of partition.

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History of Shahjahan of Dihli[2], Allahabad 1958, 93-102; Khafī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Calcutta 1869, i, 297, 306, 325-6, 583.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

KĀNĪ, abū bakr, a prominent Ottoman poet and prose stylist of the 12th/18th century. He was a native of Toḳad, and although Ebu ʾl-Ḍiyā gives the date of his birth as 1124/1712, this conflicts with Edīb Efendi's statement that he was still a young man (*new-djewān*) when he left for Istanbul. He received his education in Toḳad, where he also entered the order of the Mewlewī dervishes, becoming the disciple (*mürīd*) of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. Fatīn relates that at some period of his early life he was employed as a secretary in Erzurum, yet it was from Toḳad that he accompanied Ḥekīm-oghlī ʿAlī Pasha to Istanbul early in 1168/1755 when the latter passed through that town on his journey from Ṭrabzon to assume the office of Grand Vizier for the third time. In the capital he entered the Imperial *Dīwān* as a secretary, rising rapidly to the high rank of *khwādjegān*. When, and under what circumstances, he left Istanbul for the Danubian provinces is not known, but from the early 1180s the letters in the *Münsheʾāt* show him to be in such cities as Silistra, Russe (Rusčuḳ) and Bucharest, serving as secretary to either the *voivods* of Wallachia or to Yegen al-Ḥādjdj Meḥmed Agha (later Pasha; cf. the *dhayl* of Aḥmed Djāwīd to ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat ul-Wüzerāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 32). When the latter became Grand Vizier in 1196/1782, he summoned him to Istanbul; but once here Kānī's disrespectful attitude so angered his master that it was only through the intercession of the *reʾīs ul-küttāb* Khayrī Efendi that he escaped being put to death and was sent instead into exile on the island of Lemnos. The date of his return to Istanbul is unknown, but he died there in Rabīʿ II 1206/Dec. 1791 and was buried near the *türbe* of Ferīdūn Pasha in Eyyūb. A portrait of him with the *voivod* Alexander is said to hang in the Peleş Museum in Sinaia, Roumania.

Kānī's poetical work is represented by two *dīwāns*, both of which were collected posthumously. The first, and most important, was compiled by the *waḳʿa-nuwīs* Khalīl Nūrī Efendi on the instructions of the *reʾīs ul-küttāb* Meḥmed Rāshid (most probably during his second tenure of this office, Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1206-Muḥarram 1209/July 1792-Aug. 1794 and contains what may be regarded as his more serious work. The circumstances of the compilation of the second *dīwān*, containing his humourous and satirical verses, many of which are extremely lubricious, have not been determined. Kānī's poetry is of such uneven quality that one should be cautious in accepting general appraisals of its value. Certainly there is throughout an intrusive facetiousness, a fondness for word-play and an unconventional recourse to the vernacular which often obscures the meaning; but there is, too, that same verbal inventiveness and freshness of imagery that marks his prose, and which must have had the charm of novelty to his cultivated contemporaries.

Kānī is generally more highly esteemed as a prose-writer than as a poet, and in the personal letters which are included in his *Münsheʾāt* he does, indeed, show a highly individual style, and is himself presented as a personality of irrepressible wit and insouciance. The *Münsheʾāt* is, however, for the most part a collection of the official correspondence written while he was secretary to Yegen Meḥmed or the *voivods* of Wallachia, the letters therein being grouped in accordance with the social station of the person addressed, and obviously intended to serve as models for this type of composition. Kānī, also, enjoys the distinction of having composed the first phrase-book in Ottoman Turkish, the *Bürūdj-i Fünūn*, divided into twelve chapters in honour of the Apostles (Ms. in Topkapı Sarayı, Emānet Khazīnesi, no. 1158). It was commissioned by Constantine, the Scarlat *voivod* of Wallachia, for the use of his brother (*li-eb ḳarīndashīm olan Aleksandri Beg-zāde*) and presents very interesting specimens of the formal polite language of the period. None of Kānī's works has yet been published, apart from a few extracts in anthologies.

Bibliography: Study of the *Münsheʾāt* could greatly supplement the biographical information found in Ebu ʾl-Ḍiyā Tewfīḳ, *Nümūne-i edebiyyāt-ı ʿOthmāniyye*[4], Istanbul 1329, 49-54, from which Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 159-74, derives. Of the *tedhkire*-writers, Fatīn Efendi, *Khātimet ul-eshʿār*, Istanbul 1271, 352, gives some erroneous details of his life, while ʿĀrif Ḥikmet (ʿAlī Emīrī, no. 789, f. 55a) merely repeats the information found in Djewdet Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, v, 234, which was itself taken from the history of the *waḳʿa-nüwīs* Edīb Efendi; the brief notice on him in Silāḥdār-zāde Meḥmed Emīn (ʿAlī Emīrī, no. 795, f. 57a) is incorrect, and ʿAbd ül-Fettāḥ Shefḳat (ʿAlī Emīrī, no. 770, 163-4) does no more than quote six *ghazel*s and one *naʿt* from his poetry. The most recent study of Kānī is in the anonymous article in the *İA*, vi, 158-9, to the bibliography of which should now be added *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Türkče Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu*, iii, Istanbul 1967, 862-6.

(J. R. Walsh)

ĶĀNIʿ, mīr ʿalī sher, historian of Sind, son of ʿIzzat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Shīrāzī, was born in Thaṭṭa, the capital of Sind in the Mughal and pre-Mughal period, in 1440/1727 and died there in 1203/1788. His grave still exists on the nearby Maklī hills. He received his education from local scholars, some of whom are mentioned in his *Maḳālāt-al-shuʿarāʾ* (Karachi 1957, 114, 150, 339, 359, 817). In 1175/1761 he was commissioned by the Kalhōṛa ruler of Sind, Ghulām Shāh ʿAbbāsī (1170-86/1757-72), to write a Persian history of the ruling dynasty on the lines of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*], but this was never completed. Five years later he began compiling his *Tuḥfat al-kirām*, which he finished in 1181/1767.

A born poet, Ḳāniʿ wrote many verses while still a boy of 12. In poetry he acknowledged as his teacher Mīr Abū Turāb Ḥaydar al-Dīn "Kāmil", a great-grandson of Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Namakīn, a poet of no mean achievement and a nobleman of the times of Shāh Djahān [*q.v.*].

The most important works in his large output in prose and verse are: (i) *Tuḥfat al-kirām*, a general history in 3 vols., of which the last is mostly biographical and devoted to Sind (Lucknow and Bombay 1304/1886); (ii) *Maḳālāt al-shuʿarāʾ* (composed in 1174/1727, alphabetically arranged lives of the poets of Sind who wrote in Persian (ed. Karachi 1957); (iii) *Maḳlī Nāma* or *Būstān-i bahār*, a poetic description in prose and verse of the tombs and social scenes on the Maklī hills, the necropolis of Thaṭṭa (ed. Hyderabad 1967); (iv) *Miʿyār-i sālikān-i ṭarīḳat* (1202/1787), lives of saints and Ṣūfī poets from the time of Muḥammad to the close of the 12th/18th century in 12 *miʿyārs* (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1968); (v) *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAbbāsīya*, an unfinished history of the Kalhōṛas, in prose and verse, undertaken at the command of Ghulām Shāh Kalhōṛa, (Rieu, iii,

1061b); (vi) *Niṣāb al-bulag͟hāʾ*, an encyclopaedic work compiled in 1198/1783; the only copy known is in the private library of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm of Gaṛhī Yāsīn (Sind); (vii) *Mat͟hnawiyyāt-wa Ḳaṣāʾid-i Ḳāniʿ*, ed. Karachi 1961 (a collection of his longer poems). A detailed list of his works is given in the *Maḳālāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, 7-28 (Introduction).

Bibliography: Autobiography in *Maḳālāt al-s͟huʿarāʾ*, Karachi 1957, 531-62; *Mihrān*, Sindhi quarterly, Karachi, v/2 (1956), 131-167; C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, 138, 656, 854, 1030-31.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

KANIK, orhan velî (1914-1950), Turkish poet who introduced major innovations to 20th century Turkish poetry. Kanık's early poems, published under the pen name of Mehmet Ali Sel, were formal lyrics written in traditional metres. After 1936 he adopted free verse, which had first been introduced in the 1920s by Nazım Hikmet (1902-1963). Kanık's first collection of poems, *Garip* (1941) also contained poems by his colleagues Oktay Rifat (b. 1914) and Melih Cevdet Anday (b. 1915). These three poets published a joint manifesto which called for a vast transformation of the structure, function, and language of poetry, whereby poetry would be made to reflect and address itself to the tastes of the masses.

Kanık's later volumes—*Vazgeçemediğim* (1945), *Destan Gibi* (1946), *Yenisi* (1947), *Karşı* (1949)—sought to further the aesthetic principles set forth in the manifesto. His poetry, written in free verse without rhyme, utilized a straightforward style based on the natural rhythms and the idiomatic resources of colloquial Turkish, shunning conventional moulds and metres and avoiding the stereotyped metaphors which had characterized the work of most of his predecessors and some of his contemporaries. Kanık championed a form of poetic realism which often featured the man-in-the-street as the modern hero. His poems about the sea and the city of Istanbul are notable for mellifluous lyricism. Satire is a prevalent element in Kanık's poetry: some of his satirical lines and brief poems have become proverbial among Turks.

Kanık's complete poems were posthumously published in 1951 under the title *Bütün Şiirleri*, which had gone into eleven impressions by 1971. He was also a leading translator of French poetry and drama. In 1949 he published his poetic versions (in rhymed syllabic metres) of 72 selected anecdotes of Nasreddin Hod͟ja.

Bibliography: A. Bezirci, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Istanbul 1967; M. Uyguner, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Istanbul 1967; E. Heister, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Cologne 1957; Y. Pazarkaya-H. Mader, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Frankfurt 1966; T. S. Halman, *I am listening to Istanbul* (*Selected poems of Orhan Veli Kanık*, New York 1971. Some translations also appeared in *Encounter*, March 1972, 31.

(T. S. Halman)

KANĪSA (pl. *kanāʾis*), synagogue, church, temple.

(i). Etymology and meaning. The word *kanīsa* is the Arabised form of the western Aramaic *kenīs͟htā* (eastern Aramaic *kenūs͟htā*), which means "meeting, assembly". Some Arab lexicographers (Ibn Manẓūr, al-Fīrūzābādī and al-Zabīdī) give this etymology, but others (al-K͟hafād͟jī, al-Bustānī) derive the word from the Greek ἐκκλησία, as does the 4th/10th century Coptic writer, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (cf. J. Assfalg, *Die Ordnung des Priestertums*, Cairo 1955, 3). The word *kanīsa* is not found in the Ḳurʾān, unlike its synonym *bīʿa* (pl. *biyaʿ*), which appears once (XXII, 40). On the other hand it is found in *ḥadīt͟h*, archaic poetry, capitulation treaties made by the caliphs and their generals with the inhabitants of conquered cities, and also in papyri.

As used by Muslim authors, historians and geographers, the word *kanīsa* designates equally the cultic place (*mutaʿabbad*) of the Jews (synagogue), of the Christians (church) and of the pagans (temple).

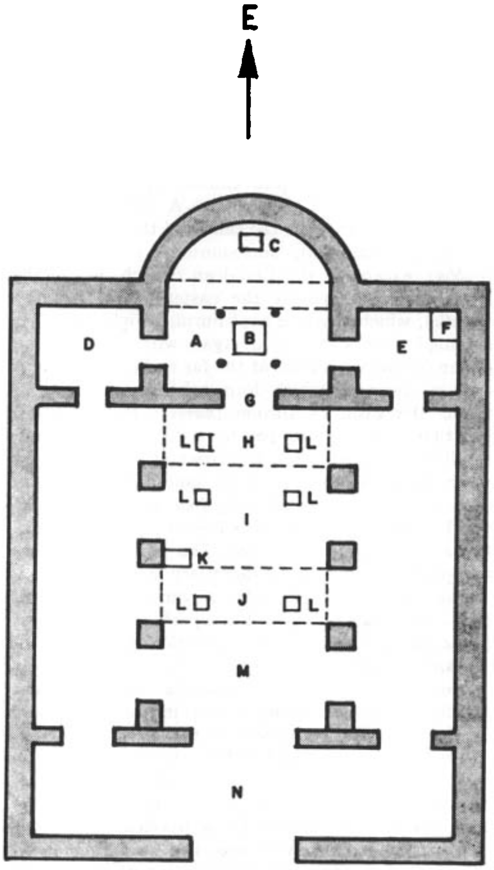

Plan of an eastern church

A: Sanctuary — B: Altar with ciborium — C: Episcopal throne — D: Diaconicon or sacristy — E: Baptistry — F: Baptismal font — G: Main door — H: Dais, amongst the Chaldeans and Syrians — I: Choir, amongst the Byzantines and Copts — J: Gallery, amongst the Chaldeans and Syrians — K: Ambo, amongst the Byzantines and Copts — L: Lecterns — M: Nave — N: Narthex.

Kanīsa is an element of numerous church-names. The most famous of these is the *Kanīsat al-Ḳiyāma* (the Church of the Resurrection) in Jerusalem, which some writers twist into *Kanīsat al-Ḳumāma* (the Church of the Sweepings), making a play on the root *k-n-s*, which means "to sweep" in Arabic. In Egypt alone, the word *kanīsa* appears 187 times in al-Maḳrīzī's *Kitāb al-K͟hiṭaṭ*. In modern Eastern vernaculars, *knīse* is used for "church" and *knīs* for "synagogue".

In the work of Christian writers, *kanīsa* means both the assembly of the faithful and their meeting-place. In Bible translations, both it and *bīʿa* are used indiscriminately for the two Greek words ἐκκλησιά and συναγωγή, or the two Syriac words *ʿidtā* or *kᵉnūshtā*. The relative adjective is *kanasī* or *kanāʾisī*, "ecclesiastical" (*al-Sifr al-kanāʾisī* = The Book of Ecclesiastes).

(ii). The Christian building. Despite some differences depending on periods and rites (Chaldean, Syrian, Byzantine, Copt), all churches are built on more or less the same plan, whether in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine or Egypt. The eastern church is rectangular in form, always orientated towards the east, and is divided into two main parts, the sanctuary and the nave.

The sanctuary (*haykal*) or Holy of Holies (*Ḳuds al-aḳdas*) is separated from the nave in the Chaldean or Syrian church by a wall with two doors, and in the Byzantine or Coptic church by a marble or wooden screen with three doors. A veil (*sitr*) hangs over the main door. In the centre of the sanctuary is the altar (*madhbaḥ*), surmounted by a ciborium (*ḳubba*), except in the Chaldean church, where the altar is placed against the eastern wall. A lamp (*ḳindīl*), which must be kept burning night and day, is hung in front of the altar. Again with the exception of the Chaldean church, at the far end of the sanctuary, in the apse which forms the eastern wall, is found the bishop's throne (*kursī*); the Chaldean sanctuary, which is topped by a dome, has no apse. In all rites, entry to the sanctuary is strictly forbidden to the laity. At the left of the sanctuary is the diaconicon or sacristy (*bayt al-khidma*) and at the right the baptistry (*bayt al-maʿmūdiyya*), with the baptismal font (*djurn al-ʿimād*). The position of these two places relative to the sanctuary may be reversed.

The nave (*ṣaḥn*) includes a varying number of bays. In Chaldean and Syrian churches the dais (*minaṣṣa*) is situated in the anterior bay, where in Byzantine and Coptic churches is found the choir (*khūrus*), often covered by a dome. The Chaldeans and Syrians place the pulpit (*bīm*) in the central bay; on the left side is the site of the ambo (*anbil*) in Byzantine and Coptic churches. On the dais, in the choir on the pulpit two lecterns (*ḳarrāʾa*) are placed. The front of the nave is reserved for men and the rear, formerly separated by a wooden screen, for women. The nave may be preceded by a narthex on the western façade or bordered with a gallery on the north or south side.

In all rites, the church building is consecrated (*tadshīn*), and the dedication of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem is celebrated on September 13. Oriental church symbolism is particularly rich, each part of the building having its own spiritual significance (cf. J. Perier, *La perle précieuse*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xvi, 68-70, 159-66).

After the Muslim conquest, the Christians were prohibited from building any new churches; all they could do was repair and restore existing buildings, which in theory they were permitted to keep. In fact, however, over the centuries numerous churches were confiscated and converted into mosques, or even destroyed (cf. A. Fattal, *Le statut legal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beirut 1958, 174-203).

Bibliography: S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 275; *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1970, i, 385 (very many refs.); J. M. Fiey, *Mossoul chrétienne*, Beirut 1959 (for Chaldean and Syriac rites); A. Couturier, *Cours de liturgie grecque-melkite*, Jerusalem 1912 (for the Byzantine rite); O. H. E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, Cairo 1967 (for the Coptic rite).

(G. Troupeau)

KANIZSA (Turkish Kanizhe), a notable Hungarian fortress dominating the region between Lake Balaton and the River Mur. Kanizsa stood amidst marshes: "caenoso palustrique loco sita est, fluviolo stagnante, et nullis coercito ripis, sed magis late diffuso ac carectis, multaque alno et arundine impedito, endique cincta" (Isthvanfius, 774). The Ottomans conquered the fortress in 1009/1600 after a wearisome siege, demanding the construction of approach roads across the marshes which were built of reeds and had to be renewed each day. Once taken, Kanizsa (with Szigetvár, Eszék, Siklos and Pécs) was entrusted to the care of Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha. Alarmed at the loss of this important fortress, the Christians attempted to regain it in 1010/1601, but their attempts were foiled by the vigorous defence against them conducted by Tiryākī Ḥasan —a defence which became famous among the Ottomans and the details of which are recorded in the well-known *Ghazawāt-i Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha* (cf. A. S. Levend, 99 ff.). Kanizsa remained under Ottoman rule until the war of the Sacra Liga (1648-99), yielding to the Christian forces in 1101/1690 and then passing definitively into the control of Austria.

Bibliography: Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 230 ff.; Ṣolāḳzāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1298, 656 ff.; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3, i, 226 ff.; 245 ff.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286-7, i, 137 ff.; 148 ff.; Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 505 ff.; Hieronymus Ortelius, *Chronologia oder Historische Beschreibung aller Kriegsempörungen und Belagerungen ... in Ober un Under Ungern auch Siebenbürgen mit dem Türcken von A° 1395 biss auf gegenwertige Zeit denkhwürtig geschehen*, Nuremberg 1620-22, 478 ff., 502, 517 ff.; Nicolai Isthvanfi Pannoni, *Historiarum De Rebus Ungaricis Libri XXXIV*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1622, 764 ff.; 773 ff.; A. Stauffer. *Die Belagerung von Kanizsa durch die Christlichen Truppen im Jahre 1601*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichte*, VII (Innsbruck 1886), 265 ff.; K. Horvat, *Vojne Ekspedicije Klementa VIII u Ugarsku i Hrvatsku*, Zagreb 1910, 186 ff.; V. Errante, "*Forse che si, forse che no*". *La Terza Spedizione del Duca Vincenzo Gonzaga in Ungheria alla Guerra contro il Turco* (1601) *studiata su documenti inediti*, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, Series 5, XLII, Part I, Milan 1915, 15 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, vii, 359 ff., viii, 9 ff.; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iii (Gotha 1855), 609 ff.; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iii (Gotha 1910), 334 ff.; F. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 156; Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Ġazavāt-Nāmeler* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, XI. Seri, n°. 8), Ankara 1956, 99 ff.; L. A. Maggiorotti, *L'Opera del genio Italiano al Estero* (Serie iv, *Gli architetti militari*, 3 vols., Rome 1932-9), ii, 235-44; B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1963, 166-8.

(V. J. Parry)

KANKARIDES [see kurds].

KANKIWAR [see kinkiwar]

KANNANŪR, cannanore, a port on the Malabar coast of southwestern peninsular India in lat. 11° 52' N. and long. 75° 22' E.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sailed down this coast in 743/1342, and though he does not mention Kannanūr by name,

it seems that his mention of the powerful ruler of D̲j̲urfattan, whose ships traded with the Persian Gulf, ʿUmān and South Arabia, refers to the local ruler there (*Riḥla*, iv, 82-3). Aḥmad b. Mād̲j̲id (wrote *ca.* 895/1489-90) certainly speaks specifically of the "Bay of Kannanūr" in his account of the Malabar coastline (G. R. Tibbett, ***Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese***, London 1971, 201, 457). In the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries the dominant power in Malabar was the line of Hindu rulers in Kalikat [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (Calicut), the Zamorins, whose authority extended from Kananūr in the north to Cochin in the south, and to whom the local Kolatirri Rād̲j̲ās in Kannanūr were tributary.

Islam must have come to Kannanūr with the arrival at an early date of Arab traders, one local tradition putting the origins of the family of Āli Rād̲j̲ās (Malayalam, "Lord of the Sea") at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. This family derived its name from its being admirals for the Kōlatirris, and these Āli Rād̲j̲ās were also heads of the local community of Malabar coast Muslims, the Māppillas [*q.v.*] or Moplahs, who were perhaps originally built round a nucleus of Arab merchants, but with increasing numbers of indigenous Malayali adherents; Kannanūr remains today an important Māpilla centre. From *ca.* 1500 onwards, the Kōlatirri Rād̲j̲ās of Kannanūr also exercised suzerainty over the Laccadive Islands [*q.v.*], and in the mid-10th/16th century they granted these to the Āli Rād̲j̲ās as a *d̲j̲āgīr* [*q.v.*] or assignment in return for annual tribute; Kannanūr Māpilla merchants monopolised the lucrative coir trade of the Islands until the revolt in 1786 of the islanders against their harsh exploitation. The connection of the rulers of Kannanūr with the Maldive Islands [*q.v.*] comes also from an early date, with the king of the Islands being tributary to the Rād̲j̲ās by *ca.* 1500.

The arrival of the Portuguese in South India was at first welcomed by the Kōlatirri Rād̲j̲ās, who hoped to throw off the control of Kalikat. Vasco da Gama was at Kannanūr in 1498, and Cabral in 1500, and on his second voyage to India in 1502, da Gama made an agreement with the Rād̲j̲ā and established there a stockade and a garrison of 200 men. The first Portuguese viceroy, Francisco d'Almeida, established four forts on the Malabar coast, at Anjediva Island, Kannanūr, Cochin and Quilon, the Kannanūr stockade being erected into a proper defensive position, Fort St. Angelo, in 1505, probably on the site of an existing stronghold. In 1506 and 1507 the Portuguese garrison there fought off naval attacks by the Zamorins of Kalikat; Almeida made it the headquarters for his fleet, and it was from Kannanūr that the destruction of the combined fleets of the Egyptian Mamlūks and of the Zamorins at Dīw (Diu) in S̲h̲awwāl 914/February 1509 was organised.

The Dutch captured Kannanūr and Cochin in 1663 and took over the Portuguese position on the Malabar coast. But by the end of the 17th century the trade of the Dutch East India Company in Malabar declined as that of the English East India Company grew, and the Kannanūr fort was reduced to one tower. Hence in 1771 the Dutch sold Fort St. Angelo and other forts to the Āli Rād̲j̲ās. In these decades, the latter showed themselves as generally unfriendly to the British East India Company, intriguing with the Dutch and French and consistently supporting the expansionist policies of Ḥaydar ʿAlī [*q.v.*] (Hyder Ali) of Mysore. The Bībī of Kannanūr (sc. the female representative of the Āli Rād̲j̲ā line) further supported Ḥaydar ʿAlī's son Tīpū Sulṭān; hence in December 1783 Kannanūr was occipied by a British force under Col. MacLeod, and again captured in December 1790 by General Ralph Abercromby, when the Bībī submitted and 5,000 of Tīpū Sulṭān's troops surrendered. An agreement made in 1796 with the Bībī left her Kannanūr and the Laccadive Islands in return for an annual assessment of Rs. 15,000, an arrangement which continued in force down to the 20th century.

Kannanūr eventually became part of the Madras Presidency, with Kannanūr as the *chef-lieu* of the *tāluk* of Chirakkal, the northernmost *tāluk* of the District of Malabar. Its importance and size grew in the 19th century, especially as it was also till 1887 the military headquarters of British forces on the west coast of South India, and a cantonment was laid out, with Fort St. Angelo separating it from the Māppilla Old Town. In 1861 the Laccadive Islands were sequestered from the Bībī on account of misgovernment, and again in 1875, this time permanently. In modern India, Kannanūr is now in the northernmost part of Kerala state, and since the administrative re-organisation of 1958-9 has formed one of the eight constituent districts of that state; according to the *Census of India* 1961, Vol. vii *Kerala*, Pt. ii/A, 40, 118, Pt. ii/c, 152-3, the population of Kannanūr district was then 1,780,294 (including 1,237,254 Hindus, 418,832 Muslims, 123,575 Christians, and 551 Jains), and that of Kannanūr town (municipality plus cantonment) 48,960.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KANNĀS (A.), lit. sweeper, is a term synonymous with *kassāḥ*; other words used in the Arab Orient for the same occupation are *sammād* and *zabbāl*, which denote "dung collectors" or scavengers who collected garbage, such as animal dung, to be used as fertiliser. The *kannāsūn*, the sanitary workers, swept public squares (*riḥāb*) and other places such as prisons (*sud̲j̲ūn*), dungeons (*maṭābiḳ*) and latrines (*kunūf*), and transported garbage in boats or by other means to places outside the cities. The earliest known report in Islamic literature of scavenging is a tradition collected by Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām [*q.v.*], who noted that the indigenous Arameans (known to the Arabs as *Anbāṭ*, sing. *Nabaṭ*) cleaned a dung-hill at Bayt al-Maḳdis during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb. The *Anbāṭ* of Syria and ʿIrāḳ are reported as having been used occasionally as forced labour by the Umayyad government.

There is evidence to suggest that the *kannāsūn* and the *kassāḥūn* were organized into guilds throughout the ʿAbbāsid period. D̲j̲āḥiẓ [*q.v.*] speaks of a certain *ʿarīf al-kannāsīn* who was the chief of the sweepers living in the Kark̲h̲ quarter of Bag̲h̲dād in the 3rd/9th century. Al-Rāg̲h̲ib al-Iṣfahānī, writing in the 5th/11th and early 6th/12th century, also gives evidence that sweepers' guilds were found in Arab society during the later part of the ʿAbbāsid period. The bulk of literary evidence relating to workers of the ʿAbbāsid epoch gives the impression that the so-called "low crafts" such as those of the

dustmen, cuppers, weavers, leather workers, brokers and fishmongers, were stigmatized. Some of these groups of workers kept apart from each other and shared only a mutual dislike. In one anecdote, presumably not to be taken literally, a *kannās* was described as preferring to drink from a filthy pot used for conveying human excrement than drinking from the clean cup of a cupper. A proverbial saying of the Umayyad period says that there is nothing to choose between a cupper and a sweeper because they are equally worthless. Similar attitudes prevail today among different groups of low-caste workers in India.

It is interesting to note a contrasting view on the status of scavengers presented by the authors of the epistles (*rasāʾil*) of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* [*q.v.*], who pleaded that the dustmen's rôle in urban society was of greater public utility than that of the perfumers (*ʿaṭṭārūn*). So the scavengers deserve honour (*sharaf*), the *Ikhwān* writers argued, although there is no evidence that such logic had any influence on public opinion. The general contemptuous attitude towards the *kannāsūn* was not confined to the society of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods; it is equally noticeable in Arab society under the Mamlūks. Some Muslim jurists, while discussing the law of *kafāʾa* [*q.v.*], state that *kannāsūn* are not acceptable as marriage partners by other groups in society. Scavenging therefore tended to be a hereditary occupation and the *kannāsūn* lived as a closed, endogamous group.

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(M. A. J. BEG)

KANO, a city in northern Nigeria situated in lat. 121 N., long. 8° 30′ E. Its population was estimated to be 295,432 persons at the 1963 census. Kano State has an area of 16,630 square miles and an estimated population of 5,774,842.

History and Politics: Kano is reputed to have originated before the 4th/10th century as a pagan settlement at the foot of Dalla hill, a large rocky outcrop which dominates the present city. The traditional accounts of this early period suggest that the inhabitants adhered to an animist, spirit-possession cult similar to the *bori* cult which has survived in northern Nigeria to the present day, and that the cult head combined his priestly functions with those of a temporal ruler.

In the 4th/10th century the city was visited by "strangers" under their leader, Bagauda, who are described as having come from the north under pressure of famine in their own country. They settled in Kano with the consent of the indigenous inhabitants and then, by superior skills and cunning, established mastery over them. Whether these immigrants were Muslims is uncertain, although according to the traditional account Bagauda also bore the name Dāwūd. But they clearly did not belong to the indigenous cult and the Kano Chronicle (see *Bibl.* below) records that some generations passed before they became integrated into it. Their contribution to the development of Kano seems to have been that they set up a city state, with fairly clearly defined territorial boundaries and an administrative centre within the walled city, where previously there had existed only a stateless, hunting and primitive agriculturalist society living in scattered open hamlets and clearings in the bush.

After Bagauda, the first Islamic name to occur in the king-list is that of Osumanu Zamnagawa, who reigned from 743/1343 to 750/1349 by the Kano Chronicle dating. According to the same source, his reign was followed by the arrival in Kano of the Wangarawa, that is Islamic missionaries from Mali, during the reign of Yaji (750-87/1349-85), but a recent account based on the discovery of a 17th-century chronicle of the Wangarawa (Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdj, *A Seventeenth-Century Chronicle of the Origins and Missionary Activities of the Wangarawa*), in *Kano Studies*, i/4 (1968) suggests that this event took place in the 9th/15th century and not in the 8th/14th century. Other evidence also tends to support the view that the 9th/15th rather than the 8th/14th century was the point at which an Islamic presence became firmly established in Kano, even though some indeterminate Islamic influences may well have been abroad at an earlier date. For instance, it is between 793/1390 and 813/1410 that the quilted horse armour (Arabic *al-libd*, Hausa *lifidi*) together with mail shirts were introduced, a fact which suggests contacts with Islamic North Africa. Also, between 824/1421 and 841/1438 a "prince" and his followers arrived in the city from Bornū, a kingdom where Islam had already been established since, reputedly, the 5th/11th century. This was followed by the opening of trade relations with Bornu. By 856/1452 camels are said to have appeared in the city and slave-raiding in the country south of Kano had become a profitable occupation of the aristocracy. All of this suggests that Kano had, by the middle of the 9th/15th century, become involved in the trans-Saharan caravan trade and this, of course, offers a reliable indication for the chronology of islamization.

The next major landmark in this chronology is the arrival in Kano of the well-known Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Maghīlī al-Tilimsānī (d. 909/1504), a Muslim *ʿālim* and missionary from North Africa. This personality became the focus of the Islamic tradition in Kano, and indeed in Hausaland as a whole. He is credited with introducing the Sharīʿa and Ṣūfism and indeed all things Islamic are said to go back to al-Maghīlī. No doubt he was personally important; but the true significance of his presence in the city is that it signals the time when, as a result of increasing involvement in the Saharan trade complex

and political contacts with Bornū, Kano became opened up to the surrounding Islamic areas of North Africa and Egypt.

A further step on the way toward fuller islamization took place during Muhamman Rumfa's reign (867-904/1463-99). He is said to have introduced Islamic segregation of the sexes, the public observation of Islamic festivals and he also appointed eunuchs to office, thus possibly copying a practice common in courts elsewhere in the Islamic world during the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods.

Kano's relations with the other Sudanese and Saharan states during the period before the Fulani *dj̲ihād* are both involved and sometimes obscure. They are treated in Johnston (*op. cit., Bibl.*) and Hogben and Kirk-Greene (*op. cit., Bibl.*) and need only be reviewed in outline in an article essentially concerned with Islamic aspects. In the 9th/15th century Kano was probably subject to Bornū, to the extent of paying tribute. In the early 10th/16th century it was defeated by Songhai, but the native dynasty remained in power, paying tribute to Songhai but apparently otherwise undisturbed. Songhai control seems soon to have lapsed and later in the century Kano came under the domination of the Kebbi kingdom after a period of debilitating wars against its neighbour Katsine. Throughout the 11th/17th century both the city and the state of Kano were the targets for constant attacks by the warlike Kwararafa from the Benue area. During the first half of the 12th/18th century Bornū again became overlord of Kano, but its place was later taken by the Gobir kingdom, whose king, Babari (1155-84/1742-70), established mastery and levied tribute. These military defeats, however, seem to have had little detrimental effect on the wealth and prosperity of the city, while the rulers appear to have retained all their authority within their kingdom and to have increased in pomp and circumstance. For instance, Babba Zaki (1182-90/1768-76) introduced a uniformed bodyguard of musketeers into his court and is described as having deliberately imitated the ways of the Arabs—in the first instance presumably the life-style of the Arab merchants resident in Kano, but through them the ceremonial and protocol of North African and Egyptian courts. He ruled as an able but ruthless despot. There is evidence of some factional divisions in his court, however, while the account of the reign of one of his near predecessors, Kumbari (1143-56/1731-43), tells of popular resentment against excessive taxation. These scraps of evidence may point to a state of affairs that brought about the events of the reign of Muhamman Alwali (1195-1222/1781-1807), namely the successful Fulani *dj̲ihād* in Kano, the expulsion of Alwali and the installation of the first Fulani amir of Kano, Sulaymanu (1222-35/1807-19), who founded the Fulani dynasty which has ruled the emirate since that time. Sulaymanu was followed in 1235/1819 by Ibrahimu Dabo, a renowned warrior who earned the Hausa epithet *Ci gari*, "conquer city". During the following half-century frequent attacks on the city by the ousted Habe dynasty were defeated, while intermittent war was carried on against the Ningi pagans, a powerful group who still held an enclave on the southern border of the amirate which had not been pacified during the *dj̲ihād*.

During the reign of the amir Usuman (1262-72/1846-55) the German explorer, Heinrich Barth, visited the city. He describes it as a thriving centre of trade, with a market plentifully stocked with goods of European and North African origin. He also provided a sketch map of the city as it was at that time and estimated its population at 30,000 (*op. cit., Bibl.*).

In 1311/1893 a civil war broke out in Kano, occasioned by a succession dispute between two contenders for the throne, Yusufu and Tukur. Tukur, the nominee of the caliph in Sokoto, proved unacceptable to Kano, but at the root of the trouble lay Kano's resentment at Sokoto's interference. The civil war subsided on the death of the two principal protagonists but served to establish the limitations on caliphal authority. The tension between Sokoto and its powerful feudatory Kano has continued to be a factor in their relations ever since.

Kano figured prominently in the events leading to the British occupation of Hausaland early in the present century. It was visited at the end of the 19th century by the British missionary Canon C. H. Robinson and again early in the 20th century by a party of which Dr. Walter Miller was a member. Both gave somewhat unfavourable accounts of Islam and of the Kano administration, which probably contributed to the climate of opinion in the United Kingdom which made the occupation possible. On the eve of that occupation the amir of Kano, Aliyu (1312-21/1894-1903), gave asylum to the Magajin Keffi, the murderer of Sir Frederick Lugard's emissary, Captain Moloney. This provided Lugard with part of his justification for military intervention and in D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1320/February 1903 the city fell to a British force after a brief and ineffective resistance.

During the colonial period, Kano developed both as a centre of the newly introduced Western system of education and as the emporium of the new groundnut trade upon which the economy of northern Nigeria came largely to depend. It was the locale of the School for Arabic Studies, an institution set up by the colonial government to train teachers of Arabic and the Islamic sciences in modern pedagogic methods. Abdullahi Bayero College, a college of Ahmadu Bello University, was also founded in Kano.

The city has always been, and still is, an important centre for Ṣūfī activities. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Mag̲h̲īlī is traditionally supposed to have introduced Ṣūfism to Hausaland, and Kano and Katsina were the two centres he visited. It may be assumed that the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] was the first of the *ṭarīḳa*s to be established and it is still probably the *ṭarīḳa* of the majority even at the present day. But the Tid̲j̲āniyya [*q.v.*] are also strong, reflecting, perhaps, the rivalry with Sokoto referred to above. The Sokoto ruling family is identified with the Ḳādiriyya and indeed bases its claim to political authority largely on the *silsila* of Shehu Usuman ɗan Fodio (ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Fūdī) linking him to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī. This is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that the former *amir* of Kano, Muhammadu Sanusi, became at one time the official head of the Tid̲j̲āniyya in northern Nigeria.

During the closing era of the colonial period, which saw the rise of European-style political parties in northern Nigeria, the two *ṭarīḳa*s were deeply involved in the political struggle for power which the prospect of independence provoked. The Ḳādiriyya in Kano was, on the whole, identified with support for NPC, the party of the establishment led by the late Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, a scion of the Sokoto ruling house, while the Tid̲j̲āniyya tended to favour the northern Nigerian opposition party, NEPU, led by Malam Mainu Kano. While

the Kano ruling dynasty was bound by its essential interests to support NPC, the rivalry with Sokoto was by no means healed and in 1963 the reigning amir of Kano, Sir Muhammadu Sanusi, "resigned" under pressure from the central government headed at that time by the premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria, the late Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello. This event, symptomatic of the clash of interest between the traditional "given" authority of Sokoto arising out of the Fulani *dj̲ihād* in the early 19th century, and the rising economic and political power of Kano in a changing world, gave rise to agitation for an autonomous Kano state. This has, in some measure, been conceded by the present military administration. These tensions, which were real and which at times manifest themselves in a violent fashion, should however be seen in a proper perspective. They were inevitable in a society that has a long and sophisticated political tradition. But at a social and cultural level the people of Kano, and indeed their rulers, shared, and still share, with those of the rest of northern Nigeria, including Sokoto, a strong sentiment of their common Islamic identity and a corresponding sense of solidarity.

Learning and literature: The tradition of Islamic literacy in Kano goes back to the late 9th/15th century *ʿālim* and Islamic missionary, al-Mag̲h̲īlī, who composed a set of *fatāwī* for the benefit of Muhamman Rumfa, ruler of Kano from 867/1463 to 904/1499. Later scholars such as, for instance, Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Aḳīt and a certain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḳaṣrī are said to have visited Kano shortly after al-Mag̲h̲īlī, although the exact chronology of their visits is uncertain. No record of any composition from their pens survives but they may reasonably be supposed to have nourished the tradition of Islamic learning established in the city by this time. Later, *ca.* 937/1530, Mak̲h̲lūf b. ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Bilbālī resided in the city and it is likely that, through his acquaintance with the *faḳīh* al-ʿĀḳib b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣamunī al-Massūfī, he was a link with the Egyptian polyhistor, D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [see AL-SUYŪṬĪ], the influence of whose writings is known to have been seminal in the development of an indigenous Islamic literature in Hausaland, both in classical Arabic and in the two main vernacular languages, Hausa and Fulfulde (see E. M. Sartain, *Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī's relations with the people of Takrūr*, in *JSS*, xvi (1971), 193-8).

As far as is known, the earliest extant work of a Kano *ʿālim* is *al-ʿAṭiyya li 'l-muʿṭī* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām, known in Hausa as Abdullahi Sikka. This work is a long *manẓūma* of forty *abwāb*, in the *basīṭ* metre, on the *ʿibādāt* and matters relating to Islamic eschatology. Its importance lies in the fact that it demonstrates the thoroughness with which the basic religious sciences were established in Kano early in the 11th/17th century, when the author flourished. Moreover, certain of the *abwāb* such as *Bāb al-d̲j̲ulūs min al-dunyā*, *Bāb ʿalāmāt ḳurb al-sāʿa*, and the like, suggest the presence of Ṣūfī influences and the currency of Mahdist expectations even at this early date.

Kano was not subsequently remarkable for creative literary activity but seems to have relied on imported literary materials from peripheral Islamic areas and, later, on the writings of the prolific literary families of Sokoto. The first Kano scholar to have contributed to the vernacular Islamic literature which developed in Hausaland from *ca.* 1164/1750 onwards was Usuman, an *imām* of Miga, in Kano amirate. Born in Sokoto, he came to live in Kano during the reign of Sulaymanu, composing there his long Hausa *manẓūma, Mu san samuwar Jalla*, "Know the Existence of the Glorious God". This is a typical versification on *tawḥīd*, manifestly based on such classical Arabic sources as the well-known *Umm al-barāhīn* of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī and the *D̲j̲awharat al-tawḥīd* of Ibrāhīm al-Laḳḳānī.

Another, rather later contributor to the vernacular Islamic literature in Kano was Asim Degel, who flourished *ca.* 1262/1846. Also a native of Sokoto, he moved to Kano when he was a young man and composed a Hausa *naẓm* on astrology, drawn from the Arabic works of such locally popular North African authors as the 8th/14th-century Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, known as Abū Mukriʾ and the 11th/17th-century ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Rad̲j̲rād̲j̲ī. Of greater literary interest is his *Wakar Muahammadu*, the "Song of Muḥammad", a long Hausa versification in the Arabic *ṭawīl* metre, giving great prominence to the *miʿrād̲j̲* and displaying late accretional influences which seem to reflect his familiarity with the writings of Ibn ʿArabī and such later popular writers on this sense as al-G̲h̲ayṭī and al-Dardīr.

Another well-known literary personality who was a native of Kano and received part of his schooling there before settling in Salaga, northern Ghana, was Alhaji Umaru Salaga (b. *ca.* 1271/1854; d. 1353/1934). One of his well-known Hausa works is *Wakar Nasara*, the "Song of the Christians", in which he gives an account of the British occupation of Hausaland as seen through Hausa eyes. Some also attribute to him the otherwise anonymous works *Wakar Bagauda* (see *Bibl.*), and *Bakandamiya*, also a Hausa versification on the occupation, but these attributions are uncertain. He composed a number of works in Arabic as well as in Hausa.

Among mid-20th-century authors in the Islamic tradition the best-known is probably Alhaji Muhammadu Ɗan Amu, a writer of *madīḥ* in Hausa, whose long Hausa *manẓūma* with the Arabic title *Manẓūma fī bayān al-dīn* is widely read in Northern Nigeria. Much of this Islamic writing consists of panegyric to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī and Aḥmad al-Tid̲j̲ānī. Typical of this genre is the composition of Malam Abubakar Atiku, a well-known member of the Tid̲j̲āniyya in Kano, which bears the Arabic title, *ʿAybat al-fuḳarāʾ*, and is a macaronic poem in Arabic and Hausa praising al-Tid̲j̲ānī.

An important part in the Islamic life of Kano City is played by the *makarantan ilmi*, the schools of higher Islamic learning. There are at least twelve substantial establishments of this type in Kano city, although in fact the total number is much greater than this, for any Muslim literate may set up such a school. In these institutions higher Islamic learning—*fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and such classical literary masterpieces as the *Muʿallaḳāt*, the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī and the works of Ibn ʿArabī—is taught. Kano is now well known for the excellence of its higher Islamic schools and is a centre to which students come from all over the western and central Sudan. The *makarantan ilmi*, which exist independently of the secular, state education system, foster a continuing and still vigorous tradition of Islamic scholarship in the city and it seems probable that Kano has now overtaken Katsina and Sokoto—both earlier centres of learning—as the focus of traditional Islamic education in northern Nigeria.

Bibliography: Two main sources for the

history of Kano are available in English translation: First, "The Kano Chronicle", in H. R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, iii, Lagos, 1928; an Arabic text of the chronicle is also preserved in Ibadan University Library, a prose work originally in Arabic, written down at an undetermined date but probably *ca.* 1298/1880 (see M. Hiskett, *The Kano Chronicle*, in *JRAS* (1957)), and quite clearly the record of a very old oral tradition; second, *Wakar Bagauda*, the "Song of Bagauda", a Hausa verse chronicle which is also a 19th-century record of an ancient oral tradition, broadly repeating the account given by the Kano Chronicle but diverging from it considerably in its early chronology, for the Hausa text, English translation and critical commentary see Hiskett, in *BSOAS*, xxvii/3 (1964); xxviii/1 (1965) and xxviii/2 (1965). An important source in Hausa is Alhaji Abubakar Dokaji Kano, *Kano ta Dabo Cigari*, Zaria 1959, the history of the city according to local tradition. In addition to these primary sources an Arabic *Ta'rīkh Kano* is listed by Adelẹyẹ (*op. cit.*, below) under Ibadan, 82/212; an unpublished Arabic account of the Kano civil war by Muḥammad Bukhārī, vizier of Sokoto (d. 1328/1910) is preserved in the Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna (Kadcaptory 2, 30). An unpublished Hausa versification in praise of Kano and its notable personalities by Aliyu Ɗan Sidi, *amīr* of Zaria from 1321/1903 to 1339/1920 circulates in Ms. in northern Nigeria; Alhaji Muhammadu Ɗan Amu (see above) has also written an unpublished verse history of the city and its surrounding villages, a copy of which is held in the author of this article's personal microfilm collection.

Among the accounts of the 19th-century European travellers that of Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, London 1826, is the earliest and those of Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, London 1857, and P. L. Monteil, *De St. Louis à Tripoli par le lac Chad*, Paris 1894, are especially useful. For the views of Christian missionaries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries see especially C. H. Robinson, *Hausaland or Fifteen Hundred Miles through the Central Sudan*, London 1896, and W. R. S. Miller, *Reflections of a Pioneer*, London 1936. Early official accounts of the British administration include W. F. Growers, *Gazetteer of Kano Province*, London 1921; *Annual Reports on Northern Nigeria* 1900-11, London 1911 and many other official documents preserved in Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna, and the Public Records Office, London. A serving soldier's eyewitness account of the battle prior to the occupation of Kano City will be found in F. P. Crozier, *Five Years Hard*, London 1932.

The most comprehensive secondary account by a modern scholar of the general history of Kano is S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London 1966; much useful detail also in H. A. S. Johnston, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, London 1967, and Mary Smith, *Baba of Karo*, London 1964. The Kano civil war is described in some detail by R. A. Adelẹyẹ, *Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria* 1804-1906, London 1971; another account of the British capture of the city which deals more fully with military aspects is D. J. M. Muffett, *Concerning Brave Captains*, London 1964.

Information concerning Kano in recent times will be found in *Kano Survey*, Zaria 1950, and in the publications of the Ministry of Information, Kano State. (M. Hiskett)

KĀNPUR, Cawnpore, a city situated on the banks of the Ganges river in Uttar Pradesh province in the Indian Republic at lat. 26° 28' N. and long. 80° 20' E., and also the name of an administrative district of that province.

Until the later 18th century, Kānpur was little more than a village known as Kanbaiyāpur or Kanhpur, and since it was situated on the western frontiers of Awadh or Oudh [*q.v.*], the district of Kānpur was disputed in the middle decades of the 18th century by the Nawwābs of Awadh, the Mughal emperors in Dihlī and the expanding power of the Marāthās. After the British victories of Baksar and Djādjmaw (1764-6), the Treaty of Fayḍābād made in 1775 with the Nawwāb allowed the British to garrison two places in his territories. From 1778 onwards, Kānpur became one of these two garrisons, and after 1801, the Kānpur district and others were permanently ceded by the Nawwāb to the East India Company.

The most notorious event in Kānpur's comparatively uneventful history took place during the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8. The small British garrison was besieged by Dhondu Pant or Nāna Ṣāḥib, the Marāthā holder of the *djāgīr* or assignment of Bithūr, and surrendered on promise of a safe conduct to Allāhābād; in the event, however, the men were immediately massacred (27 June 1857) and the women and children later slaughtered and their bodies thrown into a well. Kānpur was occupied by General Henry Havelock on 17 July and only lost again for ten days in November when mutineers from Gwalior took it temporarily (cf. Sir George Trevelyan, *Cawnpore*[4], London 1894; P. C. Gupta, *Nana Sahib and the rising at Cawnpore*, Oxford 1963). Lesser incidents worthy of note include the Plague Riots of 1900, when six policemen were killed by a mob which attacked huts in which plague victims were isolated, and the 1913 Mosque Riot, when there was a disturbance arising out of road-widening plans involving the demolition of a latrine attached to a mosque and 18 Muslims were killed (see M. Yanuck, *The Kanpur mosque affair of* 1913, in *MW*, lxiv (1974), 307-21.

Kānpur has since grown into the most populous city in Uttar Pradesh and one of the largest in India (population of the city according to the 1961 census, 973,907, of which the vast majority were Hindus, and of the district, 2,381,353 (including 2,059,930 Hindus, 286,147 Muslims, 24,397 Sikhs, etc.); 1971 census preliminary estimate, city 1,151,955, district 2,992,535). Situated as it is on the Grand Trunk Road connecting Dihlī with Calcutta, and at a nodal point of the north Indian railway system, Kanpur has been well-favoured to become the modern industrial centre of the present day, with extensive textile, leather, food processing and general engineering plants (cf. D. N. Majumdar et alii, *Social contours of an industrial city: social survey of Kanpur*, 1954-6, New York 1960). Kānpur now has a university which includes the Indian Institute of Technology. The surrounding Kānpur district forms an extremely fertile part of the Ganges-Djamnā Dōāb, and has flourishing agriculture and forestry.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see *Imperial gazeteer of India*, ix, 306-20, and *District gazeteer of the United Provinces*, Allāhābād 1903-11. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḲANṢ [see ṢAYD].

ḲĀNṢAWH AL-GHAWRĪ (usually but incorrectly vocalized Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī), the penultimate Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, was of Circassian origin and a *mamlūk* of Sultan Ḳā'itbāy. He was trained in the military school (*ṭabaḳa*) named al-Ghawr, whence his *nisba*. He became governor (*kāshif*) of Upper Egypt (886/1481-2), was appointed an *amīr* of Ten (889/1484), and took part in operations against the Ottomans on the Syrian-Cilician frontier, during which time he was governor (*nā'ib*) of Ṭarsūs. In Rabīʿ II 894/March-April 1489 he was appointed grand chamberlain (*ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb*) of Aleppo, where he suppressed a dangerous rising of the townspeople in 896/1491. Subsequently he became governor of Malatya, commander of the guard (*ra's nawbat al-nuwab*) and finally (906/1501) secretary of state (*dawādār kabīr*) to al-ʿĀdil Ṭūmān Bāy, who had proclaimed himself sultan in Damascus. A military revolt against al-ʿĀdil broke out in Cairo at the end of Ramaḍān 906/18-19 April 1501. A junta of high *amīr*s compelled al-Ghawrī to become sultan (1 Shawwāl 906/20 April 1501). His installation was probably intended as a temporary expedient: he was already about sixty years old, and he had not played an outstanding part in court politics.

Al-Ghawrī's situation at the outset was precarious. Two of his predecessors were still living. A more serious threat came from the veteran royal *mamlūk*s (*ḳarāniṣa*), since their privileged status was weakened on the accession of a new sultan who would recruit his own *mamlūk*s. In the first month of his reign, al-Ghawrī sought to anticipate trouble by ordering the *mamlūk*s of al-ʿĀdil to go to Upper Egypt. Nevertheless, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 906/June-July 1501 he was faced by a disturbance from *mamlūk*s demanding the bounty traditionally paid on a sultan's accession. A further danger was represented by the two powerful *amīr*s who had acted as king-makers at his accession. One of them, Miṣr Bāy, was arrested on 12 Muḥarram 907/28 July 1501, and although he escaped to organize a conspiracy against the sultan, this failed and he was killed (12 Ramaḍān 907/21 March 1502). The other, Ḳayt al-Radjabī, acted as al-Ghawrī's principal minister, but on 16 Radjab 910/24 December 1501 he too was arrested on the grounds that he was plotting to have himself proclaimed sultan in Syria in alliance with the rebel governor of Aleppo, Sībāy. Thereafter al-Ghawrī relied chiefly on two ministers, neither of whom was likely to endanger him. Zayn al-Dīn (al-Zaynī) Barakāt b. Mūsā, the son of an Arab, was appointed *muḥtasib* of Cairo (Shaʿbān 910/January-February 1505) and became the leading financial official, retaining his position even after the Ottoman conquest. On 4 Djumādā II 913/11 October 1507, al-Ghawrī appointed his brother's son, Ṭūmān Bāy, as secretary of state. The loyalty of the Mamlūk élite was always doubtful, and on several occasions al-Ghawrī demanded from the *amīr*s an oath on the Ḳur'ān of ʿUthmān. His own *mamlūk* recruits (*djulbān*) were untrustworthy, and revolted even in Shawwāl 921/December 1515, when war against the Ottomans was imminent.

Al-Ghawrī was confronted by formidable fiscal problems, resulting from prolonged economic decline and administrative ossification, and aggravated by natural calamities (such as the severe epidemics of plague in 910/1505 and 919/1513) and the maritime power of Europeans in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. Payments to the soldiery fell into arrears, or were met by extraordinary levies. Extortion, practised upon disgraced officials or after the death of rich persons, was another expedient to fill the treasury. The strain on the finances of the Mamlūk state was increased by al-Ghawrī's efforts to improve his forces and armament in the face of the growing external threat from the Portuguese, Shāh Ismāʿīl and Sultan Selīm I. Al-Ghawrī organized (from 916/1511) a unit armed with handguns. Since such weapons were dispised by the genuine *mamlūk*s, this Fifth Corps (*al-ṭabaḳa al-khāmisa*) was recruited from heterogeneous elements: Turkomans, Persians, *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*] and local artisans. The Fifth Corps was a cause of tension between al-Ghawrī and his *djulbān*. Al-Ghawrī also made a serious and sustained effort to build up a stock of artillery. He established a cannon-foundry, and was frequently present at the testing of the new pieces from 913/1507 onwards.

During most of the reign, Damascus was governed by Sībāy, who as governor of Aleppo had rebelled in 910/1504-5, but had subsequently made his peace with al-Ghawrī. Appointed on 17 Shawwāl 911/13 March 1506, Sībāy held Damascus until his death at Mardj Dābiḳ. Apart from operations against the local Bedouin, he led expeditions against Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanash, the powerful *muḳaddam* of al-Biḳāʿ (Muḥarram 912/June 1506), the Banū Lām tribe in the region of Karak and al-Shawbak (Ṣafar 914/June 1508), and the chief of Ḥawrān, Ibn Saʿīd (Rabīʿ II 916/July 1510), the last two of which threatened communications with the Ḥidjāz. In 917-18/1511-12, friendly relations with each of these were established. As Ṣafawid and Ottoman power developed on the Syrian frontier, al-Ghawrī sought to ensure the continuing loyalty of Sībāy by the marriage of Sībāy's daughter to his own son (920/1514).

A revolt against the Sharīf Barakāt of Mecca, which broke out in 907/1502, was finally suppressed in 913/1507. An ominous new danger appeared in the Portuguese, who were establishing themselves on the coast of India and seeking to exclude Muslim shipping from the Red Sea. In Djumādā II 911/November 1505 an expeditionary force was sent to assist Maḥmūd Shāh, the ruler of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*], against the Portuguese. It included royal *mamlūk*s, *awlād al-nās*, negro archers (more probably, arquebusiers) and Turkomans, under the command of the *amīr* Ḥusayn Mushrif al-Kurdī, who fortified Djudda [*q.v.*] against a Portuguese attack. Ḥusayn, who, in combination with the fleet of Gudjarāt, won a naval victory off Čawl (Ramaḍān 913/January 1508), was heavily defeated by the Portuguese near Diū [*q.v.*] in Shawwāl 914/February 1509, and withdrew from the Indian Ocean.

Al-Ghawrī was meanwhile striving to construct warships in the gulf of Suez. He was obliged to obtain materials from the Ottomans. A gift of timber, iron and powder from Bāyezīd II reached Būlāḳ in Shawwāl 916/January 1511. When in Muḥarram 919/March-April 1513 the Portuguese attacked ʿAdan [*q.v.*], al-Ghawrī appointed Ḥusayn Mushrif governor of Djudda, while a force of the Fifth Corps and royal *mamlūk*s was ordered to Suez, to protect the fleet in building there. After prolonged procrastination the Fifth Corps left Cairo in Radjab 921/August 1515. By that time about 2000 Ottoman sailors under the command of Selmān Re'īs were at Suez. An expedition by Selmān Re'īs and Ḥusayn Mushrif coincided with the fall of the Mamlūk sultanate, and laid the foundation of Ottoman rule in the Yemen.

The rise of Ṣafawid power threatened Mamlūk control of northern Syria. A crisis occurred in the autumn of 913/1507, when the Ṣafawids invaded the Dulgadïr

(Dhu ʾl-Ḳadr, [*q.v.*]) principality, at that time, under ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, a dependency of the Mamlūk sultanate, to which it was of great strategic importance. Sībāy prepared an expedition from Damascus, but hostilities were averted. Thereafter for some years relations were peaceful.

The accession of Selīm I as Ottoman sultan dramatically altered the situation. Al-Ghawrī tried to profit from the developing crisis between Selīm and Shāh Ismāʿīl. The Ottoman victory at Čāldirān [*q.v.*] on 2 Radjab 920/23 August 1514, however, alarmed al-Ghawrī and his *amīrs*. Selīm's hostility towards ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla of Dulgadîr, who had refused to help the Ottomans, immediately threatened Mamlūk interests. The Ottomans defeated and killed ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla (Rabīʿ II 921/June 1515). The passing of the Dulgadîr principality under Ottoman domination alarmed the *amīrs* in Cairo, while Sībāy and the governor of Aleppo, Khāʾir Bey (who was already in touch with Selīm), reproached al-Ghawrī for his delay in sending reinforcements. In spite of the serious financial situation and the demoralization of his forces, al-Ghawrī prepared an expedition, and on 15 Rabīʿ II 922/18 May 1516, he left Cairo. Ṭūmān Bāy was appointed viceroy (*nāʾib al-ghayba*), but the effective control of the administration was in the hands of Zayn al-Dīn Barakāt.

On 10 Djumādā II/11 July, al-Ghawrī reached Aleppo, where Ottoman ambassadors presented a conciliatory message from Selīm, to whom al-Ghawrī in turn sent peace proposals. Selīm, who intended another campaign against the Ṣafawids, decided, however, first to end the danger to his flank. Conflict was now inevitable, and a decisive battle ensued at Mardj Dābiḳ, north of Aleppo, on 25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516. The flight of the Mamlūk left wing, commanded by Khāʾir Bey (who was probably in secret understanding with the Ottomans), led to the break-up of the whole Mamlūk position. In the confusion, al-Ghawrī fell from his horse and died, apparently of apoplexy. His body was never recovered.

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(P. M. Holt)

KANSU, a province in the north-west of China, bounded in the south and east by the provinces of Szechwan and Shensi and in the west and north by the province of Chinghhai and the Sinkiang Uighur and Inner Mongolia Autonomous Regions. The province, first formed under the Great Khan Ḳūbīlāy in 1282 A.D., received its name from the towns in the extreme north-west, Kanchou (Changyeh) and Suchou (Kiuchuan); both towns are already mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* and Gardīzī, the former in the form Khāmdjū (in the Mongol period Kamdjū) and the latter as Sukhdjū or Sūkdjū.

1. *To the end of the Mongol period.* Until the thirteenth century A.D. this territory was for the most part under the domination of foreign peoples of Turkish (Uyghur) or Tibetan (Tangut) origin; immediately before the Mongol conquest there was a Tangut kingdom here under the Hsai (or Hsi-hsia) dynasty (1032-1227) with their capital at Ningsia (Yinchwan). Rashīd al-Dīn, in giving a list of the twelve provinces (*shīng*, Chinese *shêng*) of China, divides the Tangut region into two, with Kīndjanfū (now Sien, the capital of Shensi) and Kamdjū (Kanchou) as their respective capitals. In actual fact, Kanchow was the capital of Kansu; Kansu and Shenn were then, as later, combined in a single government, the only difference being that the residence of the governor was then in the capital of Shensi and not, as later, in the capital of Kansu. The boundary between Kansu and Shensi was formed by the Hwang Ho, so that Lanchou, the present-day capital of Kanso, then belonged to Shensi. In connection with Quengianfu (*i.e.*, Kīndjānfū, Sian) Marco Polo mentions Prince Mangalay (d. 1280, the Mangqalā of Rashīd al-Dīn) Ḳūbīlay's third son, as ruler of Tangut, while Rashīd al-Dīn refers to his son Ananda; according to Rashīd al-Dīn, he was the founder of Muslim dominance in this area. Born about 1270 (at the beginning of the 14th century he was thirty years of age), he was brought up by Muslim foster-parents; but it was only after the conversion of the Il-Khān Ghazan (*i.e.*, *ca.* 1295) that he openly professed Islam. He converted the greater part of his army, numbering nearly 150,000 men to Islam, and the people of Tangut, except the peasantry, were likewise converted. Taken to task by his cousin the Great Khān Temür Öldjeytü (1294-1307) for his conversion, Ananda remained faithful to Islam and after a period of interruption was restored to his dominion. In 1307 a party wished to raise him to the throne of the Khānate, but he was put to death after the success of a rival candidate, Temür's nephew Khayshan (1307-1311). It was not until 1323 that Ananda's son Örüg-Temür was appointed prince of Tangut.

As Marco Polo shows, there were already Muslims in Kansu before Ananda's time; however, he says nothing about the dissemination of Islam south of the Hwang Ho. The Turkish-speaking Salar, who live at the present day on the southern banks of that river, are mentioned as living there as early as the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and described as unruly subjects, although no Muslim risings are recorded during this period. The story which reached Tīmūr's territories about 1398 to the effect that the founder of the Ming dynasty had ordered the massacre of some 100,000 Muslims and had completely eradicated Islam in China finds no confirmation in any Chinese source.

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2. *In the post-Mongol period.* After the collapse of the Yüan dynasty which took place in 770/1368,

Muslims in Kansu, as well as those of other provinces of China, were put under the rule of the newly-established Ming dynasty, which, at the beginning of the new régime, adopted a discriminatory attitude against non-Chinese. It oppressed *Hui-hui* or Muslims, and generally speaking, the *Hui-hui* under the Yüan dynasty were obliged to settle in China, and began to be assimilated to the Chinese way of life through intermarriage with native Chinese women. They were physically and linguistically sinicised as time went by; *Hui-hui* under the Ming dynasty gradually changed their original, Islamic surnames to Chinese ones (*e.g.*, from Muḥammad to Ma, etc.), and adopted Chinese languages; nevertheless, they adhered strictly to Islam. This process also affected Kansu Muslims, with some characteristics different from those of China proper.

In the early Ming period there were many Muslims in Kansu, while some of them are reported to have returned to Samarḳand, according to the *Ming Shih-lu* or the *Veritable Annals of the Ming Dynasty*. At Kanchou, Liangchou and Suchou there were some Muslims who had newly emigrated from Central Asian countries in the middle Ming period (*Ming Shih-lu*, sub anno 1527), and some from the Ḳomūl region, with which the Ming dynasty had had political relations. Apart from such new-comers, native Muslims originating from the Yüan period greatly increased in number and were distributed in south-eastern parts of Kansu as far as adjacent parts of Shensi. There were also Muslims in districts of Kung-chêng-fu, Chinchou, T'aochou and Kuyüan in the Kansu Province, according to the *Ming Shih-lu* and local gazetteers of the Ming dynasty.

In 1604 Father Benedict Goës, who travelled from Āgra through the Tarim Basin to Ming China in search of the historic Cathay and who reached Suchou, mentions "Saracens", that is to say, Muslims, who lived in Suchou segregated from the Chinese there. Though his description is in some parts ambiguous, we may conclude that there were Muslims at Suchou in the late Ming period.

Under the Ch'ing dynasty, which succeeded the Ming in 1644, the situation of Muslims in Kansu, Ninghsia and Shensi changed little; however, we have much more information on the Kansu Muslims under the Ch'ing, as seen in the *Ch'ing Shih-lu* and other historical sources and local gazetteers of the dynasty. In the Ch'ing period, Kansu had one of the densest concentrations of Chinese Muslims. Chinese-speaking Muslims of Ch'ing China were generally called *Hui-min* ("Islamic people") in Chinese. The main habitats of Kansu Muslims were Kanchou, Liang-chou, Lanchou, Kuyüan, Chingchou, Hochou, Chingyüan, Piliang, Fuchiang, etc.; other places adjacent to Kansu where they lived were Hsining, Hsünhua, Kueitê in Chinghai Province, and Ninghsia, Chin-chi-pao in Ninghsia Province.

The size of the Chinese Muslim population in Kansu is unclear: M. Broomhall (1910) estimated it at two or three milions. According to the statistics of the government of the Chinese Peoples' Republic, the Muslim population of Kansu is estimated at 1,086,597 (30% of the total population of Kansu Province in 1953), and that of Chinghai at 257,959; thus the total population is 1,330,000. The basis of Broomhall's estimate is not clear, but, as compared with the present situation, these seem to be acceptable statistics. Generally speaking, Kansu Muslims are more densely distributed in the southern part of Kansu, that is, south of the Yellow River.

Islam in Kansu as in other provinces of China, is that of the Ḥanafī rite, with some influence from the Shāfiʿī one, as is shown by investigations of D'Ollone on Islamic legal practices prevalent in modern Kansu (D'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans chinois*).

The most important feature among the Muslims of Kansu is the prevalence of Ṣūfism, apparently originating in the middle of the 18th century. In contemporary Ch'ing sources, one of the Ṣūfī teachings of Kansu Islam is called *Hsin-chiao* (the "New Sect" or "New Teaching"), which was reported for the first time in 1761 immediately after the Ch'ing conquest of Eastern Turkistan. One Ma Ming-hsin, a native of Anting, Kansu, started to spread the so-called "New Teaching" in the district of the Salar tribes in Hsining after his return in 1761 from a period of religious study at Yarkand and Kāshghar in Eastern Turkistan. With the support of Sū-ssû-shih-san and Hu-ma-liu-hu, both Salar *mulla*s, he founded the "New Sect" in 1762. This propagated a mystical ritualism characterized by: (1) loud chanting of religious songs, as opposed to the low chanting by the Old Sect or Old Teaching; (2) prayers with head-shaking and body movement in a dance-like manner —foot-stamping, hand-waving, and face turning up towards heaven; (3) belief in miracles, visions, apparition of spirits and prediction of good or bad omens; and (4) worship of Muslim saints and their tombs. Ma Ming-hsin was revered as the saintly founder of the sect. However, one cannot consider the "New Sect" founded by Ma Ming-hsin as a reform movement reacting against the traditional sects, generally called Ancient or Old Sects (*K'u-pai, Chiu-pai* and *K'u-hsing-pai*).

In *ca.* 1760-80 the centre of the *Hsin-chiao* was at Hsünhua, a town near Hsining, where *Hsin-chiao* adherents quarrelled incessantly among themselves in the 1760s and 1770s; and in 1781, Ma Ming-hsin and Sū-ssû-shih-san led an attack on the Muslims belonging to the Ancient Sect. Government suppression of sectarian strife led *Hsin-chiao* adherents to open rebellion against the Ch'ing dynasty in that year, and, though it was suppressed by the Ch'ing army, a second revolt broke out in 1783 at Shi-fêng-pao, Kansu. Since the 19th century, major centres of Hsin-chiao adherents have been in Chang-chia-chüan, Kansu, and in Chi-chi-pao, Hinghsia.

In 1862 a new revolt broke out at Chin-chi-pao, where Ma Hua-lung who came from the direct "apostolic" line of Ma Ming-hsin, maintained his quarters. Ma Hua-lung is reported to have been a mystical saint who was able to perform miracles; but his rebellion was suppressed in 1871 by the Ch'ing army. The mystic order of Ma Hua-lung was called Djahriyya from the 19th century onwards (D'Ollone); the headship of the Order passed to Ma Yüan-ch'ang, a disciple of Ma Hua-lung, who had his headquarters at Chang-chia-chüan, Kansu. Ma Yüan-ch'ang is mentioned by G. Andrew who visited him in the early 20th century; he died in 1920 during an earthquake which occurred in Kansu during that year.

Besides *Hsin-chiao*, another characteristic of the Ṣūfism of Kansu Islam is the institution of *mêng-kuan*. *Mêng-kuan*, especially the Four Great *Mêng-kuan*, was reported in Ch'ing sources for the first time in 1786; the Six Great *Mêng-kuan* were also reported in 1943. They are (1) the *Hu-fei-yeh* sect, including *Pi-chia-ch'ang kung-pei*, *Lin-t'ao kung-pei*, etc.; (2) the *Ka-ti-lin-yeh* sect, including *Ta-kung-pei*, *Yang-men*, etc.; (3) the *K'u-pu-lin-yeh* sect; (4) the *Sha tzŭ-lin-yeh* sect; (5) the *Sai-ai-lo-wo-lo-ting-yeh* sect; and (6) the *Che-ho-lin-yeh* Djahriyya sect.

According to the missionary D'Ollone, who made a study of aboriginal peoples in the borderlands of China in 1906-9, the tombs of three Islamic saints were revered among Kansu Muslims. Mêng-kuan adherents were also called *Kung-pei-chiao*, that is, "followers of Tomb Teaching". Thus, the Djahriyya sect of Kansu Muslims may be said to be one of *meng-kuan*, tomb-worshippers.

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ḲANṬARA, pl. *ḳanāṭir*, means in Arabic (1) bridge, particularly a bridge of masonry or stone, one of the most famous of which is that of Sandja [*q.v.*]; also (2) aqueduct (especially in the plural), dam, and finally (3) high building, castle (similarly *ḳasāṭil* = aqueduct from *ḳasṭal* = castellum; see ḲANĀT); cf. *TA*, iii, 509; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 412; de Goeje, *BGA*, iv, 334; and particularly R. Geyer in the *SB Ak. Wien*, cxlix/6 (1905), 114-9. The original meaning of the word "arch, stone archway", is found in the earliest Arabic lexicographers; cf. Dozy-de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrîsî*, 369, *Djisr* [*q.v.*], a bridge of wood or boats, is the opposite of *ḳanṭara*, which is of stone; in time, however, the two words came to be used as synonyms (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 194).

No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the origin of the word. The oldest reference is found in a verse of Ṭarafa (iv, 22; see *The Diwans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. Ahlwardt, 1870, 55). On account of this early occurrence of the word, Yāḳūt (iv, 187) considers the word to be genuine Arabic. But we may with considerable certainty regard it as a loan-word. Vollers and Geyer thought that it was borrowed from Latin or Greek. The former connected (*ZDMG*, li, 376; *ZA*, viii, 100-1) *ḳanṭara* with the mediaeval Latin word *cintrum* (French *cintre*, arch, vault), while Geyer (*op. cit.*, 118-9) sought the original either in κανθήλος = basket, *cantherius* = wickerwork used in the making of roofs and buildings, or in κάμπτρα, κάμπτριον = depository (cf. also καμπτής = rounding, curve), from which Vollers (*ZDMG*, li, 302) derived Egypto-Arab. *ḳimṭar*. But all these explanations are to be rejected, because there are phonetic objections to them and they partly rely for the meanings of the words cited on obsolete, farfetched glosses; cf. for objections to these explanations, Fränkel in *ZA*, xix, 270-1, and Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 408. *Ḳanṭara* is most probably to be derived from the Aramaic, and, as Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, thinks, in the first place from *ḳᵉṭārā* = hoop, arch (see Payne-Smith, *Thesaur. Syriac.*, col. 3591; note specially *ḳᵉṭartā* in Bar Bahlūl, *Lexic.*, col. 1768). The above-mentioned word *djisr* also comes from the Aramaic (Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leiden 1886, 285 and D. H. Müller in *WZKM*, i, 31), but can actually be traced back to the Assyrian or Accadian (cf. Meissner in *ZA*, ix, 269, and Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, Leipzig 1915, 31).

Al-Ḳanṭara has survived in Spanish in the diminutives *alcantarilla* = little bridge, gutter and *alcantarillado* = arched aqueduct; see Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*[2], Leiden 1869, 47; *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana por la Real Academia Espanola*, xiii, Madrid 1899, svv; J. Oliver Asín, *Historia del nombre Madrid*, Madrid 1959, index.

Al-Ḳanṭara and al-Ḳanāṭir are frequently found —sometimes with descriptive additions, *e.g.*, Ḳanāṭir Firʿawn—as names for places like quarters of a city (notably in Baghdād) in areas where Arabic was, or is, spoken in the mediaeval or modern East. In his geographical dictionary (iv, 180, 187-92, vi, 179-80) Yāḳūt gives a dozen places named al-Ḳanṭara and four called Ḳanāṭir (cf. also, for example, the indices to al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 759-60, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, xiii, 790). For the numerous districts of Baghdād named after particular bridges under the Caliphate see the index to Guy le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, London 1900, 368.

Of the places named al-Ḳanṭara, the following are worthy of special mention:

1. An oasis on the southern slopes of the Atlas in Algeria at the exit of a narrow pass through which run the road and railway from Constantine to the desert regions; it is a station on the Constantine-Biskra line, 35 miles north of the latter. This, the most northern oasis in Africa, consists of three villages with about 3,500 inhabitants and possesses a very dense date grove. From its situation it was an important military station and, as Roman inscriptions found there show, settled in ancient times. It is presumably identical with the station *Ad Calcem Herculis* of the Roman itineraries (see Dessau in Pauly-Wissowa, iii, 1345). The name al-Ḳanṭara is derived from the Roman bridge, restored in 1862 by the French, which spans in one huge arch the ravine, the 150 feet wide Fumm al-Ṣaḥārā = the mouth of the Ṣaḥārā (so-called by the inhabitants), through which flows the Wād al-Ḳanṭara (cf., for example, Vivien de St. Martin, *Dict. de Géographie Universelle*, Paris 1879, i, 66 and Kobelt, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Algerien und Tunis*, 1883, 322).

2. Alcántara, a little town of great antiquity in the province of Cáceres (district of Estremadura) in Spain, near the Portuguese frontier, with 3,200 inhabitants. It receives its name from an imposing granite bridge, built in 105 A.D., which crosses the Tagus in six great arches to the northwest of the town. The place is also famous for the religious knightly order founded there in 1176 to defend the frontier against the Moors, which became called the Order of Alcántara after its headquarters were moved to this town in 1213 (see Baedeker's *Spain and Portugal*[4], Leipzig 1912, 459).

3. A small town with a mosque in Egypt, on the Asiatic side of the Suez canal, half-way between Port Saʿīd and Ismāʿīliyya, a station on the railway connecting these two towns. It lies on a low narrow

tongue of rising ground, which runs out between the large Menzaleh lake in the north and the little Balāḥ lake in the south. It is unlikely to take its name from this "land bridge", however, but from a bridge which already existed here probably in the early Middle Ages.

The Arab geographer Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmārī, who wrote *ca.* 741/1340, mentions the arch of a bridge, called Ḳanṭarat al-Djisr, near the old caravan station of al-ʿAḳūla, under which the superfluous water flowed into the desert at the time of the Nile's inundation. There was still a bridge here at the beginning of the 19th century, built over a canal connecting the two lakes already mentioned. The modern al-Ḳanṭara arose on its present site after the making of the Suez Canal. The old settlement was a short half-hour's journey to the east and is marked by the mound of ruins Tell Abū Sēfe (on the maps also called Tell al-Aḥmar). This place may be regarded as the key to Egypt, for it has always been used by conquerors as the gateway to the Nile valley. Its strategical importance led to its being occupied in remote antiquity. Tell Abū Sēfe (with ruins of a temple of Ramses II and remains of the Ptolemaic and Roman period) marks the site of the ancient Egyptian town of Zaru (*T*ʾ, *r w*), the capital of the fourteenth district of Lower Egypt, which was already a fortress in the time of the Middle Kingdom. In the later classical and Byzantine literature it appears as Sile, Sele (Selle); according to a Latin inscription found here, it had a Roman garrison in 288 and was later also the see of a bishop. In the Middle Ages it was called al-ʿAḳūla (on the name al-ʿAḳūla = "the bend", cf. DAYR AL-ʿĀḲŪL), a name which was temporarily supplanted by that of the castle of al-Ḳuṣayr during the Mamlūk period. In World War I al-Ḳanṭara played an important part in the struggle for the Suez Canal. From November 1914 to March 1916 there were frequent encounters there between English and Turkish troops (cf. thereon, for example, Baer, *Der Völkerkrieg, Eine Chronik der Ereignisse seit dem 1. Juli 1914*, Stuttgart 1914-5, iv, 220-24, viii, 367, xi, 318, xvii, 47-8, 128, 130, 132).

In remote antiquity as well as in the late Middle Ages and modern times, al-Ḳanṭara was the point of departure for the caravan road from Egypt to Syria. After World War I a new railway line to Syria branched off there from the Port Saʿīd-Suez line, and ran from al-Ḳanṭara via Ḳaṭya al-ʿArīsh and Ghazza to Ludd, where it linked up with the line from Yāfā to Jerusalem. In the successive wars between Egypt and Israel from 1948 al-Ḳanṭara continued to be a key strategic point, which suffered considerable damage.

Bibliography: Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*[7], 1913, 177, 171; C. Küthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, Berliner Dissert., 1911, 38-49; R. Hartmann in *ZDMG*, lxiv, 688, 691, 696, lxx, 486-7, 511 and in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1916, lxii, 373-7; Alt in the *Palästinajahrbuch des deutsch. evangel. Instituts*, x, Berlin 1914, 60-3 and Dalman, *op. cit.*, xx, 1924, 44-6. On excavations and finds in the region of al-Ḳanṭara see Clédat in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à l'archéol. égyptienne et assyrienne*, xxxvii (Paris 1915, 38-9, and xxxviii (1919), 1-2, 70-1.

4. A sanctuary among the ruins of the ancient Petra in the Sinai Peninsula; cf. Savignac, *Le Sanctuaire d'el Kantara* in the *Rev. Biblique*, N.S., iii (1916), 391-2.

5. Ḳanṭarat Zaynab in the valley of the Nahr Bayrūt in Syria, an ancient Roman aqueduct of which considerable remains exist at the present day; according to Arab legend, it was built by Queen Zenobia (Zaynab); cf. Fr. Müller, *Studien über Zenobia und Palmyra* (Diss. Königsberg 1902), 14-15.

6. Ḳanāṭir Firʿawn ("Pharaoh's aqueduct"), a great aqueduct in the south of Syria, which, beginning at Dillī, at the western foot of the lava plateau of Ledjā (west of Ḥawrān), runs in a south-western direction for some sixty miles as far as Mukēs (Gadara), providing many villages with the necessary drinking-water in the summer months. It is identified by Wetzstein—probably rightly—with the Ḳanāṭir mentioned by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (*Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, 117). But the Ghassānid Djabala b. al-Ḥārith, who reigned about 500 A.D., can hardly, as Ḥamza says, be the builder of this marvellous piece of work (cf. Nöldeke, *Die ghassan. Fürsten* ... in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, iv, 1887, 50). It certainly dates back to ancient times. For further information see Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, Berlin 1860, 123-5.

The diminutive Ḳunayṭira (popularly Ḳunēṭra or Ḳenēṭri) is occasionally used as a place name, *e.g.*, a town in Syria in the Djawlān (Golān) district, to the north east of Jordan (see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*[5], 1912, 268; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 387), and also a newly established town in Morocco, called Ḳnīṭra, then Port-Lyautey, then Ḳnīṭra again. The town was first a disembarkation area, then a fairly important port, on the River Sebou, some way from its mouth. This port superseded the ancient al-Mahdiyya situated on the mouth of the same river.

(M. STRECK*)

ḲĀNŪN, pl. *ḳawānīn*, Arabic derivative from Greek κανών, which meant firstly "any straight rod", later "a measure or rule", and finally (in the papyri of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.) "assessment for taxation", "imperial taxes", "tariff" (Liddell and Scott, revised ed., London 1940; for its meanings in religious literature, see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek lexicon*, Oxford 1961). The word was adopted into Arabic presumably with the continuation, after the Muslim conquest of Egypt and Syria, of the pre-Islamic tax system (C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, Leipzig 1924, 218-62; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation*, Copenhagen 1950, 118-20). Whilst the word preserved in Islamic states in general its special meaning as a financial term belonging to the field of land-taxes, it acquired also the sense of "code of regulations" "state-law" (sc. of non-Muslim origin). The two senses must be discussed separately.

i.—LAW

In theory, the *sharīʿa* regulates the whole of the public and private life of the Muslim, but since works of *fiḳh* barely deal with the provisions of common law, and also since it became apparent very early on that the greater part of the Muslim penal system was inapplicable, the guardians of public order (especially the governors) took to issuing regulations (*ḳawānīn*) in these two fields, although they had no such legislative authority. At the time, these developments did not shock even the strictest of the *ʿulamāʾ*, because in administrative matters there was no conflict between the *ḳānūn* and the *sharīʿa*, the latter generally being silent on such matters. Similarly with penal law, the *ḳānūn* did not appear to infringe on the *sharīʿa*, for the governors had the sense to restrict themselves to substituting the discretionary penalty of the *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*], fine or flogging, punishments laid down in works of *fiḳh*, for the seriously mutilating

punishments of the Ḳurʾān (*ḥudūd*, pl. of *ḥadd*), such as cutting off the hand or stoning.

Under the Ottoman sultans, the term *ḳānūn* came to be applied mainly to acts in the domain of administrative and financial law and of penal law. The first *ḳānūn-nāmas* promulgated under Meḥemmed II (855-86/1451-1481) were indeed confined to this restricted field, but a century later, through the impetus of Abu ʾl-Suʿūd, grand *muftī* of Istanbul from 952/1545 to 982/1574 [*q.v.*], *ḳānūn-nāmas* began to offer legal solutions to questions which had hitherto been exclusively the province of the *sharīʿa*, particularly property law. Abu ʾl-Suʿūd was a jurist of such great ability that this was done without the *ḳānūn* and the *sharīʿa* ever coming into opposition with one another.

Nowadays, in all Middle Eastern countries, the term *ḳānūn* denotes not only those codes and laws which are directly inspired by western legislation, such as civil and commercial law, administrative and penal law, but also those laws and codes which are confined to reproducing, albeit simplifying, the provisions of the *sharīʿa*. To name but a few examples, the Syrian Code (*ḳānūn*) of Personal Status (1953), the ʿIrāḳī Code (*ḳānūn*) of Personal Status (1959) and the proposed Egyptian Family Code (also called *ḳānūn*) fall into this category. The Order in Council is designated by the neologism *marsūm bi-ḳānūn*. However, the word *ḳānūn*, which, as we have noted, originally signified a ruling of the administrative authority, is not used in this sense today, being replaced by *lāʾiḥa* (pl. *lawāʾiḥ*) in Egypt and by *niẓām* or *tartīb* elsewhere.

Whether it is inspired by western legislation or comprises only provisions adopted from Muslim law, the actual *ḳānūn* is prepared by a commission, passed by it or by the legislative assemblies if need be, and promulgated by the executive, the same procedure being followed in both cases. In addition, in the case of a *ḳānūn* concerning personal status or inheritance laws, and therefore one deriving from Muslim law, the discussions in the Assembly are no more than formalities. In such cases it is the preceding phase, the one developed by the commission, which is the most important.

Born in the East, the word *ḳānūn* as the designation of the superior form of legislation (Law and Code) is current only in the Middle East, or, more precisely, in those countries which came, however partially, under the influence of Istanbul. It was rarely used in Saudi Arabia, which escaped Ottoman domination; there the word preferred to cover the legislative work of the secular authority was *niẓām*.

Bibliography: Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1945; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, ch. xii; idem, *Abu ʾl-Suʿūd*, in *EI*²; C. Chehata, *Droit musulman, applications au Proche Orient*, Paris 1970, 11-21. For the pre-Ottoman *ḳānūn*, see B. Lewis, in *BSOAS* (1954), 599; V. Minorsky, in *ibid.* (1955), 449 ff.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ii.—Cadaster

The administration of taxes usually comprised two sections, one dealing with assessment and one with collection. The assessment of taxes was based on various principles and resulted in a basis for calculation, the *aṣl*. *Ḳānūn* is used to refer both to these principles as a whole and to the resulting sum due from the taxpayer, either in the case of a single property or all the properties in one district taken together. The assessed value of the revenue on an estate was known as the *ʿibra*. In those provinces—never the entire Muslim world—where many lands were assessed by the procedure of *ḳānūn*, this word came to mean a kind of fiscal cadaster.

In Egypt, traditionally subject to a special régime in which state control was particularly extensive and which is fairly well documented, the "cadaster" was made by measuring the area of each plot of land, placing it into a category according to its position in the Nile flood and thus determining the most suitable type of crop, and finally assessing the duty which, barring accidents, should result and could be fixed in advance. The general process of the cadaster is known as *rawk* [*q.v.*] (verb *rāka*). These administrative operations give rise to the following documents: a) an original (*aṣlī*) *ḳānūn* establishing the characteristics of a region so as to determine its *ʿibra* on a permanent basis—according to al-Maḳrīzī, in his day this was revised every thirty years; b) an annual *ḳānūn*, established by a local *dalīl*, consisting, on the basis of the foregoing, of a statement of the characteristics of each plot after the flood, by which characteristics the *dalīl* decides which crops should be cultivated; c) a *ḳānūn* establishing the most suitable crops and the resulting fiscal distribution, listed both by holdings and by crops. Finally there was a series of other documents more specifically concerned with tax collection [see kharādj].

The measurements were made by a *ḳaṣṣāb* (from *ḳaṣaba*, unit of length); the *māsiḥ* (surveyor) calculated the areas on the basis of measurements taken. It would seem that sometimes he cheated in the geometry, and Ibn Mammātī takes great pains to remind his readers of the rules for calculating areas. The various kinds of land were classified according to type, degree of flooding and rotation of crops, and the vocabulary used for such terms appears to be in part non-Arab and pre-Islamic (see JESHO, v (1962), 259-60, from Ibn Mammātī and Makhzūmī).

It would be useful to classify the published papyri in the categories listed above. Al-Nābulusī's description of the Fayyūm (Ayyūbid period) in fact gives a detailed picture of taxes in general, but not precisely, of the cadaster for this province, locality by locality and category by category.

Far less is known of the methods employed in the rest of the Muslim world. However, the main outlines seem clear. There it was impossible to draw up for fiscal purposes a precise survey of crops, nor therefore of the return anticipated from them, since there was neither a regular flood nor a sufficiently close administrative control. It was, however, at least possible to measure area, and even to classify land according to average yield, thus allowing a tabulation of taxes, subject to last-minute modification in the light of the actual harvest. This was done in the majority of regions, where a definite sum in money was levied by area and crop, as against those where a proportion of the crop was levied. There were also, however, regions which followed the Roman tradition. In these the unit was not of area, which gives a variable yield, but one of labour or of exploitation, where a variable area produces a fixed yield. A traditional vocabulary less complex than that of Egypt also designates the different types of land. As in Egypt, the *ʿibra* was determined. Measuring was done by the *māsiḥ* sometimes with the help of a controller (*muʿābir*) or a divider (*ḳassām*). In fact, if not in law, their salary constituted an additional charge. However, even in Egypt, there continued to be many properties which for one reason or another were registered "without *misāḥa*", and thus taxed outright without having been surveyed in

this way. On the documents see the article on DAFTAR and, following the *Ta'rīkh-i Ḳumm*, A. K. S. Lambton (*Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, 1953, ch. 2).

In the West, or at any rate in the Maghrib, cadastral survey seems to have been slower and less precise. It is possible that it was not introduced to Morocco before the time of the Almohads, when it was brought back by Ibn Tūmart from his voyage to the East. Here, even less than in the East, not all estates were covered.

Bibliography: Scattered references can be found throughout the sources; only the most important are mentioned here: Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. ʿAtiyya, 1943, tr. R. S. Cooper, *Ibn Mammātī's rules for the ministries*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley 1973, unpublished; *Ta'rīkh-i Ḳumm*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran 1934; the analyses of Makhzūmī and Nābulusī in the articles by Cl. Cahen cited below; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, viii; Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. Van Vloten; and the papyri, especially the Cairo ones published by Grohmann where an index of technical terms facilitates consultation. Modern works: there is nothing systematic, but we may cite F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, index; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, London 1953; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques problèmes économiques et fiscaux de l'Iraq buyide*, in *AIEO*, *Algiers* (1952); idem, *Les impôts du Fayyum ayyubide*, in *Arabica* (1955); idem, *Contribution à l'étude des impôts dans l'Egypte médiévale* in *JESHO* (1962); Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt A.H.* 564-741/ *A.D.* 1169-1341, London 1972; see also the articles DAFTAR and KHARĀDJ. (CL. CAHEN)

iii.—FINANCIAL AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

1. From the earliest days of the conquest onwards, *Ḳānūn* preserved the meanings of "registers and lists recording land-taxes" (*Ḳānūn al-Kharādj*, also *djarā'id*) and the regulations there laid down (*al-ḳawānīn al-muḳarrara*, cf. al-Māwardī, ed. Cairo 1386/ 1966, 215, tr. Fagnan, 462). This principle of assessment for tax can be traced back to the time of the second caliph ʿUmar, to whom is attributed the measurement of the lands in the Sawād and the imposition of a fixed tax on a specified area of land (Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1302, 36-8, 48, 60, 85, 218; al-Māwardī, 148-52, 174-6; Løkkegaard, 106-25). This measure was considered to be the continuation of the Sasanian system of assessment for tax (Abū Yūsuf, 38, 57; al-Māwardī, 78, 148, 173-5; Ṭabarī, i, 962); and as in the old Iranian tradition so in the Islamic period strict adherence to the explicit entries and regulations of the official registers (*ḥifẓ al-ḳawānīn*, al-Māwardī, 215) was regarded as the foundation of sound and just administration (al-Māwardī, 151, 215-8). In the period of the classical caliphate the Persian terms *dastūr* and *awāradj* came to be used as synonyms of *ḳānūn* in the sense of "tax-list" (Løkkegaard, 179, 265). *Ḳānūn* also signified the conditions (*shurūṭ*) governing the levying of land-taxes by *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] (Løkkegaard, 107). The term *ḳānūn* must have spread only later into ʿIrāḳ and the eastern provinces, since though it is frequently used by al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) it is not used by Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798). After the ʿAbbāsid period *ḳānūn* remained in use as a financial term with the same meanings in Egypt (Ibn Mammātī, *K. Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiya, Cairo 1943, 305; ʿUthmān al-Nābulusī, *K. Lumaʿ al-ḳawānīn*, see Brockelmann, *GAL*, S. I, 573); in Persia (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbal, 356, 381, 398; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *risāla* published in *THITM*, ii (1932-9), and in *BSOAS*, x (1940-2), 759-62; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghazānī*, ed. Jahn, GMS, 306; ʿAbd Allāh b. Kiyā, *Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1953, 23, 172, 182-4; Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh al-Nakhdjuwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, i, ed. A. Alizade, Moscow 1964, *faṣl dar ḳānūn wa yasāmishī*), in Anatolia (Karīm al-Dīn al-Aḳsarāyī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1944, 257, 298; Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir al-ʿAlā'iyya*, Ankara 1966, 721), and in India (Irfan Habib, *The agrarian system of Mughal India*, London 1963, 186, 202; *ḳānūngo dastūr, ẓabṭī*). In the *Resālä-ye Falakiyyä* (p. 182), "*ḳānūn-i mamlakat*" is described as the setting down in advance in a register of the taxes for each area according to clear amounts and proportions, the *taḥṣīldārs* being required to collect the taxes according to this register. Finally, in the Ottoman state, the *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*] registers (*defter*, cf. al-Māwardī, 82: *daftar al-ṣawāfī*), which set out in detail particularly the land taxes and the methods of raising them, and the *ḳānūnnāmes* [*q.v.*] for the individual *sandjaḳs* are to be regarded as a continuation of the same system. The office in which such registers were kept was called in the Īlkhānid state *bayt al-ḳānūn*, and in the Ottoman Empire *defterkhāne*.

2. As a development from the meaning "financial regulations", *ḳānūn* came to mean legal prescriptions independent of the *sharīʿa* laid down by the sultan by virtue of his authority as ruler. This implication is found already in the ʿAbbāsid period (cf. al-Māwardī, 32: *al-ḳawānīn al-siyāsiyya*; and even, more broadly: (p. 33): *al-ḳawānīn al-sharʿiyya*). The following terms are synonymous with *ḳānūn* in this sense: (i) *ḥukm* or (pl.) *aḥkām* (cf. al-Māwardī, 207: *aḥkām al-kharādj*); (ii) *ḳā'ida* or (pl.) *ḳawā'id* (al-Māwardī, 215; Rāwandī, 166, 260, 382; Niẓām al-Mulk, ed. Darke, 89, 95, 126; Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 304, 323; Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh, 323; *Code de lois coutumières de Meḥmed II*, ed. N. Beldiceanu, Wiesbaden 1967, facs. fol. 1 *v.); (iii) *dastūr* (Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *K. al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz, 78; *Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, 57; H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum isl. Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 85, 129; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, 176; Ottoman *destūr*, as in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, 259); (iv) *ḍābiṭa* or (pl.) *ḍawābiṭ* (*Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, 23; Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Bārānī, *Fatāwā-yi Djihāndārī*, tr. M. Habib and A. V. Salim Khan, 64-71, 136-43; Ottoman *ḍawābiṭ*, as in *ḍawābiṭ-i mesā'il-i ʿurfiyye*, Istanbul, Un. Lib. MS 1807, 1); (v) *ā'in*, more particularly for regulations of non-Muslim origin regarding state-organization and ceremonial, as in the expressions *ā'in-i shāhān*, *ā'in-i shahriyārī*, *ā'in-i djihānbānī* (see F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, 46; cf. Niẓām al-Mulk, ed. Darke, 138, 209), but also more generally, as in *ā'in-i narkh-i adjnās* (*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, ed. Blochmann, 60; and cf. *Code de lois . . . , loc. cit.*); (vi) *rasm* or (pl.) *rusūm* (al-Māwardī, 215; Niẓām al-Mulk, 133; Rāwandī, 137). With the spread of Western influence in the 19th century, the word *ḳānūn* was employed for secular laws of all types based on European models (*Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 139-209), and the expression *ḳānūn-i esāsī* to express "constitution".

The word *ḳānūn* was employed also for the statutes regulating any organization, *e.g.*, in Ottoman times, those of the guilds, which were drawn up by the guildsmen and registered with the *ḳāḍī* (cf. F. Dalsar, *Bursa'da ipekçilik*, Istanbul 1960, 274-6, 318). Finally, *ḳānūn* might imply "rules of conduct" (as in *ḳānūn al-saʿāda*: *Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, 2); and also

the general principles or the basic information in one of the non-religious sciences (as in *ḳānūn al-balāgha* or *ḳānūn fi ʾl-ṭibb*).

3. *Ḳānūn* (in the sense of non-religious legal prescription) and its relation to the *sharīʿa*. Even from the time of the first caliphs there are records of legal prescriptions imposed solely at the will of the *ūlu ʾl-amr* [*q.v.*], *e.g.*, ʿUmar's decision regarding the lands of the Sawād (Abū Yūsuf, 47-56, 97). Such prescriptions were usually incorporated into the *sharīʿa* as it took shape. Administrative regulations and practices [see ʿAMAL, AMR] entered the *sharīʿa* just like *ʿurf* and *ʿāda* [*qq.v.*], because of the broad interpretation of the concept of *sunna* [*q.v.*] and thanks to recourse to the principle of *istiḥsān* [*q.v.*] (see J. Schacht, *Origins*, 99-112). But this process was ended after the time of al-Shāfiʿī, and particularly of Ibn Ḥanbal and Dāwūd b. Khalaf [*qq.v.*], with the narrower interpretation put upon *sunna* and the rejection of *istiḥsān*.

Matters of public law were treated within the framework of the *sharīʿa* firstly with regard to regulations concerning land-tax (as by Abū Yūsuf, Yaḥyā b. Ādam, Abu ʾl-Faradj Kudāma), and later (from the 4th/10th century) in connection with more general matters: the source of political authority [see IMĀM], administrative law [see WILĀYA, SIYĀSA, MAẒĀLIM], market regulations [see ḤISBA], and penal law [see TAʿZĪR] (see al-Māwardī, Abū Yaʿlā, Ibn Djamāʿa, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *passim*). After al-Shāfiʿī, the boundaries of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* were drawn so narrowly that new administrative regulations were left outside them and became the province of a new "state law" or "ruler's law". This process was encouraged also by political developments in the caliphate: in the "sultanates" establishing themselves in Persia (Būyids, Sāmānids, Ghaznavids, Saldjūḳids), the native bureaucracy [see KĀTIB] strove to revive the old Iranian traditions of the state and of state administration in order to strengthen the absolutism of their masters, and won for political authority and state law an independent status vis-à-vis the *sharīʿa*. The conflict between *ḳānūn* and *sharīʿa* in this period reflects the rivalry between *sulṭān* and *khalīfa*. It is in this period that al-Māwardī, 77-8, maintained the necessity of secular power (*Ḳuwwa al-salṭana*, or *amāra*) to ensure the implementation of the *sharīʿa* (*tanfīdh al-aḥkām*) and the protection and survival of the Muslim community (*ḥirāsat al-dīn wa-siyāsat al-dunyā*). In other words, the public interest [see MAṢLAḤA] was recognized as the basic principle justifying an independent political authority and its competence to make laws and issue regulations. This argument was regularly repeated in Muslim sultanates (including the Ottoman, cf. Tursun, *Taʾrīkh-i Abu ʾl-Fetḥ*, 13) as the basis for the sultan's authority as law-giver. In this period too the concepts of *ʿadāla* [*q.v.*] and *ḳānūn*, linked to the Iranian view of the state, began to be treated as a separate subject in works written by *faḳīh*s upon politics (cf. al-Māwardī, 77-95).

As to the matters regulated by this "secular" law, they fell, naturally, within the field of public law—a field distinguished by the *sharīʿa* by the terms *al-aʿmāl al-ʿāmma*, *siyāsa* [*q.v.*], and *ḥuḳūḳ Allāh* [*q.v.*]—and covered such questions as military and governmental organization, taxation, especially land-taxes [see KHARĀDJ] and the closely-related land-law, matters concerning the *bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*], and penal law. The *sharīʿa* conceded to the *imām* authority to promulgate and implement regulations governing the scales of non-Muslim taxes, the use to which conquered land or *mawāt* [*q.v.*] land should be put, the severity of *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*] punishment, and the protection of the community's economic interests [see ḤISBA]. The *sharīʿa* recognized also the authority of the *imām-sulṭān* to decide and to legislate, if the public interest required it, upon any matter not treated by the *sharīʿa*. It came to be agreed that the individual was under a religious obligation to obey the sultan's command in matters not regulated by *naṣṣ* [*q.v.*] (cf. the introduction to the *Ḳānūnnāme*, in Istanbul Un. Lib., MS. T 1807).

Furthermore, some *fuḳahāʾ* regarded decisions taken on the ruler's authority as essential for the solution of various problems which concerned the *sharīʿa* (cf. the *fatwā*s in Abu'l-Suʿūd's *Maʿrūḍāt*, *MTM*, i, 337-48 = P. Horster, *Zur Anwendung des Islamischen Rechts im* 16. *Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1935). In cases where the *sharīʿa* permitted two solutions, the decision of the *ūlu ʾl-amr* was decisive (Abu Yūsuf, tr. Fagnan, 103-4); again, in cases of serious *ikhtilāf* [*q.v.*] among the *fuḳahāʾ*, the ruler might, in public interest, in order to ensure uniformity of practice and avoid rifts within the community, decree that the precepts of one specific *madhhab* [*q.v.*] were to be followed: thus under the ʿAbbāsids [see IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ] and later under the Saldjūḳids [see MALIKSHĀH] and the Ottomans (cf. *Maʿrūḍāt*, 347) it was made obligatory for the *ḳāḍī*s to follow the Ḥanafī rules in their courts. Such a decision greatly affected the direction taken by later legal development: thanks to the broad principles characterizing the Ḥanafī *madhhab* [see ABŪ ḤANĪFA], a new stage began, a period when new legal rules could be made in the forms of *fatwā*s [*q.v.*] on the one hand and, on the other, decisions of the *Ḳāḍī*s' courts and regulations promulgated by the sultans.

In the period following the Mongol invasions, the concept of independent state law was greatly strengthened: in the Ottoman Empire, in Central Asia, in India, and in the Tīmūrid dominions, decrees issued by the rulers on matters of state organization, military affairs, taxes, land-tenure and penal law created a rich corpus of state law, entirely independent of the *sharīʿa*.

In the Īlkhānid state, whilst the old Iranian concept of the state of law was making headway thanks to the efforts of Persian bureaucrats, the Mongol aristocracy was endeavouring to assure the supremacy of the legal system of the *yasa* [*q.v.*]. The traditions and beliefs current in the steppe empires of Central Asia encouraged the view that the state subsisted through the maintenance of the *töre* (Arabic *tūrā*, see TÜZÜK) laid down by the *ḳaghan* (see H. İnalcık, *Kutadgu Bilig'de Türk ve İran devlet ve siyaset nazariye ve gelenekleri*, in *Reşit Rahmeti Arat için*, Ankara 1967, 259-71). This view was brought by the Turkish and Mongol ruling houses into the Middle East and survived in the states that they founded there (the Ottoman state included: for the Ottomans, the establishment of their sovereignty over a region was dependent upon the introduction there of the *Ḳānūn-i ʿOthmānī*). It should not be overlooked that some early Ottoman writers (*e.g.*, Aḥmedī, see *TM*, vi (1936-39), 111) praised the *yasa* of Čingiz-Khān as having promoted justice, and that Ottoman state-regulations were often referred to as *yasaḳ* or *yasaḳ-nāme*. In Egypt and Syria, too, *yasa* merged with *siyāsa* (see D. Ayalon, in *St. Isl.*, xxxviii (1973), 115), tended to be accepted as a legitimate source of law.

In these new states the conflict between state law and the *sharīʿa* overlay a politico-social struggle among the bureaucracy, the *ʿulamāʾ*, and the military

class. In Persia and in Anatolia, after the collapse of Mongol rule there was powerful pressure to do away altogether with the Turco-Mongol state law (ʿAzīz Astarābādī, *Bazm u razm*, Istanbul 1928, 223; Z. V. Togan, *Umumî Türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 271, 320, 376; for the reign of S̲h̲āhruk̲h̲, see *MTM*, ii, 357; for Syria and Egypt, see D. Ayalon, in *St. Isl.*, xxxii, 97-140; xxxiv, 151-80, xxxvi, 113-58; for Iran, see Spuler, *Mongolen*, Berlin 1968, 235-44). Some *ʿulamāʾ* in state service attempted to prove the legitimacy of the principle of an independent state law by appeal to such Islamic principles as *istiḥsān*, *maṣlaḥa*, and especially *ʿurf* [*q.v.*].

In later years, the states which, on the basis of these principles, developed furthest the domain of state law were the Ottoman Empire and the Turco-Mongol states of India. Ottoman legists, emphasizing these points, accepted the principle that state law, as having from of old been the concern of independent *yargu* [*q.v.*] courts, should be applied by the *ḳāḍīs*; all the same, the special courts of the political and military authorities continued—the *dīwāns* of the Grand Vizier, of the Ag̲h̲a of the Janissaries, of the Kapudan Pas̲h̲a, of the Defterdār.

In the Ottoman state, the conflict of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* and the ruler's law manifested itself in various stages. Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*], as the promotor of a centralized and absolutist imperial system, strengthened the principles of *ḳānūn* and *ʿurf* and encouraged the independence of "secular" law. He promulgated the Ottoman *Ḳānūnnāme*, and brought the *ʿulamāʾ* more closely into an integrated state-controlled hierarchy of offices. According to a contemporary historian belonging to the bureaucracy (Tursun, 13), the "good order" (*niẓām*) of this world necessarily require the absolute coercive authority of the sultan (*yasāg̲h̲-i pādis̲h̲āhī*) and the sultan's promulgation of decrees of his own single will. The early years of his successor Bāyezīd II saw a strong reaction by the upholders of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* against his untrammeled legislative activity. Selīm I rejected the intervention of the religious authorities in state affairs (cf. ʿAlī D̲j̲emālī, cited in Bibl.). Although Sülaymān I was inclined to assert the *s̲h̲arīʿa*'s control over state law, the latter preserved its independence as being the province of the *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* [*q.v.*]. It seems that the relative influence accorded to *s̲h̲arīʿa* and *ḳānūn* depended to a degree on distinctions of *madhhab*: thus Abu ʾl-Suʿūd regarded the use of money to establish a *waḳf* as entirely acceptable to the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, on the ground of *istiḥsan*, whereas Meḥmed Birgewī [see BIRGEWĪ] regarded it as utterly illegal; Birgewī and the Ḳāḍīzādelis were no doubt following Ḥanbalī doctrine. From the 11th/17th century onwards the scope of the *ḳānūn* evidently began to contract to the advantage of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*. *Fatwā*s of the *muftī*s progressively restricted the law-making powers of the *nis̲h̲and̲j̲ī*s, and the influence of the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām in state affairs progressively increased—to such a degree that in 1107/1696 the use of the word *ḳānūn* side by side with the word *s̲h̲arīʿa* was forbidden by a firman of the Sultan (ʿO. Nūrī, *Med̲j̲elle-i umūr-i belediyye*, i, Istanbul 1922, 568).

Nevertheless, in the later periods of reform the activity of making *ḳānūns*, independent of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, increased once more, and the struggle between *ḳānūn* and *s̲h̲arīʿa*, now exacerbated by social and political factors, revealed itself in overt collisions [see SELĪM III, NIẒĀM-I D̲J̲EDĪD, MAḤMŪD II, IṢLĀḤ]. These *ḳānūns* were, it is true, always presented as being acceptable, on grounds of *istiḥsān*, to the religious law and essential for the well-being of *dīn* and *umma*, and often received the approbation of *fatwās* given by the *ʿulamāʾ*; yet the reform measures were introduced by the bureaucrat class, which regarded the interests of the state as ultimately overriding all other considerations, and found their inspiration in sources foreign to Islam (the traditional Irano-Turkish state, or the states of 19th century Europe). The disputations which arose in every Muslim society thus entering upon the path of modernization concentrated upon the question of the relationship between *ḳānūn* and *s̲h̲arīʿa*. In the Ottoman state in the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], European laws, either modified or adopted unchanged, were introduced into those fields which had been the preserve of ruler-made law (administration, taxation, penal law, etc.) (see H. Veldet, *Kanunlaştırma hareketleri*, in *Tanzimat*, i, 139-209). As a result of the challenge of Europeanization and modernization, new movements arose in the second half of the century. On the one hand, young intellectuals and *ʿulamāʾ* disputed the question of whether the "door of *id̲j̲tihād*" could be opened [see NĀMIḲ KEMĀL, D̲J̲AMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFG̲H̲ĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD ʿABDUH]; on the other, a section of the Ottoman intelligentsia [see YEÑI ʿOT̲H̲MĀNLILAR], influenced by the French school of sociology, maintained that the *s̲h̲arīʿa* in regard to its *muʿāmalāt* [*q.v.*] was a social and historical product of the decrees of *muʿāmalāt* [*q.v.*] and could alter in accordance with the needs of society, and that these changing needs could be satisfied by new legislation within the framework of *naṣṣ* through a national assembly, a *s̲h̲ūrā* [*q.v.*]. These currents of thought facilitated a radical alteration in family law in 1917 and the placing of the *ḳāḍīs*' courts, removed from the control of the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām, under the Minister of Justice. Later still, merging with the agitation for the abolition of the Capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT], they produced the uncompromisingly secular legal system of the Turkish Republic. In other Muslim states, however, the desire to maintain the attachment to the Islamic sources of the law has continued into recent times [see IṢLĀḤ].

4. The procedure for making and promulgating *ḳānūns* in the Ottoman state. The source and justification for *ḳānūn*-legislation was the principle of *ʿurf* [*q.v.*], in the sense of the Sultan's unrestricted executive authority (and its synonym, *yasaḳ*). Hence every sort of *ḳānūn* was issued in the form of a *ḥukm* [*q.v.*] of the sultan, the typical formula being: *Ḳānūn emr édüb buyurdum ki*..., "having ordered [the promulgation of a] *ḳānūn*, I have commanded as follows..." (cf. *Belleten*, xi/44 (1947), 700, doc. 10). In practice, the procedure was as follows: a clerk attached to the office of the Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī or the Defterdār drew up a *ḥukm* in the form of a firman or a *berāt*. This draft, after being checked by the Nis̲h̲and̲j̲ī or the Defterdār, was confirmed by the Grand Vizier, with the word *ṣaḥḥ* ("correct"). Important *ḳānūns* were confirmed by receiving the *k̲h̲aṭṭ* (autograph minute) of the sultan. There is evidence that some *ḳānūns* were dictated personally by the sultan (cf. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Lib., MS. Reisülküttab 1004, fol. 34 a). *Ḳānūns* relating to *tīmārs* ("fiefs"), agricultural taxes and land law were the province of the *Nis̲h̲and̲j̲ī*; those relating to other financial matters were enregistered in the office of the *bas̲h̲-muḥāsebe*, under the Defterdār. Copies of the *ḳānūns* were despatched to the officers responsible for their implementation—variously, the *ḳāḍīs*, governors, *mültezims*, *emīns* of the customs, etc. *Ḳāḍīs* and governors would register them and make the neces-

sary entries in the appropriate registers, either by a marginal note or by attaching a slip to the page. *Ḳānūn*s which affected the populace in general were proclaimed by criers (*münādī*) in such public places as the market or the mosque courtyard or were read and explained by the *ḳāḍī* to the *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] and the *as̲h̲rāf*, who had been summoned to the court-room for that purpose. The original document was preserved in the *bedestān* of the city or in a chest under the *ḳāḍī*'s eye (cf. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, MS. anc. fonds turc 41, p. 25). Since the *ḳānūn* was a personal edict of the Sultan, to remain in force it required the confirmation of each new ruler; even Meḥemmed II accepted and stated that *ḳānūn*s might require improvement and modification. The issuing of *ḳānūn*s tended to intensify at such times as the carrying out of a *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*], an accession, the promulgation of an *ʿadāletnāme* (for these circular firmans issued in the attempt to rectify abuses, see *Belgeler*, ii/3-4 (1965), 49-145), or the promotion of reforms.

A *ḳānūn* might confirm *ʿāda* [*q.v.*] ("custom") or *amt̲h̲āl* ("precedent"), or—with or without modification—the *ḳānūn*s of a state newly occupied by the Ottomans. Appeal to "traditional practice" is a common feature of Ottoman *ḳānūn*s.

An indication of the independent status enjoyed by *ḳānūn*s in the Ottoman state is the fact that they were entirely under the supervision of the Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī. Their final and official promulgation lay in his hands, for he possessed the responsibility of affixing to them the *tug̲h̲ra* [*q.v.*] by which they were authenticated. It was he who determined whether a *ḳānūn* remained in force, and whether new *ḥukm*s issuing from the various departments of the administration were in conformity with the existing corpus of *ḳānūn*s. Since *ḳānūn*s so largely dealt with land matters and the *tīmār*-system, with the decline of the latter the scope for *ḳānūn* activity contracted, and the Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī lost his former importance.

It is no accident that outside the Ottoman Empire, the principle of independent legislation by *ḳānūn* was established, particularly in India and in those Muslim states founded by Turkish dynasties who had migrated from Central Asia. There too the *ḳānūn*, or rather, to use the terms there current, the *ḍābiṭa*, *āʾīn*, *dastūr*, or *s̲h̲āhī farmān*, is to be traced back both to the Iranian concept of "justice" as the ruler's principal concern and to the central Asian *törü* or *tüzük*. According to Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Bārānī (writing *c.* 760/1359), a *ḍābiṭa*, or state law, is "a rule of action which a king imposes as an obligatory duty upon himself for realizing the welfare of the state and from which he absolutely never deviates" (tr. M. Habib and Salim Khan, *Political theories*, 6).

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(Halil İnalcık)

iv.—Berber Usage

The word *ķānūn* was adopted by various Berber groups, especially in Kabylia and the Aurès, to mean the customs, mainly as regards penal matters, pertaining to a particular village. A number of *ķānūns* have been published, notably by A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux (*La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, Paris 1872-3, [2]1893, vols. ii and iii). To the bibliography given in the article berbers (iv), C. Lacoste, *Bibliographie ethnologique de la Grande Kabylie*, Paris-The Hague 1962, 72-6, should be added; see also the articles ʿāda and ʿurf. (Ed.)

ĶĀNŪN, musical instrument [see malāhī].

ĶĀNŪN-I ESĀSĪ [see dustūr].

ĶĀNŪNNĀME, in Ottoman usage the term generally referred to a decree of the sultan containing legal clauses on a particular topic. In the 9th/15th century the term *yasaķnāme* had the same meaning, and during the Arab caliphate *ķawānīn* had the sense of "a code of laws". In the Ottoman empire *Ķānūnnāme* was occasionally extended to refer to regulations which viziers and pas̲h̲as had enacted (see *Ķāsim Pas̲h̲a ķānūnnāmesi*, in M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 434), laws which a competent authority had formulated (*e.g.*, the *ķānūnnāme* of the *nis̲h̲āndji* Dj̲elālzāde) or to reform projects (*e.g.*, the *ķānūnnāme* of Ibs̲h̲īr Pas̲h̲a, see Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1280, v, 199). However, a *ķānūnnāme* was like any normal *ķānūn* in that only a Sultan's decree could give it official authority. Just as a single decree (*fermān* or *berāt*) or a defined and limited topic could form a *ķānūnnāme*, there were others applicable to the whole Empire or to a particular region or social group.

The practice in Islamic states of issuing official, codified *ķānūnnāmes* has two apparent sources, one being the traditions of the old Middle Eastern cultures and the other the traditions of the Turco-Mongol k̲h̲ānates (see ķānūn). To prevent abuses by officials, the old Iranian Empires established the practice of carrying legal clauses—particularly tax-laws—on stone, in places always visible to the public. This was possibly a tradition descended from the older Mesopotamian civilisations (see M. Tosun, *Sumer, Babil ve Asurlularda Hukuk*, in *Belleten* xxxvii/148 (1973), 565; W. Hinz, *Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen vorderen Orient*, in *Belleten*, xiii/52 (1949), 745-23). Similarly, in the era of the Caliphate, there must have been registers in *ķānūnnāme* form containing decrees (*aḥkām*) and conditions (*s̲h̲urūṭ* connected with land tax. These decrees were officially transmitted to administrators and tax farmers (*multazim*) as a *dastūr* (see ķānūn) in the collection of taxes (Kiya Māzandarānī, *Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, ed. W. Hinz, 57). In the Mongol-Iranian Empire, the *yasa* [*q.v.*] of Čingiz K̲h̲ān, known as *yāsā-yi ķadīm-i Čingiz K̲h̲ān*, *yarg̲h̲ūnāme* (Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i mubārak-i G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān*, ed. K. Jahn, 149) or *yāsāķ-i buzurg*, served as a basis for the ordering of military-political affairs and the settlement of law-suits. Even in the days of the Muslim G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān, the observance of Čingiz K̲h̲ān's *yāsā* was regarded as the foundation of the state's well-being (Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 304). Even after the fall of the Mongol régime and despite a powerful reaction of the *ʿulamāʾ* against the *yāsā*, the term *yasaķnāme*, or simply *yasaķ*, continued as a name for collections of laws by the ruler. The efforts of the native officials led to the amalgamation of the *yāsā* with the Iranian-Islamic tradition of *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] jurisdiction (Muḥammad b. Hindūs̲h̲āh-i Nak̲h̲dj̲evānī, *Dastūr al-Kātib*, ed. ʿAlīzāde, i, 212, 322, 325). It is significant that codified *ķānūnnāmes* appeared only in Iran, Anatolia, ʿIrāķ and India—places with firmly established Turco-Mongol traditions and dynasties—, and in regions of the Ottoman Empire where the typical Ottoman laws and administration were in force, sc. in Rumelia and Anatolia.

Ķānūnnāmes covered the fields of public law, state organization, administration, taxation, penal law and *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] (*aḥkām-i dīwānī*; *istīfāʾ-i mamālik*, *taḥdīd ve siyāsat-i mudj̲rimān*, see Muḥammad b. Hindus̲h̲āh-i Nak̲h̲dj̲evānī, *op. cit.*, part i, ch. 1).

When the Ottomans first occupied a newly conquered territory, they usually maintained existing *Ķānūns* or else adopted them with slight modifications, In this way the codes of the Mamlūk Ķāyitbay, the Aķ-ķoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan and the Dulķadïrlï ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla have reached us in their original forms under the guise of Ottoman *ķānūnnāmes*. An Aķ-ķoyunlu source confirms that Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] issued a penal *ķānūnnāme* for general use throughout his territory, whose application was compulsory (M. Schmidt-Dumont, *Turkmenische Herrscher ... nach dem Tārīḫ al-Giyāṯī*, Freiburg 1970, 219; J. Woods, *From clan to empire, Akkoyunlus ...*, Dissertation, Princeton University, 1974). Uzun Ḥasan's *ķānūnnāmes* or *yāsās* were current in eastern Anatolia, Ād̲h̲arbāydj̲ān, ʿIraķ-i ʿArab and ʿIraķ-i ʿAdj̲am (S̲h̲araf K̲h̲ān, *S̲h̲arafnāme*, ii, 120, cited by J. Woods, *op. cit.*). The Ottomans confirmed those in force in eastern Anatolia, applying them from 922/1516 to 955/1548. Thus the Ottomans, while abolishing Ṣafārid *ķānūns* after the conquest of ʿIrāķ, retained those of Uzun Ḥasan (see H. İnalcık, *Adâletnâmeler*, in *Belgeler*, ii/3-4 (1965), 140-2). The main purpose of these *ķānūnnāmes* was to show the rates and methods of payment of *ʿurfī* taxes and market taxes or *bādj̲* [see tamg̲h̲a]. The Dulķadïrlï (D̲h̲u ʾl-Ķādiriyye) *ķānūnnāmes* are essentially

criminal *ķānūnnāmes* (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, Istanbul 1943, 119-29). The Ottoman *ķānūnnāmes* for Cilicia, Syria and Egypt comprise the *ķānūnnāme* attributed to Ķāyitbay [*q.v.*] dealing with *ʿurfī* taxes, customs duties and gifts (see Barkan, *op. cit.*, 200, 223, 226, 361, 364, 365, 370). Certain Indian collections of Sultanic laws and regulations, such as the *Tüzükāt* attributed to Tīmūr (see *Tüzükāt-i Tīmūrī*, ed. Major Davy, Oxford 1783), the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, or the *Aḥkām-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, are well known, but only the criminal code of ʿĀlamgīr I is really comparable to Ottoman *ķānūnnāmes*, since it was issued in the form of imperial decrees (see J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* 122-30; U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, Oxford 1973, 317).

The opposition of the *ʿulamāʾ* to such compilations usually made the Sultans reluctant to give *ķānūns* a permanent character by publishing them in codified versions. They preferred to issue *Ķānūns* in the form of single imperial decrees (*fermāns*) on a particular topic and, as a result, there are few codified *ķānūnnāmes*. Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] appears to have been the first Islamic sovereign to issue a codified and officially promulgated *ķānūnnāme* intended to be binding on posterity. In this he was perhaps conforming to the legal practice of the Turco-Mongol *ķag͟hans*. He issued two *ķānūnnāmes*, one for the *reʿāyā* and one for state organisations.

Meḥemmed II's *ķānūnnāme* for the *reʿāyā* aimed firstly to prevent the malpractices of the *ʿaskerī* [*q.v.*] class who gathered a number of taxes directly from the *reʿāyā*, and secondly to fix the rates of taxes and money fines, and in this way to realise the state's ideal of bringing protective justice to the *reʿāyā*. This *ķānūnnāme* was issued as a code of practice for *ķāḍīs* and governors in settling disputes. The *reʿāyā ķānūnnāme* is codified according to a particular pattern (for the theory that *ķānūnnāmes* follow no set pattern, see Ö. L. Barkan, *op. cit.*, liv-lxiii). The first three chapters contain criminal clauses applicable to both Muslim and non-Muslim *reʿāyā*. The arrangement of the subject matter is the same as in *fiķh* books. In particular, it fixes the amounts of fines due to the *ʿaskerī* class from the *reʿāyā* (see İnalcık, *Osmanlı hukukuna giriş*, 117; U. Heyd, *op. cit.*, 7-18; text edited by Fr. Kraelitz, in *MOG*, i (1921-22), 13-48; cf. İnalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüsûmu*, in *Belleten*, xxiii/92, 576-78). Added to the end of the third chapter are the rates of some other taxes levied by *ķāḍī*'s decree (see Kraelitz, *op. cit.*, clauses 11-18).

The fourth chapter of the *reʿāyā ķānūnnāme* lists the regular taxes which the *reʿāyā* pay to the *sipāhīs*. It comprises seven sections based on the seven duties which the *reʿāyā* have to perform for the *sipāhīs* and gives fixed taxes in lieu of these services (see Inalcik, *op. cit.*). This section again follows a clear pattern. It deals first of all with Muslim *reʿāyā* liable to *cift* [*q.v.*] tax. Then a separate section shows the organisation and obligations of the *yürüks* (*ķānūn-i yürükān*) who were exempted from all services. The next section shows taxes paid by Christian *reʿāyā* liable to the *ispend̲j̲e* (see Inalcik, *Osmanlilarda raiyyet rüsumu*, 602-8). The final section lists the *bād̲j̲* taxes, payable in town markets (Kraelitz, *op. cit.*, clauses 9-28) and applicable to both Christians and Muslims.

In general, Ottoman *ķānūnnāmes* were systematically drawn up according to the logic of the Ottoman tax and administrative system. Only *ķānūns* added later went contrary to the system. The four chapters in the *ķānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, setting out taxes and relations between *reʿāyā* and *sipāhīs*, follow the same system as the *sand̲j̲aķ ķānūnnāmes* and *taḥrīr* registers. These list, in turn, *čift* tax and similar imports, tithes (*aʿs̲h̲ār*), orchard tax, beehive tax and the like, then taxes paid on animals and, lastly, fines (*d̲j̲erāʾim*) and irregular taxes (*bād-i havā*). Some *sand̲j̲aķ ķānūnnāmes*, like the *ķānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, contain a supplement showing *bād̲j̲* taxes (cf. the *ķānūnnāme* of Aydln in Barkan, *op. cit.*, 6-18).

Most Ottoman *ķānūnnāmes* can be classified, according to their form, under four main headings:

1. *Ķānūnnāmes* in the form of decrees of the Sulṭān

These were issued as *fermāns* or *berāts* in answer to particular administrative problems or needs, and required governors and *ķāḍīs* to put them into immediate effect. Most of them are in genuine *ķānūnnāme* form and contain a number of clauses on a specific topic. Complete or abridged copies existed in official registers in the capital or in *ķāḍīs*' registers in the provinces. Valid official copies of the decrees could be issued from these sources (see *Belleten*, xi/44 (1947), 693-703).

It is likely that such *ķānūns* in the form of decrees were collected in book form to meet the needs of secretaries. The oldest known collection dates from the reign of Bāyezīd II (see R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık (eds.), *Ķānūnnāme-yi sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿos̱mānī*, Ankara 1956. Other important collections, dating from the 10th/16th century are as follows: Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, MSS. Revan Nos. 1935, 1936; Istanbul University Library, MS No. T. 2753; British Museum, MS Or. No. 9503; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ancien fonds turc, MSS Nos. 34, 85; Sarajevo, Orientalni Institut, MS Turcica No. 3; Istanbul Bayezid Library, MS Veliyüddin No. 1970; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Reîsülküttâb, No. 1085).

2. *Sand̲j̲aķ ķānūnnāmes*

The government of Ilk̲h̲ānid Iran maintained separate registers showing taxes and regulations for each region, known as *Ķānūn-i mamlakat*. The custom, no doubt, went back via the ʿAbbāsids to ancient Iran. The Ottomans continued to practice with their regional *vilāyet* or *sand̲j̲aķ* (*livāʾ*) *ķānūnnāmes*.

These *ķānūnnāmes* were confirmed by the Sulṭān's cipher (*ṭug̲h̲ra*, [*q.v.*]) and placed at the beginning of the detailed (*mufaṣṣal*) cadastral registers of each province. They existed for provinces where the system of state (*mīrī*) lands and *timars* [*q.v.*] was in force, with the primary aim of preventing and settling disputes between the *reʿāyā* and the timar-holders.

They were like the *Ķānūnnāmes* in the form of decrees in that they were official and in force at a particular date. The *beylerbeyis*' councils and *ķāḍī*'s courts had to give judgement in accordance with these codes.

The arrangement of clauses in Ottoman *sand̲j̲aķ ķānūnnāmes* follows a specific pattern (see above). *Sand̲j̲aķ ķānūnnāmes* followed well-defined principles in the formulation of *reʿāyā* taxes and land laws. These principles probably took on the character of a system in the first half of the 9th/15th century, or perhaps a little earlier and, under the title *ķānūn-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*, displayed the peculiarities of the Ottoman régime (see İnalcık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, i (1969), 128-35). Meḥemmed the Conqueror was the first to have these principles codified in his *reʿāyā ķānūnnāme* which was to be enforced throughout the Empire. Apart from occasional legal clauses, obviously summarized from

ḳānūns in the form of decrees, the detailed cadastral registers from Meḥemmed the Conqueror's reign contain no *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes*. The oldest surviving *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāme* is that of Khudāvendigār (Bursa), dated 892/1487 (see Barkan, *op. cit.*, 1-6).

The practice of placing at the front of the detailed cadastral surveys for each *sandjaḳ*, separate *ḳānūnnāmes* showing the *ḳānūns* in force in the *sandjaḳ*, dates from Bāyezīd II's reign. The Khudāvendigār *ḳānūnnāme* of 892/1487 appears to be a model for later ones. Some *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* have been collected and published (Barkan, *op. cit.*, contains about 80 *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes*. Other collections are J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, i, Vienna 1815; *Kanūn-i kanun-name*, Monumenta Turcica, series I, No. 1, Sarajevo 1957).

Since Ottoman Law was in general based on precedent, it is possible to divide *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* into related groups based on chronology and geography. Taking the rate of taxation as a basis, we find that the *ḳānūnnāmes* from the *eyālet* of Anadolu in western Anatolia form a group with the *ḳānūnnāme* of Khudāvendigār. Central Anatolia—Ḳaramān, Ičel and Anḳara—forms a second category, similar to the first, whereas the *sandjaḳs* of eastern Anatolia—Malātya, Diyārbekir, Erẓurūm, Muṣul, Khārpūt and Mārdīn—and Syria form two separate groups.

The Rumelian *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* form a special group. Here clauses from the typical *ḳānūn-i ʿothmānī* co-exist with Byzantine and Slav customary law and institutions. A number of laws are based entirely on pre-Ottoman practice: the *bashtina* as a unit of land and the *ispendje* [*q.v.*] as a *reʿāyā* tax; the taxes on hay and wood derived from Balkan feudalism and the grain levy of two measures of wheat and two of barley. Other taxes on wine production—barrel tax, *obručuna* and *monopolya ʿādeti*—again ante-date Ottoman rule. The Rumelian *ḳānūnnāmes* also contain clauses relating to groups such as the *yürüks*, *müsellems*, *voynuks*, Vlachs, Tatars and *filoridjis*. Another peculiarity of Rumelian *ḳānūnnāmes* is that side-by-side with typical *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* regulating affairs between the *reʿāyā* and *sipāhīs* (e.g. the 977/1569 *ḳānūnnāme* of Silistra, in Barkan, *op. cit.*, 278-89), there are others regulating affairs between members of the *ʿaskerī* class only (e.g. the *ḳānūnnāme* of Nighbolu (Nikopol) in Barkan, *op. cit.*, 267-71).

The *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* for Hungary are modelled on other 10th/16th century Rumelian *ḳānūnnāmes*, except that certain taxes and laws were retained from the days of the Hungarian kingdom. It thus becomes obvious that, after the conquest of an area, the Ottomans adopted the *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* of adjoining regions as a model for the newly-conquered lands. Differences arose from the survival of certain local laws and taxes and from changes in Ottoman law which occurred at certain dates. However, it is important to realise that the principles of the *ḳānūn-i ʿothmānī* always applied to questions of land ownership and the status of the peasantry.

3. *Ḳānūnnāmes* relating to specific groups

These can be treated in the same category as *ḳānūnnāmes* of provinces. Special *ḳānūnnāmes* were usually issued for *reʿāyā* groups serving the state in a particular capacity (see İnalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüsûmu*, 295-300). These were principally groups performing auxiliary military service, the most important of which were *yaya* and *müsellem* (for *ḳānūnnāme*, see Barkan, *op. cit.*, 241-2, 259), *djānbāz* (for *ḳānūnnāme*, *ibid.*, 247-8), *eshkindji yürük* and *eshkindji tatar* (for *ḳānūnnāmes*, see M. T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de yürükler, tatarlar ve evlâd-i fâtihan*, Istanbul 1957), Vlachs (*eflāḳ*) (for *ḳānūnnāmes*, see B. Đurđev and others (eds.), *Ḳānūn-i ḳānūnnāme*, Sarajevo 1957, 12-14; N. Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Quatre actes de Mehmed II concernant les valaques des Balkans slaves*, Südost-Forschungen, xxiv, 1965, 115) and *voynuk* (for *ḳānūnnāme*, see *Osmanische-Türkische Quellen zur Bulgarischer Geschichte*, iii, Sofia 1943).

The *Ḳānūnnāmes* of these groups make it clear that their organisation was on the pattern of an auxiliary military corps, and that they were all, therefore, liable to tax exemptions (see İnalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüsûmu*, 594-601). In the 9th/15th century these groups had *ʿaskerī* status, but as their military importance declined in the 10th/16th century, they descended to *reʿāyā* status and became subject no longer to their own, but to ordinary *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes*.

Secondly, certain groups engaged in production for the state had their own *ḳānūnnāmes*, for example the rice-field workers (*čeltükči*) (for *ḳānūnnāme*, see Library of the Topkapı sarayı, Revan no. 1936) and the miners (*maʿdendji*) (for *ḳānūnnāmes*, see R. Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im osmanischen Reich*, 2 parts and supplement, Istanbul 1943-5; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans*, ii, *Règlements miniers*, 1390-1572, Paris-The Hague 1964). Most of the miners' *ḳānūnnāmes* are translations of local, pre-Ottoman statutes. Prisoners-of-war settled in a particular place (*ortaḳčī ḳullar*) occupied a special position among these groups (see Barkan, *Osmanlı imperatorluğunun toprak işşiliğinin organizasyonu şekilleri*, in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, i/1-3). Similarly, the gipsies of Rumelia were subject to their own *ḳānūnnāme* (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 249-50).

4. *Ḳānūnnāmes* relating to state organisations

These form a third category. Meḥemmed II's *ḳānūnnāme* dealing with state organisations (see M. ʿĀrif [ed.], in *TOEM* supplement, Istanbul 1330; A. S. Tveritonova [ed.], *Badāʾiʿ al-Waḳāʾiʿ*, ii, Moscow 1961, 277b-283b) states at the beginning that it was written to regulate the affairs of the sultanate. Its pattern follows the logic of the Ottoman system of government, dealing in one place with matters of the Palace, government and protocol. Its claims deal in turn with the form of government, its notables and their sphere of authority, their relationship with the Sultan, their ranks and degrees, promotion, salary, retirement and punishment. Meḥemmed II's *ḳānūnnāme* is the only one of this type. Later Sultans did issue regulations for state organisations, but they are not comprehensive. Later *ḳānūnnāmes* and regulations on this topic are the compilations of statesmen and bureaucrats (among the most important are ʿAynī ʿAlī Efendi, *Ḳawānīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān der khulāṣa-yi meḍāmīn-i defter-i dīwān*, Istanbul 1280; the *ḳānūnnāme* of Nishāndjī ʿAbdurraḥmān Pasha, in *MTM* i/5 [1331], 494-544; the *ḳānūnnāme* of Eyyūbī Efendi, Istanbul University Library, MS T 734; Hezārfenn Ḥüseyn Efendi, *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī ḳawānīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān*; see H. Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Ḥüseyn b. Ǧaʿfer, genannt Hezārfenn*, Freiburg 1971; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı (ed.), *Ḳānūn-i ʿothmānī mefhūm-i defter-i khāḳānī*, in *Belleten*, xv/59 (1951), 381-99, and a longer version of this work, H. Hadzibegič, *Rasprava Ali čauša . . .*, in *Glasnik zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, ii, Sarajevo 1947, 146-73).

The Ottoman archives, however, contain the

manuscripts of several official *ķānūnnāmes* dealing with ceremonial (Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, *Teşrifât defterleri*), and there are also works written by officials concerned with ceremonial (e.g. Nā'ilī ʿAbdullāh Pasha, *Defter-i teshrīfāt*, Turkish Historical Society Library, MS no. Y 49, published in part in *TOEM*, xvi, 249-60; Esʿad Efendi, *Teshrīfāt-i ķadīme*, Istanbul 1293; see also *Ķānūnnāme-yi teshrīfāt*, Istanbul University Library, MS T 220).

Some of the works written to recommend reforms or as handbooks for Sultans or Grand Viziers contain detailed facts about *ķānūns* relating to state organisations (e.g. Luṭfī Pasha, *Kitāb-i musteṭāb*, ed. Yaşar Yücel, Ankara 1974; *Ḥirz al-Mulūk*, MS. Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1612; see K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1973; Ķoči Beg, *Risāle*, ed. A. K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1239; Ṣarï Meḥmed Pasha, *Naṣā'iḥ al-umarā' wa'l-wuzarā'*, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1935. Works concerning Palace statutes and organisation: Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Ta'rīkh-i ghilmānī*, in *TOEM*, supplement, 1340; Ilyās, *Leṭā'if-i enderūn*; A. ʿAṭā', *Ta'rīkh-i ʿAṭā'*, Istanbul 1291-3).

There are also *ķānūnnāmes* for particular aspects of state organisation, the *Ķawānīn-i yeničeriyān* (Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, MS Revan no. 1320; Istanbul University Library, MS no. T 3293), for example, dealing with the Janissaries. There are other *ķānūns* and *ķānūnnāmes* dealing with *timars*, treasury affairs, *muķāṭaʿas*, customs, the mint, currency, the *ķapï ķullarï*, the *ʿulamā'*, cadastral surveys, military campaigns etc. (See Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, MSS Revan nos. 1935, 1936, Bagdad no. 346; Süleymaniye Library, Reîsülküttâb no. 1004, Esʿad Efendi no. 2362, Bayezid Library, Veliyüddin Nos. 1969, 1970; Şehid Ali Paşa, no. 3832; Istanbul University Library MS no. T 1438; Âtıf Efendi Library, Istanbul, no. 1734; Staatsbibliothek, Vienna, Mixt. 478, H. O. 154; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ancien fonds turc, nos. 35, 85; Westdeutsche Staatsbibliothek, Marburg, Orient No. 2730; Staatsbibliothek, Munich, cod. turc. nos. 117, 118).

5. *General ķānūnnāmes*

This type of *ķānūnnāme* was in force throughout the Empire. Meḥemmed II's *reʿāyā ķānūnnāme* formed the nucleus of the codes of the following Sultans. This *Ķānūnnāme* was promulgated under Bāyezīd II in *ca.* 907/1501 in a much enlarged and modified version, under the title *Kitāb-i ķawānīn-i ʿurfiyye-yi ʿothmāniyye* (Koyunoglu MS facsimile edition, N. Beldiceaneu, *Code de lois coutumières de Mehmed II*, Wiesbaden 1967). It contains the amendments of Hersekzāde Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] and forms the basis of the *ķānūnnāme* later attributed to Sulaymān I (see İnalcık, *Adâletnâmeler*, 56; *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 117-26; U. Heyd, *ibid.*, 18-24). Their introduction and chapter headings are identical. It falls into three large chapters. The first chapter is a version of Meḥemmed II's criminal code, extended and further systematized (Koyunoğlu MS, 1-9; M. ʿĀrif's edition, *TOEM* supplement, 1-10). The second chapter deals with the obligations of the *sipāhī* and laws affecting the *sipāhī* class. It then describes the *sipāhī*'s rights over the *reʿāyā* in their capacity of *ṣāhib-i raʿiyyet* and *ṣāḥib-i arḍ* and the taxes which they received. This chapter also contains a *bādj ķānūn* related to *khāṣṣ* and *timar* incomes, and a supplementary *ķānūnnāme* for *yayas* and *müsellems*. The third chapter deals with the rights and obligations of the *reʿāyā* and the conditions of land tenure. Following this are special *ķānūnnāmes* for *reʿāyā* groups performing military duties and subject to special statutes—*ʿazab, yürük, haymana* and *eflāk*. To conclude there are two special *ķānūns* obviously issued during the compilation of the *ķānūnnāme*. One concerns illegal innovations (*bidʿat*) in Ķonya, abrogated for contravening the *ķānūn-i ʿothmānī*. The other contains regulations for collecting Palace firewood.

The compilation of the *ķānūnnāme* seems to have followed this pattern. To start with, it makes large scale borrowings from the Khudāvendigār *ķānūnnāme* of 892/1487, and similarly from the *ķānūnnāmes* of the *sandjaķs* of Anadolu, Ķarāmān and Rūm (Amasya). It also has frequent references to the *ķānūnnāmes* of frontier *sandjaķs* such as Vidir and Semendere (Smederovo) in Rumelia, obviously because laws outside the *ķānūn-i ʿothmānī* were current in these regions. Clauses from the cadastral register of Semendere were added directly to the *ķānūnnāme* (see İnalcık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 120). Tax laws had a regional character, and for this reason the *ķānūnnāme* contains no general regulations on the subject. It was rather in the fields of land law, *timar* holdings and criminal law that the *ķānūnnāme* was of universal application.

Newly-issued *ķānūns* in the form of decrees and new *sandjaķ ķānūns* led to later modifications and re-issues of this *ķānūnnāme* in the names of the Sultans following Bāyezīd II. Although Selīm I's *ķānūnnāme* (for various versions see A. S. Tveritinova, *Kniga zakonov Sultan Selima I*, Moscow 1969) has not been widely publicised, the later version promulgated under Sulaymān I has received widespread attention (for copies see U. Heyd, *op. cit.*, 24-32). In this period the *nishāndjï* Djelālzāde made important changes in the general *ķānūnnāmes*, and a number of manuscripts contain *ķānūns* collected under his name (*e.g.*, Süleymaniye Library, Reîsülküttap no. 1004). During the era of decline following the 10th/16th century, the *ķānūnnāme* of Sulaymān I came to be idealised as the foundation of the classical Ottoman régime (see İnalcık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 105; Naʿīmā, *Ta'rīkh*, v, 101). Nevertheless, the decay of the *tīmār* régime made much of it obsolete and in the 11th/17th century a new *ķānūnnāme* replaced it, called *ķānūnnāme-yi djedīd-i sulṭānī*. This was a detailed compilation widely used in Ottoman courts of the period. (There is no critical study of this text. Most versions end with a *fermān* dated 1084/1673 concerning taxes such as tithes (*ʿushr*)—cf. *MTM*, i, 330. Some versions are shorter. One version, with additions, is printed: *MTM*, i, 49-112, 305-48. Other important versions: Istanbul University Library MSS T 398, 400, 475, 969, 2664, 2730, 3586, 4107, 5828, 5845, 5846, 9623, 9550, 9737; Bursa Public Library, no. 1996; Library of the Topkapı Palace, Bağdad no. 347, 404; Istanbul, Millet Library, Fatih, Ali Emiri no. 72, 76, 80; Tirana National Library no. 154 ff. 27-67; Vienna, Staatsarchiv, Krafft no. 470; Vienna, Staatsbibliothek, Flügel no. 149, ff. 1-43; Munich, Staatsbibliothek, cod. turc. nos. 113, 114, 115; Marburg, Westdeutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hs.or. quart. nos. 1023, 1102, 1835, Hs. Or. oct. nos. 809, 843, 892; Sofia, National Library, Turkish MSS 1332/166, facsimile edition by G. Galabov, *Turski Izvori* . . ., Sofia 1961, 167-200; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, E. Blochet, supplement, 68, 71, 78, 79, 1311; British Museum, Rieu Add. 7834, 7840; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Fatih no. 5424; Konya, Koyunoğlu Museum, nos. 12337, 11337, 12396, 12334, 12395; Ankara, Library of the Turkish Historical Society, Y 321, 325, 396).

The definite compilation of this *Ḳānūnnāme* dates from 1084/1673, obviously as an answer to the new problems of the age of decline, in particular to land problems. *Ḳānūn*s which the *nis̲h̲āndji̲* Dj̲elālzāde formulated in the classical age, and others formulated by Nis̲h̲andji̲ Ḥamza Pas̲h̲a, the author of many reforming *ḳānūn*s in the late 16th century, occupy a large part of this *ḳānūnnāme*. Similarly, *ḳānūn*s promulgated between the years 1012/1603 and 1019/1610 are among the new features of this *ḳānūnnāme* which also makes mention of a *Ḳānūnnāme-yi Sulṭān Aḥmed Kh̲ān*. Another important point distinguishes it from earlier collections. This is the inclusion from the time of Aḥmed I, of *müftīs*' *fetvā*s on topics previously dealt with by the *nis̲h̲āndji̲*s, in particular problems of land law and sometimes the law concerning *sipāhī*s (see *MTM*, i, 320). The compiler obviously drew them mainly from the *fetvā* collections of Pīr Meḥmed [*q.v.*] (see *Ẓāhir al-Ḳuḍat*, MS, Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, Revan no. 1938; Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi, no. 1094; for details of the work see, Heyd, *op. cit.*, 189-90), S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām Yaḥyā (there are many copies of his *fetvā* collection, e.g. Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi, no. 1088; Beşir Ağa no. 332) and S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām Bahāʾī (one copy of his *fetvā* collection, Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, Revan no. 1938, ff. 151-166).

The *ḳānūnnāme-yi dj̲edīd* differed from the *ḳānūnnāme*s of the classical age which *nis̲h̲andji̲*s prepared and the Sultan ratified, and which contained only *ʿurfī ḳānūn*s [see ḲĀNŪN].

It has been claimed that none of the general *ḳānūnnāme*s was an official code to be enforced in the courts and offices of state (see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, xx-xxxiv; *Osmanlı imperatorluğu teşkilât ve müesseselerinin şerʿîliği meselesi*, in *Istanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xi/3-4 (1945), 214-15; art. *Ḳanunname*, in *İA*). It is true that the law valid for a particular subject at a particular date was always the most recent imperial *fermān* or a clause in the latest *sandj̲aḳ ḳānūnnāme*. Nevertheless, the *ḳānūnnāme*s showing all the laws current in the courts and *beylerbeyi*s' councils at a specific period were a source and reference book for official decisions. Clauses in the general *ḳānūnnāme*s requiring amendment were either entered directly by the *ḳāḍī* or *beylerbeyi*, or sent for correction to the *nis̲h̲āndji̲* in the capital (see İnalcık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 120-3). However, it should not be forgotten that *ḳāḍī*s were as free to give decisions in accordance with unratified *ḳānūnnāme*s in their possession as they were in accordance with *s̲h̲arʿī fiḳh* books. There are thousands of surviving *ḳānūnnāme*s which previously belonged to *ḳāḍī*s or clerks of court. On rare occasions, these officials arranged the legal clauses under chapters and sub-headings according to their personal system (e.g. Istanbul University Library, MS T. 1807). Several types of general *ḳānūnnāme* have survived. The 10th/16th century documents make it abundantly clear that these *ḳānūnnāme*s intended as general penal codes for the whole Empire were promulgated by the central government as official codes whose application in the courts was compulsory (see İnalcık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 115, 117; U. Heyd, *op. cit.*, 171-80). An official *ḳānūnnāme*, whose application was enforced (*maʿmūlün bihi*) remained in the possession of the *reʾīsülküttāb* as a reference work for the correction of other *ḳānūnnāme*s or for transactions and the drawing up of documents in the *dīwān* (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, 32). *Ḳāḍī*s entered the official *ḳānūnnāme*s into official registers and were henceforth bound to act in accordance with them. The introductions to the codes of Meḥmed II, Bāyezīd II and Sulaymān I state that their publication was a decree of the Sultan, and that their application was compulsory. The expressions *maʿmūlün bihi* or *muʿtabar* are used to make this clear.

The concept of an official code in the sense of European legal terminology entered the Ottoman Empire in the 13th/19th century. In this century European legal concepts predominated in the codification and promulgation of *ḳānūnnāme*s, *niẓāmnāme*s and even of the *Medj̲elle* [*q.v.*] [see also TANZĪMĀT]. This influence, apparent already in the military statutes of Selīm III's reign, grew stronger in the codes of the *tanẓīmāt* epoch. Some of these are direct translations of European laws (see Hıfzı Veldet, *Kanunlaştırma hareketleri ve Tanzimat*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 139-209; *Dustūr, tertīb-i evvel*, Istanbul 1279; Aristarchi Bey, *Législation Ottomane*, Istanbul 1873-4).

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KANURI. The name Kanuri, applied to both a language and to a people, appears to be of recent origin. The earliest known written occurrence is in the 18th century. The Kanuri language belongs apparently to the Teda-Daza group, mainly located east of Lake Chad. The most recent hypothesis is that Kanembu, the language of Kanem [*q.v.*], evolved from various older Daza languages, as speakers of these moved south into Kanem; and that Kanuri in turn developed, partly through the influence upon Kanembu of languages of the Chadic family spoken west of Lake Chad, among Kanembu-speakers as these gradually moved southwest into Bornū. Kanembu is still regarded as the classical language of *tafsīr* [*q.v.*] in Bornū. The Kanuri language achieved widespread importance through the political power of Bornū, the Islamic prestige of that state, and its position at the southern end of the ancient trans-Saharan highway to Tripoli.

The Kanuri people have undergone a similar development. Traditions speak of Sayf b. Dh̲ī Yazan [*q.v.*], the great Arab folk hero, becoming leader of the Magumi nomads, and of the Magumi gradually establishing their ascendancy over a number of other groups in the Kanem region. The emergence of some form of organized state, embracing disparate groups, in Kanem, which may be assigned to the 9th or 10th centuries A.D., is now seen less as the result of the imposition of rule by nomad immigrants upon disorganized local peoples than as the interaction between nomadic and settled. Early Sefawa rulers, *i.e.*, reputed descendants of the perhaps legendary Sayf, who are probably more accurately to be regarded as heads of the Sefawa lineage of the Magumi clan, married women of various groups which were later to help make up the Kanuri, and the children of these non-Magumi women succeeded to the kingship, which was of the "divine" pattern. Sedentarisation advanced; the first towns in Kanem are mentioned in the 12th century.

Whether the name Kanuri may properly be used of the people of Kanem at this stage is a moot point, though many recent authorities do so. The further movement of people into Bornū, the region southwest of Lake Chad, had apparently begun early. Both Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa knew the name Bornū; and in the 1390s the ruler of Kanem and his court themselves fled into Bornū, driven from Kanem by their rivals, the Balula [*q.v.*]. Gradually Bornū, rather than Kanem, became the centre of gravity in the area, following this exodus; even when the old Kanem capital, Njimi, was recaptured in the 15th century, the Sefawa never returned to settle there. In Bornū, a remarkable process of amalgamation went on, facilitated by the absence of natural boundaries, and involving immigrants from Kanem, the local peoples (loosely called the So or Sao [*q.v.*], nomadic arrivals and others, and large numbers of slaves from various quarters. From this melting pot came the Kanuri proper, far more homogeneous by the 18th century that they had been in the 15th. The process of assimilation continues until today: the outward sign of it is the adoption of the Kanuri language. The Kanuri are thus, like the Hausa [*q.v.*], less a tribe in the customary sense than a group of people of diverse origins bound together by a common language. When, early in the 19th century, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānemī [*q.v.*] rescued Bornū from the threat of the Fulani [see FULBE] *djihād*, his chief reliance was upon his Kanembu troops, and these were quite distinct from the Kanuri of Bornū.

The Lake Chad area has from a very early date benefited from the trans-Saharan route running north through Kawar and Fazzān [*qq.v.*] to Tripoli. Slaves were the principal export. Al-Yaʿḳūbī [*q.v.*], in the 3rd/9th century, refers to Zawīla, then the centre of Fazzān, where slave traders even from Asia were already established. Al-Iṣṭakhrī [*q.v.*] in the 4th/10th century contrasts the slaves passing through Zawīla with those from eastern Africa, the Zandj [*q.v.*] among them, and finds those from the Central Sudan blacker and better than all the others. It is likely that the slave revolt in ʿIrāḳ, in the late 3rd/9th century, particularly associated with Zandj slaves, may have occasioned a reaction in Middle Eastern markets in favour of other varieties. Al-Bakrī [*q.v.*] in the 5th/11th century mentions slave exports from Fazzān. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa comments upon the excellent slave girls from Bornū, its eunuchs (*fityān*) and saffron-dyed fabrics. Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] gives an interesting description of trade in Bornū at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Barbary merchants bringing horses for the king in exchange for slaves. Trade in slaves and other commodities continued until the end of the 19th century.

Islamic penetration in the Chad region came from the north, along the trade route. ʿUḳba b. Nāfi [*q.v.*] reached Kawar in 46/666-7. Al-Bakrī mentions the descendants of Umayyad refugees living in Kanem; legends of the Umayyad diaspora are, however, frequent, and should not always be taken seriously. The first Muslim ruler, or *mai*, among the Sefawa was Humai, probably in the late 5th/11th century. Al-Maḳrīzī [*q.v.*], on the contrary, affirms that Dunama Dibbalemi, the famous 7th/13th century *mai*, under whom the Kanem empire reached its peak, was the first convert. Dunama Dibbalemi is said to have opened the *mune*, or sacred talisman, of Kanem, thus precipitating civil strife; it is possible, though the evidence is scanty, that he was trying to reform local Islam, hitherto too tolerant of non-Islamic survivals. Several *mais* made the pilgrimage, among them Humai's successor (also named Dunama), who went twice to Mecca and was drowned on his third journey. In the 1240s, perhaps during the reign of Dunama Dibbalemi, a hostel for pilgrims and students from Kanem was established in Cairo. It is likely that two *mais* in the 8th/14th century were pilgrims. Idris Alooma, towards the end of the 10th/16th century, renewed the tradition, which flourished particularly in the 11th/17th and 18th centuries.

After the shift to Bornū, the Kanuri began to influence their western neighbours, the Hausa. The Hausa words for writing and reading, as well as for gun, city wall, market, and a number of other key elements, are borrowed from Arabic through Kanuri, or from Kanuri itself. Constitutional patterns also spread; the title *galadima*, for example, originally the governor of the western provinces of Bornū, was adopted in Sokoto, and may be found in places as distant as Fazzān and Adamawa. At the time of the Fulani *djihād*, Kanuri Islam was harshly criticized by Fulani critics, but Sultan Bello of Sokoto nevertheless admitted that the earlier rulers had been good and devout Muslims, many among them pilgrims.

Kanuri-speakers are found in various adjacent areas, such as Mandara, Baghirmi and Kawar. In Kawar, frequented also by Tubu and Tuareg, Kanuri provide most of the *ʿulamā*ʾ.

For further details, particularly on the later history of Bornū, see the article BORNŪ.

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(H. FISHER)

KANZ, BANU 'L (AWLĀD AL-KANZ), a clan descended from Rabīʿa tribesmen who migrated to the region of Aswān in the 3rd/9th century, intermarried with Bedja [*q.v.*], and ultimately gained control of the gold-mines of al-ʿAllāḳī [*q.v.*]. The eponym of the clan, whose personal name was Abu ʾl-Makārim Hibat Allāh, received in 397/1007 from the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*] the honorific of Kanz al-Dawla for his services in capturing the rebel Abū Rakwa. The title continued to be borne by his successors. As marcher-chiefs of the frontier of Islam

with the Bedja and Nubians, the Banu ʾl-Kanz were not easily controlled by the rulers in Cairo. Both Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] and al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn [*q.v.*] undertook operations against them in 469/1076-7 and 570/1174 respectively. During the Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk periods, the clan extended its power southwards into the Nubian kingdom of al-Muḳurra, which was (after 717/1317) ruled for a time by a Kanz al-Dawla. With the subsequent disintegration of al-Muḳurra, Banu ʾl-Kanz appear to have directed their energies again northwards. In the late 8th/14th and early 9th/15th centuries they fought repeatedly against the Mamlūk governors of Aswān, and devastated the town and its vicinity. Their domination was countered only by another tribe, Hawwāra [*q.v.*], a fraction of which was established in Upper Egypt by Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*], *ca.* 782/1380-1. The arabized Nubian tribe of Kunāz, living between Aswān and Kurūskū (with some branches also in the Sudan), claims descent from Banu ʾl-Kanz.

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KAPAN [see istanbul, mīzān].

ḲAPĪ, literally "gate" in Turkish, which by extension means "Ottoman Porte", that is, the sultan's palace, and is also used for the grand vizier's palace and the seat of government. The word *ḳapī* was used concurrently with the Arabic *bāb* (*e.g.*, *bāb-ī ʿālī* [*q.v.*]) and the Persian *dar/der* (*e.g.*, *der-i devlet*, *der-i ʿāliye*, *der-i seʿādet*). It appears, however, that in Ottoman the word *ḳapī*, unlike *bāb* and *der*, was rarely used with a non-Turkish epithet or determinative. On the other hand, it is very frequently employed to designate military or civil functions directly subordinate to the "Porte", *e.g.*, *ḳapī ḳullarī*, literally "slaves of the Porte", that is, the sultan's troops, and *ḳapī kethüdasī*, or *ḳapī kāhyasī*, an agent "close to the Porte" of a high dignitary of an Ottoman subject or vassal.

From 1654, the grand vizier lived in a private palace, separate from the imperial *saray*, where more and more frequently meetings of the *dīwān* were held. This palace, known as the *pasha ḳapīsī* (shortened to *ḳapī*), was later called the *bāb-ī ʿālī* (the Sublime Porte), and represented the effective seat of government. Westerners, however, confused the sultan's palace, the Ottoman court and even the Ottoman state, calling them all by the name of Porte. The expression was current in Iṣfahān in the form *ʿālī ḳapū*.

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ḲAPĪ AGHASĪ [see ḳapu aghasi].

ḲAPĪ ḲULU [see ordu].

ḲAPĪDJI, "porter", "guardian" (cf. A. *bawwāb*, Pers. *derbān*), a term which, in the Ottoman empire, designated the guards placed at the main gates of the sultan's palace in Istanbul: the *Bāb-ī hümāyūn*, *Orta ḳapī* and *Bāb üs-seʿādet*. The guards on the first two gates belonged to the same category, while those of the *Bāb üs-seʿādet*, which gave access to the sultan's private residence and to the harem, constituted a distinct category, the *ḳule ṣofularī*, subordinate to the *kīzlar aghasī*. The *ḳapīdjī* are first mentioned in the *ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed I the Conquerer. They were recruited from the janissaries or were promoted from various barracks of the *saray*. The guards on the *Orta ḳapī* were considered to belong to a superior echelon to those on the *Bāb-ī hümayūn*, a distinction which became evident in the second half of the 10th/16th century. The number of *ḳapīdjī* grew from 50 before 1500 to more than 350 in the 16th century and around 2,400 in the 17th century, then gradually declined. The guards on the *Bāb-ī hümāyūn* were divided into 5 *bölüks* (companies), those on the *Orta ḳapī* into 45 *bölüks* in the 17th century and then only 15 *bölüks* in the 18th century, while those on the *Bab üs-seʿādet* were formed into 7 *bölüks*. Apart from their service at the palace gates, the *ḳapīdjī* had to accompany the notables who participated in the *dīwān* to the council chamber on the days when they met. They also stood guard at the entrance to the imperial tent whenever the sultan embarked on expeditions.

In the time of Meḥemmed the Conquerer, there was only one *ḳapīdjī bāshī*, or leader of the guards. As time passed, they numbered 4, then 10, 13, 17, 12 and finally 60 in the 12th/18th century. The *ḳapīdjī bāshī* wore fur robes and carried as insignia a silver baton. Each night, one of them took his place at the *Orta ḳapī*; on days when the *dīwān* met, two of them stood at the door of the council chamber; they accompanied the sultan whenever he went to the Great Mosque for the Friday prayers or the principal religious holidays; when the sultan received an ambassador, two *ḳapīdjī bāshī* obliged him to bow low and prostrate himself upon the ground. They were also employed to carry important firmans and secret orders to provincial governors and viziers.

The *ḳapīdjī bashī* were entitled to a *timār* of 19,000 aspers at the end of the 16th century. The most important of them who bore the title of *bāsh ḳapīdjī bāshī*, received a *dirlik* of 400,000 aspers and were included among the *ṣandjāḳ beys*. They were responsible for all matters concerning the guards: nomination, retirement, transfer and promotion. Originally two in number, the *bāsh ḳapīdjī bāshī* were increased to 4, then to 6 in the reign of Meḥemmed III.

After the destruction of the janissaries in 1826, only 30 *ḳapīdjī bāshī* were retained, increasing to 40 in 1839 and subordinate to the imperial stable. Both title and function disappeared in 1908.

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ḲAPLAN GIRĀY I, Crimean Tatar Khān, the third son of Ḥādjdjī Selīm Giray [*q.v.*], born on Rhodes in Shaʿbān 1091/July 1680. In 1108/1697 he became temporary commander of the military forces in Budjāḳ [*q.v.*] and made a successful raid into Poland. During the negotiations at Carlowicz, he remained in defense of Ferah-Kerman, but Örek-Timur, the *beg* of the rebel Shirins, forced him to take refuge in Kiliya (Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1111/October 1699). He was afterwards appointed military commander of Circassia, where he fought the Kalmuks (1112/1700) and the Besleney Circassians (Dhu ʾl-ḥidjdja 1112/May 1701). However, Dawlat Giray did not want to

promote him to the rank of *nuradin* (*nūr al-dīn*) [*q.v.*], so he fled to the Ottoman Pas͟ha in Kefe (Feodosiya). Dawlat Giray's influence at the Porte was instrumental in the decision to exile him to Rhodes, but on his father's request he was sent to Yanbolu. When his father became K͟hān on 26 S͟haʿbān 1113/26 January 1702, he appointed him *nuradin*. Ḳaplan Giray marched against the former K͟hān, who had rebelled with the support of the Nog͟hay tribes. The civil war came to an end when the Nogay *mīrzā*s deserted Dawlat Giray. On the death of Selīm Giray, his second son G͟hāzī Giray became K͟hān and, on 3 Ramaḍān 1116/30 December 1704, he made Ḳaplan Giray *ḳalg͟hay* [*q.v.*]. In contrast to Dawlat Giray and the new K͟hān, G͟hāzī Giray, who followed the *mīrzā*s of the Crimea in pursuing a hostile policy towards Russia, Ḳaplan Giray was prepared to support the Ottoman government's policy of peaceful relations. It was for this reason that in Muḥarram 1119/April 1707 he was appointed K͟hān. Leaving the Russians free to act against Sweden, Ḳaplan Giray led a campaign against the Circassians, but was lucky to escape with his life when he fell into an ambush which they had set. The Sultan deposed him at once (S͟haʿbān 1120/ November 1708), and his rival Dawlat Giray became K͟hān in his place. Eventually, the problem of the Swedish king Charles XII led to the deposition of Dawlat Giray and Ḳaplan Giray was brought back from Rhodes and again made K͟hān on 18 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1125/15 April 1713. To secure a definitive peace treaty with Russia, he went to K͟hotin with the Ottoman commander-in-chief ʿAbdī Pas͟ha and supported the Polish defensive campaign in the summer of 1125/1713. He sent a force under the *nuradin* to the Ottomans' Morea expedition, but the rebellions of the Circassians and the Nog͟hays prevented his taking part in the Austrian campaign of 1128/1716, and he was again deposed from the k͟hānate in D͟hū'l-Ḳaʿda/November of the same year. The rebels who overthrew Aḥmad III [*q.v.*] in 1143/1730 secured his re-accession, but since he afterwards became a major force in ousting the rebels, he kept his influential position under Maḥmūd I [*q.v.*]. In 1145/1732 there were clashes with the Russians in Dag͟histān. Crimean forces with the support of the Čečens [*q.v.*] repulsed a Russian attack. In 1148/1735, on the insistence of the Porte, the K͟hān personally campaigned in Dag͟histān, but at this moment, Russian and Cossack forces advanced to Or-ḳapî (Perekop), threatening the Crimea with invasion. Ḳaplan Giray attacked this force, but he was compelled to retreat in the face of enemy artillery and resort to guerilla tactics. He could not prevent the enemy's invasion of the Crimea in Ṣafar 1149/June 1736, and it was only when they were withdrawing that he pursued them to Or-ḳapî. At this moment, a command came from Istanbul appointing Fetḥ Giray K͟hān in place of the old and ailing Ḳaplan Giray (Rabīʿ al-Āk͟hīr 1149/August 1736), who was exiled to Chios where he died in S͟haʿbān 1151/November 1738.

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(Halil İnalcik)

ḲAPLAN GIRĀY II, Crimean Tatār K͟hān (S͟hawwāl 1183-S͟haʿbān 1184/February-November 1770). He was appointed *nuradin* (*nūr al-dīn*) in 1182-1183/1768-1769 and K͟hān in S͟hawwāl 1183/February 1770. He sent his *ḳalg͟hay* and *nuradin* to the Crimea to defend it against the Russians, while the Ottoman commander K͟halīl Pas͟ha appointed him to the campaign intended to expel the Russians from Bog͟hdān (Moldavia). He was unsuccessful against the Russian artillery on the Prut, and retired to Kalči, whilst Rumyantsev crossed the Prut and routed the Ottoman-Crimean forces. The indiscipline of the soldiers prevented the commander and the K͟hān from carrying out their plans for a counter-attack; the fortresses of Kiliya, Bender (Bendery) and Ismail fell to the Russians, whom the Nog͟hays then joined in Budjāḳ. After facing a siege in the fortress of Özi (Ochakov), Ḳaplan Giray was eventually able to reach the Crimea. Here, in the summer of 1184/1770, the *ḳalg͟hay* Islām Giray and the Ottoman commander Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha drove the enemy from before the fortress of Or-ḳapî (Perekop). However, the Mīrzās of the Crimea, like the Nog͟hays, were hoping, by remaining neutral, to escape invasion and were in contact with the Russians. Ottoman sources claim that Ḳaplan Giray supported this policy (*TV*, xiv, 138), but this does not seem to be true (V. Smirnov, ii, 127). He, in fact, requested military aid for the Crimea from Istanbul and tried to divert the Kalmuks from their alliance with the Russians. The Ottoman commander in the Crimea, Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha, agreed with him in these policies, but in S͟haʿbān 1184/November 1770 a decree for the K͟hān's deposition came from Istanbul, and in Rabīʿal-Āk͟hir 1185/ July 1771 Ḳaplan Giray died of plague at the age of 32.

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(Halil İnalcik)

ḲAPLÎDJA, *kapludja* or *ḳabludja*, the general term used in Turkey for a place where a hot spring is roofed over, as in a bath house. Other terms used in Turkish are *ḳaynardja*, *aḳardja*, *ilîsu*, *ḳudret ḥamāmî*, *čermik*, *ilîdja* and *germābe* (see *XIII. Yüzyıldan beri Türkiye türkçesiyle yazılmış kitaplardan toplanan tanklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü*, Ankara 1967, iii, 1942-3). Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*], ii, 21, describes varieties of hot springs in different parts of the Ottoman Empire and in other Asian countries. In Anatolia and in Türkistan, he writes, the term *ilîdja* was used to denote a hot spring, as was *bana* (from *bagno*) in Balkan countries, *germābe* in Persia, *ilîssî* (*ilîsu*) in the Crimea, *ḥammām* in the Arab lands and *ḳaplîdja* in Bursa. Today thermal baths in Turkey have been classified and numbered: there are 26 *ḳaplîdja*, 79 *čermik*, 67 *ḥammām*, 158 *ilîca*, 3 *germāb* (see Rıza Reman, *Şifalı suları kullanma ilmi*: *Balneologi, Türkiye'nin şifalı kaynakları*, Istanbul 1942). J. von Hammer (*Umblick auf einer Reise von Constantinople nach Brussa und Demolypos und von da zurück über Nicaea und Nicomedien*, Pest 1818, 10 n.) claimed that *ḳaplîdja* was derived from Greek *kapnos*, meaning "smoke". Hot springs, however, were in

Turkish classified in two types: *üstü ačīk īlīdja* (open hot springs) and *kapalī īlīdja*. It is possible that colloquial usage telescoped *ķapalī ilidja* (covered hot springs) into *kaplīdja*.

Hot and mineral springs are found not only in Anatolia but also in Czechoslovakia and European countries formerly under Ottoman rule such as Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The medicinal properties of some of these *ķaplīdja* and mineral springs have been recognized from very early times; for this reason, miracles were attributed to them and it was believed that each hot spring was protected by its own deity. There were sacred cleaning and washing places in all Indian temples; the early peoples of Anatolia, the Greeks and the Romans made use of hot springs in different ways, even building special baths whose remains still exist today (K. Bertels and L. Huber (eds.), *Lexikon der alten Welt*, Zürich 1965, 3059-63). While this institution was neglected and the buildings fell into disrepair, in some countries the Turks who settled in Anatolia took advantage of the experience of earlier civilizations, repairing old baths and even building new ones. In time they evolved a special *ķaplīdja* architecture, a building divided into three parts: dressing room, cooling room and the bath proper.

Some *ķaplīdjas* in Turkey were built by the Anatolian Saldjūķs and are still in use today, for example Karakurt (Kırşehir) built in 529/1135, Yoncalı (Kütahya) built in 630/1233, Ilgın (Konya) built in 633/1236, and Eskişehir. Other *ķaplīdjas* in north-eastern Turkey were built by the Aķ-Ķoyunlu rulers late in the 8th/14th century, such as those in Erzurum (Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 203; İ. Hakkı Konyalı, *Erzurum Tarihi*, Istanbul 1960, 452-5) and Hasankale (in 1390: Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 223; İ. Hakkı Konyalı, *ibid.*, 464-70). The presence of a *ķaplīdja* (*germābe* in the Persian text) in Ilgın (Konya) led to the foundation of a town there (Ibn Bībī, *Ta'rīkh-i Āl-i Saldjūķ, Recueil de Textes Relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides*, iv, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1902, 150). A beautiful building was erected; among the people who came for treatment was Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the famous mystic. There were around 300 thermal baths in Anatolia, attracting the sick and paralysed in search of a cure (Fr. Taeschner, *Al-ʿUmarī's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masālik al-abṣār fī Mamālik al-amṣār*, Leipzig 1929, 43). Besides the *ķaplīdjas* in Anatolia, hot springs were known and used in other Muslim countries; for example in Kirman, Persia (*The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. H. Cordier, London 1929[3], i, 110), and in Tiberias, Palestine, where the old Roman baths were restored by Muslims (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, repr. Beirut 1954, 335, 336). When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Baghdād, there was a famous hot spring there much favoured by the people.

Ķaplīdja architecture developed greatly in the Ottoman period; the building was now divided into four parts: dressing room, rest room (*djāmekān*), cooling room and the bath proper with private cubicles. These buildings were erected beside hot springs. Generally, the Turkish type of *ķaplīdja* contains large pools and hot water pours from a hole into the pool draining out by another hole. The *ķaplīdja* architecture of the Ottomans developed in Bursa where the first Turkish *ķaplīdja*, called Eski Ķaplīdja, was built by Murad I. Since it was established on the site of an old Byzantine *ķaplīdja*, it was believed (see A. Gabriel, *Une Capitale Turque Broussa* (Bursa), Paris 1958, 165-70) that Eski Ķaplīdja showed typical Byzantine architectural influence. Pointing to the originality of its plan and technical construction, some Turkish art historians (Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinin ilk devri*, 630-850 (1230-1402), Istanbul 1966, 280, 281, 282, 283) reject this idea, asserting that the architecture of Eski Ķaplidja is typically Turkish. Some *ķaplīdjas* built in the Ottoman period are still in use in Turkey and in countries previously under Ottoman rule. The most famous are in Hungary: Budin (Budapest), Yeshildirekli (Rudas) built in 1556, Ḥammām of Velī Bey (Csarzar) and Tabakkhāne (Ewliyā Čelebi, *loc. cit.*, vi, 242, 243, 249; V. Bierhauer, *Les Bains Turcs en Hongrie*, Budapest 1943). Some Ottoman *ķaplīdjas* can be seen in Bulgaria: near Sofia (J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 51, 88), İslimye, Yeni Zağra, and in Bosnia-Hercegovina (H. Krsevlaković. *Banya u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 1462-1916, Sarajevo 1952).

An important function of the *ķaplīdja* in Ottoman society was its use as a meeting place by poets and literary men (see Nedjātī Beg, *Dīwān*, ed. Ali Nihat Tarlan, Istanbul 1963, 434, 435 "the ghazal ķapludja" Mehmed Čavuşoğlu, *Zâtî'nin Letâyifi*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, xviii (Istanbul 1970), 7).

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ĶAPU AGHASĪ, ĶAPĪ AGHASĪ (or *Bāb al-Saʿāde Aghasī*), the senior officer in the Ottoman Sultan's Palace, until the *dār al-saʿāde aghasī* [*q.v.*] began to gain ascendancy in the late 10th/16th century. Like the other Palace *aghas* in continuous service, the Sultan himself selected him from the eunuchs. He had the authority to petition the Sultan for the appointment, promotion and transfer of Palace servants, *aghas* and *ič oghlans* [*qq.v.*].

As the sole mediator between the Sultan and the world outside the Palace, he sat at the gate known as the Inner Gate or Bāb al-Saʿāde ("Gate of Felicity") which divided the Inner (*enderūn*) from the Outer (*bīrūn*) Palace. His office lay to the right of this gate. It was through him that the Sultan transmitted his permission to anyone to enter the Inner Palace and his commands to the government (*Ķānūnnāme* of *Meḥmed the Conqueror*, *TOEM*, suppl. 1330/1912, 23). The *ķapu aghasī* had the rank of vizier and in ceremonies took his place below the Grand Vizier and the *shaykh al-islām* [*q.v.*]. Nevertheless, his daily pay of 100 *akčes* [*q.v.*] was well below the *agha* of the Janissaries' 500 *akčes* (for other salaries see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 355).

In pre-Ottoman usage the post was known, in the

earliest Islamic states, as *ḥādjib*, *ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb* or *amīr ḥādjib*. In later times it acquired the titles *ṣāḥib al-sitāra*, *amīr-i pardadārān*, *zimāmdār* and *ishikākāsībāshī* (see M. F. Köprülü, *THİM*, i, 208-211; ḤADJIB in *EI*²; D. Ayalon, in *St. Isl.* xxxviii, 107-56). In the Turkish states of Central Asia it was known as *aghadjī* or sometimes *ulugh ḥādjib* (for its importance in Turkish states see *Kutadgu Bilig*, ed. R. R. Arat, Ankara 1959, 181-7). In the Ottoman Empire this official never, as in the ʿAbbāsid and Mamlūk states, annexed the roles of commander of the Sultan's private troops and of supreme judge to hear non-*sharʿī* cases in the Sultan's name. Nor as in the Saldjūḳ administration, did he ever overstep his position as chief palace official or chamberlain. To ensure that the Ottoman Sultan's authority should remain inviolate, the commandership of his personal troops was delegated to the *agha* of the Janissaries and the duty of hearing complaints to the Grand Vizier. Great pains were taken to keep these functions separate.

Nevertheless, the *ḳapu aghasī* must have exercised considerable influence in the state. He played a vital part in the accession of Sultans, and was the ruler's close adviser. Besides, he must have had some influence and authority as the one-time officer of the commanders and governors graduating from the Inner Palace. The *ḳapu aghasī*'s power and influence in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries was compared to the Grand Vizier's (*Kitāb-i mustaṭāb*, ed. Y. Yücel, Ankara 1974, 44). His influence increased yet further when ,in the reign of Süleymān I, the superintendence of the *waḳf*s of Mecca and Medina and later of about 70 large mosques passed to an office under his control. However, their influence decreased at the end of the 10th/16th century when, at the instigation of the *wālide sulṭāns*, this superintendance passed to the *dār al-saʿāde aghasī*. In 995/1587, this official became independent of the *ḳapu aghasī*, eventually rising to the position of senior Palace officer. In 1116/1704, with the transfer of his powers to the *silaḥdār* [*q.v.*], the *ḳapu aghasī* declined into insignificance.

In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, the *ḳapu aghasī* could transfer to service outside the Palace and receive the highest governorships of the Empire such as the *beglerbegi*-ships of Rumelia or Egypt. Khādim ʿAlī, Khādim Sinān, Khādim Sulaymān and Khādim Aḥmad [*qq.v.*] who are reckoned among the great statesmen of the early period of Ottoman history, are famous examples. Two more, Fīrūz Ḥusayn and Merdjān, are well known as founders of city quarters and charitable institutions during the reign of Bāyazīd II [*q.v.*] (for details of their *waḳf*s see E. H. Ayverdi and Ö. L. Barkan, *İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 1970). From the second half of the 10th/16th century, the *ḳapu aghasī* began to intervene more and more in state affairs, and became a bitter rival of the Grand Vizier in the power struggle (Meḥmed, *Taʾrīkh-i ghilmānī*, *TOEM*, suppl., 29, 39). Gazanfer Agha, who was *ḳapu aghasī* for 30 years in the late 10th/16th century is particularly noteworthy.

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ḲAPUČA, a small Muslim people of the Caucasus, (self designation: Ḳapučias suko or Bezhtlas suko; Russian: Ḳapučinī or Bezhitinī), whose language forms with Dido [*q.v.*], Ginukh [*q.v.*], Khunzal [*q.v.*], and Khvarshi [*q.v.*], the Dido division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the northeastern Ibero-Caucasian languages. In 1926 the Soviet census gave the population as 1,448. The Ḳapuča inhabit the *awl*s of Bezhiti, Khočarkhota, and Tliadal in the upper basin of the Avar Ḳoysu, Tliarata district, in the Dāghistān A.S.S.R. Living in isolated mountain valleys, they have escaped strong outside influence and have maintained many of the patriarchal customs. They are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī rite. The traditional economy was based on sheep and goat herding and agriculture. The Ḳapuča also had some repute as craftsmen, especially as goldsmiths. The language is purely vernacular, and the people use Avar and Russian as their literary languages. They are being assimilated culturally and linguistically by the Avars, and appear as Avar-speaking Avars in the 1959 and 1970 Soviet censuses. See also AVAR, DĀGHISTĀN, AL-ḲABḲ.

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(R. WIXMAN)

ḲAPUDAN PASHA (ḲAPTAN PASHA, ḲAPUDAN-I DERYĀ), title of the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman navy. Although the word evidently derives from the Italian term *capitano* (for its various uses see H. and R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant*, Urbana 1958, 139 ff.), it does not follow that the Ottoman navy [see BAḤRIYYA, iii] was modelled upon any foreign naval organization (see M. F. Köprülüzade, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı muesseselerine teʾsiri hakkında bâzı mülâhazalar*, in *THITM*, i (1931), 205-7; İ. H. Uzunçarşilī, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkılâtı*, Ankara 1948, 389 ff.).

To judge from the entries in the *Mühimme Defteri*, the term *Ḳapudan Pasha* became current only towards 975/1567 (when ʿAlī Pasha, the *beglerbegi* of Algiers, is referred to as *Djezāʾir beglerbegisi ve ḳapudan pasha*: see, *e.g.*, *Mühimme*, vol. 7, nos. 502, 507, 587, 782). Strictly speaking, therefore, it is erroneous to refer to earlier naval commanders as *Ḳapudan Pasha*: ʿAlī Pasha's predecessor, Piyāle Pasha (who was granted the rank of *vezīr*, and thus had a seat in the *Dīwān*, see *İA*, s.v. Piyâle Paşa, by Ş. Turan), first bore the title *Ḳapudan Beg* (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci, *Ruûs* register no. 214, p. 17); he is later referred to as *Djezāʾir beglerbegisi* and as *vezīr ve Ḳapudan* (see, e.g., *Mühimme*, vol. 1, no. 276; vol. 6, no. 112; vol. 7 nos. 158, 160).

In earlier days, the commander of the fleet stationed at Gelibolu [*q.v.*] had had the title *Deryā Begi* [see DARYĀ BEGI], being at the same time *sandjaḳbegi* of the *liwāʾ* of Gelibolu. The Gelibolu register of 924/1518 uses the term *reʾīs ḳapudan* to designate the commander of the fleet (F. Kurtoğlu, *Gelibolu yöresi ve tarihi*, Istanbul 1938, 51). Gelibolu remained the principal naval base until the time of Sultan Selīm I,

who ordered that a new fleet be constructed in the "new arsenal" at Istanbul (*Tersāne-i ʿĀmire*) in 923/1517 under the supervision of Dja'far Kapudan (cf. Ş. Tekindağ, *Halič Tersanesinde inşa edilen ilk Osmanlı donanması ve Cafer Kapudan'ın arizası*, in *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, no. 7 (Nisan 1969), 66-70).

When Barbarossa (Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]) entered the service of the Sultan in 941/1534, he was given the *beglerbeglik* of the *eyālet* of Djezā'ir (Algiers). This *eyālet* later became the seat of the *kapudan pashas* (A. S. İlter, *Şimalı Afrika'da Türkler*, İstanbul 1936, i, 94 ff.). The *sandjaks* of Kodja-eli, Sughla and Bigha from the *beglerbeglik* of Anadolu, and those of Eghriboz, Aynabakhtı, Karlı-eli, Mizistre and Midilli from the *beglerbeglik* of Rumeli were also added to the new *eyālet* [see DJAZĀ'IR-I BAḤR-I SAFĪD]. Gelibolu remained the *sandjak* of the pasha. Later on, two *sandjaks* of Cyprus and (in the time of Güzeldje ʿAlī Pasha, who was *Kapudan-ı Deryā* twice, in 1026/1617 and 1027/1618) the *sandjaks* of Sakız, Naksha and Mehdiye were also attached to it. In the first half of the 11th/17th century, the *eyālet* of the *kapudan pasha* consisted of twelve *sandjaks* (cf. Ş. Turan, *XVII. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun idarî taksimatı*, in *Atatürk Üniversitesi 1961 Yıllığı*, 204).

The *kapudan pasha*'s residence was the *Dīwānkhāne* of the Arsenal in Istanbul. His main duties were to oversee the Arsenal, to supervise all matters relating to the Ottoman fleet, to govern the *eyālet* of the *kapudan pasha* and to make all the necessary appointments in it. This entailed his visiting and inspecting each *sandjak* annually. He also had to protect merchant ships against the activities of pirates in the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea (cf. *Tevkīʿī ʿAbdurraḥmān Pasha Kānūnnāmesi*, in *MTM*, iii (1331/1912), 536-8). If necessary, he co-operated with the land forces (see, *e.g.*, *Mühimme*, vol. 104, no. 193; vol. 105, nos. 48-49).

The office of *Kapudan Pasha* carried great prestige. In the 11th/17th century it had an annual revenue of 885,000 *akčes* (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, 315; P. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 54). It also received an income of 70,000 *kūrush* when 33 islands of the *eyālet* were granted to the voyvoda for *iltizām* (Ewliyā, v, 316; D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, Paris 1791, 442); this sum was increased to 300,000 *kūrush* in the late 12th-13th/18th-19th century. The success of the Ottoman naval forces always depended on the ability and the seamanship of its *kapudans*, particularly the *Kapudan Pashas*. In the 10th/16th century Ottoman supremacy in the Mediterranean seems to have been largely due to able *kapudans*. In the following centuries the empire lost its naval supremacy, Though in principle only an admiral (*Kapudan-ı Hümāyūn*) or a chief of the Arsenal (*Tersāne Ketkhüdāsı*) or, at the lowest, a *sandjak-beyi* of Rhodes was eligible to become *Kapudan Pasha*, appointments were now made regardless of the holder's ability. In 1014/1605 Derwīsh Pasha, who was Chief Gardener (*Bostandjı bashı*), was appointed *Kapudan-ı Deryā*, together with the rank of vizier (cf. C. Orhunlu, *Osmanlı tarihine aid belgeler: Telhisler*, Istanbul 1970, 118); in 1184/1770 a certain officer in the Janissary corps (*sekbān bashı*) was appointed *Kapudan Pasha*, although Ḥasan Kapudan was considered a better candidate in view of his earlier echievements (cf. Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, Istanbul, nos. E. 4846 and 10321).

With the naval reorganization of 1804, in the time of Selīm III, the post of the chief of the Arsenal was abolished and the office of Superintendent of Naval Affairs (*Umūr-i Baḥriyye Neẓāreti*) established (Şafvet, *Umūr-i Baḥriyye Neẓāreti*, in *TOEM*, no. 21 (1329/1911), 1350-1). In 1863 the title *Kapudan Pasha* was altered to *Umūr-i Baḥriyye Nāẓırı*. Four years later the senior admiral (*bash amiral*) became the commander of the Ottoman navy, and naval affairs were supervised by the *Baḥriyye Nāẓırı* or Naval Minister.

Bibliography: The most authentic sources on the office of *Kapudan Pasha* are in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul. Documents relating to the navy will be found within three classifications: Cevdet, Kâmil Kepeci and İbnü'l-Emin, covering the period from the 10th/16th to the 19th centuries. The *Mühimme* registers in the same archive, dating from 961/1554 to 1300/1882, are also of significance. For the documents in the Topkapı Palace Archive relating to the *Kapudan Pasha*, see *Arşiv Kılavuzu*, i-ii, Istanbul 1939 and 1940. Other sources: E. Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senado* Series iii, Florence 1840-55, i, 20, 67, 136, 423, ii, 335, iii, 263; Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1281-83/1864-66, i, 486, ii, 25, 91, 285, 292, 333, 344, 354, 460; Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-Kibār*, Istanbul 1329/1911, *passim*; Silāḥdār, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1328/1910, ii, 253; Marsigli, *L'État Militaire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Amsterdam 1732, i, 146; Aḥmed Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, 12 vols., Istanbul 1309/1891, *passim*; Meḥmed Ḥafīd, *Safīnat al-Wuzerā'*, Istanbul 1952 (ed. İ. Parmaksızoğlu); M. Shükrü, *Esfār-ı Baḥriyye-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1306/1888; Meḥmed Ra'if, *Mir'āt-i Istanbul*, Istanbul 1314/1896, 474 ff.; S. Nutkı, *Kāmūs-i Baḥri*, Istanbul 1917; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 414-22; N. Göyünç, *Kapudan-ı Derya Küčük Hüseyin Paşa*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, ii/3-4 (Istanbul 1950-1), 35-50; H. Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Deniz tarihimize ait makaleler*, Istanbul 1965; S. Shaw, *Selim III and the Ottoman Navy*, in *Turcica*, i (Paris 1969), 212-41; *İA*, sv. *Kaptan Paşa* (by İ. Parmaksızoğlu). (S. OZBARAN)

KARĀ, the Turkish word for "black" or "dark colour" in general. It is commonly used with this meaning as the first component of geographical names *e.g.*, Karā Āmid (on account of the black basalt of which this fortress is built), Karā Dagh (on account of its dark forests), etc. Besides Karā we find in place names the diminutive form Karadja. In personal names, *karā* may refer to the black or dark brown colour of hair or to a dark complexion. It has, however, at the same time the meaning "strong, powerful", and should be interpreted in this sense in names like Karā ʿOthmān or Karā Arslan. It is also in this sense that we have the name Karā Khān which the Karākhānids or Ilek-Khāns [*q.v.*] assumed in Central Asia.

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In order to preserve a logical alphabetical sequence and to place one after the other those words which comprise the element *karā*, these last have been placed together in a somewhat arbitrary fashion, so that *e.g. karāba* comes after all the words beginning with *karā*. Moreover, the transliteration of this term has been unified, and is always written as *karā*, the second vowel *-ā* being written with an *alif* in Arabic orthography; however, the modern Turkish orthography with a short *a* is indicated where relevant.

ḲARĀ ĀMID [see DIYĀR BAKR].

ḲARĀ ARSLĀN [see ARTUḲIDS; KĀWŪRD B. DĀWŪD].

ḲARĀ BĀGH̲ (Turkish-Persian "black garden", allegedly because of the fertility of its upland valleys, but this is probably a folk etymology), the recent name of the mountainous region lying to the north of the middle course of the Araxes River in Transcaucasia, corresponding to the southern part of the mediaeval Islamic Arrān [*q.v.*]. The mountains of Ḳarābāg̲h̲ rise to over 12,000 feet, and the modern population (mostly Armenian, with some S̲h̲īʿī Azeri Turks) is concentrated in the deep valleys. The original Armenian princes of Artzak̲h̲ were dispossessed after the Sald̲j̲ūḳ drive into Transcaucasia under Sultan Alp Arslan, and a gradual process of Turkish settlement began. In the Mongol period we meet the designation Ḳarābāg̲h̲-i Arrān for the region. It subsequently fell within the domains of the Persian Il-K̲h̲ānids, of Timūr and of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. In the second half of the 9th/15th century Ḳarābāg̲h̲ was involved in the rise of the Ṣafawid movement, and by 893/1488 S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥaydar b. D̲j̲unayd [*q.v.*] had taken over much of the region. During the Ottoman-Ṣafawid warfare, Ḳarābāg̲h̲ and Gand̲j̲a fell into the hands of Sultan Murād III (996/1588), until Shah ʿAbbās I regained them. Ḳarābāg̲h̲ was at this period in the hereditary possession of the Turkish D̲j̲ewāns̲h̲īr family, who traced their origin back to the Og̲h̲uz Afs̲h̲ārid tribe; in 1165/1752 Panāh ʿAlī K̲h̲ān built the fortress of S̲h̲ūs̲h̲a and named it Panāhābād. His son Ibrāhīm K̲h̲alīl K̲h̲ān defied the Ḳād̲j̲ār leader Āg̲h̲ā K̲h̲ān Muḥammad, who nevertheless eventually captured S̲h̲ūs̲h̲a in 1211/1797, where he was shortly afterwards assassinated.

Ḳarābāg̲h̲ now became a buffer-region between Ḳād̲j̲ār Persia and the expanding Russian empire. Ibrāhīm K̲h̲alīl submitted to the Russo-Georgian general Prince Zizis̲h̲wili in 1805. The last chief of the D̲j̲ewāns̲h̲īr line, Mahdī Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, abandoned his principality to the Russians in 1822, but already in the Gulistān [*q.v.*] Treaty of 1813 the Ḳād̲j̲ārs had been forced to renounce all claims to Georgia, Dāg̲h̲istān, Ḳarābāg̲h̲ and the northern part of Tālis̲h̲. For the remainder of the Czarist period, Ḳarābāg̲h̲ formed part of the "Muslim governorship" of Bākū till 1868, and thereafter part of the newly-established governorship of Elizavetpol or Gand̲j̲a. During the short-lived Muslim republic of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān (1918-20), Ḳarābāg̲h̲ enjoyed freedom from foreign control. Within the Soviet Union it now forms the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast within the Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān SSR, with a population in 1970 of 150,000 and its administrative centre at Stepanakert.

Bibliography: There is little specific information in the mediaeval Islamic geographers, excepting Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 181-2, tr. 173-4. A local history, the *Ḳarābāg̲h̲-nāma* of Mīrzā D̲j̲amāl, was utilized by the Ottoman historian Ferīdūn Beg. A full bibliography is given in Mirza Bala's *İA* art. *Karabağ*, to which should be added A. A. Alizade, *Sotsialno-ekonomičeskaya i političeskaya istoriya* Azerbaidzhana XIII-XIV vv., Baku 1956, K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, and *BSE*², xx, 92.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲARĀ BOG̲H̲DAN [see BOG̲H̲DĀN].

ḲARĀ ČAY [see KARAČAY].

ḲARĀ-ČELEBI-ZĀDE, the name of a family of Ottoman ʿulamāʾ which became prominent during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries.

(1) Meḥmed Muḥyi ʾl-Dīn b. Ḥüsām al-Dīn
(2) Hüseyn Ḥüsām al-Dīn
(3) Meḥmed (4) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
(5) Maḥmūd Ṣāliḥa Rabīʿa
(6) ʿUt̲h̲mān (7) Aḥmed Nedīm

The founder of the family, (1). Meḥmed Muḥyi ʾl-Dīn Efendi, was given the *laḳab* Ḳarā-Čelebi-zāde after his maternal grandfather, Ḳarā Yaʿḳūb. He held several positions as a *müderris*, was the teacher of Sulaymān I's son Muṣṭafā. and *ḳāḍī* in Edirne and Istanbul. His pseudonym as a poet was Hid̲j̲rī, and he is said to have left a *dīwān* of poetry. He died in 965/1557. (2). Ḳarā-Čelebi-zāde Hüseyn Ḥüsām al-Dīn Efendi was born in 940/1553 in Kütahya, was *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* [*q.v.*] of Anadolu and of Rumeli, and died in Bursa in 1007/1598. His son (3) Meḥmed Efendi (970-1042/1562-1632) held several posts as *ḳāḍī* and *müderris*, and became *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anadolu in 1023/1614 and of Rumeli in 1029/1619. He wrote poetry under the pseudonym Zuhūrī and built a mosque in Bursa (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci, Defter no. 257, p. 22). (4). Ḳarā-Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi, who was born at the end of 1000/September 1592, was brought up in Istanbul by his elder brother, Meḥmed Efendi (3), and studied canonical law under the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* Ṣunʿ Allāh Efendi. He was *müderris* in *madrasas* in Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa and in one of the *madrasas* of the Süleymāniyye Mosque in Istanbul. Later he became a *ḳāḍī*, being appointed to posts in Yeñis̲h̲ehir, Mecca (1036/1626), Edirne (1040/1630) and finally, in 1043/1633, in Istanbul. He remained in this last post for only seven months before he was dismissed and sentenced to death; through the intervention of grand vizier Bayram Pas̲h̲a, however, he was reprieved and exiled to Cyprus (1044/1634). Eighteen months later he returned to Istanbul and first became *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anadolu. On 15 Rad̲j̲ab 1054/17 September 1644 he was nominated *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Rumeli (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci, Defter no. 258, p. 57), a function he actually assumed on 19 Rad̲j̲ab 1058/9 August 1648 (*Ṣadāret-i Rumeli defteri* no. 79, in the Şeriye Sicilleri Arşivi in Istanbul, is concerned with this period). In recognition of his role in Meḥmed IV's succession to the throne, he was given the title of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām*, an award unprecedented in Ottoman history, in Ramaḍān 1058/October 1648; he in fact took up the post on 11 D̲j̲umādā I 1061/2 May 1651. While *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* he restored a number of old practices relating to this function, revealed some subtlety in distributing *ḳāḍī* and *müderris* posts, and re-organized *waḳf* matters. On 15 Ramaḍān 1061/1 September 1651 he was dismissed and a week later exiled to the island of Saḳız (Chios). He was transported to Bursa in D̲j̲umādā I 1062/April 1652 and died there in Rabīʿ I 1068/end October 1657.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi's periodic falls from grace were the result of his interference in the internal politics of the period. His extant poetry, written under the pseudonym ʿAzīzī, consists of a *dīwān*, a *mat̲h̲nawī* entitled *Güls̲h̲en-i niyāz* which contains details about his life as a *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul and as an exile on Cyprus, works on *fiḳh* (*Ḥall al-is̲h̲tibāh ʿan ʿaḳd al-is̲h̲bāh, Kitāb al-Ilg̲h̲āz fi ʾl-fiḳh al-Ḥanafiyya* and *Kāfī*) and on the life of the Prophet (*Mirʾāt al-ṣafāʾ*, consisting of *ḳiṣaṣ*, which he dedicated to Murād IV, and *Ḥilyat al-anbiyāʾ*) and translations, one in the field of ethics (Muḥsinī's *Ak̲h̲lāḳ*) and one

in *sīra* (Kāzarūnī's *Fawā'iḥ al-nabawiyya*). His fame, however, rests on his historical works. Of these, the *Sulaymān-nāme*, a history of Sulaymān I's era which he dedicated to Sultan Ibrāhīm, and the *Rawḍat al-abrār*, dedicated to Meḥemmed IV, have been printed (Būlāḳ 1248). The latter work contains a description of the events from Adam to the time of Sultan Ibrāhīm; the printed edition relies on a defective manuscript (O. Köprülü and İ. Parmaksizoglu, *Şeyhülislâm Kara-Čelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi*, İstanbul Edebiyat Fakültesi, unpublished, doctoral thesis, 1944-5, no. 359, p. 18; this work is the most detailed study available of Ḳarā-Čelebi-zāde and his family). According to M. H. Yınanç, *Türkiye tarihi, Selçuklular devri*, Istanbul 1944, 16, the *Rawḍat al-abrār* should consist in part of repetitions of ʿAlī and Djannābī. The *dhayl* of the *Rawḍat al-abrār* is more in the form of memoirs and narrates events down to 1068/1658. Another of his historical works is entitled *Ta'rīkh-i fetḥ-i Revān we-Baghdād* or *Ẓafer-nāme* and deals with Murād IV's campaigns to Eriwān in 1635 and to Baghdād in 1638. Many manuscripts of his works are extant in libraries in Istanbul and Europe (see *Istanbul kütüphaneleri tarih coğrafya yazmalar kataloğu, Topkapı Sarayı Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, and the catalogues of Flügel, Pertsch, Rieu and Tornberg).

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi is known to have been short in stature, stout, with a high-pitched voice, and a ruthless and inflexible character. In Bursa he constructed works, the Muftu Şuyu, carrying water from the Ulu Dagh to the town, and had the water distributed to forty different public fountains (O. F. Köprülü, *Şeyhülislâm Kara- Çelebi-zade Abdülaziz Efendi ve Müftü Suyu*, in *Belleten*, xi (1947), 137-45).

(5). Maḥmūd Efendi (997-1063/1588-1653), the son of Meḥmed Efendi, was known by the *laḳab* Abu 'l-Faḍl. He rose to the positions of *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anadolu and Rumeli. In Istanbul he owned a *madrasa* in the Shehzāde-bashī quarter (S. Eyice, *Kazasker Ebu 'l-Fazl Mahmud Efendi medresesi*, in *Tarih dergisi*, x (1959), 147-62), and in Bursa a mosque in the Set-bashī quarter (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Divan-ı Humâyûn ruûs defterleri no. 28, p. 31) and a teachers' seminary (*muʿallim-khāne* (*ibid.*, Defter no. 25, p. 183).

(6). ʿUthmān Efendi (s. 1062/1651), son of the above, held several posts as *ḳāḍī*. (7). Aḥmed Nedīm [see NEDĪM], the famous poet of the 18th century, is related to the family of the Ḳarā-Čelebi-zāde through his mother.

Bibliography: *Dhayl al-Shaḳā'iḳ*, 419; Ismāʿīl Belīgh, *Güldeste-i riyāḍ-i ʿirfān*, 317-22; Rifʿat, *Dawḥat al-mashā'ikh*, 58-62; *ʿIlmiyye sālnāmesi*, Istanbul 1334, 461-2; *ʿOthmānli mü'ellifleri*, iii, 120-1; art. *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Ḳara-Čelebi-zāde*, in *EI*¹.

(NEJAT GÖYÜNÇ)

ḲARADAGH, the Turkish name for the land of Crna Gora (Montenegro), at present one of the six republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, located in the southwestern part of that country. It is the smallest republic in Yugoslavia, being 13,967 sq. km. in area with a population of 530,361 (census of 31 March 1971). The region is primarily mountainous, the inland area differing considerably from the coastal belt, both in natural features and in the way of life of the population. The capital is Titograd (formerly known as Podgorica). Until 1918 the capital of the principality (and from 1910 the kingdom) of Montenegro was the city of Cetinje.

The population of present day Montenegro is made up as follows (according to the Institute for Statistics of Titograd): 66.55% Montenegrins, 1.81% Croatians, 7.51% Serbians and 13.43% Muslims. This is the part of the population which speaks Serbo-Croat and which declared a national or religious affiliation (0.14% of the population did not declared any national or religious affiliation and 0.22% gave a regional affiliation). In addition to other less numerous minorities, 6.55% of the population is Albanian, of which some are Muslim and some Catholic.

The Muslim religious organization in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro is an autonomous region of the Islamic Union (*Islamska Zajednica*) of the Yugoslavia S.F.R. which has four such regions with seats in Sarajevo, Priština, Skopje and Titograd. The supreme organ of the Islamic religious organization in Montenegro is — as in the other autonomous regions — the Islamic Union Council (*Sabor Islamske zajednice*) with an executive body (*Starješinstvo*) at its head. The Montenegrin Islamic Union Council has 16 members, and sends three delegates to the Supreme Council of the Islamic Union in the Yugoslavia S.F.R. which has 35 members. In Montenegro there are 70 mosques and 9 Boards of the Islamic Union which carry out the basic functions of Muslim religious organization in Montenegro (data of 1969).

Montenegro is so called from the region known as the Black Mountain (*Crna Gora*). Originally, this area belonged to the medieval Serbian state. On the disintegration of the latter in the 15th century, a separate Montenegrin state was formed under the Crnojevič dynasty. From 886/1481 it was an Ottoman vassal state, and in 901/1496 came under Ottoman rule. Other parts of present-day Montenegro had already fallen under Ottoman domination, while most of the coastal belt was under Venetian rule.

Once it became part of the Ottoman empire, the country was officially named Ḳaradagh. Within most of the country — as well as in certain outlying areas — there developed a tribal system which was the basis for development of a type of military democracy in the internal life of the country. From 919/1513 the *sandjaḳ-beg* of Ḳaradagh was Iskender Beg [*q.v.*], an islamicized descendant of the Crnojevič dynasty. At that time the country was granted certain privileges. The population was no longer required to pay the *djizya* [*q.v.*] nor to submit to the *ʿushūr* and other taxes, but had to contribute only a gold coin (*filuri*) per house and field. After the death of Iskender Beg the land of Ḳaradagh was no longer a separate *sandjaḳ* falling mainly within the *sandjaḳ* of Iskenderiyye (Scutari), but even then the population had certain privileges. From the middle of the 10th/16th century the role of the Montenegrin bishop became stronger. In the 11th/17th century the autonomy of Ḳaradagh was established under Ottoman rule headed by a native *sipahi* (Serb. *spahija*); however, the bishop played an increasingly important role, and in the second half of the 11th/17th century he became the only representative of the people vis-à-vis the Ottoman authorities. At the end of the 11th/17th century the people of Ḳaradagh drew nearer to the Venetians, whose influence led to a swiftly suppressed revolt against Ottoman rule. In the 12th/18th century the people, led by bishops of the Petrovič family from the village of Njeguš, overthrew Ottoman rule and defended their independence in many battles. In the 19th century, first under the Petrovič bishops and then under lay rulers of the same family, the land developed into a state and gradually obtained international recognition. It was recognized as an independent principality at the Berlin Congress of 1878, and in 1910 was proclaimed a kingdom.

Owing to the tribal organization which predominated in the area and to the struggles against the Ottoman authorities, Montenegro acquired a warrior-like society and a strong notion of freedom. In the 12th/18th century a folk tradition developed according to which Montenegro had never been under Turkish rule. This tradition still survives in some measure and for a fairly long time prevailed in historiography too.

Montenegro participated in the Balkan War (1912-13) against the Ottoman Empire, and in World War I (1914-18) as an ally of Serbia on the side of the Entente. During World War I, it was occupied by the Central Powers, and in 1918 was unified with Serbia, becoming part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later renamed Yugoslavia). During World War II Montenegro was under Italian occupation, and the people participated *en masse* in the struggle for liberation of the Yugoslavs.

Bibliography: *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, ii, Zagreb 1956, 398-488 (article *Crna Gora*); B. Durdev, *Turska vlast u Crnoj Gori u XVI i XVII veku* ("The Turkish rule in Montenegro in the 16th and 17th centuries"), Sarajevo 1953; *Istorija Crne Gore* ("History of Montenegro") ii 2, Titograd 1970 (volume iii, covering the period of Turkish rule, is in preparation); *Ustav Islamske zajednice u Socijalističkoj Federativnoj Jugoslaviji* ("The Constitution of the Islamic Union in the S.F.R. of Yugoslavia"), in *Glasnik Vrhovnog islamskog starješinstva u SFRJ*, xxxiii, 1-2 (Sarajevo 1970), 105-12.

(B. Đurdev)

ḲARĀ DENIZ, name of the Black Sea in Turkish.

i. — The name. — The expression "Black Sea" is encountered from the 7th/13th century in the Arabic form of al-Baḥr al-Aswad (in Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ, tr., Reynaud, ii/1,38,316), in the Greek form in the treaty concluded in 1265 between Michael Paleologus and Venice (*Fontes Rerum Austracarum*, Section ii, xiv, 63, Vienna 1857), and among the western sources in Schiltberger at the end of the 14th century. But other expressions have for long been employed in parallel with it ("Russian Sea", "Sea of Sinop", etc.) The most frequent has been "the Great Sea", "Mare Maius", in Odoric of Pordenone, ed. G. Strasman, Berlin 1968, 38; the same, in William of Rubruck, ed. Michel and Wright, Paris 1839, *Recueil de voyages et mémoires*, iv, 214; "Mare Magnum, in Plano Carpini, ed. d'Avezac, *ibid.*, 743), a form which appears dominant mostly in the 13th and 14th centuries in the western sources and which persisted in various aspects ("mare maggiore", "mer majour", etc., until the 17th century, from which date the term "Black Sea" finally becomes general, and very soon in widespread use in the eastern sources.

The origin of the Turkish expression thus poses a problem. The ingenious explanation of L. de Saussure (*L'origine des noms de Mer Rouge, Mer Blanche et Mer Noire*, in *Le Globe*, xliii, 23 ff.), calling attention to the coloured quality attributed to the cardinal points by the Chinese (and transmitted by them to the Turks), cannot be upheld. J. H. Mordtmann (ḳara deniz in EI[1]) found the solution in its equation with the "Great Sea" of Western sources, remarking of it that the epithet *ḳarā* frequently has the meaning of "great, powerful, terrible" in Turkish, particularly in the proper names. This would be the initial meaning of *ḳarā* in Ḳarā Deniz, displayed in its medieaval western translation. The contamination of the two meanings in fact seems probable, but the explanation appears inadequate. In fact, the existence of the doublet Ḳarā Deniz-Aḳ Deniz ("the White Sea", the Mediterranean) does not plead in its favour. Above all the expression Black Sea seems to have been well attested before the arrival of the Turks. Constantine Porphyrogenetos (*De adm. imp.*, ed. Bonn, 132) in the 10th century, speaks of the Θάλασσα Σκοτεινή ("dark sea"). Doubtless one must accept the thesis of Aurel Decei (article Ḳara Deniz in *İA*), who supposes the existence of an ancient Iranian name (from *aḫsaena* "dark, sombre"), Hellenized in Ἄξεινος by false etymology, then transformed because of superstition into Εὔξεινος; this would have survived with its original meaning in the East-Pontic regions where the Turks came into contact with this geographical concept (see also baḥr bunṭus).

ii. — The Turkish conquest. — The development of the Turkish seizure of the Black Sea lands was spread over almost three centuries. Since the turmoil of the end of the 5th/11th century, Byzantium had succeeded in preserving all its fortresses on the coasts of the Black Sea, and the Saldjūḳid Empire of Iconium (Ḳonya) remained practically cut off from the sea. It was only at the very end of the 6th/12th century that the Turks gained a foothold there. When in 581/1185, Ḳīlīdj Arslān II, divided his states between his sons, one of them, Rukn al-Dīn, received, with Tokat as its centre, the territory extending as far as the coast of the Black Sea. According to Nicetas, he laid hold on Sāmsūn. It was also without doubt before the death of Ḳīlīdj Arslān in 588/1192 that the Turkish occupation of Sāmsūn took place, a process which developed alongside the Greek town of Amisos, which survived as a Greek, and then Genoese, city until the 14th century. In 611/1214, the capture of Sinūb (Sinop) by ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs I assured the Turks of Iconium of a second important base in this central sector of the Black Sea coasts, towards which the natural routes of penetration from the great valleys of the Ḳīzīl Irmak and the Yeshil Irmak had guided the Turkish advance. On the other hand, the Greeks held on in the eastern part of the littoral, in the shelter of the mountainous and forested barrier of the East-Pontic chains which protected the independance of the Empire of Trebizond, and equally in the western sector of the coast, where Heracliums (Ereğli) was doubtless only sold to the Turks in 761/1360 (Heyd, ii, 358), while Samastri (Amasra) remained a Genoese colony until the 9th/15th century.

Sinop (Sanūb) and Sāmsūn also played their part in the regional export traffic of the products of northern Anatolia, sc. wool, fur, leather and mining products. But whereas the Black Sea trade remained up until then directed essentially towards Constantinople at the beginning of the 7th/13th century a considerable southern trade appears between the Turkish ports of the south and the Greek towns of the north, such as Soldaïa (Sudak), an outlet for the steppes at that time held by the Ḳīpčaḳ Turks, who were still pagans. From 602/1205-6 some merchants of Iconium, Syria and Mesopotamia banded together in caravans to go from Sīvās to Trebizond and, from there, to the eastern and northern coasts of the Black Sea (Heyd, ii, 93). The appearance of Turkish footholds on the southern coast stabilized this traffic to Sinop and Sāmsūn. From the north came furs and slaves in exchange for cotton goods, silk and spices (observations of William of Rubruck at Soldaïa in 1253). The Mongol conquest and the ruin of Baghdad, in deflecting the trade of Inner Asia towards the north, made a powerful contribution to strengthening trans-Pontic relations in the second half of the century. They were essentially consolidated, following the Genoese en-

tente with the Paleologus dynasty, by a whole series of Genoese warehouses established in the first place on the southern coast of the Crimea between Caffa (doubtless from 1266) and Cembalo (Balaklava), including Soldaïa taken by the Genoese in 1365. Some other establishments were added there around the Sea of Azov (Tana-Azov at the mouth of the Don, Copa-Kopil, etc.), and on the eastern coast of the Black Sea (Mapa-Anapa, Sebastopolis-Sukhum, Kalʿe etc.). The traffic in slaves (Turks and Circassians), fish and caviar, salt, cereals and furs was directed towards Constantinople and Europe, but certainly also in an appreciable proportion towards Asia Minor and across it as far as Egypt. Besides, Christian merchants passed via Trebizond as far as Sulṭāniyya in Persia. The part of the Muslim merchants cannot have been negligible in this trans-Pontic commerce, but is difficult to evaluate with precision. It was on a Greek ship that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa made his way from Kerč to Sinop in 1333 (tr. Defremery, ii, 345; tr. Gibb, ii, 468).

The capture of Constantinople, with the occupation of the Straits by the Ottomans, upset these relations. The Khān of the Tartars then diverted the merchandise and slaves sent to Sāmsūn or other ports towards the points of the coast situated outside the Genoese territory, such as Vosporo (Kerč) and Calamita (near Inkerman) (Heyd, ii, 387). Nevertheless, the policy of Ottoman expansion in the Black Sea did not begin immediately. The Bank of St. George, heir of the rights of Genoa, was able to maintain relations for some time. In 859/1455 its ships succeeded in forcing the passage of the Bosphorus and reaching Caffa and Samastri. Meḥemmed II took this town in 863/1459, but the trade to Caffa, henceforth a tributary of the Sultan, continued during the following years. The corn of Caffa still passed to Genoa. It was only in 880/1475 that Meḥemmed II made some incidents between the Khān of the Crimea and the Tartars in connection with the nomination of the governor who had jurisdiction over them a pretext for seizing the town, and the speedily, all the other Genoese towns.

iii. — The Ottoman Sea. — From that time, when the principalities of Rūm, the Crimean Tartars, the Nogay, and the western Caucasians were made vassals, the Black Sea became an Ottoman lake, for approximately three centuries, to which the Sublime Porte jealously forbade access to foreign ships. The Ambassador of France, Girardin who, in 1686, solicited authorization for French ships to trade there, received the reply that "the Grand Seigneur would sooner open the doors of his harem to foreigners" (P. Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au xviiie siècle*, Paris 1911, 638). A similar reply was made in 1699 to the Ambassador of Russia Ukraintzev (B. Nicolsky, *Le peuple russe: carrière historique 862-1945*, Neuchatel 1945, 189). The Black Sea was to be the base for a policy of Ottoman expansion towards the steppes of Southern Russia and the Caspian, whose culminating point was the expedition of Astrakhan in 1569 with the project of a Don-Volga canal. This exclusive domination did not prevent, however, incursions of Cossacks in the 17th century, whose boats came at times to pillage the Anatolian coasts, for example at Giresun (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyahatnâmesi*, ed. Zuhuri Danişman, Istanbul 1970, iii, 81).

In the Ottoman period, Black Sea trade was organized at first essentially to provision the immense conurbation of Istanbul. The corporation of Black Sea merchants (numbering 8,000 in 2,000 shops, according to Ewliyā Čelebi (*ibid*, ii, 246) played a principal role in the town's activity, as did the sailors of the Black Sea (numbering 9,000, or 2,000 according to another passage, *ibid.*, ii, 240). Cereals (wheat, oats, barley), fish, fats (Eremya Çelebi Kömürucüyan, *Istanbul tarihi: xvii asirda Istanbul*, Turkish tr. Hrand D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1952, 15) from the northern steppes, the wood of the Anatolian coasts, the slaves of the Caucasus, and furs, were in the 17th century the principal objects of commerce. The Ottoman administration devoted all its efforts to developing this internal Black Sea trade, and compelled the trade routes crossing it to be diverted via Istanbul in order to assure itself of control. Thus in 1095/1684 the trade of Ankara to Poland was compelled to pass via the capital (R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du xviie siècle*, Paris 1962, 482), puréed plums from the Trebizond coast, as well as wood from the Anatolian coast and wooden objects (vases, plates) manufactured at Amasya. In return, the grain of Crimea frequently passed to Trebizond and Rize despite the prohibitions. The wines of Tripoli on the Anatolian coast, those of Aķ Ķirmān and of Misevria on the coasts of Bessarabia and Bulgaria, were sent to the Crimea, to the Abkhazians or to the Cossacks of the South of Russia, who got their food supplies at Oczakov. To these commercial currents were added migratory movements. The mountaineers of the East-Pontic chains of Anatolia had already migrated in large numbers towards Constantinople, and also to all the western part of the Black Sea. There was also in Moldavia an important Laz commercial colony (Peyssonel ii, 203-4).

iv. — European penetration. — The first breach in the Ottoman Black Sea system dates from 1107/1696 at the time of the capture of Azov by the Russians and the construction of the first Russian fleet on the waters of the Azov Sea. Some Russian ships also accompanied the plenipotentiary of the Tsar to Istanbul in 1111/1699. Retroceded to Turkey at the treaty of Pruth in 1713, Azov returned to Russia at the treaty of Belgrade in 1739, with a portion of the littoral of the Sea of Azov, but Article ix of the treaty stipulated that the Russians' trade in the Black Sea should be done exclusively by ships belonging to the Turks. On a parallel with the treaty of Passarowitz, the limit for the movement of Austrian ships on the Danube remained fixed at the mouths of the river. From 1163/1750 a first French factory was established at Caffa, where the French dragoman carried on trade from 1746, but it was done in ships flying the Ottoman flag (P. Masson, *op. cit.*, 641-3). It was only the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1187/1774) which opened the Black Sea to the Russian merchant ships, while the annexation of Kerč, Yeni Ķalʿe and the mouths of the Dnieper considerably enlarged the sea coasts of the Empire of the Tsars. The conference of Aynali Kavak in 1193/1779 completed it by according to the same ships the free passage of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The foundation of Kherson in 1778, the annexation of the Crimea and the occupation of Georgia in 1783, the capture of Oczakov in 1788, and in 1789 that of Hodja Bey, where in 1795 the new town of Odessa was founded, mark the decisive stages of Russian installation in the Black Sea at the end of the 18th century. The Russian privileges were rapidly extended to the other European nations. In 1784 Austrian ships, in 1799 English ships, in 1802 French ships, obtained freedom of traffic.

European penetration entailed a considerable disturbance in the commercial currents. In 1781 the first Russian ship passed from Kherson to Marseille. In 1784 a French factory was established at Kherson. At the beginning of the 19th century several hundred

ships already participated in the trade of South Russia (an annual movement of 900 ships, of which 552 went to Odessa and 210 to Taganrog; 421 Austrian ones and 329 Russian ones, according to Anthoine, 262). Ottoman trade was progressively reduced to the West coasts of the Caucasus (with which the slave trade remained active throughout the first half of the 19th century) and to the north coasts of Anatolia. Sinop remained an important Ottoman naval base and a great centre of ship-building yards. The trans-Pontic trade of Russia to the Anatolian coasts survived on a restricted scale (fabrics from Aleppo and nuts sent from Trebizond: V. Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient... de 1830 à 1833, deuxième voyage en Anatolie*, Paris 1834, 225). But a new fact was the great rise in transit commerce from Persia via Trebizond and Erzurum, which was the normal access route from the Black Sea to Persia until the development of the traffic from Persia to Russia by land at the end of the 19th century and, more recently, the diversion of Persian trade to the Persian Gulf (C. Issawi, *The Tabriz-Trabzon Trade 1830-1900: Rise and Decline of a Route*, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, i (1970), 18-28). Since this date, the Turkish trade of the Black Sea has been essentially a coastal traffic, notably concerned with passengers, wood, the coal of the Zonguldak basin sent to Istanbul, to which are added some direct exports of nuts and tobacco to Europe.

v. — Political and naval history in the modern period. — If the freedom of commercial navigation has never been called into question since the end of the 18th century, the same has not been the case in regard to the naval status of the Black Sea. The treaty of Hunkiar Skelesi (1249/1833), by which the Porte undertook to close the Straits at Russia's request had practically conferred on this latter power the control of the Sea. The Conference of London (1840), in closing the Straits to all warships, caused Russia to lose this privileged situation, but left her assured of dominance in the Black Sea. But after the destruction of the Turkish naval forces by the Russians at Sinop in 1269/1853 and the victory of the Franco-Anglo-Turkish allied forces in the Crimean War, the treaty of Paris of 1856 provided for the neutralisation of the Black Sea (except for six steamships with a maximum length of 50m. at the water-mark and four light ships for each power, as well as two light ships per power at the mouths of the Danube). The Franco-German War of 1871 gave Russia the opportunity, through the Conference of London, to have this neutralization annulled and to regain her freedom of action, but the passage of the Straits remained forbidden to warships. The Conference of Lausanne in 1921, by according freedom of passage to warships of every nationality (provided that they did not constitute a force superior to that of the most important fleet existing in the Black Sea) and by demilitarizing the Straits, made the Black Sea practically a free sea, open to the outside powers. This arrangement was only ephemeral, and the Conference of Montreux (1936), by giving Turkey the right to fortify the Straits once more, by restricting freedom of passage to the fleets of the powers bordering on the Black Sea (with exceptions for light ships) and by according Turkey the right to close the Straits in event of a war in which she remained neutral, has made the Black Sea once more a half-closed sea.

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(X. DE PLANHOL)

ĶARĀ FAḌLĪ [see FAḌLĪ MEḤMED].

ĶARĀ GÖZ [see KARAGÖZ].

ĶARĀ GÖZLŪ, Turkish tribe in Iran. It is not mentioned in any 10th/16th or 11th/17th century sources. Originally a member of the famous S͟hāmlu tribe during the Ṣafawid period, the tribe must have taken its name from one of its beys; it is probable that it originated in the Bey Dili sub-tribe of the S͟hāmlu.

The homeland of the Ķara Gözlü was the Hamadān region, but in the mid-20th century there was a small branch known by the same name in Fars. The Ķarā Gözlü had abandoned a fully nomadic life as early as the beginning of the 19th century, and lived in large and prosperous villages on the Hamadān plain. Nevertheless, they were foremost amongst those peoples who preserved tribal unity. Today they are divided into two branches, the ʿAs͟hīklu and the Ḥād͟jd͟jilu. All European travellers who visited the region describe them as a numerous community. Dupré (1807-9) gives their number as 12,000 (*Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, ii, 460); Macdonald Kinneir (1810) records that they were able to field an army of 7,000 men (*A Geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 127); while Lady Sheil (mid-19th century) gives their number as 4,000 (*Glimpses of life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 398). The population of the Ķarā Gözlü was given as 300,000 in 1930. Travellers also describe them as one of the most warlike tribes. Macdonald Kinneir (*op. cit.*, 46) calls them the best horsemen in Iran. According to Muḥammad Hās͟him (*Rustam al-tawārīk͟h*, ed. M. Mus͟hīrī, Tehran 1348, 105), Ķarā Gözlü Saʿīd Beg was one of the most gallant *amīrs* of the reign of Sultan Ḥusayn, the last Ṣafawid ruler. Although the Ķarā Gözlü were a closely-knit community, they chose to remain subject to other ruling dynasties; for this reason they settled in the Hamadān plain as early as the 19th century, leading a prosperous life in comparison with other tribes. This can be explained by the fact, that as members of the S͟hāmlu subtribe, they had had a long-established political tradition and experience.

Following the death of Nādir S͟hah Afs͟hār, the tribe accepted vassalage to Karīm K͟han Zand; but in the struggle between the successors of Karīm K͟han and Āķā Muḥammad K͟han Ķād͟jar, the Ķarā Gözlü promptly sided with the Ķād͟jars, and played an important part in Āķā Muḥammad's accession to power. The tribe's loyalty to the Ķād͟jar dynasty continued in later years, and as a result many important military and political figures were appointed from it.

Foremost among these was Muḥammad Husayn Khān (d. 1240/1824-5), who had rendered important service to Āḳā Muḥammad in the creation of his state. He was also known as a just and benevolent ruler (J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia*. . ., London 1818, ii, 263). Rustam Khān, son of the above-mentioned khān, and Ḥādjdji Muḥammad Khān, Naṣr Allāh Khān, ʿAlī Khān, Maḥmūd Khān and ʿAbd Allāh Khān were the most famous political and military figures of the Ḳarā Gözlü during the periods of Fatḥ ʿAlī, Muḥammad Shah and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah (Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, ed. Djihāngīr Ḳāʾim Maḳāmī, Tehran 1337, ii, 84; iii, 123; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran 1339, ix, 636, 648; 44-5, 211, 226-7, 238-40, 458, 459, 467, 529). Of these, Maḥmūd Khān and ʿAlī Khān were married to girls of the Ḳādjār dynasty (J. P. Ferrier, *Voyage en Perse dans l'Afghanistan*. . ., Paris 1860, i, 70-1). Chiefs of the Ḳarā Gözlü were among those statesmen assimilated to Western European culture. One of these was Naṣr al-Mulk, educated at Oxford University, who was regent in 1914, while his brother Amīr Tūmān was ambassador in Washington.

Bibliography: For detailed information and bibliography of the Ḳarā Gözlü see F. Sümer *Kaçarlar devrinde Türk oymaklarɪ*, in *Selçuklu Araştɪrmalarɪ Dergisi*, v (Ankara 1974). (F. Sümer)

ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR, "black castle, black fortress", name of several localities of Asia Minor distinguished from one another by means of other names or epithets, but nevertheless still frequently confused. One finds them already enumerated in the *Muʿdjam* of Yāḳūt (iv, 44), in the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (ed. Le Strange, 97), in the *Seyāḥāt-nāma* of Ewliyā Čelebi (Istanbul 1314-18, ii, 384 = *Narrative of Travels by Ewliya Efendi*, London 1850. ii, 205), in the *Lehdje-i ʿOthmānī* of Aḥmed Wefīḳ, (Istanbul 1293, 911) and in the *Taʾrīkh* of ʿAlī Djewād (Istanbul 1313, i, 599); the enumeration is nowhere near complete. These localities all have in common their situation on heights, for the most part fortified and difficult of access, and owe their colour-epithet to some volcanic rocks of black colour (basalt, andesite or trachyte such as at Afyūn Ḳarā Ḥiṣār). The majority of these fortresses were without doubt built in the Middle Ages to serve above all as places of refuge for the inhabitants of the surrounding area in case of unforeseen attack, as occurred frequently during the quarrels between the Byzantines on one hand and the Arabs and Saldjūḳids on the other, and also, later, during the wars between the small states that made up Asia Minor: many among them were abandoned during the domination of the Ottomans and are no longer found on our maps.

The most important localities of this name are:

1. AFYŪN ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR (Afyon Kara Hisar); see the article that has been already devoted to it [*q.v.*]. (To add to the *Bibl.*: Süleyman Gönçer, *Afyon ili tarihi*, i, İzmir 1971).

2. ISDJE ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR (İsçe Karahisar/İsçehisar), 22 km. to the north-east of Afyon Karahisar, evidently owes its name (= "black castle, of the colour of soot") to the colour of its dwellings constructed of black lava; so it must be written thus and not as Eski Ḳarā Ḥiṣār, as do Hamilton (*Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 461, 467), L. de Laborde, (*Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1838, 68-9), Texier, (*Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, i, 145-52), and Ritter who follows them (Kleinasien, i, 605, 642-3). Nor is it Itchki or Istya (Ramsay, in *Mitt. Deutschen Arch. Instituts in Athen*, vii, 132 ff.; x, 348), nor Ischtschi (Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1896, 88 ff.) or Ishite (von Dienst, map accompanying the *Geogr. Mitteilungen*, of Petermann, Gotha 1860, suppl. fasc. no. 125). This small locality of around 4,000 inhabitants is situated in the neighbourhood of the quarries of ancient Dokimion, from which were extracted the Synnadix marble; these quarries have recently been worked by European contractors (*Sālnāma Brūsa*, 1325, 125).

Bibliography: L. Robert, in the *Journal des Savants* (1962), 24-5.

3. SHĀBĪN OR SHEBĪN, Sheb Ḳarā Ḥiṣār (Şebin Kara Hisar) "the black castle of alum", also called Ḳarā Ḥiṣār-i Sharḳī or Ḳarā Ḥiṣār-i Shabkhāne, owes its name to the deposits of alum which are found in the vicinity; these deposits, which had already been mined in antiquity, were worked especially in the Middle Ages ,and they furnished a product of a quality particularly esteemed in this mineral.

The town is built at about 1300 m. altitude, on the inner slopes of the Pontic chains, 120 km. to the South of Giresun, 190 km. to the north-east of Sīwās. The ruins of the fortress which gave its name to the town are situated on an isolated hill to the east of the town, which they dominate from 50 m., being at an elevation of 200 metres on the other side at the top of a valley of a small tributary of the Kelkit Çay.

As Blau already demonstrated in 1865, relying on a Byzantine inscription, the town is the Colonia of antiquity and the Middle Ages, and it preserved this name until the modern period. According to the *Novellae* of Justinian, it belonged to Armenia Prima; in the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, it figures as the episcopal seat of Armenia Secunda. In 162/778 the town fell into the hands of Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī at the time of an invasion of Pontus (Ghévond, *Hist. des Guerres des Arabes en Arménie*, Paris 1856, 106; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 493, and Ibn Khurradādhbih, in *BGA*, vi, 108). However, the Ḳalūniya, which according to Eutychius (ed. Selden and Pococke, 383), was conquered by the Sāsānid Shāpūr together with Cappadocia, and the Ḳalūniya that the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla took in the year 335/946-7 (*ZDMG*, x, 467; Yāḳūt, 168) must be without doubt the Colonia Cappadociae which, according to Niketas (72, 689) much later became Aḳsarāy. This powerful fortress must have been lost by the Byzantines after the battle of Manzikert; soon after the Danishmend-Oghullarī established themselves there (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii, 164); and much later we find it in the possession of the Saltūḳids of Erzurum (Niketas Chon, *Ann.*, ed. Bonn, 185, 294) who in the year 598/1201-2 were dispossessed by the Saldjūḳids of Ḳonya; the latter established the Mengüdjids, vassals of Ḳonya, in their place; after the fall of the sultanate of Ḳonya, the descendants of Eretnā and different princes of the dynasties of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu and Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu reigned there (cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 287 = ʿAlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, v, 178 = Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 474); in the year 878/1473, the town was taken by Meḥemmed the Conqueror, after the battle of Terdjān, and was incorporated into the Turkish empire (ʿĀshīḳ-Pasha-Zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 378, 181, who designates the town as Ḳarā Ḥiṣār of Kemākh, also Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 541, 542; Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 589). It constituted a *sandjaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Erzurum (Ewliyā, *Travels*, ii, 205; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, 422. 424), but sometimes of Erzindjan. Re-attached to Sivas in the 19th century, then after having been promoted to *chef-lieu* of a *wilāyet* at the beginning of the Republican era, it is today a *kaza* of the *wilāyet* of Giresun.

The old name of Colonia was adopted by the Saldjūķids under the Armenian form Kughūniya that we encounter in the chronicle of Ibn Bībī (ed. Duda, Copenhagen 1959, 151, 152, 306), in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*op. cit.*, where the readings of the manuscripts *Limūniya* or *Līʿūniya* must be corrected to *Kīghūniya*), and on the money of Eretnā (Aḥmed Tawḥīd, *Meskūkāt-i Ḳadīme-i islāmiyye*, iv, 439). If, as appears almost certain, the Mavro-Kastran mentioned by Michael Astaliota (ed. Bonn, 125) and by Skylitzes (679) as being "situated on a hill in Armenia difficult of access", can be identified with Colonia, it seems then that alongside the name of Colonia the name of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār was already known at this period; likewise, we encounter among the Greeks of the 18th century, alongside Colonia, the form Garasaris which is a corruption of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār.

The majority of the population seems to have remained Christian for a long time. A census of 935/1529 counted 213 Christian houses there as against 84 Muslim. In 1022/1710 there were still 240 Christian houses as against 217 Muslim. Ewliyā Čelebi, who has left us a highly imaginative description, counted 1600 houses there, 750 shops, 42 mosques (1057/1647). There were 70 houses within the citadel, where the villagers of the Black Sea coasts, exposed to the ravages of the Cossacks, came to store their precious objects. A. D. Mordtmann (1858) counted 2,000 houses there, 500 of them Armenian and 100 Greek, and Vital Cuinet, 11,700 inhabitants (of whom 2,750 were Armenian and 1,650 Greek). Trade, judged to be in decline by Barth in 1858, appeared to have become active once more at the end of the century, according to Cumont and Cuinet.

The richness of the gardens and vineyards adjoining the town always formed a primary basis of this activity. Schilberger (*Reisebuch*, ed. Langmantel, 57) calls Karassere "a land rich in vines"; these vines, which still exist today, were always less famous than the rich mines of alum of the neighbouring village Shābkhāne, mines from which was extracted the "alume de rocca di Colonna" (that is to say Colonia) that was so esteemed (Pegolotti, in Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, ii, 565); they are the *aluminis minera juxta Sabastiam quae valet unam argentarium* of Vincentius Bellovacensis, xxxi, c. 143; they are also mentioned by William of Rubruck (ed. Bergeron, 147). Meḥemmed the Conqueror took possession of them for the treasury (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 542), and later, the pay of the garrison of the fortress was levied on the income from their rent (*Djihānnumā*, 424). In the middle of the 19th century 100,000 okes of ore were still being extracted from four shafts (Barth) and exported to Giresun. The working ceased at the end of the 19th century.

The town suffered greatly from the 1914-18 War, when it found itself close to the front in 1916 at the time of the Russian troops' advance, and was abandoned by a part of its population. After the disappearance of the minority population, there were no more than 7,091 inhabitants in 1927, and 7,600 in 1950. The castle, encircled by surrounding walls in which some old wells seem to indicate a pre-Hellenic cettlement, is no longer inhabited; within these fortifications, on the summit of the mountain, there is a small keep with an octagonal tower. The fortifications date from the Byzantines and were completed by the Muslim governors of the town.

Bibliography: Ewliyā, *Seyāḥat-nāma*, ii, 384 ff. = *Travels*, ii, 204 = ed. Zuhuri Danışman, Istanbul 1970, iv, 81-5; C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i, 208 ff.; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt nach Scutari*, suppl. fasc. to the *Geog. Mitteilungen* of Petermann, Gotha 1860, 14 ff. (with plan of the town), and the additional information of A. D. Mordtmann in *Ausland*, 1863, 406-7, 414-5, reprinted in A. O. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, Hanover 1925; C. Blau in Petermann's *Geogr. Mitteilungen* (1865), 252; Taylor in the *Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc.*, xxviii (1868), 293 ff.; P. Triantaphyllides, Ἡ ἐν Πόντῳ Ἑλληνικὴ φυλή, Athens 1886, 113 ff.; X. A. Sideropulos in the archaeological supplement to the xviith volume of the publications of the Greek Syllogos of Constantinople, 135 ff.; *Studia Pontica*, ii, F. and E. Cumont, *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont*, 296 ff. (with reproductions); H. T. Okutan, *Şebinkarahisar ve civari coğrafiya, tarih, kültür, folklor* (Giresun 1949), 464p.

4. ĶARĀ ḤIṢĀR-I BEHRĀMSHĀH (Bayrāmshāh), already cited by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 97; Sīdī Reʾīs (16th century) visited this place at the time of his journey from Sīwās to Bozaḳ and Ḳīrshehir (*Mirʾāt al-mamālik*, Istanbul 1312, 96). In the age of Ewliyā Čelebi it was a jurisdiction (*ḳaḍāʾ*) of the *eyālet* of Sīwās (*Djihānnumā*, 662). This locality is today the Karahisar Tatlisi marked by the *Meskûn Yerler Kılavuzu* (Ankara 1946) as a parish of the *bucak* of Kara Mağara, between Yozgat and Akdağ Madeni (and not the Karahisar Kemalisi, a parish of the *bucak* of Kadişehri, *İlçe* of Çeherek, *wilāyet* of Yozgat, to the north-west of Akdağ Madeni and 30 km. to the north-east of the former).

5. ĶARĀ ḤIṢĀR-I DEMIRDJI, locality situated in the *wilāyet* of Çorum, some hours to the north of the well-known field of ruins of Üyük, cited in the *Djihānnumā*, 625, among the *ḳaḍāʾ*s of the *sandjaḳ* of Çorum. W. Hamilton was, in 1838, the first of the European travellers who visited it and described it (*Researches*, etc., i, 379, 381, 403; Ritter relied on this book in his *Kleinasien*, i, 147, 149 ff.), then came H. Barth in 1859 (*Reise von Trapezunt nach Scutari*, 42) and A. D. Mordtmann, (*Ausland*, 1863, 785; *SB Bayr. Ak.* (1861), 191-2). The place covers the ruins of Ḳaṭā Sarāy, which, as it lies on top of it, is also cited under this name in the *Djihānnumā*. It must be identified with the Ḳarā Ḥiṣār that the old Ottoman chronicles cite in connection with Prince Meḥemmed's battles with the chief of the Yürüks Gözleroghlu in *ca.* 805/1402 (Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 386; Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 200). Kiepert's map marks in this place, a little to the North of Alaca Höyük, two places with the name of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār near to one another, one mentioned as a ruin, the other as a village. The Turkish 1/200,000 map marks in this place a ruin of a fortress on a hill at 1250 m. altitude, and two villages, to the north-west and to the north-east, called respectively Türk Kalehisar and Çerkes Kalehisar (surely for Ḳara Ḥiṣār).

6. ĶARĀ ḤIṢĀR-I TEKE (Djihānnuma, 638, Aḥmed Wefīḳ, ʿAlī Djewād, *op. cit.*), also called Ḳarā Ḥiṣār Adalia (Ewliyā, *Travels*, ii, 705), already cited by Yāḳūt (iv, 44) as a place situated a day's journey from Anṭākiya (actually Anṭāliya). At the time of Ibn Faḍl Allāh, a certain Zekeriyyā, formerly *mamlūk* of the lord of Adalia, made himself independent and governed a small territory which comprised 3 towns and 12 strongholds (*Notices et extraits*, xiii, 372-3). Cited on several occasions in the pre-Ottoman texts, this place is still to be found in the accounts of the cadastral survey dating from Meḥemmed the Conqueror (*Revue Historique publ. par l'Institut d'Histoire Turque*, ii, 76), and is noted in the Djihānnumā (*loc. cit.*) as a jurisdiction of the *sandjaḳ* of Adalia.

The identification of this town has given rise to

several mistakes. Following the information of Aḥmed Wefīḳ (*op. cit.*), who mentions Ḳarā Ḥiṣār as the chief place of a *nāḥiye* of the *ḳaḍā᾿* of Serik in the *sandjaḳ* of Adalia, and the information of Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥatnāmesi*, ix, 290) according to which the place was built at the foot of a mountain called Serek dağı, Mordtmann in *EI*[1] and Besim Darkot in *İA* have sought to identify it with the large village of Serik, a real centre of a *ḳaḍā᾿* in the plain between the Aksu and the Köprü Su, nearer to this last river. This identification of the locality is incompatible with the data of the same text of Ewliyā, which place it to the west of the Aksu, four hours' journey from Antalya and an hour to the north of the village of Kundu (still existing) on the one hand, and on the other with the information of the same, as well as of al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, v, 346), which places it on a lofty hill. Süleyman Fikri Erten (*Antalya vilayeti tarihi*, Istanbul 1940, 90) wished incorrectly to place it at the ancient town of Sillyon, a hypothesis compatible with the data on the elevated site but not with the information on distance and placing in relation to the river. In fact, there is no doubt that it can be identified with the ancient town of Pergum in terms of the above characteristics. Recognized since the 19th century by Krause in his articles *Pamphylia* and *Perge* in the *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Sect. 3, vol. x (1838), 244, and vol. xv-xvi (1841), 435, but without comment and information on sources, then by X. de Planhol (*De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens*, Paris 1958, 105, 123), it has been set out clearly in detail by Barbara Fleming (*Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1964, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxxv/1, 101-2; see equally the index, s.v. for the numerous mentions of this town).

7. DEVELI ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR, i.e., the Ḳaraḥiṣār of Develü (*develeniñ Ḳarāḥiṣārī* in Neshrī, *ZDMG*, xv, 341, and Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, 334); also named after the district of Develü (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii, 104) to distinguish it from other towns of the same name. This town, situated in Asia Minor, 45 km. to the south-west of Ḳayṣariyye, is already frequently mentioned in the history of the Saldjūḳids (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iv, *passim*). It belonged afterwards to the possessions of the Banū Eretnā (cf. Max van Berchem, *Matériaux*, Pt. 3, 41 and 48), then to that of the Ḳarāmān-oghullarī and was conquered in 794/1391 by Bāyazīd I (Neshrī, *loc. cit.*); at the time of the conquest of Ḳarāmān by Meḥemmed II in 879/1474, it surrendered to the Ottomans (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 550). At the end of the 17th century, the district of Develi Ḳarā Ḥiṣār formed a *ḳaḍā᾿* dependent on Ḳayṣariyye *Djihānnumā*, 620). The town then declined, without doubt due to the insalubrity of the swamps (Sultan Sazlığı) which extend to the approaches of the town, and the consequence of this was the transfer of the centre of the *ḳaḍā᾿* to Develi (or Everek), to the south of Kayseri and 40 km. to the east, whereas Ḳarā Ḥiṣār, at the end of the 19th century, was no more than a *nāḥiye* of the *ḳaḍā᾿* of Indjesu. This transfer has been at the source of a whole series of confusions between the two towns (Aḥmed Wefīḳ, *Lehdje*, 580, and Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 304, 320, give information which is quite obscure and false). The town, established anew as a *kaza* in 1946, took the name of Yeşil Hisar. Of the ancient fortifications of Develi Ḳarā Ḥiṣār, only insignificant fragments remain; the town, known for its fruit production, is situated at the foot of some hills, in the midst of extensive gardens (Kinneir, *Journey*, 109; Hamilton, ii, 284). There were several hundred houses at the end of the last century, with an increase to 5,800 inhabitants in 1950. In the neighbourhood of Develi Ḳara Ḥiṣār, 3 km. to the south-west, are the ruins of Zindjibar Ḳalʿesi, considered formely to be the ancient Nora (W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 210) and now identified with Cyzustra (W. M. Calder and G. E. Bean, *A classical map of Asia Minor*, London 1958).

Bibliography: Apart from the works already cited, I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr and N. Beldiceanu, *Deux villes de l'Anatolie pre-ottomane, Develi et Qarahisar, d'après des documents inédits*, in *REI*, xxxix (1971), 337-86.

8. ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR in the land of ʿUthmān (Yāḳut, iv, 45): perhaps this is meant to be the Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār, also named Ḳaradja Shehir, near İnönu in the territory of origin of the Ottoman Sultans, a place which is often described even in the ancient chronicles by the name of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār.

9. ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR, in the territory of Ibn Torghut (Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *op. cit.*, 350); this is, however, impossible to identify, unless it is an ancient name for Ṭorghudlu Ḳaṣabasī near Mānīsa.

10. ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR, *chef-lieu* of the *ḳaḍā᾿* of Naʿllu-khān (Nallihan), *vilāyet* of Ankara (Aḥmed Wefīḳ, *op. cit.*). One encounters several villages of this name in the boundaries of the said *kaza*.

11. ḤAMMĀM ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR, village of the *nāḥiye* of Günyünzī, *ḳaḍā᾿* of Sivri Ḥiṣār, *wilāyet* of Eskişehir, 17 km. to the east of the *chef-lieu* of the *kaza*.

12. VĀN ḲARĀḤIṢĀRI (Ewliyā, *op. cit.*, iv, 275-6), which the traveller visited on the route from Van to Kotur, and of which he says that the Kurds call it Ḳaradja Kale; this is today a village of the *kaza* of Saray (newly called Özalp).

A certain number of other places of the name of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār figure in the gazeteers of the Anatolian villages; none of them have any historical importance. See the article of Besim Darkot in *İA* for the enumeration of several of them.

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ḲARĀ ḲALPAḲ [see ḲARAḲALPAḲ].

ḲARĀ KHALĪL [see DJANDARLĪ].

ḲARĀ-KHĀNIDS [see ILEK-KHĀNS].

ḲARĀ KHIṬĀY, the usual name in Muslim sources of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries of the Kitai people, mentioned in Chinese sources from the 4th century A.D. onwards as living on the northern fringes of the Chinese empire; during the course of the 6th/12th century a group of them migrated into the Islamic lands of Central Asia and established a domination there which endured for some eighty years.

In the Orkhon inscriptions of Outer Mongolia, the royal annals of the T'u-chüeh or Turks (ca. 732 A.D.), the Kitai are mentioned as enemies of the Turks and as living to the east of the Turkish heartland on the Orkhon and Selenga rivers. Ethnically and linguistically, the Kitai were most probably Mongols rather than Tungus, as some earlier orientalists surmised, though there is a possibility that they spoke a language of their own, unrelated to the above two groups (see the discussions in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese society*: *Liao*, 21-3, and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Turk, Mongol, Tungus*, in *Asia Major*, N.S. viii (1960), 120-1, 123). There must also have been considerable Uyghur Turkish influence on them when they were subject to the Ḳaghans of the Eastern Turks.

In Chinese sources, the Kitai are first called the Ch'i-tan (K'i-tan) and then, after 947, the Liao. In

the period of chaos after the downfall of the T'ang dynasty (907), the expansionist Kitai overran northern China and established there a ruling dynasty which, whilst retaining its basic steppe ethos, became at least superficially sinicized, so that Chinese annals account them a native dynasty; southern China, on the other hand, remained in the hands of the indigenous Sung dynasty (960-1279). The Liao empire stretched from the Pacific in the east to the Altai mountains and the Uyghur lands in the west, and their original name of Kitai, in the form Khitā or Khatā, was applied by the Muslims to northern China, whence older English Cathay, Russian Kitay, Greek Kitaïa, etc. for the whole country of China (see Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, London 1913-16, i, 146; in Muslim usage Čīn, Arabic form Ṣīn [*q.v.*] became the term reserved for southern China).

Between 1116 and 1123, however, the Liao of northern China were overthrown by a fresh wave of barbarian invaders from the north, the Tungusic Jürchen of the Amur-Ussuri basin and northern Manchuria, who formed the Chin ("golden") dynasty, Mongol Altun Khans. A part of the Kitai remained in China with the Chin and later, in the time of Čingiz Khān, were able successfully to rebel and restore the Kitai kingdom as a Mongol vassal state. Muslim sources mention raids westwards by the "Khiṭāy" on Islamic territories adjoining the Semirečye during the 5th/11th century (see Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 209-10, incursion of the Khiṭā'iyya in 408/1017-18), but these attacks may well have been made by Mongol groups, perhaps the Nayman, pushed westwards by the expansion of the Kitai proper in northern China (see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 95). It was the migration of ca. 519/1125 and thereafter by the Ḳarā ("black") Khiṭāy (in the Latin of John of Plano Carpini, 1246, *nigri Kitai*), Chinese Hsi ("western") Liao, which was really significant for the eastern Islamic world. One more southerly group moved into eastern Turkestan, but came up against the branch of Ilek Khānids or Ḳarakhānids [*q.v.*] ruling in Kāshgharia. Arslan Khān Aḥmad b. Ḥasan defeated them before they could reach Kāshghar and captured their leader. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 55, places this battle in 522/1128, which is perhaps too early, since in a letter from the Saldjūḳ sultan of eastern Persia, Sandjar, to the caliph's vizier, dated 527/1133, the victory is described as a recent event.

The adventures of the other group of Khiṭāy are described by Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 354 ff. It may be that we should regard these merely as the right wing of a general Ḳarā Khiṭāy advance along a broad front, successful in breaking through where the left wing thrust into Kāshgharia failed. At all events, this second group came westwards by a more northerly route, through the Kirghiz lands on the upper Yenisei, building the settlement of Emil to the east of Lake Balkhash, which they used as a base for intervening in the Ḳarakhānid principality in the Semirečye. By this time, their numbers had swollen to 40,000 tents. The Ḳarakhānid ruler tried to win the Khiṭāy over as allies against his own unruly Ḳarluḳ and Ḳanghlī tribesmen, but instead found himself deposed. The Ḳarā Khiṭāy leader. whose name appears in Chinese sources as Yeh-lü Ta-shih (d. 537/1143) now, after a half-hearted attempt to organize a revanche and regain the Liao homeland in China, made the town of Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*] in the Ču valley his base for a series of attacks on the surrounding Turkish tribes and principalities: against the Kirghiz and Ḳanghlī in the steppes, and against the Ḳarakhānids in Khotan and Kāshghar, where Ibrāhīm b. Arslan Khān Aḥmad probably died in battle against them. In 536/1137 Maḥmūd Khān b. Arslan Muḥammad of Samarḳand was defeated at Khudjand in Farghāna.

After the Ḳarā Khiṭāy had halted for four years, internal disputes in the Samarḳand Khānate laid open the whole of Transoxania to them. Nomadic Ḳarluḳ tribesmen at odds with Maḥmūd Khān appealed to the Ḳarā Khiṭāy against their overlord. Maḥmūd had recourse to his own suzerain Sandjar, and the Saldjūḳ sultan now invaded Transoxania from Khurāsān with a large army. In Ṣafar 536/September 1141 a bloody battle was fought at the Ḳaṭwān Steppe in Ushrūsana to the south of the middle Syr Daryā. Despite a probable numerical superiority, the Muslims were routed with huge losses, and Sandjar and Maḥmūd Khān abandoned Transoxania and fled to Khurāsān; this clash between the conventionally organized Muslim army and the Ḳarā Khiṭāy nomadic horde was, indeed, a foretaste of what was to happen when Čingiz Khān's Mongols appeared in the Islamic lands. The Ḳara Khiṭāy now occupied Samarḳand and Bukhārā, and Yeh-lü Ta-shih sent an army against Khwārazm, compelling the Khwārazm-Shāh Atsïz [*q.v.*] to pay an annual tribute of 30,000 *dīnār*s. The lands under Ḳarā Khiṭāy control came to stretch from the borders of the Kirghiz country in the north to Balkh in the south (occupied in 560/1165), and from Khwārazm in the west to the Uyghur lands of eastern Turkestan (see the maps in A. Herrmann, *An historical atlas of China*, Edinburgh 1966, 38-40, and Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 658). The news of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy victory over the Muslim forces at the Ḳaṭwān Steppe filtered through to the Crusaders in the Levant and thence to Christian Europe, giving fresh impetus to the legends about Prester John, the powerful Christian monarch who supposedly ruled in Inner Asia and who was attacking the Muslims from the rear (that these legends were in circulation before this time is suggested by C. F. Beckingham, *The achievements of Prester John*, Inaugural Lecture, University of Londen 1966).

The Ḳarā Khiṭāy leaders are called in the Islamic sources by the title Gür-Khān, and the personal names of the successive rulers are known only in their Chinese forms (see below). Djuwaynī, tr. i, 354, and Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī[2], ii, 96, tr. Raverty, ii, 911, explain that Gür-Khān means "Supreme Khān", *Khān-i Khānān*; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 97, n. 1, connected the first element with the old Turkish word *kür*, *kül*, "noble, courageous", found in names and titles of the Orkhon inscriptions, giving something like "Heroic Khān".

Pace Barthold's categorical assertion that "The Qara-Khitay kingdom was vastly different from the usual type of nomad empires" (*Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, 29), the Ḳarā Khiṭāy empire was in many ways typical of the steppe empires established by a Eurasian steppe confederation, despite the partial sinicization of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy themselves. It is probable that, like all nomadic confederations, they were not an ethnically homogeneous group; the successes of the first Gür-Khān doubtless attracted numbers of Turks, Tanguts and perhaps even Tungus to swell the original core of the Kitai. They were a military aristocracy of cavalrymen, spread thinly over the lands which they dominated, but with their main concentration at the Gür-Khān's ordu or army camp outside Balāsāghūn

in the Semirečye. The Chinese history of the dynasty, the *Liao Shih* (completed in 1344), mentions a census taken in 546/1151 by the Gür-Khān Yi-lieh. This enumerated 84,500 households with adult males in them, but this figure probably included the indigenous Muslim population of Balāsāghūn and its hinterland as well as the Ḳarā Khiṭāy tribesmen; even reckoning two fighting men per household, the numbers of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy cannot have been all that large (see Wittfogel and Fêng, 659-60).

Nor was there any administrative centralization, despite the fact that they did not follow the practice in other nomadic empires of granting out appanages to relatives and others of high rank; the first Gür-Khān is said not to have entrusted to any man command of more than 100 warriors. Except in Balāsāghūn, where, as noted above, the local Ḳarā Khānid ruler was displaced (although the population of the town remained largely Muslim), local dynasties continued elsewhere to exist as the Gür-Khāns' vassals. In some places, there were appointed permanent representatives of the Gür-Khān (Chinese *chien-kuo* "state supervisor", Turkish *basḳaḳ*, Arabic-Persian *shaḥna*) side-by-side with the local ruler; a province like Khwārazm was only visited periodically by the Ḳarā Khiṭāy tribute-collectors; whilst at the beginning of the 7th/13th century the *ṣadr*s or religious leaders in Bukhārā of the Burhān family (on whom see O. Pritsak, *Āl-i Burhān*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 81-96) took the tribute of the city in person to the Gür-Khān's *ordu*, just as later under the Golden Horde the prince of Muscovy took his tribute to the capital at Sarāy.

The Ḳarā Khiṭāy administration was therefore primarily a fiscal one, and beyond the collection of taxes, the subject territories were left largely to their local rulers. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 56, says that the Gür-Khān imposed a tax of one *dīnār* per annum on each household of the conquered peoples, but we know that tribute in kind was also collected. Barthold thought that the *dīnār* levy on each family was a specifically Chinese feature, but it seems to have been only one method followed amongst several in a far-from-uniform system; one Chinese source says that the rural populace around Balāsāghūn paid a tithe on their crops to the Gür-Khān. The Gür-Khāns coined their own copper currency on the Liao and Chinese pattern, with the regnal period inscribed in Chinese characters, but the vassal states continued to mint their own Islamic-type coins, and as we have just seen, the unit of the *dīnār* was recognised by the Ḳarā Khiṭāy for tax-collecting purposes (see Wittfogel and Fêng, 661-2, 664, 672-3).

Barthold also asserted in his *EI*[1] article ḲARA KHITĀI that the "language of the government seems to have been Chinese", but the linguistic and cultural structure of Central Asia at this time was complex and reflected the mélange of races, cultures and faiths to be found there. The Ḳarā Khiṭāy undeniably set a Chinese imprint on the administration and culture of the lands under their control, and Muslim authors noted a few Chinese words like *fu-ma* "imperial son-in-law" for the Gür-Khān's son-in-law (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 290, 292) and *pāyza*, Chinese *p'ai-tzŭ*, "tablet, insignia of a government official's authority" (*ibid.*, i, 158; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Browne, ii, 385). The Gür-Khāns bestowed Chinese official titles and used the Chinese script for solemn decrees, but the number of Chinese litterati at their ordu can never have been very large. They must have called upon Muslim scholars and secretaries for their correspondence in Persian and the Arabic script with their Muslim vassals, and probably upon Uyghur officials for correspondence in Turkish and the Uyghur script with vassals in eastern Turkestan.

The Ḳarā Khiṭāy never adopted Islam, as did eventually the Mongol Khāns in the Islamic world, but they displayed the traditional tolerance of the steppes towards all faiths. Even though Islam was especially identified with the resistance in Transoxania by the Ḳarakhānids and by Sandjar, they did not systematically persecute Muslims, as did their brief supplanter Küčlüg (see below) in Kāshgharia. A contemporary Muslim author like Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī gives an anecdote about the first Gür-Khān's boundless justice, his deference to the *Ṣudūr* of Bukhārā and his removal of an oppressive representative of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy administration there (*Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 24, revised tr. 24-5). Djūzdjānī, the historian of the Ghūrids, is also remarkably enthusiastic about them; he praises the first Gür-Khān for his just rule and respect for Muslim sensibilities, and even purveys a tale that one of the later Gür-Khāns had secretly become a Muslim (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ii, 96, tr. 911-12). Muslims retained leading positions in the Ḳarā Khiṭāy administration; the wealthy merchant Maḥmūd Tay is mentioned by Djuwaynī, tr. i, 357-8, as being vizier to the last Gür-Khān.

However, the religious tolerance and impartiality of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy undoubtedly permitted adherents of non-Islamic faiths to flourish more openly in Turkestan than under the orthodox Muslim Ḳarakhānids. A great period of missionary activity and enterprise opened for the Nestorian Christian Church in Inner Asia; the patriarch Elias III (1176-90) founded a metropolitan see in Kāshghar whose jurisdiction also included the Semirečye; and the oldest of the Syriac-inscribed Christian gravestones from the Ču valley in the Semirečye stem from this period (see Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolischen Eroberung*, Tübingen-Leipzig 1901, 57 ff.; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 99-101; the earliest inscription published by Chwolson dates from 1186). There were Chinese artisans working in Samarḳand at this time, and the Jewish communities in Khīwa, Samarḳand, etc. were flourishing, according to the evidence of a Jewish traveller in Persia like Benjamin of Tudela (see W. J. Fischel, *The Jews of Central Asia (Khorasan) in mediaeval Hebrew and Islamic literature*, in *Historia Judaica*, vii (1945), 29-50). Grousset commented with some justice that "the foundation of the Qara Khitay empire may be viewed as a reaction against the work of Islamization accomplished by the Qarakhanids" (*L'Empire des steppes*[4], Paris 1952, 221).

As for the Ḳarā Khiṭāys' own religion, we can glean very little from the sources. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 55, calls the first Gür-Khān a Manichaean. Muslim writers usually, however, simply call them "idolaters", but we may surmise that Buddhism, which had overlaid the original shamanism of the Ch'i-tan in China, was widespread amongst them.

One may accordingly say that the receptiveness of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy environment to differing cultural and religious traditions, and the consequent encouragement of the flowering of these traditions under the dynasty's relaxed rule, constitutes a certain achievement in human civilization, one which anticipates the better side of the succeeding *pax mongolica*. Thus the Chinese connections of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy probably facilitated the journeyings of Muslim traders into Mongolia and perhaps even as far as northern China. Acts of violence and oppression towards the subject

peoples can never have been wholly absent, and these may have increased towards the end of their rule. Yet our admittedly fragmentary knowledge of the trends of the period allows us to go some way with Marquart's approbation of Ķarā Khiṭāy culture (*Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 209), and to regard Barthold's dismissal of the achievements of the dynasty as negligible (*Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 98-9) as unduly harsh.

The chronology of the line of Ķarā Khiṭāy Gür-Khāns can be pieced together from the *Liao Shih* and from odd items of information in the Islamic sources (*e.g.*, the recording by Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 57, of the first Gür-Khāns's death in Rajab 537/Jan.-Feb. 1143). In his standard *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Zambaur made no attempt to deal with the Ķarā Khiṭāy, although Marquart, *op. cit.*, 237-8, had given a substantially correct list of their rulers. After the death of the original Gür-Khān Yeh-lü Ta-shih (1124-43), his widow T'a-pu-yen (named in Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 356, as Kuyan, honorific title Kan-t'ien, regnal title Hsien-ch'ing) reigned 1144-50. There succeeded the Gür-Khān Yi-lieh, regnal title Shao-hsing (1151-63); and finally the last Gür-Khān, Yi-lieh's younger son Chih-lu-ku (1178-1211, d. 1213). The fact that the Karā Khiṭāy dominions were ruled by women for two out of these five reigns is significant evidence for the matriarchal trend in Ķarā Khiṭāy society; in China proper, the Liao empress-dowagers had traditionally wielded great influence in the state. See on these questions of chronology, Wittfogel and Fêng, 620-1, 627 ff.; 672.

The Khʷārazm-shāhs from Il Arslan (551/1156 567/1172) onwards endeavoured at various times to throw off the yoke of the Ķarā Khiṭāy, but their withholdings of tribute were normally followed by Ķarā Khiṭāy invasions which re-asserted their overlordship. The Shāh Tekish (567/1172-596/1200) owed his throne to the help of the Gür-Khān Yeh-lü's son-in-law Fuma, but he later renounced his allegiance, adducing the oppressiveness of the Ķarā Khiṭāy tax-collectors and raising the banner of *djihād* against the infidels; in the words of Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 248, he rebelled "out of zeal for the dignity of his throne and for the faith". The Ķarā Khiṭāy in turn now supported Tekish's younger brother and earlier rival for the throne, Sulṭān Shāh, and helped him to seize several towns in northern Khurāsān (576/1181). In the last decades of the 6th/12th century and the opening years of the 7th/13th century, the Ķarā Khiṭāy aided Tekish and his son and sucsessor ʿAlāʾ Al-Dīn Muḥammad in their rivalry with the Ghūrids of Afghānistān [*q.v.*]; thus in 594/1198 the Gür-Khān sent an army across the Oxus to recover the vassal city of Balkh from the Ghūrids; the Ķarā Khiṭāy were, however, defeated, and this led to recriminations between them and the Khʷārazm-Shāh.

After his eventual crushing of the Ghūrids, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad had ambitions to extend Khʷārazmian control over the whole of Transoxania and to reduce the last vestiges of Ķarakhānid rule there. This necessarily involved clashing with the Ķarā Khiṭāy suzerains of the province. A general revolt flared up in eastern Turkestan amongst the Gür-Khāns' Muslim vassals, and it was on the crest of these disorders that the Nayman Mongol Küčlüg rose to power there after his flight westwards before Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*]. The last Ķarakhānid ruler in Samarķand, ʿUthmān Khān b. Ibrāhīm (600/1204-608/1212), attempted to throw off Ķarā Khiṭāy control, offended by the Gür-Khān's refusal to grant him the hand of a daughter in marriage; but he had his capital temporarily occupied by a Ķarā Khiṭāy force (probably in 606/1209-10), and the marriage in fact later took place. ʿUthmān Khān then allied with the Khʷārazm-Shāh to defeat the Ķarā Khiṭāy near Talas in 607/1210, and although the Gür-Khān defeated Küčlüg, the appearance of a Mongol force under Čingiz's general Ķubilay Noyan compelled him to come to terms with Küčlüg (608/1211) and to surrender; he remained as nominal ruler only, and died two years later. Thus for a brief while, before the arrival of Čingiz in the west, the Ķarā Khiṭāy dominions were partitioned between the fiercely anti-Muslim Küčlüg in Kāshgharia and the Semirečye, and the Khʷārazm-Shāh in Transoxania. The remaining members of the Ķarā Khiṭāy horde must have been caught up in the armies of the Mongols.

However, their rule was perpetuated indirectly in one corner of the eastern Islamic world. Shortly after the collapse of 608/1211, one of the Ķarā Khiṭāy commanders called Baraķ Ḥādjib entered the service of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs and eventually founded the principality of the Ķutlugh-Khānids in Kirmān; see BURĀĶ ḤĀDJIB, Zambaur, *Manuel*, 237, and Wittfogel and Fêng, 626, 655-7.

Bibliography: The chief Muslim sources include Ibn al-Athīr. Djuwaynī and the standard Saldjūķ sources (*e.g.*, Rāwandī, Bundārī) for the establishment of Ķarā Khiṭāy power in Transoxania, and Djuwaynī again and Djūzdjānī for the later phases. Some of the relevant Chinese sources were translated in E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, i, 208-35, but the Chinese sources are utilized directly by K. A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng, *History of Chinese society: Liao (907-1125)*, in *Trans. American Philisophical Society*, N.S. xxxvi (Philadelphia 1946), 619-74.

For other secondary sources, see W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[2], 323 ff.; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 94-101; idem, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i. *A short history of Turkestan*, 26-30, *History of the Semirechyé* 100-8;, J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, 2. *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in *Abh. Gött. Gesell. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.S. xiii/1 (1914); R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*[4], 219-22; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 147-50, 187 ff. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

ĶARĀ KIRGIZ [see KIRGIZ].

ĶARĀ-KÖL (Turkish "black lake"), ĶARAKUL, the name of various lakes in Central Asia and of a modern town in the Uzbek SSR.

The best-known lake is that lying at the western extremity of the Zarafshān River in Soghdia (modern Uzbekistan), midway between Bukhārā and Čardjūy (mediaeval Āmul-i Shaṭṭ, see ĀMUL. 2). The basin in which it lay was known as the Sāmdjan basin, see Iṣṭakhrī, 315, and Ibn Ḥawķal, ed. Kramers, 485, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 466. In Narshakhī's *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Schefer, 17, tr. Frye, 19, the lake is given both the Turkish name of Ķarā-Köl and the Iranian one of Bārgīn-farākh "extensive basin", and is said to have been 20 *farsakhs* long by one *farsakh* wide.

In history, this lake has been identified with the *ķara köl* mentioned in the Old Turkish Orkhon inscriptions (8th century), Kültigin N 2, where it is described as the scene of a battle between the Tiu-kiu or Eastern Turks under the prince Kültigin and the rebellious Az people (possibly the Türgesh), cf.

V. Thomsen, *Alttürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei*, in *ZDMG*, lxxvii (1924), 154, and T. Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington, Indiana 1968, 270. The lake was a celebrated wintering-place for migrating wildfowl, and therefore much frequented by hunters and fishermen. The Mongol princes Čaghatay and Ögedey wintered there in 619-20/1222-3 (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 140), and the Tīmūrid Ulugh Beg apparently hunted there periodically (Barthold, *Ulugh-Beg*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, tr. T. and V. Minorsky, ii, 134). After the Tsarist Russian conquest of the Khānate of Bukhārā in the late 19th century, a Fort Karakul was built to command the Čardjūy-Bukhārā road, and a modern town has now grown up there.

The steppelands and pastures of the Ķarā-Köl basin are especially famed as the original habitat of the Karakul breed of sheep, whose lambs produce a glossy, tightly-curled, rich black fur, commercially known as Persian lamb, and used for making Astrakhan fur; the full-grown sheep produce dark-coloured wool for carpet making. The Soviet Central Asian republics, Afghanistan and Persia are today important breeders of this sheep and exporters of its fur.

Other lakes with this toponym of Ķarā-Köl are found in the Pamirs (Tadzhik SSR) and in the mediaeval region of Semirechye near the Isik-Köl (cf. Barthold, in *Four studies*, i, 88, 91).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 118, 455; Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 81, 85; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 302. (C. E. Bosworth)

ĶARĀ-ĶOYUNLU, Turkish dynasty which ruled over parts of Eastern Anatolia, ʿIrāķ, al-Djazīra, and most of Iran, also known as the Barānī (Bārānlu). It is not known why the dynasty was given this name. The Ķarā-Ķoyunlu tribe was undoubtedly a sub-tribe (*oba*) of the Oghuz. Minorsky's claim that this sub-tribe belonged to the Yıwa is probably true (*The Clan of the Qara Qoyunlu rulers*, in *Köprülü Armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 391-5). The political achievements of the dynasty led many tribes to enter the service of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu, notably the Saʿdlu (Nakhdjivān region), the Dukharlu (Erzurum-Bayburt region), the Alpaghut and Aghač Eri (Marʿash region), the Baharlu (Hamadān region during the reign of Djihān Shāh), the Ķarāmānlu (Gandja and Bardaʿa region), the Djākirlu (Ardabīl region) and the Āyīnlu. Besides these, a large community known as Ķarā Ulus was also subject to the Ķarā-Ķōyunlu. Subsequently, these tribes took service with the Aķ-Ķoyunlu and later with the Ṣafawids. During the Mongol period, the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu's winter quarters were in the Mosul region, and their grazing grounds in the Van region (probably Ardjish), and they were subject to the Uyrat. When the Sutaylī occupied most of the eastern and south-eastern Anatolian territories belonging to the Uyrat in 737/1337, the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu became their vassals. Pīr Muḥammad of the Sutaylī was killed in 751/1350 by Ḥusayn Beg, son of Tay Bugha, one of his amīrs, who succeeded to his position. However, before long, he too was killed by Amīr Bayram Khōdja (752/1351), the man who was responsible for bringing the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu on to the stage of history. Although he failed to capture Mosul from Ordu Bugha, Ḥusayn Beg's nephew, he succeeded in assuming the leadership of the group without much difficulty. Before long, however, Bayram Khōdja did capture Mosul, where he appointed Berdi Khōdja, his brother, as governor. Bayram Khōdja, like the Diyārbakr governors of the Mongols, lived in the Mosul area in winter and moved to the Mush-Akhlāṭ region, and sometimes to Erzurum, in summer. Most of the local dynasties in the above-mentioned regions had been made either his allies or vassals, but although defeated, Malik Manṣūr, the Artuķid ruler of Mārdīn, refused to recognize Bayram Khōdja's suzerainity, and complained to Sulṭān Uways, the Djalāyir ruler, about him. Thereupon Sulṭān Uways left Baghdād in the spring of 767/1366, took Mosul from Berdi Khōdja, and after passing the month of Ramaḍān in Mārdīn, marched against Bayram Khōdja, who was with his forces on the plain of Mush. Defeating the amīr of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu there, Sulṭān Uways went to Tabrīz by way of Ķarā Kilise (Ağrı). After this defeat, Bayram Khōdja seems to have become one of the tribute-paying vassals of Uways. Nevertheless, the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu beg continued his activities by besieging Mosul, which probably belonged to Uways, in 773/1371, and by capturing Sindjār in the next year.

When the Djalāyirid ruler died in the same year (744/1372), Bayram Khōdja severed his ties of vassalage, and, taking advantage of the situation, added Sürmeli, Ala Kilise, Khoy, Nakhdjivān and some other places to his territory. However, Shaykh Ḥusayn, successor to Uways, and particularly ʿĀdil Āķā, who held the real power, were not prepared to overlook his activities, and the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu accepted vassalage under lighter conditions (779/1377). When Bayram Khōdja died in 782/1380, the territory extending from Mosul to Erzurum was directly subject to the Ķarā-Ķōyunlu.

Bayram Khōdja was succeeded by his nephew Ķarā Meḥmed, an energetic and capable amir. He gained an overwhelming victory against the Djalāyīr army, which met him near Nakhdjivān in 784/1382 under the command of Shah-zāda Shaykh ʿAlī of the Djalāyīrs and Pīr ʿAli Bār Beg. Both the Djalāyīr prince and the other commander were killed in the battle. This victory increased Ķarā Meḥmed's status, and secured the Djalāyīr throne for Aḥmad, who probably married Ķarā Meḥmed's daughter after this event. His vassalage to the Djalāyīrs came to an end with the murder of Sulṭān Ḥusayn. After a series of successes—forcing the ruler of Djaʿbar, Döger Sālim Beg, to take refuge with the Mamlūk sultan for robbing the pilgrims of Mosul; besieging Mārdīn; defeating Malik ʿĪsā of the Artuķids and marrying his daughter; defeating the Aķ-Ķoyunlu with their ally Muṭahhar, the ruler of Erzindjan, and compelling them to enter the service of Ķāḍī Burhān al-Dīn—Ķarā Meḥmed defended his country heroically against the attacks of Tīmūr in 789/1387. In fact, taking advantage of Tīmūr's return to Transoxania, he captured Tabrīz the next year. After leaving troops to guard Tabrīz, returning to eastern Anatolia, he was faced with the opposition of Pīr Ḥasan Beg, one of the amīrs in his service. Pīr Ḥasan was the son of Ḥusayn Beg, who had been killed by Bayram Khōdja, and he had distinguished himself particularly in the battles with Tīmūr. Encouraged by this, and determined to avenge his father, he severed his ties of allegiance to Ķarā Meḥmed and attempted to capture his principality. His venture was successful; in a battle (Rabīʿ II 791/April 1389) Pīr Ḥasan killed Ķarā Meḥmed and seized the principality. According to some Mamlūk historians (Ibn al-Fūrāt, al-ʿAynī) Pīr Ḥasan (Ķarā Ḥasan in their works) was Ķarā Meḥmed's nephew, but this is not confirmed by other sources.

GENEALOGY OF THE ḲARĀ-ḲOYUNLU

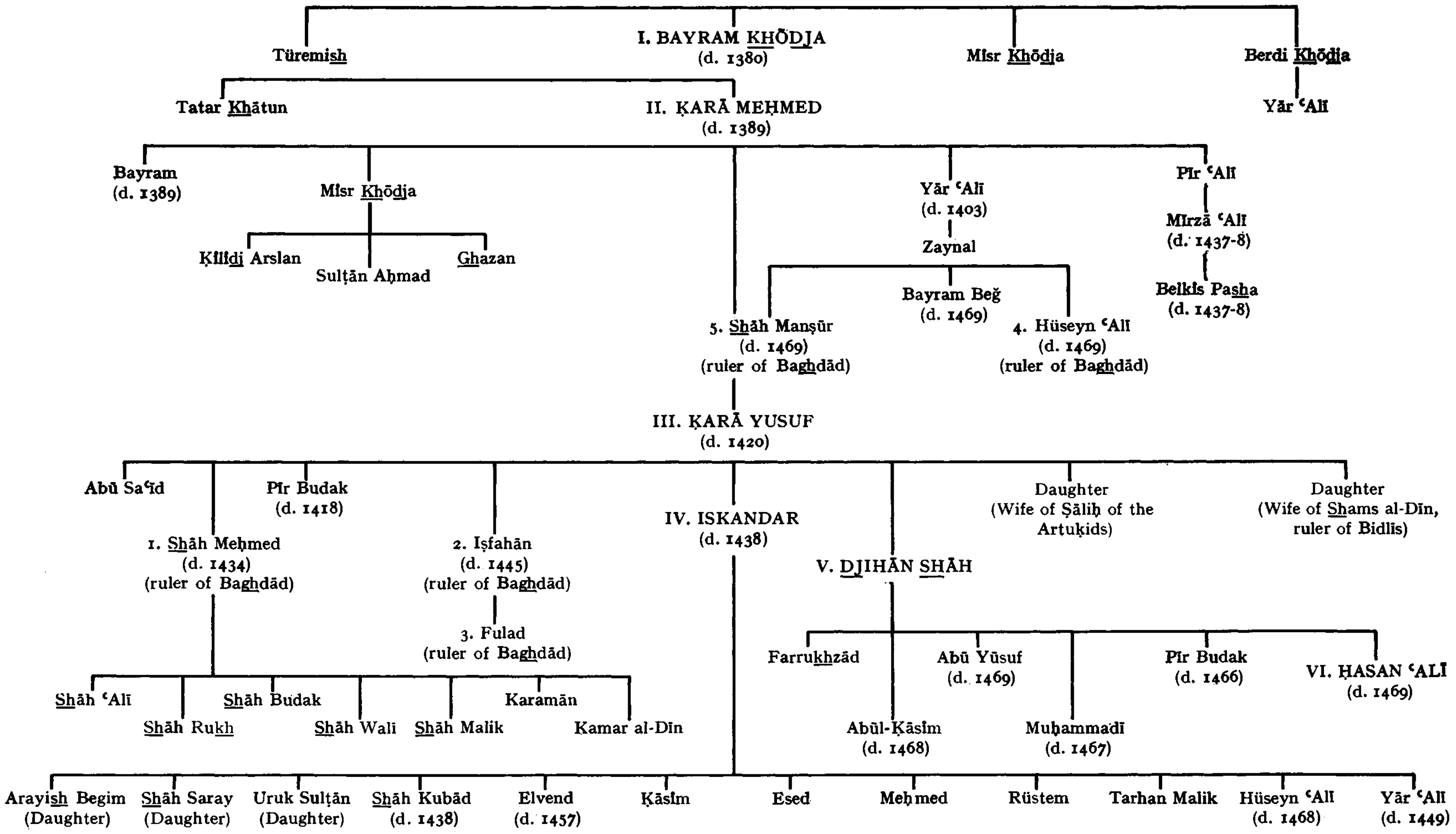

Pīr Ḥasan Beg's rule did not last long, and an important part of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu Turcomans gathered round Miṣr Khōdja, one of the sons of Ḳarā Meḥmed, and continued the struggle. But it soon became apparent that Miṣr Khōdja was a man of weak character, and he was replaced by his brother Ḳarā Yūsuf. The bitter fighting between Ḳarā Yūsuf and Pīr Ḥasan led to heavy losses on both sides. Finally, Döger Sālim Beg intervened and stopped the hostilities. Although the death of Pīr Ḥasan (793/1391) saved Ḳarā Yūsuf from his enemy, shortly afterwards he had to resume fighting with his son Ḥusayn Beg. The rule of Ḳarā Yūsuf coincided with the expansion of Tīmūr's operations in the Middle East. Like his father, Ḳarā Yūsuf opposed Tīmūr and tried to defend his country against his attacks. Taking advantage of Tīmūr's departure, he captured Tabrīz several times, and took prisoner Atlamïsh, governor of Awnik and one of Tīmūr's commanders, and sent him to Egypt (797/1395). However, when Tīmūr started invading Anatolia, Yūsuf Beg was obliged to take refuge with Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] (802/1400). In fact, Bāyezīd's offer of shelter to the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu Beg was one of Tīmūr's pretexts for opening hostilities against the Ottoman ruler. When Tīmūr entered Ottoman territory, Ḳarā Yūsuf left Anatolia (805/1402) and went to ʿIrāḳ, where he helped Sulṭān Aḥmad to suppress his son's revolt, but upon Sulṭān Aḥmad's failure to keep his word, he attacked Baghdād (805/1403). Defeated in battle by the superior forces of Tīmūr's grandsons, he went to Damascus by the desert route. Ḳarā Yūsuf and Djalāyīr Aḥmad were imprisoned in Damascus on the order of the Mamlūk sultan, who sentenced them to death shortly afterwards, but Shaykh, the governor of Damascus, ignored his command.

The Mamlūk sultan's treatment of the refugees was due to pressure exerted by Tīmūr. Before returning to his homeland for good, Tīmūr wanted to be sure that these two minor enemies of his, particularly Ḳarā Yūsuf, would not give his commanders and grandchildren any trouble in the future. In fact, if Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī's words are true, Tīmūr said to Amīr Doladay, commander of the fortress of Awnik, who had come to bid him farewell: "Don't worry about Djalāyīr Sulṭān Aḥmad, because he has been assimilated by the Tadjiks; but watch Ḳarā Yūsuf closely, because he is a Turcoman". The refusal of Shaykh, governor of Damascus, to carry out the order for their execution had nothing to do with protecting the honour of the Mamlūk state, but was the outcome of his own political aims. He released the prisoners, supplying them with provisions in 807/1405, by which time Tīmūr had returned to Samarḳand.

Shaykh, accompanied by Ḳarā Yūsuf, advanced on Cairo. Although he won the first battle, in which he followed the advice of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu Beg, he suffered defeat in a second, because most of his amīrs had defected, and he was forced to return to Damascus with a small force, consisting mainly of the Turcomans of Ḳarā Yūsuf (807/1405). Ḳarā Yūsuf returned to his homeland in eastern Anatolia at the beginning of the next year, contrary to the wish of Shaykh. Shams al-Dīn, amīr of Bidlīs, provided him with all the supplies he needed. That ʿUmar and Abū Bakr Mīrzā, grandsons of Tīmūr, who had been appointed rulers over Ādharbāydjān, Arrān, ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab and eastern Anatolia, were incompetent administrators and rivals, was a fortunate circumstance for the Ḳarā Ḳōyunlu beg. By his victories over ʿIzz al-Dīn Shīr, amīr of Van and Hakkārī, and Doladay, who was made the commander of the fortress of Awnik by Tīmūr, he regained his territories in eastern Anatolia (809/1406). His victories over Abū Bakr Mīrzā, Tīmūr's grandson, first in the Nakhdjivān area (2 Djumādā I 809/15 Oct. 1406) and later at Sard Rūd near Tabrīz (16 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda/13 April 1408) secured Ādharbāydjān. He followed this by capturing Sulṭāniyya and Hamadān, then internationally important commercial centres. Ḳarā Yūsuf's unexpected successes aroused the envy of the Djalāyīr Sulṭān Aḥmad and many other amīrs, especially as it was mainly as a result of his achievements that Sulṭān Aḥmad became the ruler of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab and Khūzistān. What is more, when in prison in Damascus, they had agreed that Ādharbāydjān be given to the Ḳarā-Ḳōyunlu and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab to Sulṭān Aḥmad. In fact, the Djalāyir ruler had become the adopted father of Pīr Budak, Ḳarā Yūsuf's son born in Damascus. A battle fought between these two former allies at the village of Asad near Tabrīz (28 Rabīʿ II 813/30 August 1410) ended in the defeat and capture of Sulṭān Aḥmad, who was later put to death. His territories in ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab were incorporated into the lands of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu, under the command of Shāh Meḥmed, Ḳarā Yūsuf's son. His other son, Pīr Budak, was declared sultan of the Ḳarā-Ḳōyunlu (814/1411). Letters bore the title *Sulṭān Pīr Budak Khān yarlïghïdïn ... Abū Naṣr Yūsuf Bahādur Noyan sözümüz*, and copper and silver coins were struck to commemorate the event.

Ḳarā Yūsuf's successive achievements were watched with growing concern by Shāh Rukh, the Čaghatayid ruler and Shaykh, the ruler of Egypt. In a short space of time, he had leapt from the modest level of a tribal chief to the exalted position of ruler of a large country. From around this time onwards, Shah Rukh in particular encouraged Ḳarā Yülük ʿOthmān, the Aḳ-Ḳōyunlu ruler of Āmid, Urfa and Kamakh, the Shīrvān-Shāh Shaykh Ibrāhīm and others, in hostility towards Ḳarā Yūsuf. The alliance of the Shīrvān-Shāh Shaykh Ibrāhīm with Arlat Sayyidī Aḥmad, the ruler of Shakī, and Köstendil (Constantine), the Georgian king, against the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu ruler, was also related to this situation. But in a battle fought on the banks of the river Kür, they were heavily defeated (Ramaḍān 814/December 1412); while Shaykh Ībrahīm managed to save himself by paying a heavy ransom, the Georgian king was put to death.

The Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu territory in Anatolia covered the Erzindjān area in the north, and the Mārdīn area in the south. Ḳarā Yūsuf had captured Erzindjān from Shaykh Ḥasan, grandson of Muṭahhar (813/1410), and Mārdīn from Malik Ṣāliḥ of the Artuḳids (812/1409). However, the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu border could be extended no further in that direction because of the resistance of Ḳarā Yülük ʿOthmān Beg of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. Although Ḳarā Yūsuf defeated this stubborn enemy many times, and even forced him to take refuge with the Mamlūks, he was never able to subdue him. Besides this, Ḳarā Yūsuf's trespassing into Mamlūk territory in an effort to catch Ḳarā Yülük, and the plunder and destruction he caused there, gave rise to hostilities between the two states. Deeply concerned that Ḳarā Yūsuf, whom he knew well, would some day be a cause of serious danger, Shaykh felt compelled to support the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Beg secretly. Returning to Mārdīn from Mamlūk territory (November-December 1418), Ḳarā Yūsuf met with an unexpected disaster, the death of his favourite son Pīr Budak; his death was

a source of deep sorrow to his father, who had returned to Tabrīz. Shaykh could not forget the destruction wreaked on his territory by the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu and the threatening letter he had received from Ḳarā Yūsuf and started preparing for war, although he was suffering from gout at the time and had to be carried. When he received the news of Shāh Rukh's attack on Ḳarā Yūsuf, he cancelled his war preparations.

Shāh Rukh, who had brought under his rule the great part of the empire founded by his father Tīmūr, would not tolerate Ādharbāydjān, and in particular, a part of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, remaining under the rule of Ḳarā Yūsuf. He had already made a number of attempts to crush him in 812/1409 and 817/1414, but had not been able to carry these through because of family squabbles. Peace negotiations came to nothing. Shāh Rukh demanded that Ḳarā Yūsuf return the cities of Sulṭāniyya and Ḳazwīn and agree to be his vassal. The Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu ruler refused, and set out from Tabrīz, his capital, to meet the Čaghatayid ruler. The news terrified the Čaghatayid army of 200,000 horsemen, although Ḳarā Yūsuf's forces consisted of 50,000 horsemen at the most. As the historian Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū noted, everyone from the Čaghatayid ruler down to the lowest-ranking soldier was doubtful of victory. Their fears turned to joy at the news of the death of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu ruler. In fact, Ḳarā Yūsuf had become seriously ill on his departure from Tabrīz, but had insisted on being carried on a stretcher. His condition worsened when he was two leagues from Udjan, and he died soon after (7 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 823/13 November 1420).

Ḳarā Yūsuf's greatness transformed the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu dynasty. When he returned home in 807/1405, he and his retinue were in a miserable state, but at his death he left his successors a large country extending from Erzindjān to Ḳazwīn and from Shīrvān to Baṣra. He was buried at Ardjish, but the site of his lavishly-constructed tomb and *zāwiya* has not been found.

The panic caused by the death of their ruler and the arrival of the Čaghatayid army was short lived. Most of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu rallied around Iskandar, one of Ḳarā Yūsuf's sons, who was known for his bravery. Iskandar defeated Ḳarā Yülük of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, who had attacked Mārdīn (Rabīʿ II 824/April 1421). This victory caused dismay among the forces of Shāh Rukh, then camped along the river Aras, but it raised the morale of the Ḳarā-Ḳōyunlu so much that they started preparing an army of 30-40,000 men for battle with Shāh Rukh on the Alashgird plain between Erzurum and Agrī. Knowing that elephants were employed in the Čaghatayid army, they trained their horses against elephants made of mud. Shāh Rukh would have preferred not to cross the shores of Lake Van and to return to Ādharbāydjān, but on the request of Ḳarā Yülük and some local amīrs he resolved to march against the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu. The three-day battle (29-30 Radjab and 1 Shaʿbān 824/30-31 July and 1 August 1421) fought on the Alashgird plain ended in victory for Shāh Rukh thanks to the numerical superiority of his forces. He could not, however, find anybody among his sons, amīrs or others, worthy to be appointed as governor of Ādharbāydjān (which made him an object of satire by some poets); no-one would accept the position for fear of Iskandar. The Čaghatayid ruler therefore returned to Khurāsān, leaving Ādharbāydjān to its former owners. Although Tabrīz was occupied by Iṣfahān, brother of Iskandar, who had commanded the left flank of the Ḳarā-Ḳōyunlu army in the battle of Alashgird, he evacuated the city and withdrew to the Pasin plain when he heard that Iskandar was on his way. Some time later he went to seek his fortune in ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab.

Iskandar spent the years 825/1422 and 827/1424 punishing the amīrs of Hakkārī and Bidlīs who had betrayed him by becoming vassals to Shāh Rukh, and annexing Van, Akhlāṭ and Mush. Attacking the Shīrvān Shāh Khalīl Allāh, one of the vassals of Shāh Rukh, in 831/1428, he plundered his territory, and in the next year captured Sultāniyya, Zandjān, Ḳazwīn and Abhar, which were subject to Shāh Rukh. Concerned at these exploits, the Čaghatayid ruler marched into Ādharbāydjān with a large army. A two-day battle (17-18 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 832/17-18 September, 1429) fought at Salmas ended in a Čaghatayid victory. In spite of this, Shāh Rukh realized that he would never be able to wipe out the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu; he therefore appointed Abū Saʿīd, the youngest son of Ḳarā Yūsuf, as amīr of Ādharbāydjān and returned home in the spring of 833/1430. Before long, Iskandar seized his brother and put him to death. His relationships with his other brothers were also strained. Shāh Meḥmed had broken off relations with his family after he had become ruler of Baghdād, while Iṣfahān, refusing to be subject to Iskandar, went to ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab and captured one by one the cities in the territory of the ineffective and foolish Shāh Meḥmed. Finally capturing Baghdād in 836/1433, he effectively robbed his brother of all his lands. As for Djihān, whose fief was around Lake Van, he resented his brother's hostile attitude towards him. Through opening hostilities against his brother in 837/1433-34, he became, like Iṣfahān, a vassal of Shāh Rukh. The acquisition of these two vassals prompted Shāh Rukh to carry out the third Ādharbāydjān expedition, despite the opposition of most of his amirs, allied to the bitter complaints of the Shīrvān Shāh, whose territories had been devastated (838/1434). Iskandar probably knew nothing definite of Djihān Shāh's action.

Calling Djihān Shāh to his presence at Rayy in 838/1434, Shāh Rukh declared him the head of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu and sent a large army against Iskandar. Withdrawing towards Erzurum, Iskandar met the forces of Ḳarā Yülük ʿOthmān of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, defeated him in a bloody battle, and took refuge in Ottoman territory when pursued by the forces of the Tīmūrids. Iskandar probably thought that he could deal with Djihān Shāh as easily as he did with Abū Saʿīd, but he suffered defeat near Tabrīz (841/1438) and took shelter in the impregnable fortress of Alīndjak, which housed his family and treasury. Besieged by Djihān Shah, Iskandar could hope only for military aid from Egypt, but the news of the death of Sulṭān Barsbāy was received at Erzindjān and the Egyptian force returned. Iskandar was murdered one night by his son Shāh Kubād (841/1438). He was one of the most courageous rulers of his time, and few were able to withstand him. It was mainly through his courage that he was able to rule his country for 18 years. However, he was devoid of political wisdom, a deficiency which led to the destruction of his lands, the misery of his people, and the sad end of his reign.

During the reign of Djihān Shāh (843-72/1439-67), the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu territory grew into a large empire and enjoyed its most brilliant phase. On the death of Iṣfahān in 848/1445, Djihān Shāh annexed ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab (849/1446), and taking advantage of the death

in 850/1447 of Shāh Rukh, whose vassal he was, he attacked the cities of Sulṭāniyya and Ķazwīn. Not content with these victories, he later took the cities of Rayy and Iṣfahān and the regions of Fārs and Kirmān. Although his Khurasān expedition failed, mainly because of the revolt of his son Ḥasan ʿAlī in 862/1458, he signed a treaty of firm friendship with Abū Saʿīd of the Tīmūrids, and thereby obtained confirmation of his sovereignty over the territories he had gained from the Čaghatayid. Djihān Shāh had reached the height of his achievements, and was the bearer of such titles as *khān*, *khāķān* and *sulṭān*. During his reign, the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu territory had become one of the major Islamic powers. Parallel to his renown as a ruler, the political, military and administrative organization of his state also reached a high level of development. Culture and learning were encouraged by Djihān Shāh, who was also a great builder. A highly cultured man, he wrote poems in Turkish and Persian under the pseudonym of *Ḥaķīķī*.

Djihān Shāh's expedition against Uzun Ḥasan Beg of the Aķ-Ķoyunlu ended in disaster through his own carelessness. He and his son Muḥammadī were killed, while another son, Yūsuf, was blinded (872/1467). His son Pīr Budak had been put to death earlier (870/1466) for rising against his father. His son Ḥasan ʿAlī, who was in prison, was therefore placed on the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu throne. Deficient in intelligence and weak in character, he could not hope to hold out against Uzun Ḥasan Beg. In fact, he was defeated by him at Marand, and had to take refuge under Abū Saʿīd, whom he had called to his aid. When Abū Saʿīd was also defeated, Ḥasan ʿAlī fled towards Hamadān, but killed himself when he realized that he could not avoid capture (Shawwāl 873/April 1469). Although his brother Yūsuf, who had been blinded, was taken to Fārs and placed on the throne by the begs of the Bahārlu, he was put to death by Ughurlu Meḥmed, son of Uzun Ḥasan Beg, in 874/1469. In that year all the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu territories passed into the hands of the Aķ-Ķoyunlu, and Ķarā-Ķōyunlu power virtually came to an end.

The organization of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu state was a continuation of that of the Djalāyirids. The fact that the last members of the dynasty, as well as some tribal begs, had such names as Yār ʿAlī, Pīr ʿAlī, Ḥasan ʿAlī, Ḥusayn ʿAlī and ʿAlī Sheker may be taken as evidence of the existence of a tendency towards Shīʿism among the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu. Moreover it is said that Iṣfahān (Ispend) had coins struck on behalf of the Twelve Imāms. On the other hand, the names of the Four Caliphs appear on the coins belonging to the reign of Djihān Shāh, and no contemporary historian has any record of his having had any inclinations towards Shīʿism. The tombstones carved in the form of rams that can now be seen in eastern Anatolia and Iran were normally erected in memory of men famed for their bravery and gallantry; some of these tombstones certainly belong to the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu.

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ĶARĀ-ĶUM [see Ķaraķum]

ĶARĀ MAḤMŪD PASHA, Ishķodralī, Bushatlī (*ca.* 1155-1211/1742-96), and important representative of the powerful north Albanian *aʿyān* family of the Bushatlī (Turkish: Budjatlī), which achieved local prominence in the mid-12th/18th century as holders of large *muķāṭaʿāt*. This family was able, between 1163/1750 and 1247/1831, to maintain itself in control of the *sandjāķ* of Ishķodra (Iskenderiye, Scutari, Skadar, the present Shkodër) and the surrounding territories as a hereditary quasi-principality.

The origins of the Bushatlī remain debatable: amongst other traditions, that of their alleged descent from Stanisha, the rebellious brother of the *vladika* Gjuragj, who, in the aftermath of the battle of Ljeshkopolje (865/1461), settled in the village of Bushat, may be balanced by a claim (unsubstantiated) to a Venetian origin, while Ķarā Maḥmūd ascribed to himself, at a critical point in his career (1201/1787), descent from Skanderbeg. Be that as it may, from the later 9th/15th until the end of the 11th/17th century, the Bushatlī are found as *sandjāķ-beyis* of Ishķodra. For example, *ca.* 1015/1604 a certain Ṭāhir Bey Bushatlī is found engaged as an auxiliary of the pasha against the Klimenti. After a period of confusion during the first half of the 12th/18th century, Ghāzī Meḥmed Pasha, the restorer of Bushatlī power in Ishķodra, and the founder of their fortunes as *aʿyān*, succeeded from *ca.* 1163/1750 in eliminating all opposition to his rule. On his death (15 Djumādā ʾl-awwal 1189/14 July 1775—not, as commonly stated, in 1184/1770 or 1193/1779, or, as stated in *EI*[1] i, 657, in 1211/1796), power passed briefly to his eldest son, Muṣṭafā, and then (1190/1776) to his second son, Maḥmūd, who came rapidly to exercise "presque impunément une autorité souveraine dans ce pays" (Capriate, Venetian consul at Durazzo (Durrës), 1782).

As *sandjāķ-beyi* of Ishķodra, with the honorary rank of *mīrmīrān*, Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha found it possible to profit from the internal weakness of the Ottoman state and its involvement in successive wars with Russia and Austria, by reducing to obedience much of northern and central Albania, and engaging in incessant warfare with, *e.g.*, Okhrīlī Aḥmed Pasha to the east and the much better-known Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pasha to the south. With the *wālīs* of Bosnia, to the north, Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha also came into conflict, establishing his control over the fortresses of Podghoridja (Podgorica) and Ishpuzi (Špuz). Internally, he consolidated his power by an alliance with the highland Malisors and by an economic policy of encouraging trade—especially Venetian trade—through Ishķodra. Like his father, he drew considerable financial advantage from this commerce.

It was believed in Istanbul—and possibly with reason—that the authority of the *ķāḍīs* had lapsed and that the *Sharīʿa* was no longer enforced in the territories under Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha's control. The Porte, accordingly, declared him a rebel, sending (1199/1784-5) an expedition under the *kapudan pasha* Djezāʾirli Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*]; Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha was forced to surrender, but was pardoned and reinstated as *sandjāķ-beyi* of Ishķodra. Shortly afterwards (1785) he invaded Montenegro, and at the same time began to intrigue with Austria against the sultan in exchange for a promise of recognition as an independent ruler, an act which may have precipitated an unsuccessful second Ottoman expedition against him in 1200-1/1786-7, led by Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pasha and the *wālī* of Rumili, Aydoslu Meḥmed Pasha. Pardoned once more, in exchange for his rendering military assistance against Austria, and after having demonstrated his loyalty to the sultan by effecting the massacre of an Austrian mission under Brugnard in Shaʿbān 1202/May 1788, Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha was invested with the titular *wālīlīķ* of Anatolia and appointed commander (*serʿasker*) of the Ottoman forces assembled at Yeñi-

pazar (1204/1789). The following year he acted as *ser'asker* at Widin, but was soon once more in revolt, being now dismissed from command.

Returned to Is͟hḳodra, Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pas͟ha resisted successfully the new sultan, Selīm III, who in 1208/1793 sent against him the *wālī* of Rumili, Ebū Bekir Pas͟ha. A further attempt to remove him, made by Tepedelenli 'Alī Pas͟ha, in 1209/1794, was also unsuccessful.

During these years Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pas͟ha had also engaged in hostilities with the *njegoš* Petar I Petrovič of Montenegro in a futile effort to bring the Montenegrins under his control. In the second of two expeditions undertaken against them in 1211-12/1796, Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pas͟ha's force was routed and he himself slain (Rabī' I 1211/September 1796) in circumstances which are commemorated by the Montenegrin epic ballad *Pjesen*. His head was for long preserved in a church at Cetinje; his body was eventually buried at Podgorica.

There is no doubt that, compared with *e.g.* Tepedelenli 'Alī Pas͟ha, the importance of the Bus͟hatli family in general, and of Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pas͟ha in particular, for the history of the Balkan *a'yanate* of the 18th-19th centuries, has been underestimated. Recent attempts, however, to read into the activities of Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pas͟ha an Albanian proto-national significance should perhaps be treated with considerable reserve.

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The official and private correspondence of the Bushatli family survives in part in the Albanian State Archives (see Selami Pulaha, *Matériaux documentaires en langue osmano-turque des archives albanaises*..., in *Studia Albanica*, iii/1 (1966), 187-98. For a Ms. once belonging to the family see J. Blaskovič, *Arabische, Türkische und Persische Hss. der Universitätsbibliothek in Bratislava*, no. 569. A few notices of what are doubtless far more extensive Başvekâlet Arşivi materials have been provided by I. H. Uzunçarşılı and S. J. Shaw, in their works indicated above; a number of Turkish documents (*sid̲jills* preserved in the Oriental Institute, Sarajevo) relating to Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pas͟ha have been utilized by M. Spaho, *Skadarski mutesarif Mahmud Paşa Buşatlija prema turskim dokumentima*, in *Istoriski Zapisi*, xx/3 (1963), 669-81. (C. J. Heywood)

ḲARĀ MUṢṬAFĀ PAS͟HA, MERZIFONLU, MAḲTŪL, Ottoman Grand Vizier.

According to the "official" Ottoman accounts (*e.g.*, Rās͟hid, *Tā'rīk͟h*[2], i, 430), Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha was of Turkish origin, born in 1044/1634-5 into the Anatolian "feudal gentry", his father, whose name is given in this tradition as Urud̲j Beg (but as Ḥasan Ag͟ha in *S'O*, iv, 402), being a member of the *a'yān-i sipāhīyān* and one of those who fell in the siege of Bag͟hdād by Murād IV in 1048/1638. A friendship was said to have existed between his father and Köprülü Meḥmed Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], in whose household, accordingly, the son was brought up, educated with Köprülü's own son, Aḥmed.

The relationship thus apparently established between the house of Köprülü and Ḳarā Muṣṭafā certainly determined, in large measure, the latter's subsequent political career, but other, and often conflicting, accounts of his origins and early years have survived from the time preceding his nomination to the Grand Vizierate in 1087/1676. According to a report prepared for the French ambassador de Nointel at some time between March 1675 and October 1676 (appended in Ch. Schéfer, ed., *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople* (1672-1673), Paris 1881, ii, 186-207), Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha was at that time "aagé de quarante-huit ans ou environ" (*i.e.*, born *ca.* 1036/1626-7) and the son of a *sipāhī* called Derwīs͟h Beg, of Merzifon. His father gave him, at the age of eighteen (? *ca.* 1054/1644-5), to Meḥmed Köprülü, who made him an *ič-og͟hlan* in his service, promoting him to *silāḥdār* on his own appointment as *müsellim* for the *eyālet* of S͟hām (Damascus) (cf. Silāḥdār, *Ta'rīk͟h*, Istanbul 1928, i, 225), and, subsequently, to be his *mühürdār* (seal-bearer). On the appointment of Meḥmed Köprülü to the governorship of the *eyālet* of Ṭrablūs al-S͟hām (report *apud* Schefer, 186: in 1065/1654-5, cf. Silāḥdār i, 226) he raised Ḳarā Muṣṭafā to be one of his *ag͟hās*; shortly afterwards, on assuming the Grand Vizierate (1066/1655-6), Meḥmed Köprülü summoned Ḳarā Muṣṭafā from Merzifon—where he had retired because of illness—and appointed him to his *telk͟hīṣd̲ji*—"celuy que le Pacha depesche au Grand Seigneur lorsqu'il a quelque chose de consequence à lui faire scavoir" (cf. Rās͟hid[2], i, 430-1).

A third conflicting early account of Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha's origins is supplied in a *relazione* compiled c. 1680 by the Venetian *bailo* Morosini di Alvise (N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Relazioni*, Series v, *Turchia* i/2, Venice 1872, 207, and cf. 259), which seems to reflect a tradition current even in the 1660s

(cf. Roger North, *Life... of Sir Dudley North*, London 1744, 73). This relates that Ḳara Muṣṭafā was born "among the dregs of the people" ("nato per castigo de' popoli") near Trabzon (? a dragoman's misreading of "Merzifon"). Ḳarā Muṣṭafā obtained a post as one of the lowest domestics of Meḥmed Köprülü—who had indeed for a short time governed the *eyālet* of Trabzon *ca.* 1054-5/1644-5 (cf. Silāḥdār, i, 225) (this providing some support to the chronology of the account published by Schéfer).

Amongst this conflicting evidence no clear path can be charted. The "official" account is circumstantially weak and appears to be a romantic *ex post facto* construction. Epigraphic evidence, however, confirms at least that Ḳarā Muṣṭafā was a native of Merzifon or, more precisely, of the nearby village of Marīndja (now Bahčekent), where he founded a mosque, a fountain, and a library (A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*. ii, Paris 1934, 71; *Amasya İl yıllığı*, n.p., n.d., 187-8). Only upon the appointment of his patron, Meḥmed Köprülü, to the Grand Vizierate in 1066/1656 does Ḳarā Muṣṭafā become a visible public figure.

He participated in the campaign undertaken by the Grand Vizier against Transylvania in 1068/1658, and, on the Ottoman capture of the important fortress of Yanova (Jenö) (3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1068/1 September 1658) he was employed—as *telkhīṣdji* to Meḥmed Köprülü—to convey the news of the success to Meḥemmed IV (Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Ta'rīkh-i Ghilmānī*, ed. A. Refīḳ, in *TOEM*, supp., 1340, 54) and as a reward was taken into the Outside Service of the Sultan, being appointed to the office of *küčük mīrakhor* (Silāḥdār, i, 127, 140).

On 3 Djumādā II 1070/15 February 1660 Ḳara Muṣṭafa "Āghā" was appointed *beglerbegi* of Silistre, from which office he was removed on 26 Shaʿbān 1071/16 April 1661 in order to superintend the removal of the *Wālide sulṭān* from Edirne to Istanbul. Shortly afterwards, he was raised to the rank of Vizier and appointed *wālī* of Diyārbakr (Silāḥdār i, 181-2, 217; Rāshid[2] i, 13; ii, 430).

His dependence on the continuing ascendancy of the Köprülü family was also soon apparent. Shortly after the death of Meḥmed Köprülü and the appointment to the Grand Vizierate of his son, Fāḍīl Aḥmed Köprülü (7-8 Rabīʿ I 1072/31 Oct.-1 Nov. 1661), Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha was appointed *Ḳapudān Pasha* on 1 Djumādā I/23 December of the same year (Silāḥdār i, 221; Rāshid[2] i, 23). In this capacity he commanded the Ottoman fleet in the Aegean Sea, returning to Istanbul in Djumādā II 1073/January 1663, in time to take part in the great military parade held before the sultan at Edirne on 28 Shaʿbān 1073/7 April 1663. In the official description of this event he ranked second in the list of participants—an indication of his steadily improving political fortunes.

He did not serve in the campaigns undertaken by Aḥmed Köprülü in Hungary. On the departure of the army and the Grand Vizier from Edirne (5 Ramaḍān 1073/13 April 1663), he was appointed *ḳā'immaḳām* [*q.v.*], a position which allowed him to exercise an increasing influence on the sultan and on affairs of state. At the same time he was permitted to retain the office of the *ḳapudānlīk-i deryā*, administering it through a deputy (Silāḥdār i, 241; Rāshid[2] i, 26-7). During this period his duties, as recorded in the Ottoman sources, appear to have been largely only ceremonial, but it was rumoured among western diplomats that he was already aiming at the Grand Vizierate and intriguing with the sultan against Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pasha (Silāḥdār i, 231 ff., *passim*; Knolles, *Generall Historie*[6], ii, 163).

As *Ḳapudan Pasha*, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā accompanied Meḥemmed IV on an inspection of the fortifications of the Dardanelles (Ṣafar to Rabīʿ II 1076/August to October 1665), and was subsequently put in charge of naval preparations for the planned final reduction of Crete. His actions at this time, in attempting to commandeer for transport purposes ships of the European maritime powers, were resisted by their representatives at the Porte, and contributed materially to the exaggerated accounts concerning him which became current in Europe.

In Shaʿbān 1076/February 1666 he briefly resumed the post of *ḳā'immaḳām*, accompanying Meḥemmed IV on a hunting expedition to Čataldja. While there (1-14 Shaʿbān/6-19 February) he was dismissed as *Ḳapudan Pasha* but received in compensation promotion to the rank of Second Vizier, as part of a complicated reassignment of posts (Silāḥdār i, 392-3). At this point, with the siege of Ḳandiye entrusted to the Grand Vizier, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā became once more *ḳā'immaḳām* (5 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1076/9 May 1666), a post which he retained until the return of the Grand Vizier to Edirne on 8 Ṣafar 1081/27 June 1670 (Silāḥdār i, 409, 558).

During these years Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha remained in close attendance on Meḥemmed IV, but his ascendancy appears to have been threatened by the sudden rise to a position of influence of the sultan's boon companion Muṣṭafā Agha, who was given the rank of Second Vizier on 28 Muḥarram 1077/31 July 1666 (thus causing Ḳara Muṣṭafā's demotion to the rank of Third Vizier) and who was regarded in court circles as equal in rank to the *ḳā'immaḳām* (Silāḥdār i, 430).

In Shawwāl 1078/March-April 1668 Ḳarā Muṣṭafā accompanied Meḥemmed IV to Yeñishehir-i Fenār (Lárissa), in order to observe more closely the progress of the siege of Ḳandiye. Here he lived with great pomp and magnificence—his military band attracting the particular attention of foreign visitors—dividing his time between the reception of envoys and hunting with Meḥemmed IV in his frequent expeditions throughout Thessaly. It was on one of these excursions, while encamped at Livadya in Djumādā' I 1080/October 1669 that Ḳarā Muṣṭafā carried to the sultan the news of the capitulation of Ḳandiye (Silāḥdār i, 483 ff., 501 ff., 554-5).

In the interval of peace (1669-72) between the end of the Cretan campaign and the outbreak of war with Poland, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha, still with the rank of Third Vizier, remained close to the sultan (cf. Silāḥdār i, 562-8).

Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha played an active, if subordinate, role in the Polish campaign of 1083/1672, this being the first time since 1068/1658 that he had seen service in the field. He was present at the siege of Khotin and later commanded the right wing at the opening of the siege of Ḳamaniče (1083/1672). After the Ottoman capture of Bučash (Buczacz), an operation which he commanded, he was appointed chief plenipotentiary in the negotiations with the Poles and concluded with them the cessation of hostilities which transferred Podolia to Ottoman control and recognized the western Ukraine as an Ottoman protectorate (Silāḥdār i, 568 ff., 582-5, 592 ff., 610, 611 ff.).

It would seem that after his return from Poland Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha was able further to establish his influence with the sultan. Having, earlier in his

career, married a daughter of Meḥmed Köprülü, he was on 4 Rabīʿ II 1086/29 May 1675, as part of the ceremonies held at Edirne in honour of the circumcision of the sons of Meḥemmed IV, betrothed to the sultan's daughter, Küčük Sulṭān.

During the last illness of Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā was authorized by the sultan to take over the public functions of the Grand Vizier—functions which he exercised first at a *dīwān* held in the Oḳ Meydānī at Istanbul on 17 <u>Dj</u>umādā 1087/28 July 1676. On 2 <u>Sh</u>aʿbān/10 October of the same year he was appointed *yol ḳāʾimmaḳāmī* for the journey of Meḥemmed IV from Istanbul to Edirne. The Grand Vizier himself, following behind, died on the road between Čorlu and Ḳarī<u>sh</u>tīran. The seals of office were brought on 26-7 <u>Sh</u>aʿbān 1087/3 November 1676 to the sultan, who invested Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pa<u>sh</u>a with the Grand Vizierate (Rā<u>sh</u>id², i, 332-4; Silāḥdār, i, 651-2).

Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pa<u>sh</u>a occupied the Grand Vizierate for seven years (<u>Sh</u>aʿbān 1087/November 1676 to 6 Muḥarram 1095/25 December 1683. His domestic policies were conservative, frequently rapacious, and designed both for the exigencies of a war economy and for his personal enrichment. Morosini di Alvise, for example, described him as "tutto venale, crudele e ingiusto" (*op. cit.*, 207). Principle, nonetheless, was on occasion allowed to override the financial interests of the state: thus in <u>Dh</u>u ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1091/November-December 1680 he decreed the (temporary) abolition of the <u>*kh*</u>*amr emāneti*, the excise on wine, it being argued that for the state to profit from the sale of wine was contrary to the <u>*Sh*</u>*arīʿa*. In the same spirit he restored (1087/1676) the ancient custom that the Grand Vizier and his assistants should tour the markets of Istanbul on Wednesdays, and refused to admit to other than public audience the interpreters of western ambassadors, on the grounds that they were of *reʿāyā* status (Silāḥdār i, 735; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1962, 126, n; Knolles, *op. cit.*, ii, 264).

In his dealings with the envoys of Christian states and with the merchant communities in Istanbul and the other ports of the Ottoman Empire, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pa<u>sh</u>a seems to have been animated by an "intense xenophobia" (Mantran, *op. cit.*, 527), which had been remarked as early as 1074/1663 (cf. a harsh letter of that year to the English ambassador, omitting the customary salutations (Leicester, County Record Office), but which became more strongly marked after his assumption of the Grand Vizierate (*e.g.*, the exactions laid upon the Dutch for the renewal of their Capitulations, upon the French over their bombardment of Chios, and against the English in a constant stream of *avania*s during the years 1676-83). Despite this, the Dutch ambassador Colyer could describe him in 1677 as "een stout ende prompt, ondernement man" (K. Heeringa, ed., *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, ii (1661-1726), The Hague 1917 (= Rijksgeschiedkundige Publicatiën, 34), 227, n.), and several observers spoke at this time of his deep interest in, and knowledge of, the affairs of Europe—a knowledge which he perhaps acquired in large part from the Phanariot Alexander Mavrocordato (cf. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on the MSS. of Allan George Finch, Esq.*, ii (London 1922), 62; Berchet, *op. cit.*, 187, 209; Schéfer, *op. cit.*, ii, 205).

In foreign affairs, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pa<u>sh</u>a continued, but with less careful statecraft, the policies of his two illustrious predecessors. Circumstances, and perhaps—as was at the time alleged—his personal predilections, enforced a preoccupation with the northern frontiers of the Empire and with those Christian states—Russia, Poland and Austria—which lay beyond its borders. In his relations with these states he attempted, with little success, to make use of often refractory Ottoman vassals, such as the Cossack hetman Doroshenko, the Hungarian magnate Imre Thököly, and the then <u>*kh*</u>*ān* of the Crimea, Selīm Girāy II. His policy has been commonly regarded as war for its own sake, but some at least of his actions seem rather to have been attempts to consolidate or define the Ottoman presence in those disputed areas—most notable the Ukraine and Hungary—which formed buffer zones between the Ottoman state and the recognized lands of *dār al-ḥarb*.

The years from 1087/1676 to 1092/1681 were entirely taken up with the problem of the Dniepr frontier. The settlement between Poland and the Ottoman Empire, which had been concluded at Izvan<u>dj</u>a/Zurawno shortly before the death of Aḥmed Köprülü, had opened the door to Russo-Ottoman rivalry in the Ukraine, but the defection from the Ottoman camp of the hetman Doroshenko led directly to Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pa<u>sh</u>a's unsuccessful first Russian campaign (1088/1677). In a second expedition which was launched in the following year, the Cossack stronghold of Čehrin was taken (Ra<u>dj</u>ab 1089/August 1687) and later demolished (Silāḥdār, i, 672-722; the *feth-nāme* celebrating the event, *ibid.*, 714). The essentially defensive nature of these campaigns was underlined by the construction (1090/1679) of new Ottoman fortresses on the Dniepr and Bug rivers, and by a third inconclusive campaign in 1091/1680, which led to a Russo-Ottoman truce (22 Ṣafar 1092/13 March 1681).

Ottoman relations with Russia and Poland being thus stabilized, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pa<u>sh</u>a was free to turn his attention to the affairs of Hungary and to the planning of offensive warfare against Austria. To this end he recognized (1093/1682) the Hungarian malcontent Thököly as puppet ruler and refused to renew except on the severest terms the twenty-year truce of Vasvár, due to expire in 1684. At the same time extensive military preparations were undertaken; finally, in Muḥarram 1094/December 1682, a large army with Meḥemmed IV and Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pa<u>sh</u>a at its head departed from Edirne for a major campaign in Hungary and for the fateful second Ottoman attempt to capture Vienna (Silāḥdār, ii, 1 ff.).

This final, disastrous phase of Ḳarā Muṣṭafā's career—the progress of the campaign, the unsuccessful siege of Vienna, and the failure of the Grand Vizier to survive politically the consequences of military defeat—cannot be treated in detail here. It has, in any case, received considerable (if often uncritical) attention from contemporary and later observers (see Bibliography, below). Nor, perhaps, should the defeat of Ḳarā Muṣṭafā before Vienna be viewed in the totally apocalyptic light cast on it at the time and subsequently. In the context of Ottoman warfare it may be regarded as no more than the unexpected failure of a single campaign: after the siege was lifted (20 Ramaḍān 1094/12 September 1683) Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pa<u>sh</u>a fell back on Yanīḳ (Raab, Györ) (22-25 Ramaḍān), and from thence retreated to Buda, where he arrived on 30 Ramaḍān/22 September. There he attempted to regroup his forces and to restore the shattered defences of the frontier, *e.g.*, by sending 6000 men from the Buda garrison

to reinforce Ujvár (Silāḥdār ii, 85-96, *passim*). There is no evidence that while at Buda his authority as Grand Vizier was in any way questioned, or that his standing with the sultan was impaired by the failure at Vienna; what is clear is that having strengthened, to the best of his ability, the defences of the frontier, and having left Ḳarā Meḥmed Pas͟ha as *serdār* in Hungary, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā departed with the army for Belgrade, where he went into winter quarters on 28 D͟hu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1094/18 November 1683 (Silāḥdār ii, 107, 113).

It was at this time that his political fortunes began to ebb. On 29 Ramaḍān/21 September his *telk͟hīṣd͟ji*, Ismāʿīl Ag͟ha, had arrived at the sultan's camp before Belgrade with the news of the defeat of the Ottoman army and its retreat to Yanîḳ. The Grand Vizier informed the sultan that he would remain at Buda until *rūz-i ḳāsîm* (26 October, old style, *i.e.*, 5 November) and would then go into winter quarters at Belgrade, from whence, in the following spring, a large and victorious army would, with the sultan's permission, attempt to regain the losses of the past campaign (Silāḥdār ii, 117 f.). The result of this communication was a series of consultations among the officers attendant on the sultan; robes of honour and a bejewelled sword—signs of royal favour—were despatched to the Grand Vizier at Buda. But with Meḥemmed IV's own departure from Belgrade on 21 S͟hawwāl/13 October, and especially after the sultan's arrival at Edirne (16 Dhu ʾl-Ḥid͟jd͟ja/6 December), Ḳarā Muṣṭafā's political enemies were able to turn the sultan against him. His execution was decreed (23 Dhu ʾl-Ḥid͟jd͟ja/13 December), and was carried out at Belgrade by officers sent from Edirne on 6 Muḥarram 1095/25 December 1683 (description in Silāḥdār ii, 119).

Bibliography: Beyond the references given in the text, a necrology of Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha is provided by Rās͟hid*, i, 430 ff. and an appreciation of his character and account of his pious foundations at Istanbul, G͟halaṭa, Edirne, D͟jidda, Merzifon, *ibid.*, 431-2; cf., for further details, the article by M. Münir Aktepe in *İA*, s.v. Mustafa Paşa, Merzifonlu. The account given in *SʿO* is erroneous in its chronology. For general treatments of the period of Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha see Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 334 ff.; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Hamburg-Gotha, 1840-63, v, *passim*; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* iii, Ankara 1951-4; cf. further the works by Ahmed Refik and Cevat Üstün (in Turkish) listed by Aktepe, *loc. cit.*

The epigraphic material connected with Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha has not been brought together. Cf., however, A. Gabriel, *op. cit.*, ii, *passim*, and also Oral Onur, *Edirne Türk tarihi vesikalarından kitabeler*, Istanbul 1972, 25: *čes͟hme* erected by Ḳarā Muṣṭafā in 1077/1667 (reproduced in Osman Nuri Peremeci, *Edirne Tarihi*, Istanbul 1939, pl. 30) and Onur, *op. cit.*, 26: a further *čes͟hme* of uncertain date. The mosque built at Marînd͟ja by Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha for his mother is reproduced in Şehabeddin Uygun, *Merzifon İlčesi* (n.p., 1938), 7. The tombstone erected at the Ṣarîd͟ja Pas͟ha mosque in Edirne (where Ḳarā Muṣṭafā's head was buried) is reproduced by H. T. Dağlioglu, *Edirne mezarları*, in *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, iii (1936), 167, 179. For his relations with the maritime powers see A. Vandal, *Les voyages du marquis de Nointel* (1670-1680), Paris 1900; and the reports of European travellers listed in *EI*[1], by F. Babinger, Cf. also K. Heeringa, *op. cit.*, *passim* (167 ff., *avania* levied on the Dutch ship *Keyser Octavianus*; 228 ff., the struggle over the renewal of the Dutch Capitulations); Roger North, *op. cit.*, 71-102: "A Relation of diverse Turkish Avanias, since [*i.e.*, in] the government of Cara Mustapha Basha, Vizier Azem"; Knolles, cont. Rycaut, ii, *passim*; Hist. Mss. Comm., *Report on Finch MSS.* (see *supra*), i (London 1913), 201 ff.; ii (1922), 62-166, *passim* (*avanias* on English trade as *Kapudan Pasha*, *ḳāʾimmaḳām* and Grand Vizier); G. F. Abbot, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, London 1920. For unpublished Turkish sources on the Čehrin campaign of 1089/1678 see Agah Sırrı Levend, *Gazavāt-nāmeler*, Ankara 1956, 129-30 (an anonymous *relazione*), and 130: ʿAbd ül-Kerīm, *Aḥvāl-i sefer-i Čehrin*; also J. Blaškovič, *Die arabische, türkische und persische Hss. der Universitätsbibl. in Bratislava*, 1961, 346-52: extended notice of *G͟hazānāme-i Čehrin*, by ʿAlī Beg el-Užičevi, who dedicated it to Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha. The Ottoman sources, both published and unpublished, for the campaign against Vienna have been surveyed and analysed by Richard F. Kreutel, *Osmanische Berichte über Kara Muṣṭafās Feldzug gegen Wien*, in *WI*, NS xxi/4 (1969), 196-227. Numerous accounts of the siege itself exist in western languages: the most recent—John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna*, London 1964, and Thomas W. Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent*, Albany, N.Y., 1967—have not entirely superseded earlier studies by Camesina (1865), Klopp (1882) and von Renner and Toifel (1883). The contemporary western pamphlet literature, much of it sensational and quite unreliable, is immense. For the *beyān-nāmes* (invitations to submit) issued by Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha in the course of the Vienna campaign see K͟halīl Edhem [Eldem], *Kara Muṣṭafā Pas͟hanîn S͟hopron ahālisine beyānnāmesi*, in *TOEM*, nos. 16-17; J. H. Mordtmann, *Die Kapitulation von Konstantinopel im J.* 1453, in *BZ*, xxi (1912): *beyān-nāme* addressed to the people of Vienna; contemporary English translation in Knolles, cont. Rycaut, ii, 290).

(C. J. Heywood)

ḲARĀ ʿOT͟HMĀN-OG͟HLÎ (mod.: Karaosmanoğlu), name of an *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] family active in Manisa and district from the end of the 11th/17th century. The Ḳarā ʿOt͟hmān who gave his name to the family was the son of Meḥmed Čavus͟h, a *müteferriḳa* [*q.v.*] of the Palace, known also as Ḳara Čavus͟h, who founded a mosque in 1050/1640 at the village of Yaya, near Manısa and was later buried there (*TV*, IX (1942), 198; see *Bibl.*). Meḥmed was the son of a certain Ḥasan Ag͟ha, also a *müteferriḳa*.

Ḳarā ʿOt͟hmān, a native of Yaya, on retiring from service as a *sipāhī*, acted as *ketk͟hüda* to the *mütesellim* and *emīn* for the *beyt ül māl-i ʿāmme* and the *muḳāṭaʿa* of the Imperial Domains (*k͟hāṣṣa*). In 1102-3/1691 he was ordered to seize for the state the property of the *timar*-holders and *zaʿīms* who had failed to present themselves for service on the Vienna campaign. This interlude left him extremely wealthy. He died in 1118/1706 in the village of Yaya (M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Karaosmanoğullarına ait düşünceler*, III. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 1948, 245). There is thus a period of 72 years between Meḥmed Čavus͟h's death and Ḳarā ʿOt͟hmān's death in 1118/1706. A newly discovered *wakfiyya* indicates that Ḳarā ʿOt͟hmān could have had a father called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Münir Aktepe, *Manisa âyânlarından Kara Osman-oğlu Mustafa Ağa ve üç vakfiyesi hakkında*

bir araştırma, in *Vakiflar Dergisi*, ix (1971), 369, 370).

Ḳarā ʿOthmān-oghlî amassed sufficient wealth and prestige for the members of his family henceforth to assume the name ʿOthmān-zāde or Ḳarā ʿOthmān-oghlî. After Ḳarā ʿOthmān's death, the headship of the family passed to Muṣṭafā, one of his four sons, the others being Ibrāhīm, ʿAbd Allāh and Aḥmad. During Aḥmad III's reign, Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Agha increased his influence while seeking to avoid a direct clash with the government. The war with Persia led the state to neglect the Empire's internal problems, at the same time allowing influential and powerful men, such as Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Agha, to oust the less successful contenders for power in the provinces and to extend their own influence. In 1152/1739 he assisted in the operations to remove Ṣarî Beyoghlî Muṣṭafā and other brigands marauding in the regions of Denizli, Aydîn, and Ṣarukhān. He was later to take part in other campaigns at the summons of the government. His support of the government helped the Ḳarā ʿOthmān-oghlî dynasty to establish its hegemony in the region. Muṣṭafā Agha, already *emīn* for the *beyt ül māl-i ʿāmme* and for the *muḳāṭaʿa* of the Imperial domains in Manisa, profited from his activity on the government's behalf to become *mütesellim* of Sarukhān in 1156/1743. He kept his position until 1167/1754, when the populace complained of his illegal activities as *mütesellim*. He was found guilty and executed in the same year (Wāṣîf, *Taʾrīkh*, Būlāḳ 1243, i, 59).

The family's influence, however, did not end with Muṣṭafā Agha's execution. His eldest son, ʿAṭāʾ Allāh succeeded in becoming *mütesellim* of Ṣarukhān, but in 1174/1761 he was dismissed for incompetence and for improprieties committed during his term of office. He was recommended to retire to the village of Yaya, but chose instead to fight against the men who had played a part in bringing about his father's execution. He was defeated in the ensuing struggle and died in 1181/1767. The headship of the family soon afterwards passed to Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Agha's other son, Aḥmad Agha, who gathered the other members around himself and succeeded, in 1183/1769, in becoming *voyvoda* of Akhiṣār. After being forced out of the post he became, in 1184/1770, *voyvoda* of İzmir and *muḥafîẓ* of Sandjaḳburnî (Sancakburnu). Close family ties and a sharp eye for opportunities enabled the Ḳarā ʿOthmān dynasty to extend the areas under its influence. In 1187/1773, Aḥmad Agha achieved the rank of *ḳapîdjî bashî* [*q.v.*] at the Palace and in 1190/1776 became a *mültezim* of the *sandjaḳ*. The fact that his other brother Meḥmed Agha was a *mütesellim* of the *sandjaḳ* of Ṣarukhān meant that the whole *sandjak* now came under the control of the Ḳarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family. The distinguished service of ʿÖmer and ʿOthmān Aghas in the Russian war of 1201-6/1787-92 brought further benefits to the family.

With the weakening of the provincial government towards the end of the 12th/18th century, officials of the second rank, such as *mütesellim*s, *muḥaṣṣîl*s or *voyvoda*s, came to dominate local administrations, thanks to the wealth which they had amassed. The Ḳarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family is typical of these dynasties, which were now assuming a distinctive form under the general title of *aʿyān* [*q.v.*]. Towards the end of the 12th/18th century, the Ḳarā ʿOthmān family extended its power beyond the boundaries of Ṣarukhān. Various members of the family were respectively *mütesellim* of Aydîn and *voyvoda*s of Turgutlu, Menemen and Bergama. Ḥādjdjī Ḥüseyn Agha became *muḥāfîẓ* of İzmir and *mubāyaʿadjî* of the quay. It was during the time of ʿÖmer Agha that the Ḳarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family, who by now had acquired the *mütesellim*-ship of Isparta and the *voyvoda*-ship of Gelenbe, became the most influential dynasty in western Anatolia. ʿÖmer Agha was said to be the richest of the *aʿyān* of the period. He was among the influential *aʿyān* of Anatolia and Rumelia who received invitations during the reign of Selīm III [*q.v.*] to discuss the government of the empire, and he put his signature to the document of agreement (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Meşhur Rumeli âyânlarından Tirsinikli Ismail, Yılıkoğlu Süleymân Agalar ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1942, 142, 143, 144).

When Maḥmūd II attempted to establish a strong, centralised administration, he did not at first interfere with the powerful Ḳarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family. Their turn came only when the others had been removed. However, the revolt in the Morea and the opening of the Russian campaign seem to have regained for the Ḳarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family some of its former dignity, even if this was only for a short time. Then in 1244/1829 two members of the family died, one of whom was ʿÖmer Agha, the *voyvoda* of Bergama, and the other Ḥüseyn Agha, the *mütesellim* of Manısa. No other members of the family were appointed in their place, but instead the posts reverted to the government. When the central government re-established its authority in the provinces and the power of the *aʿyān* diminished, the Ḳarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family was quick to adapt to the new conditions, as the careers of Pūlād Meḥmed's sons Eyyūb Agha, and Yaʿḳūb Pasha exemplify (Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1305, v, 96). In 1249/1833 Eyyūb Agha became *mütesellim* of Manısa and two years later achieved the rank of Chiet Equerry (*Istabl-i ʿāmire müdürlüğü*). His brother Yaʿḳūb Pasha was many times *wālī* of Aydîn (1249-52/1833-6, 1257/1841, 1261-3/1845-7). Eyyūb Agha was *muḥaṣṣîl* of Manisa between 1255/1839 and 1258/1842, and died in 1261/1845 while *ḳāʾimmaḳām* of Aydîn. His son, Ṣādıḳ Beg, was at various times *ḳāʾimmaḳām* of Aydîn and, like his father, became Imperial Equerry. With his death in 1277/1861, the influence of the Ḳarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family in the district, already weakened, faded altogether.

Nevertheless, the family continued to produce some noteworthy members. ʿOthmān Beg and Khālid Pasha, for example, worked with the organisations established to fight the War of Independence. When the Greeks entered Manisa, Khālid Pasha began to fight at the head of a guerilla group which he had formed, but met his death on 23 June 1919. Between 1923 and 1950, the family produced such noteworthy figures as Meḥmed Riḍā (Mehmed Rıza), Suʿād Kānī (Suat Kânî) and Nāʾim (Naim). The family's most famous member in the Republican era is the writer and politician Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī ʿOthmān-oghlî (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu), Ḳadrī Beg's son and Yaʿḳūb Pasha's grandson. Members of the family are still living at Manisa and Ḳîrḳ-aghač (Kırkağaç).

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(C. Orhonlu)

ḲARĀ PAPAKH [see ḲARAPAPAKH].

ḲARĀ ṢU [see AL-FURĀT].

ḲARĀ ṢŪ-BĀZĀR [see ḲARAṢŪ-BĀZĀR].

ḲARĀ TAKÎN [see ḲARATIGIN].

ḲARĀ YAZÎDJÎ (?947-1011/?1540-1602), whose real name was ʿABD AL-ḤALĪM, is one of the best-known leaders of the Djelālī rebellions [see SUPPLEMENT, s.v.] in Turkey. It was previously believed that he started the rebellions, but investigations have proved that he appeared on the scene when they were at their height. Little is known about his life. Ḥüseyn Ḥüsām ed-Dīn (*Amasya tārīkhi*, iii, 348) states that he was the son of a Turcoman called ʿAlī from Edessa. The 18th-century Armenian writer Arakel (see Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*: Arakel de Tauriz, 359) described him as the son of a Turk from Čorum, which is historically accurate.

Ḳarā Yazîdjî's civil function is obscure; little is heard of him until after he became a prominent rebel leader. Like very many Turkish youths of his time, he left home and joined the entourage of one of the *sandjaḳ-beg*s as a *sekbān* (soldier). In 972/1565 his name is recorded for the first time as one of the *ṣu-bashî*s of Ḳāsim Beg, the *sandjaḳ-beg* (governor) of Divrik. During Murād III's reign, Ḳarā Yazîdjî, who had enrolled in one of the mounted *bölük*s (squadrons) of the Ḳapu-ḳulîs, was garrisoned with his squadron in the fortress of Damascus. Shortly after, he returned to Anatolia and was given command of a squadron of the *sandjaḳ-beg* of Malatya. When in 1003/1595 the *sandjaḳ-beg* was summoned to join the campaign of Meḥmed III to Eğri [*q.v.*], he stayed behind as his deputy. During the preparation of the campaign to Eğri, the Djelālī rebellions suddenly gained strength and spread in all directions. The government then formed voluntary squadrons consisting of timariots who had not joined the campaign and their dependents (the youths of each village), and sent them in pursuit of the rebels. Ḳarā Yazîdjî and the voluntary squadrons of his *sandjaḳ* also received orders to disperse the Djelālī rebels. In 1003/1595 he was ordered to join the forces that had been sent against the rebellious *medrese* students who had assembled in the mountain range between Ṭarsūs and Silifḳe. In the meantime the *sandjaḳ* of Malatya had been given to another *sandjaḳ-beg*, and Ḳarā Yazîdjî and the former *sandjaḳ-beg*, faced with retirement, refused to surrender their power to the man who came to accept it on behalf of the new *sandjaḳ-beg*. Having thereby resisted the order of the government (1598), Ḳarā Yazîdjî joined the ranks of the Djelālī rebels. He enlarged the garrisons under his command, and within a short time rose to the position of an unchallenged Djelālī chief. Some who had become Djelālīs (the majority of them *ḳapu-ḳulî* commanders [*süvaris*] who had moved to Anatolia because they could not longer live with the Janissaries in Istanbul and had become *ḳapu-agha*s of the *sandjaḳ-beg*s and *beglerbeg*s, *i.e.*, controlling the *sekbān*s) began to join Ḳarā Yazîdjî to escape from the persecutions of the government. Ḳarā Yazîdjî, learning that the government was preparing a large campaign against the Djelālīs, retreated to the Marʿash-Edessa region, which was densely populated with south-east Anatolian Turcomans who had lived lawlessly for a long time. There, the former *beglerbeg* Ḥüseyn Pasha, who was living as a rebel in the region of Ḳarāmān, joined him too. It has been estimated that Ḳarā Yazîdjî had at his disposal a total of 20,000 *sekbān*s. Defeating the government forces sent against him from the *sandjaḳ*s of Marʿash and the surrounding area, he attained great fame. As he undertook to collect provisions by force so as to feed his men, many wealthy people fled to Istanbul and there organized a demonstration against the government. The government then sent the vizier Sinān Pasha-zāde Meḥmed Pasha with a fairly large army against the rebels. In view of this, Ḳarā Yazîdjî occupied the fortress of Edessa, where he was surrounded. As neither Meḥmed Pasha nor Ḳarā Yazîdjî proved able to gain the victory, the government made an agreement with the rebel chief and made him *sandjaḳ-beg* of ʿAyntāb in exchange for the extradition of the rebellious Ḥüseyn Pasha. Shortly after, Meḥmed Pasha attacked Ḳarā Yazîdjî again. Both sides suffered heavy losses and the rebel chief retreated in the direction of Sivas. The government was reconciled with him once more, investing him with the added function of *sandjaḳ-beyi* of Amasya. Sinān Pasha-zāde Meḥmed Pasha was dismissed in 1009/1601 on the grounds that he should have admitted that his troops plundered the people and that they were becoming worse than the Djelālīs. As the people of Amasya began to complain more and more about Ḳarā Yazîdjî, he too was transferred to Čorum as its *sandjaḳ-beyi*, and received orders to join the forces raised to suppress the revolts of the students in the region between Ṭarsūs and Silifḳe. Once more he turned to rebellion. To feed the large masses of *sekbān*s whom he had assembled around him, he continued to collect provisions from the people, and to demand ransoms from the towns which he surrounded, as in Sivas in spring 1009/1601. He was contemplating seizing the fortress of Ḳasṭamonu and quartering his men there, when the government, determined to put an end to his activities, sent the *wālī* of Baghdād, Soḳollî-zāde Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], against him. The nucleus of this commander's troops consisted of southern Kurdish and Arab soldiers with a strong tribal spirit. A large contingent of *Ḳapu-ḳulî* soldiers was sent from Istanbul under the command of the former *wālī* of Aleppo, Ḥādjdjî Ibrāhīm Pasha. But in the vicinity of Ḳayṣeriyye, before Ḥādjdjî Ibrāhīm Pasha had found the time to unite with the main forces, Ḳarā Yazîdjî mounted a surprise attack on him, inflicting heavy losses, so that he was forced to retire to the fortress of Ḳayṣeriyye. Ḥasan Pasha, who had great difficulty in maintaining peace among his Arab and Kurdish troops in Diyārbakr, came too late to be able to help Ḥādjdjî Ibrāhīm

Pas͟ha. The D̲j̲elālī leader ceased harrying Ḳayṣeriyye and moved to the Marʿas͟h-Göksun region, where he met Ḥasan Pas͟ha. In this battle the D̲j̲elālī *sekbāns* suffered a heavy defeat. Ḳarā Yazīd̲j̲ī thereupon fled with the remaining troops, took refuge in the mountainous region near D̲j̲ānīk (Samsun) and died there at the beginning of 1603. His brother Deli Ḥasan took command of the D̲j̲elālīs in his place.

Since he had succeeded in maintaining a large part of Anatolia under his control for three years, Ḳarā Yazīd̲j̲ī was suspected by his enemies in Istanbul of intending to found a separate state, a rumour spread by the wealthy people who fled from Anatolia to Istanbul in order to rouse the authorities. He neither issued *fermān*s nor founded a corps like the Janissaries, and never chose for himself a grand vizier. After Ḳarā Yazīd̲j̲ī's defeat, the *sekbān*s and the other D̲j̲elālī leaders who had helped the rebel chief scattered in all directions; statements from those who were captured and brought to trial, and the sealed and signed documents relating to Ḳarā Yazīd̲j̲ī that were found in their possession, have proved that such assertions about his desire for independent power are fictitious.

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ḲARĀBA (A.), kinship, from the root *ḳ-r-b*, which has the meaning of closeness, proximity. As a technical term, *ḳarāba* seems to be of post-Hid̲j̲ra usage. It is found in the works of the Muslim exegetes, but not in the Ḳurʾān itself, where the preferred word is *ḳurba*, also employed in pre-Islamic poetry (cf. Ṭarafa, *Muʿallaḳa*). In fact, in these cases it is less a question of kinship than of relatives, more particularly close relatives, such as *d̲h̲ū*, *d̲h̲awū*, *ūlū 'l-ḳurba* (Ḳurʾān, II, 83, 177, IV, 8, 36, V, 106, VI, 152, VIII, 41, IX, 113, XVI, 90, XVII, 26, XXIV, 22, XXX, 38, XXXV, 18, XLII, 23, LIX, 7). The superlative, *al-aḳrabūn*, is also found, with the meaning of the closest relatives, those who have a claim to inherit from a man (II, 180, 215, IV, 7, 33, 135). Kinship itself, however, is nowhere clearly defined. This was because Western Arabia was at that time under an essentially tribal system, dominated by patrilineal concepts. Thus the domestic community embraced all the members of the tribe, in whose veins, so they believed, the same blood flowed. Despite this extension of consanguinity, solidarity existed only within a relatively restricted group, the *ʿas͟hīra* [*q.v.*], whose members did not exact blood vengeance on one another. This is why Muḥammad first called on his closest clan (Ḳurʾān XXVI, 214). The same practices are still current among the Bedouins, who also call upon their true blood-kin, the *damawiyya*, to contribute towards blood-money.

What conception does the Ḳurʾān have of kinship? Certainly it reflects, to a large extent, the notions of its era: patrilineal filiation, the superiority of men over women, the solidarity of agnates and collective responsibility. It appears, nevertheless, that Muḥammad allowed a slight bias in favour of uterine siblings. From a purely patriarchal point of view, these latter are not part of the family and thus have no inheritance rights. Although Muslim doctrine concerning rights of succession follows paternal kinship, it is noteworthy that, in the absence of direct heirs, a part of the goods left by the dead man go to his uterine brothers (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Farāʾiḍ*, 14; Ibn Rus͟hd, *Bidāya al-mud̲j̲tahid*, Cairo 1335, ii, 207). Furthermore, according to one tradition "the maternal uncle is the heir of him who has no others" (Ibn Rus͟hd, *op. cit.*, ii, 205), while another states that "the son of the sister is part of the group" (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *op. cit.*, 23). Finally, one should note that the prohibited degrees of marriage affect the same degrees of relationship on the father's side as on the mother's (Ḳurʾān, IV, 23), and that foster-relationship creates the same prohibited degrees for marriage as does blood kinship (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ*, 21). On the other hand, marriage between parallel cousins and cross cousins is permitted, and even recommended.

As a result, in the Islamic conception, kinship is bilateral. However, this position is affirmed very hesitantly, since in practice only agnates were considered true kin. Matters of blood-vengeance and the payment of blood-money or wergild concerned them alone. This is why the *diya* due for a wife is incumbent on her *ʿaṣaba*, although succession to her reverts to her children and her husband (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Farāʾiḍ*, 10, *Diyāt*, 25). In the accounts of the heroic period of the *D̲j̲āhiliyya*, uterine siblings often bear the costs of a vendetta. Bedouin law adopts the same point of view with regard to the wife and the maternal nephew (cf. J. Chelhod, *Le droit dans le société bédouine*, Paris 1971).

Did the extension of kinship to cognates go against pre-Islamic customs and meet with considerable resistance from them? In the thesis brilliantly presented by W. Robertson Smith (*Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*) precisely the opposite point of view is advanced. According to him, the patriarchal system was a late phenomenon in Asia, practically contemporaneous with the Hid̲j̲ra, and it was preceded by a system of filiation through female descent. Following studies by Morgan and MacLennan, this hypothesis has been gradually abandoned. Nevertheless, it does still have a small number of supporters (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 616; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 378 f.; Lecerf in ʿĀʾILA), and must therefore be considered briefly. Smith was quite correct to reject the viewpoint of genealogists who saw the tribe as a large patriarchal family; he also rightly criticised the artificial nature of their neatly-organised structure. They can also be faulted for having lost sight of the tribal heterogenity which is indicated by the structures of the *ḳabīla* [*q.v.*]. It nevertheless remains true that unity of blood shows itself effectively at the higher levels of the social pyramid, such as the *fak̲h̲id̲h̲* and the *ʿas͟hīra*. Besides, Robertson Smith's conclusions about the old system of filiation are based essentially on philological considerations and on later survivals. It is certain, however, that it is not through concentrating on a few isolated facts that we will be able to throw light on this problem. Rather, we need an approach based on a sound study of social and family structures before we can see to what extent they are compatible with matriliny. It would seem that warrior nomadism tends towards

patrilineal filiation and endogamy, while a life of settled cultivation encourages exogamy. Thus, to a large degree, the social system existing in pre-Hidjra western Arabia contradicts Smith's hypothesis. If we actually examine the traditions which give credence to the notion of a matrilineal system in pre-Islamic Arabia, we can see that almost all of them apply to the Arabs of the south (from Medina, Ḥimyar and Saba') that is, groups which had been settled for a long period, although some, like the Anṣār, had reverted to nomadism for a short time. In fact, any conclusions, even provisional ones, about these groups are no more than speculative before further documentation can be provided by archaeological research in the Yemen. The northern Arabs, on the other hand, were deeply imbued with desert traditions and their social system bears the stamp of patriarchy. This was the prevailing system in Mecca itself. Ķur'ānic reform took its inspiration mainly from this background, but it did make a few concessions to the customs of Medina in enlarging the concept of *ķarāba*. Principally, the latter was concerned with agnates, but nevertheless it did not completely reject cognates.

This timid overture in the direction of uterine siblings was allied to an important trend towards restriction in the realm of *ķarāba*. According to pre-Islamic beliefs, mystical kinship (through adoption, blood-ties, communal descent) created links equal to those of actual kinship. Muḥammad himself had recourse to such customs in making the *Muhādjirun* the "brothers" of the *Anṣār* and thus each other's heirs (Ķur'ān, VIII, 72); but he reverted to a stricter concept of kinship, limiting it almost to true blood relations (LXVIII, 2, XXXIII, 3, 40, VIII, 75).

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(J. Chelhod)

ĶARĀBĀDHĪN [see aķrābādhīn].

KARABAĞ [see ķarā bāgh].

al-**KARĀBĪSĪ**, "clothes-seller", a name given to a number of people, of whom the following are of note:

1) Aḥmad b. ʿUmar, a mathematician. The date of his death is unknown. Among those of his works which have been lost, a commentary on the translation of Euclid was especially celebrated. The one work of his which is still extant is *K. Misāḥat al-ḥalaķ*. which is preserved in Oxford (Bodleian Lib., Mss. Or. i, no. 913) and in Cairo (*Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya fī 'l-kutubkhāna al-khadīwiyya*, v, 204); see *Fihrist*, 265, l. 25, 282, l. 3; Ibn al-Ķiftī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, Cairo 1326, 57, l. 5.

2) Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī, a traditionist and faķīh. Initially, he was a member of the *ahl al-ra'y*, but after al-Shāfiʿī's arrival in Baghdād, he joined his group. In spite of this, he was an unreserved supporter of the doctrine of predestination, *djabr*. None of his works of criticism or *fiķh* survive. He died in 245/859 or, according to some, in 248/862.

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3) Asʿad b. Muḥammad, Ḥanafī *faķīh* who died in 570/1174. His *K. al-Furūķ fī 'l-furūʿ*, which Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa in *Kashf al-ẓunūn* (ed. Flügel), iv, 419, 9041, confuses with the *Talķīḥ al-ʿuķūl* of al-Maḥbūbī (Brockelmann, *GAL*, i, 473, no. 34), is extant in Cairo: see *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya fī 'l-kutubkhāna al-khadīwiyya*, iii, 96.

(C. Brockelmann*)

ĶARAČAY, a Turkic tribe of the North Caucasus. They call themselves Ķaračaylī and are known as Ķaračaylar in Turkish and Karačaitsī, or Karačaievtsī, in Russian. The Ķaračay language belongs to the Ķīpčaķ branch of Turkic. According to the 1926 Russian census, ethnically there were 55,123 Ķaračay and linguistically 55,349. In the 1959 census, the numbers recorded were 81,403 and 78,817 respectively. The Ķaračay occupy the mountain valleys of the upper Kuban, Taberda, Zelenčuk, Laba and Podkumok rivers on the northern slopes of the Caucasus.

Little is known of their history. Their ancestry goes back to the Hunno-Bulgarian conglomeration which lived along the Kuban River in so-called "Black Bulgaria" during and after the downfall of the Khazar [*q.v.*] realm. They were Turkicized by the Turkic tribes, the Pečenegs and Kumans, which took over the Khazar kingdom in the middle of the 5th/11th century. In the high Middle Ages they lived as one group with the Balkar [*q.v.*] along the edge of the Caucasian mountain chain and mixed with local Ibero-Caucasian peoples. They later submitted to the authority of the Golden Horde. From the 7th/13th to the 9th/15th centuries they were slowly pushed by the Kabards [see kabards] towards the high chain. At this time, as a result of Kabard pressure, the Ķaračay-Balkar separated into two groups, the Balkar going to Dih-Tau and Koshtan-Tau. In the 9th/15th century the Ķaračay became vassals of the Kabards, and from the 10th/16th century onwards, they also came under the infuence of the Crimean khanate. Sunnī Islam, of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, was slowly introduced at this time by the Crimean Tatars, and in the 11th/17th and early 12th/18th centuries by the Ottomans. The Ķaračay and Balkars did not play an active role in the Caucasian mountain-dwellers' resistance to the Russian conquest in the middle of the 18th century.

The social structure of the Ķaračay was influenced by that of Kabard, but the feudal system was less developed. The head of the tribe was the *biy* (*bey*) or *tav-biys*, followed by the most numerous class of *özden* or *ķaraözden*, consisting of free men. The *kul*, or slaves, formed the lowest class. With the influence of Islam under Ottoman rule the *kul* were freed and became *azatli*. The traditional economy of the Ķaračay is based on cattle breeding, agriculture and handicrafts. Their land has important coal deposits and other mineral resources.

Ķaračay was not a literary language until 1924, at which time, jointly with Balkar, a Ķaračay-Balkar literary language was created which adopted the Latin script. In 1938-39 it was replaced by the Cyrillic. According to *Letopis' periodičeskikh izdanij S.S.S.R.* and *Pecat' S.S.R. v 1960 godu*, there were six newspapers published in Ķaračay-Balkar in 1935; in 1960 the figure had dropped to one.

Administrative position. With the onset of the Soviet régime, the Ķaračay became part of the Mountain Autonomous Socialist Republic (*Gorskaya A.S.S.R.*) on 20 January 1920, which included also

the Čerkes, the Balkars, the Ossetians, the Čečens and the Ingushes, and had its capital in Vladikavkaz. On 12 January 1922, they were joined with the Čerkes into the Ḳaračay-Čerkes Autonomous Oblast. On 26 April 1926, the administrative unit was divided into a Čerkes National Okrug and a Ḳaračay Autonomous Oblast with Mikoyanshahar as capital. In 1944, the Ḳaračays were deported to Central Asia and their national territory suppressed for alleged collaboration with the Germans during World War II. They were rehabilitated on 9 January 1957 and between 1957 and 1958 brought back to their original land, their deportation being termed a result of the "personality cult" of Stalin. They resumed their former status in the Ḳaračay-Čerkes Autonomous Oblast, which was reformed on 9 January 1957. The region occupies a territory of 14,200 sq. km. In 1959, the Ḳaračay and Čerkes made up 33.1 % of the population of the region, while 51 % were Russian.

According to the 1926 Russian census the mother tongue of 99.9 % of the Ḳaračay in their native area was Ḳaračay; none had Russian as their first spoken language. The figures for 1959 showed that their native language was the mother tongue of 99 % of the Ḳaračay, while the percentage of those who used Russian had risen from zero to 0.5 %.

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(Hülya Salihoğlu)

KARĀČĪ (Karachi), the most important commercial and industrial centre of Pakistan, situated on the Indian Ocean shores at 25° 51' latitude N. and 67° 04' longitude E. Its population was 360,000 at the time of the creation of Pakistan in 1947, and by 1972 was substantially over 3 millions, if one includes the new suburbs laid out over the last decade. From 1947 to 1960 Karāčī was the official capital of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, but it has gradually been replaced by Islāmābād [*q.v.*], a few miles away from Rawalpindi, where all the Pakistan government departments are to be established.

The name Karāčī does not seem to be very old. It may possibly derive from the settlement there of a Balūč tribe called Kulāčī, originally of Rādjpūt origin (*A glossary of Panjab castes*, Lahore 1911), which may also have given its name to the town of Kulāčī in the district of Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān on the North-West frontier. An alternative explanation would derive the town's name from Kalāčī, the name of a humble fisherman who lived in the vicinity. Whatever the case, we have the transition $l > r$ according to an habitual rule in Sindhi (cf. Kōtlī in the Pandjāb and Kōtrī in Sind).

Being protected on the west by Cape Monze, the most southerly point of the Kirthar mountain chain, and sheltered from the force of the open sea and the monsoon squalls by the rocky island of Manora, Karāčī enjoyed an ideal situation for becoming a great port. The town itself is situated between the lower course of the Lyarī river to the west and the Malir river to the east, both of which come down from the Kōhistān or mountain region. Lt.-Gen. Haig, in his book on the Indus delta, thought that one could identify the port of Karāčī with the port of Alexander the Great which Nearchus reached on leaving the western mouth of the Indus and where he waited for 15 days, with his fleet at Manora, until a favourable wind might blow and enable him to continue exploring the coastland (326 B.C.).

It is shortly after 1137/1725 that Karāčī begins to become known as a port. The effective cause of its prosperity seems to have been the gradual deterioration of the port of Daybul [*q.v.*], which was very probably situated on the banks of the western mouth of the Indus. Although the historians disagree on the exact site of Daybul, it can nevertheless be asserted that this port was already flourishing when the Arabs, under their youthful general Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, disembarked there in 93/712 in order to conquer Sind. During the 10th/16th century the maritime trade of the region relied on the port of Laribunder in the Indus delta, near Thatta, the then capital of Sind; but after 1060/1650, Laribunder lost all its value as a port, since navigation became very difficult through the silting-up of the Indus delta. During the 12th/18th century, the land encroached on the sea and left the port of Daybul cut off from access to the sea. Karāčī, situated outside the delta region and to the west, was not in such danger of a rapid silting-up, but it could not yet assume its later importance because of the uncertain political conditions prevailing in the province of Sind, where were confronted the divergent interests of Afghān power, the British East India Company and the Kalhōra rulers of Sind, who ceded Karāčī to the Khān of Kalāt. The Afghāns wished to avoid any trouble with the Sind officials and endeavoured to develope a line of communication starting from Karāčī and running through Makrān and Kalāt, well away from the Indus valley. All this favoured the expansion of Karāčī, both as a town and as a port, whilst Thatta inexorably declined on account of the constant changes in the Indus course.

After the fall of the Kalhōra rulers, the *amir* of Talpur, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, seized Karāčī from the Khān of Kalāt. In 1209/1795 he built a fortress on Cape Manora to protect the port, though this did not prevent the capture of Karāčī by British troops in 1839. The conquest of the province of Sind did not take place till four years later, when Sir Charles Napier used Karāčī as his port of disembarkation in 1843. But the British at first preferred to establish themselves at Ḥaydarābād, and it was only as a result of Capt. Richard Burton's report, which praised the much fresher climate of the "fishermen's village by the sea", that Sir Charles Napier came along to make Karāčī the capital, and civil and military centre, of Sind, and an important port suitable for trading equally with the Pandjāb as with Sind.

Sir Bartle Frere improved the port by constructing in 1854 the Napier mole connecting the island of

Kāmārī with the mainland. The Manora breakwater was finished in 1873. After 1861 a railway line connected Karāčī with the town of Kōtrī, and then in 1878 with the Pandjāb, thus allowing the trade of Karāčī to double in volume between 1864 and 1884. By 1900, it had become one of the greatest export outlets of the East, and the two World Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 contributed greatly to its prosperity.

But it was really 1947 which marked the turning-point in the development of this great city, which still had a provincial atmosphere at the time of the creation of Pakistan, and whose population increased almost tenfold within 25 years (1947-72), presenting successive governments with problems still not completely resolved. Suburbs like Nāẓimābād and Liyāḳatābād on the right bank of the Lyarī river did not exist before 1947. Similarly, the satellite town of Korangī and the new industrial complex of Landī on the left bank of the Malir river have only been created in the last decade or so. A planned policy of urbanisation and industrialisation, together with the bringing of water supplies and a sewage system, was undertaken by a body called the "Karachi Development Authority" set up in 1958 by Field-Marshal Ayyūb Khān, the head of the Pakistan Republic.

The international airport of Karāčī is considered one of the best-equipped in Asia; its runways will accommodate the most modern aircraft and its geographical situation makes it an important cross-roads between Europe and the East. Pakistan International Airlines (P.I.A.) flights connect Karāčī with London via Tehran, Beirut, Rome and Frankfurt or via Geneva or via Moscow, and a regular service also exists between Karāčī and Shanghai via Dacca and Canton. Since 1955, a pipeline over 300 miles long has brought the natural gas of Sui in Sind to Karāčī, where it is used both for industrial and private purposes.

Karāčī has owed its great strides of recent times to its trade connections with the whole of north-western India and to its rôle as the natural outlet for the most important products of its hinterland, such as cotton, cereals, oil-yielding plants and hides. Karāčī is the great industrial centre of Pakistan, thanks to an expanding iron-smelting industry, newly-built oil refineries (at Korangī), recent petro-chemical installations, the traditional activities involving wool, timber and hides, the increasing production of cement (limestone being plentiful on the outskirts of the city), various food-processing industries (flour mills, confectionery factories, fish canning and preserving), and many other activities such as production of knitwear, soap-making and plastic objects.

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(A. Guimbretière)

KARADAĞ [see ḳara dāgh].

(al)-**KARADJ** (karah) or karadj abī dulaf, an ancient town in the Djibāl province [*q.v.*] of Persia; the actual site is unknown, but it was situated to the south-east of Hamadhān, almost half-way between that city and Iṣfahān. It derives its second name from al-Ḳāsim b. ʿĪsā al-ʿIdjlī [*q.v.*], better known by his *kunya* of Abū Dulaf, who probably enlarged (*maṣṣara*) an existing settlement and constructed a fortress there; during the wars between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, this commander carved out for himself a fief in Djibāl and secured the privilege of paying in return a tax for this concession (*īghār* [*q.v.*]; add to the *Bibl.*: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 241; *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 60; Yāḳūt, s.v. al-Īghārān¹; and correct Mardj to al-Burdj) of the district surrounding (al-)Karadj and al-Burdj, whence the name of al-Īghārān¹ by which it is known. (Al-) Karadj became the *chef-lieu* of this district and the residence of the Dulafids ([*q.v.*]; add to the Bibl.: M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 311-13 and the references cited there). The line of Dulafids ended in 284/897; town and district then reverted to dependence on the central government and soon became an autonomous administrative district.

Nothing is known of the town beyond the information in the geographers that it was built of unfired brick, had two markets, numerous baths and a crowded population, even though it extended over two parasangs; the sources stress the absence of orchards, but mention the fertility of the surrounding countryside, where stock-raising was practised. Various poets who frequented the Dulafid court celebrated the town, but Ibn al-Faḳīh found it crowded-together, dirty, cold and poverty-stricken.

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(Ed.)

ḲARADJA [see ḳarā].

ḲARADJA ḤIṢĀR, ḳara ḥiṣār, also known as ḳaradja shehir, probably the Byzantine Melangeia, one of the first places in which the Ottomans settled after coming to the Eskishehir region. The district around Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār was given by Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaykobād as winter quarters to Ertoghrul's followers; the town was occupied by ʿOthmān Ghāzī, traditionally in 687/1288 (ʿĀshīḳpasha-zāde, ed. ʿAlī, 18; Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 26, 87). In order to make the town prosper, ʿOthmān invited all those who wished to come and live there; he consequently settled in the town those coming from Germiyān and other places, the churches in the town were converted into mosques, and a Friday mosque was built. ʿOthmān entrusted the administration of Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār to his son, Orkhān Bey.

In the sources of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, the town is usually referred to as Ḳaradja Shehīr. In the second half of the 9th/15th century it belonged to the *sandjaḳ* of Sulṭānöñü. In the 10th/16th century reference is made to the *nāḥiye* of "Eskishehir with Ḳaradja Shehir" which still belonged to the *sandjak* of Sulṭānöñü (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü Maliyeden Müdevver defterler, no. 27, p. 2). The *nāḥiye* of Ḳaradja Shehir (11 villages with an annual revenue of 58,739 *akčes*) formed part of the *khāṣṣ* of the *sandjaḳbeği* Sulṭānöñü (Sultanöñü sancağı tahrir defteri, no. 515,

p. 13), Eskis̲h̲ehir then being under Ḳarad̲j̲as̲h̲ehir; in the 11th/17th century, however, Karad̲j̲as̲h̲ehir had become a *nāḥiyye* of Eskis̲h̲ehir (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 166 pp. 124-6). According to the census of 1830, the population of Ḳarad̲j̲a S̲h̲ehir consisted of 3,725 Muslims and 575 non-Muslims (E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı imperatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı*, 1831, Ankara 1943, 110).

Ḳarad̲j̲a Ḥiṣār, today bearing the name Karaçaşehir, is a village belonging to the central *kaza* of the *vilāyet* of Eskişehir.

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KARAD̲J̲A OG̲H̲LAN, Turkish folk poet, the greatest and most typical representative of the *ʿās̲h̲ıḳ*s. In many ways, the *ʿās̲h̲ıḳ*s continued in the Ottoman period the pre-Islamic and early Islamic tradition of Turkish musician-poets (*ozan*), who often improvised their poems, singing them to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, especially the *kopuz*. *ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳ*, a term originally applied to popular mystic poets of various dervish orders, was later taken over by wandering minstrels (*saz s̲h̲āʿirleri*), who gave up the old secular term of *ozan*. The influence of Ṣūfism on the *ʿās̲h̲ıḳ*s was only superficial and did not substantially alter their realism. The impact of *madrasa* and Palace School-trained court poets was greater, growing increasingly from the 10th/16th century onwards, and they adopted many classical verse forms, particularly the *g̲h̲azal* and *murabbaʿ*, and introduced many patterns oj *ʿarūḍ*, preferably those reminiscent of syllabic metre (*hed̲j̲e*). Many common themes, motifs and stereotyped concepts found their way into folk poetry. The continued impact of the hackneyed forms and concepts of court poetry eventually caused folk poetry to degenerate into a sterile cliché of the former, and caused many *ʿās̲h̲ıḳ*s to become unskilled imitators of classical poets.

In this general picture, Karad̲j̲aog̲h̲lan is a brilliant exception. He was not trained in a city atmosphere like many others, but belonged to the small group of bards who came from the countryside and from nomadic tribes. His life is shrouded in legends like that of the great popular mystic poet Yūnus Emre. Following the impetus given by Ziya Gökalp to research into Turkish popular literature and culture many scholars (particularly M. F. Köprülü, A. R. Yalgın, S. N. Ergun, I. R. Isıtman, A. K. Tecer, P. N. Boratav and C. Öztelli) have made remarkable contributions to Karad̲j̲aog̲h̲lan studies (for a complete bibliography up to 1940, see F. A. Tansel, *Karacaoğlan hakkında tenkidi bir bibliyoğrafya*, in *Ülkü*, xv, no. 85, 1940). In spite of this intensive research, several problems concerning the life, time and identity of the poet himself, and concerning many of his poems, continue to be controversial. The claims that these are finally solved put forward in a recent publication (Cahit Öztelli, *Karaca Oğlan, Bütün Şiirleri*, Istanbul, 1970) are not altogether convincing, in spite of the author's many important contributions to the subject. Vague references in Karad̲j̲aog̲h̲lan's poems to the capture or re-capture of Aleppo and Bag̲h̲dad and to the Austrian campaign of "Aḥmed Pasha" have been differently interpreted by various scholars and more explicit mention of the poet's name both in 10th/16th- and 11th/17th-century sources gave rise to the theory that two different poets of the same name may have lived in different centuries (for details of the controversy see Cahit Öztelli, *op. cit.*, intro., and Cemil Yener, *Karacaoğlan üzerine*, in *Türk Dili*, xxv, no. 244, Ankara 1972, 291-4).

At the present stage of research, we can cautiously state that Karad̲j̲aog̲h̲lan, whose real name was Ḥasan and whose family is referred to as Saylı Og̲h̲lu, belonged to the Varsak clan of the Üč Ok Turcoman tribes who had their winter quarters at the foot of Taurus mountains and moved to high summer pastures in early spring. He seems to have travelled extensively in southern Anatolia and perhaps in many other parts of the Ottoman Empire. There are indications that he took part in a campaign against Persia. It is not certain whether he was ever in Istanbul although two of his *türkü*s are included in a musical anthology of popular songs prepared for the Ottoman court under Sultan Ibrāhīm (see C. Öztelli, *Ali Ufki, Karaca Oğlan ve Istanbul*, in *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, no. 239). Except for a few motifs and expressions common to Muslim culture, Karad̲j̲aog̲h̲lan completely ignored the *art poétique* both of court poetry and of popular mystic poetry of the dervish orders, and wrote all his poems (numbering nearly 500) in the traditional Turkish syllabic metre (mostly in 6-5 and 4-4 patterns), and in the unsophisticated spoken Turkish of his time, coloured with occasional provincial words and expressions. These dealt with nomadic life and the natural beauties of the Taurus Mountains environment. The poet's own exuberant feelings of love and *joie de vivre* are also described in his unparalleled *koşma*s, *semai*s, *türkü*s and *destan*s. In the "National Literature" (*Millî Edebiyat*) movement of the post-1908 Constitution period, and again during the early Republican era up to the late 1930s, Karad̲j̲aog̲h̲lan was the most loved folk poet, inspiring many young poets in their endeavours to renew and make more indigenous the form and content of Turkish poetry. According to local traditions, Karad̲j̲aog̲h̲lan is buried on a hill in the village of Çukur near Mut in the province of İçel (Mersin), and his tomb became a frequently visited shrine in the area. In 1958 a film was made of a legendary version of his life based on a script by the novelist Yaşar Kemal (b. 1922), who later wrote a short story on the same theme (in *Üç Anadolu Efsanesi*, Istanbul, 1967).

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(Fahir İz)

AL-KARADJĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN (and also al-Ḥusayn), Arab mathematician and engineer, a native of al-Karadj (in the Djibāl, Iran) as G. Levi Della Vida has demonstrated (in *RSO*, xiv (1933), 250) and not from the al-Karkh district of Baghdād, as was long believed. While still young, he went to Baghdad where he held high positions in the administration and composed, towards 402/1011-2, his works *al-Fakhrī*, *al-Kāfī* and *al-Badīʿ*, in which he attempted to free algebra from the tutelage of geometry. He returned afterwards to his native land, where he must have died after 410/1019, the probable date of the composition of his *Inbāṭ al-miyāh al-khafiyya*. ʿĀdil Anbūba, in the introduction of his edition of the *Badīʿ* (Beirut 1964), lists 12 works of this author, most of which have been lost. The following are of interest here: (1). *Al-Fakhrī fī ʾl-djabr wa ʾl-muḳābala*, studied by F. Woepcke (*Extraits du Fakhri, traité d'algèbre*, Paris 1853), who demonstrates the agreements between this work and the *Arithmetica* of Diophantes, which al-Karadjī must have known through the partial translation (the first three books and a part of the fourth) of Ḳuṣṭā b. Lūḳā (d. 296/912), and concludes that "more than a third of the problems of the first book of Diophantes, the problems of the second book beginning with the eighth one, and almost all the problems of the third have been inserted by Alqarkhi into his collection" (p. 21). On this basis it can perhaps be established that problems 1-7 of Book ii of Diophantes, which might be spurious, are missing in the Arabic version (cf. E. Vereecke, *Diophante d'Alexandrie*, repr. Paris 1959, xxvl). Diophantes' work must have been in vogue among the contemporaries of al-Karadjī because we know that Ibn al-Haytham and Abu ʾl-Wafāʾ devoted commentaries or scholia to it. In the *Fakhrī*, al-Karadjī attempted the study of the successive powers of a binomial, developed it further in the *Badīʿ*, and concluded it in a work now lost but preserved in fragments in the *Bāhir* of al-Samawʾāl b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī (d. *ca.* 570/1174), through the discovery of the generation of the coefficients of $(a-b)^n$ by means of the triangle which is now named after Pascal or Tartaglia; (2). *Al-Badīʿ fi ʾl-ḥisāb*, in which are developed the fixed points treated by Euclid and Nicomachus and in which an important place is accorded to algebraic operations; the author expounds for the first time the theory of the extraction of the square root of a polynomial with an unknown; he resolves the systems $x^2 + 5$ and $x^2 - 5$, likewise treated by Leonardo of Pisa in his *Liber Quadratorum*, and $x^2 + y$ and $y^2 + x$, which are found in Diophantes, ii, 20 and which much more slowly gained the attention of Euler and others. In these problems, he often utilizes the expedient of changing the variable, the auxiliary variables or the process through substitution; (3). *Al-Kāfī fi ʾl-ḥisāb*, written on the use of functions, and as such a summary of arithmetic, algebra, geometry and the register based on the processes of mental calculus (called *hawāʾī*, "aerial", in Ibn al-Samḥ d. 426/1034) as opposed to "Indian" calculus); this work has been edited and translated into German by A. Hocheim, 1-3, Halle 1877-80; (4). *Inbāṭ al-miyāh al-khafiyya*, printed in Ḥaydarābād in 1359/1945, an excellent manual on hydraulic water supplies; it contains some autobiographical notes, as well as a discussion of a series of conceptions relative to the geography of the globe; he describes a certain number of surveying instruments [see MĪZĀN], the geometrical bases of which he demonstrates, and ends with very concrete details on the construction and servicing of *ḳanāt*s [*q.v.*], subterranean tunnels (he makes an express allusion to those of Iṣfahān, 31) for providing water in arid places. He likewise discusses the basis of the *Sharīʿa*, the legality of the construction of wells and hydraulic conduits and in what circumstances these might be prejudicial to the people.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 718; H. Suter, *Mathematiker*, 84; Brockelmann, I, 219; S I, 389; J. Vernet and A. Catala, *Un ingeniero arabe del siglo XI*: *al-Karayī*, in *Al-Andalus* (forthcoming).

(J. VERNET)

AL-ḲARĀFA [see AL-ḲĀHIRA].

KARAFERYE (in earlier sources also KARAVERYE), Ottoman name for Bérrhoia, Béroia (mod. Gk., Vérria, Véria; Slavonic, Ber), a small town in Macedonia, 60 km. WSW of Salonika, 8 km. from the left bank of the Aliákmon (Vistrítza; Tk. Indje Ḳara Ṣu), near the foot of the eastern slopes of the Olympene range (Tk. Aghustos Daghī) and overlooking a broad and fertile plain: "one of the most agreeable towns in Rumili" (Leake). The Turkish epithet *ḳarā* [*q.v.*] was prefixed perhaps in order to distinguish it from Bérrhoia in northern Thrace, Tk. [Eski] Zaghra)cf. Jorga, *GOR*, i, 213). According to Byzantine sources, the neighbourhood was pillaged by Turks from Karasī [*q.v.*] as early as 1331 (Hammer-Purgstall, i, 127). The district for a time belonged to the Serbian Empire of Stefan Dušan (Ostrogorsky, History, 524) and, after his death (1355), to a Serbian princeling, Hlapen (Jireček, *Gesch. d. Serben*, ii, 105, 107).

The Ottoman chroniclers report that the town was taken (? by Lālā Shāhīn) in 787/1385 (Giese, *Anon.*, 26. 13, whence ʿĀshīḳpashazāde (§ 55), Neshrī, etc.; cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 91-2, with the date 776/1374-5). The Greek Short Chronicles give the precise date 8 May 1387 (cited by P. Wittek, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 661, n. 3); but the definitive occupation may have occurred only under Bāyezīd I, who from there directed extensive raids into the Peloponnese (Giese, *Anon.*, 28-9; Hammer-Purgstall, i, 249).

According to a tradition preserved by Yazīdjīoghlu ʿAlī [*q.v.*], some time after the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm Kay-Kāʾūs II [*q.v.*] had taken refuge with the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII his two younger sons were made governors of Béroia; the grandchildren of one prince embraced Christianity, and it was one of his descendants, a certain Lyzikos, who surrendered Béroia to the Ottoman sultan (? Bāyezīd I); thereupon he and his family were transferred to Zikhna. And indeed Karaferye (and Zikhna) are among the districts inhabited by Gagauz [*q.v.*] Turks, *i.e.*, "followers of Kay-Kāʾūs" (P. Wittek, *Les Gagaouzes = Les gens de Kaykāūs*, in *RO*, xvii (1951-52), 12-24; idem, *Yazījīoghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 639-68; E. A. Zakhariadou, Οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Ἰζζεδδὶν Καϊκαοὺς Β' στὴ Βέροια, in Μακεδονικά, vi (Salonika 1964), 62-74).

By the end of the 9th/15th century there were extensive rice-fields, state-run, in the meadows to the south and west of the town (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsi*, Istanbul 1952, 135-7; cf. FILĀḤA, p. 907). In the 11th/17th century (and presumably also before) Karaferye was administered as a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjaḳ* of Selānik [*q.v.*]. Ewliyā Čelebi described it as unwalled and ungarrisoned, but with the remains of a citadel; it had 4,000 houses, in 16 Muslim and 15 Christian quarters, with two Jewish *djemāʿat*s. In 1885 the *ḳaḍāʾ*, together with the *nāḥiye*

of Aghustos (Náoussa), comprised 46 villages and *čiftlik*s (*İA*, art. *Selânik*, p. 347a).

In the First Balkan War (Oct.-Dec. 1912), Karaferye fell to the Greeks on 25 October, and since the Treaty of Athens (14 Nov. 1913) it has belonged to Greece.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Beroia (1) (and references there given); *Belgeler*, i/1 (1964), 91 (*djizya* returns for 894/1489, for Karaverye, Serfiče [Sérvia] and Vodana [Édessa]); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, tr. J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 86; Ewliyā Čelebi, Seyāḥatnāme, viii, 181-6; F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*², Paris 1826-7, iii, 94; W. M. Leake, *Travels in northern Greece*, London 1835 (repr. 1967), iii, 290 ff.; M. F. Thielen, *Die europäische Türkey*, Vienna 1828, 130-1; ʿAlī Djewād, *Memālik-i ʿOthmāniyyenüñ ta'rīkh ve djughrāfyā lughatī*, Istanbul 1313-17, 605; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 1314/1892, 3639-40; Semavi Eyice, in *TM*, xii (1955), 206-7; I. K. Vasdravelli, Ἱστορικὸν Ἀρχεῖον Ἐκλογαί, Salonika 1942 (= Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, no. 3; 92 Turkish documents, A.D. 1595-1822); idem, Ἱστορικὰ ἀρχεῖα Μακεδονίας. Β′. Ἀρχεῖον Βεροίας-Ναούσης (1598-1886), Salonika 1954 (= Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, no. 19; 414 documents). (V. L. Ménage)

ḲARAGÖZ (Tk. "black eye"), the principal character in the Turkish shadow play, and also the shadow play theatre itself; the shadow player is called a *ḳaragözdjü* or *khayālī*.

The *ḳaragöz* theatre is played with inanimate actors and flat, two-dimensional figures (*ṣūret*, *taṣwīr*), manipulated by the shadow player who, as in the puppet theatre, makes them move and talks from behind a screen whilst he himself remains out of sight. The characters are presented in caricature; as well as human figures, there are also schematised repres entationsof certain animals, plants and objects, as well as fantastic beings and some rudimentary scenery. All the figures are made from leather (the superior ones used formerly to be made with camel hide), prepared in a special way and painted in bright colours. The human figures are jointed at one point (rarely at two points) in order to permit the required movements. The size of the figures varies between 7.5 cm. and 46 cm. in height for objects, animals and scenic features, and between 21 cm. and 40 cm. for the humans.

A stick (two sticks for the figure of Ḳaragöz and for a few other characters) 50 cm. long and as thick as a human finger has its pointed end inserted into a hole made in the figure's or object's body. The showman stands behind a screen made from muslin and one m. long by 0.60 m. high, and with the aid of the stick keeps the whole surface of the figure up against the screen and makes it move along it according to its movements in the play. He also makes the upper part of the figure's body move slightly in order to mark each character's replies, at the same time imitating the voice and accent appropriate to that character. The screen is illuminated from below by a lamp placed between the shadow player and the figures of the play. The shadow player retails the monologues and dialogues, and sings the songs; his assistant or apprentice passes the figures to him, does the sound effects and shakes a tambourine to mark the appearance of the characters on stage.

The *ḳaragöz* theatre was played before a very restricted public only. It used to be staged in the cafés during Ramaḍān or else in the salons of private houses during circumcision festivities or during the winter evenings.

The shadow play figures can be divided into three groups: (1) Inanimate objects. These are either pieces of scenery and accessories directly connected with the play's theme, such as the shop where Ḳaragöz functions as a grocer, the pickaxe which Ferhād uses to excavate a water channel in the mountain, etc.; or else a tree, a section of landscape, a group of figures, etc. without any direct connection with the play and called *göstermelik*, but shown on the screen before the actual play in order to attract the interest of spectators and fire their imagination. (2) Animals which may on occasion have a rôle in a play, such as Ḳaragöz's ass, Ferhād's horse, etc. (3) Fantastic beasts and beings, such as dragons, sorcerers, a magic poplar tree, etc. (4) Human characters, the actors in the play. Some of these appear only in a single play, when the latter is drawn from a work of popular literature, *e.g.*, Ferhād and Shīrīn, Ṭāhir and Zühre, but also in cases like that of ʿĀshıḳ Ḥasan and his son Muṣlī, who only appear in the play *The bloody poplar tree*. Other characters may appear in all the plays, such as Ḳaragöz and Hadjivad, the two central characters; the Zenne ("ladies"), women of various types and ages; Čelebi ("young man"); Matiz or Tuzsuz-Deli-Bekir ("the strong man"), often portrayed with the characteristics of a drunkard, but occasionally in the guise of a judge or arbiter; various types of provincials and foreigners (*e.g.*, the Frank), of Muslim minority groups (the Arab, the Laz) and of non-Muslim minority groups (the Jew, the Armenian, the Greek); persons depicted in caricature because of their physical or moral defects (*e.g.*, Beberuhi "the dwarf", Tiryākī "the opium smoker"); and so forth.

Hadjivad represents the petit bourgeois, the educated man, temperate, highly opportunist and universally respected; people often come to him for advice and help and often ask him to arrange complicated matters. His partner Ḳaragöz combines within himself all the minor vices; he is illiterate, greedy, ill-behaved and scandalously outspoken. He calls himself a gypsy; although he is a blacksmith by trade, he is often out of work and in perpetual financial difficulties, leading to frequent quarrels with his wife and necessitating the intervention of Hadjivad in order to find him a job. Hadjivad appears in two introductory scenes in the finale, holding the stage then for as long as his partner, whereas his presence in the action of the play proper is briefer. Ḳaragöz, on the other hand, is present all through the proceedings; he is involved in intrigues, even in those plays originating from outside genres. Whatever the origin of the play, it is always set in a place called by the shadow players *Küshterī meydānī* "Küshterī square", which derives its name from the learned Shaykh Kushterī, who lived in Bursa and died there *ca.* 767/1366; the invention of the *ḳaragöz* theatre is attributed to him in popular legend. The right-hand side of the screen (sc. the right-hand side as seen by the audience) is considered to be Ḳaragöz's house; he always enters the scene from there, and he alone occupies this half of the screen. The left-hand side is reserved for Hadjivad and all the other characters. All told, Ḳaragöz himself takes up a good half of the whole performance.

The text of a traditional play comprises four sections: (1) The prologue. Hadjivad comes in, chanting a *semāʿī* and then a *ghazel*, the so-called "screen *ghazel*", a poem couched in pseudo-philosophical terms, stressing the profound meaning of

the shadowplay and the lessons which the spectator may derive from it. Then he proclaims his desire to amuse himself by shouting for his "friend" Ķaragöz. The latter, disturbed by the noise, comes down into the street and beats Hadjivad. (2) The dialogue (*muḥāwere*) comprises either a discussion on any subject whatsoever between Hadjivad and Ķaragöz, whose comic effect comes from the contrast in character and the cultural levels of the two participants, or else it is the embellishment of an extravagant adventure of one of the two companions, usually Ķaragöz. The spectators are amused by the remarks and questions of the listener of the dialogue, and the verbose replies of the narrator; very often, the adventure turns out to be a dream or a delusion of hashish-taking.

The text of the dialogue may well be improvised, and the *ķaragözdjü*, according to the circumstances and according to his creative powers, may prolong it as he likes. However, there are some traditional plot outlines, and it seems—on the basis of the texts which have been collected—that the artists always followed them. Some 60 texts of these dialogues have been counted, some of them clearly later versions of a basic original. In the most recent and most complete edition of *ķaragöz* texts (Cevdet Kudret, *Ķaragöz*, 3 vols., Ankara 1968-70), 53 are given. Certain of these *muḥāwere*s, of the type comprising a narration of extravagant adventures, are variations of the *tekerleme* stories (see P. N. Boratav, *Le "tekerleme"*, Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, xvii, Paris 1963, 106-14, 174-5, types 51 I, 51 J, 51 K, 52, 53). Tradition permits the *ķaragözdjü* the freedom of prefixing a *muḥāwere* of his own choice to the play of his programme, whence the fact that in many editions of texts one finds different plays accompanied by the same "dialogue", or even the same play preceded by different "dialogues" in the various versions. When the dramatic section (sc. the "play" proper) is only short, or when the shadow player wishes, for some reason or other, to extend the show, he may add a second *muḥāwere* after the first one; this is called an *ara muḥāweresi* "intercalated dialogue". (3) The play proper (the *faṣīl*). There are two main categories of theme elaborated in this dramatic section: (a) Subjects drawn from popular romances, such as *Ferhād we Shīrīn*, or *Ṭāhir we Zühre*. A certain number of themes have also been enumerated as stemming from the popular stories of the *meddāḥ*s, such as *Handjerli Hanîm*, and *Ṭayyārzāde*, or from modern novels like *Ḥüseyin Fellāḥ* and *Ḥasan Mellāḥ* of Aḥmed Midḥat, but the texts of these are not extant. Cevdet Kudret, *op. cit.*, ii, 244-64, has edited an adaptation of Molière's comedy *Le Médecin malgré lui*. (b) Sketches inspired by everyday life in the towns, and peculiar to the *ķaragöz* theatre. Georg Jacob, in his *Türkische Literaturgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, I. Das türkische Schattentheater*, Berlin 1900, 46-54, has classified the plays in this second category thus: (i) Ķaragöz is out of work; Hadjivad finds him a job which looks like being agreeable and profitable. The ensuing farce revolved round the blunders, mistakes and extravagant behaviour of Karagöz in this job, for which he is totally unfitted. Plays in this group include *Ķaragöz the cook*, *Ķ. the grocer*, *The see-saw*, *The druggist's shop*, *Ķ. the poet*, etc. (ii) Karagöz tries to insinuate himself, or actually succeeds in doing so, into some forbidden or dangerous place, by mere curiosity, interest or chance, and this brings about a series of awkward situations and unpleasant confrontations. Examples of this group are *The bath*, *The garden*, *The bloody poplar tree*, etc. (iii) Ķaragöz embarks, unwittingly and without foreseeing the unpleasant consequences, on various complicated adventures. Through improvised actions, he astounds and disarms his opponents, turns tragic situations into comic ones, and emerges completely unscathed. The themes of plays like *The excursion to Yalova*, *The tavern*, *The lunatic asylum*, *Ķaragöz the hashish smoker*, etc., are built around these themes.

Several of the plays in both these categories belong equally to the répertoire of *ķaragöz* and to those of two other types of Turkish popular theatre, the *kukla* or marionette theatre and the *orta oyunu* or traditional theatre with living actors.

The number of "plays" (*faṣîl*) so far counted is 47. Kudret has edited 36 of them, choosing one text for those attested in several versions; for three other texts he has been unable to give more than the titles. It has also been possible to draw up two lists of "older plays" and "newer plays". Out of the 47 plays enumerated, 27 are known to be "plays from the older répertoire". It was formerly the practice to stage a different play for every evening of Ramaḍān, with the exception of the evening of the 26th-27th, the "Night of Power" [see RAMAḌĀN], when there was a break, out of respect for the especially sacred character of that evening. The conclusion is, therefore, that the traditional répertoire comprised 28 or 29 plays. It seems, too, that we should add to the total enumerated of 47 *ķaragöz* plays a large number of texts put together by "scholarly" authors, see Kudret, i, 45 and 56-9, bibliography nos. XXIV, XXX-XXXI, XXXIV-XXXVII, XL, XLII,and Aziz Nesin, *Üç karagöz oyunu*, ed. Düşün, Istanbul 1968.

Although scholars do not yet agree about the country of origin of the shadow theatre, it is generally recognised that it spread from eastern and south-east Asia towards the Near East and Europe. With regard to its appearance in the Ottoman territories, it was long believed that it had come from China through the mediation of the Mongols and via the traditional route through Central Asia and Iran. However, it has now been realised that scholars have been in error through the incorrect interpretation of a technical term: the *khayāl* of Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources does not mean "shadow figure" (whose equivalent is *Khayāl-i ẓill*, [*q.v.*]), but rather "figure" *tout court*, *i.e.*, it is not connected with the shadow theatre at all, but with three-dimensional marionettes. Thus whilst the puppet theatre has been known from an early date amongst the Mongols and Turks of Central Asia, as also among the Iranians, the shadow theatre has only existed among them in recent centuries.

In the Near Eastern lands, the shadow theatre goes back to the 6th/12th century, see Ritter, art. *Ķaragöz* in *İA*, and Metin And, *Geleneksel türk tiyatrosu*, Ankara 1969, 113. This is certain with regard to Egypt. Ibn Dāniyāl [*q.v.*] (7th/13th century) has left three texts for performance in this theatre, those themes have striking affinities with the plays of the traditional *karagöz* répertoire. Furthermore, some actual figures of the Egyptian shadow theatre, probably of 7th/13th or 8th/14th century construction, have come down to us; these too have many features in common with the Turkish *ķaragöz* figures.

The tradition of the Turkish *ķaragözdjüs* purports to trace the origin of their art to the time of Sultan Orkhan, and its invention to Shaykh Kushterī. Ewliyā Čelebi (11th/17th century) records a legend which would make the two main characters of the

theatre contemporaries of the Saldjūks of Anatolia, and which makes the gypsy Ḳaragöz a messenger for the Byzantine Emperor Constantine. These legends lack historical foundation. The oldest piece of evidence for the appearance of the shadow theatre in Ottoman territory comes from the 10th/16th century. The Egyptian chronicler Ibn Iyās speaks of a shadow theatre performance at Djizza in 923/1517 in front of Selīm I after his victory over the Mamlūks; the Ottoman sultan, delighted by this performance, wished to bring the shadow player to Istanbul. It is known from another source that under Aḥmed I (1012-26/1603-17) an Egyptian shadow play artist came to practice his art in Istanbul. From the end of the 10th/16th century onwards, we have extensive information about the *ḳaragöz* theatre, both in the travel narratives of western writers and also in Ottoman sources of various kinds; the most interesting details are given in the *sūrnāmes*, works describing festivities of various kinds, such as marriages, circumcisions, etc.

From the 11th/17th century, Ḳaragöz is clearly mentioned as the chief character of the shadow theatre. In all the regions to which this theatre spread, including lands with such diverse non-Turkish populations as Greece, Tripolitania, Tunisia and Algeria, it is called by various metamorphoses of the word *ḳaragöz*. Similarly, the Turkish *ḳaragöz* came to Egypt from the Ottoman homeland and was in the last century a favourite form of entertainment; it also gave the name *aragoz* to a type of Egyptian puppet.

It was probably only in the 11th/17th century that the *ḳaragöz* theatre acquired its actual technique and style. Ewliyā Čelebi gives details of certain amusing dialogues of Karagöz and Hadjivad and of several other characters, as well as outlines of a few plays in the classical répertoire.

The *ḳaragöz* theatre was an art form of the big towns in the Ottoman empire. In particular, it described the distinctive types and the manners of the motley peoples of the capital. It retained this emphasis even in the large provincial towns like Bursa and Izmir and in eastern Anatolia. Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of some famous shadow players of Erzerum; one wonders whether the *ḳaragöz* theatre might have acquired peculiar local features in the regions from the capital. Notes published on the *ḳaragöz* at Ḳars by Fahrettin Kırzıoğlu, *Kars şehrinde karagöz oyunu*, in *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, no. 112 (Nov. 1958), show this as possible, since the répertoire and the characters of the *karagöz* in that town display some local peculiarities.

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(P. N. Boratav)

KARAITES, a Jewish sect which does not recognize the authority of the post-biblical tradition incorporated in the Talmud and in later rabbinic works. It is the only Jewish sect (not counting the Samaritans) which has survived for over 1200 years and is still in existence. The name (in Hebrew *ḳārāʾīm, bene* (or *baʿāle*) *Miḳrāʾ*; in Arabic *ḳarāʾiyyūn*, occasionally *aṣḥāb ʿĀnān wa-Binyāmīn*) is variously explained as "readers (*ḳārāʾ*) of Scripture (*Miḳrāʾ*)" and as "callers (to the true faith)", from the alternate meaning of *ḳārāʾ*, "to call, to invite", (cf. the Shīʿī "callers", *duʿāt*, sing. *dāʿī*).

(1) History. Although Karaism as we know it, and as the Karaites themselves have always known it, is essentially the product of the intellectual and social ferment in the Jewish community of the Muslim empire, the influence of several historical factors can be discerned in the early period of its development. The basic factor was probably the ancient and uninterrupted resistance on the part of some segments of Jewry to the growing oral tradition (the Oral Law) and to the authority of its tradents and interpreters, which resulted in a number of dissident sects antedating or contemporary with the Talmudic era (Sadducees, Essenes, Qumran sectarians), all insisting on the monopoly of the Bible as the sole source of divinely inspired law. Contributing factors probably were: (1). The collapse of the messianic hopes which had been inspired by the spectacular fall of Persian and Byzantine rule and rise of the Muslim empire in the 1st/7th century, and sorrowful realization that the redemption of Zion and the end of the exile were not at hand; (2). The growing social unrest in the most populous autonomous Jewish settlement, that of ʿIrāḳ (Babylonia), where the poorer classes of rural tenant-farmers and urban artisans and labourers felt themselves grievously oppressed by the official bureaucracy of the exilarch (*raʾs al-djālūt*, the official representative of ʿIrāḳi Jewry before the caliph's court) and of the *geonim* (sing. *gaon*; the presidents of the ʿIrāḳi talmudic academies); (3). The consolidation of the vast Muslim empire, which resulted in the opening of the sparsely populated mountainous lands to the east and north of ʿIrāḳ to settlement by discontented emigrants, both gentiles and Jews.

It was no doubt these malcontents who formed the nucleus of what later became Karaism. The earliest known sectarian leader, Abū ʿĪsā Obadiah (ʿAbd Allāh) al-Iṣfahānī q.v. of Isfahan, in Iran, organized an armed revolt against the government of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (65-86/685-705), but was quickly defeated and slain, although some of his followers asserted that he did not die but went into hiding, meaning that he would in due time reappear, like the Shīʿī hidden *imām*. His successor, Yūdghān, was

likewise thought to continue in hiding until his eventual reappearance [see ʿIsāwiyya].

By the middle of the 2nd/8th century the schism penetrated back into ʿIrāḳ, particularly into the newly-built capital city of Baghdād, where it was joined by ʿĀnān b. David, a member of the highest echelon of the rabbinic aristocracy. The traditional rabbinic account (quoted by the 6th/12th century Karaite author Elijah b. Abraham) designates him as the actual founder of Karaism and gives as his motive for secession his bitter resentment at his failure to be elected to the office of exilarch. This oversimplified story would seem to be true only to the extent that ʿĀnān had lent his aristocratic and scholarly prestige to the budding schism, and what is even more important, composed the first code of schismatic law (*Sefer ha-miṣwot*), which is the earliest extant Karaite literary document. His followers, called Ananites (*ʿĀnāniyyim*, *ʿĀnāniyya*), styled him exilarch, and his lineal descendants bore the title of Karaite prince (*nāśīʾ*); few of them, however, distinguished themselves as either leaders or scholars.

The 3rd/9th century produced several schismatic teachers, some of whom sharply criticized ʿĀnān's views: Ismāʿīl and Mīshawayh al-ʿUkbarī (of ʿUkbarā, in ʿIrāḳ), Benjamin al-Nahāwandi, in Iran; the first to use the collective term Karaites), and Malik al-Ramlī (of Ramla, in Palestine). Mūsā al-Zaʿfarānī (of the Zaʿfarān district in Baghdad) migrated with his followers to Tiflīs, in Armenia, and became known as Abū ʿImrān al-Tiflīsī. With Daniel al-Ḳūmisī (a native of Dāmghān, in the Iranian province of Ḳūmis), Karaism reached the 4th/10th century.

The surnames just listed indicate the fairly rapid territorial expansion of Karaism during this early period. Daniel al-Ḳūmisī was the first eminent Karaite scholar known to have settled in Jerusalem, and other Karaite communities were established in Damascus, Cairo, and other smaller towns. Zealous Karaite preachers undertook missionary journeys to seek converts among rabbinic audiences, but apparently with little success, for with the exception of ʿĀnān, not a single early Karaite scholar is stated to have been a convert from rabbinism, and early Karaite writings are replete with sad complaints about the smallness and poverty of their communities. In any case, a more or less amicable *modus vivendi* prevailed for a long time between the schism and the rabbinic mother-synagogue, but in the first half of the 4th/10th century this peaceful situation came to an abrupt end. Saadiah al-Fayyūmī (882-942 A.D.), president of the rabbinic academy at Sūrā (in ʿIrāḳ), an exceedingly brilliant and influential scholar, published a series of polemical writings in which he condemned the Karaites as outright heretics who had cut themselves off completely from rabbinic Judaism. The effect of this sudden and unexpected blow upon the Karaites was cataclysmic: it deprived them of the only missionary field open to them, and it extinguished forever their cherished hope of eventually persuading their rabbinic cousins to return to the true—that is, Karaite—faith. No wonder their reaction was most bitter, and polemics against Saadiah run like a scarlet thread through Karaite literature from that time on down to the 19th century.

On the other hand, the necessity to combat Saadiah's scholarly criticism ushered in the golden age (4th-5th/10th-11th centuries) of Karaite scholarship, and brought about not only the consolidation of the various schismatic groups into a more or less unified sect, but also some modest but highly necessary reforms which softened to some extent the rigorous burden of Karaite practice. At the same time, ʿIrāḳ and Iran gradually lost their primacy as Karaite centres and were superseded by Jerusalem and Cairo, and new settlements were established in the Balkans (then under Byzantine rule; first half of the 5th/11th century), Cyprus (6th/12 th century), Spain (where Karaism, under the leadership of Ibn al-Tarās, 5th/11th century, endured for a while but eventually disappeared entirely), Crimea (7th/13th century), and Lithuania (end of 8th/14th century). The First Crusade (1099 A.D.) put an end to all Jewish activity in Palestine and much of Syria, and the Karaite academy in Jerusalem, which had trained scholars from many countries, went out of existence. Some Karaite scholarly activity shifted to Cairo, but most of it moved to Constantinople where Greek-speaking Karaite translators turned some Arabic Karaite classics into Hebrew, thus making them accessible to later generations of Western Karaites who knew no Arabic. The liquidation of the Byzantine empire with the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 A.D. gave a new impetus to Karaite scholarship, and the Istanbul community, now Greek and Turkish-speaking, gave its spiritual support to the Crimean and Lithuanian settlements, where a Tatar dialect was, and still is, spoken. The decline of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries resulted in the rise in importance of the latter settlements, which by the end of the 18th century came under Russian rule. Soon thereafter the Russian Karaites succeeded in obtaining from the Czarist government full rights of citizenship, thus escaping the crushing restrictions which were imposed upon their rabbinic cousins. During World War II the Crimean, Polish and Lithuanian Karaites were left unmolested by the German occupational authorities, on the ground that they were ethnically not of the Jewish race. In the post-war period, however, many Karaites in Egypt and ʿIrāḳ, including the entire ancient community in Hīt (on the Euphrates), found themselves compelled to emigrate to Israel, where they settled in several compact colonies (Ramla, Ashdod, etc.). No accurate statistics of the Karaite population of the world are available; an approximate figure is 12,000—13,000.

(2). Literature. No writings by pre-Ananite schismatics have been preserved, although at least one of them, Abū ʿĪsā al-Iṣfahānī, reputedly illiterate (cf. Muḥammad's epithet *ummī*), is said to have miraculously produced books and volumes. ʿĀnān's code, written in Aramaic (the language of the Talmud), is the earliest Karaite document of which fragments have survived. Benjamin al-Nahāwandī also composed a code of law, written in Hebrew, of which only a portion has survived, as well as commentaries on some biblical books. Daniel al-Ḳūmisī wrote a code of law and a commentary on the Bible, likewise in Hebrew, known only in fragments. The overwhelming bulk of later literature, composed by Karaite authors resident in Muslim countries (except Turkey) down to the 15th century, was written in Arabic. After the First Crusade, the Balkan Karaite translators used a clumsy Hebrew heavily interlarded with Arabic and Greek loanwords. Later Karaite authors in Turkey, Crimea, Lithuania, and Poland, down to the 20th century, wrote in a more idiomatic Hebrew, and occasionally in the spoken Karaite-Tatar dialect, which was written in Hebrew characters.

The golden age of Karaite literary activity opened with the works of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Ḳirḳisānī (or al-Ḳarḳasānī, of Ḳirḳīsiyā [Circesium] on the Euphrates, or Ḳarḳasān near Baghdād), a man of encyclopaedic learning and a keen analytic mind who wrote two voluminous works entitled *Kitāb al-anwār waʾl-marāḳib* (code of law) and *Kitāb al-riyāḍ waʾl-ḥadāʾiḳ* (commentary on the non-legal portions of the Pentateuch). The former also provides the earliest, most detailed, and most reliable information on the sectarian leaders and groups which eventually coalesced into the unified Karaite sect, and has probably served as the chief source for all subsequent accounts, both Jewish and Muslim. His smaller works, not yet recovered, include commentaries on Genesis, Job, and Ecclesiastes, a refutation of Muḥammad's claim to prophecy (*Kitāb fī ifsād nubuwwat Muḥammad*), essays (*ḳawl*) on textual interpretation (*ʿala ʾl-tafsīr wa-sharḥ al-maʿānī*) and on the art of translation (*ʿala ʾl-tardjama*), and others. His younger contemporary, Salmon b. Jeroham (Sulaym, or Sulaymān, b. Ruḥaym) wrote a violent tract against Saadiah (only the Hebrew version, entitled *Milḥamōt ha-Shēm*, has been preserved) and commentaries in Arabic on several biblical books. The end of the 4th/10th century produced the foremost Karaite Bible-commentator, Japheth b. Eli (Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Baṣrī), who was still living in 395/1004-5 and wrote a commentary on the entire Bible, in Arabic, with a very literal and often grammatically awkward Arabic rendering of each Hebrew verse. Karaite study of Hebrew grammar and lexicography, necessitated by the Karaite preoccupation with biblical exegesis, resulted in the monumental Hebrew-Arabic dictionary (*Djāmiʿ al-alfāẓ*) by David b. Abraham al-Fāsī (of Fez, in Morocco). A zealous and expert Karaite missionary, Abu ʾl-Surrī Sahl b. Maṣlīaḥ, wrote a long epistle in Hebrew (in which he promises to write an Arabic version also) in answer to his rabbinic opponents with whom he came in conflict, probably in Cairo. Japheth b. Eli's son, Abū Saʿīd Levi b. Japheth, followed his illustrious father in composing a series of brief exegetical glosses (*nukat*) on the Bible, as well as an authoritative code of law (composed in 397/1006-7), the latter known only under the Hebrew title of *Sēfer ha-miṣwōt*.

The 5th/11th century saw the Karaite academy in Jerusalem, presided over by Joseph b. Noah (Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Nūḥ), in full flourish and produced a number (reputedly 70) of eminent scholars. Joseph b. Noah himself wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch and a Hebrew grammar. His pupil, Aaron b. Jeshuah (Abu ʾl-Faradj Hārūn b. al-Faradj), composed a grammatico-lexicographical work entitled *al-Mushtamil*, another grammatical work entitled *al-Kāfī*, and a commentary on the Pentateuch. Another pupil of Joseph b. Noah, Joseph ha-Rōʾeh (Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf al-Baṣīr; "the Seeing", euphemistically for "the Blind"), the foremost Karaite philosopher of the 5th/11th century, composed an adaptation of the Muʿtazilī *kalām* entitled *al-Muḥtawī* (abridged by the author under the title *Kitāb al-tamyīz* or *al-Kitāb al-Manṣūrī*), and a code of law entitled *Kitāb al-istibṣār*. Joseph ha-Rōʾeh's advocacy of the relaxation of the suicidal severity of the original Karaite law of incest was developed further by his pupil Jeshuah b. Judah (Abu ʾl-Faradj Furḳān b. Asad) in a work known only in its Hebrew translation entitled *Sēfer ha-ʿărāyōt*; he also composed several theologico-philosophical works.

The First Crusade marked the transfer of the centre of Karaite literary activity to the Balkans, where Hebrew was the literary vehicle, with a secondary branch in Egypt, where Arabic continued to be the literary language. The two most eminent Byzantine translators, Tobiah b. Moses and Jacob b. Simeon, turned a number of Karaite Arabic classics into Hebrew. Judah Hadassī (of Edessa, the modern Urfa, in Turkey, near the Syrian border) compiled a large encyclopedia (begun in 1148 A.D.) of early Karaite learning entitled *Eshkōl ha-kōfer*. Jacob b. Reuben wrote a commentary on the Bible, mainly compiled from older Arabic-writing authors, entitled *Sēfer hā-ʿōsher*. In Egypt, Karaite efforts to write Hebrew poetry produced (about the middle of the 6th/12th century) the most eminent poet of the earlier period, Moses Darʿī (of Darʿa, in Morocco, but born in Alexandria, Egypt), who imitated, not very successfully, the great rabbinic poets of the Spanish school, and left an extensive *dīwān* of poetic pieces, both religious and secular. Japheth (Ḥasan b. Abi ʾl-Ḥasan) al-Barḳamānī, who lived in the middle of the 7th/13th century, wrote in Arabic a medical work (*al-Maḳāla al-Muḥsiniyya fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa al-badaniyya*) and a polemical treatise. Israel ha-Maʿărābī (al-Maghribī), an eminent theologian and jurist in Cairo (first half of the 8th/14th century), wrote a number of works in Arabic. Samuel b. Moses al-Maghribī completed in 837/1434 a concise code of law entitled *al-Murshid* (the last Karaite code written in Arabic), and David b. al-Hītī (of Hīt, on the Euphrates), his younger contemporary, wrote a brief but valuable Arabic chronicle of Karaite scholars from ʿĀnān down to his own time. Some eighty years earlier a lesser poet, Moses b. Samuel of Ṣafad, in Palestine, left a *dīwān* of Hebrew poems, in which the most interesting piece is a long epic poem describing his troubled career as clerk (*kātib*) in charge of the private estates of the amir of Damascus and his forced conversion (in 755/1354) to Islam and pilgrimage to Mecca; he finally escaped to Egypt, where he seems to have returned to his ancestral faith.

In Byzantine Karaism, the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries marked a substantial literary revival. Aaron b. Joseph (Aaron the Elder) wrote (after 691/1292) a much esteemed philosophical commentary on the Pentateuch (*Sēfer ha-mibḥār*), but is equally renowned also for his redaction of the official Karaite liturgy, in which he included a number of poetic hymns, many of his own composition. Another Aaron, Aaron b. Elijah (Aaron the Younger, of Nicomedia, the modern Izmīd or Izmit, in Asia Minor; d. 770/1369), produced a complete *summa* of Karaite theology, in three parts, philisophical (*ʿĒṣ ḥayyim*, obviously intended as the Karaite counterpart of Maimonides' *Dalālat al-ḥāʾrīn*), legal (*Gan ʿĒden*), and exegetical (*Keter Tōrāh*). In the 9th/15th century, Elijah Bashyāčī, *ḥākām* (rabbi) of the Istanbul Karaite community, died in 895/1490, leaving behind him an unfinished code of law entitled *Adderet Ēliyyāhū*, which was continued, but not completed, by his brother-in-law Caleb Afendopolo (d. after 1522 A.D.), an encyclopaedic scholar in his own right. It was recognized by most Karaites as the most authoritative manual of their law and ritual.

The decline of the Ottoman empire once more shifted the centre of Karaite literary activity, this time to the Crimea, Lithuania and Poland. The town of Troki (near Wilna, in Lithuania) produced its most famous Karaite son, Isaac b. Abraham (d. 1594 A.D. [1586?]), whose tract against Christianity, entitled *Ḥizzūḳ emūnāh*, evoked Voltaire's praise for

its skill and acumen. The interest shown in Karaism, from the middle of the 17th century onward, by Protestant theologians (Johann Rittangel, Gustav Peringer, Johann Puffendorf, Lewin Warner, Jacob Trigland and others) resulted in several works by their Karaite informants, setting forth, of course from the partisan Karaite point of view, the history of the Karaite secession from the mother-synagogue, the elements of Karaite belief, and the history of Karaite literature: *Appiryōn*, by Solomon b. Aaron of Troki (d. 1745 A.D.); *Dōd Mordekay* and *Lebūsh malkūt*, by Mordecai b. Nisan of Kukizów (near Lvóv, in Polish Galicia). The Karaite community of Lutsk, in Volhynia, produced the first Karaite bibliographer, Simḥah Isaac b. Moses (d. 1766 A.D., whose *Nēr* (*Ōraḥ*) *ṣaddīḳīm*, a history of Karaism, has an appendix containing a list of Karaite writers and their works. He also wrote an extensive commentary on Aaron the Younger's philosophical *ʿĒṣ ḥayyim*.

The most eminent Karaite author of the 19th century was Abraham Firkovič (1785-1874). Armed with the official authorization of the Russian government, he travelled extensively in the Crimea, the Caucasus, Syro-Palestine and Egypt, gathering original materials for the history of the Karaites. Unfortunately, in his zeal to prove that the Karaites had left Palestine before the advent of Jesus and therefore had no part in his crucifixion, he permitted himself to tamper with dates in manuscripts and on tombstones, and thus blemished his otherwise well-founded reputation for scholarship. The mass of manuscripts he collected (sometimes, to be sure, in a rather highhanded fashion) was later acquired by the Leningrad Public Library, and forms one of the largest, though least utilized, Karaite manuscript collections in the world. His older contemporary, Mordecai Sultansky (d. 1862), composed a number of works, the best known being *Zēker ṣaddīḳīm*, valuable as a detailed specimen of the present-day official Karaite version of the sect's history and its relationship to the rabbinic mother-synagogue.

(3). Dogma and Practice. Aside from the rejection of the authority of the post-biblical tradition, there is no basic divergence between Karaite and rabbinic dogmatics. The Karaite creed, as formulated in ten articles by Elijah Bashyāčī (9th/15th century), postulates the existence of God, Creator of the world and all that is in it, the divine inspiration of all the biblical prophets, the authority of the Torah and the duty of the believer to study it, the certainty of the resurrection of the dead and of the final judgment, the responsibility of each human being for his own deeds, and the eventual advent of the Messiah. An earlier Arabic creed (*ʿAḳāʾid*), formulated by Israel ha-Maʿărābī (8th/14th century), still adhered to by the Egyptian Karaites, has only six articles, and omits all mention of the Messiah—a puzzling peculiarity for which no satisfactory explanation has so far been suggested. None of these articles of faith conflicts with rabbinic teachings.

In fact the Karaite rejection of postbiblical tradition and the cry "Back to the Bible!" already proved impractical as early as the time of ʿĀnān, who found himself compelled to deduce new laws from the biblical text by the method of analogy (Hebrew *heḳḳēsh*, Arabic *ḳiyās*), supposedly borrowed by him from the *imām* Abū Ḥanīfa, whom he is said to have met in prison. Life in the social and economic milieu of the Muslim empire simply could not, as a practical matter, be governed by a code of law enacted in Palestine a thousand or more years earlier. ʿĀnān's successor as the second *pater synagogae*, Benjamin al-Nahāwandī, freely borrowed from talmudic law. In this manner the monopoly of the Bible was gradually extended into the three official basic sources of Karaite law; the scriptural text (Hebrew *kātūb*, Arabic *naṣṣ*), analogy based on it, and the consensus of the successive generations of scholars (Hebrew *ḳibbūṣ*, *ʿēdāh* [inspired by the Arabic *ʿāda*?], later *sēbel ha-yĕrūshāh*, "burden of inheritance"; Arabic *idjmāʿ*), the latter term covering laws which have no direct or indirect root in the Bible, but which are not contrary to it or to reason and logic, and have been accepted by the generality of scholars after exhaustive study (*naẓar*, *baḥth*). The early Karaite leaders developed a strong centrifugal tendency, expressed in the maxim attributed to ʿĀnān, "Search thoroughly in the Torah, and rely not on my opinion", and recognized the right of every individual, within certain limits, to draw his own conclusions from his own study of Scripture and to abide by them. But time and experience modified this tendency, too, and produced more or less general obedience to prevalent scholarly opinion, at least in the particular country or region. In matters of philosophy of religion, the earlier Karaite scholars chose to accept the Muʿtazilī *kalām* almost in its entirety, and the later philosophical writers felt duty-bound to stand by their predecessors and permitted themselves only as few deviations from them as possible. There was thus in Karaism no such further progression to Neo-Platonism and Aristotelianism as occurred in rabbinic philosophy.

The intense and impatient nationalistic-messianic tendency which inspired Abū ʿĪsā's armed revolt (1st/7th century) against the Muslim authorities subsequently subsided into a no less intense but more peaceful longing for an end to the exile and for the restoration of Zion in all its glory. One result of this was the unceasing and rather touching effort on the part of the Karaites to maintain at least a small representative community of pious individuals in Jerusalem, who by prayer, fasting, and other devotional exercises besought God to "hasten the end". Some of these Karaite pietists belonged to the ascetic order of "Mourners for Zion" (Hebrew *Ăbēlē Ṣiyyōn*), which included rabbinic members as well. Another consequence of this powerful messianic feeling was the rather sombre and cheerless tone of the Karaite way of life, in which the elements of joy and pleasure inherent in such ancient institutions as Sabbath and Passover were as far as possible excluded, as incompatible with the sad plight of Israel in exile. Yet at the same time the usual concomitant of messianism, mysticism, which eventually came to flourish in rabbinic intellectual circles, was roundly condemned by Karaite scholars as impious and wicked.

It is in practical theology that Karaism parts ways with rabbinic usage, and here the earmark of Karaism is greater rigour and rejection of such relaxations or extensions of biblical law as were introduced by the rabbis in order to conform with changing public opinion and changing circumstances —for example, the replacement of the *lex talionis* by monetary compensation, the extension of the interdict of seething a kid's flesh in its mother's milk into an extensive dietary legislation, the substitution of a fixed mathematical calendar for the visual observation of the phases of the moon, etc. Hence radical reform, in the modern sense, could never gain a foothold in Karaism. The only change resembling such basic reform was the modest

liberalization by Jeshuah b. Judah (5th/11th century) of the suicidal so-called catenary (Hebrew *rikkūb*, Arabic *tarkīb*) theory of incest, which by endless compounding of analogy upon analogy to the forbidden relatives listed in the Bible had made it increasingly difficult for Karaites to find mates whom they could lawfully marry. A few other milder reforms were vigorously resisted and were adopted only locally under the pressure of practical conditions of life—for example, the relaxation of the biblical prohibition of all fire on the Sabbath, to permit lighting of the synagogue on Sabbath eve and leaving fire in ovens (kindled before the onset of the Sabbath) for heating of homes and keeping food warm during the Sabbath day, matters of vital necessity during the severe winters in Poland and Russia; or the introduction of a mixed visual and mathematical calendar, in order to secure at least some uniformity of holy days in the northern climes, where observation of the new moon is often impossible. Even with all these minor reforms, Karaite law still remains far more restrictive than rabbinic law in matters of marriage (levirate marriage is forbidden), inheritance (the husband has no right to his deceased wife's estate), diet, Sabbath rest, ritual cleanliness, dates of holidays (Pentecost is fixed invariably on a Sunday, a custom which appears to be one of the most ancient earmarks of Jewish sectarianism), etc. Mixed marriages between Karaite and rabbinic parties seem, curiously enough, to have been quite frequent in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries in Egypt and Syria, even among the upper echelons of Jewish society, and in such instances clauses were added in the marriage contract to safeguard the right of each party to observe the customs of his or her faith. Later on, however, the practice dwindled and such mixed marriages became quite rare. Polygamy was never explicitly forbidden by Karaite law (as it was by western rabbinic law), but seems to have been quite rare even in Muslim countries, and was certainly impossible in the West, where the law of the land (recognized by both Karaites and rabbinic Jews as binding) forbade it.

The codification of the Karaite liturgy by Aaron the Elder (7th/13th century) has been mentioned above. Originally Karaite rigorism led to an insistence that all formal prayer must consist exclusively of biblical psalmody, and the rabbinic practice of complementing biblical prayers with prose prayers and versified hymns composed by later authors was therefore condemned. But the passage of time and the example of the elaborate and poetically rich rabbinic prayerbook made their influence felt, and Aaron's order of prayer, supplemented by later additions in prose and verse, has finally developed into the voluminous liturgical corpus that it is today.

The relationship of Karaism to the older Jewish sects, particularly the Sadducees and the Dead Sea community, on the one hand, and to Islam, particularly S̲h̲īʿism, on the other, is still very obscure. Similarities and dissimilarities can be easily cited in both respects. The nature of Karaism as we know it, as the product of the Muslim milieu, makes it highly likely that, while it represents another link in the ancient chain of Jewish heterodoxy, it is certainly not, at least chronologically, a direct heir to its Jewish sectarian predecessors. Nor has it ever made any visible attempt at *Gleichschaltung* with Islam—every feature of Karaism is, at any rate as far as we can judge in the present state of our knowledge, a genuine product of Jewish history, Jewish tradition and Jewish thought.

(4). Printing. Unlike the rabbinic Jews, who eagerly seized upon Gutenberg's invention and produced a flood of printed books from the 1470s down to the present day, the Karaites ignored the printing press until well into the 18th century. The earliest Karaite printed book, an edition of the liturgy, was set up by rabbinic typesetters in 1528-9 A.D. at the Christian press of Daniel Bomberg in Venice. The second Karaite book was an edition of Bas̲h̲yāčī's *Adderet Ēliyyāhū*, printed at Istanbul in 1530-1 A.D. by Gershom, a member of the great rabbinic family of masterprinters, the Soncinos. Two smaller Karaite books appeared in 1581-2 A.D., likewise in Istanbul, from an unnamed but probably rabbinic press. In the 17th century only one Karaite book was published, that in 1643 A.D. by the rabbinic press of Manasseh ben Israel (the correspondent of Oliver Cromwell) at Amsterdam.

The first Karaite printers were the brothers Afdah (Afidah) and Shabbethai Yĕrāḳā, who in 1733 issued a few sample sheets of the liturgy at Istanbul, but subsequently moved to Čufut-Ḳale in the Crimea, where they published a few books in 1734-41, whereupon they apparently went out of business. In 1804, soon after the Crimea was annexed by Russia, a new press was organized, likewise in Čufut-Ḳale, and four more books were issued from it in 1804-6. The first more or less successful Karaite press was established in 1833 at Eupatoria (Gozlow), also in the Crimea, and published a series of important old texts.

The reason for this neglect of the printing press by the Karaites can only be conjectured. Presumably it was their traditional dislike of innovations, however beneficial, and the very limited circle of prospective purchasers of books, which made printing a philantropic undertaking rather than a minimally profitable business.

Bibliography: No authoritative general history of Karaism is in existence, and the older works by J. Fürst (*Geschichte des Karäerthums*, Leipzig 1862-9) and W. H. Rule (*History of the Karaite Jews*, London 1870) must be used with great caution. Z. Cahn's *The rise of the Karaite sect*, New York 1937, is devoid of any value. The only reliable general sketches are those of S. Poznanski in *Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics*, vii, 662-72, and I. Markon in *Encyclopaedia judaica*, ix, 923-45, revised and augmented by L. Nemoy in *Encyclopaedia judaica* [in English], x, 761-85. S. Pinsker's *Liḳḳūṭē ḳadmōniyyōt*, Vienna 1860, is still valuable only for the original texts published in it for the first time. J. Mann's *Texts and studies, ii: Karaitica*, Philadelphia 1935, is a veritable thesaurus of documents and studies, but the major portion of it is devoted to the modern period after 1500 A.D. R. Mahler's *Karaimer*, New York 1947, is a Marxist-oriented interpretation of Karaism as a movement for political and socio-economic liberation; it is, however, a timely counterweight to the older predominantly theological view of Karaite history, and points out the great need to investigate more fully the social and economic factors in the sect's history. The history of the Arabic literature of the Karaites is included in M. Steinschneider's *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfurt-on-Main 1902 (addenda by Poznanski in *OLZ*, vii, 1904), which obviously does not include a number of important texts published after that year. Karaite anti-Saadian polemics are sketched in S. Poznanski's *The Karaite literary opponents of Saadiah Gaon*, London 1908. B. Revel's *The Karaite halakah, i*

(all published), Philadelphia 1913, is somewhat antiquated. L. Nemoy, *Karaite anthology*, New Haven 1952, offers an annotated English translation of extracts from some of the most important texts prior to 1500 A.D. The principal Karaite philosophical writers are discussed in I. Husik's *A history of medieval Jewish philosophy*, New York 1916. P. S. Goldberg's *Karaite liturgy and its relation to synagogue worship*, Manchester 1957, is a useful comparative study, but is based solely on Hebrew Karaite sources, leaving the Arabic sources (particularly al-Ḳirḳisānī's order of the liturgy; L. Nemoy, *The liturgy of al-Qirqisānī*, in *Studies ... in honor of I. Edward Kiev*, New York 1971) entirely out of consideration. See also S. W. Baron, *A social and religious history of the Jews*, New York 1957, v, 209-85, 388-416 (for further references to Karaism see index to volumes i-viii, New York 1960); Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, New York 1959; N. Wieder, *The Judean scrolls and Karaism*, London 1962; A. Paul, *Écrits de Qumran et sectes juives aux premiers siècles de l'Islam: recherches sur l'origine du Qaraïsme*, Paris 1969 (defends more or less the traditional role of ʿĀnān as the founder of Karaism and the direct connexion between Karaism and Qumran); S. Poznanski, *Karaïsche Drucke und Druckereien* (unfinished), in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, xxi-xxii (1918-20). The Arab accounts of Karaism (in the works of al-Bīrūnī, al-Shahrastānī, al-Maḳrīzī and others) are all based on uncritical data supplied by Karaite informants and often misunderstood and distorted, and are therefore of little if any historical value.

(L. Nemoy)

(5). The Karaites in Eastern Europe. Apart from Karaite settlements in the Byzantine empire, from around the 9th century Karaism began to disseminate in the western areas of the Khazar Ḳaghanate. In the early years of the 20th century, there were still members of the confession among the Slavs, in a group of Kuban Cossacks. The main bulk of the Karaites in these areas, however, was of Turkic origin, the name of their creed having become at the same time an ethnonym (ḳaray, pl. ḳaraylar; karaim, karaimi, karamI in Polish and Russian; the language is called ḳaray tili, ḳarayča, ḳaraimča). Since the 11th century the Karaites lived for the most part in the south of Crimea; as farmers, artisans and merchants, they enjoyed a privileged position in the Crimean Khānate, both from judicial and economic aspects. Their communities at Mangup and Ḳïrḳ-yer were described in 1666 by the famous Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*]. In the late 14th century Vitold, Grand-Duke of Lithuania, settled some of the Crimean Karaites in his lands during his wars against the Tatars. They served in his guard in his capital, Troki, and were garrisoned in his strongholds on the border; here, too, they were granted land and privileges as well as an autonomous communal organisation. There are good grounds for believing that they spread from Lithuania southwards, settling at Luck, Lvov, and Halicz. By the end of the 17th century, the Polish and Lithuanian areas comprised 32 communities in all. Without severing their ties with the Crimea and Istanbul, Karaites here (mainly in Lvov and Halicz) were engaged also in ransoming Polish prisoners of war from Muslim captivity and in trade with the East. The epidemics and wars of the 17th and 18th centuries gradually reduced their smaller settlements. At the present day, compact Karaim communities survive at Luck, Halicz, Panevežys, Troki, and (since the 19th century) in Vilna.

For many years the main Karaite centre was at Ḳïrḳ-yer, where in 1731 a Karaite printing-press was established. When the Crimean Khānate fell, contacts between the Crimean communities and those in Lithuania and Poland became stronger, resulting in the gradual Europeanisation of the Crimean Karaites. In the 19th century their main centre was at Gözleve (Eupatoria), where in 1837 the Tauridian Karaite Religious Board was established, and later a Karaite religious college and library. On Lithuanian territories (integrated from the end of the 18th century with the Crimea), a separate Karaite religious board was established in 1857 at Troki. When, with the end of World War I, Poland regained its independence, Troki maintained its sway over the Panevežys community in Lithuania and extended it to Halicz, a centre formerly isolated from the others (under Austrian rule). The Troki and Crimean Karaites resumed regular relations after World War II, while on the other hand a separate Karaite Religious Board was established in 1945 in Poland (Warsaw). After World War I, groups of Crimean Karaites went to settle in other European countries (chiefly in Paris). One outstanding leader was S. Szapszal (1873-1961), elected head of the Religious Board at Troki (1927), who contributed largely to the organization of Karaite communal life.

Anthropological research carried out on Karaites in Poland and Lithuania (mainly by C. Gini, 1936) revealed their resemblance to the Tchuvash, evidence supporting the recognition of the Karaites of Eastern Europe as a Turkic nation converted to Karaism. Their language belongs to the Ḳïpčaḳ sub-group of the Turkic family. West-Karaim, somewhat different from that of Crimean Karaim, has two dialects; the northern (Troki, Panevežys, and Vilna), and the southern (Luck and Halicz). Both in its vocabulary and syntax it shows numerous borrowings from Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Slavonic languages and Lithuanian. In Karaite folklore there are visible traces of historic relations with the Khazars [*q.v.*] (Ḥazar oghlu and Ḥazar biy[i] in Crimean songs) and many wholly Turkic elements, such as the initial formula bir bar edi in a lullaby, many riddles and proverbs. In their general culture there are also similar vestiges of a Khazarian past (talḳï, an original dough-kneading device; the dishes ḥazar ḥelvāsï or ḥazar ḳaymaghï "Khazar ḥelvā", served at times of mourning occasions; ḳatlama, a seven-layered cheese cake, etc.).

For centuries the main intellectual interest of the Karaites has been their religion. Apart from Hebrew, their scholars also wrote in the Karaim language: translations of the Bible, remarkable for their omission of anthropomorphic definitions of the divine attributes, and also original works. In the cultural field, the influence of the Christian world (in Poland) and of the Muslim (in Crimea) was felt. Towards the end of the 19th century secular works also began to appear, the most prominent Karaite authors writing in Karaim being I. Erak (Crimea, 19th century), Z. Abrahamowicz (Halicz, 1878-1903), S. Kobecki (Troki, 1865-1933), A. Mardkowicz (Luck, 1875-1944), J. Lobanos (Vilna, 1878-1947), and S. Firkovič (Troki, b. 1897). There were several Karaite periodicals, published in Russian (*Karaimskaya Zhizn'*; *Karaimskoe Slovo*), Polish (*Myśl Karaimska*) and Karaim (*Sahyszymyz*, "Our Thought", Vilna 1927; *Karaj Awazy*, "The Karaim Voice", Luck, 1931-38; *Onarmach*, "Development",

Panevežys, 1937-39). Several Karaites in East Europe devoted themselves to Turkic studies (S. Szapszal, A. Zajączkowski, and others).

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(W. Zajączkowski)

al-**KARAK**, a fortress situated to the east of the Dead Sea, in the ancient Moab and at an altitude of *ca.* 3,000 feet. The name comes from Aramaic *karkhā* "town" and is found in the form χαραχμωβα in Ptolemy (v, 16, 4), on the mosaic map of Mādaba and in Stephen of Byzantium. Its situation on a steep-sided spur, separated from the mountain by a narrow and artificially-deepened moat, makes it an extraordinarily strong site. It is remarkable that we do not hear of it at the time of the Muslim conquest of the lands east of the Jordan, nor in the ensuing centuries. It is only at the time of the Crusades, when in 1142 it was fortified by King Fulk's former cup-bearer Payen, that it began to play a role, but this was now a very prominent one. The Franks of that time, being little versed in geography, sought to localise the ancient Petra there and called it *Petra deserti*. Since this stronghold dominated the pilgrim route from Damascus and the caravan way between Syria and Egypt, it caused the Muslims much trouble. It was during the period 1176-87, when it was in the hands of Reynaud of Châtillon, that it constituted a particular menace for the Muslim lands; it was at this time that Reynaud sent his expedition southwards towards Arabia, and although this failed, it caused great anxiety to the Muslims, who saw in it an attack against the Holy Cities, when it was rather an action impelled by economic motives.

From 565/1170 the fortress began to suffer siege by Nūr al-Dīn and the Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), who aimed at restoring the authority of the Muslims in al-Karak. They had no success until finally, as a result of starvation, the garrison surrendered in 584/1188 to Saladin's brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, and it again fell within the latter's share of territory in the division of Saladin's possessions after his death. It then belonged to various members of the Ayyūbid family, and even after the various Ayyūbid principalities had gradually disappeared, the *amīr* al-Mughīth ʿUmar still held out in al-Karak until Baybars captured him by treachery and had him executed in 661/1263.

The Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir found refuge within the fortress's mighty walls in 708/1309 when he fled from Cairo in order to make firm his royal power. Al-Karak was at that time the *chef-lieu* of one of the *mamlakas* into which Syria and Palestine were then divided. The descriptions of Arabic authors show us how powerful the fortress was at that time; the local inhabitants were still in part Christian. Al-Karak lost its importance under Ottoman rule. In 1840 it was occupied by Ibrāhīm Pasha, who had part of the ramparts destroyed; thereafter it was re-occupied by the Ottomans, who after 1893 erected there various public buildings. As the centre of an administrative district, al-Karak had in 1973 *ca.* 10,000 inhabitants. It is at times difficult to distinguish, both in the town and in the adjacent fortress, the traces of the Crusaders and of subsequent Islamic constructions, both of which are built upon ancient substructures. However, it is certain that the donjon and the external wall surrounding the lower courtyard are Muslim in origin and date to the time of Baybars.

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(D. Sourdel)

KARAK NŪḤ, a village in the Biḳāʿ of Lebanon, situated at the foot of Mount Lebanon not far from Zahlé on the road to Baʿlabakk. Authors of the Ayyūbid period call it al-Karak, but then in the Mamlūk period it was called Karak Nūḥ. It was actually considered as the locality of the prophet Nūḥ's tomb, which is still shown and which was apparently already mentioned in the 4th/10th century by the geographer al-Muḳaddasī. The structure which is considered to contain the stone cenotaph of Nūḥ and which is unusually long, adjoins an oratory with three bays, on the walls and columns of which have been carved, at the end of the 8th/14th century, various Mamlūk period inscriptions recording the construction of the building and also decrees concerning the abolition of taxes. The presence of these last is explicable by the fact that Karak Nūḥ was in the Mamlūk period the *chef-lieu* of the district of the two *Biḳāʿ*s.

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tions arabes de Karak Nūḥ, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-50), 71-84 (with references to the geographers and travellers). (D. Sourdel)

AL-KARAKĪ, Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-ʿĀmilī, Imāmī scholar, born probably not later than 870/1466 into a family of scholars. His *nisba* al-Karakī refers to Karak Nūḥ in al-Biḳāʿ, where he studied religious sciences, chiefly under ʿAlī b. Hilāl al-Djazāʾirī. He also visited Egypt and heard some Sunnī scholars there. Around 909/1504 he settled in al-Nadjaf, and in winter 910/1504-5 he was probably present at the court of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl in Iṣfahān. Along with other Imāmī scholars from al-Nadjaf, in 916-17/1510-11 he accepted an invitation to Harāt and Mashhad extended Shāh Ismāʿīl with the purpose of enlisting their help in propagating Imāmism in the newly conquered eastern provinces of Persia. Shāh Ismāʿīl is reported later to have sent him 70,000 *dīnār*s annually to al-Nadjaf for expenditure on teaching and for distribution among students. Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who succeeded Ismāʿīl in 930/1524, he paid at least two extended visits to the Ṣafawid court. Shāh Ṭahmāsp recognized him officially as the Seal of the *Mudjtahids* (*Khātam al-mudjtahidīn*) and the Deputy of the *Imām* (*nāʾib al-imām*) and gave him full authority to direct the government in matters of religion. Al-Karakī instructed the governors concerning the assessment of the land tax, ordered the removal of Sunnī scholars and the appointment of Shīʿī *imām*s to lead the prayers and instruct the public everywhere, and had the *ḳibla* rectified in several Persian towns in accordance with his views on geodesy. He defended these latter views in a dispute with the *ṣadr* Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī. Shāh Ṭahmāsp, taking the side of al-Karakī, dismissed Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 938/1531-2 and on the recommendation of al-Karakī appointed a student of the latter, Muʿizz al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, in his place. During the interim before the arrival of Muʿizz al-Dīn at the court, al-Karakī acted as *ṣadr* and appointed his deputies and agents. This situation is perhaps reflected in a *firmān* of 939/1532-3 quoted in the sources in which Shāh Ṭahmāsp granted him the exclusive authority of appointing and deposing religious officials in the Ṣafawid kingdom and conferred on him as a hereditary *waḳf* extensive land holdings in the area of al-Nadjaf valued at 700 *tūmān*s annually. Al-Karakī died in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 940/July 1534 in al-Nadjaf.

Some of al-Karakī's commentaries on earlier legal works, like al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī's *Sharāʾiʿ al-islām*, became popular books of instruction. His *Risālat al-Djaʿfariyya*, on the rules of the ritual prayer, had commentaries written on it by several scholars during his lifetime and was translated into Persian. Other of his writings aroused controversy. In his *Risālat ḳāṭiʿat al-ladjādj fī taḥḳīḳ ḥill al-kharādj* he upheld the legality of government grants of *kharādj* land and thus defended himself against criticism levelled at him for accepting such grants. The treatise was refuted by his sharp-tongued opponent in al-Nadjaf Ibrāhīm al-Ḳaṭīfī, who also wrote refutations of some of his other treatises, among them the *Risāla fī ṣalāt al-djumʿa* in which al-Karakī upheld that the congregational Friday prayer was obligatory during the absence (*ghayba*) of the *Imām* if a qualified legal scholar was present. In his *Risālat nafaḥāt al-lāhūt fī laʿn al-djibt wa ʾl-ṭāghūt* he asserted the permissibility of cursing Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, thus defending the early Ṣafawid practice, though other Imāmī scholars objected to this practice as a breach of *taḳiyya*. With the exception of this last question, later Imāmī opinion generally upheld his views against his critics and gave him the honorary surname of al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Thānī.

Sunnī anti-Ṣafawid polemics singled him out among Imāmī scholars for attack and variously accused him of being a Druze, of having concocted a new religion from the heresies of all other erring Muslim sects, of having converted Shāh Ismāʿīl to his "false religion", and of having abolished the canonical prayers in Persia; but these accusations are without foundation.

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ḲARAḲALPAḲ (Turkic "black hat"), a Turkic people of Central Asia. In the Russian annals, a people of this name (Černiye Klobutsi) is mentioned as early as the 12th century A.D.; but whether these "black hats" are identical with the modern Ḳaraḳalpaḳ cannot be definitely ascertained. It is not until the end of the 11th/17th century that there are records of the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ in Central Asia. According to the embassy report of Skibin and Troshin (1694), they then lived on the Sīr Daryā, 10 days' journey below the town of Turkestān. There they are again mentioned in the 12th/18th century as neighbours of the land of the Khāns of Khīwa; in *ca.* 1722 a treaty was concluded by the ambassador Vershinin between Peter the Great and the Khān of the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Saʿādat ʿInāyat Muḥammad Bahādur (*Polnoye Sobraniye Zakonov*, 1722, no. 4101). At that time the Ḳaraḳalpaḳs lived not only by herding and raiding but also by agriculture—with artificial irrigation of their fields—and by fishing in the Aral Sea. They are said to have migrated to Central Asia from the Volga region. About the middle of the 12th/18th century the winter quarters of a group of Ḳaraḳalpaḳ were on the central course of the Sīr Daryā at Khawās (north of Ura-Tübe); the prince (*tura*) of these Ḳaraḳalpaḳ entered into an alliance in 1168/1755 with the Atalīḳ of Bukhārā, Muḥammad Raḥīm; 3,000 Ḳaraḳalpaḳ families were settled at Samarḳand. The Ḳaraḳalpaḳ are said to have been driven out of the lower valley of the Sīr Daryā by the Ḳazaḳ towards the end of the 12th/18th century; they are still mentioned in the 19th century a little farther south on the Yeñi Daryā in connection with the campaigns of Muḥammad Raḥīm, Khān of Khīwa, against the land of the Kungrat (1222-6/1807-11). The Ḳaraḳalpaḳ were then subject to the Khān of Kungrat. After the union of Kungrat with

Khīwa (1226/1811) the Ķaraķalpaķ too had to submit to the Khān of Khīva. They made frequent attempts to throw off this yoke; in 1827 they even captured and held the town of Kungrat for a time. After the suppression of this uprising, a body of them migrated to Farghāna. In 1855 the leader of the rebel Ķaraķalpaķ, Ir-Naẓar-bī, adopted the title of Khan, building a fortress near where the Ķazaķ river flows into the Aral Sea.

After the Russian conquest of Khīwa in 1873, when the Khān had to cede to Russia all his possessions east of the main arm of the Amū Daryā and the most north-westerly arm of its delta, the land of the Ķaraķalpaķ became Russian. The area, then separated from Khīva, was first administered as a separate department (*otdyel*), and later as part of the "government" of Sīr Daryā. On 11 May 1925 the Ķaraķalpaķ Autonomous Oblast' was formed as part of the Ķazaķ A.S.S.R.; on 20 March 1932 its status was changed to an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (A.S.S.R.); and on 5 December 1936 this A.S.S.R. was transferred to the Uzbek S.S.R.. The capital of the Ķaraķalpaķ A.S.S.R. is Nukus. The Ķaraķalpaķ, who at the time of the Revolution were on the verge of being totally assimilated by the Ķazaķ (and to a lesser extent by the Uzbek), were preserved as a distinct group by the Soviet régime. Linguistically the Ķaraķalpaķ language is merely a dialect of Ķazaķ; their tribal divisions are the same as that of the Ķazaķ. Ķaraķalpaķ was first written (*i.e.*, established as a literary language) in 1925 using the Arabic script; in 1928 this was changed to a Latin script; and since 1940 it has been written in Cyrillic. The 1970 Soviet census lists 236,009 Ķaraķalpaķs in the U.S.S.R. Of these 230,258 (97.6 %) live in the Uzbek S.S.R.; and of these latter, 217,505 (92.2 % of the total Soviet Ķaraķalpaķ population) live in the Ķaraķalpaķ A.S.S.R., 8,668 in Bukhāra *Oblast'*, 1428 in Tashkent, and 732 in Farghana *Oblast'* (the Farghāna Ķaraķalpaķs are rapidly being assimilated by the Uzbek).

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KARAKAY. The cross-reference to this from CARUCUEL is erroneous; see ĶARĀ-KÖL, ĶARĀKUL.

KARAKOL, modern Turkish term for "police-station", "[military] patrol", a popular etymology ("black [i.e., ominous] arm [of the authorities]" or "patrol"); for Ottoman *ķarāghul*, *ķarāvul*, a loan-word from Mongol (attested from the 8th/14th century), see *Tarama sözlüğü*, Ankara 1969, iv, 2283 ff. The Mongol word also passed into Persian as *ķarāvul*/*ķarāʾul*. For full references and details of the diffusion of the word (as far as Swahili), see Doerfer, i, no. 276.

In the Ottoman Empire the maintenance of security and order in different quarters of Istanbul was entrusted mainly to the Janissaries [see YEÑI-ČERI], and the *ortas* (companies) patrolling the city were called *ķulluķ*. During the military campaigns, apart from the *čarkhadjī* (vanguard) forces, the Ottoman army used to send out small units called *karāvul müfrezeleri*. In the same way the Ottoman navy, when at sea, sent out two mail ships as *karāvul sefineleri*, with the task of preventing any sudden attack on the fleet. About ten ships under the command of the *tersāne ketkhudāsī* (Intendant of the Admiralty) brought up the rear as *ard karāvul* to help ships in trouble when necessary.

After the suppression of the Janissaries in 1826, public security in Istanbul became the responsibility of the *serʿasker* [*q.v.*]; an autonomous administration, the *Ḍabṭiyye Müshīriyyeti*, which was founded in 1846 to take charge of police functions, was changed into a *neẓāret* (ministry) in 1870 and in 1909 attached to the Ministry of the Interior as a directorate with authority extending over the whole country [see ḌABṬIYYA]. At that time, a police-station was called *karakol-khāne*, and later *karakol*. The word *karakol* was used also in the Turkish army and navy to designate a unit charged with security or observation duty (*istinād karakolu*, *ileri karakol*, *niẓām karakolu*, etc.).

Bibliography: Sh. Sāmī, *Ķāmūs-i türkī*, Istanbul 1317, s.v.; Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, Istanbul 1329, 148; M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, Paris 1824, vii, 348; İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından Kapıkulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, index; see also *İA*, s.v. (by R. Rahmeti Arat).

(E. Kuran)

KARAKOL DJEMʿİYYETİ, a secret society founded in Istanbul towards the end of 1918 by a group of former members of the Union and Progress Committee [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAĶĶĪ DJEMʿIYYETI]. Its aim was to organize guerilla resistance bands against the Allied forces which had occupied strategic points in Turkey following the armistice of Mudros on 30 October 1918. After the organization of the Nationalist Movement in Anatolia under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, the Karakol society supplied the movement with intelligence, officers and arms. The society tried to gain control over the nationalists of Anatolia, and Ķarā Wāṣif, one of the founding members, became their representative in Istanbul. However, Muṣṭafā Kemāl succeeded in checking the activities of the Karakol society and ordered its dissolution in the spring of 1920, on the grounds that a delegate of the society had signed a pact of military assistance with the Bolsheviks on 10 January 1920 without the authorization of the nationalists. Nevertheless, the Karakol society seems to have continued its underground activities until the end of the Turkish War of Independence.

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ĶARAĶORUM (ĶARAĶORAM), a chain of mountains in the centre of Asia lying north of and almost parallel to the Himalayas. The range extends westwards as far as 73° long.; it has not yet been definitely ascertained how far it runs eastwards. At one time the eastern limit was thought to be the pass of the Ķaraķorum, the plateau of Depsong and the upper part of the Shayok, but, according to the views of several famous geographers, the range runs much farther into Tibet, and the Tang-la (to the north of upper Saluën) should, they think, be re-

garded as a part of the Ḳaraḳorum. This idea was first put forward by Klaproth in 1836 and was held by Burrard, Sven Hedin and others who further regarded the Trans-Himalaya as belonging to the Ḳaraḳorum system. If this is accurate, the whole system would be about 2,000 km. long.

The highest elevations are found in the part west of the pass of Ḳaraḳorum. There we find several peaks over 8,000 m. high and countless summits over 7,000 m. The highest peak—probably the second highest in the world—is K 2, which seems to have been long known as Chogo-ri among the natives. This giant attains a height of 8,611 m.

This western part of the Ḳaraḳorum possesses a wild and imposing natural beauty; a large part of is covered with perpetual snows over a considerable extent. The snow line runs from 4,770 m. north of the principal chain to 5,203 m. in the south. The inhabitants are Baltis, a mixed people with Tibetan language, Ladakhis, who are Tibetans, and Hunzas.

If we exclude the polar regions, the largest glaciers in the world are found in this part of the Ḳaraḳorum. The Siachen glacier is 68 km. long and covers a surface of about 2,500 sq. km. The Baltoro, Hispara and Biafo glaciers are only a little less than the Siacben. The plateau out of which rises the Ḳaraḳorum has an average height of 3,070 m. The whole region is excessively dry because the rain (snow, hail) falls almost exclusively on the high mountains. The vegetation in the valleys is very slight and is confined to the vicinity of torrents and streams. At the terminations of the glaciers we find—very often on a little plain—a very beautiful alpine flora.

The Ḳaraḳorum is the most important watershed in Central Asia, dividing the rivers which running northwards, empty their waters into the deserts of this part of the world, and those running southwards into the Indian Ocean.

The principal pass is the col of Ḳaraḳorum (5,574 m.), through which runs the important trade route between Chinese Turkestan and Kashmir. It is difficult and dangerous. In their long journey countless beasts of burden perish of exhaustion or in the avalanches. The mountains take their name from the pass. But as Ḳaraḳorum means "black débris", the name is not very appropriate. It is found for the first time in a map by Elphinstone published in 1815. On this map the range in question is indicated by the name Moor Taugh (instead of Mur Tagh, "Ice Mountain") or Karrakoorrum Mountains.

The first traveller to write on the mountains now called Ḳaraḳorum was Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dug͟hlāt, à propos of his journey from Yarkand to Leh, capital of Ladakh, in 960/1553. The exploration proper of the Ḳaraḳorum only began in 1808 when Elphinstone visited these regions. The more systematic and detailed exploration of the high mountains proper was only begun in 1892 by Sir Martin Conway's expedition, which was followed by many others (including 5 expeditions of Ph. C. and J. Visser between 1922 and 1935).

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(Ph. C. Visser-B. Spuler)

ḲARAḲORUM, a town in the *aymak* of Övör K͟hangay in Central Mongolia, now in ruins; in the 7th/13th century it was for a short time the capital of the Mongol World Empire. The fullest accounts of the town are given by the European traveller William of Rubruck and the Persian historian D̲j̲uwaynī [*q.v.*]. The ruins were first discovered in 1889 by N. M. Yadrentsev; they were visited and described by the members of the Russian expedition of 1891 led by Radlov; and in 1948-49 an expedition jointly organized by the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic investigated the palace of the Great K͟hān Ögedey, the handicraft workshops at the crossroads of the main thoroughfares of Ḳaraḳorum and some places near the southern gate of the town. Though walled by Ögedey only in 1235, Ḳaraḳorum had been chosen by Čingiz-K͟hān as his capital as early as 1220. The name, which is Turkish and means "black boulder", was, as D̲j̲uwaynī expressly remarks, originally applied to the mountain region around the sources of the Ork͟hon. According to William of Rubruck, the city of Ḳaraḳorum, exclusive of Ögedey's palace, was "not as big as the village of Saint Denis", while the monastery of Saint Denis was "ten times larger than the palace". There was, however, much building in Ḳaraḳorum during its brief period of splendour, and William of Rubruck as well as D̲j̲uwaynī give full descriptions of the imperial palaces built in the city and around it, some by Chinese and others by Muslim architects. According to the European traveller, Russian and Western European craftsmen also shared in these operations. To the east of Ḳaraḳorum, in a village called Tuzg͟hu-Baliḳ (from the Turkish *tuzg͟hu*, "offering of food to a traveller", and *baliḳ* "town") built in 1238, there was a palace with the Chinese name of Ying chia tien ("Welcome Carriage Hall").

After the Mongol emperors had removed their residence to China, Ḳaraḳorum was only the seat of the governor of Mongolia. It changed hands temporarily during the long war with Ḳaydu, but generally remained in the possession of the emperor. When the Mongol dynasty was expelled from China (1368), the emperors returned to Ḳaraḳorum, but after the extinction of the dynasty in the 15th

century the town lost all importance. At the present day, the Buddhist monastery of Erdeni-Dzu is adjacent to the site.

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(W. BARTHOLD-J. A. BOYLE)

KARAKUL [see ḲARĀ-KÖL].

ḲARAḲUM (Turkish "black sand"), a desert in Russian Turkestān, between the Amū Daryā, the Üst Yurt and the ranges of hills on the Caspian, contrasted with Ḳïzïl-Ḳum ("red sand"), the desert between the Sïr Daryā and the Āmū Daryā. The Ḳaraḳum (area *ca.* 300,000 sq. km.) is a still more dreary waste and possesses even fewer fertile areas than the Ḳïzïl-ḳum. The sandy stretches north of the Sïr as far as Lake Čalkar are called "little Ḳarā-ḳum"; cf. F. Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch-Turkestan*, Stuttgart 1921, 15 f., 285, and index. A good deal of the Ḳarāḳum is still used by Turcoman nomads as pasture for sheep and camels. In the south, the Ḳarāḳum is traversed (since 1883-6) by the railway from Ḳïzïl Suw (Russ. Krasnovodsk) to Čahār Djūy (Russ. Čardjou) and the very important Ḳarāḳum canal from Bozagha on the Āmū-Daryā via Marw (Marï) and the delta of the Tedjen to ʿAshḳābād and to Arčman on the northern slope of the Köpet Dagh (since 1962). The Ḳarāḳum mentioned by Djuwaynī in the *Taʾrīkh-i Djihān Gushāy* as populated by the Ḳanḳlï [see ḲANGHLÏ] is, in the opinion of the editor, probably identical with the little Ḳarāḳum (the readings of the Mss. are not certain; cf. edition by Mīrzā Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī, *GMS*, xvi/I, 69 f., ii, 101 f., and *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 309 f.).

Bibliography: W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, index; Th. Shabad, *Geography of the USSR*, New York 1951, index; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 415 f.

(W. BARTHOLD-B. SPULER)

ḲARĀḲŪSH, BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN B. ʿABD ALLĀH (*i.e.* son of an unknown father) AL-ASADĪ (*mamlūk* of Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh) AL-RŪMĪ AL-MALIKĪ AL-NĀṢIRĪ, officer of Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (*i.e.* Saladin), a eunuch, received his liberty from Shīrkūh and was appointed an *amīr*. By the time of Shīrkūh's death (564/1169) he was already playing an influential part; it is said that it was due to him and the *ḳāḍī* ʿIsā al-Ḥakkārī that the caliph al-ʿĀḍid appointed Saladin vizier. After the suppression of the rebellion fomented after al-ʿĀḍid's death by his chamberlain, the eunuch Muʾtaman al-Khilāfa, Ḳarāḳūsh was appointed chamberlain. In this capacity he had the surveillance of the family of the late caliph and is said to have administered his office with great strictness. To prevent the family of the caliph increasing, he separated men and women. Saladin gave him the task of building the citadel of Cairo and extending the city walls to include Cairo and Fusṭāṭ; later he was asked to fortify and defend ʿAkkā. When the town fell in 587/1191 after eighteen months fighting, he was taken prisoner; Saladin ransomed him a few months later for the high sum of 20,000 *dīnārs*. After the death of Saladin in 589/1193 he entered the service of his son al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān and was appointed to represent the Sulṭān when the latter was out of Egypt. When the Sulṭān felt his end approaching (in 595/1199), he designated his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr his successor and Ḳarāḳūsh his regent. In keeping with this wish, the young ruler appointed him *atābeg*, although Ḳarāḳūsh was now very old. He only held his post for a very short time as most of the *amīrs* and the head of the chancellery, Ibn Mammātī, declared him incapable of ruling, presumably on account of his great age.

His supporters, who considered him the most worthy, consulted Saladin's adviser, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*], but the latter, who had retired from political life, would not be drawn into the question. Finally the *amīrs* asked al-Manṣūr's uncle, al-Malik al-Afḍal, to take over the regency. After this we find only one mention of Ḳarāḳūsh, when Sulṭān al-ʿĀdil, who had seized the throne in 596/1200, had two of his nephews taken to the house of Ḳarāḳūsh as prisoners. He died a year later. Contemporary historians, like ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, bestow the highest praise upon him, as do later writers, like al-Maḳrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī, and describe him as the ablest man of his day. They give him particular credit for his activity as a builder. Besides the buildings already mentioned, his house, his hippodrome and the bridge at Gizeh, which he built out of stones from the Pyramids at Memphis, are mentioned.

In the same period a "Ḳarāḳūsh" became notorious as a byword for stupidity. A series of absurd verdicts are related in a work entitled *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Ḳarāḳūsh*, "the book on the stupidity in the judgments of Ḳarāḳūsh". According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, the above-mentioned Ibn Mammātī was the author of this book. Casanova (see *Bibl.*) in his elaborate study on Ḳarāḳūsh quotes three manuscripts: (1) a Cairo manuscript which contains a brief selection from the *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh*; the author is there given as Ibn Mammātī; (2) a Paris manuscript the author of which is given as al-Sūyūṭī, certainly wrongly, as in the introduction Ibn Taghrībirdī is wrongly quoted and given a wrong praenomen, which one can hardly credit of al-Sūyūṭī; (3) a Cairo manuscript which is a later version, in which Ḳarāḳūsh is called a sulṭān and the number of his "judgments" is increased, by ʿAbd al-Salām al-Laḳānī, dating from 1200/1786. These "judgments" have nothing to do with statecraft but are court verdicts; they are typical, well known anecdotes, current among other nations also. A special investigation has not yet been made of the problem. Casanova endeavours to show that the work is a pamphlet against Ḳarāḳūsh, whom, he says, Ibn Mammātī hated as an exceedingly severe man. It is not known whether Ibn Mammātī collected and published these anecdotes in the life-time of Ḳarāḳūsh. Ibn Khallikān rightly points out that it is impossible that a man such as is described in the anecdotes could have held high offices of state. Nor is anything known of a particular feud between Ibn Mammātī and Ḳarāḳūsh, except that Ibn Mammātī had protested in 595/1199 against the appointment of this then very old man; Ḳarāḳūsh is described by the Frankish chroniclers as advanced in years even in 585/1189 at the siege of ʿAkkā; he is said even to have known Godfrey de Bouillon. One thing is clear from Ibn Khallikān's observation: the

anecdotes given by Ibn Mammātī were referred to our Ḳarāḳūsh.

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(M. Sobernheim)

ḲARĀḲŪSH, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Armanī al-Muẓaffarī al-Nāṣirī (and also al-Taḳawī and al-Ghuzzī), Armenian *mamlūk* of Saladin's nephew al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taḳī al-Dīn, who conducted military operations in Tripolitania and southern Tunisia and for a certain period of time occupied Tripoli, Gabès and other towns. Taḳī al-Dīn, who had personal ambitions, had to renounce the idea of conquering Ifrīḳiya, where the authority of the Almohads was not yet firmly established, and it was his *mamlūk* who undertook this enterprise (most probably with Saladin's blessing) from 568/1172 onwards. He first of all made various raids (cf. Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1956-62, i/2, 548) on Barḳa, Tripoli and Awdjila, and then returned to Cairo, where he was thrown into prison; but he soon began his activities once more (572/1176-7). Returning once again to Tripolitania (cf. Abū Shāma, *op. cit.*, i/2, 692) at the head of a force of Ghuzz [*q.v.*], he occupied the eastern and southern parts of the country as far as Fazzān, and then, with the aid of bedouins of the Banū Hilāl and Sulaym, seized Tripoli. It seems to have been at this point that he was rejoined by Taḳī al-Dīn's *silāḥdār*, a person whose rôle and even personal name remain obscure (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Une lettre de Saladin au calife almohade*, in *Mélanges Rene Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 290-1, put forward the idea that Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, Ibrāhīm b. Ḳarātakīn and Abū Zāba and variants [= Yāzabā = Joseph] were three names for the one person).

After having made an alliance with ʿAlī b. Isḥāḳ b. Ghāniya [see GHĀNIYA], who had declared his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph and was fighting the Almohads in southern Tunisia, Ḳarāḳūsh extended his territories towards the Djabal Nafūsa and of Gabès, without however reaching Tunis. Finding himself at Gafsa at the time of the Banū Ghāniya's defeat of the Almohad army near that town (15 Rabiʿ II 583/24 June 1187), he put to the sword the survivors who had placed themselves under his protection. But the Almohad Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] immediately assumed charge of operations and gained the victory of al-Ḥāmma on 10 Shaʿbān 583/15 October 1187, thus expelling Ḳarāḳūsh from Gabès. Whilst the latter fled through the desert with ʿAlī Ibn Ghāniya, his possessions and troops were handed over to al-Manṣūr, who sent his Ghuzz troops to Marrakesh [see GHUZZ, and Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 343-4]; soon afterwards (Dhu ʾl-kaʿda 583/January 1188), Gafsa also fell, and the Ghuzz in the town suffered the same fate. It is possible that even before the capture of Gafsa, Ḳarāḳūsh may have offered his submission to the Almohads and that in Tripoli, the *silāḥdār* may have done likewise (Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres almohades*, 198, and *Recueil*, 62), but it is equally possible that this manoeuvre took place some time later. Whatever may have been the case, Saladin, who had rejoiced at Ḳarāḳūsh's successes (cf. Abū Shāma, i/2, 547), at this time needed the support of the Almohad fleet against the Franks, and there is extant the text of a letter drawn up in his name by al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*], dated 585/1189 and addressed to al-Manṣūr, asking for his intervention (*apud* al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 526 ff., tr. and comm. in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, 279-304). Ḳarāḳūsh had then to pretend to rally to him, probably on Saladin's orders, who in the following year (28 Shaʿbān 586/30 September 1190) sent an embassy to al-Manṣūr with a letter (*apud* Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, in *RHC*, Hist Or., iv, 497-505) in which he unequivocally disowned the reprehensible actions of the *silāḥdār* and the *mamlūk* (according to Abū Shāma, *ibid.*, ii, 508, the former was handed over at Tunis by Ḳarāḳūsh, whilst according to *Istibṣār*, 111, this person, here called Abū Zabā al-Fārisī, was expelled from Tripoli and sent to Marrakesh). After having stayed for some time with the governor of Tunis, Ḳarāḳūsh took to flight and successfully regained Gabès and Tripoli with the aid of some turbulent tribes (586/1190).

However, after the death of ʿAlī Ibn Ghāniya (584/1188), Ḳarāḳūsh's relations with his brother and successor Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya had deteriorated. In 591/1195, Yaḥyā, who was in possession of the Djarīd, seized Gabès and Tripoli; at this latter place, Ḳarāḳūsh left his lieutenant Yāḳūt and fled for safety to Waddān. Driven out of Ifrīḳiya in his turn, Yaḥyā also fled to Waddān (606/1209) and besieged the former ally of the Banū Ghāniya, who was unable to withstand him; Yaḥyā had him and one of his sons executed in 609/1212. Thus there came to an end the life of an adventurer who had carried on warfare for forty years as much for Saladin's benefit as for his own. The presence at Waddān is further mentioned of another of his sons who fled there after betraying the Ḥafṣid al-Mustanṣir (647—75/1249-77); he was eventually put to death by the king of Kanem.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources and studies mentioned in the article (especially Abū Shāma and the letter studied by Gaudefroy-Demombynes), see also Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, Tetouan 1963, *passim*; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, index; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1337/1958, 103 ff., 111 f. and index (tr. Rousseau, in *JA*, 1852; text given by al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, ed. M. Ḥ. al-Hīla, i, Tunis 1970, 358 ff.); Ibn al-Athīr, xi, index; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Alexandria 1958, 110-11; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades*, Rabat 1941, *passim*; idem, *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, in *Hespéris*, 1941 (Paris 1942); Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, i, 138, 161, 281, ii, 91, 95, 210, 211, 220, iv, 260; A. Bel, *Les Banou Ghâniya*, Paris 1903, index; H. Derenbourg, *Ousâma ben Mounḳidh*, i, Paris 1889-93, 444-64; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, index; S. Z. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, in *Bull. Fac. of Arts Alexandria*, vi-vii (1952-3), 84 ff.; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany 1972, index s.v. Sharaf al-Din.

(Ch. Pellat)

KARAM, generosity [see Supplement].

AL-KARAM, Banū [see ZURAYʿIDS].

KARAM, YŪSUF [see YŪSUF KARAM]

KARĀMA may be considered as the *maṣdar* of *karuma* "to be generous ,be beneficent, be *karīm* (one of the "99 Most beautiful names of God" [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ]). The root KRM appears frequently in the Ḳurʾān, and God is called there *al-Karīm* "the Generous One"; the actual term *karāma* is not however found there. If it was later adopted as a synonym of the *maṣdars* of forms II and IV (*takrīm* and *ikrām*), this seems very likely to have come about through phonetic assimilation to the Greek χάρισμα. In the technical vocabulary of the religious sciences, *karāma* (pl. *karāmāt*) from now onwards assumes the sense of "charisma", the favour bestowed by God completely freely and in superabundance. More precisely, the word comes to denote the "marvels" wrought by the "friends of God", *awliyāʾ* (sing. *walī*), which God grants to them to bring about. These marvels most usually consist of miraculous happenings in the corporeal world, or else of predictions of the future, or else of interpretation of the secrets of hearts, etc.

The notion of *karāma* differs from that of *muʿdjiza* [*q.v.*]. Each involves a "breaking of the natural order of things" (*khāriḳ liʾl-ʿāda*), that is, an extraordinary happening which breaks this "divine custom" (*sunnat Allāh*) which is the normal course of events. But whilst the *muʿdjiza* is a public act, preceeded by a "proclamation" (*daʿwa*) and a "challenge" (*taḥaddī*), by means of which the prophet demonstrates incontrovertibly the "impotence" (*ʿadjz*) of his hearers to reproduce likewise the miracle thus brought about, the *karāma* is a simple, personal favour. It should be kept secret, and is in no way the sign of a prophetic mission. There is a risk of ambiguity if one translates both terms by "miracle" (of a prophet, of a saint). If *muʿdjiza* is rendered, as has become common, by "miracle of a prophet", it seems preferable — taking into account the difference of the respective Arabic roots — to translate *karāma* by "marvel of a saint".

Are the *karāmāt* attributed to the *awliyāʾ* — often in great abundance — to be regarded as authentic? If not, then why not? And if so, in what sense? These questions presented themselves very early to the Muslim mind, and gave rise to diverse, and even contradictory, interpretations. We shall deal here with four main types of answer.

(1) The Muʿtazilī schools of thought. The generality of the partisans of *iʿtizāl* denied the reality of *karāmāt*. The most prominent argument from scripture is that put forward by al-Zamakhsharī commenting on Ḳurʾān, LXXII, 26-7, "He (sc. God) knows the Mystery, but does not reveal to anyone His Mystery, except to the one whom he designates as His messenger". This text is understood as justifying the miracles which God performs openly "by the hands" of the prophets in order to demonstrate the truth of their missions, but as setting aside all other supernatural happenings. Al-Djubbāʾī says that if the *awliyāʾ* possessed this power, how would one be able to distinguish them from the prophets?

A detailed exposition of the Muʿtazilī interpretations of these "miracles of a prophet" will be found in the article MUʿDJIZA. Briefly, if the heresiographers (al-Isfarāʾinī, al-Baghdādī, al-Shahrastānī, etc.) can be believed, al-Naẓẓām and al-Murdār for example regarded as doubtful every miraculous happening traditionally attributed to the Prophet, and did not attribute any miraculous nature to the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān (cf. A. Nader, *Le systeme philosophique des Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956, 318 and refs.). But this statement must be strongly qualified. Al-Khayyāṭ, for instance, in his *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, 28-9, tr. Nader, Beirut 1957, 25-6, states that for al-Naẓẓām, the Ḳurʾān is certainly "the proof of the Prophet's mission". Moreover, Ibn Mattawayh says that the *muʿdjizāt* merely confirm a teaching (sc. the ḳurʾānic revelation) which is conformable to reason, and it is this fact which justifies them. They are bound up with the missions of the prophet-messengers who are, like all mankind, responsible for their own actions. Nevertheless, the Muʿtazilīs are unanimous in denying the authenticity of *karāmāt*, which they stigmatise as "charlatans' tricks". ʿAbd al-Djabbār's attack on al-Ḥallādj is well-known. His *Mughnī*, xv, 270 ff., relates in detail many "marvels" of al-Ḥallādj; following al-Djubbāʾī, he makes them out as feats of prestidigitation, performed with the help of accomplices and by using faked houses and rooms. The tone of the *Mughnī* is extremely polemical, and goes so far as to attack the very morals of al-Ḥallādj (*ibid.*, 270-1), turning into a personal attack. But the conclusion is clear (*ibid.*, 275): the *karāmāt* are all tricks, and the accounts which later repeat them are only restating popular superstitions.

(2) *Falsafa* (Ibn Sīnā). To illustrate the position taken up by *falsafa*, we shall take the example of Ibn Sīnā, who dealt with this question on several occasions. Ibn Sīnā's cosmology undertakes to place *muʿdjizāt* and *karāmāt* within the existential determinism of the "necessary and consciously-willed" emanation. It is because of the perfection of their human nature and the power which their soul possesses as a fact of nature over external matter that the prophets confirm their coming by miracles. (One should note that Ibn Rushd, in his *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, 515, makes a distinction here: only those miracles can be regarded as such where a change "in regard to quality" (*istiḥāla*) is involved, because this is in itself possible, though impossible to the ordinary man; on the other hand, a change in substance is fundamentally impossible.) Now this justification of *muʿdjizāt* is equally valid, more or less, for *karāmat*. In his *Risāla fī aḳsām al-ʿulūm* (in *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326/1908, 14), Ibn Sīnā tells us that *karāmāt*, in regard to their nature, "resemble" *muʿdjizāt*, and in his *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 120) he insists that the person whose soul has, by virtue of its spiritual intensity, the power to act upon external matter, and who uses this power for good and according to the righteous way, possess the gift of *muʿdjiza* if he is a prophet, or that of *karāma* if he is a *walī*. The only difference is that the prophet is such by his very nature, through the innate, triple perfection of his intellect, his imaginative power and his factibile, whereas the saint (*walī*, *ṣiddīḳ*) or the "initiate" (*ʿarif*) acquires this perfection by following the appropriate path of asceticism, though at a lower level, at least in regard to his imaginative power. Furthermore, Ibn Sīnā mentions the possible additional factors of certain hypnotic processes "stemming from the Turks" (very rapid gyrations, fixation on a shining or a black object, etc.), and which are capable, in that they cause a withdrawal of the normal senses, or of bringing about the power of divination. He is distrustful towards them, and points out the dangers from them for those of feeble constitution, but he does not deny their reality.

Whether dealing with *muʿdjizāt* or *karāmāt*, there is no question, among the leading figures in *falsafa*, of gratuitous favours freely bestowed by God; these "powers" are the end product of the highest stage of perfection to which the human soul can attain in the determining lines of its own nature. In the light of this perspective of existential determinism, a recogni-

tion of the possibility of "prophetic miracles" leads logically to admitting the possibility of *karāmāt*. The explanation is common to both, the differences lying essentially not in the deeds as such, but in the superiority which raises the prophet over the saint.

(3) The As͟hʿarī reply. It seems that some As͟hʿarīs, such as al-Isfarāʾinī and al-Ḥalīmī, shared the severe judgment of the Muʿtazilīs in regard to *karāmāt*, The generality of the school, however, recognised their authenticity on the following grounds: (a) Rational probability. The raison d'être of a *muʿd͟jiza* is not the moral perfecting of a prophet, but the freely-exercised will of God, who brings about this miracle "by the hands of the prophet", a public miracle, preceeded by a "proclamation" and a "challenge". It is therefore possible (*d͟jāʾiz*) for God to create, through the intermediacy of a saint, a supernatural occurence without either a proclamation or a challenge. (b) Existence of the occurrences. They are authenticated above all by the miraculous happenings which are mentioned in the Ḳurʾān and whose beneficiaries have not in any way received a prophetic message to proclaim. Thus sūra III, 37, tells of a marvel brought about for Mary, mother of Jesus, and XXVIII, 9 ff., stress the "marvel" of the story of the Seven Sleepers, in themselves "miraculous signs" (*āyāt*) from God. Finally, XVII, 40 ff., mention the extraordinary happenings which came about at Solomon's request, whether through an *ʿifrīt* or through "The one who had knowledge of the Book", particularised by tradition as the vizier Āsaf. (c) *Karāmāt* are therefore possible, but should not be confused with *muʿd͟jizāt*. God grants the former to saints in order to honour them and to confirm them in piety and God-fearing reverence, but He brings about the second ones "by the hands of the prophet" as a proof of his mission. The former should be kept hidden, but the second ones proclaimed before all men. Both should, in any case, be carefully distinguished, not only from acts of trickery (*ḥiyal*), but also from divinatory acts (*kihānāt*), those of (permitted) magic, *siḥr*, and those of sorcery (*nārand͟jāt*). Al-Bāḳillānī devotes a whole work, his *Kitāb al-Bayān* (ed. R. McCarthy, Baghdad-Beirut 1958), to defining the various kinds of "signs", some of them authentic and the rest deceptive and illusory, and to tracing back to their subject the rules for the "discernment of spirits". It is virtually the As͟hʿarī thesis which Ibn K͟haldūn sums up in his *Muḳaddima* (ed. Cairo N.D., 67, 332, tr. de Slane, i, 191-4, iii, 111-12, tr. Rosenthal i, 188-91, iii, 167-8).

(4) The Ṣūfī attitude. The existence of "saints' miracles" (*karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*) is affirmed. In Sunnī *taṣawwuf*, the explanation given is in general terms very close to the As͟hʿarī position. There is a freely-given stress on the distinction between *karāmāt* and *muʿd͟jizāt*; the saint who performs marvels cannot accordingly be recognised as a prophet, and must remain subject to the religious law laid down by the Messenger of God. However, whilst the As͟hʿarīs insisted on the objective difference of the two types of "signs", the Ṣūfī texts deal with the differences in spiritual attitudes.

The problem comes up in almost all the Ṣūfī manuals, e.g. in the *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrād͟j (ed. Nicholson, GMS, 1914, chs. 113-18, Kalābād͟hī's *Kitab al-Taʿarruf* (ed. Arberry, Cairo 1352/1933, ch. 26), the *Risāla al-ḳus͟hayriyya* (ed. Cairo N.D. 158 ff.), Hud͟jwīrī's *Kas͟hf al-maḥd͟jūb* (tr. Nicholson, GMS, 1911, 218-39), etc. The "signs" (*āyāt*) of saints resemble externally those of prophets, but whereas these last bring them about publicly (and with a "challenge" hurled forth), the saints strive to keep them secret. One of the charges made against al-Ḥallād͟j was just this "divulging of marvels" (*ifs͟hāʾ al-karāmāt*) by means of which he could apparently aspire, in the eyes of contemporaries, to the role of prophet.

Subjectively, *muʿd͟jizāt* are an aid to the prophet -messenger, in that they confirm his mission; *karāmāt* on the other hand can become a subject of disquiet for the saint, who may be afraid of being the dupe of an illusion (cf. al-Sarrād͟j, *loc. cit.*). Al-Kalābād͟hī, *op. cit.*, 44, relates that according to Abū Bakr al-Warrāḳ, it is not the power of working miracles which constitutes a prophet, but the mission with which God has entrusted him. Saints able to perform charismatic acts do not take any offence at this mission, once they recognise it and remain faithful to the message proclaimed. Also, when they receive the gift of working marvels, according to al-Kalābād͟hī, 46, "they display towards God all the more humility, submission, godly fear, abasement and self-contempt, and all the more promptness in responding to God's claims over them". This humility and abasement on the saint's part are a sign of the authenticity of the *karāmāt*, whilst the "enemies of God" who work apparently similar deeds, become puffed up and attribute the merit to themselves alone (*loc. cit.*); in this respect they become the dupes of "God's plotting" (*makr Allāh*), who has allowed these swindles in order the better to confound them. We find the same teaching in al-Hud͟jwīrī, who stresses the impeccability of prophets but the fallibility of saints. He adds that the *karāmāt* accomplished over the ages by the Muslims are precisely a *muʿd͟jiza* of the Prophet of Islam: the ḳurʾanic law, necessarily permanent, thereby acquires a proof of authenticity also permanent (*Kas͟hf al-maḥd͟jūb*, tr. 222). The remainder of the text gives a series of examples of *karāmāt*, some ḳurʾānic or contemporary with the Ḳurʾān, others post-kurʾānic, including those of *inter alios* Abū Saʿīd al-K͟harrāz, D͟hū 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, etc.

On one side, the Ṣūfīs often teach that saints must not seek after this gift of marvel-working, but must even mistrust it, and that to become attached to it would make a serious obstacle of the road to union with God; on the other side, however, the biographies of the leading Ṣūfīs abound in marvellous acts and supernatural charismatic deeds. This dual note is for example found all through the *Laṭāʾif al-minan wa 'l-ak͟hlāḳ* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-S͟haʿrānī (ed. Cairo N.D.) studied by Asín Palacios.

It should be finally noted that in general S͟hīʿism also admits *karāmāt* and distinguished them from *muʿd͟jizāt*. The great Imāms, since they are endowed with impeccability and perfect knowledge, can work "marvels". Strict Imāmī thought accords this power to them alone, or at most, will only admit the possibility of *karāmāt* performed under the influence or through the intermediacy of the Imāns.

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(L. Gardet)

ḲARĀMĀN, the name of a Turkoman leader, founder of the Anatolian dynasty of the Ḳarāmānids or Ḳarāmān-og͟hullarï [*q.v.*]; hence the name of the Ottoman province into which the territories of this principality were subsequently formed, with Ḳonya as its administrative centre, see below. Ḳarāmān was also the later Ottoman name for the town of Laranda [*q.v.*]. The term *Ḳarāmānlï/Ḳarāmānlü* was applied to the turcophone Greek Orthodox Christians of the Ḳarāmān region, and *Ḳarāmānlïd͟ja* (Grk. *Karamanlidhika*) to their dialect of Turkish and their literature (written in Greek characters). Emigrants from this

ethnico-religious group (who were not Greeks, but probably descendants of the ancient Lycaonians) were brought to Istanbul after the Ottoman conquest and gave their name to a quarter near Yedikule [see ISTANBUL, i, vii]; in the early years of this century, the Ḳarāmānlī community in Istanbul published its own newspaper, *Nea Anatoli*. See A. M. Scheider, *Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels in XV. Jahrhundert*, in *Nachr. der Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen* (1949), 238 ff. (Tk. tr. in *Bell.*, xxi (1952), 35 ff.); S. Salaville and E. Dalleggio (eds.), *Karamanlidha, Bibliographie analytique* . . ., i, Years 1584-1850, ii, Years 1850-65, Athens 1958-66; S. Vryonis Jr., *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, index; and TURKS, section on languages. Emigrants from the Ḳarāmān region have further given their name to some 19 other places in Turkey, see *Son teşkilat-i mülkiye'de köylerimizin adlari*, Istanbul 1928, and *Türkiye'de meskun yerler kilavuzu*, Ankara 1946-50.

What follows relates only to the administrative province of Ḳarāmān under the Ottomans and after the definitive disappearance of the Ḳarāmānid dynasty.

In 888/1483, the Ḳarāmānid lands became a *beglerbegilik* divided into two parts: the first comprised the *sandjaḳ* of Ič-il(i) [*q.v.*] in the eastern part of the area adjacent to the coast (see the map in ANADOLU) and included Mut and the administrative centre Ḳonya, whilst the second comprised the interior regions, called Khāridj. In the middle of the 10th/16th century, the *sandjaḳ* of Ič-il(i) was separated from it. In the 11th/17th century, the province (*eyālet*) of Ḳarāmān comprised the *sandjaḳs* of Aḳsaray, Aḳshehir, Beyshehir, Ḳayseri, Ḳïrshehir, Ḳonya and Nigde [*qq.v.*]. With the administrative reform of 1281/1864, the former *eyālet* became the *wilāyet* of Ḳonya. See Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 614-15; Von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 254 ff., ii, 256-7; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 39 ff.; N. and I. Beldiceanu, *Le province de Qaraman au XVIe siècle*, in *JESHO*, xi (1968), esp. 39; Tekindağ, in *TD*, xiii, *passim*, xiv, 74; I. H. Konyali, *Âbideleri ve kitabeleri ile Karaman tarihi* . . ., Istanbul 1967, *passim*; Kramers, in *EI*[1] s.v. (H. A. REED)

ḲARAMĀNĪ MEḤMED PASHA [see MEḤMED PASHA, ḲARAMĀNĪ].

ḲARAMĀNLĪ, family of Turkish origin, of whom several members governed Tripolitania from 1123/1711 to 1251/1835, constituting themselves into a real dynasty. Its founder was Ḳaramānlī Aḥmad Bey, of whose origins scarcely anything is known apart from the fact that he himself or his father or an ancestor came from Anatolia, probably from the town or the region of Ḳaramān, to serve as a soldier in the *odjāḳ* of Tripoli; certain authors put forward the view that one of his ancestors may have come to Tripolitania with the corsair Ṭurghūt (Dragut). The chronicler Ibn Ghalbūn, who lived at the time of Aḥmad Bey, calls him Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā.

In 1122/1710, and for several years earlier, the Ottoman province of Tripolitania had been plunged into anarchy due to rivalries that brought into opposition Janissaries, *ḳulughlïs* and Arab notables. Aḥmad Ḳaramānlī, then *ʿāmil* or governor of the region of the Manshiya and of the Sāḥil, had succeeded at the end of 1122/1710 in restoring order there and making himself appreciated by the local population. Resolved to put an end to the disorder, and supporting the Arabs against the *ḳulughlïs*, Aḥmad seized Tripoli, took the title of *bey* (commander of the troops) and in fact exercised control over the province (13 Djumādā II 1123/29 July 1711), Shortly afterwards, he had Khalīl Pasha, the governor sent by the sultan, executed, and had a large number of Turkish officers and functionaries assassinated, at the same time sending a delegation to Sultan Aḥmad III in order to justify himself. Finally, the Sultan accorded him the title of *beylerbey* (governor), recognizing him also as chief of the province; but it was only in 1134/1722 that the Sultan bestowed on him the title of Pasha, making him his official representative.

Having little confidence in the Janissaries, Aḥmad Bey created an indigenous militia and favoured the corsairs. He had to face several local revolts from 1125/1713 to 1135/1723 in the south-east of Tripolitania, in Cyrenaica and Fazzān. Following these revolts, he took under his direct control the whole province by making terror reign when necessary: he had a number of people put to death, including dignitaries and notables, and even, over a libel, the chronicler Ibn Ghalbūn, who nevertheless had written his work for his glory. While encouraging piracy, Aḥmad Ḳaramānlī avoided entangling himself with the great Western powers and concluded or renewed, notably with England and France, treaties of peace and commerce. He had the fortifications of Tripoli restored and the mosque and *madrasa* which bear his name constructed in that town. He died (he probably committed suicide) on the night of 26th or 27th Ramaḍān 1157/3rd or 4th November 1745; he was approximately 60 years old.

His son Meḥmed (Muḥammad, 1158-67/1745-54) was proclaimed governor and recognized without difficulty by the Sultan. He maintained the country in peace and renewed the agreements with England and France, although piracy had at that time enjoyed a great prosperity, which led to several incidents with Venice and Naples. He died in Shawwāl 1167/July 1754. His son ʿAlī succeeded him (1167-1207/1754-93) and received the agreement of the Sultan. Until 1171/1758 he had to face several revolts, notably in the Manshiya and the Sāḥil, revolts which were drowned in blood. However, after this, the country enjoyed a sufficiently long period of calm until 1204/1790.

From the middle of the reign of Aḥmad Ḳaramānlī, Tripolitania saw its economic activity increase and became an important staging post of commerce in the Mediterranean; but a serious epidemic in 1181/1767, and then the plague and famine in 1198-1200/1784-6, led to a certain decline of Tripoli and its commerce. During this period, the authority of the Ḳaramānlīs was incontestable: they had a firm grip on the central power (*bey*, *āghā* of the Janissaries, *kāhya*, *raʾīsal baḥr*, *khaznadār*, *shaykh al-balad*, *dīwān*) and on the provinces where they were represented by the *ḳāʾid*; the military forces comprised about 400 Janissaries, 200 to 300 renegades, 500 Albanians and 600 Arabs; the navy was composed of Albanians and Arabs.

The situation deteriorated with the old age of ʿAlī Pasha; in 1790 his elder son, Ḥasan Bey, was assassinated and his second son, Aḥmad, then became bey, but had to face the hostility of his brother Yūsuf, who was supported by the Arabs. In view of this situation, the notables of Tripoli and some military leaders intervened with the Sultan and asked him to name another governor, to which Yūsuf replied by having himself proclaimed governor with the support of the Nuwayr (1207/1792-3); he then undertook the siege of Tripoli (June 1793). Shortly afterwards there arrived unexpectedly ʿAlī Bulghūr, a high dignitary ousted from Algiers, who claimed to have been invested with the governorship by the Sultan: he bene-

fited from the gathering of notables and officers of Tripoli and entered the town (July 1793), while Yūsuf and ʿAlī Pas͟ha retired to Tunisia. ʿAlī Bulg͟hūr having seized the island of D̲j̲arba, the *bey* of Tunis Ḥamūda then favoured the action of the Ķaramānlī to regain power. Finally, the vanquished ʿAlī Bulg͟hūr fled to Egypt (February 1795), while ʿAlī Pas͟ha, resident at Tunis, renounced the governorship in favour of his son Aḥmad. In S͟haʿbān 1210/November 1796, profiting from the departure of Aḥmad for Tad̲j̲ūra, Yūsuf entered Tripoli and had himself proclaimed governor there; Aḥmad did not persist in his claims and retired to Malta. The following year, Yūsuf received from the Sultan the investiture *firmān*; he then took severe measures to repress disorder, reinforced the fortifications and increased the corsairs' fleet.

During Bonaparte's expedition in Egypt, Yūsuf Pas͟ha refused to break off relations with France; constrained to do so, following an English threat, he hastened to conclude a treaty with France as early as 1799. In 1800 an incident occurred with the United States of America, which resulted in the severing of relations, and then in acts of hostility. The Americans were on the point of reintroducing Aḥmad Bey to Cyrenaica and having him proclaimed governor, but English mediation put an end to these events; a new treaty was concluded with the Americans, while Aḥmad Bey retired to Egypt (June 1805).

From 1806 to 1830, numerous revolts broke out in different regions, repressed with more or less success; in 1810, the region of Ghadamès was once more joined to Tripoli. In 1819 a Franco-English fleet arrived before Tripoli and, under threat, had the slaves and Christian prisoners freed. From 1823 to 1826 at the request of the Sultan, Yūsuf Pas͟ha sent a Tripolitanian fleet to participate in the operations of the Ottoman fleet on the coasts of Morea and returned by the same route, but this provoked severe reactions by the Kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples (1825-6). The assassination of Major Laing, son-in-law of the English Consul Warrington, who held the French Consul Rousseau responsible, placed Yūsuf Pas͟ha in a delicate situation: he had finally to sign a new treaty with France (August 1830). In 1832, having imposed taxes on the inhabitants of the Mans͟hiya and the Sāḥil in order to recover his debts, they revolted, proclaimed a grandson of Yūsuf, Meḥmed (Muḥammad) Bey governor, and besieged Tripoli. On the 5th August 1832, Yūsuf abdicated in favour of his son ʿAlī; the latter could count on the support of Cyrenaica and the good will of the French, whereas Meḥmed Bey enjoyed the favour of the English. An emissary of the Sultan, Meḥmed S͟hākir Efendi, tried in vain to arrange an agreement between the parties. He returned in September 1834 with a *firmān* of investiture for ʿAlī Bey that the rebels and England refused to recognize. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Government took careful note of that what was necessary, in view of the French pressure that was being exerted on the Ķaramānlīs and on account of the presence of the French in Algeria which constituted a serious threat, to display more energetically the suzerainty of the Sultan over Tripolitania; in February 1835 the Ottomans decided to send a fleet and troops to Tripoli under the command of Muṣṭafā Nad̲j̲īb Pas͟ha. This fleet arrived before Tripoli on the 26th May and the disembarkation of the troops took place on the 27th; the next day, ʿAlī Pas͟ha and a certain number of Tripolitanian dignitaries were arrested, while Muṣṭafā Nad̲j̲īb Pas͟ha had the imperial *firmān* read, naming him governor of the province and decreeing the removal of ʿAlī Pas͟ha. Meḥmed Bey committed suicide, his brother Aḥmad took refuge in Malta, and all the other members of the Ķaramānlī family were sent to Istanbul with the exception of Yūsuf Pas͟ha who, owing to his great age was authorised to live in Tripoli; he died there on the 4th August 1838.

Thus the dynasty of the Ķaramānlīs came to an end. Its initial originality lay in its support for the Arabs of Tripolitania against the Turks and the *ķulug͟hlīs*, without however rejecting Ottoman suzerainty. Later, the Ķaramānlīs did not escape the rivalries and internal quarrels that rendered null and void the efforts of the first members of the dynasty, and facilitated the province being taken once more into control by the Ottomans, aided in this by the implications of the "Eastern Question". Like the Ḥusaynids in Tunisia, but to a lesser degree on account of the extent and disparity of the land, the Ķaramānlīs were able momentarily to cut a figure as a local dynasty, but not as a national one.

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ḲARĀMĀN-OGHULLARĪ (ḳarāmānids), a Turkish dynasty which ruled over the regions of Ič-Il, Ḳonya and Niğde [*qq.v.*].

The claim made by Yazîdjî-oghlu ʿAlī [*q.v.*] that the Ḳarāmān-oghullarî belonged to the Avshar [see afshar] tribe is plausible. It is probable that they were settled in Arrān [*q.v.*] prior to the Mongol invasion, that because of it they had to immigrate to the Sivas region, and that after taking part in the Babāʾī [*q.v.*] revolt they moved to the Ermenek region and established their home there. The Ermenek-Mut-Anamur region was conquered in 622/1225 during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād.

The principal tribes over which the Ḳarāmānids ruled were: Igdir (one of the 24 Oghuz tribes), Boz Doghan (possibly a sub-tribe of Igdir), Turghudlu, Bayburdlu, Bozḳîrlu, Oghuz-Khānlu, Khʷādja Yūnuslu, Yapa-oghullarî, Adalî-oghullarî, Shāmlu, Khodjantîlu (Khodjantî = from Khudjand in Türkistan?), Yîva and Beğ-Dili. Some of these tribes are patently named after clan-leaders (*boy-beği*). To these we can also add the Gökez-oghullarî and the Gödjer oghullarî. We also know that tribes living on the Bulghar Daghî (Bulgharlu), and such tribes as Ḳush Temürlü, Ḳuṣūnlu, Elwānlu and Ulashlu, which belonged to the Warsaḳ confederation, were in the service of the Ḳarāmānids. Some small Mongol tribes that were left behind after Tīmūr's invasion may also be added to these.

The defeat of the Saldjūḳ army for the second time by the Mongol commander Baydjū in 654/1256, and the beginning of a struggle between Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs and Rukn al-Dīn Ḳîlîdj Arslan, his brother and rival, allowed the Turkmen peoples living along the frontier regions to enjoy greater autonomy and gain greater political importance. Ḳarāmān Beg's emergence in the Ermenek-Mut region was part of this development.

According to Shikārī [*q.v.*] and to some later chronicles, inscriptions and archival records, Ḳarāmān's father was Nūr al-Dīn Ṣūfī or Nūre Ṣūfī. Shikārī claims that Nūre Ṣūfī was interested in religious matters rather than in state affairs and was a follower of Bābā Ilyās; leaving the administration of his principality to his son Ḳarāmān, he led a life of seclusion. He is buried at Değirmenlik, in the Sinanlu district of Ermenek. Like the majority of the Turkmen begs, Ḳarāmān was a supporter of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus. It is, therefore, probable that he took part in the battle between ʿAlī Bahādur, commander of the army of Kaykāwus, and Rukn al-Dīn Ḳîlîdj Arslan near the Altunpa (Altun Apa) caravanserai to the west of Ḳonya in 660/1262. Zayn al-Ḥādjdj, one of his brothers, was killed in this battle.

The Parwāna Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān, who held administrative authority in Anatolia with the support of Rukn al-Dīn Ḳîlîdj Arslan and the Mongols, put many *amîrs* who had sided with Kaykāwus to death and pacified Ḳarāmān, whom he was unable to seize, by granting him an amîrate (possibly the governorship of Ermenek). He also appointed his brother Bunsuz as Amīr Djāndār. Ḳarāmān made frequent attacks on the territory of the neighbouring Kingdom

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ḲARĀMĀNID DYNASTY

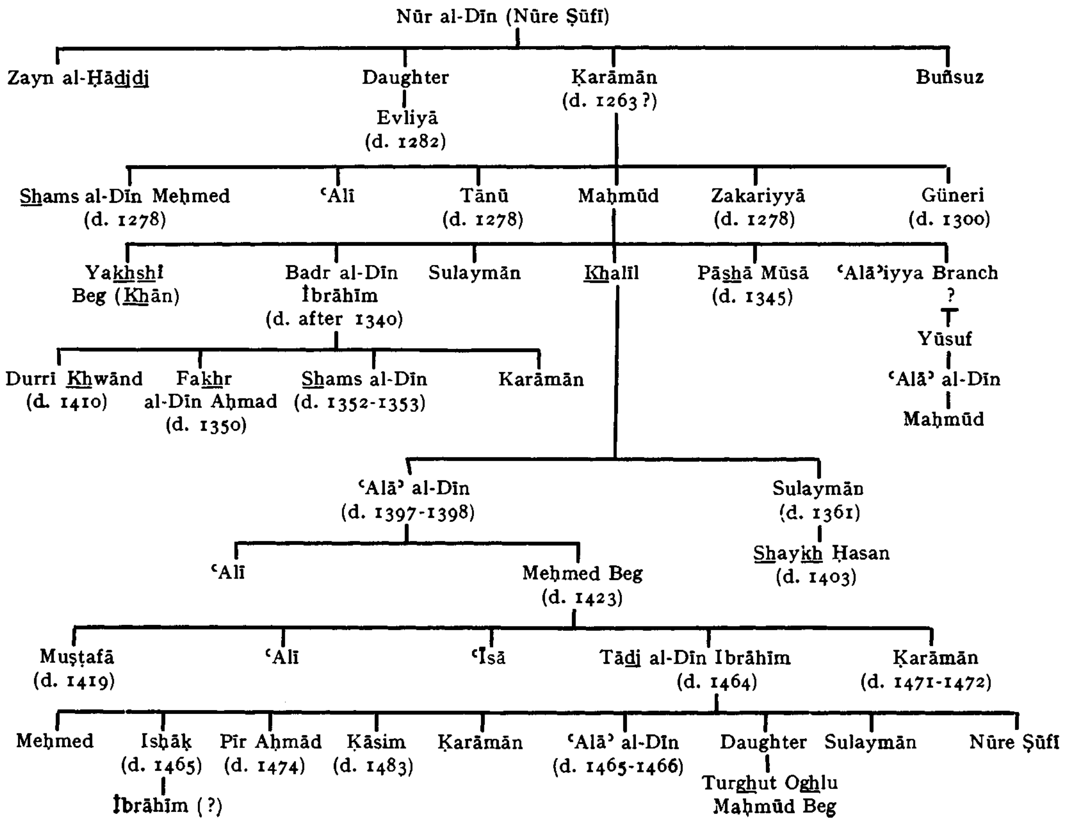

of Little Armenia. In fact, according to contemporary Armenian chroniclers, in a battle fought between Ḳarāmān and the Armenian king Hethoum at the fortress of "Maniaun" (probably Mennan castle near Ermenek), his brother Buñsuz and his brother-in-law were killed. Ḳarāmān also died after a time from the wounds he received in the same battle. The claim by the Armenian chronicler that Buñsuz was killed in battle is not correct. Shikārī, 33, claims that Ḳarāmān was buried in Ermenek. However, the text of the inscription attributed to Ḳarāmān in the village of Balkasun (Khalīl Edhem, *Ḳarāmān Oghullarî ḥaḳḳînda wethā'iḳ-i maḥkūke*, in *TOEM*, ii, 699; İ. H. Konyalı, *Karaman Tarihi*, Istanbul 1967, 693) makes it clear that the inscription belongs to his son Maḥmūd Beg, the builder of the tomb, in which he also is buried.

Although the Saldjūḳ Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Ḳîlîdj Arslan was enraged at Ḳarāmān's refusal to obey his orders, he left him unmolested. When he heard of his death, however, he imprisoned his brother Buñsuz, who was in Ḳonya as Amīr Djāndār. Ḳaramān's young children were taken into custody in the castle of Gevele, near Ḳonya. His sons were transferred to other castles after Ḳîlîdj Arslan's death (663/1265), and were later released by the Parwāna; one of them, ʿAlī Beg, was still held hostage in Kayseri. The Beglerbegi Khaṭīr-oghlu Sharaf al-Dīn, who had revolted against the Mongols in 675/1276, dismissed the governor of Ermenek, Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the son of Ḳāḍī Khuteni, and appointed in his stead Ḳarāmān's son Shams al-Dīn Meḥmed Beg. Meḥmed Beg occupied Ič-Il down to the sea, and started raiding the Mongol detachments. Following the dismissal of Khaṭīr-oghlu, the Parwāna sent the former governor Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm against the Ḳarāmānids, but he suffered a heavy defeat in a battle with the forces of Meḥmed Beg. Following this, Saldjūḳ forces under the command of the Nā'ib al-Salṭana Amīn al-Dīn Mikhā'īl and Ṣāḥib Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī's sons failed to gain any victory over the Ḳarāmānids. At about this time, the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars had defeated the Mongols on the Albistan plain (10 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 675/ 15 April 1277) and entered Kayseri.

Baybars gave Ḳarāmān's son ʿAlī Beg—at his own request—amīrates and "sandjaḳs" for himself and his elder brothers. The Ḳarāmānids, taking advantage of this situation, began hostilities under the command of Meḥmed Beg, supported by ʿAlā' al-Dīn Siyāvush, the Saldjūḳid prince, who was called "Djimrī" ("miserly"). He was one of the sons of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs. Meḥmed Beg first came to Aḳsarāy with a fairly small army (a contemporary source gives this as 3,000); because of the few forces at his disposal, he turned towards Ḳonya. He captured Ḳonya (9 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 675/15 May 1277), ineffectually defended by the Nā'ib al-Salṭana, and put ʿAlā al-Dīn Siyāvush on the Saldjūḳ throne; the *khuṭba* was read in his name, and coins were struck; one of these is still extant (O. F. Sağlam, *Şimdiye kadar görülmeyen Cimri sikkesi*, in *III. Tarih Kongresi zabıtları*, Ankara 1943, 224-8). Meḥmed Beg became ʿAlā' al-Dīn Siyāvush's vizier. One of the first decrees passed at the first meeting of his council was that no language other than Turkish should thenceforth be spoken in government offices and the court.

Meḥmed Beg, learning that the sons of Ṣāḥib Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī were moving towards Ḳonya with a large army, went to Aḳ Shehir, taking ʿAlā' al-Dīn Siyāvush with him. In the ensuing battle he defeated and killed the sons of Ṣāḥib. Although Sivri-Ḥiṣār opened its gates to him, he met with resistance at Ḳara Ḥiṣār (Afyon) and therefore returned to Ḳonya. He declared that he would go to Erzurum to fight the Mongols, but as he could not raise the necessary troops he abandoned the plan. When he heard that a Mongol army was approaching, he returned to Ič-il. In fact, the Mongol ruler, Abaḳa, sent the vizier Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Djuwaynī and some Mongol commanders to Turkey at the head of a large army for the purpose of establishing peace, and applying the Mongol financial system in the country (Rabīʿ II 676/September 1277). Djuwaynī came to the country of the Ḳarāmānids along with the Mongol troops. After some plunder and destruction he moved to Kaz Ova (in the Tokat region) for the approaching winter. As a precaution, a Mongol unit was left under the command of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw. In spring, the sultan and the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī marched against the Ḳarāmānids with the Saldjūḳ and Mongol forces under their command, and reached Mut. Meḥmed Beg, who had taken up a position near the fortress of Kurbagha for the purpose of reconnaissance, encountered a Mongol detachment and was killed together with two brothers and a cousin. Upon this unexpected success the sultan and the vizier swept down to the Mediterranean in order to put an end to the Ḳarāmānids (676/1277). Meanwhile, ʿAlā' al-Dīn Siyāvush succeeded in gathering a considerable force in the west, to which he had escaped, but he was defeated and killed by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw (Muḥarram 677/May 1278). This success, far from wiping out the Ḳarāmānids, helped to strengthen their will to fight.

Following this, they were headed by Güneri Beg, who seems to have been a member of the Ḳarāmānid dynasty. The defeat of the Mongol army by the Mamlūks at Ḥimṣ in 680/1281, and the death of Abaḳa following this, led to disturbances in Turkey. Ḳarāmān Oghlu Güneri Beg carried out frequent acts of plunder in the Ḳonya region, while Ashraf Oghlu Sulaymān Beg started making raids from Beg Shehri on Ḳonya and Aḳ Shehir. Finding himself helpless in the face of the raids of the Turkmen begs, Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw sought help from Aḥmad, the successor of Abaḳa. Aḥmad sent his brother Ḳonghurtay to Anatolia at the head of a large army. After plundering Aḳsaray in a manner without precedent, Ḳonghurtay arrived in Ḳarāmānid territory. Great destruction was caused there by forest fires, pillage and plunder, and massacre. Large numbers of people were killed. Women and children were captured and sold as slaves. The savage destruction wrought by Ḳonghurtay in Ḳarāmānid territory created deep sorrow and anger among the Mamlūks, and in a letter written to the Ilkhān Aḥmad, the savagery was described as something incompatible with Muslim brotherhood. The fact that Aḥmad summoned Ḳonghurtay and had him executed (682 Shawwāl/January 1284) may be related with feelings of anger at a brother in the faith's cruelty. In spite of this, Ḳonghurtay's acts of violence could not break down the resistance of the Ḳarāmānids. The new sultan, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd, was a weak man who preferred to live in Ḳayseri as he did not feel safe in Ḳonya. The invading Mongol troops were stationed in eastern parts of central Anatolia; taking advantage of this, the wife of the former sultan, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw, had her two sons acclaimed as rulers in Ḳonya. To gain their support, Ḳarāmān Oghlu Güneri Beg and Ashraf Oghlu Sulaymān Beg were given a *beglerbegilik* and regency respectively (684/1285). Shortly afterwards, the two children were put to death by the orders of

Arghun Khān, but neither Sultan Masʿūd nor the Mongols were able to establish peace and order in the western part of central Anatolia.

After the Ḳarāmānids and the Ashraf Oghullarī, the Germiyānids appeared on the scene in the Kütahya region. In the meantime, Güneri Beg took Laranda (modern Karaman: see LARANDA). In 686/1287 a certain Ḳarāmān Oghlu marched against Ṭarsūs, causing destruction around the city. It is almost certain that this "Ḳarāmān Oghlu" was Güneri Beg. Maḥmūd Beg, one of the sons of Ḳarāmān ruling somewhere in the Ič-il, accepted Güneri Beg as suzerain. Sultan Masʿūd and the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, by order of the Shāhzāde Gaykhatu marched against the Ḳarāmān territory at the head of a joint Saldjūḳ and Mongol army in the same year. However, they could not engage the Ḳarāmānid forces, which had withdrawn into the rugged mountains, and were unable to do more than destroy some of the town of Laranda and its surroundings. In the next year (687/1288), Ḳarāmān Oghlu and Ashraf Oghlu came to Ḳonya to express their submission to Masʿūd, while Güneri Beg, accompanied by his brother (and possibly also by Maḥmūd Beg), came before the sultan with a large army and kissed his hand (Djumādā II/May-June 1289). Güneri Beg sent his brother (Maḥmūd Beg?) to visit Gaykhatu, the Mongol governor who had come to Ḳonya. However, Gaykhatu's return to Iran on the death of Arghun (690/1290) gave rise to disturbances everywhere. At this time, the Ḳarāmānids attacked Ashraf Oghlu and entered Beg Shehri, but they were driven back. As Sultan Masʿūd lived in Ḳayseri and there was no competent governor in Ḳonya, the Ḳarāmānids were emboldened to carry out frequent raids and acts of plunder in and around the city. On one occasion, under the command of Khalīl Bahādur, they raided and plundered the city for three days in succession. Sultan Masʿūd thereupon requested help from Gaykhatu, who had recently succeeded to the Ilkhānid throne, Gaykhatu came to Anatolia with a large army, which also included Georgian soldiers. Laranda and Eregli and the villages around these cities were destroyed with particular savagery. The number of captives taken from the lands of the Ḳarāmānids and Ashraf Oghullarī alone (690/1292) was 7,000. The Mongol ruler carried destruction as far as Ladik (modern Denizli, ancient Laodicia) and the newly created Menteshe principality; he did not even spare the citizens of such cities as were obedient to him. He then returned to Īrān with the abundant booty seized in Anatolia. Gaykhatu, the perpetrator of many cruel acts such as these was essentially an incompetent ruler. He was unable to resist Baydu, and eventually lost both his throne and his life in 694/1295.

In spite of heavy losses, the Ḳarāmānids renewed action as soon as Gaykhatu returned, while Ashraf Oghlu captured Gevele Castle near Ḳonya. Taking advantage of this situation, Henry II, King of Cyprus, landed troops at ʿAlāʾiyya, but they beaten back by the Ḳarāmānids led by Maḥmūd Beg.

Mongol dominion in Anatolia during the time of Ghāzān Khān was in its weakest phase. The city of Ḳonya was under the rule of Akhī Aḥmad Shāh. Henceforth, the Akhīs had a considerable say in the administration of the city for many years to come. When Baltu (696/1297) and Sülemish (698/1299), two of the Mongol commanders in Anatolia, revolted against Ghāzān, they were in collusion with the Ḳarāmānids; in fact, a large number or perhaps all of the Turkmens in the army of Sülemish belonged to the Ḳarāmānids. Nevertheless, Ghāzān Khān declined to take any action against them. Referring to the Ḳarāmānids, he is reported to have said, "I was seeking the enemy in the east and west, while he was hiding beneath my clothing. If it had not been for the Ḳarāmānids, Turkmens and Kurds, the Mongol horsemen would have reached the place where the sun sets", indicating that the Mongols regarded the Ḳarāmānids as the main barrier to their domination of the whole of Anatolia. Shortly after the revolt of Sülemish, the brave and competent Ḳarāmānid leader Güneri Beg died (28 Radjab 699/20 April 1300).

The first half of the 8th/14th century constitutes the least-known period in the history of the Ḳarāmānids, owing to the scarcity and contradictory nature of the available historical evidence, Güneri Beg was succeeded by his brother Maḥmūd Beg, who is known to have built a mosque in Ermenek in 702/1302 and a *turba* for himself and his father, Ḳarāmān Beg, in the same year. According to Neshrī, Maḥmūd Beg died in 707/1307-8 (*Djihān-numā*, ed. F. R. Unat—M. A. Köymen, Ankara 1949, i, 48, 49). Although he gives no source, İ. H. Uzunçarşılı (*Anadolu beylikleri*, Ankara 1969), refers to an inscription on a mosque dated 711/1311 mentioning Maḥmūd Beg. In the same year the Ḳarāmānids and Aldum (?), a powerful Turkmen Beg, defeated and killed Ḳazāndjūḳ, a Mongol commander, in one of the passes of the Taurus Mountains. Neshrī mentions that Maḥmūd Beg had two sons, Yakhshī and Sulaymān, and that Yakhshī succeeded to his father's title in Ermenek (*ibid.*). The Yakhshī Beg referred to by Neshrī is the Yakhshī Khān mentioned in other sources as the successor of Maḥmūd. Maḥmūd had several other sons, named Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, Pāshā Mūsā, Khalīl (and perhaps Yūsuf), but nothing is clearly known of their political lives, and not even the dates of their deaths. It is understood that Yakhshī Khān, who succeeded to his father's title in Ermenek, overthrew Akhi Muṣṭafā, ruler of Ḳonya, and captured the city. It is probable that this event occurred during the early months of 714/end of 1314, because it is suggested that the main reason for Čōbān Beg's being sent to Turkey was the capture of Ḳonya by the Ḳarāmānids (Ḳāshānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Uldjaytu*, ed. Mahin Hambly, Tehran 1969, 168-70). According to the same historian Ḳarāmān Oghlu, who ruled Ḳonya for some time, fled to Laranda during a famine which broke out in the city; he was pursued and forced to come before Čōbān, who pardoned him. After leaving officials in Ḳonya and appointing his son Demir Tash (Tīmūr Tāsh) as his regent in Anatolia, Čōbān returned to Īrān. Before long Ḳonya was recaptured by the Ḳarāmānids. According to Neshrī, Yakhshī Beg died in Ermenik in 717/1317-18, and was succeeded by his brother Sulaymān Beg. It is presumed that Neshrī's source for this was an old calendar (*İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1954, 32, 33), which mentions that Yakhshī Beg was killed. The next year, "Ḳarāmān Oghlu" Ibrāhīm Beg's ambassador came to Cairo, stating that his master had read the *khuṭba* in the name of the sultan and also struck coins in his name. This statement might confirm that Yakhshī Khān was killed in the year already mentioned, and that Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm had replaced him, but Yakhshī Khān is referred to in other calendars as living at a later date. The date of his death accordingly remains uncertain.

Pāshā Mūsā Beg, one of the sons of Maḥmūd Beg, restored Laranda, which had been destroyed by Gaykhatu, in 711/1311-12 and took up residence there. The city may possibly have been in the hands of Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg prior to 718/1318. We know that

at this time Nadjm al-Dīn Demīr Khān b. Ḳarāmān was in the service of the Mamlūks, being either the commander or one of the commanders of the Mamlūk forces sent to Mecca as early as 715/1315; he died in Damascus in 734/1333-34. Three years earlier ʿAlī Bahādur b. Ḳarāmān had been appointed to one of the *ṭabl-khāna* amīrates. Unfortunately we do not know the names of the fathers of these Ḳarāmānid princes.

The appointment of Demir Tash, Čōbān's son, as commander of the Mongol forces in Anatolia led to the strengthening of Mongol domination in Anatolia, and to the expansion of the territories under Mongol occupation. Demir Tash took measures to establish the long-awaited peace and order in central Anatolia, and was so popular with both villagers and townsmen that he was called "Mahdī-i ākhir zamān". His aim was to bring the Turkmen begs under his control and to become the sole ruler of Anatolia. According to Aflākī (*Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1964, ii, 977), Demir Tash took Ḳonya from the Ḳarāmānids in 720/1320. It is more probable, howver, that this conquest took place, as recorded in the anonymous *Saldjūḳnāma*, 94, in 723/1323, or that he conquered the city for the second time on the latter date. As well as conquering Ḳonya in 723, he also captured Mūsā Beg and the Ḥamīd-oghlu Dündar Beg, but is understood to have set Mūsā Beg free. Although Demir Tash wiped out the principalities of Ashraf Oghullarī, he was more lenient to the Ḳarāmānids, and pursued a policy of friendship towards them. When he fled to Egypt in 727/1327, his lieutenants Eretna and Sunghur Āghā escaped to Laranda, where Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg was living. Quick to grasp this chance, the Ḳarāmānids re-took Ḳonya, the fortress of Gevele and Bey Shehri in 729/1328-29. It is to be assumed that in 735/1334-35 Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg was in Laranda, his son Aḥmad Beg was in Ḳonya, Yakhshī Khān was in Ermenek (?), Khalīl Beg in Bey Shehrı and Mūsā in Mecca. As Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited neither Ḳonya nor Laranda, he did not meet the Ḳarāmānid begs, and what he wrote about them is based only on hearsay, Mūsā Beg, who stopped at Cairo on his way to and from Mecca, was entertained and even offered a high position by the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, but he refused the sultan's offer on the grounds that he could not live away from his people and country. While he was returning to his country under the protection of Mamlūk *amīrs*, partisans of the Armenian king tried to capture him, resulting in further destruction and plunder of the Cilician Armenian kingdom by the Mamlūk forces.

Mūsā Beg was probably the builder of a *madrasa* (the Tol Madrasa) in Ermenek in 740/1339-40; he probably died in Ramaḍān 745/January 1345. İ. H. Konyalı believes that the Amīr Mūsā Madrasa, which no longer stands, was built in Laranda by "Karaman Oghlu" Mūsā Beg (*Karaman Tarihi*, 720). Yet this is highly improbable, because there was, during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād, a Saldjūḳ governor by the name of Amīr Mūsā in Laranda, who had a *madrasa* built in the city for the father of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (Aflākī, i, 25-8, 303). It is therefore more likely that the Saldjuk Amīr Mūsā was responsible for the *madrasa* in Karaman.

Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg is known to have been alive in 741/1341. His ambassador to Cairo departed with the standards sent by the caliph and the sultan and the moulds for minting silver and gold coins on behalf of the sultan. It is difficult to assess why Ibrāhīm Beg accepted the suzerainty of the Mamlūk sultan. Historical calendars record that Khalīl Beg, one of the sons of Maḥmūd Beg, came from Bey Shehri to Ḳonya, where Aḥmad Beg was living, and fought with Yakhshī Beg (or Khān). The date of this event is given as 742/1341-2 and 743/1342-3 in two calendars (Nurosmaniye no. 5080, f.4a, ed. O. Turan, 32, 33), while in two other calendars we have the dates of 761/1360 and 762/1361 (ed. Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihine ait takvimler*, Istanbul 1961, 22, 23; ed. O. Turan, 49). Of these dates, 742 or 743 is approximately correct. It is probable that Khalīl Beg killed Yakhshī Khān (Beg) in this battle. The fact that, like Güneri Beg, Yakhshī Khān is not mentioned by Shikārī, is puzzling. Khalīl Beg is understood to have built a mosque in Ermenek, *zāwiya*s in the villages of Ermenek, and a *zāwiya* in Laranda. There is a copy of a *waḳfiyya* dated 745/1344-45 made by him. The year of his death is not known, but it must have been between 745/1344-5 and 750/1349-50.

Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad Beg, the son of Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg, was then left as the sole ruler. Shikārī's claim that he was killed in one of the endless battles with the Mongols is acceptable, because the adjective *al-shahīd* appears on a burial inscription dated 750/1349. Fakhr al-Dīn was succeeded by his brother Shams al-Dīn Beg, who died in 753/1352. According to Shikārī (p. 60), Shams al-Dīn Beg was poisoned by his brother Ḳarāmān. The word *al-shahīd* occurs in his inscription (İ. H. Konyalı, *op. cit.*, p. 460). Sulaymān Beg, one of the sons of Khalīl Beg, succeeded to the throne. Konya was then under the rule of the Eretna Dynasty, and Bey Shehri seems to have been in the possession of Ismāʿīl Āghā, one of the Mongol *amīrs*. It is probable that the Ḳarāmānids lost Ḳonya during the time of Eretna (d. 753/1352). The various Mongol tribes settled by Demir Tash (Tīmūr Tash) in the western parts of Central Anatolia became a continuous sources of trouble for the Ḳarāmānids, a situation that endured until the tribesmen were taken back to Turkistān by Tımūr. Although a kind, good-natured and religious ruler, Sulaymān Beg was killed in a plot organized by begs of his family (762/1361). The titles of "Ṣāḥib al-Dawla al-Nāṣir, Sayf al-Dawla waʾl-Dīn", which occur in the inscription of the Ḥādjdjī Begler Djāmiʿ dated 757/1356, refer to Sulaymān Beg.

Sulaymān Beg was buried in the Akhī Meḥmed Beg or Ḳalamiyya *zāwiya*, and his tomb was built by his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg in 772/1370-71. According to Shikārī (p. 90), Ḳāsim, one of the organizers of the plot, succeeded to the throne, but later he and his supporters were killed by ʿAlā ʾal-Dīn Beg, who obtained the throne. As this Ḳarāmānid Beg is referred to merely as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in inscriptions, coins, *waḳfiyya*s, historical calendars and in reliable contemporary foreign and native chroniclers, calling him "ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī" is simply the perpetuation of an error in some historical works. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg differed from his predecessors (perhaps with the exception of Mūsā Beg) in being an educated ruler. Yardjānī's *Shāhnāma* on the Ḳarāmān dynasty, which was Shikārī's principal source, was written at his command. During the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg the borders of the Ḳarāmānid state were extended in every direction, and the Ḳarāmānid rulers were no longer mere "rulers of the Anatolian mountains" (*Ṣāḥib djibāl al-Rūm*), as Mamlūk chroniclers used to call them. During this period the Mamlūks occupied the whole of Cilicia, bringing to an end the Armenian kingdom (777/1375). The Eretnas were also in a state of confusion. Taking advantage of this situation, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg captured certain Armenian castles, and took Ḳonya in 767 or 768/1366-67 and later Aḳ Saray, Nigde, Karaḥiṣār (Yeşil Hisar), Aḳ Shehir,

Ilghîn, Ishāḳlu and even Ḳayseri. The latter, however, was soon recovered by the Eretnas. Following on these successes, the Babuk Oghullarî, Ata Beg, Devlet Shāh and other Mongol begs entered the Ḳarāmānid service. If Bey Shehri and even Seydī Shehri were taken by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg, they must have been captured following the death of Ismāʿīl Āghā (780/1379). It must, however, be noted that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg's rule, like that of his successors, was devoid of consistent diplomatic principle. He abandoned the traditional alliance with the Mamlūks, and became a supporter of the rebellious Ramaḍān Oghullarî against Sultan Barḳūḳ, while pursuing a hostile policy against Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, his natural ally against the Ottomans. This led to a loss of territory, and damaged his prestige, particularly among the Mongol tribes. His encouragement of Tīmūr's attack on the Ottomans and the Mamlūks, probably motivated by a desire for revenge for the defeat he had suffered, left him completely isolated against Bāyazīd.

The Ḳarāmānid territory included the following regions and cities in 782/1380: Gülnar, Anamur, Silifke, Mut, Ermenek, Hâdim, Bozkîr, Laranda (the capital), Ereğli, Ulukîshla, Niğde, Ḳara Ḥiṣār, Aḳ Saray, Aḳ Shehir, Ilghîn, Saʿīd ili (Kadîn Khānî) and Ḳonya (see map in ANADOLU). We do not know definitely whether Bey Shehri and Seydi Shehri were under Ḳarāmānid rule. It is clear that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg considerably enlarged Ḳarāmānid territory, whence his names "Sulṭān" and "Abū l-Fatḥ". Nevertheless he was unable, contrary to Shikārī's claim, to capture Corycos (Kîz Kulesi) on the Mediterranean coast, which was held by the Kingdom of Cyprus.

His relations with the Ottomans were uneasy. He was a son-in-law of Murād I, but when Murād bought part of the Ḥamīd Oghullarî territory, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was offended because he was planning to capture the area himself; the Ḥamīd Oghlu had in fact sold a part of his lands to the Ottomans because he had discovered ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg's intention. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg's occupation of Ḳara Aghač and Yalvadj, while Murād was engaged with his expeditions in the Balkans, was a cause of war between the two states. Murād defeated his son-in-law easily (789/1387), and made peace through the mediation of his daughter, on the condition that Bey Shehri be given to him. However, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg regarded this as a temporary peace only, and hoped that an opportunity would arise for him to renew hostilities. In fact, when he heard that his father-in-law had been killed at Kosova (791/1389), he captured Bey Shehri and encouraged the begs of western Anatolia to fight against the new ruler Bāyazīd. But this act proved to be against his own interests. He sent an ambassador to his brother-in-law from the Ermenek region, from which he had withdrawn, and sued for peace. Köshk Bükü, one of the villages of Bey Shehri, was accepted as marking the border and peace was made (793/1391). In spite of these successive defeats, the Ḳarāmānid never abandoned his struggle against the Ottomans. He attacked Anḳara at the time of the battle of Niğbolu, and imprisoned Sarî Demir Tash Pāshā, governor of the city. But he was again defeated by Bāyazīd and retreated to the citadel of Ḳonya castle. The people of Ḳonya demonstrated their feelings about the Ḳarāmānids by handing over their ruler to Bāyazīd. The Ottoman ruler, who had decided to annex Ḳarāmānid territory, then had his brother-in-law put to death (800/1397-8). Meḥmed Beg and ʿAlī Beg, sons of the Ḳarāmānid, were taken to Bursa and imprisoned. Bāyazīd gave the conquered Ḳarāmānid lands to his son Muṣṭafā. Ič-il was placed under the rule of Shaykh Ḥasan, son of Sulaymān Beg, who had earlier taken refuge with Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn.

Following the battle of Anḳara (804/1402), Tīmūr gave back to Meḥmed Beg and ʿAlī Beg their father's territory, as well as Ḳayseri, Ḳîr Shehri and Sivri Ḥiṣār. But Meḥmed Beg was not content with these. This energetic new Ḳarāmānid ruler annexed Ḥamîd-ili, and taking advantage of the weak rule of the Mamlūk sultan Faradj, took Ṭarsūs and occupied Ḳara Ḥiṣār (Afyon) and Kütahya. It is recorded in some calendars that "Ḳarāmān Oghlu" even captured Antalya. Meḥmed Beg went even further and besieged Bursa (816/1413). Before long, however, it was apparent that Meḥmed Beg's achievements were the result of favourable prevailing conditions rather than of his personal qualities. He was forced to make peace with Meḥemmed I Čelebi by handing over Bey Shehri, Seydī Shehri and Aḳ Shehir (812/1414). The following year he and his son Muṣṭafā were taken before the Ottoman ruler as virtual prisoners: their lives were spared in return for an oath that Meḥmed Beg would never again break the peace. Al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, the new Mamlūk sultan, demanded that Ḳarāmān Oghlu return to him Ṭarsūs, which the Ḳarāmānid had captured for the second time. Believing that the Mamlūk sultan could not touch him, Meḥmed Beg ignored this demand. Furthermore, he gave his daughter to the Ramaḍānid Ibrāhīm Beg and protected him against al-Muʾayyad Shaykh. But when he heard that a large Mamlūk army under the command of Ibrāhīm, son of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, was marching against Ḳarāmānid territory, he realized his mistake. Unwilling to risk the battle with the Mamlūk army, Meḥmed Beg withdrew into the mountains. Ḳayseri was given to the Dulkadîr Oghullarî while the territory of Ḳarāmān was given to ʿAlī Beg, brother of Meḥmed Beg (822/1419). As soon as the Mamlūk army had left, Meḥmed Beg regained authority in most of his lands, but his son Muṣṭafā was killed in a battle fought with the Dulkadîrids near Kayseri, while he himself was captured and taken to Cairo as a prisoner (822/1419). Although ʿAlī Beg was protected by the Mamlūk sultan, he was unable to establish his authority throughout the Ḳarāmānid teritoty. He failed to capture Ḳonya in the face of a strong defence by Sunghur, a loyal commander of Meḥmed Beg; unable to withstand the attacks of Ibrāhīm, one of the sons of Meḥmed Beg who was being helped by the Ottomans, he returned to Nigde. Having been released upon the death of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh in 824/1421, Meḥmed Beg had no difficulty in re-establishing his authority over his country. Despite the many setbacks with he had suffered, he lost none of his ambition. Taking advantage of the newly-crowned Ottoman sultan's struggle with his uncle Muṣṭafā, he besieged Antalya at the suggestion of the Teke Oghlu ʿUthmān Beg, but was killed by a shot fired from the castle (826/1423). His sons took his body to Laranda and buried him there. A man of great energy, Meḥmed Beg observed moderation in his private life and showed great respect to men of learning. He was not, however, popular with his subjects, as he frequently levied heavy taxes. Upon his death his brother, ʿAlī Beg, became the ruler of the entire Ḳarāmānid territory, but his rule was shortlived. Unable to fight against Ibrāhīm Beg, who was again aided by Murād II, and, like his grandfather, was related to the Ottomans by marriage, ʿAlī Beg retreated to Nigde. Following the death of his uncle, Ibrāhīm Beg captured Nigde as well.

Tādj al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg was the last great ruler of the Ḳarāmānid state. An energetic and warlike

man like his father and grandfather, he was over-ambitious. After making an agreement with the Serbs and Hungarians, he captured Eğridir and Isparta (837/1433), but was forced to sue for peace from Murād II, who had marched against him. Murād wanted to give the Ḳarāmānid territory to ʿĪsā, a brother of Ibrāhīm Beg in his service. But as he had failed to overcome Ibrāhīm Beg on a previous occasion (830/1426-7), he made peace with his brother-in-law on the condition that the territory belonging to the Ḥamīd Og̲h̲ullarī would remain under Ottoman rule (838/1435). However, Ibrāhīm Beg won a great victory against the Dulkadīr Og̲h̲lu Nāṣir al-Dīn Meḥmed Beg, and took Ḳara Ḥiṣār, Develi, Uč Ḥiṣār, Ürgüb and Ḳayseri. This achievement had been possible through the approval and aid of the Mamlūk sultan Bārsbay. Ibrāhīm Beg continued his policy of hostility towards the Ottomans. In concert with the Hungarian attack on the Ottomans in 846/1442, he sent an army under the command of his son-in-law Turg̲h̲ut Og̲h̲lu Ḥasan Beg, effecting large-scale destruction and plunder in Anḳara, Beg Pazarı, Kütahya, Ḳara Ḥiṣār (Afyon), Bolvadin and Ḥamīd Ili, but sharp Ottoman retaliation followed. When Murād heard that the Hungarians had broken the Treaty of Szegedin, he accepted Ibrāhīm Beg's peace offer, but the ensuing treaty contained some of the harshest terms that the Ḳarāmānids had ever had to accept and reduced them to vassals of the Ottomans. (For the text of this treaty see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Karaman oğulları devri vesikalarından Ibrahim Bey'in Karaman emareti vakfiyesi*, *Belleten* i/1, 120-1). In 1448 Ibrāhīm Beg captured the fortress of Corycos, which his grandfather ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg had failed to take. However, this conquest did not worsen commercial relations between Cyprus and the Ḳarāmānids; on the contrary, Ibrāhīm Beg granted the Venetians special trade concessions within his country.

Of the many sons of Ibrāhīm Beg, Pīr Aḥmad, Ḳāsim and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn were born of Čelebi Meḥemmed I's daughter. According to early Ottoman chroniclers, Ibrāhīm Beg disliked these children because they had Ottoman blood in their veins and he made Isḥāḳ, son of another wife, his crown prince. Upon his father becoming seriously ill, Pīr Aḥmad Beg declared himself ruler in Ḳonya. Realizing that he could not hold the city, Ibrāhīm Beg fled with his son Isḥāḳ, but died on the way to the fortress of Gevele (869/1464). His body was taken to Laranda and buried in his tomb near his *ʿimāret*. Ibrāhīm Beg, an active and brave ruler, was also a great builder: apart from the *ʿimāret* in Laranda, he constructed numerous public buildings, mosques, *madrasas*, bridges and irrigation canals. He was also a patron of artists and scholars. Yet he was also a man of violent temper, and had many of his viziers put to death.

Following the death of Ibrāhīm Beg, Isḥāḳ and Pīr Aḥmad between them divided the country into two principalities, Isḥāḳ ruling Ič-il with capital at Silifke, and Pīr Aḥmad ruling the larger part of the country with his capital at Ḳonya. Before long Isḥāḳ, with the help of Uzun Ḥasan, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler, forced Pīr Aḥmad to take refuge under the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II, but Pīr Aḥmad defeated Isḥāḳ with the reinforcements he had received from the Ottoman ruler and brought the entire Ḳarāmānid territory under his rule (870/1465). Isḥāḳ again took refuge under Uzun Ḥasan, and died in 870/1465-6.

Meḥemmed II was determined to put an end to the separate Ḳarāmānid political existence. He fulfilled his objective after numerous expeditions, and Ḳarāmān finally became an Ottoman province in 880/1475. Pīr Aḥmad died in the same year. His brother Ḳāsim Beg remained as beg and as a vassal of Bāyazīd II in Gülnar and Silifke. Upon his death (888/1483), the Ḳarāmānid begs made Maḥmūd, son of Turg̲h̲ut Og̲h̲lu and the grandson of Ibrāhīm Beg, their chief. But as he supported the Mamlūks in the Ottoman-Mamlūk warfare, he was forced to flee to Aleppo in 892/1487. When disaffection broke out among the Ḳarāmānid feudal forces by the Ottoman tax assessment carried out in 906/1500-1, Muṣṭafā, nephew of Ḳāsim Beg, was called from Iran and declared prince. But Muṣṭafā could not resist the Ottoman forces: he took refuge with the Mamlūks, and died in Cairo in 919/1513.

Together with other Anatolian tribesmen, various groups in the Ḳarāmānid state, such as Turg̲h̲udlu and Bayburdlu, took part in the foundation of the Ṣafawid state. There was also an ʿAlāʾiyya branch of the Ḳarāmānid dynasty, which came to the fore in 692/1293, but little is known about the history of this branch.

The fact that the Ḳarāmānids were able to oppose the Ottomans for so many years was largely due to the geographical features of their territory, for they possessed strong fortified points in rugged country. There is no doubt that the use of firearms by the Ottomans played an important role in the extinction of their independence. As heirs of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, the Ḳarāmānids had a firm military and administrative organisation. They valued culture and learning, and as early as the time of Maḥmūd Beg, they built many public buildings such as mosques, *zāwiyas*, *madrasas*, *ʿimārets*, caravanserais and baths, many of these buildings of considerable artistic value. Ḳarāmānid works of art reflect Sald̲j̲ūḳ characteristics, with most distinguishing features of Ḳarāmānid art being its decorative quality.

Although taxes on land and animals constituted the main source of revenue in the Ḳarāmānid state, customs duties collected at the ports and gates in the south were also considerable. The Ḳarāmān horses raised on the Ḳonya plain between Ḳonya, Aḳsaray and Laranda were famous and were valued not only in Turkey, but also in the Arab lands and Europe, whither many were exported. The Turkish tribes raising these horses used to be called *Atčeken* until one or two centuries ago. Carpets and rugs were formerly exported from Ḳarāmān lands, and of these, the Aḳ Saray carpets were particularly in demand in foreign markets.

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(F. Sümer)

KARĀMAT ʿALĪ, born (date uncertain, early in the 19th century?) at Djawnpūr [*q.v.*], of a family of *shaykhs*, which had held the office of *khaṭīb* under Muslim rule; his father was *sarishtadār* in the Djawnpūr Collectorate. He studied theology and other Muslim sciences under various celebrated teachers of the time, especially Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *muḥaddith* of Dihlī, who was also the teacher and afterwards follower of Sayyid Aḥmad of Brēlwī. Between 1820 and 1824, Sayyid Aḥmad made a tour through Bengal and Northern India, collecting a band of disciples, and Karāmat ʿAlī was one of the most devoted of the younger men who followed him, but he does not appear to have taken part in the *djihād* against the Sikhs [*q.v.*], in which Sayyid Aḥmad was slain in battle in 1831. The Sayyīd's old master, Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, now became his khalīfa, and an active propaganda for the revival of Islam was organised in Bihār and Bengal; with this peaceful propaganda Karāmat ʿAlī was now identified. In 1252/1836-7 Ḥādjdjī Sharīʿat Allāh [see FARĀʾIḌIYYA] met Karāmat ʿAlī in Calcutta. By 1855 the two schools had made some progress towards a rapprochement, and in the meeting then held at Barisal, Karāmat ʿAlī was able to agree on several points with the representative of the other movement, Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, though on the question of the lawfulness of *Djumʿa* and *ʿĪd* prayers in British India, he could not overcome the stubborn opposition of ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*Ḥudjdjat-i ḳāṭiʿa*, 29-32).

Karāmat ʿAlī's life was a double struggle: firstly, against the Hindu customs and superstitions which had crept into the practise of Islām in Eastern Bengal, against which he wrote a book, entitled *Radd al-Bidʿa*; and secondly, he tried to bring back into the fold of orthodoxy the new heterodox schools, and he devoted a special book, *Hidāyat al-Rāfiḍīn*, to this subject. He kept in touch with the Muslims of Bengal, and distributed to the needy all the presents that he received. He was a trained *ḳāriʾ* and an expert calligraphist.

Garcin de Tassy (ii, 162) says that he competed for the prize offered by Sir Charles Trevelyan for the best Hindustani essay (see *Bibl.*) on the influence of the Greeks and Arabs on the Renaissance in Europe, but that his essay was not accepted for want of an English translation. He was thus interested, unlike the majority of contemporary Indian Mawlawīs, in the relation of Islām to the wider questions of the world at large. He died on 3rd Rabīʿ II 1290/30th May 1873, and was buried in Rangpūr (*Tad̲j̲allī-i-Nūr*, ii, 136), in the province in which he had laboured for the regeneration of Islām all his life. He was succeeded in his work by his son, Mawlawī Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad (d. 1898), and his nephew, Muḥammad Muḥsin. His following was so large that there was hardly a Bengal village without his disciples.

He wrote chiefly in Urdū. Raḥmān ʿAlī (*Tad̲h̲kira-i ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*, Lucknow 1894, 171-2) gives a list of 46 of his works, without claiming that it is exhaustive. One of his works, *Miftāḥ al-D̲j̲annat*, has run through numerous editions and is accepted in India as a correct statement of Islamic principles. His writings may be divided into four classes: (1) general works, like *Miftāḥ al-D̲j̲annat*; (2) works on the reading and interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, and formal prayers and ablutions; (3) works on the doctrine of spiritual preceptorship (*Pīrī Murīdī*), the cornerstone of orthodox Islām in India; in accepting this doctrine, Karāmat ʿAlī stands in sharp opposition to the Wahhābī sect and merges insensibly into the *Taṣawwuf* schools, which he brings into relation with the traditional religious orders; (4) polemics against S̲h̲arīʿat Allāh, Dūda Miyān, the Wahhābīs, etc.

The common conception that Karāmat ʿAlī was a Wahhābī is refuted by the detailed exposition of his own views as set forth in *Mukās̲h̲afāt-i Raḥmat*; he had not seen any Wahhābī books, but had made oral enquiries and found that they were so fanatical (*ḍiddī*) that they called all who did not agree with them *mus̲h̲rik* (38-9); he and his school carefully distinguished between *s̲h̲irk*, which was the negation of Islām, and *bidʿa*, which was only an error in doctrine (39). In his *Ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲at-i ḳāṭiʿa* he draws a clear distinction between a *fāsiḳ* (sinner) and a *kāfir* (infidel), and inveighs against those sectaries who would deny funeral prayers to those who did not pray but repeated the *kalima* (21); if non-Muslims conquer Islamic lands, the *D̲j̲umʿa* prayer and the two *ʿĪd* [*q.v.*] prayers were not only lawful but obligatory (13 *bis*). He based his doctrine on the orthodox Sunnī books of the Ḥanafī school (*Mukās̲h̲afāt-i Raḥmat*, 37). He accepted the six orthodox books of tradition (*Ṣiḥāḥ sitta*), the commentaries (*tafāsīr*), the principles of ceremonial law as interpreted by the masters, and the doctrines of *taṣawwuf* and *pīrī murīdī* (38, 45), even basing the mission of Sayyid Aḥmad on a *ḥadīt̲h̲* from Abū Hurayra (p. 32); in every century a teacher is born to revivify the faith: Sayyid Aḥmad was such a teacher for the 13th century and should be followed until another teacher arises for the 14th century (34). All this was in direct antithesis to Wahhābī teaching, and the "reform" amounted merely to the abolition of rites and ceremonies introduced through ignorance (36), or to a revival of Islām according to the accepted orthodox schools (50). The political effects of Sayyid Aḥmad's life brought his followers into conflict with the authorities, but the writings of the school show that there was no connection, political or doctrinal, with the sect founded by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in Arabia.

Bibliography: The European accounts of Karāmat ʿAlī are unsatisfactory, being based on secondary information and failing to distinguish between this school of reform and Wahhābism, and in some places there is confusion between the subject of this article and Mawlawī Sayyid Karāmat ʿAlī of D̲j̲awnpūr (1796-1876), who represented the British Government at the court of Dōst Muḥammad K̲h̲ān at Kābul ,1832-1835, and was superintendent (*mutawallī*) of the Hughlī Imāmbāra, 1837-1876 (*Nineteenth Century*, May, 1905, cf. 780-2; Sir W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musulmans*, 114; C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 229; Nūr al-Dīn Zaydī, *Tad̲j̲allī-i Nūr*, ii, 139); *Census of India*, 1901, vol. vi. part 1 (Bengal, 174) Calcutta 1902; *Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal*, lxiii, part 3, 54-6, Calcutta 1894; Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, ii, 162, Paris 1870); (it is doubtful whether the *Muʿd̲j̲iza-i ras̲h̲k-i Masīḥa*, Dihlī 1868, mentioned there, was a work by the subject of this article); Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Zaydī, *Tad̲j̲allī-i Nūr* (biographies of the famous men of D̲j̲awnpūr), D̲j̲awnpūr 1900, 135-6.

A correct appreciation of Karāmat ʿAlī's doctrines can only be gained by a study of his own writings, the most important of which are the following: *Miftāḥ al-D̲j̲annat*, Calcutta 1234 (frequently reprinted); *Kawkab-i durrī*, Calcutta 1253 (translates passages from the Ḳurʾān); *Bayʿat-i Tawba*, Calcutta 1254, various practices of the religious orders); *Zīnāt al-ḳārīʾ*, Calcutta 1264 (on reading the Ḳurʾān); *Fayḍ-i ʿāmm*, Calcutta 1282 (a tract on the doctrines of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Sirhindī); *Ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲at-i Ḳāṭiʿa*, Calcutta 1282 (a polemical tract against the school of S̲h̲arīʿat Allāh and his son Dūda Miyān; *Nūr al-Hudā*, Calcutta 1286, on the doctrines of *taṣawwuf*, of the *mud̲j̲addidiyya school*, apparently the new school of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī); *Mukās̲h̲afāt-i Raḥmat*, Calcutta 1286, (gives an account of the life and work of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī, and discusses and disowns the Wahhābīs); *Zīnat al-Muṣallī*, Calcutta 1259; *Zād al-Taḳwā*, Calcutta 1287 (the beliefs and practices of Islām and *taṣawwuf*; accepts the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya teaching).

(A. Yusuf Ali)

ḲARĀMĪD [see K̲H̲AZAF].

ḲARĀMIṬA [see ḲARMAṬĪ].

ḲARANFUL, the clove. According to the Arabic dictionaries, varying names were given to this plant, including *ḳarnful* and *ḳarnfūl*, whilst popular pronunciations included *ḳuranful* and *ḳuranfil*.

It seems that before the end of the Middle Ages the clove had not yet spread beyond the Moluccas, and since the Muslims who sailed towards China left these islands on their right hand, the old Arab writers could not pin down the origin of the clove. Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih thought that it came from "Salāhiṭ", but he also mentions the island of Waḳwāḳ [*q.v.*]; Salāhiṭ was probably the southern part of the Malayan peninsula. On the other hand, al-Masʿūdī says that it comes from the kingdom of the Mahārād̲j̲a called Zābad̲j̲ situated in the islands of the Sea of Annam (Ṣanf); this must be the kingdom of Śrivijaya, of which Palembang in southeastern Sumatra was the centre. Later Arab geographers, such as al-Idrīsī and al-Ḳazwīnī, merely repeat these items of information. However, al-Ḳazwīnī also relates that the clove grows in Sumatra, in Ceylon and in the other islands of the Indonesian archipelago. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa claims to have seen it in Sumatra and Java, but the description which he gives makes one suspect that he confused it with other trees. The stories in mediaeval Arabic literature about cloves being obtained by

"dumb barter" further point to uncertainty about the origin of this spice.

The clove, sc. the dried flower-buds of the tree, were employed in cooking as a spice, but above all, in pharmacy. In Morocco it is also used for perfuming milk. Arab physicians, such as Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn and Ibn Sīnā, recommend it as a medicament for sharpening the faculty of vision. Ibn Sīnā, and before him Isḥāḳ al-Isrāʾīlī (Isaac Israeli) further considered the clove as good for the digestion, since it strengthened the stomach and liver. The celebrated physician Isḥāḳ b. ʿImrān notes its effect on powers of procreation; like other medical authorities, he says that it strengthens the sexual powers, and brings about, or lessens, according to the procedure followed, obesity. The clove was also used by the Arabic physicians as a specific against diabetes and other diseases. The instructions of various physicians concerning its use are cited *in extenso* by the Spanish botanist and pharmacologist Ibn al-Bayṭār in his *al-Djāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdiya*. Because of its pleasant smell, it was used for chewing and as an ingredient in perfumes; the Bedouins (and their womenfolk) in Morocco use it as part of necklaces.

Thus the clove was an important item in the spice trade. From caliphal times onwards, it was imported into the Middle East via the Red Sea, whence consignments were conveyed to Cairo and Damascus. In the later Middle Ages, some of these cargoes were resold in Alexandria and Beirut to Italian merchants. Nevertheless, the clove did not play as big a role in the Indian trade as pepper or ginger, on the evidence of what we know of the cargoes of Venetian, Genoese and Florentine ships. Moreover, the clove was a very costly spice, costing two or three times more than pepper; 100 *manns* were generally sold at Alexandria in the 9th/15th century for 70-80 ducats, though the stems were cheaper.

Bibliography: *LA* and *TA*, s.v.; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 66, 70; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 341, iii, 56 (tr. Pellat, i, 139, ii, 338); Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, i, 54, 82, 89, 91; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, i, 262, ii, 18, 53, 55; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 228, 240, 243; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, 153; Ibn al-Bayṭār, Būlāḳ 1291, iv, 7 ff. (tr. von Sontheimer, Stuttgart 1840-2, ii, 281 ff.); E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, ii, 254 ff. (annotated text of Nuwayrī); E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 334, 417 ff.; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 603 ff.

(E. Ashtor)

ḲARAPAPAKH (Turkish, "black hat"), a Turkic people whose language belongs to the western Oghuz division, and differs little from Āzerī and the Turkish of Turkey. In the Georgian S.S.R. it is often confused with Āzerī, and in Turkey itself Ḳarapapakh is no longer spoken (having been replaced by Turkish). In 1828, the Ḳarapapakh emigrated from the region along the Debeda or Borčala river in eastern Georgia partly to the region of Ḳars (where they formed about 15% of the population) and partly to the Sulduz region of Persia, south of Lake Riḍāʾiyya (Urmiyya). In 1883 they numbered 21,652, of whom 11,721 were Sunnīs and 9,931 Shīʿīs (K. Sadovskiy, *Kratkaya zametka o Karskoy oblasti*, in *Sbornik Materialov... Kavkaza*, iii, 315-50); according to the Russian census of 1897 they numbered 29,879 (in the Russian Empire); in 1910 their population was given as 39,000 (*Kavkazskiy Kalendar'*, 1910, 546) living in 99 villages in the Ḳars territory, of which 63 were in the Ḳars district, 29 in Ardahān, and 7 in Ḳagizman. In 1926, however, the Soviet census listed only 6,316 Ḳarapapakhs, this sharp decline reflecting the loss of the territory of Ḳars to Turkey after World War I. The distribution of the Ḳarapapakh was given in the mid-1920s as 30% in the U.S.S.R. and 70% in Persia (those of Turkey probably being considered simply as Turks). The Ḳarapapakhs of the U.S.S.R. are being assimilated culturally and linguistically by the Āzerīs, and they appear as Āzerīs in the 1959 and 1970 Soviet censuses.

The traditional economy of the Ḳarapapakhs was based on sheep-rearing and some agriculture.

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(W. Barthold-[R. Wixman])

ḲARĀR [see mūsīḳī].

ḲARASİ (or ḳarasī). 1. The name of a Turkish chief in Asia Minor and of the dynasty arising from him; his territory has retained this name until the present time (sc. the ancient Mysia, the coastland and hinterland of the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles). Only unsubstantiated hypotheses have so far been put forward for the sense and etymology of the name. Indeed, the whole history of the dynasty, the first of those which were to be suppressed by the Ottomans, is wrapped in obscurity.

The Byzantine historian Ducas, who wrote 150 years after the events in question, classes Ḳarasī amongst those dynasties which established themselves in western Anatolia in the reign of the Emperor Andronicus II (1282-1328); this clearly provides no exact or firm chronology. On the contrary, the name's absence from Muntaner's account of the Catalan expedition (1304-6) and from the list of principalities laid down by Pachymeres (d. 1313), leads one to conclude that Ḳarasī was established—as one would expect—somewhat later than its sister-states further to the south and east. Muntaner, Pachymeres himself and the very well-informed historian of half-a-century later, Nicephorus Gregoras, certainly testify to the presence of Turks who were infiltrating into the region from the beginning of the century, but only the second authority, whose pieces of information are of various dates, is familiar with the name of the dynasty (the equation of the Lamisai of Pachymere with the Kalamēs, father of Ḳarasī, of Gregoras, put forward by Mordtmann is improbable, because of the geographical order followed in Pachymeres' list, which would place the Lamisai in southern or central Anatolia; the list also omits Ṣārūkhān).

Whatever the solution may be, the most important thing is to determine the origin of the Turks settled in Mysia. Later authors include the dynasty amongst the Turcoman ones of Anatolia, but this blanket designation in fact covers several possible distinctions. On the basis of a funerary inscription, in which a person with the name Ḳarasī claims descent from the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*], an attempt has been made to connect the famous 6th/12th century central Anatolian dynasty with the petty principality of the 8th/14th one; but this inscription is at Tokat, in the former Dānishmendid territory, and not in Ḳarasī-Ili, homonymy does not imply identity, and the genealogical pretensions of the party concerned point more to the undeniable fame of the Dānishmendids. It is true that *ca.* 600/1200 we hear of the Dānishmendids on the western fringes of Anatolia, but there is nothing to allow us to suppose any more links with the new Turcoman formations at the end of the 7th/13th and beginning of the 8th/14th centuries than those links of other ancient families. Moreover, if there was apparently, in the case of the

Turks of Karasï, infiltration from the east, as in the neighbouring principalities, it is also clear that one element amongst them is of an entirely different origin. Thus it is known that, at the time of the collapse of independent Saldjūk Anatolia in the face of the Mongols, certain Turks and Turcomans fled with Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs into Byzantine territory and were finally established in the Dobrudja [*q.v.*], where, mixed with other people coming from South Russia, they were more or less Christianised. During the troubles of the opening years of the 8th/14th century, some of these, either called in by the contending parties or else acting on their own initiative, banded together under a certain Khalīl and returned to Thrace and Mysia, in the end constructing some kind of bridge across the Dardanelles. With the recovering of contact with other Muslim Turks, those of Mysia at least became absorbed once more into the fold of Islam; some memories of these happenings can still be discerned in the legend of their great saint and mystic Sarï Saltuk.

We are on much firmer ground with the information of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and of al-ʿUmarī, who both bring us up to *ca.* 1330. There must at that time have been two principalities in the hands of two brothers (the discussion on this relationship arose from the inadequacies of old editions of al-ʿUmarī), Demir Khān and Yakhshī Khān, the former at Balikesri (of which al-ʿUmarī records the ancient name Akīras) and the latter at Bergama. Al-ʿUmarī also gives the name of the dynasty's founder, their father Karasï, and not that of Kalamēs (Kalam-shāh or ʿĀlam-shāh?), which is nevertheless not that of the real founder. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa further attributes to Demir Khān's father (not named by him) the foundation (*sic*) of Bergama, which in that traveller's time had no real mosque of its own. The two names are confirmed by Cantacuzenos. The Ottoman sources, on the other hand, all of them more or less connected with ʿĀshïkpashazāde and none of them really concerned with Karasï until the time of Ottoman intervention in its affairs, call the prince who died *ca.* 735/1335 ʿAdjlān Beg son of Karasï; he is said to have left two sons, who quarreled. One of these two, Dursun, together with his vizier Ḥādjdjī Ilbegi, called in the help of Orkhān, promising him part of his territory; then, when Dursun had been killed by his brother, Orkhān annexed the whole principality. The chronology of the Ottoman sources is for this period vague and tends to simplify events. One might infer that ʿAdjlān was Karasï's title, for the unnamed son, allegedly of bad reputation, might well be (despite the bias of the sources) equated with the Demir Khān of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who also describes him in unfavourable terms. In this context, Yakhshī Khān (which is also a title, "the good khān") could well be Dursun. Furthermore, it is certain that the Ottomans' annexation of the Karasï territory was not so immediate as the sources allege, since a further prince called Sulaymān retained certain places—perhaps as a vassal ruler—until around the time of Orkhān's death, and intervened in the Turco-Byzantine struggles of this period. However, the principality did then disappear, and unlike its neighbours, absorbed by the Ottoman state at a later period, was not subsequently revived by Tīmūr. It had nevertheless left sufficient mark on the region for its name to be perpetuated there.

Because the Ottoman province of Karasï more or less retained the boundaries of the former principality, Münedjdjim Bashï in the 12th/18th century and we today can largely establish its precise limits. After the absorption of certain Byzantine towns which had remained unconquered longer than the open countryside, it embraced a rectangle of territory bounded on the north by the western half of the Marmara Sea and the Dardanelles straits, on the west by the Aegean, on the south by the valley of the Bekir Çay, and on the east by the Simav Su and Susurlu. The island of Mytilene or Lesbos (Midilli [*q.v.*]), which lay opposite the province of Bergama, always remained in the hands of the Byzantines or their Genoese vassals,

Until now, except in error, no coin, inscription or *wakf* of the rulers of Karasï has been recorded, although al-ʿUmarī mentions coinage of theirs, on the strength of information derived from a well-informed Genoese merchant. It may well be that the multitude of small coins found here and there contain some Karasï ones, but this is for the moment pure hypothesis.

The historical significance of the principality of Karasï lies in the fact, deliberately obscured by the Ottoman historians, that it paved the way for the crossing of the Dardanelles, attributed by those historians exclusively to Murād. Al-ʿUmarī already mentions the naval raids made by the rulers of Karasï, and in this regard, their seamen were tutors of the Ottomans. Several Karasï chiefs rallied to the Ottoman side and then served them; amongst these should probably be included the celebrated Evrenos [see EWRENOS], whose name possibly recalls an origin from Varna/Evren temporarily Hellenised.

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(CL. CAHEN)

2. An administrative division carried the name of Karasï for more than five centuries after the end of the dynasty (see above) and its annexation by the Ottomans. However, the *sandjaḳ* of Karasï did not correspond exactly to the old area which was under the rule of the Karasï Oghullarï. The region of Čanaḳ-ḳalʿe and the Dardanelles was detached as a separate district, an indication of the Ottomans' pressing interest in the control of the Straits. The *sandjaḳ* of Karasï, centred on the plain of Balıkesir, had therefore only one opening to the sea, on the gulf of Edremit and Ayvalık. Its attachment to the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Erdek in 1846 provided another outlet, on the Marmara, which was gradually enlarged at the expense of the province of Bursa. From 1926, the *vilayet* of Karasï took the name of the *vilayet* of Balıkesir, and comprised the *ḳaḍāʾ*s of Ayvalık, Bur-

haniye, Edremit, Havran, İvrindi, Savas tepe, Balya, Gönen, Erdek, Bandırma, Manyas, Susurluk, Balıkesir, Bigadic, Sındırgı, Kepsut, and Dursunbey.

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al-ḲARASṬŪN, probably Armeno-Persian in origin, denotes etymologically an instrument made up of a long beam which has at one of its ends a stone as a weight. It is certainly not Greek in origin, and even less does it derive from a Greek personal name, that of the instrument's inventor, as certain authors have believed. If the Armeno-Persian origin of the word is correct, the *ḳarasṭūn* must be a kind of lever or balance, very similar to the *shādūf*, the contrivance used for raising water and still in use in certain eastern countries.

The word figures in Greek and Arabic texts. In Greek, the first reference to it is in the commentaries devoted to Aristotle's Physics by Simplicius. The second and last reference is in the poem written by the 12th century Byzantine grammarian Tzetzes to celebrate the mechanical devices brought to bear by Archimedes at the time of the siege of Syracuse by Marcellus's armies. In the first of these two texts, the word χαριστίων denotes a balance which must be, it is generally agreed, the so-called Roman balance. In the second citation, all the evidence seems to point to a straight lever.

This sense of lever is also found in the writings of Muslim scholars, although some of them used it as a synonym for *ḳabbān*, which specifically means the Roman balance or steelyard. However, it is the first sense, sc. of lever, which appears in the sole surviving work dealing with this instrument, the *Kitāb al-Ḳarasṭūn* of Thābit b. Ḳurra. Moreover, this seems to be the basic meaning of the word in Islamic literature, and its application to the Roman balance—which is itself nothing but a straight lever—must be a derived sense.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, Muslim scholars devoted three works to the *ḳarasṭūn*, sc. that of the Banū Mūsā, that of Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā and that of Thābit b. Ḳurra. As late as 1911, three manuscripts existed of this last work, those of the Stadtbibliothek in Berlin, of the Library of the Jesuit Fathers in Beirut and of the India Office; today, only the latter manuscript exists (Arabic No. 767, vii, fols. 198-208).

In this work, Thābit b. Ḳurra treats of the theory of the *ḳarasṭūn*, sc. in brief, of the equilibrium of a beam of homogenous substance suspended at a point away from its centre of balance and to which weights, variously placed along the beam, have been attached. The work is extremely interesting from a twofold point of view. From that of statics, it is the first work really opening the way to what later became the principle of displacement operations; Thābit b. Ḳurra in effect determines here the conditions of equilibrium of a lever, basing himself on principles of dynamics going back to Aristotle's *Physics* and to the *Mechanical* problems falsely attributed to him. From the mathematical point of view, the demonstration of proposition 4 in Ibn Ḳurra's work is an important point in the history of the integral calculus. For the first time, certain methods used by Archimedes for calculating areas are now for the first time adopted for calculating the static momentum of a homogenous beam.

Yet in spite of the importance of Ibn Ḳurra's work, this does not seem to have directly influenced the science of statics in the West. Its main themes were certainly rediscovered by the mediaeval and Renaissance theorists, but in a form modified and attached to Archimedes' principles of statics, from which Ibn Ḳurra's diverge fundamentally.

His work was translated into Latin, probably by Gerard of Cremona, under the title *Liber karastonis*. This translations differs in certain respects from the manuscript surviving today. In particular, the meaning of proposition 4 (proposition 6 of the *Liber karastonis*) completely escaped the translator. Ibn Ḳurra's work has also been translated into German in 1911 by E. Wiedemann; this is a good translation, although the order of the propositions is not clearly indicated and the German orientalist was mistaken concerning the number of propositions in the work. A French translation, differing substantially from the two others, has been made by K. Jaouiche (to be published shortly).

Ibn Ḳurra further mentioned the *ḳarasṭūn* in his more popular work *Fī ṣifat istiwā' al-wazn wa 'khtilāfihi* ("Concerning the equilibrium and disequilibrium of weights"). This book is intended for workmen who had no mathematical knowledge and is more about the balance with two pans than the lever proper; it has only come down to us in the version transmitted by al-Khāzin [*q.v.*] in his *K. Mīzān al-ḥikma*, ed. Ḥaydarābād 1359/1940, 338.

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ḲARĀ-ṢŪ [see al-furāt].

ḲARAṢŪ-BĀZĀR (Byz. Mavron Kastron; Soviet, Belogorsk), an important commercial centre in the Crimea, particularly under the Girav [*q.v.*] dynasty of the Ḳrïm Tatars (826/1423-1197/1783). Situated on the well-watered meadows of the northern slopes of the Yayla Mountains, Ḳaraṣūbāzār (Turk. "Blackwater market") took its name from the Ḳaraṣū river, a source of the Salghir. From Byzantine times, the Crimea was subjected to a recurring geo-political pattern of importance for all Crimean towns: imperial powers such as Byzantium, the Genoese and the Ottomans held the southern shoreline up to the Yayla range, while the khāns of

nomadic states (Khazars, Pečenegs, Kumans, the Golden Horde (Batu'ids [*q.v.*]) and the Ķrîm Tatars [*q.v.*]) controlled the Crimean steppe (and often the steppe of the mainland) and dwelt in the attractive towns between steppe and mountain such as Baghčesarāy [*q.v.*], Aķmesdjid [*q.v.*] (Russ. Simfercpol), and Ķaraşūbāzār.

Politically, Ķaraşūbāzār was important as the seat of power of the senior Crimean tribe of Shīrīn, whose leaders controlled the district from the Ķaraşū to the Strait of Kerč. Seldom was a khān powerful enough to rule without the support of the Shīrīn begs, who had easy access to the Ottoman governors at Kaffa (Russ. Feodosia), the centre of Ottoman power in the Crimea and a city so prosperous in the 10th/17th century that it was called "little Istanbul". Generally the Shīrīn begs and the Ottomans exercised power on the side of conservatism and against the centralizing tendencies of the khān.

The valley of Ķaraşūbāzār was enclosed on all but the north side by hills and to the north-west imposing white limestone cliffs (*aķ ķaya*) towered above the town. At these sacred cliffs the Ķrîm Tatar tribal leaders (*mīrzās*) customarily met to coordinate important Crimean affairs such as the choosing of a rival khān or preparing for war. Because of the hills, the town was easy to defend from nomad and Don Cossack raids, a factor of decisive importance for a trade centre close to the steppe. Moreover, a Ķrîm Tatar vizier, Sefer Ghāzī, had built in 1065/1654-55 a fortress-like covered bazaar with its own water supply, mosque, bath and iron gates in which merchants could safely store their merchandise and defend it. Ķaraşūbāzār was chiefly an entrepôt and manufacturing centre for Tatar pastoral and handicraft products. It lay on the main east-west caravan route 45km. east of Aķmesdjid and 60km.west of Kaffa via Eski Ķrîm. It probably served also as a way station for slaves in transit to the huge slave market in Kaffa.

According to A. L. Yakobson (*Sredne-vekovyy Krym* ("Crimea in the Middle Ages"), Moscow 1964), Crimean towns in proximity to the Genoese coastal towns enjoyed high prosperity until the Ottoman conquest of 880/1475. They then experienced a period of readjustment in the 10th/16th century, but enjoyed great prosperity in the 11th/17th century. At first the artisan classes consisted mainly of long-established Karaite [*q.v.*] Jews, Armenians, Italians and Greeks. This situation changed gradually in the 11th/17th century as Ķrîm Tatars joined the craft guilds. Travellers in the 12th/18th century (*e.g.* M. Guthrie, *A Tour Performed in the Years* 1795-96 . . . , London 1802, and Yakobson, 139 ff.), make a distinction between Ķrîm Tatars who had become cultivators and craftsmen and the Nogay elements who continued their pastoral life. The chief products of the Ķaraşū region were fruit and vegetables, grain, mostly millet and wheat, Moroccan leather made from the hides of Tauric goats, woollen products and some wine. Dyestuffs, such as madder, sumac, saffron etc. grew wild and there were also close at hand forests of oak, beech, linden and poplar. The town boasted a goodly number of craft guilds including armourers, coppersmiths, tinkers, dyers, felt processors, weavers and others.

Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme* vii, 644-9) in the mid-11th/17th century observed in the town 8 wooden bridges, a number of water mills, 28 mosques, 5 *madrasas*, 8 Ķur'ān schools, 4 large *ḥammāms*, 1140 shops, 10 coffee houses and 40 taverns (*meykhāne*). Apart from the less elegant houses of the poorer Christians and Jews, he estimated that the town possessed 5,500 two-storey houses with tiled roofs (at 6 persons per house about 33-35,000 inhabitants). These figures contrast sharply with the estimated 15,000 inhabitants, 12 mosques, 2 Christian churches and a synagogue recorded by Demidoff in the 13th/19th century (M. Anatole de Demidoff, *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée*, Paris 1854, 394).

By the late 11th/17th century, Don Cossack raids had become a common occurrence, but the town prospered even after 1150/1737 when Ķaraşūbāzār served as a temporary capital after the burning of Baghčesarāy and thus invited an attack by the invading Russian and Kalmuk [*q.v.*] troops of General Münnich. The town was damaged but the raid was beaten of by Ottoman artillery. In 1185/1771 during the Russo-Turkish war (1182/1768-1184/1774) the town was partially destroyed by Russian troops. After the Russian annexation in 1197/1783, thousands of Ķrîm Tatars fled to the Caucasus and to Istanbul. Periodically new exoduses occurred as Russia oppressed the Crimea further.

The decline in Tatar population and the influx of cheap manufactured goods made serious inroads upon the prosperity of Ķaraşūbāzār in the 13th/19th century. Henceforth the town shared the fate of the Ķrîm Tatars as a whole. The first stirrings of Tatar nationalism and Turanian [*q.v.*] ideas swept the peninsula at the end of the 13th/19th century under the tutelage of Ismāʿīl Gaspîralî [*q.v.*]. This movement led to the publication of newspapers, the founding of modern schools, and the formation of political parties, prior to World War I.

After the Russian Revolution, between 1348/1929 and 1360/1941, the Ķrîm Tatars were killed or deported by the thousands as national consciousness and the traditional social cohesion of Tatars came into direct conflict with Stalin's plans for the Sovietization of the Crimea. Thereafter, caught between Hitler's concept of *Untermenschen* and hatred for Soviet injustices, the Ķrîm Tatar remnant was partly executed and partly deported to Siberia in 1363/1944 by the USSR after the German army was expelled (E. Kirimal, *Der Nationale Kampf der Krimtürken*, Emsdetten 1952, *passim*).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned, cf. the bibliography to the articles BAGHČESARAY, GIRAY and ĶÎRÎM, and the article KARASUBAZAR in *İA*, vi, 335-36 (Mirza Bala); see also the study and bibliography of A. W. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970, particularly with reference to the Treaty of Ķaraşūbāzār of 1772 (pp. 44-51).

(C. M. Kortepeter)

ĶARATA (self designation, *Kirtle*, pl. *Kirtlei*; Russ. *Karatai*, *Karatin(tsi)*, *Kirdli*; Avar *Ķalalal*; other *Kirdi Ķalal*), along with Andi [*q.v.*], Akhwakh, Bagulal, Botlikh, Čamalal, Godoberi and Tindi forms the Andi division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the Ibero-Caucasian languages; the Ķarata-speaking peoples.

According to an estimate of 1886 (*Dagestanskaya Oblast'*) there were 7,217 Ķarata at that time; in 1926 there were 5,305 and in 1933 (estimate by Grande) 7,000. The Ķarata inhabit the northern part of Akhvakh district, in the valley and on the right bank of the Andi Koisu, and two outlying areas in Andalalî and Vedeno districts, an isolated territory of high, rugged mountains in the western part of the Dāghistān A.S.S.R., in seven *auls*: Ķarata, Archo, Ančikh, Tokita, Mashtada, Račabalda and Čabakoro.

Islam was introduced through the Avar country, probably at the end of the 5th/11th century. The

Ḳarata are Sunnī of the Shāfiʿī rite. According to the testament of Andunik, *nutsal* Gruler of Avaristan (Khašaev, *Obshčestvenniy Stroy Dagestana v XIX Veke*, 135), in 890/1485 the Ḳarata country was one of the seven territories owned by the rulers of Avaristān, and enjoyed at this period a semi-independence. At a later period it was annexed by the Avar Khānate and remained part of it until the destruction of the Khānate by Shamīl. Like almost all Andi peoples, the Ḳarata took an active part in the Shamīl movement.

In the 18th and early 19th century, there were periodic wars between the Ḳarata and Akhvakh, and the Ḳarata and Avars over land and pastures. Occasional alliances existed between the Ḳarata and Gidatl against the Akhvakh society "Ratlub-Akhvakh". Although part of the Avar Khānate, the Ḳarata maintained their own independent social structure, which differed greatly from the feudalistic Avar society. Like all Andi peoples, the Ḳarata had no feudal hierarchy; their patriarchal-clanic democratic system was ruled by the *ʿadat* (see *Pamyatniki Običnogo Prava Dagestana* XVII-XIX VV, Moscow Academy of Sciences 1965, 143-52, text of the *ʿadat* of Ḳarata *naibat*). The basic social structure was the joint extended family (*tukhum*).

The traditional economy was based on herding (sheep and goats) with a transhumance system, agriculture and home industries. The Ḳarata women were well known for their weaving of woollen cloth.

The Ḳarata language has three dialects: Ḳarata proper, Ančikh and Tokita. The Avar language is genetically closely related to Ḳarata, which is a purely vernacular language. The Ḳarata use Avar as their first literary language, and second (sometimes first) spoken language. Avar is the language used in the first few years of education. Russian is the second written and third spoken language.

The Ḳarata are being linguistically and culturally assimilated by the Avar: "Asked the question, 'what is your nationality?' a Ḳarata will answer, 'if a stranger asks us what is our nationality, we answer Avar. If they ask where from, we say Ḳarata. On our own land we call each other by *aul*'" (*Narodî Dagestana*, 67). (See also ANDI, AVAR, DĀGHISTĀN, AL-ḲABK, SHAMĪL)

Bibliography: A. Bennigsen and H. C. d'Encausse, *Une République Soviétique Musulmane: le Dāghistān, Aperçu Démographique*, in *REI*, xxiii (1955), 7-56; *Dagestanskaya Oblast', Svod Statističeskikh Dannîkh Izvlečennîkh iz Posemeynikh Spiskov Naseleniya Zakavkaz'ya*, Tiflis 1890, vii-xiv; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, *Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus*, 's-Gravenhage 1959; B. Grande, *Spisok Narodnostey S.S.S.R.*, in *Revolutsiya i Natsional' nosti*, no. 4 (1936), 74-85; Kh. M. Khašaev, *Obščestvenniy Stroy Dagestana v XIX Veke*, Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1961; *Narodî Dagestana*, Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1955; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow University 1958.

(R. WIXMAN)

ḲARATIGIN, a district on both sides of the middle course of the Wakhsh or Surkhāb (Turk. Ḳîzîl Ṣū), one of the rivers which form the Āmū Daryā, called Rāsht by the Arab geographers (Ibn Khurradādhbih 34, 211 f.; Ibn Rusta, 92 f., 290; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 260). The principal place (or "the fortress", *al-Ḳalʿa*, al-Iṣṭakhrī, 340) of Rāsht corresponded as regards its situation perfectly with the modern Garm or Harm, the only town in Ḳaratigin. Rāsht then formed one of the frontier lands of Islām and was defended on the east against the inroads of the Turks by a wall built by Faḍl b. Barmak [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 324 f.). In ancient times there ran through this region the road from western to eastern Asia described by Ptolemy. Ḳaratigin is frequently connected with the "highlands of the Komeds", Κομηδῶν ὀρεινή [see KUMĪDJĪS] (*e.g.*, as recently as E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs Occidentaux*, 164, on the authority of Sewertsow in the *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, part iii (1890), 420-31). In the Middle Ages the name (Arabic Kumīdh or Kumādh, Chinese Kiu-mi-tʿo) was borne by the country below Rāsht. In the Middle Ages and later, the valley of the Wakhsh seems to have had no great importance for trade. As has been so far ascertained, only the embassy sent by Shāh Rukh to China (822-5/1419-22) used on its return journey the road between Farghāna and Balkh described by Ptolemy.

Like all the highlands on the upper course of the Āmū Daryā, Ḳaratigin also was under its own rulers down to quite modern times; in the pre-Mongol period only one amīr of Rāsht, Djaʿfar b. Shamānīḳū (Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāẓim, 36), is mentioned. Under Tīmūr and later the name of the country Ḳayir Tigin (or Tīgīn) is found (in the edition of Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī's *Ẓafar-nāma* by Mawlawī M. Iláhdád, i, Calcutta 1885, 189, erroneously Tīr Tegīn). When and how the present form arose is unknown. In the manuscripts of the *Bāburnāma* (ed. Beveridge, f. 33ᵇ and f. 63ᵇ, Ḳarātīgīn, f. 69ᵇ and f. 81, Ḳayyirtīgīn), and of the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (tr. Ross, esp. 241) both forms are found. *Ḳaratigin* is popularly explained as a Turkish word for "blackthorn" (cf. W. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg, ii, 135, Ottoman *Ḳara diken*) or as the name of the two first Ḳîrghîz tillers of the soil (I. Minayew, *Swyedeniya o stranakh po verkhovyam Amu Daryi*, St. Petersburg, 241, following Arendarenko). As is narrated in the *Baḥr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (India Office Ms., Éthé, *Cat.* no. 575, f. 277ᵃ, in Radjab 1045 (Dec. 1635-Jan. 1636) 12,000 families of Ḳîrghîz, then still pagans, went through Ḳaratigin to Ḥiṣār. At the present day the Ḳîrghîz (Ḳara Ḳirghiz) form a part of the population of Ḳaratigin along with the Tādjīk (and a small number of Özbegs).

In the 19th century, the princes of Ḳaratigin, like the princes of Badakhshān [*q.v.*], claimed descent from Alexander the Great. Ḳaratigin was then under the suzerainty of the Khāns of Khōḳand; their subjection is said to have taken place under Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān (1238-58/1822-42) in 1250/1834 (V. P. Nalivkin, *Kratkaya istoria Kok. Khanstva*, Kazán 1886, 134 f.). Already under ʿĀlim Khān (beginning of the 19th century) we find men from Ḳaratigin forming a considerable part of the standing army founded by this Khān (*Taʾrīkh-i Shāhrukh*, ed. N. N. Pantusov, Kazán 1885, 42 f.). A campaign from Khōḳand against Ḳaratigin in 1275/1858 under Malla Khān (1858-62) is also mentioned (Nalivkin, *op. cit.*, 190); the ruler of Ḳaratigin was at this time Muẓaffar Khān (later also called Muẓaffar Shāh). In 1869 Ḳaratigin was occupied by the troops of the amīr of Bukhārā and Muẓaffar Khān taken as prisoner to Bukhārā; the conflict was only settled by the verdict of the Russian governor-general, (K. P. von Kauffmann), and Muẓaffar Khān again restored to his principality. After his death, Ḳaratigin was definitely incorporated in Bukhārā as a district of 10,792 sq. km. with (about 1890) 60,000 inhabitants (mostly Tādjīks, the others Ḳîrghîz). Ḳaratigin also became involved in the last fighting in Farghāna before the final subjection of this country by the

Russians (1874-76). The frontier between Farghāna and Ḳaratigin (on the heights east of the valley of Kičik Karamuk Su) was defined by a treaty concluded between M. D. Skobelew and another brother of the Beg, Ṣūfī Khān on Sept. 9 (new style), 1876.

It was not till 1878 that Ḳaratigin was for the first time visited by a European (V. Oshanin). In the following decade a mountain road, one of the best in Central Asia, was built through Ḳaratigin on the right bank of the Wakhsh, which made Ḳaratigin much more accessible. Oshanin and later travellers (especially A. Regel, 1881-3) describe Ḳaratigin as a fertile country with numerous villages and orchards, and as one of the most prosperous provinces in the kingdom of the amīr of Bukhārā. It was said (Logofet, 322) that in Ḳaratigin all the inhabitants without exception made a living by agriculture (including gardening), and that there were no landless proletariat there. Anyone who neglected his piece of land for three years lost any right to it. On the other hand Rickmers (p. 340) says that many peasants went from Ḳaratigin to Farghāna, worked there as day-labourers and servants and brought their savings home. The only town is Garm; as regards the number of inhabitants, estimates are very contradictory: according to Oshanin 2,300 houses, to Masal'skiy 4,000 people, to Logofet 15,000. Information regarding administration, taxes, etc. is given in particular by A. Semënow (journey of 1898).

Bibliography: Down to 1878, the best authority is Abramow in the *Izv. Russkago Geograf. Obshč.*, vi, 108 f., and Arendarenko in the *Voyenniy Sbornik*, May 1878, 116 f.; after him Minayew in the *Svedeniya o stranakh*, etc., 196 f., 233 f.; notes from Oshanin's journal in the *Izv. R. Geogr. Obshč.*, 1880-81; Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, ii, 197 f.; also *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.* (1880), 575, quoted by W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 22. Later travellers: A. Semënow, *Etnograf. ozerki Zarafshanskikh gor, Karategina i Darwača*, Moscow 1903; D. Logofet, *V gorakh i na ravninakh Buchari*, St. Petersburg 1913, 322 f.; W. R. Rickmers, *The Duab of Turkestan*, Cambridge 1913, 325 f. (journey of 1906); cf. W. Masal'skiy, *Turk. Kray*, 735 f.; Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 70 f., 201, 203 (s.v. Rāsht); *Enciklopedičeskij Slovar' Brokhaus-Efron*, xiv/27, 460. (W. BARTHOLD-B. SPULER)

AL-ḲARAWIYYĪN (MASDJID), a celebrated mosque and Islamic university at Fās, in Morocco.

i.—ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY

The architectural history of the mosque, already sketched by the late H. Terrasse, in the article FĀS [*q.v.*], heading "Monuments", is sufficiently well-known. It has been revised by the same author in a comprehensive work: *La Mosquée al-Qarawiyyin à Fès*, avec une étude de G. Deverdun, sur les inscriptions historiques de la mosquée, Paris 1968. Three stages can be distinguished there (Pl. 1).

A. The first edifice was built, on the left bank of the Wādī Fās, in 245/859 and was the work of a pious woman, Fāṭima bint Muḥammad al-Fihrī, who came from Ḳayrawān to Fās with her family. She very probably received the authorization to build from the Amīr Yaḥyā b. Idrīs, grandson of Idrīs II. The first oratory measured on the inside 46.60 m. from east to west and 17.20 m. from north to south and included a prayer hall with four parallel bays in the *ḳibla* wall. The *miḥrāb* was on the site of the present great chandelier, the minaret in the place of which is today that of the *ʿanaza*; it was later in the centre of the mosque. The Idrīsid bays are larger than those of later extensions (4.10 m. as against 3.70 m.) and contain 12 archways: 5 on the west of the axial nave and 6 on the east. There has been no success in finding the motive for this abnormal arrangement; perhaps it should be connected with the alteration suggested by the inscription of 263/877 (G. Deverdun, *Une nouvelle inscription idrisite*, in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Occident musulman*, ii, *Hommage à G. Marcais*, Algiers 1957), and whose author would be the *amīr* Dāwūd, a grandson of Idrīs I. The eastern and western boundaries of the initial oratory are marked in the present monument by a line of cruciform pillars which separate it from the extension of the 6th/12th century. The court (*ṣaḥn*) extended in front of the prayer hall. It was of meagre dimensions. So it is established, by its overall lay-out and its exterior, that this first mosque resembles the sanctuaries which were erected in the 3rd/11th century in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā and of which al-Bakrī gives us information.

B. The population of Fās having greatly increased, the Ḳarawiyyīn was enlarged in 345/956, a century after its foundation. In 307/919, it had already become the *khuṭba* mosque of the Ḳayrawānīs' quarter, whose name it has preserved. This was the work of the Zanāta *amīr* Aḥmad b. Abī 'l-Saʿīd who acknowledged his holding the land as a vassal of the Umayyad caliph of Cordova ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir. The latter sent large sums of money levied on the fifth taken from the Christians, and these allowed the extension of the prayer hall by basing the enlargement on the Idrīsid nucleus. The four existing bays were lengthened on the west to four arcades, and, naturally, on the east, to five. On the site of the first *ṣaḥn* and primitive minaret, three other arcades were added. The oratory was then almost doubled, in depth as well as in breadth; it included from that time seven bays and twenty-one naves. The roofs remained set in the direction of the original bays, *i.e.*, parallel to the *ḳibla* wall. The minaret, that is still seen today (pl. xv of the art. FĀS), was constructed of hewn stone, protected later by a facing of carefully polished lime. It is a square tower 4.95 m. wide and 26.75 m. in total height. The walls are 0.95 m. thick. The stairway, 0.85 m. wide, opens out in straight flights around the central nucleus; it is covered with rampart vaults, as were the Cordovan minarets. It is lit by loopholes and by two bays (north and south) of a different style. At the top of the minaret lies a platform for the call to prayer; its parapet forms a straight band in relief and the whole is crowned, not by a lantern-place, but by a hemispherical cupola in the fashion of Ifrīḳiya. The choice of the minaret's site remains without explanation, just as the dimensions of the *ṣaḥn* which has become asymmetrical and which extends at its feet, remain imprecise.

When in 388/998 al-Muẓaffar, son of the famous chief minister of Cordova, al-Manṣūr, conducted an expedition as far as Fās, he attempted to embellish the Ḳarawiyyīn. A beautiful cupola was constructed at the entrance of the axial nave of the oratory. A *minbar* was set up and a cistern was laid out, but neither have been rediscovered.

At the end of the 4th/10th century the mosque was an edifice of fine proportions. The texts tell us nothing of its decoration, but the Ḳarawiyyīn was without rival in the Maghrib.

C. In the age of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] Fās had become the most populous city in the Maghrib, and the Ḳarawiyyīn became too narrow for the faithful. The *ḳāḍī* Ibn Muʿīsha al-Kinānī

obtained from the *amīr* ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, the great builder of the dynasty, the authorization to enlarge once more the famous oratory. The funds were gathered together, thanks to the correct resumption of the mosque's revenues, which had been fraudulently diverted by some administrators, and doubtless with the help of the state treasury. About 528/1134 the work was begun. As early as 531/1136 two new cupolas received their final inscription, but the construction was not completed until 537/1143. As for the new *minbar*, it was not finished until 538/1144. It may then be concluded that the work lasted fifteen years, at the end of which the mosque was augmented in the direction of the *ḳibla* by three supplementary bays, which, as in all the rest of the building, preserve the arch as a thoroughly-exaggerated curve providing a new and magnificent *miḥrāb*. The arcades of the enlargement, for the twenty-one naves, take on once more exactly the dimensions of these of the Idrīsid oratory, such as it had been transformed by the Zanāta prince. It was traditional in the mosques of the west to mark the pre-eminence of the axial nave which leads towards the *miḥrāb*. The Almoravids wanted to mark it exactly on the outside, and they built a raised principal nave that dominates the roofs of the bays with a doublesloped tiled roof. This high nave, richly decorated, allows for the arrangement of a luxurious series of five cupolas. The first, on a square plan, is situated in front of the *miḥrāb*; then a huge dome covers the two other bays corresponding to the enlargement. Some very beautiful Kūfic inscriptions attribute the work to the reign of the *amīr* ʿAlī b. Yūsuf. "The seven ancient bays of the axial nave were reshaped and decorated: today there are still five cupolas to be found; the three bays which antedate the Almoravid extension are covered by two domes with stalactites forming a flanged cupola; another dome with stalactites has taken the place of the cupola of al-Muẓaffar; on the three remaining bays a flanged ʿAlawite cupola is situated between two doubly-sloped roofs" (H. Terrasse). Finally, at the same time there was erected behind the *miḥrāb* a mosque of the dead (*dj̲āmiʿ al-dj̲anāʾiz*), the first without doubt in Morocco of this genre of edifice, and the most beautiful. This annex, like the median bays of the prayer hall, presents an elegant cupola with stalactites, sheltered beneath a roof in a pavilion, in accordance with the Andalusian method. Also, to reconcile the pious desire to pray over the dead in the mosque itself and the necessity of not polluting the oratory by the presence of a corpse, the mosque of the dead connects with the mosque of the living by three doors, each bearing a twin arcature. If the work of the Almoravids was conceived with the greatest respect for the ancient parts of the building, one must recognize there the desire to magnificently ornament the Ḳarawiyyīn in the manner of the great mosques of the Empire, those of Tlemcen (Tilimsān) and Marrākas̲h̲ in particular. The ornamental richness that they brought together in the axial nave testifies to the expertise of the artists of the time and to the opulence of the Hispano-Moorish art of the 6th/12th century. But all these decorations were to be covered again in plaster, towards 1150, for fear that the Almohad conquerors would get rid of them, as happened at Tlemcen and Marrākas̲h̲ where this precaution against the rigour of the partisans of God's Unity was not taken in time.

For the study in detail of the Almoravid decoration, the epigraphy of the bronzes, the *minbar* etc., one should consult the work of Terrasse, mentioned at the beginning; this has served as a basis in the preparation of this article.

Later, the dynasty of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], doubtless satisfied by the arrangements made to erase the name of the abhorred and cursed ʿAlī, brought to the mosque some utilitarian arrangements and above all an admirable reconstruction of great splendour.

The dynasty of the Marīnids [*q.v.*] respected the work of the past, built the present *ʿanaza* [*q.v.*], enriched the liturgical furniture, added several splendid mountings on the bells taken from the Christians and proceeded to undertake numerous restorations. Finally, what was an illustrious feat, they created the Library. The Saʿdids [*q.v.*] had two fountain-pavilions constructed which survive today in the *ṣaḥn*, in imitation of those which still exist in the Court of the Lions at the Alhambra of Granada. No concern for utility explains their construction (pl. xv of the art. FĀS).

The ʿAlawīs were not sparing in their care for the venerable mosque. It is under their reign that the exceptional competence of H. Terrasse allowed the rediscovery, with their original freshness and sometimes colour, of the richnesses of the Almoravid décor that was believed to have been destroyed for ever and which had remained choked with plaster for eight centuries.

Al-Ḳarawiyyīn is thus not only the great sanctuary of the town of Fās, but an eminent witness of the Hispano-Moorish art in architecture as in the decorative arts.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources given at the beginning of the article and to those that are found in the art. FĀS, one should add that the two essential Arabic texts for the history of the mosque in the Middle Ages are the *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās* of Ibn Abī Zarʿ and the *Zahrat al-Ās* of al-Dj̲aznāʾī. The comprehensive plan of the mosque and its annexes was sketched and published by E Pauty, *Le plan de l'Université Qarawiyyin à Fès*, in *Hespéris*, iii/4 (1923) (pl. I). The mosque of the dead has been studied by B. Moslow, *Les Mosquées de Fès et du Nord marocain*, P.I.H.E.M.T., xix, Paris 1938; whilst G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, 387-8, has given what is essential on the Saʿdid portions of the *ṣaḥn*.

For the Arabic inscriptions, see the *RCEA*, iv, No. 1478; vi, No. 2099; viii, Nos. 3031 and 3061; ix, No. 3545; xv, No. 5626; xvi, Nos. 6080 and 6081. See also the critical article of ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ bināʾ al-Ḳarawiyyīn*, in Dj̲āmiʿat al-Ḳarawiyyīn, *al-Kitāb al-dh̲ahabī*, Muḥammadiyya 1379/1959.

ii.—Organization of the Teaching

At exactly what date can one speak of higher education of the Ḳarawiyyīn? It is really difficult to answer this question with precision. Muḥammad al-Manūnī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ḳarawiyyīn*, in Dj̲āmiʿat al-Ḳarawiyyīn, *al-Kitāb al-dh̲ahabī*, Muḥammadiyya 1379/1959, thinks that it is in the reign of the Almoravids that the University really became attached to the mosque; but the Ḳarawiyyīn was not the only place of worship where there was teaching.

From the beginning of the 6th/12th century until our own time, the glory of the Ḳarawiyyīn was its body of scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*). It attracted a host of students from all the regions of Morocco, North Africa, Andalusia and even the Sahara, and the Moroccan dynasties and the people of Fās were actively concerned with housing them, in order to be

able to provide instruction; the Marīnids in particular erected the charming *madrasas* [*q.v.*] which still excite the admiration of visitors. The university attained its apogee in the 8th/14th century, but, later, the masters, in devoting their efforts to reconciling the requirements of custom and those of the religious law, could not prevent the decline of the intellectual and teaching methods, above all after the definitive rupture with Spain, and, consequently, with Europe. When, under the Saʿdids, Fās lost its rank of capital in favour of Marrākash, al-Karawiyyīn remained turned in on itself and set in its traditional teaching. It continued to exist, without damage but without progress, by virtue of the Islamic institutions which took centuries to disappear. In reading Leo Africanus, as also Marmol, references are to be found that lack neither interest nor pungency. Finally, some reforms were imposed under the dynasty of the ʿAlawids. In 1203/1788 the Sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh decided to limit the authors, programmes and hours. The essence of this regulation is to be found in the work of Ibn Zaydān, *al-Durar al-fākhira bi-maʾāthir al-mulūk al-ʿAlawiyyīn bi-Fās al-zāhira*, Rabat 1356/1937, 60-1. But fifteen years later, if one believés a Spaniard who travelled under the name of ʿAlī Bey al-ʿAbbāsī, things were going no better. Nevertheless, it is reported that the Sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān (1207-38/1793-1822) used often to visit the classes, question the students and reward the best replies. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, nephew of the above, devoted himself to new reforms and, by a *ẓahīr* dated Muḥarram 1261/January 1845, reorganized the teaching of the Karawiyyīn (see Ibn Zaydān, *op. cit.*, 79-82). In the present state of our knowledge, we have few means of attempting to evaluate the results attained by this new regulation of the studies, inspired by a sound and clear teaching method.

The general organization of the university before 1912 is described in R. Le Tourneau, *Fās avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949 (book vi). It aimed at giving to the faithful as perfect a knowledge as possible of the truths of belief and of the line of conduct to adopt in the light of these truths. Dogmatism and conformity were the dominating factors in the teaching, which no longer embraced the universality of human knowledge, as before; it was reduced to the strictly religious disciplines. Among the branches of learning professed, certain had gradually disappeared; such was the case of Kurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), of which the classes must have ceased in the reign of the Sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, of astronomy (*tandjīm*), dialectic (*kalām*), mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), which disappeared in 1906, lexicography (*lugha*), philology (*taṣrīf*), geography (*djughrāfiyā*), medicine (*ṭibb*), divination (*djadwal*).

The university was not organized in the European manner, nor even in that of Cairo or Tunis. It was placed under the control of the chief *ḳāḍī* of Fās, a kind of rector, but without a proper specialised administration. The scholastic year was unknown. No registration was imposed; the teaching was free; the duration of studies was not fixed, but custom demanded that classes be pursued for five years at least. No examination ratified the studies, a simple certificate (*idjāza* [*q.v.*]) being handed by the professor to every student who had given proof of application and of a certain ability. Three weeks of leave were accorded on the occasion of the great Muslim festivals, and a month on the occasion of the Spring festival, during which the Sulṭān of the *ṭalba* (plur. of *ṭālib*, student) was chosen (see E. Doutté, *La Khutba burlesque de la fete des Tolba au Maroc*, in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905).

It is impossible to know the number of students at the end of the 19th century—a thousand perhaps, but certainly less at the beginning of the following century. They were divided into two categories: the Fāsīs by origin and the strangers at Fās (*āfāḳiyyūn*), who lived, especially the poor ones, in the *madrasas*. The two groups mixed together little.

Nomination to the rank of professor (*mudarris*) depended on the Sultan following an empirical process which seems to have been always accepted by all. The salaries were only small, but, each year, the government made some gifts in kind; it was well understood that in return one had to demonstrate loyalty towards it. The professors enjoyed the most complete freedom, although tradition demanded that they give at least one lesson a day. The first-class professors, numbering 17 in 1904, enjoyed great renown and were called the "Great Scholars" (*al-ʿulamāʾ al-kibār*). It cannot be said that the masters of the Karawiyyīn formed a genuine body, except for granting investiture to a new sultan, along with other personages, or for replying to the consultations that the sovereign sometimes demanded of them. Fās held its doctors in high esteem, but there is no doubt that they were no longer as their illustrious predecessors had been. In their social milieu, their influence, however, remained considerable.

After the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1912, the Sultan Mawlāy Yūsuf signed, on 23 Djumādā II 1332/19 May 1914, a *ẓahīr* which created a council of improvement charged with looking again for means to improve the studies and their administration, as well as to study the situation of the teaching personnel. Some years later (1918), the university had been entrusted to a Council of Direction and reattached to the Ministry of Justice. In 1346/1927, the professors were submitted to progress and received a fixed salary corresponding to the class in which they were ranked (for further details, see Ibn Zaydān, *op. cit.*, 133-8).

After many plans, often keenly contested by the conservative milieux of Morocco and especially of Fās, an important reform was introduced to the Karawiyyīn by two *ẓahīrs* of the future King Muḥammad V, the first dated 12th Dhū 'l-Kaʿda 1349/1st April 1931, the second 15th Muḥarram 1352/10th May 1933. The teaching was divided into three cycles: elementary, secondary and final or higher. The last comprised two sections: the first was reserved for the Religious Law, the sources of this law, *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*; the second entirely modern, was devoted to literature, Arabic language, history and geography. The hours were imposed on the professors as on the students, some examinations were organized and the vacations regularized. The masters received professional recognition, general supervision was reinforced, discipline enjoined, etc. (see Ibn Zaydān, *op. cit.*, 146-66). The old university, now rejuvenated, became a State institution in 1947.

After independence, al-Karawiyyīn was thoroughly reorganized by the royal decree No. 1.62.249 of 12th Ramaḍān 1382/6th February 1963. Now a public establishment, endowed with a civil corporate nature, the university was placed under the control of the Ministry of National Education. It is before all "charged with (1) assuring the education of specialists in the Islamic disciplines and Arabic language; and (2) promoting academic research in the fields of the *sharʿ* and the Arabic language". It comprises: (1) the Faculty of the *Sharīʿa* (Muslim law) which was opened

in Fās in October 1960; (2) the Faculty of Arabic Studies, whose centre is at Marrākash; (3) the Faculty of Theology (*Uṣūl al-dīn*) created at Tatwān; and (4) some institutes attached to it, of which the most important is the *dār al-ḥadīth*, at Rabat, which produces scholars in the Islamic sciences. Each faculty is directed by a dean, assisted by a deputy, both of them appointed by the Directorate of Higher Education of the Ministry. The university at present (1972) comprises about a thousand students and each year grants an ever-increasing number of degrees (110 in 1970). Each academic year also produces a generation of educated young people who find a place less and less easily in modern Morocco. The Moroccan Government is not unaware of the problem, for which there is no easy and satisfactory solution.

Today, the university no longer functions at the foot of the pillars of the ancient mosque; it has been transferred to an old French barracks where the students no longer lead the mediaeval life of yesteryear. Meanwhile the professors, even the less aged, continue to teach in a traditional spirit and, consequently, to form young people who do not move in the same atmosphere as their companions in modern education.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources given in the text and those which are to be found in the article FĀS, see for further details: Marmol (16th century), *De l'Afrique*, tr. d'Ablancourt, ii, Paris 1667; Badia y Leblich (ʿAli Bey), *Voyages d'Ali Bey el Abbassi en Afrique et l'Asie*, 3 vols., Paris 1814 (see on Fās, i, ch. viii); G. Delphin, *Fas, son université et l'enseignement supérieur musulman*, Paris 1889; A. Pérétié, *Les madrasas de Fès*, in *AM*, xviii (1912); P. Marty, *Le Maroc de demain*, Paris 1925, ch. i; L. Brunot, *Le personnage de Barabbas dans la fête du sultan des Tolba à Fès*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Paris 1935; Leon l'Africain (16th century), *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i; Djāmiʿat al-Ḳarawiyyīn, *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī fī dhikrāhā al-miʾa baʿd al-alf* (245-1379/859-1960), Muḥammadiyya 1959, numerous articles of very unequal documentary value, and a bibliography of some European publications, especially in French (232-4); R. Le Tourneau, *Évolution politique de l'Afrique du Nord musulmane, 1920-1961*, Paris 1962; J. J. Waardenburg, *Les Universités dans le monde arabe actuel*, The Hague 1966; Abd el-Hadi Tazi, *Al. Qaraouiyyine*, Beirut 1973 (in Arabic, with French summary).

iii.—THE LIBRARY

The library of al-Ḳarawiyyīn is not situated within the mosque, but in an annex building. As the inscriptions preserved in the building itself and published (*RCEA*, xvi, Nos. 6081-2) indicate, it was created in 750/1349 by the Marīnid Sultan Abū ʿInān Fāris [*q.v.*], and enlarged by the Saʿdid Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

Its richness, once famous, attracted to Fās European scholars in search of ancient works. But in the 19th century it had fallen into a pitiable state of abandonment, dilapidation and pillage. The supervision of the library was in principle incumbent on the *naḳīb* [*q.v.*] of the university's pious foundations, but he shifted the responsibility onto a student agreed by a higher authority. No catalogue or register of loans has been discovered, as in Marrākash at the Library of the Mosque of Ibn Yūsuf. Many borrowers must have neglected to return the works, to such an extent that at the beginning of the 20th century the number was estimated at no more than 1600 manuscripts and 400 printed books. Some are very valuable or very rare, in particular the 5th volume of the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* of Ibn Khaldūn, with a dedication in the famous historian's own hand. There are also some volumes there bearing the acts of donation of certain Moroccan princes. The most ancient manuscripts date back a thousand years, and the most numerous of them result from gifts, in the form of *ḥabus*, of the Saʿdid Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. The Ḳarawiyyīn also received an important part of the library of the ʿAlawī Sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh at the time when it was dispersed among the towns of Morocco.

In 1918, the catalogue was published and provoked a certain sense of disappointment, but, later, some valuable manuscripts were discovered in unlisted files. In the reign of Muḥammad V the Library was enlarged and modernized, its administration remodelled, supervision of it reinforced and its departments enriched. Today it counts, in addition to very numerous printed books, more than 4,000 manuscripts, and has resumed its activity and its secular role.

Bibliography: See the works of Pérétié, Marty, Le Tourneau and Ibn Zaydān, cited above; also A. Bel, *Catalogue des livres arabes de la Bibliothèque de la Mosquée d'El-Qarouiyine à Fès*, Fās 1918; E. Lévy-Provençal, *Note sur l'exemplaire du Kitāb al-ʿibar offert par Ibn Ḫaldūn à la Bibliothèque d'al-Qarawīyīn à Fès*, in *Hespéris* (1923); H. P. J. Renaud, *Un prétendu catalogue de la Bibliothèque de la Grande Mosquée de Fès daté de 1268/1851*, in *Hespéris* (1934); G. Deverdun, *Un registre d'inventaire et de prêts de la Bibliothèque de la Mosquée Ali b. Youssef à Marrakech, daté de 1111/1700*, in *Hespéris* (1944); J. Luccioni, *Les bibliothèques habous au Maroc*, in *Bull. écon. et soc. du Maroc* xix/66 (1955); ʿĀbid al-Fāsī, *Khizānat al-Ḳarawiyyīn wa-nawādiruhā*, in *RIMA* i (1959), 8-16. (G. DEVERDUN)

KARAY, REFĪḲ KHĀLID (modern Turkish REFİK HALİT KARAY), Turkish essayist, humorist and novelist (d. 1888/1965). He was born in Beylerbeyi on the Bosphorus, Istanbul. His father, Meḥmed Khālid of the Karakayīsh Oğullarī (later shortened to Karay by Refīḳ Khālid), was chief treasurer at the Ministry of Finance. Trained at the Galatasaray lycée (1900-6), which he left before graduating, Karay became a clerk in a department of the Ministry of Finance and at the same time attended the school of law (*Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ*) until the restoration of the Constitution in 1908; he then abandoned both job and study and became a journalist. After contributing to various papers, he founded in 1909 his own shortlived *Ṣon Ḥawādith*. In the same year he joined the new literary group *Fedjr-i Ātī* (Dawn of the Future), formed for a brief period by the young generation of poets and writers, which was no more than the closing phase of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* movement.

His real personality as a writer took shape in 1910 when he began to contribute, under the penname *Kirpi* ("hedghog"), to the humorous magazines *Ḳalem* and *Djem*, of which he soon became a leader writer. His powerful satirical essays, mixed with subtle humour, were written in a masterly style and were directed against the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress, the party in power, and these immediately established his unchallenged reputation. Following the assassination of Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha in June 1913, Refīḳ Khālid, although he did not belong to any party and was not a militant, was arrested together with several hundred opposi-

tion "suspects" and banished to Sinop, on the Black Sea. Ṭalʿat Pasha himself, who had been the target of one of his ruthlessly sarcastic articles, included his name in the list of people "to be punished" (R. H. Karay, *Minelbab ilelmihrab*, Istanbul 1964, 36). He spent the following five years in exile in Sinop, Çorum, Ankara and Bilecik, during which time he remained silent except for a few essays and short stories which were published, under the pen-name *Aydede*, in the Istanbul daily *Peyam*, and later, under his own name, in Gökalp's famous *Yeñi Medjmūʿa*.

On his return from exile towards the end of World War I, he contributed to the newspapers *Zamān* and *Ṣabāḥ* (of which he became later a leader writer). When in 1918 the war was lost and the Unionist leaders fled the country. Refīḳ Khālid's satires against them and the committee baceme more vitriolic. He joined the Liberal Union Party (*Ḥürriyet ve Iʾtilāf Firḳasī*) and became increasingly involved in the anti-Nationalist politics and activities of the Istanbul governments of the 1919-22 period. His many articles and satirical essays, in which he tried to discredit the resistance movement in Anatolia led by Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, depicting it as a resurgence of Unionist ambitions, and his efforts to disrupt the telegraphic communications of the Nationalists while he was Director-General of Posts and Telegraph during the collaborationist governments of Dāmād Ferīd Pasha, made him *persona non grata* in the eyes of the Ankara government. His arrest and trial was one of the conditions put forward by the Nationalists for any compromise with the sultan's government in October 1919 (S. Selek, *Anadolu İhtilâli*, Istanbul 1968, 304). Following the victory of the Nationalists in Anatolia in September 1922 and soon after the arrival in Istanbul of Reʾfet Pasha (Bele) as their special representative, the writer and journalist ʿAlī Kemāl, a close friend and collaborator of Refīḳ Khālid, a leading opponent of the Nationalists and former Minister of the Interior, was kidnapped and murdered in Izmid on the way to his trial in Ankara (F. R. Atay, *Çankaya*², Istanbul 1969, 341-42). On learning this, Refīḳ Khālid joined a group of leading members of the Liberal Union Party, most of whom had collaborated with the army of occupation in Istanbul, and took refuge in the British Embassy. He was taken later to Tashkīshla barracks with other refugees, but managed to slip away from there and left Istanbul on a French ship on 9 November 1922. (Later he was included among the 150 "undesirables" (*Yüzellilikler*) excepted from the amnesty provisions of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923). He went to Djūniyya in the Lebanon where he wrote his political memoirs; their serialization in the Istanbul daily *Akshām* in 1924 caused a great furore and it was consequently suspended. In the same year he moved from Djūniyya to Aleppo, where the editors of the Turkish newspaper *Doghru Yol* invited him to work. He published his essays, short stories and articles in this paper and published his books in Aleppo, remaining there until the general amnesty of 1938 when he returned to Turkey. During the last 27 years of his life he lived in Istanbul, carefully avoiding politics, devoting all his time to contributing to many papers and magazines and writing a great number of essays and sketches and many popular novels. He was the president of the Turkish P.E.N. club when he died in Istanbul on 13 July 1965.

As he confessed in a famous interview (Rüshen Eshref, *Diyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1334/1918, 247-59), Refīḳ Khālid was completely ignorant of classical Turkish literature and of the works of the mid-19th century modernists (*Tanẓīmāt* School). He avidly read everything the *Therwet-i Fünūn*, his immediate predecessors, published at the turn of the century. He admired their technique but rejected their French-inspired themes and characters and their artificial and precious style (excepting, however, some writings of Khālid Ḍiyāʾ, Meḥmed Raʾūf and Ḥüseyn Djāhid). Thus he started his epoch-making career from scratch. Apart from one or two forerunners at the end of the 19th century, he pioneered realism in the novel and short story and switched his attention from the over-exploited capital (Istanbul) to the Anatolian countryside; he specialized in subtle social and political satire without having recourse to gross and obscene language. He advocated and practised the use of spoken Turkish as a literary medium as early as 1909, *i.e.*, before Ömer (ʿUmar) Seyf ed-Din and his associates inaugurated the movement of *Yeñi Lisān* (New Language) which aimed at the simplification of written Turkish. Refīḳ Khālid's published works, numbering 37, can be divided into the following categories:

(1) Humorous and satirical essays, on incidents of everyday life, topical events or political personalities, which reveal his real personality. These have been put together in the following volumes: *Kirpinin dedikleri* ("What the Hedgehog said"), containing essays published between 1909-19, second enlarged edition, Istanbul 1336 (1920), in Roman script 1940; *Tanıdıklarım* ("My Acquaintances"), Istanbul 1335 (1919), in Roman script 1941; *Sakın aldanma, inanma, kanma* ("Don't be deceived, don't believe, don't be taken in"), Istanbul 1335 (1919), in Roman script 1941; *Agho Pashanïñ Khāṭïralarï* ("Memoirs of Agho Pasha the Parrot"), Istanbul 1338 (1922), in Roman script 1939; *Ay peshinde* ("In Pursuit of the Moon"), Istanbul 1339 (1923); *Ghughuḳlu sā-ʿat* ("The Cuckoo Clock"), Istanbul 1341 (1925), in Roman script 1940; *Bir avuč sačma* ("A Handful of Nonsense"), Aleppo 1932.

(2). Short Stories. Refīḳ Khālid's short stories have been collected in *Memleket Ḥikāyeleri* ("Stories from the Country"), Istanbul 1335 (1919), in Roman script 1939 (French tr. Belkis Tavad, *Contes turcs*, Istanbul n.d.), sometimes considered as his masterpiece. Except for a few stories which belong to his early period (1909-12), these stories were written during his five-year exile in Anatolia where he was able to study closely the types and customs of villagers and provincial townspeople. An invaluable documentary on everyday life of pre-World War I Central Anatolia, these stories are told with a rare virtuosity of natural style unprecedented in modern Turkish literature. He observes and describes landscape, provincial towns and local types—peasants, shopkeepers, notables, teachers, khodjas and civil servants—with powerful realism, without always seeking to penetrate the soul of his characters. His *Gurbet Hikâyeleri* ("Stories of Exile"), Istanbul 1940, contain mainly sketches using much autobiographical material, a feature of his later works.

(3). Novels. Refīḳ Khālid wrote only one novel between 1909 and 1929, *Istanbul'uñ Ič Yüzü* ("The inside Story of Istanbul"), Istanbul 1336 (1920), in Roman script as *Istanbul'un Bir Yüzü* ("One Face of Istanbul"), Istanbul 1939, perhaps his best. Written in the form of a diary of a woman of humble origin, brought up in the mansion (*konak*) of a Ḥamīdian pasha, this novel is a series of masterly sketches of Istanbul "society" between 1900-20, where the last vestiges of the old régime, the influential magnates of the all-powerful committee of Union and Progress and the degenerate nouveaux-riches of the war years

are depicted with scintillating and merciless sarcasm. After 1930 and particularly after his return from exile in 1938, he serialized in newspapers and magazines a great number of popular novels (19 of which were published in book form and some also filmed) of mediocre literary value, written mainly for the purpose of making a living, as he himself admitted (Mustafa Baydar, *Edebiyatçılarımız ne Diyorlar?*, Istanbul 1960, 108). But some of these novels, particularly *Sürgün* ("Exile"), Istanbul 1941, *Anahtar* ("The Key"), Istanbul 1947 and *Bu Bizim Hayatımız* ("This is our Life"), Istanbul 1950, are worth mentioning for many important autobiographical data and period descriptions. Among his non-political and non-satirical essays the volume *Üç Nesil Üç Hayat* ("Three generations, Three ways of Life"), Istanbul 1943, contains lively sketches of everyday life in Istanbul from the 1860s onwards. A considerable number of his essays and articles published in his very popular humorous magazine *Aydede* (from January 1922, 90 issues, and again in 1948-49, 125 issues) have not been collected in book form.

(4). Plays. Refīḳ Khālid wrote two plays: *Tiryāki Ḥasan Pasha*, a historical play about the famous defender of the fortress of Kanizsa in Hungary in 1601. The play, which had a great success at the time (1909), has not been published. He wrote his second play, a one-act comedy, while in Syria: *Deli* ("The Madman"), Aleppo 1931, in Roman script, Istanbul 1939. It is the story of a mental patient restored to health who, on experiencing the effects of the radical social reforms of the 20s, goes irrevocably mad again. Kemal Atatürk stated on reading the play that "it did not satirize the reforms but emphasized them" and on his suggestion, Refīḳ Khālid (together with the remaining survivors of the 150 "undesirables") was included in the amnesty for the 15th anniversary of the republic in 1938 (Y. K. Karaosmanoğlu, *Gençlik ve Edebiyat Hatıraları*, Ankara 1969, 87-90).

Refīḳ Khālid has been almost unanimously accepted as the unchallenged master of modern Turkish prose (Occasional reservations appear to be motivated by personal bias, *e.g.*, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, *Siyasi ve Edebi Portreler*, Istanbul 1968, 50-53). It has been said that no other writer wrote a more natural, spontaneous Turkish, based on the spoken language. This judgement is still held by many critics to be true even for contemporary literature. It is no doubt correct for the period 1908-28; but it has not been sufficiently noticed that the profound transformation of the language and style and literary taste which took place from the 1930s onwards is beginning to "date" his language and style, which was truly unmatched during the pre-reform period.

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(Fahir İz)

KARBALĀʾ, a place in ʿIrāḳ some 60 miles SSW of Baghdād celebrated by the fact that the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was killed and his decapitated body buried there (*Ḳabr al-Ḥusayn*). For all these events, see al-ḥusayn b. ʿalī. When it became a place of pilgrimage, Karbalāʾ became known as Mashhad (al-) Ḥusayn.

The name Karbalāʾ probably comes from the Aramaic Karbelā (Daniel, III, 21) and from the Assyrian Karballatu, a kind of headdress; see G. Jacob, *Türkische Bibliothek*, xi, 35, n. 2. It is not mentioned in the pre-Islamic period. Khālid b. al-Walīd camped there after the capture of al-Ḥīra (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 250). At al-Ḥāʾir, where al-Ḥusayn was buried, the Ḳabr al-Ḥusayn was built and very soon began to attract pilgrims. As early as 65/684-5 we find Sulaymān b. Ṣurad going with his followers to Ḥusayn's grave where he spent a day and a night (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 545 ff.). Ibn al-Athīr, v, 184, ix, 358, mentions further pilgrimages in the years 122/739-40 and 436/1044-5. The custodians of the tomb at quite an early date were endowed by the pious benefactions of Umm Mūsā, mother of the Caliph al-Mahdī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 752).

The Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 236/850-1 destroyed the tomb and its annexes and had the ground levelled and sown; he prohibited under threat of heavy penalties visiting the holy places (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1407; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 32). Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. de Goeje, 166), however, mentions about 366/977 a large *mashhad* with a domed chamber, entered by a door on each side, over the tomb of Ḥusayn, which in his time was already much visited by pilgrims. Ḍabba b. Muḥammad al-Asadī of ʿAyn al-Tamr, supreme chief of a number of tribes, devastated Mashhad al-Ḥāʾir (Karbalāʾ) along with other sanctuaries, for which a punitive expedition was sent against ʿAyn al-Tamr in 369/979-80 before which he had fled into the desert (Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, ed. Amedroz in *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ii, 338, 414). In the same year, the Shīʿī Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] took the two sanctuaries of Mashhad ʿAlī (= al-Nadjaf) and Mashhad al-Ḥusayn (M. Ḥāʾirī) under his special protection (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 518; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *loc. cit.*).

Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl, who died in 414/1023-4, built a wall round the holy tomb at Mashhad al-Ḥusayn (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, ii, 123, 141), as he also did at Mashhad ʿAlī (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 154).

In Rabīʿ I 407/Aug.-Sept. 1016, a great conflagration broke out caused by the upsetting of two wax candles, which reduced the main building (*al-ḳubba*) and the open halls (*al-arwiḳa*) to ashes (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 209).

When the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Malik Shāh came to Baghdād in 479/1086-7, he did not neglect to visit the two Mashhads of ʿAlī and al-Ḥusayn (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 103). The two sanctuaries at this time were known as al-Mashhadān (al-Bundarī-al-Iṣfahānī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. Houtsma, in *Recueil des textes...*, ii, 77) on the analogy of the duals al-ʿIrāḳān, al-Baṣratān, al-Ḥīratān, al-Miṣrān, etc.

The Ilkhān Ghāzān in 702/1303 visited Karbalāʾ and gave lavish gifts to the sanctuary. He or his father Arghūn is credited with bringing water to the district by leading a canal from the Frāt (the modern Nahr al-Ḥusayniyya) (A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Ḥusains zu Kerbelā*ʾ, Berlin 1909, 40).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 99, visited Karbalāʾ in 727/1326-7 from al-Ḥilla and describes it as a small town which lies among palm groves and gets its water from the Frāt. In the centre is the sacred tomb; beside it is a large *madrasa* and the famous hostel (*al-zāwiya*) in which the pilgrims are entertained. Admission to the tomb could only be obtained by permission of the gate-keeper. The pilgrims kiss the silver sarcophagus, above which hang gold and silver lamps. The doors are hung with silken curtains. The inhabitants are divided into the Awlād Rakhīk and Awlād Fāyiz,

whose continual feuds are detrimental to the town, although they are all Shī'īs.

About the same date, Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī (*op. cit.*) gives the circumference of the town as 2,400 paces; he mentions there also the tomb of Ḥurr Riyā (b. Yazīd), who was the first to fall fighting for Ḥusayn at Karbalā'.

The Ṣafawid Shāh Ismā'īl I (d. 930/1524) made a pilgrimage to al-Nadjaf and Mashhad Ḥusayn.

Sulṭān Sulaymān the Magnificent visited the two sanctuaries in 941/1534-5, repaired the canal at Mashhad al-Ḥusayn (al-Ḥusayniyya) and transformed the fields which had been buried in sand into gardens again. The Manārat al-'Abd [*q.v.*], formerly called Engusht-i Yār, was built in 982/1574-5. Murād III in 991/1583 ordered the Wālī of Baghdād, 'Alī Pasha b. Alwand, to build or more correctly, restore, a sanctuary over the grave of Ḥusayn. Soon after the capture of Baghdād in 1032/1623, 'Abbās the Great won the Mashhads for the Persian empire. Nādir Shāh visited Karbalā' in 1156/1743; while he is credited with gilding the dome in Mashhad 'Alī, he is also said to have confiscated endowments intended for the priests of Karbalā'.

The great prosperity of the place of pilgrimage and its large number of inhabitants is emphasised on the occasion of the pilgrimage of 'Abd al-Karīm, a favourite of Nādir Shāh. Radiyya Sulṭān Bēgum, a daughter of Shāh Ḥusayn (1105-34/1694-1722), presented 20,000 *nādirī*s for improvements at the mosque of Ḥusayn.

The founder of the Ḳādjār dynasty, Āghā Muḥammad Khān, towards the end of the 12th/18th century, presented the gold covering for the dome and the *manāra* of the sanctuary of Ḥusayn (Jacob, in A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 65, 4).

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1215/April 1801, in the absence of the pilgrims who had gone to al-Nadjaf, 12,000 Wahhābīs under Shaykh Sa'ūd entered Karbalā', slew over 3,000 inhabitants there and looted the houses and bazaars. In particular they carried off the gilt copper plates and other treasures of the sanctuary and destroyed the shrine. But after this catastrophe contributions poured in for the sanctuary from the whole Shī'ī world.

After a temporary occupation of Karbalā' by the Persians, Nadjīb Pasha in 1259/1843 succeeded by force of arms in enforcing the recognition of Turkish suzerainty over the town; the walls of the present old town were now for the most part destroyed. The governor Midḥat Pasha ln 1288/1871 began the building of government offices, which remained incomplete, and extended the adjoining market place (documents on the history of Mashhad Ḥusayn are given in A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 35-50).

In 1965 Karbalā' had 81,500 inhabitants (1970 estimate, 107,500), a number swollen to well over 100,000 during Muḥarram with its influx of pilgrims. Karbalā' has always been a particularly rich town, not only because of its possession of the shrine but also because it has been a starting-point for Persian pilgrim caravans to Nadjaf and Mecca and a "desert port" for trade with the interior of Arabia. The old town with its tortuous streets is now surrounded by modern suburbs. About half of the resident population is Persian, and there is a strong mixture of Indian and Pakistani Muslims; there have long been Indian connections through the shrine's benefiting from the former ruler of Oudh's bequests. Of the remaining Shī'ī Arabs, the most important tribes amongst them are the B. Sa'd, Salālma, al-Wuzūm, al-Tahāmza and al-Nāṣiriyya. The Dede family has been especially prominent; it was rewarded with extensive estates by Sulṭān Selīm I for constructing the Nahr al-Ḥusayniyya.

The name Karbalā' strictly speaking only applies to the eastern part of the palm gardens which surround the town in a semi-circle on its east side (Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 41). The town itself is called al-Mashhad or Mashhad al-Ḥusayn.

The sanctuary of the third Imām lies in a court yard (*ṣaḥn*) 354 × 270 feet in area, which is surrounded by *līwān*s and cells. Its walls are decorated with a continuous ornamental band which is said to contain the whole Ḳur'ān written in white on a blue ground. The building itself is 156 × 138 feet in area. The rectangular main building entered by the "golden outer hall" (picture in Grothe, *Geogr. Charakterbilder*, pl. lxxviii, fig. 136) is surrounded by a valued corridor (now called *djāmi'*; A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 20, l. 3) in which the pilgrims go round the sanctuary (*ṭawāf*) (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*[2], 109-12). In the middle of the central domed chamber is the shrine (*ṣandūḳa*) of Ḥusayn about 6 feet high and 12 long surrounded by silver *mashrabiyya* work, at the foot of which stands a second smaller shrine, that of his son and companion-in-arms 'Alī Akbar (Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, *BGA*, viii, 303).

"The general impression made by the interior must be called fairy-like, when in the dusk—even in the daytime it is dim inside—the light of innumerable lamps and candles around the silver shrine, reflected a thousand and again a thousand times from the innumerable small crystal facets, produces a charming effect beyond the dreams of imagination. In the roof of the dome the light loses its strength, only here and there a few crystal surfaces gleam like the stars in the sky" (A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 25-6).

The sanctuary is adorned on the *Ḳibla* face with magnificent and costly ornamentation. Two *manāra*s flank the entrance. A third, the Manārat al-'Abd, rises before the buildings on the east side of the *Ṣaḥn*; south of it the face of the buildings surrounding the court recedes about 50 feet; on this spot is a Sunnī mosque. Adjoining the Ṣaḥn on the north side is a large *madrasa* the courtyard of which measures about 84 feet square with a mosque of its own and several *miḥrāb*s (on the present condition of the sanctuary: cf. A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 5-26, on its history 35-50 and on its architectural history, 51-66).

About 600 yards N E of the sanctuary of Ḥusayn is the mausoleum of his half-brother 'Abbās. On the road which runs westward out of the town is the site of the tent of Ḥusayn (*khaymagāh*). The building erected there (plan in Nöldeke, pl. vii; photograph in Grothe, pl. lxxxviv, fig. 145) has the plan of a tent and on both sides of the entrance there are stone copies of camel saddles.

On the desert plateau (*ḥammād*) west of the town stretch the graves of the devout Shī'īs. North of the gardens of Karbalā' lie the suburbs, gardens and fields of al-Bḳēre, to the north-west those of Ḳurra, and to the south those of al-Ghādhirīya (Yāḳūt, iii, 768). Among places in the vicinity, Yāḳūt mentions al-'Aḳr (iii, 695) and al-Nawāyiḥ (iv, 816).

A branch line diverging north of al-Ḥilla connects Karbalā' with the Baghdād-al-Baṣra railway. The sanctuary of Ḥusayn still has the reputation of securing entrance to Paradise for those buried there, hence many aged pilgrims and those in failing health go there to die on the holy spot.

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KARBIYYA the cross-reference to this heading under ḤAMZA B. ʿUMĀRA is an error, since the subsect in question of the Kaysāniyya is called in the sources Karibiyya or Kuraybiyya [*q.v.*], the *kunya* of its founder being Abū Karib or Abū Kurayb.

ḲARDĀ and **BĀZABDĀ**, ancient districts of Upper Mesopotamia (al-Djazīra), often mentioned together. The first place derives its name from Bēth Ḳardū, the land of the Carduci, which became Bāḳardā; according to Yāḳūt, s.v., this form is found "in the books", but the local people say Ḳardā. The district comprised *ca.* 200 villages, the most notable being al-Djūdī and Thamānīn, and the district of Faysābūr; it produced mainly corn and barley. The original *chef-lieu*, Ḳardā, lost its importance and was replaced by Bāsūrīn.

Bāzabdā, for its part, is the name of a district in the region of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar [*q.v.*], lying to the west of the Tigris, and also of a village lying opposite the latter town.

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AL-**KARDŪDĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. AḤMAD AL-GULĀLĪ AL-ḤASANĪ AL-IDRĪSĪ, Moroccan legal scholar and author (1216-65/1801-49) who was for some time *ḳāḍī* of Tangier. He is the author of the following works: (1) a *fahrasa* in which are recorded the names of his masters and also the *idjāzas* given by certain of them, such as al-Kūhin and al-Damnātī; (2) a commentary on the *Iṣṭilāḥ al-ḳāmūs*; (3) another commentary on the introduction (*khuṭba*) of Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*; (4) a history of the ʿAlawī dynasty called *al-Durr al-munaḍḍad al-fākhir fī mā li-abnāʾ mawlānā ʿAlī al-Sharīf min al-maḥāsin wa ʾl-mafākhir* (unfinished); and (5) a treatise on the need for modernising the army, *Kashf al-ghumma fī bayān anna ḥarb al-niẓām wādjib ʿalā hādith al-umma* (lith. Fez 1303/1885).

He died at Fez, where he was buried outside the Bāb al-Futūḥ, near the tomb of Yūsuf al-Fāsī.

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KARĪM KHĀN ZAND (MUḤAMMAD KARĪM), (*ca.* 1164-93/*ca.* 1751-79), the founder of the Zand dynasty and the *de facto* ruler of the greater part of Persia. Having no claim to the title of shāh, he instead, assumed, that of *wakīl*, "regent, lieutenant". Brought up during exile of the Zand tribe imposed by Nādir Shāh Afshār, on the latter's death he succeeded in conducting the Zands from their exile in northern Khurāsān to the village of Piriya, modern Parī, 30 km. south east of Malāyir, where the clan, originally a lateral branch of the Lakk [*q.v.*], had had their settlements prior to their deportation. In the course of clashes with neighbouring chieftains, he displayed great military skill. In alliance with the Bakhtīyārī ʿAlī Mardān Khān [*q.v.*], he seized Iṣfahān; there, in 1164/1751, they placed on the throne a Ṣafawid boy of eight, whom they styled Ismāʿīl III. In his service Karīm held the office of commander-in-chief, and ʿAlī Mardān that of guardian of the sovereign, *wakīl*. Fearing ʿAlī Mardān's duplicity, Karīm captured Iṣfahān, took Ismāʿīl III under his own guardianship, assumed the title of *wakīl* and put ʿAlī Mardān Khān to flight. When the latter's attempt to win support for a new Ṣafawid puppet failed and the Bakhtīyārī chief was assassinated by a Zand commander, Karīm found himself obliged to defend Iṣfahān and Shīrāz against other claimants, including the Ḳadjār Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, the Afshār Fatḥ ʿAlī, and the Afghān Āzād Khān. At the end of a fierce struggle for the vacant throne, during which Muḥammad Ḥasan was assassinated by his own tribesmen in 1172/1759, Fatḥ ʿAlī and Āzād Khān had no option but to join forces in 1176/1763 and in 1179/1765; Karīm, already more popular than the other contestants, emerged as the undisputed ruler over the whole of Persia except Khurāsān, which he purposely left in the hands of Nādir Shāh's descendants. Although subsequently he had repeatedly to suppress local revolts, such as those of the Kaʿb tribes in Khūzistān, the Līrāvī nomads in Kūh-i Gīlūya, of Taḳī Durrānī in Kirmān, Naṣīr Lārī in Fārs, Mīr Muhannā in the Persian Gulf region, and Ḥusayn Ḳulī Ḳadjār in Astarābād and Māzandarān, on the whole his rule brought a period of sorely needed peace to Persia. When Ismāʿīl III, who had deserted Karīm in 1165/1752, returned in 1172/1759, he formally deposed him as incompetent, holding him, however, in honoured captivity with a large pension in Ābāda [*q.v.*]. Karīm did not drop the title of *wakīl*, using it thereafter in the sense of *wakīl al-raʿāyā* ("regent for the people") rather than that of *wakīl al-dawla*. He established his capital in Shīrāz, enriching it with magnificent buildings, some of which stand to this day. Through prudent husbandry he developed commerce, handi-

crafts and agriculture, encouraged foreign trade, and granted some commercial privileges to European companies in the Persian Gulf, mainly in order to utilize their power to enforce order and security on the coasts. His sole expedition beyond the Persian frontiers was the capture of Baṣra in 1190/1776, which was a challenge to the commercial supremacy of this Ottoman port rather than an attempt to destroy Ottoman rule in Mesopotamia. Karīm's last years were darkened by the loss of a young son, the death of a beloved wife, and a series of illnesses (colic, tuberculosis, etc.), which ended in his death in 13 Ṣafar 1193/2 March, 1779. He was buried in Shīrāz, whence the hostile Ḳādjārs transferred his remains to Tehran and later to Nadjaf. Karīm's rule was a paternal monarchy, based on tribal traditions common among the Lakk and Lur nomads. His bodily strength, his skill in arms, his sense of humour, his concern for his people's welfare, and his anxiety to secure prosperity for the inhabitants of Shīrāz, have provided materials for a series of folk tales, specimens of which can be found in *Tadjribat al-Aḥrār*, *Fārs-Nāma-yi Nāṣiri*, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*; cf. also J. Malcolm, *History of Persia.*

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(A. H. Zarrinkoob)

KĀRIMĪ, name of a group of Muslim merchants operating from the major centres of trade in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk empires, above all in spices. No satisfactory etymology has yet been given of the word *Kārimī*, *Kārim* or *Akārim*. Quatremère follows al-Ḳalḳashandī's statements and maintains that the name derives from *Kānim*, a territory in Western Sudan, which was altered into *Kārim*. Al-Ḳalḳashandī commented that the word occurred as such in the *dīwāns* and had no meaning in Arabic, and Ibn Mādjid [*q.v.*] does indeed mention the ancient (*ḳadīm*[an]) pepper route from the *Bilād al-Kānim* (Western Sudan). Littmann proposes an Amharic origin, deriving it from the word *Kuararīma*, a spice imported into Ethiopia by the *Kārimī.*

It is certain that the Kārimī were in the first place merchants of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, so that Littmann's idea that the word *Kārimī* may be connected with the name of some kind of merchandise is suggestive. From al-Maḳrīzī's description of the Cairene markets it is clear that the amber (= *kārim* or *kahramān*) market was very active. Yellow amber is still named *kārim* in Egypt, and the origin of the term *Kārimī* may thus be explained. Blochet also advocates this derivation. G. Wiet remarks that the source of yellow amber is to be sought in the Baltic region and not in the merchandise of the Indian Ocean. Wiedemann, who did not occupy himself with the Kārimīs, cites Nuwayrī, who mentions the import of amber from the Byzantine empire, *i.e.* through Byzantine markets. Fischel, Goitein, Ashtor, Naura, R. de Miglio, Darrag, Sublet and Cahen on the other hand concentrated more on the development of the Kārimī corporation than on the origin of the term.

It is evident from the Arabic documents that the word Kārim was also used to design a fleet, especially a merchant fleet. The Geniza documents point to a similar meaning of the term.

In any case, the term Kārim occurs for the first time in a text transmitted by al-Ḳalḳashandī. It relates that the Fāṭimids established a special fleet (of five, later of three ships) to protect the Kārimī-ships on their journeys between ʿAydhāb and Sawākin against the pirates of the neighbouring islands, especially the Dahlak group. The command was committed to the *wālī* of Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*], sometimes however to an emir in direct contact with the government in Cairo. Saladin lent growing support to the Kārimī-trade, which yielded high revenue from the taxes imposed. Al-Maḳrīzī reports that Saladin demanded beforehand the taxes for four years when the Kārimī-merchants (*Tudjdjār al-Kārim*) came from Aden in 577/1181. It is worthwhile noting that al-Maḳrīzī speaks of "merchants" and not simply of "Kārim", in the sense of a trade or a fleet.

One year later (578/1182) the Kārimī encountered their most serious crisis, with the attempt of the Crusaders to establish themselves into the Red Sea. This constituted a very great danger to Islam, for the Crusaders would thus threaten the sacred territory of the Ḥidjāz, but Saladin's greatest concern was the danger to the Egyptian monopoly of the transit traffic in the Red Sea. However, Saladin's victory over Renaud de Châtillon enabled him to keep the Frankish powers and merchants away from this most important trade route between the West and the Far East, and promoted the expansion of the Kārimī merchants.

In 579/1183 Saladin's nephew and deputy in Egypt, Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar, built the famous *funduḳ al-Kārim* in al-Fusṭāṭ, the port district of Cairo. At this period both Jewish and Coptic merchants had more or less to abandon their major enterprises in the Red Sea. They were replaced by Muslim merchants, principally the Kārimī.

Lack of sources makes it difficult to write the history of the Kārimī during the Ayyūbid period after the death of Saladin. The Mamlūk sultans, however, maintained the commercial policy of their predecessors and thus promoted the expansion of the Kārim enterprises.

The transition from Ayyūbid to Mamlūk government in Egypt was full of interior and exterior problems: the crusade of Saint Louis and the advance

of the Mongols on the one side, and on the other the revolts of the Arab tribes settled in Egypt. During this critical period the Kārimī and other wholesale merchants thought it wise to reduce imports into Egypt, especially when al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḳuṭuz [*q.v.*], to help finance his campaigns, imposed such drastic levies on the merchants of Egypt that they lost one third of their wealth. Baybars I [*q.v.*] abolished these measures, and ordered his *wālī* in Ḳūṣ and ʿAydhāb to treat the merchants well, so that ships sailed without delay from Yemenī ports to ʿAydhāb. Ibn Wāṣil [*q.v.*] reports that no one took action against them and that their property did not suffer any losses at all.

The activities of the Kārimī started a new chapter in the history of the development of the Egyptian capital and of commercial financing. If the capital of a wholesale merchant, Muslim or *dhimmī* in Egypt is estimated before the Kārimī period at 10,000 to 30,000 dīnārs, the fortune of a Kārimī-merchant amounted to one million dīnārs or more. Because of his financial capacity, the reputation of the Kārimī Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Musallam al-Bālisī (d. 776/1375), whose fortune was calculated to amount to ten million dīnārs, went beyond the boundaries of the mercantile circles of Egypt. Muslim merchants from India, who carried on trade in Egypt, Mecca and Aden, confirmed that no Indian possessed such a huge fortune, except one (Indian) unbeliever,—and he was associated with Naṣr al-Dīn. Tādj al-Dīn al-Kārimī, known as al-Damāminī (d. 731/1331) left 100,000 dīnārs, a more credible figure than the one reported about al-Bālisī. Describing the enormous wealth of the Saha, the unbelieving Indian merchants from Dawlatābād [*q.v.*], Ibn Baṭṭūṭa remarks (iv, 49): "They resembled the Kārimī-merchants in Egypt". Elsewhere (iv, 259) he compares the Sati of China with the Kārimīs.

The Kārimīs earned higher profits than the third of the purchase-price allowed by Muslim law. Besides bartering, they paid both in cash and by cheque. Indeed, through their network of markets and transactions, the Kārimīs operated a kind of banking institution, the most important clients of which were sultans and amirs whom they assisted not only with credits but also by supplying troops and arms. The Mamlūk sultan was not the only ruler to borrow money from the Kārimīs. The king of the Yemen also was given credits when he found himself in financial difficulties. Even Mansā Mūsā, the king of Māli who owned the gold-mines in western Sudan, borrowed money from a Kārimī-merchant before he left Mecca to return home.

The Kārimī commercial houses were primarily family-owned firms, each generation inheriting the experience, assets and clients of the preceding one, and the younger members being sent away for training to the various markets of the huge enterprise. Freemen as well as slaves represented the firms, studied the markets, brought in clients, imported and exported merchandise. One Kārimī is reported to have sent his slaves as representatives to the markets of the Indian Ocean and in the western Sudan in order to trade and carry through transactions in his name. Of the Kārimī Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Musallam, whose father, grandfather and paternal uncle had also been merchants, it is reported that none of his slaves died while they were trading on his behalf in India, the Yemen, Ethiopia, Māli and Bilād al-Takrūr, so that his affairs had not sustained any loss on that account.

During the reign of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥ. b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] the Kārimī-merchants numbered two hundred, owning at least a hundred slaves authorized to make important business-tours.

Al-Asadī (Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba [*q.v.*]) is evidently not exaggerating when he remarks that the activities of the Kārimī merchants reached from the Maghrib to China. Some were as powerful and rich as "kings", with their own armed caravans, and with guards, commissioners, partners, slaves and servants. They had the *kūsāt* (cymbals) sounded before the gates of their palaces, usually the prerogative of high state-officials.

A considerable amount of the merchandise imported from the Orient by the Kārimīs and other merchants was transported from the Yemen to the Ḥidjāz and Syria, but mostly to Cairo and also to Alexandria and Damietta, the two most important Egyptian ports on the Mediterranean, where Frankish merchants, especially Venetians, came to trade. The Egyptian merchant regarded these Italians as his opponents, both as businessmen and as capitalists. The Venetians, it is true, tried to extend their commercial and financial activities over Europe and the Byzantine Empire, while Asia and Africa were left to the Kārimīs. However, the friendly relations between the Mongol Empire and the Occident enabled the Italians, for almost a century (*ca.* 1250-1350), to travel inside Asia as far as China, but the Kārimīs also remained in these areas, where both met. More important however was that the caravan-trade by land and sea across the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea did not lose its position during the period of the "Pax Mongolica".

Both the Frankish merchants and the Kārimī had to solve the problem of piracy, the former in the Mediterranean, the latter in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and also to face similar difficulties on the desert routes in Africa and Asia. Both also pursued business in the towns, but in this connection there was a fundamental difference between the two. The towns of the Christian West in the Middle Ages were struggling to free themselves from feudal lords, whereas the oriental, Muslim towns were, during that period, under the control of central authorities and their governors. Thus the political rôle of the Kārimī-merchant can hardly be compared with that of his opponent, the occidental merchant. The Kārimī took part in politics only indirectly, since the authorities set bounds to his capital and his freedom of trade.

Nevertheless, the stability of the government and the good relations between the sultan of Egypt and the countries on the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Indian Ocean enlarged the Kārimīs' activities and crowned with success their endeavours to establish trade-relations between Egypt and these countries and even beyond, as far as western Sudan and China.

During the period of the Crusades the Kārimīs were by far the most important wholesale-merchants. The most prominent among them, in financial, political and religious respects, was granted the official title of "leader" or "chief" (*kabīr*, *raʾīs*), and in all the territories under Egyptian domination, as well as in the sultan's palace itself, he was treated with esteem and honour. Although contemporary sources do not enable us as yet to establish the way in which a *raʾīs* or *kabīr* was elected or how he exercised his power, we can form a general idea thanks to a story told by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī [*q.v.*]. In his Annals he relates that the great Kārimī-merchant Zakī al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī, on his return from the Ḥidjāz

to Egypt in 786/1384, had made costly gifts to sultan Barḳūḳ and the leading emirs. He was attacked by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Fāriḳī, an influential Yemenī merchant resident in Egypt (possibly the head of the Yemenī Kārimīs and brother of the contemporary Yemenī vizier al-Ashraf). Al-Kharrūbī then produced a letter addressed to him by the Yemenī king, in which was cited a letter by al-Fāriḳī, alleging that corruption was rife in Egypt since there was no effective ruler; al-Fāriḳī had therefore suggested to the Yemenī king that he should send no more tribute, because the ruling Egyptian sultan was one of the basest and most contemptible of the Mamlūks. Barḳūḳ ordered that al-Fāriḳī should be imprisoned, have his tongue cut out, and his property confiscated; al-Kharrūbī on the other hand was presented with a costly robe of honour and granted the title *Kabīr al-Tudjdjār*. This passage tells us something about the conditions required to obtain this title: it was a symbol of the most privileged position among the merchants, acquired by loyalty, unimpeachable religious and political behaviour and wealth.

Government policy was to favour the Kārimī-merchants. The *nāẓir al-bahār wa'l-kārim*, inspector of spices and Kārim-merchandise, was responsible for the interests of the Kārimīs in the Red Sea and Egypt and collected customs and taxes from them. This function was so esteemed that it was sometimes assigned to the vizier or the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*. The final decision however was with the sultan since the dues levied on Kārimī merchandise accrued to his treasury. Under al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh the importance of this function is demonstrated in a diploma of appointment, the text of which has been transmitted by Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī [*q.v.*] and in which the post is offered to the Shāfi'ī *faḳīh* Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bārizī. Since Upper-Egypt was during a long period the ordinary trade-route for the import of oriental merchandise, another letter of appointment emphasized that the chief *wālī* of Upper Egypt, *Wālī Wulāt al-Ṣa'īd*, should pay special attention to the commercial aspects of his post, as being "the gate to the Yemen and Ḥidjāz". A third letter of appointment mentions the great importance of Kārimī activities in Upper Egypt: it is the chief *wālī*'s duty to treat them well and to promote their interests.

In 832/1429 Barsbāy [*q.v.*] introduced his monopoly of pepper and a rigid supervision of the market. He bought pepper in Djudda on his own account and even forbade the merchants to deal in it before he had concluded his own affairs. He also curtailed the pepper and spice trade with the Franks in Alexandria by fixing prices. The Franks were hard hit since they had to acquire the pepper at a price which was about 50 dīnārs above the market-price. They were forced to limit their purchases and often had to return home without having sold their merchandise. The Egyptian merchants also sustained losses. When the Kārimī-merchants tried to trade clandestinely with the Franks, Barsbāy threatened in 833/1430 to bar them completely from trade. Two years later he forced them not to trade at all without his permission. In 838/1435 he curtailed the spice-trade in Djudda and fixed the prices for the trade with the Occident. The ensuing difficulties between Egypt and the western traders were further increased by the Catalan and Turkish pirates. Čaḳmaḳ (841/1438-756/1453) restricted the period of residence of the Frankish merchants in Egyptian ports to six months at most.

The deteriorating situation of the Kārimī-merchants during the 9th/15th century was however due not only to the policy of the Mamlūk sultans, but also to increasing economic crisis in Egypt, and to the policies of the Yemenī king al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, who tried to extend his power over the Ḥidjāz and to oust Egypt from its privileged position there, while in the Yemen he established a reign of terror. The Kārimīs fled to India or Djudda, leaving part of their fortunes behind in Aden. Also the merchants and ships' captains from China sustained losses. When despatching a gift in 823/1421, the emperor of China made a strong protest against the measures of the Rasūlid ruler. The Egyptian government meanwhile not only tried to lure the merchants and captains from Aden to Djudda, but to establish a state-monopoly.

On the northern frontiers of the Mamlūk domains the political situation remained tense during the 9th/15th century and necessitated continuous Egyptian expeditions, which burdened the state-finances. By increasing the prices of monopoly merchandise, Ḳā'itbay [*q.v.*] financed sixteen military expeditions, which cost altogether 8 million dīnārs, besides the soldiers' pay. Since the rural economy was not able to cover these expenses, they had to be borne by imposts on trade, which caused a set-back to the Kārimī-merchants. From then on they started losing their lucrative business. Many of them entered the sultan's service, and became the wholesale merchants of Egypt *par excellence*. Others emigrated to India, especially to Kalikat [*q.v.*] and Cambaya, and many turned to monetary transactions, less profitable to themselves but causing many difficulties to the State. They exported so many copper coins, that the sultan in 832/1429 strictly forbade their export to Djudda. The prohibition, however, had to be repeated in 839/1437. How difficult the merchants' position was during Barsbāy's reign is clearly indicated by a contemporary's note that a merchant had to contract a loan in order to cover his expenses while he possessed a stock of merchandise valued at 10,000 dīnārs.

The Red Sea merchants, in contradistinction to their colleagues in Cairo, tried openly and expressly to assert their rights with the sultan. Even Shāh-Rukh, the Tīmūrid ruler, became involved in this quarrel. He denounced the collection of taxes in Djudda which were not in accordance with the *sharī'a*, and called the *fuḳahā'* and *fatwā*-experts in Cairo "the riding animals of their master's wilfulness". Shāh-Rukh tried to intensify the tension between the Mamlūk sultan and the oriental merchants, but did not succeed in forcing the sultan to abandon his monopolizing policy or to collect taxes solely according to ḳur'ānic prescriptions. The short-lived penetration of the Chinese fleet to the East African coast and the Gulf of Aden in the first decades of the 9th/15th century could not avail the Kārimīs against the arbitrary behaviour of the sultans, nor could the establishment at this period of close relations between Ethiopia and Europe alter the policy of the sultan of Egypt towards the Kārimīs. Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Tawrīzī, the son of a Kārimī Muslim of Persian origin, who sold arms and European cloth in Ethiopia, was arrested on the charge of high treason. He was accused of having gone to Europe via the Maghrib by order of the Negus in order to incite Alphonso of Aragon against the Muslims. He was convicted and executed in Cairo in 832/1429. Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī and his pupil al-Sakhāwī questioned the legality of this verdict and were of the opinion that al-Tawrīzī had promoted the cause of Islam in Ethiopia where he was said to have been in high esteem because of his activities. The envoys of Negus Yeshāḳ did indeed reach the court of Alphonso V (C. de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au*

moyen âge, ii, 116; F. Cerone, *La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona*, in *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, xxvii (1902), 39-43, 65-66), who accepted the alliance with Ethiopia. The Negus wanted to start trade in the Red Sea, with Sawākin taking over the leading position of al-Djudda. Barsbāy however tried to secure its monopolizing position by ordering ships not to call at the port of ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*]. A revolt of the local tribes, who turned pirates, was crushed and the town was destroyed in 829/1426. According to Leo Africanus 4,000 inhabitants were killed while the rest emigrated to Dongola or Sawākin, the port of Ethiopia. The Mamluk sultans extended their power over both Massawa and Sawākin, the prince of the latter becoming a vassal of the sultan and receiving his diploma from the chancellery in Cairo.

According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, the Kārimīs did not appear on the Egyptian markets in 859/1455, and after 889/1484 they are no more mentioned in contemporary sources. So far as we know, the last two Kārimīs in Egypt, ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. Yūsuf Ķalyūbī and ʿAlī b. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿUlayba, died in 897/1491-92.

Not only the Kārimīs but the merchant-class as a whole lost their high entreprenurial position. Shortly before the Ottomans took over in Egypt, two mere butchers acted as representatives of the merchant-class. The Egyptian wholesale trader had lost his international business connections, which he did not win back till the late 19th century. During Egypt's confrontation with two strong foreign powers, the Portuguese and the Ottomans, the Kārimīs and other Egyptian merchants neither joined the Venetians against the new competitors from the West, nor did they try to combat the mismanagement of the Mamlūks. Adhering to the deeply rooted conception according to which state authority belonged to the military, they did not think of seeking political power. It is true that many Mamlūks, from the 8th/14th century onwards, had sold their *iķṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*] and had thus enabled merchants to acquire land, notwithstanding the opposition of the government and the *fuķahā*ʾ. Thus the Kārimī merchant Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Musallam (d. 775/1373) is said to have come into possession of 3,438 *faddān*s, for which a land-tax of 10,000 dīnārs was due. This situation influenced the Egyptian *iķṭāʿ* system, but cannot be said to have been the Kārimīs' expression of "Wille zur Macht". The Kārimī and other people who acquired *iķṭāʿ*s never succeeded in stepping into the political and military power of the Mamlūks. They submitted to them, although this brought about their own decline.

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ĶARĪN (a.) means "companion" in the largest sense (synonym of *muṣāḥib* in *LA* and the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, and of *khidn* in al-Bayḍāwī on Ķurʾān, XLI, 24/25). However, for people in pre-Islamic Arabia and for Muḥammad, the word also suggested a man's spirit-companion or familiar, and this is the commonest usage in the Ķurʾān, where *ķarīn* is used eight times. If a human companion is meant in XXXVII, 49/51, *Shayṭān* is a *ķarīn* in IV, 42/38, and the use of the plural *ķuranāʾ* in XLI, 24/25, together with the context, shows that tempting spirits are meant here. In this verse and in XLIII, 35/36, 37/38, a *shayṭān* is assigned (*ķuyyiḍa*) by God as a *ķarīn*; al-Bayḍāwī on L, 22/23, is dubious whether by *ķarīn* a *shayṭān* or an angel is meant, but for L, 26/27, he is sure that a *shayṭān* is involved. In this he follows the oldest exegetical tradition as already related by al-Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr*, xxvi, 93-4. Every human being has a *ķarīn* at his side, that is, a *shayṭān* and an angel to accompany, the first of whom tempts him into evil and the second induces him to do good. The *shayṭān*, sometimes called a *djinnī*, will be thrown into hell-fire at the Judgment along with the human companion whom he has led astray. These two *ķarīn*s are therefore different from the recording angels who accompany each human being (Ķurʾān, LXXXII, 10-12).

Even the prophets have such a *shayṭān*, but that of Muḥammad was converted by him to Islām; a great many traditions bearing on this are given in the *Āķām al-mardjān* of al-Shiblī, ed. 1326, 26-7. A very suggestive and full ethical-theological treatment of the whole subject is in the *Iḥyāʾ*, Book xxi, of al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb ʿadjāʾib al-ķalb*, ed. with comm. *Itḥāf al-sāda*, vii, 264-5, where the traditions are given in detail; cf. D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, 274-5. At the other extreme is the folkloristic development in popular Islâm; for it see S. M. Zwemer, *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, ch. vi.

Another use of *ķarīn* in old Arabia was for the *djinnī* who accompanied a poet and brought to him his verses [see shayṭān, tābiʿa]. This use has been transferred in Islām to the angel who consorted with the Prophet and brought him his revelations (LA, s.v.; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i, 5-6; D. B. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, 19-20).

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the article, see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 385,

397-8, 401, 460, ii, 323; al-Dārimī, *Musnad, Riḳāḳ, bāb* 25; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Ṣifāt al-Munāfiḳīn*, trad. 69 (ed. with al-Nawawī's commentary, Cairo 1283, v, 362; Constantinople 1334, viii, 138).

(D. B. MACDONALD*)

ĶĀRINIDS, a local dynasty of Ṭabaristān, who reigned over a part of the mountainous regions from the age of Khusraw (Chosroes) I (531-79 A.D.) until 225/840.

Origins. The Ķārinids claimed descent from Ķārin son of Sūkhrā, whose ancestor was none other than the legendary blacksmith Kāwah [*q.v.*]. According to the Arab and Persian chronicles, Sūkhrā was the most powerful among the great men of the Sāsānid Empire at the time of Kawādh I (488-531 A.D.), but the conflict of sources with which A. Christensen concerned himself in *Le Règne de Kawādh I et le communisme mazdakite*, 94-5, led him to ask himself whether Sūkhrā and his elder son Zarmihr are not in reality one and the same person. The Ķārinids traced the origin of their power to the age of Khusraw I, who allegedly rewarded Zarmihr and Ķārin son of Sūkhrā for the help they brought him to repel an attack of the Turks (Ibn Isfandiyār, 93-5; Ẓahīr al-dīn, 37). In fact, it is probably a case of a legend invented for the glory of Ķārin, confused furthermore with a namesake, the chief of the great noble family of Ķārin (Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides²*, 98-9). Ķārin son of Sūkhrā received as domains Wandā-Ummīd Kūh (to the south of Āmul; Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 2), Āmul, Lafūr (on the eastern source of the River Bābul, which then passes by Māmṭīr, see Minorsky in *EI¹*, art. *Māzyār*) and Firrīm, which is called Kūh-i Ķārin: "Ṭabaristan was also partitioned between Ķārin and the chiefs established at Ṭamīsha, and Ķārin became Ispahbad" (Ibn Isfandiyār, 95; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 31-5; Balʿamī, ii, 297-8). Ķārin was allegedly confirmed in his post by Hurmizd IV (579-90 A.D.).

According to the local historians of Ṭabaristān, Ķārin reigned 37 years and was replaced by his son Alanda for 52 years (Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 167, 321), but these chronological data are fanciful and do not appear to correspond with the age of these persons (cf. below). The actual centre of the Ķārinid principality has not been precisely determined, being situated according to some at Firrīm (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 377, tr. 367; Casanova, *Les Ispehbeds de Firrīm*, in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, 117-22), and according to others elsewhere (Minorsky in *EI¹*, *art. cit.*). In any case, at the time of the Arab conquest the Ķārinids must have lost Āmul, which was the capital of Prince Farrukhān Gīlānshāh, ancestor of the Dābūyids [*q.v.*] and of the Bāduspānids [*q.v.*] and they recognized his suzerainty (Balʿamī, iii, 493). They sent some troops to help the governor of al-Rayy to resist the Arab advance after the battle of Nihāwand (21/649), but in vain (Balʿamī, iii, 489-91; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2653-4). The submission of the local chiefs of Dunbāwand, Ķūmis and Gurgān on condition of tribute led the different *ispahbads* and *marzubāns* of Ṭabaristān to surrender in their turn. Given the difficult character of the land, Suwayd b. Muḳarrin accepted the conditions of their capitulation: to pay 500,000 dirhams and remain tributaries of the Arab Empire, but without obligation to send military contingents in case of war and without the interference of the Arabs in the internal affairs of these principalities (Balʿamī, iii, 492-3; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2659-60). But even these slight dues (compared with the tribute paid to the Sāsānids; Ibn Isfandiyār, 118) were not to be discharged regularly or in full, judging by the evolution of the proportionate forces maintained by the central power and the local princes (al-Balādhurī, 337-8), for numerous expeditions were launched against these regions to restore the caliphal authority.

We know scarcely anything of the Ķārinid princes before the revolt of Wandād-Hurmuzd in 165/781, and we must have recourse to the history of Ṭabaristān and of other local princes for some incidental references. According to the local historians (Ibn Isfandiyār, 98), a new dynasty was created about 45/665 in the Sharwīn Mountains situated in the south-east of Ṭabaristān (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 305) with Firrīm as centre (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 135-6); it is very difficult to recognize in these different names mountains that form the eastern chain of the Elburz, for they have changed in name or their names may be easily confused, even when one does not come across several names for one and the same mountain (Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 2). Always according to the local historians (Ibn Isfandiyār, 98-9, 237; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 206-7, 323-4), the inhabitants of Kūh-i Ķārin helped Surkhāb son of Bāw to regain his throne from the usurper Ādhur-Walāsh (the Zarmihrid?), who had assassinated his father *ca.* 59-60/679-80 and had maintained himself for 8 years. Surkhāb was crowned *Pādhshah* at Firrīm, which would suggest a return to the Ķārinid patrimony, but the suzerainty remained with the son of Farrukhān Gīlānshāh, Gīl Gawbarā, who took the title of King of the Mountains (Farshwādgarrshāh; Ibn Isfandiyār, 97; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 42).

It was not until 97/716 that Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, strengthened by his success at Gurgān, tried to annex Ṭabaristān also to the Umayyad empire, but he fell in his turn in an ambush (like Maṣḳala b. Hubayra in 54/674, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath in 55/675), and had to content himself with imposing a tribute sufficiently heavy for him to turn back against Djurdjān, which had revolted in his absence (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1320-1, 1327-9; al-Balādhuri, 336-8 etc.). Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Ṭabaristān revolted afresh under Hishām (105-25/724-43); (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 381), then under Marwān II (al-Balādhurī, 338; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 308). The ʿAbbāsids were meanwhile recognized in the course of their rebellion (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 2016; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 275-7), and al-Manṣūr himself succeeded in imposing on the local chiefs the payment of the tribute they had paid to the Sāsānids, following their complicity in the revolt of Sunbādh in 137/755 (Ibn Isfandiyār, 118). The conquest of Ṭabaristān was achieved in the course of the years 142-3/759-60 and resulted in its annexation to the ʿAbbāsid empire, which led to the installation of military garrisons in the mountainous regions, notably at Firrīm and at Khurramābād (Ibn Isfandiyār, 122-3). The Bāwandids profited from the disappearance of the Dābūyids by taking the title of *Padishwārharshāh* (Ibn Isfandiyār, 126), indicating by it their pre-eminent position in Kūhistān. The local princes appear to have adapted themselves poorly to ʿAbbāsid tutelage, and they revolted in 165/781, when the governor of Ṭabaristān tried to apply an increase in the taxes ratified by the jurist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, arguing that Ṭabaristān had surrendered by force (Ibn Isfandiyār, 125). The inhabitants of Ummīdvar-Kūh (to the South of Āmul) went to find the Ķārinid prince Wandād-Hurmuzd, who lived near Dunbāwand (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 129), and promised him their help, if he would revolt (Ibn Isf., 126).

The Revolt of Wandād-Hurmuzd. Wandād-

Hurmuzd assured himself of the alliance of the other local princes (Sharwīn the Bāwandid in the Sharwīn Mountains, Shahriyār the Bāduspānid in the Bāduspān Mountains, Masmughān Walāsh (the Zarmihrid?) at Miyāndurūd near Sāriya, Wandād-Safān the Ḳārinid in the Wandād-Safān Mountains to the west of Ṭabaristān), and proclaimed a revolt, which began with a massacre of the Muslims (Ibn Isf., 122-3). Exploiting the lie of the land, Wandād-Hurmuzd held the mountainous regions for several years (165-8/781-5) and inflicted numerous defeats on the caliphal armies. Al-Mahdī had to organize four expeditions, each of growing importance, at the head of which he placed generals of ever-greater renown (Sālim al-Farghānī, the Amīr Firāsha, ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlāʾ in 167/783, Taym b. Sinān), but in vain. He had to send the heir to the throne, al-Hādī, in person, accompanied by the general Yazīd b. Mazyad, to obtain the surrender of Wandād-Hurmuzd (Ibn Isf., 44-5 126-31; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 155-9; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 517-8, 551, 705; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 304). The latter was imprisoned in Baghdād (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 487), and his brother Wandād-Safān had sought his own destruction in executing a client of the caliph, Bahrām b. Fīrūz, recently converted to Islam. Wandād-Hurmuzd was meanwhile freed after having promised to give up his brother to the caliph, but once in his mountains, he did nothing about it (Ibn Isf., 131-2; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 160). His hostility to Islam persisted as before (Ibn Isf., 140), and he profited by acquiring 1,000 *djarībs* of demesne lands in the environs of Sāriya that had been put up for sale (Ibn Isf., 132; Ibn Rusta, 150, tr. 173). Wandād-Safān continued his opposition to ʿAbbāsid penetration by having executed Djaʿfar b. Hārūn, sent by the caliph in 187/803 to carry out again the cadastral survey (Ibn Isf., 141-2). These multiple acts of insubordination forced Hārūn al-Rashīd, at the time of his move to Rayy in 189/805, to summon Wandād-Hurmuzd and to reaffirm solemnly the sovereignty of the caliphate and to exact guarantees of submission: Wandād-Hurmuzd had to join in paying tribute, to send troops in event of war, and at the same time was constrained to "offer" some domains to the caliph (the Maʾmūnī lands) and to send his son Ḳārin as hostage to the court. In exchange, he was reinvested as "*Ispahbad of Khurāsān*" (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 304; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 705; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 514; Ibn Isfandiyār, 44, 142-3). Despite the fame of the revolt of his grandson Māzyār, it seems to us that the personality and movement of Wandād-Hurmuzd merit more consideration on the part of historians, for he effected a coalition that only Ḥasan b. Zayd was able to recreate in 250/864, and opposed with success the attempts to repress his revolt, whereas Māzyār collapsed without fighting in 225/840.

Ḳārin was sent back to his father in 192/808 (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 520; Ibn Isf., 143). In the course of the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān in 195/811 offered some presents to the "princes of Daylam, the mountains of Ṭabaristān and the neighbouring regions" and made them promise that he would cut the route from Khurāsān to Baghdād (which was dominated by the mountains of Ṭabaristān) and that he would hinder the arrival of reinforcements for Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, commander of the troops of al-Maʾmūn. The local princes promised their help (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 820), but ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān was killed near al-Rayy.

According to the local historians, Wandād-Hurmuzd died in the time of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) after having reigned 50 years. His son Ḳārin succeeded him for 40 years (Ibn Isf., 144-5; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 321), but this information is certainly false, for, if one adds the 30 years of a reign that these same sources attribute to Māzyār, one cannot see how these two princes could have reigned 40+30 years, when there were 27 years between the accession of al-Maʾmūn (in 198/813) and the execution of Māzyār (in 225/840). Besides, Ibn Isfandiyār (145-7) recounts the participation of Ḳārin in the campaign of al-Maʾmūn against the Byzantines (the first dating from 215/830), whilst further on he contradicts himself in saying that Māzyār profited from this campaign to eliminate his adversaries.

The fact remains that Ḳārin lost his possessions bit by bit, following the attempts of his rival Shahriyār to nibble them away. Then, when he succeeded his father, Māzyār found himself at the head of a diminished principality (Ibn Isfandiyār, 146). He even lost his possessions completely following a battle against Shahriyār, who annexed his domains. Māzyār took refuge with his cousin Wandād-Ummīd, son of Wandād-Safān, but the latter was constrained to give him up to the Bāwandid (Ibn Isfandiyār, 146-7). Whilst, according to Ibn Isfandiyār, Māzyār escaped from prison and made his way to Baghdād and to the caliph al-Maʾmūn (*ibid.*), al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1015) attributes to the governor of Ṭabaristān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khurdhādhbah, the victory over Shahriyār the Bāwandid and the sending of Māzyār to al-Maʾmūn in 201/816-7 (then at Marw, since the Caliph did not return to Baghdād until 204/819; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 253; Balʿamī, iv, 518). Whatever may be the case, Māzyār had to become a convert to Islam and received the name of Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ḳārin, with the title of "*mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful" (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 582; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1298; Ibn Isf., 147). He was afterwards named, in 207/822-3, co-governor of Ṭabaristān, Rūyān and Dunbāwand with Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ, and charged specially with the control of the mountainous regions that he knew best (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1066, 1096; Ibn Isf., 148). On his return to Ṭabaristān, Māzyār appears to have begun by eliminating the other local princes, both his own kinsmen, notably his brother Kūhyār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1295; al-Balādhurī, 339) and his nephew, Ḳārin, son of Shahriyār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1283), as well as his rivals, the Bāwandids: *ca.* 210/825-6, he invaded the Sharwīn Mountains, defeated Shāpūr, son of Shahriyār, and even had him executed on learning that he would become a convert to Islam and a "*mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful" like himself (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1093; Ibn Isfandiyār, 148). He annexed the Sharwīn Mountains and added the title of *Malik al-Djibāl* to his already pompous titulature: "Gīl-Gīlān, Ispabadh of Khurāsān, Padishkhwārgarshāh" (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 276, tr. 81), which is identical to that of Farrukhān Gīlānshāh at the time of the Arab conquest (cf. Balʿamī, iii, 493). These titles do not indicate any claim to Khurāsān, in contradiction to what several historians have thought (Azizi, 186; Minovi, 24; Minorsky, in *EI*[1], art. *Māzyār*), otherwise al-Maʾmūn would not have used this titulature in his correspondence with Māzyār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1298 gives the variant Ispahbad/Ispahbadhān).

This policy of concentrating power for his own sole profit is at the origin of the "treason" of his own kinsmen in 225/840, who saw in it the only means of their being restored as princes (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1283, 1291, 1295).

Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ died in 211/826-7 and was replaced by his son Muḥammad (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 286), but

Māzyār seems not to have had a high opinion of him (Ibn Isf., 148). He sought to extend his control over the plains of Ṭabaristān with brutal methods, which alienated the Muslim population of the towns against him after already attracting the hostility of the local Zoroastrian landowners (Ibn Isf., 148-9). Complaints were then addressed to the Caliph, but Māzyār refused to go to Baghdād for fear of being removed from office on this occasion. On the insistence of al-Ma'mūn, he sent the *ḳāḍīs* of Āmul and Rūyān to inform the Caliph of his actions. The *ḳāḍī* of Āmul claimed that Māzyār had abjured the faith, but the Caliph did not believe this accusation (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1270-1). Despite his ever more independent bearing (he called himself "ally" and no longer "client" of the Caliph; cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 582), al-Ma'mūn named him later as sole governor of Ṭabaristān (Ibn Isf., 150-1), and al-Muʿtaṣim confirmed him in his post in 218/833. Having also become a veritable petty king, with an administration modelled on the central power and a considerable personal strength (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1292), he reached a new degree of insubordination in refusing to send his *kharādj* to the Ṭāhirids of Khurāsān, to whom he was administratively subject. The Caliph agreed to spare him (probably against the advice of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir), and his agents received the *kharādj* from Māzyār at Hamadhān and sent it on to the Ṭāhirid agents (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1268).

According to a version of al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1269), "Māzyār was also in correspondence with Bābak; he encouraged him (in his revolt) and proposed to help him", but this sentence is perhaps truncated like the sentence on the stirring-up of the peasants (also 1269), whose correct reconstruction (1278-9) gives a completely different meaning. Let us note that there is no question anywhere else of any complicity of Māzyār with Bābak, although the rumours and accusations hurled against al-Afshīn are very numerous. Towards the beginning of 223/end of 837, there was planned an expedition of al-Afshīn against Māzyār, but only because of his tyranny and his insubordination (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269-71; al-Balādhurī, 339; Ibn Isf., 152; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 167). The thesis of a vast "anti-Arab plot" fomented by Bābak, al-Afshīn, Māzyār and the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus at this period is only a fabrication made up by the historians (M. Minovi, 26; M. Azizi, 212, 364, etc.).

Feeling himself threatened also, Māzyār ordered the cadastral survey to be carried out again and the *kharādj* to be levied before the end of the month of Tīr/August 838, and his agents surveyed in two months what had usually been surveyed in twelve months and in three sessions (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1270-2). Besides, the tension between Māzyār and the Ṭāhirids worsened the more ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir succeeded in setting the Caliph against this "tyrannical and insubordinate prince-governor", the one who led Māzyār to rebel, revolt, refuse the *kharādj* and impose his ascendancy over the mountains of Ṭabaristān and its adjacent parts (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269). Certain sources even assert that this insubordination was encouraged by al-Afshīn, who urged Māzyār to revolt (al-Ṭabarī, 1269, 1305, etc.). If it is undeniable that one meets with this accusation against the rival of the Ṭāhirids, who had become ambitious after his victory over Bābak in 222/837 and over Theophilus in 223/838, it is not certain that it corresponds to reality, for as al-Yaʿḳūbī suggests (*Ta'rīkh*, ii, 583), when al-Afshīn addressed himself in these terms to Māzyār: " 'By God, your falsehood will not save you from death. Don't perpetrate a falsehood to end your life', then Māzyār regained his composure and protested 'By God, he has not written to me or entered into correspondence with me . . . ' ". The position of al-Afshīn is made clear by the sources: having heard of the conflict that set Māzyār in opposition to the Ṭāhirids, he "hoped that this conflict would be at the root of the dismissal of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir from the government of Khurasān" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269), for "he believed that, if Māzyār revolted, he would hold out for a long time against ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir and would resist until al-Muʿtaṣim was obliged to send him, as well as others, to combat him, and that he would dismiss ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, and appoint him in his place and charge him with the suppression of Māzyār" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1305). All this allows us to reject the theses of "anti-Arab" revolt leading to the restoration of the power of the Persians, that several historians have freely adopted (notably M. Minovi and M. Azizi, although Gh. H. Sadighi had refuted these assertions as far back as 1938).

The Revolt of Māzyār. Māzyār revolted openly "after six years and several months of the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim" (al-Balādhurī, 339), *i.e.* the end of 224/839. Certain sources (al-Balādhurī and Ibn Isf., 152) use the word *kafara* which has led several historians to maintain that he apostasised (Minovi, 24; Azizi, 187). This interpretation is erroneous, for all the other chroniclers use the verb "to revolt" or a synonym, and al-Balādhurī himself uses the word *kafara* as a synonym of "to revolt".

He compelled the inhabitants to offer him the oath of allegiance, and in order to assure himself of them, he put their goods under sequestration and made them surrender hostages (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269, 1273). In addition, he had imprisoned "all those whom he believed to hate him in secret" (*Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, iii, 399; Miskawayh, vi, 504), from amongst the inhabitants of Sāriya, Āmul, Rūyān and western Ṭabaristān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1273-4, 1278, 1283). He had the ramparts of Āmul, Sāriya and Ṭamīsha demolished, which alerted ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (Ibn Isf., 150-2; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1274-5). However, the inhabitants of Āmul sollicited the intervention of al-Muʿtaṣim, who decided finally to put an end to this prince-governor who had revolted (Ibn Isf., 153-4).

Ṭabaristān was surrounded on all sides by five armies sent by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (to the east and south-east) and al-Muʿtaṣim. Māzyār believed himself secure, for he had recalled his brother Kūhyār, to whom he had entrusted the defence of the Ḳārin Mountains (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1295), and his nephew Ḳārin b. Shahriyār, charged with defending the Sharwīn Mountains and the eastern chain as far as Djurdjān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1283). As for the rest of the routes of entry into Ṭabaristān, his confidants Sarkhāstān and al-Durrī had to prevent the entrance of troops, the first from Djurdjān, the second from al-Rayy (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1295-6).

Seeing himself surrounded, Māzyār tried to disencumber himself of the prisoners by rousing *al-akara al-mukhtārīn min bayn al-dahāḳīn*, but his manœuvre miscarried (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1278-80 and not 1269, which has inspired more than one commentary of it as a social, agrarian, Mazdakite movement etc.). The collapse of Māzyār was quick; some soldiers of Sarkhāstān brought in some soldiers of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn with whom they had fraternized, and not Ṭamīsha was taken by surprise (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1278-80). Ḳārin b. Shahriyār surrendered all the heartlands of his possessions and the Sharwīn Mountains to Ḥayyān b. Djabala in exchange for the promise of his restoration as prince (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1282-3). Two

brothers, Muḥammad and Dja'far b. Rustam, rallied the soldiers of Rūyān and some fortresses of Kalān and Shālūs against their commandant, the brother of al-Durrī, who had surrendered to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1299). Having learnt of these successes and the execution of Sarkhāstān and al-Durrī, who had both tried to take flight, the inhabitants of Sāriya and of Marraw rebelled the same day, the 13th Sha'bān 225/18th June 840 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1299). The decisive blow was struck against Māzyār by his brother Kūhyār, who was sollicited by all the generals to deliver Māzyār to them in exchange for his own restoration (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1286-8, 1291, 1296-7). Kūhyār delivered him finally to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn in Sha'bān or in Ramaḍān 225/June-July 840 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1299). Māzyār was escorted to Sāmarrā, where he arrived in Shawwāl/August (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1303). Al-Afshīn was not arrested until 4th Dhu 'l-Qa'da/5th September, not after having been denounced by Māzyār, but on the pretext of having been the instigator of the revolt of Mankdjūr in Ādharbaydjān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1305). His trial took place the very next day (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1303) and Māzyār was cited as witness for the prosecution. It is remarkable that Māzyār was only reproached in the course of his interrogation for having revolted and not for having abjured the faith. Māzyār accused al-Afshīn of being the instigator of this revolt, but his statements seem inconsistent and most sources say that he retracted (al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 583; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1298; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 363). Māzyār was condemned to be flogged, and expired after having received several hundred blows (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1303). The Ḳārinids disappeared as a dynasty, more especially as Kūhyār was executed by the Daylamī guards of Māzyār for his "treason" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1293-4). Ṭabaristān was thereafter administered by the Ṭāhirids (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 381, tr. 370).

Bibliography: Sources: Apart from the chronicles of Ya'ḳūbī, Balādhurī, and Ṭabarī—whose information is taken up by the *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*: *Historia Chalifatus al-Motacim*, Leiden 1849—Miskawayh, Bal'amī, Ibn al-Athīr, etc., one should note above all: Ibn Isfandiyār, *An abridged translation of the History of Ṭabaristān*, Leiden 1905 (Persian text completely edited at Tehran 1933), and Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Geschichte von Ṭabaristân, Rûyân und Mâzandarân* (Persian text), St. Petersburg 1850. Studies: H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, London 1928; idem, *Les dynasties du Māzandarān*, in *JA* (1938); M. Minovi, Māzyār, Tehran 1933 (2nd ed. 1954); Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris 1938; M. Azizi, *La domination arabe et l'épanouissement du sentiment national iranien*, Paris 1938; J. M. Unvala, *Numismatique du Tabaristan*, Paris 1938; M. Rekaya, *La place des provinces sud-caspiennes dans l'histoire de l'Iran de la conquête arabe à l'avènement des Zaydites (16-250 H./637-864 J.C.): particularisme régional ou rôle "national"?*, in *R.S.O.*, xlviii (1974), 117-52; idem, *Māzyār, résistance ou intégration d'une province iranienne au monde musulman au milieu du IXe siècle ap. J.C.*, in *Studia Iranica*, ii/2, (1973), 143-92.

(M. Rekaya)

ḲĀRĪZ [See ḲANĀT].

KARKADDAN, preferable to *Karkadann*, and KARKAND (fem. *karkanda*, Maghribī, *kerkedān*) are arabicized forms of the Persian *kargadān* from Pahlavi *karg*. They denote primarily the Rhinocerotidae of India and the East Indies including (a) the Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*), also called *mirmis*, *ziba'rā/zib'arā* and *sinād*; (b) the rhinoceros of Java (*Rhinoceros sondaïcus*), which al-Bīrūnī calls by its Sanskrit name *kunda*; and (c) the rhinoceros of Sumatra (*Didermoceros sumatrensis*), which is Persian *nishān*, becoming *nisyān* and *nūshān*.

Well before Islam and the Muslim conquest of Persia, the Arabs knew the African species of rhinoceros through Ethiopia. They kept the local names and arabicized them, so that the Black Rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*) becomes *ḥarīsh*, *ḥarīs* (from *arwaharīs*, *wārwahrīs*, "a large horned beast"), *khirtīt* and *khartīt*; Burchell's Rhinoceros or the White Rhinoceros (*Ceratotherium simum*) became *hirmīs*, *abū ḳarn*, *umm ḳarn* and *'anaza*. These pachydermata were known to the Romans; first, Pompey offered one to the circus games in 55 B.C. and Later, the Emperor Domitian depicted them on his coins. An excellent picture of one is preserved in the celebrated Palestrina mosaic. In Islam, with the arrival of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, the term *karkaddan* seems to have become synonymous with *ḥarīsh*.

Because they live in the same habitat, the rhinoceros is often found in literature associated with the elephant (see FĪL). They are both known for their weight and prodigious strength, but the elephant, long subjugated to the service of man in the Indies and Persia, was familiar to all, while the fierce and sensitive one-horned beast (*waḥīd al-ḳarn*, from the Greek μονόκερος) was almost unknown in the Near East. In fact, it became the source of a group of fabulous legends which resulted in the myth of the Unicorn, not only in Islam but also in Christianity. Popular credulity soon served to place it among the fantastical animals, and the *Ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, preserving this mysterious atmosphere in their *Rasā'il* (Beirut 1957, ii, 258-62), suppose it to be the vizier of the phoenix (*'anḳā' mughrib*) in the course of the animals' law-suit against man.

It should be remembered that the more or less extravagant accounts about China, the east Indies and this Asiatic animal which were already known in Persia had been channelled through India or heard from the mouths of merchants. It was highly praised for the special virtues of its nasal spur, which was believed to be a horn. In fact, it is only an excrescence of the skin made of compressed hair and without any bony support. It was, therefore, in simple good faith that one of the ancient Greek doctors, Ctesias, became the propagator of a fable which he had told to him. He had been in the service of Artaxerxes, and on his return to Cnide about 398 B.C. he compiled his *Persica* and his *Indica* (summarized 1300 years later by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople) in which he mentioned the "white donkey", the unicorn of the Indies (ἰνδικὸς ὄνος). The name is taken up again by Aristotle (*Hist. Animal.*, I, 118) and translated *ḥimār hindī* by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 123).

From the description given by Ctesias arose the perpetual confusion on the part of most subsequent authors, whether Muslims or not, between two animals: the single-horned rhinoceros and the swift Antilope Cervicapre with straight spiralling horns. This animal took pride of place in Hindu mythology. The confusion was carried over into Arabic by cosmographers, naturalists and lexicographers with the terms *ḥarīsh* and *karkaddan*. With certain writers these terms denoted only the rhinoceros, and then with others only the Cervicapre (so al-Ḳazwīnī and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī—see the margin of al-Damīrī, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 233). Finally, with a third group the two animals blended into a famous

quadruped figure like that already presented in Greek by the Latin zoologist Aelian (*De natura animalium*, XVI, 20) under the hellenized Indian name of χαρτάζωνον/καρκάζωνον. The Persian *kargadān* can be recognized in this word, and some philologists would see the Sanskrit *kartajan* (in the sense of "master of the wilderness"). By contrast the same Aelian speaks in another chapter (XVII, 44) of a ῥινόκερως, "horned nose", a formidable enemy of the elephant which he impales on his horn, but Aelian makes no comparison with the previously described "monoceros". Later, Pliny the Elder and then Julius Solinus (*Polyhistoria*, tr. A. Golding, 1587) augmented the unicorn's monstrosity by giving him a horse's body, elephant's feet, swine's tail, a deer's head and a long slender horn, with a terrifying appearance, in the middle of the forehead.

In the end, the animal became the terror of man and every beast in his vicinity fled "a hundred parasangs away". Such an animal had been supposedly produced by the crossing of an elephant with a mare, and it was the only horned soliped. It was famed for the speed of its running. According to the sources, the fertile female of the species carried its young from three to seven years, and the young acquired all its teeth in the first year so that it could push its head from its mother's womb and browse on the foliage in passing. As soon as it was born, it ran away swiftly to escape the licking of its mother's tongue which bristled with prickles, and this formidable licking was one of the "Chinese tortures" inflicted on condemned men.

The *karkaddan* could live 700 years, but was not able to reproduce until the age of 50. Its impenetrable leather was used by the Chinese to cover their breastplates, yet the monster was moved by the cooing of a turtle dove, whose company it sought. Similarly, it would dart to the side of a young virgin positioned in the forest to attract it. Pretending to suck at the milkless bosom, it would drop intoxicated (*nis͟hyān*) and give itself up to the hunters all around, who would kill it and remove its precious horn. This last fable suggests the famous "Lady of the Unicorn" story of mediaeval Christianity. But the main interest of this zoological rarity remained that single horn, with its special extraordinary properties (*k͟hawāṣṣ*).

In Arabic, one of the earliest if not the earliest occurrences of the *karkaddan* is found in the important anonymous chronicle [see AL-SĪRĀFĪ and SULAYMĀN] on India and China (*Ak͟hbār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948, § 28), on which most of the Muslim geographers and cartographers, especially al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūd͟j*, ed. and tr. Pellat, §§ 430-2), have largely drawn. Sauvaget translates as follows: "The *vichān* recorded in the region of Dharma is none other than the rhinoceros. It has on the front of his forehead a single horn and in this horn is a mark [which is] the representation of a creature like [for example] a picture resembling a man. The horn is entirely black and the picture placed in the middle is white. This rhinoceros is smaller in height than the elephant and it is almost black in colour. It resembles the buffalo but is so strong that no other animal has strength like it. It has no joint in the knee or the ankle; from its foot to its haunch is just one single member. The elephant turns tail before it. It chews the cud like oxen and camels and it is permitted [to consume] its flesh; we have eaten it. It is numerous in this Kingdom, in the jungle, and is found in every region of India; the horns which come from these beasts are very beautiful. In the horn there may happen to be the picture of a man, a peacock, a fish or even other pictures. The Chinese make belts of these and the price of them in China reaches 2,000-3,000 dīnārs or more according to the beauty of the picture." The *Chronicle* further adds that there were imported into China "ivory, incense, copper ingots, sea shell ... and this *vichān* which I have described and which is the rhinoceros".

The reason for the fame in China of the rhinoceros horn, itself called *karg/kark*, *k͟hirtīt*, *k͟hartūt*, and *k͟hutū* (see Ibn al-Akfānī, *Nuk͟hab al-d͟hak͟hā'ir*, in *Machriq*, xi (1908), 764 f.), which is given here, is not the only one. Indeed, the alchemists and magicians of antiquity in Ethiopia as well as in the Indies had noticed a chemical reaction, in that this organic matter swelled when brought into contact with certain poisonous products. This property immediately aroused the interest of eminent persons. Those who were ceaselessly exposed to intrigues and plots saw in this the "touchstone" to reveal poisoned drinks and dishes. The Chinese and Abyssinian princes then became accustomed to fashioning bowls, goblets and even the handles of knives from it, imagining that they would thus protect themselves from the treacherous intentions of their enemies. To plunge again into the realm of the fabulous, it was but a short step for the therapeutists from the idea of a poison test to suggesting it as an antidote, and from there they did not hesitate to attribute exceptional properties to the horn, whole or pulverized. From east to west it was presented as a panacea which was sought after at great expense.

The one who possessed this sovereign remedy was protected from the evil eye and spells; he escaped all accidents, including his horse falling; mere contact with the horn instantly cured colic and a woman in childbirth was instantly delivered by it; powdered and diluted it could be administered to cut short an epileptic fit and the convulsions of a maniac; it could even neutralize the effects of venom. Finally, and above all, this powder, called *obat* among the Asiatian pharmacists, was the most effective of a number of aphrodisiacs and was able to overcome senile impotence. In short, the product had such success that the apothecaries, druggists, healers and charlatans were not able to meet the demand and had recourse to substitute products, introducing not only *unicornum verum* but also *unicornum falsum* to the drug market. For most of the time, both of them were in fact no more than the long tooth on the spur of the narwhal (*Monodon monoceros*) *ḥarīs͟h al-baḥr*, the tusks of the walrus (*fīl al-baḥr*, *faẓẓ*) or even those of the mammoth exhumed from the Siberian soil. All this ivory would arrive from the far north by the fur-traders' route; Bulg͟hār [*q.v.*] was one of the chief exchange centres. The true rhinoceros horn actually reached China by caravans from the kingdom of Assam (*Ḳāmarīsa*), or by Muslim coasters which obtained it from the ports of the Irrawadi delta, from the gulf of Siam (Kirdand͟j), in Cambodia, Champa (Annam), Malaya [see BAḤR AL-HIND] and in the Red Sea from Ethiopia. Considering the fact that the traffic was so intense, if there had not been some falsification in the rhinoceros horn trade, this not very prolific animal would certainly have totally disappeared from all the countries which knew it for many centuries, as is the case in Borneo. A census of 1937 showed that only 70 were recorded in the whole of Malaya.

In the west, confusion persisted until the 12th/18th century about the identity of the one-horned beast/unicorn and this confusion had been reinforced by the way the Septuagint translators in their transla-

tion of the Bible into Greek had translated the Hebrew term *re'em*. The term occurs seven times in the Bible, three in the Psalms of David, and designates a fierce and dangerous desert animal they rendered as *monokerôs*, after hesitation, without any other precise details. The Latin Vulgate took over the name as *unicornus* and so established the unicorn in vulgar Latin.

Meanwhile, there were some clear minds on the Arab side which could not accept all these extravagant ideas about the position of the *karkaddan-ḥarīsh*; they were certain that they recognized in this term the true pachyderm, the Asian species as well as the African. Among these was the geographer al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, tr. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 191). Of course, al-Djaḥiẓ himself does not allow himself to tell stories about the animal, and he denounces the ridiculous credulity of the scholars of his time on this subject (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 124); but he was not able to draw the parallel between the *ḥimār hindī* of Aristotle and the *karkaddan-ḥarīsh*. His suggestion about the route followed by the horn-traders is particularly imaginative (op. cit., vii, 129). According to him, it arrived by caravans in Baghdād and left again by sea from Baṣra for China. Unfortunately, he does not say from where it came, and so it is not clear whether he is discussing the true horn from India or Abyssinia or the false horn from Lapland.

Two centuries later the naturalist and Christian doctor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djibrīl Ibn Bukhtīshūʿ [see BUKHTISHUʿ], a polyglot like his ancestors, removed all ambiguity by affirming that "... the *karkand* is the animal which the Arabs call *ḥarīsh* and the Armenians *ri'm*/*rīm* ..." (in *ʿIḳd al-djumān*, ms. *Dār al-kutub*, Cairo). It must be made clear that the Biblical *ri'm*/*rīm* has no connexion with the white gazelle (*Gazella leptoceros*) to which the Arabs later gave this name [see GHAZĀL]. With these far-sighted authors can be included other "debunkers" of the fabulous one-horned beast, invented by some traveller-explorers who had encountered the rhinoceros in the course of their wanderings in Asia. Among the Christians there was Marco Polo, who saw the pachyderm in Sumatra in 1291 and who gave an accurate description of it, though slightly permeated with disappointment (*Description du Monde*, French version by L. Hambis, Paris 1955, 243). *Ca.* 40 years later the Muslims had the evidence of the Moroccan Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*], who had had the opportunity of observing the beast three times in the Punjab in 734/1333 (*Riḥla*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 4). He was impressed by the size of its head and quotes the local saying that "the *karkaddan* is all head". Mounted on an elephant, he even had to take part in a hunt, together with the Sultan of that place, and he was able to see the rhinoceros brought down and the trophy with its horn displayed in the prince's encampment. But the traveller does not say whether or not he tasted the flesh of the animal, as did the writer of the Chronicle.

As the legends surrounding the *karkaddan* were gradually forgotten, the question of the permissibility of eating its flesh no longer met with any objection, for the animal was recognized as an herbivore. But in the Middle Ages, in an atmosphere charged with the miraculous, certain strict legal writers were able to envisage a prohibition on its consumption if it could be shown that the beast resulted from the cross-breeding of a mare and an elephant. The question has been resolved in time with more exact knowledge of the pachydermata. In our own time, in Islam as elsewhere, the rhinoceros is no longer regarded as a curiosity except in a zoo, and there are only but a few small Muslim tribes in black Africa who hunt it as meat.

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Iconography. In the plastic arts of Islam, the rhinoceros has not aroused the interest accorded to many other better-known animals, especially the elephant [see FĪL]. Without the legends and the wonderment provoked by its nasal excrescence the *karkaddan* would have remained completely unknown to Muslim artists in Arab countries, and so it is rather in the works of Persian, Moghul and Indian artists that almost true-to-life representations of the formidable pachyderm are to be found.

Arab painting itself seems to have been limited to imaginary interpretations of the fabled one-horned beast without defining it in any greater detail than the unicorn was defined in Christian iconography. It can be found depicted in the most varied of guises—antelope, equida, bovida, feline and, above all canida; this last is perhaps due to a linguistic type of confusion arising from the similarity of spelling in Pahlavi of *gurg* "wolf" and *karg* "rhinoceros". The "Histories" of Gushtāsp and Isfandiyār, as well as the accounts of Iskandar and Bahrām [*q.v.*], give examples of word plays between *suturg* (= "large"), *buzurg* (= "big"), *gurg* (= "wolf"), *targ* (= "helmet"), *tagarg* (= "hailstone"), *marg* (= "death)" and *karg* (= "rhinoceros") which are often difficult to explain. Further, these four creatures are believed to have succeeded in the exploit of killing a *karg* (= *karkaddan*), an exploit to be compared with one of the twelve tasks of Hercules (see W. Ley, *op. cit.*, 19). The rhinoceros can be discovered in very rare ʿIrāḳī manuscripts of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries included among the monsters and the fantastic animals. These are illustrated and describe various types of beast and cosmography like those of al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjā'ib*, in ms. B.N. Paris, no. 2775, 682/1283; ms. Bayer. Staatsbibl. Munich, C, Ar. 464, 678/1280; ms. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, no. 5451, *ca.* 782/1380); of Ibn Bukhtīshūʿ (*Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ms. Pierpont Morgan Libr., New York, no. 500, *ca.* 694/1295); of the anonymous *Naʿt al-ḥayawān* (ms. Brit. Mus., no. OR. 2784); of Ibn Durayhim al-Mawṣilī (*Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ms. Escurial, Madrid, no. Ar. 898, dated 755/1354; see E. de Lorey, *Le Bestiaire de l'Escurial*, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, xiv (1935), 1-11); of al-Djaḥiẓ (*al-Ḥayawān*, ms. unic. Bibl. Ambros., Milan, no. Ar. A.F.D. 140; see C. J. Lamm and O. Löfgren, *Ambrosian fragments of an illuminated manuscript containing the Zoology of al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *Univ. Års.*, Uppsala 1946); and of Ibn Ghānim al-Maḳdisī (*Kashf al-asrār*, ms. unic., Süleymaniye, Istanbul, Kara Ismail 565).

With the initiative of the non-Arabic styles from the second half of the 7th/13th century, and with the Persian schools which followed them up to the

12th/18th century, pictorial art took on a much more realistic approach in its treatment of animal subjects. In it the rhinoceros again became simply a large game animal, a trophy which every prince would like in his bag and which he tracked from high up on his elephant, rounding them up in great droves like the Sāsānid monarchs. The *Bābur Nāma* [*q.v.*] in its Persian translation of the 10th/16th century by ʿAbd Raḥīm K͟hān (ms. Brit. Mus., no. Or. 3714, fol. 352; [see FĪL], pl. XXIII, and S. I. Tulajev, *Miniatures from a 16th century manuscript*: *Bâbur Nâmah*, in *Marg*, xi (1958), 45-8), offers a typical example of a return to the more accurate forms of the animal (see Eletr M. Riad, *Birds and animals in Mughal painting*, in *Bull. Coll. Arts*, Baghdad Univ., i (1959), 12-18). The miraculous element has remained and it is a very commonplace animal, worthy of popular imagery, in what can be made out to be the rhinoceros in certain miniatures of the 10th/16th century, like the one which H. R. d'Allemagne has reproduced on the frontispiece of his fine work on Persia (*Du Khorassan au pays des Backhtiaris*, Paris 1911). He has taken it from a Persian manuscript (Collect. Verver), and it represents the animals coming in a delegation up to the mullah D̲j̲āmī [*q.v.*] to complain of their ill treatment at the hands of man, and the rhinoceros which walks beside the elephant has rather the profile of a bear. But it is interesting that the miniaturist has dressed it with the same elaborate ornaments as its noble neighbour, wishing thus to put them both on an equal footing and giving the impression that the *karkaddan* too was in the service of man. Also distinctly ingenuous are the animal figures illustrating a copy of the *Cosmography* of *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Aḥmad Miṣrī (*Ḳānūn al-dunyā waʿad̲j̲āʾibu-hā*, ms. Bibl. Musée Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul, Revan 1638, 970/1563) as are those of a copy of al-Ḳazwīnī ʿ*Ad̲j̲āʾib*, ms. Bayer. Staatsbibl., Munich, no. C Ar. 463, of the 12th/18th century), both designed for the intellectual curiosity of a very wide-ranging public.

Apart from the miniatures, the rhinoceros appears in the animal compositions of great woollen Indian carpets woven in the 11th/17th century and intended seemingly to decorate the mosques and palaces of the great Mug̲h̲als. The technique is Persian, but the motif is typically Indian, like the fragment preserved at the Musée du Louvre (Legs Jeuniette) and reproduced by G. Mignon (*Manuel d'Art musulman*, Paris 1927, ii, 383). Quite a fantastic faun can be seen there in dark tints, among which in lighter shades elephant and rhinoceros heads stand out clearly and with astonishing reality. Probably in an allusion to some legend, a hare rises from the mouth of the pachyderm towards its horned nose. Scenes like this evoke a mythology which is very strange to the Muslim world.

Investigations into modes of artistic expression other than the miniature and tapestry, by their negative results, lead to the certainty that these two techniques alone have given a place to the rhinoceros—and a very modest place in the light of those occupied by lions, panthers, cheetahs, gazelles and elephants, not to speak of the world of birds—in all the industrial and plastic arts of the Muslim world.

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ḲARḲANA (Kerkennah; local pronunciation: Ḳarḳna) is an archipelago lying off the eastern coast of Tunisia, 15 miles from the Sfax coast (between 11° and 11° 20' E. and between 34° 36' and 34° 50' N.). It consists of two main islands; to the north-east is the larger one of Kerkena (Cercina to the ancient world, S̲h̲arḳī to the geographers) and to the south, Mellita (Cercinitis). The first stretches from north-east to south-west in the shape of a spear head 27 km. long and averaging 7 km. in width. The second assumes the shape of a triangle with a base of 14 km. and a height of 7-8 km. Formely it was linked to the larger island by a causeway built by Romans, but it has long been separated from it by a narrow strait, al-Ḳanṭara, 800 m. wide and fordable at low tide; a narrow channel had been cut out to allow boats to pass through. To-day a road, which has replaced the ancient causeway, reconnects the two islands. The archipelago also includes seven inhabited islets, four of which border the northern coast.

The total area above sea-level is about 69 sq. miles of more or less arable land. The archipelago is supported by an immense underwater shelf which extends from Ras Kapoudia (La Chebba) in the north to the Maharès parallel in the south. It is partially separated from the "Channel of Kerkennah" where the depth of the water is almost 20 m. Otherwise, to find depths of 10 m. it is necessary to go up to 40 miles north of the archipelago. The depth of the water around these islands varies from zero to 5 m. with long, inshore stretches of one metre. Al-Bakrī (*Descrip. de l'Afr. Sept.*, 51) remarked: "In the sea around Sfax there is an island called Karkina, which occupies the centre of El-Casir. It is situated ten miles from Sfax beyond a sea which is dead and not very deep, and the surface of which is never rough." El-Casir here denotes the broad sandbanks, and because of these numerous banks it is possible to reach the south and south-east of the islands only by the "holes" (*baḥīra*—light depressions of 3-4 metres surrounded for several feet by shallows) and by the "wādīs". These underwater wādīs are vast depressions hollowed out in the middle of the sandbanks; they can be from 5-12 m. deep and as much as 300 m. wide. These wādīs never occur just on the coast and are all south of the islands or on the southern slope of a bank; they have been formed by swell currents and are maintained by the interplay of the ebb and the flow. An incoming wave is partially absorbed by the sand and it goes out again in "a little river in the shape of a hair". This then develops into a large wādī of which one or the other branch merges into a hole where the current carries away the silt.

The islands are very low-lying and the highest points of these little pieces of land, which hardly rise from the sea, scarcely exceed 13 m. But the "land" of the Kerkenians is not restricted to the 36 km. on which their archipelago is stretched, from the marabout of Sīdī Yūsuf (Mellita) to Bordj Inf al-Rakīk or to the little island of Roumedia. Their "land" also includes the many banks which surround the archipelago where they have "sown" their fisheries. Their maritime life is largely governed by the underwater geography.

The south-south-eastern coast is flat and almost rectilinear and the villages along it are numerous, but the north-north-eastern coast is very jagged and the water penetrates into the many *sebk̲h̲as* which alternate with arable beds on the larger island. There are no wādīs to irrigate an already mediocre soil or to alleviate the insufficiency of the rain (less than 200 mm. per annum). A few wells are used for the live-

stock and for watering the ground and most of these give brackish water. Before the sinking of an artesian well in 1953, the Kerkenians used cisterns for their drinking water.

History. The Greek authors scarcely mention Cercina (Herodotus, *Hist.*, IV, 195; Agathemerus, *Hypotyposis*, V.21,22; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.*, V.12,4; Plutarch, *Parallel Lives.*, Dion, 25, Marius, 40; Strabo, *Geogr.*, bk. II, ch. 5,20 and bk. XVII, ch. 3,17). Polybius, (*Hist. Gen.*, III, 96,12), states clearly that at the time of the second Punic war the consul Cn. Serv. Germanus landed at Cercina (217 B.C.) after he had ravaged Menynx (Djerba), and spared it only on the payment of a ransom of 10 talents of silver.

There are numerous details in Latin writers. In 195 B.C. while trying to flee towards Antioch from Syria to escape from the Romans, Hannibal took refuge at Cercina. But fearing lest he be followed by the boat-owners from the port, he had tents pitched for himself and his retinue, using yards and sails. He offered his hosts a sumptuous feast and leaving them to enjoy their libations seized the opportunity to flee (T. Livy, *Hist. Rom.*, bk. XXXIII, ch. 48). In 88 B.C. Marius and his son took refuge there in a fishing boat. At the time of the civil wars between Pompey and Caesar, Sallust received the order to take refuge with his vessels on the island of Cercina for "the republicans had laid up some provisions there". (*Bell. Afr.*, VIII, 2, 3 and XXXIV, 1-3). Towards the beginning of the Christian era, as a punishment for his culpable relationship with the daughter of Augustus, C. Sempr. Gracchus was sentenced to be deported there for fourteen years and he was executed in the year 15 (Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 53 and IV, 3). Under Diocletian the archipelago paid allegiance to Byzantium under the supervision of officials living in Hadrumete (Sousse). There were two cities there; Cercina on the larger island and Cercinitis on the little island of Mellita, of which there are still some remains on the northern coast. A type of Christianity seems to have developed there (*Notic. episc. Byz.*, 47), for ruins of Christian sanctuaries have been brought to light.

No more mention is made of the archipelago until the 5th/11th century. In 491/1098 it was in the hands of the Zīrids (that is to say, greater Ḳarḳana, for Mellita was used for pasture by the Sfaxians who sent their animals there (Yāḳūt, IV, 66-7). For the five centuries that Ḳarḳana was to be used as a place of refuge or a beachhead, it was raided several times and its population dispersed or carried off captive.

Taking advantage of the rivalries which separated the Ḥammādides and the Zīrids, Roger II of Sicily imposed his sovereignty on Mahdiyya and undertook a raid on Ḳarḳana: "It is certainly a fine island and is well populated, although there is no town there". (al-Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afr.*, ed. Dozy 1866, text 126-7, tr. 150). He took possession of it in 548/1153, but from 1158 he had to face a revolutionary movement. Ḳarḳana was recaptured from the Normans of Sicily by the lieutenants of the Almohad prince ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. A hundred years afterwards Peter of Aragon attacked Djerba (1284) and the islands of Ḳarḳana (1287). When Roger of Lauria captured them they were conceded to him "in fief to the Holy See with an hereditary title and under an annual rent of fifteen ounces of gold". It was conceded to Ramon Muntaner, the memorialist captain, by Frederick of Sicily from 1311 until 1315 with "all rights and revenues and the power to do as he wished with it for three years" (*Cronicá (1265-1336)*, ch. 265). Twenty years later, the islanders rose against the Christian powers and recovered their independence (1335). Under the reign of Abū Fāris, there were in 1423 fresh sightings of the men of Aragon. The Kerkenians could not resist; their population was decimated and a great number were taken prisoner—3,450 to judge from the *Fragment. Hist. Siculae*, (cols. 1095-6). In 1510 the archipelago became the bone of contention between the Turks and the Spaniards, and Peter of Navarre led an unfortunate expedition there against an island which he found almost empty "with a few poor Berber hamlets" (Marmol, *l'Afrique*, 536-8). For a time it became a vassal to the Spanish, but it was taken again by the Turks in 1560. It had to suffer a new Spanish invasion in 1576 in which 1,000 Kerkenians were taken captive, and 15,000 sheep were carried off. Other raids occurred in 1596 and 1611.

The people who remained in the seven villages mentioned by the *Relación anónima de los meritos y servicios de D. Alvaro Basan* (1576) "live on the produce of the palms and by fishing, raising numerous sheep, weaving wool and growing vines, figs and olives".

The Ḳarḳana islands were gradually repopulated. One account from the beginning of the 19th century mentions ten villages on the larger island and the small town of Mellita on the smaller one. The successive influxes of population were of very varied origin. Many came from eastern Tunisia, a few marabout families must have been of southern Moroccan origin, others came from little Syrte (Djerba, Zuwagha), but the houses, clothing customs and language all point especially to a sub-Sahelian influence. The case of Mellita must be examined separately, because this island was only recently populated by people from *blēd el-aʿrāb*, from semi-nomadic regions of the Sahelian or the Sfaxian hinterland. While the inhabitants of greater Ḳarḳana pronounce their words like city dwellers, those of Mellita have a bedouin type of speech.

The population of the archipelago scarcely exceeds 13,000 inhabitants, but more than 25,000 live on the mainland. Kerkenian emigration is beginning to develop since Ḳarḳana is no longer isolated. Indeed, for a long time the inhabitants were forced by isolation to be self-sufficient within a limited economic pattern and at village level there was a strong social cohesion.

Kerkenian life. As islanders the Kerkenians seek their subsistence and find their livelihood primarily from the sea. Isolated by the shallows which encircle the archipelago, these sea-folk try to take full advantage of them by erecting barrages to catch fish and establish fishing grounds (*sharfiya*) there. The palm tree is very extensive on the archipelago, and its branches mark the paths in the fishing grounds and serve as hurdles in the fishing traps. They hang up their nets (*drīna*) on the projecting points of the trunk. As lagoon fishermen, they also know how to take advantage of the natural habits of the fish like the flying mullet. To kill it they use the water falling from a simple channel (*dəmmāsat əl-bərr*) which is discharged into the sea in the direction of the flow. Overpopulation necessarily drove the workers more and more to the sea. A man by purchase or by hiring would lay claim to an area for fishing, such as the very smallest part of a sandbank, where it was possible to establish a fishing ground, set bait for the octopus or gather sponges.

The shallows extend very far out to sea. To travel among them the Kerkenians have devised a boat, the *lūd*, which is broad and without a keel and therefore well adapted to the contours of the sea-bed. They use it for going to sell their fishing produce on the coast and for going even far as Greece to deliver and trade

in dried octopus. Renowned as sailors, they have tackled the business of transporting goods from port to port along the coasts and they have crossed the sea as far as the Orient on board their two-sailed santel, which is well suited to them.

The coastal trading with the stops made on land gives them the opportunity to learn new techniques here and there and to bring back working materials, together with a useful replenishment of supplies. They obtain esparto (*ḥalfa maḥbūla*) in this way, and to gather this they have to go to the Sahelian hinterland or the gulf of the lesser Syrte.

The Kerkenian sea is not really sufficient to guarantee a food supply, so they have to look for complementary activities in the limited agriculture the archipelago permits or as craftsmen. They use everything from the palm-tree: the fibres of the trunk, the tigelles, the palm branches and the stem. Taking advantage of the magnificent retting bed for the esparto offered by the shallows, they undertake there the twisting of alfa for ropes or for plaiting baskets and camel panniers.

The day comes when the islander's ease of adjustment to difficult circumstances, his connexions with the coast, his success in his studies—Ķerķana benefits from an exceptional percentage of children attending school—give him the chance to emigrate, and then he will leave the archipelago, but not without leaving some of his family there. Doing seasonal activities or employment in the fishing or shipping companies, being a minor civil servant in the large towns, holding important management posts—almost 30,000 Kerkenians live in this way in Sfax, Sousse, La Goulette, Tunis, outside the archipelago to which faithfully they love to return: "*yā ķarķna, yā ķarķāra*", "O Kerkena, you always bring back your children to yourself!"

Bibliography: A very rich bibliography has appeared in A. Louis, *Les Îles Kerkena (Tunisie), étude d'ethnographie tunisienne et de géographie humaine*, Tunis 1961-3, 3 vols.; see also A. Louis, *Documents ethnographiques et linguistiques sur les îles Kerkena*, Textes en arabe dialectal avec trad., commentaire et glossaire, Algiers 1961-2.

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(A. LOUIS)

KARKARN [see BISBARĀY].

AL-**KARKH**, a loan word from Aramaic *karka* meaning "fortified city", "city" (Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, xx; Pauly-Wissowa, iv, 2122, 2124; *Supplement*, i, 275, 283). In Islamic times, the word is associated with various towns. Found in areas of Aramaic culture before the Islamic conquest, such towns are distinguished from one another by adding the name of their geographic location, *e.g.*, Karkh Baghdād, Karkh Sāmarrā (cf. Yāķūt, *Mushtarik*, 368-70; *Muʿdjam*, iv, 252-7).

In Baghdād, al-Karkh refers to a specific area (Bāb al-Karkh) and more generally to the whole of the west side below the Round City of Caliph al-Manṣūr, the founder of Islamic Baghdād (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 84; also Ibn Ḥawķal. ed. Kramers, 241-2). According to Yaʿķūbī, whose account reflects conditions of the 2nd/8th century, the limits of al-Karkh in length were Ķaṣr Waḍḍāḥ (north) and the Tuesday Market (south). The limits in width were the fief of al-Rabīʿ (west) and the Tigris (*Buldān*, 246; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, Maps III, IV and VII).

As the Aramaic name shows, the al-Karkh quarter was already in existence before the foundation of Baghdād by al-Manṣūr (145/762), as a small independent township said to have been founded by the Sasanid Shāpūr II (309-379 A.D.), and which like the other earlier settlements on the site of the future capital of the caliphs was no doubt mainly inhabited by Aramaic Christians.

Before the building of the city of al-Manṣūr, the old market of the west side (Sūķ Baghdād) was situated in al-Karkh, and there is reason to believe that the Karkh markets continued to service the large population of that area when the Round City was built (Ṭabarī, ii, 910, 914). Towards the end of his reign, in 157/774 al-Manṣūr decided to redevelop the commercial districts to the south of the Round City and re-locate certain markets that had been situated there. To this end government funds were allocated to various entrepreneurs to build their own establishments in al-Karkh. The government on its part also widened the network of roads leading in and out of the suburb (Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Cairo, i, 79-82; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii, 323-4; Yaʿķūbī, *Buldān*, 241).

Al-Karkh was watered by the Nahr ʿĪsā [*q.v.*], the most northerly large canal of the Euphrates in ʿIrāķ, as well as by its branches, the Ṣarāt and the Karkhāyā. The latter is the "Karkhian Canal" which left the Nahr ʿĪsā below the small town of al-Muḥawwal near the village of al-Barāthā (see Yāķūt, i, 665) and supplied the southern part of the western half of Baghdād, *i.e.*, the mercantile quarter and its neighbourhood, with its branch channels, which in places ran underground. Numerous bridges carried the busy traffic over it. On the Karkhāyā and its canal system see Ibn Serapion, ed. Le Strange in *JRAS* (1895), 17-26, 286-8, 292-3; Suhrāb, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ed. von Mžik, 123-4; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Cairo, i, 79-82; Yāķūt, ii, 252; Streck, *Babylonien*, 85-90; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 52-56, 63-80; Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, ii, 110. What made al-Karkh commercially advantageous was this intricate network of canals, the most important of which was the Ṣarāt, a waterway large enough to allow for the passage of deep boats, and which connected the Euphrates and the Tigris, the major river systems of ʿIrāķ.

The suburb, which had its own Friday mosque, was probably considered a municipal entity unto itself, one of several urban aggregations which made up the general metropolitan environment (J. Lassner, in *JESHO*, x, 53-63). Detailed descriptions of the various locations in al-Karkh are preserved by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Yaʿķūbī, and the unedited Mashhad Ms. of Ibn al-Faķīh, *K. al-Buldān*. The most systematic

presentation is that of Suhrāb, *Aʿdjāʾib* = Ibn Serapion, which is arranged according to canalization.

Al-Karkh was heavily populated by Shīʿīs, and beginning in the 4th/10th century, frequent altercations took place between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs, particularly from the neighbouring Bāb al-Baṣra and Bāb al-Muḥawwal quarters. The area suffered considerable damage during the period of Būyid decline and that of the Saldjūḳs which followed, as the government found neither the inclination nor the funds to sustain the markets (M. Canard, *Baghdād au IVe siècle de l'hégire*, in *Arabica*, ix (1964), 268-87; G. Makdisi, *The Topography of Eleventh Century Baghdad: Materials and Notes*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 178-97, 281-309). Under the Būyids, who had ʿAlid sympathies, the already frequent encounters and frictions between the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs of the capital became more and more serious. Bloody street fighting between the two hostile sects, often accompanied by pillaging and incendiarism, was the order of the day. Al-Karkh was usually in the very centre of this civil strife; its inhabitants were always at daggers drawn with the Sunnīs of the adjoining quarters (Bāb al-Baṣra, etc.). Djalāl al-Dawla (416-35/1024-44), under whom the situation had become unusually serious, was even on one occasion, in 422/1031, reduced to take refuge with his Shīʿī co-religionists in al-Karkh. In 445/1053 a considerable part of al-Karkh was laid in ashes as a result of these feuds. A great fire had previously devastated al-Karkh under the Caliph al-Wāthiḳ (227/842-232/847), but the destruction was very soon made good. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (5th/11th century) observes that much of the canal system had become silted up in his time and no trace of them can be found today. By the modern period, this once great urban area had been reduced to a truncated section along the river bank.

In course of time, numerous mosques and tombs arose in the area of al-Karkh in the wider sense, by which the whole southern half of Baghdād west of the Tigris was often meant. The most celebrated is the tomb-mosque of the local saint Maʿrūf b. al-Fayzurān al-Karkhī (d. 200/816) and the alleged tomb of Zubayda, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, barely 300 yards south of it. Both mausoleums still exist and are important starting points for studying the topography of old Baghdād. In their present form they were renovated by Caliph al-Nāṣir (575/1180-622/1225), but they have been frequently restored since then. On the tomb of al-Karkhī, which as early as the 3rd/9th century was one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in Baghdād and which lies in the middle of an impressive cemetery as in the ʿAbbāsid period, cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, 159; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 98-100, 350; Massignon, *Mission*, 49, 108; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii, 172-3. For the so-called grave of Zubayda, see Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 100, 161 f., 350 f.; Massignon, *op. cit.*, 108 f.; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 173. On other mosques and tombs in the west side of Baghdād see Massignon, *op. cit.*, 64 f., 94 f.

Al-Karkh was not only the largest but also the most long-lived quarter of the western half of Baghdād. When the quarters around it had gradually fallen into ruins, it stood quite isolated—as early as Yāḳūt's day for example (beginning of the 7th/13th cent.)—like a separate town, as it had been in the earliest period after the foundation of Baghdād. It was a mile distant from the then still inhabited quarter of Bāb al-Baṣra (in the southeast of the old Round City of al-Manṣūr). In the later Middle Ages (cf., for example, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the 8th/14th century) the name of the Bāb al-Baṣra quarter was not infrequently extended to all the quarters of western Baghdād still standing, *i.e.*, even to include al-Karkh; cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 336; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii, 114 f. We may point out here that the topography of al-Karkh and its vicinity in Yāḳūt is not quite in agreement with the other sources. It appears that the local knowledge of the author of the *Geographical Dictionary* at the time of writing was no longer quite reliable, as many of the places had disappeared with no trace. This situation continued into modern times with al-Karkh consisting of but a fraction of its mediaeval environment (cf. Le Strange, 84, 159).

The other important Karkh was that of Ṣāmarrā, the second imperial capital which was built some 60 miles up the Tigris from Baghdād by the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim in 836. It was known as Karkh Sāmarrā and also Karkh Djuddān (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 255-6). The site, which is older than Sāmarrā, was originally situated at some distance from the palace area; however, as the city grew towards al-Mutawakkiliyya, it became part of a continuous line of occupation extending some 20 miles along the river front. Unlike Karkh, Baghdād which was entirely a commercial district, and was the only area of Baghdād that was entirely devoid of a military colony, Karkh Sāmarrā was a military cantonment housing some of the caliph's Turkish guard under the command of General Ashnās (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 258-9; Yāḳūt, iv, 256). Moreover, the Turkish forces were isolated from the general populace. They were permitted to marry only women chosen for them, and no commercial establishments other than a distributive outlet for foodstuffs was to be found there. With the decline of Sāmarrā many areas were abandoned, but al-Karkh continued to be occupied.

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(M. Streck-[J. Lassner])

KARKHA (kerkha), a river in Luristān and Khūzistān, whose source lies in the region of Nihāwand. Its upper and middle course is strictly a tributary of the mountain system of the Zagros, where the valleys run in the same direction as the chains, the watercourses passing at times from one to the other by short transverse gorges. From which results the uncertainty over nomenclature, the rivers changing name with the divided regions that they traverse.

The Karkha is made up of the union in the region of Nihāwand of a certain number of watercourses: Čashm-i Kāẓim, Sura Kunč, Kar Sara, Āb-i Kulan and Sīrwān Rūd. On the first part of its course in a north-west direction the river bears the name of Gamasāb or Gamasiyāb (corrupted to Garasiyāb). Then begins the crossing of some of the folds of the Zagros in a general south-west direction, during which the river receives its name of Karkha; in this region around Bīsutūn it is swelled by the Shādjū,

which itself receives the Kangars͟hāh, then by the Ḳara Ṣu from Kirmāns͟hahān and finally by the Āb-i Karind. Then striking the chain of the Kabīr Kūh, the river turns towards the south-east, taking the name of Āb-i Ṣaymara and receiving its first important tributary from the left bank, the Kas͟hgan, swelled itself by the Maydan, the K͟horramābād and the Kūlkū. On the right bank it is joined by the Laylum and the Āb-i Zāl.

After the confluence with this last, the river, having become the Kark͟ha again, begins its lower course towards the south, its powerful alluvia contributing, with those of the Kārūn, to the obstruction of the Tigris's course. All this region constitutes a genuine delta formed by the convergence of the Kark͟ha, the Kārūn and the Āb-i Diz. As soon as the Kark͟ha reaches the region of Pā-i Pul, the canals begin which link it to the Āb-i Diz and its tributaries, such as the Nahr Tabal K͟hān and the Nahr Dag͟hdarī. The ruins of Susa lie on one of its eastern branches, which later takes the name of S͟hawr. The Kark͟ha ends in the region situated to the south of Nahr Hās͟him, where it receives the S͟haṭṭ al-D̲j̲amūz, but one of its branches, thrown back towards the north-west by the thrust of the alluvia of the Kārūn, continues as far as the region of Sūsand̲j̲ird and the marshes of the Hor al-Ḥawīza (al-Ḥuwayza).

In antiquity, the river was called the Choaspes, a tributary of the Tigris on the left bank, whose waters were so pure that they alone had the honour of being drank at the table of the kings of Persia. The Arab geographers refer to it without giving it a particular name, except, on occasion, that of "river of Susiana" (*nahr al-Sūs*). Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih locates its source in the district of Dīnawar and makes it a tributary of the Dud̲j̲ayl (Kārūn). Al-Yaʿḳūbī, while recapitulating this last source, makes the river rise in the region of Hamad͟hān and gives it the name of Hinduwān. Ibn Rusta speaks of a great river running at the foot of Mt. Bihistūn (Bīsutūn), with an important source driving five mills. On the two banks in the region of Nihāwand a black sealing-clay of excellent quality was extracted, according to Ibn al-Faḳīh. On the map of al-Iṣṭak͟hrī-Ibn Ḥawḳal, the Nahr al-Sūs is marked as watering the town of Susa and finishing near a watercourse (or canal), the Nahr Tīrā; in the riverbed lies the tomb of the Prophet Daniel, an object of veneration and procession on the part of the People of the Book, particularly during the periods of dryness. Al-Muḳaddasī, also speaking of the tomb, refers, with regard to the town of Baṣinnā, to a river called Tigris (Did̲j̲la), which is without doubt the Kark͟ha; the river in question ran within a bowshot of the town and drove seven mills set up on some boats. As for the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, it tells us that the river of S͟hūs͟h rises in "the environs of Kark͟ha on one of the spurs of the mountains of al-D̲j̲ibāl" and then runs towards the regions of S͟hūstar (Tustar) and S͟hūs͟h (Susa) which it irrigates; however, before reaching the boundaries of the land of Baṣunnay (Baṣinnā), this irrigation exhausts completely the waters of the river.

As a final note the bridge situated between al-Ṣaymara (Ṣaymere) and al-Ṭarḥān (cf. Yāḳūt, iii, 439, Schwarz, *op. cit.*, iv, 472), considered as a masterpiece of construction, may well correspond to the Pul-i K͟husraw on the Kark͟ha.

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(P. Schwarz-A. Miquel)

AL-**KARK͟HĪ** [see AL-KARAD̲J̲Ī].

ḲARḲĪSIYĀ (also Ḳarḳīsiya), a town in al-D̲j̲azīra on the left bank of the Euphrates, close to the confluence of the K͟hābūr, a little above 35° N. Lat. Ḳarḳīsiyā is simply an Arabic reproduction of the Graeco-Roman name (τὸ) Κιρκήσιον, (τὸ) Κιρτήσιον κάστρον or Κιρκίσιον (Κιρκισία in the *Notit. episcop.*, ed. Parthey, 87), Circesium, Syriac Kerkusion, Latin = castrum Circense, "the castle with the circus"; cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 3. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī in Yāḳūt, iv, 65, ll. 21 ff., still knew the etymology of the place-name (Ḳarḳīsiyā, arabicised from Kirkīsiyā, from *kirkīs* = Ar. *ḥalba*, hippodrome). The name Circesium for the place at the mouth of the K͟hābūr in any case first appeared, when a Roman military station was built there. This perhaps may have been even before Diocletian. It was, however, this Emperor who first made the place of great importance by making it a powerful fortress on the extreme frontier of the Roman Empire in Southern Mesopotamia. From this it seems quite impossible that Circesium could have been a latinisation of the Aramaic Karkā = town [see AL-KARKH], as Moritz, *Palmyrene*, 37, supposed; for the opposite view, see Streck, in *ZA*, xxvii, 259.

In the fourth century A.D. Circesium passed into the hands of the Persians by the shameful treaty made by the Emperor Jovian (363). The Arabs next captured it in the conquest of al-D̲j̲azīra. The occupation by the Muslims, which took place, apparently without fighting, under the commander Ḥabīb b. Maslama who was sent by ʿIyād b. G͟hanm, probably happened in the year 19/640, not 16/637, as many sources say. Cf. al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 176, and also 111, 175, 178, 179; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2478; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ii, 409 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, iv, 65 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i, 82; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 402, iii, 732, 755 f., 799. Ḳarḳīsiyā became the capital of the district of K͟hābūr in the province of Diyār Bakr. On account of its very characteristic situation, Ḳarḳīsiyā is mentioned by all the Arab geographers in their descriptions of the river-courses and roads, but no detailed account of it is given. The place probably did not attain any great size in the Islamic period either. The high percentage of Jews (500 families) found by Benjamin of Tudela in the second half of the 12th century there is remarkable; see his travels ed. and tr. Grünhut and Adler (Jerusalem 1903, Frankfurt a/M. 1904), i, 49, 21 f. and ii, 47.

In the history of the wars of mediaeval Islām, we find Ḳarḳīsiyā often mentioned. When ʿAbd al-Malik was engaged in his campaign against Muṣʿab, governor of ʿIrāḳ and brother of the anti-caliph ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, he had to devote his attention to

Ḳarḳīsiyā in 71/690, where the Ḳaysī Zufar b. al-Ḥārith was ruling independently and had successfully resisted the governor of Ḥims who had been sent against him. After a siege of some length, Zufar had to submit to the caliph's army; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 275 f.; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i, 431; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 115-6, 119-120, 126; Canard, *H'amdânides*, 138. In the wars fought in the 5th/10th century on Mesopotamian soil in the Ḥamdānid epoch, we find Ḳarḳīsiyā playing a part along with al-Raḥba, a day's journey down the Euphrates from it; cf. Canard, *op. cit.*, 492, 545-7. The rulers of Egypt repeatedly extended their power as far as Ḳarḳīsiyā, for example the Ṭūlūnid Aḥmad, from whom, however, the Caliph al-Muʿtamid's vigorous brother al-Muwaffaḳ was able to retake it in 268/881; see Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, in *Abh. GGW* (1876), xxi, part 3, 20. Several centuries later the Egyptian Sulṭān Baybars again advanced his frontier up to the Khābūr, when he took Ḳarḳīsiyā from the Mongols in 663/1264; cf. Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv, 96.

At the present day, the site of Ḳarḳīsiyā is marked by a miserable village of 30-40 houses and hovels of clay and an extensive ruined site adjoining it. It is now called Busayra (Besêra; sometimes written Buṣeyra); older travellers give the form Abū Seray etc. Busayra is probably a corruption of Abū Seray (as, along with other authors, Moritz, *op. cit.*, 37, thinks); it has been with less probability taken as a derivative from Basīr, the older name—recorded by Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ for 732/1331—of the present Dayr al-Zōr, as believed by Herzfeld. According to Herzfeld, the old name Ḳarḳīsiyā still survives locally in the form Ḳarḳīsa.

Busayra lies on an irregularly-shaped tongue of land formed by the Khābūr at its junction with the Euphrates and is about half an hour's journey distant from its mouth. Communication with the hinterland is broken by a ditch so that we have a well-marked peninsula. The plan of the old fortress can still be easily recognised; it forms a rectangle, the longer side of which runs along the Khābūr, while the shorter faces the Euphrates from which it is now about 1,000 yards distant. Four more or less well preserved towers and a fort-like building (praetorium, serai) can still be seen, from which Moritz (*op. cit.*) suggests that the modern name Abū Seray (Busayra) may be derived. The fairly extensive town lay to the north-east of the fortress and is still marked by numerous walls of earth. Descriptions of the modern ruins are given by Sachau, Moritz and Herzfeld; Sachau and Herzfeld also give plans.

The important part once played by Ḳarḳīsiyā as a trading centre as a result of the important roads which meet here—from Syria to Babylonia, Mawṣil to Syria—has in modern times been to a great extent regained by the town of Dayr al-Zōr [*q.v.*] on the Euphrates above mentioned, a few hour's journey above the mouth of the Khābūr.

Bibliography: on the town in the pre-Islamic period, see Pauly-Wissowa s.v. and s.v. Chabora; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 15, 139, 236, 1129, xi, 266-74, 695; Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon*, London 1853, 283 f.; Chesney, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1868, 250; Nöldeke in *Nachr. GGW*, 1876, i, 1 f.; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopot.*, Leipzig 1883, 286-8; Moritz, *Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene* = *Abh. Pr. Akad.*, 1889, 37-9; Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, Paris 1907, 294-7; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i, Berlin 1911, 172-4. Arabic sources: *BGA*, *passim*; Ibn Serapion, ed. G. Le Strange, in *JRAS* (1895), 10, 51; al-Ṭabarī, Indices; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 528, 739; Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, tr. Jaubert, ii, 138, 142, 145, 150; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 65; Ibn al-Athīr, Index; al-Dimishḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, 191; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske-Adler, i, 235, iv, 51, 509, v, 17; idem, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 273, 281, and tr., ii, 49, 57.

(M. Streck*)

KARKŪR, more exactly *kərkūr* (the word is only known in Maghribī colloquial Arabic, cf. Berber *akərkur*), "a heap of stones", and more especially "a sacred heap of stones". The cult of heaps of stones is extremely ancient and distributed all over the world. It seems to come not from an act of litholatry in the strict sense but from a rite of transference or expulsion of evil; the individual, picking up a stone, causes the evil of whatever kind that afflicts him to pass onto it—as the case may be, fatigue, physical or moral suffering, sin, the dangerous power that attaches itself to a man in certain sacred neighbourhoods, or all these things together—and gets rid of it by throwing it or depositing it with the stone on a place suitable for absorbing it; the accumulation of these expiatory pebbles forms the sacred piles of stones which rise all along the roads, at difficult passes and at the entrances to sanctuaries. Alongside of these, the throwing or placing of a pebble or the building of a little pyramid of stone often becomes one of the obligatory rites of the pilgrimage and the rite losing its primitive character has been sometimes taken for a true offering-rite. The piles of stones are often built at the place where a man has been killed and buried; this has been explained from the desire to bury more deeply a dead man whose spirit might be tempted to come out and avenge itself or, less plausibly, as a kind of homage to the dead; but this casting of stones can also be explained rather as a rite for the expulsion of evil (a dangerous place, the infection of death, proximity of disturbing magical forces). It appears, therefore, that we always find rites of purification as the origin here (a general view in J. G. Frazer, *The golden bough*³, Part VI, *The scapegoat*, 8-30, with a certain number of references relating to the Islamic world; French tr. *Le bouc émissaire*, Paris 1925).

Pre-Islamic Arabia knew the rite of casting stones and sacred heaps of stones. The rites of the *ḥadjdj* have preserved evidence of this, but several varying interpretations have been made [see djamra, ḥadjdj, radjm], and the sources give other examples (see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 188-95).

Islam found the cult of piles of stones in all or almost all the lands that it conquered and although orthodoxy looked askance at it, it had to accommodate itself, as to so many other popular practices, which owed their origin to paganism in the remote past. Piles of stones are especially numerous in certain regions [see radjm], but nowhere has their cult been so developed and is so vigorous as in North Africa, especially in the south of Morocco, where it has been especially studied by E. Doutté (*Marrakech*, Paris 1905, 58-108; *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, ch. x; see also E. Westermarck, *The Moorish conception of holiness* (*Baraka*), Helsingfors 1916, 26 ff.). There, one may say, there is not a pass, or ravine or cross-roads which has not its little pyramids of stones or its great *kərkūr* to which every passer-by adds his pebble, not a rustic sanctuary but has its sacred piles of stones.

Sometimes the *kərkūr* itself, as in other cases a spring, a tree or a rock, has given rise to a sanctuary which has become islamised in a marabout fashion. It is also very common to find under the aegis of a saint several of these cults combined—strange sanctuaries which perpetuate the ancient rites of paganism, still vigorous after twelve centuries of Islam.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(H. Basset*)

KARLÎ-ÎLI, also karlo-îli, "the land [see îl] of Carlo", Ottoman name for a district of north-west Greece (Acarnania and most of Aetolia), as corresponding approximately to the territories of Carlo Tocco I (1381-1430).

Carlo's father, Leonardo, had been created count of Cephalonia in 1357; he had extended his original dominions of Cephalonia, Zante and Ithaca to embrace the island of Leucas (Leucadia, Santa Maura; Turkish: Aya Mavra) and, on the mainland, Vonitza (1362). Laying claim to the Despotate of Epirus, in 1417 Carlo made himself master of the regions of Arta (Ambracia, Larta; Turkish: Narda) and Ioannina (Turkish: Yanya [*q.v.*]). At his death his territories extended to the south to the Gulf of Patras (Lepanto, Turkish Aynabakhtî [*q.v.*], remaining in Venetian hands); he had also acquired a foothold in the Morea with the port of Clarentza. When he died at Ioannina in 1430, leaving no legitimate heir, Memnon, one of his five bastard sons, appealed to Murād II against Carlo's nephew Carlo II (1430-48). As soon as Thessaloníki (Selānik [*q.v.*]) was taken, Murād sent Sinān Pasha, the *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli, against Ioannina, which surrendered (October 1430); Carlo II retained the rest of his dominions against the payment of an annual tribute. On his death (September 1448), the guardians of his son Leonardo, a minor, appealed to Venice for protection. The sultan thereupon took Arta (1449), and in 1460 Angelokastron was lost, leaving to Leonardo on the mainland only Vonitza. In 1479 Venice, annoyed at Leonardo's approaches to the king of Naples, did not include Leonardo in the treaty concluding the war of 1463-79. Meḥemmed II was already planning his descent on southern Italy, and found the pretext for attacking Leonardo's island principality in an alleged slight to an Ottoman *sandjakbegi* (probably a member of the Tocco family). Upon the approach of the fleet under Gedik Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], then *sandjak-begi* of Valona (Turkish: Awlonya [*q.v.*]), Leonardo fled, and Aḥmed Pasha occupied Vonitza, Santa Maura, Cephalonia and Zante. (In 1481 Cephalonia and Zante were recovered by the Tocchi, only to be lost to Venice; Venice retained Zante (until 1797); she had to cede Cephalonia to Bāyezīd II in 1485 but recovered it in 1500).

The earliest references to "Karlî-îli" in Ottoman sources are confused. The statement in ʿĀshîḳpashazāde (§ 56) that in 787/1385 Timūrtash Pasha raided "as far as Karlî-éli" has been condemned as a misreading (for "the land of Kraljević", *i.e.*, Prilep; see, most recently, Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes* ..., Munich 1967, 197-8), though H. İnalcık suggests that the reference is to "the land of Carlo Thopia" (see arnawutluḳ, col. 653b). ʿĀshîḳpashazāde seems again to be in error when, in describing (§ 130) Meḥemmed II's campaign of 864/1460 in the Morea, he calls certain fortresses there (Mistra, Leondári, ? Astros) "Karlî-éli", a statement repeated by Neshrī, Ibn Kemāl, Saʿd al-Dīn, etc.; nevertheless, southern Aetolia was evidently occupied by the Ottomans in the course of this campaign: see Hopf, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 136, and cf. Sphrantzes, ed. Grecu, 124 (a *subashî* in Angelókastron in autumn 1460).

When Karlî-îli was formally constituted a *sandjaḳ* (with Angelókastron as its *chef-lieu*) is not clear. It is not named by Promontorio de Campis (*ca.* 1475, ed. Babinger) among the 17 *sandjaḳ*s of Rūmeli; but the *djizya* returns for 894/1489 mention "*liwā-i Karlo*" (*Belgeler*, i/1 (1964), 101), and a *sandjaḳ-begi* ("*mîr-i liwā-i Karlî*") is named for 909/1503 (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsi*, Istanbul 1952, 481). (For slightly later appearances of Karlî-îli in lists of the *sandjaḳ*s of Rūmeli, see *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1953-4), 303; *Bell.*, xx (1956), 253, 260, and n. 170; and cf. *İA*, art. *Rumeli* (H. İnalcık), 771-2. For the number of households, overwhelmingly Christian, about this time, see *JESHO*, i (1957-8), 32).

The "*Beglerbegilik* of the Sea" [see djazāʾir-i baḥr-i safīd], created for Khayr al-Dīn (Barbarossa) [*q.v.*] in 940/1534, comprised at first, besides Gelibolu, only Rodos, Eghriboz and Midilli [*qq.v.*] (see Ramberti, in A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire* ..., Cambridge, Mass. 1913 (repr. New York 1966), 256, 259, and cf. for Ramberti's reliability, 314); Karlî-îli was added later, perhaps in 957/1550, when Turghud Reʾīs [*q.v.*], entering Ottoman service, was appointed its *sandjaḳ-begi* (see Aziz Samih İlter, *Şimalı Afrika'da Türkler*, ii, Istanbul 1937, 189 and 194, discussing Pečevī [i, 346-7] and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār* [Istanbul 1329, 67-8]); it certainly figures among the *sandjaḳ*s of this *eyālet* in the 11th/17th century, *e.g.*, *apud* ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *ca.* 1018/1609 (*JA*, ser. 6, xv (1870), 266); Koči Beg, *ca.* 1050/1640 (ed. A. K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 110); and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *ca.* 1056/1656 (*Tuḥfat al-kibār*, 147; his inclusion of Karlî-îli in "Rūmeli" in the Djihānnümā is an anomaly: he was perhaps here using a list of the 10th/16th century, see *İA*, art. *Rumeli*, col. 772b).

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 127-9) names seven *ḳaḍā*'s: Préveza (an error?), Aya Mavra, Vónitsa, Angelókastron, Xerómeron, Váltos and Vrakhórion. Evliyā Čelebi travelled through the region in 1081/1670. His itinerary is not easy to follow. He names six *ḳaḍā*'s (omitting Préveza) (viii, 626). The eastern boundary of the *sandjaḳ* (p. 623) is the Yîlan Čayî = R. Phídharis/Évinos. He describes further the townships of "Zebān" (Zapandi), "B.hūr" (Bokhóri, Hypokhorion), Mesolónghi, Anatolikó = Etolikón, and "Ḳālīve" (Kalivia).

Aya Mavra and Vonitsa, falling to Morosini in 1095/1684, were ceded to Venice by the Treaty of Karlowitz (Karlofča [*q.v.*], 1110/1699) (see further, for the history of the Ionian Islands, yedi adalar). At the end of the 18th century, Karlî-îli came under the sway of ʿAlī Pasha Tependelenli [*q.v.*]. In the very first weeks of the War of Greek Independence (1821-9), Mesolónghi and Vrakhóri had joined the revolt, and the district was the scene of much fighting. The northern frontier of the new kingdom, as finally drawn (1832), left all Karlî-îli to Greece.

Bibliography: W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908 (repr. 1964), index, s.v. Tocco; Fr. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Qarly-eli vornehmlich aus osmanischen Quellen*, in Εἰς μνήμην Σπ. Λάμπρου, i, Athens 1933, 140-9 (= *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* ..., i, Munich 1962, 370-7) (on members of the Tocco family in Ottoman service); Pīrī Reʾīs, *Kitabi Bahriye*, Istanbul 1935, 317-24; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 620-37; I. G. Giannopoulou,

Ἡ περιήγησις τοῦ Ἐβλιᾶ Τσελεμπῆ ἀνὰ τὴν Στερεὰν Ἑλλάδα in Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Στερεοελλαδικῶν Μελετῶν, ii (1969), 139-98, esp. 182-92; idem, Ἡ διοικητικὴ ὀργάνωσις τῆς Στερεᾶς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν (*1393-1821*), Athens 1971, esp. pp. 73-89, with further references; F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*², Paris 1826-7, iii, 438 ff.; J. C. Hobhouse, *A journey through Albania* ...², London 1813, i, 193-211; W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835 (repr. 1967), i, 106-75, iii, 488-578, iv, 1-43; D. Urquhart, *The spirit of the East*, London 1838, i, 45 ff.; *Grèce* (Guides-Joanne, Hachette), Paris 1911, 321-5.

(V. L. Ménage)

ḲARLOFČA (in modern Turkish, Karlofça; Carlowicz in common western usage), a town, now Sremski Karlovci, in northern Yugoslavia. It lies close to the Danube on the northern slopes of the Fruška Gora in Sirmium (Serbo-Croat Srem, Ottoman Sirem), 45½ miles by rail north-west of Belgrade. It has a population (1961 est.) of 6,390.

The first notice is of A.D. 1308, when it was known as Karon. In the later middle ages under Hungarian rule—its castle (*ḳalʿa*) was, as the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveller Ewliyā Čelebī pointed out, the work of the kings of Hungary—Ḳarlofča came under Ottoman rule in S͟haʿbān 927/July 1521, in the course of the campaign which culminated in the conquest of Belgrade. Its reduction was the work of the Bosnian *g͟hāzī*s under the future *beglerbegi* of Belgrade, Yaḥyā Pās͟hā-zāde Küčük Bālī Beg (F. Tauer (ed.), *Histoire de la campagne du Sultan Suleyman Iᵉʳ contre Belgrade en 1521*, Prague 1924, 47, n. 152; cf. Ferīdūn, *Muns͟hāʾāt*², i, 508-10).

In Ottoman sources, the encountered forms of the name are: in a late 10th/16th century *defter-i mufaṣṣal*, Ḳārlovčī/Ḳārlōčī (? = Hung. Karlócza); in the mid-11th/17th century, Ḳārlōfča; by the early 12th/18th century (Rās͟hid), Ḳārlovīče (this last form perhaps reflecting the by then current Austrian (*i.e.* German) usage of Karlowitz).

Under Ottoman rule, Ḳarlofča came initially under the authority of the *beglerbegi* of Belgrade; later, after the conquest of Budin and the formation of that *eyālet* (948/1541), Ḳarlofča became and remained subject to that place. Within the *sand̲j̲āḳ* of Sirem it formed a *niyāba* of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Varadin (Peterwardein). In the later 10th/16th century, according to a *defter-i mufaṣṣal* from the reign of Selīm II (B. McGowan (ed.), *Defter-i Liwā-i Sirem*, unpubl. Columbia Ph.D. thesis, 1967, 241-9 [= text, ff. 65v-68r]), Ḳarlofča possessed the largest Christian population in the *sand̲j̲āḳ*. Within the five quarters of the town was a civilian population of 487 households, all Christian. By the time Ewliyā Čelebī visited Ḳarlofča the population was partly Christian and partly Muslim. The collection of the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* and *bād̲j̲-i bāzār* taxes was in the hands of Ottoman officials from Budin; the *ḳalʿa* contained a garrison of about fifty officers and men.

Ḳarlofča's subsequent fate, and its sole claim to historical significance, were both determined by the course of the war of 1094-1110/1683-99 between the Ottoman Empire and Austria and her allies—Poland, Venice, and, belatedly, Russia—of the *Sacra Liga*. After the Ottoman defeat at Mohácz (1687), Ḳarlofča passed under Austrian rule. Its historical significance, however, lies in its almost fortuitous selection as the site for the diplomatic gathering generally known as the Congress of Carlowicz which assembled there in October 1698 and by the end of January 1699 had brought laboriously to birth a series of agreements regulating the territorial and other adjustments consequent upon the war.

Within the limits of this article no extensive treatment of the Congress of Carlowicz can be attempted. Lacking as we do not only a corpus of documents for the congress and for its essential diplomatic "prehistory", but even a satisfactory edition of the Turkish and Latin or Italian texts of the treaties themselves, recent attempts to place the Ottoman side of the congress proceedings on a more secure basis must be regarded as (in some ways) provisional. Some general remarks concerning the significance of the settlement may however be made.

Congress diplomacy, which had evolved rapidly in Europe after the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648) was for the first time applied to a settlement involving an Islamic state. Thus was brought about the simultaneous culmination and incipient erosion of the Islamic concepts of *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* which had determined in large measure the settlement of, *e.g.* previous conflicts between the Ottomans and the Austrian Hapsburgs. With the unwilling Ottoman acceptance of (a) diplomatic mediation (*tawassuṭ*) by the representatives at the Porte of England (Lord Paget) and the United Provinces (Colyer) and (b) the provisions in the treaties for a demarcated frontier, the assumptions which had hitherto determined the Ottoman state's relations with the lands of *dār al-ḥarb* were no longer tenable, and the military and diplomatic balance for the first time tipped steeply against them.

The Ottoman negotiators at Carlowicz—the *raʾīs ul-kuttāb* Rāmī Meḥmed Efendi and the chief dragoman Alexander Mavrocordato—were well aware of this long before the congress opened; indeed, there is much to recommend the view that the real transformation of Ottoman attitudes took place in a series of secret negotiations between ʿAmud̲j̲a-zāde Ḥusayn Köprülü, the Ottoman grand vizier, and the Austrian chancellor, Kinsky, with Mavrocordato and Paget serving as intermediaries, during the latter part of 1697 and the early months of 1698. The basis for the settlement which was then worked out was that of *uti possidetis*/*ʿalā ḥālihi*, *i.e.* that each side should hold what it possessed at the conclusion of hostilities. Ottoman diplomatic objectives, which went some way beyond the strict application of this principle, were to be achieved only in part at the congress, despite skilful diplomacy by Rāmī Meḥmed Efendi and Mavrocordato. The Ottomans failed to obtain the evacuation by Austria of Transylvania and its restoration to the rather ambiguous status which it had enjoyed before 1683, but were able to maintain their authority over the strategic salient of Temes͟hvar (Timişoara) as far as the Mures͟h and Tisa rivers. They were also able to hold the immediate hinterland of Belgrade in Sirmium and to retain a foothold in Slavonia and Croatia. Conversely, against Poland the Ottomans were obliged to relinquish the strong fortress of Ḳamaniče, which had never surrendered, and thus lost control of Podolia in exchange for Polish abandonment of claims to Moldavia. No permanent settlement with Russia was reached at Carlowicz: a truce for two years was regularised at Istanbul in 1112/1701. The latter stages of the congress were mostly taken up with the imposition of terms on Venice, the weakest of the Sacra Liga powers, who was in the end forced to give up her conquests north of the Morea.

No conclusive assessment of the Carlowicz settlement should yet be attempted. Diplomatically it was

perhaps less of a defeat for the Ottoman Empire than has been commonly accepted, and the Ottomans were able to withdraw from a disastrous war with their pride, if not their territories, intact. Within governing circles of the Empire the settlement nonetheless was to generate considerable opposition, particularly from military elements, and it is probably in these internal repercussions, leading up to the Edirne Incident of 1115/1703, as much as in the actual territorial adjustments, that its significance lies.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, vii (Istanbul 1928), 144-5. Meḥmed Rās̲h̲id, *Ta'rīkh*[2] (Istanbul 1282), ii, 415-74 (texts of treaties at pp. 449-73; western-language versions were published in *Flugschriften* soon after the conclusion of the congress, in Vienna, Venice and elsewhere; cf. also R. Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*[6], iii, London 1700, *ad finem*, for the first English edition of the treaties). For important Ottoman works still in MS. form, cf. the references given in the article by İ. Parmaksızoğlu, s.v. *Karlofça*, in *İA*. The account by J. von Hammer, *GOR*, vi (Pest, 1828), 636-78, is based in part on these, and is still useful on that account. The studies on the Congress of Carlowicz by Popovic (1893) and Munson (1940) are now superseded; the results of recent research by R. A. Abou-El-Haj are to be found in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton 1963) and in articles in *JAOS*, lxxxvii/4 (1967) and lxxxix/3 (1963), and *Islam*, li/1 (1974).

(C. J. Heywood)

ḲARLUḲ, early Arabic form K̲h̲arluk̲h̲, Persian K̲h̲allukh (whence frequent confusion in the sources with the K̲h̲aladj̲ [*q.v.*], Chinese Ko-lo-lu (north-western Middle Chinese *Kâr-lâ-luk), a Turkish tribal group in Central Asia. They were originally a small federation of three tribes (whence the name given to them in the Uyg̲h̲ur Shine-usu inscription ca. 760 of Uč Ḳarllḳ; the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 98, on the other hand, mentions seven tribes of the Ḳarluḳ), and comparatively unimportant. Their paramount chief never bore the title of *k̲h̲ag̲h̲an* or *k̲h̲an*, but in the 7th and 8th centuries had that of *élteber* (perhaps "possessor of a land or people"), one of only moderate rank (see A. Bombaci, *On the ancient Turkic title Eltäbär*, in *Proceedings of the IXth meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference*, Naples 1970, 24, 57-8), and Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī does not mention them amongst the twenty Turkish tribes listed in the introduction of the *Dīwān lug̲h̲āt al-turk* (tr. Atalay, i, 28). Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī does, however, mention the Ḳarluḳ in connection with certain Turkish words or phrases, and defines them as a nomadic tribe, distinct from the Og̲h̲uz, but, like them, counted as Turkmen (tr. i, 473, cf. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii, *A history of the Turkman people*, 78).

Our first information on the Ḳarluḳ comes from Chinese sources, which mention them as having been subjugated by the Western T'u-chüeh or Turks *ca.* 640-50. At this time they were a pastoralist people located on the upper reaches of the Irtysh River and north of the T'ien Shan. In the early years of the 8th century they passed under the control of the Eastern T'u-chüeh empire, and the Orkhon inscriptions mention the rebellion of the Ḳarluḳ against the K̲h̲ag̲h̲an in 711-14 (see Sir Gerard Clauson and E. Tryjarski, *The inscription at Ikhe Khushotu*, in *RO*, xxxiv/1 (1971), 27-8, 29). The Ḳarluḳ took part with the Basmll and Uyg̲h̲ur in the general upheaval which brought about the disintegration of the Eastern T'u-chüeh empire (743-5), but were in turn defeated by the Uyg̲h̲ur and compelled to move westwards towards Transoxania (on all these events, see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1900; Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesische Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)*, Wiesbaden 1958; L. N. Gumilev, *Drevnie Tyurki*, Moscow 1957; J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouigours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, Paris 1955).

They now come within the orbit of Muslim writers. According to Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 290, the boundary between the Ḳarluḳ and the Og̲h̲uz was the region of Isfīdj̲āb on the middle Syr Darya, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982), 97, cf. Map v, 279, places them south of the Issik-Köl, *i.e.*, on the southern fringes of the Semirečye. Their ruler now appears in Muslim sources with the title of *yabg̲h̲u* (Arabic form *dj̲abbūya*, probably reflecting a western Turkish dialectical pronunciation of the word), adopted equally by the chief of the Og̲h̲uz [see g̲h̲uzz]. There were also Ḳarluḳ who had penetrated southwestwards into the upper Oxus basin and Ṭuk̲h̲āristān, where Arabic sources mention them in connection with the Arab campaigns against the epigoni of the Hephthalites in this region; the prince of the Ḳarluḳ here also bore the title of *yabg̲h̲u*.

These Ḳarluḳ on the northern fringes of Transoxania were long a refuge for political and religious dissidents and refugees fleeing before the Arab advance into Central Asia; thus the Yabg̲h̲u, together with the local Sog̲h̲dians and the ruler of Tibet, supported the rebellious Arab governor in Samarḳand, Rāfiʿ b. Lay̲th̲, against the Caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd. Such contacts, however, probably disposed the Ḳarluḳ to reception of the Islamic faith and culture, whereas the more westerly Og̲h̲uz remained at a perceptibly lower cultural level. The campaign of the Sāmānid Amīr Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] against Talas in 280/893 struck into the heart of their lands, and commercial and religious penetration must have followed; the geographers of the 4th/10th century mention the existence of mosques in several towns east of Talas. The comparatively advanced state of the Ḳarluḳ at this time is reflected in the statement of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* that they were a pleasant-natured people, near to civilized folk in their living standards; the same source describes several of their settlements in the southern part of the Semirečye where some of the Ḳarluḳ practiced agriculture and whither merchants resorted (97-8, 286 ff.).

The royal family of the Ḳarak̲h̲ānides, who put an end to the Sāmānid amīrate in Transoxania at the close of the 4th/10th century and divided its lands with the G̲h̲aznavids, may conceivably have sprung from the Ḳarluḳ (this thesis is maintained by O. Pritsak, *Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden*, in *ZDMG*, ci (1951), 270-300); but equally possible candidates are such groups as the Čigil, Yag̲h̲ma, Türges̲h̲, etc., and it is strange that Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī, who sprang from the Ḳarak̲h̲ānid milieu, does not mention a Ḳarluḳ origin for the dynasty [see ilek-k̲h̲āns]. Some Ḳarluḳ tribesmen certainly remained as a nomadic tribal group within the Ḳarak̲h̲ānid dominions, for in the 6th/12th century we hear of tension between them and the Ḳarak̲h̲ānid k̲h̲āns; it was the pretext of help for the Ḳarluḳ at odds with Čag̲h̲rī K̲h̲ān of Samarḳand which enabled the K̲h̲ʷārazm-S̲h̲āh Il Arslan to invade Transoxania in 553/1158 (see Dj̲uwaynī-Boyle, i, 288-9; Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 148-9, 187-8).

At the opening of the 7th/13th century there were Ḳarluḳ rulers in the region to the north of the Ili River and eastwards from their earlier centre in the southern Semirečye, *e.g.*, in Almalīg̲h̲ and Ḳayalīg̲h̲,

where these Khāns were under the suzerainty of the Ḳara Khiṭāy [*q.v.*] (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 74-5; Barthold, *Four studies* ... i. *History of the Semirechyé*, 103-4). Ḳarluḳ tribal contingents joined the army of Čingiz-Khān in 616/1219 and took part in the invasion of Transoxania, but after the Mongol period, the name of the Ḳarluḳ becomes less frequent in the history of Central Asia, without ever disappearing completely. Thus the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, tr. Elias and Ross, 309, mentions a commander (*sirdār*) of the Ḳarluḳ tribe in Transoxania involved in warfare of the early 9th/15th century. At the present time, various Turkish groups of northeastern Afghānistān, in the regions of Badakhshān and Ḳattaghān, call themselves Ḳaluḳ or Ḳarluḳ; see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan, an attempt at a preliminary classification*, in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F. xxxv/4 (Lund-Leipzig 1939), 71-3 and index.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited above, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], index; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, chs. iii-v; Bosworth, *The Turks in the Islamic lands up to the mid-11th century*, in *PhTF*, iii, Wiesbaden 1970; *İA* art. *Karluklar* (Rahmeti Arat). The information of the Islamic geographers is utilized in Minorsky's copious commentary to the section on the Ḳarluḳ in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 97-8, 286-97. (C. E. Bosworth)

KARM (A.), the vine. To one who knows the official attitude of Islam towards wine [see KHAMR], the vitality of the cultivation of the vine in the majority of mediaeval Muslim countries may appear paradoxical. Nevertheless, it is incontestable, and is explained by the force of tradition in some countries where the vine has long been established, by the multiple uses of the grape (fresh fruit, dried raisin, vinegar, pharmaceutical uses, the lees as fertilizer, etc.), by the survival of non-Muslim communities, and also by the laxity of many Muslims themselves. This vitality is attested in particular, perhaps due to the written tradition, by the very considerable and exceptional place that the Muslim agronomists accord to the vine in comparison with the other species studied, from the easterner Ibn Waḥshiyya or the *Calendar of Cordova* to the Andalusians of the 5th/11th and the 6th/12th centuries, to whom we owe the essential part of that which will be summarized below. Their knowledge resulted from the combination of the data of the ancient authors, rediscovered and assimilated (with, in Spain, Junius = Columella added to the sources known in the Orient) with the intensive day-to-day experience constantly renewed.

To summarize this knowledge is difficult, since one of the principal characteristics of the cultivation methods described is precisely the meticulousness of their application and the multiplicity of the methods followed. Nevertheless, it appears generally that the vines cultivated, more numerous than in our days and transported by the Arabs from one end of their conquered lands to the other, did not remain stabilized and were the object of experiments of selection and acclimatization that we know particularly with regard to Spain (between the plain and the mountain, for example), but that were also tested in the East, where Ibn al-Faḳīh (*BGA*, 125) and the Persian agronomists of the Mongol period in particular preserve for us the names of various kinds of vines. The vegetative cycle of each vine-plant being different, the agronomists, applying the principle of the complementary nature of a defect and a quality (such as adaptation to dryness or humidity, etc.) mainly made use of the diversities of the climates and soils of the Mediterranean zone and the Near East.

Some systems of cultivation predominate in the Andalusian treatises: (a) The low vine, planted in holes or trenches (recommended, but little practised) about 1.40 m. apart, supported or in low clumps, thinned out very little in order to protect the grape against the sun: a method of cultivation reserved for warm sites; (b) The climbing vine, classical in the Mediterranean region, where the creeper was used as support for the fruit trees with shallow roots, whose height had to be controlled so that they did not injure the vine; in contradiction to the ancients, the Andalusians rejected the intercalary cultivation that exhausts the vine, and especially the association of the vine and the fig-tree. The best soils were alluvial, humid, but not saturated, according to the westerners, and also sandy according to Ibn Waḥsiyya, but one might also make use of the rich soils for the species that derive nourishment easily; the principle of complementarity took the place of the modern idea of forced cultivation. The choice of sites was adapted to the vines' wants; slopes and hillsides for the low vines, valleys and plains for the climbing ones, mountains in order to test the quality of a vine-plant; it was banned from the marshlands, sources of the vine's diseases. The preparatory work was a deep tillage with the spade, with trenches larger than the furrows of tillage in the earth of mediocre quality and holes for the good localities with a depth of at least 2 cubits (almost a metre) for protection against the sun. The surface work of the end of the first year was a loosening with the pruning knife to spare the roots, those nearest to the surface meanwhile being cut back to strengthen the deepest.

Reproduction in the nurseries was done in the form of taking cuttings, layering (*takbīs*) and sowing in a manner conforming to the practices of our days. The stratification was systematic. As for the shoots, cuttings and layered branches, it is often pointed out that they should not be planted together in the same hole, which proves that it was done. Most authors agree in recommending planting in spring, although the early species might be planted in autumn (hesitations that one would still encounter today); the Egyptian fiscal treatises speak of planting in February or March. The vinestocks, once tested for three years in very poor soil, they were transplanted in the vineyard chosen to receive them.

Well spread out fertilization was especially necessary in the planting and pruning, above all when vines were made to follow another vegetable insufficiently treated with animal manure, usual in the Middle Ages; it was reduced to a powder, and, according to an Aristotelian principle, the ashes of the stems of the plant itself were preferred; this preference for dry fertilizer is a particularly modern aspect of Andalusian viticulture. Irrigation depended on the climate, the soil and the plant chosen; watering by hand was frequently carried out in order to proportion better the quantity of water needed to obtain really syrupy and not-too-full grapes.

Among the measures taken to increase the vine's productivity, pruning (*zabr*) was the principle practised in winter with the iron pruning knife (*mindjal*) already described by Columella; the aim was to draw the sap towards the best developed wood. Grafting, already known to the ancients, was the subject of descriptions and experiments infinitely more varied among the Muslim agronomists. Everything was taken into consideration, form and colour of the

grape, the syrupiness of the juice, the early or late quality of the vine-plant, the degree of alcohol, etc. In order to improve the species for the achievement of precise needs, fantastic means were sometimes adopted (*e.g.*, grafting the vine on the olive-tree). On the technical level it was grafting by terebration (*taṭāʿama* according to Ibn Ḥadjdjādj cited by Ibn al-ʿAwwām).

Like today, the protection of the vine against diseases and bad weather distressed the vine-grower, who was impotent before the scourge. More than the Romans, the Andalusians feared the proximity of the sea and, with good reason, drizzle. The symptoms of diseases, very exactly described by Ibn Waḥshiyya, correspond to anthracosa, rust and jaundice; the remedy prescribed drew its inspiration from the curative panacea, namely a mixture of oil, wine and water applied to the stock of the exposed level; Ibn Ḥadjdjādj added straw there, which moreover protected against frosts.

Without our being able to furnish for all the Muslim countries the same precise details as for Spain and ʿIrāḳ, we can assert, thanks especially to the geographers' information, the presence almost everywhere of the vine, at least until the nomad invasions of the later Middle Ages, and often later: in Arabia, Mesopotamia, Iran, Central Asia, Syria, Egypt; in the Mongol period, Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī was still to see in Turkish Asia Minor the vines inherited from the Armenians and Greeks. The princely courts never had difficulty in providing wine, and the poets who used to sing of it must have had some acquaintance other than theoretical. The Crusaders must have developed the vine on the Syrian coast. There is no doubt, however, that the vine declined at the end of the Middle Ages, as much through the growth of strictness and conversions as through the interference of nomads. On the other hand, without it being possible here to make more than one passing allusion, it is known that the conditions of European colonization and international modern commerce led in certain Muslim lands, in particular in North Africa, to the development of new vineyards on some almost completely new bases, whose monocultural character, often excessive, in its turn presents some difficult problems of readaptation today.

Bibliography: Ibn Waḥshiyya, *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (uned., see IBN WAḤSHIYYA; the Egyptian sources analysed by Miller-Wodarg, in *Islam* (1953); on Andalusian agronomy see FILĀḤA, ii; the vine is dealt with by Ibn Wāfid, Spanish tr. and ed. Millás-Vallicrosa, in *al-Andalūs*, viii (1943), 281-332; Ibn Baṣṣāl, Spanish tr. by idem, in al-Andalūs, xiii (1948), 397-430; Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ishbīlī, MS. Paris B.N. 4764, fols. 64 ff.; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, ed. Bianquieri (mediocre edn.), Madrid 1802, French tr. Clement-Mullet, Paris 1864-7, chs. ii (fertilizing), vii (tillage), ix (pruning), xiv (diseases), xvi (preservation), (See Lucie Bolens, *Les méthodes culturales au Moyen Age d'après les traités d'agronomie andalous*, Genève 1974.) and pharmacological and botanical works, such as the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, new ed. and French tr. Ch. Pellat, Leiden 1961. See also *passim* the principal Arab geographers, Ibn Djubayr, etc. Among the modern works, see the general ones on the principal countries, such as, for Spain, that of Lévi-Provençal, for the Maghrib those of Brunschvig and Idrīs, for Iran that of Spuler, and the chapter of Petrushevsky in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v. For non-Hispanic Muslim agronomy, see Cl. Cahen, in *JESHO*, 1971. (L. BOLENS and CL. CAHEN)

ḲARMAṬĪ, pl. Ḳarāmiṭa, name given to the adherents of a branch of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*]. Originally it is generally reported to have referred to the followers of Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ [*q.v.*], an Ismāʿīlī leader in the *sawād* of al-Kūfa, whose surname Ḳarmaṭ (also Ḳarmaṭūya) is variously explained in the sources as meaning short-legged or red-eyed. It is to be noted, however, that the Imāmī scholar al-Faḍl b. Shādhān of Naysābūr, who died in 260/873-4, already wrote a refutation of the Ḳarāmiṭa (*al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Ḳarāmiṭa*). Thus either the missionary activity of Ḥamdān must have commenced long before the year 261/874-5 or 264/877-8, which the sources give as the date of its beginning, or his surname was itself derived from the name of the sect. The movement directed by Ḥamdān was, in any case, merely part of the general Ismāʿīlī movement of his time whose leadership he recognized. After Ḥamdān's revolt against the leadership in 286/899 and his subsequent disappearance, the term Ḳarāmiṭa was generally used for those Ismāʿīlī groups which joined this revolt and consequently refused to recognize the claims of the Fāṭimid caliphs to the imāmate. Sometimes it was pejoratively applied also to the Ismāʿīlīs supporting the Fāṭimid imāmate. The present article, however, will deal only with the history of the former groups and their relationship with the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī movement.

From the schism until *ca.* 300/913. The split of the movement in 286/899 left the Ismāʿīlī communities which repudiated the claim of ʿUbayd Allāh, the later Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mahdī, to the imāmate without united leadership and in a doctrinal crisis. In Mesopotamia Ḥamdān and his chief assistant ʿAbdān [*q.v.*] discontinued all missionary activity. ʿAbdān was consequently murdered by another *dāʿī*, Zikrawayh [*q.v.*], at the instigation of a relative of ʿUbayd Allāh residing in al-Ṭāliḳān. Zikrawayh, threatened with revenge by the followers of ʿAbdān, had to go into hiding. In 289/902 he sent his son al-Ḥusayn (or al-Ḥasan), known as the *Ṣāḥib al-Shāma*, to the Syrian desert in order to convert the Banū Kalb. Al-Ḥusayn succeeded in winning the support of the clan of Banū 'l-ʿUlayṣ and some of the Banū 'l-Aṣbagh, who adopted the religious name al-Fāṭimiyyūn. He was joined then by the *Ṣāḥib al-Nāḳa*, who according to the account of al-Ṭabarī was al-Ḥusayn's brother Yaḥyā, while according to the account of the sharīf Akhū Muḥsin, he was the aforementioned relative of ʿUbayd Allāh. The *Ṣāḥib al-Nāḳa* assumed the leadership, claiming to be a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. After he was killed during a lengthy, unsuccessful siege of Damascus in Shaʿbān 290/July 903, the *Ṣāḥib al-Shāma* succeeded him as the leader. He, too, claimed to be a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and assumed the titles *Amīr al-muʾminīn* and *al-Mahdī*. After vainly attacking Aleppo he occupied Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Baʿlabakk, and Salamiyya, the former residence of the leaders of the Ismāʿīlī movement, where he ordered a general slaughter of the Hāshimīs and other inhabitants. According to a Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī source, he had at first tried to lure ʿUbayd Allāh, who had left Salamiyya earlier in fear of the Ḳarmaṭīs, to return and assume the leadership. When his attempts failed, he pillaged ʿUbayd Allāh's palace in Salamiyya and killed all members of his family and his household who had remained there. After a severe defeat, the *Ṣāḥib al-Shāma* left his followers and tried to reach Mesopotamia, but was captured and executed in Baghdād in Rabīʿ I 391/Jan. 904. In 293/906 Zikrawayh sent another *dāʿī*,

known as Abū Ghānim Naṣr, to his followers among the Banū Kalb. They sacked Buṣrā and Adhriʿāt, again attacked Damascus, pillaged Ṭabariyya and the suburbs of Hīt. In Ramaḍān 293/July 906 Naṣr was killed by some of his supporters who wanted to gain amnesty from the government. Zikrawayh now sent another messenger to his remaining supporters announcing to them that the day of triumph and of his personal appearance was near. Joined by Zikrawayh's supporters in the *sawād*, they entered al-Kūfa in a surprise attack, but were driven out again. In Dhū 'l-ḥidjdja 293/Oct. 906, Zikrawayh came forth from his hiding place in al-Ṣawwān near al-Ḳādisiyya. They defeated an ʿAbbāsid army and overwhelmed the caravans of Khurāsānian and western Persian pilgrims on their return from Mecca killing most of the pilgrims. In Rabīʿ I 294/Jan. 907 Zikrawayh was wounded and captured in a battle and died a few days later. Many of his supporters were rounded up and executed. The Ḳarmaṭī revolts in Syria came to an end. Some of Zikrawayh's followers in the Sawād denied his death and expected his return. In 295/907-8 a *dāʿī*, Abū Ḥātim al-Zuṭṭī, was active among the Ḳarmaṭīs in the Sawād. He forbade them to eat certain vegetables and to slaughter animals. His followers were therefore named Baḳliyya [*q.v.*], a nickname which was subsequently applied to the Ḳarmaṭīs in the Sawād in general. Most of the Ḳarmaṭīs there clung to their earlier belief that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was alive and would return as the Mahdī.

In al-Baḥrayn, Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī [*q.v.*], sent by Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān, had begun his career in 273/886-7 long before the schism. After the murder of ʿAbdān he sided with the rebels against ʿUbayd Allāh and killed Abū Zakariyyā' al-Ẓamāmī, a *dāʿī* with whom he had previously cooperated. Abū Zakariyyā' had been sent before him, probably by Ibn Ḥawshab, the *dāʿī* in the Yaman (the *nisba* al-Ẓamāmī seems to refer to Ẓamām, a market town in Lāʿa where Ibn Ḥawshab first resided), and like Ibn Ḥawshab remained loyal to the Fāṭimids. According to the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, Abū Saʿīd, after killing Abū Zakariyyā' claimed to represent the Mahdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, who would appear in the year 300/912-3.

In the Yaman the two *dāʿīs*, Ibn Ḥawshab [see MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN] and ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, working separately in the region of Djabal Maswar and in the Bilād Yāfiʿ, at first remained faithful to ʿUbayd Allāh, though the loyalty of Ibn al-Faḍl was not above suspicion and his relations with Ibn Ḥawshab, the senior *dāʿī*, were at times strained. As both endeavoured to expand their territories, Ibn al-Faḍl proved more successful. After reoccupying Ṣanʿā' in Ramaḍān 299/May 912 he repudiated his allegiance to the Fāṭimid caliph, abolished the *sharīʿa*, and claimed to be the Mahdī. Rejecting the reproaches of Ibn Ḥawshab he demanded the latter's submission and besieged him on the Djabal Maswar for eight months. The siege ended in failure, though Ibn Ḥawshab was forced to surrender one of his sons to Ibn al-Faḍl as a hostage. Ibn al-Faḍl then turned Ṣanʿā' over to the Yaʿfurid Asʿad b. Abī Yaʿfur, who recognized his suzerainty, and returned to his residence in al-Mudhaykhira. After his death in Rabīʿ II 303/Oct. 915 his son al-Fa'fā' (?) succeeded him and killed many of his associates. Asʿad b. Abī Yaʿfur revolted and took al-Mudhaykhira after a long siege in Radjab 304/Jan. 917. Four months later he ordered the execution of al-Fa'fā' and other Ḳarmaṭī leaders and sent their heads to Baghdād, thus extinguishing the movement of Ibn al-Faḍl.

In the area of al-Rayy, the Ismāʿīlī community, known locally after its first *dāʿī* Khalaf al-Ḥallādj as Khalafiyya, was well established before the split. Circumstantial evidence indicates that it did not recognize the imāmate of ʿUbayd Allāh and continued to expect the return of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the Ḳā'im. The *dāʿī* Ghiyāth, after engaging in disputations with the Sunnīs, was forced to flee to Khurāsān, probably during the last decade of the 3rd century/903-13. There he predicted the coming of the Mahdī at a certain date. As the date passed without the prediction having come true, Ghiyāth, who had returned to al-Rayy, lost the support of his followers and disappeared soon afterwards.

Information about the early Ismāʿīlī movement in Khurāsān and Transoxania is extremely fragmentary. Anti-Ismāʿīlī sources state that the first two *dāʿīs* there were sent successively by ʿUbayd Allāh after his rise to power in the Maghrib in 297/909 and were active in Naysābūr. Yet there is evidence that Ismāʿīlī activity was important in eastern Persia from an early date. The fact that the Imāmī al-Faḍl b. Shādhān in Naysābūr found it necessary to write a refutation of the Ḳarāmiṭa may indicate their presence there before 260/874. At the time of the split al-Ṭāliḳān was a centre of Ismāʿīlī propaganda from where *dāʿīs* were sent to other eastern regions. A notice of the Imāmī author Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī writing *ca.* 290/903 indicates that at this time ʿUbayd Allāh's doctrine, which traced the imāmate after Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ through his son ʿAbd Allāh, rather than Ismāʿīl, had numerous adherents in Khurāsān. On the other hand, Ghiyāth, the *dāʿī* of al-Rayy upholding Ḳarmaṭī doctrine, during his stay in Khurāsān converted the amīr al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marwazī in Marw al-Rūdh. As a result, Ismāʿīlism spread throughout the provinces of al-Ṭāliḳān, Maymana, Harāt, Ghardjistān, and al-Ghūr, where the amīr al-Ḥusayn was powerful. It is thus likely that both Fāṭimid and Ḳarmaṭī Ismāʿīlism were strongly represented in eastern Persia during this period.

From *ca.* 300/913 to the accession of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz (341/953). In the first decade of the 4th century/912-23 the Ḳarmaṭī movement appears to have regained its ideological unity which prepared it for the great outburst of activity during the following decade. An important role in this process was played by the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* of the Transoxanian *dāʿī* al-Nasafī [*q.v.*], which introduced a Neoplatonic cosmology into Ismāʿīlī gnosis and reaffirmed the imāmate of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who was to return as the Mahdī. The book evidently soon gained wide acceptance in Ḳarmaṭī circles. Equally important was the activity of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], a disciple of Ghiyāth, who took over the leadership of the *daʿwa* in al-Rayy during this decade, dislodging the descendants of Khalaf. Abū Ḥātim displayed great energy, sending *dāʿīs* to Ṭabaristān, Iṣfahān, Ādharbaydjān, and Djurdjān and carrying on a correspondance with Abū Ṭāhir, the leader of the Ḳarmaṭīs in al-Baḥrayn. He seems to have claimed to be the lieutenant (*khalīfa*) of the absent imām having superior authority to all other *dāʿīs*, a rank that was also later held by the *dāʿī* of al-Rayy. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, governor of al-Rayy 307-11/919-24, the Daylamī leader Asfār b. Shīrawayh, and Mardāwīdj, the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty, came at least temporarily under his influence. The success of Abū Ḥātim's *daʿwa* among the Daylam is also indicated by the conversion of Siyāhčashm (killed *ca.* 316/928), Djustānid king of Daylam, in Alamūt.

In al-Baḥrayn, the Ḳarmaṭīs, after the murder of Abū Saʿīd in 300/913, remained peaceful until 311/923. In this year they began under the leadership of Abū Saʿīd's son Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī [*q.v.*] a series of devastating campaigns into southern ʿIrāḳ during which they sacked al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa repeatedly and raided pilgrims' caravans. Like Abū Ḥātim, Abū Ṭāhir at this time was predicting the appearance of the Mahdī for the near future, interpreting the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 316/928 as a sign for the end of the era of Islam and the advent of the final religious era. In 313/925 some thirty Ismāʿīlīs, whose *dāʿī* kept up a correspondance with Abū Ṭāhir, were arrested in the mosque of Barāthā [*q.v.*] in Baghdād. With them were found white clay seals bearing the inscription: "Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the imām, the Mahdī, the friend of God". In 315-6/927-9 Abū Ṭāhir led a new campaign threatening Baghdād itself, which he apparently expected to take. While he pushed as far as al-Raḥba, the Ḳarmaṭīs of the *sawād* of al-Kūfa, joined by the Arab tribes of the Banū Dhuhl, Rifāʿa and ʿIdjl, rose under their *dāʿīs*, among them ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, a nephew of ʿAbdān. They ravaged the area of al-Wāsiṭ and entered al-Kūfa by force, but were soon subdued by an ʿAbbāsid army. Those escaping joined Abū Ṭāhir as he returned to al-Baḥrayn. They stayed there and were known as the ʿAdjamiyyūn. Abū Ṭāhir's activity reached its climax in his conquest of Mecca during the pilgrimage season in 317/930. The Ḳarmaṭīs committed a barbarous slaughter among the pilgrims and inhabitants and carried off the Black Stone of the Kaʿba, thus palpably demonstrating the end of the era of Islam.

In Ramaḍān 319/Sept.-Oct. 931, Abū Ṭāhir handed the rule over to a young Persian from Iṣfahān in whom he recognized the expected Mahdī. However, events took a different turn from what had commonly been expected for the advent of the Mahdī. The date was evidently chosen to coincide with the passing of 1,500 years after Zoroaster (= end of the year 1242 of the era of Alexander) for which prophecies attributed to Zoroaster and Djāmāsp predicted the restoration of the reign of the Magians. The young Persian was said to be a Magian and a descendant of the Persian kings. Iṣfahān, his home town, had long been associated by the astrologers with the rise of a Persian dynasty which would overthrow the Arab caliphate. The chief priest of the Magians, Isfandiyār b. Adharbād, was executed a few years later by the caliph al-Rāḍī for his complicity with Abū Ṭāhir. The Persian ordered the cursing of all the prophets and the worship of fire. He then encouraged various extravagant abominations and put some prominent Ḳarmaṭī leaders to death. After some 80 days Abū Ṭāhir was forced to kill him and admit that he had been duped by an impostor. The episode severely demoralized the Ḳarmaṭī movement. The Ḳarmaṭīs from ʿIrāḳ left al-Baḥrayn and many, among them the chief of the ʿIdjl Abū 'l-Ghayth b. ʿAbda, apostatized, disclosing the secrets of the *daʿwa*. Tribal Arab Ḳarmaṭīs came to offer their service in the armies of Sunnī rulers. A group of seventy of them is mentioned for the first time in 320/932 in the army of the ʿAbbāsid general Muʾnis. Later sizable Ḳarmaṭī contingents served in ʿAbbāsid, Barīdid, Ḥamdānid and Būyid armies.

The leading *dāʿīs* were shocked by the episode in al-Baḥrayn, which hurt the reputation of the movement by the accompanying manifestations of libertinism and anti-Arab sentiment and by its disastrous end. The tendencies of Abū Ḥātim's *Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ*, in which he criticized certain aspects of al-Nasafī's *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl*, are best understood on the assumption that it was written after the events in al-Baḥrayn and was meant partially as a veiled censure of them. It uncompromisingly repudiates antinomian tendencies in the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl*, insisting that the sixth era, that of the prophet Muḥammad and Islam, had not been closed with the first coming of the seventh imām, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, as the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* implied. Only after his return would he open the seventh, lawless era. Abū Ḥātim's criticism of the *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl* was repudiated by other *dāʿīs*, among them Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī [*q.v.*], who in his *Kitāb al-nuṣra* defended most of al-Nasafī's views, including their antinomian implications. Despite such internal dissension the *daʿwa* soon regained strength, though engaging more in literary than in revolutionary activity. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who had been captured by the government troops suppressing the Ḳarmaṭī revolt in the Sawād in 316/928, escaped from prison in 320/932 and remained in Baghdād writing philosophically-tinged books which he ascribed to ʿAbdān. This was also the practice of other *dāʿīs* in ʿIrāḳ in this period, like the brothers Abū Muslim and Abū Bakr b. Ḥammād in al-Mawṣil and ʿAlī b. Waṣīf, who resided in al-Raḳḳa and later in al-Mawṣil. The sons of Ḥammād in al-Mawṣil and Ibn Nafīs in Baghdād were, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, high-ranking *dāʿīs* subordinate to Abū Yaʿḳūb, the *khalīfa* of the imām residing in al-Rayy. This Abū Yaʿḳūb was the successor of Abū Ḥātim (d. 322/934) and may well be identical with Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī who at this time did not recognize the Fāṭimid imāmate, as is evident from his *Kitāb al-nuṣra*. The Ismāʿīlī missionary activity in northwestern Persia remained successful in this period. The Sallārid al-Marzubān b. Muḥammad, ruler of Ādharbaydjān (330/941-346/957), and his brother Wahsūdān, ruler of al-Ṭarm, were both converts. On his accession al-Marzubān took ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar, an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*, as his vizier and permitted him to preach the doctrine openly. A coin of Wahsūdān minted in 343/954-5 attests his adherence to Ḳarmaṭī Ismāʿīlism. There is no tangible evidence that the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* during this period made any progress in winning over the dissident communities in the east. The story related by the anti-Ismāʿīlī polemicist Ibn Rizām that the *dāʿī* al-Nasafī, who during the last years before his execution in 332/943 was active at the Sāmānid court in Transoxania, imposed a fine on the ruler Naṣr b. Aḥmad, whom he had converted, to be sent to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḳāʾim, must be viewed with reserve.

The Ḳarmaṭīs in al-Baḥrayn also returned to their former beliefs, claiming that they were acting on the orders of the hidden Mahdī. Abū Ṭāhir carried out raids on a minor scale to southern ʿIrāḳ and the coast of Fārs and continued to obstruct the pilgrimage. After the failure of earlier negotiations, he reached an agreement with the ʿAbbāsid government in 327/939 under which he promised to protect the pilgrimage in return for an annual tribute and a protection fee to be paid by the pilgrims. The aggressiveness of the Ḳarmaṭīs now subsided. After the death of Abū Ṭāhir in 332/944 his surviving brothers, ruling jointly, continued his peaceful policy. In 339/951 they finally returned the Black Stone of the Kaʿba for a high sum paid by the ʿAbbāsid government, after having rejected earlier offers, including one by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr.

After the accession of the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz (341/953). The fourth Fāṭimid caliph, al-Muʿizz, from early in his reign made determined

efforts to regain the support of the dissident Ismāʿīlī communities in the east for the Fāṭimid cause. For this end he revised the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī doctrine so as to accommodate some of their tenets. Thus he reaffirmed the central Ķarmaṭī belief that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was the Ķāʾim, whose acts, he maintained however, were to be carried out by his lieutenants (*khulafāʾ*), the Fāṭimid imāms, who were his descendants. These efforts were to a good extent successful, though few specific details are known. Abū Yaʿķūb al-Sidjistānī, now the chief representative of Ismāʿīlī Neoplatonism, was won over and in his works written after the accession of al-Muʿizz fully supported the Fāṭimid imāmate. Al-Muʿizz permitted the introduction of the Neoplatonic cosmology into Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī doctrine, including the works of its earlier representatives, al-Nasafī and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī. Others of the dissidents, however, resisted his efforts. Ibn Ḥawķal, writing *ca.* 367/978, refers to the numerous Ismāʿīlī community in Ādharbaydjān as Baķliyya, indicating their Ķarmaṭī persuasion. The sharīf Akhū Muḥsin shortly after 372/983 states that the school of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā in Baghdād conserving the doctrinal heritage of ʿAbdān continued to exist in his time. Most notable, however, was the failure of al-Muʿizz to win the allegiance of the Ķarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn.

The encyclopaedia of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* [*q.v.*], composed in al-Baṣra about the middle of the 4th century/*ca.* 960 by a group of secretaries and scholars, should be regarded as an attempt to reunite the non-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs on a common doctrinal basis countering the ideological offensive of the Fāṭimid. While adopting the Neoplatonic cosmology, the authors avoided touching on the points which had previously provoked controversy among the *dāʿīs*. They put their teaching under the auspices of the hidden seventh imām whose reappearance in glory they predicted for the future. They expressly affirmed that the descendants of the seventh imām had "fallen from his rank", thus repudiating the Fāṭimid claim to the imāmate. Written in al-Baṣra, at this time practically a dominion of the Ķarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn, the encyclopaedia must have had at least their passive approval if it was not actually encouraged or commissioned by them.

The latent antagonism between the Ķarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn and the Fāṭimids erupted into an open clash after the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969. The Ķarmaṭīs had before demonstrated their interest in the Syrian political scene by establishing friendly relations with the Ḥamdānids and the Ikhshīdids. In Rabīʿ II 353/May 964 they had pillaged Ṭabariyya. In 357/968 al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam [*q.v.*] invaded Syria at the head of the Ķarmaṭī army, took Damascus and, after defeating the Ikhshīdid al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭughdj, sacked al-Ramla. That the campaign had not been undertaken on behalf of the Fāṭimids is proved by coins minted in al-Ramla immediately after the withdrawal of al-Aʿṣam, on which the suzereignty of the ʿAbbāsid caliph together with the Ķarmaṭī rulers of al-Baḥrayn is recognized. In Dhū 'l-ḥidjdja 358/Oct.-Nov. 969, three months after the Fāṭimid army had occupied Egypt, a Ķarmaṭī army under al-Aʿṣam's cousins Kisrā and Ṣakhr again attacked and defeated al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh at al-Ramla, but then a peace was concluded under which the Ikhshīdid promised to pay annual tribute. As the main body of the Ķarmaṭī army withdrew, a small force was left and was defeated together with al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh by the Fāṭimid army conquering al-Ramla in 359/970. In 360/971 al-Aʿṣam, aided by the Būyid ʿIzz al-Dawla and the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib with arms and men, retook Damascus and al-Ramla, expelling the Fāṭimid army, and everywhere proclaimed the ʿAbbāsid suzereignty. He then besieged Cairo, but after a minor setback in Rabīʿ I 361/Dec. 971 he withdrew and returned to al-Aḥsā, probably because important internal decisions were pending there. By Ramaḍān 361/June 972 he reoccupied al-Ramla, defeating a strong Fāṭimid army. After the arrival of the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz in Cairo (Ramaḍān 362/June 973), he proceeded to attack Egypt by sea and by land while an ʿAlid ally invaded Upper Egypt. After a defeat before Cairo in Radjab 363/April 974, al-Aʿṣam returned to al-Aḥsā and then concluded a truce promising obediance in order to secure the release of his secretary Abū 'l-Munadjdjā who was captured by the Fāṭimid army in Damascus. The truce, under which al-Muʿizz agreed to pay the tribute formerly paid by the Ikhshīdids, was kept until the death of al-Muʿizz in Rabīʿ II 365/Dec. 975, but immediately after the accession of al-ʿAzīz a Ķarmaṭī army under Djaʿfar, Kisrā, and Isḥāķ, cousins of al-Aʿṣam, joined the rebel Alftakīn (Alptegīn) in Damascus and then occupied al-Ramla. Before the advancing Fāṭimid army under Djawhar, they fell back to Damascus. Strengthened by the arrival of al-Aʿṣam, Alftakīn and the Ķarmaṭīs besieged Djawhar first in Zaytūn al-Ramla and then in ʿAsķalān for about 17 months, finally permitting him to withdraw to Egypt. They were defeated by a massive Fāṭimid army under al-ʿAzīz near al-Ramla in Muḥarram 268/Sept. 978. The Ķarmaṭīs under Djaʿfar, who had taken over the command after the death of al-Aʿṣam in Radjab 366/March 977, left for al-Aḥsā and agreed to a peace under which al-ʿAzīz paid a sizable annual tribute to them.

After the death of the Būyid ʿAḍud al-dawla (372/983) the Ķarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn sought to reassert their hold over southern ʿIrāķ. In 373/983-4 they attacked al-Baṣra and had to be bought off by a tribute. In 375/985 a Ķarmaṭī army under Isḥāķ and Djaʿfar occupied al-Kūfa. As the Būyid government tried to reach a peaceful settlement, they began to confiscate crops and money in the country. The government, forced to act, inflicted two humiliating defeats on the awesome enemy near al-Djāmiʿayn. The Ķarmaṭīs were forced to withdraw and were permanently deprived of their influence in ʿIrāķ. In 378/988 al-Aṣfar, chief of the Banū 'l-Muntafiķ of ʿUķayl, defeated the Ķarmaṭīs severely, laid siege to al-Aḥsāʾ and pillaged al-Ķaṭīf, carrying off the booty to al-Baṣra. The Ķarmaṭīs lost their privilege of escorting and taxing the pilgrims' caravans, claimed now by al-Aṣfar and other tribal chiefs, and were reduced to a purely local, self-contained power. Little is known about their later history. In 382/992 they renewed their nominal allegiance to the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz, presumably in return for a resumption of the Fāṭimid tribute, which had been cut off after the victory of al-Aṣfar. These ties cannot have lasted long. During the reign of al-Ḥākim (386/996-411/1021) their relations with the Fāṭimid caliphate were hostile. Nothing is known about their relations with the later Fāṭimids. In religious doctrine they remained permanently apart from the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. Outside al-Baḥrayn, Ķarmaṭī communities after the decline of the Ķarmaṭī state were rapidly absorbed into Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism or disintegrated. No information definitely concerning such communities after 378/988 is available, though reports about a wealthy sectarian leader named al-Shabbās (d. 444/

1052-3) and his family, who had numerous followers in the *Sawād* of al-Baṣra, among the "Ḳarāmiṭa" and scattered tribes, may indicate a survival of some form of Ḳarmaṭī Ismāʿīlism in southern ʿIrāḳ.

In *ca.* 459/1067 the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn lost control of the island of Uwāl after an insurrection of the inhabitants and a defeat of the Ḳarmaṭī fleet. Soon afterwards, al-Ḳaṭīf was taken from them by a local rebel. In 462/1069-70 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-ʿUyūnī, chief of the Banū Murra b. ʿĀmir of ʿAbd al-Ḳays residing in the northernmost part of the province of al-Aḥsāʾ, rose against them. After a victory over the Ḳarmaṭīs and their tribal allies, he laid siege to al-Aḥsāʾ for seven years. Aided by a troop of 200 Turkoman horsemen from ʿIrāḳ, he took the town in 469/1067 and subdued a revolt of the Ḳarmaṭīs and the Banū ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa in 470/1077-8, putting a definite end to the Ḳarmaṭī reign. Probably in order to strengthen his rear against his Turkish allies, he had recognized the suzerainty of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir, who in Rabīʿ II 469/Nov. 1076 appointed the Ṣulayḥid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad as his overlord and protector.

The Ḳarmaṭī state in al-Baḥrayn. Ḳarmaṭī religious propaganda, though promising the replacement of the injustices and oppression of established Muslim society with a rule of justice and equity, did not elaborate a specific social programme. Some early experiments with communal ownership of property remained ephemeral. Historical factors and a concern for the welfare of Ḳarmaṭī subjects combined to produce a state in al-Baḥrayn whose order and justice evoked the admiration of non-Ḳarmaṭī observers like Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī conferred in major decisions with a ruling council known as *al-ʿIqdāniyya*, which comprised the most important officials of the government. Most prominent among them was al-Ḥasan b. Sanbar (or Shanbar), the head of a powerful family from al-Ḳaṭīf who had become an early supporter and father-in-law of Abū Saʿīd. After the latter's death, his seven sons joined the ruling council. In accordance with the will of Abū Saʿīd his eldest son, Saʿīd, at first succeeded to the leadership and was replaced by the youngest son, Abū Ṭāhir, when the latter reached maturity in 310/922-3. Abū Ṭāhir ruled with the aid of his brothers and a council of seven viziers, most prominent among whom was Sanbar, the son of al-Ḥasan b. Sanbar. After Abū Ṭāhir's death the leadership was held collectively by his surviving brothers, known as *al-sāda al-ruʾasāʾ*. The sons of Abū Ṭāhir, though highly regarded and property owners, remained excluded from the rule. In 358/969 Sābūr, the eldest son of Abū Ṭāhir, demanded the rule in succession to his father, was arrested by his uncles and died, probably murdered. Partisan strife within the ruling family persisted after the incident and in 360/971 the caliph al-Muṭīʿ is reported to have endeavoured diplomatically to restore concord. Numismatic evidence suggests that at least after the death of Saʿīd in 361/972 grandsons of Abū Saʿīd came to be admitted to the ruling council, though a position of pre-eminence was retained by Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, now the only surviving son of Abū Saʿīd. When Yūsuf died in 366/977, six of Abū Saʿīd's grandsons succeeded to power, perhaps representing the descendants of the six sons of Abū Saʿīd other than Abū Ṭāhir, whose descendants seem to have been permanently excluded. When Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited al-Aḥsāʾ in 443/1051, the ruling council continued to consist of six descendants of Abū Saʿīd, presumably co-opted, and six viziers, now apparently all descendants of Ibn Sanbar (Sanābira). Descendants of Abū Saʿīd called *sāda* were still known in al-Aḥsāʾ in the early 7th/13th century.

In the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal, the income from the fruit and grain estates in al-Baḥrayn was assigned to the members of the Ḳarmaṭī community (*muʾminūn*). This arrangement probably dates back to the time of Abū Saʿīd. The revenues from the customs received on the island of Uwāl on all ships passing through the Persian Gulf was distributed among the male and female descendants of Abū Saʿīd (*ca.* 400). All other revenues from taxes and fees, the tribute of ʿUmān, the protection fees paid by the pilgrims and governments, booty from military campaigns was disposed of by the ruling sons of Abū Saʿīd in agreement with Sanbar. Whatever was not used for purposes of government was divided up annually. One fifth was put into the treasury of the Mahdī, three fifths were distributed among the male descendants of Abū Saʿīd according to a fixed ratio, and one fifth was given to Sanbar for distribution among the members of his family (*ca.* 20). In Būyid times there was a Ḳarmaṭī customs house at the gate of al-Baṣra besides the one of the Būyid government. Permanent representatives of the Ḳarmaṭīs resided in al-Kūfa and al-Djaʿfariyya, a town in the desert near al-Baṣra which they had occupied. They were granted extensive land holdings in the region of Saḳy al-Furāt by ʿIzz al-Dawla and in the area of al-Wāsiṭ by ʿAḍud al-Dawla. During the reign of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and the beginning of the reign of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla a permanent representative of the Ḳarmaṭīs, Abū Bakr b. Shāhūya, resided in Baghdād and wielded considerable political influence.

The able-bodied Ḳarmaṭī sectarians living in al-Aḥsāʾ were well trained militarily and constituted the backbone of the Ḳarmaṭī army. In addition Arab tribal auxiliary troops regularly joined the Ḳarmaṭī campaigns. They belonged chiefly to the Banū Kilāb, who gradually seem to have been fully integrated into the Ḳarmaṭī community, and the Banū ʿUḳayl. In the last phase of the Ḳarmaṭī state the ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa of ʿUḳayl were charged with the external defence of al-Aḥsāʾ and were paid for their services by a share of the crops of the Ḳarmaṭī farms.

In the time of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 30,000 purchased negro slaves were employed by the council on the farms. No taxes or tithes were paid by the inhabitants of al-Aḥsāʾ. Anyone impoverished or indebted could obtain a loan until his affairs were re-established. No interest was taken on loans, and all local business transactions were carried out with token money of lead. Any artisan newly arriving in al-Aḥsāʾ was given a loan for the purchase of tools and material needed to establish himself. Repairs of houses were carried out by the slaves of the rulers free of charge. There were mills maintained by the government where grain was ground for the inhabitants without cost. Since the time of Abū Saʿīd prayers, fasting and other Muslim rites had been abolished. A foreign merchant had, however, been allowed to build a mosque for the use of Muslim visitors. People strictly abstained from drinking wine. Fine fabrics were woven and exported to al-Baṣra and elsewhere.

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104 f., 380-7, 389-96; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 25-7, 295 f., 349; *Fihrist*, 186-90; *Mudhakkirāt fī ḥarakat al-Mahdī al-Fāṭimī* (*istitār al-imām wa-sīrat Dja'far al-Ḥādjib*), ed. W. Ivanow, in *BFac. Ar.*, iv (1936), Ar. sec., 89-133. Substantial extracts from the lost anti-Ismā'īlī polemical work of the sharīf Akhū Muḥsin, which is well informed about the Ḳarmaṭī movement in 'Irāḳ but often unreliable concerning other branches of the movement, are given by Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, vi, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Cairo 1380/1961, 44-156; al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-ḥunafā'*, i, ed. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1387/1967, 151-202; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1280, 391-7; and al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, partially translated by S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, i, introd., 74-238. 'Abd al-Djabbār al-Hamadhānī, *Tathbīt dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthmān, Beirut 1966, 386-99, 594-614. *Ta'rīkh akhbār al-Ḳarāmiṭa*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut 1391/1971, contains relevant extracts from the history of Thābit b. Sinān, from *Bughyat al-ṭalab* by Ibn al-'Adīm and *al-Muḳaffā* by al-Maḳrīzī. Al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 212-14; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335, 109-12; Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī, *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār, Cairo 1357. The account of Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, Beirut 1958, iv, 181-95, which describes the leaders of the Ḳarmaṭīs in al-Baḥrayn as vassals of the Fāṭimids, is a historical construction without source value. Modern scholars have expressed widely varying views on the relationship between the Ḳarmaṭī movement and the Fāṭimids. See in particular: M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*², Leiden 1886; B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'īlism*, Cambridge 1940; W. Ivanow, *Ismailis and Qarmatians*, in *JBBRAS*, xvi (1940), 43-85; idem, *Ismaili Tradition concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*, London 1942; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and Ṭaha Aḥmad Sharaf, *'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī*, Cairo 1947; A. E. Bertels, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, Moscow 1959, 80 ff.; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959), 34-88; idem, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 43-135; S. M. Stern, *The Early Ismā'īlī Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 56-90; idem, *Ismailis and Qarmatians*, in *L'élaboration de l'Islam*, Paris 1961, 99-108. For Ḳarmaṭī coins, see G. T. Scanlon, *Leadership in the Qarmaṭian Sect*, in *BIFAO*, lix (1960), 29-48. M. J. de Goeje, *La Fin de l'Empire des Carmathes*, in *JA* ser. 9, v (1895), 5-30.

(W. MADELUNG)

KARMĪSĪN [see KIRMĀNSHĀH].

ḲARMŪNA (today CARMONA), town in Spain situated 40 km. to the North-East of Seville and numbering 24,738 inhabitants. The ancient Roman Carmo was conquered by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in 93/712 (Ibn al-Shabbāṭ and others say that it was occupied by Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād), and Ḳarmūna was the name given to a *madīna* and a *kūra* adjacent to those of Ishbīliya and Ḳurṭuba. Of ancient construction, Ḳarmūna was endowed with strong, stone walls, and its fortress was almost impregnable. According to al-Ḥimyarī (*Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, text 158-9, tr. 190), it possessed an arsenal, public baths and a great mosque with seven arches supported by marble columns. Situated on a hill, it dominated an extensive and fertile *vega*, amply provided with water and populated with numerous villages; the fields of the *vega* produced wheat and barley; there existed—and still do in our days—some quarries of limestone and clay, as well as garnets "which sparkled there in the night as though they were lamps" (Fagnan, *Extraits*, 62). The mountains of Ḳarmūna being populated by Berbers, the territory felt the effects of the great rebellions which affected the south of al-Andalus, notably that of the Yemenīs who supported the pro-'Abbāsid al-'Alā' b. Mughīth and who, in 146/763, besieged 'Abd ar-Raḥmān I in the town for two months. In 229/844 Ḳarmūna was the refuge of the Sevillians fleeing the Madjūs [*q.v.*], and, during the years of the agitation of the Muwallads, Berbers and Arabs of Seville against the Amīr 'Abd Allāh (end of the 3rd/9th century), it was one of the centres of the insurrection, and fell in 300/913 and 301/914 to the power of Muḥammad b. Ḥadjdjādj, who held it until the *ḥādjib* Badr was able to subdue in 305/917. Even before the fall of the Caliphate, it was governed by the Berber Banū Birzāl, who made it into a practically independent principality in 414/1023-4. During the war against al-Mu'taḍid, Karmūna was for some time, probably in 459/1066-7, in the hands of al-Ma'mūn of Toledo, who restored it by error to the petty kingdom of Seville. Occupied by the Almoravids in Rabī' I 484/May 1091, it passed to the power of the Almohads in 542/1147. For a certain time (555-6/1160-1) it was dominated by Ibn Hamushk. After its fields had been ravaged by the Christians in the time of Alphonso VIII, it was conquered and repopulated by Fernand III of Castille during the summer of 645/1247.

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(J. BOSCH-VILÁ)

KARNĀL, town and district of the province of the Pandjāb.

1. The town is situated a few miles W. of the Djamnā R. in 29°41′ N. 76°59′ E. and 73 miles (117 km.) north of Dihlī. It was in British times the administrative centre of a district of the Pandjāb, but historically and ethnologically it belongs to Hindustān rather than the Pandjāb. It is now in the Ambiala division of the Hariana province of the Indian Republic. In 1961 its population was 72,109.

The language commonly used by the inhabitants is a dialect of Western Hindī. It is no doubt a place of great antiquity, and the name is traditionally derived from Karna of the *Mahābhārata* (Karnālaya = Abode of Karna). But it was not of great importance in early times, and it is not mentioned in the accounts of the invasions of India by Maḥmūd Ghaznawī and Muʿizz al-Dīn. Its prosperity seems to have commenced with the construction of the canal from the Djamnā by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (see Shams-i-Sirādj, *Tarīkh-i Fīrōz Shāhī*, in Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, iii, 300). The country became productive and rich, and being on the direct road to Dihlī from the north became an object of attention to invaders and rebels. Thus in 980/1573, while Akbar was engaged in Gudjarāt, Karnāl, Pānīpat, and Sōnpat were plundered by Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā. Djahāngīr halted at Karnāl in 1013/1604 during his pursuit of his rebellious son, Khusraw (Elliot and Dowson, vi, 296, also Beveridge's tr., *Jahangīr's Memoirs*, i). In 1120/1708 during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, Karnāl was attacked and plundered by the Sikh rebels (Elliot and Dowson, vii, 419). But the most noteworthy event in its history was the great victory of Nādir Shāh over Muḥammad Shāh in 1152/1739 which was fought just outside the walls of the town. The imperial army was before the battle encamped on the banks of the canal, where it was re-enforced by the 30,000 cavalry of Burhān al-Mulk, *Nāẓim* of Awadh (Oudh). But Nādir Shāh's army was better disciplined and provided with abundant artillery, and the defeat of Muḥammad Shāh's forces was sudden and complete. After the break-up of the Mughal empire following on this invasion (and those of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī and the Mahrāttas), Karnāl and the surrounding district again became a prey to the Sikhs. Gadjpat Singh of Djīnd took possession of it in 1763 after the battle of Sirhind, but Nadjaf Khān recovered it in 1775. After this the Sikhs and Mahrāttas contended for its possession with varying results. The intrepid adventurer, George Thomas, drove out the Sikhs in 1798, but only held it for a short time. Gurdit Singh, the Sikh chief of Lādwa, then held it for a space until driven out by a British force under Skinner in 1803, after Lake's defeat of the Mahrāttas at Dihlī.

After these events, Karnāl became the headquarters of a British district and was until 1841 the most advanced military post towards the north-west. When the mutiny of 1857 broke out, Karnāl was held by the British with the assistance of the Sikh Rādjā of Djind and the Muslim Nawwāb of Karnāl, and remained an important link in the chain of communications between the Pandjāb and Dihlī. Its later history is uneventful. The canal originally constructed by Fīrūz Shāh and afterwards extended by ʿAlī Mardān (whose name it bore) in the reign of Shāh Djahān I, was entirely remodelled by British engineers and now irrigates a very extensive tract. The only building of importance is the tomb of the Saint Bū ʿAlī Ḳalandar (d. 725/1323), locally said to have been built by Ghiyāth al-Dīn (probably Tughluḳ), but the actual construction is a much more modern building. Both Pānīpaṭ and Karnāl claim to have this saint's tomb.

2. The district is in the Ambiala division of the province of Hariana lying between 29°11′ and 30°15′ N. and 76°11′ and 77°17′ E. Its area is 3,062 sq. miles (7,930 km.²), and its population in 1961 was 1,490,430. In addition to the Djamnā, the small rivers called Čitāng and Saraswati flowing from N.E. to S.W. traverse part of the district. Towards the end of the 6th century A.D. it became the centre of a powerful kingdom to which Harshavardhana succeeded in 606. He spread his rule over Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the Satladj and Gūdjarāt and was an enthusiastic supporter of Buddhism. After Harsha's death his empire rapidly broke up. The district was sacked by Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and traversed by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām whose defeat and subsequent victory over Prithwī-Rādj took place at Tirāorī, a small town farther to the south near Karnāl in 588/1192. This place is called Tarāīn and Talāwarī by the chroniclers. At this place there is a fine *sarāy* of the Mughal period converted into a fort by the Sikhs in the 18th cent. A few miles from Karnāl is also the small town of Kundjpura founded by Nidjābat Khān, an Afghān claiming Ghorghushti descent, in the time of Muḥammad Shāh. It was a fort in a marsh, and was called by its founder Kundj-pura, or the Crane's town; hence the family takes its present name of Kundjpuria. Nidjābat Khān afterwards took the side of Nādir Shāh but fought against Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. All the sovereign powers of the *Nawwābs* were taken from them in 1849. The *Nawwāb* Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān upheld the authority of the British Government during the mutiny of 1857. The *Nawwāb* Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān did good service to the British Government in 1857, and received substantial *djāgīrs*.

In the southern part of the district the principal place is Pānīpat [*q.v.*].

The other principal Muslims of the district of Karnāl are Rādjpūts of the Čawhān, Mandhār, Ghōrēwāha and Juriwar clans. Some of these clans have sections which still retain the Hindū religion. The conversion to Islam is generally asserted to have taken place in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ.

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(M. Longworth Dames)

KARNĀṬAK, properly the Kanarese (Kannaḍa) speaking district of southern India, Sanskrit *karnāṭaka*; the word seems to be derived from Dravidian roots meaning "black country", *i.e.*, the country with the "black cotton soil" which characterizes the south Deccan plateau. The region is approximately that of the modern Mysore (Mahisur) state; but it was already applied in mediaeval times to part of the Telugu-speaking region as well, as in the time of the Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*] kingdom. After the Deccan confederacy had defeated the Vidjayanagara forces at the battle of Tālīkoṭa in 972/1564-5 the Muslims took over the Vidjayanagara Karnāṭak lands, and used the term to apply not only to the plateau lands but also to the coastal lands on the east coast below the Ghāṭs; with European involvement in south India in the 18th century the term came to be erroneously applied, as "Carnatic", to the coastal region alone. In this sense it figures in the title of the *nawwābs* of the Carnatic, more correctly called *nawwābs* of Arkāt.

The town of Arkāt (12°54′ N., 79°20′ E.) became a hereditary holding in the family of Saʿādat Allāh Khān in the early 18th century; Saʿādat Allāh was a Nawāʾit (a Muslim tribe of southern India reputed to be of Hāshimite descent, driven from ʿIrāḳ by al-Ḥadjdjādj in the 2nd/8th century) who had commanded Awrangzīb's forces in the operations against Mysore. His nephew, Dost ʿAlī Khān (1145-53/1732-40), is usually recognized as the first *nawwāb*, nominally a dependent of the first Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād but in practice exercising considerable independence. The town and its surrounding district changed hands many times between Ḥaydarābād, English, French and Ḥaydar ʿAlī's armies, still held by the latter when the *nawwāb* Muḥammad Alī, an ally of the British, assigned the revenues of "the Carnatic" to the East India Company in 1781. In 1801 the full sovereignty of Arkāt and "the Carnatic" was ceded to the company by the *nawwāb* ʿAẓīm al-Dawla. The title of *nawwāb* was abolished under the governor-generalship of the Earl of Dalhousie in the 1850s.

The region is poor in Muslim monuments, except for the ruins of the fort at Arkāt and the *nawwābs*' palace, the *maḳbara* of Saʿādat Allāh Khān (inscr. 1145/1732-3) and the *Djāmiʿ masdjid* in the same town the tombs of Tipū's family at Vellūr ("Vellore") and the palace of the Vidjayanagara rulers at Čandragiri, where their capital was moved after their defeat at Tālīkoṭa, which contains much evidence of the Muslim influence in Vidjayanagara building styles [see HIND, Architecture].

Bibliography: See bibliography to ARCOT; further references in Pearson and Supplements, s.v. *Nawabs of Arcot*. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

KARRĀMIYYA, a sect which flourished in the central and eastern parts of the Islamic worlds, and especially in the Iranian regions, from the 3rd/9th century until the Mongol invasions.

(1). Origins. The founder, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Karrām (thus vocalized by Samʿānī, who says that his father was a vine-tender, *karrām*, but there is some support for the readings Karām or Kirām), is known from biographies, in *e.g.* Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fols. 476b-477a; Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, Cairo 1325/1907, iii, 127; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, *sub anno* 255/869 (abridged version in Leiden Ms. 1721, fols. 73b-75a); Subkī, *Ṭabaḳat al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*[1], ii, 53-4; and Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iv, 375-7. A prime source for all these, ultimately, was al-Ḥākim al-Bayyiʿ's *Taʾrīkh Nayshābūr*, which gave biographies of the *ʿulamāʾ* of that city.

Allegedly of Arab descent (his remoter ancestry is given in his obituary notice in Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 149, year 255/869), Ibn Karrām was born *ca.* 190/806 near Zarang in Sīstān, whence his *nisba* al-Sidjistānī. From there he travelled to Khurāsān in search of knowledge, studying under Aḥmad b. Ḥarb the Ascetic in Nīshāpūr, Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Mākiyānī in Balkh, ʿAlī b. Ḥudjr in Marw, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik b. Sulaymān in Harāt. He himself related traditions on the authority of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Djuwaybārī and Muḥammad b. Tamīm al-Firyānānī, whom he later discovered to be unreliable transmitters; because of his reliance on suspect authorities, the later opponents of the Karrāmiyya asserted that the sect allowed the fabrication of *ḥadīths* for inculcating the fear of God (*tarhīb*) and the desire for Paradise (*targhīb*).

After five years in Mecca as a *mudjāwir*, Ibn Karrām returned via Jerusalem to Nīshāpūr and then to Sīstān, where he sold all his possessions in favour of holy poverty and adopted the ascetic garb of rough skins, spreading the doctrines set forth in his treatise *ʿAdhāb al-ḳabr* (see below). The local governor expelled him from Sīstān for stirring up the common people, so he went to preach to the masses in Ghūr, Gharčistān and the rural areas of Khurāsān, denouncing both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. Hence when he arrived in Nīshāpūr again with a following of weavers and others from the lower classes, the Ṭāhirid governor of Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh (248-59/862-73), was justifiably suspicious; the Persian countryside had for long been disturbed by various politico-religious agitators and sectaries. Ibn Karrām was accordingly jailed by the governor for eight years until he was released in 251/865 (some sources state that he had already been briefly imprisoned during his first stay in Nīshāpūr by Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh, Muḥammad's predecessor as governor). He then left Nīshāpūr and ended his days in Jerusalem, where he died in Ṣafar 255/January-February 869, being buried near the Bāb Arīḥā or Jericho Gate (see Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-djalīl*, Cairo 1283/1866, i, 263).

(2). Doctrines. Ibn Karrām's theological ideas were set forth in his *ʿAdhāb al-ḳabr* (Punishment of the grave), referring to the questioning of the corpse in its grave by the two angels Munkar and Nakīr, whose identity with the two guardian angels over each living person Ibn Karrām taught [see ʿADHĀB AL-ḲABR]. The work attained considerable currency in its day, but is now known only from citations, principally in Baghdādī's *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 202-14, tr. A. S. Halkin, Tel Aviv 1935, 18-30; cf. also Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Milal wa'l-niḥal*, Cairo 1381/1961, i, 108-13, and Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa'l-niḥal*, ed. Cureton, 79-85, tr. Haarbrücker, i, 119-27. Baghdādī personally disputed with an adherent of the Karrāmiyya, Ibrāhīm b. Muhādjir, before the Sāmānid commander-in-chief in Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr, in 370/980-1, and exposed, so he claims, his abysmal errors. Another of Ibn Karrām's works, the *Kitāb al-Sirr*, is known only from two citations by Ibn al-Dāʿī, a later author.

A salient feature of Ibn Karrām's doctrines was, according to his orthodox opponents, that of literalism and anthropomorphism, so that many heresiologists counted his sect amongst the Mudjassima or Mushabbiha (though Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 205, made it a sub-sect of the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*]). Ibn Karrām considered that God was a substance (*djawhar*), thus approaching, in Baghdādī's view, the beliefs of the Christians, and that He had a body (*djism*) finite in certain directions when He comes into contact (*mumāssa*) with the throne, thus interpreting the much-discussed ḳurʾānic verse XX, 5, *al-Raḥmān ʿalā 'l-ʿarsh istawā*, "the Merciful One has sat down firmly on the throne"; some of his adherents later substituted the more ambiguous term *mulāḳāt* ("contiguity") for *mumāssa*. Ibn Karrām was also exercised by the questions of the eternity of the world and the ḳurʾānic act of creation, which he reconciled by subtle reasoning. In accordance with the difference between substance and accident, God is subject to certain accidents, such as willing, speaking, perceiving, coming into contact etc., over which He has power, but not over the world and the created object in it, which come into existence not by His power and will but by the divine fiat *kun*! Baghdādī holds this limitation of God's power over created objects which originate in His essence to be an innovation of Ibn Karrām's and to be especially abhorrent. Ibn Karrām also held that God has been eternally qualified by the names attributed to Him

from His acts, *i.e.* that He has been eternally a creator and sustainer of mankind because of an innate, even if unexercised, power of creation (*khālikiyya*) and of sustaining (*rāziķiyya*).

Concerning God's justice, Ibn Karrām held the moderate view that He does not permit the killing of children or of infidels who might come to embrace Islam at maturity or at some later point in their life. He also adopted a moderate view over the Imāmate, allowing that ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya could exist side-by-side as *imāms* requiring the obedience of their partisans, even though ʿAlī was *imām* in conformity with the *Sunna* and Muʿāwiya an usurper. He regarded faith (*īmān*) as constituted simply by a single utterance of the double *shahāda*, enduring for ever and only rendered null and void by apostasy; a person thus declaring his faith remains a *muʾmin* even if he is an unbeliever in Muḥammad's apostleship or is a hypocrite (*munāfiķ*). Nor were those holding heretical views (*ahl al-ahwāʾ*) to suffer punishment in hell eternally.

Finally, Ibn Karrām held distinctive views on certain legal points, most of these being in the direction of greater flexibility. He taught that the *ṣalāt* could be validly performed in dirty garments and with a dirty body, and he did not require the lesser ablution for contact with unclean objects, *andjās*; furthermore, he regarded the washing of the dead and prayer over them as only a custom (*sunna*) and not an obligation (*farḍ*) like enshrouding and burial.

The ascetic and pietistic strain was very strong in Ibn Kārram's teaching and practice, and did much to win over adherents in Khurāsān; it remained, indeed, a prominent characteristic of the Karāmiyya all through the sect's existence. This emphasis on *taķashshuf*, self-mortification, and *tawakkul*, utter dependence on God for all aspects of life, derived from his master Aḥmad b. Ḥarb (176/792-234/849), saint and ascetic, and author of a *Kitāb al-Duʿāʾ* mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, so that Ibn Karrām himself acquired the by-name of *al-ʿĀbid*, "the devotee". His preaching in the courtyard of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem attracted large crowds, the nucleus of the later strong Karrāmī community there; after his death, his tomb became a retreat-centre for his disciples, the forerunner of a special hermitage (*mutaʿabbad*) in Jerusalem, called by the Persian Ṣūfī term *khānaķāh* (see Yāķūt, *Buldān*, ii, 393, s.v. al-Khāniķa).

In their later theological development, the Karrāmiyya were, like other Islamic sects, to a certain extent fissiparous, without however these sub-sects departing significantly from the central teaching of Ibn Karrām. Baghdādī, 202, tr. 18, enumerates three sub-sects, the Ḥaķāķiyya, the Ṭarāʾifiyya (read thus, rather than Ṭarāʾiķiyya) and the Isḥāķiyya, but says that they do not regard each other as heretical. Shahrastānī, 79-80, tr. i, 119, says that there were twelve sub-sects, and names six of them as the Isḥāķiyya again, the ʿĀbidiyya, the Nūniyya, the Zarībiyya, the Wāḥidiyya and the Hayṣamiyya. Finally, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his *Iʿtiķādāt firaķ al-muslimīn waʾl-mushrikīn*, Cairo 1375/1956, 67, numbers the sub-sects at seven. The founders of some of these groups are amongst the later scholars of the Karrāmiyya, such as Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūs al-Ṭarāʾifī (d. 347/958) and Muḥammad b. al-Hayṣam (d. 407?/1016-17), who is described by Shahrastānī, 80 ff., tr. i, 120 ff., as the *mutakallim* of the sect, elaborating its theology and its technical vocabulary. The Isḥāķiyya presumably relate to Abū Yaʿķūb Isḥāķ b. Maḥmashādh (d. 383/993), whose family became the mainstay of the Karramī cause in Nīshāpūr (see below).

It is not easy to give a just appraisal of the significance of the Karrāmiyya in the development of Islamic religious thought, but the movement was clearly an important one. It is regrettable that we know only of the sect through the eyes of its opponents; the sole surviving Karrāmī work appears to be an anonymous collection of ethical and mystical traditions, British Museum Or. 8049, which Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*², Paris 1954, 267-8, tentatively attributed to the Karrāmī leader of Nīshāpūr, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Isḥāķ b. Maḥmashādh (d. 421/1030). Many Sunnī divines, including Ḥanbalīs and Ẓahirīs, were strongly opposed to the sect, and the Shāfiʿī *ķāḍī* Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāķ compiled a polemical work on the errors of its leader, the *Faḍāʾiḥ Ibn Karrām*. However, the geographer Maķdisī, who in the course of his travels had many contacts with Karrāmī groups, came down firmly on placing them within the bounds of orthodoxy, calling them "an ascetic and God-fearing folk" who derived from Abū Ḥanīfa (*Aḥsan al-taķāsīm*, 365).

It seems that we should consider the Karrāmiyya as a Sunnī group engaged in defending a central position against the Muʿtazila on one side and the *Ahl al-Ḥadīth* on the other; a later authority like Maķrīzī considered them to be essentially opponents of the Muʿtazila (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 357). Massignon, *op. cit.*, 263-4, speaks of Ibn Karrām as one of the great thinkers in Muslim scholasticism, who supplied a new and profound examination of the theological questions raised by Muʿtazilism, one which was not purely theoretical but which was formed in the light of mystical and moral experience. Notable is Ibn Karrām's introduction of a new philosophical-theological terminology, *e.g.*, *kayfūfiyya*, "the quality of God" and *ḥaythūthiyya*, "the ubiquitousness of God", stigmatized by Baghdādī as *ʿibārāt sakhifa*, "ridiculous expressions" but which nevertheless show Ibn Karrām's inventiveness and his awareness of need here. Certainly, the sect flourished for some three centuries, and it was suggested by an older generation of orientalists, including Van Vloten and Ribera y Tarragó, that the *khānaķāh*s and *madrasas* of the Karrāmiyya which sprang up in widely-separated parts of the Islamic world (see below) were centres for instruction and evangelism as well as for the ascetic life, and that they formed a model and stimulus for the Ashʿarī, Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī *madrasa*-building movement of the 5th/11th century; this link remains, however, unproven [see also KHĀNĶĀH].

(3). Subsequent history. During the course of the 4th/10th century, the Karrāmiyya spread over many parts of the central and eastern Islamic world. In Jerusalem, they had a numerous representation, with their own *khānaķāh*s and sessions for *dhikr*, and in Fusṭāṭ or Old Cairo they had a special quarter of their own; but the sect was unrepresented in the Maghrib (Maķdisī, 179, 182, 202, 238). It was Khurāsān, Transoxania and the eastern Iranian fringes which became the most enduring stronghold of the sect, and their *khānaķāh*s were to be found in Gūzgān, Khuttal, Farghāna, Marw and Samarķand (Maķdisī, 323). In Harāt, the main *ʿaṣabiyya* or factional strife (probably with some social as well as religious basis) was at this time between the Karrāmiyya and the ʿAmaliyya.

We know most about the Karrāmiyya in Nīshāpūr, where they were a strong and bellicose faction under

the leadership of the Banū Maḥmashādh (see above). Here as elsewhere, the hold of the Karrāmiyya on the populace doubtless stemmed from the exemplary ascetism of their leaders' lives and their evangelistic and teaching activity; Abū Yaʿḳūb Isḥāḳ b. Maḥmashādh is said to have converted large numbers of *dhimmīs* and Zoroastrians by his trenchant preaching. Supported by the secular power, in the shape of patronage from the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty Sebüktigin and then from his son Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the Karrāmiyya enjoyed a temporary ascendancy over their opponents in Nīshāpūr, comprising the Ashʿarī-Shāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, the ʿAlids and, as appears from the biography of the famous Shaykh Abū Saʿīd al-Mayhanī, the Ṣūfīs. They fell from power, however, after 402/1011-12, when Maḥmūd withdrew his patronage, but they nevertheless continued to be an appreciable element in the city. The local historian of Bayhaḳ, Ibn Funduḳ, and Ibn al-Athīr record civil strife in Nīshāpūr and Bayhaḳ during 488/1095 or 489/1096 between the local Karrāmiyya on one side and the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs on the other, and this ended in Nīshāpūr with the killing of the Karrāmī leader Maḥmashādh and the razing of their *madrasa* (see on all these events Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[2], 289-90; C. E. Bosworth, *The rise of the Karamiyyah in Khurasan*, in *MW*, 1 (1960), 5-14; idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 185-9; R. W. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur, a study in medieval Islamic social history*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, index).

The last stronghold of the Karrāmiyya was in Ghūr, the mountainous region of central Afghānistān, one not long converted to Islām. According to the historian of the Ghūrids, Djūzdjānī, the Ghūrid sultans Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 599/1202-3) and his brother Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 602/1205-6 were originally adherents of the Karrāmiyya, in conformity with the beliefs of the masses of their subjects, but transferred their allegiance to the Shāfiʿī law school. Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn's favour to the great Shāfiʿī scholar Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], who disputed in the Ghūrid capital Fīrūzkūh with the popular Karrāmī divine Ibn Ḳudwa, caused a popular uprising there, compelling Rāzī to return to Harāt. Rāzī's polemics with the Karrāmiyya are important evidence for this last phase of the sect's existence, and contain much information on Karrāmī theology. After the Mongol invasions, we hear nothing of the sect, which must have been submerged in the general holocaust in Khurāsān; when later authors like Ibn Taymiyya write against the Karrāmiyya, they are merely drawing on material in the older authorities (see Bosworth, *The early Islamic History of Ghūr*, in *Central Asiatic Journal*, vi (1961), 128-33, and A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam, la découverte de la capitale des sultans ghorides*, Paris 1959, 49-50).

Bibliography: largely given in the article. The most complete and sympathetic account of Ibn Karrām's thought is given in Massignon's *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*[2], 260-8, 318-19; see also A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, index; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrinés ... d'Ibn Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939, 81, 159; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, index; W. M. Watt, *Islamic philosophy and theology*, Edinburgh 1962, 79, 184; A. M. A. el-Galli, *The history and doctrines of the Karrāmiyya sect, with special reference to ar-Rāzī's criticism*, Edinburgh M. Litt. thesis 1970, unpublished; F. E. Peters, *Allah's commonwealth, a history of Islam in the Near East 600-1100 A.D.*, New York 1973, 426-7, 462-3. The older view of the Karrāmiyya as ignorant anthropomorphists is expressed in D. B. Macdonald, *The development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory*, New York 1903, 170-2, 195, 291-2.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲARRĪ [see ḲERRĪ].

KARS, a garrison town and administrative centre in Eastern Turkey, situated on 40°37′ N. and 43°06′ E., *chef-lieu* of the *il* (province) of the same name, which is bounded by the U.S.S.R. and the *ils* of Artvin, Erzurum and Ağrî and contains the *ilçes* (districts) of Posof, Hanak, Çıldır, Ardahan, Göle, Susuz, Arpaçay, Selim, Digor, Sarıkamiş, Kağızman, Tuzluca and Aralık, with that of Kars itself. In 1960 the population of the provinces of Kars was 543,000; in 1965 (provisional), 606,521, of which 20% was urban and 80% agricultural or rural (*Kars Il yıllığı* 1967, Ankara n.d.).

The etymologies suggested tentatively by Barthold (EI[1])—Georgian—and by Kırzıoğlu (*İA*)—Turkish—for Kars cannot be sustained. In mediaeval Armenian sources the forms Karuç (*Karuts*) or Karuç berd are encountered (A. K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, Cambridge Mass. 1969, index; N. Adontz, *Armenia in the period of Justinian*, Lisbon 1970, 206). A 16th-century identification of "Chars" with the Chorsa of Ptolomey should perhaps be noted (G. T. Minadoi, *Historia de bello inter Turcas et Persas*, in P. Bizarus, *Rerum persicarum historia*, Frankfurt 1601, 516; cf., however, C. Müller (ed.), *Claudii Ptolomaei geographia*, Paris 1883-1901, i/1, 941 and n.). Byzantine usage (Τὸ Κάρς) is supplied by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ch. xliv; Muslim forms are Ḳars in Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, x, 27; xii, 169, 295, 300, 306), Ḳarṣ or Ḳārṣ in Yāḳūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 57), Ghars in al-Fāriḳī (quoted in V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 90-1) and in Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-Gushā* (ed. Mīrza Muḥammad), ii, 161. Ottoman usage favoured the form Ḳārṣ.

From Umayyad times the region of Kars lay on the frontiers of the Muslim world. The decline of Arab power after the middle of the 2nd/8th century gave more independence to Armenia under the Bagratid dynasty and early in the 3rd/9th century the Armenian prince Smbat (held hostage at Sāmarrāʾ from 190/806 to 210/825 and called Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḳārisī by the Muslims) ruled over Kars as a vassal of the ʿAbbāsids (J. Laurent, *Arménie entre Byzance et Islam*, Paris 1919, 290-1 and n.; cf. the *De administr. imperio*, ii (*Commentary*), ed. R. H. J. Jenkins, London 1962, 158). In 222/837 Isḥāḳ, the amīr of Tiflīs, halted in the vicinity of Kars an army sent by the Byzantine emperor Theophilus as part of an unsuccessful attempt to detach Armenia from Muslim suzerainty (Laurent, *op. cit.*, 211-2).

The importance of Kars in the 4th/10th century derived in part from its situation on the important trade route Ānī-Kars-Ḳālīḳalā (= Erzurum) - Trebizond (Minorsky, *Studies*, 105): Kars shared with Ḳālīḳalā and Malātya the commerce of Armenia and, according to Aristakès of Lastivert (tr. and ed. E. Prud'homme, Paris, 1864, 89), its inhabitants "lived peacefully in the midst of riches of all kinds gathered together by land and sea". Under the ruler Abas (reigned 929-51 (*De adm. imp.*, ii, 179))—and not, as in *ibid.*, i, ch. xliv, under Ashot, who died in 890—Kars became the seat of the Bagratid dynasty. From

962 it served as the capital of the Armenian kingdom of Vanand, which was erected by the ruler of Ānī, Ashot III, for his younger brother Mushegh, and his successors (cf. *EI*[1], Ānī).

By 1022 the kingdom of Vanand was surrounded on three sides by Byzantine territory (Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 173); its last ruler, Gagik (1028-64), continued to hold his position even after Ānī had been incorporated into the Byzantine Empire (1044). In face of the Saldjūḳ threat—in 446/1054-5 Tughrīl Beg had destroyed the forces of Gagik and besieged Kars for three days (Honigmann, *op. cit.*, 181)—he was induced to renounce his rights voluntarily in favour of the Emperor Constantine X Ducas, receiving in return a town in the Cilician Taurus.

The early history of Kars as a Muslim town is confused. In 456/1064 its inhabitants appear to have submitted voluntarily to Alp Arslān (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 27); ten years later, however, in 1074, King Giorgi II of Georgia received Kars from one of his vassals. In *ca.* 472-3/1080 he was attacked by a Turkish force under the amīr Aḥmad, who "shortly before" had conquered Kars; subsequently, for much of the 6th/12th century, Kars lay within the Ṣaltūḳid amīrate (cf. Minorsky, Studies, 84, n. 1). In 548/1153 Kars was occupied and destroyed by the Ḳïpčaḳ Turks, but in the same year it was retaken by the Ṣaltūḳid Mālik ʿIzz al-Dīn (cf. the Arabic inscription, commemorating the reconstruction of the citadel in that year, discovered by the Ottomans in the course of their own rebuilding in 987/1579. The text is provided by Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii (Istanbul, 1314), 330). During the mid-6th/12th century Kars also lay within the sphere of influence of the Shaddādid amīrs of Ānī: in Shaʿbān 556/August 1161 troops furnished by "the lord of Ghars and Surmari" assisted in an attempt by the Shaddādid amīr Faḍlūn b. Minučihr to regain his capital from the Georgian king Giorgi III (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 88-91, quoting al-Fāriḳī).

Kars remained in Muslim hands until 603/1206-7, when it was taken by the Georgians (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 169). It was besieged in vain by the Khwārazm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn in 623/1226; in 636-7/1239 it was occupied by the *noyon* Čormaghun and incorporated into the Mongol Empire. Hethum, king of Little Armenia, who visited Kars *ca.* 649/1251, found there the Mongol camp, from which Baydu governed the territories under his command. According to Ḥamd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 93), at a later period Kars belonged, with Ānī, to the Īlkhānid province of Georgia (Gūrdjistān wa Abkhāz): it was described at this time as one of the chief towns of Georgia (Le Strange, 181).

In 759/1358 Kars passed to the Djalāyirids; and in 782/1380 to the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu. In 788/1386 the region of Kars, at that time under the local ruler Pirūzbakht, was devastated by Tīmūr and turned into a wilderness (cf. Sanjian, *op. cit.*, 152), while Kars itself, it is said, was levelled to the ground (cf. *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Tauer, index). The years 796/1394, 802/1400 and 805/1403 again saw Tīmūr pass by Kars en route for summer pasture in the Bingöl area of Čīldīr, but soon after his death the Tīmūrid province of Ānī, within which Kars was situated, reverted to Ḳarā Ḳōyunlu control. The local ruler Pīr Ḥusayn b. Sahat is said by Armenian sources to have rebuilt and restored Kars in 815/1412; later, in 871-2/1467, Kars passed into the hands of the Aḳ-Ḳōyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan.

Kars suffered much from the strife which accompanied the rise to power of the Ṣafawids: for example, in 920/1514, when the Ottoman sultan Selīm I encamped close by Kars on his return from the victorious Čaldirān campaign, the town was said to be once more in a ruinous condition.

By 940/1534 Kars was in Ottoman hands, and in 955/1548 the sultan Sulaymān I ordered work to be done on the fortifications. It was not until the renewal of the Ottoman-Ṣafawid conflict in the late 10th/16th century, however, that Kars fully came into its own as a fortress of vital strategic importance for the Ottoman state, as both a bastion against Ṣafawid incursions into north-eastern Anatolia, and a base forward of Erzurum from which the difficult task of keeping open the road to Tiflīs and holding the new Caucasian conquests could be supported.

In the opening campaign (Djumādā II 986/August 1578) of the long Ottoman-Ṣafawid struggle for the Caucasus, Kars was the scene of the first engagement —"una fiera scaramuzza"—between Ottoman forces under Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha, and those of the Ṣafawids (Cesare Campana, *Compendio historico, delle guerre ... tra Christiani, & Turchi ...*, Venice 1597, f. 20). On 2 Djumādā 'l-Akhir 987/27 July 1579 an Ottoman army under Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha encamped at Kars, and proceeded rapidly, in the face of acute difficulties caused by a lack of suitable workmen and by the dense fogs and bitter cold which set in after 2 Radjab/25 August (Minadoi, *op. cit.*, 557), to fortify the town for use as a base from which to relieve Tiflīs (Campana, *op. cit.*, f. 25; Pečevi, *Taʾrīkh* ii (Istanbul 1281), 56; Selānikī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, 153-4. For the relevant European *Flugschriftenliteratur*, see C. Göllner, *Turcica* ii (Bucharest - Baden-Baden 1968), nos. 1706-1835, *passim*).

Under Ottoman rule Kars was raised (988/1580) to be the administrative centre of an *eyālet* of six or seven *sandjāḳ*s. Ewliyā Čelebī, who visited Kars in 1057/1647, variously lists (*op. cit.*, i, 185, 192; ii, 329) the *sandjāḳ*s and their revenues (for other statistical accounts of the revenues and divisions of the *eyālet* of Kars, dating from the mid 11th/17th century, and giving alternative readings, see P. Rycaut, *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*[3], London 1670, 54, and J. von Hammer, *Osm. Staatsverfassung*, ii, 259). The town and its principal monuments at this time are described by Ewliyā Čelebī, *op. cit.*, ii, 329-33, which can be supplemented by J.-M. Thierry, *A propos de quelques monuments chrétiens du vilayet de Kars*, in *Revue des Études arméniennes*, n.s. iii (1966), 73-90, and by the several works of K. M. Fahrettin (= F. Kırzıoğlu). According to Ewliyā Čelebī, the Ottoman forces in Kars, together with those of Vān and Akhiskha, were renowned for their courage and bravery as borderers (*op. cit.*, ii, 331), and in the Ottoman chronicles of the 11th/17th century Kars figures prominently and frequently in the accounts of the wars with the Ṣafawids during this time.

European travellers to Kars were few before the 19th century. G. F. Gemelli-Carreri, who was there in May 1694, described Kars as a "large, but not populous city", with two walls of earth and a good garrison, which sent out forty horse every night to patrol the border with Ṣafawid territory (*A collection of voyages ...*, iv, London 1704, 109).

During the campaigns of Nādir Shāh, Kars was besieged several times (1735 twice; 1744) (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, *passim*; cf. also the despatches of Stanhope Aspinwall, London, Public Record Office, S. P. 97/32). By the end of the 18th century the *eyālet* of Kars had become one of the poorest in the Ottoman Empire, and was one of several provinces unable to provide sufficient revenue

to support a *wezīr*—*i.e.*, a pas͟ha of three *ṭug͟hs* (S. J. Shaw, *Between old and new*..., Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 168-9; cf. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau générale*[2], vii (Paris 1824), 306-7).

As part of the administrative reforms of the *Tanẓīmāt* period, the *eyālet* of Kars was reduced to the status of a *sand͟jāḳ* in the *wilāyet* of Erzurum (cf. *Sāl-nāme* for 1292), but the military and strategic importance of the fortress itself was underlined once more by the Russian expansion southward through the Caucasus during the early 19th century. Kars was besieged successfully by Russian forces three times: in 1828, 1855 and 1877 (details and bibliography in W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, Cambridge 1953). Kars at this time took on a considerable, if specious, significance for both British diplomacy and English public opinion, which regarded it as the "traditional bulwark against Russian expansion southwards" (B. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans 1870-1880*, Oxford 1937, 516), and for the Russians themselves, as a war objective (*ibid.*, 623-4). By the terms of the abortive Treaty of San Stefano (3 March 1878) and article 56 of the Treaty of Berlin (13 July 1878), the *sand͟jaḳ*s of Kars and Ardahan, and the port of Batum, were ceded to Russia.

The number and composition of the inhabitants of town and province of Kars were seriously affected by the Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th century and by the events of World War I. As early as 1828 the majority of the original Armenian population were said to have deserted Kars after the Russian evacuation, while in the years after 1877 a steady migration of Muslims into Ottoman territory was counterbalanced by the settlement of Armenians and Russians in Kars itself and by massive colonization of the vacated rural districts (the statistics in *Brokhaus-Yefron Entsik. Slovar'* (1895) *svv.* Kars', Karsskaya Oblast', were adapted by Barthold for the *EI*[1] version of this article).

Kars was the scene of fierce fighting in World War I. By the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) it was returned to the Ottoman Empire, but in fact remained in the hands of the Armenian nationalists until Turkish troops entered the town on 25 April 1918. Under the terms of the Mudros armistice (30 October 1918) the Turkish armies were obliged to withdraw to the west of the 1914 Russo-Turkish frontier. The Turks of Kars, however, established (6 November 1918) a provisional government under Fak͟hr al-Dīn Pīrīog͟hlu (Fahrettin Pirioğlu), which claimed suzerainty over the province of Kars and the surrounding Turkish-speaking or Muslim districts as far as Batum and Gümrü (Aleksandropol'). After a period of confused fighting against Armenian, Georgian and British units, the Turkish régime in Kars was overthrown by a British expedition from Batum (19 April 1919) and some of its leaders were deported to Malta. During May 1919 Kars reverted to Armenian control, while the local Turkish leaders who survived took the hills and began to look to the Kemalists for aid. With the British withdrawal from Transcaucasia, and the Turco-Soviet rapprochement (1920), the independent Transcaucasian republics were quickly liquidated, and with the rapid collapse of Armenia the Turkish XVth Army Unit under Kâzim Karabekir Pas͟ha recaptured Kars on 30 October 1920. The *ḳaḍā*s of Čīldīr and Posof (23 February 1921) and Ardahan (7 March 1921)—all nowadays within the *il* of Kars—also soon came under Turkish control.

By the Treaties of Gümrü (Aleksandropol') with the Armenian Republic (2 December 1920), of Moscow (March 1921) with the Soviet régime, and of Kars (13 October 1921) with the Soviet Armenian, Georgian and Ad͟harbayd͟jānī republics, the present boundary between Turkey and the U.S.S.R. was established. By this time, after seven years of warfare and enforced migration, the non-Muslim population had disappeared, and the province and town of Kars had taken on their present ethnic characteristics.

Bibliography: (in addition to the works mentioned in the text), Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1147, *passim*; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte*[2] (repr. Graz 1964), i, 269, ii, 420, iv, 75, 358, 477, 619, v, 82, viii, 57. For recent Turkish works and the productions of local historiography see K. M. Fahrettin, *Kars Tarihi*, i (Istanbul 1953) and the same author's article *Kars* (*Tarih*) in *İA*. The numerous Russian and western works which deal with the military history of Kars in the 19th century are given by W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff in their work cited above. Cf. also for the events of 1914-21, H. Bayur, *Inkilab Tarihi*, Ankara 1943-67, and K. Karabekir, *Istiklal Harbimiz*, Istanbul 1960. (W. Barthold-[C. J. Heywood])

ḲARṢANA [see ḳurṣān]

ḲARSHI, word for "castle", already attested in ancient Turkish and Uygur (Turfan, the *Kutadghu Bilig*) and perhaps connected with "Kerd͟jiye" in Tokharian B. It was later adopted with this meaning by the Mongols. The town of Nak͟hs͟hab, or Nasaf [*q.v.*], was called Ḳars͟hi after a castle built two parasangs from the town by the Čag͟hatay ruler Kebek K͟hān (1318-26). The stream which flows through the steppes was called Ḳars͟hi-daryā. The town is mentioned in Bābur's [*q.v.*] memoirs and a popular etymology of the name exists. The town was formerly an important trade-centre with more than a thousand houses, sixteen mosques, three caravanserais and twelve *madrasas*; it produced carpets, saddles, bronze wares and later tobacco.

Bibliography: Sharaf al-dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Zafarnāme*, ed. M. Ilādād, i, Calcutta 1885, iii; G. Le Strange, 470 ff.; R. Rahmeti Arat, in *İA*, s.v. (B. Spuler)

KARS͟HŪNĪ, name of the Syriac script used by the Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia for writing Arabic. The origin of the word is obscure, and neither the place nor date of its first appearance is known. None of the etymologies which have been proposed seems tenable, but it does seem that the original Syriac form of the word was *gars͟hūnī* and that since the Arabic alphabet had no letter corresponding to the Syriac *gomal*, it was transcribed with an initial *kāf*. Since the Arabic alphabet has 28 characters and the Syriac one only 22, each of the following Syriac letters was used to transcribe two Arabic characters: *taw* = *tāʾ* and *t͟hāʾ*; *gomal* = *d͟jīm* and *g͟hayn*; *koph* = *kāf* and *k͟hāʾ*; *dolat͟h* = *dāl* and *d͟hāl*; *ṭeth* = *ṭāʾ* and *ẓāʾ*; and *ṣod͟he* = *ṣād* and *ḍād*. In order to avoid confusion, certain of these characters could be written with a superscript or subscript point, but usage here was not constant. From the 10th century A.D. till the present day, all the Syrian Christians, whether western or eastern, Maronite, Jacobite or Nestorian, have used this writing system, although it seems that the Melkites have never employed it. In India, the name Kars͟hūnī is also applied to the Syriac script used for writing Malayalam, the vernacular language of the Malabar Christians.

Bibliography: R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, Oxford 1868, i, 790; R. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, Paris 1881, 11; C. J. David, *Grammaire de la langue araméenne*, Mosul 1896,

149-55; A. Mingana, *Garshūnī or Karshūnī?*, in *JRAS* (1928), 891-3; M. Cohen, *La grande invention de l'écriture et son évolution*, Paris 1958, 165, 177.

(G. Troupeau)

KART (possibly KURT), the name of a dynasty which ruled Herāt from 643/1245 to 791/1389. It was founded by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad I Kart, who was descended from the Shansabānī house of Ghūr, the family to which the brothers Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad and Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām belonged. As Herāt recovered from the devastating raids of the armies of Čingiz Khān, Shams al-Dīn gradually gained power, and by 643/1245 had established himself as ruler of the state, and used the title of Malik, borne by his descendants. In 649/1251 the Great Khān Möngke, when reorganizing the administration of his empire, confirmed Shams al-Dīn Kart as governor of Herāt, Balkh and the country lying between those provinces and the Indian frontier. During the latter part of Shams al-Dīn's reign his son Rukn al-Dīn acted as his coadjutor, but predeceased him, dying in 682/1283, and when Shams al-Dīn himself died in 684/1285, he was succeeded by Rukn al-Dīn's son, Fakhr al-Dīn. As the power of the Mongol Īl-Khāns of Persia declined, that of the Kart Maliks of Herat increased, and they governed for the first time nearly the same territory as modern Afghānistān, which was protected by them against Mongol devastations. Fakhr al-Dīn befriended the powerful amīr Čoban, who had been regent of Persia during the minority of Abū Saʿīd, the fourteenth Īl-Khān. When Abū Saʿīd, apprehensive of the growing power of his family, attacked it, the amīr Čoban sought asylum with Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who received him, but in 727/1327 treacherously put both him and his son Djalaw Khān to death. Ghiyāth al-Dīn himself died in 728/1328 and his two elder sons, Shams al-Dīn II and Ḥāfiẓ, who succeeded him in turn, died in 729/1329 and 731/1331. The historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī attributes their deaths, following one another at such short intervals, to the divine displeasure incurred by Ghiyāth al-Dīn's treachery towards amīr Čoban.

Ḥāfiẓ was succeeded by a third brother, Muʿizz al-Dīn, who sent an army to the assistance of Malik Ḳuṭb al-Dīn of Kirmān, driven from his capital by the amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn. This army was defeated and a second army sent to the aid of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was shut up in Kirmān and compelled, at the end of 741/1340, to capitulate. Muʿizz al-Dīn, who died in 771/1370, left two sons, Muḥammad, who held the government of Sarakhs, which he retained after his father's death, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī, who succeeded him in Herāt. In 782/1380 the Tīmūr sent an envoy to Herāt to claim the allegiance of its ruler and his presence, with a contingent, at the forthcoming muster of his army; but Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī detained him on various pretexts while he provisioned the city and completed its defences. The envoy was obliged to return to Samarḳand and report the failure of his mission, and in the spring of 783/1381 Tīmūr marched to Harāt and captured the city, its ruler and his eldest son, Pīr Muḥammad, after a few days' siege. Some of its leading citizens were deported to Shahr-i Sabz and its defences were dismantled, but the Malik and his two sons, the younger of whom had been induced to surrender the strong fort of Ishkalča, were pardoned, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī was permitted to retain Herāt as a vassal of Tīmūr until 791/1389, when the dynasty was extinguished.

Bibliography: B. Spuler, *Mongolen*[3], esp. 155-61 (with references to the sources, esp. Djuwaynī; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*; Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*; Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAdjaʾib*); A. Janata, *Die Bevölkerung von Ghor*, in *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, xvii-xviii (1962-63,) 123-9.

(T. W. Haig-[B. Spuler])

ḲARṬĀDJANNA, a name by which three places are known: Carthage, Cartéia (Ḳarṭādjannat al-Djazīra) and Carthagena. This synonymy seems to be the cause of numerous confusions between the ancient Punic capital and Ḳarṭādjannat al-khalfāʾ (and not al-khuladāʾ as Yāḳūt interprets it). These confusions have been studied by J. Vallve, *Carthage et Carthagène au VIII*[e] *siècle*. The name of the town, seat of a bishopric, must be the translation of Cartago-Spartaria, alluding to the abundance of esparto grass in the region.

According to al-Ḥimyārī (*Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, no. 139, who copies al-Idrīsī), "Carthagena is the port of Murcia. It is an ancient town, which dates from antiquity. It possesses an anchorage where large and small ships can anchor. Provisions abound there and are sold there permanently at a cheap rate. In its dependencies is a district by the name of al-Fudūn: there are few places where the soil is of such good quality, and it is reported that a single fall of rain is sufficient to assure the next harvest, and the grain which grows there is excellent. By land it is 40 miles from the town of Carthagena to Murcia. It is near this town of Carthagena that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr defeated Tudmīr b. ʿAbdūs, who has given his name to the *kūra* of Tudmīr." The text of the treaty between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Tudmīr is the only one of Muslim Spain which has been preserved *in extenso* and of which we have several versions.

The town, in so far as it was one, does not seem to have enjoyed much importance, despite the enthusiasm of the description which Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḳarṭādjannī gives of it in the 12th-13th centuries (cf. his *Ḳaṣīda maḳṣūra*; a summary analysis in E. García Gómez, *Observaciones sobre la Qaṣīda . . .*, in *al-And.*, 1933/1, 81-103) and the Arab sources-geographical as much as historical—are exceptionally laconic. A part of the *djund* of Egypt was installed there by Abu'l-Khaṭṭār [*q.v.*] in the district of Tudmīr [*q.v.*], of which we may have a reflection in the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* which placed it under the governorship of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan. It is in this region that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣiḳlabī disembarked (in 143/763, following the orders of the ʿAbbāsid al-Mahdī), in his attempt to overthrow the Umayyads, at the time of the alliance of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] with Charlemagne. Subsequently, the confrontation for power between the descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān made this place the domain of Sulaymān and later of ʿAbd Allāh al-Balansī. When the continual feuds between Muḍarīs and Yemenīs wearied ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*], the latter profited from them to found in the year 216/831 an administrative centre, Murcia, which marks the real beginning of his ascendancy over the region.

After the fall of the caliphate, Carthagena always followed the lot of its administrative capital and passed successively in to the hands of the slaves Khayrān and Zuhayr, of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Manṣūr and of Mudjāhid of Denia. According to the *Mémoires of the amīr ʿAbd Allāh*, during the siege of Aledo [*q.v.*], it would appear that the dispute for the possession of the Murcian-Carthagenan region was the apple of discord that made Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn [*q.v.*] resolve to dethrone the petty kings. The province was subdued by Ibn ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*].

It then passed into the power of Ibn Hamushk and of Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] and, after its submission to the Almohads, it followed the general decadence and became part of the domains of Sayyid al-ʿĀdil when he rose up in the Levant. It then belonged to Ibn Hūd and finally to Zayyān b. Mardanīsh who, after the loss of Valencia in 635/1238, took refuge in Murcia, from where he was pursued by Bahāʾ al-Dawla. In 1243, the whole region of Murcia-Carthagena surrendered to the future Alphonso the Wise, but there was an uprising there in 1246 and the last indomitable rebels were not exterminated until 1274. Carthagena, judged too coastal in situation and exposed to the attacks of the corsairs and Turks, does not seem to have had so many Moriscos [*q.v.*] as one would reasonably suppose, by contrast with Murcia where there must have been a heavy enough immigration of Granadans deported to Castille, at least those from the region of Cuenca. The port of Carthagena was one of the points via which the expulsion of the Moriscos was effected in 1611.

Bibliography: Apart from the works in the article, cf. the geographical sources and ʿUdhrī, *Masālik*; among the chroniclers, Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān* (above all the volume published by A. Huici), the old monograph of M. A. Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905; J. Bosch Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, Tetouan 1956; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia política del imperio almohade*, Tetouan 1957; idem, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región*, Valencia 1969-70; E. Canabate Navarro, *Historia de Cartagena desde su fondación*; J. Vallvé, *La división territorial en la España musulmana*, ii, *La cora de "Tudmīr"* (*Murcia*), in *And.*, xxxvii (1972), 161-6.

(P. Chalmeta)

KARŪKH, a town in the region of Bādghīs [q.v.] of modern northwestern Afghānistān and, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (4th/10th century), the biggest town of the region after the capital Harāt. It had a Friday mosque and was famed for its fruits, especially apricots and raisins. Its particular claim to fame in mediaeval times was as an enduring centre of the Khawāridj on the eastern Iranian fringes. In 259/873 the Ṣaffārid *amīr* Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth had to cope with a serious rebellion of the eastern Khawāridj centred on Karūkh under their "commander of the faithful" ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh; over a century later, according to Muḳaddasī, Karūkh was still a Khāridjī centre. A modern village with the same name survives at Karūkh.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 105; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 410; C. E. Bosworth, *The armies of the Ṣaffārids*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 543-4. (Ed.)

ĶĀRŪN, the Biblical Korah (Num. XVI), is mentioned three times in the Ḳurʾān (XXVIII, 76-82, XXIX, 39/38, and XL, 25/24). In the latter two verses, he appears with Hāmān as a minister of Firʿawn, and all three of them behave proudly towards Moses, stigmatising him as a magician and impostor. In the first passage (XXVIII, 76-82), Ḳārūn is one of Moses' people, but treats them in an insolent fashion because of the immense riches which have been given to him, as he believes, because of the knowledge which is in him (*ʿalā ʿilmⁱⁿ ʿindī*). He makes a great public display of his wealth, and is swallowed up by the earth with his palace (*dār*), an example of those who prefer the fleeting wealth of this world to the recompense of Allāh in the next world awarded to those who believe and do good works.

This tale, which alludes vaguely to the rebellion of Korah and, more explicitly, to his punishment (Num. XVI, 31-3, XXVI, 10), is probably an echo of some moralising story. The commentators and the writers on the *ḳiṣāṣ al-anbiyāʾ* have added to it a lengthy legend, in part derived from rabbinical literature (see *Jewish encyclopedia*, vii, 556 ff.; Sale's notes to his Ḳurʾān tr.; and al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣāṣ*, Cairo 1314, 120 ff.). In this legend, Hāmān and Ḳārūn are bracketed together because of their riches and their avariciousness, thus explaining why the latter has become Pharaoh's minister.

In Islam, the legend of Ḳārūn has had two divergent developments: (1) In order to explain the origin of his proverbial riches, and because of his special "knowledge", he has become one of the founders of alchemy. This role appears early; see, *e.g.*, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, 41, tr. Pellat, 67, and an allusion in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 177 = ed. Pellat, § 3312. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 352, tr. in M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, Paris 1893, iii, 27, states that the revelation of the "process" was "made by God to Moses and Aaron [sc. in order to gild the *Tābūt al-Tawrāt*, al-Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 229] and that it was Ḳārūn who operated in their name. The latter accumulated a vast horde of gold and silver, but at the request of Moses, was punished by God for his arrogance, his pride and the evil behaviour which his recently-acquired riches had led him into". According to al-Ṭabarī, Zotenberg, i, 382-4, he was originally a goldsmith, and according to al-Kisāʾī, *op. cit.*, 229, Moses' sister was Ḳārūn's wife, and it was she who learnt about alchemy in order to teach her husband (according to the commentators, he was Moses' nephew). (2) In Egypt, his name is associated with various lakes. Thus what is left of Lake Moeris in the Fayyūm bears his name (Birkat Ḳārūn; see Guides Bleus, *Égypte*, 1956, 241-2, where a popular etymology Birkat al-Ḳurūn "Lake of the Horns" is erroneously given), and a *Madīnat Ḳārūn* has recently been begun in the neighbourhood. Also, beside the Birkat al-Fīl to the south of Cairo, near the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, there was formerly a Birkat Ḳārūn which had evidently associations of supernatural legend. Al-Maḳrīzī describes it (*Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1325, iii, 261-2) and tells that Kāfūr [*q.v.*] who built beside it a house was said to have been driven from it by djinn. It figures also in the Story of Djudhar the Fisherman in Zotenberg's (cf. *Not. et Extr.*, xxviii, i, 167 ff.) Egyptian Recension of "The 1001 Nights" (Nights 606-24) as a place where spirits take refuge from magicians. Von Hammer suggested (*Der Tausend und Einen Nacht noch nicht übersetzte Märchen*, tr. Zinserling, ii, 32; tr. Trébutien, i, 291) that Ḳārūn had here become confused with the Egyptian Charon.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xx, 62 ff.; *Taʾrīkh*, index; Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Cairo 1308, vi, 421 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Cairo 1964, 51-4; Shiblī, *Āḳām al-mardjān*, 218; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, ²Leipzig 1902, 153; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes . . .*, Paris 1933, 95-7.

(D. B. Macdonald*)

ĶĀRŪN, the largest river in southern Persia. It rises in the north-eastern part of the district of ʿArabistān (earlier called Khūzistān), a little above Lat. 32° N. on the Zarda-Kūh, which belongs to the Bakhtiyārī mountain system or, to be more accurate, on one of the ranges named Kūh-i Rang, one of the highest mountains in south-western

Persia (estimated at 13,000 feet). The actual source of the river, according to Sawyer (*Bibl.*, *op. cit.*, 486, with a picture), is about 10 miles above the place called Ser-i Česhme-i Kurang "main source of the Kurang (Kuran)". The Zāyinda-Rūd likewise rises on the Zarda-Kūh and flows eastwards towards Iṣfahān. As the source of the Kārūn is only about 100 miles from Iṣfahān, Shāh ʿAbbās I thought of leading the Kārūn into the Zāyinda-Rūd by a tunnel through the mountains. Although almost finished at his death, the work was not continued by his successors; the remains of it may still be seen (cf. Layard, *Bibl.*, *op. cit.*, 50 f.).

The upper part of the river's course extends from its source to its exit from the mountains at Shustar, and the middle course from Shustar to al-Ahwāz or Naṣriyya, where it breaks through the spurs of the Djabal Ḥamrīn; its lower course runs through the alluvial plain formed by the Kārūn system. As a result of its very meandering course, the river covers about 500 miles from its source to its mouth in the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, although a straight line between the two points is only about 150 miles. In its upper course the Kārūn makes two great loops in about 32° N. Lat.

A little above Shustar, the Kārūn divides into two navigable arms which unite again about thirty miles away at the village of Band-i Ḳīr (near the mediaeval ʿAskar Mukram) and thus form an island. The western arm is the main stream, the Kārūn proper; it is now called Āb-i Shuṭayṭ (Shuṭayt = little river) and further down also Āb-i Buzurg Shustar (= great water of Shustar). The eastern arm is artificial in origin, and is now called Āb-i Gargar; the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages know it by the name of Masruḳān (Mashruḳān, Musruḳān) which is explained as a corruption of the Persian Ardashīr-Kān (= "Ardashīr's trench"). The form Ardakhshīragān is noteworthy: it occurs in a Syriac chronicle edited by Guidi in the *Actes du 8e Congres des Orientalistes*, Leiden 1891, 32 (and cf. thereon Nöldeke in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxviii (1893), Abh. ix, 42). The first Sasanian king is said to have been the maker of this watercourse. The Persian geographers of the 9th/15th century call the western branch, which carries the bulk of the water, Čahār Dānika ("four-sixths"), the eastern Dū Dānika ("two-sixths") (cf. Le Strange, 236). These names are still known locally, according to Layard (*op. cit.*, 27). In the 4th/10th century, according to Arabic sources, the Masruḳān canal did not enter the main stream, the Kārūn proper, at ʿAskar Mukram, but ran parallel to it and reached the Persian Gulf by a course of its own.

The Kārūn delta begins a little above the village of Sābla. Three channels break off from the main arm, which continues its course till its junction with the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab at Muḥammara; these all run South-east to the Persian Gulf and finally end their course in estuaries (*khawr*, *khōr*), which are at times swamps. Their names are: (1) The Shaṭṭ (or Rūd) al-Ḳadīmī (= "the old stream"), which leaves the Kārūn about an hour's journey above Sābla and broadens out into the Khōr Mūsā (also called Khōr Moi Allāh). This is probably the oldest course of the Kārūn; (2) The Shaṭṭ "al-Amaya" (as it is usually written on maps) or al-Aʿmā (= the blind stream), probably so called because its bed is usually choked with mud. It is also called Shaṭṭ Ḳobān (Goban) from the district which lies on its right bank; Portuguese writers of the 17th century reproduced the name as Rio de Gabão (cf. Tomaschek, 75 f.). This second arm begins at Sābla and finally expands into the Khōr Silidj (Selige in Kinneir, 292); it is perhaps the second oldest arm of the Kārūn; (3) The Shaṭṭ Bamishīr (Bahmishīr, Behemshīr), which leaves the Kārūn 6 miles below Sābla and expands into the Khōr Bamishīr before entering the sea. This third branch of the Kārūn is considerably wider and holds more water than the other two. According to the *Persian Gulf Pilot*, 284, it is 54 miles long (40 as the crow flies). This may now be regarded as the natural mouth of the Kārūn.

The two western branches of the Kārūn, the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā and the Bamishīr, form two long islands with the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, which runs parallel to them, the main Kārūn in the north and the Persian Gulf in the south. The eastern one, bordered by the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā (Ḳobān) and the Bamishīr, is called Ḳobān (Gobān, Gobbān); the western, between the Bamishīr and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, is now usually called Djazīrat ʿAbbādān, a name it already had in the Middle Ages, from the town of ʿAbbādān [*q.v.*], which probably originally lay at the mouth of the delta. The latter island is also called Djazīrat al-Khiḍr after the prophet al-Khiḍr [*q.v.*], highly revered in Muslim popular belief especially in ʿIrāḳ as a patron of water, who had or still has a sanctuary near ʿAbbādān ("Chodder Abbadan" in Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii, Copenhagen 1778, 206), which is mentioned as early as the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries by al-Dimashḳī (*Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, 97, 18) and Ibn Baṭṭūta (ii, 19). Alongside ʿAbbādān, the most important place in the Middle Ages seems to have been al-Muḥriza (Muḥrizā) and the island seems occasionally to be called after it. For Muḥrizā see Yāḳūt, i, 502, 712, iii, 598, iv, 709; al-Dimashḳī, 97; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 280. The Persians gave this island the name Miyān Rūdān (= "between the rivers", "Mesopotamia"; see, *e.g.*, Yāḳūt, iv, 708, and Le Strange, 48).

As has been noted, the Kārūn at an earlier period probably entered the sea through the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā, apart from the riverbed represented by the Shaṭṭ al-Ḳadīmī, which is perhaps the oldest bed. According to the mediaeval Arab geographers, the different branches and tributaries of the Dudjayl (Kārūn) united at a place called Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī. Whether the Nahr Sidra (= Lotus-river), which also enters there, must be considered the main arm of the Kārūn from al-Ahwāz onwards is doubtful: cf. Le Strange, 237; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 306. The reunited Kārūn, called Nahr Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī (see Schwarz, *op. cit.*), then enters its estuary (Fayḍ Dudjayl), which ends at Sulaymānān on the coast (for Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī and Sulaymānān cf. Le Strange, 48, 243, and in *JRAS* (1895), 302; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 306, 329-330, 400). Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī perhaps lay in the neighbourhood of the present Sābla; Sulaymānān is perhaps to be located somewhere in the region of the Khōr Silidj; the end of the course of the Kārūn in the Middle Ages would thus practically coincide with the modern Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā. In the Middle Ages there must have been several other separate smaller mouths of the river. In these topographical investigations it should not be forgotten that southern ʿIrāḳ and Khūzistān, the delta of the great rivers, have undergone far-reaching changes in their hydrographic structure in the course of thousands of years. In ancient times the Persian Gulf extended much farther into the present mainland, so that the Kārūn, Karkhā, Euphrates and Tigris all had separate mouths; cf. Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1394, 2811. During the Middle Ages and in modern times the coastline has steadily advanced southwards.

The bed of the Kārūn from Sābla to Muḥammara seems to be the work of human hands. In the 4th/10th century the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] constructed a canal, which was called ʿAḍudī after him, to secure direct communication between the Tigris and Kārūn (from al-Baṣra to al-Ahwāz). As in those days the Kārūn apparently flowed into the Persian Gulf through the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā, in its main lines the ʿAḍudī probably corresponded with the present course of the Kārūn between Sābla and Muḥammara. It is very doubtful that that work was something entirely new; more probably he undertook the restoration of an older channel which had fallen into neglect. A century earlier we have evidence from the Arab geographers of the existence of a canal called Nahr al-Djadīd (= New Canal) which led from Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī (near Sābla?) to the Tigris and may well have coincided with the ʿAḍudī. From a still earlier period we have the Bayān canal, the course of which may wholly or in part have coincided with the ʿAḍudī or Nahr al-Djadīd. Whether there was in ancient times —about the period of Alexander—an artificial channel connecting the Kārūn and Tigris and following the same direction cannot be ascertained with certainty; on this question, see Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1394. In modern times, the name Ḥaffār (= "digger", usually spelled Hafar in books of travel and in maps) has come into use for the stretch of the Kārūn between Sābla and Muḥammara, and the name suggests that here too we have the work of human hands, not a natural bed. At the present day, however, this name is limited to the short stretch, only about an hour's journey long, from the beginning of the Shaṭṭ Bamishīr (the mouth proper of the Kārūn at the present day) to Muḥammara. It should also be noted that in the second half of the 12th/18th century, Sulaymān, the powerful *shaykh* of the tribe of Kaʿb (on him see below), destroyed the connexion between the Kārūn and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab by placing a dam (*band*) across the Ḥaffār at Sābla and leading the water into the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā. The district of Ḳobān thereby soon became very prosperous. But during Karīm Khān's [*q.v.*] second invasion, the dam in the Ḥaffār was destroyed (cf. Kinneir, *op. cit.*, 90). On the communication between the Kārūn and Tigris by the ʿAḍudī, Nahr al-Djadīd, Bayān and Ḥaffār canals see Kinneir, 90, 293-294; Layard, 55-56; Tomaschek, 76-77; Ainsworth, i, 174, 184; *Persian Gulf Pilot*, 296; Le Strange, 48, and *JRAS* (1895), 308-9; Schwarz, 309, 311, 390.

While still in the mountains, the Kārūn receives a number of abundant tributaries, for example, above Sūsan the Āb-i Bāzuft on the right and the Āb-i Bars (Bors) on the left. A little above Čamani Yorgha the Talak joins it. The most important tributary is the river of Dizfūl, the Dizfūl-Rūd or Āb-i Diz. It and its tributary, the Shāwūr, were at one time (and in part still are) connected with the Karkhā and the Kārūn by canals. On the Dizfūl-Rūd and Shāwūr, see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 215, ii; 218, 13, 15; Le Strange, 233, 239, and *JRAS* (1895), 312; Schwarz, 303-305; Ritter, ix, 193 f.; Layard, 56 f.; see also von Bode, ii, 193; Loftus, 329, 342, 346; J. Dieulafoy, *passim*; Sawyer, 490 f.

The Kārūn is not only connected with the Tigris and Karkhā in the west, but in the east it is linked up with the Djarrāḥī of Kurdistān-Rūd or Āb-i Kurdistān (the Ṭāb of the Arab geographers; see Le Strange, 270; Schwarz, 5 f.). At Sābla a canal navigable by boats leaves the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā and runs to Dawraḳī (Dōraḳ-Fallāḥiyya [see DAWRAḲ]) on the Djarrāḥ.

The more important towns on the Kārūn in mediaeval as in modern times lay on its central course between Shustar and al-Ahwāz. At the two termini of this stretch stood the two capitals of the mediaeval province of Khūzistān, al-Ahwāz and Tustar (Shustar). Al-Ahwāz [*q.v.*], formerly the capital proper of this district, is situated at the important point where the Kārūn, breaking through its last barrier, the Djabal Ḥamrīn range, enters the plain. For Tustar see SHUSTAR, and on the site (particularly the bifurcation which begins there) Graadt van Roggen, 174 f.

The lower course of the Kārūn from al-Ahwāz to Muḥammara has no places of great importance on its banks. Muḥammara, at the junction of the Kārūn and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, is, however, a place of unusual importance. It was at the beginning of this century the best harbour in Persia, easily accessible at any time.

In the mountainous upper course there are no longer any towns of importance. In late antiquity and in the Middle Ages the most prominent were Sūsan (also called ʿArūdj or ʿArūḥ and Djābaliḳ) on the right bank, and Īdhadj [*q.v.*] or Māl-Amīr opposite. Along the upper course in parts runs a road protected by many forts, now mostly in ruins. The Kārūn in general is historically one of the most interesting rivers in Persia owing to the numerous ruins from ancient times which are everywhere found on its banks.

In the military history of the Middle Ages the Kārūn basin only occasionally occurs as the scene of fighting; cf. Schwarz, 299-300. During World War I possession of this territory became very important on account of its oil-fields; cf. Schweer, 140-4.

As early as the Sasanians, powerful dams (*shadhrawāns*) with the necessary sluices had been erected at various places to enable the water thus dammed to be led by numerous small canals to fields on a higher level, especially on the central stretch of the Kārūn. Throughout the Middle Ages this irrigation system was kept in excellent repair and transformed the land it watered into flourishing gardens. Since then, however, most of these works have fallen more and more into ruin as a result of neglect, and great stretches of once fertile country have become desert again. The most celebrated was the gigantic dam at Shustar, which was regarded in the east as one of the wonders of the world. Its erection is ascribed to the Sasanian king Shāpūr I (241-272 A.D.). On this great system of dam and sluices here, which after considerable restoration is still partly in use to-day, see Ritter, ix, 186 f.; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, 33; Justi, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, Strassbourg 1896 f., 318; Le Strange, 235; Schwarz, *Iran*, 296. At Wāʾis, a few hours' journey below Band-i Ḳīr, the ruins of a great dam may still be seen (cf. Herzfeld, 76). In al-Ahwāz, at the rapids there, considerable remains of a triple ancient system of dams still exist. Band-i Ḳīr (= "Bitumen-dam") took its name from the ancient dam coated with bitumen.

The Kārūn is the only river of Persia that admits of navigation. Communication is maintained with the Persian Gulf through the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and the Shaṭṭ Bamishīr. There is evidence that as early as the Umayyad period there was regular traffic up the river as far as al-Ahwāz (cf. Schwarz, 300). The Kārūn was into the 20th century navigable as far as Shustar. The only obstacles were the rapids caused by the gypsum rocks below al-Ahwāz (see the very full description by Wells, 156 f.), which make unloading

and reshipment necessary. Movement along the river has since expanded. The valley possesses rich oil fields in modern times. In 1888 the Kārūn was opened to international navigation.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim*, especially the Indices s.vv. (Nahr) Dudjayl and (Nahr) Masrukān; Ibn Serapion, in *JRAS* (1895), 30; 32, I f. (text) and 307-313 (tr. and notes); Yāķūt, ii, 555; iv, 527, f.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 195; 215; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii, 23-4; Le Strange, 207, 232-247; P. Schwarz, 295-308, 310-11; J. M. Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 87-90, 96-99, 102-105; H. C. Rawlinson, in *JRGS*, ix (London 1839), 64 f., 73-78, 81, 88 f.; Selby, in *JRGS*, xiv (1844), 219-46; Layard, *ibid.*, xvi (1846), 27-28, 44, 50-65; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 46, 162-204, 219-220, 225-227, x, 26, 28, 31, xi, 1021-25, 1028-30; C. A. von Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, ii, passim (especially 162 f., 193, 273 f.); W. K. Loftus, *Travels and research in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, 289-93, 298-300, 329, 343, 346, 423-31; Fr. Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i, Leipzig 1871, 108-11; A. Arnold, *Through Persia by caravan*, London 1877, ii, 39 f.; A. Houtum-Schindler, in *Z.G.Erdk. Berl.*, xiv (1879), 307 f.; H. L. Wells, in *Proc. RGS*, v; Bateman Champain, *ibid.*, (1883), 121-38, 146-9, 152; Stolze and Andreas, in *Pet. Mitt.*, Suppl. fasc., no. 77, Gotha 1885, 48, 56; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887; W. F. Ainsworth, *A personal narrative of the Euphrates expedition*, London 1888, ii, 168-89, 205 f., 219-32; idem, *The River Karun*, London 1890; H. B. Lynch, *Karun valley*, in *Proc. RGS*, xii (1890); Tomaschek, *Küstenfahrt Nearchs*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxi (1890), Abh. viii, p. 73-84; G. N. Curzon, *The Karun River*, in *Proc. RGS*, xii, 509-32; idem, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, *passim* (see the Index; especially ii, 314 f., 330 f., 336); Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1892; H. A. Sawyer, in *GJ*, iv (London 1894), 481-501 (with notes by Lynch and Mackenzie, 502 f.); T. E. Gordon, *Persia revisited*, London 1896, 100 f.; *The Persian Gulf Pilot* (originally compiled by Constable and Stiffe), London 1898, 284-93, 296-9; Billerbeck, in *Mitt. V.A.G.*, iii (1898), part 2, 29-34, 46-50; Graadt van Roggen, in *Mém. de la Délégation en Perse*, vii (Paris 1905), 167-207; E. Herzfeld, in *Pet. Mitt.*, liii (Gotha 1907), 73-79, with route map on Plates vi and vii (Kārūn from Shustar to Ahwāz-Naṣriyya); W. Schweer, *Das türkisch-persische Erdölvorkommen* Hamburg 1919 (= *Abh. des Hamburg. Kolonialinstituts*, xxx), 22, 57-72, 110-117, 140-142, 177-219, and map 3 (Kārūn valley). Schweer also gives (pp. 153 f. and 165 f.) further references to the literature and maps to be consulted.

(M. Streck-[J. Lassner])

KĀRWĀN, a word ostensibly of Iranian origin, later arabicized, whence Eng. "caravan", Fr. "caravane", Ger. "Karawane", etc. Its early form *kārbān*, meaning "supervising work", probably evolved in the Pahlavi period. The Pahlavi form may have been *kārpānde*, in which case it would be a noun made up of *kār* meaning "army" or "war" plus the suffix *-van*, signifying a group of travelling merchants; convoys of provisions, goods and animals also were called *kārbān*. However, this may well be a popular etymology for a word of uncertain origin. The more widespread meaning dates from the early Islamic period (M. Muʿīn, *A Persian dictionary*, iii, 2817; caravans are described in the works of the 5th/11th century poets Firdawsī and Farrukhī [*qq.v.*]).

Caravan routes demonstrate the distribution and direction of trade routes, although the latter existed before the caravan system was developed. Journeys of various kinds were undertaken in caravan-like "convoys". In the pre-Islamic period the Arabs had for long used the word *ʿīr*, and later the more usual word *ķāfila*, as the equivalent of *kārwān*; the word *ķāfila* was current at the beginning of the 7th century A.D. for gatherings of traders (cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo 1936, i, 253, 312). In Turkish, the word *arkïsh*, meaning caravan, is attested from the 8th century A.D. (Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 216-7).

Caravans were composed of horses, mules, donkeys, and especially camels. Camel-caravans were used over open plainland and deserts, while in the mountainous regions mules, donkeys, and more rarely horses were used. In some regions, however, the nature of the caravan was quite different: in India, caravans made up of 100-200 carts each pulled by 10-12 oxen were used for the bulk transport of grain (J.-B. Tavernier, *The six voyages* ..., London 1678, ii, 28 ff.; Peter Mundy, *Travels* ..., ii, pp. xxxvii, 45, 249, 250, 281, 283).

HISTORICAL SURVEY

Camel caravans became widespread because of the greater load that the animal could carry (on the domestication of the camel, see BADW). The size of the load a camel can carry varies according to the climate: in hot countries such as India the camel can carry only a small load of 600-650 lbs, whereas those employed between Tabrīz and Istanbul and accustomed to the cold, could carry 1000 lbs (Tavernier, i, 49-50).

The oldest feature in the history of the western Asiatic caravan trade is the so-called "Silk Route". This route connecting China and Central Asia was extended to Farghāna and thence to southern and western Asia, and provided a means of transporting the products of distant countries by means of large caravans consisting of hundreds of camels. In the Islamic middle ages, Baghdād was the point of departure for routes to east and west, the principal itineraries being: (1) From Baghdād northwards along the Tigris to Mosul - Hatra - Ḥarrān - or Sindjār - Nisibis - Raķķa - Manbidj - Aleppo - Ḥamā - Ḥimṣ - Baʿlabakk - Damascus - Ramla - Cairo - Alexandria, and thence by ship to North Africa; (2) From Baghdād the route along the west bank of the Euphrates, which it crossed at Hīt, and thence to Damascus, was the shortest route across the desert; and (3) The eastbound route went from Baghdād to Hamadān, thence to Rayy - Nīshāpūr - Marw - Bukhārā and Samarķand, and so to the western terminal of the silk route at Farghāna, by which China could be reached. One route ran from Khīwa in Khwārazm to the mouth of the Volga, and thence up the Volga to the Baltic countries; another passed north of the Caspian Sea to the northern ports of the Black Sea.

The organization and marching arrangements of a caravan may be illustrated by the account of one consisting of about 600 camels and 400 mules which made the journey from Diyārbakr to Mawṣil in 1838. The camals, tied together with rope in groups of ten or twenty, walked in single file; their owners rode small donkeys or horses, travelling in front, while the servants walked. The camels would not move un-

less led by the donkey. When the caravan came to a site where it was to spend the night, the leader of the caravan would move on ahead and point out the camping-place. The cargo was unloaded and the large bales were arranged to form a rectangular enclosure, within which each traveller prepared his own sleeping quarters. Then the camals and mules were untied and driven out to graze, but the horses were fettered. As it grew dark, the camels were rounded up and tethered in line within the enclosure (*Lettres du Maréchal de Moltke sur l'Orient*, Paris 1872, 229-30).

From early times, commercial journeys had been made at set periods, so that several important cities grew up at the terminals of regular routes: most notably, Mecca's existence depended entirely upon the caravan-trade. Once a year, a caravan was organised to set out in a specific direction, such a caravan comprising some 2500 camels, as well as horses and mules. At this period, a caravan of 1000 camels was regarded as medium-sized, while a caravan of 450 camels and 100 mules and donkeys, operating between Baghdād and Aleppo, was considered small. The camels in a caravan might be used as mounts, but generally were beasts of burden. The distances covered each day varied according to the climate. On average, caravans travelled 6, 8, 10 or 12 hours each day, each day's journey being made in two stages: from 3 or 4 in the morning until 10, and in the afternoon from 2 or 3 o'clock until 8. Since a single camel can carry a load equivalent to that of three, four, or even five horses, it was a much cheaper mode of transport. In the Mediterranean region, caravan journeys were closely linked to maritime traffic; during the winter months, when transport by sea was impossible, three caravans, setting out from Sidjilmāsa on the northern Saharan fringe, would travel to Cairo via Ḳayrawān, Tripoli and Barḳa. Such caravans operated also in the summer months, covering the distance between Tunis and Cairo in two or three months. Caravans covering long distances were known as "seasonal" (*mawsim*) caravans, in India "monsoon" caravans (S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1968, 303). Caravans operated in the summer months in Anatolia, in the Balkans and in Ādharbāydjān: thus caravans arrived at Izmir between February and June and in October (Tavernier, i, 46-7); but Anatolia and the Balkans lie outside the desert regions—caravans would arrive in Egypt and in other countries of North Africa in September-October, and even in April, May and June. During the summer, it was quite impossible to cross the desert between Baghdād and Aleppo. In *ca.* 1640, caravan traffic out of Hormuz operated between December and March. In north-west Africa, caravans arriving south of Oran (Algeria) in November were of importance in this century (F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean* . . ., Eng. tr. London 1972, i, 259-60).

CARAVAN ROUTES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARAVAN TRADE

There were along the caravan routes fixed points at which the caravans halted for the night, and in desert regions there were furthermore water cisterns at intervals of 15 km. These halting-places were regarded as "guest-houses", and were often organized by the pious as *waḳf*-foundations, the usual designation for them being *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*]. The establishment of such *ribāṭ*s dates from the 4th/10th century and reached its peak under the Great Saldjūḳs. In various works composed in the 6th/12th century, the word *ribāṭ* is used as a synonym for "caravanserai" and spread to Central Asia as a result of the Mongol invasions. The caravanserai reached its highest development in Saldjūḳ Anatolia, especially in the 7th/13th century; caravanserais or *khān*s were built at intervals of 30-40 km. along the north-south and east-west routes as international trade increased. Their strong walls and towers provided security; and their facilities might include sleeping-quarters, kitchens, storehouses, baths, mosques, and even hospitals for the sick (O. Turan, *Selçuk kervansarayları*, in *Bell.*, x/39 (1946), 477-95). In this period, the central authorities appointed to each caravan an official entitled *Amīr-i Kārbānsālār*, under whom was an escort commanded by a *rāhdār* or *tutkavul*.

Whatever the object of the caravan, whether trade or the fulfilment of the pilgrimage, its rate of travel varied from period to period. A pilgrimage caravan of 30-40,000 camels could travel from Cairo to Mecca in forty days, helped on its way by its military escort. In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, in spite of the Portuguese development of the Cape maritime route, trans-Saharan trade developed considerably, although there was some modification of the traditional routes (Braudel, *op. cit.*, i, 181-2). In the 11th/17th century the route between Persia and Izmir was popular, although it took 100 days: the journey to Iṣfahān via Mawṣil and Hamadān took 58 days; the busiest route to Persia, that from Aleppo via Biredjik, Diyārbakr and Tabrīz, took 42 days, and 66 days to Iṣfahān. Towards the middle of the 11th/17th century, however, the importance of the caravans trading between Persia, India and the Ottoman Empire diminished, as a result of the formation of English and Dutch trading companies operating by sea; the only major commodity left for overland transport was silk. The spice trade continued, but the old spice routes were abandoned (N. Steensgaard, *Carracke, caravans and companies*, Odense 1973, 174, 192).

With the development of other means of communication, the composition of the caravans changed and the number of animals decreased. Yet although the number of animals employed in a single caravan might decrease, the number of caravans organized each year might increase. Commercial caravans travelled between Baghdād and Baṣra four times a year in the 10th/16th century and small caravans travelled regularly between Syria and southern ʿIrāḳ: there were three caravans a year between Damascus and Baghdād. The Baghdād caravan went to Damascus once a year and to Aleppo twice. This situation continued unchanged until the end of the 12th/18th century. In Anatolia, caravans were organized on a smaller scale; because of the broken terrain, mules and donkeys were used in some regions instead of camels, as was the case in northern ʿIrāḳ.

ORGANIZATION

Security was a vital consideration. Caravans usually had an armed escort, sometimes of professional soldiers, and at every halting-point would be joined by new groups of travellers. During the night a continuous look-out had to be kept against raids by bandits, and at intervals the sentinels would call to one another *khaberdār*! and a drum was beaten (P. Mundy, *Travels*, ii, 41-2; Thévenot, part 3, 19). A leader responsible for organizing the whole caravan was known as the *kervān-bashī* (in Persia and India, *kārvān-kesh* or *kārbānsālār*), and he had one or two assistants. Each group of 15-20 camels under its own leader was under the general supervision of the main leader, who determined the route to be followed, the

halting-places, and the order of the constituent groups in the caravan, and who was responsible for the general security. To travel in a caravan was slower, but safer, since special, additional guards, supplied by the government, were available in desolate areas. In the mid-11th/17th century, the leader of the caravan was sometimes elected by the merchants. If a merchant had six camels, one of the six beasts, and if he had three, one of the three, carried his essential gear. For every horse or camel in the caravan its owner paid a fixed fee to the leader; thus, if the caravan was a large one, the leader might make a great deal of money, part of which he paid to the guards and part of which he spent on necessities along the way. At places where customs duty was collected, 4 *ḳuru͟sh* was taken for every camel-load and 2 *ḳuru͟sh* for a horse-load (Tavernier, part 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 45, 46; *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802 and 1803*, London 1814, i, 112-13).

In desert areas, where water was scarce or unobtainable, paid scouts called *tak͟shīf* were employed to find water. When the wind obscured the track, the *tak͟shīf* had to go on ahead to find the way, so that occasionally he was the first to die (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 381-3; cf. Leo Africanus, *The history and description of Africa*, London 1898, i, 173-4). In some places, such as the Western Sudan, blind scouts were used, who found the way by their sense of smell. Caravan-leaders in the Sahara had links with the Berber tribes; here four main routes connected north and east Africa: (1) the route by Sid͟jilmāsa and Walata to Senegal and the upper Niger; (2) the Ghadamès-Ghat route to Hausaland and Air; (3) the Tripoli-Fezzān-Kawar route to Bornu and Lake Chad; and (4) furthest east, the route Cyrenaica-Kufra-Wadai. The first three routes were completely under the control of the Berbers, who dug wells along them and supplied the needs of passing caravans. These long and dangerous journeys were made only once a year, but by large caravans; thus in 1805 a caravan of 2000 persons and 1800 camels, travelling from Taghaza to Timbuktu, perished of thirst (E. W. Bovill, *The golden trade of the Moors*², London 1958, 52, 235, 236). The traditional caravans continued to operate in Africa into this century: thus in 1908 a caravan of 20,000 camels set out from Air to travel via Ghadamès and Ghat (Bovill, *op. cit.*, 236, 238).

Records of the late 19th century give detailed accounts of caravan travel in the desert. In Tripoli (North Africa), after several merchants who wished to organize a caravan had reached agreement among themselves and obtained permission from the provincial authorities, they would, by the intermediary of a *s͟hayk͟h* known to be competent and trustworthy, conclude agreements with the *s͟hayk͟hs* through whose tribal lands they would pass. If the *s͟hayk͟h* accepted the proposal, he would come to the provincial capital accompanied by men armed *raḳḳāṣūn*, skilled at picking up stragglers, and *k͟habīr*, who knew the routes and the places where water was to be found. In the capital all details of the wages to be paid, etc., were settled, committed to writing, and confirmed by the provincial authorities; a *mans͟hūr* or formal document incorporating these conditions was given to the *s͟hayk͟h* who was to act as conductor of the caravan; he was empowered to take all measures to protect the lives and goods of the participants and to determine any legal or criminal questions that might arise. The promoters of the caravan would cause public proclamation to be made. Not all who responded were necessarily professional merchants; private individuals might take part as a speculation, informing the *s͟hayk͟h* that they needed six camels (three for the goods that they hoped to sell at a profit, one to ride on, one for water, and one for food). On the basis of this information, the *s͟hayk͟h* would arrange the disposition of the caravan (Müsevvid-zâde Derviş, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğuna ait vesikalar*, in *İstanbul Dergisi*, n.s. i/10-12 (Istanbul 1940), 393-4). The *s͟hayk͟hs* of the caravan and the leaders of the armed guards were each given a burnous according to rank. Such a caravan travelling to Central Africa, where coinage was unknown, would carry goods for barter.

CARAVAN TRADE BETWEEN THE 9TH/15TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

In the Ottoman Empire, an extensive caravan network satisfied all the requirements of transport and communications. Towards the end of the 9th/15th century the most important caravan route across Anatolia was that between Bursa and Tabrīz; it began with a northern and a southern branch (Kastamonu-Bolu; Ankara-Çorum) and then traversed Amasya, Tokat, Erzind͟jān, Erzurūm and the Aras valley. This was principally a silk route (H. İnalcık, in *Bell.*, xxiv/93 (Ankara 1960), 45-96). A document of 1019/1610 gives the following information about the composition of a caravan travelling from Bag͟hdād to Aleppo: its 120 merchants had baggage amounting to 942½ *yüks*, one *yük* being the two bales slung across a beast of burden (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, MM 7499). There were also smaller caravans operating between cities; termed *makkārī* ("for hire"), they would transport merchants and travellers for a fare. In Istanbul in the time of Murād IV, 3000 people were engaged in this business (Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, i, 520; H. Ongan, *Ankara'nın 1 numaralı şer'iye sicilli*, Ankara 1958, 64; see, for the *makkārīs* operating between Damascus and Bag͟hdād, Muṣṭafā Ḍiyā, *Rehnümā-yi Bag͟hdād*, Damascus 1314, 4-5). Most of the people comprising a caravan were merchants engaged in trade with foreign countries, but travellers would also join a caravan in order to enjoy its security: in the late 11th/17th century it was impossible for small groups of travellers to move about in the Ottoman Empire otherwise, because of the threats from Arab tribesmen and bandits (C. Le Bruyn, *Travels*, London 1718, ii, 329; Başbakanlık Arşivi, MD no. 115, pp. 285, 306). Caravan operations were carried on also in the European territories of the Ottoman Empire, numerous *k͟hāns* surviving in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania and elsewhere (cf. Hamdija Kreşevljakovic, *Hanovi i Karavansaraji u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1957). Regular journeys were made between Istanbul and Belgrade by what was known as the "Belgrade caravan"; it continued to function into the 19th century (for a document of 1803, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Cevdet tasnifi, iktisat no. 2029; see also S. Dimitriyevic, *Les caravans de Dubrovnik dans la Serbie du sud au XVIIe siècle*, Belgrade 1958).

Mule caravans operating in Anatolia had their own special characteristics. The leading animal, which kept some way ahead of the others and carried a smaller load, was called *pes͟hek*, the next was called *d͟jindār*, and the next again *peshdār*. All the animals carried small bells around their necks, which could be heard an hour's distance away. Halts were made at *k͟hāns* either to deliver the goods carried or to transfer them to other animals. Cameleers and muleteers formed a trade-guild (see C. Çahit Güzelbey,

Gaziantep'te kervancılık, in *Gaziantep Kültür Dergisi*, v/79 (Gaziantep 1962), 79, 80, 94).

Whereas caravans travelled in Persia by night, in the Ottoman Empire travelling was done by day, for protection against bandits. A leader of a caravan could determine the hour by the position of the stars. He was followed by a *bayraḳdār* "standard-bearer", who had a standard wrapped around a staff which he would wave at times of danger in order to warn the musketeers protecting the caravan. The Baghdād-Aleppo caravan also included coffee-makers, a *čawush* who transmitted the leader's orders, a *mu'adhdhin*, and various tradesfolk—shoemakers, barbers, farriers and carpenters. The group of people at the rear was termed *ḥamla* (J. B. L. J. Rousseau, *Voyage de Bagdad à Alep* (1808), Paris 1899; cf. Tavernier, *Voyages*, 47, 60).

According to Peter Mundy (ii, 45), a caravan travelling from Surat to Agra in India in 1630 contained 250-300 carts and about 1800 people; the number increased as it proceeded, since inhabitants of famine-stricken regions would join it in order to escape starvation. There were no *khāns* in India, but in the cities there were public buildings termed *sarāy*. According to Peter Mundy again (ii, p.xxxvii), the last caravan of the season contained 268 camels and 109 carts.

PILGRIM CARAVANS

Caravans of pilgrims travelling to the Holy Cities were under the supervision of the *Amīr al-ḥadjdj* (Ewliyā Čelebi, x, 424-5, 435, etc.). It was the regular practice to make money payments to the Bedouin chiefs through whose territories the caravan passed (Tavernier, 62-3). In Ottoman times, the provisioning, watering and protection of the pilgrim-caravans was a major enterprise (the Cairo caravan consisted of 40,000 people). The Cairo caravan was in two sections; 10,000 people from North Africa formed the rear in the outward journey, but came back first. For descriptions of the pilgrim caravan, see H. Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697*, Beirut 1963, 171-3; F. Hasselquist, *Voyages and travels in the Levant in the years 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752*, London 1776, 77-83; E. W. Lane, *The manners and customs...*, chs. 24, 25; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, 247-8; and see MAḤMAL.

DECLINE

The caravan trade declined as a result of the great changes in the technology of transport which occurred in the 19th century. In some regions, caravan journeys were discontinued after the introduction of steamships. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 brought a swift decline, yet caravans continued until the First World War. Later still, motor transport began to displace the camel. Although the great desert route was scarcely used after the mid-19th century, Damascus continued to be the centre for what remained of this trade—no longer a matter of thousands or hundreds of camels, but small numbers meeting local needs (C. P. Grant, *The Syrian Desert: caravans, travel and exploration*, London 1937, 156-7). The construction of railways also dealt a severe blow to caravan trade in some areas, *e.g.* in Anatolia, from 1859 onwards. Yet so late as 1918, five great caravan routes to the Holy Cities were still travelled—from Baghdād and neighbourhood; from Syria; from the Persian Gulf area; from the ʿUmān district across Arabia; and from Egypt. Three factors may be said to have accelerated the decline: (1) the requisitioning of animals by governments and local authorities; (2) attacks from bandits; and (3) lack of bridges and the foul road conditions after rain.

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ḲARWASHA, originally the name of the argot of the Maghribīs practising the trades of sorcerer and treasure-seeker in Egypt, today applied to the *Dakārna* (sing. *Dakrūnī*) of Sudanese origin installed in the Village of the Sudanese close to Madāmūd in Upper Egypt and elsewhere. They are scribes manufacturing amulets at the markets. These are carried under the armpit wrapped in a square red leather case. They are effective, it is said, against the evil eye or diseases, to attract customers into a shop, to obtain the favours of a woman, to keep or regain the love of a husband and to speak "without fear" in front of the judge, the mayor or any another magistrate. The *Dakārna* make use of a secret language among themselves (*ruṭaynā*, in the spoken Arabic of Upper Egypt *ruṭāna*) which is called *ḳarwasha* (from the verb *ḳarwash* "to speak" or again *balhama* from the verb *balham* "to speak in an incomprehensible fashion"). A part of the vocabulary is of Maghribī origin: *mizyān* "good", *bizzāf* "much", *sibsa* "cigarette". They sometimes even affect the Moroccan accent: *šimšima* "head" and not *djimdjima*. The grammar is that of the spoken language of the region of Luxor. The man is called *diyāblu* pl. *diyablāt* (of Spanish origin: *diablo* "devil"). *Budd-i* "I want". *Esh budd-ak* "what do you want?". *Diyāl* (after a vowel *dyāl*), used for forming a possessive genitive, is in current use: *el-yūsufa dyāl-u* "his wife", *el-kabbārī dyāl-ha* "her husband", *es-sutra dyāl el-muksa* "the door of the house". *Bi-dyāl* has become a preposition; *djayyim es-sibsa bi-dyāl en-nūra* "light the cigarette with the match"; *nūḍ bi-dyāl-i* "leave me"; *djayyim el-mimāt min ed-diyāblu lli bi-dyāl-ak* "take the money from

the man who is with you." The prefix *ka* of the verb tends to disappear: *lamma ka-ykūn el-wāḥid fi l-lammām* "if anyone is in the market".

A large number of terms are artificial creations: *alif* "reed, pen" (because of the elongated form which recalls that of the letter *alif*), *mīm* "ink-well" (round like the letter *mīm*), *d̲j̲īm* "excellent" (abbreviation of *d̲j̲ayyid*) with the polyvalent verb *d̲j̲ayyim* "to do. take, cook, manufacture", originally "to do well". Water is called *rāwiya* "that which waters", the "market" *lammām* is the "gatherer" (of people) and *nawwāḍa* (f.) the "road" is the "walker" (from *nāḍ, yinūḍ* "to go off, walk"). *Yūsfa* "woman" recalls Yūsuf, the ideal of a "young and handsome man". The dog is called *nabbāḥ* "that which barks", the pigeon *ṭayyāra* "that which flies", and the female donkey *d̲j̲arrāya* "that which runs". Several terms come from the slang of the Ḥalab: *ʿadwān* "meat", *baṣṣāṣa* "eye", lit. "that which looks", *ṭana* (*yiṭni*) signifies at the same time "to beat" and "to kill", *inṭana* (*yinṭini*) "to die". *Kabbārī*, among the Ḥalab "sheikh" or "mayor", here also designates the "husband". The *ḳarwas̲h̲a* is enriched by adopting numerous *dakūni* words: *d̲j̲agur* "king", *murta* "horse", *lēl* "donkey", *fattā* "white". The origin of several words remains uncertain: *ʿabbu* "fellāḥ" and *ʿabbūwa* "fellāḥa", *ẓarbūn* or *kīr* "black man", *tidiḳ* "small", *wūtiḳ* "to sit down" and *wattaḳ* "to bring". This small vocabulary of several dozen words very frequently employed has ended up in becoming a real professional argot.

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ḲARYA, A., pl. ḳurā, "town, village". The various forms used in the Semitic languages to indicate a "dwelling-place, a place where people meet" are best derived from an original biliteral root *ḳ-r*. Phoenician *ḳart*, as in *ḳart-ḥadašt*, "Carthage", represents this basic root with a feminine ending. The same is true of the Hebrew *ḳèret* and the emphatic state *ḳarta* (with *alef*), which occurs in Targumic, Samaritan and Christian-Palestinian texts. In Syrian and in Christian-Palestinian *ḳerē*, a *y* is added to the basic root without the feminine ending, whereas *ḳ-r-y* + *t* is found in the Hebrew construct state *ḳiryat*, Arabic *ḳarya* and South-Arabic *ḳirya*. In Hebrew this construct state often occurs in such place names as Ḳiryat Arbaʿ (Hebron, K̲h̲alīl [*q.v.*]), Ḳiryat Yeʿarīm, Ḳiryat Sefer, the plural being Ḳiryot. A connection with Cirta is rejected by Nöldeke, who argues that a Phoenician place-name is not likely to be found as far inland as Constantine (Ḳusṭanṭīna [*q.v.*]); moreover, Polybius (37, 3, 11) has Σχίρταν.

In the Ḳurʾān, the singular *ḳarya* indicates an important town. Mecca (XLVII, 14), Medina (II, 5), Sodom (*e.g.*, XXI, 74, XXV, 42), Nineveh (X, 98) and the coastal town (VII, 163: *al-ḳarya ḥāḍirat al-baḥr*) are so called. Except for the reference in XII, 82, both singular and plural stand for a town that has been or will be destroyed by Allāh for its inhabitants' rejection of the message of the Prophet or of his predecessors. The dual *al-ḳaryatayn* (XLIII, 30) indicates Mecca and Medina, whereas *umm al-ḳurā*, "the mother of towns" (VI, 91, XLII, 5), designates Mecca. This term was probably already used before Islam because of Mecca's leading position in the religious and economic life of the Ḥid̲j̲āz. The expression is likely to be a translation of the Greek *metropolis*. Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī [*q.v.*] states in his *Tahd̲h̲īb* that every city is the *umm* of the towns around it. Ibn al-Kalbī [*q.v.*], cited by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih [*q.v.*] (*al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Cairo 1321, iii, 97), mentions six *ummahāt al-ḳurā al-ʿarabiyya*: Yat̲h̲rib, al-Ṭāʾif, K̲h̲aybar, Wādī al-Ḳurā, Dūmat al-D̲j̲andal and al-Yamāmā.

Ḳarya may also be used to indicate a *madīna* [*q.v.*], but only if it is qualified by an epithet denoting greatness. Arab philologists derive the word from the roots *ḳ-r-y* or *ḳ-r-w*, "to collect", "to store", or from *ḳarā*, "to collect people for hospitality", "to investigate a country in order to choose a residence" and "to head for some place".

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ḲARYA AL-SUFLĀ, a village in north-eastern Arabia (27° 29′ N, 47° 52′ E), about 165 m. above sea-level and having a population of about 970 (1958 estimate). It is popularly known as Ḳurayya, after its larger twin village, Ḳarya, or Ḳarya al-ʿUlyā [*q.v.*], 19 km. to the west-north-west. The settlement of the site as a *hid̲j̲ra* of Ik̲h̲wān [*q.v.*] was contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the founding in 1338/1919 of Ḳarya al-ʿUlyā. The colonists were Muṭayr tribesmen led by Hāyif al-Fug̲h̲m, chief of the D̲h̲awu ʿAwn section of that tribe's ʿIlwa division. For notes on events connected with the founding of both villages and for a bibliography, see ḳarya al-ʿulyā. (J. Mandaville)

ḲARYA AL-ʿULYĀ, a village in north-eastern Arabia. Situated at 27° 33′ N, 47° 42′ E about 170 m. above sea-level and having a population of 2,200 (1963 estimate), it was founded as a *hid̲j̲ra*, or colony of the Wahhābī Ik̲h̲wān [*q.v.*] by members of the ruling clan of the Muṭayr tribe. From about 1930, it has been a minor Bedouin market centre. It is often called simply Ḳarya, the full name being used to differentiate it from neighbouring Ḳarya al-Suflā [*q.v.*]. The two are sometimes referred to together as Ḳarayāt (a vernacular plural). The establishment of Ḳarya was a major incident in the 1919-20 boundary dispute between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd, known as Ibn Suʿūd, and the ruling house of Kuwayt; it led to the bloody battle of al-D̲j̲ahrāʾ (Muḥarram 1339/October 1920), when the Ik̲h̲wān attacked the forces of Sālim b. Mubārak Āl Ṣabāḥ at al-D̲j̲ahrāʾ, 30 km. west of Kuwayt town.

Ḳarya al-ʿUlyā was a well-known watering place of Muṭayr long before 1338/1919, when Turayḥīb b. Bandar b. S̲h̲uḳayr of the Dūs̲h̲ān clan, Muwaha sec-

tion, of that tribe founded a *hidjra* there with the approval of Ibn Suʿūd. Relations between Nadjd and Kuwayt had already been strained in 1337/1919 by news of Sālim's plans to build a fort at Dawḥat Bilbūl, 110 km. east of Ķarya on the Gulf coast. Ibn Shuķayr's building activities at Ķarya, probably encouraged by Ibn Suʿūd as a counter-measure, led to protests from Kuwayt and finally the dispatch of a 400-man Kuwaytī force, which was routed by Muṭayr at the wells of Ḥamaḍ, north-east of Ķarya, in Shaʿbān 1338/May 1920. Ibn Suʿūd, whose Ikhwān led by Fayṣal b. Sulṭān al-Dawīsh had attacked before arrival of a letter from their sovereign urging restraint, agreed to return loot taken from Kuwaytī tribes but maintained his territorial claim. The Ikhwān marched on al-Djahrāʾ as negotiations and British mediation broke down and after an abortive move toward Ķarya by Kuwaytī forces reinforced by Shammar tribesmen. Both Ķaryas in 1928-29 were important military bases of Muṭayr in raids against Kuwayt and ʿIrāķ; they were also dissident centres during the concurrent Ikhwān rebellion against Ibn Suʿūd.

After the collapse of the aggressive Ikhwān movement in early 1930, Ķarya remained as a market for Bedouins and as a customs station on the main motor track between Kuwayt and al-Riyāḍ. A large mud fort which the Saudi Arabian Government ordered to be built there in 1355/1936-37 was in good repair in 1974. The track gradually fell out of use, but the village continued to serve Bedouins on a route into the wells, pastures, and settlements of al-Ṣummān [*q.v.*]. The village is administered by an *amīr* who reports to the governor of the Saudi Arabian Eastern Province in al-Dammām.

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AL-**ĶAṢĀB**, a town in South Arabia in the Wādī Bayḥān and the main town of the area called Bayḥān al-Ķaṣāb [*q.v.*]. As the population has grown and the inhabited area extended, the town itself has come to be known as Bayḥān al-Ķaṣāb or Bayḥān al-Ķaṣab, and it is now usually mapped under one of these names. At the end of the 19th century the town had 12 citadels and 400 houses and was surrounded by palm-groves. Cotton was, and is, an important crop and is used for the manufacture of high-grade cloth in great demand in the area. Indigo has long been extensively cultivated and is used in local dyehouses to produce the dark-blue cloth popular in South Arabia, and is sold for use on the body. The town had a large Jewish quarter, its habitants, as elsewhere in Southern Arabia, specializing in working silver and leather. These people have now gone, emigrating between 1948 and the independence of Southern Yemen. The soil in and around the town is fertile and, in addition to cotton and indigo, it produces barley, red millet, summer millet, grapes, dates and vegetables. Since the end of the Second World War wells have been bored and agricultural development generally has been fostered. Educational facilities have been expanded and health centres opened in the town and the area generally.

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ĶAṢĀB, TEODOR (Mod. Turkish TEODOR KASAP), Ottoman Turkish writer, journalist and playwright (1835-1897). He was born in Kayseri, the son of Sarafim Kasaboghlu, a Greek draper. He lost his father at the age of eleven and moved to Izmir where he attended a Greek school and at the same time worked as an apprentice in the store of a relative. A French officer, a nephew of Alexandre Dumas *père*, who was on his way home at the end of the Crimean War, met him there (1856). Struck by his honesty and intelligence he arranged for his further studies in Paris. There Ķasāb became Alexandre Dumas' private secretary and accompanied him on various trips, particularly in Italy during the Garibaldi campaign (1860). He introduced Namîk Kemāl and other Young Ottomans to Alexandre Dumas. Early in 1870 he was in Istanbul, where he taught French in various schools and founded *Diogène*, a French and Greek language humorous magazine. In November 1870 he began to publish *Diyojen*, the Turkish edition of the same paper and the first humorous magazine in Turkish. Started as a weekly, *Diyojen* was published later twice and finally three times a week. Several leading writers of the time such as Namîk Kemāl, Abu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ (Ebüzziya) Tewfīķ and ʿAlī Bey (Direktör), contributed regularly to it. The articles and cartoons evincing subtle social and political satire made it a very popular journal but also a target for censorship and *Diyojen* was suspended four times and finally closed in January 1873 after two years of publication. One of the main themes of social satire was ridicule of the westernizing snob, a theme which was taken up and elaborated later by several writers like Aḥmed Midḥat, Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem and Ḥusayn Raḥmī [see HIDJĀʾ]. In April 1873 Teodor Ķaṣāb began to publish a new humorous journal, *Činghîraķlî Tatar*, which was soon suppressed, and in October of the same year a third, *Khayāl*, in which he continued his satirical essays. In August 1875 he founded a political daily, *Istiķbāl*, which lasted until September 1876. In both journals Ķaṣāb bitterly criticized the patently pro-Russian policy of the grand vizier Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha. While the First Constitution was being debated in Turkey, Ķaṣāb published several articles criticizing its various clauses, and after its promulgation on 23 December 1876, a famous cartoon in his *Khayāl* ridiculed the clause limiting the freedom of the press. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, who bore a personal grudge against him because of an earlier incident (see below), had him tried and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. He fled to Paris, where he published *Lettres à Said Pasha* (1879) in which he criticized ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's authoritarian régime. From Paris he moved to Naples where, in collaboration with the Young Turk ʿAlī Shefķatī (d. Paris 1896), he continued to publish *Istiķbāl* lithographically. When the court of appeal quashed the sentence and the sultan pardoned him, he returned to Istanbul and was later (1882) given a position in the Imperial Library at Yîldîz Palace, where he worked and translated reading material for the sultan "safely" away from press and politics until his death in 1897.

One of his sons, ALEXANDRE, who entered the Ottoman diplomatic service, rose to be head of department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the government of Istanbul which came to an end in 1922.

Apart from his contributions to Turkish humorous

journalism and the literature of political satire, Teodor Ḳaṣāb played an important part in the development of Turkish theatre in the 1870s, through his skilful adaptations of French plays and his numerous articles in which he discussed the principles and techniques of the developing modern Turkish theatre. He is the author of the following adaptations: (1) *Pinti Ḥamīd* ("Ḥamīd the Miser"), Istanbul 1290/1873, a successful adaptation, superior to Aḥmed Vefīḳ Pasha's better known *Azarya*, of Molière's *L'Avare* (1668). Although Pinti Ḥamīd is a well known popular character who symbolizes stinginess, the prince Ḥamīd Efendi (the future ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II), suspicious as he was and known to be rather close, tried unsuccessfully to stop the performance of the play at the last minute (for details see the letter of Ḳaṣāb's son Diogenes to Ismāʿīl Ḥabīb Sevük quoted in the latter's *Tazimattan beri*, i, Istanbul 1940, 218). (2) *Ishkilli Memo* ("Memo the Suspicious"), Istanbul 1291/1874, from Molière's *Sganarelle ou le cocu imaginaire* (1660), in Roman script *Işkilli Memo*, Istanbul, 1965, ed. Cevdet Kudret with an introduction on Teodor Ḳaṣāb; (3) *Para Meselesi*, Istanbul 1292/1875, translated from Alexandre Dumas *fils' La question d'argent* (1857); (4) *Lükresya Bordjiya*, Istanbul 1292/1875, from Victor Hugo's *Lucrèce Borgia* (1833). He also translated many novels, the best known among them being *Monte Kristo*, Istanbul 1288/1871, from Alexandre Dumas *père*'s *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (1845), the popularity of which inspired Aḥmed Midḥat's famous novel *Ḥasan Mellāḥ* (1292/1875).

Teodor Ḳaṣāb contributed considerably to the liberal and reformist movement of the Young Ottomans and advocated a larger use of the techniques and concepts of the traditional Turkish theatre, such as *Karagöz* and *Orta oyunu*, in modern plays. Both in his articles and his plays, Ḳaṣāb used colloquial speech and avoided a flowery style.

Bibliography: M. N. Ozön, *Namık Kemal ve Ibret Gazetesi*, Istanbul 1933, *passim*; M. C. Kuntay, *Namık Kemal* I, Istanbul 1944, 586-96; Ihsan Sungu, *Diyojen*, in *Aylık Ansiklopedi*, Istanbul 1945, s.v.; N. Moschopoulos, *Theodōros Kasapēs*, in *Megalē Hellēnikē Enkyklopaideia*, s.v., Refik Ahmet Sevengil, *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi*, İİİ, *Tanzimat Tiyatrosu*, Istanbul 1961, 85-86 and *passim*; F. A. Tansel, *Namık Kemal'in mektupları*, i-ii, Ankara 1967 and 1969, see indices. (F. İz)

ḲAṢAB (A.), noun of unity *ḳaṣaba*, any plant with a long and hollow stem like the reed (*Arundo donax*), to which the term is especially applied (see *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xi, 46). The bamboo is called *khayzurān*, but *ḳaṣab* is a component of certain expressions denoting in particular the sugar cane (*ḳaṣab al-sukkar*, etc.) [see following article] and the sweet flag (or fragrant rush, *ḳaṣab al-dharira*; see H. P. J. Renaud and G. S. Colin, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, Paris 1934, 152; M. Levey, *The medical formulary ... of al-Kindī*, Madison-London 1966, 316), or even the papyrus reed (*ḳaṣab al-bardī* or just *al-bardī* [see PAPYRUS]).

The reed had various uses: for making hurdles and wattles; lattice-work mats, pens [see KALAM] and children's toys (*e.g.* see Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 165). It is further known that it was used in many places for making light huts; at Baṣra, when it was first laid out as a military camp, even the mosque and the governor's residence were made from reeds, which were rolled up before departure in an expedition and used again on return (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 188; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 346-7; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2384; Yāḳūt, i, 640). These structures, susceptible to fire (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2487), were later replaced by ones out of sun-dried brick. It should be noted that reeds were especially abundant in the neighbouring Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*], and their value was such that it was said to Ziyād that "a reed is more valuable than a palm-tree". Al-Djāḥiẓ, who recounts this saying (*K. al-Buldān*, ed. Pellat in *Machriq* (1966), 200-1; ed. Ṣ. al-ʿAlī, Baghdad 1970, 504), adds that "I did my utmost to catalogue the advantages of different kinds of reeds, their uses and the things that can be made out of them, but failed and had to abandon the idea"; it is regrettable that he in fact gave up this plan, since he could have certainly composed a whole monograph about the reed in civilisation.

Amongst the numerous other meanings of *ḳaṣab* (see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), one should note that it denotes a coloured linen cloth manufactured at Tinnīs, or a white one made at Damietta, or sometimes a cotton cloth made at Kāzarūn (Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 461-2), out of which women's fine veils were woven (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, *Ḥikāya*, 54), some set with precious stones (*ibid.*, 53). Dozy further mentions a silken material, as well as a kind of brocade encrusted with little strips of gold or silver.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

ḲAṢAB AL-SUKKAR, sugar cane, also called *ḳaṣab al-maṣṣ*, because one sucks it (see below), and *ḳaṣab ḥulw* (Gloss. Idrīsī). Cultivated sugar cane may be from a wild variety, but the attempts which have been made to cultivate the wild species which is related to it have not been successful. The country of origin of sugar cane cultivation is Bengal, from where, in the 7th century B.C., it must have passed to China. Herodotus did not know of it, nor did Ctesias, physician of Artaxerxes Memnon (*ca.* 416), but in the age of Alexander the Great, Nearchos, his admiral, and Onesicritos, who composed a history of this ruler's expedition, speak of a reed of India producing "honey without bees", as does Megasthenes, who was the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator. Theophrastos, author of a history of plants who died in 287 B.C., speaks of a *meli kalaminon*, an expression that is translated as "reed honey". Pliny did not know of sugar cane, but Dioscorides mentions a kind of coagulated honey from India and Yemen that is gathered from a reed.

It is not known exactly when the cultivation of sugar cane passed from India to Persia. The scholars of the celebrated School of Medicine of Djundaysābūr, which flourished between 532 and 579 A.D., knew of sugar cane through their relations with India. It is not impossible that they had a part in the introduction of sugar cane into Persia, where it found favourable ground for its cultivation in the hot and humid swampy land of Lower Mesopotamia and Khūzistān (cf. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, ii, 680-1). After the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, the cultivation of sugar cane was developed by them fairly rapidly, wherever the conditions of the climate responded to the needs of the plant, and it reached as far as the Muslim West.

I. — MUSLIM EAST

The zones of cultivation of sugar cane in the Eastern Muslim world are quite numerous, for several regions have low ground enjoying a hot and humid climate favourable to its cultivation and able to be irrigated easily. The cultivation of sugar cane has also developed:

in Khūzistān or Ahwāz, in the region of Tustar, watered by the Masruḳān canal diverted from the Dudjayl, in that of Djundaysābūr, that of Sūs (Susa)

on the banks of the Karkha, a tributary of the Dudjayl (see al-Iṣṭakhrī, ed. Cairo 1961, 65; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 253-4, 257; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 130; Le Strange, 236-46; Heyd, *op. cit.*, ii, 680-1);

in the region of Baṣra, in the 4th/10th century, according to Bayhaḳī, who wrote in the age of al-Muḳtadir (*Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa'l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, 623);

in Ṭabaristān to the south of the Caspian, in the region of Mīla (*Ḥudūd*, 134);

in Fārs, Makrān, Kirmān (see Ibn Ḥawḳal², 302-3, 232, 313, 325; Le Strange, 329; *Ḥudūd*, 124; cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 6, 346, at Sābūr and Shahrastān);

in Khurāsān, in the region of Balkh (*Ḥudūd*, 108);

in Sind (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 102; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 320; *Ḥudūd*, 91);

in ʿUmān (cf. *EI*¹, art. ʿOMĀN; Lippmann, 151);

in Syria-Palestine, at Kābūl, Tyre, Beirut, cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal², 176 (Beirut); al-Muḳaddasī, 162 (Kābul), 180; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-Nāma*, 40 (Tripoli); Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, ii, 368 (Tyre, plantations in the hands of the Venetians at the time of the Crusades); Foucher de Chartres, at Bulunyās (in Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie*, 473; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 410, 439); in the Ghawr of the Jordan valley (Yāḳūt, iii, 822; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 87); at Tiberias (al-Muḳaddasī, 161; cf. also Le Strange, *Palestine*, 17; Heyd, ii, 685);

in Egypt, the cultivation of sugar cane has been attested there by some papyri in the 2nd century A.D. (see Mez, *Renaissance*, 410 and n. 2); yet, if this cultivation was not exactly introduced there by the Arabs, it was in fact they who developed it, along the length of the Nile, from Upper Egypt to its mouth, the best ground being the low-lying land watered by the branches of Rosetta and Damietta (Heyd, ii, 678-8, citing Idrīsī-Jaubert, i, 123 ff. and Abu'l-Fidā', ii/1, 140). Al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 21, notes the great richness of Egypt in sugar and al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 87, says that production far exceeded that of the Ghawr. It may be seen in the article SUKKAR how much this production was developed in the time of the Mamlūk Sultans (see Ibn Ḥawḳal², 137, 138 (Sanhur), 142 (Ṣāfiyya, Damīdjamīl), 164, cf. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 51; Lippmann, 138, 140);

in Sindjar, the word *ḳaṣab* in al-Muḳaddasī really seems to designate the sugar cane there (cf. Le Strange, 124; but Ibn Ḥawḳal is silent on this subject, 220);

in the Yemen, al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-Arab*, ed. Müller, 198;

according to al-Zuhrī, a geographer of the 6th-7th/12th-13th century, edited by Hadj-Sadok (*B. Ét. O.*, xxi, 184, no. 333), it was also cultivated in Abyssinia.

Sugar cane was cultivated in several of these regions, not only for the manufacture of sugar, as was practised in Khūzistān and Egypt [see SUKKAR], but also to be chewed or sucked, hence the term *ḳaṣab al-maṣṣ*. It is this that al-Muḳaddasī, 161, notes at Tiberias where, he says, the people spent two months of the year "playing the flute", *i.e.* sucking the cane (*yazmirūna: yamuṣṣūn al-ḳaṣab*), cf. Yāḳūt, iii, 510.

It is curious that the Arab geographers do not mention at all the cultivation of sugar cane in a region where it is grown at present, sc. Cilicia; in Tarsus for example, in September, sugar cane is sold in the streets.

In the work *Nuzhat al-anām fī mahāsin al-Shām* (see below), 355, mention is made of a *ḥadīth* reported by ʿAffān b. Muslim (on this personage, see Brockelmann, I, 157) who says: "The one who sucks sugar cane after his meal will have joy throughout the day". The Prophet doubtless did not know of sugar cane; the author also adds, *wa-llāh aʿlam*. See also in this opuscule, 356, some verses on sugar cane.

Beyond the regions indicated as belonging properly to the Muslim East, the cultivation of sugar cane was introduced by the Arabs, or in imitation of them, not only into the West (North Africa, Morocco, Spain, see below), but also into the following countries:

into Cyprus, where the cultivation of the cane was highly developed in the environs of Limassol, in the south of the island, and at Bafa (Paphos) in the West. In the period of the Crusades, the family of Cornaro, the King and the Knights of St. John had plantations in the region of Colossi (Heyd, ii, 9 and 687-91);

into Rhodes, Crete (Candia) and even Greece in the Morea (Heyd, ii, 689);

into Sicily. The Arab geographers and al-Idrīsī do not speak of the cultivation of sugar cane in this land (the *ḳaṣab fārisī* that Ibn Ḥawḳal, 122, mentions there may not be sugar cane, see *BGA*, iv, 325, although Lippmann, 110, thinks that it does designate sugar cane). Nevertheless, it is certain that, towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, sugar was already being manufactured in Sicily and this sugar was being consumed in Ifrīḳiya, for the *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* of al-Mālikī, dedicated to the scholars of Qayrawān, mentions that a *faḳīh* called Abu'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. ʿĪsā, who died between 331/943 and 335/947 in the war against Abū Yazīd, refused to eat a cake that he believed to have been made with sugar from Sicily, as a result of rights conceded by the (Fāṭimid) usurper. It is certain that Roger II and his successors encouraged the cultivation of sugar cane in Sicily, and the diploma cited by Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia*, ii, 509, iii, 808, show that this cultivation was flourishing in the 6th/12th century and that sugar was being manufactured at Palermo. This cultivation continued until the end of the 9th/15th century.

We are informed about the cultivation of sugar cane and its complicated technique (repeated ploughing and harrowing, division of the field into small squares —*aḥwāḍ*—which the water reaches by channels, planting, irrigation, measures to bring on growth, struggle against weevils by means of tar, the two successive harvests, the first called *al-ra's*, the second *al-khilfa*, which usually gives better sugar than the first, etc.), by the Arab treatises on agriculture, and the works relative to financial administration, especially on Egypt. We are unable to give the details here and to explain the technical terms. We will only say that the planting was done in February-March (month of phamenōth) and that the harvest took place in November-December (month of koyak), that three kinds of cane were distinguished, the black, the white and the yellow of which only the two last were pressed (cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Mufradāt al-adwiya wa'l-aghdiya*, ed. Būlāḳ, 1291, ii, 304; al-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-nabāt*, cited in Abu'l-Baḳā' ʿAbd Allāh al-Miṣrī, *Nuzhat al-anām fī mahāsin al-Shām*, Cairo 1341, 354). The details on the cultivation of sugar cane are to be found in the following works:

Ibn al-ʿAwwām, French translation in J. J. Clement-Mullet, *Le Livre d'agriculture d'Ibn al-ʿAwwām*, Paris, i (1865), 365 ff., German translation in E. O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers ...*, Leipzig 1890, 147 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, tr. in D. Müller-Wodarg, *Die Landwirtschaft Aegyptens in der frühen Abbasidenzeit*, in *Islam*, xxxi-xxxii, 45-8; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-ʿarab*, viii, 264 ff.; Ibn Mammātī, *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiya, 221, 226, 242 ff., 246 ff., 266-7; Nābulusī, *Kitāb*

Lumaʿ al-ḳawānīn . . ., ed. Cl. Cahen in *B.Ét.O.*, xvi (1958-60), and tr. in *Quelques aspects de l'administration égyptienne médiévale*, in *Bull. de la Fac. des Lettres de Strasbourg*, 1948, 116-7; Makhzūmī, Ms., tr. in preparation.—For the cultivation at the end of the 12th/18th century in Egypt, whose methods were essentially the same as those of the Middle Ages, see *Description de l'Égypte*, 2nd ed., xvii, 173 ff., cf. M. Jomard, *Recueil d'observations et de mémoires sur l'Égypte*, Paris, n.d., 6 vols., iv (bearing the date 1830). See also A. Mazahéri, *La Vie quotidienne des Musulmans au Moyen-Age* (X-XIIIe s.), 1951, 227 ff.

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited in the article and the *Geschichte des Zuckers* of v. Lippmann, see also S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i, 276, ii, 7; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii, 186-7, 200; I. Löw, *Der Zucker, Ein Kapital aus der Flora der Juden*, in *Chemische Zeitung*, li (1927); P. Schwarz, *Die Zuckermühlen von Ahwāz*, in *Islam*, vi (1915), 269 ff.; E. Wiedemann, *Ueber den Zucker bei den Muslimen*, in *Beiträge*, 52, and *Nachträge zu dem Aufsatz über den Zucker*, 55; J. Ruska in *EI*[1], art. SUKKAR; A. K. S. Lambton in *EI*[2], art. FILĀḤA (for Iran). (M. CANARD)

II. — MUSLIM WEST

Sugar cane, reached the West (Maghrib, Spain, Sicily, the Balearic Islands, Provence, etc.) in the wake of the Arab expansion in the Mediterranean. Greek and Roman antiquity seems, in fact, to have recognized it as a botanical curiosity only (Dioscorides, Pliny, Strabo, etc.). The exact dates of its first appearances in the various Mediterranean lands are not known precisely. It can, however, be presumed that they followed closely on the advance of the Arabs, who had discovered its cultivation in the East (Mesopotamia) and encouraged it for economic and fiscal reasons. The first allusion to it in the Maghrib is found in the "Book of Plants" (*Kitāb al-Nabāt*) by the eastern botanist Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895). From the 4th/10th century, its presence is noted by as many of the principal Muslim historians, geographers or voyagers as of European ones. As a result, we have precise evidence in Ibn Ḥawḳal for the 4th/10th century, al-Bakrī for the 5th/11th century, al-Idrīsī and the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* for the 6th/12th century, al-ʿUmarī for the 8th/14th century, and Leo Africanus and Marmol for the first and second half of the 16th century.

In Spain, where it is described in the reign of ʿAbd al-Rahman I (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du Xe siècle*, 165-7), during the Muslim period the growing of sugar cane extended from Valencia and Castellón de la Plana to the mouth of the Guadalquivir. Its cultivation suffering from the expulsion of the Moriscos; it was henceforth limited to the area between Malaga and Alméria, which it still occupies at the present time, the principal areas being found around Motril, Almuñecar, Nerja, etc.

In Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, it was noted at Algiers, Awdjila, Surt, Ḳasṭīliya and Tozeur.

In Morocco, it spread from north to south, from Tangiers and Ceuta (Balyūnash) to Goulemine and to Ḳṣābī along the Atlantic coast, with Uldja of Salé, Ḥawz of Marrakush and Sūs as the main localities. For this country, textual evidence can be cross-checked with tradition and especially with recent research and discoveries in archaeology. Fifteen sugar-refinery foundations, of which six have been excavated, have been identified in the Ḥawz of Marrakush under the Tensift (Sidi Shiker), the Ḳsob water course (Suwayra ḳadīma) and Shishawa (where two foundations were found), as in Sūs.

The variety cultivated must have been hardy, and because of the region's geographical situation in a semi-arid marginal zone, the cane could only have prospered with the aid of a massive irrigation system and very elaborate cultivation techniques (cf. Ibn al-ʿAwwām). Indeed, some vast irrigation networks comprising numerous remarkable works of art have been uncovered in Morocco at the same time as the sugar refineries. In all regions, canals for carrying water, aqueducts and recovery basins have been uncovered, indicating a use of water both skilful and economical, for it was also used to drive the mills. Today sugar cane cultivation has completely disappeared from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. In Morocco, however, a "sugar-refinery plan" envisages the revival of its cultivation alongside that of sugar-beet in regions where water has been dammed up, not necessarily in those where sugar cane was formerly grown. There are various reasons for the disappearance of this plant but, for the whole of the Mediterranean, the primary cause was the disruption of the sugar market following the discovery of new territories and subsequent increasingly valuable investment in the West Indies and America. Burdened by the onerous need for irrigation, only in Spain cane production could withstand the competition of the New World lands; yet it should not be forgotten that sugar cane contributed to the economic prosperity of the Muslim lands of the West for almost eight centuries.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography will be found in P. Berthier, *Les anciennes sucreries du Maroc et leurs réseaux hydrauliques*, Rabat 1966, as well as an account of the research and excavations carried out in Morocco from 1948 to 1960. (P. BERTHIER)

ḲAṢABA. 1. General. Originally the essential part of a country or a town, its heart, and later (a) fortified castle, residence of an authority in the centre of a country or a town; and (b) principal town, chief town.

In the first sense the word occurs especially in the Muslim West, where it designates, outside the towns, the residence of an important personage (particularly in the Atlas) or a garrison billeted in a fortress and, within the towns, the citadel seat of government; in the latter sense it corresponds to the *ḳalʿa* of the East.

A particularly interesting development of the word, always in the West, is furnished by its application to the most ancient part of a town; in relation to the later urban developments this old town, encircled by walls, has come to be considered as the town "par excellence", the heart of the whole town: *al-madīna*, *al-ḳaṣaba* (*ḳaṣba*, *kasbah*). A final stage in this development is represented by the colonial epoch, which designates by these words the native town as against that of the Europeans.

In the sense of chief town, the best definition of the term is furnished by the geographer al-Muḳaddasī. If the *miṣr*, in relation to the *iḳlīm* (province), or the *madīna* (city), in relation to the *kūra* (district), effectively perform the role of chief town, this role is not conceivable outside the relationship of each of these towns with the district dependent on it. The *ḳaṣaba*, on the contrary, is the chief town in general, the administrative centre whose administrative or geographical entity does not matter; the word then refers to a general function, and not to an exact

situation, which al-Muḳaddasī translates figuratively by saying that if the *amṣār* are like the kings and the *mudun* like the army, the *ḳaṣabāt* are like the chamberlains. The insistence on the function, and not on the actual situation of the town, is so strong that one finds, on occasion, the word *ḳaṣaba* to designate, as in the West, the heart of a town, as in connection with Palmyra where it refers to the central quarter situated in the ruins of the temple of Baal.

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī, tr. A. Miquel, Damascus 1963, 18, 19, 24, 92, 135 (and n. 90), 160 and *passim*; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 52, 60, 363, 374; *EI*[1], s.v. (A. Miquel)

2. North Africa. The term in the sense of "fortress-citadel", in the dialectal form *ḳaṣba*, plural *ḳṣābī* (diminutive *ḳṣība*), is widespread in the whole of Northern Africa as far as Timbuktu (Mali). It was none the less so in the Iberian Peninsula where it has survived, until our own days, in the form *alcazaba* (Spanish), *alcaçova* (Portuguese). The word has been gallicised for a long time, in several forms, of which the most commonly accepted by the dictionaries is *casbah*.

Essentially, in origin, the *ḳaṣaba* is a citadel which, while being attached to the wall surrounding a fortified town, remains sufficiently independent to constitute a keep capable of continuing the resistance, even after the fall of the city, or to serve as a refuge for the governor if the population revolts against his personal authority or that of the prince that he serves.

Its position is naturally fixed according to the best strategic situation, and is sometimes blended with that of an older military establishment. It proudly dominates the town from the height of a hill and may be situated on a watercourse, a cliff, a sea front. According to the countries and local means of construction it may be of hewn stone, rubble or puddled clay (*ṭābya*). If on a plain, its plan is generally a fairly regular quadrilateral; if on a mountain it espouses practically all the facilities for defence furnished by the topography and relief. A door, generally the sole one and with a single angle, joins the *ḳaṣaba* to the town that it defends or from which it holds itself aloof. Frequently, an emergency escape postern, called the Gate of Treason (Bāb al-Ghadr), would in the old days connect the citadel directly with the country. It allowed the reception of information, reinforcements and provisions or the secret abandonment of the *ḳaṣaba*, so as to have no need of surrender.

Such were the *ḳaṣabāt* of the network that the caliphs of Cordova set up in Spain or the Maghrib, and such were those that the Almoravids built for the defence of their empire in the Atlas and the Rīf and, in particular, at Marrakesh.

Under the Almohads in the 6th/12th century and under the dynasties succeeding them, the Ḥafṣids at Tunis and Marīnids at Fās, the sense of the term was enlarged in proportion to their creations. Al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, v, 103) and al-ʿUmarī (*Masālik al-abṣār*, French tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, ii, Paris 1937, index) definitely insist that the Maghribi *ḳaṣaba* is equivalent to the Eastern *ḳalʿa* [*q.v.*]), but the term is applied to every fortified town and even to the imperial towns of Marrakesh, Tunis and Fās al-Djadīd. These enclosed in their walls not only the palace of the sovereign and his confidants and the dwellings of his dependents, but one or more mosques, the fiscal services, the guards' barracks, baths, prisons, shops and even markets. They also had great main squares (*āsārāk* from the Berber *asarag*) where the people could assemble for the festivals and the army participate in ceremonies. Finally, some gardens more or less large (*āgdāl* [*q.v.*], and, then, some princely or private cemeteries completed the new urban complex. The great gates with a single angle, which were then constructed between town (*madīna*) and citadel (*ḳaṣaba*), are among the finest monuments which remain to us from this brilliant period (at Marrakesh: Bāb Agnā; at Rabat: Gate of the Wūdāya).

Under the Sharīfian dynasties of Morocco, the Saʿdids in the 10th/16th century and especially the ʿAlawids from the 11th/17th century to our own days, the word serves currently to designate small fortresses of a very simple plan erected in places and analogous with the Turkish *burdj*s and *kunak*s of Algeria, but more solidly constructed. Mawlay Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] must have had sixty-six *ḳaṣabāt* constructed and had many others restored. Some constituted fortified outposts against hostile tribes, and frequently Berbers, whilst the others, in being spread out the length of the principal roads of the empire, watched over crossing points and bridges and sheltered travellers at the end of a stage (a list of them and the strength of their garrison is to be found in the study of Lt. de la Chapelle, *Le Sultan Moulay Ismaïl at les Berbères Sanhadja du Maroc Central*, in *AM*, xxviii (1931), 25, 29). Finally, in the neighbourhood of certain towns (Meknès, Salé) some fortified surrounding walls had been built which served as a dwelling for the black slaves (*ʿabīd*) or which were reserved for the contingents furnished by the tribes of whom military service was required. A certain number of these *ḳaṣabāt*, after the final disbanding of the troops, have today been transformed into residential quarters.

A very large number of Moroccan agglomerations bear the name of *ḳasba*, or its diminutive *ḳṣība* (P. Lancre, *Répertoire alphabétique des tribus . . . et des agglomérations de la zone française de l'Empire Chérifien . . .*, Casablanca 1939). The most important is Kasba-Tadla, a small town of 12,000 inhabitants on the Wādī al-rabīʿ, whose bridge has made its fortune.

By extension the Europeans apply the word more or less legitimately to the beautiful and sometimes immense half-civil, half-military dwellings of the important *ḳāʾid*s of the Moroccan Atlas and the Saharan oases. These vast *ḳaṣabāt* express in a material form the power that some powerful chiefs had acquired during the 19th century at the expense of the petty Berber republics, weakened by the strife of the opposed *leff*s [*q.v.*]. The Europeans have in the same way Arabised as *ḳaṣabāt* the *tighremtīs* and *āgādīrīs*, defensive forts or fortified granaries of the same regions. These magnificent pieces of architecture, some of which go back to the 18th century, have been judiciously studied by H. Terrasse, Dj. Jacques Meunié and R. Duru (see *Bibl.*). They testify to the vitality of the rural Moroccan civilization, but the fragility of their construction and their decoration and the decadence of the Berber institutions render their conservation difficult.

In certain cities, Algiers for example, all the quarters of the ancient town combined bear the name of Casbah. This toponym, due to historical circumstances, has since 1830 enjoyed a great literary, cinematographic, and especially journalistic fame.

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(G. Deverdun)

ĶASAK [see čerkes].

KASALA (variant, Kasalā; conventional spelling, Kassala), a town and province in the east of the republic of the Sudan, extending from the frontier of Egypt to that of Ethiopia. Geographically, the province contains five distinct types of country. (1) A rough triangle in the south, bounded by the railway, the river Rahad and the Ethiopian frontier, where al-Ķallābāt (Gallabat) is the principal town, is a westward extension of the central clay plains of the Sudan. (2) North of this is the Buṭāna, a plain lying between the Blue Nile, the main Nile and the river ʿAṭbarā, which provides grazing for nomadic and semi-nomadic Arab tribes, of which the Shukriyya is the most important. The town of al-Ķaḍārif (Gedaref) on the border between this and the previous region originated as the market of the Shukriyya, and was called Sūķ Abū Sinn from the name of the tribal chief. A section of the Bedja [*q.v.*] tribe of Bishārīn [*q.v.*] has been established in the eastern Buṭāna and on the ʿAṭbarā since the 12th/18th century. (3) The ʿAtbāy consists of the plains lying east and north of the ʿAṭbarā and fringing the Red Sea Hills. This is mostly nomad country, inhabited by Bedja ranging from Ummarār (Amarar) in the north through Bishārīn and Hadanduwa to Banū ʿĀmir in the south. It includes, however, the fertile cotton-producing delta of the river Ķāsh (Gash), at the head of which, beneath the spectacular isolated Djabal Kasala (2,791 ft.), is the town of Kasala, the provincial capital. To this area, inhabited by the Ḥalānka tribe of Bedja, the now obsolete name of al-Tāka was formerly given. (4) The Red Sea Hills, a northern extension of the Ethiopian Highlands, are sparsely inhabited by nomadic Bedja. Sinkāt (Bedja, Ōkāk) is a market-town and administrative centre occupying a strategic position on the route (now followed by the railway) between the Red Sea and the Nile. (5) The coastal plain, while supporting a nomadic Bedja population, has been the site in succession of the ports of Bāḍiʿ, ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*], Sawākin (Suakin) and Port Sudan. The town of Tūkar (Tokar) lies in the delta of the Baraka. Traditionally the granary of the region, it now produces cotton.

Until the 19th century, most of what is now the province of Kasala was tribal territory, open to trade and cultural influences through the Red Sea ports, and, from the 10th/16th century, within the sphere of influence (rather than the effective control) of the Fundj [*q.v.*] sultanate of Sinnār. Holy men played an important part in the region. Ḥasan b. Ḥassūna (d. 1075/1664-5), the grandson of an immigrant from the Maghrib, established a patriarchal lordship in the central Buṭāna, based on the herding of flocks and the export of horses to Sinnār and other Sudanese states; he maintained a slave-household and army (see Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan (ed.), Muḥammad al-Nūr b. Ḍayf Allāh, *K. al-ṭabaķāt fī khuṣūṣ al-awliyāʾ waʾl-ṣāliḥīn waʾl-ʿulamāʾ waʾl-shuʿarāʾ fī ʾl-Sūdān*, Khartoum 1971, 133-48; cf. S. Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic texts*, Cambridge 1935, 194-99). In the 12th/18th century, the holy clan of the Madjādhīb, propagators of the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīķa*, acquired great influence among the eastern tribes from their centre at al-Dāmir at the junction of the ʿAṭbarā with the Nile. Burckhardt in 1814 noted the security that they afforded to travellers passing between al-Dāmir and Sawākin (J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, 268). The devastation of al-Dāmir in 1822 by the Turco-Egyptian commander, Muḥammad Bey Khusraw al-Daftardār, and the flight to Sawākin of the chief of the clan, led to a further strengthening of Madjdhūbī influence among the Hadanduwa. In the later 12th/18th century, on the disintegration of the Fundj sultanate, the Shukriyya emerged as the dominant tribe in the Buṭāna. (See H. A. MacMichael, *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, i, 250-3.)

The establishment of Turco-Egyptian rule in the riverain areas made possible the conquest of the nomadic tribes. Although the Hadanduwa were raided in 1823 and again in 1831-2, their effective subjugation was achieved by the *hükümdār* (governor-general) Aḥmad Pasha Abū Widān, who invaded al-Tāka in 1840 and established a garrison-post, from which developed the town of Kasala. The resistance of the Hadanduwa was finally broken by his successor, Aḥmad Maniklī Pasha, who made a punitive expedition in 1844. Meanwhile, a new Ṣūfī *ṭarīķa*, the Khatmiyya, was being propagated among the Bedja by al-Ḥasan, the son of its founder, Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī. He established his headquarters at al-Khātimiyya, near the town of Kasala, where he died and was buried in 1869. In 1864-5 he played an important part as a mediator during serious mutinies of Sudanese (*i.e.*, black) troops at Kasala. (See J. S. Triming-

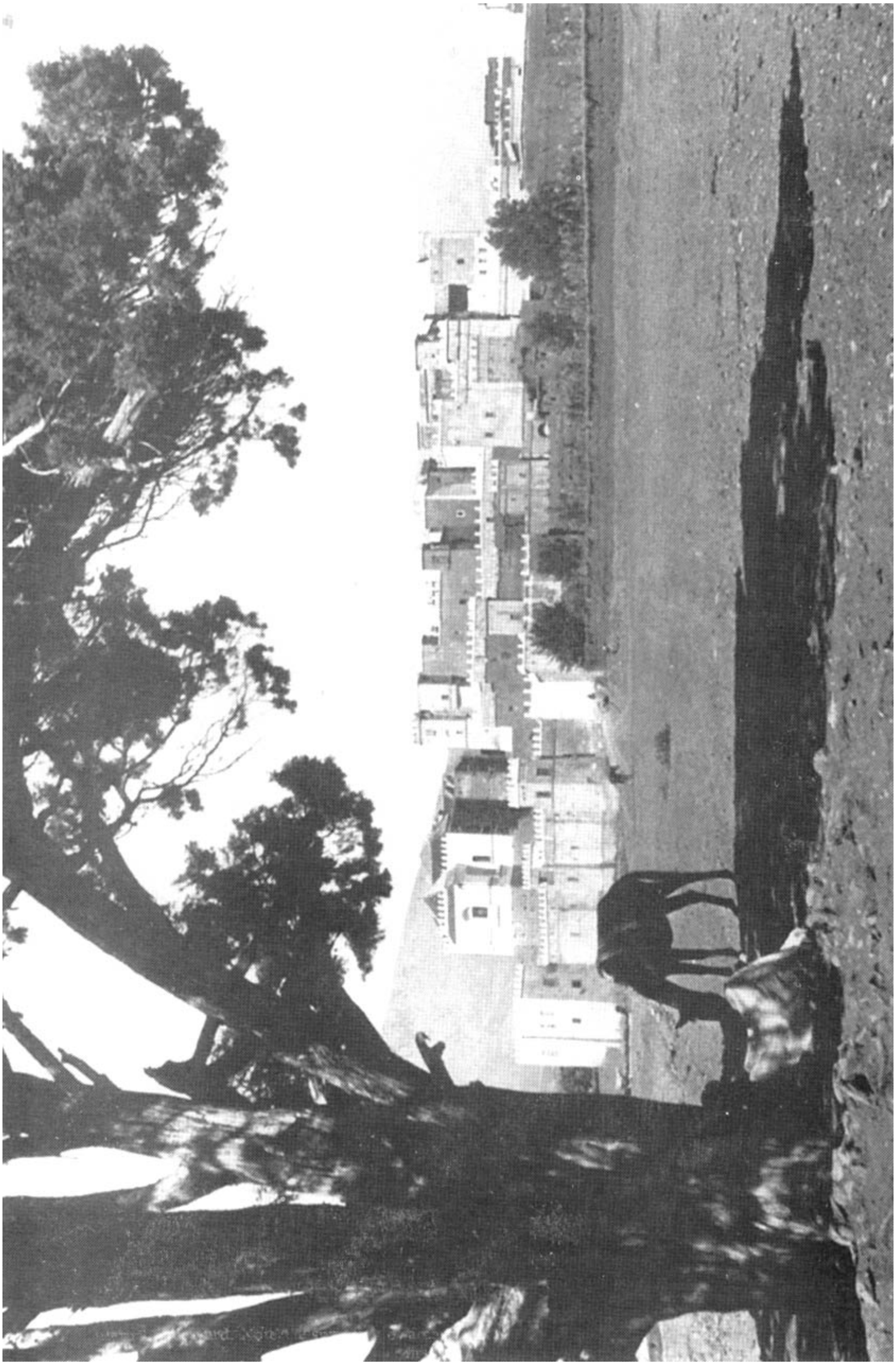

Ḳaṣaba of Telouet (Morocco). Photograph by courtesy of Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié

ham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949, 231-5.)

The Red Sea littoral, and more specifically the ports of Sawākin and Maṣawwaʿ, had been part of the Ottoman Empire since the 10th/16th century. The two towns were granted to Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a on an annual lease in 1846 but reverted to the *vilayet* of the Ḥid̲j̲āz in 1849. In 1865 they were assigned to the Khedive Ismāʿīl for life, a concession which in the following year was made hereditary. This grant coincided with the boom in cotton resulting from the American Civil War, and the khedivial governor of Sawākin, Aḥmad Mumtāz Pas̲h̲a, established an experimental cotton plantation at Tūkar. Appointed in 1870 general governor of the Red Sea Littoral (*i.e.*, Sawākin, Maṣawwaʿ, the Somali coast and al-Tāka) he projected a very extensive development of cotton production in his province, which at first appealed to the Khedive but proved impracticable.

There were no significant developments in the region in the early phase of the Mahdia. The Bed̲j̲a were initially uninterested in a movement promoted by Arabic speakers, while the S̲h̲ukriyya were on friendly terms with the khedivial administration, to which their chief (*nāẓir*), ʿAwaḍ al-Karīm Aḥmad Abū Sinn, gave loyal support. In May 1883 the Mahdī sent as his emissary ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Abī Bakr Diḳna al-Sawākinī (Osman Digna), a member of a trading family of Sawākin and of partially Bed̲j̲a descent. Rivalry between the Mad̲j̲ād̲h̲īb and the K̲h̲atmiyya gave him an ally in the head of the former group, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Ṭāhir al-Ṭayyib al-Mad̲j̲d̲h̲ūb, who brought over to the Mahdist cause his own adherents among the Hadanduwa. Sinkāt and Tūkar were besieged and fell in February 1884. Lacking sea-power, ʿUt̲h̲mān Diḳna was unable to capture Sawākin, which, garrisoned and commanded by the British, remained an enclave in Mahdist territory. Of the Egyptian garrisons in the interior, al-Ḳaḍārif surrendered in April 1884, and Kasala in July 1885 after a long siege, while al-Ḳallābāt and al-D̲j̲īra near the Abyssinian frontier were successfully evacuated.

Two military provinces with their headquarters at ʿAfāfīt near Tūkar and al-Ḳallābāt (subsequently al-Ḳaḍārif) guarded the heartlands of the Mahdist state against a hostile periphery—the British in Sawākin, the Italians in Eritrea, and the Christian power of Abyssinia. The effectiveness of the Mahdist forces was diminished by mutual ill-feeling between ʿUt̲h̲mān Diḳna and his Bed̲j̲a followers on the one hand and the Arab commanders and warriors on the other. In spite of a successful Mahdist raid under Ḥamdān Abū ʿAnd̲j̲a, which penetrated to Gondar (January 1888), and the death of the Abyssinian ruler, John IV, after a battle at al-Ḳallābāt (March 1889), the position on this frontier was virtually a stalemate throughout the Mahdia. On the other sectors the situation of the Mahdists deteriorated. A British force took ʿAfāfīt in February 1891, dislodging ʿUt̲h̲mān Diḳna and ending the threat to Sawākin. In July 1894 the Italians captured Kasala by prior agreement with the British, but retroceded the town to Egypt in December 1897. The last effective Mahdist army in the region was withdrawn from al-Ḳaḍārif by Aḥmad Faḍīl, who joined the K̲h̲alīfa ʿAbdallāhi after the decisive defeat of Kararī (September 1898) and died with him at Umm Diwaykarāt (24 November 1899).

Under the Condominium (1899-1955) and the independent republic of the Sudan, the history of the region has increasingly been merged in the general development and modernization of the country. The province of Kasala as originally formed did not include the northern and coastal districts until it was amalgamated with the Red Sea Province in 1930. While the intractable Bed̲j̲a remained a difficult problem for administrators, economic and educational progress assisted their integration into the Sudanese community. Factors of economic change in the province have been the construction of Port Sudan (1906-9) and the extension of cotton cultivation in the Ḳās̲h̲ and Baraka deltas after the First World War. Ancillary to the latter development was the construction of a railway link between Port Sudan and Kasala (1924) and the subsequent extension of this line to Sinnār.

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ḲASAM (A.), from the verb *aḳsama*, designates the oath in general. The word has two other synonyms, *yamīn*, and *ḥalf*. Ibn Rus̲h̲d (*Bidāyat al-Mud̲j̲tahid*, i, 394), wishing to emphasize their equivalence from the point of view of terminology, uses the three words without differentiation in the first paragraph of the *kitāb al-aymān* of his *Bidāya*. In fact, when he deals with the judiciary oath, custom has imposed the word *yamīn* [*q.v.*] and the verb *ḥalafa* almost exclusively. But even in that which concerns the extrajudiciary oath, with which the discussion that follows is concerned, the word *yamīn* has a tendency to supplant *ḳasam*. It is also a fact that, in the treatises of *fiḳh*, whichever school is considered, and in the collections of *ḥadīt̲h̲*, the chapter dedicated to [extrajudiciary] oaths is almost always entitled *bāb* or *faṣl al-aymān*.

In the lines that follow, the judiciary oath will not be discussed; nevertheless, there will be occasion to consider, in the field of penal procedure, the *ḳasāma*, an oath pronounced fifty times, which, although connected with the judiciary oath, derives etymologically from the word *ḳasam*.

The extrajudiciary oath is that by which a person binds himself to do or not to do a certain specific physical or juridical act, by invoking the name of God or one of the divine attributes (*al-Raḥmān*, *al-Ḳādir*, *al-Nāṣir*, etc.). At least, that is the definition that the works of *fiḳh* give of it, for, in the Ḳurʾān, the word *ḳasam* or the verb *aḳsama*, which figure expressly in the *sūras* of the Meccan period (VI, 109; XVI, 38; LVI, 75; LXVIII, 17; LXXXI, 15; LXXXIX; 5; XC, etc.) or which are implied in many of the other *sūras* of the same period, apply, in general, to the oaths pronounced by God himself, which are known to cause some difficulties for commentators of the Ḳurʾān. Already in the Medinan *sūras*, the word *yamīn* is frequently substituted for *ḳasam* (II, 225; V, 89) and marks the first stage of an evolution leading to the concept which becomes that of *fiḳh* with regard to extrajudiciary oaths which bring about voluntary bonds, while the verb *aḳsama* is still to be found in these Medinan *sūras* (for example, V, 53).

The bond undertaken under oath is not, in general, a juridical obligation, in the sense that the one who has sworn to perform an act cannot be constrained judicially to carry it out. In a case where he did not respect his oath, he would be perjured (*ḥint̲h̲*), but it is then a matter of sin, a moral fault, for which he must account to God alone. Nevertheless, *fiḳh*, following very close to the Ḳurʾānic text (V, 39) pro-

vides him, in the hypothetical case where he has involuntarily broken his oath, with a means to put his conscience in order, that is, by expiation, *kaffāra*. Expiation for a broken oath may be to give sustenance to 10 paupers, to distribute clothing to them or to free a slave; and, if, through lack of resources, any of these expiations is not possible, the perjured man must fast for 3 days. These regulations, having been laid down in the Ḳur'ān, are evidently common to the teaching of all the Schools. The latter are all divided, however, on the methods of application of each of them. For example, should the fast last for 3 consecutive days? Yes, reply the Ḥanafīs and the Ḥanbalīs, but no, according to the Mālikīs and the Shāfiʿīs (Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma*, ii, 79-80). The same divergences are found in that which concerns the quantity of food to be given to the poor, or the quality of the clothing which is distributed to them. It must be emphasized that, as with the oath itself, the expiation, which sanctions its non-execution, has no characteristic of juridical obligation, and no-one, not even the public authority, can constrain the perjured man to perform expiation. All this is laid out on a strictly moral and religious plane.

The *fuḳahā'* were asked if it was not possible for someone, who had sworn to accomplish a certain act deliberately, to substitute the expiation for the performance of his oath, although nothing prevented him from accomplishing his vow. Strangely enough, the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs refuse him this option, a prohibition that is not in accordance with the character of vows freely consented to as with the oath and expiation.

The statement of the jurists with regard to oaths (*aymān*) is, in form, very close to that which they adopt in that which concerns a real juridical act. Necessary capacity, conditions of form and substance, null and void formulas, moment of performance of the vow undertaken, effects of the suspensive condition, expedients (*ḥiyal*) to change the law, all would let us suppose that it was concerned with vows which, although unilateral, bound their author by strict juridical obligation. Certainly, a careful examination of the dispositions of each school on the question, and especially the non-juridical sanction, which consists of *kaffāra*, quickly restores to these dispositions their real character of strictly religious and moral rules. That is not to say that all the works of the jurists on the question were devoid of practical interest. Throughout the centuries, the pious Muslim did not generally attach great importance to the distinction, familiar to specialists, between moral and juridical sanction. His concern was to know whether his conduct here below was reprehensible or not, and whether it would bring him chastisement in the next world. So it was that the long discussions dedicated in the books of *fiḳh* to oaths (*aymān*) often associated with vows, *nudhūr* [*q.v.* NADHR] presented him with a very great interest.

It is not possible to enter into detail on the solutions proposed by authors (different, moreover, according to the schools) for particular cases of oaths and all the kinds that were imagined.

Only one example will be given because of the long discussions that the works of *fiḳh* dedicate to this particular case. It concerns the oath called *ẓihār*, which may be translated very vaguely as "incestuous comparison". The word is derived from *ẓahr*, "back". Presumably the husband says to his wife: "You are for me like my mother's back", *ka-ẓahri ummī*, or any other comparison of a part of the body of his wife with that of a woman he could not marry without committing incest. In pre-Islamic Arabia it was a general form of repudiation, but the Ḳur'ān condemned everything of that kind (XXXIII, 4 and LVIII, 2-3). Its pronunciation constituted nothing other than a sin, and a serious one, which could only be wiped out by expiation. This is different from the ordinary expiation for oaths not respected, and consists of freeing a slave, or in default, fasting for 2 months (during the day only, of course). If not, the husband would have to distribute the midday and evening meal to 60 paupers.

In a general manner, the solutions of *fiḳh* hinge on two essential points. In the first place, it is concerned with knowing when one may consider that an oath has been respected, the expressions used by the one who swore being borne in mind. On this point, the replies are very often of a lexicological order and baffle all systemization. The second point concerns expiation; this is not automatically incurred by the simple fact that the oath has not been performed. There are actually some oaths which, due to an actual or theoretical fault, do not call for expiation, although they have not been respected. It is in this category that one places the *yamīn al-ghamūs*, or oath to perform a deed that one knows to have been already performed. There would not be any *kaffāra*, except in the Shāfiʿī school. In the same way, the *laghw al-yamīn*, an oath taken by mistake (through a slip of the tongue) or in a thoughtless manner, does not require expiation (Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, ii, 73). The same applies, if one follows an oath with an *istithnā'*, a reservation, of which the most usual is "If God wills". No more can someone who is not *mukallaf* (fully capable) bind himself validly by oath, but the majority of the schools (except the Ḥanafī school) admit that the oath of the unbeliever (*kāfir*) is valid, and that he will be held liable to expiation if he does not carry out his vow.

During the centuries, the usages, variable according to the regions, have added different ceremonials to the very simple form of the oath that was foreseen by *fiḳh*, in order to render the vow more solemn, and to bind further its author. There were also oaths pronounced in sacred places such as the Kaʿba at Mecca, or simply within a mosque, which conferred on them a higher value in popular belief.

In the same fashion, oaths are sworn by touching the tomb of a saint or holding bread and coffee in the hand, or placing on the heart an excerpt from the Ḳur'ān or the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī. Sometimes this supplementary ceremonial represents a pre-Islamic practice, still strongly marked by paganism, such as pronouncing the oath and throwing salt in the communal fire of the tribe, or within a circle in which cinders and pieces of fabric have been scattered. There are some moments of the day when oaths acquire a particular importance, such as that which follows the evening prayer.

On all these practices which are unknown to *fiḳh*, see Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii, 338, 342; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 311; Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 133-4; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 306; Lane, *Manners and Customs*[3], i, 168, 470.

Oaths judicially sanctioned. As has been stated and repeated above, the whole theory of the extrajudiciary oath is placed on a moral and religious plane, and consequently very often means that the question may be treated in the first part of the works of *fiḳh*, dedicated to ritual (*ʿibadāt*). Nevertheless, in two fields of law, *i.e.* enfranchisement and repudiation, the oath involved in the past (and sometimes today) a juridical sanction, in the sense that

the one who swore to free his slave or repudiate his wife was held liable to carry out his vow, without being able to substitute a *kaffāra* or expiation, through which he would have been able to free himself from his obligation.

In the matter of enfranchisement, every declaration to this effect, even not dependent on the fulfilment of an act by the master or the slave or any other person, had the validity of an oath of enfranchisement, *al-ḥalf bi'l-ʿitḳ*) and this oath (which did not, however, mention the name of God) irrevocably entailed the liberty of the slave or the slaves alluded to in the master's declaration.

Ancient *fiḳh* had set up two institutions both based on an oath which, although not having as principal object the breaking-up of marriage, led indirectly to this result. The first of these institutions is the *liʿān*, or "oath of anathema", by which the husband accuses his wife of adultery or disowns the child that she carries in her womb. To this end, the husband prayed five times an oath in the form *as̲h̲hadu bi-llāhi*, and the last oath was followed by the formula "may I be cursed, if I lie".

The *īlāʾ* was an "oath of continence", the husband swearing in the name of God not to have sexual relations with his wife for at least 4 months. When this time had passed without a resumption of conjugal relations, the marriage was not automatically broken up except in Ḥanafī law, the other schools allowing the wife to judge the occasion for the severance, which would take place by a repudiation that the husband would pronounce, or that the *ḳāḍī* would formulate in his place.

Very soon the rules of precedent, especially those relating to the *īlāʾ*, had fallen into desuetude. The jurists do not dedicate very long discussions to them, except on account of the importance of the scriptural evidence relating to these two institutions, and not for their usefulness, which had become practically nil.

The oath of repudiation. On the other hand, the oath of repudiation, *al-ḥalf bi'l-ṭalāḳ* or still more *al-yamīn bi'l-ṭalāḳ*, has always been in very current usage among the Arabic-speaking Muslim populations. In certain circles, notably that of the small traders, it is not rare in the course of a conversation for one of the speakers to swear two or three times, in order to assert his determination or his good faith: "May my wife be repudiated if such a thing does or does not happen, if I am right or if I am wrong, etc.". The matters are of no consequence, each one knowing that he is uttering idle words, pronounced mechanically and without attention being paid to them. The moralists have always severely reproved this bad habit, for, in any case, it leads to a blameworthy result, whether the one who has sworn does not respect his oath on the pretext that he had formulated it without a serious intention to repudiate and he finds himself perjured, often several times a day, or whether he respects it and separates from his wife, from whom he had no intention to separate and whom he had no occasion to reproach.

What juridical validity did the jurists attach to these oaths of repudiation? Only the D̲j̲aʿfarīs (and the Ẓāhirīs in the past) have always denied them all legal validity, for the reason, among others, that they do not contain the name of God in their formulation. The other juridical schools regard them as conditional repudiations, and as such, involving the break-up of the marriage, when the condition is realized. Whether the wife avails herself or not of the oath or the husband respects it in separating from his wife or does not respect it in continuing to live with her, are questions of fact, which do not modify at all the principle itself, *i.e.* the oath of repudiation determines, in law, the repudiation of the wife, if the tacit or explicit condition that it contains is realized. This troublesome solution of the jurists is still applied today in a certain number of Muslim countries.

Egypt is the first Muslim state to have attempted to restrain the execution of the rule of precedent. The Egyptian law of 10 March 1929 declares as null and void conditional repudiations and oaths of repudiation, when these are dependent on an act being done or not done by the wife; but if the condition is different (*i.e.* if it is not dependent on the will of the wife) the oath of repudiation is valid. Several Muslim countries (Sudan, Jordan, Syria) have adopted in their turn the Egyptian distinction. One must turn to the Moroccan Code of the Personal Statute of 1958 and the Iraqi Code of the Personal Statute of 1959 to find a radical condemnation of every oath of repudiation, whatever may be the nature of the condition on which the repudiation is dependent.

ḲASĀMA.—Derived etymologically from *ḳasam*, this differs from it in its mode of being taken and its strict field of application. It is concerned with an oath repeated 50 times, either by the *ʿaṣaba* of the victim of a murder (Mālikī rite), or by the inhabitants of the place of the crime (Ḥanafī rite) an oath by which is asserted the guilt or, on the contrary, the innocence of an individual presumed to have killed someone. This oath dates from the pre-Islamic period, when it always constituted a procedure of accusation, a weapon in the hands of the members of the victim's tribe, seeking to make use of retaliation (*ḳiṣāṣ*) against the man presumed to be guilty. The juridical schools of Islam, in adopting this pre-Islamic custom, do not make it produce the same result. Actually, in *fiḳh*—merely quoting the Ḥanafī and Mālikī doctrines which are clearly opposed—the *ḳasāma* is, in the first of these systems, a procedure for the defence of the one presumed guilty, and, in the second, a procedure of accusation.

According to all the early Ḥanafīs (sc. those of Kūfa), when in a non-public place (which excludes the mosque), quarter of a town, house, boat, etc., the corpse of a person was discovered, when there were not two male witnesses to point out the murderer, and when the *walī al-dam*, the nearest *ʿāṣib* relative of the victim, came to demand justice, 50 people had to be made to swear to having found it in this place, that they were not involved in this crime and that they did not know the murderer. If 50 people could not be gathered (if the crime was committed in a house, for example), it was possible to make the same person swear several times, in such a manner that the total of 50 oaths was reached. In the light of this, the *walī al-dam* could not apply retaliation and had to content himself with the pecuniary compensation (*diya*) provided in such a case.

The Mālikī school, following the teaching of the scholars of Medina, has kept the characteristics of the *ḳasāma* which it had in pre-Islamic Arabia, that is to say, those of a procedure of accusation. It is also a fact that in the hypothetical case of a murder of which the author is unknown, the *ʿaṣaba* relatives of the victim swore a total of 50 oaths (the same person could swear several times provided that this was not more than 25 times) that such an individual, against whom is weighted serious presumptive evi-

dence, was the one who committed the murder. The notion of serious presumption (*lawth*) has acquired thereby in this school, and in those that have adopted the same conception of *ḳasāma*, a fundamental importance. Serious presumptive evidence was held to be not only the fact that the victim, before dying, had accused the presumed murderer, but also the presence of this last person, with his blood-stained clothing, not far from the victim, or even the testimony of a single witness to the murder. With these conditions combined, the *walī al-dam* would bring retaliation against the one presumed guilty, such that he could then, as a result, have him put to death. The Mālikī version of the *ḳasāma*, in which oaths liable to bring about death were taken by the relatives of the victim who, *ex hypothesi*, were not present at the murder, has formed the subject of some criticisms on behalf of one party, that has nevertheless remained a minority, of the ancient doctrine (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, ii, 419).

Finally, it does not appear that this institution functioned much, even in the past when the penal law of Islam had a certain practical application.

Bibliography: See the chapter *aymān*, in the works of *fiḳh*, *e.g.* Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Cairo 1936, ii, 54-5; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Cairo 1952, i, 394; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1367, viii, 676-7; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strasbourg 1914; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris - The Hague 1965, ii, nos. 1001 to 1011, 1021.

On the *ḳasāma*, see al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1910, vii, 286-7; Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Mukhtaṣar* (tr. Bousquet) nos. 298-9; R. Brunschvig, *Considérations sur le droit musulman ancien*, in *Studia Islamica*, iii (1955), 69-70; N. J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh 1964, 93-4; J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*[1], Oxford 1964, 184.

(J. Pedersen-[Y. Linant de Bellefonds])

AL-KĀSĀNĪ, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Masʿūd, called Malik al-ʿUlamāʾ "King of Scholars" was one of the greatest jurists of the Ḥanafī law school. His *nisba* stems from Kāsān, in Farghāna, to the north of the Syr Daryā in Central Asia. He was the pupil of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Samarḳandī (d. 539/1144), the author of a treatise regarded as authoritative in the Ḥanafī school, sc. his *Tuḥfat al-fuḳahāʾ* (printed at Damascus in 1964), and married this scholar's daughter Fāṭima, herself well-versed in the legal sciences. Appointed to a position in Aleppo in 543/1148, he taught there till his death in 587/1189, in the famous Madrasa Ḥalawiyya. In Aleppo, he was always treated with respect and consideration by the authorities, who recognised his deep legal knowledge and the orthodoxy of his teaching; he frequently attacked the Muʿtazila and heretical innovators (the *ahl al-bidʿa*).

His main work, and the one which made him famous, is the *Kitāb Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ fī tartīb al-sharāʾiʿ* (Cairo 1327-48, 7 vols.). According to his biographers, this work is a commentary on the *Tuḥfa* of al-Samarḳandī; but in reality, neither in form nor content is this a commentary in the usual sense of the term. As the author explains at the outset of his work, he wished to "imitate" the work of his predecessor; this is why each of its chapters begins by stating the plan of the subject matter, a plan to which al-Kāsānī is then rigorously faithful. He also owes to al-Samarkandī a certain tendency towards systematisation. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that the "imitation" is far superior to the original model. In Ḥanafī legal literature, the *Badāʾiʿ* constitutes a master-piece of a quality which was never reached subsequently. The term "commentary" has been attached to al-Kāsānī's work simply because his biographers wished to stress an aspect of his life which they thought worthy of remark, and said *sharaḥa Tuḥfatahu wa-tazawwadja bintahu* "he wrote a commentary on his *Tuḥfa* [of al-Samarḳandī] and married his daughter".

Despite his qualities of clarity, methodicalness and learning, al-Kāsānī's work nevertheless did not exercise any great influence on the later development of Ḥanafī law. It does not seem that legal scholars of his own time were particularly impressed with his importance; thus properly speaking, he had no disciples, and the *Badāʾiʿ* was not made the starting-point for numerous commentaries, as was the case with the *Hidāya* of his contemporary al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197). At a later date, his ideas are hardly mentioned in the great compilations of Ḥanafī law, and even then with no more weight attached to them than to those of other Ḥanafī jurists. The appearance at the beginning of this century (1328/1909) of the first edition of the *Badāʾiʿ* quickly gave rise to a real excitement over this work amongst contemporary jurists, and it can be said that the teaching of Ḥanafī law became then completely polarised around it. Apart from the *Badāʾiʿ*, al-Kāsānī apparently wrote a work called *al-Sulṭān al-mubīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, apparently lost; and Brockelmann mentions a Ḳurʾān commentary called the *Kitāb al-Taʾwīlāt* which exists only in manuscript.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ii, 295-6; al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*, ii, 244-6; Ibn Ḳuṭlubugha, *Tādj al-tarādjim fī ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, Baghdad 1962, 84-5; Tashköprüzāde *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Ḥaydarābād 1329, ii, 135; Brockelmann, I 375, S I 643; Sarkis, *Dictionnaire de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1928, col. 1540; Y. Meron, *The development of legal thought in Ḥanafī texts*, in *St. Isl.*, xx (1969), 87 ff.

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ḲAṢAṢ [see ḳiṣṣa].

KASB (A.), in economic life, gain. As is well known, in its main trends Islam is not a doctrine of renunciation of the world, but one of respect for the commandments of God according to the uses of the world, which He has given to man for his benefit. There is therefore no objection whatsoever to a man's realising, as long as it is by legal means, the gain necessary to improve his life and that of his dependents. The Prophet was born into a society of merchants, to whom he often spoke in their own language. He himself had been a merchant and never denigrated this period of his life. Among his disciples were many merchants, whose revenues were increased for the maintenance of the young community. Of course, the Prophet did attack the Ḳurashīs of Mecca, striking specifically at their economic interests, but this was because of their egoism and denial of his Message and was not a condemnation of their commercial activity as such (Ḳurʾān, II, 193-4, VII, 28, XII, 9, LXII, 9-10, etc. tr. Blachère, index to the word "fortune"; cf. also Rodinson (ch. 2), W. Ule, Heffening, etc. cited in the Bibl.). In the process of being fixed during the first centuries after the Hidjra, the *Ḥadīth* developed the same line of thought, although bypassing some secondary doubts that concealed real problems. This very general article will be restricted to pointing out various directions in teaching and practice, referrring for more detailed analysis to the various methods

by means of which a "gain" might be realised.

Ibn Khaldūn, considering the problem of gain or profit at the end of the classical Muslim period, as it might be presented to a sociologist (although in accord with the Book of God), enumerates (tr. de Slane, ii, 223 f. = Rosenthal, ii, 311 f.) the different means of obtaining it and the two different forms it can take: gain for simple subsistence, or true profit, premium, each resulting to some extent from the application of human effort to the gifts of nature. They can thus be procured, apart from by force or through political power (taxes), by means of agriculture, industry and commerce. This last source is far and away the most respected in Islam.

As would be expected, reflections on the legitimacy of gain became more common from the time of the great economic leap forward of the 3rd/9th century; in fact, it was nearly always the legitimacy of commercial gain which was considered. The affirmation of the legitimacy of gain, as long as it was the fruit of honest toil, was underlined in the face of the ascetic tendencies of some spiritual groups outside Islam, and inside it of the nascent Ṣūfism, which sometimes preached a strict ideal of poverty and sometimes relied on God, that is on begging, on the charity of the faithful, in fact of the efforts of others and not of oneself (unless preaching or intercession with God can be so called) for the acquisition of whatever is necessary for oneself and one's family. It is symptomatic that it was among the Ḥanbalīs, who had most contact with poorer people and with the petite bourgeoisie, that the reaction against anti-economic trends is most pronounced. "Two kinds of food taste best", says a celebrated *ḥadīth* widespread in this milieu, "those produced by your own hands and those carried on your own back". Here, subsistence is in question, but even so, true profits are permitted, though under the strictest regulations. A polemic discovered by S. D. Goitein is highly relevant here. Deriving from a Ḥanafī milieu (always in this period closest to practice), it is a tract attributed, perhaps wrongly, to al-Shaybānī, but one which certainly dates from the 3rd/9th century; it is true that it has come down to us through the medium of a successor, but it is sufficiently clear. In essence, it gathers together all the relevant *ḥadīth*s and therefore all the guarantees legitimising gain. This indicates that the problem was indeed one faced by pious men, but that their conclusion was frankly positive, as it has been in all religions during periods of economic development. The attitude remained the same after the great expansion. H. Ritter has recently drawn attention to the contributions of various authors to the subject, al-Ghazālī in particular (end of the 5th/11th century). As would be expected, al-Ghazālī stresses spiritual values and condemns the dishonest merchant, but he equates the honest merchant with a fighter in the *djihād*, thereby demonstrating his regard for commerce.

Teachings from other sources were combined with those of Islam *stricto sensu*. Ritter and Plessner have demonstrated the importance of the ideas of Neopythagorean Bryson, whose work was translated into Arabic at a fairly early date, in the economic thinking of Islam, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, and of Judaism. Through his works were channelled Platonic and Aristotelian traditions. Incidentally, although this was not their own perspective, the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* also admit work as a source of gain, at least for subsistence (cf. Y. Marquet, in *Arabica*, vii (1961), 225 f.).

Without wishing to lay stress on this aspect, which will be more amply covered elsewhere, we must consider practice alongside doctrine. As has been noted, this is mostly concerned with commerce. The conception of merchants entailed here is one of a permanent accord, which can be traced right back to antiquity: the purpose of commerce, as expounded by the author of the *Tabaṣṣur bi'l-tidjāra* (3rd/9th cent., ʿIrāḳ), by Abū'l-Faḍl al-Dimashḳī (probably 5th/11th century, Fāṭimid region), and by Ibn Khaldūn, is to realise a profit through the difference between the purchase price in one area and the selling price elsewhere. It has therefore an essentially speculative aim; commerce certainly needs production, but it is not its conscious aim to stimulate it, even though only agriculture and industry are, in the material sense, properly productive. Here we must introduce the ideas developed in Islam concerning prices: in one sense they are willed by God and must therefore be left free, but even so a Muslim ruler is obliged to preserve them from excessive speculation, particularly in the case of basic commodities, just as he is obliged to regulate manufacture, weights and measures, currency, etc.

As in all ancient and mediaeval societies, lending an interest, in all the guises by which it was then known, was highly unpopular and officially forbidden. Early Islam stigmatised *ribā*, a term whose exact meaning is unknown. It entailed, evidently, a condemnation, from a moral point of view, of those who grew rich through the misery of others, without the loan granted helping the borrower in any way to retrieve his fortunes, such as lending dates to a starving man, etc. However, as is often the case with sacred texts, this was applied literally to quite different circumstances, especially in proportion as the economic decline of later Islam drew attention to its faults without their being sufficiently analysed. It was therefore concluded, right up to the present day, that all lending at interest was forbidden. In fact, in periods of economic expansion, in the Islamic world as elsewhere, the interdiction was twisted, in the most transparent fashion, by being applied to non-Muslim communities. Thus it was generally accepted that lending at interest was prohibited amongst coreligionists but not between one faith and another, which in the practical life of a multi-confessional society amounted to its reinstatement (see further RIBĀ). Above all, Islam knew, practised and officially ratified customs aimed at securing a profit for money put to work, principally by means of investments in commercial enterprises or domains. This could be done through partnership, *shirka* [*q.v.*], or through capitalist merchant commenda, *ḳirāḍ*, *muḍāraba* [*qq.v.*], the money placed acquiring part of the profit in reward for the service rendered or in compensation for the risk taken. Muslim practice, whatever the original reasons behind it, was considered by merchants of all confessions as preferable to previous traditions (A. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in Medieval Islam*, Princeton 1969). It was in continual usage, which attests the fact that the Muslim economy certainly relied on profit. The forms it took were those which in large measure soon became general in the Mediterranean and Western world. At the end of the Middle Ages, only the latter gradually outdistanced the Muslim economy.

Bibliography: it is impossible to give here a general bibliography of a subject so amply treated at an elementary level; see the specialised articles, particularly TIDJĀRA (in *EI*[1] by Heffening), RIBĀ, ḲIRĀḌ, BAYʿ, etc.; to the first, while awaiting the new edition, add E. Bussi, *Il concetto*

di commercio e di commerciante nel pensiero giuridico musulmano, in *Studi in memoria di Aldo Albertoni*, iii (1938), 7-53; A. K. S. Lambton, *The merchant in medieval Islam*, in *A locust's leg, Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 121-30.

For bibliography of quite a general nature, see C. Becker, *Islam und Wirtschaft*, in *Islamstudien*, i, 54-65; H. Ritter, *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, in *Der Islam* (1917) (where the author discusses the statements of various writers, al-Ghazālī in particular, on economic themes); M. Plessner, *Der Oikonomikos des neupythagoriers Bryson*, 1928; S. D. Goitein, *The rise of the Middle Eastern bourgeoisie*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire mondiale / Journal of world history* (1957); idem, in *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, 1966; M. Rodinson, *Islam et Capitalisme*, 1966 (chs. 2-4); Subhi Labib, *Capitalism in mediaeval Islam*, in *Journal of Economic History* (1969); *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, London 1970 (1967 symposium); W. Ule, *Islam und Wirtschaft*, in *Der Islam* (1971), 136-67 (on its origins).

(Cl. Cahen)

As a theological term *kasb* means "acquisition", "appropriation". The verb *kasaba*, usually in the 1st form and sometimes in the 8th (*iktasaba*), is frequently found in Ḳur'ānic vocabulary, mainly with the sense of "acquiring" those rewards or punishments which are the fruit of moral acts, and so a loose translation could render *kasaba* here as "carrying out an action". Therefore, "Each soul is paid a fair price for whatever has accrued to it" (Ḳur'ān, II, 281; cf. *inter alia*, XIV, 51, XL, 17, LXXIV, 38, etc.). According to the text, this is the very reason for the creation of the world, "God created the heavens and the earth in truth (*bi'l-ḥaḳḳ*), and so that each soul could be rewarded for whatever it had acquired" (XLV, 22). *Kasaba* alludes to the "acquisition" (of the fruit) of each act, good or evil; *iktasaba*, which is very close in meaning, is used in the Ḳur'ān only for human actions in general (IV, 36), or for acts which merit punishment (II, 286, XXIV, 11, XXXIII, 58). Verse II, 286 says: "To each soul (is given) that which it has acquired (*kasabat*) and against each (is recorded) that which it has acquired (*iktasabat*). It should be noted that when discussing this verse, al-Zamakhsharī, followed by al-Bayḍāwī, stresses the meaning contained in the 8th form.

The *maṣdars* of these two verbal forms, *kasb* (pl. *aksāb*) and *iktisāb*, have had a long history in the *ʿilm al-kalām*, especially in the Ashʿarī school, where they were employed to define that which reverted to man in a "freely" accomplished and morally qualified act. The Ashʿarī *kasb* is a narrow margin in which is inscribed the relationship between the act created by God and human responsibility. The school's subtle analyses tend to safeguard both the notion of "free choice" (*ikhtiyār* [*q.v.*]) strongly expressed within the subject, and the just, frequent retribution augured in the Ḳur'ān, while at the same time taking nothing away from God, who "created you, you and that which you do" (*Ḳur'ān*, XXXVII, 96). Some writers prefer to use *iktisāb* (al-Ghazālī); the majority use one term or the other indiscriminately. According to al-Zamakhsharī, commenting on Ḳur'ān, II, 286, it appears that *iktisāb*, in its reflexive connotation, lays stress on psychologically proven reality. The discussions about *kasb* were famed for their very elaborate dialectic, as witness the maxim of their opponents (notably the Ḥanbalīs): "more tenuous than al-Ashʿarī's *kasb*", *adaḳḳ min kasb al-Ashʿarī*. But perhaps this subtlety, or obscurity, can be clarified when the historical evolution of the committed arguments is taken into consideration.

1. *Pre-Ashʿarī* kalām. It was, in fact, from his predecessors that al-Ashʿarī took the concept of *kasb* as the "acquisition" of acts (see W. Montgomery Watt, *The Origin of the Islamic doctrine of acquisition*, in *JRAS* (1943), 234-7; idem, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, *passim*; idem, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, index).

It seems to have been in Ghaylān's teaching and in Murdji'ī circles that the root *k-s-b* first took on a technical meaning: to distinguish between science and knowledge "acquired" by man's efforts, *ʿilm muktasabī*, and "necessary" science or knowledge, *ʿilm ḍarūrī*. *Kasb* here remains very close to its initial sense of acquisition of profit. *Muktasabī* (associated with *naẓarī* "discursive", "speculative") and *ḍarūrī* (associated with "immediate" and "self-evident") became traditional distinctions in the study of the sources or "channels" (*asbāb*) of knowledge (cf. Gardet and Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*[2], Paris 1970, 375-83).

Ḍirār b. ʿAmr was the first to employ the root *k-s-b* in analysing human action, applying it to the problem of man's free choice in the face of divine omnipotence. According to Ḍirār, human action arises from "two agents": God, who creates it, and man, who acquires it (see text *apud* al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1369-73/1950-4, i, 313). The stress Ḍirār lays on the *two* agents (*fāʿilān*) tends to indicate that this "acquisition" arises from an intrinsic efficacy of human action, but one which cannot exist without a divine motion operating at that moment. A little later, al-Nadjdjār divorced this union of causes and opposed *khāliḳ* (creator, always God) and *fāʿil*, "agent" (*ibid.*, i, 315). Action comes under God's power in the sense that God wills it at the moment that it is accomplished and does not wish it when it is not brought about, but its actual execution belongs to man. Therefore, man possesses "power over the *kasb*", he is *ḳādir ʿalā 'l-kasb* (*ibid.*, ii, 218). One of al-Nadjdjār's disciples, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Burghūth, emphasised, on the basis of Ḳur'ānic texts, that the same term could not be applied to man, and to God (*ibid.*, ii, 198): whether *fāʿil* is the province of man, as the texts of the *Maḳālāt* seem to indicate, or whether, as al-Baghdādī says in *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ* (ed. Cairo 1328, 197), God is Agent, the same term cannot be applied to man, who remains no more than the "acquisitor", the *muktasib*, of his action. The Rāfiḍī Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, and after him Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb, also used *kasb* and *iktisāb* to describe the relationship between man and his voluntary actions: it can be said that human action is "free" (*ikhtiyārī*) in the sense that man wills it and acquires it (*iktisābī*); but it remains "constrained" (*iḍṭirārī*) in the sense that man plays no part in its efficient cause, which is created by God (*ibid.*, i, 100).

These early *mutakallimūn* therefore tried, by employing the concept of "acquisition", to retain for man his own part in the act he accomplished. But while for Ḍirār this part remained a positive action, a participant in the single divine creator Action and thus subordinate to It, al-Nadjdjār and al-Burghūth, anxious to preserve the division between Creator and creature, would not allow of such a conception. For them, man possessed nevertheless a "power" (*ḳudra*) over the acquisition of his actions. Judging from this evidence, al-Shahrastānī's dubbing such scholars

Djabariyya in his *Kitāb al-Milal wal-niḥal* (ed. Badrān, Cairo 1370/1951, 138-9) must be revised.

The thesis of man "the acquisitor" (*muktasib*) was certainly opposed to the Muʿtazilī thesis of man "the creator" (*khāliḳ*) of his actions. Al-Djubbāʾī questioned the very notion of *kasb*. His arguments have been preserved, scattered throughout the *Maḳālāt* and more concisely in the writings of ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 363-79).

2. *The major trends of Ashʿarī* kalām. Ashʿarism, on the other hand, developed "acquisition" as one of his main directives against the *Iʿtizāl*. There is no mention of it as such in the credos of the *Maḳālāt* or the *Ibāna*, which would suggest that the "theory of *kasb*" was propounded by his disciples rather than by al-Ashʿarī himself. However, the concept does appear in the *Maḳālāt* and the *Ibāna*, and it re-emerges in *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, several times in chapter v (on *ḳadar*) and at the beginning of chapter vi (on *istiṭāʿa*): cf. R. McCarthy's ed. and Eng. tr. in *The Theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 37-58/53-81, *passim*. This was one of the school's constant themes, and when ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*loc. cit.*) reported al-Djubbāʾī's strictures, he added his own refutation of all the early Ashʿarī formulations. Al-Bāḳillānī died in 403/1013 and ʿAbd al-Djabbār in 415/1025. Right up to the present day, the Ashʿarīs defend the "theory of *kasb*" and refute Muʿtazilī objections to it, both in their major treatises (al-Djuwaynī, al-Ghazālī, al-Djurdjānī, etc.) and in their basic manuals (al-Sanūsī, al-Bādjūrī, etc.). Their definitions and analyses appear always to be linked to the ideas of *ḳudra ḥāditha* (the "contingent power" created by God) and *istiṭāʿa* ([*q.v.*], the ability to act).

Ashʿarī *kasb* and *iktisāb* are undoubtedly heirs to the first trends of *ʿilm al-kalām*, those predecessors whom al-Ashʿarī liked to call the *ahl al-ithbāt*. But the preoccupation with combatting the *Iʿtizāl*, and with allowing man nothing that was not subject to the immediate and sole power of God, which was what al-Ḍirār for example saw as the real and positive nature of *kasb*, or even with al-Nadjdjār's "power over *kasb*", gave way to a pure "attribution" or "imputation" extrinsically created by God in the human subject. The extreme subtlety or obscurity imputed to Ashʿarī *kasb* by opponents like Ibn Taymiyya perhaps derived from the fact that in the direct reference to an act freely completed, which is the basic meaning of the root *k-s-b*, became no more than a psychological semblance, without any reality *ab intra*. In Ḍirār and al-Nadjdjār, *kasb* and *iktisāb* can still be translated as "acquisition" or "appropriation"; but the strict Ashʿarī concept demands that we speak of "extrinsic attribution" and "juridic imputation".

To sum up: Ashʿarī *kasb* or *iktisāb* is the link between the "contingent power" to act and the accomplished action, but with no concommittant intrinsic effect of the first on the second (*e.g.* al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, ed. and Fr. tr. Luciani, Paris 1938, 119/191-2). The power, action and *kasb* are directly created by God within the human subject, which is, as al-Djurdjānī states (*Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 48), no more than the receptacle, the place (*maḥall*): an expression frequently found in the manuals of this school. Subsequently, *kasb* was conceived of as pure "connection" (*taʿalluḳ*; al-Sanūsī, *Muḳaddimāt*, ed. and Fr. tr. Luciani, Algiers 1908, 70-1), or, following Ibn Ḥazm, as the "positioning in annexation" (*istiḍāfa*, cf. *al-Fiṣal fi'l-milal*, ed. Cairo 1347, iii, 48) of the effect produced and the subject from which it derives, without a man having any efficacity over his act, "without even his being assured of the production of that act" (al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā . . . Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 61). In strictest Ashʿarism, this concept of *kasb* attributes to "acquisition" an "imputation" deriving solely from the inscrutable divine Will.

Other analytical essays, perhaps influenced by the legacy of Ḍirār or al-Nadjdjār, or by Māturīdī elucidations (see below), suggest that *kasb* should be defined as a "wish" (*irāda*) which is created as it were by accident (*ʿaraḍ*), but always acknowledging that the three conditions present—contingent wish, contingent power and effect produced—are directly created by God, without their being an intrinsic subordinate link between them. The Muʿtazilīs objected that an accident (the *kasb*) could not be inherent within another accident (the human act). In reply, Ibn Ḥazm asserted that this inherence was possible (*op. cit.*, iii, 51-2). Al-Bādjūrī (*loc. cit.*) discussed both trends and their respective definitions, acknowledging both as valid, but declaring that the theory of *kasb*-will was less "reliable" than that of *kasb*-relation.

3. *The Ḥanafī-Māturīdī tradition* (*including some Ashʿarī thinkers*). The earliest discussions which form the basis of the trends known as Māturīdī ignore the problem of *kasb*. Neither the *Fiḳh Akbar I* nor the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa* makes any mention of it. However, probably influenced by the first Ashʿarī speculations, the *Fiḳh Akbar II* (a.7; Eng. tr. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 191, where the text is reported at the end of a.6) affirms that all men's actions are in truth their "acquisition" (*kasb*). The later text called the *Fiḳh Akbar* of al-Shāfiʿī, edited by Wensinck as *Fiḳh Akbar III*, states (a.18, *ibid.*, 266) that "God created in man the power of *kasb*".

Just as Ashʿarī *kasb* was related to the school's opinions on the general problem of divine omnipotence and human freedom, so the concept of *kasb* expounded by the *kalām* scholars whom al-Māturīdī refers to was dependent on their explanation of human action. For them, the (ontological) root of an act arises from the power (*ḳudra*) of God, and its (moral) qualification, which obeys or disobeys divine Law, arises from the power (*ḳudra*) of the individual (cf., for example, the brief summary of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn ʿAlī, *Naẓm al-farāʾiḍ*², Cairo n.d., 72). *Kasb* is precisely this qualification, and therefore derives from human "power". Subsequently, some measure of an effect by man on his action was acknowledged, which was a return, beyond al-Ashʿarī, to the older views of Ḍirār and al-Nadjdjār. The definition of *kasb* as *ṣifa*, a moral quality (*ibid.*, 73), is the usual response in tracts of a Māturīdī bent (cf. al-Nasafī, al-Taftāzānī, al-Laḳānī, etc.). Some Ashʿarīs, while adhering to their school's viewpoint on the analysis of human action, especially on the "capacity to act" (*istiṭāʿa*), opted for a theory very close to *kasb-ṣifa*. Among these latter, the Ḥanifīs-Māturīdīs are fond of citing al-Bāḳillānī (*ibid.*); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo n.d., 143) can also be included here.

Thus we have three appreciably different concepts, all three permitted in the official doctrine of *ʿilm al-kalām*: *kasb*-relation (strict Ashʿarism), *kasb*-will (secondary Ashʿarī trend) and *kasb-ṣifa* (Māturīdīs and some Ashʿarīs). It should be noted that through their theory of *kasb*, however it was defined precisely, the Ashʿarīs, like the Māturīdīs-Ḥanifīs, deliberately opposed Djabariyya as well as Muʿtazila, and on this based their belief in man's responsibility for his own

actions. Whether as pure relation, contingent will or moral quality, it was, they stated, in proportion to *kasb* that God, on the day of judgement, would reward or punish accomplished actions.

Bibliography: given in the article. To this can be added Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-g͟hayb* on Ḳur'ān, II, 286; H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Munich, Paderborn, Vienna 1959-62, 103 ff.; L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane: Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 60-4. (L. Gardet)

KASBAH [see ḳaṣaba].

KASF [see kusūf].

KAS͟H, the modern s͟hahr-i sabz ("green town") on account of the fertility of its surroundings), a town in Özbekistān on what was once the great trade route between Samarḳand and Balk͟h. According to Chinese authorities, Kas͟h (Chinese transcription K'ia-s͟ha or Kié-s͟huang-na, also K'ius͟ha, as a town Ki-s͟he) was founded at the beginning of the seventh century A.D.; cf. J. Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, 57; *Ērānšahr* etc., Berlin 1901, 304; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 146. In 372/982 it is mentioned by *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 113 (§ 25, 15) as well-irrigated and protected by a citadel; it exported mules, manna and red salt. Yāḳūt's statement (*Muʿd̲j̲am*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 274; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict.*, 488 f.) on the authority of Ibn Makūlā, who died in 473/1080-1, that in Transoxiana the name was everywhere pronounced *Kiss* is very doubtful. For the later period the pronunciation *Kes͟h* (Kis͟hs͟h) is proved by the frequently recurring expression *Kes͟h-i Dilkes͟h*. The accounts of the Arab conquest are discussed by Marquart in particular (*Ērānšahr*, see Index). The *Kes͟h* of the Sāmānid period is described very fully by the Arab geographers (al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, 324 f.; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 501 f.; al-Muḳaddasī, 282). The town in those days was a third of a *farsak͟h* (about a mile) in length and breadth. The old city (*madīna*, Persian *s͟hahristān*) as well as the citadel (*ḳuhandiz*) were already deserted, and only the outer town (*rabaḍ*) was inhabited; in the vicinity of the earlier Kas͟h a new town was arising. This suggests that the modern town has a site different from that of the Kas͟h which existed before the Muslim conquest. Nothing is known of other transferences of the site. Kas͟h is never mentioned in the history of the Mongol conquest, so that it must have submitted to the Mongols (617/1220) without resistance. The name S͟hahr-i Sabz first appears—on coins also—about the middle of the 8th/14th century. Many buildings were erected in Kas͟h by Tīmūr, who was born in the district of Kas͟h, and his contemporaries; thereon, cf. W. Barthold in *Zapiski vost. otd. ark͟h. obs͟hč.*, xxiii, 1 f. Especially famous is the palace Aḳ Sarāy built at the end of 782/beginning of 1380 by builders from K͟hʷārazm; cf. S͟haraf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-Nāma*, Calcutta 1887-8, i, 301 f., and the notices by Niẓām al-Dīn S͟hāmī and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, in Barthold, *Ulugbeg i ego vremya*, Petrograd 1918, 23, Eng. tr. Minorsky, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 26; very little survives of this palace; on the inscriptions cf. N. Sitnyakowskiy in *Protokoll Turk. Kružka Lyub. Ark͟h.*, v, 114 f. As late as the 10th/16th century Kas͟h or S͟hahr-i Sabz is described by Ḥāfiẓ-i Tānis͟h (*ʿAbd Allāh-Nāma*, Ms. of the Asiatic Museum, 574 age, f. 87b) as an important town usually governed by a prince of the ruling house, while the administration of Nasaf or Ḳars͟hī [*q.v.*] could be left to a military official (*Darug͟ha*). In the 19th century, the amīr Naṣr Allāh of Buk͟hārā (1826-60) tried during the whole of his reign to subjugate the town; he succeeded only in 1860, but his successor lost Kas͟h as early as 1865. In 1870 it was ceded by the Russians to the *amīr* of Buk͟hārā. At the present day the situation is reversed and S͟hahr-i Sabz is an unimportant town in comparison with Ḳars͟hī, the result of the political changes in the 12th/18th century. The district of S͟hahr-i Sabz is surrounded to the N. by the Hażret-Sulṭān hills, to the S. by the Bay Suntaw-mountains and irrigated by the Ḳara-Daryā with its affluents.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 469 f.; Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], index, esp. 134 f.; idem, *K Istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, 125 f.; B. Spuler, *Iran*[3], index; idem, *Geschichte Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1966, index (s.v. S͟hahr-i sabz). (W. Barthold/B. Spuler)

KĀS͟HĀN (Ḳāsān, Ḳās͟hān; 33°59′ lat. N., 51°27′ long. E.), a town of the D̲j̲ibāl, on the ancient N. — S. axial route of central Iran, chief town of a *s͟hahristān* of the central province (*Ustān-i markazī*); it gives its name to an oasis adjoining the Das͟ht-i Kavīr on the N.E. and on the E., closed on the W. and on the S. by the buffer of the median chain of central Iran (3,900 m. at the Kūh-i Karkas). Despite its altitude (945 m.), the town has a warm climate (average of 38° C. in July, obs. 1881-4), has a bad reputation for scorpions and suffers from lack of water. This has been supplied by the perennial spring of Fīn and by the traditional systems of *ḳanāt*s and *āb anbār*s (cisterns); constructed under S͟hāh ʿAbbās the Great, the Ḳurūd Dam also supplied the town; and likewise from the Ṣafawid period, the Ḳamsar Dam served for irrigation until the floods of 1958. Today, the sinking of deep wells and water supply works allow a much greater provision of water for drinking and for irrigation. Apart from its craftsmanship and textile industries, the district is renowned for its natural products (figs and pomegranates from Fīn, rose water from Ḳamsar, melons, grapes etc.).

At the S.W. exit of the town, the site of Tepe Sialk/Sīalg testifies to the ancient occupation of the oasis (3 periods from the 5th to the 3rd millenium; a small Indo-European "state" destroyed around the 8th C. B.C.; objects preserved in the Louvre and Tehran Museums; see R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk*, i-ii, Paris 1938-9; idem, *l'Iran des origines à l'Islam*, Paris 1951). The region abounds in Sāsānid remains (*čahār ṭāḳ* of Niyāstar/Niyāsar and Naṭanz). Although the name Ḳāsān/Ḳās͟hān may not be attested before the 4th/10th C. and its origin remains uncertain, the importance of the Sāsānid town is proved, notably by its resistance to the Arab invasion (anecdote of the scorpions: see al-Muḳaddasī, 390; the town furnished soldiers for the Sāsānid army: see H. Narāḳī, *Ta'rīk͟h-i id̲j̲timāʿī*, 28; the legend of the Magian kings having left from Kās͟hān for Jerusalem was circulated in an early period: see Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui magi evangelici*, Vatican 1952, 83 ff. and index s.v. Qāšān). According to various authors, the Islamic city was founded (or fortified) by Zubayda K͟hātūn, wife of Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd, and then claimed by the Imāmī S͟hīʿīs, who are said to have constructed a fortified surrounding wall to protect the town from the attacks of the Daylamīs (*Mir'āt-i Ḳāsān*, 6-7). Subsequently attached to the governorship of Iṣfahān, it then formed with Ḳumm its own governorship, or at times two distinct governorships. Renowned from the Sald̲j̲ūḳid period for its *madrasas*, its

scholars, its calligraphers, its administrators (known by the *nisba* Kās͟hī, Kās͟hānī, Fīnī, Rāwandī, etc.) and its glazed ceramics (*haft rang* or *mīnāʾī*), it was relatively spared by the Īlk͟hānids, the Tīmūrids and the Turcomans, who derived profit from its craftsmanship (pottery, brassware, textiles). It enjoyed its greatest prosperity under the Ṣafawids; a true cultural capital of Islamic Iran in the 10th/16th century, it was favoured by S͟hāh ʿAbbās and his successors who embellished it with a palace, gardens, avenues and covered bazaars. From 4,000 to 5,000 hearths in 1524 (Tenreiro), it counted 5,000 to 6,000 in 1565 (Mestre Afonso), and Chardin enumerates 6,500 houses in 1673 (counting 5 to 6 persons per hearth or house). The town was then renowned for its gold brocades (*zar baft*, *zarī*), its silks (thread and fabric), its velvets (*makhmal*), its wool or silk carpets (sometimes embroidered with gold and silver), its painters and calligraphers, its scholars and theologians and above all its famous *kās͟hī* [*q.v.*] widespread in the Islamic world. After having suffered the Afg͟hān and Afs͟hārid domination, with their massacres and exactions, the town was destroyed by an earthquake in 1192/1779 in the time of Karīm K͟hān Zand. Although reconstructed by this sovereign and "embellished" by Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh Ḳād͟jār, it has only recently recovered a part of its prosperity (modernization of the textile industry, improvement of the roads and railways, of which the Tehran-Zahidan line is in the process of completion). After the depression of the 18th century (*ca.* 15,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 19th century), the city was repopulated (*ca.* 30,000 inhabitants in 1840, *ca.* 50,000 in 1908). Nevertheless, the development of the oasis has been checked, mainly due to the transfer of the axial N. — S. route to the W. of the median chain. While the census of 1956 reflects the exodus towards Tehran (*ca.* 46,000 inhabitants), that of 1966 seems to indicate an improvement (58,468 inhabitants). Numerous authors have stressed the enthusiasm for work and natural disposition of the Kās͟hīs for the arts, literature and philosophy, as well as their spirit of independence. Although their devotion to the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the twelve Imāms may be generally attested since the Sald͟jūḳid period, the majority of the settlements of the district were Sunnī at the time of the conquest of S͟hāh Ismāʿīl, and the faith of the people of the town itself also poses a problem (see B. Scarcia Amoretti, in *AIUON* (1969), 263-8; M. Mazzaoui, *The origins of the Ṣafawids, Šīʿism, Ṣūfism and the Ġulāt*, Wiesbaden, 1972, 31, n. 3). The ancient Jewish community of the town, which served as a refuge to the Jews of Iran under Nādir S͟hāh, is now in decline (2,000 persons in 1907, 525 in 1956). As elsewhere in Iran, factionalism divided the social body there, practically until the end of the Ḳād͟jār period. Despite natural destructions and sackings, the town has preserved a part of its historic architectural appearance: from the Sald͟jūḳid period, a minaret of the D͟jumʿa Mosque dated 466/1074, the solitary Zayn al-Dīn Minaret with a height of 47 m, the remains of the D͟jalālī fortress and a part of the fortified double surrounding wall; from the Mongol period, the K͟hʷād͟ja Tād͟j al-Dīn Mausoleum; built in 867/1463, the Masd͟jid-i Mīr ʿImād or Masd͟jid-i Maydān-i Fayḍ (constructed over a more ancient building, of which the *miḥrāb* dated 632/1235 is in the Berlin Museum); from the Ṣafawid period, the Imāmzāda Ḥabīb b. Mūsā shelters the tomb of S͟hāh ʿAbbās the Great (*miḥrāb* of the ancient mausoleum dated 668/1270 in the Tehran Museum); from the Ḳād͟jār period, the Madrasa-i Sulṭānī or Masd͟jid-i S͟hāh, the Mosque and the Madrasa-yi Āḳā Buzurg, the present garden palace of Fīn. Among numerous *imāmzādas*, the town notably shelters the mausoleums of the S͟hīʿī poet Muḥtas͟ham Kās͟hānī (d. 996/1588) [*q.v.*] and of the S͟hīʿī theosophist Mullā Muḥsin-i Fayḍ Kās͟hānī (d. 1091/1680).

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KĀS͟HĀNĪ, Āyatullāh abu 'l-Ḳāsim, an Iranian *mud͟jtahid* who played a role of some importance in the events of the early post World War II period. Born in the late 19th century, Kās͟hānī went at an early age to Nad͟jaf, where he studied under two of the *mud͟jtahids* prominent in support of the Iranian constitutionalist cause, Muḥammad Kāẓim K͟hurāsānī and Mīrzā Ḥusayn K͟halīlī Ṭihrānī. In 1919 he was sentenced to death *in absentia* by the British for opposing the mandate in ʿIrāḳ, but escaped to Iran. Throughout the reign of Riḍā S͟hāh he abstained from political activity, but was exiled in June 1942 by the British military authorities for alleged contacts with German agents. His postwar political career began in 1948 with the organization in Tehran of demonstrations against the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. With the beginning of the campaign for the nationalization of the oil industry, Kās͟hānī's importance grew as he came to be one of the chief organizers of mass support for Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ's National Front. He had, too, a number of representatives in the Mad͟jlis, a group known as the *Mud͟jāhidīn-i Islām*. Personal differences arose between Kās͟hānī and Muṣaddiḳ, and Kās͟hānī became alarmed, moreover, at the militant irreligiosity that showed itself in the last days of Musaddiḳ's rule. He therefore supported the royalist coup d'état of 19 August 1953 that overthrew Muṣaddiḳ. Kās͟hānī's remaining years were uneventful, and his death in 1962 passed largely unnoticed.

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KĀSHĀNĪ, ḤĀDJDJĪ MĪRZĀ DJĀNĪ, the Bābī historian, was a merchant of Kāshān who, with two of his three brothers, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ismāʿīl Ḍabīḥ and Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Aḥmad, was among the earliest disciples of Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥammad, the Bāb[*q.v.*]. When in 1847 the Bāb was being conducted from Iṣfahān to his prison at Mākū, the brothers bribed his escort to allow him to be their guest for two days and two nights at Kāshān. In the following year Kāshānī, with Bahāʾ Allāh, Ṣubḥ-i Azal and other prominent disciples, attempted to join the Bābī insurgents of Shaykh Ṭabarsī near Bārfurūsh in Māzandarān, but was captured by the royal troops and imprisoned for some time at Āmul, until ransomed by two merchants of Kāshān. "We find him always impelled, as it would appear, by religious zeal, now at Bārfurūsh, now at Mashhad, now at Ṭihrān." The Bāb was put to death on July 9, 1850, and Kāshānī occupied the next two years in writing his history of the movement, for which task he was qualified by personal acquaintance not only with the Bāb, but with Ṣubḥ-i Azal, Bahāʾ Allāh and almost all the early apostles of the Bābī religion, and by his detailed and accurate information on every event connected with the movement during the first eight years of its existence. His history (which, for some mystical reason not readily comprehensible he styled *Nuḳṭat al-Kāf* "the Point of Kāf"), is accurate, but is disfigured by fulsome and almost idolatrous adulation of his hero and by coarse abuse of his persecutors. When Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh resolved to strike a blow at the adherents of the new religion, Kāshānī was forcibly removed from the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, about six miles south of Ṭihrān, where he had taken sanctuary, and thrown into prison, where he shared the cell of Bahāʾ Allāh. On Sept. 15, 1852, he was put to death at Ṭihrān in company with twenty-seven of his co-religionists. As an act of policy, in order to divert vengeance from himself and his minister, the Shāh handed the heretics over to various communities for execution and Kāshānī was delivered to Āḳā Mahdī, *Malik al-Tudjdjār* ("chief of the merchants"). According to one account he suffered death by the bowstring, and according to another the merchants and shopkeepers of the city inflicted wounds on him until he perished.

Of his brothers Ismāʿīl died at Ṭihrān and Aḥmad, who, after the death of the Bāb, recognised Ṣubḥ-i Azal as his successor, was slain at Baghdād by some Bahāʾīs [*q.v.*], followers of Bahāʾ Allāh.

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AL-**ḲĀSHĀNĪ**, AL-ḲĀSHĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, called Ibn Bāba or Bābā, Persian author of the Saldjūḳ period, and boon-companion or *nadīm* by profession. He apparently flourished in the second half of the 5th/11th century and early years of the next one; Bagdatlı Ismail Paşa, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, i, 546, says that he died in 510/1116-7, and this is approximately confirmed by Yāḳūt, who says that he died at Marw. Only Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ff. 80a, 437b, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 412, iv, 296-7, have any significant information on him. It seems that he worked in his homeland of Djibāl, then travelled to Baghdād, and ended up in Khurāsān, probably at the court of the Saldjūḳ *amīr* Sandjar.

His only surviving work is the *Kitāb Raʾs māl al-nadīm* "The boon-companion's stock-in-trade", dedicated to a so-far unidentified patron, the *Amīr* and *Raʾīs* Saʿd al-Mulk Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Bahrām, who was most probably a member of Sandjar's court circle. This *adab* work contains material useful for boon-companions and story-tellers, and draws heavily on such earlier authors as Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Ibn Ḳutayba, Kushādjim and Thaʿālibī; the long, closing historical section, however, has valuable and unique information on the Ghaznawids (tr. and comm. in Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids: splendour and decay* (forthcoming). Ibn Bāba was also the author, according to Yāḳūt, of a book on the sects of the Shīʿa, so far lost.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see V. A. Hamdani, *Some rare manuscripts in Istanbul*, in *JRAS* (1938), 562-3; C. E. Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid Sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii (1963), 17-18; *GAL*, I, 140, S I, 586 (here wrongly called Ibn Bānī); critical ed. with introd. of the *K. Raʾs māl al-nadīm* by M. S. Badawi, Manchester Ph.D. thesis 1975 (unpublished). (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KASHF, the act of lifting and tearing away the veil [which comes between man and the extra-phenomenal world]. Al-Djurdjānī's *Taʿrīfāt* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 193) states that, according to the Arabic lexicon, *kashf* means "to take away the veil", but in technical terminology (*iṣṭilāḥ*) it means "to make appear in a complete and actual realisation the mysterious senses and the realities which are behind the veil". It is worthy of note (see below) that this definition copies word-for-word a text of the Imāmī scholar Ḥaydar Āmulī, some twenty years the senior of al-Djurdjānī. Experience of *kashf* works within and brings about *mukāshafa*, which may be translated as "unveiling" in the sense of "illumination" or "epiphany". Their opposing correlatives are *satr* and *istitār*, the acts of veiling and occultation.

The technical environment of the word's use, as evoked by al-Djurdjānī, is essentially that of *taṣawwuf* and of Shīʿī theology. The verb *kashafa* (but not the *maṣdar kashf*) occurs several times in the Ḳurʾān in its current sense of to uncover (part of the body) and to take away (misfortune, evil, danger, torment). However, two texts serve as the basis for future elaborations: "We have lifted thy covering off thee (*kashafnā*), and today thy sight is sharp" (L, 22) and "The portending [Last Day] is near at hand, Short of Allāh, there is no-one can lift it away" (LIII, 57-8). The first of these two texts is cited by al-Ghazālī at the opening of his *Munḳidh*.

1. *Some examples of Ṣūfī elaborations:*

(a) al-Kalābādhī. It seems that in the first centuries (e.g. in al-Ḥallādj) the opposite (*muḳābal*) of *satr* or *istitār* was not so much *kashf* as *tadjallī* "[divine] irradiation". Al-Kalābādhī, *K. al-Taʿarruf*, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1352/1933, 90, headed his ch. lviii *Fī 'l-tadjallī wa 'l-istitār*. He distinguishes three types of *tadjallī*: that of the essence, that of the attributes of the essence and that of the status

(*ḥukm*) of the essence. He then goes on to state precisely that the *tadjallī* of the essence is *mukāshafa*.

(b) al-Ḳushayrī. This last idea is more clearly set forth by al-Ḳushayrī and according to the distinctions which subsequently became the classic ones (*al-Risāla al-ḳushayriyya*, Cairo n.d. 39-40). He says that there are three stages in the progression towards Reality. The first, *muḥāḍara*, is getting oneself into position vis-à-vis the objective sought. It remains "behind the veil", and pre-supposes the presence of the heart and the transmission of the proof (discursive, *burhān*); the person who restricts himself within the guidance of the intellect (*ʿaḳl*) can only apprehend God through His miraculous signs (*āyāt*). The second stage is that of *mukāshafa*, the lifting of the veil. There is no further need to search for the way; reasoning (*burhān*) gives way to evident proof (*bayān*), and the indirect indications of God disappear before His attributes. But this stage is still only an intermediary one, a kind of "raising of the curtain" on to the world of mystery. It inevitably leads to the third stage, *mushāhada*, direct vision, the "presence of the reality" (*ḥaḳīḳa* [*q.v.*]), without the intermediacy of proof, even intuitive proof (*bayān*), and which opens on to the divine Essence.

(c) al-Anṣārī. *Kashf* and *mukāshafa* are thus like an entrance to an "illuminative" way. This category of an intermediary stage or "entrance to the way" occurs again in other texts. Thus in al-Anṣārī's *Manāzil*, each "halting-place" (*manzil*), or almost each, comprises three progressive degrees. Now in many instances, *kashf* is mentioned in connection with the second degree. E.g. it is at the second degree of *tabattul* ("consecration to God") that he comes back from "watching for the lightning-flash of the unveiling", *shayma barḳ al-kashf* (*K. Manāzil al-sāʾirīn*, ed. and Fr. tr. S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, Cairo 1962, 25/67). A third degree goes beyond this. There are similar observations (*ibid.*, 37/76; 54/90; 64/97) in regard to *taslīm* ("total submission"), *uns* ("intimacy") and *firāsa* ("sagacity"). But in regard to *ʿazm* ("determination"), *kashf* appears right at the first degree (*ibid.*, 51/87), because there cannot be authentic *ʿazm* except after having seen "the lightning-flash of unveiling". On the other hand, *kashf* marks the ascent to the third degree of *yaḳīn* ("certainty"): for the first degree of certainty (or "certain knowledge") is acceptance of the Word of God; the second degree (or "certain vision") goes beyond the sphere of argument; but the third degree or "real certainty" presupposes "the sudden breaking of the dawn (*ṣubḥ*) of unveiling", which seems to be, in its turn, the first of the three stages of this third degree (*ibid.*, 54/90). "Lightning-flash" or "dawn" is always like an irruption of light coming from "outside" which thus appears in the various stages and spiritual states of the phenomenon of *kashf*. It marks the entrance into a new manner of apprehending reality, a superior manner, the effect of divine *tadjallī*, an immediate and certain knowledge which goes beyond all discursive argument and all argumentative proof, rational or traditional.

(d) al-Hudjwīrī. The writings of *taṣawwuf* almost all evoke the "lightning-flash of *kashf*": in some cases as a first perceiving of the "world of mystery" where argument based on *burhān* gives place, as al-Ḳushayrī insists, to the "evident proof" of *bayān*, and in other cases, as the definite entry into this very world itself, where there is no longer any need for the intermediacy of proof of any kind whatever. Accordingly, al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, 245) defines *mukāshafa* as "a state which *bayān* cannot in any way describe". *Kashf* and *mukāshafa* are thus freely put into connection with the superior worlds, those beyond the senses, *djabarūt* and *malakūt*, beyond *mulk* [see ʿĀLAM]. Also, some of the general treatises on Ṣūfism employ the term *kashf* in their very titles, as in the famous *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* of al-Hudjwīrī, written in Persian (Eng. tr. by R. A. Nicholson, GMS, Leiden-London 1911). The spiritual steps forward envisaged by al-Hudjwīrī are the destroying of the veils which hide reality. The raising of the veil will be the supreme state of enjoyment in Paradise, and it is only the state of *kashf* "which is the degree of closeness (*ḳurb*)" which makes possible the miracles of saints (*ibid.*, 111, 226). There is thus no question now of any intermediary stage. Al-Hudjwīrī seems to place himself more in the line of al-Sarrādj than in that of al-Ḳushayrī, and does not hesitate to bend into a new sense the borrowings which he makes (without naming any source) from the latter. Thus when he compares *muḥāḍara* and *mukāshafa* (*ibid.*, 374-5), he defines the first as "the presence of the heart in the subtleties of *bayān*", and the second as "the presence of the inner secret (*sirr*)" in the field of intuitive vision (*ʿiyān*). If *muḥāḍara* definitely refers to the miraculous signs (*āyāt*) of God, as al-Ḳushayrī says, then *mukāshafa* is already open to glimpses of direct vision (*mushāhada*); contrary to the analyses of the *Risāla al-ḳushayriyya*, he no longer seems to distinguish them apart. It is described as a continuous and admiring *tremendum* in face of the infinite grandeur of God. A little later, al-Hudjwīrī compares the diurnal state of *kashf* to the nocturnal one of *satr* ("occultation") and suggests that a divine meeting (*wadjd*) cuts across, but according to very different activations, the troubled and burning desire for an "other place", which is that of the *ḥāl al-ḥidjāb* (lit. "state of the veil"), and also the peaceful vision of the *ḥāl al-kashf*.

2. *A certain usage in theology: that of al-Ghazālī.*

Kashf occurs frequently in this scholar's vocabulary. But it is a question here of a usage not merely "mystical" of this term, but of a "theological" one, seeing that spiritual experience becomes for al-Ghazālī in effect an article of faith. References to *kashf* are to be found not only in the *Iḥyāʾ*, but equally in the *Iḳtiṣād*, the *Mustaṣfā* and the *Munḳidh*; *kashf* lays the foundation for *yaḳīn*, the assured certainty of genuine faith (as opposed to faith received purely by being handed down, *taḳlīd*). The *Munḳidh* states that "The key to most of the branches of knowledge is the light (*nūr*) which God shines into the heart". Also, "Whoever imagines that *kashf* depends on logically-arranged arguments reduces the immensely-wide mercy of God to narrow proportions ... *Kashf* must be sought from this [divine] light" (*Munḳidh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Cairo 1372/1952, 55). *Kashf*, the unveiling of the world of mystery, is mentioned several times in the *Iḥyāʾ*; see the main references in Farid Jabre, *Essai sur le lexique de Ghazālī*, Beirut 1970, 244. Also, the *Iḥyāʾ*, ed. Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 218, doubtless in conformity with the tradition from al-Ḳushayrī, places *kashf* and *bayān* in connection with each other.

If *kashf* appears in many of al-Ghazālī's works, *mukāshafa* is found in the vocabularies of the *Iḥyāʾ* and the *Fayṣal* only. As Jabre notes, *op. cit.*, 245-6, this second term is used in a double sense: (a) subjective, an interior state brought about by *kashf*, and (b) objective, meaning "the truths, the objects

of the act of unveiling". Al-Ghazālī's famous distinction between *ʿulūm al-muʿāmala* (ritual observances, social customs and ethical rules) and *ʿulūm al-mukāshafa*, by means of which realities are apprehended, is well-known. The *Iḥyāʾ*, i, 18, says that the *ʿilm al-mukāshafa* is the knowledge of what is concealed (*bāṭin*), and is the aim of all the sciences. It is the science of the saints (*ṣiddīḳūn*) and those "brought near to God". It is a light which shines into the heart if the latter is purified and freed from its reprehensible qualities, a light which bears upon God, His essence, His angels, His acts, the prophets and the future life (cf. *ibid.*, i, 48). It is not argumentation, nor simple acceptance, but an intuitive and sure grasping of the subject. "By *ʿilm al-mukāshafa*, we mean the pulling-aside of the veil so that the Real One shows Himself in all his splendour; and this is effected with a clarity which sets the object present right before the eyes, without any possible grounds for doubt" (i, 18; see other references in Jabre, *op. cit.*, 246, and *idem*, *La notion de certitude selon Ghazālī*, Paris 1958, index, s.v.). *Mukāshafāt* and *mukāshaf* appear equally all through the *Iḥyāʾ*.

Hence for al-Ghazālī, *kashf* is a light, a freely-bestowed grace from God, which at the same time alone bestows its quality of certain knowledge. In so far as the later *ʿilm al-kalām* was open to influences from al-Ghazālī (or directly from Ṣūfism), *kashf* and *mukāshafa* were sometimes freely accepted; but the most classic treatises hardly ever refer to them.

3. *Brief references in Shīʿism.* In Shīʿism, the spiritual experience of *kashf* inevitably came to form a theological (or "theosophical") dimension. The apprehension of the "hidden meaning" (*bāṭin*), which is the perfection of Islam and which is the prerogative of the great Imāms, led to a high value being placed on *kashf*. To give only one significant example, the two treatises of the Imāmī Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, ed. Henry Corbin and Osman Yahya as *La philosophie shīʿite* (Tehran-Paris 1969), deal with *kashf* as a manner and a method of knowledge. The *Djāmiʿ al-asrār* mentions it, after *waḥy* (revelation though angelic intermediacy) and *ilhām* (divine, interior inspiration), as a participation stemming from the universal intellect and the universal soul (*La philosophie shīʿite*, 448-53). When Āmulī defines *kashf* (*ibid.*, 462), it is in the same lexicographical and technical terms as were to be copied from him by al-Djurdjānī, as already mentioned above. The ending of the chapter distinguishes, among other things, (a) *kashf ṣuwarī* (the "imaginal" perception of reality) whose irradiations (*tadjalliyāt*) reach the senses of sight and hearing; mention is made in this connection of the master Ibn ʿArabī; and (b) *kashf maʿnawī*, which is of the spiritual order (*rūḥī*); the text emphasises strongly *mukāshafāt* received in this fashion (*ibid.*, 464-72). In his *Risāla .. fī maʿrifat al-wudjūd*, Āmulī enumerates three modes of knowledge: by the intellect (*ʿaḳl*), by transmission (*naḳl*) and by *kashf* (*ibid.*, 623), and only the last one leads to the apprehension of Reality.

Hence it is with some justification that, in regard to Ḥaydar Āmulī, the phrase "the method of *kashf*" has been used (cf. Peter Antes, *Zur Theologie der Schiʿa*, Freiburg 1971, 49, 68), this method being an intuitive one in which certainty is sought from spiritual illumination. Āmulī's admiration for Ibn ʿArabī and for the latter's deliberate scheme for "reconciling" the Ṣūfīs and the Imāmīs, is well-known. Āmulī's work was to influence all later Twelver theology, and is in fact the applying of the Ṣūfī *kashf* to the Shīʿī search for the hidden meanings of things. If we bear in mind that his definition of *kashf* was adopted as it stood by the Sunnī al-Djurdjānī, we can accordingly discern, despite the divergencies of various climates of thought, a continuity of viewpoint.

Ismāʿīlī writings put the accent on the idea of the "state" of *kashf* from a double point of view, both gnostic and cosmic. The title chosen by al-Hudjwīrī in the 5th/11th century, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, designates equally the 8th/14th century treatise of the Ismāʿīlī scholar Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī, and *kashf* now introduces an ontology and cosmology of gnostic type. Furthermore, the classic opposition or *muḳābal* of *kashf-satr* is frequently found, this time set forth according to wide cosmic perspectives, in the Ismāʿīlī cycles of metahistory. The *aeva* of "proto-history" (Corbin) and of post-history are unfolded according to alternate phases of "unveiling" ("epiphany", as tr. Corbin) and "occultation". The length of these cycles may vary, and may refer indifferently to the "premordial Adam" (the "Perfect Man"), to the "partial Adam" (the Ḳurʾānic Adam) or to the "spiritual Adam" for the intelligible realities. According to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, a Yemenī *dāʿī* of the 6th/12th century, the cycle of unveiling (*dawr al-kashf*) is 50,000 years, and the cycle of occultation (*dawr al-satr*) is seven millenia. The present age, since the creation of the "partial Adam", is the fourth millenium of a cycle of occultation, which has been preceeded and will be succeeded by a cycle of unveiling (cf. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, *Risālat al-mabdaʾ wa 'l-maʿād*, ed. and Fr. tr. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaïlienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, 121-3/181-3).

An exhaustive study of *kashf* in Shīʿī thought—Imāmī and Ismāʿīlī—would in fact require an extensive exposition.

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(L. Gardet)

KĀSHGHAR, a town in Chinese Turkestān (Sin Kiang); the same name is still used in Chinese official documents. The name Kāshghar first appears in Chinese transcription (Kʾiu-cha) in the *Tʾang-shu*; cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 121 f. On the pre-Islamic Kāshghar and the ruins of Buddhist buildings in the vicinity, see A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907, i, 52 f.; idem, *Serindia*, Oxford 1921, 80 f. Arab armies did not reach Kāshghar; the story of Ḳutayba's campaign in 96/715 is, as shown by H. A. R. Gibb in *BSOS*, ii (1923), 467-8, a mere legend. Since *ca.* 132/750, Kāshghar was under Ḳarluḳ rule and turkicized by them. On the flight of a prince of Farghāna to Kāshghar in the time of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) see the article FARGHĀNA. In the Sāmānid period a *Dihḳān* of Kāshghar with the name or title Ṭughān Tigīn is mentioned (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 37), with whom the rebel prince Ilyās b. Isḥāḳ took refuge; whether this *Dihḳān* had already adopted Islam is not mentioned. At a later date Satuḳ Boghrā Khān is mentioned as the first Muslim Khān of Kāshghar; in the oldest reference to him that we have (Djamāl Ḳurashī in Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 255, 257) the date of his death is given as 344/955-6. This story already contains features which are certainly legendary; in the story of the building of the first mosque we have the well-known folklore motif of the cutting of an ox-skin into strips. The later legend, reproduced by F. Grenard (*JA*, Ser. 9, vol. xv, 1 f.), has not this feature but

contains many other legendary traits and absolutely false dates. The year 344 A.H. is perhaps too early, as probably the story of the adoption of Islam by a numerous Turkish people (200,000 tents) in 349/960 must be referred to the Turks of Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar; this story is found not only in Ibn al-At̲h̲īr (viii, 396) but also in Ibn Miskawayh (*The Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ed. Margoliouth and Amedroz, Oxford 1921, text, ii, 181, tr. v, 196); the original source is probably T̲h̲ābit b. Sinān al-Ṣābiʾ (cf. Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, viii, 476, 491; *The Eclipse* etc., *Index*). The tomb of Satuḳ Bog̲h̲rā K̲h̲ān is in Artūč (now pronounced Artus̲h̲) north of Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar, where it is still shown.

Under the rule of the Ilig-K̲h̲āns [see ILEK-K̲H̲ĀNS], who confessed Islam since *ca.* 950, Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar was politically the most important town in the Tarim basin; perhaps it was also the most important from the point of view of culture. In the 5th/11th century there was already in existence a work in Arabic on the history of the town, composed by Abu 'l-Futūḥ ʿAbd al-G̲h̲āfir (or ʿAbd al-G̲h̲affār) b. Ḥusayn al-Almaʿī al-Kād̲j̲ig̲h̲arī (*sic*); the author's father, who survived his son (according to al-Samʿānī by about ten years), died in 486/1093. On father and son and the works of the latter, see al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth, Leiden-London 1912, ff. 470a, 472a; D̲j̲amāl Ḳuras̲h̲ī in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 123 f. The rulers—since 1130 under the overlordship of the Ḳarak̲h̲iṭay—were in a special mausoleum (Arabic *al-d̲j̲unbad̲h̲a al-k̲h̲āḳāniyya*) on the bank of the Tümen; the first prince buried there died in Muḥarram 424/Dec. 7 1032-Jan. 5 1033, and the last in Rad̲j̲ab 601/22 Feb.-23 March 1205. During their rule, Maḥmūd al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī [*q.v.*] wrote his great Turkish dictionary in Bag̲h̲dād, and Yūsuf K̲h̲āṣṣ Ḥad̲j̲ib his *Ḳutadg̲h̲u bilig* in Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar. During Mongol rule a *madrasa* was built in Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar by Masʿūd Beg (see BUK̲H̲ĀRĀ); in its library was the copy of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-D̲j̲awharī used by D̲j̲amāl Ḳuras̲h̲ī for his translation (E. Sachau and Éthé, *Cat. of the Persian.... Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1889, col. 983). Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar was later under the rule of the Dūg̲h̲lāt Amīrs [see DŪG̲H̲LĀT]; the last of them, Abū Bakr, reigned till 920/1514, according to the statement of his relative Ḥaydar Mīrzā [*q.v.*] for forty-eight years (Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dug̲h̲lāt, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ras̲h̲īdī*, tr. E. Denison Ross, London 1895, 253, 326); but this is contradicted by the author himself, who says that Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar was not conquered by Abū Bakr till 885/1480-1. Abū Bakr is the founder of the modern town. He destroyed the old fortress and in the last years of his reign rebuilt it on a new site, on the other side of the Tümen on the tongue of land between this river and the Ḳïzïl Ṣū (*ibid.*, 286-7, 295).

Under the rule of the "Mongol" K̲h̲āns (cf. the *Bibliography* to ČAG̲H̲ATĀY-K̲H̲ĀN) and later under that of the Kalmücks and Chinese (since 1759) the capital of the district was no longer Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar but Yārkand. It was only since the reconquest of the country by the Chinese in 1877 that Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar again attained considerable importance as the residence of the Tao-Tʾai, who was over the western and southern part of Chinese Turkestān as far as the oasis of Čerčen, and as the one-time residence of the Russian and English consuls. On Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar in 1873 see H. W. Bellew in Sir T. D. Forsyth, *Mission to Yarkand in 1873*, London 1875. On conditions at the turn of the present century, see especially L. Kornilow, *Kas̲h̲g̲h̲ariya*, Tas̲h̲kent 1903 (review by Barthold, in *Zapiski vost. otd. ark̲h̲. obs̲h̲č.*, xv, 131 f.) with plan of Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar on p. 268, and M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle a/S. 1908, especially 45 f., 89 f., with a plan of the town from Kornilow. The most important building in Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar and vicinity is Ḥaḍrat Apāḳ, the tomb of the famous saint of the 11th/17th century. Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar has now approximately 70,000 inhabitants (mostly Sunnī Uyg̲h̲ur Turks).

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(W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

AL-KĀS̲H̲G̲H̲ARĪ, MAḤMŪD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD, Turkish scholar and lexicographer of the 5th/11th century whose work, the *Dīwān lug̲h̲āt al-turk*, is one of the most significant records of the Turkish languages and also an important source for the history of the Turkish peoples. The only information which we possess on his life comes from his own work, and that much is only fragmentary. It seems that he came from Barsg̲h̲ān on the southern shores of the Isik-Köl (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 98, 292-3), and was born into a noble family connected with the Ḳarā-K̲h̲ānids [see ILEK-K̲H̲ĀNS]. Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī was deeply grounded in Islamic culture and learning, and he himself states that he had travelled extensively and visited many of the Turkish lands before journeying to Bag̲h̲dād. It may well be that internal conflicts within the Ḳarā-K̲h̲ānid confederation led him to undertake these travels and to go to Bag̲h̲dād. In the latter city he mingled with the circles of scholars, and realised that there was a great interest in the Turkish peoples and their languages; hence he was stimulated to compose two works on them. He began to write his *Dīwān lug̲h̲āt al-turk* in 464/1072. According to the information in the book itself, he wrote four redactions of it during the period 464-76/1075-94). The original of the *Dīwān* is lost, but the unique surviving manuscript, dated 27 S̲h̲awwāl 664/1 August 1266, is a good copy, though not entirely free from errors. Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī's second work, a Turkish grammar called the *K. D̲j̲awāhir al-naḥw fī lug̲h̲āt al-turk*, has been lost, and is known only from the author's own reference to it.

Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī's work is of particular importance for the Turkic languages, and also for the history, geography and folklore of the Turkish peoples, for this linguistic corpus consists not of coherent texts in one particular Turkic language, but of a comparison-oriented explanatory dictionary and a modest grammatical outline of the language. In fact, it represents the first scholarly approach, and thus the first description of the linguistic material by a particular method, to these languages. At the same time, both in its introduction and in the individual entries, Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī's work contains a number of facts and remarks —occasionally supported even by personal experience and observation—about the process of the differentiation and spread of Turkic languages, cited in order to elucidate the situation in the 5th/11th century. The information he gives on the writing of Turkic peoples (sc. the Uyg̲h̲ur script) is also useful from a linguistic point of view.

Although he aims at a fairly comprehensive coverage of the Turkic languages, and includes several of them in his dictionary, the linguistic material in the work is primarily a record of the 5th/11th century

Turkish spoken in Kāshghar, which he terms Khāḳānī Turkish. Kāshgharī's work is related essentially to Ḳarakhānid linguistic records. Aside from the material on Kāshghar, the linguistic date from the Oghuz and Ḳïpčaḳ are of considerable value. The dictionary was originally designed as a language-manual for scholars in Baghdād who had some contact with Turkic peoples. Hence he deliberately adopted the methods of Arabic grammar and lexicography in describing his linguistic material. While Arabic grammar served, to some extent, as a guideline, the products of Arabic lexicographic literature also furnished him with a complete entry-word list, a sort of lexicographic questionnaire, with which he confronted the Turkic word-stock, his own mother-tongue. It is highly probable that this starting point considerably enlarged the word-stock in his work. The fact that the Turkic linguistic material had to be fitted into the categories of Arabic grammar certainly impelled Kāshgharī carefully to study his material. Yet the fact that the work was prepared in Baghdād—at a great distance from the homeland of the Turkic peoples—made him unable to complement and control his linguistic material to the fullest extent; and it is open to question how far he grasped those modest opportunities for such control which were probably available in Baghdād. Also questionable is the extent to which the—assumed—repeated redactions of the work enhanced or diminished the authenticity of the linguistic material. Since we do not possess the autograph manuscript of the work and the copyist was not a Turk, the relation of the copy to the original raises similar questions.

Kāshgharī's dictionary pays particular attention to place names, tribal names, proper names, ranks and titles. Explanatory notes in the work include historical data and personal experiences as well as specimens of Turkic folklore, verses, proverbs, etc., which make the work an important source for these last, which are of particular significance as coherent Turkic texts, in addition to their historical-folkloristic value. Kāshgharī's comparative remarks are also highly instructive, though his material is less rich in this respect. The elements in the author's mother-tongue included in his work should be regarded as a record of the standard usage of local scholars, for, as we have noted, Kāshgharī's main aim was to make Arab scholars acquainted with the Turkic languages. He rightly regarded his mother-tongue as one representative idiom of this language-group. At the same time, and understandably enough, he refused to include those Arabic loan-words which he considered irrelevant in this context. However, those words already played an important role in the *Ḳutadghu bilig*, the most significant literary monument of the period, and it seems highly probable that they had also found their way into the spoken language. One major merit of Kāshgharī's work, however, lies precisely in the fact that he tends to focus his attention on the word-stock of the "everyday" spoken Turkic languages. His dictionary thus complements our knowledge of the Ḳarakhanīd language, obtained mainly from the *Ḳutadghu bilig*.

Although Kāshgharī's knowledge of the difference between the individual Turkic languages moves within certain objective bounds and his remarks are sometimes contradictory, he must be given credit for using the comparative approach to the full in his work. His main concern is with the language of Kāshghar, the Oghuz and Ḳïpčaḳ areas; he established as fact the separation of these two language groups, and the related data may well be considered as the first surviving evidence of them. In the case of certain extinct Turkic languages without any written record, his data are their only documentation.

Though in evaluating Kāshgharī's facts and data, certain errors (the background of the manuscript, the author's knowledge, etc.) must always be taken into account, comparative linguistic folkloric, historical and geographic studies have often emphasized the particular value of the work as a source. His dictionary is a product of the intellectual sphere of the early Arab-Turkic symbiosis, when the methods of Arab linguistics were applied to the material of Turkic languages, which until then had been barely documented, thus creating a source of unprecedented value to comparative and historical linguistics and to the study of the history of the Turkic peoples in this period. As well as contributing greatly to the extension of our knowledge of the early Turkic word-stock and of the various Turkic languages, the work is also a valuable guideline in the chronology of the early Turkic records, the majority of which are chronologically uncertain Uyghur texts. Like the other Ḳarakhānid linguistic records, Kāshgharī's dictionary is classified chronologically as Middle Turkic—a term deriving from the practical classification of the Common Turkic linguistic monuments—on the basis of its chronological place between the runic inscriptions, the early Uyghur texts and the later Turkic linguistic records.

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(G. HAZAI)

KĀSHĪ, a Persian word designating the tiles or trimmed pieces of faïence serving to cover completely or partially the main fabric of buildings in a design principally decorative but also, at times, to protect them against humidity. This term, which also exists in Turkish, is an abbreviation of *Kāshānī*; the town of *Kāshān* [*q.v.*] was in effect the most important and most famous centre of production in Iran. It appears already in Abū'l-Ḳāsim, author of the first treatise dedicated to this subject (*ca.* 700/1300) in the form *kāshī-garī*, which means literally "the art of making the *kāshī*", but for this author it had a wider sense and designated the art of faïence. (See J. W. Allan, *Abū'l-Qāsim's Treatise on ceramics* in *Iran*, xi (1973), 111-20). In the Arab authors this term becomes *ḳāshī* (Yāḳūt, iv, 15) or *Ḳāshānī* (Yāḳūt, *ibid.*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 415, 463, ii, 130, 225, 297, iii, 79).

The origin of the *kāshīs* is linked with the techniques of pottery and with that of baked brick. So it has connections with a very ancient art. The excavations of Čughā-Zanbil (Khūzistān) have brought to light several types of dappled tiles (13th century B.C.). (See P. Amiet, *Elam*, Paris 1966, pl. 261). There have also been discovered (*ibid.*, pl. 383-92) some polychrome-coated tiles with zoomorphous decoration at Susa (*ca.* 8th and 7th centuries B.C.). The famous Frieze of the Archers (Louvre, 5th century B.C.) is a well-known example of the enamelled brick of the Achaemenids (M. Rutten, *Les arts du Moyen Orient ancien*, Paris 1962, pl. xxx) that the Assyrians and Babylonians also knew about (Assyrian Palace of Khorsābād, 722-705 B.C.; Gate of Ishtār at Babylon 6th century B.C.). Later on, in the period of the Parthians and Sāsānids, this art experienced a certain decline and appears to be represented only by mosaics (Bīshāpur, 2nd half of the 3rd century, see R. Ghirshman, *Parthes et Sassanides*, Paris 1962, pls. 180-6).

Moreover, it is this technique which prevailed at the beginning of the Muslim period and the mosaics of this era are of Hellenistic or Byzantine inspiration. They were also much used for floors (rest room of the bath of Khirbat al-Mafdjar; D. and J. Sourdel, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique*, Paris 1968, pl. 124), as well as on the walls (Dome of the Rock, dated 691, above, art. ARCHITECTURE, pls. IV-VI; Great Mosque of Damascus, dated 775, Sourdel), *op. cit.*, pl. iv), but the use of *kāshīs* in the form which later spread seems to emerge in the 5th/11th century. One of the first examples of its tentative appearance is to be found at the top of the minaret of the *masdjid-i djāmiʿ* of Dāmghān (2nd half of the 5th/11th century, C. Adle and A. S. Melikian Chirvani, *Les Monuments du xi^e s. du Dâmqân*, in *Studia Iranica*, i/1 (1972), pl. xxvii). The enamel was also applied, according to A. Godard, *L'Art de l'Iran*, Paris 1962, 366, to render the characters of the inscription more visible, *i.e.* more legible, on the exterior of buildings (cf. also *ibid.*, pl. 132; M. B. Smith, *The Manārs of Iṣfahān*, in *AI*, 1936/2, fig. 212). Approximately at the same period points of turquoise blue enamel appeared on buildings (Gonbad-i Surkh, dated 1147 at Marāgha, A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, repr. Tokyo 1964, viii, pl. 341). This new type of insertion of quite small enamelled tablets drew its inspiration from the embossed joints of plaster which are already in existence on the buildings of the 5th/11th century. The arrangement of these small tablets then developed without interruption and various decorative schemes were adopted (funerary tower of Muʾmina Khātūn, dated 1186, at Nakhdjavan, *ibid.*, pl. 345; Gūr-i Amīr, dated 1405, at Samarḳand, *ibid.*, ix, pls. 541-3). Emanating from these first productions, two techniques saw the light of day: that of the faïence mosaic or *kāshī-yi muʿarraḳ-kārī*, and that of the faïence tile or *kāshī-kārī*.

Kāshī-yi muʿarraḳ-kārī (or simply *muʿarraḳ-kārī*): this technique consists of cutting, according to precise forms, pieces of monochrome *kāshī* of different colours to compose a polychrome design (technique described by Godard, *op. cit.*, 383-4; H. E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge Mass. 1966, 121-5, figs. 188-94; Pope, *op. cit.*, pl. 546). One of the

first examples of the use of this process in Iran is the Imāmzāda Dja'far (dated 1325) at Iṣfahān (Godard, 384). Perfection was achieved at the Imāmzāda Darb-i Imām (dated 1453), situated in the same town (*ibid.*, 386) and especially at the Blue Mosque (Masdjid-i Kabūd, 1453) of Tabriz (*ibid.*, pls. 145, 146; Pope, *op. cit.*, viii, pls. 452-6).

Kāshī-kārī: by contrast with the above, in this process the design is reproduced on tiles of baked earth which are then painted, generally with different metal oxides, to become polychromatic, then rebaked. This technique, which varied widely according to periods and places, has given birth to two great schools, the *kāshī-yi falazzī-rang* (glazed) and the *kāshī-yi haft-rang* (polychrome/seven colours).

The first are from the 3rd/9th century at Baghdad and at Sāmarrā. They were even exported as far as Ḳayrawān (D. Talbot Rice, *Islamic Art*, London 1965, fig. 35) to be used in the Great Mosque (*ca.* 862). But it was the *kāshīs* manufactured principally at Kāshān, from the 7th/13th to 9th/15th centuries, that were the most famous. Their metallic glints were produced by "a thin film of metal obtained by reducing in the kiln a metallic oxide applied on the enamel" (J. Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'étude de la céramique musulmane*, Paris 1966, 36-8; Wulff, *op. cit.*, 119-20). Two categories of glazed tiles exist: first, the flat *kāshīs* in the form of a star or a cross (cf. panel of the Louvre dated 1267; *Art de l'Islam, catalogue de l'expostition de l'Orangerie des Tuileries*, Paris 1971, pl. and no. 58), and then much greater *kāshīs*, often modelled in a manner to constitute the elements of a *miḥrāb* (cf. that of the sanctuary of the Imām Riḍā at Mashhad, dated 1215, and that of the Mosque of the Maydān of Kāshān, dated 1226; M. Bahrami, *Recherches sur les carreaux de revêtement lustré dans la céramique persane du xiiie au xve s.*, Paris 1937; Pope, *op. cit.*, iv, 1569-90, x, pls. 702, 704, 721-7).

The *kāshī-yi haft-rang* were particularly in favour from the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (1588-1629). This sovereign, a great builder, judged the *kāshī-yi mu'arraḳ* too slow and costly to produce, and replaced them on certain buildings with painted tiles (interior of Masdjid-i Shāh, dated 1612-28, at Iṣfahān; Godard, *op. cit.*, 393-4; *Iran-Shahr*, ii, 1827-31; Pope, *op. cit.*, ix, pls. 547-9; A. Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*², London 1971, pl. 63).

The manufacture of *kāshī* fell into decline from the 17th-18th centuries onwards, and the notable productions were not numerous (Madrasa Mādar-i Shāh, Iṣfahān, dated 1706-14; Masdjid-i Sipahsālār, Tehran, dating from 1879). At present, this art has experienced, in Iran, a certain revival. Some architects have attempted, sometimes successfully, to incorporate this fundamental element of Iranian decoration in the new architecture of the country (tomb of Khayyām at Nishāpūr, constructed by Sayhūn).

The Persians also took this industry to Syria. These *ḳishānīs* were produced at Damascus. However, it is in the Turkish lands that this art experienced a great development; the Saldjūḳid Palace of Ḳubādābad (7th/13th century) had very fine faïence tiles in the form of stars and crosses (Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, fig. 185; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, figs. 61-2). The Mosque of 'Alā' al-Dīn (dated 1220) at Konya displays a very elaborate technique of faïence mosaic (Lane, *op. cit.*, 39). The Ottomans were also interested from the beginning in this art (Yeşil Cami at Bursa, 1419-24; Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, fig. 189). The best *kāshīs* were produced at Iznik, which was an extremely important and active centre from about 1490 to the beginning of the 18th century (see, *e.g.* Mausoleum of Sultan Sulaymān (dated 1566) at Istanbul; *ibid.*, figs. 194-5; see also A. Lane, *op. cit.*, 39-65, pl. 32; C. E. Arseven, *Les arts décoratifs turcs*, Istanbul 1952, 148-75; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, London 1971, 270-8).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. Adle)

AL-**KĀSHĪ** or AL-KĀSHĀNĪ, GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN DJAMSHĪD B. MAS'ŪD B. MAḤMŪD, Persian mathematician and astronomer who wrote in his mother tongue and in Arabic. Few biographical details are available, but it is known that during his lifetime he witnessed three eclipses of the moon, the first being visible at Kāshān on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 808/2 June 1406. Dates occurring incidentally in his works mark a few stages in his life; in 809/1407 he finished his *Risāla kamāliyya* or *Sullam al-samā'*, which deals with the size or distances of the celestial bodies; in 816/1413 he completed the *Zīdj-i khāḳānī*, perhaps dedicated to Shāh Rūkh at Harāt, in which he improves the Ilkhānid tables of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, employing differences of the second order in the case of interpolation of *buht* (see E. S. Kennedy, in *Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 117-20).

The year 819/1419 seems to have been the most decisive of his life: it was then that he completed a brief treatise on astronomical instruments (ed. and tr. E. S. Kennedy, in *JNES*, xx/2 (1961), 98-108), dedicated to Prince Iskandar of the Ḳara-ḳoyunlu, in which he describes briefly but accurately many of the instruments mentioned in the *Almagest* (5, 1; 5, 2, etc.) as well as others devised by earlier Muslim astronomers. In this same year he finished the first version of his *Nuzhat al-ḥadā'iḳ* and, accepting the invitation of Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*], probably proffered at the instigation of Ḳāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, he settled in Samarḳand. From this town he wrote to his father (Eng. tr. E. S. Kennedy, in *Orientalia*, xxix/2 (1960), 191-213) describing the lifestyle of the court, his relationship with Ulugh Beg and Ḳāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, and the problems with which the latter was particularly concerned. This document is of exceptional scientific interest; in some passages he brings to mind, in quite a different context, the tests undergone by poets when they were admitted to the sovereign's court. He assisted in the establishment of Ulugh Beg's tables and took part in the construction of the great observatory, the ruins of which can still be seen and which, in the opinion of Sayılı (*The observatory in Islam*, Ankara 1960, 260-89), probably influenced the first European observatories.

In 826/1423 he completed his *al-Risāla al-Muḥīṭiyya* (ed. with Ger. tr. by P. Luckey, *Der Lehrbrief über den Kreisumfang*, Berlin 1953; Russ. tr. by. B. A. Rosenfeld, V. S. Segal and A. P. Yushkevič, Moscow 1956) in which he established the value of π with extraordinary exactitude, so that $2\pi = 6$; 16, 59, 28, 1, 34, 51, 46, 14, 50 in sexagesimal notation and 6.2831853071795865 in decimal notation. Allied to the algorithmic methods of this work is the determination of sine 1° worked out by an iterative method (cf. A. Aaboe, in *Scripta Mathematica*, xx (1954), 24-9). This problem, one with which Ḳāḍī-zāda was preoccupied, was recorded by his grandson, Mīram Čelebi, in his commentary on the tables of Ulugh Beg entitled *Dastūr al-'amal wa-taṣḥīḥ al-djadwal.* It can be seen here that al-Kāshī employed the equation: sine d = 3 sine d — 4 sine 3d, which was used in the Western world by F. Viète (1540-1613)

and established the value of sine 1° = 0.017 452 406 437 283 571.

In 829/1426, he completed the second version of the *Nuzhat al-ḥadāʾiḳ*, in which he described an equatorium similar to that of Chaucer (see D. J. Price, *The equatorie of the planets*, Cambridge 1955); this, which he called a *ṭabaḳ al-manāṭiḳ*, was designed to determine the position of the planets by manual means; the first references to such an instrument appear in the work of the Hispano-Arab Azarquiel [see AL-ZARḲALĪ]. In the same year he composed a *Lawḥ al-ittiṣālāt*, enabling the rapid calculation of linear interpolations. These two works are edited and translated by E. S. Kennedy, *The planetary equatorium*, Princeton 1960.

In 830/1427 he dedicated to Ulugh Beg's library his *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb* (ed. with Russ. tr. B. A. Rosenfeld, V. S. Segal and A. P. Yushkevič, Moscow 1951). In the prologue to this work he gives an (incomplete) list of his works and in the explanatory part expounds the arithmetical operations, teaches the method of extracting roots by the system which today is called after Ruffini-Horner, calculates the Tartiglian triangle [see AL-KARADJĪ], demonstrates that he knew the proof by 9, works out the sum of series up to the fourth power of natural numbers (cf. F. Woepcke, *Sommations de séries*, in *Journal de mathématiques pures et appliquées*, x/2 (Paris 1865), 32-6), develops, like the ancient Babylonians, the absolute sexagesimal system, and devises decimal fractions which, despite the endeavours of Emmanuel Bonfils of Tarascon (14th century), were not recognised in Europe before Stevin of Bruges (1585); he also indicates the rules for passing from one system to another, gives auxiliary tables for various computations, deals with trigonometry and algebra and solves some undetermined systems [see AL-KARADJĪ].

Al-Kāshī died on 19 Ramaḍān 832/22 June 1429 at Samarḳand.

Bibliography: Apart from references in the text, Brockelmann, II, 231, S II, 294; Suter, 173, no. 429; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, iii, 158, viii, 43. (J. VERNET)

KĀSHIF, MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF B. SHAMS AL-DĪN AL-SHĪRĀZĪ (*ca.* 1001/1592-after 1063/1653), a Persian prosewriter and poet with the *takhalluṣ* Kāshif (the forms Kāshif-i Kumayt, cf. Rosen, loc. cit., and Sharīfā Kāshif, cf. *Tadhkira-i Naṣrābādī* in the synopsis by A. Sprenger, *Cat. Oudh*, 91, are also mentioned). He lived in Iṣfahān and later in Ray, where he was a *ḳāḍī* for 15 years. His brothers Ismāʿīl Munṣif and Mukīma were also known as poets. Only two works by Kāshif seem to have survived. Both deal with ethical questions and were written in the ornate style current in the Ṣafawid period. *Sirādj al-Munīr*, completed in 1030/1621 or slightly earlier, is modelled on Saʿdī's *Gulistān* but is more religious in character than the latter work. *Khazān u Bahār* is chiefly an adaptation of the Persian version of al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda* by Ḥusayn b. Asʿad al-Muʾayyadī al-Dihistānī (7th/13th century). These works were still frequently copied in the 13th/19th century and have been lithographed several times both in Iran and India (cf. Khānbābā Mushār, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i čāpī-i fārsī*, Tehran 1337-1342 sh., i, 945, ii, 2138). Other works, recorded in the *Khātima* of *Khazān u Bahār* are the prose works *Durr-i Maknūn* and *Ḥawāṣṣ-i bāṭin*, the *mathnawī*s *Laylā u Madjnūn*, *Haft Paykar* and *ʿAbbās nāma*, and lyrical poetry.

Bibliography: autobiographical notice in the epilogue (*khātima*) of *Khazān u Bahār*, cf. the description in V. Rosen, *Les manuscrits persans de l'Institut des langues orientales*, St. Pétersbourg 1886, 285 f.; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, 861 f., *Supplement*, 250 f.; al-Shaykh Āḳā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf-Tehran 1355 ff., vii, 151 f., viii, 108, xii, 161 f.; Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭī-i fārsī*, ii/2, Tehran 1349 sh., 1601 f., 1628 ff. (J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

KĀSHIF AL-GHIṬĀʾ, surname of the Imāmī scholar SHAYKH DJAʿFAR B. KHIḌR B. YAḤYĀ AL-MĀLIKĪ AL-DJANĀDJĪ AL-NADJAFĪ. Shaykh Djaʿfar was born in al-Nadjaf in 1154/1741 or, more likely, in 1164/1751, according to conflicting records. His father, whose family belonged to the Arab clan of Banū Mālik, had come from Djanādjiyā (Ḳanāḳiyā), a village in the region of al-Ḥilla, to al-Nadjaf, where he won a high respect for his piety and religious learning. Shaykh Djaʿfar studied in al-Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ under the most famous Imāmī scholars of the time, among them the Āḳā Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Bihbihānī and the Sayyid Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī. After the death of the latter in 1212/1797, Shaykh Djaʿfar was recognized as his successor in the leadership of the Imāmī community.

Shaykh Djaʿfar was actively engaged in the local affairs of al-Nadjaf as well as in the concerns of the Imāmī community at large, and entertained close relations with both the Ottoman authorities in Baghdād and the Ḳādjār ruler Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1212-50/1797-1834) of Persia. In reply to a pamphlet of the Wahhābī ruler al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd (d. 1218/1803) espousing Wahhābī doctrine and attacking Shīʿism, he wrote a rebuttal *Risālat manhadj al-rashād li-man arāda al-sadād*. During the siege of al-Nadjaf by the Wahhābīs in 1220/1805, he led the successful resistance of the inhabitants. In 1221/1806 he served the Ottoman governor of Baghdād, ʿAlī Pasha, as an envoy to the Persian army advancing on that city and brought about a peaceful settlement. To Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, during whose reign he visited Persia frequently, he dedicated his general *fiḳh* work *Kashf al-ghiṭāʾ ʿan mubhamāt al-sharīʿa al-gharrāʾ*. The book became popular with students of Imāmī law and earned him his surname Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ. He repeatedly authorized Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh to lead *djihād*.

In treatises and in public debates in ʿIrāḳ and Persia he vigorously supported the Uṣūlī doctrine of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] against the Akhbārī position. This brought him into sharp conflict with the Akhbārī leader Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī al-Akhbārī. When the latter found refuge at the court of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1223/1808 and tried to defame him personally, he wrote a scathing attack on him entitled *Kashf al-Ghiṭāʾ ʿan maʿāyib Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿaduww al-ʿulamāʾ* and sent it to the shah. Towards the end of his life he became involved in a bloody conflict between the Zuḳurt and the Shimirt, two factions of the inhabitants of al-Nadjaf, which led to a feud lasting over a century. He died at the end of Radjab 1227/early August 1812 and was buried in al-Nadjaf. Several of his descendants have distinguished themselves in scholarship.

Bibliography: Al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt*, Tehran 1367, 152-4; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, Tehran 1318, iii, 397 f.; Tunakābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehran n.d., 183-98; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, xv, Damascus 1359/1940, 413-47; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran 1785-1906*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, index s.v. Najafī, Shaykh Jaʿfar.

(W. MADELUNG)

KĀSHIFĪ, KAMĀL AL-DĪN ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ, surnamed al-Wāʿiẓ ("the preacher"), Persian writer and preacher. Born at Bayhaḳ or Sabzawār, where he spent part of his youth, Kāshifī then lived in Nishābūr, Mashhad, and for about 20 years at Harāt, during the reign of Abu 'l Ghāzī Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā [*q.v.*]. There he received encouragement from the sultan and from ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*]. He was well-known as an eloquent preacher with an exceptionally beautiful voice and as a profilic writer of Persian prose. Kāshifī lived to a ripe old age, dying in 910/1504-5 at Harāt. Because he was born at Bayhaḳ, a Shīʿī centre, he was regarded as a Shīʿī in Harāt, but his relationship with Djāmī [*q.v.*] and his companionship with ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī resulted in his being considered a Sunnī in Bayhaḳ. His famous son, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī (d. 939/1532-3) in his *Rashaḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt* (lith. Lucknow 1308/1890) mentions his father's adherence to the Naḳshbandīs [*q.v.*], who were Sunnīs. However, some of Kāshifī's works, such as his *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ*, attest that the author was an Imāmī Shīʿī. In any case, the *Laṭāʾif al-ṭawāʾif*, written by Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī (Tehran 1336/1957), and different works by Kāshifī, express the authors' devotion to the *Ahl al-Bayt* [*q.v.*] "the family of the Prophet". In some of Kāshifī's books, such as *al-Risāla al-ʿaliyya fi'l-aḥādīth al-nabawiyya* (Tehran 1966) and *Futuwwat-nāma-yi sulṭānī* (Tehran 1971), his tendency towards Ṣūfism is obvious. Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ occasionally wrote Persian poems under the pen name of Kāshifī. His only known child was the above-mentioned Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī, the author of several books, who succeeded his father as a celebrated preacher in Harāt.

The following list of Kāshifī's works is not in chronological order, as the dates of many of his writings have not been established. Of the author's works, the best known are the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* and *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ*: (1) The former, which is the basis of Kāshifī's fame in the East and the West, is a new version of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], translated into Persian by Abu 'l Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh. Kāshifī's aim in recasting these fables, done at the suggestion of Niẓām al-Dīn Amīr Shaykh Aḥmad al-Suhaylī (d. 907 or 908/1501-3), a Turkish amīr at the court of Sultan Ḥusayn, was to simplify the difficult style of Abu 'l-Maʿālī. Kāshifī omitted Abu 'l-Maʿālī's first two chapters, reducing the book to 14 chapters. But the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, "The Lights of Canopus" or rather "The Lights of Suhaylī", written in a very decorative style, cannot compare with the first Persian translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and Kāshifī did not achieve his object. The book has been published several times: in Calcutta 1804 etc.; Hertford (by Ch. Stewart) 1805, (by J. W. Ouseley) 1851; Bombay 1853; and repeatedly since then in India, Iran and Europe. A versified version of the work exists, entitled *Shakaristān* and made by Amīr Khusraw Dārāʾī (Tehran 1947). The Ottoman Turkish translation of the work, entitled *Hümāyūn-nāme* by ʿAlī Čelebi (d. 950/1543-4), became widely known in Europe; its translation into French is one of the sources of La Fontaine's Fables. The *Anwār-i Suhaylī* has also been translated into English (by E. B. Eastwick, Hertford 1854, and by A. N. Wollaston, London 1878). Parts of the book have been printed in text and translation in Europe (see Ethé, *Cat. Pers. Mss.*, *India Office*, No. 757). Having achieved fame in India, the work found an imitator, Abu 'l Faḍl b. Mubārak, minister of the Emperor Akbar and author of the *Āyīn-i Akbarī*, who compiled the *ʿIyār-i dānish* (996/1588); (2) *The Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ*, "Garden of the Martyrs", a Persian martyrology of ʿAlī and his family, particularly of the Imām Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], was written at the wish of Prince Murshid al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, called Sayyid Mīrzā, in 908/1502-3. It comprises ten chapters (*bābs*) and a conclusion (*khātima*). It has been published many times; abridgments entitled *Dah madjlis* and *Muntakhab-i Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ* are also available (see Storey, i, 212, 1261). Popular among Shīʿīs and used in the commemorative speeches of Muḥarram, the book has left a lasting mark on the mourning ceremonies called *rawḍa*. The work was translated into Turkish, with additions, by Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*] of Baghdād (d. 970/1562-3) under the title *Ḥadīḳat al-suʿadāʾ* (see Storey, i, 213; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 90). There is a metrical paraphrase in Dakhanī: the *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ* by Walī, composed in 1130/1718 (Storey, i, 213). Translations in Urdu and Hindī also exist (see Ḥaydar-Bakhsh Ḥaydarī, *Gul-i maghfirat*, Lahore 1965, Introduction by Nāẓir Ḥasan Zaydī, 8, 9, 19).

Other works are: (3) *Djawāhir al-tafsīr li-tuḥfat al-Amīr*, an extensive Persian commentary on the Ḳurʾān, written at the request of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī in 890/1485. Kāshifī intended to compile it in four volumes, but discontinued his work after finishing the first volume, which included the first three *sūras* and part of the fourth. Later, he wrote a shorter commentary. *Djawāhir al-tafsīr* has a detailed introduction dealing with the 22 branches of ḳurʾānic sciences. Manuscripts of the work are extant (see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss.*, *British Museum*, i, 11; Ethé, No. 2680; Storey, i, 12, 1195; Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Fārsī*, Tehran 1969, i, 42); (4) the *Mawāhib-i ʿaliyya* is a shorter commentary on the Ḳurʾān, composed in 897-9/1491-4 and dedicated to ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, from whose name the work's title is derived. It is also called *Tafsīr-i Ḥusaynī*, after the author. The book has been lithographed several times in India (Storey, i, 13), Iran, and printed in four volumes in Tehran 1938-50. There is a Turkish translation by Abu 'l Faḍl Muḥammad b. Idrīs Bidlīsī (d. 982/1574-5) and also an adaptation, *Mewākib tefsīri*, by Ismāʿīl Ferrukh Efendi (d. 1256/1840), Istanbul 1959. Urdu and Pashtu translations also exist (Storey, *loc. cit.*); (5) the *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī*, a book on ethics, was completed in 900/1494-5 as an offering for Abu 'l Muḥsin, a son of Sultan Ḥusayn. It comprises 40 chapters, and has been published several times in India, Tehran, Hertford, London, etc. Translations exist in English by H. G. Keene, Hertford 1851; in Turkish, under the title *Anīs al-ʿārifīn*, by ʿAẓmī, 974/1566-7; and extracts from the latter translated into German, published by R. Peiper, Breslau 1848, *Das Kapitel von der Freigebigkeit*, etc.; (6) *al-Risāla al-ʿaliyya fi'l-aḥādīth al-nabawiyya*, a Persian commentary in eight chapters on the 40 *ḥadīths*, compiled in 875/1470-1. It was influenced by the *Maṣābīḥ al-ḳulūb* of Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sabzawārī (d. 854/1450), one of the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, and dedicated to Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l Maʿālī ʿAlī al-Mukhtār al-Nassāba al-Naḳīb. A Turkish translation was made by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṭāshköprüzāde (d. 1030/1620-1) for Sultan Aḥmad I (see *ʿOM*, i, 349-50; A. Karahan, *İslam-Türk edebiyatında Kırk Hadis*, Istanbul 1954, 109-11 and index s.v. Ḥusayn Vāʿiẓ; (7), (8) Two anthologies from Rūmī's Mathnawī: the first entitled *Lubāb-i maʿnawī fī intikhāb-i Mathnawī*, and the second a rearrangement of this entitled *Lubb-i Lubāb-i maʿnawī*. The latter was

compiled at the suggestion of Musayyib, one of the eminent officials at the court of Harāt, in 875/1470-1 (lith., Bombay 1885, Lucknow; printed, Tehran 1940); (9) *Risāla-yi Ḥātimiyya*, a short Persian treatise including the story of Ḥātim Ṭā'ī [*q.v.*], compiled for Sultan Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā in 891/1486 (printed, Ch. Schefer, *Chrest. Pers.*, Paris 1883, i, 174-203; Tehran 1941); (10) *Makhzan al-inshā'*, a treatise on the art of Persian epistolography, containing all a secretary must know: forms of address, forms of answer, topics which must be stated, forms of prayer used in letters. It was completed in 907/1501-2, in the name of Sultan Ḥusayn and the author's patron, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī; (11) *Ṣaḥīfa-yi shāhī*, another treatise, including some epistolary writings in Persian and a few in Arabic, is dedicated to Sultan Ḥusayn (lith., Lucknow 1844, Cawnpore 1848); (12) *Badā'iʿ al-afkār fī ṣanā'iʿ al-ashʿār*, a work on figures of speech and errors, particularly in poetic usage (see A. Munzawī, iii, 2126); (13) *Futuwwat-nāma-yi sulṭānī*, printed in Tehran 1971, is one of Kāshifī's most valuable works. As well as having a fluent style, the book is the most detailed of all the Arabic and Persian treatises written on *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. Kāshifī compiled all the information about *fityān* handed down from earlier generations and never before mentioned in books. At the same time, he used important written sources. Some special aspects of the mediaeval history of Iran, *i.e.* about the *fityān* and their social organisation, are fully described; (14) the *Asrār-i Ḳāsimī*, a short Persian treatise on witchcraft, spells and alchemy, in five parts, is written in the name of Amīr Sayyid Ḳāsim, one of the eminent personalities of the period (lith. Bombay 1872, etc.). Kāshifī's son wrote a commentary on this book, entitled *Kashf-i Asrār-i Ḳāsimī* (lith., Bombay 1894, 1910; printed in Berlin); (15) *Tuḥfat al-ṣalāt*, with eight chapters and a conclusion; (16) *Marṣad al-asnā fī istikhrādj asmā' al-ḥusnā* (lith., Bombay 1893, 1905); (17) *Zād al-musāfirīn* (*mathnawī*, lith., Lucknow 1885); (18) *Sabʿa Kāshifiyya*, completed in 878/1473-4, containing seven treatises on astronomy and astrology, entitled *Mawāhib al-Zuḥal*, *Mayāmin al-Mushtarī*, *Ḳawāṭiʿ* (or *Sawāṭiʿ*) *al-Mirrīkh*, *Lawāmiʿ al-Shams*, *Mabāhidj* (or *Mafātīḥ*) *al-Zuhra*, *Manāhidj al-ʿUṭārid* and *Lawā'iḥ al-Ḳamar* (or *Ikhtiyārāt-i nudjūm*); (19) *al-Tuḥfa al-ʿaliyya fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-bayān asrārihā*, compiled in the name of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Naḳshbandī; (20), (21) Two more commentaries on the Ḳur'ān, entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-Djawāhir*, "abridged from *Djawāhir al-tafsīr*", and *Djāmiʿ al-sittīn*, Kāshifī's dictated commentary on the *Sūrat Yūsuf* (ch. xii), which is probably identical with the *Tafsīr-i sūra-yi Yūsuf* by Tādj al-Dīn Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd of Ṭūs (Tehrān 1967; see Storey, i, 29, 1195, 1210; A. Munzawī, i, 38); (22) *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī*; (23) *Risālat al-ʿulwiyya*; (24) *Risāla dar ʿilm-i aʿdād*; (25) *Risāla dar awrād-u adʿiya*; (26) *Fayḍ al-nawāl fī bayān al-zawāl*; (27) *Mafātīḥ al-kunūz* on alchemy; (28) *Mayāmin al-iktisāb fī ḳawāʿid al-iḥtisāb*; (29) *Ā'ina-yi iskandarī* or *Djām-i Djam*; (30) *Mā lā budda fī 'l madhhab*; (31) *Minhādj al-wilāya*; (32) *Faḍl al-ṣalāt ʿala 'l-nabī*; (33) *Mir'āt al-ṣafā fī ṣifāt al-Muṣṭafā*; (34) *Sharḥ-i Kitāb al-Surūr fī ʿilm al-ṣanʿa* by Sufyān al-Thawrī (lith. Bombay); (35) *al-Naḳāwa fī ādāb al-tilāwa*, on the method of reading the Ḳur'ān (A. Munzawī, i, 120); (36) *Dīwān-i Kāshifī* (*ibid.*, iii, 2490); (37) *Ṭabaḳāt-i Khwādjagān-i Naḳshbandiyya* (*ibid.*, ii, 1274); (38) *Maʿārif al-Yaḳīn* (*ibid.*, ii, 1394); (39) *Manāḳib al-awliyā'* (*ibid.*, ii, 1423; Storey, i, 213); (40) *Madjālis-i waʿẓ* (A. Munzawī, ii, 1678), etc.

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KASHĪSH-DAGHĪ [see ulu dagh].

KASHĪNĀ, KASHNĀ [see katsina].

ĶĀSHĶĀY, the name of a Turkish people living in the Fārs province of Iran. Persian works refer to this people as Ḳashḳā'ī. The exact origin of the name is not known. In western Turkish *ḳashḳa* is the name given to a blaze on the forehead of animals such as horses, sheep and cattle; in Čaghatay the word also means "brilliant" and "gallant". It is probable that the name Ḳāshḳāy is related to one of these meanings, especially the former, *i.e.* a blaze. It is impossible to agree with the claims of the chroniclers of the Ḳādjār period that the word is derived from *kačmak* "to flee, escape". The Ḳāshḳāy are a comparatively recent community, not referred to in works earlier than the 18th century. A branch of the Khaladj [*q.v.*], whose original territory was the Sāwa region, used to live in Fārs during the 19th century, and whilst we have no knowledge of the causes leading to the formation of the Ḳāshḳāy, it is probable that many Turcoman communities living in Fārs gathered around the strong Shāhilu tribe of the Khaladj during the Afghan invasion, thus forming this people. It seems also that some small tribes belonging to such peoples as the Lurs, Kurds and Shuls also joined this union.

The territory of the Ḳāshḳāy extended from the northwest of Fārs to the southeast, comprising Shash Nāhiya, Čahār Danke, Kāmfīrūz, Ardahān, Kāzarūn, Farrāshband, Maḥall Arbaʿa, Fīrūzābād, Maymand, Afraz, Khundj and Mahūr Milānī. Of these, the first five were their grazing grounds, while the rest were their winter quarters. The ḳhāns generally wintered in Fīrūzābād. Until recently the territory of the Ḳāshḳāy was considered a separate administrative region under the name of the Vilāyat-i Ḳashḳā'ī.

The tribal organization of the Ḳāshḳāy was similar to that of other Turkish peoples, *i.e.* they were divided into the *boy* (*ṭā'ifa*), the *boy* into the *oba* (*tīra*), and the *oba* into families (*odjak*). The tribal head was the *ilkhān*, while the *boy* was headed by the *kalantar* (*boy begi*), and the *oba* by the *katkhuda*. The *il begi* was the deputy ilkhān and the actual ruler. He was elected from among the close relatives of the ilkhān, such as his son or brother. The ilkhān,

always a member of the ruling family of Khans, was appointed by the Shāh. Among the many *boys* and *obas* of the Ķāshķāy people, the following were of the greatest historical importance: Bayāt (from the Oghuz tribe), Igdir (Oghuz tribe), Beg Dili (Oghuz tribe), Čarīkhlu (Čarīklu, an Oghuz tribe?), Shāmlu, Aghač-Eri (of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu), Khaladj, Musullu (of the Aķ-Ķoyunlu), and Oryad (Mongol?). These sub-tribes were not very populous. One characteristic of the Ķāshķāy people was that it had a strict tribal code, which determined all conduct and was obeyed by every member, from the Khān down to the simplest member of the community.

The great majority of the Ķāshķāy led a nomadic life, raising horses, camels and cattle. An important number of these nomadic people, however, had fields near their pastures, which were watered and protected by peasants living in the neighbourhood. In return for these services, the peasants, called *raʿiyyat-i Ķashķāʾī*, received two sheep and some share of the crop each year. Being servants of the Ķāshkāy was regarded as good fortune by the peasants of Fārs, for in this way they enjoyed the help and protection of the Ķāshķāy and were free from the molestations of government officials. The Ķāshķāy exported sheep, longhaired lambskins similar to the Kara Köl sheep of Bukhārā, wool, carpets and rugs. Ķāshkāy carpets woven from pure wool, decorated with traditional motifs and dyed with natural dyes, are still in high demand both in Iran and abroad.

The Ķāshķāy women occupied an important place in the social life of their community, and as among the ancient Turks, the Ķāshķāy observed the rule of demanding *bashlīk* (*bashluk*) in marriage.

Ķāshķāy Turkish is a dialect of Oghuz, i.e. southwestern, Turkish. Like the *ozans* of the Oghuz, the Ķāshķāy had their *ʿāshīķs*, who sang songs of love and bravery and recited the legend of Köroghlu.

Dupré (1807-9) gives their number as 12,000-15,000 (*Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, ii, pp. 463-4), while Lady Sheil (mid-19th century) writes that they had 30,000-40,000 tents (*Glimpses of life and Manners in Persia*, London 1856, 398-9). Curzon (1889), on the other hand, gives their number as 25,000 (*Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii, 112-3) but he mentions that formerly they had comprised 60,000 tents and were capable of raising 120,000 horsemen. This figure is greatly exaggerated, since the Ķāshķāy were in fact never able to raise more than 15,000 horsemen. They put 5,000 horsemen in the field against the British during World War I.

Their first important chiefs were Ḥasan Khān and his brother Ismāʿīl Khān, who both lived during the time of Karīm Khan Zand [*q.v.*] (d. 1193/1779), but for reasons unknown, Ḥasan Khān's hand was cut off, and Ismāʿīl Khān's eyes put out towards the end of the Zand period. Djānī Khān (d. 1239/1823-4), the son of the latter, and Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān (d. 1268/1851-2), the son of Djānī Khān, his brother Muḥammad Ķulī Khān (d. 1867-8), and his son Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān, were the most prominent Ķāshķāy chiefs during the 19th century. Of these, Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān and his son Djihāngīr Khān took wives from the Ķādjārs. One of the main rivals of the Ķāshķāy dynasty was the Hādjdjī Ibrāhīm family living in Shīrāz. This family ruled over the five large tribes (Khamsa) in Fārs with the support of the government. Another enemy of the Ķāshķāy were the Bakhtiyārī, their northern neighbours. When constitutional monarchy was established in Iran, by law the Ķāshķāy were represented in parliament by Hādjdjī Karīm Khān of the ruling family. Although the Ķāshķāy, with the secret encouragement of the government, fought the British in Fārs towards the end of World War I, they were defeated. Like the other tribes, the Ķāshķāy were disarmed by Riḍā Shāh in 1930 and brought under government control. During the operations carried out for this purpose, the Il-Khān Ṣawlat al-Dawla was brought to Tehran and imprisoned there, and his sons were forced to leave Iran. During World War II, and after the removal of Riḍā Shāh from the throne, the sons of Ṣawlat al-Dawla, who had himself died in prison, returned from exile. Of these, Nāṣir was elected Il-khān and started administering the Ķāshķāy. When the Ķāshķāy, according to their tribal tradition, refused to surrender to the British the German agents who had taken refuge in Ķāshķāy, they were faced with the danger of being crushed as a possible consequence of an armed expedition against them. They were fortunately saved from this plight by the intervention of the Turkish ambassador (1943). In 1963 the government of Iran decided to carry out land reform in Ķāshķāy territory and to subject the Ķāshķāy people to the authority of the central government Ķāshķāy resistance was overcome by force, the tribesmen disarmed and the family of khāns forced to leave Iran for the second time.

Bibliography: For detailed information and bibliography on the Ķāshķāy see F. Sümer, *Kaçarlar devrinde Türk oymakları*, in *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, V, Ankara 1973. (F. Sümer)

KASHKŪL, a Persian word denoting an oval bowl of metal, wood or coconut (calabash), worn suspended by a chain from the shoulder, in which the dervishes put the alms they receive and the food which is given them. The etymology of this word is obscure; a popular one is given by the Persians: *kash* "draw" (imperative) and *kūl* "shoulder", "what one draws over the shoulder"; but as we find a form *khačkūl* attested in the older poets (Anwarī, Sayf Isfarangī), this explanation can hardly be accepted. The dictionaries give as the first sense "beggar" and then "beggar's bowl"; it seems impossible to decide how correct they are.

This term passed at a late date into Arabic, and appears in the title of the *Kitāb al-Kashkūl* of Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (953-1030/1547-1621) [see AL-ʿĀMILĪ], which is a collection of passages taken from various sources. It is sometimes used in modern Arabic in this sense, in which, as well as denoting "beggar's bag", it denotes a kind of album or collection of press cuttings. In Algerian colloquial Arabic, it has retained the sense of "begging bowl, bowl made of wood or of esparto grass" (Beaussier, s.v.); in Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v., we also find the forms *kashkul* and *kashkala*.

Bibliography: *Farhang-i Rashīdī*, s.v. *Khačkūl*; *Burhān-i Ķāṭiʿ*, s.v. *kashkūl*; R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, 217; Ricaut, *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, figure in ch. xvii; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[1], i, 337; A. von Kremer, *Topographie von Damascus*, ii, 4; E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 52. (Cl. Huart*)

KASHMĪR (Sanskrit: Kashmīra; Persian: Kashmīr; Kashmīrī: Kashīr), a region of northern India.

I. BEFORE 1947

1. Geography. It is situated in the western Himālayas about 5,000 ft. above sea-level, and is shaped like an elliptical saucer with a similarly-shaped level

valley in the centre. This valley, comprising an area of 1,800 or 1,900 sq. miles, is about 84 miles in length, from south-west to north-east, while its width varies from 20 to 25 miles. It is surrounded by high mountain ranges, whose highest peaks rise up to 18,000 ft. The inner slopes of these mountains possess lateral valleys, some quite large and very picturesque. The whole area within the mountain boundaries is about 3,900 sq. miles. Through the central plain flows the Djehlam (Vitastā), which is joined by numerous rivers and streams which drain the slopes of the mountains. The high mountains which surround the valley are pierced by a number of passes through which it has, over the ages, maintained contact with the outside world. The most important passes are the Bānihāl, the Būdil, the Pīr Pandjāl, the Tōshmaidān, the Ḥādjdjī Pīr and the Zōdjī-Lā. According to an ancient legend mentioned by Kalhaṇa and the Nīlamata, Kashmīr was once a lake; there is a certain geological basis for this in the lacustrine deposits found in the alluvial plateaus called *karēwas* or *uḍars*.

The name Kashmīr does not occur in Vedic literature. Its earliest reference is found in Pāṇini's grammar. Later the *Mahābhārata* and some of the Purānas also refer to it. There is no mention of Kashmīr by Herodotus or in the accounts of Alexander's invasion, but Ptolemy's use of Kaspeiria definitely refers to Kashmīr. It is not clear when the Chinese first used it, but when Hiuen Tsiang visited Kashmīr in 631, he called it the kingdom of *Kia-shi-mi-lo*. Muslim historians and geographers like Abu 'l-Fidā and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa omit mention of Kashmīr altogether. Al-Muḳaddasī and al-Idrīsī refer only to its geographical location. Al-Mas'ūdī's account of Kashmīr, which he calls Ḳashmīr and its capital the "town of Ḳashmīr", is on the other hand long, but not always reliable. It is, however, al-Bīrūnī who gives a detailed and authentic description of Kashmīr. Although he never visited Kashmīr, he obtained his information in the Pandjāb and in Ghazna from reliable sources, and describes the habits and customs of the people of Kashmīr. He refers to the passes leading out of the valley and traces the course of the river Djehlam with considerable accuracy.

Nothing is known of the aboriginal inhabitants of Kashmīr. The present Kashmīrīs are probably a mixture of different races—Aryan, Mongol, Turkish and Afghān. The total population of Kashmīr, according to the 1971 census, is 2,435,701, out of which the Muslims are 2,289,530.

The staple food of the inhabitants of Kashmīr is rice, which is also the most important crop. The winter in Kashmīr is very severe, but from May to October it is very pleasant. This, combined with the picturesque scenery of the Valley, attracts tourists from all over the world.

The Kashmīrī language, according to Grierson, belongs to the Dardic group, though it has been considerably influenced by Sanskrit and Persian and, latterly, by Urdū; it is now written in Persian characters. Kashmīr's language of court and culture was Sanskrit until it was replaced by Sulṭān Zayn al-'Ābidīn in the 9th/15th century. Persian then continued to flourish, but in 1889 Urdū was made the court language. Although efforts are being made to develop Kashmīrī, Urdū remains the official language as well as the language of culture.

2. History to the 14th century. The early history of Kashmīr is shrouded in legend until we come to the time of Aśoka the Great who, according to the records of the Chinese pilgrims, erected many monasteries and stupas and Śaivite shrines in the Valley. It was also he who laid the foundation of Srīnagarī, which was near the present Srīnagar, and which has given a name to it. However, the medieval Muslim chroniclers of Kashmīr refer to Srīnagar as the "town of Kashmīr" (Shahr-i Kashmīr).

Kashmīr's history again assumes a legendary character until the time of Kaniṣka, the Kushan ruler of north-western India, who was a Buddhist and who organised the Fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmīr. In 178 A.D. the Kushan rule was replaced by the Gonanda dynasty, under which Buddhism declined because of the policy of persecution followed by some of its rulers.

Ca. 528 A.D., Kashmīr came under the rule of Mihirakula, the White Hun ruler, who, according to the tradition preserved by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, encouraged Brahmanism and persecuted Buddhism. Towards the middle of the 6th century, the Kashmīr ruler Matrgupta acknowledged the sovereignty of Harsha-Vikramāditya of Udjdjayn. But beyond this, nothing is known of Harsha's connection with Kashmīr.

In 627 was laid the foundation of the Kārkō'ta dynasty (the origin of this designation is uncertain) by Durlabhavardhana, a man of obscure origin. Hiuen Tsiang, who arrived in Kashmīr during his reign, says that Buddhism was in decline but that the country was peaceful and prosperous. The greatest ruler of the Kārkō'ta dynasty was Lalitāditya-Muktāpīda, who reduced Kāng'ra, Pūnč, Radjaurī and Djammū, but Kalhaṇa's account of his conquests round the whole of India is legendary. In 733 Lalitāditya sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor Husan-tsuang (713-55), seeking help from him against the Arabs who were pressing from the south and the Tibetans and Turkish tribes from the north. He was a great builder, his greatest building being the temple of Mārtand, which owes a great deal to the Gandhāra school and which became a model to all subsequent temples in the valley. Lalitāditya also carried out extensive drainage works, reclaimed large areas for cultivation and established law and order. Ou-K'ong, who visited Kashmīr a few years after Lalitāditya's death, found Buddhism in a flourishing condition.

Since the successors of Lalitāditya were worthless, his dynasty was replaced by the Utpala dynasty founded by Avantivarman (855-83), grandson of Utpala, who was related by marriage with the Kārko'tas. Avantivarman founded the town of Avantipūr, which still bears his name, and built great temples there. His able engineer Suyya, whose name still survives in the modern town of Sōpūr (old Suyyapura), constructed irrigation channels, and by measures designed to prevent floods, reclaimed land from the river and marshes and thus made Kashmīr prosperous. Avantivarman's son and successor, Shaṁkaravarman (883-902) imposed heavy taxes, and introduced the system of forced labour (*bēgār*) which remained, until recent times, a characteristic feature of Kashmīr life. He was succeeded by weak rulers who were puppets in the hands of Tantrins or feudal chiefs. In 950 Kshēmagupta ascended the throne. But he too was weak and the real authority was exercised by his wife Diddā, who was the daughter of the ruler of Lohara. On her husband's death, she herself ascended the throne in 981 after destroying her son and her grandson one after another. She ruled ably until 1003, when she appointed Saṁgrāmarādja, her nephew, as her successor.

Under the Lohara kings, who were mostly incompetent, social and political conditions in Kashmīr

greatly deteriorated; the people were subjected to corvées and to all kinds of oppressive taxes. The Damaras or feudal chiefs grew powerful and by their constant revolts plunged the country into confusion. Since Rāmadeva (1252-73), the last ruler of the dynasty, had no child, he adopted Lakshmanadeva, the son of a Brahman, as heir-apparent. It was under Lakshmanadeva's son, Sūhadeva (1301-20) that the Mongols, led by Zuldjū, invaded Kashmīr in the spring of 720/1320. The origin of Zuldjū is obscure, but he appears to have been a Mongol from Turkistān. He entered Kashmīr by the Djehlam valley route; Sūhadeva did not offer any resistance but fled to Kishtwār. The Mongols continued their ravages in the valley for 8 months and then withdrew before winter. The anarchy that followed the invasion and withdrawal of the Mongols paved the way for the establishment of the Islamic Sultanate.

3. The foundation of the Sultanate. It was in the 2nd/8th century that Kashmīr came for the first time in contact with the Muslims. Two governors of Sind, Djunayd and Hishām b. Amr al-Taghlibī, attempted to invade the fringes of Kashmīr, but they could only reach as far as the southern slopes of the Himālayas.

Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 404/1014 and again in 412/1021 tried to conquer Kashmīr but did not succeed. When finally Muslim rule came to be established, it was not the result of a foreign invasion but of a palace revolution. Taking advantage of the chaos into which Kashmīr was plunged after the Mongol withdrawal, Riñchana (Lhachen rGyalbu Riñchana), the son of a Ladākhī chief, who had sought refuge in Kashmīr, made himself master of the country. He embraced Islam under the influence of a Suhrawardī saint, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn, commonly known as Bulbul Shāh, and adopted the name of Ṣadr al-Dīn. He was the first Sultan of Kashmīr.

At the death of Riñchana, his widow Kō'tā Rānī, on the advice of the nobles, married Udayānadeva, the brother of Sūhadeva, and made him king; and when he died, she herself became ruler. But her authority was challenged by Shāh Mīr, a soldier of fortune, who was most probably of Turkish origin.

Turkish adventurers began to enter the Valley from the end of the 5th/11th century, and were employed by Hindū kings in their armies. Shāh Mīr also came in search of fame and fortune and was employed by Sūhadeva. He gradually became so powerful that when Udayānadeva died, he refused to acknowledge Kō'tā Rānī's authority. He defeated her and, in 739/1339, ascended the throne under the title of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn, thus laying the foundations of his dynasty which ruled Kashmīr until 968/1561.

4. The Sultanate Period. Very little is known of the two successors of Shams al-Dīn, Djamshīd and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. But the latter's son Shihāb al-Dīn (755-75/1354-73) appears to have been an able ruler. After consolidating his position at home, he was able to reduce Djammū, Pūnč, Radjaurī, Čamba, Baltistān and Ladākh; but the accounts in the Kashmīr chronicles that he conquered Multān, Kābul, Badakhshān and Samarḳand and that he defeated Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ are apocryphal. An important event that had considerable impact on the social and religious life of Kashmīr was the arrival of Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadhānī, a Kubrawī saint, once during his reign in Rabīʿ I 774/September 1372 and again in the reign of his younger brother and successor Ḳuṭb al-Dīn in 781/1379 and 785/1383. Sayyid ʿAlī is said to have come with 700 Sayyids and to have made large-scale conversions to Islam.

During the reign of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's son, Sikandar (792-816/1389-1413), there came Sayyid Muḥammad, the son of Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadhānī. Under his influence, Sikandar tried to enforce the *Sharīʿa* and established the office of the Shaykh al-Islām, and he began to persecute the Hindus by forcibly converting them to Islam and destroying their temples. But the accounts given in the chronicles of the wholesale destruction of temples have been greatly exaggerated, for there is evidence to suggest that the massive temples of Mārtand and Avantipūr were destroyed by earthquakes and not by Sikandar, for gunpowder was unknown in Kashmīr in the 8th/14th century.

The policy of religious persecution pursued by Sikandar was reversed by his son, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (823-75/1420-70), who is popularly called "Budshāh" or the Great King. He virtually abolished the *djizya*, gave money to Hindus to rebuild their temples, and allowed those who had been forcibly converted to Islam to return to their old religion. This, however, did not check the progress of Islam because, although the successors of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn followed a policy of religious toleration, yet through the efforts of Ṣūfīs and *rishīs* conversions continued, so that by the end of the 9th/15th century, a majority of the inhabitants of Kashmīr had embraced Islam. But at the same time, Islam itself became diluted with non-Muslim usages and practices, and it has retained this character to this day.

History and tradition combine to credit Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn with the introduction of various arts and crafts for which Kashmīr has become famous. He sent Kashmīrīs to Iran and Turkistān to learn the arts of book-binding, wood-carving and papier-mâché, and those of making shawls, carpets and paper. He also invited craftsmen from these countries to instruct his people in various skills. Of all the arts in which the Kashmīrīs achieved excellence, that of book-binding and paper-making has since the 19th century disappeared, but the other crafts are still flourishing and provide employment to a large number of people.

The Hindu *rādjās* had built their temples in stone, but the Sulṭāns popularised the constructional use of wood. Sikandar's two buildings which have survived, the Khānḳāh-i Muʿallā (Mosque of Shāh Hamadhān) and the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, are constructed in wood. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, on the other hand, built both in wood and brick. His mosque of Madanī is constructed in wood, but the tomb of his mother and the tomb of Madanī represent the masonry style, and their chief feature is the use made of Persian tiles. The chief feature of the wooden style of architecture is that the pyramidal roof projecting over the whole structure is built in three tiers, and is surrounded by an open pavilion for the *muʾadhdhin*, over which rises the steeple with its final.

Under Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, the Shāh Mīr dynasty reached the zenith of its power and glory. But after his death, succession disputes, incompetent rulers and refractory and intriguing nobles brought about its downfall. In consequence, Kashmīr was subjected to foreign invasions. In Rajab 947/November 1540, Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, a cousin of Bābur, who was in Humāyūn's service, invaded Kashmīr and seized power. At first he ruled with ability and justice, but later he failed to protect the Kashmīrīs from the high-handedness of the Mughals. Moreover, he banned Shīʿism and all Ṣūfī orders, and compelled every Muslim to accept the Ḥanafī law school. The result was that the Kashmīr nobles united against him and brought about his defeat and death in Ramaḍān 958/October 1551. But this did not bring peace to the Valley, because a struggle for power began among the

nobles belonging to the Raina, Māgre and Čak families. In the end, the Čaks emerged victorious. They had migrated from Dardistān in the reign of Sūhadeva, and were, according to al-Bīrūnī, of Turkish origin. They were converted to Shīʿism by Mīr Shams al-Dīn, a Nūrbakhshiyya dervish, who visited Kashmīr from Persia in 886/1481 and 907/1502. The Čaks ruled the Valley from 968/1561 to 994/1586, when it was conquered by Akbar.

The Mughals had invaded Kashmīr in the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. Akbar, who claimed Kashmīr because it had been conquered by Mīrzā Ḥaydar on behalf of Humāyūn, had also sent an army to the conquest of Kashmīr in the summer of 968/1561. But it had been defeated by Sulṭān Ghāzī Shāh Čak (968-70/1561-3). It was not until 993/1585 that Akbar found himself sufficiently free to direct his attention once again to Kashmīr. On 3 Muḥarram 994/20 December 1585 he despatched Rādjā Bhagwān Dās to invade the valley. The Kashmīr forces offered serious resistance at the pass of Būliāsa. But Sulṭān Yūsuf Shāh (988-94/1580-6), being weak and indolent and convinced that it would be impossible to defeat the Mughals, secretly visited the Mughal camp on 3 Rabīʿ I 994/14 February 1586 and concluded a treaty with Bhagwān Dās. By this treaty he was to retain his throne, but coins were to be struck and the *khuṭba* recited in the name of the Emperor. Akbar, however, did not honour the treaty, and when Yūsuf Shāh was presented to him he ordered his imprisonment.

Meanwhile, betrayed by Yūsuf Shāh, the Kashmīr nobles set up his son, Yaʿḳūb Shāh, on the throne. Yaʿḳūb was brave and resourceful, but he was a religious fanatic and tried to make Shīʿism the state religion. In consequence of Yaʿḳūb's intolerance, a number of Sunnī nobles, headed by Shaykh Yaʿḳūb Ṣarfī, proceeded to Akbar and requested him to annex Kashmīr. Akbar sent a large army, first under Ḳāsim Khān and then under Yūsuf Khān Riḍwī. Yaʿḳūb carried on a valiant struggle, but, betrayed one by one by his followers, he finally surrendered towards the beginning of Ramaḍān 996/end of July 1588, whilst Akbar had arrived in the Valley in Djumādā II 996/May 1588.

5. The Mughal Period. Akbar visited Kashmīr three times. During his first visit, he abolished the *djizya* and corvée and deputed officers to assess land revenue. But as the assessment was heavy, the Čaks, who had not reconciled themselves to Mughal rule, caused an abortive rising. Akbar, who arrived in Kashmīr for the second time in Muḥarram 1001/October 1592, treated the rebels generously, and tried to conciliate the Kashmīrīs by reducing the taxes and by entering into matrimonial alliances with the Čak nobles. But in spite of this, the Čaks remained sullen and rebellious.

Djahāngīr and his queen Nūrdjahān loved Kashmīr and visited it eight times. They built palaces and laid out beautiful gardens at Ačabal, Vērnāg, Nishāṭ and Shālimār. Twice during Djahāngīr's reign the Čaks, anxious to recover their lost power, took up arms but they were crushed. In 1044/1632 Shāhdjahān appointed Ẓafar Khān governor of Kashmīr. Ẓafar Khān laid out gardens and ruled with justice. He secured a *farmān* from the Emperor, abolishing all oppressive taxes, and this was inscribed on a stone-slab and fixed on the southern gate of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid in Srīnagar. Kishtwār had been occupied under Djahāngīr, and now Ẓafar Khān conquered Baltistān and Ladākh.

The rule of the Great Mughals, from Akbar to Aurangzīb, was, on the whole, just and benevolent. Kashmīr, at the time of the Mughal conquest, was torn by religious strife and feudal rebellions. The Mughals gave peace and promoted trade, industry and agriculture. Kashmīr, however, lost her separate identity and became like any other province of the Empire. The Kashmīrī ruling families of the Čaks, Māgres and Rainas were replaced by a hierarchy of Mughal officers who were responsible for the administration of the country. Moreover, Kashmīr, which had achieved a high degree of culture under the Sulṭāns, was intellectually impoverished: because of the absence of local patronage, poets, painters and scholars left the valley and sought employment at the Mughal Court.

6. The Afghans and the Sikhs. Mughal rule after the death of Aurangzīb became inefficient and corrupt and failed to maintain law and order. Hence in 1160/1747, some of the Kashmīrī nobles wrote to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī Durrānī [*q.v.*] inviting him to annex Kashmīr. He accordingly despatched a large force in 1165/1752. The Mughals were defeated and Kashmīr passed into the hands of the Afghāns. The Afghān rule was harsh and oppressive, however, and the burden of taxation was heavy. The Shīʿīs were persecuted by the Afghān governors and there were constant Shīʿī-Sunnī riots.

In 1819 Kashmīr was conquered by Randjīt Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Pandjāb. The Sikh rule, which lasted from 1819 to 1846, was also oppressive. The famous Djāmiʿ mosque of Srīnagar was closed to public prayers and, in addition, several mosques were declared to be the property of the state. The slaughter of cows was declared punishable by death. Butchers, bakers, boatmen, scavengers and even prostitutes were taxed. Heavy taxation of the shawl trade led to the decay of this industry. The effect of all this was the impoverishment of the people and their emigration to the Pandjāb and northern India.

7. The Dōgrās and Modern Kashmīr. Sikh rule over Kashmīr came to an end after their defeat in the First Anglo-Sikh war. By the treaty of Amritsar (16 March 1846) the British transferred Kashmīr for a sum of 75 lakh of rupees to Rādjā Gulāb Singh, the Dōgrā ruler of Djammū. Gulāb Singh's rule was better than that of the Sikhs, but no improvement took place in the condition of the people. The high price of rice, which was made a government monopoly, and the high-handedness of officials brought great suffering to the people. The Muslims, who formed over 90% of the population of Kashmīr, had to pay a tax for the Dharmarth, a Hindū religious trust, established by the Mahārādjā. They could not slaughter cows and some of their mosques continued to be in possession of the government.

Ranbīr Singh, who succeeded his father Gulāb Singh in February 1856, was an able ruler. He tried to revive the shawl industry which had been declining. He began the construction of the cart road between Srīnagar and Rāwalpindī and built a track between the Valley and Djammū. A telegraph and postal service was also introduced. However, he made no efforts to redress the grievances of the Muslims.

At the death of Ranbīr Singh on 15 September 1885, his eldest son, Pratāp Singh, succeeded him. Since Pratāp Singh was an imbecile and strong government was necessary in view of the threat of a Russian invasion of India, he was deprived of all authority, and his state was placed in the hands of a Council of Regency under the control of the British Resident. It was not until March 1921 that Pratāp Singh was restored to full powers. During this period, valuable reforms were introduced under the direction

of the Resident. But in one respect they were deficient. The interests of the Muslims were ignored. The Muslims, influenced by the pan-Islamic, Khilāfat and Non-co-operation movements, had become politically conscious and were demanding their rights. In 1924, when the Viceroy, Lord Reading, visited Srīnagar, some members of the Muslim community submitted a Memorial demanding the complete abolition of corvée, larger representation of Muslims in government service, and the restoration of mosques in possession of the government. The Mahārādjā's response to this was to exile the signatories of the Memorial and to confiscate their property. This, however, only served to increase the discontent among the Muslims. On 13 July 1931, open demonstration against the despotic rule of Harī Singh, who had succeeded his uncle Pratāp Singh in 1925, took place under the leadership of Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, who from now onwards begins to play a dominant role in Kashmīr politics. Harī Singh's government replied by floggings, arrests and shootings in various parts of the Valley. However, owing to the pressure of the Government of India, a Commission was appointed under the presidentship of B. J. Glancy to inquire into the grievances of the Muslims. The report of the Commission did not, however, satisfy them. In October 1932 the Djammū and Kashmīr Muslim Conference was set up, and in March of the next year it launched a Civil Disobedience Movement, demanding a constitutional government. This led the Mahārādjā to appoint a Constitutional Reforms Commission under the presidentship of Glancy. But since its recommendations, too, failed to satisfy the Muslims, the agitation against the government continued.

Meanwhile, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh and his close associates realized that in order to achieve their goal, it was necessary to win over the Hindu and Sikh inhabitants of Kashmīr. So they converted the Muslim Conference into the National Conference. But some members did not approve of this and decided to keep the old organisation alive and drew closer to the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. The National Conference on the other hand, subscribed to the aims and aspirations of the Indian National Congress. In October 1939 it passed a resolution demanding responsible government and in May 1946 it launched the "Quit Kashmīr Movement" under the leadership of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh. The Kashmīr government arrested ʿAbd Allāh and his colleagues and unleashed a reign of terror.

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ii. Since 1947

The project of partitioning the Indian Peninsula announced on 3rd June 1947 by the British Prime Minister affirmed that the ancient princely states should be free to choose their future destiny; yet on 25th July 1947 Lord Mounbatten, Viceroy and Governor-General, advised the princes to ask to be joined to India or Pakistan, while taking into consideration the religious distribution of the populations and the peoples' wishes.

With regard to Kashmīr, two factors militated in favour of annexation to Pakistan: the population having a Muslim majority (77% in the census of 1941) and the geographical situation of the region. However, the Mahārādjā refused to choose, although he consented to sign a provisional agreement with the Pakistani Government which was to take effect on and after 15th August 1947.

In October 1947, some men of the Pathan tribes who had come from Pakistan began to give aid to the Muslims who had revolted in the region of Pūnč and approached within a short distance of Srinagar, capital of Kashmīr. On 26th October, the Mahārādjā requested military aid from India and signed the annexation of Kashmīr to the Indian Union. The Indian Government accepted, while stipulating that this accession of Kashmīr to India should be ratified ultimately by popular consultation. Yet, since 1947, this consultation has never taken place.

The war which followed between India and Pakistan came to an end on 1st January 1949, and, on 17th July 1949, agreement was reached on the demarcation of the ceasefire line in Kashmīr.

In the part under Indian control, the constituent Assembly elected in October 1951 adopted a project for a constitution which safeguarded, thanks to the ability of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh, the autonomy of the State of Djammū and Kashmīr, but abandoned to the central government of Delhi the fields of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. On 9th August 1953, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh was arrested and his government replaced by that of Bakhshī Ghulām Muḥammad, who sought to reinforce the links with the Indian Union. On 17th November 1956, the Assembly adopted the definitive Constitution of the State which declared its integration with India. This

Constitution, accepted by the central government, took effect on 26th January 1957. In October 1963, the Indian Government forced the resignation of Bakhshī Ghulam Muḥammad, accused of the mishandling of administrative and social affairs. The year 1964 was marked by the accession to power of G. M. Ṣādiḳ and the freeing of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh.

In the part of Kashmīr under Pakistani control (Āzād Kashmīr), Sardār Muḥammad Ibrāhīm took charge of the local government on 24th October 1947; he was replaced in May 1950 by Ghulām ʿAbbās, who retired at the end of the year 1951 to make way for Colonel Shēr Aḥmad Khān in June 1952. The latter resigned in June 1956. There then succeeded to the Presidency of the local government Mīr W. Yūsuf Khān for a very short time; ʿAbd al-Ḳayyūm from 1956; Sardār Muḥammad Ibrāhīm from 1957; and K. H. Khurshīd from 1959.

Relations between India and Pakistan on the subject of Kashmīr worsened seriously after an agreement on the delimitation of the frontier between Sinkiang and Pakistani Kashmīr was signed on 26th December 1962 between China and Pakistan. Despite a certain détente during the year 1964, the situation became critical from the beginning of 1965. Incidents multiplied in the month of August in the territory of Kashmīr. On 5th September, the Pakistanis crossed the ceasefire line in the direction of the town of Djammū and the Indians replied on 6th September by launching an attack on Lahore (in the Pakistani Pandjāb). Hostilities came to an end on 22nd September 1965, the two belligerents accepting the ceasefire order imposed by the United Organization. Thanks to the repeated efforts of the U.S.S.R., India and Pakistan signed on 10th January 1966 the Tashkent Agreement which stipulated the withdrawal of troops to their positions prior to 5th August 1965 and which envisaged negotiations to resolve the differences which brought India and Pakistan into opposition over Kashmīr. Since this date the situation has not developed much and the theses of the two contestants have not changed.

In Kashmīr under Pakistani control the President of the Government of Free Kashmīr, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Khān, promulgated in September 1968 a new constitution fixing the method of electing the head of the government and the composition of the council of ministers. In Kashmīr under Indian control, which has become a State of the Indian Union, G. M. Ṣādiḳ, head of the local government was deposed on the 12th December 1971 and was replaced by S. M. Ḳāsim in the post of Prime Minister.

The Indo-Pakistani conflict of December 1971, which led to the independence of Banglā Desh, has had scarcely any repercussion on the problem of Kashmīr, although India wishes to take advantage of her recent victory and intends to ask Pakistan to proceed with some readjustments of the ceasefire line.

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KASHMĪRĪ is the most important member of the Dardic sub-group of Indo-Aryan languages, with 2,000,000 speakers in Jammū and Kashmīr in India and about 250,000 in the adjacent region in Pakistan in 1961. While prolonged cultural influence from Northern India has brought Kashmīrī closer than the other Dardic languages to the rest of Indo-Aryan, it exhibits many of the characteristic phonological features of Dardic resulting from the separate development of the group in the Middle Indian period. Kashmīrī has also developed a complex vocalic system, involving vowel-harmony, which has made the satisfactory adaptation of the Perso-Arabic script difficult. This script is now, however, in standard use for writing the language, which is officially recognized under the Indian constitution.

There are minor phonetic differences between the language of Hindus and that of Muslims, who constitute the majority of Kashmīrī speakers; educated Muslim speech is distinguished by the preference for Arabic and Persian rather than Sanskrit words. Muslim Kashmīrī literature, less extensive than the Hindu in the earlier period, reached its first flowering only in the 19th century with adaptations of Persian themes: later, the influence of Urdū predominated, and is still to be observed in the increasing quantity of Kashmīrī writing produced since 1947.

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AL-KASHSHĪ, Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Imāmī traditionist flourishing in the first half of the 4th/10th century and author of one of the basic Imāmī *ridjāl* works dealing with the reliability of the transmitters from the imāms. Though his place of origin is not specified in the biographical sources, it can safely be identified as Kishsh in Transoxania [see kash] since most of the informants from whom he transmitted were from this or other towns in Transoxania and the neighbouring regions. His *nisba* thus should more properly be read al-Kishshī, though traditionally it was later read al-Kashshī in accordance with the less correct reading of the town's name as Kashsh. He studied in Samarḳand under Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-ʿAyyāshī, the outstanding Imāmī scholar and disseminator of Imāmism in Transoxania in the early 4th/10th century. There is evidence that he visited ʿIrāḳ, since he related directly from some western Persian and ʿIrāḳī transmitters and some Imāmī scholars in Baghdād transmitted his book from him without an intermediary.

Like his teacher al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Kashshī was later criticized by Imāmī scholars for relating on the authority of weak (*ḍuʿafāʾ*) transmitters and of non-Shīʿīs (*ʿāmma*). His *Kitāb maʿrifat al-nāḳilīn ʿan al-aʾimma al-ṣādiḳīn*, which differs from other early *ridjāl* works in that it fully quotes the biographical reports of earlier sources with their chains of transmission, was abridged and expurgated by the Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067). Only this abridged version of the book is extant. Along with the *Kitāb al-ridjāl* and the *Kitāb fihrist kutub al-shīʿa* of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and the *Kitāb al-ridjāl* of al-Nadjāshī, it is considered one of the four basic Imāmī *ridjāl* works.

Bibliography: al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-shīʿa*, ed. Sprenger, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, and Ghulām Ḳādir, Calcutta 1855, 309; idem, *al-Ridjāl*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, al-Nadjaf 1381/1961,

497; al-Nadjāshī, *al-Ridjāl*, Tehran n.d., 288; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1353, 90-1; *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-ridjāl al-maʿrūf bi-ridjāl al-Kashshī*, ed. Ḥasan al-Muṣṭafawī, Mashhad 1348 (critical edition).

(W. MADELUNG)

ḲASHTĀLA, Arabic name for Castile in Spain. The first, and not the least problem, is that of the original name of the territory called, from the 9th century onwards, Castilla. This name appears to be derived from Latin *castellum*, and would have been given to the region because of the abundance there of fortified places. Arabic *al-Kilāʿ* would accordingly be the expected translation, but many sources (Yāḳūt, al-Idrīsī, al-ʿUdhrī, al-Ḥimyarī, Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Maḳḳarī, etc.) have Ḳashtāla, Ḳashtīla, or Ḳasṭīlya. Above all, al-Rāzī on several occasions mentions enemies *min aḳṣā Banbalūna wa-Alaba wa 'l-Ḳilāʿ wa-ahl Ḳashtīliya* (cf. al-ʿUdhrī, *Masālik*, who also uses al-Ḳilāʿ and Ḳashtīla). This excludes the identification al-Ḳilāʿ/Ḳashtīliya explicit or implicit in modern historians (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musulmane*, i, 143, 204); hence one must seek another etymology, different from the Spanish late Latin (which uses predominantly *castrum*) and look for an Arab-Islamic borrowing.

One thinks naturally of the Tunisian Ḳasṭīliyya [*q.v.*], and it seems that one should follow the opinion of J. Oliver-Asín in his *En torno a los orígenes de Castilla, su toponimia en relación con los árabes y beréberes*, Madrid 1974, who cites, with phonetic equivalences, the frequency of Arabic and Berber toponyms in a region whose ancient centre was called Medina Castella. This hypothesis is partly confirmed by the frequency of "Ifrīḳiyan" toponyms in al-Andalus, cf. idem, *Les Tunisiens en Espagne à travers la toponomie*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, xviii (1970), 15-20. Hence according to Oliver-Asín, there must have been an "African latinisation" of the region, brought about by the latin-speaking Berbers of Tunisia (which would explain the peculiarities of this "Castilian", different from other Hispanic Roman dialects).

Al-Rāzī's text points to a juxtaposition of al-Ḳilāʿ and Ḳashtīliya under the rule of the Count Fernan Gonzalez (Fardhiland Gundishalb), which makes investigation of the relationship between the two toponyms necessary. The first known mention in Christian sources is in a Castilian document of the Abbot Vitula in 800, in the Mena valley, who speaks of the *territorio Castelle*, whilst the *Crónica Albeldense* speaks specifically of *Bardulia qui nunc vocatur Castella*. This is a region which is progressively extended, as it becomes organised as an autochthonous unit, on the topographical and juridical margins of the kingdom of Oviedo; this has led S. de Moxó, *¿ Castilla, principado feudal ?*, in *RUM* (1970), 229-57, to speak of an "autonomous territory". This situation away from the centre of royal power led to its constitution as a "frontier march" and the need for an immediate and local authority in the shape of a *comes* or Count (Alava, Mijangos, Oca, Barga, Pancorbo, Cellorigo, Castrogeriz, Lara, Cerezo). We now have a document drawn up in 852 *in territorio Castellense* which speaks of a *Rodericus comite in Castelle*. Castile had to fight in order to expand. This fighting comprised mainly attacks, but also replies to expeditions by the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] and the Banū Dhū 'l-Nūn [*q.v.*], as well as the campaigns of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*] in 917, 920 and 924 (San Esteban de Gormaz, Mitonia, Valdejunquera). On the other hand, the famous *ghazwat al-khandaḳ* of 939 was repulsed with heavy losses by a coalition of Leonese, Castilians and Navarrese. It was at this time that Fernán Gonzalez, *comes totius Castelle*, either carried along by a feeling of Castilian autonomy or himself provoking it, obtained from the king of Leon the right to pass on his country hereditarily to his descendants. The campaigns of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] ruined the region of Leon and the Catalonian-Aragonese region, but largely spared Castile, then in revolt against Garci Fernandez, and in vassalage to Cordova; this in part explains why, after the fall of the ʿĀmirids, the initiative passed almost wholly to this region.

This primitive region of Bardulia, Castella Vetula, was to pass on not only its dialect of Spanish and some of its institutions to the neighbouring regions (above all, New Castile), but also an ideology of conquest (reflected by the "chansons de geste") which in the end monopolised in effect the war against the Hispano-Arabs and imposed a political supremacy which involved the extinguishing of the "mudéjar" [*q.v.*] tolerance of Aragon. At one and the same time, Castile brought about, to its own profit, the unification of Spain.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above, see J. Perez de Urbel, *Historia del Condado de Castilla*, Madrid 1945; idem, *Los primeros siglos de la reconquista*, in *Historia España* of Menendez Pidal, Madrid 1964, vi, 3-348; J. Mª Ruiz Asensio, *La rebelión de Sancho García, heredero del condado de Castilla*, in *Hispania Sacra*, xvii (1969), 31-7; Cl. Sanchez-Albornoz, *Alfonso III y el particularismo castellano*, in *CHE*, xiii (1950), 19-100; P. Chalmeta, *The clash between ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and the Christians at Simancas-Alhandega: a new interpretation*, in *Islam and the Medieval West*, conference held at Binghamton, New York, 1975 (proceedings forthcoming).

(P. CHALMETA)

BANŪ **ḲASĪ,** one of the important *mawālī* families who figure prominently in the history of al-Andalus. Together with the Banū Ṭawīl and the Tudjībids [*qq.v.*], they divided between them effective power in the region of Aragon. The history of this region only becomes clear when considered in the light of the centripetal-centrifugal struggles which are a constant feature of Spanish history. The Banū Ḳasī followed an opportunistic policy in order to preserve their virtual autonomy, but they were at the same time relatively faithful to the Umayyads and served in a very real fashion as a shield against pressure from the Christians of the North in the period of the beginning of the Reconquista and from the Carolingians. Their heyday was thus in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries.

According to Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 502, "Ḳasī was Count of the [Upper] March in the time of the Goths. When the Muslims conquered al-Andalus, he went to Syria and became a Muslim at the hands of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a bond of patronage of which he was very proud. This is the reason why the Banū Ḳasī always took the side of Muḍar in their fights with Yemen. This Ḳasī gave birth to Fortūn . . .". The first really well-known member of this family was Mūsā b. Fortūn, who vanquished Saʿīd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī who had rebelled against Hishām I in the region of Tortosa and Saragossa in 172/788-9. On his death, his widow remarried with Iñigo Arista, the first ruler of Pamplona. One can readily discern in the links arising from this union a major cause of the intermediary role played by Mūsā b. Mūsā, kinsman to the Basques, who gave himself out as the "third king of Spain" (see on him Cl. Sanchez Albornoz, *La auténtica ba-*

talla de Clavijo, in *CHE*, ix (1948), 96-116, and idem, *El tercer rey de España*, in *ibid.*, xlix-1 (1969), 5-49).

In *ca.* 226/840-1, Mūsā b. Mūsā, at that time at Arnedo (as governor?) was ill-treated by the *wālīs* of Saragossa and Tudela (thus according to al-ʿUdhrī's version) and rebelled, capturing the commander Ḥarīth b. Bazīʿ. An expedition sent by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II forced him to submit, but he retained Arnedo, and in this peace agreement the *amīr* confirmed his half-brother Yannaḳo b. Yanniḳo (= Iñigo Iñiguez) in possession of his lands for a tribute of 700 dīnārs per annum; this marks the birth *de jure* of the kingdom of Pamplona. The raids which followed with the aim of bringing him to submission were systematically directed against his Basque allies, showing the importance of their support. In 230/844 Mūsā marched down with his troops as far as Seville in order to repulse an invasion of the Northmen. In *ca.* 236/851 he captured Emenon, Count of Périgord and the Duke of Gascony, in what seems to have been a "proto-Crusade" and in what was fierce fighting. This important victory explains to a considerable extent why the succession of Muḥammad I in 238/852 marks a new stage in relations with the central government and why Mūsā became governor of Huesca, Tudela and Saragossa. In 242/856 he raided the region of Barcelona on the *amīr*'s orders and conquered Tarrasa. It is at this time that he began to style himself "tertium regem in Spania". According to the *Crónica de Alfonso III*, between 243/857 and 245/859 the rebels in Toledo involved Mūsā's help, and he sent to them his son Lubb as governor. But *ca.* 245/859 he was decisively defeated by Ordoño I of Leon and lost the fortress of Albelda which he had just built; hence the *amīr* deposed him from the governorship of the Upper March in 246/860-1. The end of Mūsā, mortally wounded by his son-in-law Azrāḳ b. Mantīl, is given in detail by Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya.

For ten years after 248/862-3 the Banū Ḳasī were completely quiescent. Then in 257/870-1 Lubb b. Mūsā b. Mūsā occupied Saragossa, Tudela and Huesca. After his death in 258/872, his brother Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā seized the town, whilst Fortūn b. Mūsā occupied Tudela. The *amīr* Muḥammad sent several unsuccessful expeditions against him. The rebel was captured in 270/883 by Muḥammad b. Lubb, who then took his place, but who had to sell the town in the following year to the Umayyads because he was unable to withstand the pressure from the Tudjībids stirred up by the *amīr*. In exchange he received the governorship of Arnedo, Tarazone and Djarīsh, and later that of Tudela. He was killed whilst besieging Saragossa in 276/890; it has been suggested that he was conniving with ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], but al-ʿUdhrī says nothing of this. His son Lubb b. Muḥammad was governor of Tudela and Tarazone and died fighting the Navarrese in 294/907. The decay of the Banū Ḳasī henceforth became accentuated. Muḥammad b. Lubb occupied Lérida, but was expelled by its inhabitants in 315/927, and in 317/929 he was murdered as a result of the ambitions of his brother-in-law Raymond, lord of Pallars.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above, see Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ*; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*; Garcia Gomez and Lévi-Provençal, *Textos inéditos del "Muqtabis" de Ibn Ḥayyān sobre los origenes del reino de Pamplona*, in *And.*, xix (1954), 295-315; Ibn al-Athīr; Afif Turk, *El reino de Zaragoza en el s. XI*, Madrid 1956; M. Ocaña Jimenez, *Banū Qasī*, in *Diccionario historia de España*; and above all, al-ʿUdhrī, *Nuṣūṣ masālik*, partial tr. F.Granja, *La Marca Superior en la obra de al-ʿUdhrī*, in *Est. E.M. Aragón*, viii (1966). (P. Chalmeta)

ḲĀṢID [see safīr].

ḲAṢĪDA.

1. In Arabic. — *Ḳaṣīda* collective *ḳaṣīd* is the name given in Arabic to some poems of a certain length. It is derived from the root *ḳaṣada*, "to aim at", for the primitive *ḳaṣīda* was intended to eulogize the tribe of the poet and denigrate the opposing tribes. Later it was concerned with the eulogy of a personality or a family from whom the poet was soliciting help or subsidies. Although the funerary elegy (*marthiya* or *rithā'*) does not seem to have been included originally under the same designation, the form of the *ḳaṣīda* may nevertheless be classified in this poetic genre. On the other hand, the poetic satire (*hidjā'*), which, furthermore, does not go beyond insult in verse, is often called *ḳaṣīda* by the ancient poets, even though it does not present all the characteristics of the *ḳaṣīda*.

The classical *ḳaṣīda*, represented ideally by the pre-Islamic or at least archaic poems [see muʿallaḳāt], collected and perhaps also given their form during the first centuries of Islam, has been defined by Ibn Ḳutayba in a famous passage many times translated and commented upon (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Introduction au Livre de la poésie et des poètes*, Paris 1947, xvi-xviii, 13-15, 54-55), and then by the various literary critics who pronounced their judgments (particularly Ibn Rashīḳ, see A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955, *passim*). It contains a series of successive developments whose conventional character implies a tradition already immemorial. The *ḳaṣīda*, which numbers at least seven verses, but which generally comprises far more, consists essentially of three parts of variable length: (1) a prologue in which the poet sheds some tears over what was once the camping place of his beloved now far off (*bukā' ʿalā 'l-aṭlāl*), then describes the charms of the latter, which he forebears to pursue (the *nasīb* [see ghazal]). (2) The poet's narration of his journey (*raḥīl*) to the person to whom the poem is addressed. This part of the *ḳaṣīda* is a pretext for descriptions of the desert and the hero's mount, as well as for lyrical flights of eloquence, for example on the insignificance of man. (3) As a general rule, this *raḥīl* leads without any great transition into the central theme, constituted by the panegyric of a tribe, a protector or a patron, or in satire of their enemies.

The Arabic *ḳaṣīda* is a very conventional piece of verse, with one rhyme, whatever its length, and in a uniform metre. Consequently, the charm and originality of certain of the themes employed cannot prevent boredom and monotony from reigning over these never-ending poems. These formal constraints were moreover resented by the poets themselves; they are without doubt the cause of the fragmentary character of many of the pieces, which took a particularly long time to compose. Tradition reports numerous examples of poets paralysed by the tyranny of the form. Furthermore, this situation can no doubt provide a good explanation for the hesitations with regard to the original structure of a given poem: a poet could well have recited a *ḳaṣīda* on different occasions with more or less important variants, additions or suppressions. A number of *ḳaṣīdas* have doubtless never contained all the essential parts of the ideal piece, and it is always very unwise to assert that such a poem has been lost or truncated on the pretext that one knows only a part of the work. Certain ancient pieces, nevertheless describable as *ḳaṣīdas*, do not even contain the essential part, praise or satire.

At the end of the 2nd/8th century, the classical *ḳaṣīda*, while it continued its triumphant reign among poets with a classical tendency, on the other hand bursts forth among the "modern" poets and gives birth to a whole series of autonomous poetic genres, which are however already present in embryo form in the themes employed by the classical *ḳaṣīda*; thus the *nasīb* gives birth to the erotico-elegiac genre, directly associated with the Bacchic genre; the description of the desert becomes description of nature and gardens; the description of the mount and the ride results in the poetry of war or hunting; etc.

All these genres are represented in independent pieces, to which the name of *ḳaṣīda* continues often to be given, even though incorrectly. The long classical metres become shorter, and lend themselves better to musical adaptation.

The tripartite form of the *ḳaṣīda* survived through the agency of the post-classical poets who did not always observe it strictly (see notably R. Blachère, *Abou ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbī*, Paris 1935, *passim*), until the modern period in its neo-classical form. The Bedouin or partially sedentarised societies—as in Mauritania—still cultivate it with delight.

The classical or neo-classical *ḳaṣīda* can in certain cases be a vehicle for information of a historical nature. It is always advisable to use it in this respect only with the greatest prudence (see further M. Canard, *Les allusions à la guerre byzantine chez Abū Tammām et Buḥturī*, in A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i, Brussels 1935, 397-403).

The collective *ḳaṣīd*, designating in the aggregate these ample and elaborate pieces, was in ancient times opposed to the *radjaz* [*q.v.*] which is a rough and everyday verse form, in a rudimentary metre of constant structure.

Bibliography: The classical bibliography is immense. It is to be found, in an almost exhaustive state, in R. Blachère, *HLA*, as much in the "general references" i, XVIII-XXXIII, as at the end of the chapters or paragraphs dedicated to archaic poetry; see especially i, 82-186, ii, 243-453, iii, 455-716. See also, ʿARŪḌ, GHAZAL, HIDJĀ, SHIʿR.

Among the more recent studies, one should see especially: M. C. Bateson, *Structural continuity in Poetry*, Paris-The Hague 1970; R. Jacoby, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, Wiesbaden 1971; J. E. Bencheikh, *La création poétique à Bagdad de 200 à 250. Modes et procédés* (forthcoming).

On contemporary survivals, see M. el-Moktar Ould Bah, *Introduction à la poésie mauritanienne*, in *Arabica*, xviii (1971), 1-48.

(F. KRENKOW-[G. LECOMTE])

2. In Persian. — The Persian *ḳaṣīda* is a lyric poem, most frequently panegyric, which appears in this form in the earliest Persian poetry (G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, i, Paris 1964, 12). Later theorists of this poetry codified its forms with undeviating constancy. In their view, the *ḳaṣīda* is one of the realisations of the rules they imposed on poetry, which, according to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (*Miʿyār al-ashʿar*, written in 649/1251, ed. Tehran 1942, *faṣl* 1 of the introd.), consists of metre and rhyme, which provided him with the sections of his treatise. His predecessor Shams-i Ḳays (*al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāʾīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, completed after 630/1232, ed. Tehran 1960, 196) even insisted: "even if the discourse has a metre, if it is not in rhyme it is not poetry". The first theorists whose work is extant (al-Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān al-balāgha*, written in the 5th/11th century, Istanbul 1949; Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr fī daḳāʾiḳ al-shiʿr*, written in the 6th/12th century, Tehran 1961; for the others, see Ḳazwīnī, intro. to the *Muʿdjam* of Shams-i Ḳays, 11) were still rhetoricians, and their writings reveal the essential norms imposed on the Persian panegyric lyric. More than a mere knowledge of rhyme, prosody and rhetoric were needed for the composition of a *ḳaṣīda*: the author had to be well-versed in the learning of his day so that he could make timely use of it and had to possess, above all, what Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī called *badīha*, the ability to improvise (*Čahār maḳāla*, written in the mid-6th/12th century, Tehran 1963, 48), which was worth a fortune to many of the poets at court. The golden age of the *ḳaṣīda* was also the great era of poetic theory, so much so that each found in the other its main field of activity. The theoretical works produced after the 7th/13th century, which are still best known in the West through translations (by Blochmann, Garcin de Tassy, Gladwin and Rückert), have little to teach us about the *ḳaṣīda*.

The theorists of Persian poetry borrowed their terminology from Arabic, but none, at least of those whose work has been cited, ever omitted to point out the difference between the two types of poetry of which they were aware. The *ʿarūḍ*, that is the ending of the first hemistich (*miṣrāʿ*) of the first distich (*bayt*) of the *ḳaṣīda*, had to supply the one single rhyme for the whole poem. The rhyme was repeated in each *ḍarb*, the final part of the second hemistich of each distich, according to complex rules. No study has yet been made of these rules, but fortunately we do have P. N. Khānlarī's basic study of Persian metre (*Wazn-i shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1969). Quantitatively, a poem cannot be a *ḳaṣīda* unless the number of its distichs exceeds 15 and does not exceed 30. As a general rule, the poet must ensure that the meaning of each *bayt* is independent of its neighbours; in Persian poetry, *taḍmīn* [*q.v.*] is an error unless it is dictated by a rhetorical figure. The *ḳaṣīda* comprises three parts; The first, the exordium, must command attention by touching the hearts of the listeners, an effect which is often achieved by a *ghazal*, a courtly song, either by describing the beauty of the beloved and the state of the lover (*nasīb*), or through the amorous poet making his listeners share in his condition (*tashbīb*); by the time of Shams-i Ḳays, these distinctions no longer existed, as he himself remarks (*Muʿdjam*, 413), because of the wealth of the subjects treated in the exordium: mainly love, nature and wine. The *ḳaṣīda* is first and foremost a poem composed for a princely festival, especially the spring festival (*nawrūz*) and the autumn one (*mihrigān*); it can also be a poem on the occasion of a funeral, a victory or an earthquake, the themes being adapted according to the circumstances. The *madḥ*, eulogy for a prince or protector, is the central portion of the *ḳaṣīda*; put into a sensitive frame of mind by the exordium (*tashbīb*), the listener will be carried away by the poet's skill; all that is required is a degree of rhythm in the eulogy, a strong effect of *balāgha* (a wealth of meaning in a few words) but an uncontentious one, and the transport of the soul out of its ordinary element (cf. *Čahār maḳāla*, 42). After the eulogy comes the petition: the poet must know how to "wrap up" his request, says al-Rādūyānī (*op. cit.*, 128), stirring the person being praised to reward him by the charm of his poem and the renown it engenders. Three *bayts* require particular care: the first (*maṭlaʿ*), because it opens the poem and signals all the areas of expression; the transitional *bayt* (*makhlaṣ*) between *tashbīb* and *madḥ*, which must

skilfully introduce the name of the person being eulogised; and the last *bayt* (*maḳṭaʿ*), which must be of a quality that redeems any mediocrities in the work.

Among the variations in the *ḳaṣīda* and its components with which have emerged through the ages two types of poem that appeared very early on are especially significant: the *tardjīʿ*, a *ḳaṣīda* (cf. *Muʿdjam*, 400) written in a single metre composed of parts which each have their own rhyme and are separated by a distich (*tardjīʿ band*) that often serves as a refrain; and the *musammaṭ*, a *ḳaṣīda* (cf. *Tardjumān*, 104-5) made up of rhyming figures.

From the outset, the *ḳaṣīda* was connected with courtly life in Iran, where it perpetuated poems recited in honour of the Sāsānid kings, and it had almost as many schools as there were important dynasties, at any rate until the arrival of the Mongols. This latter precipitated a group of phenomena which had begun earlier, principally the breaking up of the "feudal" system and a liberalisation of city life and the extension of the religious way of life and expression to differing sectors of society. The *ḳaṣīda* was in turn philosophic, mystic, meditative, then hymnodic under the Ṣafawids, and panegyric once more when it returned to the ancient style under the Ḳādjārs. In fact, it ceded to the *ghazal* [*q.v.*] its privileged place in Persian lyric poetry.

The Persian *ḳaṣīda*, a homogenous phenomenon of a great culture, is a largely unexplored field open to the modern study of mediaeval poetry. Its authors were acutely aware that the poetic ethos was embodied in form (in the sense employed by P. Zumthor); regardless of its later destiny, the *ḳaṣīda* made a definitive mark on Persian poetry.

Bibliography: Apart from works cited in the article, M. Bahār, *Taʾrīkh-i taṭawwur-i shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1956; A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 298-9, 307-526; C.-H. de Fouchécour, *La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane au XIe s.*, Paris 1969; R. Levy, *An introduction to Persian literature*, New York 1969, 27-33; B. Reinert, *Ḫāqānī als Dichter*, Berlin 1972; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 94-5, 913; Dh. Ṣafā. *Gandj-i sukhan*, i, Tehran 1961, intro. 45-59.

(C.-H. de Fouchécour)

3. In Turkish. — It was under the influence of classical Iranian literature that the Muslim Turks adopted and developed the *ḳaṣīda*, a verse form very different from their own traditional poetry. The Turkish *ḳaṣīda* has the same rhyme scheme and metric patterns as the *ḳaṣīda* in Arabic and Persian and at first appears very similar, though in fact, a study of the subject matter, the *nasīb*s, and the organisation of the poems shows that there are considerable differences. At first the Turks tended to use the *mathnawī* and quatrain (*ḳiṭʿa*) which, to some extent, resembles their own older verse forms, rather than the *ḳaṣīda* and *ghazal*. The fact that the earliest verse works in Islamic Turkish literature, such as *Kutadgu bilig*, *ʿAtabat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* or *Dīwān-i ḥikmat*, are written in the *mathnawī* and *ḳiṭʿa* forms, supports this view.

Variation in the form and nature of the *ḳaṣīda* were inevitably the reflection of the geographical, social, economic and cultural differences between the Arab, Iranian and Turkish worlds. It is easy to see these differences in the first and best-known section of the *ḳaṣīda*, the *nasīb* or the *tasbīb*. In this opening section, the Arabs usually chose love themes or descriptions of desert life, while the Persians and above all, the Turks tended to rhapsodise on the beauties of their native lands or to describe geographical phenomena or social events.

Theoretically, a complete Turkish *ḳaṣīda* should contain six sections: *nasīb*, *taghazzul*, *girīzgāh*, *madḥiyya*, *fakhriyya* and *duʿāʾ*. The *nasīb* is the *ḳaṣīda*'s longest section, and the subject which it describes often gives its name to the whole poem. A great variety of subjects is possible: religious fervour, love, nature, wise or moralising thoughts, buildings, war or peace, descriptions of towns, holy days and festivals, mourning or rejoicing. If a *ḳaṣīda* has a section embracing subjects more often found in *ghazals*, such as love or wine, then this section is called *taghazzul*. The passage marking the transition from the *nasīb* to the main part of the *ḳaṣīda* consists of one or more couplets and is called *girīz* or *girīzgāh*.

The couplets known as the eulogy or *madḥiyya* comprise the central part of the *ḳaṣīda*, and it is here that the poet praises the person to whom the *ḳaṣīda* is addressed. The recipients of *ḳaṣīda*s were usually men who held high office in the state, such as sultans, viziers or *shaykh al-islām*s or they might be palace officers, men of religion or men of wealth. This section is always fairly long, and usually comprises the real reason for writing the poem. In cases where the poet hopes to ingratiate himself with influential people and receive in return favours or office, then the exaggerated praise usually exceeds reasonable bounds and detracts from the sincerity of the works. The *fakhriyya* is the last but one section of the *ḳaṣīda* where the poet praises himself; and in the final section, the *duʿāʾ*, the poet implores God for the prosperity of the Sultan or person to whom the *ḳaṣīda* is addressed, and expresses his thanks for the completion of the work.

However, Turkish *ḳaṣīda*s do not invariably contain all these sections. Very often, one or more are left out, the most frequent omissions being the *taghazzul*, *fakhriyya* and *duʿāʾ* sections. For example, the greatest Turkish *ḳaṣīda* writer, Nefʿī of Erzurum ([*q.v.*], 979/1572?-1044/1635) wrote some *ḳaṣīda*s which contain all these sections, and so did Fighānī of Trabzon ([*q.v.*], 920/1505?-937/1532) and Nedīm of Istanbul (1092/1681-1142/1730). Nevertheless, the *dīwān*s of these and many other poets contain *ḳaṣīda*s with no *taghazzul* or *fakhriyya* and some even with no *nasīb*. The subject and arrangement of the Turkish *ḳaṣīda* has thus varied according to the poet, the era, the place, and the social conditions.

In Turkish, as in Arabic and Persian *ḳaṣīda*s, the first couplet is *muṣarraʿ*, that is, the first two hemistiches are rhymed. Thereafter, the second hemistich in each couplet rhymes with the first couplet. The first couplet is called the *maṭlaʿ* and the one towards the end where the poet reveals his pen-name (*makhlaṣ*) is called the *tādj bayt*. Turkish also adopted the term *bayt al-ḳaṣīd* for the couplet considered the finest in the poem. The usual length of a Turkish *ḳaṣīda* is between 15 and 99 couplets, but in fact, some longer ones exist.

*Ḳaṣīda*s may take their name from the general subject matter. One inspired by the unity and existence of God and describing His qualities and acts is called *tawḥīd*, while a supplication and prayer to God is called *munādjāt*. *Naʿt* is the name for a *ḳaṣīda* praising and expressing devotion to the Prophet Muḥammad. A *ḳaṣīda* in praise of a great man describing his virtues and achievements is called *madḥiyya*, while a satirical *ḳaṣīda* attacking an enemy or someone of whom the poet disapproves is called *hidjwiyya*. Also, it is common in classical Turkish literature to name the *ḳaṣīda* after the subject of the

nasīb. Hence *ḳaṣīdas* describing spring, summer, autumn or winter are called *bahāriyya*, *ṣayfiyya* (or *tammūziyya*), *khazāmiyya* and *shitāʿiyya* respectively. If the *nasīb* describes a festival or New Year's Day, then the *ḳaṣīda* is called *bayramiyya* (or *ʿīdiyya*) or *nawrūziyya*. A Ramaḍān *ḳaṣīda* is a *Ramaḍāniyya*; *ḳaṣīdas* commemorating a royal accession, circumcision or wedding, or a death are *djulūsiyya*, *sūriyya* and *marthiyya*. *Ḳaṣīdas* can also take their name from the letter of the rhyme or from the word repeated after each rhyme (*radīf*). If, for example, the rhyme letter is *lām*, *mīm* or *rāʾ*, then the *ḳaṣīda* is a *lāmiyya*, *mīmiyya* or *rāʾiyya*. Similarly, if the *ḳaṣīda* has a *radīf* such as *ṣu*, *sünbül* or *kerem*, then it would be named accordingly. Some *ḳaṣīdas* describe particular cities which then gave their name to the poem, such as the Edirne, Istanbul or Baghdād *ḳaṣīdas*. Others describe things, places or events such as appointments or removals from office, and hence one finds the *Nile ḳaṣīda*, the *Polish Campaign ḳaṣīda*, *ḳaṣīda on the return from the German Campaign*, *ḳaṣīda on the building of the mosque* or *pavilion*, the *ḥalwā-party ḳaṣīda*, congratulatory *ḳaṣīdas* (*tabrīkiyya*), appointment *ḳaṣīdas* (*tawḍīʿiya*) or dismissal *ḳasīdas* (*ʿazliyya*). Even after the Tanẓīmāt, *ḳaṣīdas* continued to be written in accordance with modern thoughts and feelings, cf. Nāmıḳ Kemāl's [*q.v.*] *Freedom ḳaṣīda*.

Ḳaṣīda writing in Turkish began to develop in the 7th/13th century with Dehhānī and in the 8th/14th with Aḥmadī, Aḥmad-i Dāʿī and Shaykhī. In the 9th/15th century, with such poets as Aḥmad Pasha, Mihrī Khātūn, Nedjātī and Mesīḥī, it became a widely accepted and popular form. In the 10th/16th century, the golden age of classical Turkish verse, it reached a high level of accomplishment through the efforts of such poets as Revānī, Lāmiʿī, Fighānī, Ḥayretī, Dhātī, Khayālī, Fuḍūlī, Fevrī, Nevʿī and Bāḳī. But the greatest Turkish *ḳaṣīda* writer, Nefʿī, lived in the following century. The other famous 11th/17th century poets—Waysī, ʿAzmī-zāde, Ḥāletī, ʿAṭāʾī, Ṣabrī, Nāʾilī, Neshātī and Nābī—never reached the same standard as Nefʿī, but nevertheless show great maturity in technique and in handling of the subject matter. In the 12th/18th century, the *ḳaṣīda* partly managed to retain its old status, thanks to the poetic genius of Nedīm at the beginning and Shaykh Ghālib at the end of the century, but in general it lost its old artistry, scope of subject matter and novelty of expression. Poets like Thābit, Naẓīm, Sāmī, Sayyid Wehbī and Ḥāmī-yi Āmidī kept the form alive, but the *ḳaṣīda* was by this time becoming outmoded; it was a form tied to a single rhyme and could hardly help being repetitious. In these circumstances it could only die out.

However, the generation following the Tanẓīmāt (122/1839) continued to express the new thought in this form. Shināsī ([*q.v.*], 1239-1288/1824-1871), Ḍiyā Pasha ([*q.v.*], 1240-1297/1825-1880) and Nāmıḳ Kemāl all occasionally wrote *ḳaṣīdas*. Today the form has disappeared; modern social and cultural conditions are hardly favourable.

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4. In Urdu. — In Urdu poetry, it is the *ghazal* that takes pride of place, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and the *ḳaṣīda* is less important. It is the generally accepted view that only two Urdu poets, Sawdā and Dhawḳ [*qq.v.*], composed *ḳaṣīdas* of a standard comparable with that achieved in Persian by Anwarī and Khāḳānī [*qq.v.*]. Most Urdu *ḳaṣīdas* are, formally speaking, encomia addressed by the poet to his actual or intended patron; in this aspect, they are designed above all else to display both his virtuosity in the craft of poetry and the range of his learning. A more lasting value derives from the fact that the form also offers the poet scope for the extended expression of his feelings on any poetic theme that inspires him; and some *ḳaṣīdas* are definable as such only in terms of form (length and rhyme-scheme). Thus one of Sawdā's most famous poems in *ḳaṣīda* form is a *shahrāshūb*, a bitter and indignant commentary on the political, social, economic, cultural and spiritual degeneration of society in the Mughal Empire of his day. Ghālib [*q.v.*] who, however, wrote most of his *ḳaṣīdas* in Persian and only a few in Urdu, in general dispenses with the praise of his patron in a few lines, and devotes the bulk of the *ḳaṣīda* to the elaboration of his views on life and love and poetry.

(R. Russell)

ḲĀSIM, the name of several Ottoman princes.

1. ḳāsim, son of the second ruler of the Ottoman dynasty, Orkhān. All that is known of him is that he died in 748/1347.

2. ḳāsim čelebi or Ḳāsim Yūsuf, one of the seven sons of Bāyezīd I, b. 792/1390. Since he was too young to take part in the battle of Ankara (1402), he remained at Bursa. After the defeat and capture of his father there began a struggle for power amongst his elder sons, Sulaymān, ʿĪsā, Muḥammad and then Mūsā. When Sulaymān retreated towards the Ottoman territories in the Balkans, he passed through Bursa and took with him Ḳāsim and his sister Fāṭima. Shortly afterwards Ḳāsim was sent as a hostage to the Byzantine emperor Manuel II and remained at Constantinople till his death in 820/1417. According to certain traditions, he was buried in the church of the monastery of St. John of Studion (which became the Imrahor Djāmiʿ after the Ottoman conquest).

3. ḳāsim, son of Sultan Meḥemmed I, died in 809/1406 at the age of one or two years only.

4. ḳāsim, son of prince Aḥmad and grandson of Bāyezīd II. Born *ca.* 906/1501, died in 924/1518. Soon after his accession, in March 1512, Selīm I put to death his brothers, but met the resistance of two of his nephews, Murād and Ḳāsim, sons of Aḥmad. They speedily fled abroad, Murād to the Persian ruler Shāh Ismāʿīl I (he may have been one of the causes behind Selīm I's Persian campaign; he escaped from him after the battle of Čaldirān, and died in 1517, possibly poisoned or possibly murdered; certain accounts further identify him with the Ottoman pretender who suddenly appeared at Amasya in 1519). Ḳāsim (whom Von Hammer calls ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and whom he makes die of the plague soon after his arrival in Cairo) fled to Egypt and the Mamlūk sultan; after the conquest of Egypt, Selīm tried to seize Ḳāsim, and although he succeeded temporarily in eluding the

Ottoman sultan, he was captured in January 1518 and immediately killed.

5. ĶĀSIM, one of the nine sons of Sultan Aḥmad I, born in 1022/1613 of the same mother as Sultans Murād IV and Ibrāhīm I, the famous Kösem Māh-peyker; he lived in confinement within the Palace till his death. Murād IV, afraid of the possibility of his brothers' seizing power or being raised to the throne in a revolt, had them all killed successively, with the exception of Ibrāhīm; Ķāsim was executed on 2nd Shawwāl 1047/17th February 1638.

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(R. Mantran)

AL-ĶAṢĪM, a district in northern Nadjd in the central part of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Lying west of the northern end of the long scarp of Ṭuwayķ [*q.v.*], the district is intersected by the lower reaches of Wādi 'l-Rumah [*q.v.*] shortly before that great watercourse loses itself in the eastern sands.

In classical Arabic the term *ķaṣīm* (nom. unit.: *ķaṣīma*) is applied to sandy areas where the *ghaḍā* bush abounds. This description fits the district, which has large masses of sand to the north (ʿIrķ al-Maẓhūr), the east (Nafūd al-Thuwayrāt), and the south (Nafūd al-Sirr), all of which curve round the contour of the Arabian Shield [see DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB, ii]. The district also contains smaller stretches of sand running contrary to the Shield's contour, such as Nafūd al-Ghamīs, which trends from west to east.

The twin cities of Burayda (the present capital) and ʿUnayza [*qq.v.*] form the heart of al-Ķaṣīm. Farther up Wādi 'l-Rumah is al-Rass, the main outpost of the district on the side towards al-Ḥidjāz. North of al-Rass are al-Khabrā', al-Bukayriyya with its neighbour al-Hilāliyya (both originally colonies of the tribe of Subayʿ), al-ʿUyūn (ʿUyūn al-Djiwā') and Ķuṣaybā'. Along the eastern edge of al-Ķaṣīm in a line from north to south are the oasis settlements of Aba 'l-Dūd, al-Tannūma and ʿAyn Ibn Fuhayd, which, along with other places, are known collectively as al-Asyāḥ ("the Plains"). This line is continued farther south by al-Shamāsiyya, al-ʿAwsadjiyya (or al-ʿAwshaziyya) and al-Midhnab.

Among the districts of Nadjd, al-Ķaṣim stands out for the relative richness of its natural and human resources. When stockraising was one of the principal occupations of Arabia, al-Ķaṣīm was known abroad for the fine quality of the horses brought to market there by the nomad breeders. The Ķuṣmān (pl. of Ķaṣīmī) are a talented and industrious people whose trading branches as far away as Egypt and India made them for a long time the most cosmopolitan of the inhabitants of Nadjd (on the caravaneers of al-Ķaṣīm, see ʿUKAYL).

References in the Arab geographers and the old poets indicate that the district has borne the name of al-Ķaṣīm since pre-Islamic times. The inhabitants supported Khālid b. al-Walīd as Islam established its ascendancy in central Arabia. Among the tribes once roaming there were ʿAbs of Ghaṭafān, Banū Asad and Tamīm [*qq.v.*]. Of these, only Tamīm is still present in force, the others having been succeeded by members, sometimes settled, of Subayʿ, Muṭayr, Ḥarb, Banī Khaḍīr, etc.

In the 5th/11th century Dārim of al-Rass built up a state including other parts of Nadjd as well, but its decline was fairly rapid after his death. No authentic records attest to the founding of any of the main towns now existing before the 10th/16th century. The district was preoccupied with local affairs and petty conflicts until 1182/1768-9, when Āl Suʿūd of al-Dirʿiyya in al-ʿĀriḍ [*q.v.*] to the south, bent on securing the adherence of the rest of Arabia to the doctrines proclaimed by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*] by force of arms if necessary, dispatched the first expedition into al-Ķaṣīm. Many of the Ķuṣmān enthusiastically accepted Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's interpretation of Islam, but others stubbornly clung to their ingrained beliefs and practices. A leading figure in the ultimate winning over of al-Ķaṣīm to the unitarianism (*al-daʿwa ila 'l-tawḥīd*) of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was Ḥudjaylān b. Ḥamad of the ʿAnāķir of Tamīm, governor of Burayda for Āl Suʿūd from the late 12th/18th century until the invasion of Nadjd by Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt. On his way back home in 1234/1818 Ibrāhīm took Ḥudjaylān to Medina, where he died an octogenarian.

After the destruction of Āl Suʿūd's capital al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] by Ibrāhīm's forces, its place was taken by al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*]. For nearly a century afterwards al-Ķaṣīm, as the key intermediate district, was the bone of contention between Āl Suʿūd of al-Riyāḍ and the new rival power of Āl Rashīd with its base at Ḥā'il in Djabal Shammar [*q.v.*] northwest of al-Ķaṣīm. Whichever side held al-Ķaṣīm tended to dominate the other side, and the tide of battle kept flowing back and forth. Internal dissensions in al-Ķaṣīm, particularly between Burayda and ʿUnayza as well as between contending aspirants to political control in both cities, prevented the district, despite its resources, from effectively resisting for long the hegemony of one or the other of the opposing houses. The issue between the two protagonists was finally decided in the early 14th/20th century with the defeat of Āl Rashīd in al-Ķaṣīm by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd, even though Āl Rashīd then had the support of regular Ottoman troops.

In recent times many of the Ķuṣmān, above all the people of Burayda, have been among the most devout and energetic proponents of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's unitarianism. Great progress in communications, education and other fields has, however, somewhat tempered the severity of the puritanical spirit of the Ķuṣmān.

Bibliography: *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. *ķṣm*; Yāķūt (*al-Ķaṣīm, Burayda, ʿUnayza, al-Rass, al-Rumma* [= al-Rumah]); Ḥusayn b. Ghannām, *Rawḍat al-afkār*, Bombay n.d.; ʿUthmān b. Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-madjd*, Cairo 1373; Ḥamad b. Laʿbūn, *Ta'rīkh*, Mecca 1357; Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā, *ʿIķd al-durar*, Cairo 1954-5; idem, *Ta'rīkh baʿd al-ḥawādith*, al-Riyāḍ 1966; Muḥammad b. Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-akhbār*, Cairo 1951-3; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sharīf, *Minṭaķat ʿUnayza*, Cairo 1969; G. Rentz, unpublished dissertation on Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Berkeley 1947; C. Guarmani, *Northern Najd*, London 1938; C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1936; A. Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Najd*, London 1881; A. Musil, *Northern Neğd*, New York 1928; H. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London 1928; idem, *Saʿudi Arabia*, London 1955; M. v. Oppenheim et al., *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig and Wiesbaden 1939-68.

(G. Rentz)

ĶĀSIM B. AṢBAGH B. MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF B. NĀṢIḤ B. ʿAṬĀ' AL-BAYYĀNĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, famous traditionist, philologist, historian and genealogist, *mawlā* of the Spanish Umayyads,

who was born at Baena (Bayyāna) in the *kūra* of Cordova in 244/859 or 247/862 and died in the capital in 340/951-2. At Cordova, he was the pupil of Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ, al-Khushānī and other noted scholars. In 274/887, he made an extended trip to the Orient, and in Mecca, Baghdād, Egypt, Ḳayrawān and other cities acquired an education in tradition, the Ḳurʾānic sciences, poetry and history from the various renowned specialists in these subjects; amongst his masters were a son of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Thaʿlab, al-Mubarrad and Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Tāhartī. He acquired also a knowledge of the numerous works of Ibn Ḳutayba. On his return to Spain, people flocked to him from all parts to hear his instruction; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and his son al-Ḥakam were amongst his numerous pupils.

Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh introduced into Spain the works of Ibn Ḳutayba and other *adab* works, including the *Maʿārif*, the *Adab al-kuttāb*, which was highly regarded and much commented upon, as well as the *Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān* and *Mushkil al-Ḳurʾān*. For his part, he wrote a *muṣawwaf* based on the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd and following the plan (*abwāb*) of Ibn al-Djarūd's *al-Muntaḳā*, and an abridgement of this last called *al-Mudjtanā*, dedicated to al-Ḥakam and containing 2,490 traditions divided into 6 volumes. He also wrote a fine work on genealogies, one on the honorific titles of the Umayyads, Ḳuraysh and Kināna, a *Kitāb fi'l-nāsikh wa'l-mansūkh*, and another work on the rare *ḥadīth*s of Mālik b. Anas not found in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*; but none of these seem to have survived. Accordingly, the most important of Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh's works is for us his translation of Orosius's *Historiarum libri septem adversus paganos*, which he did in collaboration with a Mozarab; this work, of both historical and geographical interest, was of immense importance in the development of geographical literature in al-Andalus, and Aḥmad al-Rāzī, Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh's disciple, utilised it to a considerable extent.

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AL-ḲĀSIM B. ʿĪSĀ B. IDRĪS, ABŪ DULAF, Arab military commander, poet and musician, d. at Baghdād between 225/840 and 228/843. His tribe of the ʿIdjl was part of the great confederation of the Bakr b. Wāʾil and of the Rabīʿa group. The fortunes of the family seem to have been linked to the spread of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda by an accident of birth, in that Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], the future *dāʿī* for the dynasty, first saw the light in the house of ʿĪsā b. Maʿḳil, brother of Idrīs, the grandfather of Abū Dulaf.

This family settled at Karadj [*q.v.*], near to Nihāwand, where it possessed vast estates. Abū Dulaf's father began to construct the palaces and fortresses of a compact ʿIdjlī fief, of which Abū Dulaf himself was to be the brilliant representative at the caliphal court in Baghdād. However, we know comparatively little about his military career. On 15 Djumādā II 195/15 March 811 he commanded, on the orders of the caliph al-Amīn, the right wing of the army led by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā against Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn; but this army dispersed without fighting when its commander was killed in an assassination incident. This participation clearly affected adversely Abū Dulaf's interests. When al-Maʾmūn became caliph, he gave orders for measures against him; later, he reproached him for allowing panegyrics considered semi-blasphemous to be addressed to himself by the poet ʿAlī b. Djabala al-ʿAkawwak [*q.v.*], who was executed. This hostility had at least one further motive behind it; the ʿIdjlī chief was a fervent partisan of the ʿAlids. At a time when the régime was taking up an attitude well away from the Shīʿī ideology, it was obviously disturbed about the existence of a vassal firmly installed in a difficult region.

Abū Dulaf is then found as governor of Damascus for al-Muʿtaṣim. He led against Bābak a contingent of volunteers raised from his dependents. He was part of the group of Arab chiefs whom the Iranian general al-Afshīn attempted to eliminate in order to gain an ascendancy over the caliph and to retain power. On this occasion, the caliph's attitude was extremely ambiguous; he gave his agreement to al-Afshīn, but at the same time warned Ibn Abī Duʾād about what was afoot, and the chief *ḳāḍī*, who was allied on the maternal side with the ʿIdjl, intervened in a decisive fashion.

Abū Dulaf has left behind the reputation of being a warm, intelligent and extremely generous personality. Himself a littérateur, musician and poet, he managed to form around himself an important circle of scholars and artists. From amongst his own poetry, there is extant only a small number of short poems written in a simple but powerful language, and in his *fakhr* poems, in a style with elements of nobility and strong martial touches. He was also the author of works on hunting, military and political themes, none of which have survived.

Abū Dulaf was a much-sought after Maecenas, and he entrusted the presidency over his salon to his brother Maʿḳil, himself a poet and impassioned music-lover, a man of great refinement and sensibility. He brought into his elder brother's circle ʿAlī b. Djabala and Bakr b. al-Naṭṭāḥ, and he secured invitations for Abū Tammām and Diʿbil and for such celebrated singers as Mukhāriḳ. Many other poets and artists of lesser fame also found a welcome in Djibāl and a congenial environment, e.g. Djuʿayfirān al-Muwaswas, the powerful satirist Manṣūr b. Bādhān al-Iṣbahānī and Muḥammad b. Wuhayb. An examination of this list confirms the fact that membership of this circle revolved round either tribal alliances or adhesion to Shīʿism. For these professional poets, the attraction of largesses was multiplied here by an assurance of finding with a powerful patron a mind occupied with common sympathies and feelings.

The historical sources record several descendants of Abū Dulaf. His grandson Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz tried to recover the principality of his forefathers, but was put to flight and then poisoned in 285/898 during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaḍid; Abū 'l-Ḳāsim Hibat Allāh b. ʿAlī was vizier to the Imām al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh; Hibat Allāh's brother Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was chief *ḳāḍī* of Baghdād; and his son Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh, known under the name of Ibn Mākūlā, was a learned traditionist and author of highly-esteemed works.

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(J. E. Bencheikh)

ḲĀSIM (Qassem), **ʿABD AL-KARĪM** (1914-63). ʿIrāḳi officer and dictator, born in Baghdād of poor parents. His father was a Sunnī Arab and his mother possibly of Fayli (Shīʿī-Kurdish) descent; he himself claimed to be purely Arab. After working as a teacher Ḳāsim entered military college and was commissioned in 1934. By 1955 he was a brigadier. Early in the 1950s he set up one of the cells then proliferating in the army in clandestine opposition to the Western-orientated monarchy, and in perhaps half-conscious imitation of the Egyptian example. By dint of his shrewdness, his gift for dissimulation and, most important, his independent operational command (of a brigade group near Baghdād) he became chairman of the Free Officers Central Committee in about 1956—though he never reached anything like the position of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir at a comparable stage of his career. An army movement ordered in support of Jordan gave Ḳāsim his chance. In the night of 13-14 July 1958 a brigade taken over by Ḳāsim's protégé ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif occupied the capital almost without opposition. King Fayṣal II, the crown prince ʿAbd al-Ilāh and, a day later, Nūrī al-Saʿīd were killed and the republic proclaimed. Immediately afterwards a "Republican Decree" declared Ḳāsim commander-in-chief, prime minister and acting minister of defence, with ʿĀrif as his deputy and minister of the interior. The cabinet was mainly civilian and represented most shades of political opinion—proof of the initial popularity of the revolution. From then and until his murder Ḳāsim was virtual dictator, though a provisional constitution was promulgated within a fortnight of the revolution.

Ḳāsim's one fixed political principle was his jealous regard for the independence of ʿIrāḳ, vis-à-vis Arab unity. In the summer of 1958 this meant disappointing an important sector of ʿIrāḳī opinion headed by his own deputy, as well as deeply offending ʿAbd al-Nāṣir then at the peak of his career. By August the fronts were clear; by the end of September ʿĀrif had been ousted from all his posts (and was under suspended death sentence three months later). Further escalation of Arab nationalist resentment led in March 1959 to a revolt led by the commander of Mosul garrison, Brigadier ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shawwāf. Ḳāsim rode the storm, chiefly through a working alliance with the Communists who, on the Syrian precedent, stood to lose all through the absorption of ʿIrāḳ into the United Arab Republic. With the revolt crushed, and the nationalist menace temporarily suppressed, Communist ambitions became a threat to Ḳāsim's rule. In the following confrontation Ḳāsim proved infinitely superior to the Communists in determination and tactical ability; moreover, in this contest he could count on solid army support. After the summer of 1959 the Communist situation deteriorated until they had been edged out of every position of consequence they had acquired during their advance, and they became a barely tolerated marginal group. Ḳāsim had first staved off the Communists' importunities by promising the legalization of political parties. The law was duly promulgated in January 1960, but after a brief spurt its effects petered out, and ultimately none remained legally active except a phantom pseudo-Communist Party tolerated by Ḳāsim. From about the spring of 1960 all genuine political life degenerated into disgruntled torpor, plotting or, in the case of the Kurds, open warfare (from September 1961). Externally, Ḳāsim upset the West by his disputes with the oil companies and by his inept attempt to seize Kuwayt after it had become independent (June 1961). Relations with the Soviet Union cooled because of Ḳāsim's treatment of the Communists, though not before he had virtually re-equipped the army with Soviet supplies. On the Arab front Ḳāsim never lived down his reputation as an enemy of the nationalist cause. Ḳāsim may be fairly described as politically bankrupt long before a coup, engineered by a combination of Baʿthist and nationalist anti-Communist officers (not all of them committed to ʿAbd al-Nāṣir) put a bloody end to him and his régime on 8-9 February 1963.

For all his failures, Ḳāsim cannot be written off as negligible. He was comparatively chary of violence. He was genuinely interested in social progress, at least at the beginning of his rule; the Agrarian Reform Law of 30 September 1958 is a milestone in the social history of ʿIrāḳ. He was one of the most secular-minded rulers in the Arab world in recent times. Though he occasionally paid lip-service to the excellence of Islam, religion really had no place in his scheme of things, and his usual adroitness deserted him when he dealt with men and matters of religion. This trend of his was well known. It is instructive that Ḳāsim's "atheism" caused in all probability deeper resentment among far wider circles than more narrowly defined issues of a more "modern" nature. His Personal Status Law (1959), applicable to Sunnīs and Shīʿīs alike, was repealed after his overthrow.

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(U. Dann)

ḲĀSIM AGHA, b. ? 978/1570 architect-in-chief at the Ottoman court. His proper name was Meḥmed Ḳāsim but he was known as Ḳodja. He was born in a village between Awlonya (Valona) and Berat (Byelograd) in Albania (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, 695). Collected through the *devshirme* and brought to the Imperial Palace, he was accepted in the courts of gardeners of the Imperial Household (*khāṣṣ-bāghče ghulāmī*) where he grew up. During the great promotion (*čiḳma*) which took place at Meḥemmed III's accession to the throne, he was made an apprentice with the court architects (Zarif Orgun, *Hassa mimarları*, Istanbul 1939, 7). In 1032/1623 he was made court architect-in-chief (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 49). He became good friends with the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, an Albanian like himself. On the latter's execution he was dismissed as court-architect-in-chief, an office until then conferred for life, and

was exiled to Gelibolu. However, through the solicitations of *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* Djindji Ḥusayn Efendi, he returned to Istanbul and was again appointed court-architect-in-chief in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1055/June 1645 (Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, v, 35, 112, 167). In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1061/October-November 1651 he was made *kedkhüdā* of the Wālide Sulṭān (Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, v, 51). However, at the instigation of the *dār ül-seʿāde aghasi* Sarī Süleymān Agha, he was dismissed in Muḥarram 1062/December 1651-January 1652 and exiled to Cyprus, but through the intervention of the Wālide Sulṭān enabled to return to Istanbul (Naʿīmā. *Tārīkh*, v, 179). After long service, he died in Istanbul at *ca.* one hundred years of age.

Ḳāsim Agha is known both as an artist and as a politician. As court architect-in-chief he built the Činili Djāmiʿ in Üsküdar, the pavilion of the Balṭadjīs in the Palace of Üsküdar, the Sepetčiler Ḳaṣrī of the Palace of Topḳapu and the Yeñi Wālide Djāmiʿi in Istanbul. His mastery as an architect is apparent from the Činili Djāmiʿ and from the ʿAtīḳ Wālide Djāmiʿi. The pavillion of the Balṭadjīs and the Sepetčiler Ḳaṣrī no longer exist. As a politician, Ḳāsim Agha was one of the influential personalities of the 12th/18th century, with activities falling in the reigns of Sultans Ibrāhīm and Meḥemmed IV. He established friendships with prominent people, such as Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, the *Sheykh ül-Islām* Bahāʾī Efendi [*q.v.*], Čelebi Kedkhüdā Bey, Sarī Süleymān Agha, Djindji Ḥusayn Efendi, Khadīdje Turkhān Wālide, and his recommendations and suggestions influenced the affairs of state. With Kösem Wālide Māhpaykar Sulṭān and Melek Aḥmed Pasha, he was on bad terms, and his meddling in political affairs caused his exile on two occasions. However, his most important function in Ottoman political history was to pave the way for Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha to become Grand Vizier and obtain power.

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ḲĀSIM AMĪN, Arab publicist and writer on social topics, was the promoter, in Egypt, of the emancipation of the Arab woman and upheld her right, as well as her corresponding obligations, to participate in the renaissance of the Arab-Islamic world which saw the light of day at the end of the 19th century.

He was born in Alexandria in 1863 (cf. Aḥmad Bahāʾ al-Dīn, preface to *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, ed. Dār al-Maʿārif, Cairo 1970, 10; but the sources do not all agree as to the date and place of his birth), of an Egyptian mother and a father of Turkish origin; his family settled in Cairo, where Ḳāsim, after his secondary studies, registered at the Khedival school of law (*Madrasat al-ḥuḳuḳ al-khudawiyya*) and gained his "licence" in 1881. After a period of instruction by a great lawyer of the Egyptian capital, he went to complete his studies of law in Paris where he continued to follow, with the passion and restlessness that had been his since the first signs of them appeared in Cairo, the new developments of the Egyptian political reality, *i.e.* the British intervention of 1882 which led to the occupation of Egypt by the English and the failure of the revolt of ʿUrābī Pasha [*q.v.*].

Ḳāsim Amīn made his first contribution to the programme of reform already partially put into practice in Egypt and the most advanced regions of the Arab-Islamic world, by renewing contacts already established in Cairo with the two greatest reformers of modern Islam, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and his disciple Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.vv.*]; these latter had taken refuge in Paris where they had undertaken the publication of the Arabic language weekly *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā*, financed by a secret Muslim society of the same name, of which only eighteen issues appeared and in which Ḳāsim Amīn offered his collaboration.

Ḳāsim Amīn died when still young, in 1908, without having had the satisfaction of seeing realised the reforms in favour of the Arab woman for which he had fought and which continued to be the object of the struggle in Irāḳ of the poet Djamīl Ṣidḳī al-Zahāwī [*q.v.*], in Tunisia of al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād [*q.v.*] and in Egypt, notably, of the woman writer Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif [*q.v.*], surnamed Bāḥithat al-Bādiya.

It was during his stay in Paris that, thanks to his contacts with a milieu always very clearly oriented towards socio-cultural progress, and perhaps equally, according to certain sources, under the influence of a sentimental attachment to a young Frenchwoman, his conviction matured that it was necessary to awaken public opinion, in Egypt and in the Arab world in general, to one of the most urgent social problems, that of raising the living conditions of women. It is evident that every attempt at reform in this field involved a persistent struggle against the partisans of the traditionalist current in the country, enemies of every change, even if it had a clearly social character, because they considered every innovation as an affront and outrage to tradition and the memory of the ancestors.

Ḳāsim Amīn fully realised the difficulties of the task and worked towards the achievement of his objective by using not only the weapons of juridical dialectic with which his profession as a lawyer supplied him abundantly and effectively, but also an argument of an emotional and moral character to which he was predisposed by his own temperament; this action aimed at assuring women of a more dignified social situation by means of instruction, equality of rights with men, abolition of the wearing of the veil, and revision of the matrimonial law with its two scourges of polygamy and repudiation.

The resistance of Egyptian conservatism was so obstinate that it was only in *ca.* 1922 (about a quarter of a century after the appearance of *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, and solely in the upper classes) that the suppression of the veil was allowed and, in 1925, that the first secondary school for girls was created with a programme and subject matter similar to those of the equivalent for boys.

His patriotic feeling is to be found in his book *Les Égyptiens*, Paris 1894, that he wrote in French in reply to the Duc d'Harcourt who, in *L'Égypte et les Égyptiens* (1893) judged the country, and especially its social structure, from an exaggeratedly "colonialist" point-of-view, and he attempted to discredit him; but it is his two works, *Taḥrīr al-marʾa* ("The emancipation of women") and *al-Marʾa al-djadīda* ("The new woman"), that he dedicated to the social advancement of the woman. The first provoked the reaction of the most ardent representatives of Egyptian conservatism, among them Ṭalʿat Ḥarb and ʿAbd al-Madjīd Gharyān, who replied, the first in his *Faṣl al-khiṭāb fi'l-marʾa wa 'l-ḥidjāb* (Cairo n.d.) and the second with *al-Dafʿ al-matīn* (Cairo n.d.). The other work by which Ḳāsim Amīn intended to answer precisely the attacks of these despisers of every innovation, gave rise to a reply not only from the same Ṭalʿat Ḥarb, in *Tarbiyat al-marʾa wa 'l-ḥidjāb*, but also from the scholar and publicist Muḥammad Farīd

Wadjdī in *al-Marʾa al-muslima* (Cairo 1319/1901). It is with these two works that Ḳāsim Amīn's name has been linked, as an apostle of the rights of the woman, far more than with the Parisian work which has been discussed above and with the collection of meditations and maxims entitled *Asbāb wa-natāʾidj wa-akhlāḳ wa-mawāʿiẓ*, Cairo 1898 (reprinted 1913 under the title *Kalimāt fi'l-akhlāḳ* in an appendix to the edition of the *Risāla fī Mudāwāt al-nufūs* of Ibn Ḥazm (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 696-7).

Bibliography: *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, Cairo 1899 (German trans. of O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1928); *al-Marʾa al-djadīda*, Cairo 1901; the two works have been made the subject of numerous other editions whose prefaces supply biographical information on Ḳāsim Amīn and his social activities. It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the study of R. Paret, *Zur Frauenfrage in der arabisch-islamischen Welt*, Stuttgart 1934, for the historical account of the social situation of the woman in Islam, a fundamental work. For specific bibliographical information on most of the works mentioned in Brockelmann, S III, 330-1, see I. Y. Kračkovskiy, *Kasim Amin, sovetnik appellyutsionnogo suda. Novaya ženshčina. Perevod so 2-go arabskogo izdaniya i predislovie*, in *Mir Islama*, i (1912), app., 119 ff.; *OM*, v (1925), 606, ix (1929), 237-42 *passim*; Ḥusayn Haykal, *Tarādjim miṣriyya wa-gharbiyya*, Cairo 1929; Doria Ragaï (Shafik), *La femme et le droit religieux de l'Égypte contemporaine*, Paris 1940; A. Khākī, *Ḳāsim Amīn*, Cairo 1944; F. S. Fuʾād, *Taʾrīkh ḥayāt al-marḥūm Ḳāsim Amīn*, Cairo n.d.; U. Rizzitano, *La funzione della donna orientale*, in *Oriens '44*, ed. J.T.L.O., Rome 1945. Some pages of *Taḥrīr al-marʾa* have been translated in Anouar Abdel-Malek, *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, ii (*Les essais*), Paris 1965.

(U. Rizzitano)

ḲĀSIM-I ANWĀR, the *laḳab* of MUʿĪN AL-DĪN ʿALĪ ḤUSAYNĪ SARĀBĪ TABRĪZĪ, mystic, poet and leading Ṣafawid *dāʿī*.

Born in 757/1356 in the Sarāb district of Tabrīz in Ādharbāydjān, Muʿīn al-Dīn ʿAlī became at an early age the disciple (*murīd*) of the shaykh of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa* Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā [*q.v.*], who bestowed on him the *laḳab* of Ḳāsim-i Anwār, "Distributor of Lights", as the result of a vision experienced by his disciple. Muʿīn al-Dīn ʿAlī saw himself standing in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ at Ardabīl, holding in his hand a great candle from which the members of the congregation lit their own candles, the light of which illumined the whole mosque (a fuller, and variant, version of the vision is contained in the *Madjālis al-ʿUshshāḳ*; see Nafīsī, cited in bibliography, 23 ff.). Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā, who had recognized at an early stage the peculiar intensity of the devotional powers of Ḳāsim-i Anwār, interpreted this vision to mean that his disciple was destined to distribute among the other novices the divine light with which he was endowed.

After the completion of his training at Ardabīl, Ḳāsim-i Anwār received from the hands of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā the *khirḳa* which entitled him to proselytize and give spiritual guidance (*irshād*). At some later stage, Ḳāsim-i Anwār is said, by Djāmī [*q.v.*] and sources based on Djāmī, to have become the disciple of a certain Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī Yamanī (for reasons for doubting the authenticity of this tradition, see the article of Savory cited in the bibliography). After a period of missionary activity in Gīlān, Ḳāsim-i Anwār went to Khurāsān. Opposition from the *ʿulamāʾ* forced him to move from Nīshāpūr to Harāt, which became his base of operations for half a century. According to his own statement, Ḳāsim-i Anwār was established at Harāt by 779/1377-8, and he remained there until his expulsion from the city in 830/1426-7.

In that year, Ḳāsim-i Anwār was implicated in the attempted assassination of the Tīmūrid ruler, Shāhrukh [*q.v.*], by a Ḥurūfī [see ḤURŪFIYYA] named Aḥmad the Lur. Ḳāsim-i Anwār was not, himself, a member of the heretical Ḥurūfī sect. In the present writer's view, his alleged complicity in the assassination plot was a convenient excuse for the Tīmūrid political and religious authorities to rid themselves of a man whose missionary activities had become a source of embarrassment to them. The sources alternatively allege that Ḳāsim-i Anwār was expelled from Harāt because (a) Mīrzā Bāysunḳur b. Shāhrukh [see BĀYSONGHOR, GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN] bore him a personal grudge; (b) he did not show proper respect toward Shāhrukh and his sons; (c) the majority of the young men of Harāt had become his disciples, and his popularity with these elements constituted a source of possible mischief. (A) and (b) may be dismissed; (c) more probably goes to the heart of the matter (the charge of moral turpitude made against Ḳāsim-i Anwār in connection with his association with these young men is unlikely to have been the sole reason for his expulsion). The Tīmūrid authorities took action against Ḳāsim-i Anwār because his activities as a *dāʿī* had been too successful; he had become too popular with admittedly heterodox elements, and Shāhrukh was fearful of a possible revolt. There is no doubt that Ḳāsim-i Anwār was closely associated at Harāt with followers of the Khalwatī [*q.v.*] *ṭarīḳa*, and the Khalwatīs, together with the Niʿmat Allāhīs, Naḳshbandīs [*qq.v.*] and other Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳas*, played an important part (not yet adequately investigated) in preparing the ground for the Ṣafawid revolution. There is evidence that Ḳāsim-i Anwār's success as a proselytizer was not confined to the young men of Harāt. Many notables of the city, and sons of Tīmūrid *amīrs*, are also said to have become his disciples; this, of course, would have given Shāhrukh additional grounds for anxiety.

After his expulsion from Harāt, Ḳāsim-i Anwār resided at the court of Shāhrukh's son, Ulugh Beg, at Samarḳand. Some years later, he returned to Khurāsān, and died at Khardjird in Rabīʿ I 837/ Oct.-Nov. 1433.

Ḳāsim-i Anwār was the author of a number of mystical treatises, and of a *dīwān* comprising *ghazals*, *rubāʿīs*, several *mathnawīs*, and occasional pieces. Some of his poems are in Turkī, and others in the local dialect of Gīlān. E. G. Browne claimed to have found "unmistakable" traces of Ḥurūfī influence in one of his poems, but such a connection cannot be proved on the evidence of his poems. The language of these is rather the conventional stock-in-trade of Ṣūfīs, and the style reminds one of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]. Like Rūmī, he was more concerned with meaning than with elegance. Ḳāsim-i Anwār normally used the *takhalluṣ* (*nom-de-plume*) Ḳāsim or Ḳāsimī, but sometimes also the full form of his *laḳab*, Ḳāsim-i Anwār.

Bibliography: For further details, and a fuller discussion of the problems involved, see R. M. Savory, *A 15th-century Ṣafavid propagandist at Harāt*, in the *Semi-Centennial Volume of the Middle Western Branch of the American Oriental Society*, Bloomington, Indiana 1969, 189-197. For a full bibliography of the Persian sources, and a valuable analysis of the historical and literary evidence, see

Saʿīd Nafīsī's introduction to his edition of the collected poems (*Kulliyyāt*) of Ķāsim-i Anwār, Tehran 1337/1958. On Ķāsim-i Anwār's Turkish poems, see G. M. Meredith-Owens, *The Turkish verses of Qāsim al-Anvār*, in *BSOAS*, xxv/1 (1962), 155-61. (R. M. Savory)

ĶĀSIM PASHA, Djazarī, Ottoman officer and poet of the 9th/15th century; he belonged to a family who had come from Egypt and entered Ottoman service. His father was Meḥmed Djazarī, who had worked in the Imperial Dīvān and had become *nishāndji* in 869/1464-5. (*Külliyât-ı Divan-ı Kabulî*, ed. İ. Hikmet Ertaylan, Istanbul 1949 p. 304 f.). Ķāsim, like his father, entered the Dīwān-ī Humāyūn and served in various offices, rising to the position of *defterdār*, and was for a time in Amasya with Bāyezīd II (before his accession) and served as his *defterdār*. Djazarī Ķāsim, who is known to have been *nishāndji* in 886/1481, attained the rank of vizier, holding the post for about three years; he also served for a time in Salonika. He died in 887/1485, and was buried beside the *medrese* which he had built near the tomb of Emīr Sulṭān in Bursa.

Djazarī Ķāsim Pasha achieved fame in his own day as a competent poet, using the *makhlaṣ* Ṣāfī. Although it is known that his poems were collected in a *dīwān*, no manuscript has yet come to light; however, an incomplete text of his versified discourses exists in the Ali Emiri library in Istanbul (*manzum eserler*, no. 1000/1). ʿĀshiķ Čelebi [*q.v.*] states that he was influenced by Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] and that he wrote competent *ghazals* (ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971, p. 214 a).

He established several pious foundations: a mosque in the Čaghaloghlu quarter of Istanbul (*Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri, 953/1546 tarihli*, ed. Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, Istanbul, 1970, p. 53); a *medrese* and bath in the Emīr Sulṭān quarter of Bursa (*Güldeste*, 66); a mosque at Kefe (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kefe tahrir defteri, no. 370).

Bibliography: Bibliographical works have confused three Ķāsīm Pashas: Djazarī, Ewliyā, and Ķodja (for whom see ʿAṭāʾī, 104); thus Meḥmed Thüreyyā makes Djazarī Ķāsim live until 950 (*SO*, iv, 47; cf. also Aywānsarāyī, *Ḥadīķa*, i, 79, 80, 280). According to Sehī, 24, Djazarī Ķāsīm died and was buried in Salonika.

Additional information may be found in the following works: ʿĀshīķpasha-zāde, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1332, 192, 193; Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 231; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1279, i, 216; Ķodja Ḥusayn, *Badāyiʿ al-waķāyiʿ*, ed. I. S. Tveritinova, Moscow 1961, ii, fol. 414 a; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 335, 340, ii, 17; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, Istanbul 1952, 153, 433, 434; Koyunluoğlu Memduh Turgut, *İznik ve Bursa Tarihi*, Bursa 1935, 155, 164, 196.

(C. Orhonlu)

ĶĀSIM PASHA, Ewliyā, Ottoman officer of the second half of the 9th/15th century. It is conjectured that he was the son of Todor Muzak, the great Albanian lord (ʿĀshīķpashazāde, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1332, 191; Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 230; H. İnalcık, *Fatih devri üzere tetkikler ve vesikalar*, Ankara 1954, 162). It is not known at what date he was taken by the *devshirme* to be brought up in Ottoman service; however, as he came to prominence during the reign of Meḥemmed II, this probably occurred towards the end of Meḥemmed I's reign. The most important post he had was that of Beglerbegi of Rūmeli, and it is known that he spent a part of his life at Edirne. In 883/1478, he caused to be built a domed mosque, a hospice (*ʿimāret*) and a double *ḥammām* near the district of Selkhāne on the Tundja river (Hibrī, *Anīs al-musāmirīn*, ed. S. İlgürel, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Istanbul 1972, 33, 41, 67; for the *waķfiyye* dated 1 Shaʿbān 883/28 October 1478 relating to this pious foundation, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 7744/B). Ķāsīm Pasha died in 890/1485 and was buried near his mosque. His *laķab* Ewliyā is attributed to the fact that he had previously had a dervīsh convent built in Edirne.

Bibliography: in addition to works mentioned in the text: Oral Onur, *Edirne kitabeleri*, Istanbul 1972, 129; Osman Nuri Peremeci, *Edirne Tarihi*, Istanbul 1939, 66, 67, 145; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, Istanbul 1952, 48 (n. 58), 434 (n. 688), 524; Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Tapu-tahrir defteri, no. 370, p. 546. (C. Orhonlu)

ĶĀSIM PASHA, Güzeldje, Ottoman vizier in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent, after whom a quarter of Istanbul is called. The facts given about his life in historical records are few and scanty. The earliest historical reference to him concerns his appointment to Ḥamā as *sandjaķ beg* following the victory of Mardj Dābiķ. During his term of office, Ķāsim Pasha suppressed the revolt of Ibn Ḥafsh, a rebel Arab amīr. Having been appointed *Anadolu beglerbegi* on Süleymān's succession to the throne, Ķāsim Pasha took part in the expedition against Rhodes (928/1522), and was made governor of Egypt in 930/1524. As he was unsuccessful in this office he was dismissed, but before long he was appointed *kapudan-ī deryā* (commander of the navy), and then governor of Istanbul (*muḥāfiẓ*) during the Hungarian expedition in 932/1526. He was later appointed *Rumeli beglerbegi*, and the third vizier in 935/1529. As such, he took part in the siege of Vienna in the same year, and the ʿIrāķ expedition in 941/1535. His prestige, however, did not remain high for long; for unknown reasons, he was dismissed from office as third vizier and was appointed *sandjaķ beg* of the Morea, a position of lesser rank, before 944/1537. Ķāsim Pasha remained in this office until 948/1541, when he retired, but he was not allowed to return to Istanbul, indicating that he was still held in disfavour by the sultan. Contemporary historians do not give his year of death, but he probably died after 959/1552. Although more recent writers claim that he is buried in Gelibolu (Gallipoli), his grave has not been located.

Among his contemporaries, Ķāsim Pasha was no more than second-rate. He rose rapidly in office, but his fall was equally abrupt. However, he was interested in both building and charitable concerns. He started reconstructing the quarter of Istanbul named after him during his term as third vizier, and had the architect Sinān build a mosque a *madrasa*, an *ʿimāret* and a bath-house. He is also known to have built a mosque at Boz Burun. He had a daughter called Nafīsa Khānum, who built a *masdjid* and a school in the quarter named after her father.

Bibliography: given in İA s.v. (F. Sümer)

ĶĀSIMIYYA, a neo-Mamlūk household and faction in Ottoman Egypt in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. The eponym, Ķāsim Bey the Defterdār, is an obscure figure, who apparently flourished in the early 11th/17th century, although an origin-legend given by al-Djabartī places him in the reign of Sultan Selīm I. The household, in which there appears to have been originally a Bosniak element, emerged as an effective force in politics about the middle of the 11th/17th century, its power

resting on accumulated wealth and an alliance with the older indigenous faction of Ḥarām, just as its opponents, the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya [*q.v.*], allied with the rival faction of Saʿd. Hostility between the two groups manifested itself in 1057/1647, when the Ottoman viceroy combined with the two leaders of the Ḳāsimiyya, Ḳānṣawh Bey and Māmāy Bey, to overthrow the powerful *amīr al-ḥadjdj* Riḍwān Bey al-Faḳārī. A countercoup by the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya was, however, successful, and in the resulting proscription of the Ḳāsimiyya, Ḳānṣawh and Māmāy were put to death. After Riḍwān's death in 1066/1656, the fortunes of the Ḳāsimiyya gradually revived under their leader, Aḥmad Bey the Bosniak. In a revolt of the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya in 1071/1660, Aḥmad Bey gave strong support to the viceroy Gürdjü Muṣṭafā Pasha, and was personally responsible for the killing of three beys who had received a safeconduct. His own assassination was procured by the next viceroy (1072/1662). Thereafter until the early 12th/18th century, factional hostility between Ḳāsimiyya and Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya was unimportant. In 1123/1711 a clash between rival corps of the Ottoman garrison in Cairo, the Janissaries and ʿAzabs (*ʿAzebān*), involved the Mamlūk factions, the Ḳāsimiyya supporting the ʿAzabs. By their victory in this insurrection they re-established their ascendancy in Egypt, but at the same time reopened the fatal vendetta with the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya. Ismāʿīl Bey b. Īwāẓ Bey, the head of the Ḳāsimiyya, as the holder of supremacy (*al-riʾāsa*) was entitled "commander of Cairo" (*amīr Miṣr*), a term synonymous with the better known *shaykh al-balad*. Conflicts between the adherents of Ismāʿīl, the Īwāẓiyya, and a rival Ḳāsimi household, the Shanabiyya, resulted in the assassination of Ismāʿīl in 1136/1724, and gave the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya an opportunity to gain the supremacy. In 1142/1730 they finally broke the power of the Ḳāsimiyya. Surviving members of the faction took service under Shaykh Humām of Hawwāra [*q.v.*], who at this period dominated Upper Egypt, and they became assimilated to his tribesmen. The last Ḳāsimi notable, Ṣāliḥ Bey, played a part of some importance in the relations between Humām and ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*], who procured his assassination in 1182/1768.

Bibliography: See the bibliography under DHU 'L-FAḲĀRIYYA, and add the following: Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī, *Tarādjim al-ṣawāʿiḳ fī waḳʿat al-ṣanādjiḳ*, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, MS. arabe 1853, which gives a detailed account of the revolt of 1071/1660; P. M. Holt, *The beylicate in Ottoman Egypt during the seventeenth century*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv/2 (1961), 214-48; idem, *Al-Jabartī's introduction in the history of Ottoman Egypt*, in *BSOAS*, xxv/1 (1962), 38-51; idem, *The career of Küçük Muḥammad* (1676-94), in *BSOAS*, xxvi/2 (1963), 269-87; idem, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516-1922*, London 1966, 80-95. (P. M. Holt)

ḲĀSIMOV, the chief town of a district of the province of Ryazan (USSR), which was the capital of a khānate whose sovereigns bore in Russian the title of "tsar" or "tsarevitch" and whose existence is a historical curiosity.

The khānate of Ḳāsimov was founded between 856/1452 and 860/1456 by Ḳāsīm, the son of Khān Ulugh Muḥammad of Ḳāzān, who was driven from his *ulus* by his brother Maḥmūdek in 850/1446. Ḳāsīm escaped to Moscow and entered the service of Grand Prince Vasili II, who conceded to him the small town of Gorodets (or Gorodok Meshčerskiy), which later received the name of Ḳāsimov (in Tatar, Khān Karmān) in his honour.

It was a small principality—a feudal, Tatar vassal of Moscow, whose tsar nominated or confirmed the khāns; their position vis-à-vis Moscow was comparable to that of the khāns of the Crimea vis-à-vis their overlords, the Ottoman pādishāhs, but their autonomy was more limited. The internal affairs of the khānate were in fact administered by a Russian *voyvoda* named by the *Posol'skiy Prikaz*. The khāns received a salary from Moscow and collected the *yasaḳ* of the local population, composed mostly of Finns, Mordvins and Meshčerans and some Russian colonists; the Muslim Tatars formed only a minority. Ḳāsīm remained a Muslim, but served the grand prince of Moscow faithfully; this was the first time that a Čingizid had become his vassal. After this, and almost throughout its entire history, Ḳāsimov served as a place of refuge for the various Čingizid princes driven from their *ulus*. They were used by the Russians against their cousins and co-religionists of the Golden Horde and of Ḳāzān.

In 872-3/1468, after the death of Maḥmūdek in Ḳāzān, Ḳāsīm, at the head of a Muscovite army, tried to seize power in Ḳāzān, but failed. His son Dāniyār succeeded him in 873/1469 and reigned until 891/1486. He took part, on the side of the Muscovites, in the war against Aḥmad Khān of the Golden Horde. At his death, Ivan III offered the *ulus* of Ḳāsimov to Khān Nūr Dawlat Girāy, who had been chased from the Crimea in 883/1478. Nūr Dāwlat reigned at Ḳāsimov until his unexpected death between 903/1498 and 908/1503; like Ḳāsīm, he was a loyal subject of the grand prince of Moscow, whom he served devotedly. After his death, the throne of Ḳāsimov was occupied for some time by his sons, Satīlghan and Djanay. *Ca.* 918/1512, the Girāy were replaced by another Čingizid branch. The first ruler was Shaykh Awliyār (grandson of Khān Küčük Muḥammad, descended from Orda, brother of Batu and the first khān of the "White" (or "Blue") Horde and cousin of Khān Sayyid Aḥmad). In 922/1516, his young brother, Shāh ʿAlī (the "Shigaley" of Russian sources), succeeded him and remained intermittently the khān of Ḳāsimov until his death on 10 Shawwāl 974/21 April 1567.

The period between 927/1521 and 959/1552 is that of the struggle between Moscow and the Crimea for the possession of the *ulus* of Ḳāzān. In this conflict, Shāh ʿAlī played a very active role. Twice he was placed by the Russians on the throne of Ḳāzān—between 925/1519 and 927/1521, then again in 953/1546. While he was governing Ḳāzān, he was replaced at Ḳāsimov by his brother Djān ʿAlī—who also was khān of Ḳāzān between 938/1532 and 941/1535 (he died in a popular uprising).

Shāh ʿAlī, who died childless, had as a successor a distant cousin, Sāyin Bulāt, the great-grandson of Khān Aḥmad of the Golden Horde, who was converted to Orthodox Christianity in 981/1573, took the name of Simeon Bekbulatovič and reigned in Ḳāsimov until almost 991/1583. In 982/1574, Ivan the Terrible named him in his place "tsar and grand prince of all the Russias". The next two years, during which Russia was ruled by a Čingizid prince was a period unique in Russian history.

Simeon Bekbulatovič died in 1616; but between 981/1573 and 991/1583, he had been replaced in Ḳāsimov by Muṣṭafā ʿAlī, another Čingizid prince, who was also descended from Khān Aḥmad of the Golden Horde. During the period of troubles, the throne of Ḳāsimov was occupied by other Čingizids: at first by a member of the dynasty of the khāns of

Kirgiz Ḳazaḳ, Uraz Muḥammad, who took part in the civil war and was killed in 1610, and then, under the Romanovs, by the descendants of Kučum, the last khān of Siberia. His grandson Arslān is mentioned as "tsar" of Ḳāsimov in 1023/1614; the son of the latter, Sayyid Burhān, seems to have ascended the throne towards 1036/1627. This prince was baptized under the name of Vassili and ruled until his death, which occurred suddenly in 1678. He was the last sovereign of Ḳāsimov. For a few years after his death until 1092/1681, his mother, Fāṭima Sulṭān, who apparently remained a Muslim, was still mentioned as "princess" of Ḳāsimov. The town was then annexed administratively to the crown domains.

Bibliography: Velyaminov-Zernov, *Issledovaniya o Kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevičakh*, St. Petersburg 1863-87, 4 vols.; N. I. Shishkin, *Istorya goroda Kasimova s drevneyshikh vremen*[2], Ryazan 1891; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 249; Reşid Rahmeti Arat, *Kasım Hanlığı*, in *IA*, vi, 380-6.

(A. Bennigsen)

ḲĀSIYŪN (Djabal), mountain which forms part of the Anti-Lebanon and rises to the north-west of Damascus [see DIMASHḲ]. Two tributaries of the Baradā [*q.v.*], the Nahr Thawra and the Nahr Yazīd, up until the middle of the 20th century used to irrigate the orchards of Nayrab, which rose in tiers on its southern flank.

This mountain has a sacred character because God is said to have spoken to it and also due to ancient traditions which relate to some grottoes opening in the midst of the slope. Three of them, Muṣallāt al-Khiḍr, Maghārat al-Djawʿ and Maghārat al-Dam, which marks the place where the blood of Ḥabīl was shed and where people used to come and pray for rain, today constitute a modern oratory known by the name of Ḳubbat al-ʿArbaʿīn in memory of forty prophets—seventy according to certain traditions—who died of hunger there; a legend speaks of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā having allegedly stayed there forty years with his mother. Slightly to the south-west of this oratory, is situated the Grotto of Adam, also called Kahf Djibrīl or al-Kahf, an oratory dedicated to the Aṣḥāb al-Kahf, the Seven Sleepers of Sūra XVIII. This grotto is a place of pilgrimage frequented in our own time.

There existed formerly on the slopes of Ḳāsiyūn two famous Christian monasteries, Dayr Murrān and Dayr Samʿān. In the 6th/12th century some refugees, who had come from Jerusalem after the capture of the Holy City by the Crusaders, founded the quarter of al-Ṣāliḥiyya; then mosques, *madrasas* and cemeteries multiplied there. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the Kurds established there the suburb of al-Akrād. After 1898, some Muslim refugees from Crete had the quarter of al-Muhādjirīn constructed in its western part. In our days, these suburbs, which have become integrated with the city, continue to develop, while a radio-television station functions at the summit of the mountain.

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(N. Elisséeff)

KASKAR, the name of a town in ʿIrāḳ. When al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], the governor of ʿIrāḳ appointed by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik had put down the rebellion there, he began in 83-6/702-5 to build a new town which was called Wāsiṭ ("centre") because it was midway between the two older Arab capitals of this province, al-Kūfa in the north and al-Baṣra in the south. For the site of the town he chose the vicinity of Kaskar, on the Tigris, which had played a not unimportant part in the Sāsānian period. The new Muslim town was built on the east bank of the Tigris, while Kaskar lay opposite it on the west side; a bridge of boats linked the two halves of the city. Neither Wāsiṭ nor Kaskar exist at the present day, and until modern times their exact situation was uncertain as the Tigris bed has changed its course, bypassing the sites and rendering them obsolete by the 8th/14th century. The exact relationship between Kaskar and Wāsiṭ is not clear. Recent excavations at Wāsiṭ indicate the administrative importance of the city as the centre of Umayyad rule (F. Safar, *The Sixth Season's Excavations*, Cairo 1945). The remarkable similarity of the administrative buildings to those of the Round City at Baghdad (O. Grabar, *Al-Mushatta, Baghdad, and Wasit*, in *The World of Islam, Studies in Honor of Phillip K. Hitti*, London 1959, 98-108) raises the question of whether Kaskar was originally intended to serve as the residential area for the general populace as distinct from Wāsiṭ, which would then have housed the administration and perhaps military garrison. A similar situation apparently prevailed at al-Raḳḳa-al-Rāfiḳa (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 734). In the course of time, Kaskar was subsumed by the more famous site. For further information on WĀSIṬ, see the article.

Kaskar probably dates back to the Assyrian period. A Babylonian town, Ka-as-ka-ri, appears to be mentioned in a fragment of an inscription probably of the time of Assur-banipal in the British Museum ([18] 82:3-23:128; see Bezold, *Catalogue*, 1824; cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, pp. lxxxviii, 790). The place is perhaps also mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud (*Yōmā*, fol. 10a, where Bashkar should probably be amended to Kashkar; see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, New Series, iii/2, Berlin 1901, 164). In any case Kaskar, called Kashkar in Syriac and Christian Arabic sources, is one of the oldest Christian towns in Babylonia. It frequently appears in the ecclesiastical history of this region. The episcopal diocese of this name was considered second in importance within the Nestorian church. Its occupant was the right arm of the patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon [see AL-MADĀʾIN] and his representative when the office was vacant.

Among the signatories to the acts of the Syriac councils from the period 410-790 were bishops of

Kas͟hkar (Guidi in *ZDMG*, xliii, 411, and Chabot in *Notices et extraits*, xxxvii (Paris 1902), 675). According to the Syriac "Chronicle of Arbela" there was a bishop in Kas͟hkar as early as the first half of the 3rd century A.D. The Christian Arabic "Chronicle of Seʿert" also mentions an occupant of the episcopal see there of the period before 410 A.D. On the bishopric of Kas͟hkar and for a list of its occupants, see J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide*, Paris 1904, passim (see the index s.v.); Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1915, no. 6), 21; Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1919, no. 1), 30-1.

The town of Kas͟hkar, like the bishopric which bore its name, was the home of many founders of monasteries, as may be seen from the work compiled in the 8th century by Yes͟hūʿdenaḥ, entitled *Keṯābā de Nak͟hpūtā* (ed. Chabot in *Mélange d'archéol. et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, xvi (Paris 1896), 225 f.); the Great Abraham (d. 588) was especially famous (see Yes͟hūʿdenaḥ, no. 14; Labourt, *op. cit.*, 315; A. Baumstark, *Gesch. der syrisch. Litteratur*, Bonn 1922, 130). One of the most influential personalities at the court of the Sāsānian King K͟husraw II Parwēz (590-628) was Ābā of Kas͟hkar; on him see Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 123. On other Syriac writers who belonged to Kas͟hkar (ʿAbdīs͟hōʿ, Grig͟hō, Eliyā) see Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 30, 128, 420. For the Syriac sources on Kas͟hkar, see also the indices in Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1870, and idem, *Cat. of the Syriac manuscripts in Cambridge*, Cambridge 1901, 1284, also in Sachau, *Katalog der syrisch. Handschr. in Berlin*, Berlin 1899, 923.

In the Arsacid period, there seems to have been a little kingdom of Kaskar, which was destroyed by the first Sāsānian, Ardas͟hīr I; cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Arab. und Perser zur Zeit der Sāsāniden*, Leiden 1879, 13 n. 5. In the Sāsānian province of ʿIrāḳ, Kaskar is mentioned as one of the 72 administrative districts; see Streck, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), 15, 18. It probably—as later under the Muslims—comprised roughly the district east of the Tigris, from the modern Kūt al-Amāra in the north to the region of the mouth of the Tigris. Sometimes it is mentioned as equivalent to the district of Maysān [*q.v.*]. On this, cf. Schaeder in *Isl.*, xiv (1924), 17 f. The bishopric of Kas͟hkar must have coincided pretty much with the Sāsānian district of the same name; cf. the map in Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, 16.

Kaskar is also given as the name of the capital of Daylam, which was usually called Dūlāb; cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Cal.*, 174; de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, i, Paris 1894, 276.

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(M. Streck-[J. Lassner])

KASR, from the root KSR, with the sense in Arabic of "to break", as a mathematical term means "fraction". Ibn al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*] in his *Talk͟hīṣ aʿmāl al-ḥisāb* gives the following definition: "A fraction is the relationship between two numbers when it is a part or several parts. The relationship between the part and the number which bears the same name is called a fraction". The part or the numerator is called *basṭ*; the number with which it is in relationship (*samī*) is called *imām* (*Talk͟hīṣ*, *Kas͟hf al-d͟jilbāb*). Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (9th/15th century) uses the terms *ṣūra* and *maḳām*, as do al-Kās͟hī (ms. Tunis 2039, f. 7a) and the Revue de l'Académie du Caire, 1957; *mak͟hrad͟j* or *muk͟hrad͟j* is also found (the Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafāʾ), connecting the idea of the fraction to that of division (*k͟hārid͟j*, the term being specialised to translate "quotient"). The idea of the part, by definition less than the whole, led the Arabic authors to consider the fraction as being, by its very essence, inferior to the idea of the unit; at the base of this is the concrete idea of dividing up a given amount. Ibn al-Bannāʾ is very explicit here: "The addition of fractions stops when one arrives at a fraction whose numerator is less by a unit to its denominator". Al-Ḳalaṣādī says in a precise fashion that "One does not say four fourths or five fifths" (*Kas͟hf al-astār*, ms. Tunis 3292, f. 39b).

For denoting fractions whose denominator lies between 3 and 10, the paradigm *fuʿl* or *fuʿul* is used; for "half" or "equal part", however, *niṣf* is used. This category of fractions is called *munṭaḳ* "pronounceable" or *maftūḥ* "open", cf. al-Kās͟hī, *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb*, ms. Tunis 10301, ff. 73b-74a. The rest are called *aṣamm* "deaf"; they are expressed by using the expression *d͟juzʾ min* ... ("a part of ...", "a part from amongst ...").

For the notation of fractions, it was al-Ḳalaṣādī who first used the symbols still in use today, sc. writing the numerator above the denominator and separating the two terms by a horizontal line (*Kas͟hf al-asrār*, f. 17b). Since this notation was new, al-Ḳalaṣādī seems to stress its explanation, using the expressions *ʿalā raʾsihi* ("placed above it") and *mā fawḳ al-k͟haṭṭ* ("that which is above the line"); see the commentary on the *Talk͟hīṣ*, ms. Tunis 307R, f. 111b.

From the time of Ibn al-Bannāʾ onwards, the Arab mathematicians distinguish five kinds of fraction:

(1) simple or ordinary fractions (*mufrad*);

(2) fraction of relationship (*muntasib*), as in this example from al-Ḳalaṣādī

$\frac{3 \cdot 1 \cdot 4 \cdot 5 \cdot}{4 \cdot 3 \cdot 7 \cdot 9 \cdot}$ which is written in modern notation:

$$\frac{5 + \cfrac{4 + \cfrac{1 + \frac{3}{4}}{3}}{7}}{9} = \frac{5 \times 7 \times 3 \times 4 \quad 4 \times 3 \times 4 \quad 1 \times 4 \times 3}{9 \times 7 \times 3 \times 4} = \frac{480}{756}$$

(3) disjunct fractions (*muk͟htalif*), which do not have the same denominator

(4) subdivided fractions (*mubaʿʿaḍ*), or fractions of fractions, noted by al-Ḳalaṣādī

$\frac{6\ 4\ 1}{7\ 5\ 3}$ or $\frac{6}{7} \times \frac{4}{5} \times \frac{1}{3} = \frac{24}{105}$, the numbers making up the numerator and denominator being separated, but without using any dots

(5) excepted fractions (*mustat͟hnā*), separated by the substraction sign.

In geometry, the idea of the fraction is usually conveyed not by *kasr*, but by the terms *nisba* "relationship" or *tasmiya* "denomination". However, words derived from the root *K S R* are used to translate the concept of area: *kassara*, *taksīr* "area", *mukassar* "square of a unit of linear measure" (al-

Khwārazmī, *Kitāb al-Djabr wa 'l-muḳābala*, 55; *Murshida*, ms. Tunis 2042, f. 28b; *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, 60). This usage may be connected with the idea of the fraction; thus in effect, in order to calculate the area of a field, it is divided up into a certain number of squares equal to the unit of surface. It may be accordingly noted that the Arab authors made a distinction between the concept of area (number, arithmetical concept) and that of surface (geometrical concept).

In the work of al-Kāshī (d. 840/1436), *al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya fi 'l-ḳawā'id al-ḥisābiyya*, known as the *Maḳālāt Djamshīd* (mss. Tunis 169, 2039), we have the first text concerning the introduction of decimal fractions (*kusūr a'shāriyya*). Al-Kāshī, writes W. Hartner, "anticipates by more than a century and a half the theory of these fractions, introduced into Europe, no doubt independently, by the Flemish scholar Simon Stevin in 1585".

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above, see Khwārazmī, *K. al-Djabr wa 'l-muḳābala* Cairo 1939; Ibn al-Bannā', *Talkhīṣ a'māl al-ḥisāb*, ed. M. Souissi, Tunis 1969; idem, *Raf' al-ḥidjāb 'an 'ilm al-ḥisāb*, mss. Tunis 10301, 206a, 184a; Ibn Haydūr, *Risāla fī uṣūl 'ilm al-ḥisāb*, ms. Tunis 90R; Kāshī, *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb*, ms. Tunis 10301; idem, *Maḳālāt Djamshīd*, mss. Tunis 169, 2039; Ḳalaṣādī, *Kashf al-astār 'an ḥurūf al-ghubār*, ms. Paris 5350, mss. Tunis 3292, 3934, 4775; idem, Commentary on the *Talkhīṣ*, ms. Paris 2764; J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra*, Heidelberg 1917, 20, 54; M. Souissi, *La langue des mathématiques en arabe*, Tunis 1968, 303-7.

(M. Souissi)

ḲAṢR [see Suppl., *s.v.* BALĀṬ].

ḲAṢR FIR'AWN [see WALĪLĪ].

ḲAṢR AL-ḤAYR AL-GHARBĪ, Umayyad castle in the Syrian desert at 60 km. SSW of Palmyra (Tadmur [*q.v.*]) on the track connecting this oasis to Damascus via Ḳaryatayn and the one leading from Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] to al-Djawf [*q.v.*] through the pass of Harbaḳa. The whole of the Umayyad ruins include a *ḥammām*, a *khān*, a large garden (*bustān*), a zone of cultivable lands irrigated by canalizations connected with a *birka* and with the Roman dam of Harbaḳa, and a residential palace which occupies an important place in the history of Umayyad architecture and environment in the Near East.

Before the organization of this *bādiya* [*q.v.*], sedentaries had already settled there in the Roman period. In the middle of the 6th century A.D. al-Ḥārith, the Ghassānid phylarch, ordered the construction of a Jacobite monastery, the dam was repaired and the site was occupied again. In 109/728, four years after his accession to the caliphate, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik [*q.v.*] had a residential palace constructed by workmen from Ḥimṣ on this site, which could be al-Zaytūna (the olive-garden). He lived there before constructing Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī [*q.v.*] to the east of Tadmur. During the 'Abbāsid period the site was abandoned, but it was reoccupied under the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks.

The dam of Harbaḳa, constructed by the Romans in the 1st century A.D., brought about the development of a rich oasis. The Roman construction is situated at some 16 km. south of the site of the northern slopes of the Djabal al-Rawāḳ, at a distance of 1500 m. from the well of 'Ayn Barda. A lake 1550 m. long and 800 m. wide, fed by water flowing down from the mountains, was held back behind a massive rectilineal wall, closed in between two facings formed by large steps of huge stones running from the base to the top. This artificial reservoir is now filled up. Through three inlets the water flowed into a mainly subterranean canalization which brought it to a cultivated area where was found, at about 600 m. to the west of the palace, a *birka*, 60 m. long and 3.65 m. deep, surrounded by an embankment and fed by the canal. Further on the water arrived at the *bustān* to the east of which there was a dam that retained the water. The orchard measured about 45 hectares in area and was surrounded by a large enclosure of bricks, whose substructure consisted of limestone and which had semi-cylindrical buttresses, built alternately inside and outside the wall. The orchard, provided with an irrigation system consisting of water-distributors and sluices, had two entrances. The traces of the watchman's house can still be seen. Upstream, on a lateral drain, are the ruins of a watermill. Close to the *birka* rise the vestiges of an almost square construction, about 55 m. long, none of its angles is a right angle. This is the *khān al-milḥ*, "whose walls had been of mud brick resting on a base of well cut stone." On the eastern side was a large gateway which has now been removed to the National Museum at Damascus. Its lintel carried an inscription dated Radjab 109/Oct.-Nov. 727. The entrance was framed by two wings which stood out 18 m. from the façade along the northern and southern walls. In the southern wing was a mosque, as can be concluded from a still-existing *miḥrāb* with small columns; the northern wing contains a drinking-trough. Inside there is a central court-yard 22.50 by 23 m., surrounded by a portico 2.50 m. deep. On the northern, western and southern sides are three rooms 48 m. long and 4.80 m. wide, possibly stables or cattle sheds. On the eastern side there are six rooms of various size and a vestibule.

Lying 30 m. north of the palace there was a bath of classical type, dating from the Roman-Byzantine period. It had four cool rooms, the southern one containing a *miḥrāb*, and a suit of three warm rooms constructed over hypocausts.

Externally the palace was of a square construction 70 m. long—the equivalent of 200 Roman feet—, with a wall of limestone of 2 m. surmounted by mud brick which rests upon a zone of burnt brick. This wall has a semi-circular buttress in the middle of each side, except the oriental one, where two half-towers flank the entrance-gate. The corners are protected by round towers, except at the north-western angle, where the enclosure incorporates a Byzantine tower, which on its southern side has a machicolation defending a gate. Later, this tower served as watch- and relay-tower for the fire-signals between Bayḍa and Ḳaryatayn. The rounded buttresses of the wall, unknown in Roman and Byzantine fortifications, are Sasanian elements.

Through a round-arched gate, 3 m. wide, provided with a semi-circular tympanum built in brickwork covered with cubes of glass and two jambs of 4 m. decorated with leafwork of vine-tendrils, one enters a large entrance passage 11 m. long, cradle-vaulted and provided with small benches on each side. It leads into a courtyard of 37 m. square, paved with a small basin in the centre. The portico has columns with Corinthian capitals, the bases of which consist of Doric capitals. At the angles of the portico, which is 4 m. deep, are square-sectioned piers.

The palace is a residence on two floors. The ground-floor consists of six independent sets of rooms (*bayts*), accessible through the portico. According to Creswell, their disposition originates from the palace of the Roman governor at Boṣrā [*q.v.*]. The plan of the

upper floor repeated that of the ground-floor, with which it is connected by two staircases. All around ran a gallery with small columns and balustrades. The residence, which had no windows on the outside, received light through the doors and through stucco grilles in the tympanums of the doors, none of which was found undamaged on the spot during the excavations. It has been possible to replace a great number of these window-grilles (*claustra*), made in stucco and then bored out with a trepan. They now give an idea of the richness and variety of the geometrical and floral motifs. Creswell has remarked that Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr is the first example of the use of stucco ornament in Muslim architecture.

It has been possible to reconstruct many elements of figurative art: human beings or animals in bas-relief in one of the divisions of the semi-towers of the entrance, and on the panels of the interior balustrade. There are even genuine sculptures, among which figures the statue of a man, almost life size, sitting on a throne, with a crown (*tādj*) on his head, knees wide apart and heels close together, generally identified as Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Human beings and animals are also represented in the large compositions which are painted in fresco on the floor of the two staircase rooms of the palace. One, 5 by 4.58 m., is divided horizontally into three parts. On the upper one two musicians are depicted, on the second one a hunting scene, representing "the caliph on horseback with bow and arrow and using stirrups, which is almost the oldest known record of their use" [see ARCHITECTURE, I, 613a]; on the lower part, badly preserved, one can distinguish animals and a human being leading a bovine. On the second painting, 5.24 by 4.43 m., there is in the centre a great medallion with a large bust of a woman on a background of foliage, with on upper side there are marine centaurs and on the lower animals, including a fox and two crested stilt-legged aquatic birds.

On the walls of the rooms on the ground floor there have been discovered simple geometrical motifs, in which the lozenge dominates, and imitations of marble facing, painted in fresco-colours and executed schematically. The central part of the eastern wing, the most decorated of the palace, has been reconstructed in the National Museum of Damascus.

Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr is particularly important, not only because it has the characteristics marking Umayyad castles, as defined by Henri Stern (*Note*, 81): "A rectangular fence with rounded, buttressed towers and *bayt*s within it and a mosque are the centre of an area of agricultural exploitation irrigated by means of a big dam", but the variety of its various architectural elements and the riches of its decorations make it a first-class piece of evidence for the study of art and civilization in the Umayyad period.

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(N. ELISSÉEFF)

ḲAṢR AL-ḤAYR AL-SHARḲĪ, important Umayyad agricultural settlement in the Syrian desert at the foot of the Djabal Bishrī, about 100 km. NE of Palmyra and 65 km. S of Ruṣāfa-Sergiopolis. It lies at the intersection of the road joining Mayyadīn on the Euphrates to Palmyra and Ḥimṣ with the one leading from Ḥalab to Rusāfa and permitting to reach Baghdād and Baṣra by crossing the pass of Tayyibe, situated at 14 kms. to the N–NE. The village of Tayyibe is usually identified with Oriza mentioned in the Annals of Assurbanipal (ʿUrḍ of the Middle Ages).

Many travellers who took that route between the 14th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, have been able to see the ruins of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr. Later, towards 1840, the desert route to India was abandoned in favour of the "Overland Road" and the site was mentioned no more.

The ruins, visited by A. Musil in 1908, were rediscovered and studied on the surface by Albert Gabriel in 1925 and by K. A. C. Creswell in 1928 and 1930, before being excavated by Oleg Grabar in 1964, 1966 and 1969.

The whole of the settlement covers an area of over 6 × 3 km., surrounded by a wall 17 km. long. The southern part comprises a curious system of canalizations and openings which have been variously interpreted. At the northern angle, down stream from a large artificial *wadī*, are two square enclosures, reinforced by semi-circular towers, the small one being called *al-Ḳaṣr*, the big one *al-Madīna*. Their fronts are orientated perpendicularly to the cardinal points, whereas the eastern and western axes are not in even line with each other, there being a difference of 10 m. These are the oldest fortified Muslim enclosures that exist.

The small enclosure has a side-line of 70 m., the eastern front not being parallel to the western front, which is the only one to have a gate. The wall, 2.03 m. thick and *ca.* 14 m. high, is built with pieces of limestone, in courses 0.35 m. thick and strongly joined with gypsum. Each angle of the wall is reinforced by a round tower 4.43 m. in diameter and two semi-circular towers on each front; altogether 12 towers all covered with a small cupola of bricks. On the western front the disposition is different because of the monumental gate which is flanked by two semi-towers 4.15 m. in diameter, jutting out 2.95 m. The entrance, 3 m. wide, is surmounted by a round arch and a tympanum of masonry. The higher parts of the towers have a decoration of bricks and of stucco panels with vegetative motifs, representing the oldest decoration of this kind in Islam. In the centre above the entrance a parapet consisting of three consoles form the oldest Muslim example of a machicolation (*saḳḳāta*) being used as an element of defence and no longer as latrine.

To enter the inner side of the fence, one passes through a flagged vestibule 5.30 m. wide and 7 m. deep, flanked by two rooms facing a courtyard with sides of 37 m., and is surrounded by a portico 5 m. wide with arcades resting on columns 0.55 m. in diameter and a shaft of 3.70 m., surmounted by capitals of acanthus leaves. This portico gives access to many rooms with cradle vaulting, 12 m. deep but of different width. On the upper floor, under the gallery, are rooms with flat wooden ceilings whose

disposition corresponds to the plan of the ground floor. Nothing is known about the use of these rooms. The building was constructed at two periods: begun under Hishām [*q.v.*] and finished in the early ʿAbbāsid period. Fragments of ceramics indicate that it was occupied from the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries.

The big enclosure with sides of 160 m. has a stone wall 2.12 m. wide which is in a very bad condition. On each front are towers with rounded corners 4 m. in diameter, and 6 semi-circular towers, altogether 28 towers, standing at a distance of 26.25 m. from axis to axis, except those which flank the entrance constructed in the middle of each front. To be noted are two sally-ports on the eastern front and some inside staircases which lead one to imagine that there was once a gallery facing the interior front of the wall. At the top of the towers, which are crowned with a cupola in bricks, is a room with three loopholes permitting shooting to the front and sideways. The entrances are all identical: 3 m. wide, surmounted by a lightly broken arch, with a tympanum in masonry and a parapet with two openings. The parapet of the northern gate has five machicolations and covers the space between the two flanking towers. In the middle of the enclose extends a vast open space, the *Mīdān*.

At the southeastern corner survive the vestiges of eight big pillars, some of which support arcades. Creswell has discovered there a mosque, the plan of which shows close analogy with that of the Great Mosque in Damascus. This sanctuary is dated by an inscription of 110/728-9. The prayer-room, 22 m. deep and 37 m. wide, has a central nave with pillars in T-form while the remains of arcades mark off three aisles. The room faces a courtyard with a cistern fed by water from a canalization.

The arch at the southeastern corner of the courtyard is slightly broken and in shape a Norse arch: it is the oldest example of this type actually known.

According to O. Grabar there is, to the southwest of the mosque, an official building, the *dār al-imāra*, with a courtyard surrounded by a portico, rooms and a reception-hall, the back wall of which leans against the enclosure wall.

To the north of the mosque, in the extension of the western wall, a street 3.50 m. wide is bordered, on its eastern side, by installations with ovens and presses, that reveal the existence of soap-works. In the same area, a bath faced the *mīdān* and not towards the south-west; an enormous cistern should also be noted there.

The vestiges of the northwestern part of the enclosure suggest that it may have been destroyed during the Ḳarmaṭī expeditions of the beginning of the 4th/10th century.

In the space of 42 m. which separates the two enclosures there rises a square tower with sides of 2.94 m. and 10 m. high. An entrance on the south side gives access to a spiral staircase. The analysis of the construction permits us to date it to the same period as the enclosures, with a post-Umayyad reconstruction. Why does the tower stand isolated? There is no minaret attached to the mosque, hence possibly it served as minaret for both enclosures. If so, it would be the third known minaret in the history of Islam.

To the south of the *Ḳaṣr* and the *Madīna*, a vast polygonal enclosure 17 km. long covers an area of 850 hectares. One can distinguish a wall to retain water, alternately reinforced on both sides with four rows of stone 0.30 m. high, above which there are rows of mud bricks at a height of about 2 m. and a row of stone to protect it. There is also a wall for lock-gates, the buttresses of which have a diameter of 2 m. and are at 10 m. distance from each other; they frame a series of four locks, 1.11 m. wide and 1.55 m. high, with double vaults of bricks. The locks worked through a system of sliding-doors. The water arrived from the region of Tayyibe through two subterranean aqueducts. This enclosure poses problems of interpretation: accordingly some have considered it a lake to store water for irrigation, others that it was a reserve for animals. H. Seyrig considered it to be a large garden protected against Bedouin razzias.

To epitomise the history of the site: it may be recalled that an installation, dating from the 7th century B.C., is mentioned in the contemporary texts; the Roman occupation in the Palmyran period was followed by a Christian period, the Umayyad constructions and finally building activities at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period. Destroyed by the Ḳarmaṭīs in 289/1002, the complex became part of the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] of Shīrkūh and his successors, the *amīr*s of Ḥimṣ; it was devastated by the Mongols in Radjab 702/March 1303. It was certainly reoccupied before being ruined in 1048/1638 by order of Murād IV, in order to prevent the creation of a Bedouin centre of rebellion. From the end of the 19th century onwards, the ruins have been giving shelter to nomad encampments.

The site of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr poses identification problems: most of the authors identify Tayyibe with Oriza-ʿUrḍ while Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr, according to Ptolemy, followed by A. Musil, is identified with Adada, an ancient Roman camp. In 1939 J. Sauvaget positively identified the ruins with Ruṣāfat Hishām, built on the site of al-Zaytūna; later he abandoned this hypothesis which had already been weakened by the excavations of K. Otto-Dorn at Ruṣāfa-Sergiopolis in 1952. O. Grabar proposes to identify the site with ʿUrḍ and to consider the vestiges of the "castle" as being those of a caravanserai, which in that case would be the oldest *khān* [*q.v.*] of Muslim architecture.

Bibliography: A. Gabriel, *Kasr el-Heir*, in Syria viii (1927), 302-29; R. Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 247 f.; A. Musil, *Palmyrena. A Topographical Itinerary*, New York 1928, 72-9; H. Seyrig, *Les jardins de Kasr el-Heir*, in *Syria*, xii (1931), 316-8; id., *Retour aux jardins de Kasr el-Heir*, *ibid.*, xv (1934), 24-32; A. Gabriel, *A propos de Kasr el-Heir*, in *Syria*, xiii (1932), 317-20; K. A. C. Creswell, *Another word on Qasr al-Hair*, in *Syria*, xviii (1937), 232-3; J. Sauvaget, *Remarques sur les Monuments omeyyades*, in *JA*, ccxxxi (1939), 1-13; id., *Notes de topographie omeyyade*, in *Syria*, xxiv (1944), 96-112; M. Dunand, *De l'Amanus au Sinai, Sites et Monuments*, Beirut 1953, 145-6; O. Grabar, *Qasr al-Hayr, Preliminary Report*, in *Ann. Arch. Syrie*, xv (1965), 107-20; xvi (1966), 29-46; id., *Preliminary Report on the Third season of excavations at Qasr al-Hayr* (*1969*), in *Ann. Arch. Syrie*, xx (1970), 45-54; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*², Oxford 1969, i/2, 522-44.

(N. ELISSÉEFF)

ḲAṢR IBN HUBAYRA, town in ʿIrāḳ. Situated half way between al-Kūfa and Baghdād, the town was founded by Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, the last Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 287; Muḳaddasī, 53, 115, 121, 130; Iṣṭakhrī, 85; see also Ibn Ḥawkal, 166, ed. Kramers, 243; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 946 (confused with Madīnat b. Hubayra: Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, Leipzig 1912, 49). The site should not be confused

with Madīnat b. Hubayra, which was situated closer to al-Kūfa, where the same Yazīd began building until forced to abandon the site by order of the Umayyad caliph Marwān II (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 287; Ṭabarī, iii, 80, 183; Yāḳūt 1, 680; 3, 280; 4, 123, 946; see also Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 6 n. 1; *Lands*, 71). Yāḳūt reports that the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ established his capital at Kaṣr b. Hubayra, completing the construction begun by Yazīd, and named it al-Hāshimiyya, but as the populace persisted in calling the town by its original name, he felt compelled to abandon the site for a location nearby. This account apparently confuses the report of Balādhurī which indicates that al-Saffāḥ settled at Madīnat b. Hubayrah (Yāḳūt, iv, 546; Balādhurī, 287; see also AL-HĀSHIMIYYA, where Yāḳūt's account is given greater credence). The 4th-5th/10th-11th century geographers report that it was the largest town between Baghdād and al-Kūfa and was situated close to the Euphrates and the bifurcation of various water channels which brought wares to its many markets. With its decline some time before the 6th/12th century, al-Ḥilla became the major town of the area [see AL-ḤILLA]. (J. LASSNER)

AL-**ḲAṢR** AL-**KABĪR**, Alcazarquivír, a town in Northern Morocco, about 50 miles south of Tangier on the right bank of the Wādī Lukkus; at one time, this ran through it, but the course of the stream was diverted to prevent inundations. Lying in a vast plain commanded on the east by heights, it is divided into two parts, al-Sharīʿa in the north and Bāb al-Wād on the south, between which lies the market-place. The only buildings of any importance are the great mosque which is pre-Almohad, the mosque of Sīdī al-Azmīrī and the Djāmiʿ al-Sayda, finished in 1100/1689. Within and around the town are many *ḳubba*s dedicated to local saints. The most venerated marabouts are Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḳurshī (Ḳurashī), a native of Spain who came towards the end of his life to teach in al-Ḳaṣr, where he died in 568 or 573/1172-73 or 1177-78; Sīdī Ben Aḥmed, Sīdī ʿAlī b. Khlef b. Ghālib, usually called Mūlāy ʿAlī Bū Ghālem and regarded as the patron saint of the town; and lastly Sīdī Bel-ʿAbbās, who is really a Jewish rabbi, Yūda Yabalay.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the population was about 9,000, belonging for the most part to the Khlot, Ṭlīḳ and Djbala. It also included Rīfans, a few families originally from Tetwān and Fās as well as Algerians who left Tlemcen and Oran as a result of the French occupation. The Jews numbered 2,000. Industry, at one time flourishing, is limited to the manufacture of cloths for local needs. Agriculture, on the other hand, is prosperous in the country around as a result of the system of co-operation between townsmen and tribesmen. Al-Ḳaṣr is thus a busy market for corn, barley, beans and flax.

History. The site of al-Ḳaṣr perhaps corresponds to that of a Roman town (Oppidum novum?) which had already disappeared by the time of the first Muslim invasions. In the 2nd/8th century a fortress was built in these regions by the Danhādja, a branch of the Kutāma. According to al-Ziyānī, it was built in 102/720-721 by the Amīr ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Kutamī, whence the name Ḳaṣr ʿAbd al-Karīm (al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text 78; tr. 89; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, 78; tr. Fagnan, Constantine 1900, 140; also Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 401; tr. ii, 323) or Ḳaṣr Kutāma, which the town kept for several centuries. Al-Bakrī, however, makes a distinction between Sūḳ Kutāma "a large and magnificent town situated on the river Lukkus with a *djāmiʿ* and a very busy market" and Ḳaṣr Danhādja "a castle built on a hill and commanding a large river". Ibn Khaldūn, on the other hand (*op. cit.*, text i, 188, tr. ii, 291), connects Ḳaṣr Kutāmī with the Danhādja (cf. also *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*). Sūḳ Kutāma was the capital of the state governed by Idrīs b. al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm. Al-Muḳaddasī, 219, ed.-tr. Pellat, 7, mentions Sūḳ al-Kutāmī among the towns dependent on Fās (al-Sūs al-adnā). Although eclipsed by the rapid development of Fās, al-Ḳaṣr seems to have retained a certain amount of commercial importance. Al-Idrīsī mentions its very busy bazaars. But it was only under the Almohads that the town rose out of the semi-obscurity in which it was vegetating. Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr surrounded it with a fortified wall and made a hunting-ground and a hospital called Ḥārat al-Mudjārīn. This is perhaps why he was regarded by Leo Africanus and Marmol as the actual founder of al-Ḳaṣr. Under the Marīnid dynasty, the town was given a *madrasa* by Abū ʿInān which attracted many students and was still frequented in the 10th/16th century. Al-Ḳaṣr recognised the authority of the Marīnids from 620/1223-1224 onwards. In 687/1288-1289 the latter appointed as its governor the *Raʾīs* Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Ashḳīlūla, whose descendants for long remained lords of the town. The memory of this local dynasty, whose members, in alliance with the Banu 'l-Aḥmar of Granada, distinguished themselves in the holy war, is still alive to-day.

The period following the disappearance of the Banū Ashḳīlūla was one of calamities. The Portuguese, established on the coast, threatened the town. The inhabitants did not dare to cultivate the soil more than six miles from the walls. In 1503 the governor of Açila, Don Juan de Menecez, attempted to take it but without success. In the century following, al-Ḳaṣr became the most advanced post of the "volunteers of faith" (*Mudjāhidīn*) who harassed the Christians settled on the coast. During the period of anarchy that preceded the establishment of the ʿAlawī dynasty, the town became the residence of the *Ḳāʾid* Ghīlān, who had gained possession of all Gharb. Driven from his capital by Mūlāy al-Rashīd in 1078/1668, Ghīlān was able to return to it on the death of this prince. He held out there till 1084/1673 when he was defeated and killed by Mūlāy Ismāʿīl. Al-Ḳaṣr fell again, this time finally, into the hands of the Sharīf, who dismantled its walls.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, text 110, tr. 250; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Épaulard, 252-4; *Description of Africa*, Hakluyt Society, London 1896, 496; Marmol, *Africa*, ii; Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii, 358 ff.; Ch. De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, 14 sqq.; de Cuevas, *Estudio general sobre geografia del bajalato de Larache*, n.p. 1882; J. Costa, *El-Ksar el-Acabir*, Tangier 1887; G. Le Châtelier, *Notes sur les villes et tribus de Maroc en 1890*, Paris 1902; Budgett Meakin, *The Land of the Moors*, 333 ff.; Frances MacNab, *A Ride in Morocco*, London 1902, 83-110; Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, *El-Qçar el-Kebir, Une ville de province au Maroc septentrional*, in *Arch. marocaines*, 1904; A. Peretié, *Le raìs el-Khadir Ghailan* in *ibid.*, 1911. (G. YVER)

AL-**ḲAṢR** AL-**ṢAGHĪR**, a town in Morocco, now in ruins. It lay on the south bank of the Straits of Gibraltar, 14 miles W. of Ceuta, 23 miles

E. of Tangier, at the head of a bay sheltered by a spur of the Djebel Ghomāri at the mouth of a navigable river.

In ancient times this site was perhaps occupied by a Phoenician factory and then by a Roman town (Lissa or Exilissa of Ptolemy). A fortress was erected there quite early in the period of Muslim occupation, in 90/708-9, according to al-Ziyānī, in *Archives Marocaines*, vi, 494, on the territory of the Maṣmūda, whence the name of Ḳaṣr Maṣmūda (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 280, 13, tr. ii, 134) which is given it by the author of the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* and by al-Idrīsī. Al-Bakrī calls it al-Ḳaṣr al-Awwal to distinguish it from al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*]. According to him, it was inhabited by the Banū Ṭarīf and surrounded by great plantations. Under the Almohads it took the place of Marsā Mūsā as the port of embarkation for Spain. Many authors call it therefore Ḳaṣr al-Madjāz (*Geogr. d'Aboul-féda*, tr. Reinaud, II/i, 185; Ibn Khaldūn, *loc. cit.*), or Ḳaṣr al-Djawā "Castle of the crossing" (Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Kirṭās*, ed. Tornberg, 138, 143, 146). The Almohads erected important buildings in it and established naval dockyards there. But the prosperity of the town declined in proportion as the rulers of the Maghrib lost their hold on Spain. Deprived of the income which the transport of the armies had assured them, the inhabitants turned to piracy. Al-Ḳaṣr therefore became one of the first towns that the Portuguese sought to capture. In 1458 King Alfonso V attacked it with a fleet of 80 ships and an army of 17,000 men; after repelling two assaults, the Muslims, overwhelmed by the Christian artillery, capitulated. They were, however, granted permission to retreat with their arms and baggage. Alfonso V entered the town on Oct. 19, 1458. The great mosque was turned into a church, the fortifications were strengthened and a garrison installed under the command of Don E. de Minecez. Two attempts made by the Sulṭān of Fās in 1458 and 1459 to recapture the town did not succeed. In 1463 the tribes of Andjerra recognised the suzerainty of Portugal and in 1471 Sulṭān Mūlāy Saʿīd signed a treaty by which he ceded al-Ḳaṣr to the king of Portugal.

Al-Ḳaṣr remained in Christian hands till 1540 but during this period it was continually being attacked by the Moors. John III therefore decided to evacuate it after previously dismantling it. Some years later (1559) a French prince, Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, obtained al-Ḳaṣr in exchange for the men-at-arms that he was to supply to the Sharīf of Fās, but the intrigues of the king of Spain, Philip II, prevented the treaty from being carried out. Since that date no attempt has been made to rebuild the town. The inhabitants abandoned it and the harbour became silted up and no longer used except by smugglers. The site is marked by the ruins, still imposing, of the Portuguese fortress, by ditches, and by the remains of the wall and the ruins of the gate through which the citadel communicated with the town proper.

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(G. YVER)

ḲAṢR-I SHĪRĪN, town in the south-western part of the district of Ardilān or Persian Kurdistān in 34°30′ N. lat. and 45°30′ E. long. (Greenwich) on the right bank of the Ḥulwānrūd. To the west and south-west of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn lies the great range of Agh-Dagh; in the S.E. also on the left bank of the river run imposing mountain chains. Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn was an important caravan station from the earliest times. The most important route through it is the very old road from Baghdād to the Iranian highlands—the Ṭarīḳ Khurāsān of the Arabs of the Middle Ages. Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn lies about half-way between the two stations of Khāniḳīn [*q.v.*] in the south-west and Sar-i-pul (in mediaeval times Ḥulwān, south of Sar-i-pul) in the east. Less important roads also branch off here to the north, north-west, and south-east.

The modern Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn (1600 feet above sea-level) is an insignificant town surrounded by a wall of earth and stone. Outside the walls on the east is a commodious caravanserai; to the west is a fort in modern style which, according to Aubin (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*), Djowān Mīr built at the beginning of the 19th century, using it to plunder passing pilgrims to Karbalā' and merchants. Opposite the town on the left bank of the river lies the Bāgh-i Shāh, "King's Gardens", a park laid out with date-palms and orange and pomegranate trees by Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Karbalā'.

The most remarkable feature of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, which makes it one of the most interesting places in Persia to the historian or archaeologist, is the extensive system of ruins dating from the Sāsānian period in its vicinity. The name Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, "Shīrīn's Palace", dates from the later period of the Sāsānian empire. Shīrīn, a Christian, was the favourite wife of Khusraw II Parwēz (560-628 A.D.), who called the great palace he built as a summer residence after her. Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn and the neighbourhood was the scene of the unhappy love-story of Shīrīn and the royal architect Farhād [see FARHĀD WA-SHĪRĪN]. A rock tomb south of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn is popularly known as Ūtāḳ-i Farhād, "Farhād's chamber"· see Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 10. The famous lute-player, Bārbud (on him see Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, i, 168, and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 63), also spent some time at the imperial court at Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn.

The period of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn's glory was only brief. Ten years after the death of Khusraw II the Sasanian empire collapsed before the Arabs, and in the Muslim period the palaces of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn seem no longer to have been inhabited. They fell quickly into ruins. Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 270, mentions the ruins as early as 278/891. Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 388, mentions that as a result of an earthquake in 345/956 the walls of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn cracked. Such Arab and Persian authors as Ibn Rusta, Yāḳūt, al-Ḳazwīnī and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī emphasize the great scale of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, with its halls, hermitages, treasure houses, etc. and the splendid gardens containing very rare animals, but give no detailed descriptions. Yāḳūt and al-Ḳazwīnī give especially the story of the origin of the palace, which the former (iv, 113) actually regarded as one of the wonders of the world.

We owe the most accurate description of the modern ruins to the French expedition of J. de Morgan. The main ruins lie on a broad plateau north-east of the modern town. Near the latter is the rectangular citadel flanked by six round towers (called Ḳalʿa or Ḳaṣr-i Khusraw, also Ḳalʿa-i Khusrawī) surrounded by a ditch. North of the Ḳalʿa are further mounds of ruins whose object is unknown. About 500 yards to the N.E. is the wall of a gigantic park, enclosing the summer-residence proper of the king, which measures, according to de Morgan, 300 acres. The wall round it, which also served as an aqueduct, reaches 20 feet at the highest part and is about 6,000 paces in extent. Another aqueduct-wall divides the park into two parts. The water for the irrigation of the gardens was brought from the Ḥulwān-Rūd; the aqueduct can still be traced in the Ḥulwān-Rūd valley until it is lost in the maze of ruins of Ḥawsh Kurī. In the centre of the whole scheme is the main palace, now called ʿAmārat-i Khusraw ("house of Khusraw") or Ḥādjdjī Ḳalʿasi ("pilgrim's palace"). In front of the palace still exists a 600-yard long stretch of the aqueduct flanked by two kiosks. West of the ʿAmārat-i Khusraw stands a smaller, similar vaulted building with four doors and a square principal chamber. It is now called *Čuār Kapu* or *Čār Darvāza* "Four Doors", or *Ḳalʿa-i Čuār Kapu*, "Palace of the four "Gates"." The purpose of this building is obscure.

About 3 miles E. of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn is another late Sasanian ruined palace, popularly believed to have contained the stables belonging to the palace of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. These ruins, which consist of a palace 600 feet long with annexes and another mound of ruins, are the latest of all the palaces of Parwēz so far known.

Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn is, of course, a site of much greater antiquity, but it has not been ascertained what ancient city stood here.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim*, especially vii, 164 (Ibn Rusta); Yāḳūt, iv, 112 f.; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 295-7; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 43 ff.; Le Strange, 63; Pietro della Valle, *Reise-Beschreibung*, Geneva 1674, ii, 4; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire Othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, v, Paris 1807, 8; Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 305-6; Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1830, i, 64-78; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*, London 1822, ii, 212-19; G. Keppel, *Personal narrative of travels in Babylonia, Assyria*, London 1827, i, 297 f., ii, 306 f.; C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836, ii, 263-72; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 438-88, 509; J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia* . . ., London 1840, ii, 175 ff.; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, ii, 81 f., 111; iv, 341-59 (with a general plan of the ruins on Pl. xl and plans of the three palaces of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn on Pl. xlii, xlvi, xlix and that of Ḥawsh Kurī on Pl. li, and also excellent pictures). Justi, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 540; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 351 f.; E. Herzfeld, in *Pet. Mitt.*, lii, 52-3; idem, in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910, 131, 236-40; idem, *Die Aufnahme des sasanidisch. Denkmals von Paikuli* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1914, no. 1,6-8; Mrs. Bishop, *Journey in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, i, 79.

(M. Streck-[J. Lassner])

ḲAṢR YĀNĪ [see ḳaṣryānnih].

KASRA, the Arabic grammatical term denoting the vowel *i*: *kasra* designates the written sign itself, *kasr* the sound in question (Wright, *Ar. Gr.*[3], I, 8A). This distinction corresponds, for example, with the text of al-Dānī, *al-Muḥkam fī naḳṭ al-maṣāḥif*, Damascus 1379/1960, 42, ll. 4-7, and *Kitāb al-Naḳṭ* (Bibl. Isl., 3, 1932), 137, ll. 8-11, but *kasr* can also have another interpretation: the verb *kasara* (*i*) "to break", can be used to mean: "to provide [a *ḥarf*] with a *kasra*", the mouth being considered "broken" at the time of the pronunciation of the *kasra* (according to Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī, see below). *Kasr* can also be the infinitive (*maṣdar*) of the verb, as in genealogical works, for example, al-Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-lubāb*, Leiden 1840, 211, l. 11: *al-Ḳifṭī bi 'l-kasr wa-sukūn al-fāʾ*, "al-Ḳifṭī, with the *kasra* [under the *ḳāf*] and the *sukūn* of the *fāʾ*". The verbs *fataḥa* (*a*) "to open" and *ḍamma* (*u*) "to bring together the parts [of a thing]" have been similarly used, the first for the *fatḥa*, the second for the *ḍamma*, with the same remark for the *fatḥ* and *ḍamm* and likewise referring to the words of Abu 'l-Aswad (see below).

The first notation of the *kasra* and the two other *ḥarakāt*, *fatḥa* and *ḍamma*, was made by means of full points (al-Dānī, *Muḥkam*, 23, l. 11; 42, l. 12), in order to remedy the deficiencies of ḳurʾānic script and at first to indicate the *iʿrāb*, and its invention is invariably attributed to Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī (d. 69/688-9 [*q.v.*]): "When you see that I have opened (*fataḥtu*) my mouth with the *ḥarf*, mark a point above the *ḥarf*. If I bring together (*ḍamamtu*) [the lips of] my mouth, mark a point before the *ḥarf* [on the left, in the middle]. If I break (*kasartu*) [my mouth], put the point under the *ḥarf*. And if I make one or the other follow a nasal sound (*ghunna*) [nunation], place two points instead of one point" (al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn*, Bibl. Arabica, ix, Algiers 1936, 16, ll. 8-12). This legendary account at least shows some degree of observation of the physiology of the mouth during the pronunciation of the *ḥarakāt* and favours a purely Arabic origin for the technical terms applied to them [see ḥaraka wa-sukun]. The Muslim references agree in crediting the readers of Baṣra, Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim and Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmur with the invention of the vowel points (see R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*[2], Paris 1959, 80-2, 89-90); this innovation was not imposed without long resistance (*ibid.*, 95-98), but at the time of al-Dānī (d. 444/1053) it was still in use (*ibid.*, 98).

Care must be taken in distinguishing the vowel points in the body of ḳurʾānic script. They are characterized by the use of red points; a green point is used for the *hamza* (the unvoiced glottal occlusive); and a yellow point for the *tashdīd* (gemination) (Abū Bakr b. Mudjāhid, cited by al-Dānī, *Muḥkam*, 23, ll. 9 ff.; see also, *ibid.*, 19-20, for other old practices in the use of colours). All these points constitute *al-shakl al-mudawwar*. But the diacritical points of the *ḥurūf* are *bi 'l-sawād* "in black" (*ibid.*, 22, l. 11; 43, l. 15), like ḳurʾānic script, and according to al-Dānī (43, l. 16) serve to establish a distinction between the diacritical marks and the *ḥarakāt*; see his chapter (35-41) on the diacritical marks. In matters of *iʿrāb*, the *kasra* was the sign of *djarr* (or *khafḍ*) [see iʿrāb]. On the nature of the *kasra* and the other *ḥarakāt*, see ḥaraka wa-sukūn. For the way in which the presence of the *kasra* is explained, in the second term of the *iḍāfa*, see iḍāfa.

Some further points: (1). The points indicated concern *al-ḥarakāt al-mushbaʿāt*, the normal ones (literally "satisfied"). The latter are opposed to the *ḥarakāt*, not *mushbaʿāt*: sounds reduced by the *ikhtilās* or the *rawm* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, i, 36 f.,

49 g), or deviations through *ishmām*: *innamā huwa imālat al-kasra naḥwa l-ḍamma ḳalīlan* (al-Dānī, *K. al-nuḳaṭ*, 136, l. 13), "it is merely a weak inflexion of the *kasra* towards the *ḍamma*", *i.e.* an inclination of *i* to *ü* (see also H. Fleisch, *ibid.*, 1 36 g, 49 h). For the notation of these particular sounds, see the chapter of al-Dānī, *Muḥkam*, 44-8, more briefly: *K. al-Nuḳaṭ*, 136, l. 10 - 137, l. 3.

(2). In the first three chapters of the *Muḥkam* (2-13), al-Dānī has collected the Muslim traditions on the first form of the Ḳur'ān, the inventions of vowel points, and the resistance to that innovation or the concessions to it.

(3). Why were points employed? *Al-īdjāz wa 'l-taḳlīl*, "concision and brevity" was sought (al-Dānī, *Muḥkam*, 43, l. 17). In fact, there was very likely an influence of the usage of non-Islamic communities (see R. Blachère, *loc. cit.*, 79). For the Syriac, "the vowel point or the diacritical point known from the 4th century has served as the vocalization in most manuscripts" (L. Costaz, *Grammaire syriaque*[2], Beirut 1964, § 11).

Bibliography: In the text. (H. Fleisch)

KASRAWĪ TABRĪZĪ, sayyid Aḥmad, Iranian historian, linguist, jurist and ideologist. Born on 29 September 1890 and educated in Tabrīz, he entered the theological profession in 1910, but soon left it because of his liberal ideas and modernistic tendencies. In 1919, he entered the Ministry of Justice, which he left in 1929 to practise law, soon after returning a verdict against Riḍā Shāh's royal court in favour of a group of peasants. He also taught history in the University of Tehrān, which he left in 1934 on an issue involving academic freedom.

Kasrawī wrote several books on history and on language and linguistics. Among these are his history of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, in which he had been a participant; a detailed study of the pre-Saldjūḳ dynasties of north-western Iran (*Shahriyārān-i gumnān*, 3 vols., Tehrān 1928-30), and a monograph on the Ādharī language. He also expounded his views on "reforming" the Persian language—in grammar as well as vocabulary.

In 1933, Kasrawī began a critical study of life and society, with particular emphasis on the Iranians, whom he found decadent, morally corrupt and unfit as citizens. They were, he believed, ignorant of the "truths of life", because of centuries of "evil teachings" (*bad-āmūzī*), whose harmful effects should be shown to them so that they could perceive the truths, thus finding salvation. He tried to accomplish this task in the periodicals *Paymān* (7 vols., 1933-42) and *Parčam* (1941-2), some sixty books, and frequent lectures. A book in four parts, *Wardjāwand bunyād*, was to sum up his views, but only three parts appeared (Tehrān 1943).

Kasrawī's strongest attack was on Shīʿism, which he considered the source of much evil, on the grounds that it teaches *taḳiyya* and *tabarru'* [*qq.v.*], the *imām*s' power of intercession, and belief in an ever-living hidden *imām*; that it places undue and destructive emphasis on past issues and events irrelevant to current life, *e.g.*, the succession to Muḥammad, and the martyrdom of Ḥusayn and others; and that it encourages harmful acts, such as pilgrimages to the graves of the *imām*s and others and the Muḥarram rituals. All this, he maintained, makes the Shīʿī unfit for a useful and constructive life. For similar reasons, he combated Bahā'ism, Ṣūfism, materialism (i.e. the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest" and its implications), and superstitions (fortune-telling, belief in good and bad omens, amulets, divination, etc.).

He also attacked much of Persian poetry, concentrating on Khayyām, Saʿdī, Rūmī, and particularly Ḥāfiẓ. This poetry, he asserted, is replete with doctrines such as fatalism, Ṣūfism and *kharābātīgarī* (as in Khayyām's ideas), with excessive praise of wine and shameless talk of homosexuality. It encourages beggary, flattery, cowardice, hypocrisy and the like.

As an act of confession, and to draw attention to their activities, Kasrawī and his supporters instituted a festival, on the first day of winter, to destroy harmful writings which they had owned before joining the group. Called *Djashn-i Kitāb-sūzān*, "festival of book-burning", this activity attracted considerable hostility.

In Kasrawī's view, there are two opposing forces or "essences" (*gawhar* or *sirisht*) within each individual. *Djān* is the source of egoism; from it emanate self-interest, greed, injustice, jealousy, etc. *Rawān* is the source of altruism; from it emanate self-sacrifice, justice, sympathy, honesty, truth-seeking, etc. Related to *rawān* is *khirad*, the faculty of distinguishing right from wrong, good from evil. *Djān* and *rawān* are constantly at war. The duty of religion, and of similar institutions, is the strengthening of *rawān*. Religion means "learning the truths" and living by the dictates of the *khirad*. It should help man to subdue his *djān*, and find happiness. Recent progress in science and technology should be matched by progress in the "way of life", especially religion. Islam has lost its effectiveness, cannot meet the challenges of modern times, and needs to be brought up-to-date.

Among Kasrawī's constructive teachings were those on government, economics, education, and the status of women. He advocated representative government and a modified capitalism. Each individual should partake of the pleasures of life, including its material rewards, in proportion to his merit and his labour. The individual's working capital should be limited, to prevent unfair competition, and to assure the priority of merit over money. Machines should be small enough, where possible, to be operated by individual owner-operators. Large enterprises should be owned only by partnerships. "Land should be owned by him who tills it, who keeps it cultivated". Failing this, he should sell it or hand it over to others. Few middlemen should intervene between the producer and the consumer. The government's functions should be limited chiefly to legislation, national security and defence, foreign relations, education, public health. It should not engage in agriculture, commerce, and, in general, industry.

Education means preparing for life, and the strengthening of *rawān*. Compulsory education should include literacy and basic science, in the elementary school, and the "truths of life", including civics. Vocational and professional education and work in advanced science should follow. "Evil teachings" should not be taught under any circumstances, unless they are clearly exposed as harmful.

Women should not enter certain professions, e.g., law, engineering and politics, but should vote. Bigamy should be permitted only when the first wife is barren. Those with contagious diseases should not marry. *Kābīn* ("marriage portion"), *shīrbahā* (bride price), and *djahīz* ("dowry") should be eliminated. Divorce should be available to women as well as to men, and on the same grounds.

Kasrawī denied that he claimed to be a prophet (*payghāmbar*). He termed his ideology *Pākdīnī* "purity-of-religion" (occasionally *Āzādigī*), and referred

to it as a *rāh*, "road, path", not a *dīn* "religion". "*Pākdīnī* is Islam's successor and its continuation", although he was rarely very explicit on the relationship between the two.

Kasrawī's writings created a widespread intellectual movement, particularly among the youth. He formed a fraternal organization, called the *Pākdīnān*, "the pure of religion", or the *Āzādigān*, preaching this doctrines with missionary zeal and in the teeth of intense antagonism. The numerical strength of his followers is not known.

Kasrawī's bold and outspoken views, particularly those on religion and literature, met with vehement and violent opposition: some of his books were banned; his supporters were often persecuted and socially ostracized; and, finally, charges of "slander of Islam" were brought against him. On 11 March 1946, at the last session of the preliminary hearings on those charges held in the Palace of Justice in Tehrān, he was assassinated by the Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām [*q.v.*], who had only wounded him in an earlier attempt in April 1945. His followers continue, however, to be active.

Bibliography: The only detailed account of Kasrawī's life is found in his own *Zindigānī-yi man* (Tehran 1945) and *Dah sāl dar ʿadliyya* (Tehran 1945), covering his life up to about 1929. A bibliography (neither complete nor always accurate) of his books is found in Khānbābā Mushār, *Muʾallifīn-i kutub-i čāpī-yi fārsī wa ʿarabī az āghāz-i čāp tā kunūn*, i, Tehran 1961, cols. 437-46; and a partial bibliography of his articles on language and history is in Īradj Afshār, *Index Iranicus*, i, Tehran 1961. A selection of his scholarly articles has been collected by Yaḥyā Dhukāʾ, in *Čihil maḳāla-yi Kasrawī*, Tehrān 1956. (M. A. Jazayery)

ĶAṢRYĀNNIH, Arabic version of the mediaeval Sicilian place name *Castrum Ennae*, itself already deformed in local speech usage; the Arabised form itself gave rise to *Castrum Iohannis* and thence the Italian Castrogiovanni (modern Enna). Situated at the altitude of 2,950 ft./988 m. in the centre of Sicily, it is the highest town of the island. Amongst numerous versions of the name given in the Arabic sources, Ķaṣryānnih seems to be the most acceptable; it appears in Yāḳūt's *Mushtarik*, with the exact pronounciation, including the geminated *nūn*, specified, although it does not appear in his *Muʿdjam*.

It was besieged from 214/829 onwards by the Arab-Berber army of Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*], who had landed two years previously at Mazara, and this fortified rock became the symbol of Christian resistance in the island after the capitalution of Palermo in Radjab 216/August-September 831. For a period of thirty years, the town and citadel underwent various vicissitudes, and the fortunes of war went backwards and forwards until the Byzantine stronghold surrendered in Ramaḍān 243/January 859. The concluding military operations were prepared and led by al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl, *amīr* of Sicily 236-46/851-61, who during the preceeding years had sapped the resistance of the defenders by continuous assaults. Nevertheless, according to the sources, it was a Christian captive who brought on the surrender through his showing the Muslims, in order to save his own skin, a secret way into the fortress. Certain Arabic chronicles say that al-ʿAbbās celebrated this victory by building a mosque in Castrogiovanni, and immediately afterwards, he went on to restore the citadel's fortifications.

The rule of the Kalbid *amīrs* came to an end *ca.* 431/1040, and in the general state of anarchy which followed and which continued to rack the island till the arrival of the Normans, Ķaṣryānnih, together with Girgenti and Castronuovo, formed part of the possessions of the *ḳāʾid* Ibn al-Ḥawwās [*q.v.*]. Some months after the Normans landed in Sicily (Muḥarram 453/February 1061), Robert Guiscard laid siege to the fortress, whose garrison had meanwhile been reinforced by new troops sent by the Zīrids from Africa, but difficulties made him give up the attempt. The Count Roger made a fresh attempt, and after some temporary successes, he finally compelled it to capitulate. Western chroniclers place the capture of the stronghold, thanks to Altavilla, at dates which vary between the middle of 480/1087 and the opening months of 481/1088, whilst the Arabic chroniclers place it three years later. The local ruler Ibn Ḥammūd surrendered himself without resistance, and according to the Norman historian Malaterra, became a convert to Catholicism.

The Arabic sources all agree that Ķaṣryānnih constituted not only a stronghold which was powerfully fortified and difficult to dismantle, but was also an important town in a fertile and well-irrigated region, with commodious markets, a lively commercial activity, abundant provisions and an excellent urban organisation.

Bibliography: The Arabic sources with information on Ķaṣryānnih have virtually all been brought together by M. Amari in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Ar. text, Leipzig 1857, Ital. tr. Turin-Rome, i-ii, 1880-1; see also for other details Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*², Catania 1933-9, index, and see further U. Rizzitano, *L'Italia nel* Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī ḫabar al-aqṭār *di Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī*, Cairo 1958, also in *Bull. of the Fac. of Arts, Cairo University*, xviii/1 (May 1956), 170-1. (U. Rizzitano)

ĶĀṢṢ (a.), pl. *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, "popular story-teller or preacher, deliverer of sermons" whose activity considerably varied over the centuries, from preaching in the mosques with a form of ḳur'ānic exegesis to downright charlatanism. This term does not appear in the Ķurʾān, although the verb *ḳaṣṣa* is quite often used (see Flügel, *Concordantiae*) always, except in VI, 57, with the meaning "to recount, to relate, to report" a generally edifying narration [see ḳiṣṣa] and frequently in the first person, when the narrator is God Himself. The *LA* (root *ḳṣṣ*) reproduces *ḥadīth*s in which appear the word *ḳāṣṣ* (*al-ḳāṣṣ yantaẓir al-maḳt*) and the verb *ḳaṣṣa*, in the absolute use, with the meaning "to tell, to recount stories" and also "to preach" (*ḳaṣṣa ʿalā l-nās*); the Prophet is reported to have said "None but an *amīr*, a subordinate [of an *amīr*] or a proud man shall preach" (*lā yaḳuṣṣu illā amīr aw maʾmūr aw mukhtāl*), where we have translated *ḳaṣṣa* by "to preach" because it probably concerns the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*]. It would be difficult to date precisely the intransitive use of the verb in the sense of "to perform the function of a popular story-teller or deliverer of sermons" which was to become current (e.g. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 24-5 and *Bayān*, i, 367-9) for it seems likely that the *ḥadīth*s cited in the *Lisān* may be later and may date from the time when the men of religion and the mystics had reacted against the *ḳuṣṣāṣ*.

Indeed, if it is reasonable to suppose that all pious Muslims early deemed it their duty to improve the religious sentiments of the uninformed majority, the function of the *ḳāṣṣ* did not yet exist at the

time of the Prophet; according to al-Maķrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 253-4, there was a distinction between the private *ķāṣṣ* and the official one, instituted by Muʿāwiya who, after morning prayer, was supposed in particular to curse the ênemies of Islam and all the infidels and, after the ***khuṭba*** on Fridays, to explain the Ķur'ān; however, only in Egypt are there traces of the existence of this function, which was occupied firstly by the *ķāḍī*, then little by little fell into disuse. From the 4th/10th century onwards this *ķāṣṣ* was replaced by the ***mudhakkir*** and by the *wāʿiẓ* [*q.vv.*].

Otherwise the office was loosely defined. At its inception it was supposed to consist of commenting on the ķur'ānic narratives concerning the fates of extinct peoples, the example of biblical characters and on the whole, the edifying features scattered among the *sūras*, not without, in the case of certain "sermonisers", going as far as real exegesis. The tradition according to which Tamīm al-Dārī (d. 40/660) was allegedly the first to dedicate himself to this activity is subject to caution because Tamīm [*q.v.*] became a legendary figure. On the other hand, in his chapter on the *awā'il* (*Maʿārif*, 557; copied by Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 225), Ibn Ķutayba hesitates between ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr al-Laythī (d. 68/687-8) and al-Aswad b. Sarīʿ al-Tamīmī (d. 36/656), whom al-Djaḥiẓ quotes chiefly in his exposition on the *ķuṣṣāṣ* (*Bayān*, i, 367-9).

The first popular preachers were certainly admitted to the mosques to carry out their activity, particularly in ʿIrāķ, since ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is said to have expelled them from the one in Baṣra, nevertheless making an exception in favour of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (al-Makkī, *Ķūt al-ķulūb*, Cairo 1310, ii, 21, 25, 28; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal*, Cairo 1348, ii, 13, 145); this last detail is, however, suspect, for al-Ḥasan was only fifteen years old when ʿAlī entered Baṣra, and it is probable that the later Ṣūfis who quote him as their authority, but do not, however, number him among the *ķuṣṣāṣ* (whom they detested), wanted to claim in this privilege further evidence of his prestige and of the quality of his preaching. Wherever the truth may lie, it is conceivable that the ʿAlī's decision, if it was real, was inspired by the desire not to make in any way official ideas foreign to Islam. Even those *ķuṣṣāṣ* motivated by the best intentions would mix in with their commentary the edifying narratives drawn from the Ķur'ān, Judaeo-Christian legends and stories from the *Djāhiliyya* (cf. Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Min ḥadīth al-shiʿr wa'l-nathr*, Cairo 1936, 48-9), before beginning to falsify the concepts of the first religious authorities and to appeal to the ideas of the Iranian tradition in order to make a greater impression on their hearers. Eventually prohibitions followed (see al-Makkī and Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *op. cit.*), and there are more attestations of this in 279/892 and 281/894 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2131, 2165) in a period, it is true, when the function of the *ķāṣṣ* had changed in character.

The repetition of official measures would lead one to believe that they were ineffective; even if they were banished from the mosques, the "sermonisers" in fact enjoyed great success with the uneducated masses, and gathered round them a more attentive, more eager and often denser audience than that of the *fuķahā'* and other scholars, who tended to adopt a disdainful attitude towards them, more especially as in any discussion they were sure of carrying the day, thanks to their easy flow of speech. There were, however, among them men of great learning and Ibn al-Djawzī, who is still nevertheless hostile towards them, very rightly stresses this (*Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo, 1340, 131); the list which al-Djāḥiẓ provides (*Bayān*, i, 367-9; used by L. Massignon, *Essai*, 141 ff. and Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 108 ff.) is instructive in this respect. It includes, among others, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, his brother Saʿīd and his son Djaʿfar, Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, and in particular, Mūsā b. Sayyār al-Uswārī (see *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vi, 120, 136; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 37), who commented on the Ķur'ān in Arabic and Persian, as well as another *ķāṣṣ*, Abū ʿAlī al-Uswārī (d. after 200/815; see *Lisān al-Mīzān* iv, 372-3), who at the age of 36 did not manage to exhaust his flow of commentary and who, in addition, expressed himself in very correct language. These two people are described as Ķadarīs [see ĶADARIYYA], as was another well known *ķāṣṣ*, Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī (d. 172/788-9; cf. Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, Cairo 1351-6/1932-7, vi, 165-77); the Raķāshīs equally distinguished themselves by their talent in this field.

L. Massignon (*Essai*, 143-4) considers that the 2nd/8th century is "especially at Baṣra, the century of "sermonisers" who, without any official mandate, and before the ʿAbbāsid rules and regulations for the Friday sermons, delivered *ḥuṭbas* to arouse the fervour of the faithful. This spontaneous movement . . . is the origin of the apologetic catechesis in Islam". Probably the activity of a great number of *ķuṣṣāṣ* was quite disinterested to begin with, each *zāhid* or *nāsik* feeling an obligation to preach, even to the point where later mystical theology claimed several of them; but if some strove by their narrations to edify the faithful, and to arouse their religious zeal, others were not slow to be employed by the supporters of the various political and religious doctrines, which were emerging at that time.

From the year 65/685, in the course of the affair of the Tawwābūn [*q.v.*], there were in the crowd gathered to avenge the murder of Ḥusayn, three *ķuṣṣāṣ*. Al-Ṭabarī (ii, 559) records their names and their speeches designed to sustain the zeal of the fighters; other examples have been collected by Goldziher (*Muh. St.*, ii, 162), who thought, however, (ii, 168-9) that these "sermonisers" had no partisan tendencies. Again in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, Shīʿīs and Ḥanbalīs did not overlook this useful means of reaching the masses (cf. G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, Damascus 1963, 323); it is true that the representatives of the two rival factions sometimes came together and shared the takings (*Muh. St.*, ii, 165-6). The names of three Ķadarīs are cited above, and it seems legitimate to believe that from the 2nd/8th century the Muʿtazilīs themselves had used "sermonisers" to spread abroad their opinions. This partly explains that interest which al-Djāḥiẓ takes in them, who was, moreover, always ready to admire eloquence even in the common people.

It appears therefore that the prohibitions were also justified by the care which the authorities were taking to limit propaganda carried on by word of mouth by the opposition parties, knowing well that they were provoked in the first place by the complaints of religious figures anxious to put an end to these abuses. Indeed, to enliven their narratives, the *ķuṣṣāṣ* did not hesitate to quote the apocryphal traditions (and it is probable that they contributed to the propagation of the *ḥadīths* put together from all sorts of different fragments), fabulous deeds and marvellous stories which the credulous masses took for gospel truth, thus placing

the authentic Islamic tradition in real jeopardy. Because of this conduct, they incurred the theoretical and practical condemnation of the religious authorities. Al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyā'*, xix/3) protests against the reprehensible doings of *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and the *wuʿʿāẓ* [see WĀʿIẒ] who mixed heresies with their subject-matter; Ibn al-Djawzī (*Talbīs*, 131) and the mystics gave strong advice not to join their congregations because they lacked integrity. In Spain, where they were less numerous (al-Muḳaddasī, 236), for the Mālikīs would scarcely tolerate them, the word *ḳāṣṣ* had become synonymous with "storyteller", and the authors of works of *ḥisba* do not fail to express a desire that the activity of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* should be limited. Ibn ʿAbdūn (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947, § 54) wished to forbid them, as fortune tellers were forbidden, to install themselves in the cemeteries, and they were also prohibited from telling stories in which the Prophet was mentioned. Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf (cf. R. Arié in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i/3 (1960), 362) calls the *ḳāṣṣ* a mere story-teller of the streets.

At this period, and already for a long time in the Orient, it was indeed difficult to distinguish a "sermoniser" from one of those narrators of whom al-Masʿūdī speaks (*Murudj*, v, 86; viii, 161 ff.); al-Djāḥiẓ himself (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, 129) shows the poor and the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* begging at the doors of the mosque, whilst Ibn Ḥanbal is reported to have said, "the most mendacious of men are the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and the beggars" (al-Makkī, *Ḳūt*, ii, 25; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal*, ii, 146); The author of the *Kitāb al-Tādj* (40; tr. *Le livre de la Couronne*, 68) speaks of the "wiles of *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and men who go round with performing monkeys". So, after having been a popular exegete of the Ḳurʾān and a "sermoniser", the *ḳāṣṣ* became a sort of buffoon who mainly replaced edifying narrations by comical and often improper stories especially ridiculing biblical characters (see for example the story of the wolf that did not eat Joseph; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha* iv, 260). Some became veritable mountebanks, who contrived to "play to the gallery", provided that the collection afterwards produced a substantial reward. From the rivalry among these comedians sprang the *muwallad* proverb "a *ḳāṣṣ* loves not another *ḳāṣṣ*" (al-Maydānī, ii, 76). It is understandable therefore that the discredit thrown on an otherwise respectable function rebounded on the serious preachers of popular sermons, and they were replaced by more or less official preachers.

All things considered, passing from edifying narrations to profane stories was very easy, and the *rāwī* [*q.v.*] or the *meddāḥ* who narrates the episodes of *The Thousand and One Nights* or chivalric romances—not without playing the rôle of a political agent if the opportunity presents itself—is easily comparable to the later *ḳāṣṣ*, whereas the *mukaddī* [*q.v.*] who recounts his own adventures and foreshadows the Spanish *picaro* is not far removed from him. [See also MAḲĀMA].

Bibliography: Largely given in the text. I. Goldziher (*Muh. Studien*, ii, 161-70; tr. L. Bercher, 198-208) has largely exploited the *K. al-Ḳuṣṣāṣ* of Ibn al-Djawzī, and the pages which he devoted to the "sermonisers" represent the most thorough study of this social group. See further, L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu* (on the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* of Baṣra); A. Mez, *Renaissance*, index; M. S. Swartz, *Ibn al-Jawzī's Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa'l-Mudhakkirīn*, ed., Eng. tr. and introd., Beirut 1971; C. E Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*. i. *The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, 24 et seqq,; see also Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-khawāṣṣ min akādhib al-ḳuṣṣāṣ*, éd. Muḥ. Ṣabbāgh, Beyrouth 1973. (CH. PELLAT)

KASSALA [see KASALA].

ḲASSĀM, the title given in Ottoman law to the trustee who divided an estate between the heirs of a deceased person. Ottoman law recognised two types of *ḳassām*, those under the *ḳāḍīʿasker* [*q.v.*] and the others employed locally in each *ḳāḍī*'s [*q.v.*] court (*Ḳānūn-nāme*, Veliyüddin Efendi 1970, ff. 66 a-b). The earliest references to the post date from the 9th/15th century.

The *ḳassām* received a fee from the heirs called *resm-i ḳismet* in payment for the trusteeship of the estate. *Resm-i ḳismet* levied from a member of the military (*ʿaskerī*, [*q.v.*]) class was entered in the *ḳāḍīʿaskers*' accounts, so that in places where the military class was numerous, *ḳassāms* appointed by the *ḳāḍīʿaskers* divided inheritances (*Ḳānūn-nāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, *TOEM* suppl., Istanbul 1329/1911, 40). These military *ḳassāms* recorded their transactions in separate registers, called *ḳassām* registers (*ḳassām defterleri*) (Ö. L. Barkan, *Edirne askerî kassamına ait tereke defterleri 1545-1659*, *Belgeler*, in *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, iii/5-6, Ankara 1966). The local *ḳassāms*, called *shehrī* or *beledī* and acting in the name of the *ḳāḍī*, kept registers recording the *resm-i ḳismet* levied from non-military townspeople and villagers. There was a separate *ḳassām* register for each *ḳāḍī*'s district. In the division of inheritance *ḳassāms* were obliged to respect the rights of orphans and the law forbade them to overvalue goods or to levy *resm-i ḳismet* where this was not the legal requirement (*Ḳānūn-nāme*, Veliyüddin Efendi 1970, f. 66b; cf. also the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbdī Pasha, *MTM*, iii, Istanbul 1331/1913, 541). The *ḳassām*'s register of 924/1518 from the court of Bursa shows the procedure in the division of inheritance. The belongings of a deceased person were first examined in the presence of the *ḳassām* and entered in the register. An expert then valued their worth which was recorded on each item, before the *ḳassām* assessed the proportion to which the husband, wife or others heirs were entitled. After the deduction from the total of the *ḳassām*'s fees and the deceased's funeral expenses, the remainder was handed over to the heirs (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 124).

Occasionally, the government appointed inspectors to examine the proceedings of the military *ḳassāms* and to collect the *resm-i ḳismet* levied in the name of the *ḳāḍīʿaskers*. *Ḳassāms* from the three wings of the cavalry (*süvārī*) divisions were despatched to Anatolia and Rumelia for this purpose. These mounted inspector-*ḳassāms* took delivery from the *ḳāḍī*'s treasury of the *resm-i ḳismet* that had been raised, and had the registers sealed by the *ḳāḍī* or deputy who transferred the money. The mounted *ḳassāms* had the authority to remove a local military *ḳassām* and appoint another in his place (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 121 ff.).

The question of who had the right to the *resm-i ḳismet* led occasionally to disputes between the local and the *ḳāḍīʿaskers*' *ḳassāms*. A major factor in these disputes was the tendency of the military *ḳassāms* to extend the military class in order to increase the revenue on the *ḳāḍīʿaskers*' account for which they worked. To prevent this, the government intermittently issued decrees to define who belonged to the military class, but they were never able to stop

the practice altogether (Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul, *Dīwān-i hümāyūn mühimme defteri*, vol. iv, 120; vol. lxx, 35). There was a *ḳassām* in the covered market in Istanbul and another in Galata, whose duty it was to deputise for the *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rumelia in settling disputes concerning the division of inheritances (Hezārfenn Ḥusayn, *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, f. 140 a).

The functions of the *ḳassāms* began slowly to diminish in the 19th century. After the Tanẓīmāt [*q.v.*]the separate offices of the *ḳāḍīʿaskers*' and *ḳāḍīs*' *ḳassāms* were abolished, to be replaced by a single office in Istanbul called the Treasury *ḳassām*'s office (*bayt al-māl ḳassāmlighi*), which combined the functions of all the others (Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul, 1290/1873, vi, 30). The court concerned with inheritance, known as the *ḳismet-i belediye maḥkemesi*, was, at about the same time, united with the lower *bāb* court. Thereafter, the *bāb* courts supervised the division of inheritance among the heirs (*Dīwān-i hümāyūn mühimme defteri*, no. 261, serial nos. 36, 440).

In the years 1333-34/1915-16 there was a section called the general *ḳassām* (*ḳassām-i ʿumūmī*) in the Courts Department of the Office of the *Shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*]. At the head of the section was an official called the General *ḳassām* (*ḳassām-i ʿumūmī*) with two assistants as first and second advisory *ḳassām* (*ʿIlmiye teshkīlātī*, Istanbul 1334/1916, 155 ff.). With the abolition of the *sharīʿa* courts under the Turkish Republic, the civil section of the court of first instance (*asliye mahkemesi hukuk dairesi*) replaced the *ḳassām* court.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul, *Dīvān-i hümāyūn mühimme defterleri*, no. 80, p. 160 serial no. 408, p. 335 serial no. 816; no. 131 p. 147; L. Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterhazy, 1606-1645*, Budapest 1932, 470; Halit Ongan, *Ankara'nın I numaralı şerʿiye sicil defteri*, Ankara 1958, index; Ömer Lutfi Barkan, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (eds.), *İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, 953 (1546), Istanbul 1970 (for a list of the *ḳassāms*, see *Mahkeme kadı ve nâibleri indeksi*, 467-69); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli devletinde kapıkulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, 318; H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic society and the west*, i/2, London 1957, 124, 125, 130 n; M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, ii, 209, 210; Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha, *Lehče-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1293/1876, 914. (CENGIZ ORHONLU)

AL-**ḲAṢṢĀR**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ḲĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-ANDALUSĪ, Moroccan scholar of Ḳaysī origin and born in Fās in 938/1531-2. He is said to have been called al-Ḳaṣṣār ("the fuller") because one of his ancestors had had a fuller as his tutor.

He became *Muftī* of Fās and preacher at the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque, and was very well versed in the sources of *ḥadīth* and the science of genealogy. He had numerous, outstanding pupils, including for instance Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Murābī, who wrote a book about him called the *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān*. Al-Ḳaṣṣār left behind several valuable collections of papers, and there are attributed to him hagiographical works on Idrīs I and Idrīs II, two *fahrasas* and a biography of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Ṣiḳillī al-Ḥusaynī, called *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī nasab sayyidī Muḥammad Ṭāhir*.

He died whilst travelling from Fās to Marrākush in either Shaʿbān or Ramaḍān 1012/January-February 1604, and was buried near the mausoleum of Abu'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī in Marrākush, one of the seven saints of that city.

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ḲAṢṢĀRA, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN ʿALĪ B. IDRĪS B. ʿALĪ AL-ḤIMYARĪ, jurist, poet and historian of Morocco, who was born and lived in Fās, where he put together a *Dīwān*, in one volume; a history called *Taḥḳīḳ al-akhbār ʿamman māta min ʿulamāʾ al-ḳarn al-thālith ʿashar*; and above all, three commentaries, the most important being the one on the *Sharḥ Bannānī ʿalā Sullam al-Akhḍarī*, the second on Ibn Hishām's *al-Muwaḍḍiḥ* and the third on the *Bahrām al-Ṣaghīr*. He died at Fās on 13 Radjab 1259/9 August 1843, and was buried in that city.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 369 and n. 4; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 265; ʿA. Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 255, ii, 390. (M. LAKHDAR)

AL-**ḲASṬALLĀNĪ**, ABŪ 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ BAKR AL-KHAṬĪB SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, an authority on tradition and theologian, born on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 851/20 January 1448 in Cairo, where he spent his life as a preacher —apart from two stays of some duration in Mecca —and died on Friday, 7 Muḥarram 923/31 January 1517. He owed his literary fame mainly to his exhaustive commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī entitled *Irshād al-Sārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, which exists in numerous manuscripts and printed copies; of these latter, the earliest may be that of Būlāḳ of 1267 and next the Lucknow edition of 1869 (others in Brockelmann, I, 165, S I, 262-3). The Cairo edition in 1325-6 gives the glosses of Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī and the Cairo edition of 1279 those of Ḥasan al-ʿIdwī (d. 1203/1887). In the field of *Ḥadīth* he wrote a *Muḳaddima* which was printed at Cairo (n.d.) with the commentary of ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Abyārī (d. 1305/1883). Great popularity is enjoyed in the Muslim world by his history of the Prophet entitled *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya fī 'l-Minaḥ al-Muḥammadiyya*, which he completed on 15 Shaʿbān 899/21 May 1474 and which caused him to be accused of plagiarism by al-Suyūṭī. It exists in numerous manuscripts and has also been printed several times, *e.g.* Cairo 1281, several times commented on, *e.g.* by al-Zurḳānī (d. 1122/1710), printed in 8 vols., Bulāḳ 1278, 1291, and translated by ʿAbd al-Bāḳī into Turkish, printed Istanbul 1261; al-Nabhānī published a synopsis of it entitled *Al-Anwār al-Muḥammadiyya min al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya*, Beirut 1310-12. Finally in the same field, he prepared a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Shamāʾil* of al-Tirmidhī (Brockelmann, I, 170, S I, 268). Besides studying the science of tradition, he worked also at the readings of the Ḳurʾān. His principal work on the subject is entitled *Laṭāʾif al-Ishārāt li-Funūn al-Ḳirāʾāt*. He also wrote a biography of the teacher of Ḳurʾān reading, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shāṭibī (Brockelmann, I, 520, S I, 725), and a commentary on the *Muḳaddima* of al-Djazarī on *Tadjwīd* (*op. cit.*, II, 259). Finally, he also wrote on mysticism and

personal piety; among his works in this sphere are his *Maḳāmāt al-ʿĀrifīn*, *Masālik al-Ḥunafāʾ ilā Mas̲h̲āriʿ al-Ṣalāt ʿala ʾl-Nabī al-muṣṭafā*, and his commentary on the *Burda* of al-Buṣīrī (Brockelmann, I, 310).

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(C. Brockelmann)

ḲASṬALLANĪ (Kestelī, Kestellī), Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā, Ottoman theologian and Ḥanafī jurist, d. 901/1495-6. He was a native of Kestel (Latin *Castellum*), a village near Bursa, where later in his career he built a mosque; from this village comes his *nisba* of Kestel(l)ī or, more grandiloquently, Ḳasṭallānī. He studied at Bursa under the famous scholar Ḵh̲iḍr Beg, *mudarris* at the Sulṭān *madrasa* there, and after concluding his legal and theological studies became himself a teacher in Mudurnu, in the Urud̲j̲ Pas̲h̲a *madrasa* at Dimetoḳa (Demotica), and then in one of Meḥemmed II's newly-founded "eight *madrasas*" in Istanbul. Later he became *ḳāḍī* in Bursa, Edirne and (in 886/1481) in Istanbul. In this latter year he also became *Ḳāḍī-ʿAsker* [*q.v.*] of Rūmeli, the first man to hold this office after the division of this important post into two, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Ḥasanzāde Meḥmed Efendi becoming *Ḳāḍī-ʿAsker* in Anatolia. He was dismissed with a pension in 891/1486 during the reign of Bāyezīd II, and died in 901/1495-6 in the capital, being buried in the Eyyūb cemetery.

Ḳasṭallānī was the author of a number of highly-esteemed legal works in Arabic, including glosses to al-Taftazānī's commentary on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn al-Nasafī (cf. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Ḵh̲alīfa, iv, 226, Brockelmann, I, 549); a work on seven difficult problems (*as̲h̲kāl*) in al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī's commentary on al-Īd̲j̲ī's *K. al-Mawāḳif fī ʿilm al-kalām* (Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Ḵh̲alīfa, vi, 240); an epistle on the orientation of the *ḳibla*, *R. fī D̲j̲ihat al-ḳibla* (*ibid.*, iii, 387); and a work called *Yaḳaẓa d̲h̲awī ʾl-iʿtibār* (*ibid.*, vi, 511).

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(F. Babinger)

ḲASṬAMŪNĪ, modern Turkish form Kastamonu, a town (pop. 1970, 29,338) situated in the western Pontic zone of northern Turkey (41°22′N, 33°47′E), the provincial capital (*il merkezi*) and a busy market town for the surrounding region. The *il* (province) of Kastamonu—an area roughly equivalent to the ancient Paphlagonia—which is divided at present into fourteen administrative sub-divisions (*ilče*), is bounded by the Black Sea on the north, and by the *il*s of Zonguldak, Čankırı (Ḳang̲h̲rī), Čorum and Sinop, and had a population (1970) of 446,601.

The town of Kastamonu lies on both sides of a narrow valley (Kastamonu deresi or Kara-čomak deresi) which has been formed by a minor tributary of the upper Gökırmak. The centre of the town, situated on the left (west) bank, is dominated by the precipitous mass of the citadel. This, the "lofty stronghold of the Turkomans" of Ibn Saʿīd, is a congeries of Byzantine, Sald̲j̲ūḳ, Čandarid and Ottoman work, lacking in inscriptions, ungarrisoned and deserted since the reign of Maḥmūd II, and finally almost destroyed by an earthquake in 1943.

The toponym of Kastamonu remains obscure in its origins. As Ramsay long ago pointed out, although Kastamonu was situated on "the most important Roman road in the north of Asia Minor" (sc. Nicomedia Iznikmid/İzmit)—Pompeiopolis (Tas̲h̲köprü, near Kastamonu)—Amaseia (Amasya)), and was evidently an important city in later Byzantine times, it is never mentioned in Roman or early Byzantine documents. Consequently attempts to identify Kastamonu with, e.g. Germanicopolis (Ainsworth, Boré, and many later writers) or with Sora (Doublet, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1889), or to supply specious derivations from even the Hittites (Gas-Tumanna > Kastamonu) (Yücel, ch. vii) or from its known association with the Comneni, must founder on the fact that no form earlier than the 11th century Byzantine usage of καστάμων has yet been traced.

From this form (or, rather, as commonly in such direct transfers, from the accusative κασταμόνα—cf. P. Wittek, *BZ* (1935), 49-50) derive the various forms of Arabic and Turkish usage. Most commonly, from the Sald̲j̲ūḳs down to and throughout the Ottoman period, the name is given as Ḳasṭamūnī. Cf. however, the variants Ḳas̲h̲tamūnī (Idrīsī, cf. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae* i/2, sheet 4; iii/1, p. 4); Ḳasṭamūnīyā (al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *K. Nuk̲h̲bat al-Dār*, ed. Mehren, 228); Ḳaṣṭamuniya (al-ʿUmarī, ed. Quatremère, 340; ed. Taeschner, 23, 39-40), and also the various western corruptions: civitas Constamnes (Albertus Aquensis); Castamea (Clavijo); Castamina, Castamena (Promontorio de Campis (c. 1475), ed. Babinger); Chastarmina, Casstimana (Benedetto Dei); Castemol (Menavino); for the 19th century: Castemboli, Castemouni (Boré, 1838); Costambone (Murray, *Handbook for Asia Minor* [c. 1870]).

The political history of Kastamonu during the four centuries which lie between its first seizure by the Turks in the aftermath of Manzikert (463/1071) and its second and final absorption into the Ottoman state, as a *sand̲j̲āḳ* in the *eyālet* of Anadolu (866/1461-2), is often confused, and the establishment of the exact sequence of political authority has not, despite efforts by Cl. Cahen and others, been satisfactorily achieved. Until the expansion of the Ottoman state in the first part of the 8th/14th century, and the consequent shift westwards of the frontier between *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*, the town and fortress of Kastamonu formed the centre of a vast province, which was dominated by the Turkomans of the *ud̲j̲*, and formed a battleground for the conflicting and successive claims of Byzantine, Dānis̲h̲mend and Sald̲j̲ūḳ rulers, and of various more or less local autonomous dynasties, of which the Isfendiyār-og̲h̲ullarī or Čandarids [*q.v.*] were the most significant.

As early as 1073-4 the Byzantine emperor Alexis Comnenus had great difficulty in escaping from some Turkomans in the vicinity of Kastamonu: according to a dubious tradition the city is said to have been conquered by a certain ʿOt̲h̲mānd̲j̲ıḳ Beg, one of the commanders of the Dānis̲h̲mend Malik Aḥmad G̲h̲āzī, shortly before the latter's death (Ḥusayn Hezārfenn, *Tanḳīḥ al-tawārīkh*, tr. A. D. Mordtmann, *ZDMG*, xxx (1876), 470)—a tradition which attributes to Kastamonu the former name of Aklanos. A slightly different version is given by Kātib Čelebī, *D̲j̲ihān-numā*, 629. In 1101 the Lombards and Turks clashed near and at Kastamonu, but Dānis̲h̲mend rule seems to have endured until the invasion of Paphlagonia by John Comnenus (?1126 or 1132), by the winter of which latter year Kastamonu was again in Muslim hands. By the latter

part of the 6th/12th century, Kastamonu had passed under the control of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs of Rūm. Clearly Kastamonu belonged to the dynasty, who established there—possibly as early as 608/1211, and certainly by 625—the enigmatic figure of Ḥusām al-Dīn Čupan (Čoban) as their *beglerbegi*. The political role of the Turkomans during this period is a matter of conjecture; one possibility is a *de facto* division of authority between the provincial authorities of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, controlling the town itself, and the Turkoman amīrs, in virtual control of much of the hinterland of the province. At a lower level, it is clear that a Greek or Hellenized (and Christian) population continued to exist under Sald̲j̲ūḳ rule; the province was also a source for Greek slaves, obtained in razzias on the *ud̲j̲*, and destined for the Sald̲j̲ūḳ army.

The history of Kastamonu during the period of Īlk̲h̲ānid domination in eastern and central Anatolia is also not entirely clear. At first under the rule of one Yavtas̲h̲, as *beglerbegi*, by c. 660/1262 the town was controlled by a creature of the Mongols, one Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn Muʿtazz, to whom it was secured as an *iḳṭāʿ*. He died in 676/1277: his son Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn Amīrs̲h̲āh (d. 701/1302), succeeded to his offices. Also during this period, Kastamonu was held at times, and for short periods, by the son (Ḥusām al-Dīn Alp Yörük) and the alleged grandson (Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yavlaḳ Arslan) of Ḥusām al-Dīn Čuban. The grandson certainly founded the second oldest surviving Muslim monument in Kastamonu, the so-called Atabeg D̲j̲āmiʿi (672/1273), held political power before 679/1290, and died in the disturbances of 691/1292. Furthermore, before 671/1271 Kastamonu had been administered by a son of the *pervāne* Muʿīn al-Dīn, whose son Meḥmed Beg once more reconquered it in 1295-9.

Cahen has argued that there was no connexion between the descendants of Čupan and the family which, in the last years of the shadowy Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultanate of Rūm, founded the most notable of Kastamonu's dynasties, the Isfendiyār og̲h̲ullarī/Čandarids. By 715/1314 Čandar's son, Sulaymān Pas̲h̲a, was already master of Kastamonu, apparently as a vassal of the Īlk̲h̲ānid ruler Abū Saʿīd. Certainly Īlk̲h̲ānid coins were struck there in 725/1325 (Lane-Poole, *Cat. B.M.*, vi (uncertain); Yaman i, 105) and apparently as late as 740/1339 (Zambaur, *Münzprägung*, 195). Around this time Kastamonu was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (winter of 1331/2 or 1333/4), who stayed there forty days and described it as one of the largest and finest cities [?of Rūm], where commodities were abundant and prices low. Ibn Saʿīd (*apud* al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 342) described Kastamonu as a stone-built town of medium size, possessed of mosques, markets and baths, but without walls, and situated in a region of streams and abundant gardens—terms which have been applied, *grosso modo*, by most Muslim travellers and their western successors down to the 20th century.

Kastamonu was incorporated into the Ottoman state by Bāyezīd I in 794/1392; restored to its native dynasty by Tīmūr after Ankara, and once more conquered, this time by Meḥemmed II, in 866/1462. The supersession of the old dynasty was symbolised by the appointment of D̲j̲em Sulṭān as provincial governor of Kastamonu in Rad̲j̲ab 873/January 1469, a post which he held until the middle of S̲h̲aʿbān 879/late 1474. What seems to be the earliest (*ca.* 1469-74) notice of Kastamonu under restored Ottoman rule—the "Capitaneati dui di Castamina"—is given by the Genoese man of affairs Promontorio de Campis: "magna citta;... prouincia degna et utilissima", with revenues of 14,000 ducats and the obligation of sending 2550 men into the field.

The geographical position of Kastamonu in relation to the Ottoman military and courier road network—it lay to the north of the great road of the *orta ḳol* from Üsküdar to the east, which, linking Gerede, Tosya and ʿOt̲h̲mānd̲j̲iḳ (Osmancık), left Kastamonu relatively isolated on the far side of the lofty Ilgaz (Olygassus) range—perhaps explains in part its relative obscurity under Ottoman rule and the paucity of travellers to it until the 19th century. Evliyā Čelebi's description of the town is lacking, and in the 12th/18th century Kastamonu seems to have been unvisited by any major traveller, although it is known that Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a Bonneval was briefly exiled there in the middle of the century.

The first report by a western visitor is that of J. M. Kinneir, who passed through in 1814. He computed the town to possess 30 mosques with minarets, 25 *ḥammāms*, six *k̲h̲āns* and a Greek church. The baazars were well-supplied, but the inhabitants were described as being frequently exposed to famine, particularly after a severe winter had impeded local agriculture. A more extensive description was given by the French traveller Eugène Boré (1838), who was the first to give an account of the *ḳalʿe*, "elévant hardiment dans les airs ses tours et ses remparts en lambeau", and who found the local administration in the hands of the new men of the Tanẓīmāt. More scrupulous in his observations, in the year following Boré, was W. F. Ainsworth, who laid down a plan of the fortress.

The population of Kastamonu, in later centuries at least, was preponderately Muslim. According to Ainsworth the Christian inhabitants were expelled *ca.* 1730 to a village on the Gökīrmak, but were later permitted to return. Ainsworth speaks of 160 Greek and 20 Armenian households out of a total of 12,000 and a manifestly exaggerated population of 48,000; Kinneir, a quarter of a century earlier, had estimated 300 Greek and 40 Armenian families in a *population* of 12,000. At the end of the 19th century Cuinet, working on published Ottoman statistics, estimated the population to be 13,200 Muslims, 1,795 Greeks and 572 Armenians.

By the early 19th century Kastamonu, like much of Ottoman Asia, had fallen into economic decay. Kinneir regarded the commerce as "trifling", and noted the lack of manufactures; Boré, likewise, "L'appauvrissement et la gêne" of the inhabitants, and the great decline in trade, with only tanning being carried on actively. Ainsworth, however, one year later, speaks of "the crowded and bustling city" of Kastamonu, with a large trade in wool of a quality almost equal with that of Ankara; in copper wares, and in cotton cloth. The cotton was brought up from Adana and worked up in the town.

The economic and political collapse of Turkey after the First World War reduced the fortunes of Kastamonu to a low ebb. Not lying on a railway, it had not shared in the opening up of Anatolia at the end of the 19th century. More recently, however, the rapid expansion of road transport in Anatolia has brought a new prosperity to the Kastamonu, which now presents an appearance reminiscent of Ainsworth's description, in a setting still little changed from those days.

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ḳadīmesi, Istanbul 1341; T. M. Yaman, *Kastamonu tarihi*, i, Istanbul 1935; A. Gökoğlu, *Paphlagonia ... eski eserleri ve arkeolojisi*, i, Kastamonu 1952; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv, 462 ff.; J. M. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor...*, London 1819, 28 ff.; Eugène Boré, *Memoire d'un voyageur en Orient*, Paris 1840, 273-82; W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and researches in Asia Minor*, 1842, i, 76 ff.

A map of the sandjāḳ of Kastamonu, and a panoramic photograph of the town as it appeared at the end of the 19th century, were tipped into some examples of the *Ḳasṭamūnī vilāyet sāl-nāmesi 1310* (Kastamonu, n.d.).

In the absence of any exhaustive published survey of the monuments of Kastamonu (cf. the three works in Turkish, at the head of this bibliography, and the summary description of the monuments included by B. Darkot in his art. Kastamonu in *İA*), reference must be made to unpublished sources. A modern survey, at a scale of 1:1000 (three sheets), and showing in detail all historical sites, is in the possession of the Kastamonu *Belediye* (municipal authority). Cf. also an unpublished *Rapor* of 20 Ocak 1975 on the (Muslim) antiquities of Kastamonu, drawn up for the Eski Eserler ve Müzeler section of the Turkish Ministry of Culture. An extensive photographic survey of the monuments was undertaken by Besim Çeçener, Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü, Fındkılı, Istanbul. Reference should also be made to a report by Doğan Kuban (*Kastamonunun tarihı yapısı ... ilgili rapor*, Istanbul, 1967, 21 8 pp., duplicated. All this material is in the custody of Bay Hüseyin Aydın, Fen işletleri müdürü, Belediye Sarayi, Kastamonu, who kindly allowed reference to be made to it.

Cf. further *RCEA* xii, 178, 188; xiii, 46; xvi, 43, 133, 183-4 (all taken from Behcet and Yaman); C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London, 1968 (consolidates recent research on the pre-Ottoman period); and, to supplement the bibliography s.v. Čandar, the articles by M. Yaşar Yüçel, *AÜDTCFD* xxiii/1-2 (1966) and *Belleten*, xxxiv (1970).

(C. J. Heywood)

ḲASṬĪLIYA. 1. A district, and originally, the *chef-lieu* of the *kūra* of Ilbīra in Muslim Spain, which should not be identified and confounded with Granada (Ilbīra). The Arab authors who describe Granada, Ilbīra and Ḳasṭīliya (*ḥāḍirat Ilbīra*) stress the fertility of its soil, comparing it to the Ghūṭa of Damascus and mentioning the existence of marble quarries; these descriptions all apply to the zone including Granada and its *vega*, bounded on the north by the Sierra Elvira. The exact identification of Ḳasṭīliya, the *ḥāḍirat Ilbīra* of Ibn Ḥayyān, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and before them, probably of al-Rāzī, has been a subject of sharp contention since the 19th century (see Fray Angel Custodio Vega, in *España sagrada*, liii and liv: *De la Santa Iglesia Apostólica de Iliberri (Granada)*, Madrid 1961, and especially the conclusions noted on pp. 63-4). We believe that Ḳasṭīliya was an ancient fortress which became the first residence of the *wālī* or *ʿāmil* of the *kūra* of Ilbīra and which remained there from the conquest till 400/1010, when it was destroyed by the Berbers, causing the displacement of the political centre of the *kūra* to Granada. Its site must therefore lie between Atarfe and Pinos Puente, in any spot or spur of land at the foot of the Sierra Elvira.

The Ḳasṭīliyas of Ifrīḳiya [see below, 2] and al-Andalus—not to be confused with Ḳashtāla, Ḳashtīla or Ḳashtīliya, the Castile of the Christians [see ḳashtāla]—must be connected with Latin *castella* (pl. of *castellum*), since there existed strongholds in the Djarīd, a land of *ḳuṣūr*, just as in the *Municipium Florentinum Iliberritanum*, which became the diocese of Iliberri (Granada); the Iberian etymology put forward by Dozy in his *Recherches*[3], i, 335, looks improbable.

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ḲASṬĪLIYA, or ḳasṭīliya, or ḳasṭīla. 2. A place name of Tunisia which in the Middle Ages sometimes designated a town (Tawzar or Tūzar), but more often the district of which this town was the chief centre. It is the modern region of the Djarīd, which now forms part of the governorate of Ḳafṣa [*q.v.*] (population 321,000, density of pop. 17.45 per km^2, according to the 1966 census), and forms the region of the Shotts. As in the past, the region's main resource is the date palm: one million trees, of which 31% are of the highly-esteemed "degla" variety (1962 enquiry). Tourist development of the Sahara, helped by the provision of hotels which are sometimes most luxurious, has brought to this region, at present a somewhat deprived one, an additional resource.

History. Ḳasṭīliya was probably first reduced to submission by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], and definitely conquered for Islam *ṣulḥ*[an] and without resistance, by Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], whence the relatively favourable status awarded to its Christian inhabitants. In its subsequent history, it naturally suffered from the troubles which racked the rest of Ifrīḳiya, and especially from the Khāridjī rebellions of the mid-2nd/8th century, the revolts of the *djund* under the Aghlabids, the warfare against the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* and the rising of Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī [*q.v.*]. As a result of these troubles, Ibrāḍism gained numerous followers there, and Shīʿism had some success, especially at Nafṭa. The invasions of the Banū Hilāl in mid-5th/11th century, moreover, favoured the rise of a little independent principality, which was soon absorbed by that of the Banu 'l-Rand of Ḳafṣa. Ḳasṭīliya was then disputed and the Almohad position there attacked by the adventurer Ḳarāḳūsh and the Banū Ghāniya [*qq.v.*]. Under the Ḥafṣids, there was constituted at the beginning of the 8th/14th century another petty principality, governed by the Banū Yamlūl and an assembly of notables (*mashyakha*), which had a highly-troubled existence until it was finally eliminated, at the same time as were other local dynasties, by Abū Fāris (802/1400). Later on, the anarchy of the 19th century much aggravated the misery of the region, which was left virtually unprotected against the exactions of the nomads and the oppressive taxation of the central government.

Historical geography. The toponym Ķasṭīliya is not found exclusively in Tunisia. Apart from the variant Ķashtāla for Castile, Yāķūt, iv, 347-8, cites Ķasṭalla in Spain, and Ķasṭīliya in the district of Elvira [see preceeding art.]. He also mentions al-Ķasṭal, a place name between Aleppo and Damascus. The ancient citadel of Mesarfelta, between Tobna (Thubunae) and Biskra (Vescera) also bore the name of Ķasṭīliya. We have here clearly a toponym of Latin origin, derived from *castella*, pl. of *castellum* "citadel". The incoming Arab conquerors used it to denote first of all Tūzar (= Thusuros), the main fortress of the *limes* backed by the oasis, and then the whole region dependent upon it.

According to al-Yaʿķūbī (d. *ca.* 282-92/895-905), this region comprised four oases: "The main one is called Tūzar, and is the residence of the governors the second is Ḥāmma; the third, Taķyūs; and the fourth, Nafṭa" (tr. Wiet, *Les Pays*, 212). Only Taķyūs (= Thiges) has now vanished today and given place to Dégache. This division is given by most of the later Arab geographers, and especially by al-Bakrī and Yāķūt. Ibn Ḥawķal, al-Muķaddasī and al-Idrīsī merely give descriptions of the towns without giving information on the extent and boundaries of the region. But in later authors, Ķasṭīliya, now called the Bilād al-Djarīd, spills over to include Ķafṣa in the north and the region of Nafzāwa to the south of the Shotts (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 199), and even Biskra, Gabès and the island of Djerba (John-Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ii, 442-3). The place name Bilād al-Djarīd ("Land of the Palms"), or simply al-Djarīd, appears for the first time after the middle of the 8th/14th century, from the pen of Ibn Khaldūn, who henceforth uses it as much if not more than Ķasṭīliya to designate this region. The ancient term of Ķasṭīliya gradually disappeared, and is today completely unknown except to specialists. Already al-Tīdjānī (wrote in *ca.* 706/1306), Ibn Abī Dīnār (*ca.* 1110/1698) and al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj (1149/1737) only use it when citing material from earlier authors. John-Leo Africanus, who visited Tunisia in 1517, knew nothing of the term.

Until the 3rd/9th century, there was no appreciable Arab element in Ķasṭīliya. Al-Yaʿķūbī writes that "The inhabitants are non-Arabs, descendants of the ancient Romans, Berbers and Afāriķa" (*loc. cit.*), *i.e.* Latinised and Christianised Berbers. Ibn Khaldūn, speaking of the disturbances of 224/839, mentions Zuwāgha, Luwāta and Miknāsa Berbers (*ʿIbar*, iv, 428). The ethnic map cannot have varied much till the middle of the 5th/11th century, sc. till the Hilālian invasions which brought into the region the Sulaym, and especially the Kuʿūb section of this latter tribe. From this moment, the ethnic picture began to change noticeably, and Christianity, which had maintained itself there, began to disappear. In 706/1306 al-Tīdjānī noted a large number of ruined and abandoned churches (*Riḥla*, 162), and he also commented with horror on the practice of eating dogs, which had not yet quite disappeared.

Mediaeval Arabic authors unanimously describe Ķasṭīliya as a rich and prosperous land. According to al-Bakrī, the tax-yield reached 200,000 *dīnārs* in the middle of the 5th/11th century, compared with a mere 50,000 for Ķafṣa. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Khaldūn marvelled at the density of population there (*mustabḥirat al-ʿumrān*, *ʿIbar*, vi, 199). There was there an ingenious irrigation system, which struck all observers, and the region produced a vast quantity of dates. Al-Yaʿķūbī mentions an important cultivation of olives, subsequently vanished. In the 4th/10th century, according to Ibn Ḥawķal, sugar cane was one of the richest products of the region, but by the next century, says al-Bakrī, was yielding only a mediocre crop, nor was the banana flourishing very well. On the other hand, citrus fruits (*al-muḥammaḍāt*), and above all the citron (*al-utrudj*), were of unsurpassed quality. Also cultivated were flax, henna, cumin and caraway, and the fennec-fox, esteemed for its fur, was trapped. Ibn Ḥawķal further states that Ķasṭīliya was in his time an important commercial focal point, bustling with merchants from all countries. Its main import was corn, traditionally fetching a high price, and it exported dates, at the rate of a camel's load for two *dirhams*, says al-Muķaddasī, and wool—implying the existence of extensive sheep-rearing—and all sorts of woollen products. Trans-Saharan trade to the countries of black Africa was certainly one of the reasons for the region's prosperity in the Middle Ages, and it is known that Abū Yazīd al-Nukkarī's father, who was originally from Taķyūs or Tūzar, took part in this (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 84).

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KASTORIA [see Kesriye].

ḲĀT (A; the form *d̲j̲āt* is also found, Amharic *č̣āt*), the name of a smooth-stemmed shrub (*Catha edulis*, Forskål; *Methyscophyllum glaucum*, Ecklon and Zeyher) which reaches a height of 12 feet and belongs to the family of Celastraceae. It grows in the eastern part of Africa, from the Cape to north of Lake Ṭānā (Ṣānā), and in southwestern Arabia. The leaves and the young shoots of this shrub contain an alkaloid, katin, which produces a euphoric, stimulating, exciting but finally depressing, effect when chewed or drunk in a decoction. It is widely used in Ethiopia, Djibouti, East Africa and the Yemen. The bunches of twigs or shoots (*kilwāt*, pl. *kalāwīt*) of the *ḳāt* shrub can only be utilised a short time after being gathered, hence in order to transport them and to keep them fresh as long as possible, they are bound up in fresh, moist foliage. *Ḳāt* addicts choose young and tender leaves and branches, and chew them up to form a ball about as big as a nut; they then keep on chewing this for hours, especially during social gatherings. In this respect, *ḳāt* is a factor making for social cohesion and peace, but this is outweighed by its harmful effects. Whilst the state of euphoria induced may be accompanied by a certain feeling of intellectual expansion, this happy feeling is soon succeeded by a state of anxiety which is alleviated by drinking a decoction of coffee husks (*ḳis̲h̲r*); all reports state unanimously that the habitual use of *ḳāt*, despite its supposed prophylactic qualities, ruins the physical and mental health of people and, from an economic point of view, causes widespread damage. The 7,900 lbs. of it officially exported by air every year from Ethiopia to Djibouti (not counting the large quantities of *ḳāt* shoots smuggled illegally) take up 40%-60% of people's salaries (J.-C. Guillebeau, in *Le Monde*, 2 April 1974). It has been calculated that in the Yemen, 300 million dollars' worth of it is consumed each year, with the price of a bunch of *ca.* 250 gr. taking up roughly the salary of a skilled workman, in a land where 90% of the men and almost 60% of the women are more or less regular addicts. The ravages caused by this narcotic have engaged the attention of the World Health Organisation (cf. *Medical aspects of the habitual chewing of khat leaves*, Doc. APD/127, Rev. I, 1964), and some economists have put forward remedies which seem, however, hard to apply (see M. S. el-Attar, *Le sous-développement économique et social du Yémen. Perspective de la révolution yéménite*, Algiers 1964).

Because of the widespread consumption of *ḳāt* leaves, the raising of this shrub, which is propagated by means of cuttings, plays a great role and gives a considerable income to its cultivators on the plateaux, and above all to the middlemen dealing in it.

Ḳāt is mentioned for the first time in a work dating from 1332-3 A.D. (see A. Dillmann, *Die Kriegsthaten des Königs ʿAmda Ṣion*, in *SB Ak. Berlin* (1864), 1012-13); al-Maḳrīzī (d. 846/1442) cites in his *Ilmām bi-ak̲h̲bār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabas̲h̲ min mulūk al-Islām*, ed. Rinck, Leiden 1790, 11, *ḳāt* as a plant found at Awfāt (Eth. Īfāt, in eastern S̲h̲oa) and whose leaves are eaten. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲azīrī, who wrote in 996/1587, says that ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-S̲h̲ād̲h̲ilī al-Mak̲h̲āʾī (d. 827/1424) was said to have introduced coffee [see kahwa] into the Yemen, and this took the place of *kafta*, sc. *ḳāt* leaves, which had previously been used; however, the use of the latter soon revived, when coffee began to be exported on a large scale. A document called the *Ḳānūn Ṣanʿāʾ* (given in *RIMA*, 1964) and containing two decrees regulating the town in 1164/1748 and 1234/1819 respectively, shows that in the interval between these two dates, the price of a bunch of *ca.* 280 gr. and of the best quality went down by a half and corresponded at the beginning of the 19th century to one-quarter of a workman's salary, *i.e.*, it was comparatively cheaper than today. This document also shows that the consumption of *ḳāt* was officially authorised, although Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-Hayt̲h̲amī (d. 974/1567) had written—in reply to questions about its use which had come from people in Ṣanʿāʾ and Zabīd, and without taking up a definite attitude towards the contradictory opinions of reputable scholars on the effects of *ḳāt*—that its use fell into the category of *s̲h̲ubuhāt* which ought to be avoided (*Taḥd̲h̲īr al-t̲h̲iḳāt min akl al-kafta wa 'l-ḳāt*, in *al-Fatāwī al-kubrā al-fiḳhiyya*, Cairo 1308, iv, 223-34).

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ḲAṬʿ (a), cutting off. The Arabic verb *ḳaṭaʿa* has been very widely used in a variety of literal and metaphorical senses; this diversity is often of interest for both religious and cultural history.

The infinitive *ḳaṭʿ* does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, but the finite verb occurs both in the literal and in a rather metaphorical sense: Sūra V, 42 (38): "Cut off the hands of the thief and the female thief"—the well-known prescription which has passed into *fiḳh* and is sometimes briefly designated as *ḳaṭʿ al-liṣṣ*; Sūra VIII, 7: "and [Allah] may cut off the root of the Infidels", *i.e.*, extirpate them. Sūra II, 25 and XIII, 25 (27) "[those who] cut up what Allah has ordered to join"; Sūra XXIX, 28 (29) "will you cut the road?", *i.e.*, commit highway robbery; Sūra XXVII, 32 "I decide nothing".

To the early reciters of the Ḳurʾān (*ḳurrāʾ*), *ḳaṭʿ* or *waḳf* was the pause in reading, based on the sense or otherwise. Later a distinction was made between the short pause for breath, and the other pauses,

based on the sense; according to some, *ḳaṭʿ* indicated only the first; according to others only the second.

The grammarians use *alif al-ḳaṭʿ* for the disjunctive *hamza* which, opposed to the so-called *hamzat al-waṣl*, cannot be elided [see ALIF]. *Ḳaṭʿ* further indicates the deliberate cutting, for a special purpose, between elements of a sentence which syntactically are closely connected, *e.g.* instead of *al-Ḥamdu li 'llāhi 'l-Ḥamīdı* one might say *al-Ḥamdu li 'llāhi 'l-ḥamīdu* (= *wahuwa 'l-ḥamīdu*), or . . . *'l-ḥamīda* (= *aʿnī 'l-ḥamīda*).

In prosody, *ḳaṭʿ* indicates cutting short the ending of certain metrical feet, *e.g.*, the shortening of the metrical foot *fāʿilun* to *fāʿil* = *faʿlun* or of *mustafʿilun* to *mustafʿil* = *mafʿūlun*. This shortened form is then called *maḳṭūʿ*.

For mathematicians, *ḳaṭʿ al-makhrūṭ*, the conic section, is of importance; specifically *ḳaṭʿ zā'id* is the hyperbola, *ḳaṭʿ nāḳiṣ* the ellipse, *ḳaṭʿ mukāfī* the parabola and *ḳaṭʿ mukāfī mudjassam* the paraboloid.

In astrology, *ḳaṭ* indicates scission = ἀναίρεσις, specifically κλιμακτήρ, climacteric.

Ḳaṭʿ (*al-waraḳ*), in the sense of format of paper, has had a certain importance in the history of official administration. The Arabic papyri are of many different formats, but according to Grohmann the Arabs seem to have adopted both the dominations and sizes from the Greeks. In any case, one can recognize a certain continuity in the dimensions of the format. An ordinary roll of papyrus of 20 leaves, about 5 metres long, was called *ḳirṭās* (from Greek χάρτης, Aramaic קירטס) and the sixth part of it, *ṭūmār* or *ṭūmār ḳirṭās* (τομάριον χάρτου). In the papyrus texts parts of the roll are mentioned frequently, *e.g.* 2/3 roll (*thuluthay ḳirṭās*), 1/3, 1/6 (*ṭūmār*) and also 1/2 and 1/3 of a *ṭūmār*. The surviving documents emanating from the Egyptian provincial chancellery of Ḳurra b. Sharīk (90-96/709-714) [*q.v.*] are distinguished by an exceptionally large format and wide spacing between the lines. Documents emanating from the government chancellery of the Umayyads in Damascus have apparently not survived but it seems that as early as Muʿawiya's reign distinctions of format were known according to the rank of the addressee. This information comes from a lost *Kitāb al-ḳalam wa'l-dawāt* of Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Madā'inī, who is perhaps identical with Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Madīnī (d. 581/1185, Brockelmann S I, 604, 10c). According to this work, caliphs were addressed on 2/3 *ṭūmār* (*li 'l-khulafā' fī ḳirṭās min thuluthay ṭūmār*), governors on 1/2, finance directors and secretaries on 1/3, merchants on 1/4, bookkeepers and geometricians on 1/6. Apart from these distinctions, it is worth noting that literary papyri have an almost square format whereas an oblong format, later on called *safīna*, was reserved for the Ḳur'ān. According to a statement by Ibn ʿAbdūs (d. 331/942), al-Walīd I (86-96/705-715) was the first Umayyad caliph who was addressed on *ṭawāmīr* and who introduced a larger format and a more elegant writing (*wa-amara bi-an tuʿaẓẓama kutubuhu wa-yudjallala 'l-khaṭṭ*). But ʿUmar II (99-101/717-720) was opposed to such extravagance and ordred the clerks to write closely (*bi-djamʿ al-khaṭṭ*); his own writings were only one span wide (*fa-kānat kutubuhu innamā hiya shibran*).

The state chancellery of the ʿAbbāsids had also a distinction of formats, described by al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946); he mentions the sizes of the sheets (*al-maḳādīr allatī yuktab fīhā min al-ḳarāṭīs*). The formats are the same as those used under the Umayyads, to which was added a 2/5 format for special (*khāṣṣ*) documents, autographed or dictated by the vizier. Al-Ṣūlī's informant on this point was Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Khaṣīb al-Anbārī, an intimate of the caliph of one day al-Murtaḍā (296/908) = Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*].

From the Mamlūk period we have no less than three lists which show some development in the formats. The oldest is that preserved by Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) in which he describes the sizes of the formats of the sheets (*maḳādīr ḳaṭʿ al-waraḳ al-ladhi yuktab fīhi*). Here also there are five formats, which however include only three of the early ones: 2/3, 1/2 and 1/3. The largest is an in-folio (*al-ḳaṭʿ al-kāmil*) used for treaties and the smallest is an ordinary format (*ḳaṭʿ al-ʿāda*) used for decrees and appointments of the lowest rank. The latter was therefore the format most commonly used and corresponded with the two early formats 1/4 and 1/6. The author adds that the formats are thus sufficiently explained and that the rest may be inferred by analogy (*tafṣīl lā'iḳ ḳis ʿalayhi wa-bi 'llāhi 'l-tawfīḳ*).

Al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418), the greatest authority on the secretarial art, also deals thoroughly with the formats and their history. His lists contain nine Egyptian and six Syrian formats. Besides the five ancient Egyptian sizes, he mentions three in-folios: two from Baghdād, a larger and a smaller, and a third from Syria. He also adds a particularly small size for use with carrier-pigeons (*al-ḳaṭʿ al-ṣaghīr min waraḳ al-ṭayr*). The four Syrian sizes were intended for the chancelleries in the province of Syria: *kāmil*, *1/2 ḥamawī*, *ʿāda* and *waraḳ al-ṭayr*. From al-Ḳalkashandī's explanations, it is clear that he does not conceive the names of the format as indicating parts of the sheet, but as indicating the width in Egyptian ells as used for measuring cloth, *e.g.*, 2/3 = *thuluthā dhirāʿ bi-dhirāʿ al-ḳumāsh al-Miṣrī*.

After al-Ḳalḳashandī, the number of formats increased still further and resulted in an excess of formats too numerous to systematize. An anonymous description of Egyptian chancellery procedure, dating from the end of the 9th/15th century, is preserved in a Paris manuscript under the title *Dīwān al-inshā'*. Quatremère used this in his introduction to his *Histoire des Mongols*, while Karabacek used it to try and introduce some order into the scattered data. In assuming that the Egyptian textile ell was 48.886 cm. and that the relationship of breadth to height was on average two to three, he was able to calculate all the formats in centimetres. His findings are put together in a table comprising fifteen formats, including the classical five formats, and in addition, no less than seven folio formats. Despite the enormous effort involved, the findings are somewhat uncertain, and an edition of the text would be desirable. This Egyptian development came to an abrupt end with the Ottoman conquest in 1517. As an Ottoman province, Egypt had no state chancellery.

Ottoman documents, according to Fekete, were always long and narrow, but the so-called Imperial Letters to foreign rulers had very varied and sometimes huge formats. The Arabic formats were apparently not known, but many styles of writing had names like *sülüs* and *ṭumar*. In the Mongol state chancellery also, paper was long and narrow, on the Chinese model. In the Arab east, *ḳaṭʿ* as a format is still not entirely forgotten (cf. the dictionaries of Belot, Elias, Wehr), while in Turkish the word *ḳiṭʿa* is in common use (cf. Samy, Heuser, Ağakay).

In religious history, the expression *ḳaṭaʿa yamīnan* = "to swear an oath", which Pedersen (*Der Eid bei*

den Semiten, 46 and 12 n. 5) compares with the Hebrew *ḳārat berīt* = "to make a covenant". As in other Semitic languages, *ḳaṭaʿa* acquires the meaning of "resolve", "decide". In logic, it means "to assert something decisively or refute someone completely" or, *e.g.* *ʿalima ḳaṭʿan* or *ʿala 'l-ḳaṭʿi*, "to know something with absolute certainty", *dalīl ḳaṭʿi*, "a conclusive proof". Compare further titles of books listed in Brockelmann, such as *al-Burhān al-ḳāṭiʿ*, *Ḳawāṭiʿ al-burhān*, *al-Barāhin al-ḳāṭiʿa* or *al-Ḳaṭʿiyya*.

A small Shīʿī sect is known as the *Ḳaṭʿiyya* because they "cut off" the line of Imāms with the death of Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

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ḲAṬʿ al-ṬARĪḲ [see ḳatl, ṣuʿlūk].

ḲAṬĀ (a.) is a collective noun (noun of unity: *-a*, pl. *ḳaṭawāt*, *ḳaṭayāt*) denoting the ornithological family of Pteroclididae or, with their Spanish name, *gangas* (English, sandgrouse), but without distinguishing species. This term, onomatopaeic for the cry of these birds, is a typical example of the language ingeniously adapting itself to the norms of Semitic triliteralism. It is given the root Ḳ-Ṭ-W/Ḳ-Ṭ-Y from which is derived the diminutive *ḳuṭayy* and to which are connected all the dialectal forms like *ḳṭāya/gṭāya*, *ḳṭawiyya/gṭawiyya*, *gaṭwa*, *gāṭū*, *gaṭṭū*.

In Islamic lands six species of sandgrouse are known; they are scattered among a score of geographical races but confined to the semi-desert and steppes. Out of six types the Arabs have distinguished just three, to which the others have been assimilated. The rather precise descriptions which encyclopaedists have given to these three different species make them easily identifiable (see al-Damīrī, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 252-6; Kushādjim, *Maṣāyid*, Bagdad 1954, 277-9; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 71). First of all they identify the *kudrī* (pl. *-iyya*, *kudr* and rarely *kadārī*, also called *ʿarabī* and *awraḳ*) corresponding to Lichtenstein's or the Close-Barred Sandgrouse (*Pterocles Lichtensteini*) which is the smallest of them. It has black spots and lacks a pointed tail. The male has a double yellow pectoral band clearly defined by a black bar. It lives not only in Africa (in the Ahaggar, the Aïr, the Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia) but also all along the western seaboard and in the south of Arabia as far as ʿUmān. It is unknown in central Arabia, but reappears in ʿIrāḳ and in Iran. Very similar to this sandgrouse is the Crested Sandgrouse (*Pterocles coronatus*) which has the same distribution in Africa apart from Ethiopia and Somalia. It reappears from the south of Sinai to the south of Palestine and from ʿIrāḳ as far as Balūčistān.

The second type recognised by the desert peoples is the *djūnī* (pl. *djūn*; also called *ghadaf* and *ghatmāʾ*, Persian *siyāh sīnah*, Turkish *bāḳir ḳarā*, Maghribī *guṭṭār*, *gaṭā ḥurr*, Berber *tigernāḍ*), which is the Black-bellied sandgrouse (*Pterocles orientalis*). It is found only in a zone between the 30th and 40th parallels north; in Africa only in the Maghrib from the Atlantic to the frontier of Cyrenaica (it is evenly distributed throughout southern Spain); in the east from Turkey to India; and in the north as far as the Tarbagatai. It is not recorded in the Sahara or Arabia. This sandgrouse, which is about the size of a large pigeon, and perhaps a third bigger than the *kudrī*, is recognizable by the velvety black of its abdomen, its dark wing quills, its cream pectoral band, its short tail and its light rasping cry, very different from the hoarse and sonorous "kata".

Two other sandgrouse have a dark belly, and from a back view may be confused with the former. They are on the one hand the Chestnut-bellied or Small Pintailed Sandgrouse (*Pterocles exustus*), which is found in Egypt, from Fayyūm to Luxor; in Africa, from Senegal to the Red Sea; in the south of the Sahara in a narrow band as far as Somalia; then in the South of Arabia except in the Yemen. In the north it is common in the Near East, and in the east, from Palestine to India. On the other hand, the Spotted Sandgrouse (Pterocles Senegallus; Sahara *gaṭṭū*, *gāṭū*) occupies broadly all the African Sahara between the lines Tiznit to Gabès in the North and Cape Juby to Somalia in the south; it is absent from the Maghrib. To the east of the Red Sea it occurs in all of Arabia, and in the north it is recorded from Jordan to Afghānistān and to the Punjab. It is the most widely distributed of the sandgrouse and is distinguished by the absence of a pectoral band and has, like the Black-bellied Sandgrouse, a blue supercilium. In the Sahara the Touareg population who, not without reason, liken the sandgrouse to the Columbidae, confuse under the same names the Crested Sandgrouse and Lichtenstein's Sandgrouse: *tamahaḳḳ*, from *tikadiwt* pl. *tikadewin*, (= "little stone") in the Adrar; *tagidūk* in the Aïr; and *idebir/tidebirt* pl. *idbar/tidbar*, *idberen/tidbirin* in the Ahaggar.

The last of the species of sandgrouse and the third distinguished by the Arabs is the *ghaṭaṭ*, (from its guttural cawing), the Large Pintailed Sandgrouse (*Pterocles alchata*, a taxonomic preservation of the

Arabic generic name). Its geographical distribution is the same as that of the Black-bellied Sandgrouse but extending also to Cyrenaica. As big as the latter, the cata has a white belly with a broad bright red band bordered by a black stripe across the chest. In the female, this breast plumage is bright yellow transversely crossed by a black streak like that of the male Lichtenstein's Sandgrouse. Both sexes have their eyes camouflaged with black.

The nomads could well be excused for having differentiated only three species of sandgrouse out of six, on account of the close similarity of the plumage of each one. All are predominantly sandy-yellow, with fine speckles giving a pearl-grey tone (*māriyya*) which assures complete mimesis, and all the species also display identical behaviour. With the added factor of sexual dimorphism, only a skilled ornithologist could draw up an inventory of this rather homogeneous family. On the other hand, few observers other than these desert people have known in detail the biology of the sandgrouse which, placed between the Columbidae and the Gallinaceae, are essentially granivorous and live principally at ground level. On the ground they look like little partridges with short legs, but in flight they resemble pigeons (see above, the Touareg names, which apply to the Columbidae also). Because their habitat is the semi-desert regions they are obliged to cover long distances (sometimes 50 km. or more) in order to quench their thirst. For this purpose they assemble in large flocks (*sirb*, pl. *asrāb*, *raʿla* pl. *riʿāl*) and reach the watering place in a great turmoil of cries in order to keep in contact; they cleave the air rapidly and some bathe while the mothers gorge themselves with water so that on their return they can regurgitate it into the parched gullets of their chicks. Their stop at the water source is very short and the birds hurry to get back to their own grounds.

From the earliest times in their life in solitary places, the Bedouin have had the time to notice all the details of the behaviour of the sandgrouse and to incorporate them into the dicta which the pre-Islamic poets turned to account (see al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ii, 110; al-Damīrī, ii, 252-6; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 217, 287, 573-81 and index). The sandgrouse, which is very fierce, flees at the slightest alarm and cries out in its distinctive manner. Therefore it is said: *ansab min al-ḳaṭā*, "more easily recognisable than the sandgrouse" or *aṣdaḳ min al-ḳaṭā*, "more plainly revealing itself than the sandgrouse". At night they are always alert and it is difficult to surprise them in their sleep; hence the nickname *ghaḍāra* (after Ibn Siduh) and the adage *law turika l-ḳaṭā laylan la-nām*, "if you leave the sandgrouse at peace at night, he will go back to sleep".

Kurʾānic law recognises the delicate flesh of this bird as licit for consumption, and it is a choice prey for the flesh-eaters and rapacious predators who relentlessly search it out, as another dictum demonstrates: *bīḍ al-ḳaṭā yaḥḍunu-h l-adjdal*, "It is the Saker falcon which sits on the eggs of the sandgrouse". The back hallux of the foot of the sandgrouse is very atrophied, hence to describe something very minute it can be said *aḳṣar min ibhām al-ḳaṭā* "shorter than the sandgrouse's thumb". The female lays her eggs right on the ground, in a tuft of grass (*ufḥūsa*), two or three eggs speckled with brown (*ʿurm*), from which comes her nickname *umm thalāth* "mother of three eggs". This extraordinary instinctive ability to come straight back to her nest, among the hundreds of nesting-places of the colony, after each "watering party", and then to recognise her own hatched chicks (*djawzal* pl. *djawāzil*) in order to give them water, this maternal solicitude joined with the attachment of the mate which shares all the tasks of educating the young, were such good examples that the admiration of the nomad was expressed in the saying *ahdā min al-ḳaṭā* "with a better sense of direction than the sandgrouse". Exposed and defenceless in a hostile world, where "the survival of the fittest" is the rule, these little chicks of the sandgrouse are unable to do without the protection and experience of their parents, from whom they have much to learn in the art of self-preservation, amid the many perils which threaten them; but in such a good school, they soon manage to acquire this permanent mistrust which is the secret of survival of the species. The tent dwellers, in their laconic way, knew how to crystalise all the wisdom to be drawn from this contrast of powerful and weak in this saying: *laysa ḳaṭān mithl ḳuṭayy* "Sandgrouse old and sandgrouse young make a pair".

It is of course round these watering points that man has at all times lain in wait for and captured the sandgrouse as a source of food, using in the process all the tricks and inventions born of his ingenuity in the art of birdcatching. Nooses, trip-nets, snares and all kinds of booby-traps are set up for them at the watering place, as a number of pre-Islamic verses prove. Very few poets indeed of the *Djāhiliyya* and the beginnings of Islam have omitted to cite the sandgrouse and its daily visit to the pool, which exposed it to the greed of the stalker. There are, first of all, these verses poignant with reality from the famous *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* (verses 36-42) attributed to Shanfarā. The poet, having returned to a life close to nature, overtakes at the watering place the parched flights of sandgrouse and contends with them for the vital element. Ḥumayd b. Thawr knew how to present the bird in its habitat (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1371/1951, 53 no. 6, verses 16-27), while Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā shows it fleeing before the attack of the falcon (*Dīwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, 36 no. 10, verses 13-24), a theme taken up again by al-Akhṭal (*Madjānī ḥadītha*, ii, 96). Also touching is the composition variously attributed to the Madjnūn of the ʿĀmir, to Ḳays b. Dharīḥ and to Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir (al-Damīrī, ii, 253; Aghānī, ii, 40; *Ḥayawān*, v, 577), which is thus conceived: (metre *wāfir*, rhyme *-āḥū*): "My heart, on the evening when it learned that he should go away with Laylā of the ʿĀmir on the morrow, in the morning or in the evening, was like a sandgrouse which had fallen into a snare and which struggled ceaselessly throughout the night, but in vain, its wing caught fast in the mesh."

The treachery of the nets did not escape Zuhayr when, comparing the speed of his charger with that of the sandgrouse in flight, he said (*Dīwān*, Tunis 1323/1905, 44 verse 13, metre *basīṭ*, rhyme *-kū*); "He is as swift as one of these [untiring] sandgrouse of the pools, but one which the drawers of water have chased, and whose companion the snares have ravished." In his turn, ʿUbayd (d. 90/709) evokes the same picture in this verse (*LA*, s.v. *SH-B-K*, metre *basīṭ*, rhyme *-dū*. "Or a flight of sandgrouse of Fayḥān which the snares and stalkers chased from the watering place of Yathriba".

Another characteristic of the sandgrouse which the poets have brought into relief is its embarrassed gait, caused by the smallness of its feet; it walks,

waddling along with measured step, head and tail erect and with its chest thrown out, evoking rather well the portly and majestic bearing of the woman of ample form, the ideal of feminine beauty for the Arabs. Al-Kumayt, among others, knew how to exploit this comparison (see *Ḥayawān*, v, 576); but it would not be possible to mention here all those who include the sandgrouse in their rhymes without making the list too long.

In the more concrete domain of the hunt, with the development under the ʿAbbāsids of the sport of hawking [see BAYZARA], an attempt was made to attract the goshawk to the sandgrouse, but without great success. Access to the grounds of this bird was already difficult, and the sandgrouse was little inclined to fly off individually. It was impossible to dislodge it from the dense thickets where it took refuge without recourse to a hunting dog (*zag̲h̲ārī*); bustards, partridges and francolins were put to flight more easily. As for falcons, they were too noble for this low flying. On the other hand they perfected the methods of capture with the net by joining to the swinging trip net the contrivance of a live calling bird (*daʿwā*) with a young pigeon disguised as a sandgrouse. ʿĪsā al-Asadī (7th/13th century) indicates in his vast cynegetic encyclopaedia (*al-D̲j̲amhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara*, ms. Escurial, Ar. 903, fols. 159b-160a) the way to transform this pigeon by dyeing its plumage with saffron or henna, and by docking its tail, to make it look like a sandgrouse. The stalker at the hut (*kawwāk̲h̲*) would set up his net upwind on days of high wind and place the pigeon a few metres in front, being able to make it move with the aid of a leash. When the flock of sandgrouse arrived flying very low in the wind, the hunter would make the calling bird jump about. To complete the resemblance, he would make the cry of the young sandgrouse by means of a decoy call made with a fine tongue of leather which vibrated between two wooden plates with the wind. The birds would begin their descent and would immediately see themselves covered by the clap net which dropped down. This method of hunting was very much in favour in ʿIrāḳ, and al-Asadī adds that the bird-netters of Bag̲h̲dād rivalled each other in exploits, sometimes going so far as to capture in this way more than fifty sandgrouse at a stroke.

Finally a third procedure, rather less sporting, consisted of going to the nesting sites, stretching above each nesting group a little net which was firmly fixed all around, only leaving a narrow access corridor to the eggs. The sitting bird (it was the male by day), which had fled on the arrival of the hunter, would come back very quickly to the nest to pursue its task and would reach the breeding place by using the corridor. The stalker, hiding not far away, would wait until all the nests were occupied again and getting up suddenly would come running and shouting loudly; the sandgrouse, panic-stricken, would rush into the meshes which stopped their flight. In modern times, firearms in most Muslim countries have supplanted most of these stratagems. As for the Touareg, they neither hunt nor eat the sandgrouse or even the pigeon any more; to them, catching this game is an amusement left to the children.

All things considered, it must be recognised that if it had not been for the ancient desert poets and the sporadic attention which they accorded the sandgrouse in their animal descriptions, which served as a setting for their *ḳaṣīdas* (see R. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 449), this bird would have been completely unknown in literature.

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ḲAʿṬABA, a small town close to the southern boundary of the Yaman Arab Republic (Northern Yaman) in the administrative district of Ibb [*q.v.*]. A short distance to the south of the other side of the boundary lies al-Ḍāliʿ, formerly the capital of the ʿĀmirī amīrate [*q.v.*] and now a forward base of the People's Democratic Republic of the Yaman (Southern Yaman).

Ḳaʿṭaba is located between the upper reaches of the Wādīs Tuban and Banā. Terraced fields in the surrounding rocky terrain produce cereals, fruit, coffee and *ḳāt* [*q.v.*]. At an altitude of over 1200 m. Ḳaʿṭaba is still much lower than D̲j̲abal D̲j̲iḥāf to the south and "the mighty rampart of the Yemen mountains" to the north. Although travellers can go from Aden to Taʿizz via Ḳaʿṭaba, the main route swings westwards before reaching al-Ḍāliʿ and Ḳaʿṭaba. The way north from Ḳaʿṭaba towards Yarīm and Ṣanʿāʾ is very difficult to traverse. Ḳaʿṭaba's importance derives primarily from its position as a border stronghold.

Ḳaʿṭaba is not mentioned by the older geographers such as al-Hamdānī, though they speak of the tribe of D̲j̲aʿda [*q.v.*] as dwelling in this region. In the 12th/18th century Ḳaʿṭaba was fought over by Yāfiʿ [*q.v.*] and other peoples in the vicinity. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1286/1869, the Ottoman government reinforced its authority in the Yaman and stationed a garrison in Ḳaʿṭaba. British influence having spread from Aden into the hinterland, a joint Anglo-Ottoman commission worked from 1319/1902 to 1323/1905 in demarcating a boundary line that left Ḳaʿṭaba just inside Yamanī territory. This line still divides Northern Yaman from Southern Yaman.

During World War I, Ottoman forces advanced from the Yaman against Aden, which they failed to capture after a long siege. After the close of the war, the Turks withdrew from the Yaman, and the Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] acquired full sovereignty over the country. As Yaḥyā claimed that the areas under British protection south of the boundary rightfully belonged to the Yaman, clashes took place along the line, with Ḳaʿṭaba being one of the most sensitive spots. Although Yaḥyā and Britain concluded the Treaty of Ṣanʿāʾ in 1352/1934, providing for the maintenance of "the situation existing in regard to the frontier [*al-ḥudūd*]", the troubles did not cease. Yaḥyā was assassinated in 1367/1948. When a revolution overthrew his grandson Muḥammad al-Badr in 1382/1968, the new Yaman Arab Republic adopted the old territorial claims of the imamate,

but the republican government was diverted by the civil war aginst al-Badr and his supporters.

In 1383/1963 the National Liberation Front, a leftist party in Aden and its hinterland, began an armed struggle against the British in Djabal Radfān south of Ḳaʿṭaba. This struggle culminated with the Front seizing power when the British evacuated Aden in 1387/1967 and establishing what is now called the People's Democratic Republic of the Yaman. Relations between the two Yamans have been strained, and the Aden government has charged that Northern Yaman uses Ḳaʿṭaba and other places as bases for subversive activities against its territory.

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ḲATABĀN, a pre-Islamic people of southwest Arabia, for knowledge of whom we are dependent on the ancient native inscriptions. They were known to the Greek and Latin geographers, under the names Κιτιβαῖνιται, Cattabanenses and other variants, but the data available from that source need to be controlled against the background of the primary epigraphic sources. Muslim writers had no knowledge of them as a people, though Yāḳūt records Ḳitbān as a simple place-name "in the region of Aden".

The distinctive culture of pre-Islamic southwest Arabia was that of a settled farming population, having at the base of its social structure the village community. A plurality of such communities formed a social unit described by a term corresponding to the Arabic word *shaʿb*; the cohesion of this unit was fundamentally economic, secondarily political and social, but it was not a kinship-group. At a third level of grouping we find cases where one *shaʿb* gained a dominance or hegemony over several neighbouring *shaʿb* groups. Finally, there is a fourth level of differentiation within the culture area as a whole, based on linguistic criteria: the language of the inscriptions is classifiable into four main dialects, and when the Greek geographers tell us that there were four principal "nations" in the area, it is clear that they are using the linguistic criterion of differentiation.

The existence of these various levels of grouping has led to some confusion in the use of the term Ḳatabanian, for scholars have not always been careful in distinguishing the levels at which the term is applicable. It is certain from the inscriptions that Ḳatabān was a *shaʿb*, whose territory consisted of the present-day Wādī Bayḥān [*q.v.*], and probably also the Wādī Ḥarīb [*q.v.*] parallel to it on the west; in ancient times, Bayḥān had been the name merely of one of a number of village communities which together constituted the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān. At certain periods in its history, however, the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān was the dominant element in a hegemony which extended over the highland plateau south of the Wādī Bayḥān (now the Yemeni province of al-Bayḍāʾ, anciently Awsan), and beyond that into Dathīna [*q.v.*], the lowland area at the foot on the escarpment which forms the southern boundary of the plateau. The classical geographers tell us that the Ḳatabanians extended as far as the Red Sea and Indian Ocean coasts: but in so doing they were probably referring to the linguistic "nation", *i.e.* the ethnic group which used the same dialect as the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān, for there is no epigraphic evidence to show that the latter ever exercised real political control over so wide an area. The most we can say is that there were certain social linkages between the Ḳatabanian heartland and the isolated highland massif in the extreme southwest of the peninsula of which today Taʿizz is the administrative centre, for the township of *Harbat* in the Wādī Ḥarīb was founded by immigrants from Sawwa, not far from Taʿizz.

There are some indications that, in the earliest phase of our historical records, it was the *shaʿb* Awsan which was the dominant partner in a confederacy covering to some extent the same area as the later Ḳatabanian confederacy. This is the most probable interpretation of the Ṣirwāḥ inscription (RES 3945), which records that Saba crushed Awsan and liberated Ḳatabān from Awsanian domination. F. Hommel supposed this to mean that Awsan then vanished completely and finally from the map, which is certainly wrong, since mention of Awsan occurs again much later— probably when the Ḳatabanian confederacy had in its turn broken up.

The chronology of Ḳatabān is still in some dispute. An American school, of which the protagonists are W. F. Albright and A. Jamme, hold that its history stretches from the 6th century B.C. or even earlier, down to the early years of the Christian Era. A continental school, headed by J. Ryckmans and J. Pirenne, dates the whole process some two centuries or so later. The only certainty at the moment is that there is no mention whatever of Ḳatabān in inscriptions from the 4th century A.D. onwards; and we are forced to believe that by this time Ḳatabān had disappeared from the political and social map. This is why Muslim writers knew nothing of it as a social entity, for such knowledge as they had of pre-Islamic affairs extends only to the couple of centuries immediately preceding Islam. It could also be surmised that it was the disappearance of Ḳatabān that paved the way for the rise of Bayḥān from being a mere village community to a social entity giving its name to the whole Wādī, but at the same time speaking of the king of Ḥaḍramawt as overlord: this suggests that Ḳatabān may have been overthrown by a Sabaean-Ḥaḍramī alliance, which assigned the former lands of the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān to Ḥaḍramī overlordship.

Apart from the uncertainty of the absolute chronology, a diversity of attempts have been made at establishing an internal relative chronology; but it is doubtful whether even the best of these can yet be regarded as definitive.

Archaeology. In this respect, the Wādī Bayḥān is better known than any other area of comparable size in the culture area, thanks largely to the intensive research campaigns of 1950-51 under the auspices of the American Foundation for the Study of Man. These concentrated much of their attention on a site now known as Hadjar Kuḥlān, anciently Θοῦμνα, Thomna, etc., and inscriptionally *Tmnʿ*. It lies at the far northern end of the Wādī, and though now engulfed in desert sands, was formerly a highly prosperous settlement. There was a rectangular walled town, one quarter of the area of which was an open market space, wherein stands a stela of ancient date containing the market regulations; a temple outside the walled town; and a burial ground at a small rocky outcrop now called Ḥayd Bin ʿAḳīl some few kilometres north-east of the town. This site was the metropolis of the Ḳatabanian confederacy in its

heyday; but it came to a violent end, being destroyed by fire. There are, however, indications that the original headquarters of the *s͟ha'b* Ḳatabān, before it emerged into paramountcy over the confederation, may have been at the site now called Had͟jar Bin Ḥumeyd, approximately halfway between Had͟jar Kuḥlān and the present administrative centre at Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, for the stratigraphic evidence here seems to indicate a very high antiquity indeed for the site.

Three possible routes link the Wādī Bayḥān with the Wādī Ḥarīb. One can skirt the northern end of the mountain range separating the two *wādīs*, but this route must always have been insecure, exposed as it is to attacks from desert tribesmen. Somewhat further there is a pass known as Naḳd Marḳad, devoid of inscriptional records but having on the eastern approach two stone walls which start from the sides of the valley and gradually converge, as they ascend, to a narrow opening at the summit of the pass; this ensures that caravans could only cross the pass at that precise point, thus facilitating customs control. Further south again there is a much more impressive relic. Due west of Had͟jar Bin Ḥumeyd, the Wādī Mablaḳa strikes up into the dividing mountain chain. At the head of this, one ascends by a steep zigzag climb up the mountainside, along a finely paved path of pre-Islamic date; at the very summit of the col, a way has been cut deep into the natural rock. The construction of the whole route is recorded in an inscription at the summit.

Another portion of what was evidently the same plan crossed a similar pass-road named Ẓr in an inscription; the exact location of this is unknown, but it certainly led westwards out of the Wādī Ḥarīb towards the Wādī D͟jūba and Mārib.

The whole Wādī Bayḥān was in ancient times agriculturally exploited by an elaborate irrigation system which has been studied in detail by a member of the 1950-51 expedition, G. van Beek.

In the Wādī Ḥarīb, the only site that has been inspected (though not yet systematically excavated) is that of the previously mentioned township *Harbat*, now called Had͟jar Ḥinu al-Zurayr, slightly north of the western exit from the Mablaḳa pass. The part of the Wādī further north has for political reasons been, until quite recently, inaccessible to scientific research. The same is true of the Wādī Markha, to the east of the Wādī Bayḥān, with its important site of Had͟jar al-Nāb, from which one could hope for considerable accretions to our knowledge of Ḳatabān.

Other sites in the Wādī Bayḥān itself which might repay further investigation include Maryama, situated at a point where the Wādī bifurcates some 8 km. south of Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, and just west of a pass leading towards the Wādī Markha.

The market regulations of *Tmn'* attest the keen interest of Ḳatabān in trade. A further index of this interest is the existence of a well-documented series of Ḳatabanian coins, starting in the 3rd century B.C. with imitations of Athenian "owl" coinage, and later developing into native types. *Tmn'* must to some extent have been a centre of international trade, for the Minaeans, who seem to have monopolized the traffic in aromatics, hae a resident colony there supervised by their own official called the "*kabīr* of the Minaeans in *Tmn'*"; and one type of Ḳatabanian coinage has a legend not in the usual "monumental" script of the settled populations, but in a north Arabian script style.

Ḳatabān in its later phase showed a very high degree of artistic achievement; and its art is mani festly greatly influenced by Greek models.

Religion. The History of Ḳatabān lies wholly within the polytheistic period, and its pantheon, as elsewhere in the culture area, was dominated by a triad of principal deities. Firstly, a lunar god called in the Ḳatabanian speaking territory by the name 'Amm (in the other linguistic nations he had different names). Secondly, 'At͟htar, so named throughout the culture area, the male counterpart of north Semitic Ashtaroth/Astarte, and usually considered to be the Venus-star. Thirdly, a solar goddess with no distinctive name but referred to simply as "sun", or by one or more of a series of feminine epithets. All the major deities, in fact, embrace a number of hypostases distinguished by varying epithets. There were also minor deities, whose functions and characteristics it is difficult to define.

About actual religious practices we know very little, for the Ḳatabanian language texts are as a whole markedly more secular in tone than the Sabaean ones. One interesting sidelight is that part of Dat͟hīna was farmed by *métayers* of the *s͟ha'b Kḥd*, while the proprietorial rights were vested in two clans of the *s͟ha'b* Ḳatabān: and this landlord-tenant relationship expressed itself in a common allegiance to a hypostasis of 'Amm with the distinctive epithet "of Labak͟h" (this last the name of a prominent mountain on the west side of the Wādī Bayḥān)—see Beeston, *Qahtan*, ii.

Institutions. The titular head of the *s͟ha'b* Ḳatabān was a king, *malik*; but he was by no means an autocrat. Legislative enactments were passed in the name of the king together with other functionairies having a variety of titles impossible to interpret with any precision, but who may have been grouped together under a name etymologically related to Arabic *sayyid*. The composition of the body probably varied according to the business in hand; in the market regulations a prominent role is played by the "overseer" (*'hr*) of the market, in irrigation texts by the landlords. The king was not supreme legislator but rather chief executive. His functions were to register, promulgate and secure the carrying out of the acts of the legislative body; to initiate major public works; and to act as commander in war.

He had moreover a dual role. By virtue of being head of the *s͟ha'b* Ḳatabān he was also head of the confederacy in which the *s͟ha'b* Ḳatabān was the dominant member—in rather the same way that the Queen of England is also "head of the British Commonwealth". As head of the confederacy, he used formally the title *mkrb* (vocalization unknown) of Ḳatabān, *i.e.* in this context, the Ḳatabanian confederacy. It must be stressed that a theory propounded by F. Hommel, and still unfortunately being given currency, has in the last few decades been proved conclusively to be unfounded and is not now believed by any expert: namely, that *mkrb* was the title of the "priest-ruler" (Accadian *ensi*) of a theocratic state anterior to the establishment of a secular state headed by a king.

The crucial evidence on this point is the inscription at the head of the Mablaḳa pass. This is in two parts: in the first (RES 2550) the credit for sponsoring the work is claimed for an individual styling himself *mkrb* of Ḳatabān; in the second (Ryckmans 390, not published until 1949), the director of public works states that he superintended the work "on behalf of his lord the king of Ḳatabān". King and *mkrb* are the same individual. It is clear that, to a member of the *s͟ha'b* Ḳatabān, his superior was simply "king of

Ḳatabān", but the latter, in sponsoring a major public work for the benefit of, and probably financed by, the whole confederacy, used the title *mkrb* which stressed his position as head of the confederacy and not merely of the *sha*ʿ*b*.

While it is possible that every *mkrb* may have been also a king, the reverse is not true. There are several instances of two brothers, or a father and son, being designated "joint kings of Ḳatabān", but the title *mkrb* never occurs in dual or plural. It would be safe to conclude, at least provisionally, that when there were two joint kings of the *sha*ʿ*b*, only one could be formal head of the confederacy.

Certain holders of the *mkrb* office list and elaborate series of other formal titles, among which two phrases deserve note. The *mkrb* is tax-collector (*qẓr*, cf. Tigrinya *taqʷāṣāri*), chief administrator (*qyn*), and priest, of the tutelary deity of the confederacy, ʿAmm; he was thus responsible for federal tax-collection and other administration, and for the maintenance of the federal cultus. Further, he is "first-born" (*bkr*) of that deity: this expression has to be evaluated in the context of the fact that all members of the Ḳatabanian confederacy are collectively the "children of ʿAmm", that is, under the special protection of the tutelary deity of the confederacy; there is no reason to think that "first-born" implies anything more than the primacy of status enjoyed by the head of the confederacy in relation to the other "children of ʿAmm".

One institution which emerges with greater clarity in Ḳatabān than elsewhere is the *corvée*. The maintenance of the great irrigational installations which served a number of properties was the responsibility of the landowners concerned, and the latter were obliged to provide for this purpose one day's *corvée* labour in each period of fifteen days (RES 3854 as reinterpreted in Beeston, *Calendars*, 6-7).

Language. The dialects of the culture area constitute an independent language within the southern branch of the Semitic languages, as distinct from Arabic as is, on the one hand Aramaic, and on the other Ethiopic (albeit in the later, post-Ḳatabanian, phase a good many Arabic lexical items begin to creep in). Of the Ḳatabanian dialect itself, the most noteworthy features are: (a) the prefix of the causative verb-system, and the base of the third person independent and affixed pronouns, are sibilants, as they are in Minaean and Ḥaḍramī, whereas Sabaean has *h* in these forms; (b) the imperfect indicative of verbs has a *b*-prefix, contrasting with absence of the prefix in subjunctive and jussive.

The script is the South Semitic alphabet used throughout the culture area (either directly ancestral to, or at all events closely related to, Ethiopic script), but with a fairly distinctive Ḳatabanian ductus, which in the earlier phases resembles Minaean ductus and in the latter phases evolves its own characteristic style of great beauty. The alphabet contains 29 consonantal symbols, representing the 28 consonant phonemes of Arabic plus an extra unvoiced sibilant phoneme.

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(A. F. L. Beeston)

ḲATĀDA b. DIʿĀMA b. ḲATĀDA AL-SADŪSĪ, ABU'L-KHAṬṬĀB, a Successor, who was blind from birth and who became proverbial (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 2) for his prodigious memory and his knowledge about genealogies, lexicography, historical traditions, Ḳurʾānic exegesis and the readings, and *ḥadīth*. Of Bedouin origin, he spent his life in Baṣra, where he is said to have gone about without a guide. He was the pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibn Sīrīn, and also transmitted the Ṣaḥīfa of Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 10, Eng. tr. ii, 23). He was considered to be a proponent of the doctrine of free will [see ḲADARIYYA], and it was he who gave their name to the Muʿtazila, but it is also said that he later renounced his Ḳadarī views. His exegetical teaching was written down by Saʿīd b. Bashīr (*Fihrist*, 51), who died in 168/784-5, according to Ibn ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 265-6. He was supposedly born in 60/680, and died of plague at Wāsiṭ in 117/735, but the information on the place and date of his death is contradictory.

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(Ch. Pellat)

ḲATĀDA b. IDRĪS, usually known as Abū-ʿUzaiyyiz, the ancestor of the *sharīf*s of Mecca from the beginning of the 7th/13th century. He was born in the district of Yanbuʿ, probably soon after 540/1145-6. Yanbuʿ, a fortress, on the Mecca-Medina road, was then dominated by the Ḳatāda family, one of the ʿAlawī families which belonged to the branch of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century Mukaththir b. Ḳāsim, *sharīf* and ruler of Mecca, died. He was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, the last *sharīf* from the ruling family of the Hawāshim. Ḳatāda b. Idrīs, who had earlier succeeded in uniting his tribe with the other tribes of the district of Yanbuʿ under his leadership, captured Mecca and killed Muḥammad b. Mukaththir. The last *sharīf*s of the Banū Hāshim had lived in an atmosphere of constant family strife and quarrels. Meanwhile, Ḳatāda had established himself in Yahbuʿ and extended his power southwards in the direction of Mecca, thus preparing his attack on the holy city.

Ḳatāda was a man of political genius. He pursued the idea of founding an independent state in Arabia, recognizing the weakness of both the ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād and the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria. Since neither they nor the Zaydīs of Yaman presented any real threat, he endeavoured to capture the whole of the Ḥidjāz. After repairing the ruinous walls of Mecca, he captured al-Ṭāʾif and brought the Thaḳīf tribes under his dominion. Ḳatāda rebuilt the fortress of Yanbuʿ, organized his army and then tried to capture Medina, but Sālim b. Ḳāsim, the *sharīf* of Medina, and a member of the Ḥusaynī branch of the ʿAlawī family, thwarted his purpose.

Although Ḳatāda was a Shīʿī, he acknowledged the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir. On the whole, however, his relations with the caliph were frequently strained and sometimes broke into open hostility. Nevertheless, the caliph, who was working to reunite the Muslim world under his leadership, once invited him to visit Baghdād. It is said that Ḳatāda started on his journey to the capital, but returned to his own country when he was met by an embassy of the caliph which had in its train fettered lions. Be this legend or fact, this much is certain, that Ḳatāda embodied his idea of the "splendid isolation of Ḥidjāz" in verses which are a typical illustration of his negative attitude towards foreign powers. Probably his encouragement of the Zaydī occupation of Yaman is to be viewed in the same light.

In 609/1212-13, the mother of Djalāl al-Dīn, leader of the Assassins, lord of Alamūt and the ally of al-Nāṣir, the ʿAbbāsid caliph, went to Mecca on the pilgrimage. Her visit coincided with the murder of Ḳatāda's cousin. Ḳatāda, who greatly resembled his cousin, was sure that he himself was the intended victim and that the murderer was an Assassin sent against him by the caliph. Greatly angered, he attacked and looted the ʿIrāḳī pilgrims and imposed a heavy fine on them, much of which was paid by the lady of Alamūt.

In his last days Ḳatāda undertook an expedition against Medina. Illness, however, induced him to return to Mecca, where he was killed in 618/1221 by his son Ḥasan, who suspected him of favouring one of his relatives as candidate for the throne. His descendants were ruling *sharīfs* in Mecca until 1916, when Ḥusayn converted the sharīfate into a kingdom.

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(A. S. Wensinck-[S. Zakkar])

KATAHR, a district of India to the east of Dihlī lying between the Rāmgangā and Shāradā rivers and hence the eastern part of the tract which, in the first third of the 18th century, came to be known as Rohilkhanḍ [*q.v.*]; but in Mughal times the name seems to have been applied loosely to the whole of that tract. The name (*Katahr* in the oldest Muslim sources, but *recte Kaṭahr*) is variously derived: W. Crooke, *Tribes and castes of the North West Provinces* and *Oudh*, Calcutta 1896, iii, 176, takes it as the name of the common soil of the tract, "a brownish loam of a thirsty tenacious nature requiring copious rain for irrigation"; others from the Kaṭehriyā Rādjpūts of the region, who may derive their name from the characteristic soil, although a local tradition takes it from their putative original home in Kāṭhīāwāṛ.

The Hindū tribes of the region had a reputation for turbulence and intransigence, and there are several accounts of operations against them in the sultanate period: in 652/1254 by Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, as a reprisal for the murder of a Muslim officer (Minhādj al-Sirādj Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, s.v. 9th regnal year); by Balban in 665/1267, after reports that the inhabitants were plundering all around them without restraint and that the local *iḳṭāʿdār* could no longer control them—his severe measures are said to have kept the region quiet for the next 30 years (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fērōz Shāhī*, ed. Bib. Ind., 55-9); Baranī (*op. cit.*, 288) includes the whole of Katahr in the regions affected by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's revenue reforms (*ca.* 701/1301); in about 779/1377-8 the murder of the governor of Badāʾūn by Rāy Khaṛgū, the chief of the Kaṭahriyā Rādjpūts, led to a terrible vengeance by Fērōz b. Radjab ("Fērōz Shāh Tughluḳ"), who laid waste the district, slaughtered thousands of Hindūs and enslaved some 23,000 more, and issued an order of regular punitive raids for the next five years, himself hunting regularly at Sambhal, "leaving nothing but the game" (Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, 140). Under the weak "Sayyid kings" of Dihlī, especially Khiḍr Khān and Mubārak Shāh [*qq.v.*], Katahr was in practically a continuous state of rebellion (*Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, *passim* after p. 182). Thereafter Katahr seems to have changed hands frequently between the Dihlī sultanate and the Sharḳī [*q.v.*] sultanate of Djawnpur, although it appears seldom in the chronicles. The last recorded rebellion from the region is that of one Ḳanbar Beg, shortly before Humāyūn's death, in 963/1555.

Under Akbar the *sarkār* of Badāʾūn, the principal town in the Katahr region, became part of the *ṣūba* of Dihlī; later the importance of Badāʾūn declined, and under Shāhdjahān the chief town of the region was Barelī ("Bareilly"). Awrangzēb later included the more western town of Sambhal in the *sarkār*, thus extending the connotation of "Katahr" to the region now generally known as Rohilkhanḍ. For its later history, see s.v. ROHILKHANḌ.

See also HIND, above, map facing p. 428; BADĀʾŪN; SAMBHAL.

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(J. Burton-Page)

KATAK [see ORISSA].

KATANGA (now Shaba), region in the south-east corner of the modern Republic of Zaïre, formerly Congo (now Kinshasa). Here, between the Congo-Zambesi watershed and the forests of the central Congo basin, the land slopes gently down, hundreds of miles of open bush country, relatively heavily populated, producing corn, rice, sugarcane and other crops. Falls on the Lulaba River cut Katanga off from water transport on the Congo; the

region's main avenues of approach were from Benguela via Bihé on the west, and from Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa on the east. The principal highway of Islamic penetration in eastern Africa, however, from the coast to Lake Tanganyika, where by 1840 a permanent trading centre had been established at Ujiji, continued thence due east to Maniema and the Luapula valley, where Islam has struck its deepest roots in Zaïre. Only a branch route turned southwards. Tippu Tip, the most outstanding of the so-called "Arabs" from the east coast of Africa, in the Congo, may perhaps for a time, about 1870, have operated in conjunction with Msiri, ruler of Katanga, against the Lunda of Kazembe; but later it was reported that Msiri had plundered one of Tippu Tip's lieutenants. Tippu Tip travelled through Urua, in northeast Katanga, early in his career, but found the area disappointingly sparse in ivory, the main export item, together with slaves, to the east coast, and his attention was finally diverted northwards. For these reasons, the story of Islam in Katanga remains but a minor theme in the general development of Islam in Zaïre.

A state called Garenganze had grown up in the Katanga region under Msiri, a Nyamwezi immigrant. Nyamwezi trade with Katanga may have begun as early as 1800; Msiri's father, Kalasa, had often visited the region to buy copper. Msiri was once able, with the aid of a few guns, to render valuable help to the local Sanga chief, and became his heir. Both the Sanga and the Lamba over whom Msiri also became ruler, had been vassals of neighbouring Kazembe; Msiri successfully beat back an attempt by Kazembe to re-assert his authority. Msiri, strengthening his position as much as possible by encouraging immigration, welcoming refugees, amassing slaves, and building up an armoury, came to rule an area the size of Great Britain, from the Lualaba to Lake Mweru and the Luapula, and from the Luvua to the Congo/Zambesi watershed.

Such a state was attractive to traders, and these came from all quarters, Zanzibar, Uganda, Nyamwezi country, the Zambesi, Lake Nyasa, Angola and the Congo basin. Some of the incoming traders Msiri tempted to stay on, with gifts of land and women. Ivory, salt, slaves, iron and copper were exported. Copper, crosses of which served as currency in the region, was particularly important. The Arabs introduced brassworking at Ujiji, one part of zinc from the coast to two of Katanga copper. Arab influence grew at Bunkeya, Msiri's capital; the "Arabs" had reception days at court, when their master traders presented Msiri with gifts. Msiri depended upon these traders, above all for his arms supply; but he was envious of their wealth and fearful of their power. When in 1886 the first Christian missionary, F. S. Arnot, arrived, Msiri welcomed him, in part as a counterweight to the "Arabs". At Arnot's first interview with Msiri, he was introduced to several "Arab" traders from Zanzibar. The "Arabs" had evidently promulgated infamous stories about the English, to prejudice Msiri against them, but he suspended judgment, remarking that he did not yet know the English while he did know the "Arabs". Arnot visited a camp of "Arab" traders at the capital, where he saw numerous slaves, mostly full-grown men and women. He watched a man being bought for ten yards of calico, and was told that a woman or a young lad might fetch from twelve to sixteen yards. Grown men, untameable and liable to escape, were less valuable. Slave sticks were in use. Slave babies were often killed. Arnot, of the Plymouth Brethren, was followed by other Brethren missionaries. Rivalry grew between the missionaries and the "Arabs": the latter ridiculed reading the Bible from left to right, the material poverty—in accord with strict Brethren principles —of the missionaries, and their failure to supply Msiri with munitions. The extent of Islamic religious influence in Katanga is hard to gauge, but was almost certainly very slight: Muslim written charms were evidently prized for healing; some immigrants from the east recommended that Msiri punish theft by amputating the hand, but he demurred, preferring the death penalty; he did prohibit smoking and snuff. But these are only scraps of evidence, and may not all even reflect Islamic influence.

Until the end of 1891, Msiri steadfastly refused to acknowledge the claim of the Congo Free State of King Leopold of the Belgians, to the territory, and in December of that year he was killed by a State agent. These events happened in relative isolation from the mainstream of Muslim development further north. There, in 1887, Tippu Tip accepted appointment as governor by the Congo Free State, placing his domains nominally under the State. This rapprochement did not last long: in 1892 war between the State and the "Arabs" broke out, and by 1895 the power of the latter was broken, their main leaders dead or fugitives. In Katanga, there was confusion, unchecked "Arab" slave-raiding and famine; Msiri's authority had begun to crumble even before his death, and the State was only very gradually able to impose control. The State introduced, incidentally, a new Islamic element, for some of the State troops were Hausa Muslims.

Following the consolidation of the Congo Free State, later the Belgian Congo, the natural links eastwards of Congolese Muslims were for a time dislocated. The Belgian authorities were generally more suspicious of, and hostile to, Islam than were French and British colonial governments in several other, more Muslim, part of black Africa. Contacts with East Africa recovered, partly as a result of German employment of coastal Muslims as government servants in the interior of German East Africa. In 1932-5, the Ḳādirīya *ṭarīḳa* was observed spreading among the Muslims of the Congo. The first national Muslim Congress met in Kasongo in March 1964.

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(H. Fisher)

ḲAṬANIYA [see ṢIḲILIYYA].

ḲAṬAR, in the local pronunciation Giṭar, a peninsula of some 4,000 square miles in area which juts out into the Arabian Gulf. It is about 115 miles long and 55 miles broad at its widest part. The discoveries of the Danish archaeological expeditions from 1956 to 1964 show that Ḳaṭar had been inhabited since prehistoric times, the earliest object found, a pair of hand-axes, dating from about 4,000 B.C. The earliest Arabic prose source to mention it is the *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, who notes it briefly as one of the stops on the route from Baṣra to ʿUmān; this despite the fact that it is believed to have provided the *nisba* of the Azraḳī K͟hārid͟jī Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fud͟jāʾa. It is briefly mentioned by al-Hamdānī in a list of Arabian place-names and elsewhere as a halt on a route. Even much later, neither Yāḳūt nor Ibn Manẓūr gives significantly more information

on Ḳaṭar. It is mentioned in Umayyad poetry; indeed, Yāḳūt cites a reference from Djarīr. Ibn Ḥawḳal makes an early mention of Ḳaṭarī pirates, and Masʿūdī mentions the waters of Ḳaṭar as a source of pearls.

For such a prominent physical feature, it attracted strangely little notice from European travellers in the Gulf area. Early maps show Ḳaṭar only as a slight bulge on the mainland and the first representation of it as a peninsula is on Arrowsmith's map of 1825. Although by 1825 two ships of the Indian Navy had surveyed this whole area, it was not until comparatively recently that the complete outline of Ḳaṭar was accurately mapped.

Yāḳūt mentions Ḳaṭar as a settlement (*ḳarya*) and Pedro Teixeira at the end of the 16th century calls it "a port of Arabia". Whether or not it was a "settlement" or a "port", much of the history of Ḳaṭar does centre around settlements on or near the sea rather than round a country. It was only under the ruling Āl Thānī dynasty that the various city states were finally united.

In 1766 the Āl Khalīfa clan of the ʿUtūb immigrated from Kuwayt and occupied Zubāra on the western shore of the peninsula. With their arrival begins the modern period in the history of the country and the only one for which we have adequate information. At this time there were already settled in Ḳaṭar the Āl Musallam clan of the Banū Khālid in Ḥuwayla, the Maʿāḍīḍ and other Āl b. ʿAlī in Fuwayriṭ, and in Dawḥa (then called Bidʿ) (cf. above), Suwaydī refugees (Sūdān) from that part of eastern Arabia later called Trucial Oman.

A little later, ʿUtbī kinsmen of the Āl Khalīfa, the Djalāhima, joined them at Zubāra. Dissension arose between them, and the latter removed to Ruways where they took to piracy. Although they were later nearly exterminated by the Āl Khalīfa and their allies, their piracies combined with their feud with the Āl Khalīfa were an important factor in the history of the area.

The occupation of Baṣra by the Persians from 1776-9 brought an influx of merchants to Zubāra and it became for some time the centre of the pearl trade and of trade in general in eastern Arabia. It successfully defended itself against a number of Persian attacks and after the failure of the 1783 expedition, the Āl Khalīfa, together with ʿUtūb from Kuwait, mounted a successful expedition against Baḥrayn and Aḥmad b. Khalīfa became the first ʿUtbī ruler of those islands.

The Djalāhima, by this time at Khawr Ḥassān (now called Khuwayr), began to play a dominant role in Ḳaṭar and, by 1809, under the famous Raḥma b. Djābir, then in alliance with the Wahhābī power, they controlled even Zubāra. Indeed in 1810-11, through the alliance with the Djalāhima, a Wahhābī, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUfayṣān, governed Ḳaṭīf, Ḳaṭar and Baḥrayn. In 1811 after a successful expedition by Sayyid Saʿīd of Muscat against Zubāra and Khawr Ḥassān, the Wahhābīs withdrew from Baḥrayn and Ḳaṭar and the Āl Khalīfa returned to power. Raḥma withdrew to Dammām and pursued his feud with the Āl Khalīfa from there and from other centres in the Gulf. During all of this time he was careful in his piracies not to attack British ships, and this policy gave him immunity from their reprisals. Indeed, in 1817 he fought successfully against the Ḳawāsim, the pirates of Raʾs al-Khayma and al-Shāriḳa, who so successfully harried the ships of the area, including those of the British.

Meanwhile Bidʿ (later Dawḥa) was destroyed by a British cruiser in 1821 as a reprisal for acts of piracy committed by some of its inhabitants, but by 1823, under the Āl Bū ʿAynayn, was still the only port in the peninsula to possess trading ships. Though still in this period and until 1840 nominally subject to the *Shaykh* of Baḥrayn, in fact, though not openly contested, his suzerainty was not accepted, though for a time Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh did indeed reside in Ḳaṭar.

It is a feature of all of the earlier history of Ḳaṭar that the inhabitants of its city-states would remove or be removed within the area. Many of these migrations are of importance later when they are used as proofs in the kind of territorial disputes which were important to the area after 1918. Thus in 1828 the Āl Bū ʿAynayn were removed after a revolt to Ruways and Fuwayriṭ and the inhabitants of Ḥuwayla were re-settled in Baḥrayn after a revolt in 1835. More important for Ḳaṭar, however, were movements of the Banī Yās from the area of Abū Ẓabī [*q.v.*]. The Banī Yās under Suwaydān, by their maritime depredations from Dawḥa, brought the then ruler of Abū Ẓabī close to war with Baḥrayn. This raiding ceased when Suwaydān returned to Abū Ẓabī in 1828, but the Banī Yās had fines for piracy laid on them in 1835 and many emigrated to Khawr al-ʿUdayd to avoid payment of these, leaving only in 1878. In this period this group was the cause of much friction between Ḳaṭar and Abū Ẓabī. The piracies of one of these emigrants, Djāsim b. Djābir, continued despite energetic attempts to apprehend him. In 1841, however, his ship was seized and burnt at Dawḥa, although Djāsim himself escaped.

The Ḳaṭarīs were also involved to some extent in the hostilities of 1840-9 between the rival Baḥraynī *shaykhs*, ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad. The Ḳaṭarīs went to the aid of Muḥammad, who had seized Murayr and Fuwayriṭ in Ḳaṭar, when he used them as a base for the successful attack on Muḥarraḳ in Baḥrayn, which established him firmly there in 1843. But for the peace agreed in 1851 between the Shaykh of Baḥrayn and the Suʿūdī Amīr, Fayṣal b. Turkī would have occupied Dawḥa, Wakra and Fuwayriṭ. He was in the position to do so and it seems sure that their inhabitants would have preferred this to the Baḥraynī connection. Certainly, after this time the *shaykh* of Baḥrayn paid a yearly tax to the Suʿūdīs to ensure the safety of Ḳaṭar from attacks by tribes within their sphere of control. However, late in 1867 Baḥrayn and Abū Ẓabī launched a joint attack on Dawḥa and Wakra, totally destroying them and removing their population. From then to the present day, relations between Ḳaṭar on the one hand and Baḥrayn and Abū Ẓabī on the other have remained uneasy.

One of those who had fled from Dawḥa was Muḥammad b. Thānī of the Āl Thānī of the Maʿāḍīd. He was induced, because of his great influence, to sign an agreement in September 1868 with the British, by the terms of which he was virtually established in Dawḥa. Although this was in effect the beginning of the rule of the Āl Thānī, little is known of them before this date other than that a kinsman, ʿĪsā b. Ṭarīf, had emigrated from Ḳays Island to Dawḥa in 1843 and was killed in battle four years later near Fuwayriṭ.

In mid-1871 a deputation was sent to Dawḥa by the Turks, who had recently occupied Ḳaṭīf, and Shaykh Djāsim (perhaps better Ḳāsim) b. Muḥammad of the Āl Thānī was persuaded to accept the Turkish flag. Despite this Bedouin and Wahhābī forces

driven out of al-Ḥasā began to use Ķaṭar as a base for military harassment of the Ottomans. The Turks as a result landed troops and guns at Dawḥa in 1872 and stationed themselves nearby; but the Āl Thānī nevertheless remained the paramount *shaykhs*: in 1876 Djāsim was appointed *ķā'im-maķām* of Ķaṭar, and in 1879, after the death of his father, governor of Dawḥa. Relations were no longer good, however. By 1890 Djāsim had attempted to resign his responsibilities and there were outbreaks of hostilities between the big tribal alliances.

In 1878, however, Djāsim was able to evict the Naʿīm from Zubāra, which they had settled some years earlier, their repeated piracies having provided adequate pretext. This action had far-reaching repercussions, since the Naʿīm were the last tribal group in Ķaṭar to accept the writ of Baḥrayn consistently, and this acceptance of their suzerainty gave substance to Baḥraynī claims to rule all or part of Ķaṭar. Zubāra remained an uninhabited place long after this engagement. This event caught the imagination of the Ķaṭarīs and they have much oral literature on this theme and on the theme of the hostilities between Ķaṭar and Abū Ẓabī in the years immediately following.

The Banī Yās had left ʿUdayd in 1878; then in 1880 the Ķubaysāt removed to Abū Ẓabī, and the consequent loss of Ķaṭarī influence in ʿUdayd caused further bitterness in Djāsim. The next ten years were marked by some maritime raids but more by raids on land between these two principals. The raids increased in scale and one of the engagements, a raid against Dawḥa in 1888, ended in the death of Shaykh Djāsim's son ʿAlī.

Relations with the Turks were also worsening, and in early 1893 Djāsim refused a summons from the visiting *wālī* of Baṣra. The Arabs were provoked into an engagement to the north of Dawḥa. In this, however, the Turks were forced to withdraw in poor order, although their losses were much lighter than those of the Arabs. Peace was soon restored, and a later rising in 1898 seems to have been a small affair in comparison. The jurisdiction of the Turks still extended not much beyond Dawḥa.

In 1895 two *shaykhs* of the Āl b. ʿAlī, Sulṭān b. Salāmah and Nāṣir b. Mubārak, made an attempt to seize Baḥrayn. These *shaykhs* had removed from Baḥrayn and gathered a sizeable armada in the north of Ķaṭar. They had the support of the local Ottoman *mudīr* and also apparently of Shaykh Djāsim, though the latter claimed that he was not concerned. Peace was made only after a large number of ships had been seized or destroyed by the British.

Shaykh Djāsim died in 1913, shortly after the conclusion of the convention by which Turkey renounced any claims to Ķaṭar. Then during 1916 Britain's relations with Ķaṭar were regulated by a treaty on the same lines as those with Baḥrayn and Trucial Oman. Some of its clauses, however, were not put into effect at that time; and no resident Political Agent was appointed, responsibility falling to the Political Agent in Baḥrayn.

The status of Zubāra would still seem to have been a matter of dispute. Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh (1913-49) occupied it in 1937, and though this was not accepted by Baḥrayn, the matter has been left largely in abeyance. In 1949 Saudi Arabia raised a claim to a strip of land in South Ķaṭar, but although these claims were discussed in 1952 they were not pursued. Boundary disputes in Eastern Arabia have assumed a different complexion since the discovery of oil in the area. Oil was discovered in Ķaṭar in 1940, the discovery well having an estimated production capacity of 5,000 barrels a day. War shortages, however, inhibited further development. By 1969 output had however reached nearly 17 m. tons and there has been considerable development, especially off-shore, since 1969.

Meanwhile the population of Ķaṭar, although it has increased greatly, is still relatively small (about 150,000 in 1970) and concentrated largely around the capital Dawḥa. The British role in Ķaṭar after the end of hostilities in 1945 was related increasingly to specialist and technical aspects of external and defence affairs and the country has been since September 1971 an independent Arab country.

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ĶAṬARĪ b. al-FUDJĀ'A, the last chief of the Azraķī Kharidjīs [see azāriķa], celebrated both as poet and as orator. He belonged to a clan of the Tamīm (the tribe which furnished one of the most noteworthy contingents to these rebels), the Banū Kābiya b. Ḥurķūṣ b. Māzin (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 82). The name of his father, al-Fudjā'a, is said to have been a surname and his real name was Djaʿwana. Like other Arab chiefs, al-Ķaṭarī had a double *kunya* (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 267, Eng. tr. i, 242): Abū Muḥammad in peace and Abū Maʿāma in war (Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, i, 342, iii, 264). Of his youth we only know that he took part under the command of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, along with several other chiefs, among whom was al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra al-Azdī, destined later to become his bitter enemy, at the submission of Sidjistān in 42/662 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 396; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318, 405; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, iv, 161). He must have reached a fairly mature age when, in 69/689,

he was acclaimed "Caliph" of the Azraḳīs when the latter, defeated by al-Muhallab and his lieutenants, were passing through a very serious crisis. Ḳaṭarī, endowed with tremendous energy and indifferent to danger, was able to arouse the enthusiasm of his partisans, and after leading back the remnants of the army into the mountains of Kirmān, reorganised them; he then went down again into ʿIrāḳ, occupied Ahwāz and threatened Baṣra. Kept for a long time in check by al-Muhallab, he nevertheless succeeded in maintaining his position on the left bank of the Dudjayl even after ʿIrāḳ, as a result of the defeat of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr at Maskin (72/691), had fallen into the hands of ʿAbd al-Malik. Finally al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, appointed governor of ʿIrāḳ, decided to reappoint al-Muhallab to the command against the Azraḳīs, in which he had been replaced without success by other chiefs. Al-Muhallab soon drove the rebels across the Dudjayl and assuming the offensive, pursued them into the very centre of their power, Kirmān. Ḳaṭarī nevertheless was able to hold out for a long time in his lines (it is to this period that a silver coin with a legend in Pahlavi and Arabic of the year 75/694 struck in the name of Ḳaṭarī as *Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, refers [see *ZDMG*, xii (1858), 52, no. 303]). The dissensions that broke out within the Azraḳī army between Arabs and *Mawālī* resulted in a split: Ḳaṭarī had to leave the town of Djīruft which was the Azraḳī headquarters and take refuge along with the Arabs in Ṭabaristān, while the *Mawālī* continued to hold Djīruft under the command of their chief, ʿAbd Rabb or ʿAbd Rabbihi (there are two individuals of this name among the *Mawālī*, distinguished by the epithets *al-Kabīr* and *al-Ṣaghīr*, and the sources give the rank of commander sometimes to one and sometimes to the other, or even distinguish two groups of the *Mawālī* which separated successively from al-Ḳaṭarī and were led by ʿAbd Rabbihi the Great and the Less respectively). This division proved fatal, for al-Muhallab had no difficulty in routing the *Mawālī* and killing their chief; al-Ḥadjdjādj sent the Kalbī warrior Sufyān b. al-Abrad against Ḳaṭarī: or rather the latter (according to a tradition recorded by al-Yaʿḳūbī) as governor of Rayy received the appeal which the *iṣpahbādh* [*q.v.*] addressed to him on behalf of the people of Ṭabaristān who were exasperated by the rigid application of the *djizya* by Ḳaṭarī. The Azraḳīs, surprised by Sufyān's troops in a defile in the mountains, suffered a decisive defeat. Ḳaṭarī, who fell under his horse and was abandoned by his followers, was discovered and killed by a local inhabitant. His head was cut off and borne in triumph to Kūfa and then to Damascus to be presented to the caliph. The remnants of the Azraḳīs under ʿAbīdā b. Hilāl al-Yashkurī fled to Sadhawwar, a stronghold near Kūmis (Yāḳūt, iii, 62) where they sustained a long siege from Sufyān; having exhausted their supplies, they made a desperate sortie and were wiped out. The chronology of these events is far from certain: the sources which say that Ḳaṭarī was in command for 13 or even 20 years are of no value. According to Wellhausen (see *Bibl.*), the election of Ḳaṭarī as caliph probably took place at the end of 69 A.H. and his death in 78 or 79.

Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa represents in striking fashion the type of Khāridjī intransigeant and also that of Arab *sayyid*, half-cavalier and half-brigand. Like the other Azraḳīs, as a result of his fanatical zeal, he preached and practised *istiʿrāḍ* [*q.v.*] and declared the *ḳaʿada* or quietists to be infidels. On the other hand, he was proud of his Arab blood and of his Bedouin character.

Like several other illustrious Khāridjīs, he had a real talent as orator and poet. One of his alleged orations is recorded by Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 126-9; *ʿIḳd*[1], ii, 195-6, *Fihrist*, 125, but R. Blachère (*Hist. de la Lit. arabe*, iii, 734) thinks that it might have been written in the 3rd/9th century. A few pieces in which he celebrates his wife Umm Ḥākim, who was also a convinced and brave Khāridjī, have been preserved. But amongst the most famous of his poems is the fragment given in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām (i, 333, see also i, 44, 286), and often cited with numerous variants. His poems of a politico-religious character are remarkable for the elevated style and a heroic contempt for death and place their author in the first rank of Khāridjī poets.

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(G. Levi Della Vida*)

KĀTH, the ancient capital of Khʷārazm [*q.v.*], situated on the east bank of the main channel of the Amū Daryā or Oxus a short distance from modern Khīwa. According to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 222, Kāth meant in Khʷārazmian a wall or rampart within the steppe, even if it enclosed no buildings, but there is nothing in what we know of Khʷārazmian to confirm this; it is conceivable that there is some connection with Sogdian *kath*, *kanth*, "town", though this is wholly conjectural. The site of Kāth was affected by changes in the channels of the river, and was accordingly moved at various times.

Little is known of Kāth in the pre-Islamic period. Markwart conjectured that in the early 5th century A.D. Bahrām Gūr's brother Narseh may have been established in Kāth as *marzbān* or warden of the northeastern Iranian territories newly conquered from the Turkish Ḳaghan (*A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, ed. G. Messina, Rome 1931, 44-5). It became the capital of the Afrīghid dynasty of Khʷārazm-Shāhs, and at the time of Ḳutayba b. Muslim's invasion of Khʷārazm in 93/712 it is described, under the name of al-Fīl, as one of the three cities of that region (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 423; Ṭabarī, ii, 1237-8). As well as being the centre of the old Khʷārazmian culture—a culture impaired by the destructions of the Arabs—it was also, according to an 8th-century *Notitia episcopatum*, the seat of a bishopric of the Christian church, χουάλης; this bishopric was probably Orthodox or Melkite, and had links with the Khazar lands on the lower Volga (see Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, 246-7, 359). The caliphal envoy Aḥmad b. Faḍlān came to the Khʷārazm-Shāh's court at Kāth in 309/921-2 en route for Gurgāndj and the journey across the steppes to Bulghār (A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939, §§ 7-8).

It is to the geographers of the 4th/10th century that we owe the most detailed descriptions of Kāth at the time of its florescence, in particular to Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Maḳdisī and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*.

Maḳdisī, 287-8, calls it Shahristān, *i.e.*, the capital of the province, and describes its splendid bazaars and Friday mosque and its community of scholars, whilst commenting unfavourably on the filthiness of its streets, which were probably often waterlogged because of the numerous canals or *ariḳ*s. The city had been dominated by the ancient citadel, with its triple enceinte and palaces, of the Afrīghids called Fīl or Fīr (the latter form in Bīrūnī), but this fortress and the older city itself were gradually undermined by the river waters and in the early 4th/10th century had to be abandoned. The vestiges were, however, still visible in 384/994 to Bīrūnī [*q.v.*], himself a native of the *bīrūn* or environs of Kāth (*al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, 35). A new town had therefore to be built further eastwards, away from the encroaching river. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (completed 372/982), tr. 121, cf. 370-1, spells the city's name as Kāzh and calls it "the gate of the Turkistān of the Ghūz and the emporium of the Turks, Turkistān, Transoxania and the Khazars". The author mentions amongst its products textiles and mailed or quilted coats, and names one of its exports as snow; its people, he says, are celebrated for their warlike qualities and their zeal as *ghāzī*s or fighters for the faith against the pagan Turks.

The end of Kāth's great days as the political centre of Khʷārazm came in 385/995 when the Afrīghids were overthrown by the Maʾmūnid amīrs of Gurgāndj [*q.v.*], long the political and commercial rival of Kāth; Kāth was now eclipsed and sank into a subordinate position (on these events, see KHʷĀRAZM and KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through al-Kāt, as he calls it, in 732/1332-3, and describes it as a small place and as being the only settlement on the road from the city of Khʷārazm (sc. Kunya-Urgenč, older Gurgāndj) to Bukhārā (*Riḥla*, iii, 20, tr. Gibb, iii, 549-50). During the early 8th/14th century, Kāth and Khīwa, one day's journey from it, fell within the Čaghatayid Khānate; and in 773/1372 Kāth was devastated by Tīmūr during his warfare with Toḳtamīsh, but subsequently had its walls restored by him. By the 11th/17th century it was on a dry canal, hence the ʿArabshāhid Khān of Khīwa, Anūsha b. Abī 'l-Ghāzī (1074-98/1663-87) built a new Kāth on the western side of the Oxus. The ruins of old Kāth became known as Shaykh ʿAbbās Walī, after a local saint, and are now known as Shabbaz (Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren*, 83); a modern village and fort occupy part of the ancient site.

Bibliography: For general history, see E. Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwârazm*, in *SBWAW*, lxxiii (1873), 489 ff.; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 144-6, 185, 275 ff.; and S. P. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 246-7, 253 ff. The accounts of the Islamic geographers are resumed in Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 446-8. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḲĀṬHIYĀWĀṚ [see DJUNAGAṚH].

KAʿTI, MAḤMŪD B. AL-ḤĀDJDJ AL-MUTAWAKKIL, Soninke scholar and *ḳāḍī* who died at Arkiya near Tinbuktū on 1 Muḥarram 1002/27 September 1593. His date of birth is not known, though he is said to have been born during the reign of Askia al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad I (898-934/1493-1528). The few details we have of his life appear in scattered references in the *Taʾrīkh al-fattāsh* and al-Saʿdī's *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*. Among his teachers was Aḥmad (b. Muḥammad) b. Saʿīd (d. 976/1568), who was active in Tinbuktū from 960/1553. He received favours from Askia Dāwūd (reigned 956-90/1549-82) and married one of his daughters. In 996/1588 we hear of him as *ḳāḍī* of Tindirma, a town on the Niger south of Lake Fati.

Maḥmūd Kaʿti wrote a work of history concerned with Songhay (and perhaps also the earlier states of the Western Sūdān). His historical interests were inherited by his sons, Ismāʿīl (also a *ḳāḍī*), Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Amīn, who appear to have made some written notes, perhaps adding to their father's work. Maḥmūd's son-in-law, al-Mukhtār Gombele (? - text *k-n-b-l*), also shared these interests and passed them on to an unnamed son who drew on the Kaʿti family's materials and other sources written and oral in compiling the *Taʾrīkh al-fattāsh* some time after 1075/1654-5.

The *Taʾrīkh al-fattāsh* may have been begun by an earlier Kaʿti (also called Maḥmūd) in 925/1519, but Levtzion has argued that the attempt to link the work with the reign of Askia al-Ḥadjdj Muḥammad I arises from the 19th-century manipulation of the text by (or at the behest of) Aḥmadu Lobbo [*q.v.*]. The historicity of the earlier Maḥmūd Kaʿti and the precise history of the text itself remain problems as yet unsolved.

Bibliography: The *Taʾrīkh al-fattāsh* was published with a French translation by O. Houdas and M. Delafosse, Paris 1913-4 (Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Vᵉ série, vol. X). Problems of the work's authorship and textual history have been studied by J. Brun, *Notes sur le Tarikh el-Fettach*, in *Anthropos*, ix (1914), 590-6; J. O. Hunwick, *Studies in the Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh: (1) Its authors and textual history* in *Research Bulletin* (Centre of Arabic Documentation, Ibadan) v (1969), 57-65; N. Levtzion, *A seventeenth-century chronicle by Ibn al-Mukhtār: a critical study of the Taʾrīkh al-fattāsh*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiv (1971), 571-93; idem, *Maḥmūd Kaʿtī fut-il l'auteur du Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh?*, dans *Bull. IFAN*, xxxiii/4 (1971), 665-74. (J. O. Hunwick)

ḲAṬĪʿA, pl. *ḳaṭāʾiʿ*, a Muslim administrative term designating, on the one hand, those concessions made to private individuals on state lands in the first centuries of the Hidjra (see ḌAYʿA), and, on the other hand, the fixed sum of a tax or tribute, in contradistinction to taxation by proportional method or some variable means. The verb *ḳaṭaʿa* is also used to mean "to impose", normally followed by *ḳaṭīʿatan*. (C. Cahen)

KĀTIB (A.) pl. *kuttāb*, secretary, a term which was used in the Arab-Islamic world for every person whose rôle or function consisted of writing or drafting official letters or administrative documents. In the Middle Ages this term denoted neither a scribe in the literary sense of the word nor a copyist, but it could be applied to private secretaries as well as to the employees of the administrative service. It can denote merely a "book-keeper" as well as the chief clerk or a Secretary of State, directly responsible to the sovereign or to his vizier. The use of *kātib* is therefore essentially allied to the institution of the *dīwān* [*q.v.*], which mainly derives from the administrative traditions of the Sasanid and Byzantine empires.

i. In The Caliphate

There were probably already secretaries in Arabia at the time of the Prophet. A "merchant republic" could not do without its accountants, and the mention of "documents" in the Ḳurʾān confirms that writing was used. The recension of the Ḳurʾānic text could not have been effected without the help of men capa-

ble of writing down the message conveyed by the Prophet. This explains why the lists of *kuttāb* which have been handed down to us generally begin by referring to the secretaries of the Prophet. Finally, the lists of fighting men with the right to an allowance, which were instituted from the reign of Caliph ʿUmar, could have been drawn up only by secretaries.

However, it was only after the first conquests and after the establishment of the capital at Damascus that administrative services, chancery and finances developed, as much in the capital itself as in the provinces controlled by the central authority. It is known that in the first years of the Umayyad caliphate they continued to use the language of the conquered country; Greek in Syria and Pahlavi in ʿIrāḳ and Iran. This implies that the secretaries working in these offices, whether converted to Islam or not, were autochthonous. Moreover, the rôle played by the Christian administrators in Damascus at the time of the first Umayyad caliphs is well known; Sardjūn, the father of John of Damascus, was in all probability chief of the Treasury in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik.

When the *dīwāns* were arabicised at the time of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, the secretaries were still recruited from the local population, among whom the Muslims were becoming more and more numerous. This Arabicising and Islamicising movement, far from pushing the indigenous peoples out of public service, confirmed their position. The development of bureaucracy in its different aspects compelled the Umayyad rulers and then the ʿAbbāsids to use the *mawālī*. They most certainly had an excellent knowledge of Arabic, but had picked up from their forefathers a whole administrative tradition connected in particular with calculating the taxes due from the different types of land, irrigated or unirrigated. The land tax [see KHARĀDJ] instituted by Muslim law seems really to have been very closely inspired by the previous financial system and the administrative practices adapted by the nascent Muslim state were also inherited from the states which it had supplanted.

Only when a scribe made a career on account of other qualities and capabilities did his functions begin to gain in an importance which was independent of his person. Such a *kātib* was, *e.g.* Ziyād b. Abīhi. His high intelligence and great talent for organisation had drawn people's attention to him as scribe and registrar (Ṭabarī, Ī, 2465). When later he made himself responsible for the security and the government of ʿIrāḳ, he introduced there, with the help of a group of *kuttāb* whom he himself taught and controlled (Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ* Cairo 1357/1938, 22), a system of administration which was considered exemplary. As in Sasanid times, the rank and position of the secretaries begin to be marked by certain privileges, and discernible in a certain standard of dress, residence and food and also in social intercourse. This improved situation, however, was mostly acquired through the relationship of dependency. The *kātib* had to submit himself to his master and comply with his moods. A beautiful hand, a faultless orthography and a correct text after dictation were postulated. In accuracy, offences against the language, errors in writing or understanding might result in loss of position (J. Latz, *Das Buch der Wezire und Staatssekretäre von Ibn ʿAbdūs al-Ǧahšiyārī, Anfänge und Umaiyadenzeit*, Bonn 1958, 38-46). The scribe as such played a subordinate rôle.

In reality, little is known of the secretaries who were the direct assistants of the Umayyad caliphs. During the Umayyad period the caliphs, who had no viziers in their employ, administered the central services directly by means of secretaries of state. Certain of these had the privilege of presenting the letters to the sovereign and of thus playing a political rôle. Of these the one about whom most is recorded is the *mawlā* Sālim, the secretary of the caliph Hishām [*q.v.*], to whom is attributed a treatise about *siyāsa*, which is probably the oldest one of its kind written in Arabic and proves the strength of the Iranian political traditions. But the personal secretary of the last caliph, Marwān II [*q.v.*], called ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [*q.v.*], is equally well-known for his literary activity and is thought to have been one of the founders of Arabic prose.

Out of this situation two types of clerks and secretaries began to develop, according to function, talent and character: on the one hand there was the secretary who, in his quality of expert official and linguist, gave the written documents the form as required by the orders received; on the other hand there was the secretary who, on top of that, exerted on his own account an influence on the contents, being his master's adviser and right hand. While the latter was preparing the way for the functions of the later vizier, the former became the main representative of literary culture (*adab*). Already during the period of the first ʿAbbāsids this public secretary was considered the *adīb* par excellence. The undeniably subtle sense of linguistic expression and its nuances, already natural to the Arabs, had found a vast field of activity in the governmental and administrative correspondence, continuously increasing with the growing expansion of the chancellery's activities within a complex system of government. Official documents were increasingly often judged by the elegance of the wording and the allusions and references hidden behind this. Peculiar distinction was thus imparted to the writings because they presented instructions, enactments, orders or notices in a form which aroused surprise and admiration in the receiver. It is evident that specialists in this branch were called upon, and also that the *kātib* needed the qualities not only of a diplomatic stylist but also of an encyclopaedist in order to cope with these and similar requirements. It was essential for him to possess what was later formulated and commented upon by the well-known critic, vizier and head of a chancellery Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) [*q.v.*] in eight concise phrases at the beginning of his *al-Mathal al-sāʾir* (2nd *faṣl*): 1. a thorough knowledge of the *ʿarabiyya*, its grammar and 2. its vocabulary; 3. a familiarity with the proverbs, the accounts of the *Ayyām* and similar stories; 4. wide reading in all branches of prose and poetry; 5. sound knowledge of the theory of state and administration; 6. absolute familiarity with the Ḳurʾān and 7. the traditions going back to the Prophet; 8. command of prosody and poetics (see G. E. von Grunebaum, *Der Islam im Mittelalter*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1963, 323 ff.).

In the ʿAbbāsid era, when the seat of central administration had been moved to ʿIrāḳ, the secretaries of Iranian origin undeniably played an ever more important rôle. The typical example of these Iranian *mawālī* who, according to certain accounts, thronged the courts of the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs, was the famous Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*]. He did not have a position in the central administration, but at the caliph's wish drew up a memorandum in which he showed his

perfect knowledge of the problems of government which prevailed at that time of change. He also composed a treatise for the courtiers on the art of pleasing the sovereign, a treatise directly inspired by Iranian or Indo-Iranian literature and one which highlighted the personal nature of relations existing at that time between the secretaries and the sovereign.

If in the ʿAbbāsid era (as indeed already in the Umayyad one) the *kuttāb* were for the most part non-Arab, they did not form a closed corps. The *kātib* needed a solid training as much in the art of letter-writing as in the world of finance. At an early stage, families of *kuttāb* began to arise, although it was not necessary to be the son of a *kātib* to practise this profession. Thanks to their own intelligence and aptitude, sons of merchants and land-owners appeared as directors of important services in central administration and even as viziers. Yet the *kuttāb* in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries had a class-consciousness which could be seen in their costume (the gown called a *durrāʿa*) and also in a certain intellectual orientation. Al-Djāḥiẓ, in particular, in a famous *risāla* stigmatizes the arrogance of secretaries and their sympathies towards Iranian traditions; he even accuses them of lukewarmness towards Islam. In this direction the secretaries, in spite of the obscurity surrounding the question, were certainly supporters of the *shuʿūbiyya* movement [*q.v.*]. Brought up on Iranian literature and admirers of the Muʿtazilī thinkers, they were apt to consider that their culture did not need the Islamic "leaven" in order to develop, and ought, on the contrary to be inspired by ancient (notably Persian) models.

Despite this tendency to restrict the influence of the religious message of Islam, they were none the less faithful servants of the caliphate. It seems that no real accusations of treason could be brought against the famous Barmakīs [see BARAMIKA]; they were guilty only of having too great authority and of having practised a policy of conciliation with regard to certain opposition factions, which soon the caliph thought would be dangerous. But from the end of the 3rd-4th century onwards, the *kuttāb* had financial responsibilities which grew as treasury difficulties were increasing for the caliphs. At the same time they often belonged more or less secretly to the Shīʿī movement which used them to control the caliphate. Their loyalty was not as great as it was before, state secretaries of Christian religion or origin being excepted.

Nevertheless they played a large part at the end of the 3rd/4th century in working out the formula of government by the caliph which was then put into practice, but not without many risks, and which could never be finally worked out in detail. If the *kuttāb* of Shīʿī views were trying to diminish the might of the caliph with the intention of seizing power for themselves and disposing of the resources of the treasury, the others were striving to strengthen the authority of the caliph, while at the same time subjecting it to the control of the chiefs of the departments.

In the era of the great *amīrs*, the *kuttāb* were eclipsed by the military chiefs who virtually laid hands on the government. They were no less indispensable to the running of business and to the administration of finance, which demanded technical knowledge, than to the drawing up of official documents such as letters. In the epistolary field, where in that time there was the most excessive affectation of mannerism, the secretaries drew up documents which were useful propaganda instruments. There are thus preserved different collections of official correspondence which appeared to contemporaries as examples of *balāgha* and are often precious documents for historians. The most famous is one left by the Sabian secretary Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābiʾ [*q.v.*], and see also INSHĀʾ. But there were also among the secretaries genuine specialists in financial affairs, whose merits were often compared with those of the "drafters of documents" (see in particular, al-Tawḥīdī, *Kitāb al-Imtāʿ*, i, 96-7).

The rôle of secretaries in Baghdād in the Saldjūḳ period is not very clear. What at least is known is that the central services were, for the early part, under the control of the sultans, just in the same way as it was before, during the Buwayhid period. But the caliph had in his service his own team, more or less important, of secretaries, as in the Buwayhid period. These secretaries were always predominantly Iranian in origin, yet in the period of the Saldjūḳs the function of the *kuttāb* tended to merge with that of the *ʿulamāʾ* insofar as all officials of the state were formed in the same establishments, the *madrasas*. The taste of the former *kuttāb* for Iranian literature and the sympathies of the secretaries in the Buwayhid period for Muʿtazilī thought faded away and from the 5th/11th century onwards, the secretaries, confronted with foreign elements of Turkish origin, belonged to the same social sphere as the men of religion but had slightly different preoccupations. During this period, the *ḳāḍīs* came to fulfil functions previously reserved for the *kuttāb*, to become involved in governmental affairs and to draw up chancery documents. At the time of the Mamlūḳs, this tendency to unify the two spheres became much more accentuated; secretaries and men of religion constituted what were called "the men wearing turbans".

There is an abundance of literature referring to the secretaries, and this is of three distinctive types: the didactic treatises on the training required for secretaries; the collections of anecdotes relating to secretaries; and the polemical treatises. It is clear that in certain works, these three types could exist together.

The didactic treatises are the most important. The oldest is probably the *Risāla ilā 'l-kuttāb* of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [*q.v.*]. Later came *al-Risāla al-ʿadhrāʾ*, attributed to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī and written in the middle of the 3rd/4th century (published by. M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Rasāʾil al-bulāghā*), the *Kitāb al-Kuttāb wa-ṣifat al-dawāt wa'l-ḳalam*, composed in the same period by ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī (see D. Sourdel, *Le "Livre des Secrétaires de ʿAbdallāh al-Bagdādī"*, in *BEO*, xiv (1952-4), 128-52) and the *Adab al-kātib* of Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*], which, although it contains solely philological advice, has a very instructive introduction (G. Lecomte, *L'Introduction du "Kitāb adab al-kātib" d'Ibn Qutayba*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957, 45-64). As for the *Kitāb al-Kharādj wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāb* of Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], this is a good work which deals with the various technical questions, a knowledge of which was essential for the secretaries. The different treatises on the land-tax and the first geographical works were also intended for secretaries. The *Adab al-kuttāb* of al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946), edited in Cairo in 1341/1923, specially teaches calligraphy and the formulae of protocol; the *Kitāb al-kuttāb* of Ibn Durustawayh (d. 346/957), edited in Beirut in 1927, deals only with orthography and calligraphy whilst the *Risāla fī ʿilm al-Kuttāb* of Abū

Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*] is equally concerned with calligraphy.

Among the collections of anecdotes, besides the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa'l-kuttāb* of al-Djahshiyārī [*q.v.*], edited in Cairo in 1357/1938, the *I'tāb al-kuttāb* of Ibn al-Abbār (d. 688/1289), edited in Damascus in 1961, deals with circumstances in which the secretaries of different periods were out of favour. One polemic treatise against secretaries was written by al-Djāḥiẓ (see C. Pellat, *Une charge contre les secrétaires d'État attribuée à Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *Hespéris* (1956), 29-50.

Finally, in a later period encyclopaedic works appeared, intended in the first place for chancery secretaries. The model is the famous *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī ṣinā'at al-inshā'* of al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above, see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, *passim*; M. Grignaschi, *Les "Rasā'il Arisṭāṭālīsa ilā-l-Iskandar" de Sālim Abū l-'Alā'* in *BEO*, xix (1965-6), 8-83, esp. p. 11; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969, 227 f.; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Aegypten*, Hamburg 1928; M. Kanter, *The Kātib in Fact and Fiction*, in *Abr Nahrain*, xi (1971), 42-55.

(R. Sellheim-D. Sourdel)

ii. In Persia.

From the fall of the Īl-Khāns to the end of the Ṣafawids.

A characteristic change of the *kātib*'s position, already noticeable under the Īl-Khāns, took place in the successor states of Mongol Persia. The Mongolian and Turkish terms remained to some extent the same as before, although not necessarily with the same meaning. New terms were of course also introduced, partly for institutions that continued as such or were slightly modified. Fluctuating usage, in which obsolete and current expressions were used simultaneously, makes understanding of the technical terminology difficult. It goes without saying that here only the most important outlines can be sketched of a development which has not yet been studied sufficiently.

The great number of secretaries in the Djalā'irid administration should be related to two different facts: the tripartite division of the administration into a military, a civilian and a religious section on the one hand, and the specific ethnic composition of the army, most of the soldiers being Turks or Mongols, on the other. Following the Īl-Khānid tradition, there thus existed, especially in the military administration, a class of secretaries especially knowledgeable in Turkish or Mongolian. It was their task to translate into these two languages original documents probably written in Persian, and in 'Irāḳ also in Arabic. Though counted among the *kuttāb*, they were called by the Turkish term *bitikči*, probably to distinguish them from the Persian-speaking secretaries. The most important secretary in the military administration was called *bitikči-yi aḥkām-i mughulī* or *kātib-i mughulī-niwīs*. But the continuance of Īl-Khānid usage brought about the fact that even the secretary of the governmental financial administration, who served under the *mustawfī al-mamālik* or state treasurer, was counted among the *bitikčiyān*, with the title of *ūlūgh bitikči-yi mamālik*. However, the local financial secretaries who served under him did not belong to the *bitikčiyān*. It is still dubious whether the last-mentioned were in fact of Turkish or Mongolian origin, or whether they were local inhabitants who has mastered Turkish or Mongolian. The first place among the Persian-speaking *kuttāb* was held by the *munshī al-mamālik*, who was in charge of the *dār al-inshā'* (the "State Chancellery"), a subsection of the Great *Dīwān* (*dīwān-i a'lā*, *dīwān-i buzurg*) directed by the grand vizier. In the different sections of the *munshī al-mamālik*'s chancellery, two classes of *kuttāb* were employed: the *munshīyān* whose task it was to draft documents, and the so-called *muḥarrirān* charged with preparing fair copies; among the latter very skilled calligraphers were found. The archives formed a separate department of the *dār al-inshā'*.

The nomination of secretaries was probably reserved to the grand vizier. The *kuttāb* in general, and the *munshī al-māmālik* specifically, were expected to be trustworthy, to be masters of protocol and to possess both stylistic and calligraphic qualities. In the religious administration, mainly concerned with the maintenance of the religious law and the interests of pious foundations, a number of *kuttāb* were also to be found, *e.g.* the *kātib-i dār al-ḳaḍā'* (secretary of the supreme court) and the *mu'arrikh-i ḥudjadj wa-ḳabālāt*, an archivist who kept a permanent register of legal evidences and contracts of sale.

We may draw conclusions about the organization of the chancelleries in Tīmūr's time from the situation under his successors. In their time, specific linguistic expressions continued to indicate the difference between the various groups of *kuttāb*. Under Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, the secretaries of the so-called "Turkish *dīwān*" had the title of *bakhshī* or *niwīsandagān-i turk*. This *dīwān* dealt with affairs concerning the army and the Turkish subjects. Distinct from them were the *wazīrān* or *niwīsandagān-i tādjīk*, the Persian speaking *kuttāb*, who were the secretaries of the *dīwān-i māl*, the "Persian *dīwān*", responsible for finances and the affairs of the non-Turkish population. On no account could a *kātib* of the Turkish *dīwān* be called *wazīr*. It seems that relations had been similar under the Turcoman dynasties, as may be deduced from a remark of Ḥasan Rūmlū, a *ḳizilbāsh* chronicler, who says that one of his ancestors had served as *bakhshī* under the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu.

Under the Ṣafawids also, the head of the State Chancellery was called *munshī al-mamālik* (under the Tīmūrids, as well as having this title, he is said to have also been called *ṣāḥib-dīwān-i inshā'*). The Ṣafawid administration was characterized by a duality in the civil service—the State Chancellery and the Treasury—, which had already existed before. Each single department of the Ṣafawid treasury (*daftarkhāna*), which was headed by the *mustawfī al-mamālik*, consisted of the financial section proper and a chancellery. The *lashgar-niwīs*, head of one of the most important subsections of the *daftar-khāna*, corresponded to the Īl-Khānid and Djalāyirid *ūlūgh bitikči-yi mamālik*. He was the paymaster of the troops of the provincial governors and also of the court and provincial officials, and had an imposing chancellery at his disposal. On the other hand, the *dār al-inshā'*, the State Chancellery of the *munshī al-mamālik*, was in charge of the state correspondence such as diplomatic letters and all kinds of charters. When under 'Abbās I a special royal administration (the *sarkār-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*) was set up at the side of the already existing governmental administration, a special chancellery had of course to be created

for this purpose. A number of duties were transferred from the *munshī al-mamālik* to the head of the new chancellery, the *wāḳiʿa-niwīs* or *madjlis-niwīs*. In the course of the 11th/17th century, the *madjlis-niwīs* surpassed the *munshī al-mamālik* both in rank and sphere of competence. Moreover, the *madjlis-niwīs* enjoyed to a much greater extent the confidence of the ruler. Only in so far as the number of the subordinate *kuttāb* was concerned was the *munshī al-mamālik* superior to the *madjlis-niwīs*.

A handbook of administration, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, shows that in the early 12th/18th century, 28 *kuttāb* were subordinate to the *munshī al-mamālik*: one *munshī-yi dīwān* who prepared drafts, and 27 *muḥarrirān* who wrote out the fair copies. In the chancellery of the *madjlis-niwīs*, the *raḳam-niwīs-i dīwān-i aʿlā* corresponded to the *munshī-yi dīwān*; he was assisted by three assistants. In this chancellery a further six *kuttāb* were also employed, among whom was a registrar and a *nāma-niwīs*, who was most probably responsible for the fair copies of the diplomatic letters (*nāma* or *maktūb*). Thus ten *kuttāb* were subordinate to the *madjlis-niwīs*. The *daftar-khāna* too was influenced by the division of the administration into a governmental and a royal demesnial sector. Although the division within the *daftar-khāna* was not complete, the interests of state and crown were assigned to different subsections. Under the Ṣafawids, charters were occasionally written in Turkish, but nothing is known about a classification of the *kuttāb* according to linguistic criteria.

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iii. In India.

The term *kātib* does not occur in Indo-Muslim chancellery usage in the sense of a secretary; here *kātib* is merely the writer or the scribe. The equivalent of "secretary" in Indo-Muslim nomenclature is *dabīr* in the sultanate period and *munshī* in the Mughal period. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, because of his Arab background, is the only writer to use the term *kātib* in relation to the court of Delhi. Under the Ghaznawids, whose administrative practices constitute an essential strand of Indo-Muslim tradition, the Correspondence Department, known as the *dīwān-i risālat*, was already one of the three principal ministries and had a large and trained staff with a sizable salary bill. The minister in charge, known as the *ṣāḥib-i dīwān-i risālat*, was a trusted adviser of the sultan. It is also clear that during the Ghaznawid period, and especially during Abū Naṣr Mishkān's long stewardship of the *dīwān-i risālat*, the norms of drafting and rules of departmental administration had become well-established. A unit of the *dīwān-i risālat*, equipped with official papers and registers, "accompanied the Sultan on his campaigns and progresses round the realm" (Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 42-3, 60-4, 91-7, quotation from 91; Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 142-4).

With the foundation of the sultanate of Delhi, there seems to have been a change of nomenclature. The term *dīwān-i risālat* now came to designate the Department of Religious Affairs (this view of I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhī*, Karachi 1958, 175, though contested by several writers including A. B. M. Habibullah, seems to be sound, as it is clearly supported by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 153, 558, and ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 279). The Correspondence Department was re-designated the *dīwān-i inshāʾ* (Baranī, 153, 337; Amīr Khusraw, *Khazāʾin al-Futūḥ*, 184; Amīr Khusraw, *Iʿdjaz-i Khusrawī*, 44, 124). The term *dabīr-khāna* also appears in the *Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*, 166, and may have signified the office of the *dīwān-i inshāʾ*. The head of the ministry was known as the *dabīr-i khāṣṣ* (ʿAfīf, 224; see also evidence cited by Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 86). The designation appearing in the *Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*, 117, namely *ṣāḥib-i dīwān-i mamālik-i inshāʾ* (in a letter to the holder of the office) seems to be a descriptive and not an official title. Similarly the phrase *dīwān-i dabīr*, occurring in the *Iʿdjāz-i Khusrawī*, i, 66, does not appear to have been the official appellation of the ministry.

It seems certain (though monographs on the subject ignore it) that the chief *dabīr* had the title of *ʿumdat al-mulk*. In the list of dignitaries given by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī at the commencement of the account of each reign, this title appears four times in connection with the names of *dabīrs* (*Tāʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 24, 240, 379, 454), during four different reigns. A study of these entries also suggests that the chief secretary was as well known as *ʿalāʾ dabīr* as *dabīr-i khāṣṣ*. Baranī rarely if ever uses the designation *dabīr-i khāṣṣ*. That *ʿalāʾ* in *ʿalāʾ-dabīr* was not a personal name becomes clear from the fact that Baranī mentions an *ʿalāʾ-dabīr* in the reigns of Balban (p. 25), Kayḳubād (p. 126; *ʿalāḳa-dabīr* is evidently a miswriting for *ʿalāʾ-dabīr*) and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (p. 240). It therefore seems that *ʿalāʾ-dabīr* was the name of the office of the chief secretary and *ʿumdat al-mulk* his official title. For *ʿumdat al-mulk* as the title of the chief secretary there is additional and conclusive evidence in the *Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*, where Malik Aʿazz al-Dīn Ḥādjdjī *Dabīr* of Fīrūz Shāh's reign (Baranī, 528) is frequently called *ʿumdat al-mulk* (*Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*, *passim*). Māhrū's letter to this official on the conferment of the title

of *ʿumdat al-mulk* also suggests that it was given to him on his appointment to the office of the chief *dabīr*. (*In<u>sh</u>āʾ-i Māhrū*, 192-3). However, the title *malik al-umarāʾ* attached by Māhrū to the name of this *dabīr* need not be taken seriously, for he does so in the case of several other high officials.

It is remarkable that when Īltutmi<u>sh</u> had to issue an important proclamation nominating his daughter Raḍiyya as his successor, he assigned the task to his *mu<u>sh</u>rif* (*Tabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Nassau Lees, 185). This either means that the Correspondence Department was for some time called the *dīwān-i i<u>sh</u>rāf* (as Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Lahore 1945, 223, suggests), or indicates the continuation of the tradition of the <u>Gh</u>aznawids under whom the *mu<u>sh</u>rif* (as stated by Bosworth, 94-6) looked after a variety of matters connected with the king's affairs.

The *dabīr-i <u>kh</u>āṣṣ* had many *dabīr*s, calligraphers and clerks under him. Some who performed specific duties had corresponding designations, *e.g.* the *<u>kh</u>āṣṣa-niwīs* and the *<u>sh</u>ab-niwīs* (*In<u>sh</u>āʾ-i Māhrū*, 160, 164, 166). The *<u>kh</u>āṣṣa-niwīs* was the secretary attached to the court or on court duty (cf. the *mun<u>sh</u>ī-i-ḥaḍrat* of ʿUtbī, in Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 86n). The *<u>sh</u>ab-niwīs* was evidently the secretarial officer on night duty in the palace. The *dāwātdār* was the keeper of royal inkpot or inkhorn (*Tab. Nāṣirī*, 242). The relationship of the *dāwātdār* with the *dīwān-i in<u>sh</u>āʾ* is not clear. The *dabīr-i sarā* has been described by Qureshi (*op. cit.*, 65) as the registrar of the palace. The *dabīr-i sarā* invites comparison with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *kuttāb al-bāb* in his account of the sultan of Delhi's court (*Riḥla*, iii, 219), rendered by Gibb, *Travels*, iii, 659, as "the scribes of the door", and by Mahdi Husain, 57, as "the gate secretaries".

It seems that the chief *dabīr* and his staff were highly paid (as they had been in the <u>Gh</u>aznawid days). The following statement in the Masālik *al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* of <u>Sh</u>ihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (pp. 31-2), though possibly touched by hyperbole, does indicate that the salaries of the secretarial staff were high: "He (the sultan) has four *dabīrs*, *i.e.* private secretaries (*kātib al-sirr*), and everyone of them has a city on the coast yielding large revenue. Everyone has about 300 scribes of whom the lowest and the less paid has 10,000 *tanka*s as (annual) salary. As regards the highest of them, they have villages and estates and some of them have fifty villages".

The princes had their own *dabīr*s (Amīr <u>Kh</u>usraw, *Fawāʾid al-Fuʾād*, 127, cited in K. A. Nizami, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the 13th century*, London 1961, 214). The same practice obtained during the Mug<u>h</u>al period, see below.

During the period of the sultanate of Delhi, the *dīwān-i in<u>sh</u>āʾ* was counted as one of the four principal ministries of the central government (Barani, *Tāʾrīk<u>h</u>-i Fīrūz <u>Sh</u>āhī*, 153). The duties of the chief secretary and other officers of this ministry were the same as under the <u>Gh</u>aznawids. They composed *fatḥ-nāma*s, royal letters addressed to other kings, important letters or proclamations issued in the king's name, and the like. Important documents received at the court, such as a letter from a foreign dignitary or an *ʿarḍ-dā<u>sh</u>t* from a minister or a high noble, were read out to the sulṭān by the *dabīr-i <u>kh</u>āṣṣ* or one of the *dabīrs* (ʿAfīf, 223-4). The practice common among the Mug<u>h</u>al emperors of having important documents drawn up by any high minister (and not by the chief secretary alone) was not unknown in the pre-Mug<u>h</u>al period. Thus ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī, who was a great *mun<u>sh</u>ī* but never an office-holder in the *dīwān-i in<u>sh</u>āʾ*, drafted numerous state documents during the reigns of Muḥammad b. Tug<u>h</u>luḳ and Fīrūz <u>Sh</u>āh; particular mention may be made of the manifesto issued by Fīrūz <u>Sh</u>āh to the religious classes, the officials and nobles, and the common people of Lakhnawtī (Bengal) when launching an invasion of the territory (*In<u>sh</u>āʾ-i Māhrū*, *passim*; for the manifesto, see pp. 15-17). Similarly Amīr <u>Kh</u>usraw, one of the greatest masters of style in Persian *in<u>sh</u>āʾ*, appears never to have occupied a position in the *dīwān-i in<u>sh</u>āʾ*, but one may assume that his services were utilised in drafting important documents by contemporary sultans from Kayḳubād (acceded 686/1287) to <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u> al-Dīn Tug<u>h</u>luḳ <u>Sh</u>āh (died 725/1325). The *fatḥ-nāma* written by Amīr <u>Kh</u>usraw on the occasion of Balban's victory over a rebellious governor of Lakhnawtī is given in his *Iʿdjāz-i <u>Kh</u>usrawī* (v, 4-14); Amīr <u>Kh</u>usraw claims this as his first *fatḥ-nāma*, and since he was not till then in the service of the court of Delhi, it is not clear if he was commissioned to draft the document.

The Indian Mug<u>h</u>als followed a more active foreign policy than did the sultans of Delhi, and sent out and received many more embassies than their predecessors. It is therefore all the more surprising that for a long time they did not have a proper chancellery and a secretary of this. We do come across frequent mentions of *mun<u>sh</u>ī*s (*e.g.*, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 4; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1863-64, 185; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Pād<u>sh</u>āh-Nāma*, i/1, 148, s.v. *dabīr*), bur for a long time there is no mention of a correspondence department. (The position has been recognized both by I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Mug<u>h</u>ul Empire*, Karachi 1966, 82, and by Momin Ibrahim, *The Mughal contribution to Persian epistolography*, Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1958 (unpublished), chapter i). From the time of <u>Sh</u>āh Djahān onwards "frequent mention is made of the *dār al-in<u>sh</u>āʾ*" (Momin Ibrahim). Ibrahim also opines that the bureau of correspondence was attached to the office of the *bak<u>h</u>shī* which "handled the administrative side of the secretariate only".)

This lack of concern for a correspondence department becomes to some extent understandable when we consider the fact that it was common practice with the Mug<u>h</u>al emperors to assign the drafting of important documents to ministers and dignitaries other than the official *mun<u>sh</u>ī*s. Thus Akbar's royal letters were drafted mostly by Abu 'l-Faḍl, who did not occupy an official position as a secretary, and occasionally by other distinguished personages attached to the court (*e.g.* Akbar's letter to <u>Sh</u>āh ʿAbbās I, drafted by Āṣaf <u>Kh</u>ān Mīrzā Djaʿfar, see *Bayāḍ* 1995, Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, fol. 133b; for other sources and a full discussion, see Riazul Islam, *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations* (unpublished), Document no. A.41). In one instance, two drafts were prepared for Akbar's reply to ʿAbd Allāh <u>Kh</u>ān Uzbeg, one by Abu 'l-Faḍl and the other by Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ Gīlānī (see Bhagčand, *Djāmiʿ al-In<u>sh</u>āʾ*, B.M.Or. 1702, fols. 201a-202a; for a full discussion see *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations*, Document no. TX.330). The practice of having important letters drafted by high officials other than the *mun<u>sh</u>ī* continued under <u>Sh</u>āh Djahān, even though by this time a *dār al-in<u>sh</u>āʾ* had come into being. <u>Sh</u>āh Djahān's letters to foreign potentates were drafted mostly by Saʿd Allāh <u>Kh</u>ān, chief *dīwān* (*i.e.* the *wazīr*) of the empire (*Maktūbāt-i Saʿd Allāh <u>Kh</u>ān*, ed. Nāẓir Ḥusayn Zaydī, Lahore 1968, *passim*; Riazul Islam, *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian*

Relations, section on Shāh Djahān, *passim*). Indeed there is a petition from Shaykh Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ḳābil Khān, *munshī* of Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr, complaining that this work was being appropriated by the imperial *dīwān* (*Ādāb-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Čawdhrī, Lahore 1971, 834).

The head of the *dār al-inshā'* was known variously as *mīr munshī*, *dārūgha-i dār al-inshā'* and *munshī al-mamālik*. As the same officer, Muḥammad Sharīf Ḳābil Khān, is mentioned in the *Ma'āthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, (Bib. Ind. 1871) as *darūgha-i dār al-inshā'* on p. 140 and *mīr munshī* on p. 190, it can be assumed that the two designations stood for the same post. It is remarkable that Shaykh Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ḳābil Khān, though generally called *munshī al-mamālik* (see the MSS of his *Ādāb-i ʿĀlamgīrī*) is nowhere alluded to as such in the *Ma'āthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī* or the *ʿĀlamgīr-Nāma*; nor indeed is his brother Muḥammad Sharīf Ḳābil mentioned as *munshī al-mamālik* in the *Ma'āthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*.

Some idea of the status and emoluments of a Mughal *mīr munshī* may be had from the fact that the annual stipend given to Abu 'l-Fatḥ Khān on retirement was Rs. 5,000 (*Ma'āthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, 26), and that his brother Muḥammad Sharīf Ḳābil Khān, who became *darūgha-i dār al-inshā'* in 1085/1675, had the rank of 1000/70 (*i.e.*, 1000 personal rank, 70 troops) when he was dismissed from the office in 1090/1680 (*Ma'āthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, 190). Thus neither the rank nor the salary of the post seems to have been high. But the post, with its privilege of *taḳarrub* ("proximity") to the person of the emperor, gave an immense influence to the incumbent, so that Muḥammad Sharīf was able to amass twelve laks of rupees in cash alone in five years—a circumstance which eventually brought about his fall (*ibid.*).

As pointed out earlier the Mughal princes used to have their own official *munshīs*. Indeed, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ḳābil Khān made his career as the *wālāshāhī munshī* (a prince's secretary) of Prince Awrangzīb; he served the Emperor Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr for only a very short period (*Ma'āthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, 140, 190; for some other instances, see *ibid.*, 91; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, I, 740).

The Hindūs produces many *munshīs* and Hindū *munshīs* wrote numerous *inshā'* works, the most well-known being the *Inshā'-i Harkaran* of Djahāngīr's reign. From the period of the Afghān Sūrs onwards they attained increasing proficiency in Persian epistolography, and soon came to occupy a strong position in secretarial and clerical cadres. The most celebrated of the Hindu *munshīs* were Čandr Bhan Brahman whom Shāh Djahān gave the title of *Rāy-i Rāyān*, and Ānand Rām "Mukhliṣ", *mīr munshī* of the Emperor Muḥammad Shah (Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, Calcutta 1935, 227-9; Momin Ibrahim, *op. cit.*; Riazul Islam, *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations*, Intro., 56).

Bibliography: Among the Persian sources, the chronicles of the sultans of Delhi and of the Mughal emperors contain only scanty and occasional references to the subject. Even Baranī, though full of detail on general administration, does not say much about the *dabīr* or the *dār al-inshā'*. It is remarkable that two celebrated treatises on *inshā'*, Amīr Khusraw's lengthy *Iʿdjāz-i Khusrawī* and Maḥmūd Gāwān's *Manāẓir al-Inshā'*, contain next to nothing about the position and functions of the *dabīr*. Mughal works too seldom discuss the subject at length and systematically. The following primary sources nevertheless contain useful pieces of information on the subject: Minhādj b. Sirādj Djuzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Calcutta 1863-4; Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1862; Amīr Khusraw, *Khazā'in al-Futūḥ*, Aligarh 1927; Id., *Iʿdjāz-i Khusrawī*, Lucknow 1867; ʿAyn al-Mulk Māhrū Multānī, *Inshā'-i Māhrū*, ed. Shaykh Abdur Rashid, Lahore 1965; Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, tr. Otto Spies and others, published in the *Muslim University Journal*, Aligarh (1936); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Paris 1853-59; Eng. tr. H. A. R. Gibb, iii, Cambridge 1971, and by Mahdi Husain, Baroda 1953; Shams Sirādj *ʿAfīf*, *Tā'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1888-91; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *A'īn-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1867-77; *Ruqʿāt-i Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ Gīlānī*, ed. M. B. Husain, Lahore 1968; *Maktūbāt-i Saʿd Allāh Khān*, ed. N. H. Zaidi, Lahore 1968; Shaykh Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ḳābil Khān, *Ādāb-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, ed. Abd al-Ghafūr Čawdhrī, Lahore 1971; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1863-64; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Pādshāh-Nāma*, Calcutta 1866-72; Muḥammad Ḳāẓim, *ʿĀlamgīr-Nāma*, Calcutta 1865-73; Shāh Nawāz Khān (Ṣamṣām al-Dawla), *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, tr. Beveridge and B. Prashad, Calcutta 1911-52; Sāḳī Mustaʿīd Khān, *Mā'athir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, Calcutta 1871; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Calcutta 1860-74; Bhāgčand Munshī, *Djāmiʿ al-Inshā'*, B.M.Or. 1702; Sayyid ʿAlī Naḳī, *Kitāb-i Haft Ḍābiṭa*, MS National Museum, Karachi. For a fuller list of *inshā'* sources, see bibliography in Riazul Islam, *A calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations* (unpublished).

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KĀTIB ČELEBI, appellation of MUṢṬAFĀ B. ʿABD ALLĀH (1017-67/1609-57), known also (after his post in the bureaucracy) as ḤĀDJDJĪ KHALĪFA (Khalfa), historian, bibliographer and geographer, the most conspicuous and productive scholar, particularly in the non-religious sciences, of the 11th/17th century Ottoman Empire. He was born on Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1017/February 1609 in Istanbul, his father being a soldier. He began his education at the age of five or six, and at 14 was apprenticed to the *Anadolu Muḥāsebesi*'s office, where he learned accountancy and *siyāḳat* [*q.v.*]. In 1033/1624 he went with the army in the campaign against Abaza Pasha (*Fedhleke*, ii, 55), and two years later was present on the Baghdād campaign (*Fedhleke*, ii, 83), his father dying at Mawṣil on the way back. In that year he was appointed to a post in the *Süvārī Muḥāsebesi* office. Returning to Istanbul in 1038/1628-9, he attended

the lectures of Ḳāḍī-zāde, which greatly impressed him (*Fedhleke*, ii, 182). In 1038-40/1629-30 he was present on Khusrew Pasha's campaign against Baghdād; and in 1043/1633-4, when the army wintered at Aleppo, he took the opportunity to make the Pilgrimage. In 1044-5/1635 he took part in the campaign against Erivan. After these ten years of service with the army, a legacy enabled him to settle in Istanbul and devote himself to study, attending the lectures of various scholars, principally Aʿradj Muṣṭafā Ef. (*Fedhleke*, ii, 392). Having failed to receive promotion, he resigned from his post in the Finance Department and spent three years in retirement, until in 1058/1648 his writing of the *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh* (no. 4 below) and the intervention of his patron ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Efendi, then *Shaykh al-Islām*, procured him the rank of *ikindji khalīfe*. Many of his works were composed in the ensuing years, among them translations made from Latin texts with the help of a French convert, Shaykh Meḥmed Ikhlāṣī. He died suddenly, on 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1067/ 6 October 1657, and was buried by the Zeyrek Djāmiʿi (photograph of his gravestone, since renewed, in *Keşf-el-zunun* (no. 12 below), i, introd., between cols. 18 and 19). His contemporaries described him as good-tempered, taciturn and philosophic, leading an unambitious life with no passion except for study; he would mix both with ascetics and pleasure-lovers, and he neither smoked nor drank. Naturally grave, he disliked satire and there is little humour in his works. One of his hobbies was growing flowers. He is always measured in his criticisms and his relation of events; and his prose style is simple, unencumbered by grandiloquent similes and clichés.

Works. 1. *Fadhlakat aḳwāl al-akhyār fī ʿilm al-ta'rīkh wa'l-akhbār*, or *Fadhlakat al-tawārīkh*, a universal history in Arabic, to 1049/1639. The *muḳaddima* is in four *faṣl*s, of which the second deals with the significance, the scope and the uses of history; the third, which was to list the 1300 sources, is lacking in the unique MS.; the fourth deals with the rules which the historian must follow. Unique MS. (author's draft); Bayezit 10318 (dated 1052/ 1642). Summary of scope in *İncelemeler* (see *Bibl.*), 40-3, and see also M. Halil Yinanç, *ibid.*, 93-100; Turkish tr. of brief passages in *Seçmeler* (see *Bibl.*), 187-94. —2. *Fedhleke*, a chronicle of Ottoman history, in Turkish, from 1000/1591 to 1065/1654-5. Among the sources are Ḥasanbegzāde, Pečevī [*qq.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (Topčular Kātibi); it was extensively used by Naʿīmā [*q.v.*]. Autograph MS.: Atif Ef. 1914; edn. in 2 vols. Istanbul 1287. See *İncelemeler*, 43-5. — 3. *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, a history of Ottoman naval engagements to the year 1067/1656, in Turkish, with recommendations and criticisms on naval affairs and information on the fleet and its armament. MS. Revan 1192 (Karatay, no. 787) has marginalia in the author's hand, maps and pictures, and three *taḳrīẓ* (by the *Shaykh al-Islām* and the *Ḳāḍīʿaskers*). Edns.: Müteferriḳa Press 1141/1729; Istanbul 1329/1913. Eng. tr. (to p. 70 of the 1329 edn.), James Mitchell, *The history of the maritime wars of the Turks*, London 1831. See *İncelemeler*, 45-8: *Seçmeler*, 80-113. —4. *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh*, chronological tables of events from the creation of Adam to the year 1058/1648, to serve "as an index to the *Fadhlaka*" (no. 1 above) Autograph MS. (?): Esad Ef. 2399; edn. (with continuation to 1146): Müteferriḳa Press 1146/1733. Ital. tr. by Rinaldo Carli, *Chronologia historica* ..., Venice 1697. Continued, with commentary, to 1191/1777 by Shamʿdānīzāde [*q.v.*] as *Mur'ī al-tawārīkh* (edn. of first vol. to 926/ 1520, Istanbul 1338 h.). See *İncelemeler*, 48-54; *Seçmeler*, 114-8. —5. *Rawnaḳ al-salṭana*, excerpts on the history of Constantinople translated into Turkish from *Historia rerum in Oriente gestarum* ..., Frankfurt 1587 (see V. L. Ménage, in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 173-4). Unique MS.: Konya, İzzet Koyunoğlu Libr. See *İncelemeler*, 56. —6. *Ta'rīkh-i Firengī*, a Turkish translation, made in 1065/1654-5, of Johann Carion's *Chronicle* (probably the Latin edn., Paris 1548, see V. L. Ménage, in *Iran and Islam*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 423). Unique MS.: Konya, İzzet Koyunoğlu Libr. Excerpts published in the newspaper *Taṣwīr-i efkār* from no. 55 (1279/1863) onwards, whence three passages in *Seçmeler*, 175-7. See *İncelemeler*, 54-6. —7. *Irshād al-ḥayārā ilā ta'rīkh al-Yūnān wa'l-Rūm wa'l-Naṣārā*, a short compilation, from the *Atlas Minor* (see no. 10) and other works, on the religion, the systems of government and the dynasties of Christian Europe. See *İncelemeler*, 57; B. Flemming, *Verzeichnis ... Deutschland*, xiii/1 = *Türkische Handschriften*, Teil i, Wiesbaden 1968, no. 117; V. L. Ménage, in *Iran and Islam*, 421-3. —8. *Sullam al-wuṣūl ilā ṭabaḳāt al-fuḥūl*, a compendium of biographies in Arabic, arranged alphabetically (part one: by personal name; part two: by *nasab*, *kunya* or *laḳab*), in effect a companion work to no. 12 below, compiled from over 100 sources and completed in 1058/1649. Autograph (draft) MS.: Şehit Ali Paşa 1877. See *İncelemeler*, 57-61; *Seçmeler*, 195-204. — 9. *Djihān-nümā*. This work, planned to be a great cosmography, was never completed. In the first version, begun in 1058/1648, the author dealt with the seas, Muslim Spain, North Africa, and the Ottoman provinces of Rūmeli, Bosnia and Hungary; the second version, begun in 1065/1654 after he had acquired a copy of the *Atlas Minor* (see no. 10), covers Asia, from Japan to the Ottoman borders (Van). Most of the first version was translated by J. von Hammer as *Rumeli und Bosna* ..., Vienna 1812; the second version was the basis for the Müteferriḳa Press text of 1145/1732. For the complex textual history, see the articles of Fr. Taeschner, Pearson, *Index islamicus 1906-1955*, nos. 8860, 18345, 18643 and (a summing-up) 8861 = *Imago Mundi*, i (1935), 44-8; and *İncelemeler*, 61-73. For partial translations, see Babinger, 200. —10. *Lawāmiʿ al-nūr fī ẓulmat Aṭlas Minūr*, a Turkish translation, with many marginal comments, of the *Atlas Minor* of G. Mercator and L. Hondius. Autograph MS.: Nuruosmaniye 2998. See *İncelemeler*, 73-6; *Seçmeler*, 178-83. —11. *Ilhām al-muḳaddas fī fayḍ al-aḳdas*, a short treatise on the solutions, in the light of *fiḳh*, to three astronomical problems. See Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu, in *Incelemeler*, 141-76; *İncelemeler*, 76-7; *Seçmeler*, 143-5. —12. *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī 'l-kutub wa'l-funūn*, the great bibliographical dictionary in Arabic. The introduction deals with the importance of learning and the classification of the various branches of knowledge; the main text lists some 14,500 titles in alphabetical order, with some commentary. Principal edns.: G. Flügel, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum* ..., 7 vols., Leipzig and London 1835-58 (Ar. text with Latin tr. and indexes); ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge, *Keşf-el-zunun*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1941-3 (using the autograph fair copy of the first third, MS. Revan 2059 [Karatay, no. 6566], and the autograph draft for the rest, MS. Carullah 1619. See *İncelemeler*, 77-9; *Seçmeler*, 205-45. —13. *Tuḥfat al-akhyār fi 'l-ḥikam wa'l-amthāl wa'l-ashʿār*, a commonplace book drawn mainly from Arabic, but also from Persian and Turkish sources, containing passages on literature and philosophy,

family-life and good government, curious information on animals and plants, tales, poems, proverbs, etc. See *İncelemer*, 79-81; *Seçmeler*, 246-65. —14. *Dürer-i müntekhire ve ghurer-i münteshire*, a collection of passages from biographical works. Unique (autograph) MS.: Nuruosmaniye 4949. See *İncelemeler*, 81-2; *Seçmeler*, 146-52. —15. *Dustūr al-ʿamal fī iṣlāḥ al-khalal*, a memorandum setting out the causes for the deficits in the state finances and suggesting remedies. Edn.: Istanbul 1280 (appended to ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*); *Seçmeler* (complete text), 153-61. German trans.: W. F. A. Behrnauer, in *ZDMG*, xi (1857), 111-32. See *İncelemeler*, 82-4; B. Lewis, in *Isl. St.*, i/1 (1962), 78-81. —16. *Radjm al-radjīm bi'l-sīm wa'l-djīm*, a collection of curious questions in *fiḳh* and of odd *fatwās*; apparently lost. See *İncelemeler*, 84-5. —17. A *sharḥ* of the *tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī [*q.v.*]; perhaps never completed, no. MS. known. See *İncelemeler*, 85. —18. *Ḥusn al-hidāya*, a *sharḥ* of the *Muḥammadiyya* of ʿAlī Kushčī [*q.v.*]; apparently lost. See *İncelemeler*, 85. —19. *Djāmiʿ al-mutūn min djall al-funūn*, abridgements of and comments on 27 works which the author taught: a compendium of "general knowledge" for the man of culture. Unique MS. (in part autograph): Topkapı Sarayı, Emanet Hazinesi 1763. See *İncelemeler*, 85-6; *Seçmeler*, 266-7. —20. *Mukhtaṣar Djāmiʿ al-mutūn*, an abridgement of the above- no. MS., known (see *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Flügel, no. 3952). *İncelemeler*, 86 and n. 3. —21. *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ fī 'khtiyār al-aḥaḳḳ*, a discussion of various questions which at the time were causing violent controversy (see Naʿīmā, vi, 229-30 (*sub anno* 1066); İ. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1951, 364-6), with the author's solutions, composed in 1067/1656. Edns.: Istanbul 1281, 1286, 1306. Eng. tr.: G. L. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth*, London 1957 (see J. R. Walsh, in *IQ*, v/1-2 (1958), 63-79). See *İncelemeler*, 87-90; *Seçmeler*, 162-71. —22. *Ḳānūnnāme-i teshrīfāt*, known only from a mention in *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ*; see *İncelemeler*, 54.

Bibliography: The principal source for Kātib Čelebi's life, his studies and his works is the autobiographical *khātime* to the *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ* (*Seçmeler*, 165-70; tr. G. L. Lewis, pp. 135-47), with some further details in the *Sullam al-wuṣūl* (*Seçmeler*, 202-3). Earlier studies: Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, iii, 124-31; Brockelmann, II, 427-9, S II, 635-7; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939; expanded version; *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 115-32. The fullest study is by O. Ş. Gökyay, in *Kâtip Çelebi: hayatı ve eserleri hakkında incelemeler*, Ankara (TTK) 1957, 3-90 (an expanded version of the article in *İA*, s.v. Kâtib Çelebi). Add now also *ʿUšâqîzâde's Lebensbeschreibungen . . . (Zeyl-i Šaqâʾiq)*, ed. H. J. Kissling, Wiesbaden 1965, no. 158. Selections from 15 of his works, in the original Turkish or translated from Arabic, in O. Ş. Gökyay, *Kâtip Çelebi'den seçmeler*, Istanbul 1968.

For MSS. in the libraries of Turkey, see *İncelemeler*; of Europe, see Babinger, 195-203 (some further references, for nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 21 above, in B. Flemming, *Verzeichnis . . .*, xiii/1, nos. 162, 160, 36, 117, 379, respectively).

(ORHAN ŞAİK GÖKYAY)

KĀTIB-I RŪMĪ [see SĪDĪ REʾĪS].

AL-**KĀTIBĪ**, NADJM AL-DĪN ABU'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ʿUMAR (d. 657/1276), known by the title of Dabīrān, was a philosopher and logician of the Shāfiʿī school. He came from Ḳazwīn and although Khwānsārī, quoting Kutubī, called him Kāshī, sc. from Kāshān, this is not correct; and he was a pupil of Athīr-al-Dīn Abharī. It is known that he helped establish the Marāgha [*q.v.*] observatory along with Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] and several other scholars, including Muʾayyid al-Dīn ʿArūḍī, Fakhr al-Dīn Marāghī and Muḥyī al-Dīn Akhlāṭī. He is the author of many works and treatises, two of which are particularly important. The first is *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya* (*The Logic of the Arabians*, original Arabic with Eng. tr. by A. Sprenger, appended to Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 1856), which he wrote for Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Djuwaynī. This was commented upon by several scholars, the most important of whom are Saʿd al-Dīn Taftāzānī [*q.v.*] and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Rāzī. Rāzī's commentary, entitled *Taḥrīr al-ḳawāʿid al-manṭiḳiyyah fī sharḥ al-risāla al-shamsiyya* (Tehran lith. ed. 1304) is still used as a text book in traditional Islamic schools.

His second major work, *Ḥikmat al-ʿayn*, deals with metaphysics and natural sciences. This work too has attracted many commentaries, among them that of Muḥammad b. Mubārak Shāh, known as Mīrak-i Bukhārī (St. Petersburg 1904), who has also quoted Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī's marginal notes on the same work. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī, known as al-Sharīf, Kamāl al-Dīn Masʿūd Shīrāzī and Mīrzā Djān Bāghnuwī, each wrote marginal notes on the above commentary. Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī, known as ʿAllāma, also wrote a commentary on *Ḥikmat al-ʿayn*, called *Īḍāḥ al-maḳāṣid* (Tehran 1959).

Kātibī was influenced in his thinking by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] and wrote commentaries on his *al-Muḥaṣṣal* and *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*, which he called respectively *al-Mufaṣṣal* and *al-Munaṣṣaṣ*. He also had some correspondance and discussions with Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on problems of logic, such as predication and contradiction, and on philosophical problems, like the proof of necessary existence. In this respect he rejects the proofs of necessary existence based on the falsity of the circle of infinite regress and demonstrates another kind of proof in his *al-Risāla fī ithbāt al-wādjib* (ʿAlī Yāsīn, *Muṭāriḥāt falsafiyya*, Baghdad 1956). His arguments, which became known as *Shubuhāt*, were discussed by various scholars, and Kamāl al-Dīn Husaynī Fasāʾī wrote a book called *Ḥall shubuhāt al-Kātibī*.

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 134; Khwāndmīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Tehran 1333, iii, 107; Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, Tehran 1339, 590, 706; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, litho ed.[2], Tehran 1367, 479; Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn, *Tadhkira*[2], Iṣfahān 1334, 30; Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Cairo, Dār al-kutub edn. n.d., i, 299, 302; *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, i, 685, ii, 1063; *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* (suppl. to *Kashf al-ẓunūn*), i, 415, ii, 56; Brockelmann, I, 466, S I, 845; ʿAbbās Ḳumī, *al-Kunā wa' 'l-alḳāb*, Sidon 1939, iii, 801; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Tārīkh-i Mughūl*, Tehran 1341, 191, 503, 507, 511; ʿAlī Naḳī Munzawī, intro. to *Īḍāḥ al-maḳāṣid*, Tehran 1959, 4-10. (M. MOHAGHEGH)

KĀTIBĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, a Persian poet. According to Dawlatshāh, he was born in a village between Turshīz and Nīshāpūr. Through most of his life he sought in vain the patronage of Tīmūrid amīrs in Herāt, Astarābād and Sharwān, and finally that of the Turcoman ruler Iskandar b. Ḳarā Yūsuf in Ādharbāydjān. Eventually he returned to Astarābād, where he died of the plague about 839/1435-6, apparently at a young age. Besides a *dīwān* of *ghazals*, *ḳaṣīdas*, etc., he left a number of *mathnawīs*, viz. *Tadjnīsāt* or *Dah Bāb*, *Dhū Baḥrayn* or *Madjmaʿ al-Baḥrayn*, *Dhū Ḳāfiyatayn*, *Ḥusn u ʿIshḳ*, *Nāẓir u Manẓūr*, *Muḥibb u Maḥbūb*, and

Bahrām u Gul-andām. Towards the end of his life he undertook to compose a *khamsa* in imitation of Niẓāmī of Gandja, but did not complete it.

Notwithstanding Nawāʾī's lavish praise of Kātibī, and the lengthy accounts of him given by Dawlatshāh and Browne, he is a mediocre poet. Djāmī rightly describes (in his *Bahāristān*) his verses as *shutur gurba*, "camels and cats", *i.e.*, uneven and unequal in quality. His poetry is characterized by excessive use of rhetorical artifice, imitation (mainly of Amīr Khusraw and Ḥasan of Dihlī), commonplace and bizarre ideas, and clumsy and immature diction. Perhaps because of these failings, very few of his verses have been published.

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Browne, London-Leiden 1901, 381-91; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 487-95; Amīr ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī, *Madjālis al Nafāʾis*, ed. ʿA. A. Ḥikmat, Tehran 1323; Dh. Ṣafā, *Gandj-i Sukhan*, ii, Tehran 1340², 271-3. (I. Dehghan)

KATIF (a.) "shoulder"; *ʿilm al-katif* or *al-aktāf* denotes scapulomancy or omoplatoscopy, *i.e.* divination by the use of the shoulder-bones. This art forms a part of the practices of physiognomy. It is universal in scope, inasmuch as it provides for the foretelling of what will happen in the different regions of the earth towards which the four sides of the scapula are pointed according to the signs revealed by it. From this point of view the *ʿilm al-aktāf* is to be linked with the practice of cleromancy of the *djafr* [*q.v.*] and the *malāḥim* (cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 219 ff.).

How was this skill practised? Three methods are known to us. The first is to lay the scapula on the ground before cooking it, to examine it and to deduce from it indications of future events (war, fertility, drought) according to the shades of colour on it. It may be yellowish, leaden, red or greenish and the meanings of these colours are applied to the regions towards which the four sides of the scapula point (cf. Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, i, 387).

The second method consists of taking the scapula with the flesh stripped off and exposing it to the rays of the sun. The special lines and shapes which then appear are examined by the physiognomists and they deduce from them signs of universal events, but rarely of individual cases (cf. Y. Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe*, Ar. text, 12). "Neither the age nor the sex nor the colour of the sheep are important ... There is no fixed moment for the ceremony of divination. It is performed at any time and in any place." (Letter from P. Anastase al-Karmalī to Alfred Boissier, in *Mantique babylonienne et mantique ḥittite*, 52).

A third method involves cooking the scapula before using it. This is described in a *Risāla fī l-aḥkām al-katifiyya* (ms. Cairo 4451; cat. v, 338; anon.): "If anyone wishes to practise scapulomancy, he must take a sheep and before cutting its throat, he must formulate in his mind the question to which he would like to obtain an answer. Then he will slaughter it and broil its scapula."

This third method seems to have prevailed in North Africa, where it could have been connected with the practices of the ancient haruspices (cf. Mauchamp, *Sorcellerie*, 148; Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 371 f.; for details see *Divination arabe*, 396 f.). According to the only example of a divination by scapulomancy found in ancient literature, which goes back to the period of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the observation was made in the East on the fresh, raw scapula (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2575-6, quoted above, art. istisķāʾ). It is the same in the *Risāla fī ʿilm al-aktāf* attributed to al-Kindī (mss. Nuruosmaniyye 2412, 42 fol.; Şehîd ʿAlī Paşa, 1812, 51 fol.; Bursa, Ḥusayn Çelebi, 882 fol. 84ᵃ-89ᵃ; cf. M. Plessner, *Deux manuscrits d'Istanbul attribués à al-Kindī*, in *Islamica*, iv (1931), 557). The introduction states that al-Kindī translated this treatise from the Greek; it was attributed to Hermes the Sage.

Apart from this *risāla* and the anonymous one from Cairo, no other writings on scapulomancy have appeared, despite the affirmation of P. Anastase that "there is an entire literature on the science of scapulae which would require deep study" (*apud* Boissier, *op. cit.*, 53). He himself had only a copy of the *risāla* attributed to al-Kindī (*ibid.*, 51). No writings of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, thought to have been the originator of scapulomancy, have yet come to light.

Finally, according to P. Anastase, "To-day there is no family or tribe which knows this science ... but it is studied in specialist books. There is", he writes, "a special terminology which is not found in Arabic dictionaries, even the most extensive" (*ibid.*).

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 395-7; A. Boissier, *Mantique babylonienne et mantique ḥittite*, Paris 1935, (letter of P. Anastase dated 26 September 1934); Y. Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe et le Kitāb al-firāsa de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (thesis), Paris 1939, Ar. text 12; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, i, 387; Ed. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 371-2; E. Mauchamp, *La sorcellerie au Maroc*, Paris n.d., 148. (T. Fahd)

al-**ĶAṬĪF**, a large oasis in Saudi Arabia on the southern shore of the Persian Gulf.

1. Geography and demography. The oasis fronts on Tārūt Bay, named after the island facing its centre. Although al-Ķaṭīf was for centuries a seaport of considerable importance, it is now, due to the shallowness of its waters, used only by small craft. Most of the maritime traffic had been diverted to the oil-shipping port of Raʾs Tannūra (Ras Tanura) on the narrow peninsula which forms the north side of the bay and to the commercial port of al-Dammām [*q.v.*] at the southern extremity of the bay.

The oasis stretches about 22 km. from north to south along the coast of the bay. In the far north the town of Ṣafwā and its girdle of date palms are cut off from the bay by Ṣabkhat Djāwān (*ṣabkha* = "salt flat"), from the main body of the oasis by Ṣabkhat Ṣafwā and the sands of al-Djabdjūb, and from the inland village of Umm al-Sāḥik by the sands of al-Dawāghir. In the centre of the oasis is the town of al-Ķaṭīf proper, popularly called al-Ķalʿa after the old Ottoman (not Portuguese) fort razed in recent times. The more important villages in its vicinity are al-Ķudayḥ and al-ʿAwwāmiyya to the north, and al-Djārūdiyya, Umm al-Khamām, al-Djishsh, and ʿAnik to the south. Separated from the rest of the oasis by the sands of al-Badrānī is the interior village of al-Ādjām (pronounced *lodjām*). The oasis ends in the south with the flourishing town of Sayhāt on the coast.

The sands mentioned above and other sands hem in the oasis on its inner side from north to south and in many places are encroaching on the palm groves. A remarkable string of *ʿayns* or springs lies along the north-south axis just west of the eastern edge of the sands. Many other *ʿayns* are scattered throughout the groves between the sands and the bay.

The island of Tārūt has five main villages, the largest of which are Tārūt near the centre and Dārīn at the southern tip of the island. Dārīn, mentioned in a verse by al-Aʿshā, was the name commonly given

to the island in ancient times. A causeway now joins the island to the mainland.

The great majority of the people of al-Ḳaṭīf consists of Dja'farī Shī'is. The suggestion, sometimes made, that traces of Ḳarmaṭian doctrines survive there seems to be completely baseless. It is to be hoped that ampler details of the history of this ancient Dja'farī community and the related Dja'farī community of al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] can some day be uncovered.

2. History. The finding of ancient South Arabian and Aramaean inscriptions bears witness to the great antiquity of al-Ḳaṭīf as an inhabited oasis. Unfortunately, the extensive use of the land by the current dwellers impedes the carrying out of thorough archaeological operations. H. von Wissmann has argued persuasively for the identification of al-Ḳaṭīf as the site of the renowned city of Gerrha described by Strabo and other classical sources, but this identification is not yet proved beyond doubt.

In the early 4th century A.D. the Persians under Shāpūr II established themselves in al-Ḳaṭīf and along the adjoining Arabian coast, the hinterland of which was then known as al-Baḥrayn. This occupation, interrupted at times by the Lakhmids, did not end until three centuries later. For a sketch of the events of that time see the article on 'ABD AL-ḲAYS, then the dominant tribe in al-Baḥrayn. The subtribe of Djadhīma b. 'Awf inhabited the oasis of al-Ḳaṭīf but kept its capital at nearby al-Zāra, the location of which is uncertain. The population also included Magians, Jews, and Christians (many members of 'Abd al-Ḳays were Christians before Islam). The persistence of Christianity is illustrated by the fact that a Nestorian synod was held at Dārīn as late as 56-7/676.

As Islam spread eastwards in the Peninsula, al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī reached al-Baḥrayn in 8/629-30, and 'Abd al-Ḳays sent an embassy to the Prophet in Medina. During the *ridda* some of 'Abd al-Ḳays rebelled; in 11/632-3 al-Ḥuṭam b. Ḍubay'a seized al-Ḳaṭīf, but in the next year he was defeated and killed by the forces of al-'Alā'. The Muslims then forced the Persian garrison of al-Zāra to capitulate, after which they crossed over to the island of Dārīn (Tārūt). The rebellion against the caliphate continued until 19/640, but it is not known whether al-Ḳaṭīf was involved in the later stages.

In 67/686-7 the Khāridjī Nadjda b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī won a victory over 'Abd al-Ḳays at al-Ḳaṭīf and made the oasis his headquarters, only to be overcome not long afterwards by his fellow-Khāridjī Abū Fudayk.

The history of al-Ḳaṭīf for the next two centuries or so remains obscure. In 286/899 the Ḳarmaṭian Abū Sa'īd Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Djannābī [*q.v.*] invaded the oasis and put many of the inhabitants to the sword, thereby inaugurating an independent Ḳarmaṭian state in eastern Arabia with its capital in the oasis of al-Aḥsā' to the south. The Ḳarmaṭians suffered a temporary setback four years later when Ibn Bānū, the governor of al-Baḥrayn, inflicted severe losses on them in a battle at al-Ḳaṭīf, but they soon recovered the oasis and regained power.

The tribe of 'Uḳayl, which in the late 3rd/9th century was moving into the region, in time took over supremacy there from 'Abd al-Ḳays. In al-Hamdānī's time (early 4th/10th century), however, the inhabitants of al-Ḳaṭīf were still described as belonging to Djadhīma b. 'Awf of 'Abd al-Ḳays under a chief named Ibn Mismār. Ibn Ḥawḳal (mid-4th/10th century) lists al-Ḳaṭīf as one of the Ḳarmaṭian cities. In 378/988-9 al-Aṣfar and his tribesmen of al-Muntafiḳ waged war against the Ḳarmaṭians and plundered al-Ḳaṭīf, carrying off abundant booty to al-Baṣra.

The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw in 433/1051 met an Arab dignitary in al-Ḳaṭīf whose ambition was to drive the Ḳarmaṭians, "men without religion", out of their capital al-Aḥsā'. Seventeen years later Abu 'l-Bahlūl al-'Awwām b. al-Zadjdjādj, master of the islands of al-Baḥrayn, who was loyal to the 'Abbāsids, defeated the Ḳarmaṭian adherents among 'Uḳayl in a naval battle off al-Ḳaṭīf. The final destruction of Ḳarmaṭian power in this region came at the hands of the 'Uyūnids [*q.v.*] of 'Abd al-Ḳays, whose base was in al-Aḥsā'.

Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Jewish communities in the East between 554/1159 and 569/1173, gave the number of Jews in al-Ḳaṭīf as 5,000, a figure no doubt exaggerated (the Rabbi does not seem to have reached al-Ḳaṭīf itself). He also reported that the pearl fisheries there were controlled by a Jewish official.

About 598/1201-2 Abū Bakr b. Sa'd, the Salghurid Atābeg of Fārs, took over al-Ḳaṭīf and al-Aḥsā'. By the first half of the 7th/13th century the 'Uyūnids were yielding to pressure by the Salghurids and by the new dynasty of the 'Uṣfūrids of 'Uḳayl, which was usurping authority in al-Aḥsā'.

From the 8th/14th century, Hormuz on the Persian side of the Gulf rose to prominence in trade and politics. In 731/1330-1 Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Tahamtan, King of Hormuz, is said to have occupied al-Ḳaṭīf and other places on both sides of the Gulf. In the following year, however, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found that al-Ḳaṭīf was ruled by a family founded by one Djarwān of 'Uḳayl, a family described by al-Sakhāwī as "remnants of the Ḳarmaṭians". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa characterised the various clans of Arabs living in al-Ḳaṭīf as "extremist Rāfiḍīs" (the common term among Sunnīs in the Gulf for Shī'īs).

In the mid-9th/15th century the Djabrids, a branch of the 'Uṣfūrids, became dominant in al-Aḥsā'. The Djabrid Adjwad helped the fugitive prince Salghur of Hormuz secure the throne of his homeland, in return for which Salghur granted Adjwad, on payment of tribute, control over al-Baḥrayn and al-Ḳaṭīf, whose profits from trade made them the richest possessions of Hormuz.

After the Portuguese conquest of Hormuz in 913/1507, the Djabrids kept their hold on al-Ḳaṭīf for a time. The Djabrid Muḳrin made the pilgrimage in 926/1520, bringing with him pearls, amber, aloes wood, and other costly products; he is said to have distributed 50,000 dīnārs to the poor in the Holy Cities. On his return he discovered that the Portuguese were invading the islands of al-Baḥrayn, and he met his death in resisting them. The King of Hormuz, subject and ally of the Portuguese, sent an underling to besiege al-Ḳaṭīf. The final blow to the Djabrids came from Shaykh Rāshid b. Mughāmis of al-Baṣra in 931/1524-5.

The chief of al-Ḳaṭīf swore allegiance to Sulaymān the Magnificent in Baghdād in 941/1534, and in 958/1551 Ottoman forces built a new citadel in al-Ḳaṭīf. After Portugal lost Hormuz to the British and Persians in 1031/1622, al-Ḳaṭīf became a more important centre for Portuguese trade in the Gulf. The finest Arabian horses were exported from there to India, being brought to the port by Bedouins from the interior. Large quantities of pearls from the beds of al-Baḥrayn were shipped from al-Ḳaṭīf, as many of the fishers came from the oasis. The Portuguese paid for the horses and pearls with cloth from Sind

and Cambay and with silver money. Another item for export was dates, inferior in quality to those of al-Baṣra, but better and more lasting when dried. In 1036/1637 the Portuguese admiral Ruy Freyre came to the rescue of al-Ḳaṭīf when it was threatened by Persia.

The Ottoman grip on this distant part of Arabia proved weak, particularly as the Āl Ḥumayd, the paramount chiefs of the tribe of the Banū Khālid, gained strength and expanded their dominion. The Banū Khālid had special ties with al-Ḳaṭīf, where nomads of the tribe owned date groves at ʿAnik and numbers of them came there to camp during the harvesting season. Barrāk b. Ghurayr Āl Ḥumayd expelled the Ottoman governor from al-Aḥsāʾ in 1074/1663-4. As one of the principal seaports for the Banū Khālid (the other being al-ʿUḳayr farther south), al-Ḳaṭīf won favour from merchants for its moderate customs duties and the protection it provided for their persons and property.

In 1202/1788 the Banū Kaʿb of southern al-ʿIrāḳ plundered al-Ḳaṭīf, which was just recovering from a devastating plague that had made its way south from al-Baṣra.

The Banū Khālid could not withstand the onslaughts of the Āl Suʿūd [*q.v.*], the paladins of the reform movement of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*], who routed the army of the tribe in the battle of Ghuraymīl south of al-Ḳaṭīf in 1204/1789-0. Two years later Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd captured the strongholds of Sayhāt and ʿAnik in al-Ḳaṭīf and meted out harsh treatment to the Shīʿī inhabitants, whom he looked upon as the worst of heretics. The payment of many pieces of gold induced Suʿūd to spare the port (*al-furḍa*) and the people who had taken refuge there. In this fashion, the Āl Suʿūd subdued all this part of eastern Arabia and incorporated it in their realm. During the reign of Suʿūd, the *ḳāḍī* he assigned to al-Ḳaṭīf was an immigrant from Persia (a Shīʿī converted to Sunnism?).

The Sublime Porte delegated Muḥammad ʿAlī, its Viceroy in Egypt, to deal with the threat to Ottoman suzerainty posed by the Āl Suʿūd and the Wahhābiyya. The Viceroy's son Ibrāhīm Pāshā, took the Āl Suʿūd's capital, al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] in 1233/1818, after which Ibrāhīm sent a detachment on to al-Ḳaṭīf in search of supplies. When Captain Sadleir, the emissary of the British government in India coming to congratulate Ibrāhīm, reached al-Ḳaṭīf in 1234/1819, the detachment was preparing to pull out. Accompanying it on its way westwards, Sadleir became the first Western explorer to traverse the whole breadth of Arabia.

Although the chiefs of the Banū Khālid were in charge once more, the most striking figure in the region of al-Ḳaṭīf in the next few years was the celebrated seadog Raḥma b. Djābir, who finally lost his life in 1242/1826 in a naval battle off al-Ḳaṭīf against the Āl Khalīfa of al-Baḥrayn, against whom he had long been waging war.

After the Turco-Egyptian evacuation of central Arabia, Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh reintroduced the rule of the Āl Suʿūd, and the chiefs of al-Ḳaṭīf gave him the *bayʿa* in 1245/1830. Four years later he ordered his son Fayṣal to al-Ḳaṭīf to suppress dissident elements in Sayhāt supported by the Āl Khalīfa. While there, Fayṣal received news of his father's assassination in al-Dirʿiyya, and as the new Imām he hastened back to the capital.

Muḥammad ʿAlī again adopted a forward policy in Arabia in 1254/1838. Fayṣal was defeated and carried off to Egypt as a prisoner. A Turco-Egyptian force was quartered in al-Ḳaṭīf. Ibn Bishr describes the administration as "[benevolent] rain at first, but in the end hail and thunderbolts". The force, however, stayed only two years. The new head of the Āl Suʿūd, ʿAbd Allāh b. Thunayyān, appointed Fayṣal's slave Bilāl b. Sālim al-Ḥarḳ as his first representative in al-Ḳaṭīf in 1258/1842. In the following year, Fayṣal escaped from Cairo and returned to Arabia, where this second reign of his lasted for the next twenty-two years. The probity of his government was illustrated by his anger over what he at first considered the unjustified action of his Amīr of al-Ḳaṭīf in having the leading Shīʿī there beaten to death, though he later pardoned the Amīr. Fayṣal in at least some of his campaigns was joined by levies of the people of al-Ḳaṭīf.

In 1288/1871 Midḥat Pasha, the Ottoman *Wālī* or governor of Baghdād, dispatched an expedition that landed at Raʾs Tannūra and quickly moved on to al-Ḳaṭīf. During this final Ottoman occupation, al-Ḳaṭīf formed one of the three *ḳaḍāʾ*s of the misnamed *Sandjaḳ* of Nadjd (the *Sandjaḳ*, with its capital at al-Aḥsāʾ, consisted of territory lying east of Nadjd proper). But ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was restoring the fortunes of Āl Suʿūd, swooped down on the Sandjaḳ in 1331/1913 and drove out all the Ottoman garrisons, including the one in al-Ḳaṭīf. Since then the oasis has belonged to the domains of the Āl Suʿūd.

In 1357/1938 oil was first discovered in Saudi Arabia at al-Ẓahrān (Dhahran) not far south of al-Ḳaṭīf. With the expansion of operations a new oilfield was found straddling the oasis, after which it was named the Qatif Field. Large numbers of the people of the towns and villages there work for the oil company or in businesses connected with the oil industry. With production and revenues from oil soaring, the oasis is enjoying new prosperity and undergoing a reshaping of its economic and social life. It still lies half-hidden by its cloak of millions of palms, which produce abundant harvests of dates, a crop supplemented by fruits and vegetables, the variety of which has been diversified by great improvements in the irrigation and drainage systems and by the introduction of modern agricultural techniques.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources cited by Grohmann in *EI*[1] s.v., see H. v. Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Süd-arabien*, Vienna 1964; idem and H. Gätje, in *Vorbereitung für die Mainzer Akademie*, Wiesbaden 1964; Y. El-Khachab, *Nāṣir è Ḥosraw*, Cairo 1940; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ*, i, Cairo 1353; W. Caskel in *Oriens*, ii (1949) [Djabrids]; E. Prestage, ed., *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, Watford 1935; M. v. Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii/1, ed. W. Caskel, Wiesbaden 1952 [the Banū Khālid]; S. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925; Ḥusayn b. Ghannām, *Rawḍat al-Afkār*, Bombay, n.d.; ʿUthmān b. Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-Madjd*, Cairo 1373; G. Sadlier [Sadleir], *Diary of a Journey across Arabia*, Bombay 1866; J. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15. (G. Rentz)

KATİN [see KHĀTŪN].

ḲAṬİRDJİ-OGHLİ MEḤMED PASHA (?1010-79/?1601-68) a statesman descended from the Turcomans of Ḥamīd [*q.v.*] who rose to fame from a career of brigandry. Since he always spoke his local dialect, he acquired the nickname *Türkçe Bilmez* ("he who knows no Turkish") (Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, iv, 382). He was the

son of Aḥmed Agha called *ķāṭırdjı* (the muleteer) on account of his profession. Ķāṭırdjı Meḥemmed spent his childhood on the family farm in Ağlasun and when he was 19, in 1029-30/1620-21, he joined his father's caravan journeys. He later separated from his father to operate his own caravan between Afyon [*q.v.*] and Čivril and later, after his father's death, he took over his business (Hikmet Turhan Dağlıoğlu and Nuri Katırcıoğlu, *Katırcıoğlu kimdir?*, in *Isparta Halkevi Ün Mecmuası*, iii, no. 25 (Isparta 1936), 356, 357). Ķāṭırdjı-oghlı came to be much loved in the region, and the people of Isparta sent him to relay their complaints and wishes to a tax-collector who had perpetrated great injustices and irregularities. The tax-collector, however, instead of taking an understanding attitude inflamed the people further by throwing Ķāṭırdjı-oghlı into prison. Thereupon the people rebelled, freed him from goal, removed the tax-collector and took the administration into their own hands. Ķāṭırdjı-oghlı let the course of events carry him along. For a while he disappeared and then, in 1057/1647, appeared again operating with the brigand Ķara Ḥaydar (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, ii, 416 ff.). After Ķara Ḥaydar's capture in 1059/1649, he gathered around himself the scattered groups of brigands and, joining forces with Gürdjü ʿAbd al-Nabī, marched on Üsküdar with the intention of procuring his pardon. However, in the clash with government troops, ʿAbd al-Nabī's hesitancy led to his defeat. He was compelled to retire first to Söğüt (Naʿīmā, iv, 428) and then in the direction of Isparta. Through the medium of ʿĪsā Agha who was at that moment in the town of Čay, he sought a pardon; and through him he received a conciliatory letter from the Grand Vizier Ķara Murād Pasha indicating that he would be pardoned (*ibid.*, iv, 452). He came to Istanbul towards the end of 1059/1649 and, after an audience with Meḥemmed IV, he received the long-desired pardon and, moreover, was appointed *sandjaķ begi* of Beyshehir (Wedjīhī, *Taʾrīkh*, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye Library 917, f. 36; Ķara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi, *Dhayl-i rawḍatuʾl-abrār*, Istanbul University Library, Turkish manuscripts, 3272, f. 38; Naʿīmā, iv, 452). He was later appointed *beglerbegi* of Ķarāmān and sent against Abaza Ḥasan Agha. In 1061/1651 he was appointed governor of the *eyālet* of Shahrizūr, but refused the post and stayed in Ķarāmān. Although this was an act of disobedience, the Grand Vizier was more concerned with the removal of his rival Ipshīr Muṣṭafā Pasha and did not worry him, pretending not to have known of his actions. Shortly afterwards Ķāṭırdjı-oghlı was appointed to the governorship of his native *sandjaķ* of Ḥamīd. However, the intervention of Murād Pasha, who was *ķapudan-i deryā* [*q.v.*] prevented a clash between the two men. After this, Ķāṭırdjı-oghlı approached the Grand Vizier and, tendering his obedience, received a pardon (*ibid.*, vi, 17, 32). In 1065/1655 he was ordered to the Crete campaign and achieved great distinction in the fighting there between 1067/1657 and 1069-70/1659. In 1077-78/1667 he was on Crete with the title of *beglerbegi* of Ķarāmān. He was appointed *beglerbegi* of Anadolu on 3 Rabīʿ al-Akhir 1078/22 September 1667 and died in action at the siege of Candia on 13 Rajab 1079/17 December 1668 (ʿOthmān Dede, *Taʾrīkh-i Fāḍıl Aḥmed Pasha*, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye Library 909, ff. 44, 45, 62; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865, i, 179, 216; Silaḥdār Meḥmed Agha, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 447, 492, 493). Ķāṭırdjı-oghlı had a son called Shapčı-Bashı Ḥusayn Agha, whose descendants still survive today.

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ĶATL (A.), killing, putting to death, used in the two principal meanings of the word, sc. the crime of murder and the punishment of execution.

i. As a crime

(1). In the Ķurʾān unlawful slaying is forbidden in a series of verses, which date from the second Meccan period to nearly the end of the Medīna period. The passages may be arranged chronologically as follows (cf. Th. Nöldeke-Fr. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, and H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii; when the exact order in the particular periods cannot be ascertained, the passages are here arranged in the order of the sūras and verses):—XVII, 33, 35 (second Meccan period; according to O. Procksch, *Über die Blutrache*, 74, 4, later than VI, 152): "Kill not your children for fear of being brought to want; We will provide for them and for you; verily the killing them is a great sin . . . Neither slay the soul which God hath forbidden you to slay unless for a just cause; but whosoever shall be slain unjustly, We have given his next of kin (*walī*) power (to demand satisfaction) but let him not exceed the bounds of moderation in the killing; indeed he is protected"; XXV, 68 f. (second Meccan period):—(and the servants of the Merciful are those) "who slay not the soul, which God hath forbidden to be slain unless for a just cause . . . for he who does this commits sins (or: will bring retribution upon himself); his punishment will be doubled on the day of the Resurrection and he shall remain in it covered with ignominy for ever; except him who repents and believes and performs good works; for them God will change their evil deeds into good" . . . (here killing and unbelief are considered together so that the question, what happens to a believer who kills unlawfully, is left quite out of the question); VI, 152 (third Meccan period; similar to XVII, 33, 35); IV, 94 f. (about the years 3-5; according to Procksch, *op. cit.*, 80, to be dated between the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya and the capture of Mecca): "it is not lawful for a believer to kill a believer unless by mistake (by *khaṭaʾ*); but if anyone kill a believer by mistake he shall set free a slave who is a believer and pay a *diya* to the next of kin of the dead man, unless they waive it . . . ; but if the person slain belong to a people hostile to you, but a believer, a slave who is a believer shall be released; but if he belong to a people with whom ye have a treaty, a *diya* must be paid to his relatives and a slave who is a believer set free; if anyone cannot afford to do this, he must fast for two successive months so that Allāh may

look upon him again . . . ; but if anyone kill a believer deliberately (*ʿamd*) his reward is hell in which he shall remain for ever and Allāh wrathful against him and curse him and shall prepare a great punishment for him". (The true interpretation is undoubtedly this, that every Muslim who kills another Muslim with *ʿamd* is condemned to eternal hell-fire and that Allāh will not accept his repentance, a view which is ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Masʿūd, Zayd b. Thābit and al-Ḍaḥḥāk; the view held by ʿIkrima and others that the verse refers to the particular case of a *murtadd* who has killed a believer is not to be accepted; this is already a transition to the view that has finally prevailed, which tones down the literal wording of the passage, either by adding with Mudjāhid "unless he repents" or by holding, as has become usual, that Allāh will not leave a Muslim eternally in hell, and can even remit entirely the threatened punishment of hell-fire; but this is only the result of speculation and combination with other passages in the Ḳurʾān (*e.g.* XI, 108-10; XXXIX, 54) and is therefore to be rejected; IV, 33 f. (from about the same time; similar to IV, 95); LX, 12 (probably dates from soon after the treaty of al-Hudaybiyya; similar to XVIII, 33).)

There are two further passages, in which it is asserted that Allāh forbade the Jews to kill: II, 78 ff. (from about the first half of the year 2 A.H.) and V, 35 (probably of the year 6 or 7; according to Grimme, to be dated before the battle of Badr).

There are also a number of verses in which killing is not exactly forbidden but is more or less strongly deprecated and represented as a mark of the unbeliever, just as committing no murder is a sign of the believer, *e.g.*, LXXXI, 8 f. (first Meccan period); II, 28 (probably third Meccan period; according to Grimme, Medinan, before the battle of Badr); VI, 138, 141; XVI, 61; XL, 26 (same time); VIII, 30 (after the battle of Badr); V, 33 (shortly before the capture of Khaybar). In numerous passages in this connection the unbelievers are reproached with the slaying of prophets, *e.g.* II, 58, 81, 85 (from the first half of the year 2); IV, 154 (after the outbreak of open war with the Jews of Medīna); III, 177, 180 (probably soon after the battle of Uḥud); XX, 108 (shortly before the war with the Banu 'l-Naḍīr?); V, 74 (later Medinan period).

(2). Supplements to the Ḳurʾān passages from the *Sīra*, accounts of the life of Muḥammad. In the so-called ordinance of the community, which dates from the first Medinan period, it is laid down that no believer may kill a believer on account of an unbeliever; in another passage it is said: "If anyone kill a believer and is convicted, then vengeance for bloodshed must be done, unless the *walī* of the man slain waive it". In all probability Muḥammad had in mind in the murderer a non-Muslim member of the community (Procksch, *op. cit.*, 71): this agrees with the development given above. In the *bayʿa*, the initiation into the community, the initiate had to pledge himself, among other things, not to commit an unlawful act of slaying (cf. Ḳurʾān, LV, 12). Once Muḥammad cursed a murderer [see ḲIṢĀṢ]. In the so-called first Kaʿba oration (of the year 630), the genuineness of which is not absolutely certain, however, on every point and which seems doubtful on this particular point, there appears the by no means exactly defined conception of *Ḳatl shabah ʿamd* (see below, 5c); Muḥammad is also said to have declared there that all blood-guilt attached to a Muslim dating from the period of paganism was to be cast off, which extends the corresponding passage of the ordinance of the community. Finally, it is to be mentioned that the *Sīra* knows of several cases of deliberate and of unpremeditated slaying; so far as they are liable to be punished, they are dealt with in the article ḲIṢĀṢ.

(3). Comparison of the views of authoritative circles in the Muslim community in the older period as preserved in *Ḥadīth*. It is obvious that in the *Ḥadīth* also the slaying of a Muslim is strictly forbidden; by the adoption of Islām (and of monotheism at all) life and property are protected. The life and property of a Muslim are as inviolable (*ḥarām*) as the day of sacrifice in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja in the sacred territory of Mecca (al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 8, etc.). All blood-guilt, which has weighed a man down from an earlier period, is thus wiped out by the adoption of Islām, even if the crime was committed just before conversion to Islām. Only if a Muslim kills another, or, to be more exact, if he commits a crime worthy of death, can he be slain. Everyone is perfectly agreed that killing with *ʿamd* is one of the deadliest sins (*kabāʾir*); it is usually considered the gravest sin, along with the *shirk* (polytheism, *e.g.* al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 1, 2), whether it is asserted of killing with *ʿamd* in general or of the killing of newborn girls usual among the heathens. Therefore many *ḥadīths* express disgust at killing; *e.g.* "the slaying of a Muslim is to Allāh like the cessation of the world" or "the cessation of the world is even less to Allāh than this"; "if someone is killed in the east and another in the west approves of it, he is guilty of the person's blood"; "man is a work of Allāh; cursed be he who destroys Allāh's work". The first murder which introduced killing into the world is the subject of special condemnation: Cain is accessory to every later murder. Murder is punished in the next world as well as on earth; on the Day of Judgment cases of the shedding of innocent blood will be judged first. As to the punishment itself, a whole stratum of *ḥadīths* reflects the already mentioned view of Ibn ʿAbbās and others regarding the eternalness of punishment in hell for slaying with *ʿamd*; *e.g.* "whosoever sheds blood in an unlawful way, for him there exists no way for escape"; "whosoever contributes, though only by a word, to the slaying of a Muslim must despair of the mercy of Allāh". In several passages the deliberate murder of a Muslim is considered equivalent to unbelief (*ḥadīths* in which a warning is simply uttered against murder being a sign of the unbeliever are, of course, not dealt with here). It is even said: "if two Muslims attack one another with swords and one kills the other, both go to hell (unless it was a case of legitimate self-defence), the slayer for his deed and the slain because he wished to kill the other" (see *e.g.* al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 2); and: "if all the inhabitants of heaven and earth together had killed someone, they would all go to hell". In these two passages it is not exactly demonstrable that eternal punishment in hell is meant, but it is very probable. In several of the traditions mentioned, Ibn ʿAbbās appears as the authority. Such *ḥadīths* were naturally rendered harmless by "interpretation" by the representatives of the other view, if they were not entirely suppressed, which did happen to not a few. Thus the description of deliberate murder as unbelief is sometimes interpreted to mean that it is a very grievous sin and sometimes taken as a reference to the refusal of the protection of Islamic law, which occurs in both cases, to the life of the slayer or of the unbeliever. This was not found sufficient, however, but traditions were put into currency to prove the contrary, namely that Allāh would accept the repentance of a murderer,

even if he had committed several murders; one of these traditions is provided with a grotesque story, the object of which is quite apparent, as corroboration. In one tradition the *kaffāra*, especially the liberation of a slave, is represented as a means to save the murderer from the merited punishment of hell, obviously by someone who demanded it even in the case of *ḳatl* with *ʿamd* (see below *sub* 6a). It is even asserted in public controversy against the views of the other side that after the Day of Judgment no Muslim will go to hell and that, on the contrary, all sins will be forgiven them. The killing of a *muʿāhad*, a non-Muslim under the protection of the Islamic state, is threatened with punishment in the next world (*e.g.* al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 30; al-Dārimī, *Siyar*, *bāb* 60; the Ḳurʾān is silent on the question); but, as might be expected, the view is very rarely expressed that this punishment is eternal. The prohibition of suicide, which we do not find laid down in the Ḳurʾān, is given in the *Ḥadīth*, and the suicide is threatened with eternal punishment in the next world.

As an appendix to the above we may briefly mention the connection of several kinds of animals with *ḳatl*, which is also dealt with in tradition. Muḥammad had, as is related, recommended the slaughter of dogs but later withdrew the order, although the dog always remained subject to certain exceptional regulations (cf. KALB); the *sunna* further orders the killing of the *wazagh*, a kind of lizard, but if possible it should be done with one blow: on the other hand the killing of ants and of cats is forbidden (among the authorities for this last tradition is Abū Hurayra); on the killing of snakes cf. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, 116 f.

As regards the value of the traditions just quoted, the genuineness of none of them can be proved; while the falsity of those, which seek to save the murderer of a Muslim from hell, is apparent, it is also probable of those which hold the contrary view.

(4). The controversy regarding the punishment of the murderer of a Muslim centres round a passage in the Ḳurʾān, which in itself could and must form a foundation for it, and is in part at least independent and original. This controversy and the conception of *ḳatl* in general are, however, very closely connected with the disputes aroused by the Khāridjīs, Ḳadarīs and Muʿtazilīs; for details see these articles; here it is sufficient to recall the following questions:—"is the committing of deadly sins—and killing with *ʿamd* is certainly one of them—unbelief?"; "Does man create his own actions, including sins, himself, or do they happen through *ḳadar*?"; and "Can man by his intervention interfere with Allāh's decision, for example, by killing another, shorten the period predestined for the latter's life?" We have more than one example of these questions being applied to *ḳatl*, and they have been cited in discussing *ḳatl* (see *e.g.* Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*[1], 98 f.; 2nd ed., 92 f., Fr. tr. *Le dogme et la loi d'Islam*, 78-9). But the Muʿtazilī view of the eternalness of hell-punishment for him who commits a deadly sin and does not repent, is specially important in this connection; al-Zamakhsharī gives an explanation of the verse of the Ḳurʾān in question from this point of view. Finally, the consensus of orthodox opinion agreed that the deliberate killing of a Muslim is certainly a deadly sin, but the slayer, on the other hand, if he repents and voluntarily submits to the punishment prescribed, will not be further punished in the next world and, even if he does not repent, will in no case remain in hell eternally (agreement was reached on this point even before the rise of the *Fiḳh*-schools; therefore there is no *ikhtilāf* of the *madhāhib* on this question); this view has found its way into all textbooks of *Fiḳh* and of doctrine.

(5). A statement of the prevailing Ḥanafī views on killing. *Ḳatl* in the *fiḳh* is the act of a man whereby the life of a fellow-man is brought to a close (the death need not immediately follow the act). It may be qualified by any of the five "legal categories": duty or necessity (*wādjib*), *e.g.* the killing of the *murtadd*; recommended (*mandūb*), *e.g.* when the *ghāzī* kills his unbelieving kinsmen if they insult Allāh or his Prophet; permitted (*mubāḥ*), *e.g.* when the Imām kills the unbelieving prisoner of war, in the case when the reasons for killing him exactly balance those for granting his life; killing in self-defence is also allowed, *i.e.* in defending oneself against an illegal attack on one's life, person or property, in defending oneself or someone who comes to help, if the attack cannot otherwise be averted (on further questions there is *ikhtilāf*, also on the question whether a man who surprises another in adultery with his wife or endeavouring to see into his harem, and kills or mutilates him, is acting legitimately or not; one tradition on the subject is interpreted in different ways); disapproved (*makrūh*), *e.g.* when the *ghāzī* kills his unbelieving kinsmen without their having insulted Allāh or his Prophet; illegal and therefore forbidden (*ḥarām*).

Illegal killing as the result of actions in themselves legal may take place in five ways:

(a) as *ʿamd*, *i.e.* someone wilfully makes another the direct object of an action in general fatal, so that the other dies as a result; according to one view, the intention of killing is necessary for the conception of *ʿamd*, which, however, is always presumed in the case of any act generally fatal in its result, which is illegally inflicted on another. Thus for example, any one, who strikes a blow at the hand of another with an instrument adapted in general for killing, but inadvertently hits his neck and kills him, is *ceteris paribus* unanimously regarded as equally guilty with the man who strikes another in the neck with the same instrument, wilfully intending to kill him and slays him. This killing is a sin (*maʾtham*) and in general is punished by *ḳiṣāṣ*, or else the slayer is bound to pay the heavier *diya* and to lose any possible legacy from the deceased to himself;

(b) as *khaṭʾ* (or *khaṭaʾ*), *i.e.* there is no intention of committing an act illegally on the other as in the case of (a), while the action itself is premeditated: two kinds are distinguished, according as the *khaṭʾ* (mistake or misadventure) which shows that the killing is not wilful, is in the intention of the doer (*fi 'l-ḳaṣd*) or in the carrying out of the action (*fi 'l-fiʿl*). The former is the case when someone treats another as a wild beast or a *ḥarbī*, (an infidel not enjoying the protection of the Islamic state, against whom the *djihād* is to be waged) the killing of whom is not illegal, and kills him; the latter when someone unlucky hits another, while shooting at a target or at a *ḥarbī*, so that he dies, or strikes at the hand of another person but inadvertently hits the neck of a third person and kills him; this killing is not sin but brings with it (without *ḳiṣāṣ*) the obligation upon the *ʿāḳila* of the killer to pay the smaller *diya* and to lose any claims to any inheritance from the deceased as in (a); besides the obligation of the killer to perform the *kaffāra*;

(c) as *shabah* (or *shibh*) *ʿamd* = similar to *ʿamd*, *i.e.* someone intentionally makes another the direct object of some action, not always but sometimes fatal, and death results. Actions which experience has

shown not to be fatal at all are thus quite excluded, such as striking the hand with a reed pen; if anyone dies as a result of such an action as this, it is an unfortunate accident, which is not followed by any penal consequences. This killing is a sin and brings with it (without *ḳiṣāṣ*) the obligation upon the *ʿāḳila* of the slayer to pay the heavier *diya* and to lose any possible inheritance from the deceased as in (a), and in addition the slayer is bound to perform the *kaffāra*. This category only exists in cases where death actually results; in cases of bodily injury, which by the way, are similarly classified, the action is regarded as *ʿamd*;

(d) as *djārī madjrā 'l-khaṭ'* (or *mudjrā madjrā 'l-khaṭ'* or *ḳā'im maḳām al-khaṭ'*) "equivalent to *khaṭ'*", *i.e.* the factor of deliberation is lacking in the action (and also the intention of directing the action illegally against another) in the circumstance of (b) and (c), for example: someone falls upon another in his sleep or falls from a roof upon him and kills him; the legal results are the same as in (b);

(e) as *ḳatl bi-sabab* "indirect killing", *i.e.* someone brings about the death of another without doing anything directly against him; *e.g.* he digs a well and someone falls into it and dies as the result; sometimes this category is treated as a subdivision of (d); but it is a matter of indifference, whether the act, which indirectly results in the death of another, is deliberate or not, intentional or unintentional; even if the action has been planned in some very cunning way, such as setting a savage beast on another person with the intention of causing his death, it does not alter the situation. The legal consequences are in any case limited to the obligation upon the *ʿāḳila* of the doer to pay the lighter *diya*; larger works on *fiḳh* usually discuss very fully the question what acts are to be considered direct causes of death and which are *ḳatl bi-sabab* and in which there can be no question of a causing of death so that no legal consequences result.

Two cases are especially dealt with in the *fiḳh* books: (α) The causing of a premature birth or abortion and (β) killing through giving false evidence.

(α) If in causing an abortion or premature birth, the embryo—which must be sufficiently developed to be of human form—is brought into the world dead or dies after the birth or the mother dies, it is not a case for the application of *ḳiṣāṣ*; there is in any case no *ḳatl ʿamd* in the mother whose killing is dealt with under the above rules and the embryo before completion of birth is legally not in full possession of its powers but is usually regarded as a limb of the mother. Hence we have the following law: if the head of a child appears out of the mother's womb at birth and the child cries (and is therefore certainly alive) and then someone cuts off its head, it is not a case for *ḳiṣāṣ* and only the punishment prescribed for producing an abortion is to be inflicted. Different amounts are to be paid for the embryo according to the different cases, and if it comes alive into the world and then dies the person who causes its death is liable to *kaffāra*; he also loses any inheritance that might have come to him.

(β) If anyone is killed on evidence which shows that a crime deserving death has been committed and then the witnesses recall their evidence or in other ways it is proved that their testimony was false, *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot be executed on the witness; the *diya* must be paid, the heavier if the false evidence was deliberately given, the lighter if otherwise.

(6). We may add the following—taking only the most important points—to the above exposition of the Ḥanafī system, with reference to *ikhtilāf* (difference of opinion among the schools).

(a) On *ʿamd*: the difference of opinion within the Ḥanafī school already mentioned, regarding the part of the intention to kill in *ʿamd* is also found outside the Ḥanafī school; among the Shāfiʿīs the view which does not demand the existence of the intention to kill has become predominant, and the evidence for the other views is sometimes interpreted as meaning a presumption of intention. Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī, in agreement with Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, assume *ʿamd* if the action is as a rule fatal; Abū Ḥanīfa, on the other hand, limits it to the use of a weapon or of a thing which can be used like a weapon to cut off limbs; among such he includes fire; deliberate killing, for example with a large unsharpened stone, or a big stick, which in the ordinary way would kill, or by drowning in water, which would be generally regarded as of sufficient depth to do so, is therefore considered by the former as *ʿamd*, but by Abū Ḥanīfa as *shabah ʿamd*, relying on a passage in the so-called first temple speech of Muḥammad, which the champions of the other view naturally interpret otherwise, and this view was later considered the better by the Ḥanafīs. The qualification of the various actions generally differs sometimes considerably and the Ḥanafīs often make use of *istiḥsān*, exercise of discretion. In the Mālikī and Ḥanafī view no *kaffāra* is to be performed for *ʿamd*; al-Shāfiʿī, on the other hand, demands it if the *ḳiṣāṣ* is not executed and both views are given on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

(b) On *khaṭ'*: that *khaṭ'* is not a sin is more exactly explained to mean that it is neither permitted nor forbidden, but that this killing is rather *fiʿl al-ghāfil*, "action of a thoughtless person", and is to be judged in the same way as the act of a mentally defective person or of an animal. Except in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, categories (d) and (e) [sub 5] are not distinguished from *khaṭ'* which also was the earliest Ḥanafī view (*ZDMG*, lviii, 338) and *ḳatl bi-sabab* has generally the same legal consequences as *khaṭ'*; we thus have three kinds of *ḳatl*: *ʿamd*, *shabah ʿamd* and *khaṭ'*, of which *shabah ʿamd* is considered to be composed of *ʿamd* and *khaṭ'*.

(c) On *shabah ʿamd*: this category is also called *ʿamd khaṭ'*, *khaṭ' ʿamd* or *khaṭ' shabah ʿamd*; in contrast to it, *ʿamd* is also called *ʿamd maḥḍ* and *khaṭ'* also *khaṭ' maḥḍ* (pure *ʿamd* or *khaṭ'*); the application of *ḳiṣāṣ* is said to be permissible by al-Shāfiʿī if the killer, for example, repeats the blow with an instrument not normally adapted for killing so frequently that the person attacked dies; the act is then considered *ʿamd*; one of the two opinions handed down on the authority of Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī is to the same effect while the view that became predominant in the school was to the contrary. Mālik allows *ḳiṣāṣ* in *shabah ʿamd* in general.

(d) On *ḳatl bi-sabab*: Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal demand *kaffāra* in addition, if the placing of the cause of the death was illegal.

(e) Different views also prevail as to the amount to be paid for the killing of an embryo.

(f) On causing death through false witness: if the false evidence was deliberately given, according to al-Shāfiʿī and the better-known opinion of Mālik, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be executed on the witnesses.

Notes on the question of permission, request, compulsion and assistance in illegal killing.

(*a*) If someone kills another by his request or with his permission there is neither *ḳiṣāṣ* nor obligation to pay *diya*.

(*b*) No definite punishment is laid down for the case of a request to kill someone; such a request does not mean the exculpation of the slayer; only if the person requested is a minor or a slave claims may be made from the *ʿāḳila* of the minor, or from the proprietor of the slave.

(*c*) A forces B to kill C; then, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, the *ḳiṣāṣ* is executed on A, according to Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal on B; as to al-S̲h̲āfiʿī's view, there is no doubt that A is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*; as regards B both possible views are transmitted, of which the one that ultimately became predominant in the school makes him also liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*. Mālik further makes A also liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* if the compulsion comes from a person having authority, or from a master to a slave.

(*d*) A holds B and C kills him while he is held; in this case Abū Ḥanīfa and al-S̲h̲āfiʿī make C liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* and A to *taʿzīr*, which is more definitely defined as imprisonment. According to Mālik, both are to be regarded as culprits and therefore liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* if the holding was necessary to facilitate the slaying and B was not able to escape after being held. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's opinion is given in two versions; according to the one, *ḳiṣāṣ* is executed on C and A is punished with imprisonment for life, according to the second opinion, A and C are both liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*.

ii. AS PUNISHMENT

The punishment of death may be described quite generally as *ḳatl*; in the following account cases in which it is applied are given seriatim; in contrast to *rad̲j̲m* and *ṣalb* (cf. below) *ḳatl* is also used in the narrower sense of execution with the sword.

(1). In the cases of illegal killing described in detail above, the nearest relative of the dead man, who in this capacity is called *walī al-dam*, is entitled to kill the culprit in retribution if certain definite conditions are fulfilled. This punishment is called *ḳiṣāṣ* or *ḳawad*, names which also cover retribution exacted for wounds which are not fatal; for further information, see ḲIṢĀṢ.

(2). There are special regulations regarding sorcerers (*sāḥir*), about whom there are also various traditions. Mālik, al-S̲h̲āfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal recognise sorcery (*siḥr*) as an actual force. Abū Ḥanīfa disputes this, but there is a consensus of opinion that it is forbidden to study it; it is even described as unbelief (*kufr*) almost as a general rule. Māik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal say that the sorcerer is to be killed with the sword simply for studying, teaching and practising magic; al-S̲h̲āfiʿī limits this punishment to the case in which someone has been killed by sorcery (*i.e.* he makes it a case for *ḳiṣāṣ*, which in practice is only justified by the confession (*iḳrār*) of the guilty person; while the punishment in Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is regarded as *ḥadd*); two different, more lenient views are credited to Abū Ḥanīfa. Opinions differ on particular questions, such as whether the conversion of the sorcerer effects a remission of the punishment, whether a woman is to be punished equally with a man, how sorcerers of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* are to be treated, how far soothsaying is to be considered sorcery.

(3). The punishment of death by stoning (*rad̲j̲m*) —in certain circumstances also by the sword (*ḳatl*)— occurs as *ḥadd* in certain cases of immorality; on this see ZINĀʾ.

(4). Highway robbery (*ḳaṭʿ al-ṭarīḳ*) may also in certain circumstances be punished with death. The authority for this is Ḳurʾān V, 37 f. (from about the year 6 or 7, before the capture of K̲h̲aybar; Grimme puts the verse before the battle of Badr): "The punishment of those who fight against Allāh and His prophet and create ruin upon the earth is that they shall be slain or crucified or have their hands and feet cut off on the opposite sides or be banished from the country. This is their humiliation in this world and in the next world they shall be severely punished—unless they repent before ye have them in your power . . . ". It can be asserted with certainty that this refers to the unbelievers, very probably to the Jews; ruthless war is ordered to be waged on them and their repentance is the adoption of Islam. There are still traces of this interpretation in the commentaries. But in general this passage is connected with Muḥammad's attitude to certain *murtadds* which will be dealt with in section (5); this cannot be correct, if only because the procedure there practised does not entirely conform to these rules, so that they were forced to restore harmony in a different fashion. Those *murtadds* were considered as highway robbers, from the point of view of the later definition rightly and only in this way could a law for the punishment of highway robbers be found in the Ḳurʾān.

The more important laws of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* are the following. Only such persons as are adults in full possession of their faculties and who are able to be dangerous to travellers are to be considered highway robbers. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, highway robbery can only take place in the open country, according to Mālik, al-S̲h̲āfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in the town also. Mālik gives the Imām—and this is certainly the correct interpretation of the passage in the Ḳurʾān, which is also found in the commentaries—absolute freedom in the choice of punishment, even in the contingency of a cumulative application, whatever form the robbery may have taken; but if the person concerned has killed someone (in this connection killing implies a murder to which *ḳiṣāṣ* might be applied), he must at least be executed with the sword The three other Imāms grade the punishment to fit the different forms of robbery on the highway; according to Abū Ḥanīfa, the criminal is put to death if he has caused the death of his victim; if he has also robbed him (and in such a way, it must always be understood, that the *ḥadd* for theft can be carried out; see SĀRIḲ), he may be further punished by cutting off his hands and feet on alternate sides and with crucifixion (*ṣalb*) which in that case takes the place of killing with the sword; if he has only committed a robbery, we have only the cutting off of hands and feet on alternate sides; according to al-S̲h̲āfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is killed, if he has killed his victim; if he has also committed a robbery, he is crucified after being put to death; if he has only committed a murder, he is punished by cutting off his hands and feet on alternate sides; if he has only made the neighbourhood unsafe, then, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, al-S̲h̲āfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is put in prison; whether this must be done in another place is a debated point. In Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik (also in some S̲h̲āfiʿīs, but their view is rejected by the school) crucifixion consists in the criminal being tied alive to a cross or a tree and his body ripped up with a spear so that he dies, and this is certainly the more original form; according to al-S̲h̲āfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is first killed with a sword and then his corpse is ignominiously exposed on a tree or cross. All these punishments are *ḥadd* and a right of Allāh; therefore any renunciation by the *walī al-*

dam of the *ḳiṣāṣ* is of no avail even though it is he who has the right to carry out the *ḳatl*. If the criminal repents before he falls into the hands of the authorities (what exactly is meant by repentance is disputed) these *ḥadd* punishments are dropped; but claims by individuals to *ḳiṣāṣ* etc. can still be enforced against him.

(5). The *murtadd*, that is the renegade from Islām, is liable to the death-penalty if his apostasy is proved. If we leave out the passages dealing with the *munāfiḳ*s [*q.v.*] who are separately dealt with—their execution is, however, described under certain conditions in Ḳur'ān, IV, 91—there is no such law in the Ḳur'ān referring specially to the *murtadd*, although XVI, 108 (third Meccan period), II, 214 (of the year 2), III, 80-4 (Medīna; placed by Grimme shortly before or after the battle of Uḥud), 102 (soon after the battle of Uḥud), IV, 136 (of the same period) threaten the eternal punishment of hell for all those who apostasise from Islam and do not repent, as well as for all unbelievers, and in III, 95 f., 142, and IX, 67, a warning against apostasy is uttered. Among the traditions we find in various forms the story that Muḥammad, contrary to the rules of the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, cruelly mutilated and killed some *murtadds*, who had killed one or more of his herdsmen and driven away the camels, but the tradition is probably correct just for this reason. This contradiction was felt and an endeavour was made in the *ḥadīt̲h̲*s to justify the cruelty of the punishment, and even the text was altered. Of ʿAlī also a cruel act, of another kind, however, is recorded in a similar case, but Ibn ʿAbbās is said to have protested against it. Two *murtadds*, each of whom had killed a Muslim, were executed by Muḥammad's orders after the capture of Mecca; a third man, against whom there was nothing but his apostasy, was also placed on the list of the proscribed; his foster-brother ʿUt̲h̲mān, however, obtained security (*amān*) for him although Muḥammad would gladly have seen someone kill him before immunity was granted; he later became a Muslim again. There is also a saying of Muḥammad's: "Slay anyone who changes his religion" or "He who secedes from you shall die", and others similar, *e.g.* that the blood of a Muslim could only be shed for apostasy, *zinā* and *ḳatl ʿamd*; there is also a story that Muʿād̲h̲ b. D̲j̲abal killed a *murtadd* because Allāh and His Prophet had so ordained; Muḥammad is also said to have ordered that conversion should first of all be attempted and a period of three days allowed for this; but all this can hardly be genuine. There are also the traditions regarding the *Ahl al-Ridda* [see RIDDA] who refused the *zakāt* and were treated as apostates by Abū Bakr. The tradition "He who is a good Muslim will not be punished for his sins from the pagan period, but he who is a bad Muslim will have them counted against him" does not refer to the *murtadd*, as it is usually said to do.

The punishment of death laid down by the *S̲h̲arīʿa* for the *murtadd* is sometimes described as *ḥadd*, sometimes not; in the latter view he is simply killed as an unbeliever (*kāfir*) and the punishment need not be carried out in every individual case. Only an adult in full possession of his faculties and not acting under compulsion can become an apostate from Islam; opinions are divided regarding a man who apostasises while intoxicated or a minor (on the verge of his majority) capable of discernment (*murāhiḳ*, *mumayyiz*). There is also difference of opinion regarding the attempt at conversion and the granting of a period, usually fixed at three days, for reflection. If the *murtadd* does not repent, he is to be beheaded with the sword; torture and cruel methods of execution are forbidden. According to al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, his punishment is left to his owner, if he is a slave. Abū Ḥanīfa and his school limit the punishment of death to male apostates and the consensus of opinion excludes the minor; a woman (and also a minor) is imprisoned and beaten every three days till she repents; according to Abū Ḥanīfa (contrary to Abū Yūsuf and al-S̲h̲aybānī) she may also be made a slave and this is recognised as right by the school. Anyone who puts to death a *murtadd* of whatever kind without powers granted by the authority, is generally liable not to *ḳiṣāṣ*, but only to *taʿzīr*. The same rules generally hold for repeated apostasy.

Similar to the punishment of the *murtadd* is that of the *zindīḳ*, *i.e.* anyone who, professing to be a Muslim, is really an unbeliever or anyone who belongs to no religion (cf. Massignon, *Al-Hallâdj*, i, 186 ff.). The conversion of a non-Muslim to another non-Muslim religion is similarly dealt with, although such a one is not called *murtadd*. He can only escape punishment by adopting Islam; on the whole of this cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 215 f., Eng. tr. ii, 199 ff.

How exactly one becomes an unbeliever and therefore a *murtadd* is disputed in particulars, especially the question how far this is the case with irreverent utterances regarding Allāh or one of His prophets; there are various special enactments regarding the latter, which threaten the death penalty to non-Muslims and in part allow a Muslim no remission of punishment if he recalls the words.

For further information, see MURTADD.

(6). There is no law in the Ḳur'ān for dealing with a man who omits the *ṣalāt* (ritual prayer) (*tārik al-ṣalāt*), where its performance is, on the other hand, often strictly enjoined, and not a single unequivocal *ḥadīt̲h̲* on the subject can be found—quite apart from any question of genuineness. The *S̲h̲arīʿa* lays down the law as follows. Anyone who does not perform the *ṣalāt*, as in duty bound, without denying its obligatoriness (anyone who does this is *murtadd*) and has no—even invalid—excuse for this, then according to Mālik, al-S̲h̲āfiʿī and the more popular of the two views credited to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, if he does not atone, *i.e.* makes good his omission and says he will never commit the fault again, he is to be executed with the sword. This punishment is also sometimes described as *ḥadd*. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, the culprit is imprisoned till he again performs the *ṣalāt*. In all these views he is considered a Muslim, while the other view attributed to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal deals with him entirely as an unbeliever, *i.e.* a *murtadd*; but these regulations are modelled on those for apostasy (cf. the remarks on the *Ahl al-Ridda* above).

There are two more cases in which the suppression (*ḳitāl*) of the enemies of orthodox Islam is prescribed; killing, of course, plays the main part and therefore we must discuss this aspect of the process here.

(7). Firstly, the fighting of the *bug̲h̲āt* is prescribed. It is said in Ḳur'ān, XLIX, 9 (late Medinan period): "If two parties of the believers contend with one another, make peace between them; but if one oppresses the other (*bag̲h̲at*—from which *bug̲h̲āt* is the plural of the active participle), fight against the party which oppresses until they again obey Allāh's command; and if they do this, make peace between them with equity and act with justice" (this refers to a quarrel among the Anṣār). Oppression is often forbidden and disapproved of elsewhere. But Muḥammad at any rate did not know the later conception of *bug̲h̲āt*, although its development begins at a point closely connected with this. Some traditions on the

bug͟hāt are in agreement with the legal enactments. The *S͟harīʿa* understands by *bug͟hāt* sectarian-minded Muslims who reject the authority of the Imām, are able-bodied, so that they might offer resistance, and justify their attitude, although erroneously, with their dogmatic conviction (they are to be distinguished from highway robbers, for example—individual *bug͟hāt*, who are guilty of breaches of the law are punished like them—on the one hand, and unbelievers on the other). If they do not attack the orthodox community, they need not be attacked; otherwise their suppression is a duty of the Imām (the head of the Islamic community) and a *farḍ al-kifāya* for the Muslims [see FARḌ]. This punishment is also sometimes called *ḥadd*. In general, the rule is that only participants in the actual battle can be killed during the fighting. Fugitives, wounded, those who surrender and prisoners, as well as women and children, cannot be put to death. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, the Imām may kill a prisoner if he knows that he would again join the *bug͟hāt* if spared; according to him, a captured slave who has been fighting by the side of his master can also be killed.

(8). Regarding *D̲j̲ihād* [*q.v.*], there are also traditions regarding the following regulations. If the unbelievers with whom war is being waged are not among those from whom the *d̲j̲izya* can be taken—and who exactly those are is a matter in dispute—the men are killed, if they do not adopt Islam and the women and children enslaved. If, on the other hand, they refuse Islam and will not pay the *d̲j̲izya*, they are to be fought. All able-bodied men can be killed so long as they are not taken prisoners; men incapable of bearing arms, as well as women and children, cannot in general be so dealt with unless they take part in the fighting or assist in it some way; they are to be taken prisoners and enslaved. The free, able-bodied prisoners may be (*a*) executed with the sword if they will not now adopt Islam; (*b*) made slaves; (*c*) exchanged for Muslim prisoners; (*d*) ransomed; or (*e*) set free without a ransom being paid (in all these cases by the Imām). Anyone who kills a prisoner without authority is only punished with *taʿzīr*.

Every unbeliever who does not pay the *d̲j̲izya* or does not belong to a people which has a treaty with the Muslim community or is not a *mustaʾmin* [see ĶIṢĀṢ] is *ḥalāl al-dam* (to be killed with impunity) and may at any time be killed by any Muslim without his being liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* or to pay any *diya* or perform *kaffāra*. This enactment is only the natural consequence of the *d̲j̲ihād* law and Muḥammad himself not infrequently made use of it.

(9). The views of the S͟hīʿis on all the points dealt with above agree almost entirely with one or other of the Sunnī views.

(10). The infliction and execution of the death penalty was in practice very often in strong contradiction to the regulations laid down in the *S͟harīʿa* [see ʿAD͟HĀB; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, 200, etc.]. The historians afford many examples for the actual practice and so do accounts of European travellers; on the conditions in the empire of the caliphs in the 4th/10th century, see Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 347 ff., also Massignon, *Al-Hallâdj*, i, especially 220 ff., 292 ff.; on those in Egypt in the first half of the 19th century see Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, end of the chapter on *Religion and Law*; on those in Persia in the same period see Polak, *Persien*, i, 328 f.; on those in the Ottoman empire of the 18th century see Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, esp. vi (1824), 244 ff.; for Turkey the *Ḳānunnāmes* [*q.v.*] are also useful (cf. *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, i, 13 ff.); among the published sources quoted there are of special importance: Digeon, ii, 245, 262; v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 125, 133, 143-50; *TOEM*, iii (1328), Appendix i, 27 f., ii, 1-4, 7, 9; *MTM*, i/2, 341 f.) and from the *Ḳānunnāme* itself (edited there; 19-21, 32-4).

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ĶAṬRĀN (*ḳiṭrān*, *ḳaṭirān*) is 1. tar obtained by dry distillation (*taṣʿīd* "vaporisation") of organic substances; 2. the residuum left after the distillation of tar, *i.e.*, liquid pitch; 3. cedar-oil (in Dioscorides κεδρία, Ar. *ḳadriya*) extracted from cedarwood. The substance is obtained from several kinds of coniferous trees, especially the Cedrus Libani (Ar. *s͟had̲j̲ar al-s͟harbīn*), but also from the Oxycedrus L. and various kinds of cypresses. The substance was already widely used in antiquity for many technical and therapeutic purposes and was not unknown in ancient Arabia: scabby animals were smeared with *ḳaṭrān* (see the references in M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, 1970, 217). On the mention of *ḳaṭirān* in Ḳurʾān, XIV, 50, see A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 241 ff. *Ḳaṭrān* smells strongly; as a medicine, it is hot and dry in the third degree; applied to the skin it kills lice and ticks, and is beneficial against scratches, itching, elephantiasis and dropsy. It is also of value against the sting of venomous serpents and promotes the growth of flesh in ulcers.

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(A. Dietrich)

ḲAṬRĀN, a Persian poet. The recorded details of his life are meagre. ʿAwfī gives his full name as Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Zamān Ḳaṭrān al-ʿAḍudī al-Tabrīzī. Hidāyat refers to him as Ḥakīm Ḳaṭrān Abū Manṣūr al-Djabali al-ʿAḍudī. His father's name, according to Dawlatshāh, was Manṣūr, but this is not supported by any earlier authority. That he was born in Shādi-ābād, near Tabrīz, seems certain from one of his verses. Therefore, the *nisbas* Tirmidhī, Djabalī, Djīlī, Urmawī, ʿAdjalī, etc., given by different sources, must be false. The epithet ʿAḍudī, despite Hidāyat and others, is not derived from the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla. ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death occurred in 372/983, but judging from the reference made in one of his *ḳaṣīdas* to the return of his patron, Faḍlūn, to Tabrīz in 481/1088, our poet lived at least until that year. (Accordingly, the date 465/1072 given for his death by Hidāyat and others is wrong). Nafīsī suspects that ʿAḍudī is a corruption of Azdī (p. 473). If so, it could well be related to the name of the Arab tribe of which the Wahsūdanids (see below) were descendants. Ḳaṭrān's patronage came chiefly from: a) the Shaddādid amīrs of Gandja, especially Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mūsā Lashkarī, and Faḍlūn b. Abi 'l-Suvār. These two, particularly the latter, were so generous to Ḳaṭrān that he is said to have fled from the excessive bounty of Faḍlūn (Djāmī, *Salāmān u Absāl*; Khāḳānī, *Dīwān*); b) the Wahsūdānid or Rāwwādid *amīrs* of Ādharbāydjān, descendants of Rāwwād b. Muthannā 'l-Azdī, especially Abū Manṣūr Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad and his son Abū Naṣr Mamlān.

Ḳaṭrān was the first Ādharbāydjānī poet to write in the Persian of Khurāsān (*i.e.* Darī). Nāṣir-i Khusraw met him in Tabrīz in 438/1046, and remarked that "He wrote good poetry, but did not know Persian well. He came to me bringing the *dīwāns* of Mundjīk and Daḳīḳī, which he read with me, questioning me about every passage in which he found difficulty ..." (*Safar-nāma*, Berlin 1341, 8).

Ḳaṭrān's difficulty in Persian apparently led him to write a Persian lexicon, which according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa was entitled *Tafāsīr fī lughat al-Furs* (*Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, i, Istanbul 1941, 296). Ḳaṭrān's contemporary, Asadī Ṭūsī, referred to this book in the preface to his own lexicon, *Lughat-i Furs* (ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1319). However, the book has not been preserved. The *mathnawī* called *Ḳaws-nāma*, dedicated to Amīr Muḥammad b. Ḳumādj, attributed to Ḳaṭrān by Dawlatshāh and later sources, is not his (Ṣafā, 421-3). Ḳaṭrān's poems have long been taken for Rūdakī's (d. 329/941), mainly because of the similarity of names of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (Rūdakī's patron), and Abū Naṣr Mamlān. Even in his now published *Dīwān*, consisting of over 8,000 *bayts*, there are 951 *bayts* from Rūdakī (Nafīsī, 473). Ḳaṭrān ranks among the greatest poets of 5th/11th century Iran. He displays in his poetry an astonishing fluency and euphony of language—although his excessive use of rhetorical artifices contrasts with the simplicity of his predecessors and enables a connoisseur of Persian poetry particularly to distinguish his work from that of Rūdakī.

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(I. Dehghan)

KATSINA (Katsena, Kashna, Kashina, Casena), a name applied to several Nigerian localities, the earliest of which had its ancestry with the "Hausa [*q.v.*] *bakwai*". Two more Katsinas emerge with Leo Africanus (*ca.* 1513): "Casena", a rather poor country, and "Guangara" (Wangara), identified with Katsina-Laka (N.W. of Zaria) and associated with Muslim learning. Katsina attracted the celebrated *ʿālim*, al-Maghīlī (d. 910/1504), who taught *Ḳur'ān* and *fiḳh*: Muḥammad al-Tāzakhtī (known as Ayda-Aḥmad, d. 935-6/1529); and Makhlūf ... al-Bilbālī al-Marrākushī (d. 939-40/1533).

The coming of the Wangara (especially under Muḥammad al-Korau, d. 948-9/1541-2?) signalled a shift in succession (matrilineal to patrilineal), leadership (Wangara Muslims displace Durbawa pagans), in religion and in ethnic composition. Birnin-Katsina (the walls of which date from 976/1568) was distinguished for its tobacco and leather; it contained over 100 principal quarters (each of which generated its own peculiar artisan and ethnic quality), a circuit of about eight miles, stretching to nearly 14 miles (1853), and a metropolitan population of 300,000.

Katsina waxed and waned within the shadow of stronger powers (Mali, Songhay, Bornu, Sokoto), achieving its pinnacle of power in the 17th and 18th centuries. Here, in Barth's phrase, "... that state of civilisation which had been called forth by contact with ... Arabs seems to have reached its highest degree ... the Hausa language ... attained the greatest richness of form and the most refined pronunciation, and the manners of Katsena were distinguished by superior politeness from those of the other towns of Hausa". During this "golden age", Katsina emerged as the entrepôt of Hausaland and gave birth to some of the most renowned scholars of Sūdānī Islam: Shaykh al-Shuyūkh al-Bakrī of Yandoto (*ca.* 1009/1600); the poet Muḥammad al-Kashināwī (Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, Hausa: Dan Marina, d. 1065-6/1655); the jurist Abū ʿAbd Allāh ... al-Barnāwī (Hausa: Dan Masanih, d. 1078/1667); the numerologist and astrologer (who entered the learned circle of the Egyptian historian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī) al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fulānī al-Kashināwī (d. 1154/1741); the astronomer, mathematician and astrologer Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kashnāwī (*ca.* 1145/1732); and al-Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Fallātī, who wrote a scholarly treatise on the treatment of haemorrhoids (d. 1190?/1776?), and seems to have emanated from the long line of scholars in the Yandoto tradition of al-Bakrī.

With the rise of Sokoto and the submission of Katsina (1807), the ruling lineage sought refuge in a new city, Katsina-Maradi (Niger Republic). The abandoned city, which became an *imārat* in Sokoto's gift, underwent a rapid decline. The British administration (from 1906) encouraged an economy of groundnuts and cotton. The scholarly tradition of Katsina, though but a shadow of its former brilliance, gained fresh impetus with the establishment of Katsina Training College (1921), and through its walls passed two of Nigeria's most famous sons, Sir Ahmadu Bello and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

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(J. R. Willis)

KATTĀN, Arabic word denoting both flax and linen.

The Arabs already knew and esteemed linen fabrics in pre-Islamic times. In this early period these were usually called *ḳubāṭī*, *i.e.* Coptic stuff, since they were imported from Egypt. Until the later Middle Ages Egypt remained famous for its flax and its linen fabrics. The Geniza documents, which mainly date from the 5th/11th century, contain copious documentation on the flax trade. From these documents it appears that flax was mainly grown in Upper Egypt. There were many kinds of flax: S. D. Goitein has found no less than 22 varieties, mostly called after particular localities, mentioned in Geniza documents. Consequently, the prices of flax varied a great deal. In Fāṭimid times the province of Fayyūm was an important centre of flax-growing and Būṣīr Ḳūrīdis was a large market for this commodity. In this period Egypt exported great quantities of flax to Tunisia and Sicily and even to southwestern Persia.

The Muslims inherited from the Byzantines a flourishing linen industry, which was located in Lower Egypt. The most important centres were Tinnīs, Damietta, Dabīḳ and Shaṭā, but linen was also manufactured in many small towns and villages surrounding these places. In all these towns, Coptic weavers produced white and coloured linen, *ḳaṣab* and *s̲h̲arb*, two kinds of very fine linen, and *diḳḳ*, brocaded linen; Arab writers also mention gold-embroidered linen. The fabrics, and garments made from them, were exported both to Muslim and to non-Muslim countries. The Egyptian linen industry began to decline in the first half of the 7th/13th century, when the factories of Tinnīs, Damietta and Dabīḳ were closed; their decline was probably the consequence of the increasing import of European textiles.

Another region which produced flax and had a linen industry was the Persian province of Fārs. There the towns Sīnīz, Kāzarūn and Tawwad̲j̲ had in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries linen factories which were famous for their products. Shīrāz, D̲j̲annābā and the small towns of Darīz and Furd̲j̲ exported linen fabrics to other provinces of Persia.

In Egypt linen was the staple textile for many centuries, as is borne out by hundreds of inventories of trousseaux found in the Cairo Geniza. During the flourishing period of the Egyptian linen industry its products were used not only for making garments, but also as table-cloths, for tents and even for the covering of the Kaʿba.

Bibliography: R. B. Serjeant, *Materials for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972 (originally in *Ars Islamica*, ix-xvi [1942-51]), index; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, i, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 224 ff.; Ḥ. Zayyat, *Les habits de lin fin chez les Arabes* (in Arabic), in *Machriq*, xli (1947), 137 ff.; E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 142, 340.

(E. Ashtor)

AL-**KATTĀNĪ**, the name of an important and celebrated family of Fās, belonging to the S̲h̲arīfian branch of the Idrīsids [*q.v.*]. The Kattāniyyūn are descended in effect from Muḥammad, the son of Idrīs II, the one who shared out his kingdom amongst his brothers. They accordingly held power in Fās until they had to flee, but returned in the 10th/16th century. Their family house was situated in a quarter named after a certain Ibn Ṣawwāl, and fronted a steeply-sloping street; for this reason, one of their first biographers, Muḥammad al-Ṭālib Ibn al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ (d. 1273/1857), who was a *ḳāḍī* in Marrākus̲h̲ and in Fās, gave to his work on them the title *Naẓm al-durr wa 'l-laʿāli fī s̲h̲urafāʾ ʿaḳabat Ibn Ṣawwāl*.

Morocco owes to this family a remarkable succession of scholars, jurists and literary men, the latter mainly distinguished in the biographical field. Above all, the family attained its greatest fame at the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, not only through the intellectual and moral qualities of its members, but also, after 1890, through the influence which it exercised in the region of Fās, in Meknès and in other large towns of Morocco as the founder of a religious order.

Amongst the best-known members of the family one may mention:

ʿUmar b. Ṭāhir al-Kattānī (d. 1309/1891-2), author of a work on the families of Fās converted to Islam.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh D̲j̲aʿfar b. Idrīs al-Kattānī (1240-1323/1824-1905), known both as a scholar and also for his disinterested conduct, author of numerous works on his family.

Muḥammad b. D̲j̲aʿfar, son of the preceding, b. at Fās 1275/1858-9. Drawn to the east, he went to live in Medina *ca.* 1910 after having twice made the Pilgrimage; he then returned to his native town in 1926 and died there *ca.* 1927. He threw special light on his family by his *Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥādat̲h̲at al-akyās bi-man uḳbira min al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-ṣulaḥāʾ bi-Fās*. This work, a model of its kind, is a far-reaching survey of the *s̲h̲urafāʾ*, *fuḳahāʾ*, *ʿulamāʾ*, teachers and holy men of the city of Fās. It is at the same time a treatise on the cult of saints and a source of prime importance for the religious history of Fās, its development, its topography and its toponomy.

The last of the great and well-known Kattānīs, who had to shoulder the responsibilities of head of the family during the years in which Morocco came to independence, is the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Abu'l-Asʿad Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy. Like his predecessors, he was an erudite scholar and the possessor of a fine library. He had travelled in the east and studied there. He wrote a great number of books and articles, amongst which may be mentioned a family history *al-Maẓāhir al-sāmiya fī 'l-nisba al-s̲h̲arīfa al-kattāniyya* and a *Fihris al-fahāris*, published in 2 vols. at Fās in 1346/1927-8. He was Keeper of the Library of the Ḳarawiyyīn before the Protectorate, and he took part in compiling the first catalogue of the books scattered about the various places of this ancient university when an inventory was decided upon in 1915. However, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy not only kept up his noble family tradition of Islamic scholarship, but he

also retained with them, as an Idrīsid *sharīf*, a violent hatred of the reigning ʿAlawī dynasty. He was imprudent enough to become involved with el-Glaoui in the plot which in August 1953 ended in the deposition and temporary exile of Sīdī Muḥammad. When the latter returned to power and Morocco received its independence, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy had to go into exile in France, where he died on 28 September 1962 at the age of 77.

Bibliography: M. G. Salmon, *Les Chorfa idrisides de Fes*, in *AM*, iii (1904), 446-8; *Catalogue des livres arabes de la bibliothèque de la Mosquee d'El-Qarouiyine à Fes*, Fās 1918, 4, 11; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, 143; idem, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 377 ff.; *Introd. à la connaissance du Maroc*, Casablanca 1942, 236-8, 240; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, index; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc*, *Cahiers de l'Afrique et de l'Asie*, ii, Index, 308; *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*, i, Paris 1962, 303.

(A. FAURE)

KAVAKLI. [see ÇAKMAK, MUSTAFA FEVZI].

KĀWAH transliteration according to the *EI* rules of the name of a person who is supposed to have played an important rôle in the Iranian epic, in Persian Kāveh < Kāvagh, in Arabic Kāwah, Kāwī, Kābī. This person was a blacksmith who, after having had his son put to death by the tyrant Zohak (in Arabic, al-Ḍaḥḥāk; see ZUHĀK), raised the population of Iṣfahān against the usurper, taking as a banner his leather apron, which as the *drafsh-i Kāwiyān* became the Iranian national flag. Having thus brought about the fall of Zohak, he set up Farīdūn [*q.v.*] on the throne and was himself nominated commander of the army and then governor of Iṣfahān. Christensen has shown that in the expression denoting this flag, *Kāwiyān*, is connected not with Kāveh but with *kavi* "king, prince" [see KAYĀNIDS] and that the legend is of late, Sāsānid origin.

Whatever the truth, the Arabic historians frequently reproduced the legend, especially as the *drafsh-i Kāwiyān* is associated with a glorious episode in the history of Islam. The tale goes that the emblem of the Iranian rulers fell into the Muslims' hands at the celebrated battle of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], although an author like Masʿūdī, who calls the blacksmith here Kābī, has the honesty to cite equally the capture of al-Madāʾin or even of Nihāwand [*qq.v.*] (*Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 76).

The *drafsh-i Kāwiyān* involved here cannot have been the blacksmith's apron, which must have become worn out in the course of the centuries, but a flag which is described by the historians differently. According to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2175, it was 12 cubits long and 8 wide and made out of panther skins, and Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 224 = § 1556, cf. Balʿami-Zotenberg, iii, 395, adds that it was encrusted with precious stones and mounted on poles fitted one into the other; al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 115, says that it was made from a bear or lion skin, and al-Maḳdisī, *Badʾ*, v, 184, from that of a kid or lion, and later, from brocade and gold; and Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 135, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 168-9, adds that a talismanic device of numbers was woven on the flag.

There emerges from these few references that no author had been able actually to see the flag, for the simple reason that it had long before ceased to exist. According to one tradition—to be regarded with caution—it was Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*, and add the capture of the *drafsh*] who got hold of the flag and who received in return for it 30,000 [*dīnārs*], when it was in fact considered to be worth 200,000 (*Murūdj*, *loc. cit.*) or 2,000,000 (*Tanbīh*, *loc. cit.*); Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ then sent it to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who had it cut up into pieces and divided amongst the Muslims (al-Thaʿālibī, *Histoire des rois de Perse*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, Paris 1900, 38 f.).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, there is a description of the flag in A. Christensen, *Sasanides*, 502-4; see also idem, *Kayanides*, index; Carra de Vaux, *Le livre de l'avertissement*, 123-5; Ṭabarī-Zotenberg, i, 117 ff.; Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, 77 and index. (ED.)

AL-**KAWĀKIBĪ**, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. AḤMAD B. MASʿŪD, a pioneer in the theory of Panarabism, was born in (?) 1849 into a family of notables long settled in Aleppo, and died in Cairo in 1902. Orphaned at an early age, he was brought up by an aunt in Antioch, where he became a pupil of his mother's maternal uncle, said to have been sometime tutor to Prince ʿAbbās Ḥilmī (1874-1944) [*q.v.*]. He also attended *al-madrasa al-kawākibiyya* in Aleppo. He perfected Turkish and Persian as well as Arabic, and acquired some knowledge of secular subjects but not of a European language. He led an active literary and political life, editing the official Aleppo paper *Furāt* in its Arabic and Turkish sections from 1875-1880 (?). In collaboration with Hāshim al-ʿAṭṭār, he brought out in 1878 the first private Arabic weekly in Aleppo, *al-Shahbāʾ*, which lasted for only 15 issues. This, as well as a second paper, *al-Iʿtidāl*, were closed by order of the *wālī* in 1879. He was involved in the municipality and in other commercial and political ventures, particularly in the Régie des Tabacs. After quarrelling with the *wālī*, he was tried and found guilty, but appealed in Beirut and was acquitted. His property was confiscated, however, and he was forced to emigrate to Cairo in 1898 or 1899. From Egypt he toured various Muslim countries and went as far as Karāčī; his sudden death stopped another planned tour into the heart of Arabia. In Cairo he is said to have received the monthly salary of 50 guineas from the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī in order to win for him the suffrages of the *shaykhs* of Aden and the Nine Protectorates for the caliphate which he wished to assume.

Al-Kawākibī published two books, drafted while he was still in Syria, both of which have been convincingly shown to derive from Western models. He used two pseudonyms: al-Sayyid al-Furātī and al-Raḥḥāla K. *Umm al-Ḳurā*, which echoes the views expressed by W. S. Blunt in *The Future of Islam* (1882), was written in the guise of the proceedings of a secret society and was first published under a pseudonym in 1899, almost certainly clandestinely, the place of publication being given as Port Said. It was not until Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] serialised it in *al-Manār* [*q.v.*], April 1902-February 1903, that the book became widely known. The book makes the first sure and permanent transition in Arabic from Panislamism to Panarabism. It discusses the caliphate and argues that the problems of Islam would be solved by transferring the caliphate from the house of ʿUthmān to Ḳuraysh. An Arab caliph would be installed in Mecca and would exercise, with the concurrence of a special council of consultation (*shūra*), political authority over the Ḥidjāz only. This caliphate would be devoid of all other political and military powers; its spiritual nature, as well as the special position of the Arabs within Islam, are greatly stressed. *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-istibdād wa-maṣāriʿ al-istiʿbād* first appeared as a series of anonymous

articles in *al-Muʾayyad* of ʿAlī Yūsuf in 1900. It is to a large extent a faithful rendering in Arabic of *Della Tirannide* (1800) by Vittorio Alfieri. Notes for other publications were destroyed or lost.

Bibliography: *Al-Manār*, v (1320/1902-3) 237-40 and 276-82; Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām al-nubalāʾ bi taʾrīkh Ḥalab al-Shahbāʾ*, vii, Aleppo 1926, 507-24; Sylvia Kedourie (née Haim): *The ideas of a precursor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1849-1902), in relation to the trend of Muslim-Arab political thought*, Ph. D. thesis 1953; Sylvia G. Haim, *Alfieri and al-Kawākibī*, in *Oriente Moderno*, xxxiv (1954), 331-4; Ettore Rossi, *Una traduzione turca dell'opera "Della Tirannide" di V. Alfieri probalmente conosciuta da al-Kawākibī*, in *ibid.*, xxxiv (1954), 335-7; Sylvia G. Haim, *Blunt and al-Kawākibī*, in *ibid.*, xxxv (1955), 132-43; Sāmī al-Dahhān, *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī*, Cairo n.d.; N. Tapiéro, *Les idées réformistes d'al-Kawâkibî 1265-1320/1849-1902*, Paris 1956; *al-Aʿmāl al-Kāmila li-ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī maʿa dirāsa ʿan ḥayātihi wa-āthārihi*, ed. Muḥ. ʿUmāra, Cairo 1970; Elie Kedourie, *The Politics of Political Literature: Kawakibi, Azoury and Jung*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, viii/2 (1972), 227-40.

(Sylvia G. Haim)

ḲAWĀLA, Kavala, port on the Aegean Sea coast opposite the island of Thasos, on the frontier between Macedonia and Thrace. In classical times, there was on this site the town of Neapolis, which served Philippi (P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macedoine Orientale*, Paris 1945, 529, 544). In the Byzantine period, the town was known as Christoupolis, but the Ottoman sources always refer to it under the name Ḳawāla. It was conquered in Murād I's reign at a date which is difficult to determine; in August 1373 it was still in the possession of the grand primicius Alexis, who had just repulsed an attack by Turkish pirates of unspecified origin and obedience (*Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum sive acta et diplomata res veneto-graecas atque Levantis illustrantiae*, ed. R. Predelli, ii, 164-6; Lemerle, *op. cit.*, 209 ff.). It probably fell into Turkish hands shortly after the fall of Serres in 1383, since it was situated on the route of penetration into Macedonia.

At the time of Meḥemmed II, in *ca.* 883/1478-9, the district of Ḳawāla comprised the town and 11 villages, with 546 non-Muslim hearths, 23 Muslim hearths, 25 unmarried persons and 28 widows; its revenue was 34,136 aspers. The town itself was made up of 75 non-Muslim hearths, 12 Muslim hearths, 8 unmarried persons and 8 widows. The district's natural resources included cereal cultivation, silk worm rearing, and above all, silver mining, the mines for which formed part of the sultan's personal domains. Ethnically, there were in the district Turks, Greeks and Slavs, notably Serbs, judging by their onomastic. The Muslims in the mining villages were all artisans (Census returns for eastern Macedonia, Başbakanlık archives, tapu and tahrir registers no. 7, pp. 88-98; M. T. Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 145; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, ii, *Règlements miniers 1390-1512*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 215-17; Ö. L. Barkan, *894 (1488/89) yılı cizyesinin tahsilâtına âit muhasebe bilançoları*, in *Belgeler*, i/l (Ankara 1964), 115). The town of Ḳawāla had been surrounded by walls towards the time of the high Middle Ages (Lemerle, 141). At the time of the Rhodes campaign, Sulaymān the Lawgiver fortified the town and repaired the aqueduct there, whilst the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha had a mosque and other charitable works constructed there (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii, Istanbul 1328, 118).

Ḳawāla was the centre of a *sandjaḳ* of the *Djazāʾir eyāleti* under the administration of a *deryā begi*; its district included 12 *ziʿāmet*s and 235 *timār*s; the *sandjaḳ* was divided into seven *ḳāḍāʾ*s. In the town resided an *alay-begi*, a *shaykh al-islām*, a *naḳīb al-ashrāf* and a *ḳāḍī* (with a salary of 150 *aḳčes*). Ewliyā Čelebi describes its fortress, built on a hill, mentions five *maḥalles* with 500 houses, and enumerates the religious foundations.

In 1095/1684 Francesco Morosini laid siege to Ḳawāla without success. In 1133/1721 *armatoloi* (*martolos*) are mentioned for the last time in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ḳawāla, and in other districts as well. During the 12th/18th century and in the first half of the 19th, the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳawāla was usually granted to the pasha of Salonika for him to enjoy its revenue and was governed by one of his representatives (*mütesellim*) (see I. Vasdravellis, Ἱστορικὰ Ἀρχεῖα Μακεδονίας i-ii, Salonika 1952-4, *passim*). In the 12th/18th century there was a French vice-consulate at Ḳawāla, and from 1159/1746 a Venetian one also. In 1215/1800, or a short time before, the town had 3,000 inhabitants, and the produce of Egypt, Izmir and Thasos, destined for the hinterland, were brought to its harbour; iron cannon-balls, made in Pravista, and Macedonian tobacco were exported to Istanbul. Thus its harbour was fairly busy, but because of its small extent it could not be used as anchorage for warships.

After the administrative re-organisation of 1864, Ḳawāla constituted a *ḳāḍāʾ* of the *sandjaḳ* of Drama, which belonged to the *vilāyet* of Salonika. At the end of the 19th century its population increased and reached well over 10,000, the Muslim and Greek elements being predominant. In ecclesiastical administration, Ḳawāla was subordinate to the bishop of Xanthi.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the cultivation of cotton, and above all tobacco, constituted the district's main source of wealth (F. Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce*, i, Paris Year VIII, 91). Ḳawāla also derives much fame from the fact that it was the birthplace of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha (Dj. Zaydān, *Mashāhīr al-sharḳ*, Cairo 1910, i, 1; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi* [3], Ankara 1970, v, 125 ff.). He built there a school (*mühendis-khāne-yi khayriyye*), a *madrasa*, a mosque, a library and a soup-kitchen (*ʿimāret*), and assigned the revenues of the island of Thasos for the upkeep of his pious foundations (*Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1314/1896, v, 3704-5). Today, his house is a museum.

One of the clauses of the Treaty of San Stefano (March 1878), made at the end of the Russo-Turkish War, envisaged the cession of Ḳawāla to the Bulgarians, but this was never put into practice, and a few months later the treaty was replaced by that of Berlin (13 July 1878). At the time of the First Balkan War, Ḳawāla fell into Bulgarian hands (November 1912), but during the Second Balkan War, the Greek fleet seized it (July 1913); by the Treaty of Bucarest (10 August 1913), the town was ceded to Greece (Nicolaides, *Griechenlands Anteil an den Balkankriegen*, Vienna-Leipzig 1914, 367 ff.; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1962, viii, 57-80; Y. H. Bayur, *Türk inkilabı tarihi*, Istanbul 1940, i, 13; T. Bıyıklıoğlu, *Trakyada millî mücadele*, Ankara 1955, i, 8 ff.). As part of the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, the Turks of the Ḳawāla district were settled in western Anatolia.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also K. Chioious, Ἱστορία τῆς Καβάλας, Kavala 1968; A. Vakalopoulos, Ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας, *1354-1833*, Salonika 1969; S. Papadopoulos, Ἐκπαιδευτική και κοινωνική δραστηριότητα τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας κατά τόν τελευταῖο αἰώνα τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας, Salonika 1970.

(I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr - J. G. Giannopoulos)

KAWĀR, a group of oases in the southern Sahara, in the Republic of Niger, situated between the Tibesti Mountains in the east and the Aïr in the west, halfway between Fezzān in the north and Lake Chad in the south. The administrative centre is Bilma, which lies at 18° 41′ N and 12° 55′ E. Kawār is a chain of oases 75 km. long from north to south, but only one to five km. wide, where water flows in abundant springs on the eastern edge of the Ténéré. It has naturally been utilised by the caravan route from Fezzān to Chad. Its 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, who are divided into 14 frequently fortified villages, are a mixture of Kanouri (the dominant language is Kanouri), Teda and Touareg. They live by exploiting some 100,000 palm trees and the salt marshes, most important of which is Kalala near Bilma. The salt, pressed into loaves, is exported by the *azalays* [*q.v.*] of the Touaregs, who transport it to Agades and then to Hausa territory.

These oases do not seem to have been known to classical antiquity, despite the proximity of Fezzān and the representations of chariots engraved on the rock at Dj̲ado and Latouma.

The history of Kawār is obscure. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam mentions it first, telling of its conquest in 46/666 by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ. Al-Idrīsī, in 549/1154, devotes a whole passage to it but his description is so confused that, with the exception of Ankalalas = Kalala, the toponyms cited cannot be identified. He lays stress chiefly on its important alum mines, whose produce, he says, was exported to the Mediterranean. Perhaps he has confused this with salt, for alum of soda, which is in fact very abundant at Kawār, has very little commercial use, unlike alum of potassium, which is not found there.

The very important Chad-Fezzān caravan route through which slaves from Hausa territory were exported was controlled from the 7th/13th century by the Kanem-Bornou, who extended their domination over the Kawār and the Fezzān.

Precise written reports on the region date only from the 19th century: Denham, Clapperton and Oudney (1823) then Vogel, Rohlfs, Nachtigal and Monteil in succession explored the great track traversing it. They report that the people obtained their livelihood from the sale of dates, salt-mining and the slave caravans which passed northwards, and were hard-pressed by the Touareg and Teda.

The Sanūsiyya established a *zāwiya* there and the Turks of Tripoli tried to establish their authority, as in Dj̲anet and Tibesti. Kawār was occupied in 1906 by the French, who installed a military post at Bilma, putting an end to the pillaging which periodically victimised the inhabitants.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et l'Espagne* (*Futūḥ Ifriqiya wa-'l-Andalus*), Arabic text and Fr. tr. A. Gateau, Algiers 1942; Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. Dozy and De Goeje, Leiden 1866, repr. 1968; Denham and Clapperton, *Narrative of travels . . .*, London 1826; H. Barth, *Voyages . . .*, Fr. tr. Paris 1860, iv, 231-4; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara et Soudan*, Fr. tr. Paris 1881, i, 275-84; L. P. Monteil, *De St. Louis à Tripoli par le lac Tchad*, Paris n.d. 1895?; Y. Urvoy, *Histoire de l'Empire du Bornou*, Dakar 1942; M. Lesourd, *Taʾrīkh al-Kawār*, Dakar 1946, 1-54; Ch. Le Coeur, *Dictionnaire ethnographique teda*, Paris 1950; W. Cline, *The Teda of Tibesti, Borku and Kawar*, Menasha 1950; J. Chapelle, *Nomades noirs du Sahara*, Paris 1957; H. J. Hugot, *Missions Berliet-Ténéré-Tchad. Doc. scientifiques*, Paris 1962.

(R. Mauny)

AL-ḲAWĀSIM (sing. Ḳāsimī), the ruling family of al-S̲h̲āriḳa (Sharjah) and Raʾs al-K̲h̲aymā [*qq.v.*], two of the member states of the United Arab Emirates. The Ḳawāsim, who claim to be *s̲h̲arīf*s, are an offshoot of the Huwala, Arabs long established on the Persian side of the Persian Gulf, some of whom have returned to their original homeland. It is not known when the Ḳawāsim came back. Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma under its older name Dj̲ulfār was the native town of the noted Arab pilot S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mādj̲id [see ibn mādj̲id]. Writing in the late 9th/15th century, he also mentions al-S̲h̲āriḳa, but he does not indicate whether there were Ḳawāsim in either place.

References to the Ḳawāsim in the historical records become frequent in the 12th/18th century. In 1131/1719 the Portuguese, who still had a factory at Kung on the Persian side of the Gulf, retaliated for Ḳāsimī attacks on their shipping by driving Ḳāsimī vessels into the port of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma and enslaving the prisoners they took. Rās̲h̲id b. Maṭar, the first Ḳāsimī figure to emerge from the shadowy past, may have been the ruler of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma as early as that time. He was said to be a grandson of Ḳāsim, the eponym of the family. During the civil war that split the people of ʿUmān apart in the years immediately following, the Ḳawāsim sided with the G̲h̲āfirī faction (Northern Arabs) against the Hināwīs (Southern Arabs). A few years later, the ruler of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma built a port at Bāsidū on the island of Ḳis̲h̲m which drew trade away from the British factory at Bandar ʿAbbās, whereupon the British Agent in Persia in 1139/1727 forced this ruler to make good the loss suffered by the East India Company. In 1149/1737 Nādir S̲h̲āh's forces launched an amphibious invasion of ʿUmān, and a Persian garrison stayed in Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma (still often called Dj̲ulfār) for over a decade afterwards, but by 1176/1763 the Persian admiral in the Gulf was reported to have exhausted his resources in paying subsidies to the ruler of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma.

When the German explorer C. Niebuhr passed through the Gulf in 1178/1765, he learned that Rās̲h̲id b. Maṭar al-Ḳāsimī of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma held other territories as well, including some on the Persian coast. This region had not long before recognised the suzerainty of the Ibāḍī Imāms of ʿUmān but had regained independence and was often at war with its former overlords. Rās̲h̲id had a considerable fleet, and his trading vessels were active even beyond the Gulf. According to Niebuhr, almost all Rās̲h̲id's subjects were Ḥanbalīs, which meant that they would be fertile ground for the Ḥanbalī proselytising of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*] of Nadj̲d in the years to come.

With the British consolidating their control of India, the Persian Gulf became one of the main avenues for communications with the home country, and the transit of British vessels over its waters grew more frequent. In 1192/1778 the Ḳawāsim seized a small British ship and held it for ransom, an incident that helped to touch off a long conflict between the

two parties in the Gulf. The British were prone to describe an act such as this as simple piracy; the Ķawāsim were inclined to regard it as consonant with the Islamic precept for waging *dj̲ihād* against the infidels.

In the early 13th/late 18th century Wahhābī influence burgeoned along the coast where the Ķawāsim were based. Rās̲h̲id b. Maṭar's son Ṣaķr acquired the title of Amīr of ʿUmān under Āl Suʿūd, the religious and secular chiefs of the Wahhābiyya. After a victory over the Ibāḍīs of ʿUmān, Ṣaķr's son Sulṭān turned over a fifth of the spoils for dispatch to the Wahhābī capital al-Dirʿiyya.

Further British commercial penetration into the Gulf brought about clashes, in a number of which British merchantmen were captured. The British took to using the name Ķawāsim in the corrupted English form Joasmee as a generic term for all Arabs in the Gulf who harassed their shipping. Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd deposed Sulṭān b. Ṣaķr for reasons that remain obscure, but Sulṭān's successor continued harrying the British. In retaliation, a British fleet in 1224/1809 sailed to Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma, burned many Ķāsimī craft in the harbour, and sent troops to occupy the town for a day, during which they plundered it and set it on fire. This British blow did not long deter the Ķawāsim, who proceeded to add an American, a French, and some Hindu ships to their prizes. A new British expedition took Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma in 1235/1819, and a detachment of sepoys under a British officer held it for three months before turning it over to Sulṭān b. Ṣaķr, who, having incurred the displeasure of Āl Suʿūd, was in the good graces of the British. The British then imposed a general treaty of peace on the Arab chiefs of the lower Gulf, referred to in the text as "the friendly (literally "pacified") Arabs". Sulṭān signed as chief of al-S̲h̲āriķa, though in later agreements he was designated chief of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma and al-S̲h̲āriķa or chief of the Ķawāsim.

In 1251/1835 the British induced four of the chiefs of the lower Gulf, including Sulṭān, to adhere to a maritime truce for six months, covering the season for pearl diving in the summer. This truce was renewed repeatedly, and the stretch of coast to which it applied, formerly called by the British the Pirate Coast, came to be known as the Trucial Coast. The last limited truce, which was good for ten years, was superseded in 1269/1853 by a treaty of peace in perpetuity, which provided for "a perfect maritime truce ... for evermore", which was to be watched over by the British government.

British control over the Trucial States was strengthened by the exclusive agreement of 1309/1892, signed by the Ķāsimī rulers of al-S̲h̲āriķa and Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma among others, which bound the Arab signatories not to enter into any agreement or correspondence with any power other than Britain.

In 1322/1904 Persia, which not long before had taken over the former Ķāsimī possession of Lindj̲a on the Persian side of the Gulf, tried to annex the island of Abū Mūsā and one of the two islands named Tunb, which the British regarded as belonging to al-S̲h̲āriķa. Thanks to British intervention, this attempt was thwarted.

After the death of Sulṭān b. Ṣaķr in 1282-3/1866, the position of leadership long enjoyed by the Ķawāsim on the Trucial Coast slipped away into the hands of their southern neighbours, Dubayy and Abū Ẓabī [*qq.v.*]. Dubayy became the foremost Trucial port for trade, and Abū Ẓabī under its energetic ruler Zāyid b. K̲h̲alīfa (d. 1326/1908) built up substantial political and military strength. Abū Ẓabī then declined somewhat during the period when Zāyid's four sons followed each other as his successors, but under his grandson S̲h̲ak̲h̲būṭ, oil was discovered in its territories in commercial quantities in 1379/1959, the first such discovery on the Trucial Coast. As the oil industry developed, Abū Ẓabī outdistanced its sister Trucial States in an almost incredible fashion, achieving thanks to its small population the highest per capita income of any country in the world. In 1386/1966 oil was found off the shore of Dubayy, which took second place as a Trucial Coast producer, though still far behind Abū Ẓabī.

Towards the end of 1391/1971 the British relinquished the dominance they had maintained over the Gulf for well over a century, withdrawing all their military forces and giving up the RAF base at al-S̲h̲āriķa. Just before they left, Iran occupied the islands of Abū Mūsā and Greater and Lesser Tunb inside the mouth of the Gulf. The occupation of Abū Mūsā was carried out in agreement with al-S̲h̲āriķa, but Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma attempted to resist the Iranian landings on the Tunbs. In 1392/1972 oil was struck in the waters off Abū Mūsā, with the profits from its exploitation to be divided equally between al-S̲h̲āriķa and Iran.

As the British moved out, the seven Trucial States banded together in the new United Arab Emirates. Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy, the richest members, acquired respectively the presidency and vice-presidency of the union. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad b. Ṣaķr al-Ķāsimī, the ruler of al-S̲h̲āriķa, and his distant cousin Ṣaķr b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ķāsimī, the ruler of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma, joined the Supreme Council. Other members of the Ķāsimī family received portfolios as Minister of Labour and Labourers, Minister of Electricity and Water, Minister of Justice, and Minister of State for Supreme Council Affairs. Britain terminated all its existing treaties with the Trucial States and concluded a new treaty of friendship with the United Arab Emirates.

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(G. Rentz)

KAWKAB [see NUDJ̲ŪM].

KAWKAB AL-HAWĀʾ, the Compass Dial, mediaeval fortress in Palestine whose name has been corrupted into "Coquet" by the Frankish authors who also cite it by the name of Belvoir. Constructed not far from Mount Tabor (al-Ṭūr) on a promontory 297 m above the Valley of the Jordan and situated 4 km to the south of the Lake of Tiberias and 14 km to the north of Baysān [*q.v.*], a watchpost in the G̲h̲awr, it controlled the province of

the Jordan and guarded the fords into Galilee, notably below the confluence of the Yarmūk, the Djisr al-Madjāmiʿ (Bridge of the Confluence).

The castle presents a plan of Byzantine type; it "consisted of a rectangular keep enclosed in a surrounding wall 160 m by 120 m flanked by square towers, with a salient and door let into it in the midst of each front" (Deschamps, 121-3), and there are ramps at the base of the openings. The northern front dominates perpendicularly the Wādī'l-Bira, the three other fronts are bordered by ditches cut twenty metres into the rock.

It was reinforced in 534/1140 by the King Fulk. The Hospitallers acquired it in 563/1168 and added to the defences. In 578/1182, the troops of Saladin were repelled by the Franks on the neighbouring plateau of Kawkab, but after his success at Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*], the Kurdish prince contemplated the conquest of Galilee, and on the 15th Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 584/5th January 1189, aided by the contingents of his brother al-ʿĀdil, he approached to seize Kawkab, bastion of the Crusaders' resistance in the Holy Land.

In the reign of al-ʿĀdil, Kawkab was occupied by the *amīr* Ṣārim al-Dīn Ḳaymaz al-Nadjmī; then ʿIzz al-Dīn Usāma received it as an *iḳṭāʿ*. He kept the castle until the day when al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā, younger brother of al-Kāmil and prince of Damascus, took it from him (609/1212). In 616/1219, the Franks occupied Damietta, and al-Muʿaẓẓam gave the order to dismantle Kawkab; the work was suspended during the diplomatic discussions between the Sultan al-Kāmil and the Legate Pelagos, then resumed, and al-Muʿaẓẓam completed the dismantling of the place in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 624/October 1227, so that the Franks of Frederick II might not eventually take advantage of it. At the beginning of 638/end of 1240, the Hospitallers recaptured the castle from the Ayyūbids. At the end of 638/beginning of 1241, with peace restored, Kawkab was confirmed as Frankish territory, but at the beginning of 645/summer of 1247, when al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb resumed operations, the Franks, who had not been strong enough to defend the place, had to surrender it. Under the Mamlūks, Ḳalʿat Kawkab was part of the province of Ṣafad. In our time there is a village near the ruins of the castle which bears its name.

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(N. Elisséeff)

KAWKABĀN, the name of several places in south Arabia.

1. The name of a sanctuary mentioned in the inscription Halévy No. 686, 3—4, copied from a building in ʿAden by J. Halévy (*miḥrābān Kawkabān*). Cf. also F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, ii, Leipzig 1925, 707.

2. The name of a castle near Ẓafār north of Nāʿaṭ. It was called Kawkabān, "the two stars," i.e. star-castle, because it was adorned with silver stripes outside, the roof was covered with white slabs of stone, the interior panelled with cypress wood and paved with mosaic, different gems, onyx and corundum, which shone like stars at night. This marvellous building was naturally ascribed to the Djinn. This castle is perhaps also mentioned in the inscription Glaser No. 238, 3 (*Bayt wa-Kawkabān*), which comes from Bayt Ghufr in the vicinity. The castle is said to be still standing.

3. A little village on a great cliff on the right side of the Wādī Salāma, N. E. of Ḥadja and called Kawkabān-Ḥadja to distinguish it from other places of the same name.

4. Capital of the province of the same name, N.W. of Ṣanʿāʾ. The town of Kawkabān lies at a height of 8,750 feet above sea-level in 15° 31′ 42″ N. Lat. on the southern part of the ridge which begins about half a mile S. E. of the town of Kawkabān at the left towards Ṭawīla and runs S. E. to N. W. for several hours' journey. It is part of the great Maṣānaʿa plateau and is called Djabal Ḍulāʿ. The south-eastern part of the range, the especially precipitous part, is separated from the main massif by an almost straight ravine, the Wādī Nabhān, which runs from Shibām past the one gate of the town of Kawkabān (Bāb al-Ḥadīd) to the Wādī Naʿīm west of the Djabal Kawkabān. Two roads run over this mountain, cut off only by the ravine of the Wādī Nabhān, the one through the town of Shibām, following the very deep ravine of Nabhān which is bridged over, an old winding narrow path of steps hewn out of the rock, and the second, an easier one, running in the Ḳāʿa Ḍulāʿ and crossing a bridge over the Wādī Nabhān just before reaching the Bāb al-Ḥadīd. The town of Kawkabān stretches from the Bāb al-Ḥadīd to the S. E. and runs quite close to the eastern slope of the cliff all along that side. This part seems to be the oldest. Not very far from the gate on the great open square in the centre of the town (in the northern part) is a double wall for the most part now in ruins. Between the two walls a great number of skilfully walled pits have been cut out of the ground, which served as granaries for the old inhabitants. Similar granaries, but of more recent date, are to be found in the southern part and outside the town. The town itself consists of a large number of excellently built houses of red stone the architectural effect of which is often striking; the doors of the houses are often ornamented with fine iron work. The houses of the former Imāms now for the most part decayed or shot to pieces are particularly striking with their splendid façades. Besides the principal mosque with minaret, the only one in the town, there are seven small mosques. The water supply is provided from two huge and finely built reservoirs; the one, called Muṣallā, lies in the south, exceedingly deep and enclosed on the west side by a wall 60 to 80 feet high. The second, to the east of it, begun but not quite finished by Sayyid ʿAbd al-Karīm about 1840, is called Barīk al-Ziyādī. There are also four smaller cisterns. This water-supply would suffice for a town three times the size of Kawkabān. The Jewish quarter lay E. S. E outside the town but consisted almost entirely of low stone houses with little windows and doors.

A stone bridge with huge arches led across the Wādī Nabhān to the Bāb al-Ḥadīd but it was blown up by the Arabs in 1872.

Kawkabān is an ancient city dating from the Ḥimyar period, as inscriptions found there show. Al-Hamdānī mentions a stronghold of Kawkabān on the summit of the Djabal Dhukhār which is certainly identical with the old town of the modern Kawkabān. In troubled times its strength made it a desirable place of refuge—in 1569 the Turks besieged the stronghold in vain—and for centuries Kawkabān has been important as a capital and residence of the Imāms of the principality of the same name. The latter comprised in addition to Kawkabān the towns of Shibām, Ḥadja, Ṭawīla, the Khabt Mirwāḥ (between Kawkabān and Ḥarrāz), the lands of Miswar, Sāriʿ, Ḥofās, Milḥān, Ahdjir, ʿArūs, Banū Khayyāṭ, al-Shahdhiya Lāʿa, a part of the Banū Ḥubaysh, the Banū Nāshir and of al-Aḥmar. The old dynasty of the country, which traced its descent from the Imām Hādī of Ṣaʿda, was able to retain its imāmate even during Turkish rule and to maintain its independence from the Imāms of Ṣanʿāʾ after the Turks were driven out in 1630. C. Niebuhr *(Beschreibung*, 256; see the *Bibliography)* has given a genealogical survey of the princes of Kawkabān. When the Turks again invaded Yaman in 1872 and subjected the country, Kawkabān after a seven months' severe siege also passed to the Turks but only after capitulation. The last ruler of Kawkabān, Sayyid Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had bravely defended the town against the Turks, afterwards lived in Ṣanʿāʾ on a pension given to him by the Sublime Porte. At Glaser's visit in 1883 his brother Sayyid Yaḥyā still lived in the old ancestral home in Kawkabān, which is remarkable for the splendid stucco-work of the interior and the rich ornamentation of its façade. The windows and doors had all sorts of varied shapes, colours and ornaments.

Kawkabān was in the early 20th century almost depopulated; although the houses, which in spite of much destruction were still imposing, afforded accommodation for some 30,000 people, there were then barely 100 in the town; from the town one gets a splendid view over the fertile fields and valleys of the country around, especially the plain of Shibām, a part of the plain of Ṣanʿāʾ and the surrounding hills.

5. Kawkabān al-Sbāʿa is in Maḥwīd, west of the town of Kawkabān (4), but belongs to Ṭawīla, a small place of no special importance.

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5. E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 54a. (A. GROHMANN)

ĶAWM (A.), plural *aķwām*, *aķāwim*, *aķāyim*, people. The word occurs also in Nabataean, Palmyrene and Ṣafaitic inscriptions in the name of the deity Shayʿ al-Ķawm "support of the people", see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i, Index s.v. According to some lexicographers, the word applies in the first place to men; evidence for this opinion is afforded by passages from literature where *Ķawm* is used in opposition to *nisāʾ* (women). The term does not primarily suggest the meaning of nation. A man's *Ķawm* are his *shīʿa* and his *ʿashīra*. In this limited sense, the word occurs also in the well-known tradition: "Who clings to a *Ķawm* without the permission of his *mawālī* (*patroni*), is cursed by Allāh, the angels and the prophets" (Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Madīna, bāb* 1). Used without the article, it has the same meaning as English "people", French "gens" and German "Leute", *e.g.* Sūra V, 63: "People who do not understand"; cf. IX, 61 (also with the article, XII, 87). The plural has the same meaning. In a tradition it is said: "There will be people (*aķwām*) in my community, who will proclaim licentiousness regarding women and wine" (Bukhārī, *Ashriba, bāb* 6).

In the Ķurʾān the term is chiefly used in connection with the prophets, Muḥammad's predecessors: the people of Ibrāhīm, Lūṭ, Nūḥ (*e.g.*, VII, 146; II, 91; XXII, 43; XXVI, 105, 160; XXXVIII, 11), *i.e.* their unbelieving contemporaries. In this sense it is also used in connection with Muḥammad himself: "Thy people declare Him a lie, though He is the Truth" (VI, 66). The same use of the term is to be found in the *Ḥadīth*, *e.g.* Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, *bābs* 19, 31, 54 etc.

Ķawm is, however, also used in a sense that comes nearer to the modern conception of "people", *e.g.* in the tradition referring to one of the festivals: "Every *Ķawm* has its festival, and this is ours" (Bukhārī, *ʿĪdayn, bāb* 3). *Al-Ķawm* with the article has sometimes an emphatic meaning, *e.g.* Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 72, where Ṭufayl, one of

ʿĀʾis̲h̲a's brothers, relates a dream which he had. He dreamt that he passed by some Jews and said to them: "Verily, you would be the people, were it not that you pretend that ʿUzayr (Ezra) is the son of Allāh". They answered: "And you would be the people, were it not that you say: *Mā s̲h̲āʾ Allāh wa-mā s̲h̲āʾ Muḥammad*", etc.

In Atchin (Atjèh) the term has acquired a peculiar form and use: *kawôm* has here the genealogical meaning of "all those who descend from one man in the male line", see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Index s.v. *kawôm*.

For special meanings of the word see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; and see also GŪM.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

ḲAWMIYYA (A.), nationalism.

1. In the Arab world east of the Mag̲h̲rib.

The term derives from *ḳawm*, a term of tribal provenance used to denote a group of people having or claiming a common ancestor, or a tribe descended from a single ancestor. One's *ḳawm* is simply one's people, either genealogically determined or mythologically and folklorishly depicted. In this century, *ḳawmiyya* refers to the movement of nationalism among the Arabs of the Ottoman dominions in the Fertile Crescent that were conquered by the Allies in the Great War. The use of the term has spread since the Second World War to other parts of the Arabic-speaking world. After the mid-20th century, *ḳawmiyya* became the expression of a purported economic, political and social Arab revolution. Essentially, though, *al-ḳawmiyya al-ʿarabiyya* is the term widely used for the movement of Arab nationalism. Arab intellectuals since the last war have tried to formulate theoretical and philosophical foundations as well as historical and ideological premises for this nationalism. Most active among them were Syrian, Lebanese and Iraqi politicians, teachers, journalists, writers and publicists. Prominent among the more recent exponents and advocates of Arab nationalism have been the Baʿt̲h̲ (Baath) party, founded in 1943, and its antecedents among smaller radical Arab youth movements in Iraq and Syria in the nineteen-thirties. In 1955, D̲j̲amāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser) of Egypt took up the banner of *ḳawmiyya* in connection with his drive for hegemony in the Arab Middle East.

Briefly, the advocates of Arab nationalism argue the existence of an Arab nation (*umma ʿarabiyya*) which, though actually divided into separate states, ought to be united in a single, organic sovereign political entity. What binds the members of the Arab nation together is a common faith, Islam, a common language, Arabic, a single culture, Islamic, and a shared history. Economic and other practical grounds for unity have, until recently, rarely been formulated or proposed. Religious sentiment, common identity and an aspiration to political unity, that is, have been the fundamental ingredients of the movement of Arab nationalism, Arabism and Pan-Arabism—all aspects or variants of *ḳawmiyya*—in this century.

In a "Memorandum respecting Pan-Arabism" to the then British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, dated May 27, 1936, Gilbert Mackereth, HM Consul in Damascus, opined:

> There is no doubt of the existence of an Arab movement, but there is considerable doubt regarding its potentialities.
>
> (F. O. 371/19980, Public Record Office).

Even in 1936 one of the movement's objectives was Arab unity, the creation of an Arab state which would comprise the whole of the Arab nation. But its exponents at that time were confined to Iraq, Lebanon and Syria, all of them new states under British or French mandate. It was also a period when advocates and leaders of the movement were engaged in defining the Arab nation geographically and ideologically. Egypt was still distant from the concerns of *ḳawmiyya*, occupied as she was with the question of her relations with Britain. The Arabs in the Peninsula were strongly anchored in an Islamic perception of things political and in a basically tribal social ethos, neither concerned nor particularly interested, nor in need of a secular national identity.

However, 1936 provided a fresh external stimulus to the Arab movement of *ḳawmiyya* in the form of the Palestine problem, involving an Arab-Jewish antithesis in Palestine under the British mandate. Yet, forty years later today, the movement's aspiration of unity remains unfulfilled, and the same ambivalence regarding the meaning, importance and existential form of *ḳawmiyya* continues to plague it. Instead of one Arab nation-state, there are several Arab states.

As elsewhere in the world, the only definition basic to the several existing Arab states is a territorial one. *Ḳawmiyya*, as an all-encompassing concept of Arab nationalism, is a self-contradictory, unrealistic doctrine. Not only because the Arab nation is dispersed in several states, but also because it is difficult anywhere in the world to have a complete, or perfect, nation-state, *i.e.* one where the state is co-extensive with one nation. Nor is there a satisfactory criterion of nationality based on race, language and religion, or culture and history. Yet *ḳawmiyya*, like nationalism elsewhere, remains a potent doctrine and a powerful political myth. Even though the only absolutely clear division between countries is territorial, there is some substance to the "idea of the nation" to the extent that there is a deeply felt urge or need to identify with a group. To this extent also, *ḳawmiyya* must be viewed as a psychological concept.

The most powerful basis of *ḳawmiyya* among the Arabs in the last thirty years has been an emotional one, deriving from an idealised religious culture, Islam, and a more recent historical experience under Ottoman rule and European influence. In societies where for many centuries identity was religiously determined or based, and ethnically distinguished in a mosaic of co-existing religious and ethnic communities, corporate loyalties are scarce and difficult to develop.

Ḳawmiyya may be viewed as a compensatory movement among the Arabs on two levels. Firstly, as a reaction to prolonged Ottoman domination, under which the question of national identity within the *umma*—community of believers—did not arise. Secondly, as a response to territorial-political arrangements that were imposed by European powers upon the dissolution of the last Muslim empire in 1920, *ḳawmiyya* provides a potential integrative force against the fragmentation of political reality.

Because Arab societies did not experience a movement for the secularisation of political identity, life and perceptions comparable or parallel to that of Europe beginning in the Middle Ages, the very concept of the nation-state and the movement of nationalism remained an extrapolation, the transposition and extension of an essentially religious-based political culture. Their members have always

been conscious of their Islamic identity. *Ḳawmiyya* has been an attempt to make them conscious of their *Arab* identity. The tradition of communal, ethnic and religious differentiation has been an obstacle to the integrative assumptions and aspirations of *ḳawmiyya*. More recently, the proliferation of sovereign independent territorial Arab states has been a powerful trend. Consequently, nationalist ideology drifted into being a rationalisation of primordial Islamic sentiments and became particularly useful as a rallying sentiment against external threats or enemies. *Ḳawmiyya*, in short, has so far failed to give the Arabs, politically organised in several states, a secular identity separate from their Islamic-based one.

One precondition of *ḳawmiyya* emerged in the 19th century, namely, the historical consciousness or recognition of a difference, an exclusiveness, from others, *i.e.* from non-Arabs. This occurred with the rapid, forceful European military, economic and political penetration of the East, and the impact of the political ideas and institutions which this brought with it. The revival of the Arabic language, notions and schemes of religious reform, the over-apologetic and intellectually weak defence of Islam against the onslaught of European modernity were all consequences of this re-awakening or renaissance (*nahḍa*). It provided the requisite mythological and other justification for first, Islamic, and later Arab, opposition to alien rule, preparatory to demands for self-determination. Modern reform in the Ottoman State itself, leading to the adoption of nationalist doctrines by the Turkish ruling classes—a radical departure from the integrative universalism of the *umma*—eventually provoked movements of Arab separatism, culminating in the British promotion of an Arab Revolt in the Ḥid̲j̲āz against the Ottoman sultan-caliph in the First World War. More important was the development of fairly modern state administrations in several of the Arab provinces, providing the foundations of and habituation for local-national autonomy. The rise of native élites concerned with the development of secular institutions of government, administration, legislation, adjudication, education and the economy, gave added impetus to this trend. The experience in several Arab states was not, however, uniform, giving rise to disparities and differences between them, which in turn, rendered the unity aspirations of *ḳawmiyya* more difficult to realise.

Ḳawmiyya presupposes the existence of an Arab nation, its solidarity, exclusiveness—and its unity. But all these assumptions are founded on an essentially religious base; on Islam the faith, on Arabic, the language of its Holy Book, on the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, its revealed sacred law, and on the history of its glorious conquests and empire. It also overlooks the ethnic and sectarian diversity that existed under an Islamic universalism. The particularism of modern nationalism therefore remained opposed to the universalism—and tolerance—of its source of inspiration, so that the efforts of the advocates of *ḳawmiyya* have been mainly directed at reconciling the difference and seeking (unsuccessfully so far) a symbiosis between *ʿurūba* (Arabism, which is at the heart of *ḳawmiyya*) and *dīn* (religion). The best they have been able to achieve has been to translate the solidarity of the Islamic *umma* into the unity of the Arab nation. But in order to do that they had first to construct a special role for the Arabs in Islam in counter-distinction to that of other, non-Arab, Muslims. This was the major preoccupation, for example, of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī [*q.v.*] (d. 1902) and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā [*q.v.*] (d. 1935) earlier in this century. More recently, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bazzāz (d. 1971) tried to argue that there was no contradiction between Islam and Arab nationalism. Theoretically, the relation between religion and state did not constitute a particular problem in Islam. As a religious movement, Islam founded a state and acquired an empire by conquest. The modern fusion of Islam and Arabism therefore is not surprising. Moreover, just as the unity of Islam and the solidarity of the faithful has been a doctrinal tenet but only a political myth, so also Arab unity today is a potent myth of *ḳawmiyya* though politically non-existent. It is a prescriptively ideological, substitute reality. The *wiḥda* of *ḳawmiyya*'s Pan-Arabism has been as elusive and problematic as the ideal of Pan-Islamism before it, or for that matter, the ideal of other, non-Muslim pan-movements, *e.g.* Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism or Pan-Hellenism.

Nationalism is, by definition, a secular concept or idea. Behind it, in Europe at least, lay a formidable array of philosophical speculation about secularism and authority in the state, from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Enlightenment, and all of it supported, distorted and confused by a pre-Christian classical tradition. *Ḳawmiyya*, on the other hand, has not managed to free itself from its Islamic antecedents and foundations because there has been no comparable philosophical, speculative basis to Arab secularism. Elements and manifestations of the latter have, however, struggled through the surface of Arab societies, and have become discernable in the conduct of their public affairs by powerful rulers or chiefs who were able to command the traditionally-perceived personal loyalty of their subjects or followers and had centralised administrations at their disposal.

Even though the concept is arbitrary, and despite its limited scope, one can argue that *ḳawmiyya* in the sense of a feeling of Arabness within the wider Ottoman-Islamic dominion first expressed itself in the rejection of the Ottoman caliphate some seventy-five years ago. It suggested not only that the Arabs were different from the Turks but, more significantly, that they were entitled to have an Arab caliph. This was accompanied by incipient secret organisations among Arab officers in the Ottoman army before and during the Great War, demanding the recognition of Arab rights to decentralisation and local autonomy within the Ottoman empire. These early agitations culminated in the dynastic, separatist revolt led by S̲h̲arīf Ḥusayn of Mecca in the Ḥid̲j̲āz (1916-18) in the First World War. His son Fayṣal's short-lived Arab Kingdom in Damascus (1918-20) constituted the basis of the myth of modern Arab nationalism and a justification of *ḳawmiyya*. The mandate arrangements imposed by Britain and France in the Fertile Crescent, however, transformed the movement for a time into one of the newly-created Arab states demanding a greater measure of and, ultimately, full, independence from, those two European powers.

The unity-variant of *ḳawmiyya* re-emerged after 1936, but remained the preoccupation of Arab nationalists in the Fertile Crescent. A combination of external circumstances in Europe, affecting British and French control in the region, and events in Palestine, provided the impetus for the adumbration of regional schemes of Arab unity (*e.g.* the

Fertile Crescent, and Greater Syria of the Hashimites). At the same time, Christian and Muslim Arab intellectuals sought to define the Arab nation and formulate a nationalist ideology. The writings of Cōstī (Ḳusṭanṭīn) Zurayḳ, Edmund Rabbath, ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlāyilī and others were all in this vein. But it was the Second World War and its consequences that accelerated the movement of *ḳawmiyya* and inflated the number of its advocates as well as followers. Wooed by both the Axis powers and Allies on account of the strategic importance of their territories, the Arab countries were encouraged by Britain at one point to strengthen their ties in some form of union. The Arab League, an organisation of sovereign independent Arab states, was the result in 1945.

Whereas the stimulus for *ḳawmiyya* in the First World War was dynastic and non-ideological, in the Second World War and after it became ideological and, purportedly, secular. The leading writer on the question, Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, became the main exponent of a romantic, idealist conception of *ḳawmiyya* in an attempt to exorcise religion from the nationalist idea. Borrowing from Rousseau, Hegel and Mazzini, he promoted the spiritual conception of the nation as a moral and psychological construct, the independent personality of the state as a historical necessity, and nationalism as a pre-existing universal principle borne out by history. He offered nationalism and the sanctity of the "spirit of the nation", the priority of the organic whole that was the nation over the individual, *i.e.* *ḳawmiyya*, as the new faith of the Arab. He proposed loyalty to the Arab Nation as a spiritual and moral obligation for every Arab. In effect, however, Ḥuṣrī superimposed an alien, European conception of the nation on the Islamic *umma*, and made the romantic feeling of *ḳawmiyya* the embodiment of the sanctity of the national personality. Islam was rendered the "national culture" of the Arabs rather than just their religion. It incorporated the real Arab spirit, and at the same time provided a substitute for the old religiously or communally-based identity of the Arab.

Others also wrote in a similar romantic vein in trying to define *ḳawmiyya*. ʿAlāyilī, for instance, emphasised an internal consciousness among the Arabs of their "complete social existence". Al-Bazzāz asserted there was no contradiction between "true nationalism and true religion". In the nineteen-fifties, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Sharāra called *ḳawmiyya* an emotion. The nation, he argued, is a human not a geographical reality. It is a wider concept than the state, the people or the fatherland. The feeling of being an Arab therefore transcends territorial boundaries, particularly since man is "mind, soul, or spirit more than he is body". Michel ʿAflaḳ, the Christian co-founder of the Baath party, declared *ḳawmiyya* "is love above everything else". Its revolutionary variant is a "psychic current"; and the Arab nation therefore constitutes one political, economic and cultural entity, regardless of its existential divisions.

After 1948, the Arab-Israel conflict radicalised and at the same time divided the movement of *ḳawmiyya*. By 1949, old Arab régimes were being overthrown, mass movements with ideological pretensions like the Baath and Nasserism from Egypt proclaimed the inevitability of *wiḥda*, Arab unity. Subsequent parallel events in Iraq and the Sudan in 1958, in the Yemen in 1962, in South Yemen in 1967 and in Libya in 1969, brought fresh adherents to radical *ḳawmiyya*, which became prominent for its opposition to the West and its projection of the economic and social reform of Arab society. While the rejection of and struggle against the state of Israel in the region provided a common foe for *ḳawmiyya*, the radicalisation of its aims by military régimes in several Arab states purporting a new kind of Arab socialism polarised their rulers. For a decade at least (mid-1950s to the mid-1960s), *ḳawmiyya* was re-defined to exclude conservative, reactionary Arab rulers, régimes and societies.

The practical manifestation of a radical *ḳawmiyya* in this period was greater inter-Arab conflict and a struggle for Arab leadership between its protagonists, Egypt, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, new and older Arab states enshrined the Islamic-Arab identity of their nations or peoples in their formal constitutions. A period of inter-Arab subversion and civil war (*e.g.* the Lebanon, 1958; the Yemen, 1962-67) heightened the struggle for the leadership of *ḳawmiyya*. All the same, the traditional divisions beneath the sentiment of Arab nationalism persisted in their tribal, ethnic and communal form, as they erupted in the Yemen and South Yemen, Iraq and the Lebanon.

Nasser failed to integrate the Arab nation by propaganda, revolution or force. Likewise, the Baath party failed to achieve unity or socialism in its home territory of Syria, in Iraq and in Jordan. The Arab socialism of both Nasserism and Baathism as the new expression of *ḳawmiyya* failed to unite the disparate and far-flung parts of the Arab nation; its foremost champion, Nasser of Egypt, suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the *umma*'s arch-enemy, Israel, and ended up a totally-dependent client of the communist Soviet Union.

The disappearance of Nasser from the Arab scene and the concatenation of events leading up to the October 1973 war against Israel, together with the emergence to prominence of very rich though otherwise weak oil-producing Arab states, have all given *ḳawmiyya* a new lease of life but with a different emphasis. Gone are the Pan-Arab illusions of the Baath and the Prussian pretentions of an Egyptian leadership. The solidarity of the Arab nation as constituted in several independent states on the basis of mutual interest, the perception of a common economic-political-cultural threat of a common enemy, Israel, and the prospect of an Arab regional economic bloc to rival that of the industrial West, are now the more prominent and vaunted features of *ḳawmiyya*. A concerted policy against the "other", the "outsider", seems to be its practical expression whenever possible. But since the richest of the Arab states, the financiers of this new edition or version of *ḳawmiyya*, are also socially and politically the most traditional, socialism is no longer the current policy of Arab nationalism. Even if it were, it and *ḳawmiyya* are once again the expressions of the solidarity of the *umma*, the Arab-Islamic nation, whose prospects of power, prestige, dignity and glory will vindicate the righteous and virtuous universalism of the Islamic tradition and heritage. The re-fusion of *ʿurūba* (Arabism) and *dīn* (religion) has been made more effective by the infusion of *māl* (wealth). The use of the latter in the struggle against Israel and Imperialism, and for the restoration of the rights of the Palestinians, is now the quintessence of the solidarity of the Arab nation and of *ḳawmiyya*. The struggle, however, between the latest protagonists of this new version of Arab nationalism for leadership and hegemony will continue; the complex economic, social and communal problems will persist. But the sentiment of *ḳawmiyya* in its latest form will be mobilised in the confronta-

tion with alien intruders in the *umma*'s territory, *e.g.* Israel, foreign exploiters of the Arab nation's wealth and those who seek its political subjugation. Internecine struggles which may foreshadow and cause the annihilation of particular groups, as in the case of the Jordanian crushing of the Palestine guerrillas in 1970-71, or the communal clashes in Lebanon in 1958 and 1975-6, or the ethnic conflict between Kurds and Arabs in Iraq, or the tribal-cum-ideological civil wars in the Yemen, South Yemen and ʿUmān, will persist or occur from time to time; distrust between rulers and subjects or between Arab régimes may not disappear, but the sentiment of *ḳawmiyya* is not a doctrine or ideology that relates to the social, economic or political order of the Arab nation, the rights and duties of its citizens, or the relations between governments and their subjects. Rather it is a psychological need of those who still find it difficult to accept the burden of a corporate loyalty to their respective states when other primordial loyalties exist to project a comforting collective difference from the outside world. It has a soothing modernising effect that glosses over the reality of the fundamental distinction and dichotomy in political behaviour of the Muslim versus the non-Muslim. Minorities subscribe readily to it because it affords them the illusion of a secular political formula, whereas the vast majority of Muslim Arabs, as distinguished from the minority of their Westernised élite spokesmen, hardly give it a thought, for the time being at least—or need it.

Modern media and communications have decidedly enhanced the sharing in the sentiment of *ḳawmiyya* among greater numbers of Arabs, especially those living in urban centres. New financial power may well lead to the kind of co-operative economic endeavour—which has so far eluded the Arabs—that may reduce and finally abolish social, economic and political differences between Arab states and societies, thus inducing an organic integrative unity between them. Like Consul Mackereth forty years ago, however, one must still conclude that there is no doubt of the existence of an Arab movement, *i.e.* *ḳawmiyya*, but there is still considerable doubt regarding its potentialities in the directions suggested here.

Bibliography: M. ʿAflaḳ, *Fī sabīl al-baʿth* ("Towards the Baath"), 1959; ʿA. al-ʿAlāyilī, *Dustūr al-ʿarab al-ḳawmī* ("The Arab national constitution"), 1941; G. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, 1938; ʿA. R. al-Bazzāz, *al-Islām wa 'l ḳawmiyya al-ʿarabiyya* ("Islam and Arab nationalism"), 1952; *On Arab nationalism*, 1965; M. Berger, *The Arab world today*, 1962; J. Berque, *The Arabs: their history and future*, 1964; C. Ernest Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism*, 1973; S. G. Haim (ed.), *Arab Nationalism, an anthology*, 1962; A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*, 1962; Ṣ. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Ārāʾ wa-aḥādīth fi ʾl-ḳawmiyya al-ʿarabiyya* ("Views and Considerations on Arab nationalism"), 1951; E. Kedourie, *Arabic Political Memoirs*, 1974; idem, *England and the Middle East: the destruction of the Ottoman Empire 1914-21*, 1956; idem, *The Chatham House Version*, 1970; M. H. Kerr, *The Arab Cold War*, 1971; M. Khalil, *The Arab states and the Arab League*, 2 vols., 1962; B. Lewis, *The Middle East and the West*, 1964; R. W. MacDonald, *The League of Arab States*, 1968; H. Z. Nuseibeh, *The Ideas of Arab nationalism*, 1956; N. Rejwan, *Nasserist Ideology*, 1974; A. Saʿīd, *al-Thawra al-ʿarabiyya al-kubrā* ("The Great Arab Revolt"), 1934; A. Ṣāyigh, *al-Fikra al-ʿarabiyya fī Miṣr* ("The Arab Idea in Egypt"), 1959; H. Sharabi, *Nationalism and revolution in the Arab world* (1966); ʿA. L. Sharāra, *Fī 'l-ḳawmiyya al-ʿarabiyya* ("On Arab nationalism"), (1957); W. C. Smith, *Islam in modern history*, 1957; H. Tütsch, *Facets of Arab Nationalism*, 1965; P. J. Vatikiotis, *Conflict in the Middle East*, 1971; Z. N. Zeine, *Arab-Turkish relations and the emergence of Arab nationalism*, 1958; *The struggle for Arab independence*, 1960; C. Zurayḳ, *al-Waʿī al-ḳawmī* ("National Consciousness"), 1949. (P. J. VATIKIOTIS)

ii. IN THE MAGHRIB.

In the Maghrib the term *Ḳawmiyya* occurs as a plural of *ḳawmī* (goumi, "goumier"), a member of a *ḳawm* (goum), to mean a contingent of cavalry levied from a tribe (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), a practice continued by the French. In the sense of nationalism, nationality, its use has been affected by the common employment of French as the language of politics. This gives "nationalisme" as a term in place of both *ḳawmiyya* and *waṭaniyya*, whose translation as "patriotisme" tends to be reserved for an earlier, more traditional sentiment (cf. Ch.-A. Julien, Avant-propos to B. Slama, *L'Insurrection de 1864 en Tunisie*, Tunis 1967, ix). On the other hand, in Morocco the nationalist party *al-Ḥaraka al-ḳawmiyya* founded by el-Ouezzani (al-Wazzānī) in 1937 is translated as "Le Mouvement populaire" to maintain the distinction from its rival, *al-Ḥizb al-waṭanī* (or *Ḥizb al-Waṭaniyyīn*), "the 'nationalist' party", founded by Allal el Fassi (ʿAllāl al-Fāsī) (R. Le Tourneau, *Evolution politique de l'Afrique du Nord musulmane, 1920-1961*, Paris 1962, 209-10). The specific distinction achieved here in Arabic, however, is indicative of a more fundamental distinction between the two terms, which might be represented as the familiar distinction between Arab nationalism as the nationalism of a people without a national state, and the nationalism of each Arab country. It must nevertheless be seen in its North African context. In Tunisia and Morocco it has been fairly straightforward: both these countries could claim to exist independently of France. In Algeria on the other hand, the country and the nationality of its peoples were both French. Instead there was discrimination on the grounds of religion. The Senatus Consulte of 14 July 1865 decreed that Algerian Muslims (and, until the Décret Crémieux of 1870, Algerian Jews) should be French subjects and therefore of French nationality, but, because of the religious law under which they lived, not French citizens unless and until they renounced that law for the French civil code. The distinction thus made for the Muslim population on the basis of its Islam became the starting-point not only for a separate treatment but also for an attitude on the part of the European population, which by 1900 considered "nationalisme musulman" the equivalent of "Islamisme" and even of "cléricalisme" (Ch.-R. Ageron, *Les Algériens musulmans et la France, 1871-1919*, Paris 1968, 918-20). That this should be considered nationalism at all was seen by Ferhat Abbas (Farhat ʿAbbās) in the 1930s as an obstacle to the political and economic emancipation of the indigène in a French society (Ch.-A. Julien, *L'Afrique du Nord en marche*, 3rd ed., Paris 1972, 99-100). At the same time, however, it was elevated to the dignity of nationhood under the name of *ḳawmiyya* in the writings of Ben Badis (Ibn Bādīs [*q.v.*]), the leader of the *Salafiyya* in

Algeria between the two world wars, drawing upon the thought of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and the ideas of Arab nationalism represented by S̲h̲akīb Arslān. For Ben Badis the Muslim population of Algeria was distinguished by its *ḳawmiyya*, its "national identity", based upon Islam but including equally the Arabic language and the Algerian homeland. This gave rise to a *d̲j̲insiyya ḳawmiyya*, an "ethnic nationality" to be distinguished from the *d̲j̲insiyya siyāsiyya*, the "political nationality" of France (A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940*, Paris and the Hague 1967, 396-9). The active expression of this national identity was nationalism under the name of *waṭaniyya*, "patriotism", a sentiment never extinct (cf. Ageron, *Les Algériens musulmans*, 920-2), now on a par with the *waṭaniyya*, the nationalism, of Algeria's neighbours. This formula, adopted in principle by Messali Hadjdj, ultimately became that of the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) (cf., *e.g.* M. M. al-D̲j̲azāʾirī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-D̲j̲azāʾir*, Jerusalem n.d., 453), being developed in the sense of the New Left in the French writings of Frantz Fanon (cf., *e.g. L'An cinq de la révolution algérienne*, Paris 1959, trans. *A Dying Colonialism*, London 1970). Since the independence of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia it has survived into the argument over historical and cultural identity (cf., *e.g.* G. Ayache, *Le sentiment national dans le Maroc au XIXe siècle*, in *Revue Historique*, ccxl (Oct.-Dec. 1968), 393-410; M. Lacheraf, *L'Algérie, nation et société*, Paris 1965; Y. Lacoste, A. Nouschi and A. Prenant, *L'Algérie, passé et présent*, Paris 1960; M. Sahli, *Décoloniser l'histoire*, Paris 1965; also J. Berque, *Le Maghreb entre deux guerres*, 2nd ed., Paris 1970, 421-48, with references). On the one hand *ḳawmiyya* refers to the Arab nation at large, when it is both the condition and the activity of the people; on the other hand, it is defined with reference to the nation states into which the nation at large is divided. The ambiguity appears in the expression *wād̲j̲ib ḳawmī*, "national duty", employed by R. Bounar (*El-Maghrib el-Arabi*, Algiers 1968, Introduction), for the task of writing a cultural history of Algeria which in the event could only be accomplished with reference to the Mag̲h̲rib as a whole, the Arabs and Islam. For the adjective *ḳawmī*, the commonest form, the result is a meaning of "national" in the cultural rather than the political sense, in which *waṭanī* is more appropriate (cf., *e.g.* ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, *Ḥadīt̲h̲ al-mag̲h̲rib fi 'l-mas̲h̲riḳ*, Cairo, 1956, 199: *(al-)rūḥ (al-)ḳawmiyya*, "(the) national spirit"; *ibid.*, 200: *al-ḥuḳūḳ al-waṭaniyya*, "the nationalist claims"; al-ʿAlawī, *al-Anwār al-ḥasaniyya*, al-Muḥammadiyya 1966, Preface, 3: *al-turāt̲h̲ al-ḳawmī*, "the national heritage"; *al-Ḥabīb Bū Ruḳayba; ḥayātuhu, d̲j̲ihāduhu*, Tunis 1966, 47: *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya*, "the nationalist movement").

Bibliography: In the article. (M. Brett)

iii. In Persia.

Ideas of political nationality, of the territorial and ethnic nation and of nationalism, either as a consciousness, on the part of individuals or groups, of membership in a nation or a desire to forward the strength, liberty or prosperity of a nation, were introduced into Persia in the 19th century as a result of Western European influence. Prior to this there was no precise equivalent in Persian for the terms "nation", "nationality", "nationalism" and "nationalist". Various words were used for "people" and the group or community, but none conveyed exactly the sense of nation. One of the earliest was *umma* (now obsolete). The members of the *umma* had a common government and were found in a more or less defined territory, and between its members there was a certain closeness of contact, community of interest, and a sense that they possessed a distinct identity and common history; but what distinguished them from other communities or nations was not these things but religion. The conception of the people as the *umma* was succeeded by that of the *raʿiyyat*, "the flock", *i.e.* the subjects, and what distinguished them from other "flocks" was the person of their "shepherd" or ruler. *Ḳawm* and *ṭāʾifa* both implied a certain closeness of contact between the members of the group so described—a common language, common interests and a certain degree of common feeling and will—but neither was necessarily found in a more or less defined territory, or united by the idea of being subjects of a common government; both terms sometimes had tribal implications. *Waṭan* in early usage meant simply the locality from which a person came and among the mystics in mediaeval times it was used in the sense of "the heavenly kingdom". (Cf. a passage in the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā* of Ibn Bazzāz, completed in or about 759/1358, in which the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲* was asked about the phrase in the Traditions *ḥubb al-waṭan min al-īmān*, "Love for the homeland is an article of faith". "The infidel, for example," his questioners said, "loves his country, which is Europe. How, in such case, can 'love for the homeland' be an article of faith?" The *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲* replied that the word *waṭan* in the phrase quoted from the traditions, referred to a heavenly kingdom not to a geographical area. British Museum, Ms. Add. 11745, p. 289.) In modern times *waṭan* means exclusively fatherland or motherland, in which sense it is synonymous with *mīhan*. *Niz̲h̲ād* merely defined race, not nationality, and in modern times the compound *niz̲h̲ād-parastī* is used in a pejorative sense to mean racialism; *ahl* (and its plural *ahālī*), "people", meant those dwelling in a defined area but not specifically a nation, though *ahliyyat* is used in modern legal language to mean nationality. Lastly there is the term *millat*, which was first used with reference to a religious group or community, and later people, and finally, in the 19th and 20th centuries, came to be used to denote a political nation (cf. *d̲j̲āmiʿa-i milal*, "League of Nations", and *milal-i muttafiḳ*, "United Nations"). The term, however, is not entirely free from certain ambiguities. In colloquial Persian *millat* also means "the people" (*i.e.* the lower classes); this presumably is connected with the late 19th- and 20th-century use of *millī* to mean "popular", in phrases such as *ḥukūmat-i millī*, "popular government", and *d̲j̲abha-i millī*, "Popular Front". It also, however, means "private" as opposed to "governmental", but in contemporary Persian *millī kardan* means "to nationalise". The supporters of the Persian constitutional revolution were known as *millīyūn*, "nationalists" (*i.e.* those who supported "popular" government). The term, however, was not generally applied to nationalists outside Persia and is now virtually obsolete. *Milliyyat* was used by Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Sipahsālār Mus̲h̲īr al-Dawla in the second half of the 19th century to mean "nationalism", which he alleged had been brought into existence by the French Revolution (see F. Ādamiyyat, *Fikr-i Āzādī*, Tehran 1961, 60), but it did not achieve widespread currency in this sense and normally means nationality.

Although there was no term to express nationality in the early centuries or in mediaeval times, there was a concept which did imply a consciousness of

distinct identity, defined historically and geographically, which can be described by the modern term *īrāniyyat*, "being a Persian". This was associated with and experienced in a sharing of a common cultural and literary background. It did not imply a consciousness of political nationality or a territorial and ethnic nation, although it carried with it the memory of the old Persian empire. This memory, after the decline of the S̲h̲uʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], was kept alive by the poets, but in the course of transmission the details became blurred and historical accuracy was lost, legend triumphing over history. The literary tradition expressed in and through New Persian, the emergence of which as a literary language had been one of the achievements of the S̲h̲uʿūbiyya movement, in no small measure held together the Persian people during long years of political decay. It constituted a common bond and kept alive their common feeling and pride in their heritage. Linguistic frontiers, however, did not coincide with ethnic frontiers. Arabic continued to hold an immensely important place as the language of religion, and large numbers of those within the geographical frontiers of Persia spoke Turkish, Kurdish, or some local dialect.

Under Muslim government Persia became part of a wider world in which Islam was the bond. Under the ʿAbbāsids the concept of the universal empire was revived, but in a new guise. So far as an identity was recognised, it was the world of Islam. With the fragmentation of the caliphate, the minor dynasties did not foster the rise of national feeling since they were hostile to the centralisation of government. Slave armies, too, were a bar to the growth of national feeling. Even where political organisations had a wider scope, as they did under the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, Mongols and Tīmūrids, they meant little to their subjects, and the nomadic tradition of their leaders constituted a new obstacle to the development of national feeling. There was thus little opportunity in mediaeval Persia for the development of nationalism based on a more or less defined territory, inhabited by a group of persons in close contact with each other, inspired by the idea of a common government, holding certain interests in common, and possessing a certain degree of common feeling and common characteristics. On the whole, government had been "unrighteous" and so far as aspirations of future good government united the people these were of messianic and universalist not nationalist character. As for common interests, these too, so far as they transcended the craft, the quarter or the tribe, tended to be religious, while as for common characteristics, the reality was that there was more to divide than to unite. First there were ethnic differences, which did not coincide with territorial or provincial boundaries: the dichotomy between Arab and ʿAd̲j̲am (non-Arab), which had prevailed in the early centuries had been succeeded by that between Turk and Tād̲j̲īk (non-Turk); secondly there were religious and sectarian differences, between Muslims and non-Muslims and between Sunnīs and S̲h̲īʿīs; thirdly there was a separation between the settled population and the semi-settled, the rural population and the townspeople, the military classes and the rest. These lines of cleavage, so far as they were not religious, were social and economic, not political. The nearest approach to political difference was, perhaps, to be found in the intellectual field, between those who were influenced by the old Persian theory of state as against those who subscribed to Islamic conceptions. But even in this field the position was not clear-cut. After the Islamic conquest the former ruling classes, so far as they were not wiped out, were converted to Islam and many of them entered the bureaucracy and served the new rulers (a pattern to be repeated after later conquests). The desire to get rid of alien rule was, therefore, if not absent, at least weaker than might otherwise have been the case.

With the rise of the Ṣafawids in the 10th/16th century, Persia emerged for the first time since the Islamic conquest as a territorial state. A sense of separateness from the rest of the Islamic world and of national unity vis-à-vis the Ottoman empire was deliberately fostered by the adoption of It̲h̲nā ʿAs̲h̲arī S̲h̲īʿism as the official religion. The conflict between the two empires was nevertheless largely expressed in terms of religion: in terms of Sunnī-S̲h̲īʿī strife rather than of Turko-Persian hostility. What was new was the broad territorial segregation of the two sects, which was not, however, paralleled by a separation of ethnic groups. Under the Ṣafawids, S̲h̲īʿism, which had earlier largely been the refuge of the dispossessed and under-privileged, became the banner of Persian nationalism; but since for the S̲h̲īʿa the true king was the Hidden Imām, and temporal rulers, so far as they were "unrighteous", were usurpers, this nationalism could not easily be associated with the concept of political nationality. The attitude of the S̲h̲īʿa towards the government was thus ambivalent and opposition movements tended to be of a messianic nature. Popular S̲h̲īʿism however retained some of its former functions: the Muḥarram plays still offered the people an outlet into which they could project their own sufferings. Although the Ṣafawid period to some extent paved the way for the rise of political nationalism, it was not until the late 19th century that patriotism began to be separated from religious sentiment and national loyalties began to take the place of the older religious loyalties.

By the turn of the 18th century, British progress in India had begun to give rise, in some circles, to apprehension lest British commercial activity in Persia might lead to political domination (cf. Rustam al-Ḥukamā, *Rustam al-Tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. Muḥammad Mus̲h̲īrī, Tehran 1969, 383, 385). At the same time, unfavourable comparisons began to be drawn between conditions in Persia and those in other countries (cf. *ibid.*, 395). By the second decade of the 19th century the danger of foreign domination was clear for all to see, and the intrusion of western European countries and Russia was intuitively felt as a threat to Muslims and the lands of Islam. As in Turkey, modernisation began in response to military pressure. The Russian advance in the war temporarily concluded by the Peace of Gulistān (1813) brought home to the Persian government that the Persian army could not withstand Russian attack unless it was modernised (though none of the subsequent attempts at modernisation were pushed with vigour or persistence). Nationalism, patriotism and modernism in Persia thus became closely interwoven.

Meanwhile, government officials who visited foreign countries as representatives of the government, merchants, and others who travelled abroad began to ask the reasons for Persia's backwardness. Some came to the conclusion that this was due to a lack of justice and orderly administration, and that it was respect for law which guaranteed the modernism and progress of western Europe. As these opinions spread among a wider circle, a movement of protest against corruption and injustice gradually developed. This movement, which took its inspiration from the example of western Europe, had overtones of

patriotism and nationalism, but it was not, in the beginning, anti-foreign, though it was to become so later partly as a result of the events connected with the Tobacco Régie and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's attempts to bolster up the finances of the country by the grant of concessions and the contraction of loans. As the movement became anti-foreign, so its Islamic colouring became more marked—patriotism was still largely a religious sentiment. Nevertheless, so far as it was a protest against bad government and demanded as a remedy administrative reform, it was modernist and its supporters were nationalists in the sense that they aimed at some measure of self-government or government by the people, though they saw this primarily in terms of restrictions on the arbitrary power of the shah and not in the exercise of responsible power by elected representatives of the people.

In 1811 ʿAbbās Mīrzā sent two students to England "to study whatever would be beneficial for him and his country". Five more were sent in 1815 to study engineering, medicine, artillery, mathematics and natural sciences. Two of these attained to high office: one, Mīrzā Djaʿfar Mushīr al-Dawla, who studied engineering, became head of the council of state set up by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, and the other, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī, who studied English, French, Latin, natural sciences, history and printing, became official translator to the government and subsequently a minister. He wrote a diary in which he described British parliamentary government and institutions (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Ismāʿīl Rāʾin, Tehran 1969-70) and appears to have had a great admiration for freedom and liberty as he saw it in England. He also visited Russia and Turkey. Writing of the *tanẓīmāt*, he castigates obscurantist *mullās* who opposed them. Abu'l Ḥasan Shīrāzī, who was sent to England by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, wrote in his *Ḥayrat-nāma* of the justice and security prevailing in England, and compared conditions in his own country in unfavourable terms with what he had seen in England. Khusraw Mīrzā, the son of ʿAbbās Mīrzā, who was sent with a mission to Russia in 1829 to apologise for the murder of the Russian envoy Grebaiedov in the previous year by a fanatical mob, wrote in his diary, "It would be a pity if when we see with our own eyes the progress and order which our neighbour has achieved in a short time, we should not think [how we could achieve similar progress], but go about with our eyes closed in foreign parts." (See further, *Fikr-i Āzādī*, *op. cit.*, 21 ff.). Another Persian to describe in his diary British parliamentary institutions was Mīrzā Khānlar Khān Iʿtiṣām al-Mulk, who went as a secretary to the Persian mission in England in 1864-5 (see *Dimukrāsī-i Inglistān* in *Sukhan*, ii/2 (Bahman 1323/1944), 96-104).

It was not, however, until the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh that modernism and nationalism began to make strides. The Amīr Niẓām Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Amīr Kabīr, his first *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, who had visited both Russia and the Ottoman Empire, initiated various military, financial and administrative measures designed to strengthen the power of the central government. He founded the *Dār al-Funūn*, which was the first school to teach modern sciences, in order to train officials for the new army and the new bureaucracy. He also attempted to decrease the power of the religious classes. His reforms proved largely abortive. More important in the spread of modern ideas was Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Sipahsālār Mushīr al-Dawla. He studied in France, and served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bombay, Tiflis, and Istanbul. From 1871 he held various ministries in Tehran including that of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* for some three years from December 1871. His letters from Turkey discuss European politics, freedom movements in the Ottoman Empire, the spread of education and civilization in Europe, and governmental reform in Persia. He considered an assembly composed of representatives of the people, freedom, the rights of the individual and equality before the law prerequisites for life in the modern world. Writing of the Greek rebellion, whose nationalist nature he recognised, he wrote, "The nationalist principle established by the French empire that every nation should be governed by its own people and not be a prisoner to the government of another people has spread to these parts" (*Fikr-i Āzādī*, *op. cit.*, 60). In another letter he wrote that foreign states measured a nation's progress, education and power (*istiʿdād*) by four things: (i) the existence or otherwise of a well-ordered press carrying full reports of foreign and internal news; (ii) its encouragement of crafts, industries and trade; (iii) the quality of its foreign representation; and (iv) its possession of a powerful, disciplined army equipped with modern weapons able to defend the country against any eventuality (*ibid.*, 69). He believed that the backwardness of a country brought about foreign intervention, and both he and Amīr Kabīr in their advocacy of modernisation were concerned to prevent foreign intervention. But they were in a difficulty: modernisation was, in existing circumstances, hardly possible without foreign capital and expertise. This, indeed, was the justification of the abortive Reuter concession (see Maḥmūd Farhād Muʿtamid, *Sipahsālār-i Aʿẓam*, Tehran 1947, 151 ff.). There was at the same time another and contrary trend, also inspired by a kind of nationalism, which was opposed to modernisation. Many believed that development would involve foreign influence and that as long as the country's resources were not developed Persia would be left to manage her own affairs. The attitude to the spread of communications was also ambivalent because of a fear that it might facilitate external attack.

Among those who were associated, or in contact, with Ḥusayn Khān and who played an important part in fostering the demand for modernisation were Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dawla, Madjd al-Mulk Sīnakī, Malkam Khān, and (through him) Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī [*q.v.*], and Mīrzā Aḳā Khān Kirmānī. They were concerned both to forward the strength, liberty and prosperity of Persia and to ensure that the people had a greater share in the government of the country. Madjd al-Mulk in his *Risāla-i madjdiyya*, written in 1871-2, attacking the negligence of the shah and the state of the administration, states that the power of great nations was based on the people (ed., Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1941-2, 11), and demands an assembly to assure the prosperity and order of the kingdom (37). Mustashār al-Dawla, who became chargé d'affaires of the Persian legation in Paris in 1866-7, and also visited London during the three years he spent in Paris, wrote in 1888-9 to Muẓaffar al-Dīn, then *walī ʿahd*, stating that Persia could only escape disaster by the promulgation of reforms and new laws; only this would enable her to regain respect among civilized nations. In his essay *Yak kalima*, which achieved wide circulation, he describes the strong and orderly military administration, prosperity, wealth, industry, education, security and freedom prevailing in France and England. He cites the old

Islamic tag, "No government (*sulṭān*) without wealth (*māl*), no wealth without development (*ʿimārat*), and no development without justice", and asks why Persia was so backward in spite of the fact that Islam was based on justice. His conclusion is that the secret of European progress was the supremacy of the law and that this was lacking in Persia. He then discusses the French constitution and the benefits deriving from it, and finally argues that whereas the *sharīʿa* of Islam had been forgotten by the Muslims in their political conduct, the rights of man guaranteed by the French constitution were, in effect, the very rights which any Muslim should enjoy (Tabrīz 1907, reprinted in Rasht 1909).

In the latter years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, disgust at the abuse of power by the ruling class and the obscurantism of sections of the religious classes spread and the reaction to Persia's humiliations at the hands of European powers grew (though this was not to be a major factor in Persian nationalism until after the grant of the constitution). Unfavourable comparisons were increasingly drawn between Persia and Western European states while a small minority questioned the exercise of unfettered power by the shah. Many believed that Western Europe held the secret of progress (though few had any very clear idea of what this might be); they hoped that the adoption of western systems of government would both secure this "secret" and ensure reform and thus enable Persia to resist the encroachment of foreign powers, which the corruption of its government was facilitating. Malkam Khān = Nāẓim al-Dawla, a Persian Armenian from Djulfā (Iṣfahān), educated in Paris and minister in London from 1872 to 1889, was the great exponent of this point of view. His writings, influenced by John Stuart Mill and Mirabeau, became more radical as time passed. In tracts and essays and in the Persian paper *Ḳānūn*, which he founded and edited in London in 1890, he inveighs against internal disorder, corruption and despotism and the external pressure exerted on Persia "from St. Petersburg and Calcutta". The only answer to these evils in his view was technical progress, and administrative and constitutional reform (which he was at pains to show were not contrary to the *sharīʿa*). At first Malkam Khān appears to have believed that reform "from above" was possible. He presented an early essay, *Kitābča-i ghaybī*, probably written between 1859 and 1860 in imitation of the Turkish *tanẓīmāt*, to Mīrzā Djaʿfar Mushīr al-Dawla (who, as stated above, had been one of the first students to be sent abroad by the government) and urged him, as an elder statesman and because of his knowledge of foreign countries, to show it to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and explain the truth to him. He goes on to assert that the Persian state was down-trodden by neighbouring states and afflicted by various miseries, especially corruption. He warns that conditions in the outside world would not remain static: the Indian Mutiny would not go on for ever and Russia would not always remain preoccupied with the injuries she had suffered in Europe: claimants to the Persian provinces would arise. Two waves, one from St. Petersburg and the other from Calcutta, were advancing on Persia. Ministers, Malkam Khān alleges, considered the antiquity of Persia to be a protection against all calamities: however much they were warned that the advancing waves would submerge them, they would say, "we have been thus for 3,000 years and we shall survive this flood also". But, Malkam Khān points out, conditions had changed: Persia could no longer withstand the power of neighbouring states. Europe had made important technical advances of which Persia had no conception and great progress especially in financial administration, while Persia lagged hopelessly behind. He then sets out his ideas for reform based on a separation of legislative and executive powers (*Madjmūʿa-i āthār-i Malkam Khān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Tehran 1948-9, 1 ff.).

In another essay, *Dastgāh-i dīwān*, devoted mainly to the need for financial reform, Malkam Khān warns his readers of the fate of Turkey and states that "The Persian government in the face of the encroachment of foreign conquest was in no way different from the Ottoman government. Protection of the Christians was a secondary problem: the essential problem was that the ebullience of European power had made impossible the survival of uncivilised states" (*ibid.*, 74 ff.). In a later essay entitled *Tanẓīm-i lashkar wa madjlis-i idāra yā intiẓām-i lashkar wa madjlis-i tanẓīmāt*, Malkam shows himself to be one of the few writers who realised that reform of one branch of the administration could not be carried out in isolation. He pours scorn on the idea that it would be possible to have a European arsenal without a European tax administration and reiterates the need for a government based on law (*ibid.*, 98 ff.). By the time of the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh the threat to Persian independence was seen by Malkam to be increasingly serious, and he appealed to all, whether Persians, Ādharbāydjānīs, Kurds or Afghāns, to sink their differences and unite to base the rule of the shah on a new unity (*ibid.*, 182 ff.). In an essay entitled *The call to justice*, presented to Muẓaffar al-Dīn in 1905, Malkam Khān again warns of the threat to Persian independence posed by the progressive states of the world and urges the establishment of a legislative assembly, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. Distinguishing between freedom and licence, he seeks to interpret freedom in terms of the Islamic principle of "enjoining the good and forbidding evil" (*ibid.*, 194 ff.).

Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī (1853-87), who spent a great part of his life in Istanbul, was influenced, among others, by Rousseau and Montesquieu. He uncompromisingly rejected Islam and saw Mazdak as the prototype of European socialists, anarchists, nihilists, and communists (*Sih Maktūb*, quoted by F. Ādamiyyat, *Andīshahā-yi Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī*, Tehran 1967, 238). Like Malkam Khān he regarded the adoption of Western sciences, industry, and political structures as a fundamental condition to progress. He held that the Persian people must forget their past and lay completely new foundations for their national life if they wished to retain their independence and enjoy power and respect in the world. Pointing to the example of the Caucasus, which had been lost to Russia, India, "which was held prisoner by five thousand English soldiers", and Turkey, "which was forced to submit to the slightest whim of the English ambassador", Mīrzā Āḳā Khān warned that Persia would be made into a colony if she failed to advance in knowledge or to develop her own resources. "Today", he wrote, "we, the subjects of Persia (*raʿiyyat-i Īrān*), are trampled underfoot by internal tyrants and criticised, blamed and despised by foreign governments and civilised peoples. Tomorrow we shall be trampled on by the hoofs of the transport animals of their military forces and captives of their soldiers and armies" (*Ṣad khaṭāba*, quoted by F. Ādamiyyat, *op. cit.*, 229-30). While he was in favour of the adoption of European learning

and technical skills, he condemned the aggression of European powers against other nations (*Hasht bihisht*, quoted by F. Ādamiyyat, *op. cit.*, 231-2). He, like Malkam Khān, aimed at a national awakening and advocated modernisation in order to stem the encroachment both of foreign powers against the national frontiers and of the shah and his government against the freedom of the people. Influenced by earlier writers, especially Djalāl al-Dīn Mīrzā-yi Ḳādjār and Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhundzāda (Akhundov), who, although he spent the greater part of his life in the Caucasus in the service of the Russian government, was an ardent Persian patriot, the nationalism of Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī looks back to pre-Islamic Persia, and tendencies towards anti-Arabism as well as anti-Semitism in general are to be found in his works (see further F. Ādamiyyat, *op. cit.*, 252 ff.).

The themes of Malkam Khān and Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī were taken up by others, including Mīrzā Āḳā Furṣat Shīrāzī, who in a series of essays describes freedom, equality and knowledge as the key to progress and attributes the miserable condition of Persia, which he compares unfavourably with India, to ignorance and despotism (*Maḳallāt-i ʿilmī wa siyāsī*, Bombay 1904-5, ii, Tehran 1907-8), Malik al-Mutakallimīn, who emphasises the need to develop Persia's resources and, pointing to the example of Japan, advocates the establishment of factories (see M. Malikzāda, *Zindagānī-i Malik al-Mutakallimīn*, Tehran 1946, 91 ff.), and Persians living in the borderlands such as Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Nadjdjārzāda (Talibov) in his *Masālik al-Muḥsinīn*, and Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Marāgha'ī in his *Safar-nāma-i Ibrāhīm Beg*. All of these made a significant contribution to the intellectual ferment culminating in the movement for constitutional reform in the early years of the 19th century (on the nature of this movement see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian constitutional revolution of 1905-6*, in *Revolution in the Middle East*, ed. P. J. Vatikiotis, London 1972, 173-84. See also DJAMʿIYYA, Persia and DUSTŪR, Īrān).

Those who prepared the way for the constitutional revolution were drawn largely from the upper ranks of the bureaucracy, the religious classes and the merchants. As the movement spread, it became articulated largely in a demand for "equality" and "liberty", neither of which was defined in legal terms. Both were seen broadly as freedom from tyranny and envisaged by the majority within a temporal framework designed to permit the unhindered operation of the Islamic ethic and the living of the good life in accordance with the sacred law. The underlying intention was to seek to ensure justice and to limit extortion. The shah's neglect of abstract principles of justice was felt to have led to an impoverishment of the people and a growth of foreign influence and intervention in the affairs of the country. Largely for this reason the movement became a nationalist movement in that it was a demand by the people for a greater share in the government of the country and a protest against the placing of the material resources of the country under the control of foreigners (which, in view of the interpretation placed on freedom, was inevitably seen as an attack as much on Islam as on Persia).

There was, however, a paradox: both sides looked to foreigners: the constitutionalists to Britain (though the 1907 convention with Russia was a great surprise and disappointment to them), and the reactionaries to Russia, with the ruling classes of which they felt, perhaps, a greater affinity than with the mass of the Persian people. Although the support which the reactionary party and Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā as *walī ʿahd* and later as shah received from Russia in their attempts to frustrate the efforts of the constitutionalists inevitably gave an anti-Russian aspect to the constitutional movement, it was predominantly a "popular" rather than an anti-foreign movement. Among the *andjumans*, the popular political societies, it developed as a movement of resistance to oppression and a demand for the right of the people to manage their own affairs (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *Secret societies and the Persian revolution of 1905-6*, in *St. Antony's Papers, No. 4, Middle Eastern Affairs No. 1*, London 1958 and *The political rôle of the anjumans 1906-11*, in *St. Antony's Papers, No. 16, Middle Eastern Affairs No. 3*, London 1963). The bond which united them was not a concept of territorial or ethnic nationality or memory of "good" government but rather Islam: the true king was, for them, the Hidden Imām.

With the humiliations suffered by Persia after the suspension of the constitution in 1911 and the disorder prevailing during the Great War, there was a swing away from "popular" nationalism towards nationalism coupled with anti-imperialism and socialism and also "romantic" nationalism. Abu 'l Ḳāsim ʿĀrif (d. 1934), the poet of the constitutional revolution, extolled patriotism and freedom, but Adīb Pīshāwarī (1844-1930), who had been one of the first poets to write in praise of patriotism and nationalism, wrote increasingly against anti-imperialism, while Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Farrukhī (1888-1939) linked patriotism with socialism. In general poets and writers turned increasingly towards a glorification of pre-Islamic Persia. A literary movement to deepen national thought and pride (in stimulating which the writings of orientalists played a considerable part), began in Berlin, where a number of Persians had taken refuge during the 1914-18 war and founded a literary magazine, significantly called *Kāwa* after the legendary blacksmith [see KĀWAH]. ʿIshḳī (1893-1924), Pūr Dā'ūd (1889-1969) and others reminded their readers of the spirit of ancient Persia. Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Djamālzāda (born *circa* 1895), at one time co-editor of *Kāwa* with Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳīzāda (d. 1969), and others wrote essays extolling the Persian past; and Aḥmad Kasrawī (1888-1945) published a large number of political and religious tracts of a nationalist and anti-Islamic nature (see further B. Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964).

During the war of 1914-18 and in the years immediately afterwards, there were uprisings of a quasi-nationalist nature led by Mīrzā Kūčik Khān in Gīlān (1915-20), Khiyābānī in Ādharbāydjān (1920), and Muḥammad Taḳī Khān in Khurāsān (1921), but none of them was nationalist in the wider sense or spread to the whole of the country. After the coup d'état in 1921, power was concentrated in the hands of Riḍā Khān, who proceeded to build up the armed forces. By 1925 he had reasserted the authority of the central government over most of the country and on 31 October of that year he assumed the crown. Measures were also taken to restore Persia's position vis-à-vis foreign powers and to limit their intervention in Persian affairs. The capitulations were abolished in 1926 [see IMTIYĀZĀT]. Determined to make Persia a modern state, Riḍā Shāh pressed forward industrial expansion and economic development and extended the scope of government. Requiring more funds to finance these developments, he turned to

the oil industry to satisfy his need. The post-war depression had brought down oil prices and with them royalty payments. In 1932 the Anglo-Persian Oil Company concession was denounced and a new agreement was negotiated in 1933 under which royalty payments were increased. Islam was deliberately weakened, and westernisation forced. The memory of pre-Islamic Persia was fostered. The traditional provincial names were replaced by numbers as a device to efface "the memory of the historic provinces with their persistent traditions of diversity and autonomy" and to create unity and uniformity. An attempt was also made to "purify" Persian of Arabic words and weaken the memory of her cultural debt to the Islamic empires of the past. In the beginning Riḍā S̲h̲āh's nationalism was influenced by the example of Turkey, which he visited in 1934. Later, however, he turned rather to the model of the dictatorial régimes of Western Europe, especially Hitlerite Germany. The new nationalism, which developed during his reign, appealed mainly to the military leaders, who found the ideal of the self-sufficient police state seductive, those intellectuals who provided the personnel of the bureaucracy, the younger generation brought up in the new schools, and those merchants who benefitted from his commercial policy, and was very different from the nationalism of the constitutional period (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The impact of the West on Persia*, in *International Affairs*, xxxiii/1 (Jan. 1957), 21 ff.).

In 1941 Riḍā S̲h̲āh abdicated as a result of events connected with World War II. In the ensuing years Persia suffered new humiliations. Foreign troops were stationed in the country. Their presence did not technically constitute a military occupation, but Russian troops in the north and north-west prevented orderly administration by the Persian government and did not evacuate the country after the conclusion of the hostilities until recourse was had to the United Nations. There was once more a feeling that national unity was menaced, and coupled with this there was a growing sense of frustration at the failure of successive governments to undertake reform. A feeling of revolt against the "establishment" grew. Various groups, at one extreme the Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām [*q.v.*] and at the other the Tūda Party (who were communist-inspired), were active. Their common desire was for power and control over the sources of national wealth, but their positive policies were less clearly defined, and in any case sometimes in conflict. Finally, under the leadership of Dr. Muṣaddiḳ cohesion was given to the discontent. The movement of protest was focussed on the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and was transformed into a campaign for liberation from supposed foreign domination. Nationalisation of the oil industry (achieved in 1951) became the immediate goal. With the alliance of Dr. Muṣaddiḳ and the religious leader Sayyid Abu'l Ḳāsim Kās̲h̲ānī, who interpreted the protest movement in terms of Islam, it spread throughout the country as a popular movement for the defence not only of Persia but also of Islam. After the reassertion of the monarchy following the overthrow of Dr. Muṣaddiḳ by a military coup d'état in 1953, "popular" nationalism once more declined to be replaced in due course by a new self-styled "positive" nationalism imposed from above, one of the manifestations of which was the celebration in 1971, after several years of planning, of what was regarded as the 2500th anniversary of the foundation of the Persian monarchy by Cyrus (see further IRAN, History; ḤIZB, Persia; and also J. M. Upton, *The history of modern Iran, an interpretation*, Cambridge Mass. 1960).

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(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

iv. IN OTTOMAN TURKEY.

This word was used in Ottoman Turkish to express the new idea of nationalism which originated in Central and Eastern Europe during the 19th century. This new nationalism was not the older patriotism of Western Europe founded in a citizen's loyalty to his country, his state and its mode of government and in which a degree of individual liberty was usually involved. It was anethnic, linguistic, and sometimes cultural nationalism, romantic and subjective in its appeal, and often illiberal. When it reached the Ottoman Empire this brand of nationalism quickly vitalised the independent ambitions of the non-Muslim religious communities (*millets*), and more slowly those of the non-Turkish Muslims.

The Ottoman Turks were not much affected by this new form of nationalism for two interconnected reasons. In the first place, the Turks of the Empire, despite a vigorous flowering of Turkish "national" self-consciousness in the 9th/15th century, had subsequently submerged themselves in Islam and assumed the responsibility for the expansion and maintenance of the Islamic community. The new nationalism could not easily strike a responsive chord amongst them. Secondly, the Ottoman Turks had previously been exposed to Western European patriotism, which had a greater appeal since it did not create ethnic or linguistic impediments to continued Ottoman unity and strength. To express the notion of *patrie* the Ottoman Turks used the words *waṭan* and *millet*. By the mid-19th century, *waṭan*, meaning in former usage one's home, village, town, or region, fully developed the meaning of *patrie*, and was much in use in the Turkish press. The word *millet* was also used to denote the *patrie* of the Ottoman Empire, but with revealing confusion, it was also employed to mean the Islamic community. Not without significance, perhaps, when Turkey did come to regard itself as a nation the word used was not *ḳawim* but *millet*.

A patriotism centred on Ottomanism and Islam served largely to insulate the Turks from the new nationalism of the 19th century and to help preserve the Ottoman position. However, the ground was being prepared for the new conception of nationalism to take root. Interest in the Turks *qua* Turks was aroused in the first place by the publication in London in 1832 of a *Grammar of the Turkish language* by Arthur Lumley Davids (1811-32). It included the history as well as the language of the Turks, and became known in Turkey. Two other foreigners whose work was of very considerable influence were the renowned Hungarian Turcologist, Arminius Vambéry (1832-1913), and the colourful Léon Cahun, whose *Introduction à l'histoire d'Asie* (1896) glorified the role in history of the Turkish nomadic tribes.

A number of factors helped this new interest in Turcology to develop. Hungarian scholars were interested in the possibilities of discovering some common heritage with the Turks as a counterweight to Pan-Slavism. Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia also brought Turkish studies to the fore. Exiles in Turkey after the abortive 1848 revolutions in Europe spread the new nationalist ideas. A later impetus occurred through the advent of politically experienced exiles from Turkish and Tartar areas of Russia at the end of the 19th century. These

influences awoke a slow response among the Turks. It was only as the non-Muslim peoples obtained independence, and when there were national stirrings among the Muslim subjects of the Empire, that a truly Turkish nationalism based on a common race, language and culture became more feasible. Among Ottoman Turks who took up the theme were the historian Aḥmad Wafīḳ Pas̲h̲a (1823-91) [*q.v.*] and Süleymân Pas̲h̲a (1838-1932), the first Ottoman historian to write about the pre-Islamic Turks. Attention was also given to the Turkish language: the first modern Turkish grammar appeared in 1851, the *Ḳawāʾid-i ʿOt̲h̲māniyya* of Fu'ād and D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. The first Turkish turcologist in any real sense was Ned̲j̲īb ʿĀṣīm (1861-1935).

It was not, however, until the Young Turk period, and with the diminution of the Empire, that a more general interest could be aroused. A Turkish Society (*Türk Derneyi*) was established in 1908 to study Turkish culture in its many aspects. From this initiative shortly emerged a journal, *Türk Yurdu*, ("Turkish Homeland") which began to develop a political Turkism, notably under Akčuraog̲h̲lu Yūsuf [*q.v.*]. Numerous Turkist societies, *Türk Od̲j̲aklari*, ("Turkish Hearths") were also founded to study and promote Turkish culture. Closely associated with *Türk Yurdu* was the greatest exponent of Turkish nationalism, Ḍiyāʾ (Ziya) Gökalp [*q.v.*]. In some of his writings he went so far as to envisage the political union of all Turks in a new *Tūrān*, but the international situation, notably the strength of Russia, gave little prospect for the realisation of this Pan-Turkist dream, save for a brief period of confusion in Central Asia following the Russian Revolution of 1917. Nevertheless, Turkish nationalism continued to develop, markedly affected by two factors, firstly the Armenian massacres of 1916, and secondly, the defection of Arab Muslims to the Allied side in the first World War.

By 1918 it was clear, however, that attempts to promote an Ottoman, Pan-Islamic or Turanian unity were either irrelevant or impracticable. Yet some basis for a national unity had to be found if what was left of Turkey in 1918 was to be defended against Allied claims. National feeling was now concentrated on the rescue of the Anatolian homeland from the occupying Christian powers, particularly from the Greeks. Whilst religious feeling was still obviously important in this situation, a new emphasis appeared in Turkish nationalism—the territorial. It had obvious impact: the Turkish peasant's hearth and home, his *waṭan* was at stake. After the War of Liberation the Republic sought to justify this new nationalist attachment by promoting historical enquiries to show that Anatolia was in fact the ancient land of the Turks. This might be interpreted as a return, in a new context, to the less romantic patriotism of earlier European inspiration, but the attachment to the land, to national folk-lore, popular tradition and national solidarity was romantic to a marked degree. For the Atatürkist élite, nationalism was also firmly secularist, as the abolition of the caliphate and the disestablishment of Islam in 1924 testified.

The secular, cultural and territorial nationalism of the Atatürkist period has remained the predominant form of nationalism in Turkey since the Second World War, but it has not been universally accepted. Whilst it is difficult to make clear divisions among the different schools of thought, it may be said that the secular nationalists have divided into two groups. There are those who support the liberal democratic, and strictly territorial, political system as representing the national spirit, and others who would qualify their support by insistence on the need for a greater degree of socialism to allow the full expression of national feeling. This latter group attaches itself to the left-of-centre *Cumhüriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People's Party). One school of thought has attempted, however, to define nationalism to include Islamic, as well as pre-Islamic, Turkish history. This current of thought has found a ready audience among the new professional, commercial and industrial middle classes, and actual promotion through the *Türk Ocakları*. revived in 1949 after their abolition in 1932. This modification of nationalism has appealed to many members of right-of-centre political parties, notably the former *Demokrat Partisi* (Democrat Party) and the *Adalet Partisi* (Justice Party). Important elements in the Turkish intelligentsia have sought, however, to give greater weight either to Islam or to Turkish nationalism (and to Pan-Turkism) than the usual compromises envisage. An Islamic trend which nevertheless accords a place to nationalism is represented by Necmettin Erbakan's *Millî Selâmet Partisi* (National Salvation Party) which in 1973 won 48 seats in the elections for the 450-member National Assembly. An extreme nationalist party under Alparslan Türkeş, which accords a place to Islam, is the *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (Nationalist Movement Party) which, however, won only 3 seats in the 1973 National Assembly. Territorial nationalism, Islam and Pan-Turkism are not easy to combine. This is evident in the writings of the influential Dr. Riza Nur [*q.v.*] (1879-1942), who advocated *inter alia* a republican form of government, restoration of the caliphate, and the reunion of all Turks under the leadership of those of Anatolia.

A number of nationalist associations have been established recently in Turkey, particularly in the 1960s, partly in response to increased leftist activity. Large general congresses of nationalists were held in 1967 and 1969. One association of particular significance which has emerged is the *Küminizmle Mücadele Derneği* ("Society for Opposing Communism"), which has been active in demonstrations against left-wing groups. Reviews which in recent years have supported secular nationalism include *Varlık* ("Existence"), *Dost* ("Friend"), *Yeni Ufuklar* ("New Horizons") and *Yedi Tepe* ("Seven Hills"). Turkist and Islamic nationalism have been represented *inter alia* by *Türk Kültürü* ("Turkish Culture"), *Türk Birliği* ("Turkish Unity") and *Tohum* ("Seed"). The strength of modern Turkish nationalism is difficult to assess, since every political association claims to be nationalist. Certainly, for many Turks a wholly secular nationalism is not proving to be satisfactory. [See also ḤURRIYYA, ISTIḲLĀL (Independence), IS̲H̲TIRĀKIYYA and TŪRĀN.]

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(C. H. Dodd)

v. In Central Asia.

("Central Asia" is here taken to include the Ḳazakh, Özbek, Tādjik, Ḳirghiz and Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republics).

The European ideas of the nation, national frontiers and national government, which began to spread to Asia and Africa at the turn of the 19th century, have so far had a much smaller impact on the Muslim peoples of Central Asia than on the rest of *Dār al-Islām*. At the time of the Russian conquest, the Central Asians were generally regarded as being both politically and culturally the most backward of all Muslims, and the Tsarist régime did little to change this situation. No plans existed for eventual self-government, or even for local participation in provincial government, and in 1907 the small Central Asian representation in the Russian Duma (parliament) was abolished. Literacy did not exceed 3% and there were no establishments of higher education other than the *madrasas*. The large military garrison was composed of Russian imperial troops; Central Asian Muslims were exempt from conscription in the imperial forces, and there were no Muslim military formations in the Russian-ruled provinces. Conditions in the vassal states of Bukhārā and Khīwa were no more advanced, and in many respects, less so.

Such stirrings of national consciousness as existed were aimed rather at the defence of Islamic culture against Russian encroachment than at self-government and separation from Russia. The nearest thing to a coordinated endeavour was the "Djadīd" movement (from *uṣūl-i djadīd*), which originated among the Tatars of Kazan and the Crimea, but eventually had a considerable vogue in the urban areas of the Turkestan Governorate-General and the Khānate of Bukhārā. Something more closely approaching a nationalist movement began among the small Ḳazakh intelligentsia after the Russian revolution of 1905, but its aims, like those of the Djadīds, were cultural rather than political.

The great Turkestan rebellion of 1916 has been called "a national liberation movement". It was certainly directed against the Russian presence, but it was unco-ordinated and had no specifically political aims. Its ruthless repression by the Tsarist government had the temporary effect of favourably disposing the Muslims to the Revolution of 1917, which they imagined would mean the end of Russian rule; and the hope thus engendered gave rise to several small movements aiming at some kind of independent state or states. Such aspirations were, however, strongly opposed not only by the new Soviet régime, but by the 2-million strong element of Russian settlers who, whether they supported the Revolution or not, were not prepared to hand over the region to Muslim rule. The Djadīds, too, always at loggerheads with the *ʿulamāʾ*, now found themselves equally opposed to the new régime. By 1921, any prospect of an organised national movement with clearly defined political aims had receded, but guerilla Muslim resistance to the Soviet government continued in the shape of the so-called Basmači [*q.v.*] movement. Although violent and widespread, this movement lacked cohesion, competent leadership and the necessary resources, and by 1922 it had virtually collapsed.

By the end of 1920, complete Soviet control over the region was a foregone conclusion, and since the new régime was fundamentally opposed both to Islam and to the idea of nationalism, any chance of the emergence of a Central Asian state or states based on Muslim principles became even more remote than it had been in Tsarist times. The constitution of the so-called Bukhāran Peoples' Republic formed on the overthrow of the khānate in 1920 declared that "no published laws of the Republic may contradict the foundations of Islam", but this constitution was abrogated on the absorption of the republic into the Soviet Union in 1924, and the whole concept of Islam was thus finally removed from the Soviet political fabric. Some Central Asian intellectuals had participated to a limited extent in an attempt to achieve Muslim solidarity made from within the Communist Party by Mīr Sayyid Sulṭān ʿAlī Oghlu (Sultangaliyev), a Tatar Communist from Kazan. But the movement ended with his arrest in 1923 and subsequent disappearance.

As a means of combating nationalism and of solving the "national problem", the Soviet Government adopted a "nationalities policy". As applied to Central Asia this involved the classification as "nations" of the larger Muslim communities, most of whom had not previously thought of themselves as such. In 1924 the former administrative borders were abolished and the whole territory, including that of the erstwhile khānates, was divided into "republics" bearing the names of these "nations". Although described officially as "fully sovereign", they have never been so by any standards recognised elsewhere in the world of Islam, since the overriding authority in all matters relating to policy, justice and, indeed, every human activity rests with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union centred in Moscow. An attempt has been made, so far with only partial success, to remould the cultures of all the Muslim peoples in the region, now numbering about 22 million, on lines described as "national in form and socialist in content". There is much evidence of passive Muslim resistance to many social and cultural institutions of the Soviet régime, but none of any organised or active opposition to it. The facts about the alleged unmasking of a nationalist plot in the Özbek Republic in 1937 have never been established.

It is hard to say how far the Soviet nationalities policy has succeeded or will succeed in the future in excluding or holding in leash the national sentiment which has contributed towards the freeing of so many non-Soviet Muslim communities from foreign or non-Muslim rule. During the past fifty years none of the features characteristic of nationalist movements elsewhere have been present in Central Asia: namely, competent and easily identifiable national leaders with some freedom of speech and action; religious and cultural freedom; aid and encouragement from abroad; native military formations trained in the use of modern weapons; and support from liberal opinion in the metropolitan country. On the other hand, by artificially creating nations and stimulating the growth of those which had previously only existed in embryo, the Nationalities Policy has brought into being organisms which, far from remaining static, seem to be gradually acquiring a real national identity. It can be said that while nationalist movements of the kind which convulsed the Muslim peoples of the Middle East and North Africa are, in the present circumstances, highly improbable, national consciousness and the desire to dispense with alien rule are still very much alive. But what kind of state or states towards the formation of which this national consciousness may be tending is still uncertain.

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(G. E. Wheeler)

vi. In Muslim India and Pakistan.

The growth of Muslim nationalism, or Muslim separatism as it is usually called, was one of the most striking developments on the Indian subcontinent under British rule. It stemmed from the Aligarh movement, an educational and political campaign aimed mainly at protecting the power of the Muslim service élite of northern India, which developed around the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College founded in 1875 by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan at Aligarh in the United Provinces. In the early 20th century, men associated with this movement made Muslim separatism a significant factor in Indian politics. In 1906 they founded an All-India Muslim League. Then, using the League as their platform, they first persuaded the government to introduce separate electorates (with special weighting to take account of their "political importance") in the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909, and soon afterwards persuaded the Congress, the organisation of Indian nationalist politics, to accept the same principle for the next package of reforms in a pact made at Lucknow in 1916. By this time Muslim separatism would appear to have been an established fact in Indian political life, but it would be quite wrong to see its development from this point to 1947 as an ever-ascending line on a graph, because for the twenty years after 1916 it was a declining force. First, Muslim Leaguers agitated with Congressmen against the government in the Khilāfat non-co-operation movement of 1919-23, then in the 1920s and 1930s many lost interest in League politics altogether: some preferred the class-based politics of the United Provinces' Zamīndār Party or the Punjab Unionist Party, others the Islamic politics of the Khilāfat Party, and yet others the Indian nationalism of the Congress itself. So weak did Muslim separatism become that the Muslim League held no annual sessions between 1933 and 1936. And it was not until the 1937 elections, after the 1935 Government of India Act had considerably extended the franchise and had given Indians virtual autonomy at the provincial level, that Muslims again began to support separatist politics in large numbers. From then on, the Muslim League went from strength to strength till, in part because of the rapid change in circumstances brought about by World War II, in part because of the political failures both of the Congress and of the British, and in part because of both the political skill of Jinnah and its own success as a political organisation, it succeeded in establishing a separate Muslim state on the Indian subcontinent when the British transferred power in 1947.

An important point to note about Muslim separatism is that at no stage did it receive equal support from all Muslims. Their condition and their interests varied greatly in the different parts of India. There were differences of background; some, particularly in northern India, were descended from invaders or adventurers who had come from Arabia, Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia to make their fortunes from the fabled wealth of Hindustan, but the majority were descended from Hindus who, during the period of Muslim supremacy, had been converted to Islam. There were differences in their level of islamisation; the humble Muslim villager in Bengal or Madras, who spoke the local vernacular and who followed most of the local social and religious customs, had much more in common with his Hindu neighbour than did his co-religionist living in a town in northern India whose culture and whose customs were much more distinctly Islamic. There were also differences in their distribution throughout the subcontinent; in the Punjab and in Bengal (after 1911) Muslims were a majority of the provincial population, but in no other province for most of British rule did their numbers exceed 20%. Finally, there were differences in their economic and political position; traditionally the Muslims of Bengal or Sind or Madras were cultivators with little economic strength and less political power, but the Muslims of north India, in particular those of the United Provinces, were not only wealthy, holding much land and many positions in government service, but were also accustomed to being the dominant political group in the area. These differences dictated a variety of responses to the challenges presented by the modernising tendencies of British rule to their livelihood, their religion and their political power. Indeed, for most Muslims under the British a political stance based on their faith made no sense in the context of local or provincial politics. Muslim separatism found support mainly in the United Provinces. Men from this area founded Aligarh College and the All-India Muslim League. They chiefly organised this League throughout its existence and used it to win Muslims elsewhere in India for their separatist politics. When separatism was strong, it was because it suited their interests; when it was weak, as it was in the 1920s and 1930s, it was because it did not.

Why some Indian Muslims should have organised for politics on a religious basis has been hotly debated. Four main lines of argument have been put forward to explain this phenomenon: that the Muslims were backward in taking advantage of western education, had therefore fallen behind in the competition for jobs and economic advancement, and therefore organised as a community to protect their interests; that the British deliberately divided and ruled, encouraging Muslims from time to time to organise as a separate group in order to strengthen their imperial position; that Indian nationalism was too strongly associated with a frequently aggressive Hindu revivalism to allow Muslims to play a full and unreserved part in it; and that the Muslims had always been a separate community on the Indian subcontinent which fact was expressed in the separatist tendency of their politics. There are grains of truth in all these arguments, but as they stand they are too simple by half.

Of course, the fact that Muslims had some common religious experience must lie at the base of any explanation of why some Muslims organised for politics on a communal basis; but it is not the sole or even the chief cause of why they did so. The threats which British policy in education, in bureaucratic reform and in local self-government levelled at the position of the Muslims in the United Provinces, making them fear that they might become backward, played a part; they lay behind the foundation of Aligarh College and the All-India Muslim League. A Hindu revivalism, which aimed to promote the Nagari script and the Hindi language and to protect the cow, was also important; early responses to the massive changes which government was bringing about in north Indian society were organised by Hindus and Muslims working in concert, but Hindu revivalism in the late 19th century helped increasingly to divert these responses into communal channels. Moreover, throughout its existence the close association of Hindu revivalism with the Congress made it hard for Muslims to join the Indian nationalist movement. This type of revivalism was not restricted to Hindus; it also developed amongst Muslims and helped to harden their consciousness of being Muslim. It found powerful expression in the writings of Ḥālī, S̲h̲iblī and Iḳbāl, and it infused aspects of the movements for a Muslim university, for the preservation of the Turkish K̲h̲ilāfat, and for the establishment of Pakistan. Crucially important was the tendency of the British to see their Indian subjects primarily not as members of different races, nor as speakers of different languages, nor even as representatives of different interests, but as followers of different faiths. They shared out patronage along religious lines, particularly to Muslims in northern India, whom at one time they saw as the greatest threat to the empire and at another as the most important supporters of it. Such perceptions of Indian society and such policies played a vital role in the development of separatism; without them Aligarh College would never have survived its early years and the Muslim League would never have won separate electorates. Crucially important too was the fact that for much of the time the Muslim platform was a particularly rewarding one for Muslim politicians from the United Provinces to adopt; up to the second decade of the 20th century because of the attitudes of the government, and later, in the age of mass agitation and growing electorates, because these politicians had in the *ʿulamāʾ* a tremendously powerful, if double-edged, weapon for mobilising mass support. They introduced the *ʿulamāʾ* into politics in 1918 with the aim of making capital out of the K̲h̲ilāfat issue, but were overwhelmed by the agitation which followed. They introduced the *ʿulamāʾ* again in the campaign for Pakistan, and the *ʿulamāʾ*, this time subordinate to the politicians, played an important part in winning over to the Muslim League Muslims in provinces where they were a majority of the population (sc. Bengal, Sind, North-West Frontier Province and Punjab). Without the support of these Muslims there could be no Pakistan.

Such were the factors which encouraged some Muslims to organise on a communal basis in Indian politics under the British. Such, in sum, were the causes of Muslim nationalism. If, for those who followed, Muslim nationalism was mainly a religious matter, for those who led, it was a matter less of the desirability of separate Muslim political organisation or later of a separate Muslim state in which they could live according to the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, than of the need to ensure that they continued to wield the power in northern India which they had wielded for hundreds of years.

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KAWN WA-FASĀD, "generation and corruption". The expression is frequently found in the vocabulary of *falsafa* as the translation of the two Greek words γένεσις and φθορά, and it is also how Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* is rendered in Arabic. The references entail an analysis of cosmology, a measure of psychology and some metaphysical developments of the *Falāsifa*. The ideas in question acquired various nuances of meaning, by measure of the system and theory of each *faylasūf*, but they always harked back to the Aristotelian meaning. The term is most frequently met with in the phrase "world of generation and corruption", *ʿālam al-kawn wa' l-fasād*, as a designation of the sublunary world, which is subject to change; by contrast, the worlds above are free of this. A few quick references are sufficient here: al-Fārābī speaks of the corruptible elements placed within nature, "the corruptible facts" (*al-as̲h̲yāʾ al-mutakawwināt al-fāsida*; see *Commentaire sur le Peri Hermeneias*, ed. W. Kutsch and S. Marrow, Beirut 1971, 75, 191); and Ibn Sīnā, in his treatise on "The branches of the speculative sciences" (*Aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya*) considers a study of *kawn wa-fasād* as one of the objects of "natural science" (see *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326/1908, 106).

First and foremost *kawn* evokes the idea of exist-

entialisation. This is the principal meaning it acquired in the vocabulary of *ʿilm al-kalām: kawn* is the advent in nature of the existent thing (*kāʾin*, plur. *kāʾināt*), which makes it, for the Muʿtazilī (*e.g.* al-ʿAllāf) as well as for al-Ashʿarī, to some extent synonymous with *wudjūd*. But for the advocates of the (philosophical) atom (*djuzʾ* [*q.v.*]) in particular, an existent thing presupposes a body and subsequently a dimension. Thus *kawn* came to mean the existentialisation of corporal beings and *wudjūd* of all existence, supraperceptible as well as perceptible. For the *Falāsifa*, *kawn* (plur. *akwān*), the customary translation of γένεσις, was more precisely applied to beings subject to growth, without losing its primary meaning of existentialisation, with its reference to the dimension of bodies. According to Ibn Sīnā, for example, *kawn* can either be a synonym for *wudjūd* or can designate a being *in fieri*, depending on the context. M. Jean Jolivet (*L'intellect selon Kindī*, Leiden 1971, 123; cf. *Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 204) suggests that for Kindī *kawn*, linked to *fasād*, was already defined as substantial change, "changing existence". One of al-Kindī's main texts on the subject is the brief *risāla* on "The efficient proximate cause of generation and corruption" (*al-ʿilla al-fāʿila al-ḳaribiyya li 'l kawn wa 'l-fasād*; *ibid.*, i, 208-13).

Yet there is a noticeable difference between the ideas of al-Kindī and those of his successors. The latter's vision of the world is emanistic; *akwān* are therefore the last necessary effect of *fayḍ*, the productive flow of being, necessarily emanating from the prime Being. For al-Kindī, *kawn*, however much a matter of becoming it may be, depends for its first efficient cause on a free creation *ex nihilo*, thereby being linked with the Ḳurʾānic meaning of *kun fā-yakūn*, (God said) "So be it! and it is so" (Ḳurʾān, II, 117); cf. *Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, i, 373-4. But whether it is a question of the creationism of al-Kindī, or the emanationism of his eastern successors, or the eternity of the world of Ibn Rushd, the idea of becoming, generation, (substantial) change remains linked to *kawn*. Even if *akwān* depend in the last resort (freely or necessarily) on the prime efficient Cause, their coming into being is nevertheless linked to the interaction of secondary causes. By this token, the heavenly bodies, subject to local movement but not to becoming, are not answerable to *kawn*. *Falsafa* vocabulary does not consider them as *akwān*. Therefore, in his *risāla* on "The prostration of distant (heavenly) bodies and their submission to respect for God", al-Kindī (*op. cit.*, i, 253 ff.) faithful to his creationism, affirms the direct creation *ex nihilo* of the Heavenly Bodies because they are not subject to generation and corruption (cf. Jolivet, *op. cit.*, 107).

In fact *kawn*, and its opposite correlative *fasād*, taken as a whole, are the object of the fourth sort of movement which Aristotle calls "substantial movement". Such is the status of the beings composed of matter and form belonging to our sublunary world, which are destined to die, to be transformed, and to reappear in new forms. The word *fasād* belongs to the Ḳurʾānic vocabulary, where it signifies a state that is radically bad, in contrast with good. It can be rendered as (moral) "corruption", occasionally as "état de violence" (tr. D. Masson) or as "scandale" (tr. R. Blachère). Thus in Ḳurʾān, III, 41: "Corruption (or "scandal") has appeared on the land and on the sea because of what men's hands have done". The moral vocabulary of *ʿilm al-kalām* contrasts *ṣāliḥ* with the adjective *fāsid*, whatever is healthy with whatever is corrupt, often using them synonymously with *ḥasan/ḳabīḥ*. In law (*fiḳh*), *fasād* signifies the invalidity of a juridical act [see FĀSID]. The cosmology of the *Falāsifa* proceeds from these moral and juridic meanings to a physical one and employs *fasād* to render the Greek φθορά. In this case, the corruption of the compound matter and form depends on an intrinsic coming into being (*kawn*). Therefore *fasād*, like *kawn*, also belongs to the fourth sort of movement, which, says al-Kindī, is "movement which transfers a thing from its own essence (*ʿayn*) to another" (*Rasāʾil*, i, 217; tr. Jolivet, *op. cit.*, 121). This definition, with slight variations, is found in the works of his successors. It is because of its "intrinsic power to decay" (*ḳuwwat fasādihā*), says Ibn Sīnā, that a physical compound decomposes, and this power resides in matter (*e.g. Nadjāt*, Cairo[2] 1357/1938, 188).

The problem of "generation and corruption" was linked to the production of all beings in the sublunary world, and for Ibn Sīnā was especially related to the problem of a separate Intellect which acted as a "giver of forms", *wāhib al-ṣuwar*, as well as to that of "enacting" and "receiving" causes (*ḳābiliyya*). When later *kalām* (*e.g.* al-Ghazālī in *Maḳāṣid* and *Tahāfut*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Īdjī, al-Djurdjānī) set forth and discussed the theses of *falsafa*, they employed the expression *kawn wa-fasād* and the definitions elucidating it.

Bibliography: given in the article. References to the topic in the writings of the *Falāsifa* are very numerous, both in original, systematic expositions and in commentaries on Aristotle. (L. GARDET)

ḲAWS (A.), bow (noun of uncertain gender). The numerous types of bow attested at various times in the Islamic world are designated by expressions which include this word, in a very general sense, together with adjectives (*ḳaws ḥidjāzī*, *fārisī*, etc.) or nouns in annexation to it (*ḳaws al-ḥusbān*, *ḳaws al-ridjl*, etc.). Furthermore, one often finds qualities inherent in the weapon used to designate various types of bow (*al-katūm*, *al-rahīsh*, *al-zawrāʾ*, etc., see below, § 3).

1. *Generalities and origins*

In classical antiquity and the Christian west, gallantry was especially displayed in close combat, so that the short sword and the straight sword were regarded as the noble weapons, as the poet Lucan clearly states: *Ensis habet uires, et gens quaecumque uirorum/bella gerit gladiis* (*Pharsalia*, viii, 385-6). Arms involving the hurling of projectiles (bows, arbalests and slings) were regarded as treacherous arms whose use was left to mercenary soldiers (Cretan archers and slingsmen from the Balearic Islands in the Roman army, Genoese crossbowmen in 14th century France). On the other hand, in the sphere of the martial arts in Islamic lands, the bow held the outstanding place, as the abundance of technical literature devoted to *rimāya* [*q.v.*] shows. The information which we possess is only fragmentary, and comes from studies and published treatises stemming from the latter half of the last century; the principal ones are given below, in chronological order.

Hammer-Purgstall, *Über Bogen und Pfeil*, Vienna 1853 (a work based on the treatise of Muṣṭafā Kānī, which stresses religious and social aspects and leaves unexplored technical considerations); Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Arabern*, Leipzig 1886 (a lexicographical study devoted to the weapons of the pre-Islamic Arabs and based on a systematic analysis of ancient poetry); Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber*, Tübingen 1921 (a study of the Umayyad army,

based on al-Ṭabarī, but with comparatively little information on archers); Hein, *Bogenhandwerk*, in *Isl.*, xiv-xv (1925-6) (a study of archery among the Ottomans made from the points of view of construction and of sporting use, and based on the *Talkhīṣ rasāʾil al-rumāt* of Muṣṭafā Kānī); Klopsteg, *Turkish archery*, 1934 (deals with certain developments out of the preceeding study, with more exact technical details); Faris and Elmer, *Arab archery*, Princeton 1945 (the first critical edition of a treatise on archery dating from *ca.* 1500); Zajączkowski published at Warsaw in 1956 a Mamlūk treatise on archery of unknown authorship and included in a treatise on farriery and the care of horses; Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution à l'étude de l'archerie musulmane*, Damascus 1968 (the section on archery from a treatise on arms composed for Saladin by Marḍī); Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, London 1970 (a treatise by the Mamlūk Ṭaybughā, with commentary and illustrations).

The traditional items of information given in the treatises on *rimāya* generally agree that the origin of the bow goes back to a heavenly gift bestowed on Adam through the intermediacy of the Archangel Gabriel. Adam then used with great profit this divinely-hallowed weapon, with its miraculous character, in order to preserve his crops from birds' depredations, and he passed the weapon on to his descendants, amongst whom Abraham, "father of the Arabs", apparently had a great reputation as an archer. Little is known about the archers of the pre-Islamic period, or about what kind of bow they used (see below, § 3). It seems that certain tribal groups especially favoured this weapon, such as the B. Saʿd of Tamīm, whose skill at shooting was praised by various poets, including al-Ḳulākh b. Ḥazn. The Prophet is said to have been a skilled archer whose mastery of the bow was revealed at the battle of Uḥud, and he had several bows whose names are preserved by tradition. Al-Ṭabarī, ed. Cairo, iii, 184-5, mentions three of these, taken from the B. Ḳaynuqāʿ, sc. *rawḥāʾ*, *shawḥaṭ* (also called *al-bayḍāʾ*) and *ṣafrāʾ*, this last made from *nabʿ* wood. ʿAbd Allāh Efendi (*apud* Hein) numbers the Prophet's bows at six, adding to the three already mentioned *sadād*, *zawrāʾ* and *katūm*. The existence of these bows is attested, but without precise references, in *LA*, iii, 208. The most famous archer of the period of the Islamic beginnings was undoubtedly, according to tradition, the "Paladin of Islam" Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, whom the Turkish archers' guilds later made their patron. Saʿd distinguished himself at Uḥud with a little group of archers, whose names are preserved in the *K. al-Maghāzī* of al-Wāḳidī.

It is somewhat surprising to note that the word *ḳaws* appears only once in the Ḳurʾān, in *S. al-Nadjm* (LIII, 9), in which it only figures, however, as a measure of distance: *fa-kāna ḳāba ḳawsayni aw adnā* "[the angel] was two bow-lengths off or nearer". *S. al-Anfāl* (VIII, 62) nevertheless implicitly emphasises the essential part assigned to the bow in the fight against the unbelievers: *aʿiddū lahum mā-staṭaʿtum min ḳuwwatin* "prepare against them whatsoever force you are able to gather". The word *ḳuwwa* here is often glossed by the authors of the treatises on archery as "the force of bows". This remarkable restrainedness of the Ḳurʾān is on the other hand amply compensated for by the numerous traditions to be found all through the *ḥadīth* literature. From the main corpora, one may cite: Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, 23; al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, 78, 80; *Anbiyāʾ*, 16; *Manāḳib*, 4; al-Dārimī, *Djihād*, 14, 23; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 92, 124, 137, 264, iv, 50, 144, 146, 148, 154, 368, v, 31; Ibn Mādja, *Muḳaddima*, 11; *Tidjārāt*, 67; *Djihād*, 19; Muslim, *Imāra*, 169; *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥāba*, 41, 2; al-Nasāʾī, *Djihād*, 26; *Khayl*, 8; al-Tirmidhī, *Djihād*, 11; *Manāḳib*, 26 (see Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*, 40-5).

It is unnecessary to point out that these pieces of information contain no precise technical details which would enable us to reconstruct with any sureness the types of bow used at the time of the *maghāzī*. One possibility might be by means of the makers of bows, concerning whom no research has yet been done. One finds many times in Islamic onomastic the *laḳab* of "al-Ḳawwās". According to a piece of information in the *Aghānī*, xiv, 36, al-Djāḥiẓ mentions (*Ḥayawān*, v, 233-5) two famous bow-makers, ʿUṣfūr al-Azdī and Māsikha, the latter having been, according to tradition, the first man to make bows. Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ii, 222, repeats this information in order to explain the adjectives *ʿuṣfūriyya* and *māsikhiyya* applied to bows. Amongst these uncertainties, one fact seems incontrovertible: that unlike the Persians, amongst whom archery had long been an ancient tradition and was one still living in Islamic times, the ancient Arabs used the bow more for hunting than for warfare. On one hand, archery was little practised from horseback, and on the other, the prevalence of single combats since the time of the *Ayyām al-ʿArab* did not require it [see DJAYSH. i]. Hence it was in Iran, and more precisely, in Khurāsān, where Abū Muslim organised his army, that new techniques, unknown to the Umayyads, were introduced in the domains of siege warfare as in that of archery. These Khurāsānians were themselves progressively replaced under al-Muʿtaṣim by Turks brought from Central Asia, accustomed to fighting on horseback, as al-Djāḥiẓ remarks in his well-known *Risāla fī manāḳib al-Turk wa-ʿāmmmat djund al-khilāfa*, ed. Van Vloten, Leiden 1903. The coming of the Saldjūḳs intensified the employment of the horse-archer, whose astonishing successfulness came from the union, born in Central Asia, of the horse and the bow, whose symbolic forms may well have inspired the graphic shape of the *ṭughras* [*q.v.*]. These horse-archers formed, one need hardly point out, an extremely-mobile light cavalry force which contrasted sharply with the heavily-armed cataphracti which were used at that time in the west.

The counter-crusade begun by Saladin caused a florescence of treatises on *djihād* and *furūsiyya* in which there were treated, for the first time systematically, the techniques pertaining to each branch of weaponry (see Cahen, *Traité*, and on bows, Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*). In the Mamlūk period this literature devoted to arms—often didactic in aim and utilising the form of the *urdjūza*—developed considerably, and amongst the topics dealt with were the manufacture and use of weapons, with archery occupying a prominent place (see Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*). After Baybars' defeat of the Mongols at ʿAyn Djālūt, there was created the *maydān* or training-ground for horse-archers. The introduction of firearms did not lead to the sudden disappearance of the bow. Indeed, the handling of the arquebus, slow and cumbersome, left the archers with a superiority in the field, at least at the outset; moreover, as Ayalon has noted [see BĀRŪD, iii], "To equip a soldier with an arquebus meant taking away his bow and, what was to the Mamlūk more distasteful, depriving him of his horse, thereby reducing him to the humiliating

status of a foot soldier, compelled either to march or to allow himself to be carried in an ox-cart".

Thus there speedily succeeded to the foot archers of the first Arab *djunds* Persian mounted archers and then Turkish ones, whose participation in Islamic battles only ceased with the dawning of the modern period (the arquebus was introduced among the Mamlūks in 895/1490 under Sultan Ḳāʾitbāy, some 125 years later than in Europe; see Ayalon, *loc. cit.*).

2. *The treatises*

The fundamental work, to which most of the authors of treatises on *rimāya* refer, is that called *al-Wāḍiḥ* by a certain Ṭabarī, whom Muṣṭafā Kānī states is "the father of all the books written about the bow". For Kānī, this Ṭabarī had to be the famous historian, but Ahlwardt believed, no doubt correctly (*apud* Ritter, 136), that it must be someone of the same name, whose complete designation was Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, d. 694/1295.

The intensification of *djihād* under the Ayyūbids stimulated the development of technical literature on archery. The oldest treatise is by a certain Murḍā, or more likely, Marḍī (see Brockelmann, I, 495), whose *nasab* is only partly known, Ibn ʿAlī b. Marḍī, and his *nisba*, al-Ṭarsūsī, apparently indicating an origin from Ṭarsūs. It was composed for Saladin *ca.* 570/1174 in collaboration with a celebrated arms manufacturer of Alexandria, Ḥasan b. al-Abraḳī, and is called *Tabṣirat arbāb al-albāb fī kayfiyyat al-nadjāt fī 'l-ḥurūb min al-aswāʾ wa-nashr iʿlām al-aʿlām fī 'l-ʿudad wa 'l-ālāt al-muʿīna ʿalā liḳāʾ al-aʿdāʾ*. Amongst the different weapons studied (see Cahen, *Traité*), bows occupy the favoured place (see Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*). Later in time (end of the 8th/14th century) but rich in its subject-matter and enjoying a wide diffusion is a didactic poem in 149 verses and the *radjaz* metre, accompanied by a technical commentary, attributed to Ṭaybughā al-Ashrafī al-Baklamishī al-Yūnānī and called *K. Ghunyat al-ṭullāb fī maʿrifat ramy al-nushshāb* (on the different manuscripts of this treatise, in various recensions, see Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, xxxvi-xxxviii). The catalogues of Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts further mention treatises on *rimāya*, so far unedited; but so far as is yet known, none of these is earlier than that of Marḍī or richer in information than that of Ṭaybughā. Accordingly, our information on the teaching of *rimāya* remains fragmentary and limited for the period between the Ayyūbids and the Ottomans. We know little about the master-archers whose teachings are handed down in the treatises, apart from the fact that, on the evidence of their *nisbas*, they stemmed from Khurāsān and Transoxania. One might conclude that most of them lived in the middle years of the 3rd/9th century, since it was from this date that the ʿAbbāsids started raising large numbers of troops from Khurāsān and Transoxania. Three great figures are constantly cited, and it seems that their techniques (as will be explained in § 3 below) corresponded to three main technical methods. They are Abū Hāshim al-Bāwardī (sc. from Abīward), Ṭāhir al-Balkhī and Isḥāḳ al-Raffāʾ. Furthermore, certain techniques are attributed to masters cited more irregularly, sc. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Harawī, Abū 'l-Fatḥ Saʿīd al-Samarḳandī, Muḥammad b. Itārak al-Sarakhsī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kāghidī, Abū Mūsā al-Ḥarrānī, Ḥayawayh al-Balkhī, and Abū Mūsā al-Kharrāz. For a detailed consideration of these, see J. D. Latham, *The archers of the Middle East: the Turco-Iranian background*, in *Iran*, viii (1970), 97-103.

The treatises show a certain resemblance in their structure, and one can broadly distinguish an introduction made up of traditions, followed or preceeded by considerations on the origin of the bow and lexicographical information; a central core containing an enumeration of the basic principles (*uṣūl*) and secondary ones (*furūʿ*) laid down by the master-archers; whilst the close is often made up of various tactical considerations.

3. *The various types of bow*

The various kinds of bow are described with a great variety of names, often composed of two vocables, under the influence of lexicography; whence the oppositions *ḳaws ḥidjāzī*/*ḳaws fārisī*; *ḳaws al-yad*/*ḳaws al-ridjl*; *filḳ*/*ḳaḍīb*; etc.

Ḳaws ḥidjāzī. The type of bow used by the pre-Islamic Arabs was that of the simple, wooden bow, either short on long, depending on the cross section adopted; there is abundant evidence in the Arabic sources for this. In one passage, Herodotus seems to refer to the Arabs' use of composite, reflex bows: Ἀράβιοι ... τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς δεξία μακρά, in which παλίντονα ("stretched towards the rear") could refer to reflex bows (see Hein, 357). It is quite possible that composite bows were known in parts of Arabia, and Herodotus may have been correct as far as he went; the composite bow was well-known in the Iranian world, and eventually became the standard weapon of the Sasanid archers. The requisite horn may have been imported, if long-horned cattle or goats were not available within the peninsula. But Herodotus is a very early source to cite for the position in Arabia in say the 6th century AD; by that time, as remarked above, the Arab bow was essentially the simple wooden one. The Arabic sources state repeatedly that the Arabs made their bows from *nabʿ* (*Grewia tenax*), which was apparently perfectly suitable for this; to this day, the primitive peoples of Somalia make effective bows, up to a length of almost 2 m., out of *Grewia tenax*. This *nabʿ* was regularly imported into Arabia; Persian caravans loaded with it used to leave al-Madāʾin/Ctesiphon via al-Ḥīra and Yamāma for the Yemen (*Aghānī*,[1] xix, 110, 116), and Mount Ḳasr was famous for its *nabʿ*. Further mentioned in the construction of the pre-Islamic Arab bows are *shawḥaṭ* or *murrān* (*cornus mas.*) and *nasham* (*chadara velutina*).

Ḳaws wāsiṭiyya. Apparently the Arab composite bow. The adjective stems not from the town of Wāsiṭ on the Tigris but must be understood in its proper sense of median, intermediate, probably with reference to the components of this bow (see *Saracen archery*, 10).

Ḳaws al-yad. "Hand-bow", as opposed to the *ḳaws al-ridjl* or arbalest (see below).

Between these two comes the *Ḳaws al-bunduḳ* "pellet- or stone-bow", the archetype of the arbalest used solely for shooting birds and already known in the Prophet's time. The projectile used was a ball of hardened clay (*djulāhiḳ* or *bunduḳ*). However, it should be noted that projectiles like balls or pellets can be shot from a hand bow as well as from a cross-bow, and we know that hand bows were used thus from the time of Tutankhamun onwards, see *JESHO* (1972), 226; it was merely a matter of fitting a suitable pocket on to the string, and such pockets can be seen in Islamic miniature paintings.

Filḳ (also *sharidj*). A bow consisting of a single

stave split length-wise and spliced with glue; see *LA*, ii, 306, and al-Tha'ālibī, 372.

Kaḍīb. A bow made of a stave all of a piece and unspliced, sc. a self-bow (*ibid*., 372).

Far', *faḏiḏjā'*, *fiḏjw*, *munfaḏjā*. All these terms designate self-bows (*LA*, viii, 247, xiv, 355; al-Tha'ālibī, 372; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 283).

Katūm, *fāriḏj*, *furḏj*. A bow made from a single stave, hence it does not vibrate when loosed (*LA*, xii, 507; al-Tha'ālibī, 373).

Dja'sh. A light and weak bow which, contrary to the preceeding one, vibrates when loosed (*LA*, i, 149; al-Tha'ālibī, *loc. cit.*).

'Ātiḳa. An old bow whose wood has become red (Ibn Durayd, 37; al-Tha'ālibī, *loc. cit.*).

Rahīsh, *murtahisha*. A bow whose string, at the moment of loosing, strikes the part called the *ṭā'if*; such a bow, usually slim and light, vibrates when loosed.

Zawrā', *ḳaws munḥaniya*. Probably a bow with a strong bend (*LA*, iv, 334) made from *nasham* wood (*chadara velutina*).

Bāyina. A bow which uses too long an arrow, this being considered a fault because it reduces the draw and consequently makes the shot less powerful.

'Atala. Powerful Persian bows which are very curved (thus in the treatises as well as in the lexica).

Arbalests. Ranging from the stone- or pellet-bows mentioned above to the powerful siege machines with winding mechanisms, there existed a whole array of arbalests. Mentioned below are only those which appear most frequently in the treatises on *djihād* and *furūsiyya*. It should be noted at the outset that if the expression *ḳaws al-riḏjl* seems to be used for arbalests in general, certain authors give it the more precise sense of "foot-bow" and distinguish it from the *ḳaws al-rikāb* "stirrup-bow" or *arbalista ad unum pedem*, an arbalest with a stirrup for one foot only, just as in the west this last was distinguished from the *arbalista ad duos pedes* (see Payne-Gallwey, *Crossbow*, 60). One may distinguish, in order of increasing complexity:

Ḳaws al-ḥusbān. This is a hand bow adapted to shoot short arrows, and it had therefore an arrow guide but no nut or locking mechanism.

Ḳaws al-riḏjl. A cross-bow of any kind, with a stirrup or not; for an illustration of a simple cross-bow, see *Saracen archery*, xxx.

Ḳaws al-rikāb. A cross-bow with a stirrup, in which the foot is placed, see *ibid*., xxxi. A cross-bowman thus armed carries round his waist a strap at whose two extremities are hooks and by means of which he engages the bowstring. Having placed his foot or feet in the stirrup, he straightens up and thereby pulls on the cord which thus reaches the catch (*ḳufl*) of the stock or arrow-guide (*miḏjrāt*).

Djarkh (< Persian *čarkh* "circle, wheel"). An individual arbalest whose bow is drawn back by means of a wheel (whence its name); by this very long arrows, approaching the length of javelins, could be fired (for an illustration of one type, see *Saracen archery*, 18). The Muslims borrowed from the Mongols the usage of multiple-firing arbalests called *čarkh-kamān*, which the *čarkhandazān* of Hülägü's army used [see ḤIṢĀR. iii. Persia].

Ḳaws al-ziyār. This was no longer a portable arbalest but a siege-engine mounted on a fixed chassis. It was used during the warfare between Saladin and the Crusaders, and corresponds *grosso modo* to the "grand arbalest with a wheel" used in Europe for sieges and described by Viollet le Duc (*Dict. d'architecture*, v, 241-3).

Siege-engines [see ḤIṢĀR], of a more or less static nature, like the stone-hurler or *'arrāda* [*q.v.*] and the mangonel or *manḏjanīḳ* [*q.v.*] were, according to their importance, set up on mountings or even manufactured on the spot (as did the Ottomans later with their cannons). This necessitated the presence of specialist corps, mainly of carpenters (these last being also used to make supports for the galleries in mine-shafts), as well as the besieging troops. One should also note that certain of these siege-engines could be used to hurl pots full on incendiary naphtha or *naft* [*q.v.*].

4. *The terminology of the components of the bow* (see fig. 1)

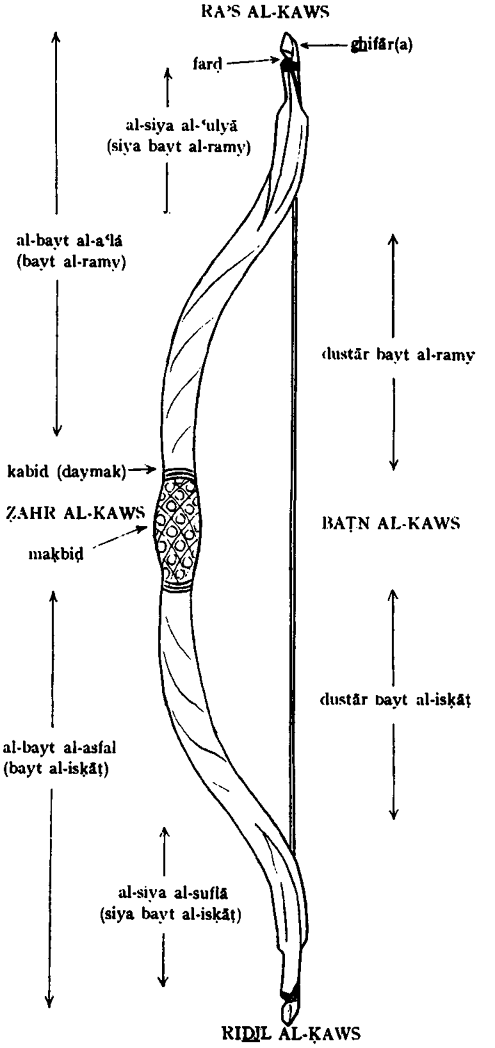

Fig. 1.

This terminology presupposes that the bow is held vertically, in position for firing, and this determines the four main "regions" of the bow, sc. the upper part (*ra's al-ḳaws*) and the lower part (*riḏjl al-ḳaws*), from the vertical axis, and on the horizontal axis, the internal face or "belly" (*baṭn al-ḳaws*), facing the archer, and the external face or "back" (*ẓahr al-ḳaws*).

The sources frequently liken the composite bow to the human body, and most parts of it take their name from parts of this last (e.g. *ẓahr, baṭn, rukba, ʿunuḳ, ḳabḍa, ẓufr*, etc.), thus the arc of the bow has as its centre or focal point the *kabid* (lit. "liver"), and the term *dīmak/daymak* is used for "arrow-pass", sc. the side of the handle continuous with the *wadjh* ("face"), the part facing the archer as he shoots; it derives from Persian *dīma* "cheek".

Once the bow has been strung and held in a recurved position, each of its limbs delimits, together with the bowstring, a sector or "house" (*bayt*). Thus we have, with the upper limb, an "upper house" (*bayt aʿlā*), also called "house of shooting" (*bayt al-ramy*), because the shot is made according to this plan. The lower limb determines the "lower house" (*bayt asfal*) or "house of perpendicularity" (*bayt al-isḳāṭ*), i.e. that which falls away towards the ground. At 3/4 of the way along its length, each limb makes a sharp angle of return, at *ca.* 60°, in the backwards direction; this bend has to be very resistant, since it bears the thrust of the recurved limb. Marḍī calls this part *dustār* (Persian "twisted cord, turban"), i.e. the torus, which corresponds to the Arabic terms *ṭāʾif* "edging, that which skirts the edge" and *ʿunuḳ*. However, Ṭaybughā uses *dustār* in a quite different sense, sc. that of "the working part of the limb", and this gives better sense, see the diagram of the terminology of the bow in *Saracen archery*, 162. Since each "house" has its torus, there is in effect an "upper torus" or "torus of the house of shooting" (*dustār bayt al-ramy*), and a "lower torus" or "torus of the house of perpendicularity (*dustār bayt al-isḳāṭ*). The torus is followed by the rigid, straight end of the limb, the "end-piece" or *siya*, whose extremity has a bone or ivory ferrule, *ghifār/ghifāra* = "cover or cap". In this ferrule there is gouged out the groove or "nock" (*farḍ*), where the loop of the bow-string (*ʿayn al-watar*) fits. When the string is in place, the end-piece appears like the neck of a violin; at its base and just before the bend of the torus, there may be a string-bridge whose function is to keep the bow-string constantly within the plan of the bow. As with the other parts coming in pairs, one speaks of an "upper end-piece" for that of the "house ot shooting" (*siya ʿulyā* or *siya bayt al-ramy*) and a "lower end-piece" for that of the "house of perpendicularity" (*siya suflā* or *siya bayt al-iskāṭ*).

5. *Arrow and quivers*

The three main words denoting the arrow seem to convey the following distinctions: *sahm* (arrow made from a reed; but Ṭaybughā, in *Saracen archery*, 24, says that this was of hard, solid wood)—*nabl* (wooden or Arab arrow)—*nushshāb* (Persian arrow). *Sahm* is the most general term if one believes Herodotus, for whom the Arabs as well as the Persians originally used arrows made from reeds (*apud* Hein, 26). According to Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, the Persians called the Arab arrow (generally made from wood) *nabl* (Fries, 53), whilst the word continually used in the accounts of battles fought in the eastern provinces of the Umayyad empire to indicate the Persian arrow is *nushshāb*, of whatever material it may be made (*ibid.*). Leaving aside the divergencies found in certain manuscripts, the constituent elements of a wooden arrow, as they appear in the relevant treatises, are as follows (see fig. 2).

The wood (of the shaft) (*ḳidḥ*), whose forepart (towards the head) is called the *ṣadr* or foreshaft, and whose rear part, of wider section, is the *matn*. The *ṣadr* includes a socket (*ruʿẓ*) meant to take the head. This delicate end of the wood of the shaft is reinforced

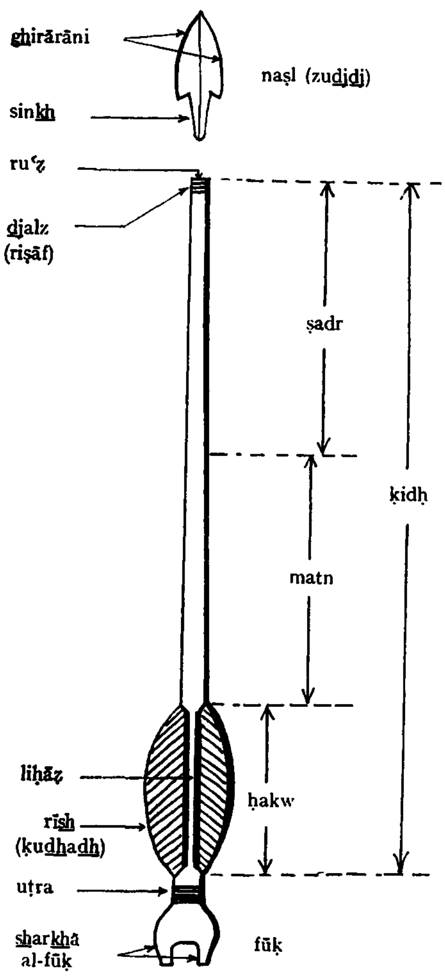

Fig. 2.

by a binding of sinews (*djalz* or *riṣāf*). The part of the *matn* which receives the fletchings (*rīsh*) is the section which is somewhat constricted and is called the waist (*ḥakw*); it terminates in an enlargement where is made the nock (*fūḳ*) which is meant to be embedded in the nocking-point of the bow-string (*maʿdin al-watar*). The base of the *matn*, which is situated just above the nock, undergoes, at the moment of release, a violent thrust which might tend to break the arrow at this point; hence it has a ligature of sinews (*uṭra* "cuticle") which is the counterpart of that of the upper part of the *ṣadr* (the *djalz* or *riṣāf*). The arrow is, in this way, re-inforced at both of the ends of least resistance. The two sides of the nock are called *sharkhā al-fūḳ*. The head (*naṣl* or zudjdj), which may have two edges (*ghirārān*), has a pointed tang (*sinkh*) which is embedded within the *ruʿz*.

In the treatises on *rimāya*, quivers are given various, sometimes contradictory names. Thus we find: *djaʿba*, a fairly large, leather quiver having a lid fixed by means of a cord (*mikhdhaf*). There are two Persian terms: *tīrkash*, a quiver made of horse-hair and used by archers from the province of Gīlān, and *nim-ling*, a quiver made of various skins sewn together and analogous to the preceeding one. *Ḳindīl* (< Greek κανδῆλα, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 410),

a cylindrical quiver in which the arrows are placed with their heads downwards, as opposed to the procedure with the *dja*ʿ*ba*. Concerning the *kināna*, a quiver made from skins, the lexicographical evidence is somewhat contradictory. *LA*, xiii, 321-2, gives the two senses of quiver made from skin and quiver made from wood, and Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, Cairo 1958, 27-8, notes that "if [the quiver] is made from skin, it is called *kināna*, if made from wood, *djafīr*, and if made from two pieces fastened together, *ḳaran*. The term *kināna* comprises all these nuances". *Djafīr*, according to *LA*, iv, 143, "resembles the *kināna*, but is bigger and can hold a large number of arrows. A *ḥadīth* seems to show that this quiver was of purely Arab origin: "Whoever takes an Arab bow and its quiver (*djafīr*), God will keep poverty away from him" (*ibid.*). *Ḳaḍba*, a quiver made from the *nab*ʿ wood (*Grewia tenax*). *Ḳaran*, a quiver made from pieces of leather put together so that the air can circulate through interstices left so that the fletchings of the arrows do not deteriorate. *Wafḍa*, a quiver made from skin entirely, with no wood in its construction (the word originally denotes a shepherd's leather bag). Finally, one should note a metaphorical phrase for "quiver" connected with its capacity, sc. *umm thalāthīn* (al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, Cairo n.d., i, 590). Another pointer to the capacity of certain quivers is provided by al-Wāḳidī, who in his account of the battle of Uḥud notes that an archer called Abū Ṭalḥa spread out in front of the Prophet, as a sign of his faithfulness, the contents of his quiver (*dja*ʿ*ba*), amounting to 50 arrows (*apud* Fries, 54).

6. *Gauntlets and thumb-rings*

The very strong pressure of the bow-string on the fingers and thumb at the time of the draw necessitates some protection here, provided by a leather gauntlet with the fingers reinforced with horn, bamboo or other hard material and held on the wrist by a thong or strap. According to the technique adopted for locking the bow-string (ʿ*aḳd*), this gauntlet can have 2, 3 or 4 fingers, but is never a complete glove. It may be designated by the arabised Persian word *kushtubān*/*kishtibān*, a doublet of *angushtvāneh*/*angushtbāneh* (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.); however, this is also the normal word for "thumb-guard", "drawing-ring", see J. D. Latham, *Keshtebān: a Persian loan-word in Arabic*, in *JRAS* (1968), 65-7. The modern archer's gauntlet is a copy of this. The so-called "Mongolian" method of taking the bow-string with the thumb requires the use of a thumb-stall, *khatī*ʿ*a* (sometimes, but incorrectly, *khayta*ʿ*a*). Good archers seem especially to appreciate rings made from hard substances like bone or ivory and corresponding exactly to the shape of their thumb, carefully carved and sometimes decorated with great artistry (see *Arab archery*, 123-4; Hein, in *Isl.* xv, 18-22; Klopsteg, 67-70; Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, pl. 7 A-B).

7. *The phases and principles of shooting*

The act of shooting can be broken down into a certain number of phases, each of which is developed with detail and precision and with reference to the practice of the main master-archers, in the treatises on *rimāya*. It is not possible to enter into detail here (see for this, Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, and Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*), and only a brief review of these phases, treated chronologically, is given here.

(a) *Ītār*, act of stringing or bracing the bow. This operation needs special care, as much to avoid damaging the bow as to avoid injury. Certain particularly powerful bows require the intervention of a helper or of special contrivances, bracing mechanisms, such as the *kharkumān* "bracing-board" (from Pers. *khar* + *kumān*?).

(b) *Ḳabḍa*, grasp, sc. the position of the left hand (for a right-handed person) on the grip or handle (*maḳbiḍ*) of the bow. In order to distinguish this technique from that of the ʿ*aḳd* (see below), the authors sometimes call this more precisely *al-ḳabḍa bi ʾl-shamāl*.

(c) ʿ*Aḳd* or *ḳafla*, the ock, locking, sc. the position on the bow-string of the fingers of the right hand, and especially that of the thumb in the "Mongolian" technique of locking (*al-*ʿ*aḳd bi ʾl-ibhām* ʿ*alā ʾl-watar*). In order to achieve a concise and clear exposition of this, the authors of the treatises generally refer to counting by means of the fingers [see ḤISĀB AL-ʿAḲD]. In effect, the thumb in the locking position and the fingers which, in various manners, come to lock the position in order to ensure a good draw of the string during the whole process of the draw, form a figure which is expressed by the corresponding numeral in the system of digital computation. Three locks seem to be especially favoured, sc. 63, 69 and 83.

(d) *Tafwīḳ*, nocking. This consists of bracing the arrow's nock (*fūḳ*) on the binding of the bow-string. There must be no play there, so that when the archer draws back the arrow, together with the bow-string, he accompanies the latter in its rearwards path to the chosen anchorage-point (see below).

(e) *Madd*, the draw, drawing (also *naz*ʿ *al-watar*). This consists of bringing the bow-string back towards oneself. This technique has variants in terms of the anchor-point selected, which can be at different levels: eyebrow, ear-lobe, moustache, chin, sternum.

(f) *Naẓar*, aim. This has various techniques according to the corrections which must be made in height and direction.

(g) *Iṭlāḳ* or *iflāt*, the loose, loosing. This is the last and certainly the most important phase of shooting, which demands the archer's entire concentration, an "emptying of the heart" (*takhliya-yi ḳalb*) and a setting-aside of all other thought (*mā siwā*). The master-archers insist in this attitude, which is like that of the supplicant at the time of the *takbīr al-iḥrām*. There seem to be three basic *iṭlāḳ*s. In the first, called *mukhtalas* "snatched", the archer draws rapidly and looses immediately without any break in time. In the second, called *sākin* "held", he draws slowly, holding the draw in order to verify that the position of the shot is good and then looses calmly. The third is called *mafrūk* "twisted", and involves a light, partial draw—a brief moment at rest—and then a sudden end to the draw followed immediately by the loose.

Like the religious lawyers or *fuḳahā*ʾ, the authors of the treatises distinguish five *arkān*, sc. the bow, the string, the arrow, the thumb-ring and the archer, and in the manner of *fiḳh*, they divide the phases of shooting which have been surveyed above into *uṣūl* and *furū*ʿ. It is thus possible to draw up the following table from the information of the chief master-archers:

Abū Hāshim—4 *uṣūl*, sc. *ḳabḍa*, ʿ*aḳd*, *madd*, *iṭlāḳ*.

Ṭāhir—to the 4 *uṣūl* given above is added an *aṣl* called *i*ʿ*timād* which consists of holding firmly in the left hand the grip or handle of the bow whilst the right-hand fingers make a good locking of the string, the two hands exerting equal forces.

Isḥāḳ—*intisāb* (position facing the target), *ītār*, *tafwīḳ*, *ḳufla*, *ḳabḍa*, *madd*, *iflāt*, *fatḥa*, together with a *far*ʿ, shooting from beneath a shield (*al-ramy taḥt al-turs*).

Abū Mūsā al-Kharrāz—4 *uṣūl*, sc. *ʿaḳd, ḳabḍa, naẓar, iflāt*, and 6 *furūʿ*, sc. *itār, tafwīḳ*, shooting from beneath a shield, shooting with a breastplate, knowledge of weapons for their use in combination, ways of changing weapons in the course of a battle. He also adds two moral qualities, *khaṣla*: not to shoot at anyone or anything contrary to the will of God, and to show patience.

Muḥammad al-Harawī—7 *uṣūl*, sc. *itār, tafwīḳ, ḳufla, ḳabḍa, madd, naẓar, iflāt*.

Finally, one may note that all these different techniques seem to come down to three main physical types, those of the three Imāms of *rimāya*, sc. Hāshim (tall), Ṭāhir (short and stocky) and Isḥāḳ (medium height).

8. *Training and tactical use*

The preceeding considerations concern shooting mainly on a horizontal plane. The Mamlūks especially developed two forms of practice shooting in a vertical plane, one up into the air (*ramy al-ḳabaḳ*) and one downwards (*ḳighadj*). The archer familiar with these techniques could use his weapon to maximum advantage in the various circumstances arising during battle.

Ramy al-ḳabaḳ "shooting at a gourd" (Tkish. *ḳabaḳ* "gourd"). A pole approximately 25 feet high was erected in the *maydān*, with a gourd or other spherical or oval object at its end, which the mounted archer must reach when his galloping horse passed by the pole. Little is known about the origins of this shooting exercise, which must have come from Central Asia and Turkmen practice. This exercise was very popular under the Mamlūks, and reached its apogee between 658/1260 and 694/1295 in the sultanates of Baybars I, Ḳalāʾūn and al-Ashraf Khalīl, often giving rise to splendid festivities. A description is given in the Mamlūk historians Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, viii, 6, and al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 180. On *ramy al-ḳabaḳ*, see especially Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, 77-8, 172, and Hassanein Rabie, *The training of the Mamlūk Fāris*, in *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, ed. V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp, London 1975, 153-63.

Ḳighadj (< Tkish. *kiğaç* "slope, incline"; the faulty transliteration of J. T. Reinaud *kycadj* gives the word as it must have appeared after the passage of Tkish. *ğ* to Ar. *ḳ*). In Ṭaybughā (*Saracen archery*, 78-9, 172-3) this term denotes either an exercise in which the archer, shooting parallel with his left thigh, shoots at a ground target, or else any kind of downwards shot made from horseback. According to Morier, *Second journey through Persia*, London 1818, 169, the word denoted shooting rearwards by a group of cavalrymen at full galop.

In open country, the archers whose function was to break, from a distance, the charge of the enemy were normally placed in the front rank. (Crossbowmen were also used for this aim, but with varying effect. If the arbalest gave an advantage of greater precision and a more powerful shot, it had serious disadvantages: heaviness, cumbersomeness and above all, a distinctly slower frequency of shooting, since a good crossbowman could only with great difficulty let off two bolts in the time during which an archer could shoot off twelve arrows. Hence the crossbow was primarily used for the defence or attacking of fortresses.) In the second rank came infantrymen sheltered behind shields and provided with weapons for cut-and-thrust in close combat (lances, swords). In the third rank were placed detachments of cavalry meant for hurling in at decisive moments [see ḤARB. ii. The caliphate]. The Turks, and then the Mongols, gave pride of place on the battle field to cavalrymen armed with short and very powerful reflexed, composite bows. The tactic of these horse-archers consisted of drowning the enemy under a hail of arrows whilst one or both of the wings moved round to envelope the enemy's wings or rear [see ḤARB. iv. Persia].

The "Scythian" method of shooting over the shoulder. This was a tactic stemming from the nomadic peoples of Central Asia, who were trained from childhood in riding and archery. The tactic must have been adopted, as Rostovtseff showed (see Bibl.), by the Scythians of the 8th-2nd centuries BC, and then passed to the Tatars; it made a vivid

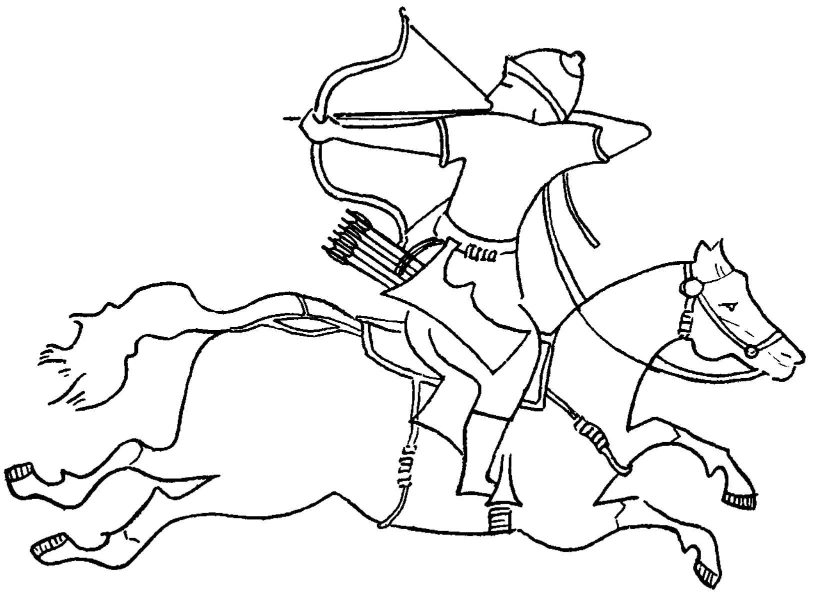

Fig. 3.

impression on classical authors, in whom the expression "Parthian shot" became a synonym for treachery (on the Scythians' tactics, see Herodotus, iv, 120; Xenophon, Anabasis, iii, 3, 10). This archer avoided close combat by making a series of attacks and retreats which had a definitely demoralising effect on the enemy. Greek and Latin authors often refer to this, and especially significant in this connection is the verse of Propertius, iv, 3, 65-6, describing "the cunningly-contructed bow which lets fly against the fleeing cruppers", *plumbea cum tortae sparguntur pondera fundae/Subdolus et uersiis increpat arcus equis*.

It is moreover the concept of nomadic steppe cavalrymen which is at the bottom of mediaeval representations of Centaurs galloping along and shooting arrows behind them; see on this Z. Kadar, *L'influence des peuples cavaliers sur la formation des representations mediévales des Centaures*, in *Acta Archaeologica*, ii/4 (Budapest 1952), 307-18.

This method of shooting, more "Scythian" than "Parthian", considering its ultimate origin, recurs in Turco-Mongol military traditions and is perfectly illustrated in the famous 15th century miniature of the Top Kapu Saray, 2163 Istanbul (see fig. 3). Its persistence over the course of centuries is remarkable, and Sulimirski (see Bibl.) has seen a last vestige of it during the modern period (long after firearms had toppled the bow from its primacy) in the rearwards shooting practiced—on horseback and with pistols—by the Cossacks of the 19th century and up to the time of the Polish-Bolshevik warfare of 1920.

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(A. Boudot-Lamotte)

ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ, the Arabic term for the rainbow, formed from *ḳaws* "bow" (*Ḳws* in the inscriptions of Jordan; *Ḳaws͟h* in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal; *Ḳūsu* in Babylonian inscriptions of the time of Darius and Artaxerxes I; *Ḳūsu*, *Ḳūs͟hu*, *Ḳis͟hi*, *Ḳūs͟hi*, in the Old Testament; *Kos*/*Kōs*/Κοζε, amongst the Nabataeans; *Ḳaws*, *Ḳays*, in Arabia), an Edomite deity known during the first millennium and later venerated by the Nabataeans (cf. Vriezen, *The Edomitic deity Qaus*, 330 ff.). He was a war-god, symbolised by the bow, just as Adad berqu, god of the tempest, was symbolised by lightning (D. van Buren, *Symbols of the gods in Mesopotamian art*, 1945, 67), and as D͟hu 'l-K͟halaṣa, the archer-god of the Arabian pantheon, was symbolised by arrows (see T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale avant l'hégire*, 61 ff.).

After the manner of D͟hu 'l-S͟harā which eclipsed him, Ḳaws acquired other prerogatives, those of most of the gods of the desert regions, such as the protection of the vegetation by ensuring rain, a prerogative symbolised by the rainbow. Hence in the nomadic milieu, the name Ḳaws was followed by *ḳuzaḥ* in order to define his speciality. *Ḳuzaḥ*, pl. of *ḳuzḥa*, "a coloured band of yellow, red and green" (Yāḳūt, iv, 86 ll. 3-4; *TA*, ii, 209, l. 11 from foot) denotes the successive appearance of bands of colour in the rainbow. As the divine symbol became substituted in general usage for the divine name whose attributes it was eventually to determine, *ḳuzaḥ* sometimes came to designate the god himself. Hence is attributed to Muḥammad the saying "Do not say Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ, because Ḳuzaḥ is the name of a demon (*s͟hayṭān*), but say Ḳaws Allāh" (Yāḳūt, iv, 85-6), and D͟jāḥiẓ adds, "just as one says the House of Allāh, the pilgrims of Allāh and the lion of Allāh" (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 28-9); here, the symbol is taking the place of that which was originally symbolised. This is confirmed by the fact that this *s͟hayṭān* (a term applied to the pagan idols) became, in Islamic cosmological tradition, the angel in charge of the rainbow (Yāḳūt, iv, 86 l. 4).

Furthermore, Ḳuzaḥ, the abridged form of Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ, still denotes at Muzdalifa the pick placed at the right of the *imām* when he occupies the place reserved for him for the Pilgrimage ceremonies; before Islam, this designated, in the same spot, the pyre where the sacred fire of Muzdalifa was kindled (cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 10). When considered together with Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ, this fire could have been one of rogation or *istisḳā'* [*q.v.*].

In short, Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ is the Arabic variation of the name of a divinity whose importance is attested by a number of theophoric names found among the peoples moving round the region between Central Arabia and the Jordan, such as Ḳaws͟h-malaku and Ḳaws͟h-gabri, two kings of Edom in the times of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-27 B.C.) and Esarhaddon (680-69 B.C.); *Ḳwsbr*, *Ḳwsmlk*, amongst the people of Liḥyān; *Slmtḳs* amongst the Minaeans, *Ḳwsʿnl*, *Ḳwsny*, *Pgʿḳws*, in the inscriptions of Tell K͟hulayfa (7th century B.C.); Ḳusud͟jadaʿ, Ḳusud͟jahabi, Barḳusu, in the Babylonian period; and Kosdaros, Kosnatanos, Kosmalachos, Kosbanos, etc. in the Hellenistic period.

The absence of such theophoric names composed with Ḳaws in Arab onomastic is striking and unusual, given the fact that there exist names compounded with Ḳays, such as Imru' al-Ḳays and ʿAbd al-Ḳays (explained in *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, i, 85, and Baṭalyūsī, *S͟harḥ dīwān Imri' al-Ḳays*, Cairo 1308, 3, as being connected with an idol called al-Ḳays, on analogy with the type of theophoric names fairly common in Arab onomastic).

Should one then conclude that Ḳaws and Ḳays are two forms of the same name? With Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, 67, and G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*^{2}, 206, 226, and against Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xl (1887), 714, and *ERE*, i (1908), 660-1, A. Fischer, *EI*^{1} art. ḳais, A. Grohmann, *Die Araber*, 1963, 85, and M. Hofner, in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie. Die alten Kultur. I. Vordere Orient*, ed. Haussig, 460-1, we maintain that Ḳaws and Ḳays denote one and the same god (cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 136-40).

This god is Ḳaws and not Ḳays, for the following reasons: (1) the absence of the name Ḳays from the Arab pantheon as described by Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, the source of all writings on the question; (2) the absence of theophoric names composed with Ḳays in the inscriptions gathered in Arabia and in the vast region traversed by Arabs to the north of the peninsula (cf. Lankester Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, 921, in which only theophoric names with Ḳaws are attested); (3) the isolated position of the two theophoric names composed with Ḳays in comparison with the large number of those composed with Ḳaws; and (4) the existence in

Min aean of a theophoric name *Kysmnwt* (cf. Jamme, in *Oriens antiquus*, vi, 181-2, text no. 1211), in which *ḳays* occupies the place of *imruʾ* and of *ʿabd* and not that of a divine name.

Should one therefore deduce from this transformation of Ḳaws into Ḳays, in the kingdom of Kinda, an attempt to appropriate the ancient Edomite deity by the powerful tribal confederation of the Ḳaysīs?

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(T. FAHD)

Independently of *ḳaws ḳuzaḥ*, other expressions are used in Arabic to denote the rainbow: *Ḳaws Allāh, Ḳ. Rasūl Allāh, Ḳ. al-samāʾ, Ḳ. al-g̲h̲amām, K. al-muzn, ʿalāʾim al-samāʾ, Ḳ. Ḳazīʿ*. The words *ḳusṭān* (dust), *ḳusṭānī, ḳusṭalānī* and *ḳusṭalaniyya* have a quite different origin. Muslim scholars include the rainbow among the *āt̲h̲ār al-ʿulwiyya*, the superior phenomena. The rainbow is usually opposite the spectator, while the sun is at his back and there is a dark cloud or wall behind drops of water; the drops may be in a cloud or formed at springs, waterwheels, in turbulent rivers where spray is formed, in the steam of baths or in water which is ejected from the mouth in a spray (see *Beitr. V*). Frequent reference is made to a description by Ibn Sīnā (see E. Wiedemann and M. Horten, in Bibl., among others) who was on the top of a very high hill at the foot of which lay a vast bank of mist; the sun was above the hill and Ibn Sīnā saw a rainbow on the mist below him.

Numerous descriptions of rainbows occur in literature, *e.g.*, in the *Ḥamāsa* (F. Tuch, *ZDMG*, iii, 200 ff.), also by the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla and by the poet al-Waʾwāʾ (see F. Dieterici, *Mutanabbī und Saif al-Daula aus der Edelperle des T̲h̲aʿālibī dargestellt*, Leipzig 1847, 129, 175).

The more or less strictly scientific studies of the rainbow are also numerous. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa (iv, No. 9,640) quotes a special *ʿIlm Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ* concerning which he deals with all questions that can arise. According to him, "it investigates how the rainbow is formed, the reason why it is formed and why it is circular; further the reason for the difference in its colours, why it appears after rain at the end of a day and why it is often seen by day but only rarely at night by moonlight. It further investigates the astrological significance (*al-aḥkām*) of its appearance". Descriptions on similar lines are found, for example, in the works of al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-Mak̲h̲lūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 98; *Kosmographie*, tr. Ethé, 201); in the *Rasāʾil Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1305, ii, 52 ff. (cf. F. Dieterici, *Die Naturanschauung der Araber*, Berlin 1861, 87); also by al-Ḳarāfī in his *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fīmā tudrikuhu 'l-abṣār*; and in the *Risāla fī Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ* of al-Tuḳātī (see Berlin Catalogue by Ahlwardt, No. 5691); two anonymous works have been published by Cheikho (*al-Machriq*, xv (1912), 736-44). A considerable section in a meteorological work (Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, No. 6054), and no doubt many other passages, deal with our phenomenon. The most important and most comprehensive work, however, is from the pen of Ibn Sīnā in his *S̲h̲ifāʾ* (see *Bibl.*).

The descriptions of the rainbow are in general very accurate. Not only the simple rainbow but also the double and even triple are described. The first is said to be produced by the sun's rays themselves, the second by the rays shining through the rays from the first and the third by the rays from the first two; the bows therefore are successively weaker. It is emphasised that the rainbow is not always composed of the same colours, a phenomenon which has been fully investigated by M. Pernter. It is also mentioned that the rainbow is particularly beautiful when the sun is on the horizon.

The older treatment of the theory of the rainbow goes back to Aristotle, with whose meteorological works the Arabs were acquainted. T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra is said to have translated a commentary by At̲h̲āfrūdīṭus = Epaphroditos (?) on Aristotle's essay on the rainbow (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 59). Aristotle is followed by Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am, al-Ḳarāfī etc., although in many details they make additions and corrections to his views. It is always assumed that the rainbow is produced by beams of light or visual rays which are regularly reflected on the raindrops, on very minute reflecting surfaces. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] gave a brilliant exposition of the correct explanation, as far as was possible in the general state of knowledge in his day, when the dispersion of light was unknown. Like us he says that the light is once or twice reflected in the interior of the globule of water and then radiates out from it; thus we have the main and secondary rainbow. He also endeavours to investigate the cause of the colours although, of course, not satisfactorily. By experiments he proves the correctness of his results, which are on a much higher level than those of Theodoricus of Freiburg (about 1300).

From *ḳuzaḥ* comes a word *taḳāzīḥ*, meaning "showing the colours of the rainbow" or briefly, "the colours of the rainbow". It is defined by Kamāl al-Dīn as "different graduated colours in the region between blue, green, yellow, red, smoke-coloured white, that is, as regards sensual perception".

The rainbow is also given an astrological significance according to the zodiacal sign in which it appears. In the Ram it means plague and death (Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, No. 5906, *al-Ḳawl ʿalā ṭūl Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ*). In another manuscript, (No. 5915, 1) it is said that in September a rainbow indicates great tyranny and oppression.

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part 5-6; G. Hellmann, *Neudrucke von Schriften über Meteorologie*, etc., No. 15; the passages mentioned from the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, from Dieterici, 23-41, and from al-Ḳazwīnī from Ethé, 127-42; Mallon, *Ḳawṣ Ḳuzaḥ*, in *al-Machriq*, iii (1900), 241, note; O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1901, 600 ff. (for a comparison of the Arab views with those of the Greeks). (E. Wiedemann)

ḲAWṢARA or ḳūsira, Italian island, now called Pantelleria, situated 64 miles/100 km. from Sicily and 55 miles/76 km. from the Tunisian town of Kelibia (Clypea); it is volcanic in structure, lacking any fresh water and culminating in a height of 2,600 ft./836 m. The area is 83 km²., and the population 10,000. The name Ḳawṣara (vocalised thus by Yāḳūt —who suggests an Arabic etymology, "date basket" —and in most of the sources) is actually of Greek origin, being a deformation of Cossyra, more easily discerned in the form attested and favoured by Bakrī, sc. Ḳūsira. It must have been generally pronounced Ḳūṣra, then Arabised in the written texts, by assimilation to an Arab form, as Ḳawṣara.

Lacking any great strategic or economic value, Ḳawṣara figures little in the historical sources, and only a few items of information on it can be found in the Arabic sources. At the time of the invasion of Ifrīḳiya in 27/647-8 by ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ [*q.v.*], the inhabitants of Djazīrat Sharīk (Cape Bon) gathered at Clypea and took refuge temporarily on Ḳawṣara. Half-a-century later, in *ca.* 81/700, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan—who ended up as governor of Spain—devastated the island, probably operating from Egypt as his base. Ḳawṣara doubtless subsequently suffered further from attacks by the Muslim fleets which began to rove the Mediterranean. In 221/836 it was still in Byzantine hands, and served as a base for their fleet, operating against the Aghlabids, involved after 212/827 with the conquest of Sicily. It is unknown exactly when the Aghlabids took it, but it was apparently in their possession by 250/864, and after this date, the island became completely arabised and islamised, forming part of Ifrīḳiya till the Almohad period.

It was inevitably involved in the fighting between the Normans of Sicily and the Zīrids. It was in the waters of Ḳawṣara that the fleet of 400 ships fitted out by al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (407-54/1016-62) to assist the Muslims of Sicily was wrecked in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 416/January 1026. It was also there that the fleets of Pisa and Genoa, who were preparing to attack Ifrīḳiya, concentrated in 480/1087-8. The island's Muslims warned Tamīm (454-501/1062-1108) by carrier pigeon of the danger threatening him. In 517/1123 the Norman fleet, en route for Mahdiyya, sacked and laid waste Ḳawṣara, and massacred its inhabitants. Finally, in 543/1148-9, the Sicilian fleet, under George of Antioch, occupied the island before going on to seize the Zīrid capital.

The island was then apparently recovered by the Almohads who freed Ifrīḳiya from the Christian presence and unified the Maghrib, but this was not for long. By the terms of the treaty of 15 Djumādā II 618/5 August 1221 made with the Emperor Frederick II, the Almohad governor of Tunis ceded Ḳawṣara to Sicily, on condition that the Muslims of the island might enjoy administrative and legal autonomy and that half of the taxation levied on them should go to Ifrīḳiya (Mas-Latrie, *Traités*..., Paris 1866, 153-5). From this time onwards, Ḳawṣara shared the destiny of Sicily, and was thus for some time dependent on the crown of Aragon; it probably received from the Catalans its new name of Pantelleria. However, the rulers of Tunis did not totally give up the idea of regaining it. A curious treaty made in 1403 laid down the ways in which the ruler of Aragon might take control of Djerba, whilst the ruler of Tunis might get Ḳawṣara; but this arrangement was never put into effect.

The people of Ḳawṣara long remained Muslim. Yāḳūt (d. 626/1228) states that in the 7th/13th century they comprised Wahbī Ibāḍīs (originally from Djerba?), whose austere way of life was perfectly adapted to the isolation and meagre resources of the island. The new Christian rulers did all they could to keep them. Thus one finds Alfonso of Aragon complaining to the Sultan of Tunis in 1438 that certain Ḥafṣid officials were encouraging them to emigrate. His envoy demanded the return of the emigrants, and even the planting of new Ifrīḳiyans in the island. The date of the spreading of Christianity is unknown. Fazello, cited in Amari, *Storia*, iii, 895, tells us that at the beginning of the 10th/16th century Christians and Muslims wore the same garments and spoke the same language. According to Bonnet, a Provençal merchant enslaved at Tunis, whence he had managed to escape, this language was in 1670 (the year in which he took refuge in Ḳawṣara) the same as that spoken in Malta. It must therefore have been an Arabic already much transformed.

The island's resources have always been fairly slight. Its woods provided wood of excellent quality, and wild goats are said to have been hunted. In mid-17th century, according to Bonnet, "the island's trade consists entirely of wine, charcoal and wood which the people export to Sicily and Malta" (P. Grandchamp, *Un marchand provençal*..., 14).

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KAWTHWAR, a word used only once in the Ḳurʾān (CVIII, 1: "Yes, we have given you *al-kawthar*"); the short Sūra CVIII is given the name *surāt al-kawthar*. The word comes from the root K-TH-R "to be abundant" in the *fawʿal* formation, which is not rare (*e.g. nawfal*: other examples in Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, i, 34). The *kawthar* which occurs in ancient

poetry (see quotations in Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 261, and Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 92) means "abundance". Some ancient writers of *tafsīr* interpret *kawthar* in Ḳur'ān, CVIII, 1 as "abundant goodness" (*al-khayr al-kathīr*; cf. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 180-1). This etymological meaning, however, although it did not totally disappear, gave way to a traditional interpretation. According to this the Prophet himself regarded *al-kawthar* as the proper name of a river in Paradise (cf. Ibn Hishām, 261 *in fine*, and specially al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 179)., or as a pond which was shown to him at the time of his ascension to the Throne of God, and which was designated for him (al-Ṭabarī, *ibid.*, 180; cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 231). This last explanation is considered most credible by al-Ṭabarī; *al-kawthar* was, then, becoming something almost synonymous with *ḥawḍ* [*q.v.*], "the Prophet's pool", at which believers quench their thirst when entering Paradise. Its existence is affirmed in several "professions of faith". But more frequently *al-kawthar* will be the river which feeds the pool. According to a subsequent idea (cf. *Aḥwāl al-ḳiyāma*, ed. Wolff, 107), all the rivers of Paradise flow into the *ḥawḍ al-kawthar*, also called *nahr Muḥammad*, as specially belonging to the Prophet.

The most ancient Sūras already mention "the spring" (*ʿayn*), "the living spring" (*ʿayn jāriya*) which waters Paradise (LXXVII, 41; LXXXVIII, 12 and *passim*); the Medinan Sūras describe in more detail the "rivers" (*al-anhār*). In XLVII, 15, for example: "There will be rivers there, the water of which is incorruptible, rivers of milk which never sour, rivers of wine sweet for those who drink of them, rivers of clear honey". This description suggests the rivers of Paradise of Judaeo-Christian eschatology, flowing with oil, milk, wine and honey. It is of note that oil is replaced by "incorruptible water" (*ghayr āsin*), so precious in the deserts of Arabia (cf. J. Horovitz, *Das koranische Paradies*, 9). *Ḥadīth*s and *tafsīr*s delight in describing *al-kawthar* on this same model. But taking into consideration the root meaning of "abundance", *al-kawthar*, the "river of the Prophet" presents itself as the quintessence of the rivers of Paradise. In certain versions quoted by the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī it is said: "Its waters are whiter than the snow and sweeter than honey", or, "And its waters are of wine". Surpassing the Ḳur'ānic description are others endowing it with "banks of gold" or a bed of "rubies and pearls" with a perfume "more penetrating than musk" (cf. Soubhi El-Saleh, *La vie future selon le Coran*, Paris 1972, 36 and ref.). Rationalising or modern *tafsīr*s easily lend a metaphoric sense to these details.

Bibliography: given in the article. The principal traditional references to *al-kawthar* are (cf. Soubḥi El-Saleh, *op. cit.*, 36, n. 6 and Annexe I): Bukhārī, viii, *Riḳāḳ*, 119; *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 112; Tirmidhī, ii, *Tafsīr*, to CVIII, 240; Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, 307; later, Baghawī, *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*, ii, *Ḥawḍ*, 145; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afraḥ*, 131, etc.

(J. Horovitz - L. Gardet)

ḲAWUḲLU, Turkish "the man with the *Ḳavuḳ*", a character of the Turkish *Orta oyunu* theatre.

Turkish *ḳavuḳ* indicates a rather high, variously-shaped cap, with a headband, *ṣarīḳ*, wound round it (Ağakay, *Türkçe sözlük: sarık sarılan başlık*). Such caps of varying shape and colour according to rank were worn by officers of the Janissaries (cf. Maḥmūd Shewket, *ʿOthmānlī teshkīlāt ve ḳiyāfet-i ʿaskeriyyesi*, Istanbul 1325, i, 29 ff.). Other professions too had their own special *ḳavuḳ*, there were *wezīr*, *mollā*, *kātib* and *pashalīḳ ḳavughu*, some with specific names: *kallāvī*, *khorasānī*, *müdjewweze*, *selīmī*, *ʿörf* (cf. Emin Cenkmen, *Osmanlı sarayı ve kiyafetleri*, Istanbul 1948). In official language, even an Arabic plural *ḳawāwiḳ* was formed. However, the popular mind conceived of the Ḳawuḳ wearer in a different fashion: *kavuk büyük ama altında efendi yok*, "an imposing cap but no gentleman underneath it"; *kavuk sallamak*, "to wave one's cap", *i.e.*, "to say yes and amen to everything"; *kavukçu* or *dalkavuk*, "coaxer or wheedler"; *kavuk giydirmek*, "to put on a cap", *i.e.*, "to impose upon someone".

A special *ḳawuḳlu* appears as one of the two main characters of the Turkish popular theatre *Orta oyunu* [*q.v.*]. Such theatres had existed previously, but so far as we know, the term *Orta oyunu* occurs for the first time in 1833. The heyday of the *Orta* theatre was towards the end of the 19th century; it then became known in Europe through Kúnos's descriptions. The hero of the comic play was the *Ḳawuḳlu*, just like Ḳaragöz [*q.v.*] in the shadow-plays. The other main character, Peshekār, was a kind of theatre-director, corresponding somewhat to Ḥadjīvād in the shadow-play. The *Ḳawuḳlu*'s dress, including a caftan (*djübbe*) and trousers (*shalvār*) was red, even the cap (see the plates in Kúnos and Gerçek's publications). Often appearing as a pedlar, artisan or servant, the *Ḳawuḳlu* was a clown whose comedy lay in his misunderstanding the words of the other actors, his mindless execution of orders, which he twisted and exaggerated, his immoderate bragging, slyness and ready wit, and his imitation (*taḳlīd*) of foreign voices and dialects, especially those of the non-Turks in the Ottoman Empire. Dextrous juggling was also part of his performance. Only the main lines of the action were known; the *Ḳawuḳlu* had to improvise all the jokes, so that his performance was a demanding one. About 40 titles of plays, some identical with those of the shadow-play, are known, and 25 names of famous *Ḳawuḳlu*s have come down to us. Special mention should be made of Ḥamdī (d. 1911), ʿAbdī (= ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, d. 1914), Kel Ḥasan (d. 1929) and Nāshiṭ (1889-1938) (see Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, with plates). Performances by these and other *Ḳawuḳlu*s are still remembered by the populace. Ḥamdī, when asked by Kúnos where he had learnt his art, answered significantly that his uncle and comrades had been his teachers. In origin, the *Orta* theatre was probably influenced by foreign elements; Bombaci has suggested influences from Jews, Greeks and perhaps Gipsies.

During the Reform period, this type of theatre met with serious competition from the European theatre, and many modernists wanted to forbid it outright. At the time when modern-type stages were set up, Ḥamdī made an attempt with the so-called *suflörlü oyunlar*, but without real success. Kel Ḥasan was more fortunate and died a rich man. In recent times, the *Orta* theatre has almost completely disappeared and endeavours to revive it are only occasionally heard of.

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ḲĀWURD b. Čag͟hrī Beg Dāwūd, called also Ḳara Arslan Beg on his coins and by authors like Mīrk͟hwand, the founder of a line of virtually independent Sald͟jūḳ amīrs in Kirmān which endured for some 140 years until the irruption into the province of Og͟huz from K͟hurāsān.

The origins of Sald͟jūḳ rule in Kirmān are obscure: there are discrepancies in the accounts of the sources, and the opening pages of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's local history of Kirmān are missing. Kirmān had been recovered by the Būyids after the G͟haznavid occupation of 422-5/1031-4 (on which see E. Merçil, *Gazneliler'in Kirman hâkimiyeti (1031-1034)*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 24 (1970), 35-44) and formed part of the amīrate in southern Persia of ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Kālīd͟jār Marzubān. After the collapse of G͟haznavid power in K͟hurāsān, Sald͟jūḳ bands began raiding southwards through Ḳūhistān and Ṭabas to Kirmān. A raid on the chief town, Bardasīr or Kirmān, was repulsed by Abū Kālīd͟jar's vizier Muhad͟hd͟hib al-Dawla Hibatallāh al-Fasawī in 434/1042-3 (Ibn al-At͟hīr, ix, 349); whether Ḳāwurd or Ibrāhīm Ināl was the leader of this foray is unclear. However, shortly before the Būyid amīr's death in 440/1048-9, the rebellious Daylamī commander in Bardasīr, Bahrām b. Las͟hkarsitān, delivered the capital into Ḳāwurd's hands, and Būyid rule was thus ended (Ibn al-At͟hīr, ix, 349-50; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 2-3).

Ḳāwurd now began a reign of over a quarter-century in his apanage, acknowledging the supreme suzerainty of Ṭog͟hrïl Beg and then, somewhat grudgingly, that of his own brother Alp Arslan. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm gives considerable information about his internal policy. Over the ensuing years, he proved himself an energetic and capable ruler in Kirmān. He behaved as an almost independent prince, with such insignia of royalty as the ceremonial parasol or *čatr*, the use of his own *ṭug͟hrā* or official emblem on documents (incorporating the Sald͟jūḳ bow and arrow motif), and the adoption of honorific titles such as ʿImād al-Dawla, found on his coins together with his *ṭug͟hrā*. Like the Sald͟jūḳs in other parts of Persia, he took care to win over the Persian official and religious classes, assigning them administrative and judicial positions and marrying several of his daughters to local ʿAlids. He retained in his service many of the local Daylamī soldiers, but his reputation also attracted to Kirmān considerable numbers of Turkmens, to whom land grants or *iḳṭāʿ*s were assigned. He established a high degree of public security, taking draconian measures against those notorious brigands, the Kūfičīs or Ḳufṣ [*q.v.*], and was active in the charitable and public works expected of the wise Perso-Islamic ruler. He built caravanserais and baths, set up markers on roads through the desert, and built guard posts at strategic points (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 10). One of his guard towers, still standing on the road from Bam to Sīstān at a point between Fahrad͟j and Gurg, was identified as such by Sir Percy Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Iran* (London 1902), 418. He maintained a high standard of coinage, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 4, a piece of information confirmed by his extant coins, comprising dīnārs and dirhams, and minted at Bardasīr, D͟jīruft and S͟hīrāz (see on these, C. Alptekin, *Şelcuklu paraları*, in *Selçuklu araştırmaları dergisi*, iii (Ankara 1971), 440, 554-60); and the transit trade across Kirmān to Sīstān, India and the Persian Gulf was also encouraged.

With regard to external policy, Ḳāwurd mounted an expedition across the Gulf from Hormuz and seized the former Būyid dependency of ʿUmān; he sent a force under one of his sons to Sīstān; and he came, together with Alp Arslan, to succour Ṭog͟hrïl during the Turkmen rebellion of 451/1059 led by Ibrāhīm Ināl. The situation in Fārs, where the last Būyids were clinging to the vestiges of power, was his special concern. In 454/1062 he marched against the S͟habānkāra'ī Kurdish leader Faḍlūya, defeating the latter and bringing about the final crumbling of Būyid rule in S͟hīrāz, though it was several years before Faḍlūya's defiance was completely crushed and Faḍlūya himself killed by Alp Arslan's forces in 461/1069.

Ḳāwurd had recognized Alp Arslan's succession to their father Čag͟hrï Beg as Sald͟jūḳ ruler in the east, and in 456/1064 he recognised him as supreme sultan after Alp Arslan had appeared in Kirmān. Ḳāwurd was nevertheless restless under this subordination to his brother; he withdrew his allegiance from Alp Arslan in 459/1067 and only restored it when the latter came again with an army. On Alp Arslan's death in 465/1072 he determined on a definite bid for power, basing his claim to overlordship in the Sald͟jūḳ family on his long experience as a ruler and commander, combined with his rights under the old Turkish principle of seniorate, the succession right of a senior, capable male member of the ruling family or clan, as against the young Malik S͟hāh's claim to succeed his father. The armies of Ḳāwurd and Malik S͟hāh met near Hamad͟hān in D͟jumādā I 466/January 1074 (thus in Ḥusaynī; in Bundārī and Ibn al-At͟hīr, in S͟haʿbān/April). Many of the more traditionalist Turkmen elements in Alp Arslan's old army inclined to Ḳāwurd's side, and Ḳāwurd counted on wholesale defections; but Malik S͟hāh's slave commanders and his Kurdish and Arab contingents held firm, and Ḳāwurd was defeated and captured. Malik S͟hāh was inclined towards mercy for his uncle, who at one point offered to retire to ʿUmān; it seems to have been the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk who connived at Ḳāwurd's execution by strangling, or, according to some accounts, by poisoning (the fullest account of Ḳāwurd's rebellion and death is in Ḥusaynī, 56-8; see also Bundārī, 48, Rāwandī, 126-7, and Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 53-4). Malik S͟hāh nevertheless preferred to leave the relatively isolated province of Kirmān as an autonomous unit, and restored it to Ḳāwurd's son Rukn al-Dawla Sulṭān S͟hāh within a few months.

Bibliography: the salient events of Ḳāwurd's career are to be found in the general sources on Sald͟jūḳ history, sc. Ḥusaynī's *Ak͟hbār al-dawla al-sald͟jūḳiyya*, Bundārī's *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, Rāwandī's *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīs͟hāpūrī's *Sald͟jūḳnāma*, Ibn al-At͟hīr, Barhebraeus, etc. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's *Ta'rīk͟h-i Sald͟jūḳiyyān-i Kirmān*, ed. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides*, i, Leiden 1886, ed. M. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran 1964, cf. Houtsma, *Zur Geschichte der Selǵuqen von Kermân*, in *ZDMG*, xxxix (1885), 362-402, is supremely important as a special history of the dynasty. Information from the local histories of Kirmān is given in the text and notes of Muḥammad Bastānī-Pārīzī's edition of Aḥmad ʿAlī K͟hān Wazīrī's *Ta'rīk͟h-i Kirmān*

(*Sālāriyya*), Tehran 1340/1961. Of secondary literature, see Sykes, *A history of Persia*, London 1915, ii, 102, and Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, ch. 1. For Ķāwurd's coins, see the monograph of Alptekin mentioned above.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KĀWŪS, Banū, an Iranian dynasty which reigned in the districts of Rūyān and Rustamdār, the coastal plain and the mountainous interior respectively, of the western parts of the Caspian province of Māzandarān [*q.v.*] in the second half of the 9th/15th century and in the 10th/16th century. The dynasty was in fact one of the two branches into which the ancient line of the Bādūspānids [*q.v.*], whose genealogy went back to Sāsānid times, split in the middle years of the 9th/15th century.

The Bādūspānids had been confined to the fortress of Nūr by the Caspian campaigns of Tīmūr in 794/1392, but the amīr Kayūmarth b. Bīsutūn (807-57/1404-53) later regained control of Rūyān, where he forcibly introduced amongst the previously Sunnī population there the Shīʿī faith which he had acquired during exile in Shīrāz. On his death after a 50 years' reign, his eldest surviving son Kāwūs (857-71/1453-67) seized power, but had to agree to a partition of the Bādūspānid territories with his brother Iskandar. Kāwūs kept Nūr and other parts of the piedmont of Rustamdār, whilst Iskandar received the mountainous inland districts of Kudjūr and Lāridjān. The two lines continued in parallel down to the Ṣafawid conquest. The adhesion of the Banū Kāwūs to the Shīʿī traditions of much of the Caspian region was strengthened by Kāwūs's own marriage to a daughter of one of the Sayyids of Āmul and by later alliances with the family of Marʿashī Sayyids.

The history of this petty dynasty is largely one of local warfare against rival potentates in Māzandarān, often with help from neighbouring rulers in Gīlān; thus in 910/1504-5 Bīsutūn b. Djihāngīr b. Kāwūs (904-13/1498-9 to 1507) succeeded in taking over all Rustamdār and Kudjūr, with the exception of the fortress of Kudjūr itself, from the fraternal branch of the Banū Iskandar. The line of the Banū Kāwūs expired through a combination of internecine strife in Māzandarān and of outside intervention by the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās I, determined now to assert the central government's authority in the Caspian provinces. After bringing Gīlān under control, the shah charged Farhād Khān in 1596/1004 with the subjugation of all the princelings of Māzandarān. Bahman b. Kayūmarth of the Banū Iskandar, at this time master in Lāridjān and Āmul, was removed and his death procured by a rival, after which his territories were granted to one of the shah's Ķīzīlbāsh amīrs. Djihāngīr b. ʿAzīz of the Banū Kāwūs was besieged in Kudjūr, captured and executed, and his territories granted to the *Ķūrči-Bāshī* Allāh-Ķulī Beg. Both these lines of Bādūspānid epigoni were thus extinguished.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ĶAWWĀS (a.), occasionally also *Ķawwāṣ* (*e.g.* in the Arabian Nights), in modern Turkish *kavas*, properly bowman (from *ķaws* "bow"), came to denote in general "musketeer" and finally also "policeman-soldier", especially the one in the service of highly-placed Turkish officials and foreign ambassadors. From this term is derived the French "cawas" and the German "Kawasse". In Turkey the *Ķawwās* were, until 1826, chosen among the Janissaries (*Yeñi čeri* [*q.v.*]) and were called *yasaķčī*. Their function was to protect foreign embassies and consulates and to escort diplomats leaving their residences, whether officially or unofficially; it was their duty to assure the latter unimpeded passage. In the Capitulations [see imtiyāzāt] it was laid down (for France in 1740) that foreign diplomats were entitled to choose their own *Ķawwās*; the Turkish government could not impose anyone on them (see T. Xavier Bianchi, *Nouveau guide de la conversation*, Paris 1852, 273 f.; G. Noradounghian, *Recueil*, i, 1897, 289, § 45). According to an agreement of 23 Ṣafar 1280/9 Aug. 1863, the *Ķawwās* were four in number for consulates-general and consulates in the capitals of the *vilāyets*, three for other consulates, and two for vice-consulates and consular agents. The governor of the *vilāyet* was informed of their nomination (Aristarchi Bey, *Législation ottomane*, Istanbul 1883-8, iv, 15 ff.).

In Turkey, the office of the *Ķawwās* was abolished by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. However, the term *Ķawwās*, or a similar expression, is still current in colloquial usage, both in Turkey and in other Islamic states also, to denote the servants and guards of foreign embassies.

Bibliography: given in the article, but see also the *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris 1822.

(Cl. Huart - [B. Spuler])

KAYA [see Ketkhudā].

ĶAYALİĶ, a mediaeval town in the region of the present-day Kopal in Southern Kazakhstan, identified by A. N. Bernshtam with the hill-fort Dungina 18 km. S.W. of Taldī Kurgan. It is first mentioned as the headquarters of the Ķarluķ chieftain Arslan Khān, who submitted to Čingiz-Khān in the spring of 607/1211. Ķayalīķ was originally included in the territory assigned by Čingiz-Khān to his eldest son Djuči [*q.v.*]; it was afterwards nominally part of the Čaghatay Khānate though administered, like the whole agricultural zone from Ūyghūristān westwards to Khwārazm, by Masʿūd Beg [*q.v.*]. The Great Khān Möngke, upon his accession, ordered Ķaydu [*q.v.*] to reside in the Ķayalīķ region, which Pelliot sees as evidence that it belonged to the apanage of the line of Ögedey, and in fact we are told by Waṣṣāf that it lay on the frontier between Ķaydu's territory and that of the Čaghatay Khān Duʾa. William of Rubruck spent 12 days in Ķayalīķ (which he calls Cailac) in Ramaḍān-Shawwāl 651/November 1253. He describes it as a large town with a busy market; it had three Buddhist temples. According to Waṣṣāf the last battle between Ķaydu and the Great Khān's forces was fought at a place a few days distant from Ķayalīķ. This appears to be the last mention of the town, which does not figure in the campaigns of Tīmūr. We must assume that

like Balāsāghun [*q.v.*] it was destroyed at some time during the first half of the 8th/14th century.

Bibliography: Djuwaynī-Boyle; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, i/1, tr. O. I. Smirnova, Moscow-Leningrad 1952; Waṣṣāf, Bombay ed.; *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World*, 1253-55, *as narrated by himself*, tr. and ed. W. W. Rockhill, London 1900; V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, Paris 1959, s.v. Caidu. (J. A. Boyle)

KAYĀNIDS, Iranian dynasty, for the most part mythical, which owes its name to the title of *kavi* (see *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, index s.v.) > Pahlavi *kay* (pl. *kayān*, or in Arabic, *akyān*) born by several persons cited, with some variants, in both the religious and the national tradition. A. Christensen has devoted to the dynasty a monograph, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1931, to which reference should be made for all the problems raised in regard to ancient Iran.

The main source for all the Islamic historians and writers concerned with the dynasty is the *Kitāb Siyar mulūk al-ʿAdjam*, the Arabic translation made by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] of the *Khudāy-nāma*, but the earliest Arabic authors give only somewhat confused information on the more or less mythical rulers who preceded the Sāsānids, leading one to think that they must have used other sources, especially oral ones (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 652 ff.). Ibn al-Kalbī, cited in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 133-4 = § 558, even considers that the Kayānids were the first kings on the earth. Al-Masʿūdī himself, without instancing the Pīshdādids [*q.v.*], to whom he erroneously gives the name of Khudāhān (ii, 237 = § 659) in fact makes the Kayānids the second dynasty, to be followed by that of the Arsacids (Ashkān [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF]) and finally that of the Sāsānids [*q.v.*]. Al-Ṭabarī before him, and then the later historians and writers, all follow the same classification without mentioning the Achaemenids as such. Firdawsī, for his part, devotes *ca.* 27,000 distichs to the Kayānids.

In the religious tradition, a dozen personages bear the title of Kay, but the dynasty proper comprises, according to Islamic authors:

KAY ḲUBĀD (Kavi Kavāta), the founder. The religious tradition (Christensen, *op. cit.*, 70-1) gives no information on his ancestors and confines itself to retailing the legend of the adoption by Uzāv (Arabic, Zaww/Zāb), the last Pīshdādid king, of a newly-born child abandoned on the waters. The national tradition (Christensen, 107-8) is unaware of this story and provided a genealogy making Kay Ḳubād a descendant of Manūshčihr and, through the false reading of the presumed name of his father, the son of Zaww/Zāb himself. After this latter's death, Rustam [*q.v.*] was deputed to search out Kay Ḳubād, who was found in a palace in the Alburz Mountains. His reign was filled with prosperity, but was partly devoted to defending Iran against the Turanians (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 533-5, 597; Balʿamī-Zotenberg, i, 407; al-Dīnawarī, *Ṭiwāl*, 14; al-Thaʿālibī, *Hist. des rois de Perse*, 150-2; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 104; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 14; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. and tr. Mohl, index).

His successors were KAY KĀʾŪS [*q.v.*], in whose reign there took place the epic fights between Siyāwush and Afrāsiyāb [*q.v.*], and then KAY KHUSRAW [*q.v.*], who took vengeance on Afrāsiyāb. There then followed:

(KAY) LUHRĀSB (Lōrāsp), descendant of a brother of Kay Kāʾūs. He founded or enlarged the town of Balkh [*q.v.*], and it is said to have been he who sent against Palestine Nebuchadnezzar (Bukht-Naṣṣar [*q.v.*]), who destroyed Jerusalem, dispersed the Jews and carried them off into captivity (however, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 652, places these events in the reign of Bahman, contemporary of Moses). Luhrāsb was killed by the Turks who came to besiege him (see Christensen, 117-18 and index; al-Ṭabarī, i, 620; al-Masʿūdī, ii, 121-3 = §§ 544-6; al-Dīnawarī, 26; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 149; al-Thaʿālibī, 244; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 36; Firdawsī, iv, 279-357). His son and successor

BISHTĀSB (Kavi Vishtāspa, Vishtāsp, Bishtāsf, Kushtāsb, Hystaspes) quarrelled with his father, so went to Rūm, where he married the king's daughter and accomplished various exploits before returning home, where his father passed on to him the crown. He had reigned for 30 years when Zoroaster [see ZARĀDUSHT] converted him to his new religion. He had to face an attack from the Turks who finally carried off his two daughters, but his son Isfandiyār (Spandyādh) rescued them, provoking however Bishtāsb's jealousy over his exploits, so that he sent his son to his death in charging him to attack Rustam, who was judged to have become too independent. Although legend dwells at length on this personage, Christensen considered him to be "une figure entièrement historique" (see *Les Kayanides*, 119-24 and index; al-Ṭabarī, i, 416, 645-9, 675-8, 691, 813, 869, 1053; al-Masʿūdī, ii, 123-7 = §§ 547-50; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 36-7, al-Thaʿālibī, 255-377; Ibn al-Balkhī, 48-52; al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 105; al-Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, iii, 149 ff.; Firdawsī, iv, 359-751). The throne then passed to his grandson

BAHMAN (Vahman, son of Isfandiyār, who was also called later Ardashīr or Kay Ardashīr in order to make him the ancestor of the Sāsānid dynasty. The history of his reign is influenced by outside traditions. Al-Masʿūdī asserts that the return of the Jews to Jerusalem took place during his reign, and according to Dīnawarī, Bahman had a Jewish wife who converted him for a while to Judaism; despite this, he is considered to have strengthened the Zoroastrian faith. He was a great builder, and was also a warrior-king who killed Rustam and avenged his father (see Christensen, index; al-Ṭabarī, i, 649-54; al-Masʿūdī, ii, 127-9 = §§ 550-2; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 37; al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 105, 111; Balʿamī-Zotenberg, i, 500-1; Ibn al-Balkhī, 52 ff.; al-Thaʿālibī, 379 ff.; Firdawsī, v, 7-19). Bahman is represented as the father and the spouse of

HUMĀY [*q.v.*], who gave him a son,

DĀRĀ/DĀRĀB [*q.v.*]. Darius I, whose successor was

DĀRĀ/DĀRĀB II. In this fashion, the national tradition bridges the gap which separates the reign of Bishtāsb from Alexander's conquests, with the Achaemenids being mixed up with other lists of rulers. Humāy, also called Čihrāzād, is mixed up with a daughter of Bishtāsb, and it was for a Humāy that the kernel of the *Thousand and one nights* was put together [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA], a point which poses difficult problems. The descendants of Bahman form a fairly confused mélange; another son is attributed to him, Sāsān, who was set aside from the succession, but the Sāsānid dynasty is attached to him by a forged genealogy and the legitimacy of the line thereby assured.

Bibliography: Given in the text. (Ed.)

AL-**KAYD,** name of a fictitious star, defined in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 229) as *nadjm naḥis fi 'l-samāʾ lā yurā wa-lahū ḥisāb maʿlūm yustakhradju bihī mawdiʿuhū*, "an ill-

omened invisible star in the heavens, having a known ephemeris from which its position can be derived". It is not mentioned in *LA* and *TA*. Although occurring in at least one oriental text printed in Europe (*Anonymus Persa de Siglis Arabum et Persarum*, ed. and tr. J. Gravius, London 1648), it seems to have escaped the attention of historians of astronomy, and was rediscovered independently by Hartner (1939) and Kennedy (1957); see Ruska-Hartner [1, 206], Hartner [1], and Kennedy [1].

The earliest mention of al-Kayd so far known is found in Ibn Hibintā's *al-Mughnī* (Suter, No. 31), written in 214/829 (Bayr. Staatsbibl., Munich, Cod. ar. 852, fols. 67v. and 71v.), where five of al-Kayd's six companions (see below) are also listed. According to this work, al-Kayd is "one of the stars with a tail; it appears once every hundred years and travels retrogradely, like the lunar nodes, through the zodiac, making one sign in 12 years". Its position is found in the following way: "Subtract 90 from the number of complete (Persian) years which have elapsed since the epoch of the Yazdagird era (17 June, 632). From the remainder subtract in turn the highest multiple of 144 which it contains. Multiply the second remainder by 360 and divide the product by 144. The result will give the longitude of al-Kayd measured backward from the first point of Aries. Subtract it from 360° to obtain the longitude as usually expressed" (Kennedy [1, p. 45]). Thus al-Kayd has a *retrograde* motion of $2\frac{1}{2}$° per Persian year. It passed through the vernal point at the beginning (1st Farvardīn) of the years of the Yazdagird era 91 (25 May 722), 235 (19 April 866), 379 (14 March 1010), 523 (6 Feb. 1154), 667 (1 Jan. 1298), etc. This rule is corroborated by a number of other manuscripts containing references to al-Kayd and tables of its motion. Others, however, are based on slightly divergent parameters. In the case of tables computed for the Islamic calendar, the divergencies, which concern the initial longitude in year 91 of the Yazdagird era as well as the mean motion, might be due to errors of computation, but since there are tables expressed in the Yazdagird calendar which are based on a deviating initial longitude, it is evident that various traditions concerning the motion of al-Kayd must have been in existence. Thus Mīram Čelebī's table in his *Commentary on the tables of Ulug Beg* (Aya Sofya Ms. 2697, fol. 241v.) gives the longitude of al-Kayd on the first day of A.Y. 655 as 29°52′47″, while according to the rule it should be 30° straight (cf. Hartner 1, Pl. 5 and p. 21, where the last passage, caused by misreading 600 for 655, is to be cancelled]), which implies that al-Kayd passed through the vernal point some 17 days before the beginning of A.Y. 91, on Asfendarmed 14 of A.Y. 90.

Kennedy [1, 50] gives a list of al-Kayd's yearly and daily motions as well as of its longitude at A.Y. 91 according to various Islamic authors. Now the table of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kūm-Rīshī's *K. al-lumʿa fī ḥall al-kawākib al-sabʿa*, apparently copied from Ibn al-Shāṭir, to whom the author refers, operates with the same yearly motion of -2; 29, 59, 18° (sexagesimal fractions) and the same initial longitude as Ibn Yūnis' *Ḥākimī zīdj*, which proves that this value for the yearly motion, corresponding to a complete revolution of al-Kayd in 144 Persian years, 4 days, has a long tradition. Accepting that this was not accidental, Hartner [1, 14] has shown that al-Kayd passed through the point of summer solstice on 8 November 324 B.C., a day very close to the one accepted by numerous Islamic authors (al-Farghānī, Ḥabash, al-Masʿūdī, al-Bīrūnī, Ibn Yūnis, Kūshyār al-Djīlī) as the beginning of the era of the death of Alexander the Great: Thoth 1, 425 of the era Nabonassar = 12 November 324 B.C. (Alexander actually died on 13 June 323 B.C.); this era, also called *Aera Philippi Arrhidaei*, operates with vague years of 365 days, as does the era of Yazdagird. Certain particulars of the Islamic version of the Romance of Alexander seem to confirm this hypothesis of an actual connexion. Here above all the figure of Khaḍir [*q.v.*] has to be mentioned, which has a striking similarity with the Indian demon Rāhu. Both are put to death after having sipped from the fountain of life (in India the *amrta* drink), but both survive because immortalised by the drink. Khaḍir, having become a maleficent demon, is fettered with heavy chains to the bottom of the sea, while Rāhu's head, severed from his body, and his tail, now called Ketu, become the intransigent enemies of the luminaries. In astrology [see DJAWZAHAR] those two parts of the eclipse monster are identified with the lunar nodes. As these nodes behave like planets, making a (retrograde) revolution along the ecliptic in the course of 18.6 years, they are treated as such, with their exaltations (ὑψώματα, *ashrāf*) in Gemini and Sagittarius, and figure in horoscopes as maleficent stars; see Hartner 2, pp. 120-134.

According to another Indian tradition, however, Ketu takes the shape of a comet (*dhūmaketu*, "smoke-ketu") appearing at irregular intervals as a threat to the superior world and to mankind. Obviously, it is this manifestation of Ketu from which the Arabic al-Kayd was derived, semantically as well as etymologically. This is also attested by the fact that the only information to be drawn from Islamic authors is that al-Kayd is of Indian origin. At a time not yet definable on the basis of our present knowledge, the irregular cometary Ketu was incorporated into the system of astrology and, for this purpose, had to be regularised by ascribing to it planetary qualities and a uniform motion, retrograde along the ecliptic, in accordance with its closest relatives, the nodes of the lunar orbit. Thus the Indian Ketu found its way twice into Hellenistic astrology. The reasons for attributing to the pseudoplanet Ketu-Kayd a revolution of 144 vague years (precise or approximate) are unknown. A. Sachs (see Neugebauer [1, 211]) has identified a comet (*zal-lum-mu-ú*) with a revolution of half this period, 72 years, in the cuneiform text TU 11 (rev. 27), written in Uruk during the Seleucid period, which, as Neugebauer says with due precaution, comes somewhat close to the period of Halley's comet, 76 years, so that it could have been "taken as a prototype and its period modified to 72 because of some unknown astrological speculation. But all this is sheer guesswork." This is true indeed, but another possibility cannot be excluded, that different comets appearing accidentally at an interval of around 144 years were regarded as identical, *i.e.*, periodically recurring, as for instance the following, chosen at random from the Chinese annals (see Ho Peng Yoke [1]): 233 B.C., 87 B.C., A.D. 55, A.D. 200, A.D. 343.

The recollection of the cometary origin of al-Kayd is clearly alive for Islamic authors, as is shown by the fact that al-Kayd is often listed together with six companions called *kawākib dhawāt al-adhnāb*, "stars with tails", travelling the ecliptic retrogradely with the same velocity, and thus at a constant distance from al-Kayd. According to the best extant manuscripts, among which the *zīdj* of Djamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḳāsim b. Maḥfūẓ (Paris, Bib. Nat. 2486,

fol. 99 f.) ranks foremost, their names are as follows: Dhu'l-dhu'āba, "The one with a tuft", Liḥyān, "Beard", Sar-i-mūsh (arabicised Sarmūsh), "Head of the mouse", Ghaṭīṭ, "Death-rattle", Gharīm (misspelled ʿAzīm in Ms. 2486), "Adversary", and Kalāb, "Hydrophobic delirium". They all illustrate at the same time the cometary character and the frightening danger of these fictitious celestial objects.

Contrary to what might be expected, these seven tailed stars follow each other at very irregular distances. When al-Kayd passes through the vernal point (longitude 0°), Sarmūsh stands at *ca.* 60°, Gharīm at *ca.* 214°, Ghaṭīṭ at *ca.* 265°, while the remaining three stand extremely close together: Dhu'l-dhu'āba, at 160°1′, Kalāb, at 162°34′, and Liḥyān, at 162°43′. As is seen, the two last are only 9′ apart (less than one-third of the moon's apparent diameter). It seems justified to assume that this reflects the memory of a large comet with a head stretching over a relatively vast area, such as Halley's or the great comet of 1811.

There are numerous variants of these names due either to misreading or to substitution; of the latter, two are of interest: Ṭayfūr, which Kennedy [1, p. 44] doubtless is right in equating with the Greek comet Typhon (Bouché-Leclarcq [1, p. 359]), and Nayzak (Persian, "spear"), which is used otherwise to denote all kinds of unexpected celestial phenomena, such as comets, meteors, and also the supernova of A.D. 1006 (see Goldstein [1], and Nallino [1, Vol. ii, p. XIII, 8], who has no other reference either to al-Kayd or to his companions. The Persian name Sar-i-mūsh is clearly reminiscent of the Pahlavi Mūs-parīk, which together with the dark sun (Mitr-î tamî) and the dark moon (Mâh-î tamî) plays a preponderant rôle in the *Bundahišn*, ch. v, A (Anklesaria [1], 54-65), where they appear as antagonists of the luminaries. It seems that the idea of dark counter-planets adumbrated there was later extended to a heptad of such, viz. al-Kayd and his companions, each of whom was considered the dark adversary of one of the visible planets. Neugebauer [1] has shown that al-Kayd also occurs in Byzantine literature. where it is called ἀΐτ. The tables refer to Yazdagird years and operate with a motion of $-2^1/_2$° and an initial longitude at A.Y. 91 of 0°. Hartner identified al-Kayd in the Horoscope of Bantay Srei (near Ankor Tom, Cambodia), valid for the date 28 April 1295, see Beer [1, 207 f.].

Finally, a misunderstanding of a passage in which al-Kayd is mentioned (the Astronomical Aphorisms of Cardano, who borrowed it from the Latin translation of Abū Saʿīd Shādhān's *Mudhākara*; the Arabic original (Ms. Ankara, Ismail Saib 199) was identified by F. Sezgin, see of this fols. 15b, 16a, 20b, 21a) gave rise to Tycho Brahe's great discovery that comets are not generated in the sphere of fire, as postulated by Aristotle, but are celestial bodies, and that, consequently, the millenary dogma of the existence of ethereal spheres is untenable (Hartner [3]).

Bibliography: Anklesaria [1] = *Zand-Ākāsīh, Iranian or greater Bundahišn*, transliteration and English tr. by B. T. Anklesaria, Bombay 1956; Beer [1] = A. Beer, *Astronomical dating of works of art*, in *Vistas in Astronomy*, ix (ed. A. Beer), 1967, 177-223; Bouché-Leclercq [1] = A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899; Goldstein [1] = B. R. Goldstein, *Evidence for a supernova of A.D. 1006*, in *The Astronomical Journal*, lxx/1 (1965), 105-14; Hartner [1] W. Hartner, *Le problème de la planète Kaïd*, Les Conférences du Palais de la Découverte, Série D, No. 36, Paris 1955 (also in W. Hartner, *Oriens Occidens*, Hildesheim 1968, 268-86); Hartner [2] = W. Hartner, *The pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit in Hindu and Islamic iconographies*, in *Ars Islamica*, v/2, Ann Arbor 1938 (also in *Oriens Occidens*, 349-404); Hartner [3] = W. Hartner, *Tycho Brahe et Albumasar*, in *La science au seizième siècle*, Paris 1960 (also in *Oriens Occidens*, 496-507); Ho Peng Yoke [1] = Ho Peng Yoke (Ho Ping-Yü), *Ancient and mediaeval observations of comets and novae in Chinese sources*, in *Vistas in Astronomy*, v, (1962), 127-230; Kennedy [1] = E. S. Kennedy, *Comets in Islamic astronomy and astrology*, *JNES*, xvi (1957), 44-51; Neugebauer [1] = O. Neugebauer, *Notes on al-Kaid*, in *JOS*, lxxvii (1957), 211-15; Nallino [1] = *Al-Battānī sive Albatenii opus astronomicum*, ed. tr. C. A. Nallino, Vol. i-iii, Milan 1899-1907; Ruska-Hartner [1] = J. Ruska and W. Hartner, *Katalog der orientalischen und lateinischen Originalhandschriften, ... des Inst. f. Gesch. d. Medizin u.d. Naturwissenschaften in Berlin*, in *Quellen und Studien z. Gesch. d. Naturwiss. u. d. Medizin*, vii, Berlin 1939, 155-302.

(W. HARTNER)

ĶAYDU, the son of Ķashi, the fifth son of the Great Khān Ögedey, was born according to Djamāl al-Ķarshī *ca.* 633/1235-6. The statement, still sometimes repeated, that he took part in the campaigns in Eastern Europe in 637-8/1240-1 is due to a confusion with his uncle, Ķadan. Upon the accession of the Great Khān Möngke, he was ordered to reside in the region of Ķayalïķ [*q.v.*]. Upon the election of Ķubilay [*q.v.*] to the Khānate, he took the part of the latter's brother Arïgh Böke in the civil wars that followed. When Arïgh Böke surrendered to the Great Khān, Ķaydu continued the struggle, remaining in open or latent hostility to Ķubilay and his successor Temür Öldjeytü throughout the remainder of his life. He opposed Burāķ [*q.v.*], Ķubilay's nominee to the Čaghatay Khānate [*q.v.*] but they afterwards reached an agreement with each other and for thirty years the Houses of Ögedey and Čaghatay worked in harmony under the leadership of Ķaydu. The accounts of his death are contradictory. He appears to have been wounded in a battle with the Great Khān's forces and to have died shortly afterwards. His death occurred, according to Kāshānī, in Radjab 702/February-March 1303, at a place called Ķulan Bashï in the vicinity of Ķaraķorum.

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, tr. J. A. Boyle, New York-London 1971; Waṣṣāf, Bombay edn.; Kāshānī, *The History of Uljaytu*, ed. Mahin Hambly, Tehran 1969; V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, Paris, s.v. *Caidu*. (J. A. BOYLE)

ĶAYGHUSUZ ABDĀL (? - 818/? - 1415), Turkish mystic poet and writer of the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, generally considered the founder of the Bektashi Darwīsh literature. The little which is known about his life is half legendary and based on traditional writings of the order. Aḥmed Sirrī Baba, the only author who gives exact dates for his life, does not mention his sources (*al-Risāla al-aḥmadiyya fī ta'rīkh al-ṭariḳa al-bektāshiyya*, Cairo 1352, quoted by A. Gölpınarlı, *Türk Tasavvuf Şiiri Antolojisi*, Istanbul 1972, 174). Ķayghusuz seems to have been a disciple (*murīd*) of Abdāl Mūsā (whose shrine is in Elmali near Antalya), a follower of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh of Khurāsān (d. 660/1270), the patron of the Bektashiyya, who himself was a

disciple of Bābā Isḥāḳ, the leader of the famous religio-social Bābāʾī revolt of 638/1240 against the Sald̲j̲ūḳs. Kayg̲h̲usuz spent several years in Egypt, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, where, according to tradition, he founded the Bektās̲h̲ī convent, which became one of the most important centres of the order. His ideological formation can be traced to Bābāʾī and Bektās̲h̲ī influences and his literary personality, particularly in language and style, owes much to Yūnus Emre, the great mystic poet of 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, who also seems to have been exposed to the influence of the heterodox Bābāʾī movement [*q.v.*].

Subtle irony, satirical humour and a strong *joie de vivre* characterize Ḳayg̲h̲usuz' poetry, and his fluent, vivid, powerful prose created popular mystic works (*Risāle-i Ḳayg̲h̲usuz, Kitāb-i Mag̲h̲lata, Kitāb-i Dilgüs̲h̲ā* or *Budalā-nāme*) which are among the masterpieces of early Ottoman Turkish literature. Ḳayg̲h̲usuz' works have not been edited. Lithographic editions are not reliable. His poems are frequently confused with those of Ḳayg̲h̲usuz Vizeli ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, a 10th/16th century popular mystic poet of the Malāmatīyya order. For comparatively reliable Ms. texts of Ḳayg̲h̲usuz Abdāl see the *med̲j̲mūʿa*, Nuru Osmaniye, no. 4904; Ankara General Library, Ms. nos. 169, 824 and 867, and Istanbul Belediye Library, Cevdet section Ms. no. 216. For selections, see Bibliography.

Bibliography: M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk edebıyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, second ed. Istanbul 1966, *passim* (see index); Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1936-45, article Abdal Musa, 164-71; A. Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal*, Istanbul 1953; Fahir İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nesir*, Istanbul 1964, 100-18; A. Gölpınarlı, *Türk tasavvuf şiiri antolojisi*, Istanbul 1972, 174-95.

(F. İz)

KAYGİLİ, ʿOT̲H̲MĀN D̲J̲EMĀL (modern Turkish OSMAN CEMAL KAYGILI), Turkish novelist, short story writer and humorous essayist (1890-1945). He was born in an Istanbul suburb outside the city walls, the son of a local grocer. He lost his parents at an early age and, after finishing the neighbourhood high school, he was trained as an army clerk and worked in various departments of the General Staff (1906-13). Following the assassination of the grand vizier Maḥmūd S̲h̲ewket Pas̲h̲a in June 1913, he was arrested together with many "suspects" of the opposition and banished to Sinop on the Black Sea, where he wrote his long short-story *Čuvald̲j̲ï S̲h̲eyk̲h̲iniñ K̲h̲alefi* (published later in *Alay*, 5, February 1920). Some of his fellow-exiles, particularly Refīḳ K̲h̲ālid Karay [*q.v.*], who was already a celebrity, encouraged him and induced him to become a professional writer. Released from Sinop, he continued to serve, during World War I, as an army clerk in various military units in Anatolia. Following a serious illness he returned to Istanbul in 1917 and was discharged because of disability in 1918 at the age of 28. He devoted the rest of his life to his literary work, making his living by odd jobs and later by teaching in various schools. He died in Istanbul in 1945.

ʿOt̲h̲mān D̲j̲emāl Kaygīlī began his career as a humorous writer and from 1920 onwards contributed to a great number of dailies (*e.g. Ṣabāḥ, Iḳdām, Aks̲h̲ām, Waḳit, Ačïḳsöz*, etc.) and periodicals, particularly *Alay, Aydede, Aḳbaba* and his own shortlived *Āyïne* (*Ayna*, 1921-23). Most of these writings, including some short stories and novels and his memoirs (*Akşamcılar* serialized in *Açıksöz* 1936-37), have not been published in book form.

Kaygılı belongs to the school of Turkish writers and novelists who, during the last decades of the 19th and early 20th centuries, produced works which were inspired by the technique and style of traditional Turkish folk literature and popular story-tellers, and were addressed to and enjoyed by larger audiences than the works of the élitist writers of the same period. Kaygılı adopts on the one hand the informal technique, free and easy style and familiar digressions of Aḥmed Midḥat, with his sympathy and understanding for the way of life of simple folk, and on the other follows Ḥüseyn Raḥmī Gürpinar and partly Aḥmed Rāsim, in their concentration on observing and describing Istanbul lower and lower-middle class life in the suburbs. He himself belonged to this world and spent most of his life in its midst. He is, however, a less brilliant and more limited and modest successor of his outstanding masters. But his emphasis on details of Istanbul folklore and the study of certain types (particularly gypsies, refugees from the Balkans (*muhacirs*), street children, popular singers and musicians, etc.) characterise his work, which contains invaluable documentary material for Istanbul suburban life for the period between the two World Wars.

Kaygılı's main published works are: 1) *Es̲h̲ḳiyā Güzeli*, Istanbul 1925 (collection of short stories); 2) *Sandalım Geliyor Varda!* (two long short-stories), Istanbul 1938; 3) *Çingeneler* (a novel on the life of gypsies outside Istanbul city walls, considered his best work), Istanbul 1939 and 1943; and 4) *Aygır Fatma* (a sentimental love story), Istanbul 1944. He wrote several plays, in which he himself acted, produced puppet plays and tried to revive the Karagöz and Orta Oyunu theatres. (*qq. v.*). His only published play is *Üfürükçü* ("The Curer by Breathing"), Istanbul 1935. His remarkable contributions to research into Istanbul folklore have been published in articles or serialised in various Istanbul dailies. Only his studies on Istanbul slang (*Istanbul Argosu Lügati*, Istanbul 1936) and on the coffee-houses where popular poets-singers performed (*Istanbul Semai Kahveleri ve Meydan Şairleri*, Istanbul 1937), have been published in book form.

Bibliography: Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten sonra Hikâye ve Roman*, Istanbul 1959[2], 95-122 (with excerpts); Cevdet Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatında Hikâye ve Roman*, ii, Istanbul 1970[2], 220-40 (with excerpts); Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1972[8], s.v.; Halit Fahri Ozansoy, *Edebiyatçılar Çevremde*, Ankara 1970, 104-10).

(F. İz)

ḲĀYĪ, one of the Og̲h̲uz tribes to which, as claimed by some Turkish chroniclers, the Ottoman dynasty belongs. The Ḳāyī were considered as the noblest of the Og̲h̲uz tribes. The high prestige which they enjoyed seems to have rested on the fact that most of the rulers or *yabg̲h̲us* of the Og̲h̲uz people living along the Syr Daryā (Sayḥūn = Jaxartes) during the period between the 9th and 11th centuries were from this tribe. Some of the names of these kings are mentioned in the chapter of *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-tawārīk̲h̲* dealing with the legendary history of the Og̲h̲uz Turks. However, the Ḳāyī tribe appears to have played a major rôle in the conquest and settlement of Anatolia, and consequently there are more place-names in Anatolia called after this tribe than any other tribe. What is really remarkable, however, is that in addition to the abundance of such place-names, there were in Turkey large Ḳāyī organizations living a tribal existence in the Denizli, Mentes̲h̲e

and Konya regions in the 10th/16th century. Furthermore, there were smaller Ḳāyï branches in the *sandjaḳs* of Ḥamīd (Isparta-Burdur), Ankara, Saru Khan, Kara Ḥiṣār (Afyon) and Sis (Kozan) in the 10th/16th century.

A small branch of the Ḳāyï who had not emigrated to the west was left behind among the Transcaspian Turkomans, but these people surprised some European travellers when they told them that the Ottoman dynasty had originated from their tribe. The earliest chronicler to claim that the Ottoman dynasty belonged to the Ḳāyï tribe was Yāzidji-oghlu ʿAlī, who wrote his work during the reign of Murād II (824-55/1421-51). Although this claim can be questioned, it has some probability. The use of the Ḳāyï emblem as the official emblem of the Ottomans begins with the reign of Murād II. The Ḳāyï emblem is seen on coins struck during his reign, as well as on the weapons belonging to his successors; many weapons on display in the Topkapı Museum bear this emblem, and such emblems are quite similar to those given in *e.g.*, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. Through its connection with the Ḳāyï, the son of Gün Khān, the eldest son and successor of Oghuz Khān, the Ottoman dynasty considered itself superior in nobility to other Turkoman dynasties, and to the sons of Čingiz Khān.

Bibliography: F. Sümer, *Oğuzlara ait destani mahiyette eserler*, in *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, xvii, 362-3, 369-74; idem, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler), Tarihleri-Boy Teşkilâtı-Destanları*, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi yayınlarından, Ankara 1967, index. (F. Sümer)

KAY KĀʾŪS, mythical second king of the line of Kayānids [*q.v.*] whose name contains twice over the royal title *kay* (Kay Ūs > Kāʾūs). His history has been delineated by A. Christensen from the Iranian religious tradition and from the national tradition echoed by the later Muslim historians (*Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1931, 73-90, 108-14). This Islamic historical tradition makes him the son of Kay Abīwēh > Abīh (except for Balʿamī, Firdawsī and al-Thaʿālibī, who make him the son of Kay Kubād [*q.v.*]). He was a warrior-king who, according to Firdawsī, led a campaign into Māzandarān, which was inhabited by demons and protected by the white *dīw* (*dīw-i sefīd*), who caused a hail of stones to come down on the royal army during the night. Rustam son of Zāl [*q.v.*] set out to deliver the king from imprisonment, and on his way became the hero of seven adventures which have become celebrated in poetry; the white *dīw* was overcome in his sleep and the blood from his heart restored their sight to the king and his army.

This ruler protected his country, and was clement towards the weak but severe against the powerful. He enjoyed the divine favour and the *dīw*s were subject to him. Hence when he rose up against heaven, the *dīw*s built for him a palace and a high tower in the Alburz Mountains, from which he and his troops went up, partly by their own efforts, partly by a magical machine, and partly in a sort of conveyance borne by eagles and vultures in front of which were dangled pieces of meat fixed on lance-points. The divine favour was consequently withdrawn from him and he fell to the ground; he himself was preserved alive, but his army perished.

In the course of a war launched against the Yemen, Kay Kāʾūs had married the daughter of the king of Yemen, Suʿdā (whose name was Iranised to Sūdābeh, although she is also considered as the daughter of Afrāsiyāb [*q.v.*]). The advances of this woman had been repelled by Kay Kāʾūs's son Siyāwush [*q.v.*], but she now spread calumnies against him in the king's presence; he had to flee for refuge with Afrāsiyāb, but the latter finally killed him. Kay Kāʾūs is said to have reigned 50 years; he was stripped of the throne by Kay Khusraw [*q.v.*] and imprisoned till his death.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 597 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Dīnawarī, *Ṭiwāl*, 15; Thaʿālibī, *Hist. des rois de Perse*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, 153-234; Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ waʾl-taʾrīkh*, iii, 147 ff.; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwald, 35; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 40 ff.; Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 104; idem, *India*, i, 95, 193; Balʿami, i, 465; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, i, 315-ii, 764, ed. and tr. Mohl, i, 486-ii, 557; J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, Paris 1883, ii, 221 ff. (Cl. Huart *)

KAYKĀʾŪS, name of two Saldjūḳid sultans of Rūm (Asia Minor).

Kaykāʾūs i. Succeeding his father Kaykhusraw I [*q.v.*] after the battle in which the latter perished (608/1211), he at first had to rid himself of the rivalry of his brothers Kayferīdūn and Kayḳubādh [*q.v.*]. After that he had no further internal difficulties. His reign is particularly marked by the combination of a policy of peace towards the Greeks of Nicaea with interventions on the southern, northern and eastern frontiers. In the south, where Kaykhusraw had taken Anṭāliya, he tried to combine interventions against the Armenians of Cilicia, carried out in favour of the Latin prince Bohemund IV of Antioch and his ally al-Ẓāhir of Aleppo, with trade treaties with the Cypriots and the Venetians. In the north, the great success of his reign was the acquisition of Sinop, a new maritime outlet, this time for the Black Sea; this port had the advantage of not belonging clearly either to Nicaea or Trebizond. There he collected a fleet, to be directed especially against the Crimea. But when Kaykāʾūs, after the death of al-Ẓāhir in 613/1216, tried to conquer Aleppo on behalf of his vassal of Samosata, the exiled Ayyūbid al-Afḍal [*q.v.*], he was defeated by the Ayyūbid of Mesopotamia al-Ashraf [*q.v.*]. He tried to take revenge by organising an anti-Ayyūbid coalition with the help of Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*], the ruler of al-Mawṣil, but he died before this project could be realized (618/end of 1220). He had kept up good relations with Bahramshāh of Erzindjān and al-Mughīth of Erzurum, his neighbours in Asia Minor, and also with the caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] whom he conciliated by adhering to his reformed *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. He may also have encouraged the expansion of literature written in Persian, which was then beginning in his territories, and showed an interest in Ṣūfism in the person of Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. The same period is by and large the one in which began the real development of cities, architecture, mosques, *madrasas*, caravanserais, etc., a list of which cannot however be given here.

Kaykaʾūs ii, ʿIzz al-dīn, son and one of the successors of Kaykhusraw II, who had left three minor sons: the eldest, ʿIzz al-Dīn, son of a Greek woman; the second, Rukn al-Dīn Kilidj Arslān, son of a Turkish woman, and the youngest who was ailing, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, son of a Georgian woman. For several years the high dignitaries, in particularly the freedman Karatay, who exercised the real power, tried to maintain a kind of condominium of the three brothers, and then of the two remaining after the suspicious death of the youngest during a mission to the Mongols. But when ʿIzz al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn had attained their majority, this policy

proved to be impossible. In fact, the opposition of the two princes was based on the attitudes which they represented and on the milieus which supported them. Rukn al-Dīn, who exercised his prerogatives in the eastern part of Asia Minor, relied upon the Mongols with whom he was in contact, and upon their trusted official at his court, the *Parwāna* Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān [*q.v.*]. ʿIzz al-Dīn, who reigned in western Asia Minor and was allied with his Greek family and the Turkmen groups on the frontier, adopted the latter's anti-Mongol attitude. A series of complicated episodes marks this struggle: at the death of Karatay (652/1254), Rukn al-Dīn revolted at Kayseri and was taken prisoner, but two years later the Mongols invaded again Anatolia under the command of Baydju. This invasion was in a way more dangerous than the one of 641/1243, because its aim was the very settlement of a part of the Mongols in Asia Minor, by which their exactions would consequently increase. ʿIzz al-Dīn, defeated in a battle in which had taken part Michael Paleologus, then exiled at Nicaea (see below), fled to Greek territory, while Rukn al-Dīn was proclaimed sultan at Kayseri. But when he left to pay homage to the supreme Khān, ʿIzz al-Dīn re-appeared at Ḳonya (655/1257). The Khān Möngke, who wanted their common collaboration or at least peace between them in view of the organizing of his campaign against the caliph, re-established the partition of dominions and the two brothers took part in the campaign of the Il-Khān Hülegü in Syria in 658/1260. But when the latter had left, they started their struggle again. ʿIzz al-Dīn, menaced by the Mongols, had to flee, this time for good, to Constantinople, which his old friend Paleologus had reconquered from the Latins. But this flight turned out unlucky for him. The new Emperor, desirous to turn all his forces against the Latins and the Mongols of Russia, tried to make peace with the Mongols of Iran and Asia Minor, who in turn had just broken off relations with those of Russia. Imprisoned on the northern borders of the Byzantine state, ʿIzz al-Dīn was freed by a Mongol raid, but he was only able to withdraw to the Crimea, from where he could observe the events in Asia Minor. Without having tried to recover his throne, he died there in 678/1279-80. A certain number of Turks who had followed him remained in Dobrudja, where they still carry his name, deformed into the Gagauzes [see DOBRUDJA]. In Asia Minor his popularity among the Turkmens was attested by revolts made in his name and by the support which his sons were to find there later on. It is certainly not by chance either that the great Turkmen epic of the *Dānishmend-nāme* was in its first form dedicated to him.

Bibliography: Anticipating the article SALDJŪḲIDS, the essential bibliography relative to the 7th/13th century before 1243 and to the period of the Saldjūḳid-Mongol condominium is given here. For a larger, descriptive bibliography, see Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 427-40.

a. *From the end of the 6th/12th century to 1243*.

Muslim Anatolian sources were only written down during the second period (in Persian), but go back to the first. The most important is Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir al-ʿAlāʾiyya*, facs. edn. of the unique ms. by Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1956, critical edn. started by the same and Necati Lugal,—Vol. i, the only one published, 1957; a somewhat abridged version was published in 1902 by M. Th. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Saldjukides*, iv; German tr. of this, with additions from the original, by H. Duda, *Die Seltschuchengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, 1959. For this period see also in second place the anonymous *Tarih-i âl-i Selcuk*, facs. edn. with Turkish tr. by Nafiz Uzluk, 1952.

The Arab sources are those of the Ayyūbid period; see AYYŪBIDS. Important for the present purpose is the *Zubda* of Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm of Aleppo, ed. Sāmī Dahān, iii, and the *Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī* of Muḥammad b. Naẓīf al-Hamawī, facs. edn. by P. Gryaznevitch, Moscow 1960 (unpubl. German tr. at the University of Vienna).

Use should also be made of the Christian sources in Armenian, Syriac, Greek, Georgian and occasionally even Latin. The Armenian sources include those of Armenia proper and those of Cilicia. For the period under consideration only the latter are really important, the main being the *Historien Royal* (perhaps = Sempad the Constable, ed. Akelian 1956, partial English tr. by S. Der Nersessian, complete French tr. by G. Dédéyan, doctoral thesis, Sorbonne, Paris 1972 (to be published). The Georgian sources have been sufficiently collected in M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 2 vols., i, 1849. The contributions of the Byzantine sources (above all Nicetas Akropolites, Pachymeros) have conveniently been gathered in B. Lehmann, *Die Nachrichten des . . . über die Seltschuken*, 1939.

Important is the *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus [see IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ] in Syriac (which is better than the Arabic version), ed. and tr. E. W. Budge, 1932. An anonymous Syriac chronicle reaching the year 1235 has been published by J. B. Chabot in the *Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium*; a translation of the part dealing with this period is still awaited.

Of special interest for the transition between the two periods are the lengthy extracts from the Latin missionary Simon de St. Quentin in Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, recently grouped and translated by J. Richard under the title *Histoire des Tartares*, 1966.

The majority of the inscriptions which have been published in various publications have been brought together, with a bibliography, in *RCEA*; many coins have been described in S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the oriental coins in the British Museum*, viii, and in Ahmed Tevhid, *Catalogue des anciennes monnaies islamiques du musée d'Istanbul*, iv, 1904. Acts of *waḳfs* of various periods of the 7th/13th century have been published, especially by Osman Turan in *Belleten* (1947-8). For archaeology, see articles on the various cities.

Modern general works: *İA*; Cl. Cahen, see above and *Le commerce anatolien au XIIIᵉ siècle*, in *Mélanges . . . . Louis Halphen*, 1951; Osman Turan, *Selcuklular zamanında Türkiye*, 1971.

b. *From 1243 to the beginning of the 8th/14th century*.

To Ibn Bībī (extending to 1280) and to the anonymous *Taʾrikh* can now be added Karīm al-Dīn Mahmūd Aḳsarāy, *Musāmeret ül-akhbār*, ed. Osman Turan, 1947 (German analysis by Fikret Işiltan, 1943). Among the many Arabic sources of the period of the first Mamlūks, special attention should be given to Baybars al-Manṣūrī (unpublished) for the middle of the 7th/13th century and to the *Life of Baybars* of ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād. The second part of the latter, the only one to be found so far, is still unpublished but a Turkish translation was published by Şarafuddin Yaltkaya (*Baypars Tarihi*, Istanbul 1941); the first part is extensively used

by various authors, especially by Yunīnī, ed. Hyderabad 1954-5. Several Armenian authors from Greater Armenia mention the Mongols of eastern Asia Minor, but only the *Historien Royal* pays attention to Anatolia proper. The Greek historians to be consulted are again Pachymeros and Nicephoros Gregoras, ed. with Latin tr. in the Bonn *Corpus*.

To the recent general bibliography can now be added Faruk Sümer, *Anadoluda Mogollar*, in *Selçuklu araştırmaları dergisi*, i (1969-70), 1-147; Necat Kaymaz *Pervâne Muʿînü'din Süleyman*, 1970; S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization in the XIth-XVth century*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971.

(Cl. Cahen)

KAY KĀ'ŪS b. ISKANDAR, prince of the Ziyārid dynasty in Persia and author of a well-known "Mirror for Princes" in Persian, the *Ḳābūsnāma*.

ʿUnṣur al-Maʿālī Kay Kā'ūs was the penultimate ruler of the line of Ziyārids [*q.v.*] who ruled in the Caspian provinces of Ṭabaristān or Māzandarān and Gurgān in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. His main claim to fame lies in the *Ḳābūs-nāma*, written in 475/1082-3, when the author was 63 years old, for his favourite son and intended successor, Gīlān-Shāh. The little that we know of his life must be gleaned from historical sources like Ibn Isfandiyār's *Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabaristān* and from the *Ḳābūs-nāma* itself. We know that he spent eight years as a boon-companion of the Ghaznavid Sulṭān Mawdūd b. Masʿūd (reigned 433-40/1041-8), accompanying him to India, and some time also with the Shaddādid Amīr Abū 'l-Aswār Shāwur (413-49/1022-57) in Transcaucasia, and that he succeeded to the throne in 441/1049-50. Ziyārid power was, however, gradually restricted by the rising supremacy of the Saldjūḳs in the eastern Iranian world, and the Saldjūḳs exercised a virtual suzerainty over Ziyārid lands. Kay Kā'ūs died a few years after the *Ḳābūs-nāma* was written and was succeeded by Gīlān-Shāh, but the latter was overthrown by the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt in *ca.* 483/1090.

The *Ḳābūs-nāma* is an early specimen of the Persian *andarz-nāma* genre, *i.e.*, it gives counsel for rulers. It speaks of duty to God and the necessity for ethical behaviour, but in fact recognises expediency as the most practical basis for government. The title derives from Kay Kā'ūs's grandfather, the celebrated Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr [*q.v.*], whom the author clearly admired for his ruthlessness. The book's introduction and 44 chapters range over the topics of kingship, leadership in battle, and administration, but much space is also allotted to more mundane and intimate matters such as the buying of horses and slaves and the regulation of marital and family life. The Persian prose style is simple and direct, and the whole work is plentifully interspersed with aphorisms, historical anecdotes and verse quatrains (mostly by the author himself).

The work has always remained popular, as the numerous extant manuscripts attest. At least three Ottoman Turkish translations were made, the earliest being done for Sulṭān Murād II (824-55/1421-51), and manuscripts of these are quite common also.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KAY KHUSRAW, the third mythical ruler of the Iranian dynasty of the Kayānids [*q.v.*], corresponding to Kavi Haosrovah of the religious tradition (see A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1931, 90-2 and index). He is reckoned as the son of Siyāwush/Siyāwakhsh [*q.v.*] and the grandson, through his mother, of Afrāsiyāb [*q.v.*], and according to the national tradition (Christensen, 114-17) was born after his father's death and was brought up amongst the mountain shepherds of Ḳalū near Bāmiyān, in ignorance of his illustrious origin. This, however, showed itself early; at the age of seven he could use a bow and arrows, and at ten he had no fear of any tiger or lion. Gūdarz, an Iranian nobleman who was descended from the blacksmith Kāwī [*q.v.*] saw in a dream that the heir to the throne was living in the territory of Turan, and he sent his own son Gēw (Wīw) in search of him; this last discovered him and brought him and his mother back to Iran, not without surmounting a host of dangers.

He then found himself in competition with his uncle Burzfarrah/Farīburz, but obtained the throne of his grandfather Kay Kā'ūs [*q.v.*] by seizing, according to Firdawsī, the fortress of Bahmandīz near Ardabīl [*q.v.*], the place where he then erected the sacred fire of Ādhur-Gushasp (according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, Kay Khusraw killed a dragon called Kūshīd and built in this place a fire-temple Kūshīd for Gushāsp).

A journey through his empire demonstrated to

him the devastations caused by the Turanians, and he swore to undertake a war of retaliation against them. With the help of all the nobility, he launched various expeditions, of which the first ones, despite the prowess of Gūdarz, failed because of the cowardice of Burzfarrah/Farīburz. The second ones, however, were crowned with success. Kay Khusraw fitted out four armies, the main one of which was given to Gūdarz, who secured a decisive victory over Turan, whilst the other ones surrounded the enemy; Afrāsiyāb himself took to flight, but was overtaken and killed by Kay Khusraw, who thereby avenged the death of his father.

After Afrāsiyāb's death, peace reigned and the king soon retired from power, handing on the crown to Luhrāsb. He set forth on a great journey and disappeared mysteriously after having washed himself in a spring, whilst a group of his companions perished in a snow storm.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 604 ff.; Dīnawarī, *Ṭiwāl*, 19-23; Thaʿālibī, *Hist. des rois de Perse*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, 218-43; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 36; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 120-1 = §§ 543-4; Makdisī, *al-Badʾ waʾl-taʾrīkh*, iii, 149; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, ii, 670-9, 701-3, 710, iii, 1442 = ed. and tr. Mohl, ii, 416-30, 462-5, 576-iv, 273; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 44 ff. (Cl. Huart *)

KAYKHUSRAW, name of three Saldjūḳid sultans of Rum.

Kaykhusraw i, son and one of the successors of Kilidj Arslān II [*q.v.*]. When the latter, at the age of about seventy, decided *ca.* 583/1187 to divide his territories among his ten sons, a brother and a nephew, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw got Sozopolis or Uluborlu, on the borders of the Byzantine territory, perhaps because he was the son of a Byzantine mother. He thus came in contact with Greek Christians on one side, with groups of Turkmen frontier warriors (*udj*) who were pushing forward in that direction on the other. When jealousy arose among the brothers and one of them, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, laid hands on their old father, the latter appealed to Kaykhusraw, who restored him to his throne in Ḳonya. But after Kilidj Arslān had died (588/1192), Kaykhusraw proved incapable of having his supremacy recognised by his brothers. Some of them even began to conquer for themselves parts of the other's heritage. Rukn al-Dīn, heir to Kuṭb al-Dīn who had died in 593/1197, reconquered Ḳonya and restored to his own profit the unity of the paternal heritage, while Kaykhusraw withdrew to his original base near the Byzantine feudal lord Maurozomos. However, when Rukn al-Dīn directed his policy towards conquests to the east of Anatolia, certain Turkmens became discontented. With their help Kaykhusraw, after the death of Rukn al-Dīn, who left only a minor son, reconquered, this time definitely, the whole of the reunified state of Rūm (601/1205). Kaykhusraw had locally intervened in various directions in the quarrels which were then devastating the Byzantine Empire. In 1204 the Latins had captured Constantinople and a limited Greek kingdom under Theodore Lascaris had come into existence in Asia Minor with Nicaea as its capital. Lascaris was on bad terms with Maurozomos, whom Kaykhusraw first took with him to Ḳonya but for whom he later obtained the cities of Khunas and Laodicea (the later Denizli) that were contested between the two states. Maurozomos is probably the personage whom Ibn Bībī calls the "Comnenos *amīr*", who for twenty-five years played an important part in the Saldjūḳid state.

Lascaris and Kaykhusraw both had a common interest in peace, but the latter's attention, in opposition to his predecessor's, was no less attracted to the interest the Saldjūḳid state might have in expansion in western Asia Minor. He tried to expand his territory at the expense of the remains of the Byzantine Empire, which had no defenders left between Nicaea and Trebizond or Armeno-Cilicia. If he could not secure again a foothold on the Black Sea at Samsun, recently occupied temporarily by the Turkmens, he obtained on the other hand a very important success by acquiring, on the southern coast of Anatolia, Anṭāliya, which was the first real maritime outlet the Saldjūḳid state had ever possessed. Shortly afterwards, however, the relations between Kaykhusraw and Lascaris again became strained. The Latin or Greek enemies of the latter, together with the indiscipline of the Turkmen, frontier warriors had undoubtedly something to do with this development. In 608/1211 the two rulers were opponents in a battle near Antioch of the Meander; Kaykhusraw remained victorious, but was killed under obscure circumstances. There was never more to be any considerable war between the two states.

Kaykhusraw, who had received from his father a name derived from Iranian mythology, gave analogous names to his two sons, sc. Kaykāʾūs and Kayḳubād. In his time interest in Persian literature was growing, and since the Saldjūḳids of Iran had disappeared, their Anatolian relatives had become the representatives of the former's Iranian tradition. Hence when the Persian author Rāwandī wrote the history of the Iranian Saldjūḳids, he dedicated his work to Kaykhusraw.

Bibliography: see kaykāʾūs.

Kaykhusraw ii, son and successor (in 634/1237) of Kayḳubād [*q.v.*].

The very power of his father was at the root of some of the difficulties that manifested themselves under his reign. Together with the Mongol invasion that took place in his days, they led to the catastrophe from which the Saldjūḳid state was never to recover.

He was not the successor-designate of Kayḳubād, who for political reasons had chosen as such one of the two sons he had had by his Ayyūbid wife. But Kaykhusraw II was the eldest son and the only one already to possess real power. His "usurpation" resulted in a series of executions which accentuated the anti-aristocratic policy of Kayḳubād. Not only his half-brothers and their mother were strangled, but many *amīrs* and high dignitaries were put to death and the Khwārazmians who had settled in Asia Minor were forced to flee. Even Saʿd al-Dīn Köpek, his counsellor in all this, was done away with. This policy, in order to be acceptable, had to be accompanied by military successes. Like his father at the end of his reign, Kaykhusraw II tried above all to drive away his Ayyūbid rivals from his south-eastern frontiers and perhaps to build up a bulwark in the east against the Mongols.

The death of the two powerful Ayyūbids al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf favoured him. Allying himself with the many enemies of al-Kāmil's son al-Ṣāliḥ, who attacked the latter in Mesopotamia and Syria, Kaykhusraw II succeeded in taking possession (639/1241) of Āmid, the strategic key to the upper basin of the Tigris. He married a Georgian princess and, with the obligation of military help, obtained a certain suzerainty over the Ayyūbids of Aleppo, the Armenians of Cilicia, the "Empire" of Trebizond

and even to a small extent over that of Nicaea (while negotiating with the Latins of Constantinople about a marriage), Friar Simon of St. Quentin, a missionary who was staying in Rūm at that time, where he was well received by the sultan, never tires of giving high praise to the latter's richness and power.

However, signs of interior weakness appeared among the decimated aristocratic groups and even more among the Turkmens. From the very beginning, there had been differences of attitude between the officials of the régime who were urbanised, islamicised and semi-iranicised, and the semi-nomad Turkmens who were much closer to their ancestral traditions than to the exigencies of a civilized state. Their number and problems had increased by the drive of the K͟hwārazmians and Mongols. They were ripe for propaganda, which normally took a religious form, such as the *bābā'ī* [*q.v.*] movement which kept the best Sald̲j̲ūḳid troops occupied for three years in central Asia Minor before being ostensibly crushed by the interventions of Frankish mercenaries. The real root of the problem remained, however, untouched.

Shortly afterwards there appeared on the frontiers of Rūm the first real Mongol army ever to be seen there, under the command of Bayd̲j̲ū.

In the winter of 1243-4, helped by treacheries previously prepared, the Mongols captured Erzurūm and in spring they started conquering Asia Minor proper. As a matter of great urgency, Kayk͟husraw II asked his Muslim and Christian neighbours, reconciled by the common dangers, for reinforcements of all possible means. The impatience of some and the panic of others induced Kayk͟husraw II to face the Mongols without waiting for all these contingents to arrive, but with an already very heterogenous army. He was utterly defeated (6 Muḥarram 641/26 June 1243) by the Mongols at Köse Dag͟h, between Erzind̲j̲ān and Sivas. A few days later they took Sivas and Kayseri. The sultan, having hastily collected his treasures, fled at once to Anṭāliya in western Anatolia. In a certain way, he momentarily outlived his power, his vizier Muhad͟hd͟hab al-Dīn having succeeded in concluding an agreement of protection with the Mongols. In fact, however, the large tribute which was promised and the loss of prestige of the sovereign prepared the way for the ruin of the state. Turkmen revolts broke out on the frontiers and it was of little consequence that Kayk͟husraw II, with the help of an Armenian rebel, was able to take some revenge on king Hethum of Cilicia for having handed over the queen-mother of Rūm to the Mongols. He died in winter 1245-6, about forty years old, leaving behind only sons who were minors.

Bibliography: see KAYKĀ'ŪS.

KAYK͟HUSRAW III, one of the sultans who reigned in name only over Asia Minor under the effective tutelage of the Mongols or their lieutenants.

Brought to the throne at an age between two and five (663/1265?) by the *Parwāna* Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān [*q.v.*] after the murder of his father Rukn al-Dīn Kilid̲j̲ Arslān, he always remained a puppet, first in the hands of Mu'īn al-Dīn, and after the latter's death (1277), in the hands of vizier Fak͟hr al-Dīn 'Alī. At his majority, he put himself personally under the protection of the Mongol Īl-K͟hān Abaḳa. But when one of his cousins, Mas'ūd, son of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykā'ūs, disembarked in Asia Minor from the Crimea, Abaḳa granted Kayk͟husraw, at least theoretically, suzerainty over the Ḳarāmānid territory. After the death of Abaḳa, Kayk͟husraw III compromised himself in the revolt of Kangirtāy against the new Īl-K͟hān Aḥmad. The latter, whose policy was totally opposite to that of his predecessor, then conferred the sultanate on Mas'ūd and ordered Kayk͟husraw to be strangled (1284). The unfortunate sultan's widow and minor sons, however, soon obtained the western half of the former sultanate from Aḥmad's successor Arg͟hun, but the only result was that Mas'ūd ordered them in in their turn to be put to death (1285).

Bibliography: see KAYKĀ'ŪS.

(CL. CAHEN)

KAYḲUBĀD, name of three Sald̲j̲ūḳid sultans of Rūm.

KAYḲUBĀD I, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN was the most distinguished of the Sald̲j̲ūḳid sultans of Rūm, to whom many later sovereigns would connect themselves. Removed from power by his brother and predecessor Kaykā'ūs I [*q.v.*], he succeeded him in 618/1220. His foreign policy made his dynasty one of the most powerful of his time. In the south he expanded his power, from the very beginning of his reign, over a great part of the Cilician Taurus, where he settled Turkmens. He enlarged his maritime frontiers, in particular by conquering Kalon-Oros, renamed 'Alā'iyya, which he made his winter residence and the place of safe keeping for his treasury. On the Black Sea, he disputed the domination of Trebizond and organised, under the command of *amīr* Čupan of Kastamonu, the memorable maritime expedition which assured a Sald̲j̲ūḳid protectorate over the Crimean harbour of Sug͟hdāḳ. In the east, taking profit from rivalry among the Ayyūbids, he annexed with the help of one of them, al-As͟hraf, the Artuḳid possessions on the right bank of the Middle Euphrates. Forging ahead of the reinforcements requested by Dāwūd-S͟hāh, the Mangud̲j̲aḳid of Erzind̲j̲ān, he annexed the latter's principality and made it an apanage for his eldest son Kayk͟husraw [*q.v.*]. If it had not been for the invasion of the K͟hwārazmians, the Sald̲j̲ūḳid principality of Erzurūm would have undergone immediately the same fate.

The K͟hwārazmians had conquered for their prince D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Mangubirtī [see D̲J̲ALĀL AL-DĪN K͟HWĀRAZM-S͟HĀH] an ill-defined empire in Iran and Georgia. But further to the west they were continuously in search of a refuge against the growing Mongol pressure.

They had just taken Ak͟hlāṭ, the key to Asia Minor, from al-As͟hraf and were now about to attack the whole region. Kayḳubād, who had not been dissatisfied at seeing his rivals weakened, urgently summoned to his aid both his former enemies and his friends. The main contingent, consisting of various Syrian troops, was brought to him by al-As͟hraf. After hard fighting the K͟hwārazmians were crushed at Yasi-Čumen, to the west of Erzind̲j̲ān. The principality of Erzurūm was taken away from its prince, D̲j̲ahān-S͟hāh, who had taken the side of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn. Under the pretext that a Mongol raid had taken place through the territory of the Georgians, Kayḳubād took away from them several frontier fortresses (thence, in order to restore peace, the wedding-project of Kayḳubād with the Georgian heiress [see KAYK͟HUSRAW]), and occupied in his turn the ruined Ak͟hlāṭ, in which al-As͟hraf had lost interest. The territory of the Turks now reached in the west the frontiers of the 11th century Byzantine Empire. On the other hand, with D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn having died and with his troops fleeing before the Mongols, Kayḳubād thought that he could realise a

profitable operation for the defence of his enlarged territories by settling the Khwārazmians there.

But the Ayyūbids, favoured by the defeat of the Khwārazmians, had intensified their grasp on Upper Mesopotamia and the two ambitious powers were from now on facing each other without any buffer-state left. Al-Kāmil, the suzerain of the Ayyūbids, to whom the Syrians had given the impression that he could obtain an easy conquest, invaded Asia Minor but was defeated (631/1233) because contingents who were opposed to the expedition served him badly in the mountain passes of the Taurus. Kayḳubād was then able to set out on a policy of penetration into the upper Tigris region. He was lucky to die (634/1237) before the Mongols had sent into Asia Minor more than reconnaissance raids which were of no consequence. The disaster which his successor was to experience made Kayḳubād in the eyes of posterity the last of the really great sovereigns of his dynasty; he had in practice been the most powerful.

We are not as well-informed about his internal policy, but may surely characterise it amongst other things by his inflexible will to keep the great *amīrs* of the régime within obedience. His reign is marked by many construction projects, including ramparts, caravanserais, mosques and *madrasas*; excavations are gradually revealing his palaces of Ḳubādābād and Kayḳubādiyya [see KAYḲUBĀDIYYA]. The sultan himself is said to have been a gifted personality, equally endowed physically and intellectually.

Bibliography: see KAYKĀʾŪS, to which should be added H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, Wiesbaden 1950; idem, *Der Bericht des Ibn Nazīf über die Schlacht von Yasičimen*, in *WZKM*, vi (1960), 55-67.

KAYḲUBĀD II, one of the sons of Kaykhusraw I [see KAYKĀʾŪS II].

KAYḲUBĀD III, one of the sons of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾus II, who from the Crimea tried in 1282 to reconquer the throne of his father in Asia Minor. He had to take refuge in Cilicia, but reappeared in 1297 and, with the support of the Īl-Khān Ghāzān, occupied the nominal sultanate of Rūm until the Mongol ruler put him to death in 702/1303.

Bibliography: see KAYKĀʾŪS. (CL. CAHEN)

KAYḲUBĀD, MUʿIZZ AL-DĪN, Sulṭān of Dihlī (686-9/1287-90) grandson of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban [*q.v.*], whom he succeeded. His father Bughrā Khān was Balban's younger son, absent in Bengal at the time of his death. Kayḳubād's maternal grandfather was Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (644-65/1246-67). Kayḳobād had been strictly educated under Balban's supervision, but after his accession at the age of 17 or 18 embarked on a career of unbridled licentiousness. In matters of state he fell under the influence of Malik Niẓām al-Dīn, *amīr-i dād*, nephew and son-in-law of the *kotwāl* of Dihlī.

In 687/1288 Kayḳubād set out from Dihlī eastwards to encounter his father, Nāṣir al-Dīn Bughrā, who had assumed sovereignty in Bengal. The meeting, which took place on the banks of the Ghāghra, proved amicable; it is commemorated in detail by Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī's *Mathnawī Ḳirān al-Saʿdayn*. The historian Baranī attributes to the father on this occasion lengthy counsels which, if they did not effect a lasting improvement in the young Sulṭān's morals, persuaded him to remove by poison his minister Niẓām al-Dīn. This occurred some months after his return to Dihlī.

The disinclination of the Sulṭān to rule brought forward at his court factions based on racial groupings among the *amīrs* and *maliks* of his court. Probably early in the reign, a Mongol invasion brought about a massacre of the *Naw-Musalmān* (converted Mongol) *amīrs*. After the death of Niẓām al-Dīn, the contest for power was between the old-established Turkish *maliks* and the Khaldjī faction led by the *ʿĀriḍ al-mamālik* Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz (Sulṭān 689-95/1290-6). Kayḳubād fell ill, with a paralysis thought to have been brought on by his excesses, and the Turkish *maliks* set his infant son Shams al-Dīn Kayumarth upon the throne; but Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Khaldjī gained possession of the young Sulṭān and the capital, and was shortly afterwards to ascend the throne. Meanwhile, Kayḳubād, starved for three days, was attacked by the son(s) of a Turkish *malik* whom he had put to death, wrapped in a rug, beaten and thrown into the river Jamunā to drown.

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KAYḲUBĀDIYYA, a palace built by the Rūm Saldjūḳ ruler ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I (616-34/1219-37) in the years between 1224-26, *ca.* 4 miles northwest of Kayseri. The place is now called Kiybad Çiftliği, at the foot of the Kiybad Dağ; nearby is the plain of Mashhad (Mashhadiyya), where reviews of the troops took place. The road Kayseri-Boğazköprü, on which the palace was situated, was in use from pre-Roman times down to the Ottoman domination. Situated northeast of Konya in the heart of the Rūm Saldjūḳ territory, Kayḳubādiyya was one of the favourite residences of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I. He stayed there quite often, received at Kayḳubādiyya the submission of Malik al-Dīn Dāwūdshāh, the lord of Erzindjan, in 625/1228, and died in this palace in 634/1237. His son and successor Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw ascended the throne at Kayḳubādiyya. The palace belongs to the series of foundations and monuments erected by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I, one of the most brilliant Rūm Saldjūḳ rulers, at Konya, Alanya (ʿAlāʾiyya), Ḳubādābād, Sivas and Erzindjan. Excavations of the site were undertaken in 1964.

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ḲAYL is recorded by Nashwān b. Saʿīd (*Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-ʿulūm*, ed. A. Ahmad, Leiden-London 1916, 89) as a title of pre-Islamic Yemeni "kings". It is well

attested in Sabaean-language inscriptions from around the beginning of the Christian era onwards; the form *ḳayl*, however, seems to be mainly characteristic of the 5th-6th centuries A.D., while earlier it appears mostly as *qwl*, plural *ʾqwl* (and Nas̲h̲wān himself says that *ḳayl* derives from *ḳayyil* and is a derivative of the root with median *w*). Inscriptional evidence shows that the *ḳayl* was in fact subordinate to the *malik* "king". In Sabaean social organisation of the relevant period, the grouping called a *s̲h̲aʿb* [cf. ḲATABĀN] was constituted of a number of clans, one of which occupied a dominating position, with other clans subordinate to it. The dominant clan was the hereditary stock from which the leader of the whole *s̲h̲aʿb* was drawn: as Ibn K̲h̲aldūn says (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 240, tr. Rosenthal, i, 270), "leadership over any group always passes from one individual to another within a single stock" (*fī manbitin wāḥidin*); the dominant clan was the *manbit* to which was restricted the potentiality of furnishing the leadership (*riʾāsa*) over the whole group. This leader was the *ḳayl*. In warfare, the members of the subordinate clans fought under the immediate command of the *ḳayl* of their *s̲h̲aʿb*, though he himself was under the orders of the king as commander-in-chief.

Bibliography: G. Ryckmans, *Le qayl*, in *Hebrew and Semitic studies presented to G. R. Driver*, Oxford 1963, 144-55. (A. F. L. BEESTON)

KAYL [see MAKĀYĪL].

KAY-LUHRĀSB [see KAYĀNIDS].

KAYMAK [see KĪMĀK].

ḲAYN, from the Arabic root *ḳ y n* which has the basic meaning of "to adorn, embellish", comes by extension to denote artisan, workman (*ṣāniʿ*), although current usage reserves it above all for blacksmith (*LA*, s.v. *ḳyn*). It does not occur in the Ḳurʾān; on the other hand, it occurs in many *ḥadīt̲h̲*s, generally in its particular sense of "ironsmith". The feminine *ḳayna* means "singing girl". However, since the men working at this trade usually belonged to the lowest stratum of the population, *ḳayn* became a deprecatory term applied to slaves. In the satirical poems of D̲j̲arīr, his antagonist al-Farazdaḳ is sometimes called *ibn al-ḳayn* (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, Beirut 1956, xix, 37, 41, 84), and this was regarded in the desert as such an insult that al-Ak̲h̲ṭal, intending to eulogise Simāk al-Asadī, satirised him involuntarily by mentioning that one of his ancestors had been a blacksmith.

This unfavourable view of the *ṣāniʿ* has continued to be current amongst the Bedouins (H. Wahba, *D̲j̲azīrat al-ʿArab fī ʾl-ḳarn al-ʿis̲h̲rīn*; R. al-ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādat . . . al-urdunniyya*. Amman 1973-4, ii, 177). They consider the artisan as an outsider, even if he and his family have lived amongst them from time immemorial; he can never be integrated into the tribe, and no Arab nomad, of however low birth, would consider marriage links with him (R. Montagne, *Vie sociale et politique de l'Arabie du Nord*, in *REI* (1932), 74).

The *ḥaddādīn* (pl. of *ḥaddād* "blacksmith") are often originally oasis dwellers (Montagne, *op. cit.*), and sometimes belong to outcast tribes like the Nawār (A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 104 n. 2) or the Ṣulaba. They form a separate caste (Doughty, *Arabia deserta*, index s.v. *Ṣâny*), and consider themselves as unrelated, *banū ʿamm* (A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 281). Their lowly status protects them from the consequences of raids, and they accordingly enjoy an almost total immunity here. During an attack on a clan in which they have chosen to reside, they stay apart from the fighting, doing nothing to defend either themselves or their goods, because of the right of protection which they enjoy. If goods of theirs are carried off by mistake, they can be confident of recovering them rapidly. In each clan they have in practice a brother (*ak̲h̲*), the blacksmith of the group, who has the duty of restoring any goods seized by mistake (Musil, *op. cit.*, 281-2).

It is worthy of note that *ḳayn* in Sabaean is free of any pejorative sense such as is found in North Arabia. It seems to be agreed that its meaning here is "the one who arranges something", which is in accord with the etymology in Arabic. It would therefore appear to be used for a high official, superintendent or minister, whose duties are concerned with religion and the sacred. There is a sense of this supernatural aspect in the Ḳurʾān when it says "We sent down iron, in which there is violent force and also benefits for the people" (LVII, 25), and it attributes the invention and manufacture of mailed coats to David, after receiving instruction from God Himself (XXXIV, 10-11, XXI, 80).

The divine origin of iron is confirmed in several *ḥadīt̲h̲*s. Thus according to Ibn ʿUmar, "God brought down to earth four elements: iron, fire, water and salt" (al-Tabarsī, *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut 1961, xxiii, 157). More explicitly, Ibn ʿAbbās says, "The hammer, the anvil and tongs came down with Adam". In another tradition, five tools are said to have come down from Paradise with Adam, the anvil, tongs, the needle, the hammer and the whetstone (al-Ṭabarī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-bayān*, xxvii, 122; Alūsī, *Bulūg̲h̲ al-ʿarab*, iii, 400). Finally, in the *ḥadīt̲h̲* concerning the general prohibition of cutting down plants in the Meccan *ḥaram*, an exception is made for the *id̲h̲k̲h̲ir*, a fragrant plant used to decorate houses and tombs, but also used by blacksmiths (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, *K. al-d̲j̲anāʾiz*, 80-1; *LA*. s.v. *ḳyn*; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à La Mekke*, 8-9).

The *ḳayn*'s position is thus ambivalent. Although an object of scorn, at the same time he enjoys certain privileges associated with sacred personages. As in the so-called primitive societies, amongst the desert Arabs the smith is a being apart. According to the Rwala beliefs, God created the first smith at the same time as the first Bedouin (Musil, *op. cit.*, 281). The taboos surrounding him are not solely explicable by mere contempt for mechanical activity; another factor must be taken into consideration: the superstitious fear of being contaminated by the impurity of the artisan-magician, of coming into contact with this formidable power, the secret of whose divinity he holds, and which made the Sabaean *ḳayn* an intermediary between man and the sacred.

Was the blacksmith's art taught to the Arabs of the North by those of the South, as alleged by the chroniclers (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb al-as̲h̲rāf*, i, Cairo 1959, 467)? This hypothesis may be acceptable in that in Yemen today, the blacksmith is not regarded with any particular disfavour, the most despised class being that of the *ʿanāḍil* (barber, butcher, cupper, etc.).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see also J. Chelhod, *Le monde mythique arabe*, in *Jnal. de la Soc. des Africanistes*, xxiv (1954), 4 ff.; idem, *L'organisation sociale au Yémen*, in *L'Ethnographie*, N.S. no. 64 (1970), 75 ff. (J. CHELHOD)

AL-ḲAYN or BANŪ ʾL-ḲAYN, often contracted

to Bal-Ḳayn (cf. Bal-Ḥārith, etc.), the name of one or more Arab tribes. The best known is part of the tribal group of Ḳuḍāʿa, and al-Ḳayn is here interpreted as the nickname of al-Nuʿmān b. Djasr, so that the tribe is known as al-Ḳayn b. Djasr. The word *ḳayn* means "worker in iron", "smith", or possibly "slave", and is used as a term of contempt in the *Naḳāʾid Djarīr wa'l-Farazdaḳ*. There is no evidence, however, of any connexion of Bal-Ḳayn b. Djasr with smiths. They act as a normal Bedouin tribe, and indeed are specially proud of their achievements (cf. verse in Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, i, 40). Among the tribes against whom they fought were the Kalb (Abū Tammām, *Ḥamasa*, ed. Freytag, i, 77; Yāḳūt, iii, 241, iv, 49; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 27 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, ii, 224; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 45), Bahrāʾ (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 283), Ghaṭafān (*Aghānī*[1], ii, 194). The names of various places in their tribal grounds are known (see Yāḳūt, Index of tribes). One (Thadjr) is between Wādi 'l-Ḳurā and Taymāʾ; most of the others appear to be further north. Among neighbouring tribes were the Kalb, Balī and ʿUdhra. Some of the tribe may have been friendly with Muḥammad, since at the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil in 8/629 the Muslims hoped for help from them (Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, ii, 770 f.); but a contingent of Bal-Ḳayn fought against the Muslims at Muʾta about the same time, and also at the Yarmūk and perhaps Fiḥl (Ibn Hishām, 792; Ṭabarī, i, 1611, 2347). There is no record of their having sent a deputation to make an alliance with Muḥammad, and so the report of Sayf b. ʿUmar (Ṭabarī, i, 1872) that they had an *ʿāmil* and that some joined in the Ridda presumably refers only to a small section. The majority probably became Muslims after the conquest of Syria.

In the Second Civil War (*fitna* of Ibn al-Zubayr) they supported Marwān (Ṭabarī, ii, 478; Masʿūdī, *Tanbī*, 308), but a little later ʿAbd al-Mālik decided against them in a dispute with the Kalb about a place called Ḳurāḳir (Yāḳūt, iv, 49). There was a contingent of 600 of them in the Umayyad army sent against the Khāridjī rebel Bahlūl in 119/737 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1623; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 156). The last that is heard of them is as being involved in intertribal fighting in Damascus in 176/792 (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 87 f.).

Two brothers from the Bal-Ḳayn, Mālik and ʿAḳīl, are said to have been the boon-companions of Djadhīma al-Abrash of Ḥīra [*q.v.*] and were noted for being inseparable (Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, iii, 653; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, i, 535, 2, poem 67, 21). The best-known member of the tribe was the poet Abū 'l-Ṭamaḥān, who in pre-Islamic times had been friendly with Muḥammad's uncle al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd-al-Muṭṭalib and also with ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 229 f.; Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, i, 40; Caussin de Perceval, i, 131, ii, 232).

Al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Nihāyat al-arab fī ansāb al-ʿarab*, Cairo 1959, 71) has two tribes called Banū 'l-Ḳayn. Besides the one described above there is a part of Asad (b. Khuzayma); but it is possible that there is confusion with Asad, the great-grandfather of al-Ḳayn b. Djasr, since little is recorded of this tribe except the name. A group of Bal-Ḳayn, perhaps actually smiths, were found at the mines of Banū Sulaym at Farān and may have been part of the Balī (Yāḳūt, iii, 865). The suggestion has been made that the Bal-Ḳayn are descended from the Kenites of the Old Testament, *e.g.*, by Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xli, 181, but there is no convincing evidence to support this.

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(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḲAYNA, pl. *ḳaynāt* or *ḳiyān* "female singing slave".

The Arab lexicographers do not completely agree on the primitive meaning of the term (see *LA*, *TA*, etc. s.v.), the real origin of which is unknown to them. They tend to apply it in the first place to a female slave (*ama*, *djāriya*), charged in general with various tasks; secondly, and more specifically, to the female singer who had a servile status (*ama* or *djāriya mughanniya*). Some lexicographers are inclined to connect *ḳayna* with a Vth form *taḳayyana* "to embellish oneself" (al-Washshāʾ, *Muwashshā*, 164, uses the expression *al-imāʾ al-mutaḳayyināt* in a sense close to *al-mutaẓarrifāt* "the elegant, the refined ladies"), others want to see it as the feminine form of *ḳayn* "workman", more specifically "smith" and to give it the primitive meaning of "working woman" or "woman hairdresser". Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad (*al-Ḳiyān wa 'l-ghināʾ fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-djāhilī*, Cairo [2]1968, 15-24) has devoted a thorough study to this term. Starting from a biliteral **ḳn*, he points out the semantic affinity of the "radicals" *ḳyn*, *ḳnn*, *ḳny*, and remarks the existence of cognate words in various Semitic languages. He sees a phonetic and semantic relation between χρίνω and *cano* on one side, and *ḳayna* on the other, and concludes that these are loanwords from Arabic. We shall limit ourselves here to underline the rightness of these connections, without being decisive about the direction of a possible borrowing and without following P. Anastase (*al-Iklīl*, viii, 165) who considers *ḳayna* to be a derivative of χαίνω or *cano*, while considering at the same time the Arabic *ghannā* "to sing" to be the origin of either verbs. What can be stated with near certainty is that the Assyrian *ḳinītu* has very probably become Arabic *ḳayna* [see GHINĀʾ]. At an early period also other words are attested to indicate the female singer: *karīna* (Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-lahw wa 'l-malāhī*, ed. I. A. Khalifé, Beirut 1969, 20), *musmiʿa* (which is perhaps Islamic, *ibid*, 17), *dādjina* and *muddjina* (Asad, *op. cit.*, 27), *ṣadūḥ* and *ṣādiḥa* (ibid., 28) and finally *djarāda* "locust".

According to a well-founded tradition, the first female singers among the Arabs are reported to have been two slaves called al-*Djarādatān*[1] or *Djarādatā ʿĀd*. They are even given individual names the spellings of which take all the form CCāC (al-Ṭabarī, i, 234-6; see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, index). The name of the mythical person to whom they allegedly have belonged is also known: Muʿāwiya b. Bakr al-ʿImlaḳī. The continuity of the tradition is assured by the affirmation that the inhabitants of Yathrib inherited the use of *ḳiyān* from the ʿĀdites who had disappeared from history, (Ibn Khurradādhbih, *op. cit.*, 20). The sources also attest female singing-slaves in the future Medina at the end of the Djāhiliyya (*e.g.* *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xv, 34, about Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ). Mecca, which had remained outside the alleged ʿĀdite influence, is said to have known music and singing thanks to al-Ḥārith b. Kalada on his return from al-Ḥīra (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index, s.v.; Asad, *op. cit.*, 115, 116, 118, 131, discusses this tradition). This detail confirms the origin of the *ḳayna* as proposed above, the more so because the sources report many traditions on the *ḳiyān* of the Naṣrids, as they do on those of the Ghassānids. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih (*op. cit.*, 36), Djabala b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī [*q.v.*] is said to have had ten *ḳiyān*, five of whom, apparently Byzantine, sang in *rūmiyya*.

In Arabia, outside the main towns, some *ḳiyān*

were living among the Bedouins, if the poets are to be believed, whose works can, however, not be credited with perfect authenticity.

As far as can be judged, the female slave singers may have been divided into two main categories, the rôle of one group, owned by a town or Bedouin person of standing, was to entertain their master, alone or in the company of guests, without prejudice to other relations they could have with him. The other group, quite inferior in rank, were attached to taverns or followed wandering wine-merchants, and one can easily imagine that they could give themselves to a form of prostitution. The poets (*e.g.* Tarafa, vv. 49-52 of the *Muʿallaḳa*; al-Aʿs̲h̲ā, in *Rawāʾiʿ*, no. 31, 26-7; Labīd, v. 61 of the *Muʿallaḳa*) associate these women with drinking-bouts, and describe them so as not to leave any doubt about their marginal activities. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad (*op. cit.*, 163-253) has thoroughly studied the influence exercised by these two pre-Islamic groups of *ḳiyān* on the social and literary fields, and more particularly on al-Aʿs̲h̲ā.

From the period shortly preceeding Islam, we have detailed information on some *ḳiyān*, in particular on two new "locusts", the D̲j̲arādatān[1] of ʿAbd Allāh b. D̲j̲udʿān [*q.v.*] who was engaged in the slave-trade in both sexes. Shortly afterwards, female slave-singers apparently served in Mecca as instruments of propaganda against the Prophet who had migrated to Medina, namely Fartanā and Ḳarība/Ḳurayba, who were owned by ʿAbd Allāh b. K̲h̲aṭal (see al-D̲j̲āhiz, *Tarbīʿ*, index, s.v. Fartanā; *Sīra*, ii, 410; *Nasab Ḳurays̲h̲*, 442-3; Asad, *op. cit.*, 86-7). They are said to have been sentenced to death by Muḥammad after the conquest of Mecca for having propagated satirical songs against him (the traditions diverge however on the actuality of their punishment). Another *ḳayna*, Sāra by name (see Asad, *op. cit.*, 88), and owned by ʿAmr b. Abī Ṣayfī (*Nasab Ḳurays̲h̲*, 90-1), was sent to the Ḳurays̲h̲ by Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿa to announce the Prophet's intention to seize Mecca (*Sīra*, ii, 398, 410, 411). Sentenced to death, she escaped momentarily the supreme penalty. A list of ancient *ḳiyān* can be found in chapter xiv of the *Ḥāwī 'l-funūn wa-salwat al-maḥzūn* of Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān, an author of the 5th/11th century (ms. *Dār al-kutub* no. 539, Fine Arts) published by Asad, *op. cit.*, 269-72.

At the same period there existed certainly many other anonymous *ḳiyān* who were engaged in their usual activity. These slaves were surely of non-Arabic origin (*e.g.* the *ḳayna* of Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit was called Sīrīn, Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, *op. cit.*, 36). Thus there were probably white slaves among them, but the majority must have been black or half-caste. If some were perhaps still singing in a foreign language, like those of D̲j̲abala b. al-Ayham, the others had been brought up in an Arab environment and knew perfectly well the language of the poets whose works they interpreted. The absence of reliable documents prevents however any decisive affirmation.

The information becomes less unreliable when in the 1st/7th century the development of music and singing [see G̲h̲INĀʾ] in the holy cities of the Ḥid̲j̲āz brought about a zeal for collecting traditions which we know, to be sure, only from later sources. On the other hand, however acute the later juridical disputations on the admissibility of these two pursuits, they in fact paradoxically developed, in spite of some attempts to stem their spread, in Mecca and especially in Medina, where one would have expected stronger puritanical feeling. This problem is further connected with those of love-poetry [see G̲h̲AZAL] and humour [see AL-D̲J̲IDD WAʾL-HAZL].

While the prohibition of wine must have entailed the disappearance of a great part of the female singers of the lower reaches of the profession, real schools can be seen growing around musicians and singers who were instructing pupils of both sexes. Among the females, free and freed women appeared, but mainly slaves, whose masters considered that sort of education to be a means of increasing the commercial value. In order to be chosen among the young slaves, whose number was now increasing, due to the conquests, the future *ḳiyān* had of course to be beautiful and to have a melodious voice, but to be at a premium on the market they also needed talent and skill, *i.e.* a fairly advanced musical education and intellectual culture. From the 1st/7th century onwards the famous stories of *ḳiyān*, bought at huge prices (thousands of *dīnārs* are mentioned), have been adopted into *adab*-literature, often with somewhat embellished details. Sallāma [*q.v.*] and Ḥabāba [*q.v.*] belong to them, but several others could be mentioned. Isḥāḳ al-Mawsilī pretends (Ag̲h̲ānī, v, 156) that the singers who had thus been educated, were originally black (*sūd*) or "yellow" (*ṣufr*), *i.e.*, white women, and hints that they did not stand out for their beauty. For, he says, his father Ibrāhīm was the first to consider the physical qualities of the *ḳiyān* important, in view of the increase of their value in the eyes of those interested. This information is belied by traditions going back to the 1st/7th century.

ʿAzza [*q.v.*] and D̲j̲amīla [*q.v.*] gave concerts in honour of personalities of Medina, and the latter was surrounded by a considerable number of *ḳiyān* who constituted the choir. It was under the direction of these two artists, famous in the history of the Arabs, that the great singers of the 1st/7th century were formed [see G̲H̲INĀʾ]. Out of these one needs only to mention Maʿbad [*q.v.*], who in his turn taught *ḳiyān*, both female musicians and singers, who were very much in demand. The best pupils of the Medinese school easily found buyers in ʿIrāḳ, particularly in Baṣra where a new school, competing with the one of Medina, was quickly to come into existence and which produced some of the most famous female singers of the court at Bag̲h̲dād. There were formed Bad̲h̲l (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, ed. Beirut, xvii, 32-7), *ḳayna* of al-Hādī and al-Amīn, ʿArīb (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, xxi, 58-102) whose career reached from the reign of al-Maʾmūn to that of al-Mutawakkil, Mutayyam al-Hās̲h̲imiyya (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, vii, 280-93) and S̲h̲āriya (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, xv, 320-8) who was adopted by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and whose biography Ibn al-Muʿtazz did not judge himself unworthy to write. Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 288-90), gives a detailed list of Baṣran *ḳiyān*, whom he prefers to the Kūfan. From that time onwards it is not always easy to make a distinction between the slaves who had become famous for having given birth to caliphs (those born from a mother who was a free woman are very few), those who had distinguished themselves as poets (like ʿInān [*q.v.*] or Faḍl) and the singers proper who could at the same time share the caliph's couch or that of a very high personality, compose verses, sing their own or those of other poets and play a musical instrument (like Maḥbūba). In fact, many *ḳiyān* were capable of writing short poems and of improvising occasional pieces; competing in this field with the court poets, they rivalled them in virtuosity, especially in the classical game of the

idjāza [*q.v.*]. In an unpublished thesis (*Recherches sur la poésie des qiyān*, Paris-Sorbonne 1970), A. Chirane has brought forward the name of more than a hundred *ḳiyān* to whom verses are attributed, without counting several dozens of anonymous poetesses, whose preserved works represent only a tiny part of the compositions and improvisations. In general, this kind of poetry cannot be called exemplary, but is has the merit of being spontaneous and unusually refreshing. Love (*ʿishḳ* [*q.v.*]) is largely celebrated, while amorous reproofs (*ʿitāb*) and lamentations over forced separations also abound. On the other hand, one finds eulogies of high-ranking personalities, elegies on the death of the master and pieces in which the *ḳiyān*, far away from their native land, express their nostalgia. Wine and descriptions find their place also, next to epigrams which were held in high esteem in these refined milieux.

These women had received a thorough education. They had to give proof of talent and vast knowledge of Arabic language and poetry. We are told that al-Rashīd, before taking a decision, instructed al-Aṣmaʿī to examine one of them; she answered her examiner with such assurance that she "seemed to read the answers from a book" (al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. ʿA. ʿĀmir, 72-3). It was due to the erudition of another *ḳayna*, pupil of the grammarian al-Mazīnī, that the latter had the honour to be admitted to the court (see Pellat, *Milieu*, 250). These slaves knew a great number of verses by heart, which was in itself normal; some, however, although everything in their daily life removed them from religion, were well-versed in the traditional sciences and had studied the Ḳurʾān, as suggested by the story of a *ḳāriʾa* related by al-Masʿūdī (v, 428-31 = § 2184-5), who gives a beautiful example of *ṭarab* [*q.v.*]. Besides, it is known that the Holy Book was chanted and that the *ḳirāʾa bi 'l-alḥān*, favoured by the development of singing at Medina (see M. Talbi, in *Arabica*, v/2, 1958, 183-90), spread afterwards to other areas of the Muslim world, in spite of the hostility of the *fuḳahāʾ* (see, *e.g.*, M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 307).

Thanks to the school founded by Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] and developed by his son Isḥāḳ, himself formed by a *ḳayna* called ʿAtīḳa, Baghdād tended at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century to secure pre-eminence over Baṣra, which had not in fact succeeded in putting an end to the monopoly which the school of Medina had possessed in the formation of the *ḳiyān*. Indeed, still in the 3rd/9th century ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II summoned to Cordoba the so-called "Medinese women" Faḍl, ʿIlm and Ḳalam, while the last-mentioned, a native of Navarre, had only been sent to the Ḥidjāz to round off her education there (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 40-1; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 267-8). The Umayyad *amīr*, who took them as concubines, caused a special pavilion to be constructed for them inside his palace where they conducted a real orchestra. In the early 3rd/9th century, the Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyādat Allāh (201-23/817-38) sent to Baghdād a messenger entrusted with purchasing *ḳiyān* for 30,000 *dīnār*s (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, v, 396; cf. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Waraḳāt*, ii, 195). At the end of the century, in spite of the prohibition issued in the meantime by al-Muhtadī (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 2 = § 3111) it was from Baghdād that the "king" of Seville, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (286-98/899-911) ordered the purchase of Ḳamar, who contributed to the diffusion of ʿIraḳī poetry which she knew perfectly well (H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 41). She was one of those who expressed in verses their regret for having left their native land.

One or several *ḳiyān* of this category were often offered to the caliph (like Maḥbūba, a gift of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir to al-Mutawakkil; see al-Masʿūdī, ed. Pellat, index). But it also happened that the ruler made his choice himself. Having heard Ḳalam al-Ṣāliḥiyya singing during a private session, al-Wāthiḳ expressed the wish to buy her, but her owner required a prohibitive price together with an official document appointing him to the government of Egypt. This incident was at the origin of al-Djāḥiẓ' *Tarbīʿ* (see ed. Pellat, Introd.).

At the other extremity of the social scale of the *ḳiyān*, there were also cabaret singers in ʿIrāḳ (curiously enough, Bashshār, *Dīwān*, i, 136, describes as *bikr* a *ḳayna* singing among drinkers), but it is hard to know whether they are the singers who are celebrated (or criticised) by the poets in the verses quoted, *e.g.* by al-Washahāʾ (*op. cit.*, 119-28), or whether the latter are inspired by more distinguished *ḳiyān*, whose existence is attested with certainty. To be sure, there came into existence, first at Baṣra, then in other cities as far away as Cordoba, the very profitable profession of *ḳayyān* or *muḳayyin*, the germ of which had already existed much earlier. It consisted in acquiring young slaves fit to become *ḳiyān*, in forming them under strict rules and in hiring out on various circumstances their services to private persons. The *ḳayyān* organised also musical sessions in the hope that such a passion would arise among the guests that they would not hesitate to pay the most exorbitant prices in order to obtain the object of their ardour. In particular, there is mentioned the case of a certain ʿUmar (or al-Faḍl) b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Baṣrī, Abu 'l-Naḍīr/Abu 'l-Baṣīr (al-Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, i, 8-10; *Aghānī*, xi, 267-74) who was at the same time a minor poet, a singer and a *muḳayyin*. His memory is kept alive thanks to the sharp criticisms addressed to him by Abān al-Lāḥiḳī (al-Sūlī, *op. cit.*, i, 9; *Aghānī*, xxiii, 24; Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, ii, 317). Other names are also known, for they appear in the beginning of al-Djāḥiz's *Kitāb al-Ḳiyān* (ed. Finkel, *Three Essays*, 53-75; ed. Hārūn, *Rasāʾil*, ii, 139-82; tr. Pellat, in *Arabica*, x/2 (1963), 121-47). In this small masterpiece, the author describes the *ḳayna*-type whom he shows exerting herself to seduce the well-to-do visitors and whose moral portrait he describes with great fineness. Thus we gain an insight into the rôle the *ḳiyān* were playing towards the members of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie: adroitly they were provoking *ʿishḳ* while the wives of these men, kept in seclusion and generally uneducated, were quite incapable of exercising such an irresistible appeal. The *Kitāb al-Ḳiyān*, unique in Arab literature, was plagiarised with a certain talent by al-Washshāʾ, whose *Muwashshā* contains also a choice of verses illustrating in particular the ravages caused by the *ḳiyān* in the hearts of the enamoured (119-28). This treatise, composed for the benefit of the refined milieux (*ẓurafāʾ*), gives also an accurate description (*ibid.*, 164) of the clothes of the *imāʾ mutaḳayyināt*, who dressed in vividly-coloured robes made of dyed material, while the free women wore only natural fabrics. There are also many details on the customs of those milieux, on the phrases written on the footwear, on the forehead, on the palm of the hand, etc. (*ibid.*, 236 ff.).

The monographs devoted to the *ḳiyān* and cited for instance by Ibn al-Nadīm and Yāḳūt were

probably far from having the same literary value as the works of al-Djāḥiẓ and al-Washshā', for they were likely to contain exclusively anecdotes and verses in the same way as the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the notices of which have been usefully gathered together by F. al-ʿAmrūsī, *al-Djawārī 'l-mughanniyāt*, Cairo 1945. The following titles have been brought to light: K. *Ḳiyān al-Ḥidjāz* and *K. al-Ḳiyān* of Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (*Fihrist*, 202; *Udabā'*, vi, 56); *K. al-Ḳiyān* of Yūnus al-Mughannī (*Fihrist*, 207); *K. al-Ḳaynāt* of al-Madā'inī (*Udabā'*, xiv, 133); *Ashʿār al-djawārī* of al-Mufadjdjaʿ (*Fihrist*, 123; *Udabā'*, xvii, 194); *K. Ḳiyān al-Ḥidjāz* and *K. Ḳiyān Makka* of Sulaymān b. Ayyūn (*Fihrist*, 212; *Udabā'*, xi); *K. Akhbār al-ḳiyān* of Abū 'l-Faradj himself (*Udabā'*, xiii, 99; Brockelmann, S I, 226). To this list of works which do not seem to have been preserved, should be added, apart from the chapter of Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān mentioned above, anthologies like the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, the *Murūdj* of al-Masʿūdī or the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of al-Maḳḳarī, the sections on the *ḳiyān* in encyclopaedias like the *ʿIḳd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (iv, 127-38), the *Mustaṭraf* of al-Ibshīhī (ii, 211-7), the *Nihāyat al-Arab* of al-Nuwayrī (v, passim), works relating to women (*e.g.* Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Akhbār al-nisā'*, ed. N. Riḍā, Beirut 1964, or the study of ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *K. Aʿlām al-nisā'*, Damascus 1379/1959), or also those devoted to poetesses but which have also been lost. Useful information can finally be found in: *Nisā' al-khulafā'*, attributed to Ibn al-Sāʿī (ed. M. Djawād, Cairo n.d.), and in *al-Mustaẓraf min akhbār al-djawārī* of al-Suyūṭī (ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Beirut 1963).

Even if some *ḳiyān* are still mentioned occasionally after the 4th/10th century but then almost always anonymously, the tradition, judging from the sources available, is essentially based on those of the first centuries of the *hidjra* who acquired a lasting celebrity. After Medina and Baṣra, Baghdād was the centre of the Muslim world in this respect. Al-Tawḥīdī (*Imtāʿ*, ii, 183) counts 460 slave (and 120 free) female singers at al-Karkh [*q.v.*], giving the names of about 20 of them and citing the pieces of poetry they would sing. The *ḳiyān* celebrated by al-Azdī (*Ḥikāyat Abī l-Ḳāsim*, 70 ff.) were also from Baghdād. He describes, like al-Tawḥīdī (*ibid.*), scenes of *ṭarab*, *i.e.* of that delirious joy to which persons who are otherwise self-controlled and conscious of their dignity have often surrendered themselves. Thus Baghdād supplied the most appreciated female slave singers (see in particular the history of the Fāṭimid Tamīm al-Muʿizz (d. 368/978) in Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 401), whatever their land of origin may have been. The passage of Ibn Buṭlān (d. 454/1062) brought forward by Mez (*op. cit.*, tr. 161; text in *Risāla fī shirā' al-raḳīḳ wa-taḳlīb al-ʿabīd*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1954, 374; taken up again by al-Saḳaṭī, *Ḥisba*, 50, Spanish tr. by Chalmeta in *al-Andalus*, xxxiii/2 (1968), 375 and note 8) refers probably to the *ḳiyān*, for it is said there that the ideal slave is the Berber woman who from the age of nine spends three years at Medina, three at Mecca and then nine in ʿIrāḳ where she learns *adab*.

It is also known that shortly after the conquest of the Maghrib, *ḳiyān* were trained on the spot, while exchanges took place with the Orient (M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 35). Much later, the existence of female slave-singers is still attested in Ifrīḳiya (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 412; cf. Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, 388), but it is possible that some came from the Orient or from Spain. It was in any case a Berber woman who, having been offered to al-Muʿtamid by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, met with a tragic end because of a blunder she had perpetrated (H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 13). She had undoubtedly been trained in Morocco, but since the arrival of Ziryāb [*q.v.*], who possessed *ḳiyān* himself, Cordoba had become an important training-centre. Thus henceforth the aristocracy and bourgeoisie did not need to address themselves to Baghdād, from where the import of *ḳiyān* became exceptional (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, iii, 316). We even have an eloquent evidence of Ibn al-Kattānī (H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 383-5; in the 2nd ed. he corrects this to al-Kinānī; E. Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, iii, 317), a physician employed by al-Manṣūr and al-Muẓaffar (see al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 81; Boustany, *DM*, iii, 477) who died in 420/1030. He taught his slaves logic, philosophy, geometry, music, astronomy, astrology, grammar, prosody, *adab* and calligraphy, and then sold them at a very high price (in one case for 3,000 *dīnārs*). The Andalusian *ḳiyān* played also conjuring tricks and even executed exercises of skill with weapons, and formed orchestras called *sitāra* after the name of the curtain which in the Orient separated in theory the caliph from the singers and musicians (Mez, *op. cit.*, 479). After the fall of the Umayyads in Spain, the *Mulūk al-ṭawā'if* in their turn disputed among themselves for the most talented singers. The coming of the Almoravids and Almohads did not put an end to their activities, but from the 6th/12th century onwards, Seville had robbed Cordoba of the monopoly it had enjoyed before. A reliable evidence of this is to be found in a text of al-Tīfāshī (d. 651/1253), *Mutʿat al-asmāʿ fī ʿilm al-samāʿ*, quoted by Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in his *Waraḳāt*, ii, 231-2, where is given a detailed account of the training of the Sevillian female singers who were sold in North Africa. In the north of the peninsula the *ḳiyān* served to a certain extent as a link between Muslims and Christians, who both kept them in their entourages. Some still sang in Arabic, and Ibn Bassām describes in this respect moving scenes (see H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 386-7). On another plane, the Andalusian *ḳiyān* are probably no strangers to the insertion of Romance words in the *khardja* of the *muwashshaḥāt* and to the structure itself of these pieces [see MUWASHSHAḤ and ZADJAL].

Since the abolition of slavery, *ḳiyān* proper are no more met with, but those who in the Middle Ages formed troupes survive at present in the free female singers who in Morocco are called *shīkhāt* (sing. *shīkha*, f. of *shīkh* = *shaykh*). They form companies and participate in family feasts or solemn ceremonies. In Fās "their very diversified repertoire included Andalusian songs, poems in colloquial language and even Algerian songs" (R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 561). The *ghennāyāt*, of inferior rank, sometimes even composed small poems for family feasts (E. Aubin, *Le Maroc*, Paris 1912, 345-51).

We are, however, very far from the *ḳayna* of the classical period, who played a much larger rôle, even to such a degree that any history of Arabo-Islamic civilization cannot omit to recognize it. Not only, as S. Jargy (*La musique arabe*, coll. "Que sais-je?", no. 1436, Paris 1971, 39-40) has remarked, was "there at the origin of every career of the great singers in Islam a *qayna* whose pupil he was", but on the literary plane the *ḳiyān* also contributed to the development of the so-called "modernist" (*muḥdath*) poetry, both by their own compositions, the value of which was by their very nature quite varied, and by their function as inspirers of the poets. At the zenith of ʿAbbāsid civilisation some of

them kept real literary salons where the participants, while listening to music and songs, vied in wit and improvisation. Countless are the poets who, inspired by *ḳiyān*, celebrated their seduction or complained of their cruelty. In this respect almost all great names of *muḥdath* poetry should be cited, whatever may be the opinion of Ibn Ḳutayba who, in the introduction of the *Adab al-kātib*, fulminates against the secretaries of the administration whose ideal it was to recite "trashy verses" in praise of a *ḳayna* (see G. Lecomte, in *Mélanges Massignon*, iii, 51).

Bibliography: The main sources have been cited in the article. To these may be added: Dj. ʿAbd al-Nūr, *al-Djawārī*, coll. *Iḳra*ʾ no. 59, Cairo 1947; A. M. al-Ḥawfī, *al-Marʾa fī ʾl-shiʿr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1954, 438-65; the histories of Arabian music mentioned in the *Bibliography* of the article GHINĀ; H. G. Farmer, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965; ʿĪsā Sāba, *al-Mughanniyāt fī ʾl-adab al-ʿArabī*, Beirut 1954; D. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī*, Beirut 1967, 56-61 and bibliography; ʿAbd al-Karīm al-ʿAllāf, *Ḳiyān Baghdād fī ʾl-ʿaṣr al-ʿAbbāsī wa-ʾl ʿUthmānī wa-ʾl-akhīr*, Baghdad 1969 (not seen); J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient*, Paris 1968, 241-6; J. E. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, 214-6 (doctoral thesis, Sorbonne 1972, forthcoming); S. D. Goitein, *Slaves and slavegirls in the Cairo Geniza records*, in *Arabica*, ix/1 (1962), 1-20.

In the *Thousand and One Nights*, *ḳiyān* are quoted in the 334th, 383rd, 436th and 896th nights. On the status of slaves, see ʿABD; on their position in society, B. Lewis, *Race and color in Islam*, New York-London 1971, and bibliography; see also ʿĀLIMA. (CH. PELLAT)

ḲAYNUḲĀʿ, BANŪ, one of the three main Jewish tribes of Yathrib. The name differs from the usual forms of Arabic proper names but has nothing Hebrew about it. Nothing certain is known regarding their immigration into Yathrib. They possessed no land there but lived by trading. That their known personal names are for the most part Arabic says as little regarding their origin as the occurrence of Biblical names among them; but there seem to be no valid reasons for doubting their Jewish origin.

In Yathrib they lived in the south-west part of the town, near the *Muṣallā* and close to the bridge over the Wādī Buṭhān, where they occupied two of the strongholds (*āṭām*) characteristic of Yathrib. They were goldsmiths, among other trades; Bukhārī (*Farḍ al-Khums*. 1, *Maghāzī*, 12) incidentally mentions a goldsmith of the Ḳaynuḳāʿ. On their expulsion they left behind them arms and tools, which were divided among the Muslims after Muḥammad had received (for the first time) his fifth share. The number of their fully equipped fighting men varies between 400 and 750 in references to it.

After the dominating power in the old Yathrib had passed from the Jews to the Banū Ḳayla, the Ḳaynuḳāʿ were allied to the Khazradj [*q.v.*]. In Muḥammad's settlement of the relations between believers and other sections of the community they are not mentioned, any more than are the Naḍīr [*q.v.*] and the Ḳurayẓa [*q.v.*]. From this we may infer (with Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 226 f.) that the document in its present form belongs to the period after the elimination of the Ḳurayẓa (end of 5/April 627).

After the battle of Badr (Ramaḍān 2/March 624) Muḥammad's relations with the Jews of Medina became troubled. The Jews as a body had adopted an unfriendly attitude to the Prophet. From the religious point of view they became inconvenient; and from the political angle, as a powerful foreign body within the newly converted town, they were a great danger. When Muḥammad felt his position strengthened by the battle of Badr, he must soon have determined on expelling his enemies. The Ḳaynuḳāʿ, as they lived in the city itself, were the first he wished to be rid of. Regarded in this light, his attack on the Ḳaynuḳāʿ (in all probability as early as Shawwāl 2/April 624) is sufficiently explained. Special reasons for the attack given by Muslim writers have no more than anecdotal value. Sometimes this reason is said to have been a jest that a Muslim made to a Jewish woman, sometimes the Ḳaynuḳāʿ are said to have behaved with particular arrogance. Sūra III, 12 f. is said to refer to these incidents; according to Wāḳidī (177) and Ibn Sa'd (ii/1, 19) Sūra VIII, 58, does too. Sūra III, 13, refers to the victory at Badr as an example and warning, and VIII, 58, speaks of vengeance against people from whom treachery is feared.

After 14 days' siege, the Ḳaynuḳāʿ surrendered without striking a blow; the men were bound and seemed to have feared the worst. The energetic intervention of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*], chief of the Khazradj and leader of the Munāfiḳūn, however, brought an improvement of their lot. They left first for the Jewish colonies in the Wādī ʾl-Ḳurā, north of Medina, and from there to Adhriʿāt in Syria.

The Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ did not, however, emigrate to the last man. A few members of the tribe embraced Islam, perhaps more from opportunism than from conviction, and these could remain at Medina. Ibn Hishām/Ibn Isḥāḳ gives a list of 30 Ḳaynuḳāʿ adversaries of the Prophet (351 f.). This may refer to the time before the expulsion, but five or six of the names in the list reappear in Wāḳidī's report on Ibn Ubayy's funeral (in 9/631) among those hypocrites "from Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ and others" who pressed forward to the bier (1058 f., Wellhausen, 415). Another member of the Ḳaynuḳāʿ, ʿAbd Allāh (originally al-Ḥuṣayn) ibn Salām [*q.v.*], "their *ḥabr* and most learned man", whose name concludes the list of Ibn Isḥāḳ, became a convinced Muslim, immediately after Muḥammad's arrival at Medina, as is commonly related; according to another version thought by Horovitz more credible, he was converted in 8 A.H., two years before Muḥammad's death (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, Calcutta 1893, 780-2).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 383, 545-7; Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, 176-80 (abbrev. German tr. by Wellhausen, 92-4); Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 19 f.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, ed. Hamidullah, Cairo 1959, 285, 308 f.; Ṭabarī, i, 1359-64; Diyārbakrī, *Tāʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, 408 ff.; Ḥalabī, *Sīra*, Cairo 1384/1964, ii, 474-8; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, i, 520-4; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, 39, 146-51; R. Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien*, Berlin 1910, 60-3; Frants Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 248 f.; H. Z. Hirschberg, *Yisraʾel baʿArabh*, Tel Aviv 1946, index; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 181 f., 192-8, 208-10, 216 f., 219 f., 226-8. (A. J. WENSINCK-R. PARET)

AL-ḲAYRAWĀN, a town in central Tunisia, 156 km. from Tunis and 57 km. from Sousse. It is situated at an altitude of 60 m. and is the chief town of a governorate of 336,000 inhabitants which stretches over an area of 680,000 hectares. Its population of 34,000 inhabitants in 1956 had become

47,000 during the census of 3rd May 1966, and then 56,000 in 1972. Temperatures vary considerably, ranging from a few degrees below zero in winter to 40° C and over in summer. The sirocco blows there for an average of 21 days *per annum*. The rainfall varies from an average of 250 mm. or 300 mm. in the town and its surrounding area to 500 mm. and over in the regions west of the governorate. It changes considerably from one year to another, ranging from drought to catastrophic floods; the flood in 1969 was particularly devastating. Work is soon to begin on the damming of the Wadi Zéroud, which will store 80,000,000 cubic metres of water, and also on that of the Wadi Merguellil, for which plans are even more advanced. This is bound to avoid these dangerous floods and it will increase the irrigable area, which at present extends to 14,000 hectares, but of which only 8,000 are actually cultivated.

Al-Ķayrawān is essentially involved with agricultural pursuits and the efforts of the last two decades have resulted in a considerable development of arboriculture. In 1972 there were 3,500,000 olive trees, and 3,800,000 almond trees were counted in the governorate; in third place came apricot trees. The areas sown with cereal crops vary much from year to year according to the promise of autumn rains. From 58,000 hectares in 1968 they rose to 200,000 in 1972; they were only 75,000 hectares in 1956, but they had reached 225,000 in 1959. The livestock in 1972 amounted to 260,000 sheep, 14,000 cattle, 20,000 goats and 11,000 camels. The industrial sector is still embryonic, but has a group of about ten small enterprises (dyeing, spinning, woodwork, confectionery and food preservation) which emply about 1,000 people; it seems unlikely that these will be greatly expanded.

By contrast, the artisan sector continues to occupy the first place in the town's activities. Working with wood, copper and alfa, the production of jewellery, lanterns and sieves, as well as the traditional dyeing and weaving, brings employment to 1,200 craftsmen. But what makes al-Ķayrawān's reputation is the handproduced "long-wool" carpets. Recently the National Office of Craft Industry has been created, and it has been notable for allowing newly-qualified female workers into its workshops. It has modernised the designs to a certain extent without changing the family and essentially feminine character of the craftwork. In 1972 4,500 home-craftsmen (*saddāya*) were counted. The production of carpets rose from 56,000 m² in 1962 to 130,000 m² in 1972, and it is likely to develop further. Yet all these enterprises do not succeed in assuring full employment, because of the high birthrate. A third of the active male population is underemployed or on short-time working.

The actual town of al-Ķayrawān is composed of the native quarter, with its narrow winding streets and souks, which roughly preserve the general appearance given to them in the 18th century. This native quarter is still surrounded by it crenellated ramparts, which are built of solid brick. They are flanked at intervals by round buttresses and measure a little over 3 km. In the east and the north-east the suburbs of Gueblia, Djeblia and Zlass. In the South, between Bāb al-Dj̲allādīn (Skinners' Gate), which since independence has been renamed Bāb al-S̲h̲uhadā' (Martyrs' Gate) and which leads to the native quarter, and the Railway Station, the modern town is situated; here are found the administrative services, the banks, the hotels, etc. A working class district, *Sīdī Saḥnūn*, has been built in the east and another, a group of 400 villas belonging to the more prosperous classes, is called *al-Manṣūra*.

One of the principal monuments of the town, apart from the Great Mosque, is the Dj̲āmiʿ t̲h̲alāt̲h̲at bībān, the Mosque of the Three Doors, the façade of which is a beautiful example of Ag̲h̲labid architecture. It was founded in 252/866 by the Andalusian Muḥammad b. K̲h̲ayrūn al-Maʿāfirī, but was altered in the 9th/15th century. There is also the Ag̲h̲labid cistern at the Tunis Gate; the Zāwiya of Sīdī ʿAbīd al-G̲h̲aryānī of the 8th/14th century; the Zāwiya of Sīdī al-Ṣāḥib, which was first of all a simple and very old mausoleum covering the tomb of a Companion of the Prophet, Abū Zamʿa al-Balawī, and on the site of which the Murādid bey Ḥammūda erected the present building in the 11th/17th century; and the Zāwiya of Sīdī ʿUmar ʿAbāda, built in the 19th century.

i. Foundation

All the Arab invasions, which culminated in the conquest of Byzacena, were initially careful to avoid the coastal route. The invaders penetrated into the country by the region of Ķasṭīliya [*q.v.*], from where they attempted to reach the centre and the north. Avoiding the shore on the east, which was dangerous for conquering forces who were not yet adequately experienced in seamanship, and the mountains on the west, which were well suited for ambushes and surprise attacks, they had no alternative but to use the corridor which ended naturally in the region of Ķammūniya, that is, the corridor of al-Ķayrawān. This town, which was first of all a military base, owed its origin to the strategy dictated by the relief of the country and from the fighting tactics of the invaders. Traditionally its foundation is attributed to ʿUķba b. Nāfiʿ, but in fact it took place by easy stages and several military leaders contributed to it.

The battle of Sufetula (27/647-8) had practically delivered Byzacena to ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, the Byzantines being driven back behind their second line of fortification defending the Proconsularium. It is neither impossible nor improbable that the conquerors pushed their raids on this occasion right into the region of al-Ķayrawān, for they had to evacuate the country when they were charged a heavy tribute. Ibn Nād̲j̲ī (*Maʿālim*, Tunis 1320/1902, i, 30) points out that at al-Ķayrawān there is a mosque dedicated to Ibn Abī Sarḥ which in some way commemorates his sea journey.

Later, events begin to take shape when Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayd̲j̲ led three campaigns in succession to Ifrīķiya, in 34/654-5, 41/661-2, and 45/665. Three times, in fact, he made use of the same route as his predecessor and ended in the region of Ķammūniya or al-Ķayrawān, where he set up his camp. In 34/654-5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam declares that Ibn Ḥudayd̲j̲ "seized several fortresses and took considerable booty. He set up a garrison camp (*ķayrawān*) near al-Ķarn" (*Futūḥ*, partially ed. and tr. by A. Gateau, Algiers 1948, 57). He reappears still established at Ķarn in 41/661-2 (Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 15). Finally, in 45/665 he reappears yet again at Ķarn (al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, Cairo 1951, i, 17-18; Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, i, 16; Ibn Nād̲j̲i, *Maʿālim*, i, 39-40). In this connection al-Mālikī notes: "Ibn Ḥudayd̲j̲ had laid the foundations of a town at al-Ķarn (*ik̲h̲taṭṭa madīnatan ʿind al-Ķarn*) before ʿUkba had founded (*taʾsīs*) al-Ķayrawān and he settled there during the period that he spent in Ifrīķiya". Ibn Nād̲j̲ī states for his part that "on his return to Ķammūniya, Ibn Ḥudayd̲j̲ built dwellings in the region of al-Ķarn

to which he gave the name of Ḳayrawān, when the site of [the actual] Ḳayrawān was not yet either inhabited or urbanised (*g̲h̲ayr maskūn wa-lā maʿmūr*; *Maʿālim*, i, 41). The site named al-Ḳarn ("hill, peak") by Ibn Ḥudayd̲j̲ owes its name to its relief. It probably refers to the hill 171 m. high which is called today Baṭn al-Ḳarn and which is situated in a tourist region 12 km. north-west of the actual town of al-Ḳayrawān on the road to D̲j̲alūla (M. Solignac, *Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques*, in *AIEO* x, (1952), 12, n. 10).

The primary reason for the foundation of al-Ḳayrawān was its elevated position, which gave it protection from surprise attacks and floods. The Ḳayrawān founded by Ibn Ḥudayd̲j̲ did not maintain its rôle as capital of Ifrīḳiya but it was never destroyed again; however, when it ceased to be the capital it no longer bore the name of al-Ḳarn. In 124/742 the K̲h̲arid̲j̲ī ʿUkās̲h̲a was beaten there by Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān, governor of Ifrīḳiya. Al-Ḳarn is mentioned again at the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 8th century (Abū 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Paris 1915, 67; al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 18). Afterwards all trace of it disappears. Neither al-Bakrī nor al-Idrīsī cite it, and for Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, Beirut 1957, iv, 333) al-Ḳarn was no more than a mountain in Ifrīḳiya.

In 50/670 the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Muʿāwiya, while keeping Ibn Ḥudayd̲j̲ as the governor of Egypt, took Ifrīḳiya from him and entrusted it to ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ. On rejoining his post he "was not very satisfied with Ḳayrawān which was built before his time by Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayd̲j̲" (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 65). The sources, (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 64-6; al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 6-7, 19; Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, i, 19-20; Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maʿālim*, i, 7-9), however, tell us forcefully the details (verging on the miraculous) of how ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, followed by his most illustrious companions, including a large number of the *Ṣaḥāba*, was left to search for a new site. His choice fell on part of a plain which was then covered with vegetation, the haunt of reptiles and wild beasts. There the new Ḳayrawān was founded. ʿUḳba immediately donated two institutions indispensable for its spiritual and temporal progress, sc. a mosque and a government house (*dār al-imāra*), built opposite each other. He spent the five years of his first governorship watching over this building without undertaking any other expedition.

Abū 'l-Muhād̲j̲ir Dīnār who succeeded him "greatly disliked the idea of settling where ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ had built" (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 68/69). We are told (Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, i, 22; Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maʿālim*, i, 42-3) that he set fire to the foundations of his predecessor and moved the capital two miles further along the road to Tunis, to a region inhabited by the Berbers. The new capital, of which the remains have recently been located, received the name Takirwan (Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maʿālim*, i, 43). The choice of this Berber-sounding name as well as the town's position were all part of a government programme begun by Abū' l-Muhād̲j̲īr to encourage a policy of rapprochement with the indigenous leaders. This policy did not please the caliphate. ʿUḳba took the road to Ifrīḳiya again in 62/682, and his first action was to move the capital back to the site which he had already previously chosen. Thereafter, al-Ḳayrawān did not change its location any more.

Everything proves that this place had formerly been occupied by a Roman or Byzantine town which, like many others in the period of the Muslim conquest, had fallen into ruins. The first buildings erected by the Arabs certainly profited from the re-use of building materials which had been found abandoned on site. These various materials of greater or lesser importance can still be seen, not only in the monuments but also in modest dwellings. During recent restoration work (1969-72), much more has been discovered, including some items in the foundations of the Great Mosque. Not far from al-Ḳayrawān in the north is a place called al-Aṣnām (al-Tīd̲j̲ānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, 118; Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, i, 58-9) which undoubtedly owes its name ("the Idols") to the great number of statues which the conquerors encountered. Furthermore, al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, ed. de Slane, Paris 1965 22/52-3) declares that the Place of the Mint (*Sūḳ al-Darb*) was occupied by a church in antiquity. The sources elsewhere plainly affirm that al-Ḳayrawān was raised on the ruins of an ancient town named Ḳūniya or Ḳamūniya (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 58, 74; al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 12, 18, 19, 21; al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 75; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 399, 415, Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maʿālim*, i, 39-41). There is no reason at all to doubt their suggestions, which are amply borne out by other archaeological evidence.

There remains the question of the choice of the site. No-one suggests that this choice was unfortunate, but why should this unfavourable part of the steppe have been chosen for the economic development of a great capital? Ibn K̲h̲aldūn sets the tone of the debate when he says he believes that the Arabs are poor town planners. To support his opinion he cites the examples of Baṣra, Kūfa and of al-Ḳayrawān as badly chosen sites (*Muḳaddima*, 647). Modern authors share this view (J. Despois, *Kairouan. Origine et évolution d'une ancienne capitale musulmane*, in *Annales de Géog.*, xxxix (1930), 161; P. Sebag, *Kairouan*, Zürich 1963, 16). In fact, the site of al-Ḳayrawān was not so badly chosen as one might think. It should be remembered that an ancient town had prospered there because, when the town was founded the site was not as steppe-like as it subsequently became. Although there was no sudden change of climate, settlers accomplished a considerable transformation. Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī (*Bayān*, i, 20) states that ʿUḳba, to build the city, gave the order to deforest the area (*an yaḳṭaʿū al-s̲h̲ad̲j̲ar*). In the 4th/10th century al-Bakrī reveals elsewhere (*Masālik*, 26/61) that the forest of olive-trees at al-Ḳayrawān was sufficient by itself to furnish the town with all the wood it needed without suffering the least damage. The soil was certainly rich, thanks to the "fertilising silt" of the Merguellil and the Zéroud wadis, according to J. Despois (*loc. cit.*).

All therefore that really needed to be done was to solve the problem of a water supply, which had been solved once by the Romans and was later solved again by the Arabs. A few miles south of the site chosen for the foundation of al-Ḳayrawān they found a hydraulic construction system which they named Ḳaṣr al-Māʾ ("the Water Castle"). This system was fed from an aqueduct which gathered the waters of the Mams, 33 km. to the west, and today called Hans̲h̲īr Dwīmīs (M. Solignac, *op. cit.*, 19-21, 126-61). ʿUḳba stopped there (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 68/69, on his return to Damascus in 55/675, and afterwards the place became an assembly point for caravans heading for the east (Abū 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 25; al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 30, 69-70; Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maʿālim*, i, 52, 147; Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, i, 32, 44, 259). The Arabs lifted the region out of its ruined state and gave it back prosperity by pursuing

and extending the irrigation policy of their predecessors. The wells and cisterns with which (almost without exception) all the mosques and houses were provided (Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim*, i, 13, 25; al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 23/53), made an appreciable contribution to the great works for which the Aghlabids are justly famed. Hence until the middle of the 5th/11th century, all the geographers boast of the fertility of that region. In all, the area chosen for the foundation of al-Ḳayrawān, apart from the strategic advantages it offered, was amenable to development and to the provision of an economic infrastructure necessary for the development of a large town. Only human error made this region into a steppe.

ii. History

Scarcely was al-Ḳayrawān founded when it had to be evacuated. The disaster of Tahūda to the south of Biskra cost the life of its chief founder ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, and all his companions were killed to the last man. This marked the beginning of the exodus towards the east. The conqueror was the Berber Kusayla [*q.v.*], and he took up residence in the town, which had not been abandoned by all its Arab-Muslim population, and made it the capital of his short-lived kingdom (64-9/684-9). Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī, and especially Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān came back later to recover it.

Four decades of peace then passed before the capital of the Maghrib was seriously threatened by the Berbers. In 124/742 it was about to be submerged by waves of Khāridjīs, but it was saved *in extremis* by the two unexpected victories of al-Ḳarn and al-Aṣnām. Fortune failed it in 140/757-8 when the Warfadjūma Khāridjīs, of Ṣufrī tendencies, seized it with the complicity of certain of its inhabitants, and for more than a year held it under their domination. They massacred in particular the Ḳurashī elements of the population, who were the Arab aristocracy. It was liberated in Ṣafar of the following year (June-July 758) by the Ibāḍī Abū ʾl-Khaṭṭāb working from Tripoli. He left there as governor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, the future founder of the kingdom of Tāhart. But this was not for long; in Djumādā I 144/August 761, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath came to bring it back into the bosom of the east, and he proceeded to fortify it under directions from the caliph al-Manṣūr. For the first time he provided it with a surrounding wall, which was begun in Dhu l-Ḳaʿda 144/February 762 and finished in Radjab 146/September-October 763.

But these measures, which were imposed after the events just reviewed, did not save al-Ḳayrawān from trouble. In 154/771 it was besieged by a coalition of Ṣufrī and Ibāḍī Berbers. Its inhabitants were reduced to eating "their beasts of burden, their dogs and their cats" (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 76). Resistance was in vain; the town was stormed after its gates had been set on fire and a breach made in its walls. This was the last ordeal to which the Khāridjīs subjected it. Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (155-71/772-88) was despatched from the east with impressive resources, and came to take it in hand again and to put an end to the convulsions of Khāridjism in Ifrīḳiya.

But there arose another danger, that of the *djund*. Al-Ḳayrawān became the gambling-stake of the rebel military leaders. In 194/810 Ibrāhīm I (184-96/800-12), in order to punish it for having treated with the army rebels, had the ramparts taken down and removed its gates. But it was guilty of the same offence again. In the meantime the gates had been put back, and in 209/824 the inhabitants opened them to Manṣūr al-Tunbudhī. This time their punishment was a draconian one and Ziyādat Allāh I (201-23/817-38) "razed the walls of the town until he had made them level with the ground", (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 100). His successors were able to reign quite peaceably until the Shīʿī propaganda extended to Ifrīḳiya. The citadel of Sunnism did not support its sovereigns when they were in danger, but adopted towards them a passive or even hostile attitude. The last of the Aghlabids left his capital secretly at night, and the commander of his armies had to follow him under a hail of stones.

The reign of the Fāṭimids accentuated the differences between the city of Sīdī ʿUḳba and the power henceforth to be indisputably exercised by heretics. On 20th Shaʿbān 299/11th April 912, the storm broke. A rabble set the over-arrogant Kutāma against the exasperated tradesmen, and several hundred prisoners were taken (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 166; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut ed. 1966, viii, 53). ʿUbayd Allāh was able to calm men's minds, but it did not prevent the people of al-Ḳayrawān from supporting the insurrection of the Khāridjī Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī (332-6/943-7). They were deceived by him, and finally abandoned him, but it did not exempt them from punishment. Al-Mansūr, once the rebel had been defeated and killed, seized a group of them and had them tortured and executed.

The reign of the Zīrids before the rejection of the Shīʿī heresy, was no more readily accepted. The very arrival of al-Muʿizz (407-54/1016-62), when he carried out his first official visit to al-Ḳayrawān, was greeted by an attempt on his life and by a dreadful uprising (15 Muḥarram 407/24th June 1016). The people of al-Ḳayrawān massacred indiscriminately all whom they suspected of being Shīʿī. The bodies of the victims were burned and buildings set on fire at will. The disturbances spread as far as al-Manṣūriyya, which in turn was sacked and pillaged. Despite the efforts of the authorities to restore calm, a fresh riot broke out several months later on the occasion of the ceremonies of ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (1 Shawwāl 407/3 March 1017) presided over by al-Muʿizz. Again blood flowed freely, and this time the reaction of the authorities was brutal. Al-Ḳayrawān was delivered into the hands of the troops of al-Manṣūriyya. Not a single shop escaped being pillaged and they set fire to the main business thoroughfares (*kibār al-aswāḳ*). This was but the prelude to greater woes. The Banū Hilāl, although they did not devastate every town of Ifrīḳiya, nevertheless made a complete ruin of what remained of the grandeur of al-Ḳayrawān. The town was besieged from 446/1054 onwards and it was abandoned to them by al-Muʿizz, who retreated to al-Mahdiyya in 449/1057.

After that it is little heard of. Unlike Ḳābis, Ḳafṣa, Tūzir, al-Mahdiyya, Sūsa or Safāḳis, al-Ḳayrawān caused no concern to the Ḥafṣids. No local dynasty seized power there under their reign. The nomad Arabs of the region, meanwhile, played a certain rôle on the political stage. They attempted, a little late, to oppose ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī, the founder of the Almohad dynasty and already master of the whole of Ifrīḳiya. They were hewn to pieces, and their leader the Riyāḥid Muḥriz b. Ziyād was defeated (556/1161, Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 494). In 582/1186-7 the Almohad al-Manṣūr, who had come from Morocco to suppress the danger of the Banū Ghāniya, moved from Tunis towards al-Ḳayrawān where he set up camp before taking the offensive in the direction of al-Ḥāmma, thus making good the first losses sustained by his army (Ibn Khaldūn,

ʿIbar, vi, 510). Some years later Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya seized the town, and with it, all Ifrīḳiya. His success was as resounding as it was short-lived. Al-Ḳayrawān quickly returned to Almohad and then Ḥafṣid administration. In 669/1270 the landing of Louis IX at Carthage threw the whole country into a state of turmoil. The holy city founded by Sīdī ʿUḳba vibrated with enthusiasm for *djihād*; al-Mustanṣir, thinking that Tunis was under too great a threat, even intended to move his government there (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 670). But the epidemic which put an end to the conflict robbed him of this honour. Several years later it again had the opportunity of playing a definite political rôle by favouring the accession of "the impostor", Ibn Abī ʿUmāra (681-3/1283-4), to the throne. In bestowing on him the *bayʿa* it assured him, we are told (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 691), of the support of Safāḳis of Sūsa and of al-Mahdiyya.

Its name again comes into prominence in the course of the struggle of the Sultan Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr against Abū Darba (718-24/1318-24). But the most important event occurred in Muḥarram 749/April 1348. Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Marīnī, who had just occupied Ifrīḳiya, was beaten by the nomadic Arabs near al-Ḳayrawān, where he was later hemmed in (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 564, 814-6, 819). He was in fact able to get free and reach Tunis again, but this defeat was a sure mark of his decline and gave rise to the evacuation of the country.

After this al-Ḳayrawān did not achieve notice until the end of the reign of the Ḥafṣids, which closed in the shadow of discredit. So it was without difficulty that Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, already the master of Algiers, stormed Tunis (18th August 1534), proclaimed the downfall of the dynasty and among other things placed a garrison at al-Ḳayrawān. The following year (14th July 1535), Charles V reinstated Mawlāy al-Ḥasan on his throne under a special Spanish protectorate, but the whole of the south of the country escaped him. At that time al-Ḳayrawān became the capital of an independent principality governed by a marabout, Sīdī ʿArafa, of the tribe of the Shābbiyya. In 1542 Mawlāy al-Ḥasan tried to recover it but he was forsaken by his troops. So the Shābbiyya remained in power until the intervention of the *raʾīs* Dragut who, working outwards from Tripoli, came, routed them and occupied the town (3rd January 1558), leaving Ḥaydar Pasha there as governor. In 1574 the latter joined his forces with those at Tripoli to support Sinān Pasha, who came at the head of an imposing fleet to end once and for all the Ḥafṣid dynasty and Spanish domination (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, Tunis 1963, ii, 18-21, places these events in 981/1573). Tunisia was then organised as a Turkish *pashalïḳ* with Ḥaydar Pasha, the former governor of al-Ḳayrawān, at its head (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 27).

The reign of the Murādids accentuated the decline of al-Ḳayrawān. Ḥammūda Pasha showed some interest in the town, for in 1631 he came to rout the Awlād Saʿīd from the region and he set up a garrison of spahis (*ūdjak*) in the place. But soon there was civil war between ʿAlī Bey and his brother Muḥammad. Al-Ḳayrawān took the side of the latter, and after the settlement of 1678, which divided the country between the two pretenders, it became the seat of its own government (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 55). Later it turned hostile towards Murād Bey Abū Bālā (1699-1702), hence he besieged it and imposed a severe collective fine upon it. Then it was delivered up to the pillaging of Khalīl, bey of Tripoli, in return for his alliance against Algiers. The following year, in 1701, the order was given to the inhabitants to proceed with the destruction of their own town except for the mosques and the *zāwiya*s, which were the only buildings spared (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 76). The tyrant was however assassinated, which allowed his successor, Ibrāhīm al-Sharīf, to repair the damage, and the inhabitants of al-Ḳayrawān were authorised in 1703 to resettle their town and to rebuild its ruins (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 81).

Later, the inhabitants benefitted from the benevolence of the founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (1705-35), who paid particular attention to the restoration of the mosques; they were faithful to him to the very end. It was in al-Ḳayrawān that he found refuge, and was then besieged for five years by his nephew ʿAlī Pasha. In the end he was captured and beheaded (13th May 1740). At the same time forty of the notables of al-Ḳayrawān were hanged and the wall surrounding the town was dismantled (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 112-8). Afterwards Muḥammad al-Rashīd (1756-9), son of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, arrived and seized for himself the benefits of power, and received recognition by the children of the founder of the dynasty. Its city wall was rebuilt, tax exemptions were granted to it, and the life-style of its inhabitants was visibly improved.

The reign of Ḥusayn II was, however, less favourable. During this period a heavy fine was imposed on the town which completely ruined its inhabitants; they were reduced to selling their goods and chattels to be free from it. Also in 1864 it was one of the most active hotbeds of the uprising led by ʿAlī b. Ghadhāhum. It was within its bounds that the Zlās of the region, led by al-Subūʿī b. Muḥammad al-Subūʿī, held a conference with the Banū Zīd, the Hamāma, and the Frashīsh. But it was a conference from which no concrete action emerged. Later, in 1881, just when the French protectorate of Tunisia was being established, al-Ḳayrawān again achieved honourable status; it became one of the most active centres for the call to resistance. From the 15th to the 20th June 1881 a conference in the Great Mosque brought together the representatives of the various tribes and made a decision to intervene at the side of the Pasha of Tripoli. When this intervention produced no result, and any isolated army action was thought worthless, the town was finally occupied without resistance on 26th October 1881. Only the Zlās continued limited operations for some time.

iii. Historical geography

According to the vows of its founder, al-Ḳayrawān was supposed to "perpetuate the glory of Islam to the end of time" (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 19; Abū 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 8). To a certain extent it has fulfilled this mission. It is still a holy and venerated town, but over the centuries it has lost its rôle of a great metropolis. As described above, it has known both the peak of splendour and the depths of disaster.

ʿUḳba had begun his work by marking out the site for the Great Mosque and the Government House (*dār al-imāra*). The space around and within a perimeter of 13,600 cubits, about 7.5 km. (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 21), must have been apportioned out by tribes as it was in Baṣra and Kūfa which were founded in similar conditions. But there is no precise information on this matter, only a few indications. We learn, for example (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 23), that the Fihr, the Ḳurashī clan of the founder of the town, had settled to the north of the Great

Mosque at the time of Hi<u>sh</u>ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43). Again, in the 3rd/9th century, the districts had preserved distinct ethnic or denominational characteristics. This is indicated by Ḥārat Yaḥṣub (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, partial edition by M. Talbi under the title *Biographies Aghlabides*..., Tunis 1968, 71), Raḥbat al-Ḳura<u>sh</u>iyyīn (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, 369), Darb al-Fir<u>sh</u>ā<u>sh</u> (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, 359), and a Sūḳ al-Yahūd (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, 359).

From the outset, al-Ḳayrawān was built in stone, thanks to the re-used building materials which were found on the site. Its perimeter indicates that it was planned as a large city designed to group together all the Arabs of Ifrīḳiya, primarily the warriors who would often then be followed by their families. Its initial population could hardly have fallen below 50,000.

Like Baṣra and Kūfa, originally it had no defensive wall and it remained an open city for nearly a century. The vicissitudes of history forced it, as we have seen, to be enclosed, from 144/762 onwards behind ramparts ten cubits thick (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 24). The reign of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (155-71/722-88) was particularly beneficial to it. It was he who organised the town souks and specified the type of activity within them. (Ibn ʿI<u>dh</u>ārī, *Bayān*, i, 78). He was a person of some prestige and attracted to himself poets and men of science. Al-Ḳayrawān was itself in process of becoming one of the most important centres of Muslim civilisation.

The town reached its zenith in the 3rd/9th century when it became the capital of an independent kingdom. A fortified chief residence for the prince, al-ʿAbbāsiyya [*q.v.*] was built nearby (184/800). Another, more luxurious and spacious, Raḳḳāda, followed (263/877). The city had become too important, and began to disturb the authorities. It no longer needed to be defended, but it was necessary to take precautions against it, so it was deprived of its ramparts in the circumstances already described.

What were its dimensions then? Al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 25-6) tells us that the main street (*al-Simāṭ*), which ran along the east side of the Great Mosque, measured, from the Abū 'l-Rabīʿ in the south to the Tunis Gate in the north, two and a third miles, that is (allowing 1,600 m. to the mile in al-Bakrī) a little less than 4 km. It can be assumed that the town had the same dimension in the opposite direction. Such an area assumes a population of several hundred thousand people. This estimation is confirmed by other evidence. Again according to al-Bakrī, the town numbered 48 *ḥammāms*, and a count was taken once on the occasion of the feast of *al-ʿA<u>sh</u>ūrāʾ* of 950 oxen slaughtered for the needs of the inhabitants, which represents a minimum of 200 tons of meat. Even if this is an exaggeration, it indicates a not inconsiderable size. Al-Yaʿḳūbī, who wrote in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, says for his part, that one rubbed shoulders with all kinds of people: Arabs from Ḳuray<u>sh</u>, from Muḍar, from Rabīʿa, from Ḳaḥṭān and from other tribes too; Persians from <u>Kh</u>urāsān; finally, Berbers from Rūm (Latins) and still others (*Les Pays*, tr. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 210). Alongside the Muslim majority there were also to be found Jews and Christians. Al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ (177-8/793-4) had authorised the building of a church there (Pseudo-Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>*...., ed. M. al-Kaâbi, Tunis 1968, 185). In the middle of the 3rd/9th century, the church in al-Ḳayrawān had several heads (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, 132), and epigraphy shows us that until the 5th/11th century, Christians there had kept the use of Latin in their funerary inscriptions.

Because of all these people, the water system organised from the reign of Hi<u>sh</u>ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) onwards was no longer sufficient (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 26). The population had certainly continued to grow under the A<u>gh</u>labids, which explains the construction of new water reservoirs to meet the growing needs. The immense cistern built at the Tunis Gate by Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (242-9/856-63), the remains of which may still be admired, was the most grandiose construction among the fourteen similar works.

The Great Mosque, the oldest and most prestigious religious building of the Muslim West, also followed the pattern of expansion and assumed a new aspect. It was in the 3rd/9th century that it took on its present form and proportions, except for a few details. It was Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] who had renovated it. Afterwards it was enlarged towards the north and probably provided with the present minaret in the reign of Hi<u>sh</u>ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Yazīd b. Ḥātim reconstructed it in 157/774. In the end, Ziyādat Allāh I had it completely demolished, but probably kept the minaret and had it reconstructed (221/836), having regard for the outline, drawn up by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, of the wall of the *ḳibla*, even though it was badly orientated, having a deviation of 31° towards the south. Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad enlarged it and embellished it again (248/862-3). From this moment onwards, the work of its restoration and decoration changed nothing of its general appearance. The Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (407-74/1016-62) endowed it with the present *maḳsūra* replacing that of the A<u>gh</u>labids and making it into a library. Other restoration and decoration were carried out under the Ḥafṣids and in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The last restoration dates from 1970-2.

The development of the town favoured its intellectual advance. In the 3rd/9th century al-Ḳayrawān became one of the principal cultural centres of Islam. "Mālik (d. 179/795) considered it, together with Kūfa and al-Madīna as one of the three great capitals of the Muslim sciences" (Ibn Nā<u>dj</u>ī, *Maʿālim*, ii, 38). Well before al-Ṭabarī, Yaḥyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī (124-200/741-815) was writing there and taught his *Tafsīr* which has been partially preserved (two mss. at Tunis BN 7447, and collection of H. H. Abdul-Wahab); this was the first great monument of Muslim exegesis. Asad b. al-Furat (*ca.* 142-213/759-828), after following the lectures of Mālik, of the Ḥanafī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and a host of other oriental masters, entrusted to his Asadiyya a personal synthesis of the different teachings he had received and made many disciples who continued his tradition. His attempt would have led to a specifically al-Ḳayrawān school of *fiḳh* if only his prestige had not been eclipsed by that of Saḥnūn (*ca.* 160-240/777-854), who was undoubtedly the grand master of the epoch. His monumental *Mudawwana*, which conveys to us the teaching of Mālik according to the version of Ibn al-Ḳāsim, became the breviary of the men of al-Ḳayrawān. Students from all quarters flocked to his lectures, including some from Muslim Spain, where no less than 57 students were authorised to spread his teaching. Philological activity has left us no great work, but it was sufficiently important for Abū Bakr al-Zubayrī to devote a special chapter to it in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa'l-lu<u>gh</u>awiyyīn* (Cairo 1954, 254-72). Medicine was well represented by Ziyād b. <u>Kh</u>alfūn, Isḥāk b. ʿImrān and Isḥāk b. Sulaymān (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 24; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. and tr. A. Noureddine and H.

Jahier, Algiers 1958, 2-9). Their works, translated into Latin by Constantine the African in the 5th/11th century, were taught in Salerno.

The reign of the Shīʿī Fāṭimids was certainly not favourable to this citadel of Sunnism. The triumphant Kutāma claimed the right of sacking this opulent city as a reward for their effort. In actual fact, it suffered little. Despite the construction of a rival city, Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya (336/947-8) near it, towards which commercial activity tended to shift, it maintained its prosperity and was able to triumph over certain natural disasters: an earthquake (299/911-2); a fire in the souks (13th Dhū 'l-Ḥidjdja 306/17th May 919); a flood (308/920-1); famine and an epidemic (317/929). The positive statements of two contemporaries, Ibn Ḥawḳal (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, Beirut n.d., 94) and al-Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, ed: and partial tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 14-7), agree that the reliability of the water supply was actually better assured. The Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz had actually had "a system of canals constructed which came down from the mountain and filled the reservoirs after crossing his palace at Ṣabra" (*ibid.*, 15). The town was at that time crossed by 15 main thoroughfares (*darb*), the names of which have been partly preserved (*ibid.*, 17) and its area had grown even larger, "a boundary of a little less than three miles", according to al-Muḳaddasī (*ibid.*, 15) (on the basis of 1900 m. to the mile in al-Muḳaddasī, about 5.5 km.). It is evident that its population had considerably increased, and this was the peak of its expansion.

From that point onwards, an era of stagnation began for al-Ḳayrawān as for the rest of Ifrīḳiya, which was followed by inexorable decline. There were several bursts of revival which just enabled it to keep a foot on the ladder of a country definitely in decline, but they could not retrieve for it its former glory. The transfer of the caliphate to Cairo (361/972) came as a severe blow to Ifrīḳiya. The reserves of precious metal followed the Fāṭimids to Egypt and al-Ḳayrawān lost for ever its rôle as a capital. The first Zīrids hardly ever lived there, but exhausted themselves with the interminable battles in the central and more distant Maghrib. Although it was prosperous at the beginning of their reign, it was brought under severe pressure to satisfy the demands of the master of Egypt. The vice-regent ʿAbd Allāh al-Kātib extracted no less than 400,000 *dīnārs* in 366/976-7 from 600 of the leading citizens; some of them had to pay as much as 10,000 *dīnārs* each (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 230); this brought ruin for many.

Some decades later in 395/1004-5 the town experienced famine and a dreadful epidemic, concerning which Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, i, 256-7), following Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, has preserved an interesting description. Each day they buried their dead by hundreds in common graves; the dwellings were empty and the services, the ovens, *ḥammāms* etc. were paralysed. The city was depopulated and a helter-skelter flight of refugees sought shelter far away, even as far as Sicily. Some years later, in 405/1014-5, the merchants were again forced to transfer their trade to Ṣabra. The Ṣanhādja were also involved. Everything seemed to have conspired to stifle the Sunnī capital which, struck by so many misfortunes, saw its prosperity fade and its population dwindle. The perimeter of the city-wall, linked by a corridor to Ṣabra (which al-Muʿizz built in great haste when he was hard-pressed in 444/1052-3) did not exceed 22,000 cubits or *ca.* 10.5 km. (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 25). Thus the city had returned almost to the proportions of the earliest nucleus as delineated by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ.

If the information gathered from our sources is correct, as seems probable, it must be accepted that it was reduced to a third of the area reached at its zenith. This means that on the brink of all the misfortunes which awaited, it was already no more than a shadow of itself. The culture there had, however, always maintained a certain lustre. The Mālikī *faḳīhs* Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 386/996) and al-Ḳābisī (d. 403/1012) the Ashʿarī al-Ḳālānisī (d. 359 or 361/969-71), the physician Ibn al-Djazzār (d. *ca.* 395/1004), the historian Ibn al-Raḳīḳ (d. after 418/1028), the astrologer Ibn Abī al-Ridjāl (d. *ca.* 426/1034-5), whose *K. al-Bāriʿ fī aḥkām al-nudjūm* was translated into Castilian, Latin, Hebrew and ancient Portuguese, the poets Ibn al-Rashīḳ (d. 456/1064) and Ibn Sharaf (d. 460/1067), and still others, had brilliantly continued the traditions of their predecessors. But they were the last glowing torches of a town whose socio-economic infrastructure had crumbled and against which the sword was drawn. The final blow was struck by the Banū Hilāl, who, on 1st Ramaḍān 449/1st November 1057, two days after al-Muʿizz had left Ṣabra to take refuge in al-Mahdiyya, set about pillaging it and devastating it. Ibn Rashiḳ in a moving elegy (*Dīwān*, Beirut n.d., 204-12) uttered the funeral eulogy for the battered city.

The middle of the 5th/11th century was the chief turning point in the history not only of al-Ḳayrawān but of all Ifrīḳiya. It was the end of an era which was altogether quite a splendid one and the beginning of another much less brilliant. Town and city life clearly receded before the pastoral and nomadic influences, and the effect of the Bedouin on the country was a scourge which persisted until the 19th century. In this new general atmosphere of decadence, al-Ḳayrawān changed from being a great metropolis into a poor town of the steppes. It was deserted by what remained of its inhabitants and continued to diminish. Ten years after the blow from the Banū Hilāl, there was a makeshift wall encircling the Great Mosque and what remained of the western quarter. This wall, which assumed approximately the outline of the present day wall, was a little longer than 3 km. Al-Idrīsī notes (*Nuzha*, partial ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 80) that when he was writing (that is, in the middle of the 6th/12th century just before the Almohad conquest) al-Ḳayrawān was only a ruin (*aṭlāl dārisa wa-āthār ṭāmisa*), that what remained of it was incompletely surrounded by earthen ramparts, and that it was in the hands of Arab nomads who levied taxes on a poor and wretched population. As for Raḳḳāda and Ṣabra, they simply disappeared completely. It was the nadir of its fortunes.

The reign of the Almohads, and especially that of the Ḥafṣids, brought back to it a relative peace and allowed the town to rise a little from its ruined state. In the 7th/13th century private enterprise gave it better ramparts. With the rise of the Marabout movement it also began to fill with *zāwiyas* (Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim*, iv, 227). But the population, mostly composed of urbanised bedouin elements, was henceforth much less refined. Yāḳūt (d. 626/1228) wrote: "Today all one sees are worthless bumpkins (*ṣuʿlūk*)". (*Buldān*, Beirut 1957, iv, 420). The impression received by al-ʿAbdarī (*al-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya*, ed. M. al-Fāsī, Rabat 1968, 64, 66, 82), who went there on pilgrimage in 688/1289, was not much better.

In fact, a new life at a much more modest level had begun for al-Ḳayrawān. In a general context of constant regression it was able to preserve a certain status, but without any measure of its past grandeur. Even so, it was respectable enough among the other towns of the kingdom and adapted itself to its new economic rôle, that of being a market town and commercial centre for the Bedouin. Its souks, although very much reduced, with their goods carried off towards the west, continued to offer indispensable products: leather, cloth and metal. It received in exchange the products of pastoral activity. Leo Africanus who visited it in 1516, that is at the end of the Ḥafṣid period, describes it in this way: "At present only poor workmen are to be seen there, for the most part tanners of sheepskins and goatskins. They sell all their leather garments in the towns of Numidia where there is no European cloth" (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 398). Later on, particularly at the beginning of the reign of the Ḥusaynids, al-Ḳayrawān recovered and gained second place in the country. Al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj (d. 1149/1736-7) noted at the beginning of the 18th century: "At this moment, after Tunis, no larger town than al-Ḳayrawān is known in all of Ifrīḳiya. Among its inhabitants are the best scholars, the most skilful people and the most astute business men" (*Ḥulal*, ed. M. H. al-Hīla, Tunis 1970, i, 244). The impression is confirmed by J. A. Peysonnel, who wrote: "al-Ḳayrawān is one of the largest towns in the kingdom. It is situated on a brackish plain, half a league in circumference, is very well populated and very commercial. It has been ruined several times but was well repaired under the Bey Hassem ben Aly ... Much woollen cloth was made there, burnouses, sufficielis, and other materials special to the country ..." (*Relation d'une voyage sur les côtes de Barbarie, fait par l'ordre du roi en 1724 and 1725*, ed. M. Dureau de la Malle, Paris 1838, i, 113; see also i, 160). L. R. Desfontaines, who visited al-Ḳayrawān in January 1784, for his part, notes that it was "the biggest in the kingdom after Tunis; it was even better built and cleaner than the latter ... The trade of al-Ḳayrawān consists principally of animal skins which the inhabitants know how to put to different uses. Here are made bridles, saddles and shoes according to the fashion of the land. They also made woollen cloths called barakan. The people there have a happier life than anywhere else, being exempt from taxes in recompense for the services which they rendered to the grandfather of the present Bey" (*Fragments d'un voyage dans les régences de Tunis et d'Alger fait de 1783 à 1786*, ed. M. Dureau de la Malle, Paris 1838, ii, 61). V. Guérin, who spent three days there from 18th to 20th August 1861, thinks also that it was, with barely 12,000 inhabitants, "after Tunis one of the most highly populated towns of the regency". (*Voyage Archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, ii, 334). It came before Sfax, which scarcely numbered more than 10,000 inhabitants, and before Sousse, Monastir and Mahdiyya, whose populations did not exceed 5,000 or 8,000. It was, however, situated "in a real desert, almost entirely deprived of trees and even of bushes" (V. Guérin, *Voyage*... ii, 326). All told, the city founded by Sīdī ʿUḳba, despite the ruining of its hinterland, showed, at least until the days of the protectorate, that despite everything it was more viable than other centres which were apparently better situated.

Its religious prestige was certainly not irrelevant to its survival. With "about 50 zaouïas and 20 mosques" (V. Guérin, *Voyage*... ii, 328), it was indubitably in the middle of the 19th century the spiritual capital of the country. It was then considered to be a holy town and in principle forbidden to non-Muslims. Today it has no such sacred character, and tourists have free access to its sanctuaries. As for its population, the city of Sīdī ʿUḳba occupies only the fifth place in the country, but is also the chef-lieu of the most under-developed governorate of the country. It still, however, maintains a certain aura of sanctity and attracts the most illustrious visitors. And when the point of the unification of the countries of the Maghrib is brought up, there are those who find that "the capital of this federation of independent states ought to be Kayrawan, the spiritual capital of the Moslems since many centuries and thus appropriate to symbolise the return to the glory of the past of the World of the Islam" (*La Presse*, a Tunisian daily, of 21 Sept. 1973).

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AL-ḲAYRAWĀNĪ. [see IBN ABĪ ZAYD AL-ḲAYRAWĀNĪ].

AL-ḲAYS [see ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ].

ḲAYS, DJABAL, also known by the Persian name Kīs̲h̲, one of the most important of the commercially-relevant islands in the Persian Gulf (*Baḥr ʿUmān*), especially following the ruin of Sīrāf. The island was some four *farsak̲h̲*s from the coast opposite the port of Huzū, and was four *farsak̲h̲*s in circumference; it contained a residence of the ruler of ʿUmān, and was characterised by garden areas and splendid constructions. Water was supplied by means of wells, and by rain water which was collected in cisterns. Ḳays was famous for its pearl fisheries, as were also the surrounding islands. Yāḳūt indicates that its ruler was held in great respect owing to the size of his fleet, and he seems to have exercised a monopoly over various commercial concerns. Some intellectual activity was also observed.

Bibliography: G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 257, citing relevant bibliography; also Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 215-6. (J. LASSNER)

ḲAYS B. ʿĀṢIM B. SINĀN B. K̲H̲ĀLID B. MINḲAR B. ʿUBAYD B. MUḲĀʿIS, ABŪ ʿALĪ (according to other versions: ABŪ ṬALḤA or ABŪ ḲABĪṢA), a mukh̲aḍram chief of the Banū Muḳāʿis and leader of his tribe. Tribal tradition emphasised his generosity, care for people under his protection, mildness and leniency. Al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays reported the story, recorded in the compilations of *adab*, of how Ḳays b. ʿĀṣim received calmly the news about the murder of his son and magnanimously pardoned the murderer who was brought fettered into his presence. A poet of Sulaym, ʿAbbās b. Mirdās, praised his noble behaviour towards his *djār*. He is counted among the magnanimous ones (*ḥulamāʾ*) and the nobles of the *Djahiliyya* who abstained from drinking wine. His re-introduction of the practice of burying alive female infants is connected with a story of a woman of his family who, when captured in a raid on the tribe, preferred to remain with her captor and refused to return to her tribe. In order to prevent the recurrence of such an ignominy he decided to bury his daughters alive; verses 8-9 of Sūra LXXXI are said to have been revealed in connexion with this practice of Ḳays b. ʿĀṣim.

Ḳays is recorded as a leader of his tribe in the stories of the battles which took place in the first decade of the 7th century. He was victorious in all of his battles, except that of Abraḳ al-Kibrīt where he was captured with his mother and two of his sisters. In the battle of al-Sitār he is said to have killed Ḳatāda b. Salama al-Ḥanafī; if this report is true, Ḳatāda must have been a very old man when Ḳays killed him, as he had already been a tribal leader during the Expedition of the Elephant and had been warned by Ṭarafa of the advancing troops of Abraha (see Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, ed. K̲h̲ursheed Aḥmad Fariq, Hyderabad 1383/1964, 69). The attack on the ʿAbd Ḳays at Djuwāt̲h̲a, in which Ḳays distinguished himself, seems to have been led by al-Ahtam. The attack on the Lahāzim (see W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-Nasab*, Leiden 1966, ii, 26-27) at Nibādj-T̲h̲aytal was a joint action undertaken by Ḳays at the head of the Muḳāʿis and Salāma b. Ẓarib, chief of the Adjārib (see Caskel, *op. cit.*, 144). His rapid action and his effective tactics assured them of victory. In the battle of al-Kulāb II (where the tribal units of Tamīm gathered after the slaughter of al-Mus̲h̲aḳḳar) Ḳays became the leader of the troops of Saʿd and by his energetic action and bravery helped to win the battle; the Tamīm attacked by allied Yamanī tribes took spoils and captives. It was at this battle, which took place at the beginning of the second decade of the 7th century, that Ḳays clashed with al-Ahtam. The animosity between these two leaders and the rancour between Ḳays and al-Zibriḳān b. Badr are echoed in the recorded verses of *hidjāʾ* and in the stories about the deputation of Tamīm to the Prophet. A *mat̲h̲al* story reports the part played by Zayd al-K̲h̲ayl (who left his tribe for some time and dwelt in the camp of Ḳays) in repelling an attack of the ʿIdjl against the Muḳāʿis; Ḳays denied Zayd's meritorious deed and because of this gained the epithet "the liar".

Tamīmī tradition stresses the role of Ḳays in the deputation of Tamīm to the Prophet, emphasising that the Prophet was impressed by him and named him "the chief of the nomad people" (*sayyid ahl al-wabar*). A spurious tradition records a conversation between the Prophet and Ḳays, in which Ḳays told the Prophet that the first man who applied *radjaz* in driving camels (*ḥidāʾ*) was the ancestor of the Prophet, Muḍar; the first man who received information about the appearance of a Prophet named Muḥammad was Sufyān b. Mudjās̲h̲iʿ al-Dārimī, who accordingly named his new born son Muḥammad. It is apparent that the tendency of this tradition is to stress the Prophet's link with Muḍar and Tamīm. The alleged sincerity of Ḳays' belief is indicated in a story of his divorce of his beloved wife from the Banū Ḥanīfa, because she refused to embrace Islam. The Prophet exhorted Ḳays to donate some of his flocks to the poor and needy, and is said to have forbidden tribal alliances to be formed in Islam. The Prophet appointed Ḳays tax collector of the Muḳāʿis and the Buṭūn (see Caskel, *op. cit.*, 230).

After the death of the Prophet, Ḳays seems to have wavered in his loyalty to Medina. He doubted the stability of the Medina establishment and preferred to divide the taxes collected for Medina among his tribe. This he apparently did according to some kind of agreement with al-Zibriḳān; when al-Zibriḳān later hurried to Abū Bakr with the taxes levied from his tribal units, Ḳays felt himself deceived and accused al-Zibriḳān of treacherous behaviour. Both leaders showed no hostility towards Medina at the beginning of the *ridda*: they escorted ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in their territories when he was on his way from ʿUmān to Medina; they took a neutral stand towards Medina while waiting to see whether Medina would stand fast against the tribal revolts.

Ḳays further aided Sadjāḥ, but no war action of his on her behalf is recorded. After the revolt of the Banū Ḥanīfa was crushed, Ḳays joined al-ʿAlāʾ al-Ḥaḍramī when he was on his way to al-Baḥrayn, but even then he simply escorted him through the territories of the Saʿd; only later did he decide to fight on his side. He fought bravely, and is credited with the killing of al-Ḥuṭam and Abdjar b. Budjayr.

Ḳays settled in al-Baṣra. He is said to have had 33 sons and many daughters. Ṭalaba b. Ḳays was known for his generosity; Muḳātil b. Ṭalaba was in the deputation of the nobles of Tamīm and ʿĀmir b.

Ṣaʿṣaʿa sent by Ibrāhīm b. ʿArabī to ʿAbd al-Malik. Mayya, the daughter of Muḳātil b. Ṭalaba, was the beloved of Dhū 'l-Rumma.

According to Ibn Kathīr, Ḳays died in 47/667. He enjoined his sons not to reveal his place of burial, because he feared the Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil, whom he had fought and who hated him. Following the example of the Prophet, he gave orders to refrain from lamentations at his funeral. He was eulogised by ʿAbda b. al-Ṭabīb in his famous elegy in which he said "The death of Ḳays was not the death of one man: it was [as if] the edifice of a people had fallen down".

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Watt, *Muhammed at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 138; al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, Ms. Bursa, Ḥu. Çelebi 85b, fols. 36b-37a; Ch. Pellat, *Risāla fī l-ḥilm*, Beirut 1973, index. (M. J. Kister)

ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN, one of the two subdivisions of Muḍar, which along with Rabīʿa was reckoned as constituting the sons of ʿAdnān, the so-called Northern Arabs [see DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB]. The other subdivision of Muḍar was Khindif or al-Yās. ʿAylān is sometimes said to be the father of Ḳays, but it is more likely that the double name means "Ḳays (owner) of ʿAylān" (sc. a horse, dog or slave). The following is an abbreviated genealogical table:

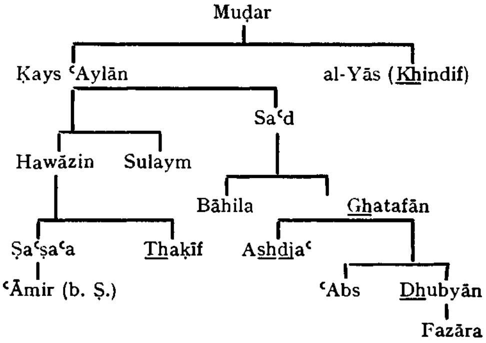

Ḳays ʿAylān does not appear to have functioned as a unit before Islam, and in the accounts of "the days of the Arabs" only the individual tribes are named. In Umayyad times, however, the alleged genealogies became a convenient basis for bringing together groups of clans so as to constitute something like a political party. This process began when small contingents from different tribes were lodged together in the cities of the empire; for Baṣra cf. C. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, Paris 1953, 23 and *passim*. Eventually, but probably not until after the death of Muʿāwiya in 60/680, two main groups are found to be taking shape. One is known as Kalb or Yemen or the Southern Arabs, while the other is Ḳays ʿAylān or simply Ḳays, less often Muḍar. Because Muʿāwiya had relied on Kalb, and his son Yazīd I had a Kalbī mother, many Ḳaysīs supported Ibn al-Zubayr. While at first other groups are mentioned, such as Rabīʿa, gradually the polarity of Ḳays and Yemen came to dominate Umayyad politics. Nineteenth-century historians spoke of this as if it were primarily a continuing and expanding tribal feud, based on such facts as the great loss of life at the battle of Mard̲j̲ Rāhiṭ in 684; and it was the inability of the Umayyad rulers to reconcile the two groups which eventually led to their collapse. Recently, M. A. Shaban (*Islamic History, A.D. 600-750/A.H. 132*, Cambridge 1971) has forcefully argued that the Ḳays came to be identified with the expansionist policy followed by ʿAbd-al-Malik and al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, while the Yemen stood for stable frontiers and the assimilation of non-Arabs. He sees the reigns of Sulaymān and ʿUmar II as an attempt to reverse the policy of expansion, and likewise that of Yazīd III. In these reigns, Ḳaysīs were replaced by Yemenīs, but the successors of ʿUmar II and Yazīd III turned back to the Ḳaysīs, and the disintegration of Umayyad rule proceeded. A point in favour of Shaban's view is that after the establishment of the ʿAbbāsids little is heard of the hostility between Ḳays and Yemen.

Bibliography: For genealogies, etc. see *Tād̲j̲ al-ʿArūs*, s.v. *ḳys*, *ʿyl*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿarif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 31, 38-44, ed. ʿUkās̲h̲a, 64, 79-91. For the historical role of Ḳays see J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, tr. M. G. Weir, Calcutta 1927, Index, s.v. Qais, Qaisite, Kalb, Kalbite, Yemen, Yemenite; and Naji H. Hadi, *The Role of the Arab Tribes in the East under the Umayyads* (University of Edinburgh Ph. D. thesis, 1973; to be published in Arabic).

(W. Montgomery Watt)

Ḳays and Yaman in the Ottoman period.

The reader will find under Kalb b. Wabāra some information on the rivalry of the North and South Arabs (represented respectively by Ḳays and Kalb) before and after the birth of Islam, and especially in Spain. In the course of the centuries, this hostility diminished considerably, but there was a resurgence of it, in a somewhat artificial way, in the course of the factional conflicts in Lebanon and Palestine during the Ottoman period.

In the course of the struggle for power among dominant families, coalitions were formed which used the names of Ḳays and Yaman to denote the political identification of the rival camps. This division preserved a kinship connotation, and kinship—real or imagined, original or adopted—was a legitimate reason for schisms and wars in Arab society. The political character of the Ḳays-Yaman conflict in Lebanon and Palestine during the Ottoman period is revealed through two crucial facts: (a) many adherents of each of these parties (and even some of their leading families, such as the Abū G̲h̲ōs̲h̲ family in Palestine) were not Arabs at all, but Circassians, Turkmens, or Kurds; (b) families of allegedly Arab origin changed sides with little regard to actual descent, such as the ʿAlam al-Dīn family in Lebanon (S̲h̲idyāḳ, i, 129), or a family split in two parts supporting opposing factions. Only powerful clans which managed to maintain their position for a long period were consistent in their factional adherence.

During the Mamlūk period, the Yaman faction in Lebanon was led by the ʿAlam al-Dīn family, in opposition to the ruling Buḥturs who were considered Ḳays. The latter faction supported the Maʿns when they succeeded the Buḥturs in 922/1516. In 993/1585 a Yaman conspiracy against the Maʿnī Amīr Ḳorḳmaz almost succeeded, but his son Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn II re-established Ḳays supremacy.

A second short tenure of power of the Yaman ʿAlam al-Dīn family occurred after the downfall of Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn II in 1042/1633. This resulted in a great massacre and in civil war, but from 1045/1635 to the end of the century the Ḳays Maʿns had the upper hand. Under the S̲h̲ihābs, the successors of the Maʿns, the Yaman party, with Ottoman support, succeeded in gaining power once more for a short time in 1121/1709, but in a fierce battle at the village of ʿAyn Dārā, which took place in 1123/1711, the Yaman forces were utterly routed and their leaders, the ʿAlam al-Dīn family, were slaughtered to a man. Thus Yaman power in Lebanon was completely crushed, and the Yaman Druzes who survived were expelled from Lebanon and sought refuge in the Ḥawrān, with the exception of the Arslāns, who were allowed to retain the lower G̲h̲arb, which was a part of their original *muḳāṭaʿa*. New political divisions emerging in the Lebanon after the battle of ʿAyn Dārā no longer adopted the nomenclature of Ḳays and Yaman; from then onwards, the factions were called after their leading families.

In Palestine, the division into Ḳays and Yaman is of long standing. According to al-Nimr (i, 59) the Mamlūk Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn (1293-1340) allocated the north of D̲j̲abal Nābulus to the Yaman faction and the south to Ḳays. In the 10th/16th century again, the population of various regions of Palestine was divided into these two factions, and fighting frequently erupted (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, 85-6). In the 18th and 19th centuries factional wars under the banner of Ḳays and Yaman were fought primarily in the Nābulus and Jerusalem areas. The D̲j̲abal Nābulus witnessed an open fight between the Ṭūḳān and the Nimr families between 1794 and 1823, and perpetual conflict, including incessant armed clashes, between the ʿAbd al-Hādīs and the Ṭūḳāns in the 1840s and 1850s. Throughout this period the rival camps, townsmen, *fallāḥīn* and Bedouin, were identified with the Ḳays and Yaman factions, and even families whose descent was unclear felt the need to adhere to one of them. Thus the Ṭūḳans, at the start of their rule, declared their affiliation to Yaman (*aʿlanū yamaniyyatahum*) in order to win support from the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s of the *nāḥiya*s (al-Nimr, ii, 415-16). At the same time, the Judaean hills were also the scene of clashes between *fallāḥīn* divided into Ḳays, led by the Samḥān family, the Laḥḥāms, the ʿAmrs, and the Barg̲h̲ūt̲h̲īs, and Yaman, led by the Abū G̲h̲ōs̲h̲ clan. Most of the inhabitants of Christian Bethlehem were Yaman, while those of Christian Bayt Jālā, as well as the

Muslims of the Hebron area, were Ḳays. The adherence of the Bedouins to one faction or another was determined mainly by the affiliation of the neighbouring *fallāḥīn* or by internal division among the Bedouins themselves.

However, factional ties between the D̲j̲abal Nābulus and the Judaean hills were minimal, and in the principal engagements the parties of one region were not assisted by their counterparts from the other region. Inter-regional ties between members of the same faction were found primarily on the fringes of the two regions, and more on the Ḳays than on the Yaman side. Moreover, there were differences between the two areas. The Nābulus notables led the factional war and took an active part in it, and fighting sometimes even occurred in the city. The town quarters were split along factional lines and city-dwellers joined in the village skirmishes. As against this, Jerusalem was never the scene of fighting in the factional wars, and the city notables neither led the fighting nor did they play an active part in it. Yet when there was a weak Pas̲h̲a, Jerusalem's notables were able to turn the factional strife to their own advantage, and the leading rural families of both camps had their allies in the *mad̲j̲lis* of the town. In general, only when a strong Pas̲h̲a ruled an area was there a truce in the factional strife. However, both in Palestine and in Lebanon, the Ottomans used to support one faction (often the weaker one) against the other in order to further their own political aims. With the growing centralisation of Ottoman rule during the second half of the 19th century, factional wars in Palestine gradually subsided, although identification with Ḳays or Yaman and some of the customs connected with this division persisted among part of the rural population.

The faction was usually referred to as a *ṣaff*, but also as an *ʿiṣāba, farīḳ, ṭāʾifa*, or *ḥizb*. Affiliation to a faction was termed *naʿra, ʿaṣabiyya, s̲h̲ahwa*, or *niḥla*. A member of the same faction was called *ṣāḥib* and an enemy *ḳawmānī*; a one-day battle was a *ḥarāba*, and if it lasted longer than one day, it was called a *kawn*. The head of the faction used to make an annual tour of villages loyal to him (*yaḳṭaʿ ʿaṣ-ṣufūf*). These visits served as points of time in their chronology.

Each faction had its colour—Ḳays red, and Yaman white—which distinguished its flag and its members' clothes, women's veils and especially the bride's canopy or veil. A Ḳays bride was forbidden to move into Yaman territory dressed in red: she was obliged either to conceal her red clothing with white or to change her clothes and veil at the border. Intermarriage between the two factions was not unusual, and many legends about fights resulting from this custom are told (on terminology and customs see especially al-Nimr, ii, 430-2, but also numerous other sources).

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(G. Baer and M. Hoexter)

ḲAYS B. AL-K̲H̲AṬĪM b. ʿAdī is, together with Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit [*q.v.*] the most important poet of Yat̲h̲rib. He was a member of the B. Ẓafar (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 181) of the Aws [*q.v.*], whom he defended both by words and by the sword in contests with the K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ [*q.v.*]. Apart from some late and very dubious pieces of information, very little is known of his life, but it is known that he exacted vengeance for the murders of his father and grandfather, and this gave him a great reputation amongst posterity; these actions were, however, later subject to all sorts of legendary accretions and motifs which sometimes recall the legend of Cyrus and form a parallel to the story of Perzival (see Singer, *Arab. und europ. Poesie im Mittelalter*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., xiii (1918), p. 7 of the reprint). In regard to the active part which he took in the political and military activities of his tribe, we have constant reference in his *Dīwān* to a whole series of *ayyām* of the Aws, but he did not take part, apparently on account of a wound received previously, in the decisive battle of Buʿāt̲h̲ [*q.v.*], so much celebrated in later song. He was treacherously murdered some time before the *hid̲j̲ra*, and tradition relates that he was avenged even before he himself had breathed his last gasp.

Ḳays was involved in polemics with almost all the K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ī poets of his time, notably with Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, who both survived him by a considerable period of time. Although he was still alive at the time when the Prophet began his preaching, his *Dīwān* shows no traces of a knowledge of it, and all the later sources describing a meeting between him and the Prophet seem to be pure invention.

The oldest manuscript of his *Dīwān*, dated 419/1028, is the Top Kapu Saray one, and forms an appendix to the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit. The recension of the poems goes back to Ibn al-Sikkīt, but the definitive editor of the *Dīwān* seems to have been al-Sukkarī. What has survived is clearly only a fragment of the original. It was published by T. Kowalski, *Der Dīwān des Ḳais b. al-Ḫaṭīm*, Leipzig 1914; by I. Sāmarrāʾī and A. Maṭlūb, Baghdad 1381/1962; and by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, Cairo 1381/1962.

Ḳays is reckoned amongst the authors of the *mud̲h̲ahhabāt* chosen by Abū Zayd al-Ḳuras̲h̲ī who, in his *D̲j̲amhara* (123), places him in the fourth *ṭabaḳa*; but Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 190) does not go along with those who would place Ḳays above Ḥassān. His poetry, both in his *g̲h̲azal*s and also in his *fak̲h̲r* poems and his *ḥikam*, reveals the two sides of life, the sedentary and the nomadic, which was characteristic of the oasis dwellers in his time. His descriptions of war and portraits of women are celebrated. What is typical of real Bedouin life, sc. the description of the riding camel, the ride through the desert and the chase, are almost entirely lacking in his poems. One might say that if Ḳays was highly esteemed by later generations, it was more for his chivalric character than for his poetic gifts. His poetry is nevertheless a very important source for our knowledge of conditions in Yat̲h̲rib just before

the coming of Islam and for certain customs there, in particular, those concerning the blood-feud.

Bibliography: The sources are given in the introductions to the various editions of the *Dīwān*. There should be noted, in particular, Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 321; Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, ed. Barḳūḳī, 121-3 (cf. W. N. ʿArafat's edn., London 1971, index); *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, iii, 3-26; Ibn Shuhayd, *Zawābiʿ*, ed. K. Bustānī, 128-31; *Iṣāba*, no. 7348; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ bi-akhbār al-Muṣṭafā*, Cairo 1374; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 168; Abkaryūs, 251-3; Nöldeke, in *ZA*, xxix, 205-16; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 70-1; R. Blachère, *Hist. de la litt. arabe*, 310-11; Brockelmann, S I, 56; F. F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 20-2.

(T. Kowalski*)

KAYSĀN, abū ʿamra, a *mawlā* [*v.q.*] of ʿUrayna, who belonged to the Badjīla, was one of the prominent *Mawālī* in Kūfa during the revolt of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*]. Little is known about his early life; the first important information is that prior to the revolt of al-Mukhtār he was known to be a Shīʿī sympathiser. Kaysān also was among the notables of the Shīʿa and the influential men of al-Mukhtār's followers who were sent to Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar to win his support for al-Mukhtār. When al-Mukhtār seized Kūfa, he appointed Kaysān as leader of his personal guard (*ʿalā ḥarasihi*). This was possibly because he trusted him more than the others and because he was the most influential of his *Mawālī* supporters. Kaysān's high standing among the *Mawālī* is reflected in the fact that when they became aware that al-Mukhtār was trying to reconcile the *Ashrāf* they communicated their resentment to Kaysān, their chief.

As leader of al-Mukhtār's personal guard, Kaysān played an important role in punishing those *Ashrāf* who were responsible for the killing of al-Ḥusayn, among them ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ and Shamir b. Dhu'l-Djawshan. His activities in this respect gave rise to a common Kūfan saying applied to anyone deprived of his wealth, "Abū ʿAmra has visited him" (*zārahu Abū ʿAmra*) or "Abū ʿAmra entered his house" (*dakhala Abū ʿAmra baytahu*). He was also described as "more wicked than Iblīs". This, however, seems to be an outcome of the historical tradition, to which we owe our information, and which grew up in Kūfa, especially in the milieu of the *Ashrāf*, and therefore is anti-*mawālī*. According to Ibn Ḥazm and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, the Kaysāniyya were the followers of al-Mukhtār and Kaysān Abū ʿAmra.

In the battle of al-Madhār (about the middle of 67/686), the *Mawālī* in al-Mukhtār's army were commanded by Kaysān. It seems probable that he was killed in this battle, for nothing more is heard of him.

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(A. A. Dixon)

KAYSĀNIYYA (more rarely Mukhtāriyya) is the name applied by the heresiographers to those supporters of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] recognising Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] as their *imām* and as the Mahdī [*q.v.*]. The name is derived from Abū ʿAmra Kaysān [*q.v.*], chief of the guard and leader of the *mawālī* under al-Mukhtār. Its choice, made probably by the opponents of the movement, may reflect the importance they attributed to the *mawlā* element in it. Actually, many supporters of the movement, among them some of the most radical, were Arabs, especially from Yamanī tribes, and there is no evidence that they generally looked to Kaysān as their leader during the lifetime of al-Mukhtār. It is possible, however, that Kaysān survived the latter and became the chief of the movement after his death. He is reported to have been more extreme than al-Mukhtār, charging the caliphs preceding ʿAlī with infidelity, while al-Mukhtār condemned only ʿAlī's opponents in the battles of the Camel and at Ṣiffīn. He asserted that the angel Djibrāʾīl transmitted divine revelations to al-Mukhtār, who could hear, but not see, him. He is also reported to have claimed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was appointed by ʿAlī as his executor (*waṣī*), thus excluding his brothers al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn from the imāmate. This doctrine, however, was more likely formulated only later in opposition to Imāmī and Zaydī denials of the rights of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and, in any case, conflicted with the common view of the Kaysāniyya upholding the consecutive imāmate of the three sons of ʿAlī. Kaysān's rôle was apparently soon generally forgotten, for the name Kaysāniyya was also explained as deriving from the surname Kaysān which al-Mukhtār allegedly was given by ʿAlī, or from the name of a *mawlā* of ʿAlī killed at Ṣiffīn from whom, it was claimed, al-Mukhtār had received his ideas.

In the accounts of the chroniclers the sectarian supporters of al-Mukhtār are most often pejoratively called Sabaʾiyya [see ʿabd allāh b. sabaʾ] to denote their Shīʿī extremism. They are condemned in particular for their worship of a wooden chair, variously described as a relic of ʿAlī or an intentional imitation of the ark of the covenant of the Jews, in which several Yamanī clans were most active. They are also frequently called Khashabiyya [*q.v.*] after the wooden clubs widely used by them as a weapon [see kāfirkūb].

In a wider sense Kaysāniyya is used by the heresiographers as a collective name for all the sects which evolved out of the movement of al-Mukhtār and traced the imāmate through Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. The accounts about these groups are confused and sometimes contradictory. The main developments can be summarised as follows:

After the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya in 81/700 many of his supporters believed that he was alive and concealed in the Raḍwā mountains west of Medina, from where he would reappear as the Mahdī. Their beliefs are reflected in the poetry of Kuthayyir [*q.v.*] and later of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*]. They are usually called Karibiyya or Kuraybiyya [*q.v.*]

after their leader Abū Karib (Kurayb) al-Ḍarīr, though al-Nawbakhtī mentions the Karibiyya as a separate group who stated that they did not know the whereabouts of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. According to al-Nawbakhtī, Ḥamza b. ʿUmāra al-Barbarī in Medina was an extremist originally belonging to the Karibiyya. He then claimed to be an *imām* and prophet, asserted the divinity of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and taught antinomianism. Ḥamza's activity cannot, however, have begun until long after the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya if he is identical with the homonymous secretary of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya *ca.* 128/748. Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī mentions as a separate group the followers of Ḥayyān al-Sarrādj, who maintained that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had died in the Raḍwā mountains but he and his *shīʿa* would return to life. With their aid he would rule and establish justice on earth. They thus held the doctrine of *radjʿa* [*q.v.*], the return to life of some of the dead before the resurrection. This account is in conflict with Imāmī reports in which Ḥayyan al-Sarrādj appears as a prominent Kaysānī denying the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in the time of Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. One group of the Kaysāniyya asserted that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had been condemned by God to stay in the mountains of Raḍwā as a punishment for his submission to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. He surrendered the imāmate as a "deposit" (*wadīʿa*) to his son Abū Hāshim ʿAbd Allāh since he knew that the latter would die childless. Abū Hāshim thus became the silent (*ṣāmit*) *imām* during the absence of the speaking (*nāṭiḳ*) *imām* who must eventually return to rule the world.

Another group affirmed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya had died and that the *imām* after him was his son Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*], whom he had appointed as his successor. Abū Hāshim provided his followers with a more active leadership than his father had done. When he died childless *ca.* 98/717-8, his party, known as the Hāshimiyya [*q.v.*], split into several groups. One group claimed that Abū Hāshim was the Mahdī and that he was alive hiding in the mountains of Raḍwā. Another group maintained that he had appointed his brother ʿAlī as his successor. They later continued the imāmate through ʿAlī's son al-Ḥasan, the latter's son ʿAlī, to the latter's son al-Ḥasan, affirming that the imāmate belonged exclusively to the descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, one of whom would be the Mahdī. Some of them then cut the line of *imām*s after al-Ḥasan, claiming that he had not appointed a successor, and they then looked forward to the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

The bulk of the Hāshimiyya, however, recognised Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās as the *imām* after Abū Hāshim, asserting that before his death Abū Hāshim had handed the appointment to his father ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh in trust for him since Muḥammad was still a minor. The appointment of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was disputed by a group claiming that Abū Hāshim had appointed as his successor ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, who also was still a minor, and had handed the appointment to Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik. The two parties agreed on the arbitration of the dispute by one of their chiefs, Abū Riyāḥ, who decided in favour of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. The mass of the supporters of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya therefore joined the party of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and were known as the Riyāḥiyya.

Among the *ghulāt* [*q.v.*] were regularly classed the Bayāniyya, the followers of Bayān b. Samʿān [*q.v.*]. Bayān and Ṣā'id al-Nahdī were at first supporters of Ḥamza b. ʿUmāra in Kūfa. After the death of Abū Hāshim the Bayāniyya affirmed that he would return as the Mahdī. They adopted extremist views concerning Abū Hāshim and asserted that he had conferred prophethood on Bayān on behalf of God. Bayān is accused in particular of a crude anthropomorphism. He and some supporters were executed in Kūfa in 119/736.

A prominent rôle in the introduction of the theory of metempsychosis and other extremist ideas is ascribed in the sources to a group called Ḥarbiyya (more rarely Kharibiyya) or Ḥārithiyya after their leader, whose name is given with much variation as ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿAmr) b. (al-)Ḥarb (al-Kharib) or al-Ḥārith al-Kindī al-Kūfī or al-Madā'inī or al-Shāmī. The variations in the name may indicate the fusion of more than one person into a single identity. After the death of Abū Hāshim, Ibn Ḥarb taught the transmigration of souls, and held that the Divine Spirit (*rūḥ Allāh*) had been present in the Prophet Muḥammad and had successively been transferred to ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, Abū Hāshim and finally to Ibn Ḥarb, who thus had become the *imām* until the reappearance of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. When his followers discovered, however, that his claim of omniscience was spurious, the bulk of them renounced him and accepted ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya as their *imām* in succession to Abū Hāshim. According to some sources, Ibn Ḥarb was converted to Ṣufrī Khāridjism and died holding Ṣufrī beliefs.

The party tracing the imāmate through the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and his son Ibrāhīm to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs is commonly called the Rāwandiyya [*q.v.*], though some heresiographers restrict the name to those who asserted that the first *imām* after the death of the Prophet was his uncle al-ʿAbbās and that the imāmate continued among his descendants. This doctrine, however, probably originated only during the reign of the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), while the name Rāwandiyya already appears in historical reports of events before the year 120/738. According to al-Nawbakhtī the name is derived from a sectarian leader named ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāwandī, while other sources, probably less reliably, derive it from one al-Ḳāsim b. Rāwand or Abu 'l-ʿAbās al-Rāwandī. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāwandī is mentioned in a list of the *dāʿī*s of the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. His son Ḥarb (d. 147/764) and his grandson Naṣr b. Ḥarb were prominent leaders of the Rāwandiyya in the caliphal army in Mesopotamia during the reigns of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. The name evidently referred at first merely to a faction within the ʿAbbāsid movement in Khurāsān, composed chiefly of *mawālī* and holding extremist views, and was then extended to mean the whole ʿAbbāsid *shīʿa*.

As sects within the early ʿAbbāsid movement, al-Nāshi' mentions the Bukayriyya and the Khidāshiyya. The former were named after Bukayr b. Māhān (d. 127/744-5), the Kūfan *dāʿī* chiefly responsible for the organisation of the ʿAbbāsid movement in Khurāsān. The Khidāshiyya were the followers of ʿAmmār b. Yazīd, nicknamed Khidāsh, a *dāʿī* active in the area of Naysābūr and Marw. When he was disowned by the *imām* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī for doctrinal deviation, his supporters held that Muḥammad b. ʿAlī had forfeited the imāmate and that it had passed to Khidāsh. After the execution of Khidāsh in 118/736 they affirmed that he was alive and had been raised to heaven by God.

After the execution of Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], the leader of the ʿAbbāsid movement in Khurāsān, by the caliph al-Manṣūr in 137/755, some of his supporters maintained that the imāmate had been transferred from the caliph al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr's predecessor, to Abū Muslim and that Abū Muslim was alive. They were called the (Abū) Muslimiyya. Opposed to them were the Rizāmiyya, named after their chief Rizām b. Sābiḳ, who upheld the succession of al-Manṣūr to the imāmate, though they refused to repudiate Abū Muslim, and affirmed that the imāmate would remain in the ʿAbbāsid family until the resurrection, when a descendant of al-ʿAbbās would be the Mahdī. Rizām is mentioned as a leader of the Rāwandī extremists in 141/758 when a riot by a group of them in the court of the palace of al-Manṣūr was bloodily suppressed. In the ensuing persecution of the extremists, Rizām sought refuge with the caliph's son Djaʿfar and was granted amnesty.

A further schism in the ʿAbbāsid *shīʿa* occurred in 147/764 when al-Manṣūr deferred the succession of his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who had been named by al-Saffāḥ to succeed al-Manṣūr, and appointed his own son Muḥammad al-Mahdī as his immediate successor. One party considered the action of al-Manṣūr as illegal and recognized ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and later some of his descendants as their *imāms*. The other party asserted that the action of al-Manṣūr was legal, since the order of the living *imām* should supersede that of a dead *imām* and since ʿĪsā had agreed to sell his rights. They recognized al-Mahdī as the *imām* after al-Manṣūr.

After his accession (158/775) al-Mahdī induced the ʿAbbāsid *shīʿa* to repudiate the imāmate of ʿAlī and his descendants and to embrace a purely ʿAbbāsid imāmate beginning with al-ʿAbbās and based on the right of inheritance. The partisans of this doctrine were known as the Hurayriyya after their leader Abū Hurayra al-Rāwandī (rarely al-Dimashḳī). By denying the imāmate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and Abū Hāshim this group left the fold of the Kaysāniyya. Extremist doctrines, such as deification of the *imāms*, or belief in their omniscience, and dispensation from the religious law for those knowing the *imām*, are ascribed to most of the sects of the ʿAbbāsid *shīʿa*.

The party supporting the imāmate of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, consisting mainly of the former Ḥarbiyya, is commonly known as the Djanāḥiyya [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya is reported to have encouraged their extremist beliefs, claiming that the Divine Spirit had devolved through the prophets and *imāms* to him and that he was able to resurrect the dead. After he had died in the prison of Abū Muslim in 131/748-9, a group of his followers claimed that he was alive and hiding in the mountains of Iṣfahān. Some said he would return as the Mahdī, while others held that he would surrender the leadership to a descendant of ʿAlī before his death. Another group of his supporters admitted that he was dead and that they were left without an *imām*. Al-Shahrastānī mentions a sect which asserted that his spirit had passed to Isḥāḳ b. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith and calls it the Ḥārithiyya, distinguishing it from the earlier Ḥarbiyya. This Iṣḥāḳ is perhaps to be identified with the Isḥāḳ b. ʿAmr named by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khʷārizmī as the chief of a sect of the Kaysāniyya which he calls the Isḥāḳiyya. Other sources, evidently erroneously, describe ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥarb (or al-Ḥārith) as still active among the followers of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya after the latter's death. To this group in particular is attributed the elaboration of extremist theories on the transmigration of souls, their pre-existence as shadows (*aẓilla*), the denial of the resurrection, of the judgment, and of paradise and hell in their conventional sense, and the cyclical history of recurrent eras (*adwār*) and aeons (*akwār*) initiated by seven Adams. They related these doctrines on the authority of the Companion Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī and of Djābir al-Djuʿfī (d. 128/745-6).

During the Umayyad period the Kaysāniyya in its various branches constituted the bulk of the radical wing of the *shīʿa*. By the middle of the 2nd/8th century (767) the movement was rapidly disintegrating. There is no evidence of any Kaysānī groups surviving into the 3rd/9th century. Towards the end of this century some Ḳarmaṭī groups are reported to have temporarily acknowledged a son, Aḥmad, or a grandson, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya as the expected Mahdī. Neither name refers to a historical person or is mentioned in the accounts of the Kaysāniyya movement. Their adoption by these Ḳarmaṭī groups evidently reflects a spontaneous development in the Ismāʿīlī movement rather than a survival of Kaysānī beliefs.

In ʿIrāḳ the mass of the adherents of the Kaysāniyya was absorbed by the rising tide of Imāmī Shīʿism. A substantial part of the religious doctrine first elaborated in the Kaysāniyya, *e.g.*, on *badā'* [*q.v.*], *radjʿa* and important aspects of the theory of the imāmate, was adopted by orthodox Imāmism. Other Kaysānī doctrines were passed on among the *ghulāt* adhering to Imāmī lines of *imāms*. In Persia and Transoxania the Rāwandiyya and the Djanāḥiyya-Ḥarbiyya groups were largely merged into various syncretist sects often generically termed Khurramiyya [*q.v.*].

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(W. Madelung)

ḲAYṢAR.

1. In early Islam. — The usual name in Arabic for the Roman and Byzantine emperor. The word represents the Greek Καῖσαρ and came to the Arabic through the intermediary of the Aramaic (see Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 278 f.). The borrowing must have taken place at quite an early period, as the word in Syriac later appears almost in the form *Ḳesar* (see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s.v.). The Arabs, centuries before Muḥammad, had relations with Roman and to a greater extent with Byzantine emperors. As early as the Περίπλους, a Roman Καῖσαρ is mentioned as conqueror of Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία (probably Caracalla, from 198 A.D. co-regent of Septimius Severus, see F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, i, Berlin 1964, 44). In A.D. 244 an Arab from Ḥawrān reigned for five years under the name Dareus Julius Philippus. In Syria at the beginning of the 6th century A.D., the Banū Ghassān replaced the Banū Salīḥ as Arab allies, σύμμαχοι, of Byzantium. The chief Ghassānid phylarch was accorded high honours and a title like *patricius* (*biṭrīḳ*) and allowed to wear the crown of a client king of the Byzantine emperor [see GHASSĀN]. For the Ghassānids and all the inhabitants of north-western Arabia, Ḳayṣar, the Byzantine emperor, was of course the highest ruler, as was Kisrā, the king of the Persians, for the Lakhmids and all the inhabitants of north-eastern Arabia. Among the old Arabic poets, Imraʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] more than once mentions Ḳayṣar, who, indeed, played a great part in his life. For later poets also, Ḳayṣar—alongside Kisrā—is still a current symbol of power and wealth.

The word Ḳayṣar is not found in the Ḳurʾān, but it occurs quite frequently in the biography of Muḥammad, in Ḥadīth collections, in commentaries on the Ḳurʾān and in general historical works. It is always used without the article, like a proper name, and cannot be followed directly by a genitive, from which too it is clear that the word was considered as a proper name. Heraclius, the famous Byzantine emperor of the time of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, is therefore called *Hiraḳl* or *Ḳayṣar ʿaẓīm* (or *malik*) *al-Rūm*. The word *Ḳayṣar* is often omitted for example in a list of "the kings of the Romans/Byzantines" (*mulūk al-Rūm*) from Augustus to Heraclius (Ṭabarī, i, 1741-1744), in a report of the capture of Amorium (838 A.D., Ṭabarī, iii, 1234: *Tūfīl ibn Mīkhāʾīl, ṣāḥib/malik al-Rūm*), and in a report of the battle of Malāzgerd (1071, Ibn al-Athīr, x, 44-46: *Armānūs* [= *Romanus*], *malik al-Rūm*).

According to Ibn Saʿd (i/1, 43, 45 f.), Hishām b. ʿAbd Manāf, great-grandfather of Muḥammad, received from Ḳayṣar a letter of safe conduct for merchants from Mecca visiting Syria (see M. J. Kister, in *JESHO*, viii (1965), 116 f.). A great number of texts mention the letter which is said to have been sent by Muḥammad through Diḥya [*q.v.*] to the governor of Boṣrā and through him to the emperor Heraclius. In many versions, the emperor interrogates Abū Sufyān regarding the new prophet, and (in contrast to Kisrā) appears to be inclined to Islām; only fear of his subjects prevents him from openly professing the new religion (for references see below). ʿUmar contrasts the neediness of the Prophet's existence with the luxurious living of Kisrā and Ḳayṣar (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, 66, 2; Ibn Madja, *Zuhd*, 11). During the affair of Ḥudaybiyya, ʿUrwa ibn Masʿūd, having visited the Prophet in his camp, tells his Meccan compatriots that though he has travelled as an envoy to the kings, to Ḳayṣar, to Kisrā and to al-Nadjāshī, he has never seen any king so greatly honoured as Muḥammad is by his Companions (Bukhārī, *Shurūṭ*, 15; cf. Ibn Hishām, 745). The following utterance of Muḥammad is reported as a kind of prophecy: "If Kisrā perishes (variant: Kisrā has died), there will be no Kisrā after him. And if Ḳayṣar perishes, there will be no Ḳayṣar after him. By Him in whose hand my soul lies, you will spend their treasures in the way of God" (Bukhārī, *Farḍ al-Khums*, 8, *Aymān*, 3, *Djihād*, 157; Muslim, *Fitan*, 75; Wāḳidī, 460). Cf. the critical remark of Muʿattib ibn Ḳushayr during the siege of Medina by the "Allies", "Muḥammad promises us the treasures of Kisrā and Ḳayṣar, whereas it is not safe for one of us to go to the privy" (Wāḳidī, 459 f.; Ibn Hishām, 357). Another prophetical utterance ascribed to Muḥammad is: "The first troops of my community who will assault the city of Ḳayṣar (*i.e.*, Constantinople) shall be forgiven [their sins]" (Bukhārī, *Djihād*, 93).

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(A. Fischer - A. J. Wensinck - A. Schaade - R. Paret)

2. In Islamic history.—In the Meccan period, Muḥammad's sympathies were with Heraclius against Kisrā and echoes of the struggle between the two are recorded in *Sūrat al-Rūm* (Ḳur'ān, XXX). But in the Medinan period this attitude was reversed, the basis of the reversal being religious: since Islam is the true religion of the "straight path" and has universalistic claims, Byzantium and its Ḳayṣar become the enemy of Islam and the Islamic state, which must eventually triumph and capture Constantinople itself. On this is based the new Muslim conception of Ḳayṣar. His dominion is part of *Dār al-Ḥarb* (the Abode of War), he is an infidel, and war against him is *djihād* (holy war). This hostile and contemptuous attitude towards Ḳayṣar was strengthened by the military victories of the Arabs over the Byzantines. Thus, the religious and military bases on which Arab respect for Ḳayṣar had rested in pre-Islamic times disappeared in the first century of the Muslim era; the new attitude was reflected in such designations for Ḳayṣar as *ṭāghiya*, "tyrant", or such expressions as *kalb al-Rūm*, "the dog of the Romans", used by Hārūn al-Rashīd in addressing Nicephorus.

The image of Ḳayṣar among the Arabs in the four centuries or so after the battle of al-Yarmūk in 15/636 naturally fluctuated with the military fortunes of the two states over which Caliph and Ḳayṣar ruled. The first part of this period, Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid, was, generally speaking, one of Arab successes against the Byzantines; but the tide turned against the Arabs with the coming of the Macedonian dynasty, and the striking successes of the Ḥamdānids proved ephemeral.

The Turks opened a new chapter in the relations between Islam and Byzantium, one that lasted for some four centuries from their victory at Manzikert in 463/1071, until their capture of Constantinople in 857/1453. Under the impact of Turkish military victories, the image of the Byzantine Ḳayṣar reverted to what it had been before the period of the Macedonians. The basic factor was the conquest and turkification of the Byzantine heartland, Anatolia, and the diminution of the dominion of the Ḳayṣars. The Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes at Manzikert and took him captive in 463/1071, setting the tone for two centuries in Saldjūḳ relations with, and attitude towards, Ḳayṣars of the Comneni, the Angeli and the Lascarids.

The Ottomans presided over the last phase of Ḳayṣar's humiliation; their attitude to him and his dominion was the classical Islamic one, confirmed by their series of astounding victories in the Balkans. The final chapter in this drama of the Muslim-Byzantine conflict, which had lasted for some eight centuries, was written by the sultan's victory over the last of the Palaeologi, Constantine XI. Muḥammad the Conqueror captured Constantinople, and added to his titles of Ghāzī and Khān that of Ḳayṣar itself, which he was able to do, since he was not caliph but sultan; the title proved valuable for his imperial designs for the reconquest of the Byzantine territories lost by the Ḳayṣars in Europe and Asia.

Bibliography: Ḳur'ān, XXX; Ibn Hishām, *The life of Muhammad*, tr. A. Guillaume, Oxford 1967, 653-7; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, ed. de Goeje, *BGA*, vi, 16-17; Irfān Shahīd, *On the patriciate of Imru' al-Qays*, in *The world of Islam*, ed. Kritzeck and Winder, London 1959, 74-82; idem, *The Iranian factor in Byzantium during the reign of Heraclius*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxvi (1972), 295-320; M. Canard, *Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes*, in *ibid.*, xviii (1964), 35-56; A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Brussels 1935, 1950, 1968, i-ii, 1; *Cambridge mediaeval history*, iv, *The Byzantine Empire*, part I, chs. xvii-xix; *Cambridge history of Islam*, i, chs. xvii-xix on the Turks, 231-373, 527-67. (IRFAN SHAHID)

ḲAYSĀRIYYA (also ḲAYṢĀRIYYA), plur. *ḳayāsīr*, the name of a large system of public buildings laid out in the form of cloisters with shops, workshops, warehouses and frequently also living-rooms. According to de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd Allaṭif*, Paris 1810, 303-4, the *ḳaysāriyya* was originally distinguished from the *sūḳ* probably only by its greater extent, and by having several covered galleries around an open court, while the *sūḳ* consists only of a single gallery. At the present day in any case, the term *ḳaysāriyya* is not infrequently quite or almost identical in meaning with the Persian word *kārwānsarāy*, which first came into use in western Asia in the 16th century, or the likewise modern analogous names, *khān*, *wakāla* (okella), *funduḳ* [*q.v.*] and *bezistān*.

Origin. The word *ḳaysāriyya* is certainly of Greek origin: καισάρεια ("imperial", an abbreviation for ἡ καισάρεια ἀγορά "the imperial market". As H. Thiersch has shown, the old quadrangular court (with or without cells around it) of the *agora* inspired the *ḳaysāriyya*, which was used on the one hand as a warehouse for goods (whence developed the market-place) and on the other hand, without any doubt, usually also as lodgings. The expression ἡ καισάρεια recalls the fact that the oldest of these public buildings were imperial, *i.e.*, state institutions, while in the Muslim period they were mainly due to private initiative (foundations of rich merchants, members of royal families or high officials). Thiersch thinks (*Pharos* ..., 233) that the place where the idea of these buildings originated—like many other things in the new Muslim period—seems to have been Alexandria, which was especially rich in covered market-places and halls. Whether we should actually consider the Καισάριον (Caesareum), the temple of Caesar in Alexandria, to which the market-place and warehouses were attached (Strabo, xvii, 794), as the original in name and fact of the *ḳaysāriyya* (as does Vollers in *ZDMG*, li, 302), is uncertain. A derivation of the word *ḳaysāriyya* from the name of the Palestine town of Ḳaysāriyya [*q.v.*], which de Sacy (*op. cit.*) upheld, can hardly be supported with sound arguments. The word in any case was originally used only in those districts which, like Syria, Palestine and parts of North Africa had been under Byzantine rule. The idea was only transferred later to other lands, especially to Spain and the east. In Spanish, *alcaiceria* (*cayceria*, *caeceria*), and in Portuguese, *alcaçarias*, are loanwords (cf. Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*[2], Leiden 1869, 73, 79; D. Leopoldo de Eguilaz, *Glos. etim. de las palabras españolas* ... *de origen oriental*, Granada 1886, 126).

On the usage of the word in the Islamic world, the following references may be given. In Egypt we have especially good evidence of its use in Cairo. Al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1441) in his description of the city gives a large number of *ḳaysāriyyas* (cf. *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 86-91; E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, 1912, 117). Later its place was gradually taken by the word *wakāla* (*okäle*, *okelle*) and in Niebuhr's time (1761) only the market-place in the suburb of Būlāḳ was still called Kissarie. In Fās by *ḳaysāriyya* one understands the central market (for cloth, carpets, jewels, etc.) shut off by gates and walls from the other parts of the town, and at night occupied only by watchmen (see Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, 432; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès*, 374-5). Moreover, the word is currently used in Morocco to denote the courtyards, whether covered or not, surrounded by shops whose main commodity is cloth. In Spain, the *ḳaysāriyya* was, as in Morocco, the centre for trade in luxury articles and cloth (see L. Torres Balbás, *Alcaicerias*, in *al-And.*, xiv (1949), 431-55. P. Chalmeta, *El señor del zoco*, index; E. Lévy-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index). In Syria and Lebanon we have evidence of the use of the word *ḳaysāriyya* as the "name of the shops of the wholesale dealers" in Beirūt (see Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii, 469, and K. Müller, *Die Karawanserai*, 7), in Damascus (see Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*[2], ed. Wright and de Goeje, 288, and Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien* etc., Leipzig 1854-9, i, 269) and also in Aleppo (see Ibn Djubayr, 252; Yāḳūt, ii, 307; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 151; J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 79-80, 221-2). In al-Ḥasā in Eastern Arabia, the quarter of the town that contains the shops is called el-Gayṣariyye (see *Der Islām*, viii, 32). In 'Irāḳ we find a square called *Ḳaysāriyya* in Mōṣul (see Ibn Djubayr, 235); in al-Salāmiyya near Mōṣul (Yāḳūt, iii, 113); in Irbil (Yāḳūt, i, 186); in Baghdād (see Massignon, *Mission*, 92 (the present bazaar centre); in Karbalā' (see Massignon, *op. cit.*). In Persia, in Iṣfāhān (see Ritter, ix, 49; Vullers, *Lexic. Persico-Lat.*, ii, 753a, and cf. also (Ispahan) Pietro della Vale, *Viaggi* (Brighton 1843), ii, 8, German tr. (Ghent 1674), iii, 5; [Dupré], *Voyage en Perse*,

Paris 1819, ii, 125, and W. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, iii, 1819, 16); in Tabrīz (see Ritter, ix, 856); in Khwārazm (Urgandj) (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 4).

We may further note that, according to a reference in Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, about the middle of the 18th century, large public buildings in the Barbary States were called casseries. In Algiers at the present day *ḳaysāriyya* means barracks (see Dozy, *op. cit.*); after the first half of the 17th century it was used to denote the Janissaries' barracks (Père Dan, *Hist. de Barbarie et ses corsairs*[1], 1637, 2nd edn. 1649, 88: *Casseries ou Funduques*). In the ruined cities of Ḥawrān the palaces of the erstwhile Roman or Byzantine governors are now also called *ḳaysāriyya*; see Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran* etc., Berlin 1860, 55. In general, it appears that in modern times the use of the word *ḳaysāriyya* as market-place and suchlike has to a great extent given way to newer words like *khān*, *wakāla*, *funduḳ* and *bezestān*. For the economic functioning of the *ḳaysāriyya*, see SŪḲ.

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ḲAYṢARIYYA, ḲAYṢĀRIYYA, Caesarea, a name bestowed during the reigns of the Roman emperors of Augustus and Tiberius on at least seventeen places in the Roman territories of the Near East and North Africa (Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1288-9). The Arab sources know only of two places with this name, however, cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Ḳaysāriyya.

1. A town on the Palestine coast, classical Caesarea Maritima, some 25 miles (40 km) south of Haifa or Ḥayfā.

Originally a 4th century B.C. Sidonian settlement known as Strato's Tower, apparently after its founder, the town was erected into an imperial city by Herod in 13/12 or 10/9 B.C. and given the name of Caesarea in honour of Herod's suzerain Augustus, the old name speedily falling into oblivion. The city now flourished, in part because of its fine harbour, as the main port of Sebastia or Samaria. Although it had a Jewish population, with traditions of Jewish learning so that a portion of the Palestinian Talmud was edited there, it was essentially a stronghold of Roman power and Hellenism, and until the Arab conquest served as the capital of the Roman and then Byzantine province of Palestine. It was further an important centre of Christian learning, with its bishopric the metropolitan seat for the whole province, and in the 4th century A.D. Eusebius was its bishop.

The accounts of the conquest of Caesarea in the Muslim sources are greatly influenced by the fact that this heavily-defended and well-protected city symbolised in the eyes of the Muslims the whole might of Christian and Byzantine power in Palestine, and it was the last place there to fall to the Arabs. Since its capture was thus regarded as the summit of Muslim military success in Palestine, the early accounts of its conquest exceed in number and detail those relating to Jerusalem. The numbers of its defenders were highly exaggerated in order to magnify the achievement, and one tradition goes as far as to put the figure at 930,000 of the besieged as against only 17,000 Muslim besiegers (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 141, but see Barhebraeus, *Chronographia*, ed. Budge, 37 v, who puts the number of defenders at 7,000). The siege was begun by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, till he left for Egypt, and by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm, who was probably the original commander on the spot, but whose rôle was later minimised by tradition, seeking to glorify either ʿAmr or Muʿāwiya. The latter eventually took over from his sick brother Yazīd and captured the city in Shawwāl 19/Sept.-Oct. 640 after a siege of probably seven months, inflated in most of the Arabic sources to seven years, calculating the beginning of the siege from the opening of the Syrian campaign as a whole; 4,000 captives were taken (cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 140-1, 212; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 57-8; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 172-3; idem, *Buldān*, 329; Ṭabarī, i, 2396-7, 2399, 2579; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ed. Amin *et alii*, i, 124; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, 757; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, iv, 395; de Goeje, *Mem. sur la conquête de la Syrie*[2], 166 ff.; Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 31-2, 156-62).

In face of the normal control of the eastern Mediterranean by the Byzantine fleet (despite periodic Umayyad successes there), Islamic Ḳayṣariyya was held essentially as a defensive position against Byzantine descents on the coastland. During the revolt of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the Byzantines seized the opportunity of Umayyad distraction to attack both Ḳayṣariyya and ʿAsḳalān (Ascalon) and damage them; but once secure in power, ʿAbd al-Malik rebuilt and refortified the two places, along with other coastal points such as Acre and Tyre (Balādhurī, 142). But on the whole, the Arab disinclination towards seafaring (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mawḍūʿāt*, Medina 1966, *ii*, 227) made it difficult for the Umayyad caliphs to persuade Arab warriors to settle in the coastal towns.

Ḳayṣariyya went through a period of deterioration under the ʿAbbāsids, who tended to neglect Syria in favour of their eastern provinces. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (254-70/868-83) fortified again the Palestinian shore, but nothing is mentioned in the sources specifically about Ḳayṣariyya, whose harbour had by this time filled up with sand. The Arab geographers in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, as well as Nāṣir-i-Khusraw in the 5th/11th, describe its fertile district and the abundance of its agricultural products, but make no mention of its harbour (Muḳaddasī, 35, 154; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 18; Idrīsī, in *ZDPV*, viii (1885), 11; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 474, 475). In 364/975, the Byzantine offensive launched a year previously against the Islamic territories by the Emperor John Tzimisces reached as far south as Ḳayṣariyya (Runciman, *A history of the Crusades*, i, 31). The renewed Byzantine rule, however, was short-lived. But the old danger to the wealth of the city came at that time from the Bedouins of Banū Djarrāḥ (a clan of Ṭayyiʾ), led by their chief Mufarridj b. Daghfal, who succeeded around 360/971, during the disturbances which marked the end of the Ikhshīdids, in establishing himself in the coastal plain mainly around Ramla. Bedouin power continued to grow throughout the first half-century of the Fāṭimid rule. Between 402/1012 and 404/1014, Mufarridj laid siege to the coastal towns and even installed in Palestine an anti-Caliph of his own (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd

al-Anṭākī, ed. Cheikho, 160, 201). In 414/1024, the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ẓāhir nominated Muntakhab al-Dawla, governor of Ḳayṣariyya, as governor of Palestine with the special assignment of ridding the country of Ḥassān b. Mufarridj, who had succeeded his father as the leader of Banū Djarrāḥ (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270, i, 354). Although Ḳayṣariyya was never famous as a great Islamic centre of learning, some names of *ʿulamāʾ* who lived or studied there can be found in the sources (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 214, 778; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nudjūm*, ii, 204; Ibn ʿAsākir, iv, 185, 232, 460, vi, 212).

The First Crusade did not threaten Ḳayṣariyya seriously. Only in 494/1101, after Baldwin I had established himself as king of Jerusalem, did the Crusaders attack the city, with the help of a Genoese naval force. After the fall of Arsūf on 27 Djumādā II/29 April, Ḳayṣariyya was besieged and fell on May 17. The male population was almost completely wiped out, and the women, the *ḳāḍī* of the town and its governor were taken prisoners. Among the booty the Genoese found a green vessel which they decided was the Holy Grail; later, they brought it to Genoa, where it is still preserved in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo. As a prize for their participation in the conquest, the Genoese received a third of the town with permission to call the second cathedral of the city after their patron San Lorenzo. (On this conquest, see Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, v, 186, and Runciman, ii, 73-4). After the conquest Ḳayṣariyya became an independent Signoria (which belonged to the Garnier family), one of the first to be established in the country (Runciman, ii, 93, 191).

The Crusaders built in Ḳayṣariyya a small harbour within the borders of the large ancient one, and its Frankish population grew to about 5,000 people, a considerable size in terms of Crusader towns.

In 583/1187, after the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn [*q.v.*] and the occupation of Acre, Ḳayṣariyya was easily conquered by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's generals, Badr al-Dīn Daldirim and Gharas al-Dīn Ḳilidj (Abu Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, ii, 87; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 356; al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, 33).

With the appearance of the armies of the Third Crusade, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, knowing his weakness on the sea and anxious to deny the Crusaders a foothold on the coast, ordered in 586/1190 the demolition of the fortifications of Caesarea (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/1, 104, Mudjīr ad-Dīn, *al-Uns al-djalīl*, 324). Richard-Coeur-de-Lion recaptured Caesarea in 587/1191 (al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, 377-83), after which a strong garrison was established there, but the city fortifications were not rebuilt until 615/1218, with the main effort concentrated on the rebuilding of the citadel on the southern pier of the harbour. In 617/1220, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā managed to occupy the city while the main Crusader forces were besieging Dimyāṭ (Damietta); he found it completely empty, the Genoese navy having evacuated the population from its citadel (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *op. cit.*, vi, 239).

The city remained nominally in Muslim hands until 625/1228 when al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt ceded it to the Emperor Frederick II, together with Jerusalem and other territories in Palestine. When Louis IX arrived in the Holy Land in 648/1250-1, new fortifications, completed in April or May 1252, were begun, and were hailed as the finest building enterprise ever undertaken in Palestine (Joinville, *Chronicle*, London 1908, 253). This time the work comprised the building of the whole city, including a mighty wall which protected it from both sea and land and its ancient moat was excavated, cleaned and deepened, thus giving the city wall a maximum height of 70 ft. (22 m.).

But even these mighty fortifications could not save Ḳayṣariyya when the Mamlūks resolved on destroying the remnant of the Crusader strongholds along the Syrian littoral, once they had checked the Mongol invasion in 658/1260. In 662/1264 the first Mamlūk attacks on the districts of Ḳayṣariyya and ʿAthlīth began under the Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Kaymarī (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/1, 513), but the final campaign headed by Baybars took place in 663/1265. A fierce frontal attack by the Mamlūks forced the defenders to retreat to the citadel (called *al-khaḍrāʾ* in the Muslim sources). Under the heavy bombardment of Baybars' ballistas, the Crusaders had to enter into negotiations. On 5th March 1265 they were evacuated by ship and the sultan ordered the destruction of the fortress.

The occupation of Ḳayṣariyya enabled the Mamlūks to move both southwards against Jaffa and Arsūf and northwards against ʿAthlīth and Acre (Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt*, iv, 161; Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i/1 526-8; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 434; Mufaḍḍal b. Abī 'l-Faḍāʾil, in *Patr. or.*, xii, Paris 1918, 132-3; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk*, in *Orientalia*, ii, 250; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, v, 385).

Instead of the coastal line of fortifications, which were ultimately completely demolished, Barbars resolved upon establishing a new line of defence along the foothills deep in the country, more defensible by the Muslim forces. The fortress of Ḳāḳūn was, therefore, rebuilt to replace Ḳayṣariyya and Arsūf (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i/1, 557).

The site of Ḳayṣariyya remained deserted for about four centuries, cf. Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 237. In the 11th/17th century, some fishermen briefly tried to settle there. Its ruins became a source for building material, especially when Djazzār Pāshā built his mosque in Acre at the end of the 12th/18th century.

In 1884, in the wake of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, the Ottoman government brought Muslim refugees from there and settled them in Ḳayṣariyya, but the endemic malaria reduced them to a miserable condition, and during the Arab-Israelī war of 1948 the place was deserted.

The first archaeological survey of the site was carried out in 1873 by the Palestine Exploration Fund, but systematic excavations were made during the 1950s and 1960s by Italian and Israeli archaeologists. Parts of the town have been reconstructed, notably part of the Crusaders' wall and the Roman theatre, which is used today for musical performances.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge* ..., Leiden 1919, 238; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, (Paris 1938), ii, 151, 162, 171, 193 ff., 200; idem, *Histoire de la Palestine*, i-ii, Paris 1952; V. Guérin, *Descr. Geogr... de la Palestine*, 2e Partie, ii (Paris 1875), 321-39; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1936, 267; D. Ayalon, *The Mameluks and Naval Power*, in *Proceedings of The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, i, No. 8 (Jerusalem 1965); cf. idem, *EI*[2], art. *Baḥriyya*; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (London 1971), index; S. Asaf and L. A. Mayer, *Sefer Ha-Yishshūv*, ii (Jerusalem 1944), 54-5; cf. also the bibliography in *EI*[1], art. *Ḳaiṣārīya*. (M. Sharon)

ḲAYṢARIYYA, or Kayseri, a town in central Anatolia, at an elevation of 3,300 feet, at the northern base of the Erdjiyas Daghī. The Roman imperial

name Caesarea for this town was rendered Ḳayṣariyya in Arabic, Ḳayseriye in Ottoman, and Kayseri in modern Turkish.

1. *History*. Even before the Hittite empire, the area was a mercantile centre with a thriving Assyrian trading colony named Kanesh. As Mazaka, the site was the capital of the kingdom of Cappadocia, later of the Roman province of Cappadocia. Caesarea was first in precedence among the Christian bishoprics of Asia Minor, and as the seat of the Cappadocian fathers, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus, a centre of Christian thought and monasticism. Pillaged and devastated by the Sasanids and then rescued by Heraclius in A.D. 611, the town was again beautiful and wealthy when Muʿāwiya forced it to pay tribute in 26/647. (Michael the Syrian, tr. Chabot, ii, 400, 441; Abu 'l-Faradj, tr. Budge, i, 97). In the reign of Hishām (105-25/724-43) Maslama led two raids on Ḳayṣariyya and perhaps occupied the town temporarily; two of Hishām's sons also led campaigns there. In the 5th/11th century Byzantine policies and the Turkish invasions precipitated a migration of Armenian Gregorians into this Greek Orthodox area (Michael the Syrian, iii, 133).

Ḳayṣariyya was sacked by Turkmens in 459/1067 (see Cahen, *Le premier penetration turque*... in *Byzantion*, xviii (1948), 25). Some time after the battle of Manzikert the town, perhaps then in ruins, became part of the Dānishmend state (Michael the Syrian, iii, 173; Abu 'l-Faradj, i, 229). Chroniclers of the First Crusade who passed through Ḳayṣariyya do not describe it. Malik Muḥammad, the son of its conqueror Ghāzī Dānishmend, finally restored the town (Michael the Syrian, iii, 237; Abū 'l-Faradj, i, 258). In 563/1168 Ḳîlîdj Arslān II took it from the Dānishmendids (Abu 'l-Faradj, i, 293). Frequently a royal residence for the Saldjūḳs. Ḳayṣariyya again became a leading centre of trade and culture. In 641/1243 Mongol armies under Baygu massacred thousands, carried off the young into captivity, and plundered and destroyed the royal treasury and many splendid houses and buildings (Abū 'l-Faradj, i, 407; Ibn Bībī, tr. Duda, 230 f.). In 675/1277 Baybars occupied the town without resistance, but he withdrew south of the Taurus when his appearance failed to produce the anticipated uprising of Turkmens against their Mongol rulers; the Mongols then took vengeance on the city (Abū 'l-Faradj, i, 457).

From 744/1343 to 783/1381 Ḳayṣariyya was under the Eretna dynasty, and eventually became their capital; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa calls the town one of the largest in Anatolia. The Eretna were overthrown by a native of Ḳayṣariyya, Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, who ruled from Sivas. The Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd took the city in 800/1398, but after Tīmūr defeated him, Ḳayṣariyya fell to the Ḳarāmān dynasty. For almost a century, the Turkmens of Ḳarāmān and the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids contested for this prize. The Mamlūks helped the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids to take the city from the Ḳarāmānids in 827/1419; in 839/1436 the Ottomans helped the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids to regain it once more. Although the Ḳarāmānids recovered the town in 869/1465, Meḥemmed II restored it to the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids in 871/1467. The Ottomans finally brought Ḳayṣariyya under direct rule some time after they took Ḳara Ḥiṣār Develi in 879/1474, but before the Mamlūk-Dhu 'l-Ḳadrid attack on the city on 895/1490. The town lay exposed to Mamlūk and Ṣafawid ambitions until Selīm I removed the threat from both these powers.

In the early 11th/17th century the region of Ḳayṣariyya was infested by *Djalālī* rebels; Ḳara Yazîdjî won a victory over an Ottoman army on the plain of Ḳayṣariyya in 1008/1600, and twice shortly thereafter, brigands dared to besiege the walled town. The urban population suffered considerably; many villagers were killed or abandoned their lands in fear, temporarily dislocating the system of land taxation. In 1027/1618 Simeon of Poland found the town quite ruined in appearance because its people so feared the *Djalālī*s that they would not do any reconstruction work (Polonyali Simeon, tr. H. Andreasyan, 158 f.). In 1034/1624 the rebel forces of Ābāza Ḥasan were scattered near Ḳayṣariyya by the vizier Čerkes Meḥmed. In 1059/1649 Ewliyā Čelebi found the town prosperous, but no longer any more so than Sivas or Maraš. After half a century under the rule of Čapanoghlu derebeys, Ḳayṣariyya returned to direct Ottoman rule in 1814.

In the Ottoman Empire Ḳayṣariyya was a *liwā* or *sandjaḳ* of the Ḳaramān *eyālet* until 1864, when it was transferred to the *wilāyet* of Anḳara. In the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, Ḳara Ḥiṣār Develi, the only *ḳaḍā'* in the *sandjaḳ*, was more than once claimed by the *ḳāḍī* of Nigde. At the end of the 19th century, there were two *ḳaḍā*'s, Incesu and Develi. Under the republic, Ḳayṣariyya became a *vilayet* or *il*.

2. *Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture*. Ḳayṣariyya's continuing importance as a commercial centre comes from its location on well-defined north-south and east-west trade routes. Perhaps more important, it is the centre of a small, densely populated, fertile, well-watered area between the Ḳîzîlîrmaḳ river on the north and the Erdjiyas Daghl on the south, which can provide the agricultural surplus necessary to support a town (for density, see Bartsch, 130 f.; Tanoğlu *et al.*, *Türkiye Atlasi*, map no. 67). The agricultural wealth of Ḳayṣariyya comes from two sources: wheat and barley from the plain (Kayseri ovası) extending from the Ḳîzîlîrmaḳ to the salt lake of Pelas; and fruits and vegetables cultivated by skilful use of terracing and irrigation on the lower slopes of Erdjiyas and its foothills. During the prosperous times of the Rūm Saldjūḳs, Sivas, Ḳonya, and Ḳayṣariyya were the mercantile centres of Anatolia, yielding only gradually to Ottoman Bursa in the 8th/14th century.

The 16th-century tax registers (*daftar-i khāḳānī*) refer to dye houses, tanneries, slaughterhouses, mills and linseed oil presses, and to the manufacture of boza, wine and candles. Vineyards, orchards and gardens were dotted about the town, while wheat and barley were grown on its outskirts. The neighbouring villages produced grains and an array of fruits and vegetables, particularly grapes (used for raisins, *pekmez* and wine). Cotton and honey were important; and walnut trees and rice were cultivated (see Barkan, *Kanun-nameler*, "Kayseri", in index; Beldiceanu, *Karaman*, 45 f., 70 f., and *passim*).

Simeon of Poland compared Ḳayṣariyya's gardens and vineyards to those of Edirne (p. 160). Ewliyā Čelebi stated that its wheat and barley were famous and praised the abundant and varied fruits and vegetables (iii, 184). Kinneir extolled the "extraordinarily abundant vegetables", the fruits unrivalled in all Anatolia for abundance and variety, and the abundant pasturage (pp. 103 f.). Barkley admired the rich plain of wheat, barley, rice, and cotton, with the hills full of vineyards, plums, apples and quinces (p. 156). Hamilton cited gallnuts and yellow berries (buckthorn berries) sold to Izmir, and

tragacanth, madder, blue dye made from lees of wine and sultana raisins (ii, 267, 255, 263; cf. Ainsworth, 307). Mordtmann added to these potatoes and anise, as well as wine, brandy and beer (p. 142, 145).

From Saldjūḳ times onwards, cotton and coarse cotton cloth were among the most important industrial products of Ḳayṣariyya. Kinneir found merchants from all over Syria and Anatolia gathered there to buy cloth and raw cotton (p. 100; cf. Lucas, 173). Ḳayṣariyya horses were famous; sheep, cattle, and water buffalo were raised for the sausage and pastirma industry for which Ḳayṣariyya was famous; in Ewliyā Čelebi's time these meats were so much in demand in Istanbul that they could not be procured even in Ḳayṣariyya itself. Hides, used particularly for the yellow morocco leather (*sarî sahtiyan*), which was prized throughout the empire, and for the local footwear industry, were an equally famous product. Up to the present day, Ḳayṣariyya produces large numbers of its unique carpets and kelims.

Simeon mentioned extensive caravanserais, bedestāns, shops and bazaars, and numerous goldsmiths and jewellers (p. 158). Ewliyā Čelebi noted that, like Bursa and Edirne, the town had two bedestāns and that tradesmen made excellent profits (iii, 180 f., 184). Inciciyan reported that goods from Istanbul and India were sold in its bazaars, and Kinneir called it the trade emporium for Anatolia and Syria (Simeon, 159 n.; Kinneir, 100). Lucas called the bazaars extensive, especially the ones for cotton (i, 173) and Hamilton reported them to be extensive and rich, and full of cheap imports (ii, 267 f.). Von Schweinitz, admiring the fine bazaars, judged Ḳayṣariyya to be the most important town in inner Anatolia (pp. 116 f.) and Mordtmann called it one of the most important trading places in Anatolia (p. 492); he says that trade *ca.* 1850 was completely in the hands of local "Cappadocian Christians". However, in the 11th/17th century, Muslims were also active in trade in Kayseri.

The salt lake at Pelas and salt mines at Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh kept the town amply supplied with salt; and gypsum was available (Hamilton, ii, 246; Ainsworth, 311; Moltke, 329; Mordtmann, 147). In the 19th century a big saltpetre works was located near the lake, at Sarloghlan (Hamilton, ii, 259; Mordtmann, 147). Volcanic tufa everywhere provides excellent, cheap, building material.

The railway line from Ankara reached Ḳayṣariyya in 1927, and connexions to Samsun in 1930 and to Ulukişla in 1933 made the city a major rail centre. Of late there have also been constructed good road connexions.

In 1935 a huge state textile mill (currently employing nearly 2,500 people) was set up, financed largely by a Soviet loan. Ḳayṣariyya also became the site of an aeroplane assembly plant. In 1965 the city had 16 factories with more than 50 employees (5 state factories and 11 built with private capital). Another 100 factories have more than 5 employees, and there are 500 factories with 1 to 5 employees (*Kayseri il yıllığı*, 202). Machine works, wood and metal products, rubber products, pressure cookers and milk pasteurization are among the leading industries. Cotton and wool manufactures, carpets and kelims, hides and leather, grains, wool, livestock, fodder and pastirma continue to be among the leading products. As a result, Ḳayṣariyya is more highly industrialised and has a noticeably higher standard of living than most Turkish towns.

3. *Demography.* Records of the population of the town are available from 1500 to 1583, 1813 to 1907, and 1927 to 1970.

Four Ottoman tax registers (*daftar-i khāḳānī*) have preserved 10th/16th-century population statistics. In 905/1500, the town had 2287 *nefer* (tax-paying males), of whom 86 % were Muslims and 14 % were *dhimmī*s (1961/326). Early in Sulaymān's reign there were 2367 *nefer*, of whom 81 % were Muslims and 19 % were *dhimmī*s (1907/457). Later in Sulaymān's reign there were 3530 *nefer*, 81 % Muslims and 19 % *dhimmī*s (2870/660). In 991/1583 the town had 8251 *nefer*, 78 % Muslims and 22 % *dhimmī*s (6435/1816). The urban population practically quadrupled in less than a century and the rural population also grew rapidly. The anarchy of the 9th/15th century helps explain both the small population of 1500 and the capacity for rapid growth once security was restored (*Başbakanlık arşivi tapu defter* nos. 33, 387 and 976; cf. no. 38; *Ankara tapu kadastro dairesi*, no. 136). In 991/1583 the city had 6015 *khāne*s or households at 5.5 persons per *khāne* or 33,082 inhabitants (4 × 8251 is 33,004, so perhaps multiplying the *nefer* by 4 gives the numerical population of the town). The proportion of non-Muslims increased from 14 % in 1500 to 22 % in 991/1583. Armenians, who made up 82 % of the non-Muslim population in 905/1500, rose to 89 % in 991/1583, increasing at a much faster rate than the Greeks. No Jews are registered in these surveys but in 1059/1649 Ewliyā Čelebi mentions a synagogue (iii, 183).

Official statistics cease in 991/1583. Simeon of Poland estimated that there were 500 Armenian *khāne*s in 1026/1618; either he underestimated or the *Djalālī* uprisings had brought about a catastrophic population decline (p. 158). Ewliyā Čelebi mentioned 600 *khāne*s within the walls, but most of the urban population lived outside the walls in the 10th/16th century (iii, 177).

The census of 1831 recorded 13,466 males in the town (7,903 adult males, 5,317 males under 12, 215 from the military class, and 31 disabled), a population of about 26,932; alternatively, 5,184 *khāne*s are mentioned (at 5 people per *khāne* 25,920) (Karal, *Ilk nüfüs sayımı, 1831*, 113). These figures are consistent with Kinneir's population estimate in 1813 of 25,000, including 1,500 Armenians, 300 Greeks and 150 Jews (p. 100). Texier asserted that the official population in 1834 was 60,000, *i.e.*, 11,900 houses (10,000 Turkish, 1,500 Armenian, 400 Greek); and Hamilton estimated 10,000 houses in 1837. Their figures seem to have a single, erroneous, source, or possibly they refer to the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ḳayṣariyya (Texier, 544; Hamilton, ii, 267). Poujoulat, also in 1837, reported 9,000 Turks, 6,000 Armenians and 4,000 Greeks, a total of 19,000 (a gross overestimate of the proportion of Christians, i, 213). On the basis of information provided by a local notable or *aʿyān* in 1839, Ainsworth reported (p. 308) 18,522 inhabitants (12,176 Muslims, 5,237 Armenians and 1,109 Greeks. Any decline might be attributed to the severe earthquake of 1835, which destroyed many homes and killed 665 people (Poujoulat claims 4,000 dead, which must be an exaggerated estimate or else a figure for the whole province). However, Mordtmann plausibly asserts that the population figure given by Ainsworth was for "males", not "inhabitants", *i.e.*, there was a population of about 37,000 (Ainsworth, 310; Hamilton, 258, Poujoulat, i, 210 f.).

Cholera killed some 3,000 people in 1848; in 1849 Mordtmann gave the population as 18,413 males (12,344 Muslims, 5,002 Armenians and 1,067 Greeks), presumably 36,826 inhabitants, a reliable figure (pp. 141, 143). In 1858 Barth estimated 8,000 inhabited

houses (of 10,000 in the city), *i.e.*, *ca.* 40,000 people, a substantial increase in the decade (p. 58). Cuinet in 1892 estimated the population of the Ḳayṣariyya *ḳaḍā'* at 72,000 (45,000 Muslims, 9,000 Armenian Gregorians, 14,400 Greek Orthodox, 800 Armenian Catholics and 1,200 Protestants), but the *ḳaḍā'* included numerous villages around Ḳayṣariyya (i, 307). Townshend estimated 50,000 inhabitants in 1904 (including 20,000 Christians, of whom three-quarters were Armenians (p. 119). The Anḳara *wilāyet sālnāme* of 1907 records a population of 54,011 for the town (17,536 Muslim men, 17,168 Muslim women, 9,521 non-Muslim men, 9,786 non-Muslim women (p. 209). The population apparently doubled between 1813 and 1907.

The 10th/16th-century Muslim population of Ḳayṣariyya included nomadic, settled and sedentarising Yürüks, Turkmens and Kurds. Afs̲h̲ār nomads were numerous on the rich pastures of Uzun Yayla; in the mid-19th century they were joined by a large immigrant group of Čerkes. Kurds and Afs̲h̲ārs are still numerous, and Uzun Yayla constitutes one of the main preserves of Čerkes in Turkey.

Since the earliest tax records of the late 9th/15th century, the majority of the population of both the town and province of Ḳayṣariyya have been Muslims. Large numbers of Orthodox and Gregorian Christians have inhabited the town and the neighbouring villages, often intermixed with Muslims and with one another. In the town Ḳayṣariyya, Gregorians outnumbered Orthodox by three or four times in both the 10th/16th and 19th centuries. Greek and Armenian were spoken only in a few villages; most Christians were turcophone even after efforts towards hellenisation and armenisation began under outside stimulus in the 19th century (see R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*; Inciciyan, quoted in Simeon, 161 n; Simeon, 158 and n; and Ewliyā, iii, 183: "Kurdče" presumably is an error for "Ermenice". See also the periodical *Mikrasiatika Kronika*). In 1922 a congress of Orthodox Christians of Anatolia, meeting in Ḳayṣariyya, asserted that they were Anatolian Christians of Turkish nationality, repudiated the "Greek" hierarchy, and established a Turkish patriarchate; their effort miscarried, however, because Orthodox Christians of Anatolia were included in the compulsory Greek-Turkish population exchanges (Teoman Ergene, *Istiklal harbinde türk ortodoksları*, 18 ff., 23-42).

After the Armenian débâcle and the Greek population exchanges, the first republican census revealed that Ḳayṣariyya's population had declined to 39,544; only 1277 Armenian Gregorians and 6 Greek Orthodox remained in the town. The population increased to 46,181 in 1935 (up 23 %), 52,467 in 1940 (up 21 %), 57,863 in 1945 (up 15 %), 65,488 in 1950 (up 34 %), 82,405 in 1955 (up 26 %), 102,596 in 1960 (up 25 %), 126,653 in 1965 (up 22 %), and 167,696 in 1970 (up 33 %). The population of the town has increased four-fold in less than half a century, a rate of growth faster even than that of the 10th/16th century (*Kayseri il yıllığı*, 122, 124-7).

4. *Culture*. A Library made *waḳf* in 1210/1796 by the *Re'īs ül-kuttāb* Rās̲h̲id Efendi preserves the original collection of 943 works (926 manuscripts, 17 printed volumes), and additions have been made (see Ahmed Okutan, *Kayseri Umumi Kütüphanesi Raşit Efendi kismi Usul-i hadis ve hadis ilmine ait arapça elyazma eserler katalogu*, Istanbul 1964). The town also has an İl Halk Kütüphanesi and a small museum, filled mostly with pre-Islamic artifacts.

The ancient site of the town (Eski S̲h̲ehir) is located on the southern edge of the city, near the Baṭṭāl G̲h̲āzī tomb, where the plain meets the lowest foothills of the Erd̲j̲iyas. Ḳayṣariyya is rich in architectural monuments, which have been well listed by H. Edhem and A. Gabriel. The inner castle and a large section of the former wall have been preserved, as well as several *madrasas*, mosques, tombs, and *k̲h̲āns* dating from as early as the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period. Most notable of these are the Ulu Cami, Çifte madrasa, Huand Hatun mosque-*madrasa*-baths complex, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Kilič mosque, Döner Kumbet, Ḳurs̲h̲unlu mosque (built from a plan of Sinān), and the Vizier *k̲h̲ān*. A vigorous programme of preservation and restoration is under way.

A reputed tomb of Baṭṭāl G̲h̲āzī, located beneath the courtyard of the recently rebuilt Baṭṭāl G̲h̲āzī mosque, is visited by local pilgrims. The tomb of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī's teacher, Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn, is also noteworthy. For other Muslim, Christian and mixed places of pilgrimage, see Ewliyā, iii, 186-9, and Carnoy-Nicolaides, *passim*. Seven *madrasas* were reported in Ḳayṣariyya in Sald̲j̲ūḳ times, as many as in Ḳonya and more than twice as many as in any other Anatolian town (see A. Kuran, *Anadolu medreseleri*, i). In Sulaymān's time, the city had 3 Friday mosques, 20 *masd̲j̲ids*, 10 *madrasas*, 17 *zāwiyas*, 3 baths, and 107 shops.

The living pattern of winter in the town and summer in vineyards on the foothills of Erd̲j̲iyas plays a significant rôle even today in the economic and social life of Ḳayṣariyya. It has frequently been a theme in local poetry (see A. Satoğlu, *Kayseri Şairleri*, and also *Erciyes halkevi dergisi*). The climate was considered healthy (Ewliyā, iii, 182; Hamilton, ii, 268; Mordtmann, 141; and Kinneir, 104). Several 19th-century travellers called Ḳayṣariyya filthy, and a town containing slaughtering, meat processing, leather and tanning industries could hardly have been otherwise. Some travellers called the stone houses of the town tasteful, and Moltke and von Schweinitz considered it beautiful. The beauties of Erd̲j̲iyas, with its luxurious gardens and clear streams, were obvious to those who saw them.

The people of Ḳayṣariyya have been noted for their religious orthodoxy and for their business acumen. Hasluck maintained that the town had a "black Sunnī" tradition (513, 23n.). Carnoy-Nicolaides related a legend that no Jew could live in Ḳayṣariyya, a reference to the supposed commercial acumen of its inhabitants (226-6). Ewliyā Čelebi explained that the local people were hardworking because of the cold climate (iii, 182). Simeon of Poland was aware that they were considered "dyers of asses" (160; Carnoy, 247 f.). It is widely believed in Turkey today that the people of Ḳayṣariyya have a special propensity for business and are hardworking and diligent.

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(R. JENNINGS)

KAYSERI [see ĶAYṢARIYYA].

ĶAYTAĶ (self designation, Kaydaḳlan, pl. Kaydaḳ: Russ. K͟haydaki, Kaytagi, Kaytaki, Karakaytaki; other forms, K͟haytaḳ, Ḳaytak͟h, ḲaraḲaytak͟h), a small Dāg͟histān [*q.v.*] group, which forms with Ḳubači [*q.v.*] and Dargin [*q.v.*] the Dargin division of the Dargino-Lak group of the Ibero-Caucasian languages.

According to the census of 1926, ethnically there were 14,430 Ḳaytaḳs, and 14,469 claiming Ḳaytaḳ as their mother tongue: in 1930 (estimation by Grande) there were 14,470 Ḳaytaḳs. The Ḳaytaḳs inhabit ten *auls* in the Kaytak district, and the southern (mountainous) part of the Dak͟hadaev district, in the valley of the Ulu-Chai, in the Dāg͟histān A.S.S.R. Ḳaytaḳ territory lies between the Dargin and Tabasaran areas.

The first mention of the Ḳaytaḳ was in the 4th/10th century, by Arab authors. According to Muḥammad-Rafi, the Ḳaytaḳs paid tribute to the *s͟hamk͟hal* of Ḳaziḳumuk͟h in the Laḳ [*q.v.*] country. At the end of the 8th/14th century the Mongols penetrated Ḳaytaḳ territory and there is evidence that there was a strong Mongol influence on the Ḳaytaḳs. A large proportion of the Ḳaytaḳ population was destroyed by Tīmūr.

With the fall of the Golden Horde, the feudal principality of the *utsmiyat* of Ḳaytaḳ arose as a major power in northern Dāg͟histān (dubious etymology of the word *utsmi* from *isim*, "the renowned"). Its territory was larger than the area inhabited today by the Ḳaytaḳs and its population was composed of many tribes besides the Ḳaytaḳs—Laḳs, Dargins and Southern Ḳumyḳs. As legend has it, the *utsmi* descended from the Arab governors of Ḳala' Ḳurays͟h, who had islamicised the area in the 2nd/8th century, and Ḳaytaḳ was one of the first regions of central Dāg͟histān to be islamicised. The Ḳaytaḳ are Sunnīs of the S͟hāfiʿī School. In the 10th/16th century the *utsmi* was one of the strongest rulers in Dāg͟histān, and in the 12th/18th century was economically and politically very significant, carrying on complex foreign policies, supporting at different times Turkey and Persia.

In 1802 a Russian protectorate was imposed on the *utsmi* ʿĀdil K͟hān. Direct Russian administration came to the lower Ḳaytaḳ in the pre-Caspian area in 1820, and to the Ḳara-Ḳaytaḳ in the mountain area in 1862. In 1844 the *utsmiyat* was suppressed.

The social structure of Ḳaytaḳ *utsmiyat* was similar to the structure of the Avar [*q.v.*] society: a rather complicated feudal hierarchy—*begs*, *čanḳa*, *uzden* (free peasants), and non-free classes: *čagar* (peasants submitted to servitude), *rayats* (serfs), and *ḳul*, which coexisted beside the system of the "free societies" based on the joint family (*tuk͟hum*). There existed an endogamic marriage system.

The *ʿādāt* of Ḳaytaḳ were collected in written form in the 17th century by the *utsmi* Rustam K͟hān. The Arabic text was translated into Russian in 1868 (*Sbornik Svedenii o Kavkazskik͟h Gorts͟ak͟h*, Tiflis 1868).

Due to the lack of good agricultural land, agriculture played a minor role in the traditional economy. Sheep and goat raising, with some horses and cattle, was the predominant economic activity. Handicrafts were well developed, especially the weaving of wool and silk. Ḳaytaḳ women from Bars͟hamai and Čabak͟hni were renowned for their embroideries. The present economy still stresses sheep raising (with a transhumance system) in the mountainous areas, and the raising of cattle and horses in the lower mountains and foothills.

Ḳaytaḳ is a vernacular language, consisting of two dialects: Mağalis-Ḳaytaḳ (in the north) and Ḳara-Ḳaytaḳ (in the south). Dargin is used as the first literary language and second (sometimes first) spoken language. Russian is the second written language. The Ḳaytaḳ are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Dargin.

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AL-**KAYYĀL** (also ibn al-kayyāl), aḥmad b. zakariyyā', Shī'ī gnostic from Daskarat Bayt al-Nār near Bayhaķ active around the turn of the 3rd/9th century. According to al-Shahrastānī, he was originally a *dā'ī* of some Ismā'īlī *imāms*. Having been disowned by the *imām* for his heretical views, he first claimed the imāmate for himself and then asserted that he was the *ķā'im* [*q.v.*]. He gained some adherents and left writings in Arabic and Persian which were still extant in the time of al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153). Abū 'l-Ma'ālī states that al-Kayyāl "appeared" in the year 295/907-8, perhaps referring to his arrival in Transoxania. He claimed that he was entrusted with abrogating the law of Islam and proclaiming a new law. He composed a scripture in Persian which he called his Ķur'ān and invented a secret alphabet which only he could read. At the Sāmānid court in Bukhārā he gained the favour of the vizier Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Djayhānī [*q.v.*]. If the name is correctly given, al-Kayyāl was still alive after 326/938 when this al-Djayhānī became vizier. There may be, however, a confusion with the latter's father, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Djayhānī, who was vizier from 302/914-5 to 310/922-3. Al-Djayhānī at first encouraged him to propagate his doctrine in Kishsh. When he failed to win adherents there, the vizier directed him to the countryside of Marw, where he gained a numerous following. He died after appointing a butcher as his successor. When al-Djayhānī died (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad died in 330/941-2), the movement disintegrated. Ibn Funduķ al-Bayhaķī (d. 565/1169-70) states, however, that in Samarķand neophytes (*murīdān*) and adherents of the school of al-Kayyāl were in evidence in his day and his books were available there.

Al-Kayyāl's gnostic doctrine as described by al-Shahrastānī elaborated correspondences between a higher, spiritual world, a lower, corporeal world, and the human body and relied on *ḥurūf* [*q.v.*] and allegorical interpretation of the Ķur'ān. It shows distinct affinities with Ismā'īlī gnosis, though no traces of the Neoplatonic cosmology introduced in Ismā'īlism about the beginning of the 4th/10th century [cf. ismā'īliyya, Doctrine]. Indian as well as Manichaean influences on his thought have been suggested. His doctrine on the imāmate was refuted by the philosopher Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (d. 313/925 or 320/932-3).

The assumption by some modern scholars that he may be identical with Aḥmad, the son of the alleged founder of Ismā'īlism 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Ķaddāḥ [*q.v.*], is no longer tenable. The account of the late Ismā'īlī author Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 872/1468), according to whom al-Kayyāl was a *dā'ī* of the Ismā'īlī *imām* 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, is fictitious and based solely on the statements of al-Shahrastānī.

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ĶAYYIM (a.), originally: "he who stands upright", then (with *bi*, *'alā*, *li* or the genitive alone), he who takes something upon himself, takes care of something or someone and hence also has authority over them. Thus we find the pre-Islamic poet al-Ķuṭāmī (*Diwān*, ed. Barth, Leiden 1902, no. 26) already speaking of a "*ķayyim* of water", *i.e.* apparently the man in charge of it, the supervisor, and the poet Bā'ith b. Ṣuraym (*Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, 269, verse 2) speaks of the *ķayyim* of a woman, *i.e.* he who provides for her, her husband. The first mentioned meaning, (supervisor etc.), is then found in all possible applications, administrator of a pious foundation, of baths, superintendent of a temple, caretaker of a saint's grave, etc.; indeed, in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Da'awāt, bāb* 10 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv, 189), in Muḥammad's night prayer, the expression is even applied to God as the director of heaven and earth, and this application seems also to be present in 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, ed. P. Schwarz, no. 91, where the poet swears by the "religion of the Ķayyim". Here, of course, it is most probably a question of an inversion (perhaps caused by the metre) of the Ķur'ānic expression *al-dīn al-ķayyim* (see below) on the model of *Bayt al-Muķaddas*, etc. (cf. Wright, *Grammar*³ ii, §§ 95-6, and al-Ķasṭallānī, comm. on Bukhārī, *Ṣawm, bāb* 67, end).

The meaning "provider, husband" of a woman is frequently found in the eschatological traditions, in which it is said that with the approach of the last day the number of women will increase in proportion to men, so much that there will only be one *ķayyim* for every 50 women.

The adjectival meaning "commanding" (a branch of knowledge) perhaps arises out of the same sphere of conceptions as "provider", "master"; it is found in a biographical notice of a scholar in Yāķūt, *Mu'djam*, ii, 225. On the other hand, *ķayyim*, also an adjective meaning "correct, right", repeatedly found in the Ķur'ān in the expression *al-dīn al-ķayyim* and similar combinations, may have to be semasiologically separated from the former meaning.

Bibliography: *Ķayyim* = administrator: al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ, Waṣāyā, bāb* 32 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll ii, 196), and al-Ķasṭallānī, s.v.; Yāķūt, iii, 856; al-Maķķarī, ii, 547; al-Ṭabarī, i, 814;

al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 125. *Ḳayyim* = husband: al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 110 (ed. Kr.-J. iii, 453), and *passim*; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, *op. cit.*, no. 269; *Ḳayyim* = correct, orthodox: Sūra IX, 36, and *passim*; XCVIII, 4 and thereon, al-Ḳasṭallānī's note on the quotation of this passage from the Ḳurʾān in al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, *Īmān*, *bāb* 34 (Kr.-J., 19).

(A. Schaade*)

ḲAYYŪM NĀṢIRĪ (1825-1902), born in the village of Yukarī Shīrdanī in the canton of Sviazsk in the government of Ḳāzān, was one of the first and greatest modernist reformers amongst the Tatars of the Volga. After studying at the *madrasa* of Ḳāzān, where he learnt Arabic, Persian and Russian, Nāṣirī founded at Ḳāzān his own school where, for the first time, such secular subjects as history, arithmetic, geography and Russian language were taught—these being at this time novelties and innovations which bordered on heresy.

Ḳayyūm Nāṣirī wrote over 50 works in Tatar, Turkish, Arabic and Persian; as the possessor of an encyclopaedic mind, he combined the skills of the philologist, folklorist, historian, geographer and ethnologist. His supreme merit was to have created a Tatar literary language, based on the dialect spoken in Ḳāzān, which replaced the Čaghatay or Eastern Turkish previously used by Tatar writers and which now permitted the extraordinary flowering of Tatar literature towards the end of the 19th century.

His most famous works are the *Fevākih ul-djulesā* (Ḳāzān 1884), the *Enmūzedj* (Ḳāzān 1895, on the syntax of the Tatar language), the *Lehče-i tātārī* (Ḳāzān 1895-6, 2 vols.) and above all, his famous *Ḳāzān kālīndārī*, an annual publication which appeared from 1870 to 1897 and which represents the best source of information on the origins of *djadīd* reformism amongst the Muslims of the Russian empire.

In Russian language, his two basic works are *Obraztsī narodnoy literaturi Kazanskikh Tatar* ("Examples of the popular literature of the Tatars of Ḳāzān"), in collaboration with N. F. Katanov, in *Izvestiya Obshčestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii*, xiii/5 (Ḳāzān 1896), 374-427, and *Pover'ya i Obryadī Kazanskikh Tatar obrazovavshiesya pomimo Vliyaniya na nikh sunitskogo Magometanstva* ("The beliefs and rites of the Tatars of Ḳāzān formed outside the influence of Sunnī Islam"), in *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geografičeskogo Obshčestva*, vi (Moscow 1880), 243-70.

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KĀZ [see ḳabḳ].

KAZA [see ḳaḍāʾ].

ḲAZAḲ. The word *ḳazaḳ* in the Turkic language can be first documented in the 8th/14th century in the meaning "independent; vagabond". These and similar meanings, such as "free and independent man, vagabond, adventurer, etc." are known in the modern Turkic languages too. During the turmoils under the Tīmūrids, the word signified the pretenders in contrast to the actual rulers, and also their supporters, who led the life of an adventurer or a robber at the head of their men. At the same time, the word began also to be applied to nomad groups which separated from their prince and kinsmen and so came into conflict with the state; later it had also the meaning "nomad", in contrast to the sedentary *Sart* population in Central Asia. The status of *ḳazaḳ* is also regarded as a very old social institution of the nomad Turkic peoples. The word became the name of a political unit and later an ethnic designation by having been applied in the former meanings to those groups of the Özbek tribal confederacy that had abandoned the Khān Abu'l-Khayr and migrated to the north-east steppes of Turkistān. These ethnic groups formed the core of the population of the present *Ḳazaḳistān* (Kazakhstan), retaining later this name. However, it is probable that other Turkic, and probably Mongol, elements were also involved in the ethnogenesis of the modern Ḳazaḳ people. The struggles with the Kalmuks in the 11th/17th century forced the three Ḳazaḳ hordes to make an approach to Russia and to accept the Russian supremacy. Until the beginning of the 20th century, this took the form of a very loose and nominal connection. According to the former Russian tradition, *i.e.* to distinguish the Turkic Ḳazaḳs from the Slavic Kazaks or Kozaks (*Cossacks*), the Ḳazaḳs in Central Asia were also called Ḳazaḳ-Ḳīrghīz in learned and correct parlance. The word *kazak*—borrowed from the Turkic languages—appears in the Russian linguistic records first at the end of the 14th century with a wide range of meanings. The military meaning came later into predominance by applying the word to those military groups which played an eminent role in medieval Russian history. The form *kozak* (Cossack) used in western European languages goes back to the Ukrainian and Polish pronunciations. No certain etymology of the word *ḳazaḳ* has yet been given. The generally known inner-Turkic etymology, from *ḳaz-* "to flee, to escape" + suffix (nom. act.) *aḳ*, is not well documented in the linguistic sources and does not find universal acceptance. The recent etymology of the Turkic ethnic name *ḳaz* (< *az*) + the Iranian ethnic name *sak*, *i.e.*, *saka*, is a vague hypothesis which can hardly be confirmed by historical facts.

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(with a lengthy bibliography on the linguistic and historical background of the ethnonymy).

(W. Barthold-[G. Hazai])

ĶĀZĀN, ķazān, a town on the middle Volga, now the capital of the Autonomous Republic of Tatarstan in the USSR, and in the 15th and 16th centuries capital of the Khānate of the same name. According to legendary accounts, the town was founded by Batu Khān in a Turkish and Muslim region which had been part of the ancient kingdom of Bulghār [*q.v.*] before the Mongol invasions.

The Khānate of Ķāzān was founded in the first half of the 15th century by a Čingizid descendant, Ulu Muḥammad, son of Djalāl al-Dīn and grandson of Toķtamish, at the time when the Golden Horde was breaking up. From the start, the Khānate took an active part in the internecine wars of the Russian principalities. In 1438 Muḥammad besieged Moscow and destroyed Kolomna. In 1445, his son Maḥmūdek defeated and took captive the Grand Prince of Moscow Vasili II, whom he released shortly afterwards. In the same year, Maḥmūdek seized the town of Ķāzān, where a prince called ʿAlī Beg was ruling. In the following year, Ulu Muḥammad was put to death by Maḥmūdek, and at the same time, two of his sons, Ķāsim and Yaʿķūb b. Ulu Muḥammad, took refuge in Russia. Ķāsim received from the Grand Prince of Moscow as an apanage the town of Gorodok, which in his honour assumed the name of Ķāsimov and became the capital of a vassal Khānate of Moscow [see ķāsimov] whose rulers were the aides of Russian policy. Maḥmūdek reigned till 1462; his successors were then his sons Khalīl (1462-7) and Ibrāhīm (1467-79). The latter waged war against Muscovy, at first with success, and in 1468 succeeded in temporarily capturing Viatka, but in 1469 the Russians went over to the offensive and came to besiege Ķāzān. They compelled Ibrāhīm to set free all the Russian prisoners in Ķāzān, without however managing to place their protégé Ķāsim on the throne there. After his death in 1479, Ibrāhīm was succeeded by his son ʿAlī (according to certain sources, Ilhām). In 1487, the brother of this last, Muḥammad Amīn, sought refuge in Russia and then appeared before Ķāzān at the head of a Russian army. After a three-weeks' siege, the town surrendered; ʿAlī was exiled to Vologda and Muḥammad Amīn installed as Khān. In 1495 he was expelled from the town by an incursion of Tatars from the Khānate of Sibir, led by their Khān Mamūķ b. Ibāķ, who ruled in Ķāzān for a year, until in 1496, defeated by the Russians and at the wish of the local populace, he made over the throne to ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, younger brother of Muḥammad Amīn. In 1502 ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was summoned to Russia and the throne given back to Muḥammad Amīn. The latter was at first faithful to the Russian alliance, but soon rebelled against the tutelage of the Grand Prince of Moscow, and put to death and confiscated the goods of the Russian merchants who had come to the annual fair at Ķāzān. He carried on the war against Muscovy with success, and in 1506 the Khān even defeated a Russian army near Nižniy Novgorod. A peace agreement made in 1507 established a state of equilibrium between the two rival principalities.

Muḥammad Amīn died in 1518, and with him the line founded by Ulu Muḥammad became extinct, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf having died in the previous year.

The Khānate now entered upon a period of anarchy marked by unceasing warfare between the partisans of an orientation towards Russia and those of a "nationalist" policy backed by the Crimean Khānate and the Noghay Horde. For more than thirty years, various Russian-supported candidates succeeded to the throne—the Khāns of Ķāsimov Shāh ʿAlī and his brother Djān ʿAlī (sons of Awliyār Khān of Astrakhan)—and the Girāy princes Ṣāḥib and Ṣafāʾ, supported by their cousins of the Crimea.

The Russians were the first to take advantage of the unsettled conditions in Ķāzān. In 1519 the Grand Prince Vasili III placed on the throne Shāh ʿAlī (first reign, 1519-21). The latter was expelled in 1521 by the Tatar nobles who asked the Crimean Khān Muḥammad Girāy to appoint his brother Ṣāḥib (half-brother through his mother of the last Khān Muḥammad Amīn) over Ķāzān. In this same year, the two Tatar princes led a grand expedition against Muscovy and advanced right to the walls of the Russian capital. The regions of Moscow, Nižniy Novgorod and Riazan were totally laid waste, and hundreds of thousands of prisoners were taken and sold at Kefe in the Crimea, but the Tatars, victorious in open warfare, failed in their attacks against Moscow and Riazan, and their great expedition ended in a half-success.

In 1524, on the death of his brother Muḥammad, Ṣāḥib Girāy returned to the Crimea as Khān there, leaving in Ķāzān his thirteen-year old nephew Ṣafāʾ Girāy. From now onwards, the Russian pressure became more acute, not in the shape or reprisal raids, but in that of a slow and systematic advance. In order to ruin his rivals, the Grand Prince of Moscow forbade Russian merchants to trade in the Tatar capital and founded an annual fair at the monastery of St. Makarii which soon became the successive rival of that at Ķāzān. Also, with the beginning of the construction of the fortress of Vasilsursk at the confluence of the Volga and Sura in 1523, there began the occupation of the Middle Volga region by the Russians.

Ṣafāʾ Girāy was chased out in 1530 by the pro-Russian party and replaced by Djān ʿAlī, but the latter perished in 1535 in a rising stirred up by the partisans of the Girāys. Ṣafāʾ Girāy was recalled and maintained himself in Ķāzān till 1546, defying Russian efforts to re-assert their suzerainty, until in that year he was once more driven out and briefly replaced by Shāh ʿAlī. As soon as the Russian forces accompanying Shāh ʿAlī withdrew, Ṣafāʾ Girāy returned to Ķāzān and retained the throne till his death in 1549. His successor was his twelve-year old son Ötemish, who in 1551 was deported to Russia, where he was baptised under the name of Alexander and lived till 1566. Shāh ʿAlī was reinstalled in Ķāzān for the third time. In 1552 he was overthrown by a popular revolt, and the Tatars summoned to the throne Yādigār Muḥammad, of the line of Khāns of Astrakhan. But shortly afterwards, the Russian armies of Tsar Ivan IV appeared before Ķāzān and took it by assault on 2 October 1552. The Khānate was then annexed to Muscovy.

The conquest was followed by the systematic occupation of the whole country by the Russians. The Tatars were expelled from Ķāzān. The best lands in the river valleys and round the towns were confiscated and distributed to the Russian nobles and the monasteries. Colonies of Russian peasants were settled in the most fertile areas, and, in order to prevent popular risings and incursions of the Crimean Tatars, the land was covered by a network of Russian fortresses. Because of this, from the 17th century onwards, the population of the ancient Khānate became very mixed, the Tatars forming only 40% of the people there.

Christian evangelism was actively pursued. After 1555, Ḳāzān was the seat of an archbishopric and then a metropolitan see. Already by the end of the 16th century there was an important group of indigenous converts, Tatars, but above all, Finnic peoples, the Kryas̲h̲ens (in Tatar, Kryas̲h̲), who although Christian conserved their usage of the Tatar language.

The Russian conquest led to a profound upheaval in Tatar society. The ancient nobility was stripped of its lands, and in order to survive, had to transform itself to a merchant oligarchy, which in turn gave rise in the 17th century to a mercantile bourgeoisie. From the time of Catherine II onwards, this class became the guiding one amongst the Tatar nation, and in the second half of the 19th century, out of all the Turkish and Muslim peoples of the Russian empire, it was from the Tatars of Ḳāzān that the intellectual and political leaders of the Pan-Turkish movement in Russia arose.

The modern town of Ḳāzān retains little from the time of the ancient K̲h̲ānate. One of the towers in the citadel still today has the name of the Princess Sūyūmbigi, wife of Ṣafā' Girāy (she had previously been the wife of D̲j̲ān ʿAlī and was later to be that of S̲h̲āh ʿAlī), but the manner and date by which her name was applied to this tower is unknown, and it is equally difficult to decide what is Tatar and what is Russian in the fabric of the tower.

From the 18th century, Ḳāzān no longer had any military importance, and was occupied without any difficulty (with the exception of the citadel) by Pugačev in July 1774; at that time, the town had 2,867 houses. Even at this date, it was of more importance as an administrative and cultural centre than Nižniy Novgorod. Ḳāzān's university, founded in 1804, became famous above all for its Oriental Faculty (more exactly, the oriental section of the Historico-Philological Faculty). In 1855, as a result of the opening of the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg, teaching of oriental languages was stopped at Ḳāzān, and the library and other teaching equipment largely transferred to the capital. After 1861, the teaching of oriental languages began again at the University of Ḳāzān. According to the 1897 census, the town had 131,508 inhabitants, and in 1911, 182,477 of whom 30,781 were Tatars.

Today, Ḳāzān is the capital of the Tatarstan ASSR, with a population in 1970 for the republic of 3,131,238 of whom 1,536,431 were Tatars, 1,328,738 Russians, 153,496 Čuvas̲h̲, 30,963 Mordvins and 24,533 Udmurts. The urban population is largely Russian: 934,387 Russians against 593,665 Tatars.

The Tatars [*q.v.*] of Ḳāzān now represent a people of the diaspora; 75% of a total population of 5,930,670 live outside their national territory.

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KĀZARŪN (Kāzirūn; lat. 29° 37′ N., long. 51° 38′ E.), town and district (*s̲h̲ahristān*) of Fārs (7th *ustān* of Iran), bordered by the *s̲h̲ahristāns* of Behbahān, S̲h̲īrāz [*q.v.*], Fīrūzabād [*q.v.*], and Būs̲h̲ahr [*q.v.*]. Situated on the edge of the Southern Zagros (orientation N.—S.E.; alt. of 2 to 3,000 m. to the north, of the River Fahliyān; below 2,000 m. to the South), the *s̲h̲ahristān* has, due to its altitude and the proximity of the Persian Gulf, a warm to very warm climate in summer, temperate to cold in the other seasons, the variations being largely due to altitude. The town is situated in a vast plain, at about 800 m. altitude, among chalky ridges, on the route of famous vertiginous passes (Kutal-i pīr-zan, Kutal-i duk̲h̲tar, in the direction of S̲h̲īrāz, about 120 km. to the E.; and those of K̲h̲is̲h̲t and Kumārid̲j̲, in the direction of Būs̲h̲ahr, about 180 km. to the S.W.). With its palm and orange groves, the *bak̲h̲sh* of Kāzarūn is particularly verdant and fertile (cereals, rice, dried fruits, citrus fruit, tobacco, opium, sesame, cotton, flax, products of stock-farming, etc.); the water comes from *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], cisterns and wells; its horsebreeding was renowned, as well as its green pasturage covered with narcissi in spring time. The tribes (Ḳas̲h̲ḳā'ī, Mamasanī) wander in the region and its peripheries.

According to the legend, Kāzarūn was founded by the mythical king Ṭahmurāt̲h̲ and results from the union of three villages, Nūrd, Darīst (Darbast), Rāhbān (Rāhs̲h̲ān), built in the *ḳanāts* of the same names which supply the town with water (Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī, *Fārs-Nāma*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*). A dependency of Bis̲h̲āpūr [S̲h̲āpūr *q.v.*] at the end of the reign of S̲h̲āpūr I (241-72), Fīrūz (459-84) made it a town, and Kavād/Ḳubād̲h̲ (488-531) enlarged it (Fasā'ī, *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāṣirī*, 248). The region abounds in Sāsānid remains, including the *čahār ṭāḳ* said to be from Kāzarūn discovered by M. Siroux (see Mustawfī, *Iḳlīm-i Fārs*, 111, and index; on the inscription of Sar Mas̲h̲had, Ph. Gignoux in *JA* (1968), 387-418). The ruin of S̲h̲āpūr, towards the end of the 4th/10th century, made Kāzarūn the principal town of the ancient S̲h̲āpūr K̲h̲urra. Al-Muḳaddasī, 433, also designates it "the Damietta of Persia", famous for its linens and cotton fabrics; the Būyid Prince ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] had had an exchange built there for the textile merchants; the houses were sumptuous, adorned with gardens; built on a height, the mosque dominated the bazar. At the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the Sald̲j̲ūḳid Atabeg Čāvlī, governor of Fārs, had the town rebuilt after it had been ravaged by the S̲h̲abānkāra chief Abū Saʿd (Zarkub-i S̲h̲īrāzī, *S̲h̲īrāz-Nāma*, 29-30); but only the fortified farms in the environs were then prosperous; the brokers were fraudulent, and dishonesty had become general (Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī, *Fārs-Nāma*). According to Amīn Rāzī, Kāzarūn "was always a source of scholars and mine of theologians" (lists in *S̲h̲īrāz-Nāma*, 131 ff.; *Haft Iḳlīm*, i, 208 ff.; *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāṣirī*, 249 ff.), of whom the most eminent were S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Abū Isḥāḳ Kāzarūnī [*q.v.*], founder of a *ṭariḳa* (4th-5th/10th-11th century), his reviver Amīn al-Dīn Balyānī (7th-8th/13th-14th century) and D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Dawānī (9th/15th century [*q.v.*]). The *Kāzarūnī* (or *Isḥāḳī* or, more often, *Murs̲h̲idī*)

ṭarīḳa—which had ramifications as far as India and China, played a great role in the Ottoman empire in the 9th/15th century and in pre-Ṣafawid Iran—was rich and influential (protection of sailors and merchants in the Indian Ocean; political and economic role). Because of its Sunnī obedience, the order was persecuted by the Ṣafawid S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*].

Despite having suffered dissensions between Zand pretenders at the end of the 12th/18th century, the town profited from the development of the port of Būs̲h̲ahr, which assured an outlet for its exports in the 19th century (Curzon, *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāṣirī*, 247). Ouseley estimates its population at 4-5,000 inhabitants in 1811, Curzon at 2-2,500 inhabitants (1892); reports and later censuses indicate an increase (12,000 in 1913; 25,328 in *ca.* 1950; 36,659 in 1956; 39,902 in 1966). Apart from the Sāsānid remains and a Ḳād̲j̲ār bas-relief, one may see in the region and the town numerous Islamic mausoleums and tombs of descendants of Salmān-i Fārsī (*Iḳlīm-i Pārs*, 108, 110; *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāsirī*, 249). The plain is adorned with the small lake of Fāmūr, full of fish, to the east of the town, and with the orange groves of Bāg̲h̲-i Naẓar (*Fārs-Nāma-i Nāṣirī*, *Iḳlīm-i Fārs*, 110). Apart from its mausoleums, the town has no remarkable historical remains. It is divided into four quarters (*maḥalla*); Bāzār, Bālā, Gunbad, Muṣallā or Suflā. There is still an industry there for the shoes of canvas and leather (*giva*) that MacGregor recommended for the Indian Army (Curzon). The present economic recession of the region is linked with the decline of the port of Būs̲h̲ahr, which has removed from Kāzarūn its role of principal stage on the route from S̲h̲īrāz and deprived it of outlets for its products.

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(J. Calmard)

KĀZARŪNĪ, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. S̲h̲ahriyār, founder of a Ṣūfī order variously known as the Murs̲h̲idiyya, Isḥāḳiyya and Kāzarūniyya. He was born in Kāzarūn, near S̲h̲īrāz in Fārs, in 352/963, and died there in 426/1033. He left his birthplace only once, in 388/998, to study *ḥadīt̲h̲* and to perform the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*. His initiation into the Ṣūfī path was at the hands either of Ibn K̲h̲afīf of S̲h̲īrāz (d. 371/981), or of one of his disciples, Ḥusayn Akkār. Several features give a distinctive aspect to Kāzarūnī's life and work, among them his proselytisation among the unconverted population of Kāzarūn and its environs: he is reputed to have converted no fewer than 24,000 Zoroastrians and Jews to Islam, thus establishing the Muslims as the majority in the area (Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-awliyāʾ*, 244-54; Maḥmūd b. ʿUt̲h̲mān, *Firdaws al-murs̲h̲idiyya fī asrār al-ṣamadiyya*, 416). In this endeavour, he faced and vanquished the hostility of K̲h̲ūrs̲h̲īd, the Zoroastrian governor of Kāzarūn. He was also concerned with extending the frontiers of Islam, and organized the annual dispatch of *g̲h̲āzī*s to fight on the Byzantine frontier, an activity that earned him the title of *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲-i g̲h̲āzī*. The *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* that he established in Kāzarūn had an important social function, and provided regular charity for the poor and for travellers. Sixty-five similar *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*s were established elsewhere in Fārs by Kāzarūnī's disciples during his lifetime, and formed the nucleus for the later expansion of the order.

All the branches of the order were to show the same charitable concern for the poor that had marked Kāzarūnī's life, and the distribution of soup at one Isḥāḳī *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*, that at Bursa, continued sporadically into fairly recent times (Meḥmed S̲h̲ems el-Dīn, *Yādigār-l S̲h̲emsī*, 220). By the 8th/14th century, the order had spread westwards into Anatolia and eastwards as far as China. In Anatolia, the followers of Kāzarūnī were known as Isḥāḳīs: they had centres in Erzurum, Amasya, Konya (founded 821/1418: Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevilik*, Istanbul 1953, 11) and Bursa (founded 884/1479: H. Adnan Erzi, *Bursa'da İshaki dervişlerine mahsus zaviyenin vakfiyesi*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (1942), 423). It may be presumed that, drawing upon the example of their founder, they played a great part in the conquest and Islamisation of Anatolia. From Anatolia, the Isḥāḳiyya spread into Rumelia (there was a *tekke* at Edirne: see Ewliyā Čelebi, iii, 454) and south to Aleppo (W. Caskel, in *Isl.*, xix, 284 f.). The eastward expansion of the order to India and China seems to have been seaborne, and connected with the protection afforded to voyagers by Kāzarūnī's *baraka*, and, after his death, by the soil from his grave. A gift of money would be vowed to the Kāzarūn *khānaḳāh* as guarantee of safe passage, and the sum was then collected by agents in foreign ports: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 88-92; iv, 10,3 mentions Calicut, Cambay and Kolam in India, and Zaytun (Canton). This system appears to have been formalised by ʿUmar b. Abi 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-Kāzarūnī (d. 704/1304). The soil from Kāzarūnī's grave was reputed to be able to calm stormy waters when cast into the sea, as well as having the properties of a panacea and a talisman. The central *khānaḳāh* at Kāzarūn was suppressed by the Ṣafawids at the beginning of the 10th/16th century (Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārsnāma-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran 1314/1896, 249), and the Anatolian branch of the order appears to have faded out in the following century, although traces of it persisted much later. Mention may also be made of a derivative of Kāzarūnī's order, the Rūzbihāniyya, founded by Rūzbihān Baḳlī of S̲h̲īrāz (d. 606/1209): this was restricted to Fārs and did not last for much more than a century.

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kirat al-awliyā', ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Ḳazwīnī, Tehran 1346 sh./1967, 244-54; Maḥmūd b. ʿUthmān, *Firdaws al-murshidiyya fī asrār al-ṣamadiyya*, ed. F. Meier, Leipzig 1948; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 64, 88-92; iii, 244-8; iv, 89, 103, 271; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. Mahdī Tawḥīdīpūr, Tehran 1336 sh./1957, 254-5; Meḥmed Shems el-Dīn, *Yādigār-i Shemsī*, Bursa 1332/1914, 219-20; Köprülüzâde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Abū Isḥāq Kāserūnī und die Isḥāqī-Derwische in Anatolien*, in *Isl.*, xix (1931), 18-26; H. Adnan Erzi, *Bursa'da İshaki dervişlerine mahsus zaviyenin vakfiyesi*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (1942), 423-9; A. J. Arberry, *The biography of Shaikh Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 163-72; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 15, 21, 236. (H. Algar)

ḲĀZBĒGĪ [see sikka].

KAZBEK [see ḳabḳ].

ḲĀZDUGHLIYYA, the third of the great neo-Mamlūk households of Ottoman Egypt. The Ḳāzdughliyya differed from the Dhu'l-Faḳāriyya and the Ḳāsimiyya [*qq.v.*] in that it was founded and maintained in its first decades by officers of the Seven Corps of the Ottoman garrison, not by beys. Its eponym, Muṣṭafā al-Ḳāzdughlī, is described by Djabartī as being *Rūmī* by origin, *i.e.*, he was *Rūm ūshāghī*, hence free-born and not a *mamlūk* (cf. Stanford J. Shaw (ed.), *Ottoman Egypt in the eighteenth century: The* Niẓâmnâme-i Mıṣır *of Cezzâr Aḥmed Pasha*, Cambridge, Mass. 1962; 23-6 of English text, 7-8 of Turkish text). He took service as a bodyguard (*sarrādj*) to Ḥasan Balfiyya (the reading B. Ighīh occurring in the printed text of Djabartī is not sound), who was *āghā* of the ʿAzebān corps in 1085/1674-5 and of the Gönüllüyān in 1093/1682, and rose under his patronage to be *kahyā* of the Janissaries. In this position he clashed with Küčük Meḥmed, a Janissary *bāshōdābāshī* who dominated the corps between 1087/1676 and 1106/1694. Returning to Egypt after two years of exile in the Ḥidjāz, he procured the assassination of Küčük Meḥmed, and thereafter held considerable political power until his own death in 1115/1703-4. Ḥasan Balfiyya was allied to the Dhu'l-Faḳāriyya (the head of which faction, Ismāʿīl Bey al-Kabīr al-Faḳārī, had married his daughter), and this political connexion was continued by Muṣṭafā al-Ḳāzdughlī and the household that he founded.

The factional struggles of the early 12th/18th century resulted ultimately in the victory of the Dhu'l-Faḳāriyya and Ḳāzdughliyya over the Ḳāsimiyya (1142/1730). This did not mean that henceforward a united Mamlūk group controlled Egypt. Rival households continued to dispute for power. Among these, the most important was the Ḳāzdughliyya, of whom the leading *amīr* was Ibrāhīm al-Ḳāzdughlī, later briefly *kahyā* of the Janissaries. He had been emancipated in 1148/1735-6, and his first important post was that of *serdār* in the Pilgrimage of 1151/1739. On his return, his influence grew in Cairo, and he began to build up a party against ʿUthmān Bey Dhu'l-Faḳār, who had been commander of the Pilgrimage. Essentially the rivalry between the two was a struggle for the *riyāsa* (*ri'āsa*), the supreme position among the Mamlūk *amīrs*. An attempt by the leading *amīr* of the Djulfiyya household, Riḍwān, *kahyā* of the ʿAzebān Corps, to mediate was unsuccessful, and he became a supporter of Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm's faction attempted to assassinate ʿUthmān. He was only wounded, but the houses of his party were attacked and plundered. ʿUthmān fled to Upper Egypt, where the governor of Djirdjā was a *mamlūk* of his household. They made their headquarters at Asyūṭ, where they were joined by remnants of the Ḳāsimiyya and others. Defeated there, and in a second battle in the Sinai peninsula, ʿUthmān made his way to Istanbul, where he was well received at court (*ca.* 1157/1744-45). He never returned to Egypt, but died in Istanbul in 1190/1776.

The allied *amīrs*, Ibrāhīm *Kāhyā* al-Ḳāzdughlī and Riḍwān *Kahyā* al-Djulfī, proceeded to place their followers in key positions. For some years there were troubles with rival Mamlūk groups, but these ceased by 1161/1748. Ibrāhīm thus attained the *riyāsa*, nominally in association with Riḍwān, but the latter had no further interest in affairs of state. He occupied himself with magnificent buildings, luxurious living and the patronage of poets. Both Ibrāhīm and Riḍwān appointed three of their *mamlūks* to the beylicate—the first entry of the Ḳāzdughliyya into this order, which they were subsequently to monopolise. Ibrāhīm laid his hands on the revenues of Egypt and purchased numerous *mamlūks*, some of whom he provided with establishments and fortunes by marrying them to the widows of former *amīrs*. For about seven years he held unprecedented authority, during which time Cairo was quiet and free from revolts, while there was public security in the provinces. He died in his bed in Ṣafar 1168/Nov.-Dec. 1754. Riḍwān survived his colleague, but his power soon crumbled. The senior Ḳāzdughlī *amīr*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *Kahyā*, stirred up the household of Ibrāhīm against him. One of Riḍwān's own *mamlūks*, in league with the Ḳāzdughliyya, tried to assassinate him, and Riḍwān died of the wound while fleeing from his enemies. This event, about six months after the death of Ibrāhīm, marked the end of the Djulfiyya as a political force.

The Ḳāzdughliyya now controlled Cairo and appointed ʿUthmān al-Djirdjāwī, the senior bey of Ibrāhīm's household, to the *riyāsa*. About this time two others of their number were promoted to the beylicate, Ḥusayn al-Ṣābūndjī and *Bulūṭ Ḳāpān* ʿAlī (generally known as ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr [*q.v.*]). ʿUthmān Bey soon offended his colleagues by his harsh behaviour, and in 1170/1756-57 he was removed from the *riyāsa*, which was conferred on al-Ṣābūndjī. The new *shaykh al-balad* (*i.e.*, holder of the *riyāsa*) now sought to attain plenary power with the support of Niṣf Ḥarām, the section of the populace traditionally allied with the Ḳāsimiyya. He set to work to weaken and disperse his *khushdāshiyya*, but his plan miscarried, and he was assassinated in Ṣafar 1171/Oct.-Nov. 1757. The *riyāsa* was now conferred upon another of Ibrāhīm *Kahyā*'s former *mamlūks*, ʿAlī Bey al-Ghazzāwī, sometimes called (rather confusingly) ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr, either because of his seniority, or because the terms *kabīr al-balad* and *kabīr al-ḳawm* were used as synonyms for *shaykh al-balad*. In 1173/1760 al-Ghazzāwī went to the Ḥidjāz as commander of the Pilgrimage. Before leaving, he had set on foot a plot to dispose of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *Kahyā*, who was still a power among the Ḳāzdughliyya. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān learnt of this and made an alliance with *Bulūṭ Ḳāpān* ʿAlī Bey. At a meeting of the grandees, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān reminded them of his position as head of the Ḳāzdughliyya household, and nominated ʿAlī Bey as *shaykh al-balad*, himself taking the lead in promising to obey him. Hearing of this, al-Ghazzāwī handed over the command of the Pilgrimage caravan, and fled to Gaza. Three months later he

returned to Cairo, where he died shortly afterwards.

ʿAlī Bey was now in control. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *Kahyā*, who had hoped to use him as a compliant tool, was soon undeceived. He was banished to the Ḥidjāz in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1178/April 1765, and only returned to Egypt, a dying man, in 1190/1776, after the death of ʿAlī Bey. The despotic ascendancy of the *shaykh al-balad* and his dubious loyalty to the Ottoman sultan are reflected in his inscription in the mausoleum of al-Shāfiʿī, where he assumes the ambiguous but challenging style of *ʿAzīz Miṣr* [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī was ousted from Egypt (Muḥarram 1186/Apr. 1772) by his own *mamlūk*, Muḥammad Bey Abu'l-Dhahab, who succeeded to the position of *shaykh al-balad*, but who himself died during an expedition against Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar (Rabīʿ II 1189/June 1775).

Thereafter no single Ḳāzdughlī *amīr* dominated, but three grandees competed for power: Ismāʿīl Bey, the *khushdāsh* of ʿAlī Bey, and two of Abu'l-Dhahab's *mamlūks*, Ibrāhīm Bey al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] and Murād Bey. In 1200-1/1786-87 the presence in Egypt of an Ottoman force under Djezā'irli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] temporarily reinforced the position of Ismāʿīl Bey, who was appointed *shaykh al-balad*. He died of plague in 1205/1791, whereupon Ibrāhīm and Murād established an uneasy duumvirate. The disorders of the period produced a new political development—risings of the civilians of Cairo, supported and even led by members of the *ʿulamā'*. The French occupation of Egypt (1798-1801) struck a fatal blow at the Ḳāzdughliyya, as at the entire neo-Mamlūk regime. Murād Bey died during the occupation (4 Dhū 'l-Ḥidjdja 1215/18 April 1801), while Ibrāhīm Bey never regained power after his flight to Syria in 1798. For a few years after the evacuation of the French, two of Murād's *mamlūks*, ʿUthmān Bey al-Bardīsī and Muḥammad Bey al-Alfī (the latter a protégé of Britain), were among the contenders for power, but they died in November 1806 and January 1807 respectively, and their factious *mamlūk* households were incapable of resisting the growing strength of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha. The handful of *mamlūks* who fled with Ibrāhīm Bey to Dongola in 1811 were the last organised remnant of the Ḳāzdughliyya.

Bibliography: Djabartī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-āthār* (Būlāḳ ed.), especially the obituaries, of which the following are chiefly important: Muṣṭafā al-Ḳāzdughlī (i, 91-2); Ibrāhīm al-Ḳāzdughlī (i, 191-92); ʿUthmān Bey Dhu'l-Faḳār (i, 178-85); Riḍwān al-Djulfī (i, 192-204); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḳāzdughlī (ii, 5-8); Muḥammad Abu'l-Dhahab (i, 417-20); Ismāʿīl Bey (ii, 219-20); Murād Bey (iii, 167-71); ʿUthmān al-Bardīsī (iv, 42-44); Muḥammad al-Alfī (iv, 26-43). For ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr and Ibrāhīm Bey al-Kabīr, see the articles (above, I, 391-2; III, 992). See further P. M. Holt, *The career of Küçük Muḥammad (1676-74)*, in *Studies in the history of the Near East*, London 1973, 231-51; W. Livingston, *The rise of Shaykh al-balad ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr: a study in the accuracy of the chronicle of al-Jabartī*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii (1970), 283-94. (P. M. Holt)

KAZI-ASKER [see ḳāḍī ʿaskar].

ḲAZI-KUMUKH [see kümük].

al-**KĀẒIM** [see mūsā al-kāẓim].

KĀẒIM ḲADRĪ, ḥusayn (in modern Turkish hüseyin kâzim kadri), 1870-1934, Turkish writer and lexicographer. His father, Ḳadrī Bey, the son of the vizier Edhem Pasha, was a civil servant and the unpopular but colourful governor of Trabzon for ten years (1892-1902) under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. After attending various schools, Ḥusayn Kāẓim graduated from the English School of Commerce in Izmir. He taught in schools, briefly tried journalism after the promulgation of the Constitution of 1908 and later served as a governor in the provinces, notably in Aleppo (1910) and Salonika (1911). He was elected to the Ottoman Parliament in 1912. During World War I, he retired to Beirut, where he compiled his great Turkish dictionary. He was again elected to the Ottoman Parliament in 1920 and served successively as Minister of Agriculture, of Commerce and of *Waḳfs*, and in the same year joined Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pasha's unsuccessful mission to the nationalist government in Ankara. Ḥusayn Kāẓım is the author of a great number of works of uneven value, whose topics range from language, literature, religion and politics to law, commerce and agriculture. During the ideological struggle of the post-constitutional period, he joined the "Islamists" and made remarkable contributions to the movement, *i.e. Istiḳbāle doghru*, Istanbul 1329, *Felāḥa doghru*, Istanbul 1331, *Yirmindji ʿaṣırda islāmiyyet*, Istanbul 1339, *10 temmūz inḳılābınıñ netā'idji*, Istanbul 1336. He published, for the first time in Turkey, the poems of the Turkoman poet Makhdūm Ḳuli: *Makhdūm Ḳuli Dīvānı*, Istanbul 1340. An interesting contribution on the linguistic and literary problems of the Turkish-speaking peoples is his series of articles *Türk lisānlarınıñ tevḥīdi* ("The unification of the Turkish languages"; *Idjtihād*, nos. 31-35, September-November 1327 *rūmī*/1911), where he points out the growing influence of Ottoman Turkish on the Āzerī and Ḳazan written languages and suggests that an academy should work out a *lingua franca* for all the Turkish-speaking peoples based on Ottoman Turkish. Ḥusayn Kāẓım published a number of booklets and articles on improving the methods of agriculture in Turkey. Of particular importance is his series of 17 articles published in *Idjtihād* (nos. 155-174, July 1923-February 1925), where he expounded his theories of land reform and agricultural education in Turkey.

Ḥusayn Kāẓım's major contribution, however, is his comprehensive Turkish dictionary, *Büyük Türk Lughatī*, in four large volumes (vols. i and ii, Istanbul 1927 and 1928, in Arabic script, vols, iii and iv, Istanbul 1943 and 1945, in Roman script: transcribed from the compiler's manuscript by his daughter Rikkat Kunt). In the introduction the author gives a survey of the development of "classical" Turkish written languages such as Uyghur, Čaghatāy, Ottoman, Ḳazan and Āzerī, with the elements of grammar. The dictionary itself covers the vocabulary of the main Turkish written languages and "words of the Ḳoybal, Yaḳut, Čuvash and Kirghiz dialects with supporting examples" as stated in the sub-title. Completed during World War I, Ḥusayn Kāẓım's dictionary, which reflects the contemporary state of research in the field, was a landmark in turcological studies in Turkey up to the period of the 1930s, when more up-to-date research in the universities and by the Turkish Philological Society (Türk Dil Kurumu) superseded it, although the "Turkish Radloff", as it is sometimes called, can still be at times a useful work of reference.

Bibliography: given in the article. (F. İz)

KĀẒIM KARABEKIR, Turkish general and statesman, born in Istanbul in 1882, the son of Meḥmed Emīn Pasha. He was educated at military

schools in Istanbul, graduating first in his class from the *Ḥarb Akademisi* in 1905, one year after Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk). He served in several important actions in Thrace, and took part in the movement to crush the counter-revolution of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd in 1909. Later he worked in the intelligence section of the German Advisory Group, and in World War I served as Chief of Staff to General von der Goltz on the ʿIrāḳ front. He then became commander of the 2nd Corps in the Caucasus, and fought successful battles at Erzurum and Erzincan. At the end of the war he commanded the 14th Corps in Tekirdagh. Early in 1919 he was appointed by the sultan's government to command the 5th Corps in Erzurum, but soon became instrumental in organising Turkish nationalist forces to fight the War of Independence, becoming one of the first important figures to espouse the nationalist cause. He was quickly appointed commander of the eastern front by the nationalist leadership under Muṣṭafā Kemāl, and invitations to the Erzurum Congress of the Association for the Defence of Rights of Eastern Anatolia were sent out over Karabekir's name. One of his major military successes was the defeat of the Armenians at Kars and Gömrü in late 1920. In the same year he took a seat in the first Grand National Assembly as deputy for Edirne.

He resigned from the army in October 1924, when Atatürk insisted that all officers choose either a military or a political career, and the next month became a chief founder of the Republican Progressive Party (*Teraḳḳīperver Djümhūriyyet Fırḳası*). The Progressives generally advocated slower and less drastic reform and secularisation than did Atatürk's Republican People's Party, and differed from Atatürk on a number of matters of political organisation, although the Progressives' programme resembled that of Atatürk in many aspects of economic, financial and foreign policy. Karabekir played an important role in it because he was considered one of the major potential rivals of Kemāl, and the Progressives were opposed to the principle of an Assembly without an organised opposition. The party was dissolved in June 1925 coincidentally with the uprising of Kurdish tribes in the eastern provinces. The Progressives' urging of moderate treatment for the rebels was one factor which led to Karabekir and several others being brought before an Independence Tribunal in 1926. He was acquitted, but retired from politics and public life till after Atatürk's death in 1938. In 1939 he came out of retirement and entered the 6th Assembly as an R.P.P. deputy for Istanbul. In 1946 he was elected President of the Assembly, an office which he held until his death in 1948.

Bibliography: In addition to several books by Karabekir on military subjects, see his *İstiklâl Harbimizin Esasları*, Istanbul 1951. Also Ibrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopidesi*, Istanbul 1946; Lord Kinross, *Ataturk*, London and New York 1965, *passim*. On the Progressive Party see Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London 1962; Kemal Karpat, *Turkey's Politics*, Princeton 1959, 46-8; Frederick W. Frey, *The Turkish Political Elite*, Cambridge, Mass. 1965, 323-35; Walter F. Weiker, *Political Tutelage and Democracy in Turkey*, Leiden 1973, chs. 2, 13. For Atatürk's version of Karabekir's role see Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk], *Nutuk*, *passim*.

(W. F. Weiker)

KĀẒIM RASHTĪ, Sayyid, leader of the Shaykhī sect after the death of its founder, Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsāʾī, in 1242/1826. Born in 1213/1798, Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī evinced deep religious feelings while still a child, and claimed to behold the *imāms* in a series of visions of increasing intensity. In the course of one such vision, at the age of fifteen, he was instructed to seek out Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsāʾī, then resident in Yazd, and to become his pupil. Having reached the presence of the *shaykh*, he soon became his most favoured disciple, and Aḥsāʾī is reputed to have said to him, "No one understands me but you". After Ahsāʾī had been declared a *kāfir* by the *ʿulamāʾ* of Ḳazwīn, he went to Kirmānshāh and then left for Arab ʿIrāḳ. Kāẓim Rashtī followed him, settling in Karbalāʾ, where he spent the rest of his life. He fell heir not only to the following of Aḥsāʾī, but also to the polemics and hostility that certain of the *shaykh*'s doctrines had aroused. Much of his activity was devoted to the defence and further elaboration of these doctrines, in particular the resurrection of the "Hurḳalyan body" (*djism-i hūrḳalyāʾī*), the denial of the corporeal ascension of the Prophet, and the description of the *imāms* as the efficient cause (*ʿillat-i ghāʾi*) of creation. Although in the course of oral debate with the *ʿulamāʾ* of Karbalāʾ, led by Sayyid Ibrāhīm Ḳazwīnī, he was obliged to admit that the apparent meaning of Aḥsāʾī's teachings was contrary to the faith, he vigorously defended Shaykhī doctrine and denounced its opponents in his many writings, *Dalīl al-mutaḥayyirīn* being the most notable. He enjoyed good relations with Nadjīb Pāshā, governor of Baghdād, and his house was spared when an Ottoman army sacked Karbalāʾ in 1259/1843. After his death later in the same year, he was succeeded as Shaykhī leader by Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī. Another pupil of Kāẓim Rashtī, Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad Shīrāzī, declared himself to be the "Bāb" and had his claim accepted by many former Shaykhīs.

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(H. Algar)

KĀẒIMAYN, a town and one of the most celebrated Shīʿī places of pilgrimage in ʿIrāḳ. It is a little over one km. from the right bank of the Tigris, which here describes a loop, being separated from the river by a series of gardens. Kāẓimayn itself is prettily situated among palm-groves. It is connected with the west side of Baghdād, about three miles away, by regular bus and taxi services, replacing the horse-tramway laid down by the governor Midḥat Pāshā (1869-72), who did a great deal for Baghdād. Kāẓimayn is now also a station on the Baghdād-Samarrāʾ railway, which runs along the right bank of the Tigris. It forms a *ḳaḍāʾ* belonging to the *muḥāfaẓa* of Baghdād and administered by a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. Its population grew rapidly from 169,993 in 1947 to 235,745 in 1957; most are Shīʿīs. Unfortunately there are no official figures for the number of Persians among them. However, according to the 1957 census the number of Persians in Baghdād was 5,156, and in ʿIrāḳ as a whole 23,783. Access to the sanctuaries is strictly forbidden to non-Muslims as well as to all unveiled women.

The name Kāẓimayn, *i.e.* "the two Kāẓims", refers to the two ʿAlids buried here, the *Imām* Mūsā

b. Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ, nicknamed al-Kāẓim (d. 186/802) and his grandson the *Imām* Muḥammad al-Djawād (d. 219/834), the seventh and ninth *Imāms* of the twelver Shī'a (Ithnā 'Ashariyya [*q.v.*]). The town is also called Kāẓimiyya in reference to the nickname of the *Imām* Mūsā b. Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ. It is also known among the common people as al-Kāẓim, *i.e.* the city of al-Kāẓim. Finally, the name *Imām* Mūsā is also found. However, all these names have come into use only recently, for the town was originally called al-Mashhad al-Kāẓimī and Mashhad Mūsā b. Dja'far.

There is evidence of pilgrimage to these 'Alid tombs as early as the 7th/13th century (Ibn Khallikān, iv, 395). At the present day Kāẓimayn is one of the four greatest sanctuaries of the Shī'a. Its favourable position at the junction of the road to the three other Shī'i places of pilgrimage, Samarrā' in the north and Karbalā' [*q.v.*] and Nadjaf [*q.v.*] in the south, accounts for the fact that many thousands of pilgrims pass through it annually, especially during the first ten days of the month of Muḥarram (*'Ashrat Muḥarram*), which are exclusively dedicated to the memory of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and his family. One of the four *mudjtahids*, the principal spiritual leaders of the Shī'a, lives in Kāẓimayn.

The present city of Kāẓimayn was originally a part of the Kassite Empire during the reign of Kurigalzu; he built a new capital called after him Dūr-Kurigalzu, whose remains are still in existence at 'Aḳār Ḳūf, about ten km. to the west of Kāẓimayn. During the Sasanian period the name Ṭassūdj Ḳuṭrabbul is mentioned as denoting what was later called Maḳābir Ḳuraysh. Prior to the building of Baghdād by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) [*q.v.*], the place was called al-Shūnīzī. When Baghdād was built, al-Manṣūr detached the cemetery of al-Shūnīzī al-Ṣaghīr and made it a private cemetery for his family (though later non-Ḳurashīs were also buried there), calling it Maḳābir Ḳuraysh. This cemetery is also called Maḳābir Bāb al-Tibn, because of its proximity to that gate. His son Dja'far al-Akbar (d. 150/767) was the first to be buried there. It was only when the "two Kāẓims" were buried there that the name Maḳābir Ḳuraysh was changed in later times to al-Mashhad al-Kāẓimī and Kāẓimayn. In Yāḳūt's time (623/1226), Maḳābir Ḳuraysh was a fairly populous suburb surrounded by a wall. About a century later, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī found that this place, formerly reckoned a suburb of Baghdād, was now an independent township.

The sanctuary of Kāẓimayn is one of the exceedingly splendid and rich monuments which 'Irāḳ owes to the Shī'a, and for which Persia and the Shī'a of India supplied the necessary funds. With its domes and the pinnacles of its minarets covered with gold, it is visible to the traveller from a long way off. Who first built the 'Ālid sanctuary at Kāẓimayn is unknown. All we know is that in 336/947, by the order of the Buwayhīd Mu'izz al-Dawla [*q.v.*], two wooden boxes were put over the two graves, two wooden domes were erected above them, and a surrounding wall was built. The present faience-covered building is due to the Ṣafawīd Ismā'īl I (908-30/1502-24), whose family claimed descent from the *Imām* Mūsā al-Kāẓim (see above). The inscription published by Massignon (*Mission*, 99) of the year 926/1519, refers to the complete transformation of the old building by the shāh. The restauration not quite completed by Ismā'īl was finished by the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān I, who occupied Baghdād in 941/1534. The covering of the domes with golden tiles was done, according to the inscription, in 1211/1796 by the command and at the expense of Shāh Agha Muḥammad Khān [*q.v.*], the founder of the Ḳādjār dynasty. On the occasion of his pilgrimage in 1870, Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn had the gold plating on the principal dome and on the roofs of the minarets renewed (cf. Cuinet). The double cupola flanked by four minarets shows that two saints are buried beneath it. Close to this mausoleum stands an isolated pavilion under which are shown the graves of Dja'far (formerly supposed to be that of Ismā'īl) and Ibrāhīm, sons of the *imām* Mūsā. The cupola of the building is modern and a gift of Salīm Pasha (cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 100). It may be noted here that there is at Ḥadītha on the Euphrates (between 'Āna and Hīt) a small sanctuary which is said to contain the tomb of Muḥammad, son of Mūsā al-Kāẓim (see Herzfeld, in Sarre-Herzfeld, ii, 321). On the tomb of a certain Ḥamza b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Ḳaryat al-Bāshiya (in 'Irāḳ), cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 60. In the vicinity of Astarābādh [*q.v.*] there is also an *imāmzāde* (tomb chapel) where a descendant of the *Imām* Mūsā named *Imām* Kāẓim is said to be buried (cf. Melgunof in *ZDMG*, xxi, 325, and in *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, 119-20).

Like the sepulchral mosques of other places of pilgrimage, that of Kāẓimayn is surrounded by a very broad court-yard (*ṣaḥn*) enclosed by a wall. This latter was rebuilt in 1298/1880, with the permission of the Turkish government, by a wealthy Persian named Farhād Mīrzā and adorned with ceramic work and inscriptions containing whole *sūras* of the Ḳur'ān; (cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 110). In the great court, in the course of time, extensive buildings for the housing of the numerous pilgrims have grown up, especially along the enclosing wall. At the present time the area of the sanctuary is full of shopping centres, markets, modern hotels and many travel agencies.

At various periods, especially during the frequent fighting in the capital between Sunnīs and Shī'īs, the sanctuary area was repeatedly burnt and plundered, notably in the years 443/1051 and 622/1225. On the conquest of Baghdād by Hūlāgū in 656/1258 it was again reduced to ashes. To these disasters must be added the frequent floods, as for example in the years 367/977, 466/1073 and 614/1217. It may be mentioned that in 1216/1801, on the occasion of the Wahhābī invasion, the treasures of the sanctuary of Karbalā' were removed to Kāẓimayn (see Jacob in A. Nöldeke, *cited below*, 48, n. 1).

Adjoining the wall of the courtyard is a Sunnī mosque with the tomb of the famous Ḥanafī lawyer Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/789) [*q.v.*]; cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 57, 100). Le Strange (*Baghdad*, 161 f., 350 f.), is mistaken in locating the grave of Zubayda, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in or near this Kāẓimayn (cf. against this Massignon, *op. cit.*, 110 f., and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii, 111, and also the article AL-KARKH).

Opposite Kāẓimayn on the left bank of the Tigris, connected with by a modern bridge which replaced one of boats, is the suburb of Mu'aẓẓam. In this place is the highly-venerated sepulchral mosque of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) [*q.v.*], the founder of one of the four Sunnī schools of Islamic law (on this tomb cf. M. von Oppenheim, ii, 241, Streck, i, 162; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 190-2; Langenegger, 61-2; Massignon, *op. cit.*, 78-9). It is from the epithet of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Imām al-A'ẓam or al-Mu'aẓẓam (the "highly venerated" *imām*) that this suburb of Baghdād takes its name.

Bibliography: Yāķūt, i, 443 (Bāb al-Tibn), iv, 79 (Ķuraysh), and 587 (Maķābir Ķuraysh); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 108; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 35; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 119; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo ed., iv, 395; Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *al-Fakhrī*, 287; *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ii, 295; *al-Ḥawādith al-Djāmiʿa*, 333; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, i, 110-11, 120-21; R. al-Karkūklī, *Dawḥat al-Wuzarāʾ* (Arabic tr.), 46, 217; T. al-Rāwī, *Baghdād Madīnat al-Salām*, Iķraʾ ser., xxvii, 84-5; M. al-Ālūsī, *Taʾrīkh Masādjid Baghdād wa-āthāruhā*, 116-7; M. Djawād, *Mashhad al-Kāẓimayn*, 7; *Mawsūʿat al-ʿAtabāt al-Muķaddasa*, ed. Dj. al-Khalīlī, i, 9-11, 22, 61, 73; iii, 30, 39, 42, 50; *al-Madkhal ilā Mawsūʿat al-ʿAtabāt al-Muķaddasa*, ed. Dj. al-Khalīlī, 123-9; M. H. Āl-Yāsīn, *Taʾrīkh al-Mashhad al-Kāẓimī*, Baghdad 1967, 19-20, 24, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 41, 42, 49-50, 52-3, 55-7, 61, 69, 73, 85-6, 89-90, 92-4, 103-6, 110-14, 117-9, 135-45, 154-6, 163-9; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, i, Leiden 1900, 156-7, 160; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 158-65, 350-52; [Rousseau], *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 17-8; Rousseau, *Voyage de Bagdad à Alep (1808)*, ed. L. Poinssot, Paris 1899, 7-9; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*, London 1822, ii, 280-1; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 773, 777, 795; D. de Rivoyre, *Les vrais Arabes et leur pays*, Paris 1884, 85-91; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887, 587-91; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, Paris 1894, 142-5; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii, 239-41, 263, 281; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat and Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, 29-31; Chiha, *La Province de Bagdad*, Cairo 1908, 169, 174-5, 177, 179; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 361-5; A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbela*, Berlin 1909 (= *Türkische Bibliothek*, xi), 28, 33, 48, 58; P. Langenegger, *Durch verlorene Lande. Von Bagdad nach Damaskus*, Berlin 1911, 4, 61-2, 70-71; idem, *Die Baukunst des Irâq*, Dresden 1911, 93, 106, 109, 114, 121 (and title page); L. Massignon, *Mission en Mesopotamie*, ii, Paris 1912, 57, 67, 99-100; E. Herzfeld, in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeolog. Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, ii, Berlin 1919, 102-3, 145-6 (see also Index in vol. iv, 42).

(M. Streck-A. A. Dixon)

KĀẒIMĪ [see sikka].

al-**KĀẒIMĪ**, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad, Shīʿī poet of ʿIrāķ, born in Baghdād in 1282/1865 (but according to his daughter Rabāb al-Kāẓimī, in 1289/1872), who died in Cairo on 1 May 1935. He received elementary instruction in Arabic and Persian and then continued to study Arabic literature on his own initiative. In 1308/1890 he met Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāķ and was influenced by his revolutionary ideas. Soon afterwards he left ʿIrāķ, but whether for reasons of political, business or poetic ambition is unclear. He travelled to Persia, India (1897) and finally to Egypt (1899), where he was welcomed by the leading literati. He became a close friend of and received financial aid from Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] and Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*], and dedicated panegyrics to them during their lives and elegies after their deaths. For some time al-Kāẓimī tried in vain to obtain a pension from the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II [*q.v.*]; this apparently was foiled by the jealousy of Aḥmad Shawķī [*q.v.*]. From 1919 onwards al-Kāẓimī dedicated many poems to the Central Committee of the Syrian Unity Party, and panegyrics both to Saʿd Zaghlūl and to the Hāshimite kings in Transjordan. He was an avid supporter of Arab national unity and consequently became best known as *Shāʿir al-ʿArab* (the poet of the Arabs).

The poetic diction, images and metaphors of al-Kāẓimī's poems are derived from Bedouin life, while their structure is throughly rooted in classical poetic models. His panegyrics reveal him to have had a proud and forceful personality as well as being a talented poet. He tends to boast of these qualities in his poetry at times, stressing his ʿAlawī descent and asking for donations. Many of al-Kāẓimī's poems deal with fortitude, vaingloriousness and love, while others touch upon social and political aspects of Arab life or express nostalgia for ʿIrāķ. He embellished his poetry with maxims and proverbs, complaints about life, the calamities of the times and his own sickness. He was noted for his poetic improvisations (*irtidjāl*), although the ʿIrāķī scholar Yousif Izzidien claims that al-Kāẓimī memorised them beforehand. Al-Kāẓimī's printed works are: *ʿAwāṭif waṭaniyya*... [*wa*] *taḥiyyat al-shāʿir al-ʿArabī ilā djanāb al-duktūr Wilsūn*..., Cairo 1919, 30 pp.; *Dīwān al-Kāẓimī*, vol. i, Damascus 1939, 361 pp.; *Dīwān al-Kāẓimī shāʿir al-ʿArab*, ed. Ḥikmat al-Djādirdjī, vol. ii, Cairo 1367/1948, 336 pp.; and *Muʿallaķāt al-Kāẓimī fī Saʿd Zaghlūl*, ed. Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, Cairo 1924.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S III, 489; Yousif ʿIzzidien, *Fi 'l-adab al-ʿArabī al-ḥadīth*, Baghdad 1967, 201-20; idem, *Shuʿarāʾ al-ʿIrāķ fi 'l-ķarn al-ʿishrīn*, Baghdad 1969, 33-55. See also the comprehensive bibliography in J. A. Dagher, *Maṣādir al-Dirāsa al-Adabiyya*, ii/I: *al-Rāḥilūn (1800-1955)*, Beirut 1956, 676-8.

(S. Moreh)

al-**KĀẒIMĪ**, ʿAbd al-Nabī b. ʿAlī, an Imāmite *faķīh* and traditionist whose life spanned two of the chief areas of Shīʿī concentration, the *ʿatabāt* of ʿIrāķ and the Djabal ʿĀmil in Syria. He was born in Kāẓimayn in 1198/1784 to a father of Medinan origin, and studied there under a number of prominent *ʿulamāʾ*, the most important being Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā and his son Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh al-Shibrī. He was appointed treasurer at the shrine of Kāẓimayn, but in 1244/1828 migrated to the Djabal ʿĀmil, settling in the village of Djūyā. Initially unknown, he soon became the most influential *ʿālim* in the area, enjoying the patronage of the *amīr* Ḥamad, ruler of the Djabal ʿĀmil. He died in Djūyā in 1256/1840. The most important of his numerous works are *Takmilat al-ridjāl*, a biographical dictionary of transmitters of Shīʿī *ḥadīth*, based on al-Amīr Muṣṭafā al-Tadjrīshī's *Naķd al-ridjāl*; an abbreviation of a work on the *sunna*, *al-Iķbāl* by Aḥmad b. Ṭāʾūs; and *al-Ḥaķķ al-ḥaķīķ*, a refutation of teachings of the Akhbārī school concerning *ḥadīth*. Only the first of these has been printed, and manuscripts of al-Kāẓimī's other writings are rare. Two of his sons, Shaykh Djaʿfar al-Kāẓimī and Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Kāẓimī, were also *ʿulamāʾ* of some note.

Bibliography: Introduction by Muḥammad Ṣādiķ Baḥr al-ʿUlūm to his edition of *Takmilat al-ridjāl*, Nadjaf n.d., i, 56-70; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1382/1962, xxxix, 172; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1384/1964, iv, 417.

(H. Algar)

al-**KĀẒIMĪ**, Ḥaydar b. Ibrāhīm, an Imāmī *ʿālim* of the early 19th century. Born in Kāẓimayn

in 1205/1790, he spent his entire life there, dying in 1265/1849. He was the ancestor of the Āl Ḥaydar, a celebrated learned family of Kāẓimayn. Among his works may be mentioned *al-Bāriḳa al-Ḥaydariyya*, concerning *uṣūl* (the principles of jurisprudence), and *al-Madjālis al-Ḥaydariyya*, consisting of scenarios for the *taʿziya*, the so-called Shīʿī passion play.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Mahdī al-Kāẓimī, *Aḥsan al-wadīʿa*, Baghdad 1347/1929, ii, 21; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1384/1964, ix, 3. (H. ALGAR)

AL-KĀẒIMĪ, MEḤMED SĀLIM (1868-1914), a Turkish political journalist of the late Ḥamīdian and early constitutional period. Better known by his *nom de plume* ʿAwn Allāh Kāẓimī, he was born in Istanbul in 1868. He was the son of Ḥüseyn Ḥüsnī Beg, who was private secretary (*mabeyin kātibi*) to the sultan. His family came from Erzurum in eastern Anatolia where al-Kāẓimī's grandfather, ʿAlī Beg, had been a *derebey* [*q.v.*]. He was given a traditional education, though he learned French as well as Arabic and Persian. Finding no suitable position in the stratified bureaucracy of the period, like many well-to-do, educated young men of his day he turned to journalism. In 1889 he and his brother Sulaymān Tawfīḳ began to publish *Mürüwwet*, which they described as "an Ottoman newspaper dedicated to the benefits of property and in the service of the state" (*menāfiʿ-i mülk we dewlete khādim ʿOthmānlï gazetesidir*). He left the country, fearing that he was about to be arrested for an article he had written, and returned to Istanbul some time later using the alias ʿAwn Allāh Kāẓimī. He was arrested in 1901 on account of his alleged involvement in the *Müshīr* Fuʾād Pasha incident, in which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's secret police, suspecting Fuʾād Pasha of conspiracy, clashed with the general's men. Meḥmed Sālim was sentenced to penal servitude for life and exiled to the town of Sivas. He was caught attempting to escape, and transferred to the fortress at Sinop.

Meḥmed Sālim returned to Istanbul after the Young Turk revolution of July 1908 and became the president of the *Fedākārān-ï Millet Djemʿiyyeti*, one of the many ephemeral political clubs which sprang up following the revolution. On 16 September 1908 he began publishing the *Ḥuḳūḳ-ï ʿUmūmiyye* as the organ of this association. The stated aim of this paper was "to serve the constitutional administration and national unity" (*idāre-i -meshrūṭaya ve ittiḥād-ï millete khidmet etmek*). The association seems to have been composed of much the same elements as the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*], that is to say people who had opposed the old régime, but who, feeling that their earlier sufferings had gone unrecompensed, now turned against the government. They are alleged even to have indulged in the blackmail of some members of the old régime.

The government suspected Meḥmed Sālim's organisation of illegal activities, so that on 14 January 1909 the premises of the *Ḥuḳūḳ-ï ʿUmūmiyye* were raided by the police. Meḥmed Sālim was arrested, and the *Fedākārān-ï Millet Djemʿiyyeti* was disbanded. He was acquitted by the court, and appointed *mutaṣarrif* of Kirkūk (ʿIrāḳ). When the counter-revolution of 31 March 1325 (o.s.)/13 April 1909 broke out he was suspected of involvement and arrested. A court martial found him innocent, and he was again acquitted. Soon afterwards he left for Kirkūk and died there in 1914.

Apart from his journalistic writings, Meḥmed Sālim wrote about his adventures in *Soñ Müdāfaʿa* (Istanbul 1326/1910), and *Diwān-ï ḥarbī ʿörfī we ʿAwn Allāh al-Kāẓimī* (Istanbul 1327/1911).

Bibliography: Three brief and almost identical biographies are to be found in Ī. Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1946, *Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, Ankara 1957 (where he is recorded as Mehmed Selim) and *Türk ve dünya meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Ankara 1957-8, where he is listed under Kâzımî (Gövsa). Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiyede Siyasî Partiler*, Istanbul 1952, 233-9, is invaluable for the activities of the *Fedākārān-ï Millet Djemʿiyyeti*. See also Ahmet Cevat Emre, *Iki neslin tarihi*, Istanbul 1960, 130-1. A study of the press of the period, especially Meḥmed Sālim's papers *Mürüwwet* and *Ḥuḳūḳ-ï ʿUmūmiyye* (incomplete collections of both available in Millet Kütüphanesi, Īstanbul and Türk Īnkilâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi, Ankara), is essential for a better understanding of the man and his ideas. (F. AHMAD)

KAZIMOV [see ḲĀSIMOV].

ḲAZWĪN, a town and district north-west of Tehran and south of Gīlān. The town is situated in 36° 15 N. and 50° E., at a height of 4,165 ft. above sea level, about 90 miles from Tehran, on the edge of a wide alluvial plain with mountains about five miles to the north. It stands on the site of an ancient city built by Shāpūr II, which according to tradition was in turn on the site of a city built by Shāpūr b. Ardashīr (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson, 1910-13, 830, French tr. Barbier de Meynard, *Description historique de la ville de Kazvin*, in *JA* (1857)). Its population according to the census of 1966 was 81,000.

i. GEOGRAPHY and HISTORY

Ḳazwīn guards the passes to the north leading through Ṭabaristān to Rasht and the Caspian Sea, and is situated at the junction of the roads from Rasht to Tehran and Tabrīz to Tehran. From Ḳazwīn roads also lead off to Hamadān and Ḳumm. In the 19th century there were four roads leading from Ḳazwīn to Tehran, three used by muleteers and the other by those riding *čāpār* (*Safarnāma-i Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī*, ed. H. Farma-Farmaian, 1964, 9-10). The climate is temperate with a mean maximum temperature in summer of 34.5 C. and a mean minimum temperature in winter of -5.4 C. The annual rainfall in 339.1 mm. with frequent snowfalls in January and February. In spite of its favourable situation as regards communications, Ḳazwīn never rivalled Ray, Nīshāpūr or Iṣfahān in the Middle Ages. The reason is partly to be found in lack of water, which placed a severe limitation on its growth. Iṣṭakhrī states that Ḳazwīn had enough water for drinking purposes only; this was provided by rainfall and the water of one *ḳanāt* (*Masālik al-mamālik*, Leiden 1927, 201). Until recently the plain of Ḳazwīn was irrigated entirely by *ḳanāt*s and four small streams (see further Muḥammad ʿAlī Gulrīz, *Mīnūdar yā bāb al-djannati Ḳazwīn*, Tehran 1961, 259 ff. and *Safarnāma-i Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī*). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that these streams flowed in spring; in a good year their water reached the gardens of Ḳazwīn, but rarely flowed into the town in summer, the water being used by the estates situated upstream (*Nuzha*, Persian text, 222). In 1963 the Ḳazwīn Development Authority was set up to develop the water resources and agriculture of the area (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1969, 281).

Ḳazwīn lies in the earthquake belt and has been

damaged by earthquakes on several occasions. Earthquakes in the town were recorded in 249/863-4, 360/970-1, 513/1119-20 (Gulrīz, 872-3), 514/1120 (N. N. Ambraseys, *On the seismicity of south-west Asia, data from a XV century Arabic manuscript*, in *Rev. pour l'étude des calamités*, xxxvii (Geneva 1961), 10), and 562/1169 (Chardin, *The travels of Sir John Chardin*, London 1691, 382); and when James Morier passed through the town in 1809 he states that the city was largely in ruins as a result of a fairly recent earthquake (*A journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople*, London 1812, 254). Extensive damage from earthquakes was suffered by Ṭāliḳān in 889/1484-5, Rūdbār in 956/1549-50 (Gulrīz, 873), and the southern part of the Ḳazwīn plain in 1962 (N. N. Ambraseys, *The Buyin-zara (Iran) earthquake of September 1962, a field report*, in *Bull. of the seismological society of America*, liii/4 (July 1963), 705-40). Floods severely damaged the town in 965/1557-8 and again in 1267/1850-1 (Gulrīz, 874). Outbreaks of plague (*ṭāʿūn*) are recorded in 1045/1635-6 and several outbreaks of cholera (*wabā*) in the 19th and 20th centuries (Gulrīz, 876).

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that the town was surrounded by extensive gardens, orchards and vineyards, which produced excellent grapes, almonds and pistachio nuts in abundance. Large quantities of raisins were exported. Melons and water melons were cultivated after the land had been flooded once and fruited well without another watering. Much grain was also grown. Good pastures existed in the neighbourhood. These, he alleges, were better for camels than in other provinces, and the Ḳazwīnī camel more expensive than others (*Nuzha*, 58, 222). At the present day good quality sheep are bred at S̲h̲āl, a village to the south-west of the town of Ḳazwīn, and in its neighbourhood. Textiles were woven in Ḳazwīn from the early centuries of Islam down to modern times, but did not compare in excellence with those from more famous centres such as Iṣfahān, Kās̲h̲ān or Kirmān.

The boundaries of Ḳazwīn have varied from time to time. In Islamic times it was first made into a province (*s̲h̲ahr*) by Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, who gave to it the districts of Bas̲h̲āriyyāt and part of Das̲h̲tbī (which formerly belonged to Hamadān), Abharrūd and part of Ḳāḳazān (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i guzīda*, 833). In 284/897-8 K̲h̲araḳān became part of Ḳazwīn, which then comprised 765 villages (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Kitāb al-buldān*, Leiden 1885, Fr. tr. H. Massé, *Abregé du livre des pays*, Damascus 1973, 289), and in the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim Nasā and Salḳānrūd were also transferred to it from Hamadān (*ibid.*, 280). In the 8th/14th century Ḳazwīn comprised only 300 villages, and was divided into 8 districts or *nāḥiya*s (*Nuzha*, 59); Don Juan writing in 1602-3 states that there were 20 walled towns in the province of Ḳazwīn and 1,000 open villages (*Don Juan of Persia*, tr. and ed. G. Le Strange, London 1926, 40). In 1884 it consisted of eleven *bulūk*s, K̲h̲arrūd (Dūdānga), Ḳuhpāya (Kūhpāya), Abharrūd, Bas̲h̲āriyyat, Iḳbāl, Fis̲h̲kildarra (Pis̲h̲kildarra), Das̲h̲tābī (Das̲h̲tbī), Ḳāḳazān, Rāmand, and Afs̲h̲āriyya; while Rūdbār (in which Alamūt is situated) was one of its dependencies (*Safarnāma-i Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī*, 24-5). In modern times Ḳazwīn constitutes a *s̲h̲ahristān* consisting of 6 districts (*bak̲h̲sh*), namely, a central district consisting of the town, Āb Yak (comprising the subdistricts or *dihistān*s of Fis̲h̲kildarra, Kūhpāya, and Bas̲h̲āriyyāt); Muʿallim Kalāya (sub-districts Rūdbār and Alamūt); Ḍiyāʿābād (sub-districts Ḳāḳazān and Dūdānga); Āvid̲j̲ (sub-districts East and West K̲h̲araḳān and Afs̲h̲āriyya); and Būʾīn (sub-districts Zahrā, Das̲h̲tābī and Rāmand).

The population of Ḳazwīn at the present day is mainly Turkī-speaking, large influxes of Turkish tribes into the district having taken place in Mongol times (see further below). In the Zahrā district the people speak Tātī (D̲j̲alāl Āl-Aḥmad, *Tātnis̲h̲īnhā-yi bulūk-i Zahrā*, Tehran 1959). Various tribes, many of which were semi-nomadic until recent times, are to be found in the different districts. Among them are the Īnānlū and Bag̲h̲dādī S̲h̲āhsivān, who apparently came to K̲h̲araḳān and Sāva towards the end of the 18th century and were settled by Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Ḳād̲j̲ār in their present location. The winter quarters of the Īnānlū were between Sawd̲j̲ Bulāg̲h̲, Zarand, and Zahrā, and their summer quarters in K̲h̲araḳān. The Bag̲h̲dādī S̲h̲āhsivān wintered in the neighbourhood of Tehran and in the district between Ḳumm, Sulṭānābād (Arāk), Sāva and Tehran, and summered in K̲h̲araḳān and K̲h̲alad̲j̲istān (Hamadān) up to the frontiers of K̲h̲amsa. Other tribes in the Ḳazwīn district include the Lak, Čiginī, G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲vand, Ḳākāvand, D̲j̲alīlāvand, Ras̲h̲vand, Māfī Bahtūʾī, Čumus̲h̲gazak, and Kalhūr. In about 1932 Riḍā S̲h̲āh forbade migration, but it was resumed after his abdication (Gulrīz, 853 ff., Parvīz Vard̲j̲āvand, *Sarzamīn-i Ḳazvīn*, Tehran 1970, 460 ff.). Some of the S̲h̲āhsivan are now settled in Rāmand, Zahrā, K̲h̲araḳān and Afs̲h̲āriyya, where they are engaged in stockraising and agriculture (*Sarzamīn-i Ḳazvīn*, 463).

Under the Sasanians Ḳazwīn was a frontier town, whose garrison was engaged in repelling the attacks of the Daylamites. This situation continued, or was repeated, in the early centuries of Islam. This, too, probably militated to some extent against its becoming a commercial and cultural centre, though Muḳaddasī speaks of it as being a mine of *fiḳh* and *ḥikma* (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1906, 392). It was conquered for the Muslims by al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib and Zayd b. al-D̲j̲abal al-Ṭāʾī in 24/644 during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb. When al-Barāʾ besieged the fortress of Ḳazwīn, the people sued for a *ṣulḥ* agreement and were offered the same terms as had been given to the people of Abhar. Unwilling, however, to pay *d̲j̲izya*, they accepted Islam. Al-Barāʾ subsequently assigned pensions in the district to Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī for the upkeep of his men. They multiplied and transmitted the estates which they held to their descendants who, according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, still held them some two hundred years later and had title deeds for them from the government. From Ḳazwīn al-Barāʾ carried out raids into Daylam and Gīlān and also took Zand̲j̲ān. Saʿd b. al-ʿĀṣ, who succeeded al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba as governor of Kūfa, also made raids into Daylam, and built a town at Ḳazwīn, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, after he became governor of most of Persia on behalf of the Umayyads, appointed his son Muḥammad governor of the frontier regions. Yazīd b. Muhallab, Ḳutayba b. Muslim, and Naṣr b. Sayyār also appointed governors over Ḳazwīn, as did the early ʿAbbāsids.

A second town at Ḳazwīn was built by Mūsā al-Hādī beside the one built by Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and called Madīna Mūsā. He bought the nearby Rustamābād and constituted it a *waḳf* for the benefit of the town. Mubārak the Turk, a freedman of al-Hādī, also built another town at Ḳazwīn in 176/792-3 and called it after himself.

When Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd passed through Ḳazwīn on his way to K̲h̲urāsān, he was impressed by both the

tribulations which the local people suffered on account of the Daylamites and their efforts to combat them. Accordingly, he remitted the *kharādj* of the town and substituted instead an annual payment of 10,000 *dirhams*, and ordered a wall to be built round Madīna Mūsā and Mubārakābād. This was not, however, completed until the caliphate of al-Muʿtazz, when Mūsā b. Bughā finished it in 254/868 (see also Gulrīz, 105 ff., who quotes a manuscript history of Ḳazwīn, the *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī akhbār Ḳazwīn* by Rāfiʿī, who died in 623/1226, on further details concerning the walls of Ḳazwīn). Hārūn al-Rashīd also built a Friday mosque in Ḳazwīn and constituted various *khāns* and other buildings into a *waḳf* for its benefit. During al-Ḳāsim b. al-Rashīd's governorship of Ḳazwīn, Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān, it appears that there was an increase in the land held by the government, a number of local landowners placing their estates under al-Ḳāsim's protection by a *taldjiʾa* contract, by which they paid *ʿushr* to the public treasury and a second *ʿushr* to him for his protection. In this way they retained possession of their estates, while the ownership passed to the government (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 310-11, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 282-3, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 830 ff., *Nuzha*, 58). The anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh* mentions a rebellion by Kawkabī, an ʿAlid, which was put down by Mūsā b. Bughā during the reign of al-Muʿtazz (ed. Malik al-Shuʿarā, Tehran 1940-1, 363).

The population of the town at this time appears to have been mainly Arab. After Mūsā b. Būḳā completed the town wall, the population increased. It consisted of various tribes or families, most of whom traced their origin back to the first Arab settlers. Among them were the *Sādāt*, the majority of whom, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, were characterised by their humility, knowledge, piety and courtesy. He states that they supported themselves by their own work and did not demand pensions, thus implying that they held aloof from the temporal power and retained their independence. Khwāndamīr, writing later, states that the people of Kazwīn were noted for their chivalry (*muruwwat*) and humanity (*insāniyyat*) (*Taʾrīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1954-5, iv, 654).

Ḳazwīn retained its importance as a frontier town during the struggles between the caliphate and the ʿAlids in the Caspian provinces. When al-Muʿtaṣim became caliph he determined to bring the Daylamīs into subjection. Fakhr al-Dawla (thus in Mustawfī) Abū Manṣūr Kūfī, whom he sent to Ḳazwīn as governor, together with his sons occupied himself against the Daylamis for nearly twenty years from 223/838. In all, Fakhr al-Dawla appears to have held the post of governor for some forty years on behalf of the caliphs, except for two years when he governed on behalf of Ḥasan b. al-Bākir, the ʿAlid, who took possession of Ḳazwīn in 251/865-6. For a brief period Ḳazwīn came under Sāmānid rule when Ilyās b. Aḥmad became governor in 293/905-6. In the following year, however, Fakhr al-Dawla Abū ʿAlī, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's forefather, became governor on behalf of the caliph and held the town for twenty-seven years, though in 301/913-14 it was placed together with Ray, Dīnawar, Zandjān, Abhar and Ṭārum, under the general charge of ʿAlī b. Muḳtadir (*The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ed. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford 1921, i, 33). In 304/916-17 Yūsuf b. Abi 'l Sādj [see SĀDJIDS] made an abortive attempt to claim Ḳazwīn (*ibid.*, i, 45 ff.), but was put to flight by Asfār b. Shīrūya [see ASFĀR B. SHĪRAWAYHĪ], who made himself master of Ḳazwīn and of an area stretching from Ṭabaristān and Gurgān to Ḳumm and Hamadān. In 315/927-8 Asfār routed an army sent against him by al-Muḳtadir outside Ḳazwīn, although it was aided by the people of the city. Asfār then seized the citadel, killed many of the inhabitants, did much damage to the city, and imposed a vast contribution of money on the inhabitants. He was later dispossessed by Mardāwīdj and killed (*ibid.*, i, 161-2; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab* ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, repr. Tehran 1970, ix, 6, 9 ff.). Ḳazwīn subsequently fell to Rukn al-Dawla, and the district remained in Būyid hands for upwards of a hundred years. In 358/968-9 there was an outbreak of disorder in the town and Abu 'l Fatḥ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, Rukn al-Dawla's *wazīr*, who was sent to put it down, imposed a fine of 1,200,000 *dirhams* on the people (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 837).

In 421/1030, Ḳazwīn passed into Ghaznavid hands. Up to this time Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's forefathers were apparently still governors of the town, but at this point no suitable member of the family was available for the post of governor and they became instead *mustawfīs*. About 424/1033-4 Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad Djaʿfarī succeeded to the government, which he and his sons held for about sixty years. The last of the line, Fakhr al-Maʿālī Abū ʿAlī Sharafshāh b. Djaʿfarī, was very wealthy and he and his followers held much property in the neighbourhood. He died in 484/1091-2 and was survived by one daughter (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 837 ff.).

The first contact between Ḳazwīn and the Ghuzz appears to have been in 430/1038-9 when the inhabitants, with a payment of 7,000 *dīnārs*, bought off the Ghuzz and Fanā Khusraw, the Daylamī, who had taken Ray in 428/1037, slaughtering many of its inhabitants (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ix, 269-71). Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited Ḳazwīn in 438/1046, and describes it as follows: "It had many gardens, without walls or thorn hedges or any obstacle to prevent entry into them. I saw it to be a good city. It had a strong wall and embattlements. It had good bazaars, except that it had only a little water from one *kārīz*... The *raʾīs* of the town was an ʿAlid. Of all the crafts in the town, the shoe-makers (*kafshgar*) were the most numerous" (*Safarnāma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, Persian text, 4).

In spite of the proximity of Ḳazwīn to the Ismāʿīlī stronghold Alamūt [*q.v.*], the Saldjūḳs do not appear to have regarded it as an important governorship to be given to a powerful *amīr* or *malik*. Soon after the Ismāʿīlīs were established in Alamūt, Abu'l Maḥāsin Rūyānī persuaded the Ḳazwīnīs to decree death to anyone coming from the direction of Alamūt lest mingling with the Ismāʿīlīs should give rise to disaffection within Ḳazwīn (M. G. Hodgson, *The Order of the Assassins*, The Hague 1955, 123). There were also many fortresses in the mountains of Rūdbār held by the Ismāʿīlīs, whence they were able from time to time to molest and trouble the Ḳazwīnīs, as they did in 523/1129 when they killed some 400 persons in revenge for an Ismāʿīlī envoy who had been lynched in Iṣfahān whither he had gone to see Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (*ibid.*, 102). During the period when Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd was grandmaster (532-57/1138-62) there were raids and counter raids against Ḳazwīn from Ismāʿīlī strongholds (*ibid.*, 145). Somewhat later, in 560/1165, the Ismāʿīlīs of Rūdbār built a fortress outside Ḳazwīn, whence they were able almost to lay siege to the town (*ibid.*, 158).

During the late Saldjūḳ period Ḳazwīn was disputed by various *malik*s and *amīr*s, including Ṭughril b. Muḥammad, to whom it was assigned by Sandjar (Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra wa-nukhbat al-ʿuṣra*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1889, 134). Under the Khwārazmshāhs, renewed attacks were made from Ḳazwīn on the Ismāʿīlīs. When Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan succeeded his father Muḥammad as grandmaster of the Ismāʿīlīs in 607/1210 he professed Islam and was known as Djalāl al-Dīn Naw-Musalmān. The people of Ḳazwīn, knowing all too well the dissimulations and tricks of the Ismāʿīlīs, were reluctant to accept his claims and demanded proof. He went to great lengths to win them over and induced them to send some of the leading men of Ḳazwīn to Alamūt and burnt Ismāʿīlī works in their presence (Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, GMS, London 1916, iii, 243-4).

During the struggle between the Khwārazmshāhs and the Mongols, Ḳazwīn from time to time changed hands, until finally the Khwārazmshāhs were defeated. In 617/1220 the Mongols are alleged to have carried out a massacre of the people of Ḳazwīn (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ẓafarnāma*, quoted by Browne, iii, 96-8). Mangū Ḳāʾān appointed Iftikhār al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī governor in 651/1253-4. He and his brother Imām al-Dīn Yaḥyā held office until 677/1278-9. Iftikhār al-Dīn is said to have learnt Mongolian and to have translated *Kalīla wa-Dimna* into it. In the disorders which preceded the reign of Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304) Ḳazwīn, like other parts of the Ilkhān empire, suffered decay because of the extortion of *īlčī*s and others. Many people left the town, so much so that Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī alleges that the Friday prayers could not be performed (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 592-3). He also mentions the usurpation of *waḳf* land by Mongols in Pishkildarra (*Nuzha*, 67). At the end of the reign of Uldjāytū (703-16/1304-16) the government of Ḳazwīn passed to Ḥusām al-Dīn Amīr ʿUmar Shīrāzī and Ḥādjdjī Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad the *mustawfī*. Abū Saʿīd Bahādur (716-36/1316-35), at the beginning of his reign, assigned Ḳazwīn to the expenses (*ikhrādjāt*) of the establishment or household (*urdū*) of his mother (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 842).

It was in Mongol rather than Saldjūḳ times that the population of the Ḳazwīn province was profoundly modified by the introduction of a considerable number of Turkish tribes, though some were no doubt already settled there under the Saldjūḳs. In spite of this, it seems that many of the great families of Ḳazwīn, when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was writing, still traced their origins to an Arab ancestor, and many of them held large estates. One family mentioned by him, the Shīrzādiyān, came from "the middle classes" (*awsāṭ al-nās*), their ancestor having been a shepherd. Certain changes were, however, taking place and a number of Turkish families had established themselves. One, the Ḳarāvulān, had bought many estates, but had already lost its position when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was writing. Another was the Būlātmūriyān, the first of whom, Amīr Takash, came to Ḳazwīn as *shiḥna* in the time of Ögedey (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 842 ff.). The dominant rite was the Shāfiʿī. There were also a few Ḥanafīs and Shīʿīs (*Nuzha*, 57).

After the break-up of the Īlkhān empire, Ḳazwīn, which had long since lost its character as a frontier town, seems to have had an uneventful history until Ṣafawid times. Already under Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī (907-30/1502-24), who was faced with the problem of holding both the Ottoman and the Uzbeg frontier, Ḳazwīn, situated on the main route from Ādharbāydjān to Khurāsān, acquired a new importance. When Tabrīz was temporarily lost to the Ottomans during the reign of Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76), Ḳazwīn, less vulnerable to attack and holding a central position between the vitally important provinces of Ādharbāydjān and Khurāsān, became the capital in 962/1555, hence its *laḳab dār al-salṭana*. It continued to hold this position until Shāh ʿAbbās built a new capital in Iṣfahān [*q.v.*]. Although Ḳazwīn ceased to be the capital, it did not become an independent province but was administered by a *wazīr*, *dārūgha*, *kalāntar* and *mustawfī* appointed by the central government. Towards the end of the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn it was made into a province, under a *beglarbegī*, and a certain Ṭahmāsp Khān, a military slave (*ghulām*), was appointed over its A sum was allocated for his remuneration (*mudākhil*) on the taxes (*wudjūhāt*) of the surrounding districts and Rānkūh, and in return he was required to keep 300 soldiers (Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *Dastūr al-Mulūk*, ed. M. T. Dānishpazhūh in *Rev. de la fac. des lettres et des sciences humaines*, Tehran University, xvi/1-2 (Nov. 1968, 75). From the size of this contingent, it would seem that Ḳazwīn was not one of the more important provinces.

Like various other towns, Ḳazwīn became divided in Ṣafawid times into two factions, the Ḥaydarī and the Niʿmatī. Alessandri, who visited Ḳazwīn during the reign of Ṭahmāsp, mentions them, and states that four districts belonged to one faction and five to the other, and that enmity and frequent bloodshed had prevailed between them for over thirty years (*Narrative of the most noble Vincento d'Alessandri*, Hakluyt, first series, xlix, 224). The participation of these factions in the Muḥarram and Ṣafar ceremonies in the early 20th century is also recorded (Gulrīz, 386-7).

In the Mongol and pre-Mongol period Ḳazwīn had been a centre of orthodoxy, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its proximity to Daylam and later Alamūt. Nevertheless, there was a Shīʿī quarter in Ḳazwīn in Saldjūḳ times (Ḥusayn Karīmān, *Tabarsī va madjmaʿ al-bayān*, Tehran 1962, i, 149), and, as stated above, there were some Shīʿīs in Ḳazwīn when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was writing (cf. *Nuzha*, 58, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 843). Widespread conversion to Shīʿism probably did not take place until the early Ṣafawid period, and even after this crypto-Sunnīs as, for example, Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīfī, who was associated with Ismāʿīl II's conversion to Sunnism, were to be found among prominent local families (Iskandar Munshī, *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Iṣfahān 1956, i, 148, 213 ff. See also E. Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safaviden in 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften*, Freiburg 1970). During the reign of Ṭahmāsp the Nuḳḳawī heresy spread to Ḳazwīn, where it was led by a certain Darvīsh Khusrāw. According to Iskandar Munshī (a hostile witness), he was "a low-class fellow" from the Darb-i Kūshk quarter. He abandoned the craft of his fore-fathers, who had been *muḳannī*s, and became a *ḳalandar*. After a period of travel and association with Nuḳḳawīs, he returned to Ḳazwīn, where a following gathered round him. The *ʿulamāʾ*, apprehensive at his growing popularity, charged him with heresy and he was forbidden to sit in the mosque where he had taken up his quarters. After the death of Ṭahmāsp he resumed his activities and people again assembled round him. He was

eventually put to death as a heretic in 1002/1593-4 (*ʿĀlamārā*, i, 473-6; see also Gulrīz, 444 ff.).

The death of Ṭahmāsp was followed by disorders in Ḳazwīn. Rebellious Turkomans seized Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā, one of the late shah's younger sons, set him up as a puppet, and occupied the city for a brief period. In the spring of 994/1596 Ḥamza Mīrzā, who had been besieging Tabrīz, then in Ottoman hands, marched on Ḳazwīn, routed the Turkomans, took Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā prisoner, and overthrew the rebellion. Little damage appears to have been done in the town. Don Juan, who was there shortly afterwards, describes Ḳazwīn as follows: "The country round is most fertile: it has great orchards and extensive gardens. Its population numbers above 100,000 householders [or 450,000 souls], and, that one may know its greatness, I have for curiosity, counted many times over its mosques, and of these there are more than 500. The royal quarter and the palace both are most sumptuous, and so extensive that you may go in a straight line through the purlieus for over a quarter of a league". (*Don Juan of Persia*, 40). The account given by a gentleman in Sir Antony Sherley's suite, who arrived in Ḳazwīn in December 1598, when it was still the capital, is rather less favourable. He states that there was nothing remarkable about the town except a few mosques and the doorway of the palace of the king, which was well built. According to him the town was a little smaller than London (*Sir Antony Sherley and his Persian adventure*, ed. E. D. Ross, London 1933, 153). Antony Sherley's brother, Robert, died in Ḳazwīn in 1627, as also did Sir Dodmore Cotton.

Father Paul Simon, the first superior of the Discalced Carmelites in Persia, writing in 1607, states that Ḳazwīn, which was by this time no longer the capital, was a very large city, not smaller than Iṣfahān. There were good buildings and an abundance of commodities for subsistence and entertainment, and "everything to be found as in any of these our [Italian] cities" (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 119). Pietro della Valle, who was in Ḳazwīn in 1618, found in it "nothing to satisfy the expectations of a royal residence, and only two things worthy of observation, the gate of the king's palace, and the grand maidan or square". Sir Thomas Herbert, on the other hand, reported of Ḳazwīn in 1627 that it was "equal for grandeur to any other city in the Persian Empire, Spahawn excepted". He states that its walls were seven miles in circuit and estimates its population at 200,000 (see Curzon, i, 36). Olearius, however, some ten years later put the population at only 100,000 (*The travels of Antony Jenkinson*, in *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia*, Hakluyt, first series, lxxii, 1886, repr. New York n.d., i, 134 n. 1), while Chardin, who was there in 1674, describes its walls in ruins, and the town as having "lost all those perquisites that set forth the pomp and grandeur of a sumptuous court". It contained, according to his account, 12,000 houses, and 100,000 inhabitants, its chief feature being the palaces of the grandees, which, he alleged, had passed for generations from father to son (see further Curzon, i, 35-6).

Ḳazwīn's importance in Ṣafawid times was due not only to its becoming, for a period, the capital but also the attempts to increase trade with Europe through southern Russia. Antony Jenkinson mentions the presence in Ḳazwīn of merchants from India in 1561 (*The travels of Antony Jenkinson*, i, 149). Arthur Edwards, who made several voyages to Persia on behalf of the Muscovy Company, wrote in 1567 that velvets and other wares were made in Ḳazwīn but not of as good quality as could be obtained in Europe, and, in 1569, that many spices were to be found in Ḳazwīn but in goodness they were "nothing like to such as be brought into England out of other places, and the price is so high, that small gain will be had in buying of them" (*Early voyages and travels to Russia and Persia*, ii, 405). In the account of the mission of Sir Antony Sherley it is stated that there were a great many merchants in Ḳazwīn, but not many rich ones, also several artisans, such as gold-smiths and cobblers, who made the best shoes in the whole country out of segrin [shagreen], in green, white and other colours. There were also some master craftsmen who made gilded and coloured bows with arrows to match, and others who made richly gilded horse-saddles with gilded and coloured saddlebows (*Sir Antony Sherley and his Persian adventure*, 153). Father Paul Simon records that Ḳazwīn was much frequented for trade, because there was an abundance there of silks, carpets and brocades (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, i, 119).

The disorders which took place at the end of the Ṣafawid period brought a temporary halt to Ḳazwīn's prosperity, and there appears to have been a considerable decrease in the population, due in part, presumably, to the decline in trade. Maḥmūd the Afghan, after he had taken Iṣfahān, detached a force of some 6,000 men under Amān Allāh K͟hān to take Ḳazwīn, which surrendered in 1722. In January 1723, however, there was a popular uprising (*lūṭībāzār*) led by the *kalāntar*s [*q.v.*] of the city against the Afghans. They were attacked in every quarter and retreated to Iṣfahān. They are reported to have lost some 2,000 men (Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, i, 443-4; J. Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, ii, 188). In 1726 Ḳazwīn submitted to the Ottomans on condition that the governor sent to the city was not accompanied by troops. The agreement was not kept; 12,000 men under ʿAlī Pās͟hā were sent, only to be driven out shortly afterwards. Ḳazwīn then declared for As͟hraf (Hanway, ii, 245; Malcolm, i, 443-4). Hanway, writing in 1744, quotes a Persian merchant as saying that whereas formerly Ḳazwīn had had 12,000 houses, it had then only 1,100 (i, 156).

At the beginning of the 19th century Ḳazwīn still manufactured velvets, brocades, and cotton cloth (J. Morier, *A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1810-1816*, London 1818, 203) and was beginning once more to flourish. One of the royal princes, Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, then still a boy, was appointed governor by Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh in 1213/1798-9, and retained this post until 1221/1806-7 (Bāmdād, *S͟harḥ-i ḥāl-i rid͟jāl-i Īrān*, Tehran 1966, iii, 430). Ḳazwīn's position, at the juncture of roads from the new capital Tehran, Tabrīz, the second city of the empire, and Enzeli on the Caspian Sea, gave it a new importance, both strategic and commercial. Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh recognized the first when he placed its governor under the orders of ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*] in 1818 with a view to facilitating his march on Tehran from Ād͟harbāyd͟jān in the event of his accession to the throne (Great Britain, Public Records Office, F.O. 60/13, Willock to Castlereagh, no. 9, Tehran, 7 May 1818). The main reason for the revival of Ḳazwīn, however, was the growing importance of the trade routes through Trebizond and over the Caspian Sea. Malcolm notes its prosperity in 1801 as "the mart of all the commerce

of the Caspian" (quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran, 1800-1914*, University of Chicago 1971, 262) and Consul Abbott, reporting on the trade in Persia in 1841, states that Ḳazwīn ranked equally with Tehran in the extent of its commerce and contained perhaps as many thriving and wealthy merchants from all parts of the country as any other city in Persia (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60/92, Report on trade for 1841. Document (with omissions) in Issawi, *op. cit.*, 118). Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī, who passed through Ḳazwīn in 1884, states that it had 600 shops, 8 caravansarais, 40 mosques, 9 *madrasas* and 12 ice-pits (*yakhčāl*) (*Safarnāma*, 14 ff.). The importance of Ḳazwīn as an entrepôt for trade is also shown by the fact that in 1890 the Imperial Bank of Persia opened a branch there, taking over the agency of the New Oriental Banking Corporation (Issawi, 346). Communications were meanwhile improved. By the 1880s single wire lines belonging to the Persian government connected Ḳazwīn to Tehran (*ibid.*, 153-4). Metalled roads from Ḳazwīn to Tehran in 1899 and from Ḳazwīn to Hamadān in 1906 were completed under a concession granted to a Russian company in July 1893, and in 1913 a contract for a service of motors till the end of 1919 on the roads from Ḳazwīn to Rasht, Tehran and Hamadān was obtained by a Russian subject, and some cars were put into service (*ibid.*, 201).

In spite of the commercial importance of Ḳazwīn in the 19th century, there does not appear to have been any appreciable growth in population, though it is difficult to compare the figures given for different periods since the estimates are not necessary based upon the same criteria. Morier, writing in the early part of the century, puts the population at 25,000 (*A second journey*, 203), as also does William Ouseley (*Travels in various countries of the East, particularly Persia*, London 1819, iii, 377. Cf. also G. A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, Paris 1801, iii, 49). A later report dated 1868, gives the same figure (United Kingdom, Parliament, Accounts and papers 1867-68, Thomson to Allison, Tehran, 20th April 1868, "Report on Persia". Document (with omissions) in Issawi, 28), but the census taken in 1298/1880-1 and 1299/1881-2 puts the population at 64,362 (Gulrīz, 391 ff.). Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī on the other hand states that it was 7,000 families or some 30,000 persons. The town was then divided into 17 districts (*maḥalla*). Its walls were mainly in ruins, but 12 gates were still standing (*Safarnāma*, 14-15). According to Curzon, the population was reputed to be 40,000 in 1889, but the actual figure was probably not more than two-thirds of this (*Persia and the Persian question*, London, i, 35). Various estimates for the early part of the 20th century, possibly following Curzon, also put the population at 40,000 (*Gazeteer of Persia*, Simla 1905, ii, 314; Sobotsinski, *Persiya: statistiko-ekonomičeskii očerke*, St. Petersburg 1913, quoted by Issawi, 34).

Ḳazwīn played little part in the events leading up to the grant of the constitution. In the first National Consultative Assembly it was represented by two deputies, and a provincial council (*andjuman-i vilāyatī*) was elected. Popular *andjumans* were also set up and established contact with the Tehran *andjumans*, but were dissolved after Muḥammad ʿAlī attacked the Assembly in 1908. After resistance to Muḥammad ʿAlī had been organized in Tabrīz and Iṣfahān and the nationalist movement had spread to Gīlān, the supporters of the constitution in Ḳazwīn, having taken *bast* in the Turkish *shāhbandarī*, established contact with the nationalists in Gīlān. The latter under Yeprim Khān took Ḳazwīn in 1909 and advanced from there on Tehran (Gulrīz, 861 ff.). In July, with a view to exerting pressure on the nationalists, Russia sent troops to Ḳazwīn. Most of these were withdrawn in March 1911, but in December more Russian troops were sent (*Gazeteer of Persia*, Simla 1914, ii, 310). In the troubled years after the suspension of the Assembly in 1911 and during World War I there was a general break-down of law and order in the province of Ḳazwīn as elsewhere. In June 1918 the headquarters of the "Dunsterforce" was established in Ḳazwīn, whence operations were undertaken against the Djangalīs. During the reign of Riḍā Shāh Ḳazwīn declined. As communications improved it ceased to be an important entrepôt and many of the merchant community and considerable numbers of the population in general moved to Tehran.

Bibliography: given substantially in the article, but add: Ḥusayn ʿAlī Sutūda, *Taʾrīkhča-yi Ḳazwīn*, in *Barrasīhā-yi taʾrīkhī*, iv/4 (1969), 97-132, iv/5-6 (1969-70), 165-210; R. Mottahedeh, *Administration in Būyid Qazwīn*, in *Islamic civilisation 950-1150*, ed. D. S. Richards, Oxford 1973, 33-45. (A. K. S. Lambton)

ii. Monuments

Most of Ḳazwīn's mediaeval mosques have disappeared, including the early mosque of Rabīʿ b. Khuthaym (possibly identical to the Djāmiʿ al-Thawr or Djāmiʿ al-Tūt of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥadjdjādj), the Great Mosque founded by Hārūn al-Rashīd, and four others mentioned by Zakariyyā al-Ḳazwīnī. In the 4th/10th century Ḳazwīn consisted of an inner and outer city with two Friday mosques. The town walls, begun by Hārūn al-Rashīd, eventually comprised 206 towers and 12 gates. They were rebuilt in 572/1176 by the vizier Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Marāghī; mud brick was used throughout except for the battlements and the huge gates.

The earliest surviving Islamic building yet identified in Ḳazwīn is the dome chamber of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ, which possibly rests on a pre-Islamic structure. Its long *awḳāf* inscriptions (a rarity in Iranian architecture) date it to between 500/1106 and 508/1114, and mention the patron, the *amīr* Abū Manṣūr Khumartāsh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿImādī. This dome chamber adjoined a pre-existing *madrasa* built in the 4th/10th century by the Ṣāḥib Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād. According to Zakariyyā al-Ḳazwīnī, the size of this dome was unparalleled anywhere. He relates how the masons despaired of vaulting such a huge space until a passing boy suggested that they fill the interior with straw. Although the dome chamber's ground plan, with its double openings on all sides but the *ḳibla*, resembles those of major Saldjūḳ mosques in central Iran, the elevation is markedly different. The model may perhaps have been a large-scale fire temple. The internal zone of transition avoids the complex trilobed squinches of central Iran in favour of a broad simple squinch with a superposed hexadecagon of similar form. The ratio of width to height is less than in other Saldjūḳ dome chambers. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī records that the mosque was given two *īwāns* in 548/1153; if the north *īwān* dates from this time (its decoration is certainly Saldjūḳ) one would expect a matching southern *īwān* preceding the dome. Possibly the Saldjūḳ mosque even had four *īwāns*. The present mosque is unusually large; among religious buildings in Iran, only the

shrine of the Imām Riḍā at Mas̲h̲had and the Iṣfahān D̲j̲āmiʿ are more extensive. It is mostly of Ṣafawīd and Ḳād̲j̲ār date; the south *īwān*, for example, bears an inscription of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās II dated 1069/1658-9.

The Ḥaydariyya mosque or *madrasa* (its original function is uncertain) has close stylistic links with K̲h̲umartās̲h̲'s dome and could be dated a few years later. Its square dome chamber stands to the south of a courtyard surrounded by Ḳād̲j̲ār structures. The damaged squinch zone develops from that of K̲h̲umartās̲h̲'s dome, for the arches of the hexadecagon have tapering bases which fill the spandrels between the arches of the octagon, an imaginative integration of the two levels. The exquisite decoration, mainly in brick and plaster, is notable both for a masterly floriated Kufic inscription and for a very early use of glazed ornament. A distinctive architectural and decorative style was developed in Ḳazwīn during the Seld̲j̲ūḳ period and influenced buildings in the surrounding areas, such as the mosques of Ḳurwa and Sud̲j̲ās.

The so-called mausoleum of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, which was recently restored, is of Mongol date. It has a square base, a square zone of transition with bevelled corners and a conical roof over an internal dome. Similar tomb towers abound in Māzandarān. The only completely Ṣafawīd monument in Ḳazwīn is the much-ruined palace of S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp, now a museum; a heavily restored *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* and a kiosk with some faded wall paintings survive. The last two centuries are represented by the Masd̲j̲id-i S̲h̲āh, the S̲h̲āhzāda Ḥusayn and an extremely rich and varied network of vaulted bazaars and caravansarais now being demolished.

Bibliography: A. Godard, in *Āt̲h̲ār-è Īrān*, i (1936), 193-201; D. N. Wilber, in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope, Oxford and New York 1939, 996; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, repr. Hildesheim and New York 1969, 705-22.

(R. M. Hillenbrand)

AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ, ABŪ ḤĀTIM MAḤMŪD B. AL-ḤASAN AL-ṬABARĪ, a S̲h̲āfiʿī jurist, teacher of al-S̲h̲īrāzī. He belonged to Āmul in Ṭabaristān where he began his studies. In Bag̲h̲dād he studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāʾinī d. 406/1015-16, the law of inheritance under Ibn al-Labbān (d. 402/1011-12) and the *uṣūl* under Ibn al Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1012-13). He taught in Bag̲h̲dād and Āmul in 440/1048-9. Al-S̲h̲īrāzī describes him as his best teacher. Of his works the following are mentioned: 1) *Kitāb Tad̲j̲rīd al-Tad̲j̲rīd*, a synopsis of the legal work of the same name by al-Maḥāmilī (d. 415/1024-25); 2) *Rawnaḳ*, a synopsis of the *Lubāb al-Fiḳh* of al-Maḥāmilī (Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Kas̲h̲f al-Zunūn*, no. 5702); 3) the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal fi'l-Fiḳh* (ed. J. Schacht, Hanover 1924), the only one that has survived and one of the oldest works of the scanty S̲h̲āfiʿī literature on legal quibbles (*ḥiyal*). The book, unlike the Ḥanafī works of the same name by al-S̲h̲aybānī, al-K̲h̲aṣṣāf etc., was very little used for the practical purpose of getting round the S̲h̲arīʿa, but was rather primarily intended to point out legal quibbles which were forbidden or disapproved of, in keeping with the stricter S̲h̲āfiʿī standpoint, which regards the *ḥiyal* used by the Ḥanafīs as contemptible.

Bibliography: al-S̲h̲īrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḳahā'*, in al-Nawawi, *Biogr. Dict.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 688; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲āfiʿiya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, iv, 12; Wüstenfeld, *Schafiʿiten*, no. 371 (= *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, 1891, xxxvii).

(W. Heffening)

AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ (K̲H̲AṬĪB DIMAS̲H̲Ḳ), D̲J̲ALĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿUMAR (666-739/1268-1338), Chief *Ḳāḍī* in Syria and Egypt and author of two famous compendiums on rhetoric. Almost nothing is known about his early life. Most biographers mention that he was born in Mosul and that his elder brother, Imām al-Dīn ʿUmar, was born in Tabrīz in 653/1255. If it is true that the two brothers were related to ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Rāfiʿī (d. 623/1266; see Brockelmann, I, 393, S I, 678), as is reported by Abu 'l-Fidā', *al-Muk̲h̲taṣar fī ak̲h̲bār al-bas̲h̲ar* (Cairo 1325 ?), iv, 129 (cf. a quotation from al-Rāfiʿī by Ḳazwīnī in Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲āfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324/1906, v, 124, and a note on the *nisba* al-Rāfiʿī in al-Asnawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲āfiʿiyya*, Bag̲h̲dād 1390/1970, i, 572), the *nisba* al-Ḳazwīnī is explained. Ḳazwīnī himself claimed descent from Abū Dulaf al-ʿId̲j̲lī [*q.v.*] (cf. Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-'l-wafayāt*, ed. Dedering, iii, Damascus 1953, 243; Ṣafadī probably knew Ḳazwīnī personally, since he held an *id̲j̲āza* from him and praised him in a poem quoted by Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 239) and this claim is often reported in biographies, either explicitly or as part of the genealogy of Ḳazwīnī, though it cannot be proved (see Maṭlūb, 99-101). Unfortunately, these biographies do not mention when and under what circumstances Ḳazwīnī's family left their native town and give no details on the intellectual background of Ḳazwīnī's father, who was his first teacher (Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, Hyderabad 1337/1918-9, iv, 301, asserts that both his father and his grandfather held the rank of Chief *Ḳāḍī*; cf. also Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḳuḍāt Dimas̲h̲ḳ*, ed. Ṣ. Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id, Damascus 1956, 82, ll. 8-10, 87, ll. 14-16), or the studies of rhetoric he might have pursued at an early age. Since the *Asrār al-balāg̲h̲a* and the *Dalā'il al-iʿd̲j̲āz* of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī (d. 471/1078) were inaccessible to some scholars even in the Middle Ages, it would be interesting to know where Ḳazwīnī studied these two books, and whether he might possibly have composed the *Talk̲h̲īṣ* and the *Īḍāḥ* before coming to Damascus.

Some biographers assert that Ḳazwīnī held a position as *ḳāḍī* in a district of Anatolia when he was about twenty years old (this prompts Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī to raise the question whether Ḳazwīnī originally followed the S̲h̲āfiʿī *mad̲h̲hab*; see Maṭlūb, 107-8) and that he was already an accomplished scholar when he and his brother came to Damascus in or before 689/1290 (the date "after 690" given by Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *al-Bidāya*, Cairo 1351/1932, xiv, 185, cannot be correct; see Maṭlūb, 108). His teachers, the most important of whom was ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Birzālī [*q.v.*], appear to have been interested mostly in *fiḳh*, *ḥadīt̲h̲*, logic, and the *ʿilm al-awā'il*, and there are no indications that Ḳazwīnī owed his interest in rhetoric to any of them (Maṭlūb, 114-16). Apart from the two books he wrote on this subject, there is some further evidence of his talents as a man of letters: he is reported to have encouraged the study of *adab* through his lectures and to have composed an anthology of the poetry of Arrad̲j̲ānī [*q.v.*]. Ibn al-Ḳāḍī (*Durrat al-ḥid̲j̲āl*, Cairo 1390/1970, ii, 115) mentions a commentary on the *Tā'iyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ by him, and Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, i, 469) cites a commentary on a didactic poem on prosody by Sāwī (d. 749/1348; see Brockelmann, S II, 258). Bahā' al-Dīn al-Subkī [*q.v.*] held an *id̲j̲āza* for the *Talk̲h̲īṣ al-miftāḥ* from Ḳazwīnī (see Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī ta'rīk̲h̲ al-madāris*, Damascus 1367/1948, i, 38-9) and Suyūṭī prided himself on possessing an autograph of this book (Ḳazwīnī's

handwriting was famous), on which he based his *urdjūza* (the *ʿUḳūd al-djumān*; see the ed. published in Cairo in 1358/1939, 3, and Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326/1908-9, 66). Other indications of his literary talents come from a *taḳrīḍ* by him on a work by Djamāl al-Dīn b. Nubāta [*q.v.*] and the praise bestowed by biographers and poets on his eloquence (see Maṭlūb, 116-8, 139-52), which may have earned him the title Khaṭīb Dimashḳ (Taftāzānī, *al-Sharḥ al-muṭawwal*, Istanbul 1330/1911-2, 3; Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, i, 210; Mehren, 7; this title does not appear as part of his name in any of the biographies known to the author of this article though the fact that he held the office of *Khaṭīb* is mentioned). Some assert that Ḳazwīnī knew Persian and Turkish in addition to Arabic. His competence in *fiḳh* was, according to Ibn al-ʿImād (*Shadharāt*, vi, 123), reflected in a work on the *uṣūl*.

In sharp contrast to the scarcity of information on Ḳazwīnī's early career, and the isolated data on his activities as a man of letters, are the many details on his official career, the most important of which are the following: He held various teaching positions and deputised for his brother (who had been appointed *ḳāḍī* in 696/1297) and Nadjm al-Dīn b. Ṣaṣrā [*q.v.*] in 705/1305, and became *khaṭīb* and *imām* of the Mosque of the Umayyads in 706/1307, and Chief *Ḳāḍī* and *Ḳāḍī* of the Army of Syria in 724/1324, having received the appointment in person from the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir during a visit to Cairo (in 711/1311 he had distinguished himself by his personal courage in resisting the imposition of heavy taxes by one of al-Nāṣir's lieutenants, but this opposition had apparently not met with disfavour from al-Nāṣir, who had his lieutenant imprisoned; see Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, iii, Hyderabad 1373/1954, 235-6). Soon afterwards, in 727/1327, he was appointed Chief *Ḳāḍī* in Cairo, succeeding Badr al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa [*q.v.*]. This appointment marked the height of his career. No *ḳāḍī* was said to have gained an influence over a Turkish ruler comparable to Ḳazwīnī's. Unfortunately Ḳazwīnī's position was adversely influenced by the dissolute life of his sons, who were charged with corruption. In the end al-Nāṣir was unable to ignore the numerous complaints (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda, Cairo 1941, ii/2, 439-42; according to Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar*, iv, Hyderabad 1350/1931, 4, he had been advised of these complaints as early as 724) and felt himself compelled to dismiss Ḳazwīnī and appoint him to his former position in Damascus, where he died soon afterwards on 15 Djumādā I 739/30 November 1338.

Of Ḳazwīnī's writings only the *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* and the *Īḍāḥ fī ʿulūm al-balāgha* appear to have survived. The *Talkhīṣ* is a digest of the third section of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* by Sakkākī [*q.v.*], which in turn is based on the *Asrār al-balāgha* and the *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz* of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [see ISTIʿĀRA]. The *Īḍāḥ* is an enlarged version of the *Talkhīṣ*. Both works, though not free from dryness and some casuistry, gained wide circulation, as is evidenced by the numerous manuscripts and commentaries that have come down to us; and their popularity to this day is shown by the existence of various printed editions (lists of manuscripts, printed editions, and commentaries in manuscript or in print in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 210-11, 473-9; Brockelmann, II, 22, S II, 15; Maṭlūb, 169-82; 184-90). They completely superseded not only the two books by Djurdjānī, but also the work by Sakkākī. At the same time, however, they secured a firm place for the methodical approach that had been initiated by these two authors and influenced the older, unsystematic method of discussing literary theory in collections of chapters on the figures of speech (*badīʿ*) which continued to be practised. The main differences between the presentation of Ḳazwīnī and that of Sakkākī are: (a) Ḳazwīnī's classification of the *madjāz ʿaḳlī* as part of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (see Mehren, 30; Sakkākī classifies this group of figures under the *ʿilm al-bayān*); (b) the addition of a section on the *badīʿ* clearly distinguished from the sections on the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (based on Djurdjānī's *Dalāʾil*) and the *ʿilm al-bayān* (based on Djurdjānī's *Asrār*; Sakkākī in dealing with these figures only speaks of "special methods frequently used for the purpose of embellishing a literary composition"); (c) the addition of chapters on *sariḳa*, *ibtidāʾ*, *takhalluṣ*, and *intihāʾ* [*qq.v.*]. Ḳazwīnī also consulted and discussed the two books by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī and the *Kashshāf* of Zamakhsharī, and borrowed from some of his other predecessors, often without acknowledging his borrowings (Maṭlūb, 191-243). The oldest manuscript of the *Talkhīṣ* carried the date 724 (Maṭlūb, 164). The *Īḍāḥ*, which was intended as a supplement to the *Talkhīṣ*, cannot have been written before the *Talkhīṣ*, but nothing further is known about the date of composition of these books or the circumstances under which they were written.

Bibliography: Biographies appear in all the chronicles and collections of biographies dealing with the end of the 7th/13th and the 8th/14th centuries. The most important have been quoted in the article, but reference should also be made to Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Cairo 1968, i, 209-10. Abstracts from the *Talkhīṣ* in A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen-Vienna 1853; commentaries in *Shurūḥ al-talkhīṣ*, Cairo 1937. The only detailed study of Ḳazwīnī and his work is A. Maṭlūb, *al-Ḳazwīnī wa-shurūḥ al-talkhīṣ*, Baghdad 1387/1967; see also the introduction to H. Ritter's ed. of Djurdjānī's *Asrār al-balāgha*, Istanbul 1954, 6-7.

(S. A. BONEBAKKER)

ḲAZWĪNĪ, ḤAMD ALLĀH [see ḤAMD ALLĀH MUSTAWFĪ].

AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ, NADJM AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-GHAFFĀR B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM, a Shāfiʿī jurist and Ṣūfī who died in Muḥarram 665/October 1266. The most important of his writings was a work known either as *al-Ḥāwī fi 'l-furūʿ* or *al-Ḥāwī fi 'l-fatāwī*, or simply as *al-Ḥāwī*, which became a widely used textbook of Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*, and was the subject of numerous commentaries and glosses: seventeen are listed by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge, i, cols. 625-7). A versified paraphrase of the work, *al-Bahdjat al-wardiyya*, by Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muẓaffar al-Wardī (d. 749/1348) became especially popular. Al-Ḳazwīnī also wrote *al-Lubāb fi 'l-fiḳh*, a briefer work than *al-Ḥāwī*, and himself composed a commentary on it, *al-ʿIdjāb fī sharḥ al-lubāb*; and a book on mathematics is also attributed to him. In addition to his accomplishments as a jurist, he was celebrated as a Ṣūfī possessed of wondrous powers. While travelling to Mecca for the *ḥadjdj*, he was seen to be working on *al-Ḥāwī* in the depth of the night, with the paper illumined by a mysterious light from his fingers. During this journey, he is related to have met Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), founder of the Suhrawardī order or *ṭariḳa*, who encouraged him to complete the writing of *al-Ḥāwī*. He spent most of his life in Ḳazwīn, where he was celebrated for his luminous fingers as well as other *karāmāt*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 679; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge, i, cols. 625-7, ii, col. 1043; Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī, *Djāmiʿ karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1381/1962, ii, 194; Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324/1906, v, 118; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1954, iv, 157.

(H. Algar)

AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ, ZAKARIYYĀʾ B. MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD Abū Yaḥyā (Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, iv, 188-9: Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Kūfī al-Ḳazwīnī), famous Arab cosmographer and geographer. He drew his origin from an Arab family (his ancestor, Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Hibat Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī, was probably descended from Anas b. Malik [*q.v.*]), who had been Persianised after settling at Ḳazwīn in Persia. Judging from certain solecisms to be found in al-Ḳazwīnī's works, Arabic does not seem to have been his mother tongue.

He was born at Ḳazwīn, probably towards 600/1203 and seems to have received there his legal education. At a moment difficult to establish he left his native town, went to Baghdād and stayed also some time in Damascus where he met, probably towards 630/1233, the well-known philosopher and mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]). It was apparently at this period that he visited al-Mawṣil where he met Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239 [see IBN AL-ATHĪR], and perhaps also the town of Sindjār. Al-Ḳazwīnī travelled also in Persia and paid a visit to the town of Djannāba. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, he stayed for a long time in al-Wāsiṭ and al-Ḥilla, where he fulfilled the function of *ḳāḍī* under the reign of the last ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim (640-56/1240-58). We do not know where he met the Arab philologist and geographer Ibn Saʿīd al-Gharnāṭī [*q.v.*] who went to the East in 648/1250. From al-Kūfī, one of his *nisbas*, it would follow that he lived for a certain time in Kūfa. After Baghdād had taken by the Mongols in 656/1258, he retired from public life to devote himself entirely to scientific activities. It is quite probable that he found a Maecenas in the Persian historian and statesman al-Djuwaynī (d. 682/1283 [*q.v.*]), from 661/1262 governor of Baghdād on behalf of Hūlāgū and his successor Abāḳā. It is perhaps because of his presumed protection that he dedicated his cosmographical work to al-Djuwaynī. He died in 682/1283. (On his name and life, see his *Cosmography*, ii; *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 121, 232, 263, 293, 310, 334, 349, 367-8 and *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, in margins of al-Damīrī, *Ḥāyat al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1319/1901-2, 3; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*², iii, 447, 448 ff.; F. Wüstenfeld, in *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, i (1848), 349 ff.; M. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, tr. i, Paris 1848, pp. cxliii-cl; Brockelmann, *GAL* I, 481; M. Streck, *al-Ḳazwīnī*, in *EI*¹; I. Yu. Kračkovsky, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, in *idem*, *Izbrannye sočineniya*, iv, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 359-60.)

Al-Ḳazwīnī is the author of two works, a cosmographical one and a geographical one. The first, commonly named *Cosmography*, has the title *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawdjūdāt* "Prodigies of things created and miraculous aspects of things existing". This work is divided into two parts, the first of which treats of supraterrestrial things, and the second of terrestrial ones. In the first part the author describes the celestial phenomena, i.e. the moon, the sun, the stars, and speaks then of the inhabitants of heaven, the angels. At the end of this part he explains the problems of chronology and of the Arabic and Syrian calendars. The second part begins with a treatise on the four elements, the meteors and the winds. The author then describes the division of the earth into seven climates and gives a description of all the known seas and rivers. Having explained the causes of earthquakes and of the formation of mountains and wells, he passes in review the three kingdoms of nature: the mineral, the vegetable and the animal. The description of the animal kingdom is preceded by that of man, his character and anatomy, and by a characteristic of human tribes. The other living beings are discussed after *djinns* and *ghūls* have been dealt with.

Al-Ḳazwīnī's *Cosmography*, the first systematic exposition of cosmography in Muslim literature, enjoyed great popularity in the whole of the Islamic world, as is attested by a great number of manuscripts representing several Arabic versions, by Persian and Turkish translations and by the revisions of the work. J. Ruska (*Ḳazwīnī-Studien*, in *Isl.*, iv (1913), 14-66, and 236-62) has shown against Wüstenfeld (see the latter's edition of the *ʿAdjāʾib, Kosmographie i.* Göttingen 1849, pp. vii-xii) that there were four different Arabic versions of the *Cosmography*, the second of which, represented by Cod. Monac. 464, the oldest manuscript known so far, and by many others, seems to be the best. Wüstenfeld however, for his edition of the *ʿAdjāʾib*, has chosen the most recent version (iv) which is only an 18th century recast of al-Ḳazwīnī's original work. This recast is represented by ms. Gotha 1508. Besides, Wüstenfeld has greatly complicated his edition by rejecting several fragments of version (iv) and replacing them with fragments taken from manuscripts belonging to other versions of the *ʿAdjāʾib*. Thus he has fabricated a completely new text which does not represent any of the existing versions of the work. Besides Wüstenfeld's edition, there is also a Cairo edition (n.d., 8°, 416 pp.), based on a manuscript related to Cod. Monac. 464 and analogous to the edition of the *Cosmography* published in the margins of the edition of al-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (Cairo 1319/1901-2).

The manuscripts of the *Cosmography* are often illustrated with *i.a.* geometrical tables and miniatures representing plants, animals and various monsters, which have sometimes a high artistic value (on the Arabic versions, the Persian and Turkish translations and the manuscripts of these versions, see al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*. i, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii-xii; Streck, *op. cit.*; ʿA.M. ʿAḳḳād, *al-Fuṣūl*, 123-7; Brockelmann, S I, 883; Kračkovsky, *op. cit.*, 362-5; M. Kowalska, *Eine unbekannte Handschrift al-Ḳazwīnīs Kitāb ʿAǧāʾib al-maḫlūḳāt*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i/2 (1959), 326-32).

The sources of the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* have not yet been studied (see on this problem Pertsch, *Kat. d. arab. Handschr. zu Gotha*, iii, 431). Going through Wüstenfeld's edition one can discover some twenty-odd authors whose works have been used, from al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn al-Faḳīh down to Ibn al-Athīr, the most often-quoted being the one by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī and the anonymous treatise entitled *Tuḥfat al-gharāʾib* (see M. Kowalska, *Remarks on the unidentified Cosmography Tuḥfat al-ǧarāʾib*, in *Folia Orientalia*, ix (1967), 11-8). The connexions between the *Cosmography* and Yāḳūt's *Muʿdjam al-buldān* are still to be established.

From what has been said above, it is evident that there does not yet exist any critical edition of the *Cosmography*. Wüstenfeld's edition stimulated a translation by H. Ethé (Leipzig 1868) which

comprises, however, only the first part. At the beginning of the 19th century A. L. de Chézy translated the chapters on the minerals, the vegetables and the human being (see S. de Sacy, *op. cit.* iii, 385-516). In his *Über die Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), L. Ideler published an annotated edition of the chapter on the stars. Of the partial editions, translations and studies of the *Cosmography* the following are mentioned here by way of example J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des ... al-Ḳazwīnī*, Heidelb. Prog. d. Oberrealschule, Kirchhain N.-L. 1896; *Über den falschen und den echten Ḳazwīnī*, in *Mitt. Gesch. Naturwiss.*, xiii (1914), 183-8; S. J. Anbacher, *Die Abschnitte über die Geister u. die wunderbaren Geschöpfe aus Qazwīnī's Kosmographie...*, Kirchhain N.-L. 1905; F. Taeschner, *Die Psychologie Ḳazwīnī*, thesis Kiel, Tübingen 1912; E. Wiedemann, *Über die Kriechtiere nach al-Qazwīnī*, dans *SB Phys.-med. Soc. Erlangen*, xlviii-xlix (1916-7), 222-85; *Übersetzung und Besprechung des Abschnittes über die Pflanzen von Qazwīnī*, *ibid.*, 286-321; G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, Berlin 1892, iii, 94-124: *Ornithologisches zu Qazwīnī*; G. Ferrand, *La Tuḥfat al-albāb de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī*, dans *JA*, (Oct.-Dec. 1925), 230-35; A. Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici*, Oslo 1896-1928, 102-3 and 140-1 and *Adnotationes criticae*, pp. XLVI and LXVI-LXVII.

Al-Ḳazwīnī's second work, commonly called *Geography*, is known from several manuscripts belonging to two different versions. The oldest, entitled *ʿAdjāʾib al-buldān* "Prodigies of the Countries" (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 186) was composed in 661/1262-3 (see Reinaud, *op. cit.* cxliv). The second completely revised version dates from 674/1275-6. It carries the title *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād* "Monuments of the Countries and History of their Inhabitants" (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 154). The four manuscripts of the second version served Wüstenfeld as the basis for his edition of the *Geography/Cosmography, ii: Āthār al-bilād*, Göttingen 1848. Another edition, Beirut 1380/1960-1, is in fact only a reproduction of Wüstenfeld's publication.

The description of the earth in the *Āthār al-bilād* follows the Ptolemaic division of the *oikoumene* into seven climates. The cities, countries, mountains, rivers etc. situated in each of these climates are described in alphabetical order. The description of each city or country contains geographical and historical facts and also biographical data on famous personalities originating from them. Thus the *Geography* resembles the *Muʿdjam al-buldān* of Yāḳūt so far as the disposition of the material is concerned (except that in al-Ḳazwīnī's work the material is distributed over seven different dictionaries according to the division in climates). Certain articles of the *Geography*, concerning e.g. various mountains, rivers etc. can also be found in the *Cosmography*, often with exactly the same tenor.

Besides the two Arabic versions, several Persian revisions and Turkish abridgements of the *Geography* are known. Towards 808/1403 al-Bākuwī gave a new version of it, which is independent of the two Arabic versions mentioned above (on the various versions and translations of the *Geography* and on the manuscripts of this work, see Wüstenfeld, *Kosmographie*. ii, pp. iii-x; Streck, *op. cit.*, Brockelman, S I, 882-3).

As opposed to the sources of the *Cosmography*, those of *Āthār al-bilād* have been object of some studies. Already F. Wüstenfeld had compiled a list (very incomplete, however) of the sources used by al-Ḳazwīnī (*Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, i, (1848), 351). He returned to this problem in his edition of Yāḳūt's *Muʿdjam al-buldān* (Leipzig 1866-70, v, 46-7) where he propounded the opinion that al-Ḳazwīnī made extensive use of this work, without mentioning this use. W. Jwaideh (*The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-Buldān*, Leiden 1959, 44, n. 1) has shown that al-Ḳazwīnī borrowed from Yāḳūt the preliminary descriptions of all seven climates. In 1967 M. Kowalska published the first serious study on the sources of the *Geography* in an article entitled *The Sources of al-Qazwīnī's Āthār al-Bilād*, in *Folia Orientalia*, viii (1966), 41-88, in which she gives a detailed analysis of those sources. From this it appears that nearly 360 articles out of the *ca.* 600 which form the total of al-Ḳazwīnī's geographical dictionary contain data borrowed from the *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, and that a very considerable part (viz. 157) of these 360 articles contain nothing else but extracts from Yāḳūt's work. Thus the *Muʿdjam al-buldān* forms the principal source of the *Āthār al-bilād*. M. Kowalska's study shows also that all quotations from al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ibn Faḍlān, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī and from the two *risāla*s of Abū Dulaf to be found in al-Ḳazwīnī's *Geography*, have been borrowed by the latter not from the original works of the geographers in question but from the *Muʿdjam al-buldān*. She has also established an almost complete list of the fragments al-Ḳazwīnī has extracted from other Arabic sources, from which are cited here the works of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ṭurṭūshī (= Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb al-Ṭurṭūshī; see T. Kowalski, *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Jaʿkūb de itinere slavico*, Cracow 1946, 21-35), al-Bīrūnī, al-ʿUdhri, Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī and an anonymous cosmographical treatise of the 12th century entitled *Tuḥfat al-gharāʾib*. Finally, she has compiled a list of al-Ḳazwīnī's oral informants. The author of the *Āthār al-bilād* owes his knowledge of West Africa to two of these informants (see M. Kowalska, *Zwei wenig bekannte muslimische Reisende in West-Sudan im 13. Jh.*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 231-4).

Although rather uncritical and lacking an index, Wüstenfeld's edition of the *Āthār al-bilād* became nevertheless the starting-point of several partial editions, translations and special studies on the various chapters of the work. These studies are: G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, Berlin 1892, ii, 38-9, 60-1; idem, *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe aus dem 9. und 10. Jarhhundert*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, 21-33; A. Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici*, 24-5, 44 and *Adnot. crit.*, pp. XII-XIII, XX; G. Ferrand, *Le Tuḥfat al-albāb d'Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī*, in *JA* (1925), 235-9; M. C. Lyons, *Some Aspects of Al-Qazwīnī's Āthār al-Bilād*, in *Glasgow Univ. Or. Soc. Trans.*, xx, (1963-4), 63-76; M. Kowalska, *Namensregister zu Ḳazwīnī's Āṯār al-Bilād*, in *RO*, xxix/1, (1965), 99-115, xxx/1, (1966), 119-34; idem, *Al-Qazwīnī's Āthār al-Bilād and the quotations from Abū Dulaf's Narrative*, in *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici, Ravello 1966*, Naples 1967, 427-35.

Al-Ḳazwīnī was the greatest of Arabic cosmographers. He was at the same time astronomer, geographer, geologist, mineralogist, botanist, zoologist and ethnographer. Like all his predecessors (who appeared already in the 6th/12th century), he was only a good compiler who neither produced a new fact nor created any new theory. Being, however, very learned and very cultivated at the same time, he succeeded in synthesizing all the facts known

in his time about the above-mentioned sciences. His principal merit lies in his having accomplished the raising of cosmography to a literary genre of extremely high level. He was also a talented vulgariser who knew to express himself clearly and realized that erudition should not exceed certain limits, in order not to discourage the general public. His language is clear, simple and varied, although he often does not give anything but a mosaic of extracts from sources, arranged nevertheless in a skilful way. Highly appreciated by certain modern Arabists who sometimes compare him to Herodotus and Pliny (Reinaud, *op. cit.* p. cxliv; see also Streck, *op. cit.* and Kračkovsky, *op. cit.* 358-9), al-Ķazwīnī has been judged far too severely by other scholars. G. von Grunebaum (*Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1947, 301-2, 304) quotes two passages from the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūķāt* to illustrate the decline of critical science in the 7th/13th century, and G. Wiet (*Introduction à la littérature arabe*, Paris 1966, 210) looks upon al-Ķazwīnī's *Cosmography* as a work "devoid of critical mind" and "lacking originality". Accordingly, M. Kowalska (*The Sources*, 87-8) calls him "an amateur geographer ... [who] selected the available data rather uncritically often in a quite accidental way". She also insists that he "has plagiarized the writing of the older geographers and historians". Indeed, the impression cannot be resisted that al-Ķazwīnī surpassed all the other Arabic cosmographers and geographers in plagiarism. This results clearly from the way in which he unscrupulously plundered the *Muʿdjam al-buldān* without even mentioning the name of the author of his main source.

Al-Ķazwīnī exerted a great influence on the Arabic cosmographers and geographers of later periods. His two works have been turned to account by authors like Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashķī (d. 727/1327), Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Ḥarrānī (writing *ca.* 732/1332), Ḥamd Allāh Ķazwīnī (d. towards 750/1349), al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405), Ibn al-Wardī (d. 861/1457) and several others, down to Maḥmūd b. Saʿīd al-Safāķusī (d. after 1233/1818). On this question, see *inter alia*, A. F. Mehren, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen âge*, Paris-Copenhagen-Leipzig 1874, 165, 168, 179, 186-91, 198 and *passim*; Kračkovsky, *op. cit.*, 365, 385-6, 493, 598, 618 and 748-9.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(T. Lewicki)

AL-ĶAZZĀZ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. DJAʿFAR AL-TAMĪMĪ, was born in Ķayrawān and spent most of his life there. Attached to the Fāṭimid caliphs, who held him in high esteem and loaded him with gifts, he followed them—probably for a very brief time—to Egypt and then returned to Ķayrawān, where he devoted himself to teaching the linguistic sciences until his death in 412/1021-2, aged about 90. Respected by the great and loved by the people for his powerful personality, his exemplary life and his great liberality, he was venerated by his students, most of whom became prominent men of letters, such as Ibn Rashīķ, Ibn Sharaf and Ibn al-Barr, whose teaching of language and grammar was authoritative in Spain, and also al-Ḥātimī, the celebrated detractor of al-Mutanabbī.

Although considered by critics an excellent poet of verses "at once natural and studied" and often referred to by Ibn Rashīķ for problems of literary criticism (see refs. to *al-ʿUmda* in the bibliography below), it is chiefly for his numerous and voluminous works on grammar and lexicography that al-Ķazzāz seems to have commanded attention in his lifetime. The following titles are cited: (1) *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*, which seems to be the same as *al-Djāmiʿ*, is a vast compilation bringing together the meaning of each particle, *ḥarf*, its use, its value, and its role in the sentence; (2) *Kitāb al-ʿasharāt* (published Sidon 1344/1925-6), a lexicographic work on words carrying ten or more different meanings; (3) *Kitāb al-ḥulā wa 'l-shiyāt*, Sidon 1344/1925-6, on the anatomy of the human body, for the use of scribes and slave dealers; (4) *Kitāb al-muthallath*, on patterns with triple vocalisation; (5) *Kitāb al-ḍād wa 'l-ẓāʾ*; (6) *Kitāb al-taʿrīḍ wa 'l-taṣrīḥ*; (7) *Kitāb mā yadjūz li 'l-shāʿir fī 'l-ḍarūra*, on poetic licence; éd. M. Kaʿbī, Tunis 1971; (8) *Iʿrāb al-Duraydiyya*, a commentary on the poem called *al-Maķṣūra* by Ibn Durayd; (9) *Sharḥ Risālat al-balāgha*, on a work of rhetoric; (10) *Kitāb abyāt al-maʿānī*, on the riddling verses of al-Mutanabbī; (11) *Kitāb mā ukhidha ʿan al-Mutanabbī min al-laḥn wa 'l-ghalaṭ*, on the criticisms arising from certain instructions in the poetry of al-Mutanabbī; (12) *Kitāb adab al-sulṭān wa-'l-taʾaddub lahu*, in 10 volumes, probably a work on the rules of conduct for princes and those to be observed towards them. (For the mss. of these works, see Brockelmann in the Bibliography below.)

By the nature and worth of his teaching and his writings, al-Ķazzāz seems to have played a determining role in the philological orientation which characterises the "Literary School of Ķayrawān" under the Zīrids.

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(Ch. Bouyahia)

KEČE. [see LIBĀS].

KEČEDJĪ-ZĀDE. [see FUʾĀD PASHA; ʿIZZET MOLLĀ].

KEČIBOYNUZU IBRĀHĪM ḤILMĪ PASHA (b. 1160/1747, d. 1240/1825) Ottoman Grand Vizier, November 1806-June 1807. The son of a Janissary officer, he rose through various posts in the corps to the chief command (hence he is sometimes referred to as Ibrāhīm "Agha"). Upon the dismissal of Ḥāfiẓ Ismāʿīl Pasha (14 November 1806), provoked by the attempt to use the troops of the Niẓām-i Djedīd [*q.v.*] in Rūmeli, he was appointed Grand Vizier. As *serdār* against Russia (war having been declared by the Porte on 22 December), he led a refractory army of Janissaries and volunteers to Silistre (May 1807), where, however, no military

activity ensued. When news of the final rising against Selīm III (the "Kabakčī wakʿasī", 25 May) reached the camp, the Janissaries rose in sympathy and Ibrāhīm fled into hiding at Rusčuk. He was dismissed on 18 June. The various governorships he held thereafter are listed in *SʿO*, i, 154. For the context of these events and full bibliography, see S. J. Shaw, *Between old and new. The Ottoman Empire under Selim III, 1789-1807*, Harvard Middle Eastern Studies no. 15, 1971, and SELĪM III. (ED.)

KĔDAH. [see KALAH].

LE **KEF.** [see AL-KĀF].

KEFE, KAFA, KAFFA, the old name of the town of modern Theodosia (Russian Feodosia), on the southeastern coast of the Crimea. In classical times its name was Theodosia, and it was founded in the first half of the 7th century B.C. as a colony from Miletus in Ionia. It is first mentioned in 390 B.C., and according to the sources, the town derived great profit from exports to Greece, having a port with a capacity for 100 ships. However, the town's trade was harmed by attacks of the Scythian tribes living in the steppes to the north of Kefe. Kefe is recorded by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the form *Kapha* as the place where the people of the Chersonese fought with the king of the Bosphorus. In the following centuries, Kefe was founded. This place was known as *Caphum* in Roman days, and the Byzantines erected a column which bears an inscription with the date 819 A.D. (E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks in South Russia*, repr. New York 1965, ii, 555-8; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, v, A, 2, cols. 1921-2; for the other accounts concerning the name Kefe, see J. Buchan Telfer, *The Crimea and Transcaucasia*, London 1876, i, 74). With one or two exceptions, the name Kefe is not mentioned in other sources before the 13th century.

Geographical conditions linked the Crimea, and naturally Kefe, to the Ḳīpčaḳ steppes, and also via the Black Sea to Anatolia, and especially to Istanbul. In the development of the East-West and South-North transit trade, Kefe played a great role. Like other Crimean ports, it was dependent on Byzantium, but autonomous in its internal affairs. When the Latins captured Constantinople in 1204, it became dependent on the Byzantine kingdom of Trebizond. From the 13th century onwards, the Saldjūḳs of Rūm became concerned with the Crimean peninsula; there were some Turkish traders active at that time in Kefe, and the Kefe-Sinope-Istanbul route was the most used in the Black Sea (G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIIIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1929, 228). When Genoa and Venice obtained permission to trade in the Byzantine lands, the Genoese assumed the more active role in the Black Sea and in the region of Crimea. The Crimean ports benefited from the peace established within the steppes by the Mongols, and the Genoese, probably *ca.* 1266, received permission to trade and to live in Kefe with the consent of the Golden Horde Khān Mengü Tīmūr, as well as from Urān Tīmūr, grandson of Djoči, who was the ancestor of the Crimean Khāns and who had been granted the land as an appanage (Bratianu, 198 ff.; W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-âge*, repr. Leipzig 1939, ii, 163 ff.). The Genoese built city walls around Kefe and also founded some other trade colonies near it. At the time when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Kefe, it could accommodate 200 ships (*Riḥla*, tr. Gibb, i, 142-3). Kefe had a cosmopolitan population, and was nominally dependent on the Golden Horde Khān (decree of Tīmūr Ḳutlugh dated 800/1398, cf. A. Nimet Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 148-9). Apart from the many Muslims, there were also Genoese, Greeks and Armenians and it was estimated that in 823/1420 the population in the city was *ca.* 40,000 (Schiltberger, *Travels and Bondage*, London 1879, 49, 50). Pero Tafur says that the city was as big as Seville, but twice as crowded; and since the slave-trade was important there, there were agents of the Mamlūk state despatching slaves from the Caucasus to Egypt (*Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439*, London 1926, 132, 133 ff.). In Kefe there was a *tudun* whose task was to look after the Muslims on behalf of the Golden Horde Khān, and also a customs officer to collect the duties on commerce (Kurat, *op. cit.*, 64, 149; Heyd, *op. cit.*, ii, 370).

After the Giray Crimean Khānate came into existence, it began a continuous struggle with the Genoese. With the support of an Ottoman force, Ḥādjdjī Giray (d. 860/1456) besieged Kefe; the Genoese bought them off by agreeing to pay a tribute of 3,000 gold pieces (Heyd, ii, 383), although Ḥādjdjī Giray continued to exert pressure on the town.

Attempts by the Genoese to impede Ottoman trade in the Black Sea determined the Ottomans to move against Kefe. Gedik Aḥmed Pasha conquered Kefe with 300 ships of varying tonnage at the beginning of Ṣafar 880/June 1475 (ʿĀshīkpashazāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1332, 213-15; Ibn Kemāl, *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Şerafettin Turan, Ankara 1954, 421-3; Heyd, ii, 401 ff.). Kefe and other Genoese strongholds were now taken directly under Ottoman sovereignty, whilst the landward parts and high plateau of Crimea were left to the Crimean Khānate. In the time of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512), Kefe became a princely *sandjaḳ* and first the prince Meḥemmed, and then after his death, Süleymān son of Selīm I, became the governors of this *sandjaḳ*. During his struggle for the throne, Selīm had had to stay in Kefe for a while (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 98; Çagatay Uluçay, *Yavuz Sultan Selim nasıl padişah oldu*, in *TD*, ix (Istanbul 1954), 81, 89-90).

The trade of Kefe was now in the hands of Turkish Muslim traders, following the Kefe-Sinop-Istanbul and Kefe-Trebizond routes, and according to the Kefe customs record book, dated 892/1487, trade was brisker than before (see Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kefe mukataası defteri, No. 5280 *mükerrer*).

The internal condition of the town is known from a *taḥrīr* register from the reign of Süleymān I; according to this, Kefe was divided into three sections, the Ič Ḳalʿe (Inner fortress), the Frenk Ḥiṣārī (the European castle) and the Ḳalʿe altī (the lower side of the castle); Muslims resided in Ič Ḳalʿe and Frenk Ḥiṣārī, and Christians (such as Greeks, Armenians, Russians), Jews and Circassians used to stay in Ḳalʿe altī (Khāk-ī-Ḳalʿe) (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü; Tapu-Taḥrīr defteri, No. 370, pp. 481-3).

Muslims	*quarters*	*local groups*	*house-holds*	*single persons*
Frenk Ḥiṣārī	10	—	139	34
Ḳalʿe-i Bīrūn	11	—	176	52
non-Muslims				
Khāk-ī Ḳalʿe		26		
Greeks	—		519	27
Armenians	—		1338	74
Russians	—		34	1
Circassians	—		11	—
Jews	—		92	1
Totals	21	26	2309	189

In the quarters where Muslims lived, there were 17 small mosques and 2 large ones. The taxes collected from Muslims and Christians were assigned as personal revenues for the *sandjak beg*. Goods imported into Kefe included hemp, dyestuffs, various kinds of thread, cotton cloth, beeswax, oil, fat, rice, cheese, hardware, etc. (Kefe mukataası defteri, No. 5280 *mükerrer*). Exports included various kinds of fruits, olives, dried and fresh fruits, wheat, corn, barley, chickpeas, lentils, flour, honey, olive oil, horses, cattle, various kinds of leather, dried fish and caviare (*Ḳānūn-name-i iskele-yi Kefe*, Taputaḥrīr defteri, No. 370, p. 479). Above all, slaves captured in South Russia and the Ḳîpčaḳ steppes were sent to Kefe, which was a traditional centre of the slave-trade. The annual customs income of Kefe was 620,000 *aḳčas* (*Ḳānūn-nāme-yi iskele-i Kefe*, pp. 479, 483; for the *pendjik* duty (sc. that which used to be taken for each slave) in 1118/1706, see Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi, No. 5277, p. 70b). In 1052/1642 there were 4,000 houses in Kefe; 3,200 of these were occupied by Muslims and the rest by the minorities, especially by Armenians and Greeks (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1701, i, 104). When Ewliyā Čelebi visited the city, the Muslims used to live in 80 districts, and Christians used to live as 120 local groups. Within and outside the town, there were 9,060 houses, 20 fountains, 105 *sebīls*, 9 inns for bachelors, 1,010 shops, 160 flour mills, 50 smaller mosques, 60 big mosques, 9 dervish *tekkes*, 45 schools, 10 public baths and 43 traders' caravanserais. Among the 167 different craftsmen, the most notable were tailors, jewellers, shoe makers, and prayer-rug weavers; most of the population in the second half of the 11th/17th century were involved in the slave trade or the oil and export of honey (*Seyāḥatnāme*, vii, 673 ff., 678-9, 682). In the town of Kefe, which now acquired a characteristic Turkish appearance, the most prominent buildings included the mosque of Sultan Selīm I; the mosque of Prince Süleymān; the Kule Kapisi mosque, built in 888/1483; the Sultan Süleymān public bath; the Kodja Ḳāsim Pasha Khān, built in 981/1573; the Wezīr Khān; the tomb of Muṣṭafā (d. 1070/1659-60); and the Shehīd Baba Ziyāreti (Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 673 ff., 682; Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Ali Emiri Tasnifi, I. Mahmud kismi, No. 1522, III. Osman kismi, No. 563).

In the face of pressure from the Cossacks and Russians from the 11th/17th century onwards, the fortress of Kefe was strengthened in the second half of that century (*ibid.*, vii, 671 ff., viii, 31).

Kefe, though normally a *sandjak*, was sometimes treated as an *eyālet* also (Başbakanlik Arsiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Ruus defteri, No. 262, p. 217, see also Mühimme defteri, No. VII, pp. 19, 22-3 and various other places). It was finally erected into an *eyālet* in 1010/1602 (C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler*; *Telhisler* (*1595-1605*), Istanbul 1970, 78), and it remained as such till 1191/1777. There was no organisation of *tīmārs* or *zeʿāmets* in the *eyālet*, but instead it had an administration which consisted of a *māl defterdāri* and the deputy clerks of the *Dīwān*; a customs superintendent with a staff of 50, an Agha of Janissaries, a *djebedji aghasî*, and a *Topdju aghasî*. There was a fleet of 5 ships under the command of the Admiral of Kefe (Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 668). When the *beylerbeyi* of Kefe was occupied elsewhere, his deputy was the *sandjak beyi* of Kefes (Fîndîklîlî Meḥmed Agha, *Nuṣretnāme*, simplified version by Ismet Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1963-6, i, 145, 167, ii, 417). In the first half of the 11th/17th century the *eyālet* of Kefe consisted administratively of the *ḳaḍā*'s of Kerč, Sughdāḳ and Menkūb, and there were 3,200 households paying the poll-tax or *djizya*. This last was collected by a *muḥaṣṣil* instead of the *defterdār*. Since the incoming Christian population of the province was increasing, the *djizya* land registers of the province had frequently to be brought up to date. Hence in 1042/1633 the *beylerbeyi* of Kefe was authorised to assume this responsibility as *muḥaṣṣil-i emwāl* and *muḥarrir-i Kefe* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler, No. 3722, pp. 51, 52). In the following century, the customs of the port of Kefe, plus the *ʿöshür* and other taxes coming from Gözleve, Taman, Balîklagî, Ḳalʿe-i Djedīd, Kerč and Ḳîzîltash in 1181/1767 produced 4,238,500 *aḳčas*. Trade was no longer in the hands of Muslims, but in the hands of traders looking to Russia (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, No. 199, p. 299, 343; for the state of the revenue of Kefe in 1118/1706, see Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi, No. 5277, p. 14a). The Turks used to call Kefe "Istanbul the Lesser" or "Half of Istanbul", because of its ethnic diversity.

During the Ottoman-Russian War of 1149-51/1736-9, Kefe in Muḥarram 1149/May 1736 narrowly escaped attack by a Russian army (*Kırım tarihi veya Necati Efendi'nin Rusya sefaretnamesi*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, xv (Istanbul 1949), 226). The military command (*Seraskerlik*) of Kefe was first instituted during the above-mentioned War, and later the *Seraskerlik* of the Crimea, with this office held by the *Beylerbeyi* of Kefe. The last *Beylerbeyi* of Kefe was Abaza Meḥmed Pasha who was appointed in Shawwāl 1184/February 1771 (for the *beylerbeyis* between 1168/1755 and 1185/1771, see Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Tahvil Defteri, No. 16, p. 42). At the end of the war beginning in 1182/1768, Kefe and the Crimea were both captured by the Russians. The Muslim Turkish population started even in the opening stages of the war to migrate into the interior of the Crimea and also left by ship to other Ottoman territories. At that time, the population of Kefe was 20,000 and included many Greeks and Armenians; it was recorded that there were about 50 small and big mosques and 56 churches (*Kırım tarihi veya Necati Efendi'nin Rusya sefaretnamesi*, in *Tarih Vesikalari*, xiv (Istanbul 1944), 139, 147, 225). The Russians attacked Kefe again in 1191/1777 and captured it. Despite the Ayvalîkavak order for the reduction of troops (1193/1779), the Russians continued to hold Kefe as well as some other strategically important parts of Crimea, and strengthened their defences.

When Kefe was finally captured by the Russians in 1197/1783, its port was mined, and there had been much destruction; according to the oldest Russian map of the town, there were in it 29 mosques, 13 Greek churches and 22 Armenian ones. Out of 813 houses, 694 belonged to Turks. (For the situation in 1782, see W. Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*, London 1799, 328-9, 333; cf. also P. Mines Bijiskyan, *Karadeniz kıyıları tarih coğrafyası*, tr. H. D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1969, 97). Catherine II of Russia gave the city its old name of Theodosia (Russian Feodosia), but for a short time its name was still officially accepted as Kefe. Despite efforts at restoration, the town's position remained depressed, and in 1823 it still looked neglected. However, the direct trade with Istanbul revived somewhat. In that time the population of Kefe consisted of Greeks, Jews and Turks; some of the Jews were Karaite

Turks [see KARAITES ii] (G. Matthew Jones, *Travels in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia and Turkey, also on the Coasts of the Sea of Azof and of the Black Sea*, London 1827, ii, 219-20, 222; for the state of Kefe in 1836, see E. Spencer, *Travels in Circassia and Krim Tartary*, London 1837, ii, 234-5). Although the Russians called the city Feodosia, the name of the town was still Kefe to most of its population, even as late as 1836 (E. Spencer, *Travels in Circassia*, ii, 235). At this period, Kefe was in the transitional stage between being a Tatar and a Russian town, but gradually gained the characteristics of a summer resort, and in the latter part of the 19th century it was a city with a population of 10,000, with an additional 3,000 to 5,000 summer visitors every year (Telfer, *The Crimea and Transcaucasia*, ii, 142, 144 ff.). In 1897, only 3,200 of the whole population of 27,238 were Crimean Tatars.

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KELEK, KELLEK, KELIK (Turkish-Arabic) is a curious raft made of bags of goat's hair, which is already known from the sculptures of Nineveh and has hardly changed in the course of centuries. It is the Akkadian *kalakku*, Syriac *kəlakkā*. The word, particularly mentioned by travellers in Mesopotamia and Persia, is said to be typical for the upper part of the Tigris. The *kelik* used between Diyārbekir and Baghdād is put together as follows. On a layer of 100 to 300, and sometimes even 400, inflated goatskins, each tied up with two strings one metre long and made of liquorice-fibre, are laid five bars of *kawak*-wood 6-10 cm. thick and about 7 m. long. On these are put diagonally, at intervals of 40 cm., 30 bundles of reeds each consisting of two parts. Seven bars, each 15 cm. thick, cover the bundles diagonally and over these are laid 8 cross-bars consisting of 2 parts. When persons are transported, reeds are spread plentifully on this construction and one or two small shelters, made of wood and covered with mats (*ʿarshe*), are erected on it for the travellers. Depending on its size, the *kelek* has two to six oars. On arrival at Baghdād, the cargo is unloaded, and the wooden construction removed: the bags are taken out, deflated and dried; they can then be kept for about 2 years. The *kelekči* then loads them up on a donkey and returns home. The journey down the river Tigris may be hampered by the wind, which drives the *kelek* to the bank, where the traveller may have to wait several days for better weather.

Several passages of the *Thousand and one nights* show that the *kelek* was not always such a complicated raft. Just like the *ṭawf* (pl. *aṭwāf*), it could be constructed of wood only; Sayf al-Mulūk builds a *kelek* of long trunks tied together with cords (ed. Habicht, iv, 245[11], 246[3] ff., tr. Littmann, Wiesbaden. 1953, v, 265 f.). He even (*ibid.*, 264[14], tr. v, 279) utilises doors of aloe and sandalwood, which he ties together with cords of silk. In the manuscripts of the *Thousand and one nights*, the word *kelek* has on the other hand not always been understood by the copyists, who have often substituted for it *fulk*, which graphically comes near to it, although the context requires the meaning "raft". The confounding of *kelek* with *fulk* "Noah's Ark" (in the Ḳurʾān) may have led to the assumption that *kelek* has the same meaning, even though this is as wrong as relating *ṭawf* (*ṭōf*) to *ṭūfān* "deluge".

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(H. KINDERMANNN)

KEMĀKH, Armenian Gumukh or Ani, usual Syriac form Ḳamaḥ, modern Turkish Kemah, a small town in eastern Anatolia on the Ḳarā Ṣū or upper Euphrates, now the centre of a *kaza* of the same name within the *vilayet* of Erzincan, and a station on the railway connecting Sivas with Erzincan. The present form of the name derives from Greek κάμαχα. The Arabic geographers and historians usually refer to it as Kamkh (thus in Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 192, 195, tr. Wiet, 188, 190-1; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 447), although Yāḳūt, iv, 479, confirms that Kamakh was the more usual form.

During the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods, Kemākh was a frontier fortress, possession of which oscillated between the Arabs and the Byzantines. The first Arab attack under Ḥabīb b. Maslama [*q.v.*] was a failure. A second attempt by Ṣafwān b. Muʿaṭṭal was also unsuccessful, but he made another attack together with ʿUmar b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī in 59/678-9, and this time the fortress capitulated; the occupation by the Muslims was, however, short-lived (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 184 ff.). The Greeks lost it once again, this time to Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], and it continued to change hands between the two sides. In 149/766 the caliph

al-Manṣūr despatched against it a successful force under al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and ordered its fortification as a frontier post against the Khazars (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *loc. cit.*). The Byzantines recaptured it in 177/793-4, and apart from a period during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, it remained nominally subject to the Emperors until the Battle of Mantzikert.

The first Türkmen raids on Kemākh came in 449-50/1057-8, and shortly after the Battle of Mantzikert or Malāzgerd [*q.v.*] in 463/1071, it was in the hands of Mengüdjek Aḥmad, who apparently had received the area round Erzindjan, including Kemākh, as a grant from Alp Arslan. Inscriptions on the Great Mosque at Diwrīgī state that Mengüdjek Aḥmad had captured Kemākh from the infidels. He made it his capital and was buried there on his death in 512/1118. In 536/1142 the Mengüdjek principality was divided amongst three heirs, the capital falling to Malik Maḥmūd. In 622/1225, the Saldjūḳ sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād [*q.v.*] annexed Erzindjan, and the last Mengüdjekid Dāwūd Shāh sought an alliance against him by offering Kemākh to the *amīr* of Erzurum al-Ashraf and to the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mankūbirtī. Both of these refused to intervene, and the Saldjūḳ ruler annexed the region including Kemākh (Ibn Bībī, *Tawārikh-i āl-i Saldjūḳ*, ed. Houtsma, in *Recueil de textes* . . ., Turkish text, iii, 387-8, Persian text, iv, 148-9). After the Mongol conquest of Anatolia in 641/1243, Kemākh came within the Il-Khānid dominions.

Political instability in this region consequent on the decline of the Il-Khānids makes it difficult to follow the fortunes of Kemākh in the 8th/14th century. It seems to have at first formed part of the domains of the Eretna dynasty [*q.v.*] and then to have enjoyed a semi-independence between the rival factions of Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and Muṭahharten, the *bey* of Erzurum. In 796/1394 the *wālī* of Kemākh submitted to Burhān al-Dīn and requested assistance against the agression of Muṭahharten. In 799/1396-7 Burhān al-Dīn placed Kemākh under his own direct rule (ʿAzīz b. Ardashīr Astarābādī, *Bazm u razm*, ed. M. F. Köprülü). Shortly after this, the town fell to the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I (Solaḳ-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1298, 374).

However, in 804/1402 Tīmūr captured the town on his way to confront Bāyazīd at Anḳara (Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAdjāʾib al-maḳdūr*. Eng. tr. J. H. Sanders, London 1936, 174-5). After the battle, Tīmūr appointed a certain Mīrzā Shams al-Dīn as governor of Kemākh. Soon afterwards, it came under the rule of ʿUthmān Ḳarā Yülük, the founder of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu dynasty [*q.v.*], and remained under their control, despite a siege by the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu Pīr ʿUmar (Abū Bakr-i Ṭihrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, ed. Lugal and Sümer, 33, 35, 69-71). It was the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan who established the laws of Kemākh in the *Ḳānūn-i Ḥasan Pādishāh*, which the Ottomans adopted with little change.

After the fall of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlus in 908/1502, Kemākh passed briefly into the hands of the Ṣafawids, until in 921/1515 it fell to the Ottoman sultan Selīm I; henceforth, it remained part of the Ottoman empire till the collapse of the latter. The Ottoman *Ḳānūn-nāme* of 922/1516, based on the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu laws, gives the impression that the town derived much of its wealth from the transit trade through the Euphrates valley (Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI asırlarda Osmanlı imperatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, Istanbul 1943, 184-5). In the mid-11th/17th century, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, there was a garrison in the Kemākh fortress of a Janissary chief and 500 soldiers, and the economy of the town depended mainly on the salt mined nearby and sold in the town and on a fine-quality cloth woven there (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 375-6). In 1830, J. Brant recorded a population there of 400 Turkish and 30 Armenian households (*Jnal. of the Geogr. Soc.*, 1836), and in 1892, V. Cuinet registered for the whole *ḳaḍāʾ* 14,547 Muslims, 3,692 Armenians and 633 Greeks (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 220 ff.). After its definitive incorporation into the dominions of Selīm I, Kemākh was well within the Ottoman frontiers and hence lost much of its earlier strategic importance; however, during the First World War it again became an important defensive position in the fighting against the Russians.

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(C. H. Imber)

KEMAL [see ATATÜRK].

KEMĀL, ʿALĪ (1867-1922), Turkish writer, journalist and politician. His father Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed Efendi had come as a young man from a village near Çankırı in Central Anatolia to the capital and had made a fortune as a wax-maker and had become the warden of his gild. ʿAlī Riḍā (as ʿAlī Kemāl was called until his student days, see below) was born in 1867 in the Süleymāniye district of Istanbul, to his father's second (Circassian) wife and grew up in a traditional conservative family atmosphere. After attending the local schools, he entered the School of Political Science (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*), where he particularly enjoyed the courses of Murād Bey (known as Mīzāndji Murād, 1853-1914, the future Young Turk leader in exile, who later made his peace with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, see B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, index). The *Terdjümān-ı Ḥaḳīḳat* was his favourite newspaper, where he admired the poems and articles of Muʿallim Nādjī, the leader of the literary opposition against the modernists, particularly against ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid and Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem. He also began to contribute to a student magazine *Gülshen* under the pen-name ʿAlī Kemāl, which gradually replaced that of ʿAlī Riḍā. While a student at the *Mülkiye*, he in 1886 went to Europe, where he spent over a year in Paris and Geneva and improved his French. On his father's death in 1888, he returned to Istanbul to attend to family affairs and complete his studies. Inspired by what he saw in European universities, he attempted to set up, together with a number of his university friends, a students' association (for details see his article *Mekātib-i ʿāliye makhṣūṣ djemʿiyyetler*, in *Iḳdām*, 20 August, 1908). The authorities became suspicious and the *ḳonaḳ* where they held their meetings was raided by the police. The students were rounded up and ʿAlī Kemāl and four others (including ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Memdūḥ, a future Young Turk writer) were sent to prison where they spent several months. Eventually ʿAlī Kemāl and a poet friend of his (Fakhrī of

Ḳastamonu) were banished to Aleppo. He spent five years there, where he was officially attached to the office of the *vālī* with a salary and was also allowed to teach literature and French in the local high school (*mekteb-i iʿdādī*). Interesting details of his life and literary activities in Aleppo are given in his autobiography (see below). In 1894 he managed to escape to Paris and became a regular correspondent of the Istanbul daily *Iḳdām*, in which he published a highly popular series of letters and articles (for the controversy over the doubtful originality of some of his letters, see Ḥüseyn Djāhid, *Ghawghālarïm*, Istanbul 1326 *rūmī*/1910, 37-92). This occurred at a time when no political refugee could get anything published in Istanbul under his own name, and this privilege has been taken as an indication that ʿAlī Kemāl was by no means *persona non grata* in the capital. While in Europe he was in regular contact with the Young Turks, but never became one of them; he disagreed with most of their ideas, and his sympathies lay rather with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd to whom, as later evidence showed, he offered his services as adviser and informer (copies of his reports (*zhurnals*) and letters to the Sultan and his agents, some in facsimile, have been published; see Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı imperatorluğunda inkılap hareketleri ve milli mücadele*, Istanbul 1959, 302-9, and Asaf Tugay, *İbret, Abdülhamid'e verilen jurnaller ve jurnalciler*, Istanbul n.d., 200-17). In 1897 he was appointed second secretary in the Brussels Embassy, reportedly as a reward for his rôle in Murād Bey's defection (Yahya Kemal [Beyatlı], *Siyasi ve edebi portreler*, Istanbul 1968, 78), but the Ambassador, Munīr Pasha, who disliked him, never let him take up his appointment However, ʿAlī Kemāl was allowed to use the title and to draw his salary for several years (*Ṭanīn* of 20 July 1324 *rūmī*/2 August 1908 and Süleyman Nazif's biographical notes used by Ibnülemin M. K. İnal, see Bibliography). From Paris he moved to Egypt and became the superintendent of the estates of two Egyptian princesses, Aḥmed Djelāl ed-Dīn Pasha's step-daughter and Maḥmūd Mukhtār Pasha's wife. He contributed to local Young Turk papers and founded the newspaper *Türk* (which was Ottomanist, in spite of its title). He made a fortune by speculating on the stock exchange, but went bankrupt following a crash in the market. When he returned to Paris in 1908, the revolutionary officers in Macedonia, in contact with the Young Turk organisation in Europe, had begun to prepare their move against the Sultan. ʿAlī Kemāl corresponded with the Palace and arrived in Istanbul a few days before the revolution of 23 July 1908. He was in the Sultan's presence when the crisis was being discussed (Yahya Kemal, *op. cit.*, 79). ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd rewarded his advisory services with a purse containing 450 gold pieces (*Ṭanīn*, 25 July 1324 *rūmī*/7 August 1908; ʿAlī Kemāl admitted this, but corrected the sum to 260 pieces, *Iḳdām*, 27 July 1324 *rūmī*/9 August 1908). The conservative journalist Aḥmed Djewdet (1862-1935), who had no sympathy for the committee of Union and Progress (CUP) now getting ready to seize power, invited ʿAlī Kemāl to be the leader-writer of his *Iḳdām*. His first article *Māḍīden Ātīye* ("From the Past to the Future") appeared on July 30 1908, one week after the Revolution. A flood of articles followed daily on politics, history, education, literature, language, etc. After an absence of twenty years from the country, he wrote with great zeal and enthusiasm, in a somewhat didactic but entertaining and very personal style which soon made him one of the most popular journalists of the period. At the same time he taught diplomatic history in the Faculty of Letters and at the *Mülkiye*. His dislike of the CUP, which in the meantime employed everything (including political assassination) to influence and control the new régime, soon developed into a bitter hatred, and he began to attack daily the Committee's policy and methods. On 12 March 1909 ʿAlī Kemāl handed over his column to Dr. Riḍā Nūr, deputy for Sinop, who published his famous article of warning which was greeted as a manifesto interpreting all the grievances of the opposition: the CUP was accused of oligarchic tendencies, *ḳomitadji* tactics, bribery, favouritism, intolerance of opposition, etc. ʿAlī Kemāl was a candidate of the Ottoman Liberal Party (*ʿOthmānlï Aḥrār Fïrkasï*) in the by-election of April 1909, but was defeated by the CUP candidate. He became more violent in his accusations. Outstanding Unionists such as Ḥüseyn Djāhid and Bahāʾ ed-Dīn Shākir attacked him in equally violent terms in CUP organs like *Ṭanīn* and *Shurā-yï Ümmet* and exposed his ambiguous relations with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. The disturbing atmosphere created by the relentless campaign of the opposition press like *Iḳdām*, *Mīzān*, *Serbestī*, *ʿOthmānlï* and particularly *Volḳan*, led on 13 April to a mutiny of the soldiers, incited by fanatical and disgruntled elements (for a good analysis of the mutiny and its background see Sina Akşin, 31 *Mart Olayı*[2], Istanbul 1970). ʿAlī Kemāl hid in the house of an English friend and fled to Europe as the army sent by Young Turk headquarters in Salonika (*Ḥareket ordusu*, originally *Ḥarekāt Ordusu* "Operations Army") marched on the capital. In Paris he contacted unionist leaders like Fetḥī (Okyar) and Djāwīd in the hope of a compromise with the CUP. When this failed, he contributed articles to *Meshrūṭiyyet*, Sherīf Pasha's anti-Unionist organ abroad. He had already become a member of the Liberal Union (*Ḥurriyet ve Iʾtilāf Fïrḳasï*) founded in November 1911. In July 1912 the group of "Saviour Officers" (*Khalāṣkār Ḍābiṭān Grupu*) brought down the Unionist government, and the Liberals assumed Power. ʿAlī Kemāl returned to Istanbul and resumed his leaders in the *Iḳdām*. But on 23 January 1913, the Unionists carried out a violent *coup d'état* (*Bāb-ï ʿĀlī Baskïnï*) and ʿAlī Kemāl was arrested. Djemāl Bey (later Pasha and a member of the Unionists triumvirate), the military governor of Istanbul, visited him in prison and bribed him into leaving the country; hence ʿAlī Kemāl went to Vienna on a government allowance (see Djemal Pasha, *Memoirs of a Turkish statesman, 1913-1916*, London 1922, 16; revised Turkish edition, *Hatiralar*, edited by his son Behçet Cemal, Istanbul 1959, 22-26). He returned to Istanbul in May 1913. The assassination of the grand vizier Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha on June 11 1913 gave the CUP the opportunity to crush the opposition completely. ʿAlī Kemāl, who had promised Djemāl Pasha to keep out of politics, was however safe. With his support, he was allowed to publish the same year a daily paper, the *Peyām*, to which some leading young writers contributed (Refik Halit Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, Istanbul 1964, 63-64) but which was suppressed on the outbreak of the World War I.

ʿAlī Kemāl spent the war years completely secluded from public life on the island resort of Büyükada and along the Bosphorus shores. He collected manuscripts and rare books and concentrated on the study of classical literature and history. After the signing of the armistice of Mudros (30 October 1918), which sealed the fate of the Unionist régime, Mihran Efendi, the editor of the daily *Ṣabāḥ* invited ʿAlī Kemāl to

be a leader-writer of his paper, and he eagerly accepted. By this time the three CUP Leaders Enwer, Ṭalʿat and Djemāl had fled the country. He immediately began his violent attacks against the Unionists, daily enumerating the mistakes and misdeeds they had perpetrated before and during the War. The Allied fleet reached Istanbul on 13 November; the whole city was put under allied control, and hundreds of Unionists were arrested. The Greeks, supported by the Allies, had landed in Izmir and were advancing towards the interior. ʿAlī Kemāl joined the first cabinet of Dāmād Ferīd Pasha as Minister of Education (4 March 1919). He acted with moderation for a while, and resisted the partisan pressures of the Liberal Union (Yahya Kemal, *op. cit.*, 87-8). In the meantime, the nuclei of the national resistance movement were being set up all over the country and the first guerillas began to combat the Greek invaders on the Aegean coast. ʿAlī Kemāl, who became Minister of the Interior in the second Dāmād Ferīd Pasha cabinet on May 19 1919 (the very day of Muṣṭafā Kemāl's landing at Samsun), soon completely espoused the polity and strategy of Sultan Meḥemmed VI, his Grand Vizier and their associates: sc. to ignore the violations of the armistice terms; to follow the instructions of the Allies and in the hopes of winning lenient peace terms, to offer no resistance to invading foreign armies, although this amounted, in the eyes of the nationalists, to collaborationism. ʿAlī Kemāl was convinced that Muṣṭafā Kemāl's movement in Anatolia was nothing but a resurgence of Unionist ambitions, organized and supported by the survivors of the CUP (see particularly his article *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī öldü, yashasin Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī!* "The CUP is dead, long live the CUP!", in *Peyām*, 20 December 1919). This fundamental misjudgment of the national ferment in Anatolia caused him to mislead many of his readers and eventually sealed his own fate. On 18 June 1919, ʿAlī Kemāl, as Minister of the Interior, sent out to the provinces a circular against the formation of militia units and preparations for national defence, and assured the British authorities that every officer and government official obeying Muṣṭafā Kemāl's orders would be court-martialled (G. Jaeschke, *Türk kurtuluş savaşı kronolojisi*, Ankara 1970, 43-45). On 23 June he issued his famous secret circular in which he announced that "Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha had entirely failed in his new mission, and that he had been recalled in accordance with the demands of the English High Commissioner, and that orders issued by him should not be obeyed (Ghāzī Muṣṭafā Kemāl, *Nuṭuḳ*, Ankara 1927, 22, English tr.[2], *A Speech* ..., Istanbul 1963, 26-27). ʿAlī Kemāl was forced to resign (June 26) under the pressure of some of his colleagues in the cabinet who were sympathetic to the resistance movement (for the circumstances of his resignation, see his statement in *ʿAlemdār*, 3 July 1919; R. H. Karay, *op. cit.*, 138-143; and Jaeschke, *Türk kurtuluş savaşı ile ilgili ingiliz belgeleri*, Ankara 1971, 130-32). He complained of these colleagues to the Sultan who answered: "Your loyalty has been a great consolation and a source of great hope to me. The Palace will always be open to you at any time" (Ghāzī Muṣṭafā Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 22-5, English tr. 28). On 3 August 1919, ʿAlī Kemāl revived his *Peyām* and continued his campaign, with daily attacks on the leaders of the resistance movement in Anatolia and their supporters in Istanbul. Later *Peyām* was amalgamated with Mihrān Efendi's *Ṣabāḥ*, becoming *Peyām-i Ṣabāḥ* (1st January 1920), with ʿAlī Kemāl as permanent leader-writer. ʿAlī Kemāl's activities and writings unified and strengthened the Liberal Union which had shown signs of disintegration. He became one of the two most enthusiastic supporters (the other being Refīʿ Djewād of the *ʿAlemdār*) of the collaborationist policy of the Sultan and of Dāmād Ferīd Pasha, which was to obey the instructions of the occupying forces and to try to suppress the resistance movement. Following this line of policy, ʿAlī Kemāl welcomed the reinforced allied occupation of Istanbul (16 March 1920), praised the successes of the Sultan's "disciplinary" troops dispatched to fight the Nationalists, and wrote a jubilant leader (25 May 1920) on the publication of the famous *fetwā* (11 April), followed by the death sentences *in absentia* on Muṣṭafā Kemāl and his associates. News of the Nationalists' successes made him vacillate occasionally; he would praise the bravery of the Turkish soldiers, but soon would relapse into his usual tirades with the *leitmotiv* of "false nationalism and the dangers of ignoring world opinion", etc. His vitriolic articles continued till as late as the end of August and early September 1922, when the Nationalists won a decisive victory and the routed Greek army was heading back towards Izmir. Only in his last three articles (8, 9, 10 September), when the Nationalist armies had reached the Aegean, did he admit his error and greeted "the great victory of the Turk" and claimed that "the goals had always been the same". But it was now too late. The Nationalist government had already decided to bring all those who had collaborated with the enemy to Ankara for trial. But as this proved difficult in occupied Istanbul, one man was chosen as a test case, and this was to be ʿAlī Kemāl, as the most prominent representative of the collaborators (see Dr. Riḍā Nūr, *Ḥayātim we Khāṭiratim*, British Museum, Or. 12591, 486b). Upon instructions from Ankara, Colonel Esʿad (later Pasha, 1875-1932), military governor and director of police of Istanbul, who was a trusted man of the Nationalists, took the necessary measures; on November 18 ʿAlī Kemāl was arrested by two plain-clothed policemen in a barber's shop in Beyoğlu (Péra) and taken by motor-boat to Izmid en route for Ankara and his trial. Nūr ed-Dīn Pasha, commander of the first army, interrogated him briefly in his headquarters. A big crowd was waiting outside. ʿAlī Kemāl met his death in the square when he was being taken away. The circumstances of his death, a mob lynching according to the received version, are variously reported in the sources. According to some, his death was arranged or precipitated by Nūr ed-Dīn Pasha for reasons of personal prestige (see Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Çankaya*[2], Istanbul 1969, 341-42; Yahya Kemal, *op. cit.*, 94-99; Riḍā Nūr, *op. cit.*, 487b; *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1961, s.v.). ʿIṣmet Pasha (Inönü) then foreign minister, who with his party arrived on the very day of the incident at Izmid on his way to the Lausanne Peace Conference, publicly showed his strong disapproval of Nūr ed-Dīn Pasha for having ignored the government's instructions and having taken justice into his own hands.

ʿAlī Kemāl was primarily a journalist. His early articles in the *Iḳdām* (from 1894 onwards), which he forwarded from Paris as a "special correspondent", are mostly compilations from the French press, with occasional personal or autobiographical digressions (see below). Some of his articles published in Young Turk papers abroad throw light on contemporary ideological differences (e.g. his answer to Aḳčuraoghlu Yūsuf's famous essay, both published in the *Türk*, Nos. 24-34, Cairo 1904, reprinted later with the same essay, Aḳčuraoghlu Yūsuf, *Üč Ṭarz-i*

Siyāset, 1327 *rūmī*/1911, 33-45). The thousands of articles which he published first in the *Iḳdām* and later in his own *Peyām* (which have not been collected) are of great documentary importance for understanding the atmosphere of the period and for following the development of political, social and cultural problems during the 1908-1914 period; but they should be read together with the articles of his great opponent Ḥüseyn Djāhid [Yalçin] in the *Ṭanīn*, the organ of the CUP. His articles of the last phrase, published in the revived *Peyām* (August-December 1919) and in the *Peyām-i̇ Ṣabāḥ* (1920-1922) typically reflect the frame of mind and the psychology of the Sultan's government and its supporters in occupied Istanbul during the time of the resistance movement in Anatolia. Apart from translations from the French, serialised in newspapers or published in book form and various minor publications, ʿAlī Kemāl is the author of the following works: (1) *Pāris muṣāḥabeleri* (a selection of his articles and letters published in the *Iḳdām* in the 1890s, 2 vols., Istanbul 1329, 1331 r./1913, 1915); (2) *Fetret* (written in England in 1895, published in Istanbul 1329/1913). Intended to be a novel, this book consists of a series of loosely-connected essays around its hero Fetret, the product of a mixed marriage, in which the author expounds his ideas on modernism, westernisation, literature, history and culture, and indirectly criticises his opponents of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* literary school, particularly his main adversary Ḥüseyn Djāhid; (3) *İki hemshīre* (Istanbul 1315/1899), a long short story, with much autobiographical material from the author's exile years in Aleppo; (4) *Čölde bir sergüzesht* (Istanbul 1316/1900; 2nd ed. of Nos. 3 and 4 published together under the title *Bir ṣafḥa-i shebāb*, Istanbul 1329/1913); (5) *Ridjāl-i İkhtilāl* (Istanbul 1329/1913), a study of the French Revolution and its impact on France and other European countries, consisting mainly of detailed biographies of Condorcet, Saint-Just, Danton and Robespierre; (6) *Edebiyyat-i̇ ḥaḳiḳiyye dersleri* (Istanbul 1330/1914), a collection of 12 essays, originally serialised in the *Iḳdām*, based on a course "Realism in Literature" given at the Sorbonne in the 1890s, with occasional remarks on contemporary Turkish literature; (7) *Rāshid müʾerrikh mi shāʿir mi ?* (Istanbul 1334/1918), an informal study on the 18th century chronicler Rāshid, prompted by Aḥmed Refīḳ's enthusiastic article on Aḥmed III and his grand vizier and son-in-law Ibrāhīm Pasha (*Sultan Ahmed-i Thālith we Dāmādi̇*, in *Yeñi Medjmuʿa*, No. 34 (1918), 149-53), in which ʿAlī Kemāl compares the method and techniques of oriental historiography with those of modern western history-writing, mercilessly condemning the former. After a long exposition on Oriental and particularly Ottoman classical poetry, he concludes that Rāshid was a mediocre historian but a remarkable poet of the Nabī school. This work is particularly interesting since it is, in a way, a recapitulation of the themes and *leitmotivs* which ʿAlī Kemāl elaborated and repeated in all his writings, adopting all the negative judgments passed on the Turks and the Ottoman Empire by European writers and observers, and thus developing a deep complex of inferiority *vis-à-vis* Europe and Europeans. Here we have the clues to his cosmopolitanism, his anti-nationalism and his feeling of helplessness in face of the West, his recurrent claim that it is futile to challenge the Great Powers (*Düwel-i Muʿaẓẓama*), and finally his constant advice for an acquiescent foreign policy and his *a priori* admission of the superiority of everything western (see also his articles of 12, 15, 17, 21, 23 January and 23 March 1909 in the *Iḳdām*); (8) *ʿÖmrüm*, ʿAlī Kemāl's memoirs about his early life, his school years and his exile period in Aleppo, were first serialised in the *Peyām* in 29 instalments from December 1329r.-/1913. A revised version was serialised in 32 instalments in the revived *Peyām* from 14 July 1335-r./1919. They have not been published in book form, but a critical edition in roman script was prepared by Berna Kazak in 1954 (Istanbul University Library, unpublished thesis, No. 2621).

When he was not involved in politics or in personal quarrels with his rivals, ʿAlī Kemāl wrote essays on *dīwān*-poetry, articles on contemporary literary problems, and occasionally poems which he published in the *Peyām-i̇ Edebī*, the literary supplement of his paper, to which many outstanding writers (Riḍā Tewfīḳ, Aḥmed Refīḳ, Yaḥyā Kemāl, Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī, etc.) contributed. In poetry and literary criticism, ʿAlī Kemāl was a disciple of Muʿallim Nādjī (1850-93), a neo-classicist and an ardent opponent of the modernist school. He admired the *dīwān*-poetry, had a very low (and wrong) opinion of classical Turkish prose (about which, like most of his contemporaries, he knew very little), and utterly despised the three generations of literary modernists: the *Tanẓīmāt*, the *Therwet-i Fünūn* and the "National Literature" (*Millī Edebiyāt*) schools. He explained his views on Turkish literature in detail in a long letter which he sent in 1918 to Rūshen Eshref (Ünaydın), who had been interviewing the leading writers of the period (Rūshen Eshref, *Diyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1918, modern Turkish ed. by Şemsettin Kutlu, Istanbul 1971). In spite of the personal cachet of his style (surprisingly much praised by the purist poet Yaḥyā Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 71-2), ʿAlī Kemāl had an awkward, anachronistic way of writing. Following the tradition of the classical Ottoman *munshīs*, he filled his essays with copious *cliché* quotations from the Arabic, Persian and Turkish verse. Like a few "recalcitrant" contemporary writers (e.g., Djenāb ed-Dīn, Shihāb Süleymān Naẓīf, ʿAlī Ekrem, etc.) he took a hostile stand against the language reform movement of the post-1908 period and completely ignored the general trend towards the turkification of the written language. His hair-splitting concern with grammatical rules did not much help to improve his style, as stated by the great contemporary stylist (and his friend and colleague) Refīḳ Khālid (*op. cit.*, 63).

A prolific writer of great vitality, with a remarkable encyclopaedic knowledge, ʿAlī Kemāl lacked the sense of history and reality. He wasted his talents in endless futile arguments, and ruined his career and himself by following his unbounded ambition, his blind obstinacy and his violent partisanship to the very end.

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the article, see Ali Çankaya, *Yeni Mülkiye tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler*, ii, Ankara 1968-9, 937-41; Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk inkılabi tarihi*, i, ii, iii, Istanbul 1940-53, index; Celâl Bayar, *Ben de yazdım*, vi, vii, İstanbul 1968-9, index; Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, Oxford 1969, 28, 122, 173; Mahmud Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son Sadrıazamlar*, 14 parts, Istanbul 1940-53, index; idem, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, 12 parts, Istanbul 1930-42, index; Âsim Us, *Hatiralar*, Istanbul 1966, 46-54; M. and Dj., *ʿAlī Kemāl Izmide nasīl sewk olundu ?* in *Resimli Gazete*, Nos. 71-9, Jan.-March 1341/1925; Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Ingiliz belgelerinde Atatürk*, i, Ankara 1973, index.

(Fahir İz)

KEMĀL, MEḤMED, NĀMİḲ one of the most prominent figures of Turkish literature in the second half of the 19th century, whose fame is due to his works in various fields, including his patriotic and political life.

I. *Life.* Kemāl's mother was Fāṭima Zahrāʾ Khānîm, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Pasha and Makhdūme Khānîm. His father Muṣṭafā ʿĀṣim Bey, who was well versed in history, mysticism and especially in astrology, had many a poet, scholar and statesman among his ancestors. His ancestry goes back to Shehīd Ṭopal ʿOthmān Pasha of the Mora (Morea or Peloponese), who had been Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam in the 18th century and was famous for his acts of heroism; Kemāl was particularly proud of him. Kemāl was born on 26 Shawwāl 1256/21 December 1840 at Tekfūrdaghî (Tekirdaghî) and spent his early years with his grandfather. Together with his grandfather, who in Istanbul held the offices of *Mühürdār* and *Kesedār* (M. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, *Bir türk diplomatinin evrāḳ-i siyāsiyyesi*, Istanbul 1306, 11) and in the provinces those of *mütesellim, muḥaṣṣîl* and *mutaṣarrîf*, he stayed in Gelibolu, Tîrkhala (Trikala), Afyon Ḳaraḥiṣārî (1846), Kütahya (1848), Ḳarṣ (March 1853-July 1854) and Ṣofya (May 1855-September 1856). When Kemāl was 8 years old he lost his mother in Afyon (30/31 August 1848), and he married in Ṣofya Nesīme Khanîm, the daughter of the *ḳāḍī* of Nīsh, when he had reached the age of 16. Shortly after that he returned to Istanbul in the company of his grandfather, who was dismissed from his office of Ḳaymaḳām of Ṣofya. Following the deaths of his grandfather and grandmother, Kemāl had to settle down in his step-mother Dürriyye Khānîm's house in Khūbyā, as the mansion of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Pasha had to be sold in order to pay his debts.

Since ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Pasha was resident in Istanbul in between two appointments, Muṣṭafā ʿĀṣim was able to deal with the spiritual upbringing of Kemāl during these periods; another important influential factor was his grandfather, whose virtues are praised by the poets of Afyon and who was a member of the Mawlawī convent next to their house. It is probable that Kemāl was instructed in *samāʿ* and in Persian whilst resident in Afyon. All the sources seem to agree on the fact that he attended the *Dār al-Maʿārif* in Istanbul for about a year and a half when he was 12-13 years old (Maḥmūd Ojvād, *Maʿārif-i ʿUmūmiyye Naẓāreti tārikhče-i tashkīlāt ve idjrāʾāti*, Istanbul 1338, 40, 97; ʿOmar Fārūḳ Akün, *Namık Kemāl*, in *İA*, ix, 55b). Kemāl, whose spiritual life was nourished with poetry and music as well as with mystical knowledge, was schooled in the works of Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī when he was apprenticed to the *müderris*-poet Sayyīd Meḥmed Ḥāmid (1779?-1854), under whose guidance he started reading Turkish *dīwān* poets such as Nābī and sections of the *Mathnawī*, while resident in Ḳarṣ (Banı Çiçak Ḳırzioğlu, *Namık Kemal'ın Karstaki hocası müderrıs büyük Hâmid Efendi*, in *Türk Kültürü*, no. 2/22, August 1964; for this were used the works of M. F. Kırzioğlu, *1855 Ḳarṣ Ẓaferi* and *Ḳarṣ Tārīkhi*). During the time he spent in Ḳarṣ he was also busy with sports like hunting and horse-riding.

We are not able to trace back the exact date of the beginning of Kemāl's official career; however, we know that already in the year 1859 he was a secretary to the Bāb-i ʿĀlī. When Leskofčalî Ghālib was appointed to be Chief Secretary of Customs (*Emtiʿa Gümrük'ü Taḥrīrāt Bashkātibi*) (March 19 1860), Kemāl was his assistant, and following the former's appointment to Tripoli as the Director of Customs (*Gümrük Emīni*) in September 1861, Kemāl became a member of the Chamber of Translation of the Sublime Porte, where he stayed until March 20 1867, when he was appointed to be the Assistant Governor of Erzurum. Meanwhile, he was giving voluntary lessons in orthography and composition at the *Djemʿiyyet-i Tedrīsiyye-i Islāmiyye*, of which he was a founder; he kept up these lessons until his departure for Paris (M. Cevād, *op. cit.*, 97; ʿOthmān Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, Istanbul 1940, ii, 406; *Taṣwīr-i efkār*, nos. 208, 285, March 13 and 30 1865, nos. 365, 400, 402, 403, February 13, June 28, July 6 and 10 1866). The early years of Kemāl, who returned to Istanbul from Ṣofya at the age of sixteen, were the most exciting period of his life, on account of the reforms introduced during the *Tanẓīmāt* period. The programme of reforms was announced by the Imperial Edict of 18 Feb. 1856; on 22 Oct. 1860 Āgāh Efendi, together with Shināsī, started to publish the first non-official newspaper, the *Terdjümān-i aḥwāl* and later, on 28 June 1862, Shināsī started the *Taṣwīr-i efkār*. The new thoughts of patriotic and nationalist zeal, as found in the writings of Shināsī (such as his political and social articles and his stage-play *Shāʿir evlenmesi*), the starting of the publication of learned and literary journals, *Medjmūʿa-i funūn* in July 1862 and the *Mirʾāt* in March 1863, were all factors that played a role in the extension of Kemāl's intellectual horizon. He took lessons in French with the *khulafāʾ* of the Office of Translations at the Porte (*Terdjeme Odasî*), Manṣūr Efendi; he moved in such literary and political circles as the *Endjümen-i ʿShuʿarāʾ* (1861), which comprised old and new style poets, the printing office of the *Taṣwīr-i efkār*, and the Ṣarafim *Ḳirāʾatkhānesi* (public reading room).

The alteration of the Succession Law for Egypt (*Miṣîr Werāthet Ḳānūnu*), which was decided upon at the beginning of May 1867, ordained that the Khedivate should pass from father to son and not to the eldest of the khedivial family. But before this, Muṣṭafa Fāḍil Pasha, who was by this to lose his right of succession, was advised by the Porte to leave Istanbul for some time, and had left for Europe in April 1866. In his letter to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which was printed in French and separately in Turkish (1866), he declares that in order to make possible the realisation of the reforms it was necessary to replace the Ministers, and in his answer to an article in the newspaper *Le Nord* of 1 Feb. 1867, he declares the persons having the new ideas (*efkār-i djedīde ṣāḥibleri*) to be of the same opinion. In addition to the Turkish translation of this answer, published in the *Taṣwīr-i efkār*, Kemāl makes the statement that the *Türkistan'lîñ erbāb-i shabābi* ("Youth of Turkistān") who support M. Fāḍil, put the interest of the nation before personal interest and are ready to realise in the near future their ideals, will astound the Europeans, who accuse the Ottomans of backwardness (No. 461, 23 Feb. 1867). His article on the Eastern Question, his *Lāyiḥa*, because it made known to the people the weakness of the state, was regarded by the government as anti-patriotic, so he was forbidden to contribute to the *Taṣwīr-i efkār* and was appointed assistant governor of Erzūrum, with the rank of *Rutbe-i thāniyye ṣinf-i evvel-i mütemāyizi* (*Ḥürriyyet*, no. 23, 3 November 1868; *Taṣwīr-i efkār*, no. 469, 24 March 1867). On the invitation of M. Fāḍil Pasha, with whom he had come to an agreement, he did not go to Erzūrum. Together with other members of the

Society of Young Ottomans, like Ḍiyā', Suʿāwī, Āgāh and others, he fled to Paris. All these young men, who were, together with their families, supported in their daily needs by M. Fāḍil and partly by Prince Murād assembled in Paris on 30 May. Their aim was to strive for the rights of the people, as well as to make known to them their duties, for the opening of the National Assembly and the enthronement of the Shahzāde Murād. When on 30 June 1867 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz came to Paris on a state visit, he proposed to M. Fāḍil that he should return to Istanbul; this he did, not in the company of the Sulṭān, but on 20 September. At that time, Kemāl and his colleagues started from 31 August onwards to publish the *Mukhbir*. But on account of the writings of Suʿāwī against M. Fāḍil and in favour of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, they announced by way of a letter, written in April or May 1868, that the *Mukhbir* did not represent the Society of Young Ottomans. In this way, the Society split into two. Beginning on 28th June 1868, Kemāl and his associates started to publish the *Ḥürriyyet* ("Freedom") as a counterweight to the *Mukhbir*. But they were threatened with the discontinuation of the financial support, and were told that an amnesty and permission to return to Istanbul would no longer be a possibility if they continued to write against ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and ʿAlī Pasha. Thereupon Kemāl and some of his colleagues declared in a letter dated 7 Jan. 1870 that they had no share in the writings printed in the *Ḥürriyyet* and that they disassociated themselves from its contents. In a letter from the Ministry of Public Security dated 10 Aug. 1870, they were permitted to return to Istanbul. On October 25, Kemāl and his friends arrived back in Istanbul.

Since the articles which he published at the time of his return in the *Diyozhen* (whose first volume came out on 12 Nov. 1872) and in the newspaper *ʿIbret* (which began publication on 15 June 1872, and of which he found himself the editor-in-chief) were regarded as against common decency, first Kemāl was appointed *mutaṣarrif* of Gelibolu (Gallipoli) (11 July 1872), and a little later the newspaper was closed (19 July 1872). On 31 July Midḥat Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier and on 26 Sept. Kemāl set out for Gallipoli. When the suspension of the newspaper *ʿIbret* had been lifted, Kemāl, in a letter sent from there (No. 20, 30 July 1872), held forth on the unjustifiable suspension of this newspaper and the pressure which he and his friends had suffered to accept an office in the provinces. On 6 December came the news that ʿĀṣim Pasha had been appointed *mutaṣarrif* of Gallipoli (*Djerīde-i ḥawādith*, no. 2056), while Kemāl was discharged from office on 11 December (M. C. Kuntay, *Namık Kemal*, i, Istanbul 1944, 234; ii/1, Istanbul 1949, 126, 134). Returning to Istanbul (*Ḥadīḳa*, no. 28, 22 Dec. 1872), he continued his publications in the *ʿIbret*.

On 6 April 1873, the day on which the *ʿIbret* was closed because it supported the demonstrations at the first performance of his play *Waṭan yakhud Silistre* at the Gedik Pasha theatre on 1 April, Kemāl and his friends were arrested and by a *fermān* of 10 April sent into exile. After having been imprisoned in a narrow cell in the barracks of Maghosa at Famagusta in Cyprus, he was later transferred to a more spacious room, and, under the protection of the *mutaṣarrif* of Cyprus, he was enabled to communicate with the outside world through his visitors, whom he was free to meet. Through the help of his friends, and specially that of the Shahzāde Murād, he and his family in Istanbul could live a comfortable life. Being granted an amnesty soon after the accession to the throne of Murād V (31 May 1876), he and his friends set out for Istanbul on 14 June; whilst being guests in Izmir, they received the news about the event of Čerkes Ḥasan and on 20 June they arrived in Istanbul. His exile in Famagusta, which lasted 38 months, was in fact his most productive period.

On 11 Sept. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd came to the throne, after having taken the oath on 31 August, because of Murād V's illness, and Kemāl was appointed firstly on 18 Sept. a member of the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi dewlet*) and later, on 2 Nov., a member of the General Assembly (*Medjlis-i ʿumumī*), which was working on the framing of the Constitution (*Ḳānūn-i esāsī*). The *Terdjeme djemʿiyeti* was dissolved at its first meeting in November because it did not accept Suʿāwī, and the *ʿAsākir-i milliyye djemʿiyyeti*, because of the great increase in the number of its members, which worried the government. He opposed the article, added later to the Constitution, by which the Sultan was authorised to expel from the country anyone whom, as a result of a police investigation, he suspected. Shortly after the issue of the *fermān* dated 23 Dec. 1876, promulgating the Constitution, he was arrested on 12 Jan. 1877 on the pretext that he had disturbed the public order. From his letters, the real reason must have been the fact that he had written a verse making an allusion to the dethronement of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; there was also the search for evidence to justify the exile of Midḥat Pasha from Istanbul, and fear of his possibly lending himself to causing some disturbance or of his being elected a deputy. During his detention, the Parliament was opened (19 March 1877). The enquiry into his case was closed on 10 July and on the 19th of that same month he left for Midilli (Mytilene), where he was ordered to reside. He followed closely the phases of the Turco-Russian war that broke out on 23 April, the Treaty of San Stefano concluding this war on 3 March 1878, the event of Suʿāwī on the 20th May, the Congress of Berlin, which opened on 13 July and the discussions in the Ottoman Parliament, which was adjourned *sine die* in 1878. For the realisation of constitutional government, he gave instructions by letter to his close friends about which subjects they should speak during the debates in the Assembly; they accordingly made speeches and introduced bills (*lāyiḥas*). His exile on Mytilene continued for about two years and a half; then on 18 Dec., 1879 he was appointed *mutaṣarrif* of the island. His struggle against the Italian fishermen, who were causing injury to local fishermen in their sponge-fishing; the fact that the Greeks, who wanted autonomy, were not paying the tax levied in lieu of military service (*bedel-i askeri*) with impunity; and also opposition from his adversaries among the Turkish officials—all these were reasons for his temporary dismissal (Feb.-May 1881). Having been restored to office, he held it for more than four years, after which the newspapers dated of 17 Oct. 1884 brought the news that he was to change places with the *mutaṣarrif* of Rhodes, Āgāh Efendi (*Ṭarīḳ*, nos. 203, 207; *Djerīde-i ḥawādith*, no. 6822), and on 20 October it was made known that he had gone to Rhodes. By the continuous efforts of ʿĀrif Pasha, who was on 5 Nov. 1885 appointed governor of the province of the Aegean Islands (the *Djezāyir-i Baḥr-i Sefīd*), the seat of the provincial administration was transferred from Chios (Saḳīz) to Rhodes (Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 297). So for that reason, Kemāl was transferred to Chios to be *mutaṣarrif* there. From one of his letters it appears that he took up his duties there on 6 Dec. 1887.

During his occupation of these posts as *mutaṣarrif*, his struggles against public disorder and administrative inefficiency, and the smuggling of tobacco and sponges, fatigued Kemāl heavily. He also spent much effort to strengthen the Muslim population, who were in a minority compared to the Christians. He recommended to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and to high officials, by his *lāyiḥa*s (memoranda), *ʿariḍa*s (petitions) and letters, the means that had to be applied in order not to lose the Mediterranean islands. He was awarded the *Bālā rutbesi* and twice the *ʿOthmānlî nishāni* in 1881, 1883 and 1886. Kemāl, who was first taken ill with malaria and suffered later from pneumonia, was exhausted by his tiring official duties, and especially by the shock of the seizure of the first volume of his Ottoman History (*ʿOthmānlî tārīkhi*). He died from a combination of bronchitis and gastric and intestinal complaints, on 2 Dec. 1888 at Chios where he had lived alone, since he had sent his wife and son to Istanbul. By the time of the arrival of his wife, he was already buried. By an Imperial rescript his mortal remains were transported the next day to Bolayir, in accordance with his last injunction to Ebū 'l-Ḍiyāʾ Tewfīḳ. The design of his tomb, which was erected on behalf of the *Khazīne-i khāṣṣa*, was by Tewfīḳ Fikret.

2. *Works*. Kemāl, like so many other personalities of the *Tanẓīmāt* literature, with their intentions of spreading new ideas and introducing new genres of writing, produced works in nearly every field.

(a) Poetry. Kemāl started his literary life with the writing of poetry. In one of the poetry magazines he wrote some 8 or 10 *ghazel*s while he was fourteen years old, and he wrote for another one until his return from Ṣofya; in the last-mentioned periodical, we find religious, mystical and moral poetry, or that concerning his surroundings, as well as a *ḳiṭʿa* which he wrote at the age of sixteen and in which he satirises the banknotes affair; this *ḳiṭʿa* was taken over by Ḍiyāʾ Pasha in his *Kharabāt*. Only a few of these works from his childhood were included in the six poetry collections compiled later, because he was dissatisfied with them. There exists also a collection of *naẓīre*s of his. His pseudonym of Nāmîḳ was given to him by Eshref Pasha, who highly praised his *merthiye*s and eulogised him as the *Kemāl iḳlîminiñ sulṭānî* (*Dīwān*, Istanbul 1279, 109, 200). When 20 years of age, on making acquaintance with Ḍiyāʾ Pasha, the latter praised his potential as a poet. He wrote *naẓīre*s or "parallels" to the verses of contemporaries and older poets; poems composed jointly with other contemporaries; *djülūsiyye*s (poems in praise of a royal accession to the throne); *medḥiyye*s (eulogies); *hidjviyye*s (satires); *fakhriyye*s (poems of self-glorification); *tārīkh ḳiṭʿasî*s (chronograms), *mutammaṭ ghazel*s in Persian, with undotted letters, and a *Sāḳī-nāme* ("Book of the Cupbearer") parallel (*naẓīre*) to the one of Nedīm. He has left specimens of *dīwān* poetry in nearly all forms and genres. In his articles in the *Taṣwīr-i efkār* are included many patriotic poems. He tried out syllabic metre in ten of his poems, the first of which he composed while in Europe; he composed poems in *mulammaʿ* fashion, half-Turkish, half-Arabic; letters in verse and *sharḳî*s, some of which were set to music; and further, he translated a poem of Edward Goen and the *Marseillaise*. This last, if we are not mistaken, was the first of his poems rhymed in the new style. He produced this kind of verse mainly after *Wāweylā* ("Alas"), which was composed as a *naẓīre* (parallel) to Ḥāmid's *Ṣaḥrāʾ* ("the country"). In his poetical works, the mind dominates strongly over feeling and imagination. Most of his patriotic poems, like *Pilevne sharḳîsî*, *Murabbaʿ*, *Bir muhādjir ḳîzînîn istimdādî*, were written whilst on Midilli, at the time of the Turco-Russian war. Among these poems, by which he acquired his fame, is the *Waṭan ḳaṣīdesi*, of which he published some *beyt*s whilst in Europe (1869) and before his exile to Maghosa (1872).

(b) Articles. Kemāl started his career in journalism, which he made his profession under the influence of Shināsī, with his writings in the *Taṣwīr-i efkār*. He continued his publications while in Europe in the *Ḥürriyyet* and after having returned to Istanbul he contributed to the newspapers *Diyozhen*, the *ʿIbret* and the *Ḥadīḳa*. The most splendid period of his journalistic career was that of the ten to eleven years before his exile to Famagusta. The greatest number of his articles were published in the *ʿIbret* newspaper, of which he was the editor-in-chief. Although he was prohibited from publishing while in exile at Famagusta and on Mytilene, we do come across a small number of articles of his in newspapers such as the *Saʿy*, *Muṣavver medeniyyet*, *Čanṭa*, *Muḥarrir*, *Istiḳbāl*, *Ṣadāḳat* and *Ittiḥād*. These writings are unsigned, unlike those poems of his which were published in the *Terdjemān-i ḥaḳīḳat* ("Interpreter of the Truth") under pseudonyms like Khitām-i ʿAdjemī and al-Dāʿī Kemāl. His articles concern all kinds of events taking place in his surroundings, with a rich variety of subjects. The most effective and influential were those with a political content. In these writings, remaining faithful to the principles of the *Yeñi ʿOthmānlîlar Djemʿiyyeti*, he put forward the ideas which were to become the cause of the Constitution, and he strove to show the defects of nearly every institution as well as the means for its improvement. His most severe criticisms can be found in the writings he produced and published in the *Taṣwīr-i efkār* and the *ʿIbret* at the time when he was contemplating fleeing to Europe and was in no need of an official post, but which were the cause of his being banished to Famagusta. Compared with his works in other genres, he achieved great fame by these various articles, especially those reflecting his political struggles.

(c) Historical works. His works in this field are monographs about the great men of Ottoman and Islamic history, the *Tārīkh-i ʿaskerī* and the *ʿOthmānlî tārīkhi*. — 1. *Bārîḳa-i ẓafer* ("The Sword of Victory") concerns the conquest of Istanbul by Meḥemmed II the Conqueror, and was written in one day. He used artistic prose here, and was convinced that no one adhering to the *dīwān* literature could write a "parallel" to it (Istanbul 1289, 1305). — 2. *Dewlet-i ʿAliyye'niñ devr-i istīlāsîna dāʾir bir maḳāledir*. In this work he treated of the conquests of the Ottoman empire since its establishment up to the end of the reign of Sülaymān the Magnificent. Shortly after it was published in instalments in the *Taṣwīr-i efkār*, it was printed in book-form from Jan. 1867 onwards (Istanbul 1289, 1301, 1304). — 3. *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Eyyūbī*. This is a monograph about the life of the founder of the Ayyūbids and Muslim hero Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin). It was printed, together with the *Devr-i istīlāʾ*, as the first volume of the *Evrāḳ-i perīshān* (Istanbul 1289/1872, 1964). — 4. *Silistre muḥāṣarasî*. He published this under the name of Aḥmed Nāfidh, a man who had himself taken part in the battle of 1853, and on whose mediation Kemāl relied for his communications with Istanbul while in exile in Famagusta (Istanbul 1290, 1946). — 5. *Ḳanizhe*: this was written to recall the praise-

worthy victories of the Turkish soldiers, and contains the conquest of Ḳani̲zh̲e during the reign of Meḥemmed III, as well as the acts of heroism of Tiryākī Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a, and was published under the name of Aḥmed Nāfid̲h̲ (Istanbul 1290, 1303, 1311, 1335, 1941). — 6. *Terd̲j̲eme-i ḥāl-i Emīr Nevrūz*. This contains the life and the struggles of Emīr Nevrūz, who, at the time of the Mongol conquests fought for the sake of Islam and humanity; it was first published under the abbreviation *nūn-ḳāf*, while he was in exile in Famagusta (Istanbul 1293; Arakel 1302; Maṭbaʿa-i Ebüżżiyā, 1302, 1305). Of the above-mentioned works, the *Devr-i istīlāʾ* and *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Eyyūbī*, to which were added the biographies of Meḥemmed the Conqueror and Sulṭān Selīm, were printed as one volume and published under the name *Evrāḳ-i peri̲s̲h̲ān* (Istanbul, n.d. [Istanbul 1301]). — 7. Apart from the works mentioned up to here, he prepared, while in Famagusta, his *Tārīk̲h̲-i ʿaskerī*, as his entry for a competition for a history-book for the lessons at the *Ḥarbiyye mektebi* or War Academy. Its first volume runs from Sulṭān ʿUt̲h̲mān up to the end of the period of Sülaymān the Magnificent and the second volume starts with the reign of Sulṭān Selīm II and ends with the conquest of Bozd̲j̲a-ada (Tenedos) and Limni (Lemnos) in 1657; it was never published, and its manuscript is preserved in the Türk Tarih Kurumu. — 8. In 1886 at Rhodes he started writing the *ʿOt̲h̲mānlî tārīk̲h̲i*, in order to give a more comprehensive version of the *Tārīk̲h̲-i ʿaskerī*. When the introduction to this work, which comprises the history of the Roman Empire, and Islamic history up to the years 227-8 of the *hid̲j̲ra*, was printed (Istanbul 1305/1887), it was denounced, due to certain expressions and phrases, and Kemāl was informed that the printing of this work was forbidden and that copies would be seized. Its manuscript treats the history up to the time of Selīm I; it is kept in the Türk Tarih Kurumu. From this *ʿOt̲h̲mānlî tārīk̲h̲i*, which was written, like his monographs in general, in a narrative fashion, only a part—that up to the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror—was published in four volumes in the *Kulliyyāt-i Kemāl* series (Istanbul 1326-7).

(d) Plays. Kemāl, who regarded the drama as a school for the improvement of morals, held the view that, because the Turkish language was not yet simplified to a sufficient degree, it would be impossible to write dramas in syllabic metre; hence all his six plays are written in prose. — 1. *Waṭan yak̲h̲ud Silistre*. The basic events of this were taken from the battle of S̲h̲umnu, during the reign of Maḥmūd II, but in order to make things more impressive, the play was set during the battle of Silistre in 1853. It was presented to the Russian press in 1876 by V. D. Smirnov and it was translated into German by H. Hartt and also by L. Pekotsch, and in Arabic by Muḥammad b. al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ. Though it was sharply criticised by Murād Bey, it is nevertheless important because it was the first stage-play having as its subject the Ottoman national virtues. Its influence is found particularly in Manastîrlî Rifʿat's drama *Yā g̲h̲āzī yā s̲h̲ahīd* (*Čanta*, iii, Istanbul 1291), and in his *naẓīre* called *Ṭuna yak̲h̲ud ẓafer* (Istanbul 1301). It was printed more than ten times between 1873 and 1972, and has been presented a great many times since its first performance up to the present day. — 2. The subject of the story *Dāni̲s̲h̲ Bey yak̲h̲ud Fāk̲h̲i̲s̲h̲e-i Nāʾibe* was thought up on the boat when he was sent into exile at Famagusta and was made into a play there and given the name of *ʿĀkif Bey* (Istanbul 1873, 1873, 1876 and 1966). It is inspired by the battle at the outset of the Crimean War, involving the setting on fire by the Russians of an Ottoman fleet anchored in the port of Sinope on 30 Nov. 1853. This tragedy, which describes the love-adventure of a woman, who takes into her head to marry, after having invented the death of her husband, the captain of a ship, vigorously displays patriotic feelings. — 3. His social-sentimental play is *Zavallî čod̲j̲uḳ* (Istanbul 1873, three times; 1874, 1940, 1947, 1960). It describes the tragedy caused by the pressure put on by the family in a question of marriage, and its influence is to be perceived in Ḥamīd's *Ičli ḳiz* and in the *Wuṣlat* of R. Ekrem. — 4. *Gülnihāl*, at first named *Rāz-i dil* ("Heart's secret"), was written at the time *Waṭan* was in rehearsal. In this work, like *Zavallî čod̲j̲uḳ* and *ʿĀkif Bey* published unsigned while he was in Famagusta, the conceptions of liberty, justice and oppression are analysed, while being brought to life through the characters by which they are symbolised (Istanbul 1873, 1876, ?1869). — 5. In his *Ḳara Belā*, again written in Famagusta, is described the passionate love of a *ḥarem āg̲h̲āsî* for the daughter of one of the Indian sovereigns. This play, much appreciated by Kemāl himself, has been sharply criticised (Ist. 1911; Sh. Süleymān, *Tenḳīdāt-i edebiyye*, Istanbul 1911). — 6. The subject matter of his last play *D̲j̲elāl al-Dīn K̲h̲ʷārazms̲h̲āh*, in which the idea of the unity of Islam is defended, is set in the period of the Mongol invasions. It was finished in 1881 at Mytilene. The date of publication, Cairo 1292/1875, is false. In his lifetime it was partly published in the form of instalments (*Med̲j̲mūʿa-i Ebüżżiyā*, v, nos. 49, 50, 31 August and 14 September 1886). Although it was written to be read, it was staged after 1908 (*TOEM*, xxxvii/1, April 1332), 50; republished in simplified language, Istanbul 1969).

(e) Novels. Although Kemāl's novels have not become as famous as his dramas, and were not very successful in general, they still are of importance, because they were the first works in this genre. The novel he wrote while in Famagusta and in which he describes the ruin, materially and morally, of a young man who falls in love with a prostitute, was published shortly after his being granted pardon under the new name of *ʿAlī Bey'in sergüzes̲h̲tini ḥāwīdir*, since no permission was given for publishing under its original name *Ṣoñ pis̲h̲mānlîḳ* (Istanbul 1876, 1969, 1971). This more or less romantic-social work of his was translated into French. His second novel, *D̲j̲ezmī*, for which the subject matter was extracted from Ottoman, Crimean and Persian history of the 16th century, was written in parts at Mytilene and finished in 1881. Under the influence of Romanticism, Pan-Islamism is the leading idea, and is defended in *D̲j̲ezmī* (Istanbul 1297, 1299, 1304, 1335 1969).

(f) Criticism. Most of his criticism, in general reflecting his ideas about *dīwān* and western literature, and the simplicity of the language, is composed in epistolary form, because it was written when he was in exile. — 1. In his foreword (*muḳaddime*) to the *Bahār-i dāni̲s̲h̲* he wrote that during the *Tanẓīmāt* period, people had refrained from translating works from Persian, because of the strong influence of Western literature, and he gave a translation of one of the famous stories written by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿInāyat Allāh in the Urdu language (Istanbul 1291, 1303, 1311). — 2. *Tak̲h̲rīb-i k̲h̲arābāt* is a criticism of the first volume of Ḍiyāʾ Pas̲h̲a's anthology (publ. Istanbul 1874), including examples of the various kinds of poetry of Arabic, Persian and Turkish *dīwān* literature. It was first published as an article in instal-

ments (*Medjmūʿa-i Ebużżiyā*, nos. 11, 19, 24, 17 January, 15 May and 17 July 1882), and it was later printed in book-form (Istanbul 1301, 1304). — 3. His critical reviews of the second and third volumes of this same work were, after having been printed as magazine articles (*ibid.*, nos. 30-36, 24 January-23 April 1883), published separately also (Istanbul 1301, 1312). — 4. *ʿIrfān Pas͟ha'ya mektūb* was written with reference to ʿIrfān Pas͟ha's blaming the young generation, in the preface to his work *Medjmūʿa-i ʿIrfān Pas͟ha* (Istanbul 1287), for not appreciating the *dīwān* literature (*ibid.*, no. 7, 18 Nov. 1880); as a book publ. Istanbul 1309, 1327). — 5. *Muṭālaʿa-nāme*, was written with reference to R. Ekrem's *Taʿlīm-i edebiyyāt*, and was printed according to a defective manuscript, which has been subsequently found (N. Halil Onat, *Namik Kemal'in tâlim-i edebiyat üzerine bir risalesi*, Ankara 1950); from his letters it seems that he wrote it at Mytilene in 1878. — 6. In his *Muḳaddime-i Djelāl*, finished at Mytilene in 1878, he expressed his opinion with regard to the new forms of literature, which had developed after the *Tanẓīmāt*, namely the political article, the novel and the drama, as well as his thoughts about whether some features of his play *Djelāl al-Dīn K͟hʷārazms͟hāh* were in accordance with the historical facts or not, and about simplicity of the language (publ. as an article in *S͟harḳ*, nos. 1 ff., 1297; *Medjmūʿa-i Ebużżiyā*, nos. 38-44, 4 Nov. 1884-12 Jan. 1885. Istanbul 1305, 1309). — 7. His *Renan müdāfaʿa-nāmesi*, which he finished at Mytilene in Sept. 1883, is his criticism of a lecture called *L'Islamisme et la science*, delivered by Ernest Renan at the Sorbonne on 29 March 1883 (Istanbul 1326; ed. Fu'ad Köprülü, Ankara 1962). — The information given by Aḥmed Midḥat in his *Uss-i inḳilāb* about his opinions on the Constitution was criticised by Kemāl (Istanbul 1295, 197, 220) in his letters dating 24 Aug. and 13 Sept. 1878 (*Edīb-i aʿẓam Nāmiḳ Kemāl Bey'iñ g͟hayr-i maṭbūʿ āt͟hārından -Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi'ye yazdıg͟hı iki mektūb*, Izmir 1324). — 9. Apart from these works of his, he wrote other pieces of criticism, which were published in magazines but were never printed in book-form; these include *Mes prisons muʿāk͟hadhesi* about the Turkish translation (1874) by R. Ekrem of Silvio Pellico's *Le Mie Prigioni*. — 10. *Mukātebāt-i siyāsiyye*, being his criticism on K. P. Rifʿat's *Ḥuḳūḳ-i ʿumūmiye* (Istanbul 1290), which was the latter's translation of Pradié Fodéré's *Principes généraux de droit politique et de législation* (Paris 1869). — 11. The *Intibāh muḳaddimesi*. — 12. His *Laṭīfe* (anecdote), also called *Pilevne muʿāk͟hadhesi*, relating to D. Ḥikmet's *Pilevne Kahramānı ʿOt͟hmān Pas͟ha s͟hanındadır* (Istanbul 1878). — 13. The criticism he wrote of Maḥmūd Djelāl al-Dīn Pas͟ha's *S͟herḥ-i S͟hefiḳ-nāme* (Istanbul 1290), his *S͟hefiḳ-nāme* or *Rawḍat al-Kāmilīn mu'āk͟hadhesi*. — We may also include in this genre his *Lāyiḥa*s (memoranda) and *Taḳrīẓ*s (eulogies of books). But one finds his most sincere and objective criticisms in his private letters, some of them of book length, and containing his frank opinions about the work of his contemporaries and about various controversies during that period.

(g) Other works. Apart from the works mentioned above he produced certain other writings: *Tendhīr al-k͟hinzīr* (Istanbul 1307); *Sergüzes͟ht* (Istanbul 1327); *Ru'yā* (signed in abbreviation *nūn-ḳaf*, n.p.d., Egypt 1908, Istanbul 1326, 1932); *Imtizādj-i aḳvām - wafāy-i ʿahd* (Istanbul 1327); *Ḥikmet al-ḥuḳūḳ*, *Midilli risalesi* and *Medjmūʿa-i siyāset* were never published in bookform.

Bibliography: The above is mostly based on the following works: Fā'iḳ Res͟hād, *Edīb-i aʿẓam Kemāl*; Ebużżiyā, *Kemāl Bey'in terdjeme-i ḥāli* (Istanbul 1326) and *Yeñi ʿOt͟hmānlılar tārīk͟hi* published in the *TE*; ʿA. Ekrem Bolayır, *Namık Kemal* (Istanbul 1933).

Of other sources, his early life and his poetry are clarified by S. N. Erg͟hun (*Namık Kemal hayatı ve şiirleri* Istanbul 1933; *Namık Kemal'in şiirleri* Istanbul 1941), while I. R. M. Kemal Inal has treated in his work of Kemāl's life as an official and his verses (*Son asır Türk sairleri*, v, Istanbul 1938, 819 ff.). For his childhood, see: E. ʿAlī Baḳī, *Namık Kemal'in annesi nerede yatar*, in *Cumhuriyet*, 24 Dec. 1940; *Ülkü*, no. 101, July 1941; *Namık Kemal Afyonda*, Ankara 1949. Some of his articles have been brought together and printed (Ebużżiyā, *Muntak͟habat-i Taṣwīr-i efkār*, Istanbul 1304, 1311; A. Ekrem Bolayır, *Külliyyāt-i Kemāl*, Istanbul 1327; M. Nihad Özön, *Namık Kemal ve ʿIbret gazetesi*, Istanbul 1938). See also R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman empire 1856-1876*, Princeton 1963, index; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, index; *Enciclopedia Italiana*, art. s.v. Most of his works were published by others while he himself was in exile; hence because he was not able to correct them himself, they contain some mistakes and omissions. Among the works which the Türk Tarih Kurumu has bought from his family are manuscripts of some of his works, as well as some printed copies which he has corrected himself. The Society has also brought together about 744 letters, some of which were addressed to him, two books containing his official writings, and also two books with his collected poems. Apart from the poems, these works have not been consulted. His letters, amounting to about 1,000, together with those already available, are, together with a commentary on their contents and documentation, being prepared for the press by the Türk Tarih Kurumu (*Namık Kemal'ın mektupları*, i, *Istanbul, Avrupa ve Maghosa mektupları*; ii and iii, *Midilli mektupları*, Ankara 1967, 1969, 1973). Because of the availability of these volumes, only a basic bibliography is given here; see further the general index to these three volumes.

(F. A. Tansel)

KEMĀL PAS͟HA-ZĀDE, or ibn(-i) kemāl, usual appellations of s͟hams al-dīn aḥmad b. sulaymān b. kamāl pas͟ha, Ottoman scholar and S͟hayk͟h al-Islām, b. ?873/1468-9, d. 940/1534.

Life. The identity of his grandfather is obscure. Kemālpas͟hazāde mentions (*VII. Defter*, facs., 293, 325)—but with no hint that he is descended from him—a Kemāl Pas͟ha who was appointed to the vizierate upon the dismissal of Maḥmūd Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] in 872/1468 and died in 875/1470 (for a letter of congratulation, undated, from Prince Bāyezīd, see N. Lugal and A. Erzi, *Fâtih devrine âit münşeât mecmuası*, Istanbul 1956, no. 60); and a *ḳaṣīda* of Ḥāmidī (ed. İ. H. Ertaylan, Istanbul 1949, 306-8) is addressed to "Daftardār Kamāl Pas͟ha" (for the autograph MS., containing a miniature of this Kemāl, see *Fâtih ve İstanbul*, i/1 (1953), 17). According to Ḥüseyn Ḥusāmeddīn, however (*Amasya Ta'rīk͟hi*, Istanbul 1329, iii, 227: as so often one does not know how seriously to take this work's undocumented assertions), the grandfather became *lālā* to Prince Bāyezīd at Amasya in 870/1465-6 and died there in 875/1470-1. That the grandfather was indeed at some time Bāyezīd's *lālā* is implied by ʿĀs͟hiḳ Čelebi (ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, f. 37a), but he certainly

died (ʿĀshiḳpashazāde, ed. Giese, p. 197) and was buried in Istanbul: his *türbe* (no longer extant) formed the nucleus of a *maḥalle* (Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul vakıflari tahrîr defteri*, Istanbul 1970, 149), and Kemālpashazāde set up a *waḳf* in favour of its mosque (*op. cit.*, no. 864).

Kemālpashazāde's father Süleymān "Beg" and "Čelebi" (called by Ḳabūlī *wazîr ibn-i wazîrān* in the last of five *ḳaṣîdas*, cf. *Külliyyât*, ed. İ. H. Ertaylan, 206) is said to have been *muḥāfiẓ* of Amasya and *sandjaḳbegi* of Tokat from 879/1474-5 until after 896/1490-1 (*Amasya Taʾrîkhi*, iii, 230-2, 237-8); he was buried in his father's *türbe* at Istanbul (the date of his death is unknown). Kemālpashazāde's mother was the sister of Ibn Küpeli, *ḳāḍîʿasker* in the middle years of the reign of Meḥemmed II (Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, i, 303-4; Turkish tr. Medjdī, 215).

Kemālpashazāde began his adult life as a *sipāhī*; but upon noticing the respect paid to Mollā Luṭfī [*q.v.*], a relatively humble *müderris*, by prominent statesmen and soldiers, he decided to embrace the career of *ʿilm* (this incident, recorded by Tashköprüzāde from Kemālpashazāde himself, seems to have occurred in 897/1492, or perhaps even earlier). He began his studies under Mollā Luṭfī, at the Dār al-ḥadīth in Edirne. His first appointment, as *müderris* at the *medrese* of ʿAlī Beg in Edirne, was procured for him by Müʾeyyedzāde ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi, then *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anadolu (and probably an old acquaintance of his father at Amasya), who on the same occasion recommended him to Bāyezīd II as the only fit person to write a definitive History of the Ottomans as the Turkish counterpart of Idrīs Bidlisī's recently-commissioned *Hasht Bihisht*; this incident can be closely dated by the facts that the *Hasht Bihisht* was commissioned in 908/1502-3 [see BIDLĪSĪ] and that Kemālpashazāde was already installed in the *medrese* of ʿAlī Beg in Muḥarrem 909/July 1503 (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 479). He then progressed through a series of *medreses* (Üsküb, Edirne, one of the Ṣaḥn *medreses* at Istanbul, the *medrese* of Bāyezīd II at Edirne).

Presumably while still *müderris* at Edirne, he wrote a *risāla* (sometimes erroneously termed *fatwā*) *fī takfīr al-rawāfiḍ*, demonstrating war against Shāh Ismāʿīl to be *farḍ ʿayn* (Atsız [see *Bibl.*], no. 84; Brockelmann, no. 47b; text published by M. C. Şahabeddin Tekindağ in *TD*, xvii/22 (1968), 77-8 and cf. 55; German summary in Elke Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden* . . ., Freiburg i/B 1970, 164-5). On 10 Radjab 921/20 August 1515, i.e. shortly after Selīm's return to Istanbul from the Čāldirān [*q.v.*] campaign, he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Edirne (Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*², i, 467-8). On 14 Shaʿbān 922/12 September 1516, while Selīm was staying in Aleppo after the battle of Mardj Dābiḳ, he was promoted to *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Anadolu (Ferīdūn, i, 480). In Cairo, for some unknown reason (? a protest at the execution of Ṭūmān Bāy), the irascible Selīm dismissed him, but he re-appointed him a couple of weeks later (Rabīʿ I-II/April 1517; Ferīdūn, i, 454, 489). According to an anecdote recorded by Saʿdeddīn (ii, 614-6; cf. Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 519-20), Kemālpashazāde's influence with Selīm was such that the dignitaries, bored with the long stay in Egypt, asked him to convey the hint that the troops wished to return home. In the course of this campaign he gave a ruling in favour of the orthodoxy of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*, at col. 708b] (Atsız, no. 85; Brockelmann, no. 47a).

In 924/1518 he acted as *emīn* for a land-survey (*taḥrīr*) of Ḳarāmān (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 39; cf. N. and I. Beldiceanu, in *JESHO*, xi (1968), 7, 57). Upon being dismissed, or resigning, from the post of *ḳāḍīʿasker* (in 925/1519, according to Medjdī, 387), he again became a *müderris* at Edirne (Dār al-ḥadīth, then *medrese* of Bāyezīd II). Upon the death of "Zenbīlli" ʿAlī Efendi (932/1526) he was appointed Shaykh al-Islām, and held office until his death on 2 Shawwāl 940/16 April 1534. He was buried in the *zāwiye* of Maḥmūd Čelebi, outside Edirne Kapîsl.

Works. Kemālpashazāde was a most prolific writer, in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, in the fields of history, *belles-lettres*, grammar, theology and law. Over 200 works (many of them, admittedly, short *risālas*) are attributed to him. The most important are:

Turkish: (1) History of the Ottomans, begun in 908/1502-3 and composed originally in eight books (*defter*), one for each reign from ʿOthmān to Bāyezīd II. All survive in manuscript except Book 5 (Meḥemmed I) and the first part of Book 6 (Murād II). Book 1 (ʿOthmān), ed. Şerafettin Turan, Ankara (TTK) 1970; Book 7 (Meḥemmed II, largely based on Neshrī and Tursun [*qq.v.*] but containing important original data), ed. Ş. Turan in facsimile (from the autograph *MS*, Fatih 4205, see V. L. Ménage, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 250-64), Ankara 1954, and in transcription, Ankara 1957. Book 8 reaches to 916/1510. Later, Kemālpashazāde was asked to continue his History. Book 9 (Selīm I) resumes the last years of Bāyezīd II's reign but reaches only to 920/1514 (the apparent date of completion, 19 Ṣafar 926, is expressed by a *muʿammā* in fractions, a literary conceit which appears to be Kemālpashazāde's invention, see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, i (1948), 237-47). (Two *mss.*—Hazine 1424, Revan 1277—sometimes referred to as a *Selīmnāme* of Kemālpashazāde are in fact by Saʿdī b. ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl: abridged German tr. by M. T. Speiser, Zürich 1946; see M. C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, i (1970), 217-8 and (incorrect) 208-10). Book 10, extending only to Süleymān's return from the Mohacz campaign in 933/1526, was for long regarded as a separate work (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, iii, p. vi) and was published, with French tr., by Pavet de Courteille as *Histoire de la campagne de Mohacz par Kemal Pachazadeh*, Paris 1859; that this text is the fragmentary Book 10 was shown by L. Forrer (*Isl.*, xxvi (1942), 187; see also, with important data on the *mss.*, Hüseyn Yurdaydın, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, iii (1956), 107-15). It appears that Book 10 was never given final shape (and that Book 9 was never completed). Various portions of the work also exist in *ms.* under a variety of titles. In spite of its importance, especially for the writer's own times (H. İnalcik has called him "the greatest of all Ottoman historians"), it was very little used by later chroniclers. For the *mss.* in European libraries: Babinger, 61 ff.; in İstanbul: *İstanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları kataloglari*, i/2, 1944, 120 ff., and Atsız, no. 1.

(2) *Dīvān*. Two *ḳaṣīdas* and about 300 *ghazals*, distinguished by having no *makhlaṣ*; partial ed. Istanbul (Iḳdām series no. 5) 1313; cf. E. J. W. Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 347-63. Atsız, no. 2. His famous elegy on Selīm I, appearing early in Book 10 of the History, has been published by M. ʿĀrif, in *TOEM*, part 22, 1411-6, and by F. İz, in *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım*, i/1, Istanbul 1966, 505-8. (3) A verse translation of the famous *Burda* [*q.v.*] of al-Būṣīrī (Atsız, no. 3). (4) *Yūsuf u Zelīkhā*, a *mathnawī* in 7777 couplets, closely following Djāmī [*q.v.*], dedicated to Bāyezīd II. See Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 12-17; except in F. İz, *Nazım*, i/2, 1967, 786-90. Atsız, no. 4. (5) *Daḳāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*,

dedicated to Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], on the distinctions between apparent synonyms in Persian; to judge from the numerous *mss.*, the work was widely read. Atsız no. 8.

Persian: (6) *Nigāristān*, in prose and verse, in imitation of the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī [*q.v.*], completed in 939/1533; excerpts, with Latin translation, in *Mines de l'Orient*, i, 401-8; ii, 107-113. Atsız no. 20. (7) *Muḥīṭ al-lughāt*, an Arabic-Persian dictionary composed in 926/1520. Atsız, no. 26.

Arabic: (8) *Tafsīr*, incomplete, the *mss.* comprising *sūra*s 1-38, 67, 78-9, 86, 89, 103: Atsız, no. 27; Brockelmann, nos. 6-10. (9) Four (or five?) distinct collections of *ḥadīth*s (40, 30 and 24) with *sharḥ*: Atsız, nos. 39-42; Brockelmann, nos. 13-17 and 132. One collection was translated into Turkish by ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi [*q.v.*] and printed, Istanbul 1316; see A. Karahan, *İslâm-Türk edebiyatında kırk hadis*, Istanbul 1954, 175-8; *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 253-4. (10) *Muhimmāt al-muftī*, a collection of *fatwās*: Atsız, no. 47; Brockelmann, no. 45. (11) A *ḥāshiya* on some sections of the *Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī [*q.v.*]: Atsız, no. 48; Brockelmann, no. 151 (?). (12) *Iṣlāḥ al-Wiḳāya*, corrections to the *Wiḳāya* of ʿUbayd al-Maḥbūbī, and (13) *Īḍāḥ al-Iṣlāḥ*, his own *sharḥ* to (12), both completed in 928/1522: Atsız, no. 49; Brockelmann, nos. 46, 170. (14) A *ḥāshiya* on the *Talwīḥ* of al-Taftāzānī [*q.v.*]: Atsız, no. 50; Brockelmann, no. 151 (?). (15) *Taghyīr al-Tanḳīḥ*, corrections to the *Tanḳīḥ al-uṣūl* of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Maḥbūbī completed in 931/1525, printed Istanbul 1308: Atsız, no. 51 (add *ms.* Murad Molla 623, autograph, see *BSOAS*, xxiii, 253); Brockelmann, II², 278; S II, 301. (16) His own *sharḥ* to (15): Atsız, no. 52. (17) A *sharḥ* to *al-Farā'iḍ al-Sirādjiyya*, of al-Sadjāwandī [*q.v.*], completed in 928/1522: Atsız, no. 53; Brockelmann, no. 42a. (18) A *ḥāshiya* to the commentary by al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.*] on the *Mawāḳif* of al-Īdjī [*q.v.*]: Atsız, no. 92; Brockelmann, no. 140. (19) A *ḥāshiya* to the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* of Khʷādjazāde (for whom see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, 649-52): Atsız, no. 93; Brockelmann, nos. 94, 161. (20) *Taghyīr al-Miftāḥ*, corrections to and commentary on the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-Sakkākī [*q.v.*]: Atsız, no. 140; Brockelmann, no. 154. (21) A *sharḥ* to the *Khamriyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*]: Atsız, no. 160; Brockelmann, no. 92. (22) *al-Risāla al-munīra*, printed Istanbul 1286, etc.: Atsız, no. 170; Brockelmann, no. 134 and cf. no. 17b. (23) *al-Falāḥ fī sharḥ al-Marāḥ*, a *sharḥ* to the *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ*, on grammar, of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Masʿūd, printed Istanbul 1289, etc.; attribution doubtful: Atsız, no. 181; Brockelmann, II², 24; S II, 14. (24) *R. fī taḥḳīḳ taʿrīb al-kalimāt al-ʿarabiyya*, on various non-Arabic words used in Arabic, printed Cairo n.d. (according to Sarkis), Turkish tr. Istanbul 1290; described by Brunschvig [see *Bibl.*], 50-2: Atsız, no. 182; Brockelmann, no. 109. (25) *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-khāmil* (*sic*, not *al-djāhil*) *wa'l-nabīh*, on Arabic words mispronounced, Turkish tr. Istanbul 1289: Atsız, no. 194; Brockelmann, no. 106 [and see GHALAṬĀT-I MESHHŪRE]. (26) *R. fī maziyyat al-lisān al-fārisī*, on the superiority of Persian over other languages, except Arabic, printed in *Rasā'il*, Istanbul 1316, 210-6, and Tehran 1332 s.; see Brunschvig, 52-6: Atsız, no. 203; Brockelmann, no. 108.

According to Kātib Čelebi (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Flügel no. 13617 = Yaltkaya-Bilge, ii, 1933), he translated for Selīm I, under the title *al-Kawākib al-bāhira, al-Nudjūm al-zāhira* of Ibn Taghrībirdī [see ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN], but no *ms.* is known.

Kemālpashazāde is usually credited with the authorship of the somewhat notorious *Rudjūʿ al-shaykh ilā ṣibāh fi 'l-ḳuwwa ʿala 'l-bāh*, rendered by R. F. Burton "Book of Age-rejuvenescence in the power of Concupiscence" (Brockelmann, no. 103, for Arabic *mss.* and printed texts and Persian trans.; anon. English trans. *The old man young again*, 2 vols., Paris 1898-9; and see DJINS at col. 552b). However, Kātib Čelebi records (*Kashf*, Flügel no. 5878 = Yaltkaya-Bilge, i, 835) that Kemālpashazāde translated it, presumably from Arabic into Turkish, for Selīm I (Atsız lists, no. 7, two Turkish *mss.*); the author is more probably Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tīfāshī, d. 651/1253 (Brockelmann, I², 652; and see AL-TĪFĀSHĪ).

There seems to be no foundation for the assertion that Abu 'l-Suʿūd [*q.v.*] was the pupil of Kemālpashazāde. Their names are significantly linked, however, by ʿAṭā'ī (p. 185), in the statement that it was they who, as *muʿallim-i evvel* and *muʿallim-i thānī* of Süleymān I, succeeded (by their *idjtihād*) in reconciling the *sharīʿa* and the *ḳānūn*—an achievement sometimes attributed to Abu 'l-Suʿūd alone (see also Kātib Čelebi, *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ*, 116; Eng. tr. G. L. Lewis, 128). The extent of Kemālpashazāde's contribution remains to be investigated (numerous MS collections of his *fatwās* survive: Atsız, no. 5; Brockelmann, no. 47). As regards other fields, however, his immense reputation rests rather on his industry and on the profundity and extent of his learning than on any originality of thought.

Bibliography: Life. The principal source is Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳā'iḳ*, i, 541-8 = Turkish trans. by Medjdī, 381-5 = German trans. by Rescher, 243-5. To cite here the numerous secondary works is superfluous, for they are superseded by three recent studies, all containing references to them and to unpublished sources: İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, art. *Kemâl Paşa-zâde*, in *İA*, fasc. 62 (1954); Ş. Turan, introductory chapter in *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: VII. defter*, Ankara 1957, pp. ix-xxviii; R. C. Repp, *The origins and development of the office of Shaikh al-Islâm . . .*, unpublished D. Phil. thesis. Oxford 1966, 277-96.

Works. The most recent attempt at a bibliography is by [Çiftçioglu Nihal] Atsız, *Kemalpaşaoğlu'nun eserleri*, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, vi (1966), 71-112 (nos. 1-92) and vii (1972), 83-135 (nos. 93-209), listing 19 works in Turkish, 7 in Persian and 183 in Arabic, the last classified by subject (*tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, etc.); but valuable as it is, it is based only on the manuscript collections of Istanbul, so that it does not supersede Djamāl al-ʿAẓm, *ʿUḳūd al-djawhar*, Beirut 1326, 217 f. (214 titles, with some duplications) or, for the Arabic works, Brockelmann: II², 597-602 = nos. 1-124; S II, 668-73 = nos. 125-70; S III, 1306 = nos. 171-9.

A number of his *risāla*s (more than the 28 noted by Atsız) were printed in the Iḳdām series, Istanbul 1316. Facsimiles of ten of his *fatwās* are given in *ʿIlmiyye sālnāmesi*, Istanbul 1334, 346-54; one of his letters, to Süleymān I, is published by S. Turan, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, new series no. 2/17 (1958), 221-4. See also R. Brunschvig, *Kemâl Pâshâzâde et le persan*, in *Mélanges H. Massé*, Tehran 1963, 48-64. (V. L. MÉNAGE)

KEMĀL RE'ĪS (d. 917/1511), a Turkish corsair and admiral in the time of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512), and uncle of the celebrated Pīrī Re'īs [*q.v.*]. Born in Gallipoli of a Turkish family originally from Ḳarāmān, he joined the campaign of Agriboz in 874/1470 under Maḥmūd Pasha. Later he settled down in that island and was raised to the rank

of *ʿazablar āghāsī*. He gained great fame through his corsair activities in the western Mediterranean, so that in 900/1495 Bāyezīd II took him and his nephew Pīrī Reʾīs into the Ottoman service at a salary of 20 *aḳčas* per day. In the following year, he conveyed to Alexandria the income of the *awḳāf* of Adana and Tarsus for the Holy Places of Arabia; on his return he was attacked by the Knights of Rhodes in the vicinity of the island, but defeated them (Kemāl Pashazāde, *Taʾrīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Ali Emiri, VIII. Defter. No. 32, f. 76a). He took part in the Inebakhti (Aynabakhtī) campaign in 904/1499, and he and Burāḳ Reʾīs commanded the two newly-built large battle ships (*küke*) which were among the Ottoman fleet at that battle under the supreme command of the Admiral or Küčük Dāwūd Pasha. Kemāl Reʾīs's duties in this battle were to prevent the Venetians giving support by sea, and thus assist the *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli, Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha, who was besieging the fortress of Inebakhti by land. During the sea battle near the island of Sapienza on 19th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1499/28th July 1499, the Venetians, thinking that they were attacking Kemāl Reʾīs, mistakenly attacked Burāḳ Reʾīs's ship, which also had on board the *sandjaḳbeyi* of Yeñishehir, Kemāl Bey; Burāḳ Reʾīs managed to set the enemy ships on fire with naphtha, though he himself and his ship perished. The island of Sapienza was later renamed Burāḳ Reʾīs island. Kemāl Reʾīs, meanwhile, took up a position near the coast and prevented the Venetian fleet from landing troops behind the Ottoman forces. In the following month he secured several further victories over the Venetians, and played a great role in the capture of Inebakhti and later of Modon, Koron and Navarino by the Ottomans; for his activities in these battles see Ṣafāʾī, *Fetḥ-nāme-yi Inebakhti ve Modon*, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Revan 1271). He was busy with corsair activities in the western and central Mediterranean during the summer of 906-7/1501, and returned to Istanbul in the autumn of that year. Among the rich booty and prisoners taken was the Duke of Catanzaro, and for the ransom of this person 5,000 gold pieces were demanded (H. J. Kissling, *Sultan Bayezid II.'s Beziehungen zu Markgraf Francesco II. von Gonzaga*, in *Münchener Universitätsschriften*, Reihe der Philosophischen Fakültät, Munich 1965, i; for the emended Italian translation, see *Francesco II Gonzago ed il Sultano Bayezid II*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1967, i, 34-68; Kissling, *Betrachtungen über die Flottenpolitik Sultan Bayezids II 1481-1512*, in *Saeculum*, xx/1, 35-43). It was probably after this success that his daily allowance was increased to 50 *aḳčas*. (Kissling, *Zur Tätigkeit des Kemāl-Re'is im Westmittelmeer*, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 155. He died during a campaign in 917/1511 when his ship was caught in in a storm and sank; by that time, his daily allowance was 100 *aḳčas* (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 4661). Notable is his introduction of long-range cannon for the ships of the Ottoman navy.

Bibliography: in addition to references given in the article, see Pīrī Reʾīs, *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, Introd. and ed. by Fevzi Kurdoğlu-Haydar Alpagot, Istanbul 1935, i-viii; J. H. Mordtmann, *Zur Lebensgeschichte von Kemāl Reʾīs*, in *MSOS*, Berlin 1929, 39-49; H. A. v. Burski, *Kemal Reis, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des türkischen Flotte*, Bonn 1928; H. J. Kissling, *Kemāl-Reʾīs und der Duca di Catanzaro*, in *Festschrift für Werner Caskel*, Leiden 1968, 202-11; Ismet Parmaksızoğlu, *Kemal Reis*, in *İA*. (NEJAT GÖYÜNÇ)

KEMAL TAHİR (DEMİR), modern Turkish novelist (1910-1973). Born on 13 March 1910 in Istanbul, his father's family came originally from Alişar village of Şebinkarahisari (in north-eastern Anatolia), where most of their relatives still live. They were known as Demircioğulları, hence the family name Demir, which however Kemal Tahir never used in his writings. His father Ṭāhir Efendi (d. 1957), a naval officer risen from the ranks, was an *aide-de-camp* to the Sultan (*khünkār yāveri*), and also worked in the carpentry shop of the Yıldız Palace (a privileged position, as cabinet-making was ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's great hobby). He married Nūriyye Khanīm, a *sarāyli*, a Circassian girl from Adapazarı brought up in the Palace and attached to the Sultan's household. Ṭāhir Efendi was retired from the navy as lieutenant following the Revolution of 1908, but was called up again during the Balkan War of 1912 and again at the outbreak of World War I. Wounded at the Dardanelles (1915), he served, behind the front, in various military hospitals in Anatolia until he was retired in 1918, when he settled in Istanbul in his brother's home and made his living working as a carpenter on construction projects. Kemal Tahir attended various primary schools following his movements, and continued his education in Istanbul. In 1923 he entered Galatasaray (the leading high school modelled on the French *lycée*), but he had to give up his studies in 1926 when his mother died and he had to earn his own living. Between 1927-32 he worked as a clerk in lawyers' offices and in other odd jobs and eventually settled in journalism, working in various newspapers and magazines as proof-reader, translator, secretary and editor. In 1937 he married İrfan Hanım, a teacher.

His interest in socialist ideas and literature and his close friendship with the famous left-wing poet Nazim Hikmet, brought him into conflict with the government during the rigorous conformist period of the single-party régime. He was accused, together with his friends, of spreading subversive ideas and inciting to mutiny in the Navy (through his brother Nuri, who was a naval N.C.O.) and was sentenced by a naval court to 15 years imprisonment (1938). He spent the first two years of his term in an Istanbul prison; then he was transferred with Nazım Hikmet to Čankırı where they spent 16 months together. In the meantime, he was divorced from his wife. Kemal Tahir spent the years 1941-50 in the prisons of Malatya, Čorum (five years) and Nevşehir until his release following the general amnesty of 1950. He settled in Istanbul in the summer of the same year. He brought with him the drafts and sketches of half a dozen novels and several thousands of pages of notes as materials for further works.

The first five years in Istanbul were a bitter struggle for survival. Under a dozen pseudonyms, Kemal Tahir busily produced or translated a great number of detective stories and adventure novels which were serialized in various popular dailies. Semiha Hanım, his second wife, contributed to the family budget by working as a dressmaker. Following the anti-Greek riots of September 1955, Kemal Tahir was arrested with a number of left-wing suspects, as the incident was thought to be in some quarters a communist conspiracy. He was released after six months' detention. The year 1955 is a turning point in his career, as it saw the publication of two of his books (see below). The same year he set up, together with the humorist writer Aziz Nesin, the publishing house *Düşün*. Kemal Tahir spent the remaining years of his life revising and publishing his drafts and writing new novels and developing his controversial ideas and theories on historical, political,

literary and social problems. His health declined, and he died unexpectedly on 21 April 1973, leaving many incomplete works, particularly his pet project of a historical novel on the famous 15th century rebel Shaykh Bedr ed-Din.

Like most writers of his generation, Kemal Tahir started with poetry. His early experiments were published in Abdullah Cevdet's *Içtihad* and were, characteristically, poems on social themes (*Bardaki Kadınlar*, "Women at the Tavern", No. 318, April 1931; *Açın Türküsü*, "The song of the Hungry", No. 320, May 1931, etc.). These were followed in the early 1930s by poems of symbolist inspiration (then very popular) in the *avant-garde* literary review *Varlık*. Later, under Nazım Hikmet's influence, he returned to social themes and wrote poems in free verse which he published under the pseudonyms of Cemalettin Mahir and Ismail Kemalettin in the review *Ses* (1938-9).

In the meantime, he had been contributing popular short stories and novels to the weekly *Yedi Gün* (1935-40). But his short stories, which revealed his talent, were written in 1940 and serialised in the daily *Tan* in 1941 under the pseudonym Cemalettin Mahir (first edition in book form under his own name: *Göl İnsanları*, Istanbul 1955). These are powerful sketches of the life of peasants and working class people.

Kemal Tahir never returned to the short story, and he serialised his first novel *Sağırdere* (under the pseudonym Körduman) in 1950 (published in book form under his own name in 1955). In this first novel, he describes the everyday life, customs and manners of peasants in their own surroundings (a Central Anatolian village near Čorum) and in the city where they come to find work. This is a forerunner of his series of village novels and opens an important phase in the Turkish "peasant literature", which began to gather momentum in the 1930s. Then followed his *Esir Şehrin İnsanları* ("People of the Captive City"), which was serialised in the Istanbul daily *Yeni Istanbul* in 1952-3 and published in 1956. This work opens the series of "period novels" in Kemal Tahir's career. It is the story of Istanbul under the Allied occupation in 1920-2 and of the bitter struggle between the supporters of the Anatolian Nationalists and the men of the Sultan's government subservient to the occupying powers. The untypical hero of the novel is a young diplomat, Kâmil Bey, the son of a wealthy Hamidian Pasha, who has spent most of his life in Europe and who, on his return to Istanbul becomes a *millidji*, a supporter of the Nationalist cause, to the indignation of his wife who typifies the collaborationist, wealthy "society" women. The hero is in strong contrast with the type of "Westernising snob" frequently ridiculed by many earlier Turkish novelists, e.g. Huseyn Rahmi.

From 1956 until his death, Kemal Tahir produced a dozen novels in these two categories. Outstanding among them are: *Rahmet Yolları Kesti*, ("The Rain Blocked the Roads", 1957), written in answer to Yasar Kemal's best-seller *İnce Memed* (1955, Engl. tr. *Memed My Hawk*, 1961) where the brigand-hero is idealised, whereas Kemal Tahir tries to kill by ridicule the romantic-epic conception of brigands and rejects the idea that "these former deserters and criminals" can lead popular movements or can be real friends of the oppressed; and *Yorgun Savaşçı* ("The Tired Warrior", 1965), perhaps his best novel. It is, in a way, the epic of the generation of the officers who, after the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, went through a series of ordeals: the War in Tripoli with Italy, 1911; the Balkan Wars, 1912-13; and World War I, culminating in the collapse of the Empire, the Greek invasion of Western Anatolia and the occupation of Istanbul by the Allies. The novel tells the story how some of these "tired warriors" rushed to Anatolia to form the nucleus of resistance and fought desparately until Mustafa Kemal's organised movement, which gradually became the master of the situation, took over. *Devlet Ana* ("Mother State", 1967) is a historical novel which caused much controversy in the press. It explores the circumstances which, in the late 13th century, led to the birth of the Ottoman State between the declining Byzantium and the disintegrating Seljuk power. "The generous and just State" realized by the early Ottomans, "towards which Muslims and Christians alike flocked to seek security and welfare", as described in the early Ottoman chronicles, is the basis of the author's "Ottomanist" thesis. This version of "Ottoman revivalism" which he pioneered in literature, rejects everything alien and imposed on the Turkish culture and maintains that the secret of a regeneration is to be found in the "perfect" Ottoman system. In this novel, Kemal Tahir experimented, with unequal success, with a style which is mainly inspired by that of the 15th century chronicles and religious-epic folk stories. In other novels, important issues or episodes of contemporary Turkish history are discussed elaborately, with an approach which is usually different from the received or current versions. The village Institutes, an attempt to realize mass education of the peasantry (*Bozkırdaki Çekirdek*, "The Seed in the Steppe", 1967); the 1926 Unionist conspiracy against Mustafa Kemal (*Kurt Kanunu*, "Wolves' Law", 1969); the short-lived Liberal Party (*Serbest Fırka*) experiment of 1930 (*Yol Ayrımı*, "Cross-Roads", 1971); etc.

Kemal Tahir kept alive the interest and curiosity of his reading public by constantly dwelling on subjects and personalities which have always been a centre of heated controversy: East versus West, tradition versus innovation, the value of the Islamic and Ottoman heritage for Modern Turkey; responsibility for military, political and economic setbacks and cultural stagnation since the Tanzimat; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II and his policies; the Unionist leaders and the real nature of their party; and lastly, Atatürk, his companions, his reforms and the Republican era which he inaugurated.

Kemal Tahir's approach to all these matters is rather emotional and biased. His admiration for ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (already rehabilitated by some modern historians) and his reign, and his lack of enthusiasm for the 19th century reformers, for the Young Turks, and particularly for Atatürk, may perhaps be partly explained by his family background and his personal experiences. He never lived in Anatolia for any length of time, and his observations of peasantry are limited to his long years of association with the inmates of Central Anatolian prisons. His subjects of study were, by necessity, offenders of various types: bandits, murderers, thieves, forgers, sexual criminals, etc. This circumstance was bound to condition him when he judged and made generalisations on the way of life, problems and moral values of peasants and conditions in villages.

Kemal Tahir's language and style differ considerably from his contemporaries. His peasants do not speak a local dialect, as is the case with most "village novelists". Also, he almost ignores the language reform movement and avoids, most of the time, the

use of neologisms and prefers a "moderate" style close to that of the preceding generation. On the other hand, he has a repertory of colloquial or slang words and expressions, and his pet pseudo-archaic forms, which he likes to use indiscriminately on all occasions, and his many diverse characters have often disturbingly identical speech habits. In his novels the plot is often a pretext to put forward his ideas, and in every novel there are one of two characters who use every occasion to defend, at length, the author's familiar theses. Many of his novels consist consequently of loosely connected political arguments or didactic tirades.

There can be no doubt, however, that Kemal Tahir ranks among the leading and most remarkable writers of modern Turkey, a writer who invited his readers to re-think on vital issues of Turkish political and cultural life, who experimented in the use of elements of classical and popular Turkish prose, thought to be dead wood by many, and who left two or three novels which will always be considered among the best of his time.

Bibliography: Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten sonra hikâye ve roman* iii, Istanbul 1965; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sozlüğü*, Istanbul 1972; idem, *Edebiyatımızda eserler sozlüğü*, Istanbul 1971 (critical summaries of some of Kemal Tahir's works, see index); Fahir Iz, in *Cassell's encyclopaedia of world literature*², ii, London 1973, s.v.; Mehmet Seyda (ed.), *Türk romanı* (an open forum on Tahir and *Devlet ana*), Istanbul 1969; Aytekin Yakar, *Türk romanında milli mücadele*, Istanbul 1973: *Türkiye defteri*, no. 6, April 1974 (a special issue on Tahir: important biographical and critical notes by a number of writers); Hulusi Dosdoğru, *Batı aldatmacalığı ve putlara karşı Kemal Tahir*, Istanbul 1974 (with selections from his novels). (Fahir Iz).

KEMĀLIYYE. [see eğin]

KEMĀNKESH ("Archer"), ʿAlī Pasha, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born in the district of Ḥamīd-ili in Anatolia, he came to Istanbul and was trained in the palace service from which he emerged with an appointment as *beylerbeyi* of Diyār Bakr with the rank of vizier, probably in 1029/1620. Difficulties arising over his executing a well-known provincial official without reference to Istanbul caused his transfer to the governorship of Baghdād, where he remained for about a year before being dismissed and retiring to the vicinity of Ḳaysāriyya. Returning to Istanbul following the death of ʿOthmān II (Radjab 1031/May 1622), he was made a lesser (either fourth or third) vizier and subsequently replaced the Grand Vizier Mere Ḥusayn Pasha, who was turned out of office in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1032/August 1623.

Though there were serious problems in various parts of the empire during ʿAlī Pasha's vizierate (the rebellion of Ābāza Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] continued in Anatolia, for example, and Baghdād fell to the Ṣafawid ruler Shāh ʿAbbās I), he appears to have concerned himself mainly with affairs in Istanbul. He played a leading role in the second deposition of the incompetent sultan Muṣṭafā I (Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1032/September 1623), but is otherwise chiefly remembered in the sources for his attempts to secure his position, building a sizeable fortune through such means as bribery and the sale of offices and attempting to undermine those whom he felt to threaten him. With the encouragement of his father-in-law, the highranking scholar Bostān-zāde Meḥmed Efendi, he succeeded in bringing about the dismissal of the *Shaykh al-Islām* Zekeriyyā-zāde Yaḥyā Efendi, who had offended him by alluding in conversation to his susceptibility to bribery; he was unable, however, to obtain that post for his father-in-law, an aim which, had it been achieved, might have resulted in a dangerous concentration of power. He was less successful in his moves against two former Grand Viziers, Gürdjü Meḥmed Pasha and Khalīl Pasha: having arrested them on the pretext of supposed subversive letters to Ābāza Pasha, he refused to produce the letters for inspection when challenged and the two men were set free. The immediate cause for his dismissal and execution on 14 Djumādā II 1033/3 April 1624 is said to have been his attempt to conceal from Murād IV the news of the fall of Baghdād. His considerable possessions were confiscated and his body buried in the grounds of the ʿAtīḳ ʿAlī Pasha Mosque in Istanbul.

Bibliography: *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, from the year 1621 to 1628 inclusive*, London 1740, 173-4, 179, 230; Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 397-401; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, 38-9, 52; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 260-6, 296-8; ʿOthmān-zāde Aḥmed Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 72; Aywānsarāyī Ḥüseyn, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, i, 150; *IA*, s.v. (by M. Münir Aktepe). (R. C. Repp)

ḲENĀ. [see ḳunā]

KENʿĀN PASHA, also nicknamed Ṣarī ("pale-faced") and Ṭopal ("Lame"), High Admiral (*Ḳapudān Pasha*, [*q.v.*]) under the Ottoman Sultan Meḥemmed IV, d. 1069/1659. He originated from the northeastern shores of the Black Sea (Russian or Circassian?) and came as a slave into the service of Baḳirdji Aḥmad Pasha, Ottoman governor of Egypt. On the latter's execution he was taken by Sulṭān Murād IV into the Palace and educated there. He was promoted to be Agha of the stirrup-holders (*Rikāb-dār aghasi*) (Chronicle of Wedjīhī, f. 91b of the Vienna MS.), became a favourite of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm after his accession (1049/1640) and married his daughter ʿĀtike Sulṭāne. He was at the same time appointed third vizier but banished soon after Ibrāhīm's death 1058/1648) to Crete. In Shawwāl 1062/Sept. 1652, he returned to Istanbul and was appointed to the charge of the defences of the Dardanelles. In Shawwāl 1063/Sept. 1653, he was given the governorship of Ofen, but deprived of it in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1065/Sept. 1655, and in Rabīʿ II 1066/Feb. 1656, appointed governor of Silistria. On 9 Radjab 1066/3 May 1656 he was appointed Grand Admiral. On 3 Ramaḍān 1066/26 June 1656, while in command of the Ottoman fleet sent out against the Venetians, he suffered a severe defeat in the Dardanelles, the greatest naval reverse inflicted on Turkey since the battle of Lepanto; the Venetians then occupied the islands commanding the Dardanelles and thus severed links with the Mediterranean for the Turks (cf. Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, Istanbul 1329, 133-4; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*¹, vi, 183-5; Von Hammer, *GOR*, v, 649 ff.). The whole weight of the Sulṭān's wrath fell upon Kenʿān Pasha who was immediately thrown into prison. He was finally released on the intercession of his Russian countrywoman, the Sulṭāna-mother (Kösem Wālide; [*q.v.*]) but was dismissed from the office of Grand Admiral almost immediately on 26 Ramaḍān 1066/18 July 1656. Two years later he was appointed *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the imperial stirrup (*riḳāb-i humāyūn*), but the very next month dismissed again and sent to Bursa as commander

of the garrison (*muḥāfiẓ*) to protect the city against the rebel Ābāza Ḥasan's possible attack (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*[1], ii, 660; Von Hammer, *GOR*, vi, 37). But he then left Bursa to join the rebel leader in Anatolia, possibly out of jealousy towards the Grand Vizier Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha. However, he shared the fate of Ābāza Ḥasan and other rebel leaders, and was executed at Aleppo on 23rd Djumādā I 1069/16th February 1659 (cf. Naʿīmā, ii, 685). His head was shortly afterwards brought to the *Dīwān* in Istanbul and eventually buried at Üsküdar.

If this is the Kenʿān Pasha mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāma*, iii, 366 (and he certainly never was governor of Oczakov any more than was Ḳodja Kenʿān Pasha (d. 1062/1651) who is also often confused with the Grand Admiral, e.g. in the *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 83), he was also an author and composed a *Ṣaltīḳ-nāma* in honour of Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ Baba [*q.v.*]. His own warlike exploits, especially his military operations in the years 1036-8/1626-8 were celebrated in a rhymed *Pasha-nāma* by the poet and judge Ṭulūʿī Ibrāhīm Efendi (of Ḳalḳandelen) of which there is a copy in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 3584); cf. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish MSS*, 191 f., with detailed summary of contents. The possibility that it celebrates the above mentioned Ḳodja Kenʿān Pasha who had a very similar career to his namesake and contemporary (both were, for example, governors of Ofen), has always to be remembered. The biographical data regarding Ṣarī Kenʿān Pasha are much confused, as the article in Rāmiz Pashazāde Meḥmed, *Kharīta-i Ḳapudānān-i Deryā*, Istanbul 1285, 65-6, and Sāmī Bey Frasherī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, 3900, who follows it, show. According to this authority, Kenʿān Pasha was buried beside the school not far from Ḳīrḳ Česhme.

Bibliography: Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 123, 137, 155; Wedjīhī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul University Library, T.Y. no. 2543, ff. 31a, 49b; ʿAbdī Pasha, *Weḳāyiʿ-nāma*, Istanbul University Library, T.Y. no. 4140, ff. 30a-44b; Ḳarā Celebi-zāde, *Dhayl-i rawḍat al-abrār*, Istanbul University Library, T.Y. no. 1550, ff. 125a-183b; Meḥmed Ḥāfid, *Safīnat al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. I. Parmaksızoğlu; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 83; Von Hammer, *GOR*, x, 497; M. Münir Aktepe, in *İA*, s.v.

(F. Babinger - [N. Göyünç])

KENĖH [see ḳunā]

KENYA, a state of East Africa bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by Ethiopia and the Sudan, and in the south by Tanzania. It was formerly a colony of the British Empire, but became independent in December 1963. The Muslim population in the country formed about 6% of a total figure of 8,636,263 in 1962. Assuming that the number increased annually by the present rate of 3.4%, the Muslim population would number some 800,000 out of a total population of 10,942,705 in 1974. The Muslims themselves generally feel that their numbers have been under- estimated. A claim that they represent a quarter of the population has been advanced, although no special census has been made to determine the actual number of Muslims in the country. The Muslim communities in Kenya today comprise various races and tribes, together with all the major sects of Islam, with a definite predominance of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. A tribe like the Pokomo is 85% Muslim, whereas the Duruma is 25% only.

In the pre-Islamic period, the Kenya coastlands were visited by merchants from southwestern Arabia [see yaman, zandj], and some Arabs settled there. But it is difficult to fix a date for the earliest arrival and settlement of Muslims on the coast. Local traditions and chronicles of recent origin speak of Muslim settlement going back to the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, but no reliable evidence, archaeological or other, has been advanced to support such claims. During some four centuries, between Ptolemy's *Geography* and the first Arabic sources, there are no reliable data on the coast. The first Arabic source of note is al-Masʿūdī, who relates in the 4th/10th century that the island of Ḳanbalū (taken to be Pemba or Zanzibar) was ruled by a Muslim family and that its population consisted of Muslims and non-Muslims. Excavations recently carried out at a site on Manda island indicate that a thriving town existed there by that time. "Some of the buildings were of coral stone set in mortar, though many were of mud and wattle, masonry walls built against the sea are of very large coral blocks, many weighing over a ton—a massive form of construction found nowhere else in Sub-Saharan Africa" (Neville Chittick, *Zamani*). The excavation unearthed vast quantities of Islamic pottery and some shards of Chinese porcelain which indicate direct contact with other Islamic regions. The contacts with China were probably only through intermediairies. By the 4th/10th century, commercial relations were being pursued not only with South Arabia, but also with the Persian Gulf. Immigrants from Persia, known as the Banādir, also seem to have come to settle on the Somali coastal towns. They intermarried with autochthonous Bantu-speaking groups and thus contributed to the foundation of Mogadishu which, by the 7th/13th century, had developed into the most important Muslim town on the whole coast. Many of these Shīrāzīs, as the Persian-African families became known, later moved south and settled at such places in Kenya as Shanga and Manda and became part of the ruling families in Malindi, Mombasa and Vumba Kuu. On Pate (Patta) island, an Arab family from ʿUmān, the Nabhānī, formed a ruling dynasty through a similar process of integration. The sultanate of Vumba Kuu, on Kenya's southern coast, was the result of Shīrāzī settlement and intermarriage between these Muslims and local Africans. In the 12th/18th century, an Arab family of Sharīfs from Ḥaḍramawt, the Bā ʿAlawī, established a dynasty which adopted the title of *Dīwānī* for the ruler, but maintained the custom of giving him a Bantu nickname—a symbol of cultural exchange and synthesis, which was also reflected in the investiture ceremonies of the *Dīwānī*, which included Bantu and Muslim rites. The Nabhānī rulers of Pate also adopted a Bantu throne-name, *Fumo* ("spear").

Such ethnic and culture integration renders inaccurate the description of these city-states as "Arab colonies". Their dominant feature was not their Arab nature but Islam, and they have been compared with some of the western Sudanese Muslim states.

Between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries, sc. up to the arrival of the Portuguese, the Muslim city-states enjoyed their greatest days of cultural and material efflorescence. They were largely independent of one another, the so-called Zandj empire being a myth; they quarrelled and fought one another many times (Mombasa's and Malindi's enmity towards each other became proverbial), but there was a great deal of commercial and cultural interdependence among them. At this time towns produced an abundance of sorghum, millet, rice and bananas,

largely for their own use, but obtained their wealth from ivory, ambergris, gold and slaves. Gold came from the Sofala region in Mozambique, and was largely responsible for the comparative greatness reached by Kilwa [*q.v.*] and possibly for the Banādir emigration to the South. In return for their exports, the Muslims of the coast imported household utensils and wares. As their wealth increased, Islamic goods were augmented by greater quantities of Chinese wares indirectly acquired, probably from Cambay in India [see KHAMBĀYAT]. Also from India came glass beads that were used for barter locally. Silk was imported by the wealthy. Some towns had local industries: Pate was known for its production of fine gaily-coloured woven fabrics. In short, when the Portuguese arrived they were astonished by the urban material culture and civilisation of the "Moors" they encountered.

Their exploitation of the Muslim rulers of Mombasa, Kilwa and other city-states was part of their policy to out-flank Islam. Mombasa was burnt down at least twice. The two-centuries long episode of this Portuguese presence certainly contributed to the economic decline and cultural stagnation of the Muslim city-states, although it was by no means the only factor. Disruptive human movements on the mainland, such as that of the Galla, were also a noteworthy factor, as was the general decline of the central regions of Islam during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries.

Mombasa's Muslims had appealed to the *Imām* of ʿUmān for help to overthrow their Portuguese oppressors. Their call was answered, although the liberation took some decades to be achieved. By the third decade of the 18th century, the Portuguese had been driven south of the Ruvuma. During their presence on the coast, Islam had remained triumphant; and although there are references in Portuguese sources to some local people becoming Christian, none survived the Portuguese expulsion. Christianity had to be sown anew on the coast from the middle of the 19th century onwards.

The Portuguese were succeeded by ʿUmānī Arabs as nominal overlords of the coast, local chiefs and *shaykh*s enjoying a great deal of autonimy and real local authority. These ʿUmāni Arabs belonged to the Ibāḍiyya sect [*q.v.*]. However, by the time of their arrival the coast had evolved as a predominantly Shāfiʿī region. This may be ascribed to the influence of Ḥaḍramī *sayyid*s or *sharīf*s who had settled on the coast in large numbers during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. Through intermarriage with Africans, these *sharīf*s and their descendants came to determine not only the *madhhab* of East African Islam but also greatly influenced Swahili literature and culture generally. The legacy of this Ḥaḍramī Arab settlement and scholarship is to be seen in the methods of teaching Islām, the religious manuels used, the cult of saints, the veneration for *sharīf*s, the poetic verse form and content of the Swahili epic or *utenzi*, etc. The Lamu archipelago, Zanzibar and the Comoro islands, became the main centres from which radiated the influence of the *sharīfī* families. A notable religious intelligentsia developed on the coast which became, and remained, the point of reference for the whole of East African Islam. By the 19th century, cultural traffic linked South Arabia to the Banādir, to the coast southwards up to Mozambique, and to the offshore islands: the Lamu Archipelago, Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia and the Comoro islands. Ḥaḍramī towns like ʿĪnāt and Tarīm, Mecca and Medina, sometimes Cairo and occasionally Isṭanbūl, helped to mould the minds of East African Muslim scholars. Students from the East African towns travelled to the Ḥidjāz, Ḥaḍramawt, and sometimes Egypt, to study under renowned scholars. The acquisition of an *idjāza* from one of these scholars established its recipient as a teacher in a mosque or in his own home, in the Arabic language, Ḳurʾānic exegesis, *ḥadīth*, *Sharīʿa*, etc. From this educational system there developed a strong body of *ʿulamāʾ*, from amongst whom the Bū Saʿīdī rulers appointed their *ḳāḍī*s.

Some of the most outstanding names among these *ʿulamāʾ* for the latter part of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries, are Sayyid Aḥmad b. Ṣumayt and his son ʿUmar; Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mazrūʿī and his son al-Amīn; Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Bā Kathīr, Sayyid Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥusaynī, the great Lamu scholar, better known as Sayyid Manṣab, and Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Aḥmad, the first Chief *Ḳāḍī* or *Shaykh al-Islām* to be appointed in Kenya in 1897.

In addition to them there were and still are the Ḳurʾān teachers (*Waalimu*, sing. *Mwalimu*) and schools that abounded and still abound in every Muslim town and village. In the Ḳurʾānic school, the Muslim child learnt to recite the Ḳurʾān, and to write in Arabic characters, but rarely to write in that language. Overwhelming dependence on such a school led to the emergence of generations of coastal Muslims who were Ki-Swahili- rather than Arabic-speaking. During his visit to the coast, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted this trend, as the result of absorption and integration of Arabs within an African society. Ki-Swahili developed quite early as the *lingua franca*, though it relied heavily upon Arabic vocabulary. Arabic and Arabic culture enriched Ki-Swahili and enabled it to develop a significant literary tradition, sc. in the verse epic known as *utenzi* or *utendi* [see SWAHILI]. The most famous of such didactic epics is *al-Inkishāfi*, written *ca.* 1800 by Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Nāṣir, which uses the decline of Pate as a moral to emphasise the transitoriness of material wealth and enjoins its readers to lead a virtuous life.

The ruins still standing in Pate, now a mere village, testify to a time of great prosperity. But this prosperity came much later than the local traditional source, the *Chronicle of Pate*, has indicated. N. Chittick's reappraisal of the *Chronicle*, in the light of archaeological work done by himself in the area, shows that the town was of a modest size before 700/1300, developing very gradually and not achieving its greatest period of efflorescence until the 11th/17th century. This is attested by the rich deposits of Chinese porcelain discovered from the 10th/16th century levels upwards. On the strength of these archaeological discoveries, Pate has been ranked with Kilwa in Tanzania as two of the three most prominent towns of Muslim civilization south of Somalia, the third being Lamu. It achieved prosperity and strength during the reign of the Bāṭāwī dynasty, which had acquired power through intermarriage with the indigenous Wasania, a hunter-gatherer group from whom the Muslims had been purchasing ivory on the mainland, and during the reign of the subsequent dynasty, the Nabhānis, its days of prosperity lasted well into the 12th/18th century.

The dates of the birth and death of Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, the author of *al-Inkishāfi* are deduced, rather than factually known, from the internal evidence of the poem and from the inscription on the

tomb of his uncle, Ṭālib b. Nāṣir, who died in 1169/1755. Thus it is assumed that the poet was a youth by then and may have witnessed not only some of the glories of the mansions and life of Pate, but also evidence of the internecine fighting that contributed to its decline. It was subdued first by the Mazrūʿī rulers of Mombasa and later by the Bū Saʿīdī sultans of Zanzibar. By the time the poem was written Pate had fallen into ruin (see W. Hichens, *Sayyid Abdallah bin Ali bin Nasir*). The Ki-Swahili verses amply evoke a life of great luxury, when at least the ruling classes were familiar with porcelain wares and when furnishings were made from silk and brocade.

Another outstanding example of Ḥaḍrami contribution to Swahili religious culture is Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh. He was a descendant of the venerated *shaykh* Abū Bakr b. Sālim, the 11th/17th century *sharīf* of Ḥaḍramawt, renowned for his erudition, piety and poetry. According to the *Pate Chronicle*, the people of the town appealed to him to pray for their deliverance from their enemies. It is not certain whether these enemies were the Portuguese or the Galla. In any event, descendants of his two sons ʿAlī and Ḥusayn, settled on the coast and provided some of its most notable figures in the field of theology and literature. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh was the son of ʿAlī's great-great-grandson; from Ḥusayn's line came Sayyid Manṣab (1828-1922), the renowned jurist of Lamu.

From the Lamu archipelago the poetic tradition spread south and ventured into new fields of comment. By the 19th century, a poet like Muyāka b. Ḥādjdjī al-Ghassānī of Mombasa was writing romantic poetry and patriotic verses in defence of Mombasa's independence, then under the rule of the Mazrūʿī dynasty, and against ʿUmānī attempts to impose their overlordship upon Mombasa and other towns on the coast. All those who appreciated this Ki-Swahili literary efflorescence became *wenyeji* "those who belonged" and *wastaarabu* (from Ar. *istaʿraba* "the civilised ones". These *wenyeji* differentiated themselves somewhat from the recent immigrants from Ḥaḍramawt or ʿUmān who, until they had integrated themselves, were considered alien to this local Muslim culture of the Swahili-speaking people of the coastal towns.

There is little evidence that this Swahili Muslim culture penetrated far beyond the littoral before the 19th century. However, there is evidence of some form of "diplomatic", commercial, and religious interaction with some African tribes in the immediate neighbourhood, notably the Miji Kenda groups: the Digo to the South of Mombasa, the Rabai, Ribe and Duruma to the west, the Giriama in the Malindi area, the Kambe, Chonyi, Kawna and Jibana, and the Segeju on the Kenyan-Tanzanian border. Before the 19th century expansion inland, a significant degree of intermarriage took place between the coastal Muslims and these groups. Duruma and Rabai acted as middlemen for goods exchanged between the Arab-Swahili people and interior peoples like the Kamba; diplomatic-cum-military "pacts" were made between groups of Miji Kenda people and coastal townspeople. The Segeju helped Malindi not only to ward off the danger from the mysterious cannibalistic Zimba, who literally ate their way northwards, but also to take Mombasa in 1592; African auxiliaries fought on Mombasa's side against Malindi. The so-called *Nyika* "people of the bush", or a section of them, helped in finally expelling the Portuguese from Mombasa in 1728 and in the restoration of Mazrūʿī rule in 1746 during the struggle for supremacy between the Mazrūʿī and the Bū Saʿīdīs; installation ceremonies of Mazrūʿī governors (*wālīs*), were attended by neighbouring African notables. After the defeat of the Mazrūʿī of Mombasa, their Bū Saʿīdī successors not only recognised the autonomous political status of the longer-established Muslim groups known as the *Ithnā-ʿashara ṭāʾifa*, the so-called Twelve Tribes, but also acknowledged the long established "pacts" that had been established between the various *ṭawāʾif* and neighbouring African groups, whereby the former acted as "agents" for the latter in relations with others. The vestiges of these bilateral relations lasted well into the early years of colonial rule.

To the south of Mombasa, in the area between Gasi and the northern areas of present-day Tanzania, a similar pattern of relationships developed between the Digo and the Segeju on the one hand and the leading Muslim families on the other, except that the politico-military relationships were reinforced by a significant religious impact. The Bā-ʿAlawī *sharīfī* families in this area, centred upon the *Dīwān*-ship of Vumba Kuu, were responsible for the Islamisation of the Digo and the Segeju. The Segeju had become wholly Islamised and the Digo on the coast had virtually all become Muslims by the time colonial rule arrived.

Islam expanded into the interior of Kenya or the rest of East Africa only in the 19th century, particularly after the Bū Saʿīdī ruler of ʿUmān, Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, decided to move his capital to Zanzibar. He attracted a large number of compatriots, Indians, Ḥaḍramis and Balūčis, to serve in his garrisons, custom-houses, and civil administration. Others came to exploit the economic and commercial potentialities of these newly-acquired tropical dominions of ʿUmān. By this time, trade in ivory, rhinoceros horns and other inland products as well as slaves had already proved lucrative. Under Saʿīd this trade was now promoted to unprecedented heights. Caravans, financed by Indian credit, which was shrewdly wooed by Saʿīd, moved into the interior with goods such as cloth, beads, knives, axes, etc., to exchange for the inland products already cited. The slaves were not only exported, but used in large numbers to found a plantation system in Zanzibar and on the mainland coast; Malindi in Kenya is a unique example which demonstrates the success of this agrarian industry. As late as 1846, it had been found "deserted and ruined" by the Christian missionary J. L. Krapf as a result of Galla raids. It was Arab settlement and agrarian development that revived it. By the 1870s, vast acres of land around the town had come under cultivation of maize, millet and fruit of various kinds, and it was described as the granary of the coast and to some extent of Arabia through a thriving export trade.

The indigenous Shāfiʿī Arab-Swahili Muslims were now reinforced by Indian Muslims, among whom the Khodja or Shīʿa Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs (Bohorās) and the Ḥanafī Memons predominated. An 1875 census of the Indian population reveals that there were more Indian Muslims than Indian non-Muslims on the coast, particularly Ismāʿīlīs. In Kenya they were to be found in Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu, either as agents of firms having headquarters in Zanzibar, or as wholesale or retail merchants. Unlike the Hindus, the Indian Muslims generally arrived with their families and showed readiness to settle down on the isle and coast ruled by a fellow-Muslim.

However, from the outset they maintained a cer-

tain degree of social and religious aloofness. They began to build exclusive quarters, sectarian mosques and independent religious organisations, in fact forms of internal government or autonomy which were acknowledged or tolerated by the Sulṭān of Zanzibar as well as by the colonial government thereafter. Thus the Ismāʿīlīs looked and still look upon the person of the Āgā Khān as their spiritual and administrative head. Locally they appointed *mukhi*s (treasurers) and *kamadia*s (accountants) to run their religious and socio-economic affairs. Later, at the turn of the century, a council was formed at Zanzibar to supervise the local mosque (*djamāt Khāna*) and the congregations (*djamāt*s) on the mainland, when a split arose within the Ismāʿīlī community (1880-1910); secessionists protested against the Āgā Khān's claims to divinity and what was considered to be his excessive control over the local mosque. Later, Zanzibar lost this overall control as the community spread on the mainland and into the interior, and provincial councils were created to look after the spiritual affairs and general welfare of the community in various parts of East Africa.

The Bohorās [*q.v.*] formed and still form the second largest Asian Muslim community. The Bohorās who migrated to the East African coast belonged and still belong to the *Dāʾūdī* faction. By 1875 there were 543 Bohorās (as compared to 2725 Khodja Ismāʿīlīs and 116 Memons) at different places in Zanzibar and on the coast. As the supreme spiritual and administrative head of the Bohorās, *al-dāʿī al-muṭlaḳ* appointed representatives to attend to the welfare of his followers. Officials bearing the rank of *ʿāmil*, agent, were sent to Zanzibar and Mombasa towards the end of the 19th century. The *ʿāmil*, also known as *miyān ṣāḥib*, looked after every Bohra congregation of 50 families. He dealt with religious, social and economic problems. His permission was and is essential for every religious ceremony. Among the most important duties, he performed the collection of dues for the Summoner, the administering of the covenant (*mīthāḳ*) to the followers; and the instruction in religion and religious history through sermons. It was not until the 1920s that congregational or *djamāt* councils were formed by the Bohoras to look after their secular affairs.

The earliest Ithna-ʿasharīs, or Twelvers, arrived on the coast late in the 19th century during the split that occurred among the Ismāʿīlī Khodjas, late in the 19th century, over the claims of divinity by the Āghā Khān. Many Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs are said to have defected to the Twelvers. Like the other two Shīʿī sects, they organised themselves into *djamāt*s or congregations, each with its own council. In place of a *dāʿī*, the Ithna-ʿasharīs have *mudjtahid*s, the most scholarly among whom was appointed *ʿuẓma*, the interpreter of the faith to the community. No *mudjtahid* was appointed to East Africa. Instead, low-ranking *mulla*s performed religious functions within the *djamāt*s. Prayers were performed in the communal mosque whilst sermons, festivals and feasts were held in the *Imām-bārā* [*q.v.*]. Thus by the last quarter of the 19th century, the Muslim population of Kenya had begun to be variegated in a sectarian and ethnic way.

By that time, too, nuclei of Muslims had been created in the interior. It has often been observed how important the caravan trade and trade routes have been in the spread of Islam from early times in different parts of Africa. In Kenya, and East Africa generally, this phenomenon took place particularly during the second half of the 19th century. Until the 1850s trade movements had mostly been from the interior to the Muslim coast. Ivory in particular was brought down to the coast and sold to the Arabs and the Swahili by the Kamba, at first through Duruma and Giriama middlemen, later directly. Gradually, this virtual monopoly of the Kamba was broken. Arabs and Swahili began to move inland significantly after 1860, in order to acquire trade goods directly from inland African peoples. This trade by now had come to include the slave trade, although Kenya was not as affected by the ravages of the slave trade as Tanzania was. In Kenya slaves were secondary to ivory, cattle, rhinoceros horns and other goods.

The Arabs and Swahili in Kenya were not able to establish bases as important and permanent as their counterparts did at Tabora and Ujiji in Tanzania. (The Maasai plains were never entirely free from danger to permit that.) The Kikuyu only grudgingly permitted some trade on the edges of their country; on the whole, they discouraged close ties with the coastal Muslims. Trade was more successful with western Kenyan peoples, among whom a network of caravan routes was gradually spun. Although not as substantive and lucrative as the trade in Tanzania and Congo, it was of some importance. The Arab-Swahili penetration was dependent upon a series of stop-overs that were chosen for the friendliness of their inhabitants and the abundance of provisions.

Through these trade connections, nuclei of Muslim traders and Muslim influence were implanted in the interior of Kenya within the body politic of small chieftaincies. Many of these traders passed also as men of medicine, of a novel kind with which the African of the interior was not familiar. The new magico-medical powers, the weapons they used and could deliver and the luxury goods they bartered, made them welcome and assured them great prestige. Trade relations led to at least some seasonal settlement and intermarriage and thus the nuclei of Muslims grew in size and importance. As the caravan traffic increased during the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, especially with the decline of the Maasai, the Muslim traders began to make their influence felt upon the internal politics of inland African societies. Centres of such influence were established at such places as that of Kitoto, at Sapei and at that of Mumias, the last being the important capital of the Wanga kingdom in Western Kenya, ruled by Mumia, who allied himself closely with the Swahili traders.

Another factor, that led to the infiltration of Muslim influence into Kenya was tribal movement. The Somalis had been pressing south from the Horn of Africa since the 6th/12th century. It was their expansion that forced the Galla to their south to press hard upon the Muslim coastal people and cause a significant degree of depopulation and abandonment of many towns. Both Malindi and its appanage, Gedi, suffered decline as a result of Galla raids. Malindi had been eclipsed by 1667, and, as we have seen, it was Arab settlement in the 19th century that led to its revival. By the middle of the century, Muslim Somalis began to move decisively against the Galla to their south. They crossed the Juba river in force about 1850, thus making contact with the Galla who dominated the region of the Tana. An uneasy co-existence of some 15 years was broken when the Somalis turned upon the Galla, decimated them and occupied their territory. Thus began the invasion and settlement of another part of Kenya by Muslims and the slow religious interaction between nomadic Muslims and their neighbours. It is this process that has slowly led to a practical islamisation of such groups as the Rendille, Boran, and the Galla them-

selves. Today each of these groups is at least 90% Muslim.

By the last quarter of the 19th century, much of East Africa as a whole had come to form a huge Muslim sphere of influence, inspired by Zanzibar and based upon trade, leading to the saying that "when they pipe in Zanzibar, people dance on the shores of the great lakes". European travellers, explorers and missionaries observed these trends, and some were perturbed by them for political or religious reasons or for both. Livingstone and Stanley, whose reports did so much to mobilise Christian missionary efforts, were as much concerned about the slave trade as about Islamic influence. The Muslim traders generally welcomed the European missionaries and explorers, giving them all the necessary help in their ventures inland, even in the foundation of mission stations. No hostility was engendered towards Christianity as a religion. It was only when attempts were made to interfere with their trade, particularly the slave trade, that the Arab-Swahilis reacted with hostility, as did the African peoples who were their partners in this trade. Only in Buganda a religious conflict arose when the Christian missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, regarded the influence established by Muslims at the *Kabaka*'s court as the basic enemy. This was the prelude to the religious wars that broke out late in the 19th century in that country, political power being the prize each side was fighting for: was Arab-Muslim power to be allowed to prevail over Christian-European power?

This was the most relevant and crucial question by the mid-1880s. The European scramble had begun. The extent of the suzerainty of the Muslim sultan of Zanzibar was being challenged by the Germans and the British. In 1884 the Germans declared protectorates over several areas in Tanzania. In 1885 they took advantage of local political and dynastic rivalries and declared a protectorate over the Witu Sultanate, founded *ca.* 1865 on the mainland of Lamu by a scion of the Nabhānī family, after their original centre of power, Pate, had been taken by Zanzibar. Since then the founder of the Witu Sultanate, Aḥmad Fūmolutī (nicknamed *Simba* "lion"), had warded off all diplomatic and military attempts to make him acknowledge Zanzibari overlordship. He took advantage of the European scramble to seek German protection from further Zanzibari pressures. In 1886 an Anglo-German agreement signalled the beginning of the dismemberment of the Zanzibari Bū Saʿīdī sultanate. The sultanate was restricted to a ten-mile coastal strip between the Mozambique border and Kipini (in Kenya), some offshore islands and a 5 to 10 miles' radius round the Banādir ports. The rest of East Africa came under British and German influence, the former including most of present-day Kenya and southern Somalia, the latter comprising the present-day Tanzanian mainland.

The period between 1886 and 1895 witnessed widespread Arab-Swahili reaction and resistance against the advancing colonial designs of the two European powers. This resistance was provoked by several factors: fear of loss of political influence or trade in the interior, European interference with the traditional administration and the social, cultural and religious way of life. The Germans' determination to "Germanise" the Tanzanian coast and humiliate the sultan's representatives sparked off the Abus̲h̲iri revolt in 1888, led by the Arabs but with widespread African backing. The blockade of the coast by European powers, whose aim was to strangle the revolt, was seen by the Muslims as a Christian alliance against them. In August 1890, after the revolt was over, the Germans and British sought to eradicate pin-pricks in each other's spheres by coming to another agreement, whereby Germany gave up her protectorate over Witu. This led to the first Witu uprising. Fumo Bakari, Simba's successor, feeling himself betrayed by Germany, ordered some German prospectors out of his Sultanate. When they resisted, a fight ensued in which nine of the Germans were killed. The British government, to whom Witu had been handed over, was forced to carry out a punitive expedition. Two other revolts broke out in Witu under the leadership of Fumo Bakari and Fumo ʿOmari. In 1894 Fumo ʿOmari was exiled to Zanzibar, by then another British protectorate, where he eventually died. The following year, the Mazrūʿī revolt was sparked off at Takaungu, a stronghold of the family lying to the north of their former centre of power, Mombasa. It was caused by British interference with the traditional method of choosing a *wālī*; Mbārak, who was regarded as the logical successor, was bypassed by a pro-British *wālī*. Mbārak renounced British authority and spear-headed the revolt which engulfed virtually the whole Kenyan coast from Malindi to the Tanzanian border. Mbārak was supported by his uncle, Mbārak b. Ras̲h̲id, son of the last independent Mazrūʿī chief of Mombasa who was overthrown by the Bū Saʿīdī; in the past he had led several revolts aginst Zanzibari authority. Although this was basically a family revolt, it gained support from coast Africans long associated with the family as well as from Swahili chiefs, one of whom regarded it as a *d̲j̲ihād* and raised the flag of Islam. It was not until March 1896 that the revolt spent its force in the face of heavier odds. But rather than submit, the leaders and many followers chose to seek refuge in German territory in the south.

The suppression of the Mazrūʿī revolt meant the loss of any Arab or Muslim aspiration to maintain political independence not only in Kenya, but also the whole of East Africa.

However, in Kenya as in Zanzibar and the Tanzanian mainland under German rule, some semblance of Arab-Muslim administration was maintained. The first Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate, which comprised most of Kenya (the western province being part of the Uganda Protectorate until 1902) was Arthur Hardinge, who had served in Muslim countries, such as Egypt and Turkey, an experience that had implanted in him some sympathy for Islam. Having vanquished Kenya's coastal Muslims, he granted them a special position in the administration of the Protectorate. Muslims were needed to establish a viable, new cadre in the administration, the judiciary, the military and the transport fields because they were the only literate indigenous people with some knowledge of administration and a working relationship with the peoples of the interior. Thus an Arab-Muslim administrative hierarchy was established, composed of *liwālī*s (governors), *mudīr*s and *ḳāḍī*s, the first two being administrative officers in *liwālate*s and *mudīriyyet*s on the coast. Hardinge's plans to train more Arabs and "upper class" Swahili who could serve as officers beyond the coastal strip never materialised. In fact, as time passed, the number of *liwālī*s and *mudīr*s was reduced for reasons of economy or retrenchment.

In so far as Islam was concerned, the new European colonial era brought positive, if indirect results. If Muslim power had been shattered, the faith itself

spread inland with the extension of the *Pax Britannica*, despite the hostility of Christian missionaries and some officials who regarded Islam either as a rival to Christianity or as a threat to European rule. The spread of Islam during colonial rule was as haphazard as in pre-colonial times. Diverse factors account for this. The building of the Uganda Railway to join the two British Protectorates brought fresh Indian immigrants, many of whom were Muslims, some of whom stayed behind and encouraged others to come out from India. Thus the Indian Muslim population in Kenya increased in number and moved inland, employed either in the railway administration or privately employed as merchants, shop-keepers, hunters, etc. The medical officers, veterinary officers and clerks of the railway administration had amongst them the pioneer members of the Aḥmadiyya movement [*q.v.*] in Kenya. But the celebrated militant missionary activity began only in the 1930s. The railway also facilitated travel of local Muslims. Arabs and Swahili moved more easily inland to settle and trade and thus founded such Muslim "locations" as Pangani and Pumwani in Nairobi. Individual Muslim traders were soon to be found in other townships where they married, settled and created new nuclei of Muslims, e.g. at Kendu Bay, Kisumu, Fort Hall (now Muranga), and the Machakos district. Some local converts contributed to the growth of these nuclei.

A second noteworthy factor that facilitated the diffusion of Islam was the colonial administration's employment of Swahili, Somali and Sudanese Muslim troops in its punitive expeditions and in the manning of garrisons. On retirement or discharge, many of these soldiers settled in the interior and married local wives. Kibera, the Sudanese "colony" in Nairobi is one example of an ex-soldier settlement. The early administration also employed craftsmen, interpreters and tax-collectors of Swahili Muslim origin; domestic servants, in areas as far as Uganda, were often Swahili, as were many of the foremen of the first European settler farms. Thus the non-Muslim and non-Christian Africans were made conscious of the comparatively privileged position of the Muslim as a soldier, foreman, craftsman, official and domestic servant. Consequently some of them became admirers of, and converts to, to Islam.

This favourable feeling towards Islam was also to be found in neighbouring Tanzania, where the Germans had trained and employed Swahili officials known as *akidas* and *jumbes* on a significant scale, and in 1913 the German government was led also to subsidise Catholic and Protestant missions to train subordinate officials.

This reaction lends significance to the discovery by Smuts, a British military officer, of a secret German document, circulated to administrative officers, in which they were ordered to do everything in their power to curb the spread of Muslim influence; great publicity was given to this document on the Kenyan coast in order to portray the Germans as enemies of Islam and to counter German claims that they were the defenders of Islam by being allies of the Ottoman sultan-caliph. The British authorities countered the Ottoman sultan's proclamation of a *d̲j̲ihād* against Britain and a curse upon all Muslims who did not respond to his call, with a proclamation, signed by the sultan of Zanzibar, denouncing the German deception that the Kaiser had been converted to Islam and criticising the Ottoman Sulṭān for having lost his reputation as the defender of Islam by siding with the Germans. Copies of this declaration in Arabic and Ki-Swahili were distributed all along the coast. Equally widely distributed was the *S̲h̲arīf* Ḥusayn's proclamation of June 1916, renouncing his allegiance to the Turkish sultan and denouncing the heretical measures of the Turkish Committee of Union and Progress.

As it turned out, Britain need not have feared a large-scale *d̲j̲ihād* in the East Africa Protectorate. The Muslim population of the coast had never displayed active religious fanaticism on a significant scale. Two decades earlier (1895-6), they had been equally unenthusiastic in their response to Egyptian religious exhortation to rise against the Sulṭān of Zanzibar and his British mentors, who had begun to interfere with the lucrative slave trade. This was part of an Egyptian design to occupy the East African coast, from which they planned to forge a route to the inter-lacustrine regions of central Africa to supersede the one down the Nile, which was causing undue delay in obtaining men and equipment. The Egyptian expedition along the coast got no further than Lamu, and failed to exploit the religious sentiments and the economic motives of the coastal Muslims.

Even so, by the outbreak of the First World War, the indigenous Muslim population of the coast was smarting under a series of blows. Punitive expeditions had shattered all aspirations to political independence between 1890 and 1900. In 1907 the ordinance abolishing slavery was promulgated, which dealt a final, heavy blow to agriculture, the mainstay of the economy of the coast. Game regulations entailing the purchase of licences and competition from Europeans and Indians reduced Arab-Swahili participation in the ivory trade. In 1908 the Land Titles Ordinance was passed, and it led to vast acres of land being either alienated or declared crown land; some of these lands were leased or given freehold to European planters.

Thus at the turn of the century, the indigenous Muslims of Kenya found it essential to embark upon a drastic reappraisal of their status under the new colonial order, especially in regard to education. When the British authorities began in 1910 to take up responsibility for public education, there was at first no provision for the teaching of Arabic and the Ḳurʾān, and it was only in 1924 that the government introduced Ḳurʾānic lessons in the schools of Mombasa and Malindi.

Also, two very short-lived reform organizations came into being amongst the Arab-Swahilis of Mombasa—the Mohamadan Reform League and the Afro-Asian Association. The latter was basically a political association, but established a Muslim school in 1937. The most important Muslim Reformer in Kenya was undoubtedly S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Amīn b. ʿAlī b. Nāfiʿī al-Mazrūʿī [see AL-MAZRŪʿĪ] who in his weekly *al-Iṣlāḥ* envisaged the creation of a body to defend Muslim interests. Other non-coastal, non-Arab, Muslims issued in 1931 a memorandum addressed to a Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on Closer Union of East Africa expressing their fears of the threats to Islam in Kenya, whereas Christianity was being encouraged by all means possible. In February 1935, a delegation of three Indian Muslims left Kenya for India to collect funds and personnel, in order to initiate a Muslim missionary movement in Kenya and thus counter-balance the Christian missionary endeavour by turning more Africans into Muslims; but its members returned without achieving any immediate results. Only the Aḥmadiyya movement showed interest in the initiation

of a missionary movement, but its offer was refused. A year before, in 1934, the *Taḥrīk-i-Djadīd* ("New Scheme") for intensive propagation of the Aḥmadiyya creed had been put into effect in East Africa when its first missionary Shaykh Mubārak Aḥmad arrived in Tabora, Tanzania. The Aḥmadiyya helped build or repair mosques and produced literature on Islam on a large scale, culminating in the production of a Ki-Swahili translation of the Ḳurʾān in 1953. They had about 1500 adherents in Kenya according to an authoritative estimate of 1974, compared with just over 1000 in Uganda and some 2,700 in Tanzania.

Despite Shaykh al-Amīn al-Mazrūʿī's efforts to provide practical guidance, none of his major proposals were implemented by the Muslims. They became more and more reconciled to the idea of living in separate groups, without organic links between African, Arab, Swahili and Indian Muslims. In Kenya the Indian Muslims were and still are the best-organised and the most prosperous. Hence they have been able to finance and build schools and, in the case of the Ismāʿīlīs, to build hospitals and contribute significantly to the educational and medical services in the country. The East African Muslim Welfare Society, founded in the 1930s, was a charitable Ismāʿīlī organisation aimed at raising the status of the most depressed members of the Muslim community, particularly the African.

A most noteworthy project of the Muslims in Kenya was launched after the Second World War. The colonial government, the Āgā Khān and the Sulṭān of Zanzibar jointly contributed towards the building of a Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education (MIOME), which encompassed a long-promised academic Secondary School for Arabs and Swahili. The Institute was to lay emphasis upon technical and vocational training, but Islamic studies were included to balance these secular studies. The Institute was seen as a precursor of a Muslim University, but within a few years of its opening in 1951, however, the Institute had to accept non-Muslims and changed its name first to "Mombasa Institute of Education", then to "Mombasa Technical Institute" and lately to 'Mombasa Polytechnic'.

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KENZ (Nubia). [see AL-KANZ, BANŪ —]

AL-**KERAK**. [see KARAK]

KERASŪN. [see GIRESŪN]

KERBELA [see KARBALĀʾ]

KERBENESH, Ottoman name for Karpenésion (Karpenisi, Carpenitze), a small township in northern Aetolia. The district was probably occupied under Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], when the adjacent regions of Salona, Domakia and [Neo-] Patras fell to the Turks (Hammer-Purgstall, i, 249-50, following Chalcocondyles); when it is first named in a published Ottoman source (the *djizya* returns of 894/1489, *Belgeler*, i/1 (1964), 100, n. 2), as K.rāb.n.sh, it is grouped with "Badra" (Neopatras, Badradjīk), Dömeke, Čataldja (Pharsala) and Mundeniče (Bodonitsa). At this period it was presumably administered as part of the *sandjak* of Tīrkhāla [*q.v.*]; it appears later as a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjak* of Aynabakhtī [*q.v.*] (see M. T. Gökbilgin, in *Bell.*, xx (1956), 277, n. 128, 278, n. 131). The locality is famous in modern Greek history as the scene of the victory of the Suliot leader Marco Botzaris (21 August 1823).

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KERČ, a seaport at the eastern tip of the peninsula of that name at the eastern end of the Crimea [see ḲRĪM] in the modern Crimean *oblast* of the Ukrainian SSR.

The district was clearly a well-populated one in pre-historic, Cimmerian and Scythian times, since it contains a large number of *kurgans* or burial mounds, many of which have been excavated since the last century. In classical times, it was from the 6th century B.C. onwards the site of the flourishing Ionian Greek colony of Pantikapaion, later called Bosporos and the capital of the principality of Bosporus Cimmerius (see Pauly-Wissowa, xviii/3, 780-825, s.v. Panticapaeum). After coming under the control of Mithridates VI of Pontus (end of the 2nd century B.C.) and then, from the time of Augustus, of Rome, it suffered badly during the barbarian invasions of such steppe peoples as the Sarmatians, Huns and Goths. From the late 7th century A.D. it was held by the Khazars [*q.v.*] as the capital of their foothold in the eastern Crimea, with the residence of the *tudhun* or governor there.

The name Kerč first appears in Islamic sources under various forms, such as Karz, Kardj, al-Karsh, etc., and may derive from a Greek form Korizos/Kyrizos (see J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 162-3, 506-7). In Ibn Rusta, 143, tr. Wiet, 160, we have K.r.kh ~ *Kardj as the Byzantine port on the northern coastland of the Black Sea to which the Magyars then living there brought Slav captives for sale, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 158, cf. 182-3, mentions the *Daryā-yi K.r.z.* With the decline and break-up of the Khazar

confederation in the early years of the 11th century, Kerč fell to the Kiev Russians and for some decades the eastern Crimea formed part of the Russian principality of Tmutarakan in the Taman peninsula across the Straits of Kerč, under the patriarchate of Matrega in the Taman peninsula, whilst in 1332 it was to become a metropolitan sea itself (see Heyd, *Hist. de la commerce du Levant*, ii, 184-5). In the 12th century Kerč was in the hands of the Ḳïpčaḳ or Comans, and it may be the town of Rhōsia mentioned in a treaty of 1169 between the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenos and the Genoese. In the 13th century, Crimea and South Russia became part of the vast territories of the Golden Horde. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, travelling from Karsh/Kerč to Kafa, describes his meeting with Christian Comans (*Riḥla*, ii, 355-7, tr. Gibb, ii, 469-70, cf. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 137). From 1289 onwards there was a Venetian consul in Kerč (Heyd, *loc. cit.*), and by 1318 it was in the hands of the Genoese, who had established themselves on the southern littoral of the Crimea with their centre at Kafa/Kefe [see KEFE] or Theodosia; it was a consulate subordinate to Kafa under the name of Cerco or Cerchio. In *ca.* 1400 there are mentioned Alan or Gothic princes in Kerč, remnants of the waves of barbarian invasions through South Russia in the Dark Ages, who are described as *Domini Gothiae* or *Signori de la Tedoro* (B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, die Mongolen in Russland 1223-1502*², Wiesbaden 1965, 314-15) and who presumably exercised theoretical jurisdiction over the town and its hinterland. In the 15th century there was pressure on the Genoese colonies in the Crimea from the Giray Khāns, and then later in the century, after the attacks of the Ottoman commander Aḥmed Pasha Gedik [*q.v.*], these settlements on the coastland fell into Ottoman hands. Henceforth, Ottoman trade with the Crimea and South Russia was channelled through Kafa rather than Kerč, and the latter's commercial prosperity went into a decline.

After the conquest of Azov in 1696, Peter the Great in the peace negotiations of 1698 sought the session of Kerč to Russia, but this was refused, and after the Peace of Carlowitz [see ḲARLOVČA], Kerč remained in Ottoman hands. Sultan Muṣṭafā III in 1114/1702 built the fortress of Yeñi Ḳale near Kerč to protect it (see Von Hammer, *GOR*², iii, 909). Nevertheless, Kerč and Yeñi Ḳale were occupied by Catherine the Great's troops in 1185/1771 without resistance, and their cession to Russia confirmed in the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja [*q.v.*] in 1188/1774 (*GOR*², iv, 622, 638). It remained of small importance, although in 1821 Tsar Alexander I raised it to the status of a town, and its main function was as a trans-shipment point to shallow-bottomed vessels crossing the Sea of Azov to the Don-Donets basin ports. During the Crimean War, it was in 1855 occupied by the invading Allies, and in the Second World War it was held by the Germans from the winter of 1941-2 till 1944 and was the scene of fierce fighting. Its economic and industrial importance today derives from iron ore deposits, exploited since the end of the 19th century and now sent to the Donbas industrial area, and limestone quarries in the vicinity of the town; it is furthermore the base for an important fishing fleet, and in 1970 had a population of 128,000 (see *BSE*², xx, 565-6).

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KERIMBA ISLANDS, a group of islands lying in lat. 12° S. off Musambiḳ (Mozambique) between the mouths of the Ruvuma and Lurio rivers, with administrative headquarters at St João de Ibo on Querimba Is. They were part of the sphere of influence of the mediaeval state of Kilwa, but with an independent ruler. They were islamised at an unknown period, possibly in the 12th century. They were seized by the Portuguese in 1522 because of their important ivory trade: many mosques and large houses were destroyed. João dos Santos went to convert them to Christianity in 1593: the upper class was Muslim, but the majority pagan. In 1769, when the ʿUmānī Arabs were developing the slave trade from Zanzibar, the Portuguese commander accused the Arab and Swahili traders "of depriving the Portuguese of their ivory trade, God of the souls of Africans who were being enslaved by the Muslims, and the King of his taxes." Regrettably, a recent account describes only the earlier Portuguese buildings: a systematic survey of the mosques and Muslim cemeteries has yet to be made.

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(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

KERKHA. [see KARKHA]

KERKENNA. [see ḲARḲANA]

KERKUK. [see KIRKŪK]

KERKUR. [see KARKŪR]

KERMĀN. [see KIRMĀN]

KERMĀN SHĀH. [see KIRMĀN SHĀH]

KERMIYĀN. [see GERMIYĀN]

ḲERRĪ (conventional spelling, Gerri), a site on the east bank of the main Nile in the Sudan, lying at the southern end of the Sabalūḳa gorge, about 44 miles north of the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. At the convergence of the route along the Nile and one across the Bayūḍa desert crossing the Nile at this point, Ḳerrī was a settlement of political importance from the 10th/16th to the 12th/18th century as the seat of the ʿAbdallābī shaykhs, who levied tribute on the nomads during their annual migration-cycle, and, as the principal vassals of the Fundj [*q.v.*] of Sinnār, were regarded as the overlords of the Arab tribes. The first two ʿAbdallābī *shaykhs* derived prestige from their role as holy men and agents of islamisation in a fringe-region, rather than from purely tribal leadership. This is indicated by the ascription of a Sharīfī ancestry to the eponym, ʿAbd Allāh Djammāʿ al-Ḳuraynātī al-Ḳāsimī (fl. 10th/16th cent.), who is reputed to have overthrown Soba, the capital of the Nubian Christian kingdom of ʿAlwa [*q.v.*]. Tradition associates ʿAmāra Dūnḳas, the founder of the Fundj dynasty, with him in this exploit, while another tradition (reported by James Bruce) speaks of a victory of the Fundj over the ʿAbdallābī chief (anachronistically styled "Wed Ageeb", i.e. Walad ʿAdjīb) near Arbadjī on the Blue Nile in 1504. The two traditions are not necessarily incompatible, and the second would explain the subordination of the ʿAbdallābī shaykhs to the Fundj rulers. A legend that Ḳerrī was a Nubian stronghold captured by ʿAbd Allāh Djammāʿ so far lacks archaeological confirmation, while Bruce's statement that the

Fundj compelled the ʿAbdallāb to transfer their capital to Arbadjī is unsupported in other sources ʿAdjīb al-Kāfūta, the son of ʿAbd Allāh Djammāʿ by the daughter of a holy man, Ḥamad Abū Dunāna, is represented in ʿAbdallābī tradition as a pious Muslim, who enforced the Sharīʿa and made the Pilgrimage. He is distinguished by the title of *māndjilak*, held by the great vassals of the Fundj. He nevertheless fought against his suzerain, and temporarily extended his rule up the Blue Nile, but was subsequently defeated and killed by the Fundj ruler, ʿAdlān I b. Ūnsa I, at the battle of Karkōdj in 1016/1607-8. ʿAdjīb's tomb at Ḳerrī was surmounted by a dome (*ḳubba*), typical of the burial-place of a holy man but not of a tribal chief; it was a place of pilgrimage. Of the later *shaykhs* of Ḳerrī, Dhiyāb b. Bādī established in 1149/1736 a *waḳf* at Medina for the benefit of immigrants from the Fundj territories. His harshness resulted in the depopulation of Ḳerrī, and it was perhaps for this reason that his uncle and successor, ʿAbd Allāh III b. ʿAdjīb III (d. 1160/1747) transferred the capital to Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk, further to the south on the main Nile. Crawford's assertion that this transfer took place in 1798 under ʿAbd Allāh IV is unjustified. Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk remained the capital of the shaykhdom until the Turco-Egyptian invasion in 1821 ended the old régime.

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(P. M. Holt)

KESRIYE, Ottoman name for KASTORIÁ, a town in Macedonia, situated on the shores of a lake with the same name, at the northern most point of the upper reaches of the River Aliákmon.

An important centre of Christian art during the last centuries of the Byzantine era, it fell under the rule of Stephan Dušan (1331-55) and his successors, and in 1380 to the Albanians. Between 1385 and 1393 it came into Ottoman hands—by capitulation, according to tradition. It was the capital of the homonymous *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *pasha sandjaghi* in the *eyālet* of Rūmeli (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, J. von Hammer, Vienna 1812, 96; M. T. Gökbilgin, in *Belleten* xx (1956)), and, after the administrative reorganisation of 1864, of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjak* of Koritśa in the *wilāyet* of Manastir. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, it was a *ḳaḍāʾ* of 150 *aḳčes* with 110 villages, and a *khāṣṣ* of Fāṭima Sulṭān. Outside its fortress (in the *varosh*), there were 20 *maḥalles*, 16 of which were Greek and one Jewish. The town had a *djizdār*, a *muḥtesib*, a *bādj-dār*, a *shehir ketkhudāsī* and a *kharādj aghasī*.

The fur industry flourished in this small town, especially from the beginning of the 11th/17th century. Fur merchants from Kastoriá distributed their products by caravan to important urban centres in regions north of Macedonia and set up commercial establishments in Istanbul, Vienna, Leipzig, Dresden and Moscow. Although the area was often unquiet because of the activities of the Klepths and the Albanians, the town's flourishing industry and economic prosperity contributed to the construction—especially in the 12th/18th and the 13th/19th centuries—of many Christian churches and its characteristic town houses, which are interesting examples of folk architecture. Greek schools were also established with funds supplied by wealthy emigrants. The Greeks were represented before the Turkish authorities by the *ḳodja bashīs*. After 1870, the district was the scene of rivalry between Greeks and Slavs, with its metropolitan, Germanos Karavanghelis (1900-7), playing a leading role. With the Balkan War it became part of the Greek state (11/24 November 1912).

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(J. G. Giannopoulos)

KETĀMA. [see KUTĀMA]

KETKHUDĀ. This Persian term "master of the house, head of the family", Pahlavi *katak-xvatai*, acquired, in addition to the above meanings, those of husband, chief of a tribe, headman of a village and tithe-officer in a town (Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. 1811, iv, 77, "dixenier de quartier") responsible to the *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] (cf. M. Muʿīn, *Persian dictionary*, Tehran 1345, iii, 2921). In Ottoman Turkish, it evolved into the form *kᵛahya*, with the meanings "steward of a household", "head of an artisans' gild" (see below).

(i) In Ottoman Turkish administrative usage

Already in Il-Khānid Persia we find the *kadkhudā* acting as the representative of the village *vis-à-vis* the government, and under the Ṣafawids they were in charge of collecting taxes and responsible for the administration of a village or town (cf. A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 122, 144, 168, 175, 430 and *passim*). We find the form *kedkhudā* in Anatolian Saldjūḳ usage of the 7th/13th century (Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklari hakkında resmi vesikalar*, Ankara 1958, 13), and the form *kᵛahya* may have evolved during Ottoman times.

The term *ketkhudā* is used in the Ottoman state administration from the 9th/15th century onwards (*Ḳānūn-nāme-yi sulṭānī ber mūdjeb-i ʿorf-i ʿOthmānī*, ed. R. Anhegger-H. Inalcık, Ankara 1956, 17, 31-2), in the sense of someone who looks after the affairs of an important government official or influential person, i.e. the *ketkhudā* was an authorised deputy official. Hence there were *ketkhudās* below the *āghā* or *reʾīs* in charge, e.g. of the treasury, the dockyards, the police guard, the Janissaries, the taxation registers, the Grand Vizierate, the imperial pantry, the bodyguard of *čāwūshs*, of the artillery corps, etc. (see ʿAbdurraḥmān Vefīḳ, *Tekālīf ḳawāʿidi*, Istanbul 1328, i, 192-3). The office was conferred by a diploma (*berāt*), in which the respect and loyalty of those to be under him was enjoined (Başbakanlık Arsiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Ruus defteri, no.

217, pp. 14, 180, no. 216/a, p. 7). Provincial governors (*beylerbeyis*) and district governors (*sandjāḳ-beyis*) had their *ketkhudās* (cf. Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286, i, 290; Başbakanlık A.G.M., Dīwān-ī Humāyūn Mühimme defteri, no. 2, p. 390). As in Persia, there were in Turkey *ketkhudās* of villages charged with administrative duties there. The most important of those officials bearing this title was, however, the *ketkhudā* of the Grand Vizier (*Ṣadāret ketkhudāsî*). In 1214/1799 it seems that this official was not only concerned with the affairs of the Grand Vizier in the *Dīwān-ī Humāyūn*, but of those of the other viziers also, hence it was decreed that he should concern himself with the affairs of the former only (Khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn tasnifi, no. 13283). The official supervising the *tîmār*-holders in the *eyālets* and *sandjaḳs* was called the *ketkhudā yeri* (see the Elaziğ judicial records, Diyarbekir Ziya Gökalp Müzesi, no. 362, p. 137), and the same title was found in the corps of Janissaries (see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin teşkilâtından Kapıkulu Ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, 211-13).

Provincial governors had their own *ketkhudās* stationed in the capital Istanbul to represent their interests; these were called *ḳapî ketkhudāsîs*. Similar representatives were allowed to trusted state servants, and in 1209/1795 there were six *ḳapî ketkhudālîḳs* pertaining to the viziers (Nūrī, *Taʾrīkh*, Süleymaniye, Âşir Efendi, no. 239, f. 88b). Dependent and tributary princes, such as those of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, and even the Khāns of the Crimean Tatars, had their representatives in Istanbul with this same title. We also find it used to denote the envoys or ambassadors of some foreign countries.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the *ketkhudās* of towns and cities were abolished by a decree of 1204/1790 (Khaṭṭ-ī Humāyūn tasnifi, no. 9500), and that the term was also used within the nomadic tribes. A tribal chief would appoint a *ketkhudā* for each of the subordinate clans in his tribe, and when hereditary chieftainship was abolished by the state, a person chosen by general consent of the tribesmen and from amongst themselves was appointed as *ketkhudā* (see C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda aşiretleri iskân teşebbüsü, 1691-1669*, Istanbul 1963, 13-14).

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(Cengiz Orhonlu)

(ii) In the Ottoman Turkish Gilds

In Turkey the *ketkhudā* was also the head of a gild who dealt with the material and administrative aspects of gild life (whereas in the earlier period of gild history, a *shaykh* fulfilled the ceremonial functions). He was usually chosen by the gild notables without formal election, and his appointment was then confirmed by the *ḳāḍī*. Recently published documents do not seem to bear out the theory of Gibb and Bowen (i/1, 289) that "until much later [than the middle of the 11th/17th century ?] *kâhyâs* continued in all cases [even in gilds with Christian members] to be Moslem; but eventually this office . . . was granted in some instances to non-Moslems"; there were non-Muslim *ketkhudās* in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, as well as Muslim *ketkhudās* of non-Muslim gilds in the 12th/18th century.

The gild *ketkhudas* represented the gild *vis-à-vis* the authorities. They conveyed government orders and announcements to the gild members, and made certain that these instructions were carried out; for instance, it was their task to supervise the implementation of orders concerning the standards of production and of commodities sold. They provided the government with any services and labour which were required, and if necessary, they guaranteed the reliability and good character of the members of the gild.

The gild *ketkhudās* were also responsible for the supply of certain goods to the authorities and for distributing raw material needed by artisans and craftsmen; and it was the task of the heads of practically all Turkish gilds to arbitrate in disputes among their members, and the task of some of them to supervise a fund for mutual help.

In later times, individuals who were not members of the gild were frequently appointed *ketkhudās*, for instance, retired officials who thereupon agreed to renounce their pension. During the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, favoured courtiers were appointed by the Sultan, often because the gild members hoped thereby to further their own concerns.

Bibliography: ʿOthmān Nūrī, *Medjelle-yi Umūr-i Belediyye*, i, Istanbul 1922, 496-768; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, London 1950, 284-92; G. Baer, *The administrative, economic and social functions of Turkish guilds*, in *IJMES*, i (1970), 28-50; idem, *The structure of Turkish guilds and its significance for Ottoman social history*, in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, iv (1971), 176-96.

(G. Baer)

(iii) In North Africa

The term *ketkhudā* was not used in North Africa in the period of Turkish domination, but the form *kāhiya* was current in Tunisia until recent times to designate the subordinates of the caïds or governors at the head of administrative divisions called *kihāya*. In a more general way, *kāhiya* was in general use with the sense of "assistant to a high official, president or director" (e.g. *kāhiyat raʾīs* = vice-president); the deputy of the Public Prosecutor of the Republic was called *kāhiyat al-muddaʿī 'l-ʿumūmī*, and an under-secretary of state *kāhiya wazīrī*. In Algeria, the *kahya* was a bey's lieutenant, but also a police superintendent and even a simple corporal in the army of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. The use of the term for a subordinate endowed it with the pejorative meaning of "inferior quality". (Ed.)

KHĀʾ, the seventh letter of the Arabic alphabet, here transcribed as kh. Its numerical value is 600, according to the eastern order [see abdjad].

Definition: voiceless post-velar fricative. According to the Arabic grammatical tradition: *rikhwa, mahmūsa, mustaʿliya*. For the *makhradj*: *min adnā 'l-ḥalḳ* (from that part of the throat nearest to the mouth) (al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*², ed. Broch, § 732); Ibn Yaʿīsh (*Sharḥ*, ed. G. Jahn, 1460, 1. 6) defines it thus: "the *khāʾ* is nearer to the mouth than the *ghayn*". The Arabs accordingly placed the *khāʾ* in the throat and considered it as a laryngeal (ac-

cording to the terminology of H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, 59), as with the ghayn. However, G. Krotkoff, in *WZKM*, lix-lx (1963-4), 242, 11. 4-5), puts forward "post-velar" as corresponding to *min adnā 'l-ḥalḳ* (cf. M. Bravmann, *Materialen und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber*, 44, and H. Blanc, in *Procs. of the Internat. Conference on Semitic Studies*, Jerusalem 1965, 17). The text of the *Mufaṣṣal* is clear: *adnā 'l-ḥalḳ* is the upper part of the throat, as opposed to *awsaṭ al-ḥalḳ*, the middle part, and *aḳṣā 'l-ḥalḳ*, the lower part. Then there comes, as the first sound pronounced within the mouth, *al-kāf*.

The articulation described is phonemic; for the phonological oppositions which define this phoneme kh, see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'arabe classique* = *Mémorial J.C.*, Paris 1960, 175. According to him, its realisation is "fairly close to the German *ch* in *Nacht*", and it is its localisation which is relevant. For the incompatibilities of kh, see *ibid.*, 201. Kh (and gh) are by their nature *mufakhkhama* and prevent the occurence of *imāla* in most of the (eastern) Arabic dialects (Cantineau, *Les parlers arabes du Horan*, Paris 1946, 127). But this is not the case in Cairo (N. Tomiche, *Le parler arabe du Caire*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 32), nor in Maāsser Beit ed-Dine, Lebanon, where people say *khāf* "he was afraid" (Fleisch, in *MUSJ*, xxxi (1954), 298) and *khān* "he betrayed" (*ibid.*, 312).

Classical Ar. kh is the continuation of a voiceless velar fricative kh of common Semitic. It "becomes *ḥ* in Canaanitic Aramaic, in Tigre and Tigrinya (Ethiopic languages), and in Soqoṭrī (Modern South Arabian); it becomes zero in most of the other [modern] Ethiopic languages" (W. Leslau in *Manual of phonetics*, Amsterdam 1957, 329).

In Classical Ar., kh undergoes few non-conditioned alterations; see Cantineau, *Cours*, 71. As a conditioned alteration, one only need mention the possibility of assimilation of unvoicedness and voicedness, between kh and gh, when they are found in final or initial position of a word, thus: -gh kh > khkh- and -kh gh- > ghgh- (see Fleisch, *Traité*, i. § 12 p.). The same type of assimilation is found in some modern Arabic dialects, as at Tlemcen (W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, Paris 1902, 26); note also the special case of Baghdād (Blanc, *Communal dialects in Baghdad*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, x (1964), 3, 24 (c)).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(H. Fleisch)

KHABAR (A.), plural AKHBĀR, AKHĀBIR, report, piece of information. The word is not used in any special context in the Ḳur'ān. In the *ḥadīth* it occurs among other passages in the tradition which describes how the djinn by eavesdropping obtain information from heaven (*khabar min al-samā'*) and how they are pelted with fiery meteors to prevent them from doing so (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 105; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, tr. 149); al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra lxxii, trad. 1).

In his collection al-Bukhāri has a chapter entitled *Akhbār al-āḥād*, which, as the *tardjama* indicates, deals with the validity of traditions regarding *adhān*, *ṣalāt*, fasting, the law of inheritance, and judicial procedure, and which are only given on the authority of one man [see ḤADĪTH].

Al-Ghazāli gives the name *akhbār* to the traditions that go back to Muḥammad. He distinguishes the sayings of the Companions by the term *āthār* (see his *Iḥyā'*, passim). On such and similar technical distinctions see Lane's *Lexicon* s.v., and *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ed. Sprenger and Nassau Lees, s.v.

Akhbār is further often found in the titles of historical works (see Brockelmann, Index ii); in the singular, *khabar* denotes a piece of information of a historical, biographical or even anecdotal nature, and comes to correspond to *ḥikāya* [*q.v.*].

Ṣāḥib al-Khabar was the title of one of a ruler's officers in provincial capitals whose duty it was to report to his master all new happenings, the arrivals of strangers etc. This post was often given to the director of the postal service [see BARĪD].

(A. J. Wensinck)

KHABAR, in Arabic grammar, refers to the constituent parts of the nominal phrase, e.g. *Zayd^{un} karīm^{un}* "Zayd is noble"; here, *Zayd*, the first term, is *mubtada'*, and *karīm*, the second one, is *khabar*. For the verbal phrase, the corresponding terms are *fā'il* agent and *fi'l* verb. The Arab grammarians, as can readily be seen, recognised two types of phrase, the nominal and the verbal, in their language. They also recognised clearly the necessity of the *'aḳd*, the nexus linking the two terms of these phrases, and they called it *isnād* "the act of leaning one thing against another", the linkage between *al-musnad ilayhi*, the first term, and *al-musnad*, the second one. But *musnad ilayhi* and *musnad* both remained terms of grammatical logic, used for the analysis of the nexus of the two types of phrase; *mubtada'-khabar* and *fā'il-fi'l* are the only terms recognised in the formation of the nominal phrase in the first pair, and in that of the verbal phrase in the second pair. Each type of phrase was studied for itself; the idea of subject remained alien to the Arab grammarians (see Fleisch, *Études sur le verbe arabe*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, ii, 153-5).

The *khabar* is *marfū'*, i.e. in *raf'*, the nominative, as also the *mubtada'*. For an Arab grammarian, it was necessary to determine the *'āmil*, here called *al-rāfi'* "that which puts it in *raf'*", the *khabar* and also the *mubtada'*, for the question is connected. This was the subject of great discussions between the Kūfan and Baṣran grammarians, and even amongst the Baṣrans themselves; see the 5th Question discussed in Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, 21-6, with a résumé in Ibn Ya'īsh's *Sharḥ* of the *Mufaṣṣal of Zamakhsharī*, ed. G. Jahn, 101, ll. 15-16.

In dislocated phrases, which were outside normal analysis, of the type *Zayd^{un} dhahaba abūhu* "Zayd, his father left", the Arab grammarians considered the phrase taken up after *Zayd* as *khabar* (Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*[2], ed. Broch, § 26).

After *inna* and its "sisters" (*anna*, *lākinna*, *layta*, *la'alla* and *ka'anna*) the *khabar* is *marfū'*. The Baṣrans and Kūfans disputed over determination over the *'āmil* here, sc. about the *rāfi'* which puts the *khabar* here into *raf'* (see the 22nd Question discussed in the *K. al-Inṣāf*, 81-4, *Mufaṣṣal*, § 3, and Ibn Ya'īsh, 124, l. 23-125, l. 17).

For the *khabar* of *kāna* and its "sisters", sc. verbs like *aṣbaḥa* "it took place in the morning" or *amsā* "it took place in the evening", the Arab grammarians had the task of explaining the *naṣb* or accusative of the *khabar*, as in *kāna ḥakīm^{an}* "he was wise". They solved this by referring to an analogy with the *fā'il* and *maf'ūl* of a verb (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 97, and Ibn Ya'īsh, 282). In fact, this accusative can be explained as a complement indicating state, a *ḥāl*; this explanation had already been given by the Kūfans against the Baṣrans (*K. al-Inṣāf*, Question under discussion, 348-51; see also Fleisch, *L'Arabe classique. Esquisse d'une structure linguistique*[2], 181). The *naṣb* is found after the negative *mā* (less usually after *lā*) when

this has the value of *laysa* (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 38, and Ibn Ya'īsh, 132-4). This also involves the question of the *mā ḥidjāziyya* (*K. al-Inṣāf*, 19). See Question under discussion, 76-9, and Ibn Ya'īsh, 132, ll. 24-5.

For the *khabar*'s place, see the Questions under discussion: *K. al-Inṣāf*, No. 9, pp. 34-6, No. 17, pp. 70-2, and No. 18, pp. 73-6. For the separation between *khabar* and *na't*, see Question No. 100.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see Sībawayh, *Kitāb*, Paris edn., ch. iii, 17-19, 120-1, 136; Mubarrad, *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, references in *al-Fahāris* (Cairo 1388/1968-9); Zadjdjādjī, *Djumal*, 48-50, 53-69, 119-20; Raḍī 'l-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, Istanbul 1275/1858-9, 76-101; Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, vv. 113-63; *Sharḥ* of Ibn 'Aḳīl, Cairo 1370/1951, i, 163-76; *Sharḥ* of al-Ushmūnī, Cairo 1375/1955, i, 88-128; Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, *al-Manhadj al-sālik*, ed. Glazer, 36-67.

(H. Fleisch)

KHABAR AL-WĀḤID. Literally, tradition or report going back to one single authority. Synonyms are *khabar al-āḥād*, *khabar al-infirād* and *khabar al-khāṣṣa*. According to the generally-accepted definition, a *khabar al-wāḥid* is a report which falls short of the predicate *mutawātir* [*q.v.*] (or, as certain scholars assert, *mashhūr* [*q.v.*]) in that it has only one or a few (from two to five) transmitters in every *ṭabaḳa* of its *isnād*. The first classical scholar who writes about the *khabar al-wāḥid* is, according to Nawawī (cf. *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Cairo 1349, i, 131), Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820). In his *Risāla* he devotes two chapters to it. He argues that a *khabar al-wāḥid* constitutes an argument (*ḥudjdja*), if only there is at every stage of the *isnād* one reliable transmitter (*thiḳa* [*q.v.*]), his reliability being dependent on the following six conditions: (1) he should have a strong faith; (2) he should be known for his veracity in transmitting traditions; (3) he must be able to grasp the meaning of what he transmits; (4) he should pay heed to the exact wording; (5) he should transmit from memory, and (6) he should be free from *tadlīs* [*q.v.*]. The *khabar al-wāḥid* forms in itself an *aṣl* and can only in part be compared with juridical testimonies (*shahādāt*). It can only be invalidated by one or more other reports which present an opposing view and which, at the same time, meet the requirements of reliability more adequately.

Most Muslim scholars agree in that the *khabar al-wāḥid* can be considered as conveying a probability (*ẓann*), not definite knowledge (*'ilm*), although various traditionists hold the opinion that those contained in the compilations of Bukhārī and Muslim also convey *'ilm* to the exclusion of all others. The majority of orthodox Muslim scholars finally agreed on the fact that, inasmuch as a *khabar al-wāḥid* conveys at least a probability, every Muslim is bound by it and is obligated to live by it.

Among those who reject the *khabar al-wāḥid* as a valid criterion or an obligation are the *Ḳadariyya* [*q.v.*], the *Rāfiḍa* [*q.v.*], certain members of the *Ẓāhiriyya* [*q.v.*] (although Ibn Ḥazm lends full credit to them, cf. *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1345-7, i, 108) and the *Mu'tazila* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the technical terms*..., Calcutta 1862, 1463; Nawawī, *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Cairo 1349, i, 130 ff.; Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, ed. Aḥmad M. Shākir, Cairo 1940. 369-471; J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 40 ff., 50 ff.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-ta'dīl*, Hyderabad 1952-3, i/1, 37; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *'Ulūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 152; J. Robson, *Traditions from individuals*, in *JSS*, ix (1964), 327-40; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the tradition literature; discussions in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1969, index, s.v. *āḥād*.

(G. H. A. Juynboll)

KHABBĀB B. AL-ARATT, Abū 'Abd Allāh or Abū Yaḥyā or Abū Muḥammad or Abū 'Abd Rabbihi, a Companion of the Prophet. Tradition is not unanimous about his origin. Some reports state that his father was captured in a raid launched by the Rabī'a in the Sawād, sent to Mecca and sold as a slave to Sibā' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā al-Khuzā'ī, a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of the Banū Zuhra; Sibā' (who was later killed by Ḥamza in the battle of Uḥud) gave him as a gift to his daughter Umm Anmār who freed him. In a tradition attributed to 'Alī he is said to have been the first of the *Nabaṭ* to embrace Islam. Other traditions claim that the mother of Khabbāb, a professional circumciser, also gave birth to Sibā'; it is for this reason that Ḥamza when killing Sibā', shouted to him "O son of the woman cutting the clitoris". By virtue of this kinship, Khabbāb claimed to be a confederate of the Zuhra in Mecca. Some reports say that this father was from Kaskar or from the vicinity of al-Kūfa. A quite different tradition states that al-Aratt was a Tamīmī, of the Banū Sa'd, who was captured in a raid and sold in Mecca to Umm Anmār al-Khuzā'iyya, who freed him. This version, adopted by his descendants, gives his pedigree as follows: Khabbāb b. al-Aratt b. Djandala b. Sa'd b. Khuzayma b. Ka'b b. Sa'd from Tamīm. Another account records that Khabbāb was a freed slave (*mawlā*) of Thābit b. Umm Anmār; Thābit, these sources claim, was a *mawlā* of al-Akhnas b. Sharīḳ al-Thaḳafī, who in his turn was a confederate of the Zuhra. These contradictory traditions do not help to establish exactly his origin and his position in Mecca, but he must have been of a very low status, as he was doubly dependent, being a *mawlā* of a family which was in turn in a relation of dependence as confederates of the tribal group of Zuhra. Khabbāb himself was a blacksmith, a profession regarded as base in Mecca and in the Arab peninsula in general. The tradition of his Sawādī origin seems preferable because of his father's incorrect Arabic speech, which is indicated by his nickname *al-Aratt*; this would seem to point to Arabic not being his native language, and he probably spoke Nabataean, sc. neo-Aramaic. Although a *mawlā*, Khabbāb apparently acquired some influence in the Khuzā'ī family of his master. It was he who promoted the plan that the family of Sibā' should join the Zuhrī 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf (the family of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf) as confederates and he indeed succeded in carrying out his plan.

Khabbāb was one of the earliest converts to Islam. He is usually mentioned as the sixth or the seventh man who embraced Islam. A unique tradition granting him an usually high position in Islam says that he was the first man who embraced Islam.

Khabbāb is recorded as one of "the weak ones" in Mecca. Lacking any protection (*mana'a*), he was exposed to persecution and cruel torture. The noble Ḳurashīs and leaders of tribes used to mock the Prophet when they saw him in the company of Khabbāb and other poor men, and some verses in the Ḳur'ān were revealed to the Prophet in this connection. It is said that Khabbāb was attached to the Prophet and heard some chapters of the Ḳur'ān from his mouth, and that he witnessed the conversion of 'Umar to Islam when present in the house of 'Umar's sister, reading chapters from the Ḳur'ān.

Having left Mecca as a *muhādjir*, Khabbāb dwelt in Medina, together with al-Miḳdād b. ʿAmr, in the house of Kulthūm b. Hidm; after the death of the latter they moved into the house of Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. In some sources, Khabbāb is included in the list of the *Aṣḥāb al-Ṣuffa* [see AHL AL-ṢUFFA]. The Prophet set up the relation of brotherhood between Khabbāb and Djabr b. ʿAtīk. Khabbāb participated in the battle of Badr and was entrusted with the division of the spoils. Tradition usually adds that he took part in all the other battles of the Prophet: he is, however, not mentioned in the list of warriors recorded in the stories of the battles.

No details are available about the vicissitudes of his life during the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. ʿUthmān granted him possession of Ṣaʿnabā or Istīniyā in the vicinity of al-Kūfa and he settled in al-Kūfa. Shīʿī tradition claim that he took part in the battle of Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān; some Shīʿī sources mention that he signed the document of arbitration at Ṣiffīn.

Khabbāb died in 37 AH (or 39) at the age of 63 (or 73) as a rich man, leaving about 40,000 dirhams in cash. He regretted before his death that he had accumulated wealth; he was afraid lest he might have forfeited his reward in the next world, as he had received it already in this world. Khabbāb gave orders that he should be buried outside al-Kūfa, thus initiating a change in the then custom of burying the dead in their own houses. ʿAlī is said to have prayed over his grave when he returned from the battle of Ṣiffīn. He transmitted 32 utterances of the Prophet, some of which were recorded in the canonical collections of *ḥadīth*, and some traditions of the Prophet were transmitted by his daughter. A son, ʿAbd Allāh, was cruelly killed by the Khawāridj.

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(M. J. KISTER)

KHABN. [see ʿARŪḌ]

KHABRĀʾ (pl. KHABĀRĪ), a silt flat, as the term is commonly used in the Syrian Desert. This desert, which comprises part of Syria, Jordan, and northern Saudi Arabia, is mostly composed of highly dissected terrain. The rainfall, which usually occurs in the form of sudden cloudbursts, picks up a large amount of material from the erosion remnants and carries it inland downstream at high velocities. When such a stream reaches a gently sloping and wide open area, the ensuing loss in the velocity of the water stream causes the silts to be deposited. A *khabrāʾ* is the resulting silt flat. In these parts of the Middle East, a *khabrāʾ* is very often of great archaeological significance. Along the edges of such a *khabrāʾ* people have built ring-shaped dams, with an up-stream opening, where after the central hollowed-out depression has been coated with silt, the water can be naturally stored for a long time, occasionally lasting throughout the entire dry summer season. Such an open, ring-shaped storage dam is locally called a *maḥfūr* (pl. *maḥāfīr*). The *maḥāfīr* vary in size, from *ca.* 10 to as much as 35 or 40 metres in diameter; the ring-shaped dam wall is from about one metre to two-and-a-half metres in height. Lithic remains in such sites, which are very common and appear to be very old but have not yet been properly dated, would tend to indicate that the builders were not only thinking of making available a few watering holes for their livestock, but were also planning to attract wild game, such as the then plentiful gazelles, to be easier targets. (F. S. VIDAL)

KHĀBŪR, the name of two rivers.

(i) The larger Khābūr is one of the chief affluents of the Euphrates, which it joins at Ḳarḳisiyya [*q.v.*].

It originates in the Northern Mesopotamian mountains, flows through the plain of Mesopotamia, passes

between D̲j̲abal ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Sind̲j̲ār mountains, where it takes a southern direction, which it changes in the last part of its course into a southwestern one.

Its springs, as well as those of its numerous tributaries, are chiefly connected with three important towns, Raʾs al-ʿAyn (Res̲h̲ʿayna of the Syrians) in the northwest, Mārdīn in the north and Naṣībīn in the northeast. The springs at Raʾs al-ʿAyn are said to be three hundred in number; they were shut off by iron grills, in order to prevent people from being drowned in them.

Downstream from Raʾs al-ʿAyn the K̲h̲ābūr is joined by the river of Mārdīn, which is called by the Arab geographers Ṣawr; on Sachau's map it bears the name of Nahr Zrgān. Just before passing between D̲j̲abal ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Sind̲j̲ār mountains it is joined by the river of Naṣībīn. The Arab geographers apparently mean this river when speaking of the Hirmās; on Sachau's map it is called D̲j̲ag̲h̲d̲j̲ag̲h̲a. The course and the nomenclature of this and other tributaries are still uncertain.

The Arab geographers mention several more or less important places situated on the K̲h̲ābūr between D̲j̲abal ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Ḳarḳisiyya, such as S̲h̲āʿā, Tunaynīr (upper and lower T.), Ṭābān (also on Sachau's map), ʿArbān or ʿArābān (also on Sachau's map), Sukayr, al-S̲h̲amsāniyya (probably Sachau's Shemisan), Mākisīn ("the customs-house"), al-G̲h̲udayr ("the pool"), and Ṣuwar (Sachau's eṣ-Ṣawar). At Mākisīn there was a bridge of boats. Much cotton was grown here, and by it lay the small lake of deep blue water called al-Munk̲h̲ariḳ, which was said to be unfathomable.

The whole region through which the K̲h̲ābūr flows, and especially its lower course, was renowned for being fertile; its trees are mentioned in Arabic poetry, and its fruits were exported to the towns of al-ʿIrāḳ. However, when Sachau travelled in the area (1899) the large fertile valley was devoid of towns, villages and human beings in general.

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(ii) The lesser K̲h̲ābūr, one of the tributaries of the Tigris which flows past the mountains of southern Armenia, south of Lake Van and west of Lake Urmiya. It passes between the mountain ranges which are now called D̲j̲abal Harbāl (north) and Zāk̲h̲a Dag̲h̲ (south). The latter mountains derive their name from the town of Zāk̲h̲ō. The K̲h̲ābūr joins the Tigris between Mag̲h̲āra and Mazra. The Arab geographers often call it K̲h̲ābūr al-Ḥasaniyya, after the town of this name. Here the river was spanned by a magnificent stone bridge which was looked upon as a miraculous piece of mason's work. Al-Ḥasaniyya probably survives in the hamlet of Ḥasan Ag̲h̲a.

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K̲H̲ADĪD̲J̲A, first wife of Muḥammad, daughter of K̲h̲uwaylid of the clan of Asad of the tribe of Ḳurays̲h̲ in Mecca. Before her marriage to Muḥammad she had been married twice, to Abū Hāla al-Tamīmī, a client of the Meccan clan of ʿAbd al-Dār, and to ʿUtayyiḳ (or ʿAtīḳ) b. ʿĀʾid̲h̲ (incorrectly ʿĀbid) b. ʿAbd Allāh of the Meccan clan of Mak̲h̲zūm. The order of these marriages is disputed, as is also the *ism* of Abū Hāla and his genealogy. To Abū Hāla she is mostly said to have borne two sons with the (usually feminine) names of Hind and Hāla, and to ʿUtayyiḳ a daughter, Hind. She was probably divorced from Abū Hāla (cf. Sprenger, *Leben*, i, 197), since divorce was common in Mecca (cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 435-55), but ʿUtayyiḳ is said to have died, leaving her a widow. This gets some confirmation from the fact that his nephew al-Sāʾib b. Abī 'l-Sāʾib became Muḥammad's business partner (al-Azraḳī, 471). Before she married Muḥammad she owned property and was able to engage in trade (as did also Asmāʾ bint Muk̲h̲arriba, mother of Abū D̲j̲ahl). This independence is most probably due to the persistence of old practices based on matrilineal kinship (cf. the fact that K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a's sister Ruḳayḳa had a daughter known as Umayma bint Ruḳayḳa). In 605 (or earlier) K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a arranged for Muḥammad to go to Boṣrā in Syria as steward of her merchandise. He executed this commission satisfactorily, and after his return she offered him marriage. The tales that she was impressed by miracles connected with Muḥammad may be discounted, and likewise the story that she gained her father's consent when she had made him drunk. The contract of marriage is mostly said to have been made for her by her uncle ʿAmr b. Asad, while Ḥamza acted on behalf of his nephew Muḥammad. The couple apparently lived for a time in a *bayt* in the *dār* of K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a's nephew, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām b. K̲h̲uwaylid, in Mecca (al-Azraḳī, 463); but during the boycott Ḥakīm took food to his aunt who was then among the Banū Hās̲h̲im. It was from Ḥakīm that K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a received Zayd b. Ḥārit̲h̲a, who had been brought as a slave from Syria, or bought at Ukāẓ. At the time of the marriage Muḥammad is said to have been twenty-five (or twenty-three or twenty-one) and K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a forty (or twenty-eight). At least five children were born to K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a and Muḥammad: four girls (Zaynab, Umm Kult̲h̲ūm, Fāṭima, Ruḳayya) and one or possibly two boys (al-Ḳāsim, ʿAbd Allāh; but these may be the same, and it is generally agreed that al-Ṭāhir and al-Ṭayyib are names of ʿAbd Allāh).

Marriage to K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a was an important turning-point in Muḥammad's career, mainly because, as is explicitly stated, she supported and encouraged him, fostering his confidence in himself and his mission. After the experience of the call to prophethood, she reported it to her relative Waraḳa b. Nawfal, who was a Christian, and he declared it was an experience similar to that of Moses when he received the Law. This doubtless helped to confirm Muḥammad's belief in the genuineness of the experience. The marriage is probably referred to in the verse (XCIII, 8), 'Did he not find you needy and enrich you?', since K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a's wealth would enable him to engage more extensively in commercial operations. Though there is no mention of further journeys to Syria, Muḥam-

mad seems to have been trading in partnership with al-Sā'ib, as already mentioned. Khadīdja is said to have died three days after Abū Ṭālib in the year 619 (sc. three years before the Hidjra).

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(W. Montgomery Watt)

KHĀDIM, from Arabic KHADAMA "to serve (a master)", means properly "servant, domestic", but it has acquired the euphemistic sense, first in Arabic and then in the other Islamic languages, of "eunuch"; hence the word is often ambiguous. In this article, only servants of free status are covered; for slaves, see ʿABD and for eunuchs KHAṢĪ.

At the side of the slaves, there have always been free servants (coll. *khadam*, pl. *khuddām*). Anas b. Mālik [*q.v.*] entered Muḥammad's service as a youth (al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, *bāb* 74 etc.) and he records it to his master's credit that the latter had never said a harsh word to him nor even ever asked him for an explanation of his doings (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 25). Servants were used on journeys especially, and put up the tents, etc. These latter are called *farrāsh* (lit. spreaders of the carpets), a name which is, however, given to servants who look after the beds and the house generally (Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, London 1859, ii, 202, no. 16).

In Egypt in Lane's time there was an organisation of servants. They were under special *shaykh*s to whom anyone who required a domestic had to apply; these *shaykh*s were responsible for any dishonesty or breach of trust by their people (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1899, 139). There were also free female servants who performed the lowest household duties (*op. cit.*, 147, 197) for a very small wage (168). Some of the male servants used to shave their beards (573).

In Ottoman Turkish houses of the upper classes, these people, who were usually addressed by their name followed by Agha, worked as cooks, gardeners, janitors, etc., and they had to avoid the women's apartments in the house with which they communicated by the swivel-box (*dolāb*). If they were married they did not live in their master's house.

The women servants in the konaks lived in the women's apartments and had very little personal freedom. They sometimes belonged to impoverished Turkish families or were the children of former servants and slaves. They were called *ḳalfa* (from *khalīfa*) or *halā'iḳ* (from *khalā'iḳ*) and the men *ushak, deftiyer, hizmetk'ar* (*khidmetkār*). The servant girls (*hidmetdji* = *khidmetdji*) were usually Greeks or Armenians.

Uniformed officials in the imperial and official services were divided into various corporations (chamberlains, janitors, musicians) and were included under the general name *hadama* = *khadama*. On such corporations see also Von Hammer, *Constantinopel und der Bosporus*, Pest 1822, ii, 395 ff.

In North Africa, *khādim* (dial. *khādəm*) has acquired the specialised meaning of "negress", and *khdīm* is used for a domestic servant. However, classical *khādim* retained an honourable usage in Morocco, where all letters sent out by the Sultan's chancery to his officials began with the formula *khadīmanā 'l-arḍā* "to our well-pleasing servant". In contemporary Moroccan usage, *ṣāḥəb*, pl. *ṣḥāb*, is more commonly found. Within the great families, there exists in effect a clientage of *ṣḥāb* who usually receive no regular salary but live on the bounty of their master. They accompany him on the road, look after his mount, and order illumination for trips at night, etc. If their master is a great *ḳā'id* or the head of a brotherhood, he appoints one of his *aṣḥāb* to accompany travellers who are passing through the areas over which his authority extends. This is a sign that they are under his protection. In Fez, there existed a corporation of female cooks who performed odd jobs within the household (Le Tourneau, *Fès*, 562) and were paid in kind.

In the *zāwiya*s servants form a guild to which is entrusted the care of pilgrims and of the buildings; cf. Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; Doutté, *l'Islam algérien en l'an 1900*.

The *Ḥadīth* has handed down various sayings of Muḥammad which endeavour to secure good treatment for servants; in these it is not always possible to distinguish whether the reference is to free men or slaves. The *khādim* is responsible for his master's possessions (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 9); on the other hand alms which he bestows out of his master's property bring him a heavenly reward (al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt*, *bāb* 25). One should be ready to forgive one's servant (al-Tirmidhī, *Birr*, *bāb* 32); he should neither be beaten nor cursed (al-Tirmidhī, *bāb* 30, 31, 85); and the servant who has prepared a meal has a right to partake of it (al-Bukhārī, *Aṭʿima*, *bāb* 55; al-Tirmidhī, *Aṭʿima*, *bāb* 44, etc.

One may note finally that, amongst the titles of the Ottoman Sultans, was that of *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn* "Servant of the two sacred areas", and also that at Mecca, one could purchase the title of *khādim al-masdjid* (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.). The collective *khadam* is further used, often linked in paronomasia with *hasham*, to denote the partisans and entourage of a great man, above all, of a military leader or ruler.

(A. J. Wensinck*) .

KHĀDIM AL-ḤARAMAYN (A.), "servant of the two holy places" (sc. Mecca and Medina), a title used by a number of Muslim monarchs. Adopted by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I after the conquest of Egypt in 922/1517 and used by some of his successors, it was regarded in late Ottoman times as a Caliphal title, and was said to have been taken over by Selīm from the last ʿAbbāsid caliph in Cairo. This does not correspond with the evidence, and appears to be part of the mythology of the Ottoman caliphate. As far as can be ascertained, the title was never used by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, whether in ʿIrāḳ or in Egypt. It was however used by several Mamlūk sultans, and it was from the sultans, not the caliphs, of Egypt that the Ottomans adopted this title along with other possessions and perquisites of the Sultanate. Al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, vi, 46) is quite explicit, and lists it among the titles (*alḳāb*) of the Sultans. The first to use the title appears to have been Saladin, and the earliest known occurrence is in a restoration inscription in the Ḳubbat Yūsuf in Jerusalem, dated 587/1191 (*CIA*, *Jerusalem*, ii, no. 150 = *RCEA*, ix, no. 3447). The introduction of this new title was probably a move in the rivalry between Saladin and the caliph al-Nāṣir, over the leadership of the pilgrimage and related questions concerning the holy places in the Ḥidjāz (on this rivalry see E.

Sivan, *Saladin et le calife al-Nasir*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, xxiii (1972), 126 ff., especially 139 ff.).

In the Jerusalem inscription of 587/1191 the words *al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn* are followed by *wa-hādha 'l-bayt al-muqaddas*, "and this sanctified house", i.e. Jerusalem. This formula recurs, without the *ḥaramayn*, in a Jerusalem inscription of 589/1193 (*CIA, Jerusalem*, i, no. 36 = *RCEA*, ix, no. 3464). In two inscriptions of Baybars, the title *khādim al-ḥaramayn* is followed or preceded by the words *Ṣāḥib* (or *Malik*) *al-Ḳiblatayn*", master (or king) of the two Ḳiblas", presumably Mecca and Jerusalem (Damascus, 659/1261, and Kara 664/1266; *RCEA*, xii, no. 4476 and no. 4554). The same formula is attested for other Mamlūk sultans, e.g. Ḳalāwūn (Cairo, 683-4/1284-5; *CIA, Egypt*, i, no. 82 = *RCEA*, xiii, no. 4852) and al-Ashraf Khalīl (Cairo, 687/1288; *CIA, Egypt*, i, no. 95 = *RCEA*, xiii, no. 4895).

Khādim al-ḥaramayn or some variant of it (e.g. *Khādim ḥaramay Allāh wa-rasūlihi* (Ḳā'it-bāy, Cairo, 885/1480; *CIA, Egypt*, i, no. 325) was used only intermittently by the Mamlūk sultans, and does not seem to have formed part of their standard titulary. An undated letter, purporting to have been sent by Tīmūr to Bāyazīd I, complains of the use by the Mamlūk sultan of the title "*Sulṭān* (sic) *al-ḥaramayn*". The writer regards this as presumptous, and considers it a sufficient honour to be the servant (*Khādim*) of the two holy places (Ferīdūn, *Münshe'āt*, i, 128, cf. T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford 1924, repr. London 1965, 151). According to a Turkish chronicler, the Ottomans used to address the sultans of Egypt as *Sulṭān-ı ḥaramayn babam*, "my father the Sultan of the two holy places", but Meḥemmed II replaced this by the less deferential *Khādim-i ḥaramayn* and even *ḳarındashım Mıṣır Sulṭānı*, "my brother the Sultan of Egypt" (ʿĀshıḳpāshāzāde, *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1332 anno 863, p. 209; the passage occurs among the anonymous addenda to ʿĀshıḳpāshāzāde's chronicle. Cf. Selâhattin Tansel, *Osmanlı kaynaklarına göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Siyasî ve askerî faaliyeti*, Ankara 1953, 337-8).

According to Arabic sources Selīm I was hailed, during the conquest of Syria and Egypt, by the preachers in the mosques of Aleppo and later of Cairo (Arnold, *Caliphate*, 140-1 and 145, citing Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, iii, 98, and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, *Chroniken der Staat Mekka*, iii, 278-9; cf. Von Hammer, *Histoire*, iv, 280 and 448). Ottoman sources attach some importance to this recognition by the Sharīf of Mecca, thus confirming his authority over the holy places, but significantly, without reference to the title (e.g. Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tewārīkh*, ii, 371-2; Solaḳzāde, *Ta'rīkh*, 480; on some documents, see Selâhattin Tansel, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, Ankara 1969, 215-7). In a letter to the ruler of Mecca, announcing his accession, Süleymān refers to his father Selīm as *Khādim bayt Allāh wa'l-ḥaram fātiḥ mamālik al-ʿArab wa'l-ʿAdjam*, "Servant of the house of God and the sanctuary, conquerer of the lands of the Arabs and Persians" (Ferīdūn, i, 448, cf. Arnold, 155). This appears, however, to be an honorific description rather than a title. In his own documents Süleymān, while listing Mecca and Medina among his possessions, does not seem to have used the title Khādim. It appears, however, on coins of Süleymān struck in Baghdād in 942/1535-6 (i.e., after its capture from the Persians), 985/1551, and 960/1553 (Khalīl Edhem, *Meskūkāt-ı ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1334, 250-2), and remained in occasional but not common use under later sultans. Thus in the treaty with Poland of 1016/1607, it figures among the titles of the sultan in the preamble (Hammer, *Histoire*, viii, 407, citing the *Destūr al-inshā'* of Ṣarī ʿAbdullāh). It occurs in the signature of Maḥmūd I (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 292-3), and reappears in some other documents of the 12th/18th century, in a somewhat modified form, as "servant and adjudicator (*ḥākim*)" of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem (H. Scheel, *Die Schreiben der türkischen Sultane and die preussischen Könige in der Zeit von 1721 bis 1774*, in *MSOS*, xxxiii/II (1930), 30, 34, 37, 39, 62, 65, 67, 70). A similar formula is used in documents of Selīm III (M. Guboglu, *Paleografia şi diplomatica turco-osmana*, Bucarest 1958, 60).

(B. Lewis)

KHĀDİM ḤASAN PASHA ṢOḲOLLİ, Ottoman Grand-Vizier. We have no information about his origin, but he was brought as part of the *devshirme* [*q.v.*] to the Imperial Palace and given a post in the Ḥarem in the department of the white eunuchs; later, he became chief treasurer of the Inner Palace or Enderūn. In Djumādā I 988/June 1580, he was appointed governor of Egypt in place of Mesīḥ Pasha, but after complaints about him, dismissed in Rabīʿ II 991/May 1583, and on arrival in Istanbul imprisoned in Yedikule. However, he was pardoned and released after presenting valuable gifts to Nūrbānū Sulṭān, the mother of Murād III, and was appointed governor-general of Anatolia.

In Djumādā II/June 1585 he joined the Ottoman army at Sivas under Özdemir-Oghlu Pasha, en route for Persia. At the battle of Alivar he commanded the right wing of the Ottoman army, and continued campaigning against the Persians in Ramaḍān 993/September 1585 after the conquest of Tabrīz. In the spring of 995/1587 he was appointed governor of Anatolia by Ferhād Pasha, and in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 996/October 1588, governor of the province of Shirwān after the death of Djaʿfar Pasha. During the reign of Meḥemmed III he was called to the Palace in Istanbul in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1003/July 1595 to be fourth vizier, and remained there as acting Grand Vizier when the young Sultan was absent campaigning at Egri. While in this office, and with the backing of the Wālide Sulṭān, he prevented Esʿad Efendi, son of the well-known Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi and recently-appointed *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul by Meḥemmed III, from entering Istanbul, retaining Akhī-zāde ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Efendi in this office.

In Djumādā I 1005/December 1596, as *Ḳā'immaḳām*, he welcomed Meḥemmed III back from the Egri campaign with a magnificent ceremony. In Rabīʿ I 1006/November 1597, he became Grand Vizier in place of the Bosnian Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha, the second vizier Djerrāḥ Meḥmed Pasha being passed over for this office by the young Sultan. However, Khādim Ḥasan Pasha's grand vizierate proved very short. When the *Shaykh al-Islām* Bostān-zāde Meḥmed Efendi died, he refused to confer the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* on the sultan's choice Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi, but appointed either the poet Bāḳī Efendi or Ḳarā Čelebizāde Ḥusām al-Dīn Efendi, which caused the already existing enmity between him and Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi to become worse. Consequently, Khādim Ḥasan Pasha's old opponents, Ghazanfer Agha Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi and the commander-in-chief of the Janissaries, Tīrnaḳdjī Ḥasan Agha, whose execution he had sought from the Sultan, banded together under the influence of the Wālide Sulṭān Ṣafiyye against him, and secured his downfall on charges of corruption. On 2nd Ramaḍān 1006/8th April 1598, during the ceremony of laying the foundation of the Wālide Sulṭān (Yeñi)

Mosque at Eminönü, Bostāndjî-Bashî Ferhād Agha arrested Khādim Ḥasan Pasha and confined him in Yedikule; six days later he was executed. He was buried in a tomb beneath his *medrese*, after the confiscation of all his property at Eyüp by the state. Near the Çagaloğlu palace and opposite to the present day Emniyet Sandığı there were situated a mosque and a *medrese* which were built by him, and also a public fountain built after him in 1594/1002.

Another Soḳollî Khādim Ḥasan Pasha was the son of Soḳollî Meḥmed Pasha. He took part in the campaign of Egri [*q.v.*] of 1004-5/1596, was *beglerbegi* of Rumeli, and died later than the Grand Vizier of the same name.

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KHĀDİM SÜLEYMĀN PASHA (? - 954/1547), Ottoman governor of Egypt, commander of the campaign of 945/1538 against the Portuguese in India and Grand Vizier. When Selīm I died in 926/1520, Süleymān Pasha was holding the office of *oda-bashî* at the Imperial Palace. In addition to this, on the accession to the throne of Ḳānūnī Sulṭan Süleymān, he was given the office of *khazînedār-bashî* procured for him through the favour of the historian Saʿd al-Dīn (Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tewārīkh*, Istanbul 1279, ii, 395; Koca Hüseyin, *Bedāyiʾü 'l-weḳāyiʿ*, ed. Tveritinova, Moscow 1961, ii, fol. 501a). Later on he was sent to the Hungarian frontier to protect the border, and in 931/1524-25 was appointed governor (*beglerbegi*) of Shāmı (*Wulāt Dimashḳ fī ʿahd Āl ʿUthmān*, ed. S. Munadjdjid, Cairo 1949, 8, 9). In the following year he was appointed governor of Egypt for the first time (22 Shaʿbān 931/13 June 1525 to 17 Shaʿbān 941/22 January 1535, see ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Taʾrīkh-i Miṣir*, Süleymaniye Genel Kütüphanesi, Hekim-oğlu Ali Paşa, MS 705, fol. 8a). He then joined the Baghdād campaign of the Sulṭān, and afterwards became governor of Anatolia, acquiring the rank of vizier (Luṭfī Pasha, *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1341, 358). On 11 Radjab 943/25 October 1536 he was once more given the *beglerbeglik* of Egypt. He stayed in the office until the year 945/1538, when he organised his famous campaign against the Portuguese in India.

Süleymān Pasha had planned a campaign to Yemen during his first governorship of Egypt, and had persuaded the Istanbul authorities to agree to this. He could not, however, put it into action as he had to join the Baghdad campaign of 941/1534-5 (Pečevī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, i, 219). Now the situation was favourable to his plans; the Muslims of Gudjarāt had been asking the Ottomans to help against the Portuguese, and the local ruler, Bāhādur Shāh, had sent a special envoy to Istanbul for this purpose. The Ottoman government determined on an expedition into the Indian Ocean (Luṭfī Pasha, 358; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Makkī al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī fī fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, Riyāḍ 1967, 70). Süleymān Pasha's fleet consisting of 72 vessels with siege guns and about 6,500 soldiers, including 1500 Janissaries, left Suez on 24 Muḥarram 945/22 June 1538 (R. S. Whiteway, *The rise of Portuguese power in India, 1497-1550*², London 1967, 256; anon., *Rüstem Pasha Taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul Üniversite kütüphanesi, MS 2438, fol. 205b; cf. al-Nahrawālī, 71; Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*², Istanbul 1329, 57, 58). The Pasha sailed down the Red Sea, passing Djidda and the island of Kamarān and arrived at the straits of Bāb al-Mandab. From there, he proceeded to the harbour of Aden, where he had ʿĀmir b. Dāwūd, the ruler of the town, hanged from the yard-arm of his flagship. Aden now passed under Ottoman control and became a *sandjaḳ* dependent on Yemen (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 6454).

After 19 days sailing Süleymān Pasha appeared before the coast of Gudjarāt on 9 Rabīʿ II 945/4 September 1538, having lost four ships of his fleet during this sail. Süleymān Pasha first attacked and took the fortress of Gogala (called by the Portuguese Villa des Rumos and by the Muslims Bandar-i Turkī) and then that of Kat, but failed to reduce the strong Portuguese fort of Diu. Maḥmūd III, the successor of Bāhādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, bearing in mind the fate of the *amīr* of Aden, failed to help the Ottomans (Ḥādjī al-Dabīr, *Ẓafar al-wālih bi-Muẓaffar wa-ālihi*, ed. as *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, Baroda 1970, i, 226-7). On arrival of the news that the Portuguese fleet was approaching, and despite the fall of the outer fortress of Diu, Süleymān Pasha withdrew his siege artillery and on 12 Djumāda I/6 October, sailed back to the Red Sea (*Particular relation of the expedition of Solyman Pacha from Suez to India against the Portuguese at Diu*, in Robert Kerr and F. A. Eden, *A General History and collection of Voyages and Travels*, Edinburgh 1812, vi, 258-87). On the way, he stopped at Shiḥr on the coast of Arabia, an important town for trade. There he aided Badr, the ruler of Shihr to extend his power as far as Ẓufār (Dhofar) on condition that he paid an annual tribute (for the letter of this ruler, sent to Istanbul and dated Shaʿbān 945/Jan. 1539, see Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, N.E. 6704). On 8 Radjab 1538/30 November 1538 he proceeded towards Aden (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 6704;

R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coasts*, Oxford 1963, 76-7, 86, 95-6), passed the strait of Bāb al-Mandab and stopped at Dj̲īzān, where he was given information about events in Yemen during his absence at Diu (Pečevī, i, 223-4). He now took strong measures to re-establish Ottoman authority there, appointing Muṣṭafā son of Bīyīklī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a over the *eyālet* of Yemen before returning to Suez (for his activities in Yemen, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 9663, original report of Süleymān Pas̲h̲a; for critics of his activities see al-Nahrawālī, 89-90, and Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a, 381-2).

Süleymān Pas̲h̲a was now invited to Istanbul and made the second vizier, while Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a was the Grand Vizier (*Rüstem Pas̲h̲a Ta'rīk̲h̲i*, fol. 218a). In Muḥarram 948/May 1541, when Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a was dismissed from the Grand Vizierate, he took over this office and held it for three and a half years (Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a, 386). Shortly afterwards he was sent to Artuḳābād in the Tokat region of Anatolia to guard it lest the Ṣafawīds cross the Ottoman border whilst the main Ottoman army was engaged in Hungary, and he stayed there until the campaign in Hungary was over (during this time Sulṭān Süleymān sent him a *fetḥ-nāme* for the capture of Isṭabor, dated Dj̲umādā I 948, see Ferīdūn Beg, *Munsha'āt al-Salāṭīn*², Istanbul 1274, i, 551-4). On 13 Ramaḍān 951/28 November 1544, Süleymān Pas̲h̲a was dismissed by the Sulṭān after an argument with a former governor of Egypt, K̲h̲usrew Pas̲h̲a, over the income of the *eyālet* of Egypt. He was now retired and resided at Malkara (in Gelibolu) until the end of his life (Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a, 433; *Rüstem Pas̲h̲a Ta'rīk̲h̲i*, fol. 238a). He died there in S̲h̲aʿbān 954/September 1547, still under suspicion about the income of Egypt (*Rüstem Pas̲h̲a Ta'rīk̲h̲i*, fol. 251; Süleymān Pas̲h̲a tried to prove his innocence over his activities in Egypt, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 2906).

Whilst governor of Egypt, Süleymān Pas̲h̲a made improvements in the citadel district of Cairo and built a *zāwiya* and two mosques, one at Būlāḳ and the other in the citadel (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Divan-i hümayun Ruus defterleri, No. 208, 2 Dj̲umāda II, 954; R. Vesely, *Trois certificats délivrés pour les fondations pieuses en Egypte au XVI*ᵉ *siècle*, in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii (1968-69), 252-5, ff.). He also built another mosque, a *ribāṭ* and a bath in Yemen (ʿAṭā', *Ta'rīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1292, ii, 21).

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(C. Orhonlu)

AL-K̲H̲AḌIR (AL-K̲H̲IḌR), the name of a popular figure, who plays a prominent part in legend and story. Al-K̲h̲aḍir is properly an epithet ("the green man"); this was in time forgotten and this explains the secondary form K̲h̲iḍr (approximately "the green"), which in many places has displaced the primary form.

(i) In the Ḳur'ān and in oriental legend

Legends and stories regarding al-K̲h̲aḍir are primarily associated with the Ḳur'ānic story in Sūra XVIII, 59-81, the outline of which is as follows. Mūsā goes on a journey with his servant (*fatā*), the goal of which is the *madj̲maʿ al-baḥrayn*. But when they reach this place, they find that as a result of the influence of Satan, they have forgotten the fish which they were taking with them. The fish had found its way into the water and had swum away. While looking for the fish the two travellers meet a servant of God. Mūsā says that he will follow him if he will teach him the right path (*rus̲h̲d*). They come to an arrangement but the servant of God tells Mūsā at the beginning that he will not understand his doings, that he must not ask for explanations and as a result will not be able to bear with him. They set out on the journey, however, during which the servant of God does a number of apparently outrageous things, which causes Mūsā to lose patience so that he cannot refrain from asking for an explanation, whereupon the servant of God replies: "Did I not tell you that you would be lacking in patience with me?" He finally leaves Mūsā and on departing gives him the explanation of his actions, which had their good reasons.

This servant of God is called al-K̲h̲aḍir by the majority of the commentators. Others, however, identify him with Mūsā's servant (see below). Both interpretations have their roots in Oriental legends. The Ḳur'ānic story may be traced back to three main sources: the Gilgames̲h̲ epic, the Alexander romance and the Jewish legend of Elijah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi. The two first are, of course, again closely related to one another; at the same time it should be noted that the fish episode is lacking in the epic and is only found in the romance (cf. R. Hartmann in the *ZA*, xxiv, 307 ff.).

The main features which the three sources have in common with the story in the Ḳur'ān are the following:

The Gilgames̲h̲ epic. Overcome with melancholy at the death of his friend Engidu, the hero Gilgames̲h̲ sets out on a series of travels to look for his ancestor Utnapis̲h̲tim (K̲h̲asisatra, Xisouthros) who lives at the mouth of the rivers and who has been given eternal life. Gilgames̲h̲ wants to ask him about the plant of life which will save man from the power of death.

The Alexander romance. The fish episode (with which we are here concerned), which shows Alexander on the search for the spring of life, is found in greatest detail in Syriac literature, in the Lay of Alexander (cf. C. Hunnius, *Das syrische Alexanderlied*, in *ZDMG*, lx, 169 ff.). Alexander is accompanied by his cook Andreas (cf. the article idrīs). During the laborious journey through the land of darkness Andreas on one occasion was washing a salted fish in a spring; the contact with the water

made the fish live again and it swims away. Andreas jumped in after it and thus gained immortality. When he told Alexander his adventure, the latter at once realised that this was the well of life. All attempts to find it again failed: Alexander is denied the immortality which becomes the lot of the unfortunate cook, who does not know what to do with it.

The Jewish legend (printed in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, v, 133-5) tells how Rabbi Joshua ben Levi goes on a journey with Elijah under conditions laid down by Elijah, like those above of the servant of God in the Ḳurʾān. Like the latter, Elijah does a number of apparently outrageous things, which affects Joshua as it did Mūsā. Zunz, *Gesammelte Vorträge*, x, 130 first pointed out the similarity of this story to the Ḳurʾānic legend. A comparison of the main features of these three sources with Sūra XVIII, 59 ff. suggests the following conclusions, questions and hypotheses.

The chief figure in the Ḳurʾānic story is called Mūsā. Some commentators doubt his identity with the great prophet (see below). There is not, however, the slightest hint of another Mūsā anywhere in the Ḳurʾān. On the other hand, we have no legends of Moses, which make him, like Gilgamesh and Alexander, go on the great journey. We might suggest the following explanation of the difficulty. The figure of Joshua ben Levi, with which Muḥammad first became acquainted through the Jews and which does not again appear in Muslim legend, was identified, as we shall see, with Joshua b. Nūn. This identification may have resulted in a confusion of his master Elijah with Joshua b. Nūn's master Moses. Mūsā thus represents Gilgamesh and Alexander in the first part of the Ḳurʾānic story and Elijah in the second.

The figure of the travelling companion is not connected with the Gilgamesh epic where it is not found, but with the Alexander romance and the Jewish legend. It probably comes in the first place from the romance. This is suggested by the fact that the companion is called *fatā* (here meaning "servant"), a term that points to Alexander's cook rather than to Rabbi Joshua; the first episode, which also is only found in the Alexander romance, points in the same direction.

The ***madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn*** is given as the goal of the journey. The expression has no direct original either in the epic or the romance, although there are points of contact in both. Utnapishtim lives *ina pi narati*, i.e. at the mouth of the river. It is not quite certain what the expression means, but it is probable that the place in the extreme west is meant where the sources of all running water are. This, however, still leaves the dual in the Ḳurʾānic expression unexplained. This is still the case, if we attempt to trace it to the Alexander romance, where (i.e. in the Syriac Alexander legend; see Budge, *op. cit.*, 259) Alexander with his army crosses a strip of land between the eleven bright seas and the ocean. It is also possible that the expression goes back to none of these but to another story unknown to us, which perhaps never found its way into literature, in which there was mention of the meeting place of two seas. According to western Semitic cosmology, this is the end of the world where the oceans of earth and heaven meet.

We can likewise only guess at the origin of the rock (v. 62). It also belongs to cosmology (see A. J. Wensinck, *The ocean in the literature of the Western Semites*, in the *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, xix/2, 26 ff.). It is found neither in the epic nor in the romance, again an indication that the Ḳurʾānic story borrowed from other sources also.

The servant of God at the ***madjmaʿ*** recalls Utnapishtim-Khasisatra. He is called (v. 64) one to whom God's mercy had been shown, to whom divine wisdom had been granted. This sounds almost like a translation of the name Khasisatra and the granting of divine favour is perhaps an echo of Utnapishtim's immortality.

The test of patience to which he subjects the newcomer comes from the Jewish legend only; the servant of God in this respect thus represents Elijah.

(ii) DEVELOPMENT IN ISLAM

The commentators, *ḥadīth*, and historians have collected a mass of statements around the Ḳurʾānic story, additions which, like the story itself, came for the most part from the three sources already mentioned.

The first question discussed is whether the principal character is Mūsā b. ʿImrān or Mūsā b. Mishā (= Manasseh) b. Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, i.e. a descendant of the patriarch Jacob (al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, iv, 333; al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, on v. 59). Commentators are almost unanimous in favour of the former alternative and base their opinion on the following legend which is transmitted in several forms. When Mūsā, the famous prophet, was one day preaching to the children of Israel, he was asked if there was any man wiser than he. When he replied in the negative, Allāh revealed to him that his pious servant, al-Khaḍir, was wiser than he. He thereupon decided to visit this wise man. The story comes from Jewish legend; it is found in a considerable number of Arabic sources (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 16, 19, 44; *Anbiyāʾ, bāb* 27; *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, *bāb* 2-4; Muslim, *Faḍāʾil*, tr. 170-4; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, *bāb* 1; al-Ṭabari, i, 417; *Tafsīr*, xv, 165 f; Fakhr al- Dīn al-Rāzi, *op. cit.*, iv, 333).

The (salted) fish serves as a guide to the route; the place where it is lost or revived by contact with water is the spring of life where al-Khaḍir lives (al-Ṭabarī, i, 417). A further indication of the spring of life is that is is marked by the rock, for it rises at its foot (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv,. 167; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, *bāb* 4). The rock is also located before the river of oil or the river of the wolf (al-Bayḍāwī and al-Zamakhsharī on Sūra XVIII, 61; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 164). Some connection between a river of oil and the spring of life is in itself not impossible. According to many statements, oil is a feature of Paradise rivers. Then ذئب would be an error in writing زيت, which could easily arise. Vollers consider the reverse probable; he thinks that "river of the wolf" is a translation of the name Loukos, which is not uncommon in classical literature as a river-name. If this hypothesis is correct, one might think of the Lukkos in Morocco or the Lycus on the Syrian coast, two regions with which the idea of extreme west is associated, as we shall see directly.

The *madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* is explained in various ways. Some regard it as "the place where the Persian Ocean unites with the Roman Sea, to the east" (al-Bayḍāwī on Sūra XVIII, 59; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 163). This points to the isthmus of Suez and is an echo of the idea that the coast of Syria was the extreme west (see A. J. Wensinck, *Bird and tree as cosmological symbols in Western Asia*, in the *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, 1921, 17 ff.). Others say that it is the junction of the Roman Sea with

the Ocean (Ṭandja, Ifriḳiya; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 163, and al-Zamakhsharī on the passage). This view reflects a later cosmological standpoint which regarded the Straits of Gibraltar as the extreme west. A farfetched explanation is that the union of the two seas means the meeting of Mūsā and al-Khaḍir, the two seas of wisdom (e.g. al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* i, 318).

When Mūsā first sees Khaḍir he is wrapped up in his cloak, as the Ḳur'ān says, "because he was sleeping", says al-Ṭabarī (i, 418). When he sees a bird drinking out of the sea he says to Mūsā: "Your wisdom is as insignificant compared with that of God as the amount the bird drinks is compared with the sea" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 418; al-Bukhāri, *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, *bāb* 3; al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, iv, 333-4). Al-Khaḍir lives on an island (al-Ṭabarī, I, 422), or on a green carpet (*ṭinfisa*) in the heart of the sea (*ʿalā kabid al-baḥr*; al-Bukhāri, *Tafsir*, Sūra, XVIII, *bāb* 3).

The test of patience is embellished by the commentators with a wealth of detail. It would take up too much space to go into them here; cf. the commentaries on Sūra XVIII, 59 ff., and the works on history and tradition mentioned in the *Bibliography*.

As may be expected from what we have said above, another branch of tradition lays particular emphasis on the connection between al-Khaḍir and Alexander's search for the spring of life. Friedländer, however, goes much too far when he says (*Die Chadhirlegende*, 108-9) "that originally Chadhir had nothing at all to do with the puzzling servant in verse 64—who belongs to quite a different cycle of stories—but with the servant of Moses (Alexander) who has charge of the fish in verse 59 ff., in other words, he is identical with Alexander's cook whom we know so well from Pseudo-Callisthenes and the Syriac homily". For Khaḍir is, as we have seen and will see further, connected with Utnapishtim as well as with Alexander's companion.

There is no translation of the Alexander romance in the Arabic literature known to us (cf. Weymann's book, in *Bibliography*). On the other hand, there are a number of, in part unedited, versions of the Alexander saga, which have been examined by Friedländer. It would take us too far to go into the differences between these versions with regard to our subject. These sources show their independence of the Ḳur'ān not only by the fact that they make Khaḍir the companion of Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, but also by the complete absence of any reference to the *fatā* of the Ḳur'ān. Al-Khaḍir usually appears as the commander of Alexander's vanguard on his march to the spring of life. In al-Ṣūrī's version he is called the king's vizier and has become the principal character, throwing the king himself into the background; in ʿUmāra he is Alexander's cousin, conceived and born in similar circumstances to him and at the same time. The usual account of the journey to the spring of life makes Alexander and al-Khaḍir go their ways separately; in some versions, the latter has the fish with him and discovers the miraculous well through the fish's becoming alive when it touches the water; in other stories, on the other hand, there is no mention of the fish and al-Khaḍir recognises the spring by other signs; in others again he dives into it without knowing its virtues (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 414). In one version in Niẓāmī, al-Khaḍir does not go with Alexander but with Elijah to the spring, out of which both drink and both become immortal.

The descriptive character of the name al-Khaḍir is so obvious from its meaning that tradition could not but give the hero's real name, as well as his genealogy and date. We find him most frequently called Balyā b. Malkān. In al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 144) the latter is called a brother of Ḳaḥṭān and thus given a place in the South Arabian genealogy. This makes it probable that Malkān is identical with Malkam (I Chronicles, viii, 9), who is also included among the South Arabian patriarchs. This genealogy is next traced back to Shem through Fālagh (Phaleg) and ʿĀbir (Eber) (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 415; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 92; al-Nawawī, on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v, 135). Is this Balyā (بليا) perhaps not a corruption of Elia (ايليا), which is identical with a Syriac form of the name Elijah? On the other hand, Elijah is also given in the Muslim form Ilyās as al-Khaḍir's proper name and also Elisha, Jeremiah (cf. God's words in *Iṣāba*, 887), Khaḍrūn (al-Ṭabarī, i, 415; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, i, 106, and Friedländer's *Chadhirlegende*, 333, under Chadhir).

Ibn Ḥadjar also gives the following genealogies (*Iṣāba*, 883-4): (1) He is a son of Adam (weak *isnād*); with this is connected the story (*Iṣāba*, 887-8; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistāni, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, 1) that al-Khaḍir took care of Adam's body and finally buried it after the flood; (2) He is a son of Ḳābil called Khaḍrūn; (3) He is al-Muʿammar ("the Long-lived") b. Mālik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr b. al-Azd; (4) He is Ibn ʿAmā'il b. al-Nūr b. al-ʿĪṣ b. Isḥāḳ; (5) He is the son of Pharaoh's daughter; (6) He is a Persian, or his father was a Persian, his mother a Greek or vice versa; it is also said that he was born in a cave, fed there on the milk of wild beasts and finally entered the service of a king (al-Damīrī, i, 318; Ibn Ḥadjar, 891-2); cf. also his meeting "on the market-place of the Banū Isrā'īl" with the man who asks him for alms *bi-wadjh Allāh* (*Iṣāba*, 894-5).

This does not, however, exhaust the traditions about his names and genealogy. We shall only quote here the following from Maracci, *Prodromi* to Sūra xviii, 57; Alchedrus, quem fabulantur Moslemi eundem fuisse, ac Phineas filium Eleazari, filii Aaron; cujus anima per metempsychosin emigravit primo in Eliam, deinde ex Elia in S. Gregorium, quem propterea Mahumetani omnes summo honore prosequuntur. The latter identification is probably due to a confusion with St. George, with whom al-Khaḍir has certain points of resemblance; cf. thereon Clermont-Ganneau in *Revue archéologique*, xxxiii, and Friedländer *op. cit.*, 275. Clermont-Ganneau further pointed out the relationship between the consonants *kh-ḍ-r* and the North Semitic group *ḥ-ṣ-r*. The name has also been taken as a corruption of Khasisatra (Guyard in *RHR*, I, 344-5) or connected with Ahasuerus, the wandering Jew (Lidzbarski in *ZA*, vii, 116).

Very varying dates are given for al-Khaḍir's period. Sometimes he is called a contemporary of Abraham, who left Babel with him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 415); sometimes he is put in the period of Afrīdūn; he is a contemporary of Alexander and lived down to the time of Mūsā (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, 886); according to others, he was born in the period of Nāshiyā b. Amūṣ (i.e. Isaiah b. Amos) (al-Ṭabarī, 415-6). The divergence in these statements is partly connected with his immortality (see below).

More important are the explanations of the name given in the oriental sources. He is said to have become green through diving into the spring of life and thus got his name (Ethiopic Alexander romance; cf. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 235-6). As already

mentioned, he lives on an island (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, 317); he is also said to worship God on the islands (al-Ṣūrī, see Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 183; al-Thaʿlabī, 197). This may point to al-Khaḍir's having originally been a marine being. The following circumstances point in the same direction: he is frequently called the patron of seafaring people (e.g. *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, i, 107); he is said to be appealed to on the Syrian coast by sailors in stormy weather. In India he has become a regular river-god under the name Khwādja Khiḍr [*q.v.*], who is represented sitting on a fish. Clermont-Ganneau and Friedländer sought the origin of the figure mainly in this direction, the latter on the assumption that the Greek Glaukos legend reached the Muslims through a Syriac intermediary (*op. cit.*, 107 ff.). But apart from the fact that we know nothing of any such intermediary, a connection between al-Khaḍir and Glaukos would only explain one aspect of the former; nor would it tell us anything about the origin of the figure. Indeed, one may doubt whether it is right to seek for the origin of a figure so complicated as al-Khaḍir, who has characteristics in common with Utnapishtim, with Alexander's cook and other figures.

There are other things to be considered. In a number of Arabic explanations of the name, al-Khaḍir is conceived not as belonging to the sea but to the vegetable kingdom. "He sat on a white skin and it became green" (e.g. al-Nawawī on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v, 135; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 168). "The skin", adds al-Nawawī, "is the earth". Al-Diyārbakrī (i, 106) is still more definite. "The skin is the earth when it puts forth shoots and becomes green after having been bare". According to ʿUmāra, al-Khaḍir is told at the spring of life: "Thou art Chadhir and where thy feet touch it, the earth will become green" (Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 145). Wherever he stands or performs the *ṣalāt*, it will become green (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*; al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, iv, 336). These are statements (especially the last) which remind us of a Messianic passage in the Old Testament: "Behold the man whose name is the branch and he shall grow up out of his place" (Zechariah, vi, 12). Al-Khaḍir is really connected with two Messianic figures—with Elijah [see ILYĀS] and with Jesus; these three form with Idrīs [*q.v.*] the quartette of those who have not tasted death (*Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, i, 107).

The variations in the character of al-Khaḍir result in different views regarding his nature. If he is a prophet (see *Iṣāba*, 882 ff.), it remains doubtful whether he is to be included among the Apostles (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, 135). He is, however, also human, angelic, mundane and celestial (al-Ṭabarī, i, 544, 798). Popular piety as well as Ṣūfī circles readily regard him as a saint (*walī*). According to one Ṣūfī view, every age has its Khaḍir, in so far as the *Naḳīb al-awliyāʾ* for the time being is al-Khaḍir (*Iṣāba*, 891). As *walī*, if three times appealed to, he protects men against theft, drowning, burning, kings and devils, snakes and scorpions (*Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, i, 107; *Iṣāba*, 903). Sky and sea and all quarters of the earth obey his sway; he is God's *khalīfa* on the sea and his *wakīl* on land; he can make himself invisible at will (ʿUmāra, in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 145). He flies through the air, meets Elijah on the dam of Alexander and makes the pilgrimage to Mecca with him every year (cf. *Iṣāba*, 904 ff.). Every Friday he drinks from the Zamzam well, and Solomon's pond and washes in the well of Siloam (*Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, i, 107; Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 148-9, 151); he can find water below the ground and talks the languages of all peoples (al-Ṣūrī, in Friedländer, 184).

His immortality is particularly emphasised (cf. Rückert's poem "Chidher"; ʿUmāra in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 145; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, 1; *Iṣāba*, 887 ff., 892, 895). According to the *Iṣāba*, 882, he was given immortality after a conversation with his friend, the angel Rafāʾīl, in order to establish the true worship of God on the earth and maintain it. Ibn Ḥadjar describes a meeting between al-Khaḍir and Muḥammad in various versions (*Iṣāba*, 899 ff.). On meetings with individuals who lived at a later date see *ibid.*, 908 ff.; on the table which was let down to him from heaven, see *ibid.*, 919; on his presence at the battle of Ḳādisiyya, see *Murūdj al-dhahab*, iv, 216.

He lives in Jerusalem and performs his *ṣalāt* every Friday in the mosques of Mecca, Medīna, Jerusalem, Ḳubāʾ and on the Mount of Olives; his food is *kamʾa* and water-parsley (*Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, i, 107; *Iṣāba*, 889-90, 904).

On his marriages we have as early as classical *ḥadīth* (Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, *bāb* 23) a legend also mentioned by al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 193 ff., which in its main features must have come from Christian sources. It is the motif of the pious youth who, married by his parents against his will, persuades his young wife to preserve her virginity (cf. the Syriac *Acts of Thomas*, 2nd Praxis). The story links up with that of Pharaoh's daughter's handmaid.

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(A. J. WENSINCK*)

KHAḌĪR, BANŪ (sing. Khaḍīrī), a generic term in Nadjd [*q.v.*] for Arabs of dubious ancestry, i.e. not recognised as descendants of either ʿAdnān or Ḳaḥṭān [see DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB. vi. Ethnography]. The derivation of the term is uncertain.

In any case, it is not to be taken as the name of a tribe, though there are sections of Banū Khaḍīr in various towns of Nadjd (see the tentative list in Lorimer, ii, 1004).

Many of Banū Khaḍīr are tillers of the soil for Arabs of pure descent who own the land they work. Rarely is a Khaḍīrī himself a landowner. Banū Khaḍīr as cultivators are numerous in the oases of al-Aflādj, Ḥawṭat Banī Tamīm and its neighbours, al-ʿĀriḍ, Sudayr, and al-Ḳaṣīm [*qq.v.*], as well as west of the Ṭuwayḳ escarpment in Ḍarmā and al-Ḳuwayʿiyya.

Men of Banū Khaḍīr, however, often rise above the rank of common labourer. When the British official and explorer Philby first became acquainted with the court of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd in 1336/1917-18, Khaḍīrīs were serving the Wahhābī ruler as treasurer and as master of ceremonies, while others, along with slaves, made up the bulk of his bodyguard. At least three of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's early secretaries were Khaḍīrīs, and the brother of one of these went on to become his powerful Minister of Finance.

In the old Arabia, Banū Khaḍīr were subjected to a strong tabu: no matter how high a station in life a Khaḍīrī held, any Arab of pure descent, humble though his circumstances might be, would flatly refuse to give him a daughter as his bride. In the new Arabia of the later 20th century, with great changes taking place in the economic and social structure, this tabu may be weakening.

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AL-KHAḌIR, DJAZĪRAT, a name given by the Arabs to Abbādān [*q.v.*], because al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] is supposed to have appeared there. According to a legend, a ragged man appeared on the bank of the Bahmānshīr canal and asked the master of a passing sailing-boat to ferry him across. The master refused. Thereupon the stranger ordered the boat to come to the spot where he was standing, pulled it out of the water by the anchor chain, and left it high and dry. Then he disappeared. Farmers of the neighbourhood built a mud wall around the boat. The wall was repaired by a builder, called Usta Djum'a, in 906/1501. In 953/1546, a shrine with a cupola was built and the alleged anchor of the boat hung up inside. The shrine is now an object of pilgrimage.

(V. Melkonian)

AL-KHAḌIR, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN (the name al-Khaḍir/al-Khiḍr being adopted during his stay in the east), scholar, poet and writer of Tunisian origin. He was born at Nefṭa in 26 Radjab 1293/21 July 1876, and studied first at a Ḳurʾānic school before coming with his family to Tunis in 1888. In 1889 he entered the Great Mosque for his secondary studies and followed the courses of ʿUmar b. Shaykh, Muḥammad Nadjdjār and Sālim Būḥādjib, who were known for their reformist ideas. He gained the *taṭwīʿ* or diploma of completion of secondary studies in 1989, and began to teach at the Zaytūna, interrupted his career to make a trip to the east, but halted at Tripoli and ended up by retracing his steps in 1889. He subsequently began his activities by founding the first Tunisian journal in Arabic, *al-Saʿāda al-ʿuẓmā*, in 1322/1904. He was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Bizerta in 1905 and continued to teach at the town's Great Mosque, then left his post and took up his teaching post at the Zaytūna in 1906. His first lecture during this year, at the council of the Association of Former Ṣādiḳians, was on the subject "Freedom in Islam". In 1907 he passed succesfully a competitive examination for the teaching qualification, and in the next year began to lecture at the Ṣādiḳī College. According to Mahdī ʿAllām, he refused a post as magistrate on the mixed tribunal, and entered the Khaldūniyya, completing three courses in the highest establishments of the capital. During this period, he gave lectures on "the evolution of the Arabic language", *iṣlāḥ* and Ibn Khaldūn, and encouraged his peoples at the Zaytūna to demand reforms in the teaching programmes. In 1902 he made a journey to Algiers and had made various contacts with his old pupils and with the local scholars.

In 1912 his uncle Muḥammad al-Makkī b. ʿAzzūz left for Istanbul, and this may have given him the notion of definitively leaving Tunisia for a new sphere of action, the east. Hence in this same year, he moved permanently to the Near East and toured through most of the Arab lands. At this time, he was appointed professor at the *Madrasa sulṭāniyya* in Damascus, but his political activities, envisaging a better Arab-Turkish understanding, irritated Djemāl Pasha, who imprisoned him for endangering the state's security. Six months later, on 29 January 1917, he was set free, probably on the intervention of the Sublime Porte, and summoned to Istanbul to work with the Arabic correspondence section of the Ministery of War. In the Ottoman capital he met various of his Tunisian compatriots, some of whom had been exiled for their "subversive" activities, sc. ʿAlī Bāsh Ḥanba, Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥanba, Ṣāliḥ Sharīf and Ismāʿīl Ṣfayhī.

Still believing that it was possible to save the caliphate, he and others of his compatriots put themselves at the service of the Ottomans and was given charge of a special mission to Berlin concerned with arranging the escape of North African soldiers serving in the French army; the Porte had promised its supporters in the Maghrib to help them with these deserters for a war of liberation in the Maghrib.

After the war, he returned to Damascus and taught at the military college, at the Ottoman school and at the *Madrasa sulṭāniyya*. In 1919 he was appointed as a member of the Damascus Academy, but soon left the Syrian capital in 1920 in order to escape from the French authorities, who would certainly have called him to account for his pro-Ottoman activities in Berlin. He only returned there in 1937, and then only for a two months' stay.

In 1920 al-Khaḍir settled in Cairo, and had excellent relations with the Taymūr family; and in 1923 he founded the Association of North African Colonies. The work of ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm*, which appeared in 1925 (tr. L. Bercher, in *REI* (1933), 353-90, and (1934), 163-222), and that of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn on pre-Islamic poetry (1926) drove the *shaykh* to reply in two *naḳḍs* which placed him in the public eye in Egypt when they appeared respectively in 1926 and 1927. The first work contains the same number of chapters (nine) as ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ's, and is dedicated to King Fuʾād, who was considered by certain *ʿulamāʾ*, including al-Khaḍir, as the best qualified person to assume the caliphate. In it, al-Khaḍir succinctly summarises each of the original author's chapters and then refutes his arguments; in his opinion, the caliphate is far from being a religious obligation, since Islam leaves to its adherents freedom to choose the form of government

most suitable for them. But to argue from this that Islam separates the temporal from the spiritual, and has no political traditions, is to misunderstand the very message of the Prophet.

According to him, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's work is at fault because it denigrates the Arab-Muslim heritage, and even that of Islam. Again following the same plan as the original author, al-Khaḍir tries to show that the former, the follower of Descartes and Margoliouth, expressly passes over in silence the methodical spirit of an al-Ghazālī or Ibn Khaldūn, with the manifest aim of discrediting the great figures of Islamic civilisation. Did not the old *ruwāt* themselves express doubts about some pre-Islamic poetry?

In 1926, al-Khaḍir founded the *al-Hidāya al-Islāmiyya* society and became editor of its journal, bearing the same name. The editorship of the journal *Nūr al-Islām*, founded in 1929 and which in 1955 became the journal of the Azhar, *Madjallat al-Azhar*, was also entrusted to him. In 1932 he became an Egyptian subject and was made a member of the Cairo Academy, of which he remained a permanent member until his death. He began to lecture at the Azhar, and his career reached its culmination in 1952 when he became rector of this celebrated institution. He left this post in 1954, after the ejection from power of General Nadjīb (Neguib), and died in Cairo four years later, on 13 Radjab 1377/2 February 1958.

The list of his works is very long. Several articles and lectures, published in Tunis or the east in the form of epistles, have been collected together into books as part of a general edition under his nephew, ʿAlī Riḍā al-Tūnisī. One may cite here: *Khawāṭir al-ḥayāt* (*dīwān*); *Naḳd K. al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm*; *Naḳd K. Fī 'l-shiʿr al-djāhilī*; *al-Sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*; *Balāghat al-Ḳurʾān*; *Tūnis wa-Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*; *Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*; *al-Ḳiryās fiʾl-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*; *al-Khiṭāba ʿind al-ʿArab*; *ʿUlamāʾ al-Islām fi 'l-Andalus*; *al-Khayāl fi 'l-shiʿr al-ʿarabī.*

Bibliography: Mahdī ʿAllām, *al-Madjmaʿiyyūn*, Cairo 1966, 158; Fāḍil b. ʿĀshūr, *Arkān al-nahḍa al-adabiyya*, 39; Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Mudjīl fi 'l-adab al-Tūnisī*, Tunis 1968, 333; Sh. Ghirbāl, *al-Mawsūʿa al-ʿarabiyya al-muyassara*, Cairo 1965; A. M. Kerrū, *Aʿlām mansiyyūn*, in *al-ʿAmal*, Tunis (supplement of 21.2.69 to 18.4.69).

(J. Majed)

KHʷĀDJA (P.), a title used in many different senses in Islamic lands. In earlier times it was variously used of scholars, teachers, merchants, ministers and eunuchs. In mediaeval Egypt, according to Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 13, it was a title for important Persian and other foreign merchants (cf. *CIA*, *Égypte*, i, no. 24). In Sāmānid times, with the epithet *buzurg* "great", it designated the head of the bureaucracy; later it was a title frequently accorded to wazirs, teachers, writers, rich men, and merchants. In the Ottoman Empire it was used of the *ulema*, and in the plural form *Khʷādjegān* [*q.v.*] designated certain classes of civilian officials. In modern Turkey, pronounced Hodja (modern orthography *hoca*) it designates the professional men of religion, but is used as a form of address for teachers in general. In Egypt and the Levant (pronounced Khawāga or Khawādja), it was used for merchants, then more particularly for non-Muslim merchants, and then as a more or less polite form of address for non-Muslims in general. In India it designates those Ismāʿīlīs who follow the Agha Khān.

Bibliography: Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *Alḳāb*, 229-30; Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 410.

(Ed.)

KHʷĀDJA-I DJAHĀN, title of high dignitaries in various sultanates of India, notably the sultanate of Dihlī, the Bahmanids, and the sultanate of Madura. It seems to have first been used during the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (724-52/1324-51), gradually replacing *ṣadr-i ʿālī* as the honorific title of the *wazīr* (I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the sultanate of Dehlī*[4], Karachi 1958, 85, with further references); the title was later accorded to other very high officials. Many such officials are known to history by this title (sometimes qualified by a *nisba* or *laḳab*) rather than by their personal names, of whom the most important are the following:

1. Khʷādja-i Djahān Aḥmad Ayāz (?668-752/?1270-1351), who early in the 8th/14th century had held office as *kōtwāl* of Sirī under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and the later Khaldjīs, received the title of Khʷādja-i Djahān on Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's accession in 724/1324 (Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, ed. Bib. Ind., 98) and became his *wazīr*, inferior in dignity only to the sulṭān's nephew Fīrūz b. Radjab [see Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ]; although effective power in the *dīwān-i wizārat* was exercised (according to Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. Bib. Ind., 394-6) by the *nāʾib wazīr*, Khān-i Djahān Tilangānī [*q.v.*]. His period of office is most remembered for his "rebellion", which seems rather to have been a grave indiscretion, at the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's death: the whereabouts of Fīrūz were not known, and it was rashly assumed that he had been killed by the Mongols; the Khʷādja placed a boy of six, of unknown paternity, on the throne, asserting that he was a son of sulṭān Muḥammad. When the delayed news of Fīrūz's accession, on his campaign in Sind, reached Dihlī, the Khʷādja-i Djahān panicked instead of submitting immediately and delivering up the puppet. The other nobles, seeing the 84-year-old Khʷādja-i Djahān as the highest representative of the despotic reign of sulṭān Muḥammad, demanded his execution; whereupon the old man, anticipating his destruction, caused a friend to decapitate him privately. (Discussion in M. Habib and Afsar Begam, *Political theory of the Delhi sultanat*, 159 ff.).

2. Malik Sarwar, who had been *shaḥna-i shahr* under Fīrūz b. Radjab and his successor Abū Bakr, supported Fīrūz's son Muḥammad against the latter and was given the title of Khʷādja-i Djahān, *ca.* 791/1389 (Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, 146), although when Muḥammad succeeded to the throne in 792/1390 Khʷādja-i Djahān were merely *nāʾib wazīr*. He later succeeded to the wazīrate, and retained it under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sikandar and Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. The latter appointed him governor of Djawnpur in 796/1394, with the title of *sulṭān al-sharḳ*, and when Maḥmūd fled before Tīmūr's advance Sarwar had the *khuṭba* read in Djawnpur in his own name. For his subsequent history see Sharḳids.

3. Khʷādja Surūr, *ḳāʾid al-baḥr* in the Madura sultanate in *ca.* 745/1344, was appointed *wazīr* and entitled Khʷādja-i Djahān "after the fashion at Dihlī", according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 204), who adds that a fixed fine was prescribed for any who should address him differently.

4. The earliest instance of the title among the Bahmanids appears on the accession of Ismāʿīl Mukh as the first independent sultan of the Deccan in 747/1346, when it was bestowed on Nūr al-Dīn, one of the *amīrān-i ṣada* of Dawlatābād (ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, 500 ff.). When Ismāʿīl Shāh abdicated in favour of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the

first of the Bahmanids, the title of Khʷādja-i Djahān was given to:

5. Aʿẓam-i Humāyūn, son of the *wazīr* (and the sultan's father-in-law) Sayf al-Dīn Ghōrī [*q.v.*], who was appointed governor of the Bahmanids' Tilangānā province.

6. Khʷādja-i Djahān Astarābādī figures as the *wazīr* of the sultan's ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II in 839/1436, the first clear instance of the title going to one of the foreign (Āfāḳī) faction whom the sultan favoured at the expense of the local Dakhnīs.

7. On his accession in 862/1458 Humāyūn Shāh also favoured the Āfāḳī faction, appointing Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] *wazīr* and *wakīl-i sulṭana*, and Malik Shāh, said to be of Čingizid descent, *ṭarafdār* of Tilingānā with the title of Khʷādja-i Djahān; he is usually referred to as Khʷādja-i Djahān Turk. He was distinguished as a general in this reign and that of the minor Aḥmad III (865-7/1461-3), in which he was a member of the council of regency. The animosity of the dowager queen caused him to be murdered in 870/1465-6.

8. A "local" noble, Khʷādja-i Djahān Dakhnī, figures as the Bahmanids' governor of Pārendā *ca.* 900/1495, supporting the Bahmanids and their Barīdī ministers against the breakaway factions in Bīdjāpur and Aḥmadnagar.

Bibliography: given in the article. For the Bahmanī nobles see also H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan*, i Hyderabad 1973, index s.v. Khwāja-i Jahān.

(J. Burton-Page)

KHʷĀDJA KHIḌR (or khizr in India), is in many part of India identified with a river-god or spirit of wells and streams. He is mentioned in the *Sikandar-nāma* as the saint who presided over the well of immortality. The name was naturalised in India, and Hindūs as well as Muslims reverence him; it is sometimes converted by Hindūs into Rādja Ḳidār. On the Indus the saint is often identified with the river, and he is sometimes to be seen as an old man clothed in green. A man who escapes drowning is spoken of as evading Khʷādja Khizr (Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, i, 221). In a poem by a Balūč regarding a fight on the Indus, a boat is unloosed "to float on the Khʷādja's waves", and it is asserted "the Khʷādja himself will remember that battle". (*Popular poetry of the Baloches*, i, 74), and by one poet his name is substituted for that of Mīkāʾīl as one of the archangels. His principal shrine is on an island of the Indus near Bakhar, which is resorted to by devotees of both creeds (*Sind Revisited*, ii, 226). Manucci, who was present at the siege of Bakhar in 1069/1658, alludes to this shrine under the name of Coia Quitan. Burnes also mentions it in his *Travels into Bokhara*.

The saint is believed to ride upon a fish, which was adopted as a crest by the Kings of Oudh, and appears on their coins. Possibly in this case there is also a survival of the fish-avatār of Vishnu. Muslims offer prayers to Khʷādja Khiḍr at the first shaving of a boy, and a little boat is launched at the same time, as also at the close of the rainy season. See further al-khaḍir.

Bibliography: Crooke, *Popular religion and folklore of North India*, London 1896; R. Burton, *Sind revisited*, London 1877; Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, i, Bombay 1884; M. Longworth Dames, *Popular poetry of the Baloches*, London 1907; W. Irvine, *Storia do Mogor* (*Manucci*), London 1907; A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, London 1834; J. Wise, *Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal*, in *JASB*, lxiii/3 (1894), 38 ff.; Jaʿfar Shariff-G. A. Herklots, *Islam in India, or the Qānūn-i-Islām*, London 1832, repr. 1972, 38-9, 67, 135-6.

(M. Longworth Dames*)

KHʷĀDJA Muʿīn al-dīn Ḥasan Sidjzī. [see čishtī]

KHʷĀDJA-ZĀDE. [see khōdja-zāde]

KHʷĀDJEGĀN-i DĪWĀN-i HUMĀYŪN, a title given to the heads of the imperial chancery of the Ottomans. Although the date of its origin is uncertain, the title was certainly known in the 10th/16th century (Hüseyin Hezārfen, *Telkhīṣ ül-beyān fī ḳavānin-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, 160a, 161a, 177a, etc.; Tevḳīʿī ʿAbdurraḥmān Pasha, *Ḳānūnnāmesi*, in *MTM*, iii (Istanbul 1331), 520; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, repr. 1963, i, 93, ii, iii, ff. 127 ff.; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman empire*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913, 168 f.). Because the title of *khʷādjegān* was bestowed annually, the term *khʷādjegānlïḳ* became a synonym for *manṣab* ("high office", "rank") and *meʾmūriyyet* ("official duty"). Those officials who were subordinate to the chief clerks (*ḳalem reʾīsleri*), sc. the holders of *khʷādjegānlïḳ* posts, were called "assistants" (*khalīfe*) of the *khʷādjegān* or "pupils" (*shāgird*) of the *khʷādjegān*s. From the mid-11th/17th century onwards, the application of the term widened, and it was also given to various officials additional to the chief clerks of the *dīwān*. The conferment of the *khʷādjegān* rank and the retention of the *khʷādjegān*s in their offices always took place in the first half of the month of Shawwāl each year (Čelebi-Zāde Ismāʿīl ʿĀṣim, *Dheyl-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1282, 169, 266, 379, 465; Česhmī-Zāde Muṣṭafā Reshīd, *Česhmī-Zāde Taʾrīkhi*, ed. Bekir Kütükoğlu, Istanbul 1959, 21; for a conferment made in Ṣafar, however, see Rāshid Meḥmed, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, v, 123). For this ceremony, the Grand Vizier would prepare a conferment list and present it to the sultan for approval; if it was desired to dismiss an official holding the title of *khʷādjegān*, he would write three names on the list, and because it was known that the last name was the name of the person preferred by the Grand Vizier, the sultan would appoint him. (For the 6th Shawwāl 1134/20th July 1722 list of *khʷādjegān* conferment, see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 152, n. 1; for an undated conferment list of a later period, see Başbakanık Arşivi, A-TSF.).

In the 10th/16th century, there were 25 chief clerks forming the *khʷādjegān* group. In a document belonging to the first half of the 11th/17th century, they numbered 15: the chief finance officer *Defterdār*, the *Defterdār* of Rumelia, the *Defterdār* of Anatolia, the *Nishāndji*, the *Defterdār* of the Danube, Chief Secretary (*Reʾīs ül-kuttāb*), the Senior *Rūznāmečedji* (Clerk in charge of financial transactions), the Junior *Rūznāmečedji*, the *Čāwūshbashi*, the Chief Accountant (*Bash muḥāsebedji*), the Accountant of Anatolia, the Accountant of the *Kharādj*, the Accountant of the *Awḳāf*, the Chief tax farmer (*Muḳāṭaʿadjī*) and the Tax farmer of Istanbul (*Kemānkesh Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha Lāyiḥasi*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat, in *TV*, 1/6 (Istanbul 1942), 454).

By the mid-12th/18th century, because the *khʷādjegānlïḳ* was also conferred on those who did not hold an official post, the numbers of people holding this rank grew to several times more than the holders of the actual office. Junior officials, besides the chief clerks, might now have the title, such as the clerk of a Pasha's treasury. Such a person thereby had the opportunity of being promoted to a higher post; when dismissed from this office his name would be

rubbed out from the register of *khʷādjegāns* (*khʷādjegī defteri*) in order to give an opportunity for other officials (cf. the procedure applied to Yūsuf Efendi, the Junior *Awḳāf* Accountant, described in Aḥmed Wāṣif, *Maḥāsin ül-āthār we-ḥaḳā'iḳ ül-akhbār*, Istanbul Archaeology Museum Library, no. 355, f. 101). One notes the excessive number of those holding this rank. In 1180/1766 the officials included in the *khʷādjegān-i Dīwān-i Humāyūn* were as follows: the General Deputy to the Grand Vizier, the *Defterdār* of the *Shiḳḳ-i evvel* (the finance accounts of the first division of the Ottoman Empire relating to Turkey in Europe), the *Re'is ül-kuttāb*, the *Čāwūshbashi*, the first secretary to the Grand Vizier (*Tedhkire-i evvel*), the Master of court ceremonies, the Secretary to the Grand Vizier, the head of the government chancery office (*Beylikdji*), the Secretary to the Ketkhudā Beg, the *Defterdār* of the *Shiḳḳ-i thānī* (the second financial division of the Ottoman Empire, comprising Anatolia), the *Defterdār* of the *Shiḳḳ-i thālith* (the third division of the Ottoman Empire, including Hungary, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Arabia), the Master of the Mint, the Prefect of the City (*Shehr emīni*), the *Emīn* of the Register, the Second Secretary to the Grand Vizier, the Senior *Rūznāmečedji*, the Chief Accountant, the Accountant of Anatolia, the Secretary to the Janissaries, the Overseer of the Kitchen, the Collector of Documents for the Cavalry (*Atlï muḳābeledjisi*), the Accountant of the *Ḥaramayn* (Mecca and Medina), the Accountant of the *djizya*, the *Arpa Emīni*, the *Māliyye tedhkiredjiliği*, the Controller of the Office of Suspended Payments (*Mevḳūfātdji*), the Overseer of Ṭopkhāne (*Ṭopkhāne nāẓïrï*), the Secretary of the *Sipahīs*, the Secretary of the *Silāḥdārs*, the Junior *Rūznāmečedji*, the Collector of Documents for the Infantry (*Piyāde muḳābeledjisi*), the Junior Accountant of the *Awḳāf*, the *Kalyonlar kātibi* (sc. the clerk who provided supplies for the galleons and kept the accounts), the Secretary for Expenditure, the Secretary of the *Djebedji*s, the Overseer of the Arsenal, the Chief Secretary of the Fortress (*Büyük ḳal'e tedhkiredjisi*), the Chief tax Farmer (*Bash Muḳāṭa'adjï*), the Junior Secretary of the Fortress (*Küčük ḳal'e tedhkiredjisi*), the Tax Farmer of the *Ḥaramayn*, the Tax Farmer of Istanbul, the Tax Farmer of the *Khāṣṣ* revenues, the *Emīn* of the *Kāghid-i bīrūn*, the *Emīn* of the *Kāghid-i Enderūn*, the *Ta'rīkhdjilik*, the Tax Farmer of Bursa, the Tax Farmer of Avlonya and Egriboz, the Overseer of payments from the treasury (*Sergi nāẓïrï*), the Secretary of the gun-carriage drivers, the Secretary of the *'ulūfedjiyān-i yemīn*, the Secretary of the *'ulūfedjiyān-i yesār*, the Secretary of the right wing of the *Ghürebā* cavalry, the Secretary of left wing of the *Ghürebā* cavalry, and the *Emīn* of the Istanbul powder-factory, in total 53 officials (Česhmi-Zāde Muṣṭafā Reshīd, *op. cit.*, 20-1, compare this list with the ones who were in the *Khʷādjegān-i Dīwān-i Humāyūn* in 1167/1754, in Aḥmed Wāṣif, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1219, 33-4. For their places in the state ceremonies, see Nā'ilī 'Abdullāh Pasha, *Dīwān-i Humāyūn'a 'ā'id teshrīfāt*, in *TTEM*, xciii (1926), 258 ff.).

The *Khʷādjegān* system continued in the same manner until 1249/1833. Thereafter the conferring of titles and appointments started to be made in Sha'bān, superfluous appointments were abolished, and civil servants were divided into four categories (Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Nukhbet ül-weḳāyi'*, Istanbul n.d. 21-2). In 1250/1834, when the Ministry of the Civil Service (*Mülkiyye neẓāreti*) was established, part of the *Khʷādjegān* was incorporated in it, and thus a new scheme of rank and promotions was formed (Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *op. cit.*, 40-1; for the innovations in the field of administration after 1254/1838, see Luṭfī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1302, v, 114). The rank no longer had any importance, since every clerk who could write and express himself well was given the title of *Khʷādjegān*; in 1254/1838 it was therefore decided that the rank of *Khʷādjegān* should be conferred on those who could qualify by examination (Luṭfī, *op. cit.*, v, 102, 126). But it had now lost almost all its prestige. It maintained its existence as a minor rank given to the office clerks (*Ḳalem āmirleri*) among the new ranks invented after the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms (Luṭfī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1328, viii, 155-6. For the status of the rank in 1270/1854, see Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *op. cit.*, 280, and see also M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlügü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 695).

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(CENGİZ ORHONLU)

KHʷĀDJŪ, KAMĀL AL-DĪN ABU 'L-'AṬĀ' MAḤMŪD B. 'ALĪ, a Persian poet.

1. Life. He was born, as stated in the epilogue of his *Gul u Nawrūz*, on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 689/24 Dec. 1290, in Kirmān (the date 15 Shawwāl 679/7 Feb. 1281, given by Browne, is erroneous). He spent a short part of his life in Kirmān where he received his education. Later he travelled widely and met several of his contemporaries amongst the poets, men of letters, and mystics, and became the disciple of Rukn al-Dīn 'Alā' al-Dawla of Simnān (d. 736/1345). He spent the latter part of his life in Shirāz, where *inter alios* he associated with his younger contemporary, the great Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791/1389) [*q.v.*], and enjoyed the patronage of the Indjū'id ruler Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū (742-54/1341-53) [see INDJŪ]. Besides Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū, his panegyrics were chiefly addressed to Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Bahādur (716-36/1316-35), the Muẓaffarid ruler Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad (713-59/1314-58) and their viziers. He died at Shīrāz in 753/1352 and is buried there. Browne, *LHP*, iii, 229, remarks that "... his verse, while graceful and pleasing, lacks any conspicuous distinction or excellence". However, contrary to Browne's remark, Khʷādjū ranks amongst the great Persian poets. Even in his lifetime, he attained celebrity throughout Persia, especially as an ingenious and skilful *ghazal-writer*, and Ḥāfiẓ himself took him for his model in several of his *ghazal*s (Suhaylī, 47-54; Shafaḳ, 481).

2. Works. (a) His *Dīwān*, containing *ḳaṣīda*s, *ghazal*s, *tarkīb*s, *rubā'ī*s, etc., in two parts, *Ṣanāyi' al-Kamāl* and *Badāyi' al-Djamāl* (in 10,736 and 4,340 *bayt*s respectively), an edition of which was printed at Tehran by A. Suhaylī-Khʷānsārī in 1336/1957.

(b) His *Khamsa*, in imitation of Niẓāmī's poem, consisting of: 1. *Humāy u Humāyūn*, a romantic *mathnawī*, in the metre of the *Iskandar-nāma*, containing 4,407 *bayt*s. In addition to having the *Iskandar-nāma* as a model, the poem seems to be an imitation of the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. The prologue contains the *madḥ* of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd and his vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad. Composed at Baghdād in 732/1331-2, the poem was printed at Bombay in 1289/1872.

2. *Gul u Nawrūz*, also a romantic poem, in the metre of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, consisting of 2,615 *bayt*s. It was composed, according to the epilogue, in 742/1341-2, and dedicated to Tādj al-Dīn Aḥmad 'Irāḳī. The poem, as stated in the text, is a translation from Hindī and definitely passes for the first poem of Khʷādjū's *Khamsa*.

3. *Kamāl-nāma*, a mystical *mathnawī* in the metre of *Haft Paykar*, composed in 744/1343-4. It is divided into twelve *bābs* and 1,849 *bayts*. In the prologue the poet praises Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm of Kāzarūn (d. 426/1035), and in the epilogue addresses Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ, the ruler of Shirāz.

4. *Rawḍāt al-Anwār*, also a mystical poem, in the metre of the *Makhzan al-Asrār*, consisting of 20 *maḳālas* and 2,224 *bayts*. Composed in 743/1342-3, the poem is addressed to Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd Sāʿin, the vizier of Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū. This poem was printed at Tehran in 1307/1928.

5. *Gawhar-nāma*, on ethics and mysticism, in the metre of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, composed in 746/1345-6, consisting of 1,032 *bayts*. The dedication is to Amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad and his vizier Bahāʾ al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

(c) Other compositions: *Sām-nāma*, a romantic *mathnawī* in *mutaḳārib* metre; *Mafātīḥ al-Ḳulūb wa Maṣābīḥ al-Ghuyūb*, a selection of Khʷādjū's poems; and three *risālas* in prose: *Risālat al-Bādiya*, *Sabʿ al-Mathānī*, and, *Munāẓara-i Shams wa Saḥāb*.

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, 249 ff.; *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i, 818; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 222-9; Khʷādjū-i Kirmānī, *Dīwān-i Ashʿār*, ed. Aḥmad Suhaylī Khʷānsārī, Tehran 1336/1957, introd., Ṣ. R. Z. Shafaḳ, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyyāt-i Īrān*, Shiraz 1352/1973, 479-88.

(Iraj Dehghan)

KHʷĀF, older orthography (e.g. in Ibn Rusta, 171) Khʷāb, a *rustāḳ* or rural district of Ḳūhistān in eastern Persia, lying between the district of Bākharz [*q.v.*] to the north and that of Ḳāʾin to the southwest, and adjacent to the modern Iran-Afghānistān border. The geographers of the 4th/10th century mention the towns there of Salūmak (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 103, Salūmīdh), Fardjird and Kusūy(a), the latter being especially populous. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, ii, 399, describes the district as having 200 villages and three significant towns, Sandjān, Sirāwand and Khardjird. Also reckoned by some authorities as belonging to the Khʷāf district was the important town of Zawzan; indeed, Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī includes this with Sandjān and Salāma as the three chief towns there. Topographically bounded on the northeast by the Kūh-i Khʷāf, which rises to 8,260 feet (2,517 metres), the comparatively sheltered and fertile Khʷāf plain is described by the Islamic geographers as populous and prosperous agriculturally, producing excellent fruits, the dyestuff madder, and cotton and silk textiles; Mustawfī additionally mentions iron workings there (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. 152, 194).

In the early Islamic period, this rather isolated region was one where Zoroastrianism survived tenaciously; the Zoroastrian rebel Bih-ʾāfrīd [*q.v.*] came from here, and a fire temple existed there well into Islamic times (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 158). Subsequently, however, the region produced a good number of Islamic scholars and literary men, so that Zawzan was called "little Baṣra" from their numerousness. Hence Samʿānī and Yāḳūt list several scholars with the *nisbas* of "al-Khʷāfī" and "al-Zawzanī" (see Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad 1382-6/1962-6, v, 219-21, vi, 342-5, and Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*,) including Abū ʿAbd-Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Zawzanī (d. 486/1093), author of a famous commentary on the *Muʿallaḳāt*, see *GAL*, I², 342-3, S I, 35, and Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 249-50; and Abū Manṣūr ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Khʷāfī (d. 480/1087), mathematician and scholar in Baghdād, author of a refutation of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī called the *Radjmat al-ʿifrīt*, see Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 222-3. Another native of the area was Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khʷāfī, who was a protégé of the Tīmūrids of Harāt in the first half of the 9th/15th century and who wrote a well-known historical and biographical compendium, the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, see Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, iii, 426-8, and Storey, i, 90-1.

In the course of the 6th/12th century, Ḳūhistān, and Khʷāf and Zawzan in particular, became centres of Ismāʿīlī activity, perhaps continuing the earlier traditions of heterodoxy there; hence in 654/1256 the Assassin stronghold of Khʷāf was stormed by Hülegü's Mongol hordes, with a general massacre of the adult inhabitants (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 615-16; see also P. R. E. Willey, *The Assassins in Quhistan*, in *Jnal. of the Royal Central Asian Soc.*, lv (1968), 180-3). Not surprisingly, the succeeding period seems to have been one of economic and social regression for the district; whereas Yāḳūt had recorded 200 villages there, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (early 9th/15th century), recorded only 30 (see I. P. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 496-7). It nevertheless retained some cultural vitality, and Mustawfī comments favourably on the devout Ḥanafī faith of the people of Khʷāf, who were much given to works of charity and to going on pilgrimage. One of the finest surviving monuments of the Khʷāf district dates from the Tīmūrid period, sc. the *madrasa* of Khargird, begun by the architect Ḳiwām al-Dīn Shīrāzī for two of Shāh Rukh's ministers, Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ and Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad Khʷāfī (see Sir Percy Sykes, *Historical notes on Khurasan*, in *JRAS* (1910), 1148-51, and *Survey of Persian art*, iii, 1126-8).

In recent times, the name "Khʷāf" has been used both for the district and for its chief town, also called Rūy-i Khʷāf, near Khargird. Travellers such as C. E. Yate (1894) and Sykes (1705) visited it and described it during the late Ḳādjār period. Yate found the centre Rūy-i Khʷāf much decayed, with *ca.* 800 inhabited houses, all of whose denizens were Sunnīs, but over half the houses in ruins; the silk industry had died out and had been replaced by the cultivation of opium and tabacco (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh-London 1900, 127-33; Sykes, *A fifth journey in Persia*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, xxviii (1906), 580-2). At the present time, Khʷāf forms one of the five component *bakhshs* of the *shahrastān* of Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya in the *ustān* or province of Khurāsān, and this administrative subdivision also includes Zawzan; see *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, ix, 153, 201.

Bibliography: given in the article, but for the information of classical Islamic geographers, see also Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, 213-14, 190-1, and Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 357-8; and for the present century, *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, 385-7.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHAFĀDJA, a subdivision of the Hawāzin tribe of ʿUḳail b. Kaʿb, which remained as powerful Bedouins longer than most of the other tribes which inhabited the Arabian Peninsula at the dawn of Islām. The genealogists give their affiliation to their kindred clans as Khafādja b. ʿAmr b. ʿUḳayl, and they were subdivided into eleven branches: Muʿāwiya Dhu'l-Ḳarḥ, Kaʿb Dhu'l-Nuwayra, al-Aḳraʿ, Kaʿb al-Aṣghar, ʿĀmir, Mālik, al-Haytham, al-Wāziʿ, ʿAmr, Ḥanz and Khālid. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, fol. 132b, the name of Khafādja is Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr. However, al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 204b, is

probably wrong in saying that Khafādja is a name of a woman. Unfortunately, our early sources do not provide us with important information concerning their dwelling-places in pre-Islamic Arabia, presumably because of Khafādja's assimilation with Banū ʿUḳayl out of whom they had emerged. However, from the scattered information found in the late sources, we know that they had their territory to the south-east of Medina and owned some villages, among which Sarw Lubn, al-Sharāʾin, Tathlīth, Thaʿlab and Orāl are mentioned. Later, we find them further to the east at war with the B. Ḥanīfa in al-Yamāma. According to Aṣmaʿī, in Yaḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 785, they had their dwellings in the 2nd/8th century in the desert near the Ruṣāfa settlement of the Umayyad Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. It is probable that the Ḳarmaṭī movement in al-Yamāma in the early part of the 4th/10th century caused them to move further northwards towards the borders of ʿIrāḳ. Here we find them towards the end of that century as masters of Kūfa under their *amīr* Thumāl and his sons. About this time also, we find them around al-Shām, al-Raḥba, Ḥalab and Ḥims, whilst al-Ḳalḳashandī mentions that one of their branches had settled in Lower Egypt.

They may have been at first allies of their cousins the Banū Yuzīd (not Bozīd as in Wüstenfeld's *Tabellen*, or Yazīd as otherwise stated) who established themselves as rulers of Mawṣil and the surrounding country, but were rather in opposition to them. In the year 391/1000 the ʿUḳaylid Ḳarwāsh attacked them in Kūfa and they were compelled to leave the lands and move along the Euphrates towards Syria, where they remained only till the following year, when the ʿAbbāsīd general Abū Djaʿfar al-Ḥadjdjādj called them to his aid when the ʿUḳaylīds besieged al-Madāʾin. This brought them again back to their ancient dwelling-places and as the Baghdād government had probably supplied them with arms, they utilised these a few years later in 402/1011 in an attack upon the pilgrim caravan. Emboldened by this attack, they demanded the lands to the east of the Euphrates which had been in the hands of the ʿUḳaylīds, and marched under the command of Sulṭān, ʿUlwān and Radjab, the three sons of Thumāl, to al-Anbar, laying the whole neighbourhood waste and besieging the town. An army sent against them from Baghdād and supported by the ʿUḳaylīds drove them out and Sulṭān was actually captured, but released upon the intercession of Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Mazyad al-Asadī. No sooner had he been released than in the following year (403/1012), news was received at Baghdād that the Khafādja were plundering the country round Kūfa under Sulṭān. An army was sent against them with support from Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Mazyad, and they were surprised at the river al-Rummān. Sulṭān escaped, but his brother Muḥammad was made a prisoner; as a result, many of the pilgrims, who had been captured in the year 403/1012, were liberated and reached Baghdād. Meanwhile, the ʿUḳaylīd *amīr* Ḳarwāsh had been captured and released, and he now tried to make common cause with the Khafādja and to join Sulṭān b. Thūmāl; but after their junction they were attacked by troops sent from Baghdād and routed, though subsequently pardoned. This gave a few years of comparative peace, but in 417/1026 Dubays b. ʿAlī b. Mazyad al-Asadī and Abu'l-Fityān Manīʿ b. Ḥassān, now chief of the Khafādja, ravaged the lands of Ḳarwāsh in the Sawād [*q.v.*], assisted by troops from Baghdād, and encountered Ḳarwāsh near Kūfa. Ḳarwāsh fled northwards and was pursued by the combined tribes of Asad and Khafādja, who actually took possession of al-Anbār; but after this success the two tribes dispersed again to their pasture grounds. Manīʿ b. Ḥassān then marched, with his followers to al-Djāmiʿayn [see AL-ḤILLA], which belonged to Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa b. Mazyad, and plundered the lands round it; when pursued by Dubays, they turned northwards and attacked al-Anbār. The inhabitants defended themselves for a while, but as the town was not protected by walls, the Khafādja were able to plunder and burn it. On the approach of Ḳarwāsh, they abandoned the town, but soon returned and looted it for a second time. When finally Ḳarwāsh was able to drive them out, he spent the winter in the town and ordered protective walls to be built. Manīʿ now swore allegiance to the Buwayhīd ruler Abū Kālidjār and marched southwards to Kūfa, where he had the *khuṭba* pronounced in the name of Abū Kālīdjar. This had the result that in 420/1029 Dubays severed his allegiance to Abū Kālīdjār, being afraid of the depredations of the Khafādja.

In the following years, the Khafādja sided sometimes with one party and at another time with the other, and when in 425/1033 Dubays had a quarrel with his brother Thābit, they sided with the former; but other quarrels also arose within the Khafādja chiefs, during which ʿAlī b. Thumāl was killed and his nephew al-Ḥasan b. Abī'l-Barakāt became tribal chief. When in 428/1036 the Ḥādjib Bārs Ṭūghān rebelled in Baghdād, the Caliph's general al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] employed among others the Khafādjā to quell the revolt, as a result of which Bārs Ṭūghān was executed. We do not hear much about the Khafādja for some years, but in 446/1054 they again made an inroad upon Dubays's town of al-Djāmiʿayn, which they plundered; al-Basāsīrī came to his assistance, and the Khafādja retreated into the desert. They were pursued and their stronghold Khaffān was besieged and apart from its citadel, razed to the ground. When al-Basāsīrī rebelled against the caliph in the same year, he took al-Anbār after a prolonged siege, and we find that among the prisoners he took there were 100 men of Khafādja. There again followed a period of comparative peace, but when in 485/1092 the pilgrims from Baghdād had passed Kūfa they were attacked by Khafādja. When this news reached Baghdād, troops were sent who caused great slaughter among the Khafādja, reducing considerably their future power to do serious damage.

In 499/1105 the Khafādja came into conflict with the Ṭayyiʾ tribe ʿUbāda over some stolen camels, and while the latter could muster about 500 warriors, Khafādja were unable to place a similar number into the field. However, with assistance from the Asadī chief Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr they were victorious. This success was, however, of short duration, as in the following year the tribe of ʿUbāda, now assisted by Badrān b. Ṣadaḳa, utterly routed the Khafādja, who were compelled to forsake their pasture grounds and wander northwards towards Syria, while ʿUbāda in future was to occupy the lands adjoining the Sawād. Again in 536/1141 we hear of Khafādja making an inroad into ʿIrāḳ, but the troops sent against them easily drove them off, killing large numbers. How weak Khafādja had become is evident from the fact that in 556/1160 they assembled in the neighbourhood of Ḥilla and Kūfa, asking for the food relief and dates which had apparently been granted them. The governors of the two towns refused to grant their request and Ḳayṣar, the governor of Ḥilla, sent 250 soldiers to

drive them off, a similar force being sent by the governor of Kūfa. They pursued the fleeing Khafādja along the river Euphrates as far as Raḥbat al-Shām, where the Khafādja made a stand, and in the fight which ensued Ḳayṣar was slain while Arghash, the governor of Kūfa, took refuge with the governor of al-Raḥba. The Khafādja then pleaded for forgiveness, stating that they had been constrained to fight by their parlous condition. Their excuse was accepted, as the Vizier Ibn Hubayra, who had marched out against them, saw the futility of pursuing them into the desert. The last time we hear of the Khafādja is in 588/1192, when they came to the assistance of Baṣra when it was threatened by the tribe of ʿĀmir. In addition to the events narrated above in ʿIrāḳ, it is also mentioned that the Khafādja were among the Arab tribes who assisted in the siege of Tiberias in 507/1113 when the Crusader monarch Baldwin had taken refuge there after an unsuccessful raid upon Ḥalab.

Among the poets of this tribe in ancient time was Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir, celebrated on account of his love for Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and on account of the elegies which the latter composed upon his death in battle.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, fol. 133a (B.M.), fol. 132b (Escorial); ʿArrām, *Djibāl Tihāma*, 7, 251, 252, 254; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, 299; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, 48; al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, v, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75; viii, 178; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 469; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, ii, 631, iii, 888; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, fol. 204b; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vii, 261, 266; Ibn Djubayr, 187, 211, 230; Yāḳūt, *Mudjam al-buldān*, i, 766, 400; ii, 785; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v, 69-70; ix, 164-5, 170, 174, 235, 236, 245, 307, 321-2; 352, 354, 374, 375-6, 436-7, 444, 453, 599-600, 601-2; x, 27, 42, 217, 260, 396, 400-2, 421-2, 447-8; xi, 90, 276-7; xii, 80; idem, *al-Lubāb*, i, 381; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ṭalab*, i, 277; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar*, ix, 43; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 49; v, 261; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, ii, 256; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, ii, 340; al-Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 83; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*, xii, 152-3; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 113; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii, 523, 530; iv, 254-5, 277-8, 279, 491; Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 146, 232; idem, *Ḳalāʾid al-djumān*, 122-3; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān wa'l- iʿrāb*, 71; al-Zubaydī, *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, ii, 22; al-Ḥalabī, *Aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, iv, 201; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab*, Damascus 1949, i, 351; al-Khafādjī, *Banū Khafādja*, i, 23, 47; Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* and *Register*; Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, i, 103, ii, 338; A. Nādjī, Basra 1970, *al-Imāra al-Mazyadiyya*, 35-42.

(F. Krenkow-[A. A. A. Dixon])

AL-KHAFĀDJĪ, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Khafādjī, called Shihāb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī, was born near Cairo in *ca.* 979/1571 and received his earliest education from an uncle on his mother's side, Abū Bakr al-Shanawānī, whom he himself calls the Sībawayh of his age, and under him he studied both Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī law; the biography of the Prophet entitled *al-Shifāʾ* by the *Ḳādī* ʿIyād [*q.v.*] he read under Ibrāhīm al-Alḳamī, and he even studied medicine under Dāwūd al-Baṣīr. Later he made the pilgrimage in the company of his father and took the opportunity to hear the lectures of the learned men in the two holy cities. After his return from the pilgrimage, he made his first journey to Istanbul, where he found several teachers of outstanding merit, among whom he mentions Ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī, Muṣṭafā b. ʿArabī and the Jewish Rabbi Dāwūd, under whom he studied mathematics and the books of Euclid. His principal master, however, was Saʿd al-Dīn b. Ḥasan, and when the latter died and his other teacher soon followed him in death, Istanbul became devoid of men of learning. He had meanwhile gained favour and received the post of *ḳāḍī* of the province of Rūmelī, and rising in rank he became *ḳāḍī* of Üsküb under Sulṭān Murād, who finally appointed him to the same office in Salonika. These offices enriched him considerably, and he was ultimately sent as *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* to Egypt. This post, however, he did not hold for long, as through intrigues at Istanbul he was dismissed. This decided him to make another journey to Istanbul, but his expectations here were not fulfilled and he gave vent to his anger in the literary outburst which he entitled *al-Maḳāmāt al-Rūmiyya*. This aroused the hatred of the Muftī Yaḥyā b. Zakāriyyā, and he was ordered to leave the city immediately. As an acknowledgement of his worth as a scholar he received the appointment of an ordinary *ḳāḍī* at Cairo, but he seems to have devoted his remaining years to study and the composition of his works. He died in Cairo on Tuesday 12 Ramaḍān 1069/3 June 1659.

Al-Khafādjī enumerates most of his works in his autobiography, many of them of considerable size, while he himself tells us that many of this treatises were never collected in book-form. His most extensive work is a commentary upon the *Tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī which he entitled *ʿInāyat al-ḳāḍī*, and which has been printed in Cairo in four large volumes. The work follows the usual tedious method of explaining almost every word and of reproducing the statements of a large number of other authors who have treated upon the same subject. The same is the case with his second largest work, a commentary upon the *Shifāʾ* of the Ḳādī ʿIyāḍ, entitled *Nasīm al-riyāḍ* (printed at Istanbul, 1267, in 4 vols.). His two biographical works, *Khabāya 'l-zawāyā fī mā fi 'l-ridjāl min al-baḳāyā* and *Rayḥānat al-alibba wa-nuzhat al-ḥayāt al-dunyā* give hardly any biographical details, and it is only the arrangement by region which gives us any information on where the persons cited lived. We get, however, a fair amount of contemporary poetry, which enables us to judge to what miserable depth the art of rhyming had sunk. While the first named work exists only in manuscript, the *Rayḥāna* has been printed three times in Cairo (1273, 1294 and 1306), which shows us that the work was appreciated in Egypt. The most valuable portion of this work is an autobiography of the author (in which he has omitted to state when and where he was born) and the *Maḳāmāt al-Rūmiyya*; the autobiography has furnished the material for the account of his life in the work of al-Muḥibbī. Of more value are his *Ṭirāz al-madjālis* and his *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*. The former is a work of the class called *amālī* in 50 sessions (*madjlis*), whose value consists in having preserved extracts of older works now apparently lost or undiscovered. It is interesting to find him quoting from the *Kitāb al-Maʿānī* of al-Ushnāndānī (printed in Damascus, 1340), the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm, the *Fihrist* of Ibn Nadīm or the *Ansāb* of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, considering how rare manuscripts of these books are. The book is in fact a curious collection of odd information from all kinds of sources. Apparently there are two editions of this book, one Cairo, 1284 and a second without date printed in Ṭanṭa. The *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fī mā fī kalām*

al-ʿarab min al-dakhīl is, as indicated by the title, a work dealing with words of foreign origin in the Arabic language. The author has used for this purpose the *Muʿarrab* of al-Djawālīḳī [*q.v.*] and similar works, but is not content with explaining words of foreign origin, as he also gives ample specimens of vulgar errors in correct Arabic speech. Closely resembling this book is a commentary on the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī, which was printed together with the *Durra* at Istanbul in 1299; this work, together with his *Ṭirāz*, are probably the best of his compositions. His *Dīwān* is mentioned by al-Muḥibbī and is preserved in manuscript in Copenhagen.

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, i, 331-43; Brockelmann, II, 285, S. II, 396.

(F. KRENKOW*)

KHAFĀRA (A.) "protection", is used, often together with *ḥimāya* [*q.v.*], to designate certain social practices. Originally, it primarily denoted the protection which Arab tribes extended to merchants, travellers and pilgrims crossing their territories, often in return for payment or as part of an agreement [see ĪLĀF]. Later, the word's usage became extended to the "protection" in return for an obligatory payment exacted by various social groups from other groups or from richer individuals (e.g., by the *ʿayyārūn* and *futuwwa* [*qq.v.*] in the towns). Once the military class had assumed essential power, military commanders exacted various *khafārāt* from the rural estates, etc., but at the same time the state intervened to control them, to fix a tariff for them, or to revoke them for its own use. See further ḤIMĀYA. (CL. CAHEN)

KHAFḌ or KHIFĀḌ (A.), female excision, corresponding to the circumcision of boys (*khatn* or *khitān* [*q.v.*], terms which may be applied equally to both sexes). There is no mention of it in the Ḳurʾān, but more or less authentic *ḥadīth*s attest to the practice in pre-Islamic Arabia and in a certain measure justify it. Tradition attributes to the Prophet the expression *muḳaṭṭiʿat al-buẓūr* "cutter of clitorises", and the following words addressed to Umm ʿAṭiyya, *idhā khafaḍti* (*khafatti*) *fa-ʾashimmī wa-lā tanhakī* (i.e., do not excise everything), *fa- ʾinnahu adwāʾ li'l-wadjh wa-aḥẓā ʿind al-zawdj*, in which one can discern a somewhat curious aesthetic aspect, a display of masculine egoism and the authorisation to do the operation on condition of not going as far as total ablation of the external genital organs and even complete clitoridectomy. Although the texts and the dictionaries are not very explicit, the synonymy of *khatn*/*khitān* and *khafḍ*/*khifāḍ* leads one to think that the minimal practice comprised excision of the prepuce of the clitoris.

In the Prophet's mouth, *muḳaṭṭiʿat al-buẓūr* had a pejorative sense; but other items in the ancient vocabulary for designating the operator, *khātina* and *mubaẓẓira*, formed from *baẓr* "clitoris", do not seem to have a contemptuous connotation. However, a woman is called *baẓrāʾ* when she is affected by clitorism, or believed to be so, and *lakhnāʾ* when she has not been circumcised; expressions meaning in effect "son of the uncircumcised woman", *ibn al-baẓrāʾ*, *ibn al-lakhnāʾ*, are considered injurious and synonymous with "son of a whore", the violence of sexual appetite in a woman being considered the result of absence of circumcision. These pieces of information seem to prove clearly that the practice was current among the Arabs (who carry it back, like the circumcision of boys, to Abraham and Hagar [al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vii, 27]), and remained so after the coming of Islam, excision becoming a characteristic trait amongst the Muslims. The *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxii, 22, tells, for example, that Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], who was the son of a Greek Christian mother, was as a result of this called Ibn al-Baẓrāʾ; in the end, he decided to have his mother circumcised in order to escape satires, examples of which are to be found in the verses attributed to Aʿshā Hamdān (*Aghānī, loc. cit.*) or to Ziyād al-Aʿdjam (*LA*, √ *mṣṣ*; the word *maṣṣān*, interpreted by Ibn Manẓūr as meaning *ḥadjdjām* "barber", "cupper", could well have here the sense of "one who sucks" and connected with such an insult as *yā māṣṣa baẓri ummihi*, which does not necessarily correspond to an actual practice).

Under Islam, the circumcision of girls has never been regarded as obligatory, but has been considered as recommended (e.g. see al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, 161, 305; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*[3], 1947, i, 85); in fact, it is practiced very irregularly in the Muslim world, where whole populations are unaware of it or confine themselves to a symbolic pricking of the clitoris. In the same region, some tribes may perpetuate the custom, whilst their neighbours may have abandoned it, if they have ever known it anyway (see especially, H. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*[2], Paris 1948, 35, 363). In Java, girls are not invariably circumcised; the operation, when performed, is done on girls from 2 to 8 years and is called *suna* (*sunna*), but parents following customary law (*ʿādat* [*q.v.*]) never practice it. The Malays call it *gusaran* "fact of filing down the teeth", because it is preceded, the evening before, by a fictitious filing-down of the teeth. In Atjeh [*q.v.*], female circumcision is done at an early age (see the references given under KHITĀN). In Persia and Kurdistan, travellers mention that it is done between the ages of 9 and 15 (H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, 51); on the other hand, it is unknown in Afghānistān (C. M. Kieffer, *À propos de la circoncision* . . ., in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 201, n. 37). This is likewise the situation in North Africa (G. H. Bouquet, *La morale de l'Islam* . . ., Paris 1953, 70), although the practice is attested for Mauretania, even though this is a Mālikī region (R. Arnaud, *Précis de politique musulmane*. i. *Pays maures*, Algiers 1906, 65-6), where the excision is done 7 or 8 days after birth. At all events, it would be extremely difficult to draw a map showing the extent of female circumcision, in view of the women's discretion and the men's ignorance, since the latter are not informed about the operation; this practice is unaccompanied by any celebration, and is even called *sirr* "secret" in Moab, according to Jaussen, *op. cit.*, 35, 363, and also *ṭahr*, by analogy with the circumcision of boys.

The only Islamic country, apart from some regions of black Africa (see Boris de Rachewiltz, *Eros noir, moeurs sexuelles de l'Afrique de la pré-histoire à nos jours*, Paris 1963), where any searching enquiries into this practice have been made is Egypt, where *khafḍ* (which according to 18th and 19th century travellers was general and often sought by girls) is still practiced, even amongst certain Copts. Anthropologists and physicians have revealed various degrees in female circumcision, ranging from removal of the labia minora and the prepuce of the clitoris to that of the whole external genitalia ("Sudanese circumcision"), sc. the labia minora and majora together with the clitoris (see M. Karim and R. Ammar, *Female circumcision and sexual desire*, Cairo 1965). The very title of this latter work, based on an examination of 331 women in Cairo, is an indication

of the spirit in which the enquiry was conducted, sc. within a broad movement towards feminine liberation and towards a certain demythologisation which has found a favourable echo in the press (e.g. *al-Ahrām* of 27 January 1959). The Sudanese Republic has decided to abolish the practice, considered nasty and even barbarous, and similar measures have been envisaged to end it in Egypt.

Female circumcision is far from being a surgical operation meant to prevent abnormal deviations of the genitalia (Wilken, *Verspr. Geschriften*, iv, 238 ff.), but is rather a *rite de passage*. One can discern its origin in the primitive mythology of the Egyptians and other African peoples who believed in the bisexuality of the soul of their gods and of men. These bisexual souls project their physiological characteristics in their procreative organs; thus the feminine soul of the man is located in the prepuce, whilst the masculine soul of the woman is in the clitoris. Circumcision and excision accordingly make the boy and the girl respectively shed their feminine and masculine characteristics. Only in this way can the girl claim to be fully a woman capable of sexual life; Egyptian women still look down on an uncircumcised woman by saying "You are like a man".

In Egypt, the operation is carried out by the midwife either in complete secrecy or in the presence of a few invited women, and it is justified by the desire to maintain pre-marital chastity and virginity. It naturally presents serious dangers, of which the authorities are aware; apart from the complications which can sometimes be fatal, the cooling-down of the female temperament and desires, which the operation tends to bring about, causes on the men's part an abuse of drugs, especially of hashish—an unexpected aspect of the consequences of mutilation, whose abolition would produce a three-fold effect.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited, see above all the extremely well-documented article of O. F. A. Meinardus, *Mythological, historical and sociological aspects of the practice of female circumcision among the Egyptians*, in *Acta ethnographica*, Budapest, xvi/3-4 (1967), 387-97, which has an extensive bibliography on the subject. (Ed.)

KHʷĀFĪ KHĀN, MUḤAMMAD HĀSHIM NIẒĀM AL-MULKĪ, historian; his title of Khʷāfī Khān was given him by Muḥammad Shāh and is derived from a family connection with Khʷāf [*q.v.*], a district of eastern Persia, famous for its distinguished men. He was a son of Khʷādja Mīr, a confidential servant of Murād Bakhsh, youngest son of Shāh Djahān. The place and date of his birth are not known, but it seem probable that he was born in India, and a statement in his history (i, 739) implies that his birth took place about 1074/1664. The statement is that 74 years after the death of Shāh Djahān's minister, Saʿd Allāh, he was 52 plus the age of discretion (14?). In other words he was 66 Muslim years old in 1140/1728. His father was Khʷādja Mīr, a confidential servant of Shāh Djahān's youngest son, Murād Bakhsh, and was severely wounded at the battle of Samōgaṛh. Khʷāfī Khān, possibly like Bernier's friend Dānishmand, began life as a merchant, or as an official's clerk, and it was in one of these capacities that he visited Bombay in 1693-4 and had an interview with an English official (ii, 424, and Elliot-Dowson, vii, 350). He served under Awrangzēb, Bahādur Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh in the Deccan and in Gudjarāt, and was long stationed at Surāt. He also lived at Aḥmadābād, which he defends against the strictures of Djahāngīr, and at Rahurī, in Siwdjī's country, and in the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign he was governor of Čampānīr (i, 77). Probably he ended his days at Ḥaydarābād in the service of Āṣaf Djāh Niẓām al-Mulk (hence our author's title of Niẓām al-Mulkī) about 1732-33. He was an intimate friend of Shāh Nawāz, the author of *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ* (who was also a Ḥaydarābādī officer) (see iii, 680 of the Bibl. Ind. edn. of that work, and Khʷāfī Khān, ii, 678).

Khʷāfī Khān wrote a history of the Indian branch of the Tīmūrid dynasties, and called it *Muntakhab al-lubāb* ("The quintessential selection"). It is a standard work and is much admired, especially in the east, for its style, and its accuracy and impartiality, though it is often too grandiloquent for western taste. Still, it is by far the most human and interesting of native histories of India, with the doubtful exception of Badāʾūnī. After an introduction beginning with Turk b. Yāfit, and describing the origins, etc., of the Tatars and Mongols, it gives short biographies of Tīmūr, his third son Mīrān Shāh, and the descendants of the latter, who were the emperor Bābur's ancestors. These are followed by a history of the emperors of Āgra and Dihlī, beginning with Bābur, of whom there is a tolerably full account, and ending with the beginning of the 14th year of Muḥammad Shāh. Bābur conquered India in 932/1526, and the 14th year of Muḥammad Shāh was 1140/1732, so that the history covers a period of over 200 years. The last ten years of the history are given in a very abridged form. The most valuable parts of the work are the accounts of Shāh Djahān and Awrangzēb, for both of whom the author had a high admiration. The history has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (2 vols.), but the edition is not complete, for it wants the first part or volume. This last, however, is very rare, and perhaps does not exist in its entirety. There is only a portion of it in the British Museum. The author refers to it in vol. i, 49 of the printed edition. Khʷāfī Khān also wrote a history of the minor Islamic dynasties of India, but this too has disappeared, though a small portion is preserved in manuscript in the India Office Library (Ethé, *Cat.*, No. 407). It was apparently of little value, being mainly an abridgment of Firishta.

The charm of Khʷāfī Khān's history consists in his digressions and his frequent use of his own observations, and of information derived from his father and brother. He is a somewhat narrow Muslim, and he is too favourable to Shāh Djahān and Awrangzēb. Thus he slurs over Awrangzēb's treacherous capture and subsequent execution of his younger brother, Murād Bakhsh. The capture he represents as a clever manœuvre (it was certainly to the public advantage), but he is evidently half-ashamed of it, for he declines to give the particulars. In his account of Murād Bakhsh's attempt at escape, and his trial and execution, which he got from his father, he does not plainly set down Awrangzēb's responsibility, and continues to pay him a compliment for his generosity in rewarding the man who declined to prosecute Murād for the murder of his father. He also deals lightly with Shāh Djahān's conduct to Khusraw, and to his competitors for the throne, and says nothing about his debaucheries. Still, he is far more honest than Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*]. His accounts of Shēr Shāh and Djahāngir are very fair, and in the latter of them he has a very interesting account of Nūr Djahān. He says he got it at Sūrat in 1097/1695-6 from a very old man, who as a child had accompanied Nūr Djahān's father on his journey

from Persia to Afghānistān, and India. Khʷāfī Khān too, though like Tacitus, he may tell us too much about emperors and their wars, does not omit the more interesting subjects of plague, and famine, and of internal administration.

Bibliography: Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii (which contains a very full abstract, by Dowson, of the 2nd volume of Khʷāfī Khān); Colonel Lees, *Materials for the history of India*, Hertford 1868, 57-8; there is a manuscript translation of vol. i by Major Gordon in the British Museum (Add. 26, 617). (H. BEVERIDGE*)

KHAFĪF. [see ʿARŪḌ]

KHĀʾIN AḤMED PASHA. [see AḤMED PASHA]

KHĀḲĀN, a title (originally KAGHAN or KHAGHAN) borrowed by the Turks from the Juan-juan and meaning "[supreme] ruler". It was applied by the heathen Turks themselves and the mediaeval Muslim geographers and historians not only to the heads of the various Turkish confederations but also to other non-Muslim rulers such as the Emperor of China. In the form *ḳaʾan* it was borne by the successors of Čingiz-Khān [*q.v.*], the Mongol Great Khāns in Ḳaraḳorum and Peking. Adopted by the Ottoman Sulṭāns, the title, first brought to Europe by the Avars in the 6th century A.D. (the *kaganus* etc. of the early mediaeval chroniclers), survived into the present age.

Bibliography: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, 141-179 (no. 1161); Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 611. (J. A. BOYLE)

KHĀḲĀN. [see FATḤ ʿALĪ SHĀH]

KHĀḲĀNĪ, AFḌAL AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM (Badīl) B. ʿALĪ B. ʿUTHMĀN, outstanding Persian poet, born about 520/1126, d. 595/1199, who left a *dīwān*, the *mathnawī* called *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn* and sixty letters.

Reliable material for Khāḳānī's biography is only to be found in his works. His poems and letters mirror both his external and internal life, and so they enable us not only to follow his poetical development, but provide us also with historical information.

Khāḳānī's life can be divided in two main periods. The first period Khāḳānī spent mainly in his home country of Sharwān as panegyrist at the local court. During the second period he led a retired life in Tabrīz. Already at an early time his wish to leave Sharwān and to abandon panegyric poetry was connected with a tendency towards mysticism and escape from the world. Born into a humble family of artisans, the young poet attached himself to the Sharwānshāh Manūčihr, from whose title *Khāḳān-i akbar* his own poetic name is derived. His relations with Manūčihr were changing. More than once he tried to find another patron and his first *ḥadjdj* (551/1156-7) should perhaps be regarded in this context. After Manūčihr's death (554/1159) he was imprisoned but was able to flee to Darband, his usual refuge when something went wrong in Sharwān. In the following years he seems to have established relations with several courts. In 559/1164 we find him in Persian ʿIrāḳ. After he had asked for an annual salary of 30,000 *dirhams* from Manūčihr's son Akhsatān he returned to Sharwān. However, the good relations between the poet and his patron did not last very long. In 566/1171 he undertook a second *ḥadjdj*, but the atmosphere did not improve after his return. The deaths of his son and his wife in 571/1175 caused the decisive turn. He undertook a third *ḥadjdj* with the intention to end his life as a *mudjāwir* in Mecca. He had to return, however, and settled in Tabrīz. Material need and the efforts of high personalities to gain his favour frustrated his hopes of achieving the calm he was longing for and obliged him once more to compose panegyrics now and then. In 578/1183 or 579/1184 he tried to reach Khurāsān, but in Ray the Atabeg prevented him from continuing his journey and he returned to Tabrīz severely ill. In 580/1185 he tried to achieve his aim in another way. After that date we have no more relevant data about his life, which ended in Tabrīz.

Khāḳānī's poetry is based on Persian *concettismo*. The notions at his disposal reached farther than those of other *poetae docti* of his time, especially his detailed knowledge of Christianity. Most of the elements of his poetical motifs are his own creation; this is all the more valid for complexes consisting of elements of motifs as well as of motifs (fantastic aetiology, congruity of images, causal hyperboles etc.). Not without reason he felt himself in this respect superior to his predecessors and contemporaries and he was convinced that future poets also would draw on his muse. During the last decade of his stay in Sharwān his inventiveness in devising new elements of motifs declined. His accent was now on developing and combining motifs. In his Tabrīz period he played with his enormous repertoire of elements of motifs and their combinations, while using his mastery of rhetorical representation in a more pointed manner than ever before.

In the field of formal devices, Khāḳānī created a new type of *ḳaṣīda*, characterised by a number of parts which are thematically mostly independent. In his later Sharwān period he preferred the *tarkīb-band* form. About half of his many *ghazal*s belong to this genre only as far as form is concerned; they do not treat of erotic subjects. Besides *rubāʿīs* and sometimes long *ḳiṭʿa*s, the *Dīwān* contains also a series of shorter and longer Arabic poems, the fruit of Khāḳānī's attempt to write Persian poetry in Arabic.

In the panegyrics, that is in his professional art, Khāḳānī celebrates not only rulers, generals, viziers and scholars, but also friends and relatives. But what he loved most was ascetic Ṣūfī poetry. This is indicated by his other pen-name Ḥaḳāʾiḳī and thereon also his close relationship with Sanāʾī was based. A kind of combination of panegyric and Ṣūfī poetry is to be found in the praise of the Prophet, to whom Khāḳānī dedicates a series of *ḳaṣīda*s, and he derives his honorary title of *Ḥassān al-ʿAdjam* from this fact. His erotic verses usually celebrate profane love, but mystical elements are present in the ghazal *bā ō dil-am ba-mihr u maḥabbat nishāna būdh*, where Iblīs speaks about his Ḥallādj-like love of God. The pangs of love are often mentioned, as Khāḳānī is generally eloquent and resourceful on lamentation. This subject is treated in a lot of his shorter poems and parts of poems, but as well as these in whole *ḳaṣīda*s and not only in the *ḥabsiyyāt* (prison poems). Special attention is given to the description of nature (sky, stars, seasons and landscapes), and his poetic picture of morning and the morning-draught together with its drinking-utensils became very popular. His *ḥadjdj*-travels were less imitated. His first *ḥadjdj* he describes in the *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn*, where he addresses the sun in order to describe to her the way to Mecca. Around the sacred subject all kinds of profane praise are entwined. The often-posed question whether Khāḳānī's words represent real experience can probably be answered in the affirmative as far as the satires are

concerned, and perhaps also some elegies, laments, religious poems and ascetic verses. In general, however, the poetic transformation of reality seems to dominate.

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KHĀḲĀNĪ, also khāḳānī meḥmed bey (?-1015/?-1606), a minor Ottoman Turkish poet of the late 10th/16th century, was born in Istanbul. He was the son of Güzeldje Rüstem Pasha who was the son-in-law of Ayās Pasha [*q.v.*], a grand vizier of Süleymān the Magnificent. Very little is known about his life and the data in the sources are often conflicting. All we know is that he mainly lived in Istanbul except for a pilgrimage to Mecca, that he was a *müteferriḳa*, and that later he became a *sandjaḳ beyi* and *muḥāsebedji* in the Imperial *Dīwān* (Riyāḍī, *Tedhkire*, s.v.); he was already an old man in 1007/1598 and died in Istanbul, where he was buried at the cemetery of the Mihr-ü Mah mosque at Edirne Kapı. Khaḳānī is the author of the following works: (1) *Dīwān*. The manuscript copies of this small work, which has not been edited, vary in size and content (for a good copy, see Topkapı Palace Museum Library, No. 680). His *ghazal*s written in a comparatively simple and fluent style follow closely the traditional line without any personal touch; (2) *Miftāḥ-i Fütūḥāt*, completed in 1012/1603 and dedicated to Čighala-zāde Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*] is a commentary, in *mathnawī* form, of a popular *Ḥadīth-i Erbaʿīn* version (for a good copy, see Topkapı Palace, Emanet Hazinesi Library, No. 670); and (3) *Ḥilyet ül-Nebewiyye*, better known as *Ḥilye-i Khaḳānī*, completed in 1007/1599, a *mathnawī* in *ramal* metre to which Khaḳānī owes his reputation. It is based on an Arabic traditional account of the Prophet's personal features (a calligraphically written version of which was hung as a "portrait" on the wall in many Turkish homes, until recently). Each feature or virtue is elaborately described in 12-20 *bayt*s. This didactic poem with no literary value became very popular and was often compared with Süleymān Čelebi's famous *Mewlid*, although it has none of the latter's merits. Strangely enough, even writers of usually balanced judgement like Ḍiyāʾ Pasha and Nādjī [*qq.v.*] overpraised the *Ḥilye* (see Bibliography), probably because of the sacred character of its subject. Copies of the *Ḥilye* abound in Turkish and European libraries (a good copy dated 1050/1640 is in the Nuru Osmaniye Library, No. 609-796); it was printed at Istanbul in 1264/1848.

Bibliography: The *tedhkire*s of Riyāḍī, Fāʾizī, Riḍā, s.v.; Muʿallim Nādjī, *ʿOthmānlı Shāʿirleri*, Istanbul 1307/1891, 51; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 193-8; Ali Canib Yöntem, in *İA*, s.v.; Fahir İz, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nazim*, i/2, Istanbul 1967. (Fahir İz)

KHĀḲĀNIDS. [see shirwān shāh]

KHĀKSĀR, a 20th century Indian movement for national regeneration, initiated in 1931 by a government servant called ʿInāyat Allāh Khān (better known under his honorific of al-Mashriḳī). As a result of wide-spread frustration and despondency, this leader—originally a mathematician who had enjoyed a brilliant career—publicised simplicity of life (*khāk-sār*, i.e., "humble as dust"), discipline and self-sacrifice for the benefit of the country. Under the spell of the results achieved by Fascist régimes, al-Mashriḳī avowed that India was in need of benevolent dictators (see *Asia*, Aug. 1939), and in its outward manifestations his movement in its first stage bore a marked resemblance to the Nazi S. A. organisation; its members wore a khaki dress with a badge of *ukhuwwa* or "brotherhood" stuck on the right upper arm, and carried a *belča* or spade symbolising both the importance of labour and a readiness to fight. Every day they had to report to the local commander about some sort of social service performed after sunset prayers, and each district unit had their drill for at least fifteen minutes. Al-Mashriḳī's followers were chiefly drawn from the petty bourgoisie and better-off labourers. Explicitly non-communal, the movement was open to every man who believed in his Creator, Muslims as well as Brahmo Samadjists, and it claimed to be "the only party in the country above all parties". In its heyday (i.e. *ca.* 1941), it is said to have secured a following of one-and-a-half million adherents, but in 1944 the all-India strength of the Khāksārs had already dwindled to 20,000. Because of provocative actions, they clashed regularly with the provincial authorities of Northern India. Bans on the movement were imposed, and from time to time al-Mashriḳī was imprisoned. After independence, the leader officially announced the disbandment of the movement. Although the master died on August 27, 1963, a small group of faithful Khāksārs are still to be found in the vicinity of the movement's former headquarters at Ičhra, a suburb of Lahore.

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KHĀL (a.), pl. akhwāl, maternal uncle, whether a full, consanguineous or uterine one. In such a strongly patriarchal civilisation like that of Islam, the status of such an uncle necessarily entrained a certain degree of inferiority compared with that of the paternal uncle, *ʿamm* (pl. *aʿmām*).

The latter is considered as one of the *ʿaṣaba*, and is high up in their hierarchy; he has a right to the whole of the succession if there are no heirs entitled to fixed shares or *ʿaṣaba* with a prior claim to himself. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, never inherits in Mālikī law; even if there is no other heir, the Public Treasury is given preference. The position is similar in Shāfiʿī law, unless the Public Treasury is excessively mismanaged. According to the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools, the maternal uncles can inherit, but in their capacity as *dhawu 'l-arḥām*. Now it is well-known that this third class of heirs, the invention of these two law schools, can only

succeed to an inheritance in the total absence of any representative of the fixed-shares heirs and the *ʿaṣaba*; even the most favourably-placed are set aside in the presence of a single *ʿāṣib*, however distant in relationship he may be from the deceased.

The same discrimination is found in regard to guardianship (*walāya*) over a person. In the absence of the father, only an *ʿāṣib* can be called upon— this rôle often falls upon a paternal uncle, but never to a maternal one. This inferiority in legal status of the maternal uncle dates from pre-Islamic times, and is moreover characteristic of Sunnī Islam, mainly with regard to the various legal incapacities inherent in the maternal uncle. But even amongst the Shīʿīs, where there is no inequality on the legal plane between maternal and paternal uncle, reliable observers have noted that the populace generally displays more reference towards the paternal than the maternal uncle.

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(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

KHĀL, KHAYALĀN. [see FIRĀSA].

KHALʿA. [see KHILʿA].

KHALADJ, a people or tribe ostensibly of Turkish origin and living in western Turkistān and then in eastern Afghānistān during the pre-Mongol Islamic period.

1. *History*.

The Islamic geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries place the Khaladj amongst the tribes of the Turks. Thus Ibn Khurradādhbih, 28, 31, includes them in a list of Turkish tribes in the Central Asian steppes; he states that their winter quarters were beyond the Syr Daryā in the Talas region, adjacent to the lands of the Ḳarluḳ, but also that they lived "on this side of the Oxus", i.e., to its south and west. The contradiction illustrates the haze of uncertainty which envelopes the history of the Khaladj in the pre-Ghaznawid period. A frequent cause of ambiguity is the similarity of the consonant ductus of Khaladj, خلج, to that of the name Khallukh, خلّخ (= Ḳarluḳ), especially as the Ḳarluḳ also lived in the Talas region but at an early date infiltrated south of the upper Oxus into Ṭukhāristān [see KARLUK]. Kāshgharī, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bey, ii, 307 = tr. Atalay, iii, 415, in his long article on the Türkmen, says that the Khaladj originally comprised two of the 24 tribes of the Türkmen, but separated from them and were therefore no longer accounted part of them; and he gives a fanciful etymology for the name, that the two ancestors of the two Khaladj tribes were told by the rest of the Turkmen, *ḳal adj* "stay, remain behind!" (another explanation in the *Oghuz-nāma*, ed. W. Bang and G. R. Rachmati, *SBPr. Ak. W.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. xxv (Berlin 1932), *ḳal ač* "stay and open!").

Hence there is some uncertainty about the original Turkishness of the Khaladj. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 251-4, connected the Khaladj with the *Kh.w.l.s.* (? *Kholas*) of a 6th century Syriac source discussing the Turkish tribes, and with the *Kholiatai* mentioned in the report of Zemarchos, Byzantine envoy to the Ḳaghan of the Turks in 568, and he opined that the Khaladj were remnants of the Hephthalite confederation, in which case there is the possibility that the Khaladj may have been originally an Indo-Iranian tribe, perhaps remnants of the Sakas subsequently Turkicised. In support of this view is the information of the Sāmānid official Khwārazmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (composed shortly after 366/977), ed. Van Vloten, 119-20, that the Khaladj and the Kandjīna Turks (the latter located in the mountains to the north of the upper Oxus, see KUMĪDJĪs) were remnants of the Hephthalites (see C. E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 8-9).

We only possess what seems to be unequivocal information on the location of the Khaladj from the second half of the 3rd/9th century onwards. Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 226, records in his notice of Yaʿḳūb b. Layth's death (265/879) that the Ṣaffārid Amīr, in the course of his conquests in eastern Afghānistān, had attacked the Zunbīl or local ruler in Zamīn-Dāwar and had subjugated the Khaladj (*al-Khaladjiyya*) and the people of Zābulistān, and this is confirmed by the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, 215, which mentions Yaʿḳūb's campaigns there against "the Khaladj and the Turks". In the next century, Iṣṭakhrī, 245, also locates the Khaladj in Zamīn-Dāwar, and states that they were ancient immigrants to the region, that they were pastoralists, and that they had retained their Turkish customs, external appearance and ? language (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 36, 271: later sources dependent on Iṣṭakhrī have *libāsihim* "their clothing" for *lisānihim*, but Marquart thought that the reading "their language" was the original one). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 111, describes the Khaladj as sheep-herding pastoralists in the Ghazna-Zamīn-Dāwar region, but with outlying groups in Balkh and Ṭukhāristān, Gūzgān and the district of Bust.

Some form of suzerainty over these nomads of eastern Afghānistān was exercised by the Sāmānids, and this passed towards the end of the 4th/10th century to Sebüktigin, founder of the Ghaznawid amīrate. Niẓām al-Mulk in his *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xxvii, ed. Darke, 135, tr. idem, 108, says that Sebüktigin had already once been sent by his master Alptigin to "the Khaladj and Türkmen" in order to collect taxation due to the Sāmānid central government. The Ghaznawid historians ʿUtbī and Bayhaḳī mention the Khaladj at times, and describe how Maḥmūd recruited them on occasion for his armies; but his son Masʿūd had in 432/1040 to send out from Ghazna a punitive expedition against them. It is interesting that ʿUtbī tends now to link the Khaladj with the Afghāns, which is not surprising, since the Khaladj must have lived in close proximity to the Afghān tribal heartland of eastern Afghānistān.

It appears that there now begins a process of assimilation of the Khaladj to their Afghān environment, leading to what seems very probable, if not wholly proven, sc. the evolution of the Khaladj Turks (whatever their pre-Islamic ethnic origins may have been) into the Pashto-speaking Ghalzay or Ghilzay tribe of Afghāns [see GHALZAY]. Minorsky cited a passage from the early 7th/13th century geographer Muḥammad b. Nadjīb Bakrān's *Djihān-nāma*, that the Khaladj Turks had migrated from the Ḳarluḳ region (sc. Turkistān) to Zābulistān, but had now become adapted to their new milieu in appearance and speech, their original language having changed (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 347-8, and *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, in *BSOS*, x (1940-2), 432). Khaladj tribesmen from Zābulistān were utilised by the Ghūrids in their campaigns, and Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd succeeded to power in Fīrūzkūh

in 602/1206 with the help of the Khaladj (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, i, 397).

During the years of warfare between the Khwārazm-Shāhs and the incoming Mongols (early 7th/13th century), Khaladj troops played a part in the confused fighting in eastern Afghānistān, the Kābul and the Peshawar regions, some of them entering the Mongol armies, others attempting, under the leadership of a Khaladj commander, one Sayf al-Dīn Ighraḳ, to make themselves an independent power in the Kābul River valley; see for details, Minorsky, *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, 432 ff. This became indeed the power-base for Khaladj movements into northern India as far as Bengal, a process already begun under the Ghūrids and continued subsequently under their epigoni the Slave Kings of Delhi; various lines of Khaldjī (thus the Indian pronunciation) military adventurers attained hegemony in, e.g., Delhi and Mālwā, but these Khaldjīs were considered to be ethnically Afghāns. See for the history of these Khaldjīs of India, DIHLI SULTANATE, HIND. iv. HISTORY and KHALDJĪS.

The Mongol invasions created a melting-pot of peoples in Inner Asia and the Iranian world, and the tide of conquest seems to have swept Khaladj elements westwards. Already Muḥammad b. Nadjīb Bakrān (see above) speaks of Khaladj settlements near Bāwurd, sc. Abīward on the northern fringes of Khurāsān, doubtless brought thither during the long struggles of the Ghūrids and Khwārazm-Shāhs for control of that province. An Özbeg tribe whose name in Russian transcription, Galači, may enshrine a memory of the Khaladj in this region, was registered for Russian Central Asia in the mid-19th century, see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan*, Lund-Leipzig 1939, 53. Khaladj are mentioned in Kirmān and Fārs from late Saldjūḳ times onwards, and Köprülü in his *İA* article on the Khaladj lists several villages in Ādharbāydjān and Anatolia, and one even in the Crimea, which enshrine the name "Khaladj". But the best-known region of Khaladj settlement in the west is that one in western Persia still known today as Khaladjistān, the mountainous region lying to the south-west of Tehran in the Hamadān direction and to the west of Sāwa, and contained largely within the *shahristāns* of Sāwa and Arāk in the central *ustān* or province. Not only in this region, but also in adjacent ones, extending into the Bakhtiyārī country of the central Zagros, one finds villages with names like Khaladj, Khaladjābād, etc. attesting earlier settlements of the tribesmen (see *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, i, 81, ii, 104, x, 79). These Khaladj may have been established in Mongol times or even earlier, for the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, Calcutta 1887-8, ii, 573, speaks of the Khaladj and Arab nomads of this region being summoned to Tīmūr's standard in 806/1403-4; it is the Turkish speech of these Khaladj remnants, who were visited by Minorsky in 1906 and 1917, which the latter describes in his article on their language, see below.

Bibliography: given substantially in the article, but add Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 79; the two main secondary studies are those of Minorsky, *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, and M. Fuad Köprülü, *İA*, art. *Halaç*.

(C. E. Bosworth)

2. *Language*.

The Khaladj language ought to be called, more precisely, the Khaladj group of languages, because it is as independent a branch of the Turkish family of languages as, e.g. the south-western (or Oghuz) group or Chuvash, etc. It is spoken (by about 20,000 persons) in 47 villages, situated about 150 miles SW of Tehran. Whereas the linguistic differences from each village to each other village are small, the sum of these differences (sc. from the most remote points, Talkh-āb in the NW of the Khaladj area, and Vinarič, in the SE) is as considerable, or even more considerable, than the differences between Kazan Tatar and Bashkir, or between Ottoman Turkish and Azeri.

The first scholar to have studied the Khaladj language was Minorsky, in 1940 (see bibliography). Only a short time after him, the Iranian scholar Mughaddam, when investigating the Iranian local dialects around Āshtiyān, also gave a short survey of Khaladj. In 1968, the present writer described the peculiar features of Khaladj in an article based on the two older works. In 1968 and 1969 two expeditions to the territory of the Khaladj were undertaken, which produced a considerable amount of material (59 tapes, a vocabulary consisting of 60,000 words, numerous texts, etc.).

The Khaladj groups is characterised by its very outstanding archaisms. Thus it has preserved *-d-* (ancient Turk *adaḳ* "foot" = Ottoman Turkish *ayak* = Khaladj *hadāḳ*); the ancient Turkish *h-* (see bibliography, *Eine seltsame*...); the proto-Turkish threefold vowel quantity (short, long, diphthongal), etc. Even in morphology, it has preserved many archaic features, such as the ablative in *-da*, the participle in *-gili* (= ancient Turkic *-igli*). Khaladj is especially important in the field of lexicography; there are many ancient Turkish *hapax legomena*, such as *qudghu* "fly", which survive only in Khaladj and in no other Turkish language.

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(G. Doerfer)

KHALAF b. ʿABD al-MALIK. [see IBN BASHKUWĀL].

KHALAF B. ḤAYYĀN AL-AḤMAR, ABŪ MUḤRIZ (*ca.* 115-80/*ca.* 733-96), famous *rāwiya* of Baṣra. His parents came originally from Farghāna and had been brought as captives to ʿIrāḳ, and then freed by Bilāl b. Abī Burda [see AL-ASHʿARĪ], whose *mawlā* Khalaf remained. He had a prodigious memory, and knew perfectly Bedouin life, their language, traditions and legends, and he gathered together all the poetic works set before him in order to transmit them to his successors. He is said to have been the pupil of ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar and Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.vv.*], but did not pride himself on his knowledge of philology and was content with his perspicacity, which allowed him to distinguish easily between authentic and apocryphal verses. However, he became the transmitter of the poetic corpus gathered together by Ḥammād al-Rāwiya [*q.v.*], fully aware of his bad reputation, and brought about a change of tastes among the *ruwāt* of Basra by instructing them about the *nasīb* of the Bedouins (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iv, 23-4). His teaching was followed particularly by al-Aṣmaʿī and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī [*q.vv.*], who had great faith in his judgment. Even so, his deep knowledge of archaic poetry, linked with a tendency which was quite frequent in his time, led him to compose poetry of Bedouin type which he attributed then to ancient poets, if at least his contemporaries are to be believed. He is especially accused of having fraudulently placed a number of verses under the name of Abū Duʾād al-Iyādī [*q.v.*], and above all, of being the author of the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab*, which al-Shanfarā [*q.v.*] did not in fact write; discussions about the authenticity of this poem have still not ended (see e.g. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Mallūḥī, *al-Lāmiyyatānⁱ*, Damascus 1966, who attempts in his introduction to show that Khalaf was not the author). At the end of his life, he is said to have condemned his own forgeries, but nothing is known of this. According to al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 181, numerous *radjaz* verses were attributed to him without permission.

He is said to have composed a *K. Djibāl al-ʿArab* of verses in which mountains are mentioned, and his works, of which a few verses are extant, have been gathered into a *Dīwān* transmitted by Abū Nuwās, who is himself said to have written within Khalaf's own lifetime his funeral oration, an elegy in *fāʾ* (*Dīwān*, ed. A. ʿA. al-Ghazālī, Cairo 1953, 574-5).

Bibliography: The suspicion which rests on Ḥammād and Khalaf throws doubt on the recension of archaic poetic texts, so that these two transmitters are frequently cited in the controversies over the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry. Ahlwardt devoted a monograph to Khalaf, *Chalaf al-Ahmar's Qaside*, Greifswald 1859. See also Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, indices; Ibn Sallām, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, index; *Fihrist*, 50, 162; *Aghānī*, index; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, index; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1950-5, i, 348-51; Zabīdī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1956, 177-81; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 242; Abū Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1955, 46-7; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 179 ff. = *Udabāʾ*, xi, 66 ff.; G. Jacob, *Schanfarâ-Studien*, in *SB Bayr. Akad.* (1914-15); F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xv (1935), 358 ff.; idem, in *Atti . . . Lincei* (1946); Blachère, *HLA*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

KHALAF B. MULĀʿIB AL-ASHHABĪ, with the *laḳab* SAYF AL-DAWLA, ruler of Ḥimṣ and Afāmiya in the late 5th/11th century. He was accused of various misdeeds, including brigandage, and is said, during a siege of Salamiyya, to have thrown the Sharīf Ibrāhīm al-Hāshimī against the tower from a mangonel. In 483/1090, complaints were sent to the Sultan Malikshāh, who ordered his brother Tutush, the ruler of Damascus, and other rulers of Syrian cities to proceed against him. A joint expedition captured Ḥimṣ, and Khalaf was sent in an iron cage to the Sultan in Iṣfahān. He remained in captivity until the Sultan's death in 485/1092, whereupon he was released by the Sultan's widow and sought refuge with the Amīr al-Juyūsh al-Afḍal in Cairo. In 488/1095-6 a delegation from Afāmiya went to Egypt to request a new ruler, and accepted (or perhaps proposed) Khalaf, who returned to Syria, presumably in the Fāṭimid interest. He resumed his activities, and remained in control of Afāmiya until he was murdered by Ismāʿīlī Assassins in 499/1106.

Bibliography: A biography of Khalaf is included in the *Bughyat al-ṭalab* of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm (ed. from the Istanbul manuscript by B. Lewis in *Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, Istanbul 1953, 332-6); other sources in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 120-1, 149-50; ʿAẓīmī, 368, 371, 378; Ibn Muyassar, 466; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ii, index. The account in the *Bughya* is based on the (lost) fuller version of ʿAẓīmī, the chronicles of the Banū Munḳidh, and the North Syrian chronicle of Ibn Zurayḳ, as quoted by al-ʿUlaymī, known as Ḥawāʾidj Kash. (B. LEWIS)

AL-KHALAFIYYA, sub-sect (*firḳa*) of the Khāridjī sect of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] This sub-sect, whose origins were purely political, was founded in what is now Tripolitania around the beginning of the 3rd/9th century by Khalaf b. al-Samḥ, grandson of the Ibāḍī *imām* Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Maʿāfirī al-Yamānī [*q.v.*]. Al-Samḥ b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, Khalaf's father, was originally the vizier of the Rustamid *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*], who held him in high esteem, and then after ca. 196/811-12, he was governor of Tripolitania (*ḥayyiz Aṭrābulus*) on behalf of this *imām*. The new governor resided in the township of Tīmiya or Tīmtī in the extreme east of the Djabal Nafūsa [see AL-NAFŪSA, DJABAL] and was distinguished by his justice and his loyalty towards ʿAbd al-Wahhāb; he died before this last, i.e. before 208/823-4.

The Berber Ibāḍī notables of Tripolitania (sc. the deputy governors of particular tribes or of districts subordinate to al-Samḥ), influenced by the favourable impression left behind by his period of government, but showing themselves completely ignorant of the basic principles of the Ibāḍī doctrines, resolved to appoint his son Khalaf as their chief. This may also be considered as an attempt by the Berber Ibāḍī tribes of Tripolitania to claim for themselves a certain measure of independence of the Rustamid *imāms* in Tāhert. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb refused to confirm the election of Khalaf, but as Khalaf and his supporters refused to yield, and a schism followed, taking in the whole of Ibāḍī Tripolitania except for the western and central parts of the Djabal Nafūsa, whose population, under the governorship of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ayyūb and then of his successor Abū ʿUbayda ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Djanāwunī, remained Wahbīs and faithful to the Banū Rustam. Having been elected as *imām* by his partisans, Khalaf besieged Tīmiya, his father's old residence, and carried on continuous warfare against Abū ʿUbayda. This only ended when Abū ʿUbayda won a victory over his army in 221/835-6, during the imāmate of

al-Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, after which Khalaf's principality began to disintegrate. Thus the eastern part of this principality, comprising the northeastern part of Tripolitania, to the east of the meridian of Tripoli, became independent, and according to Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*], in *ca.* 232/846-7 formed a Berber kingdom under Ibn Ṣaghīr al-Barbarī al-Maṣmūdī. Likewise, the Tripolitanian Djefāra, which had also been part of Khalaf's principality, fell at about the same time under the influence of the Nafūsa of the Djabal. Certainly, when the ruler of Egypt Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn in 266/879-80 besieged the Aghlabid town of Tripoli, the people there received help from Abū Manṣūr Ilyās, governor of the Djabal Nafusa and from the *imāms* of Tāhert; he must therefore have been, at this time, in control of all the region between the Djabal and the Mediterranean.

It was apparently shortly after this that Ibn Khalaf, Khalaf b. al-Samḥ's son and successor, who had been expelled from his seat of Tīmiya, took refuge with the Berber tribe of Zawāgha, partisans of the Khalafiyya, in the Rīṣū or Rīṣō peninsula (Rīmū in al-Shammākhī, Ris in Muntaner, the 14th century Catalan chronicler, Rāzū in al-Bakrī, the modern district of al-ʿAkkāra opposite Djerba). Pursued by Abū Manṣūr Ilyās's army, Ibn Khalaf crossed over to Djerba, where he put himself under the protection of a section of the Zawāgha tribe who lived on the island, who nevertheless extradited him and sent him to Abū Manṣūr. According to the North African Ibāḍī historian Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjlānī [*q.v.*], this event took place towards the end of the Rustamids, apparently under the rule of the Rustamid *imām* Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. al-Aflaḥ, who reigned from 281/894. Since Abū Manṣūr Ilyās was dead by 283/896-7, at the time of the battle of Mānū, it appears that the Khalafī principality in Tripolitania came to an end in 282/895-6. Ibn Khalaf became Abū Manṣūr's prisoner, and was deported to the Djabal Nafūsa, where he died at some unknown date, by then probably a convert to Wahbism.

Certain Khalafī groups persisted after the fall of their imāmate. Thus there were Khalafī splinter groups at Ghadamès and in the Fezzān in the 3rd/9th century, in the district of Rīṣū and on the island of Djerba in the 4th/10th century, in the town of Zawāgha on the Tripolitanian coast in the 5th/11th century, and in the districts of Yéfren, Bābil, Kikla and Tākbāl in the east of the Djabal Nafūsa, until the middle of the 7th/13th century. According to L. Massignon, there were still remnants of them amongst the inhabitants of the Djabal Nafūsa and the Gharyān in *ca.* 1925.

Bibliography: E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 128-44, 152-69, 188-94; Dardjīnī, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh*, Cracow ms. 275, ff. 23b-27a, 42a-b; Shammākhī, *K. al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301/1884, 161, 178-9, 203, 224-4, 275, 281-3, 342, 546 and *passim*; Muḥammad Aṭfiyyash, *Risāla shāfiya fī baʿḍ tawārīkh*, lith. Algiers 1299/1880, 53; Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*², Paris 1925, 132; Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, Warsaw 1955, 48-9, 62, 92, 101, 112-16 and *passim*. On the geographical distribution of Ibāḍī groups in mediaeval North Africa, see *RO*, xxi (1957), 312, 324-5, 331, 336-8, 341; and on the Ibāḍiyya in mediaeval Tunisia, see *Accademia Polacca di Scienze e Lettere, Biblioteca di Roma, Conferenze*, fasc. 6, Rome 1959, 8-9, and [P. Cuperly], *Aperçus sur l'histoire de l'ibāḍisme au Mzāb* (*al-Risāla al-Šāfiya fī baʿḍ tawārīkh ahl Wādī Mīzāb de Muḥammad Aṭfiyyaš*), partial Fr. tr. with introd. and notes by Pierre Cuperly, 1973 (= mémoire de maîtrise presented to Fac. of Letters, Paris-Sorbonne, 1971).

(T. Lewicki)

KHALDJĪS, an Indo-Muslim dynasty who ruled briefly in Dihlī 689-720/1290-1320.

The Khaldjīs were probably of Turkish origin [see khaladj, i, History] and the old view that they were Afghāns or Pathans probably arose from Baranī's statement (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Calcutta 1862, 171) that the relations of Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, founder of the dynasty, with the Turks were strained because he belonged to another racial stock (*aṣl*). He was the son of Yughrush (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *Taʾrīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, Calcutta 1931, 61), and seems to have entered the service of Sulṭān Balban, who is stated to have left him with his son Bughrā Khān when the latter was appointed to the government of Bengal after the suppression of Ṭughril Beg's rebellion in 678/1280 (ʿIṣāmī gives 670/1271, see *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, Madras 1948, 168). Eight years later Bughrā Khān passed him on to his own son Kayḳubād, who had succeeded Balban as Sulṭān of Dihlī, and he subsequently became governor of Sāmāna and then Baran, before being summoned to Dihlī to take charge of the important office of *ʿĀriḍ-i Mamālik*, receiving the title of Shāʾista Khān. As the health of the Sulṭān was deteriorating fast due to an attack of paralysis, the Turkish nobles, led by Itimar Kačan and Itimar Surkhā, deposed him and enthroned his three-year old son under the title of Shams al-Dīn Kayumarth. Fīrūz managed to dispose of his rivals Kačan and Itimar Surkhā, and had them killed, so that most of the Turkish *maliks* and *khāns* now came over to Fīrūz, and he ascended the throne on 3 Jumādā al-Ākhir 689/13 June 1290, according to Amīr Khusraw, *Miftāḥ al-futūḥ*, English tr. in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 536, but Rabīʿ al-Ākhir/April-May, according to the *Taʾrīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 61, as Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn, Kayḳubad having already been killed by a person whose father had been put to death under his orders. As the people of Dihlī believed that the Khaldjīs were not Turks, there was opposition to the transfer of power to them; hence in the beginning, Djalāl al-Dīn stayed in Kayḳubād's palace at Kilūkheri, which was rebuilt and embellished and came to be known as Shahr-i-naw or New City.

Before formally crowning himself, the Sulṭān had made some promotions and transfers, the most important of which, besides the awards conferred on his sons and relations, was the appointment of Balban's nephew, Malik Čhadjdjū Kishlī Khān to the *iḳṭāʿ* of Karā-Manikpūr. However, he raised the standard of revolt in the second year of the reign and marched towards Dihlī. Djalāl al-Dīn, leaving the capital in the charge of his eldest son, Khān Khānān, also moved out of the capital and reached Badāyūn. His advance guard, led by his second son, Arkalī Khān, crossed the Ganges, attacked the rebels and completely worsted them. Kishlī Khān tried to escape, but he was soon surrendered by a Hindu *muḳaddam* or headman with whom he had taken refuge. The Sulṭān treated him mildly and sent him along with other captives to Multān, which had been assigned to Arkalī Khān. Another instance of his mild treatment of offenders was his decision about the murderous thugs who had been captured and brought to Dihlī, and who were simply deported to Bengal.

However, it is rather surprising that in the case

of a *darwīsh*, Sīdī Muwallih, Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn departed from his policy of leniency and allowed him to be killed barbarously under the orders of his son. Muwallih originally came from the northern territories (*wilāyat-i-mulk-i-bālā*, Baranī, 208), and is stated to have stayed for some days with Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Gandjshakar who had advised him not to allow rich people to become associated with him. It appears that he paid no heed to this advice and threw open the door of his hospice (*khānaḳāh*) to men in all walks of life, regardless of their status. His growing popularity roused jealousy, and some of his enemies created a suspicion in the mind of the Sulṭān that Sīdī Muwallih was planning to capture the throne. Djalāl al-Dīn accordingly ordered his arrest, but unable to establish his guilt, the Sulṭān is said to have appealed to a party of Ḳalandar dervishes who were present to do him justice; one of them immediately attacked the Sīdī with a sharp razor, and at the order of Arkalī Khān he was trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. Most of the historians consider it as the murder of an innocent person; Baranī goes to the extent of remarking that after his murder the city was enveloped in the evening by total darkness due to a wind storm (*kālī āndhī*), and adds that in fact the decline of the Sulṭān's power began from that day.

Shortly after Sīdī Muwallih's execution, Djalāl al-Dīn led an unsuccessful expedition against Ranthambor. More determined was the Sulṭān's attitude in expelling the Mongols who had invaded his kingdom with a large army led by a grandson of Hulāgū. He met the invaders near Sunām and inflicted a heavy defeat on their advance guard, after which they accepted his terms and were allowed to go back unmolested. Another military exploit of the year 691/1292 was the invasion of Mālwā by the nephew of the Sulṭān, ʿAlī Garshāsp (later ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī). He captured Bhilsa and, laden with considerable booty, returned to Dihlī and was given the *iḳṭāʿ* of Awadh as a reward in addition to his original assignment of Karā-Manikpūr. Two years later ʿAlī left on a bigger adventure, his objective now being the conquest of Deogīr, the rich capital of the Yadava ruler Rama Čandra. With a force of 7,000-8,000 horse he marched to Elličpūr in Berar, where he gave out that he was a discontented noble of Dihlī and was going to the south to seek service with the ruler of Rajamundri in south Telingana. After resting for two days he marched on Deogīr, took the Rādjā by surprise, defeated him in a battle fought in the vicinity of the town and forced him to take refuge in the fortress. ʿAlī further defeated the eldest son of the Rādjā, Shankar (Singhanadev or Sankhdev, according to some authorities; see K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, Allahabad 1950, 52, and Elliot and Dowson, iii, 551). Father and son had no option but to beg for peace; the Rādjā had to cede the province of Elličpur and pay an indemnity in the form of hundreds of maunds of gold, silver and jewels, besides horses and elephants. Laden with enormous wealth, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn safely returned to Kara, although the Sulṭān, who was on a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of Gwalior could have easily intercepted him on his return march, since he had attacked Deogir without his permission.

After his arrival in Kara, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn adopted an attitude of apprehensive penitence and ultimately succeeded in persuading the Sulṭān to visit him and forgive his misdemeanour. Despite the warning of his counsellors, Djalāl al-Dīn left Dihlī and reached the bank of the Ganges, where his nephew was encamping. Just at the moment when the aged Sulṭān was about to embrace him in affection, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn had him murdered, proclaimed himself king (Ramaḍān 695/July 1296), and seized Dihlī.

During his reign of twenty years (695-715/1296-1316), the new Sulṭān not only made extensive conquests resulting in the annexation of the entire region of central and south India, but also established peace in the north by stopping the frequent raids of the Mongols and introducing a number of administrative and economic reforms; here only a brief reference can be made to his multifarious achievements.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn had not been on the throne even for a year when the first raid of the Mongols came. They were, however, defeated and pushed back by the Sulṭān's forces. This was soon followed by another raid under a Mongol chief, named Ṣaldī (Baranī 253; Sagdī and Saldī in *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, 251); as before ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's brave commander, Ẓafar Khān defeated them capturing 2,000 prisoners. In 699/1299 came one of their greatest raids under the leadership of Kutlugh Khʷādja, when they reached the gates of Dihlī. Rejecting the advice of his counsellors to buy off the raiders, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn assembled a large army, marched out of the city and encamped in the plain of Sīrī. After the death in battle of Ẓafar Khān, the Mongols nevertheless broke camp and retreated. The next Mongol invasion was led by Ṭarghī, who, knowing that the Sulṭān was busy in the siege of Chitor (702-3/1302-3), marched with an army of 120,000 horsemen right up to the Jamuna. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who had in the meantime returned from Chitor, having suffered considerable losses in matériel, shut himself up in the fortress of Sīrī which was besieged by the Mongols. The Sulṭān is stated to have requested Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ, a pious Ṣūfī *shaykh*, living near Dihlī, to pray for his victory, and the sudden and unexpected retirement of the Mongols when they were in a clearly advantageous position was attributed by contemporary historians to his prayers. Nevertheless, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was shaken by this raid and decided to take effective measures to increase the strength of his army and repair and regarrison the old forts in the north-western region. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the next horde of the Mongols came in 705/1305 they found the Sulṭān's army fully prepared to meet them. They avoided the newly-repaired forts, and marching along the line of the Himalayas, reached Amrōha, about 80 miles to the east of Dilhī. The Sulṭān's army commanded by the *malik*s Tughluḳ and Kāfūr intercepted them on their return march and defeating them in battle captured their leaders, ʿAlī Beg and Tartāk, with 8,000 men besides a large number of horses (Baranī, 320; Tartāḳ in Amīr Khusraw, *Khazāʾin al-futūḥ*, 37). ʿAlāʾ al-Din ordered the prisoners to be killed and their skulls to be built into the walls of the fortress of Sīrī. In the following year, the Mongols again entered the subcontinent under Kabak and crossed the Indus near Multān, but Tughluḳ again defeated them on their return march. The last raid of the Mongols in this time (according to some authorities, an off-shoot of the previous one) was led by Iḳbālmand; he was also defeated and slain, and the Sulṭān ordered the captives to be crushed to death. Their successive defeats, the harsh treatment meted out to the captives and Tughluḳ's incursions into their own regions deterred them from raiding the territories of the Dihlī Sultanate as long as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn occupied the throne. It appears that besides the major invasions mentioned

by the historians the Mongols frequently raided the frontier regions, for according to an inscription, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw in the mosque of Multān, Tug͟hluḳ had encountered the Mongols on 29 occasions and it was for this reason that he had come to be known as G͟hāzī Malik.

Far more enduring than his victories over the Mongols were ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's conquests in central and southern India. In 698/1299 the Sulṭān sent Ulug͟h K͟hān and Nuṣrat K͟hān to conquer Gud͟jarāt. They captured its ancient capital Anhilwara (Paṭan), but its ruler Rād͟jā Karan managed to escape towards Deogīr. Besides the booty, they also brought to Dihlī the idol that had been set up at Somnath in place of the one destroyed by Sulṭān Maḥmūd. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's successes during the first two or three years of the reign led him to entertain wild schemes of conquering the world and founding a new religion. Luckily one of his wise counsellors, ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk, cautiously advised him to abandon the idea of founding a new faith, and to undertake the conquest of Rajputana and other parts of the subcontinent. Accordingly in 699/1299 he sent an army to conquer Ranthambor and subsequently left the capital to supervise the operations in person. In the course of a hunting trip on his way to Ranthambor he was separated from the main party. One of his nephews, Akat K͟hān, finding him unprotected, attacked the Sulṭān and seemingly shot him dead with an arrow. Then he rushed to the camp and proclaimed himself Sulṭān, but before he was able to fully control the situation ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who had only become unconscious for some time, returned with a party of his followers. Akat was overpowered and put to death, and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn proceeded towards Ranthambor. During his absence from the capital, two other nephews of the Sulṭān unsuccessfully rose against the central government in their fiefs in Badāyūn and Awadh. More serious than these risings was the rebellion of Ḥād͟jd͟jī Mawlā who seized the Red Palace at Dihlī and placed on the throne a *Sayyid* who was, through his mother, a descendant of Sulṭān S͟hams al-Dīn Iltutmis͟h. Within a week however, the rebellion was suppressed by Malik Ḥamīd al-Dīn, called *Amīr-i-Kūh*. In the winter of D͟jumādā II 701/January 1303, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn marched on Chitor and captured it without much difficulty; its Rajput ruler, Ratan Singh, was brought as a prisoner to Dihlī. Malik Muḥammad D͟jāisī, a Hindi poet of the 10th/16th century, has versified a story that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's attack on Chitor was prompted by his desire to obtain Padmini, the beautiful daughter of its Rād͟jā, but it is not mentioned by any contemporary historian, and cannot, therefore, be accepted as a fact, although it has been included in the chapter on the K͟hald͟jīs in *The Cambridge History of India*. After Rajputana, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn turned his attention to Mālwā and sent ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī in 705/1305 to conquer it. The Rād͟jā forces offered a determined resistance, but they were defeated by the Muslims who captured important places like Ujjain, Māndū and Chanderi. Kānhar Deo, the Rād͟jā of Jalore, was so unnerved by these victories of ʿAyn al-Mulk that he accompanied him to Dihlī and offered allegiance to the Sulṭān. In Ramaḍān 705/March 1306 (according to Amīr K͟husraw, *K͟hazāʾin al-futūḥ*, Calcutta 1953, 65) ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn despatched Malik Kāfūr (now Malik Nāʾib) to punish Rama Čandra who had not sent the tribute for several years. He was also commissioned to bring Dewal Dewi, daughter of the fugitive Rād͟jā of Gud͟jarāt, as her mother, now in Dihlī, wanted to see her. The princess was abducted and sent to Dihlī, where she was married to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's son, K͟hiḍr K͟hān; the story of their love and marriage was described by Amīr K͟husraw in his *mat͟hnawī* entitled *K͟hiḍr K͟hān-Dawalrānī*. Appointing his own officers in Elličpur, Malik Nāʾib marched on Deogīr; Rama Čandra offered his submission, and was treated generously by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn; the title of *rāy-rāyān* was conferred on him and he was allowed to govern Deogīr as a vassal of Dihlī.

Two minor expeditions may be mentioned before Malik Nāʾib's next campaign in the south. Siwāna, an important stronghold in Mārwār, was besieged and captured; its ruler Sītal Deo offered submission and presented one hundred elephants and costly gifts. His state was annexed, but he was allowed to retain his fortress. An army was also sent against Jalore, and its Rād͟jā, Kānhar Deo, put to death. Malik Nāʾib left Dihlī in 709/1309 (Baranī, 327) on his second campaign in the south, which was directed against the Kākatya State of Telingana. Its capital, Warrangal, was captured from the ruler Pratapudra Deo II, who submitted and offered a large indemnity in the form of horses, elephants, coined money and jewels besides the payment of an annual tribute.

In 710/1310 Malik Nāʾib and K͟hʷād͟ja Ḥād͟jd͟jī were again sent to the south. Marching via Deogīr (now governed by Rama Čandra's son) the Sulṭān's army reached Dwāra Samudra, capital of the Hoysāla ruler, Vira Ballāla III. After its fall, Malik Nāʾib moved towards the Pāndya Kingdom in the extreme south. Prince Sundar Pāndya, who had murdered his father but had failed to seize the throne and had been expelled by his brother, Vīrā, had come to the court of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn with an appeal for help. However, on hearing that Malik Nāʾib was marching on his capital Vīra fled from there and the Sulṭān's army captured Madura without any fighting. Malik Nāʾib's last expedition to the south was directed against Deogīr, as its new Rād͟jā had tried to defy the authority of the Sulṭān. The Malik put the rebellious Rād͟jā to death and assumed its government. To make firm the authority of the central government, he had to recapture some fortresses in the south and annex the tract between the Kris͟hna and Tungabhadra rivers. Malik Nāʾib is stated to have built a small mosque, known as *ʿAlāʾī Masd͟jid*, at Rāmes͟hvarem, near the sea coast, which was in existence when Firis͟hta wrote his book (Bombay ed., i, 210). Thus in the course of less than eight years, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's generals brought the entire region of the south under the sway of their master. The Sulṭān, however, being a realist in politics, did not assume direct administration there; except for Deogīr, which was annexed and directly governed from Dihlī, the Hindu rulers remained as vassals of the Sulṭān.

Besides his extensive conquests and positive measures to establish peace by stopping the raids of the Mongols, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's reign is marked by a series of administrative, agrarian and economic reforms. The successive rebellions which had occurred during his absence from the capital at the time of the siege of Ranthambor convinced the Sulṭān of the need of inquiring into their causes and taking necessary steps to eradicate the possibility of their recurrence. It seemed to him and his advisers ultimately that they were due to neglect of the internal espionage system, a general use of wine, matrimonial alliances among the families of the nobles, and the concentration of excessive wealth by individuals. In pursuance of curbing this last, he enacted laws according to which

all rent-free lands, including religious endowments, were confiscated to the state, and tax collectors were instructed to collect gold on all possible pretexts, with the result that only small holdings of a few thousand *tankas*' rental were left with the landowners, thus reducing their military power and their ability to rebel, as is clear from the history of the remaining years of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's reign. The internal espionage system was improved, and it was stated that courtiers became so afraid of their conversations being reported to the Sulṭān that when near the palace they dared not speak, and expressed their ideas by signs rather than words. Another ordinance prohibited the use of alcohol and intoxicating drugs; the Sulṭān himself gave up drinking and ordered his wine vessels to be broken and their contents poured out in front of the Badāyūn gate. Those who tried to smuggle wine into the capital suffered exemplary punishment. However, the Sulṭān later relaxed the rigour of these measures by not taking notice of private manufacturers and consumption of wine. Lastly, he issued an ordinance which made it obligatory on the nobles to obtain permission of the Sulṭān for matrimonial alliances among their families. These enactments naturally affected the nobles and wealthy families living in the capital or its suburbs, but ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn knew that the rich and influential persons in the villages could also become a source of danger. The regulations issued by him with regard to the leading men in the villages (*muḳaddams*, *balāhars* and *khūṭs*) have been misunderstood by some writers; Baranī used the general term "Hindu" for these persons, and possible most of them did belong to that community. According to another ordinance, some new taxes were levied as, for instance, a grazing cess on milch cows and goats.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's economic policy, mainly based on a system of price control, was the result of his efforts to maintain a large standing army against threats from the Mongols. Apparently realising that taxes could not be raised indefinitely, and that it was dangerous to decrease the pay of the soldiers, he decided to reduce the prices of commodities and make the necessaries of life so cheap that a horseman could be recruited on a comparatively small pay of 234 *tankas* per annum with 78 *tankas* for keeping an additional horse. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn started with issuing several regulations according to which prices of corn were fixed, government stores were opened, the caravans of newcomers were registered and state revenue in the neighbouring areas was collected in kind. Malik Ḳabūl, an honest and strict officer, was appointed *Shaḥna-i-Mandī* (market superintendent). He suppressed hoarding, and the Sulṭān ordered that those who gave short measure should have flesh equal in weight to the deficiency cut from their own bodies. The state also fixed the prices of other necessaries of life, such as cloth, for which a separate market was opened in an open plot of land near Badāyūn gate, known as the *Sarāy-i ʿAdl*. Some idea of the resulting cheapness of commodities can be formed from the list given in Baranī's *Tāʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, according to which wheat was sold at 7½ *djītals* (small copper coins) per maund and rice at 5 *djītals* per maund. The price of a fine horse was for obvious reasons over 100 *tankas*, but a milch cow could be had for 3 to 4 *tankas*, while a goat was sold for 10 to 14 *djītals* only (a silver *tanka* was equal to 64 *djītals*). However, much opposition must have arisen from vested interests, and this explains Baranī's remark that all these regulations remained in operation only in the time of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, whilst his son Mubārak Shāh Khaldjī was unable to enforce them.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was a severe but vigorous ruler, yet owing to rivalries and a quarrel for power between his eldest son, Khiḍr Khān, and Malik Nāʾib, his last days were unhappy. The former was transferred to Amrōha and thus sent away from the capital, but returned to Dihlī on the pretext of visiting the tombs of some of the leading *shaykhs* there. In the midst of these worries, the Sulṭān died in Shawwāl 716/January 1316. Before his death Malik Nāʾib, who had great influence over the Sulṭān, had persuaded him to disinherit Khiḍr Khān, to imprison him in the fort of Gwalior, and to nominate his young son, Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar, as heir to the throne. On the latter's accession Malik Nāʾib assumed the powers of regent and ordered Khiḍr Khān and his brother, Shādī Khān, who had been imprisoned in Sīrī, to be blinded. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's third son, Mubārak Khān, who had also been imprisoned, was also blinded. The prince, however, succeeded in bribing some of the palace guard, and they agreed to murder Malik Nāʾib and his companions. Thus this cruel and ambitious slave of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was killed only 35 days after his master's death. Mubārak now became the regent of his infant brother, but only two months later he blinded him and ascended the throne under the title of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. The new Sulṭān, a youth of 18, began his reign by setting free a number of prisoners, recalling those who had been banished by his father and rescinding his enactments in regard to heavy taxation and control over prices of commodities, thus gaining considerable popularity.

Soon after his accession Mubārak left for the south where Harpāl Deo, a son-in-law of Rama Čandra, had seized power and defied the authority of Dihlī. On the approach of the Sulṭān's army, however, he fled from the capital, but he was captured and put to death and the administration of Deogīr was entrusted to Malik Yaklakhī; after sending his favourite slave, Khusraw, on an expedition to Madura, and having spent the rainy season of 718/1318 in Deogīr, the Sulṭān set out for the north. On his return journey a plot was made to kill Mubārak, but the news leaked out and the conspirators were executed. He also ordered his three brothers, Khiḍr Khān, Shādī Khān and Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar, to be murdered.

Mubārak now gave himself up completely to a life of debauchery. His infatuation for Khusraw Khān, a slave belonging to a low caste (variously spelt as *parwārī* or *brādū* in the Persian histories), grew day by day until the latter secured an ascendancy over his master, and he decided to kill the Sulṭān and seize the throne. Mubārak was warned of the danger of a conspiracy, but he paid no heed to it and Khusraw's partisans succeeded in murdering him (720/1320). His head was severed from his body and thrown into the courtyard where the courtiers who were urgently summoned to the Palace could see it. On the following morning, Khusraw ascended the vacant throne, assuming the title of Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn; his reign, however, proved brief.

According to Baranī, 411, Khusraw and his followers embraced Islam but were not genuine in the change of faith; they started worshipping idols within the palace, used copies of the Ḳurʾān as stools and wantonly outraged the Muslim women. Some of the Muslim leaders, unable to bear his excesses, decided on his overthrow. Djūnā Khān (the later Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725-52/1325-51) left the capital for Sāmāna where his father, Ghāzī Malik, was then posted. The latter organised a campaign and marched

on Dihlī and defeated an army that was sent against him under the command of Khusraw's brother. The final battle was fought near the old fort of Indrapat in which Khusraw was defeated, in spite of his profuse distribution of wealth to win the support of the army and the sympathy of the people. He escaped, but was later found, and Ghāzī Malik ordered him to be beheaded. On the following morning the nobles urged him to accept the crown as there was no one left in the family of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn who could lawfully wear it. Hence Ghāzī Malik ascended the throne of Dihlī in Shaʿbān 720/September 1320 under the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ Shāh and began the line of Tughlūḳid Sultans.

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(S. MOINUL HAQ)

KHALDJIS of MĀLWA. [see MĀLWA].

AL-**KHALDŪNIYYA** (AL-**DJAMʿIYYA**), a cultural association established in Tunis under the spiritual aegis of Ibn Khaldūn. It was sanctioned on 22 December 1896/18 Radjab 1314 and its premises officially opened on Saturday, 14 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1314/15 May 1897 in the presence of the Tunisian authorities.

Its creation was in part due to the united efforts of Tunisians educated at the Ṣādikī College, who were anxious to effect a reconciliation with former students of the Zaytūna. In this aim they were supported by *shaykhs* who were the Zaytūna's instructors. Their action was in line with the political and cultural trends advocated and put into practice by the minister Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], which put a determinedly modern slant on traditional studies and provided the Zaytūna's students with a scientific course of study that gave them an opening into the modern world, which the French socio-cultural presence in Tunisia made essential.

The activities of the Near Eastern reformists, and Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh's two visits to Tunis (in December 1884 and 1903), also had an influence on the teaching of Arabic studies. During his second visit to the city, ʿAbduh even put forward the notion of introducing instruction in science and mathematics into the Zaytūna itself.

In 1893 the modern studies courses followed at the Khaldūniyya were set as obligatory tests in the Zaytūna's examinations and recognised in the official diploma of applied studies which was created by a decree of 28 Djumādā II 1316/12 November 1898 and which conferred job advantages on its holders.

In order to achieve these ends, the association had to smooth over difficulties, combat numerous instances of prejudice and counter the many objections raised by the traditionalists, who considered that the study of modern science was a profane action which might strike a blow at the unity of Islam. The association also had to struggle to balance a very shaky budget and raise the necessary credit to cover the cost of organising courses and lectures, acquiring books for the library and materials which would enable students to begin scientific experiments.

The Khaldūniyya course of studies, taught in modern Arabic, imparted, up to World War I, the rudiments of knowledge which played a valuable part in the diffusion of scientific ideas among students and the adults who attended lectures aimed at popularising ideas on physics, chemistry, zoology, botany, modern literature, history, law, economic and commercial geography and political economy.

The last president, Shaykh Fāḍil Ibn ʿĀshūr, had a Zaytūn university education but was a wholehearted advocate of the modern ideas that, from 1945, took over from the former directors, who were of essentially Ṣādiḳian education. Ibn ʿĀshūr inaugurated the final phase, which concluded with the educational reforms of 1958. Several projects were dear to his heart. He renewed the objectives of the association by setting up many "Khaldūnian" organisations which coincided with a new spirit of nationalism stemming from the Arab League. He created an Arabic general certificate of education based on a general and scientific curriculum in the Arabic language which fitted students for enrollment in the universities of the Arab countries. He also opened an Institute of Islamic Studies which was intended to revitalise Islamic culture, and from 1945 onwards drew attention to the new realities governing the modern world by organising a series of conferences on specific themes. In addition, he set up an Arabic Institute of Law in 1946 with the aim of modernising law studies and improving the education of barristers and magistrates, so that Tunisian justice might be better served. Finally, in the same year he founded the Institute of Philosophy, to educate students who wished to prepare for advanced level philosophy, and also to give wider currency to the major trends of Islamic philosophy.

It is clear, therefore, that from its inception the Khaldūniyya had the dual aim of preparing students for official examinations through a proper course of study and of giving adults the opportunity to round off their general education and diversify their knowledge.

With its combination of instruction and culture, the Khaldūniyya was gradually raised from the status of a private association to that of a national cultural institution which organised courses and conferences and put in train various other activities. To fulfil these tasks, it employed a linguistic tool which served to transmit traditional teaching but was sufficiently flexible to convey and give mastery of modern and scientific knowledge.

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(M. SAYADI)

BANŪ **KH̲ĀLID**, an Arab tribe occupying the central part of the eastern provinces of modern Saudi Arabia, the region along the Gulf coast known since earlier times as al-Aḥsāʾ or al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*]. The tribe at present occupies the territory lying between al-Miķtāʿ in the north and al-Bayāḍ in the south, with its centre at the town of al-Ḥasā. For the last two centuries, the chieftainship has been in the hands of the ʿUrayʿir family.

The tribe begins to figure in historical sources from the 10th/16th century onwards, indicating its growing importance. In 989/1581 they fought off S̲h̲arīfian forces trying to occupy al-Ḥasā from the sea, but could not prevent the Ottomans, who had the support of the Muntafiķ tribe [*q.v.*] of Lower ʿIrāķ, from occupying the region soon afterwards. The Ottomans held it till 1082/1670, when Barrāk b. ʿUrayʿir Āl Ḥamīd, member of an important family of the Banū K̲h̲alīd, killed Ras̲h̲īd b. Mag̲h̲āmis Āl S̲h̲abīb of the Muntafiķ and drove the Turks from the town of al-Hufhūf or al-Hufūf [*q.v.*], and thus ended the first Turkish occupation of the province. It was Barrāk who established a summer residence in Kuwayt, in a fortress called, like that of al-Hufhūf, a *kōt* or *kūt* (whence the diminutive *kuwayt* from this Indian word). He also sacked the town of al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] in *ca.* 1091/1680, but died soon afterwards, and his brother Muḥammad succeeded as tribal chief. Until his death in 1102/1691, Muḥammad made various incursions into the regions of al-Yamāma, al-K̲h̲ard̲j̲ and Sudayr in Nad̲j̲d. He was followed by Saʿdūn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿUt̲h̲mān, who had been Barrāk's ally in the expulsion of the Turks, and under him the area controlled by the Banū K̲h̲ālid reached its greatest extent, from Kuwayt in the north to Ķaṭar in the south. He envisaged also a policy of conquest in Nad̲j̲d, where in 1095/1684 the Idrīsid S̲h̲arīf Idrīs b. Waṭbān, who at that time controlled al-Dirʿiyya, had been killed by one Sulṭān b. Ḥāmid al-Ķaysī, who was probably a member of the Banū K̲h̲ālid, and who had then made himself lord of that town; it was held by Sulṭān and his brother ʿAbd Allāh for some two decades. However, incursions from al-Ḥasā continued, and we find Saʿdūn again attacking and sacking ʿAķrabā and ʿAmmāriyya in 1133/1721 just before his death in battle in 1135/1723.

A series of internecine conflicts within the family followed, ending in the triumph of Saʿdūn's cousin ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who was in turn followed by his brother Sulaymān. It was during his reign that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*] began his preaching in Nad̲j̲d, and K̲h̲ālidī opposition to this teaching was one of the main causes of the ensuing warfare between the Banū K̲h̲ālid and the Āl Suʿūd, beginning with the expulsion of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb from ʿUyayna by ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Aḥmad Āl Muʿammar at the behest of Sulaymān b. Muḥammad, after when he settled at al-Dirʿiyya (1157/1744). Further internal conflict followed amongst the Banū K̲h̲ālid, with Sulaymān driven out of al-Ḥasā in 1165/1752; he found refuge in al-K̲h̲ard̲j̲, but died there in the same year. The Āl Suʿūd now intervened in al-Ḥasā, at the invitation of discontended members of the ruling family, but when Saʿdūn of the Banū K̲h̲ālid was defeated at D̲j̲adaʿa by the rebels, who were aided by the Muntafiķ chief T̲h̲uwaynī, Saʿdūn actually found refuge in al-Dirʿiyya with his enemy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. Suʿūd and died there shortly afterwards. The rebel leaders Duwayḥis and Muḥammad b. ʿUrayʿir, together with their uncle ʿAbd al-Muḥsin, now became leaders of the Banū K̲h̲ālid in al-Ḥasā until 1203/1789, when they were briefly succeeded by Zayd b. ʿUrayʿir and Barrāk b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin. In 1207/1793 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz felt strong enough to invade al-Ḥasā, and two years later totally defeated Barrāk. One Nād̲j̲im, of obscure family and not a member of the Banū K̲h̲ālid, came to power now in al-Ḥasā as a vassal, nominally *wālī* or governor, of the Āl Suʿūd.

The expansionist policies of Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who by 1223/1808 controlled the Ḥid̲j̲āz, ʿAsīr, al-Ḥasā and Baḥrayn, as well as Nad̲j̲d, alarmed the Ottoman Porte, leading to the invasion from Egypt of an army under Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] which defeated Suʿūd and razed al-Dirʿiyya to the ground in 1233-4/1818-19. This provided an opportunity for the Banū K̲h̲ālid to regain control in al-Ḥasā, and two brothers from the ʿUrayʿir family, Mād̲j̲id and Muḥammad, briefly managed to seize al-Hufhūf and Ķaṭīf before Ibrāhīm's commander Muḥammad Kās̲h̲if appeared there. Mād̲j̲id, however, remained ruler of al-Ḥasā until 1245/1830, when he was killed in battle at ʿAķlā with the resurgent Āl Suʿūd. Al-Ḥasā again passed under Suʿūdī control, despite the temporary re-imposition of Turco-Egyptian control over Nad̲j̲d in 1838, until internal conflict within the Āl Suʿūd in 1872 allowed the Ottomans to re-establish their power in al-Ḥasā, with their headquarters in al-Hufhūf. In the following year, the Turkish troops withdrew, and the Porte appointed as local governor or *mutaṣarrif* a member of their old supporters, the Banū K̲h̲ālid, sc. Bāziʿ b. ʿUrayʿir. His position nevertheless proved unstable, and when the Suʿūdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fayṣal attacked him, and besieged him in the citadel of al-Hufhūf, al-Kūt, Turkish forces had to return and drive off the Suʿūdīs.

In 1912 the whole region of al-Ḥasā came into the hands of the founder of modern Saudi Arabia, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz II. This ruler followed a policy of linking the Banū K̲h̲ālid to his own dynasty by marriage alliances; hence there are many Saudi princes today who have the blood of the Banū K̲h̲ālid in their veins.

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(R. Di Meglio)

K̲H̲ĀLID B. **ʿABD ALLĀH** AL-**ĶASRĪ**, governor for the Umayyads, first of Mecca and later, during almost the entire caliphate of His̲h̲ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], of ʿIrāķ. There his position may be compared with that of Ziyād under Muʿāwiya and al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ under ʿAbd al-Malik. Information about K̲h̲ālid in the sources often seems to be the product of polemic between different political, religious, ethnic and tribal groups, and it should, therefore, be used cautiously.

His clan, the Ķasr, was a branch of Banū Bad̲j̲īla [*q.v.*]. While his grandfather and great-grandfather are counted as Companions of the Prophet (Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta 1854-73, i, 59, iii, 1341), and the latter is known as a hero of the Bad̲j̲īla, an earlier ancestor is said to have been a Jewish slave, and K̲h̲ālid himself is often called Ibn al-Naṣrāniyya on

account of his Christian mother. Some scandalous details about Khālid's ancestry seem to reflect anti-Arab Shuʿūbī sentiment (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* i, 205 = Eng. tr. i, 188). In a tradition which Goldziher (*ibid.*, ii, 45-6 = Eng. tr. ii, 53-4) classified as a pro-Umayyad fabrication, and which may refer to the rivalry between Khālid and his successor as governor of ʿIrāḳ, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*], the Prophet gave Khālid's grandfather Asad precedence over a man of Thaḳīf and asked for special blessings on Asad's descendants. The report that Khālid was not a descendant of Asad (Ibn ʿAsākir, Damascus 1332/1914, v, 68) may be a response to this *ḥadīth*. For these and other details of Khālid's ancestry, see especially *Aghānī*[1], xix, 52 ff.

The dates of Khālid's governorship at Mecca are uncertain. Ṭabarī's two reports, one *sub anno* 89/707-8, the other *sub anno* 91/709-10, both attribute Khālid's appointment to the caliph al-Walīd. Some sources, however, refer to Khālid as governor at Mecca under ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 86/705), among them a detailed report in pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba of the arrest by Khālid, after his arrival as governor in Mecca, of the pious Saʿīd b. al-Djubayr [*q.v.*], a refugee from ʿIrāḳ after the suppression by al-Ḥadjdjādj of the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath (*K. al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*[2], Cairo 1969, ii, 51 ff.). The suggestion of F. Gabrieli (*Il califfato di Hishâm*, Alexandria, 1935, 8, n. 2) that the story of the arrest of Saʿīd b. al-Djubayr has been moved forward by pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba in order to make it follow the account of Ibn al-ʿAshʿath's defeat in 84/703 or 85/704, and that other reports which have Khālid as governor of Mecca under ʿAbd al-Malik all derive from the account of pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba, seems to be contradicted by the reports of al-Azraḳī, an earlier source, which refer to Khālid as governing Mecca for ʿAbd al-Malik in circumstances which have nothing to do with Saʿīd (F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken ... Mekka*, Leipzig 1857-61, i, 265, 304-5). Wüstenfeld considered it possible that Khālid governed Mecca on two separate occasions, once for ʿAbd al-Malik and once for al-Walīd (*ibid.*, iv, 148). While the end of Khālid's governorship at Mecca is usually associated with the accession of the caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (96/715) and his removal of those officials whom he considered had been too close to al-Ḥadjdjādj (J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Berlin 1902, 165 ff., Eng. tr. 265 ff.), al-Azraḳī has two traditions which refer to Khālid governing Mecca for Sulaymān and which seem inconsistent with the view that the removal of Khālid from office was one of Sulaymān's first acts as caliph (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 339-40).

Apart from his involvement in the arrest of Saʿīd b. Djubayr, the information about Khālid's activities in Mecca concentrates on aspects of the cult. He is said to have decorated the Kaʿba with gold sent by al-Walīd (Azraḳī, *Chron. Mekka*, i, 146; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 340), to have been the first to enforce the segregation of the men from the women in the *ṭawāf* (Azraḳī, 265-6), and the first to arrange the lines of worshippers around the Kaʿba (*ibid.*, 304-5). But, on the other hand, he is said to have proclaimed his willingness to violate the *ḥaram* (Ṭabarī, ii, 1231) or to tear down the Kaʿba and remove it to Jerusalem (*Aghānī*[1], xix, 90; pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba, ii, 51-2), should the caliph desire it, and it is Khālid who is charged with the construction, on the orders of al-Walīd (Ṭabarī, ii, 1199-1200; *Aghānī*[1], xix, 60) or Sulaymān (Azraḳī, 339-40), of a fountain which was intended to supplant Zamzam.

Between his removal from the governorship of Mecca and his appointment to that of ʿIrāḳ, Khālid is mentioned only as one of the two men sent by the caliph Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik to take *amān* to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [*q.v.*] in a futile attempt to forestall his revolt (Ṭabarī, ii, 1382, 1387-8). His appointment as governor of ʿIrāḳ is dated to the beginning of the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, but there is some doubt whether it was in 105/723-4 or 106/724-5 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1471; but cf. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Leiden 1888, 336, where it is said that it was Yazīd II who appointed Khālid).

It seems likely that Khālid was appointed to ʿIrāḳ in the hope that, since B. Badjīla was not powerful and belonged neither to Muḍar nor Yemen, he would be able to remain aloof from the inter-tribal feuds which had become more intense as a result of the rebellion of the Yemenī Ibn al-Muhallab and the pro-Muḍar policy of Khālid's predecessor, ʿUmar b. Hubayra. Nevertheless, his appointment seems to have aroused the hostility of the Muḍar, and this may have been a factor in causing his removal from office and downfall, an event which the sources attribute to the jealousy of the caliph at the increase of Khālid's wealth as a result of his agricultural works. In relation to the length of his governorship in ʿIrāḳ, information about his administration is sparse. Towards the end of his period of office he suppressed a number of "heretical" movements, among them the revolt of the Khāridjī Bahlūl b. Bishr al-Shaybānī (Ṭabarī, ii, 1622-7), the rising of the Shīʿī *wuṣafāʾ* in Kūfa under al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd (*ibid.*, ii, 1619-21), and that of Wazīr al-Sikhtiyānī in al-Ḥīra (*ibid.*, ii, 1628-9), all of which are dated to 119/737. Khālid is also mentioned in some sources in connection with the execution of Djaʿd b. Dirham [*q.v.*] (al-Dārimī, *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Djahmiyya*, Lund-Leiden 1960, 4). From time to time, Khurāsān and the eastern provinces were placed under his control, and at such times Khālid relied on his brother Asad as his governor in Khurāsān. (For Asad's activities there, see Gabrieli, *Hishâm*, 38-63, with further references). At other times, the caliph appointed the governor of Khurāsān himself. In Baṣra Khālid's representative was Bilāl b. Abī Burda (see Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, index). Khālid seems to have minted *dirhams* of a high quality (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 469) and to have prevented the minting of coins outside Wāsiṭ (J. Walker, *Catalogue ...*, London 1956, p. lxiii).

In spite of his suppression of the "heretical" movements, there exist a number of traditions referring to Khālid's governorship in ʿIrāḳ which, from a later point of view, would seem to illustrate his indifference to Muslim sensibilities. He built a church for his mother immediately behind the mosque of Kūfa (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 286); he justified his decision to have a fountain which he had installed in the mosque of Kūfa blessed by a Christian priest by the statement that his prayer was more likely to be heard than that of Abū Turāb (Gabrieli, *Hishâm*, 16 n. 3, citing Ṣibṭ b. al-Djawzī); more explicitly, he declared that "their religion (sc. Christianity) is better than ours" (*ibid.*); he was scornful of those who memorised (*ḥafiẓa*) the Ḳurʾān (*Aghānī*[1], xix, 63); he favoured Zoroastrians and Christians in the distribution of offices and in disputes with Muslims; and according to the *Fihrist* (338 = tr. Dodge, 804) he was a Zindīḳ.

Khālid's fall from office in 120/738 was followed by a period of about 18 months during which he was held in prison in Kūfa, next by a period of residence first in Ruṣāfa, where the caliph Hishām had established his court, and then at Damascus, and finally,

after the death of Hishām and the succession to the caliphate of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, by his deliverance on the orders of the new caliph once again into the hands of his successor as governor of ʿIrāḳ, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī, under whose torture he died (126/743-4; Ṭabarī, ii, 1641-59, 1778-83, 1812-25).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(G. R. Hawting)

KHĀLID B. BARMAK. [see AL-BARĀMIKA].

KHĀLID B. ṢAFWĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿAMR B. AL-**AHTAM** (whence the name IBN AL-AHTAM sometimes given to him) AL-TAMĪMĪ AL-MINḲARĪ, ABŪ ṢAFWĀN, of Baṣra (d. 135/752), the companion of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī and probably also of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, was a transmitter of historical traditions, poetry and memorable orations, but was especially famed for his eloquence, since he fulfilled a rôle parallel to that of the poets, in that he was able to improvise a homily or description with abundant usage of rhymed prose and that his sayings enjoyed as wide a circulation as famous verses, but with the difference that no-one ever fraudulently attributed to him a single word (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 317-18).

He belonged moreover to a family, the Banū Minḳar, which had in it a considerable number of celebrated orators (enumerated in *Bayān*, i, 355), especially Shabīb b. Shayba, who is often mentioned at the same time as him. His fame became such that two monographs were devoted to him, one by al-Madāʾinī (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 151: *Kitāb Khālid b. Ṣafwān*), and the other by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yaḥyā al-Djulūdī (*Fihrist*, 168: *Kitāb Akhbār Khālid b. Ṣafwān*). Although he claimed to have undertaken never to find himself alone with a sovereign without reminding him of God, at times he gave pieces of advice of another kind, above all to al-Saffāḥ, in front of whom he defended eloquently his homeland, but was also quite happy to describe women whom the caliph might choose as concubines; as a result of this, he stirred up opposition from Umm Salama and had subsequently to retract (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §§ 2327-30; Muḥammad b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *al-Hafawāt al-nādira*, ed. Ṣ. al-Ashtar, Damascus 1387/1967, 101-4; Ibn al-Djawzī, *K. al-Adhkiyāʾ*, Beirut n.d., 116-18). His eloquence often consisted of plays upon words, alliterations and witty responses, and some of his aphorisms have a general validity. Yet he had not only favourable qualities; on the one hand, he was accused of committing linguistic solecisms and of not always reflecting over what he was saying, and on the other, he was accused of being a miser (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, index). Towards the end of his life he lost his sight (al-Ṣafadī, *ʿUmyān*, 148-9).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*-Caskel, Tab. 76, ii, 343; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, indices; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, index; *idem*, *Maʿārif*, index; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, v, 53-63; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 82; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 24-35; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 351-2; Brockelmann, S I, 105 (not to be confused with al-Ḳannāṣ, S I, 93). (Ch. Pellat)

KHĀLID B. SAʿID B. AL-ʿĀṢ B. UMAYYA B. ʿABD AL-SHAMS B. ʿABD MANĀF B. ḲUṢAYY B. KILĀB B. MURRA B. KAʿB B. LUʾAYY, d. 13/635, was, according to several traditionists, if not the fourth Companion of the Prophet, at least one of the second group of three. Ibn Isḥāḳ, however, places his conversion to Islam at a much later date and thus excludes him from the privileged group of the eight Predecessors (*sābiḳūn, mutaḳaddimūn*).

As a rich member of the Umayyad clan, he is said to have presented to Muḥammad the slaves inherited from his father; he had some education, and was possibly Muḥammad's third secretary, after ʿUthmān and ʿAlī. He fulfilled this latter rôle, and was also responsible for protocol at the time of the reception of the important tribe of Thaḳīf and their allies in the year 9.

Previous to this, when one of the emigrants in Ethiopia, he had been able to strengthen his ties of friendship with the Prophet by helping to arrange the latter's marriage with a woman from his own clan, Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, after the death of her husband, with whom she herself had emigrated. Khālid b. Saʿīd had the responsibility of arranging the match (as *walī* or *wakīl*), placed upon him by his companions, although one tradition gives this task to ʿUthmān.

His political career began in the year 10. When Muḥammad sent back to his tribe in Yemen Farwa b. Musayk, who had just come to profess his adhesion to Islam, he appointed Khālid to accompany him and to collect the *ṣadaḳa*. At the beginning of the year 11, and just before his death, Muḥammad appointed seven governors for Yemen and ʿUmān, including Khālid for the territory between Nadjrān, Rimaʿ and Zabīd. At the time of al-Aswad's revolt, the governors came together around al-Ṭāhir b. Abī Hāla, who was in charge of the Tihāma of Yemen, but Khālid b. Saʿīd and ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, governor of Nadjrān, left their posts and returned to Medina a month after the Prophet's death, i.e. in Rabīʿ II 11/July 632.

At the beginning of the year 13, Abū Bakr was getting ready the expedition for Syria, and according to a *ḥadīth* of ʿUmar b. Shabba (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2079) gave Khālid b. Saʿīd command of the first army, but then revoked this act before the army set out. Al-Ṭabarī considers the affair to have been of such importance that he takes up Khālid's career since Rabīʿ II 11 and lists his faults, which comprised abandoning his post and daring to present himself in Medina dressed in silks, deriding ʿAlī and ʿUthmān for having let the power slip from the control of the descendants of ʿAbd Manāf, and refusing to recognise Abū Bakr for two months. In the end, Abū Bakr appointed Khālid to defend Taymāʾ until the armies from the south arrived. At first, he carried out his task successfully; many of the local tribes joined him, and he pushed back the Byzantines. However, rushing to cover himself with glory before the other generals arrived, he pursued northwards a Byzantine general who, after simulating a retreat, defeated him. Khālid fled on horseback, leaving ʿIkrima and Shuraḥbīl the task of bringing back his scattered and demoralised forces.

Back in Medina, ʿUmar again brought up the matter of Khālid before Abū Bakr, together with that of Khālid b. al-Walīd, whom he hated even more. Abū Bakr steadfastly refused to dismiss the latter, but this time he allowed ʿUmar to dismiss Khālid b. Saʿīd, to whom he sent a very harshly-worded message. When he reached Medina and sought Abū Bakr's pardon, the latter repulsed Khālid and regretted not having listened to ʿUmar and ʿAlī. According to another tradition, Abū Bakr even forbade him to enter Medina. It was ʿUmar, after he had become caliph, who pardoned Khālid, on condition that he redeemed himself. He was then placed under the order of Shuraḥbīl, and died during the Syrian campaign of this same year, 13/635. The attention

once again accorded to him by al-Ṭabarī, who cites four *ḥadīth*s mentioning his death, shows the interest which Khālid b. Saʿīd seems to have raised; it is probable that his attitude, together with reminiscences of his friendship with Muḥammad, posed a problem of conscience for Abū Bakr.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, al-Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*. (H. LOUCEL)

KHĀLID B. SINĀN B. ʿAYTH AL-ʿABSĪ (see his genealogy in Ibn al-Kalbī *Djamhara*, Tab. 133), one of the personages of the interval [see FATRA] between Christ and Muḥammad who, in Islamic tradition, was considered as a prophet; he was even regarded as the first prophet to arise amongst the descendants of Ismāʿīl. He is said to have foretold the coming of Muḥammad, and the latter is said to have greeted Khālid's daughter, who had come to him, with these words "Here is the daughter of a prophet whom his people has lost"; popular belief even went as far as to attribute to him knowledge of Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (*Thimār al-ḳulūb*, 456). He is mentioned in connection with the fire called *nār al-Ḥarratayn* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 476; cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i 409-10), into which he threw himself and which he extinguished in order to demonstrate the ridiculousness of the cult of fire which had spread amongst the Arabs (*Thimār*, 456), and in connection with the *ʿanḳāʾ* [*q.v.*], whose race God destroyed as the result of a prayer of his (R. Basset, *Mille et un contes*, iii, 203-4). There is already found in al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 477) a tradition according to which Khālid is said to have instructed his people to disinter him after death so that he could reveal the secrets of the hereafter; this is often repeated later (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 62, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 21-2 = §§ 1349-50; al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 61/137; etc.).

These legends, together with the prophethood of Khālid, are rejected by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 478) in the name of the *mutakallimūn* who say that Khālid was a Bedouin, but God never raised up a prophet from amongst the Bedouin, hence Khālid could not have been a prophet (a syllogism taken up, in particular in *Thimār*, 456).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, index; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, s.vv. *ʿanḳāʾ* and *siʿlāt*; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, No. 2355; Maḳdisī, *Création*, iii, 7, 130, 178-9. (CH. PELLAT)

KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD B. AL-MUGHĪRA AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, Arab commander at the time of the early conquests. Muslim tradition gives his career as follows. He fought against Muḥammad at Uḥud, but was converted in 6/627 or 8/629 and participated in the expedition to Muʾta and the conquest of Mecca, both in 8 A.H. The Prophet charged him with the destruction of the idol of al-ʿUzzā at Nakhla and later sent him to the B. Djadhīma, whom he wrongfully attacked. In 9/630 the Prophet sent him from Tabūk to Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*] where he captured the ruler al-Ukaydir and sent him to Medina. In 10/631 he was sent to invite the B. al-Ḥārith of Yemen to Islam. On the outbreak of the *ridda* or "apostasy" after the Prophet's death in 11/632, Abū Bakr sent him against the rebels, on which occasion he committed another two misdeeds, first by killing Muslims (through a misunderstanding) and next by marrying the widow of one of the victims. Abū Bakr, however, forgave him and he commanded the Muslims against Musaylima in the Yamāma. In 12/633 he was sent either directly from the Yamāma or via Medina to ʿIrāḳ where he conquered al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], Dūmat al-Djandal and other places before crossing the desert to Syria to assist the armies there. He stayed in Syria, though his troops returned to ʿIrāḳ (Ṭabarī, i, 2145). On Abū Bakr's death in 13/634, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb immediately dismissed him from the high command, but he fought in Northern Syria under Abū ʿUbayda and conducted a number of campaigns on the Byzantine border before his death in Ḥimṣ (or Medina) in 21/642. His son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was governor of Ḥimṣ and the Djazīra for Muʿāwiya, who is said to have had him killed because he feared his prestige. Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid, who avenged his father, is found as a commander in 48/668-9, but otherwise nothing significant is heard of the family.

There are two points of major interest in Khālid's career. Firstly, Muslim tradition is extraordinarily eager to discredit him. He is known as *Sayf Allāh*, an epithet he earned in battle against the Romans at Muʾta (Ṭabarī, I, 1617, differently in 1531), but he is condemned rather than celebrated as such, doubtless because the title belongs in the same context as that which designated the armies of Syria as *djund Allāh*, sent to take revenge from the Romans for their oppression of the Jews (Ṭabarī, i, 2409), or which knew ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as the redeemer (*fārūḳ*, see *ibid.*). Later tradition might have reduced Khālid to *Sayf Rasūl Allāh* (cf. *Khalīfat Allāh*), but instead reduced his contribution, partly by depicting him as selfwilled, as exemplified in his misdeeds, and partly by having ʿUmar dismiss him, though, as De Goeje has pointed out, ʿUmar must on the contrary have appointed him to the high command in the first place.

Secondly, Muslim tradition has Khālid initiate the conquests in ʿIrāḳ, a point contradicted by non-Muslim sources. Sebeos (*ca.* 661 A.D.) has the Arabs divide their armies after their first successes in Syria and send one division to ʿIrāḳ (the returning armies of Muslim tradition), and the Khūzistānī chronicle (*ca.* 680 A.D.) only knows Khālid as the conqueror of Syria. In fact, Ṭabarī, i, 2018, has Abū Bakr instruct Khālid to go to Syria. The doctrinal significance of this shift is that it suppresses Syria's status as the promised land for Jews and Arabs alike (for a similar shift, compare Syria in Sebeos, 95-6, with ʿIrāḳ in Ṭabarī, i, 2254, 2285, 2289). The manner in which the shift was effected is clear when we consider the appearance of the Prophet at the head of the first invasions of Syria in non-Muslim sources (*Doctrina Iacobi*, (*ca.* 634 A.D.), 86-7; *Cont. Byz. Arab.* in *MGH*, xi, 337), which Muslim tradition has reduced to the pointless expedition to Tabūk. It was from Tabūk that the Prophet sent Khālid to Dūmat al-Djandal, the city which he is supposed to have conquered again on his later campaign in ʿIrāḳ, though this was an unlikely détour from al-Ḥīra. On initiating the conquest of Syria, the Prophet must therefore have sent Khālid to Dūmat al-Djandal, which was vital for the control of Syria, and it was from here that Khālid crossed to join the armies in Syria, a more plausible, if less romantic desert crossing than that preserved in Muslim tradition.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *passim*; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, Oxford 1966, index; *Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati*, ed. N. Bonwetsch in *Abh. G. W. Gött.* n.s. xii (1920); Sebeos, *Histoire d'Heraclius*, tr. F. Macler, Paris 1904, 98;

Nöldeke (tr.) *Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik*, in *SBAk Wien*, cxxviii (1893), 33, 45; De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de Syrie*, Leiden 1900, 10-17, 37-50, 64-70; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1899, 37-68; Caetani, *Annali*, ii/2, 917-97 (§§ 155-236), iv, 652-67 (§§ 317-32); H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife Omaiyade Moʿāwiya I*, Paris 1908, 3-14 (on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid); on the Prophet and the conquests, see P. Crone and M. A. Cook, *Hagarism*, Cambridge 1977. (P. Crone)

KHĀLID b. YAZĪD al-KĀTIB al-TAMĪMĪ, Abu 'l-Haytham, a Baghdādī of Khurāsānian origin who was secretary for the army in the vizierate of al-Faḍl b. Marwān (218-21/833-6) [*q.v.*], retaining his office under the ministry of Ibn al-Zayyāt [*q.v.*], until his mind gave way, in circumstances which remain obscure (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 48). He then wandered, almost naked, through the streets of Baghdād, pursued and stoned by a mob of urchins (*Aghānī*, xx, 244; al-Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, 162-3). He died *ca.* 269/883.

Khālid was the boon-companion of ʿAlī b. Hishām and then of al-Faḍl b. Marwān. He had the entrée to al-Muʿtaṣim's company, was close to the poet ʿAlī b. al-Djahm [*q.v.*], and collaborated with the famous player on the *ṭunbūr*, Aḥmad b. Ṣadaḳa (*Aghānī*, xxii, 216-17, 517-18). But it is his verses which have saved him from obscurity. He described himself as a poet "who tells of the sorrows of his soul, and is not concerned with panegyric or satire" (al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 16-17; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 313). In practice, he was the author of short pieces of up to four verses only. When he went so far as to compose long poems in honour of al-Muʿtaṣim's victories (the ms. of his *Dīwān* contains five eulogies), Diʿbil [*q.v.*] criticised him for tackling something beyond his poetic powers. Khālid's real talent lay in the elegy, in which he describes the lover's torments and the cruelness of his solitude; the memory of the beloved haunts him, and the fatalness cf passion tortures him. His verses are addressed to women and also to ephebes, to whom he devoted numerous poems. He also wrote some moving pieces during the period when his reason was tottering. He complained at that time of the loss of his poems: "He said despairingly that people had not learnt them off by heart, and he himself had forgotten them" (*Aghānī*, xx, 244).

The term most often used by anthologists when speaking of his poetry is *riḳḳa*. We have here a delicate poetic art which expresses, in an elegant language, the various states of a sensitive and sincere mind. The importance of the sound pattern within his verses should also be noted; he often employs twice or three times in a verse the same root, and this mannerism gives shape to a subtle sense of playing with semantic substitutions.

Bibliography: Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xx, 234-49 and *passim*; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, Baghdad 1966, 15-21, with references to the ms. of the *Dīwān*; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, i, 296-7, no. 119; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1954, v, 33-4; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1956, 405-6; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931, viii, 308-14; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Beirut 1968-72, ii, 232-7, no. 215; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 47-52; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, Cairo 1953, index; see also J. E. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, unpubl. thesis, Paris 1971, i, 171 ff.

(J. E. Bencheikh)

KHĀLID b. YAZĪD b. MUʿĀWIYA, Abū Hāshim, was one of the sons of the caliph Yazīd I and Fākhita bint Abī Hāshim b. ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa. The year of his birth is not recorded, but he was probably born *ca.* 48/668. When his brother Muʿāwiya II died in 64/683 without having designated his successor, a struggle broke out. Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal [*q.v.*] favoured Khālid, who was however not elected because he was too young. In his place the elderly Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] was chosen, on the condition that he would be succeeded first by Khālid b. Yazīd and then by ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*]. Marwān furthermore pledged himself to marry Fākhita; in doing so he won over Khālid's followers.

After his return from Egypt, however, Marwān secured the succession for his son ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], probably because he considered Khālid politically of no importance. When Khālid reminded him of his promise, Marwān insulted him publicly. In revenge the caliph was killed by Fākhita, as the somewhat legendary story has it (in reality Marwān's death in 65/685 may have been brought about otherwise).

ʿAbd al-Malik then became caliph without Khālid being mentioned again. Nor did the latter lay claim to his rights. Relations between them even became friendly. Khālid married ʿAbd al-Malik's daughter ʿĀʾisha (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi, ed. Ahlwardt, 153, ll. 12 ff.), acted as his councellor and joined him in the summer of 71-72/691 in the Ḳarḳīsiyāʾ [*q.v.*] campaign against Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī. For the rest, Khālid seems to have confined his activities to governing his emirate of Ḥimṣ.

Besides ʿĀʾisha bint ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, Khālid married Umm Kulthūm bint ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, Āmina bint Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya and Ramla bint al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. Romantic stories are current concerning his love for this last. Khālid probably died in 85/704, during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik; other sources have 90/709.

In the Ridjāl [*q.v.*] literature Khālid is counted among the Ḥadīth scholars, but his rôle as a traditionist was in fact of no importance. Also, as a poet he was no more than an amateur.

Later legend has made Khālid into an alchemist He is said to have ordered Egyptian scholars to translate Greek and Coptic works on alchemy, medicine and astronomy into Arabic, and to have learned alchemy from a Byzantine monk by the name of Maryānos (the name Stephanos is also mentioned). All this is however not historical. These legends can be traced back to an anecdote according to which Khālid was sneered at because he had been robbed of the caliphate and henceforward was wasting his time by trying to get at something impossible (*ṭalab mā lā yuḳdaru ʿalayhi*, Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 71, ll. 5). This wording was later interpreted as meaning alchemy (*yaʿnī 'l-kīmiyāʾ*). When this interpretation had become part of the anecdote (see, e.g., *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 90, ll. 7 = [3]xvii, 345, ll. 12), Khālid's name became attached to important alchemical works, like the *K. Firdaws al-ḥikma*, a large *dīwān* of alchemical didactic poems, and several other treatises such as the Maryānus-legend, his last will to his son etc. In the Latin Middle Ages works attributed to *Calid filius Jazidi* were in circulation.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 28 ff., 168 f., 212; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 128; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (ed. Hārūn), i, 328; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 65-71, 137; v, 128-35, 145, 150, 157 ff.; xi (ed. Ahlwardt), 153, 224 ff.; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār* (ed. Guirgass), 272, 294, 328; Yaʿḳūbī,

ii, 301-7; Mubarrad, *Kāmil* (ed. Wright), 196 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 469-77, 577, 804; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd* (ed. Amīn), Index; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 307 f.; *Murūdj*, viii, 176; *Aghānī* [1]xvi, 87-92 = [3]xvii, 340-50; *Fihrist*, 242, 244, 354; Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 302; Ibn ʿAsākir (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badrān), v, 116-20; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 165 ff.; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 364, 366, 368; iii, 246 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 193, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 229 f.; J. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten I. Chālid ibn Jazīd ibn Muʿāwija*, Heidelberg 1924; H. E. Stapleton, in *Isis*, xxvi (1936), 128-31; Sezgin, iv, 120-6; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (HO, Erg. bd. VI/2), Leiden 1972, 192-5; idem, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library*, Teil I, Wiesbaden 1974, Index. (M. ULLMANN)

KHĀLID ḌIYĀʾ, USHĀḲĪ-ZĀDE, originally MEḤMED KHĀLID, ḌIYĀʾ AL-DĪN (Mod. Tkish. Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil), 1868-1945, Turkish novelist and short story writer, the greatest representative of prose in the *Therwet-i fünūn* (*Edebiyyāt-i djedīde*) literary school of the late 19th century. His family originated from Ushāḳ in western Anatolia where they were known as Ḥelwādjī-Zāde. Apart from sweetmeat (*ḥelwā*) trading, they also owned the leading carpet business of the area, winning an international reputation under the management of Khālid's grandfather Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Efendi, who eventually moved his carpet business to İzmir where the family came to be known as Ushāḳī-Zāde. Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī sent his eldest son Khalīl to Istanbul to start a branch of the firm. Khālid Ḍiyāʾ was born there in Eyyūb in 1868 (1284 *Rumi* year), as the youngest of the three children of Ḥādjdjī Khalīl Efendi and his wife Behiyye Khānim (H. Z. Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, 1 vol. edn., Istanbul 1969, 9-11). Khalīl Efendi was a devout man with a keen interest in Ṣūfism and a knowledge of Arabic and Persian who read, in his spare time, the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ and Rūmī's *Mathnawī*. The family soon moved to a *konak* near the Süleymaniye district. Khālid attended various local schools and avidly read at home all the folk stories and other popular tales he could get, and also attended frequently performances at the then famous Gedik Pasha Theatre, thus developing a passion for the theatre (*ibid.*, 32-6). Ḥādjdjī Khalīl lost his fortune during the turbulent period preceding and following the war with Russia (1877), and moved with his family to İzmir to live on the property of his father, whose business had continued to flourish. At the age of ten, Khālid discovered the great popular novelist Aḥmed Midḥat [*q.v.*]. This enthusiasm was soon shared by Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Efendi, who asked his grandson to read this author's famous novels and the books of other writers then in vogue, in the evenings, in the presence of his important visitors. With the help of his grandfather, Khālid quickly built up a library of his own. He first attended the local secondary school (*rüshdiyye*), but soon transferred to a French-language school run by the Mekhitarists, where he was the only Turkish pupil. In the meantime, he had become acquainted with the works of modernist writers like Nāmiḳ Kemāl and ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Hāmid. Some of the teachers in his new school who discovered his talent, guided him in his readings in French literature, in which he read avidly.

Science was his great hobby and he made many translations from popular scientific books, some of which are among his earliest publications. They appeared in the official provincial paper *Aydin* and in the Istanbul periodical *Khazīne-i evrāḳ* for March 1883. Also at this time, he sent his first original writings to the same periodical. He experimented with a poem *ʿAshḳimin mezāri* ("The Grave of my Love") which he sent to the Istanbul daily *Terdjumān-i ḥaḳīḳat*. It was published, with ironical remarks of Muʿallim Nādjī [*q.v.*], who was later to become the main opponent of the new school. Leaving school at seventeen, he began to work as a clerk in his father's business, took lessons in English and dancing and enjoyed the cosmopolitan life of İzmir society. In 1884 he founded, with his poet friend (later a Young Turk) Tewfīḳ Newzād (1865-1906), the short-lived review *Newrūz* where he serialised the translations of Georges Ohnet's *Le Maître de forges* as *Demir-khāne müdürü*. He made a short abortive trip to Istanbul to try his chance at entering a diplomatic career, but he did, however, meet there important personalities of the literary and publishing world and secured the publication of his *Gharbdan sharḳa seyyāle-i edebiyye* ("Literary current from the West to the East"). Back in İzmir, he was appointed teacher of French at the *Rüshdiyye* and an accountant at the Ottoman Bank, where he was the only Turkish employee. Later, he also taught at the local lycée (*iʿdādī*). In 1886 he founded, again with Tewfīk Newzād, the newspaper *Khidmet* where he published his *Menthūr shiʿirler* ("Poems in Prose") (published in book form in 1889) and began to serialise his first novel *Sefīle* ("The wretched woman"), which was stopped by the censor. Some of his short stories and his second novel *Nemīde* were also serialised in *Khidmet*. The loss of his mother in 1886 inspired his poems in prose *Mezārdan sesler* ("Voices from the grave"), followed by his third novel *Bir ölünün defteri* ("The diary of a dead man"), also serialised in *Khidmet*. In the meantime, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ married Memnūne Khānim, the daughter of a tax director (and a niece of Köse Rāʾif Pasha, 1836-1911).

He accompanied an uncle on his European trip, as far as the Paris exhibition of 1889; he was particularly impressed by Paris, which he knew so well from Balzac's novels. The years 1889-93 were full of bitter experiences for Khālid Ḍiyāʾ: several losses in the family, including his four month's old daughter and his grandfather, and the arrest and banishment of one of his uncles for being involved in a secret society. In the middle of this turmoil, he finished his fourth novel *Ferdī ve shurekāsi* ("Ferdī and co."), serialised in *Khidmet* (published in book form in 1312/1896). At the same time, he translated specimens from world literature (including Sanskrit and Hebrew) which were later published in four volumes (*Nāḳil*, 1308/1892).

About this time, he met Redjāʾī-Zāde Ekrem, who was passing through İzmir, and who invited him to come to Istanbul to join the group of young writers there. After resigning from the Ottoman Bank, and a brief period as acting director of the Foreign Affairs (*Meṣāliḥ-i ednebiyye*) Department at the Vilāyet, he received an offer to become First Secretary to the Director of the *Reji* (Régie, administration of the tobacco monopoly) in Istanbul, which he eagerly accepted. This was a turning point in his literary career. He arrived in Istanbul on 31 August 1893 (amid the anniversary celebrations of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's enthronement) and immediately began to visit the celebrities of the literary and publishing world like Redjāʾī-Zāde Ekrem, Aḥmed Midḥat, Muʿallim Nādjī, Abu ʾl-Ḍiyāʾ (Ebüzziya [*q.v.*] Tewfīḳ, ʿAlī Ekrem and Aḥmed Iḥsān. Within a very short time, he had met all the leading writers of the new group: Meḥmed Raʾūf, Ḥuseyn Djāhid

[*q.v.*], Djenāb Shihāb üd-Dīn, and free-lance writers like Rīzā Tewfīḳ (Bölükbashī), Aḥmed Rāsim [*q.v.*] and Ḥuseyn Raḥmī [*q.v.*]. Some time later, he met the poet who was to be his great partner in the new movement, Tewfīḳ Fikret [*q.v.*]. His office, comparatively safe from Ḥamīdian control, since the *Reji* was a foreign establishment, became gradually a kind of a literary club where long and excited discussions were held at a period when a meeting of more than three people was forbidden. Khālid Ḍiyāʾ began to write short stories for Aḥmed Iḥsān's *Therwet-i fünūn* [*q.v.*] (originally a popular science magazine founded in 1891 as the weekly supplement of *Therwet*) and for the dailies *Iḳdām* and *Ṣabāḥ*. In 1894, he also began to contribute to the literary fortnightly *Mekteb* (originally a children's magazine, founded in 1891), where several members of the new group published their works. An article he published in *Mekteb* on Sanskrit literature, where he discussed Indian philosophy and pantheism, was denounced to the Palace by an informer's *jurnal* which claimed that the author was trying "to spread the doctrine of the materialists (*Māddiyyūn*) in the country". Although the article had passed the censorship, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ was summoned to the residence of the Minister of Public Security (*Ḍabṭiyye nāẓirī*). *Mekteb* ceased to appear, and most of the young writers moved over to *Therwet-i fünūn* which seemed safer, thanks to a friend and a protector of Aḥmed Iḥsān's in the Palace. On Redjāʾī-Zāde's invitation, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ joined it under Tewfīḳ Fikret's editorship (1896). For five years *Therwet-i fünūn* became the most representative organ of the new, western-oriented literary school of *Edebiyyāt-ī djedīde* or *Therwet-i fünūn edebiyyātī*. It was in the *Therwet-i fünūn* that Khālid Ḍiyāʾ serialised his famous novel *Māʾī ve siyāh* (Nos. 273-317) and his masterpiece *ʿAshk-ī memnūʿ* (Nos. 413-79), and many of his short stories and articles appeared there. But all this suddenly came to an end: a *jurnal* sent to the Palace (probably by Baba Ṭāhir, editor of the rival conservative periodical, *Maʿlūmāt*) informed the Ḥamīdian censors that in issue No. 553 of the *Therwet-i fünūn*, published in October 1901, the forbidden words "French Revolution" appeared, in an article translated from the French by Ḥuseyn Djāhid (for details and the text of the article, see Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Edebi hatıralar*, Istanbul 1935, 161-9). The journal was immediately suspended, and when it was allowed to reappear again, all literary writings were banned and it could only publish articles on popular science. Khālid Ḍiyāʾ interrupted the serialisation of his novel *Ḳīrīḳ ḥayātlar* ("Broken Lives"), which had already been mutilated by the censorship, and wrote nothing for more than six years until the Revolution of 1908, meanwhile living in his villa in Ayastafanos (present Yeşilköy). During the nine months' period between the restoration of the constitution in 23 July 1908 and the deposition of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, following the mutiny of 13 April 1909, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ wrote extensively in many of the dailies and periodicals which quickly mushroomed after the abolition of the censorship. He also serialised in the daily *Ṣabāḥ* his period novel *Nesl-i akhīr* ("The last generation" which he never published in book form; cf. Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikaye ve roman*[2], 176-80). Also during this period, he was appointed government representative at the *Reji* (virtually a sinecure) and Professor of Western Literature and Aesthetics in the University.

In the meantime, he had become a member of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI]. On the day of Meḥemmed V's accession on April 27, 1909, he was appointed First Secretary to the new Sultan, and shortly afterwards he was also made a senator. When the CUP government fell from power in July 1912, the new Grand Vizier Ghāzī Aḥmed Mukhtār Pasha suggested to the Sultan that Khālid Ḍiyāʾ should be replaced (Luṭfī Sīmāvī, *Sulṭān Meḥemmed Reshād Khānīn we Khalefinin sarāyīnda gördüklerim*, Istanbul 1924, 82-5). He left the Palace on 30 July 1912 and returned to his writings and to his chair in the University. After the Unionists came back to power in January 1913, he was sent several times to Europe on various missions. At the end of the First World War, he was in Germany, but returned to Istanbul in 1919 and became later the chairman of the governing body of the *Reji*. Otherwise, he lived in seclusion in his country house, concentrating on the revision of his works for a final edition, carefully avoiding any involvement in politics. During the decade following the Nationalist victory in Anatolia (30 August 1922) and the proclamation of the Republic (29 October 1923), many leading personalities of the Istanbul literary world (with the exception of those who had openly disapproved of the Kemālist movement, e.g. Djenāb Shihāb üd-Dīn) found themselves elected to the Grand National Assembly. Khālid Ḍiyāʾ, however, was never considered as a candidate (Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, *Portreler*, Istanbul, n.d. [1960], 34), probably because of his earlier association with the Palace and the Unionist leaders.

When Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) started his language reform movement in 1932, with the inauguration of the First Turkish Linguistic Congress in Istanbul, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ joined the host of writers and scholars who declared their enthusiastic approval of the movement (*Birinci türk dili kurultayı, tezler ve müzakere zabıtları*, Istanbul 1933, 330-42; the single exception being Ḥuseyn Djāhid (Yalçin), *ibid.*, 270-9).

Khālid Ḍiyāʾ's last years were troubled with family misfortunes, culminating in the suicide in 1937 of his young diplomat son Khalīl Wedād. His last two public appearances were his participation in 1942 in the 50th anniversary jubilee of his career as a writer and his chairmanship in Ankara of the committee for the "Best novel" prize (awarded to Khālide Edīb's *Sinekli bakkal*). He died on 27 March 1945 in his country house at Yeşilköy near Istanbul. An extremely prolific author, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ contributed to all branches of prose literature as journalist, essayist, publicist, popular science writer, playwright and translator. But his name is particularly associated with the short story and novel, of which he is the real founder in modern Turkish literature.

Novels and short stories in modern sense did exist before him. After ʿAlī ʿAzīz's [*q.v.*] *Mukhayyalāt* (1796), which is a transition between the old and the new type of story-writing, and several translations (mainly from the French) in the 1850's and 1860's, the tendency to modernise the narrative technique is apparent in Turkish literature. If we leave out the pioneer work of the scholar-writer Shems üd-Dīn Sāmī's *Taʿashshuḳ-i ṭalʿat we fīṭnat* (1872) and experiments by Nāmīḳ Kemāl (*Intibāh*, 1876) and some of his associates (particularly Sāmī Pasha-Zāde Sezāʾis's *Sergüdhesht*, 1889), the great representative of the novel among the generation of *Tanẓīmāt* modernists is Aḥmed Midḥat, whom Khālid Ḍiyāʾ greatly admired; see his note at the end of his un-

finished translation of George Ohnet's *Maître de forges, Demirkhāne müdürü*, 1889). Hüseyn Raḥmī, an independent contemporary of Khālid Ḍiyā', was a follower of the Aḥmed Midḥat school and soon became an equally popular novelist. Although Khālid Ḍiyā', as a boy-writer, was an admirer of Aḥmed Midḥat and had a high opinion of Ḥüseyn Raḥmī's talent (*Kırk yıl*, 421), there is hardly any trace of the old Turkish popular narrative technique or the influence of the French novels of adventure and entertainment, even in his early novels of the formative İzmir period (1888-93). These romantic and, at times, over-sentimental, love stories with some elements of realism (particularly in *Ferdī ve shurekāsı*, 1893), already reveal a complete break with traditional methods of story-telling and develop a well-disciplined narrative technique where there is no room for irrelevant digressions or "small talk" with the reader (for synopses and analyses of Khālid Ḍiyā''s individual novels, see *Bibl.*). Khālid Ḍiyā' perfected this technique in his later novels of the Istanbul period, inspired mainly by the method and style of French realists and naturalists, and until the middle of 1930's, his works remained the best examples of realism in the Turkish novel. Two titles stand out: *Mā'ī ve siyāh* ("Blue and black", 1897) which describes the dreams, struggles and eventual disillusionment of a young poet and writer, and *ʿAshk-ı memnūʿ* ("Forbidden Love", 1900), generally considered his best novel, which tells the story of the desperate love of a young woman who could not find happiness in her marriage to an elderly rich man. In both these novels and in his later works, the environment and the setting are described in minute detail and the characters are submitted to exhaustive psychological analysis. The setting and the characters are often chosen from upper or upper-middle class of Istanbul, for which Khālid Ḍiyā' has been severely criticised. A stereotype judgement on him is that his characters are not typically Turkish and never leave Istanbul. This is obviously an unfair criticism. Under the Ḥamīdian régime, travel, even within the country, was restricted and supervised, and writers had to confine their observations by necessity to Istanbul. Also as a member of a well-to-do upper-middle class family, and very reserved in temperament, Khālid Ḍiyā' described only the type of people with whom he came into direct contact. We know now, from various sources, particularly from many Turkish and foreign memoirs, that an exclusive upper-class Turkish society flourished in Istanbul following the *Tanẓīmāt*, particularly after the 1880s. It led an *alla franca* (*alafranga*) way of life which is faithfully described by Khālid Ḍiyā' and his colleagues of the *Therwet-i fünūn* school (and ridiculed by others, see Ḥüseyn Raḥmī). Even so, ordinary people, even working-class people, were not been ignored by Khālid Ḍiyā', who described them with equal realism in some of his novels, but particularly in most of his numerous short stories. He himself bitterly complains that the exotic titles of a few of his short stories (e.g. *Mösyö Kanguru* in *Solghun demet*, 1901, *Bravo maestro* in *Bir yazīn ta'rīkhi*, 1900) gave rise to sweeping and unfair judgements that he concentrated on non-Turkish subjects (*Kırk Yıl*, 479-81). Moreover, we know that there is a considerable autobiographic element in most of his work, and that many of his characters are based on or inspired by people he himself had known.

As a consequence of their principle of "art for art's sake" Khālid Ḍiyā' and his friends of the movement chose to write in an extremely precious and artificial language which was full of rare Arabic and Persian words and compounds. They thus deviated from the trend of the first generation of modernists (the *Tanẓīmāt* writers) who made an attempt (not always successful) to create a style which would be understood by a larger audience. Khālid Ḍiyā''s manner of writing was indeed very unusual: endless waves of long intricate sentences loaded with lots of unheard of foreign words, interspersed with symmetrical chains of Persian *izāfe*s, but using a faultless technique to construct his plots. Khālid Ḍiyā' realised, before most of his colleagues, that this hopelessly artificial language, created by the *Therwet-i fünūn* triumvirate (Tewfīḳ Fikret, Djenāb Shihāb üd-Dīn and himself) and other members of the new school, was a dead end, and its excesses outbalanced by far what contribution they made to the improvement of Turkish syntax and verse technique. In his memoirs he looks back to this phenomenon of preciosity and finds it "irritating", calling this morbid urge to gild the lily "a disease of the East", but nevertheless trying hard to justify it for the period (*Kırk yıl*, 465-72). Khālid Ḍiyā' spent the last decades of his life touching up the language and style of his novels, "simplifying" them and in some cases rewriting entire passages. In spite of this linguistic handicap, however, Khālid Ḍiyā's works are far from being forgotten today. Although half-a-dozen leading novelists of the succeeding generations almost revolutionised the genre, Khālid Ḍiya' is still considered by many not only the founder but *the* great master of the novel in Turkish literature. Some of his works have been filmed and produced on television, and his complete works are being published in modern Turkish paraphrase (edited by Nevzat Kızılcan, Istanbul, 1975-6). This may perhaps be partly explained by the recent "Ottomanist revivalism" in literature.

Khālid Ḍiyā' published three books of memoirs, the only important work outside his fiction: *Kirk yil*, 5 vols, Istanbul 1936, one vol. ed., Istanbul 1969, which deals with the first forty years of his life, is about his family, his school years and his literary activities in İzmir and Istanbul; *Saray ve ötesi*, 3 vols, Istanbul 1940-2, one vol. ed., Istanbul 1965, reminiscences of the court of Meḥemmed V; *Bir acı hikâye*, Istanbul 1942, is mainly about his son Khalīl Wedād and his death. These memoirs are selective and of limited interest, as the reserved and over-cautious character of the author did not always allow him to treat freely and discuss impartially the people he had known and events he witnessed. Finally, Khālid Ḍiyā''s research work, including his courses in the University, were mostly based on translation or compilation.

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al-**KHĀLIDĀT**. [see al-djazāʾir al-khālidāt].

KHĀLIDE EDĪB (modern Turkish, Halide Edib Adıvar), prominent Turkish novelist, writer and nationalist, (1884-1964). She was born in Beshiktash not far from the Yıldız Palace, where her father Meḥmed Edīb Bey was First Secretary to the Sultan's Privy Purse (*djeyb-i hümāyūn ser-kātibi*). Edīb was the adopted son of a Sheykh Maḥmūd of Salonica, who brought him up and later sent him to Istanbul for further education (Halide Edib, *Memoirs*, New York 1926, 200). In later life, he served as director of the Tobacco Régie in Yanya (Janina) and Bursa. Khālide's mother Bedrfem Khanïm was a daughter of ʿAlī Agha from Kemaḥ (in northeastern Anatolia), a former Chief Coffee Maker (*Kahvedji Bashï*) in the Palace of Prince Reshād (Meḥemmed V) who had become the Warden of the Porters' Guild (*Ḥammāllar Kāhyasï*). At the age of 15, Bedrfem had been married to ʿAlī Shāmil Bey (later Pasha, 1855-1908), but this marriage did not last, and Meḥmed Edīb was her second husband. A few years later she died of consumption. As Edīb Bey soon remarried, Khālide's need for motherly affection was filled by her grandmother, her half-sister Makhmūre and by other members of both households.

The women folk and the servants initiated her into the traditional Muslim and Turkish way of life and the popular stories and epic tales of folk literature. A local *imām* taught her to read and write and recite the Ḳurʾān. When she was eleven, her father sent her for a year to the American College where she learned English and studied the Bible, to the horror of the people at home. Khālide then had an English governess, and several celebrated tutors, particularly Riḍā Tewfīḳ (Bölükbashï, [*q.v.*]), the pioneer of folk-inspired poetry, (Rūshen Eshref, *Diyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1918, 133-4, 179). In 1899 she re-entered the American College as a boarder, where she was the only Turkish pupil. The year 1900 was a turning point in her life, as the mathematician Ṣāliḥ Dhekī Bey (see İ. A. Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1948, s.v.) became her tutor; she married him in the year of her graduation (1901), and had two sons by him. During the years 1901-8, she read deeply in Shakespeare, Zola and the Ottoman chroniclers. In July 1908, when the Constitution was restored, she became a writer overnight, urging immediate educational and social reforms. Her articles were published mainly in the daily *Ṭanīn*, organ of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), founded in August 1908 by Ḥüseyn Djāhid and Tewfīḳ Fikret [*qq.v.*], and found an immediate favourable response. Following the counter-revolutionary attempt of 13 April 1909, Khālide thought her life was endangered and went to Egypt and from there to England, where her visit to Parliament particularly impressed her, as did also a speech of the Irish nationalist John Dillon which "was one of the emotional causes which started her on the road of nationalism" (*op. cit.*, 293). Back in Turkey in October 1909, she wrote her first important novel *Seviyye ṭālib* (published in 1910), and while continuing her articles on educational problems, joined the staff of the Women Teachers' Training College (*Dār al-muʿallimāt*), and with the help of the noted educationist Naḳiyye Khanïm (Nakiye Elgün, 1882-1965) reformed its syllabus and administration. In the meantime, she was divorced from Ṣāliḥ Dhekī Bey, having left home immediately after he had told her that he had married a second wife (1910). Soon she was attracted by the new movement of Turkism (*Türkčülük* [*q.v.*]). She wrote her novel *Yeñi Tūrān* (1911) and joined the activities of the Turkish Hearth (Türk Odjaghï [*q.v.*]), where she worked with Ḍiyāʾ Gökalp [*q.v.*] and his associates. When she resigned her teaching position over a conflict of principle with the Minister of Public Instruction Shükrī Bey (see Gövsa, *op. cit.*, s.v.), she became Inspector-General of *Ewḳāf* Schools which the minister, (the later *Sheykh al-Islām* Muṣṭafā Khayrī Efendi [*q.v.*]) decided to modernise. This gave her an opportunity to visit and study the outlying and poorest districts of Istanbul and their people, which incidentally became valuable for her novels. At the same time, she joined with Naḳiyye (Elgün) in the activities of the Women's Club (*Taʿālī-yi Niswān Djemʿiyyeti*) in social relief work and nursing.

In the autumn of 1916, at the invitation of Djemāl Pasha [*q.v.*], Army Commander in Syria, she toured all the important educational institutions there, and then returned to Istanbul after submitting her report. She subsequently continued her educational activity there by organising schools and by reforming the large ʿAyntura Orphanage. Meanwhile, she was married to Dr. ʿAdnān (Adıvar [*q.v.*]), a leading member of the CUP, by proxy (23 April 1917). Her educational work completed, she returned to Istanbul in early March 1918. In the autumn of the same year the war was over. After the Armistice of Mudros (30 October), the CUP triumvirate and many leading members of the Committee fled the country, and the Allied fleets entered Istanbul.

Parliament was dissolved, Italian troops occupied Antalya, and the Greeks, supported by the Allies, landed in Izmir (15 May 1919) and were advancing towards the interior. Sporadic resistance and guerilla warfare started in Anatolia. Khālide Edīb joined in protest rallies, and her name is particularly associated with the historic mammoth meeting of 23 May in Sulṭān Aḥmed Square, where she made a famous moving and dramatic address; her bust stands there today in memory of that unique occasion (Halide Edib, *The Turkish ordeal*, New York 1928, 32-3). In the following week, 55 intellectuals were deported to Malta by the British. In the meantime, Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (Atatürk) had assumed the leadership of the resistance movement in Anatolia. On 10 August of the same year, Khālide Edīb wrote a famous controversial letter to Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha in support of an American mandate over Turkey (Ghāzi Muṣṭafā Kemāl, *Nuṭuḳ*, Ankara 1927, 56-9; *Speech*², Istanbul 1963, 76-80). She represented a group of opinion which thought that in the summer of 1919 there could be an alternative to armed resistance and to the partition of the country, *sc.* by asking for a great power's mandate (H. N. Howard, *The King-Crane Commission*, Beirut 1963, index; Sabahattin Selek, *Anadolu Ihtilali*², Istanbul 1968, 276-8; Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de çağdaşlaşma*, Ankara 1973, 419-20). At Khālide's suggestion, an American representative was sent to the Congress of Sivas

(4-11 September) by Charles R. Crane, the co-chairman of the American King-Crane Commission, in order to interview Muṣṭafā Kemāl and to investigate the question of the American mandate (*Nuṭuḳ*, 63, *Speech*², 85-6, Kinross, *Atatürk*, 188, Howard, *op. cit.* 289-90). The idea was discussed and definitely rejected by the Congress (Ali Fuat Cebesoy, *Milli mücadele hatıraları*, Istanbul 1953, 175-6). During the winter months of 1919-20 Khālide kept in close contact with the Nationalists and their supporters in Istanbul and talked frequently to a number of American and British officials, but there came a reinforced occupation of Istanbul by the British (16 March 1920), followed by a raid on the Parliament and more arrests and deportations, so that the recently-elected pro-Nationalist Parliament which had adopted the National Pact (see MĪTHĀḲ-I MILLĪ) had to prorogue itself on March 18 (see B. Lewis, *Emergence*², 251). To avoid certain arrest and deportation (see *Ordeal*, 65-8, and A. E. Yalman, *Gördüklerim ve geçirdiklerim*, ii, Istanbul 1970, 55) Khālide and her husband Dr. ʿAdnān went into hiding in a dervish convent (Özbekler tekyesi) in Üsküdar and left secretly for Ankara. They arrived in Ankara on 1 April 1920 (followed shortly by Colonel ʿIṣmet (Inönü) and Fevzī (Çakmak) Pasha (G. Jaeschke, *Türk kurtuluş savaşi kronolojisi*, Ankara 1970, 96-100), and she immediately began to work in the "Agricultural School", the headquarters of the Nationalists, where she surveyed the foreign press, collected news for the "Anatolian Agency", translated or drafted English and French correspondence and occasionally contributed to the daily *Ḥākimiyyet-i milliyye*, the organ of the Nationalists. She soon became a member of their "inner circle", and with Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, and five other Nationalist leaders, was condemned to death on 11 May by the sultan's government in Istanbul. In the fighting in central Anatolia, the first victory of the nationalist regular army was won by ʿIṣmet at Inönü (10 January 1921), a few days after the guerilla leader Čerkes Edhem [*q.v.*] had gone over to the Greeks. Khālide Edīb was busy in Ankara, mobilising the women of the city and reorganising the Red Crescent and relief work. Before the Greek offensive of July, she went to Eskishehir and worked as a nurse in the Red Crescent hospital until the fall of the city. On August 5 1921, Muṣṭafā Kemāl was elected generalissimo (*Bash kumandan*), and soon afterwards, Khālide Edīb volunteered for work on the Western front under ʿIṣmet Pasha. During the critical weeks before and during the battle of Sakarya [*q.v.*], 22 August-11 September, she served in the general headquarters (*Ordeal*, 284-310); she was promoted to corporal (*onbashî*), and the name *Khālide Onbashî* became the symbol of Turkish women who took part in the national struggle. Towards the end of December 1921, she moved to Aḳshehir (between Afyon and Konya), the new headquarters, and she spent the best part of the eight first months of 1922 with the army, which was preparing for the great offensive. On 24 August she was summoned to the front just before the offensive started. After the decisive battle of Dumlupinar on 30 August the Greek army began to retreat, burning cities and villages and massacring the civilian population in their wake (Lord Kinross, *Atatürk*, London 1971, 318). After spending a week in recaptured Izmir with the leaders, Khālide, now a sergeant-major, left with a group of journalists to inspect and report on the devastated area between Izmir and Bursa (published in *Izmirden Bursaya*, in collaboration with Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī and Fāliḥ Rifḳī, Istanbul 1922). After the armistice of Mudanya (11 October) which confirmed the triumph of the Nationalists, the sultanate was abolished by the Grand National Assembly presided over by Dr. ʿAdnān (1 November) and Khālide settled in Istanbul, as her husband was appointed representative of the Ankara Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Khāridjiyye mürakhkhaṣî*) in Istanbul.

Ideological differences between Muṣṭafā Kemāl, an uncompromising radical, and most of his close associates (including Khālide and ʿAdnān), who were conservatives or liberals, soon developed into a rift culminating with the foundation (17 November 1924) of the Progressive Republican Party (*Teraḳḳiperver Djumhūriyyet Firḳasî* [*q.v.*]). This party was soon suppressed (3 June 1925) following the counter-revolutionary rebellion, led mainly by Kurdish *sheykhs*, in the east. Khālide Edīb and Dr. ʿAdnān had left for Europe before the discovery on 15 June 1926 of the conspiracy against Muṣṭafā Kemāl's life, planned mainly by a group of former Unionists. All leading members of the former Progressive Party, suspected of the complicity with the plotters, were arrested. Dr. ʿAdnān was tried in his absence, and although completely acquitted, he and Khālide Edīb lived in self-imposed exile in Europe for fourteen years.

During the four years when she lived in England (1924-8) she wrote her memoirs and continued to write novels which were serialised in the Turkish dailies (see N. A. Banoğlu's interview with Khālide Edīb in the *Yedigün* of 28 May 1939). During 1929-39 she lived mainly in Paris, where her husband was lecturer in Turkish at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. In 1929 she was in the United States, and went on a lecture tour of various American Universities. She was a visiting professor at Columbia University during the 1931-2 academic year. In 1935 she went to India to lecture on the political and cultural background and contemporary problems of Modern Turkey, at the *Djāmiʿa Milliyya Islāmiyya* of Delhi, then left for a lecture tour of the principal universities of the sub-continent. Back in Paris, she wrote more novels, particularly her only novel in English, *The Clown and his daughter*, which she later re-wrote in Turkish as *Sinekli bakkal* (see below). She paid a brief visit to Istanbul in August 1935 and returned to Turkey on 5 March 1939 for good, four months after Atatürk's death (10 November 1938). In December 1939 Khālide Edīb was appointed the chairman of the newly-founded department of English at the University of Istanbul where she trained, in ten years, a team of young scholars with whom she worked on new translations of Shakespeare. Elected as an independent member of Parliament for Izmir at the general elections of May 1950, she retired from political life in January 1954. Dr. ʿAdnān died in July 1955 and her health began to decline; she herself died in her modest home in Bayezid on 9 January 1964 at the age of eighty.

Khālide Edīb was a woman of small stature but with extraordinary energy and vitality. Although considered primarily a novelist, Khālide Edīb was an extremely prolific and versatile writer and her enormous output extending over nearly 60 years covers a wide area: novels, short stories and essays, criticism, articles on social, educational and political topics, plays, memoirs, translations and research. Many of her essays, etc. appeared in various dailies and periodicals, where most of her novels were also serialised. Khālide Edīb (who signed her name Khālide Ṣāliḥ until her divorce from Ṣāliḥ Dhekī in 1910) started her career in the daily *Ṭanīn* and since

then she contributed mainly to the dailies *Akshām*/*Akşam*, *Wakit*, *Ikdām*, *Djumhūriyyet* (*Cumhuriyet*), *Yeni Istanbul* and periodicals *Türk Yurdu*, *Büyük Medjmūʿa*, *Dergāh*, *Yedigün*, *Hayat*, etc. (for a detailed list with dates, see the introduction of İnci Enginün's anthology *Halide Edip Adıvar*, Istanbul 1975).

Her twenty novels can be divided into three categories: (1) Novels where love and passion are the central themes, and the heroines, who predominate, are submitted to elaborate psychological analyses, e.g. some of her early novels like *Seviyye ṭālib* (1910), *Khandān* (1912), *Son etheri* (serialised in 1913, published 1919), *Mewʿūd hüküm* (1919) and the two novels of the twenties: *Kalb aghrīsī* (1924) and its continuation *Zeyno'nun oghlu* (1926). All these novels have considerable autobiographical elements and the passionate, independent, strong-willed heroines symbolise the author's ideal of the emancipated Turkish woman; until she joined the Nationalists in 1921, the settings are mainly those of the "westernised", upper class, well-to-do families following (perhaps unconsciously) the tradition of the preceding *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] school, a fact severely criticised by Gökalp (*Memoirs*, 319); the setting of the last-mentioned two novels switches from Istanbul and Europe to the Anatolian countryside. (2) Novels on the episodes of the War of Liberation: *Āteshden gömlek*, (serialised in *Ikdām* from 6 June to 11 August 1922, published 1923; Eng. tr. by Y. Khan, *The Daughter of Smyrna*, Lahore 1938) and *Vurun kahbeye!* ("Hit the whore!", serialised in *Akshām*, 1923, published 1926); these are based on personal experience and first-hand information, like most of her short stories of the same period (see *Dagha čikan kurt*, Istanbul 1922, enlarged 4th ed. 1963). These novels were pioneering works on this period; they became immensely popular and were filmed several times (see Aytekin Yakar, *Türk romanında milli mücadele*, Ankara 1973). (3) Period Novels. After the age of fifty, Khālide Edīb produced a series of novels in which she proposed to describe the various aspects of Turkish society, beginning with her most famous novel *Sinekli bakkal* (originally written in English as *The clown and his daughter*, London 1935) serialised in the Istanbul daily *Haber* in 1935 and published in 1936, which won the Republican People's Party's prize for the Best Novel in 1942, became an all-time best seller in Turkish literature (33rd edition in 1976) and was filmed in 1968. This is mainly a description of the Istanbul society in its various aspects at the turn of the century during ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's autocratic rule. A *Karagöz* [*q.v.*] performer and his talented daughter with a beautiful voice who live in a back street of Istanbul ("in the quarter of fly-ridden grocers") are the central characters of the novel, assisted by a great number of secondary heroes, including the inevitable Ḥamīdian *pasha* and Young Turks (synopsis in *Litteratur-lexikon*, see Bibliogr.). This popular novel was presumably conceived to cater for a foreign audience in search of exotic details which explains its somewhat artificial "mystic" atmosphere and its unconvincing dénouement. It was followed by *Tatarcık* ("The Little Tatar") in 1939, an equally unrealistic description of the generation of the young people grown up during the author's years of exile (for a synopsis, see *op. cit.*, and Muzaffer Uyguner, *Halide Edib Adıvar*, Istanbul 1968, 63). After 14 years of absence, Khālide Edīb settled down again in an old district of Istanbul where she soon built up a large circle of friends, but also discovered the new world of the Anatolian peasants and small town-dwellers who had moved to Istanbul. Most of her novels written after the last two mentioned above, particularly *Sonsuz panayır* ("The eternal fair", 1946), *Döner ayna* ("The revolving mirror", 1954), *Akile Hanım sokağı* ("Akıle Hanım Street", 1958) contain a realistic rendering of her personal experiences and of her observations of Turkish society in the late 40's and the 50's, and describe powerfully the panorama of the various types and problems of a society in the process of rapid political and social change in the years following the World War II.

Her novel *Yeñi Tūrān* (serialised in *Ṭanin* in 1912 and published the same year, German tr. by F. Schrader, *Das neue Turan*, 1916) stands by itself as a fruit of her brief courtship with Pan-Turanianism or Pan-Turkism, supported at the time by the CUP (synopsis in *Litteratur-Lexicon*, see Bibliogr.); although she later rejected Pan-Turkism as a political creed (Halide Edib, *Türkiye'de şark, garp ve Amerikan tesirleri*, Istanbul 1956, 99-101), this novel is nevertheless imbued with the strong nationalistic spirit that characterises most of her writing. The obvious failures in the post-1908 period of Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism, served further to strengthen her national consciousness (*Memoirs*, 312, 329-34), and during the traumatic years 1911-22, her exuberant nationalism mellowed and was further enriched with her experiences in exile.

Some of her short stories have been collected into three books: *Dagha çıkan kurt* mentioned above; *Kharāb maʿbedler* (1911, 4th ed. 1973) which contains her earliest work; and the posthumous miscellaneous collection *Kubbede kalan hoş sada* (Istanbul 1974).

Khālide Edīb wrote her memoirs in two volumes in English during her years of exile in England (*Memoirs of Halide Edib*, New York 1926 and *The Turkish ordeal*, New York 1928). Apart from their intrinsic literary value, these volumes are of invaluable documentary importance for her biography up to 1922 and for the background of many events in Turkish history between 1900-22. In these, she is extremely honest and candid in recording everything about her own life and, on the whole, fair and balanced in her description and judgement of other people. Thus she is generous in praising many leading men like Ṭalʿat, Djemāl and ʿIṣmet Pashas; but she loses her sense of balance and fairness frequently when she discusses Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, recognising his unquestionable superiority, his almost superhuman energy and his powers of command, but recognising also his obstinacy. This makes her vacillate between praise and blame; she is unfair to the point of conspicuously leaving out the name of the hero of Gallipoli while referring to that campaign (*Memoirs*, 384), and elsewhere complains that "Turkish people are always the victims of hero worship, especially in military affairs" (*Memoirs*, 341). All this is of course the result of the fundamental conflict between her own liberal views and the radicalism of Muṣṭafā Kemāl. Khālide Edīb published substantially shortened and altered Turkish versions of her memoirs: *Mor salkımlı ev* (serialised intermittently in *Yeni Istanbul*, 1951-55 and published 1963) and *Türkün ateşle imtihanı* (serialised in the weekly magazine *Ḥayat* as *Millî mücadele hatıraları*, 1959-60, published 1962) in which much of the controversial material has been either left out or toned down. Khālide Edīb is not always careful with dates; her chronological data should be used critically.

Apart from her English novel already mentioned, Khālide Edīb published three books in English while

abroad. The first two are based on her lectures in America and in India: *Turkey faces west*, New Haven 1930 and *Conflict of east and west in Turkey*, Lahore 1935. The third book, *Inside India*, London 1937, contains her impressions and thoughts on a country which she "felt to be nearer to my soul-climate than any other country not my own" and where she met Mahatma Gandhi and all the outstanding nationalist leaders of the sub-continent. The Turkish version *Hindistan'a dair* was serialised in *Yeni Sabah* in 1940-1, but not published in book form. Khālide Edīb was always keenly interested in the theatre, but wrote only two plays, which had no success: the experimental *Kenan çobanları* (produced in Syria 1916, published in 1918) and *Maske ve ruh* (serialised in Yedigün in 1937-8, published in 1945, English version *Masks and souls*, 1953). She directed the translation of four plays of Shakespeare in the Department of English of Istanbul University: *Hamlet* (1941), *As you like it* (1943), *Anthony and Cleopatra* (1943) and *Coriolanus* (1945), and she translated herself George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (*Hayvan çiftliği*, serialised in *Cumhuriyet* in 1952, published in 1954). Her research work mainly consists of a history of English literature from the origins to the end of the 17th century in three volumes, *İngiliz edebiyati tarihi* (Istanbul 1940-9).

Khālide Edīb's language and style have always been severely criticised both by fellow writers and critics (Rūshen Eshref, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikâye ve roman*, ii, Ankara 1970, 66-7). It is true that her language is often awkward and ungrammatical, her style untidy and unpolished, but it is equally true that this warm and extremely personal style has a strange charm and an immediate impact upon the reader. As a great admirer of folk literature, she had always disliked the artificial and precious language of most of her contemporaries and wrote, like Refīķ Khālid [*q.v.*] in simple, straightforward Turkish, even before the principles of the "New Language" (*Yeñi lisān*) were proclaimed by ʿÖmer Seyf el-Dīn [*q.v.*] and his friends in Salonica. This explains why she is still one of the most-read writers of her generation.

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AL-**KHĀLIDĪ**, RŪḤĪ, Palestine scholar, diplomat and politician, born in Jerusalem in 1864 to a well-known family of scholars tracing its origin to Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*]. He received a religious and linguistic education in Jerusalem, Nābulus, Tripoli and Beirut, and studied philosophy, law and politics at the Royal College, Constantinople. He continued his studies of political science and of philosophy and Islamic and Oriental studies at the Sorbonne; he later taught Arabic in Paris and attended the 1897 Orientalists' Congress. In 1898 he was appointed Ottoman consul-general in Bordeaux, where he was active in diplomatic and scientific life.

After the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution (1908), he returned to Jerusalem and was elected for three terms as a deputy of his city to the Ottoman Parliament. He died in Constantinople in 1913.

His *Taʾrīkh ʿilm al-adab ʿind al-Ifranj wa 'l-Arab wa-Fiktor Hūkū* [Victor Hugo], is the first work on comparative literary studies in modern Arabic Literature. He discusses here the similarities and differences between Arabic and European (mainly French) literature, their respective developments, the influence of Arabic literature on European literature, and the rôle of Victor Hugo in introducing such influence to French literature. This work was first published in *al-Hilāl* magazine in 1902-3, and in book form in 1904 under the name of al-Maķdisī. Only in the later editions of 1912, 1929 and 1932 was the name of the author given. His other works were mainly political and scientific, such as *al-Inķilāb al-ʿUthmānī wa-Turkiyā 'l-Fatāt* was lithographed and dated Bordeaux, 7 October 1908, probably in the author's own writing, and further published in *al-Hilāl*, xvii (1908), and later in Cairo 1909, with the title *al-Inķilāb al-siyāsī al-ʿUthmānī*. Al-Khālidī also wrote *al-Muķaddima fī 'l-masʾala al-sharķiyya mundhu nashʾatihā 'l-ūlā ilā 'l-rubʿ al-thānī min al-ķarn al-thāmin ʿashar* (Jerusalem 1925?); *al-Kīmyāʾ ʿind al-ʿArab* (Cairo 1953); *Risāla fī surʿat intishār al-dīn al-Muḥammadī fī aķsām al-ʿalam al-Islāmī* (Tripoli 1314/1896); and an edition of a booklet by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Khālidī, known as Ibn al-Dīrī, entitled *al-Ḥabs fī 'l-tuhma wa 'l-imtiḥān ʿalā ṭalab al-iķrār wa-iẓhār al-māl* (1321/1903). There are other works still in manuscript.

Bibliography: J. A. Dagher, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabiyya*, ii/1: *al-Rāḥilūn (1800-1955)*, Beirut 1956, 333-35; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*², iii, 64; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, cols. 813-14; Cheikho, *Taʾrīkh al-ādāb al-ʿarabiyya* (Beirut 1926), 50; al-Khālidī, *al-Muķaddima fī 'l-masʾala al-sharķiyya*, pp. a-h. (S. Moreh)

AL-**KHĀLIDIYYĀN**¹, the name generally given to two poets of Sayf al-Dawla's [*q.v.*] entourage, the two inseparable brothers ABŪ ʿUTHMĀN SAʿD/SAʿĪD (d. 350/961) and ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD (d. 380/990), sons of Hāshim b. Saʿīd b. Waʿla. They came originally from a village of the region of al-Mawṣil called al-Khālidiyya (Yāķūt, ii, 390), and possibly lived for some time in Baṣra (Yāķūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 208 affirms this and attributes to Abū ʿUthmān the ethnic designation of al-Baṣrī), but became celebrated above all as the librarians of Sayf al-Dawla, to whom they dedicated their occasional verse. They attracted notice through their rivalry with al-Raffāʾ [*q.v.*], who accused them of plagiarism through the use of their prodigious memory; Ibn al-Nadīm displays surprise at this, and gives a reply via Abū Bakr that he knew by heart a thousand books (*sifr*) each of a hundred leaves. Their poetic works, of which specimens can be read in al-Thaʿālibī's *Yatīma*, i, 507-30, were gathered together by Abū ʿUthmān into a *dīwān* which has not, it seems, been preserved. However, two anthologies compiled by the brothers, *Ḥamāsat shiʿr al-muḥdathīn* (or *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*) and *al-Hadāyā wa 'l-tuḥaf*, are extant (see Brockelmann, I, 147, S I, 41, 226); also attributed to them is a *Mukhtār min shiʿr Bashshār*, known through a selection made by Abū Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl al-

Tudjībī and published as *Mukhtār al-mukhtār min shi'r Bashshār* by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī at Cairo in 1353/1934-5 (cf. *Dīwān Bashshār*, ed. Muḥ. al-Ṭāhir Ibn ʿAshūr, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 90). Finally, the biographers cite further amongst their works: *K. fī akhbār Abī Tammām wa-maḥāsin shiʿrihi, K. Ikhtiyār shiʿr al-Buḥturī, K. fī akhbār shiʿr Ibn al-Rūmī, K. Ikhtiyār shiʿr Muslim b. al-Walīd* (cf. S. Dahhān, *Sharḥ Dīwān Sarīʿ al-Ghawānī*, Cairo n.d., 338, 340, according to al-Ṣafadī, *Ghayth*, Cairo 1305, 143, 187), *K. Akhbār al-Mawṣil* (see Yāḳūt, iii, 363; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 405, n. 2) and *al-Diyārāt*.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article, see *Fihrist*, 169 (Cairo edn. 240-1); Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Nos. 141, 457; ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, i, 60; M. Canard, *Sayf al Daula*, Algiers 1934, 293-5; Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 264-5; R. Blachère, *Motanabbî*, 132, 142.

(Ch. Pellat)

KHALĪFA.

(i) The history of the institution of the caliphate

A study of the caliphate, its institution and subsequent developments, has never been attempted in its entirety until the present. The principal reason is that it has not seemed possible to conduct such a survey independently of historical studies relating to different reigns, which are still in most cases insufficient, or even non-existent, whereas studies of doctrine, while more advanced, have not been developed to the same extent with regard to the various periods. The tentative attempts that have been made have therefore been superficial, or lacking sufficient historical perspective. Here we must confine ourselves to making a brief statement of the question and stressing the problems, rather than attempting a complete exposition, which, to do justice to the subject, would require treatment at too great length.

A. The first period

In a sense, the institution of the caliphate was born on the day after the death or the Prophet when the new head of the community, in the event the trusted Companion Abū Bakr, became in 11/632 *khalīfat rasūl Allāh*. The date and the circumstances of the appearance of this institution would seem therefore to be well-established, but two questions arise at once. First, how did the designation of the first caliph take place, and was the procedure adopted observed in subsequent cases? Second, what powers were attributed to this "successor" of the Prophet?

As regards the first point, the tradition adopted by the majority of historians tells of the acclamation of the new caliph by the leading Companions, who gave him an oath of allegiance; this was the first *bayʿa*. Whatever were the circumstances under which this proclamation was made, whatever pressures were applied by ʿUmar to the congregation to have Abū Bakr recognized, whatever may have been the protests of ʿAlī and his supporters, it seems to have been accepted from this time onwards that the oath of the Believers, to which corresponded the promise of the new chief to lead the community on the right path, alone conferred upon him the succession.

For the two caliphs who followed, variations in procedure should be noted. Abū Bakr, before his death in 13/634, had, according to the chroniclers, personally designated his successor in the presence of ʿUmar. The community of Believers was not therefore in a position to state its own wishes, but got the chance to ratify this appointment. The oath in fact, was taken only by the Companions present at Medina, which explains how the authority of ʿUmar could be disputed by certain groups dispersed elsewhere in Arabia, who refused to pay the legally-assessed poor tax [see RIDDA].

ʿUmar, before dying in his turn in 23/644, had decided that a group of six persons, including among others ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, should choose his successor from among themselves. After discussion the choice fell on ʿUthmān, who then received the oath of allegiance. So even with the designation of the first three caliphs, three different methods were explored; all, however, were only to be put into effect if ratified by the community, or by its most influential and closest members.

The second question, that of the powers exercised by the new leaders of the community, is more problematical, since these powers were not at the time defined in a precise fashion. One cannot base conclusions on the sense of the title *khalīfa* (see above) which, suggesting at once the ideas of succession, appointment and authority, remained somewhat vague. These powers seem, essentially, to have authorised the first three successors of Muḥammad to pursue the actions previously set in motion by the Prophet himself for the expansion of Islam and to put into practice the regulations set out in the Ḳurʾānic message, which was to be supplemented by the *Sunna* instituted among the community of Believers in the lifetime of the Prophet.

The continuation of the work begun by the Prophet was seen during the time of Abū Bakr in the fight against the dissidents of Arabia, soon followed by raiding operations towards the north which became a vast movement of conquest. From this time onwards the caliph assumed the role of army commander, and military operations, conducted against infidels or against rebellious Muslims who, for one reason or another refused to accept his authority, became one of his most important responsibilities.

Meanwhile, questions of law, relating to the spheres both of the cult and of social relations, were posed to those caliphs called by the tradition *rāshidūn*, that is to say "those who walk in the right way", as opposed to those who came later and were accused of making the caliphate a family possession. Thus ʿUmar was obliged to take decisions concerning the penal law, certain types of inheritance and the practice of the law of retaliation (Shahrastāni, *Milal*, Cairo, i, 18). To him also are attributed some initiatives in matters of ritual, culminating in the attempt, carried on by ʿUthmān, to set in motion the establishment of the text of the Ḳurʾānic "vulgate".

It was also in the time of ʿUmar that for the first time the question was raised of the financial organisation of the Islamic state. Since members of the Arab tribes were entitled to endowments, ʿUmar instituted the *dīwān*, a register in which the names of beneficiaries were inscribed. In addition, the troops were entitled to a share of the booty, which was gradually replaced by a pension, registered in the same way. The organisation of the *dīwān* [*q.v.*], first established at Medina, later in all the principal cities of the empire, was thus linked to that of the fiscal system, on which it is not possible to dwell here. Let it be said only that it was at the initiative of the two caliphs ʿUmar and ʿUthmān that a treasury was established, which collected and from which were distributed the revenues supplied first by booty, later by property taxes. As this treasury

also met some expenses of communal interest, it should have been seen as the beginning of a financial system which was not strictly in accord with Ḳur'ānic principles for the distribution of booty, but which was made necessary by the development of the new State [see BAYT AL-MĀL]. This innovation was one of the causes of the troubles which culminated in the assassination of ʿUthman in 35/656.

Another cause was the choice by ʿUthmān of members of his own family to undertake the government of the principal provinces; in acting thus he was in effect supplanting the earliest converts to Islam, who by virtue of this title had in general more right than the descendants of Abū Sufyān to participate in the organisation of the community. Two concepts of power came into conflict here, of which one consisted in observing strictly the principles of the Ḳur'ān and giving pride of place to the "first converts", while the other paid greater attention to the efficiency of the apparatus of government. After the confrontation which took place between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, following the judgement of ʿAdhruḥ [*q.v.*], the second concept held definitive sway.

The murder of ʿUthmān and the events which followed posed to the Islamic community the problem of knowing whether a caliph could be deposed for neglecting his duties. It seems that it was at this time that there appeared the sect later to be known as the Khawāridj which declared the principle that the caliph must not under any circumstances deviate from the ordinances of divine origin (see the interpretation by W. Montgomery Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 14-15). The judgement of ʿAdhruḥ itself, the principle of which was denied by the Khāridjīs on the grounds that the cause of good could not be set under discussion, implied a conception of the caliphate according to which the holder of power must answer for his actions, and the justification chosen by Muʿāwiya to explain his action against ʿAlī was the defence of the rights of his kinsman, "unjustly" assassinated at the instigation of his political enemies.

The Umayyads, however, on becoming installed in power, made efforts to eradicate this notion of moral responsibility. At the same time as they had the principle of dynastic succession recognised, they maintained the idea that unconditional obedience was owed to the reigning caliph. Thus Yazīd and his successors paid no heed to the proclamation as caliph of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] at Medina in 61/681 nor to the declaration of dethronement pronounced by the leading citizens against the son of Muʿāwiya. It was their opponents, of the movement called Ḳadarī (see *Ḳadariyya*), who vindicated the right to judge the actions of the sovereign, establishing a doctrine which was invoked by Yazīd III, pretender to the caliphate, to justify his revolt against al-Walīd II, accusing him of misconduct. As for the revolutionary movements which appeared at this time, some of them were of a Khāridjī tendency, demanding of the caliph particular moral qualities (they succeeded in proclaiming Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a [*q.v.*] caliph in Fārs and Kirmān; he bore the title *amīr al-mu'minīn* and coined money in his own name for ten years, 69-79/688-99), while the others followed more or less strictly the Shīʿī tendency, that is to say, demanding the accession to the caliphate of either a descendant of ʿAlī, or in the case of the ʿAbbāsid party, of an unspecified member of the Family of the Prophet. It was therefore the legitimacy of the Umayyads that they contested, while at the same time they strove to discredit them, denying their adherence to Islamic principles and accusing them of having usurped the caliphate; the origins and the actions of the ruling caliphs thus being called into question.

On their side, the Umayyads were not content with imposing the notion of unconditional obedience to the caliph; they established at the same time, in effect, the dynastic caliphate. Without abandoning the principle of election followed by oath of fealty (*bayʿa*), Muʿāwiya accomplished his object by means of an election guaranteeing in advance that his son Yazīd would be recognised as his successor. The same procedure was used for the designation of Muʿāwiya II. But on the death of the latter, the problem of succession arose once more, and the Arab "nobility", meeting at Djābiya, made free use of their right to proceed to the choice of a new caliph, without however denying the fact that he should belong to the family of the Banū Umayya. A cousin of Muʿāwiya, Marwān, was duly appointed caliph; to the branch called Sufyānid, there succeeded the Marwānid branch to which belonged all the subsequent Umayyad rulers, all of them nominated by their predecessors, with the exception of the rebel Yazīd III. In fact, from the time of ʿAbd al-Malik onwards, the caliph was in the habit of leaving a written designation, called *ʿahd* (whence the granting to the heir presumptive of the title *walī 'l-ʿahd*, in the sense of beneficiary of a contract concluded between him and the community). The testamentary nomination, bearing the signature of witnesses of repute, thus became the essential mandate which had executive force and relegated the ceremony of the *bayʿa* to a position of secondary importance. It was also the practice for the caliph to nominate two heirs; but such nominations were not acted upon unless an order of precedence had been set. The heir was most often a son of the ruling caliph but could equally well be a brother or a cousin; only one exclusion was maintained, the nomination of the son of a non-Arab concubine; for this reason the prince Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who was remarkably active during the reign of his father, neither inherited power nor was entitled to do so.

At the same time this period saw a real attempt by the Umayyads to establish the legitimacy of their dynastic caliphate. Their panegyrists traced back the right of sovereignty from ʿAbd al-Malik to Marwān, then to Muʿāwiya and ʿUthmān. Some even went so far as to express the idea that the Umayyads had inherited the "legacy of Muḥammad". *Ḥadīths* appeared in which Muḥammad predicted their coming. To be sure, all this was nothing more than the outward signs of a different legitimacy, but the idea was disseminated.

The Umayyads also on the other hand strove to underline the theocratic nature of their powers, as appears notably from the terms of a *khuṭba* of al-Ḥadjdjādj: "The *amīr* of the Believers ʿAbd al-Malik is a leader whom God has chosen as His viceroy upon earth and appointed *imām* for His creatures." The expression occurs also in the texts of testamentary nominations and in the speeches preceeding the *bayʿa*. The ruling caliphs considered themselves in fact as appointed by God, and the title *khalīfāt Allāh* (formerly denounced by Abū Bakr, according to a tradition which appears to be of doubtful validity) came into use from the start of the Umayyad era, helping to establish firmly the duty of obedience to the dynasty.

Moreover, the ruling sovereigns were required to take decisions, touching on problems of general

policy, sometimes directly concerning the sphere of Ḳur'ānic precepts. They were obliged for example to define the place that new converts, non-Arabs becoming *mawālī*, might take in the organisation of a state where the reins of power were held by Arab Muslims. Also, the exigencies of the conquests in the west led them to emply the services of Berber contingents, who played an active role in the conquest of Spain and whose status raised difficulties from that time onwards. More delicate was the fiscal problem which the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was obliged to settle by means of an edict. His decision to establish fiscal equality between the original Muslims and the converts having proved impossible to put into effect, it was decided to retain the former land-taxes, irrespective of the religion of the occupant of the land. Thus was established the form of the levy called henceforward *kharādj* [*q.v.*] as distinct from the poll-tax called *djizya*, whereas new converts were required to pay a higher tax than that levied on the original Muslims for the lands that they possessed subsequent to the conquest. Hence to this period belongs the definition of the *kharādj* and *djizya* taxes, an important stage in the development of Islamic law, the process of which can only be grasped with difficulty, but which is to be attributed to the activity of the Umayyad caliphs.

B. The ʿAbbāsid caliphate until 658/1258.

New modifications to the concept of the caliphate were brought about by the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, which assumed power in 132/750 and retained it in ʿIrāk until 658/1260, then in Egypt until 923/1517. Its members presented themselves as belonging to the family of the Prophet, and it was with this title that the first among them to accede to power justified their action. They thus maintained the thesis according to which the caliphate must revert to the kinsmen of the Prophet, and more particularly to the descendants of al-ʿAbbās, who were considered to be the best qualified. Nevertheless, this ʿAbbāsid legitimism raised difficulties in establishing principles usable against ʿAbd claims. The principal argument, employed very frequently by the caliph al-Manṣūr in his controversy with the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, and subsequently developed on several occasions by the sovereigns themselves or by their panegyrists, followed the principle of right of succession: the descendants of al-ʿAbbās, son of the Prophet's uncle, must take precedence over the "sons of the daughter", that is to say, over those who were descended from the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima and who were related to his two grandsons al-Ḥusayn and al-Ḥasan. As this argument did not always appear sufficient, the caliph al-Mahdī sought to adduce in addition the thesis according to which al-ʿAbbās had been nominated by the Prophet himself as his successor. Quite independently of this attempt, which did not last long, the panegyrists for their part strove to prove the eminent qualities of al-ʿAbbās, protector and nephew of the Prophet. The legitimism of the ʿAbbāsids thus depended on various arguments, whose vogue changed with the times, arguments which were sometimes radically opposed to those upon which the Umayyad legitimism had been based and which sometimes approximated to them, as when the panegyrists inevitably proclaimed that the sons of al-ʿAbbās were "the best of Ḳuraysh". This legitimism never ceased in any case to be generally recognised, even when the "great *amīrs*" of Shīʿī persuasion held power, and it was in a sense consolidated by the arrival of the Saldjūḳs who, while taking over control of the empire, nevertheless upheld the Sunnī caliphate as it was then established.

Previously, the most dangerous challenge had taken place during the reign of al-Ma'mūn, when this caliph attempted to nominate as his heir the ʿAlid ʿAlī al-Riḍā, considered by him "the best of the descendants of ʿAlī and of al-ʿAbbās". This attempt did not amount to an adoption of the Shīʿī point of view; rather, it aimed at restoring vigour to a broader Hāshimī legitimism, which would have permitted the choice of the *imām* from one or the other of the branches of the Hāshimī family. To this new legitimist concept was linked a doctrine of Zaydī inspiration, according to which the office of *imām* must revert, in the context of a defined line of succession, to the most deserving. If the attempt failed, it was through the opposition of circles in ʿIrāḳ who showed their attachment to the ʿAbbāsid family and their hostility to the new religious policy of al-Ma'mūn, which the latter was forced to abandon.

Whatever may have been the basis of ʿAbbāsid legitimism, it was the priority of the ruling caliphs to reinforce the theocratic nature of their power. The same expressions were employed in their case as in that of the Umayyad caliphs. Al-Manṣūr declared himself, it is said, "the power of God on earth" (*sulṭān Allāh fī arḍi-hi*) and the caliphs exacted, like all their predecessors, a duty of unconditional obedience which was founded, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, on the concepts of traditionists of the Ḥanbalī persuasion. In addition, the royal titles adopted by the sovereigns stressed the charismatic quality of their power: the second caliph had himself named al-Manṣūr, "he who receives the victory from God", the third, al-Mahdī, "he whom God leads in the right way", a title which tended at the same time to assimilate the caliphs to the ʿAlid *imāms*. Subsequently, the honorifics al-Amīn, al-Ma'mūn and al-Wāthik bi-llāh, stressed rather the piety of those who bore them; but the personal link between the caliph, and the divinity guaranteeing his power remained strongly marked. One may add that from the reign of al-Ma'mūn onwards, the caliphs did not disdain the title of *imām*, previously considered to be of too Shīʿī a flavour.

Also, the dynastic principle was applied in the same fashion as under the Umayyads, the heir being most often nominated by the ruling caliph after consultation with the most influential supporters of the régime. The procedure adopted bore a solemn character on some occasions; thus the testament of Hārūn al-Rashīd, which named two heirs, establishing a kind of division of the empire between them and specifying the rights and obligations of each towards the other, was displayed in the Kaʿba at Mecca in 185/802; the same procedure was used for the testament of al-Muʿtamid in 261/874.

But as in the preceding period, no rule determined this choice, and the caliph could just as well nominate a distant cousin as one of his sons. It was nevertheless to a son that the sovereign most often sought to bequeath his office, on condition that the son was of the required age or close to it, that is to say, to the age of majority. This need was admitted by all, as it had been already in the Umayyad period, but not the procedure for its application. On the one hand, a minor could be designated heir, since normally he was not required to assume immediately the function of caliph; on the other hand, the age of majority was not fixed in a precise fashion. It was only in 296/908 that the nomination of a caliph 13 years of age, al-Muḳtadir, set a kind of precedent.

The practice of testamentary nominations posed another problem when these contained two names. It often happened that a new caliph sought to cancel the act established by his predecessor, so as to replace the person chosen as second heir and now becoming first heir—his brother most often—and to substitute for him his son, for example. It was necessary in such cases to obtain the abdication of the heir, since there was no procedure allowing for the dismissal of an heir, just as there was none for a caliph, and it was considered that the oath of allegiance already given was binding upon the heir as it was upon the community. In consequence, it was almost always by means of more or less violent persuasion that heirs considered to be undesirable were forced to renounce their rights.

As in the preceding period, it happened sometimes that a caliph died without having designated an heir. The choice then reverted to the community or at least to its most prominent representatives. On the death of al-Wāthiḳ in 232/847, it was a select committee composed of the chief-*ḳāḍī*, of the vizier and some of the officers of the Turkish guard, who proceeded to the nomination of the future al-Mutawakkil. However, at the times of the sickness of al-Muktafī in 296/908, it was the vizier and the leading officials of the realm who chose a successor to the caliph, who had not chosen an heir. So the composition of the electoral council varied according to the circumstances.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, no more than under the Umayyads, was there a procedure for deposing a ruler for moral faults. Where attempts were made to do this, it was a case of local councils, convoked in an arbitrary fashion, proclaiming the dethronement of the ruling sovereign or of the heir presumptive, and these had no more than a limited influence on the course of events. Examples of this were seen when al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn declared one another deposed, or when the population of Baghdād refused to obey al-Maʾmūn and proclaimed as caliph Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*]. In fact, these situations always culminated in a trial of strength, and the judicial death, banishment, dismissal or abdication of one of the rivals produced each time a judicial solution.

On the other hand, each abdication registered officially by the *ḳāḍī*s led to an interregnum, and abdications were frequent in the history of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. These were almost always forced abdications. One caliph, al-Ḳāhir [*q.v.*], who refused to bow to pressure, had his eyes put out, by which means he was legally incapacitated from fulfilling his duties. But instances of forced abdication were particularly flagrant in the period of the Buwayhid *amīr*s, who brutally deposed two caliphs to replace them with princes of their own choosing. The grand-*amīr* then convoked each time an electoral college comprising the principal dignitaries of the State as well as jurists and members of the ʿAbbāsid and ʿAlid families; but his own opinion was the only decisive one in the final choice.

It is only in the ʿAbbāsid period that one sees in the texts the office of caliph as clearly accompanied by insignia worn by the caliph when giving audience; there is mention of the cloak attributed to the Prophet (*burda* [*q.v.*]), his sceptre (*ḳaḍīb* [*q.v.*]), and of a high bonnet (*ḳalansuwa*), which first appeared no doubt in the Umayyad period (although the information concerning ceremonial in this period remains of dubious interpretation); in addition, in the 4th/10th century, a copy of the Ḳurʾān of ʿUthmān was carried ostentatiously by the caliph. Insignia of this kind, recalling to a greater or lesser extent contemporary or previous courtroom practice, had the object of stressing the eminent qualities of the "successor of the Messenger of God", and a full etiquette governed the conduct of audiences, requiring from visitors and officials precisely defined marks of respect: the principal one being the kissing of the carpet (*taḳbīl*) on coming face-to-face with the sovereign, if not kissing his hand. A similar symbolism marked the manners of solemn processions, and when the caliph appeared in public outside the palace he was preceded by the chief of police bearing the lance (*ḥarba*), at once the symbol of authority and a reminder of the customs of the Prophet.

Between the 2nd/8th and the 4th/10th centuries, the functions of the caliph are easy enough to determine, using the information supplied by the ancient chronicles. The caliph was then seen as the guardian of dogma, and in this capacity opposed innovations (*bidaʿ*) and all that was considered to be such. He was thus permitted to play a part in the formulation of doctrine, and numerous examples of this may be cited: al-Mahdī ordered for example the persecution of the *zindīḳ*s [*q.v.*]; al-Maʾmūn and his two successors sought to impose Muʿtazilism as an official doctrine; al-Mutawakkil returned to the traditionalist position which condemned in particular the notion of the "created" nature of the Ḳurʾān; later, al-Muʿtaḍid sought to curb the activities of popular preachers of traditionalist tendencies; al-Rāḍī, [*q.v.*] condemned Ḥanbalī theodicy; al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], in the full swing of the Buwayhid period, proclaimed his adherence to a profession of faith of Ḥanbalī inspiration in an attempt to prevent the dissemination of other doctrines. On the other hand, the caliphs did not participate in the formulation of law; al-Manṣūr did not take up the suggestion of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] to establish a uniform code of law to which judges would be obliged to refer, and from this time onwards, the judicial schools were established, independent of all interference from the caliph. The measures which the caliph could take in the judicial sphere were thus limited to decrees applying to fiscal matters, although he was obliged, in his capacity as leader of the community, to ensure that the law was observed in all its various aspects.

The caliph was the *imām* [*q.v.*] par excellence, and conducted the Friday Prayers in the great mosbue. At the end of the 3rd/9th century, however, he was exercising this function only in the great mosque of the caliph's residence, leaving to delegated officials the task of conducting the prayers and performing the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*] in the other great mosque of the capital. Similarly, he performed the Pilgrimage in his official capacity or sent a delegate on his behalf. Many of the earlier caliphs performed this religious duty in person, sometimes more than once, as in the case of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

In the same way, the caliph was expected to preside over the periodic expeditions against the lands of the infidel. This was done in person by Hārūn al-Rashīd, then by al-Maʾmūn, while subsequent caliphs delegated this duty to appointed officers. He also conducted campaigns against rebels, whoever these might be; but when operating against particularly ferocious enemies such as the Zandj [*q.v.*], he would delegate his powers to an effective regent, in this event, al-Muwaffaḳ, brother of the sovereign al-Muʿtamid. The maintenance of order was in fact one of the normal obligations of the caliph, who was

obliged to defend the community against all types of subversion. It was also the caliph who was obliged eventually to deal with those governors who demanded financial autonomy and the hereditary status of their office. On the other hand, it was his duty to ensure the normal exercises of the judiciary in nominating directly—as the practice had been established since the start of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate—the *ḳāḍīs*, who were themselves subject, from the reign of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd onwards, to the intermediate authority of the *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*. So the caliph delegated his powers to magistrates, but he reserved the right to arbitrate as a last resort in cases of litigation and to settle differences arising between administrators and administered. It was the practice of "redressing of wrong" that every caliph conscious of his reputation conducted in person, while other entrusted it to persons specially appointed for this purpose.

Finally, the caliph ensured the well-being of the state, though this concept was to some extent ignored in the middle period of Islam—that is to say, he ensured the material life of the community. In particular, he managed the levying of taxes of which the revenues were subsequently distributed between soldiers and officials, and these taxes were levied according to rules established at the end of the Umayyad caliphate [see DJIZYA, KH̲ARĀDJ, ʿUS̲H̲R, ZAKĀT]. The collection of these taxes was entrusted to agents of the caliph, the *ʿummāl*, who collected sums in cash or contributions in kind from the administered peoples, or to "tax-farmers", who sent to the treasury a lump sum and then recouped the equivalent by means of the sums collected in the territories entrusted to them; the method used remained at the discretion of the caliph. The system varied according to different regions and periods at the will of sovereigns constrained to a greater or lesser extent to cover continually rising expenses; but financial difficulties led the caliph to make a general practice of the farming-out of the taxes, advantageous in the short term but later to prove dangerous, and in the long term making the caliphs dependent on these tax-farmers.

Nevertheless, the details of the powers thus exercised by the caliph and related in precise fashion in the historical texts do not suffice to clarify completely the technicalities of a situation in respect of which two kinds of questions are posed. The first kind arises from the impossibility of deciding with certainty in what measure the authority of the caliph was, or could be, arbitrary or despotic. Certainly, the arbitrary exercise of power was in principle limited by the existence of the law, which the caliph was bound to respect, while enforcing it upon others, and which forbade him in particular to put a Muslim to death, except in precisely defined circumstances. But on the other hand, the duty incumbent on the caliph to suppress all rebellion gave him in this capacity a free hand in treating as a rebel against Islam every rebel against the dynasty, and thus in eliminating, sometimes in summary fashion, the enemies of his own policy.

The second set of problems arises from another difficulty, that of deciding to what extent the caliph himself exercised the powers with which he was invested. It is certain for example that the representatives of judicial authority enjoyed a certain degree of independence, in that they possessed knowledge and technical ability to which the caliph could only with difficulty lay claim; cases of resistance to the caliph on the part of provincial *ḳāḍīs*, or even of the chief *ḳāḍī* of Bag̲h̲dād, were not uncommon. It is certain also that the arbitrary exercise of the powers of the caliph was restricted, after the end of the 3rd/9th century, by the establishment of High Courts, before which individuals accused of treason or heresy were most often tried; in this period, only rebels caught bearing arms were executed or subjected to torture in a manner not authorised by the law; others were tried before courts where the final decision was taken by one or the other of the *ḳāḍīs* of Bag̲h̲dād, playing the role of chief magistrate, although the caliph was not bound to ratify this decision.

In addition, it should be noted that in numerous other fields, between the 3rd/9th and the mid-4th/10th century, the caliph no longer reserved for himself the conduct of affairs. We cannot speak in this context of a steady progression, since we observe on the part of some sovereigns reactions in the opposite direction, which were generally of short duration. The evolution was, however, none the less irreversible and the main beneficiary was the vizier [see WAZĪR], a man of trust and reliability whose title appeared at the start of the ʿAbbāsid regime, without from that time onwards being necessarily attributed in a regular fashion. It was to him that the caliph most often delegated the conduct of administrative affairs, and subsequently matters of general policy, including dealings with the governors of provinces and military affairs. The vizier was, however, entrusted with nothing more than the execution of political decisions which he had previously formulated and which had received the approval of his master; he was regularly accountable to him and could be dismissed at any moment, as could any agent of the sovereign, and was only the "minister" *par excellence* of the caliph, employed by him for as long as his activities gave satisfaction and liable to be replaced as soon as he ceased to please. The arbitrary will of a caliph who apparently disassociated himself from the conduct of affairs but wished nevertheless to retain the exercise of power, was much in evidence in these nominations and dismissals, of which we see examples in the reigns of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd and al-Muḳtadir. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the caliph would have difficulty in holding cheap the services of a supporter who could assure him of such-and-such a group of partisans and faithful servants, without whom it would be impossible to govern, and from among whom originated the viziers. Even if there existed among the administrators themselves rival cliques which encouraged the exercise by the caliph of arbitrary power, the presence of these persons, linked to the régime which supplied them, according to the circumstances, with more or less high offices, remained an element of stability likely to discourage abuse of personal power in the golden age of the caliphate.

After the middle of the 4th/10th century, the caliphs ceased to exercise their authority in person, and even ceased to control those to whom they had delegated this authority, in whole or in part. It was then that there began the period of the "grand-amīrate", to be replaced a century later by the sultanate. The chief characteristic of this period is that the delegate of the caliph appeared first as a military commander and that after 336/945, that is to say ten years after the appointment of the first "grand-*amīr*", a dynasty of grand-*amīrs* was established and the caliph was not permitted to interfere in the succession of these new officers. The authority that the latter exercised in all matters relating to

the administrative, financial and military spheres was nevertheless officially delegated from him, and the caliph retained, in theory at least, the right to appoint agents. It was thus that he succeeded, in certain exceptional cases, in exercising real power, and in one known instance, the Buwayhid *amīr* was unable in spite of all his efforts to obtain for a Ḥusaynī *sharīf* nomination to the post of chief *ḳāḍī*. For, besides doctrine, the area in which the caliph continued to exercise some influence was the judiciary. There was, however, no clear-cut separation of functions between the caliph and the *amīrs*, and it would be inaccurate to say that the latter exercised "temporal power", while the caliph retained a limited authority in "spiritual" matters. Not only did the caliph consider himself entitled to intervene in all areas of policy, but the *amīr*s did not hesitate to use their authority for settling religious affairs, e.g. in promoting the celebration of specifically Shīʿī feasts.

Moreover, the relations established between the caliphs and their *amīr*s varied constantly. There was during the second half of the 4th/10th century a period when caliphs were frequently dethroned or forced to abdicate to be replaced by persons chosen by the *amīr*s, although the latter did not always obtain by this means the result envisaged. On the contrary, in the first half of the 5th/11th century the caliphs al-Ḳādir and al-Ḳāʾim were able to nominate their own heirs and enjoyed a resurgence of power, feeling themselves supported by the Ghaznavid *amīr*s who appeared in Khurāsān and actively upheld Sunnī policies there. However, at this time there appeared the first examples of titles compounded with *dīn* and attributed to certain local *amīr*s, to Buwayhids as well as Ghaznavids. This practice, the origin of which cannot be definitely identified, doubtless did not correspond so much to a new set-back in the authority of the caliph, as to a devaluation of the titles compounded with *dawla*, which were born at first only by the grand-*amīr*s, later by the Ḥamdānid *amīr*s of al-Djazīra, and were eventually attributed to other *amīr*s of secondary rank. In this period, titles employed in official documents became more and more pompous, and the caliph had himself called *al-ḥaḍra al-muḳaddasa al-nabawiyya*, a title stressing the sacred character of an office now almost entirely void of its original significance.

The arrival of the Saldjūḳ Turks brought, in principle, no changes of an institutional order to the situation. The new *amīr*s behaved like their predecessors, receiving a large measure of power which extended legally to the west, occupied by the Fāṭimids, as to the east; this is indicated notably by the title accorded to Ṭughrīl Beg, *malik al-mashriḳ wa'l-maghrib*, in 449/1057. To be sure, they enjoyed in addition a more exalted title, that of *sulṭan*, which was perhaps originally chosen to show that they were the sole depositaries of the full range of the powers of the caliph. Another difference, with particular reference to the functioning of the régime, was that the Saldjūḳ sultans claimed to be defenders of the *Sunna* and the Sunnī caliphate, claiming to have come to the aid of the sovereign, with the particular object of re-opening the Pilgrimage route. But the tension was hardly less between the caliphs and the sultans than it had been previously between the caliphs and the grand-*amīrs*.

Thus the sultans had imposed themselves on the caliphs in a manner which the latter could not and did not appreciate: it was with the greatest of displeasure that the caliph al-Ḳāʾim was obliged to give his daughter in marriage to Ṭughrīl Beg, for example. On the other hand, the caliphs and the sultans did not follow the same political-religious orientation. Faced with sovereigns remaining loyal to the traditionalist Ḥanbalī doctrine, the sultans adopted the Shāfiʿī-Ashʿarī line, which was somewhat different, and it was of design that one of the most remarkable viziers, Niẓām al-Mulk, founded in Baghdād as in the eastern provinces *madrasas* intended for the training of future lawyers. It was nevertheless admitted, in this period of domination by Saldjūḳ sultans, that the latter alone should nominate the candidate for the caliphate: this attitude was justified, as we know, in various of the writings of the celebrated al-Ghazālī who, among other things, castigated the "bad doctors", too eager to submit to the authority of the sultans. The doctors for their part, considered themselves at this time to be the true depositaries of the Law, and demanded in consequence no longer the capacity of *idjtihād* for the caliph which in principle was claimed for him in the past, but above all qualities of morality and piety.

In these difficult circumstances, the caliphs did not abandon the attempt to recover their power, undermined as it was from various quarters. Thus, about 460/1067-8, al-Ḳāʾim dismissed a vizier judged to be too amenable to the sultan Alp Arslān. Then his successor al-Muḳtadī, after the death of Malik Shāh, succeeded in profiting from the rivalries between the various claimants to the sultanate to make his own authority better respected. Subsequently, in 485/1092, al-Mustarshid managed to raise an army which permitted him to oppose the Arab chief Dubays, but which did not prevent him from being made a prisoner by sultan Masʿūd. Finally, it fell to al-Muḳtafī, after the death of Masʿūd in 547/1152, to assert definitive sway over ʿIrāḳ. Whatever the circumstances, the disintegration of the Saldjūḳ empire was accompanied by a multiplication in the number of sultans, and this fact alone further enfeebled the position of the Saldjūḳs; it was in 514/1120-1 that for the first time the *khuṭba* was made in Baghdād in the name of two sultans of this family, but the title of sultan had already been taken by the Ghaznavid Ibrāhīm, inasmuch as it appeared on his coinage, although it cannot be confirmed that the titulary in question had received the agreement of the caliph.

A new turning-point in the relations between caliphate and sultanate occured in 547/1152 when the caliph, assisted by an energetic vizier, Ibn Hubayra, chased out of ʿIrāḳ the *shiḥna* who represented the sultan and dismissed from his service Turkish and Iranian mercenaries, replacing them with Greek or Armenian *mamlūk*s. Ibn Hubayra, who then received the title "*sulṭān* of ʿIrāḳ", was also an eminent jurist of Ḥanbalī tendency, who strove in his works to minimise the differences between judicial schools, so as better to reinforce Sunnism.

Finally there appeared on the scene, in 575/1180, a new caliph, al-Nāṣir, who followed the policy of his predecessor but used different means. His knowledge of religious sciences permitted him to pose as the "doctor" whom the community must follow. Deriving support on the other hand from the Ṣūfīs and the members of the *futuwwa* communities which he reorganised under his own direction in 604/1207, he tried to bring about the unification of the community of Islam and to draw into the framework of his authority the greatest possible number of princes.

One of his propagandists, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī, thus formulated a theory of the caliphate which, while retaining the traditional bases, linked to these Ṣūfism and the *futuwwa*, making the caliph the intermediary between God and the believers and giving him the attributes of a kind of *shaykh*.

Al-Nāṣir, who had no vizier as such, was better able by virtue of this to assert his political prerogatives: he succeeded in having his authority recognized by the powerful Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (576/1181), who for his part declared himself a defender of the caliphate and of Islam. It was nevertheless with difficulty that he obtained the *bayʿa* of certain local *amīr*s of Persia and Upper Mesopotamia. Moreover, the efforts of al-Nāṣir, in which he continued until his death in 622/1225, did not prevent the caliphate from remaining fragile as an institution, and the great reconciliation between Sunnī and Shīʿīs which was one of the most cherished objectives of his policy was never achieved. After only a few more years, the Mongols put an end to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of Baghdād, executing the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim in Ṣafar 656/February 1258.

Even so, one should not forget the importance of the rôle played throughout the Saldjūḳ and post-Saldjūḳ period by an ʿAbbāsid caliph, whom a number of local rulers recognised as the guarantor of their power. Alongside the sultans, who were not so numerous, even when the sultanate was conferred upon several dynasties (Saldjūḳs of Rūm and of Iran, and Ghaznavids), there were princes of Syria, of Anatolia or of Iran who to some extent put themselves under the authority of the caliph, bearing among their titles a title with the component of *-amīr al-muʾminīn* bestowed by the chancellery of Baghdād and stressing their personal link with the caliph. This was the case with Zankids and Ayyūbids in Syria, Rasūlids in the Yemen, Ghaznavids, Ghūrids and princes of Delhi in eastern Iran and in India, to mention only the most important of this group. Different relationships were established too between the caliph and a prince of the Islamic west such as the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, who had confirmed by the chancellery of Baghdād the new title of *amīr al-muslimīn* which he had just taken upon himself. But this came about in a political milieu, that of the Muslim West, where the process of evolution had been quite different from that in the East, and where since the 4th/10th century rival caliphates to that of the ʿAbbāsids had appeared.

C. The caliphates of the west.

It was at the beginning of the 4th/10th century that an Umayyad *amīr* of Spain put an end to the situation which had previously arisen in the region: the situation of a local prince who, while not recognising the authority of the caliph of Baghdād, nevertheless allowed the *khuṭba* to be made in his name. Then, in 316/928, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III declared himself *amīr al-muʾminīn*. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this decision was explained by the fact that at that time "the authority of the caliphate of the east was reduced to nothing". To this should be added the fact that the Fāṭimid Shīʿī caliphate had appeared in Ifrīḳiya, and the new caliph of al-Andalus hoped to make himself the champion of Sunnism against this new form of sovereignty.

The new caliphs essentially based their legitimacy on the idea of inheritance. "Sons of the caliphs", they considered the caliphate a "portion" set aside by God for the Banū Umayya, who had inherited it from Marwān, if not from ʿUthmān himself, as was stated by Ibn Bassām who went so far as to call the Umayyad caliph "kinsman of the Prophet" by virtue of his status as a member of Ḳuraysh. Furthermore, in imitation of the Umayyads, the caliphs of Spain adopted the colour of white. They applied the hereditary principle in a stricter manner than did the ʿAbbāsids, not considering the minority of an heir presumptive as an obstacle to his proclamation. But the succession was put into effect by the same process, *bayʿa*, whether preceded by an *ʿahd* or not. Also, the *bayʿa* held a more important place than in the Orient and sometimes the rite lasted several days.

The caliph frequently declared himself the "caliph of God". He governed in a direct fashion, surrounded by a council of viziers, but in the course of the 4th/10th century, he rapidly ceased to take an active interest in the conduct of affairs, relying on a prime minister who bore, in Spain, the title of *ḥādjib*, not that of *wazīr*: whence the appearance, in 371/981, of a dynasty of "major-domos", of which the founder was the famous al-Manṣūr (Almanzor). A kind of sultanate was thus established in Spain also, but it lasted only a short time, since the caliphate came to an end, in a period of disturbances, in 422/1031.

In the West, other Sunnī caliphs appeared subsequently in rivalry to the caliph of Baghdād. If the Almoravids contented themselves, as has been seen, with the title of *amīr al-muslimīn*, which they adopted with the consent of the chancellery of Baghdād, the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, successor to the *Mahdī* Ibn Tūmart, *ca.* 525/1132 took the title of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, thus setting himself up as a rival to the ʿAbbāsid sovereign and claiming that he was restoring a caliphate now in decline, in the same way that the *Mahdī* Ibn Tūmart had revived Islam; in addition, the Almohad caliph, just as was previously the Shīʿī *imām*, was the bearer of the *ʿiṣma*. Although the original character of the Almohad movement was gradually effaced, to the point where one chronicler declared that the sons of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had transformed the caliphate into a *mulk* (al-Maḳḳarī, viii, 23), the Almohad protocol retained in its formulae (*al-ḥaḍra al-ʿaliyya al-sunniya al-ṭāhira al-ḳudsiyya*), a reminder of the initial doctrine. The title of caliph was subsequently taken over by the Ḥafṣids, successors to the Almohads, and likewise by the Marīnids.

D. The Fāṭimid caliphate and the Shīʿī imāmates.

Founded in 297/909 in Ifrīḳīya by the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh, the Fāṭimid caliphate [*q.v.*], the appearance of which had, as stated above, led to the constitution of an Umayyad caliphate in Spain, had only a temporary historical rôle to play—it lasted in fact only until 567/1171—but dominated a vast expanse of territory, including Egypt snd Syria, and for a brief period came close to endangering the institution of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. It was a Shīʿī caliphate derived from the Ismāʿīlī movement. As such, it presented a different aspect from that of the Sunnī caliphate; the caliph was the *imām maʿṣūm*, impeccable and infallible, supreme interpreter of the Law. This charismatic leader derived his powers from his predecessor by virtue of an explicit nomination (*naṣṣ*), kept secret throughout the preceding reign and revealed only after the death of the caliph, by the man of trust to whom it had been confided. Opinion held that the descent should be by a direct line, from father to son, and by virtue of the Shīʿī doctrine, the community could not remain even for a moment without an *imām*, whom it had no right to nominate.

This principle of accession was applied in a general way throughout the duration of the Fāṭimid caliphate. After the demise of each sovereign the *waṣiyya* of the late caliph, revealed by the senior minister, was put into effect. Nevertheless, after the end of the 5th/11th century the system ceased to function regularly, as the ministers had begun to exert too much influence and to involve themselves in affairs of succession. As early as 411/1021, on the death of al-Ḥākim, who had nominated one of his cousins, his sister Sitt al-Mulk decided that the appointment made by al-Ḥākim was contrary to the rule and intervened to have the son of the late caliph proclaimed. Later, in 487/1094, the minister al-Afḍal proclaimed the succession of one of the caliph's sons, al-Mustaʿlī, whereas another son, Nizār, had, in the opinion of some, been named by the *waṣiyya*. This was the origin of the schism of the Nizārīs or neo-Ismāʿīlīs. Another crisis occurred in 525/1130, when the caliph al-Āmir died without male issue and without having named an heir: this caused some public disorder, if we are to believe the historians; the caliphate passed to a collateral branch of the family. More serious was the initiative taken by the minister Ṭalāʾiʿ in 555/1160 when, upon the death of al-Fāʾiz, he sought out a candidate for the caliphate without troubling to discover whether the late caliph had designated an heir. The new caliph could not be under age, as was the case with al-Fāʾiz; in such an instance a *de facto* regency exercised power, and sometimes the trustees were women. This was what happened for example in the case of the aunt of al-Fāʾiz, and previously in the case of the sister of al-Ḥākim, who for a time made her authority supersede that of a nephew, then seventeen years of age. Let it be added, that throughout the closing years of the régime, the candidate for the caliphate, whose position was the same as that of the *walī 'l-ʿahd* for the ʿAbbāsids, was appointed by the minister.

The new caliph received a *bayʿa* which apparently did not differ from the *bayʿa* made for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. This *bayʿa* was, however, in principle simply an expression of homage, and could not in any sense be considered a designation of the sovereign.

The caliph, as *imām*, was in this respect the chief of propaganda, the interpreter of the law, the source of all knowledge. The panegyrists did not cease to develop these themes, stressing that the caliph was the friend (*walī*) of God, intercessor for all; the doctrine of the *walāya* was in fact regarded by the jurists as one of the pillars of the faith. Only the caliph al-Ḥākim went so far as to consider himself an incarnation of the deity, or at least, he allowed himself to be proclaimed as such (in 408/1017).

The theocratic nature of power was thrown into especial relief under the Fāṭimid caliphate. Nevertheless, the conditions for the exercise of power did not differ noticeably from what they were under a Sunnī caliphate. Here also the authority of the caliph fell into decline and, in the 5th/10th and the 6th/11th centuries, power was in the hands of all-powerful ministers who, to the normal title of *wazīr*, succeeded in adding that of *malik* (530/1135), and some of whom passed on their power in what was temporarily a hereditary manner. The last of these ministers was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who put an end to the régime, restoring the *khuṭba* to the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph and depriving the last Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid of his rights and powers, without however proclaiming his dethronement.

Although the Ismāʿīlī movement thus succeeded in maintaining an effective caliphate for more than two centuries, there never was such a possibility for the Imāmī movement, whose devotees continue to this day to await the return of the *Mahdī*.

On the other hand, the Zaydī movements led to the creation of Zaydī states ruled by *imāms* descended from al-Ḥasan. One of these states, that of Ṭabaristān, constituted in the mid-3rd/9th century, was short-lived, but the other, the Yemen, constituted in 288/901, lasted into the very recent past, covering, it is true, only a very limited area. The Zaydī *imāms*, though not considered impeccable, were doctors schooled in the religious sciences as well as warriors. The most famous of these was the founder of the state of the Yemen, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, who took the surname *al-Hādī ilā 'l-ḥaḳḳ*, as well as the title *amīr al-muʾminīn*, which appeared in the state documents and on the coinage. Al-Hādī, considered by the Zaydīs to be a model sovereign, possessed, in addition to his qualities of courage, a great knowledge of law and great piety. It is said that he strove to apply strictly the prescriptions of Islam, especially in fiscal matters, and to him are attributed a number of scholarly writings. Under the terms of the Zaydī doctrine, the *imām* did not command unconditional obedience, because the subordination of the subjects ceased if the caliph deviated from the prescriptions of the Book and the *Sunna*. On the other hand the imāmate did not necessarily pass from father to son, since it was personal qualities which, in addition to ʿAlid origin, gave entitlement to the imamate. This explains how it was that the Zaydī imāmate succeeded in surviving into the 20th century, in spite of interruptions, especially in the Ayyūbid and Ottoman periods, and in spite of various vicissitudes.

E. The institution of the caliphate after 658/1258.

If the murder of al-Mustaʿṣīm and the Mongol invasions did not bring about the effective disappearance of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, the new era which began at this date was nevertheless of a quite different character. The Mamlūks, having taken power in Egypt and Syria, took to Cairo a member of the ʿAbbāsid family, the uncle of the last caliph of Baghdād, and Baybars had this man declared caliph through the good offices of the chief *ḳāḍī* who had verified his genealogy (*Radjab* 659/June 1261). This individual, who took the surname al-Mustanṣir, claimed in his first *khuṭba* all the privileges of the caliph and claimed to extend his authority over the whole Islamic world, to which end Baybars entrusted an army to him. He failed in his attempt to reconquer Baghdād, and the new caliph, al-Ḥākim, who was then proclaimed in Cairo (*Muḥarram* 661/November 1262) and installed in the citadel, no longer had the right to interfere in political life; his presence seems to have had no other purpose than to render legitimate the power effectively exercised by the Mamlūks, according to a regulation which remained in force for two-and-a-half centuries.

From a juridical viewpoint, the caliph remained, it is true, titular holder of a sovereignty which continued to be transmitted in the line of the caliph al-Ḥākim. But the ensemble of powers, including the right of nominating various agents, had been delegated to the sultan, who was henceforward chosen by the Mamlūks and invested with the sultanate by the caliph. The author al-Ḳalḳashandī compares the sultanate to a delegated vizierate, and declares besides that it consisted of a combination

of the *imārat al-istīlā'* with the *wizārat al-tafwīḍ* (*Ṣubḥ*, xi, 72), which shows the importance that he still attached to the investiture by the caliph. The sultanate had none the less acquired a kind of juridical autonomy; when the Mamlūks could not agree on the appointment of a sultan, as happened for example in 815/1412, they entrusted to the caliph the powers of the sultan, which were thus, according to the chroniclers, "added" temporarily to the caliphate.

In addition, the caliphs lost in Cairo certain of their privileges, the right of *sikka*, which was no longer observed from the time of the third caliph onwards, the right of *khuṭba* which seems to have fallen into disuse, while the traditional insignia of the caliphate were henceforward carried by the sultans themselves. The name of the caliph was no longer mentioned in the *khuṭba* at Mecca, but retained the prestige of holding a power of divine origin and of being, as in the past, the "lieutenant of God on earth" (*nā'ib Allāh fī arḍi-hi*). So obedience to the caliph seems to have been, especially for rulers of distant provinces, a kind of religious duty. Investiture at his hands was always sought by various sovereigns, notably the Muẓaffarids of Iran, the sultans of Delhi and the Ottomans of Anatolia. Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (d. 862/1468) wrote: "The *amīr* of the believers is the lieutenant of God on earth and no prince of east or west can justly call himself sultan if he has not received investiture at his hands." Without this investiture, he could not for example nominate a *ḳāḍī* whose decisions were to be valid.

Various princes of this period refused, however, to recognise the ʿAbbāsid caliphs of Cairo. This happened notably in the case of the Il-Khānid Ghazān Khan, who occupied Damascus in 698/1299 and had himself named in the *khuṭba* "the august sultan, sultan of Islam and the Muslims". As for the Tīmūrid Shāh Rūkh, he considered himself sovereign by divine right and it was his ambition to be recognized as *khalīfa* by the other princes which was refused by the Mamlūk sultan Barsbāy and the Ottoman sultan Murād II.

Moreover, it seems that from the end of the 7th/13th century onwards, certain princes introduced the word *khalīfa* into their titles, without however appropriating the title *amīr al-mu'minīn*; this was done by the Saldjūk sultans of Rūm, protected by the Mongols, and also by the sultans of Dihlī. The Türkmen Uzun Ḥasan (857-82/1453-78) wrote *ca.* 875/1471 to the Ottoman sultan concerning his new capital Shīrāz, calling it the "throne of the caliphate". At the beginning of the 10th/16th century the prince of Transoxania, Muḥammad Shaybānī, put on his coinage the title *khalīfat al-Raḥmān*. While it is admitted that these titles did not always correspond to a precise aspiration, it appears that from the time of the Mongol invasions onwards, the title of *khalīfa* was no longer reserved for the ʿAbbāsid *amīr* of the Believers and that a number of rulers did not hesitate to take it up, as though it were a normal title of Muslim sovereigns.

This title appeared notably in letters of congratulation addressed by allies to Ottoman sultans after certain of their successes. Thus Murād I at the end of the 8th/14th century saw fit to call himself "chosen *khalīfa* of the Creator", and "shadow of God on the earth". A little later, the sultan Bāyazīd did not hesitate to apply to himself verse VI, 165 of the Ḳur'ān: "we have made of you a representative (*khalīfa*) on the earth." In the same way, Meḥemmed I after the restoration of the Ottoman empire at the start of the 9th/15th century, spoke of his "caliphate", a term which the other Ottoman sovereigns did not hesitate to use on certain occasions in dealings with their allies. At all events, and in spite of the fact that Meḥemmed II the Conqueror did not take to himself the title of *khalīfa*, official correspondence addressed to the Ottomans by their neighbours did not cease to consider them repositories of the caliphate and Selīm himself, after 1512, was called by his brother "shadow of God on earth".

It is noteworthy that at the same period too, various eulogists applied on occasion to Ottoman sultans the title of *khalīfa* or *khalīfat Allāh*, although these expressions were nothing more than laudatory epithets, appearing generally in texts of rhymed prose and not to be regarded as official titles. More often, indirect expressions such as "the throne of the caliphate" were employed.

In fact, the Ottoman sultans early wished to be considered, without however claiming the title *amīr al-mu'minīn*, as bearers of the sultanate and the caliphate combined, a caliphate conceived by the Muslim thinkers of the time in terms completely different from those of early Islam. Thus two thinkers as different one from the other as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Khaldūn agree in declaring that the caliphate ceased after the *rāshidūn* caliphs and that the sovereignty exercised by the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids had never been more than a sort of "royalty". This was their way of expressing how they were struck by the contrast between the theory of the caliphate as it had been formulated by al-Māwardī and the reality which they saw. It may be added that the lawyers of the Ḥanafī school were also of the opinion that the true caliphate had lasted no more than thirty years, up to the death of ʿAlī. For their part, Persian authors, such as Dawwānī, who wrote in the 9th/15th century, supported the thesis which held to be a caliph every sovereign who became, as defender of the cause of Islam, "representative" of God on earth. As was stressed by Sir Thomas Arnold, the title *amīr al-mu'minīn*, associated with the traditional Ḳurashī caliphate, was then abandoned, while the powerful sovereigns of the Irano-Turkish world sought to adorn themselves with the title of *khalīfa*; they considered themselves, in fact, simply by virtue of their taking power, as sovereigns by divine right and lieutenants of God.

At the same time, they recognised no authority on the part of the caliph of Cairo. This is seen in the episode when the sultan Selīm conquered Syria, then Egypt, making a prisoner of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, treating him with a complete lack of deference and exiling him to Constantinople. Al-Mutawakkil was unable to leave this involuntary exile until the reign of the sultan Sulaymān, returning to Egypt where he died in 950/1543; he made no further exercise of his functions as caliph, except in conferring the investiture on the governor Aḥmad Pasha, a governor who had rebelled against the Ottoman sultan. The fact emerges clearly from the account of these events that the last ʿAbbāsid caliph was considered of negligible importance by the victorious Ottoman sultan.

On the other hand, not one of the historical accounts states in precise fashion that Selīm sought to take to himself the legacy of the caliphate to the extent that might be inferred from the late, popular versions which began to circulate at the end of the 18th century and were collected by Mouradgea d'Ohsson. There is no justification for the view that there was an official transfer of the caliphate to Constantinople. It is true that certain relics of the Prophet and of the Companions were transferred

to the capital of the Ottoman empire; as for sultan Selīm and his successors, they never bore officially in documents of state, inscriptions and coinage, titles other than *sulṭān* and *khāḳān*; they did not use those of *amīr al-mu'minīn* or of *imām*. The only new title adopted by Selīm after the conquest of Egypt was that of *khādim al-ḥaramayn* [*q.v.*], which was in fact a title belonging to the Mamlūk sultans and not to the caliph.

These ill-defined pretentions of the Ottoman sultans towards sovereignty over the entire Islamic world, came into conflict in certain respects, in the east, with the ambitions of the Mughal rulers of India during the 16th and 17th centuries. After the reign of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) [*q.v.*], the capital of these faraway but powerful princes, Dihlī, was called *dār al-khilāfa* ("seat of the caliphate") and the coinage of Akbar bore the inscription: "the great sultan, the exalted *khalīfa*." The Mughals, who dealt on equal terms with the Ottomans, continued until the reign of Shāh ʿĀlam II (1173/1760) to qualify themselves with the title of *khalīfa*, although it is unclear to what extent they were thereby disowning the traditional concept of the Ḳurashī caliphate.

Nevertheless, it was the masters of the Ottoman empire who finally enjoyed the distinction, in the 18th century, of being presented by their diplomats to foreigners, including European monarchs, as the holders of the "caliphate". An example of this appeared in 1774 in the treaty concluded between ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I and the empress Catharine of Russia; the sultan was called "the *imām* of the Believers and the caliph of those who profess the divine unity", an expression which at the time was rendered in French by "le Souverain calife de la religion mahométane". The intention was to retain the sultan's religious authority over Muslim populations which had passed under foreign domination; this the Russians did not accept (the treaty was revised in 1783). In any case, from this time onward, and throughout the 19th century, in the various confrontations which occurred between the Ottomans and the European states, the Ottoman sultans strove to present themselves officially as caliphs, that is to say, as the spiritual leaders of the Muslims and defenders of Islam. The distinction, of European origin, between the spiritual and the temporal thus found, through the exigencies of the situation, echoes in Ottoman circles. Hence the constitution formulated in December 1876 by the sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II declared explicitly in its art. 3: "The august Ottoman sultanate, the office of the supreme Islamic caliphate, must devolve upon the eldest of the members of the family"; and in art. 4: "the sultan, in his capacity as caliph, is the protector of the Muslim religion".

Even though the process of giving executive force to the constitution of 1876 was postponed until 1908, the sultan continued to hold to this conception which enabled him to assert his authority over the Arab countries and furthermore to embrace the ideal of pan-Islamic unity, inspired in him by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*]. The principle was in any case recognised in the countries of the West, and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, after the annexation of the province to the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1908, the name of the Ottoman sultan continued to be mentioned in the public prayers. In Libya, even after the establishment of the Italian protectorate, the chief *ḳāḍī* of that country was still appointed by the Ottoman *shaykh al-Islām*. In Bulgaria, under the terms of the treaty of Constantinople of 1913, the prerogatives of the Ottoman sultan, though more strictly limited, were nevertheless upheld, as was also the case in Greece at that time.

It should be added that the Ottoman sultans had, in fact, for a number of centuries, exercised functions similar to those of the ancient caliphs, with the difference that they sought to establish a more regular system. In addition to the law, they formulated a code of rules, the purpose of which was in principle to supplement the Law, but which sometimes tended to supplant it; called *ḳānūn*, it was employed by Sulaymān the Great as by the other sultans, and was applied not only to financial questions, but also to questions such as the problem of succession. Later, in the 19th century, the sultans sought, under the pressure of various circumstances, to modernise the structures of the Ottoman state. This is not the place to examine the reforming measures known as the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], but it should be recalled that it was in their capacity as leaders of an important Muslim community that the sultans introduced modifications in the traditional *fiḳh*, as in the organisation of public powers. The movement culminated in the formulation of the constitution of 1876 which envisaged a parliamentary régime and which did not come into force until 1908.

The installation of a parliamentary régime, then the appearance of the officers of the Committee of Union and Progress, had the effect of calling into question, even before the First World War, the sultanate and the caliphate. The Young Turks had at first been cautious, and if they sought to circumscribe the powers of the sultan, they tended also to use the expedient of the caliphate to maintain Turkish influence over the Arab lands. The issue of the war modified the assumptions of the problem, since the new Turkish nationalism, whose champion was Muṣṭafā Kemāl, had nothing to do with the caliphate. The suppression of the ancient institutions was nevertheless gradual. Muṣṭafā Kemāl began by attacking the sultanate, while recognising the caliphate as "a moral link, sacred and respected by the entire Muslim world." On the 1st November 1922, the sultanate was abolished by the Grand National Assembly of Ankara, which reserved for itself the right to choose the holder of the caliphate under the terms of the Constitution adopted in January 1921 and which declared the sovereignty of the people. The sultan Meḥemmed VI, deposed by means of a *fatwā*, went into exile and was replaced by ʿAbd al-Madjīd, who had been chosen by the Assembly and was asked to consider himself only as the caliph of the Muslims. In fact, the new caliphate was ill-defined, and fruitless discussions were held regarding the functions to be attributed to a figure in whom Muṣṭafā Kemāl, in April 1923, recognised above all "supreme inter-Islamic authority" and the "symbol of Islamic solidarity", and yet who held no real spiritual power, for he did not have the right to appoint *ḳāḍī*s, *muftī*s or preachers. In January 1924 Muṣṭafā Kemāl declared: "The idea of a single caliph, exercising supreme religious authority over all the peoples of Islam, is an idea taken from fiction, not from reality." In February, the caliphate was abolished by the National Assembly which was then endowed with all powers of legislation (*tashrīʿ*). The prayer was delivered in the name of *al-Ḥukūma al-djumhūriyya wa 'l-milla al-islāmiyya*. Meanwhile, a group of *ʿulamā'* had drafted a document which was circulated not only in Turkey but also in the Arab countries and which tried to show that the problem

of the caliphate was a question not of theology but of practical politics, that the caliphate had not been instituted by the Prophet and that it did not constitute a fundamental element of Islam.

The abolition of the caliphate, of which the concept had changed somewhat since the 7th/13th century, was none the less powerfully resented in the Middle-East, where various projects were attempted for the restitution of this institution, considered to be fundamental to the very life of the community of Islam. The sharīf of Mecca, Ḥusayn, made an attempt to have himself recognised as caliph, but succeeded only with a few neighbouring princes. In 1926, two congresses were held, which had the object of debating the issue of the caliphate; one took place in March, in Cairo, the other in July at Mecca, without any result. The western powers, for their part, sought to encourage the restoration of the caliphate, on the condition that the holder be their ally. In 1930 there was denunciation from certain Muslim quarters of the policies of the British, who continued to give financial support to the former Ottoman sultan while backing King Ḥusayn, and those of the French, who favoured the Bey of Tunis. Then in 1931, a congress of *ʿulamāʾ* and political figures was held in Jerusalem. It had no result other than to affirm the spirit of solidarity which still existed among Arab and Muslim countries and which was the origin of the "Congress of Arab Unity" held in 1937 and from which arose the League of Arab States, founded in 1944. Meanwhile, the attempt of King Fārūḳ of Egypt, in 1939, to revive the caliphate to his own advantage, met with vigorous opposition from the Turkish government. The rise of nationalism thus brought about the transformation of a pan-Islamic movement into a simply pan-Arab movement.

In fact, Muslim opinion was in general resigned to the new situation, entrusting interpretation of the Law to the doctors, and political affairs to the *de facto* authorities. Even in 1922, the reformist Rashīd Riḍā had proposed a plan for the reform of the caliphate in his work *al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāma al-ʿUẓmā*; he asserted that no Arab sovereign was worthy to accede to this office and he proposed the holding of a seminar with the purpose of drawing up a list of doctors from among whom the caliph would be chosen; the rôle of the caliph would essentially have been to adapt Islamic law to the conditions of modern life. But such a project was never realised.

More radical was the theory advanced by a *shaykh* of al-Azhar, ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Razīḳ, who, in 1925, wrote an essay entitled *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm* "Islam and the bases of power", which caused a sensation in traditionalist Muslim circles because it laid down a doctrinal basis for the separation of the temporal and the spiritual, and suggested that the government of the Prophet at Medina was not dependent on the prophetic mission. This work was condemned by the *shaykhs* of al-Azhar, but the notion of temporal sovereignty continued nevertheless to take root in Muslim circles during the decades that followed.

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(D. SOURDEL)

(ii) IN POLITICAL THEORY

There are two references to *khalīfa* in the Ḳurʾān (Sūra II, 30 and Sūra XXXVIII, 26). The first, "We have made thee a *khalīfa* in the land; then judge between the men with the truth, and follow not thy desires, lest they cause thee to err from the path of God", refers to Adam. The second, "We have made thee a *khalīfa* in the earth; so judge between the people with truth" is addressed to David. The plural (*khalāʾif* and *khulafāʾ*), which occurs frequently, means successors (i.e. progeny) (see further R. Paret, *Signification coranique de ḥalīfa*, in *Studia Islamica*, xxxi (*pars prior*), 211-17, and W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic political thought*, Edinburgh 1968, 32 ff.). For the commentators such as Zamakhsharī, the concept of Adam included or typified all mankind and the prophets, while David had the dual rôle of king and prophet. Although there is no indication that the word *khalīfa* was intended to serve as the title of the successor of Muḥammad, both the passages quoted above are important for the development of the theory of the *khalīfa* as the successor of the prophet, and his office, the *khilāfa*.

It is asserted by Muslim historians that the term *khalīfa* was first used as the title of the successor of Muḥammad by Abū Bakr, but it is doubtful whether he ever assumed it as a title (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, 11 A.H., para. 63 n. 1). From the reign of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, however, *khalīfat rasūl Allāh*, successor of the messenger of God, became the common designation of the leader of the community, the *amīr al-muʾminīn* [*q.v.*], the Commander of the Faithful, the title which ʿUmar had adopted on his

election (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1858, i, 408-14, ed. Beirut 1886, 227-30 and cf. M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 19, and idem, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 140-1 on *amīr al-muʾminīn*). The title *khalīfat rasūl Allāh* implied the assumption by Muḥammad's successor of Muḥammad's functions as judge and temporal leader of the community. Muḥammad's prophetic function, on the other hand, was held to have ceased with him and it was believed that the spiritual guidance of the community had been inherited by the community as a whole. The *khalīfa*, thus, had no authority to give new interpretations to religious matters: his function was merely to maintain old doctrines. His office was simply a delegation of authority for the purpose of applying and defending the *sharīʿa*. The title *khalīfat rasūl Allāh* was commonly applied to the orthodox or rightly guided caliphs (the Rāshidūn), who were regarded as the representatives or successors of Muḥammad. Muʿāwiya's claim to the caliphate, if it was based on the text of the Ḳurʾān (XVII, 35), was to be sultan: as such he was not Muḥammad's deputy but God's, and the title *khalīfat Allāh*, vicegerent of God, appears to have been approved by the Umayyads (D. S. Margoliouth, *The sense of the title Khalifah*, in *A volume of oriental studies presented to E. G. Browne*, ed. T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1922, 327). The phrase *khalīfat Allāh* had earlier excited the indignation of Abū Bakr, because of the boldness of its implication. It was, nevertheless, used by Ḥassān b. Thābit in A.D. 35 in an elegy he wrote on the caliph ʿUthmān (*Dīwān of Ḥassān Ibn Thābit* ed. W. N. Arafat, *GMS*, N.S. xxv/1-2, London 1971, i, 96). The ʿAbbāsids later employed the title *khalīfat Allāh*, but its use was resisted by many of the *ʿulamāʾ*, who rejected the idea that the *khalīfa* was the representative of God and the implication of autocratic power contained in the title (I. Goldziher, *Muhammadanische Studien*, ii, 61, H. A. R. Gibb, *al-Mawardi's theory of the caliphate*, in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. Stanford J. Shaw and W. R. Polk, London 1962, 158, S. D. Goitein, *Attitudes towards government* in *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1966, 203). An attempt to limit the true caliphate to the Rāshidūn, on the basis of a tradition attributed to the prophet which states "the caliphate after me will be thirty years: then it will become kingship" (quoted by Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, 328), did not become accepted doctrine. Later Sunnī jurists, however, drew a distinction between the caliphate of the Rāshidūn, the *khilāfat al-nubuwwa* (the vicariate of prophecy) and the later caliphate which they held to have had the character of worldly kingship (*mulk*) [*q.v.* in IMĀMA].

As used in the sources, the terms *khalīfa* and *imām* (and *khilāfa* and *imāma* [*q.v.*], which refer to his office) are broadly interchangeable. The former is primarily applied to the supreme leader of the Muslim community as the ruler of the community exercising the "temporal" functions of Muḥammad, while the latter is applied to him as the religious leader of the community and derives from his function of leading the prayers of the community, which, in the view of the Sunnīs, was his most important function. The propriety of the election of Abū Bakr was, in fact, defended by many jurists on the ground that he had led the prayers. In *fiḳh* literature the terms *imām* and *imāma* are used in preference to *khalīfa* and *khilāfat*. Among later writers traces are occasionally to be found of a distinction between the functions of the leader of the community as *khalīfa* and as *imām*. For example Rāwandī alleges that Ṭughril b. Arslān's atabeg, Muḥammad Pahlavān-djahān, used openly to say, "The *imām* should occupy himself with delivering the *khuṭba* and leading the prayers, which are the best of actions and the greatest of deeds and which uphold (or protect) profane rulers; and he should entrust kingship to sultans and leave rule to this sultan (*i.e.*, Ṭughril)" (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl, *GMS*, N.S. ii, London, Leiden 1921, 334).

Politics and religion in Islam were inextricably mixed and the political doctrines of the *khalīfa* as the leader of the community cannot be easily separated from the theological and juridical doctrines concerning his office [see IMĀMA]. The early doctrinal disputes and religious polemics—the controversies over the imamate raised by the first civil war, the development of the Shīʿat ʿAlī and the Khawāridj schisms, the succession of the Umayyads and their overthrow by the ʿAbbāsids, the Muʿtazilī movement and its refutation by the Ashʿarīs, and the polemics against the Rawāfiḍ and Khawāridj—profoundly influenced the development of the political theory as well as the religious doctrine of the *khalīfa*, as also did Hellenistic and Sasanian theories of government.

As the temporal head of the community, whose internal organisation was secured by a common acceptance of and submission to the *sharīʿa*, the caliph was the symbol of the supremacy of the *sharīʿa*. He, like other believers, was subordinate to it and they owed him obedience only as its representative. So far as there was an element of contract in the relations between him and his followers this was to be found in the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*]. Termination of the contract was only permitted if a change took place in the status and condition of the caliph such as might cause prejudice to the rights of the community. The weakness of the position was that no tribunal was specified to decide upon his deposition.

Gradually the political doctrines of the imamate were worked out in the light of political developments (cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *al-Mawardi's theory of the caliphate*, 154-5). Significantly, most of the important expositions of the theory of the caliphate were written, if not at a period of crisis, at least at a time when some fairly major problem faced the Muslim community and was exercising the minds of the faithful.

In the turbulent years following the transfer of power from the Umayyads to the ʿAbbāsids, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], who died probably in 139/756, concerned at the internal dissensions within the community, felt the need for a definition of the powers and authority of the caliph. Recognising the change in the basis of the caliphate which had taken place with the ʿAbbāsid revolution, and believing that the only bond between the caliph and his army was religious conviction, he made right belief the cornerstone of his political programme. Convinced of the need for stability, he proposed a rigid control by the state. He suggested that the caliph should supersede and regulate *raʾy* [*q.v.*] as used in the ancient schools of law and recommended that he should create a code based on (i) precedents and usage (*siyar*), (ii) tradition and analogy, and (iii) his own decisions which would in turn be emended by succeeding caliphs. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's pleas, however, went unheeded: orthodox Islam rejected the view that *raʾy* was the domain of the ruler and referred the final decision

to *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*] (see further S. D. Goitein, *A turning-point in the history of the Muslim state*, in *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, 149-67).

Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) [*q.v.*] represents a somewhat different point of view. Disturbed by contemporary practices, many of which seemed contrary to the spirit of the early caliphate as reflected in the works of the Traditionists, he cites a number of traditions in his *Kitāb al-Kharādj* showing the duty of the subjects to their *imām*. The *bayʿa* by this time was no longer of practical significance and Abū Yūsuf does not attempt to maintain even the principle of election. He is aware of only one source of authority: God's choice by which the caliph became a vicegerent of God on earth (see further S. D. Goitein, *Attitudes towards government in Islam and Judaism*, in *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, 203 ff.). By implication he holds that the actual possession of power is the necessary basis for authority and a sufficient justification for its exercise, irrespective of the ruler's personal qualifications. Although Abū Yūsuf, who looks upon the caliph as the shepherd of his people, bases the principles of true Islamic government upon the *sunna* of the Rāshidūn and of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and implicitly protests against the prevailing cult of the Sasanian tradition (cf. Gibb, *The evolution of government in early Islam*, in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, 45), he opens the way, by his acceptance of the caliph as the *khalīfat Allāh*, to the theory of the ruler as the Shadow of God upon earth, which was later to be transferred to the temporal ruler once the caliph had ceased to be the effective and immediate source of power (cf. A. K. S. Lambton, *Quis custodiet custodes*, in *Studia Islamica* v (1956), 125-48).

Al-Djāhiz (d. 255/868-9) [*q.v.*] approaches the question of the imamate from yet another point of view and bases his argument on the need for an *imām* on the predatory nature of men and their lack of understanding, an argument frequently put forward later in the works of Islamic philosophers and the writers of mirrors for princes (see further Ch. Pellat, *L'imamat dans la doctrine de Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xxv (1961), 23-52). Preoccupied with the feud between the supporters of the ʿAbbāsids and their opponents, he raises the question of the duty to resist an impious government. In this, his concern is not with the right to resist *bad* government as such, but simply with the duty to oppose the transgression of the law which was involved by the abandonment of Islamic government by the *imām*. When this happened al-Djāhiz held that it was the duty of the *imām*'s subjects to denounce and depose him, though he limits this duty by the possibility of fulfilment (see further Pellat, *locc. cit.*, and also B. Lewis, *Islamic concepts of revolution*, in *Revolution in the Middle East*, ed. P. J. Vatikiotis, London 1972, 35 ff.).

By the end of the 3rd/9th century the political control of the ʿAbbāsid caliph was on the one hand becoming increasingly eroded by his governors, who had usurped his temporal powers, and on the other threatened by movements of politico-religious dissent. This made a restatement of the basis and nature of caliphal authority imperative. One of the first to attempt this was al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013) [*q.v.*], who in his exposition of the imamate was mainly concerned to defend the Sunnī position against the threat of the Shīʿa (see further A. Abel, *Le chapitre sur l'imamat dans le Tamhid d'al-Baqillani*, in *Le Shi'isme imamite*, Paris 1970, 55 ff., and Y. Ibish, *The political doctrine of al-Baqillani*, Beirut 1966).

Al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) [*q.v.*], starting from the premiss that authority was delegated by God to the *imām* and that he alone could delegate this to others, is primarily concerned to maintain the theoretical validity of the caliph's authority and his delegation of this in spite of the actual usurpation of his power by others. In *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, he lays down the qualifications of the *imām* [see IMĀMA] and discusses the functions of his office, having in mind the limitations imposed upon the caliph by political circumstances. Like various writers before him, al-Māwardī speaks of the forfeiture of the imamate, without, however, laying down any legal means by which this might be brought about. In his discussion of the formal institutions of government he concentrates mainly upon what constitutes a valid investiture by the caliph of his functionaries, in particular the *wazīr* and the *amīr*. Some two centuries earlier al-Djāhiz had defined political obligation with regard to the overthrow of an impious *imām* in terms of possibility. Al-Māwardī went further. Constrained by necessity and expediency, he limited even the political obligations of the caliph as the executor of the *sharīʿa* by the possibility of fulfilment. (See further H. A. R. Gibb, *al-Mawardi's theory of the caliphate*).

In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries the jurists continued to wrestle with the problem of how to assert the supremacy of the caliph. They were all concerned to a greater or lesser degree with the caliph's mission as the vicegerent of the prophet, and with his duty to defend Islam and to administer the affairs of the community. Among them were Abū Yaʿlā (380-458/990-1066) Ibn al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*], Ibn ʿAḳīl (431-513/1040-1119) [*q.v.*], al-Djuwaynī, the Imām al-Ḥaramayn (419-499/1028-1105) [*q.v.*], and al-Ghazālī (450-505/1058-1111) [*q.v.*]. The last named breaks new ground on the subject of the relationship of caliph and sultan in his *Iḳtiṣād al-iʿtiḳād*. The caliph remains the symbol of the supremacy of the *sharīʿa* but the sultan is associated with him and recognised as the holder of coercive power (see further L. Binder, *al-Ghazali and Islamic government*, in *The Muslim world*, July 1955, and H. Laoust, *La politique de Ġazālī*, Paris 1970).

Ibn Djamāʿa (639/1241-733/1333) [*q.v.*], writing after the extinction of the caliphate by the Mongols, broadly speaking transfers to the *de facto* rulers the constitutional theories worked out by earlier jurists, holding that the seizure of power itself gave authority, while Ibn Taymiyya (661-728/1263-1328) [*q.v.*], seeking a more radical solution, denied the obligatory nature of the caliphate (see further H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Ibn Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, idem, *Le traité du droit publique d'Ibn Taimīya*, Beirut 1948).

Additional *bibliography*: C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i; W. Barthold, *Khalif i sultan*, in *Mir Islama*, i, 203 ff., 345 ff. (abridged German tr. in *Isl.*, vi (1915), 350 ff.; abridged English tr. by N. S. Doniach in *IQ* (1963), 117-135); Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910; T. W. Arnold, *The caliphate*, London 1924; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, Paris 1956, ii; H. A. R. Gibb, *The heritage of Islam in the modern world* (i), in *International Journal of Middle Eastern studies*, 1 (1970), 3-18; W. M. Watt, *God's caliph: Qurʾānic interpretations and Umayyad claims*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 565-74. For

the works of the Muslim theorists mentioned above see under the relevant articles.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

(iii) In Islamic mysticism

This term may have any of the following meanings, all carrying the idea of vicarship, when used in writings dealing with or pertaining to certain aspects of Islamic mysticism:

1. He may be the *ḳuṭb* or perfect man, *al-insān al-kāmil* [*q.v.*], around whom the spheres of being evolve, upon whom the Muḥammadan Reality (*al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya*), which is the hidden side (*bāṭin*) of his own reality in the world, irradiates. This makes the *ḳuṭb* the *khalīfa* of the Prophet on the plane of manifestation (*ẓāhir*). In this sense the founders of the *ṭarīḳa*s [*q.v.*] and their successors, when identified with the *ḳuṭb*, are referred to as *khulafā'* of the Prophet (see e.g. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Maḥāsin al-Ḳāwuḳadjī, *al-Badr al-munīr ʿalā ḥizb al-shādhilī al-kabīr*, Alexandria 1314, 19; Muḥammad Māḍī Abu 'l-ʿAzā'im, *al-Ṭuhūr al-madār ʿalā ḳulūb al-abrār*, Cairo 1340, 32; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Nashshābī, *Asrār al-ḥaḳīḳa li-man yasluku al-ṭarīḳa*, Cairo 1921, 66 f.).

They do not unite *al-khilāfa al-ẓāhira* with *al-khilāfa al-bāṭina*, however, as did *al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*, but held only *al-khilāfa al-bāṭina* (cf. ʿUbayd Allāh Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳusanṭīnī al-Ḥanṣālī, *Fatḥ al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān bi-sharḥ naṣīḥat al-ikhwān*, Cairo 1312, 176; Muḥammad al-Nūrī, *al-Nafaḥāt al-hadā'iyya ʿalā wird al-sādāt al-aḥmadiyya*, Alexandria 1316, 109, 111). This is also referred to as *al-khilāfa al-kubrā* (cf. Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-Ḳādirī, *al-Fatḥ al-mubīn fīmā yataʿ allaḳa bi-tiryāḳ al-muḥibbīn*, Cairo 1306, 118).

2. He may be the successor of the (alleged) founder of a *ṭarīḳa* or to the deceased leader of a group of mystics, without the connotations attached to the term as mentioned under (1). The term may refer to his immediate successor (see e.g. Taḳī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāḳ al-muḥibbīn fī ṭabaḳāt khirḳat al-mashāyikh al-ʿārifīn*, Cairo 1305; 20, Karīm al-Dīn al-Barmūnī, *Tanḳīh rawḍat al-azhār wa-minyat al-sādāt al-abrār*, Tunis 1325, 343; al-Nashshābī, *Asrār*, 64 f.) or to the successor to *al-khilāfa*, i.e. to the position of supreme leadership over the *ṭarīḳa* or group as shaped by its founder or first leader and/or their successors (see e.g. Djalāl al-Dīn al-Karakī, *Lisān al-taʿrīf bi-ḥāl al-walī al-sharīf Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī*, ed. Aḥmad ʿIzz al-Dīn Khalf Allāh, Ṭanṭā 1969, 5 f., for *al-khilāfa al-Birhāmiyya*, and al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-āthār*, i, 70, for *al-khilāfa al-Wafā'iyya*).

Equivalent to *al-khilāfa* in this sense is the term *sadjdjāda* [*q.v.*]. According to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Anwār al-ḳudsiyya fī maʿrifat ḳawā'id al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo-Beirut 1962, 6, i, 185, preference for succession of a deceased *shaykh* [*q.v.*] should be given to the eldest of his disciples. The successor may already have been designated by the *ṭarīḳa*'s leader during his lifetime (on this see e.g. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Laknawī, *al-Minaḥ al-madaniyya fī mukhtārāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Medina 1330, 88 ff.). In addition, the *ṣūfī* manuals mention the existence of consensus among the disciples about the successor as a legitimate basis for the assumption of leadership (cf. al-Laknawī, *al-Minaḥ*, 93). Hereditary patrilineal succession to the leadership position became the rule adopted by many of the Ṣūfī orders. This practice is frowned upon by those belonging to al-Naḳshibandiyya [*q.v.*] such as Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khānī, *al-Bahdja al-saniyya fī ādāb al-ṭarīḳa al-ʿaliyya al-Khālidiyya al-Naḳshibandiyya*, Cairo 1319, 33, and it is discarded as Shīʿa custom by authors belonging to al-Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*], such as ʿAlī Sālim ʿAmmār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1951, 62, i, 31.

3. He may be a *murīd* [*q.v.*] who, after having reached a certain stage of mystical perfection as defined by the teachings of the *ṭarīḳa* to which he belongs, is granted permission by his spiritual master to initiate novices and to guide them on the mystical path. This includes permission to transmit the *ṭarīḳa*'s prayers, to lead *ḥaḍra*s [*q.v.*] and to grant the status of *khalīfa* to his own disciples in turn. To this effect a so-called *idjāza* (Pers./T. *idjāzatnāma/icazetname*) [*q.v.*] is granted to him by his spiritual master, possibly during a festive gathering of the *ṭarīḳa*'s members, when the *idjāza* is read (cf. P. Kahle, *Zur Organisation der Derwischorden in Egypten*, in *Isl.*, vi (1916), 157). The actual investiture may consist in the pronounciation of a special oath-formula, the *mubāyaʿat al-khilāfa* (cf. al-Laknawī, *al-Minaḥ*, 89) which differs from the common *ʿahd* formula [*q.v.*]. An *idjāza* of this type may be defined as the deed of spiritual succession granted to a *murīd*. It is generally referred to as *idjāzat al-khilāfa* (Pers./T. *khilāfatnāma, hilafetname*), or just *khilāfa*. This document generally contains a more or less elaborate exposition of rights and obligations of its recipient and mentions the *silsila* [*q.v.*], i.e. the chain of initiation and transmission of mystical knowledge also known as *sanad* [*q.v.*] *al-khilāfa* (cf. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳashshāshī, *al-Simṭ al-madjīd fī sha'n al-bayʿa wa 'l-dhikr wa talḳīn wa-salāsil al-ṭarīḳ*, Ḥaydarābād 1327, 67 ff.). Provided with the seal of its purveyor, who must have been similarly authorised by his own spiritual master, and sometimes endorsed by a number of witnesses, who may also be *khalīfa*s (cf. Muḥammad b. Mubārak ʿAlawī Kirmānī (Amīr Khurd), *Siyar al-awliyā'*, Dihlī 1302, 179) it constitutes the *khalīfa*'s primary source of legitimation as a teacher of the *ṭarīḳa*. The *idjāzat al-khilāfa* need not necessarily be restricted to the permission to transmit mystical knowledge, but may also contain permission to teach and transmit texts of a different nature. It can also contain permission to initiate into and to teach the methods of more than one *ṭarīḳa* (cf. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥanafī al-Baghdādī, *al-Ḥadīḳa al-nadiyya fī ādāb al-ṭarīḳa al-Naḳshibandiyya wa 'l-bahdja al-Khālidiyya*, Cairo n.d., 45). The fact that somebody has been granted the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* means only that he possesses the prerequisites for initiating and guiding disciples of his own, independent of his spiritual master. He is not under the obligation to do so, and he may very well refrain from setting himself up independently until after his master's death (cf. e.g. Amīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyā'*, 169, and for present-day practice, Syed Naguib al-Attas, *Some aspects of Sufism as understood and practised among the Malays*, Singapore, Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963, 37). He may also choose not to set himself up independently but to accept the spiritual leadership of another *khalīfa* as his master's legitimate successor. In this case "a renewal of the *ʿahd*" may take place with the latter (see e.g. Maḥmūd b. ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Wafā'ī, *Maʿāhid al-taḥḳīḳ fī radd al-munkirīn ʿalā ahl al-ṭarīḳ*, Cairo 1960 (various editions), 145). According to the tenets of some *ṭarīḳa*s, a *shaykh* has the obligation to grant the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* to a disciple who has attained perfection

(cf. al-Khānī, *al-Bahdjat al-saniyya*, 43). Other *ṭarīḳa*s, however, like al-Čishtiyya [*q.v.*], and a Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] branch like al-Sharḳāwiyya, do not seem to have known such a rule, and some of the principal *shaykh*s of these orders refused to grant an *idjāzat khilāfa* to any of their disciples (cf. Ḥamīd Ḳalandar, *Khayr al-madjālis*, ed. K. A. Nizami, Aligarh, n.d., 287 f. On the last regular *khalīfa* of al-Sharḳāwiyya, see Muḥammad ʿAbduh al-Ḥidjādjī, *Min aʿlām al-saʿīd*, Cairo 1969, 63 ff. His *idjāza* was edited by Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir, Cairo 1328). Formal registration of the permission to initiate and the transmission of mystical knowledge in an *idjāza* seems to be a relatively late development (cf. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sayyid ʿAlawī b. Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭās, *Ẓuhūr al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī bayān al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, n.p. [Bombay] 1312, 26 f.), coinciding with the period in which Islamic mysticism became institutionalised in gradually expanding formal organisations, the *ṭarīḳa*s, during and after the 8th/14th century.

4. He may be the deputy of the head of an order in a particular area. The precondition for assignment to such a position is formal investiture as *khalīfa* and hence possession of an *idjāzat khilāfa*, which is crucial for the legitimation of any claims for the office or position of local deputy. Appointment as *khalīfa* in this sense may be to an already existing group of *murīd*s, in succession to a deceased or suspended predecessor (cf. Muḥammad al-Bakhshī al-Ḥalabī, *Shams al-mafākhir. Dhayl li-Kitāb Ḳalāʾid al-djawāhir*, Cairo 1908, 27; Amīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyāʾ*, 197; ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Zayn al-Dīn, *al-Djawāhir al-saniyya wa ʾl-karāmāt al-aḥmadiyya*, Cairo 1277, 55), in charge of a particular *tekke* [*q.v.*] or *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] (see e.g. al-Bakhshī, *Shams al-mafākhir*, 64) or, in a particular area where the *ṭarīḳa* has no adherents, in order to proselytise (see e.g. Muḥammad Abu ʾl-Hudā al-Sayyādī, *Tanwīr al-abṣār fī ṭabaḳāt al-sāda al-Rifāʿiyya al-akhyār*, Cairo 1306, 110; Muḥammad Hāshim Badakhshānī, *Zubdat al-maḳāmāt*, Lucknow 1885, 70-1, 347, 382; al-Baghdādī, *al-Ḥadīḳa al-nadiyya*, 85). The degree to which these *khalīfa*s could and did act independently of the incumbent(s) of a position of superior authority within the *ṭarīḳa* differs considerably among the various *ṭarīḳa*s over time and in diverse areas. The position of the office of *khalīfa* may differ within the organisational hierarchies of the orders. Thus within the Central African Ḳādiriyya branch, having its centre at Ujiji (Tanzania), *khalīfa*s are inferior to and nominated by a category of officials known as *maakida* (sing. *akida*), (cf. J. M. Cuoq, *Les Musulmans en Afrique*, Paris 1975, 325). Within a *ṭarīḳa* such as al-Aḥmadiyya al-Marāziḳa, the *khulafāʾ* of its semi-autonomous sub-sections (*buyūt*) rank under the *shaykh* of the *bayt*, who is a *khalīfa* himself in the sense mentioned in section 3 above (cf. Muḥammad Ḥasan Shams al-Dīn, *al-Risāla al-Aḥmadiyya al-Thāniyya*, Cairo 1376, 59). In the Maghrib and West Africa, the local deputy of the head of an order is generally referred to as *muḳaddam* [*q.v.*]. This is also the case within a number of Shādhiliyya orders in the Middle East and Egypt, e.g. al-Yashruṭiyya (cf. J. van Ess, *Libanesische Miszellen 6, Die Yašruṭīya*, in *WI* xvi (1975), 1-103, passim), and a now defunct Egyptian branch of al-Nāṣiriyya. Within the latter *ṭarīḳa*, the *muḳaddam*s (*khalīfa*s) ranked under the so-called *nāyib*s, who as provincial deputies of the *ṭarīḳa*'s leader held jurisdiction over them (cf. Ibrāhīm Khalīl, *al-Mardjiʿ*, Cairo 1934, 40 f.). Frequently, the *khilāfa* in a particular area was inherited within the family and developed into a virtually autonomous power position which allowed its incumbents to pay only nominal allegiance to the head or principal leader of their *ṭarīḳa*. In many cases, this constituted the prelude to the formation of an independent branch or an entirely new *ṭarīḳa*. The position of the *khalīfa* as *murshid* [*q.v.*] is to all intents and purposes the same as the position of the head of a *ṭarīḳa*. Therefore, the rules for spiritual leadership, i.e. the pre-conditions which allow one to assume the position of *shaykh*, found in Ṣūfī manuals, also apply to the position of *khalīfa*. It is only in relatively late 19th and 20th century manuals of the Egyptian orders, which became integrated parts of a highly developed bureaucratic organisation, that sets of rules pertaining to the office of *khalīfa* may be found. Within this organisation a limited number of *khalīfa*s in various areas received additional confirmation as local deputies of the heads of their orders from the head of al-Bakriyya [*q.v.*], and formed a special category of dignitaries within the administration. They held jurisdiction over those *khalīfa*s who could only claim this status by virtue of the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* in their possession. Within some of the Egyptian orders, a *khalīfa* may continue to hold some degrees of authority over either the *khulafāʾ* ordained by him or over those within a particular area. In this case, he is referred to by the term *khalīfat al-khulafāʾ*. In Persia under the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*] a similarly-named office existed, which was defined by V. Minorsky as "a special secretariat for Ṣūfī affairs". The incumbent to this office was regarded as the vicar of the king, on whose behalf he acted and appointed *khalīfa*s in the provinces (cf. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk. A manual of Ṣafawid administration*, London 1943, 55, 125 ff.). A possibly identical office of this name was also known in another Shīʿī *ṭarīḳa*, the Niʿmatullāhiyya [*q.v.*] (cf. R. M. Savory, *The office of khalīfat al-khulafāʾ under the Ṣafawids*, in *JAOS*, lxxxv (1965), 497).

5. He may be the pre-eminent representative and principal propagator of a *ṭarīḳa* in a particular area acting independently, i.e. duly authorised as mentioned in section 3 above but not paying allegiance to any of the *ṭarīḳa*'s leaders elsewhere. It is this meaning which can be most safely adduced whenever the term *khalīfa* is mentioned in conjunction with the name of a *ṭarīḳa* or of a *ṭarīḳa* founder, when the latter is not a contemporary of the *khalīfa* mentioned and when there is no evidence of the existence of this *ṭarīḳa* as an organisation. It should be interpreted as such in passages in a variety of texts in Arabic, Persian and Turkish as diverse as the following ones in which the relevant passage is found on the pages indicated: Muḥammad Ḍayf Allāh al-Djaʿalī, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt fī khuṣūṣ al-awliyaʾ wa ʾl-ṣāliḥīn wa ʾl-ʿulamāʾ wa ʾl-shuʿarāʾ fī ʾl-Sūdān*, Cairo 1930, 40; al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, i, 210; Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Ālūsī, *al-Misk al-adhfar*, Baghdād 1930, 141; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Ghazipur 1864, 211; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, Istanbul 1938, x, 237.

6. Within al-Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*] it refers to a rank of spiritual achievement which could be attained only by those who had been ordained as *bābā*. It is marked by the donation of the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* as mentioned in section 3 above and was the pre-condition for investiture as *dede*. The latter degree entailed, among other rights, the right to participate in the elections of a *dede bābā*. Investiture as *dede* entailed the right to appoint heads (*bābā*s) of *tekke*s.

7. In addition, the term *khalīfa* may denote the representative of the head of the Sanūsiyya order who has been sent on a mission to a *zāwiya* (cf. H. Duveyrier, *La confrérie musulmane de Sidi Mohammed Ben ʿAlī es-Senoûsī et son domaine géographique*, Rome 1918, with notes by C. A. Nallino, 11, n. 1), the head of a holy lineage among the Mourides in Senegal (cf. D. B. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal. The political and economic organization of an Islamic brotherhood*, Oxford 1971, 111), and in Turkey prior to 1925, the vicar of the head of a *tekke*, as reported by J. P. Brown, *The darvishes or oriental spiritualism*, London repr. 1968, 114. It may take a similar meaning in the Maghrib, where the term may denote the vicar of the head of a *zāwiya* (cf. V. Crapanzano, *The Ḥamadsha*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1973, 81 f.). In Mamlūk Egypt, the offices of the custodians of the shrines of Aḥmad al-Badawī and Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī [*qq.v.*] became detached from the leadership positions of the *ṭarīḳas* founded by or named after these saints. Ever since, the incumbent to either of these two offices has been known as *khalīfat al-maḳām*, while the head of the Birhāmiyya *ṭarīḳa* and the heads of the various Aḥmadiyya branches are referred to as *khalīfat Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī* and *khulafāʾ Aḥmad al-Badawī* respectively (cf. *Taḳrīr ʿan waẓīfat al-khilāfa bi 'l-maḳām al-aḥmadī*, n.p. [Cairo], n.d. [approx. 1898], and al-Karakī, *Lisān al-taʿrīf*, 5 f.).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 174 ff., and idem, *Islam in the Sudan*, Oxford 1949, 202 ff., which also gives an abbreviated English text of an *idjāzat khilāfa*. On the appointment of *khalīfas* and on the *khilāfat nāmas* issued by a 7th/13th century Čishtī mystic, see K. A. Nizami, *The life and times of Shaikh Farid-u'd Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Aligarh 1955, 92 ff., and idem, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, Bombay 1961, 214 ff. and also 349-52 for the texts of two *khilāfat-nāmas* drawn from Amīr Khurd's *Siyar al-awliyāʾ*. The text of a Čishtī *idjāza* translated from the Urdu may be found in G. R. Smith, *A Muslim saint in South Africa*, in *African Studies*, xxviii/4 (1969), 267-8, 277 f. For the text of a Ḳādiriyya *idjāza*, as well as for the text of an *idjāza* of a mixed nature (i.e. *ʿilm* and *taṣawwuf*), in a French translation, see A. Abel, *Les musulmans noirs du Maniema*, in *Corr. d'Orient*, iv (Brussels 1960), 22 and 151 ff. A translation of a late 19th century Aḥmadiyya *idjāza*, together with a discussion of its contents and significance, may be found in E. Kümmerer, *Die Aḥmadiya. Beiträge zur Kenntnisse der ägypt. Derwischordens*, Diss. Tübingen 1953 (unpublished). On the rank of *khalīfa* (T. *halife*) in al-Bektāshiyya, see in addition to J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London 1937, 165 f., where this is dealt with somewhat defectively, Aḥmad Sirrī Dede Bābā, *Ḳānūn al-ṭarīḳa al-Bektāshiyya*, Cairo 1959, 5. For details about the office of *khalīfa* in various *ṭarīḳas* in Egypt in the 19th and 20th century, and concerning the contents and significance of *idjāzas*, see F. De Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt* (forthcoming), in particular chs. iii and x. Examples of Ṣūfī manuals and other texts defining the relationship between the *shaykh* of a *ṭarīḳa* and his *khulafāʾ* as mentioned in section 4 above are: Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī, *al-Zuhūr al-fāʾiḳa fī ḥuḳūḳ al-ṭarīḳ al-ṣādiḳa*, Būlāḳ 1316, 9 f.; idem, *Minwāl al-ṭarīḳa al-ṭāhira al-nūrāniyya*, in *al-Rasāʾil al-Mīrghaniyya*, Cairo 1939, 108 ff.; ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḥalawānī, *al-Sīra al-ḥalīliyya*, al-Manṣūra 1339, 97 ff.; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Muḥsin (ed.), *Murshid al-sālikīn ilā ṭarīḳ al-muhtadīn*, Cairo 1927, 20 ff.; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḥalawānī, *al-Ḳuṭb al-rabbānī Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḥalawānī, bīʾatuhu, nashʾatuhu, ʿilmuhu, ṭarīḳatuhu, atharuhu fī 'l-umma al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1970, 22 ff.; Salāma Ḥasan al-Rāḍī, *Ḳānūn ṭarīḳat al-sāda al-Ḥāmidiyya al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1965 (revised ed.), 9 ff. An English translation of these latter regulations is found as an appendix to M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in modern Egypt*, Oxford 1973. On the position of the *khulafāʾ* in al-Ḥāmidiyya al-Shādhiliyya, a *ṭarīḳa* with which this study mainly deals, see in particular 82 ff. (F. de Jong)

(iv) In the Sudanese Mahdiyya

The term had various significances during the Sudanese Mahdiyya (1881-98).

(1) The originator of the Mahdist movement, Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, as a leading member of the Sammāniyya *ṭarīḳa*, was commissioned in 1292/1875-6 to appoint *khalīfas* by Muḥammad Sharīf Nūr al-Dāʾim, the head of this *ṭarīḳa* in the Egyptian Sudan: one letter of appointment is extant (see Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid ilā wathāʾiḳ al-Mahdī*, [Khartum] 1969, no. 1). (2) After his public manifestation as Mahdī (1 Shaʿbān 1298/29 June 1881), Muḥammad Aḥmad appears to have conferred the title of *khalīfa* on at least some of those to whom he delegated authority to administer the *bayʿa*: two examples have been calendared by Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, nos. 23, 62. (3) This use of the term *khalīfa* for local Mahdist leaders fell into disuse, and the title became restricted to three of the Mahdī's principal companions, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Taʿāʾishī [*q.v.*], ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ḥilū (a pious man of the tribe of Dighaym from the White Nile), and Muḥammad Sharīf b. Ḥāmid (the Mahdī's son-in-law). The Mahdiyya was represented as an eschatological drama, reviving the primitive *umma* in the end-time. In his drama, the Mahdī was the Successor of the Apostle of God (*Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh*), and his three companions the Successors respectively of Abū Bakr (*Khalīfat al-Ṣiddīḳ*), ʿUmar (*Khalīfat al-Fārūḳ*), and ʿAlī (*Khalīfat al-Karrār*). The date of this development is uncertain; perhaps before the Mahdī left Abā (Ramaḍān 1298/August 1881) or during the following months, while he was at Ḳadīr (cf. R. C. [von] Slatin, *Fire and sword in the Sudan*, London 1896, 138; F. R. Wingate, *Ten years captivity in the Mahdi's camp 1882-1892*, London 1892, 14). In a letter dated 5 Radjab 1300/12 May 1883, the Mahdī informed Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī that he had been designated by the Prophet as the Successor of ʿUthmān, but al-Sanūsī ignored this approach. The letter is calendared in Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, no. 113; there is a good text in *Manshūrāt... Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. ʿAbd Allāh*, ii, 70-3 (Khartum 1963, photographic reproduction of corpus lithographed during the Mahdiyya).

The pre-eminence of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad was stressed in a proclamation of the Mahdī (17 Rabīʿ I 1300/26 January 1883), where he is styled *khalīfat al-khulafāʾ* (calendared in Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, no. 78; text in *Manshūrāt*, i, 30-2). The restriction of the title *khalīfa*, and the special status of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, aroused resent-

ment. One of the Mahdī's most influential supporters, al-Manna Ismāʿīl, a holy man of Kordofān, fell from grace and was ultimately executed after claiming the *khilāfa* (see Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, no. 112, dated after 4 Radjab 1300/11 May 1883; A. R. C. Bolton, ***El Menna Ismail: Fiki and Emir in Kordofan***, in ***Sudan Notes and Records***, xvii/2, 1934, 229-41). Another pretender to the *khilāfa*, Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan, was reproved in two letters from the Mahdī (calendared in Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, nos. 351, 352, dated 2-4 Shawwāl 1301/26-28 July 1884: texts in Abū Salīm (ed.), *Manshūrāt al-Mahdiyya*, n.p., 1969, 76-9).

(4) When on the Mahdī's death, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad succeeded him as head of the Mahdist state, the analogy to Abū Bakr's succession to the Prophet was emphasized in a proclamation by the two junior *khalīfa*s and the Mahdī's kin (text in Abū Salīm (ed.), *Manshūrāt al-Mahdiyya*, 84-9, dated 8 Ramaḍān 1302/22 June 1885). From this time, ʿAbd Allāh assumed the new style of *khalīfat al-Mahdī*, "the Successor of the Mahdī", which was not used as a formal title by his two colleagues. His reign saw the appearance in Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] of another pretender—the holy man called Abū Djummayza, who claimed the vacant *khilāfa* of ʿUthmān, but who died about the beginning of 1889.

Bibliography: P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898*², Oxford 1970, 119-25.

(P. M. Holt)

ĀL-KHALĪFA, the ruling dynasty of Baḥrayn since 1197/1783. One of the three clans of the ʿUtūb tribe (the others were Āl Ṣabāḥ and Āl Djalāhima) which established itself in Kuwayt *ca.* 1128/1716, the Āl Khalīfa migrated to Zubāra in Ḳaṭar under the leadership of Khalīfa b. Muḥammad in 1179-80/1766. Khalīfa b. Muḥammad died in 1197/1783 while on pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the same year his son Aḥmad wrested control of the Baḥrayn Islands from the Persians. Aḥmad b. Khalīfa continued to reside at Zubāra until his death in 1210-11/1796, Baḥrayn being governed by his sons Salmān and ʿAbd Allāh. They succeeded him as joint rulers of Baḥrayn and its dependencies, and the dual arrangement was continued after Salmān b. Aḥmad died in 1240-1/1825, his son Khalīfa being chosen as co-ruler with his uncle, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad. On Khalīfa b. Salmān's death in Muḥarram 1250/May 1834, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad became sole ruler of Baḥrayn.

The remaining years of ʿAbd Allāh's reign were turbulent. He was beset by enemies from without—by the Āl Saʿūd of Nadjd who believed him to be implicated in the murder of Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1249/May 1834, by the Persians who had never reconciled themselves to the loss of Baḥrayn, and by the Āl Bū Saʿīd of ʿUmān who coveted the island for themselves—and by troubles from within brought on by his own misgovernment and his incapacity to restrain the avarice of his Āl Khalīfa kinsmen. His relations with the British government in India, with whom he had signed a treaty in 1235/1820 to refrain from piracy, deteriorated after 1255/1839 because of his offer in that year to become a tributary of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha of Egypt. After a series of rebellions in Baḥrayn and Ḳaṭar he was deposed by the leading members of the Āl Khalīfa in Rabīʿ I 1259/April 1843. He died in exile at Masḳaṭ in Rabīʿ I 1265/February 1849.

ʿAbd Allāh's successor was his great-nephew Muḥammad b. Khalīfa, the son of Khalīfa b. Salmān, his former co-ruler. Muḥammad b. Khalīfa's reign (1259-85/1843-68) was hardly an improvement upon his great-uncle's. He was constantly embroiled at home in quarrels with his kinsmen and with his subjects in Ḳaṭar, who several times rebelled against his oppressive conduct and repeated fiscal exactions; whilst abroad he was at feud with the Āl Saʿūd, the Persians, and the Ottoman Turks, all of whom claimed sovereignty over Baḥrayn although only the Āl Saʿūd attempted to pursue the claim by force of arms. Muḥammad b. Khalīfa's struggles with his foes disrupted the maritime peace of the Gulf, which the British Indian government was at pains to preserve. His conduct led that government in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1277/May 1861 to force him to conclude a convention by which he forswore piracy, maritime warfare, and the seaborne slave trade, in return for British recognition of his independence and a guarantee of the security of his territorial possessions against aggression. Six years later, in Djumādā II 1284/October 1867, he attacked and sacked Dawḥa and other ports in Ḳaṭar to punish some rebellious tribesmen. When called upon by the British authorities in the Gulf to afford redress for this breach of the convention, he refused to do so, and as a consequence he was deposed by the British as ruler of Baḥrayn in Djumādā I 1285/September 1868 in favour of his brother ʿAlī.

Muḥammad b. Khalīfa found refuge after his deposition at Ḳaṭīf, where he formed an alliance with his kinsman, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad. Supported by other disaffected members of the Āl Khalīfa and several hundred tribesmen, they descended upon Baḥrayn in Djumādā II 1286/September 1869, overcame ʿAlī b. Khalīfa, and slew him. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh then turned on his allies, imprisoned Muḥammad b. Khalīfa, and declared himself ruler. Two months later he and Muḥammad b. Khalīfa both surrendered to a naval force sent by the British Indian government and were taken as prisoners to India. There they remained in custody until Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh's death in 1294/1877, when Muḥammad b. Khalīfa was transferred to Aden. He lived there for ten years and was then released on condition that he never returned to Baḥrayn. He died at Mecca in 1307/1890.

The new ruler of Baḥrayn was ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, the 21-year old son of the slain ʿAlī b. Khalīfa. Considerable pressure was exerted upon him by the Ottoman Turks, after their occupation of al-Ḥasā in 1288/1871-2, to acknowledge Ottoman suzerainty, and it was because of this pressure that a convention was concluded by him with the British government in Muḥarram 1298/December 1880 by which he undertook not to enter into relations with any other state or to allow other governments to establish diplomatic or consular agencies in Baḥrayn. He confirmed this undertaking in a further agreement signed in Shaʿbān 1309/March 1892 in which he also engaged not to alienate any of his territory to another power. By this time, most of the Āl Khalīfa possessions in Ḳaṭar had been lost to Djāsim b. Muḥammad Āl Thānī of Dawḥa, who had acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty in 1288/1871. Zubāra, the principal Āl Khalīfa possession in Ḳaṭar, was sacked and destroyed by Djāsim, in alliance with renegade members of the Āl ʿAbd Allāh branch of the Āl Khalīfa, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1295/November 1878. Although the town was not rebuilt, ownership of its site has been disputed by the Āl Khalīfa and the Āl Thānī ever since.

ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī reigned longer than any other Āl Khalīfa ruler; for although he formally abdicated in

favour of his son Ḥamad in 1342/1923, he continued to hold the reins of government almost until his death in Sha^cbān 1351/December 1932 at the age of 85. Ḥamad b. ʿĪsā, who had been named heir-apparent by his father with the concurrence of the principal members of the Āl Khalīfa as early as 1311/1893, in turn designated his son Salmān heir-apparent in Muḥarram 1359/February 1940, again with the consent of the leading Āl Khalīfa members. Two years later, in Ṣafar 1361/February 1942, Ḥamad died at the age of 76, and Salmān b. Ḥamad succeeded. He ruled until his death in Djumādā I 1381/November 1961, aged 67, being succeeded by his eldest son ʿĪsā, who had been named heir-apparent some years earlier.

A slight but significant devolution of power, under the pressure of domestic and external events, took place in the latter years of Shaykh Salmān's reign, and the process was accelerated by his successor. An advisory council to assist the ruler was established, individual members having responsibility for different departments of government. The councillors were at first predominantly members of the Āl Khalīfa, but after the accession of ʿĪsā b. Salmān they have become more representative through the addition of members from Baḥrayn's mercantile and professional communities. ʿĪsā b. Salmān promulgated a constitution in 1393/1973 which declared Baḥrayn to be an Islamic state with the *Sharīʿa* as the principal source of legislation. It also provided for the setting-up of a national assembly composed of appointed and elected members. The first elections for the 30 elected seats took place in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1393/December 1973.

In external affairs, the principal changes that have occurred have been the renunciation by the Persian government in 1390/1970 of its claim to sovereignty over Baḥrayn, and the termination of the Āl Khalīfa's treaties with the British government, following Britain's withdrawal from its special position in the Gulf in 1391/1971.

Bibliography: Muḥammad al-Nabhānī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Nabhāniyya*, Cairo 1342; *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, new series no. xxiv, Bombay 1856; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOmān and Central Arabia* Calcutta 1908-15; G. R. Tadjbakhche, *La Question des îles Bahrein*, Paris 1960; C. D. Belgrave, *Personal column*, London 1960; A. Abu Hakima, *History of Eastern Arabia, 1750-1800*, Beirut 1965; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968. (J. B. Kelly)

KHALĪFA B. ABĪ 'L-MAḤĀSIN AL-ḤALABĪ, Arab physician who came originally from Aleppo, and was possibly related to the family of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.v.*]. The biographical details concerning him are fairly sparse, but it is known that he wrote, probably between 654 and 674/1256-75, a work on ophthalmology called *al-Kāfī fi 'l-kuḥl* (or *fi 'l-ṭibb*). In this he gives a concise sketch of the history of ophthalmology among the Arabs and deals with the anatomy, physiology and hygiene of the eyes, citing the medicaments used for treating eye disorders, and describing also the surgical operations, e.g. for cataract, which can be performed on them. All in all, the work is on a high scientific level, and the text is often accompanied by synoptic pictures and illustrations which throw light on the text itself. Various manuscripts exist, and a German translation has been made by J. Hirschberg and his collaborators.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 364, S I, 899; Sezgin, *GAS*, III, index; J. Hirschberg et alii, *Die arabischen Augenärtze*, Leipzig 1905, ii; G. Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 1101. (Ed.)

KHALĪFA B. ʿASKAR, Libyan nationalist who, after having sought refuge in Tunisia, hastened from November 1914 onwards to assume leadership of the revolt fomented by the Sanūsīs [*q.v.*] against Italian domination. The rebels soon achieved some spectacular successes against the Italians [see LĪBIYĀ], and Khalīfa speedily attempted to raise the Tunisians against France. On 16 August 1915, in a letter to the head of the postal service in Dehibat (southern Tunisia), he called upon the latter to send back to him his family, which had remained in Tunisia, and declared war on the French government. Benefiting from a certain amount of complicity in his plans by the notables of southern Tunisia, he went on to the attack in September of this same year with Tripolitanian troops aided by some tribal elements of Tunisia. These *fellaga* [see FALLĀK] at the outset constituted a grave threat for the small outposts strung all along the frontier, and these had to be evacuated, and then they inflicted severe losses on the Franco-Tunisian garrisons of the Dehibat, Tatahouine and Remta outposts, without however managing to occupy them. On 2 October, at the head of 3,000 rebels, Khalīfa suffered a severe defeat before Umm Swīgh, which led to a period of calm for some months along the Tunisian frontier, but the situation became threatening again in the following spring. Armed now with some field artillery, Khalīfa returned to the attack, bombarded Dehibat on 19 June 1916 and then inflicted heavy losses on the Remada garrison; but he was again defeated on 28 June and did not engage in activity with such ardour during the last two years of the Great War. After the Armistice, the Tunisian rebels benefited by measures of clemency, and Khalīfa b. ʿAskar was even able to be reunited with his family, who had been kept as hostages.

Bibliography: See that to LĪBIYĀ and to TUNISIA. (Ed.)

KHALĪFA B. KHAYYĀṬ [see Ibn Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṢFURĪ].

KHALĪFA SHĀH MUḤAMMAD, Indian Muslim scholar who flourished during the latter part of the 11th/17th and early part of the 12th/18th century. He was the author of an epistolary work in Persian entitled *Djāmiʿ al-ḳawānīn*, also known as *Inshāʾ-yi Khalīfa*. According to Ghulām ʿAlī Khān Āzād Bilgrāmī, Shāh Muḥammad's book was much used in schools, and he spent some time in Bilgrām studying under two local scholars, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghafūr and Sayyid Khayr Allāh (d. 1115/1703). The *Djāmiʿ al-ḳawānīn* is divided into four sections: the first two contain long and short letters respectively, the third (divided into two parts) comprises letters of greetings and condolence, and the last gives forms of civilities and styles of addressing in correspondence. The book, as mentioned in the preface, was composed at the incentive of some friends while the author was residing in Kanawdj as a student. The original printed edition of the work (Lucknow 1846) carries a chronogram which gives 1085/1674 as the date of composition.

Bibliography: *Djāmiʿ al-ḳawānīn*, B. M. Add. 19,434; Ghulām ʿAlī Khān Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Maʾāthir al-kirām*, B. M. Or. 1804; cf. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, 414. (Munibur Rahman)

AL-KHALĪL. [see IBRĀHĪM].

AL-KHALĪL, The Arabic name for Hebron, a town in southern Palestine, 32 km. south of Jerusa-

lem (31° N 34° E), the only urban centre in the southern Judaean hills and their virtual capital and commercial centre. It has given its name to the entire mountainous region surrounding it, which is known as *Djabal al-Khalīl*, while the whole plateau is known by the name of *Djabal Ḳays*, due to the local tradition which regards the fellahin of the area as of Ḳaysī origin (cf. Volney, *Voyage*, Paris 1787, ii, 194-5, 197). Hence in the Bedouin dialects of southern Palestine, *Ḳēsī* means a peasant, particularly of the Hebron hills.

In mediaeval times Muḳaddasī, 172, mentions Djabal Naḍra (or Naṣra, Nuṣra) as the nearest hills to the town. Since the reading is uncertain (*EI*[1] art. AL-KHALĪL), it is possible that Nuṣra represents a copyist's mistake for *nimra* (Mamre (?); cf. Arculfus, *Early travels*, 6), the north-westernmost spur of Djabal al-Djaʿābira, which dominates the city from the north-east. The town is the highest in Palestine, and one of the highest in the Middle East, ascending on the surrounding hills to altitudes between 925 m. (the old city) and 1,000 m. (the modern parts built in the present century) above sea level. It is situated in the northern reaches of Wādī al-Khalīl which is a tributary of the Wādī Beersheba. Its extremely fertile soil and the fair amounts of rainfall, especially in the northern parts of the area (average of 700-850 mm. a year), along with the skill the inhabitants have acquired in preserving water and utilising the soil, have made this area into one of the most flourishing in the country.

Because of the mountainous nature of the area and its climate, it developed the cultivation of certain fruit trees, particularly apples and grapes, which, according to Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*, used to be exported mainly to Egypt. The Hebronites developed, in particular, the cultivation of vines, and throughout the ages they were regarded as the best viticulturists in the Middle East (Karmon, in *Studies on Palestine*, etc., 71-3). They learnt how to prolong the grape season for about six months a year, between July and December, a fact which proved to be of great economic importance. After the Islamic conquest, many vineyards in the lowlands of Palestine had to be abandoned in the wake of the prohibition and decline of wine production and consumption. Hebron then turned its supply of fresh grapes into its main cash-crop.

In addition to this agricultural advantage, Hebron had yet another advantage arising from its topographical setting. It lies astride natural crossroads which lead to the Negev and the coast in the south and south-west to the southern end of the Dead Sea and the main ancient Syrian-Arabian caravan route. Hebron thus offers an alternative to the *Via Maris*, sc. the mountain route which cuts from Baysan through Nābulus and Jerusalem. In the later Middle Ages and until modern times, travellers from Egypt often preferred the Hebron route to the *Via Maris* which could be more easily attacked by Bedouins.

Topography. The ancient town of Hebron (*Ḳiryāt Arbāʿ* (?), see below) was built to the west of Wādī al-Khalīl or the Valley of Hebron, which runs along the modern town in the north-east direction, on Djabal Rumayḍa, on which a tomb called Ḳabr Ḥabrūn is shown today next to *Mashhad al-Arbaʿīn* (called locally today by the name of *Dayr al-Arbaʿīn*), a Muslim sanctuary which in Jewish tradition has been identified with the tomb of Jesse. The Arab town developed on the eastern side of the Vale around the sanctuary of the Tomb of the Patriarchs; until the Crusading period, to the north of it Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 53-4, Le Strange, *Palestine*, 311), and during the Mamlūk period in other directions also, mainly in the south and south-east. Until the beginning of the 19th century, therefore, the town consisted of three sections. The oldest, on the eastermost spur of Djabal al-Djaʿābira (called al-Raʾs), adjacent to the Ḥaram; a smaller section around the Mosque of ʿAlī al Bakkāʾ to the north-west of it on another spur called Djabal Baylūn; and a third section, larger than the previous two, called Ḥārat al-Ḳayṭūn, to the south of the valley. This division of the town into three sections was possibly the factor which prevented the construction of an encompassing wall (cf. Arculfus, *op. cit.*). Each section was partially protected by means of building the houses along the periphery in a continuous line with no doors facing outwards.

Water supply was the main problem of the town. In the pre-Ottoman period, the Muslim sources mention a few springs from which water used to be brought to the town by means of aqueducts. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *loc. cit.*, cf. Le Strange, *loc. cit.*, mentions a channel conducting water "in no great abundance" from a spring in a nearby village to the town. This must have been the same channel which is later mentioned by Mudjīr al-Dīn as conducting water from the village of Madjdal Faṣīl to a water tank near the northern entrance to the Ḥaram, which was rebuilt by the Mamlūk *amīr* Baktamūr al-Djukandār. In the *zāwiya* of Shaykh ʿAlī al-Bakkāʾ, a water tank and a *sabīl* for a well that was found in the place, were built by Sayf al-Dīn b. Sālār, the Mamlūk *Nāʾib al-Salṭana* in Syria, in 702/1300.

Mudjīr al-Dīn mentions another six springs that supplied water to the town (*al-Uns al-djalīl*, 428). However, the quantity of water supplied by all these springs was meagre and could hardly have supported the population of the city. Since during the later Middle Ages and the Ottoman period, large numbers of pilgrims came to the city and passed through it on the *Ḥadjdj* route to Mecca, the need for greater reserves of water necessitated the construction of two large reservoirs in the Hebron valley. The date of their construction is unknown, but in the Ottoman period and most probably during the time of Süleymān Ḳanūnī they were rebuilt and enlarged. One was called Birkat al-Ḳazzāzīn (today filled up, and a mosque built in its place), and the other Birkat al-Ṣulṭān, a name given to several cisterns built by the Ottomans along the *Ḥadjdj* route, including Solomon's Pools, the large reservoirs in Kurmul (Biblical Carmel) and ʿEin Gēdī. This further attests to the prominence of Hebron as an important station on the Ottoman (and possibly Mamlūk) *Ḥadjdj* route from Jerusalem to the main Syrian route in Trans-Jordan through southern Judaea and the Dead Sea region (Karmon, 74-6).

The name. The ancient Biblical name of Hebron, Ḳiryāt Arbāʿ, is not mentioned in the Arab sources, which are very well-informed about the original name of the town and which they repeat in many versions: Ḥabrun, Ḥafrun, Ḥibrā (or Ḥabrā), Bayt Ḥabrūn, (Muḳaddasī, 172; Yāḳūt, s.v. *al-Khalīl*, Dimashḳī, 201; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 335; iv, 102; Arḍ Ḥabrūn (Ibn Iyās, *Nashk al-Azhār* ed. Arnold, *Chrest Arab.*, 66), Mazraʾ at Ḥabrūn (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh* (ed. Huart), iii, 53). However, the number of four settlements hinted by the ancient Hebrew name (Arbāʿ, cf. B. Mazar, *Ḳiryāt Arbāʿ*, in *Sefer Ḥevrōn* [in Hebrew], 20 f.) could have some reference to four localities in the

city and its environments mentioned in the Islamic literature: Ḥabrūn, Marṭūm, Bayt ʿAynūn (= Khirbet Beit ʿEinūn; its identification with Aenon of St. John, iii, 23 is very doubtful, cf. *EI*[1], art. AL-KHALĪL), and Bayt Ibrāhīm. According to a famous legend which appears as early as the 2nd/8th century, the Prophet bestowed the different quarters of Hebron on his companion, the oil merchant Tamīm b. Aws al-Dārī (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 428-9). In the early literature, however, there is mention of only two or three localities. Ibn Saʿd mentions Ḥibra and Bayt ʿAynūn (*Ṭabaḳat*, ed. Sachau, i/2, 75, vii/2, 129-30; cf. Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 420; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1958, 377), and Balādhurī adds to them Masdjid Ibrāhīm (*Futūḥ*, 129; cf. Ḳalḳashandī, i, 335). The name Marṭum, which must have existed as well in this or similar form appears in later literature, and it was mistaken by Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the name of the whole town (though in the corrupted spelling Maṭlūn, *Safar-nāma*, 53, cf. Le Strange 310 and note; Ḳalḳashandī, xiii, 120 has al-Ruṭūm).

The Muslims extended the name which they gave to the sanctuary, Masdjid Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl, to the whole town, in the same way that Bayt al-Maḳdis was extended to the whole of Jerusalem. In both cases, the new name is connected with the sacredness of the respective shrines in Islamic tradition [see AL-ḲUDS]. The prominence of Abraham in Islamic literature from the Ḳurʾān onwards, in which he is called Khalīl Allāh or Khalīl al-Raḥmān (Tadmurī, *Muthīr al-gharām*, 196), and regarded as a true Muslim and builder of the Kaʿba, immediately after the Islamic conquest made his tomb sacred to the Muslims. The early name Masdjid Ibrāhīm (Iṣṭakhrī, 57, Ibn Hawḳal, 113) developed later to Mashhad al-Khalīl (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *loc. cit.*), Turbat al-Khalīl (Balawī, *Tādj al-mafriḳ*, Ms. BM or. 9252, fol. 62 b) or in short al-Khalīl. It is difficult to ascertain to what an extent the choice of the name al-Khalīl "the friend [of Allāh]" is connected with the early Jewish homily which derived the name Hebron (Hevron) from the name of Abraham, who was also called "Haver" and "Yadid" (a friend) (*Midrāsh Rabba*, on Genesis, section 84; Babylonian Talmud, *Menāḥoth*, 53b). The deep Islamic significance of the attribute al-Khalīl was, however, further stressed in the Islamic tradition which says that Muḥammad was also named *Khalīl Allāh* (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *masādjid*, no. 23, cf. *LA*, *kh-l-l*).

Islamic Significance. The Islamic sanctification of Hebron came in two phases, parallel to and following that of Jerusalem. Whereas at least the name of Jerusalem was known to the Muslims from the time of Muḥammad, they did not know anything about Hebron. In the earliest reports about the conquest of Syria, unlike the case of Jerusalem, its conquest is passed over with no special remark. The sources only mention the legend of the bestowal of the place on Tamīm al-Dārī and his descendants by the Prophet, a fact which was of importance to the beneficiaries alone. They later tried to confirm their claims by presenting a letter from the Prophet to Nuʿaym b. Aws al-Dārī attesting it. Although the Arabic sources mention such a document (*kitāb*), there is no doubt that it is a forgery (*EI*[1], art. AL-KHALĪL; Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*; Mudjīr al-Dīn, 428-9; Ḳalḳashandī, i, 335; cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, ii/1, 298, 9 A.H., § 69). However, the tradition about this *iḳṭāʿ* or *waḳf* is very early, and the rights of the Dārīs have been recognised down the ages. At least one abortive attempt was made on the part of the government to abolish them on the ground that the Prophet could not have granted land which he had not possessed (Mudjīr al-Dīn, *loc. cit.*).

For lack of any detailed early Islamic traditions, we must assume from the mention in Balādhurī of the name of *Masdjid Ibrāhīm* that the first phase of the Islamic sanctification of the city was connected solely with the memory of this Patriarch. Similarly, the early traditions about Jerusalem made it holy because of the Biblical episodes and figures which were related to it, (Abraham's sacrifice, the Ark of Moses, Solomon's Temple, etc.). The fact that active worship of the tomb of Abraham was conducted by Jews in Hebron during the Byzantine period, as attested by the 5th century Greek author Sozomenus, puts this assumption on firmer ground. The close and friendly relations, immediately after the conquest of Syria, between the local Jews in Palestine, who were quite numerous in the Hebron area, and the Muslims, may explain this. It also elucidates the Frankish account, according to which the Jews showed the Arabs the entrance to the sanctuary which had been walled up by the Byzantines, and in return they were allowed to live in peace in the town and build a Synagogue next to the Sanctuary (*RHC*, *Hist. occ.* v, 309 f.). The report of Mudjīr al-Dīn, that the Djāwuliyya mosque, adjacent to the sanctuary from the north-east, was built over an ancient Jewish cemetery, attests the historical element in this account.

The second phase of the Islamisation of al-Khalīl came about when the city was connected *directly* with the person of Muḥammad once again according to the same method applied to Jerusalem. The older Biblical traditions were no longer sufficient for an Islam that had to confront both Christianity and Judaism; the Islamised holy places had to be connected to the founder of the faith. The *isrāʾ* and the *miʿrādj* were therefore connected at the beginning of the 2nd/8th centuries with Jerusalem and later with many other places in Syria which had to have a proper Islamic sanctity. Early traditions speak about the *isrāʾ* only from Mecca to Jerusalem (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *bāb al-miʿrādj*). Later on, probably towards the second half of the century, traditions appeared saying that the Prophet was ordered, during the *isrāʾ*, to descend and pray on Mount Sinai, in Hebron and in Bethlehem before finally reaching Jerusalem (Tadmurī, *Muthīr al-gharām*, 192). Local traditions developed very rapidly connecting the sanctity of Jerusalem with that of al-Khalīl, enhanced no doubt by the interest in establishing the Islamic holiness of Palestine *vis-à-vis* Christianity and in attracting pilgrims and settlers to it. The Cave of the Patriarchs was made the Tomb of Adam as well, his head lying in Jerusalem and his feet in Hebron (Tadmurī, 178 f.; cf. Muḳaddasī, 46; Arculfus, *loc. cit.*). When Abraham died, Allāh said to Hebron, *anti ḳudsī wa-bayt maḳdisī*, and promised that it would be the scene of the resurrection (*Anon.* BM. MS. or. 1510, fols. 54b-55a). Local, popular Islam found a real object of veneration in the tombs of the Saints. Jerusalem had none, but Hebron had plenty of them. In addition to Adam, the Patriarchs and their wives, the tomb of Joseph was also discovered just outside the southwestern wall of the sanctuary and a dome was built over it (in the time of the ʿAbbāsid al-Muḳtadir, Tadmurī, 186-91), and some forty obscure martyrs were also found to be buried on Djabal Ramayda, the tomb of which also became a pilgrimage site (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 427). In the post-Crusader period, Jerusalem and Hebron were called *al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*, a

term which, until then, was reserved for Mecca and Medina. During the Mamlūk period, control of the sanctuaries in both towns, including the management of their very extensive endowments, was entrusted to one functionary, either a Mamlūk *amīr* of a local dignitary, who bore the title *Nāẓir al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn* (Sakhawī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, iii, 208, 218, iv, 13, 134, vii, 32, and *passim*; Mudjīr al-Dīn, *passim*, all through the description of the Mamlūk period e.g. 440-5, 623, 632, etc.; on an inscription: M. Van Berchem, *CIA*, ii, No. 183). Local ceremonies grew up around the visiting of the Tombs of the Patriarchs which were similar to those practices at the visit of the Prophet's Tomb in Medina, and traditions appeared to legalise them. "He who cannot visit me", the Prophet was made to say, "let him visit the Tomb of Abraham . . . The prayer next to it is the *Ḥadjdj* of the poor . . .", "He who visits the tomb of Abraham, Allāh abolishes his sins", etc. (On the attachment of the sanctity of Hebron to that of Mecca and Medina see Khwārizmī, MS. BM Or. 4584, fol. 22b (Kister)) (Tadmurī, 193-6; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, ed. Jewett, 305; Kister in *Le Muséon* lxxxii (1969), 193). Al-Khalīl thus developed in popular Islam as a real substitute for Medina in the same way that Jerusalem was supposed to be a minor substitute for Mecca.

For the visitors to al-Khalīl, the tombs also had a practical meaning. An atmosphere of miracles and mysticism grew up around those tombs. This found expression in popular legends concerning the cave, in which the Patriarchs were supposed to rest, and in which the requests of the believers were promptly fulfilled (e.g. Tadmurī, 139). This atmosphere, the status of the city and the pilgrimage to it, were all supported and stimulated by the practice, peculiar only to this place, of distributing a daily meal to everybody in town. The meal, known only by the name of *al-simāṭ al-Khalīlī* or *ʿadas al-Khalīl*, was supposed to honour Abraham's generosity and hospitality. The earliest account of it is given by Muḳaddasī, 172, who relates that the meals, consisting of lentils (*ʿadas*) cooked in olive oil, used to be distributed to both rich and poor. Substantial funds, which comprised of the income of many villages, were endowed for the *Simāṭ*, which was a huge enterprise. At the height of its development, during the Mamlūk period, meals of a certain recipe called *dashīsha* and bread used to be distributed from its kitchens three times a day, in the morning and at noon to the local citizens, and in the evening to the visitors. Fourteen and sometimes even fifteen thousand loaves of bread were baked daily (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 58-9). The *Simāṭ* was certainly a vast and complicated undertaking, involving diverse activities and high expenditure. It comprised the buying of the grain, milling and baking it, buying oil, lentils and wood for fueling the ovens, and many other things. In times of drought, in the early Ottoman period, grains for the *Simāṭ* were imported from Egypt (Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, 132, n. 1 to document 81). In view of the frequent maladministration of the endowment for the *Simāṭ*, the success in keeping it functioning almost continuously was in itself regarded as a miracle (see on this particularly, Mudjīr al-Dīn, 59; Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*; Ḳazwīnī, ii, 125; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 57-8; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 505; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Cairo 1928, 33; Balawī, fol. 62b). The endowments established for the *Simāṭ*, in particular, and the *Ḥaram* in general, comprised villages and property all over Syria and especially in the vicinities of Hebron and Nābulus. Here again, Jerusalem and Hebron shared many of these *waḳfs*. An inscription over the main entrance to the *Ḥaram*, from 612/1215, speaks of the *waḳf* made by the Ayyūbid al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā (*RB* (1923), 812, No. 14; Wiet, *Syria*, v, 228; idem, *RCEA*, x, No. 3752); and another inscription on the Eastern Gate beyond Sara's tomb commemorates the *waḳfs* of the Sultān Barḳūḳ (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 440; see Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 445; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Cairo, vii, 194; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, i, 111, (for Baybars) and Heyd, *op. cit.*, 92 n. 1, 151, (for the early Ottoman period). In this latter period, and most probably also previously, the inhabitants of Hebron and the villages of its *waḳf* were exempted from government taxes (Heyd, *op. cit.*, 145 n. 4).

A peculiar practice that developed around the *Simāṭ* in the Mamlūk period was a daily drum-beating ceremony performed by the *Ṭablkhāna* during the evening distribution of the meal. A local legend explained this practice as a commemoration of Abraham, who used to summon his many guests to meals by beating a drum (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 58).

The development of the sanctuary of Hebron into a popular Muslim shrine, the pilgrimage to it, the ceremonies and practices centred around it, all gave rise to a most unfavourable reaction amongst the strict Islamic orthodoxy. Most of the popular ceremonies which developed around the Tomb, including the *Simāṭ*, were regarded as *bidaʿ*. Early traditions denounced the use of tombs as mosques, ("May Allah curse the Jews and Christians, they turned the tombs of their prophets into mosques", Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *masādjid*, nos. 16-22). However, the fact that there is a *ḥadīth* which says that Muḥammad is Allāh's friend (*Khalīl*) exactly like Abraham and continues to forbid the usage of tombs as mosques (*ibid.*, no. 23), which is a simple amalgamation of two traditions, shows that the debate around the status of the al-Khalīl shrine was an early one. The only tomb that Islam has sanctified for the purpose of prayer and pilgrimage is the Prophet's tomb. The above combination of traditions puts Abraham and Muḥammad on the same level in an attempt to give the former's tomb the same status as the latter's. Orthodoxy has never accepted the solution hinted at here. While Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*, only raised objections to partaking in the free meals of the *Simāṭ*, in the post-Crusader period, with the wave of Islamic veneration of Jerusalem and Hebron, scholars representing strict orthodoxy like Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ii, 40) raised objections to this popular veneration of both sanctuaries and cast doubt even on the authenticity of the locality of al-Khalīl's tomb. The Maghribī theologian Ibn al-Ḥadjdj al-ʿAbdarī (died 737/1336) ruled against entering the sanctuary on the grounds that the exact location of the graves is unknown, and that the present tombs were built by the Franks, who also opened a door in the sanctuary wall. The pious Muslim should heed therefore the previous generations and visit the place only from outside (*al-Madkhal*², Beirut 1972, iv, 258). He was particularly angry about the musicians of al-Khalīl who used to play trumpets; drums and other instruments after the afternoon prayer (*nawbat al-alil*) and brought people to dance and be amused, all of which he regarded as a grave sin (*shaniʿ wa-munkar*). (Kister, *op. cit.*, 195). He also objected to the daily meals of bread and lentils called *ḍiyāfat al-Khalīl* which he regarded as a desecration of Abraham's memory, for he used to offer his guests meat and not lentils (*ibid.*, 259).

On the other hand, there were *ʿulamāʾ* who argued in favour of the place. Tadmurī and Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn devote long discussions to proving the authenticity of the tombs by reporting stories about people who went into the cave and actually saw the bones or even the intact bodies of the Patriarchs (Tadmurī, 183-4, 188-9). Prominent authorities are quoted calling the place *ḥaram* and *masd̲j̲id* to prove that it is not a cemetery and that the prayers and the other ceremonies in it are legal (Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 55).

In the long run, the advocates of al-K̲h̲alīl were those who triumphed. Both the Mamlūk and Ottoman governments showed considerable interest in the town, in which popular Ṣūfī activity came to be combined with learning. Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 425-7, lists 32 *zāwiyas*, mosques and *mas̲h̲āhid*, in addition to the *Mas̲h̲had al-Arbaʿīn* (mentioned above) and the mosque of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī al-Bakkāʾ (died 670/1272, Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 604) and two *madāris*, al-Madrasa al-Fak̲h̲riyya and al-Madrasa al-Ḳaymāziyya. This was confirmed by the Mag̲h̲ribi traveller al-Balawī, fols. 62b-63a, who regards al-K̲h̲alīl as a place of Islamic scholarship.

History. Historical information about al-K̲h̲alīl in the Arabic literature is very spare, since the city, like the rest of Palestine, was never the centre of any important political activity except for during the Crusader period. Sporadic traditions concerning its sanctity already appear in the 2nd/8th century, but it was only at the end of the 9th/15th that, probably for the first time, a more comprehensive work appeared, compiled by the *ḳāḍī* Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn. It seems that he was the first to collect and classify the material then available about it. With the exception of the legend about Tamīm al-Dārī (see above), the Arabic sources are silent about the town. Nothing is said even about its conquest. A Frankish source, which could by no means be considered as reliable, reports that the Byzantines walled the entrance to the sepulchral cave before leaving the town and that the Arab invaders were shown the place by the Jews (for the implications of this, see above).

The history of al-K̲h̲alīl revolves around two main poles, sc. its sanctuary and its topographical situation, and also its proximity to the desert and its important traffic route.

Until the time of Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, the sources concentrate on the sanctuary with a few references to the agricultural products of the locality. The first information is, however, no earlier than the 4th/10th century (Iṣṭak̲h̲rī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, *loc. cit.*). From the more detailed information of Muḳaddasī it appears that the Muslims changed nothing inside the sanctuary nor in the traditionally-accepted arrangement of the tombs: Isaac and Rebecca inside the covered (Byzantine Basilican) mosque in the south-east, Abraham and Sara at the entrance and Jacob and Leah on the other (north-western side) of the open court. This arrangement was established at least at the end of the 3rd century A.D., if not earlier (Braslāvī, in *Sefer Hevron*, 288). According to Muḳaddasī, 172-3, the domes over Abraham and Sara were built in the Islamic period (but Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn ascribes the work to the Umayyads). According to Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw (438/1047), who gives a minute description of the *Ḥaram*, one of the Fāṭimid caliphs ordered that a gate be opened in the north-eastern wall of the Sanctuary enclosure. He also relates, and this was most probably a local story that was repeated later by ʿAbdarī, that until then the interior of the building was inaccessible for visitors (*op. cit.*, 258; cf. Le Strange, 315). The place was highly venerated by the Fāṭimids and other rulers who sent many expensive gifts, and Muslims from many other countries sent their dead to be buried there (*ibid.*, cf. Muḳaddasī, 173, note *d*).

In 425/1033, the *Ḥaram* suffered from the heavy earthquake which destroyed large parts of Ramla and Nābulus (Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 269-70). It underwent extensive alterations under the Crusaders, who occupied Hebron in 1099 and converted the mosque into a church, supplying it with a sloping roof (the present building, cf. Le Strange, 311, notes). They called Hebron Saint Abraham, and Godfrey of Bouillon bestowed it in 1100 as a seigneurie on Gerard d'Avesnes (d. 1102). He was followed by Hugo de Rebèque, Rohardus (Rorgius), Galterius Mahomet and Baldwin. In Baldwin's time (1119-20), the sepulchral cave was discovered by Christian monks, a detailed account of which was preserved in a Frankish chronicle (see *EI*[1] art.) and mentioned by ʿAlī al-Harawī and later Arabic chroniclers (cf. Le Strange, 318). It seems that Baldwin and his successors were the governors of Hebron, first under the king of Jerusalem and later, from about 1155, under the lord of Ḳarak. In 1168 Hebron was made a bishopric, and the Crusader convent of ʿEin Gēdī was subordinate to it (*EI*[1] art.; E. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII*[me] *et XIII*[me] *siècles*, 1883, 384; cf. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, 185).

ʿAlī al-Harawī, who visited Hebron in 567/1171-2, relates how he met a knight who had entered the cave, and gives details about the restoration of the place at the order of King Baldwin II (Le Strange, 316-18). It was then that the ancient flat roof of the covered mosque was replaced by a system of arches and a sloping roof (Vincent, *Hébron*, 166).

Hebron was captured by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, according to most sources, after the conquest of Ascalon (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Beirut 1966, 360-1); Maḳrīzī (*op. cit.*, i/1, 95) puts it in the same year but before the conquest of Ascalon (583/1187). According to Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn (56), the wooden *minbar* which had been built by Badr al-D̲j̲amālī [*q.v.*] by order of the caliph al-Mustanṣir in 484/1092 for the Martyrion (*Mas̲h̲had*) of Ḥusayn's head in Ascalon, was brought to the mosque of al-K̲h̲alīl, most probably after Ascalon was razed to the ground by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 588/1192 (for the inscription on his *minbar* see, M. Van Berchem, in *Festschrift Edward Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 300-1; Vincent, *Hébron*, 222, fig. 85, cf. ʿAbd Allāh Muk̲h̲liṣ, in *BIFAO*, xxv, 57; Jaussen, *RB* (1923), 579; *RCEA* vii, n° 2790).

After the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Hebron passed into the domains of al-Malik al-Naṣīr Dāwūd of Karak, who was supported by his father al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā. After the death of the latter in 624/1227, his domains were claimed by his uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt. The crisis that ensued threatened to engulf all the Ayyūbid princes in war. At the end of that year, however, a treaty was signed redividing the Ayyūbid territories, and according to this Hebron, together with large parts of southern Palestine, were given to Egypt (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/1, 235). Later it came once again under the rule of al-Nāṣir Dāwūd until 642/1244. In this year, during yet another war amongst the Ayyūbids, southern Palestine fell into the hands of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt, who was helped by the K̲h̲ʷārazmians. Shortly afterwards, the K̲h̲ʷārazmians changed sides, joining Dāwūd, and Hebron was again returned to him (*ibid.*, 318-22); and in 658/1260,

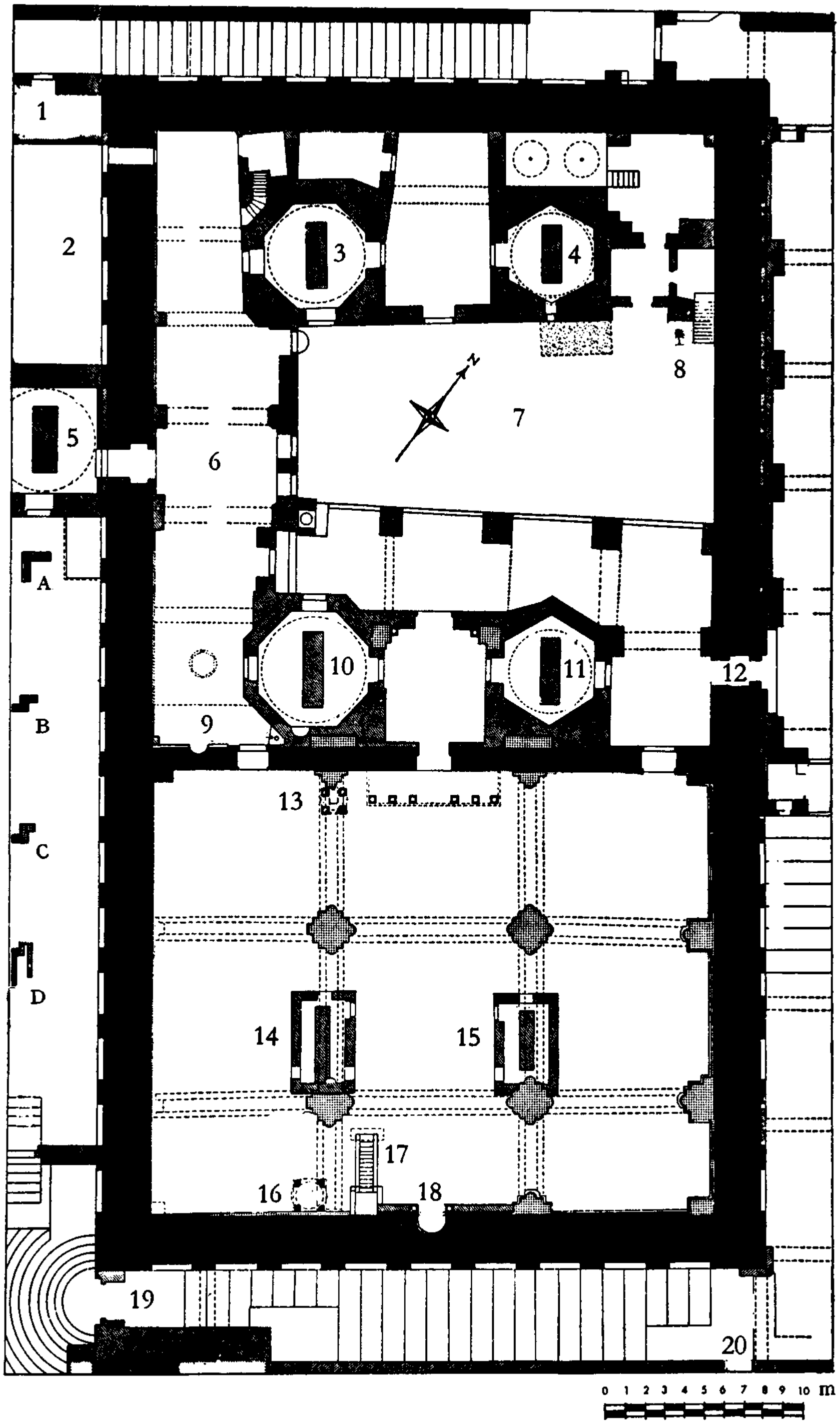

Plan of the Masdjid Ibrāhīm

A. Herodian structure. — B. Byzantine structure. — C. Ancient structure. — D. Arab structure.

1. Entrance. — 2. Joseph's Mosque. — 3. Jacob's tomb. — 4. Leah's tomb. — 5. Joseph's tomb. — 6. Women's Mosque. — 7. Inner court yard. — 8. Date palm. — 9. Adam's footprint. — 10. Abraham's tomb. — 11. Sarah's tomb. — 12. Entrance. — 13. Canopy (opening in floor). — 14. Isaac's tomb. — 15. Rebecca's tomb. — 16. Canopy (sealed opening). — 17. *Minbar*. — 18. *Miḥrāb*. — 19. Main entrance. — 20. Entrance.

[After Vincent, *Hébron*].

a Mongol detachment captured the city for a short while (*ibid.*, 425).

When Mamlūk rule was established in Egypt and Syria, securing the country from external danger for over 250 years, the sanctuaries of both Jerusalem and Hebron were given particular attention by the central government as well as by the local governors. Hebron came under the jurisdiction of the governor (*nā'ib*) of Jerusalem and its *waḳf*s and other endowments were supervised by a special functionary (*Nāẓir al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*). In one case, however, a special *nā'ib* is mentioned for Hebron (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 699; cf. Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 199). In 664/1266 Baybars visited Hebron and issued an order banning the Christians and Jews from entering the sanctuary. Until then they could enter the place in return for certain payments (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 544). This ban continued in force until Israel occupied Hebron in 1967. In 666/1268 he allocated large sums and rich endowments for the *Ḥaram* and its attendants and ordered extensive repairs to be carried out there, despatching the *amīr* Djamāl al-Dīn b. Nahār to inspect the works (*ibid.*, 445, 563; Mudjīr al-Dīn, 434; Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafawāt*, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 89; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, vii, 194; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, i, 111). He also ordered that the free meal, the *ḍiyāfa* of al-Khalīl, should be distributed some distance from the sanctuary (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 565). Ḳalāwūn built in 679/1280-1 a *ribāṭ* opposite the citadel and adjacent to the *Ḥaram*, which was called al-Ribāṭ al-Manṣūrī after him, and a year later, he dedicated the *Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī* (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 426). The ever-growing number of pilgrims that came to Hebron or passed through it on the way to Mecca necessitated the building of a large water reservoir. Orders were given in 682/1283 that the poll-tax of the *dhimmis* of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Bayt Djālā and Hebron should be dedicated for this purpose; the construction was entrusted to the hands of the *amīr* ʿAlā' al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Ruknī (Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rīkh*, Beirut 1939, vii, 259; Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 712). In 713/1313 another water project was completed when the *amīr* Abū Saʿīd ʿAlam al-Dīn Sandjar al-Djāwulī (d. 745/1344-5) dedicated an aqueduct that conducted water to ʿAyn al-Tawāshī at the northern entrance to the *Ḥaram*. The same *amīr* built between 718/1318 and 720/1320 from his private funds the Djāwuliyya mosque adjacent to the north-eastern wall of the sanctuary. Next to the Djāwuliyya were the kitchens, the mills and storage places of the *Simāṭ* (cf. Balawī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Hadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ii, 171; Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 131, 674; Mudjīr al-Dīn, 58, 131). The walls of the covered mosque (*al-mughaṭṭā*) were overlaid with marble by the *amīr* Tankiz, the viceroy (*nā'ib al-salṭana*) of Syria, in 732/1332 (*ibid.*, 55, 57). The citadel (*ḳalʿa*) of the town was rebuilt and dedicated by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (748-52/1347-51, 755-62/1354-61) (*ibid.*, 426). In 796/1394, during the reign of Barḳūḳ, the *miḥrāb* of the Mālikiyya to the right of the entrance to the covered mosque and the arcade along its western wall (the "Women's Mosque") were built by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Yaghmūrī (*ibid.*, 57-8). Barḳūḳ himself dedicated the village of Dayr Isṭiya in the vicinity of Nābulus solely for the expenses of the *Simāṭ* (*ibid.*, 440). Additional endowments for the *Ḥaram* were ordered by al-Ashraf Īnāl (859/1454) and al-Ẓāhir Khushḳadam, who also renewed the marble covering on the walls of the Djāwuliyya (867/1462-3). Ḳā'it Bāy showed great interest too in the sanctuaries of Hebron and Jerusalem, and used to inspect them in person (Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, vi, 205; Mudjīr al-Dīn, 647; Ibn Iyās, iii, 108). To this period belong three detailed descriptions of the *Ḥaram*, that of Abu 'l-Fidā' Isḥāḳ al-Khalīlī (752/1351), copyied by Suyūṭī and Mudjīr al-Dīn; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited al-Khalīl in 626/1326; and of Balawī, who arrived there in 737/1337. While the latter spoke sceptically about the location of the tombs, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa defended the traditional sites (Balawī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 32; cf. Le Strange, 319-20).

The proximity of Hebron to the desert put it and its environs in constant danger from the Bedouins. The roads leading southwards from the town came almost constantly under attack and travellers could rarely pass along them in safety. The Bedouins in Syria and Palestine preserved the old division into Ḳays and Yaman, which also divided the fellahin [see ḲAYS and YAMAN. In the Ottoman period]. The two factions were in constant strife; and from time to time the nomads used to attack the sedentary areas. The Mamlūks could not keep the Bedouins in check all the time, and their military expeditions against them were at best only a temporary remedy (cf. Sharon, *The political role of the Bedouins in Palestine*, in *Studies on Palestine*, ed. M. Maʿoz, Jerusalem 1975, 11-17. On a large Bedouin eruption in 750/1349, see Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 709, 804). Sometimes the Bedouins were invited to participate in the local rivalries, as happened with a quarrel between the Dārīs and the Kurds when each side invited the Bedouins to help him and the town was almost destroyed (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 632-3).

The Ottomans occupied Hebron in 921/1517 and made it the administrative centre of a *nāḥiya* in the *sandjaḳ* of Jerusalem (Heyd, *op. cit.*, 86 n. 1). Its Muslim inhabitants were exempted from government taxes (*ibid.*, 71-2) and like the Mamlūks, the Ottoman sultans regarded the repair and the maintenance of the sanctuaries in it and in Jerusalem, as well as elsewhere in the country, as a major obligation. Large numbers of pilgrims from all over the empire and from other countries visited them and had to be protected and provided for. Frequent orders were issued from Istanbul concerning the proper management, repairs and upkeep of the holy places, and in case of want of funds, additional new lands were endowed as *waḳf* and skilled workers sent from Damascus for repairs to the *Ḥaram*s (*ibid.*, 15). A document from 959/1552 reports that the domes over the tombs of Patriarchs, which had not been repaired since the time of the Circassian Mamlūks, had fallen to pieces, and orders are issued for their repairs (*ibid.*, 155). From another unique document of the *Mühimme defterleri* dated 991/1583, it appears that the wardens of the *Ḥaram* (*türbedār*) and its door-keepers were traditionally eunuchs, so as not to disturb the women's tranquillity of mind when they came to pray there (*ibid.*, 157-8).

In 979/1571, an additional source of income was added to Hebron when saltpetre was discovered in its vicinity, and an extensive gunpowder industry was developed there for the Ottoman army (*ibid.*, 129, 137-8). Large quantities of this gunpowder, as well as large quantities of arms, some of which were directly smuggled from the army arsenals in Istanbul, reached the Bedouins and other rebels in the country. Hebron continued to suffer even more intensely from both the Bedouins and the continuous warfare between the Ḳays and Yaman factions. The Ottomans tried in many ways to keep the Bedouins in check, in particular to safeguard the pilgrimage roads. These measures

included building fortresses along the roads, taking hostages from the tribes and nominating 40 *timār* and *zi'āmet* holders, who were exempted from participating in the wars of the empire, but all this was to no avail. Hebron and its vicinity were at the mercy of the Bedouins until modern times. The towns and travellers to and from them had to pay special taxes to the Bedouins (*khāwa*, [*q.v.*]), in order to gain some degree of safety. The mountain villages around the town relied for their defence on their own strength (*ibid.*, 76, 85, 97-8 n. 3, 101-2, 111, 116; cf. Sharon, *op. cit.*, 17-30; cf Hoexter, in *Asian and African Studies*, Jerusalem 1973, 249-311, and Karmon, 79). On the other hand, being the only urban centre in the vicinity and the main market place of the area, the Bedouins usually refrained from attacking Hebron openly, and economically the city was prosperous. In the closing years of the 18th century and during the Napoleonic wars when the coastal towns were almost completely destroyed, Hebron flourished as one of the most important commercial centres in Palestine with the caravans from Egypt prefering the more southerly route through Sinai and Beer Sheba to Hebron and Jerusalem over the insecure coastal one. Glass manufacture also developed rapidly in the town, for which it is famous until this very day. The caustic soda required for this industry was supplied by the Bedouins, who produced it from a plant growing near the shores of the Dead Sea. Other major industries in the city in the 19th century were soap, hides and cotton spinning (Kermon, 80-1).

The town began to deteriorate during the Egyptian occupation of Palestine by Ibrāhīm Pasha (1831-40). While the coastal towns flourished again and were freed from the Bedouin menace, the mountainous areas which opposed the Egyptians suffered. Hebron took an active part in the revolt of 1834. It was besieged by the Egyptians, its citadel destroyed by cannon fire, and it was occupied and sacked. Additional destruction was caused by earthquake that affected Palestine in 1837. Towards the end of Egyptian rule in 1840, a rebel from Dūra near Hebron, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Amr, killed the Egyptian governor of the town, proclaimed the Ottoman sultan and made himself the governor. He terrorised Hebron, especially the Jews and Christians in the town, from whom he used to extort heavy taxes. In 1846 the Ottomans, in pursuit of him, destroyed parts of Hebron with gunfire and the soldiers looted it. The rebel was not caught and he continued to infest the area for many years to come, as we learn from the detailed reports of James Finn, the British consul in Jerusalem and the only source of help to the Jewish community during the 1850s (A. M. Haymson, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem*, London 1939, i, 168-9, 171-2, 198 ff.).

The improvement of security in the country during the second half of the century, with the growth of the European Powers' interest in it after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, brought recovery to Hebron. Its population grew from 8,000-10,000 in the 1870s to about 14,000 at the close of the century. This trend continued after the British conquest of 1917 and the establishment of the British mandate, when Hebron was made the capital of a subdistrict in the Southern District (1922). It also became an important political centre, and its leaders have been fanatical opponents of the Jewish settlement in Palestine. During the riots of 1929, influenced by the *Muftī* of Jerusalem, Amīn al-Ḥusaynī and by local agitators, the mob attacked the Jewish quarter and slaughtered 63 Jews. The rest of the community fled from the town. An attempt to renew the Jewish community in Hebron a few years later was cut short during the riots of 1936. After the war of 1948, Hebron came under the rule of Jordan, until in 1967 it was occupied by Israel during the Six Day's war. Until 1976 it was led by the ancient and powerful Dja'barī family. Its population is over 38,000. During the present century, a large number of Hebronites have emigrated to Jerusalem, where they occupy a very prominent position in the commercial life there.

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(M. Sharon)

KHALĪL ALLĀH (Shāh), d. 866/1460, the son of Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Kirmānī (730-834/1329-1431), "a great saint and mystic as well as a poet." Hearing the fame of Ni'mat Allāh's great piety and learning, the Bahmanī ruler Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad I (825-39/1422-34) invited him to Muḥammadābād-Bīdar, his capital. The saint declined the invitation, but sent one of his disciples. The Sulṭān repeated the invitation with the request to send one of his sons, if he could not himself come. Ni'mat Allāh replied that, since he had only one son, named Khalīl Allāh, with whom he did not wish to part, he was sending the latter's son, Nūr Allāh, instead. However, after his father's death, Khalīl Allāh emigrated to the Deccan with his family and many of the followers. Aḥmad I received him with honour, and gave his daughter in marriage to the saint's elder son, Ḥabīb Allāh, and his grand-daughter to the saint's younger son, Muḥibb Allāh. In addition, he accepted Khalīl Allāh as his *pīr* and conferred on him the title of Malik al-Mashā'ikh Burhān al-Dīn Khalīl Allāh, thus

giving up his allegiance to the descendants of the famous saint of Gulbarga, Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz (721-825/1321-1422). Under the influence of Khalīl Allāh and his sons, who were Shīʿīs, not only Aḥmad I became a Shīʿī, but Shīʿī forces were strengthened in the Deccan.

Khalīl Allāh continued to be revered by Aḥmad's son and successor, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II (830-62/1427-58) who also regarded him as his *pīr*, and, on the occasion of his coronation ceremony, seated him on his right. Khalīl Allāh was not a poet or mystic like his father; he was a pious man, given to prayer and meditation, and, unlike his elder son, Ḥabib Allāh, kept aloof from war and politics. He was succeeded by his younger son, Muḥibb Allāh, as his *sadjdjāda-nashīn* (spiritual successor). Over his grave a beautiful tomb was erected by Aḥmad II. Another building called Takht-i Kirmānī, because it contained the *takht* or throne on which Khalīl Allāh used to sit, was also constructed in his memory during this period.

Bibliography: H. K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanīs of the Deccan, an objective study*, Ḥaydarābād 1953; H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, ed., *History of medieval Deccan, 1295-1724*, 2 vols, Ḥaydarābād 1973-4; J. N. Hollister, *The Shīʿa of India*, London 1953; G. Yazdānī, *Bīdar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947; Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Taʾrīkh-i Burhān-i Maʾāthir*, ed. Sayyid Hāshimī, Delhi 1355/1936; Muḥammad Ḳāsim Hindū-Shāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta*, Lucknow 1281/1864.

(Mohibbul Hasan)

AL-KHALĪL B. AḤMAD B. ʿAMR B. TAMĪM AL-FARĀHIDĪ (AL-FURHŪDĪ; see W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 343 f.) AL-AZDĪ AL-YAḤMADĪ AL-BAṢRĪ ABŪ ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, important Arab philologist. Born in ʿUmān, he grew up in Baṣra where he died, at over seventy, in 175/791, or 170/786, or 160/776 (Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 47; Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 56; *Fihrist*, 42). As a young man he adhered to the Ṣufriyya [*q.v.*], but he embraced Sunnī orthodoxy under the influence of his teacher Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (d. 131/748,) a well-known traditionist and *faḳīh* (Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 382). His studies in Arabic philology were especially encouraged by the two Baṣran scholars ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*] and Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*]. All the sources agree that he lived an unpretentious and pious life, in modest circumstances, on the yield of a garden left to him by his father (Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 56, 58, 67), and on falconry—probably not only occasionally ([al-Ḥusayn] al-Bāzyār al-Miṣrī, *al-Bayzara*, Damascus 1372/1953, 19; Fr. tr. F. Viré, *Le Traité de l'art de volerie*, Leiden 1967, 7 (= *Arabica*, xii [1965], 7); cf. D. Möller, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen arabischen Falknerliteratur*, Berlin 1965, 73 ff.). He had many pupils (see E. Bräunlich, *al-Ḫalīl und das Kitāb al-ʿAin*, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 66 ff.), the most conspicuous among whom were Sībawayh [*q.v.*], al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*] and the *ṣāḥib al-Khalīl* al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], who completed, edited and published al-Khalīl's lexicon. By his comprehensive studies and intensive teachings al-Khalīl promoted decisively the already existing beginnings of Arabic philology, and thus became its real founder.

As was the case with others, al-Khalīl's scholarly work started from Ḳurʾān exegesis and knowledge of Tradition, as demonstrated in particular by evidence available and source material. It is not known whether he himself wrote on Ḳurʾān exegesis and Tradition (see below). But as a teacher he not only permanently influenced the broad field of philology in his capacity as grammarian, lexicographer and metrist, but he also left an impressive written testimony—though more indirectly than directly—of his competence, acumen and gift of presentation. There is a double reason why his output was so small. First, it was not yet at all common in those days to commit to writing scholarly discussion; secondly, it seems that al-Khalīl had scruples about finally editing his material together with his explanations and commentaries. It is not correct to assume that he was unable to do so through incapacity to generalise from details. Recent investigations have shown clearly that al-Khalīl had a fundamental part in the first systematic grammar of Arabic, the *Kitāb* of his pupil Sībawayh, not only as far as the material is concerned, but also in the systematisation. In this connection it must be remembered that al-Khalīl had already found elements for a theory of the language. It is even possible that such a theory had already been formulated in a fragmentary way and noted down in lecture courses, in answers to questions about individual problems, and the like. But it started to take shape only thanks to the abundance of observations of individual cases, comparisons and proofs adduced by al-Khalīl, which gave the impulse to systematisation. To give Arabic grammar its first comprehensive written form, hardly surpassed later, was reserved for his great pupil, the Persian Sībawayh. This however does not alter the fact that al-Khalīl was the real creator of this science (see G. Weil in the Introduction to Ibn al-Anbarī's *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, Leiden 1913, 69), as may be seen clearly from almost every page of Sībawayh's work. For details see W. Reuschel, *al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad, der Lehrer Sībawayhs, als Grammatiker*, Berlin 1959; G. Troupeau, *A propos des grammairiens cités par Sībawayhi dans le* Kitāb, in *Arabica*, viii (1961), 309-12; cf. also M. G. Carter, *Les origines de la grammaire arabe*, in *REI*, xl (1972), 69-97, esp. 74 ff.

It has yet to be studied how far al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-Djumal fi 'l-naḥw* corresponds to those passages which Sībawayh associates with al-Khalīl's name; according to a statement in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 411, the author of the *Kitāb al-Djumal* was Ibn Shuḳayr (d. 317/929)! In the ms. Ayasofya 4456, 2, dated 601/1204, the work fills 75 folios and deals with *naṣb, rafʿ, khafḍ, djazm, alifāt, lāmāt* (cf. a fragment, Berlin, vi, 212 no. 6902), *hāʾāt, tāʾāt, wāwāt, lām-alifāt, al-ikhtilāf fī maʿānīhi*, in connection with many, mostly anonymous verses (O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxiv (1910), 508 ff.; for the *Incipit*, see Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 121, note 1). For a second (?) manuscript, see Ḳawala, ii, 118, no. 266 ḳ: *Kitāb Wudjūh al-naṣb* (fol. 1: by Ibn Shuḳayr?), 65 folios; for a third (?) incomplete(?) manuscript, see *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-i Markazī-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, Tehran 1345/1967, xv, 4075 ff., no. 4981, 3: *Sharḥ Djumal al-iʿrāb*, 16 folios. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1367/1948, ii, 17 no. 206, may well be referring to the *Kitāb al-Djumal* when he mentions a *kitāb fi 'l-ʿawāmil* among al-Khalīl's works.

Further investigation is necessary into a short treatise of two pages by al-Khalīl about the question why the root *fʿl* is used as paradigm (ms. Bodleiana, i, 230 no. 1047,4, dated 654/1256). The longer fragment of 24 folios of a *Kitāb Ṣarf al-Khalīl*, dated 821/1418 (Berlin, vi, 215 no. 6909), is perhaps connected with this treatise.

Appreciation of the significance of al-Khalīl's lexicographical activities has steadily increased as

scholars have recognised him as the author of the first Arabic dictionary, the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, and this notwithstanding the fact that even in the early period his authorship of this work was rejected by a majority. Recent investigations have again considerably contributed to the solution of this problem. They have shown that the plan of the dictionary undoubtedly comes from al-Khalīl. It is not arranged alphabetically but—probably under Indian influence—by certain groups of sounds (the phonetic-permutative principle), *i.e.*, after the so-called "order of al-Khalīl": *ʿ, ḥ, h, kh, gh, ḳ, k, dj, sh, ḍ, ṣ, s, z, ṭ, d, t, ẓ, dh, th, r, l, n, f, b, m, w, alif, y, ʾ*. Recent investigations have also shown that al-Khalīl's contribution to the dictionary is hardly more than that of a source, and that the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* in its present form, especially in regard to the bulk of the material, is to be considered as the work of al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*]. Al-Layth may have arranged his compilation soon after al-Khalīl's death. But a little later—probably not long after 200/815—this work was revised by an otherwise unknown Abū Muʿādh ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀʾidh. Additions and corrections, also in the form of refutations (*rudūd*), followed. Many abstracts have been made and it is well known that later lexicographers have repeatedly gone back—directly or indirectly—to the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* and have often quoted from it. Finally it is worth noticing that the Introduction to the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, with the exception of editorial interpolations, may go back directly to al-Khalīl. For details see Bräunlich, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 94, on al-Khalīl's *Kitāb Fāʾid al-ʿAyn*, mentioned e.g. in *Fihrist*, 43; J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie nach Istanbuler und Berliner Handschriften*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 201-38; J. A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography*, Leiden[2] 1965, *passim* (reviewed by A. Spitaler, in *OLZ*, lxiii [1968], 50-8); above all Stefan Wild, *Das Kitāb al-ʿAin und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden 1965 (reviewed by J. W. Fück, in *Bi Or*, xxiii [1966], 199 ff.; M. M. Bravmann, in *Isl.*, xlvii [1971], 238-44). A first fascicule of the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* was published by Father Anastase al-Karmalī under the title: *al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar, Kitāb al-ʿAyn fi 'l-lugha*. Baghdad 1914; of the new edition by ʿAbd Allāh Darwīsh, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn awwal muʿdjam fi 'l-lugha al-ʿarabiyya li-'l-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī*, the first volume appeared in 1386/1967 in Baghdad (reviewed by R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, in *al-Aḳlām* v/2 [Baghdad 1388/1968] 127-51).

Al-Khalīl's small treatise *al-Ḥurūf*, also called *Risāla fī maʿnā 'l-ḥurūf*, which is not listed by the ancient biographers and bibliographers (see Bräunlich, *op. cit.*, 67), has been published by R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1969. The author deals concisely with the additional meanings of the letters of the alphabet and as a rule supports them by citing ancient verses.

While working on old Arabic verses as evidence for the meaning of words, linguistic peculiarities and grammatical constructions (*Fihrist*, 43, mentions among his writings a *Kitāb al-Shawāhid*), al-Khalīl made a surprising and important discovery. The scanning of verses revealed to him that short and long syllables alternate and repeat themselves in strict patterns. He divided these unities, which can be distinguished according to their quantity, into five concentric circles. He thus found an adequate and telling graphical form, equally simple and brilliant, for representing the metre-order of the verses, following each other repetitively, while the rhythmical accent was also taken into account. Al-Khalīl's metrical system has been adopted by all later authors (see, *e.g.*, the manuscripts and summaries Berlin, vi, 323-48 no. 7108-58). The names of the metres (cf. Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 71) and a series of terms also reach undoubtedly back to him so that metrics were called simply *ʿilm al-Khalīl* (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa under the title *ʿarūḍ Ibn al-Ḥādjib*; I. Goldziher, in *WZKM*, xvii [1903], 187-90; see also al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Muʿallimūn*, on the margin of al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1324/1906, i, 33; idem, *al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1356/1938, i, 150). Although al-Khalīl's original work, the *Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ*, does not seem to have survived, the content of this treatise (cf. Zubaydī, *op. cit.*, 291) may be conjectured from later works, like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi's [*q.v.*] chapter on *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] in his *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1365/1946, v, 424-518. For details see G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830; G. Weil, *Das metrische System des al-Xalīl und der Iktus in den altarabischen Versen*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 303-21; and esp., idem, *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren*, Wiesbaden 1958 (reviewed by A. Bloch, in *GGA*, 213 [1959], 67-80). [See also ʿARŪḌ.] Two other works by al-Khalīl, the *Kitāb al-Nagham* and the *Kitāb al-Iḳāʿ*, dealing with tones and rhythmic tempi, are mentioned in *Fihrist*, 43 (see H. G. Farmer, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965, 1, nos. 5 and 6; E. Neubauer in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii [1968-9/1971], 196 ff.).

Among the eight works by al-Khalīl enumerated in *Fihrist*, 43, a *Kitāb al-Naḳṭ wa 'l-shakl* is mentioned, an otherwise unknown treatise on diacritical punctuation and vocalisation (in the Ḳurʾān) (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 262, note 1 and *TA*, iv, 411, 9 s.v. *ʿbd*). According to *Dharīʿa*, i, 38 ff. no. 184, it is identical with the above mentioned *Kitāb al-Djumal*. Such a supposition is however as doubtful as another statement by the same *Dharīʿa*, ii, 325 ff. no. 1292, namely, that al-Khalīl composed a *Kitāb al-Imāma*, allegedly finished by Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Marāghī (d. 376/986). The correctness cannot be verified from the available sources and literature (see, e.g., Kaḥḥāla, ix, 157; Brockelmann, S III, 1194 should be corrected accordingly). A so-called *Kitāb al-Muʿammā* finally is mentioned only by Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 47, and then in connection with a quite unconvincing story (cf. Haywood, *op. cit.*, 21 and 133).

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Nuzhat al-alibbā', Cairo 1386/1967, 45-8 (with references to other sources); Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 181-3; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 341-7 (with indications of other sources); Ibn Khallikān, s.n.; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrā'*, Cairo-Leipzig 1932, i, 275; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325/1907, iii, 163 f.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 243-5 (Cairo 1384/1964, 557-60); Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Cairo (*ca.* 1968), i, 106-8; 153-8; 216. (R. SELLHEIM)

KHALĪL B. **ISḤĀḲ** B. MŪSĀ B. SHUʿAYB, ABU 'L-MAWADDA ḌIYĀ' AL-DĪN, IBN AL-DJUNDI, Mālikī *faḳīh* of Egypt, born in Cairo 13 Rabīʿ I 776/22 August 1374 (but other dates, in particular 767 and 769 are also given). His father was a Ḥanafī, and it was through the influence of his teacher ʿAbd Allāh al-Manūfī (d. 749/1348) that he adopted the Mālikī law school. He performed the Pilgrimage, and then remained some time in Medina, studying and teaching at the *madrasa* *Shaykhūniyya*. Although generally leading a fairly retiring life, he nevertheless took up arms in the defence forces, and thus took part in the recovery of Alexandria from the Christians in 767/1365-6.

From a juridical point of view, Khalīl represents, just like his model Ibn al-Ḥādjib, a view of law somewhat tinged with Shāfiʿism, the result of a fusion between the Egyptian and the Maghribī aspects of the Mālikī school. He composed various works, of which manuscripts survive: *al-Tawḍīḥ*, a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib, *K. al-Manāsik*, *Manāḳib al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Manūfī*, and *Ḍabṭ al-muwadjdjahāt wa-taʿrīfuhā*; but all these are today forgotten. His *Mukhtaṣar*, however, called by some simply *al-Kitāb* "the Book" par excellence, gained him a great fame, both in the Maghrib and also in the Mālikī centres of West Africa, and furthermore the honorific designation of Sīdī Khalīl.

This *Mukhtaṣar*, then, so obscure because of its conciseness that it can only be understood by means of a commentary, is the most renowned manual in the countries of the Muslim West, where, to some extent replacing the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik and the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn, it is everywhere the subject of teaching which is usually based on a host of partial or complete commentaries, glosses and scholia inspired by it (see Brockelmann, II, 83, S II, 96-9). It is divided into 61 chapters dealing with ritual, personal law, the *muʿāmalāt* and various topics.

Orientalists early concerned themselves with it. Between 1848 and 1854, Dr Perron published at Paris, bringing together both text and commentary, a complete French translation called *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane ou Principes de législation musulmane civile et religieuse selon le droit malékite*, 6 vols. The first edition, prepared by Richebém, appeared at Paris in 1855, from which there were successive printings down to 1883; G. Delphin produced a further edition, also at Paris, in 1900. In 1889 E. Fagnan brought out at Algiers the *Concordances du manuel de Sidi Khalîl* (in reference to the edition of 1883). The second complete translation, this time in Italian, was made by I. Guidi and D. Santillana (Milan 1919, 2 vols.). Amongst partial translations, one should mention those of Sautayra and Cherbonneau on personal status and on succession (Paris 1873-4), of Seignette (Constantine 1878, Paris 1911), of Fagnan, on the holy war (Algiers 1908), marriage and divorce (Algiers 1909) and of L. Bercher on apostasy, etc., in the *RT* (1923). The most recent is that of G.-H. Bousquet, *Abrégé de la loi musulmane selon la rite de l'Imâm Mâlek*, i-iv, Algiers-Paris 1956-62; utilising as an aid the commentary of Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Samīʿ, *Djawhar al-iklīl*, the translator has adopted a technique of typography which has allowed him to bring out the translation of the comparatively few words making up this "condensation" and to distinguish the expansions strictly necessary for the comprehension of the text.

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KHALĪL, AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN, eighth Mamlūk sultan, reigned 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 689 to 12 Muḥarram 693/11 November 1290 to 13 December 1293 as successor to his father al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]. Ḳalāwūn's elder son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlā' al-Dīn ʿAlī, the designated heir-apparent, had died in 687/1288, two years before his father, and the *wilāyat al-ʿahd* passed to his younger brother al-Ashraf Khalīl. Khalīl is said not to have enjoyed the particular favour of his father—Ḳalāwūn's seal (*ʿalāma*) was lacking on Khalīl's diploma of investiture (*taḳlīd*)—but it should be stressed that on several occasions he was the official substitute of his father, notably when Ḳalāwūn was absent from Egypt during the siege of Tripoli in 688/1289. Furthermore, Khalīl was the only son old enough to reign and thus the only one to qualify for the dynastic succession.

The battle for a strong sultanate that should be independent from the oligarchy of the *amīrs* left its stamp on Khalīl's short reign. Yet he failed to achieve his aim. In 693/1293 he was killed during a hunting-party in the Nile delta by his deputy Baydarā and a handful of other conspirators. In the beginning, Baydarā had been Khalīl's esteemed *nā'ib*: still in 690/1291 the sultan had granted him the Syrian fortress of al-Ṣubayba (*Alṭāf*, 29 ff.). But later he had been humiliated repeatedly by Khalīl, on one occasion in the presence of the assembled *amīrs*, probably in connection with Baydarā's unsuccesful campaign against the Maronites of Djabal Kasrawān in 691/1292. Other *amīrs* like Ḳarāsunḳur, who later acquired fame for his flight to the Mongols, or the future sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lādjīn (see on him P. M. Holt, in *BSOAS*, xxxvi (1973), 521-32), were imprisoned. Although they were set free shortly afterwards, Khalīl failed to secure their loyalty. Khalīl's closest adviser and confidant, his arrogant vizier Ibn al-Salʿūs, a Syrian merchant, did everything to estrange the high *amīrs* even more from the sultan. Under Ibn al-Salʿūs, the vizierate ceased to be in the hands of the military, the *mukalwatūn*, and became the "second office of the state" (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, viii, 306; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 17).

Ibn al-Salʿūs was the first of a long series of merchants who decidedly influenced Mamlūk policy between 1290 and 1450, particularly under Sultan Barsbāy [*q.v.*] [see KĀRIMĪ].

Khalīl's reign saw the beginning of the flourishing Mamlūk trade policy. After the fall of ʿAkkā [*q.v.*] in 690/1291 Khalīl resumed and strengthened contacts with the Christian Mediterranean powers. He concluded treaties with Venice and Aragon. In his biography of Khalīl, *al-Alṭāf al-khafiyya*, 44 ff., Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*] mentions an exchange-treaty of Venetian prisoners. With James II of Aragon Khalīl renewed on January 29, 1293 the treaty which Ḳalāwūn had made with James's predecessor Alphonso III, including its provisions concerning the delivery of such forbidden war-materials as iron, weapons, wood and pitch (see K. Müller, *al-Malik al-Aśraf*, 64, quoting Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 63-70). He also made contacts with the small principalities of Menteshe, Aydīn and Ḳaramān, which were developing in Anatolia under Mongol suzerainty (*Alṭāf*, 15 f.).

Khalīl won his greatest fame, however, in the Islamic and Christian world alike as the skilled commander of the Egyptian-Syrian armies who captured ʿAkkā (St. Jean d'Acre) after a carefully prepared six-weeks siege. Only the flight from the colours of the *amīr* Ḥusām al-Dīn Lādjīn, the later sultan, before the walls of ʿAkkā, jeopardised the Muslim victory for a short time. Ṣaydā, Bayrūt, ʿAthlīth, Djubayl and Ṣūr, the few remaining strongholds of the Franks, fell into the hands of the Muslims without a fight. All the captured Frankish fortresses were demolished; thus Palestine lost the basis of its economic prosperity. Contemporary chroniclers, especially al-Djazarī [*q.v.*], probably the most important authority for this period, complain seriously of the destructive fury of Khalīl, which fell even upon Damascus and the stronghold of Shawbak in the land of Moab. But it should be remarked that this policy was a calculated one, both on strategic and economic grounds: the Syrian cities should no longer serve as a foothold for Frankish invaders nor attract the lucrative Indian trade which was directed from South Arabia through the Red Sea to Alexandria and Damietta and further to Europe. The undisguised aversion of the Syrians for Ḳalāwūn and his successors reflects the political and economic centralisation of the Mamlūk state after the capitulation of the insurgent *amīr* Sunḳur al-Ashḳar of Ṣahyūn during Ḳalāwūn's reign. The building of a fleet to protect the Syrian coast (*Alṭāf*, 56-61) is not in contradiction with Khalīl's endeavours to monopolise the East-West trade through Egypt.

In contrast with his father, Khalīl seems to have been inspired by religious motifs in his political and military activities. Certainly, the reproach that he was a vile libertine is unfounded. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir pictures Khalīl's zeal in the *Dār al-ʿadl*, the royal court of justice, and speaks highly of his equity and incorruptibility. As opposed to his predecessors and to most of his successors, the sultan had a command of Arabic and concerned himself actively with the *dīwān al-inshāʾ*, until 693/1293 headed by the above-mentioned Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir. Khalīl was eager to secure the homage of the *sharīf* of Mecca Nadjm al-Dīn Abū Numayy (*Alṭāf*, 20), and gave new functions to the ʿAbbāsid shadow caliph al-Ḥākim, the returning of the legitimate ruler of the Islamic world to the old capital of the caliphs being one of the foremost aims of his foreign policy. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (*Alṭāf*, 6 ff.) records the text of the public *djihād* sermons given by the caliph—another indication of Khalīl's religious zeal.

Khalīl's strategy was mainly directed against the Mongols, "the vile enemy" (*al-ʿaduww al-makhdhūl*), at least after the Franks had been driven away. After the death of Arghūn, the Ilkhāns [*q.v.*] lost their clear military superiority over the Mamlūks. Khalīl grasped his chance, attacked the kingdom of Lesser Armenia and conquered the important stronghold of Ḳalʿat al-Rūm on the Euphrates [see RŪM ḲALʿESI]. One year later, the Armenian king Hethoum II surrendered the fortresses of Bahasnā, Marʿash and Tall Ḥamdūn, commanding the routes to Aleppo, to the Mamlūk ruler. The Bedouins, controlling the strategic Ilkhānid-Mamlūk frontier in the Syrian desert, were also, if only temporarily, subdued. But the great dream of the age, the recovery of Baghdād, Khalīl was not able to bring about.

Information on Khalīl's internal policy is scarce. Three times yearly the troops received a special pay (*nafaḳa*) (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, viii, 352), which constituted an additional burden on the treasury, already heavily drawn upon by the costly campaigns in Syria. Only Khalīl's early death may have prevented him from redistributing the *iḳṭāʿ*s of the emirs, brought about by sultan Lādjīn a few years later (*al-rawk al-ḥusāmī*). The *amīr*s staunchly resisted any interference with their privileges; Baydarā's refusal to cede his share of the customs dues of the port of Alexandria to Khalīl or his vizier aggravated the strife between the sultan and the most powerful *amīr*s. Other sources of income were not easily accessible. The very lucrative confiscation of the fortunes of Ṭuruntāy, Ḳalāwūn's *nāʾib*, remained an isolated episode.

Khalīl's murderer Baydarā reigned only for a few days. Unable to capture the citadel of Cairo, the centre of political and military power, he was killed after a short fight against Khalīl's followers, led by the *ustādār* (majordomo) Ḥusām al-Dīn. The eight-years' old al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Khalīl's brother, was enthroned (for the first time), the real ruler being the new *nāʾib* Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā, who usurped the throne in 694/1294 under the name al-Malik al-ʿĀdil.

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KHALĪL ALLĀH BUT-SHIKAN, Persian mystic active in South India. Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Khalīl Allāh was born at Kūbnān, in Kirmān

province of Persia, on Friday 11th Sha'bān 775/26th January 1374, and was the son and spiritual successor of the celebrated Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī of Kirmān [*q.v.*]. He was widely respected as the chief exponent of the Ṣūfī school founded by, and named after, his father. The contemporary Tīmūrid princes Shāh-Rukh Mīrzā and Bāysunkur Mīrzā, who held him in great reverence, for some time played host to the Sayyid in Harāt. After his father's death in 834/1431, he migrated to the Deccan where the local dynasty of the Bahmanīs were engaged in fierce wars against the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms. It is said that the Muslims came out victorious because of the saint's auspicious participation in one of those battles, and this event accounts for his sobriquet of *But-shikan* ("Iconoclast"). Thenceforth, he became the focal point of the socio-religious resurgence which his preachings created among the Muslims of South India. Two of his sons who had accompanied him to India married into the Bahmanī royal family, and his eldest son, Sayyid Nūr Allāh, who had preceded him to the Deccan at the instance of Shāh Ni'mat Allāh himself, was received with particular marks of honour by all classes of society. Sayyid Khalīl Allāh's most devoted disciple was no less a person than the Bahmanī Sultan Aḥmad Shāh Walī (825-39/1422-36), who was also ordained as his spiritual vice-regent (*khalīfa*).

Whether Sayyid Khalīl Allāh died whilst he was still in India or after he had returned to Persia has been a disputed point among the historians. Firishta, *Ta'rīkh*, 634-5, while asserting that the Sayyid had returned to Māhān in Kirmān, where he breathed his last and lies buried, refers to the opinion of some persons that he could not return to Persia and that he died in India. Modern scholars such as Yazdānī and Sherwānī have said that he died in Bīdar, the Bahmanī capital, in 864/1460 and that his tomb is situated there in the domeless octagonal building called the *Čawkhandī*. This story, however, was regarded as a myth by Sir Wolseley Haig, who considered the said tomb to be merely a cenotaph, and added that the saint's grave is in his father's beautiful shrine at Māhān; see *The religion of Ahmad Shah Bahmani*, in *JRAS* (1924), 77.

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(Abdus Subhan)

KHALĪL EDHEM [see eldem].

KHALĪL EFENDI — ZĀDE, mehmed sa'id efendi, one of the *'ulamā'* of the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd I (1143-68/1730-54). He was the son of Birgili Khalīl Efendi who was twice *Ḳāḍi-'askar* of Anatolia. He studied under his father, then passed through the usual *madrasa* course, and beginning as *mollā* of Yeñishehir in 1135/1722-3, ascended the various steps of the *'ulamā'* hierarchy to the highest office. He was appointed *Shaykh al-Islām* in 1162/1749, but was dismissed within ten months in 1163/1750 on account of his stern and unyielding disposition and banished to Bursa where he died in 1168/1754-5, and was buried near Amīr Sulṭān.

He was regarded as a learned man, ready with his pen, and well-fitted for all the claims of his office. Besides a commentary, he left the Turkish translation of a part of the history of 'Aynī (d. 762/1361). Of his sons and grandsons, several were notable theologians.

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KHALĪL GHĀNIM (1846-1903), journalist and author, born in Beirut of Maronite parents and educated at the Lazarists' school in 'Ayntūra, where he acquired a knowledge of French and English, as well as Arabic and Turkish. Khalīl Ghānim began his career in 1862 as a member of the commercial court in Beirut. He was then appointed dragoman of the Beirut *mutaṣarrifiyya*, and subsequently of the *wilāyet* of Syria. A *wālī* under whom he served, Sakizlī Aḥmad As'ad, appointed him dragoman to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when he became briefly Grand Vizier in 1873. He was promoted dragoman of the Grand Vizierate and its master of ceremonies when As'ad once more became Grand Vizier in 1875. Following the proclamation of the Ottoman constitution, Khalīl Ghānim was elected a deputy for Syria, and sat in the chamber of deputies until it was prorogued in February 1878. He seems to have become a supporter of Midḥat Pasha, and thus to have attracted the displeasure of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II. In consequence, he took refuge in the French embassy and fled to France, where he spent the rest of his life, becoming a naturalised French citizen and marrying a Frenchwoman. In 1881, in partnership with Faḍl Allāh Dabbās of Beirut, he started in Paris an Arabic newspaper *al-Baṣīr*, which received a subsidy from the French government and which acted as the advocate of French interests and policies in Tunis and in the Ottoman empire; it was presumably in recognition of these services that he was awarded the *légion d'honneur*. Khalīl Ghānim was also a contributor to the *Journal des Débats* and the *Figaro*, and was prominent in anti-Ḥamīdian and Young Turk activities in Europe. In Paris, he published a periodical *La Jeune Turquie* and in Geneva the *Hilāl*, and in 1895, he joined the well-known Aḥmad Riḍā (Ahmet Riza) [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in publishing the influential Young Turk newspaper *Meshveret*. He published a book *Les Sultans Ottomans* in two volumes (Paris 1902), and was also the author of a *Life of Jesus* and of a work on political economy in Arabic.

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(E. Kedourie)

KHALĪL MUṬRĀN, Lebanese poet born on 1 July 1872 at Ba'labakk (Baalbekk). His family is reckoned to have been of Ghassānid origin (Alūf, *Ta'rīkh Ba'labakk*, 86-118; Ṭunnāḥī, 14). Neither his father, 'Abdu Muṭrān, nor his mother, Malaka Ṣabbāgh, of whom the latter figures more prominently in his biography (*Dīwān*, iv, 145), seems to have had much influence on his life. It was at Zaḥla (al-Kulliyya al-Sharḳiyya), then at the Patriarchal College of Beirut, that he received respectively his primary and secondary education (*al-Muḳtaṭaf*, June 1888; Djamāl al-Dīn, 44; Ṭunnāḥī, 37-40), a bilingual education in which Arabic, his mother-tongue, combined with French to shape his cultural

development and the nature of his poetry. The stringent Catholic discipline must have served to enhance his sense of moral values, and the restrained attitude attributed to him (*Muḳaṭaf*, Nov. 1939, 467-78; *Madjallat Sarkīs*, special issue, 1913; *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, passim). Mention should be made of the influence of his eminent master Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī (d. 1906), from whom he gained his mastery of the language and his concern for perfection. (Evidence of the poet, *Dīwān*, i, 290, 294, ii, 29, 326; and testimony born by al-Yāzidjī, *Anīs al-djalīs*, ix, 371). He imitated al-Yāzidjī in composing the bitter poem which hastened his departure from Lebanon in 1890 (for the poem of al-Yāzidjī, see *Arab awakening*, 1955 ed., 54, and Maḳdisī *al-Ittidjahāt*[1], 80-3; we have two verses from Muṭrān's poem, al-Ṭunnāḥī, 45-6; see Djamāl al-Dīn, 46).

Muṭrān paid a visit to Alexandria and stayed some time in Paris, making preparations for emigration to Chile (Ṭunnāḥī, 58-64; *Muḳtaṭaf*, June 1939, 91). To the time spent in Paris (1890-2), he owes his cultural sympathy with the West. There he discovered French romanticism, in which he became engrossed, and he exposed himself to the literary and artistic trends of the nineties. He became acquainted with a group of militant Lebanese and Syrian emigrés, and with Aḥmad Riḍā, a founder-member of the Young Turks. Imbued with the ideas of the French Revolution, he was inspired and stirred by it. (The celebrations of the 14th of July thrilled him; see Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, Paris, the references to Muṭrān and Ṭunnāḥī, 61-4.) Asked to restrain his political activities, he left Paris, made his way to Egypt and landed in Alexandria on 11 August 1892 (*ibid.*, 71). The following day, the death of S. Taḳla, founder and proprietor of the daily newspaper *al-Ahrām* (*Muḳtaṭaf*, *ibid.*, 209), gained him access to the journal where he made his debut as a journalist with an obituary poem (unpublished, seven verses quoted in Ṭunnāḥī, 72-3).

In 1899 he abandoned his duties, revisited Lebanon after an absence of ten years (see the poems where he evokes his memories and *Ḳalʿat Baʿlabakk*, in *Dīwān*, 97-101), returned to Cairo and on 1 June 1900 published the first issue (in 40 pages, latter in 96) of his bi-monthly revue *al-Madjalla al-Miṣriyya* (in the issue of April 1901 the main lines of the programme which he proposed to follow are sketched out; see interview in *al-Hilāl*, Jan. 1930, 269-70; *Muḳtaṭaf*, August, 316), which for financial reasons was forced to cease publication in 1902, to re-appear temporarily seven years later, 17 January 1909. Meanwhile, on Friday 6 February 1903 he launched a daily paper, *al-Djawāʾib al-Miṣriyya* (a title borrowed from Fāris al-Shidyāḳ, d. 1887), in which he pleaded for social reform and defended liberty and the public interest.

To this period (1897-1903) belongs the story of his great love which inspired him to write many lyric poems (Ṭunnāḥī, 126-8, 140-1, 151-4, 157; *Dīwān*, i, 144, 184-222, ii, 10, 17, 288, 326). His attachment to Egypt, which he was henceforward to consider a second homeland, became more pronounced (*Dīwān*, ii, 13, 226, 295). A moderate partisan of the nationalist movement, he became committed to its cause. A foreigner, one of a minority, he found in Egypt his social equilibrium. The friendship and admiration which he showed towards Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874-1908; *Dīwān*, i, 308-13, iv, 292-6) attached him to his successors (Muḥammad Farīd, d. 1919; see *Dīwān*, ii, 233; Saʿd Zaghlūl, d. 1927; see *Dīwān*, ii, 320, iii, 261, iv, 250; and see M. Khoury, *Poetry and the making of modern Egypt*, 134-72), and earned him the favour of the Khedive (*Madjallat Sarkīs*, issue of Sept. 1913). It is to this new attachment, no doubt, that he owes the surname Shāʿir al-Ḳuṭrayn. The enforcement of repressive legislation against the press caused the change of heart of the poet (*Dīwān*, iii, 50) and of the journalist (*al-Madjalla l-Miṣriyya*, 14th Feb. 1909). Inspired poems on the history and the reality of Egypt multiplied.

Speculation on the money-markets brought him, in 1912, to a financial crisis which almost drove him to suicide, (Djamāl al-Dīn, 50; Ṭunnāḥī, 266-7; *Dīwān*, ii, 117-9). Nevertheless, in this same year he was appointed assistant secretary to the syndicate of agriculture. On the 24th of April 1913, a demonstration was organized in his honour at the National University (*Madjallat Sarkīs*, special issue, 190-260).

With the revival of the theatrical movement and the return from Paris of the actor G. Abyaḍ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], he became involved in the theatre as translator and producer (*al-Risāla*, ix, nos. 288-96, 301; Ṭunnāḥī, 280-9). A co-founder of the Society of the Arabic Theatre which he inaugurated on 30 Dec. 1920 (*al-Hilāl*, xxix, 465-72), he was appointed to the post of administrative director of the National Company (1935-42, Muḥammad Taymūr, *Ḥayātunā al-tamthīliyya*, 108-9; *al-Hilāl*, xxxvi, 303-4; *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, 60-7; *al-Ahrām*, 14 Dec. 1937). The tour which he organised in 1924 (Lebanon, Syria and Palestine) increased his reputation. In 1947, he found himself covered in honours (the week of 26-29 of March; *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, passim). Disabled by attacks of arthritis, he succumbed to the disease and died on 30 June 1949.

Muṭrān left a varied corpus of work. Among his unpublished writings, there is mention of a study of Shiblī al-Shumayyil, scientist and philosopher. He also published the *Dīwān* of Ibn Ḳalaḳis (*Maṭbaʿat al-Djawāʾib*). His translations, adapted and sometimes annotated, are diverse: *Le Précis d'Histoire Naturelle* of Victor Duray (d. 1894), which he published under the title *Mirʾāt al-ayyām fī mulakhkhaṣ al-taʾrīkh al-ʿāmm* (2 vols., Cairo 1897); *Tarbiyat al-irāda* (1968), *L'Education de la Volonté* of Payot (*al-Hilāl*, Oct. 1918 and 1924), the survey of political economics of Leroy-Beaulieu (*al-Mūdjaz fī 'l-iḳtiṣād*, 5 vols., in collaboration with Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm). Of his literary translations, mention should be made of his versions of the two Nights of May and of October of Alfred de Musset, and the classic works of the Western theatre which he published in the Arab world during four decades. Perceptive critics sometimes find fault with his Shakespearian translations (Nuʿaymeh, *al-Ghirbāl*, 1957 ed., 166-74; al-Māzinī, *Ḥaṣād*, 1932 ed., 35-50; *al-Risāla*, *loc. cit.*; *Muḳtaṭaf*, summer 1939, 314-5; Nadjm, *al-Masraḥiyya*, 2nd part). Hundreds of articles covering a wide spectrum of themes have still to be collected and edited. His work published posthumously, *Arādjīz ilā 'l-shabāb* (102 *urdjūzas*, *Ḥarīṣa* 1951, one part of it published in *al-Hilāl*, Oct. 1917), which is of a didactic nature, has nothing original to convey.

All of this work today appears as of marginal importance. It is as a poet that he is remembered. In 1908, Muṭrān made a selection of poems and fragments previously published sporadically (for a historical view, see Adham, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, Dec. 1939, 538-50), revised them, arranged them chronologically, and published them under the title *Dīwān al-Khalīl*. This collection shows the characteristic traits which were to distinguish the integral poetic corpus published in 1949 (4 vols., comprising 434 pieces, a total of 22,000 lines approximately (see the thesis of Ramādī, 216). In this connection may be mentioned

the predominance of lyrical and descriptive poems, narrative poems inspired by history (*Dīwān*, i, 15, 41, 120, 179-83) or social conditions (*ibid.*, 223-45), the militant tendency retained (*ibid.*, 162-4, 308-13), and the poetry inspired by circumstances varying between authentic vigour (*ibid.*, 271-4, 290-2, 308-13) and pale conventional urbanity (*ibid.*, 118, 167-71). The traditional structure of the *ḳaṣīda* with juxtaposed lines disjointed in sense, appears alongside poems where the line becomes an organised unit contributing to the overall effect of the whole. In some instances, the poet abandons metre and simple rhyme and makes use of *takhmīs*, of *tathlīth*, of *madjzūʾ*, complex or varied rhyming-schemes, and even comes to the point of writing prose poems (*Dīwān*, i, 294-6). Other combinations of style produce new poems. The number of poems grows, but there is no apparently no radical change affecting the nature of his poetry. However, the narrative poem, drawn out to extreme length, finds its ultimate realisation in a long piece of 332 lines, entitled *Nāyrūn* (*Dīwān*, iii 50-73). In this unique exercise he was aiming at a work of definitive nature (*ibid.*, Introd. 48-50). Also, he immersed himself in a patient process of craftsmanship, seeking documentary evidence, researching details and ephemeral nuances, orchestrating sonorous alliterations, manipulating the language to an excessive degree, reconstructing the apocalyptic decadence of Rome (*ibid.*, 61-8), depicting under the portrait of Nero an allegorical potentate embodying the tyranny of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. So the present takes on a historical perspective through the mask and the cloak of poetic illusion.

The lyric poem, on the other hand, is introspective and goes deeper, as may be illustrated by his poem *al-Asad al-bākī* (*Dīwān*, ii, 17-9), where the conscious being, divided, discovers its *alter ego*, crucified, hung by its wounds, converted and a "tomb which bleeds and walks on the tombs." A play on the senses of words infuses this poem with a remarkable evocative force.

Figures of kings, martyrs and heroes constitute a Legend of the Ages. From its dirges there emerge some genuine personalities. (Djallād, *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, 109-11).

A promoter of modern poetry, he declared that the true modern poet should live his life so as to analyse it, should reject all imitation, uncover the secrets of the human soul, recreate the language through poetry, construct rationally a poetry where the component parts are complete in themselves while contributing to the whole, cultivate purity of form while maintaining authentic spontaneity (*al-Hilāl*, July 1928; *Dīwān*, i and ii, Introd.; his poetry, i, 303-7). He defined his poetry in these terms: *-ḳashība, gharība, aṣriyya, nasdj Muḍār.*

His critics agree in according him a place among the avant-garde of the modernist movement (T. Ḥusayn, *Ḥāfiẓ wa-Shawḳī*, passim; Mandūr, *Muḥāḍarāt*; ʿAḳḳād and B. Fāris in *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, 49-52, 71-3, 74-5).

One should emphasise the organised scheme of composition whereby the poem regains its lost unity, the poems inspired by history, narrative or fable, poems where, militant, he sings of liberty and the dignity of man, reality disguised as allegory, or symbol, lyrical experience which probes itself, dissects itself and emerges rationally from chaos, inspired songs of the human condition and cosmic transcendence meditating on matter; in fact, the entire gamut of romantic themes which are produced in a form that is sober, perceptive, charged with images and tending towards the overall unity of the poem.

Intimately linked to that of Shawḳī (d. 1932) and Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1932), then in decline, his poetry, with its quality of neo-classicism, presaged in many ways the beginnings of a new poetic era.

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(A. G. Karam)

KHALĪL PASHA DJANDARLİ, Ottoman Grand Vizier, the eldest son of Djandarlī Ibrāhīm (d. 832/1429), who served as Grand Vizier to Meḥemmed I [*q.v.*]. He was serving as *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker* [*q.v.*] at the time of his father's death. Murād II [*q.v.*] raised him to the vizierate, and by 847/1443 he was Grand Vizier, becoming this sultan's closest adviser. He appears to have been the chief architect of Murād's policy of appeasing Hungary and the western powers in an effort to prevent a concerted crusader attack against the Ottomans in the Balkans. He was chief Ottoman negotiator in the discussions leading to the Treaty of Edirne, concluded with the Hungarians on 24 Ṣafar 848/12 June 1444. On his abdication after the conclusion of peace, Murād appointed Khalīl Grand Vizier to his son Meḥemmed [*q.v.*], and it was presumably Khalīl who recalled Murād on the crusader invasion of Djumādā II 848/September, 1444. Although he commanded a force which guarded the Bosphorus at the time of Murād's crossing to Rumelia with the troops of Anatolia on his way to meet the invaders, he himself was in Edirne [*q.v.*] as the young sultan's guardian at the time of Murād's

victory at Varna. He appears during the years of Murād's abdication to have regarded Murād as the true sultan. Having the loyal support of the Janissaries [see YEÑI ČERI], Khalīl used the Janissary revolt of 850/1446, which he may himself have engineered, as a pretext for recalling Murād to the throne. On the old sultan's reaccession, he retained the post of Grand Vizier unchallenged.

On Murād's death in 855/1451, Khalīl summoned Meḥemmed to Edirne and at first retained the Grand Vizierate, despite the grudge which Meḥemmed evidently bore him for his actions during his first sultanate. Khalīl's cautious and pacific policies in fact suited the delicate political situation at the time of Meḥemmed's accession, with a Ḳaramānid attack [see ḲARĀMĀN-OGHULLARĪ] and the fear that the Byzantines might release the pretender Orkhān. Khalīl appears to have played an important part in negotiating the peace with the Ḳaramānids. It was he, too, who during the campaign, dismissed the Byzantine ambassador who sought an increase in the sum paid to the Emperor for keeping Orkhān in captivity. By securing peace on the borders and causing a breach with the Byzantines, Khalīl created conditions favourable for the Ottoman siege of Constantinople. Perhaps in recognition of his diplomatic achievements, Meḥemmed granted *mülk* lands near Plovdiv or Filibe [*q.v.*], in Shaʿbān 855/September 1451. However, Khalīl's continuous opposition to the siege of Constantinople both before and during the operations aroused the sultan's displeasure. He had, furthermore, a reputation of being a "friend of the Greeks". With the fall of Constantinople, he lost all remnants of his power and influence to Zaganos Pasha [*q.v.*] and the war-party around the sultan. Meḥemmed had him arrested on 21 Djumādā I 857/30 May 1453. He was sent to Edirne and executed a few weeks later.

Bibliography: See DJANDARLĪ (V. L. Ménage), and *İA* arts. *Çandarlı* (I. H. Uzunçarşılı), *Murād II* (H. İnalcık), and *Mehmed II* (İnalcık); and for biographical details and full discussion of sources, F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, *Die Vezirfamilie der Ǧandarlyzāde (14./15. Jhdt.) und ihre Denkmäler*, in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 101-7. In addition to sources discussed here, see Ibn Kemāl, *Tevârih-i âl-i Osman vıı. defter*, ed. Şerafettin Turan, ii, Ankara 1957, 21, 34, 90, 93, for the crisis of 1444, with some details of Khalīl's role; F. Babinger, *Von Amurath zu Amurath*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 229-65. Also, for an account of the crisis of 1444, Murād II's abdication and recall to the throne, and events leading to the siege of Constantinople, with some details of Khalīl's role, see İnalcık, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar*, Ankara 1954, 1-136; and for the text of a deed fixing boundaries of Khalīl's *mülk* near Filibe, see *op. cit.*, 219-23.

(C. H. Imber)

KHALĪL PASHA ḤĀDJDJĪ ARNAWUD, Grand Vizier under the Ottoman Sulṭān Aḥmad III. He was an Albanian from Elbaṣān born *ca.* 1655. At the time his elder brother Sinān Āghā was *Bostandjī Bashī* [*q.v.*], he entered the *Bostandjī* corps. After the latter's death *ca.* 1105/1649, he became attached to Ḳalaylīkoz Aḥmad Pasha and served under him in Baghdād, where his protector was *beglerbegi*. On his return to Istanbul, Khalīl became *Khāṣṣaki* [*q.v.*] and in 1123/1711, *Bostandjī Bashī*. On 16 Muḥarram 1128/11 January 1716, having been appointed *beglerbegi* of Erzurum, he was sent by the Grand Vizier Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] to Nish to repair this important fortress, in view of the coming war with the Emperor. In Shaʿbān 1128/July-August 1716 he was appointed governor (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Belgrade, then the key-fortress in the campaign against the Emperor.

After the death of the Grand Vizier Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha on 16 Shaʿbān 1128/5 August 1716 in the battle of Peterwardein, where Prince Eugene of Savoy defeated the Ottomans, Khalīl Pasha acted as commander-in-chief. This was confirmed by Sulṭān Aḥmad III who appointed him Grand Vizier on 4 Ramaḍān 1128/22 August 1716. In this appointment must be seen the influence of the Sulṭān's favourite, Nevshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], who at this juncture of events preferred to remain in the background of the war, near the seat of power of the Sulṭān, in the position of *Ḳāʾimmaḳām*. The 1716 campaign ended in another disaster for the Ottomans with the loss of the frontier-fortress of Temeshvar, 4 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/21 October 1716, to the Emperor.

After the news of this event, the Grand Vizier Khalīl drew his army back into winter quarters and returned to Edirne. In this manner, a disastrous scattering of the Ottoman army was prevented. The beginning of 1717 saw the rise of the Sulṭān's favourite Ibrāhīm Pasha, who married the 13 year-old daughter of Aḥmad III Fāṭima Sulṭān, earlier widow of the Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pasha. Khalīl Pasha successfully opposed Ibrāhīm's policy of peace with the Emperor, refusing an offer of English mediation. The Grand Vizier insisted on the precondition of Temeshvar's being first evacuated by the Imperial forces. On 2 Radjab 1129/12 June 1717 the army marched from Edirne in the direction of Belgrade and towards the front. In the meantime, the imperial generalissimo Prince Eugene of Savoy had laid siege to the city and fortress of Belgrade. Khalīl Pasha was not able to relieve the city. But having decided, after long tergiversations, on a massive attack, he was utterly beaten by the fully-prepared imperial army, which in fact had attacked first at daybreak on 8 Ramaḍān 1129/16 August 1717. Khalīl Pasha managed to escape with his life, but all the Ottoman artillery, the whole camp equipment and all the archives were lost to the enemy, and the Ottoman losses in men were heavy. The full retreat of the Turkish army to Nish left the governor of Belgrade, Sarī Muṣṭafa Pasha, no other choice than to surrender with full military honours. With proposals for peace from Prince Eugene, this *Pasha* reached Sofia, where he found Aḥmad III and his court. Soon afterwards, on 18 Ramaḍān 1129/26 August 1717 at Nish, Khalīl Pasha was dismissed as Grand Vizier because of his signal military failure before Belgrade. After his fall, he went into hiding and thus saved his life. His hiding-place was discovered in 1133/1721 and he was pardoned by Aḥmad III. Then Khalīl became governor of Lesbos (Midilli) where he remained till 1140/1727. Afterwards he was appointed governor of Salonica and Sedd ül-Baḥr (the Dardanelles). Khalīl Pasha died in 1136/1733. He had the reputation of being a pious Muslim, but became infamous by his losing of Belgrade, *Dār ül-djihād*, to the unbelievers.

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KHALĪL PASHA ĶAYṢARIYYELI, Ottoman Grand Vizier and admiral, born probably *ca.* 1570, in the village of Zeytun (now Süleymanlı) in the province of Maraş on the way to Ķayseri, near Furnuz, at that time an Armenian village with a rich population (iron mines nearby, Andreasyan, 1964). It suffered heavily from destructions done by Djelālī rebels.

As a young boy, Khalīl was recruited by the *Devshirme* [*q.v.*], (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu*, i, 27, n. 4) and received the full education of the palace-school as an *ič oghlān*. His career may have been promoted by the fact that he had an elder brother who had successfully become Chief Falconer, *Beglerbegi*, Vizier and boon-companion of Murād III, Shahīd Meḥmed Pasha, who lost his life in the so-called "incident of the *Beglerbegi*" on 2 April 1589 (Danişmend, iii, 111 ff.), considered to be the earliest Janissary revolts involving the killing of a Vizier.

In 1606 he was appointed *čaķırdjı bashı* (Chief Hawker), one of the court positions whose holders were entitled to become *ṣandjaķbeyi*. Meanwhile, Khalīl had become a friend of the French Ambassador to the Porte, Baron de Salignac. The latter's equerry Bordier reported the frequent hunting parties in the forests east of Üsküdar together with his master, a keen sportsman himself. In *ca.* 4 Ramaḍān 1015/4 Jan. 1607, Khalīl became Agha of the Janissaries. That year's campaign was against the rebels in Asia Minor, commanded by the *serdār* Ķuyudju Murād Pasha. In the fighting against Kalenderoghlu and Djānbulāṭ ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] he distinguished himself (Gontaut-Biron, ii, 407-12). Also in 1608, Khalīl acquired fame under Murād Pasha in eastern Anatolia. From this time date his relations with Abāzā Meḥmed, a follower of ʿAlī Pasha Djānbulāṭ, whom he pardoned and adopted as a spiritual son. At the end of the second year of campaigning (1608), the Serdār Ķuyudju Murād Pasha returned in triumph to the Ottoman capital, and Khalīl returned with his commander and protector.

In 1018/16 Feb. 1609 the *Ķapudān Pasha* Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad [*q.v.*] was deposed and Khalīl was appointed his successor. The admiralty had long since become a perquisite of the Sulṭān's court, but although lacking any naval experience, Khalīl became successful at sea as well. His first task was to ferry over the army of the Grand Vizier Murād Pasha to Asia for another campaign against the rebels. This and other services delayed the sailing of the Ottoman fleet till July 1609. Khalīl chased corsairs in the Levant seas, but his fame was established by the defeat of a Maltese squadron off Cyprus and the capture of the "Red Galleon" of 80 guns called "Ķara Djahannam" by the Turks, commanded by the Chevalier de Fraissinet.

On his return to Istanbul, Khalīl was given by Aḥmad I the rank of Vizier (1018/25 Nov. 1609). On 16 July 1610, Khalīl set out to sea again to chase corsairs, but did not fight any major battle. In this same year, he began to work towards the formation of an offensive alliance between the Dutch Republic, Morocco and the Porte against Spain. His first letter to the States-General in the Hague was sent off on 15 July 1610. Venetian and French opposition to this policy did Khalīl no harm in entertaining good relations with both respective ambassadors.

From 1020/late 1611 till 1022/1613 Khalīl was deprived of the admiralship, and the court favourite Dāmād Öküz Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] took his place. Being out of office did not weaken Khalīl's position in promoting the Dutch alliance. Meanwhile, a Dutch envoy, Cornelis Haga (1612-39), had arrived in Istanbul on 17 March 1612. With Khalīl's help, the Dutchman was soon received by the *Ķāʾim-maķām* and other persons in authority at the Porte. Venetian and French intrigues were also rendered vain by his help, so that the Dutch envoy was given an audience by Aḥmad I on 1 May 1612 and recognised as ambassador of the States-General. Khalīl Pasha remained all along a supporter of Dutch interests at the Porte, but the States-General never entered upon a military alliance with the Porte because of their pacific policy towards Spain at that time (1609-21, Hispano-Dutch truce), and because of general political opinion in Europe being unfavourably disposed towards it.

On 8 Shawwāl 1022/22 Nov. 1613, Khalīl became *Ķapudān Pasha* for a second time. At once he started the re-equipment of ships in the Sulṭān's dockyard. The Turco-Dutch-Moroccan alliance project was taken up again with the letters to Maulāy Zaydān of Morocco (1012-39/1603-28) and to the States-General. The following year he went to sea and made a raid on Malta and continued to Tripoli (Ṭarabulūs-i Gharb) on a punitive expedition against a local insurgent, Ṣafar Ḍāʾyī, whom he executed. On the return journey, rebellious Greeks in the Maina district (southern Peloponese) were suppressed in co-operation with the local Ottoman Governor, Arslān Pasha. Khalīl was back in Istanbul at the end of November 1023/1614 to be duly honoured by the Sultan. He continued the overhaul and enlargement of the fleet during the winter of 1614-15. A part of the fleet remained in the Archipelago on police duty against Christian corsairs, but no meeting took place with Spanish squadrons or other enemy war-fleets.

On 17 Rabīʿ II 1024/17 April 1615, Khalīl left with a small fleet for the Mediterranean. Off Calabria, a Spanish galleon from Sicily was taken but no great offensive was feasible. At the end of the season, murmurs in Istanbul rose accusing him of having avoided confrontation with the enemy fleet. After his return on 26 Shawwāl 1024/6 November 1615, Khalīl counteracted Habsburg intrigues of the Ottoman plenipotentiary in Vienna, Gratiani (d. 1620), against the Dutch, Venetian and French interests at the Porte. In 1616 Khalīl once again started on the project of equipping a large fleet with the special support of Aḥmad I. A Moroccan embassy to the Porte from Maulāy Zaydān was sent back with letters addressed

to the States-General to foster the alliance scheme cherished by Khalīl. These negotiations failed, however, because of private intrigues of the merchant family of Palache established in Morocco and Holland at the time. Khalīl tried to reaffirm the Porte's authority in Algiers and Tunis and to curtail the predatory raids of the Muslim corsairs of those places against English and Dutch merchant-shipping in the Mediterranean. Cossack naval raids on Black Sea coastal towns forced Khalīl to send a squadron into the Black Sea. He himself went on a short campaign through the Archipelago in this season. Contraband trade here had increased widely, especially that carried by Dutch merchantmen. Upon advice given by the *Dīwān*, Khalīl Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier by Aḥmad I on 8 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1025/17 Nov. 1616.

As Grand Vizier, Khalīl made an end to the levying of *kharādj* on subjects of the four capitulatory nations in the Ottoman Empire, thus ameliorating relations. Further, he ordered the equipping of the fleet against the menace of the Spanish navy. An agreement between a delegation from Algiers and the Dutch Ambassador was made under authority of the Grand Vizier. His main task was, however, to continue the war against Persia in a more successful manner. On 10 Djumādā 'l-awwal 1026/15 June 1617, as *serdār-i ekrem*, he left for the Turco-Persian border. Consequently Khalīl played no role in the succession to Aḥmad I, who died on 23 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1026/22 Nov. 1617, which brought Muṣṭafā I [*q.v.*] on the throne. This Sulṭān was deposed soon afterwards, and Aḥmad I's son ʿOthmān II was installed on 1 Rabīʿ I 1027/26 Feb. 1618. Khalīl was consulted about this matter by letter. Khalīl, having wintered in Diyār Bakr, opened the campaign against Persia in May 1618, after the Turkish plenipotentiary sent by him to Shah ʿAbbās had returned without concluding a truce. On 20 Ramaḍān 1027/10 Sept. 1618, the Ottoman army was defeated by the Persians near Ardabīl. On 6 Shawwāl 1027/26 Sept. 1618, the Grand Vizier concluded peace with Persia on the same terms as the earlier treaties, with the exception of the Persian tribute of silk being reduced to 100 *yük*. This peace treaty of Serāw was ratified by ʿOthmān II on 29 Sept. 1619 and held firm till 1624. Khalīl withdrew to winter quarters at Tokat and the army stayed in Erzurum. The Ottoman position had thus been consolidated in the East. On his return to Istanbul, Khalīl received the news of his dismissal (1 Ṣafar 1028/18 Jan. 1619). He refused the appointment of *beglerbegi* of Damascus and sought refuge in the *tekke* of his spiritual director, the *Shaykh* Maḥmūd Hüdāʾī [*q.v.*] in Üsküdar. However, he kept the rank of vizier and member of the *Dīwān*, probably due to the fact that the Sulṭān could not do without such a popular and capable vizier; this, at least, was the opinion of the Dutch Ambassador, Haga (letter of 17 Jan. 1619/recd. 25 March 1619).

When on 16 Muḥarram 1029/23 Dec. 1619 the then *Ḳapudān Pasha* became Grand Vizier, Khalīl was appointed (for the third time) as admiral in his place. His position was weak, since he served under the former admiral of the fleet, but he continued his anti-Spanish policy, advising ʿOthmān II to invade the territory of the King of Spain, rather than attack Venice, which still possessed a formidable navy. Moroccan support, too, would be available against the Spaniards. However, the Grand Vizier preferred the war in Hungary against the Emperor. War against Poland was advocated by neither of the two statesmen (Sagredo, 604 ff.), but was desired by ʿOthmān. In support of the Sulṭān's army, Khalīl was ordered with 43 galleys to the mouth of the Danube. His fleet suffered heavily during that winter. Spanish moves for a Turco-Spanish armistice were blocked by Khalīl later in spring. On Shaʿbān 6 1030/27 June 1620 he left for the Archipelago. Spanish hostilities provoked him to make a raid on Manfredonia (Shaʿbān 1030/ July 1620), and he remained cruising till October. The next year Khalīl went back to the Black Sea in support of the campaign of ʿOthmān II. He had to keep off the Cossacks with a squadron of 40 galleys, returning in November 1621 to harbour.

In the spring of 1622, ʿOthmān II ordered his admiral to set out for the Archipelago, but in May the great revolt burst out [see ʿOTHMĀN II]. During the terror of the revolt, Khalīl remained aboard ship, lying off Seraglio Point. He refused to become Grand Vizier (9 Radjab 1031/20 May 1622), and stuck to this resolution of staying out of the troubles in Istanbul. In June he left with the fleet on its yearly cruise of 1622. In the beginning of 1623 he was still admiral, and supported the policy of peace with Poland. But the new Grand Vizier, Mere Ḥusayn, dismissed him as a rival to power and banished Khalīl to Malkara (Thrace) in April 1623 (thus Haga's letter dated 30 April 1623/recd. 27 June 1623; and Césy's of 14 April 1623, FF 16151 fol. 56; also Sagredo, 633 f.).

It was at this time that Khalīl's fate became linked with that of Abāẓā Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], who, leading the *sipāhī*s, had revolted in Erzurum to avenge the murder of ʿOthmān II and to punish the rival corps of Janissaries for it. Abāẓā was a protégé, a spiritual son (as he was called by the Dutch ambassador Haga) of Khalīl. It was now either the hatred and fear of the Janissaries which kept him out of office, or the support of the *sipāhī*s which pushed him towards it, in the years following 1623. His influence on Abāẓā was much counted upon. Some time after his accession in 1623, Murād IV, or rather the Wālide Sulṭān Kösem [*q.v.*], reappointed Khalīl as a vizier (Sagredo, 638 f., calling him "la miglior testa della Turchia"). Khalīl remained for a long time out of higher office now, opposition to his becoming Grand Vizier being too strong.

On 2 Dec. 1626, Murād IV at last appointed Khalīl to be Grand Vizier once more. His orders were to bring Abāẓā Meḥmed Pasha into submission, the latter being still in revolt in Anatolia. Furthermore, Khalīl had to put an end to the war against Persia by a treaty. It was a hard journey to the winter quarters of the army. In August 1627, Khalīl opened negotiations with Abāẓā at Erzurum, but to no avail; furthermore he could not be subdued, being strongly entrenched in the fortress. Akhiskha [*q.v.*] was lost to the Persians, and the siege of Erzurum was given up by Khalīl in November because of the lack of siege artillery. He thus moved to Tokat for the winter, and the only result of his campaign was the restoring of order in Anatolia and Syria.

The failure on the Persian front, and the failure to negotiate with or force the submission of Abāẓā Meḥmed Pasha, caused Khalīl's dismissal on 1 Shaʿbān 1037/6 April 1628. Only then was it possible to find a *pasha* ambitious enough to take over. This was Khusraw Pasha, the Agha of the Janissaries, who was able to make Abāẓā surrender later in the same year. At the end of May 1628, Khalīl returned to Istanbul retaining his rank of vizier, with his prestige still great. In the next year on 7 August 1629/15 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1038, Khalīl Pasha died.

In private life, Khalīl Pasha had links with various

mystical orders or groups, the Malāmī-Ḥamzawiyya, the Sha'bāniyya, the Khalwatīyya, and especially with the Djilwatīyya order and its *shaykh* Maḥmūd Hüdā'ī from Üsküdar (950-1038/1543-1628), a famous and influential mystic of the period and a religious poet. This holy man was his lifelong spiritual guide, and in the crisis periods of his existence gave him refuge in his *tekke* in Üsküdar, notably in 1028/1619, in 1032/1623 and in 1038/1628. Often Hüdā'ī gave his blessings to the outgoing Ottoman fleet under Khalīl. Curiously, the *shaykh* strongly disapproved of Khalīl's last appointment in 1626. This same mystical bond must have attached him to Abāzā Meḥmed.

Even Christians like the Dutch ambassador Haga were admitted into Khalīl's spiritual friendship with Hüda'ī. It was rare for an Ottoman of the early 17th century to entertain friendships with foreigners and Christians. Undoubtedly Khalīl used these friendships with diplomats like Salignac, Haga, Césy, the Venetian *baili* Nani and Valier, as sources of political information. These and other contacts like the dragomen in his service, the renegadoes of his household, and his Jewish physician, helped him to play the role in foreign policy of the Porte that he did.

On the whole, historians, Turkish and non-Turkish, have praised Khalīl Pasha as a wise and moderate statesman and a good admiral. His constant anti-Spanish policy brought him the favour of the Venetian, Dutch and French historians and contemporaries, as did his loyal fulfilling of the capitulatory obligations of the Porte. Great successes did not come to him, however, either in diplomacy or on the battlefield. His *türbe* still stands near the *tekke* and mausoleum of Hüdā'ī in Üsküdar.

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KHALĪL PASHA KUT. [see ENWER PASHA].

KHALĪL SULṬĀN [see TĪMŪRIDS].

KHALĪLĪ (*ca.* 810-90/*ca.* 1407-85), Ottoman Turkish poet and mystic. Apparently a native of Diyārbakr, where he studied theology, he then moved to Iznik for further study, where he remained for the rest of his life, apart from one year in Istanbul (870/1465-6). He established a dervish convent or *khānaḳāh* in Iznik, becoming its *shaykh*, and died in this office.

At one point in his life, he formed a passionate attachment to a youth, causing him to abandon his studies and to pour out his longing in a long poem, the *Firḳat-nāma* or *Firāḳ-nāma* ("Book of separation"). This was completed in 866/1461-2, and was written in both epic and lyric metres, an alternation of *mathnawī* and *ghazal*. As with much Ṣūfi literature, the poem is capable of interpretation on two levels, that of earthly, homosexual passion, and that of divine love, the latter interpretation being that preferred by the Ottoman anthologists and biographers. The poet seems in the *Firḳat-nāma* to be under the influence of Nesīmī, and Khalīlī seems in general to have had an influence in turn on, e.g. Ḥabībī and Fuḍūlī. He also wrote a *Dīwān* of poetry, not apparently extant complete, though various of his *ghazal*s, *na't*s and *tardjī'*s are quoted in the later *tadhākir al-shu'arā'* or literary biography literature, such as, according to Bursalī Ṭāhir, Ḥādjdjī Kemāl's *Djāmi' al-naẓā'ir* (918/1512). Khalīlī thus forms an interesting and significant figure in 9th/15th century Ottoman literature.

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KHĀLIṢA (pl. KHĀLIṢADJĀT) as a term signifying crown lands comes into general use in Persian sources in the middle ages. It is also applied to lesser rivers, *ḳanāt*s [*q.v.*] and wells belonging to the crown. In early Islamic times the term *ṣawāfī* [*q.v.*] is used to denote crown lands in general, while the terms *ḍiyā' al-khāṣṣa*, *ḍiyā' al-sulṭān* and *ḍiyā' al-khulafā'* are applied to the private estates of the caliph. Under the early semi-independent dynasties which arose in Persia on the fragmentation of the caliphate, the terms *khāṣṣ* and *khāṣṣa* are used of the personal possessions of the ruler with special reference to the revenues paid into his personal treasury from land and other sources. The funds controlled by the *dargāh* were known as *māl-i khāṣṣa* in contradistinction to *māl-i maṣāliḥ*, which were the funds controlled by the *dīwān* (cf. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Muhammad Iqbal, *GMS*, London, Leiden 1921, 382). From the reign of the Īlkhān Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304), the term *khāliṣa* is used as well as *khāṣṣ* and *khāṣṣa*, with which it may sometimes have been synonymous, though it appears to have been applied especially to crown property consisting of dead lands. Under the early Ṣafawids the terms *khāliṣa* and *khāṣṣa* are used apparently indiscriminately, but from the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (995-1038/1587-1629) *khāliṣa* is applied to royal

estates while *khāṣṣa* is used of provinces and districts under the direct administration of the central government in contradistinction to provinces (*mamālik*) alienated from its direct control. With the fall of the Ṣafawids the distinction between *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik* disappears and under the Ḳādjārs the terms *khāliṣa* (pl. *khāliṣadjāt*) and *amlāk-i khāliṣa* are used to signify crown lands. The term *amlāk-i salṭanatī* is also used in contradistinction to *amlāk-i khāṣṣa* (private estates).

Throughout Islamic times crown lands, originating from conquest, confiscation from rebels and tax defaulters, gift, purchase and reclamation, formed an important category of land in Persia. The basic theory of crown lands goes back to the Ḳurʾānic prescription that one fifth of the booty (*fayʾ*, [*q.v.*]) was to be set aside for the Prophet Muḥammad while the remainder was to be divided among the combatants. Under the orthodox or rightly guided caliphs, the Rāshidūn, there was general agreement that the caliph might retain in the same way one fifth of the booty, and so far as this concerned land it became crown land, *ṣawāfī*. Special *dīwāns* were from time to time established to administer crown lands and their revenues, but in practice if often happened that little distinction was made between the revenue from the private estates of the caliph, and later of the temporal rulers, on the one hand and the revenue from land which belonged to the community or the state on the other.

With the spread of the Islamic conquests, modifications were made in the theory of what constituted *fayʾ* and its use. ʿUmar I and ʿAlī are both represented as resisting the division of *fayʾ* land in the Sawād (Ṭab., i, 2371-2, 2469), while the people of Kūfa sought to exclude their lands from *fayʾ*, alleging that *fayʾ* land was to be found only in the Sawād (Ṭab., i, 2375). Drained marshes and swamps, property belonging to fire-temples and post-houses, princes and their wives, and to those who fell in battle, and mills in Mesopotamia were exempted from *fayʾ* by most authorities. Such lands became *ṣawāfī al-istān* or crown land. Some authorities, however, maintained that the estates belonging to the former Persian royal house and the property of those who had fallen in battle were not so exempted (Ṭab., i, 2468; *Taxation in Islam*, iii, *Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. A. Ben Shemesh, Leiden, London 1969, 75; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 272-3; *Taxation in Islam*, i, *Yaḥyā b. Ādam's Kitāb al-kharāj*, Leiden 1967, 53-4; N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, New York-London 1916, 508; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 50, 224; M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier*, Geneva, 1886, 41-2). It is not to be assumed, however, that all former Sasanian crown land in fact became Muslim crown land. Some estates, at the time of the conquests, were usurped by local *dahāḳīn* (Løkkegaard, 111). In the reign of Muʿāwiya there was an increase in crown land (cf. M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History, A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 89). Grants of crown land in Lower ʿIrāḳ were made by him in the form of *ḳaṭīʿā* [*q.v.*] to his relatives and supporters. Resentment at this was one of the factors in the revolt of Ibn Ashʿath against Ḥadjdjādj in 82/701. At the time of the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim the register of *ṣawāfī* lands was burnt and some crown land was temporarily usurped. ʿAbd al-Malik and his son Walīd I further extended the principle of *ṣawāfī* in order to appropriate lands reclaimed from desert, marshes or sea, and granted much of it to members of their own family, though some of these grants were later annulled by ʿUmar II (Shaban, *op. cit.*, 124, 132). In the reign of Walīd I more land was reclaimed from the swamps of Lower ʿIrāḳ by Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and became his *ḳaṭīʿa* and the owners of many of the estates (*ḍiyāʿ*) along the two Sīb canals entrusted these to him for his protection. These eventually became the estates of the caliph when the heirs of Dāwūd b. ʿAlī b.ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, to whom the Sībayn estates were granted after the fall of the Umayyads, sold them (Balādhurī, 294). Reclaimed and other public lands and endowments in the Ḥidjāz were also assimilated in the reign of Muʿāwiya to *ṣawāfī* land (W. Schmucker, *Untersuchungen zu einigen wichtigen bodenrechtlichen Konsequenzen der Islamischen Eroberungsbewegung*, Bonn 1972, 142).

The measures taken to deal with the conquered territories were often of an *ad hoc* nature. There were wide divergences in practice, and many controversies arose concerning their extent and their administration and the right of the caliph to dispose of them. The main question at issue was whether they were the joint possession of the Muslim community, held by it in common and administered by the consent of its leaders, or were held by the *imām* for the community and were at his disposal (see further Schmucker, *op. cit.*). The jurists in their expositions were concerned primarily with the practical consequences of the ownership of land rather than its legal status. They attempted to regularise and unify the various practices which had grown up during the conquests, basing their classification of the land upon their varying interpretations of separate incidents in the conquests, in particular the conquest of the Ṣawād. Extensive Sasanian crown lands had existed in this district, and under the later Sasanian rulers grants from these had been made to members of the royal family. Registers of Sasanian crown lands were apparently kept, though it was not until the reign of Muʿāwiya that lists of the crown lands which had been in the possession of the Sasanian ruler and the royal family are alleged to have been obtained for Muʿāwiya from Ḥulwān (Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1883, ii, 2581; Balādhurī, 290, 295).

Social and political conditions in Khurāsān and Transoxania at the time of the conquest differed from ʿIrāḳ and the neighbourhood, as also did the circumstances of the conquest, and did not affect the evolution of the theory of crown lands. There was no development of crown lands there comparable to what happened in ʿIrāḳ and the neighbourhood.

There appears to have been a great increase in crown lands under the ʿAbbāsids (P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter, nach den arabischen Geographen*, Leipzig, 1929-36, vii, 876). In some cases, the owners of land in the conquered territories transferred their property into crown lands, sharing the proceeds with the caliph in order to obtain protection from lawless elements or unjust tax-collectors (cf. Balādhurī, 310-11; Løkkegaard, 68-70; Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḳummī, *Tārīkh-i Ḳumm*, tr. into Persian by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik, ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Tehrānī, Tehran 1934, 187). The revenues from crown lands were paid into the *bayt māl al-khaṣṣa*, a distinction being made, in general, between what belonged to the caliph and the state revenue. It was, however, by no means without precedent for money from the *bayt māl al-khāṣṣa* to be used to defray expenses made for the benefit of the whole realm (Løkkegaard, 51-2, 157. Cf. also D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1960, on the *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ*, ii, 591-2).

The classification of the land by the jurists was affected both by the concepts of communal ownership [see ḤIMĀʾ] prevalent among the early Muslims and the theories of the functions and position of the *imām*. Land conquered by force (*ʿanwatan*) and abandoned by its inhabitants, who had been killed, captured or had fled, was, according to al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, treated as booty and divided among the conquerors, unless the latter renounced it, in which case it was immobilised for the public good. Mālik on the other hand considered that such land belonged to the community, while Abū Ḥanīfa held that the *imām* could divide it among the captors, who would pay *ʿus̲h̲r* on the land so divided, return it to its original owners and levy *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* on them, or immobilise it for the benefit of the Muslim community. Since land conquered by force constituted booty, the caliph had the right to one fifth of it as *ṣawāfī*. Land acquired peacefully because its owners had abandoned it formed a second category. This paid *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*, which represented a *dominium* paid by whoever exploited it, while a third category was constituted by land coming into Muslim ownership by virtue of a treaty, such land remaining in the possession of its original owners on condition they paid *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*.

Crown land, deriving in part from lands conquered by force and in part from the former crown lands of the Persian kings, was thus distinguished from both land belonging to the community and administered by the *imām* and land occupied by its original owners, the ownership of which was vested in the Muslim community. Land belonging to the community could not be sold, though in some cases, possibly irregularly, hereditary grants on such land were made to Muslims. *Ḳaṭīʿa* grants, on the other hand, could be made from crown land, which, from early times, was also granted to individuals as *iḳṭāʿ al-tamlīk* (see further Løkkegaard, 58 ff., and IḲṬĀʿ). In practice, there was a general tendency for the land belonging to the community to become assimilated to crown land and for both to be looked upon as the property of the *imām* (cf. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1927, 171-2). Cases of the usurpation of both were common. (See further A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 17 ff.)

The S̲h̲īʿī theory of crown land, formulated rather later than the Sunnī, differs only in matters of detail. Land acquired in any way other than war, whether abandoned by its owners or voluntarily handed over to the *imām*, or land which had ceased to be cultivated by its owners, belonged to the *imām*. He could dispose of it to individuals to cultivate, the latter becoming responsible for the tax on the land. Land which was untenanted and without owners, such as beaches and shores of the sea, and the summits of mountains, also belonged to the *imām*. Similarly, after the conquest of enemy territory all the effects, moveable and immoveable, of the conquered ruler, provided such property had not been seized formerly from a Muslim, ally or tributary, became the property of the *imām* (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūṣī, *al-Nihāya fī mud̲j̲arrad al-fiḳh wa'l-fatāwā*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Sabzawārī, Tehran 1954, 130-1, 133-4; Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Abu'l Ḳāsim D̲j̲aʿfar b. ʿAlī Yaḥya al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Awwal, *S̲h̲arāʾiʿ al-Islām fī masāʾil al-ḥilāl wa'l ḥarām* (*Droit musulman*), tr. A. Querry, Paris 1871-2, i, 179-80, tr. into Persian with the title *Muk̲h̲taṣar al-nāfiʿ*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānis̲h̲paz̲h̲ūh, Tehran 1964, 145). There was, however, some difference of opinions as to the disposal of the "fifth" of the booty during the concealment of the *imām* (*al-Nihāya*, 133-4). Dead land or abandoned land belonged to the *imām* and no one could take possession of it except with his permission. He could take possession of it himself, give it away or sell it, though in the case of dead land it was preferable that he should give it to whoever had reclaimed it; he could also buy such land (*al-Nihāya*, 131). All land conquered by force became the property of the Muslim community as a whole and not only of the combatants. It could not be sold, constituted into *waḳf* or given away. Its administration belonged to the *imām* alone. Its proceeds were to be used for the public good (*maṣāliḥ*) (*al-Nihāya*, 130-1; *S̲h̲arāʾiʿ*, i, 337; *Muk̲h̲taṣar al-nāfiʿ*, 144-5).

In view of the special position of the law in the life of the Muslim community, no independent theory concerning the legal status of the land or its ultimate ownership was to be expected. The formulation of the jurists, whether Sunnī or S̲h̲īʿī, based on their interpretation of the conquests, remained the standard theory, though practice diverged even more widely from theory than in early Islamic times. Just as confusion had existed in early times between *ṣawāfī* and *fayʾ* land, and lack of clarity as to what constituted ownership, to what extent the ruler enjoyed rights of disposal, and to whom and on what terms rights of use might be given, so in later times there was often confusion between the land held by the ruler as the head of the state (*dīwānī* land) and crown land, though the nature of his ownership of the one clearly differed from that of the other. The conception of the community as the owner of the land disappeared and was, as it were, swallowed up in the conception of the ruler as the owner of *dīwānī* land. But whereas under Islamic law the ownership of land held by the community could not be disposed of, the ruler was able to make permanent, temporary and life grants on *dīwānī* land. It may, perhaps, have been argued that such grants were merely of a right of use, but *dīwānī* land was also sometimes constituted into *waḳf*, which implies full rights of disposal. Crown land, as in the case of the earlier *ṣawāfī*, was not all of the same kind: some was acquired by the ruler in his "official" capacity, such as that which had belonged to former rulers, and some by purchase or gift. The latter constituted his "personal" estates. In either case, however, he appears to have enjoyed full rights of disposal over the land. So far as the ruler's "personal" estates were transmitted by inheritance or gift to minor members of his family and not to the suceeding sultan, they became ordinary private property (*milk*). Permanent, temporary and life grants were at all times made from crown land, as from *dīwānī* land, and crown estates were also frequently constituted into a charitable or personal *waḳf*. The fact that crown land could be thus disposed of makes it extremely difficult to estimate its extent at any given moment. Moreover, the registers in which crown land was entered were often destroyed in the upheavals and disturbances which accompanied the transfer of power from one dynasty to another.

When the caliphate fragmented in the 3rd and 4th centuries, the local rulers also acquired by conquest, confiscation, purchase, or gift lands which they converted into crown lands. A similar process took place in the various empires and kingdoms which arose in Persia after the fall of the caliphate. During the reassertion of the temporal power of the caliphate by al-Nāṣir billāh (575-622/1180-1225), his wazir, Mu'ayyid al-Dīn (d. 592/1195-6), appears to have attempted to assert the caliph's ownership to all land. He called in title-deeds (*ḳabālahā*) in K̲h̲ūzistān and

said "The land belongs to the Commander of the Faithful" (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 381-2, Bartold, *Turkestan*, 348).

According to Gardīzī, ʿAmr b. Layth, the Ṣaffārid (265-87/878-900), had four treasuries. One was for his weapons and the other three for funds obtained from various sources and expended on different purposes. One of these was for the monies (*māl-i khāṣṣ*) deriving from grain and estates (*ḍiyāʿ*), which were expended on his personal expenses (*nafaḳāt wa maṭbakh wa mānand-i ān*) (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, 15; Bartold, *Turkestan*, 221). One of the nine government offices of the Sāmānids mentioned by Narshakhī in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* is the *dīwān-i mamlika-i khāṣṣ*, which was presumably concerned either with the ruler's personal estates or with lands whose revenue was paid directly to him (transl. into Persian by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Ḳubāvī, adapted by Muḥammad b. Zufar b. ʿUmar, ed. Mudarris Riḍavī, Tehran 1938-9, 31). Narshakhī also mentions the purchase of estates by Ismāʿīl Sāmānī (*ibid.*, 33-5), and an occasion when crown lands (*ḍiyāʿ-i sulṭān*) were exempted from *kharādj* after a flood (*ibid.*, 40). The Ghaznavids also had extensive royal estates (*ḍiyāʿ-i ghaznī-i khāṣṣ*). These were under a special official, who appears to have held an important position (cf. Abu'l Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad 1971, 156). In the western provinces under the Būyids, particularly during the reign of Muʿizz al-Dawla, (320-56/932-67), there was apparently considerable confusion and disorder in the field of land tenure. Former crown land, consisting of the estates held by the caliph, together with most of the Sawād, was assigned to his officers, household and military followers (Ibn Miskawaih, in *The eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, ed. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford 1921, ii, 96; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 342). Expropriation was widespread, but it is not clear whether expropriated estates became crown land or state land, though in all probability no clear distinction was made between the two. The *dīwān al-khāṣṣa* in Baghdād is mentioned by Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ in 392/1002 (H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969, 314-15). In Fārs, according to Ibn Zarkūb, most of the land became *dīwānī* land (*Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Ismāʿīl Wāʿiẓ Djavādī, Tehran 1971-2, 45). ʿAḍud al-Dawla (who ruled in Fārs from 338/949 and over ʿIrāḳ also from 367/977 to 372/982) probably owned many personal estates, some of which he made into *waḳf* for the ʿAḍudī hospital in Shīrāz (*ibid.*, 51).

The Saldjūḳ period was dominated in the field of land tenure and land administration by the spread of the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] or land assignment (see further *Landlord and Peasant*, 60 ff.). The territories which fell to the Saldjūḳs were either assigned by the sultan as *iḳṭāʿ*s to his family and followers or were administered directly by the state. Niẓām al-Mulk appears to have regarded the sultan as the sole owner of the soil (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1891-3, Persian text, 28; *Landlord and Peasant*, 61), but crown land, as such, appears to have had small importance. There is little evidence to show that former crown land, so far as it existed, became Saldjūḳ crown land, though isolated crown properties may have survived. For example, the estates of Īghārayn, which ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā had resumed many years earlier (Løkkegaard, 62), apparently became the private estates of the Saldjūḳ sultans (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1866-73, i, 420), while Ibn Balkhī mentions that the Rāhibān *ḳārīz* (near Kāzirūn) belonged to the ruler (*īn ḳārīz bi ḥukm-i dīwān-i pādishāh bāshad*) (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, *GMS*, Leiden 1921, 145-6). Alp Arslān appears to have held a number of private estates, some of which had been newly created (Niẓām al-Mulk, *Naṣāʾiḥ-nāma*, ms. in my possession, f. 30b). Mention is also made of estates held by the sultan (*khāṣṣ al-sulṭān*) in Kūfa in the reign of Ṭughril Beg (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 8), which may, however, have been the private estates of the caliphs surviving from earlier times. There are also references to property belonging to the *dīwān-i khāṣṣ* of Sandjar in Basṭām, Marv and Ray (*ʿAṭabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1950, 56, 67, 72), to peasants on his estates (*barzigarān-i asbāb-i khāṣṣ*) in Marv (*ibid.*, 67) and to the *dīwān-i ʿamal va asbāb-i khāṣṣ* in Ray (*ibid.*, 73).

The rulers of the Saldjūḳ succession states also acquired, like others before them, crown land. Part of Fārs, for example, was held by the Atabegs (543-686/1148-1287), as their personal estates (*amlāk*) (*Shīrāz-nāma*, 94).

The Mongol invasion, in contradistinction to the Saldjūḳ, brought about a large increase in crown lands. Much land, both at the time of the conquest and later, became dead or unclaimed land and this became crown land. Many estates also were confiscated to the crown, though Ḥāfiẓ Abrū states that when Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh was executed in 718/1318-19 his estates were taken by the *dīwān* (*Dhayl-i djāmiʿ-i tawārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Khānbābā Bayānī, Tehran 1971-2, 129). The terms *dālāy* (*dala*) and *īndjū* (originally applied to the subjects of the Great Khan and those whom he had granted to his relatives and others respectively) were at first applied to land which belonged immediately to the ruler and to land granted as apanages to his relatives (cf. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, i, 325). The term *dālāy* rapidly went out of use, but the term *īndjū* continued to be used throughout the Īlkhān period to designate land primarily, though not exclusively, granted to the ruler's family and supporters (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, *GMS*, Leiden 1940, 19-20). Gradually the concept of *īndjū* land became assimilated to existing concepts of crown land and came to signify land over which the ruler had full rights of disposal and which he granted on a hereditary title to his family and others. Whether the grantees then had full rights of disposal themselves is not clear. Much of Fārs became *īndjū*. When Aḥmad Tegudar reappointed Abish bint Saʿd over Fārs (*ca.* 682/1283-4), her wazir Niẓām al-Dīn urged Aḥmad to issue a *yirlīgh* declaring the former *khāliṣa* of the Atabegs, much of which had been resumed by the *dīwān*, to be *īndjū* and to share its proceeds with the Atabeg. A *yirlīgh* was duly issued and on this pretext Niẓām al-Dīn converted much land in Fārs into *īndjū*, although it had not, in fact, formerly been *khāliṣa* (Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, lith. 1852-3, 211; *Shīrāz-nāma*, 94). Among the estates confiscated by the Mongols were those of the Ṭabāṭabāʾī *sayyids*. Eventually some of these estates were re-granted to Sayyid Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad and the Ṭabāṭabāʾī *sayyids* of Fārs were thenceforward known as the Īndjū *sayyids* (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣirī*, lith., Tehran 1894, ii, 42). Rashīd al-Dīn states that Ghāzān Khān assigned *īndjū* lands to each horde to provide for its upkeep and that of the Mongol princesses. These lands were separated from the *dīwān* and given into the possession of the hordes. He made his own *īndjū* lands into *waḳf* for his sons by his chief wife. At the time of

the composition of the *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī* all *īndjū* lands were alleged to have been in the possession of the deputies (*nuwwāb*) of Ghāzān Khān's wives. Drafts were made on them when money was required for the army (*Tārīkh-mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 330-1). In 703/1303-4 when Ghāzān decided to give *iḳṭā*ʿs to the soldiery, these were granted on *īndjū*, *dālāy* and dead land (*ibid.*, 305; *Landlord and Peasant*, 89-90).

The Persian ministers of the Īlkhāns were, no doubt, largely responsible for the assimilation of the concept of *dālāy* and *īndjū* respectively to the concept of state land and crown land which existed in the conquered territories. Among them was Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, who discusses crown land in a brief essay on finance. He is clearly influenced in his exposition by the Islamic conception of *fay*ʾ. He states that one fifth of the booty taken from rebels and others belonged to the ruler and that land, water, quadrupeds, and wealth found in a conquered territory were to be reckoned as royal property. He also claims that "what comes from those who have passed away, and what comes to the king from his fathers" became the *khāṣṣa* of the king and similarly that what came from the kingdom of former kings was royal property. Approaching the problem from the point of view of finance rather than the legal status of the land, he makes the traditional distinction between the king's revenue from his private property (*az khāṣṣa-i ū*) and that destined for the needs of the kingdom (*māl-i maṣāliḥ-i pādishāhī*). The former came from the reclamation or improvement of places which had been in a ruined or bad condition (after the right of the owners had been redeemed) and landed estates (*milk-hā*) which had been bought and from various other sources (*Madjmūʿa-i rasāʾil*, Proc. of the University of Tehran, No. 308 (1956), 32. See also M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, in *BSOAS*, x/3 (1942), 51 ff.).

As in the case of the earlier *ṣawāfī* there appear to have been different categories of crown land. At the time of Ghāzān Khān, in addition to *īndjū* land and *amlāk-i khāṣṣa* (royal estates), mention is also made of *ḍiyāʿ-i ghāzānī* (the personal estates of Ghāzān Khān) (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1945, 224-5). Dead land also constituted a special category and was called *khāliṣa*. Its extent was very considerable, and Ghāzān Khān, in his efforts to revive agriculture and to restore prosperity, established a special *dīwān*, the *dīwān-i khāliṣa*, for the registration and classification of dead lands.

Reclamation, as in Islamic law, carried with it rights of ownership and sale (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 353-4, 356. Cf. also *ibid.*, 204, and *Landlord and Peasant*, 91). According to Waṣṣāf, in or about 698/1298-9, 20,000 *faddāns* of land, including 3,000 ploughlands (*djuft*) in Baghdād and the neighbourhood, and 3,000 in Shīrāz were transferred to the *dīwān-i khāliṣa*. The latter supplied seed, draught animals, and implements to those who undertook their cultivation. In return so much per ploughland was to be paid annually to the *dīwān-i khāliṣa*. The contracts for cultivation were apparently for a limited period only and on the expiry of this period the seed, draught animals and implements, or a sum of money in lieu thereof, were to be returned to the *dīwān-i khāliṣa* (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 349). What success attended Ghāzān's efforts to reclaim *khāliṣa* and how long the *dīwān-i khāliṣa* existed as a special *dīwān* is not clear.

When the Īlkhān empire broke up into a number of succession states, their rulers also became possessed of crown land. For example, the Muẓaffarids had estates in Kirmān (Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 181). Ḥāfiẓ Abrū mentions the *amlāk-i khāṣṣa* of Amīr Maḥmūd Shāh Īndjū (*Dhayl-i djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 187) and Ibn Zarkūb makes an interesting statement to the effect that when Maḥmūd Shāh became independent in Fārs "*īndjū* and *dala* became one" (*Shīrāz-nāma*, 101). Between the decline of the Īlkhān empire and the rise of the Ṣafawids in the 16th century there does not appear to have been any major spread of crown lands such as occurred under the Īlkhāns, though further research may cause this statement to be modified.

Under the Ṣafawids the general distinction between *khāṣṣa* or crown land and *dīwānī* or state land, which was now know as *mamālik* (provinces), continued to exist, but was not so much a question of the ownership and the legal status of the land as of the control and expenditure of its revenue. All *dīwānī* (*mamālik*) land was, as Chardin pointed out (*Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, ed. L. Langlès, Paris 1811, v, 382), potentially *khāṣṣa*, since the shah could, whenever he wished, declare it so. In a sense, therefore, there was in theory no difference between his ultimate ownership of *dīwānī* (*mamālik*) land and *khāṣṣa* land. Under Shāh ʿAbbās (985-1038/1587-1629), if not earlier, it appears to have been assumed that all property was owned by the shah, and that only its usufruct, not its outright possession, could be granted (cf. *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, ii, 1032).

The separation between *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik* districts was not absolute, and it appears to have been possible for *dīwān* drafts to have been drawn on *khāṣṣa* land and for transfers to have been made between the *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik* treasuries. A decree given by Shāh ʿAbbās for the gift of land along the Zāyanda-Rūd of Iṣfahān to the Armenians of Djūlāh in 1028/1619 suggests that no very clear distinction was made at that time between crown land and state land. It states that the land to be given to the Armenians was "our royal property (*milk-i nuwwāb-i humāyūn-i mā*)", and instructs the *mustawfīs* of the *dīwān* to delete the land from what belonged to the *dīwān* (*milkiyyat-i dīwān*) (Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-i āthār-i tārīkh-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1966-7, 505-6).

Within the general category of crown land there was, as in earlier times, a confusion between land directly administered under the crown and the personal estates of the ruler. Prior to the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, the terms *khāṣṣa* and *khāliṣa* appear to have been applied indiscriminately to provinces and districts which were under the direct administration of the state in contradistinction to provinces which were alienated as *tuyūl* from its direct control. Broadly speaking, *khāṣṣa* appears to have been applied to large districts or provinces, whereas *khāliṣa* was more often applied to smaller districts reserved to the *khāṣṣa* administration within provinces which were granted as *tuyūl* (K. Rohrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 131). Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76) is alleged to have remitted the *kharādj* for eight years from districts which were *khāliṣa* (Ḥaydar b. ʿAlī Rāzī, *Tārīkh-i Ḥaydarī*, quoted by Rohrborn, 132). On the death of Ṭahmāsp, Iskandar Munshī states that Murshid Ḳulī Khān appropriated most of the *khāṣṣa* estates (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa*) which had belonged first to Ṭahmāsp, and then to Sulṭān Ḥamza Mīrzā and Abū Ṭālib Mīrzā (*Tārīkh-i ʿĀla-*

mārā-yi ʿAbbāsī, Tehran, 1951-2, 381). Other members of the Ṣafawid family also held private estates in different parts of the empire. Zaynab Begum, Ṭahmāsp's daughter, held estates (*amlāk wa raḳabāt*) in Yazd and the neighbourhood (Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1951-2, iii, 262, 701). Shāh ʿAbbās also possessed extensive personal estates and in 1015/1606-7 or 1016/1607-8 he constituted all of them (*djamīʿ-i amlāk wa raḳabāt-i muktasab-i khāṣṣa-i khʷud*) into *waḳf* for the twelve *imāms*, Muḥammad and Fāṭima (*ʿĀlamārā*, ii, 760-1).

The administration of *khāṣṣa* land was under wazirs appointed by the central government, each *khāṣṣa* district or province having its own wazir. In a farman dated 975/1567 entrusting the wazirate of Gīlān to the wazir of Khurāsān, the latter was instructed to make, with the knowledge and approval of the minor wazirs of Gīlān, payment orders on the taxes and monies (*māl u djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) of each district (*maḥall*) for the wages (*mawādjib*) allotted by royal decrees to the great *amīrs*. He was to take possession on behalf of the *khāṣṣa* administration, of whatever remained (B.M. Or. 4678, ii, 117b, quoted by Rohrborn, 108). In general, it seems that local administration and defence was the first charge on the revenue of the *khāṣṣa* districts. If the revenue of a given district was insufficient for these purposes, it was possible for an additional draft on *khāṣṣa* revenue from some other source to be made available to make good the deficit (cf. Rohrborn, 109).

From the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās onwards a distinction was made between *khāliṣa* and *khāṣṣa*. Muḥammad Mufīd, for example, mentions the *khāliṣadjāt* of the *khāṣṣa* administration (*Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, iii, 173). He also states that a certain Mawlānā Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ (d. 1063/1652-3) was entrusted by the shah with the annual distribution of 1,000 *tūmāns* in cash and kind from the *khāliṣa* to the deserving of Yazd (*ibid.*, iii, 308-9). Rohrborn considers that the distinction between *khāliṣa* and *khāṣṣa* became clearly drawn after Shāh ʿAbbās had decided to pay the standing army and the provincial militia by assignments made on *khāṣṣa* land (*ʿĀlamārā*, ii, 924; Rohrborn 110, 134. Cf. also Chardin, *Voyages*, v, 250-2, 279, 298-9, 303-4, 380-2). Rohrborn gives lists of the *khāṣṣa* provinces up to 995/1587, the year of Shāh ʿAbbās' accession, and after (177-8). In either case the outlying provinces tended to be *mamālik* and the central provinces *khāṣṣa*. In the second period the number of *khāṣṣa* provinces is greater. The most important and richest of them was Iṣfahān, which became the capital under Shāh ʿAbbās. Defence of the *khāṣṣa* provinces was the concern, not of the provincial governor or *tuyūldār*, as it was in the *mamālik*, but of the standing army and local militia (Rohrborn, 118-22). Under Shāh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42) Fārs became *khāṣṣa* but, contrary to Chardin's assertion (v, 279), he did not initiate the policy of resuming *mamālik* into *khāṣṣa*. This policy reached its height under Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-67), who, according to Chardin, resumed Ḳazvīn, Gīlān, Māzandarān, Yazd, Kirmān, Khurāsān and Ādharbāydjān (v, 251). The resumption of a province was, however, sometimes only temporary. After the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās II the tendency was for the *mamālik* to expand at the expense of the *khāṣṣa* and at the same time for the distinction between them to become, perhaps, less sharp.

Chardin states that various types of grant were made on *khāṣṣa* land. These were (i) grants in lieu of salary, such grants being sometimes attached in perpetuity to an office, (ii) grants to officers and servants of the royal household and for the pay of the standing army, and (iii) temporary and life grants, which were sometimes continued from father to son over several generations. What remained after the allocation of such grants was administered under the wazirs for the benefit of the *khāṣṣa* administration. So far as crown estates were not rented they were worked on a crop-sharing system, which probably differed little from that in operation in privately owned property. The main difference was that both the *māl* (the taxes) and the *minā1* (what remained after the payment of taxes) belonged to the crown. Kaempfer gives an account of the crop-sharing system prevailing in *khāṣṣa* land round Iṣfahān in or about 1684 (*Amoenitatum exoticarium politico-physico-medicarum*, fasc. v, Lemgo 1712, 91; *Landlord and Peasant*, 127). Du Mans, writing in 1660, states that most of the land was crown land, "*moulki chahy*", as opposed to privately owned (*arbabi*) land. He gives an unfavourable account of the administration of crown land, alleging, like Chardin, extortion by the wazirs and comptrollers (*Estat de la Perse en l'an 1660*, Paris 1890, 227, Chardin, v, 250-4, 276-7, 279). Sanson, on the other hand, alleges that the whole of Persia was the property of the shah, that all estates were held by his grace and that he could, when he wished, resume them (*Voyage ou relation de l'état présent du royaume de Perse*, Paris 1695, 96 ff.). This, however, would seem to be an exaggeration. It is possible that both Sanson and Chardin, whose evidence on the subject of land tenure is not wholly consistent (cf. Rohrborn, 113), in their interpretation of the legal status of the land, were influenced by their knowledge of western European feudal tenure.

Two administrative handbooks, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (ed. V. Minorsky, *GMS*, London and Leiden 1943) and the *Dastūr al-mulūk* (Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā*, in *Rev. de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines*, University of Tehran, xv/5-6 and xvi/1-6), belonging to the late Ṣafawid period and possibly going back to a common original, make a clear distinction between the *khāṣṣa* administration and the *mamālik* administration. The duties of the *mustawfī* of the *sarkār-i khāṣṣa* give an indication of some of the matters (in addition to those pertaining to the royal household) which came under the *khāṣṣa* administration. These were not confined to the administration of crown land. The main duty of the *mustawfī* was to keep the records and files of the taxes and monies (*māl u djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) from the *maḥāll* of Iṣfahān, Gīlānāt, Māzandarān, Kāshān, Bandar [? ʿAbbās], and Yazd, and certain monies (*wudjūhāt*) from other provinces (*sāʾir-i wilāyāt*), and monies from the *djizya* of the Armenians, the sale of tobacco, road tolls (*rāhdārī*), *ad hoc* levies on sheep and goats in Iṣfahān, customs at the ports (*wudjūh-i ʿushr wa khurūdj-i banādir*), the mints, *pīshkash* from *kalāntars* [*q.v.*], fees (*dushulluk wa pīshkashhā-yi muḳarrarī*), and other monies according to the assessments made by the *khāṣṣa* administration (? *sāʾir-i wudjūhāt-i djamʿī-i sarkār-i khāṣṣa*), and to clear the accounts of the taxpayers with that administration (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/3, 312). The *khāṣṣa* administration was not, however, wholly independent from the *mamālik* administration, since the *mustawfī al-mamālik* could, it seems, make drafts on *khāṣṣa* revenue (cf. *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 28a-b, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/3, 299). Further, the grand wazir exercised supervision over both administrations, and documents for the appointment of scribes to the royal secretariat and private house-

hold (*daftarkhāna-i humāyūn wa khāṣṣa*) and of workers in the royal workshops (*buyūtāt*) were issued by the grand wazir with the approval of the *mustawfī al-mamālik*, the *nāẓir-i buyūtāt*, and the *mustawfī-i khāṣṣa*. Applications for remissions of taxation from taxpayers in *khāṣṣa* districts also had to be sanctioned by the grand wazir (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, f. 10a).

One of the main tasks of the *khāṣṣa* administration was to administer the land round Iṣfahān, known as the *maḥāll*. This consisted of *khāliṣa*, *awḳāf*, and *intiḳālī* land. The first was under the wazir of the capital. His duty was to arrange for the cultivation of *khāliṣa* land either by concluding tenancies or crop-sharing agreements with the peasants, to ensure that no place lacked peasants or what was needed for its cultivation, to see to the repair of *ḳanāt*s, and buildings (shops, caravansarais, baths, etc.), to protect the peasants from oppression from whatever quarter, to investigate agricultural disputes, to collect the revenue and produce of the *khāliṣa* districts, and, after the deduction of his own salary and the expenses of the administration, to see that what remained was expended upon its proper purposes (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/3, 319-20; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 72a-74a; *Landlord and Peasant*, 119). The second, *awḳāf*, came under the wazir of the *fayḍ āthār* department, whose duty was to see that the land concerned was cultivated according to its capacity, to provide whatever was needed for its cultivation, to see that gardens, buildings, mills, and *ḳanāt*s were in good repair (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/3, 321; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 71a-72a; *Landlord and Peasant*, 121). The third, which came under the wazir of the *intiḳālī* department, possibly consisted of land newly transferred from the *dīwān* to the *khāṣṣa* administration (cf. *Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/5, 540). The duties of the wazir of the *sarkār-i intiḳālī* were similar to those of the wazir of the capital (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 82a-b; *Landlord and Peasant*, 120).

With the fall of the Ṣafawids, the distinction between *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik*, which had concerned the administration rather than the legal status of the land, disappeared. The sources use again, from time to time, the term *dīwānī* for land which belonged to the state as opposed to *khāliṣa*, crown land belonging to the ruler and deriving from earlier times, confiscation or purchase. The difference between them is not always clear, however, especially since confiscated land sometimes became *dīwānī* land and sometimes *khāliṣa*. The situation became further confused by later dynastic changes. New *khāliṣadjāt* were created, mainly by confiscation, while some old *khāliṣadjāt* were usurped. In 1151/1738-9 Nādir Shāh (1148-60/1236-47) issued orders for the resumption of the *awḳāf* of Fārs by the *dīwān-i khāliṣa* (*Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣirī*, i, 181, 183, cf. also ii, 46, 86), and in the last year of his reign promulgated a decree for the resumption of all *awḳāf*. Consequent upon this decree a considerable number of *awḳāf* were taken over and entered with *khāliṣa* estates in the land register subsequently known as the *raḳabāt-i nādirī* (Ḥasan Khān Shaykh Djābir-i Anṣārī, *Tārīkh-i niṣf-i djahān wa hama-i djahān*, lith. n.d., 36-8; *Landlord and Peasant*, 131-2). The decree was revoked by Nādir's successor, ʿĀdil Shāh. Some of the confiscated estates were returned to their former owners (*Tārīkh-i niṣf-i djahān*, 49), but Sir John Malcolm, writing at the beginning of the 19th century, states that the lands were never fully restored (*History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 313).

Under the Ḳādjārs, *khāliṣa*, deriving partly from earlier periods and partly from confiscation for arrears of taxation, rebellion or other reasons, and purchase, became an increasingly important category of land (cf. J. Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, 47). On various occasions the estates of a minister on his fall from power were confiscated, as happened in the case of two of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*s (cf. *Landlord and Peasant*, 147). The estates of Muḥammad Shāh's *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, were also confiscated on the death of his master, while those of Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Nūrī, Nāṣir al-Dīn's *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, were confiscated on his fall, but later returned (cf. Gīlānshāh, *Yak ṣad u pandjāh sāl-i salṭanat dar Īrān*, Tehran 1951-2, 21, 60). According to E. S. Waring, one eighth of Fārs and Persian ʿIrāḳ was probably in the hands of the shah (*A tour to Sheeraz by the route of Kazroon and Feerozabad*, London 1807, 85). Land taken by conquest also became *khāliṣa*. Zuhāb, so acquired from the Ottomans, thus became *khāliṣa*, and was farmed by the governor of Kirmānshāh, in whose government it lay, to the chief of the Gūrān (H. C. Rawlinson, *Notes on a march from Zohab, at the foot of the Zagros, along the mountains of Khuzistan (Susiana) and from thence through the province of Luristan to Kirmanshah, in the year 1836*, in *JRGS* (1839), 26). In due course, as the conception of state revenue as something distinct from the personal income of the shah became stronger, *khāliṣa* land ceased to be considered as his personal estates and came to be regarded as belonging to the state rather than to him. The same terms continued to be used, but gradually they acquired different and separate meanings. In 1865 there is a reference to the *khāliṣadjāt-i dīwānī* in the official gazette, *Rūznāma-i dawlat-i ʿaliyya-i Īrān*, (12 Ṣafar 1282/8 July 1865) and in 1861 to the *khāliṣa-i dawlatī* (2 Ramaḍān 1277/15 March 1861, in the same journal). E. Stack, writing in 1882, notes that there was "a constant tendency for arbabi land to become diwani, by resumption of religious grants, confiscation, and by escheat" (*Six months in Persia*, London 1882, ii, 248).

Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, the first of the Ḳādjar rulers, who rose to power on the death of Karīm Khān Zand in 1779, is alleged to have bought considerable areas of land in Māzandarān, Astarābād and elsewhere and to have made these into *khāliṣa* (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagī-i man*, Tehran 1945-6, i, 657). Under Fatḥ ʿAlī (1797-1834) there were new additions to *khāliṣa* property in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān, the estates of his *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, Amīn al-Dawla, being confiscated for arrears of taxation and becoming *khāliṣadjāt-i ḍabṭī*. In the case of an estate becoming *khāliṣa-i ḍabṭī*, a portion of the revenue might be allowed to the former owner or his relatives as a *mustamarrī* allowance. The estate remained annexed to the crown until its former owner (or his family) were restored to favour, when the estate might, according to the pleasure of the sovereign, be returned (*Landlord and Peasant*, 147). During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48) a number of estates were confiscated from rebels and made into *khāliṣa* (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, i, 657). There was also again an increase, albeit temporary, in *khāliṣa* land in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān. As a result of a series of famine years many villages had become ruined, and so, in order that prosperity might be restored, *dīwān* officials were instructed to provide the peasants with seed, and the names of the villages concerned were included in the lists of *khāliṣadjāt*. Although these lands were subsequently returned to their owners, they continued to be known as *khāliṣa*-

dj̲āt-i bad̲h̲rī (*Tārīk̲h̲-i niṣf-i dj̲ahān*, 49; *Landlord and Peasant*, 148).

K̲h̲āliṣa land, as at earlier periods, was either directly administered on a crop-sharing basis or let on a tenancy, which in effect amounted to a revenue farm, the farmer concluding crop-sharing agreements with the local peasants (*Landlord and Peasant*, 148-9). *Tuyūls* were also frequently assigned on the revenues of *k̲h̲āliṣa* land either to officials in lieu of salary or as allowances and pensions to the ruler's supporters, tribal leaders or religious dignitaries (cf. Rawlinson, *Notes on a journey from Tabriz through Persian Kurdistan to the ruins of Takhti-Soleiman*, in *JRGS* (1841), 5). In the provinces, the taxes on *k̲h̲āliṣa* land and the government's rent or share of the produce were collected by the provincial governors, provided that they had not been otherwise assigned. Grain obtained in this way was used primarily to provision the army, but also to prevent the creation of artificial shortages and hoarding in times of grain shortages.

By the second half of the 19th century much *k̲h̲āliṣa* land, which still occupied a considerable part of the country, was in a state of decay and made little contribution to the revenue. Some estates had been abandoned by their peasants as was the case in Māzandarān (cf. *Rūznāma-i waḳāʾiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya*, 29 Dj̲umādā I 1269/2 March 1853). Many villages in the province of Iṣfahān, some of which were *k̲h̲āliṣa*, had also fallen out of cultivation. At the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn (1848-96) a large sum of money, together with a considerable quantity of grain, was made available on the revenue of Iṣfahān to Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn, the head of the finance department of Iṣfahān, to enable him to bring them back into cultivation. Instead, he spent the money on military supplies and rebelled. After the ensuing disorders were put down, the estates of those implicated were confiscated and became *k̲h̲āliṣa*. Subsequently, however, their former owners regained them by various means.

In 1861, Eastwick wrote that a third, or according to some, half of the land of Persia was *k̲h̲āliṣa*, but that it was said to be much neglected. Advances for the expenses of cultivation at enormous rates of interest were made to the cultivators, who, subject to innumerable arbitrary exactions, were unable to accumulate capital to make improvements, and who would, in any case, not make them if they could "knowing that their rent would be raised or their leases rescinded" (UK. British Parliamentary Papers, 58 (1862)—Accounts and papers: Manufactures and commerce, and trade of foreign countries, Session 6 Feb.-7 Aug. 1862, LVIII (1862). Report by Mr. Eastwick, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, camp near Tehran, 5 July 1861, 70). Some two years later, in 1863, an attempt was made to develop *k̲h̲āliṣa* land in Iṣfahān, and an order was issued that the necessary expenses should be provided by the government and that they should be let on a five-year lease (*Rūznāma-i dawlat-i ʿaliyya-i Īrān*, 18 D̲h̲u'l Ḳaʿda 1279/7 May 1863). The measures were abortive. Wakīl al-Mulk, who had been sent about the same time to Kirmān to look into the condition of *k̲h̲āliṣa* property was apparently more successful (*ibid.*, 14 Dj̲umādā II 1280/26 Nov. 1863).

More land fell out of cultivation during the famine years of 1871-2. No control was exercised over *k̲h̲āliṣa* land, and further confusion ensued in the land registers. Finally in 1874, Ẓill al-Sulṭān, when he was appointed governor of Iṣfahān, concluded *muḳāṭaʿa* contracts for a ten-year period (instead of the more normal three years) for the *k̲h̲āliṣadj̲āt* of Iṣfahān, presumably hoping that a long-term contract would encourage the lessees to improve the land (*Tārīk̲h̲-i niṣf-i dj̲ahān*, 51 ff.).

Nāṣir al-Dīn and his successor, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, were repeatedly in need of money and on several occasions lots of *k̲h̲āliṣa* land were sold, including, in the latter years of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign and the early years of Muẓaffar al-Dīn's reign, most of the *k̲h̲āliṣa* round Iṣfahān (*Tārīk̲h̲-i niṣf-i dj̲ahān*, 63 ff.). Much of it was bought by the rich notables and the *ʿulamāʾ* (see further *Landlord and Peasant*, 153-4, and cf. also UK. Consular reports 2260/1899, No. 2260 Annual series. Preece "Isfahan, 1897-8", 13). In 1901-2 there was another major sale of *k̲h̲āliṣa land*, when the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣg̲h̲ar Amīn al-Sulṭān, disposed of most of S̲h̲ūlistān to Muʿīn al-Tudj̲dj̲ār Bushihrī (*Gazeteer of Persia* 3, Calcutta 1910, under Mamassani, 653). For the rest, no effective steps were taken to improve the cultivation of crown lands or to exploit them effectively for the benefit of the state (cf. A. Destrée, *Les Fonctionnaires belges au service de la Perse 1898-1915*, doctoral thesis presented to the Free University of Brussels, 1973, i, 423).

In the 20th century new political exigencies led to the disappearance of some categories of *k̲h̲āliṣa*, the creation of new *k̲h̲āliṣa*, and legislation to deal with it. This legislation, however, was mainly concerned with the sale, acquisition, and administration of *k̲h̲āliṣa* and no general legal principles underlying the existence of such land were formulated. The dichotomy in the administrative field between *dīwānī* (state) land and *k̲h̲āliṣa* (crown) land, so far as it had survived, disappeared after the grant of the Constitution, and in due course the term *k̲h̲āliṣa* came to be applied to crown lands in the sense of state lands and no longer signified the personal estates of the ruler, which were referred to as *amlāk-i s̲h̲āhī* or *amlāk-i salṭanatī* (see further *Landlord and Peasant*, 238 ff., for an account of the history of crown lands since 1906, and A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-6*, Oxford 1969, index).

Bibliography: given in the article. It is not possible to give here a list of all texts which might contribute to the history of crown land in Persia since they would include most chronicles and local histories. (A. K. S. Lambton)

AL-K̲H̲ĀLIṢA, Fāṭimid citadel built in 326/937-8 by K̲h̲alīl b. Isḥāḳ b. Ward, who had been sent by the Faṭimid caliph al-Ḳāʾim [*q.v.*] to suppress a rebellion of the Sicilians against the *amīr* Sālim b. Abī Rās̲h̲id.

For strategic reasons, in particular, the possibility of receiving with ease reinforcements by sea, the town was constructed opposite the ancient Cassaro (al-Ḳaṣr) of Palermo [see balarm] and near to the port. Its construction, at the inhabitants' own expense, was achieved by demolishing a large part of the ancient urban centre, whose walls were carried off, according to Ibn al-At̲h̲īr (for the information of this historian, and of the geographers cited below, see the *BAS*, cited in the bibliography, index). The town, called by its founder al-K̲h̲āliṣa ("the Pure") (Χάλεσα in Greek diplomas of the Norman period, Chalcia, Halcia and more rarely Chalesa in Latin documents down to the 14th century, and Alza or Alcza at the end of the 13th century, a vulgar form from which is derived the present name Ausa), was encircled by walls provided with gateways, apart from the eastern side. Al-Muḳaddasī gives the names of the four gates as Bāb Kutāma, Bāb al-Futūḥ, Bāb al-Bunūd and Bāb al-Ṣināʿa (Bāb al-Baḥr in al-Idrīsī). In the Fāṭi-

mid and Kalbid periods, it was the residence of the Muslim governor and his entourage, and at this time, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal who visited it in 361/972, it possessed neither markets nor hostelries (*funduḳs*), but was provided with administrative services, a small Friday mosque, an arsenal, a prison and baths.

This new "external" town, whose prestige as an administrative centre was linked with all the fortunes of the Muslims in Sicily, is mentioned as one of the five sectors of Kalbid Palermo visited by Ibn Ḥawḳal (in addition to al-Khāliṣa, they are named al-Ḳaṣr al-Ḥārat al-Djadīda, Ḥārat al-Masdjid and Ḥārat al-Ṣaḳāliba). It was then described by al-Idrīsī as part of the *rabaḍ* of Palermo, and by Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) as a mere *maḥall* in the centre of Palermo.

The disappearance of the walls, from the 14th century onwards, makes identification of the former Fāṭimid citadel difficult within the urban sprawl of modern Palermo, where the name of Kalsa has been extended to a quarter which goes from St. Francis of Assisi square to the port. If the reconstruction of the former urban limits done by Amari (*BAS*, i, 12 n. 3) seems to posit too great an extent for al-Khāliṣa, the hypothesis of Columba seems more acceptable: he proposed an area trapezoidal in shape and covering some 8 hectares, which would be enough to make Kalsa into a citadel including the *amīr*'s residence, administrative buildings, a small Friday mosque, baths and a certain number of other buildings.

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KHALḲ (A.), creation.

I.—*Lexicographical data.*

Khalḳ, noun of action of the verb *khalaḳa*, which properly means the act of creating, can also be used to designate Creation in its entirety: *wa'l-khalḳ yakūn al-maṣdar wa-yakūn al-makhlūḳ* (*LA*). The noun of the agent, *al-khāliḳ*, defined by the article, is applied only to God and is one of His Names. According to the *LA*, in the speech of the Arabs *al-khalḳ* is used to designate the production of some new thing (*ibtidāʿ*) on a pattern which has not been previously employed (*ʿalā mithāl lam yusbaḳ ilayh*). Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī, a philologist of the 4th/10th century, gives a slightly different definition: *khalḳ* is either a product (*inshāʾ*) designed on an invented model (*abdaʿa*), or it is the act that determines the proportions (*taḳdīr*) of something which is to be brought into being; thus when ʿĪsā b. Maryam (Ḳurʾān, III, 49) says: "Yes, I will create (*akhluḳu*) for you from clay the likeness of a bird", he does not wish to say that he will bring into existence that which does not exist (*lam yurid annahu yuḥdithu maʿdūm*ᵃⁿ). Ibn Sīdah (5/11th century) considers that for God to create is to bring into being a thing which previously was not (*baʿd an lam yakun*). It should be noted that some commentators (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Mudjāhid) give the meaning of *dīn* (religion) in the sense of *ḥukm* (the totality of classes of the Law) to the word *khalḳ* in the verse (IV, 119): "They have tampered with God's creation". The reasoning behind this is that God has stamped on creation a nature (*faṭara 'l-khalḳ*) that conforms with Islam; cf. Ḳurʾān, XXX, 30: "nature created by God (*fiṭrat Allāh*) according to which He has stamped the nature of men: there can be no change in God's creation", that is, in the truth of religion (*ṣiḥḥat al-dīn*). Elsewhere, *khalḳ* can mean a mendacious forgery (Ḳurʾān, XXVI, 137): three commentators indicate the reading, "It is nothing but a forgery (*khalḳ*) of the ancients" instead of the customary *khuluḳ*. *Khalḳ* is therefore equivalent to *asāṭīr al-awwalīn*, the legends of the ancients, which is found in a number of sūras (cf. al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*). There is also the expression *aḥādīth al-khalḳ*, which is synonymous with *khurāfāt*, old wives' tales.

Most of these meanings are supplied by relatively late lexicographers and bear the clear stamp of theological reflection on the word *khalḳ*. But the *LA* gives uses which seem to haste back to the primitive meaning of the root. Thus the Arabs say: *khalaḳa'l-adīm*, which means: "to determine before it is cut how much leather is needed to make what is required, and to size it up with a view to cutting out a shopping-bag, a water bottle or a boot". Ibn Manẓūr gives, as an example, one of Zuhayr's verses and a *ḥādith* from the sister of Umayya b. Abi ʾl-Ṣalt, both evidence from early times, and a verse by al-Kumayt (d. 124/743). With the meaning of a lie, the form *ikhtilāḳ* is also used (Ḳurʾān, XXXVIII, 7). Moreover, although with other *maṣdārs* than *khalḳ*, the verb *khalaḳa* (or *khaluḳa*) means to be worn out (= *baliya*). The root subsequently carries the meaning of being smooth, polished, without cracks (the *LA* gives (*layyin*, *amlas*, *musmat* as synonyms of *akhlaḳ*: equal, harmonious). All these meanings are found in the corresponding Hebrew root, *ḥaloḳ*: to shave, distribute, assign a part to; to be flat and polished. In the piʿel, *ḥalleḳ* signifies to differentiate separate, specify (cf. *taḳdīr*); in the hiphʿil, *haḥᵃleḳ* means to smooth, to polish, to plane. It seems therefore that the original sense of *khalḳ* expressed on the one hand the idea of determining parts (as does *taḳdīr*; cf. *ḳaddara 'l-arzāḳ*, to determine sustenance), and on the other the idea of polishing, equalising. These very concrete etymological values can be found in certain Ḳurʾānic terms associated with *khalḳ*, and in the speculations of theological commentaries. The latest and most abstract meanings, grafted on to the earliest ones, constitute one of the bases of speculative and mystical *kalām*, as well as of *falsafa*.

II.—*The Ḳurʾānic vocabulary and the ideas it carries.*

Before considering what creation is in the Ḳurʾān, it must be stated first of all that the words *khalḳ* and *khāliḳ* are the most frequently employed. On only three occasions, in two verses, do we find the usage *al-Bāriʾ*, the Creator, the agent noun from the Semitic root which appears at the beginning of Genesis: *Bᵉreshīt bārā Elōhīm*. These passages are: "He is God, the *Khāliḳ*, the *Bāriʾ*, the Maker (al-*Muṣawwir*)" (LIX, 24); "Return therefore, towards your Creator (*ilā Bāriʾikum*); it is best for you in the sight of your Creator (idem)" (II, 54). It is pointless to look for two English words to translate these two terms, which the lexicographers give as synonyms. Nevertheless, according to the *LA* the *Bāriʾ* is he who creates without imitating a model (*lā ʿan mithāl*); moreover, it is nearly always used for the creation of living beings in particular. In the same way, *bariyya* is synonymous with *khalḳ*. The former term is found

twice in two verses (XCVIII, 6 and 7) and the context clearly underlines that the subject is human creatures. In the *LA*, *al-Bārī'* is associated with *al-dhārī'*, which is not Ḳur'ānic, although the Ḳur'ān uses the verb *dhara'a* with complements which designate living things: plants and cattle (VI, 136), djinns and men (VII, 179). Abū Isḥāḳ and Thaʿlab accord it the sense of God multiplying (*yukaththir*) the beings in creation. Parallel with *bariyya* we find *dhariyya*, which has a similar meaning but is not used in the Ḳur'ān. The Hebrew *b^erī'ah* has the etymological sense of "cutting and putting into shape" (*The Jewish Encyclopedia*, art. *Creation*).

Only once do we find the words "work of God" (*ṣunʿ Allāh*); in the context of mountains which seem inert but which God causes to travel like clouds (XXVII, 88), a context that led R. Blachère to translate the expression as "miracle". The commentators (al-Zamakhsharī, al-Djalālayn) consider it a strengthening verbal noun of the verb (*maṣdar mu'akkid*) which refers to the entirety of divine acts enumerated in the preceding verses. By these means God has worked a work of God, he has acted as God "who makes all things good" (*atḳana*: *aḥkama*). In this sense, of merely accentuating the idea of a verb, which is retrenched (*maḥdhūf*) in other respects according to the *Kashshāf*, although it can be found in *djaʿalnā* (we have established) in verse 86, the word *ṣunʿ* has no grammatical value alone and does not expressly designate the divine work of creation. Nevertheless, the presence of this term in the Ḳur'ān has authorised those who allow God to be given names formed by deviation (*ishtiḳāḳ*) to call the Creator *al-Ṣāniʿ* the Artisan, the Demiurge of the Greeks, the τεχνίτης of some Church Fathers, and the supreme Maker of La Fontaine.

One important root is *s.w.r*. We have already met *al-Muṣawwir* following on from *al-Khāliḳ al-Bārī'*. *Taṣwīr* is an action brought into being by the creative act proper: "We created you, and then We gave you form" (*wa-laḳad khalaḳnākum, thumma ṣawwarnākum*, VII, 11). The same verb is employed for the shaping of a man in his mother's womb (III, 6). One verse is particularly rich in philosophical meaning: "In the very shape (*ṣūra*) He willed, He created you (*rakkabaka*)". Therefore *taṣwīr*, the constitution of a shape, is a *tarkīb*, a composition. Yet, in the hylomorphism of the *falāsifa*, creation is identified with this timeless insertion and is shaped from a single blow (*dafʿat^an*) in matter. By contrast, the Ḳur'ān links the creative act to the 'informing' act by the particle *thumma*. According to the grammarians, there is a relationship of diminishing order between *wa* (and), *fa* (and then) and *thumma* (and afterwards). There is therefore a certain distance between the act of creating and the act of giving form, the *khalḳ* and the *taṣwīr*. The verb *sawwā* (to level, smooth; cf. above, the sense "to polish") is linked to *khalaḳa* by the particle *fa*: "He who has created you and then proportioned and stabilised you" (*alladhī khalaḳaka fa-sawwāka fa-ʿadalaka*, LXXXII, 7); "He who has created and proportioned" (LXXXVII, 2). The close relationship between these two verbs seems to indicate a kind of explanation of the etymological meaning of *khalaḳa* by the meaning of *sawwā*. Likewise, *khalaḳa* can be explained by *ḳaddara* (cf. above, the meaning of *taḳdīr*): "He created him from a drop of sperm and (*fa*) fixed his proportions" (LXXX, 19); "He has created all things and (*fa*) fixed their proportions of their species" (*fa-ḳaddarahu taḳdīr^an*, LIV, 49).

What then, can be said about the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* in the Ḳur'ān? Quite simply that Arabic, like all other languages, has had to use a word which originally signified something concrete and material for an ineffable reality. Similarly in Greek, Aristotle says that Anaxagoras employed Intelligence for "ordering" (κοσμοποιία); afterwards, the word meant God's creation of the world. True, many Ḳur'ānic verses call to mind a demiurgic action when the verb *khalaḳa* is followed by the preposition *min*. For example: "He created man of a drop of sperm" (XIV, 4) and various ingredients (*amshādj*, LXXVI, 2, males and females according to the Djalālayn); "God created every animal of water" (XXIV, 45); "It was He who created man of a drop of water" (XXV, 54), or "of potter's clay" (*salsāl*, LV, 14), note to explain use of archaic "of" not "from" clay (*ṭīn*, XXVIII, 89, VI, 2), of clinging clay (*min ṭīn lāzib*, XXXVII, 12), of an extraction of clay (*sulāla min ṭīn*, XXIII, 12) and of earth (*turāb*, XVIII, 37, XXX, 20, etc.); stinking mud (*ḥamā' masnūn*, XV, 28); "He created the djinn of smokeless fire" (LV, 15). But these examples indicate clearly that the preposition denotes the matter with which these created beings are created, and not a pre-existent matter from which they would be created. This can be seen specifically in the statement of Iblīs who, because he is made from fire, considers himself superior to men, who are made from mud. On the other hand, while *khalaḳa* designates the creative act, it can also mean the word *fī*, the mode of being which characterised the appearance of the resulting creative, either used along with the preposition *fī* (in), as in "We created man in the fairest stature" (XCV, 4) and "We created man in affliction" (*fī kabad*, XC, 4); or with the adverbial accusative *ḥāl*, as in "Then We created a speck of sperm into (or as) a drop of blood" (XXIII, 14). Here *khalaḳa* has precisely the same meaning as *djaʿala*: to render an object this way or that, to make from that object this thing or that, which is exactly equivalent to one of the usages of the Latin *creare*, e.g. *creare aliquem consulem*, *djaʿala fulān^an ḥākim^an*, to make someone a governor. In the passage in Ḳur'ān, XXIII, already cited, verse 12 has "We created (*khalaḳnā*) man of clay", verse 13 states, "We made (*djaʿalnāhu*) a drop of sperm of clay", while in verse 14 the verb *khalaḳnā* reappears. Verse X, 5 follows the same pattern: "It is He who made the sun a radiance (*djaʿala 'l-shamsa ḍiyā'^an*) and the moon a light". The preposition *min* does not seem to mean "from", as in expressions like "He created you from a single soul" (*khalaḳakum min nafs^in wāḥida*, IV, 1, VII, 189, XXXIX, 6). Here, however, the meaning is clear: the text refers to the children of Adam from whom Eve was drawn forth, who are themselves created; also clear is "We created you from a male and a female" (XLIX, 13).

But in a broader sense *khalaḳa* appears to mean "to create" like the Hebrew *bārā* as it is understood by the Jewish exegetes. Many Ḳur'ānic verses are the exact replica of the first verse of Genesis; such as "Praise be to God who created the heavens and the earth..." (VI, 1). Sometimes the text adds, "and what is between the two" (XXV, 59, etc.). God also created whatever is in the heavens or on earth (X, 6), the sun, the moon, etc. He created day and night. In a word, God's every action on one of his creatures can be called creation. Similarly, the different developmental phases of a created being are also creations: "He created you in your mother's wombs, creation after creation (*khalḳ min baʿd khalḳ*)" (XXXIX, 6). The same word is used for the act of creation in general, the heavens and the earth encompassing all creatures, and for the particular

creations of each category of beings. This second usage explains the extension of meaning which bring *khalaḳa* close to *sawwā, ṣawwara, ḳaddara, dja'ala, anbata* (LXXI, 17: "God has caused you to sprout from the earth like shoots", which the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* elucidates as "He created (*khalaḳakum*) you from the earth, because it is from earth that He created your father Adam"), and to *ansha'a* (to make grow, to produce, to create), which is exactly synonymous with *khalaḳa* in the verse, "It is he who caused you to spring from a single soul" (VI, 98; cf. above). Other examples are: "He produced you from the earth" (XI, 617, LIII, 32) and "Say: it is He who produced you" (LXVII, 23). This root is important, because it is used to express the idea of two creations. In fact, we read: "Then We made him grow (the embryo being completed) in another creation" (*thumma ansha'nāhu khalḳan ākhara*, XXIII, 14)—by blowing the spirit into him, explains the Djalālayn commentary—which can be compared to: "See how God originated creation (*kayfa bada'a 'l-khalḳ*); then God produced the second production (creation) (*yunshi'u 'l-nash'ata 'l-ākhira*)" (XXIX, 20); and to: "On Him rests the second creation (*anna 'alayhi 'l-nash'ata 'l-ukhrā*)" (LIII, 47); and finally to: "You have certainly known the first creation (*al-nasha'ata 'l-ūlā*)" (LVI, 62). Thus in *khalḳ* in general there should be two degrees of production; and commentators battled with these texts.

Nevertheless, creation *ex nihilo* is not the incontestable deduction from the root *khalaḳa* in these Ḳur'ānic contexts, except perhaps in a very few verses such as the words addressed to Zacharias (XIX, 9): "I created you beforehand, when you were nothing" (*wa-lam taku shay'an*); this is the authority for the formula theologians later used to convey creation *ex nihilo*: that which was not, then came into being (*lam yakun, thumma kāna*). The arbitrariness of the divine will can be taken as a sign that nothing else plays any part in creation: "God creates whatever He wishes" (III, 47). God being the sole Creator, and the Creator of all things, then it follows that he creates from nothing. But the verses which are most widely used as the basis for the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* are those which say: "When God decrees (*ḳaḍā*) a thing He only has to say to it Be! and it is" (II, 117, III, 47, XIX, 35); "We only have to say to a thing when We desire it, Be! and it is" (XVI, 40). Verse VI, 73 is particularly important: "And the day when he says, Be! and then (*fa*) His Word is Reality (*ḥaḳḳ*)"; this can be compared to a number of other verses, where it is said: "He created the heavens and the earth *bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ*" (XXXIX, 5, etc.), which R. Blachère translates as "with gravity". He considers Grimm's translation: "Beide schufen wir durch die Wahrheit" (by the truth: The Book of God) inadmissible, and supports his own reading by pointing out the parallelism of verses 38 and 39 of Sūra XLIV: "We did not create the heavens and the earth ... in a game (*lā'ibīn*, in sport)" and "We did not create them except *bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ*, therefore "with gravity". Lexicographers do indeed give *la'b* (game) as the opposite of *djidd* (a serious, assiduous action, performed steadfastly). But if this parallelism is taken into account, it is not enough to put forward an opposite (*la'b-djidd*); the contradiction must be chosen: God did not create in sport (he was not *lā'ib*, but *ghayr lā'ib*). This goes much further than the simple opposite.

The Ḳur'ān, however, offers various equivalents of *lā'ibīn*: "Do you think that We created you idly (*'abathan*) and that you would not be returned to Us?" (XXIII, 115); "We have not created heaven and earth for nothing" (*bāṭilan*); Blachère "lightly", which is weak; the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* makes *bāṭilan* synonymous with *'abathan* and interprets it by *lā li-shay'*). The word *bāṭil* is very strong; it evokes all the futility of error and in the Ḳur'ān itself is opposed to *ḥaḳḳ*. Examples are: "Do not cover the true reality with the futility of error" (II, 42, III, 71); "And say: the truth has come and falsehood has vanished. Yes, falsehood by its nature, must vanish" (*zahūḳ*: which marks the instability and inconstancy of *bāṭil* (XVII, 81); and "Say: Truth has come and falsehood cannot originate or repeat (creation)" (XXXIV, 49).

Thus the creative Word, the *kun* (equivalent to the biblical *fiat*), is not a *flatus vocis*: it brings about being in factual truth. Creation has an end, although God has no need of anything apart from Himself: He is sufficient unto Himself (cf. *wa-staghnā 'llāh*, LXIV, 6). He is learned, wise, living, determined. Creation, say the theologians, disagreeing with some conclusions of Greek philosophy, does not emanate from Him by a natural and necessary process. The *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* expounds *bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ* (in XLIV, 39) in these terms: "that is to say, We have created by allowing Our Truth (*muḥiḳḳīn*) to triumph, so that Our power and Our unity may be proven." Elsewhere the Ḳur'ān assigns a purpose to the work of creation: "I have created not men and djinns except to worship Me" (LI, 56). This worship profits God nothing, but it is the greatest good of mankind. This good is "in the hand of God" (III, 26); "that which is with God is the good of the pious" (III, 198). All the names of God by which he is designated as He who gives, who pardons, who pours out his bounties in favour of believers, who fear Him and obey Him, are therefore associated with this ultimate end of creation, the return to God. Verse XXIII, 115 (cited above) states this clearly, a point which recurs in XXX, 11: "God originates creation (*yabda'u 'l-khalḳ*), then repeats it (which refers to the latest Life), then unto Him you shall be restored". The same is true of all the passages concerning man. But man is privileged: God appointed him His viceroy on earth, (II, 30); He made all other creatures subject to man: "God has put at your service (on duty for you: *sakhkhara lakum*) whatever is in the heavens and on the earth (XXXI, 20, XLV, 13): the rivers (XIV, 32), the sun and the moon, night and day (XIV, 33, XVI, 12), the sea (XVI, 14), etc. It can therefore be said that man is the purpose of creation, because he has been created with the power to know God, to obey Him, to worship Him, and to return to Him. Creation by the Word, but for the good of the creature, and done out of pure generosity, goodness and munificence, that is *ikrām* (LV, 27 and 78).

Nonetheless, one verse causes problems here. It is written concerning Adam: "He created him from earth, then (*thumma*) He said to him, Be! and he was" (III, 59). The *kun*, therefore, comes after the creation. The Djalālayn's commentary gets over the difficulty by adding after *kun basharan*, "be a human being." This is not on the level of the ultimate creative act; in fact, the work made from earth is already a particular creation. Consequently, like the verb *khalaḳa*, the word *kun* can mean the act of creation *simpliciter* or a subsequent act of specific creation. It must be added, however, that this is the sole example of the use of *kun* with a relative sense in the Ḳur'ān. It is possible to speak of a creation *ex nihilo* which is primordial and universal, then of succeeding creations which give life to particular beings of which occur at different stages of their development. More-

over, the Ḳur'ān alludes to a first beginning of creation. The expression *bada'a 'l-khalḳ*, therefore, does not always refer to an absolute beginning, as in, for example, the case of "He began the creation of man from earth" (XXXII, 7). Elsewhere we read: "As we originated the primordial creation (*bada'nā awwala khalḳin*), so will We repeat it" (XXI, 104; X, 4, 34, etc.). This refers to the creation of the visible world in its entirety and to a second creation in the hereafter. Al-Zamakhsharī, followed by the Djalālayn, explains that the primordial creation is the fact of giving existence to the world by making it emerge from the void (*idjāduhā ʿan al-ʿadam*). But this raises a grammatical problem: Why "a creation" in the indefinite form? "This is because it is said: *awwal radjulin djā' anī*, where the indefinite mode is employed with the sense of "the first of men who has come to me"; but the indefinite singular is used when what is meant is that they are dealt with in detail one by one (*irādata tafṣīlihim radjulan radjulan*). Therefore *awwal khalḳin* means *awwal al-khalā'iḳ* in the sense of *awwal al-khalā'iḳ*, the first of creatures, because *khalḳ* is a *maṣdar* which cannot be put into the plural." The aim of this commentary is not just to point out the idea of creation *ex nihilo* but also to pose the problem of the first creation drawn out of the void, a problem we shall encounter again.

Another term corresponding to *ibtidā'*, noted by the *LA* (above), is found once in the Ḳur'ān: "The Inventor (*badīʿ*) of the heavens and the earth, when He decrees something, need do no more than say Be! and it is" (II, 111). The *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* explains *badīʿ* as: "that which gives existence (*mūdjid*) without following a previous model". On the other hand, the Ḳur'ān does not use the root *ḥ.d.th.* to express, in the IVth form, the idea of producing a new being in time, nor do we find the words *ikhtaraʿa* (to invent) and its derivatives, *kawwana* (to form a being which can generate: cf. generation and conception, *kawn* and *fasād*) and its derivates, nor *awdjada* (to cause to exist).

This creation, which had a beginning, must have an end. Not only because all that is born must naturally die, but because God willed it so: "Then He decreed a final term (*adjal*), a fixed term (*musammā*) in relation to Him" (VI, 2). This refers to the end of each man's life; but it seems that it is the idea of the end of the world, associated with the Judgement Day, that is conveyed by the expression *ḳuḍiya 'l-amr* which should be translated "the affair is finished" and not "the order is decreed".

The idea of the end of the world followed by a mustering (*ḥashr*, L, 44) is central to the Ḳur'ān. As regards the second creation, of the Afterlife, that is, Heaven and Hell, certain verses lead to the conclusion that it will have no end: mankind, it is said, will be there eternally (*khālidūn fīhā abadan*). Yet, though no verse says anything explicit about a final term set on the duration of this stay, some theologians interpreted Sūra XI, 107 and 108 ("So live there forever, as long as the heavens and the earth shall remain ...") as implying the destruction of Heaven and Hell. Therefore Djahm b. Ṣafwān, on the basis of LVII, 3 ("He is the First and the Last"), thought that God would remain alone at the ultimate end of time, just as He had been alone before the creation. But in expounding *mā dāmat al-samawāt wa 'l-arḍ*, al-Zamakhsharī writes: "You must understand by this that the heavens and the earth of the region of the After life are perpetual and created forever." It is written: "Until the day when the earth will be replaced by another earth, and the heavens likewise" (XIV, 48); and "Praise be to God who has bequeathed us the earth" (XXX, 74) in the sense of "the earth of Paradise" (*arḍ al-djanna, Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*), for "we take up our estates in Paradise wherever we wish" (*ibid.*). It can also be said, adds the *Kashshāf*, that here is an *ʿibāra ʿan al-taʿbīd wa-nafy al-inḳiṭāʿ*, an expression which means perpetuation in eternity and denies its cessation. This is the sense in which the Arabs say "As long as the mountain of Thabīr endures".

Apart from the allusion in XIV, 48, the Ḳur'ān does not mention explicitly the creation of Paradise and Hell. Yet it is said that these two places are prepared (*uʿiddat*) for believers and unbelievers (III, 131, 133; cf. XVIII, 102, XLVIII, 6). Similarly, in the account of Genesis there is only an indirect reference to the creation of the angels: "Or did We create the angels female?" (XXXVII, 150). It should also be noted that Iblīs says to God, "You created me from fire" (VII, 12, XXXVIII, 76). We also read: "Everything that is in the heavens and on the earth, the animals in fact (*min dabba*) and the angels ... bows down before God" (XVI, 49). According to the *Kashshāf*, the word "animals" can refer to creatures both in the heavens and on earth, for there are creatures in the heavens which creep as man creeps on earth (*yaddibūn*). It may refer only to beings on earth, and then what is in the heavens is the creature called spirit (*rūḥ*). It could also refer to the angels, who are mentioned also by name because of their special worship. Finally, it is possible that the words "that is in the heavens" can mean the heavenly angels, while the word *malā'ika* which follows *dābba* refers to those on earth, such as the Guardian Angels (*ḥafaẓa*). If the angels in the skies are meant, then they were created at the same time as the heavens and all which they contain, just as Greek Fathers of the Church like Epiphanus had thought.

The text of the Ḳur'ān poses several other problems: of the creation in six days, of the first created being, and of the process of creation. These will be dealt with under *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*.

III.—*Khalḳ in ḥadīth*.

The Prophet was often questioned about the Beginning. One tale recounts this reply: "God was and there was nothing else with Him; His throne was on water (cf. Ḳur'ān XI, 7). Then he created the heavens and the earth." When someone asked the Prophet where (*ayna*) God was before he created the creatures (*ḳabla an yakhluḳa khalḳahu*), he said: "He was in a mist (*ʿamā'*); there was no atmosphere either above or below Him, and He created His throne on the water, that is, there was nothing with Him (*laysa maʿahu shay'*)." The role of water in creation is important (cf. Ḳur'ān XXI, 30, XXIV, 45, XXXII, 8, LXXVIII, 20, LXXXVI, 6). Several *ḥadīths* relate how when water boils it becomes a vapour which constitutes the sky, while it forms on its surface a froth which becomes the earth. The vapour, called smoke (*dukhān* = *bukhār murtafiʿ*, *al-Djalālayn*) plays a part in the Ḳur'ān (XLI, 11) in the creation of the sky. On this subject, the narratives are simply picturesque amplifications of the Ḳur'ānic text conveying any number of mythical traditions of Oriental peoples which were transmitted by way of rabbinical *haggādā* or Iranian and Hellenistic gnosticism. A large number of them are found at the beginning of al-Ṭabarī's *Annales*, in al-Masʿūdī works, and, much later, in Madjlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār*. A sea beneath the seven heavens, eight *awʿāl* beneath the sea, and a throne carried on their backs are also

described. This image is an extension of the verse: "And on the borders of the sky shall stand the angels, and on that day eight shall carry above them the throne of their Lord" (LXIX, 17). The word *waʿil* designates the chamois goat which lives on the mountain tops. The plural *awʿāl* or *wuʿal* is applied to those beings dwelling on the height, the *ashrāf*, here the angels (*LA*, *malāʾika ʿalā sūrat al-awʿāl*). At this stage, the distance which separates each rung from the next is a 71, 72, or 73-years' walk (500 according to other versions). But in some texts, the figure 500 represents the thickness (*ghilaẓ*) of each sky.

There are many, though differing, narratives about the days of creation and their duration in terrestial years, about the first day (Saturday or Sunday), and the division of the creative work between the different days. Many of them are designed to refute the Jewish concept of the sabbath day of rest: God never rests because tiredness can never affect Him (cf. Ḳurʾān L, 38). Concerning the successive order of creation the Prophet said: "God created the earth (*turba*) on Saturday, the mountains on Sunday, the trees on Monday, the *makrūh* on Tuesday and light on Wednesday. On Thursday he dispersed the animals (*dawābb*) over the earth, and he created Adam at the end of creation, after the *ʿaṣr* of Friday in the last hour of the last day, during the period which separates *ʿaṣr* from night." But according to another tale, the Prophet replied to Jews who were quizzing him that God had created the earth on Sunday and Monday, the mountains and all the useful matter they contained on Tuesday, trees, water, cities, the prosperity of cultivated lands (*ʿumrān*) and destruction (*kharāb*) on Wednesday, which makes four days (cf. Ḳurʾān XLI, 9-10). On Thursday He created the sky, on Friday, up to the last three hours of the day, the stars, sun, moon and the angels (cf. XLI, 12: "In two days, He, by his decree, established the heavens in seven heavens ... and We adorned the lower heaven with lamps and placed it under a good watchman." Here, says al-Zamakhsharī, the text speaks of the creation of lights, stars and the angels. Then during the first of the remaining three hours, He created the fixed terms of the beings which live and die; in the second He threw the destructive (*āfa*) flame over all that man could take to his use, and in the third He created Adam, giving him the garden (of Eden) to dwell in and ordering Iblīs to bow before him. From these two examples we can see to what extent two accounts can diverge. However, they converge on one important point: God created moral and physical evil (cf. *makrūh*, *kharāb*, *āfa*).

The *ḥadīth*s reveal the identity of the first created being. Most consider that this was *al-Ḳalam*: at God's command it wrote the *ḳadar* and marked out everything which could be engendered in being (*al-kāʾin*). Consequently, if the *ḳaḍāʾ* is the Command by means of which God decides to create being as He wills, the *ḳadar* influences the determination of the temporal order and gives rise to *al-Ḳalam*. According to other traditionists, light and darkness are the first things created. Then came the creation of *ʿamāʾ*, of the mist or cloud (*ghamām*) to which Ḳurʾān II, 210 alludes, followed by the Throne, water (or water, then the Throne), before the creation of the heavens and the earth. But other traditions give a different order: *kalām*, *kursī*, air and darkness, water. (The association between air and darkness recalls an old notion, adopted by the Stoics, that air is black.) Elsewhere a new entity, the *haykal*, appears: it encloses the seas which surround the heavens and the earth and is enveloped by the *kursī*. There is a notable *ḥadīth* on the Intelligence (*al-ʿaḳl*) which, linked to Verse XVII, 85 on the Spirit (*al-rūḥ min amr rabbī*), greatly influenced later speculations (cf. below). The Prophet said: "When God created the Intelligence He said to it, 'Come forward', and it came forward. Then he said, 'Go back', and it went back. Then God said: 'I have created nothing that I love more than you and I will place you only in the creature I love most'."

IV.—*Khalḳ in tafsīr.*

All the Ḳurʾānic commentaries on creation are based on a number of *ḥadīth*s, some on more than others. Generally, they state precisely that it was a creation *ex nihilo* and often explain *khalḳ* by *īdjād*, the gift of existence. But while taking their inspiration from these contexts, they sometimes make it follow that God speaks of His creative act to show that He is Almighty God, to whom worship is owing, because He is Unique, He alone is able to create. Thus when commenting on the verse, "Worship your Lord who created you," al-Zamakhsharī understands the verb *khalaḳakum* as constituting "an explanatory and distinguishing attribute" (*ṣifa mūḍiḥa mumayyiza*) of our Lord (*rabbakum*). *Khalḳ* is therefore associated with divine lordship (*rubūbiyya*). Creation is an act belonging to God, and is shared with no other. *Khalḳ* is also shown as a blessing (*niʿma*).

One problem which caught the attention of the commentators was how to reconcile apparently contradictory verses, such as LXXIX, 28-32, where the creation of the earth and all it contains seems to follow that of the heavenly corners after the creation of all that is on earth. According to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, the earth must have been created before the sky, but God would not have "spread it out" (*daḥāhā*) before creating the sky, since *tadhiya* is the act of displaying or unfurling (*basṭ*) not of creating. But, he said, this explanation raises two objections: the first is that since the earth is an immense expanse it is impossible to separate its *khalḳ* from its *tadhiya*, and if one occurs later so must the other. The second objection is that verse II, 29 proves that the creation of the earth and all it encompasses came before the sky; but the creation of things on the earth is not possible before it is "spread out." Thus both creation and unfurling of the earth came before the creation of the sky. There was an attempt to counter this by distinguishing between the creation and the "levelling" (*taswiya*) of the sky, particularly its division into the seven heavens. The creation of the sky was before the creation of the earth, but its *taswiya* came afterwards. Unfortunately verse LXXIX, 26 makes the construction, lifting of the vault and levelling of the sky all part of the same thing, and all take place before the spreading out of the earth. As a last resort, al-Rāzī suggests extending the preposition *thumma* (and then) in verse II, 29 to mean not an actual order of succession, a *tartīb*, but a simple list of bounties (*taʿdīd al-niʿam*), which enumerate in second place something which could very well actually have been first. The aim of this discussion is to show that some processes like *taswiya* and *tadhiya*, which come into the general category of *taḳdīr*, are, with a few exceptions, conceived of as creative acts, or at least as aspects of *khalḳ*.

Another contradiction, between XLI, 9-12 and L, 38, concerns the total number of days of creation. The first text seems to give a total of eight days; two for the creation of the earth, four for establishing (*wadjaʿala*) the mountains and diversifying (*ḳaddara*) its nourishment, two for the seven heavens. The second

text states quite precisely that six days sufficed for the creation of the heavens, the earth and what is between them. All the commentators solve this by saying that in XLI, 9-12 we must not make the addition 2 + 4 = 6. The Ḳur'ānic sentence *wa-dja'ala* ... is an *isti'nāf*, a new sentence which goes back to the beginning and means that the creation of the earth and all it entails (mountains, foodstuffs) took place in four days. Likewise, explains al-Rāzī, when we say that it is twenty days' walk from Kūfa to Medina and thirty to Mecca, it does not mean that the distance from Kūfa to Mecca is 20 + 30 = 50, but that Kūfa to Medina takes 20 days and (*isti'nāf*) Kūfa to Mecca 30. Here the *dja'l* and *taḳdir* are considered as creations. Ibn Ḥazm, however, in the *Refutation of Ibn Naghrila*, separates them from *khalḳ*: "The two days during which God created the sky in seven heavens are the last two of the four days when he distributed the crops on the earth, for this distribution is something other then creation." Hardly a satisfying explanation! Finally, some commentators also echoed theological or philosophical conceptions.

V.—*Khalḳ in kalām.*

With the theologians, especially the Mu'tazilīs, the vocabulary of creation grew richer. In the first place, the creative act was expressed by the term *īdjād*, the fact of giving existence to that which did not exist. God is He who also gives existence (*al-Mūdjid*). But in order to endure, existence (*wudjūd*) needs subsistence (*baḳā'*), and that in abundance; *khalḳ* is not only *īdjād* but also *ibḳā'*, the gift of sustenance. Al-Rāzī related this second idea to the one expressed in the Ḳur'ānic term *rizḳ*: the act of catering for, providing for, sustaining. God is *Rāziḳ* and *Razzāḳ* just as He is *Khāliḳ* and *Khallāḳ*. The Ḳur'ān brings together the two ideas: "Is there a creator other than God who gives you sustenance (*yarzuḳukum*)" (XXXV, 3). And, more explicitly: "He who originated creation and repeated it, and He who gives you sustenance from the sky and the earth, is there another than God?" (XXVII, 64). The sustaining power, like the creating power, is associated with the oneness of God. The act of creation is not simply an original snap of the fingers; it must be repeated at each moment of the existence of creatures lest they should sink into the void. This is the Muslim doctrine of continuous creation, which is illustrated to perfection in al-Bāḳillānī's atomism and occasionalism, though it is not a prerogative of Ash'arism alone. Al-Bāḳillānī thinks that an accident cannot last two minutes in succession on a body which God has created in each of those two moments. The Mu'tazilīs are not unanimous on this point: some, the disciples of Mu'ammar, deny that God can create an accident; other affirm it. 'Abd al-Djabbār belongs to the second group, since he speaks of *ḥudūth* (generation of a new thing in time) of accidents, which are therefore *muḥdath* and must have a *muḥdith*, who is God. Nevertheless, the existence of accidents is a weaker proof of the existence of the Creator than that of bodies (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 39 f.).

Khalḳ is an attribute of God; it is an attribute of action and for the Mu'tazilīs, it is like the realisation of an act of goodness (*iḥsān*) or the exercise of justice (*'adl*). But it is necessary to know if God was thus eternally "creatory" (*lam yazal khāliḳan*), or if before the creation of the world He was, in pre-eternity, eternally "non-creatory" (*ghayr khāliḳ*). In general, the Ash'arīs think that *khāliḳ*, as a name of God, was eternally applied to him, but they do not press the analysis of the problem any further. All of the Mu'tazilīs do not deny that God was eternally "non-creatory", "non-providing", "non-operatory". They think that this is true of all those attributes of action which are unambiguously styled (*laysa fī na'tihi īhām*): in fact, God can be just either because justice is of His essence or because He exercises it. Thus, states al-Djubbā'ī, it must be said that He is eternally "not-just" and eternally "not-injust", for as long as the ambiguity lasts, that is, for as long as the object of his justice does not exist. But in the case of the creation there is no such ambiguity: the Creator is He who creates in reality. 'Abbād b. Sulaymān takes another stance: when he was told that God had never ceased to be *khāliḳ*, he denied it; he denied it also when he was told that God had never ceased to be *ghayr khāliḳ*. By this double denial, 'Abbād touched on the philosophical problem of the eternity of God and the temporality of his creation. He maintained in fact that God is before (*ḳabl*), but not before things or after things, just as it is not said that He is the First with regard to things (*awwal al-ashyā'*). The question of divine will was asked in this context of ideas. 'Abd al-Djabbār (*Sharḥ*, 440) writes that God is "willing" by an "innovatory" will (*bi-irāda muḥdatha*). We will not dwell here on his evidence, but will observe that if, as Abū Hāshim thinks (*Sharḥ*, 548), the act of creation is none other than the act of will (*al-khalḳ innamā huwa 'l-irāda*) and the act of creation cannot be realised without the realisation of a created being (*makhlūḳ*, *ibid.*, 549), this way lies the trap which philosophical reflection has spotted in connection with *muradjdjiḥ*, that is, the thing which swings the balance in favour of creation. Is it eternal? Creation must then be eternal. Is it not so? It must therefore be created in its term, and the question stretches back into infinity. Or, perhaps the *muradjdjiḥ*, eternal though it is, was hindered from acting? Therefore there must have been a hindrance, a *tark al-muradjdjiḥ*. And was that eternal or created? This notion leads to the same labyrinth as the previous one.

But theological speculations, by Mu'tazilīs at any rate, never went to these lengths. For them, the essential problem was to know what could be said of God from what the Ḳur'ān teaches. They had not the least doubt that the creation, as regards creatures, was "innovatory". Creation was produced in time and cannot be eternal. The question of the eternity of the creative act, however, underlined in their eyes the general problem of the attributes of essence and action. 'Abd al-Djabbār thought (*Sharḥ*, 115) that God had the power to create and to will by His essence; but saying that His will to create is *muḥdatha* does not imply that He needs a *muradjdjiḥ* in order to create, just as from our own experience (*fi'l-shāhid*, 116) we know that man does not need the will to will something in order to do so.

Relationships between attributes exist. *Khalḳ* is obviously connected with the Almighty (*Ḳudra*). This latter substantive is not Ḳur'ānic, but theologians consider that the word *ḳuwwa*, which occurs in verse II, 165 (*al-ḳuwwa li 'llāh djamī'an*), is its equivalent. God is *khāliḳ* in respect of *ḳādir* (Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 99, XXXVI, 81, XLVI, 33). 'Abd al-Djabbār writes: "The proof which demonstrates that God is the Innovator of the world proves this attribute, His Almighty Being, acting without intermediary" (*Sharḥ*, 151). This is why the Mu'tazilīs say that it was the Almighty who conceived us originally. Creation also proves that God is wise, through the

intermediary of the harmonious company of creatures (*ta'līf*), the marvels of the animal world and the ordering (*tarkīb*) of the celestial spheres (*ibid.*, 157), in short, well-conducted processes (*al-afʿāl al-muḥkama*).

But the relationship between creation and knowledge did present the Muʿtazilīs with a serious problem. Did God know his creatures before He created them? Did He have any knowledge of what their essential being must be before He gave them existence? Is it permissible to speak of a "before" at all? We have already looked at ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān's thesis. The disciples of Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī claim that the Creator does not cease to be eternally "within the beforeness of things" (*lam yazal ḳablu 'l-ashyā'*), but not "before things" (*ḳabla 'l-ashyā'*). Following the *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, most Muʿtazilīs nonetheless think that He has been eternally before things. Despite the various shades of opinion, this does not indicate a belief in the eternal simultaneity (*maʿiyya*) of God and things. Consequently, the preceding question is asked legitimately in this school. All the scholars agree that God is eternally knowing (*ʿālim*). But does He have eternal knowledge of the elements? Are those things which can be known (cognisables, *maʿlūmāt*) in fact known before they come into being (*ḳabla kawnihā*)? Furthermore, have "things" (a very general term corresponding to *mā*, Greek τι) never ceased to be (albeit as pure cognisables)? Various different answers are given. Al-Fuwaṭī, for example, thinks that God knows eternally what He is, but to say that He knows things from all eternity is tantamount to asserting their eternal co-existence with the Creator. It is not even possible to say that He knows what they will be, because that would be devising (*ishāra*) them and it is not possible to devise what exists. The name thing can only be applied to that which God has created or destroyed, *makhlūḳ* and *maʿdūm*. The pure void (*ʿadam*) is not so named and cannot be known.

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī, however, is of the opinion that God knows things eternally, but "in their moments" (*fī awḳātihā*), that is, that motionless eternity embraces all times in the flow of their moments. The knowledge of God is eternal, immutable, but the objects of this knowledge are subject to a temporal factor. ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān acknowledges that God has eternal knowledge of the creative act (*al-makhlūḳāt*) elements or results of acts (*al-mafʿūlāt*). Al-Djubbā'ī subscribes to a similar doctrine.

What does this mean? If God has knowledge of substances and accidents before they are created, why does He not also know the elements which are the substances that transmit the accidents? The stress laid on the ideas of action (*khalḳ*, *afʿāl*) leads to the notion that God has eternal knowledge of the power which He has to create certain sorts of being without knowing these beings themselves in their concrete and transient reality. Eternal knowledge of the eternal Almighty Power to create, this creative knowledge, can neither, by the preceding definition, be an *a posteriori* knowledge of creation nor a knowledge of creation in the *a priori* of His Idea. In fact, these speculations encompass the problem of Platonism's exemplary Ideas, *muthul*, which the Muʿtazilīs reject. If such models existed in the divine mind, the creatures would resemble their Creator; but "nothing resembles God" (Ḳur'ān XLII, 11). If there was ever in Islām a *ḥadīth* that God created man in his image, it was either rejected as unauthentic or interpreted as meaning that man was created in accordance with his own form.

These speculations led to the theory that essences were eternal in the state of nothingness (*fī ḥāl al-ʿadam*). He did not create them to give them an essential existence before making them exist in things, because to create essences in this way implies that they are known beforehand, and this leads once more to the Platonic error they were anxious to avoid. If to create is to bring into being out of the void, it is reasonable to suppose that the essences of created things, like the things themselves, are in the void before creation. They must at least have the determination to be possible, meaning by possible that which is not but could be. This corresponds to God's almighty power, and its *mumkināt* are *maḳdūrāt*. Thus what God knows eternally is His power. The problem, therefore, is to know if God creates all possible beings or if He makes a choice, or again if His power wears itself out in the creation of that which He creates. Djahm thinks that the objects of God's power and knowledge have an end and a limit (*ghāya wa-nihāya*) and that His acts will end in a final act (*wa-li-afʿālihi ākhir*). But, agreeing with Islam's deepest conviction, the Muʿtazilīs as a whole believe that God's power is limitless and that the created world does not exhaust it.

VI.—*Khalḳ in falsafa.*

As a general rule, the *falāsifa* used the word *khalḳ* in the sense of creation *ab aeterno*. Proclus formulated this conception precisely in the Commentary on the Timaeus and it was elaborated upon by commentators on Plato and Aristotle. It was revived by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. Al-Ghazālī criticised it in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, and his theological arguments were refuted by Ibn Rushd in *Fahāfut al-tahāfut* in the name of a pure Aristotelianism which differed significantly from the Avicennan ideas on this question [cf. ḲIDAM]. Ibn Sīnā often uses the term *ibdāʿ* [*q.v.*]. It is the extent to which a thing owes its existence to something other than itself, and is subordinate to this other thing and no other, without the intermediary of matter, instrument or time (*Ishārāt*, *namaṭ*, v, section 9). "The Prime Innovator is an intellectual substance (*djawhar ʿaḳlī*) which is innovated (*mubdaʿ*) in the true sense of the word. By his intermediary He (God) innovates an(other) intellectual substance and heavenly body (*ibid.*, VI, 21)." Here we have the theory of the emanation (*fayḍ*) of intelligences and spheres which comes directly from al-Fārābī. Quiddities exist in concrete form in things, abstractly in human thought and as an exemplar in God's knowledge. But, unlike the Platonic Ideas, these are not individualised as if divine thought was their "intelligible place" (τόπος νοητός). God had prior knowledge of the "exemplary representation of universal order" (*tamaththul al-niẓām al-kullī*) from which this order is unfolded in its disposition and divisions (*ʿalā tartībihi wa-tafāṣīlihi*), in the intelligible course of its emanation. The two major Neoplatonic principles adopted by the Muslims are present here; that nothing can come from the One but one, and that God has no knowledge of details as such, neither in their material reality nor in their individual essence. Yet verse LVII, 3, which states that God is the Manifest and the Concealed, gives rise to the notion that worldly beings are simply manifestations of God (cf. *al-Fuṣūṣ fī 'l-ḥikma*: "In as much as He is manifest, he extracts All from His essence . . . His knowledge of All multiplies in a multiplicity which comes after His essence, and All is united by His essence in His unity . . . He is therefore manifest in as much as He is concealed and Concealed in as much as He is

manifest"). Ibn ʿArabī systematised this concept: Being had an interior reality and an exterior expression which are inseparable and dialectically united. This gives rise to the cosmological pair *khalḳ-ḥaḳḳ* corresponding to the ontological pair *ẓahir-bāṭin*. Creation is an expression and a manifestation of God; it is the "epiphany" of God. Beings are manifold mirrors of the divine Essence, which is absolutely one, ineffable and without end. The most beautiful names of God are the patterns from which and for which all the beings in the world are "created" (*Futūḥāt*, i, ch. 4). "The first divine step in creation was resolution (*taḳdīr*), even before the existence of creatures: it is the manner in which creatures are qualified in respect of being manifestations of Divine Reality (*bi-kawnihim maẓāhir li-'l-Ḥaḳḳ*)" (*ibid.*, ii, 11, ch. 3, question 30).

The Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ also believe in emanation, but of a different type than Ibn Sīnā's. They call the Creator (*al-Bārīʾ*) *muḥdith*, *mukhtariʿ*, *mubdiʿ*, *mubkī*, *mutammim*, *mukammil*. The Intelligence, the prime innovator, has existence (*wudjūd*), sustenance (*baḳāʾ*), completeness (*tamām*) and perfection (*kamāl*). The soul, which comes after him, lacks perfection, while matter has only existence and sustenance. The soul achieves perfection through giving completeness to matter, which by this union has a body. Like Ibn Sīnā they believe that the creative, innovatory act of God affects directly His Intelligence alone, which receives all it requires at a single stroke (*dafʿatan*). Here the Ikhwān make an interesting distinction. When discussing the verse: "*A lahu 'l-khalḳ wa'-l-amr*" (VII, 45) they explain that *khalḳ* designates corporeal things and *amr* spiritual substances. Their general term for creation is *ibdāʿ*.

A distinction of this type is even more marked among later Ismāʿīlis. In *Kanz al-walad*, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī also speaks of an *ibdāʿ* which arose from a single stroke connected with the Prime Innovator (*al-mubdaʿ al-awwal*) or Prime Intelligence; then came successively the first emanation (*al-Munbaʿith al-Awwal*), *al-Ḳalam*, which subsists in action, and the second emanation, which subsists in power. Both are derived from the Prime Innovator, which was not created (*mukhtariʿ*) as a result of "something which can be called an act of innovation", but which is "the very act of the Highest (*al-Mutaʿālī*), gushing from Him towards existence." The first emanation glorifies, worships and sanctifies the Prime Innovator, and together they testify to the Highest. It too is perfect in its essence and completed in its act. The second emanation, however, while of course glorifying the Prime Innovator, neglected to join it in testifying to the Highest. It also occupied second place and did not acknowledge the first emanation's prerogative. For all these reasons, although perfect in its essence, it is defective (*nāḳiṣ*) in its action, which is therefore power. Here we notice the appearance of a fault committed by the upper world, and the idea of a culpability that is inserted into the process of creation, which is not found in the Ikhwān's thought, gradually develops in later Ismāʿīlism. Evil is therefore born in the spiritual world, that of the *ʿuḳūl* and the angels, although at the "emanatory" (*inbiʿāthāt*) level and not that on the *ibdāʿ*. In his article "*The Ismaili Vocabulary of Creation*" in *SI*, xl (1974) 75-84), a study of the *Kitāb al-Yanābīʿ*, a manuscript of Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī's *Maḳālid* and al-Kirmānī's *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*, P. E. Walker concludes: "In sum, the creation process ... divides into three distinct levels, each corresponding to the level of reality being created." He cites the *Maḳālid*, which makes a distinction between *aysiyya mukawwana*, *aysiyya munbaʿitha* and *aysiyya maḥḍa*. At the sensible level, things are created by the passage of time and things come to be out of things that were. On a higher plane, things in the intelligible world come forth by emanation or the special process of *al-inbiʿāth*. Above all is creation by *al-ibdāʿ*." He defines creation by *ibdāʿ* as "the radical coming to be of being from what is not being." It is "an eternal, timeless existentiation." H. Corbin compares this theory with al-Kindī's in *Hist. de la philos. isl.*, 220. The source of such innovation is a God there is a recognisable will, one which does not more can be said than what He is not, while adding that He is not what he is not." *Ibdāʿ* is outside the realm of intellectual speculation and is not a process arising from an intelligible act; this gave rise to the voluntarist conception of it. God innovates through a commandment that is also will (*amr-irāda*). Oddly enough, we have here in the use of words a reflection of Ibn Rushd, who, for other reasons, also thought that God, immobile Prime Mover that He is, moves the world through His *amr*. He acknowledges that in God there is a recognisable will, one which does not resemble man's will at all but is for Him analogous to it. Ibn Sīnā, and especially his commentator Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, rejected the intervention of will in the creative act, for to will is to strive for something missing and God does not lack anything. He creates through pure generosity (*djūd*), which these philosophers consider the exact mean between a natural production (*ṭabīʿī*) and a willed creation.

VII.—*Creation in the thinking of the Shīʿī Imāms.*

Imāmī teaching introduces the concept of a pre-eternal creation of "forms of light, precosmic entities" (H. Corbin, *op. laud.*, 75). Many traditions speak of a pleroma of five of these: Muḥammad, Fāṭima, ʿAlī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The universe is made from them, governed by them and constructed to receive their temporal manifestations. The Muḥammadan Light is the Prime Innovator of all creation. There are many accounts of this topic in *Biḥār al-anwār*. But all the *Imāms* are of a unique essence. In *Kāfī*, al-Kulaynī recounts a number of *ḥadīths* about the creation of the *Imāms*: "God created us from the light of His majesty. Then He shaped our already created beings (*ṣawwara khalḳanā*) from clay kept hidden beneath His Throne and made this light dwell there. Thus we are creatures of light and men of light." Another *ḥadīth* speaks of a river flowing beneath the Throne; beneath the Spirits, the Spirit of Holiness and the Spirit which proceeds from God's Commandment (cf. Ḳurʾān, XVII, 85). God takes ten portions of clay, five from Paradise and five from earth. The *Imāms* are created from these and given breath by the two Spirits. Another text says that they are created from the sublimest of the ʿIlliyyūn (cf. Ḳurʾān, LXXXIII, 18-19). Clearly, while based on Ḳurʾānic verses, all these tales embody elements alien to Muslim Revelation and obviously showing Gnostic influence.

VIII.—*Supplementary questions.*

Some *ḥadīths* state clearly that God created evil and the pains suffered by mankind. Theology, particularly Ashʿarī theology, supported this doctrine, justifying it by saying that creation does not entail that normal causality where effect issues from cause. God can therefore create evil, but it is not necessary to call Him evil. Associated with this question is that of the creation of human actions, a concept which the

Djabriyya upheld, which asserts that God created belief and unbelief, worship and disobedience. All that exists and is not God is created by God. Evil exists and is not God. The conclusion is inescapable.

Elsewhere, we find the doctrine of creation by the Word (the imperative *kun*, the *amr*), and creation by generosity (*djūd*). It should be added that some mystics, such as al-Ḥallādj, believed that God created by love. In al-Ḥallādj's eyes, says L. Massignon, concluding his study of the developments of *khalḳ* and *ʿishḳ*, "the mystery of creation is love, essence of the divine essence" (*Passion*², iii, 116 and index s.v. *khalḳ*.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

KHALḲEVI (Modern Turkish orthography, HALKEVİ, pl. HALKEVLERİ), "People's House", the educational and social centres founded by Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) to replace the "Turkish Hearths" (see *Türk Odjaghi*) which were active, with some intervals, between 1912 and 1932. The *Odjaḳ*s represented originally the Pan-Turkist ideology of the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād ve Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*]). Although the government continued to support them after the foundation of the Republic in 1923, they were gradually looked upon as an obsolete institution, out of keeping with Kemalism, which rejected "unrealistic" ideologies (i.e. Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turanianism) and cultivated a nationalism based on the National Pact (*Mīthāḳ-i Millī*). Hence they were dissolved on 10 April 1930. In the meantime, the Republican People's Party (RPP, see DJUMHŪRIYYET KHALḲ FIRḲASI) Convention of May 1931 formulated the six fundamental principles of Kemalism: republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularism and reformism, which were going to be disseminated all over the country through a new organisation, the People's Houses. Founded on 19 February 1932, they developed rapidly and their number in cities and towns reached 379 in 1940 and 478 in 1950. In 1939 they were expanded into villages, where they were called *Halk Odası* ("People's Room", pl. *Halk Odaları*), and their number reached 4,322 in 1950. People's Houses and Rooms were under direct control of the RPP, which appointed the heads of the houses and closely supervised their activities which were divided into nine areas: (1) Language and literature, (2) Fine Arts, (3) Theatre, (4) Sports, (5) Social Assistance, (6) Adult Education, (7) Library and publication, (8) Rural development, and (9) Museums and History. In addition to *Ülkü* ("Ideal"), the organ of the Central office in Ankara, almost every important provincial People's House published a periodical which encouraged the study of local popular literature and folklore. The collections of these periodicals (available in the Milli Kütüphane or National Library in Ankara) contain invaluable materials for research in these fields. The most outstanding of these periodicals, *Ülkü* (1933-50) was, under the editorship of the eminent scholar M. Fuad Köprülü, until 1941 a leading review of serious research in the field of Turcology, becoming later a predominantly literary magazine. Although primarily meant for the masses, the People's Houses, which possessed fully equipped libraries and theatres, attracted mostly the educated classes, particularly students, teachers, doctors, lawyers, government officials, etc. Apart from their remarkable achievements in adult education, the People's Houses made a great contribution in the field of drama, as they gradually became a training ground for many actors, producers and playwrights. Following the end of the single-party régime in 1946, the RPP made great efforts to turn the People's Houses into non-party institutions. After the victory of the Democratic Party [see DEMOKRAT PARTI] in the general elections of May 1950, the RPP suggested to the government a compromise to "to save this heritage of Ataturk"; this was nevertheless rejected, and the People's Houses and Rooms were abolished on 8 August 1951 (by law No. 530) and all their property confiscated. After the Revolution of 27 May 1960, the military régime, which stood for the principles of Kemalism, on 12 April 1961 set up Turkish Cultural Associations (*Türk Kültür Dernekleri*). On 21 April 1963, these non-political associations changed their names to *Halkevi*. The revived People's Houses have not yet (1976) recovered their former important position in the country.

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(FAHIR IZ)

KHALKHA, the name of a river which rises on the western slopes of the Great Khingan in Mongolia and empties into the Buyir-Nor; this river appears in the Chinese atlases in the forms Ha-lo-hin or Ha-êrh-ha, which render the name Khalkha. It is mentioned in the 12th century by the "Kin dynastic history" (*Kin-she*) in ch. 94, 3, under the name Ha-lo, very likely an incomplete transcription of this name for the river. It is cited on a few occasions in the Mongol period and the Ming one, appearing very frequently in the Manchu period in the Chinese, Mongol, Russian and western sources. Naturally, it is cited in the Mongol period by Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, in *Trudy VORAO*, xiii (St. Petersburg 1868), Persian text, 216, Russian tr. 134: *Ḳalā*, and xv (1889), text, 3, l. 14, tr. 3. For the greater part of its course, this river forms the frontier between the province of Khingan (former Hei-long-kiang) and the Mongolian People's Republic. Since the 16th century, the term Khalkha has designated the northeastern part of Mongolia, from the actual province of Khingan to the eastern frontier of the province of Kobdo, and from the Russian frontier to the territory of Inner Mongolia. The name Khalkha is also used at the present time for the language spoken in almost all of the Mongolian Republic.

Sanang Setsen, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, ed. I. J. Schmidt, St. Petersburg 1829, 191, 197, and also the later Mongol chroniclers, speak of 12 Khalkha tribes, and they distinguish five "nearer tribes" and seven "further tribes" (*op. cit.*, 205, also 191, 285). *The Mong-ku she-hi p'u* "Genealogical tables of the Mongols" (L. Hambis, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Mongols*, Paris 1969, 235) relates thus: "The eighth son of Batu Mongkä Dayan-Ḫan was called Gärösanǰa; he himself had seven sons who lived among the Qalqa tribes, whence their name of the seven Qalqa banners". On the other hand, J. B. du Halde, *Description ... de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, The Hague 1736, 75, mentions thus in regard to the Khalkha: "This name is taken from the river Kalka. At Peking, they are called Kalka tase and Kalka Mongu". The ancestor of all the Khalkha princes was thus Gärösanǰa (or "Geresentse"), son of Dayan-Khān (d. 1543?); cf. on his genealogy, A Pozdneyev, *Mongolia i Mongoli*,

St. Petersburg 1896, i, 472, and especially the genealogy in the *Šara Tūdži*, ed. N. P. Shastina, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 153-8. From the different branches of this princely family there derive the four *aymaḳ*s, into which the Khalkha, from the east to the west, the *aymaḳ* of Tsetsen-khān, that of Tushetu-khān, that of Sayin-noyan and that of Djasaktu-khān are nominally divided. The Mongol inscription of Dolon-Nor, inscribed on the occasion of the submission of the Khalkha to the emperor Kang-hi in 1691, published and tr. A. Pozdneyev, *op. cit.*, ii, 291 ff., mentions seven sons of "Geresentse", amongst whom the Khalkha were said to be divided in seven divisions (*khoshun*, in Arabic script *ḳoshūn*); these would be the seven "further tribes" of Sanang Setsen. Around 1585, the Khalkha appeared to have adopted lamaist Buddhism, and the Dalai Lama appointed for them a "Ḳutuḳtu". The five "nearer tribes" are essentially the Djaraγut (< Djarōd) and the Bārin who live today in the southern part of the Khingan province on the borders of the former Manchuria (cf. B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Gde "pyat" Khalkhaskikh pokolenii—Tabun otoj γalγa* ["Where are the 'five tribes of the Khalkha'?"], in *Dokl. Ak. Nauk* (1930), 201-5).

After the proclamation of the Chinese Republic in 1911, the Khalkha proclaimed their independence, but despite Russian intervention, were brought into subjection again by the Chinese government. After many vicissitudes, and after having received aid from the Soviet army in order to suppress the attempts of Ungern-Sternberg, they became independent under the name of "People's Republic of Mongolia", thus putting an end in 1921 to the feudal era. Since this time, and despite the fact that China has never recognised this independence as *de jure*, as official maps show, the Khalkha have undergone a radical transformation through the revolution and through socialisation, having suffered bitterly during the Stalinist period.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(L. Hambis)

KHALKHĀL, in mediaeval times a district and town, now a district only, of Ādharbāydjān in northwestern Persia. It lies to the south of Ardabīl, and is bounded on the east by that part of the Elburz chain which separates Gīlān and Tālish in the Caspian coastlands from the upland interior of Ādharbāydjān, the mountains here rising to over 10,000 feet. Much of the district is drained by the left-bank tributaries of the Ḳizil Uzun affluent of the Safīd-Rūd. In mediaeval times it adjoined on the east the district of Ṭārom and was part of the general region called Daylam [*qq.v.*].

The actual name Khalkhāl is not known before Yāḳūt, but it may be connected with the Khalkhal which lay in eastern Transcaucasia and was, according to Greek and Armenian authors of the 2nd-5th centuries A.D., the winter residence of the kings and then of Albania or Arrān (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 118). Yāḳūt describes Khalkhāl as both a town and a district of lofty mountains and strong fortresses, being two days' journey from Ardabīl and seven from Qazwīn; he himself passed through it as he fled before the Mongols in 617/1220 (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, ii, 381-2). Mustawfī (wrote 740/1339-40) is more informative. He states that Khalkhāl district has four component sub-districts, Khāmida-Bīl, Sadjasrūd, Andjīlābād and Mīsdjīn, that it comprises *ca.* 100 villages, with good pasture land and stocks of game, and that its revenue amounts to 30,000 dīnārs a year. The seat of its governors was formerly Fīrūzābād at the top of the Bardalīz Pass; this had been replaced by the town of Khalkhāl, now itself declined to little more than a village (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. 84). The site of this old capital of Fīrūzābād or Fīrūzān is marked, according to Minorsky, by the modern village of Ḳabakh.

The district of Khalkhal at present forms a *shahrastān* of the *ustān* or province of Ādharbāydjān East, and has four *bakhsh*s or component sub-districts; the *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān* (1330/1951) estimates the population of the whole district at 110,000. The administrative centre is Harawābād, which lies on a relatively easy route across the Tālish mountains to the Caspian, and which seems to have existed as such for some three centuries, though Minorsky surmised that the *al-H.r* of Bīrūnī's *Ḳānūn* was probably the modern Haraw(*ābād*), see his *Transcaucasica*, in *JA*, ccxvii (1930), 72. The present population is largely Turkish, ethnically and linguistically. The *Farhang*, ii, 104, also mentions a place Khalkhāliyān in Tālish, doubtless in origin a settlement of Khalkhālīs, and Mustawfī, tr. 206, records a fishing village called Khalkhāl on the eastern shore of the Caspian where the Oxus channel debouched from the direction of Khʷārazm.

Bibliography: the information of the mediaeval geographers is given by Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 169-71, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, viii, 1173-4, see also Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, 210-11, and Minorsky, *EI*¹ art. *Tārom*. For the modern period, see *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, 55, and *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, iv, 193-4, 546-7.

(C. E. Bosworth)

AL-KHALLĀL, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. HĀRŪN, better known as Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923), traditionist, legal scholar and theologian, and an outstanding figure in the history of Ḥanbalism.

Very little is known of his life, however. He was a pupil of Abū Bakr al-Marwadhī (d. 275/889), the author of the *K. al-Waraʿ*, himself one of the favourite pupils of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. He further followed the teachings of the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903), younger son of Ibn Ḥanbal, who transmitted virtually the whole of his father's work and who arranged in an orderly fashion the materials of the *Musnad*. We also know that Abū Bakr al-Khallāl taught at Baghdād in the mosque of al-Mahdī, one of the city's most important ones. He died on the last Friday of Rabīʿ II 311/15 August 923, during the caliphate of al-Muḳtadir.

Abū Bakr al-Khallāl's literary and dogmatic theological work is almost all lost today, yet it was extremely important. Above all, he was the author of the *K. al-Djāmiʿ*, the first great *corpus iuris* of Ḥanbalism. In this, he brought together and classified all the responsa (*masāʾil*) of the *Imām* Aḥmad which had already been brought together into special collections. This enormous compilation ran to some twenty volumes, and was still in existence in the 8th/14th century, for both Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Ḳayyim made abundant use of it.

It was for a long time considered that the *K. al-Djāmiʿ* was lost, but an important fragment is preserved in a British Museum ms. (Brockelmann, S I, 311; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 511-12), of which we have given a short analysis in *Les premières professions de foi hanbalites*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1956-7, iii, 17-22. In this text are contained equally the elements of a profession of faith, of a treatise on public law and of a legal work. It is aimed against

the traditional enemies of Ḥanbalism and, more generally, against the committers of evildoing and disorder (*fasād*) likely to threaten the caliphate and the Sunnī order.

He also composed various manuals setting forth Ḥanbali doctrines, whose importance is attested for us. Aḥmad b. Taymiyya tells us in his *K. al-Imān* (ed. Cairo, 158) that Abū Bakr al-Khallāl's *K. al-Sunna* was the supreme work of the Ḥanbalī school for the study of its ideas on dogmatic theology (*uṣūl dīniyya*), whilst his *K. fi 'l-ʿIlm* was moreover the best Ḥanbalī manual for setting forth the *Imām* Aḥmad's doctrines in moral theology (*uṣūl fiḳhiyya*).

Al-Dhahabī also held the opinion that Abū Bakr al-Khallāl had written the first summa of Ḥanbalī doctrine, and emphasised the importance of his *K. al-ʿIlal* on the defects of *ḥadīth* (*Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 7-8).

Finally, Abū Bakr al-Khallāl wrote a history of Ḥanbalism, of which a few leaves survive in the Ẓāhiriyya library at Damascus. The greater part of this work, however, was incorporated in two classic histories of Ḥanbalism which are still extant: the *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila* of the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (d. 526/1132) and the *Dhayl* of Ibn Radjab (d. 797/1395).

His work was transmitted, continued and to some extent completed by his chief disciple, Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/974), better known as Ghulām al-Khallāl (Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, ii, 119-27; *Ikhtiṣār ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, 334-40).

Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz completed the *K. al-Djāmiʿ* by his *Zād al-Musāfir* in which he sets down the *masāʾil* which had escaped his master. The work is now lost, but we do have two texts by this same author. One is a *K. al-Amr*, preserved in the Ẓāhiriyya, in which there is a strong criticism of the life of luxury and ease enjoyed by the caliphal circles and the Turkish *amīr*s which formed part of them; the other is a list of *masāʾil* concerning which the author diverges from the doctrine of al-Khiraḳī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 75-118).

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 112-13; *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 12-15; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 7-8; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 148; *Ikhtiṣār* 295-7; *Shadharāt*, ii, 261; Laoust, *Le ḥanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad*, in *REI* (1959), 79-80, 91.

(H. Laoust)

KHALWA, technical term of mysticism, meaning "retirement, seclusion, retreat" (from *khalā* "to be alone"), and, more specifically, "isolation in a solitary place or cell" (*zāwiya*, [*bayt al-*]*khalwa*), involving spiritual exercises. "Seclusion" or "solitude" in general (syns. *ʿuzla, waḥda, infirād, inḳiṭāʿ*) is one of the fundamental principles of asceticism (*zuhd*); and the predilection of early Muslim ascetics for the solitary way of life is a prominent topic of Ṣūfī hagiographic literature. The example of Christian asceticism is likely to have exercised a certain influence in the formation of this ideal, though orthodox Muslim authorities, e.g. Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), are also quoted as favouring a life in separation from society (Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, Beirut 1387/1967, vi, 376, ll. 20-2). The Ṣūfī Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/860) learnt from a Syrian hermit about the "sweetness of seclusion, invocation (*dhikr*) and of secret conversation with God in private (*al-khalwa bi-munādjātihi*)" (*Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, ix, 356, ll. 14-15). The same Ṣūfī is frequently quoted as "knowing of no better incitement to bring about spiritual sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*) than *khalwa*"; and another celebrated Ṣūfī, Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/945), is said to have given this advice, "Cleave to solitude, abolish your name from the (memory of the) people, and face the wall (of prayer) until you die!" (al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1379/1959, 55 f.; Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, Beirut 1966, 210; cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, i, vv. 643-9). However, the statements of classical early Ṣūfīs quoted by Ḳushayrī (*Risāla*, 54-6) and Ghazālī (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1352/1933, ii, 197-216) reflect a wide spectrum of opinions as to the relative virtues of "solitude" and "community" (*ṣuḥba, mukhālaṭa*). Spiritual isolation from the world was considered higher than material seclusion; and it is clear that periodic retreats rather than permanent seclusion were pracised in reality. The Sunna certainly does not favour the solitary way of life, and community life was, in fact, increasingly becoming a characteristic feature of Ṣūfism itself. Thus, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907-8) is said to have strongly commended "community" as a means to practise "altruism" (*īthār*) (ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, ed. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1907, ii, 46, and Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sūsī of Baṣra (*ca.* 300/900) is quoted with this statement: "Only the strong ones are able to support solitude, whereas community life (*al-idjtimāʿ*) is more beneficial for people like us, so that each individual's behaviour is controlled by each other" (Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj, *Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, ed. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1914, 207, ll. 19-21; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, 56, ll. 1-3).

In post-classical Ṣūfism, the situation is essentially the same. According to Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī ([*q.v.*], d. 632/1234), it is community life which distinguishes the Ṣūfīs from the ascetics, but Suhrawardī explains this difference by claiming that the Ṣūfīs prefer community because, due to their spiritual "health", they are free from the temptations from which the ascetics tried to escape by choosing the solitary way of life (*ʿAwārif*, 108). Still, the Ṣūfīs' spiritual sustenance is "solitude" (*ibid.*, 221), and even in the "common room" (*bayt al-djamāʿa*) of the Ṣūfī *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*], they are supposed to sit on their prayer carpets as if these were their individual retreat (*ibid.*, 108). Besides, the Ṣūfī establishment often has individual cells; and the practice of periodic retreats, which plays an important role in Ṣūfī education (*tarbiya*), is developed into a real institution. Suhrawardī devotes three chapters of the *ʿAwārif* to its description (*op. cit.*, 207-27). Special emphasis is also placed on it by the Kubrawiyya, the Shādhiliyya, the Ḳādiriyya and, of course, the Khalwatiyya. This *khalwa* involves the "Major Holy War" (cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, v, vv. 3785-6), i.e. ascetic discipline, notably vigils, gradually increased fasting, and concentration of the mind, mainly by means of *dhikr* [*q.v.*]. On entering *khalwa*, one should free oneself from wordly possessions and be in a state of ritual purity. Being in the cell should evoke the idea of being in the grave (ʿAmmār al-Bidlīsī, *ca.* 600/1200, in Kubrā, *Fawāʾiḥ al-djamāl*, ed. F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957, text 60, introd. 32); the cell itself should be a dark room prohibiting the entering of daylight. Its purpose is the "closing up of the external senses" and the "opening of the internal senses" (Kubrā, in M. Molé, *Traités mineurs de Naǵm al-Dīn Kubrā*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, iv (1963), 25; cf. *Fawāʾiḥ al-djamāl*, text 18), i.e. readiness for mystical experiences. However, warnings against attaching too much value to such experiences (*waḳāʾiʿ al-khalwa*) are voiced frequently; the guidance of a spiritual director is, therefore, considered vital. According to Suhrawardī, visionary experiences and extrasensory perceptions in general may serve a certain purpose

on the mystic way, but the ultimate goal of *khalwa* is rather the experience of the "*dhikr* of the divine Essence" through consubstantiation (*tadjawhur*) of its light in the heart (*ʿAwārif*, 216, 219).

This institutionalised seclusion is normally limited to periods of forty days, which is why it is also called *al-arbaʿīniyya*, or *čilla* (from Persian *čihil*); it should not be interrupted except for ritual community prayers, and it should be repeated once every year (*ʿAwārif*, 221). It is conceived as an *imitatio prophetae*, the prophet Muhammad's custom to retreat in a cave in Mt. Ḥirāʾ before he received the Ḳurʾānic revelation being taken as a traditional basis. However, the number forty is linked to the example of other prophets as well, especially Mūsā (cf. Ḳurʾān VII, 138/142). It also symbolises the "forty stages" of the universe, which is the scene of the mystic "journey" (*ʿAwārif*, 207 f.; ʿAṭṭār, *Muṣībat-nāma*, cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 18 ff.).

At the same time, the *khalwa* extends ideally over the whole life of the Ṣūfī (*ʿAwārif*, 221, 226). The practice of retreat is only a means to an end, and the goal of Ṣūfī education is *khalwa* "in spirit" (*khalwat al-maʿnā*), i.e. being spiritually with God in spite of material presence in the world (Kubrā, *Fawāʾiḥ al-djamāl*, 60). The same idea is expressed in the Naḳshbandī formula of *khalwat dar andjuman* (solitude in society). Similarly, Ibn ʿArabī is not speaking of the common practice of retreat when he considers *khalwa* as the highest *maḳām*; he takes it to mean the absolute "emptiness" (*khalāʾ*) of the Perfect Man, i.e. the state of being "filled" with the Absolute (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Cairo 1270, ii, 166 ff.).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, Tor Andrae, *Islamische Mystiker*, Stuttgart 1960, 70 ff. (for the early period); J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, glossary s.v. *khalwa* and index s.v. retreat; P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (m. 709/1309) et la naissance de la confrérie šādilite*, Beirut 1972, 89, 127, 237 f.; *Sharḥ Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī ʿala 'l-ḥikam al-ʿAṭāʾiyya*, Cairo 1287, i, 18-20; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān-i Isfarāyinī, *Fī kayfiyyat al-taslīk wa'l-idjlās fi'l-khalwa*, annex to *Kâshif al-Asrâr*, ed. H. Landolt, Wisdom of Persia Series, v, Tehran (forthcoming).

(H. LANDOLT)

KHALWATIYYA (Turkish: Halvetiyye), a highly ramified and widespread *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*].

History and branches. The Khalwatiyya is mentioned as a branch of al-Abhariyya al-Zāhidiyya by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī (*Tibyān*, i, 343b), who gives as its founder ʿUmar al-Khalwatī (born in Lāhidj, Djīlān, died in Tabrīz, 800/1397). However, Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī [*q.v.*] stresses that ʿUmar's *shaykh*, Muḥammad b. Nūr al-Bālisī, who was called al-Khalwatī because of his frequent retreats, is the first in the Khalwatiyya *silsila* (cf. Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhlūf al-ʿAdawī, *Awrād al-Sāda al-Khalwatiyya*, Cairo 1963, 67 and ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Shabrāwī, *Sirādj Ahl al-Bidāyāt fī 'l-Taṣawwuf*, Cairo 1366, 180). Khalwatī literature mentions Yaḥyā al-Shirwānī al-Bākūbī (born in Shemākhā, Shirwān, d. in Bākū, 869/1464) as the second *pīr*, the first being ʿUmar. There are three *shaykhs* in between the two in the Khalwatiyya *silsila*. Al-Shirwānī is the author of the *Wird al-Sattār*. Its reading is among the obligations imposed upon the members of most branches.

H. J. Kissling (*ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 240), has argued that al-Shirwānī was the real founder. He discarded the suggestion of G. Jacob (Türkische Bibliothek, 9. Band, 80) that the origins of the Khalwatiyya were in the Anatolian *Akhī*-fraternities [*q.v.*]. Among ʿUmar al-Shirwānī's *khalīfas*, who further shaped and spread the order, were ʿUmar Rūshānī (d. 892/1486 in Tabrīz) and Yūsuf al-Shirwānī (d.?). The former became a protégé of the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlu ruler, Uzun Ḥasan, in Tabrīz. He initiated Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammādī (d. 929/1524) and Ibrāhīm Gulshanī [*q.v.*], each of whom founded their own orders, al-Demirdāshiyya and al-Gulshaniyya respectively, both with their centres in Cairo. Two branches of the latter order gained some renown: al-Sezāʾiyya, founded by Ḥasan Sezāʾī (d. 1151/1738, Edirne) and al-Ḥāletiyya, founded by Ḥasan Ḥāletī ʿAlī Aʿlā (d. 1329/1911, Edirne). Among the *khalīfas* succeeding Yūsuf Shirwānī the most notable are Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Sīvāsī (d. 1006/1597 in Sīvās) and ʿAbd al-Aḥad Nūrī al-Sīvāsī (1061/1650 in Istanbul). Both established their own *ṭarīḳas*, known as Shamsiyya [*q.v.*] and Sīvāsiyya.

Initially, the order spread in Anatolia mainly in the Amasya-region when it was governed by Bāyezīd II. Here, the most notable *shaykh* of the order was Meḥmed Djamāl al-Dīn al-Aḳṣarāʾī, known as Čelebī Efendi (d. *ca.* 903/1497, Tābūt Ḳorusu near Damascus). This branch was originally called al-Djamāliyya after him. After the death of his successor, Yūsuf Sünbül Sinān al-Dīn (d. 936/1529 Istanbul), it became known as al-Sünbüliyya. Its history until the middle of the 17th century and its involvement in Ottoman politics have been dealt with by Kissling, *op. cit.*, 233 f. The stages of the order's early history, subsequent to its spread in the region of Amasya, are the following: I.—a spread westwards during the reign of Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512), when the centre of the order's activity shifted from Amasya to Istanbul; II.—stagnation during the reign of Selīm I, concomitant with the increasing Sunnī orientation of the Empire and connected with the conflict with the increasingly Shīʿī-influenced Persia (the names of five Shīʿa *Imāms* were dropped from the *silsila*). III.—a new florescence during the reign of Sulaymān the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66) and Selīm II (974-82/1566-74). Many personalities prominent in the administration (e.g. the Djamālzādes and the grandvizier Luṭfī Pāsha [*qq.v.*]) had links with the order and favoured it.

In this era the Shaʿbāniyya, named after Shaʿbān Velī al-Ḳasṭamūnī (d. 976/1568), became prominent. Its most notable branch, al-Ḳarābāshiyya, was founded by ʿAlī Ḳarābāsh (d. 1097/1685), who had been active in the Ḳasṭamonu and Ankara areas. His pupil Naṣūḥī Meḥmed (d. 1130/1717, Istanbul) established his own *ṭarīḳa*, al-Naṣūḥiyya, from which the Čerkeshiyya, named after Čerkeshī Muṣṭafā (d. 1229/1813, Čerkes), separated itself. The Khalīliyya and the Ibrāhīmiyya are branches of the latter *ṭarīḳa* and were founded by Ḥādjdjī Khalīl Geredeli (d. 1229/1881, Gerede) and Ḳušadalī Ibrāhīm (d. 1283/1866-7, Scutari) respectively (cf. H. J. Kissling, *Šaʿbān Velī und die Šaʿbāniyye*, in *Serta Monacensia, Festschrift Babinger*, Leiden 1952, 86 ff.).

In the first half of the 12th/18th century a branch of the Ḳarābāshiyya emerged under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī and called al-Bakriyya after him. One of his *khalīfas*, ʿAbd al-Karīm Kamāl al-Dīn (d. 1199/1784, Gāza), established his own branch, al-Kamāliyya. Another *khalīfa*, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d. 1189/1775, Mecca), also founded his own order, al-Sammāniyya which spread to the Sudan and Ethiopia, and from Mecca into South-East Asia. A branch of this *ṭarīḳa*, al-

Fayḍiyya, named after Fayḍ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ghunaym, was active in Istanbul, where its founder lived most of his life and died in 1309/1891 (cf. *Tibyān* i, 306a). Al-Bakrī's *khalīfa* and direct successor in Egypt was Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī (d. 1181/1767, Cairo). The spectacular spread of al-Khalwatiyya in Egypt in the 19th and 20th century is due to the latter's students and their *khalīfas* (cf. al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, i, 298). For details on the various branches which developed in Egypt, see F. de Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt* (in preparation).

Out of a Syrian branch of the Djamāliyya, introduced in Damascus by ʿUways al-Ḳaramānī, a *khalīfa* of Čelebi Efendi, two *ṭarīḳas* emerged: al-ʿAssāliyya, named after Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Harīrī al-ʿAssālī (d. 1048/1638, Aleppo; cf. al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, i, 248 f.) and al-Bakhshiyya, founded by Muḥammad al-Bakhshī al-Ḥalabī al-Baḳfalūnī (d. 1098/1686, Mecca), which had its centre in the Ikhlāṣiyya *tekke* in Halab (cf. *Tibyān*, i, 108b). The remaining Khalwatiyya branches all have *silsilas* going back to Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn b. ʿĪsā al-Marmarāwī al-Djigitbashī (d. 910/1504, Maghnisa). He had founded his own order, al-Aḥmadiyya, which had spread mainly in and around Maghnīsa. His *shaykh* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿUshāḳī (d. 890/1485), was a student of Ibrāhīm Ḳayṣariyyalī, who was initiated by Meḥmed Erzindjānī, one of Yaḥyā al-Shīrwānī's *khalīfas*.

Further details, including the *silsilas* of most of these orders, are given by Kissling. From al-Ḥarīrī's mention of his initiation into the majority of the branches, which had emerged prior to the middle of the 19th century, it appears that many had active nuclei or propagators around that time. Anderson, in *MW*, xii, 1922, 53 f., reports the number of active *tekkes* of the various branches in Istanbul in 1921 as follows: Djarrāḥiyya (10), Shaʿbāniyya (25), Sünbüliyya (18), Sināniyya (3), ʿUshāḳiyya (5), and four *tekkes* of unspecified branches.

Doctrine and practice.—The writings of the *mashāyikh* of the order manifest in various degrees the influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī's thinking; the position taken with respect to the idea of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* varied over periods of time within the same branch and between the branches. Meḥmed Niyāzī al-Miṣrī, e.g. taught that *waḥdat al-wudjūd* is restricted to certain levels of being (cf. *Tibyān*, iii, 132a). Ḥasan Riḍwān (d. 1310/1892), a *khalīfa* of Ibrāhīm al-Shalḳānī al-ʿImrānī, openly adhered to Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas (cf. *Rawḍ al-Ḳulūb al-Mustaṭāb*, Cairo 1332). Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī opposed monist views altogether (cf. E. Bannerth, *La Khalwatiyya en Egypte*, in MIDEO, viii (1964-6), 11 f.). He stressed the separate identities of God and the human soul, hence conceiving unity with the divine as a conjunction (*ittiṣāl*). Shīʿa conceptions have occasionally been incorporated and elaborated, e.g. by Dāʾūd al-Shāmī (cf. Kissling, *ZDMG*, ciii, 260; idem, *Zur Geschichte des Derwischordens der Bayrāmijje*, in *Südostforschungen*, xv (1956), 248-9). In early as well as later Khalwatī writings it is stressed that the order is basically the *ṭarīḳa* of al-Djunayd (cf. Tibyān, ii, 65a; Sirādj, 160; al-ʿAdawī, 67; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Buhūtī, *Itḥāf al-Bashar bi-Sharḥ Wird al-Sahar*, Cairo 1953, 13). The foundations of this order are considered to be voluntary hunger (*djūʿ*), silence (*samt*), vigil (*sahar*), seclusion (*iʿtizāl*), *dhikr*, meditation (*fikr*), permanent ritual cleanness and tying (*rabṭ*) one's heart to one's *shaykh*. In some treatises only the first four are mentioned as such (cf. Muḥammad al-Munīr al-Sammanūdī, *Tuḥfat al-Sālikīn*, Cairo 1934, 26 f.).

In most of the Khalwatiyya *ṭarīḳas* periodic retreat, *khalwa*, is required of the *murīd*. The shortest period recommended is three days and the longest forty days (cf. al-Bakrī, *Hadiyyat al-Aḥbāb fī-mā li'l-Khalwa min al-Shurūṭ wa 'l-Adāb*, in *Sirādj*, 179 f.). Various sets of rules, regulating the *murīd*'s behaviour before, during and after the period of *khalwa*, have been elaborated (see, e.g. E. Bannerth, *Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdâšiyya-Sûfis in Kairo*, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 125 f., for the *khalwa* rules of this order). Opinions about who may enter the *khalwa* have varied among the various *ṭarīḳas*. According to some branches it is necessary to prepare for initiation, while others hold it to be appropriate only for those who have reached a specific *maḳām* or stage of the soul [see ḤĀL], generally the fifth. *Al-ʿuzla* is recommended to those in the lower *maḳāms* (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿAlī al-Azharī, *Luḳṭat al-ʿIdjlān wa-Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān*, Cairo 1323, 5, 23). In al-Khalwatiyya seven *maḳāms* are postulated. To each *maḳām*, *dhikr* of one of the seven names (*al-asmāʾ al-sabʿa*), viz. *al-Tahlīl*, *Allāh*, *Hū*, *Ḥayy*, *Ḥaḳḳ*, *Ḳayyūm* and *Ḳahhār* is appropriate. On this point, al-Khalwatiyya differs fundamentally from al-Shādhiliyya; in the latter only three *maḳāms* are postulated. The first *maḳām* of *al-nafs al-ammāra*, is conceived as a part of the preparatory stage of *tawba* and only the fifth, sixth and seventh *maḳām* are conceived as reality. These cannot be reached by *idjtihād* but only by divine grace (cf. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmir al-Mughāzī, *al-Fuyūḍāt al-Ihsāniyya wa'l-Tadrīdjāt al-Insāniyya fī Sayr al-Ṭarīḳ al-Khalwatiyya*, Cairo 1301, 15, 21).

Dhikr of the names is surrounded by a number of ritual prescriptions set out in the manuals. For communal *dhikr* exercises or *ḥaḍras*, similar rules apply, although the ritual itself, the formulas, and the names recited may be different. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn b. ʿĪsā al-Marmarāwī (see above) is credited for having added five names, (*al-furūʿ*: *Wahhāb*, *Fattāḥ*, *Wāḥid*, *Aḥad*, *Ṣamad*) to be recited after completion of the other seven names (*al-uṣūl*). This practice is found in the Aḥmadiyya branches. It was incorporated by some Bakriyya branches as well (cf. Muḥammad Fuʾād al-Ḍayfī, *Madjmūʿ al-Fawāʾid al-Muhimma*, Cairo 1930, 108 f.; Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Djunaydī al-Maymūnī, *Risālat al-Sayr wa 'l-Sulūk ilā 'llāh ...*, Cairo 1308). There are differing opinions about the *dhikr* of names not transmitted by the *shaykh* to the *murīd*, ranging from the point of view that any name is allowed as well as any noise or sound to the view that only the *dhikr* of a clearly pronounced *allāh* is permissible (cf. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk al-Ṭarīḳa al-Muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1326, 26; *Tibyān*, iii, 59 f.; al-Munīr, *Tuḥfa*, 21). In addition, other prayer-tasks, fasting and nightly vigils may be required from the *murīd*, which differ considerably between the branches. An element of ritual which all Khalwatiyya *ṭarīḳas* have in common is the reading of Yaḥyā al-Shirwānī's *Wird al-Sattār* at set times and occasions. It consists of three sections which glorify the oneness of God, the Prophet and his prophethood, and the Companions. According to Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, it is the pivot of Khalwatiyya ritual. It should be read aloud by a single person, while the others are listening; this is held to be more beneficial than reciting. It equals silent *dhikr*, the *dhikr* of the heart. The external union on these occasions is believed to lead to an internal

union, which equals *mudjāhada* and should lead to *mushāhada* (cf. al-Bakrī, *al-Manhadj al-ʿAdhb al-Ṣāʾigh li-Warrādihi fī Dhikr Ṣalawāt al-Ṭarīḳa wa Awrādihi*, Cairo 1332, 145 f.). In other words, participation in the community is conceived of as *murāḳaba* and may lead to *mushāhada*. Here lies a basic difference with other *ṭarīḳas*, e.g. al-Naḳshabandiyya. It is the *shaykh* who, as object for *murāḳaba* of the *murīd*, leads to *mushāhada*. Some Khalwatiyya groups however take the latter position, e.g. al-Djūdiyya (cf. Djābir Aḥmad Muʿammar, *Manhal al-Warrād wa Bahdjat al-Irshād li-man arāda Ṭarīḳa al-Rashād*, Cairo, n.d., 430), where this is expressed by stating that the *fatḥ al-murīd* is proportionate to one's belief in his *shaykh*. Within Turkish Khalwatiyya branches, notably within the Ḳarābāshiyya, the role of the *shaykh* in guiding the *murīd* is conceived of as necessarily a passive one. He is for the *murīd* what the *rūḥ* is for the body. If it goes, all is gone. He should not approve or disapprove of the *murīd*'s behaviour even if the latter were to become *kāfir* (cf. *Tibyān*, iii, 59b).

Restrictions upon membership existed within the Aḥmadiyya and its branches, which did not initiate illiterates. This was held to break off *al-fayḍ* [*q.v.*] and to diminish the light of gnosis (cf. *Tibyān*, i, 53).

Present-day situation.—In Albania the government recognised in 1945 the principal *ṭarīḳas* as independent religious communities with their own leaders. Leader of the Khalwatiyya became ʿAlī Hormova (cf. S. Skendi, *Albania*, New York 1956). This arrangement was brought to an end by the Albanian Cultural Revolution in early 1967. In Macedonia and Kosovo-Methohija 25 Khalwatiyya *tekkes* were functioning in 1939 (cf. G. Palikrusheva, *Dervishkiot red Khalveti vo Makedoniya*, in *Zbornik Shtipskiot naroden Muzey*, i (1958), 105-19). In 1971 *ḥaḍras* took place regularly in *tekkes* in Ohrid, Struga, Kičevo, Shtip (all Ḥayātiyya) and in Peč, Djakovice, Orahovac and Prizren (all Ḳarābāshiyya). For a description and historical information about the latter two *tekkes* see Mücahit Asim, *Kosova'da Esirgenmiş Islam Anıtları*, Çevren ii, 8, Prishtina 1974. In Greek Thrace active groups with a *tekke* existed in Xanthi, Komotini and Echinos.

No data are available for the Khalwatiyya in Turkey after 1925, when the orders were abolished and all *tekkes* and *zāwiyas* were closed. In the Middle East various Khalwatiyya groups are active in Lebanon (Beirut, Tripoli) and Syria (Aleppo, Damascus). Some of these groups have a *silsila* going back to Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAzūz, founder of the Raḥmāniyya *zāwiya* in Naftā (Tunisia); cf. *al-Bayān fī ʿAmal al-Lisān*, Beirut 1964, 63-4. The Egyptian Khalwatiyya al-Djunaydiyya claims substantial membership in Syria (cf. *Madjalla al-Islām wa 'l-Taṣawwuf*, i/5, Cairo 1958, 82). Khalwatiyya and other *ṭarīḳas* active in Egypt are listed in Muḥammad Maḥmūd ʿAlwān, *al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1958, 71 f. In addition to these *ṭarīḳas* and the *ṭarīḳas* mentioned by Bannerth, the following branches were active in Egypt in 1973: al-Dawmiyya (two branches), al-Djūdiyya, al-Fuʾādiyya, al-Ḥaddādiyya, al-Ḳaṣabiyya, al-Ḥayātiyya, al-Nimriyya, al-Sharḳāwiyya, al-Shawādifiyya and al-ʿImrāniyya al-Ḳubaysiyya. Al-Sammāniyya has its own *shaykh al-sadjdjāda* for Egypt. Some Egyptian Sammāniyya, however, consider themselves as a part of one or another of the Sudanese branches of this order. In Ethiopia, it is the only active Khalwatiyya branch. Little is known about its present functioning beyond what is reported by Trimingham (*Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, 247). Nothing is known about the present state of al-Sammāniyya in Indonesia. L. P. Fauque (*Où en est l'Islam traditionel en Algérie?*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, lv (1961), 17-22) provides the most recent information on al-Raḥmāniyya, and he states its membership in Algeria as 230,000.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text, see the literature mentioned in the articles by Kissling and the bibliography to Bannerth's article, which gives information about Khalwatiyya orders active in present-day Egypt and includes a translation of Aḥmad al-Dardayr, *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān* (a set of rules for the *murīd*). Literature not mentioned in these studies may be found in B. G. Martin, *A Short History of the Khalwatiyya order of Dervishes*, in N. R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis, Muslim Religious Institutions since 1500*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1972, 275-305, which is largely based upon the work of Bannerth and Kissling. A Turkish source not mentioned by these authors is the anonymous *Ṭarīḳet ʿAliyye Khalwatiyyeniñ uṣūlu*, Istanbul 1288. For literature and detailed information about the Khalwatiyya orders in Egypt, see F. de Jong, *The Ṣūfī Orders in post-Ottoman Egypt* (in preparation). Muḥammad al-Makkī b. ʿAzīz, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Raḥmāniyya fī Manāḳib Ridjāl al-Khalwatiyya*, Istanbul 1327 (partly published), 11-8, gives a list of Khalwatiyya writings. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1299/1882), *Tibyān Wasāʾil al-Haḳāʾiḳ fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭarāʾiḳ*, Mulḥaḳ Fātiḥ, mss. 430-2, is as valuable for the study of the Khalwatiyya as it is for the study of other orders. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Būsnawī al-Khāndjī, *al-Djawhar al-Asnā fī Tarādjim ʿUlamāʾ wa Shuʿarāʾ Būsna*, Cairo 1349, contains a number of biographies of Khalwatiyya *shaykhs* based mainly upon the sources mentioned by Kissling. It gives some original data. Meḥmed Tewfīḳ, *Monastir wilāyeti taʾrīkhčesi*, Monastir 1328 (cf. Babinger, 409), gives some information about the Ḥayātiyya in Macedonia and contains a section on Meḥmed Ḥayātī, see p. 234 of the more easily-accessible Serbian translation, *Kratka Istorija Bitolskog Vilajeta*, Belgrade 1932, 190-244. For detailed information about Raḥmāniyya *zāwiyas* in Algeria and Tunisia, see P. J. André, *Contribution à l'étude des confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1956, 263-89.

(F. de Jong)

KHAMĀSA [see muzāraʿa].

KHAMBĀYAT, modern Cambay in Gudjarāt, western India. Variously spelt in Arabic as Kanbāya, Kanbāyat, Kanbāyā, Kinbāya, Kinbātā, the name is derived from Khambhāt or Khāmbha (< *Stambhatīrtha*, i.e. "the place of pilgrimage of the pillar"). According to the Muslim geographers, it was situated about 3 *farsakhs* (9 Arabian miles) from the sea. As one of the most important ports of western India during the mediaeval period, Cambay was famous for the beautiful sandals (*al-niʿāl al-kanbātiyya*) manufactured there. It also produced rice, fine honey and a variety of fruits, but had no date-palms.

Muslims seemed to have settled down in Cambay from early Islamic times; they had Friday mosques and Islam was practised by them freely. Al-Masʿūdī, who visited the town in 303/915, says that the local governor was a Brahmana named Bāniyā (probably Prachanda, of the Brahmavaloka), who was fond of religious discussions with the Muslims and represented *al-Balharay* (Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III, 914-22 A.D.). During the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., Cambay appears as one of the chief ports of the Anhilvāra

kingdom, and at the time of its conquest by the Muslims in 697/1298, it is said to have been one of the richest towns in India. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes it as one of the most beautiful towns of India, with fine mosques and gorgeous buildings constructed by the resident Muslim merchants. It was annexed by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 981/1573. Its decline as a port and commercial town, which took place during the 11th/17th century, was mainly due to the silting-up of the gulf and the swift high-tide or "bore".

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 56; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 179; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 320; al-Muḳaddasī, 477; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 253-4; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 364, ii, 177, 244, iv, 52-7; Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of ancient and mediaeval India*, London 1927, 194; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, ix, 292-7; A. S. Altekar, *A history of important ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, liv (Bombay 1925), 47; S. Maqbul Ahmad, *Indo-Arab Relations*, Bombay 1969, 142 n.

(S. MAQBUL AHMAD)

KHAMĪS MUSHAYṬ, also Khamīs ibn Mushayṭ, the main town in interior ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] in Saudi Arabia, between al-Ḥidjāz and the Yaman, 22 miles (32 km) almost due east of Abhā [*q.v.*], capital of ʿAsīr, on the east bank of the principal branch of Wādī Bīsha, part of the main inland drainage system from al-Sarāt; situated at 42° 45′ long. and 18° 20′ lat., and 6000 feet (1950 m) of altitude. It is more a cluster of villages than a town, and the name is derived from the Mushayṭ clan of the Rushayd section of Shahrān, the leaders of which have been the titular heads of the Shahrān tribe over an unrecorded but probably very long time. To the east and northwest, the Shahrān are by far the most important tribe, while towards the southeast elements of Ḳaḥṭān are also found. Most of the settlements of Khamīs Mushayṭ cluster around the villages of Ḍarb and Ḳambar, and the Thursday (*khamīs*) market is held on the plain between these two villages. Khamīs Mushayṭ is important for strategic and economic reasons. Its easy access to Abhā, Ẓahrān, and Nadjrān made it a favourite staging point for military campaigns, e.g. those of 1338/1920 and 1353/1934. Its agricultural produce grows on terraces to the west and on gently sloping land to the east, irrigated by wells and some eastward-draining monsoon precipitation, and is quite varied, including spring wheat, autumn millet, alfalfa, and a number of fruit trees such as apricots, peaches, plums, pomegranates, and figs. Cattle are more common than camels, and dates must be imported. Khamīs Mushayṭ has thus become the most important interior trading centre between Bīsha and the Yaman. It is also worthy of note that it is here where a traveller from the north first encounters the multiple-storey style of architecture characteristic of South Arabia. Since the early 1960s, Khamīs Mushayṭ has experienced great growth in size and importance with the development of all-weather roads, a main airfield, and the establishment of a military garrison.

Bibliography: Fu'ād Ḥamza, *Fī bilād ʿAsīr*, Cairo 1951; Muḥammad ʿUmar Rafīʿ, *Fī rubuʿ ʿAsīr*, Cairo 1373. Admiralty Handbook, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946; H. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, Ithaca N.Y. 1952; W. Thesiger, *A Journey through the Tihama, the ʿAsir, and the Hijaz Mountains*, in *GJ* (1947); H. Philby, *The Land of Sheba*, in *GJ* (1938); P. Lippens, *Expedition en Arabie Centrale*, Paris 1956.

(F. S. VIDAL)

KHAMR (A.), wine. The word, although very common in early Arabic poetry, is probably a loan-word from Aramaic. The Hebrew *yayn* has in Arabic (*wayn*) the meaning of black grapes. The question has been fully treated by I. Guidi in his *Della sede primitiva dei popoli semitici*, in *Memorie della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, series iii, vol. iii, 603 ff.

1. JURIDICAL ASPECTS

Arabia and the Syriac desert are, in contradistinction to Palestine and Mesopotamia, not a soil fit for the vine; there are, however, exceptions, among which may be mentioned al-Ṭā'if (see H. Lammens, *Ṭāif*, 35 ff. = *MFOB*, viii, 146 ff.), Shibām and other parts of Yaman. Wine, probably of an inferior quality, is also mentioned in Medina (see below). Usually, however, it seems to have been imported from Syria and ʿIrāḳ; in early Arabic poetry the wine-trade is chiefly connected with Jews and Christians, who pitched their tent (*ḥānūt*, also a loan-word from Aramaic) among the Bedouins and provided it with a sign denoting its character. In it entertainment sessions were held, in the company of female singers who often also belonged to the establishment. The wine was kept in jars or skins, provided with a mouth-piece which was closed by means of a string.

In the days of Muḥammad the people of Mecca and Medina used to indulge in drinking wine as often as an occasion offered itself, so that drunkenness often became a cause of scandal and of indulgence in a second vice, gambling, which together with wine, incurred Muḥammad's condemnation. Tradition has not refrained from describing how Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's uncle, in a fit of drunkenness mutilated ʿAlī's camels (Bukhārī, *Sharb*, *bāb* 13; *Khums*, *bāb* 1; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 1, 2; *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 12; Abū Dāwūd, *Kharādj*, *bāb* 19). The commentaries on the Ḳur'ān also relate how Muḥammad's companions held drinking-parties which caused them to commit faults in ritual prayer (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, *ad* sūra XIV, 44; Muslim, *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, trad. 44, cf. 45; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 185-6).

The prohibition of wine was not in Muḥammad's programme at the beginning. In Sūra XVI, 69 we even find it praised as one of the signs of Allāh's grace to mankind: "And of the fruit of palmtrees, and of grapes, ye obtain an inebriating liquor, and also good nourishment". But the consequences of drunkenness manifesting themselves in the way just mentioned are said to have led Muḥammad to change his attitude. The first revelation giving vent to these feelings was Sūra II, 216: "They will ask thee concerning wine and gambling (*maysir*). Answer, in both there is great sin and also some things of use unto men: but their sinfulness is greater than their use". This revelation, however, was not considered as a prohibition. As people did not change their customs and the order of prayer happened to be disturbed in consequence thereof, a new revelation was issued, viz. Sūra IV, 46: "O true believers! come not to prayers when ye are drunk, until ye understand what ye say" etc. But neither was this revelation considered as a general prohibition of wine, until Sūra V, 92 made an end to drinking: "O true believers! Surely wine and *maysir* and stone pillars and divining arrows, are an abomination of the work of Satan; therefore avoid them, that ye may prosper".

This sequence of revelations regarding wine is the accepted one among the traditionists and commentators of the Ḳur'ān (see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 351-2; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v, 58 *ad* sūra IV, 46).

The prohibition of wine may, however, also be looked upon from a wider aspect, as Islam is not the only monotheistic religion which has taken a negative attitude towards wine. It is well known that, according to the Old Testament (Numbers vi, 3-4) the Nazarite who had wholly devoted himself to Yahweh had to abstain from wine and spirits, just as the priests before administering the sacred rites (Lev. x, 9). The Nabataeans, according to Diodorus Siculus (xix, 94, 3), likewise abstained from wine and one of their gods is called in their inscriptions "the good god who drinks no wine". Likewise, abstention from wine belonged to the rule of many Christian monks. All this has its roots in remote Semitic antiquity which ascribed a demoniac character to wine and spirits. The same is true for music, especially singing, which is also prohibited by Islam. It is not improbable that negative feelings of this kind may have worked, together with the motives mentioned above, to induce Muḥammad to prohibit wine.

The prohibition of the Ḳur'ān has been taken over by the jurists; all *madhhab*s, and also the Shī'a, call wine *ḥarām* and the wine-trade is forbidden. For an exposition of the Shāfi'ī view, see al-Nawawī, *Minhādj*, ed. van den Berg, iii, 241; for that of the Ḥanafīs, *Fātāwā 'Ālamgīrī*, vi (Calcutta 1835), 604 ff.; for that of the Mālikīs, Zurḳānī in his commentary on the *Muwaṭṭa'*, Cairo 1280, iv, 26; for that of the Shī'a, *Sharā'i' al-Islām*, Calcutta 1839, 404. Theology reckons the drinking of wine among the gravest sins (*kabā'ir*).

Ḥadīth has many utterances regarding this theme. Wine is the key of all evil (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 238; Ibn Mādja, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 1). Who drinks wine in this world without repenting of it, shall not drink it in the other world (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 1; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 73, 76-8, etc.). Cursed is he who drinks, buys, sells wine or causes others to drink it (Abū Dāwūd, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 2; Ibn Mādja, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 316; ii, 25, 69, 71, 97, 128, etc.). Who drinks a draught of wine on purpose shall have to drink pus on Doomsday (Ṭayālisī, no. 1134). Prayer of him who drinks wine is not accepted by God (Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 43; Dārimī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 3), and faith is incompatible with drinking it (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 1; Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 42, 44). It is even inadvisable to use it as medicine (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 12; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 311, 317 bis etc.); and it is prohibited to use wine for manufacturing vinegar (Tirmidhī, *Buyū'*, *bāb* 59; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal iii, 119, 260 bis). But times will become ever worse and there will be people who declare wine allowed (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 6; Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 41 etc.), and so it will be drunk by the generation of the last days (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 176, 202, 213-4).

The prohibition of wine, although unanimously accepted, gave rise to dissensions between the juridical schools, dissensions which are reflected in *ḥadīth* in a historical disguise. The discussions start from the question: what is wine? It is said that, when the use of wine was peremptorily prohibited, the people of Medina poured out in the streets all that they possessed of the appreciated liquor (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 132-3; iii, 26, 189-90, 217, 260 bis; iv, 355-6). Ibn 'Umar declares, on the contrary, that at the time of the prohibition, there was no wine in Medina at all (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 2). Anas b. Mālik (*ibid.*) says that there was scarcely any wine from grapes in Medina, when the prohibition was revealed; people used wine from *busr* and *tamr* (two kinds of dates). In another tradition (*ibid.*, *bāb* 3) wine from *faḍīkh* and *zahw* (two other kinds of dates) is mentioned. 'Umar is represented as delivering a *khuṭba* which was meant to settle the question; according to his son 'Abd Allāh, he said: Wine has been prohibited by the Ḳur'ān; it comes from five kinds of fruits, from grapes, from dates, from honey, from wheat and from barley; wine is what obscures the intellect (*wa 'l-khamr mā khāmara al-'aḳl*; Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 2). The question remained, whether beverages prepared from grapes in a different way were prohibited. There was e.g. a kind of syrup. "When 'Umar visited Syria, the population complained of its unhealthy and heavy climate and they added: This drink alone will heal us. Then 'Umar allowed them to drink honey. Then they said: Honey cannot heal us. Thereupon one of the natives of Syria said to him: May we not prepare something of this drink for you? It has no inebriating power. He said: All right. Then they cooked it till two-thirds were evaporated and one-third of it remained. They brought it to 'Umar, who put his finger into it and licked it. Then he said: This is *ṭilā'* like camels' *ṭilā'* (viz. the pitch with which they smeared their skins). Then he allowed them to drink it" (Mālik, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 14). According to the first chapter of the same *kitāb*, however, 'Umar punishes a man who had become drunk on *ṭilā'*. Juice from grapes, prepared by pressing them only, is considered as wine. Ṭāriḳ b. Suwayd al-Ḥaḍramī said to the Prophet, We have in our country grapes which we press. May we drink the juice? He said: No. This negative answer is given three times and when Ṭāriḳ asks whether the juice may be given the sick to drink, Muḥammad answers: It is no medicine, it is sickness (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 292 f.). And not only those who drink and sell wine are cursed by Muḥammad, but also those who press grapes and have them pressed in order to drink the juice (Ibn Mādja, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 6).

Another question of importance arose, in connection with spirits: Had they to be considered as wine or not? All the *madhhab*s, except the Ḥanafīs, have answered the question in the affirmative sense. They have consequently extended the prohibition of wine, in accordance with the intention underlying it. Tradition, which is the best source for the history of the origin of several institutions, shows that the question belongs to the much-debated ones. The standard *ḥadīth*, which is found very frequently in the classical collections, runs as follows (Muslim's version *Imām*, trad. 26 is cited, because it contains important details): "Some men of 'Abd al-Ḳays went to the Apostle of God and said to him: O Prophet of God, we are a tribe belonging to Rabī'a; between us and yourself dwell the infidels of Muḍar, so that we can only reach you in the sacred month. Tell us therefore what we have to tell our tribespeople which will open Paradise for us if we to cling to it. The Apostle of God answered: I order four things and I forbid four things. Serve God without associating anything with him. Perform the *ṣalāt*, pay the *zakāt*, fast the month of Ramaḍān and deliver the fifth part of booty. And I forbid four things: *dubbā'*, *ḥantam*, *muzaffat* and *naḳīr*. They asked: O Apostle of God, how do you know what the *naḳīr* is? He said: Well, it is a palmtrunk which you hollow out; then you pour small dates into it and upon them water. When the process of fermentation has finished, you drink it with the effect that a man hits his cousin with the sword.—Now among these men there was someone who had received a blow of the sword in this way,

but he had concealed it out of shame before the Apostle of God. So he said: But from what vessels should we drink then, O Apostle of God? He answered: From leather skins, the mouthpieces of which are smeared with pitch. They answered: O Prophet of God, our country teems with mice so that no single skin can be kept whole. Then the Prophet of God answered: Even though the mice should eat them, even though the mice should eat them, even though the mice should eat them.

This tradition did not meet with general approval. It is said that the Anṣār or other people complained of their difficulty in finding the skins necessary for preserving drinks without their becoming fermented. Thereupon the Prophet is said to have withdrawn his prohibition, wholly or partly (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 8; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 63-6, etc.). In some versions of this tradition there occurs the restriction that all the fermented inebriating drinks remain prohibited. Innumerable are the traditions which only contain the rule that all drinks which may cause drunkenness are prohibited in any quantity (*kull muskir ḥarām kathīruhu wa ḳalīluhu*) and this rule has passed into many books of *fiḳh* (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 60; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 67-75; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 145; ii, 16 bis; iii, 38; iv, 87; v, 25-6; vi, 36, etc.). Of special traditions prohibiting fermented drinks, there may be mentioned the following. It is forbidden or disapproved of to sell raisins if they are to be used for preparing nabidh (Nasāʾī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 51, 51). It is prohibited to mix together different kinds of fruits so that the mixture should become intoxicating. This tradition occurs frequently; see e.g. Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 11; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 16-29; Nasāʾī, *Ashriba*, *bāb*s 4-17; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 360; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 276; ii, 46; vi, 242, 292. But each of these kinds may be used separately for preparing a non-fermented drink (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 81-3; Nasāʾī, *Ashriba*, *bāb*s 14-18, etc.).

It can easily be seen that the difficulty in this matter was caused by two circumstances. People were accustomed to prepare from all kinds of dates, from raisins and other fruits, drinks which only became inebriating if they were preserved a long time, and probably also if they were prepared after special methods. Where was the line of demarcation between the allowed and the prohibited kind to be placed? Several collections of traditions went so far as to mention *nabīdh* among the drinks prepared by Muḥammad's wives and drunk by him (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 79-89; Aḥmad, i, 232-3, 240, 287, 320-1, 336, 355, 369, 372; ii, 35; iii, 304, 307, 313-14, 326, 379, 384, etc.). Abū Dāwūd (*Ashriba*, *bāb* 10) and Ibn Mādja (*Ashriba*, *bāb* 12) have preserved a tradition on this subject which is instructive. Ibn Mādja's version is given here: ʿĀʾisha said "We used to prepare *nabīdh* for the Apostle of God in a skin; we took a handful of dates or a handful of raisins, cast it into the skin and poured water upon it. The *nabīdh* we prepared in this way in the morning was drunk by him in the evening; and when we prepared it in the evening he drank it the next morning". In another tradition of the same *bāb*, Ibn ʿAbbās says that the Prophet used to drink this *nabīdh* even on the third day; but what was left then was poured out.

All this could, however, not persuade the majority of the *faḳīh*s to declare *nabīdh* allowed; three of the *madhhab*s as well as the Shīʿa prohibit the use of *nabīdh*. The Ḥanafī school, on the other hand, allows it, when used with moderation, for medicinal purposes, etc.

It would take us too far to give here a detailed survey of the opinions of the *faḳīh*s of all *madhhab*s; it would be superfluous, to some extent at least, because the more important differences regard chiefly *nabīdh* only. The following rapid survey is based on the *Fatāwā ʿĀlamgīrī*, vi, 604 ff. (cf. Shaʿrānī's *Mīzān*, Cairo 1279, 192-3).

Allowed according to the *idjmāʿ* is non-fermented, very sweet drink.

Prohibited (*ḥarām*), according to the *idjmāʿ*, are wine and *sakar* of every kind. As to wine, there are six cases: to drink it in any quantity or to make use of it is *ḥarām*; to deny this is *kufr*; to buy, sell, present it, etc. is *ḥarām*; no responsibility (*ḍimān*) rests on him who spoils or destroys wine (*mutlifhā*); whether wine is a possession (*māl*) is an unsettled point; it is *nadjis* just as blood and urine; he who drinks any quantity of it is liable to punishment.

Several kinds of products prepared by means of grapes (*bādhiḳ*, *munaṣṣaf*, etc.) are prohibited according to the majority (*ʿāmma*) of the *faḳīh*s.

Allowed, according to the majority of the *faḳīh*s are *ṭilāʾ* (see above) or *muthallath* and *nabīdh* from dates with the restrictions mentioned above. So is juice from grapes when the process of cooking has made to evaporate two-thirds. Muḥammad (al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*]) has a deviating opinion on this point.

As to the punishment of him who drinks wine, *ḥadīth* tells us that Muḥammad and Abū Bakr were wont to inflict forty blows by means of palm branches or sandals (Bukhari, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 2-4; *Ḥudūd*, trads. 35-7). Under ʿUmar's caliphate, however, Khālid b. al-Walīd reported to him that people were indulging in prohibited drinks. Thereupon ʿUmar consulted the Companions, who advised him to fix the number of blows at eighty, a number suggested by the Ḳurʾān which prescribes that those who accuse *muḥsanāt* of *zināʾ*, without being able to prove their accusations by the aid of four witnesses, shall be punished with eighty blows (Sūra XXIV, 4).

Repeated drinking of wine, according to some traditions, was punished by death at Muḥammad's order (Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 36; Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 17; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 136, 166, 191; iv, 93, etc.). It is, however, added in some traditions that capital punishment in such cases is not according to the *sunna* of the Prophet (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 125, 130; cf. Ṭayālisī, no. 183).

The different *madhhab*s have adopted ʿUmar's view; drinking wine is punished with eighty blows; if the transgressor is a slave this number is however reduced to forty, because in the Ḳurʾān the punishment of the handmaid's *zināʾ* is fixed at half the amount of blows with which the free woman is punished (Sūra IV, 30). The Shāfiʿis, however, cling to the practice ascribed to Muḥammad and Abū Bakr; with them the number of blows is consequently forty or twenty (see Zurḳānī, iv, 42; Nawawī, in Muslim, iv, 156).

The prohibition of wine and spirits (according to three of the four *madhhab*s) is one of the distinctive marks of the Muslim world; its consequences can hardly be overrated. This is not seriously affected by the fact that transgressors have been numerous, according to literary evidence. The praise of wine, not uncommon in pre-Islamic poetry, remained one of the favourite topics also of Muslim poets (cf. the wine-songs by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Abū Nuwās, etc., and see KHAMRIYYA), and at the court of the Caliphs wine was drunk at revelling parties as if no prohibition existed at all (see e.g. *The 1001 Nights*, *passim*). Even the common people could not always and

everywhere refrain from their national drink, date wine of several kinds; the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz deemed it necessary to promulgate a special edict in order to abolish this custom (see von Kremer, *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1873, 68-9).

Wine has a special place in the literary works of the mystics, where it is one of the symbols of ecstasy. In this point they only took over the language of their Christian and non-Christian predecessors. As early as Philo of Alexandria ecstasy is compared with intoxication (see especially his *De Vita Contemplativa*). Among the Ibāḥiyya, language may have been a reflex of practice; but this cannot be said of Ṣūfīs in general, who on the contrary, clung to the ascetic methods of the *via purgativa*. As to Ḥāfiẓ's wine- and love songs, it is an unsettled point whether they are merely metaphorical or not.

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(A. J. Wensinck*)

2. As a product.

Wine has been known in the Orient since the earliest times, and Arabic literature preserves vague memories of its legendary origin, not omitting to recall the demonic aspect, in accordance with Ḳur'ān V, 90-2. It takes account, on the one hand, of Babylonian traditions linked to Biblical characters such as Adam and Noah (cf. the *Midrash* based on Babylonian elements; *Tanḥūmā*, Lublin 1879, 28-9) and, on the other hand, of the Aramaic-Syriac extra-Biblical tradition, thus symbolising that ancient culture of the Fertile Crescent inherited by the mediaeval Muslim world. Certain versions link the origin of wine to the two great civilisations which were neighbours to Islam, that of Rūm and that of India (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 88-92, §§ 518-9; al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, B.N. Paris, ar. 3302, f. 42; al-Nawādjī, *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, Cairo 1938, 11-12; al-Badrī al-Dimashḳī, *Rāḥat al-arwāḥ*, B.N. Paris, ar. 3544, ff. 58a-59a; *Baḥr al-ḥikāyāt*, B.N. Paris, ar. 3588, ff. 107b-108b; the literature of the *awā'il* [*q.v.*], notably Istanbul, Reisülküttab, 899, f. 98b; Topkapı, E.H. 1329, f. 69; B.N. Paris, ar. 2079, ff. 96a-97a, 5931, f. 252a).

The *Book of Agriculture* attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*] points out the importance of the vine in the Fertile Crescent, and alludes to wines in speaking of the various types of grape which are suitable for their manufacture (Leiden ms. or. 303, ii, 87-291).

The Arabs who settled in agricultural regions had no real tradition of viticulture; in fact, in pre-Islamic Arabia vineyards were rare and wine-vaults even more so (however, there were some in al-Ṭā'if). The quality of the wine was mediocre, and a certain amount must even then have been imported, mainly by Jewish and Christian merchants (after the birth of Islam, this commerce was practised exclusively by these two communities, as a result of the Ḳur'ānic prohibition). One should not suppose that the Bedouin knew nothing of wine (as is claimed by the Shuʿūbīs [Bashshār, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1950-6, i, 378, l. 2, and especially Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1898, 244-5; cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, 237; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, Istanbul Ragib, 1083, iii, f. 287a; Ibn Gharsiya, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1951, 250]), nor that they drank it to excess (Ibn Ḥāwi, *Fann al-shiʿr al-khamrī*, Beirut n.d., 11). The truth is that the ancient Arabs were acquainted with wine, though tasting it only on rare occasions such as inter-tribal fairs (cf. G. Jacob, *Studien in ar. Dichtung*, Berlin 1895, 95-109; H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Paris 1914, 84-5; H. F. Lutz, *Viticulture and brewing in the Ancient Orient*, Leipzig 1922, 33-7, 143-51; Djawād ʿAlī, *Ta'rīkh al-ʿArab ḳabl al-Islām*, Baghdād 1951-9, viii, 162-5).

The expansion of Islam enabled the Muslims to familiarise themselves with new regional types of wine, and the taste of the consumers gained in refinement to the extent that connoisseurs were able to appreciate and distinguish between wines of diverse origin; al-Djāḥiẓ (*Shārib*) speaks even of various "wine-producing regions" (*buldān*). The poets of the Islamic era speak of countries renowned before the advent of Islam for the quality of their wines (for Beirut, see F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xv (1935), 39; for ʿĀna, in Upper-Mesopotamia, see al-Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1891, 117; F. Gabrieli, *art. cit.*, 51; J. Bencheikh, in *BEO*, xviii (1963-4), 18-20; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 223; for Iran see F. Gabrieli, *art. cit.*, 62; for the viticultural tradition, very often of Sāsānid origin, cf. the wine-producing regions mentioned by al-Thaʿālibī, in J. M. Unvala, *King Husrav and his boy*, Paris 1926, 45, and J. Bencheikh, *op. cit.* There were also renowned wine-producing districts in Egypt and in other parts of the Muslim world.

As regards the wine-making process, the information that we have is not very extensive. The grapes were trodden, with a light jumping movement, in a *maʿṣara* (shallow vat), according to an ancient procedure. Wine-presses of circular motion were not introduced in the Orient until very late (some ancient specimens still exist in certain monasteries in the Lebanon). A poet of the 4th/10th century (*apud* al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iv, 144), describes the *maʿṣara* as a sea of red flames in which the labourer stands, the lower half of his body soaked with the grape-juice. From the 7th/13th century onwards, miniatures provide the best illustrations of the process (see D. S. Rice, *Deacon or drink*, in *Arabica*, v (1958), to which may be added Leningrad ms. S. 23, p. 76); here labourers are seen carrying the grapes, others press them by treading them in a vat, hanging on straps in order to jump more easily; in the vat there is an aperture, allowing the juice to flow out into a receptacle; against a wall stand the amphorae (*dann*, pl. *dinān*) with tapered bases, in which the fermentation takes place (in vaults, seldom in the open), and the maturation (on the storing in amphorae, cf. Leningrad S 23, pp. 44, 103; yet what are

involved are perhaps not wine amphorae, but large water containers, see G. Le-Bon, *La Civilisation*, Paris 1884, 397, and cf. the *khazzān* described by Kushādjim, *Dīwān*, 1313, 83, and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Hayʾa al-saniyya*, Univ. of Istanbul, Arap 1476, f. 50). These various stages are described in works of literature, while religious treatises aimed at prohibiting the consumption of certain drinks, concern themselves at some length with the various types of vessel used for fermentation.

The mediaeval anthologies and the treatises of *fiḳh* list various ingredients for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages; fruits: dates (see TAMR), figs, apricots, cherries, mulberries, and various berries; cereals: wheat, barley, maize, millet; honey (hydromel is called *bitʿ*); sugar cane; milk (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ashriba*, speaks of the making of alcoholic drinks from different kinds of milk), especially mares' milk (for making *kūmis*, introduced at an early stage by the Turks, and attested from the 5th/11th century onwards, which was to become the favourite drink of the Mamlūks [see KUMĪS]). On all these beverages, see SHARĀB.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see Djāḥiẓ, *Risāla fī 'l-shārib wa 'l-mashrūb*, in *Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, 276-84; idem, *Madḥ al-nabīdh*, *ibid.*, 285-91; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Ashriba*, ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī, Damascus 1366/1947; al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, Damascus 1969 (this edition, based on a ms. of the British Museum, does not contain the section quoted above from that of the Bibl. Nat.); Nawādjī, *op. cit.*, 7-8, 166-77; Badrī Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, 54-66, 74-5; *Concordance de la tradition musulmane*, s.vv. *bitʿ*, *dubbāʾ*, *fadīkh*, *ḥantam*, *mizr*, *muḳayyar*, *muzaffat*, *naḳīr*; Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324-31, xxiv, 1-35; Raffāʾ, *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb wa 'l-mashmūm wa 'l-mashrūb*, ms. Leiden or. 559, ff. 143b-176a; Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1880, i, 128-44; list of drinks by Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ, in Ḥ. Zayyāt, *Fann al-ṭabīkh*, in *Machriq*, xli (1947), 25; Dj. Saʿīd, *Taṭawwur al-khamriyyāt*, Cairo n.d. (J. SADAN)

KHAMRIYYA (A.), designates a Bacchic or wine poem in modern critical terminology, at least since Ṭaha Ḥusayn in 1923 (*Ḥadīth al-Arbiʿāʾ*, ii, 71). This name does not seem to be attested in the mediaeval nomenclature of the genres. The usual expressions *al-ḳawl fi'l-khamr*, *lahu maʿānī fī'l-khamr*, *waṣṣāf li'l-khamr*, indicate the existence of themes, but do not include any willingness to organise them into an independent poem. In fact, the problem of appellation conceals the problem of evolution, of which the principal stages will be traced here.

i. *In early times: the inserted statement.* The state in which the works of the *Djāhiliyya* have been transmitted to us forbids our pronouncing on the problems that the working of the Bacchic framework poses. It is possible, despite that, to put forward observations which are not without interest. The first concerns the insertion of statements in compositions with many themes, sc. the *Muʿallaḳāt* of Labīd (vv. 57-61), ʿAntara (vv. 37-40), and especially ʿAmr b. Kulthūm (vv. 1-8), where the person involved already has a closer relationship with this type of inspiration. With the elegiac poet Muraḳḳish al-Aṣghar, uncle of Ṭarafa, the Bacchic statement presents itself in the *nasīb* as a syntactic and semantic intrusion. As a tool for comparison, it does not have an autonomous function. Several other poems offer examples of instrumental, inserted statements: in an amorous evocation of ʿAwf b. ʿAṭiyya (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, no. 124, vv. 5-6); in a heterogenous sequence of animal descriptions of Mutammim (or Mālik) b. Nuwayra (*Muf.*, no. 9, vv. 28-30); in a sequence of *fakhr* of Rabīʿa b. Maḳrūm al-Ḍabbī (*Muf.*, no. 113, vv. 10-13); or even the object of a poem of *munādama* heightening both bragging and satire in ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAsala (*Muf.*, no. 72).

There is reason to question whether this fact reveals the beginning of work on Bacchic statements presented in certain frameworks to which they are strictly subordinated or whether some themes, included in a framework more or less well established, appear in some common thematic areas in several registers. Is it a question of scattered and corollary statements, or of themes properly so-called?

The analysis of two other texts would rather incline one to the second hypothesis, obviously without being able to assert anything as historical. In one of these, attributed to ʿAlḳama b. ʿAbada (*Muf.*, no. 120, vv. 39-45), the Bacchic sequence follows a development of *fakhr*. It is written into a whole that is ruled and ordered by the amatory framework, which rules even the long description of a she-camel. However, we are in the presence of statements already on the lines of Abū Nuwās, with precise vocabulary, images finely welded together and homogeneous language.

Another piece, more important, dating from the first years of Islam confirms our impression. It comes from ʿAbda b. al-Ṭabīb (*Muf.*, no. 26, vv. 66-81), and comprises a sequence of 15 purely Bacchic lines. The juxtaposition of several descriptions (she-camel, fight of a wild bull with dogs, visit to a wine merchant) permits one to note the relationship of the language used on these different occasions. The vocabulary, whose precision borders on technicality, derives from the Bedouin context and the images presented in the Bacchic statements originated in the same socio-cultural background. In fact, this poet is a technician of the *waṣf*, which uses similar realistic writing to describe an animal, a cup-bearer or an ewer. With this poet, there is no sensibility to pleasure, no awareness of voluptuousness. However, this text, in so far as it is genuine, proves the existence of an established framework.

The theory may be advanced that in the Bedouin tradition this framework, used in the form of coherent groups of statements or in inserted fragments, had already been made the object of a certain rectification. Its basic elements are in service, but it remains dependent on the major framework or enclosed in a purely descriptive scheme.

The Precursors of al-Ḥīra: Attention should be drawn to the particularism of a group of poets of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] in whom Bacchism constitutes a dominant characteristic, at least, if one wishes to believe the fragmentary texts which are in our possession A new tendency seems to be displayed in an area more propitious to the blossoming of the *khamriyya*, where the literary production reflects an existential attitude and expresses a view of the world. The autonomy of the framework tends to assert itself, the language becomes more supple and better adapted to the nature of the inspiration, and the brief Bacchic poem makes its appearance.

It is possible to make a list of famous poets having more or less strong connections with the sphere of al-Ḥīra. Some use the technique of the inserted statement. For instance, Muraḳḳish al-Aṣghar (cf. above), al-Aswad b. Yaʿfūr [*q.v.*] (*Muf.*, no. 44, vv. 21-4; no. 125, vv. 6-7) and Ṭarafa. With the latter, the principal themes are in service and the

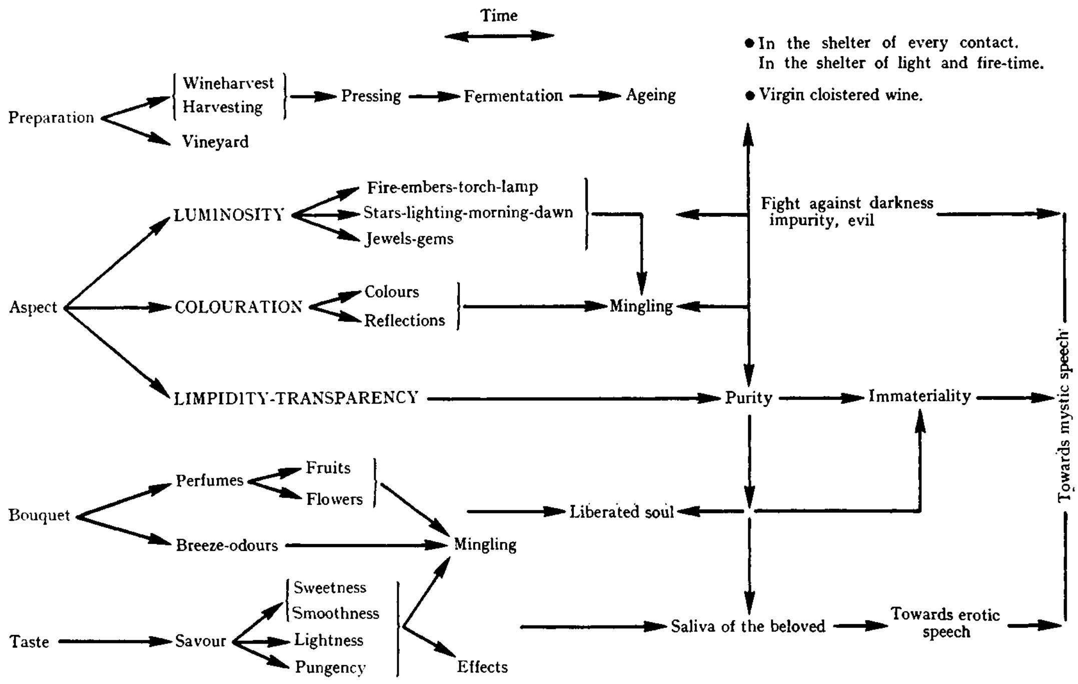

Table 1

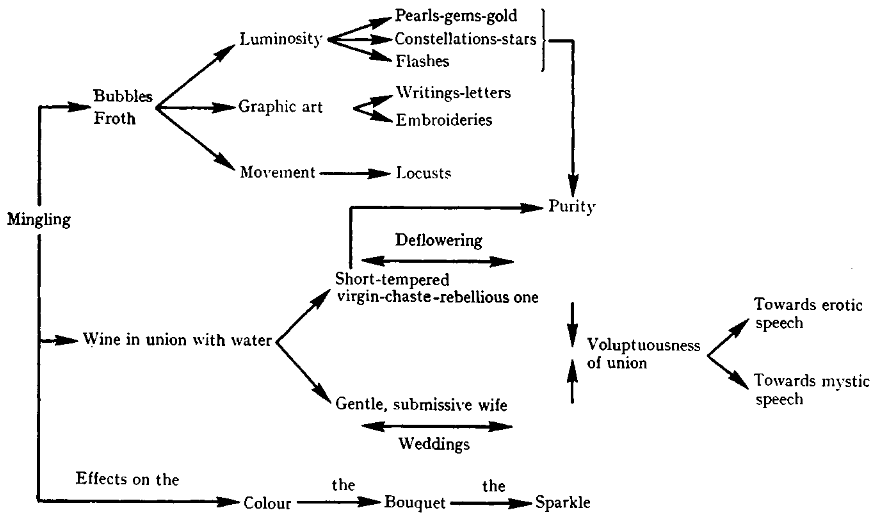

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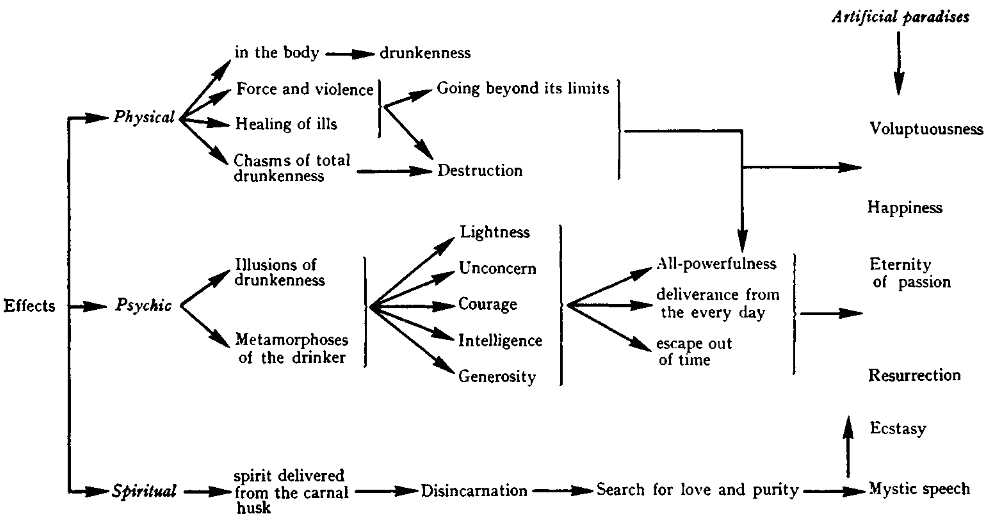

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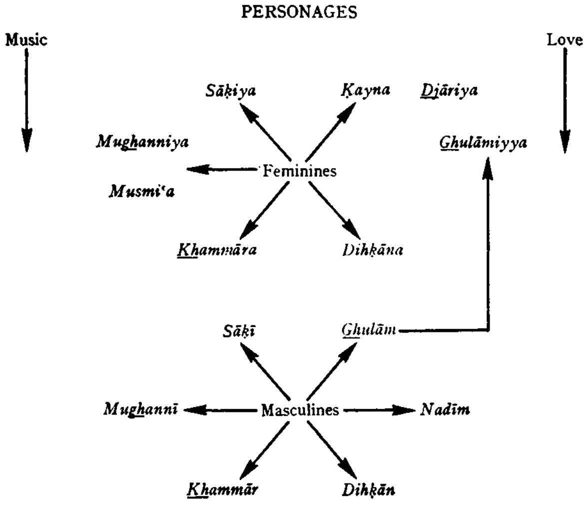

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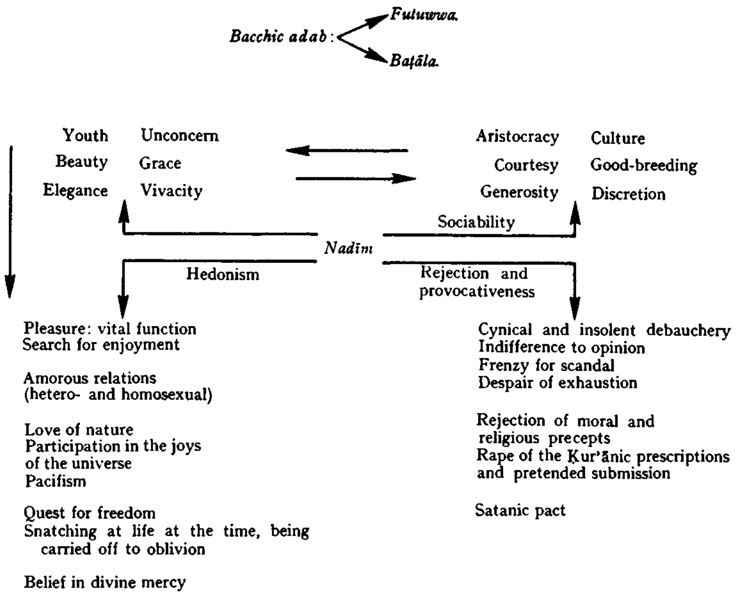

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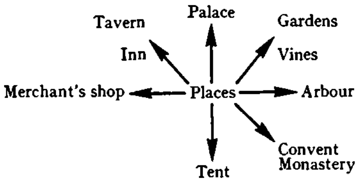

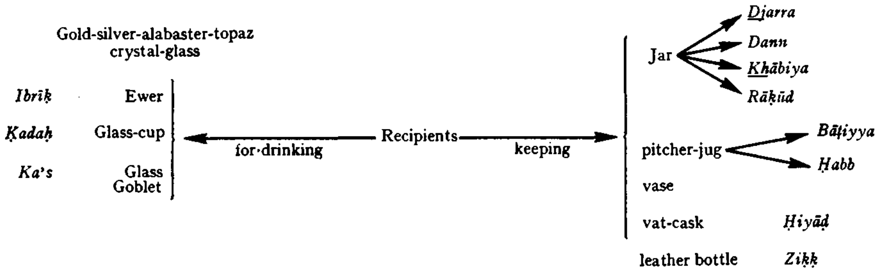

TABLE 6

philosophy of intoxication appears in relief (*Muʿallaḳa*, vv. 45-57). Although still attached to the *fakhr*, included in a heterogeneous *ḳaṣīda* written in the Bedouin context, this poem introduces a particular treatment of Bacchism.

It is in this sense that several other poets are regarded rightly as true precursors. The Tamīmī Christian author of combined Arab-Iranian culture, ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*], produced poems of which fragments survive. Their writing foreshadows unquestionably that of the later great tradition. The work of Abū Miḥdjan [*q.v.*] is badly mutilated, but his personality may be viewed as a means to illustrate the attitude of refusal that would characterise his successors. Finally, the *dīwān* of al-Aʿshā Maymūn [*q.v.*] includes about ten pieces, important because of the number of lines devoted to the Bacchic framework, which, however, never constitutes the whole of the poem. We have before us here an autonomous discourse which is written in the space of the *ḳaṣīda* similar to other frameworks. The poet expresses in it a genuine pleasure without a bad conscience or aggressiveness. The monsters of Bacchism, who will appear later, do not dwell there. Moreover, its language is strong, still rough and one may speak of an inspiration still sustained by the Bedouin environment. But the use of numerous Persian words must also be noted, especially when flowers are mentioned—there is the beginning of a poetry of *rawḍiyyāt* or *nawriyyāt* which was to develop later. Thus an Iranian influence is felt which also affected ʿAdī b. Zayd. The work of al-Aʿshā reveals how the tendencies are entangled or juxtaposed and makes therefore hazardous any hypothesis which would claim to distinguish them. One must be content with the observation that several elements of the Bacchic framework are set there and that there is an evolution towards a specific kind of writing and the characteristics of a genre.

ii. *The First Century: consolidation of a framework.* While set entirely under the sign of a historic mutation, the first century of Islam is still a period of transition and, as such, marked by great complexity. In a purely operative manner, it is possible to distinguish two types of production:

(a) Ḥidjāzī Bacchism. In a Ḥidjāz disappointed in its ambitions, which history made of marginal consequence and immobilised as sacred, it is well-known how hedonism developed among the representatives of an idle aristocracy. This was a decisive stage for amorous poetry and Bacchic poetry, which lent support to one another and shared between them some large thematic areas. In view of this, Ḥassan b. Thābit is a forerunner, especially as the local trend is linked with the influence that the court of al-Ḥīra had on him. Even if his work is in part apocryphal, and even if his Bacchic statements survive scattered in mainly laudatory compositions, he was capable of some audacities, of which posterity preserved the memory (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xv, 164-6).

Ḥidjāzī Bacchism is well represented by Ibn Sayḥān [*q.v.*], a not very productive poet, but one who dedicated himself to wine and love and was often punished for it. Al-Aḥwaṣ is the type of aristocrat of whom it could almost be said that he combined several features of the libertine, while taking care not to give to that word a meaning which would exceed the socio-cultural realities of the time. A great lover of the pleasures which love, music and drink offered him, he put an adventurous insolence into his pursuit of them, saw how far he could go with morality or even with religion, and arrived at a political attitude that was critical of the régime that brought him to the pillory and exile. It is a great pity that the state of his works hardly allows judgement to be made, for certain fragments are significant, notably those that are concerned with the combined treatment of the elegiac and Bacchic frameworks.

(b) ʿIrāḳī Bacchism. Due to the copiousness of his Bacchic work, al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*], another Christian connected with the milieu of al-Ḥīra, appears as the successor of al-Aʿshā, and that despite the harsh evaluation that certain modern critics have placed on his real importance. But once the necessary cautions have been given as to the present state of the *dīwān*, it must be acknowledged that we are analysing here an important treatment of the framework studied. Indeed, Bacchic development is inserted in a *ḳaṣīda*. But the variety of the themes (concerning the preparation of wine and its effects), the diversity of the descriptive processes, and, generally, the coherence of the scheme, allows some interesting observations to be made (M. S. Benani, *Bacchic themes and personalities in the dīwān of al-Akhṭal*, thesis [in Arabic], Algiers 1965, and *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Algiers, i (1967), 59-78). One might mention here the overlapping of the themes of water and wine, which compose very rich semantic constellations. Beneficent or destructive, abundant or rare, calm or violent, occupying space with their sound and perfume, leading to drunkenness or suspending it, water and wine join together or confront one another to impose a framework of liquidity which continues in strict relationship with reality. Later poets were to depart from this reality and their work was to become enriched with symbolic significance.

The poetry of al-Akhṭal preserves some characteristics of traditional Bedouin Bacchism as it continued in this first century in a few poems of al-ʿUdjayr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Salūlī (*Aghānī*, xiii, 60, and al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 517 ff.) and al-Nābigha b. Shaybān (*Aghānī*, vii, 107-8, 110); cf. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 505). But it is also connected with another type of inspiration that develops in ʿIrāḳ, especially at al-Kūfa, which sets itself up as heir of al-Ḥīra. With this type must be linked the works of Ḥāritha b. Badr al-Ghudānī [*q.v.*], comprising about 80 lines, which certify that numerous Abū Nuwās-like processes were already in use. A great drinker (*khimmīr*), this noble Baṣran of Tamīm defied the prohibition on drinking where Bedouin bragging takes on quite significant tones of rebellion. But the poet is mediocre and his Bacchism has few nuances, finding only inadequate expression.

Mālik b. Asmāʾ b. Khāridja (*Aghānī*, xvii, 158-67; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 666-7), a senior official of al-Ḥadjdjādj's with few scruples, sings of the pleasures of love, music and wine in this light language which was soon to impose itself on *khamriyyāt*.

But it is above all another Kūfan, a pure Arab, al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh, called al-Uḳayshir al-Asadī (*Aghānī*, xi, 234-59; cf. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 515), who represents one of the first truly Bacchic personalities of the literature of the first century. This writer was first of all a picturesque Bohemian with little to recommend him, but amusing and quiet-loving, who haunted the taverns and monasteries of al-Ḥīra, and formed with several companions a group called the *mudjdjān al-Kūfa*. We are here at the beginning of the libertine school of al-Kūfa which was henceforth to be exposed to the repression of official morality.

Al-Uḳayshir is moreover an excellent poet, who describes wine in beautiful language, still strongly

marked by the Bedouin lexical tradition. In this poetry, which is very true to life, describing tavern adventures, the relation is skilful and lively, the Bacchism vigorous and sympathetic. This type of inspiration can be connected with the brief and rather dull pieces of the Kūfan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tharwānī (al-Shabushtī, *Diyārāt*, 49, 176, 230-2), an inveterate drinker and lover of young men, found dead among the leather bottles of a low tavern. So, in the first century, various tendencies exploited a well-established framework to which great poets were soon to give fuller expansion.

iii. *The Second Century: the assertion of a literary style.*

(a) *A great forerunner: al-Walīd b. Yazīd.*

The second century, which was to end with the glory of Abū Nuwās, had at its outset that of the caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Between the two men the line of descent is direct. Everything is included between these two poles: a philosophy of existence, the conception of an art, the practice of a language. A style of writing defines Bacchic poetry as a major mode of speech.

Al-Walīd, a controversial personality if ever there was (see our brief sketch of a counter-portrait in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, *Thesaurus*, s.v.), Arab prince, poet and composer linked with the musical school of the Ḥidjāz, throwing himself into the passions of life, free with a lordly freedom that could not conceive of any limit and, hence, of any morality, is doubly important. He gathered around himself a literary group, in which were Ibn Mayyāda [*q.v.*]; Ibn Shurāʿa; Yazīd b. Ḍabba, an excellent poet, the inseparable friend of the prince (*Aghānī*, vii, 92-100); Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, and many others. Also, conspicuous personalities like Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, Ḥammād al-Rāwiya and Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, the famous libertines of al-Kūfa frequented his salon. The composition of this literary group is significant, and makes understandable the literary admiration of al-Walīd for ʿAdī b. Zayd and for Bashshār b. Burd, whose personality and work incontestably dominates this century.

Moreover, al-Walīd is recognised as the master of modern Bacchism. The author of *al-Aghānī* asserts it already: this poet composed numerous poems which were plundered, notably by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk [*q.v.*] and Abū Nuwās (*Aghānī*, vii, 21). The quality of the borrowers is itself a homage rendered to a work of which only some fragments have been preserved. The Bacchic inspiration is here very close to the amorous inspiration which predominates. Features of exquisite delicacy in the sentiment, of finesse in the expression, can be neighbours to excesses which still go to set off an insolent elegance. The language by its simplicity and its naturalness breaks away from the heavy machinery of conventional poetry. Bacchism finds suddenly a personality which animates it and a way of writing, even more, a style—that is to say a depth—able to exploit the richnesses of its register. Bacchic speech has combined all its mediums.

(b) *The libertines of al-Kūfa.* The poets of al-Kūfa form a group whose homogeneity is such that it is permissible to speak of a school which becomes notable in the second half of the second century. Al-Kūfa became the centre of a poetical activity, of which the components are complex and the characteristics diverse. Its motivations originate at many levels, and their interactions do not allow them to be disentangled easily. Everything comes within the conception of what could almost be called a counter-culture: the political, the religious, the racial, the economic and the social. It is here, and at its best, that Bacchism appears as the expression of a rebellion, that the attitudes of the poet take on subversive overtones. The rebellion is spectacularly directed against religious precepts: it is not an accident that most of the poets of this group fall under the accusation of *zandaḳa* (cf. for example, *Aghānī*, xiii, 280, 335, but all the sources underline this point), and several of them paid with their life for their desire to reject a constraining socio-cultural system. For it goes without saying that the subversion did not only aim at the Ḳurʾānic law; it was in fact the entire system of a culture that was threatened.

This group includes famous luminaries of the literary milieu, such as Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb; the three Ḥammāds: ʿAdjrad, al-Rāwiya and al-Zibriḳān; and Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, who all died between 155/772 and 169/787. Their freedom of morals, their anti-religious spirit or their indifference towards religion, their Shuʿūbī tendencies, are a mark of this period. Bashshār b. Burd is their great contemporary. But his work, fundamentally amorous, touches only slightly upon the Bacchic framework, and, if his companions are sometimes drunk, he loves above all to sing of the beauty of the *mughanniya* or singing girl.

Among the libertines one notices the presence of poets who are little-known, but who are nevertheless of great interest for the study of the genre. Such is Bakr b. Khāridja (*Aghānī*, xxiii, 66 ff.; al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 242-3), a Kūfan *mawlā* of Asad, a poor Bohemian who was deprived of his reason by drink and misery. He spent most of his time in taverns, and took refuge to drink amongst the ruins of al-Ḥīra. He is the author of small pieces which al-Djāḥiẓ and Diʿbil enjoyed.

ʿAmmār b. ʿAmr, whose *kunya* is poorly established as Dhū Kināz or Kubār (*Aghānī*, xxiii, 366 ff.), was the friend of Ḥammād al-Rāwiya and Muṭīʿ b. Iyās; his wife, a shrew, shared in his drinking. A minor poet, he is the author of numerous love poems and some *khamriyyāt*.

Appearing here also is Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī (*Diyārāt*, 247 ff.), who gave himself over to some unbridled orgies with his friend Muṭīʿ b. Iyās. The two were accused of *zandaḳa*, and it is true that their provocative attitudes do not leave any doubt as to the unbelief of Muṭīʿ who was absolutely passionate in his anti-religious activities.

With the Kūfan milieu of this period is associated Abū Dulāma [*q.v.*], a habitué of taverns and a great lover of joyful evenings spent far from the palace where he was kept as a buffoon. Exasperated by the religious duties, he hurls several vigorous gibes against Islam. There must be noted in his production some characteristics, notably linguistic, which make one think of an inspiration of popular origin. This fact, attested also in Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, shows firstly that the Bacchic genre is directly opposed to laudatory poetry, whose official function is specific. But one is also left thinking that the poetry of rebellion, based on an existential attitude, and transcribed in a literary or non-literary form—according to the dominant norms—has perhaps drawn vigour and vivacity from a people absolutely excluded from the cultural system (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe, Les voies d'une création*, Paris 1975, ch. i).

We may note finally that the works of this group are quite sparse. But they played a decisive role in the maturation of a genre which eventually found its masters in the second half of the century.

(c) *The Pre-Nuwāsians.* Emphasis must be placed on the most original, the most striking of these, and reparations be paid for an injustice that posterity commits against him, sc. Abu 'l-Hindī al-Riyāḥī (it is difficult to establish his exact name: *Aghānī* xx, 293; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 240 ff.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, vi, 342; al-Maʿarrī, *Ghufrān*, 168, 208; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 572; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 136-43, etc.). A poet of Arab origin, he lived mostly in Khurasān and Sidjistān, and this remoteness explains how he came to be forgotten. His talent was nevertheless real. Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who composed in the 3rd century the first anthology of Bacchic poetry that has come down to us, asserts that Abū Nuwās, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Abū Hiffān were able to establish themselves in the genre only after reading his poems (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 142). The author of the *Aghānī* quotes the judgement delivered by Abū ʿUbayda and confirmed by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, according to which Abū Nuwās drew all his inspiration from Abu 'l-Hindī (*Aghānī*, xx, 29). Even anecdotes of which he was the hero are attributed to other personalities who were living in a similar way. Remote from cultural centres, Abu 'l-Hindī was unable to defend himself against being pillaged, and it seems that it did not worry him. He was one among these poets whose work contributes to the growth of a trend, to the putting of his own plan into effect, but who, melting into the collective effort of creation, leave little trace in memory. All his importance must be due to this *transmission function* in Arabic poetry.

Abu 'l-Hindī never wrote anything but *khamriyyāt*, which impels al-Iṣfahānī to assert that he was the first Bacchic poet of the Islamic period (*Aghānī*, xx, 293, copied by *Fawāt*, ii, 242). This is clearly false, but not useless for the understanding of an evolution: Abu 'l-Hindī is considered in fact as the first to give independence to the genre, and we must concur in this judgement. In a plain and harmonious language, this poet chisels poems of an excellent workmanship, highly representative of this lively, exciting spirit, that was also to be that of Abū Nuwās.

Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ al-Khārakī (*Fihrist*; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 306 ff.; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, 58, etc.) was, according to Abū Nuwās, the origin of the public practice of debauchery (*mudjūn*) and of the composition of verse describing his drinking bouts and varied sexual activities. He was thus to open a path that his young contemporaries were quickly to follow in a kind of cresendo of libertinism. Out of a *dīwān* of 50 pages that the *Fihrist* attributes to him, there remain several pieces representative of the genre, but without charm and lacking in inspiration.

This Baṣran had rivals. Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf al-Baṣrī constituted, with Abu 'l-Saffāḥ al-Anṣārī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Riḍā, a group of *mudjdjān* who decided to devote all their poetry to wine (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 339). The first-named has left a few lines of quality. Also at Baṣra, ʿUkkāsha b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (*Aghānī*, iii, 251-60) deals differently with the Bacchic framework. This minor elegiac writer expresses his amorous despair, but includes in his poems important, often very happy, Bacchic developments. From the profligate violence of some verses, to the amorous passion of others, there is unfolded the full range of the relations linking the Bacchic and amorous frameworks which undergo a joint evolution.

The Kūfan tradition is maintained in lively manner with Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Khalīl (*Aghānī*, xiv, 165 ff.), a close friend of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs, accused with him of *zandaḳa*, but who escaped execution. While he regained, under al-Mahdī, a measure of wisdom or of prudence, which turned him away from pleasures, he composed in his youth Bacchic lines interspersed with panegyrics, and also short well-developed pieces not devoid of elegance, but which are more relevant to the drinking song than the poems.

But Bacchism, in this second century, was not the prerogative of ʿIrāḳ solely. Ibrāhīm b. Harma [*q.v.*], a Ḥidjāzī poet, continually gave himself over to drink throughout his life. Of the 10,000 lines attributed to him, at least a thousand have been preserved (*Dīwān*, Baghdād 1969) and the Bacchic pieces must surely have suffered the greatest loss, for they are very few in number.

(d) *Abū Nuwās: the glory of a genre.* The last third of the century is dominated by poets who include some of the greatest names in mediaeval Arabic literature: al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Muslim b. al-Walīd and Abū Nuwās. Among them, other less famous men or men of lesser talent contributed to the masterly blossoming of the genre. The whole work of this period constitutes the most important corpus which we have at our disposal. Later work as good would be produced, but never better; above all, no further developments appear.

Abū Nuwās is not the creator of the *khamriyya* —far from it—and we ascribe to him the glory of inventions that were not his own. But he is a striking figure because he sums up everything that it had been possible for anyone to write before him. He explores the thematic register and refines some statements well; he handles the Bacchic language with an incomparable skill; his poetry and his life are closely linked, and with him the word magnifies the experience. With a talent made up of sensibility, elegance and intelligence, he wrote poems which do not always have the merit of originality, but often have the sparkle of exceptional success. Thus a unique work of its genre, through its abundance, its variety and its quality, comes to crown a long evolution. Abū Nuwās mastered a speech that others had forged for him, and nobody in this field can dispute with him for first place. Such was the domination that he exercised during his lifetime that he was able to force Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk, for example, to cede to him some of his lines, and posterity was bound to attribute to him much that did not belong to him. A personality of remarkable prominence, he gave to Bacchism its existential significance, one which did not reduce it to the simple pleasure of drinking (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Thèmes bachiques et personnages dans le dīwān d'Abū Nuwās*, in *BEO*, xvii (1963-4), 1-84).

In the very incomplete *dīwān* of Muslim b. al-Walīd, a score of poems contain important Bacchic developments. These entail two observations. The first, in certain pieces, relates to the Bacchic note being given priority treatment and becoming a framework in which other themes are inserted. The second deals with the language; Muslim is a master of the *badīʿ*, and does not forget it even in these poems. This concern for formalism makes the expression heavy and goes against the nature of the inspiration.

Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk produced some verse which is better-developed (cf. Muḥammad al-Munīf, *al-Ḥusayn b. al-Daḥḥāk, aghrāḍ khamriyyātihi wa-ashkhāṣuhā*, Faculty of Letters of Algiers University thesis, 1965). Despite the fragmentary state of his *dīwān*, it is possible to place him among the poets of the first order. One should mention with him Abu 'l-Shīṣ [*q.v.*], cousin of Diʿbil, friend of Muslim and Abū

Nuwās, author of long Bacchic poems revealing a great mastery of the language (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 77-86). They are furthermore interesting to study, as the survivals of the Bedouin language are quite marked in them. Finally, ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Mālik al-Warrāḳ (al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 172 ff.; al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 218; etc.) was a companion of Abū Nuwās, a lewd drunkard, a wicked rogue of a fornicator and pederast, an arrogant mocker of religion, who wrote a poetry without genius more closely connected with the drinking song than the poem.

iv. *The* khamriyya *after Abū Nuwās: the playing-out of a style of writing.* It seems that, having attained glory, the genre become fixed in the academic. While the formalists reduced poetry to the set exercise, the *khamriyya* was drained of its subversive function. Having become a stylistic exercise, it is not surprising to find it composed by any hand. Some poets whose temperament was as far removed as possible from Bacchism attempted it (al-Buḥturī, for example, wrote a dozen *khamriyyāt*). This evidently contributes to the playing-out of the genre. The surprises, quite rare, come from obscure authors in whom is found a note of sincerity or a felicitous expression.

Besides, the Bacchic tone becomes diversified—and loses some of its strong homogeneity—with the development of the *rawḍiyyāt*, floral poems, of the *dayriyyāt*, poems describing evenings spent in convents or monasteries, and of the *ikhwāniyyāt*, versified friendly letters, whose respective domains are not always easy to delimit. These different forms competed to render familiar a light poetry, with a descriptive tendency, which expressed a pleasure in living surrounded by a peaceful and happy nature. The force of the Bacchic theme becomes insipid in this gentle culture of the Muses.

The 3rd century is dominated by Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] who composed an important Bacchic anthology (*Fuṣūl al-tamāthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr*). He wrote poems of youth, whose delicacy recalls that of the other talented aristocrat, al-Walīd b. Yazīd. But the well-born *adīb* Ibn al-Muʿtazz, an enemy of every passionate outburst and concerned with an elegant measure, was unable to exploit in depth a framework whose indispensable vitality he did much to lessen.

The voluminous work of Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] contains several *khamriyyāt* in which he attempts, not without difficulty it is true, a more spontaneous and sensitive language than that of his great compositions. But it is elsewhere that we must look for truly Bacchic temperaments. The literary circle of ʿAli b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim (cf. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, thesis, Paris 1972, i, 116 ff.) gathered together a number of libertine poets, among them Abū Hiffān. The latter served his apprenticeship under the direction of Abū Nuwās and was his *rāwī*, but the fragments that remain to us of his works do not permit us to make a pronouncement. At his side, Abu 'l-Shibl ʿĀṣim b. Wahb al-Burdjumī was admitted into the society of al-Mutawakkil, a lover of scabrous narrative (cf. *Les voies d'une création*, i, 127-8). Indeed, he brings to life a group of jolly rogues who joined in rough escapades in the taverns of Baghdād and Sāmarrā. In the reign of the same caliph there should be noted Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Ṭarsūsī, who exercised his wit against the month of Ramaḍān (al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 395; *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Mammeri, 1973, nos. 102, 134). In fact, these figures provide material for the anecdotal literature which flourishes around Bacchic poetry, but do not leave any striking work.

From this point of view, more interesting is Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Numayrī. A close friend of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, he exchanged with him a whole correspondence (*Aghānī*, ix, 137; al-Shābushtī, 71 ff.; al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 336-7; etc.). It consists of *ikhwāniyyāt*, friendly invitations to profit from the pleasure of love and drink, where the poet shows himself skilful at making glittering promises, and subtle in expressing his joy in accomplishing them with friends. These notes are sometimes in *sadjʿ* (*Diyārāt*, 74). They deal with the same themes as poetry and offer samples of a Bacchic prose for consideration; it reveals an atmosphere and way of life. Here it is a case of well-born companions who have nothing to do with the "Fauvists" of the preceding century. They handle drunkenness like love, sc. with delicacy and good taste, in an allusive language which suits the courteous elegance of the salons. The *adab* of the *munādama*, already defined by Abū Nuwās, finished by imposing its rules on the *ẓurafāʾ* of polite society.

In the 4th century, Kushādjim [*q.v.*] confirmed this insertion of Bacchism in a poetry of social relationship. This *nadīm*-poet was capable of describing a flower, a cup, a musical instrument in an exquisite, light, delicate language, closely related to a way of life. The social discourse determines the inspiration and the poem is subjected to an essentially descriptive plan (cf. al-Shabushtī, *Diyārāt*, 259 ff.). On the last point, this approach becomes clear in the production of al-Ṣanawbarī (*Diyārāt*, 218-24, which cites several poems that do not figure in the *dīwān*). Here appears very clearly the relationship existing between the *khamriyya* and the poetry of nature. But it must be noted that in the *dayriyyāt*, the Bacchic themes become more and more secondary.

Associated with this tradition is Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Baṣrī, called Ṣāḥib al-Rākūba, a drug seller in the service of the Ikhshīdids of Cairo (*Diyārāt*, 292, 294-7). He is presented as a debauchee (*mādjin*). But in his eclogues, the themes, reduced to commonplace stereotypes, serve above all to introduce here the description of a lake peopled with birds, and there that of narcissi and roses growing on the banks of a stream. In this poetry of a smiling nature, wine is described in it as a supplementary, but not exclusive, joy.

On the other hand, Abu 'l-Faradj Muḥammad al-Waʾwāʾ (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, no. 367, ii, 301-6), a Damascene poet of simple and harmonious language, returned to the Bacchic tradition in dedicating certain excellent verses to the great themes well-known in the register and in rediscovering, sometimes with felicity, the Nuwāsian inspiration. But we can feel that in this 4th/10th century, still honoured by the works of al-Mutanabbī and Abū Firās [*q.vv.*] (cf. the poems of the latter's *dīwān*, nos. 150, 171, 178 and especially 364, his great *ṭardiyya* which finishes in a Bacchic development), Arabic poetry has nothing more to invent, so that it becomes set, worn out by nearly six centuries of an exceptionally abundant production. The few poets that remain to be cited wrote a poem worthy to be cited in an anthology, and reveal only a fanciful spirit already too familiar; they approach as well as possible these great masters of the past, of whom some are still cited by al-Maʿarrī in his *Risālat al-ghufrān*, 134-45.

In the 5th/11th century Ibn Shibl [*q.v.*] (and in addition, al-Ḳifṭī, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, no. 254, 270 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 23-45), physician, philosopher and poet, composed numerous couplets full of jollity, and a few longer pieces describing

the pleasures enjoyed in a monastery. But the Bacchic note is minor in his work, as attested in the great philosophic poems where he gives himself up to a reflection on existence and the fate of man. Muḥammad b. Khalīfa b. al-Ḥusayn al-Numayrī (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, no. 403, ii, 402), a poet of Sayf al-Dawla's circle, strove without success in the genre. Ibn al-Nabīh [*q.v.*], a poet of the Ayyūbids, revived a few of the most frequently-repeated statements without introducing the slightest new note. We may conclude this list, which could be filled with the names of several minor authors, by citing three poets of the 7th/13th century.

Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Isʿirdī (619-56/1222-58: *Fawāt*, no. 377, ii, 329-34; *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v, 284), who grouped the libertine part of his *dīwān* under the title of *Sulāfat al-zardjūn fi 'l-khilāʿa wa'l-mudjūn*, a work which also comprises an anthology section. This poet loved wine, and he speaks of it with passion in some quite long poems running to more than 20 verses. He asserts especially the superiority of alcohol over *ḥashīsh* for the quality of intoxication which it provides. But his poetry is prosaic, heavy, often trivial, deprived as it is of the Nuwāsian brilliance which lent glamour even to obscene developments. A little later, Ibn Nubāta [*q.v.*], poet of the Ayyūbid sovereign Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, inserted Bacchic formulae in heterogeneous compositions. But it is above all Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī who, at the end of the 7th/13th century and in the first third of the 8th/14th one, rediscovered a real inspiration with a richness of themes and remarkable images. The fact is so much more notable, since this poet tock a great interest in the strophic poetry of classical or colloquial language.

v. *Mystical intoxication or substituted speech.* It was, paradoxically, the mystics drunk with their love for God who gave to Bacchism a new impetus. They took possession of a well-established framework and activated it by substituting for hedonistic motivations the decisive quest for happiness in God. From there, a whole symbolism became established. Wine becomes a divine emanation which spreads its rays from one form to another, a symbol of the supreme love which manifests itself in creation. Drunkenness is forgetfulness of all that is not He. Under the effect of this application of meanings, an inner discourse is substituted for a text apparently set in its formulae. For, it must be noted, the mystical poet is not anxious to renew the writing of the Bacchic framework, or he does not care to do so; instead, he adds to it another meaning. At the same time as he accepts and pronounces the fixity of a language, he enlarges his conceptual field. Thus constellations of symbols appear around original themes. A thorough study of these appropriations—it is necessary to reverse the order of things, says al-Nābulusī—would show how a new inspiration was able to raise from within an old language, to illuminate it, but not destroy it. No more than the Bacchic poets of the 2nd/8th century did the mystics conceive a poetic theory. In going beyond the Islamic orthodox vision, they imposed a style of speech, not a writing.

The operation had been attempted with success as early as the middle of the 2nd/8th century in the poems of Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawiyya. The importance of the zones common to the erotic and Bacchic frameworks was to mark out the *khamriyya* for serving the passionate quest of the mystics. The *dīwān* of al-Ḥallādj contains only one quatrain of this type, which is furthermore also attributed to Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Abū Nuwās (*Dīwān*, ed. Massignon, 73, no. 38), but several anonymous poems were later dedicated to the description of mystical intoxications (*ibid.*, 127-30). The saint from Tilimsān, Abū Madyan [*q.v.*], composed some *zadjal*s of very marked popular inspiration, illustrating also an ancient tendency of the Bacchic genre to distinguish itself from classical poetry. It is also true that the mystics had at their disposal two keyboards, that of esoteric composition, and that of popular incantation which was to become fundamental in the practice of the brotherhoods. An entire production of *khamriyyāt* was to see the light of day in the East and in the Maghrib, where a representative sample is supplied by Ḥurayfish al-Makkī (d. 801/1398-9; cf. *Dīwān al-Ḥallādj*, 140 ff.).

But it is Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*] who draws attention with his great *khamriyya*. In this, indeed, he gives himself to a masterly re-interpretation of the whole Bacchic theme and deepens its symbolic range. Moreover, he does this without renouncing the artifices of a formalistic rhetoric. The mechanisms of poetic writing continue to be used, but here they injure neither the feverish palpitation of the substituted speech nor the powerful rhythm of the incantation. In the 11th/17th century, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī was to write a commentary on this poem, composed according to the comments made on it by the author of the *Tardjumān al-ashwāḳ*, Ibn al-ʿArabī. Al-Nābulusī reveals also the secret significance of wine in pieces where Bacchic themes are intertwined with developments of love themes. In the mystics, the overlapping of the two registers becomes total in order to express passion and ecstasy. In the *dīwān* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī, very few poems do not have recourse to Bacchic statements (*Dīwān*, ed. al-Nashshār, Alexandria 1960, e.g. poems nos. 5, 8, 9, 12, 20, 26, 31, 38, and the majority of *muwashshaḥāt* and *azdjāl*; cf. also Massignon, *Recherches sur Shushtarī*, in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, 1950, 251 ff.). The quest for the intoxication of love is a central theme which catches in him the nervous rhythm of a popular language. Moreover, he exploits the vein of an Ibn Ḳuzmān, and the narrative of visits to a monastery, or evenings in a tavern, could easily lead to confusion, the language being to such an extent that of the *khamriyyāt*. There could not exist here any of those deceits which sometimes inspired pornographic poems with a pseudo-mystical aim. But it is interesting to note this second substitution of speech, by means of which we return to the origins.

The mystical *khamriyya* continued to be practised, anonymous or obscure, in classical or dialectal language, until the 19th century, where it is attested, for example, in the *dīwān* of the Algerian *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (cf. A. Ben Harrath, *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, i (1967), 47 ff.), and even in the 20th century in its popular form.

vi. *The* khamriyya *in Muslim Spain: atomised speech.* The Andalusian environment suited the fading of Bacchic poetry, especially after the proliferation of the kingdoms of the *Ṭawāʾif*. On the literary side, the creation of strophic forms such as the *muwashshaḥ* and the *zadjal* offered a more supple and effective structure to capture this type of inspiration. The use, especially in the *zadjal*, of a semi-popular language, assured a very appreciable source of invention. Linked with the pleasure of life, with the quest for love, with a profound communion with nature, Bacchism competed to express a certain mode of existence in the world.

Paradoxically, the conjunction of these favourable elements provoked, it seems, a contrary result. The Bacchic framework, already exhausted in the East,

falls into such common use here that it becomes increasingly worn out. Used to love or the joys of nature, it is instrumentalised and hardly requires an autonomous plan and specific style any more. If one adds to all this the proliferation of poets, and especially the mutilation that time has wrought in their work it is understandable why it is necessary to speak here of "pulverised" or "atomised" speech, echoing E. García Gómez.

As early as the 4th/10th century, during the period of the *amīrs*, then of the caliphs, Ibn Darrādj [*q.v.*] included Bacchic statements in some *nawriyyāt*, floral poems, which augur the coming of Ibn Khafādja. The prince Abū ʿAbd al-Malik Marwān, great-grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, also followed this path, and Bacchic themes came to sustain in him an inspiration of an erotic or descriptive order.

But it is in the 5th/11th century that Bacchism finds its full extent, as much from the point of view of poetic creation as from that of anthological activity. To the latter, Ibn Shuhayd ascribes the setting of a visit to the valley of the *tawābiʿ*, where he meets especially the inspirational genius of Abū Nuwās during a succession of very interesting poetic confrontations. For his part, the historian Ibn al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*] dedicated to the Eastern *khamriyyāt* his *Ḳuṭb al-surūr fī waṣf al-anbidha wa'l-khumūr*, still in manuscript, and a *Kitāb muʿāḳarat al-sharab* which has not come down to us. The vizier Abū ʿĀmir Ibn Maslama [*q.v.*] for his *Ḥadīḳat al-irtiyāḥ fī ḥaḳīḳat al-rāḥ*, draws upon the Andalusian works, his own notably, of which a few fragments survive devoted to largely banal forms of enjoyment.

In that which concerns poetry properly so-called, we must make a choice among numerous poets who are often known only by a few lines in anthologies. Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*], also an author of floral poems, dedicated a few pieces to the *madjālis al-uns* in which an elegant aristocracy tasted the delights of love, walks and friendly evenings. The striking personality of the century was the sovereign of Seville al-Muʿtamid (cf. R. H. Souissi, *al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād et son œuvre poétique*, doctoral thesis, Paris 1973, 135-46). He drank with pleasure and describes the joys of drunkenness in poems where the themes of liquidity and luminosity are touched upon. But the statements do not represent an organised view, even if the signs of an existential anguish often appear. The author's attractive personality does not succeed in giving life to a language that has been over-used. The same observation applies to Bacchic mentions noted in the work of those faithful to the unfortunate prince, sc. Ibn al-Labbān [*q.v.*] (cf. *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, 55; M. al-Karīm, *Fann al-tawshīḥ*, 179 etc.) or Ibn Ḥamdīs [*q.v.*]. The *kātib* ʿAlī b. Aḥmad (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, no. 304, ii, 140-1; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse*, 154) composed short pieces where the astral themes play an important role in the description of the sparkle of the wine.

Bestriding the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries were several poets who attempted the *khamriyya*. Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*] (cf. H. Hadjdjādjī, *Vie et œuvre du poète andalou Ibn Khafādja*, typed thesis, Paris 1969) did not detach himself in any way from the Nuwāsian vein, which he exploits in brief developments and without originality. His tavern outings supply the opportunity for imitation, and he remains incapable of rendering an atmosphere and painting a living picture. His talent is elsewhere. His nephew Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ [*q.v.*] wrote mostly love poems or pastoral verse, a genre in which his uncle was famous. The sole aim of the Bacchic statement in his work is to underline the beauty of nature, or to introduce the presence of a cup-bearer. Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī [*q.v.*] succeeded in a few beautiful descriptions where there must be noted the abundance of comparisons and metaphors making reference to the animal lexicon. Ibn al-Bāḳī [*q.v.*] (cf. e.g. *Dār al-ṭirāz*, 67; *Fann al-tawshīḥ*, 185; *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, iv, 240), and his friend al-ʿAmā al-Tuṭīlī (*Dār al-ṭirāz*, 43; *Fann al-tawshīḥ*, 183; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ii, 453; etc.) sprinkled with Bacchic statements the *muwashshaḥāt* of love in which they excel. Finally, Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Isrāʾīlī [*q.v.*] incited his audience to the theme of *carpe diem* and sang promiscuously of his love of wine, flowers and the cup-bearer.

It may well be noted that the framework of the *khamriyya* is truly scattered in a poetry whose plan is no longer to exploit a genre to the full, but to limit itself to the thematic areas common to several frameworks. Eclecticism triumphs and imposes a structure whose analysis leads inevitably to the disintegration of the poem. A good example of this overlapping of themes is given by the production of Abū Bakr b. Zahr (*Fann al-tawshīḥ*, 193 ff., nos. 12-15; *Dār al-tirāz*, 45, 73; *Mughrib*, i, 268, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 440). Bacchic statements are more numerous and precise, but are never detached from the expression of the pains of love in poems articulated in connection with *hawā* ⇄ *madjūn*, *shawḳ* ⇄ *rāḥ*, *bukāʾ* ⇄ *khamr*. In short, we have a Bacchic elegiac form which innovates neither in one field nor the other.

In fact—and all the fragments which are left to us of an abundant œuvre confirm it (cf. H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse*, 359-77)—there is no original Bacchic expression in Andalusia.

Even such a picturesque personage as Ibn Ḳuzmān [*q.v.*] does not altogether escape this observation (see E. García Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzmān*, Madrid 1972). This "impecunious Bohemian, open drinker and debauchee" combined all the conditions required to give to the genre a new vigour. He loved wine passionately, and led a dissolute life in the taverns and other places of ill-repute, of which he knew how to paint lively pictures. His inspiration is on a realistic level and his spirit assumes in it lively and colourful features. A certain sense of the burlesque even animates certain scenes. Finally, Ibn Ḳuzmān composed entirely Bacchic *zadjal*s among other heterogeneous pieces, in a Spanish dialect intended certainly to be understood in educated circles, as G. S. Colin remarks, but suitable all the same to allow itself to be invested with an inspiration of popular type. Despite all this, the poet did not succeed in breaking away from the old Bacchic language and one is very much disappointed to see him having recourse to formulae which are abundant in the works of his predecessors. Certain successes in this field do not conceal the recourse to hackneyed effects, which we are led inevitably to think belong perhaps to a language which has reached exhaustion in this framework.

The strophic Andalusian forms were definitely unhelpful for the revival of the genre. Practised also in the East, the *muwashshaḥa* continued to exploit a vein long since dried up. Also, in the 6th/12th century there is Yūsuf b. Zaylaḳ (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, no. 482, ii, 633 ff. and M. Z. Enani, *Le muwashshaḥ en Orient*, typed thesis, Paris 1973, index), author of quite long poems with nothing that reveals a personality or expresses a voluptuousness. East and West do no more than exchange formulas. The characteristic of a school exercise is that it is repeated *ad infinitum*. For a little longer, Muslim Spain, and

for a long time the Maghrib and the Near East, were to fill with languishing echoes the great silence of a bloodless poetry. After the *nahḍa*, Bacchic statements are rediscovered at the hand of a Amīn Nakhla or an Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shabbī in elegies with accents of Lamartine, *aghānī al-ḥayāt*. But the time of another poetry had by then come.

vii. *The* khamriyya: *the scope of the poem.* The evolution which led from the technique of inserted statements to the composition of homogeneous *khamriyyāt*, then to the "pulverisation" or "atomisation" of a style of speech, was not accompanied by the enactment of any rules which defined a genre or determined the architecture of a fixed form. The general characteristics that one can discern, belonging to a very much mutilated corpus (except perhaps in the case of Abū Nuwās), do not have an informative value.

(a) *Brevity: the requirements of a style of writing.* The *khamriyya* is a relatively brief poem. Only 41 poems of Abū Nuwās out of 299 have more than 14 lines. In his work, the tendency to conciseness is found again in conventional genres. But this brevity characterises all the Bacchic poets of different periods. A need was felt to keep to a number of lines, ranging from 4 to 15 as a verifiable average, even when it involved inserted statements in multithematic *ḳaṣīdas*. Bacchic writing was composed in a limited compass because the means used in writing the work required it (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, ch. iii). This requirement of means was to lead the set *ḳaṣīda* on the other hand to a progressive lengthening. What may be called light or spontaneous poetry—all very ambiguous words—must in reality be analysed as a language whose internal connections appear very clearly. We must qualify not the nature of the inspiration, but that of mechanisms which determine the setting of the poem. For the *khamriyya*, this involves the choice of a certain compass—a poem is written in the plan of the creation at the level of the language and notably the phono-semantic organisation.

(b) *The organisation of an allotted space.* There is no rule for the thematic regulation of a *khamriyya*. If we except the poems that are ordered around a narrative and so of a chronology, the poet handles the statements freely (cf. the six thematic tables pp. 999-1001 above). The unity of the inspiration, the fairly strict limits of the framework, assure homogeneity to the whole. We have noted the frequent recourse to amorous or floral themes. It is a matter of common areas exploited by several frameworks. It is possible, moreover, in refining the analysis, to disclose an entire rhetoric of Bacchic discourse which governs small units of this discourse or even imposes a few broad lines of development. A good example is given by the erotic descriptions which often occur at the end of a poem. But it is also possible to note some more subtle or more closely-followed connections between certain statements of unequal importance. The first masters did a great deal in this direction, and the drying-up of the Bacchic vein is justly measured by an inability to imagine new relations between statements which are from now onwards set in unalterable relationship.

(c) *Relations within the frameworks.* It appears from the evidence that the *khamriyya* underwent and exerted influences within these. When it is concerned with *fakhr*, the Bacchic statement does not have the same value as when it is autonomous. Put to the service of the framework of love, or detaching itself from it, inspiring love of nature or instrumentalised in floral poems, this statement follows an evolution and enjoys fortunes that we have analysed historically. There remains one observation to make concerning the particular treatment of erotic themes.

Compared with the themes of the *nasīb*, of the amorous *tashbīb* of an ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (whose poems contain a few formulaic statements, e.g. *Dīwān*, 107, ll. 7-8; 115, ll. 3-4; 120, l. 10; 149, l. 8; etc.), or with those of courtly love in the work of Bashshār b. Burd and al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf, the Bacchic *ghazal* appears specific. It is sensual at first, then tough and truculent, without prudery; it is further without delicacy, and often runs into obscenity. Drunkenness seems to destroy love, retaining only a caricaturist's style. The relation between the two frameworks has therefore become reversed. At first a unity of instrumentalised statements, the *khamriyya* later defines themes of love that are its own, as well as personages who express them. At the point at which courtly poetry refines its nuances but takes refuge in abstraction, the Bacchic *ghazal* on the other hand cloaks itself in the concrete. But one should not see there the simple transcription of orgiastic experiences; instead, one may perceive a desperate attempt to fight against the constraining morality and the good conscience of a socio-cultural system which pronounces the traumatic exclusion of the feminine being. It may also be said that the themes of homosexuality found in the *khamriyya* an opportunity for development without resorting to subterfuges. Bacchism makes its goal what is forbidden and what is recommended. It appears provocative, and its vigorous audacities could have had a subversive effect. But the scheme lacked a philosophy of existence which was detached from pure enjoyment and an ideology which went beyond simple rejection. The elegant master of Bacchic *adab*, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, put an end to an evolution which could have been dangerous, but which proclaimed its failure by not viewing the situation of woman differently. Even in Bacchism, love remains a masculine preoccupation.

(d) *Problems of metric specificness.* The problem of the adequacy of the metre for the framework is a very delicate one. The thesis according to which evolution takes place towards the choice of so-called "light" metres remains from many points of view subject to reservations (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, ch. "De la mesure au rythme"). The fragmentary state of the Bacchic works keeps analysis within the field of hypotheses most of the time. In the case of developments inserted in a *ḳaṣīda*, it cannot be a question of specificness. In al-Aʿshā, the group of four major metres is formed by the *ṭawīl* (34%), the *kāmil* (14.5%), the *mutaḳārib* (12%) and the *basīṭ* (11%); and in al-Akhṭal, by the *ṭawīl* (53%), the *wāfir* (15.7%), the *basīṭ* (14%) and the *kāmil* (9.2%). The *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās, the only Bacchic corpus sufficiently important to lend itself to enumeration, supplies the following results, drawn from 893 poems: *ṭawīl* (15.45%); *basīṭ* (14.21%); *sarīʿ* (13%); *wāfir* (11.1%) and *kāmil* (8.75%). This general percentage, compared with a percentage drawn from only conventional poetry (panegyric, elegiac, etc.) brings out a perceptible decline of the *ṭawīl* and the *kāmil*, and a slight increase of the *basīṭ* and *sarīʿ* (cf. *op. cit.*, the curves of metric use drawn from three centuries). The one is a long metre, the other a short metre, which leaves the problem intact. Without denying the frequency of the use of so-called "light" metres such as the *sarīʿ* and the *khafīf*, a frequency confirmed elsewhere even in poets as little

modernist as Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī, it is always worth asking ourselves the real nature of the connection between the metre and the theme treated. It will not be possible for any suggestions to be made in this matter as long as no serious analysis has been made of the connections established between the structures of the phonic chain in operation and the stylistic organisation of the verse which is wedded to the scheme. At this point, we return to the fundamental problem of the language of the *khamriyya*, which has unfortunately not been the object of study. Considerations as to the use of a simple vocabulary and the clarity of a syntactic organisation have certainly not taken place.

The study of Bacchic literature remains to be undertaken. Such a study ought to show how its expression was fed by a variety of philosophic tendencies, and how it analysed a series of spiritual attitudes in historical relationship with given socio-cultural situations. From materialism to the search for the absolute, the *khamriyya* was the field for a multitude of experiments, perhaps founded moreover on the same existential despair. Its scattering away thus signified the failure of individual attempts to escape a condition and an order.

Bibliography: Djamīl Saʿīd, *Taṭawwur al-khamriyyāt fi'l-shiʿr al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1945; Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Asālib al-ṣināʿa, shiʿr al-khamra wa'l-nāḳa bayn al-Aʿshā wa'l-djahiliyyīn*, Alexandria 1960; Ilyā Ḥāwī, *Fann al-shiʿr al-khamrī*, Beirut 1960; M. al-Ṣādiḳ al-ʿAfīfī, *Thawrat al-khamriyyāt*, Beirut 1971. All these are very unequal studies. Several monographs on authors or periods dedicate sections of varying length to the *khamriyya*. (J. E. Bencheikh)

KHAMSA (a.) "five" still possesses, in several Muslim countries, as amongst peoples of ancient times, a magical value in connection with the use of the fingers of the hand as a defence against the evil eye [see ʿayn]. An efficacious method of protection against the evil eye, especially in North Africa but also in certain parts of the Near East also, consists essentially in stretching out the right hand, with the fingers spread out, towards the person whose glance can harm, and in pronouncing a formula containing the word *khamsa*, e.g. *khamsa fī ʿayni-k* "five in your eye". This gesture is supposed to send the evil to its source, but since it is not always possible conveniently to do, pronouncing the formula in the mind retains also a certain prophylactic force, and has in any event the force of a curse.

Various representations of the hand, which were formerly current also in ancient civilisations, may be attached to this belief (see J. A. MacCulloch, in Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, vi (1913), 495). One of the best-known is the piece of jewellery called "the hand of Fatma", used as an amulet and called *mkhammsa, khamsa, khumsa*, etc. (see W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 285; J.-H. Prost-Biraben, *La main de Fatma et ses antécédents symboliques*, in *Revue anthropologique*, xliii (1933), 370-5), but one often finds, on the walls of houses and elsewhere, the mark of a henna-painted hand, or a more schematic pattern with five branches. Also, many amulets contain patterns made up of five elements.

In certain countries, notably in North Africa, the name of Thursday (*al-khamīs*) likewise possesses a prophylactic value, and it is combined with "five" in formulae against the evil eye, above all in *khamsa wa-khamīs*. Furthermore, Thursday is a day eminently favourable for undertaking enterprises (e.g. travelling) or ceremonies (e.g. circumcision, marriage), and is referred to euphemistically by means of qualificative terms like *mabrūk* or *mubārak* "blessed".

The use of these terms against the evil eye makes them in practice to a large extent inconvenient to use. Thus the reply of *khamsa* pure and simple to a question requiring such a response is avoided, and various euphemisms are employed: *yəddək* "your hand", *ʿaddlʿaddət yəddək* "the number of your hand", etc., or else two numbers whose sum or differences is equal to 5: e.g. at Rabat, *tlāta u-žūž* = 3 + 2.

Bibliography: E. Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 317 ff.; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, ch. viii; idem, *Survivances païennes dans la civilisation mahométane*, Paris 1935, index s.v. "cinq"; E. Panetta, *Pratiche e credenze popolari libiche*, 88, and bibl.; W. Marçais and A. Guîga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, Paris 1925, 337-8, 366, 393-4, 396-7, and bibl.; W. Marçais, *L'euphémisme dans les parlers arabes maghrébins*, in *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, Brussels 1955, 375-6. (Ed.)

KHAMSA is in the technical language of Persian and Turkish literature a set of five *mathnawī* poems. The term is used, first of all, to designate the five epic poems of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] of Gandja which were composed between *ca.* 570/1174-5 and 600/1203-4. The set contains one didactic poem *Makhzan al-asrār*, in the metre *sarīʿ-i maṭwiyy-i mawḳūf*; three romantic poems: *Laylā u Madjnūn* in the metre *hazadj-i musaddas-i maḳbūḍ-i maḥdhūf*, *Khusraw u Shīrīn* in the metre *hazadj-i musaddas-i maḥdhūf*, and *Haft Paykar* in the metre *khafīf-i makhbūn-i maḳṣūr*; and the *Iskandarnāma* in the metre *mutaḳārib-i muthamman-i maḥdhūf* consisting of two parts, the *Sharafnāma* and the *Iḳbālnāma*. This last work belongs to the genre of the heroic epic as well as to that of the literature of wisdom. There is no general concept connecting these five poems. That they were traditionally regarded as a whole may have been caused by the exceptional brilliance displayed by Niẓāmī in all of them, but it may also be a result of their being transmitted almost exclusively as a complete set in so-called *kulliyyāt* manuscripts. An earlier example of a collective name for a set of *mathnawī*-poems written by a single author is the term *Khizāna-yi Yamīn al-Dawla* ("Treasury of Yamīn al-Dawla", i.e. Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna) applied by ʿAwfī to the romantic poems of ʿUnṣurī (*Lubāb*, ii, 32). The enlargement of the *khamsa* pattern to a set of seven poems by Djāmī constituted in its turn a model for so-called *sabʿas* which were written by a number of poets from the 10th/16th century onwards. Occasionally, the term *sitta*, a set of six poems, is used for collections of the *mathnawī*-poems of ʿAṭṭār and Sanāʾī.

The entire *Khamsa* as well as its individual poems have from the late 7th/13th century onwards inspired many imitators in Persian as well as in the main literary languages of the Turks (i.e. Čaghatay, Azeri and Ottoman Turkish) and, more rarely, in Kurdish. The attempts to write a parallel (*naẓīra*) to the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī can be classified into two main types. To the first type belong those efforts which were aimed at producing a *khamsa*, every single part of which would correspond to one of the original poems, not only as far as the subject-matter was concerned but also in the choice of the metre and the characteristic features of Niẓāmī's poems (e.g. the form of the opening lines, the presence of certain sections in the conventional introduction (*dībāča*) of the poems and specific traits in the structure of the tales). Although many Persian and Turkish poets

accepted this challenge, only very few of them succeeded in finishing more than one or two parts of the proposed scheme. The earliest imitation of the *khamsa* was written by the Indo-Persian poet Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.v.*] between 698-701/1298-1301. It contains the poems *Maṭlaʿ al-anwār*, *Shīrīn u Khusraw*, *Madjnūn u Laylā*, *Hasht bihisht* and *Āʾina-i Iskandarī*. The last poem of this *khamsa* consists only of one part dealing mainly with Iskandar as a seeker of wisdom. The second successful *khamsa* of this type was written in Čaghatay Turkish by ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī between 888-90/1483-5. The poems are entitled: *Ḥayrat al-abrār*, *Farhād u Shīrīn*, *Laylā u Madjnūn*, *Sabʿa-i sayyāra* and *Sadd-i Iskandarī*. Nawāʾī's work was inspired by both the examples of Niẓāmī and Amīr Khusraw.

The second type of *khamsa* is formed by those collections of *mathnawīs* which only contain some imitations of Niẓāmī's works. The number of five is achieved by adding poems which are either entirely original as far as their subject-matter is concerned or may be regarded as imitations of the works of other great *mathnawī*-poets such as Sanāʾī or Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār. In the *Khamsa* of Khwādjū Kirmānī [*q.v.*], for instance, which was written between 732-46/1331-46, only the first poem, *Rawḍat al-anwār*, is a *naẓīra* of Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār*, whereas the four others, *Humā u Humāyūn*, *Kamālnāma*, *Gul-u Nawrūz* and *Djawharnāma* deviate from the Niẓāmian pattern both as to their subject-matter and, partly, their metres. Collections of this latter type very soon contain even more than five poems, like the six poems in the *kulliyyāt* of ʿImād al-Dīn Faḳīh-i Kirmānī (d. 773/1371-2) (cf. Ahmed Ateş, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde farsça manzum eserler*, Istanbul 1968, 273 ff.). His mystic *mathnawīs* in the metre *hazadj* show the influence of the works of ʿAṭṭar. The most celebrated instance of an extended *khamsa*, however, is the *Haft awrang* of Djāmī [*q.v.*] (written *ca.* 890/1485). These seven poems are entitled: *Silsilat al-dhahab*, in *khafīf*, *Salāmān u Absāl* in *ramal*, *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār* (a *naẓīra* of the *Makhzan al-asrār*), *Subḥat al-abrār* in *ramal*, *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā* (taking the place of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*), *Laylā u Madjnūn* and *Khiradnāma-i Iskandarī*. The last five poems are sometimes taken together as the *Khamsa* of Djāmī, but even in this way the scheme does not confirm to that of Niẓāmī. Other notable *khamsa* writers in Persian literature were Hātifī [*q.v.*] who introduced a historic theme in his *Tīmūr-nāma* taking the place of the *Iskandar-nāma*, and Fayḍī [*q.v.*], among whose incomplete set of five poems there is a treatment of the Indian love story of Nal-Daman. In Ottoman-Turkish poetry prominent authors of *khamsas* were Bihishtī; Lāmiʿī, who composed in fact a *sabʿa* to the model of Djāmī; Yaḥyā Bey; ʿAṭāʾī; and Nergīsī [*q.vv.*], who composed his *khamsa* in prose. All these collections consist mainly of poems which do not belong to the canon of Niẓāmī. The imitation of Niẓāmī's poems was particularly popular during the hey-day of the Indo-Persian literature in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries.

The numerous imitations of the individual poems of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa* are to some extent parts of unfinished *khamsas*, but this is not necessarily always the case. The most frequently imitated works were the *Makhzan al-asrār* and *Laylā u Madjnūn*. Some of the best *naẓīras* can be found among the parallels to the latter poem, e.g. the *Madjnūn u Laylā* of Maktabī (written in 895/1489) in Persian and that of Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*] in Azeri. Most of these imitations, however, were not very successful. They have either disappeared completely or have only been preserved in very rare manuscript copies.

Bibliography: The *khamsas* of Niẓāmī, Amīr Khusraw and Nawāʾī, as well as the *Haft awrang* of Djāmī, have been described in the following works: E. E. Bertel's *Izbrannïe Trudï. Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 173-360; idem, *Izbrannïe Trudï. Navoi i Džami*, Moscow 1965, 31-6, 126-170, 256-72; Muḥ. Waḥīd Mīrzā, *The life and writings of Amir Khusrau*, Calcutta 1935, 190-203; J. Eckmann, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 336-48. See further W. Björkman, *ibid.*, 436 ff., 444; A. Caferoğlu, *ibid.*, 640; H. Ethé, in *Gr.Ir.Ph.*, ii, 245-8; *Istanbul kütüphanelerinde türkçe hamseler*, Istanbul 1961, with introd. by Nail Tuman; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 210 f., 283-5. Cf. also IRAN. vii. LITERATURE and the articles on the individual authors.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

KHAMSE (WILĀYĀT-I —) [see WILĀYĀT-I KHAMSE].

KHĀN, a Turkish title (*khan* or *ḳan*) first used by the Tʿu-chüeh apparently as a synonym of *ḳaghan*, the later *khāḳān* [*q.v.*], with which its relationship is obscure; it was afterwards normally applied to subordinate rulers. The title is first recorded in Muslim lands on the coins of the Ḳarakhānids or Ilek Khāns [*q.v.*]. Under the Saldjūḳs and Khʷārazm-Shāhs, *khān* was the highest title of the nobility taking precedence over *malik* and *amīr*. It was applied by the Mongols to the head of an *ulus* [*q.v.*], *ḳaʾan*, i.e. *khāḳān*, being reserved for the Great Khān in Ḳaraḳorum or Peking. In Ṣafawid Persia, the *khān* was a provincial governor of lesser rank than the *beglarbegi* and higher than the *sulṭān* "deputy governor". The title survived into modern times in much the sense of the English "esquire". In India under the Turkish kings of Delhi, *khān* was the title of the principal nobles, especially those of Persian or Afghān descent; it was still in Mughal times restricted to courtiers, but to-day it is a common affix to the names of Muslims of all classes and is often regarded as a surname.

Bibliography: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, 141-179 (no. 1161); Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 630; V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, *GMS*, N.S. xvi, Cambridge-London 1943, 25, 43. (J. A. BOYLE)

KHĀN, a word of Persian origin designating on the one hand a staging-post and lodging [see also MANZIL] on the main communication routes, on the other a warehouse, later a hostelry [see also FUNDUḲ] in the more important urban centres.

I. The highway *khān*. The economic functions served by this institution have changed little from the Middle Ages to the present day. It had its roots in the beginnings of organised highway trade in the earliest times, but it flourished with particular vigour in the Islamic world. The *Khān* was born of the need to ensure safe lodging and protection from robbery for travellers in regions where nomads and hill-bandits posed a threat to security. It was an indispensable factor for commerce on land and sea, necessary in regions where sources of provisions were not regular and where watering-places were few and far between. It seems that it was originally an enclosure protecting a well which in the course of time developed into a work of architecture. Herzfeld connects its origin to the relay-post system (*avahāna*) organized by the Achaemenids on the major com-

munication routes such as the Sardis to Susa highway. These staging-posts which Herodotus calls καταλύσεις and Ctesias calls *emporia* were numerous in the Byzantine empire, where they were set at a distance of 50 parasangs one from another. Little is known of the architectural evolution of these structures in ancient times, for the oldest *kh̲ān*s built of unfired brick have disappeared.

The appropriate term to describe the type of building which provided lodging for caravan traffic on the main trade routes is *caravanserai*, transcribed by Pierre Belon of Le Mans as "Carbaschara"; *kh̲ān*, with which it is often confused, being applied rather to an establishment where commercial travellers could lodge for a period of time and where facilities weie provided for the sale of their wares. A stopping-place for caravans is often called *manzil* in the ancient Arabic texts.

As communal buildings for public use, mentioned by all the travellers who testify to their vast number in the east, the *kh̲ān*s marked the commercial highways once followed by caravan traffic in an area comprising Asia Minor and the "isthmus region", to borrow the phrase of Maurice Lombard, usually set at a distance apart of a day's journey, about 20 miles, the *kh̲ān*s of plain and mountain, varying in number according to the degree of prosperity of the region, provided staging posts or places of refuge. Often the *kh̲ān* was more than a shelter for travellers, pilgrims and itinerant traders; it was indeed a centre for the exchange of ideas among individuals from different parts of the world.

The institution flourished greatly from the 7th/13th century onwards in Iran, Syria and Anatolia; in this region alone, Erdmann has listed 119 *kh̲ān*s belonging to that century. Sometimes it happened that over a period of time there developed around the *kh̲ān* a conurbation such as at Kh̲ān Sh̲aykh̲ūn or at D̲j̲isr al-Sh̲ugh̲ūr in Syria.

The term appears for the first time in Arabic epigraphy in Syria on the occasion of the foundation of the Kh̲ān al-ʿAḳaba in 610/1213 (*RCEA*, No. 3720).

The plan of construction of the highway *kh̲ān*, which was most often located in an isolated position, needed to provide for the security of people and of animals and of warehouse goods stored there for long or short periods. The construction material varied according to the regions: it might be brick, fired or unfired; it might be limestone; lastly, it might be basalt. The building comprised rooms for the accomodation of travellers, an oratory and sometimes a bath-house. There were places for the stabling of pack-animals and saddle-animals, covered stables for horses and donkeys, stalls for mules and camels or dromedaries, according to the area. The installations needed to take account of the temperament of each species, for horses cannot endure the smell of dromedaries and mules do not readily accept the proximity of donkeys.

From the outside, the *kh̲ān* appears as a quadrangular structure, often having two storeys, with massive towers at each corner and exterior walls supported by buttresses. It resembles a small fortress from which it is distinguished by an entrance protected by salients framing a monumental gateway, decorated to a greater or lesser extent according to the period. This gateway gives access to a deep vestibule on which there open, on either side, the warden's quarters and sometimes shops from which items of basic necessity could be purchased. From here there is access to a large central courtyard, usually square, with a water-cistern. Around the courtyard on ground level there would be storerooms and shops, living-quarters and stables, sometimes a forge for the shoeing of animals. In many *kh̲ān*s, the travellers would sleep in a communal hall on raised platforms. In a *kh̲ān* of some importance there is an upper floor laid out on the same plan as the ground level, to which there is access by an internal stairway. The dimensions and number of rooms vary, the plan differing according to the region and the period.

The *kh̲ān*s of mountain districts are on a smaller scale than those of the plain. They are built square with corner buttresses; against the inner face of the outer wall there are installations for the accomodation of animals, while the travellers' quarters are built on the inner wall, opening on the central courtyard. There are also, in cold regions, very simple *kh̲ān*s without courtyard, consisting only of a hall with one or more aisles, whose archways, with openings for light, rest on columns or pillars while a bench runs the length of the interior, providing sleeping or sitting space. The prices paid by the traveller for accommodation, storage of goods and shelter of animals would very according to the quality and facilities of the highway *kh̲ān*. Some *kh̲ān*s received *waḳf*s, enabling them to entertain pilgrims free of charge.

The *kh̲ān*s which have survived enable us to identify the characteristics distinguishing the various types. At the time of the expansion of Islam in the Near East, there were two types of staging-post in existence; the one, consisting of oblong halls running parallel to the central courtyard, is specifically Iranian. Soon axial *īwān*s appear and the gateway takes on a particular importance. The other consists of a quadrangular structure with galleries enclosing a central courtyard. This "Mediterranean" type existed from the earliest times.

The oldest known Muslim highway *kh̲ān* would seem to be, according to the hypothesis of Oleg Grabar, the building dating from the Umayyad era known as Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sh̲arḳī [*q.v.*]. It consists of a structure with a windowless façade, corner towers and buttresses on the walls, on the inside two floors opening on a courtyard, a peristyle on the ground level and a gallery on the upper floor. It is thus built in the "Mediterranean" type.

There are distinctions to be drawn between the Ald̲j̲ūk *kh̲ān*s of Iran and Anatolia, the Ayyūbid *kh̲ān*s cf Syria, the Mamlūk *kh̲ān*s of Egypt and Syria, the *kh̲ān*s of the Pilgrims' route, the Ilkh̲ānid and Ṣafawid *kh̲ān*s of Iran and the Ottoman *kh̲ān*s of Asia Minor.

From the Sald̲j̲ūk period in Iran, where there was a flowering of commercial activity at the end of the 5th/11th century, we know the Kh̲ān Zafarānī, between Nīsh̲āpūr and Sabzawār. It is built on a square plan, the exterior walls 75 m. in length, built of unfired brick on foundations of fired brick, with circular towers at the corners. In the centre of the façade a high gateway flanked by towers gives access through a vestibule to the almost square inner courtyard (36 × 38 m.) on to which, as in the *madrasa*s, open four *īwān*s. Those of the lateral sides are enclosed by four rooms on each face, while those of the rear and the vestibule have three rooms on both sides. The lay-out of the courtyard resembles that of the cruciform *madrasa*; it is only the purpose of the rooms which is different. In the one case they are designed for study, in the other for the accommodation of commercial traffic. On the right hand side of the entrance is a mosque, and on the exterior there is a bath-house attached to the building.

There are some excellent examples of Sald̲j̲ūḳ

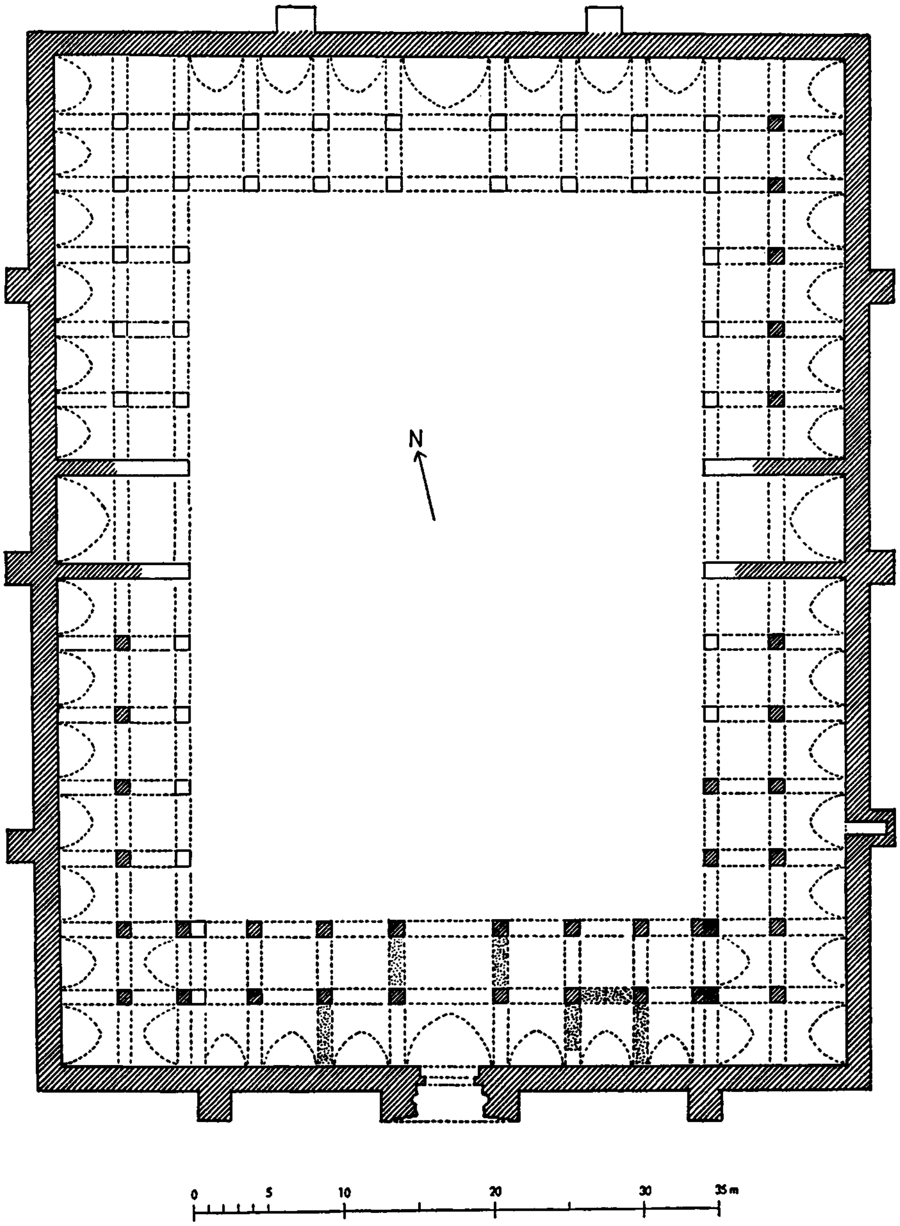

Plan of the Evdir Khān [K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, i].

*k̲h̲ān*s from the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries in Anatolia. They are of four types. There are *k̲h̲ān*s with a monumental entrance and a vestibule giving access to a central rectangular courtyard surrounded by arched galleries and rooms, as at Evdir K̲h̲ān (606-16/1210-19) near Anṭaliya, Ḳïrḳgöz K̲h̲ān (633-43/1236-46), Sulṭān K̲h̲ān (633/1236) between Sivas and Kayseri, or Yeñi K̲h̲ān (717/1317) on the road from Tokat to Sivas, and the *k̲h̲ān* of Marand in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān (730/1330). There are covered *k̲h̲ān*s like Susuz K̲h̲ān (644/1246) near Burdur, measuring 25 m. by 26 m., with five cradle-vaulted girders and a central cupola. Some *k̲h̲ān*s combine the courtyard surrounded by rooms and the covered building, bringing together the "Mediterranean" and "Iranian" types, as at Sulṭān K̲h̲ānï (626/1229, restored in 677/1278) 40 km. southwest of Aḳ Sarāy, not to be confused with its namesake near Kayseri. This *k̲h̲ān*, which is entered through a gateway decorated by stalactites, has two sections, one measuring 50 m. by 62 m. with a courtyard bounded by a portico upon which the living-quarters open and by a warehouse as well as a bakehouse and a *ḥammām*; in the centre of the courtyard is an oratory with a cupola standing on four pillars; to the south of the courtyard is the other section; a huge hall measuring 33 m. by 55 m., with five cradle-vaulted aisles and a door at each end, in which the animals were quartered. It is the most important *k̲h̲ān* of the 7th/13th century. Aḳ K̲h̲ān, to the north-east of Deñizli, built in 650/1252 by sultan Kay Kāwūs, is of a rectangular plan with a square inner courtyard bounded by porticos on two sides and by a vaulted hall supported on ten lines of pillars. Finally, the Alara K̲h̲ān to the north-west of Alaniya is of yet another design: the inner courtyard is nothing more than a corridor open to the sky with seven rooms on each side, the whole enclosed by long cradle-vaulted halls. Differing in design and dimensions, the Sald̲j̲ūḳ *k̲h̲ān*s are alike in having corner towers and walls supported by buttresses; they are remarkable for their large gateways, having broken arches decorated with stalactites, framed by intricately worked geometric patterns often consisting of figured decoration.

The Ayyūbid type (6th-8th/12th-14th centuries) in Syria is of square or rectangular plan with central courtyard and a peripheral gallery with cradle-vaulting, broken along the principal axis by an entry corridor, with, in some cases, a room on either side of the vestibule. The gate may be preceded by a salient. In the axis of entry there sometimes opens on the opposite side the wide bay of an *īwān*. The design of Ayyūbid *k̲h̲ān*s is almost always identical, the only variations being in the proportions of the various parts (e.g. K̲h̲ān al-ʿArūs, Ḳuṭayfa, and Ḳara to the north of Damascus).

In the later Mamlūk period (9th/15th century) commerce in the Orient was most active and *k̲h̲ān*s multiplied in Syria, especially on the Aleppo to Cairo highway; there is, however, no particular architectural evolution to be noted. The *k̲h̲ān*s of this period are rectangular with windowless walls and a central courtyard containing a water-cistern and surrounded by a gallery, cradle or groin-vaulted, there is a mosque and often a bath-house, the main door-way opens in the façade or in a fore-projection of the wall, and the entry corridor is flanked by two vaulted chambers. Worthy of mention are, in the vicinity of Damascus, K̲h̲ān Ayās̲h̲ to the north and K̲h̲ān Dunnūn to the south, in Palestine K̲h̲ān al-Aḥmar, K̲h̲ān Rastān on a bridge over the Orontes between Ḥims and Ḥamāt, and the *k̲h̲ān* of Ḳalʿat al-Mudīḳ (40 m. by 40 m.) at Apamaeus. There are examples of the same type from the 11th/17th century at K̲h̲ān Tūmān and at Ḳaramurt (1048/1638), and an enormous *k̲h̲ān* (161 m. by 122 m.) near Bag̲h̲ras [*q.v.*].

In Iran, the *k̲h̲ān* evolved more rapidly and with more frequent changes than in Syria. In the 8th/14th century, in the time of the Īl-K̲h̲ānids, a new type of *k̲h̲ān* appeared. This is a building on a rectangular plan with the exterior wall reinforced by circular corner towers, and there is a monumental entrance in the form of a bastion with a solid vaulted doorway in an ornamental setting of brick such as that of which traces survive near Marand (730/1330). Within, one enters a vast courtyard bordered by lodging-quarters with *īwān*s in the main axes. A fountain, cisterns and a mosque complete the installation. These *k̲h̲ān*s often have two stories with gallery, on the ground floor there are the stables, and the shops, and there is access by an interior stairway to the first floor and the merchants' quarters, sometimes furnished with fire-places as at Sin (730/1330).

Under the Ṣafawids, in the 10th/16th century, wealthy caravans, signs of the significant progress made by the economy of Central Asia since the Tīmūrids, moved along the trade-routes. S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I

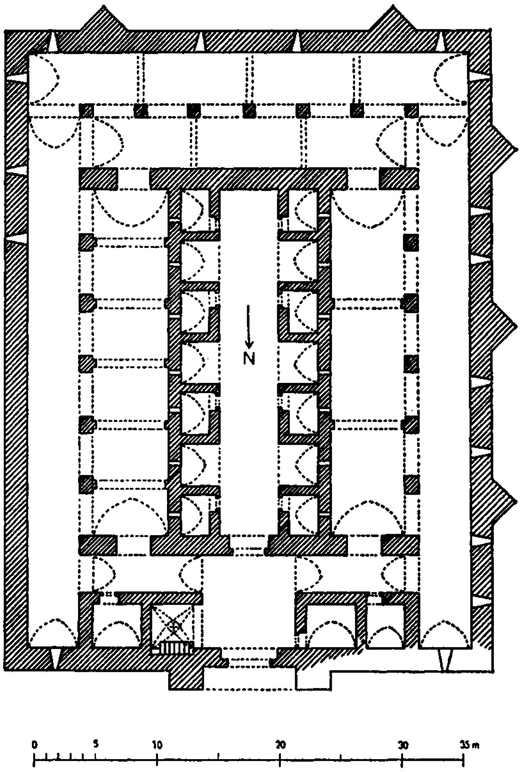

Plan of the Alara K̲h̲ān [K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, i].

made improvements in highway communications and in the system of staging-posts. The period saw an increase in the number of *k̲h̲ān*s, extending as far as the trade-routes to India. In these *k̲h̲ān*s, the monumental effect of the gate-way with salient is accentuated, while the installations of a religious

nature tend to disappear. In the period following the death of the great sovereign, a concern for symmetry dominates the building-style and huge hypostyle stables appear. At the end of the 11th/17th century, *khāns* on an octagonal plan with circular corner towers are found in mountainous areas. We shall mention three examples, at Amīnābādh, at Khān-i Khurra and at Dahbid on the road between Iṣfahān and Shīrāz.

In Ādharbāydjān, the *khān* typical of the 9th/15th century is that of Sangatchali, near Baku, with its window-less walls, designed on a plan identical to that of the Mamlūk *khāns*. In the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries there existed in this region two types of *khān*: one, on a square plan with a central courtyard and a lay-out resembling that of the Mediterranean *khān*, and the other, on a rectangular plan, having a long hall open at both ends divided into three aisles, open at both ends with a single entrance in a pillared projection.

In the same period in the Ottoman empire, a large number of highway *khāns* continued to appear, some consisting of one section containing installations bordering on a courtyard open to the sky and another section covered against the winter, others constructed according to the Saldjūḳ prototype, but decorated in a more sober fashion.

A new type appeared, built on a plan almost square, with a long central passage lying along an east-west axis and bounded by shops; in the middle of the passage, two doorways each giving access to an oblong hall running parallel to the passage, with four aisles and three sets of pillars. The chamber on the north side of the passage, provided with a bench, was intended for travellers, while that on the south side sheltered animals and merchandise. Of this type were the Yeñi Khān (10th/16th century), which has recently disappeared, but was formerly on the road from Tokat to Sivas, and Khān Meḥmed Pasha (1028/1619) at Ulukişla to the east of Konya. Finally, at Gebze, on the road from Istanbul to Izmit, there is a *khān* of classical Ottoman type having a rectangular structure, without a central courtyard, and consisting of a double hall with six pillars marking off two sets of seven twin sections.

The last great highway *khān* was built in Iran in

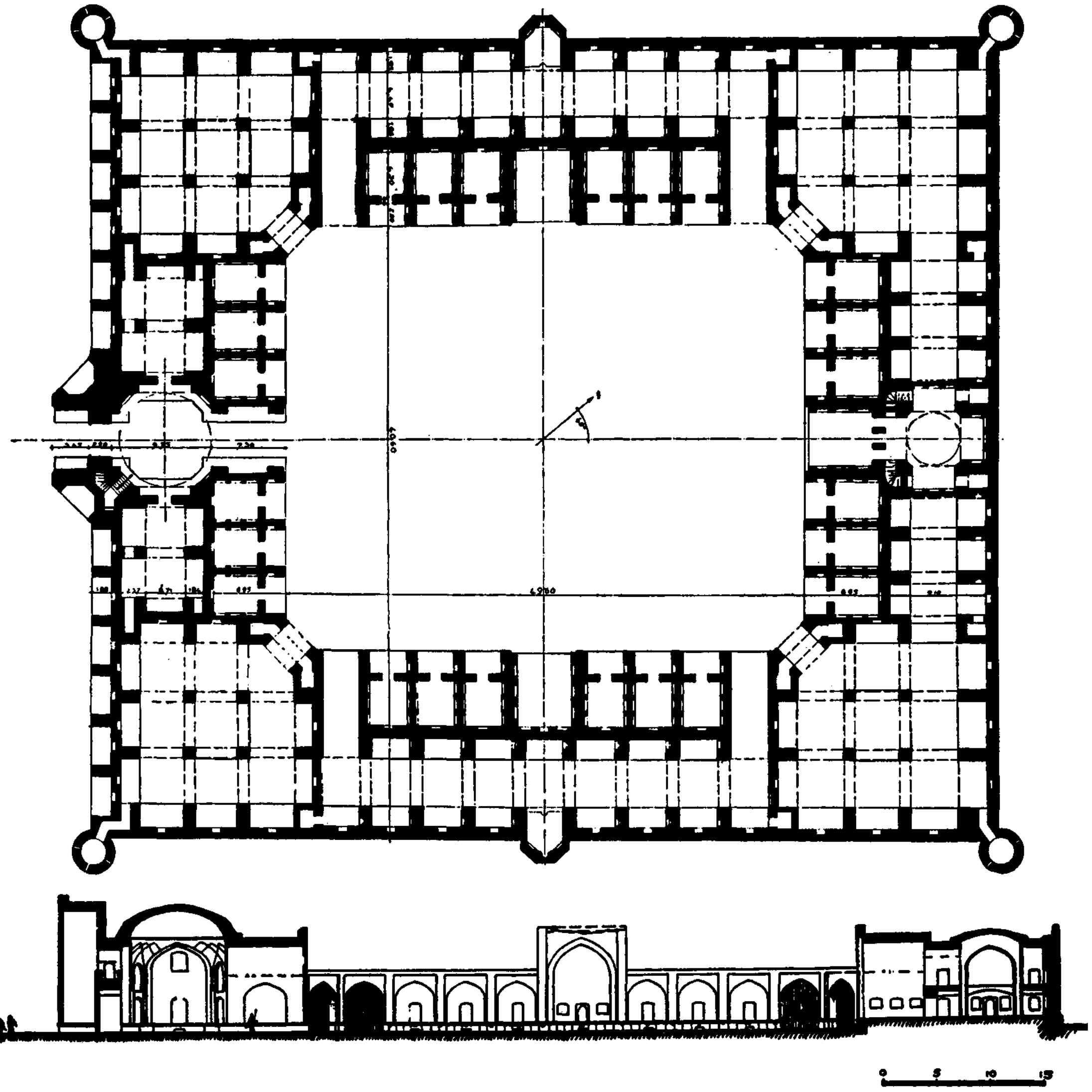

Plan and section of the *khān* of Māder-i Shāh [M. Siroux, *Caravansérails d'Iran et petites constructions routières*].

the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66). It is the imposing *khān* of Mādar-i Shāh, a grim and impressive work of architecture 45 km. from Iṣfāhān.

Two instances of the structural evolution of the *khān* should be noted, one in Syria, the other in Iran. In the first case, we observe the transformation of a highway *khān* into an urban *khān*: in fact at Djisr al-Shughur, to a *khān* built in 1070/1660, in the course of time a refectory was added, later a hospital; this collection of buildings, on the left bank of the Orontes at the approaches to a bridge, became in the 19th century the nucleus of an urban settlement which grew up around it. The second case is that of the *khān* of ʿAlī-ābād, between Tehran and Ḳum which became at the end of the 19th century the nucleus of a flourishing oasis settlement; with the addition of a *ḥammām*, a flour-mill, two ice-houses and some shops, the *khān* lost its original character, ceasing to be a highway institution and taking on the functions of an agricultural centre.

II. The urban *khān*. While the highway *khān* is a staging-post and a relay-station, the urban *khān* lies at the end of a journey; it is a depot, a place for commercial transactions and brief stay.

In fact, the term *khān* has been applied to hostelries and urban depots in the Near East only since the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, more especially the latter.

In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries in Baghdād and Damascus, the large depots bore the name of *dār* with the name of the commodity for which the establishment was noted. The urban caravanserai would have been called *dār al-wakāla* (the house of procuration or agency), before this became a synonym for *funduḳ*, which at the end of the 7th/13th century began to be replaced by *khān* as a designation for suburban hostelries. Later, in the 11th/17th century the *khān* began progressively to take upon itself exclusively the functions exercised within the city-walls by the *dar al-wakāla*, the *funduḳ* (πανδοχεῖον) and the *ḳayṣariyya* [*q.v.*]. In fact, in the town, the *khān* gave lodging to travellers who could lodge there in exchange for a fee paid to the warden who provided bedding and straw. In the present day as in the past we find installed there wholesalers, middlemen, importers' agents, messengers, and retailers looking for merchandise. There is the bulk selling of imported merchandise or export-bound goods; bales and packing-cases are stacked in the courtyard.

The most common type of depot, the *khān*, providing the means to await the time for the transfer of merchandise, is designated either by the name of the founder or by the name of the principal commodity to be sold there. Thus there are to be found in most towns a *khān al-ṣābūn* (*khān* of soap) or a *khān al-zayt* (*khān* of oil).

In the second half of the 9th/15th century, the Mamlūk sultans provided certain facilities for European traders visiting Alexandria. After the grant of capitulations by the Ottoman sultans [see IMTIYĀZĀT], the urban *khāns* flourished greatly in the Near East. The number of visiting Western merchants grew and they no longer confined themselves to staying in the harbour-districts (*iskele*) but went to do business in towns of the interior such as Aleppo and Damascus or Cairo, centres where export and import goods from all over the Orient were accumulated. Until the mid-11th/17th century, ambassadors from the major powers were accommodated in Istanbul in a *khān* specially adapted for their use, the Elči Khāni.

In the 12th/18th century, the *khān* supplanted, as regarded commercial activity, the *funduḳ* which henceforward had only the function of a hostelry for pilgrims and travellers.

While the term *khān* was current in Asia Minor, by contrast in Egypt, the word was considered foreign and, from the start of the 10th/16th century tended to be replaced by the Arabic term *wakāla* used in a concrete sense, transcribed by Western authors as "okel" (and similar forms). The *khān* was to remain nevertheless, and at the end of the 18th century, there were still in Cairo 14 *khāns* as against 206 *wakālas*.

Situated in the middle of the souks in city centres, the *khāns*, by their number and their size reflected the amplitude of the traffic and the economic importance of each city.

Sometimes the urban *khān* would be not a structure, but a group of several specialised markets, like the Khān al-Khalīlī in Cairo, a collection of shops enclosed by two large gateways. Sometimes in the interior opening on the courtyard there would be shops (*ḥāṣil*), leased or bought by the merchants.

The plan of the urban *khān* "has not varied in the course of time: a central courtyard around which developed a row of shops built on to the surrounding wall and opening beneath a covered portico extending, in front of their doors, all around the courtyard. This arrangement simply reproduces, under a less monumental guise, the traditional plan of the agora." This description by Jean Sauvaget applies to the classic type of *khān* which has prevailed in the lands of the Oriental basin of the Mediterranean since the Mamlūk epoch, and subsequently throughout the Ottoman empire, as is attested by a picture of Raffet, depicting the *khān* of Bucharest in the 19th century.

The *khān* could be a pious foundation set up by a rich and illustrious person; it would then be either one of the sources of revenue of a *waḳf* to the benefit of a *madrasa* like the *khān* Mādar-i Shāh in Iṣfahān, or for the upkeep of a mosque, such as the two *khāns* of Bursa which supported the Green Mosque (Yeşil Cami), or the beneficiary of fixed revenues, attributed to it when it served the specific purpose of sheltering pilgrims. Being a profitable business, the *khān* could represent an investment, and more than one *amīr* was proprietor of a *khān* in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. At the end of the 9th/15th century, at Damascus, out of five new *khāns*, three were built by *amīrs* and two by merchants; at Aleppo, as against nine *khāns* built by *amīrs*, only one was founded by merchants. The managers of *khāns* would often be the descendants of the founders, and the principal official was the *wakīl al-tudjdjār*, the agent of attorney who attended to the storage and sale of the merchants' goods; the *khān* also received visits from an inspector appointed by the *muḥtasib*. At nightfall, the leaves of the door were always closed while a guardian kept watch in his lodge.

In the Ottoman period, according to J. Sauvaget, the plan is "uniform in principle: around two courtyards of unequal dimensions there are juxtaposed, on ground-level, shops rented by the foreign merchants lodging on the upper floor in rooms opening on a gallery, while a vaulted warehouse protects the stocks of merchandise against theft and bad weather." In some *khāns* the central courtyard is replaced by a covered hall, as at Khān Asʿad Pāshā at Damascus, or sometimes the central courtyard instead of being square becomes a long rectangle, divided crosswise into three suites, as at the Valide Han of Istanbul.

At Aleppo, the oldest *khāns* were situated in the suburbs of the city; Ibn Shaddād (end of the 7th/13th century) mentions eight of them. Within the city-

walls, the oldest *khān*s date from the Mamlūk period; they are in the centre of the city. The Khān Bayrakdīn was constructed by two *amīr*s in 827/1424. Between 815/1422 and 874/1470 numerous *khān*s were constructed. Ibn al-Shiḥna (d. 890/1485) mentions 25 of them within the city-walls and 13 outside. There were other *khān*s built, such as the Khān al-Zayt constructed by the *amīr* Khayr Bek, the Khān al-Kaṣṣābiyya begun by the *amīr* Abrak in 916/1510 and completed in 928/1522, and the Khān al-Ṣābūn with its rich façade, attributed to the *amīr* Uzdamur. Aleppo benefited, on the economic plane, from the expansion of the Ottoman empire. The buildings were situated on the edge of the commercial centres, and it was possible to set up on the exterior façades of the *khān*s rows of shops forming a souk, assured by its location of a good supply of business. "The prime example of the type at Aleppo is the *Khān al-Kumruk* (*Khān* of Customs) built in 982/1574, which combines within a single structure 52 shops, and 77 rooms as well as two stone-built souks lit by two cupolas, a total of 344 shops." It had two fountains, a mosque and a monumental entrance. Dating from the end of the 11th/17th century, the *Khān al-Wazīr* (1092/1682), now in ruins, still has its monumental entrance. In this period d'Arvieux counted 68 *khān*s at Aleppo; in the mid-20th century Sauvaget counted 38 still in existence.

At Damascus, the first *khān*s seem to have been built outside the city-walls as at Aleppo. In the 7th/13th century, in the northern suburb of al-ʿUkayba, was the Khān al-Zindjārī; reputedly a place of debauchery, it was destroyed in 632/1236 and replaced by the al-Tawba mosque. The inner-city *khān*s are situated to the south of the Great Mosque in the western sector of the old city. Ibn Ṣaṣrā mentions five *khān*s at the end of the 8th/14th century, including the *Khān al-Ḥabbālīn* and the *khān* built by the *amīr* Mandjak al-Yūsufī. In the 10th/16th century the *khān* replaced in the city certain *funduk*s and *kaysāriyya*s; thus we have the *Khān al-Zayt* (*Khān* of Oil) and the *Khān al-Harīr* (*Khān* of Silk), a vast building constructed by Darwīsh Pashā in 980/1572. The *Khān al-Kumruk* (*Khān* of Customs) was built at the end of the 10th/16th century and the start of the 11th/17th. Of the two biggest *khān*s, the one, covered by two cupolas, is attributed to Sulaymān Pasha (1145/1732), the other, with nine cupolas of which the central cupola has collapsed, to Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm (1165/1752).

At Tripoli, the third city of Syria, we know of the existence of six Mamlūk *khān*s: *Khān al-Khayyāṭīn*, *Khān al-Ṣābūn*, the *Khān* of the Egyptians, *Khān al-Muhandis*, *Khān al-Manzil* and a *dār al-wakāla* which became a *khān* before 736/1336. Beirut had one *khān* in 766/1365. All the major ports of the Syria-Palestine coast had flourishing *khān*s, such as the Khān al-Firandj at Ṣaydā, one of the caravanserais built by Fakhr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] at the start of the 11th/17th century. There was also a Khān al-Firandj at ʿAkkā (Acre).

In Egypt, the term is applied essentially to the urban institution; it appeared in about 730/1330 designating the building of the Khān Amīr Kusūn. The best known is the Khān al-Khalīlī which was built by the *amīr* Djarkaṣ al-Khalīlī at the end of the 8th/14th century and was endowed with two porches by the sultan Kānsūḥ al-Ghūrī. This is no longer a building, but a conglomeration of specialist markets opening on the principal street of the commercial centre. It is a commercial estate, a business area with specialised branches for precious textiles, silk-works, embroidered cloth and carpets. There used to be workshops there for spinning and weaving. To this day it serves the functions of the ancient *kaysāriyya*.

The *khān* came to its peak of success at Cairo in the time of al-Makrīzī (9th/15th century): there were then built the Khān Maṣrūr and the Khān al-Ḥadjdjār (827/1424). In the 11th/18th century, the Khān al-Ḥamzāwī came to rival the Khān al-Khalīlī, while the Khān al-Bāshā became the biggest warehouse of the city and ʿAlī Bey, the famous *shaykh al-balad*, had a vast *khān* constructed at Būlāk.

In Baghdād, the identification of monuments is often difficult, for the city has undergone numerous destructions as a result of floods and fires, and often one would know nothing of its monuments were it not for references in the ancient texts. The most ancient *khān* is that of Abū Ziyād mentioned by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (end of the 5th/11th century). Often the *khān*s mentioned by the authors pose a problem of terminology; in fact, they are often cited, notably by Yākūt (7th/13th century) under the name of *dār*, as the *Dār al-Kuṭn* (House of Cotton), *dār al-Kazz* (House of Raw Silk); the term has the sense of a specialised commercial centre, close to that of *kaysāriyya*. *Dār* means "palace", there is a *Dār al-Khayl*, the palace of the Cavalry, which was the hostelry reserved for the ambassadors and which was later to become the *Khān al-Khayl*. It owes its name to the stables which were incorporated in it.

In the 6th/12th century there existed a *Khan al-Safatiyyīn* (*Khān* of the Basket-weavers). In the mid-8th/14th century, the *amīr* Mirdjān constructed, in the commercial centre on the left bank of the Tigris, a *khān* which bears his name. In the 10th/16th century Baghdād became an important caravan centre. In 1089/1678 Aḥmad Bushnāk built the famous Khān Banī Saʿd. In 1823 the *madrasa* al-Mustanṣiriyya accomodated the Customs service and took the name Khān al-Ortmā; in this period European travellers testify to a great number of *khān*s at Baghdād.

At Iṣfahān, which knew a period of great economic prosperity after the accession of Shāh ʿAbbās I, Chardin counted in the 11th/17th century 1,802 caravanserais. Many have disappeared but the *khān* adjoining the *madrasa* Mādar-i Shāh remains and testifies to the prosperity of the capital at the end of the start of the 18th century.

In Asia Minor, the Ottoman *khān*s are mainly concentrated at Bursa and at Istanbul. The *khān*s of Bursa, the first Ottoman capital, rectangular in form with a central courtyard surrounded by a portico with arcade, are of classic Mediterranean type. The most ancient of these is the Bey Khān (mid-8th/14th century), which at the present day has lost its original form but survives under the name of Emir Khān. Mention should be made of the Ipek Khān (Khān of Silk) dating from the start of the 9th/15th century which, like the Geyve Khān, was constituted as a *wakf* to the advantage of the Green Mosque and of which only a few traces remain. The Koza Khān (Khān of the Cocoon), with a central water cistern in the courtyard and an octagonal mosque, was built at the end of the 9th/15th century. The Pirinč Khān (Khān of Rice) with two stories, in ruins today, was built in 913/1507.

At Istanbul, the two most ancient *khān*s whose ruins are known to us in the vicinity of the Rustum Paṣa Mosque, the Hurmali Khān (Khān of Dates) and the Balkapan Khān (Khān of Honey), date back for their origin to the Byzantine era. The most ancient of the sixteen *khān*s of the Grand Bazaar is the Çuhaci

Hani (Khān of Cloth); it dates from the 9th/15th century. These *khāns* are in most cases spinning-shops at the side of warehouses and retailers' shops. One of the largest warehouses is the Kürkçüler Hani (Khān of the Furriers) constructed by the grand vizier Maḥmūd Pasha in 872/1467; the building is of impressive dimensions (130 m. by 65 m.), with one courtyard measuring 40 m. by 45 m. and another pentagonal in shape, with a perimeter of 140 m. As many as 167 rooms open under the porticos on the ground-level; on the upper floor there are cradle-vaulted rooms with windows opening on the gallery, and in front of each door there used to be a miniature cupola covering the portico. The building remains, but has deteriorated beyond recognition. In the mid-10th/16th century, Sinān built in the name of Rustum Pasha two *khāns* on the banks of the Golden Horn, Čukur Khān (Khān of the Ditch) at Istanbul and Ḳurshunlu Khān (Khān of Lead) at Ghalaṭa. As elsewhere, the term stems from the dimensions of the installations. In the mid-11th/17th century, the buildings could not all have been large, for Ewliyā Čelebi counted 556 *khāns* at Istanbul. It was no longer a question of vast warehouses, but rather of places of sale for provincial and foreign traders.

The two finest specimens from the 11th/17th century are the Wālide Khānī with its three courtyards where all kinds of commerce were enacted, and opposite, the Büyük Yeñi Khān with its long rectangular courtyard bounded by two galleries with arcades; this stone-built edifice underwent modifications in 1178/1764. From the 18th century, we have the Khān Shirmakesh (Khān of the Silversmiths), whose façade has alternate rows of stone and brick and which was completed in 1128/1716 on the foundations of a mint. The original feature of this building is the fact that the rooms are set on both sides of a large corridor on the upper floor and do not open on the courtyard. Taking the examples of Üsküdar, the terminus of caravan-routes on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, we may note in the 17th and the 18th centuries different categories of *khāns*: there are large buildings with many rooms and multiple stalls for saddle-animals such as the Mihrimāh Sulṭān and Orta Wālide Khāns, and there are luxury establishments like the Kösem Wālide Khān. There are numerous *khāns* of more modest dimensions, reserved for "merchants of land and sea." There are *khāns* for pilgrims, some of them offering lodging free of charge, but most often the Muslims would be accommodated in the town in *madrasas* or *khānaḳāhs*, while Christians would lodge in monasteries. The Waḳīf Khān (1918) of Istanbul, with its offices and commercial facilities, bears witness to the functional evolution of the contemporary *khān*.

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(N. Elisséeff)

KHĀN BĀLĪḲ [see KHĀNBALĪḲ].

KHĀN DJAHĀN LŌDĪ (*ca.* 995-1040/*ca.* 1587-1631), military commander under the Mughals of India.

Pīr Khān (Mīr in the printed text of Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn*, ii, Karachi 1970, is a misprint) was the younger of the two sons of Dawlat Khān Lōdī, an officer in Akbar's army and a nephew of the well-known Afghān nobleman, bearing the same name, who had invited Bābur to invade the kingdom of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lōdī. The date of Pīr Khān's birth is not recorded, but, as has been stated by Bhakkarī, he was about twenty years of age early in 1015/1607 when he was first received by Djahāngīr (*Tuzuk-e-Jehangeeree*, ed. Syud ʿAhmud Khan, Ghazeepore 1863, 42; *Dhakhīra*, ii, 74). It can, therefore, safely be assumed that he must have been born in 995/1587. The two brothers took service first under Rādjā Mansingh, and then under Prince Dāniyāl whom Akbar had appointed viceroy of the Deccan and whose service their father had joined. On the death of his father and subsequently that of his elder brother, Pīr Khān was summoned to the court by Djahāngīr, who conferred on him the title of *Ṣalābat Khān* and a *manṣab* of 3,000 *dhāt* and 1,500 *sawār* besides honouring him with the epithet of *farzand* ("son"); later in the same year (and not 1017/1608 as stated by Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*[3], Allahabad 1940, 226; see *Tuzuk*, 61, where the date is given as Radjab 1016/October 1607) he was given the higher title of Khān Djahān.

In the Deccan the Mughal forces had been facing a difficult situation for several years. Hence in 1019/

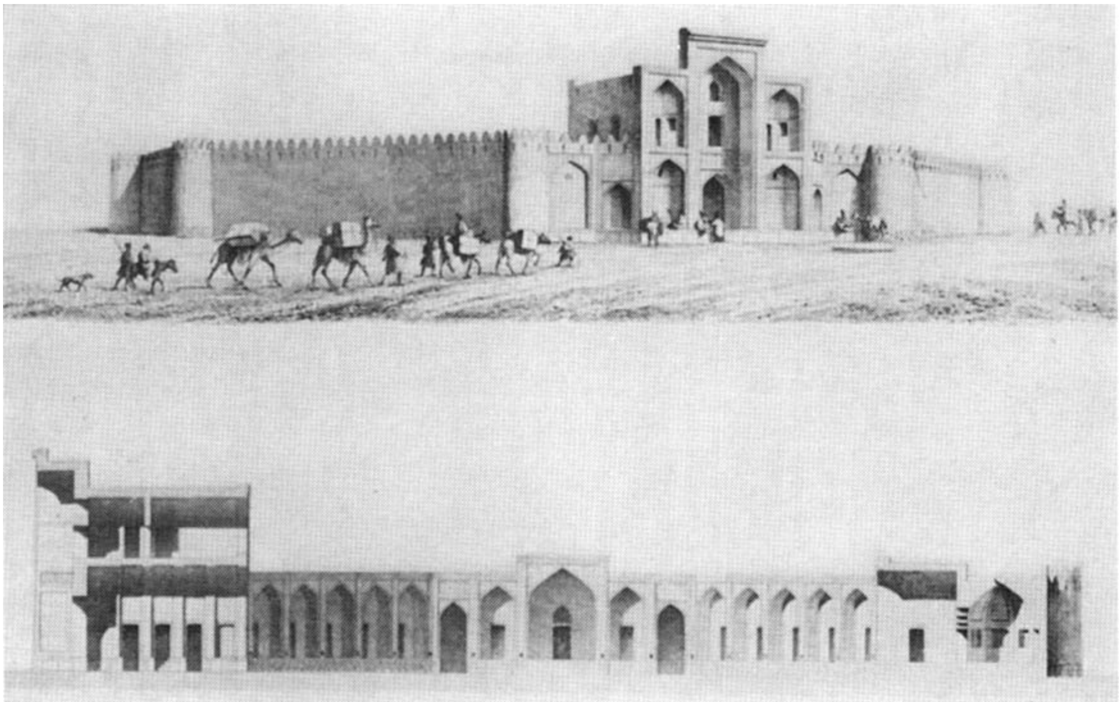

Cross-section through *A–B*

1 — Entrance to the Caravanserai
2 — Porch
3 — Porter etc.
4 — Stairs to the first floor and the terraces
5 — Courtyard
6 — Dais for prayer
7 — Rooms for travellers
8 — Stables
9 — Space and rooms for mule-drivers, harness and bales
10 — Latrines
11 — Basin outside the Caravanserai

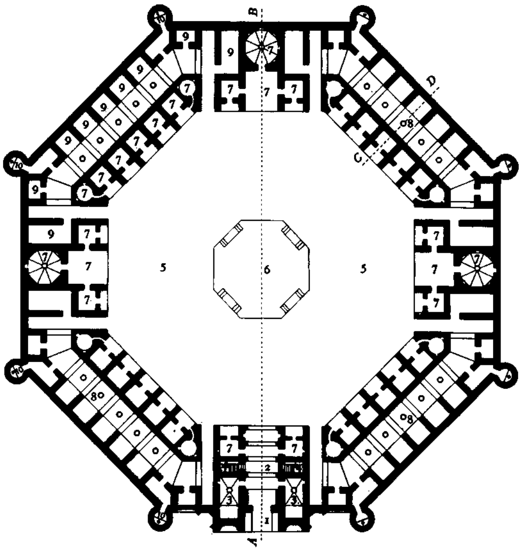

Plan

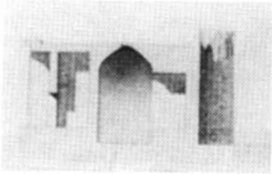

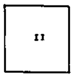

Scale of the Cross-sections
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20 Metres

Scale of the Plan
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 20 30 40 Metres

Front, sections and plan of the *kh̲ān* of Amīnābād̲h̲ [P. Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse*, Paris 1867, Pl. lxvi].

1610 the Emperor decided to send Khān Djahān Lōdī to help Khān Khānān ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān against the Deccanī statesman and commander Malik ʿAnbar (an Abyssinian or Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] by birth). After the fall of Aḥmadnagar, he had set up his headquarters at Khirkī, which was later given the name of Awrangābād by Prince Awrangzīb. The Mughals had suffered several reverses at his hands, particularly because of the guerilla tactics which he used against their slow-moving armies laden with heavy equipment. On his arrival at the base of Burhānpūr, Khān Djahān found that the Khān Khānān had suffered a major defeat and signed a disgraceful treaty, and Aḥmadnagar had also fallen to the enemy. Khān Djahān wrote to Djahāngīr that if he were given the chief command of the Deccan campaign, he would conquer Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpūr within two years. The Emperor agreed and sent Khān Aʿẓam with 10,000 troops and 2,000 *aḥadīs* to reinforce the Mughal army. According to the new plan of the campaign, Khān Djahān, Mansingh and the Amīr al-Umarāʾ were to march on Aḥmadnagar through Berār and Khāndesh while ʿAbd Allāh Khān, *Ṣūbahdār* of Gudjarāt, was to proceed from Aḥmadābād by way of Nasik. Both the armies were to coordinate their movements and hem in the Deccanis, but ʿAbd Allāh Khān, ignoring the advice of his colleagues to remain in contact with Khān Djahān, rushed into the territory of the enemy and sustained a defeat. The other army was also subjected to harassment by Malik ʿAnbar's men who had cut their sources of supplies, and managed only with difficulty to withdraw to ʿĀdilābād, in the vicinity of Burhānpūr, where Prince Parwīz was encamping (*Tuzuk*, 107-8).

Djahāngīr castigated the commanders who were responsible for the defeat and transferred them to other places; Khān Djahān was also demoted and posted as Thānadār in Thalnīr, but a year later he was restored to favour. He was again sent to the Deccan with Mahābat Khān, and early in 1026/1617 he was present on the banks of the Narbada to receive Prince Khurram, who had now been appointed supreme commander of the Deccan campaign. The Prince succeeded in concluding peace with the States of Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpūr and thus temporarily retrieved the Mughal position in the Deccan. Khān Djahān was among the principal officers who accompanied him on his departure from Burhānpūr and who were received by the Emperor in the fort of Māndū in Shawwāl 1026/October 1617.

In the account of the fifteenth year of his coronation, Djahāngīr says that Khān Djahān, who was a heavy drinker, suddenly abandoned this habit and "thenceforward did not touch wine despite my advice that he should give it up gradually"; possibly this action and a general change in his approach to life were due to his association with Shaykh Faḍl Allāh of Burhānpūr (see *Dhakhīra*, 115). However, in the same year he was appointed *Ṣūbahdār* of Multān because reports were coming from the direction of Ḳandahār of threats on it from the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās Ṣafawī (*Dhakhīra*, 77). On receiving reports that the Persian forces had besieged it, Djahāngīr issued orders for a relief expedition, but Shāhdjahān, who was to lead it, put forward conditions which the Emperor was not willing to accept.

In the last years of Djahāngīr's reign, the imperial court became a hotbed of intrigues on account of the plans of Nūr Djahān to raise Shahriyār, the youngest son of the Emperor, to power, because he had been married to her daughter by her former husband. Khān Djahān Lōdī, who had returned to the court in 1031/1622 and had been appointed *Ṣūbahdār* of Gudjarāt in the following year, was now ordered to take the place of Mahābat Khān as *Atālīḳ* of Parwīz, and later, on his death in Muḥarram 1036/October 1626, was entrusted with the supreme command of forces in the Deccan with the title of *Sipah-Sālār*. On the death of Malik ʿAnbar, the commander of the forces of Niẓām Shāh offered submission, but this peace did not prove to be a lasting one, and it was not long before the new regent of Aḥmadnagar, Ḥamīd Khān, again declared war. Khān Djahān promptly opened a vigorous campaign, but instead of subjugating the enemy completely he granted him peace, restoring his territories for the very moderate sum of three lakhs of *huns*; some writers have, therefore, accused him of accepting this money as a bribe. It has also been suggested that by granting exceptionally easy terms, he wanted to place Niẓām Shāh under obligation so that he might if necessary seek refuge with him.

At the time of Djahāngīr's death (October 1627), his son Shāhdjahān was in the Deccan. After some hesitation, Khān Djahān Lōdī recognised his succession, and the new Emperor appointed him Governor of Berār and Khāndesh. He was directed to recover the lost territories in the Deccan; but noting his reluctance, Shāhdjahān transferred him to Mālwā and ordered him to co-operate with Mahābat Khān in suppressing the rebellion of Djhūdjhar Singh Bundela. After this campaign, he was summoned to court where however he was greatly disappointed at his lukewarm reception. Fearing danger, he fled in Ṣafar 1039/Sept.-Oct. 1629, and though overtaken with his followers near Dholpur, managed to escape through Gondwana and Berar to the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar, where he hoped to find a refuge. Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh welcomed Khān Djahān in his camp near Dawlatābād, and assigned to him the *parganah* of Bīr; he probably hoped to use Khān Djahān for recovering his territories lost to the Mughals.

Shāhdjahān realised the threat to the Mughal position in the Deccan, and left Āgra in person in Rabīʿ II 1039/December 1629. Three detachments of Mughal forces under the general command of Aʿẓam Khān invaded the Niẓāmshāhī territories. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1039/June 1630 the Mughals inflicted a heavy defeat on the Deccanīs, but Khān Djahān nevertheless worsted one group of the invading forces. However, on the subsequent appearance of Aʿẓam Khān's army, Khān Djahān lost his nerve. He made a stand, but was defeated and fled towards Shivagaon, and at last managed to reach Dawlatābād, where Murtaḍā had shut himself up in the fortress. In the face of Murtaḍā's unwelcoming attitude, however, Khān Djahān had to leave for Mālwā with the intention of going to the Panjab where he thought he would be able to rally the support of his fellow-tribesmen. The Mughal Emperor had him pursued to Bundelkhand, where his trusted officer, Daryā Khān, was killed in a sharp action with the forces of the Bundelah chief, Bikramādjit (Djumādāʾ II 1040/January 1631). Khān Djahān continued his flight and passing Kalinjar, where his son Ḥasan was captured and put to death by the Mughal commander, he reached and encamped by the side of a pond called Sihindah (see *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, i, 728), where he was attacked and slain by his pursuers. His head was taken to the court by Kāmgār, author of *Maʾāthir-i-Djahāngīrī*, who was given the title of Ghayrat Khān.

Khān Djahān Lōdī was a brave soldier but lacked statemanship, and this led to his downfall and ultimate ruin. The author of the *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn*,

Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, who had served under him, nevertheless praised some of his personal qualities and says that he was a pious person, who passed hours in the society of the *ʿulamāʾ* and *shaykhs*.

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KHĀN-i DJAHĀN MAKBŪL, Kiwām al-Mulk, minister and confidant of the Dihlī Sultans Muḥammad b. Tughluk and Fīrūz-Shāh in the 8th/14th century.

Of Hindu origin (his original name was Kannū "flower"), he stemmed from Tilangānā in South India, and was converted to Islam in 722/1322 when the local Rādja surrendered to a besieging army from Dihlī under the *amīr* Ulugh Khān, the later Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluk. The *amīr* accordingly gave him the name of *makbūl* "the one accepted [into Islam]", and he rapidly became a favourite of Muḥammad b. Tughluk. The contemporary historian Baranī mentions him in his *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* as the Malik Makbūl, the *nāʾib* or deputy *wazīr* of the Sultan, and he acquired the *lakab* or honorific of Kiwām al-Mulk from the ruler also.

As well as being of undoubted administrative capability, Kiwām al-Mulk benefited from his Deccani Hindu origin, having no racial or tribal connection with the Turkish military nobility in Dihlī and being therefore utterly dependent on retaining the Sultan's favour. In 727/1327 he was in Dawlatābād or Deogīrī in the Deccan, which the Sultan had made his second capital, and after crushing the revolt of Bahrām Aybā Kīshlū Khān at Multān, was appointed governor of that important frontier province. He was subsequently transferred after a few years in Multān to Dihlī, were he became deputy to the chief financial minister or *Wazīr-i Mamālik*, Khwādja Djahān, achieving a reputation for strictness and probity in the auditing of the accounts and in the exaction of taxation from the *mukṭaʿ*s and provincial governors. He also accompanied the Sultan away from Dihlī on various military campaigns and punitive expeditions. During the years between 746/1345 and 751/1350 he was in the Deccan at Warangal, and in Gudjarāt, subduing rebels, and shortly before Muḥammad b. Tughluk's death in Sind in 752/1351, he returned to the capital as deputy to Khwādja Djahān, the viceroy or *Nāʾib-i Ghaybat* in Dihlī during the Sultan's absence.

In the succession crisis on Muḥammad b. Tughluk's death, Khwādja Djahān promoted the short-lived cause of the child Maḥmūd against the rival contender Fīrūz-Shāh, the dead Sultan's cousin. Kiwām al-Mulk, however, espoused the side of Fīrūz-Shāh, and when the latter came to power, the new Sultan rewarded him by promoting him to the office of *Wazīr-i Mamālik*, with the exalted titles of *Masnad-i ʿĀlī, Aʿẓam Humāyūn, Khān-i Djahān*. He now set about restoring order in the fiscal system, after an amnesty on outstanding debts left over from Khwādja Djahān's tenure of office. He acquired far-reaching executive powers, including the hereditary grant of the vizierate for his family and the power to appoint or dismiss any official in the *Dīwān-i Wizārat*. A strict system of financial control was adopted over the revenues coming in from provincial nobles and over the registering of all presents (*khidmatī*) in either the state treasury or else in the royal storehouse or *kārkhāna*. The purity of the coinage was regulated and the criminal law enforced. The pacific Fīrūz-Shāh tended to leave much of the civil administration in his hands, and when the Sultan was absent from Dihlī, Khān-i Djahān usually assumed full civil and military powers in the capital as *Nāʾib-i Ghaybat*. However, he never forgot that his whole position depended on retention of the Sultan's favour. Thus he cultivated the friendship of Fīrūz-Shāh's favourite slave Bashīrā, who held the office of *Amīr-i ʿArḍ* or Inspector-General of the Army with the personal title of ʿImād al-Mulk, even though the latter was notoriously corrupt. Khān-i Djahān himself acquired extensive *iḳṭāʿ*s for the support of his official duties and rank, to the value of three million *tankāh*s per annum, and he built in them numerous markets and caravanserais and constructed irrigation canals.

He died, aged over 80, in 770/1368-9, and his office, his *iḳṭāʿ*s, the title of Khān-i Djahān and all his other privileges were made over to his eldest son Djūna Shāh.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1862; ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948; anon., *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* (compiled in 772/1370-1), Ms. Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna; ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, Calcutta 1891; Khānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī*, Ms. B. M. London; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, tr. of section on India by Agha Mahdi Husain, Baroda 1953; Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Calcutta 1931; Shaykh Djamālī Kamlū, *Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, Ms. India Office Pers. 1313. (I. H. Siddiqi)

KHĀN KHĀNĀN, a high military title in mediaeval Indo-Muslim usage. The term *Khān* [*q.v.*] became popular as the designation of a high officer or nobleman and in a technical sense it was used for a commander of ten thousand soldiers. In reproducing the instructions of Bughrā Khān to his son, Kaykubād, Baranī (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 145) makes the former speak of a book, *Ādāb al-salāṭīn*, which had been especially brought from Baghdād for the sons of Iltutmish and which he had studied with Khwādja Tādj al-Dīn Bukhārī; in this the legendary Iranian ruler Djamshīd speaks of the decimal chain of command, in which a *khān* commands ten *malik*s. More historical, however, are the statements of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī in his *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, and al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, that a *khān* commanded ten thousand soldiers, a *malik* one thousand, and an *amīr* one hundred; this decimal system probably came from Central Asia to the subcontinent.

Khān Khānān (Khān of Khāns) was the highest title conferred on an officer of the State, at least up to the time of Akbar, for Djahāngīr says that there was no title higher than that of *Amīr al-Umarāʾ*, shown also by the fact that normally the title of *Khān Khānān* was held by one person only. The first person to bear this title as recorded in the historical sources on the Dihlī sultanate was Maḥmūd, the eldest son of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (Baranī, 176); another case is that of the brother of Khusraw Khān

the usurper (Baranī, 410). Under the Mughals, this title was conferred rather more frequently, the first person to receive it at the hands of Bābur being Dilāwar Khān, son of Dawlat Khān Lōdī. Humāyūn had conferred this title on Bayram Khān; on his dismissal early in the reign of Akbar, Munʿim Khān received and held it till his death in 983/1575. Nine years later it was conferred on Bayram Khān's son, Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, who died in 1036/1627. Mahābat Khān (d. 1043/1634) held it in the time of Djahāngīr and in the early years of Shāhdjahān's reign. Subsequently it was conferred on Āṣaf Khān (d. 1051/1641), and in the early years of ʿĀlamgīr's reign it was conferred on Mīr Djumla.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(S. Moinul Haq)

KHĀNBALĪḲ (usually written Khān Bāliḳ), the "Khān's town", the name of Pekin, the capital of the Mongol Emperors after 1264 in Eastern Turkī and Mongol and afterwards adopted by the rest of the Muslim world and even by Western Europe (*Cambaluc* and variants in S. Hallberg, *l'Extrême Orient dans la littérature et la cartographie de l'Occident*, Göteborg 1906, 105 f.). According to Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Berezin, *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.* xv, Persian text, 34), Pekin (Chinese, then Čūngdū, i.e. "the middle capital") was called Khānbālīḳ even earlier by the Mongols, apparently as one of the chief towns of the Kin dynasty [see čingiz khān]. As everywhere in the Mongol Empire, Muslims enjoyed considerable prestige in Khānbalīḳ also. Maḥmūd Yalawāč b. Muḥammad al-Khwārazmī (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 139), who died there in Rabīʿ I, 652/April 21-May 20, 1254, was several times confirmed in office as governor of North China (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 85, 309). On the assassination of the vizier Aḥmad Fanākatī in 1282 and the events that followed see *ibid.*, 508 ff.; Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, i, 415 ff.; ed. Hambis, 117-20 and index; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 10-1. On the town and its situation on the Imperial Canal cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 455 ff.; on the distances between Khānbalīḳ and other towns by the land routes see Waṣṣāf, ed. Hammer, 24, Indian ed., 12; *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 225 f. (al-ʿUmarī); Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar Nāma*, Indian ed., ii, 219 f. The name Khānbalīḳ for Pekin was also retained after the decline of the Mongol empire in Central and Western Asia and also in Europe. On the five months' sojourn (Dec. 1420-May 1421) of the embassy of Sulṭān Shāh Rukh in Khānbalīḳ see *Notices et extraits*, xiv, 320 ff.; the original narrative, which survives in one MS only (Elliot 422 in Oxford, Bodleiana = *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, fols. 390b ff.), has so far not been fully investigated (brief account in Barthold, *al-Muẓaffarīya*, 27; *Mir Islama*, 107). There was a mosque in Pekin even in those days. Khānbalīḳ is mentioned as late as the early years of the 18th century in an anonymous history written in Kāshghar (*Zap.*, xv, 251). In the reports of the Russian Ambassadors of the 17th century, the form Kambalīḳ (with variants) is used, under Western European influence (Yu. Arsenyew, *Puteshestviye . . . ruskago polannika Nik. Spafariya*, in the *Zap. Geogr. Obshč. zu otd. etnogr.*, x, vip I, Index. Spafari (embassy 1675) is the first to write Pežin under the influence of the North Chinese pronunciation; this pronunciation also explains the names in the modern literature of Central Asia for Pekin (Bačīn or Bādjīn) (e.g. *Taʾrīkh-i Amāniyya*, 24; cf. *Zap.*, xvii, 0188 ff.

Bibliography: (besides the references in the text): Ch. Schefer, *Notices sur les relations des peuples musulmans avec les Chinois . . ., Centenaire de l'École de Langues Or. Viv.*, Paris 1895, 1-43; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, s.v. Cambaluc, i, 140-3 and index.

(W. Barthold*)

KHANDAḲ, ditch, trench or moat. The word seems to have come into Arabic from Persian through Syriac (cf. A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919). It is also known as a place-name (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 476; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 85). Its best-known application is to the so-called "expedition of the Khandaḳ", in which Muḥammad foiled a Meccan attempt to storm Medina by digging a moat or trench at those parts of the oasis which were open to attack by cavalry. This was in Dhū 'l-Ḳaʿda 5/April 627. The Meccans had been preparing for this attack on Medina since the battle of Uḥud two years earlier; they had persuaded several nomadic tribes to send contingents to join the Meccan forces, and altogether had about 10,000 men with 600 horses. Muḥammad, however, had already harvested the grain in the northern part of the oasis, and when the cavalry arrived they were soon short of fodder. Meanwhile, as soon as Muḥammad heard of the imminent departure of the army from Mecca, he summoned the Muslims to help with the digging of the *khandaḳ*, and he himself took part in the work. Most worked with a will, and the digging is said to have been completed in six days. The Meccan cavalry, though on level ground overwhelmingly superior to the Muslim infantry, were repelled when they attempted to cross the *khandaḳ*. With their main offensive tactic thus nullified, the Meccans and their allies were forced to set about besieging Medina—an operation in which they were wholly unskilled. After a fortnight of little military activity but much intrigue and counter-intrigue, the confederacy broke up and the siege was abandoned. The failure of the expedition greatly strengthened Muḥammad's position and led to dejection in Mecca.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 668-713; al-Wāḳidī (ed. Jones), 440-96; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1463-85; M. Hamidullah, *The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, Woking, 1953, 25-30 (= *Islamic Review*, 1952, 1953); F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 271-4; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 35-9; Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 9-27; Wensinck, etc., *Concordance*, s.v.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

KHWĀNDAMĪR, surname of the Persian historian Ghiyāth al-Dīn who was born *ca.* 880/1475 into a family of high officials and scholars. His father, Khwādja Humām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khwādja Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khwadja Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī, was for many years the minister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Abī Saʿīd, who at the end of his political career became the Tīmūrid ruler of Samarḳand from 899-900/1494-5. The historian Mirkhwānd [*q.v.*] was his maternal uncle and took an important part in his primary education. It is, therefore, likely that Khwāndamīr was actually born in Herat where his grandfather lived, although the *Haft iḳlīm* (ed. Dj. Fāḍil, Tehran 1340 sh., iii, 430) enters him under Bukhārā. The earliest patron of his own career was Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, who put his vast library at his disposal and to whom Khwāndamīr dedicated his first three books. Shortly after the death of ʿAlī Shīr in 906/1500, Khwāndamīr entered the service of Mīrzā Badīʿ al-Zamān, the eldest son of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳarā, who succeeded his father in 911/1506. During the years of the Uzbek invasion of the Tīmūrid lands which ended with the conquest of Herat by Shaybānī in 913/1507,

Khwāndamīr was entrusted with diplomatic missions to potential allies of the Sulṭān. He was also appointed to the office of *ṣadr*. When the Uzbeks were marching on Herat, he wrote at the request of the citizens of the town a letter of submission to Shaybānī. He remained in Herat after its capture, and he has given an account of how he and other members of the local aristocracy were squeezed by the Uzbeks (cf. *Habīb al-siyar*, Tehrān 1333 sh., iv, 381 ff.). His verdict on the rule of the Ṣafawids, who took possession of Herat in 916/1510, was much more favourable, yet he seems not to have entered their service. In 920/1514 we find him living as a retired scholar in Pasht (or Basht), a township in the mountainous area of Gharčistān to the east of Herat (*op. cit.*, iv, 397). He then attached himself to Mīrzā Muḥammad-i Zamān, the eldest son of his old master Badīʿ al-Zamān, and performed a mission for him to the ruler of Balkh. Afterwards he returned to his secluded way of life and devoted himself to the writing of his main work, the chronicle *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. Having completed this work in 927/1520, he departed from Herat and travelled by way of Ḳandahār to Āgra where he presented himself before Bābur in Muḥarram 935/September 1528. He entered the service of Bābur and accompanied him on an expedition to Bengal in the following year. After the death of Bābur in 937/1530 he served his son and successor Humāyūn until his own death. It is commonly said (e.g. Firishta, i, 402) that Khwāndamīr died of dysentery on the return march from an expedition of Humāyūn to Gudjarāt, but Badāʾūnī has recorded a poetic chronogram by Khwāndamīr on the death of the "riddle-maker" (*Muʿammāʾī*) Shihāb al-Dīn, which occurred in 942/1535-6 (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1864-9, i, 343). At his own request he was buried at Dihlī, near the tombs of the mystic Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā and the poet Amīr Khusraw.

Works. Khwāndamīr was a voluminous writer, whose collected works are not restricted to historiography proper, but include also political ethics, biography, geography and epistolography. He has left several poems as well, most of which were used as stylistic embellishment for his proseworks. As a poet, Khwāndamīr made use of the penname Muʾarrikh (cf. A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Shahrāshub dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehrān 1346/1967, 31 f.; idem, *Taʾrīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi fārsī*, ii, Tehrān 1350/1971, 588-90).

His first work, *Maʾāthir al-mulūk*, a collection of political maxims attributed to pre-Islamic kings and sages as well as to the Prophet, the *Imāms* and the secular rulers of the Islamic period, was completed before the death of his uncle Mīrkhwānd, which occurred in 903/1498 (cf. Storey, i, 102; Bregel' *Persidskaya literatura*, Moscow 1972, 380, 1398; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahāyi khaṭṭī-i fārsī*, ii/2, Tehrān 1349/1970, 1675 ff.).

The *Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī bayān aḥwāl al-akhyār*, which was completed in 905/1499, is a concise world history digested from the *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ* of his uncle but also based upon other historical material which was put at his disposal by ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī. The most original contribution of the author is his description of Herat and of the contemporary divines, scholars and artists living there (cf. Storey, i, 102 ff.; Bregel', 380 ff.; Munzawī, iii, 1398 f. An autograph of this work has been described by A. M. Piemontese, in *RSO*, xlvi (1971), 40-6).

Just about the time of death of his patron, in 906/1501, Khwāndamīr completed a panegyric biography of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī entitled *Makārim al-akhlāḳ* (cf. Storey i, 795; A. Khayyāmpūr, in *Nashriyya-i Dānishkada-i Adabiyyāt-i Tabrīz*, iii (1329/1950), 3-4, 41 ff. and 7, 68 ff.).

A collection of biographies of famous ministers, entitled *Dastūr al-wuzarāʾ*, was dedicated to Khwādja Kamāl al-Dīn Mahmūd, *wazīr* to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳarā, in 915/1509 (cf. Storey i, 1091; edited by S. Nafīsī, Tehrān 1317/1938).

Khwāndamīr's contribution to epistolary literature is the collection styled *Nāma-i nāmī* (also known as *Inshāʾ-i Ghiyāth al-Dīn*) which is said to contain genuine historical documents. It cannot have been compiled earlier than 929/1522-3 (cf. F. Tauer, in J. Rypka, etc., *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 434, 437 n. 53; Munzawī, iii (1350/1971), 2121 f.; G. Hermann, *Der historische Gehalt des "nâmä-ye nâmi" von Ḫândamîr*, Göttingen 1968, unpublished thesis).

The most valuable work of Khwāndamīr is the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, a general history from the earliest times down to near the end of the life of Shāh Ismāʿīl I (died 930/1524). The title refers to Karīm al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh, the Ṣafawid governor to whom the work was eventually dedicated, after the death of the original patron of the writer, Sayyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Amīr Muḥammad. The work consists of an introduction (*dībāča*), three books (*mudjallad*), dealing respectively with pre-Islamic history, Islamic history up to the end of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and the period of Mongol and Tīmūrīd rule till the foundation of the Ṣafawid state in Iran, each book being divided into four sections (*djuzʾ*), and an epilogue (*khātima*) containing geographical information. An interesting feature of the composition of the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* is the occurrence of a great number of biographies at the end of the treatment of each major historical period. This innovation in Persian historiography was imitated by writers of the Ṣafawid period (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, *Ridjāl-i kitāb-i Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehrān 1324/1945). The original version of the chronicle (represented by the text of the lithogr. edition, Tehrān 1271/1854-5) was written in 927-30/1520-4. Khwāndamīr continued however to make other, revised copies, the last we know of as yet being marked by a note added to the first volume in Shaʿbān 935/April 1529 while the author was in the camp of Bābur at the *trimohinī*, or the juncture of the Sardjū and the Ganges, during an expedition against Bengal (lith. ed. Bombay 1273/1857, i/4, 84 = ed. Tehrān 1333/1954, i, 587. On the question of the different versions of the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, see N. D. Miklukho-Maklay, *Redaktsii vseobshčey istorii Xondemir* (*Khabib al-siyar*), in *Pis'menniye pamyatniki i problemi istorii kul'turi narodov vostoka*, Leningrad 1967, 23 f.). The most interesting part of the work is of course the treatment of contemporary history from the moment where the sixth volume of Mīrkhwānd's work had stopped, i.e. at the time of death of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd in 873/1469. Khwāndamīr used this part of his own work also for a continuation of the seventh volume of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ* which was left unfinished by his uncle (cf. Storey, i, 92 f.). The historical value of the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* is enhanced by the fact that the author was a close witness, and sometimes even a participant, of such decisive developments as the breakdown of Tīmūrīd power in Central Asia and Eastern Iran under the impact of the Uzbek invasion, and the conquest of Khurāsān by the Ṣafawids. His account of Bābur's early career is one of the best sources for the latter's life and fills the two great gaps in the *Memoirs* of Bābur. He writes in the elegant Persian style of his times but applies the rhetorical embellishment with such moderation that

it does not obscure the factual contents of his text (cf. Storey i, 104-9, 1237 f.; Bregel', 383-93, 1399; Munzawi, vi, 4127-46).

The last work of Khwāndamīr is the *Ḳānūn-i Humāyūnī or Humāyūnnāma*, a description of institutions, ordinances and buildings introduced or erected at the order of that ruler, made at the latter's request and completed probably in 940/1534 (cf. Storey, i, 536, 1313; ed. by M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta 1940).

In the introduction to the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Khwāndamīr claims also to have made an abridgement of the general history of Waṣṣāf [*q.v.*], but there are no manuscript copies of this known to exist.

The historiographical tradition of Khwāndamīr's family was continued by one of his sons, Amīr Maḥmūd, who wrote a history of the reign of the early Ṣafawids (cf. Storey, i, 304, 1279; Bregel', 854-5, 1468).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, further references to manuscripts, editions and translations of Khwāndamīr's works as well as to secundary sources may be found in the works of Storey and Bregel' mentioned above and in the introductions to text-editions, notably those by M. Hidayat Hosain to the *Ḳānūn-i Humāyūn*, i-xxxvi, and the introduction by Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī to the edition of Tehrān 1333/1954 of the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, i, 2-43.

(H. Beveridge — J. T. P. de Bruijn)

KHĀNDĒSH, a region of west-central India lying to the north-west of the Deccan [see DAKHAN], the upper valley of the river Tāptī (also called Tāpī), and the surrounding plain and forest country bounded on the north by the Satpuṛā hills and the river Narbadā, on the west separated from mainland Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] by the northern ranges of the Western Ghāṭs, on the south by the Sātmālā hills which separate it from the Deccan tableland, and on the south-west by the Laling and Gālnā hills which divide it from the Nāsik district of Mahārāshṭra. There is no well-marked eastern natural boundary, and the governed district, whether under the Dihlī sultanate, the Fārūḳī rulers, the Mughals, or the Marāṭhās, has frequently included territories outside the natural boundaries. The region owes its name to the Fārūḳī rulers who, not being admitted by their more powerful neighbours of Gudjarāt, Mālwā and the Deccan to the status of sultans, were known by the lesser title of Khān; but it has been suggested that the name Khāndēsh is a convenient Islamicisation of an older form. The Mughal *ṣūba* of Khāndēsh was for a time renamed Dāndēsh after Sulṭān Dāniyāl [*q.v.*], youngest son of Akbar.

The Tāptī, an ancient river flowing in a deep bed, is of no value for navigation or irrigation, although perennial; but its tributaries, all the more important of which lie on the left bank, provide irrigation water, and there is an abundance of wells in the central region. This is a 250 km. stretch of rich alluvial plain, ideal for cotton and foodgrains. The northern tract is hill forest, inhabited chiefly by Bhīls; the west and south-west are also well forested. In Mughal times the region was famous for its sugar-cane, indigo, the snow-white rice of Nawāpur, and its fine cotton and the cloth trade, especially the gold and silver brocaded cloth produced at Burhānpur (J. de Thevenot, *Voyages ... en Asie*,[2] Paris 1727, v, 212 ff. —J. B. Tavernier, *Voyages ... aux Indes*, Paris 1676; although Bernier points out that the labour was exacted almost by force and that the labourers were wretchedly poor). Much of its prosperity derived

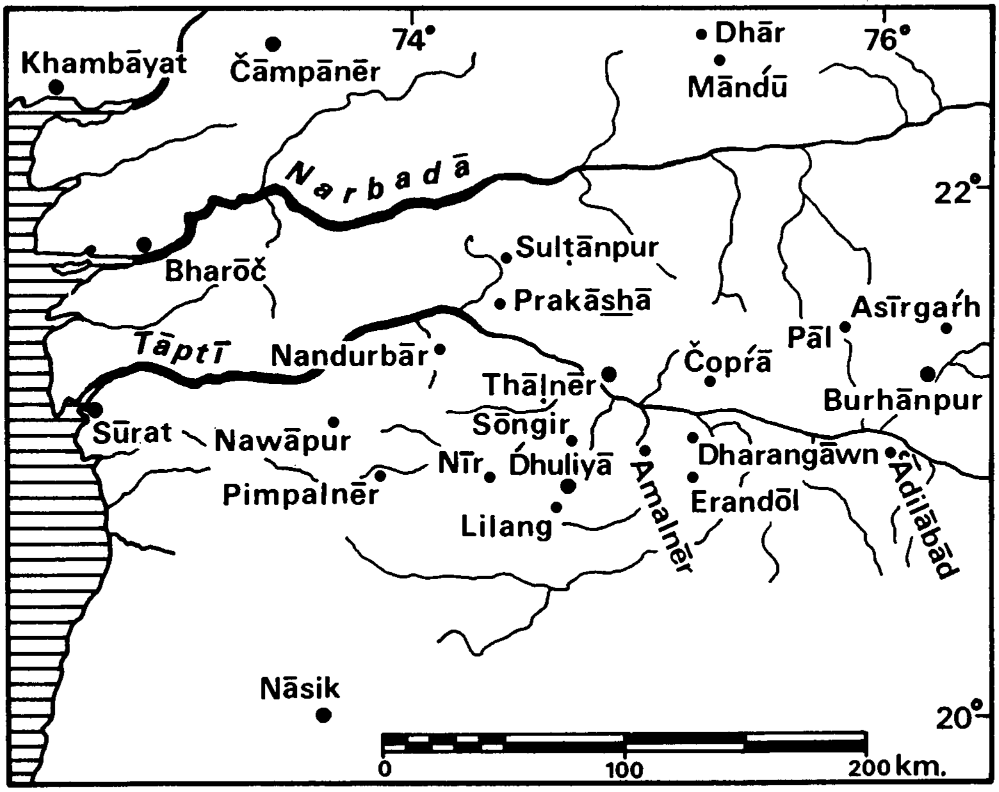

from the trade-route from the north through the Burhānpur gap, along Khāndēsh, and to Sūrat.

1. History.—The Khāndēsh region was in the time immediately before the first Muslim conquest held variously by the Yādavas of Devagiri (= Dawlatābād) or a branch of the Čawhāns at Asīr. (The latter displaced the Tāks, a tribe (Takshaka) of Scythian origin; the statement s.v. ASĪRGARH identifying Tāks and Čawhāns needs correction.) In 695/1295-6 Asīrgaŕh was taken by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī on his return north from the Deccan expedition, although apparently the district was not laid under tribute; although the Čawhān ruler and his family were killed. Asīr seems to have been occupied by another Hindū king. In 705/1306 Malik Kāfūr [*q.v.*], sent from Dihlī to exact the tribute from Devagiri, occupied Sulṭānpur in the north-east of Khāndēsh; six years later Kāfūr, again collecting tribute, established a governor at Devagiri, and hence presumably at least controlled the western part of Khāndēsh for Dihlī. Muslim power was reinforced firstly by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Khaldjī, and later by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. The fact that Malik Rādjā received this region in *djāgīr* from Fīrūz Shāh in or before 772/1370, and that the region does not figure in the four *aṭrāf* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahman Shāh's kingdom, implies that it continued to be regarded as part of the Dihlī dominions; but many petty Rādjpūt chiefs held sway even within the central Tāptī valley region, and Malik Rādjā's first task as a *djāgīrdār* (later *sipah-sālār*) for Dihlī was bringing them under tribute. Malik Rādjā's independence from Dihlī did not come until about 784/1382 (it is worth stressing that this fell before the independence of both Gudjarāt and Mālwā); for the history of the region from then until the capture of Asīr by Akbar in 1009/1601, see the article FĀRŪḲIDS.

The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (tr. Jarett, ii, 222-7) describes the district and its products and revenues at the time of its absorption into the Mughal empire, and European travellers (Fitch, Newberry, Jangigny) supply further information: it was highly fertile and well populated, and its markets well stocked. The *Āʾīn* enumerates its sub-divisions (Nandurbār and the north-west seems to have been made over to Mālwā at this time), and mentions the principal towns and their forts (these are indicated on the map; some locations on this refer to the monuments, described below). But Khāndēsh rapidly became unsettled and its prosperity declined, and travellers in the next ten years (Hawkins, Finch) report bands of outlaws everywhere, necessitating huge armed escorts for travellers, and plundering of the country up to the Tāptī by "Deccanis": these were the bands of Marāŧhā mercenaries trained by Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*] in guerilla warfare for the harassment of the Mughal armies, who conducted their Khāndēsh and Deccan operations from Burhānpur. Roe, in 1618, found conditions little better, although Burhānpur commanded enough trade to attract an English factory. Shāhdjahān's reign saw even worse conditions at first, for the privations of the Deccan warfare were exacerbated by the terrible famine of 1039-40/1630; but conditions improved after Awrangzēb assumed the viceregency of the Deccan in 1045/1636, pacified the district, and introduced revenue reforms based on Ŧodar Mall's earlier settlement (see ḌARĪBA, vi). By the mid-11th/17th century Khāndēsh knew its highest prosperity, as accounts of European travellers (Thevenot, Tavernier, Ogilby) confirm.

The peace was seriously disturbed by the rise of the Marāŧhās under Shivādjī, who in 1081/1670 passed through Khāndēsh after the sack of Sūrat, demanding *čawth* (= a fourth part of the revenues); thereafter he continued to plunder the district (especially the trade towns of Čopŕā, Dharangāwn, Erandol) until his death in 1091/1680. Marāŧhā raids continued under Sambhādjī, Burhānpur falling to them in 1096/1695, and under Shāhū, Shivādjī's grandson; they were not checked until Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], chafing against the manipulation of Mughal power by the Sayyids of Bārhā [*q.v.* in Suppl.], left his governorship of Mālwā and invaded Khāndēsh, then the northernmost province of the Deccan under the Sayyid Ḥusayn ʿAlī. He gained possession of Asīrgaŕh and Burhānpur in 1132/1720, defeated the Sayyids' army, and moved on to assume the viceroyalty of the Deccan, whence he compelled from the Marāŧhās a guarantee of safety for Khāndēsh. His successors after his death in 1161/1748 [see ḤAYDARĀBĀD, i] were less competent: Ṣalābat Djang and the French general Bussy had to cede much of Khāndēsh and other western districts of Ḥaydarābād in return for the guaranteed safety of the centre, and when in 1173/1760 Asīrgaŕh fell to the Peshwa Bādjī Rāo the Marāŧhā possession of Khāndēsh was complete. For some years it remained peaceful, and recovered its prosperity, but later suffered in internecine Marāŧhā struggles, and from plundering by Bhīls and by disaffected Arab mercenaries in Marāŧhā employ. The British, first appearing in 1779, took Burhānpur and Asīr in 1803, and eventually the district was ceded to them in 1818. For the general history of the region under the Peshwas and others see MARĀŦHĀS.

The British assumption of power was met with sporadic resistance from Arab bands (especially at Amalnēr, Sōngir fort), and everywhere from Bhīls (two tribes of whom, the Tāḍvī and the Nirdhī, are Muslim, at least nominally), and it was not until 1846 that the district was finally pacified. With the reorganisation of district boundaries under the British, the Burhānpur-Asīrgaŕh region became part of the Nimār district of the Central Provinces (1864). In 1906 the district was divided into two new districts, West and East Khandesh; these are now known by the names of their headquarters towns, Dhulia and Jalgaon respectively.

Bibliography: For the early period of Khāndēsh history see Bibliography to DIHLĪ SULTANATE; for the Fārūḳī period see that to FĀRŪḲIDS, also ASĪRGARH, BURHĀNPUR, THĀLNĒR. To these now add H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*, i, 491-516, Hyderabad 1973 (chapter on Khāndēsh by P. M. Joshi, giving many additional references to contemporary non-Muslim sources). For the Mughal period see MUGHALS, and also: Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* and *Akbar-nāma*, ed. Bib. Ind., index; of later texts, especially ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Pādshāh-nāme*, Bib. Ind., and Khʷāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Bib. Ind.; W. Foster (ed.), *Early travels in India*, London 1921, for Fitch, Hawkins, Finch, Coryat; ed. idem, *The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe in India*, Hakluyt Soc.[2] 1926; ed. idem, *English factories in India*, 13 vols., Oxford 1906-27. On trade routes: J. Deloche, *Recherches sur les routes de l'Inde au temps des Mogols*, Paris 1968 (some detailed maps on travellers' itineraries). Systematic geography of the region in O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan: a general and regional geography*,[2] London 1957, index s.v. Khandesh. Now out of date in many particulars, but still very valuable for detailed descriptions of sub-districts, towns, products, ethnography, and history of British period up to 1880: *Gazetteer of*

the Bombay Presidency, xii (*Khandesh*), Bombay 1880; also *Imperial gazetteer of India*, xv, Oxford 1908, 225-39. (J. Burton-Page)

al-**KHĀNDJĪ** [see handžić in Suppl.].

KHĀNFŪ, an Arab name, denoting what was in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, the most important port of China, and centre of the maritime commerce with the peoples of western Asia. Certain scholars have in the past (from J. Klaproth, in *JA*, v (1824), 40, up to I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême-Orient*, etc., Göteborg 1906, 213) tried to prove that Khānfū should not be identified with Canton, but the identification of the two cities seems certain. This view derived support from the fact of the confusion between Khansā (Hang-ču) and Khānkhū (Khānfū) made by the informants of Abu 'l-Fidā (tr. Guyard, ii/2, 122-3); but in fact, Khānfū was the name by which Canton was known in the 3rd/9th century to the Arabs, since Khānfū is the rendering of Kuang-fu, the popular form of Kuang-čeu fu. According to Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 272, s.v. "Čin", there is a piece of information in Yi-tsing which states that "Če-na (Čīna) is Kuang-fu (Canton); Mo-ho-če-na (Mahāčīna) is the capital (Č'ang-ngan = Si-ngan fu)"; cf. Chavannes, *Religieux éminents*, 56. Again following Pelliot, thirty years after Yi-tsing (in 730), an identical passage can be found in the Siu Ku-Kin Yi-Tsing t'u-tsi (Tripitaka, *kie*, iii, 93b): "The kingdom of Yin-tu (Indu, India) generally calls Kuang-fu (Canton) 'Če-na' (Čīna), and gives to the imperial capital (Si-ngan-fu) the name of 'Mo-ho-če-na' (Mahāčīna)". This note has passed into the Song kao-seng čum (Tripitaka, *che*, iv, 76b); cf. Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, ii, 551-2).

In his commentary on the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 224, Mincrsky gives some information concerning Khānfū not cited by that source.

It was only in the 8th/14th century that Khānfū was confused with Khansā [*q.v.*] by the Arab travellers and by historians of the Mongols. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 92, 271-2, calls the city Sin-Kālān (cf. Yule, *Cathay*, etc., iv, 109, 120); this name is the Arabic form equivalent to the Indian name of Mahāčīn, whilst the Persian form was Čīn-Kālān. Waṣṣāf, ed. von Hammer, i, Vienna 1856, 43, has Čīn-Kālān; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, ii, 493, writes "Kōngi (?) which the Persians call Čīn-Kālān", which according to Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, 276, should be corrected to Kōnfū, since this is one of the popular forms of Kuang-čeu fu (cf. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New-York-London 1971, 283-4, "Chin-Kalān"). Finally, Abu 'l-Fidā, in his *Geography*, ed. Reinaud, 363-4, tr. Guyard, 122-3, writes Khānkhū, which may be read as Khānfū (see above); this town (Ferrand, Relations de voyages, 30, 123) is said to be four days' distance by boat from Lūnkhīn-fū, i.e. from Lūkhīn, which is mentioned in the 10th century as the land whose people had recently invaded Čampa. Lūkhīn should be corrected into Lūfū and identified with Long-pien = Hanoi, and as being 20 days by land.

Ibn Khurradādhbih's information (text, 69, tr. 49) on the site of Khānfū (at a distance of 4 days by sea and 20 by land from the most southerly port of China Lūḳīn, modern Hanoi) can only apply to Canton, as was also noted by H. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, St. Petersburg 1911, 22; cf. also Idrīsī, ed. Jaubert, i, 84, 90.

Among the western sources, the name of Čīn-Kālān appears in Oderic of Pordenone (Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica-franciscana*, 458) in the form "Censcala", probably to be read "Cencala"; in John of Marignolli (*ibid.*, 543) in the form of "Cynkalan", in a context which opposes this name, of which he says "it is Greater India", to that of "Cynkali", of which he says "it is Lesser India" and which he calls "Mynibar"; and finally, in the Catalan Map under the form "Cincalan", probably borrowed from Odoric (cf. on all these facts, Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 275-6, s.v. "Cin", and 583, 590, 595-6, s.v. "Çaiton", also 833, s.v. "Silingiu".

Under the T'ang, Canton was an extremely important port, where numerous Muslims settled, who in 758 plundered it (cf. e.g. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 173), an event not mentioned in Arabic sources. These last (Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī, in Reinaud, *Relations des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et la Chine*, Paris 1845, 64-5; Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, 6, 40; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 329 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 221) mention the circumstances in which a large number of foreigners (120,000 or 200,000) Muslims, Christians, Jews and Mazdeans are said to have perished at the time of the destruction of Khānfū by the rebel general Huang-č'ao in 264/877-8; according to the Chinese sources, Canton was captured by this latter general in 879 (cf. S. Levy, *Biography of Huang Ch'ao*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1955). It is in reference to this event that the importance of this city for overseas commerce is stressed (Pelliot, note on Ferrand's *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulayman en Inde et en Chine, rédigé en 851 suivi de remarques par Abû Zayd Ḥasan (vers 916)*, in *T'oung Pao*, xxi (1922), 410). According to the Arabic information, the city gave 50,000 *dīnār*s each day to the government (Reinaud, *op. cit.*, text 41; Ferrand, *op. cit.*, 58). When a foreign vessel arrived, the Emperor sent his eunuchs there to select the best goods (Reinaud, text, 73-4); the journey between Khānfū and the capital Khumdān (Si-ngan-fu) took two months (*ibid.*, 77, 103). The ruler (*malik*), i.e. the governor, of Khānfū bore the title of *dīfū* (*ibid.*, 38; according to Reinaud, n. 81, ii, 27, for Chinese Či-fu); cf. on this title, R. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l'armée*, Leiden 1948, ii, 554 *sh. c'e-fu* "army of the capital cities"—one should certainly understand here "[the chief of] the armies of the city", hence the governor. Concerning the treatment of the Chinese of merchants who had come from across the seas, cf. T. Lewicki, *Les premiers commerçants arabes en Chine*, in *RO* (1935), 173-86 (bibliography), and the Persian text of ʿAwfī in Barthold, *Turketsan*, i (texts), 98.

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(L. Hambis)

KHĀNIḲĪN, a town in al-ʿIrāḳ, on the Helwān-Čay. The statement that Nuʿmān V, king of al-Ḥīra, was kept here a prisoner till his death on the order of his overlord, the Sāsānian Khusraw II, suggests that there was a fortress here in the period. The bridge of Khāniḳīn must also go back to Sāsānian times; it is built of brick and plaster in several arches across the river valley. At the Muslim conquest, a battle seems to have been fought at Khāniḳīn, for a "day of Khāniḳīn" is mentioned in Ibn al-Faḳīh. Under Arab rule Khāniḳīn was a small town and an unpretentious station on the road from Baghdād to Khurāsān. Ibn al-Muʿtazz praises the wine of Khāniḳīn. According to Abū Dulaf, a naphtha well at Khāniḳīn yielded a considerable revenue to the state. The Zuṭṭ were deported to [the region of] Khāniḳīn after their rising in lower Mesopotamia had been suppressed in 219/834.

Bibliography: al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 245, ii, 576;

al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 376; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 172; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1028; iii, 1168; Ibn Rustah, *BGA*, vii, 164; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 31, viii, 186; al-Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 121; al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, 320; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 393; G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 61, 62, 80. (P. Schwarz*)

KHĀNḲĀH, a composite word of Persian origin meaning a building usually reserved for Muslim mystics belonging to a dervish order. The terms *ribāṭ*, *tekke* and *zāwiya* [*q.vv.*] refer to establishments with similar aims. After an early period of evolution which is still imperfectly known, these all became widespread throughout the Islamic world down to modern times. The usual translation of "monastery" does not, however, convey the complexity of the institution.

Etymology. From the outset, *khānḳāh* appears in two forms, sometimes in the same author: (1) the Persian form *khānagāh*, often lightened to *khānagah*, with the *nisba* of *khānagāhī* (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 107; Frye, *The histories of Nishapur*, ii, 8a, 22b, 41b, iii, 19a; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, v, 29; Yāḳūt, s.v. *Marw*); and (2) the Arabised form *khānḳāh* and its variant *khāniḳa*. The *nisba* of *khānḳāʾī* seems to be used only by the geographer Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 44), whilst the normal term is *khānḳāhī* (*ibid.*, 323; Frye, i, 41a, 46b; al-Samʿānī, v, 29; Yāḳūt, s.v. *Khāniḳa*). These uncertainties are also felt in the plural. *Khawāniḳ*, or sometimes *khawānik* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 414) is mainly used by Arabic authors, but there is also found the Arabo-Persian form *khānagāhāt* (read as *khānkāhāt* in Arabic) and the Persian plural *khānagāhā*, especially in Persian texts. In regard to meaning, the two component elements are easily identifiable: *-gāh*, Persian locative suffix becoming usually *-ḳāh* in Arabic; and *khān*/*khāneh* with the same ambivalence as *bayt* "house", "room" (*Burhān-i qāṭiʿ*, s.v.). On the other hand, the general sense is quite obscure. In mediaeval times, other etymologies were put forward, starting from *khʷān* "table" or from the root of the verb *khʷāndan* "to recite". These etymologies have the advantage of providing the word with a satisfactory sense in regard to its evolution in the context of mysticism (place of the table, of recitation), but they can only be accepted in defiance of the most elementary rules of Persian orthography and Arabo-Persian phonetics: the vocable *khʷā* never loses its *w* in Persian orthography, and if it passes into Arabic, becomes *khawā* or *khiwā*, cf. Pers. *khʷān* cited above, which becomes Arabic *khiwān*.

History. The word *khānḳāh* seems to appear first of all in authors of the 4th/10th century, who describe it as an institution of their own time and localise these establishments above all in Khurāsān and Transoxania. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, writing in Gūzgān in 372/982, gives on this topic highly valuable, though unfortunately so far unconfirmed in other sources, information: "In Samarqand stands the monastery of the Manichaeans (*khānagāh-i Mānaviyān*) who are called *nighūshāk* ("auditores")" (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 107, tr. Minorsky, 113). If one bears in mind the valuable information from the same period given by Ibn al-Nadīm in the *Fihrist* about the transfer of the centre of Manichaeism from Babylonia to Soghdia, the presence of these Manichaeans at Samarḳand is not surprising. In regard to this establishment's functions, the use of the word "auditores" seems to show that it was a centre of worship as well as of teaching and evangelism, according to the traditional and well-tried Manichaean system of militant evangelism (Puech, *Manichéisme*, 86 ff.).

A second, highly-important piece of evidence on the early *khānḳāhs* is provided by another contemporary, al-Muḳaddasī. According to him (179, 182, 238, 323, 365, 377), the *khānḳāhs* belonged exclusively to the theological and ascetic sect of the Karrāmiyya. The Karrāmī groups flourishing above all in Khurāsān, Transoxania, Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān, and those of the west in Jerusalem and around the tomb of Ibn Karrām there (d. 255/869), all had their *khānḳāhs*. The *nisba* of *khānḳāʾī* used by al-Muḳaddasī seems to be reserved for the Karrāmīs alone. Mystics (the later users of *khānḳāhs*) are generally called by him (44, 118, 188, 415, 430) Ṣūfīs, distinguished by him into specific groups and linked only with *masdjids* or *ribāṭs* of the countryside. If one takes this information into account, it must be admitted that the early history of the *khānḳāh* cannot be properly elucidated until the early evolution of the Karrāmiyya and their eventual connections with the Manichaeans are examined [see KARRĀMIYYA].

However, from the end of the 4th/10th century there seems to be an evolution of the *khānḳāhs* (appearance of directors of them in Nīshāpūr, Frye, i, 36b, 41a, 46b, 55b; al-Samʿānī, *nisba* of *khānḳāhī*; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 131, 344, iv, 127) into establishments connected with certain groups which become almost totally identified with them and largely disguise their origins. These groups are those of the Ṣūfīs, often allied to Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism; the emergence together of these and their links in eastern Persia have been too little studied (but see H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der schafiitischen Rechtsschule*, Wiesbaden 1974, and for the Ṣūfī-Shāfiʿī links, *Les étapes mystiques du shaykh Abū Saʿīd*, tr. M. Achena, Paris 1974, 36).

The first half of the 5th/11th century is one of founding and organisation. The Ṣūfī Abū Saʿīd [see ABŪ SAʿĪD B. ABI 'L-KHAYR] (d. 440/1048) drew up a code of ten rules for the people in the *khānḳāh* (Achena, *op. laud.*, 324, already noted by Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, 46). He was considered by the next generation as the first to have regulated the communal life in the *khānḳāhs* "according to rules still in use today" (Frye, ii, 74a). Such an enterprise inevitably led to the fabrication of references to it in the past. This is doubtless the reasoning behind the legend of the first *khānḳāh*, allegedly built at Ramla at the opening of the 2nd/8th century (al-Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, 9; in fact, according to al-Muḳaddasī, 164 ff., the district of Ramla was sprinkled with coastal *ribāṭs*). Moreover, the terminology was still indefinite; *madrasa* could mean a centre for Ṣūfīs (R. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 253-4), and *duwayra* often alternates with *khānḳāh* to denote the same establishment (*duwayra*/*khānḳāh* of al-Sulamī, in Frye, ii, 82a, iii, 6a, 18a, 27a, 42a, 73a). Finally, from this period onwards, certain *khānḳāhs* are also burial places, a fact which enabled them to benefit from the largesse of pious pilgrims (Frye, ii, 47a).

The second half of the century is marked by the alliance, in effect, of the people of the *khānḳāhs* with the Saldjūḳ ruling power. The ideological linkage of Ṣūfism with Shāfiʿism-Ashʿarism in Khurāsān now enjoyed an unprecedented expansion, not only on a local scale, but also outside the region (naturally, Ḥanafism was also able to adapt itself and integrate itself within this movement). Saldjūḳ expansionism, far from being territorial and political only, was often linked with an ideological expansionism, based in

the first instance on the spirited policies of official patrons. Niẓām al-Mulk and his Khurāsānian imitators were not the only ones to found *madrasas* and *khānḳāh*s (examples of such patronage at Nīshāpūr in Frye, ii, 78b, iii, 192). The Saldjūḳs of the west and their slave commanders, masters of Syria in the third quarter of the 5th/11th century, speedily imitated them at Aleppo and Damascus (lists of Syrian *khānḳāh*s in al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, ii, 139-91, for Damascus; this list repeated with another for Aleppo and other towns by Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-dīn*, iii, 765-71). In Damascus, however, there seem to be two *khānḳāh*s dating from the pre-Saldjūk period; but in reality, these early foundations seem to have had little connection with the later developments in their function and probably only received the name of *khānḳāh* from the Saldjūḳ period onwards (*Dāris*, ii, 146, 151, nos. 164, 166; Elisséeff, *op. laud.*, iii, 768, n. 1). From that time onwards, *ribāṭ* and *khānḳāh* seem to become synonymous; at the end of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Djubayr wrote concerning Ayyūbid Syria, "As for the *ribāṭ*s, called here *khānḳāh*s, there are many of them; they are meant for Ṣūfīs, and are splendid palaces, since Ṣūfīs are real Kings in this country" (*Riḥla*, 256). In ʿIrāḳ, the word *ribāṭ* predominated (J. Chabbi, *Fonction du ribāṭ à Bağdād*, in *REI*, xlii/1 (1974); Achena, *op. cit.*, 351).

In Egypt, the foundation of *khānḳāh*s, following the Saldjūḳ tradition, began logically under the Ayyūbids after the fall of the Fāṭimids in the later 6th/12th century. It continued under the Mamlūks, but with some slowing-down after the second half of the 8th/14th century. The *khānḳāh*s were then gradually transformed into official institutions, hence controlled and not always linked to the Ṣūfī orders, which accordingly tended to move into institutions enjoying more autonomy.

Often they became part of complexes containing several institutions, e.g. *masdjid-madrasa*-mausoleum. Nevertheless, terminology remained still imprecise, and mediaeval historians could not always agree on the name for such and such institution (see for all this period, art. AL-ḲĀHIRA, list of monuments shown on map, and section on Mamlūk *khānḳāh*s; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 414-27). From the Ottoman period onwards (10th/16th century), *khānḳāh*s were still founded, but they appeared more and more in the form of the Turkish institution of the *tekke* (Pers. *takya*, Ar. *takiyya*). A good number of these various institutions have survived to the present days (see AL-ḲĀHIRA, section on the Ottoman period, *Madrasas*, *tekkes*). There is, however, a general conclusion to be drawn here: that whilst the *khānḳāh*s did not pass beyond Egypt, constituting the last wave of the original Saldjūḳ expansion, the Turkish *tekke*s were carried along by the Ottoman conquests and reached the Maghrib.

During this time, in the east the Khurāsānian *khānḳāh*s swiftly spread beyond the Saldjūḳ domains and reached the eastern Iranian fringes and Afghānistān, sc. the territories of the Ghaznawids and then the Ghūrids (middle of the 6th/12th century). The severe local upheavals involving these powers seem to have affected them little, but the opposite became true with the Mongol invasions of the early 7th/13th century. The last Ghūrids, soon replaced by their slave commanders, founders of the Dihlī sultanate, fled to India. There followed a migration, which included the Ṣūfīs, comparable to that accompanying the westwards advance of the Saldjūḳs. This does not of course imply that all the Persian *khānḳāh*s disappeared during the Mongol period, nor that new institutions were not built (*Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 372, 511).

But from the course of the 7th/13th century onwards, two new dervish orders, the Čishtiyya and Suhrawardiyya, founded by refugees and soon based upon a widespread network of *khānḳāh*s, appeared in the new sultanate (Kh. A. Nizami, *Some aspects of Khānqah life in medieval India*, in *St. Isl.* viii (1957), 52-69; see also ČISHTIYYA and DIHLĪ). In the 8th/14th century, the reforms imposed on the Ṣūfī movement by Sultan Muḥammad Tughluḳ took the form of a resumption of *khānḳāh*s but also of the extension of their network in the Indian territories [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN AL-BUKHĀRĪ]. This type of institution, brought from Persia in the 7th/13th century, prospered more there than almost anywhere else right down to modern times and constitutes one of the characteristic manifestations of Indian Islam [see HIND, v (a)].

Constitution and functions. It is impossible to give here more than a few bibliographical references, since such a study would be intertwined with the immense and complex question of the links between Ṣūfism and its various forms and the contemporary society and ruling institutions. The most exhaustive work is J. S. Trimingham's *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971; for the way of life in Khurāsānian *khānḳāh*s, Achena, *op. laud.*, 79, 81, 97, 165, 180, 356, etc.; for Egyptian ones, al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, is a rich source; for Indian ones, Nizami, *op. laud.*

Architecture. Since they were institutions meant both for leading the communal life (rooms for prayer, corporate sessions) and also for sheltering individual mystics, often in significant numbers, all *khānḳāh*s contained both types of accommodation (and frequently too various annexes and dependent buildings permitting self-sufficiency). However, there was a great gulf between the sumptuous buildings founded under official patronage (Syria, Egypt) and the first Indian *khānḳāh*s. But neither of these gave rise to a special type of architecture distinct, for instance, from that of the *madrasas* (Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-dīn*, iii, 265, 266). Moreover, at the end of the Circassian period in Egypt (9th/15th century), the *khānḳāh*s were integrated within great funerary complexes; they ceased to have individual living-rooms within them, and became non-residential centres for Ṣūfī activities [see AL-ḲĀHIRA, section on the Mamlūk period, *Khānḳāhs*].

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(J. CHABBI)

KHANSĀ or **KHINSĀ**, a town of China, in the province of Che-kiang, and capital of the empire of the southern Sung (1127-1279). From 15 December 1129 till 11 December 1277 it bore the official name of Lin-ngan, and is in fact the town of Hang-ču of the Ming. Under the Mongols it was called *Hing-tsai suo* or *Hing-tsai*, meaning "Temporary residence of the emperor", when the various Islamic transcriptions Khingsāy, Khinsay, Khansa, Khinza, yielding the "Quinsai" of Marco Polo and the "Camsai" of Oderic of Pordenone.

The town is often mentioned in the Mongol period, and described as one of the chief commercial centres; according to both Islamic and western sources, an important colony of Muslims was then located there, perhaps as many as 40,000 persons. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, ii, 1911, 459, 460, 489, writes Khīngsāy, Khinsāy, and also Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols* ..., i, 1836, LXXXVII, Khinsāy, as also K. Jahn and H. Franke, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd al-Dīn*, Vienna 1971, 20, l. 12. Waṣṣāf, lith. ed. Bombay 1869,

21-2, writes Khinzāy (or Khanzay, Blochet, *op. cit.*, 489, Quatremère, *op. cit.*, LXXXIX) and (*apud* Barthold) Khitrāy. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 215, l. 10 and 261, l. 10, writes Khinsāy. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 284 ff. has Khansā (as in G. Ferrand, *Rel. de voyages et textes géogr.*, ii, 1914, 429), and connects it with the poetess al-Khansā᾽ [*q.v.*]. Abu 'l-Fidā, tr. Reinaud, *Geogr. d'Aboulféda*, 124, has Khansa and also Khinza, as in Ferrand, *loc. cit.*, and Blochet, in *JRAS* (1917), 9. Amongst the western sources, as well as Marco Polo, tr. in Hambis, *La description du monde*, 195, 206-14, 217-18, 398, there is Oderic of Pordenone, in Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, i, 463 (with apparatus criticus), who writes "Camsay", "Cansay"; Marignolli, in *ibid.*, i, 548, who writes "Campsay"; Pegolotti, in G. F. Pagnini, *Della decima . . .*, Lisbon and Lucca 1766, iii, 1, and Yule, *Cathay*, iii, 148, 172, "Chassai"; and in the *Livre du Grant Caan*, sometimes attributed to John of Cora, in *JA*, vi (1830), 60, "Cassay". On the other forms in various sources, see I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême-Orient dans la litt. et la cart. d'Occident*, Göteborg 1906, 428-9.

Bibliography: The best data can be found in A. C. Moule, *Quinsai*, Cambridge 1957, 1-53, to which may be added the Islamic sources: Quatremère, *op. cit.*, LXXXVII ff., and in Ch. Schefer, *Centenaire de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, 19-20, 23-4. On the foreign colony at Hang-ču, see Hirth and Rockhill, *Chao Ju-ku*, St. Petersburg 1911, 16; and on the town, Hirth, *Ueber den Schieffverkehr von Kinsay zu Marco Polo's Zeit*, in *TP*, v, 186-390. (L. Hambis)

al-KHANSĀ᾽ ("the snub-nosed one" or "the gazelle"), sobriquet of Tumāḍir bint ʿAmr, of the tribe of Sulaym and the clan of Sharīd, Arab poetess of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. She must have been born *ca.* 575 A.D. in the *ʿāliya* of Nadjd, where her tribe was encamping. Only a few details are known of her life: the demand for her in marriage by Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, the old poet-warrior of Djusham, whom she refused; her marriage, after other brief liaisons, with her kinsman Mirdās b. Abī ʿĀmir, for whom she bore six children; her coming to Medina *ca.* 629 with a deputation from her tribe, in order to embrace Islam (a detail very suspect to western critics, as also is the information that she was present at the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya, where four of her sons fell fighting courageously); and her death at an advanced age at the end of ʿUmar's caliphate (634-44) or even, according to another tradition, at the opening of Muʿāwiya's caliphate (661-80).

Al-Khansā᾽'s fame rests on her poetic work, and above all on her elegies (*marāthī*) for her two brothers Muʿāwiya and Ṣakhr, successively killed in skirmishes of Sulaym with Murra and Asad. The *marthiya* genre, the elegy over a dead person, especially over one fallen in battle, was very old and widespread amongst the ancient pagan Arabs. It was certainly practised long before al-Khansā᾽, with many well-known poets and poetesses achieving fame in it. The rôle of this poetess of Sulaym, apart from her undeniable personal talent expressing a deeply-felt sorrow, was to develop and perfect in a masterly fashion (as Rhodokanakis clearly demonstrated) the fairly rudimentary rough outlines of her predecessors. The basic stock-in-trade of images and *topoi* in the eulogising of the dead person (his liberality, valour in battle, justice and sagacity, eloquence in tribal contests of oratory, etc.), which still remained fairly stereotyped in al-Khansā᾽'s poetry, was enriched by her with new expressions; these became fixed in the history of the genre after her, but she brought in addition to these new stylistic and metrical embellishments which assured her a primacy in the elegiac genre which none could later dispute with her. One should nevertheless add that her verses make striking reading (there are about 1,000 of them, some of doubtful authenticity), especially the most famous of them, not only by their technical accomplishment, but also by the intensity, violence and tenderness of feeling, all of which place al-Khansā᾽ well above the average level of accomplishment. She herself proudly proclaimed this, at the fair of ʿUkāẓ and elsewhere, by her insistence on a primacy in grief, no doubt along with a consciousness of her calibre as a poet. Although tradition makes her welcome Islam and even exhort her sons to fight to the death for the new faith, her poetry is wholly pagan in feeling, and her view of life and death is invariably that of the ancient Djāhiliyya.

Al-Khansā᾽'s elegies were gathered together into a *Dīwān* in the ʿAbbāsid period, probably by Ibn al-Sikkīt, and enjoyed great fame amongst the Arabs as models of the genre. Apart from the citations in Ibn Sallām, Ibn Ḳutayba, the *Aghānī* and other authors of 9th and 10th centuries, the poems have come down to us in several manuscripts of varying value, on which (and above all on the excellent Cairo ms.) was based the edition with commentaries of Père L. Cheikho (Beirut 1896, preceded by another edition of the same author, Beirut 1888). Père Coppier provided a good French translation (Beirut 1889), and there are other examples in Italian by G. Gabrieli in the book cited below.

Bibliography: T. Noeldeke, *Alchansa*, in *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Poesie der alten Araber*, Hanover 1864, 152-82; G. Gabrieli, *I tempi, la vita e il conzoniere della poetessa araba al-Ḫansā᾽*, Florence 1899, 2nd ed., Rome 1944; N. Rhodokanakis, *Al-Ḫansā und ihre Trauerlieder*, in *SBWAW*, cxlvii (Vienna 1904); R. Blachère, *HLA*, 290-2 (very sceptical, as always, about the poetess's life and the authenticity of a part at least of her work). (F. Gabrieli)

KHʷĀNSĀRĪ, Sayyid Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāḳir Mūsawī Čahārsūḳī b. mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (1811-95), was born into a religious notable family in Khʷānsār, Persia. He studied Arabic and theology under his grandfather, Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, and others. After his grandfather's death in 1824, however, Khʷānsārī moved with his father to Iṣfahān where he studied *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, and other religious subjects under Shaykh Muḥammad Taḳī, the grandfather of Āḳā Nadjafī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Sayyid Muḥammad Shahshahānī, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Karbāsī, and Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Rashtī, known as "Ḥudjdjat al-Islām". During a visit to the shrine cities of ʿIrāḳ, Khʷānsārī continued his studies under the religious authorities, from a number of whom he received his degree of *idjtihād*. As a *mudjtahid* he became expert in both traditional and rationalist sciences and gradually received a widely-based recognition as a religious leader in Iṣfahān.

Apart from leading congregational prayers and performing other religious functions, Khʷānsārī lectured regularly before a sizable number of students in the field. Several great religious leaders and sole *mardjaʿ al-taḳlīd*s whom we know of have been mentioned among his disciples, such as Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Ṭabāṭabā᾽ī Yazdī (d. 1919) and Mīrzā Fatḥ Allāh Shaykh al-Sharīʿa Iṣfahānī (d. 1920) (see A. H. Hairi, *Shīʿism and Constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977, 62-5).

Khᵂānsārī was also an active and productive writer; the ʿIrāḳī journal *al-Murshid* has ascribed to him 14 books and treatises on Arabic syntax, Islamic dogmatics, jurisprudence, and ethics, and other related subjects (ʿAlī Wāʿiẓ Khīyābānī, *Kitāb-i ʿulamāʾ-i muʿāṣirīn*, Tabrīz 1947, 53-7). The grandson of Khᵂānsārī's brother, Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Mūsawī, has added in his *Aḥsan al-wadīʿa*, i, Nadjaf 1968, 102-28, another four items to the list of Khᵂānsārī's works, the most well-known of which is, of course, his biographical dictionary, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-sādāt*, Tehran 1889.

Khᵂānsārī compiled his *Rawḍāt* in 1869, after having worked on it for over ten years. This book, which contains the biographies of over 700 learned men including the author's own (pp. 126-8), was compiled in an unusual manner which makes reference to it fairly difficult. The following authors therefore compiled separate guides to the book: Mīrzā ʿAṭāʾ Allāh and Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Rawḍātī, Khᵂānsārī's son and great-great-grandson respectively, Muḥammad Bāḳir Ulfat, and Muḥammad ʿAlī Muʿallim Ḥabībābādī (Luṭf Allāh Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-yi āthār-i tārīkhī-yi Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1965, 825).

Khᵂānsārī's approach to the subjects discussed in his *Rawḍāt* was not always objective; it was in fact overshadowed by certain sectarian tendencies, especially when he dealt with delicate problems such as that of the possibility of Ṭūsī's active role in the extinction of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in 1258 (*Rawḍāt*, 605, and Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī: his alleged role in the fall of Baghdad*, in *Actes du vᵉ congrès International d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants, Bruxelles, 31 août-6 septembre 1970*, Brussels 1971, 255-66).

Since its appearance, however, the *Rawḍāt* has enjoyed a great reputation among the students of the field; it has been described by the journal *al-Murshid* as "the best and the most useful" (*aḥsan wa anfaʿ*) source among 14 other biographical dictionaries, such as the *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* of Ibn Khallikān and the *Amal al-Āmil* of al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (Wāʿiẓ, *ʿUlamāʾ-i muʿāṣirīn*, 54). The fame of the *Rawḍāt* has reached such an extent that its author himself has often been identified by the book and has been referred to by some biographers as Ṣāḥib-i Rawḍāt al-Djannāt ("the author of ...") (Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, iii, Tehran n.d., 366-7). Many of his numerous descendants also took their last name from the title of the book and called themselves "Rawḍātī". Khᵂānsārī, who was buried in the Takht-i Fūlād of Iṣfahān, left seven sons, five of whom succeeded in occupying certain dintinguished religious positions.

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(Abdul-Hadi Hairi)

KHᵂĀNSĀRĪ, Sayyid Muḥammad Taḳī Mūsawī (1887-1952), a Shīʿī *mudjtahid* of distinguished piety; he was born into a clerical family to which belonged celebrated *faḳīhs* such as Sayyid Ḥusayn (d. 1777) and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Djaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1744). After a preliminary education in Khᵂānsār, he moved to Nadjaf in 1904 and studied under the then religious leaders, including Muḥammad Kāẓim Khurāsānī and Muḥammad Kāẓim Yazdī. He stayed in ʿIrāḳ until the outbreak of World War I when the Shīʿī autorities of ʿIrāḳ, in an expedient response to the Ottoman declaration of *djihād*, declared a holy war against the British and their allies. Led by the Shīʿī leaders, at whose head was Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī Shīrāzī, Khᵂānsārī joined the *djihād* campaign, which proved however abortive and resulted in his banishment to India while suffering from a wound received in the Mesopotamian war. After 4 years in exile, Khᵂānsārī returned to his home town and later on, because of the establishment of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḥāʾirī Yazdī [see ḥāʾirī in Suppl.] of the Circle for Religious Studies in Arāk (Iran), he moved to that city to attend Ḥāʾirī's lectures. In 1922, when Ḥāʾirī moved to Ḳum in order to re-establish its Circle for Religious Studies, Khᵂānsārī accompanied him. In both Circles he also undertook a series of lectures on Islamic subjects. After Ḥāʾirī's death in 1937, Khᵂānsārī was recognized as a *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* by a considerable number of people and, in co-operation with two other *mudjtahids* (Ṣadr and Ḥudjdjat), he took the responsibility of the Ḳum Circle, whose students had by then exceeded 700. In 1941 he took the initiative in leading the Friday Prayer, a tradition which had long been abandoned among the Shīʿa in Iran. Khᵂānsārī's name has also been associated with the 1943 prayer for rain, which was led by him and attended by some 20,000 people in Ḳum; "his prayer resulted in a heavy rainfall which astonished both Iranians and foreigners." (Mullā ʿAlī Wāʿiẓ Khīyābānī, *Kitāb-i ʿulamāʾ-i muʿāṣirīn*, Tabrīz 1947, 211-13).

In the arena of politics also, we see Khᵂānsārī quite active. He supported the pro-Palestine movement in 1947-8 (cf. *Ustuwār* of those years); he issued a *fatwā* against a feudal candidate from Ḳum for the 17th Iranian Parliament in 1952 (Abdul Hadi Hairi's series of articles in *Ustuwār*, *Ḳānūn*, and *Paykār-i Mardān* of 1952); and he sanctioned Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ's measures towards the nationalisation of the Persian Oil in 1952. In his *fatwā*, which gained him an overwhelmingly popular support, Khᵂānsārī declared that supporting the measures taken by Muṣaddiḳ was a most urgent Islamic duty of every Iranian Muslim (see *inter alia*, *Iṭṭilāʿāt*, *Kayhān*, and *Bākhtar-i Imrūz* of the period).

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(Abdul-Hadi Hairi)

KHĀN-ZĀDA BĒGUM, the title ("Princess") of Sevin Beg, a grand-daughter of Özbeg, the ruler of the Golden Horde, and the wife successively of Tīmūr's eldest son Djahāngīr and his third son Mīrānshāh. After Mīrānshāh's outbreak of madness at Tabrīz she came in person to Samarḳand to report his behaviour to Tīmūr. Dawlatshāh describes the interview with their father-in-law "with colourful details which are not in the other sources and can hardly be true".

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(J. A. Boyle)

KHANZĪT (Grk. Antizene, in Yāḳūt Hinzīt), name of the province and of the basin enclosed between the great bend of the Euphrates to the NNW of Malaṭya and the Djabal Baharmaz, with the "little lake" Göldjük (Ar. al-Buḥayra) of Dzovk (Ar. al-Baḥīratān) at its foot; one of the great communication routes of history passes from here towards the Tigris sources. This region of Khanzīt was for long Armenian (in the 6th/12th century the Catholicos of the Armenian Church resided at Dzovk); after being conquered by the Arabs it was reconquered by the Byzantines in the 4th/10th century. Then towards the end of the next century it was incorporated in the Turkish territories, first of the Ḥiṣn Kayfā branch of the Artuḳids for more than a century, and then *ca.* 628/1230, of the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor. Its principal town was Khartpert (in Yāḳūt, Khartabirt, sometimes wrongly read as Khartput, Kharput), situated on a rock, as this Armenian name evokes, near the modern al-ʿAzīz; its Arabic name was Ḥiṣn Ziyād.

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(Cl. Cahen)

KHAPUTS (Russian designation—Khaputtsī, Gaputlintsī, Khaputlintsī (from the aul Khaput); other designation—Khaputli), a small Caucasian ethnical group, forming with the Ḳrīz [*q.v.*] and the Dzhek the Dzhek subdivision of the Samurian group (Lezhgin, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Dzhek) of the Northeastern Ibero-Caucasian language family.

According to the Soviet census, in 1926 there were ethnically 12 Khaputs, and linguistically 4,284 (including speakers of Dzhek and Ḳrīz dialects); in 1933 (estimation) there were 3,000 Khaputs, living in several auls in the Shakhdagh area, southwest of Konakhkend (Azerbaidjan S.S.R.). The Khaputs are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī rite.

The traditional economy of the Khaputs was based on sedentary animal husbandry, agriculture, and horticulture. The Khaput language is only a variant of Dzhek (as is Ḳrīz), which is a purely vernacular language; Azeri is used as the literary language, and the Khaputs are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

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(R. Wixman)

KHʷĀR, a group of villages in northern Persia, at present in the *shahristān* of Garmsār in the Central Province (*ustān-i markazī*), centred on approximately lat. 35° 15′ N. and long. 52′ 20′ E. and lying at an altitude of 2776 feet. It is bounded on the north by the mountain districts of Damāwand and Fīrūzkūh, on the east by Simnān, on the west by Varāmīn and on the south by salt desert stretching away to Kāshān and Ardistān. It was often called Khʷār-i Ray to distinguish it from another Khʷār in Fārs about which little is known. As a district, Khʷār was generally considered to include the historically known villages of Ārādān and Dih Namak (earlier Ḳaryat al-Milḥ), but not Lasgird to the east or Ayvānikay (Ayvān-i Kayf) to the west.

Khʷār lies on the plain just east of the pass which is now identified with the Caspian Gates of the Ancient World, and constitutes a stage on the old arterial route that skirts the southern slopes of the Alburz from Rayy to Khurāsān. It was reckoned as three marches from Rayy and three from Simnān. An important route to the Caspian Sea leads north from Khʷār up the valley of the Ḥabla Rūd, and the stone road (*sangfarsh*) that was built under Shāh ʿAbbās to shorten the route from Iṣfahān to Khurāsān starts some 10 km. to the south of the fields of Khʷār and leads south over salt mud flats (*kavīr*) to Siyāh Kūh. Much of the *sangfarsh* is still intact. The name Khʷār was characteristically applied both to the district and to the primary village; today, the name Garmsār is similarly applied to both. Historically, the present centre was known as Ḳishlāḳ, and this lies 114.5 km. from Tehrān by the railway line that was completed in 1938. Ḳishlāḳ remains the formal name of the *bakhsh* (administrative division) of the district. The name derived from the fact that Khʷār has historically served as the *ḳishlāḳ* ("winter quarters") for the population of Fīrūzkūh in the mountains to the north, with which it has always been closely connected. Garmsār is probably simply an iranicisation of Ḳishlāḳ, although *garmsīr* is the more common equivalent. Paradoxically, Khʷār was considered to be the coldest part of the province of Ḳūmiṣ.

Khʷār was a flat, well-watered plain surrounded by mountains on the north and west and looking out on to the great salt desert on the south and east. Alberts, in *Social structure and culture change in an Iranian village* (see bibliography), estimates the total area of the district at 2,000 km.² of which 230 km.² were the cultivable lands of 73 villages, and 185 km.² were cultivated in 1956. Twenty of the villages were *khāliṣa* [*q.v.*]. According to the 1966 Census, the population of the district was 35,678, an increase of some 2,000 over the figure given in the first Census a decade earlier. This population was by no means homogeneous. Apart from Persian-speaking cultivators and transhumants from Fīrūzkūh—some of whom are said to speak a Simnānī dialect—there are several tribal groups which are mostly Turkish speaking. Of these the most significant are Pazuki, Osanlu, Alikahi, and Koti (transliteration uncertain). The Pazuki were traditionally a landowning élite in Ārādān, and appear to have split from a larger Pazuki grouping and settled in Khʷār at the beginning of the 19th century (see Houtum-Schindler, cited in bibliography). The other groups are pastoralist, and in 1958 the Koti still lived exclusively in tents (see Alberts).

Khʷār owed its existence as an agricultural centre

to the Ḥabla Rūd which flows down from Fīrūzkūh. Curzon, *Persia*, i, 293, writes of an "abundant stream" that "descends from the mountains and separates into many channels, of which I must have crossed twenty in the space of half a mile. Cultivation improves in the same ratio, and at Kishlak ..., which is *khalisah*, or Crown property, is responsible for the grain and fodder with which the royal stables are supplied at Teheran".

In the late 1950s, 59 of the 73 villages of Khwār took all their water from the river. Three were supplied exclusively from *ḳanāts* while the remainder used both. There were 30 functioning *ḳanāts* and 15 in disrepair. The water was regulated for irrigation purposes by the Independent Irrigation Authority (*Bungāh-i mustaḳill-i ābyārī*). Regulation and supervision were apparently essential; when the water was low during the summer season, the villages would send representatives to watch upstream distribution points to prevent theft, and during the spring floods, damage was common (see Alberts).

Khwār provides an excellent example of a small-river irrigation system from the Iranian Plateau. The annual statistics of the *Bungāh-i mustaḳill-i ābyārī* for the 1950s show that the average monthly flow of the Ḥabla Rūd at the point where it enters the plain varied between a low in late summer of 2.2 and a high in spring of 22.6 cubic metres per second. (For comparison: during the same period the most important river on the Plateau, the Zāyanda Rūd at Iṣfahān, showed a low of 13 and a high of 202 cubic metres per second).

The existence of such a good and reliable supply of water at an isolated point on a major arterial route makes it *a priori* likely that Khwār would have been one of the earliest centres of agricultural development on the Iranian Plateau. This hypothesis is corroborated by the known antiquity of the name Khwār and the abundance not only of ruins but of impressive archaeological mounds; unfortunately, however, no intensive archaeological research has yet been undertaken that might confirm it.

Because of its position as a stage on the route to Khurāsān, most travellers' accounts, geographies and histories from the earliest times to the present contain some reference to Khwār, yet it seldom seems to have stimulated more than a passing reference to its pleasantness or unpleasantness. It may never have supported a town large enough to engage the traveller's attention, although Ibn Ḥawḳal does use the term *shahr* to describe it. Generally, its fortunes seem to have varied with the long-term trends of the Plateau. Before it was occupied and plundered by the incoming Oghuz in the first half of the 5th/11th century, it was considered populous and fertile. It generally had an independent but low-ranking governor, and much of it became *khāliṣa* under the Ṣafawids. Under Riḍā Shāh, the district became a *bakhsh* of Tehran, and was only restored to its relatively independent status as a *shahristān* during the 1960s.

The district of Khwār is unique as the site of the only detailed village study that has yet been carried out on the Iranian Plateau (by Alberts, see bibliography).

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(B. Spooner)

KHARĀDJ, a word derived, via Syriac, from Greek χορηγία, but attached by the Arabs to the native root *kh. r. dj*. Contrary to its original meaning, the word seems, in the current usage of the Near East, to have denoted "tax" in general, and is in fact found with reference to various specific taxes, thus causing considerable confusion [see DJIZYA]. Arabic technical and legal literature uses it more specifically, at least in the period before the formation of Turkish states, in the sense of land tax, and it is this sense which is exclusively discussed in the present article. For other taxes, see BAYT AL-MĀL, ḌARĪBA, ḌAYʿA and DJIZYA.

I.—In the central and western Islamic lands.

At the outset of their conquests, the Arabs—whatever agreements had been made with the conquered towns—were in general careful to levy some kind of tribute which would reflect their own sovereignty and overlordship, whilst leaving to the indigenous authorities the task of raising the taxation according to their own traditions, as being the only authority capable of doing this. Even when a financial organisation more integrated with the new régime was set up, they were unable, or were largely unwilling, to do anything but follow the old traditions here, which were adapted to local geographical traditions and inherited from a long background of bureaucratic state organisations. It was of little importance that for the Arabs, these taxes were an acknowledgement of Islamic domination; for the populace, it was simply a case of the old taxes going to new masters. Because of this continuity, the Islamic fiscal system varied from region to region in such a way that it would never be able entirely to absorb the conceptualisation of the *fiḳh* or the centralising efforts of the ʿAbbāsid administration. It is accordingly all the more necessary to bear this basic truth in mind, since the paucity of information means that there is a risk in applying the state of affairs in certain regions which were privileged in this respect, above all ʿIrāḳ and Egypt, to other parts of the Islamic world, whose individual characteristics must on the contrary be brought out.

Whether the texts of treaties handed down by later authors like al-Balādhurī are completely authentic or whether they have been put together later in order to explain the actual existing differences of organisation, known as such but not actually explicable, they undoubtedly convey the ideas of the first generations of Muslims. Some general principles emerge from amongst the particular practices. The first is the guaranteeing of their lands to all proprietors—at this time non-Muslim—in such a way as

to assure their value. They paid tax on these lands, apart from certain groups of owners on the frontiers, from whom some form of military service was required in lieu of tax, and apart from some pastoralist groups who paid in other ways, e.g. in slaves, beasts, manufactured products, etc. It is true that at the outset, there was a feeling amongst the Arabs that they should acquire the lands, which would then be liable only to the voluntary precept (*zakāt*) paid by the Muslim to the Islamic community; but the first caliphs assured the victory of the principle of the *fay'* [*q.v.*], the collective plunder made into a kind of pious or beneficial trust for the benefit of the whole community, present and future, over those who would have treated real property on the same basis as the movable property distributed as *ghanīma* to the individual warriors. The land became therefore normally liable to tax, as it had been under the previous régimes.

Three points should be noted clearly, if one is to understand the future developments. Firstly, at the side of the non-Muslims' individual possessions, the new Islamic state allotted to some leading Muslims grants (*ḳaṭā'i'*) in emphyteusis out of lands inherited from the previous régimes or from the territories of the old landlords who had since disappeared, and these grants were substantially the same as the properties already held by the Muslims in Arabia. From the fiscal point of view, these lands were henceforth only liable to the *zakāt* covering all the Muslims' possessions, taking here the form of a tithe (*'ushr*); the difference between this tithe and the payments exacted from the cultivators, analogous to the ordinary land tax of the *kharādj*, which was much higher, constituted the beneficial interest of this class of Muslim notables. This distinction must be borne in mind, as will appear later.

Secondly, there had existed under the previous régimes, more or less clearly, the idea of a land tax specifically conceived thus plus that of a poll tax levied on inferior strata of the population. In fact, the levying of the two taxes seems frequently to have been combined in the Byzantine empire, though less frequently, it appears, among the Sāsānids.

Finally, under the Muslims as previously, the tax was in general levied not directly upon individual properties but—outside the suburban areas of the cities—collectively upon the villages, according to the amount and state of the cultivated lands there. Hence the shortfall from an individual in no way reduced the obligations of the collectively responsible body.

Bearing these points in mind, we can study how the *kharādj* system was organised and developed under the new administration, and especially, when conversion of the indigenous peoples began to increase. It is often said that the heavy incidence of the land tax was one of the causes of conversion to Islam, but in practice, this movement of conversion, which was a slow one, took place in a much more complex fashion. The cultivation of village land and the payment of taxation to the treasury were in practice collective responsibilities, so that individual conversions were only possible by means of flight to the towns, this being against the will and interest of the remaining peasants, who were held responsible for the taxation lacking. When the attraction of the towns caused an increase in flight to them, the state, afraid of the loss of revenue involved, forbade flight and sent the fugitives back to their villages, paradoxically arriving at a state in which this type of conversion was stopped (al-Ḥadjdjādj's policy in 'Irāḳ). Moreover, the idea soon evolved that conversion, if it entailed liberation from tax of a personal character, did not involve freedom from a tax which was a kind of beneficial foundation in perpetuity for the Muslim community. In this case, a distinction was made, wherever it was not clear, between the personal *djizya* and the *kharādj* land tax, and since the convert had to pay the *zakāt* [*q.v.*], the benefit allowed for in the whole operation became very debatable. It was only later, under the pressure of an evolution of the state of affairs, that conversions took place collectively, by whole villages, without the fiscal structure being however changed.

From the technical point of view, there were two great problems in the administration of the *kharādj*: those of perception of the tax and of its method of collection. In all directly administered districts, a land survey or cadaster had been made [see ḲĀNŪN]. But whilst in the lands under the Sāsānid tradition and in others like Egypt, the basis was a fixed unit of land surface, the *djarīb* in the East and the *faddān* in Egypt, in other, former Byzantine lands—as in the greater part of Europe—the unit was the amount of land which could be ploughed by a pair of oxen, which meant differences in actual area involved, according to the differing geographical conditions. In the latter case, the same amount of tax could be levied on two different amounts in area of land; but in the first case, the unit of surface area had to be adjusted in order to fix a level of taxation suitable to the land's potential. The factors involved here were essentially those of irrigation, natural or artificial, but also the general fertility which could be estimated experimentally through a periodic survey of the average yield over a certain number of years, with reductions and even exemptions being granted in the case of natural disasters; this procedure of estimating was called *'ibra*.

This question was, in fact, linked with that of the method of payment of the tax. In ancient times, there had been, *grosso modo*, no other possibility except the sharing of the crop, according to fixed proportions, between the cultivators and the state. But, as a money economy developed, the inconveniences of this procedure began to be felt, e.g. transport difficulties, fluctuation of prices and consequently, of the real income accruing to the state, profits for speculators and injustices for the tax-payers. Hence the Roman and Sāsānid governments introduced a system involving a fixed tariff of payment, and where possible, payment in money. Conversely, the disadvantages of the new system were not long in appearing: the peasants, rarely having immediately at hand the monetary sums demanded by the treasury, were obliged to borrow, often under ruinous conditions, and grain merchants could speculate on the difference between the low prices at harvest times and the high prices of the stocks of grain subsequently released. The Muslim régime at first retained as they were the Roman and Sāsānid usages which they found in the conquered countries, but under the first 'Abbāsids there was a reversion, at least in the Sawād of Baghdād, to a proportional payment in kind, which furthermore best corresponded to the requirements of provisioning the great city; whatever one may say, it does not seem that this reform was generally applied elsewhere, and especially not in Iran. Indeed, in many provinces there was a mixed system, i.e. proportional payment in kind was exacted on certain products of the ground (especially grain), whilst others were taxed on a monetary basis (especially plants used in manu-

facturing, hence of more commercial utility). Moreover, even in the case of payment in kind, there was allowed, by means of a table of equivalences (*taʿsīr*), the substitution, at least in certain cases, of one product for another, e.g. a quantity of wheat for a double quantity of barley (barley cost usually only half that of wheat), etc. The system of payment in kind had various names, the most general being *muḳāsama* (lit. "sharing"), that of *kharādj* itself, and at the same time others specially connected with a particular technical term or usage (in Egypt, *mufādana*, taxation by *faddān*), meaning taxation in kind generally. In effect, *muḳāsama* brought the tax-payer into the same status as the share-cropper, especially the share-cropper on state lands, because the latter always paid his dues to the landholder in kind on a basis of proportional sharing-out. It is possible that the *muḳāsama* system spread *pari passu* with that of the military *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*], since in general the *muḳṭaʿ* was a person already accustomed in other circumstances to control property exploited by métayage, and found the direct delivery of grain useful for his animals. Various lesser taxes were added to the *kharādj* proper, despite the lawyers' protests, in order to compensate and remunerate the different officials involved in the perception and collection of the tax.

In Egypt, where various authors dispute whether there ever was properly speaking any *kharādj*, taxation in all forms had its own special features, due especially to the rise and fall of the Nile floods and the use of them by the state since the time of the Pharaohs. In Egypt, the survey made at the time of the seasonal fall of the waters showed not only the area of land involved but also the necessary amount of cultivation to be done in regard to the level to be attained by the floods, whence the amount of taxation that could normally be expected. It is because of the misunderstanding of this system that it has been thought, on the basis of a passage in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, that this involved a tax system by apportionment, with a global total fixed arbitrarily in advance and then divided out by quotas on the districts and then villages. It was in fact nothing of the kind, but it was possible to calculate in advance the expected total, and for the process of perception, the accountancy offices of the time noted first of all the total and then the details.

In districts where administration was difficult, or simply when it was desired to favour some exalted person, *īghār* [*q.v.*] reductions or *muḳāṭaʿa* tax-farming contracts were granted to be set against the *kharādj*. In many cases, and especially in Egypt, where the system worked to the benefit of the army leaders, a notable guaranteed in advance the sum of taxation which the area was obligated to pay the exchequer (the *ḳabāla* [*q.v.*] system). In Egypt, there was a kind of adjudication process, and the sum handed over was not that of the tax, but of the tax with the subtraction of the equivalent of a salary for the beneficiary, an original local adaptation of what was elsewhere the *ḳaṭīʿa* [*q.v.*] which was to lead to the *iḳṭāʿ*. Furthermore, it appears that the peasants were compelled to cultivate certain lands belonging to the state, on which they paid taxes (*rusūm*) distinct from the *kharādj*, and this was also the case with pasture grounds. There was also added to the tax proper, on all the village, various small exactions in kind (straw, chickens, etc.). Inevitably, many places were in part or wholly bankrupt; in that case, the remaining amount (*bāḳī*) was noted down and carried over to the next assessment. Since this in itself reduced the chances of attaining solvency, a compromise was usually reached after a certain time. In regard to collection of taxation in kind, it often happened that the peasant had not enough seed left from his own share of the crop to sow for the following year; he might then be lent, perhaps as a simple advance, a quantity of seed (*taḳāwī*). The later development of the *iḳṭāʿ* system was to affect the levying of the *kharādj* but not its organisation, which the *muḳṭaʿ* had to respect. A tax paid in kind or narrowly dependant on the harvests was naturally paid according to the solar year; but in the case of tax-farming by contract or of a fixed amount, the exchequer made as many as possible of its demands by the lunar year, as with all other taxes not linked with the land. It appears also that payments were often made not all at once, but e.g. in three instalments; this was especially the case for taxes paid in cash, which the tax-payer had more latitude in obtaining. But apart from this, the taxes levied in kind or in cash on cultivated land were naturally paid over at different times as the crops ripened at various points of time.

For the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, we possess four budgets, bearing almost exclusively on the land tax, and leaving aside the other taxes. These budgets have been discussed in the article BAYT AL-MĀL (add to the Bibl. there Ṣ. al-ʿAlī in the present Bibl., below).

The various modes of tax-levying have already been alluded to. In general, administration and perception of taxation by a state agent (*ʿāmil*) was distinguished from tax-farming (*ḍamān*), which, as explained, should be distinguished from *ḳabāla*. Whatever régime was involved, the tax-collector arrived accompanied by police officers and various technical staff, such as the surveyor (*māsiḥ*) and the assayer-money changer (*djahbadh*), for whose benefit the minor taxes mentioned above were exacted. Naturally, these all had to be given hospitality, which was also done according to a tariff. The various operations stretching from the preliminary survey to the actual collection generated mounds of papers setting forth the situation from the exchequer's point of view on one side, and the tax-payers' one on the other, and the final demand handed over to the payer had to be paid and a receipt obtained.

All that has been said so far rests on a purely eastern documentation and thus concerns the Muslim east exclusively. In the west, the information available and the studies so far made do not seem to admit such precision. A fairly strong impression may nevertheless be gleaned that at the time of the Arab conquests there was not so strong a division made between the possessions left to the indigenous peoples and the Muslim share of property, and that very often the Arabs and Berbers had to acquire lands to which they would have had no right in the east. Whence there resulted, it seems, both in terminology and in practice, a certain confusion between *ʿushr* and *kharādj*, as much in the Maghrib as in al-Andalus. It does not appear—unless perhaps for a while under the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya—that the efforts of the Spanish Umayyads or the Almohads in Morocco and Spain had any result in this direction. The word *kharādj* itself is only used rarely outside Fāṭimid and Zīrid Ifrīḳiya, and only in a vague sense. Other terms appear instead, whose precise meaning is uncertain, and it seems that the tax-payers had in fact to pay much more than an *ʿushr*. In regard to Sicily, al-Dāwūdī's treaty bears witness to the confusion of the jurists themselves.

Further confusions appear to have resulted in the

east itself, in the Anatolia wrested from the Byzantines by the Saldjūḳ Turks. Since most of the lands there were considered as state property, there was no *kharādj* properly speaking, but the peasants, assimilated in some degree to the share-croppers on public lands, did not thereby pay any the less taxation, which was combined with the *djizya* which they had to pay as non-Muslims. In practice, the term *djizya* came to denote the whole complex of their obligations, essentially pertaining to the land, and the word *kharādj*, taken at first in a vague sense, was applied progressively to the personal poll-tax. This inversion of the state of affairs in classical Islamic times was to be extended in time and area all over the Ottoman empire. One is tempted to conclude that, in the general context of the Muslim east, where the Turks were nurtured and formed, the meaning of terms in current usage never corresponded exactly to the official definitions; one may find a confirmation of this in the preservation in Syrian usage of the Byzantine *dīmūs/dēmosion* to denote the basic taxation, which one never finds used thus in official texts before the Crusades, but after then till the Ottoman conquest.

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Egypt is a special case, partly because of the preservation of numerous papyri (or paper documents), and partly because of the original nature of its administrative literature. The interest of the papyri for the study of taxation was first demonstrated by C. H. Becker in regard to his publication of the Papyrus Schott-Reinhardt. Most of the subsequent publications emanate from A. Grohmann, who has himself published a commentary concerning this and has commissioned the economist C. Leyerer to make a synthesis, in *ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 40-69. Some complementary information can be found in the subsequent papyrological works of A. Dietrich (*Arabische Briefe aus . . . der Hamburger . . . Bibliothek*, 1955), and of J. David-Weill (*JESHO*, 1965, 1971). Finally, Greek papyri should be taken into account (see especially, Bell in *Isl.* (1911-13) and Rémondon in *Chronique d'Egypte*, 1965).

Furthermore, the centralised character of Egyptian administration allowed the composition of highly-detailed administrative and financial treatises which fill out for us the information of the published papyri, especially the *Minhādj* of al-Makhzūmī (6th/12th century), financial content analysed by Cahen in *JESHO* (1962), and the *Ḳawānīn al-dawānīn* of Ibn Mammātī (Saladin's period), of which the administrative passages have been tr. and studied by R. S. Cooper in his unpublished 1973 Berkeley doctoral thesis. Their information may be completed by the *K. al-Fayyūm* of al-Nābulusī, ed. Moritz, cf. Cahen in *Arabica* (1956); Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*, viii *in fine*; and Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*. The *Secretary's guide* early used by Sauvaire for his researches on money and numismatics (= ms. arabe, B.N. Paris 4445) and the ch. on finance and administration of the *Rawḍat al-arīb* of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamawī set forth by M. al-Ḥila in the *Cairo millenary volume*, ii, 1043-95, are adaptations from the Mamlūk period of Ibn Mammātī.

There is important information on the Yemen in the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-fitan* studied by R. B. Serjeant and Cahen in *Arabica* (1957), and also in other administrative documents in the hands of the first of these two authors.

For the Maghrib, there are extracts from the *K. al-Amwāl* of al-Dāwūdī by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and F. Dachraoui, in *Études d'orientalisme Lévi-Provençal*, ii (1962), 401-44.

2. Modern studies. Some pre-1950 works may still be mentioned: M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier*, 1886; Becker, *Die Entstehung von ʿUšr- und Ḫarāǧland in Ägypten*, in *ZA* (1904), 301-19, also in *Islamstudien*, i, 218-33 (see also his papyri studies mentioned above); and A. N. Poliak, *Classification of land in the Islamic law*, in *AJSLL* (1940).

The basic contemporary works are F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, and D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and poll-tax in early Islam*, both from 1950, of whose existence Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Raʾīs, *al-Kharādj fi 'l-dawla al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1957, is unfortunately unaware. A. K. S. Lambton's *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, has an interest, for the pre-Mongol period, which goes beyond Iranian territory. The main corrections or partial additions to these works have been given in the course of studies on the texts by the authors mentioned above. One might add, for

the transitional period between the Djāhiliyya and Islam, Grignaschi's communications at the Congress *La Persia nel medio evo*, Accad. dei Lincei 1970-1, and of M. Morony at the Economic History Colloquium at Princeton, 1974. On the origins, see further A. A. Dūrī, *Note on taxation in early Islam*, in *JESHO* (1974), and A. Noth, *Die literarisch-überlieferten Verträge ...*, in T. Nagel *et alii*, *Studien zum Minderheitenproblem*, 1973. For the ʿAbbāsid period, see Makoto Shimizu, *Les finances publiques de l'état abbaside*, in *Isl.* (1965), and the communications of Hinds and Lapidus at the Princeton colloquium mentioned above. There is a good synthesis in D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, 1960, Part 4, ch. 2. See also the more general works on the period by Dūrī and Sāmarrāʾī, *al-Muʾassasāt al-idāriyya fi 'l-dawla al-islāmiyya*, 1971; that of Mez, *Renaissance*, 1920, is outmoded.

On Egypt in the Ayyūbid period and the beginning of the Mamlūk one, there is now a fine synthesis by Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt*, London 1972 (cf. Cooper, cited above). For Syria, see a forthcoming article by Cahen in *JESHO*.

On Saldjūḳ Anatolia, see Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968.

For the Muslim west, see the classic works of Lévi-Provençal for Spain and R. Brunschvig for Ḥafṣid Tunisia, to be completed by H. R. Idris, *Les Zīrides*, 1959; R. Arie, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, 1973; and J. F. P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, 1960.

(CL. CAHEN)

II.—IN PERSIA.

Terms. *Kharādj* was the basic term for land tax in mediaeval Persia, as in earlier times. By extension, it sometimes came to mean tax or taxes in general. *Kharādj-i abrīshum* in the sense of a tax on silk, or possibly a tribute paid in silk, is found in Īlkhān and later times (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1957-60, 607; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl-i tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Khān Bābā Bayānī, Tehran 1971, 76). *Kharādj* is also used in mediaeval Persian in the sense of tribute; and *kharādj-gudhār*, which in mediaeval Persian occurs in the meaning of one who pays tribute (Minhādj-i Sirādj-i Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kābul 1963-4, i, 273, and cf. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1891-3, Persian text, 7), in modern Persian means a taxpayer in the broad sense (not simply one who pays tribute or land-tax).

By Īlkhān times the terms *māl*, *māliyyāt* and *māliyyāt-i arḍī* were also used to denote land-tax (though *māl* had in addition a wider significance). In Djalāyirid and Tīmūrid documents the phrases *māl wa mutawadjdjihāt* and *amwāl wa mutawadjdjihāt* occur and (probably) mean land tax(es) and other taxes (cf. Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjiwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, ed. A. A. Ali-zade, Moscow 1971, ii/1, 150, and *passim*, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1941, i, 322-3), while in Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu, Āḳ Ḳoyunlu and Ṣafawid documents the phrase *māl wa djihāt wa wudjūhāt* is commonly found. Its precise meaning is not clear, but is probably land tax(es), other taxes, and dues (or fees). The phrase *māl wa mināl*, first found in Īlkhān times and in frequent use thereafter, means the tax on a landed estate and that which remains (for the owner) after the tax has been paid. Under the Ḳādjārs, the terms *māl* and *māliyyāt* signify "regular" or "fixed" taxation, consisting of taxes on the land, animals, flocks, herds, shopkeepers, artisans and trade (cf. Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 336 ff., and see also Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O., 881/7364, Report on the Persian Army by Lt. Col. H. P. Picot, Jan., 1900 (pt. 1, chs. 1 and 2, written by Sir A. Houtum Schindler), 11; C. H. Markham's statement that *māliyyāt* meant "fixed" revenue derived from the land, i.e. that it was exclusively derived from land taxes, is probably an error due to the fact that land taxes formed the major part of the "fixed" taxes, *A general sketch of the history of Persia*, London 1874, 561). Curzon, writing towards the end of the 19th century, defines *māliyyāt* as fixed revenue deriving from (i) regular taxation, i.e. land tax, taxes on animals, flocks and herds, and taxes on shopkeepers, artisans, and trade, (ii) revenues of crown lands, (iii) customs, and (iv) rents and leases (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 470). By about 1900, *kharādj*, as distinct from *māliyyāt*, no longer appears as a separate entry in the revenue accounts (Report on the Persian army, *op. cit.*, 11).

Land taxes and the theory and practice of government. Until modern times agriculture was the main economic activity of the country. The governing classes sought their material foundation in landed property and animal husbandry. The wellbeing of the land was closely affected by the existence or otherwise of "good" government and stability. Further, since the revenue of the state was derived primarily from taxes on the land, the financial wellbeing of the state was dependent upon agriculture prosperity. Governments were concerned to raise as much revenue as possible, but the fact that the ability of the land to provide revenue on a long term basis depended upon its being cultivated and upon the wellbeing of those who tilled it, set, in normal times, a limit to their demands. The peasant was not a serf and was free, at least in theory, to leave his land, though some rulers attempted to curb his freedom. If the burden imposed upon the peasant by the government's demands became intolerable, they would have recourse to flight and leave their lands uncultivated. The state could, in theory, lease the land to someone else or cultivate it itself at the expense of the public treasury (for which cases the jurists laid down certain conditions). But often neither course offered a practical alternative. The possibility of flight was, therefore, to some extent a restraining factor (see further below).

Many writers on the theory of government recognised the connection between stability and the financial wellbeing of the state. The tradition "no *kharādj* on land in a bad (ruined) condition", although not accepted by all schools of law, was widely held and demonstrates the general recognition of the financial dependence of the state on agriculture, and also, implicitly, the importance of "good" government, because one of the most common reasons for the land being left uncultivated was the flight of the peasants provoked by extortion. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Kirmānī, addressing Ḳawām al-Dīn Zawzanī, who took possession of Kirmān *ca.* 613/1216-17, states "The king of Islam (may God exalt his dignity) has acquired an extensive kingdom and there is no question but that it will prosper and that produce and benefit from it will accrue to his treasury". He then warns him that there could be no security or prosperity in the province or wellbeing among the peasants "as long as every six months or every year a new governor or *muḳtaʿ* comes, because

every *muḳtaʿ* who arrives will take possession of any produce or stocks he sees and will demand *kharādj*, in advance, or by force on produce not yet to hand; and when another *muḳtaʿ* comes, hungry and unclothed, with an empty pocket to fill, he, too, will impose similar burdens and begin to torment the peasants all over again" (*al-Muḍāf ilā badāyiʿ al-zamān fī waḳāyiʿ Kirmān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1952-3, 16). ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Kiyā al-Māzandarānī, writing in the middle of the 8th/14th century, makes a similar point. He states, though hardly with complete accuracy if one considers the arbitrary nature of Īlkhānid taxation practices in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, "Formerly the custom was that no alteration should be made [in the tax] of any place for which an assessment had been made, so that the subjects (*raʿāyā*) paid to the *dīwān*, year by year, the tax as laid down in the assessment (*māl-i muḳannan*) and, with their minds at ease, occupied themselves in agriculture and the development of the country. Now, since the assessed tax is not permanently fixed [by the *dīwān*] and every year the tax-collectors, when they come, demand the tax in a different way, the subjects, since they have no confidence, withhold their hands from cultivation and the provinces are becoming ruined" (*Die Resālä-ye falakiyya*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1952, 172).

Writers on the theory of government stress the need for justice by the government in the levy of land taxes and other taxes on both practical and ethical grounds. Their exhortations were frequently, perhaps usually, disregarded. The saying attributed to the caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) to the effect that one of the four pillars of kingship was a *ṣāḥib kharādj* who would demand the taxes without oppressing the people (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii, 398), underlines the importance attached to the land tax as the sinews of the administration and to the observance of justice in its collection. Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī, writing in 900/1494-5 under the Tīmūrids, makes a similar statement, but substitutes for the *ṣāḥib kharādj* a *wazīr* "who regulates financial affairs", which suggests a decline in the relative importance of *kharādj* compared to other forms of taxation, even though it was still, no doubt, the largest single item (*Akhlāḳ-i muḥsinī*, ed. Ibrāhīm Tādjir Shīrāzī, lith. Bombay 1890-1, 265). A 19th century writer, Nadīm Bārfurūshī (d. 1241/1825-6), asserts that one of the main causes leading to the destruction of a kingdom was the demand for the payment of taxes when the rains failed (*Mufarriḥ al-ḳulūb*, B.M. Or. 3499, f. 203a), from which it is to be inferred that agriculture still provided the economic basis on which the state rested.

Many writers recognise the fundamental importance of proper order in the assessment and levy of *kharādj*. The advice alleged to have been given by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to Malik al-Ashtar when he was appointed governor over Egypt in 38/658-9 is frequently quoted as a model to be followed (cf. Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, ed. Muḥammad Mihdī Iṣfahānī, lith. Bombay 1852-3, 440). This was to the effect that he should give greater attention to the development of the land than to the collection of *kharādj*, because the latter depended upon the former, and whoever demanded *kharādj* without developing the land, destroyed the country and the people. If the people complained of the heaviness of taxation, or of some natural calamity, the interruption of irrigation, misfortune, or that the land had become waterlogged or parched, their burden was to be lightened so that their affairs might recover (*Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1890-1, ii, 45. See further, A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, repr. Oxford 1969, xx ff.). Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, Ghāzān Khān's *wazīr* (d. 718/1318), recommends that men of wealth and those with high aspirations should be appointed over the collection of the taxes, because such persons, being themselves satisfied, would not act extortionately against the taxpayers, or at least would not be covetous in small things (*Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1945, 118), while Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī urges the need for consultation in the administration of taxes (*Dastūr al-kātib*, 181-2).

Land taxes and land tenure. In the early centuries the jurists attempted to fit the tax practices of the conquered territories into the framework of Islamic law (see also BAYT AL-MĀL, II. HISTORY). In the theory, as worked out by them, there was a close connection between taxation and tenure. According to their expositions various factors were taken into account in the assessment of the land tax: the mode of conquest, which affected the tenure of the land, the geographical situation of the land, the manner of its irrigation, the crops grown, their yield, and price levels. In practice, however, local custom (which was itself also clearly influenced by most of these factors), was often the decisive factor. It follows, therefore, that there were wide variations from province to province and often from district to district.

In mediaeval times, although conditions were in many respects different from the early centuries, the influence of the *ʿulamāʾ* with the ruling classes and the population in general ensured that the legal theories would not be forgotten and made it possible to reactivate particular issues should circumstances so demand. Thus the principles laid down by the jurists continued to have more than simply theoretical importance. The mode of conquest was, it is true, no longer of crucial importance, but the tenure of the land still affected the levy of *kharādj*. Land fell broadly into four categories: private property (*milk*), crown lands including the personal estates of the ruler which were not always clearly distinguished from crown lands proper [see KHĀLIṢA], *awḳāf*, and dead lands (*mawāt*). In the case of private property, *kharādj* was regarded as a tax on the land or its produce. In the event of a concession being granted on private property, the *kharādj* was paid not to the state but to the concessionaire, who might or might not have been granted exemption from its payment to the state (see further below). Crown lands, the extent of which varied greatly at different times, strictly speaking did not pay *kharādj*, the whole produce belonging to the state. However, they were often conceded to individuals on temporary or life grants, in which case the holder, unless granted exemption, paid *kharādj*, which was regarded as a rent rather than a tax, and the rate of which often differed from that paid on neighbouring estates.

In the 19th century, experience showed that crown lands often tended to be neglected and failed to provide the state with revenue (cf. *British Parliamentary Papers 58* (1862) *Persia*. Report by Mr. Eastwick, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, Camp near Tehran, 5 July 1861, p. 70). Accordingly they were sometimes transferred to individuals in the hope of encouraging the spread of cultivation. This was the case in the latter part of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, when, in view of the decay then prevailing in *khāliṣa* land, it was decided to sell them to individuals. In some cases special rates of tax were laid down (Ḥasan Khān Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, *Tārīkh-i niṣf-i*

djahān wa hama djahān, lith. n.d., 65 ff., Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 147 ff.).

Lands immobilised as *waķf* for charitable purposes were frequently granted exemption from the payment of land tax and other dues. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), in an essay on finance written for his patron Hūlāgū (or Abāķā), states that kings considered it ill-omened to levy *kharādj* on *awķāf* and ordered their proceeds to be spent entirely on the purposes for which they had been constituted (*Madjmūʿa-i rasāʾil az taʾlīfāt-i Khwādja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī*, in *Publications of the University of Tehran*, 308 (1956), 34. This was first published by M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on finance*, in *BSOS*, X/3 1940-2). In fact, practice probably varied. Under the Īlkhāns it seems that immunities were extended to *waķf* land by an extension of Mongol custom, which happened in this case to coincide with local custom. Bāydū is said to have reaffirmed on his accession in 694/1295 an old regulation (*yāsā*) of Čingiz Khān, which exempted *awķāf* from taxation (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 284). Later rulers also granted immunities to *waķf* land. The Ṣafawid shrine at Ardabīl, for example, enjoyed exemptions and immunities from the 9th/15th century, if not before (cf. V. Minorsky, *A soyūrghāl of Jahāngīr Āq-Qoyunlū*, in *BSOS*, ix (1937-9), 956-8, and *Landlord and peasant*, 104. See also H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zur islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, for various grants relating to *waķf* land). Curzon's statement that all religious endowments were exempt from land tax under the Ķādjārs (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 470) is rather too sweeping. Only those *awķāf* which had been granted exemption by a special decree were exempted, but it is probable that many *awķāf* came into this category.

A third category of land was formed by dead lands (*mawāt*) which had no owner, and had fallen into disuse. In view of the close dependence of the state upon *kharādj*, the desirability of bringing such lands under cultivation is clear. The jurists laid down special regulations for their revival (cf. sections on *iḥyāʾ mawāt* in *fiķh* literature). These provide for the acquisition of ownership and are clearly designed to encourage individuals to undertake the revival of dead lands. Temporary exemptions from the payment of land tax and special rates of tax were moreover frequently granted to those who revived dead lands. Invasion and the overthrow of dynasties were often followed by a spread of dead lands. Perhaps the most striking case was that which occurred at the time of the Mongol attack in the 7th/13th century, which brought disaster to agriculture. When finally Ghāzān Khān (694/703-1295/1304) began to reorganise the finances of the state, realising that a rehabilitation of agriculture was a necessary basis to reform, he laid down regulations for the revival of dead lands and gave reductions, which varied from district to district, in the amount of *kharādj* to which they were liable (see further Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, *GMS*, London 1940, 353-4, cf. also 303 ff.).

The status of lands which had fallen into disuse or been abandoned (*bāyirāt*) but whose owners could not be deemed to have died without heirs (in which case the land became *mawāt*) was more shadowy. The main issue was whether such lands should pay *kharādj* or not. Ḥanafī jurists argued that since *kharādj* was levied according to the productivity of the land, it was due whether the owner cultivated the land or not, since by not cultivating it, the owner deprived the beneficiaries of *kharādj* of their revenue. Mālikīs, however, rejected this view. They held that the owner did not pay *kharādj* if the land was not cultivated. If, however, the reason for the land being uncultivated was that the owner lacked the means to cultivate it, the *imām* was entitled to lease the land to another person on a *muzāraʿa* contract and to collect the tax from the owner's share of the produce, to lease the land to a tenant and collect the *kharādj* from the rental, or to have the land cultivated at the expense of the public treasury and collect the tax from the owner's share. Abū Ḥanīfa held that if *kharādj* payers abandoned their lands, the *imām* might have them cultivated at the public expense or let them on a *muķāṭaʿa* contract, the entire income from this belonging to the public treasury (see further N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, Lahore 1961, 384-5).

The problem of abandoned lands was a perennial one. It is illustrated by the following incident related by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī. He describes how Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān, the Uzbeg ruler, asked the *ʿulamāʾ* at his court to give a *fatwā* in 914/1509 on the status of certain lands in the neighbourhood of Samarķand. These lands had been abandoned by their owners for over thirty years. There was no one left in Samarķand to cultivate them on behalf of the owners and ensure that the country did not fall into ruin and that the land became liable to tax. They had become virtually dead lands. What, Muḥammad Shaybānī asked, would be the position if someone revived them? Would ownership be established thereby (as was the case with dead lands)? one of the jurists present said that it would be difficult to give a decree annulling the ownership of those who had abandoned them, but if it was known that the owners had left the land, a decree could be given to make the cultivation of the land permissible (*ibāḥat-i zirāʿat*). The Khān replied that this would not solve the problem which he had in mind. *Kharādj* land if cultivated paid *kharādj*. If its cultivation was abandoned, it was the duty of the governor to impose upon the owner a sum for its *kharādj* and to ask him why he had allowed the assets of the Muslims to be wasted by letting the land fall out of cultivation. Thus, if the land had an owner, he could be made subject to one of two rulings: either he would cultivate the land (and pay *kharādj*) or he would pay *kharādj* by estimation (*bi taķdīr*) on the land which had fallen out of cultivation. Two objects would be achieved: the land would be brought back into cultivation and it would be made liable to *kharādj*. By simply declaring the cultivation of the land permissible these objects would not be achieved, because in order for the cultivation of the land to be permissible, it was necessary for the right to demand rent to lapse; in other words if the owner made the land free for cultivation (*mubāḥ*), his right to demand rent ceased, and the ruler could not make it incumbent upon him to cultivate the land or to pay *kharādj*. Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān then explained that this object in putting the question was that the owners of the abandoned lands should be subjected to one of the two rulings mentioned above.

Finally, Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān, who was also present, stated that if someone became the owner of a property by purchase, his ownership, being based on a contract, was not affected by lapse of time, even if he did not take effective possession of the property. It did not follow from the abandonment of land by reason of a journey that the cultivation of the land became free (*mubāḥ*). The people who had left their estates had clearly done so by force of necessity:

excessive injustice had made it impossible for them to live in their homeland, and the imposition of extortionate dues by the *dīwān* had prevented them from exercising effective ownership over their estates and so they had departed into different regions. It did not follow from the fact that they had left their estates that it was permissible for others to take possession of them (*ibāḥat-i taṣarruf*). Then, in order to show that lapse of time did not affect ownership he related how the Atābeg Abū Bakr Saʿd b. Zangī had been persuaded to restore to their owners estates which he had seized in Fārs (see *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 163, for an account of this event), and advised the khan to seek conciliation with the owners of the estates in question, if they were known, so that they would return, and once they had returned, to treat them well, so that they would resume possession of their estates. In this way, the land would be cultivated, the kingdom prosperous, and the land liable to *kharādj*. If, however, the owners were not known, the ruler should take possession of the estates, cultivate them, reap their produce by virtue of the axiom "what is cultivated belongs to the cultivator even if he is an usurper" while purposing in his heart that he would give the owners, should they be found, the rent for their land from the public treasury. In this way also the land would be cultivated and be liable to *kharādj*, while the rights of the owners would not be annulled or lost (Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī, *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1962, 295-9).

The state, however, clearly was not always bound by the letter of the law. Under the Īlkhāns it would appear that taxes were frequently demanded from land which had fallen out of cultivation (cf. *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 446, 631).

The rates of kharādj. The jurists were generally agreed in the early centuries that the *imām* could increase or decrease the rate of *kharādj* according to the ability of the land to pay and the taxable capacity of the land to pay and the taxable capacity of the payees. It was tacitly assumed that the temporal rulers had similar prerogatives. By the 7th/13th century a tradition appears to have evolved, perhaps deriving from the original theory of *ʿushr* land, that the proper rate for land tax was one-tenth of the produce. Mention of this as the basic rate is found from time to time. There is also frequent reference in documents to a tax or due called *ʿushr*, but whether this was land tax levied at the rate of one-tenth of the produce or a special due is not clear. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh in a letter to Aḥmad Turka states that he had laid down that the people of Iṣfahān should pay as land tax one-tenth on their cultivated lands (apart from orchards which paid different proportions according to the kind of produce) and that he had sent officials to other provinces to make a similar assessment (*Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, 33-4). In a letter to his son Shihāb al-Dīn, when governor of Shushtar and Ahwāz, it is again mentioned that *kharādj* should be taken at a rate of 10% and should be levied in kind (*ibid.*, 121). There is nothing however in the *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī* to suggest that uniform rates were established over the whole country. In the late 18th century or early 19th century the rate is alleged to have been 10% (see below), and in the 19th century it was, in theory, one fifth of all agricultural produce, or its value in money. According to a report by Mr. R. F. Thomson, dated 1868, this was, as a general rule, somewhat exceeded and 25% could be taken to be the average assessment (excluding dues levied on cattle and flocks and duties exacted for provisions brought to market in the principal towns) (*British Parliamentary Papers*, 69 (1868), *Persia*). Report by Mr. Thomson, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, on the population, revenue, military force and trade of Persia, 250-3. Extracts from this report are given in C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago and London 1971). There was in practice at all times great variety in the rate levied in different districts and on different crops.

The law-books laid down the purposes upon which *kharādj* was to be expended and those who had a right to its proceeds. Control over these matters, as over the rate at which *kharādj* was levied, was similarly tacitly assumed to have passed to the temporal rulers. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī states that *kharādj* was levied for the expenses of the kingdom (*djihat-i maṣāliḥ-i pādishāhī*, 31). So far as the temporal rulers expended the *kharādj* on the payment of the army (which, in theory, if not in practice, was for the defence of the lands of Islam) and on the officials concerned in its collection, on pensions to the religious classes and the needy, and on public and charitable works, they could be regarded as expending it on the interests of the Muslims (*maṣāliḥ-i muslimīn*). Public opinion did not sanction the expenditure of reserves of *kharādj* on other purposes or the accumulation, a factor which, perhaps, militated against long-term economic development.

Assessment and collection. *Kharādj* was assessed in three main ways, by *masāḥa*, *muḳāsama*, and *muḳāṭaʿa*. These methods, known in the early centuries, continued to be used down to modern times. Under the first the amount due was based on the measurement of the land. Under the second it depended upon the crop yield, while under the third the tax was compounded for a lump sum in cash or kind or both, and did not vary with the area sown or the amount of the crop. Assessment by *masāḥa* did not, however, involve a comprehensive cadastral survey. Usually only the land sown was taken into account, which practice was sanctioned by the tradition "no *kharādj* on land in a bad (ruined) condition", and the tax demand was based on the average yield from good, bad and medium land. There was, however, a difference of opinion among the jurists on the matter of land not under cultivation. Where a part was fallow, some held that *kharādj* should be levied on the whole area but at half the normal rate. The issue turned on the question whether *kharādj* was a tax on the produce of the land or a rent for the land. If the latter, the holder of the land paid whether the land was cultivated or not, provided he was not prevented by *force majeure* from cultivating it. Gardens, vineyards, and date groves were assessed either according to the extent of the land sown or the number of trees on the land, the number of years it had been planted being taken into account. Irrigated crops paid a higher rate than unirrigated, and in the case of the former the rate varied with the method of irrigation. The quality of the land was also taken into account, and to meet the variety of physical conditions a number of tax schedules (*waḍīʿa*, *ṭisḳ*) were sometimes drawn up. The *masāḥa* method of assessment was thus in fact concerned not so much with the extent of the land as with its produce. It differed from the *muḳāsama* system in that the tax demand did not vary in a good year or a bad year. In districts where the climate was capricious this was to the disadvantage of the taxpayer, unless he was able to accumulate reserves to tide him over a bad year. So far as the peasants were concerned, this was probably seldom the case. This may well have been

one of the reasons why assessment by *masāḥa* tended to be replaced by *muḳāsama*.

This method was simpler in that it did not involve a calculation of the area under cultivation. It also had the merit of safeguarding the taxpayer in the event of partial or total crop failures—an important consideration in districts where these were of common occurrence. On the other hand, it was a disincentive to the extension and improvement of cultivation, since the heavier the crop the greater the tax. An added disadvantage was that the taxpayer could not remove the crop until the government's share had been taken, while budgeting was made difficult for the government since its revenue fluctuated and was not known until harvest time.

Valuation or *ʿibra* may have originated simply as an extension of *masāḥa* and *muḳāsama*, the average annual value of the crop over a number of years, usually three, assessed by whatever method, being taken as the basis on which the tax was calculated. The term *ʿibra* is not met with after the early centuries and appears to have been replaced by *ḥarz*, which, in the later centuries, seems usually to have meant not an average calculation made on the basis of three or more years, but an arbitrary valuation arrived at by the tax-collector, sometimes, but not always, after an inspection of the crop during growth or harvest time. Arbitrary valuation, in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, under the Īl<u>kh</u>āns, and also in the 19th century, appears to have been common. The tax-collector, or his agent, would examine the crop *in situ* and estimate the tax due. Some were skilled in the task and made fair estimates, others did not. As the practice grew of assessing the provincial revenue at the centre and leaving its collection to the discretion of the provincial governor, who was then responsible for the remission of whatever sum remained after the deduction of provincial expenses, arbitrary valuation at the local level became increasingly common, whatever the assessment may have been according to the tax rolls drawn up at the centre (see further below).

The *muḳāṭaʿa* method probably prevailed over other methods in the more remote districts and in tribal areas. With the extension of the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] from the 4th/10th century onwards, as more and more land became alienated from the direct control of the state, the *muḳāṭaʿa* method became increasingly adopted. Under this system, the landlord, since he knew the demand which the state made upon him, was not deterred from developing the land, while budgeting by the state was facilitated because its income from the land was also known. On the other hand the *muḳāṭaʿa* assessments were frequently out of date: land which had been improved or newly brought into cultivation sometimes paid a very low rate of taxation or was omitted altogether from the assessment, and conversely land which had deteriorated or fallen out of cultivation was assessed too highly. The same, however, was also true of land assessed by other methods, since an assessment once made tended to remain in force irrespective of changed conditions. The *muḳāṭaʿa* assessments, so far as they remained in force for a number of years, did not take account of changes in cropping. With the increase in the cultivation of cash crops in the 19th century this was disadvantageous to the government.

Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī asserts that under just kings in the past valuation (*ḥarz*) had replaced other methods of assessment. They had ordered the tax to be assessed in kind at the rate of 10% or 5% of the annual produce of land and gardens, the figure for which was to be obtained by taking the average annual produce of a good year, a bad year and a medium year. This was the old tradition of *ʿibra* (though Naṣīr al-Dīn does not use the term). The amount in kind was then to be converted into cash at a medium rate, "neither high (dear) nor low (cheap)". He continues, "if the land is not cultivated every year or the garden does not bear fruit every year, the *<u>kh</u>arād<u>j</u>* is taken at half rate [the variant "*<u>kh</u>arād<u>j</u>* is not levied" reflects the conflicting views held by different schools of jurists, see above]. Every few years the lands and gardens are re-examined: if land in good condition (*ābādān*) has fallen into bad condition (*<u>kh</u>arāb*), its *<u>kh</u>arād<u>j</u>* is removed on the grounds of 'no *<u>kh</u>arād<u>j</u>* on (land) in a ruined condition', and if land in a ruined condition has been brought into cultivation (*maʿmūr*), it is to be treated in two ways. If it has been out of cultivation for thirty years, it is exempted from tax for three years and then for the following ten years pays half rate so that its prosperity may be firmly established and men be encouraged to develop it. If it has recently become ruined and been brought back into cultivation, this should be taken into account when fixing the *<u>kh</u>arād<u>j</u>*. Similarly if land is converted into orchards or orchards are converted into ordinary agricultural land the tax demand should be according to the value of its produce neither less nor more" (30-1).

In actual practice, however, in spite of what Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī says, it is clear that assessment by *masāḥa*, *muḳāsama* and valuation, together with *muḳāṭaʿa*, continued side by side under the Īl<u>kh</u>āns and later rulers. Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh alleges that valuation (*ḥarz*) and *muḳāsama* predominated in those provinces in which the tax was levied in cash and kind, and that <u>Gh</u>āzān <u>Kh</u>ān determined in 703/1304 to abolish these methods in certain categories of land (Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Tārī<u>kh</u>-i mubārak-i <u>Gh</u>āzānī*, 267, 354). According to Waṣṣāf, as a result of <u>Gh</u>āzān's reform of the *<u>kh</u>arād<u>j</u>* the people were relieved from demands for extra payments when the crops were valued (*taksīr dar ḥarz*) and when the tax-collectors drew up the assessments and obtained the acknowledgement of the taxpayers of their liability (*taḳrīr*), from additional payments when the tax was demanded in advance (*tafāwut-i taḳdima*), from excess payments extorted when the amount due for taxes assessed in kind was converted into cash (*zawāʾid-i taʿṣīr*) (see below), and from payment of the expenses and allowances of officials. They were also freed from the control and ascendancy of the *massāḥ* and *ḥarrāz*, whom he described as tyrants towards the peasants (*Tārī<u>kh</u>-i Waṣṣāf*, 386).

The various methods of assessment mentioned above were, to a greater or less extent, recognised by the jurists. Another method, based on custom, and probably in use in many districts from early times, was to take the ploughland (*<u>dj</u>uft*, *zaw<u>dj</u>*, *<u>kh</u>ī<u>sh</u>*) as the fiscal unit. This, in a sense, had something in common with *masāḥa* in that it was concerned with the area cultivated. The size of the ploughland, however, varied with the method of cultivation, the type of soil, the configuration of the land, and the pressure of the population on the land. It corresponded roughly to a single agricultural holding, and sometimes consisted of dispersed plots, and might be fragmented into smaller fractions such as halves or quarters. The amount of the tax and the dues levied on the ploughland varied. In the tax regime of the Āḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler, Uzun Ḥasan, drawn up between the years 874/1470 and 883/1477, mention is made of dues levied on the ploughland (see W. Hinz, *Das Steuer-*

wesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, in *ZDMG* c/1, New series, xxv (2950), 177-201, and V. Minorsky, *A civil and military review in Fars in 881/1476*, in *BSOS*, xii (1939), 142. Cf. also P. M. Sykes, *Report on the agriculture of Khorasan*, Simla 1910, 3).

By whatever method the tax was normally assessed, it was paid partly in cash and partly in kind. If assessed by *masāḥa* (except in cases when the whole area, cultivated an uncultivated, was taken into consideration) or by *muḳāsama*, both of which methods were closely concerned with the actual amount of the crop, the assessment was according to the solar year (also known as *sāl-i kharādjī*), which began at the vernal equinox. *Muḳāṭaʿa* contracts, on the other hand, were usually according to the lunar year (see BAYT AL-MĀL, II. HISTORY, and also *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 403). The general tendency was for the tax, when assessed by measurement, to be paid predominantly in cash. Under the *muḳāsama* method, the tax on grain crops was usually paid in kind but on vegetables and summer crops it was converted into cash. The tax demand in a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract frequently included some grain to be paid in kind. There was, however, great variation in practice in different districts and at different times. In districts which were not self-supporting in grain the tax, although assessed in cash and kind, was paid wholly in cash, the part assessed in kind being converted into cash at one of several prescribed rates of conversion. This was also sometimes the case in districts from which, owing to their remoteness, the removal of grain was impractical (cf. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 3). Malcolm, writing in the early 19th century, states that according to the general rule taxes ought to be paid in cash and kind in equal proportions, but in practice the proportion varied. About the middle of the century the proportion of the total paid in kind was rather less than one-eighth but there were many local variations (see below). Some villages, where the inhabitants were poor, paid almost entirely in kind; but where the landowner was wealthy he preferred to pay in cash, thereby avoiding the interference of minor revenue officials (Malcolm, *History of Persia*, ii, 338-9). In 1844, Abbott noted that the revenue in Māzandarān was raised in money instead of money and produce as formerly, the difference being that what had formerly been collected in kind was priced and demanded in cash (F.O. 60: 108. Abbott, *Journey along the shores of the Caspian*, incl. in Abbott to Aberdeen, No. 8, Encampment near Tehran, 29 June 1844, also quoted in Issawi, *op. cit.*, who refers the quotation, wrongly, to Gīlān).

From the point of view of the peasants, it was to their advantage to pay *kharādj* in kind. If the tax was demanded in cash, having small reserves, or no reserves at all, they were often forced to sell their produce immediately after harvest when prices were at their lowest, in order to realise the cash to pay the tax. It was also in the government's interest to collect the tax partly in kind, because it could use the stocks of grain thus accumulated to provision its armed forces, hold grain against a rise in prices, thus providing itself with additional funds, or, perhaps more importantly, release the grain on to the market in times of shortage or famine thereby lessening the danger of bread riots and forestalling shortages artificially engineered for political purposes. Karīm Khān Zand is alleged to have taken great care to replenish the government granaries regularly in order to ensure supplies of bread at low prices (cf. Muḥammad Hāshim Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, *Rustam al-tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī, Tehran 1969, 421-2). In the early 19th century also, government granaries were well stocked, and those who had flocked into Tehran as a result of the famine of 1247/1831-2 were fed for seven months from government stores until the new harvest came to hand (Muḥammad Taḳī Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, ed. Djahāngīr Ḳāʾim Maḳāmī, Tehran 1958-9, i, 296; cf. also R. B. M. Binning, *A journey of two years' travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.*, 1857, ii, 276-7, who alleges that Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh bought up grain and retailed it at ruinous prices). It was also customary for the government in the 19th century, and probably in earlier centuries also, to pay part of the salaries of its officials in kind.

So far as *kharādj* was assessed in cash, from the end of the 3rd/9th century, when an attempt was made to establish a unified system of accounting on the basis of the gold standard with a legal tariff for the exchange of the dirham [see BAYT AL-MĀL, II. HISTORY], it was usually assessed in gold *dīnār*s or some "standard" coin. Actual payment, however, was made in silver coins. There were many different coins in circulation, sometimes of greatly debased value, and the rates of exchange for them against gold *dīnār*s or "standard" coins were subject to fluctuation. By manipulating the conversion rates to its own ad' antage, the government could raise the amount of the tax without changing its nominal rate. In later centuries also the tax continued, for the most part, to be assessed in gold or a "standard" coin, and to be paid in some other coin (see further B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[3], Berlin 1968, 300 ff. for a discussion of Īlkhānid practice). In the 19th century there were still a number of coins in circulation of varying values in different parts of the country, which made for difficulty over the payment of taxes (see H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins, medals and seals of the Shahs of Iran, 1500-1941*, London 1945, 61 ff.; cf. also F.O. 60: 165 K. Abbott, *Report on the commerce of the South of Persia*, Trade report, Notes on the trade, manufacturers and productions of various cities and centres of Persia visited by Mr. Consul Abbott in 1849-50).

Frequently the tax when assessed in kind was converted into cash by a procedure known as *taṣʿīr*. Ideally, as Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī stated, a medium price was taken, but in practice a number of rates were fixed arbitrarily and often bore little relation to prevailing prices. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions the heavy burdens placed upon the peasants (*raʿāyā wa muzāriʿān*) by this system (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 267). It not only enabled the government, if it so wished, to raise or lower the amount of tax paid, it also provided an opportunity for the tax-collector or provincial governor to misappropriate sums of money which should rightfully have been paid into the central treasury. It also gave rise to innumerable wrangles between the central government on the one hand and the tax officials and governors on the other when their accounts were being cleared, a process which often ran over one tax year into succeeding years. Waṣṣāf cites numerous cases of officials who were forced to spend time and money over the clearing of their accounts during the reign of the Īlkhāns, and similar instances are frequently met with in later times. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūminī mentions the case of Mīrzā ʿĀlamiyān, who was for twelve years *wazīr* of Gīlānāt, Māzandarān, Gaskar and Āstārā, and then *wazīr* of Ḳazwīn and later *wazīr* of Khurāsān in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās (985-1038/1587-1629). He was accused of not including in his

revenue accounts money which he was alleged to have taken from the taxpayers of Lāhīdjān when converting the tax assessed in rice into cash (*tafāwut-i taʿṣīr-i birindj*), and was finally made to pay this sum (*Tārīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1970, 183 ff.).

Responsibility for the payment of taxes in general, including the land tax, was, in the early centuries, the collective responsibility of the taxpayers of a given district [see ḲABĀLA]. They were required, as a body, to make good the tax due from defaulters. This continued to be the case in practice, since so far as the tax was assessed on provinces and districts at the centre and partitioned locally among the villages and individual taxpayers, in effect those who remained had to make good the taxes of any who had left the district. Arrears were common. J. B. Fraser, writing in the early 19th century, states that there was a continual struggle between the governor of a province and his myrmidons on the one side, and villagers, *ḍābiṭ*s (revenue collectors), and *kadkhudā*s on the other. Few villages paid without requisition. The giving and accepting of douceurs was common (*Narrative of a journey into Khorasan in the years 1821 and 1822*, London 1825, 221). The situation was probably not very different in earlier times.

If assessed in cash, or assessed in kind and converted into cash, the tax was often levied in two or more instalments. So far as it was paid in kind, the division of the crop was normally made at harvest time on the threshing floor. The responsibility for transporting the grain to government granaries was usually that of the landlord. If the land was worked by him under a crop-sharing agreement, the responsibility for the payment of *kharādj* was, according to the law-books, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, the landlord's (cf. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharādj*, tr. E. Fagnan, Paris 1921, 137, Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀmilī, *Djāmiʿ-i ʿAbbāsī*, Bombay lith. 1884, 162). In practice, so far as the tax was levied on the threshing floor before the division of the crop between the landlord and the peasants, the tax liability was shared between the two parties. Ghāzān Khān laid down special regulations in 703/1304 for the payment of *kharādj* and the delivery of the amount due in kind on summer and winter crops. The dates when payment fell due in the *garmsīr* and the *sardsīr* respectively differed. The taxpayer was responsible for the transport of the tax quota to the government storehouses within a fixed period (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 264 ff.). There was, however, in the matter of the date when payment fell due and the number of instalments, a variety of practice. For example, in Kāshān, under the assessment made in 1233/1817-18 the tax due in kind in barley was collected from crown lands (*khāliṣadjāt-i dīwānī*) towards the end of May (when the grain harvest had been reaped), and the tax due in cash was levied in three instalments, towards the end of June, September and January (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḍarrābī, *Tārīkh-i Kāshān*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1956, 286-7). In Khurāsān at the beginning of the 19th century the revenue in cash was paid in three instalments, the first during the first month of the Persian solar year beginning on 21 March, the second four months later and the third towards the end of the tenth month. Revenue in kind and cash combined was paid in two instalments (Sykes, *op. cit.*, 5).

Extortion by government officials over the collection of land taxes was common. Often the tax was demanded before the harvest was reaped, a practice of which Niẓām al-Mulk disapproved as leading to the ruin and dispersal of the peasants (*Siyāsat-nāma*, 18). In times of financial stringency and military campaigns, it was not only common to demand the taxes in advance but also to demand them several times over (cf. *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 326, 438, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 267). The arbitrary exactions of government officials were, indeed, often more oppressive than the burden of taxation itself (see also below). The difficulties were, however, not all on one side. Governments and their officials were frequently extortionate, and the peasants feared that unless they counterfeited poverty, they would be supposed to be rich and become a mark for extortion (cf. F.O. 60: 194. Sheil to Shah, n.d.). Perennial difficulties were experienced over tax collection. Arrears were common. Sometimes they were the result of a series of bad years or some natural disaster for which no remission had been granted, and sometimes the result of heavy demands made on the taxpayers; but they were also at times due to the recalcitrance of the taxpayers. There were doubtless village communities other than that of Sīmakān in Fārs whom Mīrzā Muḥammad Kalāntar's statement that they "were never in the habit of paying taxes" would have fitted (*Rūznāma-i Mīrzā Muḥammad Kalāntar*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1946, 20). Estates were not infrequently temporarily taken control of by the *dīwān* until outstanding claims had been settled, while others were confiscated to the *dīwān*. Much of the *khāliṣa* land held by the Ḳādjārs was acquired in this way (see further *Landlord and peasant*, 147; see also Aghnides, *op. cit.*, 389-90).

Remissions of taxation. Tradition demanded that remissions of *kharādj* should be granted in the event of natural disasters, such as flood, drought, and the destruction of crops by pests (see also Aghnides, *op. cit.*, 388), and there is frequent mention in the chronicles of remissions and demands for remission of taxation. Waṣṣāf records that the *kharādj* had not been paid in Fārs in 705/1305-6 as a result of a dry year coupled with the extortion of officials. Accordingly Uldjāytū, who had succeeded in 703/1304, recalled Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Shaykh al-Islām to Shīrāz from Kīsh, whither he had retired after having been in charge of the financial administration of Fārs for a period, to take control of affairs again. Djamāl al-Dīn gave orders for the sums outstanding for *kharādj* to be recorded but not to be demanded from the taxpayers, and for seed and advances to be given to the peasants (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 507; cf. also 446). He died shortly afterwards, apparently in 706/1306 (Aḥmad b. Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Ismāʿīl Wāʿiẓ Djawādī, 1971-2, 99, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 446), and there is no record of the results achieved by these measures. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh gave remissions to the governors of Iṣfahān, Gīlān and Māzandarān in 1247/1831-2 on account of heavy loss of life from cholera and the severe winter of 1830-1, and a decline in silk production (Muḥammad Taḳī Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, i, 296). Despite the disastrous outbreak of silk-worm disease in Gīlān in 1864-5, the tax assessment of the province remained unchanged until 1868 when it was reduced by about 20%, though the relative decline in silk output and in the population's income had been greater (see further G. G. Silbermann, *Persian constitutional revolution: the economic background, 1870-1906*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London), 1974, 149 ff.).

Remissions were also sometimes granted as a reward for services already performed, to mark a military victory, the birth of a son, or to encourage future support. Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr in a *fatḥ-nāma*

issued after his defeat of Ḳarā Yūsuf (823/1420-1) announced the remission of one-third (*dū dāng*) of the taxes of the kingdom (*māl-i mamālik-i maḥrūsa*) as a favour (*suyūrg͟hāl*) for his subjects (ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, *Asnād wa mukātabāt-i tārīk͟h-i Īrān*, Tehran 1962-3, 214). It is not clear whether this was intended to be a temporary remission or a permanent reduction. S͟hāh ʿAbbās remitted the taxes (*māl wa mināl*) of Iṣfahān for one year after his successful campaign in K͟hurāsān in 1007/1595 (Iskandar Muns͟hī, *Tārīk͟h-i ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1956, i, 587) and in 1025/1616 he is said to have remitted one month's *k͟harād̲j̲-i dīwānī* (i.e. the instalment due in Ramaḍān) from the S͟hīʿīs in all provinces (*ibid.*, ii, 895). Nādir S͟hāh after his Indian campaign in 1151/1738-9 ordered the taxes to be remitted for three years (Mīrzā Mihdī Astarābādī, *D̲j̲ahāngus͟hā-yi Nādirī*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Anwār, Tehran 1962-3, 334). He subsequently revoked this order (*ibid.*, 422. Cf. also D̲j̲ābirī Anṣārī, *Tārīk͟h-i niṣf-i d̲j̲ahān*, 122).

Charges on the land taxes. In mediaeval Persia, as in earlier times, the main charge on the land tax and the revenues in general was the payment of the army and officials. In times of peace the tax regime tended to be milder than in times of war or when the numbers and influence of the military were increasing. Waṣṣāf's account of Kirmān and Fārs in the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries illustrates how military adventures and defence affected the revenues. When the governor of Kirmān complained to the Salg͟hurid ruler of Fārs, Saʿd b. Zangī, who had taken the province in 605/1208-9, that the revenues (*ḥāṣilāt*) of Kirmān were not enough for the needs of the administration and the wages of the army (*maṣāliḥ-i salṭanat wa mawād̲j̲ib-i las͟hkar*), the latter issued a decree for an additional levy of one-tenth from landed estates. The people complained of this levy, which was called *fidyat al-mulk*, and so, after his victory in Luristān, Saʿd b. Zangī abolished it (*Tārīk͟h-i Waṣṣāf*, 151). Later, for somewhat similar reasons, the rate of taxation in Fārs, which had been lightly assessed at the beginning of Saʿd b. Zangī's reign, was raised. Warned by his *wazīr* that more revenue would be required to satisfy the greed of Mongol *amīr*s, the expectations of the Mongol princesses and the obligation to provide for their expenses (*ik͟hrād̲j̲āt*) on the one hand, and to provide for the administration and the military needs of the country on the other, and encouraged by ʿImād al-Dīn Mīrāt͟hī, the head of the *dīwān al-ins͟hāʾ*, who pointed out that the *s͟harīʿa* permitted those in authority to levy sums from the rich for the defence of Islam, Saʿd b. Zangī increased the land tax and imposed a variety of new taxes upon the townspeople. Under this settlement, which was known as the Mīrāt͟hī settlement after ʿImād al-Dīn Mīrāt͟hī, who was responsible for drawing it up, half of the produce was taken from land irrigated by streams and exploited by tribes and peasants, a quarter, fifth, sixth or tenth, according to the situation of the land and the status of its owners, from estates watered by *ḳanāts* or wells, and from orchards, while dues were levied on those who had crop-sharing agreements and on fruit-bearing trees on the basis of measurement of valuation. Waṣṣāf alleges that great severity was practised in the collection of the revenue under this settlement (*Tārīk͟h-i Waṣṣāf*, 161-2).

Additional cesses. Land taxes were not limited to the payment of the basic *k͟harād̲j̲*. Numerous additional cesses (*farʿ*, pl. *furūʿ*, *ṣādir*, pl. *ṣādirāt*, *ṣādiriyyāt*) for "occasional" purposes were added to the basic tax. Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, writing at the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century, states that the traditional rate for the basic tax was one-fifth of the produce from privately owned lands and one-third from land owned by the ruler (*amlāk-i pādis͟hāhī*) and that in either case additional cesses (*ṣādiriyyāt*) should not exceed one-fifth of the tax (*Rustam al-tawārīk͟h*, 172-3, 325). It is not clear whence he derived this theory. It was frequently transgressed if, indeed, it ever existed. The additional cesses in fact sometimes equalled or even exceeded the basic tax.

One of the most common of the additional cesses was that made for the payment of the tax-collectors. Whereas the jurists had laid down that those who collected the *k͟harād̲j̲*, of whom they required special qualifications, should be paid out of the proceeds of *k͟harād̲j̲*, sums for their pay were in practice commonly levied in addition as a proportion of the basic tax. They were subject to arbitrary increase or decrease, and varied from province to province, sometimes exceeding the basic tax. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī states that the additional cess (*farʿ*) for the dues (*marsūm*) of officials had recently been raised and that a cess of 10% or 20% was levied on this account (*az mālhā-yi dah yāzdah davāzdah mīsitānand*) (*op. cit.*, 32). Under the Ṣafawids the additional cess for the expenses of officials was sometimes known as *ʿamalkard-i ḥukkām*. Iskandar Muns͟hī states that in ʿIrāḳ (from the text it is not clear whether he means ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab or ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAd̲j̲am or both) an additional cess of five *dīnār*s per one *dīnār* had, in the course of time, been added to the basic tax for the perquisites of the *tuyūldār* and *dārūg͟ha* (*manāfiʿ-i tuyūldārī wa dārūg͟hagī*). This was contrary to both the old assessment and the assessment of S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp, and so S͟hāh ʿAbbās, after his victory in K͟hurāsān in 1007/1595, remitted it (*ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 587; see also K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 59-60), thus reducing it from 20% to 16%. Under the Ḳād̲j̲ārs the costs of collection and administration were levied locally under the general head of *tafāwut-i ʿamal* over and above the basic tax (*aṣl*) and additional cesses (*furūʿ*). Bizot, the French financial adviser appointed by the Persian government in 1907, states in a report dated 15 March 1909 that the *tafāwut-i ʿamal* was levied in the form of a percentage of the *māliyāt* and varied from province to province and often exceeded the basic tax. When he was writing it was more or less fixed and where there was a surplus under this head it had to be remitted to Tehran (*Further correspondence respecting the affairs of Persia*, Pt. xviii, April to June 1909, Report by M. Bizot on the financial situation in Persia, Tehran, dated 15 March 1909, incl. in No. 388, Sir George Barclay to Sir Edward Grey, Tehran, 8 April 1909).

The surveyor (*massāḥ*), like the *ʿāmil-i k͟harād̲j̲*, received his pay from the proceeds of the *k͟harād̲j̲*, according to the theory of the jurists, but in the course of time dues for the surveyors also were levied in addition to the *k͟harād̲j̲*. G͟hāzān K͟hān, as stated above, attempted to do away with the need for the surveyor and the valuer, but his efforts were only temporarily, if at all, successful. In a document dated 904/1498-9 for a *suyūrg͟hāl*, the grantee is given exemption from the payment of the due for measurement and valuation (*rasm al-ḥarz wa masāḥa*) (*Landlord and peasant*, 103). According to the Ṣafawid manual, the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, a small sum was levied as a due for the surveyor (*massāḥ*) of Iṣfahān (M. T. Dānis͟hpaz͟hūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā wa tad͟hkirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Samīʿā*, in *Rev. de la fac.*

des lettres et des sciences humaines (University of Tehran), XVI/5-6, 552).

Malcolm states that the sum derived from *ṣādir* had been calculated at two-fifths of the fixed revenue (i.e. double the rate mentioned by Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ), and ought to have been levied according to definite rules, each person paying in the same proportion as he paid the basic tax. But the governors of provinces, he alleges, usually exercised an arbitrary discretion in collecting the *ṣādir*. It bore most heavily on "the proprietors of estates and citizens" (*History of Persia*, ii, 342-3). Once an additional cess was added for whatever purpose, the tendency was for it to become in due course part of the "fixed" tax (cf. *Landlord and peasant*, 144-5). Fraser relates that not long before his visit to Persia in 1821-2 various additional cesses, which had been imposed to make good the deficiency of the revenue, had been compounded for a figure of 10% of the produce and added to the basic rate, which was also 10%, so that the regular government dues, when he was writing, were one-fifth of the produce. The government, he alleges, had kept ill-faith over the matter and *ṣādirāt* were still levied in capricious and arbitrary forms (*Narrative of a journey into Khorasan*, 211). Thomson reported in 1868 that "It is impossible to discover what people really do pay in excess of the fixed assessment. Some pretend that the irregular exactions amount to a sum equal to the legal assessments, and there does not appear to be any reason for supposing that this is an exaggeration" (Report on Persia, *op. cit.*, 254-5. Cf. also Sykes, *op. cit.*, 4 ff.).

The term *ṣādirāt* covered not only additional cesses assessed in the same way as the basic tax (*aṣl-i māl*), i.e. on the produce or ploughland, but also extraordinary or "occasional" requisitions made on the occasion of the progress of the ruler of a governor through the country, or to meet the expenses of a military expedition, or for some other purpose (cf. J. Morier, *Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1818, 237, and Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 342). Such reliefs also tended to become part of the fixed revenue.

Pasture taxes and taxes on flocks and herds. In addition to the additional cesses and "occasional" requisitions, there were many other taxes and dues which those who lived on the land were required to pay. Some of these were known in the early centuries; many more were added in Īlkhān times and continued to be levied thereafter. They included cattle and sheep taxes, pasture taxes, poll-taxes, dues for officials other than those specifically concerned with revenue collection, together with a great variety of other dues and services. Although they were not paid only by those living on the land, yet since the latter formed the main body of taxpayers, it was upon them that these levies bore most heavily.

Pasture taxes and taxes on flocks and herds (*marāʿī*, *mawāshī*, *mawāsh*), in contradistinction to the land tax, appear to have been paid mainly in cash. With the advent of the Mongols and the increase in the numbers of the nomads and their flocks, sheep and cattle taxes assumed greater importance. One of the meanings of the tax introduced by the Mongols and known as *ḳūbčūr* (see below) was a tax on flocks and herds. *Čūpānbegī*, which was levied in the 9th/15th century, was possibly synonymous with *ḳūbčūr* in its meaning as a tax on flocks and herds (cf. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, *GMS*, London 1943, 177). Shāh ʿAbbās, after his victorious campaign in Khurāsān is alleged to have abolished it in that province in 1007/1595. It amounted at that time to nearly 20,000 ʿIrāḳī *tūmān*s per annum (*Tārīkh-i ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 587). It is unlikely, however, that the exemption was permanent or that it was extended to other provinces. The Muḳaddam tribe of Ḳarābāgh still paid it in the reign of Shāh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42) until they were exempted from its payment (Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Dhayl-i tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, ed. Suhayl Khʷānsārī, Tehran 1938, 286), and it was, according to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, one of the dues collected by the *ḍābiṭa-niwīs* (f. 68b).

It is not clear how *marāʿī* and *mawāshī* differed from *čūpānbegī*. Iskandar Munshī states that Shāh Ṭahmāsp abolished them in most provinces (*mamālik*), especially in Shīʿī districts (i, 123; see further Röhrborn, 58). This, again, was not permanently effective. In 19th century usage in Kāshān *marāʿī* was a tax on sheep and goats levied at so much per animal which bore young and was in milk. *Mawāshī* (*mawāsh*) was levied on cows, mules and asses at so much per head. The fiscal unit was the village, and only those living in the village and benefiting from its grazing, water and firewood were in theory liable to these taxes. Anyone cultivating land elsewhere and grazing his flocks elsewhere was exempt from these taxes in the village in which he resided. Similarly a difference was made in the incidence of land and water taxes between those who lived in the village and owned land there and absentee landlords. A due known as *nassādjī* was also levied on every man or woman living in the village who had a loom (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḍarrābī, *Tārīkh-i Kāshān*, ed. Īrādj Afshār, Tehran 1956, 91).

Malcolm states that for the most part the pasture lands allotted to the tribes in Ḳādjār times were considered as a payment in part for their military service, but that a tax was levied upon families according to their wealth and the number of their cattle and flocks (*History of Persia*, ii, 339. See also *Landlord and peasant*, 158, 163-4).

Poll-taxes and dues. Poll-taxes (*sar-shumārī*, *sar-shumār*, *sarāna*), and, less frequently, hearth taxes (*rasm-i dūdī*, *zar-i dūdī*, *khāna-shumārī*, *khāna-shumār*) became common after the Mongol conquest (see below). These poll-taxes had nothing to do with the poll-tax (*djizya*), sanctioned by Islamic law and levied on *dhimmīs*, but like the *djizya* they implied an element of subjection. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ records the levy of a hearth tax by Abū Saʿīd in 859/1454-5 and 874/1469 (*Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore, ii, 1087, 1410). In the 19th century a poll-tax of one kran was exacted from each male over 18 years of age. The inhabitants of towns did not pay this tax (Report by Mr. Thomson, *op. cit.*, 253). In some villages, however, *sarāna* was exacted from the age of fourteen (*Tārīkh-i Kāshān*, 91).

Djuwaynī, describing the organisation of the Mongol horde, mentions certain contributions to which they were liable, including various dues (*ʿawāriḍāt*), sums for the maintenance of travellers (*ikhrādjāt*), the furnishing of mounts (*ulāgh*), and provisions (*ʿulūfāt*) (*Tārīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *GMS*, London/Leyden 1912, i, 22). With the spread of the Mongol conquests, these contributions and many others were laid upon the conquered population (see also below). Rashīd al-Dīn mentions various levies made for the provisions of Mongol officials and the establishments of the Mongol princes and princesses—*sūsūn* (provisions for travellers), *ʿalafa*, *ʿulūfa*, *sāwarī*, and *targhū*, among others—which he alleges were abolished under

G͟hāzān's reforms (*Tārīk͟h-i mubārak-i G͟hāzānī*, 255). Uld͟jāytū, on his accession, announced his intention of continuing G͟hāzān's policy and forbade the demand of irregular dues (Abū 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kās͟hānī, *Tārīk͟h-i Uld͟jāytū*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 96). In fact, however, similar levies continued to be made for the ruling classes, and large numbers of different dues and services are mentioned in documents granting *tuyūl*s and *suyūrg͟hāl*s in the 9th/15th century and later (see further *Landlord and peasant*, and H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*. See also documents in T. M. Musevi, *Orta ésr Azérbaijan tarikhiné dair Fars dilindé yazilmis͟h sénédlér*, Baku 1956, and idem, *Baki tarikhiné dair orta ésr sénédléri*, Baku 1967).

One of the most grievous levies was *suyūrsāt* (purveyance), claimed not only by the officials known as *mihmāndār*s, who conducted foreign envoys through the countryside, but also by all great men or messengers travelling on behalf of the ruler. This first reached extortionate proportions under the Īlk͟hāns (cf. *Tārīk͟h-i mubārak-i G͟hāzānī*, 270 ff.), and continued to be demanded under later rulers. Clavijo described its levy in the time of Tīmūr (*Embassy to Tamerlane*, ed. G. le Strange, London 1933, 166). Abel Pinçon, writing *ca.* 1605, mentions the ill-treatment of peasants who did not provide supplies for ambassadors, who were conducted through the country by soldiers furnished by the shah (*Antony Sherley, his Persian adventure*, ed. E. D. Ross, London 1933, 166). Under the Ḳād͟jārs a similar system existed and provisions by way of *suyūrsāt* were extorted from the private stores of the villages. "The villager", wrote Morier, "groans under the oppression, but in vain shrinks from it; every argument of his poverty is answered, if by nothing else, at least by the bastinado" (*Journey through Persia*, 37. Cf. also Fraser, *Narrative of a journey into Khorasan*, 88, 113, 115). The abolition of *suyūrsāt* was announced in the official gazette on 21 February 1851 except for soldiers on the march (F.O. 60: 158. Sheil to Palmerston, No. 29, Tehran, 21 February 1851), but there is no reason to suppose that this prohibition was effective. Sir Justin Sheil, writing in 1854, states that its exaction was attended by violence and oppression. *Muḥaṣṣil*s were the chief offenders. Governors and other functionaries travelling to and from their posts were also a scourge to the country (F.O. 60: 194. Sheil to Shah, n.d.).

The tax assessment and the levy of troops. The provision of troops, so far as this was connected with the grant of *iḳṭāʿ*s and *tuyūl*s, was closely connected with the assessment of the land tax. In 1851, under measures introduced by Mīrzā Taḳī Amīr Niẓām, Nāṣir al-Dīn's first minister, this connection became even closer. The basis of Mīrzā Taḳī K͟hān's reform was that a certain quota of soldiers or government servants (*nawkar-i dawlat*) should be provided under the group assessment (*bunīča*) of each village, district or tribe, proportionate to the amount of its revenue assessment. The men served in theory for six months of the year and returned to their villages for the other six months. Their pay for this latter period was a charge on the village, as also was the small allowance paid to their families while they were away on service (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *S͟harḥ-i zindagī-i man*, Tehran 1945-6, i, 91-2). A decree issued in 1307/1889-90 laid down that one man per 180 male Muslims in each village was to be taken for military service and 150 *tūmān*s for every 180 non-Muslims, but this was probably never fully operative (see further *Landlord and peasant*, 168 ff.). According to the report on the Persian army dated 1900, quoted above, nominally for every 12-20 *tūmān*s of the assessment one recruit was to be provided. *D͟himmī*s, *sayyid*s, *ʿulamāʾ*, the inhabitants of towns, and peasants on crown lands were exempted. In practice, however, recruitment was fixed in an arbitrary fashion. A village of 500 might furnish the same quota as one with only 50, while a village whose revenue might have declined was still required to provide the same number of men as when its revenue had been much greater (Report on the Persian army, *op. cit.*, 97).

Assignments on the land taxes: iḳṭāʿs, suyūrg͟hāls and tuyūls. The jurists in the early centuries had sanctioned the practice of making assignments on the *k͟harād͟j*. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī had, perhaps, such assignments in mind when he states that there were people whose *k͟harād͟j* had been remitted and others to whom a specific sum was allotted as a pension (*idrār*) or for other expenses and put against their *k͟harād͟j*. These privileges, he asserts, could be transmitted by sale and inheritance (*op. cit.*, 31), though it is not clear what exactly he meant by "sale" in this connection. Al-ʿUmarī also states that he had been informed that pensions (*idrārāt*), whether in the form of money or villages, remained, like landed property (*milk*), in the possession of the holder, who could dispose of them by sale or gift, or constitute them into *waḳf*, as he pleased (*Das mongolische Weltreich*, ed. K. Lech, Wiesbaden 1968, Ar. text, 96).

The practice of assigning the fiscal rights of the state to the military as *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*], which became common from the 4th/10th century onwards, was, to some extent, an extension of the earlier assignments on *k͟harād͟j*. From about the 7th/13th century there was a change in terminology, and the term *iḳṭaʿ* tended to be restricted to land grants made to soldiers (cf. the grants made by G͟hāzān, *Tārīk͟h-i mubārak-i G͟hāzānī*, 303 ff.), though it was also used from time to time in other senses. The beneficiaries had no authority over the peasants except to see that they cultivated their lands or their villages and to collect from them the *dīwān* taxes (*māl wa mutawad͟jd͟jihāt-i dīwānī*). The grants could be transmitted by inheritance to a member of the holder's family or followers, provided he was prepared to bear arms, but could not be transferred by sale (*ibid.*, 307). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions *iḳṭāʿ*s in Ād͟harbāyd͟jān, S͟hīrwān and K͟hurāsān (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. G. le Strange, *GMS*, London/Leyden 1915, Persian text, 83, 92, 93, 147).

In the 8th/14th century the term *suyūrg͟hāl* came to be used for other aspects of the institution formerly designated by the term *iḳṭāʿ*, and was itself replaced in the 9th/15th century by the term *tuyūl* so far as the institution designated earlier by the "provincial" *iḳṭāʿ* was concerned (see further I. P. Petrushevsky, *K istorii instituta soyurgala* in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, vi (1949). The grants of *suyūrg͟hāl*s by Tīmūr would appear to have been very much like the earlier "provincial" *iḳṭāʿ*s. In post-Tīmūrid times, however, the term *suyūrg͟hāl* for the most part designated a grant of immunity, often hereditary, from the payment of taxation, and frequently, though not by any means always, granted to members of the religious classes. If the grantee held land the grant might include not only immunity from the payment of taxation, but also the right to receive the taxes from the local population and sometimes to exercise rights of jurisdiction. *Suyūrg͟hāl*s were also attached to institutions. Thus, S͟hāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-35/

1694-1722) constituted six hamlets (*mazraʿa*) in Barāʾān into a *waḳf* for the Sulṭānī *madrasa* in Iṣfahān and granted their revenues (*māl wa djihāt wa khāridj al-māl wa sāʾir-i djihāt*) as a permanent *suyūrghāl* to the administration of the *madrasa*. No drafts for taxes or other sums (*māl wa djihāt wa sāʾir-i wudjūhāt*) were to be made on those hamlets or their peasants on any account (ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sipintā, *Tārīkh-i awḳāf-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1967, 223).

*Tuyūl*s, on the other hand, were primarily temporary grants in return for services. They frequently carried with them the right to collect (as well as to receive) the taxes, and rights of jurisdiction. They were often in practice, and sometimes in name, hereditary. In theory, however, they had to be regranted on the accession of a new ruler. For example in Ṣafawid times, when the empire was divided into directly administered land known as *khāṣṣa* [see KHĀLIṢA] and indirectly administered land known as *mamālik*, the taxes, including the land tax, were collected by the provincial governor or *tuyūldār* and retained by him for provincial and other expenses. One of the crucial differences between *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik* was that *tuyūl*s were granted on the latter but not normally on the former. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūminī quotes Mīrzā ʿĀlamiyān as saying, "in *khāṣṣa* districts (*dar ulkā-yi khāṣṣa*) the existence of a *tuyūl* has no meaning" (*Tārīkh-i Gīlān*, 232). This statement, however, does not necessarily hold good throughout the Ṣafawid period. The *tuyūl* granted to Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad Bāfḳī (see below) was on *khāṣṣa* land.

Shāh ʿAbbās in 1019/1611 appointed Burhān al-Dīn *khalīfa* of the district of Dizmār in succession to his father and allotted to him, as had been allotted to his father, 34 *tūmān*s 7938 Tabrīzī *dīnār*s on account of the taxes (*māl wa djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) of Dizmār as his *tuyūl* and *suyūrghāl* from the date of the death of his father. The *kadkhudā*s and peasants (*raʿāyā*) of Dizmār were to recognise him as the holder of the *suyūrghāl* and their *tuyūldār* and to pay to him their taxes year by year and to refer to him their affairs, apart from cases of murder (*siwā-yi ḳaḍiyya-i khūn*). The Ṣūfīs (i.e. the Ḳizilbāsh) of Dizmār and Uzumdil were to serve him as messengers and military followers (? *bi djār wa yāsāk*) as they had served his father. The governors (*ḥukkām*), *dārūgha*s, *tuyūldār*s, and tax-collectors (*ʿummāl*) of Ādharbāydjān in general and Dizmār in particular were not to interfere in any way in his *suyūrghāl* or *tuyūl* or to make any drafts or allocations on account of expenses (*ikhrādjāt*) or dues (*ʿawāriḍāt*), in particular the dues of the *dārūgha*, the wazir, or the *kalāntar*, etc., which according to the decree of the late sultan (Ṭahmāsp) were not levied on the *suyūrghāl*s of the Ṣūfīs (Sarhang Bāyburdī, *Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, Tehran 1962, 160).

In the case of most *tuyūl*s and some *suyūrghāl*s the grantee was required to perform certain services or to provide military forces. For example Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad Bāfḳī was ordered by Shāh ʿAbbās to provide 300 men from Bāfḳ and Yazd to serve as attendants in the *khāṣṣa* administration and to accompany the royal train on military expeditions. He collected 300 *tufangčī*s from the aforementioned places and returned with them to the capital. Shāh ʿAbbās then ordered Bāfḳ, Yazd, Sar Yazd, Fahradj (in the Yazd district), some of the districts of Kirmān, districts in the desert regions (*mafāza*), Djandak-i Nawḳāt and elsewhere to be his *tuyūl*, and he also appointed *suyūrghāl*s for his children. Fakhr al-Dīn attained freedom of action and authority in those regions and spread justice among the people (Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1961, iii, 276). Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn granted a *suyūrghāl* to Amīr Bāyandur Sulṭān, the governor of Ḳaradja Dāgh, in 1113/1702 allotting to him the sum of 6 *tūmān*s 3,096½ *dīnār*s from the taxes (*māl wa djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) of the Dizmār district. After his death this was to pass to his son on condition that he provided seven men for the shah's service (*bi djār wa yāsāḳ-i shāhī*). The headman and peasants of Dizmār were to remit the taxes (*māl wa djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) and government dues to the grantee (*A soyūrghāl of Jahāngīr Āq-Qoyunlū*, 158-60). Nādir Shāh similarly granted a *tuyūl* in 1156/1743 to Sulṭān Muḥammad Beg, the *ḳurčībāshī*, on one of the villages of Burkhʷār, which was his private property, so that it should be free of *dīwān* drafts (*hawāladjāt-i dīwānī*) and he should expend its revenues on his livelihood and perform whatever was demanded by way of service (*lawāzim-i čākirī wa djān-sipārī*) (B.M., Or. 4935, No. 17).

The assumption appears to have been made that the obligation to service was a permanent one and that the *tuyūl* would therefore also be permanent, and it was, in fact, frequently regranted to the original holder's sons and descendants. The following example illustrates this. Muḥammad Mīrzā (later Muḥammad Shāh), when governor of Ādharbāydjān, granted a *tuyūl* to Ḥādjdjī Djāmī Beg Bāyburdī in 1242/1827, allocating to him the taxes of the village of Nuḳdūz, in the district of Ahar, which was assessed at a lump sum of 15 *kharwār*s of rice, as his permanent *tuyūl* just as it had been granted by ʿAbbās Mīrzā in former years to his late father, Ḥusayn Sulṭān, so that he should year by year collect the *dīwān* taxes (*mutawadjdjihāt-i dīwānī*) of that village, expend them on his expenses and perform what was demanded of him by way of service (*bi lawāzim-i khidmat-gudhārī wa bandagī*) (*Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, 260).

The degree to which a district on which or in which a *tuyūl* had been granted was removed from the control of the central government varied. In 1014/1605 Shāh ʿAbbās sent Mīrzā ʿĀlamiyān to Khurāsān because peculation and extortion had been reported and ordered that the levy of taxes in *tuyūl*s should be under his supervision (Īvāghlī Ḥaydar, *Djamaʿa-i murāsilāt ūlu 'l-albāb*. Add. 7688 f. 200b, quoted by Röhrborn, 106-7). For the most part, however, with the grant of a *tuyūl*, especially if this was in the form of a specific amount of cash and/or grain granted to an individual on his own land, the land and its taxes were removed from the control of the central or provincial government. For example, a *farmān* dated 1252/1836 from Muḥammad Shāh granted to Ḥasan Khān Bāyburdī Ḳaradja Dāghī as a *tuyūl* the village of Razīn in the district of Ahar, which was his own estate, and gave him its taxes, in cash and kind, as pay, which he was to collect every year and spend on his living expenses. The *farmān* commands Ḳahramān Mīrzā, the governor of Ādharbāydjān, to hand the village over to Ḥasan Khān as his *tuyūl* and to consider it immune from the entry of officials (*Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, 264). Some years later in 1272/1856 Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh issued a *farmān* to the commander-in-chief (*sardār-i kull*), ʿAzīz Khān, stating that the 184 *tūmān*s 7300 *dīnār*s in cash and 47 *kharwār*s and 50 *mann*s of grain (*djins*) as wages (*mawādjib wa mustamarrī*) had been granted to Ḥasan Khān Bāyburdī Ḳaradja Dāghī on account of the taxes of Bohol and his other estates (*amlāk*) and debited against the revenue of Ādharbāydjan in the assessment (*dastūr al-ʿamal*). Since Ḥasan Khān had

been appointed to serve in Fārs, ʿAzīz Khān was to order his *tuyūls* to be paid (*wā gudhār namūda*) to him as before and to forbid anyone to interfere in them (*Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, 268).

The amount of land or its revenue alienated from the crown as *tuyūls* varied. Rawlinson, writing about 1838, states that it was calculated that about one-fifth of the whole land revenue of Persia was then alienated from the crown (*Notes on a journey from Tabriz through Persian Kurdistán to the ruins of Takhti-Soleïmán*, in *JRGS* (1841), 5, n).

Apart from *suyūrghāls* and *tuyūls*, grants known as *hamasāla* were also common. These were allocations on the revenue of specific villages or districts, according to which the taxpayers paid their taxes, up to the amount stipulated, to the holder of the *hamasāla* instead of to the government tax-collector. Since the holders were usually military men or government officials, they were not usually resident in the district on which their *hamasāla* was allotted. It was perhaps for this reason that the local people were sometimes required to certify their consent to the grant of pay (*hamasāla*) on the revenues of their village. A *farmān* from Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn dated 1122/1710 states that Pīrī Beg b. Kalb ʿAlī Beg, the deputy (*nā*ʾ*ib*) of Nadjaf Ḳulī Beg Yūzbāshī Bāyburdlū, who claimed that his wages (*mawādjib*) were paid by draft, part of which was paid by the people of the villages of Almān and Bohol (both near Ahar) out of their taxes (*māl wa djihāt*), had asked that these sums should be paid as his *hamasāla* in accordance with the certificate (*ridānāmča*) sealed by a group of the people of those villages. The *farmān* orders this to be done with the approval of the department (*sarkār*) of the *ḳurčīs* (*Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, 251; text also in Ḳāʾim Maḳāmī, *Yak ṣad wa pandjāh sanad-i tārīkhī*, Tehran 1969, 74-5).

Two earlier *fārmans* issued by Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn in respect of Pīrī Beg also concern the payment of his *hamasāla*. The first dated Shawwāl 1113/1702 states that the peasants (*raʿāyā*) of Usnur in the district of Kandawān of Karahrūd were to pay, according to the attestation of the register of the *ḳurčīs*, 6 *tūmāns* annually on account of the annual grant of the *ḳurčīs*. The sum due to Pīrī Beg from this was in arrears. His presence (on duty) having been testified to and confirmed by the *ḳurčībāshī*, his pay was to be made available. The second document, dated Muḥarram 1114/1702 orders the peasants (*raʿāyā*) of the districts mentioned on the back of the document to pay, according to the statement and attestation of the *ḳurčī* register, 1,466 *dīnārs* in cash and 3 *kharvārs* and 50 *manns* in grain, according to their individual assessments, in respect of the annual wages (*mawādjib-i hamasāla*) of Pīrī Beg, this sum being included in the total sum of 36,000 *tūmāns* odd (due to the *ḳurčīs*) (Ḳāʾim Maḳāmī, *op. cit.*, 63-4).

Under the Īlkhāns, personal immunities, known as *tarkhān*, were granted to Mongol princes and princesses, and also to members of the religious classes and scribes (cf. Djuwaynī, i, 27-8 for the supposed origin of these grants). The historian Waṣṣāf claims to have held such an immunity, though it did not, in fact, protect him from the extortions of the tax-collectors (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 631). It is possible that the hereditary grants of immunity made to the religious classes and others as *suyūrghāls* (see above) developed out of the *tarkhān*.

The grants known as *muʿāfī* and *musallamī* were also personal immunities. So far as the persons to whom they were granted held land, the immunity included, presumably, immunity from the payment of *kharādj*. Such grants are met with in the early centuries and continued to be made down to modern times.

So far as the *tuyūl* was simply a device for the payment of salary the tendency was, according to Tavernier, for the *daftarkhāna* to allocate the sums due to an official on different places in small sums so that it was uneconomical for the recipient to collect them in person and *taḥṣīldārs* would buy the drafts at a discount and collect them together making a great profit (*Voyages en Perse*, Geneva 1970, 249-50). Chardin, however, states that ʿAbbās II had reformed this practice (v, 422). Under the Ḳādjārs such grants were usually made as block grants and the *tuyūldār* would, as Sheil wrote in 1854, "by some means not very intelligible" make himself the temporary owner of the land to the exclusion of the real proprietor. Almost everyone holding a certain position at court, from the prime minister downwards was, he states, a *tuyūldār* (F.O. 60: 194, Sheil to the Shah, n.d.).

Drafts on the revenue. An even more harmful practice than the alienation of the fiscal rights of the state in the form of *iḳṭāʿs* and *tuyūls* was the practice of writing drafts on the revenue. This also arose because of the difficulties experienced in revenue collection and tended to reach high proportions in periods of financial stringency. It first became common under the Būyids and more especially under the Īlkhāns (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 244). The practice was highly detrimental to agricultural prosperity and to the wellbeing of the cultivators, who could never be certain that new demands for sums of money or supplies of grain and other crops would not be made upon them. Not infrequently the drafts made on the revenue exceeded the income. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Falak ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī in his handbook on financial administration, the *Saʿādat-nāma*, written during the reign of Ghāzān Khān or Uldjāytū, describes how drafts for salaries and other purposes were drawn on the revenue, and states that drafts in favour of the ruler, the princesses, the princes, and the amirs had priority in that order on available funds (Mirkamal Nabipur, *Die beiden persischen Leitfäden des Falak ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī über das staatliche Rechnungswesen im 14. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1973, Persian text, 52b).

Ghāzān Khān attempted to lessen the evils of the practice. He prohibited the indiscriminate writing of drafts by the officials of the central government and forbade its practice altogether by provincial officials. He appointed a *bitikčī* to be in charge of each province in the supreme *dīwān* and made him responsible for writing drafts on that province, village by village, in accordance with the assessment (*ḳānūn*). These measures were only partially successful. It was found that the village headmen continued to levy more than they ought from the taxpayers. The next step was to require them to send detailed lists of the liabilities of each taxpayer to the *dīwān* so that the taxpayer would know what he was supposed to pay, and the headmen could not make demands on those whose names were not entered in the registers (*ibid.*, 253 ff., and cf. *Landlord and peasant*, 82 ff.).

Under the Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs it was also common practice to write drafts on the revenue for the salaries of officials, and for pensions and government debts. Under Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48) the issue of *barāts* or bills on the provincial treasuries in payment of his army, servants and other creditors exceeded tenfold the amount of the revenue. Their value was thus merely nominal, and none but a favoured few,

or those who bribed highly, actually received payment. Sheil, writing in 1846, states that scarcely any portion of the revenue from the provinces reached Tehran. Most of the holders of drafts were therefore glad to sell them at any price. The principal governors had their agents in Tehran to purchase these bills drawn on their respective provinces. The full amount was then afterwards charged in their accounts with the government although perhaps only a fifth or a tenth might have been really paid (F.O. 60: 125, Sheil to Palmerston, No. 117, Tehran, 20 November 1846. See also Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 386-7). This state of affairs was, in some respects reminiscent of that which prevailed under the Īlkhāns prior to Ghāzān Khān (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 243 ff.).

Revenue farming. Another practice which closely affected the collection of *kharādj* was that of revenue farming. Partly because of a frequent shortage of funds and partly because of the perennial difficulties experienced over the collection of taxes governments frequently had recourse to this practice. The revenue farm [see ḌAMĀN], which might be for a single tax such as *kharādj*, or for all the taxes of a district or province, had some outward resemblance to the *muḳāṭaʿa* contract. In fact, however, it was something different. The latter in the early centuries was for the most part made with the local landowner or tribal leader, who became responsible for the payment of the taxes, apportioned them among the local peasants, collected them and paid them to the government. The taxfarmer, on the other hand, contracted to pay annually to the state, for a stipulated period, a certain sum of money for a specific tax, or all the taxes, of a district or province, which sum he recovered on his own account from the taxpayers. In many cases he bid for his contract. There are cases of local landowners farming the revenue of their own land under a *ḍamān* contract, but in general the revenue farmer was a middleman whose only interest in the land was its revenue.

The system was open to great abuses. Its spread was usually symptomatic of a breakdown in the administration and the finances of the state. The revenue farm became increasingly common with the decline of the ʿAbbāsid empire, but by the 5th/11th century it had largely given way to the *iḳṭāʿ*. After the fall of the Great Saldjūḳs, it again increased. Ibn Djawzī states, under the year 556/1160-1, that the *kharādj* of ʿIrāḳ was put up to contract (*al-Muntaẓam*, Haydarābād, Deccan 1939-40, x, 200). Under the Īlkhāns, especially prior to the reign of Ghāzān Khān, revenue farming, now known by the term *muḳāṭaʿa*, which had lost its original sense, became very common (cf. Maḥmūd-i Āmulī, *Nafāʾis al-funūn*, ed. Abu'l Ḥasan Shiʿrānī, Tehran 1958, i, 328, who defines *muḳāṭaʿa* as *ḍamān-i walāyat*, the farming of a province). In a specimen document (*taslīm-nāma*) for a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract quoted by ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī, the tax-farmer undertakes to pay by a certain date the sum agreed upon, and is given immunity from interference. He is forbidden to impose new dues or to take more than the customary amount from the taxpayers, while the *dīwān* is enjoined not to make drafts in excess of what is laid down or to send tax-collectors to the province (*Die beiden persischen Leitfäden*, f. 56a. Cf. also *Nafāʾis al-funūn* for a specimen *taslīm-nāma*, i, 312-13).

Expenses for the post (*yām*), *ʿulūfa* and *ulāgh* were allowed against the sums due from the tax-farmers. The fact that the establishments of the Mongol princes, princesses and amirs and the *ortāḳs* (trading establishments attached to the court) also made frequent and unauthorised demands on the peasants for provisions, fodder, and animals complicated the system (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī and Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*). In theory a trial balance could be struck at any moment, but the checking of the tax-farmers' accounts was often a lengthy business, as the numerous references to the prolonged investigation of their accounts show (see especially *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*). Although money may often have changed hands at the time of the award of a contract, it appears to have been unusual for payments of the amount due from a farm to have been made in advance. Waṣṣāf records that the Shaykh al-Islām Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, who received a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract for the *indjū* and *dalāy* of Fārs for four years from 692/1292-3 for 1,000 *tūmān*s less 114 *tūmān*s expenses (*ikhrādjāt*) allowed him per annum, paid the money due for one year in advance together with various presents for the Īlkhān, the princesses, and amirs so that "no financial demands would be made on the poor peasants nor would the burden of the coming and going of *īlčī*s be laid upon them" (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 168). This was, to judge from Waṣṣāf's account, probably an exceptional case.

In the early years of Īlkhān rule many of the outlying provinces were farmed to the local rulers. The Saldjūḳ rulers of Rūm, ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāʾūs and Rukn al-Dīn Ḳilidj Arslān and their successors, who acted as governors on behalf of the Īlkhāns, appear to have held their governments, nominally at least, on a *muḳāṭaʿa* tenure (cf. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, ed. Osman Turan, Ankara 1944, 62). Kirmān, after paying tribute for some years, was finally fully incorporated into the Īlkhān empire under Djalāl al-Dīn Suyūrghatmish, the Ḳutlugh Khānid, who succeeded to the government of Kirmān in 681/1282. He farmed all the taxes of Kirmān for 600,000 *dīnār-i zar-i rāʾidj*. He was allowed as regular expenses (*ikhrādjāt-i muḳarrarī*) 390,000 *dīnār*s. This sum was broken down as follows: 100,000 *dīnār*s for his personal expenses as governor, 120,000 *dīnār*s for the wages of the army, 10,000 *dīnār*s for guards (*ṭalāya wa ḳarāwulī*), 10,000 for the repair of fortresses, city walls, and the digging of *dīwānī ḳanāt*s, 30,000 *dīnār*s for pensions (*idrārāt*), 90,000 *dīnār*s for provisions (*sūsūn*), 10,000 *dīnār*s for the post (*yām*), 10,000 *dīnār*s for provisions (*ḥawāʾidj*) and *ḳahwa* (? = "wine"), 10,000 *dīnār*s for the wages of the officials of the *dīwān* (Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī, *Simṭ al-ʿulā*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1939-57).

Fārs had a varied fiscal history in the second half of the 7th/13th century. In 662/1263, on the death of the Muẓaffarid Saldjūḳshāh, with the succession of Abish Khātūn, the daughter of Saʿd b. Abū Bakr, who was married to Tāsh Mangū, Hūlāgū's son, it came under direct Mongol rule. The Mongols were unable to establish an effective administration, and some three years later, in 665/1266-7, after an abortive rising led by Sharaf al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Fārs, a *bitikčī* came to Shīrāz to collect the taxes. He was unable to accomplish his task and in 667/1268-9 Abāḳā sent Inkiyānū to Fārs as governor. He restored order and established an administration. The taxes were collected and the province prospered (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 193). Intrigues led to his dismissal and he was succeeded by Sughundjak Noyan in 670/1271. After investigating the accounts of the province, Sughundjak concluded *muḳāṭaʿa* contracts for the districts of Fārs with the local leaders (*aṣḥāb wa mulūk-i bulūk*) from the beginning of the *kharādjī* year 671/1272-3 on condition that each one should rule

independently in his own district and meet whatever requisitions were made on the revenue of the district by the *dīwān* (*ibid.*, 195). Waṣṣāf states that although there were abundant surpluses under these contracts, yet owing to the numerous dues and requisitions made upon the revenues and the envy and strife prevailing among the local leaders, the revenue was not paid, the holders of drafts were unable to collect their money, the peasants were ruined, and the country lost its prosperity. Finally, in 676/1277-8 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Malik, a rich merchant with extensive trade connections with the east and the west, accepted a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract for the whole of Fārs. Because of the failure of the local leaders (*arbāb-i bulūkāt*) to pay the sums due to him, all his reserves were rapidly dissipated in this venture (*ibid.*, 197-8). In 678/1279-80 Sughundjak was again sent to Fārs by Abāḳā to investigate the accounts and collect the revenue (*ibid.*, 204). He abrogated the *muḳāṭaʿa* contracts for the districts, demanded arrears and gave his wazīr Khwādja Niẓām al-Dīn charge of all the districts (*bulūk*s). However, as a result of the intrigues of rival factions, in which some of the revenue farmers were also involved, Sughundjak and Niẓām al-Dīn fell from favour.

Meanwhile Abāḳā died (680/1281) (*ibid.*, 206-8). The next two years were a period of confusion. A Mongol *amīr*, Būlūghān, who had been sent to Shīrāz as a provincial revenue official (*bāsḳāḳ*), succeeded in maintaining his position in that town while refusing, at the same time, to pay the taxes and arrears demanded by the *muḥaṣṣilān* sent by Arghūn, the new Īlkhān. Tāsh Mangū was then sent to Shīrāz as governor with orders to remove Būlūghān. The latter on the approach of Tāsh Mangū set out for Khurāsān. Tāsh Mangū entered Shīrāz and during the next year accumulated much wealth. In or about 682/1283-4 Abish, Tāsh Mangū's wife, was appointed governor by Tegūdār (*ibid.*, 210-11). Partly, perhaps mainly, because of three years of drought and famine in which over 100,000 people were said to have died (*ibid.*, 212, 217-18), little revenue reached the central treasury during her government. She was accordingly summoned to Tabrīz; she and her supporters after examination agreed to pay the arrears of taxation and various other sums. She died, however, almost immediately (685/1286-7) (*ibid.*, 222). A *yarlīgh* was then issued to the governors of Fārs, who had come to Tabrīz with Abish, on their promising to pay 5,000,000 gold *dīnār*s on account of arrears for several years, and they set out with a number of Mongol officials and *amīr*s for Fārs to collect the arrears. Although the governors, tax-collectors and wealthy people were mercilessly mulcted, it proved impossible to collect the full sum and the Īlkhān was forced to reach a compromise with the governors of Fārs (*ibid.*, 224-5).

Fārs may have been an extreme case. But it seems likely that the revenue farmers all over the empire committed abuses. Rashīd al-Dīn states that they extracted double the amount for which they contracted but paid nothing into the treasury (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 258). Ghāzān Khān, who sought to bring the financial administration of the empire under stricter control, considerably decreased revenue farming. It nevertheless continued on a modified scale. Bayāt in Khūzistān, for example, was farmed to the local leaders for a fixed sum which was to be used for the salaries of amirs of four hundred provided that they demanded their dues at harvest time (*Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, 179).

Under the Ḳādjārs, revenue farming again became widespread. ʿAbbās Mīrzā, when governor of Ādharbāydjān, is said to have made some progress in abolishing the practice and fixing the revenues of the province on a systematic scale and enforcing their collection (J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, London 1840, i, 8, and cf. Morier, *Second journey through Persia*, 240-1), but his reforms were limited and short-lived, and towards the end of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and under his successors revenue farming was again common. It was of two kinds. The first resembled the early Islamic *muḳāṭaʿa* contract, according to which powerful landowners farmed the duty of their estates to prevent the vexatious interference of the subordinate officials of the revenue (cf. Malcolm, ii, 338). The second, and more pernicious, was the system by which governors bid for their districts.

The tax administration: central government records. At the level of the central government, land revenue matters went through the department known as the *dīwān al-istīfāʾ*, which was part of the supreme *dīwān* [*q.v.*]. Its elaborate procedure concerned with the assessment, collection and expenditure of the taxes was transmitted to posterity by the *mustawfī*s [*q.v.*]. However, because of the widespread practice of farming the revenue, of the alienation of land from the control of the central government as *iḳṭāʿ*s, *tuyūl*s, and *suyūrghāl*s, and of the writing of drafts on the revenue, the registers of the *mustawfī*s often bore little relation to the way in which the taxes were actually partitioned and collected in the provinces. The practical steps needed to keep the assessments up to date were seldom taken.

The two handbooks by ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī, the *Ḳānūn al-saʿādat* and the *Saʿādat-nāma*, which have come down to us (see Mirkamal Nabipur, *op. cit.*), show that in spite of the introduction of new taxes, notably *ḳūbčūr* and *tamghā* (see below) by the Mongols, there was a marked continuity in accounting practice (cf. also Maḥmūd-i Āmulī, *Nafāʾis al-funūn*, whose description of the art of accountancy (*ʿilm-i istīfā*) is largely the same as ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī's exposition, though less detailed). There were some minor differences in vocabulary and dating, the Khānī solar year having come into operation under Ghāzān Khān (see further *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 404), and also certain minor modifications, made, according to ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī, with a view to a simplification of the accounts for the benefit of the Mongols (f. 33b).

The tax assessments were entered in two registers. One, the *daftar-i māl*, which was concerned with the "fixed" taxes of the villages, included land taxes. The other, *daftar-i ḍarība*, recorded dues and commercial transactions (*muʿāmilāt*), and included *tamghā* taxes, etc. (f. 62b; cf. also *Nafāʾis al-funūn*, i, 324). ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī's description of the subsidiary registers (*ṣūrat-i mufrid-i wilāyāt*) throws considerable light on the sources of revenue, including land taxes, and their expenditure (see also below). Taking the case of the *tumen* (province) of Kāshān as an example, he sets out the total revenue in cash from (i) "fixed" taxes from *muʿāmilāt* (taxes on production other than agriculture), sheep and cattle taxes (*al-marāʿī*), and land tax (*al-ʿushr*) according to the ancient assessment (*fīʾl-ḳadīm*), and (ii) *tamghā* taxes, responsibility for which had been accepted by a certain *malik*, Nāṣir al-Dīn, for a given year, as from the Naw Rūz. The revenues from "fixed" taxes are set out under taxes from (i) the town (*al-balada*), these being levied on craftsmen (*al-mutaḥarrifa*), who were sub-divided into those who paid 5 per cent *tamghā* and those who did not (and presumably paid higher *ad hoc* rates),

and *dhimmīs* (Jews and Armenians), and (ii) the outlying districts (*al-nawāḥī*), sub-divided under villages. Against this he sets out the sums to be deducted under various heads. These were (a) the expenses of the province (*maṣāliḥ al-wilāya*) as laid down by the supreme *dīwān*, namely allowances (*al-rusūmāt*) for the *bāsḳāḳ*, the *malik* and the scribe (*ḳātib*) and sums for the upkeep of the roads, listed under two districts, and (b) drafts made on the revenue by the court for the upkeep of the establishments of two Mongol princesses (*āsh-i khawātīn*), drafts (*al-iḥtisābiyya*) for a Mongol princess for one year on specific villages, allocations for military personnel (*al-ʿasākir*) attached to falconers (*al-ḳūshiyya*), partly in cash and partly in kind, and partly as expenses (*taghār*), and for post-stations (*al-yām*) and forage for them (*al-sūsūn*) for six months. The revenue from *tamghā* is similarly set out under (a) brokerage (*dallālkhāna*), camel-markets (*khaṭīra*), slave-markets (*nakhkhāsiyya*), cattle and sheep markets (*sūḳ al-dawābb*) and slaughterhouses (*al-sallākhiyya*), and (b) districts, together with the expenses charged against their revenue for various Mongol officials and amirs (ff. 67a-68b). Cf. also Maḥmūd-i Āmulī, who divides the taxes entered in the *daftar-i mufrid wa djāmiʿ* into *māl*, *ḳūbčūr* levied on craftsmen and on districts (*ḳūbčūr-i mutaḥarrifa wa ḳūbčūr-i har nāḥiyatī*), and *tamghā* on transactions (*tamghā-yi har muʿāmila*, i, 326-7).

At the local level in the early centuries the officials placed in charge of the *kharādj* in the different provinces seem to have made some attempt to establish records of villages and cultivated lands. Under the Būyids and the Saldjūḳs copies of these appear to have been held in the *dīwān al-istīfāʾ* and the *dīwān al-djaysh* and to have served as the basis on which districts were assigned to the *amīr*s and soldiers as *iḳṭāʿ*s. But it is doubtful whether these records were kept up-to-date. Once the collection of the *kharādj* and other taxes had ceased to be the direct concern of the central government, there was no great incentive to it to bring the records up-to-date, even had it had the facilities to do so. The existence of seasonal capitals and the fact that when the sultan or shah went on an expedition, military or otherwise, the court and the principal administrative officials frequently went with him, did not favour the accumulation of records. Further, the overthrow of one dynasty by another was sometimes accompanied by the destruction of existing records.

From time to time, partial or complete lists of villages and their lands were made by later rulers. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh mentions the existence of registers of the income and expenditure of former times (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 187-8). He alleges that consequent upon Ghāzān Khān's despatch of *bitikčī*s to the provinces to register all the villages, many places which had never before been registered became subject, for the first time, to assessment so that detailed lists of the villages were made available in the *dīwān* (*ibid.*, 258, 260, 262. Cf. also *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, 33-4).

Uzun Ḥasan made an assessment between 874/1470 and 883/1477 under which the taxes, as in Īlkhān times, were grouped under three main headings: (i) land taxes, (ii) taxes on industrial production, and (iii) dues. The first consisted of a tax levied in cash on the ploughland (*djuft*) and due in spring; taxes in kind on the grain harvest, the rate varying and rising in some districts to 20 percent; a tax on vineyards, assessed usually in cash, and on nut trees at the rate of one-tenth of the produce; in some districts a levy in firewood and honey; and cattle and sheep taxes levied at the rate of so much per animal. Cesses for government officials were included under the heading of dues. There were considerable local variations (see further *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, op. cit.*). These regulations were apparently still in operation under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, according to the *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* of Ḳāḍī Aḥmad (quoted by Röhrborn, *op. cit.*, 58), and until the end of the 9th/16th century in parts of ʿIrāḳ, Fārs and Ādharbāydjan, according to Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, (*Scheref-namah*, ed. Veliaminof-Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860-2, ii, 120). They are mentioned in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* in connection with the dues of the *ṣāḥib djamʿ* of the *rikābkhāna* (f. 100b). Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Uzun Ḥasan's assessment was put into operation over the whole country, and it cannot, in any case, have operated efficiently during the fratricidal struggles between his son, Khalīl, who succeeded him, and Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb. A considerable part of the country was at that time alienated from the control of the central *dīwān*. Shīrāz was given to the Amīr Alwand, the son of Khalīl, for his expenses (*khʷurish*); the Shabānkāra, on the other hand, was brought directly under the supreme *dīwān* (V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490, an abridged translation of Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, London 1957, 40). Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb after his defeat of Khalīl in 894/1489 made an abortive attempt to reaffirm the authority of the *sharīʿa* in matters of land tenure "in which the limpid clarity of the commandments of the faith had become clouded with the opaqueness of the Chingizian *yāsā*" (*ibid.*, 92. See also Minorsky, *The Āq Qoyunlū and land reforms*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 449-62). His intention was apparently to collect additional revenue from legal taxes (*abwāb-i kifāyat*) so that the various *tamghā* taxes could be repealed. Accordingly on 4 Rabīʿ I 894/5 February 1489 Ḳāḍī ʿĪsā and Shāh Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd Daylamī, an inspector of the *dīwān*, set out for ʿIrāḳ and Fārs to revise the *kharādj* in conformity with the *sharīʿa* and collect the land taxes. Their main activities appear to have been to resume *suyūrghāl*s; their operations were cut short by the death of Yaʿḳūb in 896/1490 (*Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, 93 ff.).

Under the Ṣafawids there would appear to have existed detailed records of the revenue of the tax districts of the empire and the charges made upon it. These were probably based on earlier records, notably the assessment of Uzun Ḥasan mentioned above. Faḍlī Iṣfahānī records under the years 963/1555 in the *Afḍal al-tawārīkh* that a new assessment (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) was made by the *ṣadr*, Mīr Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī, and that it was based on "the customs of good administration and care for the subjects, designed to achieve the embellishment of armies (*ḳushūnārāʾī*) and to contribute to the pomp of sovereignty, and founded upon good treatment of the subjects and soldiers (*sulūk bā raʿiyyat wa sipāhī*), and concerned the levy of taxes (*māl wa djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) from every district and tribal region (*ulūs*), even [capital] offences and the fining of criminals" (quoted by Röhrborn, 58). Detailed statements of the individual taxpayer's liabilities were in theory, if not always in practice, entered in the registers of the *dīwān* (see *Dastūr al-mulūk* and *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*). There is nothing, however, to show that the revenue records of the Ṣafawids were regularly revised, any more than earlier records had been.

Nādir Shāh in or about 1736 ordered an assessment of all landed properties in Fārs to be made. Their income and expenses were to be estimated, together

with the dues of the peasants (*bāzyārān*). No difference was to be made between *khāliṣa* land in possession of the supreme *dīwān*, land held by sayyids, *ʿulamā* and notables, and private property made into *wakf* for mosques or *madrasas*. The facts were to be recorded in the registers and a report submitted to Nādir so that the *dīwān* taxes and dues might be justly fixed. He arranged for similar assessments to be carried out in all the provinces of Persia (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣirī*, lith. Tehran 1894-6, i, 181). The assessment for Fārs appears to have been submitted to Nādir in Kābul in 1738-9, whereupon he issued an order for the resumption of *tuyūls* and *awkāf* in Fārs (*ibid.*, i, 183). Similar orders were given in respect of Iṣfahān, but Nādir was assassinated in 1160/1747 before the operation was completed (see further *Landlord and peasant*, 131-2; see also Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, i, 200-1). In 1739 and 1741 officials were sent to review the revenue assessments of Ādharbāydjān. It is not clear whether their work was ever completed (Nādir Mīrzā, *Tārīkh wa djughrāfiyā-yi dār al-salṭana-i Tabrīz*, ed. Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, Tehran lith. 1905, 281 ff.). Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ alleges that Nādir's registers were more accurate than any others, and that those of Karīm Khān Zand (1163-93/1750-79) were also accurate (*Rustam al-tawārīkh*, 325). His registers appear to have remained in force, broadly speaking, until Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Niẓām, Nāṣir al-Dīn's *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, carried out a new assessment in 1851, many alterations in the value of the land having meanwhile taken place.

In the second half of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign, between about 1878 and 1882, a number of reports were compiled on the villages, lands and population of most of the provinces of Persia, presumably with a view to achieving greater efficiency in the assessment and collection of the revenue and the levy of troops. New assessments were made in various districts during his reign and under those of his successors (cf. ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagī-i man*, Tehran 1945-6, ii, 651-2). Curzon, who visited Persia in 1889-90, however, records that for the most part the assessments were obsolete in date and character (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 472). A land survey planned to be carried out under the Ministry of Finance in 1889-90 proved abortive (see further *Landlord and peasant*, 168 ff.).

There were perennial difficulties over the actual collection of taxes, and what happened at the local level often had little relation to the assessment drawn up at the centre. Ghāzān Khān, when he attempted to reform the tax system, found that the local authorities continued to exact more than they should. He sought to remedy this by demanding full returns from the provinces (see below). Although such steps under a strong government may have reduced abuses, the peasants and small landowners were for the most part unable to resist the demands of the tax-collectors, the provincial governors and the military. In the nineteenth century, although the central government continued to draw up the provincial assessments, the provincial governors, instead of collecting the taxes as authorised by the central government, followed a different procedure. Thomson describes this as follows: "In practice, a very complicated and irregular system of taxation is pursued, the main feature of which appears to be that it is designed solely with a view to take as little as possible from the wealthy and influential classes, and to get as much as possible from the hard-working peasant. The object, indeed of all Persian Governors and their subordinates, as well as of the landowners generally, is to avoid simplicity; for the more intricate and uncertain the method employed for levying taxes, the greater are the opportunities afforded to extortion and all sorts of illegal exactions. Instead, therefore, of simply adhering to the above rates, by which the revenue is made to depend upon the actual produce from the land, a sum, often arbitrarily fixed, is demanded from each village, without any reference to failure of crops, insufficiency of water for irrigation, disease amongst their flocks, or other losses to which the peasant may be subjected. The amount to be demanded is determined from time to time by Government assessors, "momeiyez", who are despatched to the various districts to assess the taxes whenever the authorities may feel disposed to alter their amount. The assessor is supposed to perform this duty in accordance with the rates authorised by Government, but great injustice is done on such occasions, as he invariably demands a large fee before giving his decision, and over-estimates the taxes if it is refused, or undervalues them when liberally paid. If the land belongs to an influential person, when taxed at all, the amount is made very trifling, and, in numerous instances, villages which have not been assessed for many years, continue to pay only a nominal sum, though they may have increased in size and wealth, simply on account of the proprietor's high position, while others, which have become impoverished are compelled to pay all the taxes imposed under more prosperous conditions" (report by Mr. Thomson, *op. cit.*, 253).

Revenue from land taxes. It is difficult to estimate the proportion of the revenue provided by land taxes over the centuries. Quantitative data is not available even for the nineteenth century and such records as we have frequently do not distinguish land taxes from other forms of "regular" taxation, while the practice of alienating districts from the control of the central government as *iḳṭāʿs* and *tuyūls*, writing drafts on the revenue and the removal of land made into *khāliṣa* or *waḳf* from the control of the revenue authorities make it extremely difficult to interpret the available information. As stated above, agriculture was the main economic activity of the country and land taxes the largest single item of revenue. This continued to be the case even though the Mongol invasion in the 7th/13th century brought about a great increase in the numbers of the nomadic population. The immediate result of this change in the balance of the population, together with the depopulation caused by the massacres accompanying the invasion, and the introduction of a new system of taxation (although this became in due course assimilated to existing tax practices), was to disrupt the financial administration of the country (see further I. P. Petrushevsky, *The socio-economic conditions of Iran under the Īl-khāns*, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, v, ed. J. A. Boyle, Cambridge 1968, 483-537). A higher proportion of the wealth of the ruling classes was now derived from flocks than was the case formerly, and probably also from trade, but this was not reflected to any marked extent in the revenue which reached the central treasury. The decline in the amount of land under cultivation, on the other hand, adversely affected the revenue from land taxes.

The Īlkhāns. The Mongol system was based on a census (*shumāra*) of the population (cf. Djuwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Djahāngushā*, i, 25, ii, 261, iii, 74, and also V. Minorsky, *Pūr-i Bahā and his poems*, in *Charisteria orientalia*, Prague 1956, especially verse 15) and not, as was the system in Persia, on the land. Further, the Mongol system appears to have

made a distinction between taxes levied on Mongols (who were nomads) and non-Mongols (who were sedentary), a dichotomy which was to some extent paralleled by the differences between taxes paid by Muslims and *dhimmīs* in the Islamic system. The nomad taxes were "occasional", whereas those levied on the sedentary population, were "fixed" or "regular". The precise form of these two groups of taxes varied with the nature of Mongol rule and the role of the nomads in the state at different times and in different places (see further J. Masson Smith, *Mongol and nomadic taxation*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1970), 46-85).

Under the Mongol system there were apparently three main taxes, *ḳūbčūr*, *ḳalān* (*ḳilān*) and *tamghā*. The last named was a tax on commercial goods. What the precise difference was originally between the first two, *ḳūbčūr* and *ḳalān*, is not entirely clear. According to Bartold *ḳūbčūr* was originally levied mainly on nomads. As Quatremère has shown, it was also applied to a 1 per cent tax levied on animals raised in the *yaylāḳ*, and, until the collapse of the Mongol empire, also to the poll-tax collected from the *raʿiyya* (the settled population) (*Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, i, 256 n.). Bartold concludes that although *ḳūbčūr* was originally levied on nomads, it came to mean taxes imposed on cultivators and nomads in contradistinction to taxes levied on commercial goods under the name of *tamghā* (see further Bartold, *The financial situation in the Ilkhanid period*, and Zeki Velidi Togan, *Mongollar devrinde Anadolu'nun iktisadî vaziyeti*, in *Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecmuası*, i (1931), 1-42 and 135-59, respectively and Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Uyğurlarda hukuk ve maliye istilahları*, in *Türkiyat mecmuası*, iv (1934), 1-45).

According to Djuwaynī, the Mongols, "when they brought countries and peoples under their dominion, followed their established custom and imposed a census entering everyone in tens, hundreds, and thousands, and required of them the needs of the army, the post, expenses (*ikhrādjāt*) and fodder (*ʿulūfāt*) apart from ordinary taxation (*khāridj az māl*) and over and above these burdens they imposed upon individuals a *ḳūbčūr* (? *bar bālā-yi īn athḳāl ḳūbčūrī nīz burīda kardand*)" (i, 25). Although Djuwaynī later defines *ḳūbčūr* as a tax on flocks and herds (iii, 79), it would appear to have the meaning of some kind of poll-tax, in the passage quoted, a meaning which it could also bear in a passage in Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's essay on finance (*op. cit.*, 33), which states that five classes were exempt from *ḳūbčūr*, namely (i) *tarkhān*s (persons enjoying certain immunities granted by the Great Khān), such as religious leaders, (ii) the old, (iii) the sick, (iv) the poor and (v) children. Rashīd al-Dīn similarly states that according to the *yāsā* of Činghīz Khān, judges, learned men, and ʿAlids (*sic*) did not pay *ḳūbčūr* or *ḳalān* (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 218). The references to *ḳūbčūr* in Pūr Bahā's poems also suggest that it was in the nature of a poll-tax. Further, it is clear from the passage in the *Djahāngushā* describing the *amīr* Arghūn's report on Arrān in 656/1258, and the subsequent reassessment of *ḳūbčūr* at 1 *dīnār* for the poor rising to 500 for the wealthy, that *ḳūbčūr* was in this instance some sort of poll-tax (ii, 261, and cf. also ii, 256). Again from the description which ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī gives in the *Saʿādat-nāma* of the tax registers, it would seem that *ḳūbčūr* was not a tax on flocks and herds, but rather a poll-tax paid by villagers at so much per head per solar year. The registers contain separate entries for *al-māliyya* and *al-ḳūbčūriyya*, and under the former sub-entries for *al-ʿushr*, *al-marāʿī* and *al-muʿāmilāt* (f. 62b). Maḥmūd-i Āmulī also states that there were subsidiary ledgers for *māl*, *ḳūbčūr* and *tamghā* for each province; he sub-divides *ḳūbčūr* into *ḳūbčūr-i mutaḥarrifa* and *ḳūbčūr-i har nāḥiyat* (*Nafāʾis al-funūn*, i, 326-7). The inference to be drawn is that whereas *al-māliyya* included land taxes and taxes on flocks and herds, *al-ḳūbčūriyya* consisted of poll-taxes.

There is, however, no reason to suppose that *ḳūbčūr* meant the same thing throughout the Īlkhān period. Most probably, it was used at different times to mean respectively a poll-tax and a tax on flocks and herds, and also to cover respectively "fixed" or "regular" taxes and "occasional" or "casual" imposts. Rashīd al-Dīn on one occasion speaks of *ḳūbčūr-i mawāshī* levied on the Mongol tribes (*ulūs-i mughul*) (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 304), by which he presumably meant a tax levied at so much per head on flocks and herds or an "occasional" tax on flocks and herds. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī referring to the administration of Ḳazaghān in Central Asia in the 8th/14th century, states that because of his justice no amir or wazir could take a single *dīnār* from anyone under any pretext except by way of *ʿushr-i djins* and *ḳūbčūr-i rasmī* (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, 200). The former presumably meant a land tax levied in kind, but it is not clear what was meant by the latter; perhaps it was a poll-tax or a tax on flocks and herds. In documents issued by Yaʿḳūb Beg and Alwand dated 884/1479 and 904/1490 respectively granting certain immunities and exemptions to sayyids descended from ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, *ḳūbčūr* does not seem to mean a flock tax. The relevant passage reads, "*mawāshī*, *marāʿī* and *tamghā* shall not be taken from them and their peasants (*barzigarān*) shall not be ordered to perform forced labour (*bīgār*) or to beat on hunting expeditions (*shikār*) and *ḳūbčūr* shall not be taken from them" (*Untersuchungen*, 159, 166).

So far as the Mongols became in the course of time agricultural proprietors and town-dwellers, they presumably became liable to the "regular" taxes levied on the sedentary population, which, in turn, were assimilated, or had already been assimilated, to the taxes to which the Persian population were traditionally subject. With this the Mongol terms underwent modifications in their meanings. *Ḳūbčūr* lost its meaning of an "occasional" tax paid by Mongols. *Ḳalān* (a term not found in Djuwaynī) also probably underwent modification. Bartold thinks that it was a tax levied on sown lands and on the peasantry in general. Caferoğlu accepts this view with some reserve. Masson Smith, following Bartold, thinks that *ḳalān* meant the pre-Mongol and essentially sedentary taxation of the conquered people and that it designated in the early Īlkhān period *māl*, "fixed" or "regular" taxation paid by non-Mongols (*Mongol and nomadic taxation*, 55). This may be so, but in many of the passages in which the word occurs it could carry a different interpretation. Al-ʿUmarī, quoting al-Djuwaynī on the Mongol army, states that the ruler took from them *ḳalān*, *ḳūbčūr*, *ulāgh*, and *badraka* (*Masālik al-abṣār wa mamālik al-amṣār*, 11). The passage in Djuwaynī reads *ḳūbčūr wa ʿawāriḍāt wa ikhrādjāt-i ṣādir wa wārid wa tartīb-i yām wa ulāgh wa ʿulufāt* (i, 22). This suggests that al-ʿUmarī understood *ḳalān* in the sense of occasional levies (*ʿawāriḍāt*), which meaning it could bear in many, if not most, of the passages in which it appears; (cf. also the passage in Sayfī Harawī's *Tārīkh-nāma-i Harāt*, ed. Muḥ. Zubayr al-Ṣiddīḳī, Calcutta 1943, 439, which states that Fakhr al-Dīn, the Kurt *malik* of Harāt, gave exemption to the people of Harāt from

ḳalanāt and *ʿawāriḍāt-i dīwānī* in 698/1298-9).

In Ghāzān's *yarlīgh* on the grant of *iḳṭāʿāt* to the Mongol army, although the term *ḳalān* could bear the interpretation of sedentary taxation levied on the conquered peoples, it could equally well mean occasional taxes (*ʿawāriḍāt*), and this is, perhaps, more likely since the passage clearly refers to the Mongol army and not to the population in general. It reads, "It is known to everyone that formerly in the time of our good fathers the Mongol *ulūs* used to demand every kind of requisition (*muṭālibāt*) and vexatious demand (*muzāḥimāt*), such as *ḳūbčūr* on flocks, the upkeep of the great post stations, the bearing of the heavy burdens of the law (*yāsāḳ*) and *ḳalānāt*, which in these days we have once and for all removed" (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 304). On the other hand, the phrase which occurs later in the same document, *mardum-i čirīk ki bi ḳalān dar āmada and wa kūč dihand* (308) could be plausibly explained as "soldiers who have been brought into the assessment for sedentary taxes but [still] perform military service", though it need not necessarily bear this interpretation. If *kūč* means, as Minovi suggests, money paid by someone to the *dīwān* in lieu of performing military service as irregulars (*čirik*), then the phrase could mean, 'soldiers who have been brought into the assessment for sedentary taxes and give money to the *dīwān* in lieu of service as irregular forces (cf. Badīʿ al-Zamān Fīrūzānfar, *Kulliyyāt-i Shams*, Tehran 1966, pt. vii, 404-5), but this interpretation is not in keeping with the general tenor of the *yarlīgh* in question.

The term *ḳalān* occurs in the *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*. In a letter from Rashīd al-Dīn to his son Shihāb al-Dīn, governor of Shushtar, in which the tax lists for Khūzistān are set out, there are separate headings for *tamghā*, *kharādj-i arbāb*, *māl wa kharādj-i dīwānī*, *mawāshī*, *nimār wa ḳappānī*, *niḥāla*, *čirīk*, and *ḳalān bi djihat-i umarā-yi khān ṣādiran wa wāridan* (122-3). Clearly *ḳalān* does not mean in this document either "regular" taxes or land taxes, but rather, possibly, some sort of corvée or service (cf. also Ibn Bazzāz, *Ṣafwat al-ṣafāʾ*, ed. Aḥmad b. Karīm Tabrīzī, Bombay lith. 1911, 68).

The Mongols, when they took possession of Persia, did not establish a uniform administration over the whole empire. Part of the country, as stated above, was farmed. Like the Arabs and Saldjūḳs before them, they largely took over the existing administration, but with this difference that they remained as conquerors living a separate existence from the conquered population to a far greater degree than had been the case with the Arabs, to whom the conquered peoples became assimilated by conversion to Islam, and the Saldjūḳs, who had been converted to Islam before they overran Persia. The Mongols divided their empire into provinces (*mamālik*) or *tumen*s, which broadly followed the lines of the provinces of the former great empires. They relied heavily upon local officials for the financial administration of their empire, and under their influence the Mongol system in the course of time became assimilated to the system which was current in the conquered territories. The Mongols, in the early years of the conquests, were a privileged class. How far, if at all, they were subject to taxation is by no means clear. So far as the revenue assessments were drawn up at the centre by the officials of the *dīwān*, it seems probable that they continued to be based primarily on the land, though, as shown by ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī, there would appear to have been an increase in poll-taxes and taxes on industry. When, however, these assessments were partitioned locally, it may be that this was sometimes done on the basis of a poll-tax.

Rashīd al-Dīn's account of the Īlkhānid administration prior to Ghāzān Khān suggests that considerable variety prevailed in the fiscal administration. In assessing his account it must be remembered that his object was, in part at least, to show that the administration was in a state of disorder and that extortion had ruined the peasants. He states "before describing how the Lord of the World (Ghāzān Khān) reformed conditions in ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, Ādharbāydjān, and the provinces whose *dīwān* taxes consisted of *ḳūbčūr* and *tamghā*, I will mention briefly what a state of confusion had prevailed prior to this. The situation was such that these provinces were given on a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract to governors (*ḥukkām*), each one being assessed at a fixed sum, "regular" expenses (*ikhrādjāt-i muḳarrarī*) being debited against it. The governor used to levy two *ḳūbčūr* from the subjects (*raʿiyyat*) and in some places twenty or thirty *ḳūbčūr*. The governor's instructions were to allocate among the individual taxpayers the sum due on account of *ḳūbčūr* according to the revenue assessment (*djamʿ*) given to him [reading *bunīča sākhtī* for *natīdja sākhtī*]. When an *ilčī* came to the province on account of some matter or to demand a tax or something that was needed, the governor, on that pretext, would impose a *ḳūbčūr* on the individual taxpayers (*ḳūbčūrī ḳismat kardī*), and although many *ilčī*s would come and their expenses (*ikhrādjāt*) and demands (*multamisāt*) would be unlimited, the governor would nevertheless be happy at their arrival and make requisitions upon the taxpayers, now for some important affair, now for the forage and expenses (*ʿulūfa wa ikhrādjāt*) of the *ilčī*s, and now for some special undertaking or demand (*taʿahhud wa multamisāt*). Part of what he collected he would expend on those matters, part he would appropriate himself, and part he would give to the *shiḥna* and the *bitikčī*s so that they would become his accomplices and support him in his lies. Of all the taxes taken from the subjects nothing would be transmitted to the treasury and the taxes of the province (*amwāl-i wilāyāt*) would all be absorbed by "regular" expenses (*ikhrādjāt-i muḳarrarī*) and drafts (*ḥawālāti cand*)" (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 243-4). Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell from the Persian text whether ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam and Ādharbāydjān were among the provinces whose *dīwān* taxes consisted of *ḳūbčūr* and *tamghā* or whether they fell into another category of provinces.

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's account in the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* also suggests that considerable variety prevailed. He states that the important province of Khurāsān enjoyed a special status. This was because most of the wazirs and scribes of the supreme *dīwān* were Khurāsānīs, and so they had constituted Khurāsān, Ḳuhistān, Ḳumis, Māzandarān and Ṭabaristān into a separate province (*mamlakat*), the accounts of which were kept apart from those of other provinces. Ḥamd Allāh alleges that they put 200,000 *dīnār*s annually against the revenues nominally for the expenses of the army of Khurāsān, thus reducing the amount due to the central treasury. This situation continued until the reign of Abū Saʿīd, when Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Dīn found out and stopped the practice. He had intended to draw up an account of the taxes of the province, deduct from the total the regular expenses of the province, sums for the *iḳṭāʿ*s of the soldiers and other local expenses, and to have the rest remitted to the treasury, but he died before he was able to implement these reforms (Persian text, 147. Cf. also *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i*

Ghāzānī which states that prior to Ghāzān's reforms 80% of the drafts on the revenue of Khurāsān were unpaid, 244).

In his account of the revenue of the different provinces and districts, Ḥamd Allāh makes a difference between the revenues of certain towns and their surrounding districts (*wilāyāt*), the former being provided by *tamghā* taxes and the latter by *dīwān* dues (*ḥuḳūḳ-i dīwān*). Among the towns and districts described in this way, all of which were along the main trade routes, were Baghdād, Kūfa, Wāsiṭ, Ḥilla, Iṣfahān, Sulṭāniyya, Ḳazwīn, Ḳumm, Kāshān, Hamadān, Yazd, Tabrīz, Ūdjān, Ahar, Shushtar, Āwa, Sāwa, Zandjān, Marāgha, and Shīrāz. The *tamghā* of the last five were farmed. Writing of Fārs, Ḥamd Allāh states that the *dīwān* dues were in his time 2,871,200 currency *dīnār*s (*dīnār-i rā'idj*) and that in the provinces (*wilāyāt*) they were levied for the most part in kind (*maḥṣūl*), but in the towns they were fixed as *tamghā* (113). The inference to be drawn is that the taxes outside the towns were mainly land taxes. Ḥamd Allāh makes no mention of *tamghā* or other taxes in his description of the provinces of Kirmān, Khurāsān, Māzandarān or Ṭabaristān. So far as the last three are concerned this may have been because of the special situation which prevailed in Khurāsān. In ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab, what survived of the assessment of Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf was known as *kharādj-i rātib* and was included, when Ḥamd Allāh was writing, among the sums due to the *dīwān* (*mutawadjdjihāt-i dīwānī*), which amounted in the Khānī year 35 (A.D. 1335) to 300,000 currency *dīnār*s. He points out that if the same amount of land had been under cultivation as in the time of ʿUmar double this amount would have been yielded (29). In Kūfa *kharādj* was paid at the rate of one-third of winter and summer crops, the remaining two-thirds being equally divided between the tenant [reading *tānī*] and the cultivator (reading *barzigar*). The province (*wilāyat*), at the time he was writing, was assessed by the *dīwān* (? *muḳarrar bi dīwān ast*, 31). Orchards (*bāghistān*) in ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab paid *kharādj*, either according to the old assessment of Ḥadjdjādj or according to a new assessment (*kharādj-i ḥādith*) (31).

There is very little doubt that this "double" system of taxation bore heavily upon the people and also that it was the additional "Mongol" taxes which were felt to be especially onerous (cf. the poems of Pūr Bahā quoted above). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī alleges that most of the districts of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam were ruined because of *ḳūbčūr* and that the people had abandoned their homes, "so much so that in Ḳazwīn the Friday prayers were not performed" (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 603-4). The tax officials brought up in pre-Mongol traditions, probably disapproved of the new taxes, just as the *ʿulamā'* had earlier disapproved of the *mukūs*. They were unable to abolish them altogether. The most that they could do was to limit them, or sometimes to abrogate them temporarily. In a letter to his son, Amīr Maḥmūd, when the latter was governor (*ḥākim*) of Kirmān, Rashīd al-Dīn states that it had been reported to him that he (Amīr Maḥmūd) had committed oppression against the people of Bam and had ruined them by imposing upon them additional cesses, *dīwān* dues (*tafāwut wa takālīf-i dīwānī*) and repeated royal drafts (*ḥawālāt-i sulṭānī*), and by the levy of *ḳalān*, *ḳūbčūr*, [money for] soldiers (*čirīk*) and various expenses (*ikhrādjāt-i mutafarriḳa* (*Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, 11). He instructs him to remit for three years *ḳalān*, *ḳūbčūr*, *ṭayyārāt* (occasional taxes) and the *dīwān* dues levied for Kirmān and the Great Urdu, so that prosperity might return to the deserted places and uncultivated lands, and agriculture be resumed. As for his own estates in Bam, seed and advances for the purchase of draught oxen and food were to be given to the peasants if they so desired (*ibid.*, 12).

The reforms of Ghāzān Khān may have succeeded to some extent in ameliorating the condition of the peasants: certainly Rashīd al-Dīn alleges that prosperity returned during his reign. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, on the other hand, while he gives due emphasis to Ghāzān's reforms, shows that the change in agricultural conditions was not dramatic, though he alleges further improvement under Uldjāytū (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 606).

Such figures as are given by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Waṣṣāf, incomplete though they are, suggest that the improvement was only marginal and that there was a striking fall in revenue compared to Saldjūḳ times. Prior to the reign of Ghāzān, the *dīwān* received annually, according to Waṣṣāf, 18,000,000 *dīnār*s, or according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī 17,000,000. After Ghāzān's reforms, the figure rose to 21,000,000 but fell in 1335-40 to 19,203,800. It is not clear whether these figures include the sums which were deducted for the expenses of local administration or not. Under the Saldjūḳ ruler, Malikshāh, *dīwān* revenue had amounted to 215,000,000 red gold *dīnār*s, the equivalent according to Ḥamd Allāh of 500,000,000 currency *dīnār*s (see further Petrushevsky, who estimates the *dīwān* revenue for the pre-Mongol period on the basis of figures in the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* to have been 100,580,000 currency *dīnār*s, *op. cit.*, 479 ff.). The figures for the two periods are not necessarily strictly comparable, because the extent of the land alienated from the control of the *dīwān* and of crown lands was not identical. The evidence, fragmentary though it is, would, nevertheless, seem to point to a marked decline in the revenue reaching the *dīwān*, though the decline was not equal in all provinces. If the revenue was still derived largely from land taxes, as would seem to have been the case, such a decline could be largely accounted for by first a decrease in the amount of land under cultivation consequent upon depopulation and the increase in the number of nomads, and secondly the removal of large areas of the country from the fiscal control of the agents of the central government.

Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs. Under the Ṣafawids, there was a revival both of agriculture and trade, and it seems likely that the sums reaching the *dīwān* from *kharādj* once more increased, but the proportion which they formed of the total may have fallen somewhat. Such figures as are available do not give a detailed breakdown (though an examination of Ottoman records for those provinces which from time to time came under Ottoman domination would doubtless throw further light), while the fluctuation in the extent of *mamālik* and *khāṣṣa* land [see KHĀLIṢA] together with the changing distribution of *tuyūl*s, *suyūrghāl*s, and *awḳāf* further obscures the situation. Minorsky, on the basis of the figures in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, puts the revenue towards the end of the Ṣafawid period at 800,000 *tūmān*s, excluding revenue directly collected by the *khāṣṣa* administration. He suggests that land taxes may have been responsible for 61% of the total. This may be an under-estimate. He also analyses the estimates of the revenue given by European travellers, which, he points out, were, in the absence of official statistics and the secrecy surrounding the question of state revenue, purely hypothetical. Chardin, who gives the

fullest account, puts forward, with some reserve, a total figure of 32,000,000 *livres* or 70,000 *tūmāns*. This figure is not far short of that given in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, but Chardin's figure includes 14,000,000 *francs* from demesnes, i.e. *khāṣṣa*, and only 2,000,000 *francs* from provincial revenues (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 173 ff.).

In the 18th century there was a period of recession. Rustam al-Ḥukamā᾽ puts the revenue, excluding *pīshkash*, under Karīm Khān (whose writ did not run in Khurāsān) at 550,000 *tūmāns* (*Rustam al-tawārīkh*, 322). In the nineteenth, the general trend was again towards expansion, although the total area under the control of Persia had greatly diminished. In the absence of statistics, however, it is not possible to give detailed figures, though an examination of the records of the *mustawfīs* would, no doubt, yield further information. Macdonald Kinneir, writing about 1813, states that the total revenue did not much exceed three million *tūmāns*, of which the land taxes and revenue from crown lands probably amounted to two-thirds (*A geographical memoir on the Persian empire*, London 1813, 47). According to Malcolm the "fixed" revenue amounted, in 1810, to some £ 3,000,000. This derived chiefly from first the produce of crown and government lands, secondly taxes and imposts on landed property (i.e. real estate in towns and villages), rents of houses, caravansarais, baths, shops and water mills, and thirdly duties on goods and merchandise. The last two items had greatly increased under the Ḳādjārs (*History of Persia*, ii, 336, 340).

At the end of the reign of Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh (1797-1834), the revenue is reported to have amounted to 2,081,532 *tūmāns* in cash and payments in kind worth 379,217 *tūmāns*. The main constituents of the latter were 163,084 *kharwārs* (675 lbs each) of wheat, at 2 *tūmāns* each, 12,850 *kharwārs* of rice, at 3 *tūmāns* each, and 965 *manns* of silk, at 6 *tūmāns* each. (Revenues of Persia ordered by the late Shah to be paid to the General credit of Government, India Office, LP and S/9, vol. 53, quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran*, 361-2.)

By about 1868, despite the sharp fall in silk production in Gīlān, the total revenue had increased by 3½ crores of *tūmāns* (or £ 694,000) and amounted to 4,361,660 *tūmāns* (or £ 1,744,664) in money, most of which was from land tax, besides payments in kind in barley, wheat, rice, and silk valued at 550,840 *tūmāns* (or £ 220,336) (Thomson, *Report, op. cit.*, 250-1). The revenue of Khurāsān, which towards the end of the reign of Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh had been *ca.* 200,000 *tūmāns* in money and 46,000 *kharwārs* in grain, was about the year 1876, although the population had decreased (because of the contraction of the frontiers), some 340,000 *tūmāns* in money and 46,000 *kharwārs* in barley and wheat, 620 *kharwārs* in rice and 83 *kharwārs* in tobacco. The whole of this was absorbed in payments for military service, pensions, salaries and other local disbursements (F.O. 60: 379. *Report on the Toorkoman tribes occupying the districts between the Caspian and the Oxus by Mr. Ronald Thomson, Secretary of Legation*, incl. in W. Taylor Thomson to Lord Derby, Tehran, No. 22, 29 February 1876, p. 211). From the fragmentary evidence available it is not clear to what extent this increase may have been due to more effective revenue collection, increased cultivation including more cash crops (which paid a higher rate of taxation), a decrease in the areas of land alienated from the control of the government or other causes.

The great famine of 1869-72 adversely affected the collection of revenue, especially from the southern, central and northeastern provinces, which were the most severely affected by famine and cholera and took several years to recover. Only in and after 1884 did the total revenue from direct taxes surpass, in nominal terms, the total revenue of the pre-famine years. Assessments, however, were not adjusted to the growth in agricultural production which took place in many districts or to the fall in the real value of the kran, and as a result, government revenue from direct taxes at constant prices compared to the pre-famine years had fallen by the late 1890s (see further G. G. Silbermann, *op. cit.*). The figures given by Curzon for the 1888-9 budget show an apparent increase due to the depreciation of the silver currency. The total revenue was calculated at 55,369,516 krans (10 krans = 1 *tūmān*). *Māliyyāt* contributed 54,177,740 krans (taxes paid in cash 36,076,757 krans, taxes paid in kind 10,100,983 krans, and customs 8,000,000 krans), and revenue from other sources 1,191,776 krans (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 480-1). By the year 1900 total revenues had ostensibly risen to 7,000,000 *tūmāns* (*Report on the Persian army, op. cit.*, 11-12). The proportion of the whole formed by land tax was, however, probably slightly less than had been the case earlier. In 1905, the year preceding the grant of the Constitution, the total revenue was put at roughly £ 1,425,000. *Māliyyāt* (which consisted mainly of land taxes) amounted to £ 800,000. The percentage which it formed of the whole had thus considerably dropped, but it was still the largest single item and almost double the next highest item, which was customs (F.O. 416/26, App. (A) in Hardinge to Grey, London, 23 December 1905, separate and confidential). Thus agriculture still retained in the early 20th century its importance as the main economic activity of the country, and the state still depended, as it had in earlier times, upon land taxes for its current expenditure. Basically, the old patterns of land revenue assessment and collection, which had shown a striking continuity over the centuries, lived on and rulers still looked to the land—and this, in effect, meant to the peasants—to provide them with the material resources to support themselves and their governments.

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(A. K. S. Lambton)

III.—In Ottoman Turkey.

This term denoted in Ottoman usage both the land tax and the poll-tax on the state's non-Muslim subjects. In some documents the term *kharādj ru᾽ūsu* refers to the *djizya* [*q.v.*] payers (M. T. Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 158; the *ḳānūnnāme* of Ḳandiya dated 1081/1670, in Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI asırlarda Osmanlı imperatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları*, i. *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 351), whereas the word *kharādj* was only used for the tax put on the land. In the early period, both the *kharādj* and *djizya* were collected by the *kharādjdji*, an official appointed to collect the *kharādj*, so that the officials collecting the *djizya* were also called *kharādjdjis* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 2775, p. 455). This state of affairs can also be seen in a *kharādj* register showing the records of *kharādj* and *djizya* between the years 954-6/1547-9 (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 191).

The lands of the Ottoman Empire were, in financial theory, divided into three categories: (1) *arāḍī-ᶜöshriyye*; (2) *arāḍī-i kharādjiyye*; and (3) *arḍ-i*

memleket, but in practice there was a great variety of application. *ʿÖs͟hur* land was the land given to the Muslims at the time of the conquests in return for a tithe. *K͟harād͟j* land was the land retained by the non-Muslims in return for a tithe or greater proportion levied on its product, the *k͟harād͟j-i muḳāsama*, plus an annual requirement in cash.

The so-called *arḍ-i memleket* (that is, state or *mīrī* land) was not the property of the subjects (*reʿāyā*) but cultivated by them on a temporary basis; they paid *k͟harād͟j-i muḳāsama* instead of *ʿös͟hur*, according to the amount of produce obtained from the land, and *k͟harād͟j-i muwaẓẓaf* instead of the *čift aḳčesi* (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 4, 66, 297-8, *Ḳānūn-name-i Sulṭān Süleymān ve Ebu's-Suʿūd Efendi'niñ maʿrūḍāt risālesi*, in *MTM*, i (Istanbul 1331), 109).

The 1081/1670 *taḥrīr defteri* of the island of Crete, newly added to the Ottoman Empire in 1080/1669, is the latest and perhaps the last register showing what the *k͟harād͟j* lands were and how this tax was applied. It was decided that one-fifth should be taken as *k͟harād͟j-i muḳāsama* from the produce of the lands retained by the non-Muslims. Those harvesting two crops a year would pay *k͟harād͟j* twice. The vineyards and orchards were surveyed and a *dirham-i s͟harʿī* was taken annually from every *d͟jarīb* of them. *K͟harād͟j-i muḳāṭaʿa* was a tax taken from the land even if the owner did not sow it. *K͟harād͟j* lands were the full property of their owners, and therefore they had right to sell them as they liked; when the owner of the land died, it was divided between his heirs. If the non-Muslim owner of *k͟harād͟j* land abandoned his land and fled, then his land was rented out and its *k͟harād͟j* was taken from its produce (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 351-2). The financial difficulties of the Christian *reʿāyā* in a newly-conquered land were taken into consideration. For example, in the island of Cyprus, immediately after its conquest in 980/1572, a register was made, and as a result of it, the non-Muslim subjects, taking into consideration their financial situation, were classified into three groups: the rich, people with average incomes (the middle class), and the people with lower incomes (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 349).

The *k͟harād͟j* taken from the non-Muslim subjects varied according to the productivity of the land and the type of agriculture practised on it. While 3 *aḳčes* were taken from every 100 vine-stems of a vine-yard in the region of Malatya, 10, 8, 6 or even 4 were taken in the Arab lands (966/1559 *ḳānūnnāme* of Malatya *sandjaḳ*). In Aleppo, 40 *aḳčes* were taken from every 100 fruit trees and 40 from every 1000 vine-stems (978/1570 *ḳānūnnāme* of Aleppo). In Damascus and Jerusalem, one *aḳče* for every 2 olive trees, 2 *aḳčes* for every date palm and walnut tree, one *aḳče* for every 5 other fruit trees, and 10 *aḳčes* for every 100 vine stems, were paid as *k͟harād͟j* (*ḳānūnnāmes* of Damascus and Jerusalem, in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 116-7, 207, 217, 220). The money taken from non-Muslims as *k͟harād͟j* varied because of changes in the value of money, but it does not seem that there was a substantial variation in the amount of annual *k͟harād͟j* paid by the Christian subjects around the end of the 9th/15th and the beginning of the 10th/16th centuries; the amount of the *k͟harād͟j* varied between 40 to 50 *aḳčes* during the middle years of the 10th/16th century (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 23, 57, 96, 101, 105, 240, 301, 303). But in some regions, for example in Karadağ (Montenegro), the amount of *k͟harād͟j* remained at 33 *aḳčes* for a long period between the years 934/1529 to 978/1570 (*Kanuni i Kanunname, Za Bosanski, Hercegevaski, Zverniski, Kliski, Crnegorski, Skadarski sandzak*, Serajevo 1957, 169, 173). However, some groups were exempted from the payment of the *k͟harād͟j*, including certain groups serving in the army such as the *voynuḳs*, Christian cavalrymen in the Balkans (H. Inalcık, *Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı imperatorluğuna*, in *Fatih devri üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, i, Ankara 1954, 173-4), and the *Eflāḳān* or Wallachians serving as guards and watchmen in the fortresses and outposts of such places as Semendre (Smedereve), Vidin and Eramişeva (*Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOt͟hmān*, ed. Meḥmed ʿĀrif, Istanbul 1329, 63-4). Also exempted were miners and quarrymen together with their sons (*Ḳānūnnāme-i liwā-i Bosna* (*Kanuni i Kanunname*), 15, 41, 170), and the Christians employed in public service, e.g. as *derbendd͟jis* (guardians of internal security in the provinces) (Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 224, document dated 12th D͟jumādā II 860/18th May 1456).

The *k͟harād͟j* collectors (*k͟harād͟jd͟jiler*) had registers listing the amounts of tax required (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, no. 10140, *defter* dated 959, 1552), and the annual *k͟harād͟j* was collected according to this *defter*. Local officials were required to help the *k͟harād͟j* collectors (*Kanuni i Kanunname*, 41, 103). The *reʿāyā* acquired a receipt from the collector, which they had to keep. These receipts (*K͟harād͟j kāg͟hītlarī*, *k͟harād͟j ted͟hkireler*) recorded such information as the name of the tax payer and the name of his father, his country, the colour of his hair, beard and skin, plus his physical description, together with the year, month and day on which the tax was paid (for an example dating from 1765, see Henry Granville, *Observations sur l'état actuel de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 36-7). Because of the incidence of disputes and disagreements between the subjects and the *k͟harād͟j*-collectors, the activities of the latter were controlled and inspected by officials from the group of *čawus͟hs* of the Imperial court, and in the light of their findings, a new *defter* might be drawn up (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, No. 1531, *defter* of 937/1531, No. 9691, document dated 932/1526). These inspections were made every three years. In the course of them, names of dead persons (*mürde*) were removed from the *defter*, and the names of those who had become old enough (*bālig͟h*) to pay *k͟harād͟j* were added as *nev-yāfte* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, 389; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 44). Women and children did not pay *k͟harād͟j*, but male children paid it when they were mature (Granville, *op. cit.*, 36).

The instructions given to the *k͟harād͟jid͟js* defined their duties and sphere of authority. Of these, the oldest document is dated 880/1475-6. According to this, if some of the *reʿāyā* on *tīmār* land ran away, the half of the *k͟harād͟j* of that land was to be taken from the *tīmār*-holder and the other half from the remaining *reʿāyā*. If one of the *k͟harād͟j* payers died, then his yearly *k͟harād͟j* was taken from his family and relatives; if they were not able to pay this, then it would be taken once only from the other villagers, and afterwards his name would be removed from the *k͟harād͟j* register. *K͟harād͟j* was collected by the *k͟harād͟j-emīn* and his staff at the latest before the month of S͟haʿbān every year, with the help of the local officials. The *k͟harād͟j* money collected each day would be counted up in front of those concerned, weighed and set down in a special register with the help of the local *ḳāḍī*, and recorded village by village. These registers were forwarded with the money to Istanbul through the agency of one of the *k͟harād͟j* collectors (*Ḳānūn-nāme-i Sulṭānī ber mūd͟jeb-i ʿörf-i*

ʿ*Othmānī*, ed. R. Anhegger and H. Inalcık, Ankara 1956, 76-8). The heads of Christian villages, and their notables such as priests, were charged with the responsibility of collecting the *kharādj*, *angaria* and the other taxes (cf. *Polonyalı Simeon'un seyahat namesi* (*1608-1619*), tr. H. D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1964, 134).

The Christian dependent provinces like Ragusa or Dubrovnik, Moldavia and Transylvania were counted among the tributary *reʿāyā* because they paid an agreed, fixed amount every year (the *kharādj maḳṭūʿ*) in gold (cf. N. H. Biegman, *The Turco-Ragusan relationship*, The Hague 1967, 132-3, 138, 140, 142 and C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler: Telhisler* (*1597-1607*), Istanbul 1970, 35); but the situation of Ragusa, because it accepted the payment of *kharādj* as a result of a peace agreement and not after conquest, was somewhat different to that of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania. The tributes taken from the peace agreements made after the victories of the Ottoman Empire in the west, at the times when it was powerful, were also described as *kharādj*, e.g. those paid at certain times by Austria and Venice (L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1965, i, 481). In the 11th/17th century, when there was a dispute over the question of borders, the Ottomans claimed (basing their argument on the *defters*) that the villages and towns in dispute belonged to the empire because of the presence there of *kharādj*-paying non-Muslim subjects (Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterhazy*, *1606-1645*, Budapest 1932, 65 ff., 82 ff.).

From the end of the 12th/18th century, the task of collecting *kharādj* in the largely non-Muslim regions passed into the hands of the non-Muslim local élite (priests, headmen, etc.). From this time, too, the word *kharādj* came to be linked with the word *bādj* in the phrase *kharādj we bādj*, which was current till the *Tanẓīmāt* period (K. Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters in türkischer Sprache*, Freiburg-in-Breisgau 1970, 149 (dated 1112/1700), 162 (dated 1194/1780) 185 (dated 1254/1838). The officers charged with collecting the *kharādj* were everywhere called *kharādj-emīni*s, and at the beginning of the 19th century there was established an office of *kharādj* which looked after various problems involved in the tax and which later also took care of the *djizya* at the same time.

The *Tanẓīmāt* decree of 1839 brought a new concept of citizenship into the society of the Ottoman state, the idea that both the Muslims and the Christians living in the Empire were to be treated as equal before the law. This involved the question of taxation, including the *kharādj*, for the abolition of which there was pressure from Western diplomats in Istanbul.

A decision on this was only taken after the 1856 reforms, when both *kharādj* and *djizya* were abolished, and instead, non-Muslim subjects were to pay a tax in lieu of military service (*bedel-i ʿaskerī*) (cf. G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, London 1866, 13, 67); the tax is also mentioned under the names *ʿaskerī*, *kharādj*, *djizya*, *imdādiyye*, *niẓāmiyye*, *bedelāt* (cf. James Barker, *Turkey*, New York 1877, 384; for the *bedelāt-i ʿaskeriyye*, see *Düstür*, Istanbul 1289, ii, 26-33, and see also BADAL).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the article, see ʿAbdurraḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālif Ḳawāʿidi*, Istanbul 1328, i, 21-23, 54, 263-4; Süleymān Sūdī, *Defter-i muḳtesid*, Istanbul 1307, i, 55-8, 68 ff.; Ö. L. Barkan, *894* (*1488/1489*) *yılı cizyesinin tahsilatına ait muhasebe bilançoları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belgeler, (Ankara 1964), 5-6; H. Hadzi Begič, *Dzizya ili harac, Prilozi*, iii, 51-135, iv, 43-102; idem, *Glavarina u Osmanskej Drzavi*, Sarajevo 1966; C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler: Telhisler* (*1597-1607*), Istanbul 1970, 35, 75, 91; C. MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, London 1829, 225, 226; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers Sultans*, Paris 1960, 102, 103, 104, 148, 149, 150; Glisa Elezovič, *Turkski spomenici*, Belgrade 1940, 1952, see index; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, Haraç-i arazi defterleri, no. 174, 175, 176; *Sultan I. Selim'in Kanunnamesi*, ed. A. S. Tveritinova, Moscow 1969, 107; Theodore Spandouyn Cantacusin, *Petit Traicté de l'Origine des Turqz*, Paris 1896, 142, 143, 144, 145; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1957, i/2, 251, 252; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913, 175; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reichs*, repr. 1963, i, 212, 213, 240, 424, 343, 344, ff. ii, 165, 151; J. Porter, *Turkey*, London 1854, ii, 209-11, 213; Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 737.

(CENGİZ ORHONLU)

IV.—IN THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT

In India, the term *kharādj* was less common in the administrative literature, being replaced by other expressions such as *ḥāṣil* or *maḥṣūl*, meaning revenue or land-revenue. As in other Muslim lands, the *kharādj* in Muslim India also had two distinct forms, to which names of *muḳāsama* and *muwaẓẓaf* or *waẓīfa* were given. The former is defined as an impost which depended on the actual produce of the land, and was leviable only when the land was cultivated; the latter depended on the return that the land was capable of yielding, and was due whether the land was tilled or not. It is the *waẓīfa* which is meant when the term *kharādj* is mentioned by the Muslim writers or historians of India, unless the *muḳāsama* is specifically named.

The earliest record of the imposition of the *kharādj* in Muslim India relates to the reign of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1316), who fixed the standard of the revenue-demand at one-half of the produce, an arrangement which set the pattern for the agrarian system in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. A notable aspect of the implementation of the *kharādj* was a remarkable degree of harmony in the relation between the Sultan and the tribute-paying Hindu chiefs.

The system initiated by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was never completely put into effect and soon fell into desuetude; it was not till the time of Shēr Shāh that any effort was made to revive it. The changes which the Dihlī sultans endeavoured to introduce were afterwards perfected in the system which the Mughal administration under Akbar adopted concerning the imposition of the *kharādj*. Akbar first established a uniform standard of length which he termed *gaz-i-ilāhī* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (corresponding to the Arab *dhirāʿ* [*q.v.*]) and having adopted the *djarīb*, which he called *bīgha*, as the measure of surface area, he fixed it at 3,600 square *gaz*. The land was divided into four kinds on the basis of its potential fertility. Of these four kinds, only the category called Perowty, i.e. land kept out of cultivation for a short time to regain its strength, was in reality the *kharādj-i*

waẓīfa of the Islamic law which Akbar imposed, and the person immediately liable for the *kharādj* was the husbandman, who was assured of all required assistance by the state. In terms of the principles of this kind of *kharādj*, the cultivators who paid taxes direct to the state received proprietary rights from the conquerors in respect of the lands which they tilled.

Akbar's system of *kharādj* revenue collection did not cover his entire dominion, for the outlying *ṣūbas* contained large tracts of land which were left unmeasured; hence, in such cases, the Emperor himself, in accordance with the rules of *kharādj-i muḳāsama*, retained ownership of the land. The tenure and the position of the cultivators under Djahāngīr and Shāhdjahān was pretty much the same as was in vogue under Akbar's policy of settlement. The ownership rights of the husbandmen to the land of the *kharādj-i waẓīfa* continued to prevail even throughout Awrangzīb's puritanical reign. Under Awrangzīb, the religious jurists on whose *fatwā*s or pronouncements the royal orders were issued, sought guidance not from the rules or orders of Shēr Shāh or Akbar, but from the standard Islamic law books or commentaries written at an earlier period in the Arab lands. Standard authorities such as Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf were closely consulted when *farmān*s regarding the *kharādj* were drafted, with the result that Islamic terms, ideas and institutions, which were not in accordance with the facts of indigenous Indian life, were imported into the Muslim Indian system more vigorously.

In the midst of the chaotic political conditions following Awrangzīb's death in 1118/1707, when some strong-armed adventurers took over the reins of rulership as *ṣūbadār*s in outlying areas of the empire, the regular institution of the *kharādj* fell into disruption. The exigencies and characters of the rulers in particular territories brought about various pressures on the land, so that in some localities the cultivator, who was normally left with two-thirds of the produce of the land after paying one-third as *kharādj*, had to remain content with the bare minimum necessary for his and his family's subsistence. This state of affairs continued to prevail in the country till the British rulers brought about a settlement of the land revenue in 1793.

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(ABDUS SUBHAN)

KHĀRAG (usually shortened to Khārg; Khārak in Arabic), a coral island in the Persian Gulf off the coast of Persia at lat. 29° 16′ N, long. 50° 19′ E. Lying 55 km. northwest of Būshahr [*q.v.*], the island is 8 km. long from north to south and 4 km. broad. Much of it is covered by treeless hills with a maximum height of 75 m. Four km. to the north is the smaller island of Khārgū (Arabic Khuwayrik). Between the two islands and also west of Khārag are banks where pearls of exceptional value were sometimes found until commercial pearling withered away in the present century.

Whether Khārag is to be identified with one of the islands in the Persian Gulf mentioned in the Greek and Roman sources remains uncertain. An examination of burial caves and rock carvings has indicated that a Christian community existed on the island in the 3rd century A.D.

The early Muslim geographers list Khārag as belonging to the *kūra* of Ardashīr Khurra [see FĪRŪZĀBĀD]. It is also described as lying opposite the town of Djannāba [*q.v.*]. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih, Khārag as a port of call on the route from al-Baṣra to ʿUmān and India was known for its cereals, grapes, and dates.

Yāḳūt, who visited Khārag more than once, saw the shrine pilgrims believed to be the tomb of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], a belief Yāḳūt declares unhistorical. Yāḳūt quotes Abū ʿUbayda as saying that Abū Ṣufra, the father of the renowned Umayyad general al-Muhallab [*q.v.*], was a native of Khārag who, for his military prowess, was adopted by the tribe of al-Azd. Abu ʿUbayda's statement is corroborated by verses of al-Farazdaḳ.

In modern times Khārag first became prominent in the second half of the 12th/18th century, when the Dutch East India Company made it the main base for its commercial activities in the Persian Gulf. The company's factor, the Prussian Baron von Kniphausen, secured the cession of the island by Mīr Nāṣir, the lord of Bandar Rīg on the mainland 35 km. to the northeast. Building a fort on the northeastern side of the island, the Baron proceeded to develop a flourishing community, described in detail by the Englishman E. Ives and the German C. Niebuhr, who stayed there in 1171/1758 and 1178-9/1765 respectively. Shortly after Niebuhr left, the Dutch were driven out by Mīr Muhannā of Bandar Rīg, who took up residence on the island. Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] then invested the island and forced Mīr Muhannā to flee to al-Baṣra, where he met his end. Karīm undertook to turn Khārag over to the French East India Company, but the suppression of the company prevented the arrangement from being consummated. Again during the reign of Fatḥ-ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*], Persia was on the point of giving Khārag to the French but was thwarted by British pressure.

In 1247/1832 bubonic plague on the Persian coast impelled the British Political Residency in the Gulf to move temporarily from Būshahr to Khārgū, and consideration was given to making Khārag its permanent site. When Persian arms advanced against Afghānistān, the British landed troops on Khārag in 1254/1838 and held it until 1259/1842, during part of which time the Residency was headquartered on the island. Lord Auckland, the Governor General of India, dreamed that "Karrak ... could become the Singapore of the Persian Gulph". The initial Russian protest against the occupation of Khārag had failed to sway the British government, but prolonging the British presence there would have run the risk of giving Russia an excuse to move against Persia in the north, and in 1260/1844 the British coal depot was removed from the island.

Britain at the outset of its war with Persia in 1273/1856 again seized Khārag, whose Persian garrison had already been withdrawn. This time the grip on the island was kept for only a little more than a year. General Sir J. Outram, commander of the expeditionary force, advocated without success transferring the Political Residency from Būshahr to Khārag. For years thereafter the island's importance derived in the main from the skill of the pilots it provided for the upper Gulf and from its quarries for stone used in road building.

The growth of the oil industry has given Khārag a newly significant place on the map. The waters off the mainland coast of Persia (now Iran) are too shallow to accommodate large ships, while the island, lying 30 km. away from the coast, has waters deep enough

for this purpose. When Iran's production of oil for export mounted in the mid-20th century, Khārag was selected as the new terminal for shipping crude oil. Pipelines were laid to bring crude in from the producing fields as well as refined products from Ābādān [*q.v.*]. Huge storage tanks were built on Khārag to hold millions of barrels of oil. Tankers coming to carry the oil away berth at a jetty or a sea island; the largest of these vessels displace 500,000 tons. Khārag itself also lies within a recently-discovered area for the production of oil, with the Darius field stretching westwards from the island into the waters of the Persian Gulf. Moreover, the National Iranian Oil Company has constructed on Khārag one of its most elaborate petrochemical complexes. Besides the oil installations, the new prosperity has brought to the island greenhouses for the cultivation of vegetables.

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al-**KHARĀʾIṬĪ**, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Sāmarrī, traditionist and man of letters, originally from Surra man raʾā (Sāmarrā; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vi, 297, makes him a native of Samaria/Sāmira), who was, in particular, the pupil of ʿUmar b. Shabba [*q.v.*]. In 325/937 he went to Damascus and taught there *ḥadīth*, dying at ʿAsḳalān (at Jaffa, according to Ziriklī) in 327/939 aged *ca.* 90 years. He left behind several works on ethics and on belles-lettres, one of which has been printed at Cairo in 1350/1931-2, the *Kitāb Makārim al-akhlāḳ wa-maʿālihā*. Others are preserved in manuscript (see Brockelmann, S I, 250); *K. Iʿtilāl al-ḳulūb fī akhbār al-ʿushshāḳ, K. Masāwī ʾl-akhlāḳ wa-madhmūmihā, Faḍīlat al-shukr, K. Ḳamʿ al-ḥirṣ bi ʾl-ḳanāʿa, K. al-Ḳubūr, K. Hawātif al-djinn wa-ʿadjīb mā yuḥkā ʿan al-kuhhān, Taʿāliḳ li-bn ʿĪsā al-Maḳdisī*.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 98; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 139; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, f. 192b; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 309; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 265; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 298; *DM*, iv, 210. (Ed.)

KHARAḲĀNĪ, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, Persian mystic who died on the 10th Muḥarram 425/5th December 1033 at the age of 73. The *nisba* refers to the village of Kharaḳān situated in the mountains to the north of Bisṭām on the road to Astarābād (modern Gurgān). There are several variants for the vocalisation of this place-name even in the early sources for the life of this mystic. This confusion may very well be the result of the existence of other place names with the same consonant outline, such as Kharḳān near Samarḳand and Kharraḳān between Hamadān and Ḳazwīn. In the poems of ʿAṭṭār, the name of the mystic is consistently treated as a word with a closed first syllable (*Kh. rḳānī*). The form preferred in this article is based on the explicit statement by Samʿānī, who seems to have had a first-hand knowledge of the area (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 424; see further on this question, Le Strange, 23, 366; Schwarz, *Iran*, vi, 822; R. A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawi . . . , Commentary to Book iv*, 348, *Heading* [2]). Instead of the patronymic "Ibn Aḥmad", which is supported by all the early sources, "Ibn Djaʿfar" is given by Djāmī and by many subsequent writers who were dependent on him.

The few details which are reported concerning the external life of Kharaḳānī point to a humble origin. He is said to have been a donkey-driver at the time when he was called to the mystic path (Samʿānī). As a youngster, he tended the cattle for his parents. But even in his later years he lived very close to the peasants of his home country. He seems to have travelled very little. There are no reports about his formal education, and he claimed to be an illiterate (*ummī*) who was ignorant about the correct pronunciation of even the most commonly used Arabic formulae (Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 510); some of his sayings show traces of a local dialect.

Kharaḳānī described himself as a resident (*muḳīm*) *shaykh* who only travelled in the spirit. The renown of his high spiritual rank, gained after long years of extreme ascetism, attracted a great number of pilgrims to the hostel which was attached to his hermitage. Among his visitors were the most prominent representatives of Ṣūfism in his time. The meeting between Abū Saʿīd b. Abi ʾl-Khayr and Kharaḳānī in the latter's *khānaḳāh* has been recorded with many details in the hagiographies of both *shaykhs*. ʿAbd ʿAllāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī, who was much impressed by Kharaḳānī, regarded him as an adept (*muntahī*) and chose him as his spiritual guide. Other well-known visitors were Abu'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī, and from outside the mystic circles, Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā and Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Whereas the genuineness of the reports about the last two visits is questionable, the attention paid to Kharaḳānī by the great Ṣūfīs of his time is undoubtedly historical, and fits very well into the pattern of Khurāsānian mysticism in the beginning of the 5th/11th century. The learned Ṣūfī *shaykhs* of the larger cities, in particular of Nīshāpūr, took a lively interest in the single-minded and uncompromising spirituality of local mystics who stayed within the geographically, as well as intellectually, much more restricted realm of the small towns and villages where they were born. Another mystic of this type was Abu'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḳaṣṣāb of Āmul, a butcher turned into a mystic, who enjoyed a similar reputation as Kharaḳānī. He is reported as having predicted that his "little bazar" (*bāzārak*) would, after his death, be taken over by Kharaḳānī (Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 308). There is no evidence, however, of a formal initiation in the form of the bestowal of a *khirḳa*, as Ḳaṣṣāb did in the case of Abū Saʿīd (cf. Ibn al-Munawwar, 50 f.). Kharaḳānī laid claim to a direct succession to the spiritual essence (*rūḥāniyyat*) of Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr al-Bisṭāmī [*q.v.*] in spite of the great interval between his lifetime and that of his teacher. Abū Yazīd is said to have announced the coming of Kharaḳānī and to have initiated him in a dream after he had made a series of miraculous nightly visits to the tomb of Abū Yazīd in Bisṭām. A spiritual relationship of this kind, in which the normal requirement of personal contact between *pīr* and *murīd* is disregarded, is often designated as an "Uwaysī"-relationship. Its archetype is the influence exerted by the Prophet on the pious Yemenī Uways

al-Ḳaranī [*q.v.*] in spite of the fact that they never actually met. The line of mystic tradition which runs through al-Bisṭāmī and Kharaḳānī was later in the same century attached to the classic *silsila* of Ṣūfism by Abū ʿAlī al-Fārmadī (d. 477/1084). In addition to his regular affiliation to Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Gurgānī (d. 469/1076-7), al-Fārmadī chose also Kharaḳānī as his initiator, although it is hardly likely that both men ever met personally. In this way, Kharaḳānī has become a spiritual ancestor of the *ṭarīḳa* of the Khwādjagān out of which the Naḳshbandiyya order developed in the 8th/14th century. The interest of later generations in Kharaḳānī's mysticism is also shown by the use of anecdotes about him in Ṣūfī epic poetry, notably in the works of ʿAṭṭār and of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī, the *Shaykh al-Ishrāḳ* (d. 587/1191), inserted Kharaḳānī after al-Ḥallādj and Abū Yazīd in the line of *Khusrawāniyyūn* who transmitted ecstatic mysticism to him from a pre-Islamic Iranian source (cf. H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, Paris 1971, 36).

It appears from some of the stories told about Kharaḳānī's relationship to contemporary mystics that his claim to the spiritual succession of Abū Yazīd made him into a rival of the leading *shaykh* of the Ṭayfūriyya tradition in Bisṭām, Abū ʿAbd ʿAllāh Muḥammad al-Dāstānī (d. 417/1026), who is often referred to as *Shaykh al-Mashāyikh* (cf. Hudjwīrī, tr. Nicholson, 164; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 338 f.).

According to his hagiographer, the *shaykh* expressed the wish to be buried in Bisṭām near the tomb of his teacher. In the 8th/14th century his grave was visited there by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 82; Beirut 1379/1960, 390). But al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 243) asserts that his grave was to be found in Kharaḳān itself. Recently, a mausoleum of Kharaḳānī has been discovered in the village of Ḳalʿa-yi Naw, north-east of Bisṭām; it was not, it seems, erected earlier than the Mongol period (see R. Hillenbrand, in *Iran*, ix (1971), 161).

Apart from the reflection of his personality in the accounts of his contemporaries, a considerable number of the sayings of Kharaḳānī have been preserved. There is no question of a systematic exposition of a coherent mystic doctrine. These sayings contain the account of a direct mystic experience expressed in bold and terse statements which sometimes possess a great poetic force. The influence of the celebrated utterances of Abū Yazīd is unmistakable. A sharp distinction is made between the profane or the "created beings" (*khalḳ*) who remain attached to the created world, and the "brave ones" (*djawānmardān*) who venture out strive for a return to the world of the Command (*ʿālam al-amr*) to which they really belong. The path of the latter goes through severe ascetic training and should end with the total extinction of the self (*fanāʾ*) and the subsequent permanence in the will of God. The ascetic preparation has no value in itself. The attainment of the goal is entirely an act of Divine Grace. This idea is linguistically expressed by the use of passive verbal forms whenever there is a reference to the fulfilment of the mystic's aim. At that stage, the mystic ceases to be the actor of his own deeds and the speaker of his own words. The highest gift granted to the adept is gnostic knowledge (*maʿrifa*) which is to be distinguished from the positive knowledge (*ʿilm*) of the theologians. When the former kind of knowledge has been attained to its full extent, it appears to be identical with the contents of the religious Law. Kharaḳānī emphasizes that he would refuse to travel any path that would deviate from that of the Prophet. In spite of this adherence to Islamic orthodoxy, he dares to discourage other mystics to travel on to Mecca once they have "crossed the deserts of Kharaḳānī", i.e. after they have visited him and have accepted his teaching. The way of Kharaḳānī is a path of sorrow (*andūh*) and anxiety (*ḳabḍ*) which is contrasted to the joyfulness (*shādī*) and relaxation (*basṭ*) of mystics like Dāstānī and Abū Saʿīd. Humility and self-glorification aie curiously mixed in the utterances of Kharaḳānī. He claims to be one of the rare true servants of God, and many of his sayings have the form of direct revelations from the Unseen. There are also some accounts of experiences in the higher world. One of his pupils recognises him as the *ḳuṭb* of his age. The superior status of the *shaykh* enables him to act as a mediator for other people before the Divine Judge. On the other hand, Kharaḳānī takes great pains to conceal the graces bestowed on him. Neither his ascetic merits nor his miraculous powers, which in the case of Kharaḳānī consist in particular of the gift of foresight (*firāsa*), should mislead the true mystic into false pretentions. It is therefore to be regarded as a special favour of God to His friends that He helps them to conceal these graces from the eyes of the profane. (On the characteristics of Kharaḳānī's mysticism, see also S. de Beaurecueil, *Ansari*, 65-67).

The sayings of Kharaḳānī have been collected by one of his followers in the *Kitāb Nūr al-ʿulūm*. Of this work, only an abstract seems to have survived in the so far unique manuscript British Museum Or. 249, dated 698/1299 (cf. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, 342a; ed. by E. E. Bertel's, in *Iran*, iii (1927), 155-224 = *Izbrannïe Trudï. Sufizm i sufiyskaya literatura*, Moscow 1965, 225-78; the linguistic particularities of this text have been studied in the Introduction to Bertel's edition as well as in M. Taḳī-Bahār, *Sabkshināsī*, ii, Tehran n.d., 226-8 and G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 123-4 and *passim*). Considerably more of the contents of the original has been preserved in the long section on Kharaḳānī in the Supplement to ʿAṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, ii, ed. Nicholson, Leiden-London 1907, 201-55. The *Nūr al-ʿulūm* was divided into ten chapters, the last of which contained hagiographic stories (*manāḳib*) about the *shaykh*. Another chapter was devoted to the prayers (*munādjāt*) of Kharaḳānī. A small separate collection of prayers is also known to exist (cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.* xxv (1939), 63). The attribution of the edition of the *Munādjāt* of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī to Kharaḳānī (cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*², Paris 1968, 274) needs to be verified. Two short *risāla*s attributed to Kharaḳānī have recently come to light in Pakistan (cf. A. Munzawi, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭī-i fārsī*, ii, Tehran 1349 sh., 1101 (nos. 10165-10166). There are also a few quatrains attributed to him (see, e.g. Nadjm al-Dīn Dāya, *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, ed. Tehran 1337/1377, 25, 28; Amīn-i Aḥmad-i Rāzī, *Haft Iḳlīm*, ed. Dj. Fāḍil, Tehran 1340 sh., iii, 335; Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, Tehran 1305/1887-8, 28-9; idem, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ed. Tehran 1295/1878, i, 66; Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library*, i, Oxford 1903, no. 1747, fol. 1b). A commentary to one of the sayings was written by Nadjm al-Dīn Dāya (cf. F. Meier, in *Isl.* xxiv (1937), 38 n.). One of the divinely-inspired utterances (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) of Kharaḳānī has been studied by Rūzbihān Baḳlī.

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tr. Nicholson, London 1911, 163; Anṣārī Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Kābul 1962, index; *Ḥālāt-u sukhanān-i shaykh Abū Saʿīd*, ed. St. Petersburg 1899, 14, 69; Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-tawḥīd*, ed. Tehran 1332 sh., 51, 53, 57, 146-58, 234, 269; al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Leiden-London, fol. 194b; Rūzbihān Baḳlī, *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyyāt*, ed. Tehran-Paris 1966, 41, 317-18; Abu'l-Mafākhir Yaḥyā Bākharzī, *Awrād al-aḥbāb*, ed. Tehran 1340 sh., 117; ʿAṭṭār, *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*, ed. M. Dj. Mashkūr, Tehran 1347 sh., 114, 167, 170; *Ilāhī-nāma*, ed. Leipzig 1940, 362-3; *Muṣībat-nāma*, ed. Tehran 1338 sh., 360; *Asrār-nāma*, ed. Tehran 1338 sh., 115-6 (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1954, index, and 775); Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī-i maʿnawī*, ed. London 1925-1940, iv, *bayt* 1802 ff., 1925 ff.; vi, *bayt* 2204 ff.; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Calcutta 1859, 336-8 (no. 364), 381-4; idem, *Manāḳib shaykh al-Islām ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī*, ed. A. J. Arberry, in *IQ*, vii (1963), 65-6; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914, 87, 133-8, 145; idem, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 42-4; Massignon, *La passion d'Al-Husayn ibn-Mansour al-Ḥalladj*, Paris 1922, 426; E. E. Bertel's, in *Islamica*, iii (1927), 54 ff.; S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, *Khwadja Abdullah Ansari*, Beirut 1963, 62-74; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 32, 52 f., 92, 221; *Aḥwāl wa aḥwāl-i shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan Kharaḳānī, aḳwāl-i ahl-i taṣawwuf dar bāra-i ū ba-ḍamīma-i Muntakhab-i Nūr al-ʿulūm manḳūl az nuskha-i khaṭṭi-i London*, ed. by Mudjtaba Minuwi, Tehran 1354 sh. For further references, see Storey, i, 927 f.

(J. T. P. de Bruijn)

al-**KHARAḲĪ**, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. (Abī) Bishr, Bahā' al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (and also Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Muḥammad) al-Thābitī al-Ḥusaynī al-Marwazī, Persian mathematician, astronomer and geographer, who also concerned himself with philosophical questions. He seems to have been a native of Kharaḳ (see Yāḳūt, s.v.) near Marw, whence his *nisba* (which Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, Tehran 1947, 338, reads as al-Khiraḳī). He lived in Marw, whither he had been summoned by the Khʷārazm-Shāh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (490-521/1097-1127) or by Atsïz (521-51/1127-56), and he also lived in Nīshāpūr. He died at either Marw or Kharaḳ in 533/1138-9.

Amongst his works, *al-Risāla al-shāmila*, on arithmetic, and *al-Risāla al-maghribiyya* are lost, but there are extant manuscripts of his works on cosmography: (1) *Muntahā 'l-idrāk fī taḳsīm* (or *taḳāsīm*) *al-aflāk*, which included, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 1852-3, three parts—(a) the structure of the spheres, the movements of the heavenly bodies, etc. (b) the shape of the earth, with its division into an inhabited zone and an uninhabited zone, the differences in the ascendants (*ṭāliʿ*) and the ascensions (*maṭāliʿ*), according to geographical position (c) chronology; the conjunctions, especially those of Saturn and Jupiter; and the periods of revolution (*adwār*). In this work there is a description of the five seas borrowed from al-Djayhānī (301/913-14), in which it is asserted that the Atlantic communicates with the Indian Ocean, just as the Black Sea communicates by means of the Don (Ṭānīs) with the Baltic (ed. and tr. C. A. Nallino, *Albatenii Opus astronomicum*, Milan 1903-7, i, 169-75). (2) *Kitāb al-Tabṣira fī ʿilm al-hay'a*, a work basically concerned with astronomy, and shorter than the preceding work. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa 338, it was dedicated to the minister Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. Naṣīr al-Dīn, and contained two parts concerning the celestial spheres and the earth respectively. In it, the author shows the positions of the apogees for the beginning of the year 1444 of the Seleucid era (1 October 1132), and he brought the longitudes of al-Battānī down to his own time (Nallino, *op. cit.*, i, 240).

In these two works, al-Kharakī develops the theory that the celestial bodies do not move along imaginary circles, but are drawn along by material spheres. The antecedents of this view can be found in Ptolemy's *Planetary hypotheses*, and the same idea was set forth by al-Khāzin [*q.v.*] and by Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*]. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (633-710/1236-1311) airs this view in his *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk*, referring both to al-Kharaḳī and to Ibn al-Haytham, and in Europe, it was known to Roger Bacon (*ca.* 1214-92).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 624, S I, 863; Suter, *Mathematiker*, 116, 161, 164; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 204-5, 750, 956, 1018; E. Wiedemann, *Zur Geschichte des Kompasses . . .*, in *Zeitschr. Phys.*, xxiv (1924), 166-288; idem and K. Kohl, *Einleitung zu Werken von al-Charaqī*, in *SPBMS Erlg.*, lviii-lix (1926-7), 203-18; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vi, 210.

(E. Wiedemann - [J. Samsó])

KHĀRĀN, a former native state of western Balūčistān, now incorporated in Pakistan. Geographically, it comprises a wide basin, that of the Mashkel river in the west and the Baddo in the east, between high ranges of mountains, the Ra's Kūh rising to 9,900 feet; the valley terrain includes an extensive *rigistān* or sand desert. The population is largely Balūč, with some Brahūīs in the eastern part.

The early history of Khārān is very obscure. Local tradition says that the Nawshīrwānī chiefs entered Khārān in the 8th/14th century. Over the ensuing centuries, these chiefs gave a vague allegiance to rulers in Persia, Kalāt and Afghānistān at different times; up till the period of Nādir Shāh Afshār (mid-18th century), Khārān seems generally to have been considered as an extension of the Persian province of Kirmān. The energetic Naṣīr Khān of Kalāt [see kilāt] brought Khārān under his suzerainty, until conflicts in the latter half of the 19th century between Mīr Khudādād Khān of Kalāt and Āzād Khān of Khārān inclined the latter to the Afghān side. In 1884, Sir Robert Sandeman, the pacifier of Balūčistān, visited Khārān and arranged a settlement between the rival rulers. Khārān continued to acknowledge Kalāt's general suzerainty, but now received an annual subsidy from the Government of India and referred disputes to the British Political Agent in Quetta (see T. N. Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: his life and work on our Indian frontier*, London 1895, 101, 180-2). It was around this time also that the frontier on the west of Khārān and the adjacent parts of Balūčistān with Persia was demarcated. Few travellers visited Khārān before Sandeman's time; one of the few who did, H. Pottinger (1810), alludes to the fine camels of Khārān and to the fact that the local chief, Sardār ʿAbbās Khān Nawshīrwānī, had recently declared himself independent of Maḥmūd b. Naṣīr Khān of Kalāt (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 129-30).

Disputes and conflicts with Kalāt in 1940 led to an agreement whereby Khārān was recognized as a separate native state under its own Nawāb. The latter immediately acceded to Pakistan in 1947. In 1952

Khārān was merged into the Balūčistān States Union, till in 1955 the whole of Balūčistān was incorporated in the single unit of West Pakistan. Khārān now forms a District of Pakistan (area 18,553 sq. miles) under a Deputy Commissioner; the population in 1961 was 42,483.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xv 247-50; R. Hughes-Buller, *Baluchistan District gazeteer series*, 1907; *Population census of Pakistan 1961. District census reports, Kharan.*

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHARĀNA, a fortified building, usually referred to as Ḳaṣr Kharāna. It is strategically located in the Transjordanian desert, 60 km. SE of ʿAmmān in lat. 31° 42′ N. and long. 36° 79′ E., on the edge of a *wādī* at the meeting of several desert tracks. The land is stony, infertile and geologically basaltic (whence conceivably a connection of its name with Arabic *ḥarra* [*q.v.*]), and there is no obvious water supply; 2 km. to the WSW is an Upper Palaeolithic-Mesolithic site, with an abundance of flint implements. The entrance to Ḳaṣr Kharāna (see Plate xxix a) incorporates two stone blocks with part of a Greek inscription, suggesting that there was an earlier building nearby, of the late Roman or Byzantine period.

The building is approximately 35 m. square, and is two stories high; it is built of rough masonry with decorative brick inserts and plaster details. The outer wall has a round tower at each corner, and semi-circular towers at the centre of the N, E and W sides. The single entrance is on the S side, flanked with quarter-round projections, with a large window above and a row of decorative niches. The walls are pierced with loopholes of unusual design, the vertical opening topped by a single stone against which two bricks are set diagonally. Between the two rows of loopholes and an upper row of rectangular openings are horizontal bands of decorative brickwork inserted in the masonry, the bricks being placed diagonally to produce a herringbone pattern.

Inside, the covered entrance leads to a central courtyard, surrounded on all sides by *bayts* of varying dimensions, on two floors. Round the courtyard there was once a gallery, which has now disappeared (see Plate xxix b). Access to the gallery, and to the rooms on the upper level opening off it, was by means of two sloping ramps. The larger rooms on the upper floor are roofed by transverse vaults of stones set end to end, supported on triple engaged columns without bases or capitals, all plastered over. Two of these rooms have semi-domes at the far end, supported at the angles by squinch arches (see Plate xxx a). The rooms are plastered, with simple decorative mouldings, and a number of carved roundels with formal, symmetrical plant designs.

Important evidence for the date of Ḳaṣr Kharāna was the discovery by B. Moritz in 1905-6 of a *graffito* inscription on the wall of one of the upper rooms (see Plate xxx b). This inscription in eleven lines, and another three-line inscription nearby, are amongst the earliest extant painted Arabic texts. The last three lines contain the statement, "ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar wrote [it] on Monday three [nights] remaining from Muḥarrem of the year two and ninety" (tr. N. Abbott). This date corresponds to Monday, November 24th, 710 AD. It has been conjectured that ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmar (whose name is given thus at the beginning of the inscription) was a member of al-Walīd's entourage, returning from a visit to Mecca in 91/710. Whilst the inscription cannot be interpreted in any way as evidence for the Muslim origin of the building, it does provide a useful *terminus ante quem*. Most authorities, and notably K. A. C. Creswell, have identified the building as Sāsānid, and have associated it with the Persian occupation of 614-28 A.D. Creswell, and others, have observed that many of the structural and decorative features, such as the use of elliptical arches, the squinches, the engaged columns supporting transverse arches, and the quarter-round entrance towers, find their parallels in Sāsānid and Mesopotamian architecture; Creswell has also pointed out that the obviously defensive nature of the structure sets it apart from the majority of the later Umayyad desert palaces, which were seldom fortified.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography is given by K. A. C. Creswell in his note on Ḳaṣr Kharāna, *Early Muslim architecture, Umayyads, A.D. 622-750*, Oxford 1969, ii, 44-49. The most important works include the first account of the building by Gray Hill, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1896; J. A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Les châteaux arabes de Qeṣeir ʿAmra, Ḥarâneh et Ṭûba*, Paris 1922, contains a detailed description; B. Moritz, *Ausflüge in der Arabia Petraea*, in *MFOB*, iii, (1908); A. Musil, *Ḳuṣejr ʿAmra*, Vienna 1907; idem, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1907-8; G. L. Bell, *Ukhaiḍir*, Oxford 1914; J. Sauvaget, *Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades*, in *JA*, ccxxxi (1939-40); idem, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, Paris 1947; G. Lankester Harding, *The antiquities of Jordan*, London 1969; H. Gaube, *Ein arabischer Palast in Südsyrien, Ḫirbet el-Baiḍa*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1974, 74-5; J. Warren, *A Sasanian attribution of two buildings in Jordan*, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, xi, London 1977, discusses the relationship with the *ribāṭ* on the citadel in ʿAmmān; for the painted inscription, see *RCEA*, i, 1931, and the discussion of it by N. Abbott, *The Ḳaṣr Kharāna Inscription of 92H (710 A.D.) a new reading*, in *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii (1946).

(J. Carswell)

KHWĀRAZM, in post-Mongol times increasingly known as Khīwa, the province lying along the lower course of the Amū Daryā [*q.v.*] or Oxus, classical Chorasmia. In the early Islamic period, the southern boundary of Khwārazm was considered to be at Ṭāhiriyya, five days' journey downstream from Āmul-i Shaṭṭ (modern Čārdjūy), the crossing-place of the Khurāsān-Bukhārā caravan route. Ṭāhiriyya lay just to the south of the gorge of the "lion's mouth", Dahān-i Shīr, where the river narrows at modern Düldül Atlaghān near Pitnyak. However, the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī (5th/11th century) reckoned Darghān (in post-Mongol times, Darūghān-Atā), to the north of the gorge, as the beginning of Khwārazm. Below the gorge, the Amū Daryā fans out into an extended delta plain, with numerous river channels and irrigation canals (*arīḳs*), as far as the shores of the Aral Sea. This plain forms an island of fertility and cultivation within the surrounding steppe and desert, linked only with Transoxania by the strips of agricultural land along the Amū Daryā banks, and one would expect that in such a well-watered region, comparable in many ways to the habitat of the Nile and Mesopotamia, a sedentary, agrarian society would early arise. Soviet archaeology has in fact shown that the Kelte Minar Late Neolithic culture was characteristic of the region in the fourth millenium B.C., whilst in the second millenium B.C. the Taza Bagh Yab culture was typical of the Khwārazmian Bronze Age (see S. P. Tolstov, *Drevniy Khorezm*, Moscow 1948, and A. L. Mongait,

a. General view, showing the main entrance with quarter-round towers (upper section restored)

b. The internal courtyard. Note the springing of arches and the traces of a gallery, now disappeared, on the first floor.

a. Upper floor room, with a semi-dome supported on squinch arches.

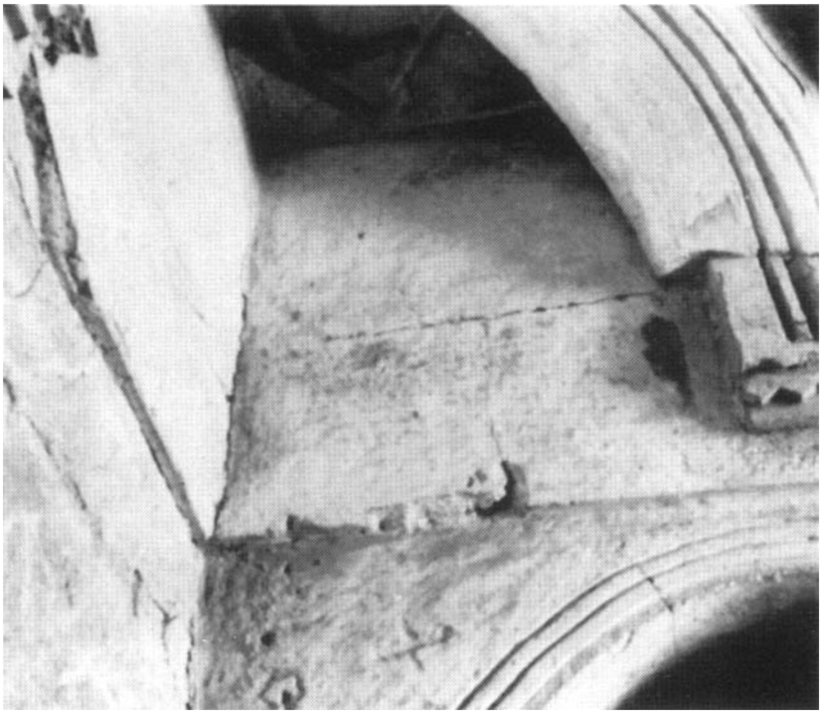

b. Squinch arch in upper room, with *graffito* inscription between the springing of the arch and the angle of the walls, dated 91/710.

Archaeology in the U.S.S.R., Moscow 1959, 263-77).

The etymology of the name K͟hwārazm has evoked much speculation. In his article *K͟hwārazm* in the *Muʿd͟jam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, ii, 395-8, Yāḳūt offers a folk-etymology relating to two outstanding features of the province, the food gained for the K͟hwārazmians from the Amū Daryā and its channels, sc. the fish, and the trees and bushes which probably covered some part at least of the region in early times and supplied fuel for cooking; the traveller Ibn Faḍlān (309/921-2) remarks on the cheapness and easy availability of firewood there. Hence, Yāḳūt says, *k͟hwar* = "flesh" (*laḥm*), and *r.z.m.* = "firewood" (*ḥaṭab*). Outside the realm of fancy, an obvious meaning for the name might well be "lowlands", if the *-zmi-* element of the Achaemenid name for K͟hwārazm, Huwārazmiš, reflects Middle and New Persian *zamīn* "land" and the first element in New Persian *k͟hwār* "low, abject". Another suggestion has connected the first element with *k͟hūrs͟hīd* "sun" and has explained it as "the land of the rising sun", reflecting K͟hwārazm's position on the north-eastern periphery of the Iranian heartlands; and a further explanation has been that of "fruitful land", linking the first element with New Persian *k͟hwurdan* "to eat". Tolstov has even explained it as "the land of the people Khwarri or Kharri", connecting these with the Hurrians who founded the Mitanni kingdom in northeastern Mesopotamia and the Lake Van region in the middle of the second millenium B.C., presumably positing a migration of the proto-Hurrians westwards from Central Asia. Whether K͟hwārazm is to be identified with the *Airyanem vaeǵo* "Aryan range" of the Avesta, sc. with the homeland of the old Iranian sacred books, as was maintained by, e.g. Marquart, is unproven but not unlikely; W. B. Henning suggested a possibility that the Gāt͟hās, the oldest part of the Avesta, were composed in northern K͟hurāsān, the region of Marw and Harāt, perhaps then part of the pre-Achaemenid kingdom of K͟hwārazm.

It certainly seems that in Achaemenid times K͟hwārazm was a flourishing land, and on the evidence of the Behistun and Persepolis inscriptions, was subject to some degree of Achaemenid control. K͟hwārazm or Huwārazmiš provided a "dark-blue stone" (? turquoise) for decorating the palace of Darius at Susa. Herodotus alludes to what he calls "the plain of the Akēs River", i.e. the Oxus, as part of the Achaemenid dominions, and mentions the presence of Chorasmian and Parthian troops in the army of Xerxes as a special division under Artabazus son of Pharnaces; he further says that these soldiers were equipped in the same fashion as the Bactrians, sc. with Median caps, bows and short spears. By the time of Alexander the Great, however, the K͟hwārazmians had somehow thrown off Persian control, and when Alexander was in Bactria in 328 B.C. he received a visit from the King of Chorasmia, Pharasmanes, and his retinue of 1,500 cavalrymen. Apparently Pharasmanes claimed sovereignty over all the steppes westwards from Chorasmia to Colchis on the Black Sea shores—by no means an impossible boast, given the long-standing political, commercial and cultural connections of K͟hwārazm with the Volga basin and South Russia.

Once the exiguous Greek sources become silent, we are dependent for literary evidence about the next centuries on the equally fragmentary information from the K͟hwārazmian Islamic scholar Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050) [*q.v.*], a K͟hwārazmian patriot who was clearly conscious of the ancient glories of his homeland. In his *al-Āt͟hār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 35-6, tr. idem, *The chronology of ancient nations*, London 1879, 40-2, he has a section on the ancient history and rulers of K͟hwārazm and on its era. He also wrote a special history of the province, the *Kitāb al-Musāmara fī ak͟hbār K͟hwārazm*, cited by Yāḳūt (who visited K͟hwārazm personally in 616/1219-20, travelling from Marw in the depths of the harsh steppe winter) and utilised by Bayhaḳī in the closing section of his *Mud͟jalladāt* (*Taʾrīk͟h-i Masʿūdī*, ed. G͟hanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 665-91, tr. Arends, *Istorya Masʿuda* (1030-1041)[2], Moscow 1969, 805-36); it is regrettable that no parts of this work on the pre-G͟haznavid history of K͟hwārazm have survived.

Until recent decades, we have had to depend largely on Bīrūnī for the history of the semi-legendary and pre-Islamic past of K͟hwārazm. He says that the land was first colonised 980 years before Alexander the Great, sc. before the Seleucid era, i.e. in 1292 B.C., when the hero of Iranian epic Siyāvus͟h came to K͟hwārazm, and his son Kay K͟husraw was established on the throne 92 years later, in 1200 B.C. He starts giving names only with the Afrīg͟hid line of K͟hwārazm-S͟hāhs, having placed the ascension of Afrīg͟h in 616 of the Seleucid era, i.e. in 305 A.D.

The oldest Chinese name for K͟hwārazm, Yue-kien, given in the annals of the Earlier Han (first and second centuries B.C.), suggests as the centre of K͟hwārazmian power Gurgānd͟j [*q.v.*], earlier form Urgānd͟j, on the left bank of the Amū Daryā in lower K͟hwārazm. However, Ptolemy mentions that this centre lay on the right bank of the river, corresponding to the position of the royal palace excavated by Tolstov at Toprak-kala and that of the later capital of the Afrīg͟hids, Kāt͟h [*q.v.*] or al-Fīr/al-Fīl, and this seems both historically and archaeologically more probable. The remarkable results of Soviet archaeological work have indeed vastly widened our knowledge of the pre-Islamic history of K͟hwārazm. Well over 1000 pre-Islamic and early-Islamic coins have been found, together with many inscriptions in the K͟hwārazmian language and script on vessels, documents, etc. (see on these, below). In general, these results show that Bīrūnī's dates and names are not to be relied upon, for he was writing about matters which he could not verify. Thus V. A. Livshits has shown from dated K͟hwārazmian artefacts that Bīrūnī's eras from the Siyāvus͟hid foundation of the kingdom and from the establishment of the Afrīg͟hids, were never in actual use; instead, there was an official era beginning in the opening years of the Christian era, and probably to be connected with the rise of the new, pre-Islamic line of S͟hāhs and the achievement of independence from Parthian control, a control which seems to be attested by the clear Arsacid influence in coin designs, etc. (*The Khwarezmian calendar and the eras of ancient Chorasmia*, in *Acta antiqua academiae scientarum hungaricae*, xvi (1968), 433-46, and see K͟HWĀRAZM-S͟HĀHS).

We are wholly dependent on archaeology for any information at all on social and economic topics. Soviet research has provided much basic data, though these may be capable of various interpretations. It has shown the presence of extensive agricultural estates, with outlying field systems irrigated by networks of *arīḳs* or canals, and with central concentration points and fortified citadels, within which the peasants and their herds could take refuge. It is likely that, as at all times in its known pre-modern history, K͟hwārazm's borders were under pressure from the pastoralist nomads of the surrounding

steppes, probably by peoples like the Massagetes and Sakas in early times, and certainly by Turkish tribes like the Oghuz, Ḳïpčaḳ, Pečenegs, etc. in Islamic times. Bīrūnī speaks in his *Āthār*, 236, tr. 224, of annual expeditions led by the Khwārazm-Shāhs against the Oghuz, so that there was an autumn festival in Khwārazm called *faghburiyya* "that of the King's expedition" (*faghbur* = Iranian *baghpur*). It seems certain that in the 4th/10th century a group of Oghuz, perhaps semi-sedentarised and practising some agriculture and fishing but still inclined by nature to plundering and rapine, were established near the mouth of the Syr Daryā or Jaxartes only ten stages from Khwārazm, and their *Yabghu* or leader spent his winters at their settlement of Yengi-kent (Dih-i naw, al-Qarya al-djadīda, modern Djānkent-kala). The fortified nature of the Khwārazmian agricultural domains can thus be easily explained by this need for security against external marauders. It is less certain that these fortified enclosures were, as Soviet authorities have suggested, designed also for internal defence purposes, in the shape of peasant revolts against the "feudal" landowners of the province.

Tolstov adduces in support of his argument the events surrounding the Arab conquest of Khwārazm in 93/712 by Ḳutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, the lieutenant in Khurāsān of the great governor al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf. There had been attempts by the Arabs in the early Umayyad period to extend their raids through Transoxania to Khwārazm, and historians like Balādhurī, Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr mention various raids, such as that led by Salim b. Ziyād in 61/681 against a town on the borders of Khwārazm (possibly Hazārasp) where the local Iranian princes of Soghdia had banded together to resist the Arabs. Ḳutayba was able to intervene in internal Khwārazmian politics because he was summoned in from Marw by the Afrīghid Shāh, unable by himself to make headway in a civil war with his younger brother Khurrazād ("the sun-born one"), who had seized power. Tolstov interprets Khurrazād's movement as one of social protest, of the Neo-Mazdakite type familiar in the disturbed countryside of Persia at this time, a rising of the urban and rural masses against the Khwārazm-Shāh and the landed aristocracy (what Ṭabarī, ii, 1237, calls "the *dihḳān*s and *marzbān*s"). He bases himself on Ṭabarī's information that Khurrazād confiscated the slavegirls, fine horses, precious articles, etc. of those connected with the royal court; but the social implications of all this, if there were any, are not really explicit in the Arabic sources. See H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 42-3; Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 239-45; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 31.

At all events, the two Arab invasions of this year, entailing the killing by the Arabs of the Khwārazm-Shāh himself, brought the province for the first time into the Arab orbit, and the Arabs were able to exact the payment of tribute and the supplying of auxiliary troops. Much damage seems to have been wrought by the incoming Arabs. Bīrūnī says that Ḳutayba slaughtered all those who knew the old Khwārazmian script and who knew the old historical traditions. This is doubtless an exaggeration. The requirement of tribute lapsed, and Islam was certainly not implanted immediately. The Afrīghids themselves did not become Muslim till three generations or so later, perhaps in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. The Shāhs continued to join with the Soghdian rulers of Transoxania in common hostility to the Arabs, encouraging intervention by the Turks and Chinese; in 133/751 we hear from Chinese sources of an embassy from the Shāh Shāwushfar(n) (whose name is also known from coins) to the Imperial Court (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue* (*Turcs*) *occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 145). The Khwārazmian language survived for several centuries to come, and so must some at least of the culture and lore of ancient Khwārazm, for it is hard to see the commanding figure of Bīrūnī, a repository of so much knowledge, appearing in a cultural vacuum.

The persistence of the Khwārazmian language was, in fact, an outstanding manifestation of Khwārazmian ethnic and cultural vitality. Linguistically, this eastern Iranian language occupies a position midway between Soghdian on the east, known to us from a large number of Manichaean, Buddhist and other texts, and the rather less well-known Parthian on the west; an especially interesting feature of Khwārazmian is its conservative character in preserving many Avestan words (cf. the hypothesis, mentioned above, that the Gāthās were composed in northern Khurāsān, then part of the pre-Achaemenid state of Chorasmia). It was a written language well before the Arab conquest, utilising, like Pahlavi, Parthian and Soghdian, an alphabet ultimately derived from the Aramaic one. This early stage of the language is known to us from the finds of Soviet archaeology, coin inscriptions, legends on pottery and silver vessels, documents on wood and leather, and many funerary inscriptions from ossuaries, but few of these texts have so far been satisfactorily published. It seems likely, however, that the Khwārazmian script emerged around the first century B.C. and was probably influenced by the practice of the Arsacid Parthian chancery. Ḳutayba's invasions may have ended the old scribal tradition, but the language itself persisted, now written in the Arabic alphabet but with several characters modified to render the characteristic sounds of Khwārazmian, e.g. ۏ for the labiodental fricative *v* or β, and خ for the africate *ts* (as in Pashto) and probably for its voiced equivalent *dz*; these modified characters are to be found, for instance, in several manuscripts of Bīrūnī's works where Khwārazmian names and terms are cited. It may be that Bīrūnī knew something of the old Khwārazmian script, but this is uncertain. Khwārazmian speech struck the Muslim geographers and travellers to the province as particularly queer and harsh; Ibn Faḍlān compares it to the chatter of starlings and the croaking of frogs (A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939, text 7, tr. 12).

The main sources for our rather exiguous knowledge of later Khwārazmian are the glosses in the Khwārazmian scholar Zamakhsharī's Arabic dictionary the *Muqaddimat al-adab*, together with Khwārazmian sentences in a series of Arabic legal works adapted for use in Khwārazm, in particular, the *Ḳunyat al-munya* of Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd al-Zāhidī (d. 658/1260). Khwārazmian culture and speech felt the pressure of Turkish infiltration from northern Khwārazm southwards, leading to the disappearance of the original Iranian character of the province and its complete turkicisation today, but Khwārazmian speech probably lasted in upper Khwārazm, the region round Hazārasp, till the end of the 8th/14th century. See on the Khwārazmian language, W. B. Henning, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abt., 4. Band, 1. Abschnitt, *Iranistik*, Leiden-Cologne 1958, 25, 56-8, 81-4, 109-20, and D. N. MacKenzie,

in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iii, *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanid periods*, ch. xxv(f); the Khʷārazmian dictionary on which Henning was working till his death remains unpublished, but a section of it has now been edited by MacKenzie, *A fragment of the Khwarezmian dictionary* ..., London 1971.

The religious pattern of early Islamic Khʷārazm shows the gradual permeation of Islamic faith and learning, so that Khʷārazm became, like Khurasān and Transoxania, a bastion of Sunnī orthodoxy and scholarship, attested by the large number of traditionists, lawyers, theologians, etc. with the *nisba* "al-Khʷārazmī". The great mathematician Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khʷārazmī (d. after 232/847) [*q.v.*] flourished at a time when the Khʷārazm-Shāhs were only just becoming Muslims themselves, and in the following century we have such outstanding figures as the poet and prose stylist Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Khʷārazmī (d. 383/993) [*q.v.*], and the Sāmānid secretary and official Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khʷārazmī [*q.v.*], author of the pioneer encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*. The Arabic literary and philological sciences flourished there, as is shown by the section on the *fuḍalāʾ Khʷārazm* in Thaʿālibī's anthology, the *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. Cairo, iv, 194-255, and by the figure of Bīrūnī himself. Bīrūnī normally used Arabic for his learned and scientific works, but he must have been trilingual in Khʷārazmian, Arabic and New Persian. One manifestation of the orthodoxy of Khʷārazm was, according to Ibn Faḍlān, the customary cursing of ʿAlī at the end of the daily prayers. Muʿtazilism was specially linked in the popular mind with Khʷārazm (cf. Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 155), and according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Muʿtazilī ideas were still held by Khʷārazmian scholars long after they had disappeared from the Muslim lands further west. We may also suppose that Khʷārazm was, like Transoxania, a jumping-off point for dervishes and other enthusiasts to undertake missionary work within the steppes, and Khʷārazmian *ghāzī*s manned *ribāṭ*s or frontier posts on the steppe fringes against the marauding Turks.

Zoroastrianism seems to have lasted in Khʷārazm till the 5th/11th century, though Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 235 ff., tr. 223 ff., says that the Zoroastrians were then only a small remnant, who went through the outward forms of their religion and observed its festivals, without knowing much about its inner spirit. Christianity was more flourishing. Bīrūnī again tells us, *Āthār*, 288, tr. 282-3, that the Christians of Khʷārazm were Greek Orthodox Melkites, their connections with the Byzantine world being made doubtless via the overland route to the Caspian and South Russia. Although the Christianity of Iran and Central Asia was strongly Nestorian, with its metropolitan centre at Marw, Bīrūnī also mentions a Melkite metropolitan for Iran based on Marw also. There were, moreover, some Jacobites or Monophysites in Khʷārazm. An 8th century Melkite *Notitia episcopatum* shows that the Melkite bishopric of Khwālis or Khʷārazm fell administratively within the archidiocese of Doros in the Crimea, see the map in Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren*, 247. In the mid-7th/13th century, Latin travellers mention the Christians of Urgenč (Gurgāndj) as stemming from Khazar, Alan and Russian communities, and shortly afterwards, the Armenian king Haiton mentions that the Khʷārazm Christians came under the Patriarchate of Antioch (see Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolischen Eroberung*, Tübingen-Leipzig 1901, 32-4). In the early Islamic period, we hear of Khʷārazmian Christians playing a rôle as officials and secretaries; Ibn Faḍlān found that the faithful intendant of the ʿAbbāsid vizier Abū 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt's estate at Artakhushmīthan was a Christian.

The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century give detailed accounts of the topography and climate of Khʷārazm (with much emphasis on the intense cold of the winters) and of the flourishing economic and commercial condition of the province. The political division between the local governors controlling Gurgāndj in the northwest and the Afrīghid Shāhs ruling the ancient capital Kāth in the east, a division which may conceivably go back to Ḳutayba's conquest, though this is uncertain [see KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS], was a reality in the early 4th/10th century; the rise to power at the end of the century of the Maʾmūnid family in Gurgāndj is probably to be connected with the commercial florescence of the town, situated as it was at the end of the trade route to South Russia and the northern forest zone. The extent of this trade may be gauged by the implanting of colonies of Khʷārazmian traders (on the evidence of toponomy) in South Russia and eastern Europe, and by the fact that Ibn Faḍlān, on his mission to the King of Bulghār, left Gurgāndj in a caravan of 3,000 camels and 5,000 people. Kāth itself nonetheless still prospered, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 121, describes it as "the emporium of the Turks, Turkistān, Transoxania and the Khazars". A detailed account of the topography and geography of Khʷārazm at this time can be found in Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 142-55, see also Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 443-59. The geographers' accounts show that cultivation and the pattern of settlement there were still to some extent dependent on the position of the Amū Daryā and its frequently-changing channels; the citadel and palace of the Afrīghid Shāhs in Kāth was gradually undermined by the river waters, and by the mid-4th/10th century the citadel and old city had been abandoned and a new city built to the east. As for the products of Khʷārazm, the sources mention fruit (especially melons, which in the Caliphates of al-Maʾmūn and al-Wāthiḳ were exported in leaden, snowpacked containers as far as Baghdād, and which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also praises as ones of incomparable quality), dried fish, textiles, cheese, snow, bows, etc.; whilst imports from the steppes and forests included sheep, camels, furs, hides, honey, hardwoods, and above all, Turkish and Ṣaḳlabī slaves.

In the 4th/10th century Khʷārazm was nominally under the suzerainty of the Sāmānid Amīrs of Bukhārā, but little is known of the internal history of the province during these last few decades of Afrīghid rule. In 385/995 the Maʾmūnids of Gurgāndj overthrew the ancient dynasty and themselves assumed the title of Khʷārazm-Shāhs, but in 408/1017 the province passed to the Ghaznawids; this control by Sulṭān Maḥmūd meant the end of political power in Khʷārazm exercised by local dynasties, just as the extinction of the Sāmānids in Transoxania meant the end of direct Iranian rule there. In the cases of both regions, the assumption of power by Turkish rulers and the breaking-down of the northeastern bulwark of the Iranian world against pressure from the steppes inaugurated an accelerating process of ethnic and linguistic turkicisation; Khʷārazm became wholly Turkish, and in Transoxania, only the restricted district of Tajikistan survives of the formerly vast *Iran extérieur*. Khʷārazm came into the Saldjūḳ orbit after the downfall of Ghaznavid power in Khurāsān,

and was ruled by Turkish slave governors on behalf of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns. In the last years of the 5th/11th century, the governor Anūshtigin Gharčaʾī succeeded in founding an hereditary line in Khwārazm, whose members also took the title of Khwārazm-Shāhs and who were, after the middle years of the 6th/12th century, virtually independent (for details of the history of these three centuries before the Mongol invasions, see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS).

The extensive empire built up by this last line of Khwārazm-Shāhs nevertheless crumbled before the Mongol onslaught, and the Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad's capital of Urgenč (the former Gurgāndj) fell to Čaghatay and Ögedey in 618/1221 after a valiant defense. After this, the northern part of Khwārazm and the lower Syr Daryā region came within the lands of the Golden Horde for 140 years, with only the southern part, including Kāth and Khīwa, coming within the Čaghatayid *ulus*; till *ca.* 751/1350 Khwārazm was directly ruled by the Golden Horde Khāns, and after the collapse of the Il-Khānids in Persia, Khwārazm formed the base for military operations against Khurāsān. Thus the greater part of Khwārazm was politically linked under the Golden Horde with the region with which it had so many ancient links, that of the Volga basin and South Russia, and this unity favoured the growth of commerce across the steppes connecting the two regions; *ca.* 740/1340 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī found prices almost identical in the Golden Horde centre of Sarāy on the Volga and in Urgenč, and the same weights and measures were in use in both cities (see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, die Mongolen in Russland 1223-1502*[2], Leipzig 1943, 275, 390). The capital Urgenč was rebuilt in 628/1231 on a new site some distance from the old Gurgāndj (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 323, who calls the capital *madīnat Khwārazm*, in accordance with the tendency to name a capital after the province or region in which it is situated), and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled from Sarāy to Khwārazm and Transoxania a century later, expatiates on its flourishing state, its fine markets and its populousness; Kāth, on the other hand, had sunk to the status of a village. Khwārazm also became once more a home of learning and the arts, so that ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī describes it in his *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn* as "the rendez-vous of the most distinguished figures of the world", *madjmaʿ-i aʿyān-i djihān*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa again praises the charitable foundations of Khwārazm, the *madrasas*, hospitals, etc., some of which had been built by Özbeg Khān's governor there, Ḳutlugh Tīmūr, and he visited the hospice at the tomb of the great Ṣūfī shaykh Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, killed by the Mongols when they captured Urgenč, and the tomb of Zamakhsharī (*Riḥla*, iii, 3 ff., tr. Gibb, iii, 541 ff.). The tomb of Ḳutlugh-Tīmūr's wife Turā Beg Khānum, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions, still survives in the ruins of Old Urgenč, Kunya Urgenč, as does that of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (see *Āthār al-Islām al-taʾrikhiyya fī 'l-Ittiḥād al-Sūfiyyitī*, Tashkent *ca.* 1962, Pls. 18, 19).

Two or three decades after Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit, there arose in Khwārazm an independent minor dynasty, the Ṣūfids, of a Ḳongrat Turkish tribe; the coins in Khwārazm for the Khāns of the Golden Horde cease in 762/1361, and those of Ḥusayn Ṣūfī, founder of the line, commence in 765/1364. Ḥusayn Ṣūfī displaced the Čaghatayids from Kāth and Khīwa, and held off Tīmūr from Khwārazm till 781/1379. The line revived after a temporary submergence under the Tīmūrids, with help from the Golden Horde Khān Toḳtamīsh, but in 790/1388 Sulaymān Ṣūfī was defeated and this time Tīmūr razed Urgenč to the ground. Khwārazm never really recovered from this blow, and it seems henceforth to have lost its former importance in both the cultural and commercial life of Central Asia.

In the 9th/15th century, possession of Khwārazm alternated between the Golden Horde Khāns and the Tīmūrids, but members of the Ṣūfī family seem to have retained local power as governors; ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Ṣūfī is mentioned in 868/1464 as vassal of the Khān Muṣṭafā. In 911/1505 Khwārazm passed to Muḥammad Shaybānī, founder of the Özbeg amīrate in Transoxania, and in 916/1510 briefly to the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl, the opponent of Shaybānī.

A new local Özbeg dynasty now appears in Khwārazm, like the Shaybānids of Transoxania descended ultimately from Djoči, son of Čingiz Khān, but only remotely connected with the main line of the Shaybānids. This was the dynasty of ʿArabshāhids (917-end of the 11th century/1511-end of the 17th century), whose genealogy (conjectural in parts) is given by Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, 274-5. The centre of the new principality lay at Khīwa, which from Tīmūrid times onwards becomes the principal city of Khwārazm, and the ʿArabshāhid capital from the amīrate of ʿArab Muḥammad I (1011-32/1602-23) onwards. Khīwa must be an ancient, pre-Islamic Khwārazmian settlement. Khīwa, older form Khīwaḳ, is already described as a place of fair importance by the 4th/10th century geographers, and became further celebrated as the birthplace of Shaykh Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā [*q.v.*]. Yāḳūt says that its people were in this time still Shāfiʿīs, whereas the rest of Khwārazm had become Ḥanafī. Now, reversing the older process, the city of Khīwa began to give its name to the whole province, henceforth usually known as the Khānate of Khīwa. The old city of Urgenč, only partly rebuilt by Tīmūr, must have become deserted, for a new Urgenč arose 20 miles northeast of Khīwa, and soon became the most important commercial centre of Khīwa; the ancient capital Kāth, by then very shrunken, had to be completely abandoned when the channel on which it was situated dried up. However, the ʿArabshāhid Khān Muḥammad Anūsha (1074-85/1663-74) built a new Kāth on the left bank of the Amū Daryā below New Urgenč.

The ʿArabshāhids exercised direct rule in Khwārazm, and held suzerainty over a considerable area beyond it, extending to the northern rim of Khurāsān and to the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, the regions known as "the side of the mountains", as opposed to "the side of the water", those regions lying along the Amūr Daryā. Two of the Bukhārā Özbeg Amīrs, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd in 945/1538 and ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar in 1001/1593 and 1003-05/1595-7, managed briefly to occupy Khwārazm, but on the whole the ʿArabshāhids maintained themselves against their Transoxanian neighbours, and at times carried warfare as far as Bukhārā itself, as did Muḥammad Anūsha in 1076/1665. Nevertheless, the cultural level of the ʿArabshāhid kingdom was perceptibly lower than that of Transoxania. The best-known ruler of the dynasty was Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān [*q.v.*] (1054-74/1644-63), the author in Čaghatay or Eastern Turkish of the *Shedjere-yi Terākime* on the history of the Mongols and the *Shadjarat al-Atrāk* on the history of the Shaybānids, completed by his son Muḥammad Anūsha; but Abu 'l-Ghāzī states at the outset in the latter work that he was forced to write the history of his land because none of his subjects was educated enough to undertake this task.

After the end of the ʿArabshāhid line, there fol-

lowed various *fainéant* k͟hāns of Čingizid lineage but little competence or power, who were summoned from the steppes; the real holder of power in K͟hīwa was generally the Inaḳ (i.e. senior member and military chief) of the Ḳongrat tribe, who simply sent these *k͟hāns* back to the steppes when they proved inadequate for his purposes. It was in the 12th/18th century that relations between the K͟hānate of K͟hīwa and the expanding power of Russia began to assume some importance. Already, the Ural Cossacks had been attracted by the famed richness of K͟h^{w}ārazm and had raided New Urgenč. In 1717 Peter the Great, drawn by the possibility of opening up an overland trade to Buk͟hārā and India, and acting on a pretext that was to be much used in the process of the Russian reduction of Central Asia, viz. the release of Russian prisoners, sent a military expedition against K͟hīwa under the Circassian adventurer Bekovič. The attempt failed, but in 1153/1740 the Persian conqueror Nādir S͟hāh Afs͟hār conquered Buk͟hārā and K͟hīwa temporarily; however, Nādir's nominee to the throne in K͟hīwa, Tagir, did not long survive the S͟hāh's withdrawal.

From now onwards, the K͟hīwa K͟hānate in general and the topography of the capital begin to be well-known from the accounts of Russian and western European travellers and visitors. K͟hīwa suffered badly from the raids from the south of the Yomut Türkmens of the Ḳara Ḳum desert, who almost completely destroyed the city shortly before 1184/1770; these Türkmens were however driven off and the city restored in that year by the Inaḳ Muḥammad Amīn. In 1219/1804 the Inaḳ Iltüzer, grandson of Muḥammad Amīn, assumed the title of K͟hān, and the remaining K͟hāns of K͟hīwa were all from his line. Warfare with the K͟hāns of Buk͟hārā continued in the early 19th century, and in an expansionist phase under the K͟hān Muḥammad Raḥīm (1221-41/1806-26) and his son Allāh Ḳulī (1241-58/1826-42), the K͟hīwa K͟hānate assumed its greatest extent, from the shores of the Aral Sea and the Syr Daryā mouth, to the south of Marw.

But Russian expansionism now assumed serious proportions. The winter expedition of 1839-40 from Orenburg under General Perovski failed miserably, but soon afterwards, the K͟hān had to accede to a set of Russian demands, after vainly trying to open up relations with Great Britain. The Russians founded a fort named Kazalinsk at the mouth of the Syr Daryā in 1847, used subsequently as a base against the K͟hānate of K͟hoḳand and Tas͟hkent, but also constituting a threat to the flank of K͟hīwa. The K͟hānate was prosperous enough internally at this time, as is shown by the *Sifārat-nāma-yi K͟h^{w}ārazm*, the account of the Persian envoy Riḍā Ḳulī K͟hān, who visited K͟hīwa in 1267/1851 to negotiate the freeing of Persians captured by the Türkmens in Māzandarān and K͟hurāsān and then sold in the slave markets of K͟hīwa (French tr. by Ch. Schefer, *Relation de l'ambassade au Kharezm de Riza Qouly Khan*, Paris 1879). It continued, however, to be harassed by Türkmen depredations, and was at odds with the K͟hānate of Buk͟hārā. When in 1873 Russian forces from Orenburg, Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian, Perovski on the lower Syr Daryā and Tas͟hkent, advanced simultaneously on K͟hīwa, the K͟hān had to capitulate after some fighting. Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥīm lost all his territories on the right bank of the Amū Daryā to Russia, and in his truncated K͟hānate on the left bank, was to be under the protectorate of Russia, to consider himself as "the obedient servant of the Emperor of all the Russias", and was to pay a heavy war indemnity. The K͟hāns of K͟hīwa were never considered by the Tsarist government to be on the same level as those of Buk͟hārā. Internal dissensions within K͟hīwa and attacks by the Türkmens still continued, but the last K͟hān, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh (1918-20) faced an invasion by Bolshevik troops and had to abdicate in February 1920 in favour of a nominally independent K͟h^{w}ārazmian People's Soviet Republic. This lasted only till 1924, when the internal frontiers of Central Asia were redrawn by the USSR government on ethnic lines, so that the right-bank areas of the old K͟hīwa K͟hānate were incorporated in the Uzbek SSR and the left-bank ones in the Turkmen SSR.

Bibliography: In addition to those works mentioned in the article, see Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwârizm*, in *SBWAW*, lxxiii (1873), 471-506, lxxiv (1873), 285-330; Barthold, *A short history of Turkestan*, and *A history of the Turkman people*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i and iii; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, ii, 91-4; F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates*, London 1899; G. E. Wheeler, *The modern history of Soviet Central Asia*, London 1964; Z. V. Togan, *İA*, art. *Hârizm*; *BSE*², xlvi, 324-7; Mayer, *Bibliography of Moslem numismatics*, s.v. Khans of Khiva, Khwarizmshahs and Kungratids.

(C. E. Bosworth)

K͟H^{W}ĀRAZM-S͟HĀHS, the ancient title of the rulers of K͟h^{w}ārazm [*q.v.*], used regularly in the early Islamic period (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1238, events of 93/712) until the Mongol invasions, and sporadically thereafter; hence as with the designations Afs͟hīn and Ik͟hs͟hīd [*q.vv.*], this is an example of the survival of what was probably an ancient Central Asian Iranian title well into Islamic times.

The K͟h^{w}ārazmian scholar Bīrūnī gives the names and genealogical sequence of the first line of K͟h^{w}ārazm-S͟hāhs, the house of Afrīg͟h, which began, so he says, in 305 A.D. and continued until its overthrow by the Maʾmūnids in 385/995; these Afrīg͟hids followed a semi-legendary line of the Siyāvus͟hids, progeny of the Iranian hero Kay K͟husraw. Bīrūnī mentions 22 of these Afrīg͟hids, whose average reign spans neatly 31 years, a generation. This fact alone is suspicious, especially as all the 22 may not have ruled successively anyway, and Bīrūnī's reliability for topics relating to the pre-Islamic past of K͟h^{w}ārazm, topics which he could not personally verify, has recently been called in question [see KH^{W}ĀRAZM]. A large number of pre-Islamic K͟h^{w}ārazmian coins (i.e. coins dated up till the 8th century A.D.) have been found by Soviet archaeologists, and the archive of the royal palace at Toprak Kala on the right bank of the Amū Daryā or Oxus has yielded some documents. The typical pattern of these coins, adhered to for nearly a millenium, is of the ruler's head on the reverse and of a cavalryman on the obverse, with the ruler's name in the Aramaic-derived K͟h^{w}ārazmian script and the titles *MLKʾ* "king" and later, *MRʾY MLKʾ* "sovereign king". Unfortunately, few of the coin names correspond with those in Bīrūnī's list as we have it (there is, of course, always the possibility of scribal errors in copying these unfamiliar Iranian names), and nothing like the eponym *ʾf.rīg͟h* of Bīrūnī; perhaps therefore our designation of the first line of K͟h^{w}ārazm-S͟hāhs as the Afrīg͟hids is more one of convenience than accuracy.

One S͟hāh who appears on coins as K͟husraw is not

mentioned at all by Bīrūnī. However, there are one or two tentative confirmations of Bīrūnī's names, e.g. of the Arthamūkh, Shāh in the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, according to Bīrūnī. At the time of Ḳutayba's two invasions of 93/712 (when the Arabs were invited in by the Shāh to aid him in a succession dispute, but eventually turned on him and killed him), the then Shāh is named by Bīrūnī as Askadjamūk son of Azkādjawār, the form of the latter's name being confirmed on a coin as Askatsvar (in this particular case, the coin of an earlier Shāh of the same name). Askadjamūk's own son Shāwushfar(n) seems to appear on coins, and must in any case be identical with the ruler Shao-she-fien mentioned by the T'ang annals as sending an embassy to China in 133/751 asking for assistance against the Arabs (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue* (*Turcs*) *occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 145). See for an analysis of these coins legends V. A. Livshits, *The Khwarezmian calendar and the eras of ancient Chorasmia*, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae*, xvi (1968), 439-44.

The first Islamic name of Bīrūnī is that one typical of the convert, ʿAbd Allāh b. Turkasbātha, whose reign should probably be placed in the early 3rd/9th century. However, even amongst the last Shāhs with Islamic names, Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 310, mentions a Shāh not included by Bīrūnī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ashkām, who rebelled against his nominal suzerain, the Sāmānid Amīr of Bukhārā, Nūḥ b. Naṣr, in 332/943-4. It seems that the Sāmānids had extended their authority over Khʷārazm by the early 4th/10th century. When Ibn Faḍlān came from Baghdād in 309/921 accompanying the mission from the Caliph al-Muḳtadir to the King of the Volga Bulghārs, his party went firstly to Naṣr b. Aḥmad's court before proceeding to Khʷārazm; and in the operations of 309/921-2 against the Sāmānid rebel Laylī b. Nuʿmān in northern Persia, the Khʷārazm-Shāh joined the Amīr's forces. In practice, the Shāhs were little disturbed except when they sheltered Sāmānid rebels, and in the last years of Sāmānid rule, Khʷārazmian authority extended southwards as far as the northern fringes of Khurāsān and such frontier posts as Farāwa and Nasā. There are extant some coins of the penultimate Afrīghid Shāh, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, from the years 348/959-60 and 366/976-7, see Markov, *Inventarniy katalog*, 295, 975.

One obscure aspect of the post-Islamic conquest history of Khʷārazm is the growth of a rival power to the Afrīghid Shāhs in the west of the province at Gurgāndj (the later Kunya Urgenč, Arabic al-Djurdjāniyya) [*q.v.*]. Gurgāndj is mentioned in the accounts of Ḳutayba's conquest as one of the three main cities of Khʷārazm, together with Kāth and Hazārasp [*q.vv.*], and its rise as a rival to Kāth is probably explicable by its growing commercial prosperity as an entrepôt for steppe and South Russian trade; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 57, speaks of "ancient hostility", *taʿaṣṣubī ḳadīm*, between the people of the two cities. Bīrūnī describes how, whilst the Afrīghids retained the royal authority (*shāhiyya*), another line exercised governorship (*wilāya*) in Gurgāndj at times. The actual relationship between these two lines of power holders is obscure, and there is not enough evidence to assert, as Sachau did, that the Gurgāndj *amīrs* exercised power continuously from the Arab invasion onwards, with a dual system of authority in Khʷārazm. Nor it is clear who was the "Amīr of Khʷārazm" at the time of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Harthama, mentioned in Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, 62. It is further strange that so percipient an observer as Ibn Faḍlān, who first visited the Shāh Muḥammad b. ʿIrāḳ in his capital Kāth and then stayed over three months in Gurgāndj waiting for the winter ice and snow to end, does not mention anything of the political situation in Gurgāndj or the existence there of a rival governor. Yet towards the end of the 4th/10th century, Gurgāndj was certainly in the hands of the Maʾmūnid family of *amīrs*, for the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982), tr. 122, describes the town as "formerly belonging to the Khʷārazm-Shāhs", but now under the control of a separate *pādishāh* or ruler, the Amīr of Gurgāndj.

This *amīr*, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn b. Muḥammad, in 385/995 overthrew the Afrīghids of Kāth and killed the last Shāh, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, whom Bīrūnī accordingly calls *al-Shahīd* "the martyr". Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn assumed the historic title and founded a brief-lived second line of Khʷārazm-Shāhs (385-408/995-1017), and the Maʾmūnid court of Gurgāndj became a centre of learning and point of attraction for scholars and literary men from all over the eastern Islamic world. The Shāh Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn II b. Maʾmūn (? 399-407/? 1009-17) and his Vizier Aḥmad al-Suhaylī were surrounded by a brilliant concourse of figures like the philosophers Ibn Sīnā and Abū Sahl al-Masīḥī, the mathematician Abū Naṣr al-ʿArrāḳ, and the medical man Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan b. al-Khammār. The philologist Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik al-Thaʿālibī moved to Khʷārazm from his home town of Nīshāpūr, impelled by the unsettled conditions there consequent upon the fall of the Sāmānids, and became an intimate of the Shāh, to whom he dedicated various works, including a "Mirror for Princes", the *Kitāb Adab al-mulūk al-khʷārazmshāhī*, ed. and tr. by T. R. Topuzoğlu, unpublished Manchester Ph.D. thesis, 1975. The Maʾmūnids also adorned their capital with fine buildings, and a minaret now preserved in the ruins of Kunya Urgenč has an inscription describing how Maʾmūn II ordered its building in 401/1011 and supervised the laying of its foundations (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[2], 147 n. 4).

The Maʾmūnids unfortunately came up against the expansionist policies of the Ghaznawid Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin, who aimed at turning the flank of his enemies the Ḳarakhānids by securing possession of Khʷārazm. In 405/1014 Maḥmūd demanded that Maʾmun II place the Sulṭān's name in the *khuṭba* of the Khʷārazmian territories, i.e. in effect recognise him as overlord of Khʷārazm. Maḥmūd's sister Kah-Kaldjī was successively wife of two of the Shāhs, and when Maʾmūn was assassinated in 407/1017 by a patriotic reaction against his submissiveness to the Ghaznawid, Maḥmūd had a pretext for intervention, the avenging of his brother-in-law. Maḥmūd's army invaded Khʷārazm, defeated the local forces at Hazārasp, unleashed a reign of terror in Gurgāndj against the regicides, and carried off large numbers of slaves to Ghazna. See for these events, Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 275-9; Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 56-60, 184-5; Sachau, in *SBWAW*, lxxiv (1873), 290-301.

Thus from 408/1017 onwards, Khʷārazm was incorporated in the immense Ghaznawid empire, and possession of it gave Maḥmūd the preponderance in Central Asia against the Ḳarakhānids. It was difficult to control so distant a province as Khʷārazm dirtcely from Ghazna, hence the Sulṭān appointed as governor there his slave commander Abū Saʿīd Altuntāsh [*q.v.*], with the traditional title of Khʷārazm-Shāh, and

Altuntāsh and his two sons form the short third dynasty of Shāhs (408-32/1017-41). Altuntāsh was the loyal servant of Maḥmūd and his son Masʿūd, defending the frontiers of Khwārazm by the recruitment of auxiliary troops from the Ḳïpčaḳ, Küdjet and Čaghrat Turks, and he died in battle fighting for Maḥmūd against the Ḳarakhānid ʿAlītigin in 423/1032. His son Hārūn succeeded as *de facto* ruler in Khwārazm, though Masʿūd conceded to him only the title of his representative, *khalīfat al-dār*. The interests of Altuntāsh's line were now clearly divergent from those of the Ghaznavids. Hārūn sought the alliance of the Saldjūḳ Türkmens and the Karakhānids, but Masʿūd procured his murder in 425/1034. His brother and successor Ismāʿīl Khandān became the Sulṭān's bitter foe, and at this time when Masʿūd had his hands full coping with the Saldjūḳ incursions, was able to rule as an independent ruler. Ismāʿīl was expelled from Khwārazm in 432/1041 by Masʿūd's ally, the Oghuz Yabghu of Djand at the Syr Daryā mouth, Shāh Malik, but by then, Masʿūd himself was dead, and the whole Ghaznawid position in the west had collapsed. See Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 238-9; Sachau, *op. cit.*, 301-12; and GHAZNAWIDS.

Shāh Malik's occupation of Khwārazm was ended when the Saldjūḳ leaders Ṭoghrïl and Chaghrï came to Khwārazm and Djand in 433/1042 and drove him out (see O. Pritsak, *Der Untergang des Reiches des Oğuzischen Yabğu*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 405-10). Khwārazm was incorporated into the Saldjūḳ dominions, coming within the eastern half ruled by Čaghrï Beg. Over the next decades, the Sulṭān Alp Arslan had to come twice to the Khwārazm-Djand region to restore order, and his son Arslan Arghun and a son of the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk were at times governors of Khwārazm for Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh respectively; Khwārazm and the surrounding steppes were of particular importance to Saldjūḳs as recruiting grounds for their professional Turkish slave troops or *ghulāms* and as a source for frontier auxiliaries.

Malik Shāh appointed his slave Anūshtigin, keeper of the royal wash bowls (*ṭast-dār*), as titular governor at least of Khwārazm, but it is not till Berk-Yaruḳ's sultanate that we find another Turkish *ghulām*, Ekinči b. Ḳočḳar, appointed with the actual title of Khwārazm-Shāh (490/1097). This last was killed in this same year, and the governorship and title were given by the governor of Khurāsān to Anūshtigin's son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's appointment inaugurates the fourth and most brilliant dynasty of Khwārazm-Shāhs (490-628/1097-1231), under whom Khwārazm became for a while the centre of the most powerful military empire in the eastern Islamic world during the decades between the decline of the Great Saldjūḳs and the appearance of the Mongols. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (490-521/1097-1127) governed Khwārazm as the faithful vassal of Sulṭān Sandjar, being assiduous in his attendance at the Saldjūḳ court. It was his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Atsïz (521-51/1127-56) who was the real founder of the dynasty's splendour. Though he remained nominally subject to Sandjar right down to the end, he in fact pursued relentlessly his aim of Khwārazmian autonomy and virtual independence and of enlarging his territories; notable here was the extension of Khwārazmian rule over the Türkmens of the eastern Caspian shores and the Manghïshlāḳ peninsula. He skilfully balanced his own interests against those of the Saldjūḳs in Khurāsān and the Ḳara Khiṭay [*q.v.*] in Transoxania, and took maximum advantage of Sandjar's difficulties with the Ḳarakhānids and the Oghuz tribesmen of Khurāsān; for details, see ATSÏZ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ANŪSHTIGIN.

Atsïz's successors, beginning with Tādj al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Il-Arslan (551-67/1156-72) had greater freedom of action after the death of Sandjar and the collapse of Saldjūḳ power in the east, in so far as relations with the Ḳara Khiṭay allowed, for the latter claimed suzerainty over the Ḳarakhānids in Transoxania and over Khwārazm. However, provided that tribute was forwarded regularly to the Gür-Khān's *ordu* or military camp in Semirečye, the Ḳara Khiṭay were little disposed to interfere in internal matters. The Khwārazm-Shāhs especially coveted the Transoxanian possessions of the Ḳarakhānids, and intervened with profit in the quarrels of the Khāns of Samarḳand and their turbulent Ḳarluḳ tribal troops; hence in 553/1158 Il-Arslan invaded Transoxania on the latter's behalf.

The reign of Il-Arslan's son and successor ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tekish (567-96/1172-1200) brought the Shāhs to new heights of their power, and Tekish was able to check the ambitions of the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān and to bring about the final demise of the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate in western Persia. Tekish was placed on the throne with Ḳara Khiṭay help, but he soon rebelled against these last, and managed to ward off the Ḳara Khiṭay army which invaded Khwārazm by the traditional expedient of opening the dykes of Khwārazm and flooding the land lying in the invaders' path. Over the ensuing years, he was involved not only against the Ḳara Khiṭay again but also against his brother and rival for power Sulṭān Shāh, who had established himself in northern Khurāsān, and against the Ghūrids. He secured his northern frontiers by conciliation of the Ḳïpčaḳ and other Türkmen tribes along the lower Syr Daryā, and the Khwārazmian armies which came to terrorise Persia and to earn an unenviable reputation for cruelty and barbarity there, included large numbers of steppe Türkmens, many of them still pagan. Tekish first came westwards to Ray in 588/1192 and demanded that the Saldjūḳs and Ildegizid Atabegs of western Persia should place his name in the *khuṭba* immediately after the ʿAbbāsid caliph's one. A year later he mounted a further invasion, and in 590/1194 defeated Ṭoghril b. Arslan, the last of the Great Saldjūḳ line, thus extinguishing this dynasty in Persia. Tekish was now able to occupy all Djibāl as far west as Hamadān, so that his territories became coterminous with those of the resurgent ʿAbbāsid caliphs, and in 595/1199 the caliph al-Nāṣir deemed it prudent formally to invest Tekish with the sultanate of ʿIrāḳ (sc. ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī, western Persia), Khurāsān and Turkistān; however, when Tekish died in the next year, the population of Djibāl rose and massacred all whom they could find of the hated Khwārazmian occupying troops.

Tekish's son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (596-617/1200-20) continued his father's anti-caliphal policy, but for many years he was preoccupied in the east with his opponents, the Ghūrids, the Ḳara Khiṭay, the Ḳïpčaḳ of the northern steppes, and ʿUthmān Khān, the last Ḳarakhānid ruler in Samarḳand. For long, he was careful not to break with the Ḳara Khiṭay, and welcomed their support in ejecting Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī from Khurāsān in 601/1204. After the Ghūrid sulṭān's death two years later, the Ghūrid empire fell apart, and much of its territories fell briefly into the hands of the Khwārazm-Shāhs. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn could now dispense with Ḳara Khiṭay support, and when the latter became increasingly

distracted from Transoxanian affairs by the revolt in Semirečye of the Mongol chief Küčlüg, he was by 608/1212 able to kill ʿUthmān Khān and succeed to the remainder of the Ḳarakhānid heritage in Transoxania. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was now assured of commanding prestige throughout the eastern Islamic world, though like his father, he continued to be satisfied with the circumscribed territorial designation of Khwārazm-Shāh and with that of Sulṭān. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn knew from captured correspondence that the ʿAbbāsid caliph had in the past incited the Ghūrids against him; and he denounced al-Nāṣir as unfit to rule and proclaimed an ʿAlid as anti-caliph. He began to march on Baghdād, but in the winter of 614/1217-18, snowstorms of unusual severity halted his forces in Kurdistān and Luristān, and news of unrest among the Ḳïpčaḳs compelled him to return to the Khwārazmian frontiers. The menace of the advancing Mongols, successors to Küčlüg in Semirečye and Kashgharia, coincided with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's closing years, and this new factor in Middle Eastern affairs was to occupy the attention of his son Djalāl al-Dīn (?)Mingburnu (617-28/1220-31) and to lead to the downfall and complete disintegration of the extensive but transient empire of the Khwārazm-Shāhs. For these last events, see ČINGIZ-KHĀN and DJALĀL AL-DĪN KHWĀRAZM-SHĀH, and for the general history of this fourth dynasty of Shāhs, see Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*. v. *The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, ch. i.

The Mongol governors of Khwārazm do not seem to have employed the title of Khwārazm-Shāh, nor did the line of Ṣūfid local rulers in the post-Il-Khānid period adopt it (see for these rulers, KHWĀRAZM). However, the title was revived sporadically, or at least used in semi-official parlance, for the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh's governor in Khwārazm, Shāh Malik (815-29/1413-26) is given it in Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Khwāfī's anthology, the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, and his son and successor Nāṣir al-Dīn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm also bore it until he was driven from Gurgāndj in 834/1430-1 by the Özbeg Khān Abu 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*]. The title is sometimes applied to the Özbeg Khāns of Khīwa, the ʿArabshāhids and their successors, in documents and literary works, but does not seem ever to have been formally adopted by them. Abu 'l-Ghāzī applies it to no rulers later than the Khwārazm-Shāhs displaced by the Mongols, and even when his son and successor Muḥammad Anūsha (1074-85/1663-74) assumed the title of Shāh after his conquest of Mashhad from the Ṣafawids, he did not add to this the element "Khwārazm". The Inaḳ Iltüzer, who formally assumed the title of Khan of Khīwa in 1219/1804 and founded the line of Khāns which endured down to the Russian occupation and the Bolshevik Revolution, called himself on his coins (which were never issued, because of his premature death in battle in 1221/1806) "heir of the Khwārazm-Shāhs" (*wārith-i Khwārazm-Shāhān*), but this appears to be the last official usage of the title.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KHWĀRAZMĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. YŪSUF AL-KĀTIB, author of the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* ("Keys of the sciences"), on which his fame rests. His origins were in the north-eastern part of the Iranian world, either in Khwārazm, south of the Aral sea [*q.v.*], or, as al-Maḳrīzī would suggest, in Balkh in what is now northern Afghanistan (*Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1854, i, 258); of course, he may have been born in Balkh while his family came from Khwārazm.

The *Mafātīḥ* is dedicated to Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-ʿUtbī, vizier to the Sāmānid Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr (366/976-387/997), at whose court in Bukhārā al-Khwārazmī appears to have served.

Addressed to the class of secretaries (*kuttāb*) to which al-Khwārazmī himself belonged, the *Mafātīḥ* is an introduction (*madkhal*) to the elements of the sciences (*awāʾil al-ṣināʿāt*) which explains the key terms used by the various groups of scholars, artisans and government officials, in particular those terms which were left out of current lexica. Al-Khwārazmī did not set out to write an essay on the aim and structure of the sciences, as al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) had done in the *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, or present a *Weltanschauung*, as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ were doing in their *Epistles* at about the same time. As a dictionary of basic technical terms drawn from many disciplines, and as a description of contemporary practices in the sciences and in the chanceries, the *Mafātīḥ* is of considerable value for the study of Islamic culture.

The book is divided into two roughly equal *maḳālas* or discourses dealing respectively with (i) the religious sciences (*ʿulūm al-sharīʿa*) and the Arabic sciences associated with them, and (ii) the "foreign" sciences (*ʿulūm al-ʿadjam*). Each discourse is divided into sections (*bābs*) and further into chapters (*faṣls*). The subjects of the sections in the two discourses are the following: (i) 1. jurisprudence, 2. dialectical theology (*kalām*), 3. grammar, 4. the secretarial art (*kitāba*), 5. poetry and prosody, 6. history; (ii) 1. philosophy, 2. logic, 3. medicine, 4. arithmetic, 5. geometry, astronomy and astrology, 7. music, 8. mechanical devices, 9. alchemy. Al-Khwārazmī's book shows that to call the philosophical, natural and mathematical sciences "foreign" was not at that time a sign of rejection of these disciplines, but simply a statement of the fact that they had been developed by non-Arabs (*ʿadjam*). The book clearly implies the conception that to be considered educated, one had to be acquainted with both major branches of learning.

Bibliography: The standard critical edition of *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* is that of G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, repr. 1968. There are other oriental prints. C. E. Bosworth describes six Istanbul manuscripts not used by van Vloten in *Some new manuscripts of al-Khwārizmī's Mafātīh al-ʿulūm*, in *JSS*, ix (1964), 341-5, and comes to the conclusion that they do not add much to the elucidation of the text.

A useful general account is C. E. Bosworth,

A pioneer Arabic encyclopedia of the sciences: al-Khwārizmī's Keys of the Sciences, in *Isis*, liv (1963), 97-111. A number of E. Wiedemann's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften bei den Arabern* deal with various parts of the *Mafātīḥ*. Originally published in *Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen* between 1906 and 1923, they are now conveniently reprinted in E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur Arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim-New York 1970, 2 vols. The following is a list of them: Beitr. VI, *Zur Mechanik und Technik bei den Arabern*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxxviii (1906), esp. 16-56 = *Aufsätze*, i, 188-228, translation and discussion of discourse ii, sec. 8, on mechanical devices; Beitr. X, *Zur Technik bei den Arabern*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxxviii (1906), esp. 307-13 = *Aufsätze*, i, 272-8, deals with disc. i, sec. 4, ch. 7, terms related to irrigation; Beitr. XIV, *Über die Geometrie und Arithmetik nach den Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xl (1908), esp. 1-29 = *Aufsätze*, i, 400-28, tr. of disc. ii, secs. 4 and 5; Beitr. XVIII, *Astronomische Instrumente*, etc., in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xli (1909), esp. 32-5 = *Aufsätze*, i, 550-3, disc. ii, sec. 6, ch. 4; Beitr. XXII, *Stücke aus den Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlii (1910), 303-10 = *Aufsätze*, i, 669-76, terms for weights and measures (disc. i, sec. 1, ch. 5, sec. 4, ch. 6, disc. ii, sec. 3, ch. 7) and terms used in the postal administration (disc. i, sec. 4, ch. 4); Beitr. XXIV, *Zur Chemie bei den Arabern*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xliii (1911), 72-113 = *Aufsätze*, i, 689-730, tr. of disc. ii, sec. 9; Beitr. XXVII, *Geographische Stellen aus den Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xliv (1912), 37-40 = *Aufsätze*, i, 812-15, disc. ii, sec. 6, ch. 2, on the construction of the spheres and the regions of the earth; Beitr. XLVII, *Über die Astronomie nach den Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlvii (1915), 214-42 = *Aufsätze*, ii, 186-214; Beitr. LXVI, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, liv-lv (1922-3), 7-22 = *Aufsätze*, ii, 580-95, disc. ii, sec. 6.

Disc. ii, sec. 3, on medicine, is fully dealt with in Ernst Seidel, *Die Medizin in Kitâb Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlvii (1915), 1-79, with a useful index of terms. A translation of disc. 1, sec. 2, is given by C. E. Bosworth, *al-Ḫwārazmī on theology and sects: the chapter on* kalām *in the* Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm, in *Hommage Henri Laoust*, *BEO*, xxix (1978); and one of disc. i, sec. 4, with extensive commentary, is given by idem, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art: a contribution to the administrative history of mediaeval Islam*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 113-64. For a translation of disc. i, sec. 6, chs. 6 and 7, on terms used in historical reports about the Persians and the Arab conquests, see J. M. Unvala, *The translation of an extract from Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm of al-Khwârazmî*, in *Jnal. of the K.R. Cama Inst.*, xi (Bombay 1928), 76-110, with comments on the Persian, Turkish and Indian terms there; and for one of ch. 7, with detailed analysis, see Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 2-12; and for one of ch. 8, with detailed commentary, see Bosworth, *The terminology of the history of the Arabs in the Jāhiliyya, according to Khwārazmī's "Keys of the sciences"*, in *Festschrift for Prof. S. D. Goitein*, Folklore Research Center Studies of the Hebrew University No. 7, Jerusalem 1978. For a translation of disc. ii, sec. 7, see H. G. Farmer, *The science of music in the Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *Trans. Glasgow Univ. Oriental Soc.*, xvii (1957-8), 1-9. See also Brockelmann, I, 282-3, S I, 434-5.

(A. I. Sabra)

AL-KHWĀRAZMĪ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās, Arabic poet and writer (323-83/934-93). Since he alleged that his mother was the sister of the historian al-Ṭabarī, he fabricated for himself the *nisba* of al-Ṭabarkhazī. He was born in Khwārazm and spent his youth there, but left it at an early date. It is difficult to trace his peregrinations, but he seems to have sought out, above all, the company of great men in order to live off their munificience. Hence we find him at Aleppo, in the service of Sayf al-Dawla; at Bukhārā, with the vizier Abū ʿAlī al-Balʿamī, with whom he quarreled, however; at Nīshāpūr for the first time, where he eulogised the *amīr* Aḥmad al-Mīkālī; in Sidjistān with the ruler Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad, who ended up by throwing him into prison; in Gharčistān, where he had similar misadventures; at Arradjān, in the entourage of the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād; and finally at Nīshāpūr again, where he settled down and died, it was said, of chagrin from a defeat which he suffered at the hands of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī in a literary contest. If Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī is to be believed (*Mathālib al-wazīrayn*, ed. M. ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭandjī, index), he enjoyed a privileged position with the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, acting as an envoy and a spy for him, and the gifts which he received from the vizier were more for his secret activities than for his panegyrics. However, it was not long before the two persons fell out with each other, perhaps in part because al-Khwārazmī admired al-Mutanabbī, whose poetic work he did much to make known in the eastern parts of Islam.

The critics agree in considering al-Khwārazmī as one of most knowledgeable authorities on the Arabic language amongst the ʿAdjam. He was further considered an authority on genealogies, but was above all famed for his prodigious memory, which allowed him, according to an anecdote recorded by many of his biographers, to know by heart a vast number of poems and to transform himself into a teacher of literature. Naturally, he wrote poetry, which has been judged rather severely by his critics; he nevertheless left, besides a *Dīwān*, a collection of *Rasāʾil* (ed. Istanbul; see Brockelmann, S I, 150) which made him famous. One can therefore consider him as a letter-writer of talent, addressing these to great men, princes, viziers, commanders, scholars and officials on the most diverse, and often the most banal, subjects; the documentary value of these letters is by no means insignificant (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance*, index). They reflect a considerably disturbed life and are written in a rhymed prose embellished with all the rhetorical devices, but in a personal style which is, every thing considered, simpler than that of his great adversary Badīʿ al-Zamān.

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AL-KH^w^ĀRAZMĪ (often written AL-KHUWĀRIZMĪ), ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD B. MŪSĀ, mathematician, astronomer and geographer, who utilised the Arabic language. He lived in the first half of the 3rd/9th century (*ca.* 184-*ca.* 232/800-47), and should not be confused with two other important persons with the same *nisba* [*q.vv.*]. We know that in his youth, during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, he worked in the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* [*q.v.*] of Baghdād, but we know very few other biographical details. However, his main works are well known to us, since many of them were translated into Latin in Spain and exercised a powerful influence on the development of mediaeval thought. If the attempts at dating put forward by C. J. Toomer (*Dictionary of scientific biography*, vii (1973), 358b) are correct, almost all these works were composed during the reign of al-Maʾmūn.

His Algebra, called *al-Mukhtaṣar fī ḥisāb al-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala* (ed. with Eng. tr. F. Rosen, *The algebra of ...*, London 1831, repr. New York 1969; ed. ʿAlī Muṣṭafā Musharrafa and M. Mursī Aḥmad, Cairo 1939) was translated partially by Robert of Chester as *Liber algebras et almucabola* (ed. with Eng. tr. L. Ch. Karpinski in *UMS*, xi (New York 1915), shortly afterwards, Gerard of Cremona made a second version of it, *De jebra et almucabola* (perhaps the anonymous work published by G. Libri in his *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie*, i, Paris 1858, 253-97; see B. Boncompagni, in *Atti ... Lincei*, iv (1851), 412-35, and A. A. Björnbo, in *Bibliotheca mathematica*, vi (1905), 239-41, which is better and even surpasses Rosen. In this way, there was introduced into Europe a science completely unknown till then, and with it, a terminology which was still capable of growth but already completely developed. This discipline was called by the two technical terms which appear in the titles of the first Latin translations, until the time when Canacci (14th century) began to use only the first one, *algebra*, and two centuries later, this innovation became predominant and the word *al-muḳābala* fell completely into disuse. The term *djabr* may derive, according to Gandz, from Assyrian *gabrū*; this etymology may be feasible, since, in the hundred or so mathematical tablets going back to the second millenium B.C., there appear algebraic problems parallel to those put forward by al-Khwārazmī and which, according to Bruins (*Computation in the old Babylonian period*, in *Acts of the XIIIth International Congress on the History of Science*, held in Moscow 1971), show that the Assyrians knew the six model equations [see DJABR] used by the Muslim scholar. However, from the strictly historical point of view, there is the problem that the word is not attested in any intervening language, such as Greek, and it is difficult to hold that it could have survived solely in Aramaic till the time of al-Khwārazmī. It is more likely that the word comes from medical terminology where *djabr* has the idea of resetting a dislocated limb, just as today, in the dictionary of the Real Academia Española, *algebra* designates an algorism and *algebrista* is a synonym for a specialist in wounds and broken limbs. On the various mathematical operations involved in algebra and on the typical equations used in it, see DJABR and also G. A. Saliba, in *Centaurus*, xvii (1972), 189-204.

Almost at the same time as the *Algebra* was being translated, John of Seville made known the Latin version of an adaption made either by himself or by some Muslim author of al-Khwārazmī's *Arithmetic*, lost in the Arabic but which must have been called *Kitāb Ḥisāb al-ʿadad al-hindī* or *K. al-Djamʿ wa'l-tafrīḳ bi-ḥisāb al-Hind*. John of Seville's work was called *Liber alghoarismi de practica arismetrice* (ed. B. Boncompagni, *Trattati d'aritmetica*, ii, Rome 1857; K. Vogel, *Mohammed ibn Musa Alchwarizmi's Algorismus*, Aalen 1963; A.-P. Juschkewitsch, *Über ein Werk des Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ... zur Arithmetik der Inder*, in *Homage to G. Harig*, 1964, 21-63, with an appendix containing a photographic reproduction of the Cambridge ms.). The connections between the various mediaeval works deriving from al-Khwārazmī's one are not well established, but all of them have the common characteristic that they explain how to work with the numbers which we today call "Arabic" and which were known in the 3rd/9th century in the Iberian peninsula. Concerning these numbers, mediaeval scholars invented all sorts of etymologies and legends. Gaspar of Tejada asserted that "zero is not a sign, but an empty space" (cf. G. Menéndez Pidal, *Los llamados numerales arabes en Occidente*, in *BRAH*, cxlv/2 (1959), 179-208), an idea that one finds much earlier in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 58, ll. 1-4, in regard to *tarḳīn*, a line brought into a calculation to indicate "nothing", i.e. to keep the order, and whose value is expressed in Latin by *nulla figura* or in German by *Null*. On the other hand, this same sign appears in Abraham ben ʿEzra to separate the whole number from the fraction. Other popular etymologies of the time derive algorithm from the name of a hypothetical Algor, king or philosopher, or from the coupling of the Arabic article *al-* with Greek *arithmos*, when in reality these technical terms come from the name "al-Khwārazmī", as Reinaud showed (*Mémoire ...*, in *Mém. Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, xviii/2 (1849), 303-4).

The actual form of the numbers is unimportant for the operations described in the *Liber alghoarismi*, but the existence of operations carried out by means of nine or ten symbols implies a knowledge of the rules expounded by al-Khwārazmī. In Spain, these were known by the 4th/10th century, proving the existence of a system of numeration by position. In regard to the form of the numbers used at that time, this is still debated. Destombes (*Un astrolabe carolingien et l'origine de nos chiffres arabes*, in *Archives intern. d'hist. des sciences*, lviii-lix (1962), 3-45) suggests that the monk Vigila of Albelda was present at the consecration of the monastery of Tipoll in 977 and that he knew the system of numeration by position, which he refers to in the appendix to Book iii of St. Isidore when he cites the skill of the Indians as able to create the nine figures described in the Escorial ms. d. I.2; the numbers are given from right to left and must therefore be incontrovertibly of Arabic origin, and their form derives, according to Destombes, from that of the Visigothic letters used in the second half of the 10th century as they appear on the Carolingian astrolabe. Given the fact that at this time of the appearance of this system of numeration by position, there must have existed various systems of representing the numbers, the need for tables of equivalents becomes evident, such as those of Alvaro of Oviedo. It also explains why in 1229 the Senate of Florence forbade their usage and imposed the practice of expressing numbers wholly in letters in order to avoid the possibility of a minor corruption in the form of the numbers or in the usage of different systems simultaneously, thus giving rise to errors.

The *Liber alghoarismi* and similar works all explain the operations of adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing; they show how decimal and

sexagesimal fractions should be used; and they use the so-called Egyptian fractions, sc. those with 1 as the numerator and from which one can obtain the others by means of addition (e.g. 1/3 + 1/15 = 2/5; 1/4 + 1/28 = 2/7). This type of fraction already appears in the Rhind papyrus and developed over the ancient and mediaeval periods, especially when the system of Ḳur'ānic inheritance rules gave rise to the *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ* [see FARĀʾIḌ] and made necessary the perfecting of arithmetical operations using fractional numbers. The system, by now completely developed, was introduced into Europe through the intermediacy of various Spanish versions and through that of Fibonacci.

The operations with sexagesimal fractions, necessary for astronomical computations, are even more interesting. Al-Khwārazmī gives some rules (*Algorismus de minutiis*) which, through an adaptation in a work called *De numero indorum* and above all by John of Seville, were speedily taken into the courses of instruction of the universities. We know that the Arabic works of the 3rd/9th century devoted to these topics contained a table for multiplying in the sexagesimal system, of 59 × 59 or 60 × 60 (= 3,600) cases, parallel to the multiplication table which we call Pythagorean but which first appears in the *Arithmetic* of Boethius (Augsburg 1488); it has been reproduced in *Osiris*, v (1938), 138, and its antecedents can be found in the similar Arabic tables of an earlier period and triangular in shape. A sexagesimal table of the type just mentioned was to be found in the work of Kūshiyār b. Labbān (*ca.* 360-420/971-1029) called *Kitāb fī uṣūl ḥisāb al-Hind* (facs. edn. M. Levey and M. Petruck, *Principles of Hindu reckoning*, Madison 1965; E. S. Kennedy and W. R. Transue, *A medieval iterative algorism*, in *AMM*, lxiii (1956), 80-3), but is unfortunately lost, and the oldest version preserved is that in the Latin version of the *Astronomical tables* of al-Khwārazmī translated by Adelard of Bath (f. 57b). Tables of this type recall those of the cuneiform tablets.

Another of al-Khwārazmī's works which had a great influence in the birth of western science was his *Zīdj al-Sindhind*, astronomical tables translated into Latin by Adelard of Bath (ed. H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khārizmī*, Copenhagen 1914; Eng. tr. and excellent study by O. Neugebauer, *The astronomical tables of al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1962). This work became the subject of a commentary by a certain Ibn al-Muthannā, lost in Arabic but preserved in Latin (ed. E. Millás Vendrell, Madrid-Barcelona 1963) and in Hebrew (ed. and tr. B. R. Goldstein, New Haven-London 1967), from which it appears that al-Khwārazmī's work had two rescensions; Adelard used the minor one, corrected by Maslama al-Madjrīṭī for the position of Cordova. Some complementary pieces of information on the transmission and the contents of the Tables can be found in *El libro de los fundamentos de las tablas astronómicas* of Abraham ben ʿEzra (ed. and study by J. M. Millás, Madrid-Barcelona 1947) and in the monographs of J. J. Burckhardt, in *Vierteljahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich*, cvi (1961), 213-31, of E. S. Kennedy and M. Janjanian, in *Centaurus*, xi (1965), 73-8, of Kennedy and W. Ukashah, in *ibid.*, xiv (1969), 86-96, and O. Neugebauer, in *A locust's leg, studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, 209-12.

It is in this translation that the first mediaeval mathematical symbols appear, sc. three tildes in a triangular arrangement followed by a number and placed above another indicate the sum of the first and second; if, on the other hand, there is a single dot, it indicates a remainder. These notation systems as found in the West stem from the Arab world, and their connections with older systems, e.g. those of Diophantus, remain to be studied. An analysis of the *Tables* reveals their mixed character and the multiplicity of sources used. Thus the theory of the moon comes from an intermediate source which did not know the *Almagest*; the methods used for determining the true longitude of a planet stem from the *Sūrya Siddhānta* and the *Janda-Jādyaka*; the values of the movement come from Brahmagupta; and in the ms. of Corpus Christi College (which comes from Adelard's version) there is an allusion to the to-and-fro movement explained at length by Azarqui [see AL-ZARḲALĪ], which stems equally from Indian sources. A similar origin can be recognised in the equation of the sun and in the primitive sine tables with R = 150 (Ibn al-Muthannā alludes to this value) replaced in Maslama's adaptation by others with a base = 60, a number of Hellenistic origin. On the other hand, the methods used to determine the direct and the retrograde movements of the planet stem, directly or not, from the manual *Tables* of Theo. Other elements stem from the *Zīdj maʾmūnī* and the *Zīdj al-shāh*. In the determination of the parallax, the repetitive algorism deriving from the *Janda-Jādyaka* is used, and this presents a certain parallelism with the method used by Kepler to determine the excentric anomaly.

Al-Khwārazmī's other works were not known in the mediaeval world. His geography or *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (ed. H. von Mzik, Leipzig 1926), has been the object of a detailed study by C. A. Nallino, *al-Khuwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo*, in *Raccolta di studi*, v, Rome 1944, 458-532. It consists of lists of co-ordinates of the main towns and geographical features, which are sometimes, but not always, in harmony with those of Ptolemy. His source of inspiration might possibly have been the mappa mundi constructed for al-Maʾmūn by a team of geographers in which al-Khwārazmī himself would have been included. The *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ* depends, even if in an indirect manner, on the *Geography* of Ptolemy, some of whose errors he corrects, e.g. the excessive length of the Mediterranean.

His *Istikhrādj taʾrīkh al-Yahūd* (ed. in *al-Rasāʾil al-mutafarriḳa fiʾl-hayʾa*, Hyderabad 1948) has been studied by E. S. Kennedy in *Scripta mathematica*, xxvii (1964), 44-9; internal evidence dates it to 208/823. This richly-documented work forms one of the oldest pointers which we possess concerning the Jewish calendar, and it necessitates the revising of many things previously written on the subject. Al-Khwārazmī was further the author of two works on the astrolabe (see J. Frank, *Die Verwendung des Astrolabs nach al-Chwārizmī*, in *AGNM*, iii (Erlangen 1922), of a historical chronicle, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, and a book on sun-dials, *Kitāb al-Rukhāma*, both these latter lost. In regard to the first of the two, it may be surmised that it gave an astronomical explanation of history like that later given by Abū Maʿshar, al-Nawbakhtī and the writer in al-Andalus Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (d. 447/1055).

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, see Brockelmann, I, 216, S I, 381; Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 228-41; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 563; Suter, 10; *Nachträge*, 158-60; *Fihrist*, i, 274; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 206, 266; Ibn Ṣāʿid, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, tr. Blachère, Paris 1935, 47-8; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 67-9, No. 10012. (J. VERNET)

KHARBGA, a type of the game of draughts

played in North Africa. Although the root *kh.r.b.g.* is known, yet the origins of this game are lost in the mists of time (squares marked out for it have been found at the tops of pyramids in Egypt). *Kharbga,* which is one of the four games brought into Ifrīḳiya by the Banū Hilāl, is played on a square board made up of holes marked out in the ground or in rock and has 49 component squares or "houses" (*bīt, ḍār*); the board can equally be traced out on a stone slab or on a sack covered over with sand. According to the number of holes along each side, the game is called by the following names, *khamūsiyya* if there are 5, and *sabūʿiyya* if there are 7. The central square is called *ḍār al-wasṭ*, and is remarkable by the fact that after the first move of the first piece it remains unoccupied all through the game; other squares of special note or with particular functions surround the central one and serve in the game as places of security.

The game is played by two people, and once the game is set up (*manṣūb*), the players (*kharbāg* or *kharbāgī*) are surrounded by an audience of interested people who follow the game and offer advice. After having placed on the board, two by two, the different-coloured pieces called *klāb* (sing. *kalb* "dog"; this term is known in the Egyptian, Greek and Arab cultures, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), the players move them in turn. The substance and nature of the pieces varies according to the place where the game is played. They are black and white; the white ones are pebbles or snail shells, and the black ones are dried lumps of camel dung, peach stones blackened by the sun or even date stones. There are 24 of each colour for the games. The first stage is the placing of the pieces two-by-two in the places chosen for this by the players. The course of the game depends on this; each player moves his pieces whilst endeavouring to foresee his opponent's moves, and good players can plot the course of the opponent's moves as far as eight future moves. The game consists of "eating up" the opponent's "dogs" up to the last one by inserting them between two pieces and not going beyond them. In practice, the pieces can in principle be placed anywhere, and the player can move them in any direction, except, it seems, along diagonals. *Kharbga* is played in the spring and out-of-doors, in a specified place between the tents and left vacant for this very purpose. Elderly men come and play the game in the afternoon until sunset. At the backs of shops, *kharbga* is played on sacks, and the shop-owner, who sets out four or five games of the pieces, serves drinks at the same time. Shepherds, whilst out on the job, play on sloping and uneven terrains from where they can keep an eye on their flocks. This social pastime is difficult, and tournaments in it take place, for which *kharbga* enthusiasts travel round from place to place with their own provisions. A stake, called *khṭār* or *sharṭ* or *muḳābil*, is chosen before the play begins, and this stake might be a beast (sheep, goat or camel); in the Hilālian epic, the loser may be liable to more savage stakes, going as far as physical nudity, and even, through tying up, the killing of a near relative.

A different game may be found under this same name of *kharbga* (e.g. with a rectangle on which diagonals are traced), and conversely, the game described above may bear differing names (e.g. the game of *gaṭra* in the Ḥidjāz).

Bibliography: G. Posener, *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne*, Paris 1959, 141-2, art by J. Yoyotte "Jeux et jouets"; R. Alleau, *Dictionnaire des jeux*, Paris 1964, 275-6; Beaussier, *Dictionnaire*, 161; G. Boris, *Lexique du parler arabe des Marazig*, Paris 1958, 141; E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*[3], London 1842, ii, 60; A. Robert, *Jeux et divertissements des indigènes d'Algérie* (*Région de Bordj Bou Arreridj*), in *Rev. Afr.* (1921); *Cahiers de Byrsa*, Carthage, vii (not seen). (L. SAADA)

AL-**KHĀRDJ** [see KHARAG].

AL-**KHARDJ**, a district in Nadjd [*q.v.*], the central province of Saudi Arabia. Al-Khardj stretches from al-ʿĀriḍ [*q.v.*] in the north southwards to the area east of the oasis of al-Ḥawṭa [*q.v.*] in Wādī Burayk (Wādī 'l-Ḥawṭa). To the west the crags of ʿUlayya, a section of the range of Ṭuwayḳ [*q.v.*], rise above the vale of al-Khardj, which is closed in on the east by the steppe desert of al-Bayāḍ.

As the confluence of many *wādī*s (also called *shaʿīb*s), al-Khardj is one of the most fertile places in Saudi Arabia. Wādī Ḥanīfa (classical al-ʿIrḍ) and Wādī 'l-Sulayy flow down from the north to meet at the northwestern corner of the district. Just south of these two, Wādī Nisāḥ, which cuts its way due east through Ṭuwayḳ, empties its flood along with theirs into Wādī 'l-Sahbāʾ, the large valley running eastwards to the sands of al-Dahnāʾ. From the south, al-Khardj is watered by Wādī 'l-Sawṭ, the northern extension of the trans-Ṭuwayḳ gorges Birk and Burayk, and by Wādī 'l-ʿAḳīmī, which runs parallel to the western edge of al-Bayāḍ.

Besides the water brought by the *sayl*s of these valleys, al-Khardj contains four unusually deep spring-fed pools (*ʿuyūn*), three clustered together in the northern part of the district and the fourth, Khafs Daghra, in the southern part. A channel called al-Sayḥ provides water for irrigation from ʿAyn Samḥā in the north.

The two most important towns in the north are al-Salamiyya and al-Yamāma. The name al-Yamāma [*q.v.*], which in earlier times was applied to much of what is now called Nadjd, has become restricted geographically to this one town, though the older usage has been revived by giving the name to a hotel and other establishments in al-Riyāḍ. Farther south lie Naʿdjān, al-Dilam, and Zumayḳa. The largest of all the towns is al-Dilam (or al-Dalam; al-Daylam in a verse by ʿAntara).

Many of the names given above occur in the literature of the Djāhiliyya and the early Islamic period. The dominant element in the population of al-Khardj then was the Banū Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, a branch of Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*]. Today the settled people of the valley belong in the main to Āl ʿĀyidh (said to be of Ḳaḥṭān), the Dawāsir, Banū Tamīm, and Banū Khālid [*qq.v.*]. Bedouins are from Subayʿ, the Suhūl, and Āl Shāmir.

The district as such does not figure prominently in historical records until the 12th/18th century, in the middle years of which the men of al-Khardj stood forth among the principal opponents of the new movement of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*]. In 1187/1773 Āl Suʿūd of al-Dirʿiyya [*qq.v.*], the secular champions of the Wahhābiyya, captured the foremost enemy town, al-Riyāḍ, which had held the ground between al-Dirʿiyya and al-Khardj. Zayd b. Zāmil, the lord of al-Dilam, took up the gauntlet against the Wahhābiyya and paid a large sum in gold to the Ismāʿīlī chief of Nadjrān [*q.v.*] to join him and others in a campaign against Āl Suʿūd which ended however in failure. In 1190/1776 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad Āl Suʿūd defeated Zayd and secured the submission of al-Dilam. The first *amīr* sent to al-Khardj by Āl Suʿūd was Sulaymān b. ʿUfayṣān, who held office for sixteen years and whose family

remained associated with the district long thereafter.

After Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt occupied al-Dirʿiyya in 1233/1818, his lieutenant Ḥusayn Djawkhdār pillaged al-Dilam. When the "Turks" from Egypt withdrew, Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh Āl Suʿūd made al-Riyāḍ the new Wahhābī capital and reincorporated al-Khardj in the state. The *ḳāḍī* of al-Khardj under Turkī was the noted Ḥanbalī divine, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn, a grandson of the founder of the Wahhābiyya.

The "Turks" from Egypt returned to Nadjd and took al-Riyāḍ. Fayṣal, who had succeeded his father Turkī as the Wahhābī *Imām*, based himself on al-Khardj, where Khūrshīd Pasha pursued and overcame him in 1254/1838 in a battle at al-Dilam and Zumayḳa and sent him a prisoner to Egypt, whence he eventually escaped to resume his rule in Nadjd. Fayṣal appointed a younger son of his, Suʿūd, as *amīr* of al-Khardj. On the death of Fayṣal in 1282/1865, Suʿūd's challenge of the right of his older brother ʿAbd Allāh to the succession precipitated a long civil war that enfeebled Āl Suʿūd and opened the way for the ascendancy of Āl Rashīd of Ḥāʾil. The forces of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Āl Rashīd caught three of Suʿūd's sons in al-Khardj and put them to death.

The fortunes of Āl Suʿūd were revived by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, son of Fayṣal's youngest son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz recovered al-Khardj in 1320/1902 and then repulsed an attack against al-Dilam by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad Āl Rashīd. About ten years later the grandsons of Suʿūd b. Fayṣal, still closely connected with al-Khardj, launched an abortive rebellion against their cousin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. In the end, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz forgave them and took into his entourage their leader, known as Suʿūd al-Kabīr ("the Older", to distinguish him from Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who later became King Suʿūd). Suʿūd al-Kabīr was married to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's favourite sister, Nūra. As King of Saudi Arabia ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was fond of visiting al-Khardj for diversion. He kept his stud of Arabian horses there, and a model farm run by Americans provided him with fresh produce.

Bibliography: See the bibliographies for AL-AFLĀDJ and AL-DAWĀSIR. (G. RENTZ)

KHARDJA [see MUWASHSHAḤ].

KHĀRDJE, KHĀRGA [see AL-WĀḤĀT].

KHARGIRD, or Khardjird, has been the name of at least two different places in north-eastern Persia but is at present only current for one of them.

1. Khargird in the *shahristān* of Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya, or, more precisely, the *dihistān* of Rūd-i miyān Khʷāf, is situated at about 6 km. to the south-west of the latter place. It is now a small settlement, the inhabitants of which live on the growing of cereals and cotton as well as on weaving. Archaeological remains point, however, to a much more prosperous past when Khargird was one of the main urban centres of the district of Khʷāf [*q.v.*]. Many mediaeval geographers (e.g. Iṣṭakhrī, 267 f.; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 440; Muḳaddasī, 298) make mention of it among the cities of the district of Būshandj [*q.v.*]. As Būshandj, identified with modern Ghūriyān, lay at quite a distance from Khʷāf, it is not certain that the latter-mentioned Khargird was identical with the Khargird which Yāḳūt, ii, 486, counts among the *mudun* of the *ḳaṣaba* of Khʷāf, as Le Strange, 357 f., seems to have understood. It is possible that this name, the constituent parts of which occur in several geographic names, was a common appellation for townships of secondary importance in this part of Khurāsān.

The modern renown of Khargird rests upon the presence of two remarkable monuments of Islamic architecture. The oldest of these is an *īwān* with a *miḥrāb* which, as A. Godard has found, constitutes the remaining part of a *madrasa* built on a symmetric scheme of four *īwāns*. E. Herzfeld read the inscription in floriated Kūfic as a reference to the foundation of the building by the Saldjūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] (cf. *Isl.* xii (1922), 98-101). It would, then, be the only surviving specimen of the famous Niẓāmiyya *madrasas*. The second building, also a *madrasa*, is a splendid and well-preserved example of Tīmūrid architecture. Two inscriptions contain the records of its foundation by two ministers of Sultan Shāhrukh, Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ and Fakhr al-Dīn Khʷāfī, and the completion of the construction by Ḳiwām al-Dīn Shīrāzī, who was the leading architect of the period, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Shīrāzī in 848/1444-5. The building is remarkable on account of several original features of its outline and its fine decoration of glazed tiles and mosaics.

2. Khargird in the district of Djām, which is mentioned in the biographies of three prominent mystic poets of the Tīmūrid period, is certainly not identical with the former place. Ḳāsim-i Anwār [*q.v.*] died at Khargird of Djām in 837/1433-4 and was buried there in the garden of his estate. A mausoleum was erected at this spot to the order of Mīr ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] in *ca.* 892/1487 (cf. Dawlatshāh, 348 f.). In 817/1414 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī [*q.v.*] was born here and his nephew Hātifī [*q.v.*] spent his life in the vicinity of the tomb of Ḳāsim-i Anwār, where he found the inspiration for one of his *mathnawī*-poems. At present, there no longer exists a place by the name of Khargird in the area of Djām. Several Persian travellers and scholars have since the last century identified its site with modern Langar which lies on the road from Mashhad to Turbat-i Shaykh-i Djām. As a common noun, *langar* of *langarkhāna* was used to denote an almshouse, as it was frequently attached to the tomb of a holy man. Sometimes it has developed into a place name, and there are quite a few instances of this to be found in Khurāsān. A similar development may very well have taken place in the case of Khargird. The shrine, which now exists at Langar and which contains no clues for its identification, has been ascribed to an unknown saint of of the 12th/18th century by E. Diez on the basis of a popular tradition recorded by Khanykov.

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Baudenkmäler, i, 25, 69-70, Pl. 37, 4 and Pl. 39, 1; ʿA.-A. Ḥikmat and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Mawlawī, *muḳaddama* to ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī, *Madjālis al-nafāʾis*, Tehran 1323 sh., yāʾ-ṭāʾ = *Dīwān-i Ḳāsim-i Anwār*, ed. S. Nafīsī, *muḳaddama*, cv-cvii; *Farhang-i djughrāfiyāʾī-i Īrān*, ix, 375.

(J. T. P. de Bruijn)

al-**KHARGŪSHĪ**, Abū Saʿd (or Saʿīd) ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, a celebrated preacher (and therefore nicknamed al-Wāʿiẓ) and ascetic, was born in the Khargūsh street of Nīshāpūr: the arabicised form of his name is al-Kharkūshī. He went to Baghdād in the year 393/1002 on his way to perform the pilgrimage, and thereafter resided at Mecca for a while, returning to Nīshāpūr to die there in 406/1015 or 407/1016. Three works are ascribed to him (Brockelmann, I², 218, S I, 361). The first is a biography of Muḥammad, or rather a classified collection of traditions relating to him, in 8 volumes, variously entitled *Sharaf al-Nabī* (*al-Muṣṭafā, al-nubuwwa*) or *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*; a Persian translation of this, by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Rāwandī, is extant (Storey, *Persian literature*, i, 175-6). The second is a treatise on oneiromancy entitled *al-Bishāra wa 'l-nidhāra fī taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*, a pietistic compilation. The third, and most important work, is a systematic account of Ṣūfism in 70 chapters, *Tahdhīb al-asrār*, which has survived in a single manuscript (Berlin, No. 2819). This last work derives not directly from al-Khargūshī himself, but from the recension of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīrāzī, a notorious charlatan who led a rising against the governor of Ādharbaydjān and died in 439/1047. For this and other reasons the value of the book cannot be rated very high, and it has been shown (cf. A. J. Arberry in *BSOS*, 1938, 345-9) that it is not entirely original, but plagiarises to a considerable extent the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj. Nevertheless it contains material for the history of Ṣūfism not extant elsewhere, and cannot therefore be entirely disregarded.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 670-1.

(A. J. Arberry)

wādī al-**KHĀRID** or Ghayl al-Khārid, one of the principal watercourses of the Yemen. It originates about twenty km. north of Ṣanʿāʾ, near Ḥadaḳān in Arḥab, and runs inland in a north-by-north-easterly direction, draining the eastern scarp of the highlands, towards the oasis of the Djawf, where it is joined by the Wādī Madhāb and veers to the south-east. After leaving the oasis, it unites with the Wādī al-ʿAṭf and is lost in the sands of Ramlat Sabʾatayn. According to popular belief, it reappears in the Ḥaḍramawt. Just east of Shirāʿ, in Nihm, where there are hot and mineral springs, it becomes a perennial river, one of the few in South Arabia, and is noted for supporting good-sized fish (*Barbus arabicus*), even in a dry summer. These provide a livelihood to the local inhabitants, who supply them to the Ṣanʿāʾ market. Otherwise, little is known of this part of the *wādī* because of the bad reputation of the inhabitants of Arḥab, and the Ṣanʿāʾ—Djawf road avoids the region. It is, however, well cultivated by the inhabitants, the Dhū Ḥusayn. In the Djawf itself an efficient agriculture is possible only by means of extensive irrigation schemes. This part of Wādī al-Khārid is presumably the river where Aelius Gallus in 24 B.C. fought a battle with the Arabs six days after leaving Negrana (Nadjrān). The *wādī*, however, does not feature with this name in the South Arabian inscriptions, and indeed is not so named till the time of al-Hamdānī, who describes it and its many tributaries in some detail.

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(A. K. Irvine)

KHĀRIDJA b. **ZAYD** b. **THĀBIT** [see fuḳahāʾ al-madīna al-sabʿa, in Suppl.].

KHĀRIDJITES (*al-Khawāridj*, sing. *Khāridjī*), the members of the earliest of the religious sects of Islām, whose importance lies particularly, from the point of view of the development of dogma, in the formulation of questions relative to the theory of the caliphate and to justification by faith or by works, while from the point of view of political history the principal part they played was disturbing by means of continual insurrections, which often ended in the temporary conquest of entire provinces, the peace of the eastern part of the Muslim empire during the two last years of the caliphate of ʿAlī and during the Umayyad period, and involuntarily facilitating first Muʿāwiya's victory over ʿAlī, then that of the ʿAbbāsids over the Umayyads.

I. The origins of the Khāridjī movement.

Opportunity for the schism was given by the proposal presented to ʿAlī by Muʿāwiya during the battle of Ṣiffīn (Ṣafar 37/July 657) [*q.v.*] to settle the differences arising out of the murder of ʿUthmān, which had provoked the war, by referring it to two referees who would pronounce judgment "according to the Ḳurʾān". While the majority of ʿAlī's army readily adopted this proposal, either because they were tired of war or because the "Ḳurʾān-readers" (*ḳurrāʾ*) hoped there would emerge from this Ḳurʾānic judgment the justification of the furious campaign they had conducted against ʿUthmān which had ended in the latter's assassination, one group of warriors, mainly of the tribe of Tamīm, vigorously protested against the setting up of a human tribunal above the divine word. Loudly protesting that "judgment belongs to God alone" (*lā ḥukma illā li-llāhi*) they left the army, and withdrawing to the village of Ḥarūrāʾ [*q.v.*], not far from Kūfa they elected as their chief an obscure soldier, ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī [*q.v.*]. These first dissenters took the name *al-Ḥarūriya* or *al-Muḥakkima* (i.e. those who repeat the above phrase; cf. *RSO*, viii, 789, note 1), which is often applied by an extension of meaning to the later Khawāridj also. This little group gradually increased on account of successive defections, especially when the arbitration ended in a verdict quite contrary to what the *ḳurrāʾ* expected (probably in Ramaḍān or Shawwāl 37/Feb.-March 658); on this occasion a large number of partisans of ʿAlī, including a number of *ḳurrāʾ* "went out" (*kharadja*) secretly from Kūfa (to which the army had gone during the truce) to join the camp of Ibn Wahb, who in the meantime had gone to the Djūkhā country on the left bank of the Tigris, to a place

which commanded the exits of the roads from Fārs and the bridge-head, at which in those days stood the little village of Baghdād, which later was to become the capital of the empire. The rebel camp lay along the Nahrawān canal. It is to this episode of the exodus from Kūfa that the Khawāridj owe their name ("those who went out"), more probably than to a general epithet expressing the idea that they had gone out of the community of the faithful, as it was later interpreted, probably at quite an early period (cf. the name of the Jewish sect of the Pharisees, which Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii, 283-4, derived from the incident of their separation from the partisans of Judas Maccabeus in 163 B.C., quoting in support of his explanation the name of the Khawāridj). Another name given to those first Khawāridj (which has also been extended to their successors and seems to be the one which they gave themselves) is *al-Shurāt* (pl. of *shārī*), the "vendors" i.e. those who have sold their soul for the cause of God (this idea is found in several contemporary verses).

The extreme fanaticism of the Khawāridj at once manifested itself in a series of extremist proclamations and terrorist actions: they proclaimed the nullity of ʿAlī's claims to the caliphate but equally condemned ʿUthmān's conduct and disclaimed any intention of avenging his murder; they went farther and began to brand everyone infidel and outside the law who did not accept their point of view and disown ʿAlī as well as ʿUthmān. They then committed many murders, not even sparing women. Little by little the strength of the Khāridjī army grew by the accession of other fanatical and turbulent elements, including a number of non-Arabs, attracted by the principle of equality of races in the faith that the Khawāridj proclaimed. ʿAlī, who had so far tried to avoid dealing with the rebels, in order to avoid a war in his rear so long as he had to face the army of Muʿāwiya, after the rupture of the preliminaries of peace was obliged to take steps to avert the growing danger. He attacked the Khawāridj in their camp and inflicted a terrible defeat on them in which Ibn Wahb and the majority of his followers were slain (battle of al-Nahrawān, 9 Ṣafar 38/17 July 658 [*q.v.*]). But the victory cost ʿAlī dear. Not only was the rebellion far from suppressed and was prolonged in a series of local risings in 39 and 40, but ʿAlī himself perished by the dagger of the Khāridjī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muldjam al-Murādī [see IBN MULDJAM], the husband of a woman whose family had lost most of its members at al-Nahrawān. The tradition that a conspiracy of Khawāridj had aimed at killing simultaneously ʿAlī, Muʿāwiya and the governor of Egypt, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, is almost certainly apocryphal.

It should be noted that the narratives of Arab historians on the origin of the Khāridjī movement are very confused and contradictory, and seem to have lost sight of the real connection between it and the arbitration; on the other hand the nature and date of the latter are quite uncertain. The reconstruction which is given above is that proposed by the writer of this article (see Bibl.) against the view of Wellhausen (followed by Lammens and Caetani), who thinks that the Khāridjī rebellion and the arbitration are independent of one another and even dates the battle of al-Nahrawān before the verdict of the arbiters.

II. The wars of the Khawāridj under the Umayyads.

The wise and energetic administration of Muʿāwiya, succeeding the feeble and vacillating rule of ʿAlī, prevented the agitation of the Khāridjīs from breaking out, but it did not succeed in extinguishing it any more than it succeeded in suppressing the feelings and aspirations of the Shīʿa. Our sources mention several risings that broke out in Kūfa and Baṣra during the twenty years of Muʿāwiya's reign (40-60/660-80), but they were promptly put down and only served to increase the roll of martyrs, the worship and avenging of whom became one of the features of the Khāridjī movement. It is at Baṣra in particular, under the governors Ziyād b. Abīhi and his son ʿUbayd Allāh, that we find most risings and suppressions of risings. These insurrections, of which the most formidable was that of Mirdās b. Udayya al-Tamīmī Abū Bilāl [*q.v.*], settled the tactics of the Khawāridj, whose raids henceforth took the form of guerilla warfare and owed their successes mainly to the rapidity—which soon became legendary—of their cavalry (the names of some of their horses are preserved in Arabic works on hippology). They mobilised unexpectedly, swept through the country, surprised undefended towns and then retired rapidly to escape the pursuit of the government troops. The centres of concentration of the Khawāridj were the marshy country of the Baṭāʾiḥ around Baṣra (see AL-BAṬĪḤA) and around Djūkhā, on the left bank of the Tigris, where their movement had originated, from which they could, if defeated, rapidly gain the mountainous lands of the Irānian plateaus.

It was only with the great civil war that broke out after the death of Yazīd I, that in the midst of the general disorder the Khāridjī movement assumed serious dimensions and contributed more than anything else to render precarious the hold of the pretender ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], on the territory that he had at first been able to subdue. After the fall of Ibn Zubayr, it was the Umayyad governors who had to wage a hard struggle with these indomitable rebels, enemies alike of victors and vanquished. It is at this time that we begin to distinguish among the Khawāridj half-political and half-theological subdivisions, the origin of which is not at all clear, for the tradition which makes them appear at the same time quite suddenly at Baṣra on the death of Yazīd has probably altered the real succession of events. In any case, we henceforth find the Khawāridj breaking out throughout the eastern part of the empire (Syria was always free from them and Africa only knew them under the ʿAbbāsids) into serious rebellions, at the head of which they placed individuals who have given their names to the *Azāriḳa* or *Azraḳīs*, to the *Ibāḍiyya* and to the *Ṣufriyya* [*q.vv.*]. Of all these movements the most dangerous to the unity of the Muslim Empire and the most terrible on account of its ferociously uncompromising character was without doubt that led by Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ [*q.v.*], which gave the Khawāridj temporary control of Kirmān, Fārs and other eastern provinces, constituted a permanent threat to the security of Baṣra and surrounding country, and which al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra at first, and later al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf only overcame (in 78/698 or 79/699) after long years of effort which ended in the defeat and death of the last and most remarkable of the Azraḳī leaders, the valiant Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa [*q.v.*]. Less serious and less extensive and prolonged, but quite as stubborn as the Azraḳī movement, was the insurrection which was called after Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī (76-7/696-7), although he did not begin it but was only its most distinguished leader; it began in the high Tigris country between Mārdīn and

Niṣībīn and its object was the conquest and devastation of Kūfa. The partisans of S͟habīb, who advanced only in little bands of several hundred horsemen, but who often gathered round them large bands of malcontents, sowed terror throughout ʿIrāḳ, and having several times defeated al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j's troops were only destroyed by the help of an army of picked troops summoned from Syria. S͟habīb himself perished, drowned in the Dud͟jayl, while trying to reach the mountains of Kirmān; his successors caused a certain amount of trouble to the governors of Yazīd II and His͟hām but never again were a serious danger.

Arabia was another field of K͟hārid͟jī activity, where during the rule of Ibn al-Zubayr between the years 65/684-5 and 72/691-2 their leaders Abū Ṭālūt, Nad͟jda b. ʿĀmir and Abū Fudayk captured in succession Yamāma, Ḥaḍramawt, Yaman and the town of al-Ṭāʾif, and were only restrained by religious scruples from taking the holy cities. They were only destroyed after the intervention of al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j, but they left the seeds of future movements, especially in the eastern part of the peninsula.

Owing mainly to the energy of al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j, K͟hārid͟jism seemed definitely quelled. Another factor contributed considerably to its failure, namely the fanaticism and intolerance of the rebels, whose religious disputes ended in splitting their ranks and sometimes resulted in the removal of their ablest leaders on the charge of having on some occasion failed to observe the absolute irreconcilableness of their principles. Another cause of weakness may be recognised in the eternal feud between the Arab element and that of the *Mawālī* which brought fatal consequences along with it, especially among the remnants of the Azraḳīs after the death of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fud͟jāʾa. But under the last Umayyads, in the midst of the irreparable collapse of the central government, the K͟hawārid͟j again raised their heads, and resumed their exploits, this time not in little bands but in large bodies. While the two most serious risings of this period, those of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-S͟haybānī [*q.v.*] in the D͟jazīra and ʿIrāḳ and that of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, surnamed *Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ*, and of Abū Ḥamza [see AL-MUK͟HTĀR B. ʿAWF] in Arabia (in the course of which Medina itself was occupied), ended in defeat, it is nevertheless true that the anarchy which they provoked destroyed the eastern rampart of Umayyad power and enabled the ʿAbbāsid insurrection to penetrate more easily to the heart of the empire.

Under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, the K͟hārid͟jī movement may be said to be practically extinct in ʿIrāḳ and adjoining regions. Except for a few local risings, promptly suppressed, K͟hārid͟jism no longer presented any serious danger and only survived as a religious sect, without, however, any remarkable vitality or wide dissemination. In Eastern Arabia, on the other hand, in North Africa and later on the eastern coast of Africa, one of the principal branches of the K͟hawārid͟j, that of the Ibāḍiyya, played an important part in politics, and even after this role was ended it continued to be of importance from the religious point of view. It survives in our day with its dogmas, its rites and its special laws.

III. The political and religious theories of the K͟hawārid͟j.

The K͟hawārid͟j, who, as we have seen, never had any true unity of military and political action, did not have either a uniform body of doctrines. Their teachings seem to us like the particular views of a number of independent sub-sects (the heresiographers number not less than a score including principal and subsidiary together), some of which represent theological schools as well as political movements of a collectivist character, while others confine themselves to expressing differences of individual opinions among the theorists of the sect. One article is common to all: it is that which treats of the question of the caliphate, a question which has been the starting point of all the religious divisions in Islām. On this question, the K͟hawārid͟j are opposed equally to the legitimism of the S͟hīʿa and the quietism of the Murd͟jiʾa. On the one hand they assert what Wellhausen aptly calls their "non-conformity" i.e. the obligation on believers to proclaim illegitimate and ipso facto deposed the *imām* who has gone off the right path (this is how they justify their abandonment of ʿAlī after his acceptance of the arbitration); on the other hand they declare every believer who is morally and religiously irreproachable to be capable of being raised by the vote of the community to the supreme dignity of the imāmate, "even if he were a black slave". The result is that each of their leaders has been recognised by them as *amīr al-muʾminīn*, although none of them had, among other things, the qualification of Ḳuras͟hī birth. Consequently the only other caliphs besides their own that they recognise as legitimate are Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (the latter is particularly venerated by them); ʿUt͟hmān only during the first six years of his reign; and ʿAlī till the battle of Ṣiffīn.

Another capital article of K͟hārid͟jī heterodoxy is the absolute rejection of the doctrine of justification by faith without works. They push their moral strictness to the point of refusing the title of believer to anyone who has committed a mortal sin and regarding him as a *murtadd* (apostate); and their extreme wing, represented by the Azraḳīs, says that he who has become an infidel in this way can never re-enter the faith and should be killed for his apostasy along with his wives and children. Of course all non-K͟hārid͟jī Muslims are regarded as apostates. Here we have the principle of *istiʿrāḍ* (religious murder [*q.v.*]) which we find applied from the beginning of the K͟hārid͟jī movement, even before it had been formulated in theory, and which found its completest application during the war of the Azraḳīs. This ferocious principle forms a strange but not illogical contrast with the spirit of tolerance shown by the K͟hawārid͟j to non-Muslims and which in some of their schools goes so far as to recognise as equal to Muslims in every way those Jews or Christians who will pronounce the *s͟hahāda* with the modification: "Muḥammad is the Apostle of God to the Arabs and not to us." The tendency to the levelling of the Arabs and the *Mawālī* (which was already a result of their attitude to the problem of the imāmate) was pushed so far by one of the theorists of K͟hārid͟jī doctrine, Yazīd b. Abī Anīsa (founder of the *Yazīdiya*), that he says that God will reveal a new Ḳurʾān to a prophet among the Persians and that he will found a new religion for them, divine in the same sense as Judaism, Christianity and Islām, which will be no other than that of the Ṣābiʾūn mentioned in the Ḳurʾān.

The same Puritanism which characterises K͟hārid͟jism in its conception of the state and of faith is found in its ethical principles: it demands purity of conscience as an indispensable complement to bodily purity for the validity of acts of worship; one of their sects goes so far as to remove Sūra XII from the Ḳurʾān (*Sūrat Yūsuf*) because its contents

are worldly and frivolous and make it unworthy to be the Word of God. If, on the other hand, they seem to be less strict than the orthodox in the punishment they inflict on adulterers, for whom they do not allow stoning, this is due simply to the fact that they do not recognise the authenticity of the famous verses added by ʿUmar to the primitive text of the Ḳurʾān (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, i, 248-52).

Outside of general principles and a few particular cases, the law and dogmatics of the Khawāridj are not known to us in their totality except for the Ibāḍīyya, whose survival to the present day has preserved in its integrity their religious tradition. The Ibāḍiyya represent (as do the Ṣufriyya on the other side) a comparatively moderate school and their present views, in dogma as well as law, have been to some degree influenced by other Muslim schools. Attention has recently been drawn (by C. A. Nallino, in *RSO*, vii, 455-60) to the very close connection between the dogmatics of the Ibāḍiyya and of the Muʿtazila. It may also be supposed that it was the latter which, in certain points at least, received a stimulus from Khāridjism. What seems beyond doubt is that, as Wellhausen points out, Khāridjism played a very important part in the development of Muslim theology, either directly or by the impetus which it gave to reflection on the problems of the faith.

Although Khāridjism seems to us an essentially popular movement in its origins, we must be careful not to think of it as devoid of intellectualism. On the contrary, the very radicalism of its theories must have exercised an attraction on many cultivated minds, much as similar doctrines have done in other times and countries. It is particularly at the time of the early ʿAbbāsids, under the influence of and at the same time in opposition to the refined and sceptical culture of the period, that we find many scholars and men of letters who were thought to cherish Khāridjī views, without this preventing their frequenting high society and enjoying the favour of the court. The best known of these Khawāridj *sub rosa* was the famous philologist Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā [*q.v.*], regarding whose fanaticism, in conversation at least, a rather piquant anecdote is recorded by Ibn Khallikān (i, 107 of the 1310 edition; the poetic quotation should be corrected from the *Amālī* of al-Murtaḍā, iii, 88-9). Poetry and eloquence were also cultivated among the Khawāridj, which is explained by the fact that the majority of their leaders, especially in the early days, belonged to the Bedouin element in the military camps of Kūfa and Baṣra. Collections were compiled of the *khuṭab* pronounced by the Khāridjī leaders, and what survives of them, besides giving an excellent idea of their views, gives us a fairly high opinion of their oratorical talent. We also possess numerous fragments of their poetry (which had also been collected in particular *dīwāns*), especially of those of ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān [*q.v.*] (who is at the same time considered one of the founders of the Khāridjī *fiḳh*). A long list of Khāridjī orators, poets and jurists was prepared by Djāḥiẓ (see Ch. Pellat, *Djāḥiẓ et les Khāridjites*, in *Folia Orientalia*, xii (1970), 195-209).

The wars of the Khāridjīs had been recorded from the beginning of Arabic historiography in several works which have not come down to us in their entirety; we know, however, the substance of the more important among them, the authors of which were Abū Mikhnaf, Abū ʿUbayda and al-Madāʾinī from the extracts which have been preserved in the historical sources given below.

Bibliography: Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, *passim* (scattered throughout this work, in no sequence or order, are abundant literary and historical references to our subject; they have been translated by O. Rescher, *Die Kharidschitenkapitel aus dem Kāmil*, Stuttgart 1922); Ṭabarī, i, 3341 ff., ii, *passim*; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, in *RSO*, vi, 488-97 (résumé and specimens of the text for the period of the caliphate of ʿAlī; errata: *ibid.*, 925); idem, ed. Ahlwardt, 78-96, 125-51 (for the period of the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv-vi, *passim*; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ix, 541-56, x, 76-151, 168-95, and *passim* (translation by the author of this article of the historical texts for the period of the caliphate of ʿAlī and of other material relating to the Khawāridj, taken from the collections of *ḥadīth*, etc.); idem, *Chronographia Islamica*, i; R. E. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leiden 1884; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, i, *Die Chavârig* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.S., 1901, v, 2; H. Lammens, *Le caliphat de Moʿâwia Ier* (reprinted from *MFOB*), 125-40; G. Levi Della Vida, in *RSO*, vi (1913), 474-88; W. Thomson, *Khārijitism and the Khārijites*, in *Macdonald Presentation Volume*, Princeton 1933, 371-89; F. Gabrieli, *Sulle origini del movimento ḫārigita*, in *Rend. Accad. Lincei*, Ser. vii/2 (1941-2), 110-17; M. Guidi, *Sui Ḫārigiti*, in *RSO*, xxi (1944), 1-14; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Le vicende del ḫārigismo in epoca abbaside*, in *RSO*, xxiv (1949), 31-44; eadem, *Sulla denominazione Ḫawāriǧ*, in *ibid.*, xxvi (1951), 51-6; M. Kafafi, *The Rise of Khārijism according to Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Azdī al-Qalhātī*, in *BFA*, xiv (1952), 29-48; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibāḍite*, in *AIUON*, N.S., iv (1952), 1-94; eadem, *Traduzione di passi riguardanti il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita*, in *AIUON*, N.S., v (1953), 1-98; R. Rubinacci, *Il Califfo ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibāḍiti*, in *AIUON*, N.S., v (1953), 99-121; G. Scarcia, *Lo scambio di lettere fra Hārūn al-Rašīd e Ḥamza al-Hāriǧī secondo il "Ta'riḫi-Sīstān"*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xiv (1964), 623-45; idem, *Due precisazioni sul ḫārigismo sīstanico*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xv (1965), 303 ff.; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, 85-103 (tr. Haarbrücker, *Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, 128-56); Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1320, iv, 188-92; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ* (tr. K. Ch. Seelye, *Moslem schisms and sects...*, Columbia University Oriental Series, xv, New York 1919, i, 74-115); I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*², 191-6 (1st edn., 204-8, Fr. tr. F. Arin, 159-64); M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam tot op el-Ash'ari*, Leiden 1875; F. Gabrieli, *La poesia ḫārigita nel secolo degli Omayyadi*, in *RSO*, xx (1943), 331-72; M. M. Moreno, *Note di teologia ibāḍita*, in *AIUON*, N.S., iii (1949), 299-313; R. Rubinacci, *La professione di fede di al-Ǧannāwunī*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xiv (1964), 553-95; C. Cremonesi, *Un antico documento ibāḍita sul Corano creato*, in *Studi Magrebini*, i (Naples 1966), 133-78; H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 36 ff. (G. Levi Della Vida*)

KHARĪṬA (or **KHĀRIṬA**), "map" in modern Arabic, derived from French "carte", (see I. I. Krachkovsky, *Istoria Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura* (Moscow-Leningrad 1957), with Arabic tr.

by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿUthman Hāshim as *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-djughrāfī al-ʿArabī*, i (Cairo 1963), 59, n. by translator; cf. Ibrāhīm Shawkat, *Kharāʾiṭ djughrāfiyyī al-ʿArab al-awwal*, in *Madjallat al-Ustādh*, (Baghdad 1962), 2.). In mediaeval Arabic several terms were used for "a map" or "map of the earth", e.g. *djughrāfiyā* or *djaʿrāfiyya* (Greek Γεωγραφία), translated into Arabic as *ṣūrat al-arḍ*; then *rasm al-arḍ*, *ṣifat al-dunyā*, *ashkāl al-arḍ*, *lawḥ al-rasm*, etc.

Cartography had been practised in the Middle East since ancient times, but with the advent of Islam it received a new impetus due to the political and administrative requirements of the expanding Islamic world. Thus in the 2nd/8th century a map of al-Daylam was prepared for al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714); then a map of the Swamps of Baṣra is said to have existed during the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75). (Krachkovsky, *op. cit.*, i, 59, 206; cf. Shawkat, *op. cit.*, 2, 3). Whatever the quality of such maps, the Arabs' direct knowledge of the region gathered during their early campaigns, coupled with indigenous methods of drawing maps, probably enabled them to draw these.

It is not, however, until the early decades of the 3rd/9th century that we come across the first detailed world maps drawn in Arabic. This became possible through the introduction to the Islamic world of the Greek, Indian and Iranian astronomical and geographical works in the 8th and the early 9th centuries A.D. Thus from this period until the 17th century, cartography was practised as a science and passed through several stages of development. Muslim astronomers and geographers drew world maps and regional maps, as well as sea-charts, following various traditions until their mediaeval techniques of cartography were replaced by the modern ones.

The first world map, the original form of which is not extant, was constructed by the scholars of Baghdād who worked in the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* "House of Science" [*q.v.*] there under the patronage of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33). This map was named after the caliph as *al-Ṣūrat al-Maʾmūniyya*. According to al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), who had seen this map, it depicted "the universe with spheres, the stars, land and the seas, inhabited and barren (regions of the world), settlements of peoples, cities, etc." It was, he says, more exquisite than the world maps of Claudius Ptolemy, Marinos and others, (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 33; cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 183-205). According to al-Zuhrī (lived *ca.* 532/1137), al-Fazārī had made a copy of the map, and al-Zuhrī's own work, the *Kitāb al-djaʿrāfiyya*, was based on this copy of *al-Ṣūrat al-Maʾmūniyya* (al-Zuhri, *Kitāb al-Djaʿrāfiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Hadj-Sadok, Damascus 1968, 306; cf. Krachkovsky, *op. cit.*, 86/7, 279). As the arrangement of the geographical material in al-Zuhrī's work follows the ancient Iranian *kishwar* system [see DJUGHRĀFIYA], it is possible that *al-Ṣūrat al-Maʾmūniyya* represented a synthesis between the Iranian system and the Ptolemaic system according to which the inhabited world was divided into seven climes running parallel to the equator and divided according to the length of the day. It is evident, therefore, that while much of the data of the map was derived from Ptolemy's *Geography*, a substantial amount of it and its arrangement must have come from non-Greek sources.

It was during this period that Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī (d. after 232/84 [*q.v.*]) wrote his geographical work entitled *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*. Though essentially based on Ptolemy's *Geography*, the work gives in a tabulated form the co-ordinates of places (cities, mountains, rivers, etc.) arranged according to the Ptolemaic climes. There is little doubt that the work must have been originally accompanied by regional maps of each of the climes or by a single world map, but none of these seem to have survived. The four maps produced in the printed edition of the work seem to be later recensions of the original maps depicting *djazīrat al-djawhar*, a map of the seas, gulfs, etc., of the Nile and the Sea of Azov drawn by the author. (For the maps, see *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. H. von Mžik, Leipzig 1926, Tafel I (*djazīrat al-djawhar*); Tafel II (shapes of the seas, gulfs, etc.); Tafel III (Map of the Nile); and Tafel IV (Map of the Sea of Azov). Shawkat reasons that since al-Khwārazmī wrote a brief work, he did not draw a complete map of the world but confined himself to drawing the four maps as an illustration, see *op. cit.*, 7-8). Al-Khwārazmī's maps have now been fully reconstructed by S. Razia Jafri on the basis of the data given in his *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (*A critical revision and interpretation of Kitāb Ṣūrat al-ʾarḍ by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī*, thesis, Aligarh Muslim University, unpublished). A comparison of these maps with those of the extant maps of Ptolemy (see E. L. Stevenson, *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, New York 1932; cf. the map of Afrika by al-Khwārazmī as interpreted by von Mžik (reproduced by Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta Cartografica Africae et Aegypti*, iii (Époque Arabe), Fasc. I, 1930, 525), shows their close resemblance to each other, just as the maps reproduced in al-Khwārazmī's work resemble those of Ptolemy.

Thābit b. Ḳurra (d. 288/901 [*q.v.*]), who was credited with an excellent translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* into Arabic, also drew a world map called *Ṣifat al-dunyā* (Krachkovsky, i, 206), but it has not survived.

The maps enumerated above followed what may be called the Greco-Muslim tradition in cartography, yet they differed from the maps of Ptolemy in several aspects. First, they did not follow the Ptolemaic technique of conical projection. The cartographers drew their maps with latitudes and longitudes as straight lines as though on a plane surface, and without any regard to the spherical shape of the earth. Al-Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050 [*q.v.*]), criticising Marinos for some assumptions in his map of the earth, and also al-Battānī (d. 317/929 [*q.v.*]) for his determination of the direction of the *ḳibla*, says that "They treated the meridian circles as parallel straight lines and the parallels of latitudes as straight lines. Thus they have fallen into this outrageous error," (al-Bīrūnī, *The determination of the co-ordinates of positions for the correction of distances between cities*, tr. of *Kitāb Taḥdīd nihayāt al-amākin li-taṣḥīḥ masāfāt al-masākin*, by Djamīl ʿAli, Beirut 1966). Similarly, al-Zuhrī was critical of the scientists who had constructed *al-Ṣūrat al-Maʾmūniyya*, for, he says, while the earth was in fact spherical in shape, they drew the map of the earth on a plane, a method followed in the construction of the astrolabe (*op. cit.*, 304). Again, while in the Ptolemaic maps the inhabited world is divided into seven climes (subdivided into 21 parallels north of the equator and 4 parallels south of it), in the Greco-Muslim maps only the broader division of the climes is followed, while the subdivision into the parallels is neglected. Thirdly, differences in the physical features as depicted on the Ptolemaic and the Greco-Muslim maps can also be noticed. For instance, in the Ptolemaic maps the Indian Ocean is shown as a lake, while on the Greco-Muslim maps it

is shown as having water communication with the Pacific (the "Encircling Ocean") in the south-east. Again, Ceylon in the Greco-Muslim maps is much smaller in size than that shown in the Ptolemaic maps. These and similar dissimilarities were partly due to the more intimate knowledge of Asia and Africa enjoyed by the Muslim geographers and cartographers. Moreover, the Muslim astronomers of the later period had revised the astronomical tables of the Greeks as well as those of the early Muslim astronomers in the light of their own observations, which must have helped the cartographers to draw more accurate maps (for details, see S͟hawkat, 11, 5).

During the 4th/10th century, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Yūnus (d. 399/1009 [*q.v.*]), along with al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Muhallabī, prepared a world map for the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz (365-86/975-96). It was drawn on a Tustarī silk cloth and woven in gold and different colours in silk. On it were shown the climes, mountains, rivers, cities, seas and the different routes, and Mecca and Medina were prominently depicted on it. It cost 22,000 *dīnār*s. Except for some differences in the south-eastern coast of Arabia and the northern coast of Africa, it conformed to the map of al-K͟hwārazmī (*ibid.*, 12-13).

Also in this century, Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balk͟hī (d. 322/934 [*q.v.*]) initiated a new tradition in Islamic cartography which exercised a deep influence on later cartographers and became the most popular style of cartography in the Islamic world. Al-Balk͟hī wrote a geography of the Islamic world entitled *Ṣuwar al-aḳālīm*, in which he described each of the various provinces, calling it an *iḳlīm*. Though brief, the work was a description of the maps of the provinces drawn by the author with their boundaries, main cities and towns, rivers, mountains and the main roads connecting the cities. He also drew maps of the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Caspian and a world map in which Mecca occupied the central position. Neither the geographical treatise nor the maps of al-Balk͟hī have survived independently. However, his maps were copied and probably improved by al-Iṣṭak͟hrī (*ca.* 340/951 [*q.v.*]) and his treatise incorporated in the latter's work. Al-Iṣṭak͟hrī drew 21 provincial maps (including one of the world) which are found attached to his *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik.* (For the maps, see *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. Muḥammad D͟jābir ʿAbd al-ʿĀl al-Ḥīnī, Cairo 1961; see also *ibid.*, 195-205, for a discussion of the maps by the editor; see also coloured maps in a Persian translation of al-Iṣṭak͟hrī's work entitled *Masālik wa mamālik*, ed. Īrad͟j Afs͟hār, Tehran 1340/1961). Another geographer who followed the cartographical tradition of al-Balk͟hī was Ibn Ḥawḳal (*ca.* 367/977 [*q.v.*]). One of the outstanding geographers of the time, Ibn Ḥawḳal produced an excellent work on the geography of the Islamic world, his *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*. Though essentially based on the Balk͟hī-Iṣṭak͟hrī tradition, the work includes the rich personal experiences and observations of the author. For his work, Ibn Ḥawḳal drew 22 maps, including a world map. In his opinion, some of the maps of al-Iṣṭak͟hrī were excellent, whereas others were confused and full of defects. Hence, on al-Iṣṭak͟hrī's own request, he revised some of the former's maps (Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1939, ii, 329-30). A glance at the maps of Ibn Ḥawḳal shows that they are superior to those of al-Iṣṭak͟hrī. A third follower of this school was al-Muḳaddasī (*ca.* 375/985 [*q.v.*]), who was perhaps the most original of the geographers of mediaeval Islam. In his *Kitāb Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aḳālīm* he gave a systematic account of the geography and the cultural aspects of each of the provinces of the Islamic world. Having rearranged the provinces, he drew the maps of 12 of them (for al-Muḳaddasī's maps, see Kamāl, iii, fasc. I, 672-7), and claimed to have drawn a more accurate map of the sea round Arabia in the light of his own experiences and the information derived from experiences of sailors whom he had met (al-Muḳaddasī, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *BGA*, iii, Leiden 1877, 10-1). It seems therefore, that the cartographers of the Balk͟hī school continuously endeavoured to improve the maps of their predecessors.

This new tradition of cartography differed fundamentally both in approach and content from the Greco-Muslim tradition, and could be described as reflecting the Islamic political point of view of the time. As against the Greco-Muslim maps in which ʿIrāḳ was usually placed in the central clime (i.e. the fourth), in the world maps belonging to the Balkhī school, Mecca occupied the central position. Another interesting feature of these round world maps is that south is placed at the top and north at the bottom, for which religious reasons are assigned (S͟hawkat, 21, n. 3, is of the view that the geographers put south at the top of their maps because of reverence for the cities of Mecca and Medina in Arabia, beyond which there was no land). Again, land is surrounded by the "encircling Ocean" (*al-Muḥīṭ*) and practically the whole of the southern quarter of the earth is shown covered by land, following the Greek concept of *terra incognita* as an extension of the African continent. Then, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean are depicted as two "gulfs" coming out of the "Encircling Ocean" and reaching nearest to each other at the Isthmus of Suez, thus conforming to the Ḳurʾānic concept of the two gulfs meeting at al-Barzak͟h [*q.v.*] ("the barrier", XXV, 55/53). Thus the Indian Ocean, though connected with the Pacific in the south-east, has no water communication with the Atlantic. The separate sea maps are usually geometrical in shape, and resemble a bird or some other figure, which are again based on ideas of Muslim traditionists. In these world maps, arbitrary boundaries of the provinces (*iḳlīm*s) of the Islamic world, as well those of the non-Islamic regions, are drawn so as to convey an overall picture of the political and the ethnographic divisions of the world. It is, above all, in their provincial (*iḳlīm*) maps that these cartographers display their originality. In each of these maps, the boundaries, cities and towns, rivers, mountains and roads are shown with great dexterity. Obviously, the main purpose of the author was to highlight the Islamic world. These maps, therefore, may be taken as a distinctive achievement on the part of the cartographers of the Balk͟hī school and an improvement on the mathematical division of the climes of the Greco-Muslim maps.

K. Miller attributed some maps which have traces of the Balk͟hī school in them to the famous Sāmānid *wazīr* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-D͟jayhānī, the author of the lost work called *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* (written *ca.* 310/922) (*Mappae arabicae*, Stuttgart 1931, Islam Atlas, Band v, Tafel 66-70, 72v and 73r). It is unlikely, however, that these maps were drawn by him, for in his work he followed the Ptolemaic arrangement of the seven climes.

One of the earliest Persian geographical works produced in this century was the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (compiled in 372/982-3). According to V. Minorsky, the author "worked on the basis of some previous map", probably a modified form of Abū

D̲j̲aʿfar al-K̲h̲āzin's maps, upon which he seems to have made some improvements. However, the map upon which the anonymous author worked has not survived. (Minorsky based his view on Barthold's suggestion that al-Balk̲h̲ī's book on geography may have actually been an explanation of Abū D̲j̲aʿfar al-K̲h̲āzin's maps, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 18, n. 5; for Minorsky's view, see *ibid.*, p. xv). It might have belonged to the tradition of the Balk̲h̲ī school.

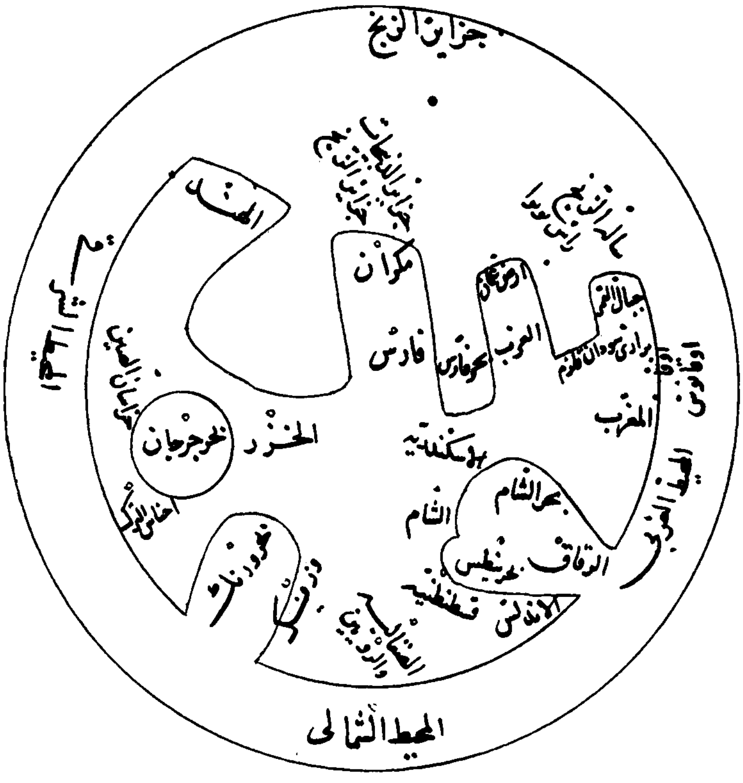

Fig. 1. Map of the seas by al-Bīrūnī as contained in his *Kitāb al-Tafhīm li-awāʾil al-tand̲j̲īm* (written in 420/1029), British Museum, MS. Or. 8349, f. 58.

It was, however, left to al-Bīrūnī to introduce new concepts in physical geography which resulted in innovations in the world maps hitherto drawn by the Muslim cartographers. He was the first to propound the theory that the Indian Ocean must have a connection with the Atlantic through certain channels south of the Mountains of the Moon, the traditional sources of the Nile. He argued that just as *al-Baḥr al-Kabīr* (the Indian Ocean) penetrated into the northern continent (Asia) on the east and entered it in many places, creating many islands there, similarly, the continent, to keep up the balance jutted out into *al-Baḥr al-D̲j̲unūbī* (the Southern Sea) in the west. He continues that in this region, the sea had entered the mountains [of the Moon] and the valleys, with a continuous ebb and flow, and was stormy, causing shipwrecks and preventing sailing, but in spite of this it was still connected with the *Uḳiyānūs* (the Atlantic) through these narrow passages. He then says that towards the south and beyond these mountains, signs of the connection of these two seas have been discovered, even though no-one has personal experience of their connection. Thus al-Bīrūnī conceived of the inhabited continent as being surrounded by the "Encircling Ocean" (*al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Hyderabad 1955, ii, 538); and in his map of the seas, the traditional *terra incognita* is replaced by sea which covers most of the southern quarter, the Indian Ocean is connected with the Atlantic, and Africa acquires a small size (for al-Bīrūnī's map of the sea, see Fig. 1). Al-Bīrūnī's theory was adopted by many a later geographer and cartographer. (For example, see Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. J. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Paris 1840, 12-13; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, i, 506, and the map of the seas based on al-Bīrūnī, cf. Wadie Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-Buldān*, Leiden 1959, 30-2). The absence of the *terra incognita* in many of the later world maps and the changing shape of the African continent in them may have been due to the influence of this theory.

During the 5th/11th centuries, Maḥmūd al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī [*q.v.*] drew a rather unusual world map with a linguistic basis, giving prominence to the Turkish-speaking regions and placing Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar at the centre of the world, with other regions receding to the periphery. (For his map, see Kamāl, iii, fasc. II, 741; cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, Arabische Welt- und Länderkarten, Band v, Weltkarten, 142-8.)

While the Balk̲h̲ī school was gaining popularity with the cartographers in the east, in Europe some of the most outstanding maps in the Greco-Muslim tradition were still being produced. In Sicily, the well-known geographer al-S̲h̲arīf al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1166 [*q.v.*]), who lived at the court of Roger II, produced a series of world and sectional maps at the orders of the king. Taking the Ptolemaic maps as the basis, he constructed a large silver map. He then draw a world map and by dividing each of the seven climes into ten longitudinal sections, he drew a separate and detailed map of each of these sections. Into these he incor-

porated the geographical information collected from Arabic as well as Norman sources. The maps form a part of his monumental geographical work *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fi 'khtirāḳ al-āfāḳ*, and except for the silver map, all have fortunately survived the vicissitudes of time. (For his maps, see Miller, Band i, Heft 2, Heft 3; and Band vi). Al-Idrīsī's maps represent the best example of Arabo-Norman co-operation in cartography.

An interesting world map belonging to the middle of the 6th/12th century exists in an anonymous work entitled *Mukhtaṣar Ibn Ḥawḳal*, in which the shape of the inhabited world is drawn elliptically rather than round. The Indian and the Atlantic Oceans are separated by a narrow isthmus of land near the sources of the Nile, which is connected with the *terra incognita* and which is partly visible (of the three mss. of this, two carry the title *Kitāb Hay'at ashkāl al-arḍ wa-miḳdāruhā fi 'l-ṭūl wa 'l-ʿarḍ al-maʿrūf bi-djughrāfiyā*, Kamāl, iii, fasc. II, 804-17. Kamāl reproduced all the maps belonging to the various mss. of this work. One of these (B.N. No. 2214), according to Kramers, is an abridgement of Ibn Ḥawḳal's ms. Top Kapu Saray No. 3346, which was copied in 479/1086 with supplementary annotations relating to the period of the epitomiser, i.e. 534-80/1139-84, see Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, Introd. pp. v-vi). Among the various maps belonging to the manuscript of this work, there is a map of the Nile reproduced by Kramers in his edition, i, 149, but it differs in detail from the map of the Nile by al-Khʷārazmī (see above).

To this century also belong the six maps of Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī, one of the earliest Muslim cosmographers and author of the Persian work *Kitāb ʿAdjā'ib al-makhlūḳat* (written *ca.* 576/1180); these were probably drawn in the Balkhī tradition, and are the maps of the Caspian (*Baḥr Ḳazwīn*), the Mediterranean, al-Djibāl, al-Sind and the Persian Gulf (Krachkovsky, 325).

During the 7th/13th century, a number of world maps were produced, some of which belonged to the Greco-Muslim tradition and others to that of the Balkhī school. A peculiar world map belonging to the former tradition and dated 646/1248 is found in a fragment of a Persian geographical treatise. In this map, the Indian Ocean passes south of the Mountains of the Moon and then turning northwards joins the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, thus surrounding what appears to be the continent of Africa. However, the *terra incognita* is also shown covering part of the southern quarter of the earth and then extending northwards around Africa where it joins Spain (see Kamāl, iii (1935), fasc. V, 996; the volume containing the Persian geographical treatise (Leiden ms. Ar. 1899) also contains an astronomical treatise by Aḥmad al-Sidjzī copied in 646/1248). The author seemed to have been influenced by al-Bīrūnī, but at the same time persisted in retaining the *terra incognita* on the map, and it was this which led him to connect it with the European mainland. To the Greco-Muslim tradition also belonged the Syriac world map of Bar Hebraeus (Ibn al-ʿIbrī, A.D. 1226-86 [*q.v.*]), Miller, i, 9; v, 169; cf. Krachkovsky, 373-4.

The elliptical world maps attributed by Miller to Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 673/1274 or 685/1286), see Miller, Band v, Tafel 71, and i, 1, 21-2, are more likely to be the work of the anonymous author of the *Mukhtaṣar Ibn Ḥawḳal.* Ibn Saʿīd's world map, on the other hand, follows the Greco-Muslim tradition, but the *terra incognita* is replaced by sea in the southern quarter of the earth and the Indian Ocean is connected with the Atlantic south of Africa, whose southern part is fork-shaped. However, the author seemed to be confused with regard to the outlines of the continents and the islands. (For the world map of Ibn Saʿīd, see L. Bagrow and R. A. Skelton, *History of cartography*, London 1964, Pl. xxvi).

The maps drawn by the cosmographers of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries present some special and interesting features. For instance, the world map of Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] (d. 682/1283) follows the tradition of the Balkhī school, but the "Encircling Ocean" is shown as being surrounded by the legendary *djabal ḳāf*, from the southern side of which the legendary *ʿayn al-ḥayāt* ("the Fountain of Life") flows into the *terra incognita.* (Miller, Band v, Tafel 80 (2. Kazwini Gotha). However, his map of the seas is based on that of al-Bīrūnī and the climatic world map is in the Greco-Muslim tradition (*ibid.*, Weltkarten, 129-32). The world map of Sirādj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar, called Ibn al-Wardī [*q.v.*] (d. 861/1457 or 850/1446), is similar to that of al-Ḳazwīnī, following the Balkhī tradition of cartography and depicting the legendary *djabal ḳāf* surrounding the "Encircling Ocean" and the *ʿayn al-ḥayāt* (*ibid.*, Band v, Tafel 75-9; Weltkarten, 134-8). On the other hand, al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327 [*q.v.*]), drew diagrams, distinctive in their nature, of the relative distribution of various races in the inhabited parts of the world (*ibid.*, Band v, Weltkarten, 139-41).

By this time, new trends seemed to be appearing in Islamic cartography. Of great interest are some maps in which the Muslim cartographers used a grid of horizontal and vertical lines representing latitudes and longitudes, which form small squares within which place names are shown to indicate their geographical positions. Whether this new experiment in Islamic cartography was due to any influence of Chinese cartography, in which the rectangular grid was used as a scale to indicate distances, or whether it was indigenous to Muslim cartographers, is not certain. We have some examples of Mongol maps of this design produced in China during this period; for instance, the Mongol map of A.D. 1329 which formed part of the *History of the Yuan Shih* used the rectangular grid. Krachkovsky believed that this map may have been drawn by a representative of the Iranian-Arab school of cartography and that the place names given on the map were possibly in the Mongolian language initially, and the map later translated into Chinese (Krachkovsky, 398-9). However, since the Islamic maps of this category differ fundamentally from their Chinese prototypes, in that the former use the horizontal and the vertical lines to represent the latitudes and the longitudes, while the latter use them to form squares to indicate distances, it is not unlikely that the concept of using a grid was originally borrowed from the Chinese by the Muslim cartographers, considering the fact that Mongol rule at this point covered much of the region between Iran and China.

A notable example of this class of maps is the world map of Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī (d. 750/1349 [*q.v.*]), in which the inhabited world is divided into 18 equal longitudinal divisions and the longitudes are drawn as straight lines as through on a plane surface, without converging at the poles; similarly, the inhabited world is divided into 9 parallel divisions beginning from the equator and going northwards. Thus, the squares formed are approximately of 10° × 10°, each degree being equal to 56 2/3 Arabian miles (according to al-Ma'mūn's astronomers). Place names are then arbitrarily written within each of the squares, and so are the names of the seven climes around the circum-

ference of the inhabited world. The map shows traces of al-Bīrūnī's concept of sea covering the southern quarter of the earth, and southern Africa is fork-shaped, as in some of the maps discussed above. In his detailed map of Central Asia, Iran, etc. called by Miller "Irankarte", al-Mustawfī used a rectangular grid in which each of the squares represents 1° × 1° and the names of the main cities and towns are given in each of the squares. The map covers longitudes from 64° to 111° from west to east and latitudes from 16° to 45° north of the equator (the Muslim astronomers generally calculated their longitudes beginning from the Canary Islands (0°) to China (180°)). Again, according to al-Mustawfī, his map spreads between the 1st and the 6th clime north of the equator, but these are arbitrarily mentioned and seem to have no relation with the actual astronomical divisions of the climes as worked out by the astronomers. With an arbitrary division of the parallels of latitudes and with no regard for the sphericity of the earth in drawing the longitudes, it was hardly to be expected that the places would find correct geographical positions as known to the Muslim astronomers (Miller, Band v, Tafel 83-6; Band v, Weltkarten, 178-82).

Another example of this category of maps is the world map of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 833/1430 [*q.v.*]). While the three regional maps accompanying his work on geography are drawn after the tradition of the Balk͟hī school, his world map belongs to the category under discussion and resembles in many respects that of al-Mustawfī. The world map is superimposed on a grid of squares of 5° × 5° with vertical lines representing the longitudes and horizontal lines representing the latitudes. The longitudes begin at 0° (passing through the west coast of Africa) and then go eastwards up to 180° which crosses a place called Kankdūz and are drawn as straight lines; the latitudes begin at 0° at the equator and go up north up to 90°. The climes indicated along the margins, each of which is divided into two parts arbitrarily, have no relation to the actual astronomical divisions of the climes. The southern quarter of the earth is covered by sea and the southern coast of Africa is round in shape, which is an advance upon some of the earlier maps depicting it as forked (*ibid.*, Band v, Weltkarten, 111-12, 122-3, 178; Band v, Beiheft, Tafel 72, 82. "Kankdūz" (Kang-diz), was a legendary town which, according to the Persians, was built by Kay Kāʾūs or D͟jam in the most remote east, behind the sea, Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 189).

Muslim astronomers also drew maps of cities and towns and the direction of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*, 2. Astronomical aspects], of which quite a few examples are extant, see Miller, Band v, 149-54 for the *ḳibla* maps.

In the 10th/16th century, the members of the al-S͟harafī al-Sifāḳsī family of Tunisia distinguished themselves by drawing several maps between 958/1551 and 1009/1601. The oldest member of the family, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, compiled an atlas in eight sheets in 958/1551 (ms. preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), to which is probably related the world map of al-S͟harafī (Oxford, Uri, 1787, I, see Miller, v, 176) belonging to 979/1571-2. The atlas contains several maps: a map of the *ḳibla*; a general map of the world based on al-Idrīsī; and maps of the various coastal regions of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. To the atlas is also attached an agricultural calendar for each month. The atlas was probably drawn for some sea captain who sailed on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea in Christian and Syrian shipping. The same cartographer was probably responsible for the world map dated 987/1579, which according to Miller, was an attempt to combine the Catalonian sea map with that of al-Idrīsī to produce a new Arabic sea map. Another member of the family, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sharafī, produced a world map in 1009/1601, the eastern half of which was based on al-Idrīsī and the western half (Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast) and the Black Sea on Catalonian portolanos (Krachkovsky, 455-7; cf. Miller, Band v, Weltkarten, 175-7).

Turkish maps and sea-charts.

During this century, Turkish cartographers made some very significant contributions to Islamic cartography. In fact, they may be said to have formed a bridge between mediaeval Islamic and modern cartography. Among the most prominent examples are the maps of Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*] (d. 962/1554). He drew a world map, completed in 919/1513, only the western part of which has been preserved. This portion depicts the Iberian peninsula, north-west Africa, the Atlantic Ocean and the coasts of the islands of America. Drawn on a gazelle hide, it includes coloured pictures and notes about the countries, peoples, animals and plants. It was presented to Sulṭān Selīm in 923/1517. A portolano chart, the map has a mathematical basis, and Pīrī Reʾīs used some twenty maps in constructing it, four of which were by Portuguese explorers, including the lost map of Christopher Columbus recording the discoveries made by him during his third voyage (A.D. 1498). In 341/1528, Pīrī Reʾīs drew a second map showing the northern part of the Atlantic Ocean and the newly-discovered regions of North and Central America. Sevim Tekeli points out that a comparison of the two maps shows that Pīrī Reʾīs followed the new discoveries very closely. His sailing manual for the Mediterranean, the *Baḥriyye*, included numerous maps after the fashion of the Italian portolanos and probably based on them, each representing the portion of the Mediterranean coast treated in the respective chapter (see D͟JUG͟HRĀFIYA, vi. The Ottoman geographers (Taeschner); cf. Sevim Tekeli, *Pīrī Rais*, in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, New York 1974, x, 616-9).

It may be pointed out here that the world map hitherto attributed to Ḥād͟jd͟jī Aḥmad of Tunis and dated 967/1559 (preserved in Marciana, Venice) has now been proved by V. L. Ménage to be of European origin (Taeschner, 2; Ménage, *The map of Ḥājjī Aḥmed and its makers*, in *BSOAS*, xxi (1958), 291-314; cf. Krachkovsky, 457-8; G. Kish, *The suppressed Turkish map of 1560*, Ann Arbor 1957).

We may finally mention the maps of Kātib Čelebī [*q.v.*] (1017-67/1609-57), drawn by him in the first manuscript of his *D͟jihān-nümā*; these were mainly based on modern European cartography (Taeschner, 2; cf. Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939, 107-8). Also, a manuscript of the Near and Middle East was printed by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa, dated 1139/1726-7 or 1141/1728-9 (Taeschner, *loc. cit.*).

Arab Sea-charts of the Indian Ocean

Although there are no direct references to the existence of Arab sea-charts in the works of the Arab navigators, Ibn Mād͟jid [*q.v.*] (d. after 905/1500) and Sulaymān al-Mahrī (first half of the 10th/16th century) (see G. R. Tibbetts, *The navigational theory of the Arabs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, in *Agrupamento de estudos de cartografia antiga*, xxxvi (Coimbra 1969), 19), one does find references to Arab sea-charts of a type in the Portuguese and other sources. At an earlier date, according to Marco Polo,

the "Arabs had good charts" (Tibbetts, *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, 4; cf. A. Teixeira da Mota, *Méthodes de navigation et cartographie nautique dans l'Océan Indien avant le XVIe siècle*, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, in *Studia*, xi (January 1963), 72-5). Two references are of some interest here. One of these is the sea-chart described by João de Barros which Ibn Mādjid had shown to Vasco da Gama during his meeting with the latter in East Africa. The chart, according to João de Barros, depicted the entire coast of India and had the meridians and the parallels drawn on it in the Moorish (i.e. Arab) way but had no rhumbs of the winds indicated on it. The squares formed by these lines were very small, hence the coast traced between the two rhumbs of north-south and east-west was very exact. In the opinion of Teixeira da Mota, the parallels may have represented the altitudes of the stars and were probably traced in the scale 1/4 by 1/4 of an *iṣba*ʿ (1° 36′), conforming to the altitudes given in the works of Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, and the meridians could have been lines of equal distance, east-west, at an interval of perhaps 24 hours or 8 *zām*s (1 *zām* being equal to 3 *farsakh*s) (op. cit., 64-5, 69-72; on the value of 1 *zām* (= 3 *farsakh*s), see *ibid.*, 57, n. 9). Teixeira da Mota further points out that according to *Le Livro de Marinharia d'André Pires* (*ca.* 1550), 5 *iṣba*ʿs of the Moorish maps were to be taken as being equal to 8 parts which was 8° (i.e. 1 *iṣba*ʿ represented 1° 36′, whereas the correct value is 1° 37′ (*ibid.*, 74-5).

The second example is that of the nautical map possessed by a skilled navigator of Mogadishu met by Sir Thomas Roe. Drawn on a parchment, this map was lined and graduated in an orderly fashion. But Teixeira da Mota believes that the map may have actually belonged to the European type, for the pilot spoke Portuguese and the Portuguese had since long established themselves in East Africa and maintained close relationships with the local navigators (*ibid.*, 72-3).

From the above example, it may be concluded that the Muslim navigators of the Indian Ocean did evolve an indigenous technique of drawing sea-charts with graduated lines in which the parallels represented the altitudes of the stars in *iṣba*ʿs and "the meridians", the fixed distances. According to Tibbetts, the Arab navigators of the Indian Ocean had followed a system of measuring the *masāfāt* or distances (*The navigational theory of the Arabs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, 16). These could have been represented by the vertical lines on the charts.

Finally, it may be said that Islamic cartography, despite its technical drawbacks, as pointed out by scientists like al-Bīrūnī, did serve the purpose of the conqueror, the traveller and the scholar alike throughout the Middle Ages. The mistakes initially made persisted, even though in certain aspects like regional maps there were signs of progress. Its influence in the Islamic world lasted until the 11th/17th century, when it seems to have been replaced by modern cartography.

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(S. Maqbul Ahmad)

KH^wĀRIZM, KH^wĀRIZMĪ, etc. [see kh^wārazm, kh^wārazmī etc.].

KHARLUKH [see karluk].

KHARM [see ʿarūḍ].

KHARPŪT, wrong spelling for khartpert [*q.v.*].

al-**KHARRĀZ**, Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, mystic of the school of Baghdād. Born in Baghdād probably early in the 3rd/9th century, he joined al-Nibādjī, Abū ʿUbayd al-Busrī, Sarī al-Saḳaṭī, Bishr al-Ḥāfī, Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Ṭūsī and other Ṣūfī shaykhs. He travelled extensively from an early age, though only few details about his itineraries are known from his own statements. His final departure from Baghdād may be connected with the wave of persecution of the Ṣūfīs instigated by the Ḥanbalī Ghulām al-Khalīl during the co-regency of al-Muwaffaḳ (257-78/871-91), for he is reported to have been accused of infidelity by a group of *ʿulamā*ʾ for some daring expressions in his *Kitāb al-sirr*. According to his own testimony, he visited al-Ramla, Jerusalem, and Ṣayda and lived in Mecca for eleven years, regularly visiting Medina in order to perform the pilgrimage from there. He was expelled from Mecca by the governor because of his teaching. During the last part of his life, and perhaps during an earlier period, he lived in Egypt. From there he travelled to al-Baṣra in order to meet the Ṣūfī Abū Ḥātim al-ʿAṭṭār, and he also visited Ḳayrawān. According to the best attested report, he died in 286/899.

Like his contemporary al-Djunayd [*q.v.*], al-Kharrāz strove to combine a doctrine of ecstatic mysticism with orthodox support of the religious law. He affirmed that any esoteric (*bāṭin*) doctrine that contradicts the apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) of the law is false. Upholding the superiority of the prophets over the saints (*awliyā*ʾ), he argued that every prophet is a saint before becoming a prophet. He addressed a letter to a group of Ṣūfīs in Damascus, refuting their heretical view that they could see God with their hearts as the inhabitants of Paradise will see Him with their eyes. In a book on proper conduct in the canonical prayer (*adab al-ṣalāt*), he described the significance of its rites for the Ṣūfī. Al-Kharrāz is credited by al-Sulamī and others with having been the first one to speak about the states of annihilation (*fanā*ʾ) and subsistence (*baḳā*ʾ) [*q.v.*]. This is not literally correct, for these concepts had been used by earlier Ṣūfīs and were commonplace among his contemporaries. They appear, however, as fundamental in his doctrine and designate the highest stages of the mystic "beyond which no created being can reach". He defined *fanā*ʾ as "annihilation of the consciousness of manhood" and *baḳā*ʾ as "subsistence in the contemplation of Godhead". At the highest stage, so he stated in his *Kitāb al-ḍiyā*ʾ, the mystic loses his (human) attributes and attains the attributes of God, a doctrine disputed by al-Djunayd and expressly condemned as heretical by al-Sarrādj.

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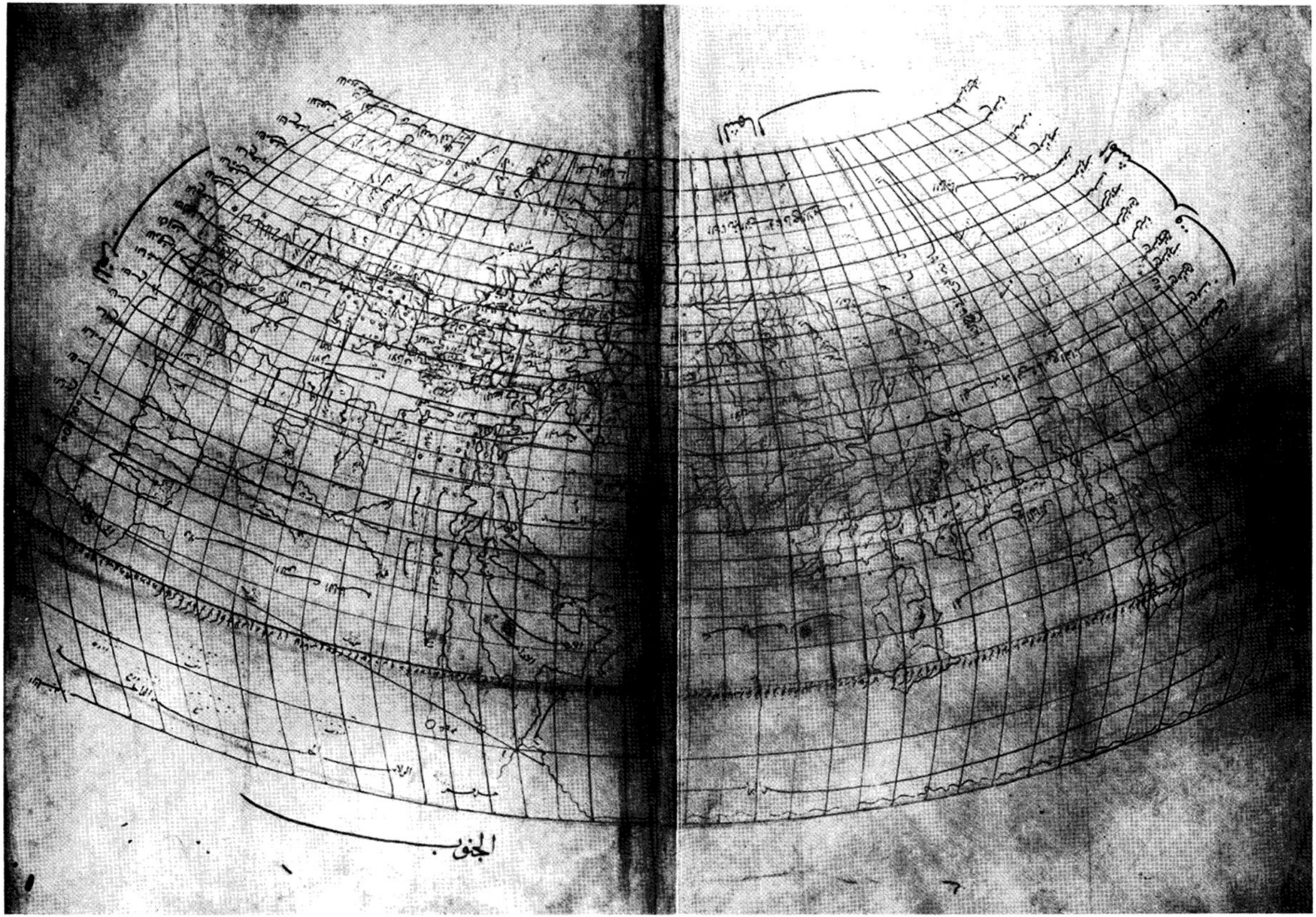

Fig. 2. The world map of Ptolemy translated into Arabic, as contained in the MS. Istanbul, Aya Sofya, No. 2160 (which bears the seal of Bāyezīd II, 886-918/1481-1512).

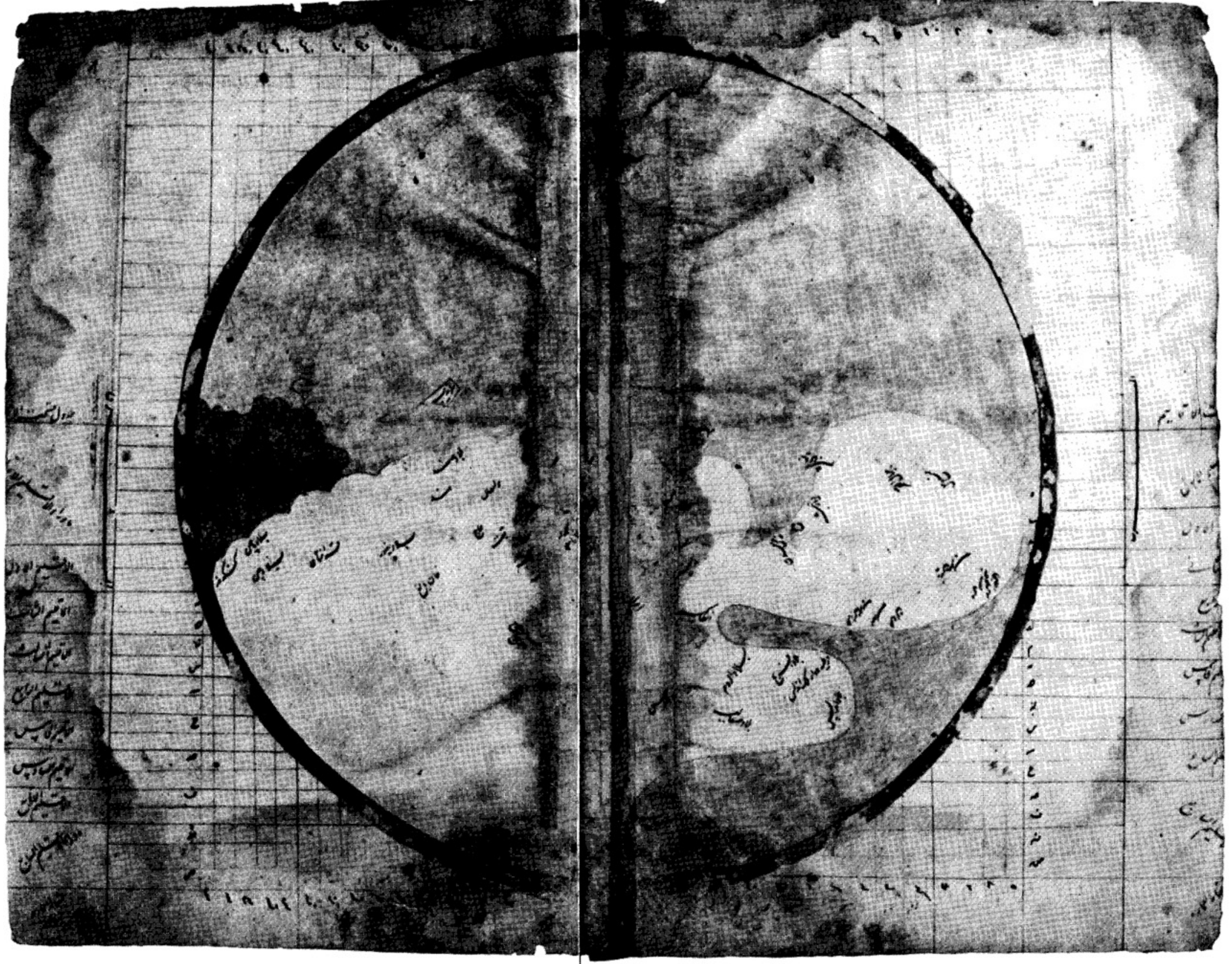

Fig. 3. Map of the world by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū as contained in his untitled work on geography (written between 817/1414-5 and 823/1420), British Museum, MS. Or. 1577, ff. 7b-8a.

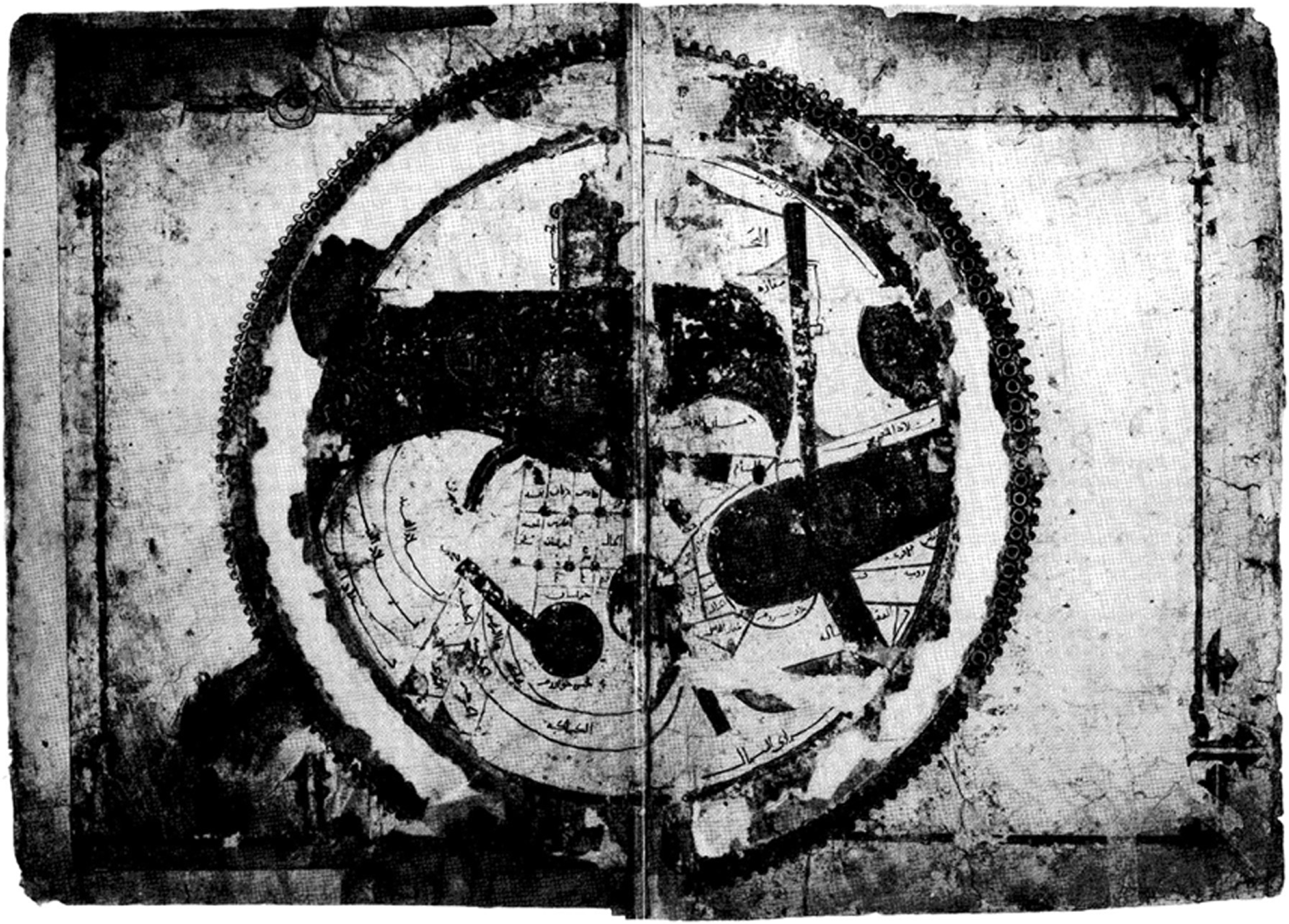

Fig. 4. Map of the world as contained in al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Kitāb al-Masālik* (written towards the middle of the 4th/10th century), Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 3101, pp. 4-5.

*mane*², Paris 1968, 302-5; P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970, 212, 231-310. (W. Madelung)

KHARRŪBA [see makāyīl].

KHĀRṢĪNĪ (Persian *khār čīnī* "hard substance from China"), also *ḥadīd ṣīnī* "Chinese iron" (J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, Heidelberg 1926, 70, tr. 75), to which corresponds the Persian *āhan čīnī* (*Āyīn-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann, i, 40) is not zinc, as often assumed, but a hard, highly-esteemed alloy, the constituents of which have not been established with certainty. According to the physical qualities attributed to it, *khārṣīnī* would best correspond with hard lead, i.e. an alloy consisting of a mixture of lead, antimony and small quantities of copper, iron and tin. Next to gold, silver, iron, copper, lead and tin, *khārṣīnī* is mentioned as the seventh "metallic substance" (Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 258; Djābir, *K. al-Khawāṣṣ al-kabīr*, see M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1972, 141; Dimashkī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 1866, Arab. text 48, tr. 52) and called "mercury" (*ʿuṭārid*) by the alchemists. In his *K. al-Sirr al-rabbānī fī ʿilm al-mīzān*, an alchemical treatise on the theory of the proportions to be mixed, Iznīkī deals with this metal in a separate section (Mss. cited by Ullmann, *op. cit.*, 243). Rāzī compares it with the "Chinese mirrors" (*al-marāyā al-ṣīniyya*) and Djābir with lead (both following al-Bīrūnī, who in his *K. al-Djamāhir*, Hyderabad 1355, 261 f., deals with *khārṣīnī* in a special chapter). This "strange substance" (*djawhar gharīb*) was "all but unknown" to the Arabs: this is probably the meaning of *shabīh bi 'l-maʿdūm* (Khʷārazmī, *loc. cit.*); van Vloten's interpretation "colourless" is less likely, since occasionally the yellow colour of *khārṣīnī* is mentioned.

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KHARTABIRT [see khartpert].

KHARTPERT, a stronghold of eastern Anatolia situated on a rock (Armenian, *pert*) 350 m./1,100 ft. above the plain of Khanzit [*q.v.*], to be identified with the Ḥiṣna Zayt of the Aramaic texts (and already in Ammianus Marcellinus, *castellum Ziata*, whence, through a confusion, the Arabic Ḥiṣn Ziyād, a term in use till the 16th century). The corrupted form Kharput is found in colloquial Armenian (whence already in the Byzantine author Cedrenos, ii, 419) and in modern Turkish. The Latin and French authors at the time of the Crusades use forms like Quart-Pierre. Al-Dimashkī, ed. Mehren, 190, thought that Khartpert was the name of the fortress and Ḥiṣn Ziyād that of the settlement as a whole, but this appears to be a personal interpretation.

Khartpert was situated on the Arab-Byzantine borders, which were frequently crossed and re-crossed by armies from both sides. It is mentioned by Ibn Khurradādhbih, but is nevertheless not apparently cited in the Islamic historical sources before 367/977-8, when the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib took refuge there with a brother-in-law, a Byzantine vassal. In the 6th/12th century, after the Turkish invasions, it fell temporarily to a Turkmen called Djubuk, and soon afterwards to the Artukids, amongst whom was the celebrated Balak, who imprisoned there Jocelyn of Edessa and Baldwin II of Jerusalem. When Diyār Bakr was partitioned between rival branches of this dynasty, Khartpert fell within that centred on Ḥiṣn Kayfa, and then under a subordinate branch of these last Artukids in 581/1185. The town played a big part at the time of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil's expedition of 631/1234 against the Rūm Saldjūk Kaykubād, who annexed it directly. It passed subsequently into the hands of all the powers who transiently held power over the region during the Mongol period, and in the 9th/15th century the Banū Eretna, the Dulghadir, the Ak Koyunlu [*q.vv.*], and finally, after an interval of Ṣafawid control, into the grip of the Ottomans in 921/1515. The Ottoman governors established themselves at the foot of the rock at Mezere, now named Maʿmūrat al-ʿAzīz (a name later extended to all the province, along both banks of the Euphrates). In the 9th/15th century Khartpert had been visited by Joseph Barbaro (*Viaggi*, ed. Venice 1545, 48-9), and it was described in the 11th/17th one by Ewliyā Čelebi.

The population, partly Armenian until the massacres of the present century, had nevertheless been largely Turkicised and Kurdicised over the preceding centuries. According to the register from 936/1530 published by Ö. L. Barkan, its revenue at that time was about 250,000 *akčes*. The town possessed an old mosque and a more recent one built by Uzun Ḥasan, a *madrasa* and 50 (?) schools. Amongst the industries mentioned were saddle-making, silk production, wax, dyeing, and at least in the 6th/12th century, coins were minted here. The 19th century travellers who visited Khartpert give population estimates from between 20,000 (Cuinet's figure) to over 40,000; in 1945 it had a mere 2,095. At the end of the 19th century, Khartpert also had an American mission station.

Bibliography: This is given essentially in the arts. of *EI*¹ (Kramers) and *İA* (Besim Darkot, s.v. *Harput*). It is named in most of the Arabic geographers from Ibn Khurradādhbih and Ibn Serapion onwards (information summed up in Le Strange, *Lands*, 116-17), till the time of Ewliyā Čelebi, ed. 1314/1896-7, iii, 216-17, and the 19th century travellers, Moltke, Brant, Hommaire de Hell, Saudredzki, Taylor, Tozer, Lynch and Lehmann Haupt (summed up in Ritter, *Erdkunde*), and finally Cuinet (cf. Darkot in *İA*). The most important Muslim and other mediaeval historians include Ibn al-Athīr; Ibn al-Azrak al-Fārikī, *Taʾrīkh Mayyāfārikīn*, Marwānid period ed. B. A. L. Awad, 1959, Artukid one resumed by Cl. Cahen in *Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, in *JA* (1935); the historians of the campaign of 631/1234, especially Ibn Wāṣil and Ibn Bībī; those of Jocelyn and Baldwin's captivity (Foucher of Chartres, Matthew of Edessa); and Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus. The inscription of 561/1166 (*REA*, No. 3271) has now been more satisfactorily published by Sauvaget in his *Quatre décrets seldjukides*, Damascus 1947; another unedited inscription has been brought to light. For archeology, see especially A. Gabriel, *Voyages*, 257-8. There is an Artukid coin given in İ. and C. Artuk, *Istanbul ... sikkeler katalogu*, i, 396. (Cl. Cahen)

BANŪ KHARŪṢ, a tribe which has played an important role in the history of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] in ʿUmān. Descendants of Yaḥmad, a branch of al-Azd [*q.v.*], members of the tribe migrated to ʿUmān in pre-Islamic times and established themselves in a valley which came to bear their name. Wādī Banī Kharūṣ runs down from the heights of the western mountain range of al-Ḥadjar to join Wādī al-Farʿ before debouching on the plain of al-Bāṭina and then

into the Gulf of ʿUmān. On the right bank not far below the juncture of the two valleys is the famous Ibāḍī stronghold of al-Rustāḳ [*q.v.*].

Yaḥmad provided most of the Ibāḍī *Imāms* of ʿUmān before the advent of the Yaʿrubī dynasty in the 11th/17th century, and of these a goodly share were Kharūṣīs. The first Kharūṣi to be elected to the high office appears to have been al-Wārith b. Kaʿb (179-92/795-808), during whose tenure of power the centre of the Ibāḍiyya is believed to have moved from al-Baṣra to ʿUmān. Hārūn al-Rashīd sent an expedition against al-Wārith's Ibāḍīs, who won a signal victory over it near Ṣuḥār. In the words of Wilkinson, the period of rule of al-Wārith and the other early *Imāms* was "in many ways Oman's golden age."

Saʿīd b. Khalfān al-Khalīlī al-Kharūsī was largely instrumental in the choice of ʿAzzān b. Ḳays of Āl Bū Saʿīd, the only Ibāḍī *Imām* elected in the 13th/19th century. When the Imāmate was revived in 1331/1913, Sālim b. Rāshid al-Kharūṣī became the head of the community. Upon his assassination in 1338/1920, the succession went to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, a grandson of Sāʿīd b. Khalfān, who reigned until his death in 1373/1954. For the careers of these later Kharūṣīs, see ʿUMĀN.

Bibliography: ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayyid al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān fī sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, Cairo 1332-47; G. Badger, tr., *History of the Imâms and Seyyids of ʾOmân*, London 1871 (the MS. by Ḥumayd b. Ruzayq translated by Badger is in the Cambridge University Library); J. Wilkinson, in D. Hopwood, ed., *The Arabian peninsula*, London 1972; G. Rentz, ed., *Oman and the southern shore of the Persian Gulf*, Cairo 1952. (G. Rentz)

AL-KHAṢĀṢĪ, Abu 'l-Faḍl Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥādjdj Ḳāsim b. Ḳāsim al-Khaṣāṣī, a Moroccan saint, member of the Djazūliyya order [*q.v.*]. Originally from Andalusia, he owed his ethnic name to the town of al-Khaṣāṣa, which was situated on the al-Ḳalīʿa mountain on the Mediterranean coast. He was born at Fez in *ca.* 1002/1593-4, where he studied and had, in particular, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Maʿn al-Andalusī as his pupil. Al-Ḳādirī [*q.v.*] devoted a work called *al-Zahr al-bāsim* to his *manāḳib*. He died at Fez on 19 Ramaḍān 1083/8 January 1673 and was buried in the mausoleum of al-Ashyākh.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 273 and n. 6; Ifrānī, *Ṣafwa*, 171; Ḳādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 9; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, i, fols. 129b-130b; idem, *Iltiḳāṭ*, fol. 30b; Ibn Ayshūn al-Sharrāṭ, *al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir al-anfās*, fol. 64a; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 282 ff.; Fuḍaylī, *al-Durar al-bahiyya*, ii, ʿA. Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 255. (M. Lakhdar)

KHASHAB (A.), wood. In the major part of the Muslim world, wood is fairly scarce and for this reason plays a relatively minor rôle in the material life of its populations in comparison with that of societies in which it is more plentiful. However, precisely because its use is limited, it occupies an important place in artistic creation, for example in private furniture and the appurtenances of mosques. Architecturally, it is employed for doors, roofs, arches, etc. and ceilings; it is also used in the galleries of mines, the construction of numerous implements such as presses and hydraulic machines (there are few "vehicles"); brushwood is often used as fuel and its gases (often produced from scrub) provide sufficient heat for metal-working, glass-blowing and ceramics; for cooking, straw is often used. The uses of most interest to the authorities were in the arms-making (archery, javelins and above all siege engines) and naval construction vital to their political ends. See further the articles on the various related techniques, such as NADJDJĀR, DĀR AL-ṢINĀʿA, etc.

Woods and thickets, though generally of less importance in the Middle Ages than in antiquity because of deforestation, were nevertheless more numerous than today. Lebanon was criss-crossed by oaks, prolonged into northern Syria and Asia Minor (Byzantine and then Turkish), where some Turkmens combined the tasks of shepherd and woodman. In Iran, the major forest zone was the mountain slopes region along the Caspian shores which stretched to Armenia on one side and the mountains of Khurāsān and Afghānistān on the other. In the Saldjūk era, the wood carvers of Marw and Ādharbaydjān had a semi-corporate organisation which was far in advance of its time (Cl. Cahen, *Y a-t-il eu des corporations dans le monde musulman médiéval?*, in *The Muslim City*, ed. A. Hourani and S. M. Stern, Oxford 1970, 59). Egypt, which was obviously devoid of conifers, conserved her acacia thickets (*sant*), used particularly for small river craft, and care was taken that they were intelligently managed (cf. Ali Bey Baghat, *Les forêts en Egypte*, in *BIE* (1901), 41-58). The central and western Maghrib (not Ifrīḳiya), Spain and the Mediterranean islands still had fine coniferous forests and various species of oak, etc. Palms and fruit trees were naturally looked after as much as possible for their fruit. The northern regions, especially of Central Asia, were the home of the high-growing poplar (*khalandj*), which was greatly prized for bows. The African and Asian coasts (beyond Arabia and Iran) of the Indian Ocean supplied precious timber such as teak, which was excellent for ships and widely used even for the construction of houses in ports like Sīrāf [*q.v.*]. Archipelagos like the Maldives provided the coconut palm which was used for many nautical purposes (hulls; masts, especially; ropes; etc.).

The practical possibilities of the use of timbers in places other than their native habitats obviously depended on transport. Carriage by land on the backs of animals was almost impossible in the case of large blocks; these were therefore floated over the sea, especially the Indian Ocean, in calm weather. It was also vital that the ports of embarkation should not be too far from the forests, which was the reason for the importance of the little ports in the Gulf of Alexandretta, among others. Smaller blocks and resin pitch could be brought from greater distances (the forest zone of Russia). The urban and craft development of Muslim countries in the classical period and the allied development of agriculture and consequently of irrigation increased the demand for different types of timber, and accentuated the dependence of most Muslim countries on trade with the outside world; the striking maritime activity in southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf, for example, could only be maintained by materials for ship-building furnished by India, Africa and the Maldives. The Mediterranean fleets, inasmuch as they remained important, were provisioned more and more from Italian merchants.

These considerations explain the attention paid to this trade by the authorities. In the documents on Egyptian-Italian trade, for example, the facilities accorded to Italian merchants in Alexandria and likewise Cairo were made dependent in large part on their promise to supply wood for ship-building at a discount (as well as iron), and it had to be delivered to the trading office of the state (*matdjar*) and not to private buyers. The state undertook to

buy in full, without any authorisation for re-exportation. Thus in the time of the Crusades there was a kind of "war of wood" with the Latin East which was sustained by conciliar decrees as clear-cut in intention as they were useless in practice. As early as the 10th century the Byzantine emperor John I Tzimisces had forbidden the sale of timber to the Muslims of the Maghrib, but they managed to buy already-constructed ships at Amalfi or to re-use the valuable parts of unseaworthy vessels. It has been said that the decline in Muslim shipping at the end of the Middle Ages resulted from the scarcity of wood. This idea cannot be accepted in its entirety, since the Byzantines, who had a wealth of wood, still allowed the Italians to achieve mastery of the sea, but this scarcity undoubtedly played a part.

Bibliography: For topics on which the information is both scattered and tenuous, it is impossible to provide a proper bibliography. The essential facts on the production of wood and naval arsenals can be found in the articles by Maurice Lombard (reproduced in a posthumous collection, *Espaces et réseaux au haut Moyen Âge*, Paris and The Hague 1972), *Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Méditerranée musulmane* (*VII*e-*XI*e s.), in *Le Navire and l'économie maritime*... Second colloquium on Maritime History, Paris 1958, 53-106) and *Le bois dans la Méditerranée musulmane*, in *Annales ESC* (1959), 234-54, with good bibliographies up to these dates. For trade, see the histories of Levantine trade and the Crusades, and Cl. Cahen, *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranées de l'Égypte Médiévale*, in *JESHO* (1965), and the few references cited in this article.

(Cl. Cahen)

al-**KHASHABĀT**, pl. of Arabic *khashaba* "wooden beam", the name given to wooden pillars which in mediaeval times were driven into the seabed at the place where the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab empties into the Persian Gulf. These beacons were placed at six miles' distance from ʿAbbādān, and were meant to guide sailors in danger of been drawn into a dangerous whirlpool and also on occasion to signal the approach of pirates. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 230, 330-1 = §§ 242, 361-2, mentions three pillars, and al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 124, states that lamps were lit on their upper parts. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, text 90, tr. 246, gives a more exact description. They consisted of four teak columns set obliquely in the water and supporting, at some 60 feet above water-level, a platform with a little shelter for the watchman. This last at night lit up lamps which were protected by glass casings. Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, 3rd clime, 6th section, adds that the watchmen had a boat in order to get back to land.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see Iṣṭakhrī, 32; Muḳaddasī, 12; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 60; *BGA*, iv, *Gloss.*, 225; Mez, *Renaissance*, 479, Eng. tr. 513; E. Wiedemann, *Über Leuchtfeuer bei den Muslimen*, in *Archiv fur Gesch. der Naturwiss. und der Technik*, ii (1909), 151-4, describing the places where beacons of this type were to be found.

(E. Wiedemann*)

KHASHABIYYA, "men armed with clubs", was originally an abusive name for the Mawālī [see mawlā] of Kūfa, who were armed with clubs (*khashab*, sing. *khashaba*) and formed the main part of the followers of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] and took the field under his generals, for instance Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al-Ashtar (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 300; Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa*, *BGA*, vii, 218, tr. Wiet, 259; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 684, 1798; *Aghānī*¹, v, 155; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 226-7 = §§ 1990-1; idem, *al-Tanbīh*, *BGA*, viii, 313; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ waʾl-taʾrīkh*, v, 133; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 207; Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1311, i, 294; *LA*, *TA*, s.v.).

The troops which marched upon Mecca by al-Mukhtār's order and released Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], who was imprisoned by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], are called *khashabiyya* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 693; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 74, cf. 76; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 206-7). They themselves apparently called their cudgels *kāfir-kūbāt* [*q.v.*].

The remark in Ibn al-Athīr's chronicle (iv, 207) that the liberators of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya bore cudgels in order to avoid the use of swords in the *ḥaram*, is as improbable as is the interpretation which connects the name *Khashabiyya* with the wood piled up by Ibn al-Zubayr beside the prison of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya with the threat to have him and his fellow-prisoners burned.

With reference to a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar in which the performing of the *ṣalāt* behind the *Khashabiyya* is mentioned, the latter name was explained as denoting people who reverently kept the pole or tree-trunk (*khashaba*) on which Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] had been executed. But, as Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (*loc. cit.*) observes, this explanation is chronologically untenable.

According to an observation made by Ibn Ḥazm (*Fiṣal*, cf. I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1909), 63, note 1), the *Khashabiyya* regarded the bearing of iron weapons as forbidden till the expected Mahdī had appeared.

The fact that "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn!" (*yā la-thaʾrāt al-Ḥusayn!*, e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 694) was the rallying cry of the *Khashabiyya* possibly tended to replace this name by *al-Ḥusayniyya*, which is graphically only slightly different; the latter is, however, to be retained in places like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1317, i, 190, and Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat Ibn ʿAbdūn*, ed. Dozy, 187).

Moreover, *al-Khashabiyya* was another name for the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] and then was applied to the adherents of the doctrines which were current among the latter, like that of the return (*radjʿa* [*q.v.*]) and that of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh* [*q.v.*]). The poetical representative of these doctrines, Kuthayyir, is called a *Khashabī* and is said to have been gained for the *Khashabiyya* by the poet Khindif al-Asadī (*Aghānī*, viii, 33-4, xi, 47, where *Khindif* is to be read instead of *Khandaḳ*).

According to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 29), the name *al-Khashabiyya* was used for a group of the Zaydiyya [*q.v.*] known as *Ṣurkhābiyya* after a certain Ṣurkhāb al-Ṭabarī, of whom nothing seems to be known; it might be possible to think of the Ṣurkhāb who played a part in Ṭabaristān in the time of Ḥasan b. Zayd [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, Engl. tr. E. G. Browne, Leiden-London 1905, Index). It must be left undecided whether they were called *Khashabiyya* after their weapons or perhaps on account of Kaysānī doctrines which asserted themselves among them. The same statement occurs in Abu 'l-Maʿālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, in *Chrestomathie persane*, ed. Ch. Schefer, i, Paris 1833, 157, where *Ṣurkhāb* is to be read instead of *Ṣ-rḫāt*.

According to a statement given on the authority of al-Layth (apparently Ibn al-Muẓaffar), al-Khasha-

biyya was also the name of a section of the Djahmiyya [*q.v.*], which maintained that Allāh does not speak and that the Ḳur'ān is created (*LA* and *TA*, s.v.).

Bibliography (in addition to the works cited in the article): Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, Leiden-London 1912, f. 199b; Ṭabarī, *Gloss.*, s.v. *kh-sh-b* and *k-f-r*; *BGA*, iv, *Gloss.*, 278; H. D. van Gelder, *Moḫtar de valsche Profeet*, diss. Leiden 1888, 71-3; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh. G.W.G.*, phil.-hist. Kl., N.F., No. 3, Berlin 1901), 80; H. Banning, *Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīja*, diss. Erlangen 1909, 46-7; Friedländer, *The heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, in *JAOS*, xxix, 93-5.

(C. van Arendonk*)

KHĀṢĪ (A.), pl. *khiṣyān* "castrated man, eunuch".

I.—In the central Islamic lands.

From the 4th/10th century especially, several euphemisms were applied to eunuchs, who were numerous in the palaces and frequently invested with important functions: notably *khādim* (coll. *khadam*, pl. *khuddām*), *mu'allim*, *shaykh*, *ustādh* (see M. Canard, *Akhbâr ar-Râdî* . . . , i, 210-1, note), later on *ṭawāshī* (which, according to al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, tr. Quatremère, 1/2 (1849), 132, comes from the Turkish *ṭābūshī* = Osmanlī *tapughčī* "servant" and also designating in the administrative language of Egypt a military position in the body-guard), all in the Arabic-speaking world; in Turkish, *khādim/hadīm*, *khwādja/khōdja/hoca* and *agha*, in Persian *khwādja* and *agha/āḳā* [*q.vv.*] were employed. Placed before or after the name of the person concerned, these terms are not generally ambiguous, but employed on their own, in the sing. or the pl., most of them can cause confusion, particularly the first, *khādim* [*q.v.*], equally frequent in the ancient texts to designate normal slaves, and even free servants; it is the same, in Muslim Spain and other parts, with *fatā*, *ghulām* [*q.vv.*], etc., and one never knows exactly what an author intends by these words when the real state of the person cited is not known from other sources. On the other hand, eunuchs were often named Yāḳūt, Kāfūr, 'Anbar, etc. (see in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 489, the honorific titles corresponding to these names), but nevertheless these appellations are not sufficient to identify them as such. *Khaṣī*, by contrast, is never equivocal, and the same can be said of *makhṣī* (passive participle particularly frequent in the passages of al-Mutanabbī about Kāfūr [*q.v.*]); these terms, as well as *khādim*, are opposed to *faḥl* "stallion", and there is a characteristic example in the distinction between the two famous homonyms, Mu'nis al-Faḥl and Mu'nis al-Khādim [*q.vv.*].

Even so, the use of the preceding terms and of the word *khaṣī* itself allows an uncertainty to continue, for it does not permit the distinction to be made between the two fundamental categories of eunuchs: in Arabic, *khaṣī* designates, properly speaking, the man or animal who has undergone the ablation of the testicles (called among other things *khiṣy/khuṣy*, *khiṣya/khuṣya*, the operation being called *khiṣā'*), whereas the complete eunuch, deprived of all his sexual organs, is a *madjbūb* (pl. *madjābīb*); this latter word, which rhymes with *maslūb* "castrated by evulsion" (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 149 = § 3290), while distinguished from it, rarely appeared in the texts, as is the case with the verb *djabba* and the verbal noun *djibāb*; one encounters at times one or the other in the account of a mutilation inflicted on a slave by his master or even on a free man by a flouted husband who takes vengeance on his rival. With regard to this, one of the most frightful stories is that of a Sindī slave surprised by his master in the company of his wife and punished by the latter in the following manner: *djabba dhakara-hu*; taking the sons of his tormentor as hostages, he forced their father to mutilate himself (*djabba nafsa-hu*) with a knife, after which he threw the children from the top of the house (al-Mas'ūdī, vi, 264-5 = 2472; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo n.d., ii, 103).

Similar acts of cruelty enter into the arsenal of folkloric themes, and the *Thousand and One Nights*, where the person of the eunuch plays a certain role (notably 3rd, 7th, 27th, 107th, 237th, 719th nights; see N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une Nuits*, Damascus 1949, index), offer several examples of the mutilation of a man by a mistress (113th night) or a jealous husband (33rd night), or to punish the seducer of a young girl (39th night); even a school-master is seen depriving himself of his virility (403rd night), and a slave who refuses to be freed, is castrated and sold at a very high price (39th night). Independently of more or less legendary traditions, the case is cited of 'Alḳama b. Sahl, emasculated by a king of Yemen (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 120-1), which caused perhaps the epithet of al-Faḥl to be added to the name of 'Alḳama b. 'Abada [*q.v.*]. The famous story is also reported of the letter of Hishām (*Ḥayawān*, i, 121) or of Sulaymān (*al-Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, iv, 275) or of al-Walīd (*ibid.*, iv, 278) b. 'Abd al-Malik ordering the governor of Medina or Mecca to take a census of (*aḥṣi*) the effeminate men of the two holy towns; having read *ikhṣi*, the official had two (or nine of them) castrated, notably the singer al-Dalāl (*al-Aghānī*, iv, 273 ff.), by one named Badarāḳus/Bardarāḳus, who was a circumciser; this last detail does not figure in al-Djāḥiẓ and, despite the traditions which tend to make it an historical fact, the whole account is, by all appearances, nothing other than a pleasing anecdote, forged to provide evidence of the inconveniences of the Arabic script, but later exploited by anti-Umayyad authors. Some cases of accidental castration were also related, and it seems that some doctors practised from early on such an operation, when the state of an illness made it necessary (*Ḥayawān*, i, 121-3).

At all events, the vocabulary used rarely permits the specification of the exact nature of the emasculation undertaken, and in a famous passage (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 242; ed.-tr. Pellat, *Descr. de l'Occident mus. au IVe = Xe siècle*, Algiers 1950, 57-9 (where "inciser", p. 57, should be replaced by "trancher"); Germ., Engl., Span. tr. in A. Mez, *Renaissance*, and on the transl. of this work, ch. xx), al-Muḳaddasī uses the collective *khadam* and the verb *khaṣā* in the part of his description which applies to complete eunuchs, i.e. to the *madjābīb*. To judge by this text, two methods were used for the emasculation of eunuchs that the author has been able to encounter: simultaneous ablation of the testicles (*mizwad*) and the penis or incision of the scrotal sheath (*ṣafan*) and evulsion of the testicles first of all, then cutting of the male member; after this operation a rod of lead was placed in the urethra and replaced after each urination, until the healing was complete, in order to prevent the tissues from joining.

However, this horrible mutilation was not general, and it is probable that the majority of eunuchs were not actually *madjābīb*, but *khisyān* properly so-called, who had undergone a *khiṣā'* consisting, for the operator (*khāṣī*), of incising and at the same time cauterizing the scrotum by means of a red-hot blade

of iron and removing (*sall*, *salb* or *imtilākh*) the testicles. This emasculation is also called *mals* or *matn*, since it is especially associated with rams. As for *widjā'*, another form of castration, it consisted of binding the cord supporting the testicles and making them gush out, when they underwent a crushing (*raḍḍ*) and atrophied naturally; twisting of the cord (*ʿaṣb*) was also known. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, i, 130-1) gives us to understand that the first of these processes was applied to men and speaks immediately afterwards of animals, but it is highly likely that, never having had the opportunity to see the operation practised on a human being, he generalised, although the word *widjā'*, probably deprived of its technical meaning, is also used for a man (see below).

In fact, if curious investigators were able easily to interrogate stock-breeders and obtain exact information on the castration of animals, they were less well informed on emasculation of men, and, as far as we know, al-Muḳaddasī alone reports at first hand the information supplied by eunuchs whom he says he had questioned. Speaking of the *khadam* of Byzantine origin who fell into the hands of the Muslims at the time when the latter made incursions into the territory of Byzantium, this author states that he had come across children whose parents had had them castrated in order to consecrate them to the service of the Church; he also demonstrates that the religious origin of emasculation was not unknown. In fact, the Council of Nicea (325 A.D.) had clearly prohibited eunuchs from the priesthood, but they could be choristers and even priests in the Oriental Church. Moreover, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 354 = 771) asserts that Romanus Lecapenus had made his son [Theophylactus], who succeeded in occupying the patriarchal see of Constantinople, undergo this operation. For his part, al-Djāḥiẓ already knew that some nations possessing a régime founded on a religious law (*ahl al-milal*) consacrated castrated children to the service of temples, and he cites the example of the Rūm and the Sabaeans (*Ḥayawān*, i, 124, 125, 128). Concerning Islam, the texts are discreet in this respect, but it is of some interest to note that at a much later period, Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] instituted in 557/1161 a body of ministers of the *ḥudjra* of the Prophet: it consisted of twelve Abyssinian eunuchs, whose number was then doubled by Saladin (N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, Damascus 1967, ii, 559). In the period of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 278 = tr. Gibb, i, 175), the servants and door-keepers of the Mosque of the Prophet at Medina were also eunuchs of Abyssinian or other origin, under the orders of the *shaykh al-khuddām* (see the text of a decree of nomination in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xii, 260 ff.). In the 19th century, J. L. Burckhardt (*Travels in Nubia*, 294) mentions that some eunuchs of Dārfūr were sent by the African kings to the Friday Mosques of Mecca and Medina, and reports (*Voyages en Arabie*, Paris 1835, i, 211-14) that at Mecca, after the *nā'ib al-ḥaram*, came the *agha* of the *ṭawāshī*s; the latter, numbering more than forty and mainly blacks, were entrusted with the policing and cleaning of the Kaʿba and its periphery; a *ṭawāshī 'l-nabī* could not enter the service of an individual after having been attached to the temple. These eunuchs engaged furthermore in commerce and disposed of considerable revenues resulting particularly from the tips that they wrung from the faithful. It might be imprudent to translate by "eunuchs" the word *khadam* employed by Ibn al-Faḳīh (*Buldān*, 100; tr. Massé, 123) as early as the year 278/891 to designate the personnel serving the Mosque of Jerusalem, but this same town possessed, in the 10th/16th century, a *zāwiyat al-ṭawāshiyya* (H. Sauvaire, *Hist. de Jerusalem et Hebron*, Paris 1876, 162 [see also AL-KHALĪL]).

The Arab authors do not seem to have been aware of the existence of "private" eunuchs in the oriental societies of antiquity, as well as in Greece and Rome. Al-Djāḥiẓ considers besides that the Rūm, although Christians, were the first in the world, despite their pretention to charity, to practise this mutilation and adds, an important detail, that it only affected the testicles (*Ḥayawān*, i, 124). With regard to the white slaves of European origin (Slavs, Franks, Galicians, etc.) included under the word Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*], al-Muḳaddasī states that they were taken to Spain to be castrated there; the operation was carried out by Jews in a town situated around Pechina (probably Lucena), and the eunuchs who recovered were sold in al-Andalus or sent on to the Orient. This detail confirms the note of Ibn Ḥawḳal (2nd ed., i, 110; French tr. Kamers-Wiet, i, 109) who asserts that "all the slave eunuchs that are found on the surface of the earth originate from Spain. They are made to undergo castration in this land". Moreover, the trade in these slaves was said to be related to the activity of the famous Rādhāniyya [*q.v.*], and it seems apparent that Verdun had been an important centre for the creation of eunuchs (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 125; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 153, ed.-tr. M. Hadj-Sadok, *Descr. du Maghreb et de l'Espagne au IIIe/IXe siècle*, Algiers 1949, 21 and n. 198).

Al-Djāḥiẓ also knew (*Ḥayawān*, i, 113, 118-9) some eunuchs originating from Khurāsān and Sind (the latter castrated by one named Mūsā b. Kaʿb) and above all, like al-Muḳaddasī, some blacks from Africa described as Abyssinians; al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, viii, 148 = § 3288) adds there some Chinese (with regard to China, the author of *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, ed.-tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948, 37, remarks that the Chinese eunuchs are natives of the country who have been castrated (*maslūl*) and gives us to understand that is is not the same in Islam, where all are foreigners).

While one may estimate that the majority of white eunuchs, besides being less and less numerous as the centuries progressed, originated from Spain in the Middle Ages, there is a scarcity of information for a much later period, and it is not known exactly where the operations were performed on those who were found further afield in the harems and courts of the sovereigns of Iran and Turkey.

Concerning the blacks, their origin is sufficiently well-known, for it is evidently identical to that of the slaves [see ʿABD], on which, moreover, there is some precise information. Al-Muḳaddasī distinguishes three kinds: the first, which is, he says without any other specification, the best, was exported to Egypt; the second, that of the Berbers, was sent to Aden; the third "resembles" the Abyssinians. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 40, remains equally vague in saying that the eunuchs sold in the Muslim lands are neither Nubians, nor Zandj, nor Ethiopians, nor Bedja, but belong to a still blacker race; al-Maḳdisī (*Bad'*, iv, Ar. text 69, tr. 65) speaks of the Zaghal (?) and Zaghāwa; al-Idrīsī (tr. Dozy-de Goeje, 3; partial edn. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 4; ed. Naples-Rome, i, 1970, 18) cites Takrūr [*q.v.*], i.e. Lower Senegal, as a region from which the Moroccan merchants imported gold ore and *khadam*. (It is a fact that the Takrūrīs, besides the Rūm, Indians and Ḥabash, belonged to one of the four races which supplied the Mamlūk sultanate with eunuchs, see D. Ayalon, *Names, titles and 'nisbas' of the Mamlūks*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, v

(1975), 220.) For his part, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 441; partial tr. H. A. R. Gibb, London 1957, 336) says that they came from Bornu, via Zawīla [*q.v.*], to the Mediterranean world. But given that emasculation was practised secretly, it is difficult to know the centres where it was carried out in the Middle Ages. According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 165, the Sūdān is, without doubt, the land from which the majority of eunuchs came; in a lively passage, the author adds that the Egyptian merchants stole children there—or bought them from blacks that they had themselves stolen—took them, castrated them and imported them into Egypt where they sold them. A. Mez (ch. xx) mentions that in the 6th/12th century, the town of Hadya, in Abyssinia, ranked as the only place where eunuchs were produced, but the region of Asyūṭ [*q.v.*], in Upper Egypt, is also cited. L. Frank (*Mémoire*, 13-14) estimates, at the beginning of the 19th century, at 100 or 200 the number of young Africans castrated each year in Upper Egypt, at Abūtīdj, to the South of Asyūṭ, on the caravan route leading from Sudan to Egypt. Several years later, Burckhardt who, in 1813-14, visited Upper Egypt and Sudan, was able to discover two centres of production, one in the Borgo district to the west of Dārfūr, the other, more important, at Zāwiyat al-Dayr, also near Asyūṭ (*Travels in Nubia*, 294-6). In the detailed account that he has left, he specifies that the operation was carried out, for a sum of 40 to 60 piastres, by two Coptic monks, under the protection of the government, to whom an annual tax was paid. Contrary to what other authors have said (notably E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 125; E. W. Bovill, *Golden trade*, 244: 10% of survivors; H. von Maltzan, *Wallfahrt nach Mekka*, Leipzig 1865, i, 48-9), the Swiss traveller claims that the children (from 8 to 12 years) who died were a very small number. These young eunuchs were valued at 1,000 piastres at Asyūṭ, whilst they had been bought for 300 piastres. The annual figure (150) that Burckhardt gives corresponds to that of Frank; he adds that two years previously Muḥammad ʿAlī had had 200 young slaves from Dārfūr castrated to offer them to the Ottoman Sultan. Until recent times, slavers from Muslim states situated further to the north raided Central Africa; women slaves and eunuchs passed clandestinely via Djibouti to people the harems of the Ḥidjāz (L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, 4th edn, Paris 1955, 357, 385).

A priori, these practices hardly appear legal. Before Islam, although some isolated cases of castration were reported (see above) and although the Arabs of the period without doubt possessed some eunuchs (it is sometimes thought that a reference to them appears in the Ḳurʾān, xxiv 31, where it is said that women can show their finery to their male servants who have no carnal desire, *al-tābiʿīn ghayr ūlī l-irba*), they cannot have had them produced regularly on their territory, so that the question of knowing whether emasculation of men was permitted was not put clearly to the first Muslims. With regard to this, the *ḥadīth* is not very explicit, and we must once more place a certain amount of confidence in al-Djāḥiẓ, who reports a reply of Muḥammad to ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn: the latter having expressed the desire to mutilate himself, the Prophet is said to have replied to him that it was fasting (*ṣawm*) that had replaced castration (*khiṣāʾ*; var. *widjāʾ*) in Islam (*Ḥayawān*, i, 128-9); in the collections of *ḥadīth*, it is said simply that Ibn Maẓʿūn wanted to devote himself to celibacy (*tabattul*) and that the Prophet forbade him to do it; Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ allegedly cried out, "If he had permitted him to do it, we would have castrated ourselves." (Abu'l-Djārūd al-Nīsābūrī, *K. al-Muntaḳā*, Cairo 1382/1963, 226, and the main collections, in particular al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. al-Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 7). The word *widjāʾ* appears in another *ḥadīth* (*ibid.*), according to which the Prophet is said to have recommended fasting for young men who were unable to get married, adding that fasting was a *widjāʾ*. All this evidence confirms the tendency of certain pious Muslims to deprive themselves of the pleasures of the flesh, and illustrates the reaction of the Prophet against the weakening of the community that would have resulted from it. In any case, there is no text forbidding the possession of eunuchs, and it has been noted that Muḥammad received them and accepted one who was offered him by the Muḳawḳis [*q.v.*] at the same time as Mary the Copt (*Ḥayawān*, i, 163). Neither can the Ḳurʾān serve to enunciate a rigorous prohibition. The verses 118/119 of Sūra IV certainly read: "Let God curse (the demon) who said: '... I will ordain them to modify the creation of God' ", but it is open to divergent interpretations: for Anas b. Mālik, Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿIkrima, it is definitely *khiṣāʾ* (of animals rather than of men) that is visualised, whereas for Saʿīd b. Djubayr and Mudjāhid, it is a matter simply of "the religion of God" (in *Ḥayawān*, i, 179). Besides, it is notable that al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, viii, 149 = § 3290) endeavours to demonstrate that castration does not prevent a eunuch from remaining a man. In conclusion, from the juridical point of view, prohibition of practising emasculation appears to have proceeded by a sort of tacit consensus: moreover, it was unnecessary, for it was left to Christians and Jews, preferably outside the *dār al-Islām*, to produce eunuchs, which the Muslims could then acquire without contravening their Law.

As regards animals, the problem is different, since the operation took place within the Islamic world and it was Muslims who were able to practise it. Some forbade the castration of horses only (*Ḥayawān*, i, 159), whereas others relied on a *ḥadīth* according to which the prohibition extends to horses, cattle and sheep, which assure the survival of the species and without the existence of which the females would have no reason for being (*ibid.*, i, 178). ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was also opposed to the castration of horses and other domestic animals (*ibid.*, i, 178), but it is certain that the breeders could not respect these prohibitions; in fact they dreaded the battles between camel stallions and, although they spared some males that they tied up during the mating season (see *LA*, s.v. *al-sadīm al-muʿannā*), they had a tendency to keep whole only the good stallions who produced mainly females; gelded horses were always very much appreciated, notably for war, for their endurance, their pace and silence (*Ḥayawān*, i, 180); in the same way, in the stock-breeding regions, calves were castrated, for it is extremely difficult to make bulls work, and it was always considered that the flesh of oxen and castrated steers was more tender and tasty (cf. al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed.-tr. Bercher, 323); it was the same with capons (*Ḥayawān*, i, 131). In addition, a special reasoning to justify it was to compare *khiṣāʾ* improperly with the mark of the red-hot iron practised on flocks and herds (*ibid.*, i, 160).

If, in the final reckoning, the castration of domestic animals was always tolerated, and the legality of the possession of eunuchs does not seem to have given rise to serious discussions, considerations on the behaviour of the latter must certainly have sustained conversations (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 148-9 =

§ 3288-90); but al-Djāḥiẓ is probably the first author to have recorded his observations on their characteristics and the transformations that they undergo physically, morally and intellectually (*Ḥayawān*, i, 106 ff.; in a more condensed form in ***Mufākharat al-djawārī wa'l-ghilmān***, ed. Pellat, Beirut 1957, 52-5; ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1965, ii, 123-5; cf. al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin wa'l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 609-12; al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Laṭā'if wa'l-ẓarā'if*, Cairo 1300, 74). He remarks rightly that if emasculation takes place before puberty—which is the most frequent case—the beard and body hair do not grow, but the hair of the head, eyebrows and lashes remain and never fall, exactly as with women, who do not experience baldness (i, 108, 114; cf. al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 160-1). Eunuchs have soft skin, a florid complexion, but they become lined and thin very quickly with advancing age, which does not prevent them from enjoying a great longevity, for they do not use their strength to copulate (i, 137). Their voice, having changed after the operation, is recognisable (i, 113) by everyone (which allows *ḥākiya*s to include them easily in their imitations; al-Masʿūdī, viii, 162, 164 = §§ 3300, 3302). They have long feet, knotted fingers in their old age, long limb bones, and by contrast with castrated animals, thick (which is an error, for they are thin), their muscular tonicity is weak and their flesh is flaccid; their walk is ungainly (*Ḥayawān*, i, 116) due to the weakness of their nerves. Because of the fetidness of their sweat, they give off a peculiar odour, contrasting on this point with the animals who, after castration, smell no longer bad (i, 106; al-Masʿūdī, viii, 149 = § 3290, asserts on the contrary that their armpits do not give off a fetid odour); finally, urinary incontinence is their lot (*Ḥayawān*, i, 158). If the operation takes place in adulthood, the pilary system disappears, with the exception of the pubic hair (i, 113), and strength diminishes (i, 115).

The character of eunuchs is comparable with that of women and children (i, 135-6); like them, they particularly like playing with birds. Finding in food and drink (they appreciate wine especially; i, 158) a kind of compensation for the deprivation of other pleasures, they have a tendency to eat and drink heavily, which, with their continence (vii, 223), explains their obesity (i, 111). They are avaricious, indiscreet, as quick to lose their temper as to show their joy or to weep (i, 135), inclined to gossip and slander. They despise the common people and accept only the powerful and the rich as masters (i, 136, 159). They like domestic work, but are ill-adapted to arduous trades (i, 117); on the other hand, they endure long horse rides better than the Turks and Khāridjīs (i, 136) and are excellent at archery; especially devoted to that are white eunuchs who deploy their warlike qualities against the Byzantine to avenge themselves for the mutilation that the latter have made them undergo; they dedicate themselves to harbouring an implacable hatred (i, 124-5, 173-4). Appreciating the value of that which they have lost (i, 125), they are jealous of and hate the *fuḥūl* (i, 173), and do not lack cruelty; this trait of character shows itself in their taste for cockfights (i, 118).

Intellectually, they are superior to their normal brothers and are better at their trade, but one must not demand of them too much reflection (i, 117); those from Khurāsān are highly appreciated (i, 118), but for the blacks of Abyssinia, Nubia and other parts, castration entails a complete physical as well as moral decline (i, 119).

Eunuchs are often sexually obsessed, and al-Djāḥiẓ speaks (i, 125-8) of a Sabaean who, although he had been castrated in his youth, vowed at a very advanced age that women still excited him. The same author asserts (i, 136) that they are not effeminate—which astonishes him—but that they are frequently homosexuals (i, 136, 172). He even cites the case of one of them who gave himself up to bestiality (i, 172).

However, according to current opinion, ***khiṣā'*** is associated with the total loss of the sexual faculties, and it is from this point of view that certain Muslims of early times had envisaged it (see above; cf. e.g. al-Maʿarrī, *Luzūmiyyāt*, Beirut 1381/1961, ii, 42; *al-khiṣā' khayr min al-zawādj*); al-Muḳaddasī thinks that emasculation, among the Rūm consecrated to the Church, was intended to spare them the tortures of lust; but, given that mutilation was incomplete, al-Djāḥiẓ (i, 124) reckons that it was intended simply to prevent the monks from impregnating the nuns. In fact, the sexual act remained possible and even provided the eunuch with a durable and profound pleasure. Moreover, according to the same author (i, 166), women like partners whose "erection is swift and ejaculation slow in coming" (*sarīʿ al-ifāḳa, baṭī' al-irāḳa*; i, 167), to such a point that they particularly appreciate their guardians, for with them the embrace lasts a long time (*muṭāwala*) and the dangers of conception are nil (see below), since the eunuch is ***ma'mūn al-ilḳāḥ***; furthermore, they can abandon themselves to their pleasure, whereas with their husband they have to show themselves modest and reserved (i, 167); to all these advantages is added the attraction of forbidden fruit. It is known already through Juvenal that the Roman women did not deprive themselves of entering into sexual relationships with their eunuchs, and one may consider as likely, in the light of the details that precede, the orgy that in the prologue of *Thousand and One Nights* drives Shahriyār to avenge himself on the women by having a new wife executed each morning. The amours between the female slaves and eunuchs of Khumārawayh [*q.v.*] appear to have been the cause of his assassination (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 191; Mez, ch. xx) and it is understandable that Muʿāwiya had decided to send only old eunuchs to his wives (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 148-9 = § 3289) and that the Ottomans preferred as harem attendants negroes who had been completely castrated and who were physically ugly. Besides, al-Muḳaddasī records that, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, eunuchs could marry (and take concubines, adds al-Djāḥiẓ, i, 123, 166); however, it must in practice have been very rare (see e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 39, with regard to a eunuch of ʿAḍud al-Dawla who has as wife an Abyssinian slave), but Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, 158-9) asserts that "Extraordinary as it may appear, the grown-up eunuchs [of the Kaʿba] are all married to black slaves." The paternity of the children that their wives brought into the world was naturally attributed to them: this curious assertion is explained by the automatic application of the principle according to which ***is pater est quem justae nuptiae demonstrant*** and also by the fact that a ***khaṣī*** is not always ***ma'mūn al-ilḳāḥ***: in fact, during the operation, the child might experience such fear that one of his testicles would rise up into his body and escape mutilation (cf. *Ḥayawān*, i, 129, where this statement is followed by the remark that a ***madjbūb***, in these conditions, preserves a testicle and remains neither a man nor a woman nor even an eunuch); if it is the left (for it is popularly held that this is the procreative one; *Ḥayawān*, i, 123), the half-eunuch secretes sperm

and can engender children; if it is the right one only, the beard grows, but the case has been known of a man deprived of his left testicle who had a child whom he could not repudiate because he looked exactly like him (i, 123-4).

Generally, eunuchs lived with their master, whether he was a private individual or a ruler, and did not mingle much with the pcpulation, especially as they were easily recognisable and as the humbler people did not refrain from hurling gibes at them (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2164; al-Masʿūdī, viii, 180 = § 3318). In the palaces of the caliphs, in Cordoba as in the East, they were always numerous, despite the high price that was asked for them; by way of example, Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 139, 209) states that in Morocco a slave girl was worth 15 *dīnārs*, a man, 20 and a eunuch, 40; in general, it is double the price of an ordinary slave that is mentioned by the sources. The historians charge al-Amīn (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 950 ff.; cf. Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, 188: rhyme *-nā* and *nī*) with having bought many more eunuchs than his predecessors and with having had them constantly in attendance at his side, associating them even in the affairs of state. His successors largely imitated his example, and the figures supplied, although to be treated with caution, remain very high; in the time of al-Muktafī (289-95/902-9), there were in the palace 10,000 *k͟hadam*, blacks and whites (*Ṣaḳāliba*), and that of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32) sheltered 11,000, comprising 7,000 blacks and 4,000 whites (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-k͟hilāfa*, ed. M. ʿAwwād, Baghdad, 1964, 8). It is remarkable that al-Ḳalḳas͟handī (v, 92) also mentions the figure of 10,000 for the court of Dihlī, but precise details of this kind are rare and are clearly exaggerated. However, the organisation of the corps of eunuchs is well-known, particularly under the Fāṭimids (see below). In the Islamicised lands of West Africa, the custom of surrounding oneself with Turkish slaves and eunuchs bought in Cairo also spread (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 65, 90-1); the king of Gao owned a eunuch as early as the end of the 4th/10th century (R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique*, 341) and six centuries later, Leo Africanus (471) encountered at the palace of his distant descendant an indeterminate number who were appointed to guard the women. In the middle of the 10th/16th century, the *askia* Dāwūd maintained 700 (*Tarikh El-Fettach*, 208) and in 1008/1599, the *pas͟ha* D̲jawd̲har [see AL-MANṢŪR] brought back a large number to Morocco (R. Mauny, *op. laud.*, 342; H. de Castries, *Sources inédites, Angleterre* iii, 1925, 146). In the 19th century still, Denham counted 200 of them in the harem of the Sultan of Bornu (E. W. Bovill, *Golden trade*, 245) but Burckhardt (*Travels in Nubia*, 296) states that the number had considerably diminished in Syria and also in Egypt, where there were no more than 300 belonging to the aristocracy who, alone, could afford such a luxury; the whites were extremely rare. Similarly, in the Persian Gulf, even the black eunuchs were very few in number (see B. Lewis, *Race and color*, 84 and bibl. cited there). By the force of circumstances, the white eunuchs were always less numerous than the blacks and, from the 16th century, they became more rare at the Ottoman court (see below); the supply ceased completely with the annexation of the Caucasian regions by the Russians at the beginning of the 19th century (see B. Lewis, *op. laud.*, 81).

In a general way, the eunuchs were authorised to circulate freely in the harems and served as intermediaries between their master and his wives and concubines. This freedom of movement permitted a number of them to become accomplices of the women who hatched plots (see for example M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, index) and to participate in the political life of the state. Although Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (*Rusūm*, 91) says only that some [white] eunuchs used to surround the throne of the Caliph, brushing away the flies, while others, armed with cross-bows, killed the birds of ill-omen or those that were too noisy, it is certain that not all were assigned domestic functions, and history provides us with evidence of the political and military rôle that a number of them, as in Greece, Rome or Byzantium, succeeded in playing throughout the centuries.

As early as the 3rd/9th century, al-D̲jāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, i, 125) reports that some rich eunuchs bought estates in the marches [see ʿAWĀṢIM, T̲HUG̲HŪR] recruited fighting men and made attacks on the Byzantines to revenge themselves (see above) for their very serious injuries. It may not be by chance that several governors of Ṭarsūs [*q.v.*], notably Bis͟hr, *mawlā* of Ibn Abi'l-Sād̲j, were white eunuchs who launched expeditions against the Rūm (see Vasiliev-Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii/1, Brussels 1968, 130) and that T̲hamal, commanding the naval forces in the Mediterranean, was also one (*ibid.*, index). In the same way, in 307/919 the admirals commanding the Fāṭimid and Byzantine fleets respectively were both eunuchs (al-Kindī, *Judges*, 276). At this period, moreover, there were numerous generals who were *k͟hiṣyān* (for example Masʿūd, Mufliḥ al-Muḳtadirī, etc.; see Vasiliev-Canard, ii/1, index); similarly, some of them were leaders of the Ḥud̲jariyya [*q.v.*]. Without doubt, the most famous and successful in his enterprises was Kāfūr [*q.v.*], who died in 357/968 after he had been master of Egypt and Syria; it will be noted that he was black. Under the first Fāṭimids, Ustād̲h D̲jawhar [*q.v.*] who was a Slav eunuch, played a role so important that he merited a special biography. A little later, Bard̲jawān [*q.v.*] who was also white, was the tutor of the caliph al-Ḥākim; having assumed the functions of regent of the Fāṭimid Empire, he was killed by another eunuch, Raydān, on the orders of the caliph. The organization of a body of a thousand eunuchs (al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 477) under this dynasty will be noted below. In the 6th/12th century a number were to be found in charge of various forces, directing rival states and governing important towns (see, for example, N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, ii, 327, 340, 385, 484, 557, 657); in the reign of the Fāṭimid al-ʿĀḍid, the black eunuchs exercised a considerable influence (B. Lewis, *op. laud.*, 71-2) it was his *muʾtamin al-k͟hilāfa*, D̲jawhar, who, in 564/1169, hatched a plot against Saladin (Ibn al-At̲hir, ix, 103). Eunuchs were still found among the troops of the latter (ʿImād al-Dīn, *al-Fatḥ al-ḳussī*, 324; tr. H. Massé, 287) who took Ḳarāḳūs͟h completely into his confidence (Bahāʾ al-Dīn [*q.v.*]). It would be easy to multiply the examples.

In Persia, a notable case cited is that of Manūčihr K͟hān Muʿtamid al-Dawla, sometime governor of Iṣfahān during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh; he had been taken prisoner in Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh's wars with Russia and castrated. On his death, his property was claimed by the Persian crown on the grounds of his having been a slave, though this was disputed (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60/29. Murray to Clarendon, No. 69, Baghdad, 8 August 1856). Āḳā Muḥammad K͟hān, the founder of the Ḳājār dynasty, was a eunuch, having been castrated in childhood by ʿĀdil S͟hāh, the nephew of Nādir S͟hāh, into whose hands he had fallen.

It goes without saying that such accession to the throne, which was exceptional, is in contradiction to the law of Islam which demands the physical integrity of the ruler. A. Mez (ch. xx) mentions that a eunuch functioned as a *ḳāḍī* at Damietta, but it is certain that the *khiṣyān*, from the sole fact of their mutilation, were normally excluded from the magistrature [see ḲĀḌĪ]. However, Niẓām al-Mulk (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1891-3, 41) considers that it is preferable to confer the functions of *muḥtasib* on a eunuch and it will be noted that, under the Ottomans, the control of the *waḳf*s of the Holy Cities and most of the mosques was assured up to the 16th century by the *ḳapi aghasi* [*q.v.*], in the 17th century by the latter and the *ḳizlar aghasi*, respectively the Chief White Eunuch and the Chief Black Eunuch, in the 18th century by the *ḳizlar aghasi* alone, after the weakening of the power of the whites (see below).

It should be noted that, in different courts of Muslim rulers, the eunuchs were organised in a body at an early date. According to the account of the Byzantine embassy received by al-Muḳtadir at Baghdād on Monday 24 Muḥarram 305/17 July 917 (see Vasiliev-Canard, ii/1, 238 ff.), the Ḥudjariyya and eunuchs of the Caliph were to be seen positioned between the latter and the soldiers; some of them accompanied ambassadors during all their visits. At the court of the Fāṭimids (see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 480-1), the eunuchs (*ustādh*) used to come immediately after the *amīr*s. The officials in private service were eunuchs, of whom those of greatest dignity wore a turban passing under the chin and were therefore called *muḥannak*. "The most exalted rank among the *muḥannak* eunuchs was held by the one who had the charge of wrapping a special crown round the head of the Caliph for ceremonial occasions... Next [came] the *ṣāḥib al-madjlis* or master of the audience hall; the *ṣāḥib al-risāla*, or master of correspondence; the *zimām al-ḳuṣūr*, the intendant of the palaces; the *ṣāḥib bayt al-māl*, or director of the Treasury; the master of the registry (*ṣāḥib al-daftar*) who directed the general offices (*dīwān*); the bearer of the inkwell (*ḥāmil al-dawāt*); the superintendent of the Caliph's kinsmen (*zamm al-aḳārib*); the intendant of the table (*ṣāḥib al-māʾida*). Important household offices held by non-eunuchs included the deanship of the descendants of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib ... and the intendancy of the different corps of *ṣibyān*, young men, and other regiments of the army" (M. Canard, *Cérémonial fatimite* ..., in *Byzantion*, xxi/2 (1951), 367 ff.; cf. B. Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the capture of Constantinople*, New York, etc. 1974, i, 202, 204-5).

For eunuchs at the Ottoman court, see below.

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(CH. PELLAT)

II.—IN PERSIA.

In Persia, it was only under the Ṣafawids that the eunuchs (*Khʷādjagān, Khʷādja-sarāyān*) in charge of the women's apartments in the royal palace began to play an important role in political affairs. Chardin placed the number of eunuchs at court at *ca.* 3,000, and says that these were mainly white persons coming above all from the Malabar coast (*Voyages*, Amsterdam 1711, 283-5). But under Shāh ʿAbbās (985-1038/1587-1629) it became common practice to enslave and castrate Georgian and other captives taken in war and to use them as palace servants, especially in the royal *ḥaram*. According to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, he was the first shah to introduce white eunuchs into the palace alongside the black eunuchs (f. 31a ff.). He also initiated the practice of immuring the royal princes in the *ḥaram*. This practice unfitted them for rule and in due course enabled the palace eunuchs to dominate affairs of state. On the death of Shāh ʿAbbās II in 1077/1667, the palace eunuchs contrived the succession of Shāh Sulaymān and seized control of the state. On the latter's death in 1105/1694, with the connivance of Maryam Begum, Shāh Sulaymān's aunt, they placed Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn on the throne. He left the management of affairs of state entirely to them. They succeeded in extending their influence over military as well as civil affairs, the only check on their power being the faction which prevailed in their own ranks and the rivalry of the religious party under Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī. The irresponsible character of their government and the faction to which it gave rise was one of the main causes of the decline of the Ṣafawid dynasty. The *ḥaram* of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, and with it the number of eunuchs, reached enormous proportions and swallowed up a large part of the revenue.

After the fall of the Ṣafawids, the eunuchs never again achieved political importance or large numbers. In 1887 it was reported that there were only thirty-eight eunuchs in the royal *ḥaram* (Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Rūznāma-i khāṭirāt-i Iʿtimād al-Salṭana*, ed. Iraj Afshār, Tehran 1966, 644).

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(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

III.—IN TURKEY.

It is believed that there were eunuchs in the palaces of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm or Anatolia, and in those of the beyliks of the Čandaroghullarī [see DJANDĀRLĪ] in Ḳastamonu in the 8th/14th century (see Fuad Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri hakkında mülâhazalar*, in *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, i (Istanbul 1931), 208-11). Their first appearance in the Ottoman state was in the first half of the 9th/15th century, and these eunuchs

were of two kinds: white (*aḳ agha*) and negro (*ḳarā agha*). According to tradition it was Murād II (824-55/1421-51) who first employed the *khādim aghas* (chief eunuchs) in the palace; during his reign the *aḳ khādim aghas* (white chief eunuchs) in the harem occupied the offices of *ḳapu aghasī* (chief white eunuch in the Imperial Palace), *khazīnedār-bashi* (the title of the fourth officer of the white eunuchs) and *sarāy aghasī* and *ḳilārdji-bashi* (chief clerk of the imperial pantry); above them all was the *Dār al-saʿāda aghasī* (chief eunuch of the palace) (Ṭayyār-zāde ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh-i Enderūn*, Istanbul 1292, i, 34). Later, some eunuchs of particular ability were employed outside the palace. The mention of some well-known government officials bearing the title of *khādim* or *ṭawāshī* in the first half of the 9th/15th century may indicate an earlier date for the employment of white chief eunuchs in the palace. For instance, the appointment on several occasions of Shihāb al-Dīn Pasha (Kula Shāhīn, d. 853/1454) during the reign of Murād II to the office of *beylerbey* of Rumelia means that his early life and upbringing should be placed in the reign of Čelebi Meḥemmed (805-24/1403-21). (Neshrī, *Djihān-numā*, ed. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, i, 170, 181, 230; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda Edirne ve Paşaeli livası*, Istanbul 1952, 255-7). The use of negroes, that is black eunuchs, in the palace started during the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror (855-86/1451-81) and from the beginning of the 10th/16th century we find black eunuchs employed alongside the white ones. In 918/1513 there were 10 white and black *khādims* (eunuchs) serving in the palace (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi arşivi, N.D. 10052). The head of the eunuchs in charge of the Bāb al-saʿāda of the palace was called the *ḳapı aghasī* or *Bāb al-saʿāda aghasī*, which was the highest office in the harem. But in 990/1582 the superintendence of the harem and the office of *Dār al-Saʿāda aghasī* passed into the hands of Ḥabashī Meḥmed Agha and the black eunuchs, and the white eunuchs were relegated to second place and had to be content with the office of *ḳapı aghasī*. However, among the white eunuchs there were some who rose to the office of Grand Vizier, such as Khādim ʿAlī Pasha (first time, 906-8/1501-3, second time 912-17/1506-11) under Bāyezīd I; Khādim Sinān Pasha (922-3/1516-17) in the reign of Selīm I; Khādim Süleymān Pasha (948-51/1541-4) in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent; Khādim Mesīḥ Pasha (994-6/1585-6) in the reign of Murād III; Khādim Ḥasan Pasha (1005-6/1597-8) in the reign of Meḥemmed III; and Khādim Meḥmed Pasha (1031-2/1622-3) in the reign of Muṣṭafā I.

Although the majority of the eunuchs in the harem were now negroes, there were also some white chief eunuchs amongst them. In the period 990-1087/1582-1676 there were 35 black eunuchs and *ca.* 20 *farrāshs* or servants under them (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 1059, 1027, 10181, 6205). The number of *ḳapı aghasıs* or chief white eunuchs varied from 32 to 37 between these same years, but their number fell to 24 in 1676 (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 34, 10181, 6205). The absolute supremacy of the negroes in the harem continued until the end of the Ottoman Empire (see Safiye Ünüvar, *Saray Hatıraları*, Istanbul 1964). Outside the Imperial Palace there were also great personages who kept eunuchs, the majority of them black, in their palaces and residences, and indeed, throughout many levels of Ottoman society (see E. W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1954, 137).

These black eunuchs were imported from Egypt, often as children between the ages of 8 and 11. The negroes employed in the Ottoman palace were chosen and sent by the *beylerbey* of Egypt. Although as mentioned above, the operation of castration was often done in Upper Egypt, there was also a professional group of *djerrāḥ-ı djellābīs* in 11th/17th century Egypt (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, Istanbul 1938, x, 376). Mortality was low among those children who had the operation before puberty, but high among those castrated after the age of maturity (cf. Penzer, *The Harem*, 142, 145; M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem*, Ankara 1971, 128). The negroes brought to Istanbul as children were brought up in the palace, and those in the Harem formed a corps, the *aghalar odjaḳı*, trained by the senior eunuchs; often they were given flower names. After a strict training and education, they were sent to the palace and to the residences of princes and other great men of state for a kind of probationary period (see Safiye Ünüvar, *op. cit.*, 77). As stated above, castration was normally done outside the heartlands of the empire, e.g. in Upper Egypt. A private person had no legal right in the empire to castrate his slave (M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi fetvaları ışığında 16. asır Türk Hayatı*, Istanbul 1972, 120). Thus in 967/1560 an *alaybeg* in Prizren in Serbia attempted to castrate three children from the local *reʿāyā* by force, but caused their deaths; he was thereupon dismissed from his office and punished by being deprived of his *zeʿāmet* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci catalogue, Ruus defteri, no. 216, 11).

In 1127/1715 the Grand Vizier Shehīd ʿAlī Pasha tried to remove the black *khādim aghas* from the palace because of their maleficent influence there. He succeeded in getting a decision that negroes were not to be castrated from then onwards and sent his decision to the *odjaḳs* of Egypt and the west in the form of an imperial *firmān*; and he gave strict orders that existing eunuchs should not be brought into Rumelia under any circumstances. But he was killed in the battle of Peterwardein, and the possibility of enforcing this decision was then lost in 1129/1717 (Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, iv, 175-6; Derwīsh ʿAbd Allāh, *Risāle-i Ṭabardāriyye*, Köprülü Kütüphanesi, ii, 233, ff. 66a-b). The process of abolishing slavery and the negro slave trade in the Ottoman Empire started during the reign of Maḥmūd II, and in Djumāda II 1273/February 1857 a *firmān* was issued prohibiting slavery and the slave trade in the Ottoman lands (*Dustūr*, Istanbul 1299, 1st series, v, 368, 396, etc.). After this, slavery and the use of eunuchs gradually disappeared, their use persisting longest in the harem of the palace.

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(Cengīz Orhonlu)

AL-**KHAṢĪB** [see IBN AL-KHAṢĪB].

AL-**KHAṢĪBĪ**, name given to AḤMAD B. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. AL-KHAṢĪB, vizier of al-Muktadir and al-Ḳāhir, who was probably the grandson of al-Muntaṣir's vizier Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb [see AL-DJARDJARĀʾĪ]. He was originally secretary to the caliph's mother, and then suddenly was made vizier after the fall of al-Khāḳānī, but only filled this office for a few months (Ramaḍān 313-Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 314/Nov. 925-Jan. 927). Faced with the hostility of the military leaders, and treating administrative affairs in a very perfunctory way, he immediately ran into serious difficulties which he was unable to surmount. He re-appears in 318/930 as a financial official in the Persian provinces, and then as one of the caliph's counsellors who brought about the fall of the vizier al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim. He became vizier for the second time under al-Ḳāhir, from Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 321/Oct. 933 till Djumādā I 322/April 934, but was unable to prevent the intrigues of the former vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] nor to put down the discontentments of the palace guards, who ended up by imprisoning the caliph.

Under al-Rāḍī, al-Khaṣībī still held important functions in the central administration, but was exiled for some time to ʿUmān by the vizier Ibn Muḳla, upon whom he was later able to take vengeance. He helped ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĪsā during his short vizierate (324/936), and died in Baghdād in Shawwāl 328/ August 940.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, index; Ṣūlī, *Akhbâr ar-Râḍî billâh*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index. (D. SOURDEL)

AL-**KHĀSIR** [see SALM AL-KHĀSIR].

KHĀṢṢ (A.) and its fem. *khāṣṣa* "personal, private, pertaining to the state or ruler". In Ottoman administration and society, *khāṣṣ* and *khāṣṣa* were generally used interchangeably, with pls. *khāṣṣahā* and *khawāṣṣ*, see on these various forms, Meninski, ii, 530-1. It appears in Turkish literature for "a person close to the ruler", "something personal to the ruler", in the 7th/13th century, see Mecdud Mansuroğlu, *Sultan veledʾin (1226-1312) türkçe manzumeleri*, Istanbul 1958, vv. 26, 48-9, 53-4, 143-5, 149. The word, used for describing the palace services of a ruler, first appear in the Ghaznawid state (*Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 235, 253, 271 and *passim*), and then was used in the Great Saldjuḳ state in regard to the Sultan's personal estates (Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, Tehran 1334/1955, 95, 105-6). Under the Khwārazm-Shāhs and Mamlūks of Egypt, the officer in charge of the ruler's estates was called the *Nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿsha*, iv, 30). In the Il-Khānid state, the property and the land belonging to the ruler were called *indju*, and sometimes *khāṣṣ-i indju* (see Z. Velidi Togan, *Umumî türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 278-9). The words *khāṣṣ* and *khāṣṣa* were used synonymously during the first period of the Ottoman empire. Then *khāṣṣa* came to be used for the services and matters concerning the ruler and his palace (*khāṣṣa bostandjilarî*, *khāṣṣa doghandjilarî* etc.), whilst *khāṣṣ* was used rather for the private estates of the ruler; hence we find from the end of the 9th/15th century terms like *khāṣṣ-i pādishāhī*, and sometimes *khāṣṣ-i humāyūn*, *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* or *khāṣṣ-i shāhī*, meaning the imperial lands (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*. I. *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, index).

The *Khāṣṣ* lands followed a course similar to that of the *timār* system. From the existing *timār defters*, it appears that the *khāṣṣ* lands stretch back to the reign of Bāyezīd I (791-805/1389-1403) (Başbakanlık arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, tapu defteri, 1/1, Mis. 331, 332) and beyond. The term *khāṣṣ*, pl. *khawāṣṣ*, in the Ottoman *timār* system was used for the more extensive *timār*s. There were only *timār*s during the first period of the Ottoman state (for the 804/1402 and 807/1405 *timār* entries, see Süheyl Ünver, *Yıldırım Bayezidʾin oğlu Isaʾnın bir emri*, in *Belleten*, xlii (1944), 335, 337), but at the beginning of the 9th/15th century the term *khāṣṣ* was also used for some personal *timār*s worth 46,208, and 50,702 *aḳčes*. (H. Inalcik, *Hicri 835 tarihli suret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, 33-55). Hence at this time the *timār* included the *khāṣṣ*; the *timār*s of begs which were called *khāṣṣ* and *zeʿāmet* were also alike called "great *timārs*". The *ḳānūn-nāme*s show how the *khāṣṣ* was used. In the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed Fātiḥ, it is indicated that the most productive lands in the provinces were to be included in the *khāṣṣ* of the Sultan, and that the *defterdār*s or treasurers had the authority to confiscate the lands of a person, if they discovered that he had very productive land, and give him less productive land as a *khāṣṣ*. The viziers, it was stipulated, were to have *khāṣṣ* lands with an income of 1,200,000 *aḳče*s, the *beglerbeg*s those with an income of 1,000,000, the *defterdār*s those with an income of 600,000 as long as they remained in office; for this see *Fātiḥ ḳānūn-nāmesi*, Istanbul 1330, 28. Because the *sandjaḳ*s, rather than the *eyālet*s, constituted the basis of the administrative system, the *khāṣṣ* lands assigned to a *sandjaḳ* beg were more numerous during the 9th/15th century (for the *khāṣṣ* of the *sandjaḳ beg* of Üsküp, see *Hicri 859 tarihli suret-i defter-i mücmel-i vilayet-i Yeleč ve Izvečan ve Hududide ve Seniča ve Res ve Üsküp ve Kalkandelen ve tevabiha*, ed. H. Sabanovič, Sarajevo 1964, 7). After the organisation of a *sandjaḳ*, the villages and *khāṣṣ* lands there could be terminated as *khāṣṣ* land with the permission of the *sandjaḳ beg*, if it was thought to be necessary, or some of the *timār* land could be made into *khāṣṣ* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 74; *Hicri 835 tarihli suret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, pp. xxiii, xxiv, xxviii, 12, 39, 100).

Khāṣṣ lands were granted to the members of the upper ranks of the administration, the *Dīwān-i Hümāyūn*, such as the Grand Vizier and the viziers, and to high officials such as *sandjaḳ beg*s and *beglerbeg*s as long as they held their posts. The *khāṣṣ* lands might be scattered throughout a *sandjaḳ* or province. The *khāṣṣ* holders, when going on a campaign, would take with them one *djebelü* for every 5,000 *aḳče*s of revenue from their *khāṣṣ*, while the *eyālet*s or provinces of Bosnia (739,000 *aḳče*s), Aleppo (700,000 *aḳče*s), Ḳaramān (633,000 *aḳče*s) were the administrative units with the highest *khāṣṣ* income in 933-4/1527-8, the *sandjaḳ beg* of Semendere (622,000 *aḳče*s) had the highest income among the *sandjaḳ beg*s; in contrast to this, the *sandjaḳ beg* of Voynak (52,000) and that of Ḳîrḳkilise or Ḳîrḳlareli (81,000) had the lowest *khāṣṣ* incomes (for the other provinces, and the *khāṣṣ* lands of *beglerbeg*s and *sandjaḳ beg*s in general, see Barkan, *1527-1528 yılı bütčesi*, 25-8; for the *khāṣṣ* lands of the Grand Vizier, the *Ḳubbe-altı* viziers and retired viziers in 1070/1660, see Hezārfen Čelebi, *Telkhīṣü 'l-beyān fī ḳawānīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, 45b, 46a, 47a ff., and cf. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Haslar kalemi defteri, no. 3069).

The *khāṣṣ* lands were administered on the basis of registers made up annually, and according to the sources were divided into three: (1) *khawāṣṣ-i*

humāyūn; (2) the *khāṣṣ* lands of Viziers, *amīrs*, *beglerbegs* and other high officials of the imperial Chancery or *Dīwān*; and (3) the *khāṣṣ* lands called *pashmaklik* which were appropriated to the needs of the Sultan's wives.

Any surpluses from all these at the end of each financial year were added to the *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* treasury. The *khāṣṣ* lands given to the Sultan's wives were awarded for life, and could not be transferred to anyone; if the holder of a *pashmaklik khāṣṣ* died or had no further need for it, then it would be transferred to the *khāṣṣ-i humāyūn* (*Kanun-ı Osmanı mefhum-i defter-i hakani*, ed. I. H. Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, lix (1951), 386; *Rasprava Ali cauşa iz Sofija i timarskoj organizacij u XVI stoljecu*, in *Glasnik Zemal'kog Muzeja u Sarajevo*, Nova seria, ii (Sarajevo 1947), 152).

The *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* and the *khāṣṣ* lands of high officials and administrators formed an important part of the revenues of every province; for example, they constituted 48% of the general revenue of Rumelia, 26% of Anatolia, Ḳaramān, Dhulḳadriye and Rūm (Sivas), 31% of Diyārbekir, 48% of Aleppo and Damascus, and 86% of Egypt. Out of all the Ottoman provinces, they formed 277,244,782 *akčes*, 51% of the total revenue; the other *khāṣṣ* lands and *timārs* comprised 200,186,394 *akčes*, 37% of the total revenue (Barkan, *H. 933-934 (M. 1527-28) mâlî yılına ait bir bütçe örneği*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (Istanbul 1955), 277). According to the calculations made from the 1071/1660-1 budget, about three-quarters (1 billion, 800 million)of the total revenue of the state (2 billion, 400 million) went to the officials in charge of *khāṣṣ*, *timār* or *wakf* lands; the revenue from *khāṣṣ* lands was not always sent to the capital, but could be spent on the spot (Barkan, *Osmanlı bütçelerine ait notlar*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii (1960), 190).

The value and extent of *khāṣṣ* lands would vary according to the productivity of the provinces and *sandjaks*. Although the most productive lands were already included in the *khāṣṣ* estates at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, their boundaries and the revenue accruing from them tended to increase by a considerable amount (for the situation in the *sandjak* of Szegedin, see L. Fekete, *Die Siyāḳat-Schrift*, i, 402, 610, 612; for the situation in the *sandjak* of Mārdīn, see Nejat Göyünç, *XVI. yüzılda Mardin sancağı*, Istanbul 1969, 142-7). Apart from the agricultural produce of arable fields, vineyards, orchards etc., there were, also, revenues from the *djizya*, sheep tax, *yaylak* tax, *kishlak* tax, firewood and hay tax, bride tax, *bâd-i havā* or irregular taxes, *fudju* tax, pasture tax, *tapu* tax, *čift* tax, taxes on the produce of nomads and revenues from some of the *muḳāṭaʿas* in the towns, all of which constituted the income of the *khāṣṣ* lands. In the cities, such items as taxes on the *bashkhāne* (slaughter-houses), *kirishkāne* (catgut factory), the *iḥtisāb* tax, *bozakhāne*, rents from shops, etc., formed part of the revenues of the *khāṣṣ*; however, agricultural products constituted the greater part of the *khāṣṣ* revenues. According to the comparisons made between the years 1550 and 1650-70, there was a 50% decline in the revenues from agricultural products, hence the revenues of the *khāṣṣ* lands were topped up by other means. Accordingly, some of the *timārs* and *zeʿāmets*, and even the *khāṣṣ* lands of viziers, *beglerbegs* and *sandjak begs*, were added to the *khāṣṣ-i humāyūn* lands (see Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, haslar kalemi, no. 3064). When a vizier or a *beglerbeg* retired, some of his *khāṣṣ* was added to the *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn*, but some was left to him as a retirement *khāṣṣ* (Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi, no. 3065). From the 10th/16th century onwards, the number of viziers and *beglerbegs* increased, but the *khāṣṣ* lands allotted to them became insufficient and inadequate, and henceforth there was *khāṣṣlar muḍāyaḳasi* ("scarcity of *khāṣṣ* lands") in the financial system (Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler, telhisler (1595-1605)*, Istanbul 1970, 13-14, 131; see also Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, ahkâm defteri, no. 70, p. 214). As a result of this decrease in agricultural income, the *khāṣṣ* lands of viziers, *beglerbegs* and *sandjak begs* began to be transferred to the *khāṣṣ-i humāyūn* (*Kitāb-i Müsteṭāb*, Ankara 1974, 40; for various records regarding this, see Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, haslar kalemi defteri no. 3064).

During the period of the empire's expansion, there were—in accordance with the ordinances regarding *mīrī* land—*khāṣṣa* farms and *khāṣṣa* pastures called *kilič yeri* which were run by the *sipāhīs* and which belonged to a system different from that of the farms of the *reʿayā*; in some places there are records of *khāṣṣ* vineyards, *khāṣṣ* mills, etc. The *sipāhīs*' share in *khāṣṣa* vineyards and orchards was a third or a quarter. Because it was against the law for a *sipāhī* to buy, with acquisition of title-deed, land from his own *timār*, for himself or his family, the *khāṣṣa* farms eventually decreased in the empire (Barkan, *Toprak işçilerinin organizasyon şekilleri*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, v/i (1939), 213 ff.). The *khāṣṣa* farms which were, in a way, estates of the *sipāhīs*, were run by themselves by way of partnership (see *Ḳawānīn-i ʿörfiyye-i ʿOthmānī*, ed. N. Beldiceanu, Wiesbaden 1967, 14-15). When the register of a province was made up, vineyards, pastures, farms, fruit trees and mills which were recorded among the *khāṣṣ* lands were not sold with title deeds to them, and could not pass into private possession (*Kanuni-i Kanunname*, Sarajevo 1957, 38, 52). Thus lands recorded as *khāṣṣa* would not normally be given with a title deed, and if they were thus given to a *sipāhī*, and then passed into the hands of another *sipāhī*, then title-deeds would be abolished and they would be transformed into a *khāṣṣalik*. The *khāṣṣa* lands were exempted from all taxes and from the entry of officials. The *khāṣṣa* lands could be sold in some regions, but only by obtaining special permission from the government (Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve mâlî esasları*, I, *Kanunlar*, 143, 314, 321, 343, 399).

From the 10th/16th century onwards, the term *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* started to be used as equivalent to that of *mīrī muḳāṭaʿa*. The officials supervising the *khāṣṣ* lands of *sandjak begs* and *beglerbegs* could not therefore interfere with the revenues of *mīrī muḳāṭaʿa* or *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* in any way (Halit Ongan, *Ankara'nin iki numaralı şer'iye sicili*, Ankara 1974, 128-9). During the middle years of the century, because of financial and administrative difficulties, *mīrī muḳāṭaʿas* and *khāṣṣ-i shāhī* began to appear as two different types of entities (M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisâdî ve içtimâî tarihi*, Ankara 1972, ii, 92-3, 299).

Khāṣṣ-i pādishāhī or *khāwaṣṣ-i humāyūn* and *khāṣṣ* lands were managed by a *voyvoda*, who had under their command the *sekbān* soldiers in order to carry out their duties (M. Çağatay Uluçay, *XVII. asırda Saruhanda eşkıyalık ve halk hareketleri*, Ankara 1944, 319). In some places the *voyvodas* who were in charge of recording the shares of state and of individuals from *khāṣṣ* revenues (Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, haslar kalemi defteri, no. 3065) were called *khāṣṣ ḍābiṭi* or "*khāṣṣ* officers" (Şikayet defteri, i,

160). However, the taxes on the *reʿāyā* living and working on the *khāṣṣ* lands were collected by *emīn*s, who had nothing to do with the *voyvoda*s (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, pp. 1047, 1229). Beside the *voyvoda*s, there were also some other officials, including the *khāṣṣ kātibi*s or clerks, appointed by a decree (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, p. 567). These officials were in charge of managing the imperial *khāṣṣ* lands, with authority to pursue runaway cultivators and safeguard the interests of the imperial treasury in the *khāṣṣ* lands. They also had such duties as ensuring the transference to the treasury of heirless estates and abandoned properties, the inheritors of which had disappeared and had not returned within 6 months (*Ḳānūn-nāme-i sulṭānī ber mūdjeb-i ʿörf-i ʿOthmānī*, ed. H. Inalcik and R. Anhegger, Ankara 1956, 70-1).

In earlier times permission was not given for the *khāṣṣa* lands to be farmed out on *iltizām* [*q.v.*] (H. Inalcik, *Arvanid livası*, 123-5), but this was not adhered to in later applications (Halit Ongan, *op. cit.*, 8, 43, 85; cf. *Arazi Kanunnâmesi ve Ebusuud Efendi'nin araziye müteallik fetvalari*, in *MTM*, 1/2 (Istanbul 1331), 324). Although the principle of not giving out *khāṣṣ* lands thus still existed at the beginning of the 11th/17th century, the actual practice had become established (M. Çağatay Uluçay, *op. cit.*, 211). In 1658/1069 the *khāṣṣa* lands of eight viziers, amounting to 23,507,943 *aḳčes*, were given out as *iltizām* for the sum of 26,272,485 *aḳčes* (see Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, haslar kalemi, no. 3069).

During the composition of the register, the children on the *khāṣṣ* lands were not registered as such (*khāridj ez defter*), but were assumed to be registered through the registration of their fathers. Natural calamities such as drought and epidemics affected the *khāṣṣa* lands, leading to the emigration of *reʿāyā* from their villages and farms to other places (Başbakanlık arşiv genel müdürlüğü, maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, pp. 560, 1661).

Gradually, the *khāṣṣ* lands belonging to the ranks of viziers, *beglerbeg*s, and *sandjaḳ beg*s, were abolished and were added to the *mīrī muḳāṭaʿāt* lands, and payment in cash was made in lieu of these lands (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 14525, pp. 14 ff.). After the treaty of Ḳarlovca [*q.v.*] in 1110/1699, new *khāṣṣ* lands were allotted to some of the *beglerbeg*s, and in some places they were given the right of collecting taxes called *ḥadariyye* and *seferiyye*. The government office which existed from the 11th/17th century onwards and was charged with recording matters relating to the *khāṣṣ* lands of the various government officials in the *Dīwān-ī Humāyūn* was called *Khāṣṣlar Muḳāṭaʿasī ḳalemi*. In 1833 this office was combined with the *Bash Muḳāṭaʿadjīlīk* and the office of the official historiographer, and then was added to the *Ḥarameyn muḳāṭaʿadjīlīk* under the name of "the three offices", *aḳlām-i thalāthe* (A. Vefīk, *Tekālīf ḳawāʿidi*, Istanbul 1328, i, 217). In 1838 the department of the *Khāṣṣlar Ḳalemi* was in the same room as the *Bash Muḳāṭaʿadjī* in Istanbul and his subordinates below the rank of treasurer (Maliyeden müdevver defterler no. 8999, p. 4). Later, only the *khāṣṣ* lands belonging to the offices of the vizierate, the High Admiral and the *Nishāndjī* were retained, and the rest were added to the *Mīrī muḳāṭaʿāt* or *khāṣṣahā-i humāyūn*. The *zeʿāmet*s allotted to other government officials came under the legal ambit of offices given for life, that is as *malikāne*, owned property; but because the revenues appropriated were insufficient, certain revenues were provided, in various ways, for the high officials in Istanbul and in the provinces. Through the *malikāne* system thus established, some advantages, such as the protection of the sources of taxation and the provision of surplus income from the treasury and the maintenance of the productivity of the *muḳāṭaʿa*s, were gained. Since no *khāṣṣ* land was allotted to new appointments (in other words, because of the abandonment of this system), provincial governors (*beglerbeg*s) considered a *sandjaḳ* as providing a good income if in that region there was more of *muḳāṭaʿat-ī mīrī* and less of *tīmār, zeʿāmet* and *waḳf* land (Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netāyidjü 'l-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul 1328, iii, 76, 79-80). The *muḳāṭaʿat-i mīrī* lands, with their values recorded in the *defter*s, were given to the governors as personal property, and they would give them to the *mültezim*s by adding a surplus amount of income. From 1790/1205 onwards, all the *khāṣṣ* lands, including those belonging to the Sultans' wives, were transferred to the jurisdiction of the newly-founded *Īrād-ī djedīd* treasury (Djevdet, vi, 60 ff.; Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 3205). After the *Tanẓīmāt*, the principle evolved of settling every kind of expenditure from the treasury; the *khāṣṣ-i humāyūn* revenues were now given to governors and *mültezim*s from the Imperial Mint, and *Muḳāṭaʿat-ī mīrī* revenues from the treasury. After 1838, instead of the old system of revenues set apart for the support of officials, a monthly salary was allotted to each of them. In 1839 the *muḳāṭaʿāt* treasury was combined with the *mīrī* treasury, and placed under the control of the Ministry of Finance (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 8999, pp. 6 ff., 38; cf. Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *op. cit.*, iv, 102, 105 ff.).

Even after the old system was abolished, its memory survived in the names of certain places; for example, one of the names of the Eyyüb *ḳaḍāʾ* in Istanbul was *Khawāṣṣ-ī refīʿa* or *Khāṣṣlar Ḳaḍāsī*; the name Khāṣṣ-köy as the name of villages in Rumelia and Anatolia shows their former status (see *Türkiye'de meskûn yerler kılavuzu*, Ankara 1946, i), the most famous ones having this name being the town of Khāṣṣköy (Haskova) in Bulgaria and the town of Khāṣṣa, founded in 1865, in the Hatay province of Turkey.

The terms *Khāṣṣ-ī humāyūn* and *Khāṣṣ-ī pādishahī* gradually disappeared after the *Tanẓīmāt*, as explained above, but continued to be used for the services related to the Imperial Palace and to the Sultan, e.g. the *khāṣṣa* treasury, *khāṣṣa avčīlarī* or infantry, *khāṣṣa bostandjīlarī*, *khāṣṣa süvārileri* or cavalry, *khāṣṣa-i kitābet*, *khāṣṣa ordusu* or imperial guard regiments, *khāṣṣa müezzinleri*, *khāṣṣ-ī ʿaskeriyye*, *khāṣṣa taburlarī* or battalions, *khāṣṣ ākhur*, treasury for the imperial stables, *khāṣṣ oda*, *khāṣṣ baghče*, *maṭbakh-ī khāṣṣ* or imperial kitchen (for the other terms, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, index).

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(Cengiz Orhonlu)

KHAṢṢ, KHĀṢṢA in Persia [see khāliṣa].

KHĀṢṢ BEG or Arslan Beg b. Balangirī (d. 547 or 548/1153), Turkmen *amīr* under the Great Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ and western Persia. The name Khāṣṣ Beg seems to have been bestowed on him because of his favoured position under Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Muḥammad (529-47/1134-52); it is used in similar contexts in the works of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and in the *Kitāb Dede Ḳorḳut*. During the latter years of Masʿūd's reign, Khāṣṣ Beg secured an ascendancy in the state, disposing of such rivals as Togha Yürek's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, governor of Arrān (541/1147), and Boz-aba, governor of Fārs (542/1147). On the sultan's death, Khāṣṣ Beg raised his nephew Malik Shāh b. Maḥmūd to the throne (547/1152), but seeing his incompetence, Khāṣṣ Beg and the other Turkish *amīrs* deposed him in the next year in favour of his brother Muḥammad. However, the new sultan was ill-disposed to tolerate this over-mighty subject, and Khāṣṣ Beg was murdered, together with the *amīr* Djāndār, three days after Muḥammad reached Hamadhān (end of 547 or Ṣafar 548/winter-spring 1153).

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KHĀṢṢ ODA, the "Privy Chamber" of the Ottoman palace organisation and the most important of the four departments comprising the *Enderūn* or Inside Service (the others being, in decreasing order of importance, the Treasury or *Khazīne* [*q.v.*], the Privy Larder or *Kilār-ï Khāṣṣ* and the Great and Little Chambers or *Büyük ve Küčük Odalar*.

The *Khāṣṣ Oda* as we know it was created by Meḥemmed the Conqueror, who in his *Ḳānūn-nāme* mentions by title its four chief officers and its staff of 32 pages or *Ič Oghlans* [*q.v.*], who became known as the *Khāṣṣ Oda ghilmānī* or *Khāṣṣ Odalïlar*. Selīm I increased their number to what became the classic one of 40, and entrusted to them *inter alia* the duty of guarding the Prophet's mantle [see khirḳa-i sherīf]; in the 12th/18th century, according to d'Ohsson, they still numbered 40.

The principal ones of these 40 pages waited on the Sultan personally in the *Mā-beyn* apartments [*q.v.*] of the palace, becoming thereby known as the *Mābeyndjis*; their duties included helping him to dress, shaving him, etc. The chief page was the *Silāḥdār* or Sword-bearer, but the supervision of the *Khāṣṣ Oda* was the responsibility of the White Eunuchs, the particular one in charge being known as the *Khāṣṣ Oda Bashï*. In Meḥemmed's *Ḳānūn-nāme*, one of his duties was as *Ṣāḥib-i ʿArḍ* or presenter of petitions to the Sultan. By the 18th century, however, the *Khāṣṣ Oda Bashï*'s duties were, according to d'Ohsson, restricted to certain ceremonial duties as Master of Ceremonies of the Inside Service (*Enderūn Teshrīfātdjï*).

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KHĀṢṢA, plur. *khawāṣṣ*, also *khāṣṣiyya*, plur. *khāṣṣiyyāt*, "sympathetic quality" is a recurring theme in magic and occult sciences indicating the unaccountable, esoteric forces in animate and inanimate Nature. The conception that everywhere in Nature such forces are active or can be activated, developed during the Hellenistic period. It was believed that all objects were in relation to one another through sympathy and antipathy—as is evident in the mysterious forces of the magnet—and that diseases could be caused and cured, good and ill fortune be brought about as a result of the relations of these tensions. Unlike peripatetic philosophy, this way of thinking renounces a rational explanation of phenomena. It was voiced in the Φυσικά of Bolos of Mendes (*ca.* 200 B.C.), the Λιθογνώμων of Xenocrates (see M. Ullmann, *Das Steinbuch des Xenokrates von Ephesos*, in *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, vii (1972), 49-64; idem, *Neues zum Steinbuch des Xenokrates*, in *ibid.*, viii (1973), 59-76), the *Cyranides* and other hermetic treatises, in the Book of Animals of Timotheos of Gaza and in the books of agriculture. These views also entered into medical and pharmacological literature (see Galen, viii, 421; xi, 823; xii, 192 Kühn; Dioscorides, *passim*) and gained a theoretical foundation in the Neo-platonic doctrine of the graded structure of the world.

The translation of the above-mentioned Greek works carried the doctrine of the occult qualities of Nature to the Arabs, among whom it found an extraordinarily fertile soil and called forth an extensive literature. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, "Djābir b. Ḥayyān", Ibn al-Djazzār, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr, ʿAlī b. Aydamir al-Djildakī and others wrote books with the title *Khawāṣṣ al-ashyāʾ* (or the like). Furthermore, there is hardly any Islamic work on the natural sciences in which the *khawāṣṣ* are not treated at greater or shorter length. The "Books of stones" by Aristotle and Tīfāshī, the "Books of animals,' by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥawāfir and Damīrī, the "Books of plants" by Ibn Waḥshiyya, the "Books of poisons" by Ibn al-Biṭrīḳ and Ibn al-Mubārak, the encyclopaedias of Ḳazwīnī and Nuwayrī and the manual of medicine by ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, are all full of information on the most remarkable effects of "sympathy".

Finally, abstract entities were also believed to possess mysterious forces: al-Būnī, al-Djīlī, al-Nadrumī and others wrote about the *khawāṣṣ* of letters and numbers, of the names of Allāh and of the verses of the Ḳur'ān.

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AL-**KHĀṢṢA** WA 'L-ʿ**ĀMMA** (A.), two antithetical terms which, as here, and also in the plural *al-khāwaṣṣ wa'l-ʿawāmm*, denote in a general way the élite and commonalty, the notables and the plebs, or the aristocracy and the masses. It is, however, extremely difficult to be more precise about these two elements of the population. Despite the equalitarianism preached by Islam, the existence of social classes within the community is indisputable, and it is certain that the use of these two general terms, by both ancient and modern writers, clearly conceals a much more differentiated social reality. The combination of ideas of religion, race and legal status very soon shook up the structure of Bedouin society and resulted in four basic social groups: the Arab conquerors and their clients from a long time back; the non-Arab converts; the non-Muslims; and the slaves (cf. A. von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete des Islams*, Leipzig 1873, 15, who does not take the slaves into account). However, economic development quickly brought about a social mixture of classes and a new society, organised on different lines, comprising the pure-blooded Arab aristocracy; the bourgeoisie, embracing Arab and non-Arab, Muslim and non-Muslim elements; the people; and the slaves (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 224 ff.). In the succeeding period, the composition of these different classes underwent various more or less profound changes, but authors nevertheless continued to speak about the *khāṣṣa* and the *ʿāmma*; thus, whilst affirming the complexity of Islamic society, a 19th century writer, Ḥusayn al-Marsafī (d. 1890), still uses only these two terms, whilst at the same time he tries to distinguish internal categories and sub-divisions of these two great groups, which nevertheless remain fairly blurred.

Although Sāsānid society had possessed four estates divided into several classes (cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen 1944, 97 ff.), it is not impossible that Persia (and possibly Greece; cf. al-Fārābī, *K. al-Ḥurūf*, 133-4) exercised an influence on the division adopted by the Muslims (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Histoire des rois de Perse*, 469, 608, 730; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Cairo 1903, 44-5, ed. 1964, 67), but the aristocratic spirit of the Arabs is enough to account for this dichotomy. All the same, one of the earliest authors to speak about the *khāṣṣa* and *ʿāmma* is Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, who in various of his writings uses the terms in the general sense mentioned above, but gives to them a different timbre in one passage of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* (ed. Kurd ʿAlī, in *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*³, 1946, 13) where he is pointing out the attitude which one should adopt according to whether one is in the presence of a member of the *khāṣṣa*, understood as comprising people of merit and quality, or of the *ʿāmma*, a thousand times more numerous; in practice, this author divides mankind, in relation to himself, into two categories, and in this passage alludes to a personal *khāṣṣa* made up of friends having outstanding moral qualities.

If the same conception is transferred to the level of the rulers, one finds already the idea of a *khāṣṣa* confined to their intimates and confidants. The historians often mention the persons who were closest (*khāṣṣ*) to the caliphs and sultans. Thus Ḳabīṣa b. Dhu'ayb al-Khuzāʿī in relation to ʿAbd al-Malik (see al-Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 34); Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had a specially favoured position (*khāṣṣa*) at Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik's side, who allowed his protégé to sit next to him on his throne (*ibid.*, 50); Sālim al-Suddī was part of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's *khāṣṣa* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 419 = § 2172); al-Masʿūdī goes as far as saying that Muʿāwiya had his *khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, without however naming anyone specifically. Under the ʿAbbāsids, ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd were the *khāwāṣṣ* of al-Manṣūr (al-Djahshiyārī, 37, 97), Abū ʿAbbād Thābit b. Yaḥyā was the *khāṣṣ* of al-Maʾmūn (*Murūdj*, vii, 3, 35 = § 2695, 2723) and Ibn al-Zayyāt was one of the *khawāṣṣ* of al-Muʿtaṣim (Ibn al-Tiḳtaḳā, *Fakhrī*, 233). Many other examples could be cited of these persons, officials or courtiers, who enjoyed the sovereign's special favour. Naturally, there were amongst all these, a certain number of parasites (cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Taṭfīl*, Damascus 1927, 99).

In another sphere, the word *khāṣṣ* was applied to "royal" institutions and estates. Under the ʿAbbāsids and Fāṭimids, landed estates belonging to the caliphs and especially to members of their families were called *ḍiyaʿ al-khāṣṣa*. Similarly, the productions of the *ṭirāz* manufactories were sometimes called *khāṣṣ* (cf. Serjeant, *Materials for a history of Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, 158). The *bayt al-māl al-khāṣṣa* was created at a later period by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in order to distinguish the privy treasury from the public one supplied by state revenues; a department called the *dīwān al-nafaḳāt al-khāṣṣa* was set up during the reign of al-Mutawakkil to take charge of the royal household expenses.

Various viziers, high officials and rebel chiefs who occupy an important place in Islamic history also had their *khāṣṣa* (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, Beirut n.d., i, 412; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, 143; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Madjmaʿ al-adab fī muʿdjam al-alḳāb*, Baghdād 1967, iv, 756; al-Azdī, *T. al-Mawṣil*, 67; al-Djahshiyārī, *op. cit.*, 67; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1963, iii, 17; etc.).

The *khāṣṣa* described so far had a personal character and only merited being called thus in relationship to the person who had chosen it; whatever its unofficial role may have been, it had no legal status. However, one part at least of the ruler's entourage made up a wider *khāṣṣa*, which was itself able to intervene, or had the right to intervene, in affairs of state, e.g. to share in the designation of an heir presumptive or the installation of a new caliph, without taking into account the fact that certain of its members had precisely-defined functions. It is unfortunately difficult to discern its exact composition, since the sources give hardly any details in this regard. The oath of allegiance called *bayʿat al-khāṣṣa* was given to the caliph, before the *bayʿat al-ʿāmma*, by a group of which we do not know the criteria for its membership. Nor can we enumerate those persons who were privileged to pass through the *bāb al-khāṣṣa* into the palace at Baghdād or at Sāmarrā, who were allowed into the *madjlis* or *dār al-khāṣṣa* (*dīwān-i khāṣṣ* amongst the Mughals of India), or who could be cited before the tribunal of *maẓālim al-khāṣṣa* set up for them (cf. al-Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarā'*, 20, 22, 27; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 338). One is tempted to render *khāṣṣa* or *khawāṣṣ* by "court" or "courtiers", which are terms

vague enough as a blanket designation for what is hard to pinpoint precisely in reality; but one may nevertheless try and define further this idea of *khāṣṣa*.

It is quite probable that the *khāṣṣa* in the east was not substantially different, at least in early times, from that described by E. Lévi-Provençal: "The *khāṣṣa* at Cordova [was] originally composed above all of aristocrats of Arab stock, and more particularly, of relations more or less distant from the prince in power". In official ceremonies "these Ahl Ḳuraysh took first place; they were followed by successive groups of high officials in the central administration" and by the legal and civil magistrates included within the *khāṣṣa*, "whether they were members of the Arab nobility or slave officials", as well as by "the holders of more or less honorific posts, which their riches, old-established or recently-acquired, had allowed them to purchase for money, in order to acquire in this fashion a place in the most privileged social class" (*Hist. Esp. musulmane*, iii, 188 ff.).

For its being placed in an eastern context, this institution ought probably to be given some altered touches (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance*, ch. x) and to be rounded out by various pieces of information derived particularly from the descriptions of official ceremonies (e.g. see M. Canard, *Le ceremonial fāṭimide et le ceremonial byzantin. Essai de comparison*, in *Byzantion*, xxi (1951), 355-420) or by lists of notabilities and officials (e.g. see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 480-8, tr. B. Lewis, in *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the capture of Constantinople*, New York 1974, i, 201-8), but prudence is still necessary.

Lévi-Provençal's last remark provides an easy transition allowing us to pass from the *khāṣṣa* of the state to that of the nation, for without thinking in any way of the venality of appointments, Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān*, 1, tr. Massé, 1, proposed precisely to take it, following here al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā, as the rich and cultivated people, at the side of the rulers and their ministers, with the rest of humanity making up a completely uninteresting *ʿāmma*. If the categories of the rulers and their ministers are only to be expected, the other two are remarkable because this writer includes in the *khāṣṣa* a higher class (*ʿilya*) which has been raised to a higher level through riches, and "people of middling status whose education has made them assimilated to the previous class", i.e. the bourgeoisie, which is largely made up of merchants who have grown rich (and these were often scholars also) and the intellectual élite. The idea of a bourgeoisie is very recent, and al-Marsafī himself still places the middle class amongst the *khāṣṣa*, but one would like to know more about the *shurṭa wusṭā* set up in al-Andalus and probably responsible for ferreting out crimes committed by this intermediate class (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musulmane*, iii, 156-7). As for the intellectual élite, it would require an unusual amount of modesty for authors to place themselves in the *ʿāmma* when they talk of the two great social classes. In practice, the secretaries of the administration tend to apply the term *khawāṣṣ* to the ruler's entourage, of which they were a part, whilst literary men and the authors of religious works apply it to an ill-defined élite which corresponds to the educated people mentioned by Ibn al-Faḳīh. It would probably be unfair to base oneself on the criterion adopted by the philologists who wrote works on the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* [*q.v.*], because all the people utilising this medium of expression, not in classical Arabic at all but in dialect, *ʿāmmiyya*, were part of the *ʿāmma*, including gross and untutored rulers. This linguistic criterion cannot then be upheld, especially as authors recognise that the *khawāṣṣ* generally use a language which is different, and in any case, more correct than that of the *ʿawāmm*, even if they may at times commit the faults which, for instance, al-Ḥarīrī has brought out in his *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣṣ*.

If writers do not seem to have composed much else on the *khāṣṣa* and were content to address themselves to it as did Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī with his *Tadhkirat khawāṣṣ al-umma*, the *ʿāmma* is a theme of Arabic literature which was treated from a critical point of view. Thus al-Djāḥiẓ has left a *Risāla fī waṣf al-ʿawāmm*, and Abu 'l-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī was the author of the *Masāwī 'l-ʿawāmm wa-akhbār al-sifla wa 'l-aghtām*, etc. (cf. C. E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*. i. *The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, 30 ff.).

The title given to his opuscule by Abu 'l-ʿAnbas [*q.v.* in Suppl.] shows revealingly a mentality current at that time which tended to make no differentiation between the various elements making up the *ʿāmma* and which tended to assimilate this last to the mass of population which was, in greater or lesser degree, turbulent. Hence the terms *ghawghā'*, *awbāsh*, *sifla*, *aghtām*, etc. were applied to the *ʿāmma*, all of these being pejorative expressions inspired by an aristocratic vision which an Abu 'l-ʿAnbas would have been the last to exploit. Whilst the *khāṣṣa* in its proper sense was—justifiably—the recipient of only praises for its moral and intellectual qualities and for the *adab* [*q.v.*] of which it had a monopoly (cf. for example, Abū Ḥayyan al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, iii, 61, 151-2), all possible sins were fathered on to the *ʿāmma*. It was ignorant, without any morality, unrespecting of religious obligations, and let itself be easily manipulated by the *khāṣṣa*, whose play-thing it was (but the two classes then needed each other). It was conformist for some, but easily won over to heterodox teachings for others, and it was the *ʿāmma* which made up the hordes of extremist sects, all the more so because it was incapable of distinguishing the true from the false, hence acted without due reflection and easily rallied to mischief-makers. It does not seem necessary to dwell any further upon this unattractive picture which writers sketch out, but this general picture does not prevent there occuring also in their works more cheering references and examples of praiseworthy deeds accomplished by members of the *ʿāmma*.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarā' wa 'l-kuttāb*, Cairo 1938, 97, 167, 178, 189; Djāḥiẓ, *ʿUthmāniyya*, Cairo 1955, 250-6; Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, Beirut 1970, ii, 484, 493, 503; Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*, Beirut 1969, 133-4; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; *Aghānī*, Cairo 1950, xii, 36; Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, Beirut *ca.* 1953, i, 205, ii, 13, 48-9, iii, 62, 95-6, 151-2; Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, ii, 62-3; Thaʿālibī, *Ta'rīkh ghurar al-siyar* ("Histoire des rois de Perse"), new edn. Tehran 1963, 390, 482, 498, 535, 730; idem, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Beirut 1973, iv, 203; Ṣābī', *Tuḥfat al-umarā' fī ta'rīkh al-wuzarā'*, Cairo 1958, 15-6, 20, 22, 27, 34-5, 40, 156, 258, 340; Rāghib, *Dharīʿa*, Cairo 1881, 51; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Dimashk*, 215; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 287, viii, 22, 143, 170; Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, Cairo 1892, ii, 211; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xvi, 87, 271; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, Beirut 1966, 26-7, 268, 270, 294; Bundārī, *Sanā' al-barḳ al-Shāmī*, Beirut 1971, 55-6; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Ta'rīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut 1958, 132, 153; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1927, 54, 58-9; *Alf Layla wa-layla*, Beirut 1909, iii, 8, vi, 75, 86, 211 and 15 (*sic*); Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo 1911-12,

i, 143; Sourdel, *Le vizirat*, i, 338, ii, 592; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1969, 395; Lane, *Lexicon*, 746-7, 2150. (M. A. J. Beg)

KHĀṢṢAKIYYA (under the Mamlūks). These were the sultan's bodyguard and select retinue. Most of them usually belonged to the corps of the reigning sultan's freedmen (*mushtarawāt, adjlāb, djulbān*). Most of the commanders (*amīrs*) rose from the *khāṣṣakiyya*. They were considered to be the most prestigious body within the Mamlūk military aristocracy, and were the closest to the sultan. Frequent reference is made to their being sent on special missions inside and outside the Mamlūk sultanate, their being appointed governors of some of the Syrian provinces, and their being dispatched to arrest and imprison rebellious amirs and governors. There were amongst them pen-box holders (*dawādāriyya*), cup-bearers (*suḳāt*), treasurers (*khāzindāriyya*), masters of the robe (*djamdāriyya*), armour bearers (*silāḥdāriyya*) and shoe-bearers (*bashmaḳandāriyya*). The rest of the *khāṣṣakiyya* held no offices and were inferior in status to the office holders.

The numbers of the *khāṣṣakiyya* varied considerably. The minimum number was 40 and the maximum 1,200. The increase of the number of the *khāṣṣakiyya* was a clear symptom of the decline of the military aristocracy in the later years of the Mamlūk sultanate, but attempts to curb that process met with only partial and temporary success.

Bibliography: D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 213-16, and the bibliography on p. 213, n. 7; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Ankara 1970, 347-8. (D. Ayalon)

KHĀṢṢEKĪ, Turkish form of Persian *khāṣṣagī* from Arabic *khāṣṣ*, "private, special, confidential", applied to persons in the personal service of mediaeval Turco-Islamic rulers [see further KHĀṢṢAKIYYA].

The term was used in the Ottoman palace service from the 10th/16th to the 13th/19th centuries and in military organisation. The first of these usages was as applied to the Sultan's concubines who were known by the title of *khāṣṣekī*. Their number varied between 4 and 7 (Maḥmūd I had 6, and Selīm III had 7), and these were the special favourites of the sultan, above all other concubines, and honoured by the title of *ḳadın* with their own private apartments and attendants. Those bearing a child to the sultan were called *khāṣṣekī sulṭān*. Thus Khurrem Sultan [*q.v.*], one of the Süleymān the Magnificent's *ḳadıns*, *Khadīdje* Turkhān Sulṭān, one of the seven *khāṣṣekīs* of Sultan Ibrāhīm, Gülnüsh Emetü'llāh Sulṭān, one of the *ḳadıns* of Meḥemmed IV, were all therefore called by the honorific title of *Khāṣṣekī Sulṭān* (for this last lady, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 2081, 33/10). When a sultan died, some of the *khāṣṣekīs* who were childless or whose children had died might be given in marriage to one of the ministers or high officials. (For documentation on the *Khāṣṣekī Sulṭāns* in the period 936-1223/1530-1809 see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, Unpublished Catalogue, N.E. 6425.)

The 14th, 49th, 66th, 67th companies or *orta*s of the Janissary corps were called *khāṣṣekī ortaları*. Each one of the *khāsseki* companies was headed by an *agha*, the most senior of these *aghas* bearing the title of *Bash Khāṣṣekī* "Chief *Khāsseki*"; these *khāṣṣekīs*, according to tradition, were introduced during the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror. Just as it was customary for the sultan's attendants, together with the greyhounds, to accompany him on his hunting expeditions, so there were four senior *aghas* of the *khāṣṣekī ortas* who walked, two on the sultan's right and two on his left, when he went to the mosque; these *aghas* of the four companies were therefore given the title of *khünkār khāṣṣekī*. The most senior of them, when promoted, became the *Turnadjī bashı* (*ḳawānīn-i yeničeriyān*, Süleymaniye, Esat Efendi Kütüphanesi, no. 2068, ff. 85, 86 etc.). The number of the four *khāṣṣekī* companies amounted to 1,018 in 1032/1623 and 1,210 in 1074/1664 (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtında kapıkulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, 205). These *khāṣṣekī* companies were dispersed with the abolition of the Janissary corps in 1241/1826.

There were also the *bostāndjī khāṣṣekīs*, numbering 500 in the 12th/18th century, who formed a group within the larger organisation of the *Bostāndjīs* which were looking after the palace gardens and orchards as well as undertaking certain other palace services.

These *khāṣṣekīs* were chosen from among the *bostāndjīs*, and 60, of them acted as escorts for the ruler round the imperial boat, with a *khāṣṣekī agha* in charge of the boat. The *bostāndjī khāṣṣekīs* also acted as diplomatic couriers (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 2939, Meḥmed ʿAṭā', *Ta'rīkh-i Enderūn*, Istanbul 1292, i, 293 ff.). One should also mention the *bostāndjī khāṣṣekī* (also called *wezīr ḳaraḳulaghı*), who performed the duty of carrying correspondence between the sultan and the Grand Vizier, and others who held such offices as *kirečči bashı* "Chief lime burner", *balıḳ emīni* (collector of dues on fish brought to market in Istanbul), *sharāb emīni* or *emīn-i khamr* (collector of dues on wine). The *bostāndjī khāṣṣekīs* were abolished in 1244/1829 (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 474).

Bibliography: Apart from the sources mentioned in the text, see M. C. Şahabettin Tekindag, *Berkuk devrinde Memluk sultanlığı*, Istanbul 1961, 33, 152; P. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 40-1; Theodore Spandouyn Cantacasin, *Petit Traicté de l'Origine des Turcqz*, Paris 1896, 321-2; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reichs*, repr. 1963, ii, 69, 107, 196, 204; Khıḍır Ilyās, *Leṭā'if-i Enderūn*, Istanbul 1276, *passim*; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1824, vii; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1951-7, i/1, 321-2, 350-1; Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem*, Ankara 1971, 44; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 5695; Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terımleri sözlügü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 752-4; Ismail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, art. *Haseki* in *İA*; A. D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, 80, 81, 106.

(Cengiz Orhonlu)

KHAṬAʾ (A.), a mistake, which is made in thought, speech or action (a fault which one has is called *ʿayb*), the opposite of *ṣawāb*, what is correct; hence in the field of knowledge, error; in that of action, omission, failure, all this, of course, unintentional. From the last meaning develops that of wrong which one commits, transgression; whether this is to be regarded as unintentional or—as in *khaṭi'a* and *khiṭ'*—deliberate (sc. a sin) is a disputed point with the lexicographers. *Khaṭa'* and *khaṭ'* (the latter is found only in the *Ḳāmūs*, so that it is hardly classical) are synonymous (or phonetic variants?). *Khaṭa'* is sometimes regarded as an infinitive of *khaṭi'a* used as a substantive (which it originally was and still is), sometimes as a substantive from *akhṭa'a* (which it has become through linguistic usage), and sometimes as belonging to both. The lexicographers have the most diverse opinions regarding the more accurate definition of the meaning

of these two verbs, within the sphere of ideas above outlined. *Khaṭa'* and *khaṭā'* are exceedingly rare in classical poetry (e.g. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, ed. 1888, 120 "sin" (parallel with *dhanb*); also Ḳurʿān, XVII, 33: "sin", as a variant of *khiṭ'*; IV, 94: "transgression"); more frequently only the verbal forms *khaṭi'a* and *akhṭa'a* are used as synonyms.

The use of *khaṭa'* as a technical term is in keeping with the general use of the word; the principal uses of it are as follows:

1. Error in logic (opposite of *ṣawāb*), synonymous with *bāṭil*, the "invalid" (opposite of *ḥaḳḳ*); the former pair of concepts ought to be used in questions of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] and the latter in questions of *iʿtiḳād* [*q.v.*] (this may be the result of the corresponding use of the word in the Ḳur'ān), so that Islam and the other religions are contrasted with one another in *ḥaḳḳ* and *bāṭil*, opposite views in the *furūʿ* of the *fiḳh* [see FIḲH], as *ṣawāb* and *khaṭa'*; but there is only one verb for each, *aṣāba* and *akhṭa'a*, which points to the artificiality of this distinction, and in reality the rule is often not observed; in other branches of learning also *khaṭa'* and *bāṭil* are used promiscuously, as indeed are *ṣawāb* and *ḥaḳḳ* also. The works which deal with the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [see UṢŪL] discuss the question whether the *mudjtahid* [*q.v.*] *muṭlaḳ* can err. In the orthodox community, the opinion has prevailed that the *mudjtahid* can err and in cases of difference of opinion only one can be right at a time, and a tradition is even cited on this point; the Muʿtazilīs asserted that every *mudjtahid* is right, and even celebrated orthodox teachers held this view, e.g. Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, Ibn Suraydj, al-Muzanī, al-Ashʿarī and his school, al-Bāḳillānī, al-Ghazālī; Abū Ḥanīfa adopts a middle view. The champions of the orthodox view believe, in keeping with this, that Allāh has already come to a definite decision before every *idjtihād* and that the correctness or otherwise of the decision of the *mudjtahid* results from its agreement or not with that of Allāh; those of the Muʿtazila assume either different decisions by Allāh which coincide with those of the individual *mudjtahids* and are valid for them and their *muḳallids* [*q.v.*], so that all differing decisions of the *mudjtahids* are equally justified, or they consider one decision more justified than the others and believe that Allāh has taken no decision in such cases but "if He did do so", would express quite a definite one: this supposed decision by Allāh is then compared with those of the *mudjtahids*, and the *mudjtahid* who agrees with it is considered in the right in every respect; but those which differ from it are considered in the right with respect to the basis, the *idjtihād* (*ibtidā'an idjtihādan*), as the *mudjtahid* has endeavoured with all his power to find the decision, in the wrong with respect to the result, the decision itself (*intihā'an ḥukman*). The representatives of the orthodox view, who are essentially in close agreement with this form of the Muʿtazilī view, make the same distinction (the opinion is rejected that the *mudjtahid* who makes a mistake is completely in the wrong); the other Muʿtazilī view, however, is in sharp contrast to this. But this difference only exists in questions of the derivation of legal rules from the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (*fi 'l-sharʿiyyāt*) and only in the case when no clear decision is given in the *uṣūl*; if there is one, but it has not been regarded by the *mudjtahid*, he is, of course, wrong. In the domain of the *uṣūl al-dīn*, of *kalām* [*q.v.*], particularly in reasoned deductions (*fi 'l-ʿaḳliyyāt*), according to the general consensus, only one view can be right in a case of differences of opinion. Only a few Muʿtazilīs, as whose representatives Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnbarī and al-Djāḥiẓ are cited, asserted that here also in dogmatics every *mudjtahid* (the word is used in a wider sense, meaning everyone who does all in his power to solve a problem) is right; while al-ʿAnbarī adds so long as he can be still described as a Muslim, and al-Djāḥiẓ without limitation. Tradition on this point is no longer certain, as is apparent in differences in detail and in a certain irresolution; in this Muʿtazilī teaching, however (as in the polemics regarding the *mudjtahid fi 'l-sharʿiyyāt*), the other meanings of *khaṭa'* come into consideration, so that it is doubtless correctly explained that by "being right" is not meant agreement with the actual facts, but that the *mudjtahid* has duly fulfilled the task imposed on him and therefore cannot be punished (while according to the orthodox consensus, every non-Muslim is doomed to the pains of hell eternally), and that that to which his *idjtihād* leads him is what is right for him by Allāh's decree itself. This ambiguity in terminology must have contributed to the ambiguity in tradition. That, taken purely logically, several differing views could be right at the same time, has never been asserted. The *mudjtahid* in the wrong is not punished for his error and is not considered as being in a religious error (*ḍalāl*), but is regarded as excused and is rewarded, since he has done everything that is demanded of him if he has really used all his energy for the derivation of the legal rule. If he has not done this, he is punished for his error; others say that every error of a *mudjtahid* is a sin, but this view is rejected. All this holds only of the *mudjtahids* of the Sunnīs; those of the "Twelver" Shīʿīs are infallible.

2. Unintentional action (opposite of *ʿamd*); this use comes from Ḳur'ān, IV, 94-5 (cf. ḲATL, section i, I; passages like II, 286 and XXII, 5 may have also had an influence). This is of interest here, in so far as it is illegal. It may be more accurately defined as an act contrary to law, in which the intention of committing an illegal act is lacking, while the action itself may be deliberate; any negligence is left quite out of the question in the juridical appreciation. The Muʿtazilīs asserted that one could not be punished by Allāh for it, for punishment is only conceivable for a deliberate illegal act. Orthodoxy on the contrary teaches that, while *khaṭa'* is not a sin (*ithm*), any negligence, however, is something deliberate, and the *khaṭa'*, as its result, is liable to be punished (it was regarded as belonging to the *ʿawāriḍ muktasaba*, happenings only indirectly intended, in themselves not deliberate, for which man can equally be made responsible); but Allāh in his mercy will overlook the punishment in the next world. The *khaṭa'* is thus considered as an ameliorating, often even exonerating, circumstance in the infliction of punishment in this world (*shubha* [*q.v.*]); it cannot be punished by *ḥadd* [*q.v.*]. But not all of Allāh's rights are waived: anyone who, contrary to the prohibition, kills an animal in the *ḥaram* [*q.v.*], the sacred territory of Mecca, whether with *ʿamd* (deliberately) or from *khaṭa'* (unintentionally), has in the opinion of all four *madhhabs*, to make the prescribed atonement. Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī alone in this case considers *khaṭa'* as an excuse. This is doubtless connected with what is ultimately a pre-Islamic idea, that Allāh has an especial right of ownership to the *ḥaram*, its plants and animals (cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 7, 10). It follows that an unintentional infraction of this right of property is to be atoned for like an intentional one (the substance of this is also found in the following difference of opinion: Mālik and Aḥmad

b. Ḥanbal do not require a special compensation if the animal has an owner—who, of course, must be compensated—i.e. does not belong to Allāh; Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī demand it in every case, so that they extend their area of application). In *khaṭa'* there also is a full liability for any injury done to another. Here *ḳiṣāṣ* [*q.v.*] is a special case; its application is excluded when *khaṭa'* is present; and instead, the *diya* [*q.v.*] is to be paid and the *kaffāra* [*q.v.*] to be performed. For further details, see the article ḲATL, Section i, 5, 6, where the variations of *khaṭa'* in the meaning of an unintentional act are given. From them it will be seen that this terminological use of the word is based on the two meanings "error" (in the case of *khaṭa' fi 'l-ḳaṣd*) and "failure", "accident" (in the case of *khaṭa' fi 'l-fiʿl*) and is no more uniform than the use dealt with under I.

Bibliography: The statements of the dictionaries are collected in Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, i/2, 761; on its use as a technical term, see *Dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musulmans*, i, 401-2; Dschordschâni, *Definitiones*, ed. G. Flügel, 104; for further details the works on *uṣūl* and the *fiḳh*-books are indispensable. See also ḲATL. (J. SCHACHT)

KHAṬĀ'Ī [see ISMĀʿĪL SHĀH].

KHAṬAK, a Pashtūn tribe living in the Kohāṭ and Peshāwar Districts of the North-West Frontier region of former British India, now Pakistān, estimated at about 200,000 individuals; for their genealogy, see the table in AFGHĀN. They are Ḥanafī Sunnī Muslims, and their original home appears to have been the Shawāl valley in Wazīristān. In the early 8th/14th century they were driven by other Pashtūn tribes to the southern portion of the Ṭēri mountains of Kohāṭ, where the main body still lives as neighbours of the Bangash tribe. They speak the so-called "soft" dialect of Pashto [see AFGHĀN, ii. The Pashto language], but a section of this tribe, the Akora Khaṭaks, live in Nowshera *Taḥṣīl* of the Peshāwar District, and they have adopted the "hard" dialect. The Khaṭak are the only major Pashtūn tribe which is divided into the two main Pashto dialects.

Although not mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, the Khaṭaks do appear in 10th/16th century documents. Malik Ako (or Akōṛay) led his clan of Khaṭaks to the land they occupy to this day west of the confluence of the Kābul and Indus Rivers. He was granted the land from the Indus to Nowshera (1586) by the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and given the right to levy ferry tolls at the Attock crossing [see ATAK], in return for keeping open this part of the road to Kābul, then a province of the Mughal Empire. This stretch formed part of the famous Grand Trunk Road from Hindustān to Khurāsān. Control of the Attock crossing brought the Khaṭaks into conflict with the neighboring Yūsufzay tribe living north of the Kābul River, who had, at this time, been resisting Mughal encroachments into their areas. The Khaṭaks took advantage of Akbar's attempted suppression of the Yūsufzays to occupy part of their lands. Later, the Khatak-Yūsūfzay rivalry was caught up in the struggle for succession between Aurangzīb and his competing brothers (1068/1658). The Khaṭaks were then hard hit by the abolition of the Indus ferry tolls. During most of the second half of the 11th/17th century the Khaṭak and some other tribes were in constant rebellion against Aurangzīb, a resistance in which Khushḥāl Khān [*q.v.*] was the guiding force. He secured the assistance of the Afrīdīs (led by Malik Daryā Khān and Aymal Khān), but failed with the Yūsufzays because of the historic Khaṭak-Yūsufzay feud. There was no major resistance by the Khaṭaks against the Mughals after Aurangzīb. In 1823 the Khaṭaks, in confederation with the Yūsufzays, formed a tribal army under Akbar Shāh, Sayyid of the Pīr Bābā family, and gallantly resisted the advance of the Sikh Mahārādjā, Randjīt Singh. In 1828, Khaṭak tribesmen joined the forces of Sayyid Aḥmad of Barēlī (supported by the family of the Pīr Bābā Sayyids), who defeated the Sikhs. The British found the Khaṭaks "industrious" and "happy folk", strict in the observance of Islam, adhering to the Afghān code of honour, the *Pashtūnwalay* (Col. E. "Buster" Goodwin). The tribe could munster 32,000 able-bodied men, of which 12,000 were in Peshāwar Valley and the rest of Kōhāt (Sir William Barton). Today, Khaṭak individuals play important rôles in politics and business in the North-West Frontier Province. The Khaṭak dance, a version of the traditional *atan* of the Afghan tribes, plays a great part in festivities and folklore.

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(RAVÁN FARHADI)

KHĀTAM, KHĀTIM (A.) (P. *muhr*), seal, signet, signet-ring, the impression (also *khatm*) as well as the actual seal-matrix; it is applied not only to seals proper, engraved in incuse characters with retrograde inscriptions, but also in the very common seal-like objects with regular inscriptions of a pious or auspicious character; for the latter, which are amulets and further readily distinguished from seals by the absence of a personal name, see ṬILSAM; indeed anything with an inscription stamped upon it may be called *khātam*. Here we are only concerned with seals in the strict sense of the word. The word *khātam* is said by Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 112 to be of Aramaic origin, and in this he is followed by Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, 252, who also recognises a loan word in *ḳarḳas*, seal-clay.

The part played by the signet-ring in the east cannot be better illustrated than by the following quotation from Lane (*Modern Egyptians*,[5] 1860, 31). Describing the dress of a Muslim Egyptian he says:

"On the little finger of the right hand (it is allowable to wear it on a finger of the left hand) is worn a seal-ring (*khâtim*), which is generally of silver, with a carnelian, or other stone, upon which is engraved the wearer's name; the name is usually accompanied by the words "His servant" (signifying "the servant, or worshipper, of God"), and often by other words expressive of the person's trust in God, etc. The Prophet disapproved of gold; therefore few Muslims wear gold rings: but the women have various ornaments (rings, bracelets, etc.) of that precious metal. The seal-ring is used for signing letters and others writings; and its impression is considered more valid than the sign-

manual. A little ink is dabbed upon it with one of the fingers, and it is pressed upon the paper; the person who uses it having first touched his tongue with another finger, and moistened the place in the paper which is to be stamped. Almost every person who can afford it has a seal-ring, even though he be a servant".

The use of seals dates from remote antiquity in the east, and they have never been supplanted by the spread of a knowledge of the art of writing and the use of the signature, as has happened in the west. In the east, the seal takes the place of the signature and it is the former that gives validity to a document even if the latter is also used. The seal is also much used as a guarantee that property will be kept intact and thus takes the place of locks and keys. Goods are simply roped up in a packet and the knots sealed with the owner's seal, a plan which to Chardin, for example, appeared more reliable than the western system, owing to the practical impossibility of counterfeiting a seal. It is also used to stamp property as a mark of ownership (e.g. books and bindings) and in this way corresponds to a coat of arms in the west. The possession of another person's seal is evidence that the latter has delegated his authority. There is abundant evidence of these usages in the east from very early times. Pharaoh, for example (Gen. xli, 42), gives to Joseph his signet, as a sign of authority, just as the Sultan of Turkey did to his grand vizier. Jezebel (I Kings, xxi, 8) forges a letter in Ahab's name and seals it with his seal to give it validity. The books of Esther and Daniel give similar examples of the power of the Persian king's seal. Herodotus (i, 195) tells us that every Babylonian carried a seal and the abundance of seals, usually cylindrical in form, that have survived from ancient times in Mesopotamia, illustrates this statement. Seals of the Sāsānid period still exist in large numbers, whether made for mounting in rings or pierced for suspension. In South Arabia also the pre-Islamic civilisation has left numerous specimens of its signets.

No seals of the pre-Muslim Arabs are known. The earliest Arab seals come from Egypt with papyri and belong to the period soon after the conquest. Whether we accept or not the story that only seventeen men in Mecca could write in the time of Muḥammad, we must suppose that seals were in common use in this important commercial centre as in other parts of the east. Tradition, in any case, has a certain amount to tell about the Prophet's *k͟hātam*. Al-Buk͟hārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Būlāḳ 1311-13/1894-6, vii, *libās*, 48, says that the Prophet wished to write to the Byzantines. He was told they would not read his letter unless it had a seal, so he adopted one of silver with the inscription *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*. According to al-Masʿūdī, he adopted this ring in Muḥarram of the year 7/May-June 628. The Prophet is also said to have originally worn a *k͟hātam* of gold, but gave it up when he forbade the wearing of gold rings and silk and brocade (Buk͟hārī, *loc. cit.*). Women did not observe the prohibition of gold rings and ʿĀʾis͟ha for example wore them (*ibid.*). The Prophet wore his signet on his right hand and used to take it off when he went to the privy (al-Tirmid͟hī *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Būlāḳ 1242/1826-7, i, *libās*, 324). Opinions differ as to the proper hand and finger for the ring, and there is no established rule. Later stories illustrate the Prophet's disapproval of metals other than silver for signet-rings. He is reported to have said that a brass ring savoured of idolatry, that an iron one was emblematic of souls condemned to eternal fire, while words could not express his horror of a gold ring; meeting the wearer of one, he cast upon him a terrible frown and turned away as if he had encountered a dog or an infidel. The Prophet's seal was handed on and used by his successors, who had however also their own seals, until ʿUt͟hmān lost it in a well at Aris, or in Zamzam, or according to others in the Tigris near Mawṣil. The Prophet's interdiction has been generally observed, and it is exceedingly rare to find signet-rings of the more precious metals or mounted with the more valuable precious stones, upon which there was no embargo.

The earliest known seal of a Muslim is that of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, conqueror and governor of Egypt whose signet was a bull (Rainer, *Führer*, No. 556). Whether this is due to local influence, or whether the representation of an animal was not unusual with the pre-Muslim Arabs, is impossible to say. Other Arab seals bearing animals are known of this period, but the rigorous avoidance of images of living things was soon applied to seals also, for we soon find seals in Egypt of the Muslim type, although as late as 88/707, we find the governor Ḳurra b. S͟harīk using a wolf (Rainer, *Führer*, No. 593). The seals of Abū Hāʾim b. Yaḥyā (No. 572) and of the head of the Treasury Rās͟hid b. K͟hālid "who trusts in God" (No. 577) are already of the style that became stereotyped. A notable seal from Egypt is that of the tax-collector Nad͟jd b. Muslim which bears his name in Greek and Arabic (No. 589). Bilingual seals are again found in Syria and Asia Minor in the 4th/10th century (cf. Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, and Halil Edhem, *op. cit.*). Here also under Byzantine influence we find double sided impressions of seals in lead (*bullae*); of these the most notable is that of the Kākūyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla of 430/1038-9 with a horseman on the obverse (Halil Edhem, No. 30). Another remarkable seal from the same region is that of the Hamdānid Muḥammad b. Saʿd al-Dawla Abu ʾl-Maʿālī S͟harīf with obverse a bust of St. Theodore and his name in Greek characters (*op. cit.*, No. 31).

The materials of these early impressions are the same as in later times, a special kind of clay (*ḳarḳas*), or lead, appended by cords to the documents as in the mediaeval west also. When the seal is stamped on the documents itself, it is done with a special thick kind of ink and the paper is moistened before receiving the impression; red wax is also used where the climate permits it. As in mediaeval Europe, there are instances recorded in the east of *bullae* of the precious metals, silver and even gold for very special occasions (Reinaud, *op. cit.*, i., p. 112).

Charles White (*op. cit.*) deals very fully with the use of seals among the Turks and the guild of engravers in Istanbul. The latter have, he says, a special quarter in the bazaar called after them *ḥakkāklar čars͟hī*. The members of the guild are Muslims (in contrast to the dealers in stones, who are usually Jews) of fair education conversant with Arabic, Persian and Turkish. A few can decipher the Kūfic character. Their training is a long one. Apprentices after a good education take lessons from the best calligraphers of the day and then serve seven years with a master-engraver. When their indentures have expired, they become journeymen (*kalfa*), until they can acquire a business of their own and be admitted into the guild as master-members (*usta*), the number of whom is limited to fifty. Their shops are regularly searched by the police lest they be tempted to put their skill to illegal uses, such as the engraving of false coin-dies. Such great care is taken to ensure the genuineness of a seal that the trade are forbidden to engrave two seals exactly the same for the same person. When a seal is lost the owner has some trifling alteration made in the new one, such as a change in

an ornament or the date, so that the forgery can be detected if his first seal should fall into evil hands.

The Istanbul engravers date the origin of their art in the time of the caliph ʿUthmān and say the first engraver was a certain Muḥammad al-Hidjāzī who engraved seals for ʿUthmān and ʿAlī bearing their names with the additional epithet *ʿabd Allāh*; the rings were of silver and the stones were bloodstones.

White's account of the seals of the sultan and dignitaries of the Ottoman empire follows d'Ohsson. The sultan has three seals of different sizes, all of emerald set in gold with the same inscription, the *tughrā* [*q.v.*] and a religious legend. The first is a small seal always carried by the sultan and handed to his secretary as required. The second is somewhat larger and is entrusted to the grand treasurer of the harem, who uses it for all matters relating to the harem—the Mughal Emperor Akbar similarly had a special seal for all documents relating to the harem. The third imperial Ottoman seal is the seal of state confided to the grand vizier of the day, who is supposed to keep it in his bosom day and night. The head of each department of state has also his own seal for matters relating to his office.

Persons of distinction do not usually wear signet-rings on their fingers. Great dignitaries have a confidential seal bearer (*muhrdār*) who carries the signet in a small bag in his breast pocket and produces it when required inked for the stamp or clean if wax is used. People of humble rank carry their seal in the breast pocket or suspended round the neck. The impression of the signet stands for a signature, although for documents of importance the latter is also necessary. In the case of the sultan, the seal used and the presence or absence of the signature vary with the importance of the document, as does the format of the latter.

Chardin's account of the seals used by the Shāh of Persia is similar. There are three seal-keepers (*muhrdār bashī*) but they only affix the seals, which are kept in a box in the palace sealed with the king's own seal. Friday is the usual day for sealing documents; the *muhrdār* prepares the seal and the paper and makes the impression on a sign from the Shah, who does not usually do it himself. There are three great seals, used for military, civil and foreign affairs, and two small seals used for the palace accounts etc. The same inscription is in the centre of the three large seals, *banda Shāh wilāyat Sulaymān ast 1080* (A.H.); the small seals have *dīn* in place of *wilāyat*. One of the large seals has a quatrain round it and another has the names of the 12 Shīʿī *Imāms*. At the king's death his name is erased and that of his successor engraved on it. Of the general use of seals, Chardin observes that it would not be easy to steal one, as they are worn around the neck and only taken off in the bath; they are also worn on rings. It is rarer to find a seal counterfeited than a signature in Europe. The seal engravers used a drill and a small wheel with emery.

Abu 'l-Faḍl in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* devotes a special chapter to the Emperor's seals, which are used in the three branches of the government—"indeed every man requires them in his transactions". (Here we may note that English officials in India in the 18th and 19th centuries found it necessary to have a seal with their names in Persian characters).

At the beginning of his reign, Akbar had a circular seal bearing his name and those of his ancestors back to Tīmūr in the *riḳʿa* characters; later he had a simpler one with his name only in the *nastaʿlīḳ* character. The former was at first used for letters to foreign kings and the latter (known as *uzuk*) for home affairs but the distinction was not maintained. A second seal used for juridical business was lozenge-shaped (*miḥrābī*) and bore an appropriate verse in praise of justness, round his majesty's name. For other business a small square seal with the legend *Allāh Akbar, djalla djalāluhu* was used and the harem, as already stated, had its own special seal.

The great figures of Muslim tradition had of course their seals. That of Sulaymān b. Dāwūd is particularly famous and plays an important part in many of the stories of his miraculous exploits. It was held in particular awe by the *djinn*. Djamshīd, the Solon of Persia, according to Saʿdī, was the first person to wear his signet on the left hand. In Firdawsī's story of Shāpūr II's escape from captivity in Rūm, he reveals his return by sending an impression of his signet to the grand *mōbed*.

Coming to more historical periods, we have a record of the seal inscriptions of all the early caliphs (e.g. in Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, under each caliph; collected by Hammer-Purgstall and von Murr); specimens of the seal impressions of several early Caliphs still exist; (cf. Halil Edhem, *op. cit.*). Tīmūr's seal bore his special mark, three small circles arranged in a triangle, and the motto *rastī rustī*, and an impression still exists in the Bibl. Nationale (de Sacy, *op. cit.*). Joinville mentions a ring of "moult fin or" bearing his signet which was among the presents sent to St. Louis by the Shaykh al-Djibāl. Specimens of the seals of sultans of Turkey and other high Turkish dignitaries are given by Hammer-Purgstall (*op. cit.*). Of these, the most remarkable is the original seal of Sultan Muṣṭafā II of 1106/1694-5 found on the battle field of Zenta (1697) where its bearer, the Grand Vizier Elmas Meḥmed Pasha, was killed. A special medal was struck by the Austrians to commemorate this trophy. The *ṭughrā* is a feature of the imperial Turkish seals; it is said to be an imitation of the impression of the hand, because Orkhān's sign-manual was the impress of his hand in red ink. Tīmūr is also said to have used this primitive signature, but we know that he was not illiterate. The *tughrā* is also traced back to the Prophet himself.

Muslims have followed the example of the Prophet in having simple inscriptions on their seals. Sometimes the name alone is used, sometimes it is accompanied by a brief pious inscription, often indicative of humility; if the owner has the name of a person mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, the reference is frequently worked into the seal inscription. The name is given in a simple form and titles are as a rule avoided, in keeping with the general modesty of the signet; for examples of legends, see Reinaud and Hammer-Purgstall; in later times in Persia and India seals became much more elaborate and the seal of a minor official of the Mughal court of the end of the 18th century often has several lines of bombastic inscription and forms a striking contrast to the seal, for example, of the great Sinān Pasha, five times Grand Vizier of Turkey, with its modest inscription "O God Thou art full of mercy, pardon poor Sinān, son of ʿAlī".

The commonest materials for rings are silver or copper; and if a stone is mounted in it with the seal, it is one of the less valuable stones, cornelian, garnet, jacinth, agate, coral; the turquoise is not uncommon and one often sees them carved as amulets with inscription inlaid with gold. When not worn on a ring, the seal is mounted on a handle and carried in a bag; sometimes the stone itself is pierced for suspension and worn round the neck. The shapes of Arab seals

vary; oval is naturally the commonest, but they are also square, hexagonal or octagonal; a round shape is not common except for the largest sizes.

The art of the seal engraver was at its best, like that of calligraphy, in the 16th and 17th centuries. Its decline in the 18th was followed by the practical extinction of the art in the 19th. The names of few celebrated engravers have been preserved. Altun at the court of Tīmūr was reckoned a master of his art. Abu 'l-Faḍl gives the names of four masters of the craft at Akbar's court, each of whom was a specialist in a particular bracnh.

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The stamp which every ruler in the Islamic lands utilised in order to authenticate documents sent out in his name, had a design peculiar to each ruler, and was the symbol of his power. Hence when a caliph proved to be in a physical state unfitting him to govern, his seal was taken from him. Moreover, it was his seal which the caliph entrusted first of all to his confidants, i.e. usually to his successive viziers. Nevertheless, it seems that the caliph always retained a personal seal, quite distinct from the official seal which he used to authenticate his letters.

In the central administration of the ^cAbbāsid period, there was an organisation of state specially charged with the task of gathering together the documents, letters and investiture patents prepared by the chancery or *Dīwān al-Rasāʾil* and then ready to receive the caliphal seal. This was the *Dīwān al-Khātam*, which played on these occasions a crucial rôle, since it had to be certain in advance that the documents prepared for sealing were in conformity with the caliph's and vizier's instructions on the one hand, and in conformity with the administrative rules then in force on the other hand. In the first decades of the ^cAbbāsid caliphate, there were at times bitter contests for control of the *Dīwān al-Khātam*. In practice, the vizier, at a time when his duties and sphere of competence were not clearly defined, could not exercise his powers properly unless he controlled this office; hence it happened that its head might, out of animosity towards the vizier, hold back deliberately the execution of orders and in this way bring all the administrative machine to a standstill. It was at a later period, from the opening of the 3rd/9th century, the custom to give the vizier direct control over the office of the seal, and the chroniclers note generally, in this connection, that the viziers received "the seal and the vizierate". If this detail no longer appears at the end of the century, it is because by that time the vizier's control over the whole of the offices making up the caliphal administration was firmly recognised, and the office of the seal could no longer function except under his direct orders.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ^cabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, index. (D. SOURDEL)

In the Maghrib, at the present time, *khātam* (dialectical, *khātʾm*) denotes not only seal-rings, but any kind of ring worn on the finger. The seal itself, whether mounted on a ring or on a stem, is called *ṭāba^c*. Its impress, stamped with thick black or violet ink, served until a recent time for the authentification of official documents, whether emanating from the *banīkas* of the Sharīfian *Makhzen* or from the tribal *kāʾids*. For judicial acts, the *ṭāba^c* is rarely used; the complicated flourishes of the signatures of the adouls (*^cudūl*) and the *kāḍīs* take its place. The impresses of most of the royal seals of the Sa^cdid and ^cAlawid houses have been preserved. They are usually circular in shape, but sometimes oval. Reproductions of them can be seen in Nehlil, *Lettres chérifiennes*, Paris 1916, and in H. de Castries, *Sources inédites de l'histoire de Maroc*, Paris 1905 ff. In general, the sultans used two seals, a large one and a smaller one, and the vizier of *ḥādjib* was left with the responsibility of affixing it. The same procedure doubtless obtained in Muslim Spain; the historians of the Umayyad caliphs and *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* often give, after a physical sketch of the ruler and a list of his honorific titles, the legend inscribed on his seal (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 15). (ED.)

KHATH^cAM, an Arab tribe (the name is triptote, although in several European editions of Arabic texts we find it wrongly vocalised as a diptote). They inhabited, at least from the 6th century A.D., the mountainous territory between al-Ṭāʾif and Nadjrān along the caravan route from Yemen to Mecca. Historiographical theory on the migrations of the tribes, which is bound up with their genealogical systematisation, makes them settle, at the time of the separation of the sons of Ma^cadd, in the mountains of al-Sarāt [*q.v.*], from which the Azd are said to have driven them at the time of the migration of the South Arabian tribes after the bursting of the dam of Maʾrib, to the lands they occupied in historical times (al-Bakrī, *Mu^cdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 28, 38, 41-2 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen d. ar. Stämme*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xiv, 39, 53, 58 = *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, 113-14, following Ibn al-Kalbī; Yākūt, *Mu^cdjam*, i, 464, ii, 326-7; Wüstenfeld, *Register z. d. genealog. Tabellen*, 130-1). According to this theory, the Khath^cam (like the Badjīla [*q.v.*] who figure everywhere as their brethren) were part of the tribes of ^cAdnān, their descent being Khath^cam b. Anmār b. Nizār (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 49-50; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma^cārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 50; al-Makdisī, *Badʾ*, iv, 110-11, who all attribute this view to "the genealogists of Muḍar"). But another theory (Ibn al-Kalbi-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, table 221) connects them with a branch of the Sabaʾ according to the genealogy: Aftal, surnamed Khath^cam b. Anmār b. Irāsh b. ^cAmr b. al-Ghawth (the latter is also the father of the Azdī tribes) or more

simply, Khath'am b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth (see also Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 302; Ibn Ḳutayba, 50; Ibn Hishām, 50; *Aghānī*, xv, 151; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, 9; Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, 116, gives the isolated genealogy: Khath'am b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir [?]; and Ibn Ḳutayba, 50, makes Anmār the son of Saba', cf. Reiske, *Primae lineae*, 133; Mas'ūdī, iii, 148 = § 998, replaces Irāsh by Iyād). These contradictory statements seem to indicate that, like so many other tribes, the Khath'am do not represent an ethnic unit but rather a confederation of clans of different origins. This seems also to be deducible from the etymology of their name, which connects it with the verb *takhath'ama* "to smear oneself with blood" on the occasion of a pact of alliance (on this custom, cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 21-2, 25-6 and the bibl. cited there). Other etymologies which make Khath'am the name of a mountain or of a camel are not worthy of consideration (Ibn Durayd, 302, 304; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 72, 375; *LA*, xv, 56). In any case we always find the Khath'am associated with tribes of the south, either in alliances made on the occasion of expeditions (e.g. *al-Aghānī*, ix, 17; xii, 47-8; xviii, 35-6) or during the *ridda* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1985-6), or latterly in the grouping of the tribes stationed in the military camps of Baṣra and Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2495, 3074; ii, 122; but in ii, 1382, we find them also grouped with the Kināna, Ḳays 'Aylān, Muzayna and even Ḳuraysh, all tribes of the north, under the general denomination of *Ahl al-'Āliya*. It seems that at this time (101/720) the territorial principle had prevailed over the ethnic one). Their principal clans were the Shahrān, Nāhish and Aklub, the latter, according to the South Arabian genealogy, was of another origin (Aklub b. Rabī'a b. Nizār) and was late in entering the tribe (cf. al-Bakrī, 53), but Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskel, table 224) makes him nevertheless descend from Khath'am.

We have no authentic information on the Khath'am for the remote period in the history of the Arabian peninsula (the identification proposed by Blau, *ZDMG*, xxii, 658; xxiii, 561, n. 6 with the 'Ατραμῖται *Adramitae* of Uranios and Pliny, who are to be distinguished from the Χατραμωτῖται of Ḥaḍramawt, is quite untenable). From the 6th century we find them inhabiting, along with other tribes of diverse origins, the districts of Bīsha, Turaba, Djurash and Tabāla; this last was the centre of the cult of the God Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa (on him see Wellhausen, *Reste*$_2$, 45-8, and T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 61-8), whom the Khath'am, like the Badjīla, Daws, Bāhila etc., worshipped (Yāḳūt, i, 791; ii, 461, 703; iv, 62, 567 [= *Aghānī*, xi, 152], 578, where there are numerous references to the neighbours of the Khath'am and to the assignation of the part of the territory of Bīsha at the end of the 1st century A.H. to some members of the Umayyad and Hāshimī families; Hamdānī, 135-6; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, ed. and tr. Atallah, 29-30).

Among the numerous guerilla wars in which the Khath'am were involved (cf. *Aghānī*, vii, 119; xii, 47, 51-2; xiv, 25; xviii, 35-6; *Naḳā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, 46; Yāḳūt, ii, 735; iv, 56; Hamdānī, 170), the best known is that of Fayf al-Rīḥ in which their chief Anas b. Mudrik (or Mudrika), allied to the greater part of the Madhḥidj, defeated the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a commanded by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl [*q.v.*], who lost an eye in the battle (*Naḳā'iḍ*, 468-72; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 474; *'Iḳd*, ed. 1293, iii, 102-3; *Dīwān* of 'Āmir, ed. Lyall, Introd., 82-3, nos. x, xi [= *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, no. cvi.], xii, xix, xxv, xxvii, Suppl., nos. i, 19). Anas b. Mudrik, famous also as a poet, was the hero of another enterprise of the Khath'am, sc. that against the Banū Djusham (*Aghānī*, ix, 17), and that in which he killed the famous poet-brigand Sulayk b. Sulaka (*Ḥamāsa*, 415-16; *Aghānī*, xviii, 137-8; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, 217). The biographical notes on Anas, who lived for several years after the introduction of Islam, have been collected by Levi della Vida in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, x, 499-500 (year 40 A.H., § 347).

The position of the lands of the Khath'am enabled them to play a part in the Abyssinian expedition against Mecca. They tried to oppose Abraha's advance, but beaten by him, they were forced to guide the enemy's army as far as al-Ṭā'if (see the sources collected in Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Araber*, 206-17). The spread of Islam at first left them indifferent (no heed need be paid to the story in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1079-80, of the Khath'amī *kāhina* of Tabāla, Fāṭima bint Murr, who saw a divine light on the face of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the future father of the Prophet. The only interesting feature of the story is the epithet "Judaising", *Mutahawwida*, conferred on the *kāhina*). Their first relations with Muḥammad were certainly hostile (Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 387; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1730-1), but they ultimately sent him an embassy and recognised him, and accepted a letter from him which declared all the blood-feuds previous to Islam abolished (Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 34, 78; *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 330, year 10 A.H., § 28, cf. also § 23, 326-7).

On the death of the Prophet, only a section of them rebelled (*Annali*, ii, 573-4, 581, 585, year 11 A.H., § 87-8, 98, 104). The destruction of the sanctuary of Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa by 'Abd Allāh b. Djarīr al-Badjalī must have broken their resistance, along with that of other tribes who were grouped round this turbulent centre (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1985-6). During the wars of conquest we find them in the army of Syria (Ibn 'Asākir, in *Annali*, iii, 588, year 15 A.H., § 66*a*, cf. also al-Ṭabarī, i, 3287, 3408), as well as in those of 'Irāḳ (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2188), and as we have seen, they formed part of the tribes quartered at Baṣra (Pellat, *Milieu*, index) and Kūfa.

Several Khath'amī women were married to Ḳurashīs. One of them played rather an important part in the early history of Islam, Asmā' bint 'Umays [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Her sister Salmā was the wife of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (*Annali, loc. cit.*, § 285, Ibn Sa'd, viii, 209); a daughter of Anas b. Mudrik, Asmā', was the wife of Khālid b. al-Walīd (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo, ed., viii, 6, no. 39; *Annali*, ix, year 37 A.H., § 412; x, 499).

The Khath'amī poets were few in number; the most notable is Ibn al-Dumayna [*q.v.*].

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(G. Levi Della Vida)

KHAṬĪ'A (pls. *khaṭāyā* and *khaṭī'āt*), moral lapse, sin, a synonym of *dhanb* (pl. *dhunūb*). The root *kh ṭ '* means "to fail, stumble" (in Hebrew, Prov. xix, 2), "make a mistake" (e.g., one says *akhṭa'a* of an archer whose arrow misses the target); [see khaṭa'].

The form *khaṭī'a* appears five times in the Ḳur'ān, and the root *kh ṭ '* is frequently found there. It combines within itself the three meanings of "error" (*khaṭa'*, e.g., XVII, 33), "culpable lapse" (*khiṭ'*, e.g., XVII, 31; cf. *khāṭi'a*, XCVI, 16), and "sin" (*khaṭī'a*, II, 81, IV, 112, VII, 161; XXVI, 82; LXXI, 25). However, "sin" is more often conveyed by *dhanb*, *dhunūb*; a *sayyi'a* is an evil action, and an *ithm* a very grave sin, a crime against God.

We likewise find sometimes *khaṭī'a*, but more often *dhanb*, and occasionally *ithm* or *sayyi'a*, in works on *'ilm al-kalām*, *fiḳh* and *taṣawwuf*. It would be tedious

to study each of these terms separately; sufficient to say that in endeavouring to pin down the idea and the theological aspect of sin in Islam, reference should be made above all to the article DHANB rather than to that on *khaṭīʾa*.

I. *Ḳurʾānic references*. On one hand, sin brings down divine anger and punishment (for *khaṭīʾa*, see II, 81; IV, 112; LXXI, 25), but on the other hand, it nevertheless remains within the operative sphere of the divine mercy. Thus Abraham says, "It is He whom I ardently desire to forgive me my sins (*khaṭīʾāti*) on the Day of Judgment" (XXVI, 82; cf. VII, 161). God, through His apostles and prophets, summons mankind to Himself in order to pardon their sins (XIV, 10; XLVI, 31; LXXI, 4). If a man avoids grave sin (*ithm*) and depraved actions, he will receive pardon from his Lord (LIII, 32). God gives absolution from sin (*dhanb*) and accepts repentance (XL, 3), and He forgives sins (*dhunub*) completely (XXXIX, 53).

God is the All-Pardoning One whose power to pardon is endless, *al-ghafūr al-ghaffār*, two of the "Most beautiful names" upon which pious Muslims like to meditate [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ]. However, one sin is unpardonable, sc. the rejection and the disavowal of God and His Oneness (IV, 48, 137; XLVII, 34). Impious persons, guilty of *kufr* and *shirk*, will only receive pardon if they repent (VIII, 38). Those who have perpetrated an evil action (*sayyiʾa*) and remain "encompassed" within their sin (*khaṭīʾa*) will bring down on themselves the torments of everlasting hell-fire (II, 81).

Thus there are three types of sins mentioned in the text of the Ḳurʾān: (1) minor sins, not affecting a man's faith, which can be submitted to the divine mercy (LIII, 32); (2) grave sins (*kabāʾir al-ithm*, according to XLII, 37) and "depraved actions" which God may pardon immediately or may punish for a specific period, according to His mysterious will (cf. II, 284; III, 129); and (3) *kufr* and *shirk*, attacks on the Divine Oneness, which cannot be wiped out except through repentance (*tawba*) and which, failing this last, remain under the threat of eternal hell-fire: "those guilty of *kufr* will be rounded up in Gehenna" (VIII, 36).

II. *The traditions*. There are numerous *ḥadīths* which stress the idea of sinfulness and the fate reserved for the sinner, out of which two main themes emerge:

(1) *Faith and sinfulness*. There is a certain amount of self-contradiction here. (a) Some traditions stress salvation through faith. The divine pardon is assured, provided that there is not rejection of faith in the One God. Thus the Prophet related that Djibrīl appeared before him and comforted him by this assurance: "Every member of your community who dies professing the Oneness of God will enter paradise". The Prophet replied, "Even if such a person is guilty of adultery and theft?" Djibrīl replied, "Even if he is guilty of adultery and theft" (Muslim, *Īmān*, 113). Certain *ḥadīths* (*ibid.*, 201-8) go so far as to affirm that God "does not take into account" sins of simple intention, seeing that the thoughts involved are not expressed in words not realised in deeds. The delicate conscience of the believer who discovers in himself "evil thoughts" which he is "too scrupulous to express", is praised as an act of faith (*ibid.*, 209). (b) However, according to another chain of traditions, "grave sins" are considered as an attack against faith itself: "The Messenger of God said that whoever is guilty of fornication is not a believer, any more than he who steals or drinks wine" (*ibid.*, 100, cf. 101-5, and al-Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, i, 6, 20, etc.). (c) In any case, the Prophet's intercession at the Last Judgment for the sins of his community is emphasised in many *ḥadīths* [see SHAFĀʿA].

(2) *What are the "grave sins"?* The Ḳurʾān mentions clearly and on several occasions the *kabāʾir* or "grave sins", grave sinfulness (*ithm*) and "depraved actions" (*faḥshāʾ*), and gives various examples of each class, but without setting forth a precise table. One *ḥadīth*, which has been seen as a version of the "seven capital sins" of Christian morality, enumerates them thus: "The Messenger of God said, Avoid the seven deadly [sins] (*mūbiḳāt*). When he was asked what these were, he replied, 'Associating others with God (*shirk*); sorcery; unlawful homicide (except when there is a legal reason); despoiling an orphan of his property; practising usury; flight from a battle being waged against the enemy; and taking advantage of the weakness and credulity of virtuous women (*muḥṣanāt*)' " (Muslim, *Īmān*, 144; al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 23). The tendency towards a laxity which tends to blur the distinction between grave and lesser sins is condemned: "Anas related: Indeed, you commit sins which are only a single hair's weight according to your own view, but in Muḥammad's time we used to consider them as grave sins" (al-Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, *bāb* 32).

III. *Tafsīr* and *ʿilm al-kalām*. Discussions and elaborations went on through the course of the ages, emphasising such-and-such Ḳurʾānic verse or such-and-such *ḥadīth*, according to the tendencies of the different schools of thought.

(1) *The distinction between grave sins and lesser ones* (*kabāʾir* and *ṣaghāʾir*). This distinction, which appears in both the Ḳurʾān (e.g., LIII, 32) and *ḥadīth*, was developed at great length by the various schools. The exact definition of *kabāʾir* remained variable. It can be said that the generally-accepted idea of moral lapse or sin was one of disobedience (*maʿṣiya*) to the prescriptions of the divine law, to the point that *maʿṣiya* often becomes a synonym for *khaṭīʾa* or *dhanb*. It was then readily explained that it was the hardening of the heart and persistence in evil-doing which constituted the seriousness of the sin, expressed by Ibn ʿAbbās as "Everything forbidden by God, once persisted in, becomes a grave sin". Moreover, it is related from ʿUmar and Ibn ʿAbbās (text cited by al-Nawawī) that "No sin is a grave one, if one asks pardon for it; but no sin is a venial one if the sinner persists in it". In other words, persistence in minor sins makes them become grave ones.

Is there, then, only a difference of degree between great and small sins? Muʿtazilī tradition, as represented by the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, states that a man whose acts of disobedience (*maʿṣiyāt*) on the whole outweigh his acts of obedience (*ṭāʿāt*) is guilty of "grave sin", whereas, on the other hand, a man whose acts of obedience outweigh his acts of disobedience is only guilty of "lesser sin" (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 789). For the Ashʿarī al-Djuwaynī (Irshād, ed. Luciani, Paris 1938, 331), every sin is necessarily grave, in relationship to the divine Majesty. Sin is a failure of duty towards God, and every failure of duty towards God is necessarily grave. However, there are sins of greater or lesser degrees of gravity. The two views expressed here are certainly completely divergent, but it seems that one might posit a simple difference of degree amongst the "acts of disobedience".

The leading members of the various schools nevertheless attempted to lay down different kinds of sins.

(a) For the Khāridjīs and Muʿtazilīs, the "actions of the limbs" form an integral part of faith [see ĪMĀN, 1170-1, §§ 1, 3]. Consequently, grave sins which are destructive of faith are deliberate acts of disobedience against the Ḳur'ānic injunctions, above all, against the *ʿibādāt* "pillars of Islam", and against those prescriptions whose non-performance is punishable by the *ḥudūd*. (b) The usual Sunnī trend of thought seeks to establish a list of sins which are, as such, grave, but even here, there is some variation. The Shāfiʿī jurist Taḳī 'l-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī puts forward this tautology: "Every sin which has grown so grave that one can call it a grave sin is in fact a grave sin" (cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā ... Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 114). As for lists of *kabā'ir*, these vary amongst writers; al-Bādjūrī's popular manual gives two differing enumerations, and asserts the validity of both (*ibid.*, 102, 104). These lists refer almost invariably to the *ḥadīth* about the *mūbiḳāt* mentioned above, and to Ḳur'ān, VI, 151, and they freely admit that the number seven is not a limiting one. One may state that the following are unanimously considered as "grave sins": apostasy from the faith, *kufr* and *shirk*, insults to the Prophet, fornication and adultery, sins against nature, murder, usury and black magic; very often, the use of fermented liquors, theft on a serious scale, and flight from the battle field, are added to these.

Al-Nawawī relies on Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām in his commentary (ii, 170) in order to set forth this criterion: if there is any doubt about the gravity or lightness of any sin which has been committed, it should be compared with the "seven capital sins" of the *ḥadīth*. If it proves to be less serious than the least grave of those, it belongs to the *ṣaghā'ir*; in the opposite case, to the *kabā'ir*. Other authors define these last as sins connected by the Ḳur'ān with hell-fire, the divine anger, malediction or punishment. Others stress the subjective attitude of the sinner: every sin is grave which is committed without signs of fear or circumspectness, or committed in a heedless fashion; only involuntary acts of negligence in the domain of the control of speech or the passions can be accounted *ṣaghā'ir*. Finally, others (such as Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī) note that the sacred law itself calls certain sins "grave" and describes others as venial, but that it omits to apply either description to several other sins mentioned in it. The prudent believer should therefore eschew all sin, lest he suddenly finds that he has committed one of the gravest possible ones.

(2) *Sinning and repentance*. The idea of repentance (*tawba*) is common to the varying schools. For example, we find it expressed in identical terms in ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl*, 791), just as in al-Īdjī-al-Djurdjānī (*Sharḥ al-mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 314). This formulation is "regret for an act of disobedience (against God) in itself, combined with the firm intention of avoiding it in the future". Cf. also in the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 74, the two definitions of *tawba* and sincere *tawba*. But although the notion of repentance is shared, the degree of the necessity to repent is formulated variously by the different schools.

(a) The Khāridjīs and Muʿtazilīs, relying on Ḳur'ān, II, 81, condemn to hell-fire everyone who remains "encompassed" by his own sin, and for those who have committed grave sins, only repentance accepted by God can avoid eternal hell-fire. When a moderate Muʿtazilī like al-Zamakhsharī comments on the words "He pardons whomsoever He wills (Ḳur'ān, III, 129), he explains, "... in *tawba*, for God is only inclined to extend His pardon to those who repent"; and he strongly opposes the interpretation attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās—"God extends His pardon for grave sins to whomsoever seems good to Him, and punishes whomsoever seems good to Him in regard to venial sins". According to the Muʿtazila, it is not that the *tawba* is efficacious in itself, but because of his justice, God is bound to accept it when it is sincere. The Muʿtazilīs of Baghdād explain in general that He remits the punishment on the grounds of repentance (cf. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *op. cit.*, 790).

(b) The Ashʿarī school, on the contrary, insists on absolute freedom of action by the Almighty. Only the sins of *kufr* and *shirk* necessitate a "turning-back" of the heart before they can be pardoned. If one wanted to establish an equivalence with Christian terminology, one would have to say that, according to the dominant Sunnī trend of thought, only these last-named sins really merit being called "mortal sins" (though the ideas at work here do not really correspond).

A comparison with the "capital sins" certainly fits the *kabā'ir* better, and every "capital sin" is not in itself (in Christianity) a "mortal sin". In Sunnī Islam, God, in His mercy, can therefore either pardon every "grave sin" apart from *kufr* and *shirk*, or else, in His justice, punish it by a period in hell-fire. It is for these sins that the Prophet's intercession can be invoked. Must the believer repent of them? Certainly, if he wishes to remain faithful to the divine prescriptions and regain complete purity of heart and intentions (*ikhlāṣ*). The rules concerning *tawba* [*q.v.*] are very numerous. In regard to perfecting the purity of a man's faith, it is necessarily required. Furthermore, if *tawba* for grave sins is strongly urged, these last can nevertheless be "wiped away" by *istighfār* "asking for pardon". Thus al-Bādjūrī, for instance, states that it can be achieved by repeating 1000 times "He is God, the One", and this is the "great act of achieving release"; by making the pilgrimage to Mecca; or by "fighting in the way of God" (*djihād*). In regard to venial sins, these can be wiped out by the single act of abstaining from grave sins (or by repenting of them); by faithfully observing the religious obligations (*ʿibādāt*); or by ritual ablutions. In regard to these, *tawba*, whilst doubtless praiseworthy, is not required, even for purity of faith.

All this concerns judgments made on the perfection of the believer's status. But one must point out that according to the consensus of Sunnīs, and contrary to the Khāridjīs and Muʿtazilīs, *tawba* for grave sins is not necessary for salvation. If the sinner repents, and if God accepts his repentance, the sin is "wiped out"; it requires neither reparation nor penitence, for it no longer exists. For, as al-Djurdjānī remarks, if God's pardon "were to come into effect after (the sinner's) repentance, it would no longer be an act of pardon" (*Sharḥ al-mawāḳif*, viii, 311). It is when "grave sins" are wiped out neither by *tawba* nor *istighfār* that God can, if He wills, show Himself as Pardoner. To sum up: on one hand, divine punishment of grave sins which have not been repented of is not necessarily obligatory (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, on Ḳur'ān, II, 82), and on the other hand, if the punishment does not come into effect, it can only be temporary. Consequently, "it is untrue that *tawba* is necessary for the pardoning of sins, with the exception of *shirk*" (*ibid.*, v, 455), and one finds the same teaching in other Sunnī *tafsīrs*. According to al-Bayḍāwī on Ḳur'ān, II, 81, the "encompassing" by sin of those threatened with (eternal) hell-fire refers only to those impious per-

sons guilty of *kufr* or *shirk*. Those believers who have committed grave sins do not come under the verdict of this verse.

On all these points, the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī trend of thought is very close to the Ashʿarī attitude, with one difference, however (cf. L. Gardet, *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 304 and ref.). For the Ashʿarīs, everything is submitted to the inscrutable Divine Will which may, just as it pleases, pardon straight away or punish for a period of time the believer who is guilty of prevarication; and there are no reservations here. It is therefore *possible* that for a *certain* period of time, there will be sinning believers in hell-fire, but it is not certain. For the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī theologians, God's promises must always come into effect, and God has threatened punishment for grave sins, even when committed by a believer. Hence it is "obligatory that certain individuals out of those who have committed grave sins will be punished" (Māturīdī thesis adopted by the Ashʿarī al-Laḳānī, *Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, verse 117). It is uncertain whether such a prevaricating believer will be condemned to spend some time in hell-fire, but it is certain that some sinning believers will spend some time there.

IV. *Taṣawwuf—a few examples*. We find in the works on the spiritual life and on mysticism abundant classifications and analyses of the various kinds of moral sins. In Ṣūfism also the most frequently-employed term is *dhanb*, *dhunūb*, rather than *khaṭī'a* (e.g. al-Kalābādhī, *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf*, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1934, 64). One may cite as an example al-Ghazālī, who in his *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn* (iv, treatise on *tawba*, ed. Cairo 1325/1933, 2-53), takes over the analyses in Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* and endeavours to classify these sins according to their nature and to lay down a precise list of *kabā'ir*:

(1) *The classification of sins* (*dhunūb*). According to Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī, these are of four kinds (a) the "lordly" (*rabbūbiyya*) ones, such as pride, scorn, boastfulness, arrogance, love of praise, love of life, ambition and despotic behaviour; (b) the "satanic" (*shayṭāniyya*) ones, such as envy and deceitfulness; (c) the "bestial" (*bahīmiyya*) ones, such as greed, covetousness, anger and concupiscence; and (d) those attributable to "wild beasts" (*sabuʿiyya*), such as furious anger, lust for battle and murder.

(2) *The enumeration of the "grave sins"*. Al-Ghazālī firmly maintains the distinction between grave and lesser sins (*Iḥyā'*, *ibid.*, 28 ff.). The list of grave sins which he puts forward is not governed by the number seven for the *mūbiḳāt* in the *ḥadīth*. He proposes lists varying between four and eleven, and cites al-Makkī's view that there are seventeen. In this last case, they can be grouped as follows: four come from the heart, sc. the sin of *shirk*, persistence in evil-doing, lack of confident belief in God's Mercy and lack of any fear of His power to punish; four come from the tongue, sc. bearing false witness, misusing an upright man (*muḥṣan*), perjury and sorcery; three stem from the belly, sc. drinking wine and intoxicants, despoiling orphans of their wealth and practising usury; two are connected with the genitalia, sc. fornication and homosexuality; two with the hands, sc. murder and theft; one with the feet, sc. flight from the battle field; and finally, one is connected with the whole body, sc. disobeying one's parents.

In regard to moral sin, certain extremist Ṣūfī traditions oscillate between two attitudes which are opposed in principle, but which are at the same time often apparently mixed together in fact. An attitude of laxity carried to excess, with which one might accuse those called the *Ibāḥiyya*, asserts that anyone who attains to union with God no longer has to worry about the fear of sinning, nor about the prescriptions, injunctions and prohibitions of the law. Opposed in this is the rigorism of a special variety of the *Malāmatiyya*, which is characterised by a deeply-rooted care to shun the praise and admiration of men; in order to achieve this, such a person will make no attempt to avoid actions which seem to be scandalous, but will indeed indulge in them. In the first case (the attitude of laxity), we have the abandonment of all asceticism, and in the second "rigorism"), we have ascetic behaviour which goes to the point of being perfectly content with disdain and disapproval, shunning what are undoubtedly sins, but embarking on acts which look like sins in the eyes of men.

However, the dominating fact in the counsels and adjurations of the Ṣūfī masters is the necessity of avoiding any kind of voluntary sin, and this goes to the point of a refined scrupulosity of heart (*waraʿ*). Man, the *ʿabd*, is fallible and a sinner before God, hence he must take account of this feebleness and his small stature as a created being, in relationship to the greatness of the Almighty. Self-control, awareness of one's spiritual condition (*murāḳaba*), is necessary. From the time of al-Muḥāsibī onwards, examination of one's conscience (*muḥāsaba*) is willingly prescribed, and al-Ghazālī insists upon it (*op. cit.*, 336-61, esp. 346; cf. Asín Palacios, *La espiritualidad de Algazel*, iii, Madrid-Grenada 1940, 80-103). Al-Ghazālī goes on to say that the heart is like a mirror which is pitted and spoilt by rust, and which must therefore be cleaned and polished, so that the superior world can be reflected in it.

Bibliography: given in the article.

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KHAṬĪB (a.), plur. *khuṭabā'*, was, among the ancient Arabs, the name for the spokesman of the tribe. The *khaṭīb* is therefore often mentioned along with the *shāʿir*, the poet (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 934, 938; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 484), and, like the *kāhin* and the *sayyid*, was one of the leaders of the tribe. The character and significance of his office is clearly explained by Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, Cairo 1332, i. The distinction between *khaṭīb* and *shāʿir* is not absolutely definite, but essentially is that the *shāʿir* uses the poetic form while the *khaṭīb* expresses himself in prose, often, however, also in *sadjʿ* [*q.v.*] (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, i, 159); his speech is introduced with *ammā baʿdu* (al-Ḥarīrī, ed. de Sacy, 1822, 42). According to Djāḥiẓ, there were only a few *khuṭabā'* who were also *shuʿarā'* (i, 27). In the *Djāhiliyya* the *shāʿir* is said to have been more highly esteemed than the *khaṭīb*, but when the numbers of poets gradually increased and the latter's art declined and they became beggars, the *khaṭīb* obtained more prestige (i, 136; iii, 227). The *khaṭīb* is also associated with the story-teller, the *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*], and with the *aṣḥāb al-akhbār wa 'l-āthār* (Djāḥiẓ, i, 167-8 and *passim*); the office was sometimes hereditary in the same family. The *khuṭabā'* did not form a gild or caste; they were the men who had the ability to be spokesmen. They appear not only at the head of a *wafd* to negotiate as representatives of their tribe, as we know from the *Sīra* (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philol.*, i, 20), but, like the poets, they were also the leaders in the war of wits with the enemy (*mufākhara*). The *khaṭīb* had to be able to extol the glorious deeds and the noble qualities of his tribe and to narrate them in perfect language and to be able likewise to expose the weaknesses of his opponents. He had therefore to be *faṣīḥ* and know how to employ *balāgha* [*q.v.*] and

in this way to overcome his opponents (cf. *The Mufaḍḍalīyat*, ed. Lyall, xci, 22-3, xcvi, 9; al-Ḳuṭāmī, ed. J. Barth, xiv, 20; Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, ed. Rhodokanakis, *S.B. Ak. Wien*, xliv (1902), 19; *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 20). Lampoons give the following characteristics of a poor *khaṭīb*: his pronunciation is bad, he turns to and fro, stammers, coughs, strokes his beard and twists his fingers, a sign of cowardice (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 650, verse 5; *Kāmil*, 20). It is in keeping with the character of the ancient Arab *khaṭīb* that he is included among the fighting knights and nobles (al-Ḳuṭāmī, *op. cit.*; Djāḥiẓ, i, 134, 172), indeed, *khaṭīb* itself is used as a name for a brave warrior (Djāḥiẓ, i, 129). When the *khaṭīb* makes a public appearance his insignia are lance, staff or bow (*al-makhāṣir*), just as a man taking an oath carries tokens of masculine honour; he often strikes the earth with it (cf. al-Ḳuṭāmī, xxvii, 6; Labīd, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Khālidī, 27, 45; Djāḥiẓ, i, 197-8, iii, 3 ff., 61-2).

In the earliest days of Islām the *khaṭīb* retained much of his old character. "The prophet came foreward as a *khaṭīb*" after the conquest of Mecca (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 823) and spoke publicly with ceremony and authority. But the *khuṭba* now became solely an address to the Muslims, not a part of the war against the enemy and *mufākhara* was no longer part of the activities of the Muslim *khaṭīb*. But it is quite in keeping with the nature of early Islam and with that of the Arab *khaṭīb* that the ruler himself was spokesman and that he not only made edifying speeches from the *minbar* as *khaṭīb* but also issued orders, made decisions and pronounced his views on political questions and particularly questions of general interest. This was the case under the first four caliphs and the Umayyads (cf. Djāḥiẓ, i, 190), and the governors appointed by them also acted as *khuṭabā'* (e.g. al-Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii, 318; Djāḥiẓ, i, 179). The local governors, appointed by the latter were also entrusted with the control of the *minbar* and of the *ṣalāt* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 929). Diatribes against and curses on the enemy were part of their *minbar* speeches, e.g. the curses on 'Alī and occasionally on Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr (Djāḥiẓ, i, 165). *Khaṭīb* was therefore still synonymous with "leader"; a poet of the Khawāridj says: "There will be no peace so long as there is a *khaṭīb* from Thaḳīf on the *minbar*s of this world" (Djāḥiẓ, iii, 135). An inheritance from the ancient Arab spokesman is the staff or lance which the Muslim *khaṭīb* holds in his right hand during the *khuṭba*, a custom which provoked the scorn of the Persians (Djāḥiẓ, iii, 135). But the close connection between the *khuṭba* and divine service gave the Muslim *khaṭīb* a specifically religious character. After the conclusion of the wars of the first generations, this element became more predominant and in the time of the 'Abbāsids, as early as Hārūn al-Rashīd, the caliph left it to the *ḳāḍī*s to deliver the sermon at the service while he himself was simply a listener (Djāḥiẓ, i, 161). But in theory, the leaders of divine service in the great mosques are representatives of the caliph (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Cairo 1322, 173).

The Egyptian Faṭimids still occasionally preached themselves (behind a veil), namely three times in the month of Ramaḍān and at the great festivals (Ibn al-Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii, 482-6; ed. Popper, 331 ff.; al-Maḳrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1334, ii, 322, 327, 329). On this occasion his highest dignitaries stood on the steps of the *minbar* (*op. cit.*, 327, 329), while on the other hand the *ra'īs* of a district often stood on the *minbar* if the *khaṭīb* was preaching, a custom which testifies to the original high rank of the *khaṭīb*, but was later condemned by strict authorities on morals (Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Kitāb al-Madkhal*, Cairo 1320, ii, 74). Special *khuṭabā'* were everywhere appointed. There were three of them in Cairo during the earlier Fāṭimid period (for the 'Amr, Ibn Ṭūlūn and al-Azhar mosques); cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 348; as a rule it seems to have been the honorary office of a *ḳāḍī*; cf. *op. cit.*, 224. On the *'Īd al-Ghadīr*, a special *khaṭīb* pronounced the *khuṭba* on a *minbar* with nine steps in the sanctuary of Ḥusayn in Cairo, while the chief *ḳāḍī* conducted the *ṣalāt*; the *khaṭīb* on this occasion was given a silk robe and 30 or 50 *dīnār*s (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 224-5). On other occasions also the *khaṭīb* received a robe of honour (*op. cit.*, ii, 387). The *khaṭīb* usually was also the conductor (*imām*) of the Friday *ṣalāt* at which he preached and, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and a tradition of Mālik, he must actually do so unless there were special reasons for a deviation from the rule. The daily *ṣalāts* are as a rule conducted by other *imāms* (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, 181). According to al-Shāfi'ī and Mālik, the Friday worship with *khuṭba* can only be held in one mosque in each town, if the size of the town does not make it impossible, while Abū Ḥanīfa has no such rule. The *khuṭba* was therefore delivered, for example, in Cairo after the end of the Fāṭimid period in the mosque of al-Ḥākim only, because Saladin appointed a Shāfi'ī chief *ḳāḍī*. This state of affairs was altered by Baybars when he appointed a Ḥanafī chief *ḳāḍī* (al-Maḳrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 53). Abū Ḥanīfa on the other hand allows the worship in which a *khaṭīb* takes part only in a large town (*miṣr*), in which the ruler of his deputy is present in person. The other schools are less rigorous on the point. But the *imām-khaṭīb* of the Friday service is, according to the other schools also, in theory the representative of "the highest *imām*". Several *imām*s can be chosen, if necessary with their exact functions defined. According to al-Māwardī, 172, the Sulṭān appoints the *imāms* of the larger mosques, in keeping, with the theory of their representative character. But, according to al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, Cairo, iv, 39), each mosque under the Mamlūks had its own *khaṭīb* while the Sulṭān only concerned himself with the larger mosques. The office of *khaṭīb* of the important mosques was a very distinguished one. Thus, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, the Shāfi'ī chief *ḳāḍī* himself was *khaṭīb* of the great mosque in the citadel of Cairo (cf. P. Ravaisse, *Zoubdat kachf el-mamâlik*, 1894, 92) and it was regarded as a special distinction, anxiously coveted, when Saladin after the conquest of Jerusalem chose the *ḳāḍī* Muḥyī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ma'ālī to act as first *khaṭīb* in the Aḳṣā mosque (Shihāb al-Din, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, Cairo 1288, ii, 108 ff.). The document confirming his appointment under the Mamlūks is further evidence of the *khaṭīb*'s dignity (cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, ii, 222-5; al-'Umarī, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, 126-7). He is the natural authority to whom new converts announce their conversion to Islām (Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Kitāb al-Madkhal*, 76); the people touch his robe *li 'l-tabarruk*, etc. (al-Sha'rānī, *Kitāb al-Mīzān*, i, 169). According to al-Māwardī, 185, the *khaṭīb* ought preferably to wear black clothes, according to al-Ghazālī, white, while the first mentioned would be *bid'a* (*Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1322, 131 ff.). His insignia are *al-'ūdāni*, the "two things of wood" i.e. the *minbar* and the staff or wooden sword which he has to hold in his hand during the sermon, according to the *fiḳh* books also. According to the law of 1911 applied to al-Azhar, art. 59, every one who has passed through the second of the three divisions of the institute can become a

khaṭīb. While in al-Azhar itself only one *khaṭīb* is appointed (al-Zayyāti, *Ta'rīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo 1320, 207), there were in 1909 in the mosque of the Prophet in Medīna 46, in Mecca 122 *khuṭabā'*, besides their deputies. They enjoy certain benefactions and the office is on the whole hereditary (al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziya*², Cairo 1329, 101, 242).

Beside the official *khaṭīb*, the *wāʿiẓ* exercised the function of an edifying preacher, when he pleased (cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 1922, 318 ff.).

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(J. PEDERSEN)

AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. THĀBIT B. AḤMAD B. MAHDĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, known as AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, was born on 24th Djumādā II 392/10th May 1002 (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xi, 266) in Hanīkiya, a village in the neighbourhood of the Nahr al-Malik below Baghdād (Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii, 191; see M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden 1900, i, 27). According to Ibn al-Nadjdjār (see Y. al-ʿIshsh, *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, Damascus 1364/1945, 17) he was born in Ghuzayya, a hamlet about half-way between Kūfa and Mecca. The son of the preacher (*khaṭīb* [*q.v.*]) of Darzīdjān, a large village on the west bank of the Tigris below Baghdād, he began his studies very early with his father and other *shaykhs* (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 75-6; iv, 393; i, 351-2). Proceeding from the Kur'ān he occupied himself primarily with *ḥadīth*, a science which remained all his life the centre of his interest, even when he extended his learned studies to other branches of science, above all to *fikh*, and also after he had become famous as preacher far beyond the walls of Baghdād. At the age of twenty, in the year in which he lost his father (*ibid.*, xi, 359), he set out for Baṣra in search of *ḥadīth*, on which occasions he seems to have stayed also in Kūfa. Three years later, in 415/1024 (Yākūt, *Udabā'*, i, 246), he set out on a second journey which brought him to the north and east as far as Nīshāpūr. On the way, either on the outward or the return journey, he collected further *ḥadīth* material in Rayy and Iṣfahān, whither his teacher from Baghdād al-Barkānī (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iv, 373-6) had given him a letter of introduction to Abū Nuʿaym [*q.v.*] (preserved in Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1329/1922, i, 400; Yākūt, *Udabā'*, i, 258 f.; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 276; ²1093), as well as in Hamadān and Dīnawar. How long he remained en route is not known in detail; according to his own testimony (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iv, 374) he was back in Baghdād in 419/1028. In the following years his preaching secured him great fame and he became an authority in *ḥadīth* because of his profound erudition in this field. One of his biographers (al-Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 317; ²1141) says that preachers and teachers of tradition usually had to submit the traditions they had collected to his expert opinion before quoting them in their sermons and lectures. On the other hand, al-Khaṭīb seems to have suffered from the hostility of the Ḥanbalīs, who were numerous and powerful in Baghdād at this period. After having been at first a Ḥanbalī himself like his father, his preference for the Shāfiʿī school—probably definite after a journey to Nahrawān in 430/1038-9 (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 157)—and his theological opinions, which were quite uncompromising in their Ashʿarism, attracted to him the hatred of Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's pupils who were enemies of all bold theological speculation. In spite of the Ḥanbalī opposition and thanks to the protection of Caliph al-Kā'im and the vizier Ibn al-Muslima [*qq.v.*], he succeeded in opening a course of lectures on *ḥadīth* in the al-Manṣūr mosque (Yākūt, *Udabā'* i,, 246 f.). Retaining a bitter resentment at the enmity shown to him, al-Khaṭīb seems never to have lost an opportunity in his lectures and writings of making malicious insinuations against Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the Ḥanbalīs and of even attacking them openly (cf. al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 210-17). On that account, later generations accused him of *taʿaṣṣub* (legal and theological bias) (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad 1359/1940, viii, 267 f.) and there is a body of polemical literature against him (al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 229-45). Apparently al-Khaṭīb entered upon these direct relations with the court only after his pilgrimage in 445/1053-4 (Ibn ʿAsākir, *op. cit.*, i, 398), which directed him on the outward journey to Syria (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, ii, 361) and, after a rather long sojourn in Mecca (*ibid.*, vi, 174; viii, 29), on the return journey in 446/1054-5 via Jerusalem (*ibid.*, vi, 316) and several Syrian towns. When the successful rebellion of al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] brought about the fall of Ibn Muslima, al-Khaṭīb fled in 451/1059 (*ibid.*, ix, 403) to Damascus. During eight years the highly esteemed al-Khaṭīb was intensively lecturing, above all in the Umayyad mosque (Yākūt, *Udabā'*, i, 254 f.; al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 92-119). His teaching activities brought him occasionally also to other Syrian towns like Ṣūr (Tyre), known to him from earlier journeys (R. Sellheim, *Arabische Handschriften, Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1974, i, 69-73, no. 20). A personal mishap enraged suddenly the Shīʿī circles in Damascus against him. Arrested by order of the Fāṭimid governor, he had a narrow escape from execution only through the intercession of a distinguished Shīʿī personality and by a precipitous flight to Ṣūr. Returning to Baghdād via Ṭarābulus (Tripoli) and Aleppo after the Saldjūks had restored order there, al-Khaṭīb, the "Ḥāfiẓ of the east", died in Baghdād on Monday 7 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 463/5 September 1071 (Ibn ʿAsākir, *op. cit.*, i, 401), in the same year as Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr [*q.v.*], the "Ḥāfiẓ of the west". In the presence of a great crowd he was buried beside the tomb of the venerated Bishr al-Ḥāfī [*q.v.*].

Al-Khaṭīb's fame is in general based on his biographical encyclopaedia of more than 7800 scholars and other personalities, among whom were also included women, connected with the cultural and political life of Baghdād. He seems to have corrected and completed it right up to the year he died (cf., e.g. *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iii, 108, 336). It is known under the title *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* and there is a printed edition in 14 volumes: Cairo, 1349/1931 (reprint Beirut 1968). Praiseworthy as al-Khaṭīb's monumental work indeed is, it should not be overlooked that he intended to

produce with his biographical work a reference book for traditionists, through which chains of transmitters (*isnād*), relations between teachers and pupils, questions on the reliability of a *ḥadīth*-scholar etc. can be ascertained, checked and established. The arrangement and contents of the biographies, set down in a not strictly alphabetical order, show also that a traditionist rather than a biographer has been at work. A look at the rest of al-Khaṭīb's extensive scientific production makes it clear that his works on *ḥadīth* have made him the great critical systematiser of *ḥadīth* methodology. In addition to Brockelmann, I, 401 and S I, 563 f., there are mentioned here: *al-Kifāya fī maʿrifat uṣūl ʿilm al-riwāya*, on the ideal *rāwī* (transmitter) (printed Hyderabad 1357/1938, Cairo 1972; cf. al-Albānī, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt*..., 268, no. 947; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 183 f.); *al-Djāmiʿ li-akhlāḳ al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmiʿ* (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 267, no. 938); *Taḳyīd al-ʿilm*, with the central question whether it is forbidden or permitted to determine traditions in writing (ed. by Y. al-ʿIshsh, Damascus 1949; on this see A. Ateş, in *Ilâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* [Ankara], i (1952), 91-103; ʿA. al-ʿAzzāwī, in *MMIA*, xxviii (1953), 330-2; M. Weisweiler, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 193-4); *Sharaf aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, a work on the prominent significance of the traditionists (ed. by M. S. Hatîboğlu, Ankara 1971; cf. al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 268, no. 942; al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 212, 219); *al-Sābiḳ wa 'l-lāḥiḳ*, a biographical dictionary of traditionists (only known in the Chester Beatty ms. 3508, dating from the 7th/13th century); *al-Muʾtanif fī takmilat al-Muʾtalif wa 'l-mukhtalif*, on the correct spelling and pronunciation of resembling proper names, gentilic names and nicknames, with biographical data, in addition to al-Dāraḳuṭnī's [*q.v.*] *al-Muʾtalif* (cf. al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 133-4, no. 74); *al-Muttafiḳ wa 'l-muftariḳ*, a biographical lexicon of traditionists who, according to their name, seem to be one and the same person, but in fact are different persons (cf. al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 131 f., no. 71); *Talkhīṣ al-mutashābih fi 'l-rasm wa-ḥimāyat mā ashkala minhu min nawādir al-taṣḥīf wa 'l-wahm* (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 267, no. 937); *al-Asmāʾ al-mubhama fi 'l-anbāʾ al-muḥkama*, a work concerning 171 (?) *ḥadīths* arranged in alphabetical order according to the personalities who remain anonymous in these *ḥadīths*, concerning whose identification there exists confusion or difference of opinion, but who are now ascertained by the author (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266, no. 933; R. Sellheim, *op. cit.*, 69-73, no. 20); *Mūḍiḥ awhām al-djamʿ wa 'l-tafrīḳ*, quoted by the author in his *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 429, 4 (printed in 2 vols., Hyderabad 1378/1959 f.; Hatîboğlu, *op. cit.*, 10; al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 133 no. 75); *al-Riḥla fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth* (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 267, no. 940; cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 175 ff.); *Iḳtiḍāʾ al-ʿilm al-ʿamal* (ed. by al-Albānī, cf. al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266, nos. 934 and 941; A. Ateş, in *RIMA*, iv (1958), 14, with table); *al-Faḳīh wa 'l-mutafaḳḳih* (ed. by I. al-Anṣārī, 2 vols., Riyāḍ 1389/1969; cf. al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 126, no. 34); for further short works on *ḥadīth*, see al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266-9. Next to his *Amālī*, which he dictated in the Umayyad mosque at Damascus (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266, no. 935; cf. al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 121, no. 1), special mention should be made of three other works which in their own way are characteristic for the famous preacher: (1) *al-Taṭfīl wa-ḥikāyāt al-ṭufayliyyīn*, a collection of often delightful stories and verses built around the rich *adab*-theme of the "self-invited guest", naturally provided—as in all the works of the author—with detailed chains of traditions (printed Damascus 1346/1927 and al-Nadjaf 1966; ms. of the 6th/12th century, Chester Beatty 3851); (2) *al-Bukhalāʾ*, (ed. by Aḥmad Maṭlūb *et alii*, Baghdād 1384/1964) is parallel to al-Djāḥiẓ's well-known "Book of misers"; (3) a *Risāla fī ʿilm al-nudjūm hal al-shurūʿ fīhi maḥmūd aw madhmūm*, a treatise on the "permitted" astronomy, including the astronomical chronology, and on the "forbidden" astrology, including the prediction of astronomical events like eclipses (cf. M. Plessner, in *Islamica*, iv (1931), 532 f.). According to al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1167), al-Khaṭīb's works amount to 56 (in al-Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 316; [2]1139). Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 643/1245) numbers more than 60 (in al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 13), and Ibn Khallīkān (d. 681/1282) *ca.* 100, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1367/1948, i, 76 f.). According to a register of al-Khaṭīb's writings up to 453/1061 (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 564), the assertions of biographers and bibliographers and his own research in libraries, al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 120-37, records a total of 81 titles. He completes and enlarges Brockelmann's list with 23 items referring to manuscripts of hitherto known and also unknown writings of al-Khaṭīb. His inventory can further be completed and enlarged from statements in al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, and others, as indicated above. Finally, the two surveys by al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 79-91 and 92-119, on al-Khaṭīb's *shaykhs*, colleagues and pupils, one hundred in number, and on the works he read in Damascus, are also helpful.

Bibliography: (a) On the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*: H. Ritter, *Orientalia*, I, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, i, 1933, 67-71; J.-P. Pascual, *Index schématique du Taʾrīḫ Baġdād*, Paris 1971; O. Spies, in *Isl.* xlvi (1970), 224 (= Brockelmann, I, 401, 6 f.); other manuscripts, e.g. Chester Beatty 4702, 4818; M. N. al-Albānī, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt dār al-kutub al-ẓāhiriyya al-muntakhab min makhṭūṭāt al-ḥadīth*, Damascus 1390/1970, 266, no. 936, cf. 269, no. 953; for abstracts and continuations see Brockelmann, I, 401, S I, 563 and G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, Damascus 1963, 31 ff.; al-Khaṭīb's introductory chapter on topography (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, i, 4-101) was published with a French translation by G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'Histoire de Bagdâdh*, Paris 1904; the *ḥadīths* were compiled by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghamarī al-Maghribī, *Miftāḥ al-tartīb li-aḥādīth Taʾrīkh al-Khaṭīb*, Cairo 1355/1936; for further literature see Brockelmann, *op. cit.*; Munir ud-Din Ahmed, *Muslim education and the scholars' social status up to the 5th century Muslim era in the light of Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Ph.D. thesis, Hamburg 1968. (b) In addition to the works mentioned in the article: Kh. Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1954, i, 166; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1376/1957, ii, 3 f. (with the most detailed compilation of sources on al-Khaṭīb); M. ʿA. Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, 2nd ed., Tabrīz 1347/1969, ii, 144 f.; M. Ben Cheneb, *L'Idjâza du Cheikh ʿAbd el Qâdir el Fâsy*, in *Actes du XIVe Congr. Intern. des Orient.*, Paris 1908, 344 ff., no. 144; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 2, Leiden 1968, index; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, Leiden 1967, i, index.

(R. SELLHEIM)

KHAṬĪB DIMASHḲ [see AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ].

KHĀTIM [see KHĀTAM].

KHATMA, KHITMA (A.), pl. *khitām*, the technical name for the recitation of the whole of the Ḳurʾān from beginning to end, the verbal noun from *khātama*, denominative verb from *khātam* [*q.v.*]. The complete recitation of the Ḳurʾān is, especially if it is done within a short time, a meritorious achievement, e.g. in eight nights, as Ubayy b. Kaʿb is said to have done (Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 60, 23; cf. on ʿUthmān, *ibid.*, iii/1, 53, 3). It is related of Sulaymān al-Aʿmash

that he accomplished the *khatma* at times according to ʿUthmān's recension and at times according to the reading of Ibn Masʿūd. For a dead man, the reciters were asked to recite the *ḳirāʾat al-khatamāt* (e.g. in the *1001 Nights* in the story of the merchant Ayyūb and his son). In Egypt the *khatma* was used as an entertainment for guests. In modern Mecca the so-called *iḳlāba* is celebrated when a boy has read through the whole of the sacred book (the ceremony after the half or one-third is called *iṣrāfa*). In South Arabia a *khātam* is presented to one who has recited the whole book for the first time.

Bibliography: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 146, 272; Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 126 ff.; Lane, *Arabian Nights*, i, 382; Goldziher in *Isl.*, vi (1915), 214, on *khatm al-Bukhārī*. (Fr. Buhl*)

KHAṬṬ (a.), writing.

i. — In the Arab world.

The Arabic writing used, according to tradition, as early as the lifetime of Muḥammad, for setting down the sacred text of the Ḳurʾān, subsequently underwent a diffusion corresponding to the expansion of the Islamic faith and to the development of the Islamic civilisation in which it came to full fruition.

A script of alphabetic and phonological type, belonging to the vast family of Semitic scripts, it shows in this capacity the characteristics of a consonantal script, with vocalisation signs added in the form of accents, and thus belongs to the category of scripts of which "the orthography always comprises an element of interpretation by the reader, an ideographic element" (M. Cohen). Its conditions of use and development were therefore determined by its association with the language which it was required to express, in terms of social facts to which we shall have to return, for the Arabic language became very quickly a major academic and literary language, while experiencing here and there divergencies of articulation and pronunciation which belonged to the sphere of colloquial usage and were consequently ignored at the level of orthography. This very individual script was also applied to other languages where the conditions thereby created do not concern us here.

On the other hand, in the evolution of Arabic script, the shapes of the letters themselves underwent changes in appearance which were not only linked to the rare attempts at orthographic adaption imposed by the cultural milieu, but were also determined by other influences, technical, aesthetic and psychological, within Arabo-Islamic society during its evolution in the course of the centuries, not the least of these influences being the assimilation of graphic writing to an art-form.

It would be impossible here to make a proper study of either the nature or the evolution of Arabic writing in its many different manifestations, while taking into account the principal studies dealing the subject, without some preliminary and indispensable remarks, regarding both its scope and its propagation. These remarks can only be brief and inconclusive, because the perspective has been insufficiently pursued to this day: it appeals in fact more to the curiosity of the historian and the sociologist than to that of the specialists who have hitherto interested themselves in decipherment or in stylistic analysis of Arabic writings. It nevertheless opens up directions of research which can only prove to be fruitful, inviting us to consider, behind the simple observation of palaeographic facts, the meaning and the value of the evidence carried by the documents themselves. Here we encounter some of the questions of a general order which have been posed by the linguist Marcel Cohen when he has reflected on the conditions of birth, expansion and transference of different types of script, and has been obliged to envisage them in the terms of the axiom affirming that "the use of the script is a function of its utility in a given society" (see *La grande invention de l'écriture et son évolution*, Paris 1958, *passim*).

The first point to be underlined in this sense is, without doubt, the incomparable prestige which has constantly been enjoyed, in the world of Islam, by an Arabic script borne, it could be said, by the expansion-movement of the religion with which it had been associated from the beginning. As the instrument of materialisation and transmission of a message identified with the Divine Word, this script permitted, among the members of the first Muslim community, the precise conservation of the letter of the revelation and, thus facilitating its study as well as its memorisation, obtained a sort of "sacred character". The reality of this "consecration" is confirmed by the textual Arabic sources; the data regarding this subject, found in the Ḳurʾān itself and the *ḥadīth*, also in personal opinions of various authors, deserve a more extensive and systematic exploration than has been undertaken hitherto (see, for example, the attempt made by F. Rosenthal, *Significant uses of Arabic writing*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iv (1961), 15-23; cf. idem, *Abū Ḥaiyān al-Tawḥīdī on penmanship*, in *Ars Islamica*, xiii-xiv (1948), 1-30).

At the same time, the Arabic alphabet benefited in its diffusion outside Arabia, from the rapid propagation of Arabic as a liturgical and cultural language of the Arabo-Islamic empire, itself constituted shortly after the conquest to which Muḥammad had given the first impulse and which followed almost immediately upon his death. The various usages, profane as well as religious, for which the Arabic script was henceforward adopted, conferred upon it a considerable expansion in its territorial scope: not only did it take the place of local scripts previously employed, in the same way that Arabic was to some extent substituted for the autochthonous languages temporarily reduced to an inferior role; but it was also offered to all Muslims, by means of the teaching of the Ḳurʾān, first written and read in Arabic, as the means of graphic representation of various non-Arab languages, those which continued to be employed or which were gradually revived, in various provinces of this rapidly-fragmented empire, or even those which were introduced, in differing circumstances, by new ethnic elements, but which all encountered, in the course of the centuries, a preferential treatment linked to the development of states and of national feelings. Thus the Arabic script became the script of Iranian languages (such as Persian and Pashto or Afghān) or Turkish languages (such as the ʿOthmānlī Turkish of the Ottoman Empire and other Turkish dialects then current in Ādharbāydjān, in the Caucasus, in Turkestan and as far away as China) languages of the Indian (the Urdu variety of Hindustani) and Malayan peninsulas (the ancient script of Malay, as well as languages belonging to Madagascar and the Comoro islands), languages of North Africa (Berber), of mediaeval Spain (literature of the *al jamia* [*q.v.*]), of Slavonic Europe (the Croat language, for example), and of Black Africa (languages of the Bantu family, such as Swahili, or Sudanese languages, such as Hausa, Peul and Kanouri from the Chad region). At the same time, it was the object of other episodic usages (for more precise details and essential bibliography, see M. Cohen, *Grande invention*, 184-6, and doc. 109-11).

It would thus not only appear difficult to distinguish formally from the Arabic script the various scripts of the Islamic domain which borrowed its alphabet, but it is even more difficult to draw with precision, over the course of the centuries, the contours of the geographical area marked by its usage. The historical mutations of the Muslim world, losing some of its provinces, making gains in other directions and attaining its actual limits by the device of proselytism and peaceful conversion, provoked constant modifications in the parallel developments of a language, a religion and a script, whose contour-lines did not necessarily coincide. There were of course some absolute regressions on the part of Islam and of Arabic speaking (the reconquests of Spain and of Sicily, for example), resulting in a similar abandonment of Arabic graphisms, except in the case of ornamental inscriptions; but there were also cases where the spoken Arabic language declined, ceasing to cope adequately with the administrative or literary requirements, but the Arabic script survived, linked to the maintenance of the academic Arabic languages in circles still Islamised. Also, there were cases of Islamic gains, at once territorial and demographic, especially notable in South-East Asia and Black Africa, which resulted in an expansion of Arabic graphisms surpassing that of the language, to correspond with that of the Muslim faith itself; on the other hand, areas Islamised in ancient times, where Arabic retained its prestige as a religious language, have seen in modern times a decline in the use of the Arabic script, as decisions have been taken favouring the phonetic notation of, for example, Turkish, Malay, Malagasy or African languages into the Latin, and sometimes the Cyrillic alphabet.

The consequences of these various phenomena of replacement, or on the contrary, of adoption, of the Arabic script cannot be evaluated quantitively in a precise manner, any more than can the effects of the recent tendency to an increased utilisation of this script, in the Arab countries, for the practical reasons of the proliferation of documentary material and especially of the progress of education and the spread of literacy, familiarising the vast masses of the population with the alphabet.

This progress at least seems clear-cut, and the crystallisation of sentiments linked to a new consciousness of Arabism and of its cultural patrimony even today reinforces the vogue and the universality of a script which has never ceased to transcend, as a mode of symbolic expression, the frontiers of the Arabic-speaking world. We know in fact to what extent its characters, privileged symbols of a true politico-religious unity, were able, by emotional as well as practical means, to impress upon the minds of Muslims of every race and every country that recognised them, from the classical period of Islam onwards, their superior and incontestable artistic worth.

In that period, in fact, when the triumphant society which had adopted the Arabic characters used them for utilitarian ends (archives, historical inscriptions, coinage, writings of all kinds) or for sacred purposes (copies of the Ḳur'ān, pious inscriptions, religious texts), the script was tending through its use in these media towards a high degree of aesthetic and decorative accomplishment in accordance with certain rules of formal beauty, as well as with the exigencies of literal meaning. The practice of writing Arabic was from that time onward an art, as well as a science, reserved for initiates. All the same, the experts in calligraphy were judged worthy, and this has remained the general rule in every Muslim society, to attain to the double distinction of artist and respected sage, acceding sometimes to the rank of masters of the "science of letters" (see ḤURŪF), itself a branch of the divinatory science of *dja̲fr* [*q.v.*] and an instrument of a talismanic art linked to certain aspects of mystical speculation.

This exceptional situation regarding the Arabic script over the centuries, in a particularly vast world where the "thing written" was at once admired and preserved, is insufficient alone to explain the abundance and the variety of documents on which today all knowledge of the forms belonging to this script, and their history, must rely. Developments of another order must also be invoked, among them one factor which in its way considerably influenced the development of Arabic civilisation, viz. the widespread manufacture of paper in the lands of Islam from the 3rd/9th century onward (see KĀG̲H̲ID). The expansion of this industry, which was not without effect in the sphere of economic exchanges and the transmission of sciences, facilitated the manifestations of the art of writing in providing the most convenient medium, with the smoothness of its surface and its lightness, a medium that was durable and not too costly. Sheets of paper of various formats, which could be carried, rolled up, folded and sealed, thus supplied the indispensable material for innumerable letters and archives, the latter sometimes enriched with artistic and illuminated signatures, which came to supersede the rare and costly specimens previously represented by pieces of tanned skin or parchment [see DJ̲ILD] as well as by papyri [see ḲIRṬĀS]. Their use permitted hand-written books, preserving in Arabic the texts of literary or academic works so that they proliferated at such a rate that the profession of copyist-cum-book-seller became, in the mediaeval Islamic cities, a profitable occupation in the context of the growth in popularity of "reading-rooms" and of private libraries [see K̲H̲IZĀNA]. It was not only intellectual life that gained a fortunate boost; but from that time on, the educated Muslim became a indefatigable writer, recording the oral tradition of his masters through the medium of the written word, never hesitating to comment upon or summarise, pen in hand, his own works as well as those of his predecessors, from whom he gladly reproduced extracts and quotations.

In the same line are the effects of another technical invention, which came much later to the Islamic world, that of printing with movable characters. From its expansion in the Near East in the second half of the 19th century—four centuries after its invention and diffusion in western Europe (although impressions on blocks of wood had made their appearance in the ʿAbbāsid period, in the 4th/10th century for the reproduction of prayers in Arabic and of talismanic formulas; cf. M. Cohen, *Grande invention* pl. 53)—dates a new transformation in the conditions of usage of Arabic writing, which have recently been further aided by the advent of typing and other industrial processes. The phenomenon, interesting to consider in itself, could have resulted in a radical normalisation of Arabic writing, an undertaking which is still recommended in some quarters today in the form of various projects for the improvement or even the replacement of the traditional alphabet. In fact, it resulted only in the hardening of some types of usage, halting, in favour of the most widespread cursive, that is the "oriental" cursive, the evolution of signs which have preserved to this day in printed texts the features of a handwritten script.

We must return to the various functions supplied by Arabic writing in the mediaeval world in order to understand the abundance of stylistic varieties which corresponded, in spite of its constant orthography, to successive or concomitant stages of its development in the course of the centuries.

The writing practised by government scribes in their compilation of archives or their official documents could not be the same as that of calligraphers working to satisfy the taste for luxury of some patron, nor that of pious people copying the texts of the Ḳurʾān, nor that of scholars making rough drafts or taking down speeches and discussions as dictation, nor that of merchants writing private letters and statements of account, nor that of makers of amulets and magical diagrams, for example. The greater or lesser degree of legibility required in each case—whether it was a case of documents intended to be widely read or appreciated solely from an artistic angle, or designs of limited, technical and sometimes even esoteric usage—intervened to modify the types of letters used; thus certain types of script reserved for certain uses are differentiated, scripts of diplomacy or of business accounts, for example, but also artistic scripts illustrated by inscriptions on objects of common usage, such as the illegible anthropomorphic scripts whose letters, on precious objects of inlaid metal, are disguised as the gesticulations of small figures (see on this subject, D.S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Paris 1954, 22-33), or on the contrary, the rigid and simple "kūfic" or "astronomical" scripts used particularly for the figures and other markings born by astrolabes (see for example, M. Destombes, *Les chiffres coufiques des instruments astronomiques arabes*, in *Physis*, ii (1960), 197-210).

Other types may have been given shape by the influence of the many different regional milieux and national temperaments which coexisted in the world of Islam and whose heritages it is difficult to define with certainty. Even if our remarks on this subject may be connected with reflections concerning other families of scripts (see the collective work devoted to *L'écriture et la psychologie des peuples. XXIIe Semaine de Synthèse*, Paris 1963), the ethnico-linguistic procedures which are often applied to these local schools of writing should not be handled without caution. It may be admitted, for example, that the resources of artistic imagination belonging to Iranian and Turkish artisans were the origin of some of the finest compositions which have ever been executed in angular Arabic characters, and it is fashionable to give the credit to the ornamental artists of the eastern provinces. Living in the semi-independent kingdoms of Khurāsān and Sīstān, as well as in the Iranised Baghdād of the Būyids, for example, they could be counted among the artisans most active in the embellishment of ornamental writing, their efforts being parallel to those which they pursued in imposing their own style upon the intricacies of the arabesque. They must also often have been the initiators of the styles which subsequently spread towards the western regions of the world of Islam, and they must have contributed to the popularity there of motifs at once calligraphic and floral, enriched with geometric embroidery, which were adopted there after a short lapse of time. But the exact role played by ethnic association cannot be appreciated any more than the relations uniting, as some scholars express it, the melodic line of Arabic music or song and the almost undulating and dynamic rhythm towards which the most elegant Arabic cursive scripts are always obliged to tend.

At other levels, other technical factors were involved, regarding notably the length of time required to execute a certain specimen of calligraphy one or more times, according to the material and the process chosen, according to the originality peculiar to the "hand" of each artist, and the opportunity he had of transferring inflections or inspiration from different styles. It was often the opportunities offered to the artisans, to the stone-cutters or the scribes, by the material at their disposal, according to the periods and according to the areas, which determined the birth of different styles, attributed also to the personality of the famous calligraphers who invented them or illustrated them and who are mentioned in the accounts traditionally repeated or amplified by the ancient Arab authors. As regards the handling of the pen, echoes are found in western works having taken as the basis of their developments, in the Europe of the 19th century, information still alive in the Ottoman empire (see for example, ch. ii of A. Herbin, *Essai de calligraphie orientale*, Paris 1803). Each time there is stressed the importance of the *ḳalam* [*q.v.*] and of the manner of cutting it; attention is also drawn to the types of ink used; the other items of equipment of the copyist are listed (see the precise details supplied on this subject by A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, i, Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1967, completed by the more recent commentaries supplied by J. Sadan, *Encore du nouveau sur scribes et copistes*, in *REI*, xlv (1975). But we should not at the same time forget the influence exerted by the utilisation of different techniques, which were prevalent both for monumental and furniture inscriptions and could range from incision and sculpture in champlevé, in stone and stucco, to painting on plaster or pottery, to carving on metal, to inscriptions in relief or to the complex construction of mosaics with cubes of glass and especially, with fragments of brick and ceramic.

Actual fact does not allow us to establish, as has sometimes been suggested, that there are two separate categories of Arabic characters, one represented by epigraphic documents of every genre and the other by manuscript texts. It is known, in fact, that the eminent calligraphers often provided, by setting them down on paper, the models for inscriptions subsequently executed in every other manner and that a trait peculiar to the artisans of the mediaeval Muslim world was that they loved to prove their virtuosity by transposing, from one material to another, and from painting to sculpture, or from metal to ceramic, or conversely, worked. It seems, on the other hand, that the supple involutions of rounded letters, sometimes credited solely to the talent of the copyist, are found from the 6th/12th century onward in monumental inscriptions and that there is, on the other hand, no shortage of ancient manuscript having recourse to the angular characters incorrectly described as "lapidary". But in any case, it must be admitted that the nature of the technique practised is often sufficient to explain the variations, at the same time multiple and concurrent, without being of exactly simultaneous usage, that are to be found among inscribed compositions, of the same date and of the same origin, established on different material bases. There is no doubt that here we find the determining cause of much in the way of subsequent stylistic ramifications, of which the birth would otherwise appear fortuitous.

Here should be added the effects of choices which are more difficult to discern in their motivations, for they were linked with the very attitude of mediaeval Muslim society to artistic invention, to its taste for the repetition of formulas and the conventions of workshops, to its admiration for redundance and sumptuousness which developed under the aegis of patrons motivated as much by love of ostentation as by concern for their own glory, and which gave rise to the refinement of sumptuous manuscripts which multiplied in the same way as that of monumental and movable epigraphs. These last factors in the differentiation of shapes acted, however, without going against the spirit of conservatism which marked Arabic writing on the level of orthography and which held to a great extent to the spirit of an Arabo-Islamic civilisation conscious of its superiority, at the same time reserving to a small élite the monopoly of a written communication of limited accessibility and destined to remain thus.

For all these various reasons (more extensively developed by J. Sourdel-Thomine, *The development of Arabic script*, in *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, i, ch. 1), the Arabic script was abundantly used in an Islamic milieu over the course of the centuries, and innumerable documents bear witness to it. Such wealth excites admiration, but it also explains the difficulties always encountered by those wishing to study it methodically: the world of Arab palaeography remains that of scattered and unevenly accomplished exploratory studies, where general surveys of sufficient completeness are lacking as well as systematic inventories of such-and-such a series of specimens and the information they provide.

In the absence of any means of ameliorating this deficiency, we shall content ourselves here with presenting a provisional survey of the results obtained. On the one hand we shall stress the defects in orientation of the scanty working-material that exists, and on the other hand we shall indicate the principal opportunities that present themselves for tackling this vast question, pursuing a double approach: bringing out on the one hand the specific traits of an Arabic script remarkable to the present day for the consistency of its system of transcription, whilst drawing attention on the other hand to important chronological phases discernible in the evolution of its shapes. Furthermore, it should never be forgotten that in addition to these major stages, there were secondary phases, linked together. following one another in succession or on the contrary overlapping, in a somewhat anarchic process of development, according to the changing modalities of usage and the great artistic flowering to which allusion has been made above.

As the science of studying Arabic graphisms, which figures among the modern disciplines of orientalism but remains a science in its infancy, Arabic palaeography has not yet given birth to a single manual or introductory work other than one major publication, which after many years of planning remains incomplete. The idea for this work first occurred to Adolf Grohmann when he attended the lectures given on this subject by Josef von Karabacek in 1910 and 1912 at the University of Vienna. Only two volumes have appeared to this date (A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, Teil i, Vienna 1967; Teil ii, Vienna 1971), which there is little hope of ever seeing completed. The historical summary of the first efforts devoted to the study of Arabic writing, first in the Islamic world (i, 4-32), then among a growing group of western orientalists from the beginning of the 17th century to the present day (i, 32-65) is followed, after remarks bearing on materials of writing (*Die Beschreibstoffe*, i, 66-131) only by analyses concerning the types of writing defined by the author as "lapidary" (*Das Schriftwesen. Die Lapidarschrift*, ii, 3-290), types whose study is certainly of vital importance, but whose various aspects are not sufficient to characterise the evolution of Arabic writing in its entirety.

There is also the survey, meticulous but of limited scope, compiled by B. Moritz in 1910 in the first edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam [s.v. ARABIA]. Other similarly hasty surveys followed, which attempted notably to place Arabic writing among the various systems known of notation of language signs (thus M. Cohen, *Grande invention*, esp. 181-6, 234-8, and 328-30, where the previous works are mentioned and remarks of a methodological order made; see also J. Sourdel-Thomine, *L'écriture arabe et son évolution ornementale*, M. Rodinson, *Le monde islamique et l'extension de l'écriture arabe*, in *L'écriture et la psychologie des peuples*, 249-61, 263-77, and D. Divinger, *The alphabet, a key to the history of mankind*[3], London and New York 1968, i, 210-15), or which attempted to place it before a more extensive public by increasing the number of illustrations (thus E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst*, Berlin 1942; A. M. Schimmel, *Islamic calligraphy*, in *Iconography of religions*, section xxii/1, Leiden 1970; N. Zayn al-Dīn, *Muṣawwar al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī*, Baghdād 1968, or idem, *Badāʾiʿ al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī*, Baghdād 1972). Yet others have been content to place the accent on certain aspects of the problem (thus M. Minovi and Ph. Ackermann, *Calligraphy. An outline history*, in A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, ii (1939), 1707-42; N. Abbott, *Arabic palaeography* in *Ars Islamica*, viii (1941), 67-104, which combined with a critical study of the preceding account, replies to certain positions adopted by A. Jeffery on the possibilities of identification of ancient Arabic scripts). Finally, there have been others who have confined themselves, either to a geographical area (for example O. Houdas, *Essai sur l'écriture maghrébine*, in *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux*, 1886, 85-112) or to a period (S. al-Munadjdjid, *Dirāsāt fī taʾrīkh al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī mundhu bidāyatihi ilā nihāyat al-ʿaṣr al-umawī*, Beirut 1972), or to both of these at once (S. Y. al-Djabūrī, *al-Khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī wa-taṭawwuruhu fi 'l-ʿuṣūr al-ʿabbāsiyya fi 'l-ʿIrāk*, Baghdād 1962), or even to the work of a single calligrapher (D. S. Rice, *The unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library*, Dublin 1955). Here there are only to be found provisional elements and incomplete syntheses upon groups of graphical variations which seem, by their very volume, to have dampened the enthusiasm of the specialists, who, although a list of their works might give the impression that each of these subjects was covered at length, have never dealt with more than a small part of an immense and still partially unknown field.

But these sometimes superficial works have nevertheless surpassed in ambition the tentative endeavours to which other scholars too often confined themselves, collecting and regrouping, in the form of simple books of plates, specimens considered as typical of Arabic writing used, here or there, in such-and-such a period. Hence the several albums, often with ambitious titles, of which the most important since the end of the 19th century are easily listed (W. Wright, *Facsimiles of manuscripts and in, scriptions*, Oriental series, Palaeographical Society-

London 1875-83; B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*, Cairo 1905; E. Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium*, Bonn 1914; A. J. Arberry, *Specimens of Arabic and Persian palaeography*, London 1939; G. Vajda, *Album de paléographie arabe*, Paris 1959; S. al-Munadjdjid, *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabī al-makhṭūṭ ilā 'l-ḳarn al-ʿāshir al-hidjrī*, i. *al-Namādhidj*, Cairo 1960), and to which may be added collections of exercises in decipherment conceived at any early date (such as M. Bresnier, *Eléments de calligraphie orientale*. Algiers-Paris 1855, or L. Cheikho, *Spécimens de cent écritures arabes pour la lecture des manuscrits anciens et modernes*, Beirut 1885 and 1895).

In fact a search has to be made in works belonging to disciplines other than palaeography, in the narrow sense of the term, in order to find some of the most positive results regarding the study of Arab characters. Thus we may mention the important data obtained concerning the writing of the first centuries, through the progress of the science of papyrology. To the conclusions, today considered obsolete, reached by a Silvestre de Sacy and forming the basis for subsequent researches (as in his *Nouveaux aperçus sur l'histoire de l'écriture chez les Arabes du Hedjaz*, in *JA*, x, (1827), 209-31), there have succeeded the publications of results owed to the experience of Adolf Grohmann or of N. Abbott, as well as several other specialists (see on this subject the synthesis-data in A. Grohmann, *From the world of Arabic papyri*, Cairo 1952, esp. 69-93, and *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, i, Prague 1955, esp. 88-103; cf. *Arabische Papyruskunde*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, i/2, Leiden-Cologne 1966). These permit appreciation of the true value of such texts, difficult to decipher but of unquestionable historical authenticity, of which however only most incomplete series have yet been published, in occasional articles or in the catalogues of some great collections.

Also, there is the information provided by works of numismatics, starting with monetary materials (pieces of all kinds, jetons, glass weights and even seals) most often datable with certainty, emanating from equally identifiable mint centres and bearing inscriptions composed invariably in carefully executed scripts. These types of information have seldom been collated as they deserve, though mention should be made of the first results in this field, contained either in catalogues compiled according to modern rules (see the table of letter-forms set out by J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad coins*, London 1956, p. cii), or in specialised *Corpus* essays (see for example, the remarks of a palaeographic order contained in G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic glass weights and stamps*, New York 1948, 29).

Studies which have proved particularly fruitful, from the viewpoint of palaeography, are the works devoted by epigraphists to this decorative aspect of Arabic inscriptions and to the ornamental distortions of their characters, which constitute one of the most significant features. Not only has the system inaugurated by Samuel Flury concerning certain artistic schools locatable in time as in space (see for example, his *Islamische Schriftbänder, Amida-Diyarbekr XI. Jahrhundert*, Basel-Paris 1920; idem, *Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna*, in *Syria*, vi (1925), 60-90; idem, *Le décor épigraphique des monuments fatimides du Caire*, in *Syria*, xvii (1936), 365-76; and *Ornamental Kufic inscriptions on pottery*, in A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, ii, 1743-69) have continued to be followed for other periods or other places (thus V. A. Kratchovskaya, *Notices sur les inscriptions de la mosquée Djoumʿa à Véramine*, in *REI*, v (1931), 25-38; idem, *Ornamental Naskhi inscriptions*, in A. U. Pope, *Survey*, ii, 1770-85, and *Evolyuisia kufiçeskogo piśma v Sredney Azii*, in *Epigrafika Vostoka*, iii, (1949), 46-100; J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Epitaphes coufiques de Bâb Saghir*, in *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, iv, Paris 1950; idem, *Le coufique alépin de l'époque seljoukide*, in *Mélanges L. Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957, 301-17, and *Le style des inscriptions arabo-siciliennes à l'époque des rois normands*, in *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris 1962, 307-15; M. Ocaña Jiménez, *El cúfico hispano y su evolución*, Madrid 1970), but a similar method has been applied to the study of inscriptions on movable objects (L. Volov-Golombek, *Plaited Kufic on Samanid epigraphic pottery*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1966), 107-33). Then the procedure used for precise cases has also on occasion received particular attention (thus J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Quelques réflexions sur l'écriture des premières stèles arabes du Caire*, in *Annales islamologiques*, xi (1972), 23-35). Elsewhere, observations of this type have been collected and linked together in an ambitious treatment, such as that which was attempted by Adolf Grohmann, starting from a truly encyclopaedic knowledge of the question, but in a manner too diffused to allow a clear perspective of the evolution of the whole phenomenon (see A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, ii, cited above, of which the plan of research has been announced by the author in *The origin and early development of floriated Kufic*, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii, (1957), 183-213).

Finally, the studies brought to fruition more specifically under the disciplines of codicology, the science of manuscripts and their dating, utilising with profit the examination of their various external characteristics, must in their turn not be forgotten, even if they are still far from attaining a degree of scientific precision sufficient to bring to palaeography the elements of certainty that might be expected. There is, in fact, a contrast between the minute care taken by the scribes, users and owners of every copy of an Arabic text to add to it notes supplying its history, on the one hand, and the insufficient use, on the other hand, made of these notes in modern times to establish the dating of these copies and, thereby, the classification and verification of their scripts.

Certainly, the details recorded in modern catalogues, details supplied by the title pages or the final pages of manuscripts and enabling us to date them by means of their colophons as well as by the various marks of ownership, certificates of donation such as *waḳfs* [*q.v.*], seals, reading marks and certificates of audition that they contain, have served as points of reference, in the case where they have been noted: introductions to critical editions of good quality, presentations of collections, studies bearing on the conditions of transmission of ancient texts, announcements of discoveries shedding new light on opinions previously held (see for example, J. Schacht, *Sur quelques manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la mosquée d'al-Qarawiyyin à Fès*, in *Mélanges Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, 271-84, or S. M. Stern, *A Manuscript from the library of the Ghaznawid Amir ʿAbd al-Rashīd*, in *Paintings from Islamic lands*, *Oriental Studies* no. 4, Oxford 1969).

Nor has use ever been made for purposes of systematic classification nor of description of series of manuscripts belonging to such-and-such a type of

script, for there has been no attempt, on sufficiently broad bases, to make recensions with the purpose of establishing the chronological sequences of dated specimens, which would themselves be subjected to necessary palaeographic analyses. Two difficulties are encountered here: these are (1) the extraordinary quantity of copies of Arabic texts preserved to this day and (2) the insufficient knowledge that we have of them, the resources of some public libraries being incompletely studied in the West as well as in the East, and the relative importance of the contents of private libraries not yet catalogued or even sometimes noticed. It is to be hoped that in the future such inventories will be put to proper use; this will have to depend on a previous recension of the accessible Arabic manuscripts, an enterprise which is at present impossible in spite of the results contained in the monumental collections of works written in Arabic owed to C. Brockelmann and, more recently, to F. Sezgin. These inventories will enable us to fix with confidence the exact moment of appearance of a certain palaeographic feature, belonging to a certain local milieu or a certain well-known workshop. This is not yet possible, but one may at least use for first approximations the remarks supplied by the best catalogues of manuscripts and, by listing autograph signatures or references to contemporary copyists, enlarge considerably the actual field of research of the palaeographers.

To these data may profitably be added the results gleaned from thorough searches of archives containing official or private documents of all kinds (see remarks on the documentary wealth of a source of this type in J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, *Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire religieuse et sociale de Damas au moyen âge*, in *REI*, xxxii (1964), 1-2; *A propos des documents de la grande mosquée de Damas conservés à Istamboul. Résultats de la Seconde Enquête*, in *ibid.*, xxxiii (1965), 73-85). Here there is to be found palaeographic evidence of the first importance, ranging from notary acts [see WATHĪḲA] to requests or personal letters (for publications of letters of this kind see, for example, A Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe aus der Papyrussammlung der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek*, Hamburg 1955; S. M. Stern, *Petitions from the Mamluk period*, in *BSOAS*, xxix (1966), 233-76, with reference to his previous articles on the requests on the Fāṭimid or Ayyūbid epoch; D. Sourdel, *Deux documents relatifs à la communauté hanbalite de Damas*, in *BEO*, xxv (1972), 141-51).

But the most abundant source of elements immediately of use for a rational knowledge of Arabic writing still remain, amid all these manuscripts relics, these copies of the Ḳur'ān, which have already supplied the material for a special chapter of philological and palaeographic research. In the same way that the modalities of recension of the Ḳur'ānic text and the divergencies of reading to which certain of its passages can give rise led to the development, during the early centuries of Islam, of the first grammatical as well as exegetical studies. Hence copies of the Ḳur'ān offer the most solid base that we have to this day for describing the evolution of fine Arabic characters.

Catalogued since the end of the 19th century in the major western collections of which they were a part, these copies were the source of the studies of "hieratic" angular calligraphy which form the basic material for G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl (*Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, Leipzig 1938), who summarise in this volume their previous essays and especially for the series of new hypotheses subsequently expressed by N. Abbott (*The rise of the North Arabic script and its Kur'anic development*, Chicago 1939), A. Jeffery (review in *The Moslem World*, xxx (1940), 191-8), R. Blachère (*Introduction au Coran*, Paris 1947, 83-9), and G. Levi Della Vida (*Frammenti coranici in carattere cufico nella Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican 1947), without forgetting the very illuminating note by A. Grohmann (*The problem of dating early Qur'ans*, in *Isl.*, xxxiii (1958), 213-31) taking the discovery of a new fragment of the Ḳur'ān on papyrus as a basis for proposing the attribution to the 1st/7th century copies of the style previously called *ḥidjāzī*.

Certainly, the conclusions reached till now, especially concerning the calligraphic material in ornamental "kūfic" known as "lapidary", remain fragile and imprecise. There is no scientifically defensible position other than to suspend in this regard all judgement until there have been made, with the most minute observations of detail, regroupings by families, which comparisons and careful indexing will perhaps enable us to apportion chronologically and geographically. There is no guarantee even that the points of reference established then will not appear to be deceptive in regard to the work of research and analysis which they will require and which would have to take account of extensive collections not yet inventoried like that of the Damascus Ḳur'āns of Istanbul (cf. J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, *Nouveaux documents*). But, in spite of these reservations, the several working hypotheses already adopted, according to which were recently classified in an approximative manner the 164 exhibits of a remarkable exhibition of Ḳur'āns of all kinds (see M. Lings and Y. H. Safadi, *The Qur'an. Catalogue of an exhibition of Qur'an manuscripts at the British Library, 3 April — 15 August 1976*), prove themselves to be indispensible in enabling the reconstruction, by means of Ḳur'anic scripts alone, of the history of Arabic manuscript writing and its enrichment through elaboration of forms and the introduction of illuminations sometimes foreign to the shapes of the letters.

Beside these various scientific considerations, there are furthermore the data supplied by the ancient textual sources which have for a long time served as a basis for the reflections of the specialists and which should not be neglected. Even if most often they do no more than repeat one another and thereby ensure the permanence, to the modern milieux of calligraphers, of notions which were enunciated by the authors of the mediaeval period and which seem to have been subsequently perpetuated without being always fully understood, they show the interest felt by an erudite traditional society in the writing which it used, and they reflect in this sense the fruits of an instructive and solid experiment.

Certainly, the ideas which to this day have been extracted and expressed in western surveys correspond to a view of the problems at once formal and incomplete. What has been largely extracted from them is either the names of famous scribes considered to be the heads of schools and presented in the course of accounts of an anecdotal character, or enunciation of rules of calligraphy remaining obscure in the absence of an adequate terminology, or lists of technical terms, especially those which were in use to designate the styles of writing which scholars were content to enumerate. Even when an approach has been made on a more critical level, and attempts

made to determine the exact bearing of the terms adopted, to this day it is rare for sure conclusions to be reached. Whence arise the discussions which are still pursued among modern authors; and whence certain divergencies of interpretation concerning the text of the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (end of the 4th/10th century), regarding the *ḥidjāzī* and *kūfī* styles in the writing of the first Ḳurʾāns, may be chosen as examples (on this question, see e.g. N. Abbott, *North Arabic script*, 17-18, 23-25, 29-30). Researches such as have been pursued regarding the expression *al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb* or any other expression borrowed from the mediaeval vocabulary of copyists have in fact regularly ended in an impasse, the arguments used succeeding only in producing literary statements devoid of a direct link with the reality of the written documents: the deficiency, which was only accentuated progressively with the transmissions and transpositions of the same formulae from one author and one text to another, already affected the definitions of the most ancient historical sources accessible to us, of which the developments were never accompanied by explicit illustrations.

Nevertheless, this deficiency, which should be stressed, does not prevent the specialised Arabic literature from having a unique position in shedding a light, in certain cases on the past of a writing which forms the subject of the first *kitāb al-khaṭṭ*, *kitāb al-kuttāb* and *kitāb al-kitāba*, dealing with the types of script themselves, the presentation of the letters, the orthography, the grammar, the style, and the administrative techniques. The most ancient of these treatments date back to the 3rd/9th century, such as that of al-Baghdādī, where there are significant links with different passages included in the works of a contemporary polygraph like Ibn Ḳutayba (see D. Sourdel, *Le Livre des secretaires de ʿAbdallāh al-Baġdādī*, in *BEO*, xiv (1952-4), 115-63; cf. J. Sadan, *Encore du nouveau sur scribes et copistes*).

The encyclopaedic enterprises which such endeavours represented, and which sometimes came to give the tinge of a more literary research when they were conducted by an author like al-Tawḥīdī, were constantly reviewed and enriched throughout the mediaeval period until the works of the Mamlūk period which paid particular attention, as previously had the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, to various types of script or *khuṭūṭ*. The chapter which al-Ḳalḳashandī devotes to these (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Cairo, ii) wonderfully illustrates the importance of information thus gathered by a man of secretarial training, calling upon his own experience of chancellery practices to present a survey in which he enumerates the six principal types of Arabic script, which he designates by the names *al-Ṭūmār al-kāmil*, *mukhtaṣar al-Ṭūmar*, *al-Thulth*, *al-Tawḳīʿ*, *al-Riḳāʿ* and *al-Ghubār*. But one could equally well cite the text, recently published, of an author of the 10th/16th century, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭībī (*Djāmiʿ maḥāsin kitābat al-kuttāb*, ed. S. al-Munadjdjid, Beirut 1962).

All the commentaries thus attached to ancient calligraphic varieties, themselves classed in groups and sub-groups according to a system varying somewhat according to the authors, furnish in fact the elements of a traditional science which preserves its diffuse historical validity and whose ambiguities certain western palaeographers have partially succeeded in surmounting. Not only have they seen there a means of access to details of protocol put into practice in various periods by the bureaucracy of the Muslim states for their official correspondence, but the chronological indications developed in this manner have permitted them to determine, from Ibn Muḳla (273-328/886-940) to Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 418/1022 or 432/1032) and to Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī (640-58/1242-58) the most logically-supposed phases of a progression towards the elegance and suppleness which characterised, over the centuries, the evolution of the Arabic writing practised by scribes and copyists.

Such are the works on which at present our knowledge of the history of Arabic writing rests. The provisional assessments which may be drawn from them can conveniently be grouped under a small number of rubrics.

The first of these rubrics concerns the archaic Arabic writing which is seen to appear in the 1st/7th century and the importance of which rests on two fundamental features: the coherence, on the one hand, of its system of consonantal notation based on the existence of an alphabet, defective perhaps but already well established; and on the other hand, the normative quality accorded to it from that time, which was to enable its form to be maintained under the most elaborate of later graphical variations.

This archaic or primitive Arabic writing was employed in Arabia at the very beginning of Islam, from the lifetime of Muḥammad and during the caliphates of his immediate successors. The most ancient sources of evidence other than literary at our disposal are firstly, rare and uncertain: fragments of undated copies of the Ḳurʾānic text or letters of Muḥammad on parchment of which the authenticity has not yet been firmly demonstrated. Subsequently, some inscriptions are found on coinages of the type known as Arabo-Sāsānid or Arabo-Byzantine, and of greater importance are various lapidary remains, notably an epitaph from 31/652 preserved on a stele in the Cairo museum, of which the alphabet has already been extensively studied, and a historical inscription from 58/677-8 in the name of Muʿāwiya found in Arabia near al-Ṭāʾif on a dam out in the countryside. These texts permit a clear knowledge of the crude forms, so simple in fact as later to cause confusion, of the seventeen characters which constitute its alphabet, eighteen if we are to include the double letter *lām-alif*, still more counting the variations imposed on the isolated, initial, medial or final letters, put forward by the grammarians, from the 2nd/8th century, according to an original scheme taking account both of their appearance and of their phonetic characteristics. The shapes thus used had been inherited from earlier Semitic scripts, but according to a line of descent which cannot easily be established. They required in any case an orthography which was the object of some later improvements, by the addition of supplementary signs, but which always demanded a reading of the Arabic based on the recognition of the words themselves and thus permitted only to trained scholars to do this.

This orthography was first based on the small number of signs adopted to designate the twenty-eight phonemes of the Arabic language, twenty-five consonants and three semi-vowels, without counting the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, corresponding to the three vocalic tones of classical Arabic, and the short vowels which, in a Semitic language are generally considered as foreign to the "skeleton of the word" but which require no less a special system of notation, which became evident, according to the textual sources, before the end of the 1st/7th century. The same sign having been assigned to two or three phonemes, these were subsequently differentiated by the

adjunction, above or below the line, of one, two or three of those diacritical points which have been preserved to this day and to which was added also a special sign, the *s͟hadda* or *tas͟hdīd*, to mark the doubling of a consonant. Thus it became possible to distinguish letters such as *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*, *nūn* and *yā'*, in their initial and medial forms, or *ḥā*, *k͟hā* and *d͟jīm*, *dāl* and *d͟hāl*, *rā'* and *zāy*, *sīn* and *s͟hīn*, *ṣād* and *ḍād*, *ṭā'* and *ẓā'*, *ʿayn* and *g͟hayn* as well as *fā'* and *ḳāf*. The introduction of this practice, which in general may be seen as the imitation of a process put into practice by Syriac writing, cannot be dated with certainty, especially as the pointing appeared to be more or less necessary according the difficulty of the words transcribed and according to the more or less hieratic and stylised character required for the writing; but the example supplied by the inscription of Muʿāwiya mentioned above would seem to prove that its use in moderation, in the form elsewhere of little oblique strokes rather then points, dates back to the same antiquity as the use of the Arabic alphabet in the ancient Muslim era. Then, later in the same century, appeared special signs for vowels.

As for the shapes themselves, we should emphasise not only the simplicity of the contours and the irregularity of proportions, but also the abundant use made of ligatures, which joined the letters between themselves in the interior of the words, so as to give the illusion of a continuous line in which the letters were placed. This fact would seem to prove that the Arabic script derives from a "well-worn" script in which characters already degenerate were preferred to facilitate the joining of cursive script; but the question remains open as to where or when this derivation took place, and by means of which models drawn from the vast family of Aramaean writings which was formerly spread over the entire Near East.

The question of origins, for which the basic documentation continues to be limited to the rare inscriptions known as "Proto-Arabic", has excited a number of theories from the statements of Bernhard Moritz, re-examined by Nabia Abbott, to the recent hypotheses of J. Starcky (see on this subject J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Les origines de l'écriture arabe à propos d'une hypothèse récente*, in *REI*, xxxiv (1966), 151-7; cf. on the same point the reservations of A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, ii, 7-33), but to this day the question cannot be considered settled. The ancient Arabic sources, which attribute the invention of the Arabic script to persons of legendary nature, presented, according to the accounts in question, in different contexts, are on this point of very little help: they content themselves with affirming that the script was in use in the Arab kingdom of the Syria-Mesopotamia region as well as in Mecca in the 6th century A.D. On the other hand, the researches of modern scholars have as yet produced only controversial approximations. The opinion which has prevailed for more than fifty years would have it that there was a progressive transformation, in Arabic characters, of the symbols used, several centuries earlier, by the Nabataeans of the kingdom of Petra. The *petitio principi* on which this opinion rests and which consists in assimilating to the inscriptions known as "Proto-Arabic" the "Nabataean-Arabic" inscription of al-Namāra, quite different in appearance and two centuries earlier, has recently been vigorously opposed by specialist scholars of Nabataean who deny the existence, in its cursive forms, of the least resemblance to the future Arabic forms. These same specialists insist on the total hiatus that would in fact exist, as regards writing, between the distant period of the zenith of the Nabataean kingdom, in the 2nd century A.D., and the birth, in the 1st/7th century, of the Islamic state whose development ensured that of Arabic writing. So there arises for them the necessity to search out the prototypes of the Arabic characters in the symbols which served for the notation of other languages used, between the 3rd and the 6th centuries A.D., in the pre-Islamic Near East, especially in the Christian Arab kingdoms of Lower Mesopotamia, around the famous intellectual centre of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]. These symbols are not known to us today through any relics, but there remains as a clue the fact that the archaic Arabic script, this "linked cursive with reduced bodies for letters", as it has been strikingly defined, obeys the same principles as the Syriac script, of which some varieties no longer in use could well have been in practice in al-Ḥīra and in its surroundings.

Distinguished from archaic Arabic writing by its concern for equilibrium and regularity—this will be the second rubric—is "the imperial script" of the following period, which deserves the dynastic title of Umayyad. While remaining faithful to the preceding orthographic system, eventually improved in copies of the Ḳur'ān by the notation of short vowels, in the most anciently attested form, that of coloured dots, this script was in fact modelled, from a stylistic point of view, by the taste of the sovereigns who distinguished themselves in this sense by various innovations. Such was the official decision of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik imposing the use of Arabic on the scribes of the central as well as of the provincial administration, and ordering the composition in that language of the legends on coinage, which represented henceforth a new type, without any décor other than calligraphic. One notes that from his reign date the first specimens of Arabic writing worthy of comparison with Greek inscriptions previous to the conquest, and it is no accident that these specimens are found on milestones, themselves erected according to ancient usages. It subsequently fell to the lot of the son of ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Walīd, to leave on the walls of the first prestige monument of Islam, the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, an epigraphic band of hitherto unequalled importance.

Thus there rapidly came to be felt in full force the effects of a quest for equilibrium imposing on the various letters of the alphabet a stricter form, and permitting their classification into three series based on simple geometric schemes: tall and straight letters producing, above the base line, perpendicular or oblique strokes of variable dimensions; those which develop, on the level of this central axis or slightly above it, loops formed like little circles or like quadrangular figures of variable dimensions; and those finally which exhibit, still in a timid manner, below this same axis, curves which are more or less open and generally treated as simple fragments of almost perfect circumferences. These results had been obtained by the vertical elongation of the *alif*, the horizontal extension of the *dāl* and especially of the *ṭā'* or the *kāf*, the harmonisation of the shape of the letters with loops, the extension of the terminal curves of the *rā'* and especially of the *ḳāf* or of the final *nūn*, the eventual turning towards the right of the termination of the final *yā'*. The same shapes could be inscribed in a rigid manner on stone or rough parchment, for texts slowly copied and intended to last on account of their religious or historical value (manuscripts of the Ḳur'ān or

royal inscriptions, for example), or on the contrary copied more casually, with rounding and modification of forms, when it was a question of less important texts and of private or even official letters, and written with light pens on the uniform and smooth surface of sheets of papyrus.

Differences in treatment thus began to engender observable graphical variations, without, however, permitting a distinction at that stage between a utilitarian and cursive script, marked solely by the requirements of legibility and speed, and a more dignified script aimed purely at the requirements of art or of prestige. These differences none the less indicate the two directions which were soon to be followed and on the basis of which certain specialists formerly considered themselves authorised to insist on a supposed ancient duality of Arabic writing of which the two equally primitive forms, the angular form known as "kūfic" and the flexible known as "*nas<u>kh</u>ī*", would correspond to different systems destined to be perpetuated side-by-side. Today emphasis should be laid, contrary to such a hypothesis, on the fundamental unity of the earliest Arabic writing, which Bernhard Moritz and Adolf Grohmann agreed in recognising; but it is nevertheless correct to place in the Umayyad period the individualisation of the currents which subsequently led to the ramification of its styles according to two principal branches.

It is to the nature and the vitality of the first of these currents that the third rubric should then be devoted, envisaging an angular script, at the same time slow of execution and naturally ornamental, whose aesthetic value and nobility always prevailed over convenience, but whose taste for the most varied usages no less characterised the ancient ʿAbbāsid period. Not only were copies of the Ḳurʾān transcribed in this style until the middle of the 4th/10th century, but it was also used to preserve works of erudition or pious texts of all kinds which were written on parchment, while monumental inscriptions owed to it their astonishing decorative quality.

Thus we may speak of a constant flowering of kūfic over several centuries, simple kūfic at first when writers contented themselves with reproducing, in relief and with increased breadth, the thin lines of the Umayyad compositions, subsequently ornamental when the means for enriching and adding to it appeared favourable. The successes at once artistic and epigraphic, whose achievement it permitted while observing the priority of the textual quality of the inscription, became diversified up to the turn of the 6th/12th century, in the form of various styles often deserving to bear the names of regional dynasties which had favoured them individually: one may in fact speak of A<u>gh</u>labid, Ṭūlūnid, Fāṭimid or <u>Gh</u>aznawid kūfics for example, each presenting its répertoire of calligraphic embellishments, corresponding especially to so many historical and geographical stages in the transformation of Arabic writing in the context of an immense and soon fragmented Islamic empire.

To give an idea of these various styles and of their nature, it is not sufficient to recall the fundamental rules according to which kūfic scripts evolved, obeying a common tendency, that of combatting, by various devices, the imbalance originally present in every epigraphic band, between an upper section that was too empty and a lower section weighed down with characters crammed together. In such cases, a common tendency was to expand into palmettes the upper extremities of characters while their lower teminations little by little gave birth to slender or daring curves returning to the level of the high strokes. Other tendencies subsequently showed themselves, according to which the artists had recourse either to elongations or flexions of the letters themselves, or to casual motifs associated with the characters and situated in their backgrounds.

From the judicious use of these various procedures were born all the various types of "ornamental kūfic" which one may begin to distinguish and classify by means of the systems of analysis of alphabets brilliantly inaugurated by the works of Samuel Flury. There were, for example, the inscriptions where the letters were placed on a background entirely covered with ornamental arabesques, of which the stems could develop into asymetrical branches passing at random over the empty spaces or on the contrary crossing the characters without ever becoming confused with them, then following their coils by means of an independent and more or less involved foliated scroll. There were also techniques of developing, while starting from the letters themselves and their terminal points, either leafed or even flowered stylisations arranged regularly in a festoon, or networks of articulated lines in the style of a more or less important geometric border, capable of being extended into an unbounded knotwork pattern. Some daring experiments went so far as to insert within the letters figures of living creatures, rows of human heads for example or mixed groups of animals and humans. All these decorative processes are evoked, in modern classifications and definitions, by the terms of kūfic, leafed or flowered with ripple scroll, with floral border, with geometric border and finally anthropomorphic border. But at the same time, modifications were made of the outline of the letter itself, sometimes to the point of distorting its appearance and making one forget that the symbols in question could retain an alphabetic function under the distortions to which they were subjected. Thus there came about a proliferation of vertical strokes with counter-curves applied in the guise of "rising tails" to continue, in the upper part of the band, the final letters which originally finished below the base line. Use was already also made of breaks with rectangular turns, of elongations of all kinds, of braiding, indentations, ornamental ligatures and folding knots which characterise especially the multiple varieties of braided kūfic, although such a succinct enumeration cannot possibly take into account the gifts of imagination which made of every new decorative kūfic inscription a work of art that was unique, because based on the previous establishment of an alphabet and of an ornamental répertoire belonging to it.

Now these are precisely the typical details of this genre which marked the specific styles of the local schools which should be distinguished if one is to follow with any advantage the history of kūfic writing. Thus we observe the Syrian character of certain types of *<u>dj</u>īm*, *ḥāʾ* or *<u>kh</u>āʾ*. Similarly, the taste for braiding certain letters which might be, according to local tradition, the *dāl*, the *kāf* or the *hāʾ* for example, the taste also for superimposed motifs such as knots on tall strokes inserted between neighbouring letters such as the two *lāms* of the word Allāh, would distinguish the works from <u>Kh</u>urāsān where, in the 5th/11th century, particularly refined specimens are noted. In still another context, the direct decoration of letters with flowers would have prevailed especially in an Egyptian milieu, and the perfection attained in this respect by Fāṭi-

mid inscriptions, belonging to the style to which the name *Ḳarmaṭī* "Carmathian" was for a long time erroneously applied, would crown the success of efforts begun in the mid-3rd/9th century. Finally, the sobriety which for many years remained in use in the western provinces of the Empire, in Andalusia as well as the Maghrib—which should be interpreted as a sign of artistic regionalism—concealed in the 4th/10th century, at the time of the apogee of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain, the nature of a kūfic script that was already scholarly beneath an archaic appearance of the inscribed line.

In this fashion, one may understand the fragmentation and proliferation of the local schools to which reference should be made in order to supply even a concise picture of the varieties of angular writing practised during the first centuries of Islam. Such a precise picture has never yet been drawn; but only this would enable us to understand the stylistic developments and variations which are seen subsequently to become blurred in the latter phase of this evolution, when kūfic became, after the 6th/12th century, a script set in its purely ornamental role and in some respects outdated. If in fact it continued to be used for the ornamentation of architectural surfaces, it no longer had any other role—and this would be the final phase of its evolution—except to supply controlling outlines to purely decorative compositions, which could without any geographical restriction call upon all the formulae previously tried, mingle them in the most imaginative fashion, and in particular, set a seal on their transfer from East to West. But these compositions, while continuing to be legible, were no more than symbolic, henceforth used only for transcribing short religious invocations without historical counterpart. Aesthetic quality and concealed religious sense were all that counted, and they explain the birth of varieties such as "square kūfic" which had been influenced by certain Chinese characters and which succeeded in engendering, from Central Asia to Turkey, complex and rigid types of lace-work where the distinctive fundamental features of ancient Arabic writing are barely recognisable.

It is, however, this writing whose original aptitudes for flexibility and speed are immediately revealed when one tackles, under the fourth and last rubric, the success gradually enjoyed, in the post-Umayyad period, by a rounded script whose use soon spread well beyond the offices of the administration. Not only, in fact, did this favourite script of the scribes continue to be employed for all purposes, of which there survive especially Egyptian specimens, sometimes with striking contrasts between the more carefully written, hence semi-rigid script used for the text of the document itself and the irregular cursive employed for the signatures of the witnesses; but copyists of widely differing "hands" also used it, after the end of the 3rd/9th century, for the commonest of manuscripts, and the new style came to dominate, in the 4th/10th century, the sphere of copies of the Ḳur'ān. It was the expansion of this hybrid script which has sometimes been called "broken kūfic" or *naskhī* kūfic and which seems to have spread first in the far Iranian provinces, where it was used especially for personal inscriptions on pottery. The emphasis on the play of full and slender strokes obtained by the elegant handling of the pen led to the pre-eminence of triangular as well as diagonal elements, the cursive character of which did not cease to be stressed. Soon this "transitional" script, which itself underwent a number of slightly differing regional interpretations, encountered a new vogue in the Muslim West, where it lasted longer than elsewhere and where it inspired many of the features of later writings in the Maghrib.

At the same time, there came to light in the East the first manifestations of the successive styles of writing of those copyists who appear to enjoy such prestige in the accounts of Arab authors, evoking for each one among them the studies of eminent masters and their pupils. Thus it is known that it was the vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] who, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, took the initiative in codifying for the first time in a precise manner, by measuring them with pointing, the relationships of relative proportions binding together the various letters of the alphabet; it also fell to him to make the first systematic treatment of the best-known "six styles". A little later his reputation as a theorist of calligraphy was eclipsed by that of such accomplished artists as the great Ibn al-Bawwāb [*q.v.*] at the start of the 5th/11th century—the period in which cursive writing was judged of sufficiently high prestige to be employed subsequently in copies of the Ḳur'ān—and the no less famous Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī [*q.v.*] towards the end of the 7th/13th century. This was the period of the apogee of the rounded script often known by the convenient dynastic name of "Ayyūbid *naskhī*", before the scribes of the Mamlūk period turned towards redundant forms and a taste for thick interweavings of vertical strokes, and also before the appearance of novel tendencies, belonging especially to Iran and Turkey, which had two principal objects: on the one hand, the deliberate segmentation of the written line into sections "suspended" obliquely, in the true sense, one above the others according to a new art of writing which developed under the aegis of Īlkhānid and Tīmūrid princes before coming triumphantly into its own with the works of Mīr ʿAlī of Harāt; on the other hand, the methodical pursuit of a "monumentalisation" of cursive writing applied to vast surfaces, as was the rule for example in the schools of Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh in the 10th/16th century or of Ḥāfiẓ ʿUthmān more than a century later.

The rounded graphic forms thus ultimately held sway in the majority of Islamic lands, at all levels of the art of writing, and supplanted the hieratic forms for which they became substituted, since the 6th/12th century, in the lapidary inscriptions themselves. In this context, one could return to some of the remarks previously made in response to the more beautiful and baroque realisations of ornamental kūfic, while bearing in mind that a chronological and geographical classification has not yet been made of the most original schools according to which they flourished. Nevertheless, we should not forget the relative consistency of shapes which remains an essential characteristic and which justifies in a sense the sentimental attachment still shown today by every literate Arab, the attachment to a script of which the apparent variations have never been an obstacle to legibility while being the source of constantly renewed aesthetic achievements.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

ii. — In Persia

The calligraphy which developed in Baghdād culminated in Yāḳūt al-Mastaʿṣimī (d. 697/1298), the last great calligrapher at the ʿAbbāsid court. Thereafter Baghdād lost its importance, and in such

calligraphic styles as *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, *rīḥān*, *thuluth*, *naskh*, *tawḳīʿ*, *riḳāʿ*, all of which made up the "six styles", *aḳlām-i sitta*, gave place to Harāt, Mashhad, Tabrīz and eventually Tehran in Persia. Persian calligraphers, under the influence of Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī, carried these six types further, and created a Persian style of calligraphy by writing in them in a way suited to their own taste, and furthermore increased the number of styles by adding their own invention of *taʿlīḳ* and *nastaʿlīḳ*.

Although in the section on *khuṭūṭ al-maṣāḥif*, Ibn al-Nadim's *Fihrist* says that the Persians, in the first period of Islam's appearance, used a type of calligraphy called *kīrāmūz* (read *pīrāmūz*? See *Aṭlas-i khaṭṭ*, 126-30) for writing their copies of the *Ḳurʾān*, yet there is no early-enough attested surviving manuscript here. Badrī Atābāy, on pp. 299-300 of his work *Fihrist-i Ḳurʾānhā-yi khaṭṭī-yi kitāb-khana-yi salṭanatī*, Tehran 1351/1972, gives a Ḳurʾān page as an example of this *pīrāmūz* style of calligraphy, yet this seems hard to prove or disprove. Some Persian scholars, e.g. Bayānī and Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn-Farrukh have argued that this style of calligraphy emerged during the Sāsānid period and continued until just after the advent of Islam (see *Aṭlas-i khaṭṭ*, 397-8).

In order of their development, the different styles of calligraphy are as follows:

Kūfī. *Kūfī* script continued to be in use for some five centuries after the advent of Islam, especially for writing Ḳurʾāns. Moreover, it was used for writing the titles of manuscripts and their sections and the *basmalas* at their beginnings until almost the end of the 7th/13th century, often as an element of decoration.

The oldest extant Ḳurʾān written in Persian is dated 198/813, and appears to have been written for the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn, see Muḥsin Shāmlū, *Sahm-i Īrān dar nashr u tawsīʿa-i maʿārif-i islāmī*, in *Wāḥid*, no. lxxxvii, Tehran 1971, 75-85. The Ḳurʾān copied by Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Sharīf in 1323/1905 during the reign of the Ḳādjār Muẓaffar al-Dīn, in *kūfī* and *naskh* script, represents a harking-back to the ancient *kūfī* style of calligraphy.

The *Djalī* type of *kūfī* script was often used, together with *thuluth*, as a decorative element on buildings until recent times. Good examples of *kūfī* writing, in various types, are the inscriptions of the Pīr ʿAlamdār tomb (built in 418/1027) in Dāmghān, and the Ḥaydariyya Mosque (built in the 6th/12th century) in Ḳazwīn.

Muḥaḳḳaḳ ("strongly expressed [word], tightly-woven [cloth]") has as its main characteristic the feature that the left corner of the letters ت پ ب ی و ن م ل ك ق ف ض ص ش س ژ ز ر ذ د ث are angled. This script was used for long-page format Ḳurʾāns and also for frames. The long-page format Ḳurʾān of Bāysunghur b. Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr (d. 837/1433), some pages of which have been preserved in Persian museums, is very famous. Djaʿfar-i Bāysunghurī (9th/15th century), ʿAbd Allāh Ṭabbākh-i Harawī (9th/15th century), and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tabrīzī (10th/16th century) are the most important calligraphers after Bāysunghur. *Muḥaḳḳaḳ* yielded place to *thuluth* after the end of the 11th/17th century.

Rīḥān, *rīḥānī*, *rayḥān*, *rayḥānī* ("the aromatic plant basil", "having a fragrance") is a smaller version of *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, i.e. when *muḥaḳḳaḳ* is written in the size of *naskh* it is called *rīḥān*. This script was also used for copying Ḳurʾāns, and like *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, started to go out of circulation after the 11th/17th century in favour of *naskh*.

Thuluth ("one-third") is generally said to have derived its name from being based on the principle of a third of each letter being sloping. This is the script from amongst the *Aḳlām-i sitta* which has survived longest. It was and still is used for every kind of frame and for book titles in all Muslim countries. The most able calligraphers in this script are: Bāysunghur (d. 837/1433), Asad Allāh-i Kirmānī (d. 892/1486), Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥāfiẓ Harawī (d. 974/1566), ʿAbd al-Bāḳī-i Tabrīzī (10th/16th century), ʿAlī Ḳulī-i Shīrāzī (10th/16th century), ʿAlī Riḍā ʿAbbāsī (11th/17th century).

Naskh ("act of cancellation, abrogation"). Here, the Persians, just like in *thuluth*, followed the style of Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī. There are some Persian manuscripts in *naskh* of the 5th/11th century which already show a gradual transition from *kūfī*. The most clear example of this is a manuscript of Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAlī al-Harawī's pharmacological book, the *Kitāb al-abniya ʿan ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-adwiya*, now in Vienna; this was written in 447/1055 by a Persian scribe called Asadī-i Ṭūsī (see Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof-Bibliothek zu Wien*, 1865, ii, 534).

After a period of temporary decline, *naskh*, during the Mongol period, regained its beauty during the Tīmūrid period, but receded again in the 18th and 19th centuries. Persian *naskh* had a flavour of the *rīḥān* script until the 18th century. Aḥmad Nayrīzī gave to it in the 12th/18th century a new style and liveliness, until it almost acquired a *nastaʿlīḳ* character; it had an angular look and the verticals of the letters became relatively finer, giving this script a particular beauty and fineness. ʿAbd Allāh Ṣayrafī (8th/14th century), Bāysunghur, ʿAbd Allāh Ṭabbākh-i Harawī, Asad Allāh-i Kirmānī, Muḥammad Hādī-i Iṣfahānī (d. 1135/1722), Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn-i Iṣfahānī (d. 1300/1882), Mīrzā Ṭāhir-i Tabrīzī (20th century) are the most powerful exponents of this script. Modern Persian calligraphers follow the example of Aḥmad Nayrīzī in *thuluth* and *naskh* calligraphy.

Tawḳīʿ is a variety of *thuluth*, with its letters somewhat more compressed and rounded. Another special feature of it is that the letters like و ل ژ ز ر ذ د ا are joined to the letters following them. Sometimes, however, one may come across examples of *tawḳīʿ* in which all the letters are almost joined together; sometimes the final letter of a word would be joined to the first letter of the following word. This script was used in Persia for the final page, sc. that with the colophon showing the date and place of copying and the scribe's name, of elongated format Ḳurʾāns.

Riḳāʿ is a smaller version of *tawḳīʿ* and has the same rules. *Riḳāʿ*, which was formerly used for writing letters, epics and stories, later came to be used for writing the final pages of Ḳurʾāns and especially those of learned books. The Ottoman calligraphers called this script *idjāza* or *khaṭṭ al-idjāza*.

Djalī, *djalīl* was a name given to every large type of script, but was more specifically used for the large type of *thuluth*. The *djalī* variety of *thuluth*, which was little developed during the Saldjūḳ period, gradually started to become more beautiful by the 9th/15th century, and reached its utmost beauty during the Tīmūrid and especially Ṣafawid periods. This script was used for large-sized frames and also for public buildings and their inscriptions.

Its foremost exponents included ʿAbd Allāh Ṣayrafī, Baysunghur, ʿAlī Riḍā ʿAbbāsī-i Tabrīzī and Muḥammad Riḍā Imāmī-i Iṣfahānī (11th/17th century). Amongst their works, Bāysunghur's inscription on the Gawharshād mosque in Mashhad and ʿAlī Riḍā ʿAbbāsī's inscriptions on the Masdjid-i Shāh and the Luṭf Allāh mosque in Iṣfahān are the most beautiful examples in Persian djalī script.

Ghubār, ghubārī ("dust", "dust-like") is a term for every type of very small script difficult to read with the naked eye, but is often found in the *naskh* script; some very small-sized Ḳurʾāns were written in *ghubārī* script.

Musalsal ("strung together") is a term for the letters of *thuluth* script when joined to each other, rather than a special type of script. It was sometimes practised by calligraphers to show off their skill.

Siyāḳat, siyāḳ, a script considered to have been used from the Umayyad period onwards, has no artistic appearance and was used in financial registers and suchlike. The question whether it was used during the Sāsānid period has been put forward. See Aḥmad Gulčin Maʿānī, *Risāla dar ʿilm-i siyāḳ*, in *Madjalla-yi Dānishkade-yi Adabiyyāt*, Tehran 1344/1965.

Taʿlīḳ ("suspension, hanging together") is said to have got this name from its letters being connected to each other, and is in fact a compound of *tawḳīʿ*, *riḳāʿ* and *naskh* scripts, according to Persian scholars, and it is alleged that the sinuous style of the letters of the Pahlevi and Avestan alphabets played a rôle in its formation. *Taʿlīḳ* was used for writing books and letters and also in the *dīwān*s for official correspondence; it apparently started to be formed perhaps in the 5th/11th or following centuries, and by the 7th/13th century it emerged in its definite form. It was not used very much until the 8th/14th century, but then started to slowly lose its importance, and give place to *shikasta taʿlīḳ*; the works on calligraphy call the *taʿlīḳ* either *taʿlīḳ-i ḳadīm* or *taʿlīḳ-i aṣl*. The invention of this script is attributed either to one Khwādja Abu'l-ʿĀl (of whom nothing is known) or to Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn ʿĀlī Fārīsī Kātib (4th/10th century). Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad-i Shīrāzī (8th/14th century) was one of the great exponents of this script. The letters of *taʿlīḳ* are joined to each other, and letters like و ل ژ ز ر ذ د ا would be joined to the letters following them, and the script simpler than *shikasta taʿlīḳ*.

Shikasta taʿlīḳ ("broken *taʿlīḳ*) is the result of writing *taʿlīḳ* rapidly. The letters are written in a more intricate style, which makes *shikasta taʿlīḳ* difficult to read. It started to appear in the 8th/14th century, and was developed by Khwādja Tādj Salmānīyi Iṣfahānī (d. 897/1491). *Shikasta taʿlīḳ* declined in use when *nastaʿlīḳ* started to spread everywhere in the 10th/16th century, and was used decreasingly after the 19th century. Nowadays it is used in Persia for artistic display and for variety. Khwādja Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Munshī (10th/16th century) was especially famed for this script. Persians customarily call this script simply *taʿlīḳ* without the prefix *shikasta*.

Tarassul ("correspondence") is a name given by the *dīwān* secretaries to a plainer form of *shikasta taʿlīḳ*.

Naskh-i taʿlīḳ, naskh-taʿlīḳ, nastaʿlīḳ, is said in the works on calligraphy to have been formed by joining *naskh* and *taʿlīḳ*, and this compound gradually came to be pronounced as *nastaʿlīḳ*. Although it is said that it was invented by Mīr ʿAlī Tabrīzī (d. 850/1446), the existing manuscripts contradict this view and show that the invention of this script goes back as far as the 7th/13th century. In Turkey and in Arabic countries it is erroneously called *taʿlīḳ*.

Nastaʿlīḳ, after its emergence, became divided into two styles: (a) that of Mīrzā Djaʿfar-i Tabrīzī (9th/15th century) and Aẓhar-i Tabrīzī; (b) that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān-i Khwārazmī (9th/15th century). The first style, developed in Khurāsān, was accepted as being particularly suitable to Persian taste, whereas the second style, developed in Western Persia, was gradually forgotten. The first style, later called the "Khurāsānian style", flourished under such able masters as Sulṭān ʿAlī-yi Mashhadī (d. 926/1519), Mīr ʿAlī Harawī (d. 951/1544) and Bābā Shāh-i Iṣfahānī (d. 996/1587), and reached its highest point of beauty with Mīr ʿImād-i Ḥasanī-i Sayfī (d. 1024/1615 or 1027/1617), modern Persian calligraphers follow his path.

Shikasta nastaʿlīḳ, khaṭṭ-i shikasta, came into existence at the beginning of the 11th/17th century under the Ṣafawids, as a result of writing *nastaʿlīḳ* rapidly and of the calligraphers being under the influence of *shikasta taʿlīḳ*. Official correspondence had been done in *shikasta taʿlīḳ* until then, but was now replaced by *shikasta nastaʿlīḳ*. Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān Shāmlū (d. 1100/1688), Shafīʿa (d. 1081/1670) and Darwīsh ʿAbd al-Madjīd-i Ṭālḳānī (d. 1185/1771) are the great masters of this script. *Nastaʿlīḳ* was used in writing literary works, whereas *shikasta nastaʿlīḳ* was used mostly in writing letters and sometimes for official correspondence. Nowadays it is sometimes used in writing poetry in an artistic fashion. The Turks, however, showed very little interest in this particular script.

Taḥrīrī ("epistolary") is a more simple form of *shikasta nastaʿlīḳ*, used for writing letters and taking notes.

Muthannā, khaṭṭ-i muthannā ("facing each other"), is not a special script. Although it is possible to apply *muthannā* to any type of script, this was especially done with *thuluth* and *kūfī*.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo 1348/1929; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, Cairo 1332/1914, ii; Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭayyibī, *Djāmiʿ maḥāsin al-kuttāb wa-nuzhat ūlī al-baṣāʾir waʾl-albāb*, ed. Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Beirut 1962 (these are the three main works on calligraphy); Mīrzā Sanglakh, *Tadhkirat al-khaṭṭāṭīn*, Tabrīz 1291/1874; C. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1908; Ghulām Muḥammad Dihlawī, *Tadhkira-i khushnuwīsān*, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusaynī, Calcutta 1910; B. Moritz, *EI*[1] *Arabic writing*; ʿAbd al-Muḥammad Khān-i Īrānī, *Paydāyish-i khaṭṭ u khaṭṭāṭān*, Cario 1345/1926; Dost Muḥammad, *Ḥālāt-i hunarwarān*, ed. M. ʿAbdullāh Čaghtāī, Lahore 1936; Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1706-84; Arberry, A. J., *Specimens of Arabic and Persian palaeography*, London 1939; Aḥmad b. Mīr Munshī al-Ḥusaynī, *Calligraphers and painters*, tr. V. Minorsky, Washington 1959; ʿAlī Rāhdjīrī, *Paydāyish-i khaṭṭ u khaṭṭāṭān ba-indimān-i tadhkira-i khūshnuwīsān-i muʿāṣir*, Tehran 1346/1967; Mahdī Bayānī, *Aḥwāl wa-āthār-i khūsh-nuwīsān*, 3 vols., Tehran 1345-8/1966-9; Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic calligraphy*, Leiden 1970; Ḥabīb Allāh Faḍāʾilī, *Aṭlas-i, khaṭṭ, Taḥḳīḳ dar khuṭūṭ-i Islāmī*, Isfahan 1350/1971; Muḥsin Shāmlū, *Sayr-i takāmul wa-numūna-i khuṭūṭ-i*

gūnāgūn-i Ḳurʾān, in *Wahīd*, Tehran 1350/1971, no. xc; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, *Tārīkh-i khaṭṭ wa nuwīshtahā-yi kohan-i Afghānistān*, Kabul 1350/1971; E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst*² 1972. Important works on calligraphy and various styles of writing: Bayānī, *Fihrist-i numāyishgāh-i khuṭūṭ-i khūsh-i Nastāʿlīḳ-i Kitābkhāna-i Millī*, Tehran 1328/1949; idem, *Numūna-i khuṭūṭ-i khūsh-i Kitābkhāna-i Shāhanshāhī-i Irān*, Tehrān 1329/1950; G. Kostigova, *Obraztsy kalligrafii Irana. i Xrednei Azii, XV-XIX vv.* Moscow 1961; Nādjī Zayn al-Dīn al-Maṣrif, *Muṣawwar al-khaṭṭ al-ʿArabī*, Baghdad 1388/1968; idem, *Badāʾīʿ al-khaṭṭ al-ʿArabī*, Baghdad 1391/1971; Muḥammad ʿAzīza, *La calligraphie Arabe*, Tunis 1971.

(ALİ ALPARSLAN)

iii. — IN TURKEY

The Turks also followed the path of Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī in the *aḳlām-i sitta* until the conquest of Istanbul in 857/1452. But with refinements of mathematical and dimensional precision introduced by Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh (840-926/1436-1520), the famous calligrapher of Sultān Meḥemmed II and Bāyezīd II's reigns, these scripts reached a peak of beauty, and as a result of this a Turkish style emerged. After the conquest, other types of script came into existence, and gradually Istanbul became a centre for the calligraphic art.

The Turks elevated the main Islamic scripts, the *Aḳlām-i sitta*, to the highest point of beauty; hence the expression became current, "the Ḳurʾān was revealed in Mecca, recited in Egypt, and written in Istanbul".

Kūfī. The Saldjūḳs if Anatolia inherited the use of this script from the Great Saldjūḳs of Persia. The best examples of its ornamental use on buildings are on the Karatay *madrasa* (built in 649/1251) and Indje Mināre *madrasa* (built in 662/1264 at Ḳonya.

The Ottomans did not favour the *kūfī* script much, though it had a restricted use during the first two centuries of the empire on buildings in Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul, e.g. the Fātiḥ mosque in Istanbul.

Muḥaḳḳaḳ and *rīḥān*. *Muḥaḳḳaḳ* was especially used for writing inscriptions within frames, and *rīḥān* for writing Ḳurʾāns. These two scripts reached their artistic peak in the 9th/15th century, but from the 10th/17th gave place to *thuluth*. Notable calligraphers here were Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh (840-926/1436-1520), Aḥmad-i Ḳarāḥiṣārī (874-963/1469-1556), Ḥasan Čelebi (d. 1002/1594) and Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān (1052-1110/1642-1698).

Thuluth and *naskh*. These two scripts had special forms among the Saldjūḳs of Persia, being called Saldjūḳ *thuluth* and *naskh*, and these continued to flourish in Anatolia, especially with the influence of Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh and his school; subsequently Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān raised these two scripts to an aesthetic climax. Modern Turkish calligraphers follow the "school of Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān". Some of the important masters of this school are Yediḳuleli ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1144/1731), Küčük Darwīsh ʿAlī (d. 1128/1716), Meḥmed Shawkī (d. 1306/1888), Naẓīf Bey (d. 1332/1913), Kāmil Aḳdiḳ (d. 1941), Muṣṭafā Ḥalīm Özyazîdjî (d. 1964). The difference between the schools of Shaykh Ḥamd Allah and Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān is, in fact, only in minor and superficial details.

Tawḳīʿ and *riḳāʿ*. During the Ottoman period, when a student received his diploma (*idjāzat-nāma*) in *thuluth* and *naskh* calligraphy, his teacher would authorise and sign it using *riḳāʿ* script; hence this last was called *idjāza* or *khaṭṭ-i idjāza*. The calligraphers mentioned under *thuluth* and *naskh* also used these two scripts very beautifully (see album of Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh, Topkapı Sarayi Library, E.H. no. 2084, 2086, and also album of Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān, Aḥmed III, no. 3655).

Djalī. The most typical and beautiful examples of *djalī* in the period of the Anatolian Saldjūḳs, although they lack any dynamic quality, are on the portals of Indje Mināre *madrasa* and the Ṣāḥib ʿAṭāʾ *külliyye* in Ḳonya. The first change in *djalī* made by the Ottomans dates from the 9th/15th century, so that a distinctive Ottoman *djalī* starts to emerge. The pioneer here was the calligrapher ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūfī, writer of the inscription on the Fātiḥ mosque and the Bāb-i Humāyūn in Istanbul. *Djalī* acquired an especially vigorous character in the 19th century through the works of Muṣṭafā Rāḳim (1171-1241/1757-1825), and thus an "Ottoman *djalī* school" was established. Maḥmūd Djalāl al-Dīn (d. 1253/1837) also founded a school of *djalī* reminiscent of Aḥmad Ḳarāḥiṣārī's style of three centuries previously, but it was only followed by a few; Turkish calligraphers today follow the way of Muṣṭafā Rāḳim. Shafīḳ Bey (d. 1297/1880), Sāmī Efendi (d. 1330/1912), Kāmil Aḳdiḳ, Ḥalīm Özyazîdjî and Ḥamīd Aytač (b. 1309/1891) are the eminent masters of this school. *Djalī* script especially was used in inscriptions.

Ghubār, *ghubāri*. Some very small-size Ḳurʾāns were written in this script, meant for carrying on the tips of banners during battle; some examples of these may be seen in the museums.

Musalsal. It appears that the *musalsal* method of writing was followed for some of the texts done in *riḳāʿ* during the period of the Anatolian Saldjūḳs. But this method was most generally applied to *thuluth*. Ahmad Ḳarāḥiṣārī sometimes used the *musalsal* style.

Siyāḳat, *siyāḳ*. We already know that *siyāḳat* was used in the financial land register and *awḳāf* offices by the Saldjūḳs of Anatolia (see Houtsma, *Recueil de textes, Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure*, ii, Leiden 1902, 253). We do not much know about the situation of *siyāḳat* during the first period of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. up to the reign of Meḥemmed II, since very few official registers of this period have survived. We do, however, come across the use of *siyāḳat* in the documents of that Sultan's reign.

Taʿlīḳ. Although we find some simple patterns in this script in the documents of Meḥemmed II's reign, it was little-used in the later periods, and was not favoured to any great extent by the Ottomans. (For examples, see: *Fatḥ-nāma-i Agriboz*. Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi no. E. 10822, and Tahsin Öz, *Topkapı Sarayında Fatih Sultan Mehmed devrine ait vesikalar*, in *Belleten*, xiv (1950) 49. *Shikasta taʿlīḳ* and *tarassul*, like *taʿlīḳ*, were not used in Turkey.

Dīwānī. Although the script, according to the Turkish sources, was allegedly invented for writing official documents and registers of the *Dīwān-î-Humāyūn* founded by Meḥemmed II after the conquest of Istanbul, there is no doubt that it must have existed before then, probably evolving through the inspiration of *taʿlīḳ*. Reading *dīwānī* depends on a knowledge of its rules, since in this script letters like ا د ذ ر ز ژ و are joined to following letters like ا س ش ل ك following them. *Dīwānī* written contrary to the rules is called *dīwānī ḳîrmasî* "broken *dīwānī*".

This is also a result of writing *dīwānī* rapidly. We do not know the names of the *dīwānī* calligraphers until those of the end of the 19th century, since it was not customary to sign the documents issued by the *Dīwān*. *Dīwānī* reached its peak of perfection in the 19th century. Some of the *dīwānī* calligraphers, famous at the beginning of the 20th century, are Sāmī Efendi, Kāmil Aḳdiḳ, Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Altunbezer (d. 1946), Ḥalīm Özyazldjl and the still-living Ḥāmid Aytač. The use of *dīwānī* passed to the Arab lands through the Ottoman influence, and is still used in those countries.

Djali dīwānī. This is a variant type of *dīwānī* with the letters written within each other, and used for writing *fermāns* and *berāts*. It was written, like *dīwānī*, from the top-right hand of the sheet to bottom-left hand in an oblique direction and with every line rising upwards at its end. The same vowel points used in *thuluth* ar used in this script, and empty spaces are filled with small dots. *Djali dīwānī* flourished from the 9th/15th century onwards, its perfection being in the 19th century. The calligraphers of *dīwānī* also wrote in this script.

Nastaʿlīḳ. We come across the first examples of this script in Turkey during the reign of Meḥemmed II. It was brought to Turkey by calligraphers coming to the Ottoman court from Persia, and flourished under Darwīsh ʿAbdī (d. 1057/1647) and Kātibzāde Meḥmed Refīʿ (12th/18th century), and reached as high a standard of beauty as in Persia. It was Yasārīzāde Muṣṭafā ʿIzzet (d. 1265/1849) who freed Turkish *nastaʿlīḳ* from Persian stylistic influence, and thus a distinctive Turkish *nastaʿlīḳ* style came into existence. This last has unchanging geometrical and mathematical measurements, and the letters are slightly wider and longer than in Persian *nastaʿlīḳ*. Sāmī, Khulūṣī and Nedjm al-Dīn (d. 1976), are the great masters of this style. Although the Turks called the type of *nastaʿlīḳ* written rapidly and contrary to the rules *taʿlīḳ ḳlrmasl*, it is more correct to call it *nastaʿlīḳ ḳlrmasl*. *Nastaʿlīḳ*, used for writing poety and for inscriptions, was also used in the office of *Shaykh al-Islām*.

Shikasta nastaʿlīḳ. This was very little used in Turkey, though the official papers of the *Shaykh al-Islām*'s office were sometimes written in this script. Turkish *shikasta nastaʿlīḳ* is less complicated than that of Persia.

Rlḳʿa, rlḳʿī. This was probably invented during the second half of the 12th/18th century by simplifying *dīwānī* script, on the evidence of the archival sources. The main characteristics of this script are that its letters are less rounded and more straight. *Rlḳʿa* was used along with *dīwānī* in the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn*, and just like Persian *shikasta nastaʿlīḳ*, it also became a standard form of hand-writing amongst Turks, used for letters and every kind of correspondence.

The type of *rlḳʿa* used in the *Bāb-l ʿAlī* was an improved form devised by Mumtāz Efendi (d. 1287/1871), and hence was called either *Mumtāz Efendi rlḳʿasl* or *Bāb-l ʿĀlī rlḳʿasl*. A second change in *riḳʿa* was made by ʿIzzet Efendi (d. 1320/1902), hence is called *ʿIzzet Efendi rlḳʿasl*; this has softer lines than the previous type. *Rlḳʿa* written rapidly and without adhering to the rules is called *rlḳʿa ḳlrmasl*.

Khaṭṭ-i muthannā. Much importance was originally attached to this script. There are very beautiful patterns of it in the Ulu Cami in Bursa, but use of it decreased after the 10th/16th century. It was also called *ʿaynall yazl* ",mirror-like writing".

Appendix. Artificial scripts used in both Persia and Turkey.

These are the scripts which have been invented by distorting other scripts.

Resim yazl. This means drawing pictures with script. Although this could have some attractive aspects, the first-class Persian and Turkish calligraphers did not attach great importance to this practice.

Khaṭṭ-i muʿammāʾī. This can be applied to any script, and is the re-arrangement of a *ḥadīth* or some other important saying in a way which is difficult to read.

Khaṭṭ-i shadjarī ("tree-like writing"). In this script, so-called by western scholars, the letters bear a resemblance to the branches of a tree. It was applied to *thuluth*, and was sometimes used in both Persia and Turkey for writing book titles.

Khaṭṭ-i sünbülī ("hyacinth script"). The letters of this script, invented by the Turkish calligrapher ʿĀrif Ḥikmet (d. 1337/1918), resemble a hyacinth, and are also reminiscent of the letters of *dīwānī*.

Ālev yazlsl ("flame-like writing"). The letters of this script, which was invented by the Turkish calligrapher Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī Baltadjloghlu (still alive), resemble a flame. This style may be also applied to *thuluth*.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources already mentioned in the text, the main sources are: Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Manāḳlb-i hunarwarān*, ed. Ibn al-Amīn Maḥmūd Kamāl, Istanbul 1926; Nafaszāda Sayyid Ibrāhīm Efendi, *Gulzār-i ṣawāb*, ed. Kilisli Muallim Rifʿat, Istanbul 1939; Meḥmed Nadjīb, *Dawḥat al-kuttāb*, ed. Kilisli Muallim Rifʿat, Istanbul 1942; Mustaḳīm-zāda Sulaymān Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi, *Tuḥfa-i khaṭṭāṭīn*, ed. Ibn al-Amīn Maḥmūd Kamāl, Istanbul 1928; Ḥabīb, *Khaṭṭ u khaṭṭāṭān*, Istanbul 1306/1888-9; Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, *Türk yazilarlnlñ tedḳiḳine medhal*, in *Dār al-Funūn Ilāhiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmūʿasi*, ii (Istanbul 1926), nos. 5-6; Mahmud Yazır, *Siyāḳat yazısı*, Istanbul 1941; *idem*, *Eski yazıları okuma anahtarı*, Istanbul 1942; Melek Celâl, *Şeyh Ḥamdullah*, Istanbul 1948; Kemal Çiğ, *Hattat Hafız Osman Efendi*, Istanbul 1949; Süheyl Ünver, *Hekîmbaşı ve hattat Kâtibzade Mehmed Refi*, Istanbul 1950; idem, *Türk yazı çeşitleri ve faideli bazı bilgiler*, Istanbul 1953; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih devri hattatları ve hat san'atı*, Istanbul 1953; Ibnülemin Maḥmud Kemāl İnal, *Son hattatlar*, Istanbul 1955; L. Fekete, *Die siyāqat-Schrift in der Türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1955; I. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Türklerde yazı san'atı*, Ankara 1958; Mālik Aksel, *Türklerde dinî resimler*, Istanbul 1967; M. Bedreddin Yazır, *Medeniyet aleminde yazı ve Islâm medeniyetinde kalem güzeli*, 1972-4; Alī Alparslan, *Écoles calligraphiques turques*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Islam Tedkikleri Dergisi*, v (Istanbul 1973) nos. 1-4; idem, *Yazı-Resim*, in *Boğaziçi Üniversitesı Dergisi*, i (Istanbul 1973). Important works on palaeography etc.: Kazim Baykal, *Bursa'da Ulucami*, Istanbul 1950; M. Guboglu, *Paleografia şi diplomatica Turco-Osmana*, Bucharest 1958; Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics*, tr. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, The Hague 1968. See also the sources on palaeography given in 2. Persia.

(ALĪ ALPARSLAN)

iv. — IN MUSLIM INDIA

The earliest extant Arabic writing in the form of

an inscription is found in South India at Trivandrum. This is in an old mosque at Koelum and has been written in a very crude form of *nas<u>kh</u>ī* style of writing: Ismāʿīl—109 [727]—b. Malik Dīnār, in three lines (*Majalla Ṭilsānīn*, Hyderabad. Dn, i, 51. However, the Pakistan Archaeological Department has recently discovered near Thaṭṭa at Bhanbhore two inscriptions written in *kūfī* script, on marble slabs and dated 290/902 and 294/906 (M. A. Ghaffur, *The calligraphers of Thatta*, Karachi 1968, 49, 63). The conquests in Sind of Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim in the Umayyad period (93/711) had extended beyond Daybul to Multān, and he had built mosques in the conquered area; this doubtless implied the official introduction of Arabic script into the Indian sub-continent. There are two old inscriptions in Sind, one at Rohri on an old mosque of <u>Kh</u>ʷād<u>j</u>a <u>Kh</u>iḍr dated 341/952, and the other at Sakhhar showing the date of death of one Saʿd al-Dīn in 483/994. Both are in ordinary *nas<u>kh</u>ī* characters (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, Calcutta 1912, 54, 120).

In the early 5th/11th century, the <u>Gh</u>aznawids [*q.v.*] under Sultan Maḥmūd began raiding into Northern India and established military head-quarters at Lahore. Maḥmūd had struck at Lahore his *tankas*, which bore both Arabic and Sanskrit versions on their two sides, and the town also became a centre for literary activity. There is extant in the Panjab University Library, Lahore, an Arabic ms. of the *Bahd<u>j</u>at al-nufūs wa'l-asrār fī ta'rī<u>kh</u> al-hid<u>j</u>rat al-mu<u>kh</u>tār* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik which was transcribed at Lahore in 436/1044 in a very ordinary *nas<u>kh</u>ī* script. The present writer has also discovered an Arabic inscription on the rear wall of the Katčh Mas<u>d</u>jid in Aḥmadābād which is dated 24 Rabīʿ I 445/14 July 1053. It is in an ordinary *nas<u>kh</u>ī* script, and may be read as: "This Mosque was built on 24 Rabīʿ I, year 445". Its authenticity is guaranteed by two Persian separate later inscriptions fixed on its right and left sides, which show that it came from the foundation of the present mosque (*The earliest Muslim inscription in India from Aḥmadābād*, in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, iii, Calcutta 1939, 647-9).

The <u>Gh</u>aznawid régime was replaced in 586/1190 by the <u>Gh</u>ūrids [*q.v.*], whose commanders subsequently established their capital at Dihlī [*q.v.*]. The congregational mosque was built there in 587/1191 of red stone by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, the so-called *Ḳuwwat al-Islām*. It was finally inaugurated by the Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām <u>Gh</u>ūrī in 594/1198. This mosque's arches and façade bear inscriptions in several varieties of Islamic script, such as *ṭug<u>h</u>rā, kūfī, nas<u>kh</u>ī and <u>th</u>ulth*.

Also, during the period of the Slave Kings of Dihlī and after, the copying of manuscripts flourished, the *nas<u>kh</u>ī* script being especially popular. It is recorded that <u>Sh</u>ihāb al-Dīn, the calligrapher, was made Ṣadr-i <u>D</u>jahān during the <u>Kh</u>al<u>dj</u>ī period (*Ta'rī<u>kh</u>-i Fīrūz<u>sh</u>āhī*, Calcutta 1862, 353; Fari<u>sh</u>ta, ed. Lucknow, 129, 133, 322, 335, etc.).

The introduction of the *nastaʿlīḳ* script into the sub-continent was mostly due to the Mug<u>h</u>als, Mīr ʿAlī Tabrīzī being generally regarded as its originator, who wrote one manuscript of the *Kulliyyāt* of <u>Kh</u>ʷād<u>j</u>ū Kirmānī in 798/1395-6 (B.M. Add. 18.113) at the court of Sultan Aḥmad <u>D</u>jalāyir at Bag<u>h</u>dād. There exists an illustrated manuscript of the *Memoirs* of Bābur in this script which was copied by ʿAlī al-Kātib in 937/1530-1 in Alwar state in India, and many calligraphers seem to have used this style of writing. In the mausoleum of Akbar at Āgra, the Emperor's sarcophagus on top of the mausoleum was adorned in inscriptions this style of writing, written by the scribe ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ.

In the pre-Mug<u>h</u>al period, when use of the *nas<u>kh</u>ī* script flourished, special attention was devoted to the writing of the Ḳur'ān, and a special style arose within the sub-continent for the Ḳur'ān, generally called *Bāhar*, referring to a special type of paste which was applied to paper to be used for writing the text of the Ḳur'ān; hence the script used on this paper came to be called the *<u>kh</u>aṭṭ-i bāhar* (Wa<u>d</u>jīd ʿAlī, *Maṭlaʿ al-ʿulūm wa-ma<u>d</u>jmaʿ al-funūn*, Lucknow 1913, 331; Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniatures de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris 1908, 51). There exists in the Kābul Museum a Ḳur'ān which was transcribed in this style by *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr Yaʿḳūb b. Nāṣir al-Dīn at Lahri (Sind) on Friday, 17 Rabīʿ I 776/26 August 1374. One manuscript of a commentary on the Ḳur'ān in the library of the Panjab University at Lahore has the text of the Ḳur'ān in this *Bāhar* script and the commentary in ordinary *nas<u>kh</u>ī*.

During the absence of the Emperor Humāyūn in Persia, <u>Sh</u>ēr <u>Sh</u>āh Sūrī built in stone the grand mosque in the old fort of Dihlī, with its arches and façade adorned with Ḳur'ānic inscriptions, including *Sūrat Yāsīn* on the central part of the façade in *<u>th</u>ulth* characters, perhaps the finest example of *<u>th</u>ulth* from those days.

Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*] devoted a full chapter of his *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* to calligraphers and miniaturists, reflecting Akbar's patronage of outstanding artists. *Nastaʿlīḳ* was especially favoured; its exponents included Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Ka<u>sh</u>mīr, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad Bāḳir, Mīr Husayn Kalingī and others. Special mention should be made of Sulṭān Bāyazīd Dūrī, who came at Humāyūn's court during the last years of his reign, and wrote one copy of the *Dewāl Rānī <u>Kh</u>iḍr <u>Kh</u>ān* of Amīr <u>Kh</u>usraw in 967/1559-60 during the early years of Akbar's reign (see *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore 1934); also, there exists an inscription on the wall of a mosque in Nagawr (Rajputana) composed and written by Kātib al-Mulk Dūrī in 976/1568-9 (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1950, 38-9; Badāūnī, *Munta<u>kh</u>ab al-tawārī<u>kh</u>*, Calcutta 1869, iii, 227-9). There were many other calligraphers at Akbar's court employing various styles; the calligrapher Bāḳī Muḥammad of Bu<u>kh</u>ārā, who wrote the decorative inscriptions on the tomb of ʿĀtiḳa <u>Kh</u>ān in the compound of Ḥaḍrat Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' at Dihlī, should be mentioned here.

At Akbar's court, A<u>sh</u>raf <u>Kh</u>ān (d. 980/1572) was the *Mīr Mun<u>sh</u>ī* [see KĀTIB, iii. In India], and also a poet; his duties included the inditing of *farmāns* (*Munta<u>kh</u>ab al-tawārī<u>kh</u>*, iii, 181). The calligraphy used for these *farmāns* was the *<u>kh</u>aṭṭ dīwānī*, one defined by Anand Ram Mu<u>kh</u>liṣ (d. 1164/1750) as a variety of writing which could not be immediately read by everyone (*Bahār-i ʿA<u>d</u>jam*, i, 376). This style for writing *farmāns* was used only at the Mug<u>h</u>al court in India.

Akbar died in 1014/1605, and his son <u>D</u>jahāngīr [*q.v.*] who succeeded him especially encouraged the fine arts. During this period, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Ka<u>sh</u>mīr and ʿAbd Allāh, were given the titles of ʿAnbarīn Ḳalam, Zarrīn Raḳm and Mu<u>sh</u>kīn Ḳalam. He was the lover of the Persian master Mīr ʿAlī of Harāt, and it is recorded that once he was given a special present by <u>Kh</u>ān-i <u>Kh</u>ānān ʿAbd al-Raḥīm of Īrānayn of an illustrated manuscript of the *<u>Kh</u>amsa* of Niẓāmī (*Tūzuk-i <u>D</u>ja-*

hāngīrī, Lucknow 1914, 351). During the reign of Shāh Djahān, who succeeded his father Djahāngīr in 1037/1628, two great calligraphers came to his court from Persia, sc. Rukna, who wrote the manuscript of the *Gulistān* of Saᶜdī in 1048/1638, and who was also a poet, and ᶜAbd al-Rashīd Daylamī, who was related to the famous calligrapher Mīr ᶜImād of Persia and was made the royal librarian. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū has a special chapter dealing with the calligraphers, in his *Amal-i ṣāliḥ* (Calcutta 1939, iii, 443-6). It contains mention of Muḥammad Murād of Kashmīr, Āḳā Rashīd Daylamī, Mīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and Muḥammad Muʾmin, the sons of Mīr ᶜAbd Allāh Mushkīn Raḳam, Sharaf al-Dīn ᶜAbd Allāh, Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī Tabrīzī and Mīrzā Muḥammad Djaᶜfar Khān, called Kifāyat Khān and inventor of the *shikasta* style of writing, and Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf, who also used the *shikasta* hand (see *Ars Islamica*, xi, 423-5).

This interwoven *shikasta* script is defined by Anand Ram Mukhliṣ in his *Miʾrāt al-iṣṭilāḥ*. One manuscript of the *Gulistān* of Saᶜdi transcribed by Djaᶜfar Khān Kifāyat Khān in 1086/1675-6 is preserved in the National Museum of Pakistan at Karāčī, written for his son ᶜAbd Allāh, called Darāyat Khān; this style was accordingly called *Darāyat khānī*. Finally, it may be recalled that the Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] used to write out copies of the Ḳurʾān and send them to the Holy Cities of Arabia, but he never signed these; he was the pupil in calligraphy of Sayyid ᶜAlī Khān Djawhar Raḳam, who died in 1097/1686 (*Tadhkirat-i khūshnuvisān*, Calcutta 1910, 56-7).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(M. Abdullah Chaghatai)

v. — In South-East Asia

Here the Arabic script was, until *ca.* 1500, almost exclusively used for writing Arabic, the Trĕngganu stone inscription, dated probably 726/1326 or 788/1386 and written in Old Malay, being a noticeable exception. At the beginning of the 16th century the Arabic script became one of the most common scripts for Malay and other Indonesian languages. One of the oldest known texts in Arabic script in South Asia is the Arabic inscription of Leran on the northern coast of East Java, probably to be dated 475/1082. This tomb stone of "the daughter of Maymūn" may have been imported, together with its inscription. In any case, it remains so far an isolated testimony to the use of the Arabic script in Indonesia, since the next example, the tomb stone of Sultan Malik al-Ṣāliḥ of Tarai in northern Sumatra, is dated 691/1292. This was followed by a number of other tomb stones, all but one written in ornamental Arabic script of Persian type and probably imported from Gudjarāt. The exception is the inscription from Minye Tujuh in Atjeh, dated 782/1380 and written in a type of Malayan script, but apparently influenced by the style of Arabic writing. A few other Arabic tomb stones in the Malay peninsula are dated in the 9th/15th century. In Java, the most important are found on Muslim tomb stones (*maeᶜsan*) in Troloyo, near Tronnlan. They have a quotation from the Ḳurʾān or other sacred texts in Arabic on one side, and a date expressed in Old Javanese numerals on the other. The script, fully discussed by Damais (*Études Javanaises*, i. *Les Tombes Musulmanes datées de Trâlâyâ*, in *BEFEO*, xlviii/2 (1957), 351-415), corresponds to that of contemporary Arabic inscriptions elsewhere in the Muslim world. The best known Arabic inscription in Java of this period is that on the tomb of Malik Ibrāhīm at Grĕsik, north-east of Surabaya, dated 822/1419 and beautifully written in an ornamental Arabic which is similar to the contemporary inscriptions of Tasai and Gudjarat.

Bibliography: J. G. de Casparis, *Indonesian palaeography*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vi, section I, 70-2 and literature quoted there. (Ed.)

KHAṬṬ, more precisely *al-khaṭṭ bi-raml*, the original name for Arab geomancy. In the Islamic era, *raml* (or *ᶜilm al-raml*) was dominant, but with the growing influence of astrology on the occult sciences, the term *shakl* (pl. *ashkāl*), "figure" was used (see below, the expression *ashkāl al-raml*, *ashkāl al-turāb*, *ḥulūl al-ashkāl*), From *shakl* are derived "squill" a figure in geomancy, and "to squill", to practise divination by sand, cf. G. Ferrand, in *JA*, 10th Series, vi (1905), 195. In Madagascar, the words *sikili* and *skidy* also denote geomantic figures, cf. G. Ferrand and M. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, xxxi (1877), 762-5.

The development from *khaṭṭ* to *raml* began with the juxtaposition of the two terms. Indeed, *khaṭṭ al-raml* is frequently used to denote geomancy (cf. for example, Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 203-9, tr. by Slane, i, 232-40, tr. Rosenthal, i, 226-34, Leiden ms., Cat. de Jong and de Goeje, iii, 184). Instead of *khaṭṭ*, *ḍarb* began to be used especially in dialect; *ḍarb* is in fact the modern substitute for *ṭarḳ*, which was used originally to denote lithomancy, so we find that *khaṭṭ* = *ṭarḳ* = *ḍarb* as terms for geomancy.

At first sight, *khaṭṭ* is the line which the geomancer traces on the sand when, strictly speaking, he is practising psammomancy. This is the meaning of *raml* also, but, as well as the sand, *raml* and *khaṭṭ* mean the black or white lines on the hooves of wild cattle or on the flanks and the backs of stags (cf. *TA*, vii, 351, l. 29; details in T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 197 f.). Lexicographers have shown that *ṭarḳ*, *ᶜilm al-khaṭṭ* and *ᶜilm al-raml* (cf. *TA*, v, 129, l. 4) are perfectly synonymous.

Ṭarḳ and *ḍarb* are also synonymous and originally denoted the "casting of pebbles", that is, lithomancy (*al-ṭarḳ* or *al-ḍarb bi'l-ḥaṣā*). The technicalities of this cleromantic rite are unknown to us, but is supposed to have consisted of casting pebbles on the sand and of interpreting the patterns they made. In a recent source, al-Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, iii, 323, the following definition is found: the *ṭarḳ bi 'l-ḥaṣā* consists of finding the answer to a question, which has been posed by a questioner, from the signs which are given by the way pebbles have fallen on top of each other. Instead of pebbles, grain or nuts could be used (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 191; ii, 177; tr. de Slane, i, 191; ii, 205 f; tr. Rosenthal, i, 214, ii, 201).

From the marks made by the pebbles on the ground lines were traced in the sand, and from this idea there has been a gradual development which ultimately results in making *ṭarḳ* (or *ḍarb*) *bi 'l-ḥaṣā* the synonym of *khaṭṭ bi 'l-raml*. This development occurred very early; Ibn al-ᶜArābī (died *ca.* 230/844), following Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (died 215/830), defined the *ṭarḳ bi 'l-ḥaṣā* as the act of tracing marks on the ground (for details, see *Divination arabe*, 196 ff.).

Thus *al-ṭarḳ bi 'l-ḥaṣā* and *al-khaṭṭ bi 'l-raml*, two different divinatory practices, became progressively confused in the Islamic era and denoted geomancy in general; this may be explained by the great variety of geomantic procedures. *Ṭarḳ* was the observation of the fall of pebbles on sand; the marks they made were joined by other marks (*khuṭūṭ*) in order to complete a figure (*shakl*). When these figures became

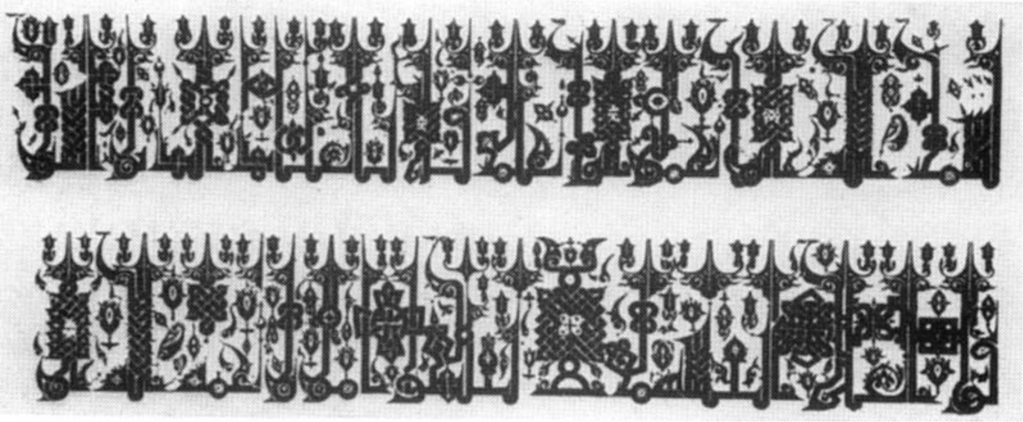

1. *Kūfī* (the inscription of the grave of Pīr ʿAlamdār, 418/1027, Dāmg͟hān, Iran).

2. *Muḥaḳḳaḳ* (top) and *rīḥān* (bottom) by S͟hayk͟h Ḥamd Allāh (Turkey) (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi, No. 2078).

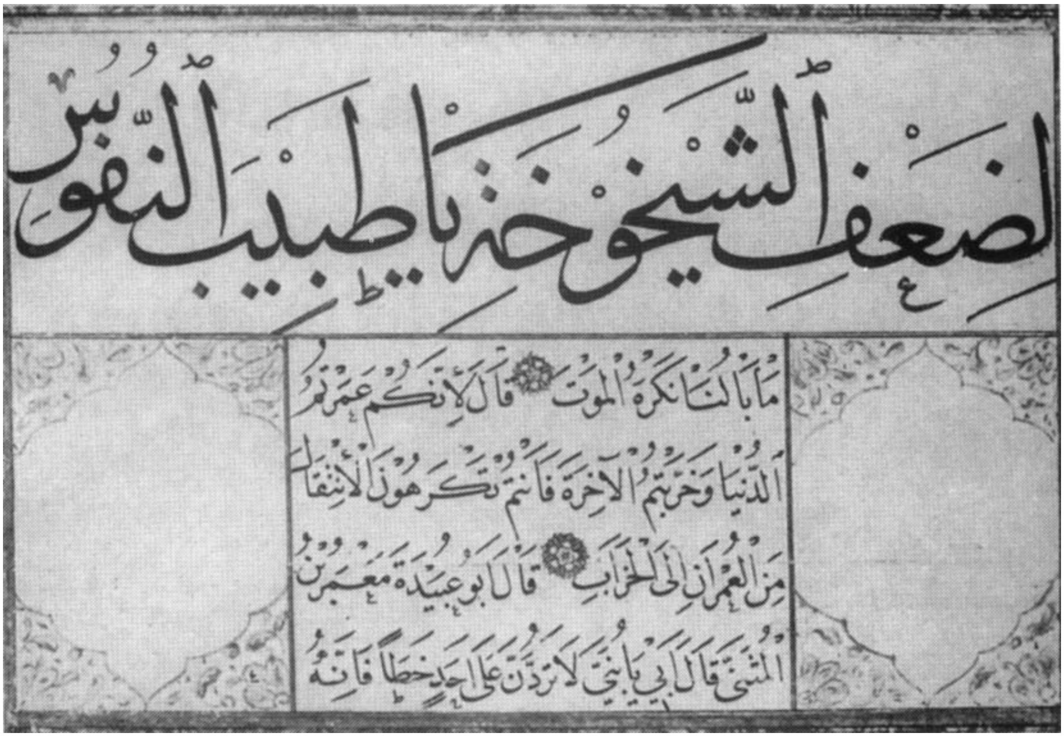

3. *T͟h͟uluth͟* (top) and *nas͟k͟h͟* (bottom) by S͟h͟ayk͟h͟ Ḥamd Allāh (Turkey) (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi, No. 2084).

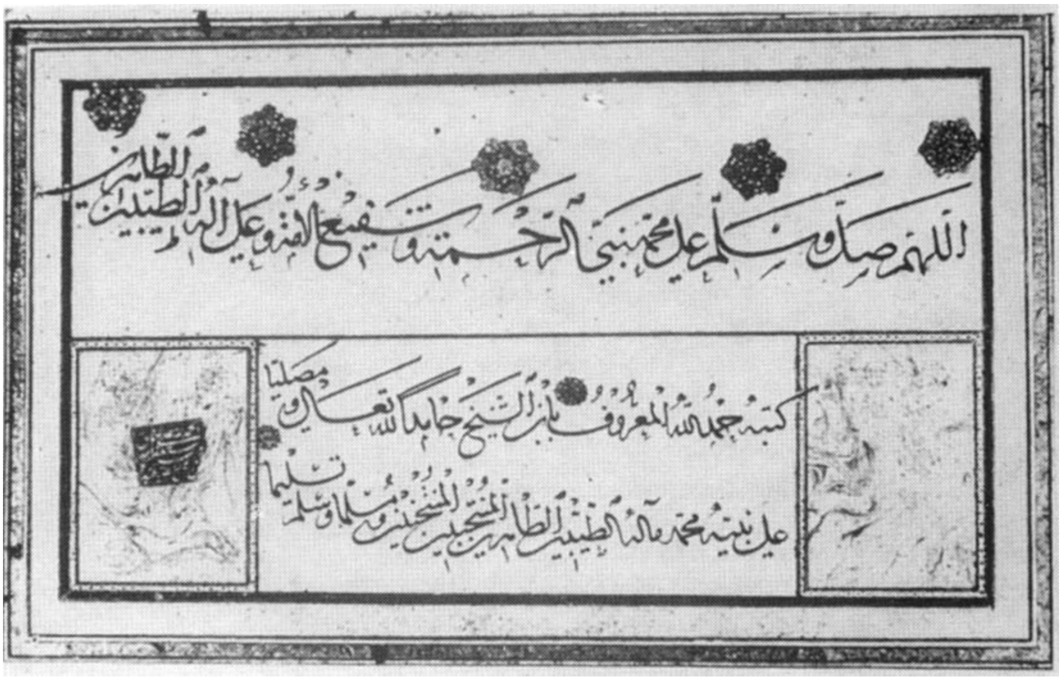

4. *Tawḳīʿ* (top) and *riḳāʿ* (bottom) by S͟h͟ayk͟h͟ Ḥamd Allāh (Turkey) (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi, No. 2078).

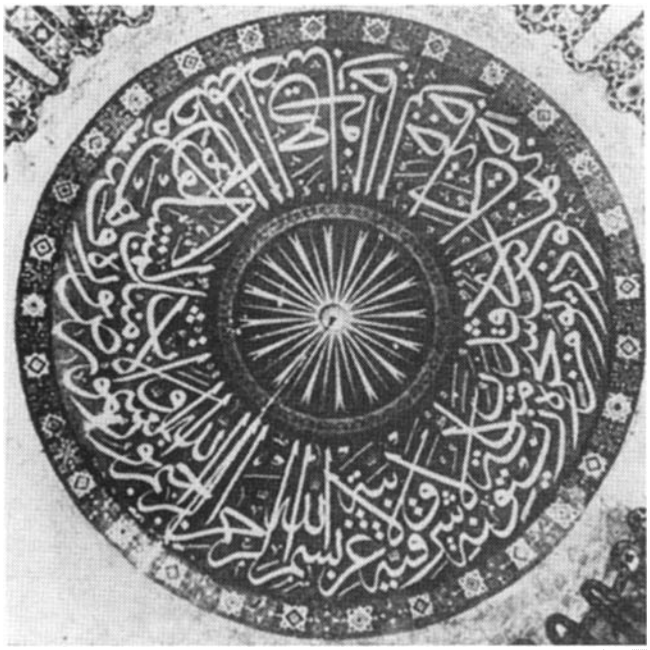

5. *Dj̲alī th̲uluth̲* by the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskar* Muṣṭafā ʿIzzet (Istanbul, dome of the Aya Sofya) (Ḳurʾān, xxiv, 34).

6. *Musalsal* by Bekir Paktan (Turkey).

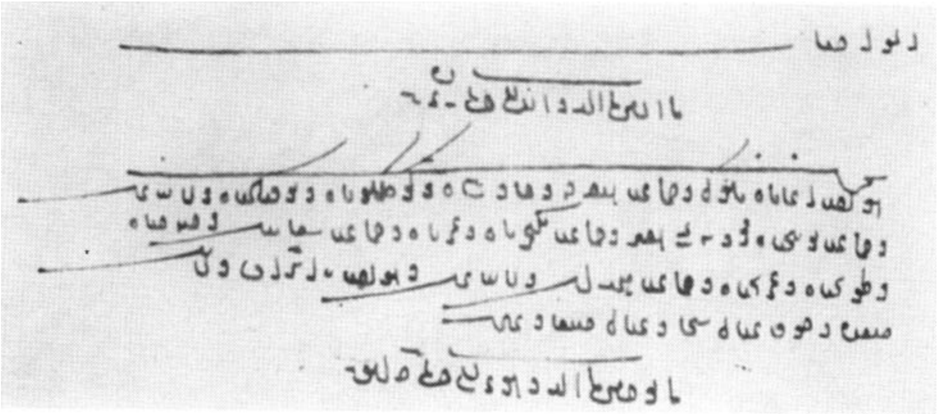

7. *Siyāḳat* (Turkey).

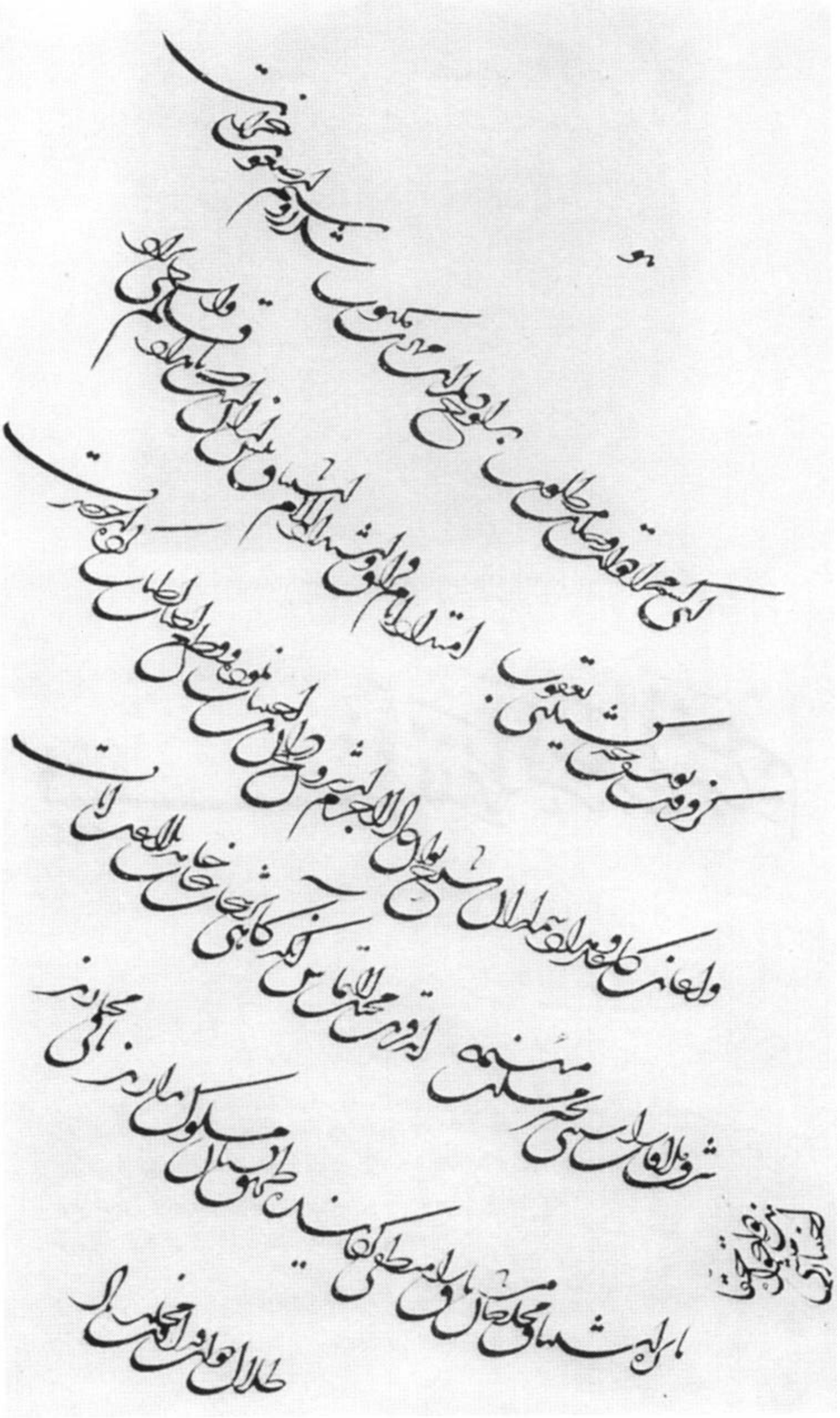

8. *Taʿlīḳ* (Iran) (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, H., No. 2138).

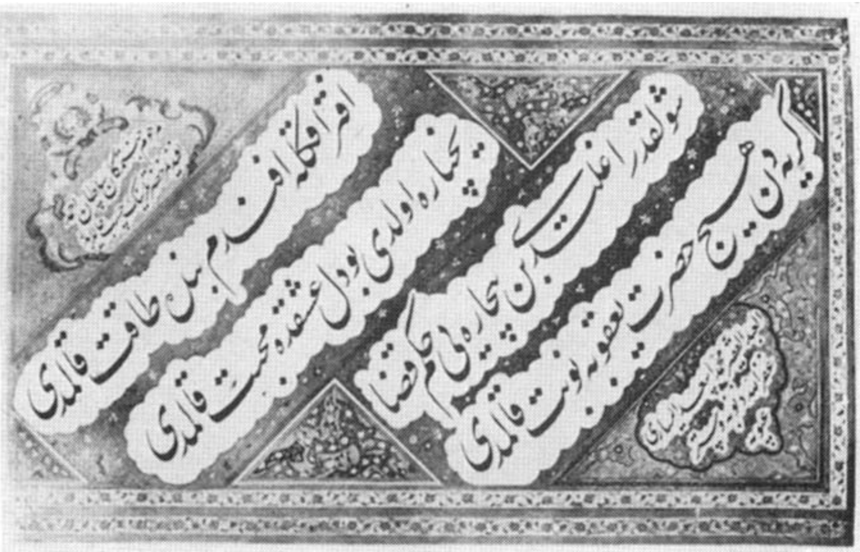

9. *Nastaʿlīḳ* by Esʿad Yesārī (Turkey) (Topkapi Sarayi Kütüphanesi, G. Y. 325/4488).

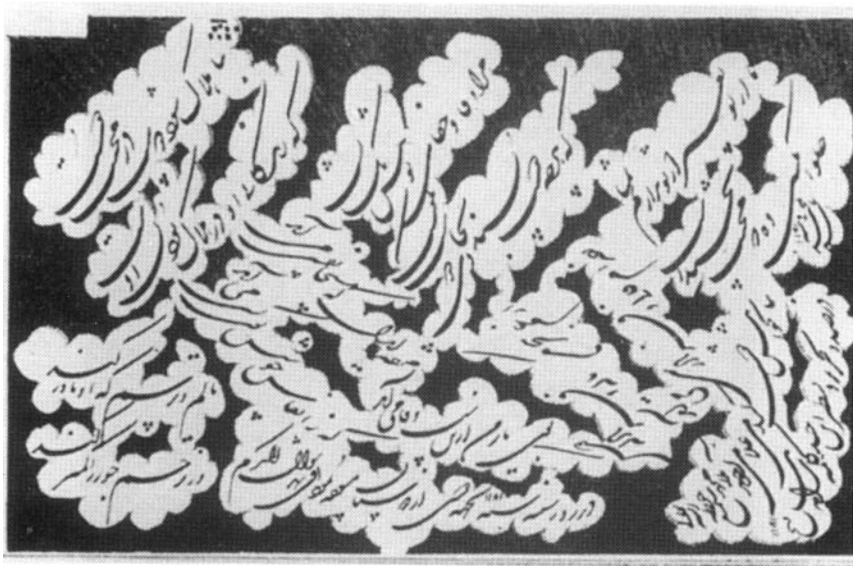

10. *Shikasta Nastaʿlīḳ* by ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ṭalkānī (Iran) (Ghazālī čand az Ḥāfiẓ bā khaṭṭ-i khoshnuvīsān-i mashhūr, Tehran).

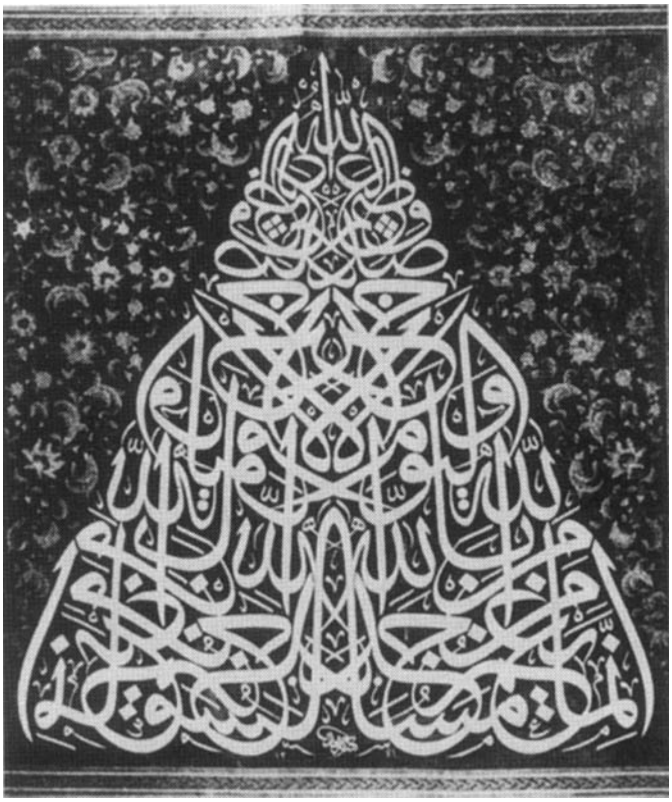

11. *Muthannā* by Ḥamīd Bey (Istanbul, inscription in Şişli Camii representing Ḳur'ān, IX, 18).

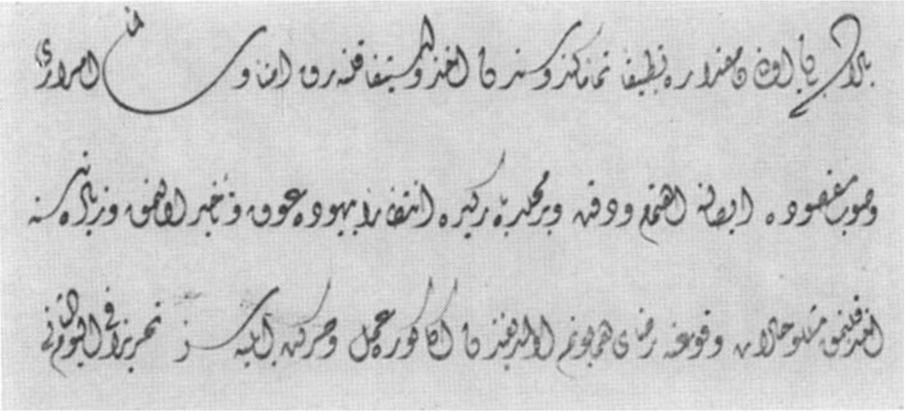

12. *Dīwānī* by ʿIzzet Efendi (Istanbul) (M. ʿIzzet, *Khuṭūṭ-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1309).

13. *Djalī dīwānī* by ʿIzzet Efendi (Istanbul) (M. ʿIzzet, *Khuṭūṭ-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1309).

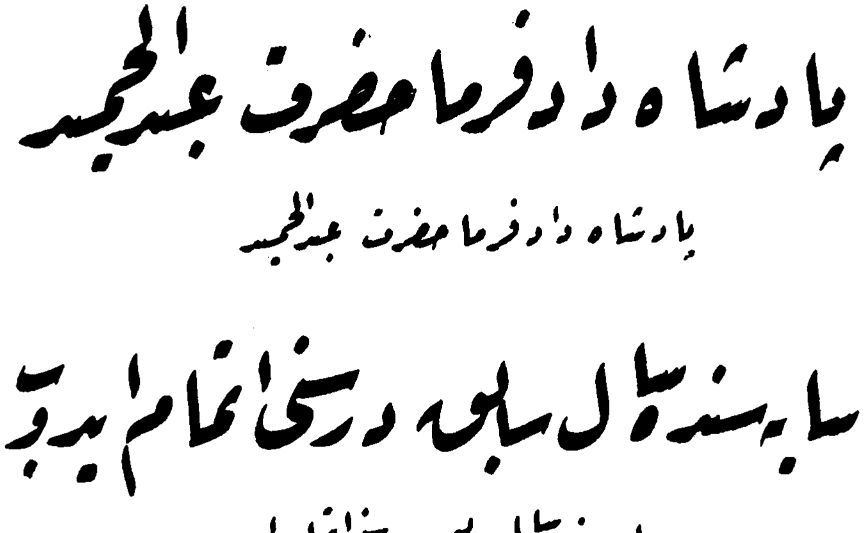

14. *Riḳʿa* by ʿIzzet Efendi (Istanbul) (M. ʿIzzet, *Khuṭūṭ-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1309).

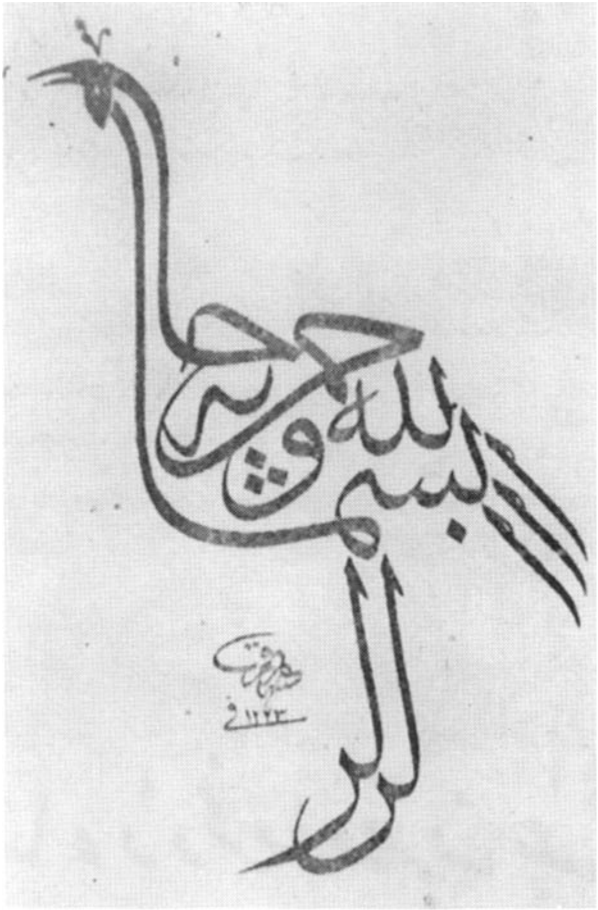

15. *Resim yazî* attributed to Muṣṭafā Rāḳîm (Turkey). The picture represents the *basmala*.

16. *Khaṭṭ-i muʿammāʾī* by ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ (Turkey). The text reads: *Min kulli fadjdjin ʿamīḳ* (Kurʾān, XXII, 27).

stylised at a particular place, a board was used, which was covered with sand or even flour, and the finger was drawn over it at random; the shapes formed in this way were then examined. A sheet of paper could be substituted for the board, and on it pencil dots were marked at random or, according to Ibn Khaldūn, on four lines (cf. ref. in Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 3789; compare R. Jaulin, *La géomancie*, 17, n. 1).

Behind this popular, primitive practice lay a divinatory art of extreme complexity. Indeed, since the introduction of astrological and mathematical speculation into the science of geomancy, we must deal with a theory as esoteric as that of the *djafr* [*q.v.*]. As in the *djafr*, one is successful in the study of geomancy by being able to isolate numerous speculations and determining laws from them. The *Analyse formelle* by R. Jaulin, with contributions by R. Ferry, F. Djean and B. Jaulin, achieves this aim. It is not possible to give a complete picture in an article of restricted size. But it should be said that the sixteen shapes, which are obtained by the permutation of the four basic lines and their eight joins, giving rise to four even and four uneven symmetrical shapes, reduce the basic geomantic values by assigning to them agreeable or contrary meanings; they are also associated with the "external" and "internal" elements concerned with more or less reassuring or dangerous, favourable or ill-omened ideas (cf. Jalin, *op. cit.*, 53-71).

In this mathematical analysis, arithmomantic and geomantic considerations have had their part to play, but they do not in themselves make a geomancer. In geomancy, two other components must be represented, astrology and a predisposition to "perceive hidden meanings" (*idrāk al-ghayb*). Ibn Khaldūn emphasises these two aspects in a long paragraph devoted to this art of divination (*Mukaddima*, i, 203-9, tr. de Slane, 232-42, tr. Rosenthal, 226-34, with references and figures in the notes).

After a description of the sixteen geomantic combinations, each named and classified into favourable and unfavourable, Ibn Khaldūn explains this classification by the astral influences which are brought to bear on each of them. Indeed, the sixteen geomantic combinations are set under the domination of the twelve signs of the zodiac and of the four cardinal points. From then onwards the geomancers, called by him *munadjdjimūn*, "astrologers", have derived meanings to provide geomantic figures from astrological speculations. The author contests the validity of this method, disagreeing with the fact that the astrological deductions have natural signs as their basis while geomantic deductions rest on conventions.

Even more aberrant, Ibn Khaldūn thinks, is the pretension of certain geomancers to succeed in perceiving the unknown by applying their minds to the geomantic figures and then abstracting a complete understanding of the human sphere and penetrating the spiritual realm, in the manner of the soothsayers and, particularly of those among them who practise omoplatoscopy, hydromancy and lecanomancy. Ibn Khaldūn thus concludes: "The truth that you must present to the mind is that the supernatural cannot be revealed by any technique; it cannot be perceived by an élite class of men naturally predisposed to pass from the conscious world into the spiritual". Concerning the doctrine of Ibn Khaldūn relating to divination, cf. *La divination arabe*, 45-50. According to him, the astrologers qualify as the type of men called "Venusians" because of the influence which Venus exerts on them on the day of their birth, by which they are fitted to perceive supernatural phenomena.

Because of a verse in the Ḳurʾān (XLVI, 4), interpreted by some as alluding to geomancy (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxvi, 3, l. 3 ff.) and a *ḥadīth* noted by ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār (Wensinck *et al.*, *Concordance*, i, 40), which speaks of a prophet who practised geomancy excellently, some licence has been given to this art and it has been allowed to experience an amazing expansion across the Islamic world. Like oneiromancy, Arab geomantic science extends beyond the frontiers of the Muslim empire, both to the Indian coasts and the coasts of Byzantium, and to the Latin West and Black Africa and Madagascar (cf. C. H. Becker, *Neue Literatur zur Geschichte Afrikas*, in *Isl.*, iv (1913), 305; B. Carra de Vaux, *La géomancie chez les Arabes*, *ap.* Paul Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques*, iv (1920), 299-317; A. and L. Delatte in *Mélanges F. Cumont*, Brussels 1936, 575-658).

This expansion has led to a great number of manuals and treatises, examples of which can be found in almost all the Arab collections in the East and the West. Many are anonymous works like: *Risāla fī 'l-raml* (Aya Sofya, 4785 (1), *risāla* 34); *Rasāʾil fī ʿilm al-raml* (*ibid.*, 4860 (64), 1-9, cf. also *ibid.*, 2052 (36), 14); *al-Muntakhab fī ʿilm al-raml* (Asir Ef. 1164, 6 = Reisülkuttâb Mustafa Ef., 11646, ff. 107b-112b); *Kitāb al-raml* (Beşir Ağa, 430; *al-Kawkab al-azhar fī ʿilm al-athar wa 'l-raml* (*ibid.*, 433); *Risalā fi 'l-raml*, in Turkish (Fatiḥ, 3430); *Fi 'l-raml wa 'l-nudjūm* (Ḥamīdiyye, 189, 6); *Fī ʿilm al-raml* (*ibid.*, 1468, 7); *Kitāb fī ʿilm al-raml* (Nuruosmaniye, 3639); *Kutub ʿilm al-raml* (Bağdatlı Vehbi Ef., 920-6; Saray, Ahmet III, 3475 ff.); *ʿIlm al-raml* (Leiden, Cat. de Jong and de Goeje, iii, 184; Gotha, *Cat. Pertsch*, iii, 487 f.); *Ashkāl al-raml* (Cambridge, Trinity College, *Cat. Palmer*, p. 29, the page describes several geomantic figures); several geomantic mss. in Karshūnī at Oxford (Bodleian vi, col. 596 f., no. 180, 3 and 4; col. 598, no. 181, 2, 4, 6); *Kitāb ʿadjīb fī 'l-raml* (Aleppo, Sbath, 58, 5; 580, 1 (abridged) and 2: *K. al-Shadjara wa 'l-thamara wa 'l-nukta*, attributed to Daniel, 1180, 1 and 81); Vatican, *Cat. Levi Della Vida*, index, 299-300; Berlin, *Cat. Ahlwardt*, 4200-12; *Kanz al-muḥīṭ* (Copenhagen, xxiii, in Turkish); etc.

Among the best known authors of geomantic works are Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Zanātī, who founded a school in this field. His followers are called al-Zanātiyya, and in fact a ms. from the collection Ismail Saib Sincer (Ankara), I, 2111, not foliated, 24.5 × 17.5 × 1, *naskhī*, no date, entitled *K. fī ʿilm al-raml ʿalā tartīb al-Zanātiyya* . . . (the same collection, under No. 1, 1970, contains a *madjmūʿa* with two geomantic drawings; *Bayān fī ḍarb al-raml*, pp. 1-38, attributed to al-Zanātī, and *Risāla min ʿilm al-raml fī 'stikhrādj al-ḍamīr*, pp. 39-61, anonymous); the work which is attributed to him bears different titles: *K. Fatḥ al-akfāl fī ʿilm al-ashkāl* (Saray, Ahmet III, 1603, 120 ff., 28 × 20, *naskhī*, very fine illustrated copy, no date); *Ḥulūl al-ashkāl* (Nuruosmaniye, 3638, 28 fol., 25.5 × 17, fine *naskhī*, no date); lithographed in Cairo in 1280/1863 under the title *K. al-Faṣl fī uṣūl ʿilm al-raml*, and also edited in Cairo in 1316/1908 under the title *al-Akwāl al-marḍiyya fi 'l-aḥkām al-ramliyya.* There is also *Lubāb al-lubāb fī ʿilm al-khaṭṭ wa-ashkāl al-turāb* (Cairo ms. 7622). The geomancy of al-Zanātī was translated from Persian into Greek verse by the monk Arsenius in 1266 (cf. M. Steinschneider, *Europ. Übersetz.* 7, No. 22).

Next in order of fame comes ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥfūf

al-Munadjdjim, who, according to the colophons of the mss. Esat Ef. and Rağip Paşa, died before 664/1265. His work is entitled *Muthallathāt Ibn Maḥfūf fi'l-raml* (Râgip P., 964, 72 fols. 21.5 × 16). It is a fine copy made by Aḥmad ʿĪsā from an exemplar dated from 664/1265, *naskhī*; another copy made from the same original but bearing the title *Risālat raml* is found in the collection Esat Ef., 1988 (83 fols., 21.5 × 16, *naskhī*) and was made by Aḥmad ʿIyâd at al-Madrasa al-Ẓāhiriyya. The Berlin ms. 4200 (2), pp. 12-67, has some Berber glosses and contains some tables, and the one at Manchester, 373, is entitled *K. fi'l-raml*. His work was translated into Latin (cf. M. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, II, 1, No. 125; Thorndike, *A catalogue of incipits of mediaeval scientific writings in Latin* (revised and augmented by Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, London 1963, 452, 1281, 1553). The title *Liber de tribus figuris spiritum*, placed under the name of Candas the astrologer (Thorndike, *op. cit.*, 1481) recalls the *muthallathāt*.

Several other geomantic writings are known which are enumerated in *La divination arabe*, 202-4. It should be noted that two of them have been translated into Latin, the one of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Zunbul al-Maḥallī, surnamed al-Rammāl (died after 960/1653) entitled *K. al-Maḳālāt wa-ḥall al-mushkilāt fī ʿilm al-raml* (ms. Üsküdar, Selim Ağa, 547 bis, 168 fols., 29 × 20, *naskhī*, no date), an excellent and well-illustrated treatise with an introduction and thirty chapters (cf. F. Klein-Franke, *The Geomancy of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Zunbul: a study of the Ambic Corpus hermeticum*, in *Ambix* xx (1973), 26-35) and that of Abū Saʿīd Khalīfa b. Farḥūn al-Ṭarābulsī entitled *Thamarat al-fu'ād al-muḥaddith ʿan al-murād fi'l bawāṭin wa'l-akbād* (ms. Paris 5834, 2; reworked by Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārūn al-Sūsī, ms. Algiers 1531; Bayezit Umumî 4652, 23 fols., 19 × 14 *taʿlīḳ*, in Turkish). It was translated into Latin by Hugo Sanctallensis (M. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 36, No. 541; P. Tannery, in *CRAIBL* xxv (1897), 519; partially edited *ap.* Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques*, iv (1920), 373-402; tr. *ibid.*, 405-9).

Other Arabic geomantic writings have been translated into Latin, such as *Alfakini arabici filii Quaestiones Geomantiae a Platone* (= Plato of Tivoli) *in latinum translatae ex antiquo mss. ..., Fasciculus Geomanticus*, Verona 1687, 2nd. ed. 1704 (Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 64b); similarly, Gerard of Cremona translated an Arabic geomantic work under the title *Liber geomantiae de artibus divinentibus* (Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 30, No. 84); Bernardinus or Bernardus Silvestris translated a geomancy established according to the twenty-eight mansions of the moon under the title *Experimentarius oder liber fortunae* and many mss. of this survive (cf. *ZDMG*, xxv (1871), 338-90; other references in Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, i, No. 27). An *Astrologia terrestris* attributed to one ʿAlī b. ʿUmar has been translated from Arabic into Italian and German (Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 3, No. 133; Nic. Catani, *Geomantischer Schöpfungsstuhl*, Freystadt 1716). It is concerned with the treatise of Ibn Maḥfūf (see above).

In addition to the authors cited in *La divination arabe*, the following should be mentioned: Abu ʿImrān al-Zanātī, probably from the Zanātiyya school, *Dhakhīra fi l-khaṭṭ* (ms. Paris, 2758, 9; *GAL*, S II, 1040); Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Khiṭā'ī, *al-Djadāwil al-zuhrawiyya fī īḍāḥ ʿilm al-raml wa 'l-zā'irdja al-khafiyya* (ms. Gotha, 1317; *GAL* S II, 1041); Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Andalusī, *al-Durr al-muḥīṭ bi-ṣifat al-ʿamal bi-ḥukm al-basīṭ fī ʿilm al-raml* (Berlin Oct., 2467; *GAL* S II, 1040); ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Djazā'irī, *al-Ḥāshiya al-ikhtiṣāriyya al-ramliyya al-falakiyya* (*GAL* S II, 1039); Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Manānī, *Rafʿ al-ishkāl ʿan waḍʿ al-ashkāl* (Alexandria, *Ḥurūf* 17, 9; *GAL* S II, 1042); Saḥnūn b. ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Wansharīshī (wrote before 1167/1753), *Sihām al-rabṭ fi 'l-mukhammas al-khālī al-wasṭ* (Leiden 1233; Algiers 1535; *GAL* S III, 715); Sharaf al-Dīn b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad al-Kawkabānī, a South Arabian writing in 1111/1699, *Sahm al-gharīb fī 'stikhrādj al-ḍamīr bi-lā rayb* (Berlin 4227; *GAL* S II, 567).

Despite its length, this list is far from being exhaustive; the subject deserves a monograph, for geomancy follows only oneiromancy in the prestige it has enjoyed in Islamic lands. Its claim to fame lies in a saying attributed to Muḥammad: "Among the prophets there was one who practised *khaṭṭ*; whoever succeeds in doing it according to his example will know what that prophet knew" (see above).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources in the article, see T. Fahd, *La Divination arabe* 195-204; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, 377 ff.; E. Caslant, *Traité élémentaire de géomancie*, Paris 1935; R. Ambelain, *La géomancie magique*, Paris 1940; B. Maupoil, *La géomancie à l'ancienne Côte des Esclaves*, Paris 1943 (= Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, 42); idem, *Contribution à l'étude de l'origine musulmane de la géomancie dans le Bas-Dahomey*, thesis, Paris 1943, and in *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xiii (1943-6), 1-94; V. Cruzet, *Du "khet-er-Raml" ou art de lire l'avenir sur le sable*, in *RT* (1920), 267-76; R. Davies, *A system of sand divination*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, iii (1920), 157-62, and in *MW*, xvii (1927), 123-9; N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et Une Nuits. Essai de classification*, Beirut 1959, 127-8 (five examples of the usage of geomancy, three for indicating a person and two for predicting the future); Abou Bakr ben Choaïb, *La bonne aventure chez les musulmans*, in *RA* (1906), 62-70; G. Ferrand, *Un chapitre d'astrologie Arabico-Malgache*, in *JA*, 10th series, vi (1905), 193-273 (a chapter taken from ms. 8 of the Arabico-Malgache collection in the B.N., Paris); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 478 f.; J. Maxwell, *La divination*, Paris 1927, 135-7; P. Tannery, *Le Rabolion*, in *Mémoires scientifiques*, iv (1920), 295-311; A. and L. Delatte, in *Mélanges F. Cumont*, Brussels 1936, 575-658; R. Jaulin, *La géomancie. Analyse formelle*, Paris-The Hague 1966 (= Cahiers de l'Homme, N.S. IV).

(T. FAHD)

AL-**KHAṬṬ**, a strip of coast on the Persian Gulf. The Arab geographers are not agreed as to its exact extent. While Yāḳūt limits the name to the coast of al-Baḥrayn and ʿUmān, which is also apparent from the mention of al-Ḳaṭīf, al-ʿUḳayr and Ḳaṭar, al-Bakrī says definitely that al-Khaṭṭ is the whole coast between ʿUmān and al-Baṣra on the one side and Kāẓima and al-Shiḥr on the other. This difference of opinion is probably the result of the variation in extent of ʿUmān and al-Baḥrayn in the wider sense of these terms in course of time.

There are in any case authors who allot al-Khaṭṭ to either the one or the other territory. Al-Khaṭṭ according to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī, for example, is simply a collective name for the villages in ʿUmān, while Ibn al-Anbārī uses al-Khaṭṭ as the name for the coast of al-Baḥrayn. In contrast to

these wide applications of a fairly general term there is a narrow one, according to which al-Khaṭṭ was a particular settlement on the coast which belonged to the ʿAbd al-Ḳays. A. Sprenger has adopted this view, which was held by al-Balādhurī amongst others, and there is much in favour of locating al-Khaṭṭ preferably in the Gulf of al-Baḥrayn. The place was in any case noted as a market for the famous Khaṭṭī lance-shafts imported from India and sold to the Bedouins. The name al-Khaṭṭ seems to be old. If A. Sprenger is right in connecting it with "regio Attene" and "Chateni" in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 28, 147, and the "Atta vicus" in Ptolemy, the name dates back to long before the Islamic period.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, ii, 453-4; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. T. G. Juynboll, Leiden 1852, i, 358; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, i, 314; *LA*, s.v.; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, 92, 116, 118 f., 130 f., 135; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*, 18, 86 ff.; F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 217-18; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii, Berlin 1890, 227-8, 251, 260, 263. (A. GROHMANN*)

KHAṬṬ-Ī HUMĀYŪN and **KHAṬṬ-Ī SHERĪF**, the terms used for the decrees and rescripts of the Ottoman sultans, and written by them personally; the former term is the more usual one. A few surviving examples announcing appointments and decrees date from the reign of Selīm I. However until the end of the 10th/16th century, that is till the reign of Murād III, the sultans wrote the *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*s sparingly. From the reign of Murād III onwards, the decrease in the power of the Grand Viziers to act independently in state affairs led to a system of obtaining from the sovereign a *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* for almost anything except trivial matters. Because of this reluctance to act on their own responsibility, the Grand Viziers customarily made clear their intentions by drawing up a résumé of every proposed official action and submitting it to the sultan for observation and additions; these brief remarks are the sultan's "sublime observations", that is, his *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* (Orhonlu, *Osmanli tarihine ait belgeler: telhisler (1597-1605)*, Istanbul 1970, xxii, and *passim*). After this, the surviving *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns* became commoner, and we have extant those of Murād IV (Aḥmed Refīḳ, *IV. Murād'ïn khaṭṭ-ï humāyūnlarï*, in *TOEM*, xxxix (1332), 129-41) and Ibrāhīm (Çagatay Uluçay), *Sultan Ibrahim deli mi idi, hasta mi idi*, in *Tarih Dünyasi*, i-ii (Istanbul 1950), iii (Istanbul 1951), either in the form of independent judgements and decrees or their remarks on the condensed reports drawn up and presented by the Grand Viziers. After the writing of *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns* by the sultans became customary, there appeared in certain administrative manuals instructions and advice for their drawing up on various matters. Despite this, it should be pointed out that all the *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns* announcing a decree, did not come directly from the sultan's pen, but rather, the originals were drafts made into fair copies by the ruler's private secretary (Ḳoču Bey, *Risāla*, ed. Ali Kemali Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 96-7).

Khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns can be classified under several headings: (1) The very brief personal remarks of the sultan on the condensed reports or memoranda sent to him by the Grand Vizier; (2) Decrees concerning appointments and transfers; (3) Documents containing the direct command of the sultan to the Grand Vizier on an important state affair and requesting his remarks. There was also a type of *firmān* or imperial edict, where the sultan gave his own comments on the contents of the *firmān*, in his own hand; the *firmān* was then drawn up by the *Dīwān* and called a "*firmān* adorned with the *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*". After the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I (1187-1203/1774-89) the sultans issued *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns* or *khaṭṭ-ī sherīfs* in the form of general instructions written on the memoranda presented for remarks by the Grand Viziers. These instructions might be either written by the sultan personally or by his private secretaries. There was no official person addressed nor date on these *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns*, though it is possible, from their context, to determine when some of them were written. It appears that during the reign of Maḥmūd II (1223-55/1808-39) because of his centralising and reforming policies, the *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns* assumed an increased importance. However, from 1248/1832 onwards the system of the sultans expressing their opinions in their own *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns* declined, and it became customary for the Grand Vizier to instruct the chief intermediary secretary (*mabeyn bash kātibi*) about what they wished to do, and then have the latter pass it to the sultan for oral commands, which were later put into writing. Thus the "imperial act of will" (*irāde*) took the place of the *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*. Nevertheless, the system of the sultans expressing their opinions in a personal *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* continued, at the side of the *irāde* system, until the middle of the 19th century. After reaching this stage, even the *firmān*s published by the order and will of the sultan about important affairs and decisions, were called *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*; thus the *Tanẓīmāt* decree of 1839 was known as the "*khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* of Gülhāne", and the imperial decree of 1856 concerning reforms within the empire was likewise called a *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*. Henceforth *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* came to be regarded as the equivalent of *firmān* (for examples of these types of *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* between 1831 and 1860, see Meḥmed Süreyyā, *Nukhbetü'l-weḳāyiʿ*, Istanbul n.d., i, *passim*).

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KHAṬṬ AL-ISTIWĀʾ [see ISTIWĀʾ].

KHAṬṬ-Ī SHARĪF [see KHAṬṬ-Ī HUMĀYŪN].

AL-KHAṬṬĀBĪ, ḤAMD (> AḤMAD) B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB ABŪ SULAYMĀN AL-KHAṬṬĀBĪ AL-BUSTĪ, traditionist of SHĀFIʿĪ tendencies and poet, who is said to have been a descendant of Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, brother of ʿUmar, but this genealogy has been questioned. Born at Bust in 319/931, he travelled throughout the Muslim world, from Khurāsān and Transoxania to ʿIrāḳ and the Ḥidjāz, "in search of learning" and also engaged in trade; he studied, particularly in Baghdād, with famous teachers and had in his turn a number of pupils. He died at Bust in either 386/996 or 388/998, according to Yāḳūt, who prefers the latter date. Al-

Thaʿālibī, who reproduces a selection of poems by al-Khaṭṭābī, compares him with Abū ʿUbayd [*q.v.*] al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām for his learning and his piety, and even considered him superior to him because he wrote poetry.

Of the twelve or so works which are attributed to him, one only, so far as we have been able to ascertain, has been published, the *Bayān iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm, Aligarh 1953; ed. ʿAbd Allāh Ṣiddīḳ (?); ed. M. Khalafallāh and M. Zaghlūl Sallām, in *Thalāth rasāʾil fī iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1955, 17-66. Several others exist in manuscript (see Brockelmann, I, 165, S I, 275): *Maʿālim al-sunna* (*al-sunan*), commentary on the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd (see Brockelmann, S I, 267, adding the manuscripts mentioned by ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm, p. *wāw*); *K. Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*; *Shaʾn al-adʿiya al-maʾthūra*; *Iʿlām al-muḥaddith fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (see Brockelmann, S I, 261); *K. al-ʿUzla* (or *al-Iʿtiṣām*); *Iṣlāḥ ghalaṭ al-muḥaddithīn*; *ʿIlm al-ḥadīth*. The other titles mentioned are: *K. Tafsīr asāmī 'l-Rabb* (or *sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*); *K. al-ʿArūs*; *Kitāb al-Ghunya ʿan al-kalām wa-ahlih*; *Sharḥ daʿawāt li-Abī* (= *Ibn*) *Khuzayma*.

Bibliography: Whereas his contemporary Ibn al-Nadīm does not mention him in the *Fihrist*, his friend Thaʿālibī considers him worthy to appear among the poets mentioned in the *Yatīma* (iv, 321). Main notices: Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 222b; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ii, 218-22; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 127; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, iii, 209; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*; Ibn Khallikān, i, 153-5; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Ṣāwī, 1934, iv, 301-13; Yāḳūt devotes to him two notices, the first under Aḥmad, *Irshād*, ii, 81-7 = *Udabāʾ*, vi, 246-60, and the second under Ḥamd, *Irshād*, iv, 141-3 = *Udabāʾ*, x, 268-72; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 239; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 494; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 256 (where Ceuta should be corrected to Bust, thus in *Muslim Studies*, tr. Barber and Stern, ii, 235 n. 6); Brockelmann, I, 165, S I, 275.

(Ed.)

KHAṬṬĀBIYYA, extremist Shīʿī sect in al-Kūfa founded by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī [*q.v.*] (killed *ca.* 138/755). Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb claimed that the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] had appointed him as his deputy and legatee (*waṣī*) and taught him the Greatest Name of God. He was at first encouraged by the Imām, but later, probably still before 130/748, was repudiated and cursed by Djaʿfar. As a result, his followers split up into several subsects. The reports of the heresiographers about these early sects are based on two accounts which are partially complementary and partially contradictory, and which can be traced back to the contemporary Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] and to Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ (writing after 270/883), whose ultimate source is unknown. The former account is reproduced by al-Nawbakhtī and Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh, while the latter is quoted most extensively by al-Ashʿarī. The following summary combines the two accounts with additional information from other sources.

One group continued to accept Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb as their leader and asserted that he was a messenger prophet sent by Djaʿfar, who was God. They held that there must be at all times two prophets, one speaking (*nāṭiḳ*) and the other silent (*ṣāmit*). In the time of Muḥammad, he had been the speaking prophet and ʿAlī the silent one, and now Djaʿfar was the speaking prophet and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb the silent one. They considered all *imām*-prophets, including Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, as God. This doctrine is to be related to the belief ascribed to the Khaṭṭābiyya in general, that the divine Light or Spirit inhered in the bodies of the *imāms*. They held that Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb had lifted the fetters of the religious law from them, considered false testimony in favour of their sectarian brethren as licit, and interpreted the religious duties and sins mentioned in the Ḳurʾān as referring to certain specific persons.

A second group, the Bazīghiyya, were the followers of Bazīgh b. Mūsā the weaver, who was killed during the lifetime of the Imām Djaʿfar. They considered Bazīgh, like Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, as a prophet sent by Djaʿfar. While they testified to the prophethood of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, the latter repudiated Bazīgh's claim. They asserted that every one of them was inspired (*yūḥā ilayhi*), that they would not die but be raised to heaven when their worship reached perfection, and that they were able daily to see their "dead". Their claim of immortality was repudiated by the ʿUmayriyya, followers of ʿUmayr b. Bayān al-ʿIdjlī. Like the Bazīghiyya, however, the ʿUmayriyya claimed that they were all *imām*-prophets and that Djaʿfar was God. When they assembled in al-Kūfa to worship Djaʿfar, ʿUmayr was seized and killed by Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra (governor 129-31/747-9).

Another group were the followers of al-Sarī al-Aqṣam who claimed that Djaʿfar had sent him as a prophet, calling him Mūsā, the Strong and Trustworthy. They worshipped Djaʿfar, saying that he was Islām and that they were the Sons of Islām (*abnāʾ al-islām*) in accordance with the statement of the Prophet: "Salmān is the Son of Islām".

The Muʿammariyya, followers of Muʿammar b. al-Aḥmar the corn dealer, affirmed that the divine Light had been transferred from ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib through Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad, ʿAlī and the *imāms* to Djaʿfar, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and finally to Muʿammar. With the passing of the Light from the bodies of Djaʿfar and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, the latter had become angels, while the persons now claiming to be Djaʿfar and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb were in fact impostors. Muʿammar was the God on earth who was obedient to the Greatest God in heaven. The Muʿammariyya denied that the world would come to an end and held that the bliss of paradise and the punishment of hell took place on earth. They claimed that they would be raised to heaven alive with their bodies, and also taught libertinism.

The account of al-Warrāḳ enumerates as a further subsect of the Khaṭṭābiyya the Mufaḍḍaliyya, followers of al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Djuʿfī the money-changer. They agreed with the other Khaṭṭābiyya sects in deifying Djaʿfar and claiming prophethood for themselves, but diverged from them by repudiating Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb. According to an Imāmī report, al-Mufaḍḍal was appointed by the Imām Djaʿfar to guide the followers of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb after the condemnation of the latter. Although some negative statements of Djaʿfar are reported about him, al-Mufaḍḍal, unlike the other Khaṭṭābī leaders, was never excommunicated. He became a trusted agent of the Imām Mūsā b. Djaʿfar (148-83/765-99), during whose lifetime he died.

Statements attributed to the Imām Djaʿfar accent the lowly social status of the followers of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and al-Mufaḍḍal, characterising them as scum (*safila*) and outcasts (*shuṭṭār*). Some sources identify the Khaṭṭābiyya with the Mukhammisa sect [*q.v.*]. This identification does not appear valid for the early Khaṭṭābiyya sects described above, but must refer to a later stage which may, however, have begun still in the time of the Imām Djaʿfar.

The assertions of some Imāmī sources broadly identifying the nascent Ismā'īliyya [*q.v.*] with the Khaṭṭābiyya, must be viewed with caution. More specifically, it is reported that a group of supporters of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb after the latter's death joined the followers of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Dja'far, claiming that the spirit of Dja'far had devolved on Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, and from him, on Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. There are also reports associating al-Mufaḍḍal with Ismā'īl b. Dja'far. After the death of Dja'far, however, al-Mufaḍḍal supported the imāmate of Mūsā. although he evidently did not approve of the condemnation of Ismā'īl pronounced in other Imāmī circles. The doctrine of the Ismā'īlī movement emerging out of obscurity about the middle of the 3rd/9th century shows little affinity with the specific doctrines of either the early Khaṭṭābiyya or the Mukhammisa and generally repudiates Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb. Mukhammisa texts which eventually were adopted into Ismā'īlī literature, like the *Umm al-Kitāb*, are secondary importations. The bulk of the Khaṭṭābiyya-Mukhammisa evidently remained within the extremist fringe of the Imāmiyya. Mukhammisa doctrine formed the basis of the beliefs of the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*], who revere Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, al-Mufaḍḍal and his son Muḥammad as the *bābs* [*q.v.*] of the *imāms* Dja'far, Mūsā and 'Alī al-Riḍā.

Bibliography: al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shī'a*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 37-41, 58-64; Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. M. Djawād Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 50-60, 63 f., 81-5; al-Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30, 10-3; al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār ma'rifat al-ridjāl*, ed. H. Mostafavi, Mashhad 1348, 290-308, 321-9; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-'īn*, Cairo 1367/1948, 166-8. I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1907) and xxix (1908); *passim*; L. Massignon, *Sâlman Pâk*, Paris 1934; B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismailism*, Cambridge 1940, 32-43; W. Ivanow, *Ibn al-Qaddah*, Bombay 1957, 98-110. (W. Madelung)

KHAṬṬĀRA [see ḳanāt].

KHĀTŪN, a title of Soghdian origin borne by the wives and female relations of the T'u-chüeh and subsequent Turkish rulers. It was employed by the Saldjuks and Khwārazm-Shāhs and even by the various Čingizid dynasties. It was displaced in Central Asia in the Tīmūrid period by *begüm*, which passed into India and is still used in Pakistan as the title of a lady of rank.

Bibliography: G. Doerfer: *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, 132-41 (No. 1159); Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 602-3. (J. A. Boyle)

KHĀWA, a colloquial variant of the classical *ikhāwa* ("brotherliness"), is a term formerly used in the Arabian Peninsula for payments made in return for the right to enter alien territory and for protection while staying there. Whenever there was no central authority strong enough to guarantee freedom of transit for all, travellers or wanderers coming into the *dīra* or range of a powerful tribe would hand over *khāwa*, which usually consisted of livestock such as *ghanam*, or foodstuffs such as ghee, in amounts determined by negotiations. Refusal by merchant caravans to pay *khāwa* could lead to trouble between the nomads demanding it and the towns from which the caravans hailed or for which they were bound. Similar payments made by pilgrim caravans on the way to the Holy Cities were called *ṣurra* ("bag" or "purse"), which is not to be confused with *ṣurrat al-Ḥaramayn*, the sum once sent by Islamic countries such as Egypt and Tunisia for distribution to the poor of Mecca and Medina in the days of the pilgrimage.

As 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Su'ūd [see al-ikhwān.] extended his control over the larger part of the Peninsula, he outlawed the paying of *khāwa*. While *khāwa* may have been extorted clandestinely for a time thereafter, Ibn Su'ūd's crushing of the revolt of the Ikhwān [*q.v.*] by 1348/1930 and the ensuing decline of tribalism, along with the spread of modern communications, brought an end at last to this outmoded practice.

Bibliography: See that given for al-ikhwān. (G. Rentz)

KHAWAND [see akhund].

KHAWĀRIDJ [see khāridjites].

KHAWĀRIZM, KHAWĀRIZMĪ, etc. [see khwārazm, khwārazmī].

al-**KHAWARNAḲ**, a place situated about a mile east of Nadjaf [*q.v.*] in 'Irāḳ. Inhabited at first by the tribe of Iyād, a palace was built in it by the Lakhmid chief Nu'mān (d. after 418 A.D.) for his Sāsānian suzerain. It was there that Parwīz heard the news of the defeat of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*]. The palace was enlarged and used by the early 'Abbāsids. It was in ruins in the 8th/14th century. The pre-Islamic Arab poets frequently quote al-Khawarnaḳ as one of the "30 wonders of the world", along with the neighbouring castle of Sadīr (perhaps Ukhayḍir [*q.v.*]). Al-Khawarnaḳ is also celebrated for having given rise to the proverbial expression "the reward of Sinimmār", the Greek architect who had built it and who was executed by Nu'mān. The name Khawarnaḳ seems to be of Iranian origin (*Huvarna* "with a beautiful roof" according to Andreas, or *Khawarnar*, "place of feasting" according to Vulers), although Ibn Djinnī connected it with the Arabic *Khirniḳ* and Nöldeke with a Rabbinical Hebrew word meaning "arbour, plantation".

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Les Alixares de Grenade et le Chateau de Khaouarnaq*, in *Revue Africaine*, (1906) cclx, 22 f.; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, in *MIFAO*, xxviii (1910), 36-7 and plate 37; xxxi (1912), 136; B. Meissner, *Eine Reise von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Ḥira und Ḥuarnaq*, in *Sendschriften der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1901, no. 2, 19. (L. Massignon)

KHAWĀṢṢ [see khāṣṣa].

KHAWĀṢṢ AL-ḲUR'ĀN, the art of drawing prognostications from verses of the Ḳur'ān to which beneficial effects are attributed. The sacred text is used here in the same spirit as in rhapsodomancy (*'ilm al-ḳur'a*) and onomatomancy [see djafr and ḥurūf.] But it is here more particularly a case of the "natural properties" (φυσικά) which certain formulae of a magical and superstitious nature can have, based upon suitable Ḳur'ānic verses, letters drawn from these verse, words, names of angels, prophets or God, prayers bearing celebrated names and poems (*e.g.* the *Burda*). Hence these varied elements are treated just as the "science of properties" treats animals, plants and minerals, by calling attention to the sympathy and antipathy which exists between them (on this science, extensively developed in Islam, cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, 61 ff.; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 393 ff.).

Two series of results are sought from this practice, prognostications and beneficial effects (*manāfi'*). Medical prognostications are the most sought-after,

and the treatises of popular medicine are crammed with them (*e.g.* see *al-Dā' wa'l-dawā'* of Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, which deals more specifically with the medical properties of the Fātiḥa; the *K. Khawāṣṣ al-Fātiḥa al-sharīfa* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī; and the literature on al-*Ṭibb al-nabawī*).

There is an abundant literature on these properties, and a large number of them are treated in compilations like the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ wa-kanz al-ikhtiṣāṣ fī ʿilm al-khawāṣṣ* of al-Djildakī (d. 743/1342) or the *Tadhkirat ūlī 'l-albāb* of al-Anṭākī (d. 1008/1599). There exist also some monographs, of which the most famous is the *K. Manāfiʿ al-Ḳur'ān* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamīmī, who wrote at the end of the 4th/10th century (Istanbul Univ. Libr. A 2243, ff. 48, 18 × 13 cm, *naskhī*, N.D. but fairly old). This includes a large number of superstitious uses of the Ḳur'ān aimed at arriving at a knowledge of hidden things. Abū 'l-ʿAbbās al-Būnī (d. 627/1225) wrote both a *K. Manāfiʿ al-Ḳur'ān* (*ibid.*, A 5582, ff. 132, 23 × 14 cm, very fine *naskhī*) and a *K. Sirr al-maktūm min al-ʿilm al-maknūn wa-khawāṣṣ al-Ḳur'ān* (*ibid.*, A 4514, ff. 71, incomplete, 15 × 9,5 cm, *naskhī*). A *K. Manāfiʿ ṣuwar al-Ḳur'ān* and a *K. Khawāṣṣ al-Ḳur'ān al-ʿaẓīm* are attributed to Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 530). One should also mention the *Khawāṣṣ al-Burda fī bur' al-dā'* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām b. Idrīs al-Marrākushī, which divides up the famous *ḳaṣīda* of al-Būṣīrī into several sections and describes the beneficial effects residing in each (see Ullmann, *op. cit.*, 415-16).

Bibliography: For other works and for fuller details, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 214-45, esp. 241-3. One can also find in Ahlwardt's Berlin mss. catalogue, under no. 4153, the titles of works on the *khawāṣṣ al-Ḳur'ān* and under no. 4176, six works on the *aḥzāb* or *adʿiya* reputed to have special properties. The magical character of such prayers has been demonstrated by Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet*, in *Orientalische Studien zu Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 303 ff. (T. FAHD)

KHAWBAR [see KHŌBAR].

KHAWLĀN. 1. The name of a South Arabian tribe, of great antiquity and now divided into two branches. The larger section, which al-Hamdānī calls *Khawlān al-ʿāliya*, is now known as *Khawlān al-ṭiyāl* and dwells south-east of Ṣanʿā' on the upper reaches of the Wādī Dhana, with the lands of Murād to the south-east and Nihm, in the highlands proper, to the north-west. The tribe now belongs to Bakīl. Their territory, which was described by Carsten Niebuhr in 1763 and visited by Eduard Glaser in 1885-6, is a very mountainous region, bisected by numerous tributaries of the Wādī Dhana, and with a widely scattered population. It is noted for the cultivation of cereals and grapes. The chief town is Djahāna, and of lesser import are Bayt al-Kibsī and Tanʿim. The latter was formerly renowned as a centre of the Yemenī Jews and possessed many synagogues. The Khawlān consist of many independent clans and families, rarely under a single ruler, dispersed throughout innumerable fortified villages, and have always been loyal Zaydīs. Their savagely fanatical temperament and warlike disposition have given them a reputation for feuding and division. The Arab genealogists give as their eponymous ancestor Khawlān b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. ʿArīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba'.

The other branch of Khawlān, variously known as Khawlān al-Shām, Khawlān b. ʿĀmir, or Khawlān Ḳuḍāʿa, lives just south of the Ḥidjāz border, in the mountains north-west of Ṣaʿda, on the Ṣanʿā'-Mecca road, four days' journey from the port of Ḥalī. They too are described by Niebuhr, who mentions a number of their villages but no large towns. Since it is alleged that gold used to be mined in the region at Ḳufāʿa, some authorities, most recently von Wissmann, have identified Khawlān al-Shām with the Biblical Ḥawīla. The district is fertile and produces grapes, wheat, and coffee in abundance. The Khawlān al-Shām are also Zaydīs and have their own *shaykh*, but maintain no contact with the southern Khawlān. Their genealogy may be seen in the variant given for Khawlān by some Arab writers, notably Yāḳūt: Khawlān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥāf b. Ḳuḍāʿa b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Murra. Since, however, Nashwān states that the Khawlān al-ʿāliya also belonged to Ḳuḍāʿa, the distinction between the two tribes may be taken as regional rather than genealogical. Von Wissmann has suggested that originally the tribe of Khawlān occupied the entire area between Ṣaʿda and Ṣirwāḥ, but was split in antiquity into the two branches by which we now recognise them by the invasion of Ḥāshid and Bakīl, who now occupy the intervening territory, and in whose lands it is interesting to find the village of Bayt Khawlān on Djabal Ḥāḍūr Nabī Shuʿayb [*q.v.*] and the mountain ʿUrr Khawlān.

The two-fold division into a northern and a southern Khawlān is reflected in the ancient inscriptions where the tribe is frequently mentioned. The earliest reference, in *RES* 3022 (Minaean), is probably to the southern branch. The inscription may be dated at the latest to the late 3rd century B.C. and tells how Saba' and Khawlān attacked a Minaean caravan en route from Maʿīn to RGMT (in or near Nadjrān). Later references, which belong for the most part to the time of the Sabaeo-Ḥimyarite wars of the 3rd century A.D., are more explicit in drawing a distinction between HWLN HḌL*m*, with which are associated the towns of ṢRWḤ and TNʿM and probably the tribe KBSY*m*, and HWLN GDD*m* (also GDDN, ḏGDDTN, and 'GDDN), which possessed the city of ṢʿDT*m* (*e.g.*, Jamme 577, 601, 616, 629, 649, 658, *CIH* 308). There can be no doubt that the former were Khawlān al-ʿāliya and the latter Khawlān al-Shām.

In Shaʿbān 10/Nov. 631, envoys of Khawlān appeared before Muḥammad in Medina and professed Islam on behalf of their tribe. They were instructed in the teaching of Islam by the Prophet himself, and promised to destroy their idol ʿAmm Anas; they then received the usual gift of honour of 12½ ounces of silver and returned home. After the death of the Prophet they at first joined the general movement of apostasy, but Yaʿlā b. Munya, whom the Caliph Abū Bakr sent against them with an expeditionary force, succeeded in regaining them for Islam in the course of the year 11/632. Politically they were on closer terms with the government in Medina than the other tribes of the Yemen, which was probably the result of their relations with the Persian rulers in Ṣanʿā'. They afforded shelter to the two Persian princes Djushaysh and Fayrūz who were driven out of Ṣanʿā' by the rebellion of the Arabs under Ḳays b. ʿAbd Yaghūth b. Makshūh and supported them till help came from Medina.

Members of the tribe of Khawlān, after their lands were finally opened to Islam upon the subjection of the Yemen in 13/634 or 14/635, played an important part among the southern Arabs who participated in the conquest of Egypt and settled there. We frequently find Khawlānīs in important positions in Egypt; in Old Cairo (al-Fusṭāṭ) they gave their

name to a quarter, and the name generally is not rare in the papyri and on Arab tombstones in Egypt.

2. The name of a village near Damascus. One of the most distinguished of the companions of the Prophet is buried there, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mis̲h̲kam Abū Muslim al-K̲h̲awlānī.

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2. Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 499; *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, i, 375; ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-ʿUlūm* (*GMS*, 24, Leiden 1916). (A. Grohmann — A. K. Irvine)

AL-K̲H̲AWLĀNĪ, Abū Idrīs ʿĀʾid̲h̲ Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, a Successor who lived from 8/629-30 until 80/699. Apart from Abū Muslim al-K̲h̲awlānī [*q.v.*], with whom he often seems to have been confused, he was the only one of his tribe among the early settlers in Syria, according to K̲h̲alīfa b. K̲h̲ayyāṭ's *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt*, Baghdad 1967, 307 f. During the last years of his life, he was *ḳāḍī* of Damascus under ʿAbd al-Malik. He was considered to be one of the *ʿubbād* (pious devotees) and one of the *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*] of Syria. Before he was appointed *ḳāḍī*, he held the function of story-teller (*ḳāṣṣ*) [*q.v.*] or preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) [*q.v.*] in the mosque. Apparently he took his function very seriously, instructing the people in the *aḥkām*, *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*, in which he allegedly was an expert. He was also described as a reliable transmitter of traditions, many of which were eventually recorded in the "six books". The most extensive collection of his own sayings is preserved in Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*. A few of these sayings can be traced in the canonical *ḥadīt̲h̲* collections provided with complete *isnād*s to Muḥammad. Like Abū Muslim al-K̲h̲awlānī, Abū Idrīs is reputed to have transmitted some *ḥadīt̲h̲ qudsī* [*q.v.*] which smack of Christian influence (cf. Muḥammad al-Madanī, *K. al-Itḥāfāt al-sunniyya fi 'l-aḥādīt̲h̲ al-ḳudsiyya*, Hyderabad 1323, 20, no. 110 and Muslim, *birr*, 55).

Bibliography: Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, v, 122-9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahd̲h̲īb al-tahd̲h̲īb*, v, 85-7; S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḳuḍāt Dimas̲h̲ḳ*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id, Damascus 1956, 5; D̲h̲ahabī, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Hyderabad 1955, i, 56 f.; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, Hyderabad edn., v, 235; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, vi, 441. (G. H. A. Juynboll)

AL-K̲H̲AWLĀNĪ, Abū Muslim ʿAbd Allāh b. T̲h̲uwab, one of the eight Successors allegedly famous for their asceticism (*zuhd* [*q.v.*]). He was born of the tribe K̲h̲awlān in the Yaman. One report (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, ii, 125) has it that he only became a Muslim in Syria during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya, but other reports say that he had already been converted to Islam during the prophet's lifetime while still in the Yaman. When al-Aswad b. Ḳays (cf. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, xii, 236 and Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, ii, 128; or: b. Kaʿb, cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1795) al-ʿAnsī D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥimār [*q.v.*] summoned him to embrace his cause, Abū Muslim refused and was consequently thrown into a fire which did not harm him. He was then given leave to travel to Medina, where he arrived a short time after the Prophet's death. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are reported to have given Abū Muslim a warm welcome, the rumour of his ordeal having preceded him. He eventually settled in Syria. It is also said that he participated in a campaign into Byzantine territory. The sources have preserved various reports in which Abū Muslim boldly criticised Muʿāwiya. Furthermore, it is alleged that he offered Muʿāwiya his services as messenger in an endeavour to appease the latter's attitude towards ʿAlī. He died in 62/682.

Although Abū Muslim is considered as one of the forerunners of Islamic asceticism, reports about his ascetic behaviour are on the whole very few in number. The most extensive account of his habits and the miracles ascribed to him is preserved in Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, in which also a few sayings attributed to him can be found. This information is, on the whole, insignificant. It seems, moreover, that he was not only claimed by Muslim ascetics. It is also suggested in several reports that he had affiliations with Jewish as well as Christian circles.

On the one hand, Abū Muslim's suffering at the hands of al-Aswad reminds one of Abraham and Nimrod. Besides, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] called him the sage (*ḥakīm*) of the community, although he had to admit to Kaʿb on one occasion that the Torah was right where he himself had been wrong (*Ḥilya*, ii, 128). On the other hand, a Christian monk once asserted that in his books Abū Muslim was mentioned as a companion of ʿĪsā b. Maryam (*ibid.*). Furthermore, cf. the *ḥadīt̲h̲ ḳudsī* discussed below, which smacks of Christian influence.

Although generally recognised as a reliable transmitter of traditions, Abū Muslim is credited in the canonical collections with the transmission of only a few. The best known of these is a *ḥadīt̲h̲ ḳudsī* [*q.v.*]: "My love will be realised for those people who love one another because of me, my love will be realised for those people who visit one another because of me", etc. (cf. Muḥ. al-Madanī, *K. al-Itḥāfāt al-sunniyya fi 'l-aḥādīt̲h̲ al-ḳudsiyya*, Hyderabad 1323, 10, no. 47 and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, v, 236, 237, 239 and 328). In several *isnād*s of this tradition (cf. Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*,

ed. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, ii, 953 f., Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 229, 233, 247) his name seems to be confused with that of another transmitter called al-Khawlānī, namely ʿĀʾidh Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh Abū Idrīs, one time *ḳāḍī* of Damascus. Since Abū Idrīs is considered as really too young (born in A.H. 8, he died in 80/699, cf. *Tahdhīb*, v, 86 f.) to have transmitted this *ḥadīth ḳudsī* from the Companion Muʿādh b. Djabal, Abū Muslim's name may have been inserted to bridge the gap in an otherwise imperfect *isnād*. Confusion of the two Khawlānīs seems to be also apparent elsewhere (cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iv/b, ed. M. Schloessinger, Jerusalem 1938, 60).

Bibliography: Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, ii, 122-31, v, 120-2; Nasr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962-3, 85 f.; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, vii/2, 157 (in this source it is alleged that he came from Baṣra, which is most probably an apocryphal statement not borne out by evidence found elsewhere); Dārimī, *Sunan*, *muḳaddima*, 34; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkkāsha, 439; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 172 ff.; Bayhaḳī, *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 380; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, index s.v.; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām alnubalāʾ*, iii, 93; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, xii, 235 f. (G. H. A. Juynboll)

KHAYĀL, the most important song form in the classical repertoire of north Indian music, is regarded by some to have been invented by Amīr Khusraw (651-725/1253-1325) and attributed by others to Ḥusayn Shāh Sharḳī (862-934/1458-1528), the ruler of Djawnpūr, who was dispossessed by Buhlūl Lodī in *ca.* 1476. Whatever its genesis, there is little doubt that it saw its greatest development during the Muslim period of Indian history and that its major exponents have generally been Muslims. It arose as a reaction to the traditional composition *dhrupad*, whose rigid and austere character seemed to inhibit improvisation and technical virtuosity. In contrast, *khayāl*, as its name implies, was intended to afford greater freedom to the musician's imagination. The two forms continued to exist in competition with one another, their advocates rivalling among themselves and claiming superiority for their respective styles. In the 12th/18th century, *khayāl* received a tremendous impetus as a result of the efforts of Muḥammad Shāh (d. 1161/1748) and that of his court singers Adā Rang and Sadā Rang. It now leads all musical compositions and is regarded as the most significant contribution to the development of music. Its content deals primarily with religious and amorous themes, and consists of a relatively short set piece employed as the basis for improvisation.

Bibliography: Faḳīr Allāh, *Rāg Durpan*, I.O. Pers. Ms. 1937; Mīrzā Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Tuḥfat al-Hind*, I.O. Pers. Ms. 1269; Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṣawt-i Mubārak*, Lucknow 1853; S. N. Haidar Rizvi, *Music in Muslim India*, in IC, xv (1941); M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims*, London 1967; Aziz Ahmad, *An intellectual history of Islam in India*, Edinburgh 1969; N. Augustus Willard, *Music of India*, Calcutta 1962; H. A. Popley, *The music of India*, Calcutta 1950; N. A. Jairazbhoy, *The Rāgs of North Indian music*, Middletown, Conn. 1971. (Munibur Rahman)

KHAYĀL, Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī, of Aḥmadābād in Gudjarāt (d. 1173/1759-60), author of a collection of tales in 15 volumes entitled *Bustān-i Khayāl*, composed in Persian prose between 1155/1742 and 1169/1756, at the request of his patron Nawwāb Rashīd Khān, or, according to one manuscript, for the two brothers Nawwāb Rashīd Khān and Nawwāb Muḥammad Isḥāḳ Khān, sons of Djaʿfar ʿAlī Khān (Nawwāb of Bengal 1170-4/1757-61 and 1176-8/1763-5); an account of the contents of this work, which is made up partly of historical legends and partly of fantastic fairy tales, is given by Ethé, *Cat. of Persian Mss. of the Bodleian Library*, No. 480.

Bibliography: Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.* ii, 342. (Ed.)

KHAYĀL AL-ẒILL ("Shadow fantasy"), popular Arabic name for the shadow-play, possibly brought over from South-East Asia or India and performed in Muslim lands from the 12th century A.D. to the 20th one. Although occasionally presented during the long evenings of the Ramaḍān fast, it has now virtually disappeared with the spread of education, the cinema and television.

The only extant texts of medieval Arabic shadow-plays were composed in the 7th/13th century A.D. by an Egyptian ophthalmologist, Ibn Dāniyāl [*q.v.*], and consist of a humorous pageant of Egyptian life under the Mamlūk ruler Baybars I [*q.v.*]. More frequently, however, the text of a shadow-play amounted to no more than general guidelines for the performers. In the Ottoman period the shadow-play spread through North Africa and other Arabic-speaking countries, as the Ottoman Turks popularised the *Ḳaragöz* [*q.v.*], in which several stereotyped characters amused an unsophisticated audience. The *Ḳaragöz* also penetrated Anatolia, the Arab countries, Greece and Roumania. Iran had its own form of shadow-play, as had Muslim communities in Central Asia, but they did not attain the same popularity.

After Ibn Dāniyāl's time, one finds scattered references to Arabic shadow-plays; however, only from the 12th/18th century onwards is relatively more known. In Syria and in most of North Africa a *Ḳaragöz*-type prevailed, but Egypt held to its own tradition of shadow-play, which usually presented the adventures and misadventures of characters in the market-place or on Nile boats (*e.g.* *liʿb al-markib*, *liʿb al-timsāḥ*).

A standard *khayāl al-ẓill* performance in the 18th and 19th centuries was usually constructed on the following lines: a large sheet was hung as a screen on an improvised stage in the open air, in a coffee-house, or, more rarely, in a public hall, and a bright lamp placed behind it. Between the two, small (often 30 cm. high) two-dimensional figurines, of thin coloured translucent leather, were manipulated by the shadow-play master, who was called the *muḳaddim*. He used several sticks to move the head and limbs of the figurines, through holes specially pierced into the figurines; the shadows thus cast on the screen were both lifesize and lifelike. One or more persons assisted the *muḳaddim* in this task and in the recitations of the different characters.

The texts recited were memorised, rather than read, but often seemed also to bear the mark of improvisation, not unlike the *commedia dell'arte*. The *liʿb* ("play") started with a *maṭlaʿ* ("prologue") and was divided into *fuṣūl* ("acts"), although some plays were of one *faṣl* only. Songs and music were interspersed as needed, prose alternating with verse. The vernacular predominated and the contents and style were geared to a familiar background, *e.g.* the bath-house or the market-place. The plot was simple enough, usually based on misadventures and misunderstandings. Slapstick—including severe thrash-

ings and teratological elements—was common, as was an obscenely erotic element bordering on pornography.

Historical shadow-plays were performed, too, but more rarely. The farces, more frequent, were humorous rather than satirical, but had important socio-economic and political undertones. In what amounted to a "comedy of character", many shadow-plays ridiculed the upper classes and denounced the exploitation of the poor, while in North Africa the shadow-play sometimes criticised French rule. In fact, the shadow-play, by its social and political commentary, to some extent anticipated the local press.

Bibliography: The earlier literature on *Khayāl al-ẓill* may be consulted in the pioneer study of this field—Georg Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*[2], Hanover 1925. To this one should add the following: O. Spies, *Tunesisches Schattentheater*, in *Public. d'hommage offerte au P. W. Schmidt*, Vienna 1928, 693-702; N. N. Martinovitch, *The Turkish theatre*, N.Y. 1933; K. Levy, *Laʿbät elḥotä. Ein tunesisches Schattenspiel*, in *Festschrift für Kahle*, Leiden 1935, 119-24; E. Saussey, *Une farce de Karagueuz en dialecte arabe de Damas*, in *B.Ét.Or.*, vii-viii (1937-8), 5-37; P. Kahle, *The Arabic shadow play in Egypt*, in *JRAS* (1940), 21-34; J. M. Landau, *Shadow plays in the Near East*, Jerusalem 1948; H. Ritter, *Karagös, türkische Schattenspiele*, 3 vols., Istanbul-Wiesbaden 1924, 1941, 1953; J. M. Landau, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958; Ibrāhim Ḥammāda, *Khayāl al-ẓill wa-tamthīliyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl*, Cairo 1963; Metin And, *A history of theatre and popular entertainment in Turkey*, Ankara 1964; idem, *Geleneksel Türk tiyatrosu: kukla—karagöz—ortaoyunu*, Ankara 1969; Mukhtār al-Suwayfī, *Khayāl al-ẓill wa 'l-ʿarāʾis fī 'l-ʿālam*, ? Cairo, N.D., 153-86.

(J. M. LANDAU)

KHAYĀLĪ, also known as KHAYĀLĪ BEY or KHAYĀLĪ MEḤMED BEY, nicknamed Bekār Memi as he was never married, Ottoman Turkish poet (d. 964/1556). He was born in Vardar Yenidjesi (modern Giannitsa), near Salonica in Macedonia. He did not go through the usual *medrese* training, but taught himself most of the knowledge expected in an educated man of his time, and began, as a very young man, to write poetry. The poets Uṣūlī and Ḥayretī were among his friends. According to ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi, his closest friend and whose *Tedhkire* is a main source for his biography, he came at an early age under the influence of the Ḥaydarī dervish Baba ʿAlī Mest-i ʿAdjemī, who called at Vardar Yenidjesi during his travels, and Khayālī soon joined his party of wandering Ḥaydarī and Ḳalenderī dervishes, roaming from place to place and sharing their free-and-easy way of life. Eventually he ended up in Istanbul, where his poetical talent, intelligence and refinement attracted the attention of the Ḳāḍī Ṣarī Gürz Nūr al-Dīn, who ordered Uzun ʿAlī, the city *muḥtesib*, to save Khayālī from this vagrant life (ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi, *Meshāʾir al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971, 271a). ʿĀlī says, however, that Baba ʿAlī Mest treated Khayālī like his own son and helped him with his further education (*Künh al-akhbār*, biographical section, Topkapı Sarayı, Revan no. 117, f. 494b). ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi himself came to Istanbul in 942/1536 as a young boy, where he met Khayālī, and their friendship lasted more than twenty years, during which time ʿĀshıḳ was able to follow the poet's private life and his successful career and, as a scholar and poet himself, advised him occasionally on grammatical problems in his writing. In the capital, Khayālī soon won the favour of Süleymān the Magnificent, to whom he was introduced by the Grand Vizier Maḳbūl (Maḳtūl) İbrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], who had patronised the poet on the Defterdār İskender Čelebi's recommendation. Almost all his *ḳasīde*s, which have no particular literary distinction, are dedicated to Süleymān. The over-generous favours of the Sultan aroused the jealousy of most of his fellow-poets, particularly of Dhātī (ʿĀlī, *ibid.*, f. 495a) and Tashlıdjalı Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] who frequently attacked him with his pungent satires, to which Khayālī did not fail to retort. Following the execution of Iskender Čelebi and İbrāhīm Pasha in 942/1535 and 943/1536 respectively, Khayālī lost two powerful protectors. Although ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi says unconvincingly that the Sultan's favours never diminished (ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi, *ibid.*, f. 271b), it seems that Khayālī began to feel uncomfortable at the court during the grand vizierate of Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], who was not particularly inclined to the arts. He must have hinted to the poet that his presence in the capital was no longer desirable, for we see Khayālī pressing for a post outside Istanbul, more exactly, to become *Rumeli Ketkhüdāsı* or *Sandjaḳ Beyi*, the latter of which he seems to have obtained. Khayālī's public life after this period is somewhat obscure. His meeting with Fuḍūlī in Baghdād, which must have taken place during Süleymān's sojourn in 941/1534, is mentioned only by ʿĀlī (*ibid.*, f. 506b) without further comment. He died in Edirne, where he is buried (for the present state of his burial place, see A. N. Tarlan, *Hayâli Bey divanı*, Istanbul 1945, XI).

Khayālī is an outstanding and original *Dīwān* poet of his time. He wrote a few dozen brilliant lyrics which are lost, to the casual reader, in the mass of mediocre *ghazal*s of the most conventional type. His reputation is thus disproportionate to his poetical achievement. It may be that the circumstances in which he left the court after the disappearance of his powerful protectors, and the fact of his apparently being an ʿAlawī in an environment where orthodox Islam was predominant, were important factors for his comparatively secondary position among his more celebrated colleagues. Although his superiority to Bāḳī [*q.v.*], as claimed by A. N. Tarlan (*Hayali-Baki*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, No. 1 (1946), 26-38), may be debated, since Khayālī is far from having the mastery of form and the flow of style of the "Sultan of Poets", there can be no doubt that some of Khayālī's lyrics are more heart-felt and are more imbued with pervasive mystic passion than is the case with Bāḳī and with the two prominent followers of his school, Sheykh ül-Islām Yaḥyā and Nedīm.

Khayālī's *Dīwān* has been edited by Ali Nihad Tarlan (*Hayali Bey Divanı*, Istanbul 1945); this is based on manuscripts available in Istanbul libraries.

Bibliography: see the *tedhkire*s of Sehī, Laṭīfī and ʿĀshıḳ Čelebī, and the biographical section of ʿĀlī's *Künh al-akhbār*, s.v.; Muʿallim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, Istanbul 1308/1892, 137; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman poetry*, iii, 58; Fahir İz, *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım*, i/1, Istanbul 1966, 272-80 (selections from his *ghazels*). (FAHİR İZ)

KHAYBAR, the name of a famous oasis, and of its principal settlement, about 95 miles/150 km. from Medina; the district owes its renown to events which took place there in the years 7 and 20 A.H., not to natural features which distinguish it from other oases in the region. For this reason the

ancient Arab geographers, although they do mention it, provide only the briefest of information about it, giving special praise to the abundance of its palm trees.

1.—*Geographical information.*

Only al-Bakrī and Yāḳūt have devoted to Khaybar as much as two pages in their *Muʿdjams*: the former is concerned primarily with the details of certain places in the interior in the light of their historical importance, the latter informs us that the place-name Khaybar encompassed the entire *wilāya* and that this *wilāya* comprised 7 *ḥiṣns* whose names were: Ḥiṣn Naʿīm, al-Ḳamūs (= Ḥiṣn Abī 'l-Ḥuḳayḳ), Ḥiṣn al-Shiḳḳ, Ḥiṣn (al-)Naṭāt, Ḥiṣn ʾl-Sulālim (*sic*), Ḥiṣn al-Waṭīḥ and Ḥiṣn al-Katība. All these place-names are found in the historical Arab sources and are listed alphabetically in the *Muʿdjam* of Yāḳūt. Wüstenfeld (*Die von Medina auslaufenden Hauptstrassen* ... 15) adds to them two other names, al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 56, another two, al-Bakrī, 331, one other.

Yāḳūt states in addition that Khaybar was the equivalent of *ḥiṣn* in the dialect of the Jews and since there were several of these in the region, the locality was also designated by the plural form Khayābir. He quotes some verses where mention is made of the fever which was endemic in the oasis, and of the abundance of its date-palms.

From the texts of modern geographers we can glean some supplementary information: distance from Medina: 60 *mīls*; altitude: 2,800 feet (thus Doughty ii, 211; Twitchell, 12: 2,200); site: in a *ḥarra* [*q.v.*]; principal settlement: in the main *wādī*, called Wādī Zaydiyya; administrative district: at present, one of the four *imāra*s of Djabal Shammar (see C. A. Nallino, 73); several villages, swampy soil and unhealthy air; 3,000 inhabitants, most of them mulattoes, descendants of negro slaves imported in ancient times to cultivate the oasis (see below). The only satisfying description of the locality is that of Doughty, who stayed at Khaybar from Nov. 1877 to March 1878. The impression given by his notes is that the entire *ḥarra*, despite the fertility of the soil, has a depressing and desolate atmosphere because of its stagnant waters, the salt encrustation of its *wādī*s and above all because of the blackish colour of its basalt rocks. Doughty said on arrival: "all is horror at Kheibar" (ii, 79; cf. 76, 81, 215, etc.). Recently, many changes have taken place at Khaybar. Twitchell informs us that a large dam has been constructed not far from the principal settlement, that other dams are planned and that a road suitable for vehicles now connects the oasis to Medina.

2.—*History*

The earliest mention of Khaybar figures in the bilingual inscription of Ḥarrān in the Ladja: it bears the date "the year 463, one year after the Khaybar expedition" referring therefore to the year 568 A.D. (see E. Littmann, *Osservazioni sulle iscrizioni di Harran e di Zebed* in *RSO*, iv (1911-12), 193 ff.). Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 313) states furthermore that this expedition took place under the king al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shamir (= b. Djabala) who reigned 528 to 569-70 A.D.

In the time of the Prophet, the population of Khaybar was made up of Jewish tribes and of Hebraised tribes. The time of the arrival of the Jews is not known, but one may assume that their departure from Palestine and emigration to Khaybar were part of a considerable migratory movement which took a large number of Jews towards the more fertile regions of North Arabia; that the displacement of such large numbers of people must have had very serious motives, otherwise, it is difficult to understand why it should have consisted of a movement from fertile regions towards the desert; and that the emigration began probably after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., but proceeded steadily on account of the persecutions which the Jews continued to suffer in Palestine. Also, in our opinion, a factor would have been invitations sent to relatives and friends by those who, having settled in Arabia, were satisfied with their new situation. How did this satisfaction come about? In our opinion, the Jews found in Arabia conditions favourable to their spirit of initiative and appropriate to their customs. We believe that sufficient attention has not been paid to the following circumstances: (1) The traffic in precious merchandise from India and the Far East, diverted from Mesopotamia to Arabia following a series of grave events, had brought to the inhabitants of the peninsular a certain prosperity; (2) The Arabs were not at that time capable of producing for themselves the tools, the weapons, the textiles, and the jewelry which they needed or coveted, and the Jews, being skilful artisans and drawn by nature towards commerce, were in a position to supply these objects because they understood the art of manufacturing them or the means of importing them; and (3) Arabia was a vast country with a sizable population which offered, now that economic conditions were much improved, considerable opportunities for commerce.

In our opinion, the Jews in Arabia, besides their activity in agriculture (they were the pioneers in the cultivation of the oasis) and their commercial activities in their capacity as craftsmen, bankers and money-lenders, probably carried these on in collaboration with the Arabs. They provided the capital, while the Arabs acted as intermediaries between them and the tribes of the interior. The Jews possessed considerable wealth and it would seem difficult to suppose that this was due solely to the work of farmers and artisans whose production was for local consumption only. In fact, despite the absence of precise information, we possess certain indications. Some objects found by the Muslims in a redoubt at Khaybar (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 6) seem to us significant: a siege-engine, 20 bales of Yemenī cloth and 500 cloaks. Wellhausen, apparently struck by the singularity of the existence of such a machine among the Jews, attempted to explain it, suggesting (tr. of al-Wāḳidī, 269, n. 1) that these were used for settling quarrels among the families of the community. It would seem more logical to suppose that it was being stored in a depôt for future sale, in the same way that swords, lances, shields, etc. had been sold by the Jews. Equally, the 20 bales of cloth and the 500 cloaks must have been intended for sale, as it is not conceivable that such a quantity of luxury goods was kept for the exclusive use of the Jews. If one accepts the idea of commercial activities undertaken especially by the Jews of Medina (cf. moreover M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history, a new interpretation (600-750)*, Cambridge 1971, 10, 13), one understands better the reasons for which Muḥammad attacked them in particular. His hostility towards the Jews would have had economic causes similar to those which have brought about persecutions and pogroms in so many countries during the course of history.

According to Caetani (7 a.H., § 7) Muḥammad was moved to attack Khaybar by motives of political opportunism: on the one hand, the pact concluded with Ḳuraysh at Ḥudaybiyya gave him the assurance of not being attacked by them during the expedition; on the other hand, if he conquered Khaybar he would

be able to satisfy with ample booty those of his companions who, having hoped to capture Mecca, were disappointed and discontented.

Montgomery Watt has drawn attention to the fact that the Banu 'l-Naḍīr, driven out of Medina, had taken refuge in Khaybar and that their chieftains and the chieftains of other Jewish groups, eager for revenge, were intriguing against Muḥammad along with the Arabs tribes of the neighbourhood. So Muḥammad had not only a just motive for attacking them, but there was also the positive necessity to destroy these enemies, more formidable even than the Ḳuraysh because of their adherence to their own religion, their intelligence and their superior culture. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (385-6) maintains that the Prophet did not feel sure of the northern fringes of the peninsular: he was afraid lest the Jews established in the oases of Northern Arabia betray him, and lest Heraclius and Kisrā seek help from them against him. The sources give support to the view of Montgomery Watt, showing that the Jews, already responsible for the coalition which had laid siege to Medina in 5 A.H. and worried by the growing power of the Prophet, continued to stir up the Arabs against him. Haykal's opinion, however, is to be rejected in that it is inappropriate to consider an event in the light of subsequent developments. In the year 7 A.H. Muḥammad was not yet a figure to be reckoned with in the estimation of the rulers of the empires to the north of the peninsular. While giving full credit to the opinion of Montgomery Watt, one should not overlook the fact that the Prophet was in great need of arms and money to accomplish his objectives and he knew that he could find these among the Jews at Khaybar (the sources give precise details of the number and type of arms captured by the Muslims from the Jews at Medina and at Khaybar; Caetani, 4 a.H., § 13; 5 a.H., § 49; 7 a.H., § 31).

Muḥammad marched against Khaybar with 1,800 or 1,600 men and 100 horses (according to al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 256, with 1,400 men and 200 horses). The date of departure indicated by Ibn Hishām, sc. Muḥarram 7/May-June 628, is to be preferred to those of the other sources (see Caetani, 7 a.H., § 7 and n. 2). The march of the Muslims was secret and rapid, and the Jews only became aware of their arrival when they went out to their work in the fields. Alarmed, the inhabitants of the oasis took refuge in their homes, confident of their ability to defend themselves there, and from that time onwards each family or group held defensive positions in its own redoubt.

The attack by Muḥammad had been foreseen, but no serious preparations for withstanding it had been made; at Khaybar there was no political authority which could have imposed a communal defence policy, and it seems moreover that discord reigned there (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 9, and 8). Their defensive policy was limited to seeking, with promises of reward, the support of the neighbouring Arab tribes. In fact, several thousands of the Ghaṭafān, pressed by the insistence of and the rewards offered by the Jews, came to Khaybar to offer their aid, but they withdrew at the very moment when their aid was needed. The sources explain their departure, describing how they had left their women, children and livestock in an encampment in the middle of the desert and, hearing great uproar from that place, they believed that the Muslims were attacking it and they rushed to defend their families (another version attributes their departure to a mysterious voice which warned them of danger [Caetani, 7 a.H., § 12]). Now, the Ghaṭafān embraced Islam immediately after the conquest of Khaybar and they did not return to Khaybar until after the successful completion of the operation; Muḥammed conceded to them a hill in the oasis and one may suppose that this concession was the price of their withdrawal.

The process of the military operation has not been clearly described in the sources, and for purposes of reconstruction, the historian cannot base himself on the topography of the oasis, nor on a survey of the remains of ancient constructions in the *ḥarra*, nor on the local tradition which indicates the sites where Muslims and Jews fought one another. The actual place-names, which Doughty collected, differ entirely from those mentioned in the sources (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 6); one site alone can be identified, the place where ʿAlī gave proof of his valour, and this only because there is a mosque bearing his name. We restrict ourselves here to drawing out from the detailed accounts of the sources those aspects which characterised the hostilities and the more famous of the episodes. Two facts should be noted. First, in the oasis there were three regions: al-Naṭāt, al-Shiḳḳ and al-Katība, probably separated by natural diversions (*wādīs*, lava-drifts, swamps). Second, each of these regions contained several *ḥiṣns*. Those which Muḥammad besieged and which provided for the Jews homes, storehouses and stables (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 26, 28) could probably be described as "farm-strongholds", the term applied by Ph. Lippens in his *Expédition en Arabie centrale*, Paris 1956, 37, to the buildings in another oasis, also called Khaybar, situated to the south of Mecca on the Bīsha-Abhā road (cf. Fuʾād Ḥamza, *Bilād*, 263); "farm" because after the fashion of the buildings described by Lippens, the *ḥiṣns* of our Khaybar were surrounded by cultivated fields and palm-groves (Muḥammad ordered the felling of 400 palms around one *ḥiṣn* to force the defenders to capitulate; Caetani, 7 a.H., § 17); "strongholds" because they were raised up on the hills or on the basalt rocks of the oasis as to be more defensible, such as the *ḥiṣn* of the principal settlement which stands on a long, basalt crag (Doughty, ii, 76) and the *ḥiṣn* of al-Zubayr which, we are told by the sources, stood on the summit of a cliff (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 27).

The situation following the retreat of the inhabitants into their redoubts was as follows. The Jews, after a rather bloody skirmish in front of one of the *ḥiṣns*, avoided combat in the open country and Muḥammad, having none but the most primitive means of assaulting the fortifications, found himself obliged to invest one *ḥiṣn* after another, and to wait until the capitulation of the defenders should become inevitable through lack of water and food. This did not prevent those besieged from transferring, under cover of darkness, women, children and treasures from one *ḥiṣn* to another as the situation demanded; sometimes the warriors themselves, to make their resistance more effective, passed from one region to another, from al-Naṭāt to al-Shiḳḳ and from al-Shiḳḳ to al-Katība.

There were, during these sieges a number of skirmishes preceeded by duels, a number of sorties by the defenders, some attacks by the Muslims and exchanges of arrow-shots between the two sides (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 15, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 31); among the Jews there were spies and traitors who, in order to save their own skins, gave useful information to the enemy, in particular, concerning the use of certain machines of war which the Muslims learned to use at this time (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 28). All these episodes are recounted in great detail by the Arab chroniclers; there were others which had much greater

repercussions and consequences for Islamic history and law.

As those besieged in one of the *ḥiṣn*s defended themselves stubbornly (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 20-3), first Abū Bakr, then ʿUmar, took up the standard in the hope of breaking down their resistance, by putting themselves at the head of the attacks; but they still failed. Muḥammad then declared that the next day he would entrust the standard to "a man who loves God and his Prophet and whom God and His Prophet love"; he then called to ʿAlī (this tradition, reported by Ibn Hishām, 1579 and 1580), shows a Shīʿī tendency) and ʿAlī, cured of his opthalmia after the Prophet had spit into his eyes, killed a valiant Jewish chieftain with a sword-stroke which split in two the helmet, the head and the body of the unfortunate victim. He then gave another proof of his exceptional physical strength. Having lost his shield, he lifted one of the doors of the *ḥiṣn* from its hinges and defended himself with it, then used it to make a bridge whereby the attackers gained access to the redoubt. The door was so heavy that later, when it was put back in place, eight men were needed for the purpose. ʿAlī had showed his prowess at Badr, at Uḥud and elsewhere, but this fact astounded the Muslims (al-Ṭabarī devotes a page and a half to it, 1579-81); it was greatly exaggerated (see Doughty, ii, 126), and finally became one of the reasons for which the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] made of ʿAlī the prototype of heroes.

At the start of hostilities, the Muslims suffered from lack of provisions (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 24, and cf. 9 a.H., § 41). Their need drove them to kill, dismember and cook a score of asses which had escaped from one of the *ḥiṣn*s. Muḥammad declared that the meat of horses, mules and asses was forbidden and the cauldrons in which the ass-meat was being cooked were overturned. This judgement was nevertheless mitigated: it is permissible to eat even forbidden foods when one is forced by necessity (Ḳurʾān, II, 168/173, VI, 119/118, XVI, 116/114).

One of the women taken prisoner in one of the *ḥiṣn*s, Ṣafiyya, who was married to a Jewish chieftain, caught the attention of the Prophet (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 27, 30, 36 and n. 2, § 48 and n. 4); he threw his mantle over her, a sign that he had chosen her for himself; then Ṣafiyya's husband was put to death because, in disobedience to the orders of the Prophet, he had hidden the treasure of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr. Muḥammad set free his captive and took her in marriage, whence a problem was to arise later for the jurists—to know whether the enfranchisement of the slave could replace the nuptial gift (*mahr*, an essential condition for the legitimacy of marriage), or if the enfranchisement of Ṣafiyya was to be considered as a *jus singulare*, that is to say, one of the *khaṣāʾiṣ* or special privileges of the Prophet (see e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 256).

A Jewess laid before Muḥammad, who was dining with his Companions, a roast sheep (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 37). Muḥammad took from it his favourite part, the shoulder, but putting it to his mouth he noticed that it had a strange taste and spat it out (according to one tradition the sheep spoke to him to warn him). One of his fellow-diners who had tasted the dish fell ill and died some time later. The woman confessed her crime (during the hostilities at Khaybar she had lost her husband and other close relatives), but it is not known whether Muḥammad had her executed or pardoned her (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1584, says that he did not punish her, *tadjāwaza ʿanhā*).

The Prophet ordered the restitution to the Jews of the books containing the holy Scriptures (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 38). It was at Khaybar that he laid down instructions concerning the sale and exchange of precious metals (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 38).

After about a month and a half of hostilities which cost the Muslims very few casualities (a score of dead; Caetani 7 a.H., § 43), the Jews asked the Prophet to offer them an agreement and they capitulated, accepting his conditions (thus Ibn Khaldūn, ii, App. 39, and his version is preferable, in its details, to those of the other sources: Caetani, 7 a.H., § 15 nn. 1 and 2, and § 33). Under the terms of the agreement, the Jews were to remain in the oasis on their land and were to cultivate it, but in future were to hand over one-half of the produce to the Muslims. From a legal point of view, the pact was defective, since it did not define the situation of the Jews and did not say whether they were to remain the owners of the soil which they were to cultivate (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 34); it must be assumed that the problem was not even envisaged by the Prophet, whose sole concern at this time was that the oasis should continue to be cultivated, and by the Jews, since Arabs did not like working on the land. The Prophet limited himself to subjecting the Jews to a perpetual servitude, reducing them to the status of land-serfs.

For this reason, in later years when an interest in legal matters developed among cultivated Muslims, the jurists wondered under what terms the Prophet had left the lands of Khaybar to the Jews, and they defined his settlement as a *muzāraʿa* or a *musāḳāt*, that is to say, according to our terminology, a métayage, land tenure with rent paid in produce.

The decision taken by Muḥammad at Khaybar to leave the lands to the Jewish cultivators was different from those which he had taken at Medina where, in the year 4, he had handed over part of the lands of al-Naḍīr to Meccan emigrants and reserved a part for himself; in the year 5 he had divided 4/5 of the lands of Ḳurayẓa among four family groups (Caetani, 4 a.H., § 13; 5 a.H., § 52). Even at Fadak [*q.v.*] he was later to take a completely different decision. The explanation which he gave for his conduct, when he disposed of the lands of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr as he pleased, was that he had become master of them without the Muslims having had to fight for them; according to the terms of the Ḳurʾān, LIX, 6, they were "what God has given back to his Messenger from them (i.e. from the Banu 'l-Naḍīr), and you spurred neither horse nor camel to capture them", *mā afāʾā Allāh ʿalā rasūlihi minhum fa-mā awdjaftum ʿalayhi min khaylin wa-lā rikābin*. Under the terms of this declaration, goods obtained *ʿanwatan* (by force) were to be divided among the warriors who had taken part in their capture; as to those taken *ṣulḥan* (by treaty), the soldiers had no rights. But the caliph ʿUmar, when he conquered the Sawād—and he conquered it *ʿanwatan*—did not follow the precedent of the Prophet. Far from dividing up the land, he made it a source of future revenues for the Muslim community as a whole; in this he justified himself on the grounds that he would have divided up all the conquered villages "had he not feared lest nothing would be left for the last man" (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, cited in the bibliography, §§ 106, 107, 121). In short, ʿUmar placed the interests of the state above those of individuals, but by his decision he caused discontent among the troops and gave a strong motive for grievance to the opposition which was unleashed against the caliph ʿUthmān and which finally brought about the civil war under the caliphate of ʿAlī. Both the defenders of the policy of ʿUmar on this point and his opponents sought justification in the conduct of the Prophet, and the tradi-

tionists came to their aid—with material suiting the interests of one or the other party, as will be seen below when we shall deal with some of the traditions collected by Yaḥyā b. Ādam (d. 203/810) in his *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, on the nature and the distribution of booty and the spoils of war.

The goods of the Jews (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 39, 41-42), of which Muḥammad took possession by his conquest of Khaybar, consisted of movable and immovable property. The former posed no problem; all the objects would have been piled up to await distribution, and anyone who took anything out of turn was compelled to return it. As for the land, the sources are not clear, either what was the kind of property to be divided, or on the manner by which the distribution was effected. Caetani maintains that the Prophet divided solely the produce of the lands of Khaybar; on this point he is categorical (7 a.H., §§ 33, 41 n. 2 218; 10 a.H., §§ 100-102; 20 a.H., § 237; 23 a.H., § 559) and Montgomery Watt, 250, is in agreement with him; Caetani criticises (10 a.H., § 100 n. 1) Baron von Tornauw and M. van Berchem, who did not doubt but that in 7 a.H. the Prophet divided up the property, the former in *Das Eigenthumsrecht nach moslemischen Rechte*, in *ZDMG*, xxxvi (1882), 298, the latter in *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier sous les premiers Califes*, Geneva 1886, 8-9. Caetani bases his conclusion on a passage of al-Balādhurī according to which it was ʿUmar who in the year 20 (see below) attended to the division of the *raḳabat al-arḍ*, an expression to be translated as "the ownership of the land" (cf. Glossary to al-Balādhurī). But some details of the distribution of the goods of Khaybar could also serve as a basis for the arguments of Caetani, for example: ʿUmar in undertaking a new division of the oasis, invited the widows of the Prophet to choose between the guarantee that they would receive their annual share of the produce and [the possession of] the land (*al-arḍ*: Yaḥyā b. Ādam, text 24; another version, the price or the estate (*al-ḍayʿa*), *ibid.*, text 25).

If some scholars have asserted that Muḥammad at Khaybar distributed the lands, it is because Muḥammad, instead of amassing the half of the products of the oasis after each harvest for distribution to those Muslims entitled to them, gave to each Muslim beneficiary of a plot of land (see below how he divided the land of the oasis in plots and how he designated the beneficiaries) the right to exact directly from the Jewish cultivator the half of the products which that plot of land had yielded. In short, he established a relation between such and such a piece of land and a beneficiary, and ʿUmar, when he divided the land, took account of this relation.

The manner adopted for the effecting of these measures was as follows. Muḥammad first detached the share of the fifth which belonged by right to him as the leader of the expedition—he chose the region of al-Katība—and then he divided the territory into 18 major parts, and each of these into 100 plots having the same productive capacity. (Previously, an evaluation had been made of the products which each plot of land and palm-grove could be expected to provide). Lots were drawn for the major parts, and since these subsequently bear names, the list of which has survived, and since these names are sometimes those of eminent Companions, such as ʿUmar and Ṭalḥa, and sometimes those of tribal groups, we may deduce that the responsibility for allocating the 100 plots contained in each major part was entrusted to reliable men, some of them chosen by the Prophet, the others, probably later on, chosen by the tribal groups.

What makes the distribution of goods at Khaybar interesting to the historian is a variant account, presented as a tradition by al-Balādhurī (26) and confirmed by other traditions in the collection of Yaḥyā b. Ādam (§§ 90, 91, 94, 95). These traditions change substantially the account given above of the assessment and distribution of the lands at Khaybar, and change it in such a manner that one is tempted to suppose that all these traditions were invented, in spite of their number (we consider them to be authentic), in order to justify the decision of ʿUmar about the lands of Sawād—a decision which was certainly judged politically correct, if not necessary, by most of the people, but which, to be rendered legitimate in the eyes of all, had to be supported by the precedents of the Prophet refered to in traditions. According to the variant account, the land of Khaybar was divided into 36 parts (instead of 18) and Muḥammad divided half of this amount among the troops (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, § 90); of this half he also received a share for himself (*ibid.*, §§ 91, 94); the other half he reserved to provide funds against administrative needs and matters in hand (*ibid.*, §§ 90, 91), against expenses of his guests, and of delegations coming to him from the interior of the peninsula, and against any other eventuality (*ibid.*, §§ 91, 94, 95). Thus the Prophet, well in advance of the time of ʿUmar, was concerned with the interests of the state.

But let us examine the traditions collected by Yaḥyā b. Ādam which reveal the efforts made by the traditionists to interpret the conduct of the Prophet at Khaybar. First of all, they draw a distinction between *ghanīma* (that which is taken by force, *ʿanwatan*) and *fayʾ* (that which is obtained by treaty, *ṣulḥan*) (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, §§ 1, 2, 11); since it could not be denied that Khaybar had been captured *ʿanwatan* (see e.g. *ibid.*, 18), and since it would have been difficult to expunge traditions according to which the Prophet had reserved for himself part of the lands of Khaybar (see the variant version of al-Balādhurī and Yaḥyā b. Ādam, § 9), there were traditionists who settled the question declaring that the fifth part of the *ghanīma* having first been detached—this part belongs to God and it is "given back" by God to those whom He has named (Ḳurʾān, VIII, 42/41: His Messenger, the Messenger's relatives, the orphans, the needy, the wayfarer—the rest belongs to the Muslims who have captured it, and must be divided among them equitably (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, §§ 4, 11, and cf. 18, 12, end), one part for each warrior and two for his horse, if he has brought a horse with him (the question becomes controversial if he has two, *ibid.*, 5-7). Others (*ibid.*, and 8) declared that the lands are excluded from the *ghanīma*: these (*ibid.*, and § 101) are *fayʾ* and (*ibid.*, and § 48) belong to the Muslims, that is to say, to the Muslim community (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1583[a], is explicit: Khaybar was a *fayʾ*). Others again, resorting to subtelty, claim that the *Imām* after having taken the fifth part and thus having made of the lands a *ghanīma*, may distributed the remaining 4/5 between the warriors who had capture it, or hand over the whole to the Muslims in perpetuity as a *fayʾ* (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, §§ 9, 10, 12, 101; in the *fayʾ* there is no fifth share, *ibid.*, § 12, and cf. §§ 11 and 101).

The *Imām* may abstain from the distribution to the warriors, because the Prophet at Khaybar kept for himself a portion of the lands (*ibid.*, § 9; on the significance of the word *waḳafa* in this text, see translator's note on p. 112 no. 9), and other parts were distributed (*ibid.*, § 9). Muḥammed assigned some shares of the produce of al-Katība (his fifth) to his wives and to

certain members of his family. Calculations have been made of the quantity of dates and grain which this fifth would have provided (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 42), and there have been attempts to assess the amount of the rents accruing to the Prophet from the oasis cultivated by the Jews; they were certainly considerable, but Sprenger's idea, that Muḥammad could have maintained with these revenues an army of 4,000 or 5,000 men, is an exaggeration (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 46).

The caliph Abū Bakr made no changes in the situation established by the Prophet at Khaybar; ʿUmar made no change during the first years of his government, but in 20 A.H. he modified it completely. That year (Caetani, 20 a.H., § 234-237) he announced in a speech delivered in the mosque of Medina that he had decided to expel the Jews from Arabia. To justify this decision, which reversed the pact concluded with them by the Prophet, he claimed to have learnt, and to have acquired positive verification, that Muḥammad had declared before his death that two religions could not co-exist in Arabia. According to Caetani, the traditions which report this phrase of the dying Prophet and those which accuse the Jews of misconduct and of crimes were invented; equally, one should doubt the veracity of the suggestion that Muḥammad warned the Jews that he was reserving the right to expel them at a later date, and that he was leaving them their lands only in so far as it was pleasing to God, all land being the property of Muslims. These traditions tend evidently to absolve ʿUmar from the charge of having acted against the will of the Prophet in his decision regarding the land of the Sawād.

Caetani claims that the true motive for the new assessment made by the caliph was contingent and local: the oases could henceforth be cultivated by slaves, whose numbers had been greatly swollen through military campaigns outside Arabia (al-Balādhurī in a way confirms this motive, saying that the Muslims, having become powerful, were now in a position to expel the Jews). Having removed the Jews far away from the oases of Arabia, giving them lands in Syria, ʿUmar proceeded to a new partition of Khaybar, in the sense that he assigned to the beneficiaries of the produce the ownership of the land from which they were receiving their rents.

The success of the Prophet at Khaybar had as an immediate effect an increase in his power, for several tribes, enemies until that moment, embraced Islam and recognised the hegemony of Medina (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 45); another consequence of great importance lay in the economic advantages which Muḥammad and the Muslims, particularly the *Muhādjirūn*, gained from the conquest of the oasis: Muḥammad because from now on he could rely on fixed revenues, the Muslims because it was not only ʿĀʾisha who could cry out "Now we can have our fill of dates". Many had cause to rejoice in the change in their economic situation. However, the historical importance of the event lies not in the facts above indicated, but in the pact concluded between Muḥammad and the Jews which set more or less directly the style for relations between the Muslims, conquering vast territories beyond the confines of Arabia and the non-Muslim peoples who fall under their domination. (For a juridical interpretation of this pact, the relevant traditions and the additions which were made to them, see Santillana, i, 359-62 and n. 235).

The history of Khaybar during the succeeding centuries is bound up with that of the Ḥidjāz and of the Nadjd, and offers nothing of interest.

It may be noted that some Jews either stayed in the oasis or returned there (al-Muḳaddasī, 95: Caetani, 20 a.H., § 220); Varthema, who travelled in Arabia during the early years of the 16th century, noted that in a locality between Damascus and Medina (Khaybar ?) lived between 4,000 and 5,000 Jews (but Pirenne doubts this, pp. 215-16). Towards the mid-19th century, the Jews were in considerable numbers there (Pirenne, 76). In the mid-19th century, Khaybar was part of the amīrate of the Āl Rashīd, whose capital was at Ḥāʾil, and it stayed under the domination of this dynasty until its collapse following the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd (1906). It then belonged to the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn of Mecca until 1922, when it was captured by Ṭalāl, son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd (in 1918 he had defeated the troops of the Ḥidjāz near al-Ṭāʾif) (*OM*, iv (1924), 599). On these events, see in particular, H. St. John Philby, *Saʿudi Arabia*.

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ture, Amsterdam 1958, 33, 76, 215 ff., 218; H. St. John Philby, *Saʿudi Arabia*, repr. Beirut 1955, 171, 251, 283. (L. Veccia Vaglieri)

KHAYBAR or Khyber Pass, one of the principal passes (together with the Kurram, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan Passes) through the mountain barrier separating the Indus valley plains from Afghānistān. The pass runs northwestwards for *ca.* 33 miles/50 km. from the Shadi Bagiar opening 3 miles/5 km. beyond Fort Jamrud, itself 7 miles/12 km. from Peshawar, to the barren plain of Loi Dakka, which then stretches to the Kābul River banks. The highest point of the pass is at Landi Kotal (3,518 ft./1,280 m.), an important market centre for the region, after which the road descends to the beginning of Afghān territory and Landi Khana. The surrounding country, now falling mainly within Pakistan, is controlled by Afridi Pathans, with Mohmands to the north.

The pass has been of great strategic importance all through history as a gateway for invading armies to debouch on the plains of northern India. It was probably used by Alexander the Great's generals, and in Islamic times, was used at least once by Maḥmūd of Ghazna and on various occasions by Bābur, and more recently, by Nādir Shāh Afshār and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. In the 19th century, it became especially valuable as the most direct channel for the Government of British India to exert pressure on the Kings of Kābul, being little blocked by snow during the winter months. During the First Afghan War (1839-42) there were various skirmishes between British troops and the Afridis. A Khyber Agency was created by the Government of India, with a special officer in charge of it, during the Second Afghan War (1878-80), the guiding policy being non-interference with the Pathans, who were given subsidies, provided that the route through the pass remained unmolested.

After 1881, there were formed the Khyber Rifles, a force of *jezailchi*s or tribal levies, who were paid by the Government of India and who guarded the pass until the risings of the Afridis and Orakzais under Mullah Sayyid Akbar in 1897-8. Thereafter, the Khyber Rifles were supported by a mobile British army column in Peshawar, and the British became responsible for the safe passage of caravans through the pass. After the Third Afghan War of 1919 showed the undependable nature of the Khyber Rifles, they were disbanded and their place taken by regular British troops, by Khassadars (local tribesmen enrolled for escort and simular duties, paid by the government but supplying their own arms and equipment), by the Scouts and by the Frontier Constabulary. Under the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon (1899-1905), an extension of broad-gauge railway had been made to Fort Jamrud and a road to Landi Kotal, and in 1925 a narrow-gauge railway was constructed as far as Landi Khana.

After 1947, Pakistan became responsible for the Khyber Agency, which was attached to the Peshawar division of the North-West Frontier region of West Pakistan.

Bibliography: *North-West Frontier Gazeteer, Peshawar District*, vol. A, 1931, Lahore 1934, 84 ff.; C. Collin Davies, *The problem of the North-West Frontier, 1870-1908*, Cambridge 1932, 24, 91-2, 103-4, 111, 135-8; *Sir Olaf Caroe, The Pathans 550 BC-AD 1957*, London 1958, index; J. W. Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, The Hague 1963, index.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHAYL (A.), a fem. sing. noun with a collective meaning denoting the equine species. The term has no singular and, like *ibil* "camels" and *ghanam* "sheep", it is to be included in the category of collectives for domestic animals forming the basis of nomadic life (see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, viii, 95-9); however, the plurals *khuyūl* and *akhyāl* are found for it. The extent of the concept of *khayl* covers the whole range of terms comprising, in Islamic society, the activities based upon use of the horse, such as, *inter alia*, the nouns *barīd, djaysh, djarīd, djihād, djund, faras, furūsiyya, ḥalḳa, iṣṭabl, ṣawladjān/čawgān, maydān, ṣayd* and *sibāḳ* [*q.vv.*]. According to the Arab philologists, *khayl* "horses", from the double radicals *kh. w. l*/*kh. y. l*, is supposed to refer to the "haughty gait" of these proud animals (*li-khtiyāl mishyatihā*); but this ingenious explanation is, even in the eyes of Ibn Sīduh himself, somewhat subject to caution (*Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, vi, 165). One might well ask whether *khayl* is not from a substratum of terms inherited from the languages preceding Arabic, which may be confirmed by the parallel usage of preciser terms, like *faras* "riding horse", *djawād* "excellent runner", *ḥidjr* "mare", *ḥiṣān* "stallion of noble blood", *ramaka* "non-thoroughbred mare", *birdhawn* "nag of non-Arab stock", which all have plurals. In the same way, Latin had, at the side of the classical *equus*, the vulgar *caballus* of Gaulish origin.

Starting from its metonymous sense of "mounted troop", *khayl* furnished, by the process of derivation, some exact denotations, such as *khayāla* "equitation" and *khayyāl* "horseman", but without the knightly connotation of *fāris* or the military one of the old Persian term *suwār* (pls. *aswār, asāwir, asāwira*); it was also said of the Turanian peoples that they were a *ḳawm khayyāla* "mounted race".

In Arabia, at the outset of Islam, horses were very few in numbers and, thanks to the *kutub al-khayl*, the names and pedigrees are even known for the most famous of them (see G. Levi della Vida, *Les «Livres des chevaux» d'Ibn al-Kalbī et d'Ibn al-Aʿrābī*, Leiden 1928). To possess a horse was a mark of superiority and riches. The only horse-dealers were some horse-breeders plying their trade in Nadjd, and zealously preserving the purity of the Arab breed with small herds left in semi-liberty but keenly watched. In distinction to the camel, which was universally at home in semi-desert terrains and could live adequately off spiny shrubs and saline and acid pasturage (*ḥamḍ*), at horse requires each day water and a sweet nourishing on graminaceous and herbaceous vegetation (*khulla*). Hence it was only possible to rear horses in the zone of steppe vegetation, such as that part of Nadjd watered by the Wādī 'l-Rumah. The horse appeared amongst the nomadic tribes of this region hardly more than a century or two before Islam, and the Banū Taghlib [*q.v.*] boasted of being the first to ride this noble animal (al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, 54; according to the legend, the ancestor of the horses of Taghlib and then of those of other tribes was none other than Zād al-Rākib, offered by Solomon to the Azd of ʿUmān, *Les «Livres de chevaux»*, 5-6). Without giving too much credence to these pretensions, it is undeniable that the nomads of Nadjd took the initiative in adopting the institution of the *ḥimā* [*q.v.*] or "natural reserve for stockbreeding", into which no tribe, except the owners, could enter and where the animals lived and bred completely freely. This method of stockbreeding was the only feasible one in a land of such deprivation, and it was this which the Ghassānids [see ghassān] had followed with success, furnishing horses to the Byzantines, and likewise the Lakhmids [*q.v.*], benefiting from the bloodstock of Persia. It

was doubtless following these examples that the great confederation of Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*], spread over Nadjd, utilised the system of the *ḥimā*, favoured by having at their disposal relatively rich pasture lands on the fringes and slopes of the great plateau, with drainage from running streams. The results of this well-thought out stockraising policy showed positive results, since in the 6th century, several tribes, including the Banū ʿAbs, were each able to fit out nearly a thousand riders; it is at this time that the *sayyid* assumes the name of *fāris* and the *raʾīs* that of *ḳāʾid al-khayl*. One of the oldest-established and most famous of these reserves for breeding horses was the vast *ḥimā Ḍariyya* [*q.v.*], which in the time of the caliph ʿUthmān had several tens of thousands of beasts, horses as well as camels. Equally flourishing was the *ḥimā* of al-Baḳīʿ near Medina, which had a permanent water supply for the whole year. Correspondingly, the great caravan centres of the Ḥidjāz had near them their own *ḥimās* forming a protective zone against the depredations of nomads.

The Prophet Muḥammad, conscious of the supreme value of the horse for the success of Islam, was skilfully able to appropriate the resources of the existing *ḥimās* for the benefit of the new community, at the same time strengthening their inviolate character by their integration of function into the Islamic *ḥaram*. Consequently, the warriors for the faith benefited considerably from these reinforcements for their campaigns of razzias. Admittedly, there was a need at first to cope with the incredulousness and indiscipline of the Bedouin plunderers, but some severe reprisals soon instilled into them a respect for "enclosed tracts belonging only to God and His Messenger" (*lā ḥimā illā li-llāh wa-li-rasūlihi*). The effects of this policy of utilising horses were immediate, and thus one sees the Banū Sulaym, at the time of the conquest of Mecca, bringing to the Prophet the support of some 800 horses. The *ḥaram* territories were enlarged and new ones created.

The Orthodox caliphs, and ʿUmar especially, concentrated their efforts on building up the potential force of horses for Islam; the establishment of the reserves of al-Rabadha, which was several hundred square km. in extent, and of al-Naḳīʿ, showed this tangibly. Following them, the Umayyad caliphs accelerated the expansion of the breeding stud in the Ḥidjāz, and there was added to this already considerable stock those of Syria and Iraq. After the conquest of the Maghrib, there was gained the support of inexhaustible contingents of mounted Berbers, whose Barbary stallions brought an invigorating element into the Arab stock's blood, putting the Muslim cavalry in the forefront compared to that of the western world and gaining for the "Arabs" or "Saracens" the reputation of being essentially a mounted people; thanks to the horse, Islam was able to extend from Spain to the Indus. But by turning their backs on Arabia, the ʿAbbāsids—who had vast resources of Persian and Central Asian horses—doomed the stockbreeding of the Nadjd and Ḥidjāz *ḥimās* to an ineluctable decline from which it was never able to recover. The tracts left for stockbreeding *in natura*, gradually allowed to run down, gave place to the "garrison settlements" (*ʿaskar*, *muʿaskar*, *maʿaskar*), stables and military stud-farms founded in the vicinity of the capital, the caliphal residences and the great urban centres of Mesopotamia and Syria in the East and of Egypt and the Maghrib in the West. Later on, each local dynasty, once freed from the control of Baghdād, would set up its own policy regarding cavalry remounts and its military potential; the history of each of these powers is essentially contained in this.

The very wide sense given to the term *khayl* could not indicate distinctions in groups of mounts from the numerical point of view. There were ancient terms of the nomadic stockbreeders, like *miḳnab*, *mansir/minsar*, *raʿīl* and *ḥanbal* for herds of up to 50, and *kurdūs*, *djaḥfal* and *faylaḳ* for 100 and above into the thousands, and in the Islamic period, these passed into military terminology at the side of *katība* "squadron", *khamīs/khums* "fifth part of the army", *ṭalīʿa* "vanguard", *djarrār* "army corps", etc.; but it would be futile to try to find an exact numerical equivalent for each of these, given the widely varying evaluations of the historians and chroniclers.

From a study of numerous mediaeval treatises in Arabic on *furūsiyya* and on the *djihād*, there emerges, in regard to the individual or collective horse-driving, that the majority, if not all, of these texts are of non-Arabic origin, the reason for this being that "les véritables Arabes n'ont jamais constitué de vrais corps de cavalerie susceptibles de devenir des écoles d'équitation, des centres d'émulation, pour mieux dire. Il n'y a d'équitation arabe pure que celles des Bédouins nomades ... qui ont toujours fourni des contingents de cavaliers irréguliers aux autorités dont ils dépendaient, mais pour un temps limité ... Il n'a jamais été dans leur tempérament de se plier à la discipline, à la contrainte continue d'une troupe régulière" (L. Mercier, *Parure* ..., 385-6). In the light of this state of affairs, and after the Islamisation of western Asia had been completed, the caliphs used for their regular cavalry the recently-converted mounted peoples of Iran and Turan, sc. Persians, Turks, Mongols and Türkmens. All Muslim sovereigns continued to draw on this inexhaustible mine of men and horses until the 9th/15th century, and it was from this mine that the masters of real schools of equitation and the authors of treatises on this art, considered now purely as a military art, arose. The handling of horses is only approached with a view to individual combat and the manoeuvres of groups as in tournaments, polo, the *djarīd*, "the gourd-shooting" (*ḳabaḳ*), jousting and arms-play on horseback; at the present time, only the Afghān *buz-kashī* "goat-dragging" can give any idea of the spirit of competition and the enthusiasm animating these equestrian sports, in which virtuosity and brutality existed side-by-side. Far from equalling these feats, the Arabian Bedouins only used their horses for occasional straightforward charges over short distances, getting the maximum from the animal's resources. Hence their method of riding was of the simplest. Not knowing the use of saddles, stirrups and bits, they rode bareback or with a saddle-felt (*mirshaḥa*) strapped on, and with some padding attached in the rough semblance of a saddle. The bridle (*lidjām*, from Persian *likām*) was only a rudimentary cavesson or snaffle-bit, whose snaffle was usually of cord or of wood (see *LA*, root *l. dj. m*). Such a primitive method of harnassing could not permit a tradition of equitation which might become a school. Moreover, shoeing horses with nails (*tasmīr*), a Gallo-Roman invention in the 6th century, being unknown, some Nadjdī tribes used, on hard and pebbly terrains, a sandal of iron or leather (*naʿl*), as is attested in a verse of al-Kuḥayf al-ʿUḳaylī (see *Aghānī*, xxi, 250), which must have considerably restricted the horse's speed when ridden fast.

The method of riding used by the Arabs of ʿIrāḳ and Syria was quite different and much more elegant. Amongst the Lakhmids, heirs of the Parthian-Sāsānid

method, and amongst the Ghassānids formed in a similar tradition of the Greeks, the tribes were much more habituated to use of the horse than their brethren in Arabia. They used at that time a method of harnessing perfected long before, and from antiquity till the 8th/14th century, hardly changed. The saddle shaped like a cradle, built upon a wooden saddle-bow (*ḳayḳab*) and shaping both the cantle and the pommel, resembled somewhat the modern type said to be "for rapid riding". Held in place by a single or a double saddle-girth, it generally had also a breaststrap and a buttocks-strap to prevent it sliding either forwards or backwards. For display purposes, a large cloth over the hindquarters, richly decorated (the *kunbūsh*), was added, as many Persian miniatures on equestrian themes show; the saddlery of persons of high rank showed a luxury sometimes excessive, in which applied work in precious metals and encrustations of precious stones competed in display. At a time when the Mamlūks had levelled down the saddle-cantle so that they could shoot backwards in the ancient Parthian method, the Persians conceived the idea in the 8th/14th century of a saddle with a high back, not very compatible with a rational method of riding, but suitable for shooting with the arbalist or cross-bow, which had become a common weapon of war. The soldier thus armed had in fact to rear up in the stirrups and wedge himself against the cantle. This kind of saddle-cum-chair has persisted till the present day, above all in the Maghrib, but was strongly criticised by the Mamlūk Muḥammad Ibn Manglī, in his treatise on hunting written in 773/1371 (*K. Uns al-mala'*..., Paris 1880, 13-14), who found in it seven major faults which militated against good riding technique (see F. Viré, review of *Saracen archery* by J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson, London 1970, in *JSS*, xvi (1971), 260).

As for the bridle and its bit, these remained unchanged from the time of the great civilisations which evolved them. The ensemble comprised essentially a bridoon with a curb-bit (*lazma*), whose slender lower parts, curved inwards in an S-shape (whence the name *nāziki*, from Persian *nāzik* "stylised"), operate as a lever. The beams could be more or less severe in degree, with or without allowing freedom for the tongue, according to the hardness of the mount's mouth. The deplorable invention of the curb-bit, called—perhaps wrongly—"the Arab curb-bit" and a real instrument of torture going contrary to all the natural principles of the horse's handling, seems to have come from a need to reduce the animal to a simple machine, at a time when there had been formed regular corps of mounted cavalry, mounted on entire horses or stallions which were hard to control and with which co-ordinated mass movements required absolute discipline and perfect execution. It is nevertheless true that, from the viewpoint of modern equestrian art, the backed saddle, the Arab curb-bit and the heavy stirrups with soles, all of which make up the image of the perfect "Arab knight" and the Maghribī spahi, show a total ignorance of a rational method of riding based on the mount's accord with his rider's desires. The addition to the bridle of a fixed martingale (Persian *sarafsār* "headrope", Maghribī *djabbādha*, classical *ḥakama*), Persian in origin, appears *ca.* the 5th/11th century in miniature paintings.

Stirrups, used in China from the 2nd century B.C. onwards, were probably known at the time of the Lakhmids, but not very widespread. In the likeness of the stirrups of Mexican gauchos and of the Mongols, these were made of wood, and according to al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, ii, 228, and in Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1299/1882, ii, 192, tr. de Slane, iii, 510), it was allegedly al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, governor of Khurāsān in 79/699 and leading figure in the suppression of the Khāridjīs of al-Djazīra, who was the first to equip his cavalry units with forged iron stirrups, since the wooden ones then in general usage broke too frequently in the course of military engagements.

Spurs (*mihmāz*, pl. *mahāmiz*; *kullāb*, pl. *kalālīb*; Maghribī, *shabūr*/*shābīr*) were much more in vogue in the Muslim West than the East, this being from the Hispano-Moorish influence; the equipment of the Muslim rider of al-Andalus and that of the Spanish rider hardly differed at all. Moreover, the heavy stirrup with a tread mentioned above, which was a replica in metal of the wooden stirrup-shoes of the "gardians" (cow-boys) of corrida-fighting bulls, came also from Spain. From its being made of iron, there was added to its function of being a foot-rest that of spur, by the use of the heel pressing the sharpened edge of the tread against the horses's flank. Most of the Barbary horses of the Maghrib, having been thus ridden, show on their bellies the marks of a too severe application of this use of this type of stirrup.

These schematic details about the harnessing of horse in Islam cannot be regarded as absolutely authentic for all space and time, since each land and each period had its own usages and customs in regard to equipment, according to its own special resources. Differences of detail appear when one compares, on one hand, the information of western authors like the Andalusī Ibn Hudhayl [*q.v.*] with that of easterners like Ibn al-Mundhir [*q.v.*], and on the other hand, places them alongside the documentation provided by iconography. Riders and horses were indeed one of the most-used themes in the minor arts; miniatures, ceramics, textiles, carved ivories and engraved copperware objects depict a great variety of types of harnessing and accoutrements in sense of princely courtlife. The richness which these objets d'art endeavour to depict confirms the description given in the 6th/12th century by the chronicler Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (525-617/1131-1220) of Fāṭimid ceremonial at the festival of the New Year (see M. Canard, *La procession du Nouvel An chez les Fāṭimides*, in *AIEO* Algiers, x (1952), 374-9). He speaks there in fact of saddles worked with gold, silver and enamelling, hung with brocade and siglaton; the 70 mounts of the caliph himself bore necklaces of gold and amber collars round their necks, and anklets plated with precious metals round their feet. An animal equipped was estimated to be worth a thousand *dīnārs*.

With the help of all the Arabic texts dealing with horses and, especially, the two mentioned above plus the "Book of agriculture" (*K. al-Filāḥa*) of the Andalusī Ibn al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], one can get an idea of the level of horsemanship practiced by the Muslim cavalryman in the Middles Ages, apart from the Arab Bedouin. The authors, whoever they may be, were never able to disentangle the three concepts of hippiatry, hippology and equestrianism, any more than they were able to observe the mechanism and movement of the horses at its various paces; hence there was no question for them of passages, changes of pace, jumping over obstacles or any of the exercises which make up a fairly advanced equestrianism. The recommended technique was fairly simple, advising a bearing and a seating identical to that taught in Europe to the straightforward military cavalryman right up to the time of mechanisation. This method could be resumed in the formula "legs without reins and reins without legs". Long stirrups and legs held

forward in the so-called "French" manner gave an adequate amount of stability. The insistence of the authors on an indispensable equal length of reins and on the synchronisation of the use of the two spurs brings out clearly the absence of any predominant action of a rein or a leg.

In contrast to all the other treatises, an acephalous manuscript of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (Ar. No. 2815) puts forward a more thoughtful method based on constant exercise in a circular training-routine (*nāward*), at all the varying paces and with two hands. Without being described completely and explicitly, it envisages the change of pace and the correct backing, with release of the bit, followed by a period of the grand trot, and describes this perfectly. Nevertheless, this documentation is a late one, and one may well think that it has been inspired by western techniques; one accordingly wonders whether in this method of riding, the average Muslim rider ever, one day, rose to this degree of perfection. Whatever the truth, it must be admitted that over a long period of time, equitation amongst the Muslims regressed, whereas amongst Christendom, it improved progressively up to the methods of the great school of horsemanship.

It can easily be imagined how important, in the economic life of the Islamic world up to the modern period, was the upkeep of cavalry units, with all that they needed of furnishings and equipment. Because of these exigencies, a number of specialist artisans, connected with farriery, saddlery and harness-making, had an era of prosperity, and there are hardly any Islamic settlements without their *sūḳ al-sarrādjīn* or their *bāb al-ḥaddādīn*. A good amount of the basic equipment required for these activities were imported into Baghdād. Saddle-seats came from China; from Berbera [*q.v.*] via the Red Sea and from Ifrīḳiya via Ḳayrawān and Barḳa, where they were tanned, there came luxurious panther skins, the saddle-carpets preferred by the Mamlūks and whose use was spread by the Turks to the cavalry forces of Central Europe. The saddle felts (*misḥ*, pls. *amsāḥ*, *musūḥ*) were sought from Armenia, Adharbāydjān, Ḳūmis and Mawṣil, as well as pack-saddles for beasts of burden, whilst Susa furnished expensive sumpter-cloths. Imports were not limited to these materials and manufactures, but extended also to lively nags (*birdhawn*, pl. *barādhīn*) from the Mongol and Byzantine worlds, equally good as mounts and as beasts of burden; they formed a lively element of trade at markets and fairs set up at the gates of towns. As for mounts of Arab stock, these were most often the objects of direct trade between breeders and purchasers (see the *K. al-Tabaṣṣur* attributed to al-Djāḥiẓ, tr. Ch. Pellat, in *Arabica*, i (1954), 158-60; J. Sauvaget, *Historiens arabes*, Paris 1946, 10-12; M. Lombard, *La chasse et les produits de la chasse dans le monde musulman* (*VIIIe-XIe siècle*), in *Annales*, xxiv/3 (1969), 577-8). Despite all the speculations in horsedealing and trading which this lively commerce in horses engendered within Islam, one can be certain that no-one ever thought of speculating financially in regard to the semen (*ʿasb*) of stallions, since the Prophet had formally proscribed making money out of breeding. According to certain traditions, the mating of mares and asses was allegedly forbidden, but the importance attached to mule-breeding studs [see BAGHL] by people in the Islamic world proves that such a prohibition was never in fact put into force; even so, the mules of the Caucasus, and especially of Bardhaʿa [*q.v.*], were imported and prized for their speed and endurance.

But if the Muslims freely imported horses, their sale outside the *Dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*] was, in the first Islamic century, absolutely prohibited and considered as an illegal act by the majority of jurists, who based themselves, in the interests of the legal requirement of *djihād*, on the divine words "Prepare against them whatever force and cavalry you are able to get together, of those held ready (*min ribāṭ al-khayl*), to overawe thereby the enemy of God and your own . . ." (Ḳurʾān, VIII, 62/60). The horse was thus elevated to the rank of fighter for the faith and received two shares in the plunder if it were of Arab stock, whereas its rider had only one. The horse-potential thus revealing itself, for the new community, as the nerve-centre of warfare and the secret of victory, it was further forbidden for Dhimmīs [see DHIMMA] to ride horses. Later on, when the Islamic frontiers had reached their maximum extension, these rigours were relaxed and applied only then to horses of pure Arab stock, to which Abū Ḥanīfa added valuable mules. However, in Morocco right up to the eve of the Protectorate, the prohibition of riding horses was applied to the Jews, at a time when elsewhere, and for a long time back, this law no longer bore down on non-Muslims. The latter, all through the Ottoman empire, only had the bother of obtaining a special authorisation from the sultan in order to export horses to foreign lands. Since then, all restrictions were abandoned in all Muslim states. Certain lands relaxed these at quite an early date; a proof of this is the felicitous introduction, in the 18th century, into the British studs, of the famous stallions Darley-Arabian and Godolphin-Arabian which inaugurated the Stud-Book and were the origin of the present pure-blooded English stock. From this last and by breeding with new Arab stocks, M. Gayot obtained in 1833, in the Pompadour studs, the perfected type of Anglo-Arab horse, which now holds the top rank in international racing. At the side of that, the Maghribī Barbary horse has continued to restock the numerous stables for training horses and equestrian centres of France, after having built up over a century and more, the glory of the splendid squadrons of North African spahis.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see the bibliographies of the respective articles further referred to within the article. (F. VIRÉ)

KHAYMA (A.) "tent". When the ancient poets and the writers of the Middle Ages spoke of a nomad's tent they generally described it by the very widely-known Semitic term *bayt* [*q.v.*], which refers to a dwelling of some kind, either permanent or temporary, and so is not without ambiguity. A more precise term is *bayt shaʿar*, lit. "dwelling of hair". But this word can also cause confusion since the *ductus* is the same as in *bayt shiʿr*, "verse of poetry". There is, however, less confusion in the spoken language and the expression has a typically bedouin air; it is still current among nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes from North Africa to the Near East where, beside the normal name for tent, *bayt/bēt*, *b. shaʿar*, there occurs no less frequently, in the speech of rural peoples, town dwellers and even transhumants, the term *khayma/khēma*. This word has followed a curious semantic evolution (see below) and has come to acquire the general meaning of a mobile dwelling made of animal hair, wool or any other material except leather. Today, among many rural people and even town dwellers, the memory of a former nomadic way of life is preserved by their actually using *khayma/khēma* to denote a house, and it has totally replaced *bayt/bēt*. For a number of reasons, therefore, it seems conve-

nient to record under this heading a general exposition of the use of the tent among the tribes of the Muslim world including the nomadic, semi-nomadic and those becoming sedentary.

i. — Ancient Arabia

Arab philologists of the earliest periods of Islam have collected the vocabulary of the tents that were used in pre-Islamic Arabia; in particular al-Aṣmaʿī, author of a *Kitāb al-Akhbiya wa'l-buyūt* (quoted in the *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 82). Mediaeval commentators on archaic poetry and lexicographers have widely exploited the documentation which they repeat in their work, and from this material ancient terminology may be reconstructed, even though there is no hope of answering all the questions that arise from it. Given that ancestral practices tend to be maintained, it may be possible to infer from the present-day situation, to a certain degree at least, what obtained before and immediately after the birth of Islam.

According to the author of the *Lisān*, the *miẓalla/maẓalla*, made of goat's hair, was the most spacious tent. Although the term has several meanings it does not appear to have been used frequently; one occurrence of it is found in the *Naḳā'iḍ* of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, ed. Bevan, 806, for example.

Next in size came the *wasūṭ*, which was also made of hair according to Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (in *LA*). This word would seem not to have been widely used, for the lexicographers are not agreed about its meaning and some even take the *wasūṭ* as the smallest tent.

The *bayt* or *bayt shaʿar* was also of goat's hair and of average size. It served as a dwelling for breeders of small livestock (that is to say, of numerous bedouin) and the term takes on a type of generic significance.

The *khibā'* was probably similar to the *bayt* in size, but was distinguished from it by the camel hair (*wabar*) or wool (*ṣūf*) that was used to make the awning. Apparently it was the usual dwelling of the cameleer nomads, who were called *ahl al-wabar* in contrast to *ahl al-madar*, the sedentary peoples. Although the influence of alliteration may have played its part in the formation of these expressions, their literal meaning must have some significance. Even so, it is impossible to be certain whether the distinction between *bayt* and *khibā'*, which are both equally frequent in ancient texts, corresponds to a different geographical distribution, to a contrast between two large categories of nomads in Arabia [see badw], or simply to different levels of life within one tribe.

Surādiḳ denotes a cloth tent of quite large dimensions; a *fusṭāṭ* was a smaller hair tent used by travellers; the *miḍrab*, described as a "royal *fusṭāṭ*", was likewise a tent under which important people camped when travelling (today the word occurs in military vocabulary); and *ḳubba* was applied to a hide tent (*adīm*).

Finally, there is the term *khayma*. It does not figure in the lists of various tents that can be gathered from classical lexicographical works, but it seems to be approximately synonymous with *ẓulla*, *ʿarīsh* and *ʿarsh*, all of which denote simple shelters. Originally a *khayma* was erected on three or four stakes (*aʿwād*, *āl*) driven into the ground with supporting cross-members (*ʿawāriḍ*) covered with branches (*shadjar*) or grass (*thumān*, one of the *Graminacea*). It was essentially a rudimentary shelter, circular in construction, which the nomads would erect especially near wells and watering-places. Its welcome coolness would have provided shelter from the rays of the sun and they must have also erected frames around their tents to benefit more completely from the slightest breeze. There is, therefore, nothing surprising in the fact that in the Ḳur'ān, LV, 72, the plural *khiyām* denotes the tents in which were the houris. *Ẓulla* (Ḳur'ān, VII, 170/171) means a sort of canopy and these two terms are the only ones of those under discussion which are attested in the Holy Book—except *bayt*, which is very frequent but which never denotes a nomad's tent there.

The meaning of *khayma* given by the dictionaries is found again in classical poetry (e.g. *Naḳā'iḍ*, 173, 333-4, 395, 1004), and just when this meaning evolved —an evolution which is being maintained today—is not known. The extension of the meaning (for which the reason is not clear) had arisen at a fairly ancient period, since the mediaeval lexicographers use *khayma* or one of its plurals to define a tent of any type whatever (e.g. *Lisān*, s.v. *ḳ.b.b.*: *al-ḳubba, min al-khiyām*). Given that in ancient Arabia there does not seem to have been a specific term to denote the awning, it is not impossible that before it was applied to the entire tent, the word had a more restricted meaning; the roof of a *khayma* implies the idea of stretching it over something and it may follow also from a passage of *al-Barḳ al-shāmī* by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (ms. Oxford, Marsh 425, f. 64b), where it is stated that among the main products of the town of Āmid appeared *busuṭ*, *furush* and *khiyām*, all woven products.

Whether the material used was hair or wool, the awning of the Arab tent was made of bands (*falīdja*, *shuḳḳa*) sewn side-by-side and forming a rectangle. The length and number of these bands would vary according to the desired dimensions, but their width had to be of the order of 50-80 cm., so that they would be more easily manageable and replaceable. Those that were placed at the two edges, that is, those that form the larger side of the rectangle, were called *kisr* or *kasr*. Inside the awning, one or several bands of hair or wool (*ṭarīḳa*), about twenty cm. wide at the most, were attached to the sewing of the *falīdja*s and ended perpendicularly at the large sides with two *kisr*s. Each *ṭarīḳa* was equipped at each of its extremities with a device for anchoring it called *ḥaṭār*, and it was to this that the ropes (*ṭunub*, pl. *aṭnāb*) were attached and tied to pegs (*watid*, pl. *awtād*) driven into the ground some distance away with a mallet (*mīṭad* or *mīṭada*). The anchoring of the tent was completed on the small sides of the awning by cords (*iṣār*, pl. *uṣur/āṣira*), shorter than the *aṭnāb*, but similarly joined to pegs (also called *iṣār*). The words *ḥaṭār* and *ḥitr/ḥutra* both denoted a band placed vertically around the awning to fill the space which separated it from the ground.

In a *bayt*, so the dictionaries say, the main ridge piece, which was of considerable importance, was called *djā'iz*, but Arab tents do not seem to have used a ridge pole, since the central *ṭarīḳa* takes its place. It is said that this *ṭarīḳa* rested on vertical posts (*ʿamūd*, *diʿāma*, *biwān/buwān*) and that there were pads of felt (*libd*, pl. *albād*) on which the chamfered ends of the posts were cushioned to prevent it from being pierced. The same precaution was probably taken for the side *ṭarīḳa*s, which in the big tents leaned on slanting poles, shorter than the others, in order to diminish any sag in the awning. The same construction may still be seen in the East (see below) and it is worthy of note that in North Africa, where the ridge pole is used, it is the only part of the tent, *mutatis mutandis*, not to have a name which is attested in ancient Arabia.

Finally, to prevent water from penetrating underneath the tent it was surrounded by a drain (*nu'y/ ni'y/na'y/nu'a*) edged with mounded earth (*iyād*).

Inside, the lay-out scarcely differed from what can be seen today (see below). The section reserved for women, like the palanquin, was generally called *khidr*, pl. *khudūr*, from the name of the curtain which separated it from the rest of the tent; poets frequently hymned the *rabbāt al-khudūr*.

Bibliography: Apart from the dictionaries, see especially G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinleben nach den Quellen geschildert*, Berlin 1897.

(Ch. Pellat)

ii. — In the Near East

The noun *khayma* belongs primarily to the city-dwellers' vocabulary. It is applied to various kinds of tents, whatever their form and whatever they may be made from. The desert peoples are aware of this, but for preference they use the term *bayt sha'r* for their portable home, often abbreviated simply to *bayt*.

Apart from the question of size, bedouin tents vary very little from one region to another. Essentially, the *bayt* is always rectangular and never circular; it is made out of a roof covering of the hairy skin of a black goat, sometimes mixed with camel's wool (*ṣūf, wabar*), walls of the same material, poles and cords. The technical terms used to designate the different parts of the bedouin tent are not always identical in all tribes.

The roof is called *saḳf al-bayt* by the Tiyāha of Bi'r al-Sab'. It is made up of several oblong bands or panels, *shiḳḳa* (pron. *shegga*), pl. *shiḳaḳ* (*shegag*) sewn together, their number depending upon the importance which one wishes to accord to the tent. The dimensions of a *shiḳḳa* vary. The length generally fluctuates between 8 and 12 m., and the width, which is limited by the weaver's technical skills, is rarely more than 70 cm.

The roof covering is supported by several tent-poles (*'amūd*, pl. *'umdān*) placed in parallel rows, one of which, in the centre, forms the ridge-pole. Since there is a danger of its being torn through tension and especially through its own weight where it is stretched over the poles, it is reinforced by transverse strips called *biṭāna, ṭariga*, etc. These are sewn together on the internal surface in such a way as to hold together between themselves the *shiḳaḳ*. These strips are 10-15 cm. wide, and they extend beyond the dimensions of the tent, from one side to the other, by some 15 cm. After being folded over and sewn, a loop is thereby made at each extremity, through which a small stick can be placed. Thanks to an attachment contrivance which has a V-shape, the connection between these sticks and the tent-pegs (*watad*, pl. *awtād*) can be effected. The pegs are fixed into the ground and held by cords (*ḥabl*, pl. *ḥibāl*, or *ṭunb*, pl. *aṭnāb*), which secure the tent and make the roof covering taut and in place.

The number of poles supporting the roof varies, and it is according to this variation that the different types of tent are classified. However, in this calculation, only the poles of the central row are taken into account, and not those at the two extremities. Hence we have a tent whose ridge-pole rests on a row of three poles, but is nevertheless called *'udiya* (Tiyāha) or *gotba* (Sbā'), sc. having a single tent-pole. One with two tent-poles is called *fāza* by the Tiyāha, and *mgawren* or *garneyn* by the Sbā'. From three tent-poles onwards, the terminology tends to be a general one; with some variations in pronunciation: *muthawlath* (three poles), *murawba'* (four poles), *mukhawmas* (five poles), *musawdas* (six poles). A *bayt musawba'* (seven poles) is of considerable size, some 50 metres long, and bears witness to its owner's power, he being generally a great chief. However, tents of this size are sometimes occupied by Bedouins of only middling status who have newly adopted sedentary life, since they no longer have to make big upheavals and migrations.

The names of the tent-poles vary according to position. In an *'udiya* tent, the central pole is called *'amūd al-wāsiṭ*, or *'amūd al-'āmir*; the front one is called *'amūd yad al-bayt*; and the rear one, *'amūd al-ridjl*, according to the terminology of the Tiyāha.

The tent is open at the side opposite the direction of the wind, and the other three sides are closed by the tent-walls. The rear wall, placed against the direction of the wind, is called *rwag*. A narrow band, about 25 cm. wide, is sewn on to the top edge, and this reinforces it and is attached to the roof covering. The lower edge has sewn on to it another band, the lower (*sufli*) one, some 60 cm. wide, and this trails on the ground, where it is held down by the pegs and by stones. When the wind changes direction, the *rwag* is moved and the opposite side opened up. In summer and weather permitting, the tent is opened as far as possible; even the side-walls are rolled up, thus making the *bayt* into an enormous parasol. At this time, the *bayt* changes its colour; the heavy goat's hair roof covering is replaced by a cotton cloth. Often, old jute sacks are used, on which can still be seen imprinted the exporter's trade-mark.

The *bayt* is divided into two parts, separated by a curtain hooked on to the internal tent-poles, which has sufficient height for the people in one compartment not to be able to see what is happening in the other. One of these two compartments is reserved for receiving menfolk and is called the *rabā'a* or *mag'ad al-ridjāl*. In the middle, a hearth is scraped out and used for making coffee. The other one is reserved for the womenfolk, and is called the *maḥrem* or *mḥarram*. Here, the cooking is done and the provisions stored.

The womenfolk are responsible for preparing the materials and sewing up the various components of the *bayt*, their erection and dismantling. This is an essentially feminine activity, for the men must always be ready to ward off a possible attack.

Despite its apparent frailty, a bedouin tent is hard-wearing and often lasts for a whole generation. The erection, *binā'*, of a tent often means that a new hearth has come into being. The master of the new dwelling must, at the moment of taking possession, offer a blood-sacrifice to appease the spirit of the place where the tent has been raised up. The central pole (*al-wāsiṭ*) is then smeared with the sacrificial blood; sometimes the *rwag* is also sprinkled with it. A further sacrifice is necessary if the tent is significantly enlarged. Finally, when the *rwag* is worn out and has to be replaced, a blood-sacrifice often accompanies this operation.

However humble it may be, a Bedouin tent is above all a dwelling-place. It has accordingly certain strictly-defined rights, and contravening them can have extremely serious consequences for the offender. When a stranger comes into a Bedouin's tent, he is considered to be a guest. Any attack on his person, physical or moral, whilst he is there, is felt not only as an insult to the host but equally to his dwelling. In the customary law, reparation for the tent's honour is as severe as the penalty attracted by someone guilty of an involuntary homicide. In his turn, the guest must show great respect for the dwelling

which has received him. If he shows himself unworthy of the confidence shown to him, the tent's master brands him as a traitor to the rules of hospitality; he may then be liable to corporal punishment, abhorrent to the Bedouin, and be perpetually dishonoured.

The right of asylum also inheres in the *bayt*. A murderer who manages to escape his pursuers and to take shelter in any dwelling which is not his own or that of a close relative, has secured refuge from danger. Moreover, it is not necessary, for his security, actually to enter the tent; he may merely touch the ropes or even reach the protective zone around the tent, sc. the inviolable area called by the Bedouin *maḥārim* or *madārik al-bayt*. In order to delimit this, a strong and vigorous man stands at the entrance of the tent and hurls a large stick straight in front of himself. The spot where it falls marks the extreme edge of the zone within which the rights of the tent operate. This idea of inviolability is not dissimilar to that of the sacred area of pre-Islamic times, like the *ḥaram*, the *ḥimā* and the *ḥawṭa*.

Bibliography: This is rich and varied. See Doughty, *Arabia deserta*, London 1926, i, 221 ff. and index, s.v. "tent", etc.; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*², Paris 1948, 199-200, 340-1; A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 61-2; V. Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, Paris 1931, 211-12; R. Montagne, *La civilisation du désert*, Paris 1947, 32 ff.; A. de Boucheman, *Matériel de la vie bédouine*, Damascus 1934, 108 ff.; C. G. Feilberg, *La tente noire*, Copenhagen 1944, 65-78; H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1949, 66-107; J. Chelhod, *Le droit dans la société bédouine*, Paris 1971, 242 ff.; Naoras Daker, *Contribution ethnographique à l'étude de l'évolution de l'habitat bédouin en Syrie*, unpubl. thesis, Paris 1975 (very important for the study of the bedouin habitat; valuable bibliography).

(J. Chelhod)

iii. — North Africa

The nomads and semi-nomads of North Africa and the Sahara live in several different types of tent, but these are basically similar, and the differences can most often be explained by economic and geographical features. Besides *bēt* and *bēt s͟haʿr*, the usage of which has now spread to the major nomadic groups, the word *k͟hēma* is the one most current in Arab speech. In Berber three main terms appear: *ehen* and variations among the Touareg, *ibergen* and variations in the east and south-east of the Berber area, *ak͟ham* and variations in the central and western areas. The first two terms are Berber, while the third could be derived from the Arabic, although a convincing etymology has not been established. In the different northern Berber languages, words denoting the main parts of a tent are borrowed from Arabic, treated in different ways and not of major interest. Those belonging to Berber are extremely varied, and could give rise to an interesting study in linguistic geography, but it would be too much to cite in the present article, which must be restricted to discussing essentially Arabic (and Touareg) terminology.

As elsewhere, the rectangular awning is made of bands (*flīg͟h*, pl. *felg͟ha*), 70-100 cm. wide and varying in length up to 18 m. They are black or brown in colour and sometimes have a white border (in Libya). In some regions, the wool and goat or camel hair which make up the main material are sometimes mixed with palm flock (*līf*) or vegetable fibres. A more rudimentary awning can equally well be made with long plaits of dwarf palm leaves (*dūm*), or *drīn* (*stipa barbata*) or of alfa grass (*ḥalfāʾ* [*q.v.*]). Among the Touareg, the awning is made from the skins of goat, sheep, moufflon (less and less) or even ox, coarsely cut and sewn one after the other to form equal bands (*tag͟hde*). The whole is supported either by a single vertical pole (*tamankayt*) about 2 m. long, surmounted by a little wooden ridge-pole, or by two arches (*agegu*) of tamarisk wood aligned 1.5 m. apart and linked by a cross-bar. In the first type, the vertical pole is used especially in the rainy season so that the awning has a sufficient fall for water to drain away. At other times it is replaced by two poles supporting a cross-bar, but this second type is becoming less common.

In the rest of North Africa, only the first type of frame is used and there are some significant variations in it. In the east the ridge pole is a broad square stay-block (Tripolitania: *ḳerṭās*) which becomes longer and narrower in the Tunisian South (*gorṭās*) and the Algerian South-East (*genṭās*); in Morocco, longer ones are seen, called *ḥammār*, and reaching a length of 2 m. The ridge-pole may be supported by a single vertical pole (*rkīza*), as in the Sahara, Libya and Tunisia, or by two slanting poles as in the large tents of Tripolitania (except the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa), or by two intersecting poles, which may be quite short as in Tunisia and Awrās, or simply by vertical poles, more widely spaced as the tent becomes longer.

The *ṭrīga*, the descendant of the classical *ṭarīḳa*, is everywhere to be seen but it is supported by a ridge-pole. Often secondary *ṭrīga*s are added to the main one; they are supported by slanting poles which raise the awning to drain off rain water and to maintain a convenient height inside. The awning is secured with small cords (*ḥbel*, *ṭārfa*, *mez͟hbed*) which are fastened to the *ṭrīga*s and to the *flīg͟h*s on the small sides with wooden hooks; at the other ends they are fixed to pegs (*uted*, *melzem*). Among the Touareg these pegs (*tasdest* in the east and west sides, *unnus* in the north one, *madrag͟h* in the south one) generally number twelve, equally spaced around the cardinal points and fastened directly to the edges of the awning, which they support. On the south side the central peg (*igem*) is longer than the others and is used to raise the awning to provide an entrance. Nowhere does the awning touch the ground, and the empty space is filled according to the climate with brushwood, rush matting or special long narrow covers (*reffa*, *rfāfa*). In North Africa the place where the *ṭrīga* ends on one of the long sides is directed towards the centre of the encampment or the *dawār* [*q.v.*], and access is gained by lifting the edge of the awning; this forms a door during the daytime. Finally, the tent is surrounded by a trench (*ūnī*/*wanī*; cf. above, *nuʾy*) for draining away any rain-water.

The classical *ḳayṭūn* "room in a *bayt*" survives as *gīṭūn* (Fr. guitoune), the name given to shelters made of sackcloth or pieces of material or of canvas produced in Europe (South Tunisian: *gāṭūn*). In Morocco, the official tent of state authorities is made of unbleached cloth decorated with black patterns and is of conical design; it is called a *k͟hzāna*.

The nomads load the dismantled tents on to asses. When they arrive at the camping ground the task of erecting them (verb: *bnā*) is reserved for the women. Once the frame and awning have been stretched out on the ground and the pegs put into position—by guesswork but generally exactly spaced—the woman calls her neighbours to help her. She creeps under the awning to lift it over the poles, and then the tent is anchored and the usual furniture put back into place.

Among the Touareg, the left side on entering is reserved for the man and there are placed his seat, his arms, his saddle-bags and also his water-skin. The woman uses the right side where she puts her possessions as well as the bags of food, the kitchen utensils and dishes, which are rudimentary. Two fires are built in front of the tent, one for warming oneself and the other for cooking. Each tent is occupied by a family. The boys sleep with their father, the girls with their mother on sheep skins stretched on the ground; the richer families have carpets.

Elsewhere the interior arrangement of the tent may vary, but it shows some common features. The kitchen utensils usually include a cooking pot, a couscous pan, a dish on which to bake bread, a water jug, platters and winnowing baskets of esparto grass, wooden spoons, leather water bottles—which are also used for churning butter—a sieve, skin bags for dry food, and woollen or hair bags for grain. The fire is kindled in a hollow in the ground, which is surrounded by three large stones or topped by an iron tripod. In some tents an opening is made in the awning above the fire to allow the smoke to escape. A pottery stove is used especially for the preparation of coffee and tea and it is fed with charcoal. The mill is generally shared between several tents. The simplest type consists of two semi-spherical millstones. The upper one is pierced by two holes, one hole in the centre is to receive the grain to be milled and the axle mounted in the nether millstone; the other is set at an angle to hold the wooden crank, which sets it working, and often requires the efforts of two women. In addition to all this equipment, there is a loom for the *flīgh*s and a second loom for weaving carpets, covers and woollen garments etc. The nomads sleep on mats and wrap themselves in covers. The area kept for the women (*khālfa*) is sometimes separated by a curtain (*ḥāyl*) hung between the poles, but often carpets, covers, clothes and miscellaneous possessions are piled on nets mounted on legs to provide an adequate separation.

It is the men's responsibility when the *flīghs* have to be sewn to make a new awning (they rarely last more than five years) or to replace a damaged band; of course, they also prepare the wooden pieces for the frame.

Each operation is accompanied by prophylactic rites intended to protect men and beasts. The ornamentation of the ridge pole, which has a symbolic value since it supports the whole construction, includes drawings which originally had a magical significance. Finally, various objects and amulets are supposed to ward off the djinn and to assure the prosperity of the tent's inhabitants.

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iv. — In Central Asia

A light, prefabricated yet rigid tent has until modern times been the standard domicile of the Inner Asian steppe nomads, being usually loaded on the backs of camels for transportation. In order to present the minimum resistance to the keen steppe winds, it has usually been circular in shape. From the western steppes, the domed, felt-covered tents of Turkmen nomads, known as *yurts*, were spread by the migrations of the Oghuz as far west as Anatolia, although the more southerly and westerly Türkmens, such as the Avshar and Ḳashḳāʾī, and the Anatolian Yörüks, gradually took over the use of the black tents made from goat hair, which are apparently more suitable for the damper climate of the more mountainous regions (see on this latter type of tent, C. G. Feilberg, *La tente noire*, Copenhagen 1944). In fact, the word *yurt* seems originally to have meant "homeland, encampment or camping place", and in Orkhon and early Turkish, even "an abandoned campsite", cf. Kāshgharī's definition *al-ṭilal wa 'l-rabʿ wa 'l-diman* (Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 958); the basic Turkish word for "tent" seems to be *ev* and its cognates (Orkhon Turkish *äv, äb*). The term *alačïḳ* and its cognates "temporary, nomadic home", as opposed to *ev* "permanent home, centre of the household or group", is also widely used throughout the Turkish world, appearing in mediaeval Persian (e.g. in the verses of Niẓāmī and of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī) as *alāčuḳ* (see Ulla Johansen, *Alačyq*, in *Reşid Rahmeti Arat için*, Ankara 1966, 286-99).

The tent used in recent times and at the present day by the Türkmens on northeastern Persia, northern Afghānistān and the Turkmenistan SSR has been described in detail by P. A. Andrews, *The White House of Khurasan: the felt tents of the Iranian Yomut and Göklen*, in *Iran. Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xi (1973), 93-110, with especial reference to the two Türkmen tribes named in the title. These possess two main types of tent (1) The *aḳ öy* "white house" (taken from the colour of the covering felts when new) or *ḳara öy* "black house" (from the colour of the felts when old and blackened by smoke). This has a trellis wall, with a doorway in it, circular in plan, with a roof wheel supported by struts from the top of the trellis wall. The size of the tent is referred to by the number of these roof struts, which might go up to 128, yielding a tent of *ca.* 12 m. diameter, though 62 or 64 struts is the average; the large size of tent favoured is to accommodate an extended family. (2) The *göt-tikme*, essentially an *öy* but without the trellis walls, and regarded as an inferior form of the *öy*, though more portable. The wooden frames for the tent were made by a specialist class of carpenters (called *uššāt*, < *ustād*?) of the more agricultural and semi-settled Türkmens.

The Islamic historical sources on the Turkish migrations into the Iranian world and beyond are inexplicit on the technical details of Turkish tents in the mediaeval period, and we can only find odd gleanings, such as the information in Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. M. Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, 81-2, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 282, that when Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the Ḳarā-Khānid Ḳadïr Khān Yūsuf met at Samarḳand in 415/1025, the Sultan had a personal tent of ruby-coloured Shushtarī brocade, with a canopy and roof of woven brocade (the tent, *sarāy-parda*, which allegedly held 10,000 horsemen, must have been in fact a whole series of tents forming an encampment for Maḥmūd's forces).

The early habitat of the Mongols probably com-

prised both the forest zone of northern Mongolia and the Lake Baikal region and also the steppelands. The characteristic modern Mongol felt tent or *ger* is essentially similar to the Türkmen *öy*, i.e. it has trellis walls, and the roof of light poles, also felt-covered, is born upon a roof-ring, though the shape is usually conical rather than domed. Thus a great deal of wood is required for its construction, a commodity scarce in the steppes and one which often has to be brought from a considerable distance. The Mongols do, however, have another type of tent, the *maykhan*, which is a low tent requiring much less wood and in recent times covered with cotton cloth purchased from Chinese traders; this is taken on Mongol caravans, with the *ger* used for camping at the regular pasture grounds (see O. Lattimore, *The geographical factor in Mongol history*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, xci/1 (Jan. 1938), 9-10, also in *Studies in frontier history, collected papers 1928-1958*, London 1962, 250-1). It seems accordingly probable that the Mongol *ger* evolved in the prehistoric (sc. pre-13th century) past of this people from the tents of the forest peoples, perhaps from an origin like the tepee or wigwam of the Tuva forest tribe of northern Mongolia, of Turkish peoples of this region like those dwelling in proximity to Mongol tribes around Lake Khubsugul, and of the reindeer-herding Tungus, which is a conical frame covered either with skins or birchbark (Turkish *uruča*, Mongol *obughaḳay*, cf. A. Róna-Tas, *Preliminary report on a study of the dwellings of the Altaic peoples*, in *Aspects of Altaic civilization, Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the PIAC*, ed. D. Sinor, Bloomington-The Hague 1963, 50). Certainly, the Mongol epics of recent times, of the Oirot of north-western Mongolia, describe the hero's tent as made with a framework not of wood but of animal bones, and as covered not with felts (since forest dwellers have no sheep) but with animal pelts (B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols, le feodalisme nomade*, Paris 1948, 49). In regard to the fittings and furnishings of the *ger*, the central fireplace or hearth has always been the focal point; amongst the Kazak Turks of western Mongolia, this is now usually a four-legged iron fireplace, and it is gradually replacing the old stoves (see Róna-Tas, *Notes on the Kazak yurt of West Mongolia*, in *Acta orientalia Hung.*, xii (1961), 84).

The earliest Mongol sources, such as the *Secret history* and the accounts of the Mongol expansion of the 13th century, both Islamic and European (the latter including e.g. the travel narratives of William of Rubruck and John of Plano Carpini) state that, at that time, the steppe peoples, Turks and Mongols, often transported their tents in ox carts (see Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 50-1, and also ʿARABA and ḲANGHLÎ); these last were not only highly-mobile within the steppes, but could be very quickly loaded up with the tents and the whole encampment (Mongol *küriyän/güriyän* "circle") quickly broken up.

Bibliography: given in the article, essentially, but note that Part A of *Aspects of Altaic civilization* (see above) is devoted to "The dwellings of the Altaic peoples". (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHAYR (A.), charity, gifts in money or kind from individuals or voluntary associations to needy persons. The religious significance of *khayr* in Islam is still quite clear, although assistance to the needy is nowadays extended mainly by secular governmental agencies; such assistance is regarded as "public welfare" rather than "charity". A public benefit is indeed implied in *khayr*. The word has the sense of freely choosing something, *i.e.* virtue or goodness, a service to others beyond one's kin. It also means goods such as property or things that have material value (H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1961, s.v.). There are few studies of *khayr* in earlier or modern times, though there are brief references scattered through the literature on the Ottoman Empire, Khedivial Egypt and the Indian subcontinent.

Khayr must be considered in relation to *zakāt* and *ṣadaḳa* [*qq.v.*]. *Ṣadaḳa* is practically synonymous with *khayr* in the sense of charity. *Zakāt* refers to an obligatory tax collected by Islamic governmental agencies and prescribed in the Ḳurʾān and Sunna. *Zakāt* in its traditional and precise form has almost disappeared, but *khayr*, as a broader and more informal quality and activity, continues. *Khayr* occurs in the Ḳurʾān in its general sense of virtue and good works in obedience to God and religious law (*e.g.* III, 103, XXII, 77, IV, 113) as well as material wealth (*e.g.* C, 8). In interpretations of Ḳurʾān and in philosophical works the term is used similarly.

Private charity and public welfare are extended out of mixed motives: humanitarian, to relieve misery, and political, to reduce instability. On the part of the private donor, moreover, there is the motive of doing good in accordance with religious precepts. This motive operates strongly in *khayr* among Muslims as well as non-Muslims minorities living in larger Islamic communities. Christian and Jewish charities were an important function of the millets under the Ottoman rule and continued after it, often with help from co-religionists in Western countries.

Today charity by individual Muslims to less fortunate members of their religious communities is still widespread. Parallel to these donations are those made by voluntary associations which stand between the individual and the government and disburse larger sums more widely. A United Nations survey made in the mid-1960s found several hundred such associations in Lebanon, Jordan and Syria, and a beginning even in Kuwait, where the government, with vast oil revenues, was already the main distributor of funds going to the needy (U.N. Economic and Social Office in Beirut, *Studies on Social Development in the Middle East, 1969*, New York 1970, 10). The activities of these associations, though significant, have been seldom studied in detail, though published reports and observations yield some details on several countries.

In Egypt in 1960 there were about 3,200 voluntary charitable associations (*djamʿiyyāt dīniyya* or *khayriyya*) with a religious basis, with 700,000 members, a total income of £ E 6 million (coming from members' dues, modest fees paid by the needy, and governmental subsidies), extending a variety of services to several million people at a total cost of £ E 4 million (M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt Today*, Cambridge 1970, ch. 4).

In Iran the structure of voluntary associations seems to be looser. As in other Muslim communities, however, in Iran individual donations are made to local *imāms* for formal institutions such as clinics, schools and scholarships, as well as directly to the needy. Donations to poor families occur mainly on the anniversaries of the deaths of Fāṭima and the *imāms* venerated by Shīʿīs. They are also made in times of threat or danger, even in connection with "modern" activities. For example, in 1974 a businessman started to construct an air-conditioned building, with the help of several architects and engineers trained in the U.S.A., in the most expensive and

modern area of Tehran. Before the first column went up, the foreman told the builder he must sacrifice a sheep for the workers to eat and protect them: the blood of the sacrificial sheep would avert the shedding of the workers' blood on the job. Very little is known about the distribution of funds by the local *imāms*, nor are they taken into account in governmental calculations of need. Donors to these *imāms* do not have a formal role in the distribution of these funds, although they are duly registered by accountants who keep records of income and disbursements (source: personal observation and interviews).

Khayr and *waḳf* [*q.v.*] overlap, for example in public conveniences such as water fountains [see SABĪL] and soup kitchens (*ʿimāret*) erected in Ottoman times. Somewhat similar to *khayr*, also, is the largesse often distributed by rulers, especially on accession to power. Such largesse is, in turn, a forerunner of the welfare programme of modern states.

Although women in Islamic countries have not traditionally been active in public affairs, their recent emergence into public roles has been associated with private charity and governmental welfare programmes. Among the earliest employments outside the home which became socially approved for women are teaching, nursing and social work. These professions are regarded as extensions of the Islamic ideal of women as the guardians of home and family. In several countries it has been customary in recent decades for the women members of the families of heads of state (in republics as well as monarchies) to be active in promoting education and the care of the needy. Thus in 1973 the Shāh-Bānū of Iran opened the first national seminar on social welfare by reviewing the development of private philanthropy, defining current social needs, and indicating the need for governmental coordination of the means of meeting these needs (Plan and Budget Organization of Iran, *Nakhustīn siminār-i millī-yi rifāh-i idjtimāʿī*, Isfand 1352 (February 1973), Tehran, n.d. and no pagination). This seminar, indeed, was the prelude to the creation of a new Ministry of Social Affairs a year later. Such ministries had already been established in other countries, for example in Egypt as early as 1939. The first woman to become a member of an Iranian cabinet, Farrukhrū Parsay, was Minister of Education from 1968 to 1974. Similarly, the first woman to join a cabinet in Egypt, Ḥikmat Abū Zayd, became Minister of Social Affairs in 1962.

The state has always assumed some of the burden of assisting the needy. Its role increased as modern industry and urbanisation developed, while public needs grew and the capacity of individuals and voluntary associations to meet the growing expectations declined. The state's assumption of the responsibility for public welfare was a demonstration also of the concentration and expansion of governmental power, which further discouraged private welfare agencies. Under these new arrangements, the public increasingly regards governmental relief of need as a right of the recipient; on the side of the "donor", the public regards aid to the needy as a secular, involuntary obligation performed through the machinery of government.

This development in many Islamic countries is reflected in the currency of the Arabic term for welfare state, *dawlat al-khayr al-ʿāmm*, which did not appear under *khayr* in H. Wehr's first German edition (Leipzig 1952), but did appear in the English edition of 1961 (*Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, and *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*). Appropriations for social welfare grew considerably in the 1960s and 1970s, following the establishment of specialised welfare ministries several decades earlier (United Nations Economic and Social Council, *1974 Report on the World Social Situation. Part One: Regional Developments. I. Social Trends in Developing Countries. Western Asia*, New York 1974, 23-5). Iran, for example, allocated about 10% of the total budget of the year 1354 (1975-6) for "social affairs" (Iran, Plan and Budget Organization, *The Budget 1345 and Amended 1353, 1974-75, 1975-76. A Summary*, Tehran n.d., Part 2, p. 7). Increasingly, also, governmental welfare programs are tied to national planning (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Social Welfare Planning in the Context of National Development Plans*, New York 1970, 6, 34).

In Islamic countries where socialist ideas and rhetoric have recently made headway, welfare has been tied to ideology and to the religious tradition of mutual social responsibility among Muslims, or *al-takāful al-idjtimāʿī* as developed by several writers, especially in Egypt (Sami A. Hanna and George H. Gardner, eds., *Arab Socialism. A Documentary Survey*, Leiden 1969, 147-200). The increasing role of government has led to widespread exaggeration of achievements, for example a claim by an official Egyptian agency reporting to the United Nations in 1967 that: "After the revolution of 1952, equal opportunities were eventually granted to the people" (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Organization and Administration of Social Welfare Programs. A Series of Country Studies. United Arab Republic*, New York 1967, 1). A U.N. evaluation of state programmes only two years later described them as still rather weak in concept, administration and effect (United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut, *Studies on Social Development in the Middle East, 1969*, New York 1970, 1, 11-13).

On top of the increasing role of the state came, after World War Two, an increasing role for the organisation of states, the United Nations. Through publications, surveys, seminars and conferences, various U.N. agencies encouraged the "developing" (or formerly "underdeveloped") countries to expand and systematise their welfare programmes. The U.N. also spread the new conceptions of welfare, going beyond traditional "remedial" care of the needy to "preventive" policies to enable the needy to maintain themselves and even further to "developmental" programmes which would enable the people of all classes to play a greater part in national growth based upon broad planning (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Proceedings of the International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, 3-12 September* 1968, New York 1969, 76, and *Training for Social Welfare, Fifth International Survey. New Approaches in Meeting Manpower Needs*, New York 1971, 2, 64-5). Special United Nations seminars for the Arab states have been held since 1949 (see, for example, *Fourth United Nations Social Welfare, Seminar for Arab States in the Middle East, Baghdad, 6-21 March 1954*, New York 1955).

These governmental and inter-governmental influences and discussions have all but removed *khayr* by individuals and voluntary associations from public consideration in Islamic countries. *Khayr*, however, continues, and even *zakāt* has been men-

tioned noticeably in one of the aforementioned U.N. seminars. In preparation for it, the U.N. Secretariat sent a questionnaire to seven Arab states, which elicited reports that in most of them this tax was still being collected and spent "in accordance with Islamic principles" (*Third United Nations Social Welfare Seminar for Arab States in the Middle East, Damascus, 8-20 December 1952*, New York 1953, 60). It is possible that the welfare programmes of governments are overestimated through the tendency of states and international agencies to issue many reports, while traditional *khayr* is underestimated because individual donors and voluntary associations are scattered and not given to public reporting.

For a treatment of charity in Turkey see the Supplement, s.v. KHAYR.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(M. BERGER)

KHAYR ALLĀH EFENDI, Ottoman physician, historian and administrator; born in Istanbul *ca.* 1235/1819-1820 of a family which had provided chief physicians for the Empire. He followed in the profession of his father ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Mollā (d. 1270/1853-1854) and after completing the *medrese* education he became the *mollā* of Izmir in 1256/1840-1841, to be promoted in the following year to the rank of *ḳāḍī* of Mecca. Meanwhile, he studied medicine at the *Mekteb-i Ṭibbiyye* and graduated in 1260/1844. Appointed *ders nāẓïrï* (director of studies) at the *Ṭibbiyye* School, he transferred from the *ʿilmiyye* (religious) to the *mülkiyye* (civil) branch of administration. Thus in Radjab 1265/May-June 1849 he was appointed a member of the Council of Education. On 25 Radjab 1267/26 May 1851 he was also entrusted with the vice-presidency of the *Endjümen-i Dānish* (Academy of Arts and Sciences) and in Shawwāl 1268/July-August 1852 he became a member of the *Medjlis-i Wālāy-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye* (High Council for Judicial Ordinances). Nominated *Mekātib-i ʿUmūmiyye nāẓïrï* (Minister of Public Schools) on 22 June 1854, he returned to the field of education. Upon the establishment of the Ministry of Education in March 1857 he was charged with the function of *müsteshār* (undersecretary) and on 7 Ṣafar 1275/16 September 1858 he assumed responsibility as deputy minister. On 21 May 1859 he became the administrator of the *Mekteb-i Ṭibbiyye*. In Radjab 1278/January 1862 he was moved to the directorship of the 6th sector of the Istanbul Municipality [see BALADIYYA]. He was again appointed a member of the *Medjlis-i Wālāy-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye* on Ṣafar 1281/July-August 1864, and in the same year he visited Europe to take a cure. Back in Istanbul, he went to Tehran on 3 May 1865 as Ottoman minister to the Persian court, and died there in Shawwāl 1282/December 1865-January 1866. His younger son is the well-known poet ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid [*q.v.*].

Khayr Allāh Efendi contributed much to the modernisation of Turkey through his publications. He undertook to write a general history of the Ottoman Empire, but could not go further than the year 1026/1617. This work was published under the title *Dewlet-i ʿaliyye-i ʿothmāniyye taʾrīkhi* (Istanbul 1271-81, 15 vols.), and was later continued by ʿAlī Shewkī, who took it up to the year 1058/1648 (Istanbul, vols. xvi-xviii, 1289-92). The author abandoned the annalistic method of Ottoman chroniclers and adopted the modern systematic treatment of history. He also made use of Western sources written in French. He seems to be the first Ottoman playwright, with his *Ḥikāyet-i Ibrāhīm Pāshā be Ibrāhīm-i Gulshenī* written *ca.* 1260/1844 (first printed in *Türklük*, no. 8 (1939), 77-91, for the second time by Aytekin Yakar, *Hikâye-i . . .*, Ankara 1964). His publications also include translations from the French on subjects ranging from medicine to agriculture. Among his printed works are *Maḳālāt-i ṭibbiyye* (Istanbul 1258), a collection of medical articles, *Beyt-i dehkānī* (Istanbul 1264), a treatise on agriculture, *Ḳiṭʿa-i Afrīḳā* (Istanbul 1268), Malte-Brun's work on geography, and *Mesāʾil-i ḥikmet* (Istanbul 1270), a textbook on physics prepared for *rüshdiyye* (secondary) schools. His *Avrūpā siyāḥat-nāmesi*, a narrative of his European tour in 1864, still remains unpublished (Ms., Library of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography, Ankara).

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KHAYR AL-DĪN PASHA, Tunisian and Ottoman statesman of the 19th century. He was born in 1822 or 1823 into the Caucasian tribe of the Abkhāz [*q.v.*]. He lost his father in a Russian attack, and subsequently was taken as a *mamlūk* to Istanbul, and brought up in the palace of Taḥsīn Bey, *naḳīb al-ashrāf* and *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anatolia. In 1839 a Tunisian envoy brought him to the court of Aḥmad Bey [*q.v.*], and he soon rose in the favour of the Bey himself and his chief minister Muṣṭafā Khaznadār [*q.v.*]. He entered the army and became commander of the cavalry. As a soldier, he had contacts with the French officers attached to the *maktab ḥarbī* founded in 1840 at Bardo by the Bey in order to train a modern-type army. He also met Maḥmūd Ḳābādū [*q.v.*], poet and teacher, who was the first Tunisian to advocate the introduction of the modern sciences into education.

His first direct contacts with Europe dated from 1846, when he accompanied Aḥmad Bey on his visit to Paris. Between 1853 and 1856 he acquired a profound knowledge of modern civilisation through his residence in Paris as the Tunisian government representative in the legal suit against Maḥmūd ʿAyyād, the former farmer-general of taxes in Tunis, who had fled to France bearing large sums of money. Having been victorious in this legal process, Khayr al-Dīn was rewarded by the office of Minister of Marine (January 1857), and he married a daughter of Muṣṭafā Khaznadār. As minister, he showed himself as a competent and restrained administrator, making the best of the ageing fleet and endeavouring to introduce a better administration.

He was one of the most enthusiastic and vigorous proponents of the modernisation of the Tunisian political system. He greeted with approval the proclamation in 1857 of the *ʿAhd al-amān* and in 1861 that of the Constitution [see DUSTŪR], and he was a member of various commissions set up to implement the promises made in 1857 and 1861, including a law on conscription. He was also a member of the

beylical *madjlis al-khāṣṣ*, and a member, and then president, of the *madjlis al-akbar* or Parliament set up in 1861. In these positions, he worked for reform of the judicial system (which, of course, did not affect personal law, which remained within the sphere of competence of the *sharīʿa* courts, but was confined to criminal law and to commercial and agricultural practices).

In November 1862, Khayr al-Dīn gave up his posts as Minister of Marine and president of the *madjlis al-akbar*, whilst remaining a member of the latter and of the *madjlis al-khāṣṣ*. Behind this partial retirement, which lasted till 1869, was his opposition to a Tunisian loan raised in Europe; the agreement for this was nevertheless made, and it opened the country to bankruptcy. In 1864 a revolt sounded the knell of the period of reforms begun in 1857. During these years, he acted as the Bey's envoy to Istanbul and other European capitals.

When he returned to politics in 1869, Tunisia had to accept, because of Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's maladministration, a financial commission to direct the country's finances, in which French and British influence was paramount; Khayr al-Dīn now became president of this. Till July 1877, he endeavoured—at first, as *wazīr mubāshir*, and then, after Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's fall on 21 October 1873, as *wazīr akbar*—to reform the Tunisian administration and to introduce a sound financial programme which would enable a debt which swallowed up about half of the country's annual revenue to be reduced. Amongst the measures which he adopted during this time was an agricultural regulation defining the rights and obligations of all those concerned with agriculture, including the *khammās* [see MUZĀRAʿA]. He also set up a mixed tribunal for cases between Tunisians and foreigners involving less than 1,000 piastres. He tried to improve the economy by decreasing export dues and increasing import ones. To help corn exports, he planned to build a railway line between Jendouba and Tunis. One of his most valued collaborators at this time was Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis [*q.v.*], who became president of the *djamʿiyyat al-awḳāf* and was able considerably to increase the income from these charitable foundations. The sums confiscated from Muṣṭafā Khaznadār were used to finance a new modern school as successor to the *maktab ḥarbī, al-madrasa al-ṣādiḳiyya*, opened in 1875 as a place where the Tunisian élite could receive an adequate education.

Khayr al-Dīn wanted above all to fulfil Tunis's financial obligations to the foreign creditors of the financial commission, in the hope of preserving the country's political independence. This involved necessarily a careful and economical policy, precluding the adoption of large-scale reforms. Moreover, the Tunisian people had a greater need, psychologically, for a period of peace and of just government than for reforms, since the memory on the period 1857-64, when taxes had risen and there had been a culmination in the rebellion of 1864, was still very fresh. Nevertheless, Khayr al-Dīn made an effort in 1877 to inject fresh life into the constitution and to re-open the Parliament, at the time when the Turkish constitutionalists had achieved temporary power in Istanbul; but Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ Bey [*q.v.*] firmly opposed this.

On the international plane, Khayr al-Dīn was always a firm supporter of close links between the Bey's official suzerain, the Ottoman Sultan, and Tunis. It was, in his view, the best safeguard against an increasingly burdensome European influence; whilst the Ottoman empire continued in existence, the Regency of Tunis could retain a *de facto* political independence. During the Balkan War, in 1876, he showed his support by sending considerable material aid to the Porte, whilst refraining from sending troops in order not to incur French displeasure.

His departure from office on 21 July 1877 was due to various reasons. The Bey, under the influence of persons like Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl, preferred a more pliant and less economy-minded prime minister; because of two consecutive bad harvests, the treasury was empty, and the instalment of debt had to be paid. As for France and Britain, the twin pillars of the financial commission, the latter had never supported Khayr al-Dīn, and France abandoned him above all because of his help to the Porte and his refusal to let the Jendouba-Tunis railway line be linked with the Algerian network.

On his leaving office, Khayr al-Dīn fell into disgrace, and even feared lest his property be confiscated. But in August 1878, thanks to the mediation of Muḥammad al-Ẓāfir, head of the Madaniyya religious order [*q.v.*], he received an invitation from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] to come to Istanbul, where on 4 December 1878 he was made Grand Vizier. The sultan, who had just managed to throw off the Young Ottomans, hoped to find in him an efficient servant in the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] style. During the eight months when he was at the head of the Sublime Porte, he was concerned with the deposition of the Egyptian Khedive Ismāʿīl, among other things. The main motive behind his dismissal, on 28 July 1879, was that his personal experience at Istanbul had turned him into a belated Young Ottoman, advocate of a parliamentary system and of ministerial responsibility. Until his death on 30 January 1890, he lived in retirement at Istanbul.

Khayr al-Dīn, as well as being a politician, was one of the first Muslims to be concerned with the causes of the decadence of the *umma* [*q.v.*]. In 1868 he published his study *Aḳwam al-masālik fi maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik*, the greater part of which gave a review of the countries of Europe from the economic, political, etc. points of view. More interesting is the introduction (2-89), in which Khayr al-Dīn sets forth his ideas on the possibility of the Muslims regaining their former grandeur. A good government which inspires the people's confidence is the best means of achieving this. Khayr al-Dīn avers that Europe has not become strong thanks to Christianity, but rather to a good system of government in which the monarch has had to delegate some of his powers. Then he notes that it is permissible for the Muslims to borrow from the Europeans their technical inventions and their political system. It ought not to be difficult for the *umma* to re-introduce good government, since the *sharīʿa* prescribes it, and in the past, it had been shown as perfectly attainable, always bringing with it a period of glory for the Muslims. It should be further noted that, for Khayr al-Dīn, the modern European parliament is nothing but the institution of the *ahl al-ḥall wa 'l-ʿaḳd* [*q.v.*] adapted to modern needs and conditions. He claimed to remain within the tradition of classical Islamic political thought, and this explains why he considered his ideas as valid for the whole of the *umma* and why he was especially concerned with the position of the Ottoman empire, at the time the main Muslim power, and with the *tanẓīmāt*. His opinion on these last was favourable. Although he favoured an Ottoman parliament, he did not consider it indispensable for the realisation of his ideal of a good government.

This explains why at the same time he paid so much attention to the *ʿulamāʾ* and the role which they ought to play in helping modernisation of the *umma*, since they comprised the greater part of the élite and could pronounce on whether the desired reforms were consonant with the *sharīʿa* or not. In this regard, Khayr al-Dīn had an influence on the thought of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*]. Concerning Europe, Khayr al-Dīn adopted a suspicious attitude, for he feared that some day or other the Muslim world would fall an easy prey to the expansionist continent.

In the person of Khayr al-Dīn, statesman and theorist were combined in a happy manner, since the politician was himself always faithful to the principles set forth in his *Aḳwam al-masālik*.

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(G. S. VAN KRIEKEN)

KHAYR AL-DĪN (KHIḌIR) PASHA, BARBAROSSA (?870-953/?1466-1546), famous Turkish corsair and Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet. He was born at Metellin, where his father Yaʿḳūb, *sipāhī* of Vardar Yenidjesi (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 5b; *Lüdjdjat al-abrār*, in *Künh al-akhbār*, fol. 254a; Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, 25: of Edjeova), had settled after the Turkish conquest of 866/1462; according to Cómara, *Crónica*, 351, his mother Catalina was the widow of a Greek priest. The date of his birth may be fixed in *ca.* 1466, according to the notice of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, who makes him over 80 at death (for Sandoval, ii, 208, he had likewise *más de ochenta años*, and for Guglielmotti, *Storia della marina pontificia*, iv, 117, he was 77 in 1543). The assertion of Haëdo, that he died aged 63 (*Topografia*, i, 261) and the information contained in a report of 3 June 1534 to the Venetian Senate, where he is described as *di cinquanta e più anni* (Albèri, iii/1, 30), deserve less credence.

Khiḍr began his activities by carrying merchandise to Saros, Salonica and Negroponte in a ship of his. After Selīm I forbade sailing on the Aegean Sea without his authorisation, since he wished to prevent his brother and rival Ḳorḳud's flight (1513; cf. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *II.inci Bayezid oğullarından Sultan Korkud*, in *Belleten*, xxx (1966), 583-90), he fitted out a second boat at Metellin, carried corn from the north to Africa, purchased 95 black slaves, sold them in Rumelia, and from there, with his two ships, rejoined his elder brother ʿArūdj [*q.v.*] at Djarba (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 23b-24a). (The date of ʿArūdj's arrival in North Africa is corrected by S. Souček, *Remarks on some Western and Turkish sources dealing with the Barbarossa brothers*, in *Güneydoğu Avrupa araştırmaları dergisi*, i (Istanbul 1972), 63-76 = *The rise of the Barbarossas in North Africa*, in *Archivum ottomanicum*, iii, 1971, 238-50). He achieved numerous exploits by land and sea, but in general remained in the shadow of ʿArūdj, first at Tunis and then at Algiers.

After ʿArūdj's death in 1518, Khiḍr, now controlling only Algiers, had to face the expedition led by Hugo of Moncada, viceroy of Sicily, of 80 sail and 6,000 men (Manfroni, 260, based on Spanish documents; *Ghazawāt*, fol. 68a: 170 ships and 20,000 men; Grammont, 32: 40 ships and 5,000 men). Towards the middle of August, the enemy landed at the mouth of al-Ḥarrāsh and seized a position on the eminence of Kudyat al-Ṣābūn; Khiḍr, with 600 Turks and 20,000 local troops, took the Spanish from the rear and forced them to re-embark. A storm sent a great proportion of the ships to the bottom of the sea, and Khiḍr took numerous prisoners, including 36 officers of high rank (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 69a-71b). Immediately afterwards, he put the sultan of Tlemcen to flight, since this last had allied with the Spanish and had marched on Miliana. In the spring of the next year (1520), he retook Ténès, which had rebelled, whilst his squadron of 18 ships put to flight 15 Spanish ships which had been sent to reinforce the town (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 72a-73a). From this time onwards, according to the *Ghazawāt*, the Christians gave Khiḍr the name of Barbarossa, because of the colour of his beard (see also Charrière, i, 264).

Like his brother, Khiḍr divided the Algerian territories into two provinces, under two local chiefs as governors: Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāḍī in the east (where he himself had already been governor), and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī in the west. He assumed the honorific or *laḳab* of Khayr al-Dīn (Ariadeno) and the title of *sulṭān*, according to an inscription of the mosque of Algiers built by him, dated in the first ten days of Djumādā I 926/19-28 April 1520: *al-sulṭān al-mudjāhid mawlānā Khayr al-Dīn ibn al-amīr al-shahīr al-mudjāhid Abī Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Turkī* (cf. A. Devoulx, *Épigraphie indigène du Musée archéologique d'Alger*, Algiers 1874, 54-5; see also P. Giovio, *Delle historie del suo tempo*, ii, Venice 1557, 315).

In this period Khayr al-Dīn sought help from the

Ottoman sultan, sending an embassy with four ships and with 40 slaves for Selīm I and an equal number for the *pas̲h̲as* of the *Dīwān*, together with a petition of the Algerian people, during the first ten days of D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 925/25 October 3- November 1519, whose text has survived in a Turkish translation (in Topkapı Sarayı, publ. by A. Temimi, in *Revue d'histoire maghrebine*, v (1976), 95-101). The envoys were very well received by the sultan (who died on 9 S̲h̲awwāl 926/22 September 1520), and Selīm accepted the overlordship of the kingdom of Algiers and sent via Ḥādjdji Hüseyin an investiture decree (*k̲h̲aṭṭ-i s̲h̲erīf*) and a flag (*sandjaḳ*). Moreover, he sent to him 2,000 Janissaries and some artillery, and authorised him to enroll volunteers, to whom he promised the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Janissaries (Haëdo, i, 249). The Turkish squadron coming from Istanbul was greeted on 20 September 1520 off Cerigo (see M. Sanudo, xxix, 284). From that moment, the name of the Ottoman sultan was inscribed on coins minted at Algiers and his name placed in the *k̲h̲uṭba*, thus affirming his suzerainty (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fol. 88b; for the coins struck at Algiers from 926/1520, see İ. Artuk, *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman adına basılan sikkeler*, Ankara 1972, 29-31).

Soon afterwards, whilst his fleet was seizing Mostaghanem, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn helped ʿAbd Allāh unseat Masʿūd in Tlemcen, receiving payment of an annual tribute of 10,000 gold pieces (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 93b-102a).

K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn's domination in Algiers was temporarily interrupted through an attack of the sultan of Tunis, Muḥammad, who had allied with Ibn al-Ḳāḍī and Ḳara Ḥasan, head of the Turkish garrison in Cherchell. Defeated on the lands of the Flissat Umm al-Līl (Grammont, 32), and besieged in the town of Algiers with only limited supplies of food and munitions, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn was forced to flee with nine ships of Djidjelli, after the population of Algiers itself (divided into eight quarters under eight *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*) had risen in rebellion against him.

After having secured the help of the head of the Banū ʿAbbās of Little Kabylia, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn from Djidjelli seized Collo (1521), Bône and Constantine (1522: Haëdo, i, 250-1). He also took up privateering in the Mediterranean. Sailing with seven ships, he captured nine ships loaded with corn, which he divided amongst the population then afflicted by famine. He then had built a galley of 27 banks of rowers, and in the spring of 1523 seized some ships in the Gulf of Genoa and five vessels loaded with corn off the coast of Rome. From there, he set sail for D̲j̲arba, and soon secured control of it, and it was there that the most famous corsairs of the age, like Sinān Reʾīs (Ebreo) and Aydīn Reʾīs (Cacciadiavolo) joined him. With a fleet of 41 ships, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn and his corsairs ravaged the coasts of the western Mediterranean, seizing large amounts of booty (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 123a-126b; Gomara, 393-5). Now feeling that he was strong, he decided in 1525 to march from Djidjelli on Algiers, invited thither by the populace, who were suffering hardship because of the loss of revenue from the corsair spoils. The occasion for this was Ibn al-Ḳāḍī's prohibition of some ships of K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn's loaded with Moriscoes from mooring in the port of Algiers. Ibn al-Ḳāḍī went forth with 20,000 men to engage K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn, but was beaten at Wādī Bugdura, and then at the hill of the Banū ʿAbbās, where he was beheaded by his own men (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 127a-136b; Grammont, 33). From 1526 till 1528, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn strengthened his position by retaking Cherchell, where Ḳara Ḥasan had 500 men, at the same time forcing ʿAbd Allāh, sultan of Tlemcen, to pay the tribute for the past six years and to pay in the future 20,000 pieces of gold per annum; he also took Ténès and Constantine again, where the people had rebelled (Grammont, 34), and forced Ḥusayn, brother and successor of Ibn al-Ḳāḍī in Great Kabylia to pay tribute of 30 loads (*yük*) of silver (1528: *G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 138b-146a).

The Spanish still controlled the island of Peñon, which faced Algiers at a distance of some 300 metres only, but they were poorly-armed and poorly-provisioned. At the opening of May 1529, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn attacked the fortress and took it on the 27th. With the débris, he built a causeway linking the islet with dry land, and thus secured a roadstead to protect his ships against the winds (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 148a-152b); Grammont, 35). A few days later, an Algerian squadron seized nine Spanish ships which had come to the relief of Peñon (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 154b-156a).

In summer of the same year, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn sent a detachment of fifteen ships under Aydīn Reʾīs to the vicinity of Oliva in Spain, in order to help the Moriscoes who were in revolt. Aydīn Reʾīs, having loaded his ships with as many Moriscoes as possible, put to flight off Formentera a Spanish squadron commanded by Rodrigo Portundo; of the eight ships here, one was sunk and the rest brought back to Algiers (Gomara, 397-9; Haëdo, i, 253-3; *G̲h̲azawāt* fols. 160b-162a: fifteen ships, of which three were burnt and three sunk). K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn sent two galleys to Istanbul to proclaim this victory to Süleymān. The *čāwus̲h̲* Muṣṭafā told him about the negotiations with the King of France. (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 163a-164b).

In May 1531, news reached K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn that Andrea Doria was sailing towards Cherchell with a fleet of 40 ships, including 20 French ones (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fol. 167a-b), according to the terms of the Treaty of Cambray of 5 August 1529 (Manfroni, 291, assures us that there were 30 ships, including 13 French ones). K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn planned to go out and engage him with 48 ships, but had to delay his departure through lack of supplies (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fol. 172a; Giovio ii, 129-30); he was in the vicinity of the Balearics when Andrea Doria had already attacked the fortress and after being repelled, had fled to Cadix, leaving on the ground 1,400 dead and 646 prisoners (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fol. 175a-b). K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn then ravaged the coasts of Liguria and Spain, capturing abundant plunder.

In 1532, he attacked the sultan of Tlemcen, who had the support of 14 Spanish ships based on Oran, and forced him to pay an increased tribute of 30,000 gold pieces. He then sent five ships to plunder the Spanish coasts, capturing *inter alia* 14 out of the 15 ships responsible for the defence of the coasts. Soon afterwards, he put down a revolt of 7,000 captive Christians, led by twenty Spanish nobles, for whom he had previously refused a ransom of 20,000 sequins (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 215a-223a).

However, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn assumed the role of intermediary between Francis I and Süleymān, receiving in 1533 a French ambassador making his way towards Aleppo (J. Ursu, *La politique orientale de François Ier* Paris 1908, 79-80). Having received an invitation in a *k̲h̲aṭṭ-i s̲h̲erīf* which Sinān Čāwus̲h̲ brought to him, he left Ḥasan Ag̲h̲a (Sardo) in charge at Algiers and left for Istanbul with seventeen of his ablest *reʾīs* and 44 ships, set on fire a squadron of 18 ships before Messina, sent 25 of his ships to

pursue the fleet of Andrea Doria, who had left Coron for the Adriatic, and finally reached the Ottoman capital at the end fo the year (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 224a-226b).

Shortly afterwards, he departed for Aleppo after an invitation from the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, who bestowed on him officially the office of Ḳapudan Pasha [*q.v.*], with the title of *Djezāʾir beglerbegi* (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 229a; State Archives of Venice, coll. Tkish. docs., dossier xv. 7, last ten days of Radjab 940/5-14 February 1534), which should be understood as "*Beglerbeg* of the Islands" (i.e. *Djezāʾir-i baḥr-i sefīd*), and not of Algiers (cf. Albèri, iii: 1. 30, narrative of Daniello de' Ludovisi of 3 June 1534: "beilerbei del mare"; Ramperti, *Libri tre delle cosei die Turchi*, Venice 1939, c. 22: "beglerbey del mare").

Some months later, Khayr al-Dīn set sail with a fleet of 84 ships, of which 18 were his own, five belonging to corsairs and 61 newly-built. The mission entrusted to him was the conquest of Tunis, whose throne had been claimed by Rashīd, brother of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan. After pillaging Reggio, San Lucido, Cetraro, the Gulf of Naples with the adjacent islands, Sperlonga, Fondi (on the flight of Giulia Gonzaga, see B. Nicolini, *Giulia Gonzaga e la crisi del Valdesianesimo*, in *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, N.S., v (Naples 1942), 204-8) and Terracina, and then taking on supplies of water and wood at the Tiber mouth (Guglielmotti, iii, 384-5) and capturing Bizerta, he seized La Goletta (*Khalḳ al-Wādī*) on 16 August and then on the 18th, Tunis, which had been abandoned by Mawlāy al-Ḥasan. The whole of Tunisia fell into his hands after Mawlāy al-Ḥasan had been defeated at al-Ḳayrawān by an army of 10,000 men (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 235a-241a). He then pacified a revolt of the Arabs calling for Rashīd, who had remained in Istanbul, where he died shortly afterwards (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 44; Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 492).

In April 1535, a new French ambassador, La Forest, visited Barbarossa in Tunis and from there, left for Istanbul; he had the task of preparing a joint expedition of the French and the Ottomans to plunder Corsica and conquer Sardinia and Sicily, then under Spanish control (D. C. Rouillard, *The Turk in French history, thought and literature (1520-1660)*, Paris 1938, 111-12). Charles V decided to take action, and assembled an armada of 300 ships and about 30,000 men. He reconquered La Goletta on 14 June and on the 20th attacked Tunis with the support of the Arabs and over 4,000 Christian captives, who had broken their fetters and now threw the Turkish ranks into disarray (these Turkish forces amounting to 9,700 men). Khayr al-Dīn was hurled out of Tunis and headed for Bône, whence, with 15 ships, he went to Algiers. He set off with 32 ships for the Balearics, burnt and sacked Port Mahon in Minorca (P. Estamislao - K. Aguilo, *Documentos relativos al sitio y saqueo de Mahon por Barbarroja*, in *Revista de Menorca* (1898), 137-56; (1909), 261-80; *non vidi*) and Palma in Majorca, and returned on 15 October to Istanbul (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 257b-272a). In the following spring, he went with 30 ships to the coasts of Calabria, where he sacked La Castella (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 272a-b; G. B. Moscato, *Cronaca dei musulmani in Calabria*, Cosenza 1963, 102).

Till spring 1537, Khayr al-Dīn was busy getting ready the fleet which Süleymān had promised Francis I for supporting his Italian expedition. During this period, Süleymān took up a position with his army at Valona, and the fleet, comprising 280 ships, concentrated along the Albanian coast. Whilst the greater part of the ships under the Third Vizier Luṭfī Pasha headed for the coast of Apulia, Khayr al-Dīn went with 60 galleys to escort 20 ships loaded with provisions from Egypt. He then took part in the unsuccessful siege of Corfu. From there, and after the main part of the fleet had returned to Istanbul, he went with 60 ships and seized Nio, Zea and Naxos. In the next year, 1538, he attacked and occupied Skiatos, Skiros, Tinos, Andros, Karpatos, Kandeleusa and other islands of the Venetians in the Aegean. Also, Crete was plundered for a week and over 15,000 captives taken (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 278a-282b).

On 27 September, the Turkish fleet of 120 ships commanded by Khayr al-Dīn clashed before Prevese with a Christian fleet of 138 galleys and 70 ships (Manfroni, 337), which had been got together by the Emperor, the Pope and Venice, under the command of Andrea Doria; the engagement ended in the retreat of Doria's Imperial forces after some skirmishing by the vanguards (for the battle, seen now A. Büyük-Tuğrul, *Preveze deniz muharebesine ilişkin gerçekler*, in *Belleten*, xxxvii (1973), 51-85). The existence of secret negotiations between Doria and Barbarossa, shown in numerous published documents (see Manfroni, 332 f.; C. Capasso, *Barbarossa e Carlo V*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, lxix (1932), 169-209, 304-48) explains why the two admirals never provoked each other and why they both adopted an extremely prudent attitude towards each other. Barbarossa, without hurrying overmuch, pursued the Christian fleet and forced it to retreat to Ste. Maure.

In the next year, Khayr al-Dīn went with 150 ships and reconquered Castelnuovo, taken in the preceding year by the Christian fleet after the battle of Prevese.

Khayr al-Dīn's last appearance on the sea was in 1543, when, after the agreements reached between Süleymān and Francis I, he was given the task of co-operating with the French fleet in the western Mediterranean. After ravaging the Italian coasts, staying three days at Reggio and terrorising Rome by a halt at the Tiber (Guglielmotti, iv, 117-18), he joined the Duc d'Enghien, commander of the French fleet, at Marseilles. The two united fleets sacked Villefrance and unsuccessfully besieged Nice, Khayr al-Dīn attributing this check to the shortcomings of the French fleet (cf. Charrière, i, 578-9). The arrival of Andrea Doria's fleet and the Marquis del Vasto's army compelled Khayr al-Dīn to retreat and to spend the winter at Toulon, which was evacuated on this occasion by its inhabitants. However, he sent 25 galleys under Ṣāliḥ Reʾīs and Ḥasan Čelebi to plunder the Gulf of Lyons and the Spanish coasts (J. Laroche, *L'expedition en Provence de l'armée de mer du Sultan Suleyman sous le commandement de l'Amiral Hayreddin Pacha dit Barberousse (1543-1544)*, in *Turcica*, i (1969), 161-211; *Ghazawāt*, second part, ms. 1186 of the B. N., Paris). The Peace of Crépy in 1544 ended the war between Charles V and Francis I, and Khayr al-Dīn sailed back to Istanbul after pillaging the coasts of Tuscany and the kingdom of Naples (ms. 1186, fols. 41a-45a; Guglielmotti, iv, 123-5).

Khayr al-Dīn spent the rest of his life in pious works, amongst other things, having a *medrese* and a mosque built at Beşiktaş, of which however no traces remain (see T. Öz, *Istanbul camileri*, ii, Ankara 1965, 30). He died on 4 July 1546, and was buried at Beşiktaş, with the chronogram مات رئيس البحر [=953/1546] engraved on his tomb. The mausoleum was

built by the architect Sinān (Öz, *op. cit.*, ii, 10), and became the place for the ceremony of investiture for new *ḳapudan pas̲h̲as* (note at end of ms. 2639 of Istanbul Univ. Library, fol. 392a-b). The Turkish fleet, before leaving on an expedition, would go there and fire a salvo in greeting (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 439; A. Bombaci, *Le fonti turche della battaglia delle Gerbe* (*1560*), in *RSO*, xx (1942), 279).

Very little is known of K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn's private life. He was twice married: once, at Algiers, with a local woman, who bore him a son Ḥasan [*q.v.*], who was on several occasions *beglerbegi* of Algiers; and a second time, at the age of 77, with the 18-year old daughter of the governor of Reggio (pillaged in 1543, see above), Flavia or Maria Gaetani (Haëdo, i, 272; Guglielmotti, iv, 117). He also had a daughter who is buried near his *türbe* (Öz, *loc. cit.*).

K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn gave the Ottoman empire a well-organised North African province. As Grand Admiral, he strengthened the Ottoman maritime presence, assuring it of a total domination which lasted for over 30 years. He has remained in the Turkish memory as a national hero. His name struck terror in the Mediterranean, but he also had a reputation for generosity and prudence (see the letter written to him by Pietro Aretino, beginning "Salve, o re inclito, bassà degno, capitano invitto e uomo egregio . . . poiché la tua generosità, la tua altezza, il tuo valore e la tua prodenza ti sostengono. . ." (*Il secondo libro delle lettere*, ed. F. Nicolini, Bari 1916, 54-5). Barbarossa replied to him thus: "Certo tu hai più presto cera di capitano che di scrittore" (B. Croce, *Poesia popolare e poesia d'arte*, Bari 1933, 252).

Bibliography: Sources. The most important contemporary source is the *G̲h̲azawāt-i K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn Pas̲h̲a* by Sayyid Murād, composed on the basis of directly-communicated reports from Barbarossa and his travelling-companions, and also on the basis of what he himself had personally witnessed; two redactions of the original exist, one in prose and one in verse, and there are other, second-hand redactions. It is preserved in several manuscripts but still unedited, and is divided into two parts; the first narrates K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn's adventures from his birth till 1541, whilst the second, concerned with the French expedition of 1543-4, has only come down to us in ms. 1186 of the B. N. in Paris. Scholars have used it basically through the intermediary of a bad French translation of an Arabic résumé of the Turkish text (the Arabic text was published at Algiers in 1934 by Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḳādir; on this is based *al-Zuhra al-nāʾira*, ed. S. Baba ʿUmar in *Jnal. d'histoire et de civilisation du Maghreb*, iii (Algiers 1967), 1-18 of the Arabic section). The French tr. was published in two vols. at Paris in 1837 by S. Rang and F. Denis as *Fondation de la Régence d'Alger. Histoire de Barberousse.* On the other hand, the Italian tr. made from a Spanish version of the Turkish text (ms. 1663 of the Escorial, to which the citations in this article refer), made by Giovan Luigi Alçamora in 1578, has been little used. This Italian tr. was published at Palermo by E. Peleaz in *Archivio Storico Siciliano* between 1880 and 1887 and as a monograph in 1887 with the title *La vita e la storia di Ariadeno Barbarossa* (see A. Gallotta, *Le ġazavāt di Ḫayreddīn Barbarossa*, in *Studi Magrebini*, iii (Naples 1970), 79-160).

Another contemporary work on Barbarossa is the *Lüd̲j̲d̲j̲at al-abrār* or *Lüd̲j̲d̲j̲at al-ak̲h̲yār* of Yetīm ʿAlī Čelebi, d. 959/1552 (see A. S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Ġazavāt-nāmesi*, Ankara 1956, 74), of which only one manuscript is known, that in the private library of İ. H. Uzunçarsili. There is an extract from this work in ʿĀlī, *Künh al-ak̲h̲bār*, 4th section, 3rd part, still unedited; this has been used *apud* Istanbul Univ. Library ms. 5959, fols. 253a-256b. Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, Istanbul 1329, 25-59, is based on the *G̲h̲azawāt*, with some variations. A contemporary Spanish source, written in 1545, is the *Crónica de los Barbarrojas* of F. Lopez de Gómara, published in *Memorial historico español*, vi, Madrid 1853, 327-439. There are also notices on Barbarossa in the *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V* by Prudencio de Sandoval, written at the end of the 16th century, of which an edition was published at Madrid in 1955 (*Biblioteca de autores españoles*, lxxx-lxxxii), and in the *Topografia et historia general de Argel* by Diego de Haëdo, written towards the end of the 16th century (Valladolid 1612 and Madrid 1927-9, in 3 vols.). The citations in this article refer to this last edition.

Collections of documents: *Colleción de documentos ineditos para la historia de España*, 112 vols., Madrid 1842-95, for which there is a catalogue raisonné by J. Paz, *Catalogo de la colleción. . .*, 2 vols., Madrid 1930-1; E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, i, Paris 1848; E. de la Primaudaie, *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de l'occupation espagnole en Afrique*, in *Rev. Afr.*, xix-xxi (1875-7); M. Sanudo, *I diarii*, 58 vols., Venice 1879-1902; E. Albèri, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, Ser. 3, vol. i, Florence 1840; M. T. Gökbilgin, *Venedik devlet arşivindeki vesikalar külliyatında Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri belgeleri*, in *Belgeler: Türk tarih belgeleri dergisi*, i (Ankara 1964), 119-20 (nos. 27-8, 34, 40-1, 61, 82; the document xv. 7 is not included in this collection); idem, *Venedik devlet arşivindeki türkçe belgeler kolleksiyonu ve bizimle ilgili diğer belgeler*, in *Belgeler*, v-viii (1968-71), 1-151 (nos. 131, 188).

K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn's life is included, from the historical point of view, in H. D. de Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque* (*1515-1830*), Paris 1887; C. Manfroni, *Storia della marina italiana dalla caduta di Constantinopoli alla battaglia di Lepanto*, Rome 1897; A. Samih Ilter, *Şimali Afrikada Türkler*, i, Istanbul 1937.

There are several more or less recent works, the last of which being E. Bradford's *The Sultan's Admiral, the life of Barbarossa*, London and New York 1968, of little worth. (A. Galotta)

K̲H̲AYR AL-DĪN PAS̲H̲A [see D̲J̲ANDARLĪ].

USTĀD **K̲H̲AYR AL-DĪN**, Ottoman architect, popularly considered as the founder of Turkish architecture. We have very little certain knowledge of his life, and do not even know when he was born and died, but his father Ustād Murād is known to have restored the Galata Tower after the earthquake of 913/1509. His name is not included in a list of architects in a *defter* from the first years of Sultan Süleymān's reign (Topkapi Sarayı Arşivi, D 7843), indicating that he may no longer have been alive then. In Ayvānsarāyī Ḥüseyin Efendi's *Ḥadīḳat al-D̲j̲awāmiʿ*, written in 1193/1779, the following information is given about him: "K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn, the architect—who was the builder of the Miʿmār K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn mosque opposite the mausoleum of Sinān Pas̲h̲a in Dīwān Yolu—was the architect of

Sultan Bāyezīd. He is buried outside the Sinān Pas͟ha mausoleum. There is a quarter bearing his name". This mosque, according to its inscription, was burnt down in 1316/1898 and rebuilt by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. Ṭayyār-zāde Aḥmed ʿAṭā' Enderūnī, in *ʿAṭā' Ta'rīk͟hi*, Istanbul 1291, i, 76, attributes to him buildings in Edirne, Amasya and Istanbul during the reign of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512), and his information is repeated in Meḥmed T͟hüreyyā, *Sid͟jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, ii, 314.

K͟hayr al-Dīn seems to have begun his career outside Istanbul. The *külliyye* or complex of religious and educational buildings in Amasya of Sultan Bāyezīd, founded by the prince Aḥmed, governor of Amasya, in his father's name, was his first major work, and was completed in 891/1486. In this project, on the banks of the Kızılırmak River (of which only the *medrese*, mosque, *ʿimāret*, *türbe* and fountain survive today), the architect tried to give unity to the whole site by the plan chosen, which included two large domes, one after the other, and then three smaller domes at their sides.

The second and larger *külliyye* of Sultan Bāyezīd was built by K͟hayr al-Dīn in Edirne between the years 889/1484 and 893/1488. With its mosque, *ʿimāret*, hospital, *medrese*, baths, kitchen and provision depots, this is one of the biggest social-religious foundations of the 9th/15th century. The mosque, with its many tombs, dominates the architectural complex; it has a lofty dome, 21 m in diameter, mounted on four walls 19 m high. The low, nine-domed, small *tābk͟hānas* are adjacent to the mosque. At the outer corners of the fountain courtyard, in front of the *tābk͟hānas*, are two minarets with galleries.

More controversial is K͟hayr al-Dīn's role in the construction of the mosque of Sultan Bāyezīd in Istanbul, which was designed as a *külliyye* and completed in five years between 906/1501 and 911/1506. In this, the first plan of the single half-domed Fātiḥ mosque is taken up and developed further by the addition of a second half-dome to the north and one small dome on each side. The central dome is 18 m in diameter; the fountain courtyard has two rows of windows, and the two minarets, with single galleries and 87 m apart from each other, are at the outer corners. The various domes and arches of the mosque were restored by Sinān after the 915/1509 earthquake, according to the *Tuḥfat al-miʿmārīn*.

Now Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pas͟ha, in his *Netā'id͟j al-wuḳūʿāt* (Istanbul 1327), put forward the name of Kemāl al-Dīn as the architect of the Bāyezīd mosque, whilst more recently, Rıfkı Melûl Meric has suggested the name of Yaʿḳūb b. Sulṭān S͟hāh as the architect, basing this on records in Istanbul Belediye Library manuscripts; see his *Bayezid camii mimarı*, in *Ilâhiyat Fakültesi, Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi*, ii (Ankara 1958), 4-77, and *L'architecte de la mosquée Bayezid d'Istanbul*, in *Procs. First ICTA* (Ankara 1961). There are certainly many obscurities and chronological difficulties about the dating of the building process, but according to the mosque's inscription, work started on it at the end of 906/1501 and was completed in 911/1506; the dome was completed in the third week of Rabīʿ I 910, and in the next month, the outer courtyard of the mosque in the garden of the Old Palace and its boundaries were marked out and enclosed with walls. There does not seem to be any specific information about Yaʿḳūb's hand in it; K͟hayr al-Dīn had become architect-in-chief previously, and the sources indicate that K͟hayr al-Dīn was alive after Yaʿḳūb's death. It is also known that he was in charge of construction at the caravanserai, later known as the Pirind͟j K͟hān, at Bursa, built by the Sultan as a *waḳf* to provide income for his mosque in Istanbul (Bursa Müzesi arşivi, S͟harīʿa register-*defters*, No. 20, entry No. 67; Kâmil Kepeci, *Bursa Hanları*, Bursa 1935).

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(O. ASLANAPA)

K͟HAYRĀBĀD.

i. — A small town in Uttar Pradēs͟h, India, 27° 32′ N., 80° 45′ E., 75 km. north of Lakhna'ū (Lucknow) on the Barēlī road, now of small importance but in Mug͟hal times the headquarters of one of the five *sarkārs* of the *sūba* of Awadh (Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. Jarrett, Bibl. Ind., ii, 93, 176). Under the kingdom of Awadh [*q.v.*] it became the headquarters town of a *niẓāmat*; but after the British annexation of Awadh its importance declined with the rise of Sītāpur 8 km. to the north. Before the partition of the Indian subcontinent, the population of the town and surrounding district was about 60 % Muslim. Except for the D͟jāmiʿ masd͟jid, of the time of S͟hāhd͟jahān, its buildings are undistinguished; Abu 'l-Faḍl's lists show it as possessing a brick fort.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *loc. cit.*; H. R. Nevill, *Sitapur: a gazetteer* (= *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces* ..., xl), Allahabad 1905, s.v. Khairabad.

ii. — A settlement on the west bank of the river Indus opposite Aṭak [*q.v.*] (Attock). Whether or not the name was deliberately given for its assonance with Kaṭak at the south-eastern extremity of Akbar's dominions, as Abu 'l-Faḍl asserts (*Akbar-nāma*, ed. Bibl. Ind., iii, 355), the name certainly means "obstacle". A popular legend (not in the *Akbar-nāma*) has it that K͟hayrābād is the "habitation of well-being" attained after the "obstacle" has been successfully passed, and was named by Akbar after the successful bridging of the Indus at a notoriously treacherous point. The *sarā'ī* of K͟hayrābād is frequently referred to in accounts of of Akbar's operations in the north-west after 989/1581.

Bibliography: *Akbar-nāma*, iii, index s.v. Aṭak; and see Bibliography to AṬAK.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

K͟HAYRPŪR.

1. A former native state of the province of Sind in British India, now in Pakistan, lying to the east of the lower-middle Indus River between lat. 27°46′ and 26°10′ N. and between long. 68°20′ and 70°14′ E., and with an area of 6,018 sq. miles; it is also the name of a town, formerly the capital of the state, lying some 25 miles south-west of Sukkur and Rohri.

The southeastern part of what was K͟hayrpūr state is largely desert, but the alluvial plains in the north and west, adjacent to the Indus, are fertile and are irrigated by canals from the Indus valley, so that such crops as cereals, cotton, sugar cane, tobacco, oilseed and indigo can be cultivated.

The separate historical existence of the state

dates only from the late 18th century. In 1783 the Balūč chief Mīr Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Tālpūr overthrew the Kalhoras of Sind and secured a *sanad* from the Durrānī ruler in Ḳandahār as titular ruler of Sind. His nephew Mīr Suhrāb Khān (d. 1830) asserted his power in Khayrpūr town, and founded a state of his own, whilst continuing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Tālpūr Mīr of Sind at Ḥaydarābād. By conquest and intrigue he enlarged his possessions beyond the environs of Khayrpūr town southwards and eastwards to the Great Indian Desert fringes and westwards to the Indus. During the internal convulsions in Afghānistān which led to the supersession of the Sadōzāy line by the Bārakzāy line of Dūst Muḥammad [see AFGHĀNISTĀN. v. History], the Mīrs of Sind withheld tribute, and by *ca.* 1813 the province had become virtually independent; in 1832 the independent existence of Sind was acknowledged by Britain. The Mīrs of Sind attempted to impede the passage northwards of British troops during the First Afghan War (1839-42), but one of the sons of Mīr Suhrāb Khān in Khayrpūr, ʿAlī Murād, was more co-operative, and after the operations in Sind by Sir Charles Napier and its annexation in 1843, ʿAlī Murād became Mīr of Khayrpūr and also honorary *Raʾīs* of Upper Sind.

However, internal disputes in Khayrpūr and friction with the Government of India—Sir Bartle Frere had in 1851 commented on the wretched state of the populace of Khayrpūr—led to ʿAlī Murād being in 1852 deprived of this office as *Raʾīs* and his territories being reduced to his patrimonal possessions of Khayrpūr. The confiscated territories, amounting to some 5,412 sq. miles, were now incorporated into what was at the time the Shikarpūr District. Subsequently, a *wazīr* on loan from British service was placed at the Mīr's side as chief executive with the powers of a District Magistrate, and the Collector of Sukkur acted as British Political Agent in Khayrpūr. Khayrpūr thus subsisted as the only remaining native state in Sind, and in 1866 a *sanad* was granted to Mīr ʿAlī Murād in which the Government of India promised to recognise the succession of any Mīr ascending the throne according to Islamic law. ʿAlī Murād did not die till 1894, and was then succeeded by his son Fāʾiz Muḥammad.

In 1947 Khayrpūr state acceded to Pakistan, but after the administrative reorganisation of 1955 it was merged into the province of West Pakistan, and is now a District, under a Deputy Commissioner, sub-divided into six revenue *taʿlūḳas* (Khayrpūr, Gambat, Kōt Dīdjī, Mīr Wah, Fāʾiz Gandj and Nāra). In 1961 the population of the District was 472,137, this being overwhelmingly rural and 83 % Sindi speaking. The town of Khayrpūr, which is today an important textile centre, had 34,144 inhabitants in 1961.

Bibliography: E. A. Langley, *Narrative of a residence at the court of Meer Ali Moorad, with wild sports in the valley of the Indus*, London 1860; E. H. Aitkens, *Gazeteer of the province of Sind*, Karachi 1907, 121-8, 150-1, 510-19; *Imperial gazeteer of India*², xv, 210-16; H. T. Lambrick, *Sir Charles Napier and the conquest of Sind*, Oxford 1952 (Genealogical Table 2 at p. 387, "The ruling house of Khairpur"); H. T. Sorely, *The gazeteer of West Pakistan, including Khairpur State*, Karachi 1968; *Population census of Pakistan 1961. District census report, Khairpur*, Karachi N.D.

2. A town and *taḥṣīl* of the former Bahāwalpūr State [*q.v.*] in West Panjab, now in Pakistan; the town is situated in lat. 29°35′ N. and long. 72°18′ E., 38 miles to the north-east of Bahāwalpūr town. See *Imperial gazeteer of India*², xv, 216.

3. A town in the ʿAlīpur *taḥṣīl* of the Muẓaffargaṛh District of West Panjab, now in Pakistan. It is situated in lat. 29°20′ N. and long. 70°49′ E., 57 miles to the south of Muẓaffargaṛh town, and near the junction of the Indus and Chenab Rivers. It was founded in the early 19th century by the Bukhārī Sayyid Khayr Shāh, from whom it derives its name. See *Imperial gazeteer of India*², xv, 216-17. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHAYSH (A.; pl. *khuyūsh, akhyāsh*, n. of unity, *khaysha*), a coarse, loose linen made with flax of poor quality and used in the manufacture of sacks, wrappings and rudimentary tents. The Arabic dictionaries only mention, in its literal sense, this meaning; Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v.) renders it by "canevas; linon; serpillière; treillis", and de Goeje (*BGA*, iv, 355) remarks that this linen is manufactured in Ṭabaristān. Sometimes, the expression *ʿArab al-khaysh* is used to designate the Bedouins (Quatremère, *Mém. géogr. ethi st. sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811, il, 218).

However, this term clearly designates a means of obtaining a certain freshness of air, without the texts in which it appears being always explicit, for example when Ibn al-Faḳīh (*Buldān*, 88; tr. Massé, 108) says that the Cordovans have no need of *khaysh* in summer. In a certain number of mentions, the use of the expressions *fī khaysh* or, better still, *bayt khaysh* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, 187; idem, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, i, 393) leads one to think that it has the meaning of a summer room. Ṭ. al-Ḥādjirī (the editor of *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, 322) puts forward the view that *khaysh*, in this sense, is the Persian *kāshān* "a summer room" and it is probable that the usage comes in fact from Persia. Al-Muḳaddasī (449) says that he saw at Shīrāz some *buyūt al-khaysh* "where water runs constantly, brought by pipes which encircle the room, reaching it from high up". Perhaps the walls were bare, but they may also have been covered with *khaysh*; in any case, al-Ṭabarī (iii, 418) recounts that al-Manṣūr had a pavilion hung with *khaysh* "that was constantly moistened; his successors preferred mats of palm leaves" (Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Platonov, *Monde musulman*, 381; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 354-60: *ḳubbat al-khaysh*).

Finally, the word *khaysh* designates another process that can be identified with certainty when it is used in connection with the verb *ʿallaḳa* "to hang up" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 82; al-Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 394): in this case, it means a kind of fan, of which a detailed description will be found in Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v.); al-Sharīshī, (*Sharḥ*, ii, 313; cf. al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, i, 65; Miskawayh, i, 167; Mez, *loc. cit.*; M. Canard, in *AIEO Alger*, vi (1942-7), 177, n. 79) speaks in the same way of a *mirwaḥat al-khaysh* and says of this apparatus that it "has the form of a ship's sail; it is hung from the ceiling and a cord is attached to it to set it in motion; it is moistened with water and sprinkled with rosewater. When anyone wishes to take a siesta or sleep at night, he pulls the cord and the apparatus moves back and forth the whole length of the house, directing a fresh, perfumed breeze on to the sleeper". In fact, young slaves were appointed to work the *khaysh*, whose use, which seems to have made its first appearance in ʿIrāḳ from the 1st/7th century, has not disappeared in that country, where it is, however, designated by the Indian name *pānka* (see *Lughat al-ʿArab*, ix (1931), 621-3).

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(CH. PELLAT)

KHAYYĀM [see ʿUMAR KHAYYĀM].

KHAYYĀṬ (A.) "tailor", "dressmaker". In classical Arabic literature, tailors formed a group of skilled artisans who made the clothing for all social classes in the Near East. A maxim attributed to the Prophet runs *ʿamal al-abrār min al-ridjāl al-khiyāṭa wa-ʿamal al-abrār min al-nisāʾ al-ghazal* "the occupation of pious men is tailoring, and that of pious women is spinning. Though this saying is of dubious authenticity, it does establish a division of labour between men and women, and it furthermore links piety with the tailor's craft. It is accordingly not surprising to note that, in the ancient history of the Islamic community, there were numerous Muslim jurists who worked as tailors for their daily bread; and it might well be concluded that it was these very men who ensured for this saying a wide circulation in order to create a favourable image of their profession.

Numerous tailors and other skilled workers were employed by the caliphs and their viziers in the state workshops (*dar al-ṭirāz* [see ṬIRĀZ], whilst independently-employed tailors usually worked in little workshops in a particular street or in the markets of Islamic towns. Some pious but poor tailors worked inside mosques (cf. al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1961, ii, 562; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad 1357, v, 132). The proverbial expression *abnāʾ al-daraza* (lit. "sons of sewing"), current in the ʿAbbāsid period, referred to the tailors of Kūfa, who had taken part in the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī, great-grandson of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, against the Umayyads (120-2/738-40). According to al-Thaʿālibī, it was applied to the lowest classes (*sifal*) and the dregs of the population (*sukkāṭ*), and this is evidently the oldest literary mention about the introduction of Shīʿism amongst the artisanal population of ʿIrāḳ.

We have no authentic information enabling us to state that there existed guilds of tailors in the early Islamic Near East. However, some proofs do exist, at least in theory, which allow one to conclude that certain of the urban *khayyāṭūn* formed associations (*sharika*) with their colleagues living in the same area. Some associations of artisans (*sharikat al-ṣanāʾiʿ*) existed amongst other groups of workers, such as the dyers (*ṣabbāghūn*), the fullers (*ḳaṣṣārūn*) and the goldsmiths (*ṣāgha*); this must have been a case of the usual type of grouping-together amongst artisans. The only proof which we have comes from a solitary nomination of a tailor to the office of *raʾīs ʿalā ʾl-khayyāṭīn* made by the ʿAbbāsid vizier Ibn al-Furāt (d. Rabīʿ II 312/July 324); this must relate to the tailors employed in the Baghdād *dār al-ṭirāz*.

Tailors, whether free men or slaves, were well-paid. According to al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan, vizier to al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8) and to al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32), "when an artisan like a tailor (*khayyāṭ*) works with silk brocade (*dībādj*), he earns a thousand *dīnār*s a day, but when he works only with *kūhī* (cloth of inferior value), he gets then *dirhams*"; even allowing for exaggeration, this assertion permits us to see how much certain tailors might earn. According to some sources, a slave tailor paid over to his master as *ḍarībat al-ʿabd* (payment for securing manumission), a payment which was handed over in instalments, two *dirhams* out of his daily wage; hence this was clearly quite a high one. A comparative study of workmen's wages in the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods leads one to think that tailors enjoyed a good standard of living and had considerable resources, and this is confirmed by a tale of the *Thousand and one nights*. In addition to his normal wages, a tailor could supplement his income by hiring out clothing, e.g. *ṭaylasān*s, to specific people.

The literary sources of the ʿAbbāsid and Mamlūk periods also combine to show that the social status of the *khayyāṭūn* was higher than that of all other groups of artisans. We find further proof of this in the fact that the customary law of *kafāʾa* requiring social compatibility in marriage was applied with less strictness in regard to them than for any other groups or workers.

The manuals of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] enumerate certain fraudulent practices current amongst tailors and lay down the requisite measures for stopping them and for protecting the public interest. They require, for instance, that these artisans should weigh precious materials at the moment at which they are handed over to them, and that the left-overs and off-cuts should be returned to the original owner when the garment is completed, at the same time as they exhort them to fulfil the orders as quickly as possible, thus leading one to think that these orders were not always done expeditiously within the corporation of tailors. The Syrian Ibn Ṭūlūn (880-953/1473-1546), writing at the end of the Mamlūk period and beginning of the Ottoman one in Syria, stresses the basic theological principle that tailors should not use silk for men's garments, although this is permissible for women and children. This echoes a tradition based on the authority of ʿAlī b. Ṭālib, which Ibn Ṭūlūn thought fit to recall in connection with the professional responsibilities of tailors, and leads one to think, amongst other things, that there was a distinct and strong Shīʿī influence discernible amongst the Arab tailors of the Near East.

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al-Khayyāṭ, Abū ʿAlī Yaḥyā b. Ghālib, astrologer and pupil of Māshallāh [*q.v.*], died *ca.* 220/835. He was known to mediaeval Christendom as Albohali (vars. Alghihac, Albenahait, etc.), and should not be confused with the Andalusian astronomer Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ. The *Fihrist*, 276 (Cairo edn., 385-6) attributes to him a *K. al-Masāʾil* [*fī aḥkām al-nudjūm*] and a *K. al-Mawālid*, which are both extant, together with the following works, now lost: *K. al-Madkhal*, *K. al-Maʿānī*, *K. al-Duwal*, *K. Taḥwīl sinī 'l-mawālīd*, *K. al-Manthūr*, *K. Ḳaḍīb al-dhahab*, *K. Taḥāwil sinī 'l-ʿālam* and *K. al-Nukat*. A *K. Sirr al-ʿamal* and *Fawāʾid falakiyya* have further been preserved. Al-Khayyāṭ's fame in mediaeval Europe stems from the *K. al-Mawālīd*, a work on judicial astrology which also contains horoscopes for illness, frequent citations from Ptolemy and Hermes on the pars fortunae, etc. Two Latin translations were made of it, one by Plato of Tivoli (Plato Tiburtinus) at Barcelona in 1136, and the other by John of Seville (Iohannes Hispalensis) in 1153; the latter translation was printed at Nuremberg (1546, 1459) under the title *Albohali de iudiciis nativitatum liber unus* and probably retranslated into French. Al-Khayyāt is often cited as a secondary authority by the European schoolmen, and he seems to have been used, through John of Seville's version, by Leopold of Austria (floruit *ca.* 1271), for his *Compilatio de astrorum scientia*.

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(H. Suter — [J. Samsó])

al-Khayyāṭ, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān, theologian and jurist, *ca.* 220/835—*ca.* 300/913, foremost representative of the Baghdād school of the Muʿtazila at his time. He still remembered Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir (died 234/849), whom he had asked certain questions on a much-debated exegetical problem (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, 76, ll. 5 ff.), but he seems to have received his main theological training from two members of the following generation about whom we know little, sc. ʿĪsā b. al-Haytham al-Ṣūfī and Abā Mudjālid Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḍarīr al-Baghdādī, an influential *mawlā* of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (d. 268/882 or Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 269/May 883), both of them pupils of Murdār and Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850-1), Abū Mudjālid being also a pupil of Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir (cf. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 95 f.; Kaʿbī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, 74 l. 22). To Abū Mudjālid he seems to have owed his interest in and his relatively tolerant attitude towards *ḥadīth*. His juridical knowledge procured him the discipleship of members of different *madhāhib*, among them the famous Shāfiʿī Ibn Suraydj (d. 306/918; cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, 129, ll. 16 f. and Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, ed. F. Sayyid 301, ll. 1 ff., here together with a Mālikī and a Ẓāhirī). His theological activity was determined by problems inside his own Baghdādī school (see below), above all by the shock caused through the books of Ibn al-Rāwandī, a co-disciple of his in the school of ʿĪsā b. al-Haytham al-Ṣūfī. He was very well informed about the history and the doxographical tradition of early Islamic, and especially about Muʿtazilī *kalām*. His authority seems to have been relatively unquestioned (cf. the remarks by Ibn al-Nadīm and by Abū Zayd al-Balkhī in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 8, apu. ff.); only Djubbāʾī, who simultaneously tried in Baṣra to restructure the Muʿtazilī system by going back to the ideas of Abu 'l-Hudhayl, attacked him in a book against his doctrine of the pre-existence of the body (see below; cf. Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, 165, ll. 3 ff. and Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn* [ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar], ii, 190, l. 4). His main disciples were Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Ṣaymarī and especially Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī (d. 317/929 or 319/931), who through their antagonism towards Djubbāʾī's son Abū Hāshim, both stressed their difference from the Baṣrī school.

Works: (a) Eight books against Ibn al-Rāwandī, namely refutations of his *K. al-Tādj*, his *K. al-Dāmigh*, his *K. al-Zumurrudh*, his *K. Naʿt al-ḥikma*, his *K. al-Farīd*, his *K. Ḳaḍīb al-dhahab* and his *K. Imāmat al-mafḍūl*, none of which are preserved (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm in *WZKM*, iv (1890), 223 apu. ff., and *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 302 [without explicit reference to al-Khayyāṭ]; Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ, in al-Maʿarrī, *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, ed. Bint al-Shāṭiʾ 35, ll. 4 ff.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 100 l. 1), and a refutation of his K. *Faḍīḥat al-Muʿtazila*, known under the title of *K. al-Intiṣār* and probably finished shortly after 269/822 (ed. H. S. Nyberg, Cairo 1927; re-edited with a translation by A. N. Nader, Beirut 1957; for the date of composition, cf. Madelung in *Le Shīʿisme imâmite*, 14). (b) Refutation of the *K. al-Djārūf* by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Fück in *Muh. Shafi Pres. Volume*, 71, ll. 10 f.; for the contents, cf. Van Ess, *Erkenntnislehre des Īcī*, 223). (c) *K. al-Radd ʿalā man athbata khabar al-wāḥid* (cf. *Fihrist*, quoted by Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, iv, 9, l. 3), mentioned and corrected by Kaʿbī in his *K. Ḳabūl al-akhbār* (cf. ms. Cairo, Dār al-kutub, *Muṣṭalaḥ* 14 m, p. 2, ll. 5 f.). (d) Refutation of the *K. al-ʿAks* by ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān (cf. *Fihrist*, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 302). (e) Refutation of a *K. al-Burhān* (= Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*?; cf. *Fihrist*, *loc. cit.* [both (d) and (e) only under the assumption that Fück's identification of the passage is valid]). (f) A book on *al-istidlāl bi 'l-shāhid ʿalā 'l-ghāʾib*, mentioned by Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār in his *Muḥīṭ* (167, l. 14 ʿAzmī = 165, l. 4 Houben). Identical with (d) or (e)? (g) A vast amount of doxographical and biographical material taken up by Kaʿbī in his *K. al-Maḳālāt* and in his *Balkhiyyāt*, partly through oral transmission during his courses with Khayyāṭ in Baghdād, partly through a series of *quaestiones* (*masāʾil*) which he sent to his teacher from Balkh and which were further treated by Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār (cf. Ḥākim al-Djushamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. F. Sayyid, 368, ll. 12 f.).

Doctrines: In Khayyāṭ's time, the main accent of theological discussion in the Baghdādī school had shifted from problems like the relation between God's essence and his attributes, the status of the believer and the nature of the Ḳurʾān (taboo since the time of the *miḥna*), to the question of God's relation to the world, of creation and annihilation. Khayyāṭ

tries to preserve a certain self-determinedness of the created world in relation to God's almightyness: God cannot interfere with the laws of nature (cf. As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 314, ll. 3 ff.), perhaps even not by a *k͟harḳ al-ʿāda* as the Baṣrī school believed. The qualifying momentum (*muk͟haṣṣiṣ*) for an action lies in the action itself, not in the agent (cf. Ṣāliḥ al-Maḳbalī, *al-ʿĀlam al-s͟hāmik͟h*, Cairo 1328, 21 ff.). The order of causality is guaranteed through *tawallud* (cf. *Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, 60, ll. 11 ff.). Similarly, God has no power to do injustice (cf. *Intiṣār*, 22, l. 4). For the same reason, K͟hayyāṭ is able to hold an extreme position concerning the much-debated thesis brought up by the Baṣrī Muʿtazilī al-S͟haḥḥām that "the possible in the state of its non-presence in the world, has some reality" (cf. R. M. Frank, in *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici*, Ravello 1966, 324 ff.). The potentially existent (*maʿdūm*) is, insofar it is known by God and comprised by His power, not only "something" (*s͟hayʾ* = ὄν), but also "body" (*d̲j̲ism*), *i.e.* it is *maʿlūm* and *maḳdūr ʿalayh* in its corporeality as composed of substance and accidents. Through its accidents it possesses already in its pre-existence all qualities, with the exception of createdness (*mak͟hlūḳ* or *muḥdat͟h*, which are added through the fact of creation) and movement (because a body is not moving in the moment of its coming-into-existence; cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, v, 42, ll. 12 ff.; Bag͟hdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, 164, ll. 13 f.; Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, 38, ll. 14 f.). Incompatible with the possible as not-yet-existent is also the quality of permanence (*baḳā*). In this case, however, K͟hayyāṭ concluded that *baḳāʾ* is no separate quality or accident at all, but only an expression for the continuance of being. This meant that annihilation, too, does not result from God's withdrawing the quality of *baḳāʾ* and subsequent disintegration of the different parts of the body, as it was frequently believed, but through direct conversion into non-existence (*iʿdām*; cf. Abū Ras͟hīd an-Nīsābūrī, *al-Masāʾil fī 'l-k͟hilāf*, in A. Biram, *Die atomistische Substanzenlehre aus dem Buch der Streitfragen zwischen Basrensern und Bagdadensern*, Berlin 1902, text, 58, apu. ff., and 69, l. 4 f.; also al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiḳ fī uṣūl al-dīn*, fol. 154b. with special reference to the death of human beings).

The theory seems not yet to be fully developed in *Intiṣār*, § 79, and is passed over in silence in *Intiṣār*, 23, ll. 2 ff.; on the other hand, it is not easy to differentiate it from the ideas of S͟haḥḥām (cf. As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 504, ll. 16 ff.). D̲j̲ubbāʾī attacked it on the basis that it implies the eternity of bodies (and matter, because bodies are material, whereas atoms and accidents are not, as long as they are not put together?; cf. Bag͟hdādī, *Farḳ*, 165, ll. 3 ff.). K͟hayyāṭ, however, did not apparently react against D̲j̲ubbāʾī, but against the older Baṣrī Muʿtazilī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ṣāliḥī, an adherent of Ṣāliḥ Ḳubba (from whom he seems to have got his *nisba*). Sāliḥī rejected the *maʿdūm*-theory (cf. As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 501, ll. 8 ff. and Bag͟hdādī, *Farḳ*, 163, apu. ff.) as well as *tawallud* (cf. As͟hʿarī, 233, ll. 3 f.); he stressed God's power to interfere with the laws of nature (cf. As͟hʿarī, 309, ll. 12 ff., and esp. 310, ll. 9 ff.; also 570, ll. 7 ff.).

K͟hayyāṭ differed from Ṣālihī in yet another point about which his discussions with him are expressly attested (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, 72, ll. 16 f.), sc. concerning *ird̲j̲āʾ*, *i.e.*, the definition of belief and the eternity of punishment for the grave sinner. K͟hayyāṭ upheld the intransigent and moralistic outlook of *al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd* which he may have inherited from the ascetics among the Bag͟hdādī Muʿtazilīs (*ṣūfiyyat al-Muʿtazila*), in whose circle he had grown up, and which remained the view of the majority of the school; it is for this reason that he rejects, *e.g.* the intercession of the Prophet (*s͟hafāʿa*; cf. Mufīd, *al-Fuṣūl al-muk͟htāra* [8] i, 47, ll. 7 ff.). The contrary attitude, centering around the idea of final remission for Muslim sinners or at least for some of them, according to God's free decision, was, however, quite frequent at this time. It seems to have had its roots in the theology of the influential "D̲j̲ahmī" theologian Bis͟hr al-Marīsī (d. 218/833), and was taken over also by another Muʿtazilī contemporary of K͟hayyāṭ, al-Nās͟hiʾ al-akbar (d. 293/906; cf. Van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, 144).

K͟hayyāṭ considered the caliphate (*imāma*) as necessary by reason, not only by revelation (cf. Ibn ʿArafa, in *Ḥawliyyāt D̲j̲āmiʿat Tūnis*, ix (1972), 190). The sovereign may act freely according to his *id̲j̲tihād* as long as he thinks to serve the benefit (*ṣalāḥ*) of the community. This is how some irregularities of ʿUt͟hmān may be explained (cf. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *S͟harḥ Nahd̲j̲ al-balāg͟ha*, iii, 34, ll. 6 ff.). ʿAlī had the highest qualities among the *Ṣaḥāba*, but as he did not object to the caliphate of his predecessors, the *Ṣaḥāba* must have been right in not electing him then. The reasons for his and for their behaviour are unknown (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, 86, ll. 12 ff., and *S͟harḥ Nahd̲j̲ al-balāg͟ha*, i, 7, ll. 6 ff.). In the first civil war, ʿAlī acted in legitimate performance of *d̲j̲ihād*, but the *Ṣaḥāba* among his opponents, sc. ʿĀʾis͟ha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, will be exempt from divine punishment because they repented (cf. al-S͟hayk͟h al-Mufīd, *al-D̲j̲amal*, Nad̲j̲af 1382/1963, 28, ll. 3 ff.). There is, however, no excuse for his other enemies, especially Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (cf. *Intiṣār*, 74, ll. 8 ff.). The agreement of the contemporaries (*ahl al-ʿaṣr*) may be considered a convincing argument (*ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a*) even if a few of them dissent (cf. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *al-Muʿtamad*, 486, ll. 14 ff., a reflection of the situation of the Muʿtazila after the *miḥna*). The community is infallible when it transmits *ḥadīt͟h* from the Prophet (cf. *Intiṣār*, 72, ll. 3 f.), but isolated traditions (*āḥād*) have to be rejected (cf. Bag͟hdādī, *Farḳ*, 165, ll. 10 f.). The Prophet is infallible when he speaks as a lawgiver, because God demands obedience towards his commandments; in other cases, he may commit light sins which do not entail eternal punishment and do not cost him the solidarity of his adherents (cf. *Intiṣār*, 71, ll. 16 ff.). In *kalām*, only the Muʿtazilī are competent (cf. *ibid.*, 43, ll. 6 ff.); in spite of numerous disagreements in minor details (cf. *ibid.*, 79, ll. 5 ff., 106, ll. 1 ff. etc.), they are held together through the *uṣūl al-k͟hamsa* (cf. *ibid.*, 93, ll. 2 ff.).

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ledge has no predetermining effect); Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, ii, 121, ll. 12 ff. (definition of man). (J. van Ess)

AL-KHAYZURĀN bint **ʿAṬĀ'** al-**DJURASHIYYA**, a former slave of Yemenī origin (on the Djurash, see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 278), who was freed, and then was married to al-Mahdī, to whom she bore three children, Mūsā (al-Hādī), Hārūn (al-Rashīd) and a daughter called al-Bānūḳa (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 380). According to a tradition given in particular by al-Djahshiyārī (*Wuzarā'*, 136), she suckled al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, whilst al-Faḍl's mother provided milk for Hārūn; this kind of alliance through co-lactation would accordingly explain the devotion shown to her by Yaḥyā b. Khālid, together with whom she ended up doing the work of government during the first three years of al-Rashīd's reign, i.e. until her death in 173/789.

During the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) she played a more obscure part but, even so, the strong influence which she held over him can be seen from his designation of Mūsā as the heir presumptive from 159/775-6 and then of Hārūn in 166/782-3; furthermore he excluded from the succession all other sons, especially those borne by his Hāshimī bride Rayṭa, daughter of al-Saffāḥ (Ibn Kuṭayba, *ibid.*). Although Mūsā seems to have submissive to his mother during his childhood, traditions agree in stressing that Hārūn was the preferred son. Al-Khayzurān accordingly schemed to exclude the older son from the caliphate, and al-Mahdī may even have decided to change the order of succession in favour of Hārūn before he died suddenly in Muḥarram 169/August 785.

Immediately after the caliph's death an army mutiny broke out in Baghdād. Al-Khayzurān is accused of having started this disturbance in order to put Hārūn on the throne, but it does not seem to have had a political nature, for the troops were complaining simply of not having received their salary. It rests on no more than the fact that she, with al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, made the arrangements to appease the mutineers (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 544-7). When Mūsā became caliph under the name of al-Hādī she tried to dominate him, or at least to involve herself in state affairs and to assume a political role, but her older son gave her no scope to work. He told her sharply that she would have to stop receiving the dignitaries who made state visits to her, he threatened to take severe measures against her visitors, and he ordered her to mind her own business. According to one tradition, he even tried to poison her (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 570; Ibn Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhri*, ed. Dérenbourg, 262). The young caliph resorted to extreme measures; he imprisoned Hārūn and Yaḥyā and even gave orders to put them to death but, thanks to the intervention of al-Khayzurān with the appointed executioners, the two condemned men were saved. In such circumstances, the sudden death of al-Hādī in Rabīʿ I 170/September 786 could not have failed to arouse suspicion, and there was no hesitation in accusing the queen-mother of having had him suffocated by her minions (*Fakhrī*, 261; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 68) in order to ensure the success of the faction over which she had become the leader and to rid herself of a son who refused to be manipulated. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 282 = § 2486), al-Hādī called his mother to his bedside and drew his last breath while holding her hand, not without first having declared that Hārūn should rise to the throne immediately. Even this if scene really occurred, there was no witness present and probably the declaration attributed to al-Hādī is a complete fabrication. He had in fact provided enough proof to show that he wanted to remove his brother from the succession and to replace him by his son Djaʿfar for such words to be regarded with suspicion. Djaʿfar, who could have been no more than ten years old, was put in a safe place and forced to recognise his uncle (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 569). Historians naturally see the hand of al-Khayzurān in this event, but she was after all only following the wishes of al-Mahdī.

After the accession of her favourite son to the throne of Baghdād, it is conceivable that she may have envisaged executing the dignitaries who had supported al-Hādī (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 490). However, she did not complete the scheme and was content to exercise effective power with the help of Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, though not without thwarting the wishes of al-Rashīd when the opportunity came.

Chroniclers vie in stressing the enormous fortune amassed by al-Khayzurān, and she engaged in some undertakings of public interest. It is particularly noted that she bought the house in Mecca in which the Prophet was thought to have been born, had it restored and turned it into a mosque. She is frequently cited in *adab* literature and it must also be mentioned that ʿUtba, the beloved of Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, was one of her slaves.

Bibliography: As well as the references cited, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 269; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 45; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 274, 276; Ṭabarī, index; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index; Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, iv, 124; Ibn al-Saʿī, *Nisā' al-khulafā'*; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, index; Suyūṭī, *Mustaṭraf*, Beirut 1963, 24-5; N. Abbot, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, New York 1946; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; Farouk Omar, *The ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Baghdad 1969, 334-43 and index. (Ed.)

KHAZAF (a.), ceramics. The radical transformation of ceramics under the rule of Islam took place chiefly in areas where their production had long been established, such as near the vital river beds of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Transoxiana, as well as on the banks of ancient inland seas, lakes and the shorter rivers of Syria and Iran. Pre-Pharaonic beakers, bowls from Jericho, jugs from Eridu, ewers from Sialk, all point to early skills in shaping and painting. By the 20th century B.C. in Egypt, the glassy potential of certain minerals led to the firing of a ceramic body, often called Egyptian faience, made from a mixture of natron or plant ash and powered quartz from pebbles. A glaze of similar composition, but previously pulverised, and often coloured turquoise, was added to the shaped body and might be painted with a black pigment. In Assyria, glazing started as early as the 12th century B.C., rhytons from Ziwiheh probably go back to the 8th century B.C. and the glazed friezes from Babylon and Susa are well-known examples. Under Parthian and Sasanian rule, the same area and adjacent lands produced a large series of vessels, including coffins, with a coarse sandy body and an alkaline glaze often coloured turquoise with copper oxide. Coloured lead glazing became standard in the Eastern part of the Roman world from the 1st century B.C., probably at about the same time as in China, but with neither influencing the other at that stage. The moulded shape, as well as the dark copper green colour, tended to imitate metalwork. It is difficult, prior to the zenith of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the 3rd/9th century, to distinguish any new ceramic production. At Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*], the Umayyad complex near Jericho, pre-Islamic and lead glazed shapes are found in the undisturbed level

below the rubble caused by the earthquake of 128/746.

Problems of archaeology, classification and technique. Although archaeological missions have long worked in Western Asia, it is only recently that the Islamic levels have been examined scientifically, rather than being discarded before reaching the classical and prehistoric levels. Since the Islamic levels are the most easily accessible, they are often found disturbed either by more recent buildings or by unofficial excavations. Most of the ceramic finds belong to pit and sewer fillings and only rarely to sealed levels. Too few excavations have yet been fully published to permit anyone without an intimate knowledge of the material to gain a clear understanding of the development of Islamic pottery. Thus the crucial publication of the finds from Sāmarrā in 1925 has conditioned most subsequent studies. Although other Islamic towns are as important from the ceramic point of view, they lack proper archaeological records. Apart from the Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād (1913 and 1965), Baalbek (1925), Susa (1928 and 1974), Miletus (1935), al-Minā (1938), Antioch (1948), Ḥamāt (1958), Lashkari Bāzār (1963), Apamea (1972), and Nīshāpūr (1974), the specialist must be content with preliminary reports such as those of Baṣra, Wāsiṭ, Ctesiphon, Kis̲h̲, Iṣṭak̲h̲r, Rayy, Sīrāf, Tak̲h̲t-i Sulaymān, Kangavār, Iznik and Tarsus. In order to reduce considerably the time lag between excavation and publication, the whole study of the ceramics is best done in the field; photographs, profiles, descriptions of bodies with Munsell chart number and basic tests with chemical and microscopical examination should thus be included.

In such a vast area as the Islamic world, there has been a tendency in ceramic studies to rely on historical, and more particularly, dynastic classifications, with names of towns used in a rather arbitrary manner and subdivisions based on colours and decorative motifs. As a result it has been found more convenient to restrict such terminology and to bear in mind the wide spread of a technique at one given time, while concentrating on terminology and technical problems. When seen in the context of world ceramics, the Islamic potter has contributed fundamental glazing techniques in the field which, in turn, have made certain European developments possible. The compulsion to create a white background for decorative motifs led the craftman to evolve various formulae in glazing which would allow for whiteness, firm outline to the colour decoration and substitutes for the precious metalwares forbidden by the Faith. Chronologically, three methods of producing whiteness exist in early Islamic pottery: first, an opaque white glaze on a yellowish body; second, a white slip under a transparent and clear lead glaze, usually on a pink body; and third, a composite white body called soft paste and not unlike the Egyptian Faience, with a transparent clear glaze. Lustre painting, chiefly with copper oxide, can be added in a possible second firing at a lower temperature and in a reducing atmosphere in the first and third cases. The origins of lustre painting on ceramics are still unclear; the earliest glass painted in this manner is datable to 183/779 and was excavated in Fusṭāṭ. It is as well to remember that the glass blower and the potter often work in neighbouring areas of the bazar. Subdued minai colours may also be added using the muffle kiln. Standard variations in the decoration are produced by mechanical devices: moulding, combing, incising of the leather-hard body as well as incising through a white slip before glazing, a technique usually referred to as *sgraffiato*. The colour effects rely on the use of certain metalic oxides which fuse at similar temperatures as those required for the glazes: green and turquoise from copper, purple from manganese, blue from cobalt, all shades of brown from iron, and yellow from antimony or arsenic. Finally, the last technical step in Islamic pottery, is the controlled use of underglaze painting, which came into its own in the 7th/13th century and has been the dominant decorative technique ever since. A large variety of vessels and pottery bodies were made throughout Islam, as well as wall and dome revetments of baked bricks, glazed tile mosaics and tiles.

Early development of Islamic pottery. By the middle of the 3rd/9th century, a striking departure from the pre-Islamic shapes takes place in the creation of a visual reproduction of the plain porcelain from China datable to the 3rd—early 4th/9th—early 10th century. Numerous sherds of original bowls have been found in Mesopotamia with everted, straight or lobed rims and narrow or broad base rings. They are first mentioned in the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Masʿūdī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*] as gifts by the governor of K̲h̲urāsān to the caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd. Most of the Islamic copies are decorated with sparse, often spongy-looking cobalt-blue motifs: they consist of palmettes, loose calligraphy and stylised leaves, sometimes with added copper-green runs on an opaque white glaze. At times, the glaze, which might be an underfired alkaline one, is made grey by the addition of minute specks of manganese oxide. In other cases, dense compositions, not unlike the patterns of Byzantine mosaics, fill the cavetto of the short-lived polychrome lustre painted bowls and dishes; dashes and circles or both and even plain *sang-de-bœuf* lustre, decorate the outside. The 139 square tiles around the *miḥrāb* of the Sidi ʿOḳba mosque in Ḳayrawān, *ca.* 248/862, provide a fascinating pattern book; the tiles with more complex designs in polychrome lustre were imported from Mesopotamia, whereas the simpler ones with bichrome designs could well have been made in the area. Monochrome lustre decoration on bowls, usually with simple compositions of animals, birds and even human beings silhouetted against a stippled background, have been found from one end of the Islamic world to the other throughout the 4th/10th century, including at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. The shape is usually that of the porcelain bowls already mentioned.

A monochrome lustre painted bowl in Cairo with traditional palmette and tree design bears an inscription in the name of G̲h̲aban, the commander-in-chief of al-Ḥākim, who died in 403/1013; it seems to mark the end of a fairly abstract style. After this period, more freely-handled lustre painting, often incised through the lustre on to the tin-opacified white background, points to the traditional realism of the local Egyptian Christians with fish patterns, or representations of a priest, as well as a definite revival of Hellenism in the arts of Eastern Mediterranean with scenes of banquets or dancers, often painted in reserve. Such a new departure coincides with a change of body and shape away from earlier imitations of Chinese porcelain and formal designs of palmettes or animals. The simple flairing walls of bowls with either straight rims or everted, flattened ones have a coarser, gritty body; the glazed base ring remains narrow and occasionally the base bears the signature of a potter or pottery workshops. Earlier signatures are found inside the cavetto, such as that of Ibrāhīm, or inside the base ring in the case of Muslim. In Romanesque churches during the early period of

Italian commercial activities before and during the time of the Crusades in Syria, Fāṭimid lustre bowls had been embedded in the outer fabric of walls to adorn the structure of new churches in Lombardy and in the republic of Pisa. Excavations at the Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād in the Maghrib have brought to light cross-shaped tiles painted in monochrome lustre of the 5th/11th century.

Besides vessels with cobalt or lustre painting, early moulded wares have been found on various Mesopotamian sites, at Fusṭāṭ, and also below the collapsed structures abandoned by the last Zoroastrians in Takht-i Sulaymān, dated 331/943. Details, not unlike those of *terra sigillata*, and beaded geometric band compositions on the larger surfaces, are all covered with lead glaze, often coloured green or yellow; shapes vary from flat dishes, some with small feet, to bowls with vertical walls, and small cups. Other vessels of the same shapes, but not moulded, have a similar fine pinkish body with a vivid yellow and green colour scheme. Contrary to Sarre's theory, life continued in Sāmarrā after the return of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs to Baghdād in 278/892. The mint worked until as late as the middle of the 4th/10th century, while the potters continued even beyond that time. Their production, although less spectacular, emphasises technical research in the use of metal oxides for runs, splashes and spots, with an increasing proportion of lead in the closer fitting glaze; the body colour changes from pale salmon to pink, the potting becomes thicker and the profiles less graceful. Such production is also common to Susa, Iṣṭakhr, Rayy and Nīshāpūr amongst other places. In Egypt, wares of the Fayyūm indicate a better control of the runs; excavations of Aghlabid and Zīrid towns of the Maghrib have brought to light deep bowls with straight vertical rims and simple animal decoration inside in yellow, green and manganese; the latter two colours are found in Umayyad Spain on an opaque background starting in the 4th/10th century.

The uses of slip. By the 5th/11th century, true Islamic shapes had evolved on the Iranian plateau and in Transoxiana: large dishes with flattened rims, and at the earlier stage, bowls with a wide inside across the bottom and flaring walls. At this point, the second method of producing whiteness appears in the use of a white clay slip which hides the pink body. According to the visual impact required, the potter would paint the slip with plain metallic oxides in order to obtain variegated runs of colour, or else he would thicken the oxides with slip in order to prevent running under the transparent lead glaze. The first group has often been equated with T'ang three-colour funerary ceramics. It has now been proved that such a luxurious production in China virtually ceased after the An Lu-shan rebellion in 756 A.D., and in any case, could not have been the object of international trade. A more likely parallel could be found in the production of Northern kilns under the Liao dynasty in Southern Manchuria (907-1124 A.D.).

A second group, making full use of the slip technique, has been in turn labelled Nīshāpūr or Samarḳand wares according to the quality of design and execution. Recent publications have made it difficult to be so definite, since similar wares appear in Khurāsān, Transoxiana as far as Frunze and Sīstān throughout the Sāmānid, Ghaznawid and Ghūrid periods, by which latter time the production had become rather simplified and mechanical. It in fact exists to this day in the Uzbekistan SSR. Early on, superb examples of calligraphy, such as blessings and prove.bs, elaborate palmettes and textile designs, stand out against a white or colour slip background. A particular instance is the use of human representations on simpler bowl shapes from the area of Nīshāpūr. The Zoroastrian survival with the *Gabri* or fire worshippers, has long been overstressed at the expense of the thriving Nestorian and Syrian Christian communities of the region. This could partly explain the appearance of concrete scenes, the falconer on horseback and the more prosaic birds and horned quadruped compositions. Later, abstract and heraldic slip painting of a rather coarse kind also decorated bowls and cups under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans before the fall of Constantinople. A more refined type of slip decoration was occasionally used on Ṣafawid and Ottoman ceramic shapes in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries.

A third group, that of *sgrafiatto* wares, technically runs parallel in time with the two previous ones. The incised pattern through the slip into the pink body is designed either visually to counterbalance a splashed decoration, or later, it seems, to stand out as the sole ornament under a clear lead glaze, with the occasional green run, or with the glaze sometimes coloured green with copper oxide. In the latter case, the incision can be narrow as in metalware, or broader not unlike *champlevé*, in which case large areas of slip are lifted out; the contrasting shade of the naked body is often made even darker by painting in black or brown. The potters of Ādharbāydjān seem to have produced the best specimens of *sgraffiato*, as emphasised by the excavations of Takht-i Sulaymān, and finds from the area of Garrūs, Aghkand, Riḍāʾiyya and Āmul in Māzandarān. Less inspired animal designs with narrow incisions, have come from Rayy, Nīshāpūr, Iṣṭakhr, Sīrāf and western Afghanistan. There has been a tendency to date *sgraffiato* wares rather early, whereas it seems now more likely that if one is to relate the best of slip painted wares to the latter part of the Sāmānid rule, then *sgraffiato*, technically speaking, has to be placed later during the rule and more specifically the decline of the Great Saldjūḳs (429-590/1038-1194), in particular under Toghrīl III in Hamadān and the thriving regencies of Atabegs such as the Ildegizids (531-622/1147-1225) [*q.v.*], both courts providing suitable conditions for a renewal of original ceramic production under their realm.

Although it was at its best in north-west Persia and was only used for a relatively short period, *sgraffiato* technique was subsequently produced throughout the Caucasus and Eastern Turkey as shown in the excavations of Ānī and Dvin. On the whole, the incised designs of diaper patterns or fanciful birds and animals, and also of figures, convey an impression of haste rather than of skill, although the latter do not lack humour. Either the lead glaze is colourless or made green with copper, or else the typical scheme of purple, yellow and green is used in an uncontrolled way. The technique seems to have spread to Cilicia, known at the time as Lesser Armenia, and to areas ruled over, if intermittently, by the Crusaders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. The better-known production is that of Cyprus, with high-footed deep bowls or drinking cups; human décor, usually incised through the white slip under a colourless lead glaze, is unlike the heraldic Mamlūk cups of the 7th/13th century and onwards, although the shapes belong to the same répertoire. It is not yet clear when and where *sgraffiato* started in Byzantium, but it certainly reached Europe in the late Middle Ages and flourished in Renaissance Italy.

Soft paste. It could be suggested that the second

half of the 6th/12th century was the very period which must also have witnessed the last of the three methods of producing whiteness. It is described by Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim in his by now famous treatise of 700/1301, and consists of a man-made body; the ratio of ingredients between body and glaze is such that they adhere closely together. This fine white soft paste (also called frit) proved to be the ideal material to reproduce local metal and glass shapes, as well as the delicate Chinese northern white wares and the Ch'ing-pai (Ying Ching) porcelain of the south in the 6th/12th century. Never again were beakers and bowls to be so light and elegant; the shapes, when moulded or carved, remain pure white or might have a coloured glaze. A short-lived group of pitchers and bowls, called silhouette wares, is sparsely decorated with single animal or human figure at the centre; the thick design in black sharply contrasts with the white background; occasionally the transparent glaze is coloured turquoise. *Lakabi* (painted) wares are also shaped out of the same hard composite body with raised outlines for the broad designs of animals, so as to prevent the colour from running. On vertical shapes the result is less satisfactory. It is likely that these latter wares were produced in northern Mesopotamia as well as in north-west Iran.

On-glaze painting: *Mīnāʾī*. In the last resort, it is the paint brush which lends itself to the most fluent and versatile decoration; on the new white body of various shapes, from low stands to moulded vessels, the potter paints either in lustre or *mīnāʾī* (enamel) on the glaze, or in black and blue under a transparent glaze. Both *mīnāʾī* and lustre techniques require a second firing in a muffle kiln at a lower temperature. The more intricate manner of *mīnāʾī* painting, although varied and subtle in colour, failed to survive beyond the 7th/13th century. The best two examples are an undated slender beaker with scenes from the story of Bīdjen and Manīdja in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī, and a large dish with a vivid battle scene datable to the early 1230s A.D. on the basis of the names written alongside the main figures. A simpler bowl, with a seated figure and two attendants on a turquoise background, is dated 640/1242. Soon after this, the colour scheme deteriorates and the body, at times, reverts to earthenware. Only echoes of the best *mīnāʾī* survive in the 8th/14th century.

Lustre painting. A fragment of a lustre painted ewer in the British Museum, the earliest dated Persian piece so far known (575/1179), has a large band of seated figures, separated from a lower arabesque by a frieze of racing quadrupeds. Although Persian lustre painting has been traditionally divided into two main schools, Rayy and Kāshān, it might be that after the great feud in Rayy between Sunnī and Shīʿī communities in 582/1186-7, the latter group fled to the more congenial atmosphere of Kāshān. All other dated lustre pieces so far known are subsequent to that event, and a number of them, whether vessels or tiles, emphasise with relevant calligraphy and Kāshānī signatures of whole dynasties of potters, the significant Shīʿī trend of the town, whence the name of Kāshī [*q.v.*] for tiles. The Kāshān style evolves from large figures and single fantastic animals to more crowded garden scenes and to dishes with radiating panels, often with cobalt outside and the odd spot inside, no more than a kiln mishap. The most controlled composition in lustre painting occurs on a *miḥrāb* dated 623/1226, once in Kāshān and now in the Staatliche Museen of Berlin; it is made up of large moulded tiles.

Not too great importance should be attached to the Mongol invasions with regard to a possible interruption of ceramic production. That there was a slowing down, as may be noticed from less frequent dating on lustre star tiles, is undeniable, but production of such a basic item, as well as luxury wares, soon picked up, in particular under the firm rule of the Il-khānid Abaḳa (663-80/1265-82). The star and cross tile decoration and moulded frieze of his palace in Takht-i Sulaymān and similar wall coverings in holy places, often within easy reach of Kāshān, point to a slow transformation, if not degradation, in the brushwork and colour scheme through the 8th/14th century. Moreover, lustre painting still enhanced vessels with a new type of décor shared with the tiles: fabulous birds, dragons and gazelles, as in the bowl dated 668/1269, or stylised blossoms in the cavetto of a dish dated 676/1277. Quotations from the Ḳurʾān or the *Shāhnamā* often frame the central theme, regardless of the function; cobalt lines may be used for emphasis of geometric compositions, so are gold leaf and red and white outlines on a turquoise or dark blue (*lādjvard*) glazed background.

Although the more versatile production of lustre undoubtedly comes from Kāshān, including the group of vessels found buried in large jars in Gurgān, the so-called Raḳḳa wares extending up to 656/1258 make up a typical group of Syrian ceramics; blue and lustre combine in décors of calligraphy, stylised leaves, arabesques and the occasional figure or animal on basins, shallow dishes with everted flattened rims, globular jars and small hollow rectangular stands. Lustre was still occasionally used under the Mamlūks, especially on handsome drug jars from which sprang the Italian albarello. A late specimen of a lustre tile from Persia bears the date of 891/1486. From the mid-12th century A.D. onwards, the Spanish potter developed an original lustre production which culminated in the 15th century in large dishes and grand ewers with intense patterning; it was exported all round the Mediterranean. Fragments from Malaga and Manises workshops have been found in Fusṭāṭ. Technically, some of the best lustre pieces were to be found in 16th century A.D. Gubbio, the work of Maestro Giorgio. A short revival of lustre painting on ceramics in Persia under the Ṣafawids is known from a series of bowls and bottles of soft paste with bold branch and flower decoration in a reddish tint of lustre.

Tile mosaics and cuerda seca. At first, turquoise glazed bricks often made up inscriptions in the 6th/12th century through Khurāsān and Ādharbāydjān; tile mosaics (faience mosaic) came into their own in 7th/13th century Anatolia. One of the earliest uses of more than one colour appears on the entrance to Kay-Kāʾūs I's tomb in his hospital of Sīvas (614/1217-18). The inner dome of the Karatay *madrasa* in Konya (650/1251-2) illustrates the technique at its best, with a colour scheme of blue, turquoise and dark purple-black. In the Sirçali *madrasa* (640/1242) the glazed work is signed by a craftsman with a *nisba* from Ṭūs. Although Tabrīz buildings of the Mongol period no longer exist, tile mosaics do cover part of Öldjeytü's mausoleum in Sulṭāniyya. The final phase starts with the Muẓaffarids, especially in Yazd and Iṣfahān, with the introduction of green and brown colours with the addition of white. The patterning of unglazed bricks with glazed ones to simulate courses of bricks (*bināʾī* technique) also increases the visual effects as well as the use of various insets of mosaics or *terra cotta* in panel compositions. The bulk of the production was sponsored by the Tīmūrids, seen at its best in Harāt and Samarḳand. Later examples

are those of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in the so-called blue mosque in Tabrīz (870/1465) and at Iṣfahān, followed by the early buildings of the Ṣafawid era in Ardabīl, Iṣfahān and Kirmān. The Çinili Kösk in Istanbul (877/1472-3) relates to the *bināʾī* revetments in Harāt. Some of the best tile mosaic works of North Africa and Spain are datable to the late 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries A.D. Spasmodic attempts at glaze tiling and tile mosaics were made in the first half of the 9th/15th century in Cairo. In the Indian subcontinent also, five colourful tombs in Multān bear dates from 547/1152 to 724/1324, and glazed bricks were used in the Bahmanī complex of buildings at Bīdar; tile panellings were included in Rajput buildings of the 18th century A.D.

A Sevillian document of 1558 A.D. mentions *cuerda seca* for the first time; however, it is now used to describe a technique which prevents the glaze colours flooding into each other during the firing; the barrier consists of a purple line of paint with an added greasy substance which vanishes in the firing. The technique was already used in Achaemenian Susa; there are some examples at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ; it came into full use in 8th/14th century Persia in order to imitate tile mosaics at a smaller cost. Examples are known from Tīmurīd Samarḳand, the Yeşil mosque and tomb in Bursa, the Selimiye (928/1521) and the Ahmet Paşa mosque (*ca.* 961/1554) in Istanbul. Ṣafawid buildings from the 11th/17th century onwards used the technique extensively, as did those of the Ḳādjārs. There are a few examples in Lahore in conjunction with tile mosaics. The best-known remain those of Spain.

Underglaze painting. When the mediaeval potter discovers, often by accident, a new technique, it spreads rapidly in an already mature form. It is difficult to determine where underglaze painting came into being either on earthenware or soft paste, but by the first half of the 7th/13th century this last and major break-through was well-mastered; it gradually superseded earlier methods of decoration and became established over the centuries through a series of changing styles. Prior to the *Pax mongolica*, Persian underglaze painting in black or blue or in both under a transparent glaze, often coloured turquoise, either recalls the arabesques and figures scene from the lustre répertoire or reveals new motifs of flowing water weeds, fish or sharply contrasted striations. Both genres are well illustrated in the so-called Gurgān material. Some soft paste bowls recall similar shapes in glass with the same slender splayed foot, although the T-shaped rim only occurs in ceramics. Other shapes include double-shell pitchers, one dated 612/1215, the ewers with phoenix heads, sweet-meat dishes, globular jars and a series of small figurines, including birds, animals, musicians, riders and mothers suckling their babies. In the so-called Raḳḳa wares, the Syrian potter developed during the same period a less contrived style of painting on dishes with flattened everted rims: typical court figures, riders, aquatic birds, compositions of arabesques, dragons' heads and palm tree leaves. Similar treatment of motifs exists on the eight-pointed star tiles in the palace of Ḳubādābād in Anatolia *ca.* 633/1236, as well as on simpler cross and star tiling under a turquoise glaze in other official buildings of the sulṭāns of Rūm in Kayseri, Aspendos, Alarā and Alanya.

The Pax mongolica. In the same way as the final extension of ʿAbbāsid rule filled a political vacuum early in the 3rd/9th century and thus made possible the creation of one area of influence, so, after a period of strife and weakening foreign influences in cosmopolitan Syria, the Mongol era was one of stability and brought about decided contacts with China along both sea and land routes, even as far west as Europe, as is proved by the Chinese silk dalmatic of Pope Benedict XI dated before 1304 A.D. Through the rich Kārimī and other seagoing merchants, and many of the sinicised retinue of the Ilkhānid court of Tabrīz, alien decorative themes, drawn at first from large quantities of celadons, textiles and no doubt commercial paintings and block prints, triggered off the new Islamic style in the most recent technique of underglaze painting from Cairo to Sarāy Berke. The transition from two-dimensional textiles to three-dimensional vessels implied skilful adaptation of the foreign motifs to a totally Islamic system of distribution. Two motifs new to ceramics stand out: the spiky lotus and leaf already picked up in miniature painting and enamelled glass, and the ogee panels, well-known from Islamic carved stone, stucco and metalwares. An intense leafy background, a general impression of grey, and the stylised imitation of the petal design on the outside of celadons, characterise the so-called Sulṭānābād types. At their best, the main themes under a clear glaze are set in relief by a thickness of white clay also outlined in a greenish brushstroke on a pale manganese slip. Fillings of pale cobalt may warm the compositions of phoenixes or cranes in flight, cantering gazelles and sedate geese or Mongol courtiers. The earlier and later wares rely more on a white background, with greater emphasis on traditional geometric divisions, radiating panels filled with crosshatching, groups of four dots, dotted circles, zigzag patterns or calligraphy.

Transition. By the middle of the 8th/14th century, the new blue and white Chinese porcelain of the Yüan period had started to reach the Islamic world in as great a quantity as the long-favoured Lung-ch'üan celadons (also called Ghūrī or Martabani). In the same way as the latter was faithfully imitated, including the saucer base, so the potter took over the new bi-chrome treatment, without appreciating, it seems, that it was in fact the product of imported cobalt from Persia as well as a new experiment in export wares especially designed for the Islamic market by the Chinese potters, in shapes and in a style totally alien to their own taste. Traditional motifs were reorganised on the larger surfaces of dishes in concentric circles and lobed panels possibly akin to early so-called Sulṭānābād panelled bowls and certainly to metalwares easily available in the large colonies of Muslim merchants established from the 3rd/9th century onwards in South China ports. Not only in Persia, but also—and perhaps even more—in the Mamlūk territories, variations on the Chinese lotus pond were produced in quantity, as gradually the running of the cobalt was controlled by the introduction of an added layer of frit over the soft paste body.

In the first half of the 9th/15th century, Chinese export blue and white compositions, although still preserving a certain geometric quality, gradually reverted to a more delicate and restrained treatment of the surface. The Islamic potter, prior to his Iznik follower in the 10th/16th century, picked up the trend and adapted the arabesque of flowers and the peony blossoms, dragons and waves to his own taste, using in turn, classic scroll, meander band or diaper pattern, with petal panels on the outside of bowls and dishes. He seems to have been undaunted by the raids of Tīmūr and the internal strife in both Mamlūk and Ottoman lands at the turn of the century. It

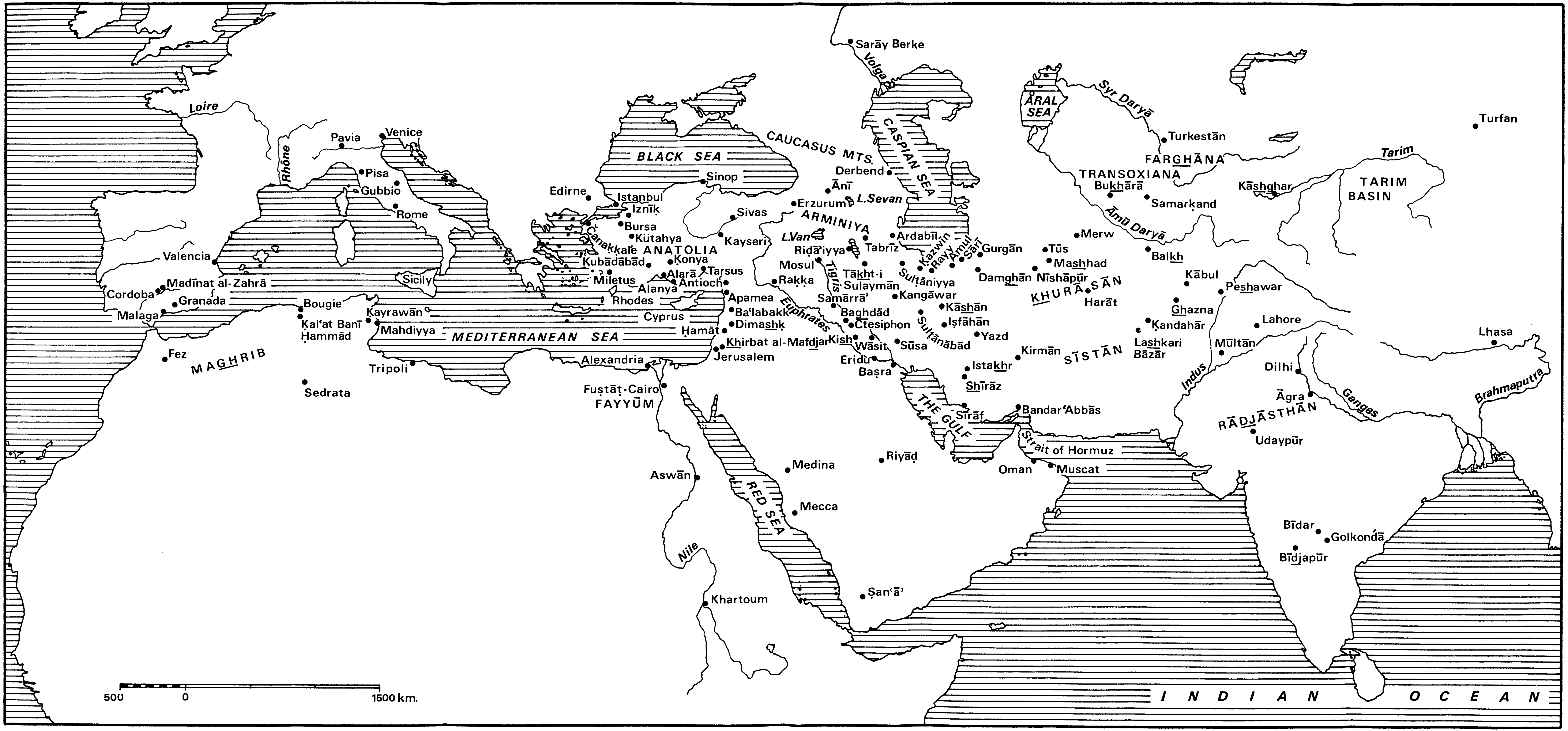
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CASPIAN SEA
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Sinop
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Erzurum
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ARMINIYA
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Tabrīz
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Rayy
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Tūs
Mashhad
Merw
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FARGHĀNA
TRANSOXIANA
Bukhārā
Samarkand
Kāshghar
Tarim
TARIM BASIN
Āmū Daryā
Balkh
Valencia
Çanakkale
ANATOLIA
Kubādābād
Konya
Alarā
Tarsus
Miletus
Alanya
Antioch
Mosul
Tigris
Takht-i Sulaymān
Sulṭāniyya
Damghān
Nīshāpūr
KHURĀSĀN
Harāt
Kābul
Peshawar
Cordoba
Madīnat al-Zahrā
Granada
Malaga
Bougie
Kal'at Banī Hammād
Sicily
Rhodes
Rakka
Apamea
Ba'labakk
Dimashk
Euphrates
Samārrā'
Kangāwar
Kāshān
Ghazna
Kandahār
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Kayrawān
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Cyprus
Hamāt
Baghdād
Ctesiphon
Sulṭānābād
Iṣfahān
Yazd
Lashkari Bāzār
Mūltān
Lhasa
Fez
MAGHRIB
Tripoli
Khirbat al-Mafdjar
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Kish
Wāsit
Sūsa
Eridu
Baṣra
Kirmān
SĪSTĀN
Istakhr
Shīrāz
Indus
Dilhi
Āgra
Ganges
Brahmaputra
Sedrata
Fuṣṭāṭ-Cairo
FAYYŪM
THE GULF
Sīrāf
Bandar'Abbās
RĀDJĀSTHĀN
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Strait of Hormuz
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INDIAN OCEAN

should be emphasised that throughout the 9th/15th century, from Sīstān and Farghāna to the Mediterranean, this imitative production never overtook the more traditional decorative approach of radiating motifs and panels, either in blue and white or when black was added on the mediocre soft paste body. Such an approach is apparent on early so-called Kubači wares, dated to the second half of the century: the well-controlled panels or circular compositions are painted in black under a turquoise coloured glaze. So-called Miletus wares are now known to have prevailed in the early stages of the Ottoman rule in Iznik, among other sites, as well as at Miletus. They differ in that the body is red earthenware, but the visual impact often remains geometric with little of the white slip left undecorated. More background is visible when debased Chinese motifs of flowers or birds appear on a field of scattered shapeless leaves. Only the more elaborate Mamlūk wares carry a signature such as that of Ghā'ibī or his atelier.

To this period also belong several series of tiles, also under-glaze painted and hexagonal in shape. The decoration recalls either elements of the early 9th/15th century A.D. Chinese blue and white dishes which display geometric blossom compositions or a bunch of flowers, or else the geometric of the transition period. The tiles in Murād II's mosque in Edirne (*ca.* 843/1440) could have been made in Iznik like related ones a century later; they are neatly finished and the largest in dimension of the series. The Damascus group, including the tiles of the mausoleum of Tawrīzī (*ca.* 833/1430), is more freely painted with occasional purple and a turquoise border. Egyptian examples, hardly recalling Chinese themes, draw on architecture and bold vegetal motifs.

Ottoman rule. On the whole, the Ottoman potters of Asia Minor produced soft paste vessels with a fine white slip under a transparent lead glaze for the metropolis; and to a lesser extent, those of Syria, Egypt and North Africa also drew on the same technique and on a fund of designs from the *nakkāsh khāne*, the special studio of court designers. Around the turn of the 9th/15th century, they borrowed from book-bindings and illuminations for the controlled, if austere, dark blue and white arabesque variations of stylised flowers and palmettes on dishes and deep bowls with a splayed foot. The lay-out of the ewer signed by Ibrāhīm of Kütahya (916/1510) is already less dense in design. By 923/1517, the final conquests of Selīm I had made available a large booty of Chinese stonewares and blue and white procelains. The last crucial impact of Chinese (*Khatāyī*) wares in the area, resulted in the close imitations of early 15th century A.D. Ming dishes, such as blossom and vine compositions. Strictly speaking, the word *chinoiserie* applies only to the 18th century A.D. European stylistic interpretation of Chinese motifs. For the Ottoman potter, rim borders could be either 8th/14th or 9th/15th century wave pattern. The so-called Golden Horn group also belongs to this first period and was presumably inspired by the flimsy spirals of official *tughrās*; sherds first found in Istanbul gave it the label; more have now been excavated in Iznik. A broken bottle in this style bears an Armenian dating which corresponds to 1529 A.D. The long-vexed problem of Armenian craftsmanship has now been resolved by the study of archives which indicate participation and production of the non-Muslim minorities at most stages of Ottoman history. The mosque lamp from the Dome of the Rock (956/1549) is the only dated piece of Iznik; it could well be one of the last examples of the first group, also known as the Ibrāhīm of Kütahya group; pale turquoise and black relieve the blue shades.

The tile restoration on the Dome of the Rock ordered by Sulaymān I in 952/1545 constituted a new point of departure for Ottoman ceramics as well as for the building programme pursued by the Sultan, his entourage and his successors. *Cuerda seca* was totally replaced by underglaze painted tiles, approximately 24 cm. square. The colour palette, also applied to dishes and jugs, reached daring tones of blue, green and occasionally purple, with at its best, contrasting pure white and luscious red in relief made of Armenian bole (a red local clay) well-mastered under the transparent lead glaze of unfailing quality. Such technical development was combined with a renewed répertoire of available blossoms from the Anatolian plateau, and thus forms a completely new second group. At first pale green was used as well as the blue, and the compositions on the dishes were still enclosed in panels and roundels; however, the plants soon burst out of their frames into the cavetto, often to the exclusion of borders of debased waves (often called ammonites) or earlier clusters of small tulips on the rim. A considerable number of large tile panels are dated by the new mosque into which they were built: the Sulaymāniyya (965/1557), the Rustam Pasha mosque (968/1561), the Sokollu mosque (979/1571), the Piyāle mosque (981/1574) and various parts of the Saray. In a short-lived group of dishes and pots, the potter experimented also with dark slip background and sparse light-coloured decoration. In Syria and Egypt, a number of monuments bear witness to the active part played by the local potteries, although the colour scheme of both vessels and tiles did not include the famous sealing-wax red.

International trading with Italy, in particular, allowed for exchanges in shapes and patterns: *tondini* with large rims and tankards. By the 18th century A.D., figures, and buildings with dates and boats, increased the vocabulary of a less elegant production, and these make up the third group of Ottoman ceramics, also known as Rhodes pottery. These dishes and jugs were intended to be traded in public places such as the international silk market of Bursa, rather than to meet the special orders of high-ranking officials or foreign ambassadors except in the case of a few examples of dated pieces. The decline in prosperity, and therefore that of orders, affected the production of Iznik. A new factory was started in the Tekfur Saray of Istanbul in 1136/1724 and this resurrected, for a while, some of the past achievements of Iznik, including the famous red. Kütahya survived better and its 18th century A.D. production is well known by a series of dated pieces ranging in fact from 1716 to 1843. A most important group of tiles dated 1718-19, intended for restoration work in the Holy Sepulchre, are now in the Convent of Saint James in Jerusalem. The vivacity of the colour treatment on cups and saucers, bowls and incense burners, bottles and eggs, contrast with the remarkably simplified brush work of the potters from Çanakkale in the middle of the 18th century A.D. Sailing boats and buildings, giraffes, fish and fowl, briskly fill the shallow dishes and bowls (*čanaks*); later, complicated shapes restricted the painting. From 1893 to 1920, a porcelain factory was sponsored by the Porte, but could not compete with European china. Iznik production has now become fully industrialised.

Later Persian treatment. After the collapse of the Ak Koyunlus, it took some time for the Ṣafawid rule to become established, since it had to resist pressures from both the east and the west. In the 10th/

16th century, the capital was moved first to Tabrīz, then to Ḳazwīn and finally to Iṣfahān in 1006/1597-8, by which time the frontiers were more secure, the new sea route by the Cape had proved itself and the European East India companies felt strong enough to open new markets. It is difficult to locate precisely the ceramic production of the time, despite some indications given by foreign embassies, travellers and merchants; Mas̲h̲had, Kirmān, S̲h̲īrāz and Yazd are mentioned. Iṣfahān must have been a great centre, too, although there is no reference other than to the tiled monuments. Be this what it may, the Persian potter of the 10th/16th century A.D. reacted to the impact of Chinese celadon and blue and white porcelain much the same way as his Ottoman counterpart; a substantial amount must have been available to provide inspiration, besides the specimens looted by the Ottomans and those in the collection of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I which he donated to the shrine of Ardabīl in 1015-16/1607-8. The blue and white blossom compositions and the wave border were re-interpreted on a soft paste body, as well as the polychrome Anatolian flower compositions down to the bent branches and the *saz*. Yet the zodiac dish of 971/1563 illustrates the regular recurrence of the geometric division of surface. Eventually a stylised répertoire of impressionistic vegetal and animal designs was developed on jars, bowls and dishes, the shape of which owed little to the outside world. The less dramatic visual impact was probably due to a reduced contrast in the colours and relative control of the firing and the irregular quality of the glaze.

Although a few examples of so-called Kubači wares were found in that remote town of the Caucasus, it is not clear where in fact they were made; the early fortunes of the Ṣafawī capitals eventually led them to Iṣfahān. The unusual compositions break away from controlled geometric; sketches of human busts verging on caricature, are more usual than animals or unidentifiable plants. Turbaned youths, foreign merchants and sailors, suitable females, enliven the répertoire. Large tiles show more delicate brush work on a white or beige background not unlike that of the mosque of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Luṭf Allāh in Iṣfahān (1028/1618); on the smaller tiles and dishes, the yellowish transparent lead glaze tends to crackle and the clay used for red colouring is never as effective as the Armenian bole. The same red is also found in patterns and outlining devices on vessels attributed to Kirmān in the 11th/17th century.

Besides emulating large export celadons and Chinese monochrome bowls and ewers, with moulded or carved designs, the Persian potter remained, in essence, faithful to his predilection for blue and white, contrary to his Ottoman counterpart who abandoned it fairly soon. Patterns of the Chia-ching (1522-66) and Wan-li (1573-1619) reigns were swiftly adapted, with a partiality for wild birds and animals, ludicrous landscapes and garden genre scenes, totally misunderstood. A few dates and potter's marks have been recorded such as the tassel mark. In most of the painting a black outline holds in the various shades of cobalt wash. At its best and most original, the production takes the shape of a large dish with a very white soft paste body; a carved arabesque in the cavetto surrounds a medallion densely filled with wild beasts or birds and foliage. A possible added reason for the continued production of Persian blue and white was the greed of the European market for the export porcelain, all the more so when the Chinese ports closed from 1659 to 1682 and replacements had to be found. Kirmān within reasonable distance of Bandar ʿAbbās (Gombrun) on the Gulf certainly rose to the occasion and imitated *Kraak porselein* with its panelling in the cavetto and central themes of flowers or bird on a rock. A number of 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries dated pieces show the gradual deterioration in the decorative treatment with a few exceptional pierced wares, imitation of celadons, humouristic *kalyāns* and slip-painted wares on a dark background, often called Gombrun wares, the Persian version of similar Ottoman specimens, in both cases, copies of Chinese originals.

Some of the best underglaze painting remains that of the continuous tile programme undertaken in Iṣfahān, and later under the Zands and the Ḳād̲j̲ārs in S̲h̲īrāz, Kirmān, Tehran and Simnān. The introduction of *famille rose* colours brought a new flavour to flower compositions in mosque and *madrasa* tile panels from the end of the 18th century. It is also reflected in bowls of the 19th century, in which attempts to imitate European porcelain only preserve a certain Persian flavour. To this day, ceramics are a living tradition in Iran and all Islamic lands, more for practical purposes than as a distinctive part of the artistic production of the period.

Unglazed wares. Undaunted by the passage of time, the large storage jar with lid, and the jug which allows its water content to keep cool through slow evaporation, are a permanent product of the potter's workshop. It would require more systematic studies to appreciate their various shapes, volumes of content and ornament. Although decoration can be produced by incising or by painting on the leatherhard body, the best visual effects come from the use of dies and moulds, either as a complete half of a flask, two identical halves being luted together by a central band with the addition of handles and neck device, or in the shape of stamps. The best examples seem to have been produced from the 4th/10th to the 8th/14th century from the Mediterranean to Afg̲h̲ānistān and Transoxiana. Specifically Egyptian is a large series of surviving filters where the pierced area is made to represent calligraphy, animals or geometric patterns. From northern Mesopotamia come some of the best applied, incisal and stamped large jars for storage. Aeolipiles, spheroconical shapes, still remain a puzzle; about 10 cm. long, they are heavy for their size, not very porous and with a small opening; their shape prevents them from spilling over; some have incised patterns, calligraphy or even turquoise glaze inlays. Earthenware stands were early made in the shape of an hourglass or of a square with a circular recess in the centre for holding a large tray; later, these were made of metal, but were never higher than 20 to 30 cm. Various shapes of lamps, lampstands and candle sticks would complete the household requirements.

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KHAZʿAL KHĀN, IBN ḤĀDJDJĪ DJĀBIR KHĀN, Shaykh of Muḥammara, born *ca.* 1860, died 27 May 1936. On the death of Shaykh Ḥādjdjī Djābir Khān in 1881, leadership of the Muḥasayn tribe, the great bulk of which resided in Persian territory, passed to Mizʿal Khān, Shaykh Djābir's fifth son. His rule became unpopular on account of his meanness and avarice and on June 2 1897 Mizʿal and his nephew ʿAbd al-Djalīl were shot dead, as they were disembarking from a boat at Fallāḥiyya, by three negro slaves. A large number of Arabs under Salmān b. Manṣūr, a cousin of Khazʿal, were, however, on hand to give further support if necessary in the assassination attempt. It seems that Khazʿal approved the murder, even if he did not actually instigate it. (A. T. Wilson: *A précis of the relations of the British Government with the tribes and sheiks of Arabistan*, Calcutta 1912, ch. iv). Mizʿal left no sons. Khazʿal quickly took charge of affairs and was later confirmed as Shaykh by tribal election. The Persian Governor General of ʿArabistān, Sardār Akram, opposed Khazʿal's candidacy and endeavoured to have a cousin of Khazʿal's called ʿAbūd appointed as Shaykh. He failed in this attempt and Khazʿal's position was confirmed by the Shāh in April 1898 when the *laḳab* of Muʿizz al-Salṭana, which had also been held by his predecessor, was conferred upon him (J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1915, i/2, 1744-1754).

Khazʿal followed with great success his brother's policy of endeavouring to extend the area over which the Muḥasayn held sway. The subjugation of the Kaʿb (Čaʿb) tribe was completed during 1897 and in the autumn of 1898 Khazʿal mounted a successful expedition against the Bāwiyya tribe in the area between the Kārūn and Djarrāḥī rivers. By 1904 the Shaykh had the *de facto* power to nominate the governors of Ahwāz and Mʿashūr and the central government was reported to exercise little authority south of Band-i Ḳīr (Major E. B. Burton to Government of India, Rawalpindi Feb. 28 1904, in F.O. 416/17). The weakness of the central government was also revealed by the fact that the collection of arrears of taxation from the Banī Ṭuruf could be undertaken in 1903, and again in 1905, only with the support of Khazʿal and his armed followers.

When the Persian government proposed to introduce Belgian customs officials into ʿArabistān in 1902, Khazʿal objected strongly, fearing that his power over his followers would be weakened as the degree of central government control increased. Wilson agreed that any attempt to impose new taxes on the Arab tribes of the area would have caused serious unrest and could have resulted in the deposition of Khazʿal unless he was successful in defending the tribes' traditional rights. (Wilson, *op. cit.*, ch. v). One of Khazʿal's advantages in the subsequent negotiations was the fact that he owned a large area of land in Turkish ʿIrāḳ, and could realistically threaten to leave Persian territory together with his followers. More important reasons for Khazʿal's success in the negotiations over the introduction of the Belgians were, however, the degree of support which he received from the British diplomatic mission in Tehran and the number of armed followers which he could call upon. A. H. Hardinge, the British Minister in Tehran, estimated that he could put 20,000 armed men into action against the central government if he so wished. (Hardinge to Lansdowne No. 57, 12 April 1901, marked confidential, in F.O. 60/636). In May 1902 the authorities in Tehran agreed that the Shaykh should receive a salary as the Director-General of Customs in ʿArabistān and that the Belgian official who was to be appointed should accept the Shaykh's orders with regard to the dues to be paid by the local Arab inhabitants (see H. J. Whigham, *The Persian problem*, London 1903). In 1903 the Shaykh received three important *farmān*s confirming his land holdings and proprietary rights in ʿArabistān from Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh.

It was because Khazʿal possessed such local power, because he was suspicious of Russian designs in the Persian Gulf, and because he made serious endeavours to reduce the level of piracy in the waters under his control, that his friendship was regarded highly by local British officials (see the despatch by Major E. B. Burton cited above). After the discovery of oil at Masdjid-i Sulaymān in 1908, Khazʿal's friendship became even more important, for the pipeline that was necessary to carry the oil to a deep water port had to cross his territory as well as that of the Bakhtiyārī. Khazʿal granted the necessary wayleaves in 1909 and also leased land for the building of a refinery and loading jetties at Ābādān (see S. H.

1. Bowl, W: 13.8 cms, H: 6.5 cms, cobalt blue on opaque white glaze. Susa, 3rd/4th/late 9th/10th c. *Iran Bastan Museum Tehran*, No. 3077. *Service photographique du musée Iran Bastan.*

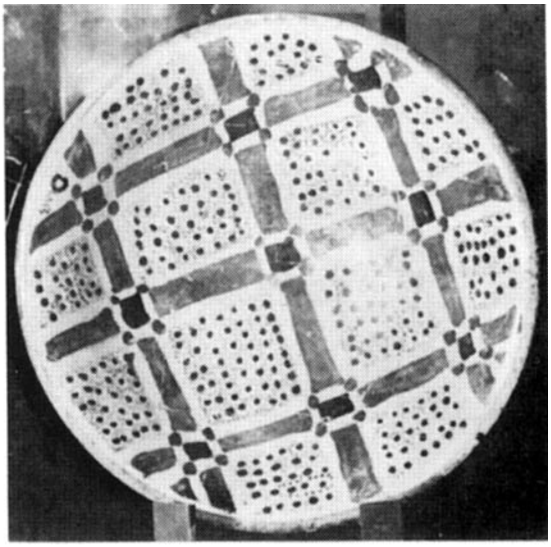

2. Bowl, W: 27 cms, H: 7.5 cms, polychrome lustre on opaque white glaze. Egypt, 3rd/late 9th c. *Islamic museum, Cairo*, No. 4176.

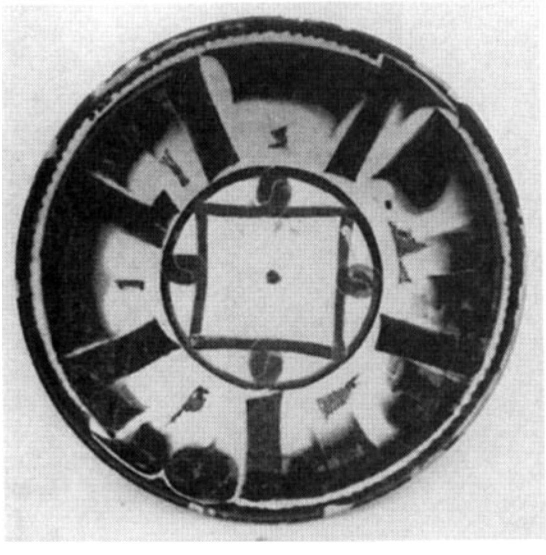

3. Dish, slip painted under transparent colourless glaze. Khurāsān, 5th/11th c. "Enjoy feasting in good health". *Museo d'Arte Orientale di Roma*, No. 1974.

4. Jar, H: 30.5 cms, monochrome lustre, Egypt 5th/11th c. Victoria and Albert Museum, London No. C. 48.1952 *Crown copyright Victoria and Albert Museum.*

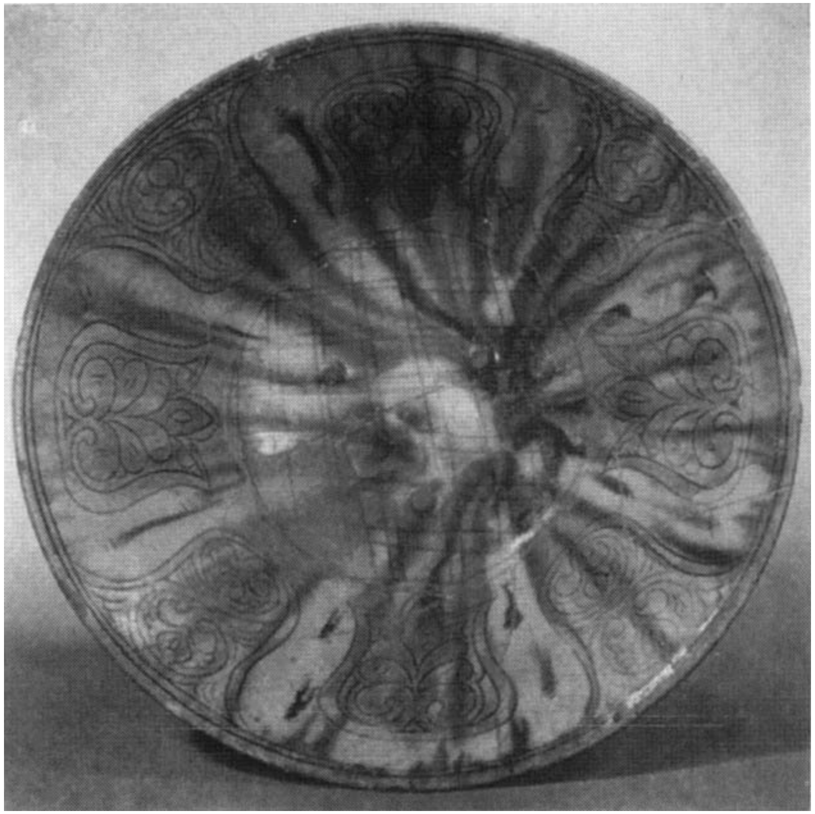

1. Dish, W: 26 cms, H: 7.2 cms, *sgraffiato* design with yellow, green and purple runs; transparent colourless glaze. Nīs͟hāpūr 5th/11th c. ***The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museum excavations 1937 and Rogers Fund.***

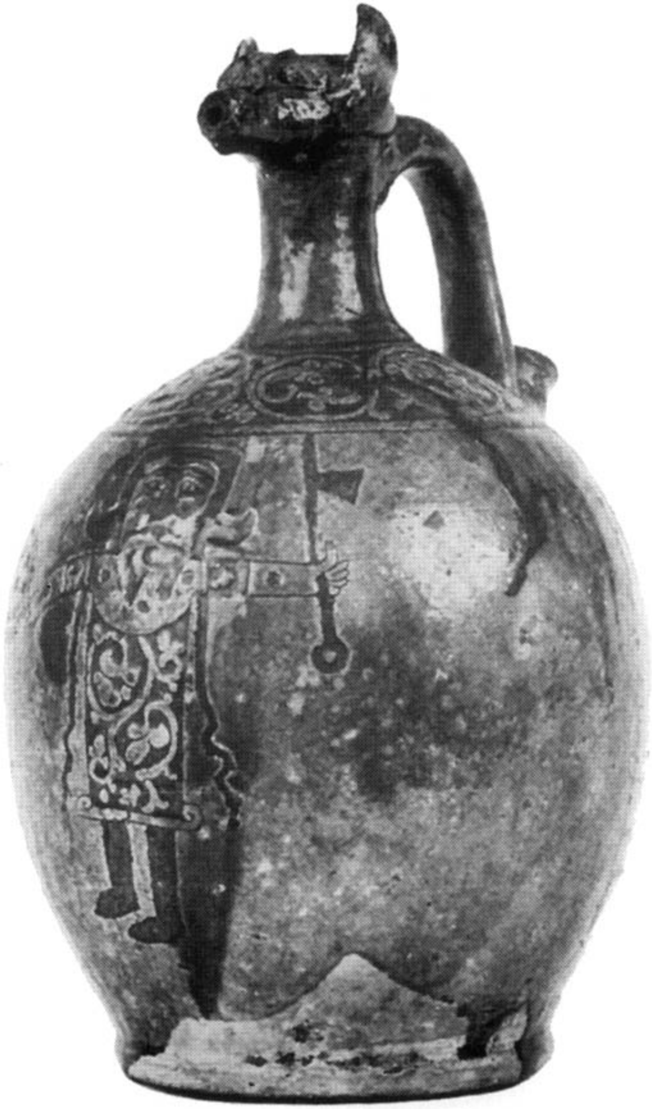

2. Ewer with zoomorphic spout, H: 36 cms, carved slipped design filled in black under transparent green-tinted glaze. Ād͟harbāyd͟jān, 6th/12th c. *Musée du Louvre,* Paris No. 7247.

1. Bottle fragment, H: 14 cms, monochrome lustre. Iran, 575/1179. *British Museum, London.*

2. Bowl, W: 19.7 cms, moulded soft paste. Iran, 7th/12th c. Victoria and Albert Museum, London No. C. 185 1926. *Crown copyright Victoria and Albert Museum.*

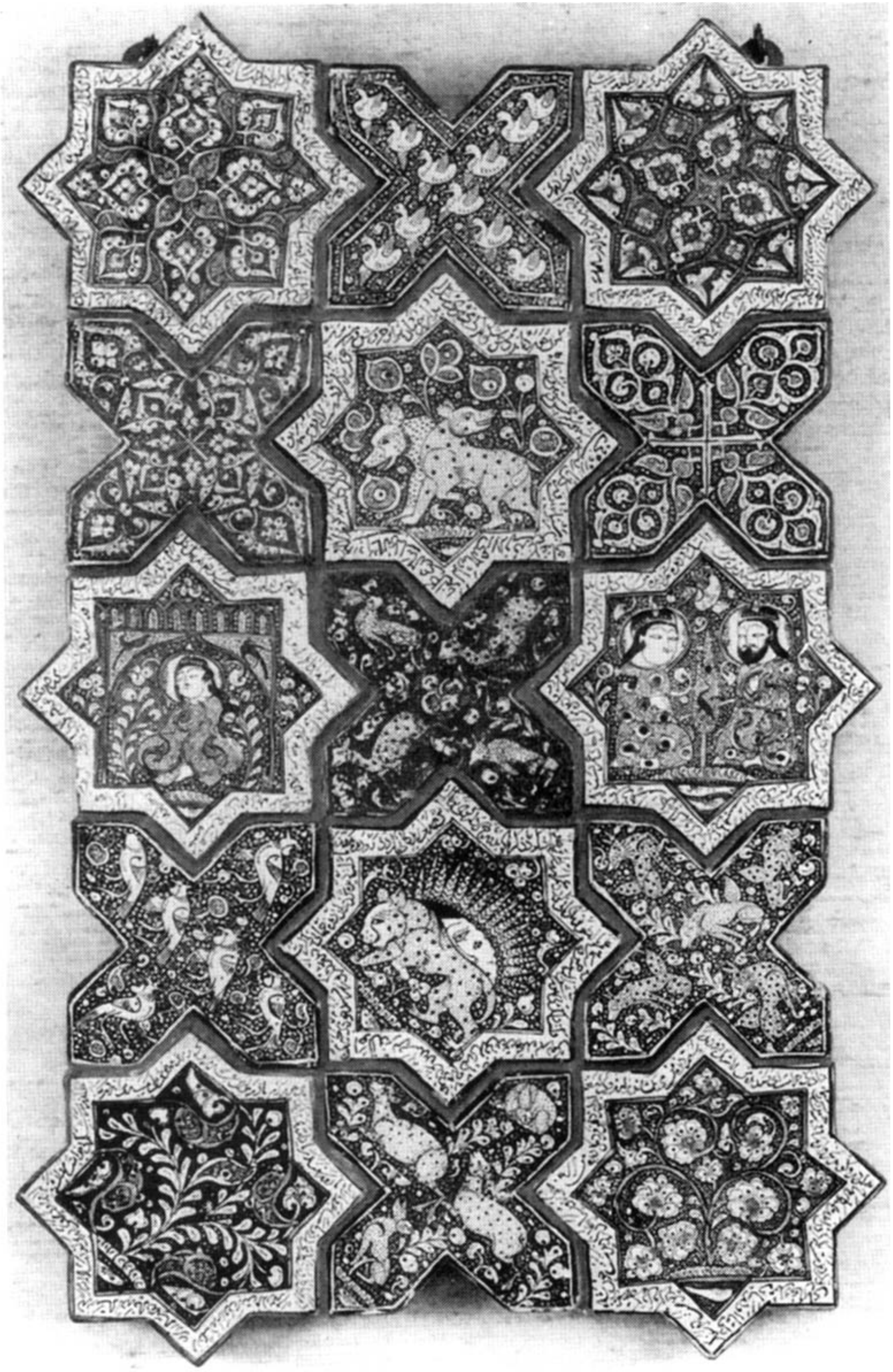

Panel of lustre painted tiles, W: 78.5 cms, H: 49.5 cms. Kāshān, 665/1267. *Musée du Louvre*, Paris, No. 6319.

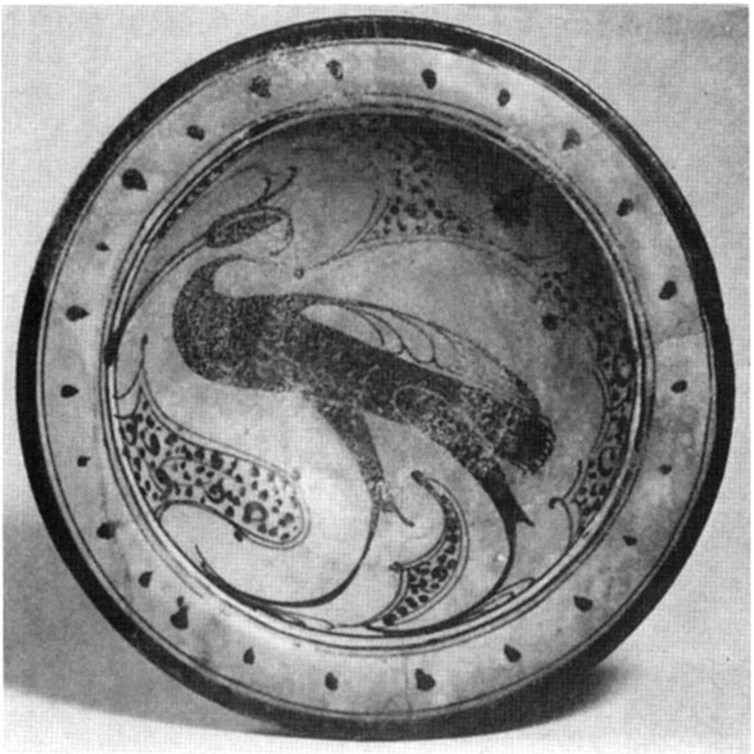

1. Dish, W: 26,6 cms, H: 7.6 cms, black design under transparent turquoise glaze. Syria, early 7th/13th c. *Freer Gallery of Art*, No. 47.8, *Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington DC.

2. Bowl, W: 19 cms, H: 9.5 cms, thick white slip design on grey ground under transparent colourless glaze. Iran, early 8th/14th c. *Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, No. 65.1669. *Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Fund: Charles B. Hoyt Bequest.*

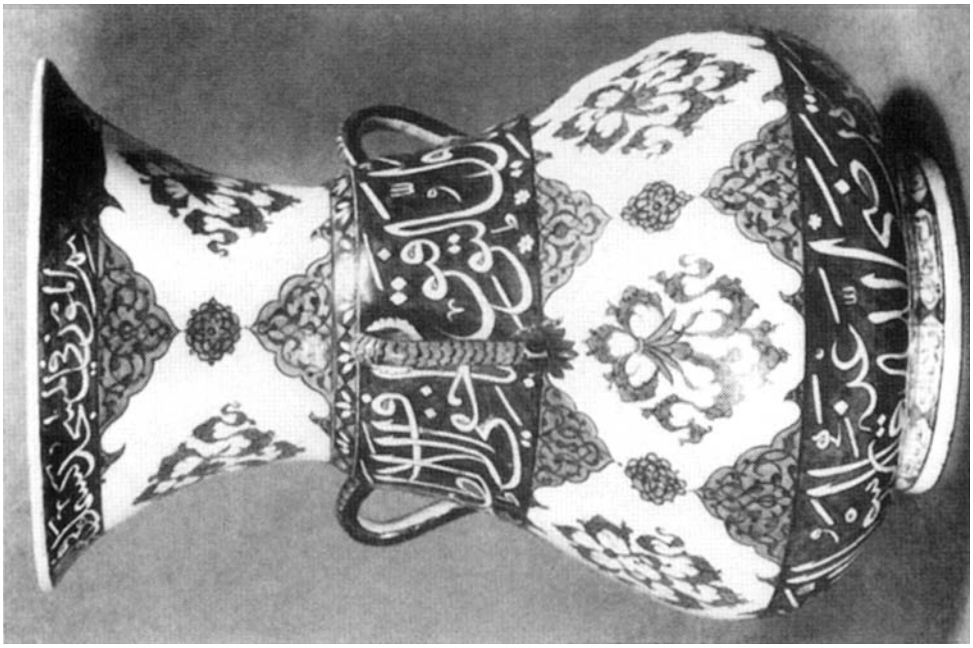

1. Drug jar, H: 27.5 cms, blue and dark green design under transparent colourless glaze. Syria, 717/1317. *Museo di Capodimonte*, Naples, Coll. De Ciccio, No. 5.

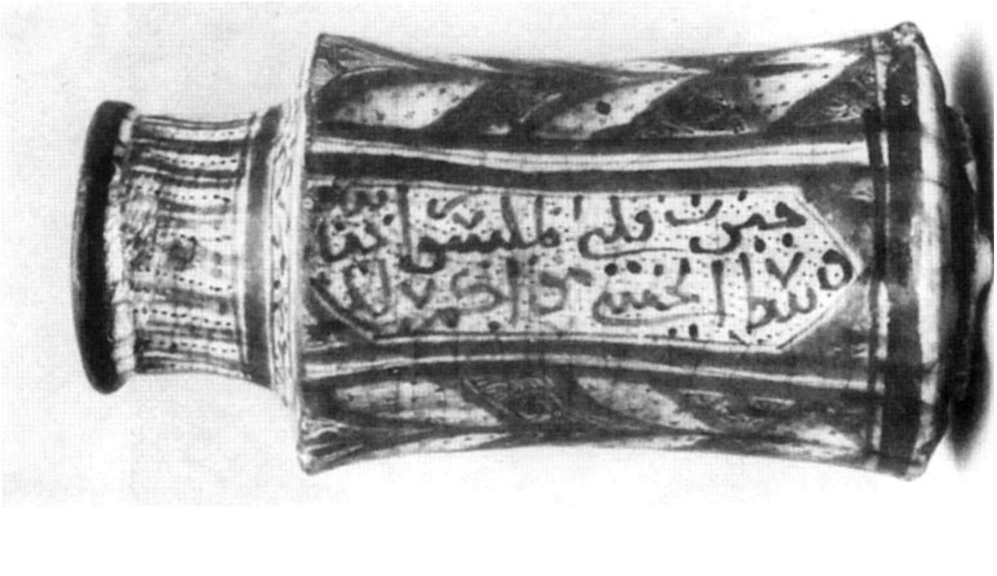

2. Mosque lamp, H: 38.1 cms, blue, turquoise and black underglaze painting. Iznik, 956/1549. *British Museum*, London.

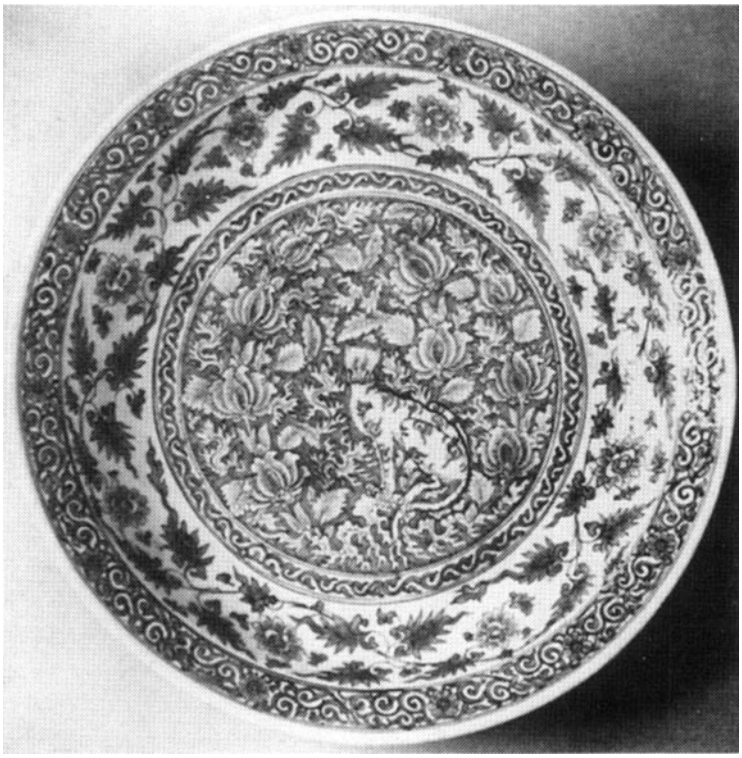

1. Dish, W: 45 cms, blue and black design under transparent colourless glaze. Iran, *ca.* 1000/1600. *Museum für Kunsthandwerk Frankfurt/M.*

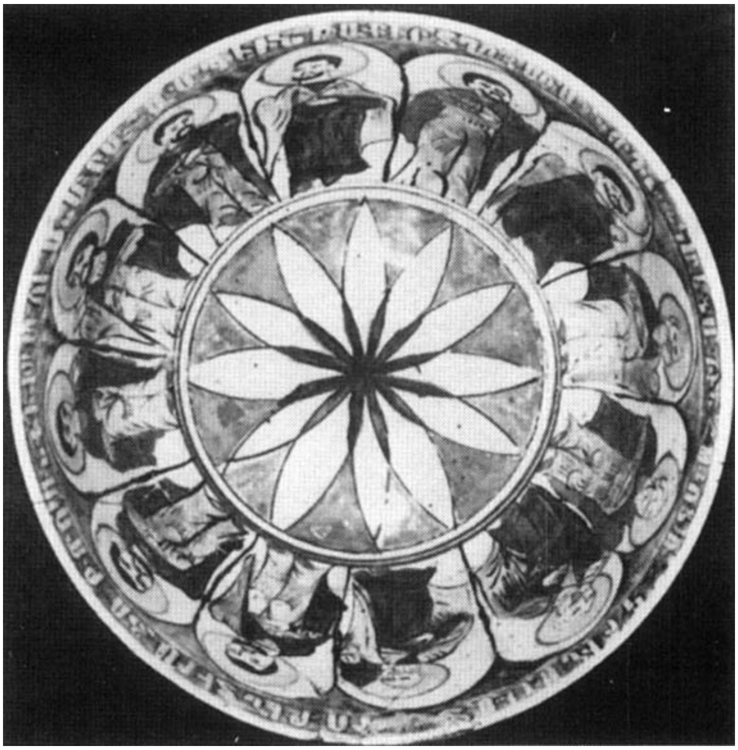

2. Bowl, W: 18.5 cms, H: 11.8 cms, polychrome underglaze painting. Kütahya 1718-9 A.D. *Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire*, Bruxelles, No. 3170-II.

Jar, H: 77.5 cms, unglazed, stamped decoration. Spain 8th/14th c. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. C. 400.1888. *Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.*

Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, London 1961, 19-20). The Shaykh also assisted the British after Turkey joined the First World War. In 1910 the Shaykh had been made Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire (K.C.I.E.) in recognition of his friendliness towards British interests.

After the end of the war and with the rise to power of Riḍā Khān, the situation began to change. The official British promises of support for Khaz'al had been made dependent on his recognition of his obligations towards the Persian government. While that government was weak the issue was largely academic, but when Riḍā Khān began to extend the power of the central government the problem became a pressing one. Khaz'al probably expected greater British support than he received. He was encouraged by London to seek an agreement with Riḍā Khān (see G. Waterfield, *Professional diplomat: Sir Percy Loraine of Kirkharle Bt.*, London 1973, chs. 6-9 for details and further references to the British diplomatic archives on this complex issue). In Nov. 1923 Khaz'al came to an arrangement with the central government over the payment of taxes (A. C. Millspaugh, *The American task in Persia*, New York 1925, 216-36), but Riḍā Khān's expedition in the spring of 1924 against the Lurs to the north alarmed Khaz'al. He refused, with good reason, to go voluntarily to Tehran and in August he stated that he would resist Riḍā Khān by force if necessary. British intervention failed to bring about a reconciliation. The *farmāns* of 1903 were revoked by the Shāh and in September Khaz'al accused Riḍā Khān of violating the laws of Persia and of acting as a usurper. This outburst lost Khaz'al the sympathy of the British government which had begun to realise that British interests lay in the creation of a strong central government in Persia (R. M. Burrell, *Britain, Iran and the Persian Gulf: some aspects of the situation in the 1940s and 1930s*, in D. Hopwood (ed.), *The Arabian Peninsula: society and politics*, London 1972). Khaz'al offered an apology for his statement in Dec. 1924, but Riḍā Khān was by now determined to extinguish the Shaykh's power. Military preparations were made by the Persian army during the winter of 1924, and on 19 April 1925, Khaz'al was arrested on board a boat at Muḥammara. He was transferred to Tehran and kept there under virtual house arrest until his death.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, M. J. A. Saldanha, *Précis of Persian 'Arabistān affairs*, Simla 1904; *Administrative Reports on the Persian Gulf Residency and Muscat political agency*, Calcutta 1873 onwards; A. T. Wilson, *Southwestern Persia, a Political Officer's diary 1907-1914*, London 1941; E. R. Durand, *An autumn tour in Western Persia*, London 1902; V. Chirol, *The Middle Eastern question*, London 1903; Mahdī Bāmdād, *Tārīkh-i Ridjāl-i Īrān*, i, Tehran 1966.

(R. M. Burrell)

KHAZAR, a nomadic people in the South Russian steppes who flourished in the early Islamic period. The Khazar tribal union emerged in the course of the 6th century A.D. in the aftermath of a series of migrations of nomadic peoples from Inner and Central Asia. With the collapse of the European Hun state in 454 A.D., some of the nomadic elements of Attila's horde withdrew to the Pontic steppe zone. They were joined here, *ca.* 463 A.D., by waves of Oghur tribes which had been driven from Western Siberia and the Kazakh steppe by the Sabirs who, in turn, had been forced to migrate to the Kazakh steppe from their Central Asian homeland by the expansion of the Avar (Juan-juan, Uar-Hun) tribal confederation (on the history of these migrations, see K. Czeglédy, *A nomád népek vándorlása napkelettől napnyugatig* ("The Migrations of nomadic peoples from East to West"), Budapest 1969). The Sabirs themselves arrived in the North Caucasian steppelands and Volga region in the opening decades of the 6th century. When Avar (Juan-juan) hegemony in Mongolia was overthrown by the Türks (Türküt, Kök Türks) in 552 A.D., elements of the Avars (or perhaps the Hephthalites, whose tribal union was composed of kindred Uar-Hun tribes) migrated westward and entered the Volga-Pontic steppe zone after 557 A.D. where they subjugated some of the Oghur tribes. Avar dominion in this region was short-lived, for they were soon forced to migrate, together with some of their Oghur subjects, to Pannonia (*ca.* 567 A.D.), by the advent of their enemies, the Türks.

Although there are indications in Armenian sources (see *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsês Dasxurançi*, tr. C. J. F. Dowsett, Oxford 1961, 70) and Arab sources (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. De Goeje, 194; al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, i, 200-4) that would appear to give evidence of a Khazar presence in the Volga delta and in the Caucasus prior to the middle of the 6th century (see D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 20-22, and M. I. Artamonov *Istoriya Khazar*, Leningrad 1962, 116-7, for an evaluation of these sources. The Khazars have nothing to do with the *Akatzir/Akatir*, *Khotzir* etc. who figure in Byzantine and Syriac sources during this period, see O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns*, Berkeley 1973, 427 ff.); it is only under the aegis of the Türks that the Khazar tribal confederation (most probably an amalgamation, by this time, of Hunnic, Sabir, Oghur, Türk and other nomadic, Altaic elements) fully emerges on to the historical scene. It cannot be determined, at present, whether a tribe named "Khazar" actually existed prior to the conquest and organisation of the Volga-North Caucasian-Pontic steppe nomads by the Türks. It may well be that the Khazar tribal union was a creation of the Türks and the name of this new tribal grouping was then anachronistically ascribed, by our early sources via local, oral historical tradition, to those earlier tribes which ultimately came to compose it. In many of our early accounts, the ethnonyms Khazar and Türk are interchangeable. In any event, it is under Türk leadership (the *Djdebu Khak'an* of Movsês Daskhurants'i, the *Djibgha* of the *K'art'lis Ts'khovreba*, Ζιέβηλ of the Byzantine writers, perhaps to be identified with the *T'ong Yabghu* of the Western Türks, see J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 394, 498) that the Khazars figure prominently in the Perso-Byzantine wars of the first third of the 7th century. The Khazars, acting as allies of Byzantium, relieved the Sāsānid pressure on Heraclius (610-41) by devastating Persian holdings in Transcaucasia. In 626, the *Djabghu Kaghan* and his nephew, the *Shad* (Shat' in the Armenian sources) ravaged Caucasian Albania and in the following year turned on Georgia whose capital, T'bilisi, fell to them in 628 (Daskhurants'i, tr. Dowsett, 81-8, *K'art'lis Ts'khovreba*, ed. S. Kaukhč'-ishvili, T'bilisi 1955, i, 225, 374-5). The Khazar-Byzantine alliance cemented during these wars remained, although subject to occasional buffetings, the cornerstone of the Byzantine defence network against the nomads of the Eurasian steppes until the 10th century.

Türk overlordship in the western half of their

realm had been steadily weakening during the first half of the 7th century as the result of internecine strife. With the submission of the Western Türk (On Oḳ) to the Chinese in 659, it came to an end. Two Türk successor states emerged in the western sector of the Eurasian steppes, the Khazar Ḳaghanate (perhaps under a scion of the ruling clan of the On Oḳ, the Nu-shih-pi as suggested by Artamonov, *op. cit.*, 170-1) and the Bulghar-Onoghur/Onoghundur state (a tribal union composed largely of Oghur elements led by the Dulo, the rivals of the Nu-shih-pi in the On Oḳ confederacy. The Bulghar ruling clan may also have had Attilid affiliations, see O. Pritsak, *Die Bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren*, Wiesbaden 1955, 36-8). The inevitable conflict that broke out between the two (reported, with mythic overtones, in Theophanes, Nicephorus Patriarchus and the Letter of the Khazar ruler, Joseph) ended with the defeat of Pontic (Magna) Bulgaria (Παλαιὰ Βουλγαρία) in the 670s. In the course of this struggle, and perhaps even earlier, some Bulghar (the name may be etymologised in Turkic as meaning "the mixed ones", see Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* ("The Formation of the Hungarians of the Conquest Period"), Budapest 1930, 95-6) elements migrated to the Volga-Kama region founding Volga Bulgharia. Another horde, under Asperukh, made its way to Byzantine Moesia and established Danubian Bulgharia there *ca.* 679. Other Bulghar tribes remained in the eastern Pontic steppe zone under Khazar rule.

The Khazars were now undisputed masters of the western Eurasian steppelands. Their hold over the North Caucasus, however, was contested by the Arabs who had begun to penetrate this region by 21/641-2. This was the first thrust in a series of wars that spanned a century. Much of the campaigning centered on gaining possession of Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbend) [*q.v.*], a strategically-important town guarding the approaches from the steppe zone to Transcaucasia, and the Khazar cities Balandjar (Balangar, probably of ethnonymic origin, cf. the "Barandjār" mentioned in Ibn Faḍlān, *Kniga Akhmeda ibn Fadlana o ego puteshestvii na Volgu v 921-922 gg.* ("The Book of Ibn Faḍlān on his Journey to the Volga"), tr. and facs. ed. A. P. Kovalevskiy, Kharkov 1956, 323 (f. 207b), or Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, in *Abh. KM*, xxiv/3 (1939), Arabic text, 30, or tr. M. Canard, in *AIEO Alger*, xvi (1950), 107, who were found in his day in Volga Bulgharia) and Samandar. Al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, 62) states that Balandjar was at one time the Khazar capital. He contradicts this statement in the *Murūdj* (ii, 7, ed. Pellat, i, 211-2) where he makes Samandar the early Khazar capital. These cities may have been the winter and summer quarters of the Khazar ruling clan, hence the confusion in al-Masʿūdī. The Khazar capital was later removed to the less exposed (to Arab raids) Volga delta where the city of Atīl [*q.v.*] developed. The exact location of the Khazar North Caucasian cities has yet to be determined. T. Lewicki, *Ludy Daghestanu i północnego Kaukazu w oczach średniowiecznych pisarzy arabskich* ("The Peoples of Daghestan and the North Caucasus in the eyes of Mediaeval Arab Writers") in *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, No. 2 (46) (1963), 93, and Z. V. Togan, *Umumî Türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul, repr. 1970, i, 57, place Balandjar west of the Sulaḳ river, at the ruins of Endere. Togan identifies Samandar with present day Kizlyar. V. F. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, 106, however, believes it was located at or near Tarḳu in the North-Eastern Caucasus, not far from present-day Makhač-ḳala. Like Balandjar, the name Samandar may be of ethnonymic origin.

Balandjar was first attacked in 22/642 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2667-8; ed. Cairo 1963-70, iv, 158), in the course of which the Arabs may even have penetrated into the Khazar hinterland. Minor Arab raiding continued until 32/652 when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī, disregarding a standing caliphal order to the contrary, led a large force on Balandjar where he was defeated and killed (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2889-91, ed. Cairo, iv, 304-5; for a full discussion of this and other Arabo-Khazar campaigns, see the detailed treatment in Dunlop, *op. cit.*, chs. iii-iv, and also ḳabḳ).

While the Arabs were caught up with domestic affairs, the Khazars raided Caucasian Albania several times in the period *ca.* 661-664 and again in the 680s (as reported in the Armenian historians Daskhurantsʿi, Asołig and Łewond). In 681-2, the ruler of Albania, Varaz-Trdat, sent the bishop Israyēl to Varačʿan, the capital of the North Caucasian "Huns", who were, at this time, ruled by "Alpʿ Ilitʿuēr" (* Alp Il-teber/tever), a Khazar vassal (or perhaps a representative of the royal clan; this is implied in the Turkic title *il-teber* and was a practice common in the nomadic world). The detailed description of North Caucasian "Hunnic" shamanism given in Daskhurantsʿi's account of Israyēl's mission is extremely valuable as it sheds some light on the religious practices that were, undoubtedly, present amongst the Khazars as well. The worship by these "Huns" of "Tʿangri Khan", the cult of the sacred forest, worship of fire, thunder and lightning and the funeral practices described in Daskhurantsʿi (tr. Dowsett, 155-6, 161) all conform in general and in many of their specific traits to the descriptions of Türk shamanism in Chinese sources and later accounts of Turkic shamanism as practised up to the present century. The Islamic geographers (cf. Ibn Rusta, 139; for a discussion of these sources, see B. N. Zakhoder, *Kaspiyskiy svod svedenii o vostočnoi evrope*, Moscow 1962, i, 146-7) note that the Khazar pagans practise a religion "similar to that of the Turks" (Gardīzī specifically states that it resembles that of the Oghuz/Ghuzz, *i.e.* shamanism).

During this same period, the Khazars apparently came into possession of most of the Crimea, except for Kherson which remained under a Byzantine administration. From here, they began to play an important rôle in the domestic politics of the Byzantine empire in connection with the ill-fated reign of Justinian II (685-95, 705-11).

In the opening years of the 2nd/8th century, the Arab-Khazar struggle for hegemony in the North Caucasus quickened in pace. In 95/713-4, Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik retook Bāb al-Abwāb which had, apparently, changed hands several times in the preceding years, and drove deep into Khazar-North Caucasian "Hunnic" territory. Difficult but indecisive fighting continued until 112/730 when Djarrāḥ b. al-Ḥakamī, who alternated command of this important theatre of operations with Maslama when the latter's services were needed elsewhere, was defeated and killed by the Khazars under the command of "Bārdjīk (so Balʿamī, Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, Ms. Topkapî, Aḥmed III, 2959, ii, ff. 180a-188b, has *Bārsbīk*. The relationship of Bārdjīk/Bārsbīk to *Pʿarsbitʿ* (in Łewond, *Patmutʿiwn*, ed. Ezeantsʿ St. Petersburg 1887, 101) noted

as the "mother of the Ḳaghan", is unclear), son of the Khāḳān", at Ardabīl. Perhaps with a view towards strengthening the resolve of the Khazars, a Byzantine-Khazar marriage alliance was arranged in which Constantine (later Constantine IV Copronymous), son of Leo the Isaurian, married Čiček, the daughter of the Ḳaghan, *ca.* 732-733. Their son, Leo IV (775-780), was known as "the Khazar".

The decisive campaign came in 119/737, when Marwān b. Muḥammad (called *Murvan Ḳru*, "Marwān the Deaf", in Georgian sources), through a clever ruse was able to advance deep into Khazar territory, by-pass the Khazar capital, Atīl, on the lower Volga and catching the Ḳaghan unawares pursue him into the land of the Finno-Ugric Burṭās, a subject people of the Khazars. Here, the defeated Ḳaghan agreed to become a Muslim and a subject of the caliph (the campaign is described in Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, al-Balādhurī, Balʿamī and Ibn al-Athīr). Al-Balādhurī, 208, reports that Marwān settled 20,000 Ṣaḳāliba families from Khazar territory in Khākhīṭ and had Khazars transplanted to the steppe zone in the province of al-Lakz between Samūr and Shābirān. Continued Khazar submission, however, was contingent on a strong Arab presence (*i.e.* an army of occupation). This was an impossibility and consequently, the conversion and submission of the Khazar Ḳaghan was short-lived. Leo III's victory over the Arabs some three years later, at Acroinon, in addition to further weakening the Umayyads, undoubtedly enabled the Ḳaghan (if he had not already done so) to break free of Arab overlordship.

Thus, despite Marwān's brilliant generalship, Arab rule was not and never would be firmly established on the Volga or even in the somewhat more accessible Dāghistān where, in the 4th/10th century, Khazar rule reached almost up to the wall of Derbend [see DĀGHISTĀN]. In effect, the Khazars and Arabs had fought each other to a standstill in the Caucasus. Although the campaign of 119/737, unlike the Arab advance defeated by Charles Martel at Tours several years earlier, was successful, the results were similar. The Caucasus and the Pyrenees became the border zone between the Arab world and Europe.

The Khazars, whose raiding was resumed by the second half of the century and was combined with the frequent revolts of the Christian peoples of Transcaucasia, gave little peace to the Arabs in that region; never again, however, did they constitute a serious threat to the Arab possession of Transcaucasia.

The caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75), undoubtedly in an attempt to better relations with the Khazars, *ca.* 760 ordered Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī, the governor of Armenia, to marry a daughter of the Khazar Ḳaghan (her name is given only as *Khātūn*, a title; the name of the Ḳaghan appears to have been **Baghātur*, cf. Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, ii, f. 241b). The marriage was arranged (the bride bringing a dowry of 10,000 dirhams) but her death in childbirth and that of her child shortly after (Balādhurī, 210) perhaps served as the cause for two large-scale Khazar raids into Transcaucasia in 145/762-3 and 147/764-5. The name of the commander of the Khazar forces is given in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 328, Cairo ed., viii, 7, as "As Tarkhān al-Khʷarazmī" and in al-Yaʿḳūbī as "Ras" (*Historiae*, ii, 446; John Rylands, Arabic Ms. 231 (801), f. 152a) or "Rāsh" (Cambridge QQ10, f. 192a) Tarkhān. Łewond (*Patmutʿiwn*, ed. Ezeantsʿ, 132) has "Raž Tʿarkhan". These names and the *nisba* "al-Khʷārazmī" point to an Iranian origin. Following Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, 147, we may conclude that this commander was drawn from the As/Aorsi (cf. "al-Arsiyya", the Muslim bodyguards of the Khazar Ḳaghans "from the region of Khʷārazm" who were long-time residents of Khazaria, having settled there not long after the rise of Islam, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 10, ed. Pellat, i, 213) who were part of the mass of Iranian (Alan-As-Aorsi) nomads living east of the Caspian sea in territories subject to the Khazars. The "Arsiyya", as Muslims, were granted the right to remain neutral whenever the Khazars were engaged in warfare with Islamic peoples.

In 780 A.D., the Georgian prince, Nerse, attempted to enlist the aid of the Khazars in his continued struggle with the Arabs. He was, on this occasion, politely refused. This refusal probably stemmed from a brief anti-Byzantine shift in Khazar policy. This is clearly evident in 786 when the Khazars aided Leon II, the ruler of Abkhazia (Apʿkhazetʿi), and a grandson of the Khazar Ḳaghan, to secure the independence of Apʿkhazetʿi and Egrisi (= mediaeval Western Georgia) from Byzantine suzerainty (*Kʿartʿlis Tsʿkhovreba*, i, 251). This re-orientation may have been the product of Khazar-Byzantine disputes in the Crimea (perhaps associated with the anti-Khazar revolt of John of Gothia, see Artamonov, *op. cit.*, 252-5). The last major Khazar incursion into Arab holdings in Transcaucasia occurred in 183/799 (detailed discussion in Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 183 ff.,) Georgia proper (*Kʿartʿli*) being the principal victim. This invasion, according to al-Ṭabarī, ii, 647 ff., was brought about by the failure of a proposed matrimonial alliance between the daughter of the Khazar king and the Barmakid al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā (cf. above i, 1034 and ii, 732). It may also have been a diversionary tactic to relieve the Byzantines (presuming that Khazar-Byzantine relations had returned to their normal state of co-operation in the face of a common foe), who were then able to induce the caliphate to make peace.

The conversion of the Khazars to Judaism has been the subject of a sizable literature, often of a conjectural or polemical nature. The date of the conversion—if, indeed, there is one specific date that marked the acceptance of Judaism by large numbers of Khazars—has not yet been firmly established (cf. the exhaustive discussion of this question and a critical evaluation of the Islamic and Hebrew sources, including the much debated "Letter of King Joseph" and the Cambridge Document, in Dunlop, *op. cit.*, chs. v-vi). It is most probable, that, following al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 8; ed. Pellat i, 212), the Khazar king, "his entourage and the Khazars of his tribe" (*i.e.* the ruling clan or tribe or the ethnic Khazars, if such indeed existed, as opposed to the non-Khazar tribes who were under Khazar overlordship), had become Jews during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809). The comments of Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, 298, writing *ca.* 290/903, that "all of the Khazars are Jews, for they have recently converted" is undoubtedly based on earlier tradition (Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 109; T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny*, Wrocław 1969, ii/1, 121). Al-Iṣṭakhrī, ed. de Goeje, 220, 224, notes that the Khazars are Muslims, Christians and Jews, the latter forming the smallest group but including the king and his court, *i.e.* the royal clan. He also reports that the Ḳaghanate resided in a certain family (this is in keeping with Türk tradition) and could be passed on only to Judaised members of this family. This latter claim and his story of the young Muslim Khazar barred from the throne because of his religion is not typical of the religious

indifference usually manifested by the Altaic, nomadic peoples of this time, and may well be a pious fabrication.

The extent of K͟hazar Judaism and the degree to which it may have influenced the subject peoples and neighbours of the Ḳag͟hanate (cf. the rather Judaic names of the sons of Seld͟juk) is the subject of some speculation. The view, originating with Firkovič and advanced in one modified form or another by L. Rásonyi, *Tarihte türklük*, Ankara 1971, 115-6, and A. Zajaczkowski, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarskim* ("Studies on the K͟hazar Problem"), Cracow 1947, 61-6; idem, *Karaims in Poland*, Warsow-The Hague-Paris 1961, 16 ff., amongst others, that the K͟hazars adopted Karaite rather than Rabbinic Judaism has been forcefully countered by Z. Ankori, *The Karaites in Byzantium*, New York-Jerusalem 1959, 64-79.

At some time in 861, Constantine (later St. Cyril, the "Apostle to the Slavs") led a Byzantine mission to K͟hazaria, the ostensible purpose of which was to participate in a religious debate at the court of the Ḳag͟han. The real motivation behind the embassy undoubtedly had to do with the 860-1 Rus' raid on Constantinople and questions of joint K͟hazar-Byzantine cooperation against this new foe. According to the *Life of Constantine* (*Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses, Fontes*, ed. F. Grivec, F. Tomšić, Zagreb 1960), some K͟hazars asked to convert to Christianity and were allowed to do so.

The later reports of the conversion of the K͟hazar Ḳag͟han to Islam after the collapse of the K͟hazar state in 354/965 (Ibn al-At͟hīr, viii, 418; Ibn Miskawayh, ed. and tr. Amedroz-Margoliouth, text, ii, 203, v, 223, and al-Muḳaddasī, ed. de Goeje, 361). In the latter the adoption of Islam as the result of the campaigns of al-Maʾmūn (Abu ʾl-Abbās Maʾmūn b. Muḥammad) ruler of Gurgānd͟j and later (after 995) of all K͟hʷārazm [see K͟hʷĀRAZM-S͟HĀHS] may well be historical. Prior to 354/965, Islam had adherents not only amongst subject peoples (cf. in particular the Volga Bulg͟hars) but amongst the K͟hazars as well. Atīl, according to al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, 220, had 10,000 Muslim inhabitants. Al-Balād͟hurī, 203, tells of the K͟hazars who were settled by Bug͟ha the Türk in 240/854-5 in S͟hamkūr (S͟hankʿor) because of their interest in Islam and security. Confirmation of Bug͟ha's activities in this area (warfare against the K͟hazars and Alans) is found in Müned͟jd͟jim bās͟hī (Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, Arabic text, 3, tr. 25) and in the *Kʿartʿlis Tsʿkhovreba* (i, 256-7) which further notes that he settled 300 K͟hazar families in "S͟hankʿor" (no mention is made of their Islamic affiliations), but then came under the suspicion of the caliph who feared he "was taking council with the K͟hazars, his tribesmen" (*tomtʿa mistʿa*, which can also be translated as "his kinsmen") and relieved him of his post. Bug͟ha's campaign about this time, against the Georgian mountaineers, the Ṣanariyya (in Georgian *Tsanar*) which led to an unsuccessful attempt on their part to enlist the aid of the Byzantines, K͟hazars and Ṣaḳāliba, should be viewed in light of the above.

The conversion of the K͟hazars to Judaism was no obstacle to continuing K͟hazar-Byzantine cooperation, especially in view of the unstable situation that was developing in the steppes. In 838 (for the dating, see I. Sorlin, *Le problème des Khazares et les historiens soviétiques dans les vingt dernières années*, in *Travaux et Mémoires*, iii (1968), 436 n. 51), the Byzantines assisted in the construction of the fortress Sarkel/S͟harkil on the Don which was built as a defence (probably for Byzantine Crimea) against the Hungarian tribal union, or elements of it, and the Pečenegs who were beginning to cause problems for the K͟hazars and ultimately the Byzantines (Ibn Rusta, 143; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperii*, ed. and tr. Gy. Moravcsik - R. Jenkins, Washington 1967, ch. 42; Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bonn, 122 ff.; Scylitzes, ed. Bonn ii, 129-30; for a full discussion of this question see P. B. Golden, *The migrations of the Oğuz*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, iv, 1972).

During the caliphate of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), two Arab embassies were sent to K͟hazaria, one led by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-K͟hʷārazmī and the other that of Sallām the Interpreter (al-Muḳaddasī, 362; Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 162 ff.; Ibn Rusta, 149).

K͟hazar-Arab hostilities in the North Caucasus continued during the course of the 3rd/9th century on a reduced scale. Müned͟jd͟jim bās͟hī (in Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, text, 4, 17, tr. 26, 46) speaks of warfare that, apparently, persisted from Rad͟jab 288/August 901 to *ca.* 300/912. The name of the K͟hazar ruler who figured in these campaigns is given as *K-sā* (or *T-n/z K-sā*) *b. B-ld͟jān* (cf. *Blučʿan*, the name of a K͟hazar commander mentioned in the *Kʿartʿlis Tsʿkhovreba*, i, 249-50).

K͟hazar power was now on the decline. As with all nomadic tribal unions, there were continual centrifugal tendencies on the part of individual clans or tribes to break away from the power of the Ḳag͟han. The first signs of serious internal difficulties of this nature may be seen in the revolt of the Kabars (whose name may be etymologised in Turkic as "rebel", see Németh, *op. cit.*, 236-7) some time in the second half of the 9th century (Const. Porphyrogenitus, *op. cit.*, 174). The Hungarian tribal union (to which the Kabars attached themselves), which had, in the early 9th century, been hostile and had later become an ally (the Árpád dynasty came to power under K͟hazar auspices, Const. Porph., 172) had now been replaced in the Pontic steppes by the Pečenegs. Moreover, elements of the turbulent Og͟huz tribal union which had been allies of the K͟hazars against the Pečenegs were now under pressure from tribes to their east. They began to push towards the Volga, occasionally crossing it in search of winter pasturage (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, ii, 19; ed. Pellat i, 218) and skirmishing with K͟hazar patrols. Another new factor was the unification, *ca.* 885, of the Eastern Slavic tribes, some of whom had been tributaries of the K͟hazars, under the Rus' who were drawn to the Volga because of the lucrative trade that passed through Atīl. A series of daring Rus' raids into the Caspian lands of Islam began in the last quarter of the 9th century. Two large-scale raids took place in 298/910 and 299/911-2 (on the dating, see S. Aliev, *O datirovke nabega rusov, upomyanutikh ibn Isfandiyarom i Amoli*, in *Vostočnie Istočniki po istorii narodov iugo-vostočnoi i tsentralʿnoi evropy* ("Eastern Sources on the History of the Peoples of South-Eastern and Central Europe"), ed. S. Tveritinova, Moscow 1967, ii, 316-21). Al-Masʿūdī reports another raid after the year 300/912-3 (Aliev, *op. cit.*, places this raid after 310/922).

K͟hazar willingness to allow the Rus' access to the Volga route in order to carry out these raids may perhaps be related to the hostilities between the Arabs and the K͟hazars in the Caucasus recorded in Müned͟jd͟jim bās͟hī (see above). In the raid reported by al-Masʿūdī, the Ḳag͟han is said to have given his assent on the condition that the Rus' give him half of the booty. The Ḳag͟han was unable, however, to prevent the slaughter of the returning Rus' by

Khazar Muslims who were enraged at the activities of the former against their co-religionists (*Murūdj*, ii, 10, 18-23; ed. Pellat i, 213, 218-21). The devastating Rus' raid on Bardhaʿa/Partaw [see BARDHAʿA], in Ādharbāydjān in 332/943-4 (Daskhurantsʿi, tr. Dowsett, 224; Ibn Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz-Margoliouth, ii, 62-7; al-Maḳdisī, *K. al-Badʾ waʾ-taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, iv, 66-7; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 134-5) undoubtedly played a rôle in the ensuing reorientation of Khazar policy with regard to the Rus'. In his letter (written probably in the 960s) to Ḥasday b. Shaprūt, the Khazar ruler Joseph remarks that he is no longer willing to give the Rus' passage down to the Volga, adding "I war with them. If I left them (in peace) for one hour, they would destroy the entire land of the Ishmaelites up to Baghdād" (P. K. Kokovtsov, *Evreysko-Khazarskaya perepiska v X veke* ("The Jewish-Khazar Correspondence in the 10th Century") Leningrad 1932, 102).

Khazar exclusion of the Rus' from the Volga route was probably one of the causes of the war of 354/965 recorded in the Rus' chronicles (*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, i, 65, ix, 31). According to this very laconic account, the Rus' ruler, Svyatoslav, "overcame the Khazars and took their city and Běla Veža" (= Sarkel). Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 392-3, who heard of this several years after the event and places it in 358/967, states that the Rus' sacked Bulghar and Khazarān (a section of Atīl). Both of these accounts ignore the role of the Oghuz (Ghuzz). Ibn Miskawayh, text, ii, 209, tr. v, 223, and Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 418, report that in 354/965, the "Turks" attacked Khazaria. These "Turks" could only have been the Oghuz (the *Torki* of the Rus' chronicles and *Ṭurḳ* of the Anonymous Hebrew Khazar Cambridge Document) who undoubtedly entered into an alliance with Svyatoslav, just as they would later do with his son and successor, Vladimir I, in 985 against Volga Bulgharia. According to Islamic sources, the Ḳaghan appealed to the Khʷārazmians for aid and the latter drove off the "Turks" Khʷārazmian-Oghuz hostility at this time is reported in al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, 236, and confirmed by archaeological evidence, cf. S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevnekhorezmiyskoy tsivilizatsii* ("On the Tracks of Ancient Khʷārizmian Civilization"), Moscow-Leningrad 1948, 249), in return for which they demanded the conversion of the Ḳaghan to Islam (see above). Although the destruction, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, was considerable, it is not clear just what the Rus' gained. Sarkel probably came into their possession, but Atīl, and hence control over the Volga, probably remained in the hands of the Khazars who had now become a Khʷārazmian protectorate (this might explain why Svyatoslav, apparently blocked here, was willing, in 968, to embark on a campaign in the Balkans to gain possession of Bulgaria and the Danubian trade routes). Ultimately, it did become an Oghuz holding (they appear to be there in strength in the 12th century, cf. the "40 tribes of the Ghuzz" mentioned there by Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (*Abū Ḥāmid al-Granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*, ed. and tr. C. E. Dubler, Madrid 1953, 5).

Khazar Jews are mentioned as coming to the court of Vladimir I in 986 in connection with the religious debates that are alleged to have preceded his conversion to Christianity. The account, however, rather suspiciously parallels the story of a religious debate which preceded the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 7 ff. Indeed, it may have been inserted in the Rus' chronicle to support Rus' claims to succession to the Ḳaghanate. The tradition of a Rus' Ḳaghan is already known in the 9th century (cf. the "Chacanus Rus" of the *Annales Bertiniani* and the "Rūs Khākān" of Ibn Rusta), and repeated in the 11th century *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* of Ilarion who pointedly refers to Vladimir I and the then reigning Yaroslav (d. 1054) as "kagans".

In January, 1016, a territory called "Khazaria" in Scylitzes (ed. Bonn, ii, 464) which was ruled by a certain Georgius (presumably a Christianised Khazar) "the Tzoulé" (this form Τζουλῆ, found in the 12th century Vienna Ms., Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hist. Gr. 35, f. 132a and in the 13th century Vatican ms. 977, f. 287a, is to be preferred to the "Tzoulus" of the Bonn ed.) was attacked and conquered by a joint Rus'-Byzantine force in which "Sphengus, the brother of Vladimir, who was the brother-in-law of the Emperor" (Basil II, cf. γαμβροῦ τοῦ βασιλέοη of the mss. cited above and not "brother" as in the Bonn ed.) led the Rus' forces. The identity of "Sphengus" and the location of "Khazaria" have not been convincingly demonstrated thus far (it has variously been suggested that Sphengus is Mstislav, a son of Vladimir I, see G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, New Haven 1948, 75 and that "Khazaria" is to be found in the Crimean peninsula, Tmutorokan' or in the North Caucasus. Mstislav was, indeed, in the Tmutorokan' region *ca.* 1022 and, according to the Rus' chronicle, he led a force of Khazars and Kasogians in 1023 against his brother Yaroslav).

Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 279, notes that the Kurd Faḍlūn, ruler of Gandja, attacked the "Khazars" in 421/1030 but was defeated and slain by them. This was Faḍl b. Muḥammad of the Shaddādid dynasty, cf. above i, 660 and ii, 975 and V. F. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953, 40 ff. The "Khazars" mentioned here are probably a misprint for either the Abkhaz or Djurz (Georgians), both of whom had hostile relations with the Amīrs of Gandja. Münedjdjim bāshī, in Minorsky, *Studies*, text. 11, tr. 17, states that the Abkhaz attacked Arrān and were beaten off by Faḍl of Gandja in 417/1026. The *Kʿartʿlis Tsʿkhovreba*, i, 296, tells of Georgian warfare with the rulers of Gandja in the early 1030s. Finally, a raid from Gandja against the Khazars is very improbable on geographical grounds.

Münedjdjim bāshī, in Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, text. 24, tr. 51, reports that in 456/1064 "the remnants of the Khazars, consisting of three thousand households, arrived in Ḳaḥtan (which Minorsky, *Hist.* 107, identifies with Khaydaḳ, lands now occupied by the Turkic Ḳumuḳs in Dāghistān) from the Khazar territory. They rebuilt it and settled in it".

In 1079 and 1083 A.D., the Khazars are again mentioned in the Rus' chronicles in connection with events in the principality of Tmutorokan' where they appear to have wielded some power (*PRSL* i, 204-5). Individual Khazars took service with the various Rus' princes. Thus, *s.a.* 1106 A.D. we read of an Ivan Kozarin ("the Khazar"), the *voevoda* of Kiev who drove off a Polovtsian (Coman) attack (*PRSL*, ix, 140). A Hungaro-Latin source (Thuroczi, cap. 500) mentions a "princeps Bissenorum (= Hung. *Besenyö* "Pečeneg") nomine Kazar", which would indicate that Khazar elements had joined the Pečeneg union. Documents from the Cairo Geniza purport to tell of messianic movements in "Khazaria" in the 11th and 12th centuries. The reference, here, however, was probably to events in the Jewish communities in the Crimea which was regularly called "Khazaria" or "Gazaria" in later Greek and Latin

sources (see Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 254-6, and Artamonov, *op. cit.*, 444).

As with many steppe empires, Khazaria did not suddenly vanish, although it appeared to, but rather it gradually melted back into the steppe. The nomadic elements were undoubtedly incorporated into the Pečeneg, Oghuz and ultimately Coman-Ḳïpčaḳ tribal confederations (this would probably explain the presence of the Hebrew loanword *Shabbat* in Coman-Ḳïpčaḳ: *Shabat kün*, Ḳaračay-Balḳar: *Shabat K'ün*, cf. also Čuvash: *Shâmat*). The collapse of Khazar power after 345/965 had severe consequences for Byzantium which—as the orientation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Adm. Imp.* would indicate—was already seeking to establish a new balance of power in the steppe zone in the 940s-950s. With Khazaria now unable to blunt the thrusts of oncoming nomadic invaders, Byzantium's Balkan borders and, even more crucial, the Crimea, Constantinople's eye into the steppe, were extremely vulnerable. The volatile Oghuz tribal union in the steppes to the east of Khazaria which had hitherto been held in check by the Khazars (cf. the Oghuz prisoners held by the Khazars as reported in Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Togan, text 16, tr. 31) or allied with them (in joint operations against the Pečenegs, cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Adm. Imp.*, 166), now began to break up. Some elements entered the Pontic steppe and ultimately caused disturbances in the Balkans. Another faction, led by Seldjuk set off, in the decades following 354/965, that chain of events that led to the Turkish conquest of Anatolia.

The Khazar Ḳaghanate at its zenith was a vast, multi-religious, multi-national state (Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Kovalevskiy, 313, ed. Togan, 44, reports that there were 25 subject peoples who sent hostages to the Ḳaghan's court) which, in addition to the tribes that formed the Khazar union, included the Volga and Pontic Bulghars, the Burtās and other Finno-Ugrians (including at one time the Hungarians), the "Huns" of the North Caucasus as well as the aboriginals of that region, the Iranian Alan/As of the Caspian steppes and North Caucasus and various Eastern Slavic tribes. Its borders extended to Kiev in the west, the Volga Bulghar realm in the north (near present-day Kazan'), the steppes of Khwārazm in the east and the Crimea and the northern Caucasus in the south. The Ḳaghanate, in its political and economic organisation, evidences all of the characteristics of other, Altaic, nomadic tribal empires of the period. It was presided over by a ceremonial Ḳaghan (probably of Türk-Ashina origin, descent from the Türk royal clan being one of the main criteria for the assumption of the Ḳaghanal title), while the actual governance of affairs was in the hands of the *shad* (the *ishā/ishād* of the Ibn Rusta-Gardīzī tradition) or the *Beg* (cf. the πέχ of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Adm. Imp.*, 182, the *Bek-Yilik* of the al-Iṣṭakhrī, - Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 390, tradition). Ibn Faḍlān (ed. Togan, text. 43-4) calls him the "Khāḳān B-h" who he notes, was assisted by the "K-nd-r Khāḳān" and Djāwshīgh-r". This system is a variant of the well-known Turkic dual kingship. The ceremonial Ḳaghanate, described by the Islamic geographers (who regularly distinguish between the Khāḳān and the "king"), has parallels in the Turkic world. The earliest precedent for this particular evolution of the Ḳaghanate may be seen in the institution of the *I K'e-han* (**eb Ḳaghan* "House Ḳaghan" of the Türks themselves) noted in Chinese sources. Seen in this light, Artamonov's speculations (*op. cit.*, 275 ff.) associating this institution with the judaicisation of Khazaria and the alleged *coup d'état* of Obadiah in the early 9th century, are to be dismissed. Many of the ancient Türk traditions which underscored the shamanic aspects of the Ḳaghanal office, were preserved by the Khazars. Thus, the ritual of the ceremonial strangling of the Ḳaghan at his investiture (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 224), during which the new Ḳaghan on the verge of losing consciousness is asked to state the length of his rule (should he exceed it, he is killed; Ibn Faḍlān notes that the Khāḳān may rule no more than forty years) is identical to the ritual practised by the Türks as described in Chinese sources (Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken* (*T'u-küe*), Wiesbaden 1958, i, 8).

The Khazars, or at least the "royal" or core tribes, continued to practice a modified form of nomadism, wintering in their cities (which were large conglomerations of nomadic yurts, hence little archaeological evidence has survived) and passing the summer in the steppes (al-Maḳdisī, iv, 66). Agriculture and fishing were also practised. (On the nomadism of Western Eurasia, see Gy. Gyorffy, *A honfoglaló magyarok települési rendjéről* ("On the Settlement Pattern of the Conquest Period Hungarians"), in *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, xcvii (1970), for a description of this system as practised by the Ārpādid Hungarians. On the material culture of the Western Eurasian nomads, see S. A. Pletneva, *Ot koč̌eviy k gorodam* ("From nomadic encampments to cities"), Moscow 1967). The importance of fishing in Khazaria is confirmed by al-Iṣṭakhrī who notes that isinglass was the only product made by the Khazars themselves. Khazaria exported to Byzantium and the lands of Islam large quantities of furs, obtained as tribute from subject peoples, but imported the material for clothing from Gurgān, Ṭabaristān, Ādharbāydjān and Rūm. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, tr. Minorsky, 161, indicates that livestock breeding, as might be expected, was practised and was one of the numerous exports of Khazaria. But, unanimously with our other sources, the *Ḥudūd*, 162, notes that "the well-being and wealth of the King of the Khazars are mostly from the maritime customs". Khazaria took ample advantage of its favourable geographical position lying astride the great commercial arteries between east and west, north and south. The Ḳaghans of Atīl, like the Volga Bulghar ruler, took a tithe on all trade passing through their territory. Nomadic empires (cf. the Türks and their relationship with the Soghdians) regularly encouraged trade because of this lucrative source of revenue. According to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 22, ed. Pellat, i, 220, the Khazars had no sea-going vessels; yet according to Hilāl al-Ṣābī (ed. Amedroz, 217, below), the dams built at Derbend were intended as a defence against the ships (*marākib*) of the Khazars. There is some evidence to indicate that the Khazars minted their own coins. These were imitations of contemporary Arabic coins with many mistakes. Some, apparently, bore Turkic runic inscriptions; see A. A. Bīkov, *O Khazarskom čekane VIII-IXvv.* ("On Khazar Minting"), in *Trudī gosudarstvennogo ermitaža*, xii (1971).

With regard to Khazar urban sites, our sources present a number of Khazar toponyms, few of which can be located or given etymologies with absolute certainty. In addition to Balandjar and Samandar (see above), we may note Atīl, the name of the Volga and the Khazar capital located in its delta. L. N. Gumilyov, *Otkrītie Khazarii*, Moscow 1966, has recently advanced the thesis that the Khazar capital

was submerged by a rise in the level of the Caspian and consequently hopes of finding this largely "tent" city are slim. The al-Iṣṭakhrī - Ibn Ḥawḳal tradition reports that it was divided into two parts (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 7, ed. Pellat, i, 212, and the Letter of Joseph, Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, 74-5, 102, say it was divided into three parts), a western (called "Khazarān" in Ibn Ḥawḳal and in Ibn Rusta, 165, who elsewhere, see below, reports a different tradition) in which the king lived (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 220, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 389) and an eastern part. Another tradition, that of Ibn Rusta - Gardīzī - al-Bakrī and al-Marwazī, going back to al-Djarmī via al-Djayhanī, calls the Khazar capital **Sarīghshin* (*Sarīgh* = common Turk. "yellow") whose relationship to "al-Bayḍāʾ" ("the White City"; *Sharīgh* in some Bulgharo-Oghuric dialects denotes "white") is unclear. It should be borne in mind that "white" cities and fortresses in this region are not toponymical rarities and may have taken their name from the coloration of the bricks used in their construction. The later *Saḳsīn* may be a garbling of this name. Within *Sarīghshin* is another city: *H-bn-l-ʿ* or *Khamlīkh* (Ibn Rusta, 139; al-Muḳaddasī, 51, 355; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, i, 730, 793, ii, 471; *Ḥudūd*, Tumanskiy ms. f. 38b (*Ḥ-m-dj*), Ibn Khurdādhbih, 124, 154-5), all of which may be corruptions of **Khan Balïḳ* "The Khan's City" (cf. "Cambaluc" of Marco Polo for Peking). The relationship of this form to the city **Ḳutlugh*, Turk. "blessed, fortunate" (Gardīzī, Oxford, Bodl. Ouseley 240, p. 474; *Ḥudūd*, Tumanskiy ms. f. 38b; cf. also the *Ḥ-thl-gh*, *Ḥ---l-gh* of al-Bakrī and al-Marwazī), which may be either a separate and distinct city or the same city repeated in the not-always-critical compilations that form the bulk of our sources for the Khazars, is not clear. Marquart (*Streifzüge*, 18), Lewicki (*Źródła arabskie*, i, 29, 115) Zajączkowski (*Ze studiów*, 50) and Minorsky (*Ḥudūd*, 454) have suggested that *Khamlīkh* was the eastern part of Atīl. The anonymous *Risāla fī 'l-Aḳālīm* (Köprülü Ms. 1623, f. 209b) notes that Sarīghshin was located "in the plain". The Khazar fortress Sarkel/Sharkil which appears only in Byzantine and Hebrew sources and is curiously absent in the Arabo-Persian accounts, has occasioned a considerable literature. The *kel/kil* of Sarkel is probably from Iranian *gil* ("house, dwelling", see J. Harmatta and K. Czeglédy in *Magyar Nyelv*, xlix (1953), 178-83, 177 respectively). *Sar* may be viewed as either common Turkic *Sarïgh/Sarï* ("yellow") or Bulgharo-Oghuric *Sharïgh/Sharï* ("white" in some dialects). Byzantine sources (Theophanes Continuatus and Constantine Porphyrogenitus) translate it as "White Dwelling". It may well have been the Rus' "Běla Veža" ("White Fort") and perhaps the Arabic al-Bayḍāʾ, but there are numerous problems associated with this (see above). It was located on the Don river, near the Tsimlyanskaya stanitsa (and is now submerged); since this lay in Pontic Bulghar lands it may well have borne a Bulgharic name. This does not imply, as some have claimed, that the Khazars necessarily spoke Bulgharic. Other toponyms associated with Khazaria (although not necessarily having a Khazar population) are *Varačʿan* in the lands of the north Caucasian "Huns" (it is, perhaps, to be connected with the *Warthān* of al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 381. The mss. Cambridge, QQ10, f. 175b and John Rylands, Arabic 231 (801), f. 139b, have *W-r-ān*; the Letter of Joseph, Oxford, Christ Church 193, f. 18a has *V-rsān/V-rshān*. Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, 93-4, emends al-Yaʿḳūbī's form to **Warshan* and connects this with Varačʿan), *Suwār* (in the north Caucasus and Volga Bulghar lands, undoubtedly from the ethnonym *Sabir*), *Ḳishūī* (?) and *B-gh-nd*.

The religious situation in Khazaria was quite complex. In addition to Jews (whose numbers grew due to the migration of their co-religionists from Byzantium as the result of the persecutions of Romanus Lecapenus (919-44) reported in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 8, ed. Pellat, i, 212, and the Khazar Cambridge Document, Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, 35, as well as from the Islamic lands) and Khazar converts, there were large numbers of Muslims and Christians as well as pagans of various types (Turkic, Slavic and Finno-Ugrian). In Atīl there was a principal mosque with a lofty minaret and 30 mosques. In the year 310/922-3, the Khazar ruler received a report that in a Muslim country a synagogue had been destroyed (the name given in Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 440 is not clear; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 4, 477 ff.). He therefore had the minaret destroyed and the *muʾadhdhin* killed. He left the mosque unharmed for fear that all the synagogues in Muslim lands would be destroyed.

The question of Khazar ethnic affiliations remains one of the most difficult aspects of Khazar studies. Given the context in which the Khazar state came into being, we may properly look to the Altaic, or more specifically, perhaps, to the Turkic world for an answer (al-Masʿūdī's comment, *Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, 83, that the name *Khazar* is Iranian and in Turkic is *Sabīr* is undoubtedly a garbling of the fact that elements of the Sabirs formed one of the constituent tribes of the Khazar confederation. Both names may be explained in Turkic with the meaning "nomad", "wanderer", see Németh, *A honfoglaló*..., 37. This might also account for al-Masʿūdī's confusion). Unfortunately, we do not, as yet, possess any texts in the Khazar language (a recently discussed Hebrew document from the Cairo Geniza, see Cambridge, ms. T-S 12.122, which may have been written by Khazar Jews in Kiev, has an inscription in a variant of the Türk runic script which was used by many of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia and Eurasia. It has yet to be satisfactorily deciphered. Moreover, it consists of one word and hence can hardly be considered decisive). It is generally accepted that Khazar must have been, broadly speaking, Altaic; whether this was common Turkic or a form of Bulgharo-Oghuric is still the subject of polemics. Our sources provide little guidance here. Thus, al-Iṣṭakhrī, ed. de Goeje, 222, in one passage, remarks that Khazar does not resemble Turkic, Persian or any other language. Elsewhere (p. 225), he states that it is similar to Bulgharic. Al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, 42) remarks that the Bulghar and Suwār speak a language which is a mixture of Turkic and Khazar. This would seem to contrast Turkic and Khazar and perhaps place Khazar in the Bulgharo-Oghuric grouping. But one must bear in mind the compilatory nature of our sources, which undoubtedly compounded the complexities of the linguistic situation in Khazaria where common Turkic, Bulgharo-Oghuric, Finno-Ugric, Iranian and Slavic were spoken. Individual Khazar words, names, titles, hydronyms and toponyms scattered in Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Byzantine, Rus', Armenian and Georgian sources cannot fully answer this question because of the obvious difficulties of interpretation and the paucity of their number (depending on what one is willing to consider Khazar, there are, roughly, some fifty known Khazar words). Khazar titles are invariably Turkic or an-

cient Inner Asian loanwords long associated with Turkic: *Ḳaghan*, *Khatun*, *Alp* (both a name and title, as is true of many names in Turkic), *Baghatur*, *Beg*, *Tegin* (*Ir-tigin*), *Djabghu*, *Il-teber*, *Shad*, *Tarkhan*, *Tarmač* (*Tolmač*), *Tudun* and *Yilik* (*Ilik*). Other titles (or perhaps names) are problematic, cf.: *Balgitzes* (*Belgiči*? *Balîḳčî*), *B-l-shtsî* (*Bolushčî*?), *Tzoulê* (*Čulî*?), *Djāwshīgh-r*, *K-nd-r*, *Salīfān*. Similarly, some Khazar personal names are clearly Turkic, cf.: *Avči* (*Awč'i*), *Bulan*, *Čiček*, *Čorpan*, *Ḳadhîr* (*Khat'ir*), *Barsbek*/*P'arsbit'*), while others pose numerous difficulties of interpretation: *Bārdjîk* (if it is not a corruption of *Barsbek*, see above), *Bāshtwā*, *Bluč'an*/*Buldjān*, *Č'at' Kasar*, *Č'at'n*, *Ibuz(s)er Gliaban(r)*, *(T-n)K-sā*, *Papatzys*, **Yazîr Bulāsh*, *Ziebēl*. A few names show Iranian influence (cf. *Hazār Tarkhan* and perhaps *Kundādjîk*, with the Turkic dimunitive suffix *-djîk*). Of the tribal names, we know only *Khazar* (*K'azar*), *Kara Khazar* and *Kabar*/*Kavar*. The clan name *Ānsā* (*Ḥudūd*, ms. Tumanskiy, f. 38b), if it is not a corruption of Ishā/Ishād, may well be a garbling of the Türk *Ashina*. Of the nomina, we know only the obviously Arabised *al-djdāda* (Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Topkapî, Aḥmed III 2956/ii, f. 192b), a kind of tent-cart. With the possible exception of Sarkel (if it is to be read as Sharkil), none of these forms shows specific Bulgharo-Oghuric characteristics (*i.e.* *Turun* for *Tudun*).

Another major question of Khazar studies, for which there is as yet no ready answer, is the relationship of the Khazars to the origins of Eastern European Jewry.

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is, regrettably, damaged and difficult to read; the Oxford Ms. (Bodleian, Ouseley 240), is probably derived from it and should be used. The Rus' chronicles (*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisey*, i, *Lavrent'evskaya letopis'*, Moscow, reprint 1962, and ix, *Nikonovskaya Letopis'*, Moscow, reprint 1965) make occasional references to the Khazars.

Important collection of sources (texts, translations and commentaries are: Ch. Fraehn, *Ibn Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älter Zeit*, St. Petersburg 1823; A. Ya. Garkavi (Harkavi), *Skazaniya musul'manskikh pisateley o slavyanakh i russkikh* ("The Accounts of Muslim Writers on the Slavs and Russians"), St. Petersburg 1870, and his *Skazaniya evreyskikh pisateley o khozarakh i khozarskom tsarstvě* ("The Accounts of Jewish Writers on the Khazars and the Khazar Kingdom"), St. Petersburg 1874; A. Kunik - V. Rosen, *Izvěstiya al-Bekri i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i slavyanakh*, St. Petersburg 1878-1903, and the more recent F. Kupfer - T. Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian i niektórych innych ludów środkowej i wschodniej Europy* ("Hebrew Sources on the Hist. of the Slavs and some other Peoples of Central and Eastern Europe"), Wrocław-Warsaw 1956, and T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, ("Arabic Sources for the Hist. of the Slavs"), i-ii/1, Wrocław-Cracow 1956-69; the latter is still in progress. An interesting discussion of the sources of the "Caspian Codex" can be found in B. N. Zakhoder's two-volume study *Kaspiyskiy svod svedeniy o vostočnoy evrope* (cited in text above). Analyses of specific problems of Arabic sources relating to Eastern Europe in general and Khazar problems can be found in J. Marquart, *Ein Arabischer Bericht über die arktischen Länder aus dem 10 Jh.*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, iv (1924); idem, *Kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Analekten*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, ix (1929); T. Lewicki, *Ecrivains arabes du IXe au XVIe siècle traitant de l'ambre jaune de la Baltique et de son importation en pays arabes*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iv (1962-3). S. G. Klyashtornïy, *Drevneyshee upominanie slavyan v nižnem povolžě* ("The Oldest Mention of the Slavs in the Lower Volga Region"), in *Vostočnïe Istočniki*, ed. Tveritinova (1964), i; A. P. Novosel'tsev, *Vostočnïe istočniki o vostočnïkh slavyanakh i Rusi VI-IX vv* ("Eastern Sources on the Eastern Slavs and Rus' VI-IX cents."), in *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego meždunarodnoe značenie* ("The Ancient Russian State and its International Significance"), ed. A. P. Novosel'tsev, V. T. Pashuto *et al.*, Moscow 1965; F. Kmietowicz, *The Term Rādāniya in the Work of Ibn Ḫurdāḏbeh*, in *Folia Orientalia*, xi (1969).

The Hungarian scholar, K. Czeglédy, in addition to his important monograph (cited in the text) has contributed a number of very useful articles on various aspects of Khazar history and culture: *Egy bolgar török yiltavar méltóságnév* ("The Bulghar Turkic title Yiltavar"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xl (1944); *Egy kazár méltóságnév* ("A Khazar title"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xliii (1947); *A kazár kil-kel eredete* ("The Origin of Khazar kil-kel"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xlix (1953); *Herakleios török szövetségesei* ("The Turkic Allies of Heraclius"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xlix (1953); *Nyugati türk eredetü méltóságnevek* ("Titles of Western Türk Origin"), in *Névtudományi vizsgálatok* ("Onomastic Studies"), ed. S. Mikesy, Budapest 1955; *Khazar Raids in Transcaucasia in A.D. 762-764*, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xi (1960); *A korai kazár történelem forrásainak kritikájához* ("A Critique of Contemporary Sources for the History of the Khazars"), in *A Magyar Tudományos Akademia, nyelv-és irodalomtudományi osztályának közleményei* (Communications of the Linguistic and History of Literature Section of the Hung. Acad. of Sci.), xv (1960); *Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren*, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xiii (1961); ΤΕΡΜΑΤΖΟΥΣ, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae*, x (1962). Hungarian interest in Khazar history, which was so intimately intertwined with their early history, has always been strong. Most major works dealing with early Hungarian history (*i.e.* prior to their occupation of Pannonia) have something to say regarding the Khazars. The collection of articles under the heading *A Magyarság östörténte* ("Hungarian Proto-History"), ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1943, contains valuable contributions dealing with Khazar and Hungaro-Khazar problems from Czeglédy and T. Halasi-Kun.

The Khazar problem has engendered a rather large specialised literature. Some of the more important articles are: H. H. Howorth, *The Khazars, were they Ugrians or Turks?*, in *Travaux de la troisième session du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, St. Petersburg 1876; S. Patkanov, *Über das Volk der Sabiren*, in *Keleti Szemle*, i (1900); J. Thúry, *A Khazar isa méltóságnév* ("The Khazar title Isha"), in *Keleti Szemle* iii (1903); J. (Gy.) Moravcsik, *Proiskhoždenie slova* Tzitzakion ("The Origin of the word Tzitzakion), in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, iv (1913); V. Minorsky, *The Khazars and the Turks in the Ākām al-Marjān*, in *BSOS*, ix (1937-9); Gy. Németh, *A magyar népnév, a magyar törzsnevek, a kazár népnév* ("The ethnonym Hungarian, Hungarian tribal names, the ethnonym Khazar"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xxxiv (1938); Z. V. Togan, *Völkerschaften des Chazarenreiches im neunten Jahrhundert*, in *Korösi Csoma Archivum*, iii (1940); M. I. Artamonov, *Belaya Veža*, in *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, xvi (1952); H. Schönebaum, *Zur Kabarenfrage*, in *Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (*BBA* 5, 1957); M. I. Artamonov, *Sarkel-Belaya Veža*, in *Trudi volgo-donskoy arkheologičeskoy ekspeditsii, Materialï i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR*, lxii (1958) (Works of the Volga-Don Archaeological Expedition, Materials and Researches on the Archaeology of the USSR); see also there the article of I. I. Lyapushkin, *Pamyatniki saltovo-mayatskoy kul'turï v basseyne r. Dona* ("Monuments of the Saltovo-Mayats Culture in the Don river basin"); N. Ya. Polovoy, *O marshrute pokhoda russkikh na Berdaa i russko-Khazarskikh otnosheniyakh v 934 g.* ("On the Route of the Russian Campaign on Bardhaʿa and Russo-Khazar relations in 943"), in *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik*, xxv (1961); T. Lewicki, *ʿArisuʾ, Un nom de tribu énigmatique cité dans le lettre du roi Khazar Joseph* (*Xe siècle*), in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, iii/1 (1962); O. Pritsak, يوار *Yowár und* Καβαρ *Kāwar*, in *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, xxxvi (1965); P. B. Golden, *The Q'azaro-Hungarian Title* ∾ *Personal name* يلك ∼ 'Ιέλεχ in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, i (1975); *idem*, *The People* نوكرده, in *ibid.*

On the Turkic runic script and inscriptions that

may have Khazar connections, see: A. M. Shčerbak, *Neskol'ko slov o priyomakh čteniya runičeskikh nadpisey, naydennïkh na Donu* ("A Few Words about the Methods of Reading the Runic Inscriptions Found on the Don"), in *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, xix (1954); idem, *Znaki na keramike i kirpičakh iz Sarkela-Beloy Veži* ("Signs on the Ceramics and Bricks from Sarkel-Bela Veza"), in *Materialï i Issledovaniya po Arkheologi SSSR* ("Materials and Researches on the Archaeology of the USSR"), lxxv (1959); idem, *Les inscriptions inconnues sur pierres de Khoumara (au Caucase du Nord) et le problem de l'alphabet runique des Turcs Occidentaux*, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xv (1962); Gy. Németh, *The Runiform Inscriptions from Nagy-Szent-Miklós and the Runiform Scripts of Eastern Europe*, in *Acta Linguistica*, xxi (1971).

In addition to some of the works cited in the text, there is a relatively large body of literature dealing with the history of the peoples and cultures of the Eurasian steppes which has a bearing on a number of problems of Khazar studies. The following is by no means exhaustive, but should provide a good guide to the study of the area as a whole: N. I. Ashmarin, *Bolgarï i Čuvashi* ("The Bulgars and the Chuvash"), Kazan' 1902; Z. Gombocz, *Die Bulgarisch-Türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache*, in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, xxx (1912) (extremely important); J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in W. Bang and J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, which appeared in the *Ábh. der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen* (Phil.-hist. Kl.), N.F., xiii (1914); Z. Gombocz, *Arpádkori török személyneveink* ("Our Turkic Personal names of the Árpád Period"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xi (1915); I. Berlin, *Istoričeskie sud'bï evreyskago naroda na territorii russkago gosudarstva* ("The historical Fate of the Jewish People in the Territory of the Russian State"), Petrograd 1920; V. V. Bartol'd (Barthold), *Mesto prikaspiyskikh oblastey v istorii musul'manskogo mira* ("The Place of the Caspian Region in the History of the Muslim World"), first appeared in Baku 1925, now republished in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya* ("Works"), ii/1, Moscow 1963; J. Moravcsik, *Zur Geschichte der Onoguren*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher* x (1930) (important); C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, Cambridge 1930 (useful); F. László, *A kagán és családja* ("The Kaghan and his Family"), in *Kōrösi Csoma Archivum*, iii (1940) (important for understanding of the structure of Turkic states); P. Pelliot, *Quelques noms turcs d'hommes et de peuples finissant en -ar*, in *Œuvres Posthumes*, ii, Paris 1949; O. Pritsak, *Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der Altaischen Völker*, in *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, xxiv (1952) (very important); H. W. Haussig, *Theophylakts Exkurs über dir Skythischen Völker*, in *Byzantion*, xxiii (1953); G. Vernadsky, M. de Ferdinandy, *Studien zur ungarischen Frühgeschichte*, Munich 1957; G. Fehér, *Zur Geschichte der Steppenvölker von Südrussland 9-10 Jhr.*, in *Studia Slavia*, v (1959); K. V. Trever, *Ocerki po istorii i kul'ture kavkazskoy Albanii* ("Essays on the History and Culture of Caucasian Albania"), Moscow-Leningrad 1959; B. A. Vasil'ev, *Problema burtasov i mordva* ("The Problem of the Burtas and the Mordva"), in *Voprosï etničeskoy istorii mordovskogo naroda, Trudï instituta etnografii* ("Questions of the Ethnic History of the Mordvin people, Works of the Institute of Ethnography"), lxiii (1960); A. P. Smirnov, *Železniy vek čuvashskogo povolž'ya*, in *Materialï i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR* ("The Iron Age in the Chuvash Volga region, Materials and Researches on the Archaeology of the USSR"), xcv (1961); B. Ögel, *Islâmiyetten önce Türk kültür tarihi*, Ankara 1962 (useful survey of the archaeological material); V. F. Gening, A. Kh. Khalikov, *Rannie bolgarï na Volge* ("The Early Bulgars on the Volga"), Moscow 1964 (important); G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965 (important study, contains detailed discussion of a number of Khazar words that appear in Persian sources); T. Halasi-Kun, *The Caucasus, an Ethno-Linguistic Survey*, in *Studia Caucasica*, i (1967); L. N. Gumilyov, *Drevnie Tyurki* ("The Ancient Türks"), Moscow 1967 (useful, but often fanciful study); Gy. Németh, *A Baskir földi magyar öshazáról* ("On the Ancient Hungarian Homeland in the Bashkir Country"), in *Élet és Tudomány*, xiii (1966) (brief, but very important); I. Boba, *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs*, The Hague-Wiesbaden 1967 (important, iconoclastic, but not always convincing); J. Wiesner, J. V. Farkas *et al.*, *Die Kulturen der eurasischen Völker*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1968; A. Kollautz, H. Miyakawa, *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes (Die Jou-jan der Mongolei und die Awaren in Mitteleuropa)*, Klagenfurt 1970 (important); A. N. Kurat, *IV-XVIII yüzyıllarda karadeniz kuzeyindeki Türk kavimleri ve devletleri*, Ankara 1972 (brief, not always critical).

(W. Barthold — P. B. Golden)

KHĀZIN (a.), usual pl. *khuzzān* (the pl. *khazana* is found in the Ḳur'ān in XXXIX, 71, 73, etc. for the angels who guard Paradise and Hell), literally, "he who keeps safe, stores something away", a term of mediaeval Islamic administration for certain members of the financial departments (on which see BAYT AL-MĀL and, for Ottoman times, also KHAZĪNE) and also of the chancery. It was used in ʿAbbāsid times, for there was prominent in the early 4th/10th century Mu'nis al-Khāzin (so-called in the sources to distinguish him from the commander of the guard Mu'nis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], an associate of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt's in a kind of regency council, *al-sādāt*, set up when al-Muḳtadir regained the throne in 296/908 after the failure of Ibn al-Muʿtazzi's putsch; Sourdel has suggested that Mu'nis may have been the treasurer of the personal revenues (*māl al-khaṣṣ*) of the caliph (*Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 387-8, 742). But the term *khāzin* could equally be used at this time for quite menial and lowly members of the caliphal household; in his detailing of the budget for 306/918-19, Hilāl al-Ṣābi' enumerates the wages of such servants as those who kept the stores of bedding (*khuzzān al-farash*) and the one who kept the supply of candles (*khāzin al-shamʿ*), these being classed with the attendants of the private chambers and the audience hall, the porters, etc. (*Wuzarā'*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Farādj, Cairo 1958, 23).

We have some information from treatises on finance and administration in Egypt about the term's usage there under the Fāṭimids, Ayyūbids and Mamlūks. According to Ibn al-Mammātī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]), the *khāzin* was a secretary in the *Dīwān al-Māl* who collected the taxes paid in kind (*ghallāt*) and stored them in the state granaries and warehouses, giving out receipts (*barā'āt* [see BARĀ'A.

i]) for these, and also securing the repayment (*murtadji*ʿ) of advances to the cultivators of seed (*taḳāwī*); he kept an inventory of the holdings, for which he was strictly accountable, and then issued the produce when required (A.S. Cooper, *Ibn Mammati's rules for the ministries: translation with commentary of* Qawanin al-Dawawin, Univ. of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. thesis 1973, unpublished, 238, 244; Cl. Cahen, *Contribution à l'étude des impôts dans L'Égypte médiévale*, in *JESHO*, v (1962), 269-70 (citing Maḵẖzūmī); Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt, A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, London 1972, 160-1). An extension of this function of storekeeper is that of keeper of books or librarian (*ḵẖāzin al-kutub*), whose duties included the careful guarding of books and their issue only against pledges of the equivalent value (Subkī, *Muʿid al-niʿam wa-mubīd al-niḳam*, ed. Muḥ. ʿAli al-Nadjdjār *et alii*, Cairo 1367/ 1948, 111, and see further, KHIZĀNA).

However, the term was also used simultaneously in Egyptian administration for an official in the chancery or *Dīwān al-Inshā*ʾ who acted as registry clerk and archivist in the department. According to the *Ḳānūn dīwān al-rasāʾil* of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (died 542/1147 [*q.v.*]), the head of the *Dīwān* had under him seven secretaries for various specialist jobs plus two non-specialists, the *ḵẖāzin* and the *ḥādjib* or doorkeeper of the office. Whilst not required to possess the encyclopaedic knowledge of *adab* and of administrative procedures required of the *kātib*, the *ḵẖāzin* had to be a man of intelligence and the highest probity, for he kept the record of all incoming and outgoing chancery documents, placing copies of all letters sent out plus the originals of those received in a file or portfolio (*iḍbāra*, pl. *aḍābīr*) for each separate month. Hence if he was susceptible to corruption, he coud easily abstract confidential documents, and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī accordingly states that "the guiding reins of the whole *dīwān* are in his hands" (cited in Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 135-6, cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 22, 39, 89).

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(C. E. Bosworth)

AL-**KHĀZIN**, Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khurāsānī, astronomer and mathematician, originally from Khurāsān (not to be confused with al-Khāzinī [*q.v.*]). He was a protégé of Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 359/ 969-70), minister in Rayy of the Buwayhid Rukn al-Dawla (326-66/937-76), and died between 350/961 and 360/971.

Amongst his purely mathematical works, the *Fihrist*, 282, ed. Cairo 393, and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 396, ed. Cairo 259, cite a *Kitāb al-Masāʾil al-ʿadadiyya* (now lost), whilst Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *K. Shakl al-ḳaṭṭā*ʾ Istanbul 1891, 148-51, mentions the *Maṭālib djuzʾiyya, mayl al-muyūl al-djuzʾiyya wa 'l-maṭāliʿ fi 'l-kūra al-mustaḳīma*, which contained a demonstration of the theorem of the sine for right-angled spherical triangles. According to the *Fihrist*, 266, ed. Cairo 371, he wrote a commentary on the *Elements* of Euclid, but the only part of this which survives, in several manuscripts, is the commentary on the opening of Book X. Abū Naṣr Manṣūr, *Risāla fī taṣḥīḥ ma waḳaʿa li-Abī Djaʿfar al-Khāzin min al-sahw fī zīdj al-ṣafāʾiḥ*, in *Rasāʾil Abī Naṣr ilā 'l-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad 1948, 3, speaks of "his book on the *Elements* of geometry", and we know that he set forth a defective proof of the fifth postulate of Euclid; ms. 1014 Leiden contains the reply of Abu 'l-Djūd Muḥammad b. al-Layth to a geometrical problem set out by al-Khāzin. Moreover, it was possibly our al-Khāzin who demonstrated, with a method closely connected with Hero's procedure in his *Dioptra*, the formula of this latter author for finding out the surface of a triangle as a function of its sides. By using conic sections, he resolved the so-called equation of al-Māhānī ($x^3 + a^2b = c x^2$).

One of his best-known atronomical works is the *Zīdj al-ṣafāʾiḥ* (table of the plates of the astrolabe?), which he wrote for Ibn al-ʿAmīd (al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd nihāyat al-amākin*, in *RIMA*, viii (1962), 119-20); two brief chapters concerning astronomical instruments in ms. Berlin 5857 may conceivably belong to this work, which Ibn al-Ḳifṭī considered as the finest and most splendid on the subject. According to al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 326, in this work the author adequately sets forth the theory of the trepidation of the equinoxes along an 8° arc. The same author, in an obscure passage of the *Tamhīd al-mustaḳarr li-taḥḳīḳ maʿnā 'l-mamarr* when he deals with the question of the transit in depth (comparison of the vector radii of two consecutive planets, each in relationship to its own maximum and minimum distance), states that al-Khāzinī dealt correctly with the problem in his *Zīdj al-ṣafāʾiḥ*, although he was mistaken in another, unspecified work; he also sets forth the criticisms levelled by al-Khāzin against Abū Maʿshar on this topic (*On transits*, tr. M. Saffouri and A. Ifram, comm. by E. S. Kennedy, Beirut 1959, 85-7, 172). Abu 'l-Djūd Muḥammad b. al-Layth reproduces (ms. Leiden Or. 168 (4)) al-Khāzin's assertion in the *zīdj al-ṣafāʾiḥ* rhat he could calculate the chord of an angle of 1° provided that it were possible to trisect the angle. Abū Naṣr Manṣūr devotes the *risāla* mentioned above to the correction of certain errors made by al-Khāzin in this work. It can accordingly be deduced that the *Zīdj al-ṣafāʾih* included at least two *maḳāla*s, together with a third one in which the author dealt with the following topics: a method for determining the ascendant, when the degree of the "midpoint of the heavens" was known but the oblique ascension was unknown (*R. fī taṣḥīḥ*..., 4-14); the way of determining the meridian when the degree of the sun is known (15-33); the determining of the azimut of the *ḳibla* "by means of the instrument" (*bi 'l-āla* = astrolabe?, 33-9); the movement of the apogees (39-42); and in a spherical triangle, if the sides are known, the angles are also known, and vice-versa. This last topic was one of those about which he corresponded with Ibrāhīm b. Sinān (42-9).

Al-Khāzin also wrote a commentary on the *Almagest* in which he gave information about the value of the obliquity of the ecliptic (23°35′) obtained by the Banū Mūsā at Baghdād in 254/868 (al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd*, 95), and also about the observations, likewise made at Baghdād in the year 212 of the Yazdigirdī era/844 A.D. by Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī, ʿAlī b. ʿIsā al-Ḥarrānī and Sanad b. ʿAlī, in the course of which the length of the spring and summer was determined (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳānūn al-masʿūdī*, Hyderabad 1954, ii, 653; on this work, see also al-Ṭūsī, *Shakl al-ḳaṭṭā*ʾ, 123). In another work, now lost and which had the title *Sirr al-ʿālamīn*, al-Khāzin probably set forth his theory according to which the heavenly spheres are solid, and developed the earlier ideas of Ptolemy's *Planetary hypotheses*; this latter theory was later set forth by Ibn al-Haytham and al-Kharaḳī [*qq.v.*]. Al-Khāzin was furthermore the author of a *al-Madkhal al-kabīr ilā ʿilm al-nudjūm*,

in which were set forth two methods of determining the *ʿalāmat Muḥarram* (sc. the day of the week corresponding to the 1st Muḥarram in any given year, cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 202-3). In an unspecified work, he tried to pin down exactly the date of the Jewish Passover in the year of Jesus's crucifixion (idem, *Ḳānūn*, i, 332). Finally, we know that in a *Kitāb fī 'l-abʿād wa 'l-adjrām*, he gave the diameters of stars between the first and the sixth magnitudes, but without specifying whether these calculations were his own personal ones or how he had arrived at then (*ibid.*, iii, 1312).

Al-Khāzin seems to have been an astronomer who made practical observations. He is associated with one or more determinations of the obliquity of the ecliptic; according to al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd*, 98, he was present when Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Harawī made his observations in 348/959, which gave the value $\varepsilon = 23°40'$. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī also speaks of the determining of ε made by al-Khāzin and a certain number of colleagues, by means of a circle *ca.* 4 m. (in diameter?), but does not mention any date or place; according to yet another source, al-Khāzin measured ε at Edessa in 359/970. At all events, al-Khāzin and Ibrāhīm b. Sinān were both advocates of the idea of a progressive diminution of the obliquity of the ecliptic caused by the movement of its poles round "a point" (al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd*, 101). It is also of interest to mention that according to al-Bīrūnī, *Āthar*, 258-9, *Taḥdīd*, 57-8, and *Ḳānūn*, 630-2, al-Khāzin wrote a *maḳāla* in which he put forward the idea of a solar model different from that of Ptolemy, and without having recourse to eccentrics or epicycles: viz., the sun goes round the centre of the universe in a path which is circular but moving with irregular speed, and a point situated on the line of the apsides and different from the centre of the universe is the centre of the uniform movement of the sun. This system finds its justification in the fact that, according to al-Khāzin, Ptolemy failed to observe any change in the apparent diameter of the sun in the course of the year. The same system was set forth by Henry of Hesse (1325-97) in his *De reprobatione ecentricorum et epiciclorum* (cf. Claudia Kren, in *Isis*, lix (1968), 269-81), but it is not easy to see any possible connection between the two authors. Finally, one may note that Ibn Khaldūn in his *Prolegomena*, tr. de Slane, i, 111, tr. Rosenthal, i, 115, tr. Monteil, i, 114, gives al-Khāzin's determination of the latitudes corresponding to the seven climates.

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KHAZĪNE (a. *Khazīna*), state treasury.

In Turkish, the word *khazīne* acquired a meaning close to this at least in the 7th/13th century (*Taniklarile tarama sözlüğü*, Ankara 1967, iii, 1907) and it was widely used from the 9th/15th century onwards to mean "a place where official and/or private money, jewels and various valuables were kept" (Muṣṭafā ʿAlī, *Mewāʾid ül-nefāʾis fī ḳawāʾid ül-medjālis*, Istanbul 1956, 117; Ö. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, i, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 370). The word in popular usage gradually took the form of *khazne*, and came to be used as a place for storing any kind of goods or for storing water (Aḥmed Wefīḳ, *Lehdje-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1293, i, 547).

In Ottoman government organisation, the *khazīne* was the place where the state's cash and resources were kept; hence there could be only one *khazīne* in existence at the time the state organisation first developed. However, at a later stage of development, there were two treasuries, an inner (*enderūn*) treasury and an outer (*bīrūn*, *tashna*) treasury. The inner treasury was kept in the Harem section of the Palace, and was a reserve treasury; it was guarded by the Treasury Wardens (*khazīne ḳoghusu*) inaugurated by Sultan Meḥemmed Fātiḥ and comprised at that time three officers (Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Fātiḥ devrine ʿāʾid wethīḳalar*, in *TOEM* (1339), 5); their number was increased to sixty at the end of the 10th/16th century. Both the inner and the outer treasuries were maintained by the body of treasurers, who were directed by a Head Treasurer (*Bash Khazīnedār*). Between the years 933-4/1527-8 there were 10 officers, including the Head Treasurer, working in the inner treasury, and 9 people, including the head treasurer, employed in the outer treasury (Ö. L. Barkan, *H.933-934 (M. 1527-1528) mali yılına ait bütče örneği*, in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (Istanbul 1956), 309, 322). In the official and other documents of this time the term *khazīne-i ʿāmire* denoted the principal, *i.e.* outer, state treasury (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 359-61, 363, 399).

The Inner Treasury was located near the guard room in the palace; during the middle years of the 11th/17th century it was managed by a group of about 110 officials, with a Head Treasurer and a Superintendent of the Treasury (*Khazīnedār ketkhüdası*) as his assistant (Hezārfen Hüseyin Čelebi, *Telkhīṣ al-beyān fī Ḳawānin-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, f. 18 b). In 1185/1772 there were 157 people with a Head Treasurer and an assistant Superintendent of the Treasury at their head (İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 316), whereas at the end of the 12th/18th century the Treasury was supervised by the Superintendent of the Treasury, with the head clerk of the Treasury under him; the seal of the Treasury was kept by the Superintendent of the Treasury and its key with the head clerk. When it was required to extract something from the Treasury, the Sultan's permission was obtained and it was opened in the presence of a number of clerks, the operation being registered on the spot and an entry being made in the main register. The officials working in the Treasury were under strict control, and could not fill their own pockets while working.

Thus at this time the supervision of the Treasury was done by the Superintendent and the *aghas* of the Treasury, whilst the requisitions upon and the stocks contained in the Treasury were recorded by the clerks of the Treasury (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿAṭāʾ*, i, 198, 199; for the stocks and a description of the Inner Treasury, see J. B. Tavernier, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Intérieur Sérail du Grand Seigneur*, Paris 1675, 109 ff.). After an Ottoman sultan came to the throne, he would go to the Treasury and inspect the deposits personally. This was an important ceremony, in which the interior palace personnel would take part, and the head clerk of the Treasury would present a register, showing details of the Treasury deposits, to the sultan before he entered the Treasury (Čelebi-zāde ʿĀṣim, *Dhayl-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1282, 19; *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAṭā*, i, 254-6).

The Outer Treasury was under the management of the Head Treasurer, as a member of the Exchequer or *Khazīne-yi ʿĀmire*, who was directly responsible to the *Defterdār* or Minister of Finance. The actual expenditure of the State was made from this Treasury. In 933-4/1527-8 there were in the *Khazīne-yi ʿĀmire* 9 treasurers, under the *Defterdār*, 32 clerk and 23 apprentices, comprising respectively the *djamāʿat-i kātibān-i Khazīne-yi ʿāmire* and the *djamāʿat-i shāgirdān-i Khazīne-yi ʿāmire*, and who were attached to the various offices, such as those of the *rūznāmedji* (the office in charge of financial transactions), the accounts office of Rumelia and that of Anatolia, etc. (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 324-6). In 975/1567-8 the clerks of the Exchequer numbered 30 (Barkan, *H. 954-955 (M. 1547-1548) mali yılına ait bir osmanlı bütčesi*, in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xix (Istanbul 1960), 330). However, not all of the state's wealth in cash was in the Treasury; for example the records of the 955/1548 budget show that the cash amounted to 36,021,027 *akčes*, of which 25,021,027 *akčes* were kept in the Treasury, and 11,000,000 *akčes* were kept in the cellars of Yedikule; the silver and gold coins were mostly in purses, and other things were kept loose (Barkan, *ibid.*, 235); for the stocks of the Treasury in 975/1567-8, see 291). From the end of the 10th/16th century onwards, it became difficult for the Exchequer or *Khazīne-yi ʿāmire*, that is the Exterior Treasury, to meet expenses, and it was therefore strengthened by transfers from the Inner Treasury. Such situations occurred at the time of military campaigns, and a memorandum was drawn up during the reign of Meḥemmed III (1003-12/1595-1603) showing that the practice of reinforcing the Outer Treasury from the Inner Treasury when there was difficulty in paying the troops dated from the time of Süleymān the Magnificent. However, Meḥemmed III came strongly to criticise his *Defterdār*, because there was not only cash being paid out from the Outer Treasury, but also, as was the case with the Inner Treasury the money intended for presents, such as robes of honour and ceremonial swords; these latter were if necessary also taken from the Inner Treasury (Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler; Telhisler (1597-1607)*, Istanbul 1970, 33-4, 109). These financial subsidies from the Inner to the Outer Treasury at times of crisis had to be returned later. In actual fact, the Inner Treasury had come into existence from the surplus of the Outer Treasury; in other words, the surplus income of the Outer Treasury was placed in reserve as an income from the Inner Treasury, and it was in turn obliged to meet the expenses of the Outer Treasury. For instance, the surplus of the annual income from Egypt formed the income of the Inner Treasury; likewise when there was surplus money in the Outer Treasury, it was transferred to the Inner Treasury in order to prevent excessive expenditure. The other sources for the income of the Inner Treasury came from the customs of Baghdād and the estates of those dying without heirs. (Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, i, 359-60; Fîndîklîlî Meḥmed Agha, *Silaḥdār Taʾrīkhi*, ed. Aḥmed Refīḳ, Istanbul 1928, ii, 306; *Taʾrīkhi Sāmī Shākir Ṣubḥī*, Istanbul 1198, 43a; also see Halil Sahillioğlu, Siviş *year crises in the Ottoman Empire*, in *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, London 1970, 242 ff.).

The annual income of a province sent to the capital was also called *Khazīne*. For example, the money sent from Egypt was called the *Irsāliyye Khazīnesi* or Forwarding Treasury (see S. J. Shaw, *The Budget of Ottoman Egypt 1005-1006/1596-1597*, 1968, 13-14). The various provinces of Rumelia and Anatolia also sent the surplus of local income to the capital, and the amount sent was termed *Khazīne*, such as the Treasury of Baghdād, the Treasury of Erzurum, etc. However, when the budget of a province was overstrained by political disturbance or war, with more troops under arms than the province could support, the deficit would be met by a supplementary *Khazīne* sent out from Istanbul or from the neighbouring provinces (Sahillioğlu, *Osmanlı idaresinde Kıbrıs'ın ilk yılı bütçesi*, in *TTK, Belgeler*, iv (Ankara 1969), 2-4; for the subsidies sent from Istanbul to certain provinces, and from the provinces to Istanbul in 1213/1798, see Halis Cinlioğlu, *Osmanlılar zamanında Tokat*, Tokat 1951, 16). Moreover, the taxes collected in a province were also called a "treasury"; at the same time, the financial office which assumed the responsibility for this was termed "the provincial treasury" (*wilāyet khazīnesi*). The use of the word "treasury" in this way indicates that it was used as the equivalent of "finance" in general or of the financial department (*defterdārlıḳ*). For example, tax policy in Aleppo was determined according to the registers kept in "the treasury of Aleppo", that is, in the finance office (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 142, 209).

The money brought to the *Khazīne-i ʿāmire* was examined by the official in charge of weighing and assaying (*wezzān, weznedār*), who decided whether there was any spurious coinage and whether the total was correct. The money put into or taken out of the treasury was registered and recorded by the clerks sitting in a row behind the *defterdārs*, and at their side were the weighers and assayers, who would count and fix the value of the money. The equipment of the latter included braziers and an iron oven, as well as scales and balances. After being weighed, the money would be put into bags and these bags would be taken to the treasury which was beside the assembling room before the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn* (J. Chesneau, *Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Araman*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887, 237-8; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 369-70).

The word "treasury" gradually came to be used from the end of the 10th/16th century onwards with a more diffused meaning in Ottoman usage. Thus the collected monies set apart for the supplying of a fortress garrison (*e.g.* that of Egri in 1011/1602) was called a "treasury" (see Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 39-41, 43, 52). In time of war, the money required for every kind of the soldiers' needs, and the state treasury containing the treasury registers were sent along with the army under the title of the "army treasury" (*Ordu Khazīnesi*). The army treasury was transported

in chests on camels, and was kept under the guard of Janissary cavalrymen in the Treasury tent at halting places. It was therefore necessary that the *defterdārs* should accompany the Sultan and the Grand Vizier on campaigns, taking with them the treasury registers in order to record the daily expenditure in detail. The treasury registers, together with the army treasury, were kept in the Treasury tent (Ferīdūn Bey, *Mün͟she'āt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274, i, 589-90; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1280, i, 94; cf. Fīndīklīlī Meḥmed Ag͟ha, *Nuṣret-nāme*, simplified version by İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1962-4, i, 171, 281, 294, 299-300). In order to give an idea of the size of the army treasury, one may note that there were 26 trains of camels assigned to carry the treasury for the army commanded by the Vizier Lālā Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha during the Persian campaign of 986/1578 (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Ruus defteri, no 232, p. 397).

The Interior Treasury was still richer in money and goods than the *K͟hazīne-i ʿĀmire* at the end of the 12th/18th century. Even at this period, there was very little aid given from the inner treasury to the *K͟hazīne-i ʿĀmire* or Outer Treasury, except in time of wars and financial crises. Nevertheless, these subsidies were credits and were returnable, as was the case in earlier times. In times of crisis, confiscation was often resorted to whenever the state treasury was in financial straits; these confiscations were usually of the wealth of officials, see Cavid Baysun, *İA*, art. *Müsadere*.

The losses of territory by the state during the various wars necessitated a reorganisation of the inner and outer treasuries. The need to find a new source of income led to the foundation of the "new receipts treasury", *īrād-ī d͟jedīd k͟hazīnesi*. Some sources of income were assigned to the new treasury, and whenever there was an annual surplus of more than 10 purses from the income of the state lands and the Ḥaramayn, it was also transferred to this treasury. The "new receipts treasury" consequently grew richer than the state treasury, which was deprived of some of its income, so that further reorganisation became necessary (D͟jewdet, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1309, vi, 272-3; ʿĀṣīm, *Taʾrīk͟h*, ii, 356). The "new receipts treasury" continued its existence, despite its ups and downs, during the reign of Selīm III (see Enver Ziya Karal, *III. Selimin Hatt-ı Humayunları*, Ankara 1946, 89, 92-3), but it was abolished after he was deposed (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Hattı Humayun Vesikaları, no. 19418). As a result, part of the "new receipts treasury" 's income was stopped and the rest transferred to the treasury of the mint, the *ḍarbk͟hāne-yi ʿāmire k͟hazīnesi*, which was a branch of the inner treasury. Thus state expenditure was met, as before, from the state treasury, and the surplus income was transferred to the inner treasury, the latter once more serving as a reserve treasury giving subsidies to the outer treasury in times of war or crisis. In the 19th century, changes began to be made in the Ottoman financial system. From 1820 onwards, about 15 of the Anatolian *sand͟jaḳ*s began to be governed by lieutenant-governors or *mütesellim*s, without the appointment of provincial governors or *wālī*s, and of *mutaṣarrīf*s in the *sand͟jaḳ*s, and the income assigned to the *wālī*s and *mutaṣarrīf*s was registered as income to the *muḳāṭaʿa* treasury, which was the treasury for the *niẓāmiyye* or new army. After the abolition of the Janissary corps and the *tīmār* system, the financial department was in 1834 divided into two, the *k͟hazīne-yi ʿāmire*, and the *manṣūra k͟hazīnesi*, which supervised the income and expenditure of the Imperial army (*mühimme-yi ʿaskeriyye*). At the death of Maḥmūd II in 1255/1839, there were the *k͟hazīne-yi ʿāmire* and exchequers for the *muḳāṭaʿa*, the munitions manufacture (*bārūd-k͟hāne*) the *awḳāf*, the *Ḥaramayn* and the *ẓahīre* in existence. With the establishment of separate ministries and government offices, it appears that branches of the treasury such as the dockyard, the arsenal, the kitchen, the *ẓahīre* and the *Ḥaramayn* acquired a more definite shape. Each one of these branches of the treasury had an *emīn* or superintendent, and a treasury assistant (*ketk͟hüdā*) (Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pas͟ha, *Netāyid͟j ül-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul 1329, iv, 114-5, 118).

Formerly there was a special imperial treasury (*d͟jeyb-i humāyūn k͟hazīnesi*) for the private expenditure of the sovereign, and then in 1839 the office of the Sultan's privy purse (*K͟hazīne-yi k͟hāṣṣa dāʾiresi*), in charge of the palace income and expenditure, was established. Because the property owned by the ruler was at this time all transferred to the state treasury, this office, which was made into a ministry, looked after the part of the estates and property left to the sovereign on condition of paying tax. The ministry of the *K͟hazīne-yi K͟hāṣṣa* continued in existence until 1908.

The Ministry of Finance was founded on 28th February 1838 and the financial matters, which were then in chaos, were more centralised. During the first months of ʿAbd al-Med͟jīd's reign, the Finance Ministry was abolished and divided into the financial department of the exchequer (*neẓāret-i k͟hazīne-yi ʿāmire defterdārlig͟hī*) and that of the *muḳāṭaʿa* treasury, but the Ministry of Finance was re-established in 1840 (Meḥmed T͟hüriyyā, *Nuk͟hbet ül-weḳāyiʿ*, Istanbul 1298, i, 48-9, 63, 72).

In 1871 it was decided to divide the ongoing expenditure into two headings for the annual budget (*devletiñ muwāzane defteri*), the first was for specified and private expenditure for every government office, and the other was for the general expenditure incurred in the Ministry of Finance. For the first heading, there were included the Sultan's privy purse, the military treasury, the treasury of the dockyards for naval expenditure, the appropriation for the salaries of judges and *S͟harīʿa* matters, the *awḳāf* treasury, the appropriation for internal domestic affairs, the appropriation for foreign affairs, the financial appropriation for the finance organisation abroad, the appropriation for trade and public works, and the appropriation for public education. Apart from the privy purse treasury or *k͟hazīne-yi k͟hāṣṣa*, every ministry and office was required to submit a register in the following year showing its annual expenditure and the payments for unexpected outlays which had been taken from the financial treasury (*māliyye k͟hazīnesi*) for details, see *Dustūr*, 1st Series, Istanbul 1289), ii, 70 ff.); the provinces were also to submit a budget and send the registers of balance, which they had pepared, to the financial treasury.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, index; idem, *Osmanl, devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 362 ff.; Kātib Čelebi, *Düstūr ül-ʿamel*, Istanbul 1280, 133-5; Thos. Thornton, *The present state of Turkey*, London 1809, ii, 3-4, 46; Muṣṭafā Kesbī, *ʿIbret-nümā-yi devlet*, Ali Emiri kütüphanesi, *Tarih kısmı*, no. 484, ff. 61b-62a; M. Belin, *Essais sur l'histoire économique*

de la Turquie, Paris 1864; Henry Granville, *Observations sur l'état actuel de l'empire Ottoman*, ed. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 34; Defterdār Meḥmed Pasha, *Neṣāyiḥ ül-ümerā we 'l-wuzerā*, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1939, 46-62; W. Eton, *A survey of the Turkish empire*, London 1799, 39 ff., 50 ff.; P. Rycaut, *The present state of the Ottoman empire*, London, 1668, 36, 57; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1950-7, i/1, 78, 128, 136, 149, i/2, 9-10; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, repr. 1963, ii, 25-6, 168 ff.; M. Baudier, *Histoire général du Serrail et de la Cour du Grand Seigneur des Turcs*, Paris 1632, 96 ff.; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanli tarihi deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1971, i, 785-94; A. du Velay, *Essai sur l'histoire financière de la Turquie depuis le règne du Sultan Mahmud II jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1903; L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1955, i, 98-101. See also Khiḍīr Ilyās, *Leṭā'if-i Enderūn*, Istanbul 1276; the author was educated in the palace and worked in the treasury, and in his book mentions occasionally the workings of the *enderūn* treasury during the period 1812-30. (C. Orhonlu)

al-**KHĀZINĪ**, Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (or Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān or Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Manṣūr), astronomer and physician who lived in Persia at the opening of the 6th/12th century. He is occasionally confused with Ibn al-Haytham, al-Khāzinī and other authors bearing similar names and writing on the same topics. He was in origin a young Greek slave of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, treasurer of the court in Marw; his master took it upon himself to give him the best possible education, but we have virtually no biographical details, and we merely know that he was a man of austere morality, that he had some pupils and that he enjoyed the patronage of the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar b. Malik-Shāh (511-52/1117-57).

He wrote the following works: (1) *al-Zīdj al-muʿtabar al-sandjari al-sulṭānī*, astronomical tables dedicated to Sandjar and based on his personal observations, of which he made a résumé in 525/1130. These were utilised, either directly or indirectly, by the Byzantine scholars George Chrysococces (in Trebizond, *ca.* 1335-46) and Theodore Meliteniotes (in Constantinople, *ca.* 1360-88). In the contents of these works one always finds the ephemerides of the pseudo-planet Kayd. (2) *Risāla fī 'l-ālāt* (or *al-ālāt al-ʿadjība al-raṣadiyya*) on astronomical instruments. (3) *K. Mīzān al-ḥikma*, written in 515/1121. This is a basic work on the hydrostatic balance, whose varieties are classified here according to the number of scales or pans; there is a defective but useful edition of Hyderabad 1359/1940. It comprises eight discourses (*maḳālas*) divided into chapters (*bābs*) and subdivided into sections (*faṣls*), and contains a series of theorems deriving from the classic works of Archimedes, Euclid and Menelaus; it describes the areometer of Pappus; it uses frequently the works of Muslim predecessors like Thābit b. Ḳurra, Abū Sahl al-Ḳūhī, al-Asfizārī, al-Rāzī, ʿUmar Khayyām, and above all, al-Bīrūnī, whose picnometer it describes; it touches upon traditional problems, like the determining of the law of alloys or the well-known one of the chess-board (calculation of a geometrical progression); and it explains the use of proportions and above all describes al-Khāzinī's hydrostatic balance [see mīzān] which was superior in its accuracy to all those constructed by his predecessors. The concept of weight which emerges from his work stems clearly from Archimedes, and according to his definition (1, l. 1) it is the force inherent in solid bodies which causes them to move, of their own accord, in a straight line towards the centre of the earth and towards this centre alone; this force, in turn, depends upon the density of the body. Al-Khāzinī also has some idea of the influence of temperature on density, and his tables of specific weights are in general correct.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 902; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii/1, 216; Suter, 122 (no. 293), 226; Bayhaḳī, *Tatimma*, Lahore 1935, 161-2. There is a basic study by R. E. Hall, in *Dictionary of scientific biography*, vii, New York 1973, 335-51, s.v. Amongst the works mentioned above, only the *Mīzān al-ḥikma* has been edited (Hyderabad 1359/1940 and Cairo 1947); see on it N. Khanikoff, *Analysis and extracts of* Kitāb mīzān al-ḥikma... *by al-Khāzinī in the twelfth century*, in *JAOS*, vi (1859), 1-128, and E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, indices. (J. Vernet)

al-**KHĀZIR**, a right-bank affluent of the Greater Zāb river [see Zāb], which drains the *kūra* of Nakhla, to the east of Mawṣil; locally, it is called Barrīshū. It was on the banks of this river that there took place, on 10 Muḥarram 67/6 August 686, a decisive battle between Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al-Ashtar [*q.v.*] and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*]. After having suffered a defeat at ʿAyn Warda [*q.v.*], ʿUbayd Allāh made for ʿIrāḳ with his army, but was intercepted by the forces of Ibn al-Ashtar, who was fighting in the name of al-Mūkhtār [*q.v.*]. According to tradition, ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī, who commanded the right (or left?) wing of Ibn Ziyad's army, wished to get vengeance for the defeat suffered at Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] by the tribes of Muḍar. Since he had formerly been Ibn al-Ashtar's secretary, he met the latter secretly and betrayed his own leader. Thanks to this act of treachery, Ibn al-Ashtar defeated Ibn Ziyād, who was killed in the fighting together with several other Syrian leading figures. Another battle of very minor importance took place at Maʿrūba on the banks of the Khāzir in 293/905-6, see Canard, *H'amdanides*, 342.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *s.v.*; Ṭabarī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1353/1938, 1012-13; see also Kalb b. Wabara, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. (Ed.)

KHAZNADĀR, KHĀZINDĀR, variants of *khizānadār*, "Keeper of the treasury" in Mamlūk usage. It is a compound of Arabic *khizāna*, meaning treasury, and Persian *dār*, meaning keeper; according to Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, v, 463) "fast-talking scribes" transferred the *alif* from the second to the first syllable and dropped the *tā' marbūṭa* from *khizāna*, thereby producing *khāzindār*, which is the form found most frequently in Mamlūk texts.

According to Ibn Taghrībirdī (*Nudjūm*, Cairo, vii, 183-4) the *khizānadār* was one of several offices that Sultan Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī either introduced or transformed, assigning them to military personnel. In addition to the *khāzindār*, these included the *dawādār*, *amīr ākhūr*, *sarākhūr*, *suḳāt*, *djāmadāriyya*, *ḥudjdjāb*, *ru'ūs al-nuwab*, *amīr silāḥ*, *amīr madjlis* and *amīr shikār*. The context in which this passage occurs would suggest that Baybars made these innovations under the influence of Mongol practice. During the Fāṭimid period this official was called *ṣāḥib bayt al-māl*, according to Ḳalḳashandī (iii, 481).

Although the term was used in Mamlūk times for any person who served as keeper of treasuries—to the caliph, for example, or to an *amīr*—it refers in par-

ticular to the officer who acted in this capacity for the Mamlūk sultan in Cairo. Originally the office was given to an *amīr* of forty, but later was upgraded and was filled by an *amīr* of one hundred. The office ranks as twelfth among the twenty-five positions listed by Ḳalḳas͟handī as reserved for military personnel in attendance on the sultan. Furthermore, the *k͟hāzindār* was almost certainly overshadowed by the civilian *nāẓir al-k͟hāṣṣ*, who, during his heyday in the Baḥrī period, often exercised almost complete control over the sultan's financial affairs. The primary duties of the *k͟hazindār* were custodianship of the sultan's treasuries (cash and otherwise) and distribution of gifts on certain ceremonial occasions. These duties were at times divided among three keepers. The *k͟hāzindār al-ṣinf* was responsible for the sultan's precious fabrics (brocades, embroideries, silks), gold saddlery, and furs; this official worked in conjunction with the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*. The *k͟hāzindār al-ʿayn* had custody of the sultan's jewels; since these were kept in the harem, this functionary was a eunuch. The *k͟hāzindār al-kīs* was responsible for distributing alms to the needy during royal processionals and to the sultan's guests on ceremonial occasions. In Damascus the viceroy appointed four eunuch *amīr*s as *k͟hizāndāriyya*; they were responsible for the royal robes of honour and other gifts stored there.

In Ottoman Egypt, the *k͟hazīnedār* was in charge of the Imperial Treasury, and variants of this title were given to similar officials elsewhere in the Ottoman empire. *K͟hazānadār* and *k͟hazīnadār* were also used as titles for officials in India under the Dihlī sultans and the Mug͟hals.

Bibliography: M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, lx-lxi; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo vii, 182-6; Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 481, iv, 20, 21, 186, 191, v, 92, 457, 462-3; I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Mughul empire*, Karachi 1966, 235; idem, *The administration of the sultanate of Delhi*, Lahore, 1944, 65; Stanford J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*, Princeton 1962, index.

(D. P. LITTLE)

K͟HAZNADĀR, MUṢṬAFĀ [see MUṢṬAFĀ K͟HAZNADĀR].

AL-**K͟HAZRADJ**, one of the two main Arab tribes in Medina. With the other tribe, al-Aws [*q.v.*], it formed the Banū Ḳayla in pre-Islamic times and the Anṣār [*q.v.*] or "helpers" (sc. of Muḥammad) under Islam. The ancestors of al-K͟hazradj are given under al-Aws. The following are the main subdivisions of the tribe:

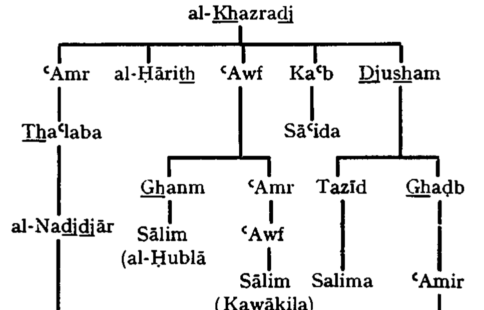

Al-K͟hazradj and al-Aws settled together in Yat͟hrib or Medina after leaving the Yemen, and for a time were subordinate to the Jews there. The leader in gaining independence from the Jews was Mālik b. al-ʿAdjlān of the clan of Sālim (Ḳawāḳila) of al-K͟hazradj. It is doubtful, however, whether at this time al-K͟hazradj was thought of as a unity, for the effective units seem to have been certain subdivisions, which may be called "clans". It was groups of these which were involved in the feuds in Medina before the *hidjra*. In the Constitution of Medina (Ibn His͟hām, 341-4) there is no mention of al-K͟hazradj but only of its five clans: al-Nadjdjār, al-Ḥārit͟h, ʿAwf, Sāʿida and Djus͟ham.

In the period before the *hidjra*, one of the prominent men among al-K͟hazradj was ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān of Bayāḍa. He gained some advantages over the neighbouring clan of Zurayḳ, and later appears to have been involved along with al-Ḥārit͟h in fighting against some clans of al-Aws. Hostilities increased until about 617 there took place the battle of Buʿāth [*q.v.*] in which ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān with support from al-Nadjdjār and some nomads defeated various groups of Awsīs and others under Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk. Both leaders were killed. Two important K͟hazradjīs, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy of B. al-Ḥublā and ʿAmr b. Djamūḥ of Salima, were neutral at this period. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*] hoped, before the coming of Muḥammad, that he might have become "king" of Medina.

The K͟hazradjīs seem to have been more numerous and more enthusiastic Muslims than the Awsīs; 10 at the first ʿAḳaba agreement as against 2; 62 at the second ʿAḳaba agreement as against 11; 9 *nuḳabāʾ* as against 3; 175 men at Badr as against 63; 228 women named by Ibn Saʿd as against 121.

K͟hazradjī poets included Ḥassān b. T͟hābit of Mag͟hāla of al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*], Kaʿb b. Mālik of Salima [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa of al-Ḥārit͟h [*q.v.*]. Many descendants of the last were later found in Spain. During the Umayyad period, the K͟hazradjīs mostly supported the ruling dynasty, but al-Nuʿmān b. Bas͟hīr, governor of Ḥims, threw in his lot with ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr.

Bibliography: al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, Cairo 1908, i, 116-40 (also Beirut 1971, i), summarised in F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, Göttingen 1860, 32-40; idem, *K͟hulāṣat al-Wafāʾ*, Mecca 1316; Ibn al-At͟hīr, i, 492-511; J. Wellhausen, *Medina vor dem Islam*, in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Berlin 1889, iv/1; A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847, 646-90; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 151-71.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AL-**K͟HAZRADJĪ**, ḌIYĀʾ AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿUT͟HMĀN AL-MĀLIKĪ AL-ANDALUSĪ, the author of a long poem which contains a versified treatise on Arabic metrics. This poem, entitled *al-Rāmiza al-S͟hāfiya fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūḍ wa 'l-ḳāfiya*, is popularly known as *al-Ḳaṣīda al-K͟hazradjiyya*.

The *K͟hazradjiyya* is a didactic poem of 96 verses composed in *ṭawīl* metre containing the essence of al-K͟halīl b. Aḥmad's theory of metrics, and was thus originally meant to be learnt by heart. Many manuscript versions of this work have been preserved, but nevertheless almost nothing is known about the author. He is mentioned by Ḥādjdjī K͟halīfa (see bibliography), who gives no information however concerning his life, but he appears to have been active during the 7th/13th century in the western regions of Islam. His work became widely known in the East as a result of numerous commentaries which appeared subsequently.

In the West, the interest of orientalists in the *K͟hazradjiyya* seems not to be justified by the rather

small intrinsic value of the poem concerned, it being only one of many similar compilations of the theory of Arabic metrics (see the list of similar works from the 4th/10th until the 12th/18th century in ʿARŪḌ). The acquaintance of western orientalists with the *Khazradjiyya* can be ascribed to the early text edition by Ph. Guadagnoli in his *Breves Arabicae linguae institutiones* (Rome 1642), 286-329, and the much later edition an translation by R. Basset in his *La Khazradjyah* (Algiers 1902), which unfortunately contains many inaccuracies and printing errors which are not always corrected. Basset in the Introduction to his edition (*La Khazradjyah*, VII) wrongly assumes the author of the *Khazradjiyya* to be identical with a certain Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Khazradjī al-Sāʿidī mentioned by al-Makkarī (*Analectes*, Leiden 1871, i, 590).

Concerning the contents of the poem one may observe the following. If one compares one of the earliest known versified treatises dealing with metrics, for example that of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940) in his *al-ʿIkd al-farīd* (Cairo 1305, iii, 146 ff.) with al-Khazradjī's poem, then it becomes clear that there is no essential difference in the subjects treated, which together form the theory of Arabic metrics (*ʿarūḍ*). However, apart from this general identity in subjects treated, the *Khazradjiyya* is distinguished by its extensive use of separate Arabic letters, these either serving as abbreviations to denote various rhythmic feet (represented by mnemonic words, like *faʿūlun*, *mafāʿīlun* etc.), or—in their numerical values—as numbers indicating the different metres (*ṭawīl*, *madīd*, etc.). Accordingly, this method of treating the theory of metrics made the use of commentaries indispensable for a better understanding of the text.

The contents of the *Khazradjiyya* can be summarised as follows: Vv. 1-2 definitions of metres and rhythmic feet; 3-9 the syllables as formative elements in a rhythmic foot; 10-12 the circles which al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad invented for his graphic representation of the Arabic metres, and the 16 metres contained in al-Khalīl's circles; 13-17 general definitions; 18-24 simple and complex elision (*ziḥāf*); 25-51 exhaustive treatment of all possible changes in rhythmic feet; 52-79 application of the rules given in vv. 25-51 to certain well known verses in particular; 80-96 a discussion on rhyme (*kāfiya*) and all possible deficiencies of rhyme.

In conclusion, some commentaries on the *Khazradjiyya* are mentioned below in chronological order: Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Sharīf al-Andalusī al-Sabtī al-Gharnāṭī, d. 760/1359 (Brockelmann I, 312, S I, 545); Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Marzūk al-Khaṭīb al-Tilimsānī, d. 781/1379 (Brockelmann, II, 239, S II, 335); Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Fattūḥ al-Ṣanhādjī al-Zammūrī, his commentary finished in 816/1413 (Brockelmann, I, 312, S I, 545); Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Damāmīnī, d. 827/1424 (Brockelmann, II, 26, S II, 21); Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Kurashī al-Basṭī al-Kalaṣādī, d. 891/1486 (Brockelmann, II, 266, S II, 378, does not mention his commentary, but al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, i, 936 does); Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Balawī al-Gharnāṭī, his commentary finished in 908/1502 (neither he himself nor his work mentioned by Brockelmann, but mentioned in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa ed. Flügel, iv, 203); and Zayn al-Dīn Zakariyāʾ al-Anṣārī al-Samaykī al-Shāfiʿī, d. 926/1520 (Brockelmann II, 100, S II, 117). In addition to the above-mentioned works, other commentaries exist: see lists in Brockelmann, I, 312, S I, 545. Bibliographical details of editions of commentaries can be found in the Introduction of Basset's *La Khazradjiyyah.*

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iii, 340, iv, 201, 203, 536; G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 37-38. Editions of the *Khazradjiyya* (in addition to the works by Guadagnoli and Basset mentioned in the article): *Madjmūʿ min muhimmāt al-mutūn*, Cairo 1328/1910, 505-13; edition and commentary by al-Damāmīnī, with a second commentary added in the margin by Zakariyāʾ al-Anṣārī, Cairo 1323/1905. (P. SMOOR)

AL-KHAZRADJĪ, MUWAFFAK AL-DĪN ABŪ 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤASAN AL-KHAZRADJĪ AL-ZABĪDĪ, called IBN WAHHĀS, South Arabian historian who wrote under the Turkish Rasūlid dynasty [*q.v.*] in the Yaman, d. late 812/early 1410 aged over 70.

The biographical dictionaries give virtually nothing on his life, except that Sakhāwī states that he met him in Zabīd and that his ancestor Ibn Wahhās had been praised for his learning by the commentator Zamakhsharī. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Khazradjī wrote three histories of the Yaman, impelled, so he says, by the prevailing disregard for the study of history. One was in annalistic form, apparently *al-ʿAsdjad al-masbūk wa'l-zabardjad al-maḥkūk fī man waliya al-Yaman min al-mulūk.* One dealt with events dynasty by dynasty, *al-Kifāya wa'l-iʿlām fī man waliya al-Yaman wa-sakanahā fī 'l-Islām*, of which the best-known part is *al-ʿUkūd al-luʾluʾiyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-rasūliyya* (ed. and tr. Sir J. W. Redhouse and Shaykh Muḥ. ʿAsal, *GMS*, iii, Leiden-London 1906-18). This is for earlier times very much a compilation, drawing on authors like Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Djanadī and his *K. al-Sulūk.* The fulsome eulogies in it of the Rasūlids, and its comparatively late date, have led G. R. Smith to compare it unfavourably as a source for Rasūlid history with the earlier historian of the Yaman Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥātim al-Hamdānī, who wrote *ca.* 694/1295 the *K. al-Simṭ al-ghālī al-thaman fī akhbār al-mulūk min al-Ghuzz bi 'l-Yaman* (see *GAL* I, 394). A further point of significance is the virtual identity of Khazradjī's *al-ʿUkūd al-luʾluʾiyya* with the *Fākihat al-zaman... fī akhbār man malaka al-Yaman* of the Rasūlid monarch al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismāʿīl b. al-ʿAbbās (778-803/1377-1400); it is difficult to tell which of the two was written first, see Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, cols. 406-10, and *GAL* S II, 236-7. The third one was in biographical dictionary form, complementing Djanadī's work, compiled at the behest of al-Malik al-Ashraf, and called *Ṭirāz aʿlām al-zaman fī ṭabakāt aʿyān al-Yaman* or *al-ʿIkd al-fākhir al-ḥasan fī ṭabakāt akābir ahl al-Yaman.* Kaḥḥāla further mentions a local history of Zabīd and Aden, the *Mirʾāt al-zaman fī taʾrīkh Zabīd wa-ʿAdan*, and Khazradjī's poetry was also collected into a *dīwān.*

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, v. 210; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 98-9; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 159, ed. Cairo, i, 310; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, vii, 61-2; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, v, 83-4; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, pp. xv-xviii; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*[2], Leiden 1968, 312, 443, 485-6; G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and Rasūlids—the transfer of power in 7th/13th century Yemen*, in *IC*, xliii (1969), 175-88; M. L. Bates, *Yemen and its conquest by the Ayyubids of Egypt (A.D. 1137-1202)*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 23-5. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KHAZRADJIYYA. [See AL-KHAZRADJĪ].

KHAZZ [See ḤARĪR]

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

P. 972b, AL-**BALĀDHURĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: Khalil Athamina, *The sources of al-Balādhurī's* Ansāb al-ashrāf, in *JSAI* v (1984), 237-62.

VOLUME II

P. 1a, **ČAGHĀNIYĀN**, *add to Bibliography*: C. E. Bosworth, *The rulers of Chaghāniyān in early Islamic times*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the Brit. Inst. of Pers. Studies*, xix (1981), 1-20.

P. 75b, **DADALOGHLU**, *add to Bibliography*: K.-D. Wannig, *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik*, Freiburg i.Br. 1980. (Studien zur Sprache, Gesch. und Kultur d. Türkvölker, i).

P. 571bf., **DJUDDA**, *see now* G. R. Hawting, *The origin of Jedda and the problem of al-Shuʿayba*, in *Arabica* xxxi (1984), 318-26, who finds no sound evidence that Djudda existed in pre-Islamic times or that the exact location of its predecessor as the port of Makka, al-Shuʿayba, can be pinpointed with any certainty.

P. 585a, **DJUGHRĀFIYĀ**, l. 5., *instead of* 56/1166 *read* 561/1166

P. 721b, **EXISTENCE**, *to reference add* and ANNIYYA.

P. 840b, **FATḤPŪR-SĪKRĪ**, *add to Bibliography* S. A. A. Rizvi and V. J. A. Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*, Bombay 1975.

VOLUME III

P. 227b, AL-**ḤARRA**, *add to Bibliography*: M. J. Kister, *The Battle of the Ḥarra. Some socio-economic aspects*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 33-49.

P. 679a, **IBN ʿABD** AL-**ẒĀHIR**, ll. 19-14 from bottom, *instead of the sentence beginning* He composed the genealogy of al-Ḥākim . . . *read* He composed the genealogy of al-Ḥākim, which was confirmed by the *ḳāḍī*, and read it in the assembly of dignitaries; he also composed the *ʿahd* of al-Nāṣir Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], see Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, x, 116 ff.

VOLUME IV

P. va l. 24, *instead of* J. W. ALLEN . . . 1105 *read* [J. ALLAN, London], 1105
l. 19 from below, *instead of* Princeton University *read* Hebrew University, Jerusalem

P. xi, *instead of* Taeschner . . . Gotha 1926 *read* Taeschner, *Wegenetz* = Franz Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1924-6.

P. 118b, **ISHBĪLIYA**, *add to Bibliography*: *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. D. Catalán and Maria Soledad de Andrés, Madrid 1974, 91-6, 305-6; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, Cairo 1962, index; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, index.

P. 137b, AL-**ISKANDARIYYA**, *add to Bibliography*: Numerous pieces of information about the working of the port of Alexandria are given in the *Minhādj* of al-Makhzūmī, in the parts translated and commented upon by Cl. Cahen, *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale*, in *JESHO* (1965), reproduced in idem, *Makhzūmiyyāt*, Leiden 1978. Furthermore, the author called al-Nuwayrī, Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, author of the *Ilmām al-aʿlām*, should be clearly distinguished from his homonym, the celebrated author of the *Nihāya*. The *Ilmām*, written in regard to the attack. on Alexandria by Peter of Cyprus in 1367 and from which come the extracts studied in the articles of Combes cited in the *Bibl.*, has now been edited by A.S. Atiya in 4 vols. in the Ḥaydarābād Series, 1968-72.

P. 322b, **KAʿBA**, *add to Bibliography*: G. R. Hawting, "*We were not ordered with entering it but only with circumambulating it.*" Ḥadīth *and* fiqh *on entering the Kaʿba*, in *BSOAS* xlvii (1984), 228-42.

P. 471b, **ḲALAM**, *add to Bibliography*: C. E. Bosworth, *A medieval Islamic prototype of the fountain-pen?*, in *JSS* xxvi (1981), 229-34.

P. 501b, AL-**ḲĀLĪ**, l. 1, *instead of* 189 *read* 289
ll. 10-12, *instead of* from memory . . . into account *read* from memory in his new home, or he made critical observations and commentaries, following the ʿIrāḳī tradition which he knew, upon
l. 25 from below, *after* 1392/1972 *add* (cf. *MMMʿA* xx/2 (1974), 49-130)

P. 546b, **KANNANŪR**, *add to Bibliography*: G. Bouchon, *Mamale de Cananor, un adversaire de l'Inde portugaise (1507-1528)*, Hautes études islamiques et orientales d'histoire comparée 7, Paris 1975.

P. 599a, **KARADJA OGHLAN**, *add to Bibliography*: K.-D. Wannig, *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik*, Freiburg i.Br. 1980. (Studien zur Sprache, Gesch. und Kultur d. Türkvölker, i).

P. 733a, **KASRAWĪ TABRĪZĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: E. Jung, *Aḥmad Kasrawī. Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte Persiens im 20. Jahrhundert*, Diss. phil. Freiburg i.Br. 1976.

P. 757a, **KATIB**, l. 24, *instead of* M. Kanter *read* M. Carter

P. 772b, **ḲAṬRAN**, l. 35 from below, instead of κεδία, read κεδρία; instead of *ḳaariya* read *ḳadriyā*

P. 814a-b, **KAY KĀʾŪS** B. **ISKANDAR**, last para and *Bibl.* Five completely independent Old Ottoman versions of the *Ḳābūs-nāma* have in fact survived, the best known of which is that of Merdjümek Aḥmed [*q.v.*]. The version at Kazan in 1882, 1889, etc. (and not in 1298/1880-1) is not by this last Ottoman author, but is a version in what is called by H. F. Hofman (*Turkish literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, Section III, Part 1 v 6, p. 65) "Old Tatar", possibly via an Ottoman intermediary.

P. 870b, **KEMĀKH** *add to Bibliography*: R. H. Ünal, *Monuments salǧūqides de Kemah* (*Anatolie orientale*), in *REI*, xxxv (1967), 149-72.
P. 902b, AL-**KHAḌIR**, *add to Bibliography*: H. Schwarzbaum, in *Fabula*, iii (1959), 51 ff.
P. 910a, **KHwĀF**, *add to Bibliography*: J. Aubin, *Un santon qūhistānī de l'époque timouride*, in *REI*, xxxv (1967), 185-216.
P. 914a, **KHAFḌ**, *add to signature* and O. MEINARDUS.
P. 962a, AL-**KHALĪL** B. **AḤMAD**, l. 39 from below, *instead of* AL-FARĀHIDĪ *read* AL-FARĀHĪDĪ
l. 17 from below, instead of *Falknerliteratur* read *Falknereiliteratur*
P. 962a, l. 36, instead of *ibn Aḥmad* read *ibn-Aḥmad*
l. 37, instead of *Sībawayhs* read *Sībawaihs*
l. 18 from below, *instead of* 266 *read* 366
l. 14 from below, *instead of* 4075 ff. *read* 4075 f.
P. 963b, l. 32 instead of *Fā'id* read *Fā'it*
l. 18 from below, *after* author *add*, a pseudo-al-Khalīl,
P. 963a, l. 19, *instead of* 303 *read* 304
l. 22, *after* 67-80 *add*; A. Spitaler, in *DLZ* 81 (1960), 612-16; cf. J. Fück, in *ZDMG* 111 (1961), 464-69, Arabic tr. in *MMLʿA* (Cairo) 18 (1964), 33-47
ll. 34 and 37, *instead of* ff. *read* f.
l. 22 from below, *instead of* 37-9 *read* 37-42
l. 17 from below, *after* 1960; *add* H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, i, index; ʿA. al-Zubaydī, *al-Khalīl al-mūsīḳār*, in *al-Mawrid* iv/4 (1975), 23-29;
l. 2 from below, *after* 1373/1954 *add*, 43-7
P. 964a, **KHALĪL** B. **ISḤĀḲ**, l. 14, *instead of* born in Cairo *read* died in Cairo
P. 1034b, AL-**KHARĀDJ**, l. 32, *add*: R. S. Cooper, *The assessment and collection of kharaj tax in medieval Egypt*, in *JAOS* 96 (1976), 365-82 (important).
P. 1090b, **KHĀṢĪ**, last line, *after* 123 *add*; this belief has been affirmed by Muslim law; see R. Brunschvig, *Averroès juriste*, in *Études d'orientalisme . . . Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, i, 65, n. 79 = *Études d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, ii, 197, n. 79.
P. 1099b, AL-**KHĀṢṢA** WA-'L-**ʿĀMMA**, l. 30 from below, *after* mischief-makers. *add* (It should be noted, however, that the Shīʿites applied the term *ʿāmma* disparagingly to the Sunnites; see R. Brunschvig, *Fiqh fatimide et histoire de l'Ifriqiya*, in *Mélanges . . . G. Marçais*, Algiers 1957, ii, 13 = *Études d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, i, 64.)
P. 1111a, AL-**KHAṬĪB** AL-**BAGHDĀDĪ**, l. 18 from below, after *ḥadīth* add (*ibid.*, i, 417)
l. 17 from below, *after* Kūfa *add* (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 246)
l. 14 from below, *after* Nīshāpūr *add* (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, v, 67; x, 383)
l. 12 from below, *after* Rayy *add* (*ibid.*, xi, 115)
l. 8 from below, *instead of* 1922 *read* 1911.
l. 6 from below, *after* Dīnawar *add* (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 12; ²iv, 29)
P. 1111b, l. 20, instead of *Udabā'* i., read *Udabā'*, i,
l. 25, *instead of* 210-17 *read* 210-27.
l. 25 from below, *instead of* 1974, i, 69-73 *read* 1976, i, 70-74
l. 17 from below, *after* Baghdād *add* a year later
P. 1112a, l. 22, instead of *Ilâhiyat* read *İlâhiyat*
l. 27, *after* 1971; *add* ²Beirut 1974;
l. 23 from below, *instead of* 69-73 *read* 70-74
l. 22 from below, *after 'l-tafrīḳ*, *add* a work about traditioners with similar names and their identification,
l. 18 from below, *after* 175 ff. *add*; printed Beirut 1975
l. 17 from below, *after al-ʿamal add*, a small paraenetic book concerning 201 *aḥādīth abyāt* and *aḳwāl* by well-known individuals, named and anonymous poets, prophets and sages (e.g. quotations from the Torah), on both concepts *ʿilm* and *ʿamal*, always introduced by *isnāds*
after by al-Albānī, *add* Beirut 1386/1966, ³1389/1969,
P. 1112b, l. 12, *after* 13 *add*; ²iv, 33.
P. 1155a, **KHAYR** AL-**DĪN PASHA**, l. 13-14 from below, *instead of* G. S. van Krieken *read* idem
l. 11 from below, *instead of* idem *read* G. S. van Krieken
P. 1162r, AL-**KHAYYĀṬ**, ABŪ 'L-ḤUSAYN, l. 14 from below, *instead of* Abā *read* Abū
P. 1162b, l. 9, *delete* about
P. 1163b, l. 6, *instead of* 7 *read* -7
l. 29, *instead of* 6 *read* -6
l. 19 from below, *instead of* 5 *read* -5
l. 14 from below, *instead of* 4 *read* -4
last line, *instead of* 6 ff., 85, 11. 5 ff. *read* -6 ff, 85, 11. -5 ff.
Plate XLVII, **KHAZAF**, *caption No. 1 belongs to the left-hand photograph, caption No. 2 to the right-hand photograph.*
P. 1171a, *Add to Bibliography, section 'General'*: E. J. Grube, *Islamic pottery of the 8th to the 15th century in the Keir collection*, London 1976; G. Öney, *Islamic tile art*, Osaka 1976; J. Zick-Nissen, *Islamische Keramik*, Katalog, Düsseldorf 1973; *Keramos*, No. 64, Berlin, April 1974 (in conjunction with the preceding reference). — *Section 'Technique'*: J. C. Gardin, *Code pour l'analyse des formes de poteries*, CNRS Paris 1976. — *Section 'China and Islam'*: Y. Crowe, *Certains types et techniques de la céramique de Suse*, in *Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola 1974. — *Section 'Turkey'*: W. B. Denny, *The ceramic revetments of the mosque of Rüstem Pasha and the environment of change*, New York 1977; M. Meinecke, *Fayence Dekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*,

in *DAI Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, xiii, Tübingen 1976; G. Öney, *Turkish ceramic tile art*, Tokyo 1976; idem, *Türk çini sanatı*, Istanbul 1976. — *Section 'Special studies'*: G. A. Brikina, *Karabulak*, Moscow 1974.

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P. 84ᵇ, **ḲIBLA,** l. 9: al-Djaghmīnī lived *ca* 618/1221-22, since, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (though not in the printed versions of the *Kashf al-ẓunūn*), this was the date of composition of his treatise on astronomy.

P. 85ᵃ, 2nd formula from bottom: the quantity Cos φ_M is to be multiplied by the preceding quotient and the product is to be added to Sin φ_M Sin φ.

P. 85ᵇ, l. 8, *before* $\frac{\text{Cos}\ \varphi_M\ \text{Cos}\ \Delta L}{R}$ *insert* =

l. 10, *before* $\frac{\text{Sin}\ \varphi_M\ \text{Sin}\ \varphi}{R}$ *insert* =

l. 15, *before* $\frac{\text{Cos}\ \varphi_M\ \text{Cos}\ \Delta L}{R}$ *insert* =

ll. 16 and 17, *instead of* OMf *read* OM_3

P. 86ᵇ, l. 4, *after* sin θ_2 *insert* =

1st and 2nd equations beneath Fig. 5, *insert* =

P. 87, Table 1, instead of *ij* read φ

P. 87ᵇ, ll. 1 and 9, instead of $f\varphi$ and $g\varphi$ read f_φ and g_φ.

P. 88ᵇ, *add to Bibliography*: On the problems of mosque orientation see D. A. King, *Astronomical alignments in medieval Islamic religious architecture*, in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1982.

P. 106ᵃ, **KILWA,** l. 10 from below, instead of KIVINYE *read* KIVINJE

l. 8 from below, *instead of* Dar es Salam *read* Dar es Salaam, the official spelling

P. 142-3, **ḲIRİM**, *add to Bibliography*: *Le khanat de Crimée dans les archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, prés. par A. Bennigsen, P. Boratav et autres, Paris/Den Haag 1978; M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, *La présence ottomane au sud de la Crimée et en Mer d'Azov dans la première moitié du XVIᵉ siècle* in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique xx* (1979), 389-456; G. Veinstein, *La population au sud de la Crimée au début de la domination ottomane*, dans *Memorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan*, Paris 1980, 227-49 (Bibl. de l'Inst. Français d'Archéol. d'Istanbul, xxviii); *Catalogue des microfilms des ouvrages intéressant les musulmans de l'U.R.S.S. ...*, iii: *Crimée*, Paris 1963 (stencilled).

P. 243ᵃ, **ḲİZ,** 3rd paragraph: Ewliyā Čelebi and, following him, Mamboury are wrong when saying that the Ḳîz-tashî, i.e. the Byzantine "Maiden's stone" (of porphyry), was incorporated into the Süleymāniyye Mosque. The order books (1550-7) of the Süleymāniyye mention the transportation of a column from the Ḳîztashî Maḥallesi to the mosque, but that one was from granite. See C. Mango, *Antique statuary and the Byzantine beholder*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* xvii, Washington 1963, 61; O. L. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve inşaatı*, Ankara 1972-9, i, 344-6, ii, 23-4, Nos. 44-5; J. M. Rogers, *The state and the arts in Ottoman Turkey*, i, *The stones of the Süleymaniye*, in *IJMES* xiv (1982), 79.

P. 268ᵇ, **ḲORDOS,** The correct name in Ottoman Turkish of the city of Corinth emerges rather as Kördes or Gördes in the pages of Ewliyā Čelebi, where it is consistently spelt with *kāf/gāf* and not with *ḳāf*, confirmed by such European renderings as Gourdese (Bernard Randolph, 1689) and Ghiurdos (W. M. Leake, *ca.* 1805). *Add to the Bibliography*: P. A. MacKay, *The fountain at Hadji Mustafa*, in *Hesperia, Jnal. of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, xxxvi (1967), 193-5; idem, *Acrocorinth in 1668, a Turkish account*, in *op. cit.*, xxxvii (1968), 386-97, with map, plan and photographs.

P. 428ᵇ, **ḲUR'ĀN,** *add to Bibliography, section "General studies"*: A. Neuwirth, *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren*, Berlin 1981.

P. 507ᵇ, **ḲURṢĀN,** l. 12, *instead of* Khārk I Island *read* Khārk Island

P. 508ᵃ, l. 7, *instead of* Malcom's *read* Malcolm's

P. 552, **ḲUṬB MINĀR,,** *place Plates XXVIII-XXIX between pp. 548 and 549.*

P. 557ᵇ, **ḲUṬN,** l. 24 from bottom: *instead of* Bozdeghan *read* Bozdoghan

l. 23 from bottom: *instead of* Čalishu *read* Čalîshlu

P. 558ᵇ, l. 19 from bottom: *instead* of Eluçay *read* Uluçay

P. 559ᵃ, l. 8 from bottom: *instead of* muslim *read* muslin

P. 560ᵃ, l. 26 from bottom: *instead of* of *read* or

P. 562ᵃ, l. 10: *instead of* 875/1470 *read* 875/1470s

l. 39: *instead of* muslims *read* muslins

P. 563ᵃ, l. 5: *instead of* Starrhemberg *read* Starhemberg

P. 564ᵇ, l. 7: *instead of* Morcmer *read* Morimer

P. 565ᵃ, l. 20 from bottom: *instead of* 1241/1225 *read* 1241/1825

l. 12 from bottom: *instead of* journalist *read* journalists

P. 565ᵇ, l. 25 from bottom: instead of *heyatı* read *hayatı*

P. 566ᵃ, l. 14: *instead of* Edsedy *read* Ecsedy

P. 570ᵇ, AL-**KUTUBĪ,** l. 7 from bottom: A part of the *ʿUyūn*, edited by Fayṣal al-Sāmir and Nabila ʿAbd al-Munʿim Dā'ud, has been published in Baghdād in 1397/1977. Following an unconfirmed report another part has been published in Cairo in 1980 and further parts are planned.

P. 604, **LĀHAWR,** *place Plates XXX-XXXI between pp. 600 and 601.*

P. 878ᵇ, **MĀ'**, section 7: Irrigation in North Africa and Muslim Spain, *add to Bibliography*: R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 210-13 and the bibliography given there.

P. 1027a, **MADJĀZ** l. 4, *instead of* more *read* mere
l. 31 from below, *after* mind *insert* to

p. 1056b, **MADJLIS,** *add to bibliography of section on Jordan*: R. G. Khoury, *Jordan Assembly meets, clears way for elections*, in *International Herald Tribune*, 10 January 1984, p. 1.

P. 1059a, *Add to bibliography of section on ʿUmān*: D. F. Eickelman, *Kings and people: Oman's state consultative council*, in *MEJ* 38/1 (Winter 1984), 51-71.

P. 1077a, *Add to bibliography of section on Israel*: J. M. Landau, *The Arab vote*, in D. Caspi, A. Diskin, E. Guttman (eds.), *The roots of Begin's success*, London 1984, 169-189.

P. 1103b, **MADJNŪN LAYLĀ,** l. 7 from below, *after* his love *add* of

P. 1164a, AL-**MAGHĀZĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: *Maghāzī rasūl allāh li-ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr bi-riwāyat Abī 'l-Aswad ʿanhu* (*al-nuskha al-mustakhradja*), ed. M.M. al-Aʿẓamī, al-Riyāḍ 1401/1981 (extracted from later compilations); A. A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, ed. and tr. L. I. Conrad, Princeton 1983 (being an annotated trans. of al-Dūrī, *Baḥth* . . ., referred to above).

P. 1166a, AL-**MAGHĪLĪ**, l. 3 from below, *add*: J. O. Hunwick, *Al-Maghīlī and the Jews of Tuwāt: the demise of a community*, in *SI* lxiv (1984).

P. 1166b, l. 5 f., *instead of* Critical text and tr. in Hunwick, *Al-Maghīlī's Replies read* Critical text and trans. in J. O. Hunwick, *Sharīʿa in Songhay. The replies of al-Maghīlī to the questions of Askia al-Ḥājj Muḥammad*, Oxford 1984 (Fontes Historiae Africanae, Series Arabica, v).

P. 1171a, **MAGHNISA,** *add to Bibliography*: Yuzo Nagata, *16. yüzyılda Manisa köyleri*, in *Tarih Dergisi* xxxii (1979) (= Ord. Prof. İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı hâtıra sayısı'ndan), 731-58.

P. 1231b, AL-**MAHDĪ**, l. 12 from below, *add to end of paragraph*: The Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. Busr al-Ḳaysī, who died in Ḥimṣ between 88/707 and 96/715, attributed the following tradition to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār: "The Mahdī will send (an army) to fight the Rūm, will be given the knowledge (*fiḳh*) of ten and will bring forth the Ark of the Divine Presence (*tābūt al-sakīna*) from a cave in Antioch in which are the Torah which God sent down to Moses and the Gospel which he sent down to Jesus; and he will rule among the People of the Torah according to their Torah and among the People of the Gospel according to their Gospel."

P. 1232b, ll. 8-19, *replace by*: The theme was evidently adopted from the tradition ascribed to Kaʿb by ʿAbd Allāh b. Busr in Ḥimṣ.

P. 1238a, *add to Bibliography*: W. Madelung, *The Sufyānī between tradition and history* (forthcoming).

SUPPLEMENT

P. 343b, AL-**ḤĀKIM** AL-**DJUSHAMĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: ʿAdnān Zarzūr, *al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī wa-manhadjuh fī tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, Beirut 1972.

P. 393b, **IBN MIḲSAM,** *add to Bibliography*: A. Jeffery, *The Qur'ān readings of Ibn Miqsam*, in *Ignaz Goldziher memorial volume*, i, Budapest 1948, 1-38.

K

CONTINUATION

KHEMSHIL [see KHEMSHIN].

KHEMSHIN (other designation, Khemshili), a numerically small group of Muslim (Sunnī) Armenians who had been converted from Christianity in the beginning of the 18th century. In the U.S.S.R. (population 629, according to the 1926 Soviet census), they now inhabit the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border. In Turkey they live in compact settlements along the Fïrtïnï and Ḳaradere rivers (Bash Khemshin) and in the mountains not far from Hope (Hope Khemshin). The traditional economy is based on sheep and goat herding, and related activities. The Khemshin dialect (like the Erzurum, Cilicia and Istanbul dialects) is part of the western dialect group of the Armenian language. The Khemshin have been, to a great extent, assimilated by the Turks, nor have they been listed in either the 1959 or 1970 Soviet censuses). (R. WIXMAN)

KHĒRLA, a fortress of mediaeval India, lying to the south of Mālwa and east of Khāndesh [*q.vv.*], and in the extreme northern part of Berār [*q.v.*], just to the south of the headwaters of the Tāptī River. It is in fact some 50 miles west of modern Deogaṛh; in British India it fell within the Central Provinces, now Madhya Pradesh.

The foundation of the fortress is attributed to a Rādjput *rādjā*, the last of whose line is said to have been killed by a commander of the Dihlī Sultans, perhaps in the time of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī; but the fortress as it stands today is Islamic in construction. During the revolt of the Deccan in the latter years of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, it fell into the hands of a local Gond dynasty. In the early 9th/15th century, the Gond ruler Narsingh was made subject to the ruler of Mālwa, Hushang b. Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī (808-38/1405-35), appointed to Mālwa by the Tughluḳids. It now became a subject of discord and covetousness between the rulers of Mālwa and the Bahmanī sultans of the northern Deccan [see BAHMANĪS]; thus in 831/1428 Hushang suffered a crushing defeat at Khērla at the hands of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī. Forty years later, in 871/1467, there was again fighting over possession of Khērla between Maḥmūd Shāh Khaldjī of Mālwa (840-73/1436-69) and the Bahmanī Muḥammad Shāh III Lashkarī, but Maḥmūd managed to retain Khērla and possibly northern Berār as far as Eličpur [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 994/1586 the Mughal governor of Mālwa, Aʿẓam Khān, attempted to take over Berār; he failed to capture Khērla, but plundered the capital Eličpur before being repelled by the combined forces of Khāndesh and the Niẓām-Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.* and NIẒĀM-SHĀHĪS]. Berār subsequently came under Mughal rule, and the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann and Jarrett[2], Calcutta 1939-48, ii, 237, lists Khērla as a *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Berār with a revenue of 17½ million *dams*.

Bibliography: Sir Wolseley Haig, in *Camb. hist. of India*, iii, index. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHIḌĀB (A.), a term denoting the dyeing of certain parts of the body (and especially, in regard to men, the beard and hair) by means of henna [see ḤINNĀʾ] or some similar substance. It is still used in this sense today, but is used moreover for the items of make-up and cosmetics employed by modern women; the reader may find under MARʾA information about those items of cosmetics used by women attached to the traditional usages. (ED.)

KHIDĀSH (or Khaddāsh, cf. Wellhausen, 509; his real name was probably ʿAmmār or ʿUmāra b. Yazīd) one of the leaders of the early Hāshimiyya movement in Khurāsān. Having played a part unacceptable to the ʿAbbāsids in the formative stages of their *daʿwa* in Khurāsān, the official ʿAbbāsid propaganda later obliterated as much as possible of his memory, minimised his part in the *daʿwa* and presented him as a heretic. This propaganda succeeded to such a degree that his life and achievements are hardly mentioned in the Arabic sources and doubt was even cast as to his real name. Consequently, orientalist scholarship, in those few cases when it mentions him, is highly influenced by this. Wellhausen, with his unusual historical instinct, was the first to understand his significance in the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, and B. Lewis also mentions his role as one of the first emissaries of the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān [see ʿABBĀSIDS]. Cl. Cahen and Lewis both tend to accept at least some of the accusations of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda, namely that he was a Khurramī, and they raise doubts as to whether Khidāsh was an ʿAbbāsid emissary at all (Cahen, *Point de vue sur la révolution ʿAbbāside*, 324-5). However, with the discovery and publication of the anonymous source *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* (ed. Dūrī and Muṭṭalibī under the title *Akhbār ad-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*), a fresh study is possible, based on new material which permits a reconsideration of the already-known traditions about him.

According to the ʿAbbāsid tradition, Khidāsh was a nickname derived from *kh-d-sh* "to tear apart", "to scratch" because "he has torn religion to pieces" (*khadasha al-dīn*) (Ṭabarī, ii, 1503; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, f. 292b). This is a clear indication of the efforts made on the part of the ʿAbbāsids to blacken his name, especially after his death. In another tradition, however, Ṭabarī says that it was Khidāsh who adopted this name whereas his real name was ʿAmmār or ʿUmāra b. Yazīd (ii, 1588, cf. *Ansāb*, f. 292a, *inf.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut 1965, v, 144). As far as the

name is concerned, Khidāsh is not an uncommon name in Arabic, derived from the third form of the verb *kh-d-sh* (cf. Lane's *Lexicon* and *LA*, s.v. and *Aghānī*, xix, 52 and index). It is quite possible that the ʿAbbāsids added their interpretation to the name later, when already there existed a tradition according to which the Prophet disliked the name Khaddāsh. (Ibn Wahb, *Djāmiʿ*, Cairo 1939, 97, cf. Kister, "*Call yourselves by graceful names*", in *Lectures in memory of Prof. Martin M. Plessner*, Jerusalem 1975, 12). However, whether Khidāsh was his name or not, it does not make much difference to the fact that his activities in Khurāsān for over eight years as head of the Hāshimiyya [*q.v.*], caused so much trouble to the ʿAbbāsids that his memory was almost completely obliterated from the records of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*.

In order to understand the enigmatic personality of Khidāsh, one must remember that in the early phases of the *daʿwa* the contacts between the centre of its activity in Khurāsān and the parallel centre in Kūfa were, for security reasons, very weak. The same considerations necessitated extreme caution in the contacts between the Khurāsānis and the ʿAbbāsid *Imām* in Ḥumayma. Although the sources say that the propagandists in Khurāsān acted in the name of the ʿAbbāsids, it is highly improbable that Umayyad intelligence failed to uncover this connection or to discover the identity of the *Imām* until the very end. The contents of the *daʿwa* teachings were extremely ambiguous throughout, and its propagandists spoke in general terms about the rights of *Ahl al-bayt* (cf. al-ʿImrānī, *al-Inbāʾ*, ed. Samarrai, Leiden 1973, 571 l. 18) a term which was accepted to mean the family of the Prophet (cf. M. Sharon, *The ʿAbbāsid daʿwa re-examined*, 9, n. 23). Thus through most of its phases, the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān was, in fact, nothing but an extension of the Hāshimiyya of Kūfa. It is thus highly possible that even the leaders did not known what exactly were the essential ideas that differentiated their activities from those of the other Shīʿis in Khurāsān, and especially those in Nīshāpūr and its environs.

The only information about Khidāsh supplied by Ṭabarī and Balādhurī is as follows. After Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī had killed several of the first propagandists of the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān, headed by Abū ʿIkrima, and had severely punished some of the others, another leader was sent from Kūfa to Khurāsān. The new leader was Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Kathīr b. Saʿd. As he was an uneducated man (if the term *ummī* in Ṭabarī's account is to be understood thus), Khidāsh was able to overcome him and assume the leadership (Ṭabarī, ii, 1503, *Ansāb*, f. 292a).

In another tradition there is some more and rather different information about Khidāsh. According to this tradition, it was Bukayr b. Māhān, one of the veteran adherents of the Hāshimiyya who, in 118/736 sent ʿAmmār b. Yazīd to Khurāsān as a "leader of the Shīʿa of Banu 'l-Abbās" (*Wāliyan ʿalā shīʿati bani 'l-ʿabbāsi*). He resided in Marw and changed his name to Khidāsh (a custom common to the early adherents of the *daʿwa*, who for reasons of secrecy, used to adopt new *kunyas* once initiated into the movement [see ḲAḤṬABA]. He began making propaganda for Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, in which he was very successful. According to another tradition in the *Ansāb*, it was Muḥammad b. ʿAlī who nominated him. Sometime later, however, Khidāsh changed his original propaganda and "turned away from the *Imām*'s instructions and began to teach improper and disgraceful ideas. Therefore, the adherents of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī fell upon him and killed him. Some say that it was Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī that killed and crucified him" (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, f. 292a). The "disgraceful ideas" according to Ṭabarī (*loc. cit.*) were those of the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*]. His execution by Asad took place, according to Ṭabarī, in 118, during the governor's second term of office (ii, 1588-9; Wellhausen, 510). Although these traditions reflect clearly the later ʿAbbāsid distortion of the information about Khidāsh, it is possible, however, to build the following picture, from the combination of the above narrations with the information transmitted in the *Akhbār*. Khidāsh's predecessor as the leader of the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān, Kathīr b. Saʿd, led the movement in Marw from *ca.* 108/726 for three years until *ca.* 111/729. It was probably in that year that Khidāsh arrived from Nīshāhpūr, a centre of Hāshimī activity, and took over. For at least seven years, until his execution in 118/736, he was the leader (*ṣāḥib*) of the Hāshimiyya there (Ṭabarī, ii, 1589, l. 2) and the one responsible for creating its sound organisation, as Wellhausen rightly observes. He was the first to achieve a real and enduring success and to gain wide support among both Arabs and *mawālī*. The lists of the leaders of the *daʿwa* in his time show people from Tamīm, Rabīʿa, Azd and other Arab tribes, including Sulaymān b. Kathīr of Khuzāʿa, who was later to replace him (Wellhausen, 514, Ṭabarī, ii, 1586-7, *Akhbār*, 216-22). There is no neutral evidence whatsoever that he was Khurramī, though Wellhausen, Cahen and Lewis tend to accept ʿAbbāsid traditions which attributed to him Khurramī and Mazdakite theories (this tradition is presented in its complete form by al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 32-5, cf. Wellhausen, 515-18; Cahen, *Point de vue ...*, 324-5). Cahen, however, points out that many people who fell out of favour were accused of *zandaḳa*, and this is clearly true of Khidāsh; a tradition which presents him as a Christian from Ḥīra should be understood also as representing the same trend (*Ansāb*, *loc cit.*). From a unique tradition in the *Akhbār*, we know exactly the nature and content of his propaganda, and this also explains why the ʿAbbāsids later hated him. This tradition speaks of a group of Khidāsh's adherents in Nīshāpūr, called the Khālidiyya after its leader, a certain Abū Khālid. The group acted against the ʿAbbāsids from the very beginning of their reign, and in the time of Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr changed its name and became the Fāṭimiyya. They argued that, since after the death of Ibrāhīm al-Imām [*q.v.*] a new *imām* was not nominated in the way of *waṣiyya*, the *imāma* must return to the ʿAlids, now already represented by the descendents of Fāṭima (*Akhbār*, 403-4).

From the statement that the Khālidiyya-Fāṭimiyya continued the former Khidāshiyya, it is clear that Khidāsh as a Hāshimī leader furthered the cause of the ʿAlids.

Having worked for a while in Nīshāpūr, Khidāsh seized the opportunity of the growing activity of the Hāshimiyya in Marw in order to move there in 111/730, and being intellectually superior to Kathīr b. Saʿd, he was able to depose him and take over the leadership of the movement there. For the Hāshimiyya of Marw, both his leadership and ideology were congenial. After the death of Abū Hāshim, the original Hāshimiyya continued in general terms to support the cause of the House of the Prophet, which became more and more identified with the Fāṭimid ʿAlīds. This development disturbed Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and on one occasion he is said to have warned one of his early emissaries to Khurāsān, the Kūfan leader Abū ʿIkrima, about the ʿAlid leaders in Nīshā-

pūr, whose names include one Abū Khālid al-Djawālikī (*Akhbār*, 204, cf. Ibn. Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 101). His influence in Khurāsān, however, was too slight to act against Khidāsh, and he may have had to give his tacit approval to the latter's position. Khidāsh built a strong centre in Khurāsān which was completely independent and detached from both Kūfa and Ḥumayma.

During the seven years of his activity, the ʿAlid cause gained wide support there, while the ʿAbbāsid *Imām* was kept completely in the shade. Khidāsh spoke in favour of *al-Raḍī min Āl Muḥammad* or *al-Ḳāʾim min ahl al-bayt*, slogans which were common to all the ʿAlid adherents in Khurāsān and the early *daʿwa*.

Khidāsh's independent ideas, which were inconsistent with the aims and aspirations of the ʿAbbāsid *Imām*, are explicitly indicated in *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, ed. Griaznevitch, ff. 252b l. 18-253a l. 6, and especially in a unique note on the margin of the manuscript, f. 253a, which is the key for an understanding of the whole problem. It runs as follows: *Khidāsh, radjulun intaḥala maḳālatan bi-Khurāsāna wa-intasaba ilā l-ḳāʾimi min ahli bayti rasūli allāhi fa shtubiha ʿalāʾ l-shīʿati amruhu*.

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī understood that the new independent centre in Khurāsān had to be connected *directly* with him and not through Kūfa, but as long as Khidāsh was alive this was impossible, and it was difficult even after Khidāsh's death in 118/736.

The new leader, Sulaymān b. Kathīr, went to see the *Imām* in Ḥumayma in 120/739, but this meeting led to a crisis. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī tried to reproach the Khurāsānī for accepting Khidāsh's wrong ideas, but Sulaymān and the Khurāsānī could not see what was wrong in pure ʿAlid-Hāshimī ideology, and for over five years the relations between Khurāsān and the ʿAbbāsid *imām* were almost non-existent (Ṭabarī, ii, 1640, 1727, 1769, Balādhurī, f. 292b).

Only in 126/744 were relations restored, and the centre in Khurāsān acknowledged the leadership of the new *Imām*, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (Muḥammad died in 125/743). Sulaymān welcomed Bukayr b. Māhān in Marw and sent money with him to the *Imām* (Ṭabarī, ii, 1869, Balādhurī, *loc. cit.* This improvement in the atmosphere was due to the great crisis in the Shīʿa that followed in the wake of the collapse of Zayd b. ʿAlī's revolt in Kūfa in 122/740 and the execution of his son Yaḥyā in 125/743. The messianic expectations of the Shīʿa which were connected with these two were replaced by the usual feelings of sorrow and repentance after their death. This feeling was especially acute in Khurāsān, where black garments were worn everywhere as a sign of mourning for the dead ʿAlids and where newborn children were named Zayd and Yaḥyā after them (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Beirut 1965, iii, 212-13). This was also the moment when a new leader was needed to avenge their blood. The circumstances were, therefore, ripe for coming to terms with the ʿAbbāsid *imām* and for turning the *daʿwa* into an ʿAbbāsid one. Even so, this change was not easily accepted. Not only did the pro-ʿAlid Khidāshiyya continue to exist under a new leader, but also (as Balādhurī reports, *Ansāb*, f. 305a), Muḥammad the son of Sulaymān b. Kathīr was himself an adherent of the Khidāshiyya who was opposed to the transference of the movement in Khurāsān to Abū Muslim. Because of the activities of Khidāsh we can now understand that it was not until 126/744 that the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān was changed from a purely ʿAlid one to an ʿAbbāsid one. But the ʿAbbāsids, even after reaching power, knew, as al-Manṣūr is reported once to have said, that "the love for the Āl Abī Ṭālib in the hearts of the people of Khurāsān is mixed with the love for us" (*Fragmenta*, ed. De Goeje, 246).

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Eng. tr., Calcutta 1927, 508 f.; Ṭabarī, as cited; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Ms. Aşir Efendi, Istanbul 597-8, fols. 292a f.; *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*, ed. A. A. Dūrī and A. Dj. Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 204, 212, 403-4; *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, ed. P. A. Griaznevitch, Moscow 1967 (the part on the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, fols. 236a f. is an abridgement of the *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*); al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar, *Masāʾil al-imāma*, etc., ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, *loc. cit.*; Cl. Cahen, *Point de vue sur la révolution ʿAbbāside*, in *Revue Historique*, ccxxx (1963), 325, and especially n. 2; B. Lewis, ʿABBĀSIDS; M. Sharon, ḲAḤṬABA; idem, *The ʿAbbāsid daʿwa re-examined on the basis of a new source*, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan 1973. (M. SHARON)

KHIDĀSH B. **ZUHAYR** AL-**AṢGHAR** B. RABĪʿA B. ʿAMR B. ʿĀMIR B. ṢAʿṢAʿA AL-ʿĀMIRĪ, *mukhaḍram* poet who is said to have attacked Ḳuraysh because his father had been killed in the War of Fidjār [*q.v.*]; it is possible that he himself took part in this struggle, and it is precisely in the chapter devoted to this war that the *Aghānī* (ed. Beirut, xxii, 70 ff., cf. iii, 219) cites him at greatest length, since several pieces of his are given there, one of them considered as a *ḳaṣīda munṣifa* (see Ch. Pellat, in *Mélanges Marcel Cohen*, 279-80), but he boasts there of a victory of the Hawāzin over Ḳuraysh which seems to be an invention. All the same, it is not impossible that these verses, and also a *ḳaṣīda* in praise of Ḳuraysh (*Aghānī*, xxii, 76), where allusion is made to Muḥammad's presence amongst the combattants, were written at a later date and by another poet. Khidāsh was still a pagan at the Battle of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*]. Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 119-22) classes him in the fifth *ṭabaḳa* and cites a certain number of his verses. An edition of his *dīwān* has been put together and is being prepared in Baghdād.

Bibliography: As well as the sources cited above, there are notices and verses quoted in Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 18; idem, *Ḥayawān*, i, 20, 364, vi, 50; idem, *Bukhalāʾ*, 388; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 87; idem, *Shiʿr*, 627-30; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 235, 248, ii, 3, iii, 90; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 406; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii, 66; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 180; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 73, 107-8; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, tab. 108 and ii, 347; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 240; *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 300; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 230-2, iv, 337-8; Wahhābī, 71-3; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, s.v. (CH. PELLAT)

KHIDHLĀN (A.), nomen actionis from the root *kh-dh-l*, "to leave in the lurch", a technical term in Islamic theology, applied exclusively to Allāh when He withdraws His grace or help from man. The disputes regarding it first appear in connection with the quarrel over *ḳadar* [*q.v.*]. A starting point is found in Sūra III, 154/160: "but if He abandon you to yourselves (*yakhdhul-kum*), who will help you after Him? Let the faithful therefore trust in God". On this al-Rāzī observes: "The Companions deduce from this verse that belief is exclusively a result of Allāh's help (cf. John, vi, 65), while unbelief is a result of His *khidhlān*. This is obvious, as the verse points out that the matter is entirely in God's hands".

A more detailed exposition is given by Ibn Ḥazm (iii, 50 f.) "Right guidance and assistance consist in God's preparing (*taysīr*) the believer for the good for

which He has created him; while *khidhlān* consists in His preparing the *fāsiḳ* for the evil for which He has created him. Linguistic usage, the Ḳur'ān, the force of logic, and the attitude of the *fuḳahā'* and those in the past who handed down traditions and of the Companions and Successors as well as of those who came after them and of the whole body of Muslims with the exception of those whom God has led astray as regards their intelligence, namely such as belong to the followers of slanderers and outcasts, like al-Naẓẓām, Thumāma, al-ʿAllāf and al-Djāḥiẓ, are all unanimous". Then follows this reasoning: Allāh has given man two forces, hostile and opposed to one another, *tamyīz* (power of discrimination) and *hawā* (passion, desire). When Allāh protects the soul, *tamyīz* prevails by His help and power. But when He leaves the soul to itself (*khadhala*), He strengthens the *hawā* with a strength which amounts to leading astray (*iḍlāl*).

Khidhlān is therefore, according to Ibn Ḥazm, the opposite of *hudā* and *tawfīḳ* and the conception approaches that of *iḍlāl*. The Muʿtazilīs (as already indicated by Ibn Ḥazm's words) see in it a contradiction to Allāh's justness: according to them, Allāh does not urge a man to evil. In their terminology, *khidhlān* therefore means the refusal of divine grace (*manʿ al-luṭf*), while, according to the Ashʿarīs, *khidhlān* is "the creation of the ability to disobey".

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KHIDĪW, Khedive, title of the rulers of Egypt in the later 19th and early 20th centuries, deriving from Persian *khidīw*, *khadīw* "lord, prince, ruler". The use of the Arabic form of the title *khidēwī* "khedival" is associated with Ismāʿīl Pasha [*q.v.*], *wālī* or viceroy of Egypt 1863-79, even though his predecessors, ʿAbbās I Pasha (1848-54) and Saʿīd Pasha (1854-63) used it unofficially on occasion. Certain government departments, in particular the Department of the Interior, even under Ismāʿīl's grandfather, Muḥammad ʿAlī the Great (1805-49), founder of the dynasty, were known as *dīwān al-khidēwī*. In a way, it was a unique title among the vassals of the Ottoman Sultan, which the ambitious viceroy of Egypt sought precisely in order to set himself apart and above so many other governors and viceroys of Ottoman dominions. Closely related to his efforts to render his rule more secure within his family was Ismāʿīl's ambition to acquire the more formal accoutrements of sovereignty in relation to his master in Istanbul and the European powers. After lavish gifts in Istanbul, the distribution of outright bribes to influential courtiers and vast expenditure in supplying troops to help his sovereign suppress a rebellion in Crete, the title of *khidīw* was formally conferred by the Sultan upon Ismāʿīl in a *firmān* issued on 8 June 1867, two years before the formal opening of the Suez Canal. From a mere *wālī*, viceroy of the Sultan in Egypt, Ismāʿīl assumed a rank which elevated his standing to a position closer to royalty. A more important concession which Ismāʿīl received along with this title was the virtual independence of Egypt and her right to enter into special treaties and agreements governing posts, customs and trade transit. These provisions were to give Ismāʿīl freedom in the financial, administrative and judicial arrangements of the country. The title remained in use until 1914, and was assumed by Ismāʿīl's son Tawfīḳ Pasha (1879-92), and Tawfīḳ's son ʿAbbās II Ḥilmī (1892-1914) [*qq.v.*]. When soon after the outbreak of the Great War Egypt was declared a British Protectorate and ʿAbbās II was deposed, his successor, his uncle Ḥusayn Kāmil, assumed the title of Sultan of Egypt.

Bibliography: P. Crabitès, *Ismail the maligned Khedive*, London 1933; E. de Leon, *The Khedive's Egypt*, New York 1878; E. Dicey, *The story of the Khedivate*, London 1902; P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, London 1966; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The modern history of Egypt*, London 1969.

(P. J. Vatikiotis)

KHIḌR BEG, Ottoman scholar and poet of the 9th/15th century, and the first *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul. The unique source for his biography is the Arabic original of *al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-nuʿmāniyya* by Tashköprüzāde who, however, distorts the chronology of an otherwise convincing account of his career by an implausible anecdote which would place his first important appointment as late as the beginning of the reign of Meḥemmed II (*ca.* 855/1451). Disregarding this, and an equally suspect interpolation made by Medjdī in his translation of the work in which his mother is identified as the daughter of the legendary Turkish jester, Naṣr al-Dīn Khʷādja (Nasreddin Hoca), the details of his life are as follows: He was born in Sivriḥiṣār, where his father, Djalāl al-Dīn, was *ḳāḍī*—though the fact that the latter was, also, known as Amīr ʿĀrif would suggest that he was a dervish rather than a member of the learned profession—and a source used by Brockelmann dates the birth to 1 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 810/6 August 1407. He completed his studies in Bursa under the famous scholar Mollā Yegān, whose daughter he married, and is then said to have returned to Sivriḥiṣār as a teacher. He acquired such a reputation for learning that he was appointed to the *madrasa* of Meḥemmed I in Bursa with an increase in stipend, and certain of his pupils here were subsequently to become scholars of great eminence. Next he taught at the *madrasa* of Bāyezīd I in Bursa, again with an increased stipend, and in addition was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Inegöl. From here he moved to the newest of the two *madrasas* in the Üč Sherefeli mosque in Edirne, and thence to Yanbolu (in present-day Bulgaria) as *ḳāḍī*. After the conquest of Istanbul in 857/1453, he was appointed its first *ḳāḍī*, in which post he remained until his death in 863/1458-9. He is buried in the Zeyrek quarter of Istanbul (*ʿOthmānlī mü'ellifleri*, i, 290), where he also built the mosque later attributed to a certain Ḥādjdjī Ḳadīn (*Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 86). His three sons, Yaʿḳūb Pasha, Müftī Aḥmad Pasha and Sinān Pasha, were also notable scholars, the latter being the author of the famous *Taḍarruʿāt*.

Although Khiḍr Beg is reputed to have introduced the versified chronogram into Ottoman literature, very few of his Turkish poems have survived (Sehī, 39) and his reputation rests on three poems in Arabic. The first, a didactic *ḳaṣīda* in the *basīṭ* metre on the creed, is known as the *Nūniyya* and has been the subject of several commentaries, most notably that by his pupil Khayālī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1348; Brockelmann, II, 229, S II, 321). Another *ḳaṣīda*, also a *nūniyya* dealing with the creed, but in the *wāfir* metre, is usually known as the *ʿUdjāla layla aw laylatayn* (Brockelmann is incorrect in saying that he translated this into Persian). Finally, there is a *mustazād*, in a Persian variety of the *hazadj* metre, which was greatly admired and attracted imitations for over a century (ʿAlī, *Künh*, v, 230-1; Aḥmed Pasha, *Dīwān* ed. Ali Nihat Tarlan, Istanbul 1966, 357). Bursalı

Meḥmed Ṭāhir mentions a translation into Persian of the *Maṭāli'* which he made at the request of Sulṭān Meḥemmed II, the work in question probably being the *Maṭāli' al-anwār*, on logic, by Sirādj al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Urmawī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1715).

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(J. R. Walsh)

AL-KHIḌR ḤUSAYN [see AL-KHAḌIR B. AL-ḤUSAYN].

KHIḌR-ILYĀS (in Turkish, Hıdrellez), is the name, in Turkish tradition, of a popular festival in the spring and celebrated on the 5-6 May, this date being considered as marking the beginning of the season of summer, extending from then till 7 November (*Kasım*). The two dates correspond respectively with the feastdays of St. George (23 April) and St. Demetrius (26 October).

Khiḍr (Tkish. Hızır) also symbolises in Turkish tradition the renewal of vegetation in the spring. It is believed that, when this personage shows himself upon the face of the earth, the dry vegetation becomes green again as he passes; that he leaves a green impression on the hands which he touches; and that he brings abundance, fertility and happiness. Another feature of his legendary personality is that he comes to the aid of beings in distress, and in particular, of those in danger of drowning in the sea or lost in the desert. In regard to Ilyās, beliefs and traditions are somewhat rare. In the written literary texts and in oral tradition they are limited to allusions to his supernatural aid to beings in distress on land or sea, a power which he shares with Hızır; according to certain beliefs, Ilyas is the master of the seas, and Hızır that of the land, but others hold the inverse of these attributions (see *Halk bilgisi haberleri* = *HBH*, i (1930), 182; *Gediz*, No. 73 (1944); O. Bayatli, *Bergama'da efsaneler, âdetler*, Istanbul 1941, 54; Ewliyā Celebi, *Seyāḥat-nāma*, iii, 90; Yazīdjīoghlu, *Muḥammediyye*, lith. Istanbul 1312/1894-5, 77; Sadettin Nüzhet, *Turk şairleri*, i, 57; in one poem the popular poet of the 17th century Ḳaradjaoghlan calls him "guardian of the seas, mounted upon a grey horse"; in the Oghuz epic *Dede Ḳorḳud* he is likewise described as a horseman). Ilyās is further mentioned in beliefs which explain the name *Hıdrellez*. It is generally held that each year, on the night of 5 May, these two beings, both of them immortal after having drunk from the "Water of Life", come to meet together on the earth. Their meeting place is often pictured as a spot by the sea shore. According to a local belief of Balıkesir (*HBH*, i, 181), they are two brothers. A legend recorded at Halkalı near Istanbul tells how they were two lovers. Hıdr a youth and Ellez a girl; for long they were unable to come together again, but at last met on the night of 5 May, and then both died of joy from their reunion (Ali İmer, *Halkalı'da Hıdrellez*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 96 (1957)).

Hıdrellez is a festival the greater part of whose ceremonies are reserved for women and girls. They comprise three main sequences: (1) On the night of 5 May, various practices are performed and rites observed in order to ensure the fulfillment of divers vows, such as abundance, prosperity, happiness in general, or more specifically, the acquisition of a house, the birth of a child, etc. (2) Early the next morning, there takes places the "drawing from the divinatory pitcher". The previous evening, there are placed in the pitcher, to the accompaniment of appropriate rites, various small objects belonging to women and girls who wish to ask Fate about their future destiny; the pitcher is then placed under a rosebush during all the night. In the morning, a young girl draws out the objects in the pitcher one after the other, and woman recites the "divinatory quatrain", which is interpreted in regard to the future fate of the owner of the corresponding object. (3) On 6 May, there is an outing to go and eat, in groups of relatives, neighbours and friends, in the countryside, usually by some sanctuary. Games and amusements, including swings, the preferred pastime for this festival, are organised.

The festival and its attendant ceremonies are normally limited to two days only. Nevertheless, they form a sequence of seven weeks in the 'Alawī villages of a mountainous region in the province of Kırklarelı. During the month which precedes the day of Hidrellez, the ceremony of "drawing from the divinatory pitcher" takes place every Thursday evening. The seventh Thursday is called "the day of Nazari", when a communal meal is eaten, prepared from the meat of sacrified animals. On this same day, the children, carrying flowers and willow branches, search out, and organise for themselves, communal meals by a sanctuary; they also carry out other rites which are, moreover, to be connected with those aimed at summoning rain [see ISTISḲĀ']. On returning to the village, they throw their crowns of flowers and leaves into the river (Etem Utük, *Yukarı Kanara köyünde Nazari şenlikleri*, in *Türk folklor araştirmaları*, No. 267 (1971)).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources cited in the article, see P. N. Boratav, *Ḥızır*, in *İA*; idem, *Türk folkloru*, Istanbul 1973, 122, 270-4; Kemal Güngür, *Anadolu'da Hızır geleneği ve Hıdrellez törenlerine dair bir inceleme*, in *Türk etnografya dergisi*, No. 1 (1956), 56-76. (P. N. Boratav)

KHIḌR KHĀN, founder of the "Sayyid" dynasty which ruled at Dihlī from 817/1414 to 855/1451. His designation as a *sayyid* is traced in the near-contemporary *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* firstly to a remark hagiologically attributed to the Ṣūfī Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, and secondly to his own excellent character, and has been accepted by later historians like Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, Badā'ūnī and Firishta; but this has been regarded as dubious by modern British and South Asian historians. The other near-contemporary source, Bihāmad Khānī's *Ta'rīkh-i Muḥammadī* (compiled or revised in 842/1438-9) is silent on the point. While false genealogies are quite common in Indo-Muslim history, Khiḍr Khān's selection by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] as his "deputy" in Dihlī suggests that he may have been regarded as *sayyid* in his lifetime, since Tīmūr's regard for *sayyids* is well documented.

Khiḍr Khān was the son of Malik Sulaymān, an adopted son of Mardān Dawlat, the *iḳṭā'-dār* of Multān under Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluḳ [*q.v.*]. Sulaymān Malik succeeded to that *iḳṭā'* after the death of Malik Shaykh, Mardān's son, and Khiḍr Khān was assigned the *iḳṭā'* in succession to his father. In 798/1396 he lost the *iḳṭā'* during his strife with Sārang Khān,

When Tīmūr invaded India in 801/1398-99, he took refuge in Mēwāt, but later entered Tīmūr's service, and was appointed governor of Dihlī and *iḳṭāʿ-dār* of Multān and Deopālpūr. However, it was not until 817/1414 that he finally took possession of Dihlī. He regarded himself a vassal of Tīmūr, and later of the latter's son Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*], whose names were recited in the *khuṭba* and inscribed on the coinage. He obtained Shāh Rukh's permission in 820/1417 to affix his own name also on the coinage; he chose for himself not the title of *sulṭān*, but that of *rāyat-i aʿlā*, suggesting presumably that he was a standard-bearer of the Tīmūrids.

His reign of seven years, until his death in 823/1421, was full of campaigns undertaken by himself and by his able and loyal *wazīr* Tādj al-Mulk which extended the frontiers of his authority and re-united Pandjāb with Dihlī. Punitive expeditions were organised against rebellious nobles, especially the Türkbačas; there were also several expeditions against Hindu *rādjās* such as those of Katahr and Gwāliyār [*q.vv.*] in order to collect taxes and tribute. Near-contemporary chronicles regard him as a kind and benevolent ruler who brought to Dihlī and the other areas which he governed relief from the economic sufferings and insecurity which had continued since the invasion of Tīmūr.

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(Aziz Ahmad)

KHILʿA (pl. *khilaʿ*), "robe of honour," also called *tashrīf* (pl. *tashārīf* and *tashrīfāt*). Throughout much of the Middles Ages, the term *khilʿa* did not designate a single item of clothing, but rather a variety of fine garments and ensembles (*ḥulla* or *badla*) which were presented by rulers to subjects whom they wished to reward or to single out for distinction (hence the alternate name *tashrīf* "honouring"). These robes, the most common of which was the *ḳabāʾ* (see LIBĀS), were normally embellished with embroidered bands with inscriptions known as *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] and were produced in the royal factories (*dār al-ṭirāz*).

(i) *Origin of the custom.*

The custom of bestowing garments of honour in the Near East is very ancient. The Patriarch Jacob singled out his favourite son Joseph from amongst his brothers by giving him a *ketōnet passīm* (Gen. xxxvii, 3) which was a ceremonial or royal robe (see commentary of E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, Anchor Bible, Garden City 1964, 290). Joseph was later similarly honoured by Pharaoh, who had him dressed in garments of linen (Gen. xli, 42). Herodotus reports that the Egyptian king Amasis sent to Croesus of Lydia as a royal gift a corselet of linen embroidered with gold thread and cotton with the figures of animals woven into the fabric (*Hist.*, iii, 47).

This custom had a most important precedent in Islam with Muḥammad's gift of the *burda* [*q.v.*] which he was wearing to the poet Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1301, ii, 133-4). The very word *khilʿa* denotes the action of removing one's garment (A. *khalaʿa*) in order to give it to someone (*TA*, v, 322). L. A. Mayer has suggested that this was "originally more a promise of personal security (*amān*) than a token of distinction" (*Mamluk costume*, 56), but this is an overstatement.

(ii) *Development of the custom in Islam.*

The term *khilʿa* does not appear until ʿAbbāsid times, when the practice became so institutionalised that the bestowal of garments of honour was an almost daily occurrence. Members of the caliphal entourage came to be known as *aṣḥāb al-khilʿa* "those who wear the *khilʿa*". The presentation of a robe of honour was a standard mark of investiture. Such was the case for an heir-apparent (see e.g. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 365), a vizier (e.g. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 176), or a provincial governor (e.g. Ṭabarī, iii, 2194). The bestowal of *khilaʿ* and other gifts to favourites was an occasion for poetical compositions and was noted by historians (e.g. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa*, ed. M. Djawād, Baghdād 1351).

In the heyday of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt, the new *haute bourgeoisie* found itself with the means to emulate—after a fashion—many of the luxurious practices of the aristocracy. Anomg these was the custom of bestowing *khilaʿ* upon friends and relations (Y. K. Stillman, *The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of medieval female attire*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 582).

The Mamlūks with their strong military psychology and a marked penchant for heraldic symbolism, standardised the *khilaʿ* in accordance with the class of the wearer and his rank within that class. The three major classes of *khilʿa* wearers were the military (*arbāb al-suyūf*), the civil service (*arbāb al-aḳlām*), and the religious scholars (*al-ʿulamāʾ*). Maḳrīzī, drawing upon the *Masālik al-abṣār* of al-ʿUmarī, describes in detail the great variety of *khilaʿ* worn by these three important classes of Mamlūk society (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 227-8; tr. by Mayer, in *Mamluk costume*, 58-60). A special official, the *Nāẓir al-Khāṣṣ* (Keeper of the Privy Purse) oversaw the *khilaʿ* in the Great Treasury (*al-khizāna al-kubrā*) which contained only robes of honour (*ibid.*). In addition to garments, the Mamlūk military *tashrīf* could consist of arms, such as gold-ornamented swords, and a horse from the sulṭān's own stable (*min al-iṣṭabl*), fully outfitted with saddle, bridle, and caparison (*kanbūsh*).

Money or other valuables were also given as part of the *khilʿa*/*tashrīf* (e.g. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *al-Mukhtaṣar min Taʾrīkh al-bashar* [*Annales Moslemici*] v, ed. J. J. Reiske, Copenhagen 1794, 294). In the Ottoman Empire, a sum of money was sometimes given in place of the robe of honour. This monetary gift was called *khilʿet behā* ("the price of a *khilʿa*"). It specifically referred to money distributed to Janissary

officers upon the accession of a sulṭān (C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, Paris 1881, i, 709), so that this term is to a large extent synonymous with that of *d̲j̲ulūs aḳčesi* "accession payment".

Robes of honour were given on all sorts of occasions and for a variety of reasons. Thus, there was the *k̲h̲ilʿat al-niyāba* or *k̲h̲. al-istiḳrār* (robe of appointment), the *k̲h̲. al-wizāra* (robe of viziership), the *k̲h̲. al-riḍāʾ* or *k̲h̲. al-riḍā* (robe of pardon), and the *k̲h̲. al-ʿazl* (robe of dismissal—with honour of course). The *k̲h̲. al-ḳudūm* was given to a guest from afar, while the *k̲h̲. al-safar* was given upon his departure. A sulṭān might give a *k̲h̲. al-ʿāfiya* (robe of health) to a favourite who had recovered from an illness (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 61-2, and the sources cited there).

The custom of bestowing robes of honour remained widespread throughout the Muslim world until recent times. In 19th century India a *k̲h̲illaut* (also *k̲h̲elat*, *k̲h̲ilut*, *killut*) might consist of anywhere from a minimum of five articles to as many as one hundred and one (Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*², London 1917; repr. Karachi 1974, 148-50; see also Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*², London 1903, repr. London 1968, 483-4).

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(N. A. Stillman)

K̲H̲ILĀFA [see k̲h̲alīfa]

K̲H̲ILĀFA, K̲h̲ilāfat movement, a politico-religious movement in British India, manifesting itself in the years after the First World War. On the one hand, it had its roots in Pan-Islamism, which came to the fore about 1900. On the other hand, is was stimulated by nationalism [see ḳawmiyya. In Muslim India and Pakistan]. Turkey's defeat in the First World War spelt serious danger to the position of the Ottoman Sulṭān-K̲h̲alīfa. Would his power remain great enough to protect Islam? Would the Holy Places of Islam remain under his sovereignty (or at least suzerainty)? Arab nationalism posed a threat, and Greece, France and Italy wanted to rob him of extensive territories in Thrace and Asia Minor.

In September 1919, when rumours about the coming treaty of Sèvres were rife, the K̲h̲ilāfa movement was organised. K̲h̲ilāfa conferences met in several cities in Northern India, and a Central K̲h̲ilāfa Committee constituted itself at Bombay. Seth Chotani, a wealthy merchant, became its president. Prominent leaders were Muḥammad and S̲h̲awkat ʿAlī (the "ʿAlī brothers"), Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, Dr. Anṣārī and Ḥasrat Mohani. An important part was played by the *ʿulamāʾ*, organising themselves in the D̲j̲amʿiyyat al-ʿUlamāʾ-i Hind. Their most influential leaders were ʿAbd al-Bārī (of Farangī Maḥall) and Maḥmūd al-Ḥasan (of Deoband). In January 1920, a K̲h̲ilāfa deputation presented an address to the Viceroy. It stated that "the preservation of the K̲h̲ilāfa as a temporal no less than a spiritual institution" was "the very essence" of their faith, and that this meant full Muslim control over the Arabian peninsula, the K̲h̲alīfa's wardenship over the Holy Places and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire—claims which, by the way, constituted a check on Arab nationalism and the ambitions of the S̲h̲arīf Ḥusayn of Mecca. Another deputation, headed by Muḥammad ʿAlī, went to Europe and had two (unsuccessful) interviews with members of the British Government in March 1920.

The K̲h̲ilāfa movement started as a communal movement and met with mass approval within the Indian Muslim community (only among upper-class Muslims was there a marked tendency to hold aloof from it). Large funds were collected, partly by petty contributions. But it also got the support of the Indian National Congress. Thereby the K̲h̲ilāfatists became more and more involved in the nationalist movement, which entered upon its first non-cooperation campaign (1920-2). Gandhi became a member of the Central K̲h̲ilāfa Committee and issued a K̲h̲ilāfa Manifesto in March 1920. The K̲h̲ilāfatists, however, accepted Gandhi's creed of non-violence only conditionally: if it did not bring success, they would have to resort to *d̲j̲ihād* and *hid̲j̲ra*. The former seemed possible in connection with an Afg̲h̲ān invasion; the latter was actually performed in the summer of 1920. Some 30,000 *muhād̲j̲irīn*, most of them coming from Sind or the Pand̲j̲āb, crossed the Afg̲h̲ān border, but about 75% of them came back, disillusioned by their reception in Afg̲h̲ānistān. These aspects of the K̲h̲ilāfa movement had an adverse effect upon Hindu-Muslim relations, which were vital to its nationalist character. Gandhi's suspension of non-cooperation in February 1922, constituted a severe blow in this respect; Indian Muslims felt betrayed by the Hindus after bearing the brunt of the nationalist battle.

No less deadly blows came from the Turks. The nationalist government at Ankara succeeded in restoring Turkey's position. The K̲h̲ilāfatists supposed that Kemāl Pas̲h̲a was acting on behalf of the Sulṭān-K̲h̲alīfa, but this proved to be an error. In November 1922, the Sultanate in Turkey was abolished and the K̲h̲alīfa lost all temporal power; he was "Vaticanised" (a condition which the K̲h̲ilāfatists had declared to be incompatible with his office). K̲h̲ilāfa leaders tried to explain away the fact, but their followers left them. The movement wholly collapsed when in March 1924 the Ottoman K̲h̲ilāfa was abolished. Some leaders, like Abu 'l Kalām Āzād and Dr. Anṣārī, remained in the Congress; others found their way back to the Muslim League, which up to 1919 had been the political organisation of Indian Muslims. Other leaders again, like the ʿAlī brothers, tried to save the K̲h̲ilāfa organisation, but to direct it towards communalist goals. It grew into an instrument to further Muslim interests as opposed to Hindu ones, but even in this form, the organisation had lost all significance by 1928.

Bibliography: Among the contemporary accounts the most important is P. C. Bamford, *Histories of the non-co-operation and Khilafat movements*, Delhi 1925 (confidential publication of the Govt. of India). Materials concerning the movement can be found in Afzal Iqbal, ed., *Select writings and speeches of Maulana Mahomed Ali*, Lahore 1944 (containing among other things an unfinished autobiography of the author). In many books, the movement is treated as an episode in the nationalist struggle, *e.g.* A. Aziz, *Discovery of Pakistan*, Lahore 1964, and R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom movement in India*, iii, Calcutta 1963. The most recent monograph is A. C. Niemeijer, *The Khilafat movement in India, 1919-1924*, The Hague 1972.

(A. C. Niemeijer)

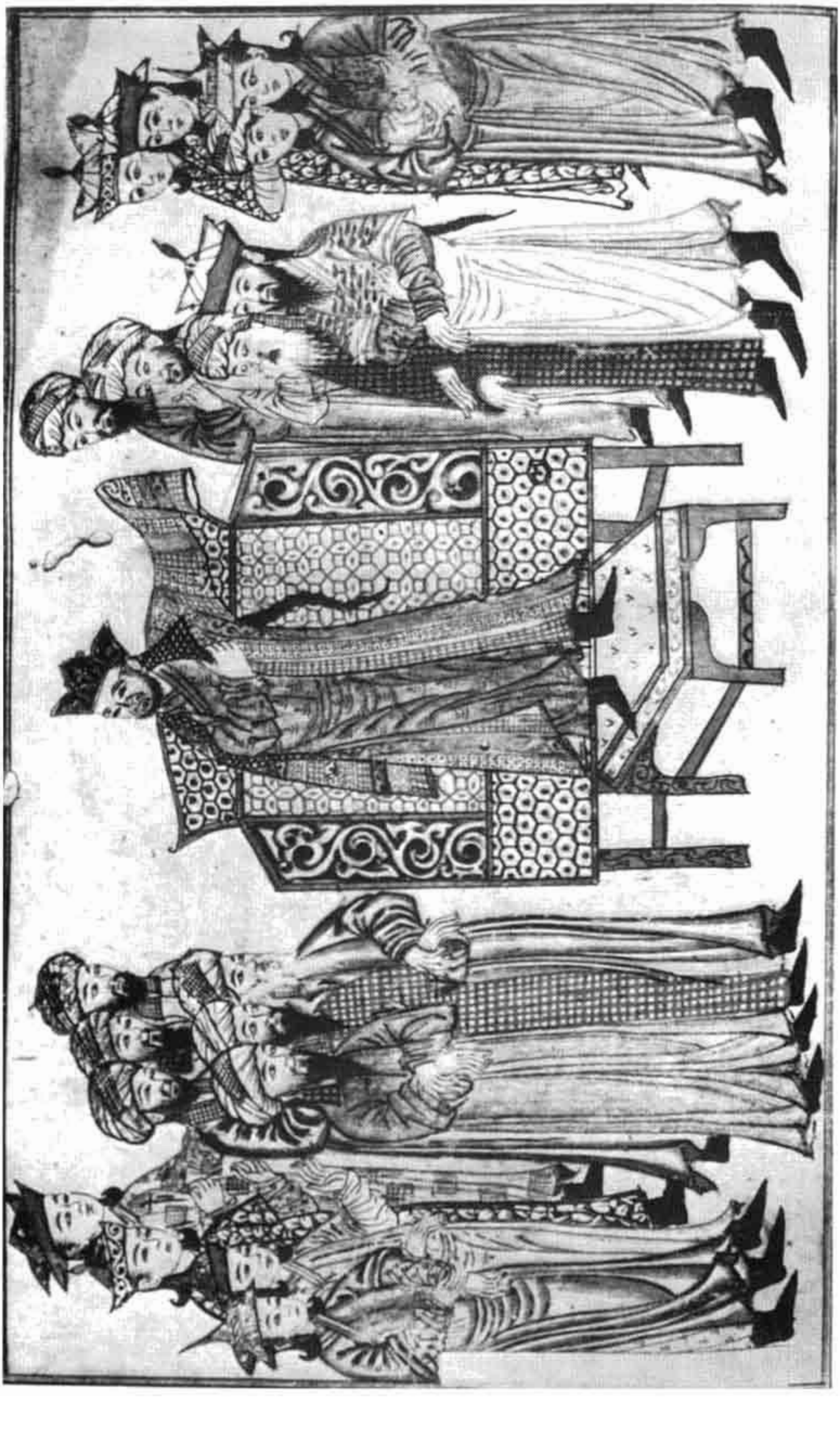

Miniature in the MS. of Rashid al-Din's *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārikh* in Edinburgh University Library representing Maḥmūd of Ghazna donning a *khilʿa* sent by the caliph al-Ḳāhir in A.D. 1000.

KHILĀṬ [see AKHLĀṬ].

KHILDJĪ. [see KHALDJĪ].

KHINALUG (self designation: Kättitturdur; Russian, Khinalug [from the *aul*-Khinalug]), a people of the eastern Caucasus. Khinalug is a numerically small ethnical group, which forms an independent branch of the Northeastern Ibero-Caucasian language group. According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were (ethnically) 105 Khinalugs, and linguistically 1,540. The Khinalugs are Sunnī Moslems of the Shāfiʿī rite.

The Khinalugs inhabit the *aul* Khinalug on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chay, in the Mount Shakhdagh area of Konakhkend rayon (Azerbaidjan S.S.R.). The Khinalug traditional economy was based on sheep-raising (transhumance system) and horticulture.

The Khinalug language is purely a vernacular, and Azeri is used as the literary language; the Khinalug are in fact being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

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KHINZĪR (A., fem. *khinzīra*, pl. *khanāzīr*) or *khinzīr barrī* designates, amongst the pachyderms, all suidae or porcines belonging to the palaearctic zone, without any distinction between the pig (*khinzīr ahlī*), domesticated since farthest antiquity, and the wild boar, *Sus scrofa* (*khinzīr waḥshī*), its feral relative, frequenter of wooded slopes and dense scrub in the valley bottoms.

The word *khinzīr* (Hebrew *khizīr*) is to be attached to the root *Kh. Z. R* with the idea of "having small eyes", and has no link with the root *Kh.N.Z.R* which implies the idea of bulk, mass; this at least is the general opinion amongst philologists, but a coming-together of both ideas is not to be excluded. Without being everywhere in current usage, *khinzīr* is known to all arabophone populations; however, the term *ḥallūf* (pl. *ḥlālīf*, *ḥlālef*; cf. Berber *ilf*, pl. *ilfan*) is preferred to it in the Maghrib, whilst the Touaregs keep for the animal its name *aẓubara* / *taẓubarat* (pl. *iẓubaraten* / *tiẓubaratin*). Even within the porcine species, whilst the sow and the wild sow have no special name except for the feminine derived normally from the masculine (*khinzīra*, *ḥallūfa*), the boar is called *khanzuwān* and the wild boar, whether under three years old, a three-year old, a four-year old or an old boar, is called *ratt* (pl. *rutūt*) and *ʿufr* / *ʿifr* (pls. *ʿifār*, *aʿfār*). In the Maghrib, where the wild boar is common in the mountain massifs, it is differentiated from the pig which is freely raised by some Berber groups by the expressions *khinzīr djabalī* "mountain pig" and *ḥallūf al-ghāba* "forest pig"; an old boar is called, according to the places, *shiṭī* / *shīṭī*, *shnikhrī*, *bū ḍarwa* and *bū ḍriwa*. The young of suidae, piglets or young wild boars, have retained almost everywhere in the Islamic world their classical name of *khinnaws* (pl. *khanānīs*) in the form of dialectical deformations *khannūs*, *khannūsh*, *khanshūsh* and *khantūsh*; in the Maghrib we have also the diminutive *ḥlīlef*. From the anatomical point of view, the suidae are distinguished by a long muzzle, a snout in the case of the pig and a shaggy head in the case of the wild boar, and Arabic underlines these features by a series of evocative terms like *khurṭūm*, *kammāra*, *zanfara* / *zanfūra*, *khannāfa* / *khannūfa*; in the wild boar, its defensive tusks, the snout's powerful weapon, are called *zalzūm* / *zalẓūm* and *khandjal* (pl. *khanādjil*), a probable deformation of *khandjar* "dagger", i.e. having a curved blade.

In Ḳurʾānic law, suidae are included in the same divine anathema as monkeys (V, 65/60) [see ḲIRD], and since their flesh involves the major impurity (*nadjas al-ʿayn*), no Muslim can eat it (Ḳurʾān, II, 168/173, V, 3/4, XVI, 115/116). This food prohibition inherited from the Old Testament (Lev. xi, 17; Deut., xiv, 8) was abolished by Christ for Christians (Matt. xv, 17-20; Mark, vii, 15-23). In Islam, the prohibition of eating pig meat implies *ipso facto* the illegality of buying it or of raising the animal, whose presence near a person praying renders void the prayer; only the use of its bristles for making footwear is tolerated. These bristles are provided by Christian pig breeders who obtain them by scalding the beasts in boiling water after they have been slaughtered, whence the saying *akrah min kirāhat al-khinzīr li 'l-māʾ al-mūghar* "showing more aversion than the pig for boiling water".

Al-Djāḥiẓ, although admitting the excellence of the pig's flesh, which had pride of place on the tables of the Caesars and the Persian Emperors (*Ḥayawān*, i, 234, iv, 40), is careful to point out, in regard to the animal and its behaviour, its most unattractive habits, aiming perhaps at justifying the strict terms of the Ḳur'ānic prohibition. It is omnivorous, though not really coprophagous (*djallāla*), but it devours on occasion excrement. It consumes snakes, like the porcupine, certain raptors, the cat and the Purple Gallinule (*shahmurk*). Its zeal to prolong the act of copulation (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 52, iii, 186, 354, 400, 496, 525, iv, 50) suggested scornful sayings like *aṭyash min ʿufr* "more flighty than a boar" and *akbah min khinzīr* "more vile than a pig". The sight of a pig squelching in the mire or a wild boar wallowing in mud (*manḳaʿa*), present in everyone's mind, did not lessen the obloquy heaped on the species, without even having to recall the legend current about its base origin. This legend (*Ḥayawān*, v, 347-8, vii, 204) stated that Noah, distressed when in the Ark by the pestilence left by the evacuations of the pair of cats which Jehovah had created out of the lion's sneeze in order to end the great spreading of rats in the ship, appealed once again to the Almighty, who sent down to him, out of an act of defecation of the elephant, a pair of pigs (or wild boars), who soon set to work gorging on the filth; from this hardly credible mode of generation arose the Arabic definition of the suidae, *al-fīl abu 'l-khinzīr* "the elephant is parent to the pig". Like the monkey, in popular belief the hog was considered to be the metamorphosis of an impious person expiating the divine punishment; according to al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt*, i, 304), there was a tradition current that Christ himself had changed a group of hostile Jews into swine. The comparison of the pig, as of the monkey, with a hated person or persons, has always been one of the sharpest insults, and one which the Spanish Muslims used for the Christians, who, as elsewhere in Islam, raised pigs for food consumption.

At the side of this generally unfavourable view of the suidae, some Arabic writers were able to note and observe the qualities peculiar to the species, by way of rehabilitation: the mother's attachment for its young, its endurance of bad weather, the ease of keeping and raising it, the speed by which it grew fat and its sociable temperament; al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, ii, 48-9) goes so far as to say that, by way of emulation, horses put on flesh when one keeps them

in the neighbourhood of pigs. The fact was noted by E. Reclus (*Nouvelle géographie universelle*, Paris 1884, ix, 190) that in many stables in Fārs there was the custom of keeping horses in the company of piglets and that a most close affection grew up between the two very different creatures. On the Christians' farms, the pig rivalled the cock in the role of waking people in the morning, since its cries for its food allowance could be heard from the earliest hours of the day (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 294-5).

The ancient empirical forms of medicine attributed curative virtues to various organs of the pig. Thus its liver was an antidote against the venom of reptiles and soothed colics; its dried and powdered gall sprinkled on haemorrhoids made them go down; inserted in the nostrils, this last soothed coryza; a bone carried as a talisman secured against the quartan ague; and an ointment of its lard rubbed on the body gave protection against all evil and against maleficent spirits. Numerous other beneficial properties were attributed to its blood, urine and dung, as well as to the wild boar's tusks (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, i, 306, and in the margins, al-Ķazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ii, 224-6).

Arabic cynegetic literature is poor in material relating to hunting the wild boar in particular and to the dangers involved in this. It was considered to be a dangerous beast because of its bad temper and its depredations, so that battues for its destruction were held by local rulers and officers; it was hunted with the lance, hunting spear, bow and sabre on these occasions. In Syria, the farmers preferred to let the lion roam on the fringes of their lands rather than try to exterminate it, since it was a sure protection against the possible nocturnal ravages of herds of pachyderms through their crops (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 49). Kushādjim [*q.v.*] simply recommends that a person on foot charged by a wild boar should feign death, face downwards on the ground (*Maṣāyid*, 215). In the 6th/12th century, the valiant lord of Shayzar, Usāma b. Munķidh, tells in a realistic fashion of his perilous encounters with the black beast which, in his time, abounded in the Orontes lowlands (*K. al-Iʿtibār*, Princeton 1930, 202, 223-4). ʿĪsā al-Asadī (7th/13th century), in his encyclopaedia of hunting *al-Djamhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara* (Escurial ms., Ar. 903, f. 162a), advises farmers that, in order to ward off the depredations of wild boars, they should cause to boom out in the middle of the night a big cauldron, emptied and placed upside down, and with a drum skin stretched over its mouth; a bunch of hairs should then be flicked between the fingers with an alternating movement of the two hands. He also gives directions for making a trap (*ḥuķna*), roofing over the mouth of a conical hole dug in the normally-used pathway of the animals (*op. cit.*, ff. 303b-304a). Finally, a century later, the Mamlūk Ibn Manglī, completing al-Asadī, brings to bear the fruit of his experience for anyone wishing to measure his strength against the savage beast, whether on foot or mounted (*Uns al-malaʾ bi-waḥsh al-falāʾ*, B. N. Paris ms. Ar. 2832, ff. 17b-18b, and annotated tr. F. Viré, in the press). The arms which he recommends for fighting with it are the double-edged sabre (*ķilidjūrī*) and the arrow with a flat-edged head (*yāsidj*), which the attacker should plunge right into the animal's forehead or pierce with them its paws. If the hunter is thrown to the ground by the beast's charge (*ḥamla*), he should flatten himself on the ground and strike upwards with a slashing motion in order to cut the tendons of one of the beast's limbs. He should also lie in wait for the moment when the beast turns round in order to spit it with a backwards action and rip it open. Another secret of success is perfect mastery of one's mount, which must not take the bit and bolt when it sees the attacking beast. With a lance or hunting spear, the best way is to gouge out one of the beast's eyes, which cannot then survive this wound. Finally, Ibn Manglī records that, according to the ancients, the best talisman against the wild boar's viciousness is to carry a crab's claw hung on the arm.

At the present time, in the mountainous regions of the Maghrib, where the wild boar is sometimes abundant, hunting it is used as a tactical means of training for troops practising firing in the countryside, and the dead victims are left on the ground for wild carnivores.

The term *khinzīr* plus other terms is also used to designate several other wild animals which have a long muzzle: the potamocherus (*Potamochoerus porcus*) of Africa is therefore called *khinzīr al-nahr* ("wild boar of the river") or *khinzīr al-māʾ*, wrongly identified by Kazimirski with the hippopotamus [see FARAS AL-MĀʾ in Suppl.]; the two other African suidae, the phacocherus (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*) and the hylocherus (*Hylochoerus meinertzhageni*) are lumped together under the name *khinzīr abū ķarnayn* because of their highly-developed defensive tusks; with its long snout for grubbing up ant-hills, the orycterops (*Orycteropus afer*) is called *khinzīr al-arḍ*; whilst the dolphin and the porpoise are called *khinzīr al-baḥr* "sea pig". Finally, in pathology, the plural *khanāzīr* denotes scrofulous growths on the neck.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(F. VIRÉ)

AL-**KHIRAĶĪ**, ʿUMAR B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-BAGHDĀDĪ (d. 334/946), better known under the name of Abu 'l-Ķāsim al-Khiraķī, was one of the first and most celebrated of Ḥanbalī jurisconsults. He was first guided into the *madhhab* of the *Imām* Aḥmad by his father Abū ʿAlī al-Khiraķī (d. 299/912), who was himself a pupil of Abū Bakr al-Marwadhī (d. 275/899). He also knew Aḥmad's two sons, Ṣāliḥ (d. 266/880) and the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903).

On the eve of the arrival of the Shīʿī Būyids in Baghdād, al-Khiraķī left the ʿIrāķī capital as a *muhādjir* seeking refuge in Damascus, where a Ḥanbalī school was already taking root. He died there soon after his arrival there, in 334/945, although the exact date of his death is not known. He was buried in the cemetery of the Bāb Ṣaghīr, at the side of the martyr's tombs (*Ķubūr al-shuhadāʾ*), and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. Ibn Baṭṭa visited it when he passed through Damascus, and it still existed in Ibn Kathīr's time (*Bidāya*, xi, 214).

Shams al-Dīn al-Nābulusī (d. 797/1394-5), in his résumé of the *ķāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn's *Ṭabaķāt al-ḥanābila*, 332, tells us, on the basis of a report going back to Muwaffaķ al-Dīn Ibn Ķudāma, that al-Khiraķī had denounced publicly in Damascus a "reprehensible practice" (*munkar*), whose nature is not otherwise specified; because of this, he was condemned to be flogged and died as a result of his wounds. However, this version of his death does not seem to be given by his other biographers.

Al-Khiraķī's only work which has come down to us is his famous *Mukhtaṣar*, the first précis of Ḥanbalī *fiķh*, which was to enjoy a considerable success and to contribute to the education and formation of numerous generations of legal scholars.

It is said that he wrote numerous other works whose titles are not specified and which have all

been lost. He had left his personal library in Baghdād in the care of a friend in the Darb Sulaymān, before leaving for Syria. A fire there destroyed it (*Bidāya*, xi, 214).

Ibn Kathīr remarks, *loc. cit.*, that the *Mukhtaṣar* was written when the Black Stone was in the hands of the Carmathians. In fact, al-Khiraḳī tells us in the *Mukhtaṣar*, iii, 383, when describing the Pilgrimage rites, that "The pilgrim must kiss the Black Stone if it is in its proper place". It is well-known that this last was carried off in 317/930 and restored in 339/950; one may accordingly conclude that the *Mukhtaṣar* was put together between 317/930 and 334/945, after the death of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923).

Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/974), called Ghulām al-Khallāl, gave out that he did not follow the views of the *Mukhtaṣar* on 60 questions (*masʾala*). The *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, in his *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 76-118, returns to this problem and enumerates 98 points of divergence between the two scholars, whilst defending that doctrine which he deems the best.

A large number of commentaries were written on the *Mukhtaṣar*, of which three became especially celebrated, sc. those of Ibn Ḥāmid (d. 403/1011), of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā (d. 458/1066) and of Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223). The first two have been lost, but the third, known under the title of *al-Mughnī*, has been published in Cairo by Rashīd Riḍā (12 vols., 1341-8/1922-30). But there were also many other commentaries, and no text of Ḥanbalism was so much commented upon. The *shaykh* Badrān, in his *Madkhal*, 214, states that 300 commentaries still existed in the time of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503), a Ḥanbalī known as a historian of Damascus.

Various disciples are known to us of al-Khiraḳī, including the following: (1) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥārith Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Tamīmī (d. 371/981), prolific author and founder of a famous line of legal scholars (*Ikhtiṣār*, 342); (2) Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Samʿūn (d. 387/998), one of the most famous preachers of his generation and a Ṣūfī master (*ibid.*, 350-3); (3) ʿAbd Allāh b. Baṭṭa (d. 387/998), even though he does not mention al-Khiraḳī amongst the authorities upon whom he based his credo (*ibid.*, 346); and (4) Abū Ḥafṣ al-ʿUkbarī (d. 387/998), considered one of the best-informed scholars of Ḥanbalism.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 234; *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 75-118; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 274; *Ikhtiṣār*, 331-2; *Shadharāt*, ii, 326; Brockelmann, I, 183, 398, S I, 311; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 512-13; Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad*, in *REI* (1959), 84. (H. Laoust)

KHIRBAT AL-BAYḌĀʾ, an early Arab structure in the Syrian Desert. Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ or Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ is situated about 100 km. southeast of Damascus, looking out to the east over the Ruḥba, a fertile depression in the middle of the southeastern Syrian *ḥarrāt*. It is a structure set out as a square, 60 m. × 60 m. At every angle and in the centre of each side, except for the eastern one, there are circular towers. The eastern side contains the gate, giving on to a courtyard of *ca.* 43 m. × 43 m. This courtyard is surrounded on the other sides by ranges of rooms, 7.6 m. deep and *ca.* 5.0 m. (type *a*), 6.5 m. (type *b*), 7.6 m. (type *c*), and 5.8 m. (type *T*) wide, forming the schema *c-a-b-a-T-a-b-a-c*. All these rooms were living quarters. On the eastern side there were two small rooms flanking the entrance and four long rooms, which must have served as store-rooms. On the southern and northern sides the rooms were articulated into two groups with the schema *c-a-b-a* and *a-b-a-c* respectively. Entrance from the courtyard was given by doors in the *b*-rooms, whence doors led to the *a*-rooms and further doors led from there to the *c*-rooms. On the western side were two groups of rooms following the schema *a-b-a* which were also accessible through doors in the *b*-rooms. Thus we have on three sides of the courtyard two groups of rooms separated by isolated room of the *T*-type. The residential character of the building is attested by the organisation of the rooms, together with the abundant mural decoration especially on the lintels. First impression suggest that Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ was another example of the genre of Umayyad palaces. Closer investigation, however, reveals this identification to be impossible. It lacks many elements shared by Umayyad palaces, principally the *bayt*-organisation of the rooms, the peristyle, brick and vaulted construction, and stucco decoration. Both the decoration and the technique of construction demonstrate an ambitious local Syrian craftsmanship. The decoration shows this craftsmanship to be working with oecumenical patterns of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The relations of this local craftsmanship can be more closely determined. Masonry comparable with that of Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ is found in northeastern Syria, not in the neighbouring Ḥawrān. Equally, the decoration is not Ḥawrānian in type, but resembles closely the ornament found in the region northeast of Ḥamā. This suggests that Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ is not an Umayyad structure but was built in the 5th and 6th century by one of the Arab rulers, clients to the Byzantine state.

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KHIRBAT AL-MAFDJAR, popularly known as Ḳaṣr Hishām, is the modern name for the ruins of an unfinished Umayyad mansion in the Wādī 'l-Nuwayʿima, north of Jericho. The ruins comprise three separate buildings: a palace proper, a mosque and a bath attached to a hall. On the east side of this complex stood a colonnaded forecourt with an ornamental pool at its centre. Additional architectural remains lie north of these buildings, but have not yet been excavated. Foundations of a wall, found north of the site, suggest that the buildings were originally surrounded by a walled estate, comprising cultivated land, agricultural settlements and perhaps a game preserve. A complex irrigation system, developed already in Roman times and based on three neighbouring springs—ʿAyn al-Sulṭān, ʿAyn al-Nuwayʿima and ʿAyn al-Duyūk, provided the water for the residential buildings as well as for the cultivation of the land. The modern name of the site, meaning "a place where water springs from the earth", attests to the abundance of water in this area.

The site, which has not yet been identified with any place mentioned in written sources, was first visited and described by Captain Ch. Warren and Mr. F. J. Bliss on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund (*Survey of Western Palestine*, iii, 1883, 211-12;

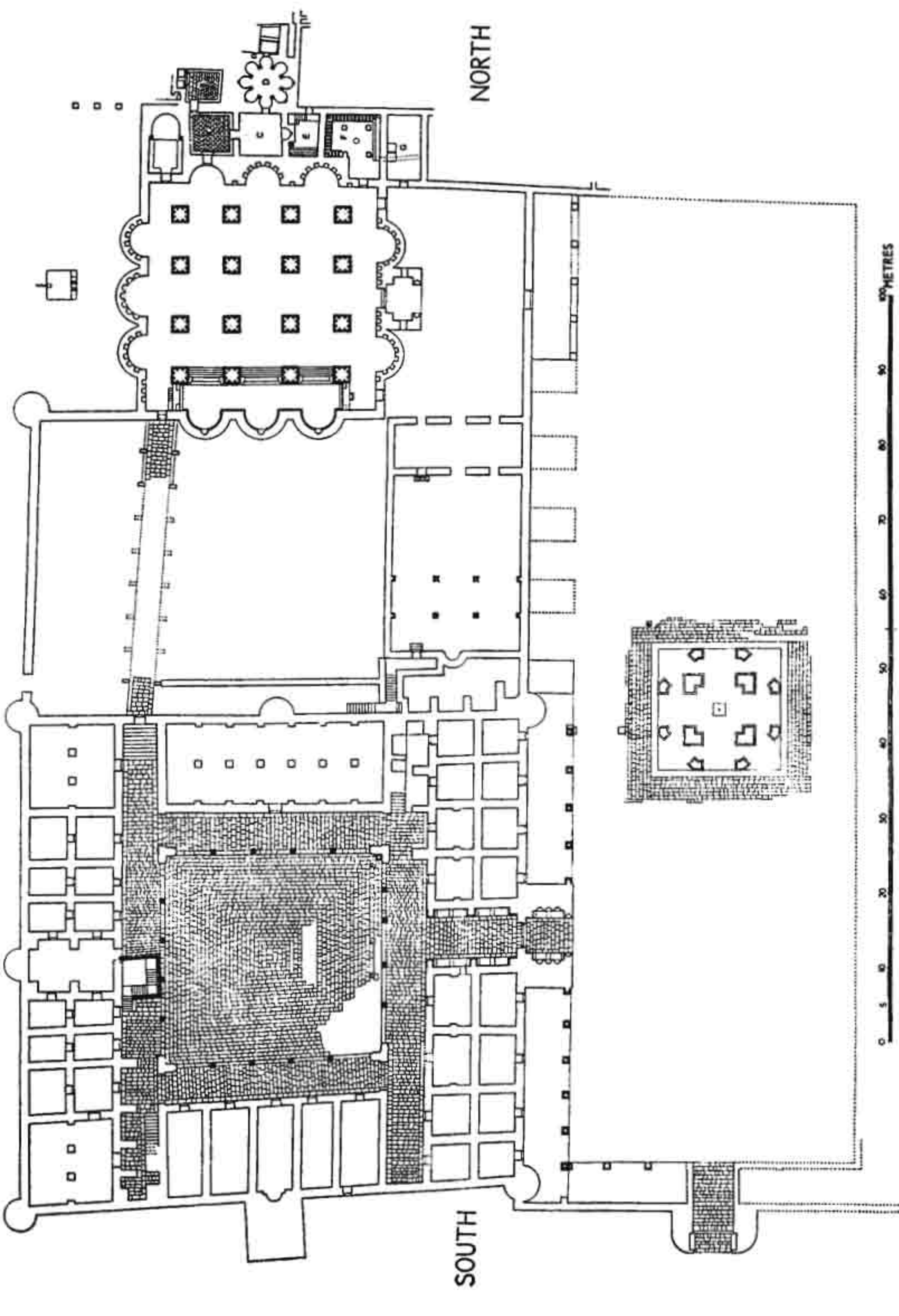

Fig. A Khirbat al-Mafdjar. Plan (after Hamilton)

PEFQS, 1894, 177-81). Our main knowledge, however, derives from the excavations conducted between 1935 and 1948 by the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, under the direction of R. W. Hamilton with D. C. Baramki as field director. Their finds which appeared first as preliminary reports in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, were later published by Hamilton (*Khirbat al-Mafjar, an Arabian mansion in the Jordan valley. With a contribution by Dr. Oleg Grabar*, Oxford 1959).

1. *Architecture*.—A glance at the plan of Khirbat al-Mafdjar reveals some remarkable irregularities and a somewhat awkward relation between the main units of the building complex (Fig. A). The walls of the square, two-storeyed palace, which was by far the largest part of the whole complex, are of uneven length (the south and west walls, 67.28 m. externally; the north wall, 67,21 m.; the east wall, 63,86 m.), its façade is asymmetrical, and there are further oddities in its inner division. However, the plan of the palace conforms to those of other Umayyad castles. A three-quarter round buttress-tower stood at each of the four corners and a semi-circular one in the middle of the west and north walls. In the middle of the southern wall only there was a square tower—presumably the base of a minaret—and another rectangular porch-tower faced the entrance in the east. The rooms of the palace were arranged around a central porticoed court. They were generally not connected, although along the west side of the palace they were arranged in communicating pairs, one behind the other, with a group of five intercommunicating rooms in the centre. The central room in the south was provided with a niche, probably a *miḥrāb*, flanked by two colonnettes. The northern wall had a single elongated hall with a row of six piers down the centre. Six pairs of parallel wall piers suggest that this hall was divided by lateral arches into two times seven bays. In the centre of the western portico, but not aligned with the axis of the central room, three flights of stairs descended to a small forecourt preceding a *sirdāb*, a small room supplied with cold water and intended for refreshment. A balustrade around the top of the staircase clearly blocked the direct access to the central room.

At a distance of about seven metres from the north-east corner of the palace and aligned with its eastern wall stood a mosque (23.6 m. × 17.1 m.). It could be reached in two ways: either by a staircase which descended from the first floor of the palace and led to a door in the *ḳibla* wall, or by three doors in its northern wall. The door in the *ḳibla* wall, next to the *miḥrāb*, was probably used by the owner of the palace and his close attendants exclusively, while the openings in the northern wall were presumably used by the public.

The mosque was preceded by a small courtyard or vestibule, which had three additional openings in its northern wall. The *miḥrāb* was flanked by two cylindrical columns and was covered with white plas-

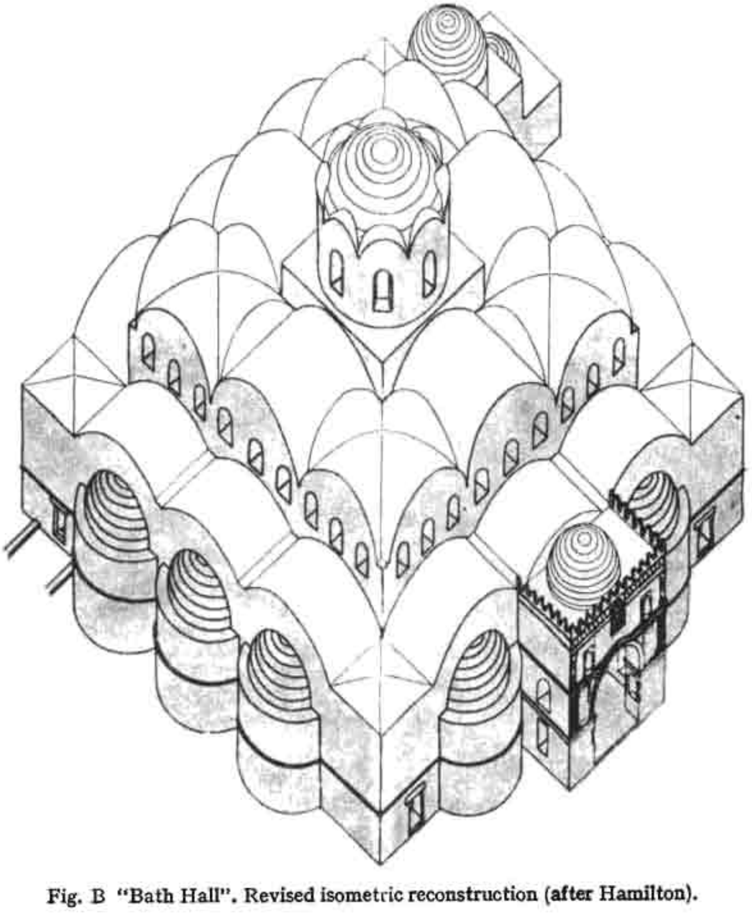

Fig. B "Bath Hall". Revised isometric reconstruction (after Hamilton).

ter which remained undecorated. In front of the *miḥrāb* the excavators found the fallen remains of two arcades composed originally of three arches each. These arcades must have sheltered a strip of slightly more than 10 m. of the enclosure. The construction of the mosque was probably never finished, for the walls nowhere stood more than three courses high, and the excavators found no traces of a floor.

About 40 m. north of the palace are the ruins of a second large building complex which was separated from the palace by an open area. A wall and a buttress tower enclosed the area on the side aligned with the western palace wall, and the mosque bordered it on the east. A paved and originally covered passage crossed the open space, connecting the palace with the northern buildings. The dominant feature of this complex was a square hall (north wall, 30.28 m.; south wall, 30.33 m.; west wall, 30.42 m.; east wall, 29.79 m.). The north, south and west sides each had three horse-shoe shaped exedrae, while a stately entrance porch, flanked by similar exedrae, occupied the eastern wall. Two additional entrances were found at either end of this wall. Each of the eleven exedrae was flanked by a pair of engaged columns, whose bases stood about a metre above the floor. Between and inside these exedrae were small rectangular niches which stood about 1.10 m. above floor-level and were covered by arched heads. Square pilasters with three-quarter round shafts at their corners supported the roof and divided the hall into nine central bays and an ambulatory. The piers were interconnected by stone-built arches carrying intersecting walls which rose high enough to provide room for windows. According to Hamilton's reconstruction (Fig. B) (*Mafjar*, 67-91, Pl. CV and *Levant*, 63 and Fig. 1 for revised isometric restoration), the four corner bays were square and had cross-vaults, while the axial naves were rectangular and barrel-vaulted. The central bay was raised above the rest and carried a dome over a cylindrical drum which was also pierced with windows. Except for the four compartments at the corners, the bays of the ambulatory were barrel-vaulted. The spacing of the piers was such that the central nave, connecting the porch with the central apse in the west, like the main north-south axis, was wider than the other passages (5.50 m. to 5.60 m. as against 4.40 m. to 4.60 m. for the flanking aisles and 2.50 m. to 3.36 m. for the aisles closest to the walls).

Along the southern wall of the hall, and including its three exedrae, there was a pool. It was bordered by a barrier built between the four southern piers of the hall and continued at either end in a right angle towards the wall. This pool, the floor of which was at about the same level as the rest of the hall, was apparently not included in the original plan of the hall and only added subsequently.

The main entrance into the hall was by way of a monumental porch (8.45 m. wide) in its eastern façade. This porch was entered by an arched opening with stepped and undercut crenellations at the top edge. It was covered by a dome resting on pendentives carrying its high drum. Within the porch was a pair of arched recesses, and there was another part of niches in the jambs of the entrance arch. A doorway connected the porch with the main hall.

Attached to the hall at the north-west corner was a small, originally domed, room with a semi-circular apsis, the *Dīwān*, used apparently for private audiences. There were extensive latrines at the north-eastern corner (F). In the centre of the northern wall there was the bath proper, comprising two rectangular rooms (A, B) with benches along the walls (and two tanks in room B), and two additional rooms (C, D). Their floors, built over hypocausts, were heated by a furnace in the stoke-hole (E). The first room (C) was nearly square with a single niche in the east, while the other, a circular originally doomed chamber, was surrounded with eight horse-shoe shaped niches, one containing the door to room (C). These two were the more temperate and the hotter *caldaria* respectively, while the first two chambers may have served as waiting rooms or vestiary (A) and *frigidarium* (B).

The rooms of the *ḥammām* are remarkably small and could be reached from the large hall through chamber (A) only. There was no direct connection between the bath and the disproportionally large latrines.

2. *Decoration*.—Apart from the mosque, which was never finished, and the ground floor of the palace, the buildings at Khirbat al-Mafdjar were lavishly decorated. There were mosaic floors at the *sirdāb*, the hall adjoining the bath, and the *dīwān*. The façade, the porches and the walls of the hall and the *dīwān* were covered with stone and stucco panels respectively. The walls of the upper floor of the eastern wing of the palace, and of the bath hall, showed remains of paintings; figural sculptures, many of them nearly life size, were placed in niches or arcades at different parts of the buildings. The mosaics were of natural stone in a rich colour scale of red, brown or yellow, bluish, grey and white grades. While those in the *sirdāb* are technically of mediocre quality, the mosaics in the hall and *dīwān* are extremely fine. There are forty-two carpets altogether (thirty-eight in the hall and four in the *dīwān*). They are partly adapted in size and pattern to the architectural superstructure, and their placement appears to have been guided by the purpose and function of these buildings (Pl. Ib). The majority of these patterns show geometric or abstract designs and interlacings which are enriched by stylised floral devices. In the centre of the Hall a radiating rosette pattern accentuates the main axis and "reflects" the central dome above it (Panel 17 in Hamilton's chart, *Mafjar*, 328, Fig. 258). Roundels containing concentric interlacings decorate the floors of the four corner bays which were apparently cross-vaulted. There is a continuous mosaic panel in each of the outer corridors (Nos. 1, 2, 3 in Hamilton's chart). The rectangular panel between the entrance porch and the central rosette, in its composition and ornament, leads towards the central axis of the Hall. Finally, the design in the central apse (No. V in Hamilton's chart) is distinguished from the other apses by a large rosette in its interior and a semi-rosette at its base (Pl. IIa). The pavement includes only two figural designs: one at the base of the central apse, representing a citrus fruit, a branch and a knife; and the other in the dais of the *dīwān* showing a fruit-bearing tree flanked to the right by a pair of gazelles and to the left by a lion attacking a gazelle (Pl. IIb).

Together with Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.v.*], Khirbat al-Mafdjar provides the richest accumulation of early Islamic architectural decoration so far known. Apart from stone—and occasionally marble—the artists made abundant use of plaster for elaborating the interior and exterior of the mansion. This technique, not used in Syrian architecture until later Umayyad times, had the advantage of being comparatively cheap, and its flexibility allowed it to be used for life-size sculpture. Moreover, it could be painted, and since it lent itself to modelling in a wide variety of forms, these stucco carvings must have contributed to the impression of richness and sumptuousness of the buildings.

Generally speaking, two groups of motifs predominate in the architectural surface decoration of Khirbat al-Mafdjar. The first, and largest one consists of vegetal elements, such as acanthus leaves, full and half palmettes, vine garlands, flowers and fruit. The other comprises geometric elements and various abstract designs. Pure geometric compositions, however, are comparatively rare. In general they appear together and interwoven with vegetal designs, such as interlaced roundels, or roundels alternating with rectangles filled with rosettes, or diamond-shaped units filled with rosettes and palmette leaves respectively (Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. XLIII, 2). In most of the plaster ornaments the geometric units are interrupted and combined in such a way that the resulting patterns completely conceal their original rigid construction (Balustrade panels from Palace, Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. LIX, 13, 14 and pp. 245-61, Figs. 185-210. The same principle was used in the mosaic pattern).

Wall paintings were found in two areas only: in the rooms of the east wing on the first floor of the Palace, and in the "Bath Hall". Painted on plaster, in both fresco and tempera, hardly any of these paintings were found *in situ*, and all that has remained are fragments. Since we know so little about Umayyad painting, this situation is all the more deplorable. Professor Oleg Grabar has studied these fragments and found that in subject matter, style and iconography the fragments in the Palace differed from those in the "Bath Hall". In the north part of the eastern wing of the Palace Sasanian textile motifs predominated. In addition to floral ornaments, such as heart-shaped leaves, rosettes, lotus and palmette designs, a pattern of interlacing circles with a simurg painted within each of the roundels could be reconstructed. In the rooms to the south the excavators found architectural and figural remains as well as painted imitations of marble. The style is less homogeneous than in the north part; yet the Roman-Byzantine tradition is most conspicuous. The paintings in the "Bath Hall", which originally decorated the walls and piers above the level of the window-sills, were less spectacular and more limited in subject matter. Their main purpose was to emphasise the architectural setting of the construction; in particular, the groups of three niches in the clerestory were richly painted (Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. XIII and p. 73, Fig. 33, for restored sketch). At the floor level all the apses were plastered white. The only exception was apse V in the centre of the western wall, whose archivolt was decorated with meandering bands which enclosed panels with various fruits (including pomegranates), vegetables in a bowl, etc. Another panel with painted fruit and rosettes covered an arch which had spanned a western aisle of the northern ambulatory, south of the *Dīwān*. The importance of this fragment lies in the affinities of its rosettes to the type of rosette which is repeatedly depicted in the mosaic floor of the same Hall, particularly in front of the main apse, in the ambulatory and in the main panel between the entrance porch and the large central medallion (Pl. Ib).

Khirbat al-Mafdjar abounded in monumental sculpture of various human and animal forms. Although none of the statues were found *in situ*, they were evidently concentrated in three areas: the Palace porch and entrance, the porch leading to the "Bath Hall", and the *Dīwān*. The human statues included an almost life-size princely figure, generally interpreted as a caliph, which came from a niche surmounting the entrance to the "Bath Hall" (Fig. C and Pl. Va), male and female entertainers (Pl. Vb) and miscellaneous figures connected with courtly pleasures. A quick glance at these statues reveals that they were sculptured in a remarkably homogeneous style: they are rendered frontally, in nearly identical conventionalised postures, and their rigidity and lack of movement gives them an impressive monumentality. The men and women are plump and heavily built, and the semi-nude female bodies show folds of abundant flesh on the thorax and above the girdle. The caliph is clad in a long coat trimmed with Iranian-type pearls, worn over wide trousers, and holds a short sword; the girls wear pleated skirts that close from right to left and are held on the hips by a twisted cord. With slight variations the hair of the figures is identically modelled: parted in the centre and rendered in parallel grooves (caliph and some of the busts), or rows of snail curls. The hair of the women is dressed in three heavy twists which are covered with a rosette in the centre, and on the forehead forms small ringlets which descend at either side and terminate in cork-screw curls (Pl. IIIb). The rendering of the faces is generally identical. The brow forms one plane with the forehead and the flattened bridge of the nose, and abuts at a sharp angle on the plane of the eye sockets. The pupil of the eye is pierced or drilled, and the mouth curves downward slightly and has a drilled hole in each corner. There is little, if any, modelling in the faces.

The eyes of the figures from the Palace entrance, like those of the caliph, are modelled in a different style from those of the women from the bath porch of the *Dīwān*. In the first group the eyes are encircled by a heavy unbroken band representing the eyelids, and the brows are marked by a grooved line; the eyelids of the other figures are more smoothly sculptured, and the brows are painted (Pl. IIIb).

There were various animal figures at the Palace entrance. Rams or mountain sheep decorated the front of the "Bath" porch and the bottom of its drum, and about a hundred partridges (Pl. IIIa) were found in the *Dīwān* and the "Bath" porch. On the whole the animals were more delicately modelled than the human figures.

3. *Interpretation of structures and decorations*.—Our knowledge of the purpose for which Khirbat al-Mafdjar was built, and of the actual function of its different units, is based primarily on interpretations of its architectural features and decorations. The irregular plan of the whole complex seems to imply that it was not conceived as a single unit and was built in consecutive stages. The function of most of the rooms of the Palace, except the little mosque, or *muṣallā*, and the underground *sirdāb*, is uncertain. The discovery of numerous wall paintings in the upper storey, in contrast to the lack of decoration observed in the ground floor rooms, is generally explained by the fact that the upper floor was reserved for the living quarters and private rooms of the owner of the mansion. This seems to be confirmed by the only painting which could be fully reconstructed, the textile pattern with the simurg and the interstitial heart-shaped four-petaled rosettes, which came from a room in the northern part of the east wing. This pattern would have been appropriate for a princely dwelling, as its Sasanian prototype figures on the garb of Khusraw II at the bas reliefs of Ṭāḳ-i Bustān and in similar royal Sasanian representations.

Scholarly opinions vary as to the purpose and function of the "Bath Hall". In relating it to the bathrooms proper and the Roman tradition of public baths in Palestine and other provinces of the Roman empire, Creswell and Hamilton interpreted the Hall as

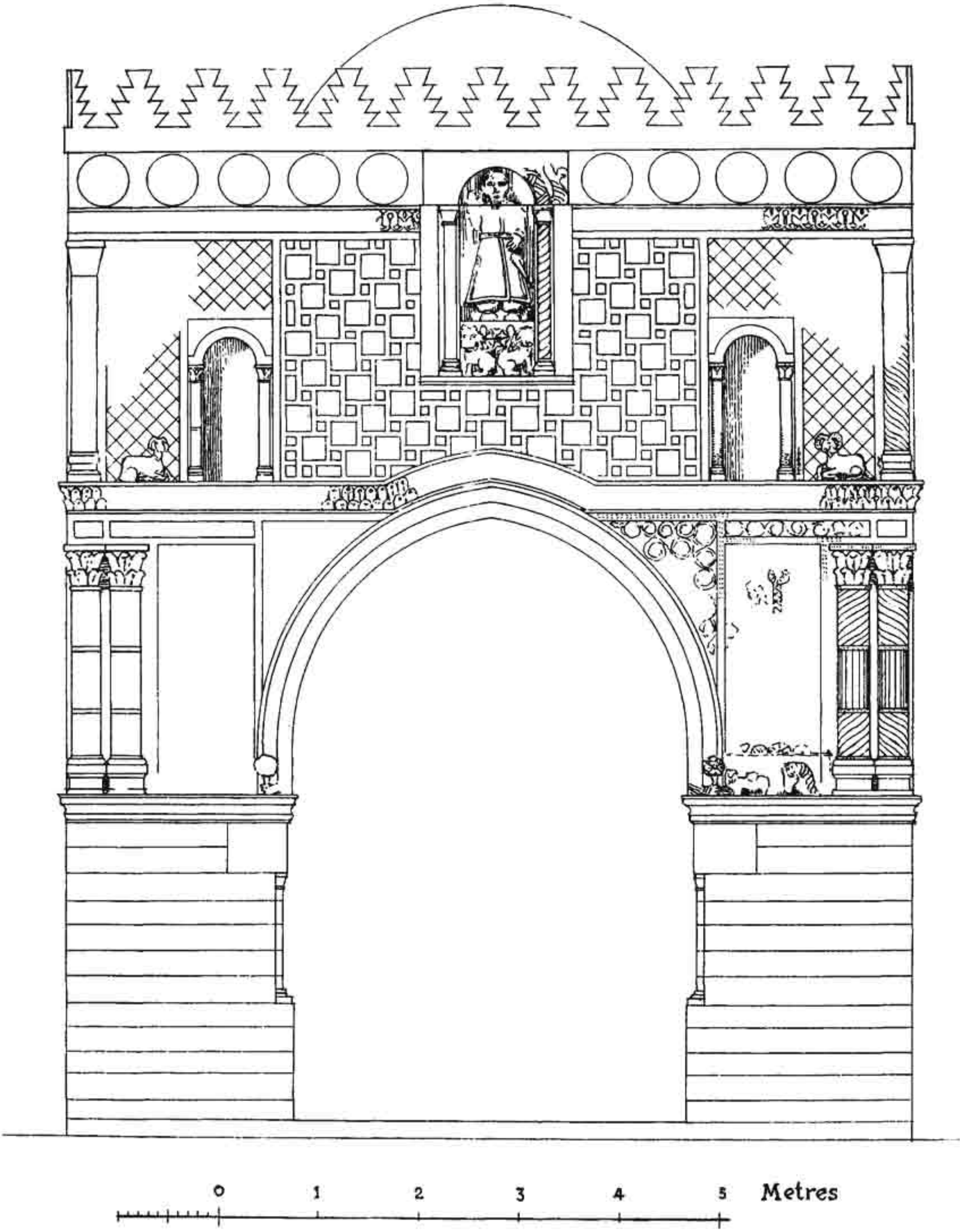

Fig. C "Bath Hall". Porch façade (after Hamilton).

a *frigidarium* which, according to Hamilton, served also as a vestiary or *apoditerium*. He saw an indication of these functions in the niches along the walls, which he interpreted as a repository for the bather's clothes. Hamilton was aware of the abnormal size of the Hall, which he believed to represent an "architectural response to some specialized requirements" (*Mafjar*, 47). A more specific function was suggested by Grabar, who suggested that the Hall should be related to the Roman *triclinia* and considered as a place for ceremonial entertainment, and for other customary Arab and Sasanian activities, such as dancing or banqueting (*Islamic art and Byzantium*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xviii (1964), 76-7). A fresh study of the architectural peculiarities, decorative features and iconography of the Hall and a re-evaluation of these ideas has led Professor R. Ettinghausen to point out that in contrast to the more private character of the Palace, the "Bath" Hall was conceived as the representational part of the mansion. First, it could be entered from the outside by a distinctively ornamented monumental porch and two additional doors next to it. Aside from the caliphal statue, the front and inside of the porch carried figural sculptures of definite princely associations particularly appropriate for a princely abode, such as male and female entertainers, as well as animals alluding to the royal hunt. Secondly, the official character of this building becomes further evident if one follows Ettinghausen's discussion of the central axis of the Hall. This aisle, which connects the porch with the western wall opposite, focuses on a central apse which in its artistic rendering differs from the remaining exedrae of the ambulatory. Originally attached to a cross-shaped voussoir, there was a stone chain ending in a cylindrical device hanging from the apex of its semi-dome. There were seven, and not five niches in the lower wall of the apse, and a pair, instead of a single niche, decorated the upper level of the exedrae. The arched heads of these niches had a horse-shoe and not a semi-circular profile, and were supported by colonnettes missing in the other recesses. Moreover, while all the exedrae in the ambulatory were plastered white, the archivolt of the central apse was painted with a meander pattern with perspective frets and different vegetal designs.

The exceptional rendering of the central apse, which must have been viewed by every visitor entering from the main porch, is explained by Ettinghausen in relation to its function. According to his interpretation it served as a throne recess or place of honour where the owner of the mansion sat at official occasions and in compliance with royal Sasanian practice, with his royal headgear suspended over his head.

Aside from the symbolic "hanging crown"—in Umayyad times transformed into a "hanging" *ḳalansuwa*—the royal character of the throne recess is further brought out by the huge half rosette in the pavement at the base of the apse, a motif which in Sasanian iconography had royal connotations. According to Ettinghausen it was not selected at random but rather in conformity with the Sasanian iconographic tradition, in order to emphasise the princely sections of the mansion.

By applying the principle that a "given imagery is related to the situation or activity that took place in or near the particular spot" (*From Byzantium*, 35-6), Ettinghausen further uses the mosaic panel with the knife, citrus fruit and leafy branch in front of the main apse (Hamilton, *Mafjar*, 336-7) to explain one of the other functions of the "Bath" Hall. First, since Khirbat al-Mafdjar was an agricultural estate, this picture may be interpreted as an offering or present to the owner of the estate, or possibly as a symbol for a tax paid in the form of a highly-esteemed fruit grown in the plantations. Second, the fact that the only figural mosaic in this Hall depicts a fruit which had to be peeled with a knife in order to be eaten, appears to indicate that one of the purposes of this Hall was feasting and banqueting.

Assuming that the "Bath" Hall was built for public audiences, the *Dīwān* or small apsidial room in its north-western corner (Fig. 1) was probably built as a private audience chamber. The interpretation of its function has again been based on the iconography of its decoration—the figural mosaic pavement on the raised dais (Pl. IIb), and the stucco ornaments of the dome in front of it (Pl. Ic). Accordingly, it has been pointed out that the lion preying upon a gazelle to the right of the fruit-bearing tree was probably meant to demonstrate the caliphal power, while the two eating gazelles to the left alluded to a peaceful caliphal reign—the *Dār al-Islām* versus the *Dār al-Ḥarb*, the Abode (or Realm) of Islam versus the Abode of War (*From Byzantium*, 45-6).

The mosaics in the *Dīwān* are based on ancient oriental concepts and symbolism. The winged horses and the pendentives of the cupola (Pl. IIIc), on the other hand, represent an Iranian, particularly Sasanian, motif. They are beasts which figure on seals, textiles and silver vessels as the royal mount of ascension and symbolise the semi-divinity of the Sasanian king. Their representation on the cupola provides additional proof of the princely character of the chamber which, like in other parts of the mansion, is expressed in the iconographic language of Sasanian Iran.

4. *Who built Khirbat al-Mafdjar?*—So far it has not been possible to connect the buildings at Khirbat al-Mafdjar with one single prototype. The combination of a villa, a private bath and a multifunctional hall is Roman. The buildings reflect primarily Byzantine tradition, while the mosaics and most of the paintings in the palace are rooted foremost in the local Syro-Palestinian tradition. The remaining decoration —particularly the stucco sculpture and ornament—is inspired in style and technique by Eastern, Iranian and probably Central Asian prototypes. The imagery in particular is applied in accordance with Sasanian concepts of princely dwellings. It represents an apparently conscious adaptation of royal Sasanian art which was combined with architectural elements of Roman and Byzantine derivation in order to meet best the demands and aspirations of the Umayyad owner of the mansion.

The identity of the owner and builder of Khirbat al-Mafdjar has not yet been established conclusively. On the basis of certain graffiti with the name of Hishām which were found in the débris of the palace, it has been assumed that Khirbat al-Mafdjar was built during the caliphate of Hishām, between the years 105-25/724-43. More recently, however, Hamilton tried to prove that although the mansion was built at the time of Hishām, it was owned and occupied by his nephew, al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Hamilton's arguments are rather intricate. Yet it is true that in its architectural concept the palace, and particularly the Throne and Banqueting Hall, would have suited the taste of a personality like al-Walīd II.

Bibliography: The basic publication is R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar*. General presentations are given by: D. C. Baramki, *Guide to the palace at Khirbat al-Mafjar*, Amman 1956; O. Grabar, *The Umayyad palace of Khirbat al-Mafjar*,

in *Archaeology*, viii/4 (Winter 1955), 228-35; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture, A.D. 622-750*², Oxford 1969, i/2, 561-76 (with complete bibliography). Studies of specific problems are by W. Hartner and R. Ettinghausen, *The conquering lion, the life cycle of a symbol*, in *Oriens*, xvii (1964), 161-71; R. W. Hamilton, *Who built Khirbat al-Mafjar?*, in *Levant*, i (1969), 61-7; R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Leiden 1972, 17-65; E. Baer, *A group of north-Iranian craftsmen* ..., in *Israel Exploration Journal*, xxiv (1974); R. W. Hamilton, *K͟hirbat al-Mafjar* ..., in *Levant*, x (1978). (E. BAER)

K͟HIRBAT AL-MINYA, in mediaeval times known as Minya or ʿAyn Minyat His͟hām, is the name for the ruins of an apparently unfinished Umayyad mansion about 230 m. west of the northern end of Lake Tiberias. The ruins were excavated in 1932 by A. E. Mader and between 1936-9 by A. M. Schneider and O. Puttrich-Reignard. During July-August 1959 the western section of the palace was excavated by O. Grabar in collaboration with the Israel Department of Antiquities.

The building consists of an irregular rectangular enclosure (66.40 m. × 73 m. × 72.30 m.) facing the four cardinal points. Like other Umayyad castles it has round towers at the corners, a semi-circular

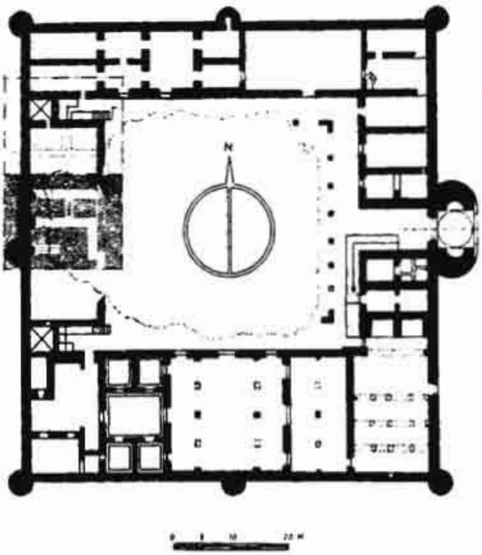

K͟hirbat al-Minya. Ground plan.

tower in the centre of three of the walls, and a gateway salient about 3.70 m. north of the centre of the eastern wall. The rooms which surrounded the originally porticoed court differ in size and arrangement. They comprise a mosque in the south-east corner, a three-aisled basilical hall flanked by a unit of five rooms in the south, and residential quarters in the north.

As against the simple unpretentious decoration of the mosque, the domed gate-way chamber and the southern rooms must have been richly decorated. Marble panels covered the dadoes of the walls. Coloured and gilt glass mosaics decorated the summit of the dome, and stone mosaics combined with glass cubes and set in geometric carpet-like patterns on the floor of the five southern rooms indicate the official, representational character of this section. Another well-preserved floor mosaic was discoverd in 1959 in the western part of the mansion.

A fragmentary inscription with the name of al-Walīd on a marble slab which had been used as a sill when the gateway was rebuilt centuries later supports an attribution of Minya to al-Walīd I (86-96/705-15). However, the palace was apparently used throughout the Umayyad period. Moreover, the stratification established in the western part of the site, and the ceramics found in the excavation in 1959, have shown that the site was settled in the later Mamlūk period when it served as an important commercial post between Damascus and Cairo. It was abandoned at an uncertain date, but later temporarily resettled.

Bibliography: O. Puttrich-Reignard, *Die Palastanlage von Chirbet el-Minje*, in *Palästina-Hefte des Deutschen Vereins vom Heiligen Lande*, Heft 17-20 (1939); A. M. Schneider, *Die Bauinschrift von Chirbet el-Minje*, in *Oriens Christianus*, xxxvi (1941), 115-17; A. M. Schneider, *Ḥirbet el-Minje am See Genesareth*, in *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, ii (1952), 23-45; O. Grabar, J. Perrot, B. Ravani and Myriam Rosen, *Sondages à Khirbet el-Minyeh*, in *Israel Exploration Journal*, x/4 (1960), 226-43; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*², i/2, Oxford 1969, 381-9. (EVA BAER)

K͟HIRḲA, "rough cloak, scapular, coarse gown". The assumption of such a cloak as symbol of embarking on the mystical path is mentioned as early as the 3rd/8th century (by Ibn Ḥarb and al-Muḥāsibī; see Massignon, *Lexique*). It is the equivalent of the handclasp (*muṣāfaḥa*) by means of which the spiritual director (*murs͟hid*) transmits to the initiate (*murīd*) the blessing inherited from the Prophet. It can also be replaced, or accompanied, by other rites with the same significance; the handing-over of a rosary (*sibḥa*), of the text of a litany (*wird* [*q.v.*]) belonging to the mystical order (*ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*]) which is receiving the novice. Its value as "the garment of piety", external and internal (according to Ḳurʾān, VII, 26), this latter implying humility and detachment from worldly standards, is further stressed when the *k͟hirḳa* becomes, as with the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*], a cloak made up of pieces sewn together (*muraḳḳaʿa*).

Staring from its original technical sense, the word *k͟hirḳa* has been broadened to designate the initiation as such, becoming a synonym for "transmission" (*tanaḳḳul*), "embarkation on the way" (*ak͟hd͟h al-ṭarīḳ*) and "covenant" (*ʿahd, bayʿa*). Thus the Ṣūfīs came to speak of the *k͟hirḳa k͟hiḍriyya* "investiture by al-K͟hiḍr" [see AL-K͟HAḌIR] to describe those cases, numerous in the history of Muslim mysticism, in which some contemplatives are said to have received spiritual direction directly from the powerful and mysterious person who, in the Ḳurʾān (XVIII, 64-81), shows a wisdom superior to the prophetic law.

In fact, the two methods of spiritual transmission, sc. attachment to the chain (*silsila*) of spiritual masters and spontaneous illumination coming from the bestowal of a special grace, existed side-by-side at all stages of the history of Ṣūfism. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī, the disciple of the *imām* al-S͟hād͟hilī (d. 656/1258), was to derive his arguments for demonstrating the superiority of the *ṭarīḳa* founded by his master, from the fact that the latter did not rest on the transmission of the *k͟hirḳa*, but on "a spiritual direction (*hidāya*) in which God was able to attach certain of his disciples directly to Muḥammad His prophet" (cited by P. Nwiya, in *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allah et la naissance de la confrérie šāḏilite*, Beirut 1972, 31).

The word *k͟hirḳa*, followed by a noun complement,

a. Khirbat al-Mafdjar. General view. Photograph E. Baer.

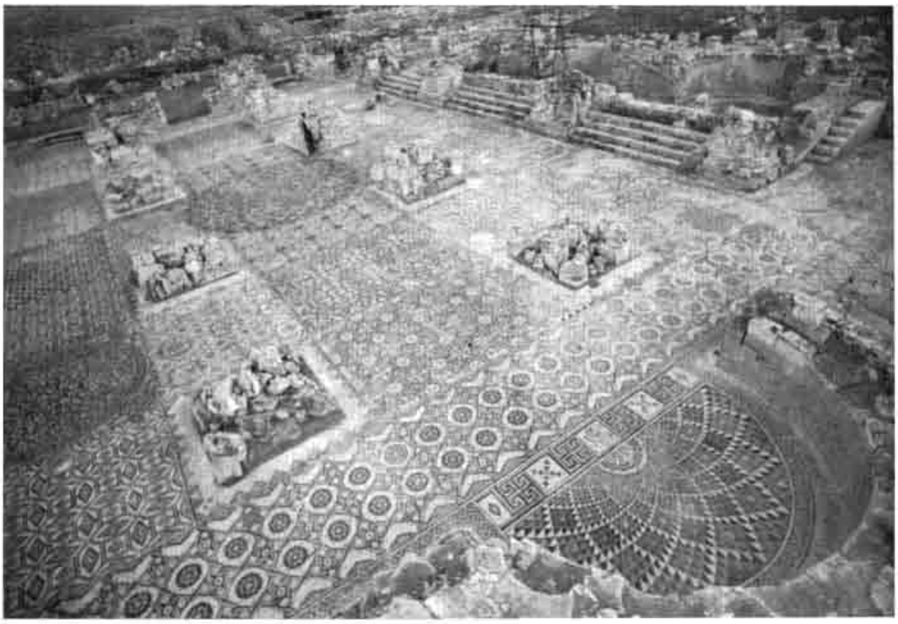

b. "Bath" hall. Mosaic pavement. Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

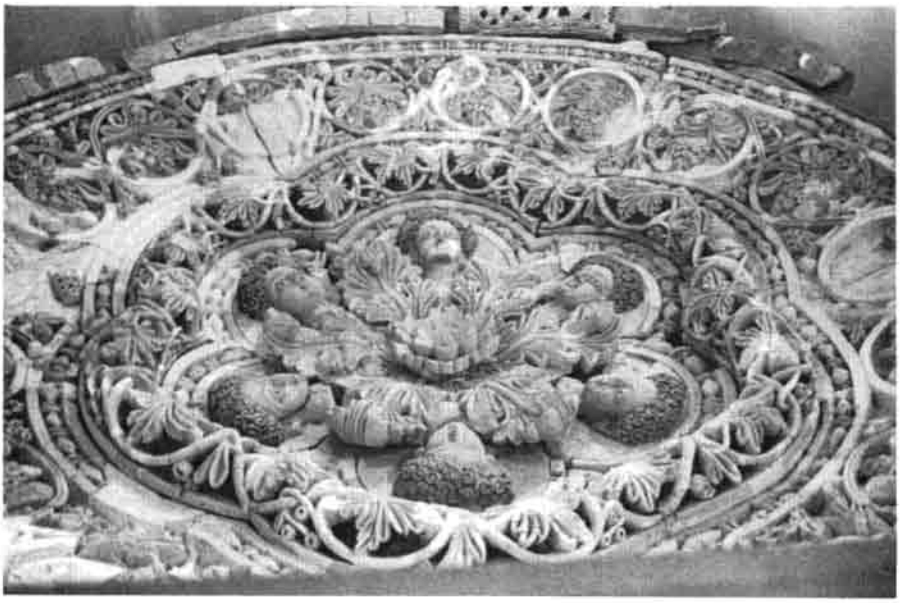

c. *Dīwān*. Dome cap. Photograph E. Baer.

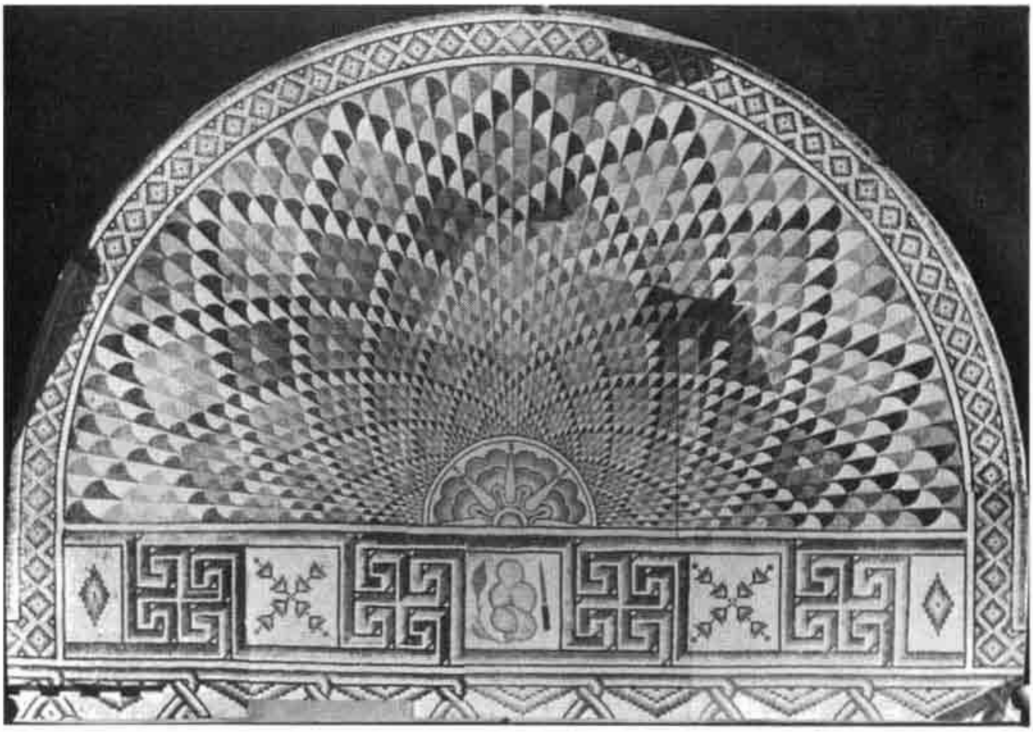

a. "Bath" hall. Apse V. Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

b. *Dīwān*. Mosaic. Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

a. Partridges.

b. Woman. "Bath" porch.

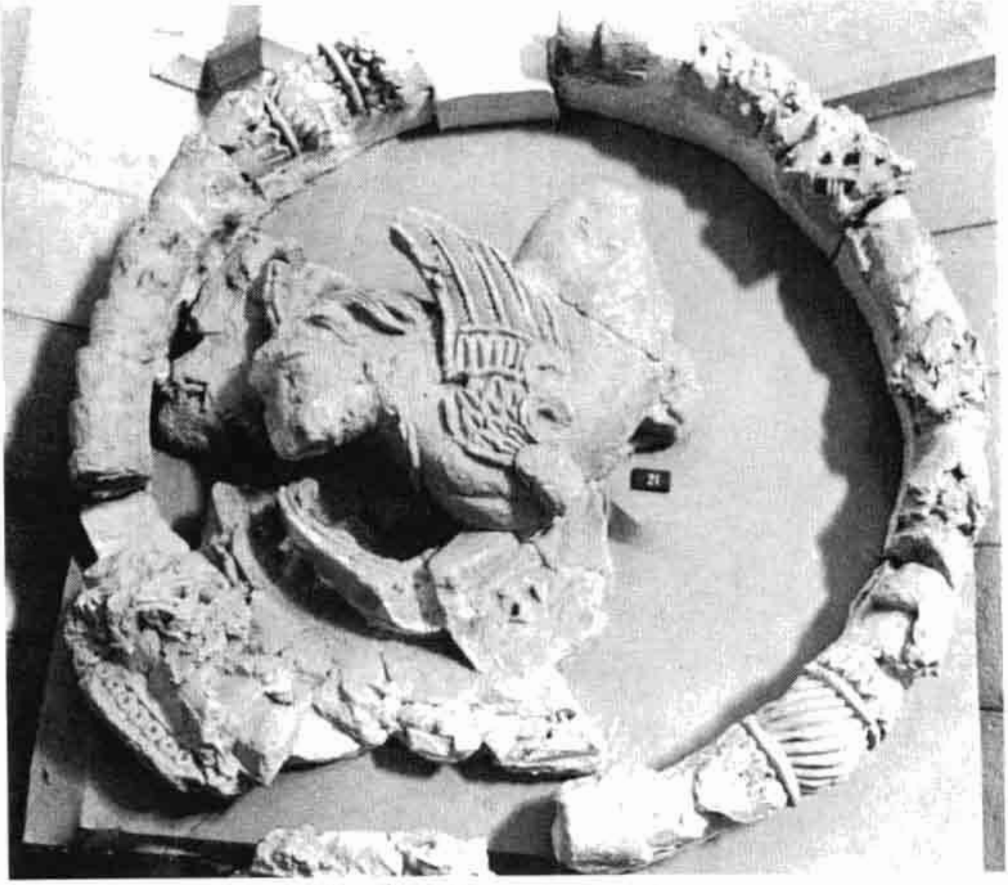

c. Winged horse. *Diwān*. Photographs E. Baer

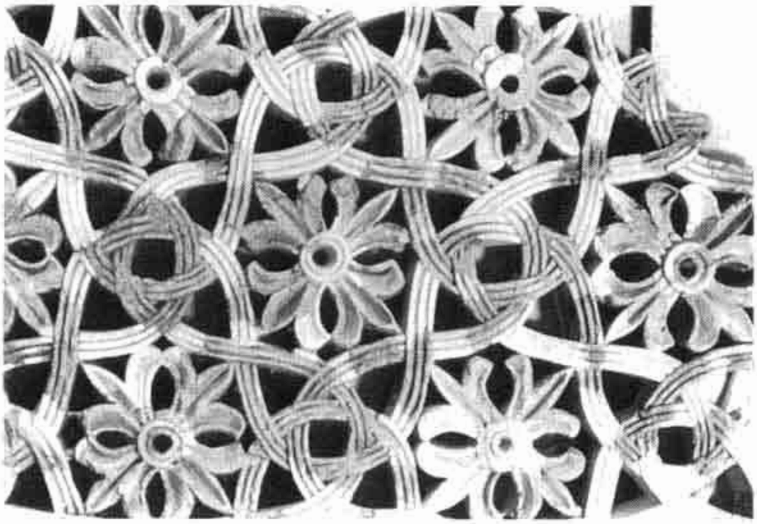

b. Window grill.

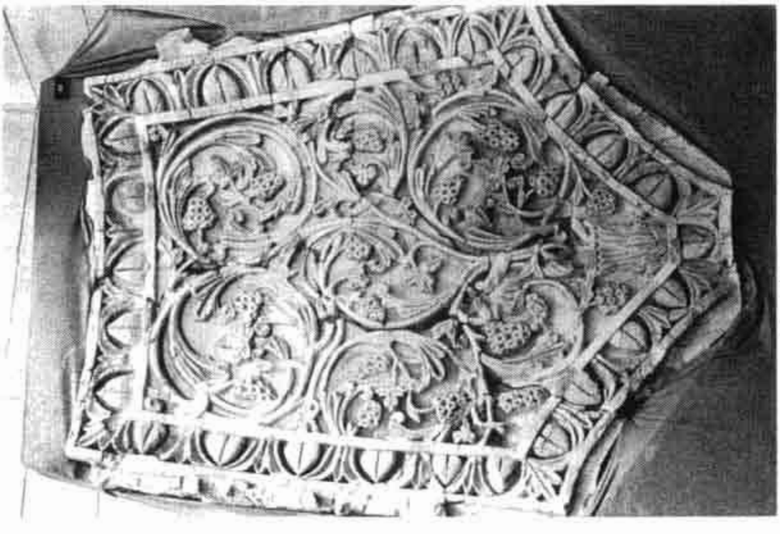

a. Panel from *Dīwān*.

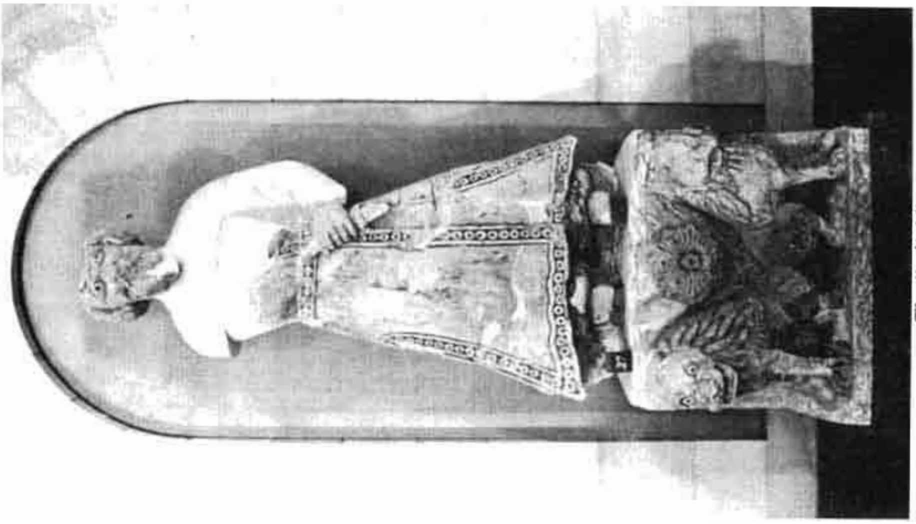

a. The "caliph".

b. Female attendant. Photographs E. Baer.

Khirbat al-Minya. South-east side of palace.

may serve to define various categories or degrees of initiation to the mystical path. Thus *khirḳat al-irāda* "the robe of free-will" means, according to al-Suhrawardī, "he whom one asks personally, of his own free-will, from the *shaykh*, having full knowledge . . . of counting on passive obedience to whatever thing he will be condemned to by accepting", whilst the *khirḳat al-tabarruk* "cloak of blessing", is that which is "given officially by the *shaykh* to those whom it seems to him useful to introduce to or guide along the mystical path, without their giving an exact accounting of the significance of the act of investiture" (*ʿAwārif*, quoted by E. Blochet, in *L'Esotérisme musulman*, Louvain 1910, 153). Other authors speak, in more general terms, of the "cloak of Ṣūfism", *khirḳat al-taṣawwuf*, always insisting on the close connection created by this act of investiture between the disciple and his spiritual master, who penetrates the most intimate thoughts and needs of the initiate and becomes "his real father" (Aḥmad Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Naḳshabandī al-Mudjaddidī al-Khālidī, *Mutimmāt Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl wa-karamāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1328, 100). Finally, the act of investiture with the "cloak of nobility", *khirḳat al-futuwwa*, originally conferred by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and then later by the Ayyūbid sultans of Syria and Egypt, was one of the features marking out the chivalric orders of the Islamic world before they spread into Christendom.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see the definition of *khirḳa* given by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Ḳāshānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, No. 492, and G. Salmon, *La Kherqa des Derqaoua et la Kherqa Soufya*, in *Archives Marocaines*, xxi (1905), 127-43.

(J.-L. Michon)

KHIRḲA-YI SHERĪF, one of the mantles attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, called Khirḳa-yi Sherīf or Khirḳa-yi Saʿādet was preserved at the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. It was brought to Istanbul by Muḥammad Abū Numayy, son of the *Sherīf* of Mecca, together with the key of Mecca and other Islamic relics, after the conquest of Egypt in 923/1517 by the Ottoman ruler Selīm I.

This black mantle, 1.24 cm. long with wide sleeves and a cream-coloured woolen lining, was kept in a throne made for Murād IV by the father of Ewliyā Čelebī, Derwīsh Ẓillī Meḥmed, the head jeweller of the palace. The throne, which resembled a canopied tent, lost its function in Maḥmūd II's time when lattice work doors were made. Today the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* is protected by being wrapped in seven silk velvet cloths, embroidered with gold thread; these in turn are protected by a gold box with a double lid, which is given further protection by being placed in a gold casket that was made in the era of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. This is then placed on a silver table in the silver throne.

The *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* had a special function in Ottoman customs and ceremonies. In one of the late Ottoman chronicles (ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 93 cf. *Ḫirḳa-i Şerîf*, in *İA*, by K. Kufralı) the author refers to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and says that a room was built named the Khāṣṣ Oda [*q.v.*] to protect the sacred relics when Selīm I brought them to the palace. It is not really possible to accept this statement as fact, because there is no other source of the same century or subsequent ones that mentions it until the 19th century. In fact, this room is most probably the Khāṣṣ Oda built by Meḥemmed II. No information about the mantle is known before Aḥmed I's time; his *imām*, Muṣṭafā Ṣafī Efendi, refers in his *Zübdet al-tewārīkh* (Topkapı Sarayı, R. 1304, f. 128a) to the mantle, and says that Aḥmed I had a shelf made above his throne in the Khāṣṣ Oda and had the mantle put on it. We also learn that Aḥmed I started the ceremony of dipping a part of the mantle into water, thus making the latter holy; this custom was later changed into dipping the fastenings and then in Maḥmūd II's reign, to placing scarfs on it. We also learn from the *Zübdet al-tewārīkh* that the Khāṣṣ Oda did not contain all the relics in Aḥmed I's time. This room, with its 10th/16th century tiles, was repaired by Maḥmūd II, when a new fireplace was built, the decorations of the dome and upper parts of the walls were redone, and the whole apartment assigned to the keeping of the relics.

There were forty *Khāṣṣ Odalı*s—the men in charge of the Privy Chamber—who did the work of guarding the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*. The duties of the *Khāṣṣ Odalı*s were to sweep the area, dust the Ḳurʾāns and other books, burn incense on special nights, sprinkle rose water, clean and polish the gold and silver objects, etc. (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı sarayı teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, 325). The "silver" water carriers, thus named because they carried the water in silver containers, washed the floors of the building (*idem*, 455). In the corner of the wall, where there was a gate that opened into the third courtyard, there was a pounding stone used to grind up incense; on the other side of the same wall was a well where the sweepings were disposed of. Four of the *Khāṣṣ Odalı*s stayed on duty at night and read the Ḳurʾān (*ibid.*, 32). The guarding of the *Khāṣṣ Oda* was the duty of *Agha*s, whose spell of duty lasted for a period of 24 hours before being relieved.

All the Ottoman Sultans believed firmly in the sanctity of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and tried to remain near it; Aḥmed I took it with him wherever he went (*ibid.*, 256). Fındıḳlılı Meḥmed Agha, a *Khāṣṣ Odalı* of the reigns of Muṣṭafā II and Aḥmed III, speaks at length about the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*. According to him, Muṣṭafā II took the mantle with him in a private wagon to Čataldja where he went for Ramaḍān, had it kept in a special room and visited it ceremonially on the 15th of Ramaḍān. He also took it with him when he went to Edirne (*Nuṣret-nāme*, ed. İ. Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1966, ii, 45), and when the revolt that ended his reign took place, he tried to escape to Edirne with the mantle (*ibid.*, ii 183). Aḥmed III was also keen on keeping the mantle with him. When he went to the Tersāne Bāghčesi to spend the summer of 1127/1715, or to the Wālide Sulṭān's seaside palace to spend the winter, and when he held a circumcision festivity for one of his sons, the mantle always figured prominently in what had to be taken with him (*idem*, 213, 338-9, 397).

Ewliyā Čelebī writes about Murād IV's sword-girding ceremony, after which he went to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* at the *Khāṣṣ Oda*, paid humble respect to the mantle and then prayed (Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 227). We also learn from Fındıḳlılı Meḥmed Agha that, when Muṣṭafā II learned that he was going to succeed to the throne, he went to the *Takht Odası* (*Khāṣṣ Oda*), prayed in front of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, and then put on suitable robes in order to take the oath of allegiance (*Nuṣret-nāme*, i, 4). Subsequently, he visited the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* every Friday (*ibid.*, i, 32). Aḥmed III's eldest son, Süleymān, after he finished reciting the Ḳurʾān, held a ceremonial session in the *Tersāne Bāghčesi* in front of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, according to Fındıḳlılı (*ibid.*, ii, 388). It had an even greater importance in war-time. A good example of this is the Egri campaign of Meḥemmed III, which was

going very badly, but was finally turned into victory when Saʿd al-Dīn addressed his people and Meḥemmed III put on the mantle. The spirit of battle was kindled, and this turned the tide of the war (Orhan Şaik Ökyay, *Katip Çelebiden seçmeler*, Istanbul 1968, 59). Muṣṭafā II took the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* on all of his campaigns in order to reinforce the courage of the army (*Nuṣret-nāme*, i, 143, 166, 167, 174, 183, 186, 190, 199; ii, 280, 300). We know from this same source that Aḥmed III took the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and the *Sandjaḳ-i Sherīf*—the flag of the Prophet which was only unfurled for a holy war—with his army in order to raise the morale of the men (*Nuṣret-nāme*, ii, 290).

When the sultan took his oath of allegiance, the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* was not forgotten. When a sultan died, the *Dār al-Saʿāde Aghasī* carried the news to the crown prince and took him to the deceased. He was then joined by the *Silāḥdār Agha*, who took him to the *Khāṣṣ Oda* (Djewdet Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 236; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 186). The oath of allegiance of the *Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam* or Grand Vizier, the *Sheykh al-Islām*, the *Dar al-Saʿāde Aghasī*, and the high officials of the Enderūn, was also taken there (Djewdet, iv, 237; Uzunçarşılı, 187; *Nuṣret-nāme*, ii, 187-9).

During the third week of Ramaḍān, a visit to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* was also customary. Even after the sultans ceased to reside in the Topkapı Palace, the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* remained on the Palace premises, either in its own room or at the *Sofa Köshkü*. On such visits as these on the 15th of Ramaḍān, the sultan would open the silver throne, the seven wrappings and the gold casket with a golden key, take the mantle out, dip its fastening into a bowl of water and then put drops of this water into vessels filled again with water, which in turn would be given away as presents. This custom was abolished by Maḥmūd II, who chose to touch the mantle with some specially-prepared scarves with poems inscribed on them, and these were then distributed as gifts for his guests. At the end of the visit, during which the Ḳurʾān was recited continuously, the mantle was put away by the sultan himself. This custom had however been abolished by the end of the sultanate.

One other mantle of the Prophet was brought in 1027/1617-18 by Shükr Allāh Efendi. It was believed that this mantle was sent to Uways al-Ḳaranī by the Prophet. Presumably it was preserved by Shükr Allāh Efendi and his son at his house in the Eski ʿAlī Pasha quarter of Istanbul. Their mansion was rebuilt by Maḥmūd II, and a mosque was built opposite it in 1851 by ʿAbd al-Medjīd. In this mosque, named that of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, the mantle was displayed to the public every year by the Queen Mother on the 15th of Ramaḍān. Today, it is possible to visit it there between the 15th of Ramaḍān and the *Laylat al-Ḳadr*.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Aḥmed Rāsim, *Manāḳib-i Islām*, Istanbul 1326; Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamit Yıldız hatıraları*, Istanbul 1931; İsmail Müştak Mayokon, *Yıldızda neler gördüm*, Istanbul 1940; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, s.v. "Hırka-i saadet", 805, "Hırka-i saadet alayı", 806, "Hırka-i şerif suyu", 809, "Hırka-i şerif ziyareti", 809; Tahsin Öz, *Hırka-i Saadet dairesi ve emanat-i mukaddese*, Istanbul 1953; Mithat Sertoğlu, *Mufassal osmanlı tarihi*, Istanbul 1958, s.v. "Mekke Şerifi'nin Osmanlı padişahına itaatını arz", ii, 768, "Emanat-i mübareke", ii, 767; Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, Istanbul 1960; Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve ötesi*, Istanbul 1965; Kemal Çığ, *Relics of Islam*, Istanbul 1966.

(Nurhan Atasoy)

AL-KHIRRĪT b. Rāshid al-Nādjī, partisan of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib who fought in his ranks at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], but who rebelled against him when the first results of the arbitration were known after having accepted, it appears, the principle of arbitration. He was chief of the Banū ʿAbd al-Bayt b. al-Ḥārith b. Sama b. Luʾayy (most usually called the B. Nādjiya, after the name of ʿAbd al-Bayt's mother), who had only recently been converted to Islam, where they had not kept their original Christianity. He informed ʿAlī of his intention to disregard the results of the arbitration, which implied the caliph's deposition; ʿAlī advised him to reflect a while before taking action, but al-Khirrīt, oblivious to the arguments raised, withdrew with his followers into the Sawād of Kūfa; al-Masʿūdī even accuses him, together with 300 of his fellow-tribesmen, of abjuring Islam. It is difficult to establish the chronology of events, but these events probably took place after the battle of al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*], in which the rebel took no part, contrary to what certain coincidences might lead one to expect; it is certainly tempting to compare and to assimilate al-Khirrīt's action to that of the Khāridjīs when one takes into account, in particular, the tradition according to which his group killed in the Sawād a Persian convert to Islam but spared the life of a Jew, circumstances which are analogous to those of the *istiʿrāḍ* [*q.v.*] of the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*].

ʿAlī sent after him Ziyād b. Khaṣafa, who finally caught up with him at al-Madāʾin, where, after vainly trying to reason with him, he gave battle. The rebels fled in the course of the following night and headed for al-Ahwāz, where their ranks were swollen by a certain number of malcontents from Kūfa and of local people, who doubtless discerned here a way of avoiding taxation. At this point, in order to bring them to reason, ʿAlī sent Maʿḳil b. Ḳays al-Riyāḥī at the head of a more numerous force, and gave orders to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, the then governor of Baṣra, to send as reinforcements a substantial contingent under the leadership of Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Ṭāʾī. The rebels were soon put to flight by the government troops, who pursued them to the Persian Gulf shores. In a decisive battle, al-Khirrīt was killed fighting, and his companions made prisoner. These events probably took place in the early months of 38/658.

According to the accounts given, Maʿḳil b. Ḳays freed the captive Muslims and also the apostates, who for a second time abjured the Christianity to which they had returned; only one refused, it is recorded, and had his head chopped off. The Banū Nādjiya who remained Christian, numbering 500, were on the other hand led into captivity. Maṣḳala b. Hubayra, ʿAlī's *ʿāmil* in the *kūra* of Ardashīr Khurra, whose centre was at Sīrāf, now intervened. Affected by the entreaties of the captive men, women and children, he purchased them for a sum of 300,000 *dirhams* (al-Masʿūdī) or 200,000 only (al-Ṭabarī), of which he sent only part to ʿAlī. He freed the prisoners without having asked them to contribute to the purchase money, and then, when pressed by the caliph to hand over all the money, he though it more expedient to take refuge with Muʿāwiya, who entrusted to him important official posts.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3418-41; Ibn al-Kalbī - Caskel, tables 29 and Register, 123 (s.v. ʿAbd al-Bayt); Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 440; Masʿūdī,

Murūdj, iv, 417-21 = §§ 1722-4; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 183; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 264-70; G. Levi della Vida, *Il califato di ʿAlī . . .*, in *RSO*, vi (1913), 486; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Conflitto*, and *Traduzione*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

KHITA [see ḲARĀ KHITĀY]

KHITĀN (A.), circumcision. The term is used indifferently for males and females, but female excision is particularly called *khifāḍ* or *khafḍ* [*q.v.*]. In the dual, *al-khitānāni* are "the two circumcised parts" (viz. that of the male and that of the female), and according to tradition "If the two circumcised parts have been in touch with one another, *ghusl* is necessary" (Bukhārī, *Ghusl*, bāb 28; Muslim, *Ḥayḍ*, trad. 88; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bābs 81, 83).

Some words connected with the root *kh-t-n* denote the father-in-law, the son-in-law, the daughter-in-law (*khatan*, *khatana*), or marrying (*khutūna*). Some of these words must have belonged to the primitive Semitic language, as they occur also in the same or cognate forms in North-Semitic languages.

Circumcision must have been a common practice in early Arabia. It is mentioned, not in the Ḳurʾān, but in old poetry and *ḥadīth*, and the ancient language also has special words for "uncircumcised", sc. *alkhan*, *aḳlaf*, *aghlaf* and *aghral* (Hebrew *ʿarel*).

In *ḥadīth* it is said that Ibrāhīm was circumcised in his 80th year (Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Faḍāʾil*, trad. 151). This tradition is based on the Biblical report. Ibn Saʿd has preserved a tradition according to which the patriarch was already circumcised at the age of 13 (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1 24). This tradition is apparently a reflex of the practice of circumcision in the first centuries of Islam. We may confront it with the statements concerning Ibn ʿAbbās' circumcision in *ḥadīth*. According to some traditions (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 273) he was 15 years old when Muḥammad died. In other traditions it is said that he was already circumcised at that time (Bukhārī, *Istiʾdhān*, bāb 51; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 264, 287; Ṭayālisī, Nos. 2639, 2640).

Circumcision is mentioned in *ḥadīth* in the story of the Emperor Heraclius' horoscope (Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-waḥy*, bāb 6). Heraclius read in the stars the message of "the king of the circumcised". Thereupon an envoy of the king of Ghassān arrived who reported the news of Muḥammad's preaching of Islam. This envoy appeared to be circumcised himself and he informed the Emperor of the fact that circumcision was a custom prevalent among the Arabs.

It is further recognised in *ḥadīth* that circumcision belongs to pre-Islamic institutions. In the traditions which enumerate the features of natural religion (*al-fiṭra*), circumcision is mentioned together with the clipping of nails, the use of the toothpick, the cutting of moustaches, the more profuse length of the beard etc. (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 63; Muslim, *Ṭahārā*, trad. 49, 50; Tirmidhī, *Adab*, bāb 14, etc.). In a tradition preserved by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (v, 75) circumcision is called *sunna* for males and honourable for females.

There are differences between the several *madhhab*'s concerning rules for circumcision. Instead of giving a survey of the different views it may be sufficient to translate the passage al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 50 (ed. Cairo 1283, i, 328) has devoted to the subject, also because it contains a description of the operation:

"Circumcision is obligatory (*wādjib*) according to al-Shāfiʿī and many of the doctors, *sunna* according to Mālik and the majority of them. It is further, according to al-Shāfiʿī, equally obligatory for males and females. As regards males it is obligatory to cut off the whole skin which covers the *glans*, so that this latter is wholly denudated. As regards females, it is obligatory to cut off a small part of the skin in the highest part of the genitals. The sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) view within the limits of our school, which is shared by the large majority of our friends, is that circumcision is allowed, but not obligatory in a youthful age, and one of the special views is that the *walī* is obliged to have the child circumcised before it reaches the adult age. Another special view is, that it is prohibited to circumcise a child before its tenth year. The sound view according to us, is that circumcision on the seventh day after birth is *mustaḥabb* (recommendable). Further, there are two views regarding the question whether in the 'seventh day' the birthday is included or not".

The treatment of circumcision has not a prominent place in the books of law (see e.g. al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, 161, 305). More important, however, is the value attached to it in popular estimation. "To the uneducated mass of Muslims" says Snouck Hurgronje "as well as to the great mass of non-Muslims, both of whom pay the greatest attention to formalities, abstention from pork, together with circumcision, have even become to a certain extent the criteria of Islam. The exaggerated estimation of the two precepts finds no support in the law, for here they are on the same level with numerous other precepts, to which the mass attaches less importance" (*De Islam*, Baarn 1912, 30; *Verspr. Geschriften*, i, 402; cf. iv/1, 377). In Java circumcision is generally considered as the ceremony of reception into Islam and therefore sometimes called *njelamakèselam* ("rendering Muslim"). Apart from this term many other words denoting circumcision are used on Java (*op. cit.*, iv/1, 205-6). In Atcheh circumcision of infidels only is considered as the ceremony of reception into Islam (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 398).

The importance attached to circumcision appears also from the tradition according to which Muḥammad was born circumcised (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 64). In North Africa a child born with a short foreskin is considered as a blessing (Doutté, *Merrâkech*, Paris 1905, 353).

At Mecca, where the rite is called *ṭahār*, children are circumcised at an age of 3-7 years, girls without festivities, boys with great pomp. On the day preceding that on which the rite will be performed, the boy, who is clad in heavy, costly garments, is paraded through the streets on horseback, several footmen walking on both sides in order to prevent him from falling and to refresh him by means of a perfumed handkerchief. He is preceded by men with drums and *duff*s who accompany the *dhikr*s sung by others. Nearest to the boy goes an elderly black handmaid of his father's, bearing on her head a brazier burning with charcoal, resin and salt. The second part of the procession is formed by the boy's poorer comrades, equally on horseback. The procession passes through the main streets during the time of *ʿaṣr* and comes back to its starting-point a little before sunset. The female members of the family pass the evening with their friends; the party is enlivened by female singers.

Next morning, at sunrise, the barber performs the operation. The foreskin is pressed together by means of a thong, the boy lying on his back, while his mother tries to divert his attention by sweets. A plaster is applied to the wound which usually is healed in a week. The operation is followed by a breakfast for the nearest relatives. It is to be observed that

Ḥaḍramīs who still cling to their native customs, circumcise their children on the 40th day after birth (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 141 ff.).

In Egypt, boys are circumcised at the age of about five or six years. Before the operation the boy is paraded through the streets. Often the train is combined with a bridal procession in order to lessen expenses; in this case the boy and his attendants lead the procession. He is dressed as a girl, in a gorgeous manner. The kerchief is used to cover a part of his face in order to avert the evil eye. As in Mecca he is preceded by musicians. The foremost person of the procession is usually the servant of the barber (who performs the operation), who bears his *ḥaml*, a case of wood of a semi-cylindrical form, with four short legs; its front is covered with pieces of looking-glass and brass, and its back with a curtain. It is to be noted that the Copts also circumcise their boys (Lane, *Manners* and *customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. on Infancy and Education).

D'Ohsson in his *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i, 231 ff., describes circumcision as practised in Turkey under the heading "Circoncision, *sunneth*", a designation which is also reflected in the word *sunnetdji* for the barber who performs the operation. It takes or took place in the presence of the *imām* of a mosque who accompanies the ceremony with prayers for the preservation of the child, who is usually 7 years old when he is circumcised. Plate 20 of d'Ohsson's work shows children dressed for the ceremony, and plate 21 adorned victims which are slaughtered at this occasion. Parties for relatives, friends and poor people as well as the procession are also mentioned.

The circumcision of the imperial princes used to give occasion to the displaying of great pomp. Long before the appointed day intimation was sent to the high dignitaries of the empire, sometimes even to the other courts of Europe. D'Ohsson gives a translation of Mūrād's III letter of invitation to the dignitaries on the occasion of the circumcision of the crown-prince.

In North Africa children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and 13 years, by the barber who makes use of a knife or a pair of scissors. According to Dan, as cited by Doutté, *Merrākech*, 351, at Algiers a stone knife was used for the operation. It reminds us of Joshua v. 2 ff. where it is said that the Israelites at their entering the Holy Land were circumcised by means of stone swords or knives; some populations of the Dutch Indies also use a stone knife for the operation (Wilken, 212). In North Africa as well as in Egypt often several boys are circumcised together, the father of the richest bearing the expenses of the ceremony. A. Janssen (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 363-4) has observed that the Bedouins organise collective circumcisions every two years, as an economy measure; hence the children's ages vary considerably (see also al-ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt*, Amman 1973-4, ii, 232, s.v. *ṭ-h-r*). It should be noted here that in most Arabic dialects, the term for circumcision and its accompanying rites is taken from the root *ṭ-h-r*, implying the idea of purity; this practice is therefore popularly felt as a purificatory rite.

On Java, circumcision of boys is often combined with the *khatm-* or *kataman*-ceremony. On the different designations of circumcision used in this part of the Archipelago, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/1, 206. The age at which boys are circumcised varies in the different parts of Java; among the conservative populations it is higher (14-15 years) than in circles which are in closer touch with Muslim law (10 years or younger). Before the preparations begin, the boy is taken to the tomb of his father or ancestors, where flowers and incense are offered and prayer is performed. Then a portico (*tarup*) is made before the house or *pendopo*, and a small room (*kobongan*) is prepared where the operation is to take place. In or before this room several objects and dishes are placed which have a symbolical or ritual meaning. These preparations are concluded by a religious meal at which several dishes are offered to several categories of awe-inspiring beings. Festivities such as *wayang*, *tayuban*, *djagongan* precede or follow the ceremony. The *djagongan* always takes place in the preceding night and follows upon *kataman*, the recitation of some chapters of the Ḳurʾān by the boy. On the day preceding circumcision, a procession is held in which the boys are either conducted by their relatives, or are placed in a kind of cars which have the forms of *naga*s or other animals. They wear the bridegoom's dress, and are hung with gold and diamond ornaments, the visible parts of the body being besmeared with *borèh*. It occurs also that the boy wears the *ḥādjdjī*'s dress. Just as in North Africa, poor parents have their sons circumcised together with those of well-to-do people, who bear the expenses.

The boy has to keep quiet for some days before and after the operation and to abstain from hot dishes as well as to beware of any action which is considered to be unlucky in this time. Before the operation he is bathed with the recitation of a great many prayers and formulas. Then he is placed on the lap of an elderly person, usually a *santri* who has many children, a circumstance which is expected to exercise a wholesome influence on the boy's marriage. For further details see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/1, 205 ff.

In Atcheh, boys are usually circumcised by the *mudèm* (probably = *muʾadhdhin*) at the age of 9 or 10 years, immediately after finishing their Ḳurʾān study. The operation (for details see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 399-400) consists in a complete circumcision; in some parts of Java it is rather an incision. The boy here also has to diet himself. In Atcheh the ceremony is not usually accompanied by festivities. But in many cases the latter take place in consequence of vows connected with circumcision. The father of the boy vows, e.g., to arrange a *Rapaʾi*-performance or to visit a sacred tomb. In this case the boy, dressed as a bridegroom, is conducted to the tomb, sometimes on horseback, where his head is washed and a religious meal given.

Circumcision is a rite practised by many peoples, primitive peoples of the present time as well as those mentioned in ancient literatures, the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Israelites, the Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites (see Jeremiah, ix, 25).

In the Indonesian Archipelago it was already practised before the rise of Islām in that part of the world (cf. G. A. Wilken, *De besnijdenis bij de volken van den indischen Archipel*, in *BTLV*, Ser. iv, vol. x, 166, 180-1 = *Verspreide Geschriften van G. A. Wilken*, iv, 206, 220). The facts mentioned above may be arranged in certain groups.

a. Among many peoples females as well as males are circumcised. We must consequently start from the view that the rite was not originally applied to one of these classes to the exclusion of the other.

b. The rite is sometimes repeated (Wilken, *op. cit.*, 207). In the Muslim world we have the in-

stance of Malayans who in their country were not circumcised in the way prescribed by religious law and who submit to the operation a second time when arriving at Djidda for the pilgrimage (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 312).

c. .Children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and the 15th year. It is consequently a rite which may take place in any period of childhood and which is often indeed combined with other rites peculiar to childhood such as the first cutting of the hair (*ʿaḳīḳa*, cf. Doutté, *Merrâkech*, 351), the filing of teeth, the conclusion of the study of the Ḳurʾān. As we have seen above, there are linguistic features pointing to a relation between circumcision and marriage. These features, valuable as matter-of-fact evidence, are supplemented by reports of travellors. In Central Arabia, it is said (e.g. Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 213), there are tribes among which the operation is applied to adult young men, in a painful and dangerous way; the bride of the patient stands opposite him during the operation; if he utters a cry of pain the projected marriage is abandoned (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 141). In spite of doubts about the authenticity of such information, the relation between circumcision and marriage appears also from the Javanese custom of placing the boy who is operated, on the lap of a *santri* who has many children (see above and Wilken, *op. cit.*, 225).

d. Another group of characteristics is evidence of a relation between circumcision and the transition into a tribal or religious community, e.g.: the boy's being conducted to the tomb of his father or of one of his ancestors (see above); the circumcision of several boys at one time (cf. also Wilken, *op. cit.*, 220); the value attached to circumcision as the ceremony of reception into the Muslim community; cf. the Old Testament designation of circumcision as the "token of the covenant" (Genesis xvii; see also Wilken, *op. cit.*, 227).

e. Many accessory rites express the intention to avert danger: the boy's being dressed as a girl, the use of the handkerchief, the burning of charcoal and salt; the drums and *duff*s; the recitation of *dhikr*s and prayers; possibly the displaying of charity and the slaughtering of victims may also be viewed in this light.

Ethnologists put forward various interpretations for the phenomenon of circumcision: as a surgical operation meant to prevent phimosy and to help fecundity; as a religious rite connected with fertility or reception into the community; and as a rite of passage. The viewpoint expressed by Van Gennep in his *Rites de passage*, Paris 1909, seems to account for many of the features of circumcision mentioned above. It accounts for the fact that children are submitted to the operation at ages varying between the seventh day after birth and the beginning of the manly age or the time of marriage; that females as well as males are circumcised; that the rite is sometimes repeated; that it shows a deeply-rooted connection with marriage; that it is considered as the act of reception into a religious community; that it is sometimes preceded by a bath; that processions take place, which show a striking similarity with bridal processions; and so on.

Bibliography: As well as references given in the article, see in particular *IBLA* (1947), 273-86, (1953), 64-7; H. Massé, *Notes d'ethnographie persane*, in *Revue d'ethn. et des traditions populaires*, viii (1927), 24-39; idem, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 51-3. There is a general bibliography on the topic in C. M. Kieffer, *A propos de la circoncision à Caboul et dans le Logar*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 191 ff.

(A. J. Wensinck)

KHIṬAṬ (A.), pl. of *khiṭṭa*, the various quarters of the newly-founded early Islamic towns which the Arab-Islamic chiefs laid out (root *kh.ṭ.ṭ*) for the population groups which they attracted thither or for their respective leaders. Historical-administrative concerns led fairly quickly to the appearance of a literary genre which consisted of a description of the historical topography of these *khiṭaṭ*. This happened in regards to Baghdād, and one finds chapters of this nature in the "geographical" works of Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, and also in the introduction to the biographical history of the city by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. However, the genre developed most of all in Egypt, aided by its strong particularist feeling. It is already discernible for al-Fusṭāṭ in two chapters of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, and is expanded in the History of the *Ḳāḍī*s of Egypt and in a separate opusculum, now lost, of al-Kindī and also, a generation later, in another lost opusculum by Ibn Zūlāḳ. The foundation of Cairo caused an expansion of these studies, as is apparently already discernible with Ibn Zūlāḳ's work and with a treatise from the mid-Fāṭimid period, now lost, by al-Ḳuḍāʿī. An apparently much more important work was written two centuries later by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, the biographer of Baybars, Ḳalāwūn, and al-Ashraf. All this literature culminated in the monumental work, the only one of its kind preserved for us (apart from the citations from the earlier works included within it), of al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār fī khiṭaṭ Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*. In fact, the contents are arranged not according to quarters but by categories of buildings, at the same time comprising a description and history of everything connected with them. The title of Maḳrīzī's book was utilised later, because of its fame, in the survey conducted in the same spirit but adapted to modern Egypt, by ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, and in a more flexible form, in the geographical-historical description of the whole of Syria by Kurd ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, index; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, index; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*², esp. 254 and n. 4.

(Cl. Cahen)

KHIṬĀY [see AL-ṢĪN].

KHIṬBA (A.), "demand in marriage", whence "betrothal", i.e. the mutual promise of marriage which in certain legal systems can form the first stage of marriage proper (cf. the *sponsalia* of ancient Roman law). But is this promise considered as entailing an obligation in Islamic law? In other words, does betrothal give rise to legal consequences?

According to Muslim authorities, the *khiṭba* does not involve a contract. It is true that it involves an offer and an acceptance, but before the acceptance is made, it is merely a demand in marriage and does not form a legal act.

The Mālikīs, apparently uniquely, give more importance to the betrothal than the Ḥanafīs or even the Ḥanbalīs, but the principle remains that the act of betrothal does not involve a legal obligation. However, betrothal can only take place when there are no nullifying factors present which would prevent a valid marriage; every impediment to marriage is an impediment to betrothal. The parties to a *khiṭba* are on the one hand, the man making the demand in marriage, and on the other, the woman, who may be represented by her *walī* [see NIKĀḤ]. Yet if betrothal does not in principle involve any legal obli-

gation and is not a legal act, certain effects nevertheless follows from it:

1. The right of seeing the woman. Certain authorities state that the fiancé has this right, even if looking at her is accompanied by sexual desire. Ibn Rushd specifies that this right should be limited to seeing the face and hands only (*Bidāya*, ii, 3); others extend the right, but they never go so far as to admit the possibility of the couple being left alone (*khalwa*), which is the right to be alone with each other away from all indiscreet looks.

2. The right of priority. Betrothal gives the fiancé a right of priority, in that once a woman is betrothed to a man, that woman cannot be sought in marriage by another man; but this right is only sanctioned by the Mālikīs.

Dissolving of a betrothal. Either of the two parties can end the state of betrothal unilaterally. The only problem is that of disposal of presents which have been exchanged, and which are subject to the rules of donation. However, in various Islamic countries, part of the dowry is paid over at the time of betrothal, and this must in all cases be given back. Finally, there remains one problem: can one award damages to the victim of an unjustifiable breaking-off of betrothal? Although certain modern Islamic authorities are endeavouring to introduce an obligation to pay an indemnity for damages in the case of an ill-founded breaking-off, the action for damages is not an absolute right. Even so, many Islamic countries have been compelled to adopt the solutions of western law, since on the plane of practical law, betrothal is of no legal concern except in case of its being dissolved.

Bibliography: Ch. Chehata, *Études de droit musulman*, Paris 1971, 75; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1952, ii, 2; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, vi, 536; and see NIKĀḤ. (A. M. DELCAMBRE)

KHIṬṬA ("piece of land marked out for building upon"), a term used of the lands allotted to tribal groups and individuals in the garrison cities founded by the Arabs at the time of the conquests. The lay-out of these cities everywhere followed the kinship organisation of the conquerors, who were distributed in tribal quarters around a centre housing the Friday mosque and the *dār al-imāra*. The smallest unit of the *khiṭaṭ* was the *dār*, in the case of prominent individuals often a sizable estate (usually known as *ḳaṭīʿa*), otherwise a modest plot of land occupied by one or several families. Next came the quarter based on the smallest political unit of the tribe (what is often known as the *ʿashīra* in Arabic sources, "clan" or "subtribe" in modern literature); these quarters usually had their own mosque, and how small the unit in question tended to be is indicated by the fact that the tribe Kinda, which was strongly represented in Fusṭāṭ, Damascus and Ḥimṣ in addition to Kūfa, had at least twelve such mosques in the latter city. Finally, there was a larger quarter reflecting the tribe proper, often endowed with its own *djabbāna*, a piece of unbuilt land serving, *inter alia*, as a meeting place and a cemetery. In Syria, where the Arabs settled in existing cities, the tribal quarters were less self-contained and possessed neither mosques nor *djabbānas* of their own.

The *khiṭaṭ* served as military and administrative units from the start, but their small size was impractical and amalgamation of the tribal groups began already with the foundation of Kūfa, which was divided into sevenths, to be continued under Muʿāwiya when Baṣra was divided into fifths, and other settlements into quarters. Every such new division was placed under an officially appointed leader, the *raʾs al-rubʿ* or *raʾs al-khums*, who was selected from among the chiefs of the larger tribal groups represented in the division, and who was responsible for the command of the division in war and the maintenance of law and order within it in peacetime. The lesser groups continued to serve as military and administrative subdivisions under their own leaders. The entire range of tribal chiefs (the *ashrāf* of the Umayyad period) served as the link between government and subjects in the Sufyānid system of indirect rule, *ashrāf* and governor coming together in the latter's *madjlis* where information, orders and requests were exchanged, accompanied by a traditional display of generosity. The *raʾs al-rubʿ* / *raʾs al-khums* in turn passed on information, orders and gifts in his own *madjlis*, and the process was repeated in the *madjālis* of the lesser chiefs until we reach the smallest political unit reflected in the *khiṭaṭ*.

The erosion of the tribal ties in the Marwānid period rendered the system obsolete; the *ashrāf* disappeared from the political scene, while the *khiṭaṭ* survived only as place-names. The larger quarters and fifths, on the other hand, persisted until the end of the Umayyad period, physically as military divisions, now housing regiments rather than tribal groups, and morally as categories for the definition of factional loyalties. When the ʿAbbāsids came to power these too disappeared, and the allotments in Baghdād (known as *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* rather than *khiṭaṭ*) were made on the basis of geographical provenance, not tribal affiliation.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 2488-95, and *passim*; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 275 ff., 366 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 309, 311; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. W. Caskel, Leiden 1966, ii, *Register*, *passim*; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 91 ff.; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1371/1951 ff., i, 262, ii, 95 (tr. N. Elisséeff, *La description de Damas*, Damascus 1959, 175) and *passim*; the battle orders in Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1967, 222, and Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿA. M. Hārūn, Cairo 1365, 232-4, both reflect the Syrian *arbāʿ*; L. Massignon, *Explication du plan de Kufa*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, Cairo 1934-40; idem, *Explication du plan de Basra*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, Wiesbaden 1954; S. al-Dīwahdjī, *Khiṭaṭ Mawṣil*, in *Sumer*, vii (1951); Ṣ. ʿA. al-ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Baṣra*, in *Sumer*, viii (1952); idem, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāʿiyya waʾl-iḳtiṣādiyya fiʾl-Baṣra*, Baghdād 1953; idem, *The foundation of Baghdad*, in A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern ed., *The Islamic city*, Oxford 1970. (P. CRONE)

KHĪWA, on the western bank of the Amu Daryā, site of the last capital of the khānate of Khʷārazm, subsequently called the khānate of Khīwa. Its origins are bound up in the history of Khʷārazm [*q.v.*].

Khīwa was the third capital, after Gurgāndj (385-515/995-1221) and Kāth [*q.vv.*]; the latter was the capital during the 8th/14th century, in which period, with Khīwa, it was governed by the Čaghatay, and Gurgāndj (subsequently called Urgenč) by the Golden Horde. After the restoration of unity (under the rule of the Shaybanids) in the 9th/15th century, the capital was again established at Urgenč, but neither this dynasty, nor the Djuči branch of the Özbeg dynasty that succeeded it, was in a position to restore stability in the region; brigandage increased, and the closure of the commercial routes which crossed the land hastened, at the same time, its economic decline and its relative isolation.

During the second half of the reign of ʿArab Muḥammad (1013-32/1603-23), which perhaps coincided with the drying up of the left branch of the Amū Daryā, the capital was transferred to Khīwa, and it was then that the khānate of Khʷārazm began to be called the khānate of Khīwa. Little is known of the early history of this town; archaeological remains enable us to date its foundation between the 6th and 8th centuries of the Christian era; it is mentioned by the Arab geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī in the 4th/10th century. The inhabitants of Khīwa were distinguished from the other Khʷārazmians by the fact that they were Shāfiʿīs rather than Ḥanafīs.

The khānate was composed of various feudal districts (*begliks*) somewhat loosely linked together, and their chiefs (*ḥākim*) recognised the sovereignty of the *khān* of Khīwa. The degree of unity of the khānate depended on the personal power of the *khān*; it is relevant, in this regard, to make special mention of ʿAbd al-Ghāzī Bahādūr Khān (1054-73/1643-63) whose *History of Khīwa* has survived and is available to us. After the conquest of Mashhad by Anūsha, at the end of the 11th/17th century, the sovereigns of Khīwa took the title of *shāh*.

The dynasty of the Özbegs was followed by that of the Čingizids, which occupied the throne of Khīwa until 1804, but real power was concentrated in the hands of the *Inaḳ* (tribal chief) of the tribe of the Ḳungrāt [*q.v.*]. The 18th century saw an acceleration in the process of disintegration, when to the effects of internal strife there were added the fruitless attempts at conquest made by Peter the Great in 1717, and by Nādir Shāh in 1153/1740, while invasions by nomads and attacks from the Turcoman Yomuts were particularly violent between 1153 and 1184/1740-70; however, in 1184/1770, the *Inaḳ* Muḥammad Amīn defeated the Turcomans, restored relative prosperity to the region and undertook the construction of a new city on the foundations of the old. In the course of this reconstruction, which lasted seventy years, a number of remarkable architectural monuments were erected, including the palace of Tashkaul (1832), the mausoleum of Pakhmavan Shakhtuda (1835) and the *madrasa* of Allāh Ḳulī Khān (1835), which are still standing today

Under the *Inaḳ* Iltüzer, who became the first Ḳungrāt *shāh* in 1804, the khānate attained its greatest territorial extent of the modern period, stretching from the mouth of the Sīr Daryā on the Aral Sea as far as Ḳalʿa-i Mawr on the Kushk; this sovereign frustrated an attempt by Bukhārā at annexing the oasis of Merv, and he improved his relations with the Turcomans who became the first line of defence of the khānate. His successor, Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān, who was the most powerful *khān* of the 19th century, made a number of successful forays into the territory of the Ḳazaḳs, subdued the Ḳarā Ḳalpaḳs and ravaged Khurāsān.

Although it had repelled an attack by the Russians in 1839-40, Khīwa was forced to accept their economic and diplomatic demands, which had the result of reinforcing the Russian presence which was already showing itself in Central Asia. The conflict which broke out with Bukhārā and the Turcomans further enfeebled the already divided State, and in 1873 the Russians were able to take possession of the entire territory without striking a single blow. The peace treaty gave them the right bank of the Amū Daryā and made the *khān* of Khīwa a vassal of the Tsar.

The Turcomans continued their struggle against the Khānate and in 1918, the *khān* Isfandiyār (1910-18) was assassinated at the instigation of Djunayd Khān, the Turcoman chieftain, who reduced the new sovereign, Saʿīd ʿAbd Allāh (1918-20) to the status of a puppet. After an initial failure in 1918, the Soviets waited until 1920 before putting an end to the khānate of Khīwa and on the 26 April 1920, the People's Republic of Khʷārazm was proclaimed, with a government of young Khīwans. On 5 September 1921, this was replaced by the Soviet Socialist Republic of Khʷārazm, controlled by the Bolsheviks, and in November 1924, it became the *oblastʾ* of Khʷārazm in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, with Khīwa as provincial capital (*rayon*); between 1918 and 1924, there was a considerable movement of resistance to the Soviets, led by Djunayd and supported by the deposed *khān*.

The Soviets did nothing to assist the development of the town. Although it is a centre for cotton-growing and has brickworks, dairies and a carpet-weaving industry, modern Khīwa no longer plays a vital role in the economic or political life of the Uzbek S.S.R.

Bibliography: see that for KHʷĀRAZM.

(W. BARTHOLD - [M. L. BRILL])

KHIYĀBĀNĪ, SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD (1879-1920), Persian religious scholar and political leader. Born in Khāmna, Ādharbāydjān, the son of a merchant, Khiyābānī received his early education there and then moved to Dāghistān in the Caucasus, where his father lived. After returning to Tabrīz, he studied *fiḳh*, *uṣūl*, and Ptolemaic astronomy, and soon became a *mudjtahid* leading public prayers in two central mosques. Responding to the Iranian constitutionalists, Khiyābānī joined the Social Democratic Party and also became a leading member of the Ādharbāydjān Provincial Council which played a decisive role in the deposition of the anti-constitutionalist Shāh Muḥammad ʿAlī (1907-9). Khiyābānī was then elected to the second Parliament, where he rejected the 1911 Russian ultimatum and condemned the Persian government which, on the British recommendation, was willing to compromise. The Parliament rejected the ultimatum but the Regent, Nāṣir al-Mulk, dissolved Parliament and accepted the ultimatum, leading Khiyābānī to denounce this action in a long speech before the people of Tehran. He then fled to Russia, and later on returned to Tabrīz secretly. After the two Anglo-Russian treaties (1907 and 1915) there remained little room for the existence of Khiyābānī and his party. Suddenly, however, the 1917 Russian Revolution broke out and the Soviets withdrew the claims the Tsars had made against Iran. At this point, Khiyābānī and his friends re-established the Democratic Party and founded *Tadjaddud*, a newspaper which published Khīyābānī's speeches and articles. Among Khiyābānī's targets of attack were the British South Persia Rifles and the existing Persian régime as being submissive to foreigners. Before the end of the War, Ottoman troops invaded Tabrīz, arrested Khiyābānī, and imprisoned him in Riḍāʾiyya, but after the War he returned to Tabrīz. In 1919 the British signed an agreement with the Wuthūḳ al-Dawla which gave them control of the Iranian army, finances, and customs. Under the influence of Khiyābānī and others, the treaty was not passed in Parliament. The Wuthūḳ al-Dawla then suppressed Khiyābānī's party and resigned. Khiyābānī rose against the government (now in the hands of Mushīr al-Dawla) and in April 1920 he declared his province Āzādistān ("home of freedom"). Mushīr al-Dawla appointed Mukhbir al-Salṭana (Mahdī Ḳulī Hidāyat) governor of Ādharbāydjān, and the latter put an end both to the six-month old movement and to Khiyābānī's life.

Khiyābānī has been described as a rebel, and his movement as a separatist one. Khiyābānī's attachment to the Soviets has also been a matter of controversy. However, he has been widely recognised as a national hero, whose murder was lamented by poets such as Bahār, ʿĀrif, Ṣafwat, and Āgāh.

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(Abdul-Hadi Hairi)

KHIYĀLA [see khayl].

KHIYĀR (a.), a legal term meaning the option or right of withdrawal, i.e. the right for the parties involved to terminate the legal act unilaterally. This option is always included in the legal act, and in this case, the act does not irrevocably bind its authors. The word *khiyār* implies a choice on the part of the holder of the right of option, who may either confirm the act or render it void; the legal act containing an option is not void in origin, but its validity is nevertheless precarious and subject to confirmation. The act giving rise to an option corresponds in western law to an act liable to a suspensory or resolutory condition, according to the nature of the option.

Options (*khiyārāt*) may be either conventionary or legal in nature.

1. Conventionary options. Included amongst these, there is first of all the conditional option, *khiyār al-sharṭ*, which is extremely important. This is the clause by means of which, in certain legal acts (in particular, contracts), one of the parties, or both of them, reserves the right to annul or to confirm, within a specified time, the legal act which they have just drawn up. This clause is undeniably equivalent to a purely potestative suspensory condition. The decision of the one confirming or rejecting the act does not have to be justified. The lawyers of the four schools adopted this institution without difficulty. The other conventionary option is the one called by the jurists that of designation (*khiyār al-taʿyīn*). It can only be inserted into alternative obligations, and allows the one making the stipulation to make his final choice between the different objects of one and the same obligation. Thus there are only two conventionary options, one common to all four schools and the other peculiar to the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs.

2. Legal options. On the other hand, legal options, in which the law automatically grants the options without the parties having to stipulate them, are very numerous. Some Muslim authors number them at seventeen. Fraud, injury, hidden defects, eviction, and many other deeds, are only to be sanctioned in Islamic law by means of option. In the *fiḳh* treatises, only a brief allusion is made to legal options, apart from the option in the case of a latent defect making the agreement void (*khiyār al-ʿayb* or *khiyār al-naḳiṣa*). The option of sight (*khiyār al-ruʾya*) presents a problem. It is rejected by the Shāfiʿīs, and there exists concerning it as many different doctrines as schools of legal opinion; see Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1952, ii, 154. Some countries have introduced the principle of the option of sight into their new civil codes: Egypt (art. 419), ʿIrāḳ (arts. 517-23), Syria (art. 389) and Libya (art. 408). *Khiyār* is also to be found in Imāmī law (Persian civil code arts. 396-457). In the *fiḳh* treatises, there is no systematic exposition of the idea of option, although certain modern jurisconsults have tried to remedy this.

It should finally be noted that the system of options is not peculiar to patrimonial law. There exist also options in family law, e.g. in the case of incompatible marriages, or when a minor still below the age of puberty has been married by a *walī* other than her own father or grandfather; when the minor reaches his majority, he can choose between maintaining the marriage in being or dissolving it.

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(A. M. Delcambre)

KHIYĀR (in theology) [see ikhtiyār].

KHIZĀNA [see maktaba]

KHIZĀNE-I ʿĀMIRE [see khazīne].

KHLOṬ [see khulṭ].

KHŌDJA in the strict sense is the name of an Indian caste consisting mostly of Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs and some Sunnīs and Twelver Shīʿīs split off the Ismāʿīlī community. In a looser sense the name is commonly used to refer to the Indian Nizārīs in general including some minor communities like the Shamsīs in the area of Multān and some Mōmnas in northern Gudjarāt. The history of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism on the Indian subcontinent, especially in the early centuries, is largely obscure because of a lack of reliable sources. The Khōdja religious literature [see satpanth] contains some highly legendary accounts of the activity of Nizārī *dāʿīs*, mostly unreliable chronological data, and bare lists and genealogies of the *pīrs* and their descendants. On the basis of this material a few comprehensive historical accounts have been written since the 19th century by Khōdjas and members of the related Imām-Shāhī community.

It is unknown if any of the Ismāʿīlī communities existing in India before the split into the Nizārī and Mustaʿlawī branches in 487/1094 subsequently joined

the Nizāris. Khōdja tradition makes one Satgur Nūr, also called Nūr al-Dīn, the first *dāʿī* who, coming from Daylamān, was active in Pāṭan, Gudjarāt. Dates ascribed to his activity vary widely. According to one version he was sent by the *imām* al-Mustanṣir (427-87/1036-94) in order to preach for his son Nizār; according to another, by the *imām* al-Ḥasan ʿalā dhikrihi 'l-salām (557-61/1162-6). He is alleged to have converted the Hindu king Siddharādja Djaysimha (d. *ca.* 1143). Yet his place in the lists of *pīrs* would seem to put him in the first two centuries of Islam, and he is even identified with the *imām* Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. His shrine at Nawsarī appears to date from about the end of the 18th century. His historicity has been doubted. Evidence for the presence of Nizārīs in Gudjarāt in the first half of the 7th/13th century is too vague to be trusted. Most early Nizārī activity rather appears to have been centred on Sind.

The beginnings of the Nizārī *daʿwa* in Sind are connected by tradition with the *pīr* Shams al-Dīn, though the previous *pīr*, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who is also called the father of Shams al-Dīn, is mentioned to have already been sent from Alamūt to India. Legend, on the other hand, identifies Shams al-Dīn variously with Shams-i Tabrīzī, the spiritual guide of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, or with the first post-Alamūt *imām* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who, it is alleged, turned the imāmate over to his son Ḳāsim-Shāh in order to come to India. While most of the religious poetry ascribed to him names Ḳāsim-Shah as the contemporary *imām* and thus would place him around the turn of the 7th/13th century, several dates mentioned in the poetry for his activity are in the first half of the 6th/12th century. A legendary account of his meeting with the Ṣūfī saint Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ of Multān (d. 665/1266) appears to be without historical foundation. His lifetime thus cannot be dated with any degree of certainty. He is described as having been active in Multān and Uččh in Sind and his shrine is located in Multān. The community of the Shamsīs claims to have been converted by him to Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. They live in Multān, Rāwalpindi and elsewhere in Pandjāb and are mostly goldsmiths.

The next two *pīrs* on the traditional lists, Naṣīr al-Dīn and Shihāb (also Ṣāḥib) al-Dīn, are said to be the son and grandson of Shams al-Dīn. It is likely, however, that some minor figures were omitted. There is no information on their activity except that they worked clandestinely. Shihāb al-Dīn was succeeded by his son Ṣadr al-Dīn who is credited with the conversion of the Khōdjās from the Lohanas, a Hindu caste. He is also said to have given them the name Khōdja, derived from the Persian *khʷādja*, master, which corresponds to the Hindu term *thakur* used in addressing Lohanas and Khōdjās, as the Lohanas are considered Kshatriyas. Death dates given for him range from 770/1369 to 819/1416. The latter date seems more reasonable. Ṣadr al-Dīn, according to tradition, also laid the foundation for the communal organisation of the Khōdjas by building the first three *djamāʿat-khānas* (assembly and prayer halls) and appointing their *mukhis* (leaders). The centre of his activity was Uččh and his shrine is not far from it near Djetur.

Ṣadr al-Dīn was succeeded as *pīr* by his son Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn of whom a short vita was included by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642) in his hagiographical work *Akhbār al-akhyār*. His appearance in a list of *shaykhs* of the Suhrawardī order reflects the close links of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism with organised Ṣūfism throughout this period. According to the *Akhbār al-akhyār* he traveled widely before settling down in Uččh and converted many Hindus. The death dates mentioned for him range from 853/1449 to 895/1490. Most accurate are probably those giving 875/1470 or 876/1471. His shrine is outside Uččh. As Kabīr al-Dīn's successor, his brother Tādj al-Dīn was appointed by the *imām*. He was opposed by some of the numerous sons of Kabīr al-Dīn who were also quarreling among themselves. After Tādj al-Dīn's return from a visit to the *imām*, they accused him of embezzling the tithes for the *imām* and he is said either to have died of the shock or to have committed suicide, probably not very long after his brother's death. His grave is in Jhun in Sind. After his death Imām Shāh [*q.v.*], son of Kabīr al-Dīn, vainly tried to gain the allegiance of the Khōdjas in Sind. After a visit to the *imām* in Persia he settled in Gudjarāt, where he succeeded in converting numerous Hindus, mostly of peasant communities. Legend maintains that he converted Maḥmūd Begfā, sultan of Gudjarāt, who gave his daughter in marriage to Imām Shāh's son Nar Muḥammad. Imām Shāh died in 919/1513 in Pīrāna, a town founded by him, where his shrine is located. Although he is not recognised as a *pīr* by Khōdja tradition and according to some accounts seceded from the Ismāʿīlī community, it appears more likely that the schism occured only under his son and successor Nar (Nūr) Muḥammad Shāh. The latter at an unknown date demanded that the *imām*'s tithe should no longer be sent to Persia but be turned over to himself, claiming that his father Imām Shāh had been the *imām* and that he was his successor. The majority of his followers accepted his orders and came to form the separate Imām-Shāhī community while a minority remained faithful to the Ismāʿīlī *imāms*.

The Khōdja lists of *pīrs* name after the *pīr* Tādj al-Dīn the *Pandiyāt-i jawānmardī*, a book of religious admonitions attributed to *imām* al-Mustanṣir II, in place of a person. According to tradition, the *imām* decided in view of the dissension in the *pīr*'s family after Tādj al-Dīn's death not to appoint any *pīr*, but instead to send the book as guidance for the faithful. There is, however, reason to assume that the book reached India only around the middle of the 10th/16th century, probably after the Imām-Shāhī secession. It may have been sent at that time with a view to easing the leadership crisis resulting from the schism. Only one *pīr* mentioned in some of the lists after the book was active in India, sc. *pīr* Dādū. He is said to have been sent by the *imām* from Persia to Sind with the mission of stopping the conversion of Ismāʿīlīs to Sunnism. He was forced to leave and settled first with some followers from Sind in Navanagar (Djamnagar) in Gudjarāt. In 1584 he moved to Bhudj where he died in 1593. An important role in reorganising the community and the prayer is ascribed to him.

After the end of the line of *pīrs* the *imāms* came to be represented at the local level in India by *wakīls* and *bāwās*. This development evidently reflects an attempt of the *imāms* to gain more direct control over the Indian communities. However, some local families of *sayyids*, i.e. descendants of the *pīr* Kabīr al-Dīn, retained much influence. Most important among these were the Kadiwala *sayyids* of Sind. Their ancestor, Sayyid Fāḍil Shāh, was active in Kaḍi around the middle of the 17th century. In Sind the family resided in Rali and after 1780 in Tando Muḥammad Khān. Shrines of early members of the family are located near these two places. Other members are known as authors of extant gnans. Two sons of Fāḍil Shāh, *pīr* Mashāyikh and Ḥasan *pīr*, played a

major role among the Mōmnas in northern Gudjarāt. Mashāyikh (d. 1108/1697 in Aḥmadābād) actively endeavoured to suppress Hindu practices in the community and cut his allegiance to the Ismāʿīlī *imāms*. His extant works espouse strictly Islamic practices and reflect Sunnī and Ithnā ʿAsharī tendencies. He is said to have cooperated with Awrangzīb in his wars against the Shīʿī rulers of Bīdjāpūr. His followers later quarreled whether he was a Sunnī or a Shīʿī. His brother Ḥasan remained loyal to Ismāʿīlism and became the saint of the Nizārī Mōmnas. In addition to his mausoleum in Thanapipli near Djūnāgaṛh, Khōdjas and Nizārī Mōmnas in 1717 built a shrine in his honour in Ganod in Gudjarāt.

The Khōdjas were active in the commerce between India and East Africa at least since the 17th century, and in the 19th century, especially after the ʿUmānī sultan Sayyid Saʿīd transferred his capital to Zanzibar in 1840, they came to settle in large numbers on the island and later in mainland East Africa. The coming of the Agha Khān [*q.v.*] Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh to India in 1840 led to an aggravation of earlier conflicts in the Khōdja community about the rights of the *imām*. In 1866 the judgment of Sir Joseph Arnould in a law suit brought against the Agha Khān by excommunicated members of the Bārbhai party fully upheld his rights and authority, and the dissidents definitely separated from the community as Sunnī Khōdjas. Later dissidents seceding in 1877 and 1901, formed Ithnā ʿAsharī Khōdja communities in Bombay and East Africa.

For Khōdja religious doctrine, see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA and SATPANTH.

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(W. MADELUNG)

KHŌDJA EFENDI, SAʿD AL-DĪN B. ḤASAN DJĀN B. ḤĀFIẒ MUḤAMMAD IṢFAHĀNĪ (1536-99), a famous Ottoman shaykhül-Islām, statesman, and historian.

Life. He was born in 943/1536-7 in Istanbul, and died there on 12 Rabīʿ I 1008/2 October 1599. His grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selīm I after the battle of Čāldirān, had served Selīm I as *ḥāfiẓ*, and his father Ḥasan Djān had been an intimate courtier to the same sultan. Saʿd al-Dīn studied under prominent scholars, entered the *ʿulamāʾ* career and became assistant (*mülāzim*) to the *mufti* Ebu 'l-Suʿūd [see ABU 'L-SUʿŪD] at the early age of twenty (963/1555-6). Soon after, he was appointed, with a salary of 30 aspers, to the Murād Pasha *madrasa* in Istanbul. In Shawwāl 971/May-June 1564 he was appointed, "with forty", to the *madrasa* of Yīldīrīm Khān in Bursa, and one year later was promoted to the *khāridj* rank. After another promotion in Dhu'l-Ḥididja 977/May 1570 he rose, in Ramaḍān 979/January-February 1572, to the rank of professor at one of the eight courtyards (*ṣaḥn*) attached to the Fātiḥ Mosque in Istanbul. When the preceptor (*khōdja*) of Prince Murād died, Saʿd al-Dīn was appointed in his place (Muḥarram 981/May 1573) and sent to Manīsa. This was the beginning of a long period of prosperity and influence for Saʿd al-Dīn, who was henceforth known as Khōdja or Khōdja Efendi. When his pupil became sultan as Murād III, he followed him to Istanbul as *khōdja-i sulṭānī* (8 Ramaḍān 982/22 December 1574). As the sultan's trusted adviser, he soon became influential in politics, even in foreign affairs such as the establishment of relations with England. When Meḥemmed III succeeded to the throne in 1595, it was to Saʿd al-Dīn that he was expressly referred to for advice, the decree saying that "consultation (*meshweret*) should be held with Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn in all matters of appointing viziers and religious officials". Although Saʿd al-Dīn, in Murād III's special *medjlis-i meshweret*, had strongly advised against the "Long War" with Austria begun in 1593, it was he who backed up the wavering sultan Meḥemmed III, especially in the Eğri (Erlau) campaign. In the great *meshweret* on 20 October 1596 it was Saʿd al-Dīn who with his courage carried all with him, prevailing on the timid sultan to stand fast and eventually win the battle of Ḥāč Ovasī (Mezö Keresztes). After this triumph, Saʿd al-Dīn fell into disgrace over the appointment of the next Grand Vizier; on 9 Djumādā II 1005/28 January 1597 his opponents at court brought about his dismissal from the office of preceptor. Expressly ordered to refrain from intervention in state affairs, Saʿd al-Dīn remained in disgrace for 14 months. As soon as he could, in March 1598, the sultan fully rehabilitated Saʿd al-Dīn and raised him, against some resistance, to the office of *shaykh ül-Islām*, together with that of sultan's preceptor. This earned him the title *Djāmiʿ al-Riyāsatayn*. At this time Saʿd al-Dīn took the inefficacy of Saturdjī Meḥmed Pasha as *serdār* on the Hungarian front as an opportunity to state his views: he drew up a memorandum, outwardly directed to the Commander, but obviously meant for his opponents at court and later circulated as a piece of *inshāʾ* (it was published by Naʿīmā in his official history). It voices the sense of impending misfortunes that threatened the Ottomans, and justifies, in the matter of *meshweret*, what Saʿd al-Dīn had done and was considering his duty: not to "meddle" with matters of state, but to render services to it. In 1599 this meant persuading both the sultan and his mother to pay out of their treasuries the funds needed for the next campaign. After a successful term of office as *mufti*, he died during prayer in the Aya Ṣofya Mosque.

As an eminent *ʿālim*, Saʿd al-Dīn distinguished himself, even more than for his learning, for his practical ability and political far-sightedness. Between 1579 and 1599 the preceptor of two sultans, the hero of Ḥāč Ovasī "was the main voice directing the state's domestic and foreign policies" (H. Inalcık, *The Ottoman empire*, London 1973, 97). When the new Head Astronomer, Taḳī al-Dīn, had convinced him of the necessity of revising Ulugh Beg's *Tables*, Saʿd al-Dīn at once persuaded the sultan to issue the *fermāns* necessary to establish an observatory in Galata (1577) This project was short-lived; the *shaykh ül-Islām* Ḳāḍīzāde Aḥmed Shams al-Dīn, an enemy of Saʿd al-Dīn, managed to have it destroyed already in 1580 (A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı türklerinde ilim*, Ankara 1943, 84-6; A. Suheyl Ünver, *Istanbul rasathanesi*, Ankara 1969, 35, 51-4, 61-2). But Taḳī al-Dīn's attachment to Saʿd al-Dīn is apparent in the grateful

dedications to him of several of his astronomical works. The Khōdja attracted writers and younger scholars of growing fame, some of whom worked as his assistants (Nishāndjīzāde, Nādirī) or were his protégés (Lokmān); even Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, his severest critic, dedicated a book to him. The charge of nepotism and favouritism which was brought against him, especially by ʿĀlī, does perhaps deserve closer inspection within the framework of the times. Of his five sons one died before him; two became *shaykh ül-Islām* and two were *ḳāḍī ʿaskers*; three of his grandsons were *shaykh ül-Islam* (Ş. Turan, art. *Saʿd-ed-Dīn* in *İA*; I. H. Danismend, *Osmanlı devlet erkâni*, 119).

Works. Although he did write poetry, he was essentially a prose writer. He translated Arabic and Persian works into Turkish (see Turan's article in *İA*). His fame as a writer rests on his *Tādj al-tawārīkh* begun under Selīm II and dedicated to Murād III in 982/1575. As a carefully-written history, based on critical examination of a number of named sources, the work rightfully superseded the older chronicles. It deals with the history of the Ottomans from their beginnings to the death of Selīm I. In it Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn displayed his celebrated powers of eloquence, but he was not showy or pompous, as has sometimes been alleged, indeed, the clarity of his exposition was not lost on contemporaries and later writers. While it is true that his *Tādj* abounds in Arabisms and Persianisms, he could often be simplicity itself: indeed, the contrasts are great and have only been disregarded to some extent because Saʿd al-Dīn is habitually classed among the writers of "ornamented prose". On the many MSS. of the *Tādj*, see F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, 125-6; M. Aktepe, *Hoca Sa'deddin Efendi'nin Tâcü't-tevârih'i ve bunun zeyli hakkında*, in *TM* xiii, 106-10; Turan, art. in *İA*; B. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 105-6. The work was printed in two volumes at Istanbul in 1279/1861. Based on this edition, a modernised version in Latin script by İ. Parmaksızoğlu has begun to appear in 1974. The book found early recognition in the West, and parts of it have been translated; see Babinger, *GOW*, 126. A continuation of the *Tādj al-tawārīkh* is Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī's (d. 1025/1616) *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*. An abridgement is the first part of Ḥasan Bey-Zāde's [*q.v.*] *History*. Ṣolaḳzāde (d. 1067/1657) and Djizyedārzāde (d. 1208/1794) made extensive use of the *Tādj*.

Saʿd al-Dīn's *Selim-nāme*, a collection of anecdotes based on the recollections of his father Ḥasan Djān, was printed together with the *Tādj al-tawārīkh* (ii, 221-401).

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KHODJA ELI [see ḲODJA ELI]

KHODJAEV (Faizullah Khodja) (1896-1938), Bukhāran revolutionary and nationalist, was born in Bukhārā the son of a wealthy merchant. In 1907 he went with his father to Moscow, where he received a Russian education. In 1913 he joined the so-called Djadīd Muslim reformist movement [see DJADĪD], which was opposed to the feudal régime of the Amīr. In 1917 he became a member of the newly formed Young Bukhāran Party and in December left for Tashkent with the avowed object of working for the overthrow of the Amīr. By 1920 he had become leader of the Young Bukhārans. He declared himself in favour of the *Sharīʿa* remaining the basis of the new republic of Bukhārā, at the foundation of which he aimed, but this was, and still is, pronounced a mistake by the Communist Party of Russia. On the final overthrow of the Amīr's régime in September 1920, Khodjaev became a member of the Communist Party and was constituted head of the newly created Peoples' Soviet Republic of Bukhārā. He vigorously opposed the counter-revolutionary Basmačī movement led by Enwer Pasha, the Turkish ex-Minister for War. For this and other services to the Bukhāran people, he was awarded in 1922 the Order of the Red Banner. Visiting Berlin in 1922, Khodjaev became active in trying to establish economic relations with European countries. This policy was seen as aiming at the economic independence of Bukhārā and in 1923 incurred the serious disapproval of the Central Asian Bureau of the Communist Party, to the setting up of which Khodjaev had always been opposed. In the same year, however, he took part in the 12th Party Congress in Moscow as delegate of the Bukhāran Communist Party. On the delimitation of the Central Asian Republics in 1924, the greater part of the former khānate of Bukhārā was embodied in the Uzbek SSR, of which Khodjaev was in 1925 appointed President of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, a post which he retained until his downfall in 1937, when he was dismissed from office and arrested. He was later indicted on a number of charges which included those of plotting against the Soviet state for the independence of Turkestan, of secretly aiding the Basmačis, and of being a British agent. While much of the indictment was probably based on fabricated evidence, there is little doubt that, as he himself admitted during the trial, Khodjaev was aiming at the national independence of Turkestan. He insisted, however, that he was not actuated by anti-Russian or anti-Bolshevik feelings. He was executed in 1938. Excluded from the list of other Central Asian personalities posthumously rehabilitated between 1955 and 1957, Khodjaev was not rehabilitated until 1966 on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of his birth. Although he was then said to have made "errors of a nationalist character", he was described as "a prominent revolutionary". The long biographical introduction to the edition of his selected works published in 1970 is wholly laudatory, refers only briefly to his differences with the Party authorities and makes no mention of his downfall, trial and execution.

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(G. E. Wheeler)

KHODJAND [see KHUDJAND].

KHŌĪ, Khūy, Iranian town (population in 1951: 49,000), situated in long. 45° 02′ E., lat. 38° 32′ N., in the *shahristān* of the same name in the *ustān* of West Ādharbāydjān; the Kurdish district of Quṭūr is included in the *shahristān* of Khōī.

The town lies at an elevation of 1040 m./3,444 ft., in a plain known locally as *Khōī čukūrī* ("the Khōī depression"), because all the surrounding areas are at a higher elevation. The mountains surrounding the Khōī plain protect the city from the cold winter winds (the Harāwīl range along the Turkish frontier to the north-west averages over 11,000 feet), and consequently Khōī has a warmer climate than either Tabrīz or Riḍāʾiyya. Minimum winter temperature is —14° C/6.8 F; summers are very hot with hot southerly winds. The economy of the region is partly pastoral, partly agricultural; crops include grain, pulses, tobacco, apricots and cotton. The region has a mixed population of Sunnīs and Shīʿīs whose first language is either Turkish or Kurdish (the name Khōī is said

to mean "salt" in Kurdish, and certainly salt-mines are still worked in the area). In the *bakhsh* of Shāhpūr there are several Christian villages.

In ancient times, Khōī acquired commercial importance by virtue of its location on the silk-route. In Ṣafawid times, the proximity of Khoī to the Ottoman frontier made it a town of great strategic importance; in 920/1514 Shāh Ismāʿīl I suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the Ottoman sulṭān Selīm I on the plain of Čāldirān [*q.v.*], some 70 miles north-west of Khōī. In Ḳādjār times the strategic value of the town continued because of its proximity to the Russian frontier; the ruins of the walls built by General Gardane early in the 13th/19th century at the request of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh are still visible. More recently, Khōī saw fierce fighting between nationalist and royalist forces prior to World War I.

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KHOḲAND, Arabic orthography, Khwāḳand, later written Khuḳand (which is given a popular etymology, *khūḳ* + *kand* = town of the boar), a town in Farghāna [*q.v.*], where see also for the other spellings and the foundation of an independent Özbeg kingdom with Khoḳand as capital in the 12th/18th century. The accession of the first ruler of this Miñ dynasty, Shāhrukh, was followed by the building of a citadel; another citadel later called Eski Urda was built by his son, ʿAbd al-Karīm (d. 1746). ʿAbd al-Karīm and his nephew and successor Irdānā Bī are several times mentioned in the history of the Atalïḳ Muḥammad Raḥīm, afterwards Khān of Bukhārā (d. 1759, see BUKHĀRĀ); Muḥammad Wafā Karmīnagī, *Tuḥfat al-Khānī*, Asiatic Museum Ms. c. 581b, especially fols. 33b, 145b). When the Kalmuck empire was destroyed and the frontiers of the Chinese empire advanced up to Farghāna (1758), Irdānā also was forced to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty; the Chinese records on this matter are cited by J. Klaproth, *Magasin Asiatique*, i (1825), 81 ff. from the *Tai ts'ing yi t'ung či*. Irdānā later was a member of a coalition of Muslim rulers of Central Asia, which applied to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], the ruler of Afghānistān, for help against China. The alliance had no further results, although Aḥmad Shāh in 1763 appeared in Turkestan at the head of an army and occupied the territory between Khoḳand and Tāshkend (at the same time an invasion of the land of the Ḳarā-Ḳirgiz was made from Khoḳand, Klaproth, *op. cit.*, 83), but he had soon to retire again on account of the claims of his enterprises in other directions. ʿAbd al-Karim's grandson, Nār Būta Beg (probably reigned 1188-1213/1774-98, cf. L. Zimin in *Protokolī Turk kruzka lyub. arkheologii*, xviii, 102, and Walidow, *ibid.*, xx, 112 f.), was also nominally under Chinese suzerainty. To the early years of this reign belongs the journey of the Russian sergeant, Filipp Yefremov, who was taken prisoner by the Ḳirgiz in 1774 and sold in Bukhārā and 1782 returned to Russia via India and England. According to his *Travels* (F. Yefremov, *Stranstrovaniye v Bukharii, Khivye, Persii w Indii*[2], St. Petersburg 1794, 59 f.), Nārbūta was already entitled Khān "by the Chinese", was allied with China and at enmity with Bukhārā. No mention is made of prominent buildings in the capital (the Medrese Mīr was built in the reign of Nārbūta); on the other hand, a high pillar (apparently a minaret), said to be over 280 feet high in the market-place in Marghīnān, is described. According to Filipp Nazarov (see below), this "tower" was visible for a distance of 50 versts (over 30 miles).

Nārbūta's two sons, ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, are the real founders of the state and city of Khoḳand as we later know it. The chronology of these reigns (1212-1237/1798-1822) is not sufficiently established; even the year in which ʿĀlim was assassinated and ʿUmar raised to the throne is variously given in the sources. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i Shāhrukhī* (ed. Pantusov, 106) ʿUmar died in the year 1237/1821-2 (in the cyclic reckoning the year of the horse = 1822 is given); according to Nalivkin (Russ. original, 101; French tr., 124), which here follows another source (the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥakīm Khān), ʿĀlim was not murdered till the spring of 1232 (i.e. 1817, not 1816, as in Nalivkin); on the other hand Nalivkin himself in another passage (Russ. orig. 185; French tr. 228) puts the building of the chief mosque of Khoḳand by ʿUmar Khān in 1231/1816. The Russian interpreter Filipp Nazarov, who was in Khoḳand in the winter of 1813-14, calls the ruler of Khoḳand Amir Walliami (*Zapiski o nyekorotīkh narodakh Srednyey Azie*[1], St. Petersburg 1821, 50 ff. This is probably for *Walī al-Niʿamī*, not *Walī Miyanī*, as in Klaproth, *op. cit.*, 43. The ruler at this time was only 25 years of age; this statement can only refer to ʿUmar, not to the much older ʿĀlim; according to ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Bukhārī also (ed. Schefer, 102), this embassy and the cause of it (the murder of the Khoḳand envoy by a Russian soldier in Petropavlovsk) both took place in the reign of ʿUmar Khān. According to ʿAbd al-Karīm, 99, ʿĀlim had already been killed in 1224/1809, which cannot be right, as we have a document of his dated Djumādā I, 1225/June 1810 (*Protokolī Turk kružka, lyub. arkh.*, iii, 165 f.). The change of ruler must therefore have taken place between 1810 and 1813.

In the oldest known document of his reign, dated 1213/1798-9, ʿĀlim still regards himself as the representative of an unnamed Khān; later he appears as an independent ruler with the title *Khān* or *Amīr*; after the conquest of Tāshkend, his power was as great as that of the Amīr of Bukhārā. In ʿUmar's reign in 1814 (so Nazarov; not so late as 1819, as in Nalivkin, Russ. orig. 110 f.; French tr. 134 f.), the town of Turkistān with the parts of the Ḳirgiz steppes belonging to it was incorporated in the kingdom of Khoḳand. ʿUmar thereupon took the title of *Amīr al-Muslimīn*. There were several wars with Bukhārā regarding the possession of Ura Tübe in the reigns of both ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, and the town indeed remained a bone of contention between the two states right down to the Russian conquest.

ʿUmar's domestic policy was quite different from that of his predecessor. Like many other Central Asian rulers, ʿĀlim had made up his mind to break the power of the Özbeg families and therefore surrounded himself with mercenary troops from the highlanders of Ḳarātigin, Darwāz and other lands (*Ta'rīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, 42 f.). The war against the nobles was, as frequently elsewhere, combined with a war on the religious classes, especially the dervish orders. The historians on this account describe ʿĀlim as a godless tyrant (*ẓālim*); on the other hand they praise the piety and justness of ʿUmar, who was put on the throne by ʿĀlim's murderers. ʿUmar built the present chief mosque of Khoḳand, which was also used as a *madrasa* and therefore is known as the Madrasa-yi Djāmiʿ. ʿUmar was also fond of poetry and wrote poems himself under the pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) of *Amīr*; verses by the Khān himself, his officials

and favourites were collected in a special anthology (afterwards printed) entitled *Madjmūʿat al-shuʿarāʾ* by M. Hartmann in *MSOS*, vii, Westas. Stud., 87 ff. It was probably ʿUmar who founded the town of Shahr-i Khān (west of Andīdjān); the great canal, led to it from the Ḳarā Daryā, Shahr-i Khān Sāy, completely altered the irrigation of Farghāna.

ʿUmar's son and successor, Madali (properly Muḥammad ʿAlī), was 12 at his accession (according to others 14). During the first half of his reign, the khānate of Khoḳand reached its greatest power and extent. In the south the districts of Ḳarātigīn, Darwāz, and Kulāb, which now belonged to Bukhārā, were all conquered; in the north-east taxes were levied on the Ḳarā Ḳirgiz, on the Great and on a part of the Central Horde of Ḳazak Ḳirgiz; the Khān's representatives even appeared among the tribes of the Great Horde which led a nomadic life on the other side of the Ili [*q.v.*]. The rebellion of Khodja Djahāngīr in Kāshgharia (1826), which received support from Khoḳand, met with no success; nevertheless, the officers of the Khān were allowed by the Chinese government to collect taxes in the "six towns" (*altī shahr*): Aḳsū, Ush Ṭurfān, Kāshghar, Yangishahr, Yārḳand and Khotan. Like Khoḳand, where one of the largest *madrasas* bears the name of Madali Khān, Tāshkend attained considerable prosperity; from 1835 the *Beglerbegi* of Tāshkend was given the administration of all the northern provinces of the kingdom, and a memorial of this period is the great Beglerbegi Madrasa. The excavation of the great Khān Harīḳ canal in the region of Tāshkend also belongs to this period (*Protokolī Turk kruzhka, lyub. arkh.*, iii, 175).

In spite of the great extent of his kingdom, the authority of the Khān was not firmly established; his vicious life and cruel rule had aroused general discontent. Naṣr Allāh, *amīr* of Bukhārā, is said to have been asked by people in Khoḳand itself to put an end to his rule. The Khoḳand army was completely defeated; the capital itself was taken by the enemy (for the first time since the foundation of the kingdom); Madali was killed while trying to escape (1258/1842). The conquerors were driven out again in the same year and Shīr ʿAlī, a cousin of ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, was placed on the throne; but down to the Russian conquest, domestic peace was never restored for any length of time. The reigns of Shīr ʿAlī (1842-45) and his sons Khudāyār (1845-58 and 1865-75) and Mallā (1858-62) and several short-lived rulers were a period of continual confusion and bloody fighting, notably between the Özbegs of the Ḳïpčaḳ tribe and the "Sarts", i.e. the native population. Khudāyār, who was still a minor, was raised to the throne by Musulmān Ḳul, the chief of the Ḳïpčaḳ; the Ḳïpčaḳ drove the Sarts out of their houses in the capital and took possession of the canals in the country; the Sarts were only allowed the water necessary for their fields on payment of a fixed sum. In 1269/1852 Musulmān Ḳul was overthrown by Khudāyār and put to death; the land again passed to the Sarts. Mallā then relied on the support of the Ḳïpčaḳ and restored to them the lands taken by the Sarts. All this warfare, internal and external was waged with great ferocity; after Khudāyār's capture of Ura Tübe in 1264/1848, a tower of skulls (*Kelle minār*) was built from the heads of the slain enemy. Banished pretenders usually took refuge in Bukhārā, and taking advantage of these dissensions, the Mangit Khān of Bukhārā Naṣr Allāh was able to advance as far as Khudjand [*q.v.*] in 1275/1858.

In spite of all this, the khānate retained its former extent down to the Russian conquest of the later 19th century. Russian forces had been in contact with troops from Khoḳand since 1850 on the upper Syr Daryā, and in the north-east of the khānate between the Ču and Ili rivers since 1860. All these regions were under the *Beglerbegi* or governor appointed by the Khān for Tāshkend (see above), who was also responsible for the maintenance of agriculture; the governor Mīrzā Aḥmad (1853-8) is said to have organised irrigation works from the town of Turkestān or Azret to the Ču valley. In 1864 Tāshkend fought off a Russian attack, and immediately afterwards, a Khoḳandī force attacked the town of Turkistān, by then Russian-held. Subsequent Russian intervention was facilitated by the conflicting interests of the Iranian townspeople or Sarts and the nomadic Ḳïpčaḳ elements of the rural areas, mentioned above, and also by the discords between the Central Asian khānates. The ruler of Bukhārā Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. Naṣr Allāh was invited to secure Tāshkend for himself, when that town seemed likely to fall to the Russians; but in 1865 the Russians captured Tāshkend, whereupon the Khān of Bukhārā marched on Khoḳand, occupying Khudjand and Khoḳand and forcing Khudāyār of Khoḳand to acknowledge the suzerainty of Bukhārā. In 1866, as part of the operations against both Khoḳand and Bukhārā, General Romanovski advanced up the Syr Daryā, thereby driving a wedge between the two khānates. After the fall of Khudjand, Khudāyār came to terms and agreed to become a Russian vassal and to pay an indemnity.

Thus began the last phase of the khānate's nominally independent existence. Despite all the internal dissensions and intrigues, the economic condition of the khānate seems to have been prosperous enough, with flourishing local textile, carpet-weaving and other crafts; according to a Russian observer in 1867, the town had a population of 80,000, with 15 *madrasas* and several hundred mosques. Traditional Muslim learning was, indeed, far from moribund in all three of the Central Asian khānates in this the last phase of their existence. During this period, several buildings were erected in the town of Khoḳand, including the palace or *urda* of the Khān, and the *madrasas* of Ḥākim Āyīn and Sulṭān Murād Beg, built by the Khān's mother and brother.

Until 1875, it seems to have been the Imperial Russian government's intention to retain the khānate in a similar status to those of Bukhārā and Khīwa. But disturbances within the khānate, and attacks on Russian-held territory, continued, and in 1875 there was a popular rising against Khudāyār Khān led by his kinsman Pūlād Khān, and the former regions of the khānate then annexed by Russia, such as Khudjand and Kuraminsk, joined the revolt. A Russian invasion inevitably led to the capture of Khoḳand by General Von Kaufman. The Treaty of Marghilān was made with the new Khān, Naṣr al-Dīn b. Khudāyār, by which all the territory of Khoḳand on the right bank of the Syr Daryā was ceded to Russia. But fighting nevertheless continued in the eastern part of the khānate, until Russia finally occupied the whole of the khānate, deposed the line of the Miñ Khāns and annexed all their lands to Russia. The imposition of direct rule over the khānate was especially important to Russia at this time, because Khoḳand's eastern frontier marched with Kāshgharia or Chinese Turkestan, then controlled by the rebel Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*], himself a Khoḳandī who had fought against the Russians at the capture of Aḳ-Masdjid (Kyzyl-Orda) on the middle Syr Daryā in 1853, and was not surprisingly hostile to Russia. As part of the Governor-Generalship of Russian Turkestan, Khoḳand now

became an *oblast* under the ancient name of Farghāna. In the 1898 administrative re-organisation, Khokand became a *uezd* of the *oblast* of Farghāna. The town of Khokand itself continued to be the chief town of the region, with 11,636 inhabitants in 1911, but with the newly-founded town of New Marghilān, later Skobolev, as the governor's seat.

The Muslim peoples of the former khānate played a major rôle in the anti-Russian rebellions of 1916, when the Imperial government attempted to call up non-Russians for labour service in the war. In the following year, it was the focus of the Muslim movement for the autonomy of Turkestan as the Tsarist régime broke up, and in December 1917, the Fourth Extraordinary Regional Muslim Congress met in the town of Khokand and declared the autonomy of Turkestan. Early in 1918, however, the Tashkend Soviet declared the government set up in Khokand under Muṣṭafā Čakayev to be counter-revolutionary, and in February 1918 Red Army forces attacked the town of Khokand, which was defended only by a hastily-raised Muslim militia, captured it, and conducted a savage massacre in which several thousands of the inhabitants were killed. After this, Muslim desires for self-determination in the region were expressed by the guerilla activities of the Basmačis [*q.v.*].

Under the Soviets, Khokand forms a *rayon* or district of the Fargana *oblast* of the Uzbek SSR. It is now an important centre for light industry, in which silk and linen manufactures are prominent. The palace of Khudāyār is now the town's museum. The population in 1970 was 133,000.

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(W. Barthold - [C. E. Bosworth])

KHOKARS, a powerful hill-tribe inhabiting the Jehlum area in the north-west of the undivided Panjab. The Khokars were a dominant race of the province at the time of the first Muslim invasion of the Indian sub-continent; their origins are as shrouded in mystery as those of any other Panjab tribe, but that they were originally Hindus seems hardly open to question.

The earliest mention of the Khokars occurs in Ḥasan Niẓāmī's *Tādj al-ma'āthir* which refers to an insurrection of the tribe under their chiefs named Bakan and Sarki. The next contemporary chronicle to contain a reference to the Khokars is Minhādj-i Sirādj's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, which says that they were encouraged by Malik Khusraw, the last Ghaznawid ruler of Lāhawr, to rise against their Djammū overlords. History also records a military contact near Lāhawr between the Khokars and a force of the fugitive Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārazmī in 620/1223.

Extending their sway beyond their traditional stronghold in the country between the Jehlum and the Chenab, the Khokars held a considerable area east of the Beas. In 647/1250 they were masters of most of the upper part of the Panjab, but they are no more heard of until the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluḳ when they again created disturbance. Yaḥyā Sirhindī's *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārakshāhī* describes the seizure of Lāhawr in 797/1394 by the Khokar chief Shaykhā and his long-standing feud with Sārang Khān, governor of Dipālpur, resulting in the former's defeat.

The Khokars played a significant role in offering resistance to the invading hordes of Tīmūr in India. After Shaykhā's arrest by Tīmūr in 801/1398, the Khokars disappear from history, but his son Djasrat, who escaped from Samarḳand, whither Tīmūr had taken him as a prisoner, emerges later in 823/1420 as a force to reckon with. For more than twenty years, this indefatigable Khokar warrior proved to be the cause of constant worry to the Sultans of Dihli. In 845/1441, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh conferred Dipālpur and Lāhawr on Bahlūl Lōdī and charged him to chastise Djasrat, but the wily Khokar came to terms with Bahlūl and urged him to oust the Sayyids and occupy Dihli. However, Djasrat was murdered in 846/1442 by his queen, a daughter of Bhim Deo, Rādjā of Djammū, because her father had been put to death by him. After Djasrat, the Khokars were left leaderless, and coupled with the rise of the Lōdī power in the Panjab, the Khokar ambitions finally came to nought.

Scholars and historians have often confused the Khokars with the Gakkhars, a totally distinct tribe, settled in the same province. Firishta in all probability means Khokars when he describes the Gakkhars as a race of wild barbarians, devoid of religion or morality, practising polyandry and female infanticide. Similarly, in his article, *A history of the Gakkhars*, in *JASB*, xl/1 (1871), I. G. Delmerick has attributed the achievements of the Khokars to the Gakkhars. As a matter of fact, the Khokars were spread all over the central districts of the Panjab centuries before the Gakkhars acquired a foothold in the Salt Range, to which they remained traditionally confined (cf. H. A. Rose, *The Khokars and the Gakkhars in the Punjab history*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xxxvi (1907), 1-9).

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KHOMAYR [see khumayr].

KHOSRAW [see khosrew, khusraw, kisrā].

KHOSREW BEG, sandjaḳ beg of Bosnia, was born in Serez (Macedonia) *ca.* 885/1480. His mother, the princess Seldjūḳ, was a daughter of Sultan Bāyazīd II [*q.v.*], his father Ferhād being a South Slav

from Herzegovina (C. Truhelka has shown that "Radivoj, the brother of the Sultan's son-in-law", to whom the people of Ragusa [*q.v.*] sent gifts, was Ferhād's brother). Taking part in Sultan Süleymān's campaign against Belgrade (927/1521), Khosrew Beg was appointed *sandjak beg* of Bosnia on 13 Shawwāl/15 September of the same year, a fortnight after the conquest of the city. Having stayed four years in Sarajevo, he was removed from office because he failed at the siege of Yayče. Some six months later he returned to his post, which he kept until he died, over sixty years old, in 948/1541, except for an interruption of a few years (1533-6), during which he was at Belgrade *sandjak beg* of Semendria.

Distinguishing himself by his successful campaign, Khosrew Beg was nick-named *Ghāzī*; even today he is well-known among the Bosnian Muslims by the name of *Gazi Husrev-beg*. Due to his military activities, Turkish power spread widely in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (Obrovač, Yayčel, Banğaluka, Požega, Klis, Gorјan).

His campaign brought Khosrew Beg great riches which he spent on enlarging Sarajevo. During his governorship, the city grew into an important centre. Three charters of foundation (*wakfiyye*) attest his activities: two (938/1531 and 944/1537) for the Khosrew Beg mosque (*Begova džamija*) next to which was erected the mausoleum (*türbe*) in which he was buried, and one (943/1537) for the *Kuršumlija medresa*. The *Begova džamija* is one of the most outstanding specimens of Islamic architecture in Yugoslavia, and an imposing monument of the Turkish period in Sarajevo. The *wakf* founded by Khosrew Beg has been of great importance for the city of Sarajevo and for the cultural life of the Muslims in Bosnia and Hezergovina in general. Up to the 20th century, many public buildings were erected with its revenues. It still exists, but much property was lost in the 11th/17th century, especially at the great fire in 1697 when Prince Eugene of Savoy made his breakthrough at Sarajevo. In course of time, many estates belonging to the *wakf* were lost, including recently at the land-reform in Yugoslavia after 1918.

In the charter of foundation of the *medrese*, Khosrew Beg ordered a library to be attached to the school. During the governership of Topal ʿOthmān Pasha in Bosnia (1861-9), the library was separated from the school, and the books were transferred in 1864. After 1867 books and documents from other libraries and institutions were brought to this library, known as *Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka*. In 1963 it held 6,456 Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts, and many have been added since. There are also *ca.* 3,500 documents of the Turkish period, 400 charters of foundation and 84 registers (*sidjill*) of the *ḳāḍī*s of Sarajevo.

Other monuments in the town for which Khosrew Beg was responsible include a *khānaḳāh*, a *ḥammām*, a *bedesten* of 90 stalls and the Ṭashlī Khān, a caravanserai provided with 60 lodgings.

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(B. Djurdjev and J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont)

KHOSREW, Mollā, a famous Ottoman jurist, whose real name was Meḥmed b. Farāmurz b. ʿAlī. According to one statement he was of Turkoman (tribe of Warsaḳ) descent and born in the village of Ḳarghīn (half way between Sīwās and Toḳat); according to others, however, he was of "Frankish" descent and the son of a "French" nobleman who had adopted Islām. According to Saʿd al-Dīn his father was of Romaic (*Rūm*) descent. Khosrew became a pupil of the famous disciple of Taftazānī, Burhān al-Dīn Ḥaydar of Herāt (cf. *Isl.*, xi, 61 and Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, ii, 430), and received a teaching post in the Shāh Malik *medrese* in Adrianople; in 848/1444 he became *ḳāḍī* of Adrianople and later *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rumelia. On the death of Khiḍr Beg [*q.v.*], the first *ḳāḍī* of Constantinople, he succeeded him and was at the same time *müderris* at the Aya Ṣofya. Feeling hurt at Mollā Kurānī [*q.v.*] being promoted over him, he went to Bursa in 867/1462 and built a *medrese* there. In 874/1469 he returned to Istanbul by command of the Sulṭān, became *Shaykh al-Islām* and died there in 885/1480. His body was taken to Bursa and buried in the court of the mosque founded by him. He also founded a mosque in Istanbul, which bears his name (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 201; J. von Hammer, *GOR*, ix, 87, No. 428).

Mollā Khosrew was a celebrated jurist, many of whose pupils became famous in after life. He also attained a wide reputation as an author. His two most important works are the often-annotated *Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ Ghurar al-aḥkām* on the principles of legal practice, written in 877-83/1473-7 (printed at Cairo 1294 and 1305), also a dogmatic work *Mirḳāt al-wuṣūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl* (printed at Cairo 1262 and Istanbul 1304). On other works by him, cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 589 ff. and Brockelmann, II, 226-7.

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(F. Babinger)

KHOSREW PASHA, Bosniak (?-1041/1632), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Bosnian in origin, Khosrew was taken into the palace service and rose to the office of *silāḥdār*. When, in Muḥarram 1033/October-November 1623, the dissident (*zorba*) *oda bashı*s of the Janissaries demanded the replacement of their *agha* by someone not of the corps, Khosrew passed out of the *enderūn-i humāyūn* to become *Yeñi-čeri aghası*.

The state was at this time going through a critical period: the dominance of the Janissaries in internal affairs had reached new heights with the execution of ʿOthmān II (Radjab 1031/May 1622); Ābāza (Meḥ-

med) Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] was in revolt in Erzurum; and the Ṣafawid S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I was soon to take Bag̲h̲dād (Rabīʿ I 1033/January 1624). In S̲h̲aʿbān 1033/May 1624 K̲h̲osrew Ag̲h̲a, as *ag̲h̲a* of the Janissaries, left Istanbul with the *ḳapiḳulu* soldiery in the train of the Grand Vizier Čerkes Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [see MUḤAMMAD PAS̲H̲A ČERKES], who had been given the command against Ābāza Pas̲h̲a. K̲h̲osrew is mentioned as having fought courageously in the victory over Ābāza's forces near Kayseri in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1033/September 1624. When Čerkes Meḥmed died in winter quarters in Tokat (Rabīʿ II 1034/January 1625), K̲h̲osrew and the *bas̲h̲defterdār*, Bāḳī Pas̲h̲a, wrote to the capital urging the appointment of the *beglerbegi* of Diyārbekir, Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] as his successor, an action K̲h̲osrew came to regret on learning that he himself might have been considered for the office. Though he was soon after given the rank of vizier, he is said by Pečewī, then with the army, not to have been able to overcome his disappointment and to have hoped that Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed might fail in the subsequent campaign against Bag̲h̲dād (Pečewī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 403, 405).

In Ramaḍān 1034/June 1625 K̲h̲osrew and the forces which had wintered in Tokat joined the army under Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed to march against Bag̲h̲dād. The ensuing siege of that city, which lasted for nearly eight months (Ṣafar-S̲h̲awwāl 1035/November 1625-July 1626), was unsuccessful, but K̲h̲osrew again distinguished himself by his bravery, especially when the Ottomans were near to rout in the third of the battles (Ramaḍān 1035/June 1626) with a relieving force of some 30,000 soldiers under S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās himself. (For an undated imperial decree sent to K̲h̲osrew during this siege, see Ferīdūn Beg, *Muns̲h̲aʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1264-5, ii, 89-90).

Following the failure at Bag̲h̲dād, both Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a and K̲h̲osrew Ag̲h̲a were dismissed (Rabīʿ I 1036/December 1626), though neither was disgraced. Summoned to the capital by the sultan, Murād IV, K̲h̲osrew arrived in Rad̲j̲ab 1036/March-April 1627 and was made a *ḳubbe* vizier (and thus Pas̲h̲a). The inability of the new Grand Vizier, K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a, to counter the renewed threat from Ābāza Pas̲h̲a in 1627 led to the former's dismissal. The sultan is said to have placed great trust in K̲h̲osrew Pas̲h̲a's courage and in his ability to control the army (Pečewī, ii, 409); and in the consultation over the choice of a new Grand Vizier the arguments of the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* Yaḥyā Efendi that it was time to try a new face and that K̲h̲osrew's unparalleled reputation for valour made him the best man for the post silenced the other ministers. Because there were viziers senior to him, notably the *ḳāʾim maḳām* Rad̲j̲ab Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], he was not made Grand Vizier immediately but was first appointed governor of Diyārbekir and sent to İzmit, where the imperial seal was delivered to him on 1 S̲h̲aʿbān 1037/6 April 1628. In his letter of appointment he was charged first with subduing Ābāza Pas̲h̲a, then with marching against the Ṣafawids; and he was also given wide discretion in the making of appointments and the administration of affairs generally (see Ferīdūn Beg, ii, 90-5, for the *berāt*).

Having made careful preparations for the campaign against Ābāza, K̲h̲osrew moved towards Tokat. Through harsh measures against wrongdoers and those whom he regarded as having failed in their duty, he succeeded in establishing strict discipline in the army. He reached Tokat on 28 Ramaḍān 1037/1 June 1628, where he remained for some seven weeks before a report that Ābāza, concerned by desertions from his forces, was seeking aid from S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās spurred him to move quickly against Erzurum. His considerable reputation for bravery persuaded increasing numbers of Ābāza's followers to desert to him, a tendency which he further encouraged by treating the deserters well. Ābāza had laid siege to Ḥasanḳale but returned to Erzurum on hearing of K̲h̲osrew's advance. At the suggestion of the governor of Ḥasanḳale, K̲h̲osrew advanced on Erzurum at great speed with a picked force, arriving before Ābāza could complete his preparations (29 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥijja 1037/30 August 1628). During the siege which followed, K̲h̲osrew again encouraged desertions by promises of pardon and employment in the army. Recognising the impossibility of resistance, Ābāza surrendered on terms on 23 Muḥarram 1038/22 September 1628, and K̲h̲osrew thus brought to an end a problem which had bedevilled the state for some six years. A Ṣafawid force coming to Ābāza's aid was surprised and defeated by the governor of Ḳars, its commander, S̲h̲amsī K̲h̲ān, being captured and sent to K̲h̲osrew. Having decided not to winter in the field, K̲h̲osrew returned to Istanbul with both Ābāza and S̲h̲amsī K̲h̲ān in his train and made a triumphal entry into the city on 12 Rabīʿ II/9 December. Ābāza, pardoned in accordance with the terms of the surrender, was appointed governor of Bosnia.

Though K̲h̲osrew fell ill in the spring of 1629, he recovered and was appointed commander for the campaign to retake Bag̲h̲dād. He left Üsküdār on 18 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1038/9 July 1629 and arrived in Mosul on 1 D̲j̲umādā I 1039/17 December 1629. An unusually hard winter, with continuous heavy rains and even snow, caused severe flooding over a large area and created great difficulties for the army. On 13 D̲j̲umādā II/28 January 1630 the army left Mosul for Bag̲h̲dād. Having suffered considerable losses of men and matériel in the crossing of the flooded river Zāb, K̲h̲osrew convened a *dīwān* in which it was decided that to besiege Bag̲h̲dād in the present conditions was impossible and that the time would be better spent in a pre-emptive attack on the ruler of Ardalān [*q.v.*], K̲h̲ān Aḥmad, who might otherwise threaten their rear. As the army advanced, many of the Kurdish *begs* submitted to K̲h̲osrew. Reaching the district of S̲h̲ahrizūr, K̲h̲osrew was persuaded to rebuild the fortress of Gulʿanbar, built by Sulaymān I and subsequently destroyed by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās. The work was begun on 1 S̲h̲aʿbān 1039/16 March 1630 and took some fifty days to complete. During the stay at Gulʿanbar, K̲h̲osrew sent a force to take the fortress of Mihribān, on the road to Hamad̲h̲ān. The garrison surrendered, but the Ottoman force was then attacked by a Ṣafawid army under the *k̲h̲ān-i k̲h̲ānān*, Zaynal K̲h̲ān. In the ensuing battle the Ottomans, with some difficulty, won the day (22 Ramaḍān/5 May). Moving further east, the Ottomans sacked the palace of K̲h̲ān Aḥmad at Ḥasanabād and, on 27 S̲h̲awwāl/9 June, reached Hamad̲h̲ān, which had been evacuated by the Ṣafawids. They laid waste the city, and, with the intention of marching on Ḳazwīn, advanced to Darguzīn, which they also sacked. It was there decided that an attack on Ḳazwīn would prove both difficult and ultimately pointless and that it was past time to return to the main aim of the campaign, the recovery of Bag̲h̲dād which was now some sixty stages distant. The army departed from Darguzīn on 10 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1039/21 June 1630 and marched towards Bag̲h̲dād, meeting serious resistance only from the ruler of Luristān, sent against them by S̲h̲āh Ṣafī, whom they overcame on the plain of Čamk̲h̲āl, near Nihāwand, on 3 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥijja/14 July. Reaching the environs of Bag̲h̲dād in early Septem-

ber, Khosrew began on 28 Ṣafar 1040/6 October 1630 what proved to be a fruitless siege of the city. Five days after an unsuccessful full-scale assault on 3 Rabīʿ II/9 November it was decided to withdraw. During the course of the siege Khosrew had been persuaded by the local Arabs to garrison the fortress at Ḥilla; and leaving a sizeable force there, he departed with the army for Mosul, where he arrived on 7 Djumādā/I/12 December. While the army dispersed for the winter, Khosrew, in ill-health, prepared to winter in Mosul.

When the news that the Ottomans had abandoned the siege of Baghdād reached Kurdistan and the Shāh, an army under Khān Aḥmad attacked the Ottoman garrison at Dertenek. The defenders fled to the newly-built fortress at Shahrizūr (Gulʿanbar) which was subsequently attacked by a large army under Khān Aḥmad and the Ṣafawid *khān-i khānān*; news of their advance caused the Kurdish *begs* to switch their allegiance to the Ṣafawids. The garrison at Shahrizūr evacuated the fortress, but subsequently engaged the Kurdish-Ṣafawid army in battle, only to be heavily defeated; three of the Ottoman commanders reached Mosul on 18 Djumādā I/23 December and were put to death by Khosrew. The victors meanwhile destroyed Gulʿanbar. A Ṣafawid army under Shāh Ṣafī then laid siege to Ḥilla, which they succeeded in taking despite stout resistance. The loss of Shahrizūr and the siege of Ḥilla persuaded Khosrew to retire to the relative safety of Mārdīn. Having made arrangements for the repair of the fortifications at Mosul, he left on 18 Djumādā II/22 January 1631 and arrived in Mārdīn on the 29th/2 February. (For further details of the Hamadhān/Baghdād campaign from the Ṣafawid side, see Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Dhayl-i Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. Suhaylī Khwānsārī, Tehran 1938, 39 ff.)

From Mārdīn a request was sent to the capital for men (in particular a large force of Tatars), money and supplies for another campaign against Baghdād in 1631. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1040/June 1631 Khosrew moved to Ḳočḥiṣār, a short distance to the south-west of Mārdīn, where he spent the summer months awaiting the arrival of the Tatars, several thousand of whom had set out in the spring, and trying to decide on his course of action. When he finally determined to move towards Mosul (Ṣafar 1041/September 1631), heat, fatigue and disease had so affected the army that it was urged that the campaign be abandoned until the following year. Khosrew had little choice but to agree and retired toward Diyārbekir where he entered winter quarters on 3 Rabīʿ II/29 October.

By this time, however, he had already been replaced as Grand Vizier by Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha, the decision to do so having been taken in Istanbul on 29 Rabīʿ I 1041/25 October 1631. Naʿīmā (*Taʾrīkh*, iii, 76-9) lists a number of underlying reasons for his dismissal, chief among them his excessive dependence upon, and consequent currying of favour with, the troublesome elements in the army (*zorbas*), this in turn leading to instances of oppression and malfeasance (see also ii, 441-3, where Naʿīmā gives details of Khosrew's securing the dismissal of a *Yeñičeri kâtibi* who had been appointed with specific instructions from the sultan to end the abuses in the enrolment of Janissaries and to prevent improper entries in the registers of the corps). The decisive factor, however, appears to have been his failure to retake Baghdād despite a substantial investment of men and resources. When the news of his dismissal reached Diyārbekir (21 Rabīʿ II/16 November), the army immediately protested, threatening to kill the messenger who had brought the news and urging Khosrew to remain until they could make representations to the capital on his behalf. Khosrew calmed them, however, accepted his dismissal and left Diyārbekir (26 Rabīʿ II/21 November), surrendering the imperial seal in the vicinity of Malaṭya. A recurrence of gout forced him to halt in Tokat, where he was to remain until his death.

Khosrew Pasha's dismissal became the focus of a serious rebellion in the capital, incited, it is said, by the vizier Radjab Pasha, who coveted the Grand Vizierate. Those involved were the *ḳapiḳulu* who had been recalled from Diyārbekir for the winter and a number of individual *zorbas* who, having built up their own followings and made themselves virtually independent in various parts of Anadolu and Rūmeli, had agreed to attempt to restore Khosrew to the Grand Vizierate and had converged on the capital. Demandding the deaths of seventeen leading men identified as those who had brought about Khosrew's dismissal, the rebels succeeded in assassinating Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha, who was replaced by Radjab Pasha (19 Radjab 1041/10 February 1632: Pečewī, ii, 420, wrongly cites the execution, not the dismissal, of Khosrew as the cause of this rebellion). Deeply angered by these events, Murād IV held Khosrew to be the cause and determined on his execution. Appointing Murtaḍā Pasha to the governorship of Diyārbekir, he charged him secretly with putting Khosrew to death. Despite opposition from the people of Tokat as well as Khosrew's followers, this end was accomplished when Khosrew ordered an end to resistance and accepted his fate. The news of his death, which became public knowledge in the capital on 19 Shaʿbān 1041/11 March 1632, provoked yet another serious rebellion, forming part of the general disorder which obtained until Murād IV was able decisively to assert his authority in June of the same year.

Though Khosrew Pasha is credited in the sources with considerable personal bravery and with taking great pains in the preparation of his campaigns, these qualities are overshadowed by what is regarded as his excessive severity, even bloodthirstiness, to demonstrate which numerous examples are given. On this aspect of his character Naʿīmā remarks: "He had no hesitation in putting to death men whose execution neither the *sharʿ* nor reason required, who perhaps did not deserve so much as a rebuke" (iii, 77). His success over Ābāza Pasha, a considerable achievement, is seen as having made him arrogant and headstrong, qualities which fitted ill with his relative inexperience. In the accounts of the Hamadhān/Baghdād campaign he is faulted from the military point of view for having allowed himself to be persuaded by the Kurds to rebuild Gulʿanbar and by the Arabs to garrison Ḥilla, since neither was defensible unless Baghdād were taken, and both projects, though each in a different way, were distractions from that basic aim. In contrast to the generally unfavourable impression of him, and especially of his character, which emerges from the sources, however, one might note the apparently spontaneous protest by the army at his dismissal; the attempt by the people of Tokat to defend him; and, while allowing for the selfish ends of some of those involved, the strong reactions aroused in Istanbul first by his dismissal and then by his execution. These events suggest that he was, perhaps, more widely admired, even at the end, than the sources, and particularly Naʿīmā, would lead one to believe.

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Taʾrikh, Istanbul 1281-3, ii, 293, 320, 343-4, 378-80, 401-3; 419-49 *passim*; iii, 2-105 *passim*; Munadjdjim Bashī, 661, 663-8; ʿOthmānzāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīkat al-wuzarāʾ*, 74-6; Ferīdūn Beg, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1264-5, ii, 87-96; Murtaḍā Naẓmī-zāde, *Gulshan-i khulafāʾ*, Istanbul 1143, 74 ff.; *Relation de ce qui s'est passé entre les armées du Grand Seigneur et du Roy de Perse depuis la fin de l'année 1629 jusqu'à présent, où est descrit le troisième siège de Babylone*, Paris 1631; *İA*, art. *Ḥusrev Paşa* (H. İnalcık). (H. İNALCIK - R. C. REPP)

KHOSREW PASHA, DIVĀNE or DELI, Ottoman governor and vizier, and elder brother of Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*]. He was a Janissary of Bosnian origin, but became a deserter at the outset of his career, and for several years lived an adventurous life, as evoked by ʿĀlī in his *Kunh al-akhbār*. He returned to grace at an unknown date, and then became food-taster (*čashnigīr*) at the Palace, intendant of the corps of guards (*ḳapudjī*) and then equerry to the sultan. His conduct during the Čāldirān campaign gained him the governorship (*beglerbeglik*) of Ḳaramān on 25 August 1514. He took part in the conquest of Diyārbakr in 1515, in the Egyptian campaign of 1516-17, and in the suppression of the Ḳïzïlbash revolt of Shāh Welī in 1520 and that of Djānbirdī Ghazālī [*q.v.*] in the following year.

At the beginning of 1521 he became *beglerbeg* of Anatolia, and then of Diyārbakr at the death at the end of that same year of Bïyïḳlï Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]; he was to remain for ten years in this post at Āmid, with responsibility for watching over the security of the frontiers with Ṣafawid Persia and for consolidating Ottoman authority in the Kurdish principalities which had recently rallied to the Porte. During the winter of 1531-2, his disputes with Ulama Pasha, a Ṣafawid refugee who had been made commander-in-chief of the troops in eastern Anatolia and was at that time in favour with the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, led to his dismissal. In 1532 he became governor of Anatolia for a second time, and took part in the "German" campaign of that same year. Trace is then lost of him until he turns up as *sandjaḳ begi* of Aleppo and then *beglerbeg* of Damascus in 1534, and charged with various military duties during the "campaign of the two ʿIrāḳs". Whilst the Ottoman army was wintering at Baghdad in 1534-5, the sultan nominated him as *beglerbeg* of Egypt in place of Khādim Süleymān Pasha [*q.v.*].

Khosrew Pasha's brief tenure of office in Cairo (February 1535-December 1536) was marked by such an enormous increase in the revenue from Egypt (*irsāliyya* [*q.v.*]) that the Porte had suspicions about the legality of the means used to collect it. A commission of enquiry was unable to prove his guilt, but he was nevertheless dismissed from his office. In fact, the evidence on his administration in Diyārbakr and in Egypt reveals a brutal, largely unscrupulous and highly mendacious official, but also a remarkably efficient one. The Ottoman chroniclers of Egypt (Yūsuf, Meḥmed b. Yūsuf al-Khallāḳ and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) stress moreover the unusual prosperity and security which the land enjoyed under his rule.

He was replaced at Cairo by the powerful vizier Khādim Süleymān Pasha, whose previous ten years' tenure of the governorship he had endeavoured to denigrate in the eyes of the Porte, evoking in Khādim Süleymān Pasha a tenacious hatred against him. For the third time, Khosrew Pasha became *beglerbeg* of Anatolia at the beginning of 1537, and then of Rumelia in June 1538. His services during his tenure of these offices (the Moldavian campaign of 1538 and the capture of Castelnuovo in 1539) led the sultan to appoint him as fourth vizier in 1541, Khādim Süleymān Pasha being Grand Vizier and Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*] second vizier. It seems very probable that the latter's ambitions were the cause of the ruin of the other two. As the sultan's son-in-law and enjoying the support of his influential mother-in-law Khürrem Sulṭān, Rüstem was able to rouse against each other very skilfully the old enemies Khādim Süleymān and Khosrew in such a way that they came to blows in the sultan's presence in 1544 and were both deprived of office for this affair. Rüstem Pasha then became Grand Vizier. In despair at having lost his offices and powers, Khosrew Pasha allowed himself to starve to death in this year, one of the very rare cases of suicide amongst Ottoman officials of this period.

Bibliography: J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, *Notes et documents sur Dīvâne Ḥüsrev Paşa*, in *RO* (1979), and bibliography cited there.

(J.-L. BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT)

KHOSREW PASHA, MEḤMED (?-1271/1855), Ottoman Grand Vizier, educated in the Palace and raised to the post of head *čukhadār* on the accession of Selīm III [*q.v.*] in 1203/1789. He entered the service of Küčük Ḥüseyn Pasha, a protagonist of military and naval reform, who became Admiral (*Ḳapudan-i deryā*) in 1206/1792. In 1215/1801 Khosrew sailed with the fleet to Egypt, where he commanded a force of 6,000 and co-operated with the British in the recapture of Rashīd and the defeat of French forces. In recognition of his services he was soon afterwards appointed *wālī* of Egypt.

In Egypt he attempted to establish the *niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*] army and disband the irregular *bashi bozuḳ* troops imported from Rumelia for the war against the French. When he attempted to stop their pay, the *bashi bozuḳ* forces rose in revolt and defeated Khosrew's own troops. Then Ṭāhir Pasha attacked Khosrew, forcing him to withdraw to Damietta and declared himself *wālī* of Egypt. Shortly afterwards, Ṭāhir was murdered, leaving Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and the Mamlūks real masters of Egypt. In Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1218/July 1803, the Mamlūks defeated Khosrew near Damietta and threw him into prison. On his release by Muḥammad ʿAlī 8 months later, he was removed from the governorship of Egypt.

His next appointment was as *wālī* of Diyārbekir (1218-19/1803-4), followed by various governorships in Rumelia. He was active in the Russo-Turkish war which broke out in 1221/1806 as *wālī* of Silistra and military commander on the Danube front. In recognition of his services, he was appointed *Ḳapudan-i deryā* in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1225/January 1811 and commanded the Ottoman fleet in the Black Sea until the conclusion of a peace in Ramaḍān 1227/September 1812. He was dismissed in 1233/1818, and afterwards served in a number of provincial governorships. As *wālī* of Erzurum he was appointed military commander (*serʿasker*) in the east, with instructions to pacify rebellious Kurdish tribes whose activities had led to a clash with Persia. However, his mishandling of the affair led to a rebellion by the former *mutaṣarrif* of Bāyezīd, while the Persians, taking advantage of the situation, captured Bāyezīd, Erdjīsh and Bitlīs. The Porte transferred him to the governorship of Ṭrabzon, and in Ṣafar 1237/September 1821 appointed in his place the former Grand Vizier Meḥmed Emīn Raʾūf Pasha.

With the outbreak of rebellion in the Morea, Khosrew Pasha was again appointed *Ḳapudan-i deryā* (Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1238/December 1822) and detailed to

pursue the rebels in the Aegean. For this purpose, he constructed a fleet of shallow-draught vessels, suitable for pursuit in shallow waters, and attempted to cut off sea communications between Morea and the islands, at the same time victualling Ottoman troops on the Greek mainland. However, during the siege of Missolonghi (1240-1/1825-6), rivalry often broke out between Khosrew and Muḥammad Alī's son Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], who was commanding an Egyptian force on the Sultan's behalf. Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad ʿAlī sought Khosrew's dismissal from the admiralty and were eventually succesful. He was instead appointed *wālī* of Anadolu (Anatolia).

Khosrew, however, retained the confidence of Maḥmūd II, who recognised him as a protagonist of military reforms and as being instrumental in introducing European tactics to the fleet. In 1242/1827 the Sultan therefore appointed him *serʿasker* of the newly formed army, the *ʿasākir-i manṣūre-yi muḥammadiyye*, where he also began to introduce European tactics and training techniques. His influence in the capital increased after the outbreak of war with Russia in 1243/1828, when he engineered the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Selīm Meḥmed Pasha and the appointment of his own former slave and nominee, Rashīd Meḥmed Pasha. He also secured a commandership on the front for his former slave Khalīl Rifʿat Pasha, and the dismissal of the *serʿasker* on the Russian front, Agha Ḥüseyn Pasha. Meanwhile, the Russians crossed the Balkans and advanced on Edirne. Khosrew advised the Sultan to seek a peace, at the same time taking extraordinary measures to prevent panic in Istanbul, to the extent even of executing certain advocates of surrender. This, and the unpopularity of his westernising measures in the army, almost provoked a popular revolt. He was present at the peace negotiations in the presence of the French, English and Prussian ambassadors. His influence was now at a height, and he used it to remove his rivals from positions in the government, replacing them with his own slaves, and to have the former Grand Vizier, Selīm Meḥmed Pasha, dismissed from the governorship of Rumelia.

During the Russo-Turkish war, Muḥammad ʿAlī had made excessive demands to the Sultan and was now threatening ʿAkkā. At this point, Mahmūd placed the matter in the hands of Khosrew who, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1247/April 1832 appointed Agha Ḥüseyn commander of the army in Anatolia. After Muḥammad ʿAlī's victory and advance on Istanbul, Khosrew invited military instructors from Europe, among them the famous Von Moltke. During this period he had the complete confidence of the Sultan, and his responsibility for the security of the capital and the fact that he advanced many of his numerous personal slaves to positions in the government, further increased his influence. By marrying his own men to the Sultan's daughters, he insinuated his way into Palace circles.

However, in Shawwāl 1252/January 1837, two of his own protégés, Khalīl and Saʿīd Pashas, secured his dismissal as *serʿasker*, while in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1253/June 1837, his great rival Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha became Foreign Minister. Khosrew was retired on a pension. His absence from public affairs did not last long. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1254/March 1838, he received the chairmanship of the Reform Committee (*medjlis-i wālā*) and presided over the councils which met in his villa to discuss the Egyptian question.

A further deterioration of affairs in Egypt and the death of Maḥmūd II in 1255/1839 caused a grave crisis in the empire. It was at this juncture that Khosrew literally seized power, by grabbing the Imperial Seal from the Grand Vizier, Raʾūf Pasha, during the funeral of Maḥmūd II, and declaring himself Grand Vizier. This led to the defection of his rival, the *Ḳapudan-i deryā*, Aḥmed Fevzī Pasha, who sailed with the fleet to Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt, with the intention of returning with Egyptian troops and deposing Khosrew. Muḥammad ʿAlī for his part, demanded Egypt and Syria for himself and the dismissal of Khosrew. Neither plan succeeded. Khosrew remained in his post, but the Foreign Minister, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, seized the initiative and, partly no doubt to win the sympathies of the European powers over the Egyptian question, had the famous *Khaṭṭ-i Sherīf* of Gülkhāne proclaimed, marking the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] era. Khosrew was still Grand Vizier, but Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha now had the sympathies of the Palace and was able to press for his dismissal and the reinstatement of Raʾūf Pasha. He then had Khosrew tried and convicted for bribery by the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*medjlis-i wālā-yi aḥkām-i ʿadliyye*) and exiled in Djumādā 'l-Ūlā 1256/July 1840 to Tekirdaği.

In the following year, the Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd permitted his return to Istanbul, where a change in government permitted his return to power. In Ṣafar 1262/January 1846, he was appointed *serʿasker*, in which position he removed his predecessor Riḍāʾ Pasha's nominees and replaced them with his own men. During this period of office, he opened the Military School at Küčük Taḳsīm. However, later in the same year, he was removed from office, and the new Grand Vizier, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, took care to prevent his further rise to power. He died, at the age of more than ninety, on 13 Djumādā 'l-Ākhira 1271/3 March 1855.

Bibliography: see article *Ḥusrev Paşa* by Halil Inalcık in *İA*, of which the foregoing is a summary. (Ed.)

KHŌST, Arabic spellings Kh.w.st or Kh.wāst, the name of various places in Afghānistān. The most likely etymology for the name is that given by G. Morgenstierne in his *An etymological vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo 1928, 98: that it is an Iranised form **hwāstu*, cf. Skr. *suvāstu-* "good site" (which became the place-name Swāt [*q.v.*] in the North-West frontier region of Pakistan).

The mediaeval Arabic and Persian geographers mention what appear to be two places of this name in northern Afghānistān. Those of the 4th/10th century mention Khasht as a town on the upper Herī Rūd on the borders of Ghūr and Gharčistān (cf. Ibn Ḥawkal², 457, tr. 441, and Muḳaddasī, 349), and this is apparently the Khōst mentioned three centuries or so later by Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 244, as a town of Ghūr; see Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 410, 417.

Distinct from this seems to be the Khōst further north near Andarāb and on the borders of Badakhshān, the district which the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (end of the 4th/10th century) refers to as (?) Yūn, cf. tr. Minorsky, 109, 340-1, perhaps the Khuwāsht of Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 398, and the Kʿwat-sit-to of Hsüan-Tsang, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 241. It is frequently referred to in Tīmūrid and early Mughal times. In 884/1479 we hear of one Mīr ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs being given the governorship of Khōst, "one of the most important districts in Badakhshān and Ḳunduz" (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and tr. Elias and Ross, tr. 103). One of Bābur's wives, Māham, apparently came from here; his daughter Gul-rang was born here, and he visited it on various occasions, see the *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, index.

In modern times, the most important region bearing the name Khōst is that comprised within the modern Afghan province of Pakhtia, lying to the south of the Sefīd-Kūh range in the basin of the Kaitu, an affluent of the Kurram river which drains eastwards to the Indus; hence the ethnic and tribal connections of Khōst with the regions of Kurram, Kohat and northern Waziristan on the modern Pakistani side of the Durand Line have always been close. Khōst now forms an important forestry region of Afghānistān, and in the southern, sub-tropical zone, dates, citrus fruits, etc. are grown; recent Afghan governments have made considerable agricultural investment here (see J. Humlum *et alii*, *La geographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 101, 105, and J. C. Griffiths, *Afghanistan*, London 1967, 119-20). In the 1920s, Khōst was the epicentre of a conservative, traditionalist Pathan rebellion against the tentative reforms of King Amān Allāh, which seriously weakened the ruler's position and damaged the economic health of the country (March 1924-January 1925) (see W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan*³, London 1967, 204-6; V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan, politics of reform and modernization, 1880-1946*, Stanford 1969, 282-4; L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 449, 459, 479).

Finally, the *Imperial gazetteer of India*, iii, 138, vi, 306, mentions a Khōst in Balūčistān, the site of a small coalfield, 35 miles east of Quetta.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHOTAN, a town of the People's Republic of China, in the autonomous region of the Uyghurs. The town, and the territory which depends on its resources as an oasis, lie between the desert of Taklamakhan and the massif of Kuen-luen on the one hand, and the Kara-Kāsh and Yörüng-Kash rivers on the other. The kingdom of Khotan became known to the Chinese world in about 125 B.C., following the mission of Khang K'ien, under the name Yu-t'ien. The name represented by this transcription seems to have had no connection with the town of Yotkan. Although numerous archaeological relics have been found at that site, Yotkan cannot correspond to Yu-t'ien. In fact, according to Pelliot (*Notes on Marco Polo*, 412, s.v. "Cotan"), Yu-t'ien corresponds to *'Odan, with the variant *'Odon arising from the transcription Yu-tuen given by Hiuan-tsang (*ibid.*, 409); the name encountered in the Khotanese texts is just a transcription of the Chinese Yu-t'ien under the form Yüttina, while documents of the 4th century in Kharoshtī script give the form Khotana (L. G. Gercenberg, *Khotanosakskiy yazik*, 10). Yotkan is a ruined pre-Islamic cemetery, approximately 8 km. west of the town itself.

In fact, the kingdom of Khotan was not really known to the Chinese until after the conquest of the Tarim basin, carried out by Han Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.), in the years following 110 B.C. and through the reconquest by the later Han between 73 B.C. and *ca.* 170 A.D. Little is known of the history of the ruling dynasty and the name of the town is always transcribed Yu-t'ien in the Chinese sources. From the latter we learn that the population of the kingdom reached a total of 50,000. All that we can say is that this population spoke a language of Iranian type, which has become known as a result of discoveries made at the beginning of the 20th century and which has been deciphered principally by Lüders, Sten Konow and H. W. Bailey. It now seems that the Khotanese spoke a dialect of the Saka language.

It was in the course of the first centuries A.D. that the kingdom of Khotan received Buddhism. According to the Tibetan tradition, which agrees in some points with the account given by Hiuan-tsang, Buddhism was introduced to Khotan by a Kashmiri monk called Vairocana, during the reign, almost certainly legendary, of king Vijayasambhava (E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, in *Sinica Leidensia*, xi, Leiden 1972, 340-1). This assessment is confirmed by the fact that one of the oldest dated Buddhist monuments is from 269 A.D. (A. Stein, *Sand-buried ruins of Khotan*, 1902, 405).

In the 7th century, Hiuan-tsang writes in his *Memoirs* (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, ii, 299): "We arrive in the kingdom of K'iu-sa-tan-na. (*Note:*) In Chinese, this signifies "Breast of the Earth"; it is the formal name used in the region. The local language uses the expression "Kingdom of Huan-na". The Hiong-nou call it Yu-touen; the Hou (Iranians), Ho-tan; the Indians, K'iu-tan. Formerly they (the Chinese) called it Yu-t'ien; it is an incorrect form". (On this passage, cf. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, 409-17).

Thus, in the T'ang period, the polite and literary form is "Gostana" or "Gaustana", difficult to interpret according to Pelliot; the local language used the expression Xuân-nâ (Ḫuana?), this name faithfully rendering the name which appears in the Khotanese texts under the form Hvatāna, Hvamna, and Hvam; the nomads of the north would have pronounced it *'Odan or *'Odon, a name which is found much later in Syriac, translated from Persian, in the story "*The History of the Patriarch Mar Yaballahâ and the monk Rabban Sâumâ*, published by Chabot (Paris 1895, 22), where the latter identifies the town of "Lôtôn" with Khotan. In fact "Lôtôn" is an erroneous form from the Persian original, where the *lām* has appeared as a result of confusion with the initial *ālif*, whence we deduce the correct form "Odon" proposed by Pelliot fifty years ago, while Budge (*The monks of Kûblâi Khân*, London 1928, 138) and Montgomery (*The history of Yaballaha III*, New York 1927) have retained the form "Lôtôn". This form appears in the works of Kāshgharī (Brockelmann, 251), with "Odon" and "Khotan". Finally, the Iranians would have pronounced it Ho-tan (Xuât-tan) which assumes an original *Ḫwatan, precursor of the Khotan of the Muslims, while the Indians would have pronounced it K'iu-tan (*K'iut-tan) which presuppose a form Khutan or Khotan. The land was known to the Tibetans under the name of Li-yul, "land of Li", although they knew the town under the name of Hu-ten, which is just a transcription.

In the T'ang period, the kingdom of Khotan was bounded to the south by the Kuen-luen, while in the east its territory touched that of Kroraina (Niya, Čerčen and the Lob-Nor region), and in the west that of Kāshghar (Khyesa) which stretched from the Pamirs and T'ien-shan to Maralbashi and beyond. The language used throughout the Khotan region was Saka-Khotanese, which was related to the Tadjik vernacular of the Pamirs, of which no ancient evidence has yet been recovered, to the language of Kāshghar in the west and north, of which some traces have been recovered at Tumshuk (the Turkish name of a site whose ancient name has disappeared), and in the east to the language spoken in Kroraina, of which apparently no relics remain.

The kingdom of Khotan at that time had a large population which had, no doubt under the influence of Buddhism, lost all interest in expansion and showed an extreme aversion to matters of war; Hiuan-tsang noted that the Khotanese were remarkable

craftsmen with a considerable taste for literary pursuits, also for music and dance. The region was the centre of a considerable commercial activity, being placed on the southern branch of the Silk Route, which was in use throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages; through the Khotanese texts we possess accounts of the travels of officials to Kashmir and Kansu, which permit us to gain an acquaintance with the geography of Central Asia, in particular the names of towns; thus we find that Kāshghar is Kyesa, Niya is Niña, Čerčen is Ysabadā parrūm, Urumči is Yirrūmcinā, Turfan is Tturpanā, Leou-lan is Raurata, Yumen kouan is Kviyikye, etc.

The dynasty of the kings of Khotan in the T'ang period (7th-10th centuries), the family name of which was apparently Vija (preferable from Viśa) was in existence before that time, for the history of the Suei (83, 5b) mentions, according to Pelliot (*op. laud.*, 419) a king called Vijayavikrama; under the T'ang, the dynasty is known to us from a list which can be reconstructed from the texts of the History of the T'ang and which can be partially cross-checked by reference to the names preserved in the Khotanese texts; a certain number contained in the latter cannot be placed with certainty in this list; these are: Viṣanakhan, Viṣakirti, Viṣavikram and Viṣasagrama. On the other hand, there are some that can be dated, in particular the last kings of the dynasty: Viṣasambkhava (912-966), Viṣaśura (967-977) and Viṣadarma (978-982) (Gercenberg, *op. cit.*, 12). It was shortly afterwards that the kingdom of Khotan was conquered by recently-converted Muslim Turks; the kingdom of Khotan was henceforward to be one of the collection of Turkish states in the region which constituted Turkestan.

The town of Khotan, unlike Kāshghar and the northern part of the Tarim basin, is not mentioned by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* in the description of the Turkish tribes (§ 13, p. 96) in the section of the Yaghmā of eastern Turkestan, but in that of China (§ 9, p. 85). As the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* dates from the year 372/982-3, it may be supposed that in about the year 980, when king Viṣadarma, was alive, Khotan and its territory formed a sort of enclave between the region of Kāshghar which was occupied by the descendants of Satuḳ Bughrā Khān (died 344/955-6) and the territories belonging to China and Tibet; the king of Khotan, according to this source (p. 85), styled himself "Ruler of the Turks and the Tibetans" (*ʿaẓīm al-Turk wa 'l-Tubbat*).

A little later, Gardīzī, who was writing after 431/1040, reports (according to Barthold, *Otčet o poiezdkie v Srednyaya Aziya*, 94) that even the town of Kai (?), situated at fifteen days' march from Khotan in the direction of China, was under the domination of Toghuzghuz Turks (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 255). According to Gardīzī, the inhabitants of Khotan were Buddhists, but he mentions a Muslim cemetery to the north of the town (*ibid.*, 255, n. 3), and in the town itself two Christian churches, although no documentary evidence of this has been found. As regards the Muslim world, Gardīzī shows us that in the first half of the 5th/11th century, Muslim proselytism was already actively exercised in Buddhist circles, and it is possible that the implanting of this group was a contributory cause of subsequent events.

At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the Turkish rulers of Kashghār had become very powerful (Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 79 ff., particularly 88-90), and had founded the dynasty of the Ḳarākhānids (see ILEK-KHĀNS). The son of Bughrā Khān Hārūn, himself the grandson of Satuk Bughrā Khān, who called himself Ḳadir Khān Yūsuf and reigned in Kāshghar from about 401/1010, decided, for reasons unknown to us, to conquer the territory of Khotan. Seeing that he died in 423/1032 (Ibn al-Athīr s.a.), it is likely that the conquest of Khotan was accomplished sometime between the years 1013 and 1032, for we possess money struck in his name at Kāshghar and at Yarkand from 404/1013-14 onwards (A. Markov, *Inventarniy katalog*, etc., 192 ff.). On the conquests of Khotan, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*², 281, n. 2.

Later, Khotan, like Kāshghar, passed under the authority of the Ilek-Khāns [*q.v.*], and subsequently under that of the Ḳarā-Khitāy [*q.v.*]. After these events, the crisis arising in Central Asia as a result of the expansion of the Mongol empire led the Kharāzm-Shāh to make an agreement with Küčlüg, who had deposed and expelled his father-in-law, the Gür-Khān of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy, and a partition of the western sector of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy empire took place, between the two rulers, giving to the Khʷārazm-Shāh the territory to the east of the Syr-Daryā as far as the heights of Kāshghar and of Khotan (Barthold, *Turkestan*², 356-7); after his succession to the throne, Küčlüg, who had married the daughter of the Gür-Khān, a Buddhist fanatic, undertook a fierce persecution of Islam in the regions under his authority, particularly in Khotan, after his agreement with the Khʷārazm-Shāhs [*q.v.*]. According to Djuwaynī (tr. Boyle, 65-6, 70-3), Küčlüg persecuted the Muslims cruelly and crucified the *Imām* ʿAlā' al-Dīn Khotanī at the door of his *madrasa* in Khotan. In the time of Ḥaydar Mīrzā [*q.v.*], nothing more was known of this martyr; even his tomb was unknown (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. D. Ross, 218, and ch. xlii). Thus there was no indigenous historical tradition at Khotan, or if there was, the texts have been lost. Arabic and Persian geographical literature provides us with only the most meagre of information; the real situation is misrepresented by al-Samʿānī (f. 189b) and by Yāḳūt, who followed al-Samʿānī in his own writing (ii, 403).

Under the reign of Ögedey, Djuwaynī (tr. Boyle, 517) reports that "the lands between the banks of the Amū-Daryā and the frontiers of Khitāy were placed under the orders of the Chief Minister Maḥmūd Yalavač and of his son Masʿūd Beg; those included Transoxania, Turkestan, Otrār, the land of the Uyghurs, Khotan, Kāshghar, Djand, Khʷarazm and Farghāna". Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, tr. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York-London 1971, 94), also writes as follows: "The Ḳa'an (Ögedey) placed all the lands of Khiṭāy under (the orders of) Maḥmūd Yalavač, and (the region of) Besh-Balīḳ and Ḳarā Khodjo, with the territory of Uyghuristān, Khotan, Kāshghar, Almalīk, Qayalīḳ, Samarḳand and Bukhārā as far as the banks of the Oxus under (the orders of) Masʿūd Beg, the son of Yalavač". In the remainder of his work, he makes no further mention of Khotan; nevertheless, under the year 1253, Barthold (*12 Vorlesungen*, 184) writes as follows: "After the re-establishment of order, the frontiers of his government (sc. of Masʿūd Beg) were extended further: to him were subjected Transoxania, Turkestan, Otrār, the land of the Uyghurs, Khotan, Kāshghar, Djand, Khʷārazm and Farghāna". After the death of Mengü (Möngke) in 1259, a conflict arose between Ḳubilay [*q.v.*] and his younger brother Ariḳ-böge in the course of which a cousin of Ariḳ-böge, the Čaghatayid Alugu, took to himself the entire area entrusted to the authority of Masʿūd Beg; the latter appealed to Ariḳ-böge who gave him full authority to dispossess Alugu, but in the course of his mission he

went over to the side of Alugu who died *ca.* 1266. As Arik-böge had been eliminated during this period, Kubilay appointed in his place another Čaghatayid, Barak, who took possession of part of the former possessions of his grandfather Čaghatay, but Barak was compelled in his turn to submit to Kaydu, grandson of Ögedey, who sought to reconstitute the territory given to him by Čingiz Khān. (Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, 184-6). Finally, a more or less stable equilibrium was established between Kubilay and Kaydu, so much so that according to a passage of Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, i, 188; ed. Hambis, Paris 1955, 62-3), it is reported that in the 1270s Khotan was under the authority of the Emperor of China, while Yarkand depended on Kaydu.

While Central Asia was the object of partition between great powers, it is nevertheless certain (Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, 188-9) that a number of indigenous dynasties survived as vassals, especially at Khotan. In reference to these last, Barthold mentions some Persian verses of which the date is unknown, which were composed in honour of the sulṭan of Khotan, Munmish-Tegin, the last words being quoted in Turkish (*cändän bizī ey shah kigüyäd Turk "yavlak karl bolmish Munmish Tägin"*. Barthold (*op. cit.*, 195) also mentions the fact that Djamāl Karshī, in the appendices (*Mulḥakāt*) to his translation of an Arabic dictionary of the 4th/10th century, devotes considerable space to the town of Khotan, giving a brief description and a list of some persons native to the place. Again according to Barthold (*op. cit.*, 195), Muḥammad Ḥaydar (*op. cit.*, tr. Ross, 301) writing in Kāshgharia, distinguished according to his own terms, four classes at Kāshghar and at Khotan; first—*tümen*, the peasantry; second—*kawčin*, the army; third—*oymak*, the nomads (who were entitled to a certain quantity of grain, textile goods, etc.); and fourth—the class of the officials and the *ʿulamāʾ*.

Much later, it seems that Khotan shared the fate of other towns in the Tarim basin, in particular of Kāshghar and other towns in the same region; in the 18th century it was a part of the state established by the Khōdjas, who defeated the descendants of Čaghatay, and were compelled to submit to the domination of the Djungar, and later, in *ca.* 1760, to that of the Manchus who eliminated the Djungar. Later still, in the seventh decade of the 19th century, Khotan was obliged to accept temporary domination by Yaʿkūb Beg and after the death of the latter in 1877 to submit once again to the Manchus. With regard to a historical work completed on 11 Shaʿbān 1311/24 February 1894 in Khotan and dealing with events subsequent to 1280/1863, cf. *Bull de l'Acad.* (1921), 209; cf. also the chapter on the Khōdjas of Khotan in *Taʾrikh-i emeniyye*, ed. Pantusov, 161 ff. The principal source for the history of this region is provided by reference in the Chinese dynastic histories and in other works concerning the autonomous region of the Uyghurs itself, which have appeared in Chinese from the 18th century to the present day. It is there that the documentation concerning the town of Khotan is found.

The town itself, like all those in the Tarim basin, has known a variety of activities, but the silk industry which has continued from the Han period to the present day is the principal activity. At the time of writing, the industrialisation of the region is being developed by the People's Republic of China, although it is not possible to assess what progress is being made; it seems that the Chinese government is concentrating there on the search for raw materials. There is no certainty about the population figures; according to Kornilov, *Kashgariya*, Tashkent 1903, 273, the population amounted to only 15,000; according to E. and P. Sykes, *Through deserts and oases of Central Asia*, London 1920, 216, the population was 50,000.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, see especially E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, ii, 47 ff., 246 ff.; M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle 1908, 93 ff.; on the state of the Khōdjas and their connections with Khotan, cf. *idem*, *Der islamische Orient*, i, Berlin 1905, 195 ff. and the index. These sources may be completed by numerous works in Chinese.

(L. Hambis)

KHOTIN (in Ottoman Turkish usage Khōtīn; in modern Turkish and in Romanian, Hotin; Polish Choczim and variants; German Hwthyn (15th/century), Chotim, Chotin, Chotczyn, etc.; Italian (18th/century) Cucino; and other forms): a fortress and town on the right (formerly Moldavian) bank of the Dnestr (Turla), 20 km. south of Kamenets Podolsk (Kamaniče [see KAMĀNIČA]). Khotin is now (since the end of World War II) in the Ukrainian S.S.R., and forms the administrative centre of the *rayon* of the same name in the *oblast* of Černovits (Cernauti, Czernowitz).

Khotin, which occupied an easily-defensible site at the point where the important mediaeval trade route from the Baltic to Constantinople crossed the Dnestr, was from the mid-14th to the late 18th century a military stronghold and commercial entrepôt of some importance. The region of Khotin, which was, in the 16th and 17th centuries, disputed between Poland and Moldavia, had attracted Ottoman attention as early as the reign of Meḥemmed II, and in the 16th century Muslim merchants frequented the route via Khotin to Poland. Khotin was besieged unsuccessfully by ʿOthman II in 1030/1621; thereafter it was restored to Moldavian control, and is so described by Ewliyā Čelebī, who visited it in the retinue of Melek Aḥmed Pasha in 1658 (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, 124-5). In 1084/1673 Khotin was occupied by the Poles, but it was regained by the Ottomans in the following campaign season (Silaḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 628 ff.). The Ottoman occupation of Podolia in 1083/1672 carried the frontiers of the Empire beyond the Dnestr, but with the retrocession to Poland of Podolia, and the evacuation of Kamaniča in 1110/1699, Khotin became the most important Ottoman fortress in the region of the upper Dnestr; this importance was to increase in the course of the 18th century, as the conflict with Russia became ever more acute.

Khotin was occupied by the Russians in 1713; on its return to the Ottomans in 1125/1714, the old fortifications were rebuilt and increased in height by more than a half, as part of a general strengthening and rebuilding programme, which was supervised by a special commission sent from Istanbul. The contemporary Moldavian historian Cantemir described the Khotin of this period as the most elegant and well-fortified town of Moldavia, praise which is echoed in an Ottoman description of the town written at the same time. Also in 1125/1714, Khotin and its surrounding districts were removed from the jurisdiction of Moldavia and reorganised as an *eyālet*, as part of the strengthened Ottoman frontier defences along the right bank of the Dnestr, becoming, in the words of a German observer, "die einzige Vormauer der Moldau".

The 18th century stronghold of Khotin consisted of the medieval *ič kalʿe* and the more extensive new outer works encircling the old fortress on three sides.

In the outer walls were four gates: their names are variously given as the Istanbul (or Jassy) gate, the Temeshvar gate, the Water Gate and the Ukraine or Bender gate. Within the outer fortress were two baths, two principal mosques and, near the Istanbul gate, a *bezestān*. Inside the Istanbul gate, on the right, lay the barracks of the artillery and the supply-train, the residences of their *aghas*, and the headquarters of the *defterdār*. On the left was a large and well-constructed reserve granary. Further towards the *ič ḳalʿe* were situated another bath, the office of the *yeñičeri aghasī*, and the barracks of the Janissaries of the fortress. Higher up, towards the old fortress, was situated the *serāy* of the *pasha* of Khotin, and the mosque of the *wālide sulṭān*. Khotin was, however, yet again occupied several times by Russian forces in the course of the 18th century: in 1152/1739 (by Münnich) and again in 1183/1769 (by Galitsin). In 1788 Khotin was occupied by an Austrian force; later, after the conclusion of the Peace of Jassy, Khotin was restored for the last time to Ottoman rule. After 1806 it remained in Russian hands, except for the period 1918-47 when the territories south of the Dnestr formed part of Romania.

Bibliography: I. Dlugosz, *Historiae Polonicae libri xii*, Leipzig 1711, ii, 544 ff.; St. Sarnicius, *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae*, Cracow 1585; N. Iorga, *Studiĭ istorice asupra Chilieĭ şi Cetăţiĭ-Albe*, Bucharest 1899, index, s.v. Hotin; J. Nistor, *Die auswärtigen Handelsbeziehungen der Moldau im XIV., XV., und XVI. Jhdt.*, Gotha 1911; Pečevi, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 376 ff.; J. Sobieski, *Commentariorum Chotinensis belli libri tres*, Danzig 1646; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7 to 1938, v, 123-4; Vienna, Nat. Bibl., MS. H. O. 231 (= Flügel, no. 1283) (includes an 18th century topographical description of Khotin by an officer of the garrison; abridged translation (by Schlechta-Wssehrd) in *SBWAW*, Ph.-Hist. Kl. (1862), 550-93; text and translation by C. J. Heywood in preparation); D. Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae* (= *Operele*, i), Bucharest 1872, 16; Str. Dimitrov, *Nyakoliko dokumenti* ... [on Khotin], in *Fontes Orientales*, ed. A. S. Tveritinova, ii, Moscow 1956; A. Decei, in *İA*, s.v. *Hotin* (with further bibliography); *Geschichte des gegenwärtigen Krieges zwischen Russland, Polen und der Ottomanischen Pforte* (36 pts., Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1771-5), pt. v, pp. 14 ff., 39 ff., 51 ff.; *Carte von Chotin und der umliegenden Gegend, 1788*, Vienna, n.d.; Bodo Ebhardt, *Der Wehrbau Europas im Mittelalter*, ii, Stollhamm 1958, 609, 637 (plan and illustration of the fortress). (C. J. Heywood)

AL-KHUBAR, a town on Saudi Arabia's Persian Gulf coast (26° 17′ N, 50° 12′45″ E). The name is most likely a colloquial plural derived from the word *khabrāʾ*, meaning "a small pond formed by rain".

The first permanent settlers on the spot were members of the tribe of al-Dawāsir who landed in 1341/1923 after fleeing the island of al-Baḥrayn in fear of British reprisal following clashes with Shīʿī elements. ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Dawsarī is generally regarded as the first settler of al-Khubar. Other tribesmen who landed at nearby al-Dammām a few weeks earlier subsequently moved to al-Khubar. Prominent among the early inhabitants were Muḥammad b. Rashīd and his brother ʿĪsā, Ḥusayn Bū Surayḥ, Khālid b. Mībar and his brother Nāṣir, Saʿd b. Muḥammad and Ṣāliḥ b. Djumʿa (author's father). The settlers built huts of palm fronds along the sea shore. For two decades the village depended on small-scale pearling and fishing for its survival. No more than 20 boats left the village each pearling season; the crews came partly from the village, but mostly from nearby oases. In the early 1930s ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad returned to al-Baḥrayn with a group of the villagers, mostly crew members of his pearling fleet.

Al-Khubar remained a small fishing and pearling village covering an area of less than 0.5 km.² until 1935. In that year the California Arabian Standard Oil Company (later the Arabian American Oil Company) built a pier at al-Khubar to support the early oil well-drilling at nearby al-Ẓahrān. In 1357/1938 a storage and shipping terminal was built at al-Khubar, and barges started carrying Saudi Arabian oil to the refinery of the Bahrain Petroleum Company (Bapco); this marked the beginning of the export of Saudi Arabian oil. The importance of al-Khubar port has diminished since 1369/1950, when a deep-water pier began operating in al-Dammām; the al-Khubar harbour facilities now accommodate only fishing fleets and coastal ships. The city itself, however, now covering an area of 8 km², thrives as one of the most active business centres on the Kingdom's Gulf coast, second only to al-Dammām. Commercial enterprises that were given their original impetus by the oil industry now flourish independently, supported by both the public and private sectors of the economy. With modern office buildings and living quarters, with stores displaying merchandise from all over the world, and with substantial job opportunity, al-Khubar attracts foreign communities of various nationalities.

(ʿAbdallah S. Jumʿah)

KHUBAYB b. ʿAdī al-Anṣārī, one of the first martyrs of Islām. The main features of his story common to all versions are as follows: After the battle of Uḥud [*q.v.*] (on the chronology of which, see below) a small body of ten of the Prophet's followers was discovered and surrounded between Mecca and ʿUsfān by 100 (or 200) Liḥyānīs who belonged to the Hudhayl. The leader of the hard-pressed little band, ʿĀṣim b. Thābit al-Anṣārī (according to others, the leader was al-Marthad), proudly refused to yield. He and six others were killed whereupon Khubayb, Zaid b. al-Dathina and a third surrendered; the latter fell a victim to his stubbornness and the two former were taken to Mecca and sold. Khubayb fell into the hands of the Banu ʾl-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf, who on the expiry of the sacred period, took him out of the Ḥaram to al-Tanʿīm, bound him to a stake and killed him with lances (*ṣabr^an*) in revenge for al-Ḥārith, whom Khubayb had killed in the battle of Badr. Before he was tied to the stake, Khubayb asked for time to perform two *rakaʿas*, which became a *sunna* for martyrs, comparable to the last prayer of Christian martyrs. Khubayb is said to have recited two verses at the stake to the effect that he as a Muslim martyr cared nothing about the treatment of his body as Allāh was able to bestow his blessing even upon his severed members. *Ḳunūt* formulae uttered by him besides these verses have also been handed down in which he appealed to Allāh for vengeance on his enemies. Those present are said to have shown great trepidation at this curse of the dying man; it is related that Abū Sufyān hurriedly pressed the little Muʿāwiya to the ground to protect him from the consequences of the ill-omened words; and Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir used to fall into long swoons whenever he thought of the scene.

A comparison of the accounts shows discrepancies and idealising features. Before his death ʿĀṣim prayed to Allāh asking him to communicate news of the event to his Prophet in Medina, which actually happened.

His corpse was protected by a swarm of bees so that the enemy could not reach it and later it was carried away by a deluge of rain. According to al-Wāḳidī, 155, however, Muḥammad received news of the event at the same time as that of Biʾr Maʿūna; and according to Ibn Hishām, 641, it was not ʿĀṣim, but Khubayb, who prayed to Allāh asking him to cause Muḥammad to be informed. According to al-Zuhrī and ʿUrwa (see the latter's brief account in al-Wāḳidī, 156) the ten men were sent out as a *sariyya* to spy upon the Meccans; according to Ibn Hishām, 638, al-Wāḳidī, 157 and Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 39-40, iii/2, 33-4, ten teachers of religion, who were on their way to a tribe to instruct them, were treacherously placed at the mercy of the enemy by their guides. This story is too much like that which has been woven round the drama of Biʾr Maʿūna, which happened at the same time. Al-Wāḳidī, 227, tells us under the year 628 that Khubayb was not yet at that time a prisoner among the Meccans. The only certain chronological statement that can be made is that the event took place after the battle of Uḥud, as ʿĀṣim fought there. In the official *Sīra*, the incident is recorded under the name *Yawm al-Radjīʿ* and put by Ibn Hishām in the year 3 and by al-Wāḳidī in the year 4.

The figure of the protomartyr Khubayb lent itself readily to embellishment. The daughter of al-Ḥārith (according to others Māwyis, a client of Hudjayr b. Abī Ihāb), in whose house he was kept a prisoner, saw him one day eating grapes, although these could not possibly be obtained in Mecca. When his martyrdom approached, he asked for a knife with which to remove the hair on his privy parts (as was usual in such cases); the woman sent a little boy with it to him, but became terrified at the thought of his possible revenge; when Khubayb noticed her terror, he calmed her with the assurance that no such cruelty need be feared from him. The verses above mentioned, which he is said to have uttered at the stake, have grown in Ibn Hishām to a whole poem. The same author (644 ff.) gives the elegies uttered over him. For how his corpse was taken from the Ḳuraysh and swallowed up by the earth, see Ṭabarī, i, 1436-7 = *Iṣāba*, i, 862.

Bibliography: al-Zuhrī's or Abū Hurayra's tradition in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 294 ff., 310-11, and in al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, bāb 170; Ibn Isḥāḳ's version, 638 ff., goes back to ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Ḳatāda; al-Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 156 ff. (cf. 226-7) compiled the whole story from various sources; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 33-4; al-Diyārbekrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1203, i, 454 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 860 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 111 ff.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Anno 4, § 7, 8; Anno 6, § 2; Ṭabarī, i, 1431 ff., who gives the two main versions; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, tab. 77, on his genealogy.

(A. J. Wensinck)

KHŪBMESĪḤĪS, the members of an obscure heretical movement in 11th/17th century Istanbul that preached the superiority of Jesus to the Prophet Muḥammad. The term derives from Persian *khūb* "good, virtuous", and *mesīḥ* = Messiah". Some description of their tenets is to be found in Paul Rycaut's *The present state of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 129. Rycaut attributes to the Khūbmesīḥīs a belief in Jesus as "God and Redeemer of the World", and says that it is "principally maintained amongst the gallants of the Seraglio". Although adherence to the doctrine was liable to bring death, and its followers commonly practised secrecy, they might be recognised by the white turbans they wore. According to Rycaut, in addition to designating a member of the movement, the term Khūbmesīḥī entered general usage as a description for anyone of mild and affable disposition. The accuracy of this information in all its points is not to be assumed; many of the statements of Rycaut on religious matters are demonstrably erroneous. The Khūbmesīḥī movement presumably found its inspiration in the teaching of Ḳābiḍ, executed in Istanbul in 934/1527, after some delay, for alleging that the spiritual rank of Jesus was superior to that of the Prophet. Rycaut makes no mention of Ḳābiḍ, however, nor do any of the sources on Ḳābiḍ (e.g. Ibrāhīm Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283/1866, i, 124-6) attribute to him the foundation of the Khūbmesīḥī movement.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(Hamid Algar)

KHUBZ (A.) generic term (nomen unitatis: *khubza*) meaning bread, whatever the cereal employed, e.g. corn [see ḲAMḤ], barley [see SHAʿĪR], rice [see RUZZ] etc., and whatever the quality, the shape and the method of preparation. There exists nevertheless, in literary Arabic and, to a greater degree in the various dialects, a certain number of metaphors and of specific terms which cannot all be mentioned in this brief article, and the ellipsis of the word *khubz*, in expressions denoting a particular type, causes the semantic range of the fundamental notion to be appreciably enlarged: thus *khamīr* for *khubzᵘⁿ khamīrᵘⁿ* "leavened bread", *faṭīr* for *khubzᵘⁿ faṭīrᵘⁿ* "unleavened bread" etc. The baker is called *khabbāz* (but in Morocco this is known only in its feminine form *khabbāza*; see below), or *farrān* "oven-worker" (which however in Morocco means a communal oven), and a bakery is called *makhbaz* or simply *furn* "communal oven" (in technical usage corresponding to *kūsha* "lime-kiln" etc.). All these terms apply to precise cases which will be summarised later.

The economy of ancient Arabia was such that the Arabs could not make bread the basis of their diet [see GHIDHĀʾ, i], so that the expression *ākil al-khubz* "bread-eater" was a laudatory epithet implying considerable affluence (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 211). Nevertheless, the nomads occasionally ate a *ṭulma* ("flat bread", for *khubzᵘ ṭulmatⁱⁿ*), that is a kind of pancake cooked on a heated stone, or a *malla* ("hot ash", for *khubzᵘ mallatⁱⁿ*) also called *malīl*, a thicker loaf cooked under ash according to a process similar to that described by A. Jaussen (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*², Paris 1948, 63) in talking of *ḳorṣ*: on arrival at the halting place, the Bedouin kneads flour with water and salt (if he has got it), but without adding yeast, and makes a sort of pie which he cooks in ash, turning it frequently to prevent burning. E. Laoust (*Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 89-90) has collected in Berber (where bread is called *aghrum*) a text which refers to some very similar practices.

For their part, the sedentary people, who were familiar with the whitest flour (*ḥuwwārā*) and bread of the finest quality which they cooked in an oven (*tannūr*), did not eat it regularly. They used to crumble it, however, to make a broth (*tharīd*) which the Prophet placed above all other foods (al-Bukhārī, *kitāb al-aṭʿima*, *bab* 27) and it is known that, according to the tradition, Hāshim [*q.v.*] owes his name to the fact that he crumbled (*hashama*) bread to make broth; this economical dish was highly thought of for a long period after Islam.

The conquest of several nations which produced corn in abundance increased in the various classes of society, and in varying degrees, the consumption of

bread, which was from that time considered, with nuances, "the subsistence of the land-dwellers, the basis of nourishment and the prince of foods" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, 114) and city-dwellers who did not offer it to their guest unstintingly are taken to task (*ibid.*, 182). The *Kitāb al-Bukhalā'* (see index, s.v. KHUBZ) provides interesting details regarding wheat-bread and its use, but in general it gives a picture of an affluent class, whose members were in a position to own a slave charged with the functions of a waiter or of a majordomo rather than a baker, but called *khabbāz* because of the importance attached to bread (*ibid.*, 48).

The same work (108), while giving valuable information on the refined standard of cuisine then practised, shows that bread was never eaten alone, and that it was incorrect to offer it dry, (*khubz*ᵘⁿ *ḳafār*ᵘⁿ). In the more affluent circles, it did not constitute the most substantial part of the diet and was rather used for dipping or was eaten from side-plates, while in poorer families and from a very ancient period, it was always accompanied by some condiment (*udm*) designed to make it palatable; in the present day, a term taken from the root *ʿd w*: *ʿadū*, or *dj w z* "to fan": *djwāz, jwāz, dwāz*, clearly expresses this idea; however, the interested parties probably do not take into account the imbalance which they create in thus adding lipids to the proteins and glucoses contained in bread. It should be stressed however that not everyone was in a position to eat it regularly, and even today, it still constitutes a rare luxury for certain particularly impoverished populations; for the more affluent, the basis of the diet is often, in many regions, boiled rice, ground corn (*burghul*) or kuskus (see KUSKUSŪ).

Since the classical period and, to a large extent, to the present day, there have existed various categories of bread which can be reduced to the following, while it may be noted that the dialectical vocabulary, extremely variable and rich, deserves to be the object of a linguistic-geographical study, whose ethno-sociological results could yield useful information:

— in Iraq, rice cultivated in the region of Baṣra was used probably by a limited number of bakers (among whom a popular poet, al-Khubz'aruzzi [*q.v.*] was to become famous) to make a bread which was quite cheap and accessible to the poorer classes, as well as to those who lived an ascetic life-style (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 5); in the other regions where it was cultivated, notably in Palestine and Egypt, rice was more often consumed in other forms (see M. Canard, *Le riz dans le Proche-Orient*, in *Arabica*, vi/2 (1959), 122 ff.);

— white bread, made with pure wheat-flour (*ḥuwwārā*) was in general confined to the more affluent families, but it seems to have been in widespread use in a number of countries, such as Palestine and Egypt; physicians actively recommended it, although it was less nutritious than

— bread of coarse-ground flour (*khushkār* and vars.) which was consumed by people of less means;

— bread made from common wheat, perhaps mixed with a little barley-flour;

— semolina bread (*samīdh/samīd*);

— barley bread, more coarse, mention of which appears frequently in the ḥadīth; ascetics judged it to be sufficient, but many poor families even today, must be content with it; in North Africa, *kesra*, and in the Near-East, *ḳurṣ*, are often nothing more than pancake of barley-flour, pure or mixed with a little wheat-flour;

— to this list it is appropriate to add the bread manufactured, in times of hardship, with flour of maize, millet or sorghum (*dhura*) or even of some wild plant, such as *sameḥ* in Jordan.

Apart from various pastries based on wheat-flour, bread was presented, with variations on which we cannot dwell here, in two principal forms;

— *ruḳāḳ*, very thin, was cooked on a slab of iron (or later, of stone) heated on a hearth or a brazier. This slab, called *ṭābaḳ/ṭābil* in the Middle Ages, is still in use in the Near East where it is convex and bears the name *ṣādj*; in the Maghrib, similar baking is not unknown, but a type of earthenware casserole is more often used, and bread thus prepared is called *marḳūḳ* or *maṭlūʿ* (cf. E. Laoust, *op. laud.*, 89 for the Berber world);

— *raghīf*, or (from Persian) *djardaḳ/djardhaḳ* is a round bread (*muḥawwar*) quite thick and cooked in an oven. But there is a distinction there between the domestic and the communal oven. The former (*tannūr*; currently *ṭābūn/ṭābūna*) has the form of an upturned jar without a base or of the frustrum of a cone open in the upper part; it is heated by means of embers placed inside and the raw dough is spread on the sides, on the outside (see Beaussier and Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. *ṭābūn*). In certain regions there is also still to be found a *tannūr* dug into the earth, while in Jordan (Jaussen, *Moab*, 63) *ṭābūn* refers to a small construction in which is placed a sort of cooking-pot, surrounded by embers to cook the dough in the interior. In encampments the oven is replaced by a pottery plate (*ghannāy* or *ḥammāṣ* in Tunisia) which is heated on a brazier (*kānūn*) or even, on occasion, by heated stones.

As for the communal oven (*furn, kūsha*) it is found in various parts of the towns as well as in the villages, and it is there that individuals normally cook their bread for consumption at home. Until recently, in the Maghrib at least, it was considered dishonourable to buy one's bread outside, and the kneading of the dough, an essentially feminine occupation, was the duty of the mistress of the house or of a servant. On a large wooden tray (*ḳaṣʿa/gaṣʿa*), the housewife put, sometimes with a little bran, flour of corn or of barley or of both, or even of semolina, in quantities sufficient to provide food for several days, added yeast and salt, then poured in hot water and kneaded the dough which she then cut into pieces and left to rise on a tray in a warm place. A journeyman baker (*ṭarrāḥ* in Morocco) went round the houses, took the trays, imprinted on each piece a distinctive mark and took it all to the bakehouse.

The baking done, the baker came and handed over to each family the tray and the bread belonging to it. The wages of the baker consisted of a piece of bread which he baked and sold to his profit; in al-Andalus, this bread was called *poya* (and vars.) and this term has survived under the form *pīwa/pūya/būya*, in some regions of Morocco and of Algeria to designate the salary of the baker, even after it became the practice to pay him in cash (see W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 242-3; this work contains, pp. 2-39, 127-51, an extremely vivid text relating to the journeymen and the bakers, notes and a bibliography.)

Thus there were no real bakeries, and there was no *sūḳ* reserved for the making and the sale of bread. However, foreigners, individuals and bachelors were able to obtain it, either from certain women who kneaded extra pastry in order to sell the surplus bread in the streets, at a price fixed by the *muḥtasib*, or from bakers or retailers; in fact the *farrān* sold not only the small amounts of bread that they had

received in wages (for they were in principle forbidden to mix the pieces of dough to make large loaves; cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, §§ 115, 148), but also the bread which they made on their own account. The authors of works of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] especially al-Saḳaṭī (G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, Paris 1931, 26-32 and *passim*; Spanish tr. P. Chalmeta, in *al-And.* (1968 ff.), §§ 53-67 and *passim*), enumerated in detail the frauds committed by these bakers, in such matters as the mixing of flours of different qualities (and even the addition of white earth), as well as malpractices in the baking and in the weighing of the bread, and also the rules of hygiene which were to be observed by the bakers and the traders who, in particular, were not allowed to work at professions such as those of the butcher or the fishmonger. (cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, ed E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispaniques de ḥisba*, Cairo 1955, 89-90; French tr. R. Arié, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i/2 (1960), 201-2). In spite of these precautions, the quality was not always high, and bread sometimes contained gravel and other impurities (cf. M. Talbi, in *Arabica*, i/3 (1954), 299).

The price of bread, sold by weight and not by the loaf, was fixed by the *muḥtasib*, but it varied enormously, and it is the price of corn which provides the most convenient basis for estimating the cost of living; we confine ourselves to referring to E. Ashtor's fundamental work, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, and to the article ṬĀḤŪN for all matters relating to the different types of flour.

As in other civilisations, bread is treated with great respect. It is always broken and it should never be cut with a knife. A crumb which falls to the ground is picked up, raised to the lips and swallowed; a piece of bread found on the road is put, for the benefit of some destitute person, in a place where it will not be trodden on and soiled. And even though it does not constitute, strictly speaking, the basis of the diet, it is given in the Arabic dialects names which refer to life and to subsistence; *ʿaysh*/*ʿish*, *maʿīsha*, *kūt*, etc. And it is not absolutely certain that the magical purposes that it served have totally disappeared.

However, the situation described above has now been perceptively modified in the sense that, in the towns at least, it is from the bakeries that the population buys the bread that it needs; but if the making of bread has borrowed from the West certain modern processes, anyone can still easily obtain *khubz ʿarabī* prepared and presented as in ancient times. Also, in the countryside the tradition is still alive.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, index; A. von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte*, I. *Brot und Salz*, in *SBWAW*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., lxx (1890), 1-34; L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1931, 63-4/168; Ḥ. Zayyāt, in *Machriq*, xxxv (1937), 371 ff.; R. le Tourneau, *Fès*, Casablanca 1949, 329; E. Strauss (Ashtor), *Prix et salaires a l'époque mamlouke*, in *REI* (1949), 49-94, *passim*; Ashtor, *Essai sur l'alimentation des diverses classes sociales dans l'Orient médiéval*, in *Annales ESC* (Sept.-Oct. 1968), 1018-21 and bibl. cited there; G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 186; A. Amīn, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt*, Cairo 1953, 293; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 419; D. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, Paris 1964, 99; R. ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt*, Amman 1973-4, s.vv. *ṣādj*, *ṭābūn*.
(CH. PELLAT)

AL-KHUBZAʾARUZZĪ (many possible vocalisations), ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM NAṢR B. AḤMAD B. AL-MAʾMŪN, popular poet of Baṣra, who probably died in 327/938. He made rice bread (*khubz aruzz*) in a shop at the Mirbad [*q.v.*], where his biographers show him as surrounded by a circle of admirers who were especially attracted by his *ghazal* verses on boys, these being his speciality. It does not seem that he should be included in the list of those poets whose belligerence involved them in contests and controversies, nor does he seem to have been inclined, like so many of his compatriots, to attack the honour of others; because of this last fact, al-Masʿūdī's information that he had to flee into Arabia in order to avoid the vengeance of one of the Barīdīs [*q.v.*] is dubious. This same author states that his verses, set to music, were sung everywhere, but except in error, the *Aghānī* cites none of them. At all events, his *Dīwān*, put together by his friend Ibn Lankak [*q.v.*], must have spread considerably beyond the confines of his native town and even of Baghdad, where he lived for some time. This is confirmed by the fact that this illiterate (*ummī*) poet was highly appreciated by a person who held fast to the classical tradition like Ibn Sharaf [*q.v.*], who attributes to him "ingenious shafts of wit and subtle inventions, in a closely-knit form and a chaste style, with no superfluities". The judgments of the biographers and anthologists confirm this appreciation, which the extant fragments of his work do not however seem entirely to justify; but the complete *Dīwān* must have been much richer and must have had enough originality to have stimulated the jealousy of a certain "great poet", thus referred to briefly by Ibn Sharaf.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 372-4 = §§ 3531; *Fihrist*, i, 160; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 132-5; idem, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 112; Ibn Charaf, *Questions de critique littéraire*, ed. and tr. Pellat, Algiers 1953, 37; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 206-8 = *Udabāʾ*, xix, 218-22; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 296-9, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 760; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 276-7 (s.a. 330); Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 329; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 276 (s.a. 317); Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 337-8. (CH. PELLAT)

KHUDĀ BAKHSH, a notable bibliophile of Muslim India, the founder of the celebrated Oriental Public Library, at Patna, Bihar, India. He was born in 1824 at Chapra, and received his education in the University of Calcutta. After obtaining his degree in law, he began to practise as a lawyer at Patna at the age of twenty-six. He soon achieved considerable success in his profession, and was appointed a public prosecutor, which post he held for many years. In 1894, he was invited to serve as the Chief Justice of the High Court at Hyderabad, Deccan. On his retirement in 1898, he lived a quiet life at Patna, where he died in 1908 and was buried in the precints of the library he had founded. In recognition of his public services, the order of C.I.E. was conferred on him in 1903 by the British Government of India.

Khudā Bakhsh had inherited his passion for collecting rare Arabic and Persian manuscripts from his father. When his father died in 1876, he left him a collection of 1,400 manuscripts, with the behest to make it into a *waḳf* as soon as circumstances should permit him to do so. He continued to make substantial additions to it, till the number of manuscripts had reached 4,000 in 1891, when the collection, along with the building which accommodated it, was made into a public trust. The *waḳf*-deed was duly executed on 29 October 1891, and the library was formally opened by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Bihar. It was given the name of the "Oriental Public Library", though the people have

often persisted in calling it the "Khudā Bakhsh Library" after the name of the generous donor.

A new era in the history of the Library opened in 1903, when it was visited by Lord Curzon, then Governor-General and Viceroy of India. He was deeply impressed by its literary treasures, and ordered that a suitable new building be erected to accommodate them. He also discussed plans for the proper preservation and safe-keeping of the manuscripts; and at the same time he directed Dr. E. Denison Ross, then Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, to make suitable arrangements for the proper cataloguing of the manuscripts.

Twenty-eight volumes of the catalogue have so far (1970) been published, in addition to two Supplements and an Index. The work of cataloguing is still in progress. The library at present contains 4,232 Arabic and 4,238 Persian manuscripts, in addition to a number of printed books in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, English, French, German, Latin and other languages.

Khudā Bakhsh was survived by his son Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khudā Bakhsh, Barrister-at-Law. Like his father, he too was a legal practitioner, but found time to write a number of essays and papers on Islamic history and civilisation, which have been collected in book form. He also translated into English some of the works of Alfred von Kremer and Joseph Hell, and was accordingly characterised by D. S. Margoliouth as an "interpreter of Indian Islam to Europe and of European Orientalism to India". He was a liberal and a modernist in his social and religious views.

Bibliography: V. C. Scott O'Connor, *An eastern library*, Glasgow 1920; Salah-ud-Din Khuda Bakhsh, *My father, his life and reminiscences*, Calcutta 1909; information supplied by the present Librarian. (SH. INAYATULLAH)

KHUDĀBENDE [see ULDJAYTU]

KHUDĀWAND (P), God, lord, master. There is no established etymology for this word and no Middle or Old Persian antecedent. It is used in Ghaznawid times in the sense of lord or master (cf. Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad 1971, 23, 435, and *passim*). In documents and letters belonging to the Saldjūḳs and Khwārazmshāhs it is used as a term of address to the sultan, usually with some qualifying word or phrase such as *khudāwand-i ʿālam* "lord of the world" (cf. Muntadjab al-Dīn al-Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1950, 4; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muʿayyad Baghdādī, *al-Tawassul ilā 'l-tarassul*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1937, 139, 341). *Khudāyagān-i ʿālam* and other similar combinations are also found in the same sense. *Khudāwand*, with or without a qualifying phrase such as *walī niʿam*, is also used as a form of address to government officials (civil and military) and to patrons in general. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Mayhanī in his manual on the art of the secretary, *Dastūr-i Dabīrī*, written in 575/1180, mentions *khudāwand-i ʿālam*, *khudāwand-i djahān*, *khudāyagān-i djahān and khudāwand-i walī-niʿam* among the forms of address accorded to the sultan (ed. Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1962, 13, 15). He also includes *khudāwand* among the titles of the *wazīr* (*ibid.*, 16).

The terms *khudāwand-i aʿẓam*, *khudāyagān-i ʿālam* and similar combinations are common in Djalāʾirid, Aḳ Ḳoyunlū and Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū documents. The derivative term *khudāwandagār* is common as an honorific for *wazīrs* and commanders under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm (A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumî türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 329) and in Ottoman usage (I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Munich 1967; H. Inalcık, *İA*, art. *Pâdişâh*). See also E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, Paris 1837-45, i, 64 ff., and F. Taeschner, *Die Werke der Familie Dai Qaraġa Beg in Brussa*, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 175). (A. K. S. LAMBTON)

KHUDĀWENDIGĀR (P.) "lord, owner, master"; in Ottoman usage, it was used as (1) the title of Murād I, and (2) the name of the *sandjaḳ* and province of Bursa.

1. The title *Khudāwendigār* was used for commanders and viziers during the Saldjūḳ period (Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Khōyī, *Ghunyat al-kātib wa-munyat al-ṭālib fī rusūm al-rasāʾil wa-madjmūʿ al-faḍāʾil*, ed. N. Lugal-Adnan S. Erzi, Ankara 1963, 4-5; M. C. Şahabettin Tekindağ, *İzzet Koyunluoğlu Kütüphanesinde bulunan Türkçe yazmalar*, in *TM*, xvi 1971, 134-5). As an attribute, the term was used for mystics like Djalāl al-Dīn Rumī and Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh (Eflāḳī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1959, i-ii, index). The word became widely used, especially after its usage as a title for the Ottoman sultan Murād I (761-91/1360-89) (Ferīdūn, *Münsheʾāt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274, i, 100, 103-4, 105-9, 112, 163, 166; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşaeli livası*, Istanbul 1952, 172), but the early Ottomans historians (e.g. ʿĀshıḳpasha-zāde, Neshrī, Orūč, Bihishtī) do not mention this title. In 9th/15th century documents, when referring to the reign of Murād I, the phrase *Khudāwendigār zamanında* is used without mentioning the Sultan's name (H. Inalcık, *Hicri 835 tarihli Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, 154; *Ḳānūn-nāme-i Sulṭānī ber mûceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOthmānī*, ed. H. Inalcık and R. Anhegger, Ankara 1956, 77, 81; Çağatay Uluçay, *Saruhanoğulları ve eserlerine dair vesikalar*, Istanbul 1946, ii, 44, 48). The 10th/16th century historians accord Murād I the title of *Khudāwendigār*. Also, Murād I was sometimes addressed as *Ghāzī Khünkār* (Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, 175) and it has been argued that the word *khünkār* is a variant form of *Khudāwendigār* (for the form *khundkār* used in a document of 848/1444, see Halil Inalcık, *Arvanid livası*, 9). On the evidence of the documents, the term *khūdāwendigār* was used for the successors of Murād I from Bāyezīd I to Selīm I (Ferīdūn, *op. cit.*, i, 118, 124, 149, 151-2, 154, 165, 187, 290, 304, 373, 377; A. Nimet Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde bulunan Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 49-50). As applied to these Sultans, it had the same meaning as the terms *pādishāh* and *khudāwend* (*Ḳānūn-nāme*, Veliyüddin Efendi Library, no. 1970, ff. 15b, 16a; Tekindağ, *op. cit.*, 135, n. 3); but in the 11th/17th century, it was applied to Murād I exclusively (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, 14).

2. The use of Khudāwendigār as a name for the province of Bursa started after its conquest when Orkhān gave the town, together with its surrounding lands, to his son Murād as a *sandjaḳ* (Neshrī, *Djihān-numā*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, 56; ʿĀshıḳ-pasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1915, 43). However, there is no record in the contemporary sources that this name was used during the reign of Murād I (cf. Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-numā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 656). At this early period, Bursa was the capital of the Ottoman leader, himself called the *emīr-i kebīr*, and the province was therefore called after him *beg sandjaghı* (see H. Inalcık, *Bursa şeriye sicillerinde Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in fermanları*, in *Belleten*, liv,

698, 702; M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadi ve içtimai tarihi* (*1558-1589*), Ankara 1971, ii, 284, 309). The oldest document relating to the region and calling it Khudāwendigār is the *Khudāwendigār liwāsī taḥrīr defteri* dated 892/1487 (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü Tapu Defteri no. 23). From this date onwards, the term *Khudāwendigār sandjaghī* was sometimes used instead of "the *sandjaḳ* of Bursa" (M. Akdağ, *op. cit.*, ii, 310; H. T. Dağlioğlu, *xvi asırda Bursa* (*1558-1589*), Bursa 1940, 31, 41 and *passim*). The *Khudāwendigār sandjaghī* in the *eyālet* of Anatolia was organised as a separate province in the 19th century. This province consisted of the *sandjaḳs* of Karahisar-ı Sahib, Kütahya, Bilecek, Erdek, and Biga in 1846-7; it was reduced to a mere *mutaṣarrīflīḳ* in 1860, but restored to the status of a province again in 1861-2. Khudāwendigār, according to the provincial organisation regulation of 1864, consisted of Kütahya, Kocaeli, Karesi, Karahisar-i Sahib and the central *sandjaḳ* of Khudāwendigār itself (Vecihi Tönük, *Türkiye'de idâri teşkilât*, Ankara 1945, 110, 128, 130, 164).

Bibliography: apart from the references already mentioned in the text, see Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI yüz yıllarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zırai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları. I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 396; *Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa lâyıhası*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat, *Tarih Vesikaları*, Istanbul 1942, 463; *Koçi Bey risalesi*, ed. Ali Kemali Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 99; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reich*, repr. 1963, i, 81; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des Sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Paris 1967, 162-3; J. H. Kramers, *EI*[1], s.v. (C. Orhonlu)

KHUDJAND(A), a town and district in Central Asia, now the town and *oblast* of Leninabad in the Tadzhik SSR, the town lying in 40° 17′ lat. N. and 69° 37′ long. E. The mediaeval town was strung out along the left bank of the middle Sīr Daryā at the southernmost bend of its course and at the entrance to the Farghāna valley. It lay in the ill-defined borderlands between the Transoxanian districts of Īlāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ushrūsana [*q.v.*], and was generally reckoned as being connected administratively with one or other of these two in the early middle ages. Its destinies were, however, frequently linked with those of the region of Farghāna [*q.v.*] to the east, the frontier between the two districts being marked, according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982), tr. 115-16, by the town of Wāthkath or Wān Kath.

At the time of the Arab invasions of Transoxania, there was a local ruler or *malik* of Khudjand, apparently dependent on the ruler of Farghāna. The town was captured by the Arabs in 103-4/722, when anti-Arab elements of the Soghdians who had retreated thither were dislodged by Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī's troops, with a savage massacre of the besieged (Ṭabarī, ii, 1439 ff.; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 189; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 62-3). It must nevertheless have been speedily lost to the Arabs shortly afterwards when the local rulers of Soghdia were joined by the Ḳaghan of the Western Turks or Türgesh, Su-lu, and the Arabs temporarily expelled from most of Transoxania. Not surprisingly, the people of Khudjand joined those of Farghāna, Ushrūsana, Čaghāniyān, etc. in supporting the rebellion of Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth during the years 190-3/806-9, according to Yaʿḳūbī.

The geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries now describe Khudjand and its district as a fertile and prosperous one, with many orchards and vineyards, although the town had to import grain from Farghāna and elsewhere. Ibn Ḥawḳal states that Khudjand had a *ḳuhandiz* or citadel with a prison; a *madīna* or inner city; and a *rabaḍ* or outer city, where the local ruler's palace, the *dār al-imāra*, lay. As befitted a frontier region, the inhabitants were warlike and generous. Furthermore, the town was an important centre for river navigation along the Sīr Daryā. This same author describes the district of Khudjand as extending southwards towards Washgird and Čaghāniyān, sc. to the Buttamān Mts. separating the basins of the upper Sīr Daryā and the upper Oxus. The only other town of the Khudjand district was Kand or Kand-i Bādhām "Kand of the almonds", so-called for a local product, almonds; this was presumably on the site of the modern village of Kan-i Badam, some 40 miles from Khudjand-Leninabad, visited by the American traveller E. Schuyler in the mid-1870s en route for Khoḳand (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, ii, 457, 489; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 479; Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 157-8, 164-5; Schuyler, *Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, ii, 3-4). A considerable number of *ʿulamāʾ* bearing the *nisba* of "al-Khudjandī" are mentioned by e.g. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, v, 53-6, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 348; most notable of these is the mathematician and astronomer Abū Maḥmūd Ḥāmid al-Khudjandī, d. 390/1000 [*q.v.*].

Khudjand was a place of importance under the Ḳarā-Khānids or Ilek Khāns [*q.v.*], and in the early years of the 5th/11th century, from 406/1015-6 onwards, Arslan Khān Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, originally ruler in Talas, minted coins there (see R. Vasmer, *Zur Münzkunde der Qarāḫāniden*, in *MSOS*, Westas. Studien, xxxiii (1939), 90-1, and E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzpragungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). In the mid-5th/11th century it was the frontier town between the eastern khānate of Kāshghar and Balāsāghūn under the sons of Ḳadir Khān Yūsuf and the western one of Transoxania under Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Tamghač Khān Ibrāhīm. It was also at Khudjand that in 531/1137 the Ḳarā Khiṭāy invaders won a victory over the Ḳarā-Khānid Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad.

During the period of the Mongol invasions, Khudjand was in 617/1220 stubbornly defended after the fall of Samarḳand by the governor Temür Malik against a besieging force of 20,000 Mongol troops and 50,000 pressed levies, and after abandoning the citadel, he sailed away down the river and eventually reached Khwārazm (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, i, 277-8; Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 92-4). In the next century, under the Čaghatayids, the *ulus* of the important Djalāyir tribe in the Khāns' following was the district around Khudjand, until in 778/1376, after the revolt of the Djalāyirs, they were disbanded by Tīmūr and dispersed from the region (Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii. *Ulugh Beg*, 9, 26). Bābur, in the period of his struggles in Farghāna against the kinsmen who were his rivals for power, used Khudjand as a centre for operations in 903/1497-8; he has given an enthusiastic description of the walled town or *ḳurghan* of Khudjand and its many amenities (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 7-8, 89-92).

It was the connections of the Mongols and their epigoni in Central Asia with their kinsmen in northern China which stimulated mentions of Khudjand in the Chinese annals of the 14th century, e.g. as Hu-ch'an

in the *Yüan-shi*, and an early 14th century Chinese map shows it as Hu-jan; mediaeval Chinese travellers call the Sïr Daryā the Ho-ch'an or Hu-k'ien "river of Khudjand", following Arabic usage of such terms as *Nahr Khudjand* or *Nahr al-Shāsh* for that river (cf. Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 54-5).

After being under Özbeg rule, Khudjand became part of the Khānate of Khoḳand at the beginning of the 19th century, but in 1842 was captured by the Mangit Khān of Bukhārā, Naṣr Allāh b. Ḥaydar (see F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates*, London 1899, 215-16). In May 1866 Khudjand fell to the Russian armies of General Romanovski after a bloody siege of eight days, in which 2,500 of the defending Khoḳandī force were killed, and the town was then used as a base for the final reduction of the Khānate of Khoḳand (see *ibid.*, 251-2; Schuyler, *op. cit.*, i, 312 ff., 339, 354; R. A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia 1867-1917, a study in colonial rule*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960, 23-5, 34-5). In 1875 the Russian garrison in Khudjand was for a while besieged there by a rebellious faction in the Khānate of Khoḳand, and it was this revolt in Khoḳand which led to the final annexation of the Khānate by Russia [see KHOḲAND]. Under Tsarist rule, Khudjand eventually became part of the Samarḳand *oblast* of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan.

Under the Soviets, Khudjand was in 1936 re-named Leninabad, and this name was also given to the northern *oblast* of the Tadzhik SSR. It is now the second most important industrial and cultural centre of the Republic after Dushambe (the Stalinabad of 1929-61), with manufactures of cotton, silk and footware, food processing, and with orchards and vineyards outside the town. The population in 1970 was 103,000 (see *BSE*², xxiv, 513-5).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KHUDJANDĪ, ABŪ MAḤMŪD ḤĀMID B. AL-KHIḌR, astronomer and mathematician, originally from Khudjand in Transoxania. He lived under the protection of the Buwayhid Fakhr al-Dawla (366-87/976-97) and died in 390/1000.

From amongst his mathematical works, there has survived in Cairo the manuscript of a treatise on geometry. We know that he was concerned with the resolution of equations of the third degree by geometrical methods and that he demonstrated, in an imperfect manner, that the sum of two cubed numbers cannot be another cube. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (*K. Shakl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ*, Istanbul 1891, 108-20) affirms that Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzadjānī [*q.v.*], Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāḳ [*q.v.*] and al-Khudjandī are the three authors to whom are attributed the discovery of the sine law called by the latter the "astronomical law" (*ḳānūn al-hay'a*), because of its frequent use in astronomy, and he gives the proof which he offered of this law (cf. C. Schoy, *Behandlung einiger geometrischen Fragepunkte durch muslimische Mathematiker*, in *Isis*, viii (1926), 260-3). However, P. Luckey, in his *Zur Entstehung der Kugeldreiechtsrechnung*, in *Deutsche Mathematik*, v (1940-1), 416, 418-9, rejects al-Khudjandī's part in this in principle, because we are concerned here with a person whose outstanding work was in the field of practical astronomy.

Al-Bīrūnī, in his *Taḥdīd nihāyat al-amākin*, in *RIMA*, viii (1962), 107, states that al-Khudjandī was "unique in his age" (*awḥad zamānihi*) for the construction of astrolabes and other astronomical instruments. Some manuscripts have been preserved of his treatise *Fī ʿamal al-āla al-ʿāmma*, in which is described a universal instrument (*al-āla al-ʿāmma* or *al-shāmila*) to be used in place of the astrolabe or quadrant. He constructed an armillary sphere and other instruments, and must have worked on theoretical questions concerning the laying out of the plan of an astrolabe, since Abū Naṣr Manṣūr gives two methods of al-Khudjandī's for determining the position of the circles of the azimuth on the astrolabe by the intersection of the equator and the *muḳanṭarāt* (*Risāla fī madjāzāt dawā'ir al-sumūt fī 'l-asṭurlāb*, in *Rasā'il ilā 'l-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad 1948, 3-9). His most important work in the sphere of astronomical instruments was the sextant called *al-suds al-fakhrī* (sc. dedicated to Fakhr al-Dawla) which he made in order to determine the obliquity of the ecliptic. He described this instrument and the observations which he was able to make with it in his *Risāla fī 'l-mayl wa-ʿarḍ al-balad* (ed. L. Cheikho, in *Machriq*, xi (1908), 60-8). Al-Bīrūnī gave a detailed analysis of this in his *Taḥdīd*, 101-8, which is said to be based on the *Maḳāla fī taṣḥīḥ al-mayl* of al-Khudjandī (probably to be identified with the R. *fī 'l-mayl* cited above). This sextant had a diameter of 40 *dhirāʿ*s or cubits (al-Bīrūnī: 80 cubits) constructed at Ṭabrūk near Rayy and set down on the plan of the meridian; it was surrounded by walls and covered over by a roof, part of which was vaulted (*ṭāḳ*) and with an aperture 3 spans (*shibr*) in diameter (al-Bīrūnī: one span) coinciding with the centre of the sextant. With this instrument it was possible to take the height of the sun; the sun's light threw a circle on to the sextant and, in order to determine the centre, al-Khudjandī used a circle of the same radius which had two perpendicular diameters which he placed on the circle thereby lit up. Al-Khudjandī asserted that the sextant was his own invention, and he boasted that, by using it, he could make calculations down to the very second. Similar instruments seem to have been employed in the observatories of Marāgha (founded before 660/1261-2) and at Samarḳand (built in 823/1420).

With this *suds al-fakhrī*, al-Khudjandī observed the meridian height of the sun at the summer and winter solstices of the year 384/994; the procedure involved consisted in making observations on two consecutive days at the time of the solstice and in determining, by interpolation, the exact moment of the passing of the sun into the solstice. He was able to do this in the month of June, but clouds prevented him from repeating the procedure in December, so that the exactness of the whole operation was somewhat affected. His observations were made in the presence of a group of leading scholars who drew up a report. The result was: $\varepsilon = 23° 32' 19''$ ($21''$ according to al-Bīrūnī in *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Hyderabad 1954, i, 364), a value which, compared to those worked out by the Indian astronomers (24°) and Ptolemy ($23° 51'$) justified al-Khudjandī's belief in a progressive reduction in the obliquity of the ecliptic. Al-Bīrūnī, who believed that ε was a constant (*Taḥdīd*, 107-8, 116; *Ḳānūn*, i, 364) emphasises that al-Khudjandī told him verbally that the aperture of the vault by which the sun's rays came in had been displaced downwards by a span before the observations regarding the winter solstice were made, so that it did not coincide exactly with the sextant's centre. This fact may explain the decrease in the value of ε in relation to other determinations made roughly around the same time.

Al-Khudjandī made other observations; he fixed the latitude of Rayy at $35° 34' 39''$ (al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd*, 86-7, 99, 238; *Ḳānūn*, ii, 612), and he asserted that he had observed the planets for Fakhr al-Dawla by

means of armillary spheres and other instruments (*R. fi 'l-mayl*, 62). The final result of this work was the compiling of *al-Zīdj al-fakhrī*. An incomplete copy in Persian of a *zīdj*, preserved in the Majlis Library in Tehran (ms. 181) may be based on al-Khudjandī's observations; the period of the tables of average movements is 600 of the Yazdagirdī era, sc. about two centuries after al-Khudjandī's death (see E. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, N.S., xlvi (1956), 133, No. 60).

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, see Suter, *Mathematiker*, 74; Brockelmann, S I, 390; Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 307-8; P. Kunitzsch, *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara* iii/1. *al-ʿulūm: al-falak, al-tandjīm, al-miḳāt*, Cairo n.d. 5; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 667-8; Sevim Tekeli, *al-Khujandī*, in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vii (New York 1973), 352-4; J. Samsó, *Estudios sobre Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāq*, Barcelona 1969, 51, 89-93; A. L. Sédillot, *Mémoire sur les instruments astronomiques des Arabes*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et B.-L.*, i, (1884), 202-6; O. Schirmer, *Arabische Bestimmungen der Schiefe der Ekliptik*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, lviii (1926), 43-88 (esp. 43-6, 63-79); E. Wiedeman, *Über den Sextant des al-Chogendi*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, ii (1919), 148-51; idem, *Avicennas Schrift über ein von ihm ersonnenes Beobachtungsinstrument*, in *AO*, v (1926), 81-167; J. Frank, *Über zwei astronomische arabische Instrumente*, in *Zeitschrift für Instrumentenkunde*, xli (1921), 193-200; A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam*, Ankara 1960, 118-21, 198-9, 277, 283.

(J. Samsó)

KHUDJISTĀN, a small town or village of mediaeval Islamic Bādhghīs [*q.v.*], lying to the northeast of Harāt in modern Afghānistān, and described by the mediaeval geographers as being mountainous, possessing agricultural lands and having warlike inhabitants (Iṣṭakhrī, 268-9; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 441, tr. Wiet. 426; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 104, 327; Yāḳūt, ii, 404; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr., hist. et litt. de la Perse*, 197). Although within a Sunnī region, Khudjistān itself was one of the last centres for the Khawāridj in eastern Iran, and the population are described as Khāridjīs and extremists (*shurāt wa-ghulāt*).

Its main claim to fame is that it gave birth in the 3rd/9th century to Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī. He was a commander in Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir's army, but after the fall of the Ṭāhirid capital Nīshāpūr to Yaʿḳūb b. Layth in 259/853, he made a bid for independent power in Khurāsān, with a base of power in Harāt and Ṭukhāristān, against the Ṣaffārids, until he was killed by one of his own *ghulāms* in 268/882. Worthy of note is the detail that Khudjistānī was allegedly launched on his career as a condottieri through hearing the martial poetry of a local author, Ḥanẓala of Bādhghīs, who must have been one of the very earliest writers of verse in New Persian (Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahar maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 26-7, revised tr. 27-9, cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persanes (IXe-Xe siècles)*, Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 17-8, 53).

Bibliography: (in addition to the above references): C. Defrémery in *JA* (July-Dec. 1845), 345 ff.; E. von Zambaur, in *Numismatische Zeitschr.*, lv (1922), 13; R. Vasmer, in *Numismatische Zeitschr.*, N.F. xxiii (1930), 116-18; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, ed. R. N. Frye, Cambridge 1975, 116-8. (C. E. Bosworth)

KHULDĀBĀD, a town in the northwestern part of the former Ḥaydarābād state, now in Maharashtra state of the Indian Union, and situated in lat. 20° 1′ N. and long. 75° 12′ E; it is also known as Rauza (sc. Rawḍa). It is 14 miles from Awrangābād and 8 from Dawlatābād [*q.vv.*], and a particularly holy spot for Deccani Muslims, since it contains the tombs of several Muslim saints and great men, including the Niẓām-Shāhī minister Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*]; Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh, founder of Ḥaydarābād state [*q.v.*]; and above all, of the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], who died at Aḥmadnagar in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1118/March 1707 and was buried at the *rawḍa* or shrine of Shaykh Zayn al-Ḥaḳḳ, and of his son Aʿẓam Shāh. After Awrangzīb's burial, the place was called Khuldābād, the monarch's posthumous name being *Khuldmakām* "He whose abode is eternity" (see *Cambridge hist. of India*, iv, 302).

Bibliography: *Gazeteer of Aurangabad District*, Bombay 1884; *Imperial gazeteer of India*², xv, 285; *Murray's Handbook to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*²¹, London 1968, 59-61.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHULʿ [see ṬALĀḲ].

KHULḲ [see AKHLĀḲ].

KHULM, a town of northern Afghānistān lying in the lowland region to the south of the upper Oxus at an altitude of 1,400 ft./450 m. and in lat. 36° 42′ N. and long. 67°41′ E.; it is situated some 30 miles/50 km. to the east of modern Mazār-i Sharīf and, according to the mediaeval Islamic geographers, two *marḥalas* or 10 *farsakhs* to the east of Balkh [*q.v.*]. It further lies on the Khulm River which flows down a narrow valley from the Hindu Kush past the town of Haybak and then Khulm itself until it peters out short of the Oxus. It is possible that this river is the Artamis of the Greek geographers.

The mediaeval geographers describe Khulm as the centre of a flourishing agricultural district, with luscious fruits, and as enjoying a healthy climate; the *kharādj* or land-tax was levied on the extent of irrigated land. The grapes and other fruits of Khulm were still the subject of much praise by the Scottish traveller Alexander Burnes in the early 19th century. The road from Balkh eastwards into Badakhshān and to Andarāba and the silver mines of Pandjhīr also passed through Khulm (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 427, 432; *Ḥudud al-ʿālam*, 108).

Regarding the pre-Islamic history of Khulm, it has been conjectured that Khulm is the Aornos mentioned by Arrian as conquered by Alexander the Great in the winter of 330-329 BC (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i/2, 2659). The Buddhist Chinese traveller of the early 7th century, Hiuen-Tsang, seems, however, to mention it as the kingdom of Hu-lin, whose chief town had over 10 Buddhist monasteries with more than 500 monks (see T. Watters, *On Yüan Chwang's travels in India*, London 1904, i, 106, 109). In the period of the Islamic conquests in Central Asia, it is mentioned at various times in the course of warfare, e.g. in 90/708-9 when Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] made his final attack on the Hephthalite leader Ṭarkhān Nīzak (Ṭabarī, ii, 1205-6, 1219, with mention of the *shiʿb Khulm* "defile or valley of Khulm"), and in 119/737 when Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī was endeavouring to expel from Ṭukhāristān the united forces of the Turkish Khāḳān Su-lu of the Western Türgesh, the rebel al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj and the local princes of the Oxus valley principalities and of Soghdia, and the Khāḳān endeavoured in vain to take the town (Ṭabarī, ii, 1603, 1615). Once pacified, the district was settled by Arabs of Tamīm, Ḳays, Azd and Bakr (Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad 1382-6/1962-6, v, 180). Khulm also figures in the tax-assessment for Ṭukhāristān in the time of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir's governor-

ship (years 211-12/826-8) under the sum of 12,300 dirhams per annum (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 36, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 218); and in the fighting around Khulm in the later 3rd/9th century between the Ṣaffārids and other contenders for power in Khurāsān, the condottieri Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī [see KHUDJISTĀN] in 268/881-2 defeated ʿAmr b. Layth's ally Abū Ṭalḥa Manṣūr b. Sharkab near the town (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 209). Culturally, Khulm was of sufficient note to produce, according to Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, v, 180-3, a well-known poet, Kaʿb b. Aḥmad, and several legal and theological scholars.

We hear little of Khulm under the rule of the successive Turkish and other dynasties of eastern Iran like the Saldjūḳs and Tīmūrids, but it was clearly within these centuries that the Turkicisation of these lands south of the Oxus took place, so that in modern Afghānistān, the population of the region is largely Uzbek.

In the period after Nādir Shāh, sc. in the later 12th/18th century, the region came under the control of a local ruler of Uzbek stock, Ḳilīdj ʿAlī Beg of Khulm. He held, according to Elphinstone, the title of *Atalīḳ* from the Durrānī kings of Kābul and paid deference to them, but was left virtually independent in return for protecting the northern borders of Afghānistān against Uzbek incursions from beyond the Oxus. It was because of these depredations that the seat of government for the Khulm region was in the early 19th century transferred from Khulm to Tash Ḳurghan 4 miles/6 km. to the south, and this has become the site of the modern town of Khulm. Various British travellers visited it at this time. W. Moorcroft (1824) mentions that the tyrannical Muḥammad Murād Beg, ruler of Ḳunduz and much of the region north of the Hindu Kush, had compelled the inhabitants of Khulm proper to transfer to his own capital of Ḳunduz. Old Khulm certainly now fell into decay, whilst New Khulm or Tash Ḳurghan flourished. Concerning population, Elphinstone (1809) estimated that Old Khulm contained about 8,000 houses, and Burnes (1832) that New Khulm had some 10,000 inhabitants. Subsequently, the sons of Ḳilīdj ʿAlī Beg reigned from Khulm over an area comprising Khulm, Haybak, Ṭalaḳān, Andarāb and Mazār-i Sharīf as vassals of Muḥammad Murād Beg, but in the early 1850s Dōst Muḥammad of Kābul [*q.v.*] succeeded in bringing Badakhshān and the Uzbek principality of the Khulm district under his own control, and henceforth it formed part of the dominions of the kings of Kābul.

Present-day New Khulm-Tash Ḳurghan forms part of the Afghān province of Samangān, within which it and Haybak are the main towns, Khulm, however, being the more populous of the two (population estimated by Humlum at 30,000 in *ca.* 1950); both towns benefit by being on the main road from Kābul to Mazār-i Sharīf and the Russian frontier.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the text): Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 67-8; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr., hist. et litt. de la Perse*, 211; Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its dependencies*, London 1842, ii, 184, 195-200; A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara, together with a Narrative of a voyage on the Indus*, London 1834, i, 202-12, 230-1, ii, 346 ff.; W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab . . . from 1819 to 1825*, London 1841, ii, 396, 409, 412-3, 415-7, 420, 426, 429 ff., 441, 448 ff.; J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 132, 150, 155. (C. E. Bosworth)

KHULṬ, the classical form of the name of a tribe of northwestern Morocco pronounced Khloṭ (but ethnic, Khulṭi). The Khloṭ came into North Africa with the invasions of the Banū Hilāl in the 5th/11th century, and formed part of the "mixed" Arab people known as the Djusham; according to Ibn Khaldūn and other historians, the Khloṭ allegedly belonged to the Banu 'l-Muntafiḳ. The Djusham spread throughout the central Maghrib, settled there and took part in all the wars which desolated Barbary. After the Almohad conquest, they vainly tried to rebel, and not long afterwards, the Banū Ghāniya [see IBN GHĀNIYA] had little trouble in engaging them as their auxiliaries after the capture of Bougie [see BIDJĀYA]. The Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr, once victorious over his enemies, punished their allies and accordingly transported to the oceanic shores of Morocco the Djusham and Riyāḥ Arabs. The latter were established in the Hibṭ and the Gharb, and the first group in the Tāmesnā (Shāwiya), depopulated since the extermination of the Berghawāṭa [*q.v.*] by the Almoravids.

Under al-Manṣūr's successors, the intrigues of the Almohad *shaykh*s found excellent support in the two component groups of the Djusham, the Khloṭ and the Sufyān, whose jealousies yet further aggravated the internecine conflicts. In 621/1224 the Khloṭ espoused the cause of the pretender al-Maʾmūn against the caliph al-ʿĀdil, who was supported by the Sufyān. In 625/1228, al-Maʾmūn was proclaimed caliph; in 630/1233 his son al-Rashīd succeeded him, but because of their misdeeds and violence, he was obliged to take strong measures against the Khloṭ chiefs, who then rebelled and took the side of the pretender Yaḥyā b. al-Nāṣir. The Sufyān, now reconciled with al-Rashīd, attacked the Khloṭ on the banks of the Umm al-Rabīʿ and a frightful carnage ensued. The Khloṭ sought vengeance by proclaiming as caliph the Andalusian pretender Ibn Hūd, but al-Rashīd pursued them, drove them back, and captured and then executed their chiefs (635/1237-8). Much weakened and browbeaten into obedience, they took part in the caliphs' expeditions, but their rivalry with the Sufyān was in no way extinguished and proved fatal to the Almohads. In 646/1248, at the siege of Tamzesdekt against the Zayānid pretender Yaghmorasen, this rivalry brought about the caliph al-Saʿīd's death and the Almohads' defeat.

The Marīnid sultan Abū Thābit treated the Khloṭ harshly for their violence (707/1308), but he took advantage of their assistance in order to destroy the power of the Riyāḥ. They were then settled on the former's lands, in the Azghār and the Hibṭ, and formed part of the *makhzan* [*q.v.*] of the Moroccan sultans, made marriage alliances with these rulers and provided for them provincial governors, ambassadors and advisers. They subsequently passed into the service of the Banū Waṭṭās and gave no support to the Saʿdids, who at first held them at arm's length despite the importance of the tribe which, according to Leo Africanus, could put 12,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry into the field. However, the Khloṭ's important part in the Moroccan victory of Wādī 'l-Makhāzin against the Portuguese gave them entry in part at least to the *makhzan* of the Saʿdids. At the time of the latters' decadence, the marabout pretender al-ʿAyyāshī [*q.v.*], who sought to compel them to march against the Christians of Larache, was unable to bring them to obedience and was assassinated by them (1048/1638-9). Under the ʿAlawids, the Khloṭ took the side of the petty princelings of northern Morocco who had made themselves in-

dependent under the cover of waging holy war. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl and his successors, after first reducing them to submission, deprived the Khloṭ of their status as a *makhzan* tribe and favoured the establishment in their region of heterogeneous elements, the Ṭlīḳ and Badāwa groups, who inevitably afflicted and reduced the power of the former occupants of the land.

Bibliography: Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon have provided the most complete information about the habitat, ethnography, administrative organisation, political position and the splits among the Khloṭ in their article *Tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkous*, in *AM*, iv-vi (1905-7). (A. Cour)

KHUMĀRAWAYH b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, second Ṭūlūnid ruler of Egypt and Syria. He was born in Sāmarrā in 250/864 and, after the abortive rebellion of his brother ʿAbbās [*q.v.* in Suppl.] against Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], was designated heir-apparent as early as 269/882. In an unprecedented act in the history of Muslim Egypt, the popular Khumārawayh came to power upon the death of his father on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 270/10 May 884 without the caliph's sanction, but rather with the general approval of the military and civil authorities of the Ṭūlūnid régime. His brother ʿAbbās was forced to pay homage to his rule, and was assassinated under obscure circumstances only a few days after Khumārawayh's accession. Khumārawayh reigned for twelve years; on 28 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 282/18 January 896 he was killed, a victim to a palace cabal, by one of his own slaves.

Khumārawayh inherited both a stable and wealthy polity from his father—the treasury is said to have contained ten million dīnārs, thanks to Ibn Ṭūlūn's far-sighted internal and external economic policy—and also an unresolved struggle with the court of Baghdād. Since he had come to power only through his father or rather through his father's generals, the caliph regarded him as an usurper. Immediately upon receiving the news of Ibn Ṭūlūn's death, al-Muwaffaḳ, the ruler of the eastern half of the ʿAbbāsid empire and strong man in the Baghdād court, broke off the negotiations which had led to the *de facto* recognition of Ibn Ṭūlūn as governor of Egypt and Syria. One of Ibn Ṭūlūn's foremost generals, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī, then changed sides and urged al-Muwaffaḳ to attack Khumārawayh and reconquer Egypt, exploiting Khumārawayh's lack of political and military experience (al-Kindī, 234, ii, 4-5). Two generals of the caliph with al-Muwaffaḳ's sanction now invaded Ṭūlūnid Syria: Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj, the governor of Mosul whom al-Muwaffaḳ had appointed "legal" governor of Egypt and Syria in 269/882-3, and Muḥammad b. Dīwdād Abi 'l-Sādj of Anbār. The defection of the Ṭūlūnid governor of Damascus and finally the appearance of Aḥmad b. al-Muwaffaḳ (the future caliph al-Muʿtaḍid) leading an ʿIrāḳī army challenged Khumārawayh's control over Syria even further. In Shawwāl 271/February-March 885 (Grabar, 68) Aḥmad's troops met the Egyptians under Khumārawayh's command in the tragi-comic Battle of the Mills (*al-Ṭawāḥīn*) in southern Palestine. Both Aḥmad and Khumārawayh ignominiously fled from the battlefield; the military decision in Khumārawayh's favour was secured by the capable and courageous Ṭūlūnid general Saʿd al-Aysar. After his victory he went to Damascus and rebelled, though unsuccessfully, against the humiliated Khumārawayh. Khumārawayh's long-term strategy of achieving a rapprochement with the ʿAbbāsid court is reflected in the exceptional clemency with which he treated his ʿIrāḳī prisoners of war. In the following years his realm was considerably extended. He beat decisively, though with inferior forces, Ibn Kundādj, who submitted to him and brought areas as far east as Ḥarrān (Grabar, 75) under Khumārawayh's control. The Djazīra became part of the Ṭūlūnid lands when its governor Ibn Abi 'l-Sādj sought Khumārawayh's protection. On Khumārawayh's own initiative, Yāzmān of Ṭarsūs finally accepted Ṭūlūnid sovereignty over Cilicia.

In Radjab 273/December 886 al-Muwaffaḳ and Khumārawayh eventually came to terms. Khumārawayh discontinued the public slandering of al-Muwaffaḳ in the sermons of Egypt and formally acknowledged ʿAbbāsid sovereignty. In return he was granted the *de jure* governorship of both Egypt and the lands of Syria (al-Shaʾmāt) for thirty years for himself and his progeny (*wulduhū*). Thus not only his own succession, but also the dignity of his family, were recognised by the caliph. The time limit imposed, however, clearly shows that the caliph regarded the Ṭūlūnid rule over Egypt and Syria to be temporary and revocable, unlike the privileges granted to the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] of Ifrīḳiya. Unfortunately, the financial provisions of this first treaty between Khumārawayh and al-Muwaffaḳ are not recorded in the sources. Syria now became an integral part of the Ṭūlūnid domains; in the provincial capitals of the Shaʾmāt, Ramla/Filasṭīn, Ḥimṣ, Ḥalab and Anṭākiya, new mints were set up.

In Radjab 279/October 892 al-Muʿtaḍid, the son of al-Muwaffaḳ, succeeded al-Muʿtamid as caliph. In a new treaty he readily confirmed these arrangements with Khumārawayh. The annual tribute to be paid by Khumārawayh as vassal to al-Muʿtadid was fixed at a rate of presumably 300,000 dīnārs, supplemented by 200,000 dīnārs to be paid for each preceding year of his rule. The sources are vague and inconsistent on these crucial figures. Khumārawayh lost the territories east of the Euphrates, Mawṣil, Diyār Rabīʿa and Diyār Muḍar around al-Rāfiḳa, where coins had been struck on his behalf before 279/892. The important and prestigious *ṭirāz*-manufactures of Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria remained under the control of the caliph. Ṭūlūnid coins bore his along with Khumārawayh's name.

Khumārawayh's limited autonomy made him susceptible to honours bestowed upon him by the caliph, the most exalted and highest sovereign of the Muslim community. In 279/892, through the mediation of his closest adviser, al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Djaṣṣāṣ al-Djawharī, he arranged for one of the great political marriages of mediaeval Islamic history. He offered his daughter Ḳaṭr al-Nadā to the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid's son ʿAlī, but the caliph took her as a bride for himself. It remains unclear whether or not this marriage, which entailed an exorbitant dowry of one million dīnārs, was a calculated device on the part of the caliph to wreck the finances of his dangerously wealthy and powerful vassal. The splendid nuptials of Ḳaṭr al-Nadā lived on in the memory of the Egyptians well into the Ottoman period, as is recorded in the chronicles and the folk-literature.

Khumārawayh's frivolity and generosity are well attested in the sources. He had sumptuous palaces and gardens built for himself and his favourites. To his contemporaries, his awesome blue-eyed palace lion epitomised his prodigality. He was said to ride no horse more than once. Becker (*Beiträge*, ii, 191) connects his addiction to luxury and debauchery with his status as heir to the capable and successful founder of a dynasty. "Rule was something self-evident to him, something given. He liked to exercise it, but shied from the burdens which were indispensable for

it". When Khumārawayh was murdered in 282/896, the treasury was empty. All the wealth Ibn Ṭūlūn had amassed had been squandered within a few years. In Khumārawayh's rule the *dīnār*'s worth sank to one third of its former value (Hassan, 245). Under Khumārawayh's sons Djaysh and Hārūn who succeeded him in rapid sequence, the political and financial demise of the Ṭūlūnid state was still further accelerated. In 292/905 ʿAbbāsid troops sacked Ibn Ṭūlūn's new city of al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ and brought back for thirty years direct ʿAbbāsid rule to Egypt.

Khumārawayh's military prowess was notable. After the disaster of al-Ṭawāḥīn he showed strategic skills and astounding personal bravery; he is said to have killed the rebellious Saʿd al-Aysar with his own hands. He could rely on the multi-racial army of his father, composed mainly of Turkish, Greek and Sudanese military slaves and some, mainly Greek, mercenaries; he strengthened its force with numerous fresh soldiers from Turkestan. Yet in contrast to his father, he lacked undisputed authority over the military. He tried to compensate for this with overly-generous special distributions that further undermined the precarious finances of the state.

Possibly under ʿAbbāsid influence (al-Muʿtaḍid had his own élite body of military slaves, *al-mukhtārūn*), Khumārawayh established a corps d'élite, *al-mukhtāra*, composed of unruly Egyptian Bedouins of the Eastern delta, on whom he bestowed various privileges. By converting these tribesmen into a loyal and efficient bodyguard he reasserted control and brought back peace to this strategic region between the centres of Egypt and Syria. Significantly enough, there seem to have been no Turks among Khumārawayh's *mukhtāra* soldiers; he seems rather to have used them to offset the predominant influence of his own Turkish entourage. One thousand Negroes formed a less highly privileged special contingent within the *mukhtāra*.

Already under Khumārawayh, the civil administration of Egypt passed gradually into the hands of the Madhārāʾī family who later, during the ʿAbbāsid intermezzo and under the Ikhshīdids, directed the finances of the country. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Madhārāʾī began his illustrious career by bringing under his control the *barīd*, the intelligence and communications service. Khumārawayh's relations with the religious establishment of Egypt were strained; his libertinism and frivolity made him the target of harsh attacks both in contemporary and later historiography.

Khumārawayh's prodigal rule encouraged a rich life. Few traces of his splendid architectural and cultural monuments and the minor arts are preserved. His patronage of scholarship and poetry is well known; the grammarian Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muslim (d. 329/944) was his protégé and the teacher of his sons. Al-Ḳāsim b. Yaḥyā al-Maryamī (d. 317/929) wrote encomia to celebrate Khumārawayh's triumphs on the battlefield.

Bibliography: See *EI*[1] s.v. (Sobernheim). Among the Arabic sources the contemporary historian Ibn al-Dāya [*q.v.*] must be ranked first; fragments of his chronicle of the Ṭūlūnids are preserved in Ibn Saʿīd's *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā 'l-Maghrib*; as far as Khumārawayh is concerned, this important text unfortunately only contains a few remarks on his appointment as heir-apparent, see Ibn Saʿīd, *Fragmente aus dem Mughrib*, ed. K. Vollers, in *Semitistische Studien*, i (1894), 74 ll. 4 ff.; al-Kindī, *K. al-Wulāt*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden/London 1912, 233-41; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg 1902-3, ii, 180-98; Z. M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides. Etude de l'Egypte Musulmane à la fin du IXe siècle 868-905*, Paris 1933, 107-33 and *passim*; O. Grabar, *The Coinage of the Tulunids*, New York 1957, 59-78; Rainer Glagow, *Das Kalifat des al-Muʿtaḍid billāh (892-902)*, Diss. phil. Bonn 1968, 22-3, 61-7, 70-3.

(U. Haarmann)

KHUMAYR (pronounced locally Khmīr, in French Kroumir), an element of the population which has given its name to a mountainous massif extending along the north-west littoral of Tunisia. The Djebel Khmīr, or Kroumirie, forms part of the administrative district of Djenouba, which covers an area of 3,000 square km. and has a population of 255,000, of whom 225,000 are peasants (census of May 1966).

The massif of the Khumayr, a Tunisian extension of the Atlas range, consists of a series of contrasting sandstone flexures running along a south-west-north-east axis. The two extremities of the massif, separated by the cultivated limestone depression of Ghazwān, present palpable differences in spite of the overall unity. The western Kroumirie has its highest point at Djebel Ghorra in an altitude of 1,202 m., and the eastern Kroumirie, very difficult of access in spite of its modest altitudes, reaches a height of 1,014 m. at Djebel Bīr which dominates Aīn Draham. Everywhere the contrasting forms of rockstrata, deeply furrowed anticlinals and sheer synclinals, give a wild aspect to a landscape covered by a forest 47,000 hectares in area. Of the trees 70% are cork-oak, 20% are zean oak, and 10% other species, including the wild olive. Often the undergrowth consists of fern. Other species have recently been introduced, notably the parasol pine (*bunduḳ*). The level of rainfall in Kroumirie is the highest in Tunisia, with an average of 1 m. per year and a maximum of 1,575 m. at Aïn Draham. In spite of the abundant rain and relatively plentiful falls of snow, the massif suffers from shortage of water. Springs are certainly numerous, but they are dispersed over a wide area and their output is feeble. Some springs even dry up in summer.

In ancient times, the massif of the Khumayr did not escape penetration by the Romans. Three routes crossed it: in the longitudinal axis, the road from Carthage to Hippo Regius (Bône, now called Annaba) via Hippo Diarrhytus (Bizerta), in the transverse axis the road from Simittu (Chemtou) to Thabraca (Tabarka), of which numerous traces have been discovered, and the road from Vaga (Béja) leading to the same destination via Trisipa. Thabraca, originally a Carthaginian market-town, and from the 4th century one of the richest dioceses in Africa, was the centre for the export to Rome of the products of the massif, timber for building and wild animals, as well as oil, wheat and minerals. "A city of luxury, where art has its place alongside commerce" (P. Gaukler, *Mosaïques*, 155), Thabraca has given us some very fine mosaics.

It is curious that throughout the mediaeval period, the massif of the Khumayr has gone unnoticed by the historian. The silence of our sources is complete. It is only in modern times, and in contemporary times in particular, that it has begun to play a historical role, appearing at the same time as a place of refuge and of resistance, escaping almost completely the power of the Tunisian authorities.

The Khumayr had cordial and profitable relations with the colony of Genoese fishermen established since 947/1540 on a rocky island of 40 hectares in area separated from Tabarka by a channel 500 metres wide. They were acutely affected when this islands was unexpectedly attacked and forcibly recovered by

ʿAlī Pasha in 1153/1740 (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 124). In 1183/1769-70, the Khumayr gave asylum to the pretender ʿUthmān al-Ḥaddād, who was ultimately captured and executed (*ibid.*, ii, 165). In 1260/1844 they gave their support to another pretender, who claimed to be a descendant of ʿUthmān Bey. The latter also was captured through a trick and beheaded (*ibid.*, iv, 78-9; ed. A. Abdesselem, 116-7). In 1282/1865, ʿAlī Bey, at the head of the military mission (*maḥalla*) responsible for the levying of taxes, bled the region of Béja white, but did not dare venture into the massif, which was subject to tax only within agreed limits (Ibn Abī al-Diyāf, *op. cit.*, vi, 55, 65). However, the mountain-people were not involved in the insurrection of 1864—they did not feel that it concerned them—nor in the troubles of 1867-8.

It was in 1881 that they came abruptly to the fore. The Khumayr were in the habit of pillaging their neighbours, including those in Algeria. Seeing that the Caīd of Tabarka, to whom they were theoretically answerable, had no control over them, the French authorities, in the context of a complex policy which had the effect of setting various powers in competition with one another, decided to act. They set in motion the process which culminated in the establishment of the protectorate over Tunisia. On 24 April 1881, the French Army of Algeria marched into Tunisia; two days later they occupied Kef without a battle; on 13 May it was the turn of Aīn-Draham, and the following day the French routed the Khumayr at Ben Mtir after a number of fierce skirmishes.

Regarding the origins of the inhabitants of the massif, we have no precise and reliable information. The name Khumayr does not appear in any mediaeval text. In the period when Ibn Khaldūn was writing, that is to say, the 8th/14th century, the region between Béja and the sea was inhabited by Hawwāra Berbers, by that time completely arabised, with whom there had been blended various elements of Arab descent, notably the Hudhayl (*ʿIbar*, vi, 288-9; tr. de Slane, *Berbères*, i, 279).

The Khumayr pose an insoluble puzzle to the historian. They only make their appearance in the 19th century, and even for this period there are only scraps of information in the archives, when they pillage their neighbours, or when the *maḥalla*s try in vain to force them to pay taxes. Who are they? They themselves say that they are Arabs, and it is true that there is an oasis in the Yemen called Khumayr (Yāḳūt, ii, 390, iii, 406) and there is a Ḳaḥṭānid tribe which bears the name Banū Khamr (Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāya*, 247), of which Khumayr could be a diminutive. Legend would also have us believe that they are the descendants of a certain Khumayr b. ʿUmar, an eminent companion of the conqueror of the Maghrib, ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ. A descendant of Khumayr, Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Djimāl, is supposed to have died, worn out by *djihād*, in the heart of the massif, on a small plateau about 5 km. south-west of Aīn Draham. The mausoleum raised to him in this place perpetuates the legend and unites the Khumayr in an almost total veneration for their patron saint and presumed ancestor. According to another tradition, the Khumayr originally lived in the south of Tunisia and were ruled by the Shābbiyya of al-Ḳayrawān. In the 18th century they were forced to emigrate towards the north, occupying the massif to which they gave their name.

The Khumayr are divided into a number of segments. The most important in the eastern Kroumirie are the Awlād ʿUmar, the Ḥwāmdiyya, the Awlād Ibn Saʿīd, the Saʿādiyya, the Urāhniyya, and the Twādjniyya in the region of Tabarka; the Salūl, the Hudhayl, the Awlād Musallim, the Khrāysiyya, the Djdāydiyya, the Djwābliyya, the Mlāykiyya, the Awlād Mūsā, the Awlād Hilāl, the Ḥumrān, the Dabābisa, and in particular the ʿAṭāṭifa in the region of Aīn Draham; the Gwādiyya, the Tbāniyya, and the Shiḥiyya in the region of Fernana. In the western Kroumirie, there are found the Banū Māzin, the Awlād ʿAlī, the Khzāra, the Mrāsin, and the Washtāta. It would be futile to attempt to distinguish between Berbers and Arabs among these tribes. The population of the massif is in fact the result of an immense and long-term ethnic fusion, dating back to the mediaeval period if not further, a fusion which was doubtless accelerated by the infiltration of the Banū Hilāl in the mid 5th/11th century, and of the Sulaym at the start of the 7th/13th century. Let it be stated explicitly that the local Arabic dialect contains no traces of Berber, and that sometimes the nomadic tent is found incongruously pitched on the mountain itself.

The geographers of the Middle Ages show little interest in the massif of Kroumirie in its own right. Their main concern is to describe the itineraries. The first, Ibn Ḥawkal, who visited the Maghrib in the mid-4th/10th century, tells us that the main highway (*al-djādda*) from Tunis to Tabarka passed through Béja (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 76). Al-Bakrī, who was writing in the mid 5th/11th century, tells us that from Béja one would reach Tabarka in three stages, passing through Bāṣlī and Darna (*Masālik*, 56-7/120-1). Al-Idrīsī (mid-6th/12th century) mentions two routes from Tunis to Tabarka, the one passing through Bizerta, and the other branching off after Béja. (*Nuzha*, 84-5). It is clear that this road system follows the routes inherited from ancient times.

We have no precise information regarding urban settlement in the massif during the Middle Ages. It is only just possible to follow the evolution of Tabarka. We have seen that it was a very prosperous place in ancient times. In the 4th/10th century, according to Ibn Ḥawkal it was nothing more than "an unhealthy village" (*ḳarya wabīʾa*), infested by scorpions, its only claims to importance being the movement of ships between it and Muslim Spain and its status as a customs station (*op. cit.*, 76). In the 5th/11th century al-Bakrī noted that impressive ruins of ancient monuments were still to be seen at Tabarka, and that the place enjoyed a certain prosperity on account of the activity of its port. In the 6th/12th century, according to al-Idrīsī, it was nothing more than a fortress (*ḥiṣn*), thinly populated and surrounded by gangs of Arab bandits, men with respect for neither law nor religion. Finally, at the start of the 16th century (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, 549) it was nothing more than "an abandoned port".

Today, Tabarka (population 4,000), is a port of modest size whose primary function is the export of cork from the massif of Kroumirie, 3-4,000 tons per year. There is also fishing and the limited exploitation of coral, and the town has profited, albeit on a relatively minor scale by comparison with other regions, from the growth of tourism in Tunisia. The most important settlement on the massif is Aīn Draham, at an altitude of 800 m., a summer resort and a centre for boar-hunting; Fernana, at 275 m., is principally a market-centre; Babouche is little more than a frontier-station controlling the border-crossing into Algeria; at Oued El-Lil, near the hamlet of Ben Mtir, there was constructed in 1955 a dam with a capacity

of 73 million cubic m. to produce Hydro-electric power and to provide Tunis with water. Another dam, at Oued El-Kebir, is in the process of construction. In spite of efforts at re-organisation, settlements continue in the main to be scattered, according to the location of wells and agricultural small-holdings. Huts and shacks built of branches have not yet disappeared

In fact, the massif of the Kroumirie, dependant on a silvo-pastoral economy, is impoverished. The standard of living of the inhabitants is the lowest in Tunisia. The most important source of income is provided by the extraction of cork. The cultivation of tobacco is also moderately profitable. The breeding of cattle, sheep and goats, in which the methods used have not evolved at all in the course of time, provides only a mediocre income. Attempts at improving the cultivation of trees, by introducing apple, pear, and cherry-trees to the area, have yielded only very limited results. Products of local craftsmanship—Kroumirie carpets in white, black and beige; wooden kitchen-utensils; embroidery—are not much in demand outside the region and provide employment for a very small number. Finally, let it be added that the hot and sulphurous springs of Bordj al-Ḥammān, much appreciated from the earliest times for their medicinal properties, have led to the establishment in 1966 of a modern spa resort, built presumably alongside the ruins of the ancient baths and given the name Ḥammām Bourguiba. Enlarged in 1973, this resort is attracting an ever-growing Tunisian clientèle.

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(M. Talbi)

KHUMBARADJI, bombardier, grenadier (Persian *khumbara* "explosive projectile, grenade, mortar bomb", etc.), a term used in the Ottoman military organisation. The bombardiers in the Janissary corps and the *Khumbaradjī* unit in the Djebedji corps are thought to have been first introduced in the 9th/15th century. The *Khumbaradjīs* were of two types, the *ulūfeli* ones, who were paid, and the *tīmār*-holders, who formed the majority of them and who served in the fortresses. The *Khumbaradjīs* were neglected until the beginning of the 12th/18th century. Khumbaradjī Aḥmed Pasha [see AḤMED PASHA BONNEVAL] was appointed by Maḥmūd I in 1144/1731 to reorganise the Khumbaradjīs; under his reorganisation, 301 soldiers from Bosnia were registered as paid *ulūfelis*, and thus a separate corps of bombardiers was formed. Each 100 soldiers became an *oda*, and each *oda* was to have 1 captain (*yüzbashī*), 2 *ellibashīs*, and 10 corporals (*onbashīs*) (*Taʾrīkh-i Sāmī-Shākir Ṣubḥī*, Istanbul 1198, 58 a-b). In the Ayazma palace at Üsküdar, there were constructed a barracks and a factory for the Khumbaradjī corps, and later, their numbers increased to 601, half of whom were *ulūfelis* and the other half *tīmār*-holders (for the activities of Khumbaradjī Aḥmad Pasha, see also Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Cevdet tasnifi, Askeri kısım, no. 45137; for the number of *Khumbaradjīs* on the strength at 8 Ramaḍān 1152/December 1739, see Cevdet tasnifi-Askeri kısım, no. 37485). The *Khumbaradjī* corps, which expanded until 1160/1747, was neglected thereafter, but in 1197/1783, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, there were attempts to improve it again (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, iii, 85; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu ocakları*, Istanbul 1944, ii, 125-6). During the reign of Selīm III, when the army was organised on western lines, the *Khumbaradjī* corps was also included in the plan of reform. According to the decree of 1206/1792, the *Khumbaradjī* corps, whether paid or *tīmār*-holders, were to be concentrated on Istanbul and the names of those absent were struck from the pay rolls. Also, there were to be 10 *Khumbaradjī* soldiers and five assistants (*mülāzim*) for each *Khumbara*, so that the whole corps would comprise 500 *Khumbaradjī* soldiers and 250 assistants. Out of every 10 soldiers, one was to be considered as the *khalīfe*, and the other 9 as his aides (*yamaks*); out of every 5 *Khumbaradjīs* one was to be an officer with the title of *ser-khalīfe*, and the most notable among the officers was to be *odjak ketkhüdāsī*, another *čāwūsh*, and another *ʿalemdār* or standard-bearer; beside the chief bombardier (*Khumbaradjībashī*), who was responsible for the soldiers' discipline, there was to be appointed a superintendent (*nāẓir*) from among the state officials (Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün hatt-ı humâyunları Nizâm-i cedit* (1789-1807), Ankara 1946, 45-6; for the text of the regulation relating to the bombardiers' corps, see Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, vi, 356-8). The barracks for their training were built at Hasköy on the Golden Horn shores in Istanbul. A more detailed ordinance for the *Khumbaradjīs* was prepared and put into effect in 1211/1797 (Cevdet tasnifi, Askeri kısım, no. 40887). In the move-

ment to dethrone Selīm III, the *Khumbaradjis* sided with the rebels, but when the Janissary corps was abolished in 1241/1826 during the reign of Maḥmūd II, they supported the government action (Djewdet, *op. cit.*, xii, 157; Esʿad, *Üss-i ẓafer*, Istanbul 1293, passim). When a new army was established under the title of the *ʿAsākir-i Manṣūra*, the *Khumbaradjī* corps was reorganised and retained within it (Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1290, i, 159), but was included in the artillery division and was to be headed by the *Ṭopdju-bashī* (later by the *Ṭopkhāne-i ʿāmire müshirliği*). There was one *Khumbara* regiment (*alay*), with two battalions (*taburs*) in existence in 1248/1832 (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 6744), and four years later, 109 cavalrymen and 229 foot soldiers, a total of 338 soldiers (Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 6750).

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KHUMM [see GHADĪR AL-KHUMM]

KHUNĀṢIRA, an ancient fortified settlement situated some 60 km. to the south-east of Aleppo and 100 km. to the north-east of Ḥamāt, on a route through the desert—on the fringes of which it lies—connecting Aleppo with Baghdād. The foundation of the place is attributed to Khunāsir(a) b. ʿAmr of the Banū Kināna (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 290 and ii, 349), but it is probably older than this. Yāḳūt (s.v.), who cites also al-Khunāṣir b. ʿAmr, the representative of Abraha al-Ashram, may be echoing a later legend. In the Umayyad period, this chef-lieu of the *kūra* of al-Aḥaṣṣ owed its fame to the fact that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had a stronghold constructed there in which he frequently resided (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 343 = § 2188; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra*, ed. D. Sourdel, Damascus 1953, i/1, 28; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahhān, Damascus 1951, i, 42, 46). Ibn Ḥawḳal (*K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*², 179, tr. Kramers-Wiet, Beirut-Paris 1964, 176), describes the role played by al-Khunāṣira at a time when the state's power had become relaxed and the routes in the interior of Syria were uncertain, so that travellers from Aleppo to Baghdād preferred to journey through the desert where they could enjoy, for a price, the protection of the Bedouins. In 515/1121 it was captured and destroyed by Baldwin II, who carried off to Antioch the gates of the citadel (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ii, 201), after which the place was abandoned (N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-dīn*, Damascus 1967, i, 179). Nevertheless, there still exists a place there called today Khanāṣir.

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KHUNĀTHA bint Bakkār b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Maghāfirī, wife of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, sultan of Morocco (1082-1139/1672-1727). She was highly versed in literature and the religious sciences and acted as an adviser to her royal spouse. In 1143/1731, during the reign of her sons Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, she performed the Pilgrimage; and at Mecca, she bought buildings and established them as *awḳāf*, in particular, a house in the Bāb al-ʿUmra, one of the gates of the Holy House, which she placed at the disposal of students. The memory of her sumptuous pilgrimage was commemorated by the *shaykh* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Shāfiʿī al-Ṭabarī, *imām* of the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, in a splendid poem. She died at Fās in Djumādā I 1159/May-June 1746 and was buried in the mausoleum of the Shorfa in Fās al-Djadīd.

Her writings include a letter addressed to the people to calm their fears over the neighbouring Turks, and a commentary on the *Iṣāba* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī.

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KHUNDJĪ, Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān (860-927/1455-1521), Persian religious scholar and political writer, who as a staunch Sunnī fiercely opposed Shāh Ismāʿīl, left Iran and fled to Uzbek Transoxania.

Khundjī's background, both on the side of his father (of the famous Rūzbihān family, cf. Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī) and of his mother (of the Ṣāʿidī family), made him a member of the wealthy and influential *ʿulamāʾ* of Fārs who were important as *soyūrghāldārs* and who enjoyed the high esteem and the protection of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu rulers. Khundjī received an exceptional scholarly training; in his native Shīrāz he studied under the great Shāfiʿī Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī [*q.v.*], the author of the *Akhlāḳ-i Djalālī*. Dawānī's preoccupation with political thought is likely to have influenced Khundjī's own interest in a practical application of the norms of the *sharīʿa* in a post-Mongol, Sunnī state, as his sophisticated manual of government, *Sulūk al-mulūk*—which he wrote shortly before his death on the suggestion of the Uzbek ruler ʿUbayd Allāh Khān in Bukhārā—attests. He was introduced to Ṣūfism by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ardistānī, a follower of the Suhrawardiyya *ṭarīḳa*. With him he travelled to Egypt and Palestine and he devoted a *manāḳib* biography to him which has not, however, come down to us. Khundjī himself joined the Djahriyya order, an offshoot of the Naḳshbandiyya, possibly only after he had left Ādharbāydjān and Iran and had settled at the Uzbek court. Khundjī represents the typical intellectual Ṣūfī of his time, for whom *taṣawwuf* is an indispensable item in the academic curriculum. He wrote a commentary on the *Waṣiyyat-nāma* of ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Ghudjuwānī [*q.v.*], one of the great precursors of the Central Asian Naḳshbandiyya. Khundjī eulogised Khʷādja Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband and extensively quoted his doctrines; he sought and cherished the friendship of the disciples of the famous Naḳshbandī popular leader

Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār [*q.v.*], who had dominated religious and political life in Transoxania in the second half of the 9th/15th century. At the same time, Khundjī fiercely opposed any excess and abuse in mysticism, particularly the doctrine that man can acquire divine attributes through *fanāʾ*. For him, such exaggerated mysticism was as much *irtidād*, apostasy, as the pernicious *ghuluww* of Shāh Ismāʿīl I. Khundjī's paramount concern in all his writings is the protection of the revealed *sharīʿa* from any infringements. In his sharp differentiation between types of mysticism, one is reminded of Ibn Khaldūn's *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil ilā tahdhīb al-masāʾil*; an influence from Ibn Khaldūn on Khundjī cannot be ruled out. Khundjī also severly attacked the semi-pagan religious practices of the nomadic Uzbeks, such as the institutionalised pilgrimage to the tombs of local saints; however, he does not seem to have been very successful with these admonitions.

It was from the well-known Mamlūk historiographer and polyhistorian al-Sakhāwī [*q.v.*] that Khundjī owed his initiation into the sciences of *ḥadīth*, i.e. the discipline for which he acquired particular fame in his century. In Uzbek Central Asia, he became known as the "paragon of the traditionalists" (*sanad al-muḥaddithīn*). He studied law, theology, the Arabic sciences and *ḥadīth* with al-Sakhāwī in Medina; his proficiency is attested by the very complimentary *tardjama* which al-Sakhāwī, who was normally very critical of his students and compeers, included in his biographical dictionary of 9th/15th century celebrities. Among Khundjī's writings on tradition, one might mention an Arabic *risāla* on the big fire in Medina in 886/1481, *Hidāyat al-taṣdīḳ ilā ḥikāyat al-ḥarīḳ* (ed. Muḥammad Dānishpazhūh, in *Yādnāma-yi īrānī-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 77-113), which is a methodically exemplary study based on *ḥadīth*.

Khundjī began his public career at the court of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Yaʿḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan, whose attention he had attracted in 892/1487 with a copy of his lost—possibly panegyrical—work *Badīʿ al-zamān fī ḳiṣṣat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*. He served as a *kātib* in Yaʿḳūb's *dīwān*, and dedicated to him and his unfortunate son Baysonḳor his chronicle of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu house, the carefully-composed *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi amīnī* (partial translation by V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490—An abridged translation of Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i ʿĀlamārā-yi Amīnī*, London 1957; full edition under preparation by John Woods, Chicago). In this work, which is the most important single narrative source on the history of the later Aḳ Ḳoyunlu rulers, Khundjī presents himself as an active courtier, who probably participated in the cabal to overthrow Yaʿḳūb's first minister ʿĪsā of Sāva who had tried to re-islamise the fiscal system of the state, thus endangering the *soyūrghāl*s of Khundjī's affluent *ʿulamāʾ* relatives. The most significant passages of this chronicle are his diatribes against Ismāʿīl's grandfather and father, Shaykh Djunayd and Ḥaydar [*qq.v.*], whose self-styled religious authority he reviled in vitriolic language.

After Ismāʿīl's accession to power in 907/1501, he fled in 909/1503 to Ḳāshān, where he wrote his refutation of Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī's treatise *Kashf al-ḥaḳḳ wa-nahdj al-ṣidḳ wa 'l-ṣawāb*, entitled *Ibṭāl nahdj al-bāṭil wa-ihmāl kashf al-ʿāṭil* (partial edn. and German tr. by I. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šīʿa und der sunnitischen Polemik*, in *SBWAW*, lxxviii (1874), 475-86). There he questions the originality and consistency of Imāmī *fiḳh* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and disqualifies Shīʿī dogmatics as a bad reproduction of Muʿtazilī (that is, in itself reprehensible) *kalām*. A hundred years later, the Shīʿī Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Shushtarī (d. 1019/1610), a victim of Djahāngīr's anti-Shīʿī religious policy, again wrote a refutation of Khundjī's treatise. Khundjī's book has had a lasting influence on Shīʿī-Sunnī polemics in the Arab lands, even in the 20th century. Khundjī, who himself held the *ahl al-bayt* in high esteem and wrote poems in praise of the twelve *imām*s (see the text in Muḥammad Amīn Khundjī, *Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī*, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, iv (1335/1956), 178-9) and, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Mashhad in the company of Shaybānī Khān [*q.v.*], of the eighth *Imām* ʿAlī Riḍā (see Khundjī, *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1341/1962, 336-8), accused the Ithnā-ʿAsharī theologians of placing more emphasis on the slander and cursing of the Prophet's Companions, and the *shaykhayn* Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in particular, than on the due veneration of the immaculate family.

On his flight to the east, which also took him to Tīmūrid and later Uzbek Herāt, Khundjī passed through Ṭūs, where he was inspired, as he describes in a touchingly impressionistic and intimate account, by the decaying ruins of al-Ghazālī's tomb in the solitude of the steppe (*Mihmān-nāma* 352). Al-Ghazālī was Khundjī's revered model whom he quotes extensively. On this occasion Khundjī pledged that he would make an effort to emulate the great master and bring to the land of Khurāsān, in this age of great calamity, a revival of the orthodox religious sciences. He came to Bukhārā, to the court of Shaybānī Khān, the successful Uzbek ruler, who had ended Tīmūrid rule in Transoxania and Herāt and had conquered most of western Khurāsān. He gained access to and was to dominate the scholarly *madjālis* in which the Khān, himself a cultured man, had scholars discussing questions on religion, particularly on the compatibility of certain policies with the *sharīʿa*, e.g. the issue whether it was permissible for the Muslim Uzbeks to eat the meat of animals slaughtered by their semi-pagan Ḳazaḳ enemies. Khundjī compiled at the court before 916/1510, perhaps at the suggestion of the ruler himself, the unique "guest-book of Bukhārā" (*Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, see above; partial German tr. by Ursula Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts—Das Mihmān-nāma-yi Buḫārā des Faḍlallāh b. Rūzbihān Ḫungī—Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Freiburg 1973) as a token of gratitude to his host and friend Shaybānī Khān. This work defies any formal classification. Its beautiful language and style evidences his literary talent. We find here, in a loose, more or less chronological sequel, passages on tradition, refreshingly natural descriptions of the scenery of Turkestan in spring and winter, surprisingly personal and autobiographical sketches (Khundjī tells us, unusually, much about himself, e.g. his fits of hypochondria), and straightforward narrative passages. In the latter he e.g. gives an account of the manners of the Ḳazaḳs, the cousins and at the same time the most dangerous enemies of the Uzbeks to their north. He devotes special attention to Shaybānī Khān and to his nephew ʿUbayd Allāh Khān, who much later was to lead the Uzbek federation back to political power.

The impelling idea of the *Mihmān-nāma* was the effort to drive Shaybānī Khān into attacking and exterminating the Shīʿī heresy from Iran and reviving the legal order of the *sunna* in Iranian homeland. He unsuccessfully opposed the scheme of defeating the Ḳazaḳs in the rear of the Uzbeks first, before marching against the Ṣafavids, whose deeds Khundjī denounced—in a familiar *topos*—as even more abomi-

nable than the unbelief of the Franks, who were *kuffār ab origine*. He expatiates on the apocryphal *ḥadīth* of Ḥārith, both in the *Mihmān-nāma* (95-107) and in a separate *risāla*: Ḥārith, the prototype of Shaybānī Khān, saved the true doctrine of Islam from a heretic tribe which slandered and vilified the companions of the prophet and the four orthodox caliphs, an unconcealed allusion to Shāh Ismāʿīl, the foe, and his damnable creatures, the Ḳïzïlbāsh [*q.v.*]. Khundjī's concept of history is remarkable. He regards the Uzbeks as another manifestation of the nomadic migrations from Inner Asia to the Muslim East, destined to overwhelm Iran and ʿIrāḳ and to bring back justice to these lands, just as the Saldjūḳs had done. He praises the legendary past of the Uzbeks and predicts a glorious future for them. He elevates Shaybānī Khān, beyond the bounds of conventional encomium, to appear as a *mudjaddid* of his age.

The catastrophe of Marw in 916/1510, when Shaybānī Khān was slain in battle by the Ṣafawid army, shattered Khundjī's dreams. His advice had proved fatal for his protector and sovereign. Taking into account the vulnerable personality of the author, which shines through so often in the autobiographical passages of the *Mihmān-nāma*, this turn of events must have had drastic effects on Khundjī. He passed the following two years in hiding in Samarḳand which had returned to the rule of the Tīmūrid Bābur, Ismāʿīl's half-hearted ally. In 918/1512 Khundjī suddenly re-appears delivering an eloquent sermon in Samarḳand (cf. Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāṣifī, *Badāʾiʿ al-waḳāʾi*, ed. A. N. Boldyrev, Moscow 1961, i, 45 f.), which had been recaptured by the Uzbeks under ʿUbayd Allāh Khān.

Fulfilling a vow made at the tomb of Shaykh Aḥmad Yasawī in the hour of greatest affliction, ʿUbayd Allāh commissioned Khundjī to compile, as a guide for a righteous Sunnī ruler, the *Sulūk al-mulūk* (ed. Muḥammad Niẓāmuddīn, Hyderabad/Dn. 1386/1966). In form this didactic work displays features of the Mirror for Princes books; in its topics and in the arrangement however, it belongs to the tradition of the manuals of government, such as al-Māwardī's *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*. It represents a highly intelligent attempt to harmonise the norms of the *sharīʿa*, as developed in the first centuries of Islam, with the realities of a tribal confederation, the body-politic of which is nomadic and Turkish, and not Islamic. Khundjī gives the prescriptions and legal interpretations both according to the Ḥanafī *madhhab* of the Turkish Uzbeks and his own, Persian, Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. He carefully juxtaposes lengthy passages on the legal norms, with numerous quotations from the *ḥadīth* and the canonical textbooks, with highly realistic and sober opinions on the present state of affairs. This can be observed in his treatment of taxation; he appears to equate certain aspects of the canonical *zakāt*-duties with the prevailing Mongol *tamghā*-imposts. Even more significant is his chapter on the *djihād*. He took his lesson from the catastrophe of Marw. No longer does he call for *djihād* against the Ṣafawids at all costs, lest the blood of innocent subjects of Ismāʿīl be shed. He even concedes (and thereby joins the mainstream of traditional Sunnī polemics) that the Twelver Shīʿī doctrine does allow for the observance of the precepts of the *sharīʿa*, such as legal marriage contracts, the call to prayer etc. We do not know to what degree Khundjī's enlightened doctrines were taken up by ʿUbayd Allāh, an energetic and pious ruler, who despite the bitter polemics on both sides, kept religious issues largely out of his long controversy with the Ṣafawids over the possession of Khurāsān. His fame lived on at least in Central Asia; the increasing isolation of Transoxania from the Sunnī central lands probably accounts for the little influence which his writings—particularly the *Sulūk al-mulūk*, which was explicitly directed to a broad audience of Sunnī rulers—exercised outside the Uzbek domains. An effect on political thought in Mughal India is more likely, yet remains to be investigated.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see V. Minorsky, *The Aq-Qoyunlu and Land Reforms*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 451-8, 461-2; M. A. Salié, *Maloizvestnyj istočnik po istorii Uzbekistana*, in *Trudî instituta vostokovedeniya* iii (1954), 107-18; S. K. Ibragimov, *Mikhman-namei Bukhara Ruzbekhana kak istočnik po istorii Kazakhstana XV-XVI vv.*, in *Trudî instituta ist. arkheol. i etnogr. Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR*, viii (1960), 141-57; Muhammad Aslam, *Faḍl-ullah bin Rūzbihān al-Iṣfahānī*, in *JAS Pakistan*, x/2 (1965), 121-34; M. M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Ṣafawids, Šīʿism and the Ġulāt*, Wiesbaden 1972; E. Glassen, *Schah Ismāʿīl I. und die Theologen seiner Zeit*, in *Isl.* xlviii (1972), 258 f.; U. Haarmann, *Staat und Religion in Transoxanien im frühen 16. Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, cxxiv (1974), 332-69. (U. Haarmann)

KHUNZAL (self designation, Khunzami; Russian designations, Khunzalī, Gun(d)zalī, Gunzebi, Gunzibtsī, Enzebi, Nakhad; other designations, Khunzeb, Gunzeb), a numerically small people of the eastern Caucasus. Khunzal forms with Bezheta, Dido, Ginukh and Khvarshi [*qq.v.*], the Dido division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group, of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian languages.

According to the Soviet census, in 1926 there were, ethnically, 106 Khunzals, and 129 claiming Khunzal as their mother tongue; in 1933 (estimation by Grande) there were 616 Khunzals. The Khunzals inhabit four *auls* on the upper course of the Avar Koysu in the Tliarata district of the Dāghistān A.S.S.R. They live in the highest and most inaccessible part of mountainous Dāghistān. This isolated position has protected the Khunzals from exterior influences, and they have maintained to a great degree many of the patriarchal customs. The Khunzals are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī rite. The economy has remained traditional: raising sheep with a transhumance system, agriculture on terraces, and handicrafts (especially leather work).

Khunzal is a purely vernacular language, and the Khunzals use Avar as their first literary and second spoken (sometimes first) language, having Avar as the language in primary education. Russian is the second literary language. They are in fact being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Avars.

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KHURĀSĀN, today the north-easternmost *ustān* or province of Persia, with its administrative capital at Mashhad [*q.v.*]. But in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, the term "Khurāsān" frequently had a much wider denotation, covering also parts of what

are now Soviet Central Asia and Afghānistān; early Islamic usage often regarded everywhere east of western Persia, sc. Djibāl or what was subsequently termed ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī, as being included in a vast and ill-defined region of Khurāsān, which might even extend to the Indus Valley and Sind. Thus the Armenian geography traditionally attributed to Moses of Khoren depicts Khurāsān as stretching from Gurgān and Ḳūmis in the southeastern Caspian region to Badakhshān and Ṭukhāristān on the upper Oxus and Bāmiyān in the Hindū Kush (see J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 47 ff.).

Topographically, Khurāsān in the modern, restricted sense is dominated by a zone of mountain ranges running roughly NW-SE, a continuation of the Alburz chain, and connecting that chain with the Paropamisus and Hindū Kush ranges of northern Afghānistān; in a district such as that of the Kūh-i Bīnālūd to the north of Nīshāpūr, these mountains rise to 11,200 feet. To the north, open steppes and deserts run down through the Soviet Turkmenistan SSR to the Caspian Sea and the Amū-Daryā basin. To the south, there lies an extensive region of land-locked deserts and salt flats, such as the Dasht-i Kawīr, the Dasht-i Lūṭ and the Hilmand basin of Sīstān, but within this region is situated an important upland zone, that of Ḳāʾin and Birdjand, the early Islamic province of Ḳūhistān [*q.v.*], one massif of which, the Kūh-i Mūminābād, rises to 9,100 feet. There is thus considerable topographical diversity, but only in the more northerly mountain zone do adequate rainfall, perennial streams and accessible wells permit a relatively flourishing agricultural and pastoral economy; here, the population is quite dense for Persia. Elsewhere, and especially in the more southerly parts, there is usually an oasis pattern of life, with much dependence on wells and on *kārīz*s or *ḳanāt*s. Also, until the time of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī at least, there was a substantial minority of nomads in Khurāsān, composed mainly of Göklen and Yomut Turkmens, and some Hazāras, Taymūrīs and Balūč. (See for the geographical, topographical and demographic background, Admiralty handbook, *Persia*, London 1945, and *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, ed. W. B. Fisher, Cambridge 1968, chs. 1, 2, 5, 18, 19; and for the historical geography of the older period, Marquart, *op. cit.*, Le Strange, 382-432, and *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, § 23).

The present population of Khurāsān is very mixed. There is of course the still-important Iranian substratum, but there are extensive other groups, such as Turkmens, Kurds, Balūč, Arabs, and Taymūrīs and Hazāras from Afghanistan. The presence of these varied races is a concomitant of Khurāsān's strategic position as a bastion facing Inner Asia and as a corridor between the steppes and the civilised, settled lands of the Middle East. Pressure on Khurāsān by the Inner Asian nomads has been intermittent from the earliest known times till the later 19th century, when permanent political frontiers were established and the free movement of peoples thus impeded. Khurāsān was therefore the gateway through which Alexander the Great passed to Bactria and India, and conversely, that by which Turkish peoples from the Saldjūḳs onwards and then the Mongols entered Persia. The result has been an ethnic commingling in Khurāsān, especially as the rulers of Persia, whether Persian, Arab or Turkish, have, in pursuance of their historic task of defending their north-eastern frontiers, at various times planted colonies of auxiliaries and guards; for political reasons, colonies of peoples like Lurs were settled there as late as the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī. Nevertheless, whilst the basically Iranian ethnic and linguistic nature of northern Khurāsān at least has been overlaid, this process has not gone so far as in a Turkicised province like Ādharbāydjān; the Ḳāʾin and Birdjand region, in particular, is still predominantly Persian.

In Sāsānid times, Khurāsān was one of the four great provincial satrapies, and was governed from Marw by an Ispahbadh (MP form *Spāhpat*; [see ISPAHBADH]). Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 201, enumerates as comprising Khurāsān under the Sāsānids the following districts: Nīshāpūr, Harāt, Marw, Marw al-Rūdh, Fāryāb, Ṭālaqān, Balkh, Bukhārā, Bādghīs, Abīward, Gharčistān, Ṭūs, Sarakhs and Gurgān. In times of military expansion, Sāsānid arms pushed beyond Marw; thus Ṭabarī, i, 819, says that Ardashīr Bābakān extended his power over Khʷārazm and Ṭukhāristān. In fact, many local princes must have remained as Sāsānid feudatories, holding offices like those of *marzbān*s or frontier wardens; many of these achieved temporary independence when the Sāsānid monarchy collapsed under the Arab onslaught. To the immediate east of Sāsānid Khurāsān lay the lands of their enemies, the powerful northern branch of the Hephthalite confederation, with its centres in Bādghīs and Ṭukhāristān; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 405, mentions that there was ruling over Harāt, Bādghīs and Pūshang a local potentate, called by him the *ʿaẓīm* or "mighty one", who must have been a Hephthalite chief. The ancient pattern of hostilities between the rulers of Persia and the Hephthalites was to be taken up by the Arab governors of Khurāsān in the Umayyad period (see further, HAYĀṬILA).

It was at Marw that the last Sāsānid Emperor, Yazdagird III, made his stand before his betrayal by the local *marzbān* Māhūya and his murder in 31/651. Meanwhile, the Arabs had already appeared in Khurāsān. During ʿUmar's caliphate, forces from Baṣra penetrated as far as Ṭabasayn in the Great Desert, and a determined attack on the province was made in the following reign of ʿUthmān when ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [*q.v.*] was governor of Baṣra (sc. from 29/649 till 35/655). An expedition eastwards was mounted by the men of Kūfa under Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī, travelling along the northern route between the Alburz and the central deserts, and another one by the Baṣran army under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir and his lieutenant al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays, approaching via Kirmān and Ṭabasayn, a route which was for long preferred as an easier and safer route than that of the modern highway and railway connecting Tehran and Mashhad. It was the Baṣran army which made most progress, and in 31/651-2 reduced Nīshāpūr to obedience, receiving the submission of local rulers and former Sāsānid governors in most of the other towns of Khurāsān. In the following year, the last great stronghold of the Sāsānids, Marw al-Rūdh, fell to al-Aḥnaf after fierce fighting, but the local *marzbān*, Bādhām, was confirmed in his office and possessions there in exchange for a relatively light tribute. The permanent pacification of Khurāsān was, however, a protracted process. Local potentates frequently rebelled against Arab control and appealed to outside powers like the Hephthalites, the Western Turks or Türgesh, the Soghdians, and even the Chinese Emperors (who claimed a vague sovereignty over Central Asia, and with whom certain Sāsānid pretenders took refuge). In particular, the civil war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya meant a relaxation in Khurāsān of Arab control, which had subsequently to be re-imposed by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (re-appointed governor of Baṣra and the east by Muʿāwiya from 41/661 to 44/664)

and his generals. Thus an important expedition was sent against Sīstān and Zābulistān under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, in the course of which Kābul was reached, and according to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 409, Balkh was restored to obedience and the great Buddhist shrine of Nawbahār despoiled.

A period of stronger Arab rule came with the appointment in 45/665 of Ziyād b. Abīhi as governor of Baṣra and the east. During the Umayyad age, authority over the extensive provinces of Khurāsān and Sīstān (within which were included at times, as noted above, such distant regions as Transoxania, Farghāna, eastern Afghānistān, Makrān and Sind) was exercised in the first place by the governors of Baṣra, for Baṣran troops, and especially the men of the North Arab or Ḳaysī tribes of Tamīm and Bakr, were prominent in the overrunning of the eastern Persian lands, though in the governorship of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (78-82/697-702), considerable numbers of that governor's fellow-tribesmen of the Yamanī Azd were settled in Khurāsān. Since the turbulent province of ʿIrāḳ always demanded the personal presence and attention of the governors of Kūfa and Baṣra, the latter appointed deputies in Khurāsān and often in Sīstān also; and all these appointments tended to reflect policy trends and personal ascendancies at the heart of the caliphate in Syria. In Ziyād's time, attempts were made, against strong resistance from the local peoples and from the Hephthalites, to reduce Ṭukhāristān to obedience. This was achieved by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād and his son ʿAbd Allāh, in the case of Balkh and the lands up to the Amū-Daryā, in the years after 51/671, but the Hephthalite threat was not finally removed till the governor Ḳutayba b. Muslim captured and killed their leader Ṭarkhān Nīzak in 91/710 and took as a hostage the Turkish *Yabghu* (in the Arabic texts, *Djabbūya*) of Ṭukhāristān. But even after this, Arab rule was far from secure. The Arabs made Marw their military centre, and by the end of the 1st century A.H. were beginning to settle down permanently in the Marw oasis and probably to intermarry with the indigenous Persian population. But their solidarity in the face of external threats from enemies like the Türgesh and Soghdians was adversely affected by the tribal divisions and feuds between the Ḳays faction, numerically superior and generally dominant, and the Yamanīs, and also by the fact that control by the caliphs was difficult to exercise from distant Damascus. See for events in Khurāsān during the Umayyad period, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 47-70; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Eng. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, esp. ch. 8; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*; Spuler, *Iran*, 5 ff.; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971; idem, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970; and idem, *Khurasan at the time of the Arab conquest*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 479-90.

The last decades of Umayyad rule were characterised by tribal warfare amongst the Arabs, which, amongst other things, delayed the consolidation of Arab control across the Amū-Daryā in Transoxania; noteworthy in this connection is the prolonged revolt in Ṭukhāristān from 116/734 onwards of al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*]. Large numbers of Arab troops continued to reach Khurāsān, so that according to the historian Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, there were 40,000 Muslims in Khurāsān by 112/731. The last Umayyad governor there, Nasr b. Sayyār al-Kinānī (120-30/738-48) [*q.v.*], was faced latterly by the spread of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* or revolutionary movement from its centre at Marw under a political adventurer of consummate skill, Abū Muslim [*q.v.*]. This movement had been organised, from the caliphate of Hishām onwards, under local *naḳībs* or representatives of the ʿAbbāsid family in Marw, until Abū Muslim took over the leadership there in 128/746, apparently drawing his prime support from the older-established Arab settlers in the district, those whom Ṭabarī and the anonymous author of the *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ* edited by Gryaznevich call the *ahl al-taḳādum* (see Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, 155-8). By 130/748 Abū Muslim was undisputed master in Marw and Nasr b. Sayyār had been forced to flee towards the west.

Since Khurāsānī support was so decisive in the rise of the ʿAbbāsids, the province enjoyed considerable favour from the early ʿAbbāsid Caliphs; cf. the encomium of the Khurāsānīs as "our party, our helpers and the people of our *daʿwa*" in a *khuṭba* or oration pronounced at Hāshimiyya by al-Manṣūr and reported by Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 203 ff., and the similar sentiments quoted from Ibn Ḳutayba in Muḳaddasī, 293-4. Khurāsānian guards and officials, the *Abnāʾ al-Dawla*, continued to be the mainstay of the régime till towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century, when there began the wholesale adoption of slave troops as the nucleus of the Caliphal army and household [see GHULĀM]. Many Khurāsānīs migrated westwards into ʿAbbāsid service, such as the Barmakī family from Balkh [see BARĀMIKA]; this process was accentuated when al-Maʾmūn, the former governor in Marw, achieved the caliphate in 198/813 with the support of the Persian east against his brother al-Amīn.

The Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] governed Khurāsān for the ʿAbbāsids, as faithful servants of the caliphs rather than as autonomous rulers, for some fifty years (205-59/821-73). They were of arabised, Persian *mawlā* stock, one member of whom had been secretary to an ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī* or propagandist in Khurāsān, Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī. Ṭāhir Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn was one of al-Maʾmūn's generals, and was in 205/821 appointed governor of Khurāsān and the east. The Ṭāhirids were strenuous supporters of Sunnī orthodoxy and the established Perso-Islamic social hierarchy against Shīʿī and older Iranian religious movements in the Caspian provinces and Transoxania, and also against heterodox currents of Persian socio-religious protest which were racking the Persian countryside at this time (see G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIᵉ et au IIIᵉ siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938). Under the Ṭāhirids, Khurāsān blossomed economically and culturally. We find ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213-30/828-45) showing his concern for his province's welfare by his commissioning a book on water rights and the regulation of *ḳanāts*, the characteristic means of irrigation throughout much of Khurāsān; this *Kitāb al-Ḳunī* was, according to the Ghaznawid historian Gardīzī, still in use two centuries later. Whereas in the early Islamic period Khurāsān had been economically and culturally backward compared with western Persia (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Khorasan: Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 107-74), its agricultural prosperity now increased; according to Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 308, tr. 138, the *kharādj* or land tax of Khurāsān under the Ṭāhirids amounted to 40 million dirhams a year. It benefited from commercial traffic connecting ʿIrāḳ and Baghdād with Central Asia and the fringes of the Indian world, and a luxury product like the edible earth of Nīshāpūr was, according to Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, 192, tr. Bosworth, 132, exported all over the

Islamic world, including to Egypt and the Maghrib. Above all, Khurāsān derived much advantage from the transit trade in Turkish slaves, which were a regular component of the annual tribute forwarded to the caliphs by the early ʿAbbāsid governors, the Ṭāhirids, and later, the Sāmānids, and which often fetched high prices; Ibn Ḥawḳal², ii, 452, tr. ii, 437, says that he saw more than once in Khurāsān slaves sold for 3,000 dīnārs. (Further on the Ṭāhirids, see Bosworth, ch. 3, *The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids*, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 90-106).

The Ṣaffārid adventurer from Sīstān, Yaʿḳūb b. Layth, overthrew Ṭāhirid rule in Khurāsān, entering their capital Nīshāpūr in 259/873, and in the ensuing years, Khurāsān was fought over by various contending generals, until the Sāmānid *amīr* Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] defeated ʿAmr b. Layth in 287/900 and incorporated Khurāsān into the Sāmānid dominions. Under what is described in the sources as the beneficent rule of the Sāmānids, Khurāsān continued to be within the mainstream of Sunnī religious orthodoxy and culture. It had become already under the Ṭāhirids a vigorous centre of Arabic literature and of Sunnī legal and religious scholarship. There is a large representation of Khurāsānī scholars in such literary biographical works as Thaʿālibī's *Yatīmat al-dahr* and the continuations of Bākharzī and Iṣfahānī. Khurāsānī theologians and traditionists were prominent in Sunnī, especially Shāfiʿī and Ashʿarī, learning, and in such theological and philosophical movements as those of the Muʿtazila and Karrāmiyya [*qq.v.*]. The extremist Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī sect had pockets of support in the east, and Khurāsānī ascetics and mystics played important rôles in the development of Ṣūfism. It is, of course, well-known that Khurāsān and the eastern Iranian world in general had a crucial part in the renaissance of the New Persian language and its literature from the 3rd/9th century onwards; see Browne, *LHP*, i, 445 ff., and Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, 133 ff.

As the Sāmānid amīrate disintegrated in the later 4th/10th century under external attack from the north and internal revolt by unruly Turkish generals, Khurāsān passed under the rule of the Turkish Ghaznawid dynasty [*q.v.*]. In 384/994 the founder of the line, Sebüktigin, had been given the governorship of Balkh and the eastern parts of Khurāsān, and in 388/998 his son Maḥmūd consolidated his power in the whole of the province, which was to remain under Ghaznawid control for forty years. The riches of Khurāsān did much to finance the successful Ghaznawid war machine, but the financial exactions of Ghaznawid officials and a series of disastrous famines made the Sulṭāns' rule there unpopular. Hence Nīshāpūr and the other towns were not averse during the period 428-31/1037-50 from surrendering to the incoming Oghuz nomads led by the Saldjūḳ family; and the Saldjūḳ victory at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 431/1040 sealed the fate of Ghaznawid rule over those parts of greater Khurāsān to the west of Badakhshān and the central Afghān mountain massif.

Under the Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns, Khurāsān was an important province of their empire, even though the founder Ṭoghrïl Beg soon moved his capital westwards from Nīshāpūr to Ray and Iṣfahān. Khurāsān and the east were initially ruled by Ṭoghrïl's brother Čaghrï Beg Dāwūd, whose son and grandson Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh were to raise the Saldjūḳ empire to its apogee. In general, firm rule brought peace to the towns of Khurāsān. This was temporarily ended in the uncertain years after Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092—the local historian of Bayhaḳ or Sabzawār, Ibn Funduḳ, comments on the recrudescence of sectarian strife and the activities of the para-military *ʿayyār* groups in the town—but stability returned under the long reign of Sandjar, who was firstly governor in the east and then Sulṭān for a total of over sixty years. The intellectual and cultural vitality of Khurāsān remained unimpaired, and four of the original nine *madrasas* or colleges founded by the great Vizier Niẓām al-Mulk were, according to his biographer Subkī, in towns of that province, sc. in Nīshāpūr, Balkh, Harāt and Marw. One effect of the Oghuz migrations into Persia was the arrival of Turkmen groups in northern Khurāsān, where suitable pasture was to be found for their flocks. These nomads remained an unassimilable element of Saldjūḳ Khurāsān, until neglect of their interests by the central government drove them into revolt towards the end of Sandjar's reign, leading to the Sulṭān's own capture by the Oghuz and effective deposition in 548/1153.

In the decades preceding the Mongol invasions, post-Saldjūḳ Khurāsān was held by various Oghuz tribal leaders and by former Saldjūḳ generals, and was then fought over by the Ghūrids and Khwārazm-Shāhs [*qq.v.*], until the Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad finally overthrew his Ghūrid rivals in the opening years of the 7th/13th century. (See, for the history of Khurāsān in the Ghaznawid and Saldjūḳ periods, Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, part II and III, and idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, ch. 5, v, ch. 1).

The Mongol hordes of Čingiz Khān, driving the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn before them, appeared in Khurāsān in 617/1220, and seized control of its towns. Whilst not all of the notorious massacres of the Mongols may have been perpetrated at the original surrender of some towns, but at the time of subsequent revolts, Marw and Nīshāpūr, which resisted fiercely in 618/1221, suffered appallingly. Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 256, places the number of dead in Marw at 700,000, and Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 163-4, has the figure of 1,300,000 for the Marw oasis as a whole. Even allowing for statistical exaggeration, the Mongol invasions undoubtedly devastated Khurāsān to a far greater degree than the Oghuz incursions of the 5th/11th century had done, as is amply demonstrated in the accounts of European and Muslim travellers and geographers of the following period of the Il-Khānids, e.g. those of Marco Polo, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, etc. As well as the population losses and destruction of settlements, the increased proportion of Turkish and Mongol nomads in the province accentuated the existing trend from Saldjūḳ times towards pastoralisation and the decline of agriculture; moreover, the arbitrary Mongol system of taxation bore especially heavily on cultivators and landholders, according to I. P. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, ch. 6. Certainly, Khurāsān never recovered its cultural and intellectual position within Persia as a whole; the Il-Khānids made their centre in western Persia, and Djibāl, Ādharbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ became the foci of political activity and artistic and literary life. The towns of Khurāsān continued to suffer from the warfare between the Il-Khānids and the Čaghatayids, and a place like Harāt only became a major centre with the florescence of the Tīmūrids in the 9th/15th century.

After the death of the Il-Khānid Abū Saʿīd in 736/1335, various local dynasties arose in Persia, including in Khurāsān the Karts or Kurts and the Sarbadārids [*qq.v.*]. The Karts arose in Harāt during the 7th/13th century, and successive rulers with the

title of *malik* or king retained power there till the deposition by Tīmūr of the last ruler, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī, in 791/1389. The Sarbadārs stemmed from Bayhaḳ, and in the middle years of the 8th/14th century they held this region of western Khurāsān, extending to Dāmghān and even holding Nīshāpūr temporarily, till they too were extinguished by Tīmūr in 783/1381. Tīmūr made his own capital at Samarḳand in Transoxania, but his son Shāh Rukh became governor of Khurāsān for his father in 799/1397 and ruled there for fifty years until his death in 850/1446-7. Towns like Harāt and Marw were rebuilt, and a considerable degree of prosperity restored; and under the Tīmūrid prince Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr b. Bayḳara (875-911/1470-1506) [*q.v.*], Harāt and Khurāsān enjoyed a period of political stability and of brilliant cultural and artistic life.

In the early 10th/16th century, Khurāsān was overrun by the Özbeg chief Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān and his hordes, but three years later, in 915/1510, the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I killed the Khān and incorporated Khurāsān into the Ṣafawid dominions. The Ṣafawids were, however, unable to hold Balkh, and lost it permanently in 922/1516. Warfare with the Özbegs remained endemic in northern Khurāsān, with the possession of frontier towns like Marw oscillating between the two powers. Noteworthy in the Ṣafawid period—one in which Persia became in majority a Shīʿī land—was the rise in importance of the great shrine of the *Imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] at Mashhad, originally the village of Sanābād, where both the eighth *Imām* of the Shīʿa and the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd were buried. The shrine was already splendidly ornamented in Il-Khānid times, as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted (*Riḥla*, iii, 77-9, tr. Gibb, iii, 582-3), and was increasingly enriched by the Tīmūrids and Ṣafawids. Shāh ʿAbbās I endeavoured to encourage the Shīʿī pilgrimage to Mashhad, since the holy places of ʿIrāḳ, such as Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ, were often in Sunnī, Ottoman hands. In the comparatively peaceful period of Ḳādjār rule, Mashhad gradually attained its modern position as the principal city of Khurāsān.

With the resurgence of tribalism and the political upheavals of the 12th/18th century, Mashhad became Nādir Shāh's capital, and he made his military redoubt in the massif of Ḳalʿat-i Nādirī in northern Khurāsān, but after Nādir's death in 1160/1747, the eastern parts of Khurāsān passed for a while into the control of the Durrānī Afghān chief Aḥmad Shāh [*q.v.*], and by 1163/1750, Balkh, Harāt, Mashhad and Nīshāpūr were all in his possession. But the blind, half-Ṣafawid grandson of Nādir, Shāh Rukh, had meanwhile been raised to power in Khurāsān, and remained there as nominal ruler at least till his death in 1210/1796.

Once Āghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār had made firm his power over the whole land of Persia, control over Khurāsān was fully restored to the central government, now installed in Tehran. But the depredations of the Özbegs and other Turkmens continued to make life in northern Khurāsān chronically insecure; the progress of commerce and agriculture was inhibited, and many Persians were carried off and enslaved by raiders from the Central Asian amirates. These causes of friction were only ended by the Russians' virtual annexation of Khīwa in 1873 and the crushing of the Tekke Turkmens at Gök Tepe in 1881. After this last victory, the Persian government was not strong enough to withstand Russian pressure, and the Russians annexed the Marw oasis in 1884. Relations with the amīrs of Afghānistān had meanwhile continued to be bad, with contention over possession of Harāt. The town was besieged in vain by the Persians in 1838, and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh fought a brief war with Britain in 1856-7 over a temporary Persian seizure of Harāt. After this, overt Persian attempts on these districts of western Afghānistān ceased, though disputes over the demarcation of the boundary between Khurāsān and Afghānistān were not finally settled till the definitive demarcation of the whole boundary as far south as Sīstān in 1934-5.

Khurāsān and the provincial capital Mashhad are now fully connected with Tehran by a metalled road, a railway and air services. The present population of the province (1966 census) is 2½ millions, with Mashhad now the third largest city of Persia with 409,000 inhabitants.

Bibliography: This is largely given in the article, but note for the earlier period the flourishing genre of local histories, e.g. of Bayhaḳ, Nīshāpūr, Balkh and Harāt (see Storey, i, 353 ff.). The political and social history of the province must be largely extracted from such general works as the books of Spuler, *Iran* and *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Sykes' *History of Persia*, the relevant chapters of the *Cambridge history of Islam*, i, and above all, the published and forthcoming volumes iv-viii of the *Camb. hist. of Iran*. For the 19th and early 20th centuries, the works of European, mainly British, travellers, officials, consuls, etc. are a prime source, e.g. those of J. B. Fraser, C. Metcalfe MacGregor, the Hon. G. C. Napier, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, C. E. Yate, P. M. Sykes, W. Ivanow, etc.

(C. E. Bosworth)

Banū **KHURĀSĀN**, the dynasty which, taking advantage of the anarchy initiated in Zīrid Ifrīḳiya by the Hilālī invasion, governed Tunis 454-522/1062-1128 and 543-554/1148-59. When leaving Ḳayrawān to take refuge in al-Mahdiyya (449/1057), the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs had left Ḳayrawān and Tunis in the protection of a Ṣanhādjī chieftain Ḳāʾid b. Maymūn. The latter seems to have exercised no authority at Tunis, which was probably evacuated by the Ṣanhādja, regrouping at al-Mahdiyya or in Ḥammādid territory, and independent. Ibn Khaldūn states that it fell prey to a Hilālī *amīr*, a son-in-law of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, ʿĀbid b. Abi 'l-Ghayth who reduced the inhabitants to slavery; this episode, undated, seems to have been no more than an isolated raid of which the effects were short-lived. According to the same author, a mercenary leader, Ḳahrūn b. Ghannūsh, who became governor of Tunis, was banished from there because of his bad administration; subsequently he made a stronghold for himself in the arches of the aqueduct at Manzil Daḥmūn, a refuge of brigands which the Tunisians succeeded in destroying with the aid of the Riyāḥid *amīr* Muḥriz b. Ziyād. One imagines the Tunisians paying ransoms and tribute to the nomads, the rulers of the plains, but wishing to be protected against these marauders.

In the West, the Ḥammādid principality, still intact, and indeed reinforced by the downfall of the Zīrid state, passed into the hands of an energetic, far-sighted sovereign, al-Nāṣir (454/1062). His power was quickly consolidated by the rallying to his side of Sfax and Ḳasṭīliya. It was only to be expected that Tunis should have considered doing the same thing, and accordingly a delegation of Tunisian *shaykh*s went to the Ḳalʿa to ask the Ḥammādid prince to choose them a governor. According to Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Nāṣir, prudently no doubt, contented himself with advising them to choose for themselves a *shaykh* who would govern them whilst he confined himself to observing them, taking his time to study

the situation (*yaḳūmu bi-amrihim khalāla mā yanẓuru ilayhim*); they chose one of the leaders of their own community but he refused, and it was then that ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khurāsān took power in the name of al-Nāṣir. According to Ibn Khaldūn, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ was appointed by the Ḥammādid immediately following the reception of the embassy of the Tunisian *shaykhs*. This historian, who makes no mention of the election of a Tunisian *shaykh*, proposed initially by al-Nāṣir, seems to have condensed his account of events; possibly there was a second deputation which returned with the designation of the Khurāsānid, or even with the governor in person.

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khurāsān, a native of Tunis, was quite probably, says Ibn Khaldūn, of Ṣanhādjī origin; without this affirmation one would have to postulate for him a Khurāsānī descent; in Tunisian dialect, Khurāsān became Khrīsān (the cupola of Sīdī Bū Khrīsān).

He bore only the title of *shaykh* and ruled the city assisted by a council of *shaykhs*, a kind of senate partaking, no doubt, of the nature of the Berber *djamāʿa*. Nothing more is known of the institutions, certainly of a rudimentary nature, of this oligarchic republic. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ showed himself a good administrator, knowing how to assert himself and gain the sympathy of the population. To put an end to the brigandage of the Hilālī Arabs, he had the wisdom to agree to pay them an annual tribute (*itāwa maʿlūma*); this *modus vivendi* probably made conditions favourable for the exploitation of neighbouring lands, for the provision of food supplies, for industry, and commerce.

The Ḥammādid suzerainty seems to have been no more then nominal; besides, al-Nāṣir was occupied warding off the Hilālī peril and in 457/1064-5, at Sabība, he suffered a defeat as great as that of the Zīrid at Ḥaydarān in 443/1052. Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs took advantage of his cousin's defeat to attack Tunis (458/1065-6); after a siege lasting fourteen months, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ submitted to him and recognised his suzerainty, but the authority of the Zīrid of al-Mahdiyya seems to have been exercised in Tunis no more than had been that of the Ḥammādid of Ḳalʿa. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ governed for a further thirty years until his death (488/1095). His son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz succeeded him. One may suppose, on the basis of an inscription on the foundation of a mosque dated Ramaḍān 485/5 Oct. - 3 Nov. 1092 where he is called *al-shaykh al-adjall* (the most venerable *shaykh*) that before his father's death he bore at least some of the authority. In addition, the frieze on the cupola of Sīdī Bū Khrīsān says that this mausoleum was built in Djumādā II 486/29 June - 27 July 1093 by "the victorious power" (*al-sulṭān al-manṣūr*) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Abu 'l-Ṭahir ʾIsmāʿīl, both of them sons of *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khurāsān; from this we may suppose that at this date, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, doubtless aged and sick, had handed over the reins of government to his two sons. It seems that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, whom Ibn Khaldūn accuses of "a feeble spirit", at least to a certain extent shared power with his brother Ismāʿīl.

Tunis must have broken with the Zīrid of al-Mahdiyya, since the sources state that Tamīm attacked and took it again in 491/1097-8.

The epitaph has survived of *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān who died on 5th Muḥarram 499/17th Sept. 1105, also that of the *amīr* Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān, who died on 12th Radjab 500/8th March 1107; so the latter must have reigned from 5th Muḥarram 499 to 12th Radjab 500 with the title of *amīr*. Had he seized power? Had he aimed a blow at the power of the council of elders? Whatever the explanation, his nephew Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz put him to death and his son Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl fled to Bizerta.

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān showed himself a dictator, abolishing the authority of the *shaykhs*, many of whom were exiled to al-Mahdiyya and elsewhere, and he sought the favour of the jurists with whom he liked to surround himself. He built the *Ḳaṣr* (palace) of the Banū Khurāsān, surrounded Tunis with ramparts and obtained from the Hilālī Arabs a guarantee to watch over the safety of travellers. Ibn Ḥamdīs wrote a panegyric of this prince, considered by Ibn Khaldūn the most remarkable of his family.

In 510/1116-17, he was obliged to submit to ʿAlī the Zīrīd of al-Mahdiyya who sent an army to besiege Tunis, but in 514/1120-1 it was al-ʿAzīz the Ḥammādid of Bougie who laid siege to Tunis and imposed this suzerainty upon it. Finally, in 522/1128, a general of the Ḥammādid Yaḥyā b. al-ʿAzīz attacked Tunis. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz went out of the city, surrendered and was banished, with all his family, to Bougie where he died. Tunis was entrusted to Ḥammādid governors who continued to rule there until 543/1148-9.

There followed for the Tunisians a period of anarchy; they were threatened simultaneously by the Normans—already masters of Djerba (530/1135), of Tripoli (541/1146), of Gabès (whose chieftain, a usurper, recognized them in about 541/1146-7), of al-Mahdiyya, of Sousse and of Sfax (these three taken in the same year, 543/1148)—and by the Ḥammādids of Bougie who were making preparations to subjugate them unconditionally; in addition, they were harassed by Muḥriz b. Ziyād, the Riyāḥid *amīr* of La Malga (al-Muʿallaḳa, between Tunis and Carthage). They took as their chief the *ḳāḍī* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, son of the *imām* Abu 'l-Ḥasan. With his approval, they made an astonishing *volte-face*, deciding to appoint Muḥriz b. Ziyād as their king. In reply to their invitation, the Riyāḥid approached Tunis; the *ḳāḍī* and the *shaykhs* came in procession to meet him; but a cry taken up by the crowd, "No obedience to an Arab or a Ghuzz (sc. a Turcoman)", caused the enterprise to fail. It seems that the ruling class, having acted out of realism or for the defence of their own interests, were foiled by public opinion. Muḥriz b. Ziyād made his way back to La Malga where he was joined by the *ḳāḍī* who had been chased out of Tunis.

In order to put an end to the civil war, the Tunisians decided on a restoration of the Banū Khurāsān. A deputation went to Bizerta to fetch Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ who was hauled up at night over the city walls of Tunis in a wicker basket. This secret entry, which is not adequately explained by the closure at night of the city gates, suggests that the population was not unanimous in the decision to adopt him as *amīr*. Seven months later he was betrayed by his brother's son, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who seems to have had him drowned. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ remained in power for about ten years. He killed the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. Ḥalwān, his son and the son of his sister Ibn al-Bannād, fearing lest they conspire against him with the Arabs, doubtless with Muḥriz b. Ziyād.

Nevertheless, it was thanks to a unit commanded by Muḥriz b. Ziyād, which had penetrated into Tunis,

that the inhabitants, under siege by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, son of the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, made a successful sortie and forced the enemy to retire. On the last day of Djumādā I 552/10th July 1157, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reported to the archbishop of Pisa the victory which he had just won over the Maṣmūda, in a letter preserved in the archives of Pisa confirming the verbal terms of a commercial treaty between Pisa and Tunis.

He was succeeded by his nephew ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Azīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān (in about mid-February 1159). But five months later (about mid-July 1159), Tunis was laid under siege by a formidable army and fleet under the caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, and surrendered. A deputation of twelve (or seventeen) *shaykhs* went to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to ask for peace. After an initial refusal, and long equivocation, he accepted. In the list of these *shaykhs*, unfortunately incomplete, we notice nine names: three brothers, the Banū ʿAbd al-Sayyid, Hāshimī *sharīfs* (the epitaph of another member of this line, dating from 528/1113, is qualified by *faḳīh* and *imām*), and two sons of Manṣūr Ismāʿīl and their paternal cousin; so we are dealing here with an oligarchy, and, once more, it is making terms with the enemy. In fact, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin promised to respect the lives, families and goods of the *shaykhs* who had come to negotiate, in return for their readiness to surrender, but he made the same guarantees to the other inhabitants of the city and environs only after they had handed over to him half of their goods.

The last of the Khurāsānids, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, had not only to surrender half of his goods, but also to accept exile in Bougie; once these conditions were accepted, he left Tunis that same day, but died on the road.

Tunis has kept some relics of the Banū Khurāsān, sc. the mosque of the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr (*ca.* 499/1106), which probably adjoined their palace (no longer in existence), and not far from Sīdī Bū Khrīsān street, a *Ḳubba*, their funeral mausoleum in the centre of a necropolis excavated by S. M. Zbiss, to whom we owe the establishment of an epigraphic musuem and the publication of a number of tomb-inscriptions of the men and women of this family.

Bibliography: exhaustive references in H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, i-ii, Paris 1962, index, 842. (H. R. Idris)

KHURĀSĀNĪ, Ākhūnd Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim (1839-1911), a distinguished Shīʿī *mudjtahid* of Iran; born in Ṭūs, he received his early education in Mashhad, pursued traditional studies including natural philosophy in Tehran in 1860, and moved to Nadjaf in 1861 for further studies. He studied under Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī, the then sole *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* of the Shīʿī world. After the latter's death (1894), Khurāsānī was recognised as the legitimate successor to Shīrāzī. He proved to be a resourceful teacher, lecturing daily before more than 1,000 students of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and producing as graduates of his courses some 120 *mudjtahids* (Mahdī al-Mūsawī, *Aḥsan al-wadīʿa*, i, Nadjaf 1968, 147-8). He established three religious (*ibid.*, 148) and some modern schools in ʿIrāḳ (ʿAbd Allāh al-Fayyāḍ, *al-Thawra al-ʿIrāḳiyya al-kubrā sana 1920*, Baghdād 1967, 82 ff.). Since 1906 Khurāsānī's name has been associated with the Persian Constitutional Revolution as one of its most influential supporters. He and two other *mudjtahids*, Ṭihrānī and Māzandarānī, issued numerous *fatwās* and manifestos, sent many telegrams, wrote many letters to responsible authorities in Persia and Turkey, and organised two uprisings. Led by Khurāsānī, the Persian *ʿulamāʾ* of ʿIrāḳ intensified their campaign after Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh's abrogation of the constitution in 1908, and in a *fatwā* they declared that obedience to the Shāh and the payment of taxes to his government were un-Islamic (Aḥmad Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i Mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1951, 730) and strongly condemned their clerical opponent Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (*ibid.*, 528). Khurāsānī's activities were not favoured by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II of Turkey. Thanks to the Young Turks' Revolution of 1908, however, there appeared a degree of mutual co-operation between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the Turks, and Khurāsānī openly supported the Turkish Revolution. He even threatened to dethrone ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd upon the latter's counter-revolution in 1909 (Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥasan Nadjafī Ḳūčānī, *Siyāḥat-i sharḳ*, Mashhad 1972, 474-6).

Living in an Ottoman province, ʿIrāḳ, Khurāsānī and other Persian constitutionalists seem to have been led to an agreement of expedience with the Young Turks. We see Khurāsānī, for instance, sanctioning the Pan-Islamic policy of the Young Turks (*RMM*, xiii (1911), 385-6) and at times, despite his being a Shīʿī *mudjtahid*, calling the Ottoman sultan "caliph" (*al-ʿIrfān*, i (1909), 240-1; Niẓām al-Dīn-Zāda, *Hudjūm-i Rūs bi-Īrān*, Baghdād 1913, 45). In support of the sultan, he also declared a holy war against the Italian invasion of Libya in 1911 (*al-ʿIlm*, ii (1911), 246-7, 290-7, 338-42). In return, Khurāsānī appealed to the sultan to interfere in favour of the Persian constitutionalists: once in 1909 when he was successfully working towards the dethronement of the foreign-backed Shāh (*al-ʿIrfān*, i (1909), 240-1), and another time when, upon the Anglo-Russian invasions of Iran in 1911, the deposed Shāh vainly attempted to regain his throne (*Hudjūm-i Rūs*, 45-6). In both cases Khurāsānī, leading many of his supporters, set out for Persia to mobilise the masses; the first uprising was stopped because of the Shāh's downfall (*al-ʿIrfān*, i (1909), and iv (1912), 36-40), and the second one was postponed because of Khurāsānī's sudden death (*Hudjūm-i Rūs*, 58-67).

Despite the allegation concerning Khurāsānī's ties to the Oudh Bequest (Maḥmūd Maḥmūd, *Tārīkh-i rawābiṭ-i siyāsī-yi Īrān va Ingilīs*, Tehran 1953, vi, 1741-5), he does not seem to have favoured the British. Since the Russian troops were suppressing the Persian Revolution and the British were thought to have supported it, Khurāsānī sent delegates to the British Consulate in Baghdād seeking co-operation (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977), though this proved useless because of the British commitment to the 1907 Convention. From then on, we see Khurāsānī in an equal opposition to the two powers. He expressed his deep mistrust in the Shāh, and paid no attention to the intercession of the two powers under whose pressures the Shāh had to promise the re-establishment of the Persian constitution; Khurāsānī only insisted upon the deposition of the Shāh and the declaration of a genuine constitutional régime (Hairi, *Why did the ʿUlamāʾ participate in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909?*, in *WI*, xvii [1976-7].

Bibliography: (in addition to the sources given above): Muḥammad Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ridjāl*, i, Nadjaf 1964; Aḥmad Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i hidjdah-sāla-yi Ādharbaydjān*, Tehran 1954; Muḥammad Nāẓim al-Islām Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i bīdārī-yi Īrāniyān*, i-ii, Tehran 1953, 1970; Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, i, Tabrīz 1967; Mahdī

Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥal-i ridjal-i Īrān*, i, Tehran 1968; E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910. (ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

AL-**KHURAYMĪ** [see ABŪ YAʿḲŪB AL-KHURAYMĪ]

AL-**KHŪRĪ**, FĀRIS (1875?-1962) a Syrian politician, a Christian, who played a very important role over a period of almost half a century. Born in a Lebanese village on the slopes of Mount Hermon, he studied at Ṣaydā then at the school in Beirut which was later to become the American University, while also working as a teacher. When family affairs took him to Damascus in 1899, he took up residence in the Syrian capital, learned Turkish and French and was employed as an interpreter in the British consulate. His political career began in 1909 when he joined the Committee of Union and Progress. As legal adviser to the municipality of Damascus (1910-38) he was elected a member of the municipal council of the town in 1914, took part in 1918 in the Council of State which met in Istanbul, participated in the creation of the Arab Academy, and then occupied a number of important political offices: Minister of Finance in 1920, of National Education in 1926, President of the Chamber of Deputies in 1943 and then from 1946 to 1949, and President of the Council of Ministers in 1944-5 and in 1954-5. At the same time, he was President of the Bar of Damascus (1920-36), for a short time Professor of Law (1922), a founder member of the People's Party (1925), then of the Nationalist Bloc (*al-Kutla al-Waṭaniyya*, 1928), and was a member of the delegation which negotiated with France the Treaty of 1936. After the war he was appointed Syrian delegate to the United Nations, and presided over the Security Council in 1947 and 1948. He retired from active life in 1955 and died on 2 January 1962.

Fāris al-Khūrī was a calm, level-headed man whose essential aim was to achieve the supremacy of justice. He was a man of great culture and erudition, and his powers of oratory were widely recognised. After the beginning of this century he took an interest in events outside the Arab world and derived from them the inspiration for his literary, more precisely his poetic, production, for this man of politics was also a poet. His classical background gave him the idea in 1898 of preparing an anthology entitled *Shudhūr al-dhahab fī laṭāʾif al-ʿArab* which has remained unedited, but he continued subsequently to compose verses, of which the total number is close to 2,000. His poetry is neo-classical in style and comprises a number of *ḳaṣīdas* on various events, notably on the Russo-Japanese War, panegyrics and obituary tributes dedicated to his friends or to distinguished personalities, a single *hidjāʾ* (of sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, which he later regretted), and some love poems, including three *muwashshaḥāt*; another product of his classical education is a *takhmīs* of the *nūniyya* of Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*]. He also found the time, in spite of his many commitments, to write two legal works: a *Mūdjaz fī ʿilm al-māliyya* (1924, 1937) and the *Uṣūl al-muḥākamat al-ḥuḳūḳiyya* (2nd ed. 1936).

Bibliography: In addition to the archival information held by the family, whose material is unedited, there have been two monographs on Fāris al-Khūrī: Ḥannā al-Khabbās and Djurdjī Ḥaddād, *Fāris al-Khūrī*, Beirut 1952, and Muḥammad al-Farḥānī, *Fāris al-Khūrī wa-ayyām la tunsā*, Beirut 1964. See also *Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain*, Paris, i-xxxii (1945-55), index; Nasīm Sh. al-Khūrī has presented at the Lebanese University in 1973 a *Dīwān Fāris al-Khūrī* containing all of his poetic work which is accessible, together with a detailed bibliography; this work should be published. (ED.)

AL-**KHURMA**, an oasis in western Saudi Arabia situated at lat. 21° 54′ N and long. 42° 2′ E, which became prominent in Arabian politics during the first quarter of this century. The oasis lies in the middle reaches of Wādī Taraba or Turaba (also shown on maps as Wādī Subayʿ). The companion oasis of Taraba [*q.v.*], capital of the tribe of the Buḳūm, is farther up the valley about 75 km. to the south-west. Another 75 km. downstream from al-Khurma the valley passes by the wells of al-Ḳunṣuliyya and then ends at ʿIrḳ Subayʿ, whose sands keep the floodwaters from joining the main drainage system emptying into Wādī 'l-Dawāsir [see (DJAZĪRAT) AL-ʿARAB]. The oasis is close to the northern tip of Ḥarrat Nawāṣif, the southern part of which is called Ḥarrat al-Buḳūm. The road from al-Khurma to al-Ṭāʾif runs south of west over the range of Ḥaḍn, often taken as marking the eastern geographical limit of al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*]. About 80 km. north of al-Khurma is the ancient gold mine of Ẓalim, attempts to rework which in recent times proved a failure. Beyond Ẓalim to the north is the present main highway from Djudda and Mecca to al-Riyāḍ (Darb al-Ḥidjāz); earlier, many pilgrims and a considerable amount of trade went along the track through al-Ḳunṣuliyya and al-Khurma.

The relatively small population of al-Khurma is made up of tribesmen from the western section of Subayʿ [*q.v.*], who regard the oasis as their capital, Sharīfs, and black freemen. The chief place in the oasis is Ḳaṣr Khālid, named after a former *Amīr* (see below), and the other principal settlements are al-Sūḳ and al-Sulaymiyya.

Unlike Taraba, al-Khurma is not mentioned by Hamdānī, though it may have been inhabited even before his time. Its first appearance in history seems to have been in 1212/1798, when the Sharīf Ghālib b. Musāʿad, a determined foe of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*], pitched his camp there with a host of "Bedouins, townsmen, Egyptians (*maṣāriyya*), and Maghribīs" (Ibn Bishr, i, 112) while making a sweep through the southwestern oases in an effort to halt the spread of the reform movement. Surprised by Wahhābī warriors under the leadership of Hādī b. Ḳarmala of Ḳaḥṭān and Rubayyiʿ b. Zayd of the Dawāsir, Ghālib and his host fled pell-mell, losing many hundreds of men and rich booty. This catastrophe compelled Ghālib to rescind in 1213/1799 the ban that for some years prevented the Wahhābīs of Nadjd from making the pilgrimage.

With the resurgence of the Wahhābiyya in this century under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd, possession of al-Khurma became a crucial issue. Many Khurmans had remained attached to the reform movement since the preceding century. As Wahhābī proselytising also won new adherents in the west, the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī of Mecca tried to assert sovereignty over al-Khurma, which would have carried his authority well towards the east. In the words of Philby, "Khurma itself was a locality of little importance, economically or politically, though it occupied a strategic position as the back-door to Najd. Its real significance was as a symbol of the struggle for Arabian hegemony, which had now been transferred from the old cockpit of the Qasim [see AL-ḲAṢĪM] to the frontiers of the Hijaz" (*Arabian jubilee*, 60). The British government held that al-Khurma, which it thought was not very far away from al-Ṭāʾif (the actual distance is 190 km.), fell within al-Ḥusayn's sphere. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, on the other hand, avowed that he had inherited all

the territory that had belonged to his forefathers, including al-Khurma.

The Sharīf Khālid b. Manṣūr Ibn Lu'ayy, said to have been named *amīr* of al-Khurma by al-Ḥusayn, became a convert to the Wahhābiyya, as a result of which al-Ḥusayn detained him in Mecca for a time; al-Ḥusayn also rebuked the Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍī* of al-Khurma for preaching in the Wahhābī vein. The Khurman Wahhābīs were devout enough to be reckoned as belonging to the ranks of the Ikhwān [*q.v.*]. Late in 1335/1917 al-Ḥusayn's son ʿAbd Allāh delivered ultimata to Khālid demanding that he return to his original loyalty. Khālid rejected the ultimata, and the Khurmans called on ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz for help. Sympathetic though he was to their cause, he was occupied elsewhere and could do little for them. During 1336/1918, expeditions sent by al-Ḥusayn to subdue al-Khurma were repulsed one after another by Khālid and the Ikhwān.

Infuriated by the tenacious and successful resistance of the little oasis, al-Ḥusayn in Shaʿbān 1337/May 1919 deputed his son ʿAbd Allāh with a martial array, well armed by Arabian standards, to settle accounts there once and for all. On the way, ʿAbd Allāh paused at Taraba, where Khālid and the Ikhwān, striking suddenly at night, won a signal victory reminiscent of the one achieved by their Wahhābī predecessors over the Sharīf Ghālib. No serious military obstacle then barred the way to al-Ṭā'if and Mecca, but ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz chose to bide his time. When the move in that direction leading to the capture of Mecca was finally made in 1343/1924, al-Khurma and Taraba provided the springboard for Khālid and the Ikhwān.

The *hidjra* of the Ikhwān beside Khālid's castle in al-Khurma is said to have been founded after the battle of Taraba. The British explorer Philby visited the oasis in 1336/1917 and again in 1351/1932, as well as a year or two before that while hunting with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited under AL-IKHWĀN, see ʿUthmān b. Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-madjd*, Mecca 1349; H. Philby, *Arabian highlands*, Ithaca, N. Y. 1952; G. Troeller, *The birth of Saudi Arabia*, London 1976. (G. RENTZ)

KHURRAMĀBĀD, chief town of the *shahristān* of the same name in the Iranian province of Luristān (*ustān* 6), situated in long. 48° 21′ E., lat. 33° 29′ N.; population of the *shahristān* (1966): 259,000, elevation above sea-level: 4,700 feet.

The town is first mentioned under its present name in the 8th/14th century by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, who states: "this was fine town, but it is now in ruins" (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 74). To the south-east of the town, along the banks of the Khurramābād river, and also to the south-west, are remains dating from the time when the site, then known as Diz-i Siyāh, was the capital of the Saldjūḳ *atābegs* of Lur-i Kučik [*q.v.*], who governed the area from 580/1184 and whose last representative was killed by Shāh ʿAbbās I in 1006/1597. At a still earlier date, the Sāsānid town of Shāpūrkhʷāst seems to have occupied the site (thus Minorsky, in *EI*¹, LURISTĀN, who supports Rawlinson *contra* Le Strange, *Lands*, 201-2).

This mountainous region, inhabited by Lurī-speaking tribes, remained remote until almost the end of the 13th/19th century, when it was finally opened up by the construction of the Tehran-Ahwāz highway; this reduced to 12 days the 40-50 days previously required for the journey from the Persian Gulf to Tehran via Shīrāz.

Bibliography: (in addition to the references in the text): ʿAlī Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān* (*Intishārāt-i dā'ira-yi djughrāfiyā'ī-yi sitād-i artish*), vi, Tehran 1330/1951, 139; Major Rawlinson, *Notes on a march from Zohâb, etc. in the year 1836*, in *JRGS*, ix/1 (1839), 97 ff. (R. M. SAVORY)

KHURRAMIYYA or KHURRAMDĪNIYYA refers in the Islamic sources to the religious movement founded by Mazdak [*q.v.*] in the late 5th century A.D. and to various Iranian, anti-Arab sects which developed out of it under the impact of certain extremist Shīʿī doctrines. Although the Khurramīyya are sometimes mentioned separately besides the Mazdakiyya, Ibn al-Nadīm, following Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, is no doubt right in stating that the name Khurramiyya, as also Muḥammira [*q.v.*], originally meant the movement of Mazdak in general, and not merely a branch of it. Al-Masʿūdī's assertion that the Khurramiyya are distinct from the Mazdakiyya evidently relates to the later development, since he at the same time identifies the former with the followers of Abū Muslim. The Persian name Khurram-dīn ("joyous or agreeable religion") may, as has been suggested, have been chosen by the sectarians in analogy to the name Vēhdēn which the Zoroastrians applied to their own religion, though it seems also possible that it was coined by their Zoroastrian opponents. In the Islamic sources, it is usually explained as referring to their libertinist and hedonistic view that everything agreeable to the senses is permitted. Other explanations of the name, that it is derived either from Khurram, a district of Ardabīl, or from Khurrama, the wife of Mazdak, are probably unfounded.

Although the sources do not mention the Mazdakite movement in early Islamic times, it is evident that Mazdakite communities were dispersed in the countryside of many regions of Iran with the heaviest concentration in the province of al-Djibāl. The coalescence of the Khurramiyya with various extremist factions of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] began during the upheavals of the late Umayyad age. Al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1588, reports that the ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī* Khidāsh [*q.v.*], who was active before 118/736 in the area of Naysābūr and Marw, taught the religion of the Khurramiyya and permitted promiscuity. Al-Nāshi' identifies the Khurramiyya of Khurāsān with the Khidāshiyya, who held that the imāmate had passed from the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī by forfeiture to Khidāsh, and who furthermore denied the death of the latter. According to Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, the Ḥārithiyya, the extremist supporters of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] who after his death in 131/748-9 chose various chiefs of their own, were called Khurramiyya. It is likely that these two sects were partially recruited from the local Mazdakites in Khurāsān and western Iran, which was controlled by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya for some time. The strongest impact on the Mazdakite Khurramiyya was made, however, by the figure of Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], who as the leader of the revolutionary movement which overthrew the Umayyad caliphate and as the victim of ʿAbbāsid perfidy came to symbolise Persian self-assertion against Arab dominance. Many heresiographers fully identify the Khurramiyya with the Muslimiyya, who considered Abū Muslim as their *imām*, prophet or an incarnation of the divine spirit. Abū Ḥātim's statement that the Rizāmiyya belonged to the Khurramiyya is to be understood in the same sense, for he and some other sources explain this name as meaning the radical, anti-ʿAbbāsid followers of Abū Muslim.

The *daʿwa* of Abū Muslim evidently gained numer-

ous Mazdakite adherents during his lifetime. After his murder in 137/755, the Khurramiyya in Khurāsān, according to al-Mas'ūdī, rose in revolt. Some of them denied his death and expected his early return to establish justice in the world. Others affirmed his death and held that the imāmate had passed to his daughter Fāṭima. They were known as the Fāṭimiyya. The Zoroastrian Sunbādh [see SINDBĀD], a former associate of Abū Muslim, led an army of rebels from Naysābūr to al-Rayy where his following swelled rapidly. According to the *Siyāsat-nāma*, it was composed of Mazdakites, Shī'is and Zoroastrians. Sunbādh predicted the end of the Arab empire and promised to destroy the Ka'ba. Abū Muslim, he asserted, had not died and would shortly reappear, together with Mazdak and the Mahdī. By the latter, who is not identified, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya may have been meant. The revolt was suppressed after 70 days and the leader was killed. Another former associate or *dā'ī* of Abū Muslim, known as Isḥāḳ al-Turk, after the former's murder fomented an insurrection in Transoxania, affirming that Abū Muslim was alive in the mountains of al-Rayy and would return. He is also reported to have previously taught that Abū Muslim was a prophet sent by Zoroaster, who himself was alive and would reappear to restore his religion. Nothing is known about the exact date of the activity of Isḥāḳ and the fate of his movement. It has been suggested, on the basis of the account of Gardīzī, that the governor of Khurāsān, Abū Dāwūd Khālid (d. 140/757) was killed by followers of Isḥāḳ and that the rebel leader Barāzbanda, whom Abū Dāwūd's successor 'Abd al-Djabbār joined when he revolted against the caliph al-Manṣūr, also belonged to Isḥāḳ's movement. The first suggestion is highly conjectural and the second quite unlikely; the white-clad (*sapid-djāmagān*) murderers of Abū Dāwūd were, according to Gardīzī, the followers of one Sa'īd the weaver (*djūlāh*), and Barāzbanda claimed to be Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd (read: Muḥammad?) al-Hāshimī (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347, 123 f.). About two decades after the death of Abū Muslim, al-Muḳanna' [*q.v.*], also a former member of his *da'wa* and of the Rizāmiyya, appeared in Transoxania to lead another revolutionary movement. His following was composed of white-clad (Ar. Mubayyiḍa [*q.v.*], Pers. Sapīd-djāmagān) Soghdian peasants and by Turkish tribesmen. He claimed to be the final divine incarnation after Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, 'Īsā, Muḥammad and Abū Muslim (a different report adds Shayth and substitutes 'Alī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya for Abū Muslim) and taught the transmigration of souls and sexual license. The sect of the Mubayyiḍa is still mentioned as surviving in the 6th/12th century.

The latter two movements usually are not called Khurramiyya in the sources, though as branches of the Muslimiyya they were covered by the name in its wider sense. There is no specific information on their doctrine about Mazdak and the role of Mazdakites in them. Al-Bīrūnī, however, states in general terms that al-Muḳanna' prescribed for his followers "everything Mazdak had brought" and al-Shahrastānī counts the Mubayyiḍa as one of the neo-Mazdakite sects and as a variety of the Khurramiyya. They may have been crypto-Mazdakites before the coming of al-Muḳanna' (see A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Vosstanie Mukannī-Dviženie lyudey v belīkh odeždakh*, in *SO*, v [1948], 35-54).

The use of the name Khurramiyya is more prevalent for the neo-Mazdakites in western Iran. In 162/779 the Muḥammira, i.e. the Mazdakites, of Djurdjān rose and made common cause with the Khurramdīniyya, i.e. the Muslimiyya, claiming that Abū Muslim was alive and promising to restore his reign. They put Abu 'l-Ghazā', the young grandson of Abū Muslim, at their head and reached al-Rayy before they were defeated by 'Umar b. al-'Alā'. At the same time, the Khurramiyya of Iṣfahān revolted. Again in 180-1/796-8 the Muḥammira of Djurdjān rose and for a brief time held sway over the province. In 192/808 the Khurramiyya revolted in Ādharbaydjān and the regions of al-Rayy, Hamadhān and Iṣfahān. The insurrection was quickly suppressed by 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik and Abū Dulaf al-'Idjlī.

The anti-Arab and anti-Muslim activity of the Khurramiyya reached its climax in the great rebellion of Bābak [*q.v.*] al-Khurramī in Ādharbaydjān (201-23/816-38). Bābak had become the chief of the Khurramiyya in the region of al-Badhdh in Ādharbaydjān in succession to Djāwīdhān b. Shahrak, whose prophetic spirit, he claimed, had settled upon him. Djāwīdhān was alleged to have predicted the victory of Mazdakism under his successor. The sources offer little information on the religious doctrine of Bābak and his followers. Their connection with the Muslimiyya is indicated by the fact that some people, according to al-Dīnawarī, held Bābak to be a son of Muṭahhar, son of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim. The revolt later spread outside Ādharbaydjān. In 212/827-8 the Khurramiyya rose in the area of Iṣfahān and al-Karadj and some of them joined Bābak in Ādharbaydjān. In 218/833 they revolted around Iṣfahān under their chief 'Alī b. Mazdak and in Fārs. As 'Alī b. Mazdak took al-Karadj, the sectarians joined him in large numbers. After a bloody defeat by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm near Hamadhān, some of them retreated and pillaged in Iṣfahān, while others under their leader Bārsīs fled to Byzantine territory. They were enrolled in the Byzantine army and are mentioned in 223/838 fighting under the emperor Theophilus against the Muslims.

'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī treats a sect called Māzyāriyya, followers of the Ḳārinid ruler of Ṭabaristān, Māzyār [see ḲĀRINIDS] (d. 225/840), as the second major branch of the Khurramiyya besides the Bābakiyya. Māzyār, whose revolt against the caliphate developed out of his quarrel with the big landowners of the lowlands of Ṭabaristān and his rivalry with 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, was certainly not a Mazdakite, although he was accused of having aided Bābak. In his political struggle he came to rely on the non-Muslim elements of the highlands, particularly Zoroastrians, but evidently also Mazdakites. The Khurramiyya of Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān may have continued to honour his memory as the account of al-Baghdādī suggests.

According to the *Siyāsat-nāma*, the rebellions of the Khurramiyya in the area of Iṣfahān continued after the execution of Bābak until the year 300/912-3. First they rose during the reign of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), and again sacked al-Karadj. Later, at an unspecified date, one Bāryazdshāh succeeded in fortifying himself in the mountains of Iṣfahān. The Khurramiyya joined him and raided caravans and villages. Only after some 30 years was he seized and executed. Still in 320-1/932-3, 'Alī b. Būya conquered several fortresses previously held by the Khurramiyya in the region of al-Karadj and captured great treasures.

Khurramī communities are mentioned in the 4th/10th century in the regions of Fārs, al-Ahwāz, Iṣfahān, al-Burdj, al-Karadj, Māsabadhān, Mihridjānḳadhaḳ, al-Ṣaymara, Dīnawar, Nihāwand, Hamadhān, Kāshān, Ḳumm, al-Rayy, in the mountains of

Ṭabaristān, al-Daylam, Ādharbaydjān, Armenia, Shahrazūr, Djurdjān, Balkh and Khurāsān. It has been accepted on the basis of a report of Miskawayh (ed. Amedroz, *Eclipse*, ii, 299; tr., v, 321) that Khurramiyya living along the coast of Makrān and Kirmān were subjugated in 360/971 by a general of ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The name al-Khurramiyya is, however, a corruption in the manuscript and should be read al-Djurūmiyya. This is evident from the text of Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 451) which is based on Miskawayh as well as from Miskawayh's mention of the same people called al-Djurūmiyya later under the year 364/974-5 (ii, 359 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 482; Hilāl in *Eclipse*, iii, 377: al-Djurūm; this point is also made by C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 123 n. 34). The latest mention of surviving Khurramiyya communities is for the first half of the 6th/12th century in the region of Ansābādh and Darkazīn, north-west of Hamadhān (al-Bundārī, *Mukhtaṣar zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1889, 124), and in Ādharbaydjān.

According to al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), the Khurramiyya in his time mostly belonged to two divisions, the Kūdakiyya and the Lūdshāhiyya). (variants Kūdshāhiyya, Kurdshāhiyya). The former were probably named thus because of their veneration of Mahdī b. Fayrūz, the son (or grandson?) of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim, whom they called *kūdak-i dānā*, the omniscient boy. They are also mentioned in other sources and apparently constituted the great majority of the Khurramiyya in western Iran. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/924) states that the extremist factions which originally developed out of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement were known under different names in different regions; in the country of Iṣfahān as Kūdakiyya and Khurramiyya, in al-Rayy and elsewhere in al-Djibāl as Mazdakiyya and Sunbādiyya, in Dīnawar and Nihāwand as Muḥammira and in Ādharbaydjān as Dhaḳūliyya (or Dafūliyya). It is not clear if the latter name implies a distinction in religious doctrine between the Khurramiyya in Ādharbaydjān and elsewhere in western Iran, though any such differences were most likely not substantial. Abū Dulaf b. Muhalhil, who visited al-Badhdh about the middle of the 4th/10th century, mentions a place there were the Muḥammira known as the Khurramiyya consecrated their flags and where they expected the coming of the Mahdī. Probably the *kūdak-i dānā* or, in any case, a descendant of Abū Muslim's daughter Fāṭima, is meant

The reports of the Muslim sources about the doctrine and practices of the Khurramiyya are mostly summary and biased. An exception is the account of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, which is based on his personal acquaintance with members of the sect and his reading of some of their books. The Khurramiyya were dualists holding that the principle of the world was the light, some of which had become effaced and turned into darkness. They all believed in the transmigration of souls in human, animal, and angel bodies. Prophetic revelation in their view never ceased and the same divine spirit inhered in all prophets. They had no religious law but, according to Muṭahhar, had recourse to their *imāms* in legal matters. Messengers whom they called angels (*firīshtagān*) made the rounds among them. They were much concerned with cleanliness and purity, tried to win people's favour through acts of kindness and strictly avoided bloodshed except when they decided on rebellion. They expected the appearance of a descendant of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim, as the Mahdī who would make their cause prevail in the world. Wine was considered particularly blessed by them. According to Muṭahhar, some held promiscuity licit with the consent of the women and, in general, any fulfillment of natural desires as long as no one was harmed. The more extravagant clichés of some sources concerning their sexual libertinism deserve no credence. There is no sound evidence for community of goods among them.

The Mazdakite and Manichaean basis of these beliefs is manifest. The attempts of some sources to establish a close link between the Khurramiyya and the Ḳarmaṭīs and Ismāʿīliyya must be viewed with reserve. There is no evidence for any influence of Khurramī doctrine on Ismāʿīlī doctrine or of any large-scale conversion of Khurramīs to early Ismāʿīlism.

Bibliography: al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 397; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 275; al-Nāshiʾ, *Masāʾil al-imāma*, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 32, 35, 38; al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 32, 41 f.; Ṭabarī, ii, 1588, iii, 119 f., 493, 645 f., 732, 1165, 1235; Iṣṭakhrī, 203; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-33, 438; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Zīna*, ms.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 186-9; idem, *Tanbīh*, 351-5; Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1892, 63-74; Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil, *al-Risāla al-thāniya*, ed. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, 6; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. C. Huart, Paris 1899-1919, i, 143, 171 f., ii, 20 f., iii, 122, iv, 8, 30 f., v, 134, vi, 95, 97; *Fihrist*, 342-5; Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, *The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, Oxford 1920-1, i, 278; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, xx/2, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and S. Dunyā, Cairo [1961], 178; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 251 f.; al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 211; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Djaʿfar Shaʿār, Tehran 1348, 319-21, 359-68; Shahrastānī, 113, 115, 132, 192-4. Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, especially chs. 2, 3, 5-7; Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Bābak Khurramdīn*, Tehran 1342/1963; B. S. Amoretti, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 494-519. (W. MADELUNG)

KHURRAMSHAHR, chief town (population in 1966: 88,536) of the *shahristān* of the same name (population in 1966: 156,281) in the Iranian province of Khūzistān (*ustān* 6), and situated in long. 48° 09′ E., lat. 30° 25′ N. Its elevation above sea-level is 8 m./26 ft., and the climate is hot and humid, with summer temperatures rising to 58° C./136° F., and a winter minimum of 8° C./46° F.

The present town is the successor of a number of settlements which, since ancient times, have been located in the general area where the Kārūn (Dudjayl) river and the combined Tigris and Euphrates rivers flow into the Persian Gulf a few miles apart. Elamite and Achaemenid settlements were succeeded, in Islamic times, by Bayān and Muḥriza, which were included by the Islamic geographers in the province of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam. The earlier settlements were situated on the Kārūn river itself, the later ones on a channel cut to link the Kārūn and the Tigris-Euphrates estuary (now called by the Arabs Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, and by the Persians Arwand-rūd). The construction of this channel (known at different times as Jūy-i Bayān; Jūy-i ʿAḍudī (after it had been widened by the Buwayhid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; and the Ḥaffār channel) created the island of Ābādān [see ʿABBĀDĀN],

the site of the National Iranian Oil Company's refinery.

After being mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century), the site is not heard of again until the beginning of the 13th/19th century, when a fort called Kūt al-Muḥammara ("Red Fort") developed into the town of Muḥammara governed by Arab shaykhs of the Kaʿb tribe. The new town was situated on the Ḥaffār channel, one mile from its confluence with the Kārūn. The rise of a rival port at the end of the Persian Gulf was regarded by the Ottomans as a threat to the prosperity of Baṣra, and in 1254/1838-9 they sacked the town, which was, however, subsequently ceded to Persia by the Treaty of Erzerum in 1847. This treaty was violated by the Ottomans in 1886 by the construction of a fort at Fao, at the mouth of the estuary, which enabled them to harass shipping bound for Muḥammara.

In 1925, Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī brought the virtually autonomous shaykhdom of Muḥammara firmly under Iranian control, and in 1937 the name of the town, by a decision of the Iranian cabinet, was changed to Khurramshahr. During World War II, the port facilities at Khurramshahr were greatly expanded, and a 75-mile branch line was constructed to link the city with the Trans-Iranian railway at Ahwāz. After further development under the Second Seven-Year Plan (1955-62), Khurramshahr is now one of Iran's principal ports-of-entry on the Persian Gulf; its exports include dates, milk-products, skins and wool.

The 1912-14 Boundary Commission took as the international boundary with ʿIrāḳ the low-water line on the Iranian side of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab. This left the navigation channel to Khurramshahr under ʿIrāḳī jurisdiction, and resulted in constant friction between the two countries. This dispute appears finally to have been settled by the agreement signed on 6 March 1975, whereby Iran and ʿIrāḳ agree that the international boundary shall be the *talweg*, or line of deepest water.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *Lands*, 48; Aḥmad-i Kasrawī, *Taʾrīkh-i pānṣad-sāla-yi Khūzistān*². Tehran 1330 sh./1951, 206 ff.; ʿAlī Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyāʾī-yi Īrān* (*Intishārāt-i dāʾira-yi djughrāfiyāʾī-yi sitād-i artish*), vi, Tehran 1330 sh./1951, 140-1; Muḥammad Yūsufī, *Paywastangāh-i Kārūn wa Arwand-rūd*, Tehran 1350 sh./1971; G. N. Curzon, *Persian and the Persian question*, repr. London 1966, ii, 325 ff.

(R. M. SAVORY)

KHURREM (P. "cheerful, smiling") is a name of both men and women. The most famous bearer of it is the Khāṣṣekī [*q.v.*] and beloved wife of Sulaymān I [*q.v.*], who was born in the early years of the 16th century and died on 26 Djumādā II 965/15 April 1558. Because of the necessary seclusion of her life, few facts about her are known. It is, however, certain that Sulaymān remained passionately devoted to her from their meeting, probably in Istanbul after his accession on 17 Shawwāl 926/30 September 1520, until her death; hence her power, by which she altered the course of the Ottoman Empire. This power, for which she is hated, brought upon her charges of witchcraft (Bassano, *Costumi*, Roma 1545, 18*v*.) and sorcery (Busbecq, *Omnia* . . . , Basel 1740, 72-3), but Navagero's remark (Albèri, *Relazioni* iii/1, 74), "she knows the Sultan's nature very well", seems nearer the truth. According to the tradition established by Hammer-Purgstall (*GOR*, iii, 673), she was Polish, from Rogatin (Polish: Rohatyn) on the Gnilaya Lipa river, now in the Ukrainian SSR, then in the Little Russia of Poland, the daughter of a Greek Catholic *papas*; possibly her name was Aleksandra Lisowska (see *Belleten*, xxiii, 230). The area, an old Ruthenian settlement, was subjected to frequent Tatar raids; she may have been carried off on one of these and sold as a slave in Istanbul. It may not be a coincidence that she had a mosque built later in the ʿAvret Pazarī quarter, near the female slave-market. Other traditions, of little reliability, make her Slav, Circassian, Sienese, even French. She may have been presented to Sulaymān by his mother Ḥafṣa Sulṭān or by Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] (Bassano, *loc. cit.*, 18*v*)., with whom she was to share Sulaymān's affection. She was called Khurrem (variants: Churram, Currem, Hürrem) but is known in Turkish histories generally as Khāṣṣekī Sulṭān and in Western accounts as Roxelana (variants: Roxolana, Roxelane, Rossolana, Rossane, la Rossa, la Rosa), probably all referring to her origin as a Russian or even a Ruthenian woman (*Belleten*, xxiii, 229), but not meaning "Rose", "Redhead", nor Baudier's ingenous "Roxana" to Sulaymān's Alexander the Great (*Inventaire*², Paris 1620, 344). Bragadin in 1526 (Albèri, iii/3, 102) describes her as "young not beautiful, but graceful and small".

As heir-apparent in Manisa, Sulaymān seems to have favoured two ladies, Gulbahār and Gulfem, said to be variously of Circassian, Albanian, Montenegrin and Crimean origin. Gulfem bore him Murād in 919/1513 and Maḥmūd in 921/1515, but both these sons died in 927/1521. Gulbahār bore Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*] in 921/1515; thus, by 1521, as mother of the Sultan's eldest surviving son, she was Khāṣṣekī Sulṭān and, after Sulaymān's mother, foremost in the Imperial Harem, then housed in the Old Palace. However, Khurrem had captivated Sulaymān, borne him a son Meḥemmed [*q.v.*] in 927/1521 and, after a squabble reported by Navagero (Albèri, iii/1, 75), during which Gulbahār had called her "sold meat", had ousted her. Gulbahār devoted herself to her son Muṣṭafā and, when she died in 988/1580, was buried beside him in Djem Sulṭān's mausoleum in Bursa (Refik, *xvi. asırda Istanbul hayatı*, Istanbul 1935, 8). Gulfem, no rival, was accepted by Khurrem and lived with her ladies; after her death, in 969/1561-2, a mosque was constructed in her memory in Üsküdar.

There is unanimous agreement that Sulaymān made Khurrem his legal wife by giving her the *kābīn* (dowry), said to be 5,000 ducats annually, but no hint as to when this took place. It may have been after the birth of Meḥemmed. An undated letter in the Archives of the Bank of St. George, Genoa, describes the wedding festivities in some detail (see Davey, *The Sultan and his subjects*, London 1907, 18-19). In 928/1522 their daughter Mihr-i Māh Sulṭān [*q.v.*] was born, the next year a son ʿAbd Allāh (died 932/1526) and, on 24 Radjab 930/28 May 1524, the future Sultan Selīm II [*q.v.*]. Khurrem bore two more sons, Bāyezīd in 932/1526 and, in 937/1530 Djihāngīr, a hunchback much loved by his father. The circumcisions of Muṣṭafā, Meḥemmed and Selīm were celebrated together with great pomp in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 936/July 1530, after which Muṣṭafā, as *sandjaḳ-beg* of Ṣarukhān, departed with his mother to Manisa. On 4 Ramaḍān 940/19 March 1534 the wālide Ḥafṣa Sulṭān died. During the night of 21-2 Ramaḍān 942/14-5 March 1536, Ibrāhīm Pasha was assassinated in the Sultan's bedchamber in Topkapı Sarayı. Khurrem's influence is suspected in this murder, out of jealousy and fear for her children's lives after Ibrāhīm had declared in favour of Muṣṭafā as heir, but there is no proof of this. With Ibrāhīm's death, however, all her rivals had been removed.

In 945/1539 Khurrem began a long series of pious bequests with the construction of the Haseki mosque in Istanbul, the first commission of the new Chief Architect Sinān [*q.v.*]. It is in the former ʿAvret Pazarī, now Haseki district, and comprises two *medreses*, a *mekteb*, a *sabīl* and a hospital (finished 957/1550) which, as the Haseki Kadınlar Hastanesi, is still in use for women. Sinān also built another mosque on her behalf at Edirne, *ʿimārets* near the Kaʿba at Mecca, at Medina and at Edirne, and baths in the Aya Sofya and Yehudiler districts of Istanbul. Her other charitable works include a caravanserai and fountains at Edirne and a richly endowed *ʿimāret* at Jerusalem.

On the night of 27 Ramaḍān 947/25 January 1541 a fire swept through the Old Palace (Luṭfī, *Tewārīkh*, Istanbul 1341, 384). Khurrem seems to have moved at once with her ladies to Topkapı Sarayı, where she remained. With a woman lodged for the first time at the political centre, there begins at this date the *Ḳadīnlar salṭanatī*, the rule of women, during which the policies of the Ottoman Empire were directed by a succession of foreign favourites, until the death of Murād IV's mother in 1061/1651. In the Genoese Archives there is a description of Khurrem's apartments, probably written in 1542 (see Davey, *Sultan*, 21-3), and also in Bassano (*loc. cit.*, 17v.). On 21 Ṣafar 948/16 June 1541 Khurrem had Muṣṭafā dismissed to Amasya and on 3 Shaʿbān 949/12 November 1542 her own son Meḥemmed was appointed *sandjaḳ-bey* of Ṣarukhān, the heir-apparent's post (*Kanunı armağanı*, 249). One year later, on 8 Shaʿbān 950/6 November 1543, Meḥemmed died in Manisa. Sulaymān was inconsolable; in a deed of gift to Khurrem made some eight years later (Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*[2], i, 608-10), with all his other sons still alive, he calls her "the mother of my late son Meḥemmed". On 13 Ramaḍān 951/28 November 1544 Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], husband of Mihr-i Māh since 945/1539, was appointed Grand Vizier. He was devoted to the policies of his mother-in-law and wife, foremost of which was the destruction of Muṣṭafā so that one of Khurrem's sons might succeed. The law decreeing that a Sultan at his accession must have all his brothers executed created such a desperate struggle for life within the Sultan's family, of which the pathetic aspect is well illustrated by Navagero (Albèri, iii/1, 77). Their scheming was crowned with success on 27 Shawwāl 960/6 October 1553, when Sulaymān witnessed the execution of his brilliant and popular eldest son in camp at Eregli near Konya. To pacify the infuriated army Rüstem Pasha was dismissed at once and Ḳarā Aḥmad Pasha [*q.v.*] appointed Grand Vizier .Djihāngīr, proceeding with his father on the Persian campaign, died of pleurisy at Aleppo on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 960/29 November 1553. A few weeks later Muṣṭafā's son Meḥemmed, born at Amasya in 953/1546, was executed at Bursa. His death also is attributed to Khurrem's plots, as is the execution in office of Ḳarā Aḥmad Pasha on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 962/29 September 1555 and the immediate reinstatement of Rüstem Pasha. He and Khurrem plotted for the succession to pass to Bāyezīd, the younger but abler of Sulaymān's surviving sons, but neither of them lived to see the end of the struggle between the two brothers which resulted in Bāyezīd's execution in Persia at Selīm's instigation on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 969/23 July 1562. Barbarigo tells us (Albèri, iii/3, 148) that in her last years Khurrem would not allow Sulaymān out of her sight; both infirm, they spent the winter of 965/1557-8 in Edirne together, and she returned to die in Istanbul in April. She is buried in her mausoleum, built by Sinān beside Sulaymān's near the Süleymāniyye mosque. Due largely to her intrigues Selīm, Sulaymān's least worthy son, remained alone to succeed his father.

A number of Khurrem's letters exist. Seven letters to Sulaymān, written between 1526-53, published in modern Turkish transcription in Uluçay, *Osmanlı sultanlarına aşk mektuplari*, Istanbul 1950, are preserved in the Archives of the Topkapı Sarayı Museum as TKS Arşivi nos. E. 5038, 5662, 5859, 5926, 6036, 6056, 11480. In 1548 and 1549 she and Mihr-i Māh wrote to Sigismund Augustus of Poland; the originals are in Warsaw, AGAD, Arch. Kor., Dz. turecki, teczka 110, nos. 218, 219, 221, 222: French translations by Askenazy, *Listy Roxolany*, in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, x (1896), 113-7. A correspondence with Persia ensued over the building of the Süleymāniyye mosque, with Khurrem answering Shāh Tahmāsp's wife's letter of good wishes to her in 962/1555 (reference to copies in Hammer-Purgstall's Ms. in *GOR*, ix, 375: items 499, 500) and the Shāh's sister's letter of congratulations after the completion in 964/1557; published in Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*[2], ii, 63-6. There are many deeds of gift made by Sulaymān to Khurrem; see, for example, Heyd, *Ottoman documents*, Oxford 1960, 143, and *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman sergisi*, Istanbul 1958, nos. 71, 90, 102, 125. Some examples of embroidery said to be Khurrem's work are preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum and the Türk İslâm Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul.

Khurrem's fame spread through Europe in her lifetime. It is unlikely that she ever sat for a portrait, but several portraits of her exist. In Topkapı Sarayı there is an oil painting (see cover of Uluçay, *Aşk mektupları*), made from the engraving in Boissard, *Vitae et icones sultanorum*, Frankfurt 1596, and two other portraits (see Uluçay, 7, 20). Sokolnicki, *La Sultane Ruthène*, in *Belleten*, xxiii, 1959, 229-39, lists further portraits in Florence, Venice and Vienna, the latter bearing the same inscription as Uluçay, 20, and probably identical to it. There is a fine engraving of her by Melchior Lorich in *Turckische Figuren* (see Rouillard, *The Turk*, Paris 1938, plate 23). Khurrem's story inspired drama and literature in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, including two French plays, *La Sultane*, Paris 1561, and *Roxelane*, Paris 1643; see Rouillard, *The Turk*, 421-66, and Chew, *The Crescent*, New York 1937, 497-503.

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KHURSĀBĀD, a village situated 36° 40′ N. and 43° 10′ E. in the plain 17 km. to the north-east of Mosul, in the *muḥāfaẓa* of al-Mawṣil. It is the site of the ancient Assyrian royal city Dur Shar-

rukin, "The Fortress of Sargon". The earliest excavations there were undertaken by Paul Emile Botta in 1843 when he was the French Consul at Mosul, and he has been described by Parrot as "the first systematic excavator of a Near Eastern site". He himself described his work in a series of letters which he wrote after each important find and he carefully copied all the inscriptions he discovered, although at that time Akkadian was still an undeciphered language. Victor Place continued the excavation of the site from 1852-5, but then it was abandoned until G. Loud worked there on behalf of the Oriental Institute of Chicago for eight seasons from 1927-35. Since then a number of stone reliefs from the palace, including two famous colossal bulls, have been removed to the Iraq National Musuem in Baghdad (1938, 1943) and the Directorate-General of Antiquities of Iraq resumed excavations for a short period in 1957.

Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) built the city between 717 and 707 when he moved the centre of his administration from Kalkhu (modern Birs Nimrūd), and the city is a model of Assyrian town-planning. It has seven fortified gates and the early excavations revealed the rooms of the palace and the houses of the palace officials. There are a number of shrines to various deities (called by Botta the Harem) and a ziggurat (which Botta described as an observatory). The later American excavation discovered the temple of Nabu who, with his consort Tashmetum, was a god of vegetation and recently it has been suggested by Postgate that the fertility ritual of the sacred marriage was performed in this building. The entrance to the palace was flanked by a pair of massive, winged, human headed bulls (as in other Assyrian cities) and the walls were decorated with detailed reliefs of battle scenes and festival processions. A number of glazed brick panels have also been recovered from the site and chemical analysis of the blue glazes derived from copper suggests that lead was being used as a flux, a technique that was forgotten but later re-developed.

Cuneiform inscriptions show that the city was completed just before Sargon died. It was during his eighth military campaign, on which he plundered towns and villages in north-western Iran, that he was ambushed and killed (705 B.C.) and his corpse was left unburied as "food for the birds of prey". The priests seem to have interpreted this final humiliation as a sign of divine punishment, and his son Sennacherib abandoned the city and turned his attention to the rebuilding of Nineveh, which remained the capital of Assyria until the empire was overthrown in 612 B.C. The most important document for historical research which has been discovered at the site is a list of the names of the kings of Assyria together with the length of their reigns as far back as Irishum I (1852-1813). Although there are inconsistencies of detail between this list and the King list from Asshur [see ATHŪR] in Suppl. and the records of astronomical observations, it does provide the basic framework for the study of Assyrian history.

The palace is built on a raised platform and planned around an open courtyard which was accessible to the public. This gave access to an inner courtyard which seems to have been reserved for those in special positions of authority. The throne room was approached from the inner courtyard through a triple doorway flanked by monumental sculptures. A staircase led from the throne room to the private living rooms. Because of the absence of any relief carving in the throne room it has been suggested that this was originally decorated with mural paintings but no traces have survived.

Sargon had the construction of the city described in detail on the pavement stones in the palace gates with these words: "[the king] built the city at the foot of Mount Musri above Nineveh and named it Dur Sharrukin. He erected palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and terebinth as his royal dwelling place. In front of the gates he built a portico, as in a Hittite palace, which in the Amorite language is called a *bit ḫilāni*." It is particularly interesting to note that he received inspiration for at least one architectural detail from his western expedition.

When the site was first discovered, Botta thought he had found the much more famous city of Nineveh, for he was so astounded by the size and obvious splendour of the ancient city. Layard raised objections to this identification because he thought it was too far away from the Tigris. Neither of them appeared to know the traditional identification in Arabic historical sources; Yāḳūt describes the village as the site of an ancient city called Ṣarʿūn, which probably reflects an earlier corruption of Ṣarghūn.

When excavations began, E. Flandin was sent by the French government to copy the sculptures which had been found. It was identified with Dur Sharrukin after the inscriptions of its founding king had been translated. He had had it built as a strategic defence against the troublesome Cimmerian attacks from the north and had cobbled the main exit roads so that his troops could be transported efficiently with their supplies. The ancient walls surround an area of 320 hectares with the citadel occupying 20 hectares. Yāḳūt mentions that the village of his day (which he refers to as Khurustābād) had good irrigation. The modern village supports a small population (the average density of the area is 29.5 persons per km.²) situated on the eastern bank of the river Khawsar at the northern end of the Djabal Maḳlūb.

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(M. E. J. Richardson)

KHURSHĪD, *ispahbadh* [*q.v.*] of the Dabūyid line in Ṭabaristān. It was long believed that there were two Khurshīds, because of errors in interpreting coin legends; Mordtmann, in *SB Bayr. Ak.* (1871), 30, 36, dated three coins of this prince to the years 70, 60 and 64 of the Ṭabaristān era, and this led people to posit the existence of a Khurshīd I who reigned 50-60 T. and a Khurshīd II who reigned 88-116 T. (idem, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 110, cited by Unvala, p. 8, § 5, p. 30, § 11). He was followed by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 132, who also read 64 T. on a coin which

he attributed to Khurshīd I, who must in his opinion have reigned 60-4 T. Vasmer, in *EI*[1] art. MĀZANDARĀN was the first to perceive this false reading, which he explained by the resemblance between *shast* = 60 and *dahsat* = 110 in the Pahlavi script. Accordingly, Vasmer dated the coins to 110 and 114 T., instead of 60 and 64 T., and he therefore denied the existence of two Khurshīds, especially as the local sources make no mention of a Khurshīd I. Unvala, p. 7, § 4, p. 8, § 5, p. 30, § 11, confirmed Vasmer's conclusions, and remarked that the coins of the alleged Khurshīd I are absolutely identical with those which Mordtmann attributed to Khurshīd II. As for the bronze coin dated by Mordtmann (*ZDMG*, xix, 474, No. 170) to the year 70 T. and attributed to Khurshīd I, Vasmer corrects this false reading to 107 T. (*EI*[1], *loc. cit.*). Unvala (p. 9, § 16, coin No. 800 in his catalogue) confirms Vasmer's dating, and observes that to date the coins to 64 and 70 T. and attribute them to Khurshīd I would interrupt in an inexplicable fashion the series of coins issued by Farrukhān the Great (60-79 T.). One must thus cease speaking of two Khurshīds, as does Spuler in *EI*[2] art. DĀBŪYA.

The *ispahbadh* Khurshīd is therefore the last Dabūyid prince, who reigned in Ṭabaristān 89-110 T./ 123-44 A.H./740-61 A.D. according to his coins, which corresponds closely with the information of local chroniclers. In fact, Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 40, gives him a reign of 13 years, to which should be added 8 years of the regency of his paternal uncle Sārūya (Ibn Isfandiyār, 113). But elsewhere (319), he gives him a reign of 51 years, which cannot even be given credence as an indication of his age. Al-Ṭabarī, iii, 140, states that Khurshīd was still young when his father Dādhburzmir died. According to Ibn Isfandiyār, *loc. cit.*, Dādhburzmir's brother Sārūya acted as regent for 8 years, but his sons wanted to keep the throne in their own line, hence plotted against their cousin Khurshīd, who had reached his majority. The latter managed to defeat them and recovered his throne (*ibid.*, 113-14). He was a real petty king, with a personal guard, an army and representatives in the various districts of Ṭabaristān (*ibid.*, 114-16). He even sent an embassy to the Chinese court of the Tʿang, in *ca.* 746 (Abel-Rémusat, i, 254, ii, 166-49): "In the fifth year Tian-pao, the king Hu-lu-ban sent an embassy to the Imperial Court and received in exchange the title of King of Kuei-Sin" (submission to vassalage). These royal pretensions explain his rebellion under the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II (127-32/ 744-50; cf. Balādhurī, 338), but he had to submit to Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī in 131/749 (Ṭabarī, ii, 2016). After al-Manṣūr's execution of Abū Muslim in 137/755, Sunbādh revolted and entrusted to Khurshīd part of the treasures of Abū Muslim (Ṭabarī, iii, 86, 119; Niẓām al-Mulk, tr. Schefer, 267-8, tr. Darke, 212). After his defeat, Sunbādh sought refuge in Ṭabaristān, but Khurshīd had him killed by his cousin, in order to get his hands on the rest of Abū Muslim's treasures (Ibn Isfandiyār, 117-18). The caliph al-Manṣūr had to send his son al-Mahdī to Rayy to recover Abū Muslim's property (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 369; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 312, 314). Khurshīd refused to send his son as a hostage, but had to pay a heavier tribute, at the level paid to the Sāsānids (Ibn Isfandiyār, 118).

This submission did not last long, since he took advantage of the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, governor of Khurāsān, to cut off tribute in 141/758 (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 309-10; Balʿamī, iv, 380). This time, the caliph decided to finish once and for all with his vassal's insubordination and to annex his principality. His army invaded Ṭabaristān and they made contact with each other without fighting, forcing Khurshīd to take to the mountains, where he shut himself up in the fortress of al-Ṭāḳ (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 310). A long siege followed, but the place was finally captured in 142/759-60. Khurshīd managed to flee for refuge in Daylam (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 387; Ibn Isfandiyār, 121), but his family fell into the hands of the Muslims and were sent to the ʿAbbāsid court (Balādhurī, 339; Ṭabarī, iii, 136-7, 139-49). There is great confusion over the names of these captive princesses, and certain chroniclers identify them with the daughters of the *maṣmughān* of Dunbāwand and not with Khurshīd's family (Vasmer, 91, 100-1). However, various of this prince's daughters became concubines of al-Manṣūr, his brother al-ʿAbbās, and al-Mahdī, who had a son of al-Bakhtariyya (or al-Buḥturiyya, according to Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 193) called al-Manṣūr. It was al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī who refused the caliphate, as offered to him by the people of Baghdād in 201/817, after the choice of the ʿAlid ʿAlī al-Riḍā as al-Maʾmūn's heir-presumptive. He merely agreed to become governor of ʿIrāḳ for al-Maʾmūn (Ṭabarī, iii, 1001, 1005-6). Another of Khurshīd's daughters, usually named as Shakla, also became the concubine of al-Mahdī (Ṭabarī, iii, 140; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 314). She gave him a son, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], sc. the anti-caliph of 201-4/ 817-19, who accepted his acclamation by the Baghdād populace after his half-brother al-Manṣūr's refusal. All this shows that one cannot set up against each other, in a simplistic fashion, the son of the "Persian concubine" (al-Maʾmūn) and the son of the "Arab princess" (al-Amīn), since the ʿIrāḳīs did not hesitate in 201/817 to set up the son of a Persian concubine (al-Manṣūr and then Ibrāhīm) against the son of another Persian concubine (al-Maʾmūn), who was moreover the very nephew of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī.

Khurshīd gathered an army in Daylam and Gīlān and in 143/760 tried to regain his principality (Ṭabarī, iii, 141-2), but meeting no success, killed himself the following year (Balʿāmī, iv, 381; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 314). His son, who was on an embassy to China, learnt of the annexation of Ṭabaristān, as recorded in the Chinese annals: "He was honoured by the title of supernumerary officer-general, and awarded a purple cloak and a golden fish. Whilst he was staying in the capital, the black-robed Arabs conquered his lands" (Abel-Rémusat, i, 254). The other local dynasties of Ṭabaristān (the Bāwandids [*q.v.*] of Mount Sharwīn, the Ḳārinids [*q.v.*] of Mount Ḳārin and the Zarmihrids of Miyāndurūd) were kept as tributaries under the oversight of ʿAbbāsid governors resident at Āmul. These last continued to mint coins with Khurshīd's name till 114 T. (he having killed himself in 110 T.), which has led many historians to think that Khurshīd reigned till 115 T. The first extant coin minted in the name of an ʿAbbāsid governor is that of Rawḥ b. Ḥātim in 147/764 (cited by H. Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, Brunswick 1973, 124; it will be published shortly by R. Curiel, of the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibl. Nat. in Paris).

Bibliography: In addition to the Arabic chroniclers (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*; Ibn al-Athīr; Ibn al-Faḳīh; Ibn Ḳutayba; Ṭabarī, etc.) and the Persian ones (Balʿamī; Ibn Isfandiyār, *An abridged translation of the History of Ṭabaristān*, by E. G. Browne, Leiden 1905; Niẓām al-mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. and Fr. tr. Ch. Schefer ed. and Eng. tr. H. Darke; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Tāʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān . . .*, ed. B. Dorn, St. Petersburg 1850), the following should be consulted: J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr . . .*;

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AL-KHURṬŪM (Khartum, Khartoum), a city at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, now the capital of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan. The name is said to be derived from the resemblance of the site to an elephant's trunk. At the time of the Turco-Egyptian invasion (1821), Khartum was a small village, the residence of a holy man. It was chosen as the military and administrative headquarters of the conquered territories by the governor, ʿUthmān Bey Djarkas, in 1824. With the extension of Turco-Egyptian rule, the pacification of the Sudan, and the opening-up of the Equatorial Nile and Baḥr al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*], Khartum developed into a flourishing town with a heterogeneous population, which included European traders, consular officials and Catholic missionaries. After the outbreak of the Mahdist revolt, the defence of Khartum was assumed by the governor-general, C. G. Gordon Pasha (General Gordon), a British subject in the khedivial service. The town, which had been under close siege from October 1884, fell to the Mahdī on 26 January 1885, Gordon being among the slain. During the Mahdist period, the capital was transferred to Omdurman (Umm Durmān), on the left bank of the Nile below the confluence, and Khartum was abandoned, apart from the dockyard (*al-tarsāna*), where the steamers of the Mahdist state were maintained, and the gardens, which became a source of revenue. After the defeat of the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] at Karari in September 1898 by Anglo-Egyptian forces, the restoration of Khartum was begun by Kitchener, the *serdār* and governor-general. Although again the administrative centre and the principal place of residence for Europeans, Khartum did not equal Omdurman in extent or population during the Condominium (1899-1955). Together with Omdurman and Khartum North it forms a conurbation known as "the Three Towns" (*al-Mudun al-Thalāth*).

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KHŪRYĀN-MŪRYĀN, a group of islands in the bay of the same name on the south coast of Arabia, lying along latitude 17° 30′ N between longitudes 55° 30′ and 56° 30′ E. The islands, principally of granite and limestone formation, are the peaks of a submarine ridge. From west to east they are Ḥāsikiyya, Sawdā, Ḥallāniyya, Ḳarzawt and Djubayla. Ḥallāniyya is both the largest (about 8 miles long and 23 in circumference) and the only inhabited island of the group. At its centre it rises to a peak some 1,500 feet above sea-level. Its vegetation is scanty: only a few marine shrubs, some scattered tamarisks and occasional mimosas relieve the monotony of the landscape. The water is brackish, the best being obtained from a couple of wells sunk by a RAF survey party in 1963. Sawdā, the second largest island (3 miles long), is equally barren, though it was once inhabited. So also, apparently, was Djubayla, to judge from a few tombs on the island. Djubayla and Ḥāsikiyya, the westernmost island, lying only 20 miles from the mainland, are the haunts of thousands of seabirds, including pelicans and goosanders.

The Khūryān-Mūryān Islands were early identified with the so-called seven successive islands of Zenobios, and as such they marked the frontier between the kingdom of the Parthians and the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt. From this it would appear that the Parthian frontier should be located in the innermost corner of Khūryān-Mūryān Bay. Over the centuries the inhospitality of the islands has forced their inhabitants to seek their livelihood from the sea. In the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] records that the islanders, who were then politically under al-Shiḥr, were very poor in winter and only managed to make a moderate living in the sailing season. They used to sail to ʿUmān, Aden and the Yemen. Their main source of revenue was tortoise shell, which they traded to the Yemenīs, and occasionally very beautiful amber, for which they sometimes got very high prices. Al-Idrīsī calls the bay containing the islands Djawn al-Ḥashīsh (Bay of Herbs). The Khūryān-Mūryān Islands in their turn were frequented by Arabs from Shiḥr and Mukallā in the Ḥadramawt [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and from Ḥudayda in the Yemen, to dig guano from Ḥāsikiyya and Djubayla Islands, where the seabirds down the centuries had left rich deposits. The guano was used as agricultural fertiliser, especially in the cultivation of tobacco.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans in modern times to record the existence of the Khūryān-Mūryān Islands. Affonso d'Albuquerque discovered them in 1503, and they appear thereafter in Portuguese sources as the Curia-Muria Islands, with Ḥāsikiyya as Asquié, Sawdā as Sodié and Ḳarzawt as Rodondo. Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*] from Ra's al-Khayma descended upon the islands in 1818, possibly with the intention of using them as a base for attacks upon shipping. The local inhabitants were driven or carried off and the islands remained unpopulated for several years afterwards. Sometime before or, more probably, after this incursion (the sources are unclear) the islands came into the possession of a sub-section of the Māḥrā tribe, the Ibn Khalfān, residing in the vicinity of Mirbāṭ on the coast of Dhufār (Ẓufār [*q.v.*]). It is from this clan that the islands have derived the name by which they are known to the Arabs of southern Arabia—Djazāʾir bin Khalfān. By the middle of the 13th/19th century—and possibly a decade or so earlier—the islands had become a dependency of the sultanate of Masḳaṭ. French planters from Réunion Islands occasionally resorted to the islands to load guano for use as fertiliser, and it was the existence of these valuable deposits that led the British government in 1854 to ask the Sulṭān of Masḳaṭ, Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭan, to cede the islands to Great Britain. The deed of cession was signed on 14 July 1854 and the guano deposits were worked from 1857 to 1859. A cable station was set up on Ḥallāniyya Island in 1861, only to be abandoned a year later when the Red Sea-Karachi cable proved unworkable.

From 1854 onwards, the Khūryān-Mūryān Islands were formally designated a dependency of the British colony of Aden, although administrative control over them was vested in the British political resident in the Persian Gulf, since it was more practicable for the British political agent at Masḳaṭ to visit them than it was for the political resident (later governor) at Aden. When British rule over Aden ceased on 30 November 1967, the islands were handed back to the Sulṭān of Masḳaṭ, despite the protests of the Aden successor government, the People's Republic of South Yemen, that it was entitled to succeed to sovereignty over all the dependencies of the former colony. Since that time the islands have been administered as part of the *wilāya* of Dhufār of the sultanate of ʿUmān. Ḥallāniyya Island is still populated, the number of inhabitants having remained fairly constant over the past century—36 in 1883, 50 in 1936, 70 in 1947 and 53 in 1976. They still derive their living from the sea, and especially from the great shoals of sardines which appear off the islands in late October each year, at the end of the south-west monsoon. Of late, foodstuffs and medical treatment provided by the ʿUmānī authorities in Salāla have gone some way to alleviate the rigours of the islanders' existence.

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(A. Grohmann-[J. B. Kelly])

KHUSDĀR [see KALĀT]

AL-KHUSHANĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith, Mālikī faḳīh and biographer, originally from Khushan near Ḳayrawān. After studying *fiḳh* at the latter place and at Tunis, he left his homeland *ca*. 311/923, passing through Ceuta, where he was held back some time by teaching (he is said also to have corrected the orientation of the mosque there), and travelling to Spain. He resided in the Marches, and completed his legal training, especially from Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh [*q.v.*], and ended up by enjoying the favour of the heir to the throne, prince al-Ḥakam, who procured for him the job of *ḳāḍī* of inheritances (*mawārīth*) at Pechina, then that of the *shūrā* of Cordoba and after that, summoned him to his own side. He was something of a poet (though accused of committing faults here), and was considered to have a certain manual dexterity and to practise alchemy; he seems also to have acquired some medical expertise which allowed him, after his disgrace following al-Ḥakam's death in 366/976, to live by making up electuaries (*adhān*). He is said to have died in 371/981, but this date is not accepted by all his biographers, who however knew very little information about the last years of his life.

Al-Khushanī is credited with a hundred or so works and treatises composed at al-Ḥakam's behest, who was, as is well-known, a great lover of books. Amongst the titles cited here figure *al-Ittifāḳ wa 'l-ikhtilāf fī madhhab Mālik, al-Taḥāṣur wa 'l-mughālāt, al-Futyā, al-Taʿrīf, al-Mawlid wa 'l-wafāt, al-Nasab* and *al-Iḳtibās*, which do not seem to have survived. His fame, however, rests on his biographical works. As well as a *Taʾrīkh ʿUlamāʾ al-Andalus* and a *K. Fuḳahāʾ al-Mālikiyya*, which are no longer extant, al-Khushanī left two collections of especial interest. The first one which one thinks of is his *T. Ḳuḍāt al-Andalus*, ed. and tr. into Spanish by Ribera, Madrid 1914. Basing himself on written sources, archives and oral traditions, the author traces the biographies of the *ḳāḍīs* of al-Andalus from the conquest till 357/968, in a lively and instructive manner; and if he lacks a critical spirit in relaying, for instance, the fictitious story of the first three judges in Cordoba, he nevertheless does not omit items of information which are sometimes unfavourable to the Umayyads.

The second work which has been preserved, the *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya*, has been published by M. Ben Cheneb in his *Classes des savants de l'Ifriqiya*, Algiers 1915-20, as a continuation of the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Abu 'l-ʿArab [*q.v.*]. These *Ṭabaḳāt*, which the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] utilises freely in his *Madārik* under the title of *Taʾrīkh al-Ifrīḳiyyīn*, calling the author in familiar fashion Ibn Ḥārith, contain biographies of scholars who did not belong to the Mālikī school, and most remarkably, of converts to Shīʿism established in Ifrīḳiya by the Fāṭimids. It is the opinion of R. Brunschvig (*Un aspect de la littérature historico-géographique de l'Islam*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 150-1) that this exile, unable to come to terms with the doctrine imposed upon his native land, may have written this work at the demand of al-Ḥakam, who was eager to know about the situation there; in this respect, the *Ṭabaḳāt* are interesting for the information which they give on the Fāṭimids, but the author, far from being impartial, paints a gloomy picture of the *ʿulamāʾ* who remained behind in Ifrīḳiya and were compelled, according to his view, to rally to the new masters, either out of financial cupidity or from fear of persecution.

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(Ch. Pellat)

KHUSHḤĀL KHĀN KHAṬAK, Pashtun poet and a warrior chieftain (1022-1100/1613-89). Khushḥāl Khān is recognised as the national poet of the Pashtūns.

1. Life. Son of Shah-bāz Khan and grandson of Yaḥyā Khān who, in turn, was the son of Malik Akōṛay, leader of a clan of the Khaṭak [*q.v.*], the boy Khushḥāl accompanied his father in tribal wars. After his father's death in a tribal battle, Khushḥāl succeeded him as *khān* or chieftain, and was recognized as such by Shāh Djahān, the Mughal Emperor. Khushḥāl served Shāh-Djahān in his army's campaigns in Balkh and Badakhshān in 1055/1645, but later, in the time of the Emperor Aurangzīb, the governor of Kābul aligned himself, along with some of Khushḥāl's uncles and cousins, against Khushḥāl. In 1074/1664, Khushḥāl, then 51 years old, was summoned by the governor to Peshāwar, where he was arrested and dispatched in chains to a fortress in Djaypūr. He was released two years later, but was not allowed to return home until 1080/1669. For the rest of his life, his sympathies rested with the rebel Pashtūn tribes. In his poems he preached unity of the Afghān tribes to resist Mughal domination. Khushḥāl greatly admired the Afrīdī chieftain Daryā Khān, who defeated the Mughal army at Landī Kōtal in the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR Pass] in 1083/1672, while leading a confederation of Afrīdī and Muhmand tribesmen. Accompanied by one of his loyal sons, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Khaṭak, Khushḥāl fought and defeated the Bangash tribe, which supported Mughal rule. He also had to fight his third son, Bahrām, whom the Mughals sponsored in attempts to replace Khushḥāl as chieftain. In 1085/1674, he voluntarily relinquished his chieftainship to his eldest son, Ashraf, also a poet who was later (1044/1683) jailed by the Mughals. Khushḥāl declared himself a rebel and spent rest of his life with Afrīdī friends in the inaccessible eyries of Tīrāh, a zone "never effectively occupied by any government in all history". He travelled from tribal area to tribal area, seeking assistance and refuge. He was relentlessly pursued by his treacherous son, Bahrām, but evaded capture and died in the Afrīdī country in 1100/1689. The armed resistance which he encouraged by his pen and emphasised by his sword is "to be counted among the causes that brought about the dramatic collapse of the Mogul Empire in India" (Sir Olaf Caroe).

2. Literary Works. Khushḥāl, a prolific poet, constantly chanted his love of beauty, honour, and justice. As part of his opposition to Aurangzīb and his forces, Khushḥāl preached union of all Afghān tribes and encouraged revolt against Mughal rule:

> "My sword I gird upon my thigh
> To guard Afghān honour and fame:
> Its champion in this age am I,
> The Khaṭak Khān, Khushḥāl my name".

Khushḥāl also celebrates his successes and laments his subsequent misfortunes. He chastises those Pashtūns who accept gold rather than give battle to the Mughals.

As well as poetry, he wrote manuals on falconry, folk medicine, a dialogue between the pen and the sword, an account of his imprisonment and exile, and a geography of Swāt. "His lyrics and epics, alike present his religious devotion, occasionally in mystic terms, his patriotic feelings, his moral code, his many loves in object or joyful mood, and many other subjects" (D. N. MacKenzie). Khushḥāl rightly claims to be the originator of Pashtō poetic form and metre, but it must be remembered that he had a predecessor, Mīrzā Anṣārī. Both these early Pashtō poets used the Darī or Persian poetic mould, but instead of strictly applying the classical rules of prosody to Pashtō, they adopted the metres of popular Pashtō songs to verse forms known in Persian. "This metre is syllabic in nature, but the pattern is made by the stress usually recurring on every fourth syllable" (MacKenzie).

Khushḥāl further left many *ghazal*s in Persian under the pen-name of Rūḥī, and a Persian *ḳaṣīda* or ode on the futility of this world in same metre as the *Baḥr al-abrār* of Amīr-Khusraw Dihlawī; this Persian poetry is amongst the best of that written in the so-called *Sabk-i Hind* or "Indian style".

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(Ravan Farhadi)

KHUSHḲADAM, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Abū Saʿīd Sayf al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī al-Muʾayyadī, Mamluk sultan of the Burdjīs (regn. 19 Ramaḍān 865 - 10 Rabīʿ I 872/22 June 1461 - 9 October 1467). By origin a Rūmī (i.e. perhaps a Greek, but the term had a wide range of meanings), he was born *ca.* 815/1413. Brought as a boy to Egypt by the slave-merchant Khwādjā Nāṣir al-Dīn, he was purchased by the sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, whence his two *nisbas*. He rose through the grades of promotion of the Royal Mamlūks as *khāṣṣakī*, *sāḳī* and *amīr*, finally succeeding al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad b. Īnāl as *atābak al-ʿasākir* in Egypt when the latter became sultan in Djumādā I 865/Feb. 1461. The *atābakiyya* was at this time the highest in rank of the great offices of state, but had no specific functions; its holder was also styled *amīr kabīr*, i.e. the senior *amīr*. The reign of al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad was soon disturbed by the intrigues of Djānim al-Ashrafī, the governor of Damascus, who sought to usurp the sultanate with the support of his *khushdāshiyya*, the Ashrafiyya, i.e. the Mamlūk household of al-Ashraf Barsbāy [*q.v.*]. The Ashrafiyya were at first opposed by their rivals, the Ẓāhiriyya, i.e. the household of al-Ẓāhir Čaḳmaḳ [*q.v.*], whose chief Djānibak al-Ẓāhirī (formerly governor of Djudda) skilfully won the agreement of the two factions to the deposition of al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad and the installation of Khushḳadam as a compromise candidate until the arrival of Djānim from Syria. Since Khushḳadam was not of "the Nation" (*al-djins*, i.e. not a Circassian), it would be easy to depose him at will. Thus Djānibak alleged, but he rightly calculated that once Khushḳadam was recognised as sultan, he would be difficult to oust. He was accordingly proclaimed, and his supporters captured the Citadel of Cairo with little resistance, al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad being arrested and sent to imprisonment in Alexandria.

The new sultan was thus faced at the outset with both an over-mighty kingmaker and a powerful rival. Djānibak, who was appointed *dawādār kabīr* (a great office of state of growing importance in the later Circassian period), was at first the effective ruler (*mudabbir al-mamlaka*). When Djānim al-Ashrafī advanced to Khānḳāh Siryāḳūs, north of Cairo, Djānibak succeeded in obtaining an oath of loyalty to the new sultan from him, and Djānim returned, loaded with gifts, to Damascus (Shawwāl 865/July 1461). Some months later, Djānim was removed from office, and fled to Uzun Ḥasan of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] in Ṣafar 866/Nov. 1461. With a force of Mamlūks and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Turcomans, he subsequently crossed the Euphrates and advanced to Tall Bāshir (Shawwāl 866/July 1462), but the invasion came to nothing, and in the following winter he was killed in Edessa. The sultan was now strong enough to procure the murder of Djānibak (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 867/August 1463); an event which was followed by the arrest of leading members of the Ẓāhiriyya faction. Khushḳadam's coup against the Ẓāhiriyya was, however, abruptly halted, probably because of a conspiracy against him in his own Mamlūk household. A reconciliation was effected through Ḳāyitbāy al-Ẓāhirī (the future sultan), and the offices and *iḳṭāʿ*s of the Ẓāhiriyya were restored.

There were no major foreign developments during the reign. Suzerainty was maintained over King James of Cyprus (who had been installed with the help of a Mamlūk contingent sent by al-Ashraf Īnāl [*q.v.*] in 864/1460), although in a clash between the king and the sultan's resident in Cyprus, the latter was killed, and Famagusta, which he had held, passed into the king's possession (868/1464). Another vassal-state, the march-principality of Elbistan [*q.v.*] under the Turcoman dynasty of Dulghādir (Dhu 'l-Ḳadr [*q.v.*]), was disturbed by a succession-struggle following the murder of its ruler, Malik Arslān, in 870/1465. Two pretenders, Shāh-Budaḳ and Rustum, successively backed by Khushḳadam, failed to hold their position against a third Dulghādirid, Shāh-Suwār, who had Ottoman support and at the end of the sultan's reign was threatening northern Syria. Khushḳadam sent orders to the governors of Tripoli and Ḥamāh to assist Aleppo, and made provisional arrangements for an expeditionary force from Egypt (Muḥarram 872/August 1467). There are some indications of a resurgence of Arab tribal power during the reign. Five expeditions were launched between 866/1462 and 869/1465 against the Labīd tribe of al-Buḥayra; while a few months before the sultan's death, he sent a punitive force against Shaykh Mubārak of Banū ʿUḳba, who had plundered the provisions for the pilgrims in the vicinity of Ayla. One of his last acts was to approve an expedition to Upper Egypt, where the *kāshif* had been defeated in a fight with Yūnus b. ʿUmar, the chief of the powerful tribe of Hawwāra [*q.v.*]. The sultan died a few days later. Shortly before his death, an assembly of magnates had elected the *atābak* Yalbāy al Īnālī al Muʾayyadī to succeed him.

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(P. M. Holt)

KHUSRAW [see anūshirwān, amīr khusraw, khosrew, kisrā, parwīz].

KHUSRAW FĪRŪZ, name of the last Būyid ruler, better known by his *laḳab* of al-Malik al-Raḥīm. He succeeded his father Abū Kālīdjār in ʿIrāḳ in 440/1048. Most of his reign was spent in disputing with his brother Fulādh Sūtūn the possession of Fārs and Khūzistān and in trying to maintain discipline amongst the Turkish troops of his general al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*]. There is no discernible doctrinal reason for his adoption, in defiance of the caliph, of an epithet reserved for God. In any case, the enfeeblement of the Būyid dynasty allowed the caliph in question, al-Ḳāʾim, to recover a certain amount of political authority, seen in the appointment once more of a vizier to the caliph, Ibn al-Muslima [*q.v.*]. A group within the caliphate, in which Ibn al-Muslima was a driving force, hoped to throw off the Būyid tutelage as the Sunnī sultan, the Saldjūḳ Toghril Beg approached, at the invitation also of Fulādh Sūtūn. In 448/1055 Toghril entered Baghdād, after having promised to respect al-Malik al-Raḥīm's position as his vassal, but a rebellion gave him a pretext to arrest the Būyid ruler, and the latter died two years later in prison at Rayy.

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KHUSRAW MALIK [see GHAZNAWIDS].

KHUSRAW PASHA [see KHOSREW PASHA].

KHUSRAW SHĀH [see GHAZNAWIDS].

KHUSRAW SULṬĀN, eldest son of the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] by the daughter of Rādjā Bhagwān Dās, was born at Lahore in 995/1587. He was a favourite with his grandfather, Akbar, who perhaps wanted to make him his successor. He rebelled against his father in the first year of the latter's reign (sc. in 1015/1606), was defeated and imprisoned. He made a second conspiracy in Afghānistān, and this having been detected, he was, with one interval, kept in confinement for the rest of his life. He died at Asīrgaṛh near Burhānpūr in the Deccan in 1031/1622, in suspicious circumstances, and was in all probability murdered by Shāh Djahān. His sister had his body buried in the Khusraw Bāgh at Allāhābād. His two sons, Dāwar Bakhsh, otherwise Bulāḳī, and Garshāsp, were put to death at Shāh Djahān's accession.

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KHUSŪF [see KUSŪF].

KHUṬBA (A.), sermon, address by the *khaṭīb* [*q.v.*]. The *khuṭba* has a fixed place in Islamic ritual, viz. in the Friday-service, in the celebration of the two festivals, in services held at particular occasions such as an eclipse or excessive drought. On the Friday it precedes the *ṣalāt*, in all the other services the *ṣalāt* comes first. A short description of the rules for the *khuṭba* according to al-Shīrāzī (*Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, 40), one of the early Shāfiʿī doctors [*q.v.*], may be given here.

(a.) One of the conditions for the validity of the Friday service is that it must be preceded by two sermons. The conditions for the validity of these sermons are the following: the *khaṭīb* must be in a state of ritual purity; his dress must be in accord with the prescriptions; he must pronounce the two *khuṭbas* standing and sit down between them; the number of auditors required for a valid *djumʿa* must be present [see ṢALAT].

Regarding the sermon itself, there are obligatory: the *ḥamdala*, the *ṣalāt* on the Prophet, admonitions to piety in both *khuṭbas*, prayer (*duʿāʾ*) on behalf of the faithful, and recitation of a part of the Ḳurʾān in the first *khuṭba* or, according to some doctors, in both. It is commendable (*sunna*) for the *khaṭīb* to be on a pulpit or an elevated place; to salute the audience when directing himself towards them; to sit down till the *adhān* is pronounced by the *muʾadhdhin*; to lean on a bow, a sword or a staff; to direct himself straightway to his audience; to pray (*duʿāʾ*) on behalf of the Muslims; and to make his *khuṭba* short.

(b.) Regarding the *khuṭbas* on the days of festival the same author says (42) that they are like those of the Friday-service, except in the following points: the *khaṭīb* must open the first with nine *takbīrs*, the second with seven. On the *ʿīd* he must instruct his audience in the rules for the *zakāt al-fiṭr*, on the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* in the rules for the sacrifice of this day. It is allowable for him to pronounce the sermon sitting.

Regarding the *khuṭbas* of the service during an eclipse, al-Shīrāzī (43) remarks that the preacher must admonish his audience to be afraid, and in the service in times of drought he must ask Allāh's pardon, in the opening of the first *khuṭba* nine times, in the second seven times; further, he must repeat several times the *ṣalāt* on Muḥammad as well as *istighfār*, recite verse 9 of Sūra LXVI, elevate his hands and say Muḥammad's *duʿāʾ* (which is communicated by al-Shīrāzī in full). Further, he must turn towards the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] in the middle of the second *khuṭba* and change his shirt, putting the right side to the left, the left to the right, the upper part beneath and keep it on till he puts off all his other garments.

These prescriptions give rise to the following remarks. C. H. Becker was the first to point to the relation between the Islamic pulpit and the judge's seat in early Arabia. This explains why the *khaṭīb* must sit down between the two *khuṭbas*; it explains why he must lean on a staff, sword or bow; for these were the attributes of the old Arabian judge. It is not easy to see why the *khuṭba* precedes the services on Friday, whereas on the days of festival and the other special occasions *ṣalāt* comes first. *Ḥadīth* tells us that Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the first to change this order by pronouncing the *khuṭba* before the performance of the *ṣalāt* on the days of festival (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *ʿĪdayn*, *bāb* 6 and especially the pathetic picture in Muslim, *ʿĪdayn*, trad. 9).

It is also said that Marwān was the first to hold the *khuṭba* on these days on a pulpit, the old custom being a service without *minbār* or *adhān*. According to other authorities (cf. Muslim, *Īmān*, tr. 78, 79, and al-Nawawī's commentary) the *khuṭba* before the *ṣalāt* was an institution going back to ʿUthmān or even to ʿUmar. The common opinion of traditionists is, however, that it was an innovation due to the general tendency of the Umayyads to favour their own dynastic interests rather than those of religion. If this opinion should be right, the innovation as well as the holding of the *khuṭba* in a sitting attitude may be looked upon as an endeavour to go back to the pre-Islamic judicial rites concerning *minbar* and *khuṭba*.

Regarding the prayer on behalf of the faithful (*duʿāʾ li 'l-muʾminīn*) it must be observed that in this prayer before the Friday-*ṣalāt* it has become customary to mention the ruling sovereign. The history of Islam is full of examples of the importance which was attached to this custom, especially in times of political troubles, the name mentioned in this *duʿāʾ* betraying the *imām*'s political opinion or position. Though it is not prescribed by law to mention the ruler's name, the suppression of the name at this occasion exposed the *khaṭīb* to suspicion. In countries where Muslims lived under non-Muslim rule, even a prayer for the worldly prosperity of the ruler could expose the *khaṭīb* to suspicion on the part of his fellow-Muslims (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam und Phonograph*, 13 f. = *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii, 430 f.; idem, *Mr. L. W. C. van den Berg's beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht*, in *Ind. Gids*, vi/1, 809 f. = *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii, 214 f.). The custom of mentioning the ruler in prayer is found as early as the 5th century B.C. in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine (Pap. i, line 26; cf. also Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, i, 286.

Several of the characteristics of the *khuṭba* prescribed by the doctors of the law occur also in *ḥadīth*. The *khuṭbas* of Muḥammad usually begin with the formula *ammā baʿdu* (al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 29). Side by side with the *ḥamdala* (Muslim, *Djumʿa*, tr. 44, 45) the *shahāda* occurs (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 302, 343: "A *khuṭba* without the *shahāda* is like a mutilated hand". In a large number of traditions it

is stated that Muḥammad used to recite passages from the Ḳur'ān (e.g. Muslim *Djumʿa*, tr. 49-52; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 86, 88, 93 etc.). The *khuṭba* must be short, in accord with Muḥammad's saying: "Make your *ṣalāt* long and your *khuṭba* short" (Muslim, *Djumʿa*, tr. 47). Just like the *ṣalāt* the *khuṭba* must be right to the purpose (*ḳaṣdan*, Muslim, *Djumʿa* tr. 41). The audience must be silent and quiet; "who says to his neighbour 'listen', has spoken a superfluous word", al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 36). The two *khuṭbas* pronounced by the standing *khaṭīb*, who sits between them, are based on Muḥammad's example (al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 27; Muslim, *Djumʿa*, tr. 33-5; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 35, 91, 98). During the *adhān* Muḥammad used to sit on the *minbar*; the *iḳāma* was spoken when he had descended (in order to hold the *khuṭba* standing); this order was observed by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 449 *bis*).

Neither the term *khuṭba* nor the verb *khaṭaba* in their technical meaning occur in the Ḳur'ān. Even in the passage containing an admonition not to abandon the Friday-service for worldly profit, it is only the *ṣalāt* which is mentioned (Sūra LXII, 9-11). It would be wrong to conclude from this silence that the *khuṭba* did not yet form a constituent part of worship in Muḥammad's time. Still, it is not probable that the different kinds of service were accurately regulated from the beginning. *Ḥadīth* has preserved descriptions showing that Muḥammad's *khuṭba* often did not have much to do with the regular sermon of later times. Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-diyāt*, *bāb* 13, reports, for example, that the Prophet pronounced two *khuṭbas* at the end of a complaint raised against a collector of the *zakāt*. Still, it is not possible to distinguish between the kinds, as may appear from the following traditions. According to one of them related on the authority of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī it is said that Muḥammad on the days of festival used to open the service with the *ṣalāt*; then he pronounced the *khuṭba* "and his *khuṭba* usually consisted in the command to participate in some mission or expedition" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 56 f.). A similar statement is to be found in Muslim, *ʿĪdayn*, tr. 9: "When Muḥammad had concluded the *ṣalāt* on the days of festival by the *taslīm*, he remained on his feet and turned to the sitting audience; when he wanted to send a mission or when he desired some other arrangement, he gave his orders on it; he used also to say: give alms, give alms; . . . then he went away. This state of things asted till Marwān, etc.". This is a very simple description of the service and would be a considerable support to the view that a service with a fixed order only arose long after Muḥammad's time. Yet it must not be forgotten that the description just translated betrays the tendency to contrast the simple service of the Prophet with the highly official style introduced by Marwān, who even had a *minbar* built on the *muṣallā*. According to another tradition, the Prophet once interrupted his *khuṭba* in order to reply to a stranger who had asked for instruction in the Muslim faith (Muslim, *Djumʿa*, tr. 60); he is also portrayed as interrupting the *khuṭba* to call out directly to a man (*ibid.*, tr. 54-9).

However uncertain the value of these traditions may be, it seems not out of place to suppose that a fixed order of service on Friday and the days of festival arose only after Muḥammad's lifetime. This order reposes on three elements: the early-Arabian *khuṭba*, **Muḥammad's** ***sunna*** **and the example of Jews and Christians.**

In his study on the history of Muslim worship C. H. Becker endeavoured to establish a close connection between the services on Friday and the days of festival on the one hand, and the mass on the other. But this view was opposed by Mittwoch, who found in the Jewish liturgy features corresponding to *adhān* and *iḳāma*, to the *ḥamdala*, the recitation of the Tora (first *khuṭba*) and the recitation from the Prophets (second *khuṭba*). It is perhaps impossible to decide the question; probably the example of the Jewish as well as that of the Christian liturgy exercised influence on the final constitution of the Muslim worship.

It is customary to pronounce the *khuṭba* in Arabic; nevertheless, this rule is not infrequently broken in non-Arabic speaking lands.

The history of the *khuṭba* in Islam remains to be written, and the study of oratory from the *minbar* or pulpit likewise remains to be undertaken. On the latter point, the enquirer might utilise with profit the texts (of varying degrees of authenticity) of those sermons of the Prophet given in the *Sīra*, in the *ḥadīth* collections and in historical texts, as well as in those *adab* works which have preserved specimens of famous *khuṭbas*. Collections like those of Ibn Nubāta al-Fāriḳī [*q.v.*] and the specially-compiled anthologies of sermons used by the professional *khaṭībs*, just as the secretaries used collections of model letters, would also be found useful. Collections of this latter type are often arranged according to the calendar, i.e. there are four sermons for each month plus supplementary ones for festival days, the Prophet's birthday and his *miʿrādj* or night-journey (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab. Hss.*, iii, 437).

Bibliography: Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh. Wet*, Leiden 1925, 71 f., 109 f.; Shaykh Niẓām, *al-Fatāwī al-ʿĀlamgīriyya*, Calcutta 1828 ff., i, 205 f., 210 f., 214 f.; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥillī, *Kitāb Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1893, i, 44, 48; C. H. Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam*, in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, Giessen 1906, 331 ff., idem, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 374 ff.; E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus* in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, (1913), no. 2; see also KHAṬĪB.

(A. J. Wensinck)

KHUTTALĀN, Khuttal, a region on the right bank of the upper Oxus river, in what is now Soviet Central Asia, lying between the Wakhsh river and the Pandj river (sc. the head waters of the Oxus), called the Wakhshāb and Djaryāb in mediaeval times. It was bounded on the west by the topographically similar regions of Čaghāniyan and Wakhsh [*qq.v.*], and was often administratively linked with Wakhsh (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 402). Khuttal was a land of rich pastures in both the river valleys and on the upper slopes of the hills, where the famed horses of Khuttal, known even to the Chinese, were reared; the geographers advert frequently to the Khuttalī and Ṭukhārī breeds, and the men of Khuttal were celebrated for their knowledge of horse-breeding, farriery and veterinary science, and for their skill in making saddles and other accoutrements (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 113). The valleys ran northwards towards the Buttamān mountains, which separated Khuttal from the upper Zarafshān river valley; gold and silver were mined there, and there dwelt in these mountains two fierce and predatory groups, the Kumīdjīs and the Kandjīna Turks, both of them probably remnants of Hephthalite peoples [see KUMĪDJĪS].

The form Khuttalān, with the plural ending, is early attested, for this is found in the very early New Persian satirical verses composed by the local

people against the Arab commander Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī when he unsuccessfully raided Khuttal in 108/726-7, see Ṭabarī, ii, 1492, 1494, 1602. Later Persian poetry requires forms like Khutlān or Khatlān, whilst the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 119, spells Khatulān. Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, gives both Khatlān and Khuttal, with his main entry under the latter form. In the Chinese annals we find forms like Kʿo-tut-lo, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 299-300. An etymological connection with the name of the Hephthalites, within whose northern kingdom Khuttal certainly fell [see HAYĀṬILA] is certainly not impossible.

The principal town of Khuttal and the residence of its ruler was at Hulbuk to the south of the modern centre Kulāb/Kulyab, whilst Nučārā or Andīčārāgh is described as the main trading centre. Other towns enumerated by the geographers include the important centres of Halāwand and Munk, the latter probably corresponding roughly to the modern Baldjuwān; according to Yaʿḳūbī, Munk was on the borderland with Rāsht and the Turkish lands, sc. those of the Kumīdjīs, etc. Clearly, Khuttal was a prosperous and well-settled region at this time.

In the pre-Islamic period, the local rulers bore the titles Khuttalān-Shāh or Khuttalān-Khudāh and Shēr-i Khuttalān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 40). The Arab invaders did not gain full control of Khuttal till the end of the Umayyad period. The rebel al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*] received support from the local ruler, and in retaliation, Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī led two expeditions into Khuttal in 119/737. These provoked an appeal for help to the Khāḳān of the Türgesh or Western Turks Su-lu, and the Arabs had to retreat hastily (Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 81-3). The region was not fully secured till 133/750-1, when Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, governor of Balkh, drove out the ruler (*malik*) of Khuttal, who fled first to the Turks and then to China, where he was granted the honorific title of *Yabghu* (Gibb, *op. cit.*, 95; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue occidentaux*, 168, 216.

In the ensuing century or so, Khuttal came under the rule of the Banīdjūrids or Abū Dāwūdids, who exercised power on both sides of the upper Oxus. In the Sāmānid period, the *amirs* of Khuttal were in loose tributary status only to the Sāmānids, sending presents but not taxation to Bukhārā (Muḳaddasī, 337), and they exercised suzerainty south of the Oxus, for the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 109, says that the *dihḳān* of the small principality of Yūn in Badakhshān was tributary to the *amir* of Khuttal. In the warfare of 336-7/947-9 between the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Naṣr and Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī, all the vassal rulers (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*) along the upper Oxus were stirred into revolt by Abū ʿAlī, including the *amir* Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar of Khuttal, the *amir* of Rāsht and the Kumīdjīs (Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 36-7, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 157-8, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 248).

Under the early Ghaznawids, Khuttal was strategically important as being in the buffer zone between the Ghaznawids and their Ḳarakhānid rivals. Khuttal is included with Čaghāniyān and Ḳubādhiyān amongst the territories enumerated in the ʿAbbāsid Caliph's investiture diploma of 422/1031 to Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (Bayhaḳī, in Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 54), but it was also claimed by the Ḳarakhānid ʿAlī-tigin [see ILEK-KHĀNS], who stirred up the Kumīdjīs to harry the region. Unlike as in the neighbouring principality of Čaghāniyān, where the Muḥtādjī *amirs* remained, no separate family of local rulers is mentioned for Khuttal at this time; Ghaznavid influence was exercised directly, seen in Masʿūd's appointment of *a ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* for Khuttal (Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 178).

In the Saldjūḳ period, however, various local *amirs* are mentioned. An *amir* of Khuttal rebelled against Alp Arslan in 456/1064, but was killed (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 22), and in 553/1158 there was a campaign by the lord of Khuttal, one Ibn Shudjāʿ Farrukhshāh, formerly a vassal of Sandjar, against the important crossing-place of Tirmidh, taking advantage of the chaos in Khurāsān consequent upon Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz and then his death; this Ibn Shudjāʿ is said to have claimed descent from the Sāsānid emperor Bahrām Gūr (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 155). In the period of the Ghūrids and Khʷārazm-Shāhs, no separate native dynasty is mentioned. Like Wakhsh, it may have been part of the Ghūrid empire and may have become one of the small principalities into which that empire broke up, see Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī², Kabul 1341-3/1962-4, i, 387, 392, tr. Raverty, 426, 236, 490. A Djalāl al-Dīn ʿUmar of Wakhsh, apparently from the Bāmiyān branch of the Ghūrids [*q.v.*], was carried off into captivity in Khʷārazm *ca.* 612/1215, according to Nasawī, see Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 372.

In the 8th/14th century, Khuttal was likewise one of the small states into which Čaghatay's empire disintegrated; Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī records that the ruler of Khuttal Kay Khusraw was killed by Tīmūr for treasonable contacts with Khʷārazm (*Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 243). Later, Khuttal was one of the dependencies of the region of Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*] and was controlled by the later Tīmūrid *amir* of Ḳunduz. Then in the 10th/16th century it passed under Özbeg control. The name Khuttal now disappears from use, being replaced by that of the modern town of Kulāb; one of the last recorded uses of the old name is in the dynastic history of the Özbegs, the *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāḳib al-akhyār* of Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī (begun in 1044/1634). After being included in the Khānate of Bukhārā during the 18th and 19th centuries, the mediaeval region of Khuttal now forms part of the Tadzhikistan SSR.

Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 402, also mentions a village of al-Khuttal in ʿIrāḳ on the Baghdād-Khurāsān high road near Daskara.

Bibliography: Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 299-303; idem, *Wehrot und Arang*, 57-8; Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 438-9; Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i rashīdī*, ed. and tr. Elias and Ross, tr. 21 n. 1; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 109, 119-20, 339 (map), 341, 359-61; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, index. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHUZĀʿA, an ancient Arab tribe of obscure origin. Muslim genealogists assuming a Muḍarī origin of Khuzāʿa based their argument on an utterance attributed to the Prophet according to which the ancestor of the tribe, ʿAmr b. Luḥayy [*q.v.*] was a descendant of Ḳamaʿa (= ʿUmayr) b. Khindif, thus tracing their pedigree to Muḍar (Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saḳāʾ, al-Abyārī and Shalabī, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 78; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, i, 34; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, Cairo 1956, ii, 44-5; Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953, 7-8, 11; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh ʿalā ḳabāʾil al-ruwāh*, al-Nadjaf 1386/1966, 97-8; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 222-4; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muʿallamī, Hyderabad 1385/1966, V, 116). Some sections in Khuzāʿa asserted that

they were descendants of al-Ṣalt b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. The claims for Muḍarī descent made by some groups of Khuzāʿa were firmly rejected by genealogists, who asserted that both Ḳamaʿa and al-Ṣalt died childless. (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Ms. B.M., Add. 23297, fol. 4b, ll. 9-10; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, Ms. Bursa, Hüseyin Çelebi, 19, fols. 84b-86a; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 34 ult., 38-9; Muṣʿab, *op. cit.*, 11-12). Muṣʿab, recording the Muḍarī genealogy of Khuzāʿa, confirmed by an utterance of the Prophet, remarks cautiously that the pedigree uttered by the Prophet is certainly true, provided that it was actually said by him (Muṣʿab, 8; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, 98). Harmonising traditions, trying in the usual way to bridge the contradictory reports about the origin of Khuzāʿa, claim that the mother of Luḥayy married after the death of Ḳamaʿa the Yamanī Ḥāritha and the child traced his pedigree to the Yamanī father who adopted him (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 46). Another tradition states that Ḳamaʿa married, begot children, but clashed with his relatives, left for al-Yaman and allied himself with the Azd (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 35, ll. 1-2). The Yamanī tradition, on the other hand, records a lengthy list of ancestors of Khuzāʿa beginning with Luḥayy (= Rabīʿa) b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥāritha b. Imru ʾl-Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba b. al-Azd. The pedigree is traced back, of course, to Ḳaḥṭān (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 45, ll. 5-10; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, 97; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1378/1958, 468; al-Ḥāzimī, *ʿUdjālat al-mubtadī*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Kānūn, Cairo 1384/1965, 54).

The traditions about the beginnings of the rule of Khuzāʿa in Mecca, ascribing Khuzāʿa to Azd, record a lengthy story about the migration of the tribal groups of Azd from al-Yaman to the North. While some tribal divisions continued their migration to Syria (Ghassān) and ʿUmān (Azd Shanūʾa), the Khuzāʿa separated (*inkhazaʿat*) and managed to get control of Mecca. One of the traditions reports that the leader of the Azd asked Djurhum [*q.v.*], the tribe which ruled Mecca at the time, to permit them to stay in the territory of Mecca until their foragers would find for them suitable pasture-grounds, threatening war if they were denied this. In fact, when Djurhum refused to grant permission, Khuzāʿa fought them, defeated them and got possession of the Sanctuary of Mecca. Another tradition, on the authority of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, reports that the custodianship of the Kaʿba was gained legally by Khuzāʿa, as their leader Rabīʿa b. Ḥāritha married Fuhayra, the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Djurhumī; his son ʿAmr b. Rabīʿa (i.e. ʿAmr b. Luḥayy) had thus a legal basis for his claims to the custodianship. In the protracted battles which ensued between Khuzāʿa and Djurhum, Khuzāʿa defeated Djurhum, who had to leave the city. A third tradition ascribes the decline of the Djurhum in Mecca to their deterioration and moral decay. Afflicted by plagues, God's chastisement for their wickedness, they were extirpated, and only few survivors from amongst them left Mecca; the custodianship of the *ḥaram* was then taken over by Khuzāʿa. A diverse tradition gives a quite different account of the events, sc. that Khuzāʿa took over the control of Mecca from Iyād [*q.v.*]. A peculiar version of this tradition transmitted by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār reports a battle which followed some clashes between the ruling Iyād and Muḍar in which Iyād was defeated. Iyād got permission to leave Mecca on the condition that Muḍarī women married to Iyādīs would be returned to Muḍar if they wished. Among the returned women was a Khuzāʿa woman named Ḳudāma. Khuzāʿa, the report states, traced at that time their pedigree to Muḍar. As the Iyād failed to carry with them into exile the pillar with the Black Stone, they decided to bury it. The Khuzāʿī woman revealed to her people the place of the buried Stone and advised them to ask from Muḍar the custodianship of the Kaʿba as reward for finding the pillar with the Black Stone. Muḍar complied and Khuzāʿa got control of the Kaʿba, and retained this office until the arrival of Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*] (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 26 f.; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, al-Nadjaf 1384/1964, i, 208; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, ed. Khūrshīd Aḥmad Fāriḳ, Hyderabad 1384/1964, 344 f.; al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nudjūm al-ʿawālī*, Cairo 1380, i, 183). Another tradition reports that Djurhum were driven out through a joint action of Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt of Kināna and the Banū Ghubshān of Khuzāʿa (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, i, 370; "Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt of Khuzāʿa", as recorded in the article DJURHUM above is an error).

These stories allotting exceptionally long lives to the rulers of Djurhum and Khuzāʿa have the character of folk-tradition in which were embedded elements of *muʿammarīn*-tales, edifying stories about righteous and pious men (see e.g. the story of Wakīʿ b. Salama of Iyād and his servant Ḥazwara, in al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 26, and Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, 346-7), accounts of battles and clashes in the popular style of the *ayyām al-ʿarab*, and recollections of legends about the migrations of tribes caused by a dam breaking in South Arabia. The tradition focuses around the person of ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, almost unanimously putting on him the blame for the wicked innovations in the faith of Abraham and for the introduction of idol-worship, especially that of Hubal, into Mecca. There is, however, a contradictory tradition asserting that it was Khuzayma b. Mudrika, one of the ancestors of Ḳuraysh, who introduced the worship of Hubal and stating that Hubal was consequently called "Hubal Khuzayma" (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 37, no. 77; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 51 inf.). As in the case of Iyād, some traditions mention among the Khuzāʿa a *homo religiosus*, Abū Kabsha, who in his search after the true religion worshipped Sirius. The unbelievers used to refer to the Prophet as Ibn Abī Kabsha in the early period of his prophethood, pointing out his deviation from the current beliefs of his people. (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, 129; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn fī sīrat al-amīn al-maʾmūn* (= *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*), Cairo 1382/1962, i, 333; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 91, 327; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314, vi, 131; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, 1387/1967, xvii, 119; al-Maḳrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, Cairo 1941, i, 77, 158; al-Kāzarūnī, *Sīrat al-nabī*, Ms. B.M. Add. 1499, fol. 231a-b, ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, ed., *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1370/1951, i, 100 (al-Fayrūzābādhī, *Tuḥfat al-abīh fīman nusiba ilā ghayri abīh*).

These conflicting and contradictory stories seem to indicate that the formation of the tribe of Khuzāʿa took place over a long period of time, ramifying into various tribal units. The main area of abode of the tribe was between Mecca and Medina.

When Ḳuṣayy arrived in Mecca aiming to gain control of the city, he had to subdue the ruling Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt of Kināna, the Khuzāʿa and their abettors, the Ṣūfa. The different stories about the enigmatic Ḳuṣayy resemble in their outline the stories about the former rulers of Mecca; his marriage with Ḥubbā bint Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya gave legitimacy to his custodianship of the Kaʿba. Another manner of

legitimisation, the tale of how this office was purchased by Ḳuṣayy for a goat's skin of wine from the drunken Abū Ghubshān, is recounted in the compilations of proverbs and stories of fools (al-ʿAskarī, *Djamharat al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḳaṭāmish, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 387, no. 585; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Durra al-fākhira fi 'l-amthāl al-sāʾira*, ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḳaṭāmish, Cairo 1972, i, 139, no. 126; al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1384/1965, 135, no. 190; al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthal*, ed. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1379/1959, i, 216, no. 1167; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Akhbār al-ḥamḳā*, Beirut, n.d., 42). The court of Abū Ghubshān (*dār Abī Ghubshān*) was extant in Mecca in the second half of the 3rd century of the Hidjra (al-Fākihī, *Taʾrīkh Makka*, Ms. Leiden, or. 463, fol. 456b, l.15). Like the preceding rulers, he fought, according to another account, the two tribes Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt and Khuzāʿa and crushed their power. His wife Ḥubbā revealed, as in the story of Iyād, the place where the pillar with the Black Stone was buried, and so the true worship of the Kaʿba could be resumed (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 73; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1374/1955, xvi, 31). The relations between Ḳuṣayy on the one side and the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt and Khuzāʿa on the other were settled on the basis of the judgment of the arbiter Yaʿmar b. ʿAwf of the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt, called al-Shuddākh. The verdict granted Ḳuṣayy the custodianship of the Kaʿba and provided that Khuzāʿa should be left in the area of the *ḥaram* (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, fols. 51a, inf.—51b, sup.).

In the new régime set up by Ḳuṣayy, in which the scattered tribal units of Ḳuraysh were gathered and settled in Mecca, the groups of Khuzāʿa played an important role in strengthening the power of Mecca, aiding Ḳuraysh to extend their influence among the tribes. Khuzāʿa was included in the organisation of the Ḥums. Two tribal groups of Khuzāʿa, the Muṣṭaliḳ and Ḥayā, were included in the organisation of the Aḥābīsh, the allies of Ḳuraysh (see e.g. Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿānī 'l-Kabīr*, Hyderabad 1368/1949, 998, l. 4; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 178; al-Ḥāzimī, *al-Iʿtibār fi-bayān al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh min al-āthār*, Hyderabad 1359, 150; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, fols. 48b-49a sup.; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 41; Yāḳūt, s.v. Makka; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1364/1945, 245; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1885, 18). Together with Muḍarī tribes, Khuzāʿa worshipped al-ʿUzzā and Manāt; together with the Daws they worshipped Dhu 'l-Kaffayn (Yāḳūt, s.v. Manāt; Ibn ʿArabī, *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār*, Beirut 1388/1968, i, 415; Ps. Aṣmaʿī, *al-Shāmil*, the section *Tawārīkh al-anbiyāʾ*, Ms. B.M. Or. 1493, fol. 27a; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 318). The involvement of Khuzāʿa and Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt in the affairs of Mecca and their influence can be gauged from the story about the agreement between Ḳuraysh and Thaḳīf concerning the mutual rights of these two tribes to enter Mecca and Wadjdj: the Thaḳīf complied with the demands of Ḳuraysh, fearing the strength of Ḳuraysh, Khuzāʿa and the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, 280).

The considerable number of names of Khuzāʿīs married by Ḳurashīs recorded in the sources bears evidence of the close relations between Ḳuraysh and Khuzāʿa. Indeed, when Khuzāʿa decided to ally themselves with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, they stressed that he was "borne" by Khuzāʿī women (*fa-ḳad waladnāka*). In the same style the Khuzāʿī ʿAmr b. Sālim addressed the Prophet with the words *ḳad kuntum waladan wakunnā wālidā* when he came asking his help against the Banu Bakr and Ḳuraysh (Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar fi funūn al-maghāzī wa'l-shamāʾil wa 'l-siyar*, Cairo 1356, ii, 164-5, 182).

When the Prophet was on his *hidjra* to Medina he met, according to one tradition, Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb al-Aslamī [*q.v.*] with a large group of his people; he and his people embraced Islam and prayed behind the Prophet. These Aslam, a branch of Khuzāʿa, allied themselves very early to the Prophet and warriors of Aslam took part on the side of the Prophet in his campaign. The agreements of the Prophet with Aslam (see Ḥamīdullāh, *Madjmūʿat al-wathāʾiḳ al-siyāsiyya li 'l-ʿahd al-nabawī wa 'l-khilāfa al-rāshida*, Cairo 1376/1956, 191-4, nos. 165-70) bear evidence to the friendly relations between the Prophet and Aslam. After the murder of the people of the expedition of Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*], the Prophet invoked God's blessing for Aslam (*wa-Aslam sālamahā Allāhu*; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, Oxford 1966, 350). When the Prophet mobilised the forces for the conquest of Mecca he summoned the Aslam, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Medina, to present themselves in Medina. In fact, 400 warriors of Aslam, among them 30 riders, took part in the conquest of Mecca. The two standard bearers were Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb and Nādjiya b. al-Aʿdjam of Aslam (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 123; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1392/1972, vi, 398, no. 8647; al-Wāḳidī, 799-800). Aslam, along with Ghifār, Muzayna and Djuhayna, were pointed out by the Prophet as surpassing in virtues the mighty tribes of Tamīm, Asad, ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and Ghaṭafān (al-Ḳasṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī*, Cairo 1327, vi, 11-13; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, Cairo 1301, vi, 395-7). Commentators of *ḥadīth* are unanimous in saying that this high position was granted to them because they hurried to embrace Islam.

The attitude of the Muṣṭaliḳ, another branch of Khuzāʿa allied with the Banū Mudlidj of Kināna and included in the Aḥābīsh organisation linked with Ḳuraysh, was however quite different towards the Muslim commonwealth of Medina. Their leader, al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār, gathered the forces of his tribe for an attack against Medina. The forces of the Prophet attacked the Muṣṭaliḳ at Muraysīʿ in 5/627, defeated them and took captives and booty. The Prophet married the captured daughter of the leader, Djuwayriyya (al-Wāḳidī, 404-13).

Another branch of Khuzāʿa, the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, played a decisive role in the struggle between Mecca and the Prophet. The dissensions and clashes between the Kaʿb and their neighbours, the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt, led the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr to opt for an alliance with the Prophet in the pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya, whereas the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt allied themselves with Mecca. A group of the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt aided clandestinely by some leaders of Ḳuraysh attacked the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr at al-Watīr and killed some of them. The orator of the Kaʿb, ʿAmr b. Sālim, appeared at the court of the Prophet in Medina and addressed him, reminding him of the alliance of the Kaʿb with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, pointing out the killing of the Kaʿb at al-Watīr, and urging him to revenge his allies. The Prophet responded and promised aid for victory (*nuṣra*). The request of a man from the ʿAdī b. Amr, the brethren of Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, to be included in the promise was answered by the Prophet's remark that Kaʿb and ʿAdī are one corporate body (*wa-hal ʿAdiyyun illā Kaʿb wa-Kaʿbun illā ʿAdī*: Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, Beirut 1967, vi, 164; Ibn al-Baḳḳāl, *al-Fawāʾid al-muntaḳāt*, Ms. Ẓāhiriyya

madjmūʿa, 60, fol. 85b; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣaghīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1388/1968, ii, 73-5). It is evident that the tendency of this tradition is to establish the position of the ʿAdī b. ʿAmr in the Prophet's invocation and to stress their role in the expedition against Mecca. Whether the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr were already Muslims when they applied for help is disputed by scholars (Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, ii, 182, penult. says that they were unbelievers; al-Kalāʿī, *al-Iktifāʾ*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Cairo 1389/1970, ii, 288, that they were Muslims; and see Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, iv, 36, n. 4). According to some commentators of the Ḳurʾān, vv. 13-15 of *Sūrat al-Tawba* ordering fighting against the people who had broken their solemn pledges (*alā tuḳātilūna ḳawman nakathū aymānahum . . .*) were revealed in connection with the wicked attack of the Banū Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt against the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1958, xiv, 158-62 (nos. 16535-16547); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, iii, 214-15; idem, *Lubāb al-nuḳūl*, Cairo 1373/1954, 114; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 86-7; al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī l-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Aḥmad Yūsuf al-Nadjātī and Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Nadjdjār, Cairo 1374/1955, i, 425).

When the Prophet went out against Mecca, he was joined by the tribesmen of Kaʿb who stayed in Medina; the main troop of Kaʿb joined the forces of the Prophet in Ḳudayd. The troop of the Kaʿb, numbering 500 warriors, had three standards carried by Busr b. Sufyān, Abū Shurayḥ (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, Damascus 1349, vi, 400; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1377/1957, iv, 294-5; al-Wāḳidī, 801 ["Ibn Shurayḥ" in *ibid.* l.2 is an error]) and ʿAmr b. Sālim. It is noteworthy that the Prophet permitted the Kaʿb to fight the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt in Mecca for some additional hours after he had ordered all other troops to stop fighting (see *ibid.* 839, al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 388; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 144, al-Ḥāzimī, *al-Iʿtibār*, 153; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, iii, 97 inf.). It may be remarked that a group of the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt hasted to join the forces of the Prophet. When Abū Sufyān looked at the marching troops of the Prophet and noticed the force of the Bakr he remarked sadly "By God, they are an inauspicious people; because of them Muḥammad raided us" (al-Wāḳidī, 820; Ibn ʿAsākir, vi, 401).

The meritorious attitude of Khuzāʿa towards the Prophet is fairly reflected in Muslim tradition. The Prophet is said to have stated that Khuzāʿa was intimately linked with him. (*Khuzāʿatu minnī wa-anā minhum*; *Khuzāʿatu l-wālidu wa-anā 'l-waladu*: see, e.g. al-Daylamī, *Firdaws al-akhbār*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 78b; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn, iii, 83; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Hyderabad 1385/1965, xiii, 55, no. 316). The Ḳurʾān is said to have been revealed to the Prophet in the dialect (*lugha*) of the two Kaʿbs, Kaʿb b. Luʾayy and Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, because they shared the same abode (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 55; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, 99). A special privilege granted by the Prophet to Khuzāʿa was that he awarded them the rank of *muhādjirūn*, permitting them to stay in their abode (*ibid.*, 100). It was a Khuzāʿī, Tamīm b. Usayd, whom the Prophet entrusted with the restoration of the border-marking stones (*anṣāb*) of the *ḥaram* of Mecca (Mughalṭāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī sīrat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, Ms. Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 319a, inf.-319b; al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, Cairo 1383/1964, iii, 387, no. 861).

The leader of the Kaʿb, Busr b. Sufyān, according to one tradition, was appointed by the Prophet as the tax-collector of the Kaʿb. In 9/630 they were prevented from handing over their taxes by groups of the Banu 'l-ʿAnbar and Banu 'l-Hudjaym ("Ibn al-ʿUtayr" and "Banū Djuhaym" in al-Wāḳidī, 974 are errors) of Tamīm; against these two Tamīmī groups the Prophet sent a troop commanded by ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn (al-Wāḳidī, 974 f.). In the account it is emphasised that the Kaʿb were believers, paying the *ṣadaḳa* willingly. A special tax-collector was sent to the other branch of Khuzāʿa, the Banū Muṣṭaliḳ (Ibn Saʿd, iii, 440 inf.).

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to carry the *dīwān* of Khuzāʿa to Ḳudayd and distributed there payments to the people of the tribe (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh and ʿUmar al-Ṭabbāʿ, Beirut 1377/1957, 634; Ibn Saʿd, iii, 298).

Khuzāʿī warriors participated in the conquests of Islam and groups of Khuzāʿa settled in the various provinces of the Arab empire. Some people of Khuzāʿa took part in the revolt against ʿUthmān in Medina (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Aḥmad al-Zayn, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo 1381/1962, iv, 300, l.19). Some groups of Khuzāʿa joined ʿAlī and fought on his side in the battle of Ṣiffīn, and some Khuzāʿīs in Khurāsān were among the ʿAbbāsid agents who paved the way for the new dynasty.

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Further references in sources already mentioned in the article: al-Kalāʿī, *al-Iktifāʾ*, i, 71-80; al-Kāzarūnī, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, fol. 246a-b; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, ii, 81-121; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, index; idem, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, index; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, vi, 161 f.; Ibn ʿArabī, *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār*, i, 335-6, 427, ii, 292 l. 1, 36-42, 291; Ibn

Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, index; al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nudjūm al-ʿawālī*, i, 159 f., 181-6, ii, 123-4, 173-4; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'stadjam*, index; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, x, nos. 2085, 2092, 2114, 2123, xiii, nos. 338-346, 395-6, 402-5, 409, 425; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, *al-Muḥabbar*, indices: Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, index; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-gharām*, i, 359-78, ii, 44-59; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, index. (M. J. Kister)

AL-**KHUZĀMĀ** (A.) "lavender" has for a long time been considered as the origin of the name of Alhucemas, on the coast of the Rīf of Morocco, and this etymology is still given in *EI*[1] (art. ALHUCEMAS). Since the problem raised by this toponym has not yet been satisfactorily resolved, and since moreover Alhucemas has now, since Morocco's achievement of independence, been "arabised" to al-Ḥusayma, it is under AL-ḤUSAYMA that an article on the place will be found in the Supplement.

KHŪZISTĀN, a province of south-western Persia, and the land of the Hūz/Ḥūz/Khūz (Hussi/Kussi), the Οὔξιοι/Uxii of Strabo and Pliny. The province of Khūzistān corresponds more or less to the ancient Elam and to the classical Susiana, and the names of its present capital, Ahwāz [*q.v.*], its ancient capital, Susa [*q.v.*], and the town of Ḥawīza [*q.v.*], all reflect the name of its inhabitants in Elamite times.

Essentially, the province consists of alluvial fans formed by the Karkha and the Kārūn [*qq.v.*] rivers and situated between the Zagros mountains and the sea; near the Persian Gulf, partially saline mudflats merge into a zone of tidal marshes, and the coastline is pierced by deep tidal estuaries known as *khor*. The province is bounded on the west by the Irano-ʿIrāḳī border; on the north by Luristān [*q.v.*]; on the south by the Persian Gulf; and on the east by the river Hindiyān or Hindīdjān. The chief towns are: Ābādān [see ʿABBĀDĀN]; Ahwāz [*q.v.*]; Khurramshahr [*q.v.*]; Dasht Mīshān; Dizfūl; and Shūshtar [see SHUSTAR]. The population of the province (1,614,576 in 1966) is mainly hybrid Arab-Persian.

The climate of Khūzistān is hot and, in summer, so humid that water drips from the trees. Both the Greek and Muslim geographers speak eloquently of the heat. Strabo, quoting an unknown source (Nearchos?), says that in Susa at mid-day lizards and snakes could not cross the streets quickly enough to avoid being frizzled, and that barley spread out in the sun jumped as though it had been placed in an oven (*Geography*, xv.3.10). There was general agreement that snow rarely fell in Khūzistān, and water rarely froze. The great heat is accounted for by: (1) the lack of elevation (average altitude in southern Khūzistān = 10 metres/32.80 feet, rising to 100 metres/328 feet in central Khūzistān); (2) the southerly inclination of the land, which exposes it to the maximum effect of the sun's rays; (3) the hot winds in summer from the Syrian desert and Arabia; (4) the clayey nature of the soil, which retains the heat; (5) the lack of open water, snow-covered mountains or forests to the west to moderate the heat of westerly winds. Because of its climate, Khūzistān did not have a good reputation as a place in which to live; the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, tr. Minorsky, 130, describes the people of Ahwāz as "yellow-faced", and quotes a popular belief that "whoever establishes himself in Ahwāz becomes wanting in brains, and every aroma that is carried there loses its scent on account of the climate". Despite this, the province was noted for a perfume manufactured there from violets (B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 389).

Despite the disadvantages of its climate, Khūzistān from earliest times was noted for its prosperity. Unlike the regions of the Iranian plateau, Khūzistān has never lacked for water, which is provided in abundance by the Karkha, Diz and Kārūn rivers and their tributaries. The province was the breadbasket of the Achaemenid empire. Strabo states that "Susis abounds so exceedingly in grain that barley and wheat regularly produce one hundredfold, and sometimes two hundredfold" (*Geography*, xv.3.11). In Sāsānid times, extensive urban settlements, and cultivated lands watered by large-scale irrigation works, were protected from the destructive raids of the bedouin by a defensive ditch known as *khandaḳ Ṣābūr*. In the 4th/10th century, Khūzistān had a monopoly of the sale of cane-sugar throughout Iran, ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab and Arabia. Other important crops included citrus fruits, dates, melons, cotton and rice. The waters of the Persian Gulf provided abundant fish. The other basis of the province's prosperity was trade; from early times, Ahwāz had been the centre of an important road network and a recognised crossing-place on the river Kārūn.

Under the two great pre-Islamic Iranian empires, that of the Achaemenids and that of the Sāsānids, Khūzistān was firmly under the control of the central government. To the Achaemenids, it was the province of Uvaja, and Susa was the administrative capital of the empire; for the Sāsānids, it formed part of the "super-province" (*pādhghōs*) of Nēm-rōz (the South), and was divided into seven *kūras*. In 17/638 the Muslim Arabs, after a reconnaissance raid across the Kārūn, launched a major attack on Khūzistān under ʿUtba, captured Ahwāz, and completed the subjugation of the province by 19/640. In the 3rd/9th century Khūzistān, and particularly the city of Ahwāz, suffered as a result of the Zandj [*q.v.*] rebellion, and considerable damage was done to the irrigation systems. During the succeeding four centuries, Khūzistān was governed in turn by the Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS], the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] and the Īlkhānids [*q.v.*].

In the 9th/15th century, following the onslaughts of Tīmūr on the Iranian world, a local Arab Shīʿī dynasty, the Mushaʿshaʿ [*q.v.*], established itself at Ḥawīza, on the old course of the Karkha river on the western edge of Khūzistān, and enjoyed about seventy years of independence. In 914/1508, however, Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī [see ISMĀʿĪL I], after his capture of Baghdād, occupied Ḥawīza, Dizfūl and Shushtar, and received the submission of the Mushaʿshaʿ *sulṭāns*. Like the rulers of other petty states along the Ottoman-Ṣafawid border during the 10th/16th to 12th/18th centuries, the Mushaʿshaʿ *sulṭāns* played one side off against the other, often very much to their own advantage. As a consequence of Mushaʿshaʿ rule, the western portion of Khūzistān became known, from early Ṣafawid times, as ʿArabistān. In later Ṣafawid times, the title of "*wālī* of ʿArabistān" was conferred on the Mushaʿshaʿ *sulṭāns*. In the Ṣafawid administrative system, the *wālīs* were the highest in rank of the four categories of *umarā-yi sarḥadd*, or "*amīrs* of the marches", and, of the four *wālīs*, the first in rank was the *wālī* of ʿArabistān, who was "higher and more honoured than his colleagues, on account of his belonging to a *sayyid* family, his valour and the number of his tribes" (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. Minorsky, London 1943, 44). When the Afghāns invaded Iran in 1135/1722, the Mushaʿshaʿ *sulṭāns* threw in their lot with the invaders. In 1140/1727 Khūzistān was temporarily occupied by the Ottomans, but in 1142/1729 Nādir Khān Afshār [see

NĀDIR SHĀH] reoccupied the province and made the Mushaʿshaʿ *sulṭāns* his vassals.

In the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, the Mushaʿshaʿ dynasty steadily lost ground to Arab tribesmen of the Banū Kaʿb and Banū Lām [*qq.v.*]. The former had begun to migrate in large numbers from central and southern Arabia into southern Mesopotamia and southwestern Iran during the 11th/17th century; at the height of their power, in the latter part of the 12th/18th century, their sway extended from Baṣra to Bihbihān (in the province of Fārs, just east of the Khūzistān border). The Banū Lām were nomads inhabiting regions along the lower course of the Tigris, and between 1788 and 1846 some 17,450 families from this tribe moved into Iranian territory. These immigrants lived a life that was neither completely settled nor truly nomadic, but gradually a sedentary way of life became the norm. The Banū Kaʿb not only intermarried with Iranians, but adopted Shīʿism, and wore a compromise style of dress consisting of Persian tunic and trousers under an Arab *ʿabāʾ*. Still later Arab arrivals, however, the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*], who in 1812 migrated to Ḥawīza and ousted the Kaʿb from that area, have remained Sunnīs. As a result of this great influx of Arabs, the name of ʿArabistān was, by the 19th century, usually applied to the province as a whole. In the 19th century, control of the province virtually passed from the hands of the central government into those of the *shaykhs* of Muḥammara (Khurramshahr), and it was not until 1925 that Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī [*q.v.*] overthrew the Shaykh of Muḥammara and restored the proper name of Khūzistān.

After the collapse of the Ṣafawid dynasty (1135/1722), the prosperity of Khūzistān sharply declined. A number of factors seem to have been involved: (1) hostility between Iranian and Arab elements; (2) the extensive damage to agriculture and to the settled communities caused by both the recent Arab immigrants and by the indigenous transhumant tribes like the Lurs and Bakhtiyārīs (A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 157-8); (3) the constant raiding of trade caravans by the Banū Lām; (4) the breakdown of the authority of the central government, which led to general neglect and maladministration, and the instability caused by frequent changes of governors; (5) oppression by tax-collectors. In some areas the Arab *shaykhs* levied taxes five or six times a year (Lambton, *op. cit.*, 292). It was only after the discovery of oil at Masdjid-i Sulaymān in Khūzistān in 1908 that the economy of the province began slowly to recover, and this trend was accelerated by the completion of the Trans-Iranian Railway in 1938; the line ran through Ahwāz, and its southern terminal was Bandar-i Shāhpūr.

In the last twenty years, Khūzistān's prosperity has increased exponentially. Many large oilfields are connected by road and pipeline with the refinery at Ābādān and with the terminal at Bandar-i Māhshahr (formerly Bandar-i Maʿshūr). Ābādān, a virtually uninhabited site fifty years ago, is now Iran's fifth city (estimated population, 1975, 320,000). In 1961, the deep-water tanker terminal on Khārg Island was opened. The construction of the massive Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlawī dam on the Diz river (1962) has not only provided the province with hydro-electricity but with water for the large-scale development of market-gardening and other agricultural projects, including the resumption of the cultivation of sugar-cane; other dams are planned. Khurramshahr is now one of Iran's principal ports-of-entry on the Persian Gulf. More recently, the development of the natural gas industry has taken place on a large scale; in 1973, 8.7 billion cu. m. of natural gas were exported to the U.S.S.R. The petrochemical industry is expanding at a great rate. The rapidly developing Djundīshāpūr University at Ahwāz now has over 2,000 students. The words of the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, written one thousand years ago, now once again hold true: "This province is more prosperous than any province adjoining it. Great rivers and running waters are found in it. Its countryside is flourishing and its mountains are full of utility" (129-30).

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KHVARSHĪ (self-designation, Kedaes hikwa, Khuani, Khvarshal; in Russian, Khvarshintsī) an ethnic group in the Caucasus whose language forms, with Bezheta, Ginukh, Dido and Khunzal [*qq.v.*] the Dido division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian languages.

According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were 1,019 ethnic Khvarshīs, of whom 1,018 gave Khvarshī as their maternal tongue. They formerly lived in five *auls* (including Khvarshī and Inkhorari) on the upper course of the Ori-Tsḳalis, a southern affluent of the Andi-Koysu in the south-west of the Bagulal district of the Dāghistān ASSR; in 1944, they were resettled in the district of Vedeno in that same republic. They lived originally in an isolated region of high mountains, which long preserved them from any marked degree of outside influence and allowed them to retain their patriarchal customs. They are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī legal school.

Their traditional economy was based on sheep-rearing, with a system of transhumance, and also on terraced agriculture and various crafts; their present-day economy is essentially similar, with the added element of cattle-rearing.

Khvarshī is purely a vernacular language; Avar is used as the first literary language, and also as the second (sometimes first) spoken language, since it is used as the medium for primary education. Russian is the second literary language. Both linguistically and culturally, the Khvarshīs are now being assimilated to the Avars [see further AVAR, DĀGHISTĀN, DIDO, AL-ḲABḲ].

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ḲIBLA, the direction of Mecca (or, to be exact, of the Kaʿba or the point between the *mīzāb* or water-spout and the western corner of it), towards which the worshipper must direct himself for prayer.

i.—Ritual and Legal Aspects

From very early times the direction at prayer and divine service for the worshippers was not a matter of choice among the Semitic peoples. There is already an allusion to this in I Kings, viii, 44 and it is recorded of Daniel (Dan., vi, 11) that he offered prayer three times a day in the direction of Jerusalem (which has remained the Jewish *ḳibla* to this day). As is evident from the names of the quarters of the heavens, the whole life of the Semitic peoples was turned eastwards. The Essenes prayed in the direction of the rising sun and the Syriac Christians also turned eastwards at prayer (*Ancient Syriac documents*, ed. Cureton, 24, 60; *Acta martyrum occid.*, ed. Assemani, ii, 125). It may therefore very well be assumed in agreement with the tradition that Muḥammad appointed a *ḳibla* at the same time as he instituted the *ṣalāt*. It is certain that in the period immediately following the *hid̲j̲ra* the direction taken by the Jews was also used by the Muslims. Tradition places the alteration in the *ḳibla* to 16 or 17 months after the *hid̲j̲ra*, in Rad̲j̲ab or S̲h̲aʿbān of the year 2, probably rightly, for in this period we have the important change in Muḥammad's attitude to the Jews. Disappointed at the slight success of his preaching among the Jews of Yat̲h̲rib, he began to turn more and more to the old Arabian tradition and make the religion of Ibrāhīm the basis of all monotheistic religions. The Kaʿba was brought into prominence as a religious centre and the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* began to be talked of as a Muslim rite. At the same time a beginning was made with the eviction of the Jewish tribes of Yat̲h̲rib. The alteration in the *ḳibla* is a not unimportant fact in this series of events and this train of thought. The Ḳurʾān verses, II, 136 ff., refer to this: "What has induced them to abandon their former *ḳibla*? Say: to Allāh belongs the east and the west. He guides whomsoever he pleaseth unto the right path ... We only appointed your previous *ḳibla* to distinguish him who follows the Prophet from him who turns back on his heels ... Turn then thy face toward the holy *masd̲j̲id*; turn your face to it wherever you are".

The importance placed by Muḥammad himself upon the change is clear from these words. It is not necessary to assume with the tradition that it was brought about by scornful remarks of the Jews regarding Muḥammad's dependence on the prescriptions of their religion (so Ṭabarī, i, 1280). In other traditions, the new *ḳibla* is represented as that of Ibrāhīm (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 378, ii, 13). Here we have a glimmering of the real truth of the matter, namely the connection with Muḥammad's new politico-religious attitude. According to one tradition (Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 32; *Tafsīr*, Sūra II, *bāb* 14) the revelation of the above quoted verses from the Ḳurʾān was communicated to the believers in the morning *ṣalāt* in Ḳubāʾ; according to another story Muḥammad had with a portion of the community performed two *rakʿas* of the *ẓuhr* prayer in a mosque of the Banū Salima, when he turned round to the direction of Mecca (Bayḍāwī, on Sūra II, 139). The mosque received the name of *masd̲j̲id al-ḳiblatayn*, "the mosque of the two ḳiblas".

If it may then be considered established that Muḥammad and his community turned towards Jerusalem at the *ṣalāt* during the early years of the *hid̲j̲ra*, the question still remains, what was his *ḳibla* before the *hid̲j̲ra*? In Tradition two answers are given to this question and a third deduced by harmonising the other two. According to one, Muḥammad in Mecca observed the *ḳibla* to the Kaʿba (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 4; Bayḍāwī, on Sūra II, 138); according to the other story the *ḳibla* had always been Jerusalem (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 3, 8, *Annales*, i, 1280; Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 2); according to the third (Ibn His̲h̲ām, 190, 228) Muḥammad in Mecca was careful to have the Kaʿba and Jerusalem in a straight line in front of him at the *ṣalāt*. The first view is influenced by the theory of the "religion of Ibrāhīm" for al-Tibrīzī also makes ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib already know that Ibrāhīm appointed the Kaʿba as *ḳibla* (*Ḥamāsa*, i, 125). If the second opinion had not an historical basis, one does not quite understand how it could have arisen, for Tradition does not like to acknowledge Muḥammad's dependence on Jewish practice. This view seems therefore to be the most probable. It is further mentioned as a distinguishing peculiarity of Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr that even in the period before the *hid̲j̲ra* he would not turn his back on the Kaʿba (Ibn His̲h̲ām 294); this tradition would lose its point if the old *ḳibla* had been in the direction of the Kaʿba. Besides these traditional views, others have been put forward in recent years. According to Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Uppsala and Stockholm 1926, 4 (cf. Buhl, *Mohammed's liv*, 212) the original *ḳibla* was to the east. Andrae bases his view not on the material of Tradition but on the general agreement between early Muslim and Christian religious usages. Schwally said that the Jerusalem *ḳibla* was introduced into Mecca, perhaps as a Jewish-Christian institution (*Geschichte des Qorans*, i, 175, note k).

The direction of the *ḳibla* was, or is, not assumed at the *ṣalāt* only and with the points of the toes (Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 28; *Ad̲h̲ān*, *bāb* 131; Nasāʾī, *Sahw*, *bāb* 25; *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 96), but also at the *duʿāʾ* (Buk̲h̲ārī, *Daʿawāt*, *bāb* 24), at the *ihlāl* or *iḥrām* (Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, *bāb* 29) and after the stone-throwing at the central D̲j̲amra (Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, *bāb* 140-2); the head of an animal to be slaughtered is turned to the *ḳibla* and the dead are buried with the face towards Mecca (Lane, *Manners and customs*, Paisley and London 1899; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/1 243; v, 409).

In the *ḥadīt̲h̲* it is forbidden to turn towards Mecca when relieving nature (Buk̲h̲ārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 11; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 61; Nasāʾī, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 18-20). On the question whether it is allowable in doing this to turn one's back to Mecca and thus in some parts of Arabia be facing Jerusalem no unanimity prevails (cf. Buk̲h̲ārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 14; *K̲h̲ums*, *bāb* 4; *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 29; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, *trad.* 59, 61-2; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 4); one should not expectorate in the direction of Mecca (Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 33).

The observance of a *ḳibla* is given in old traditions along with the performance of the *ṣalāt* and ritual slaughter as a criterion of the Muslim: The Prophet of God said: "The command has been given me to fight the people till they say: There is no god but Allāh; when they say these words, perform our *ṣalāt* and slaughter in our way, their blood and their property shall be inviolate for us", etc. (Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 28; cf. *Aḍāḥī*, *bāb* 12). One of the terms for the orthodox community is *ahl al-ḳibla wa 'l-d̲j̲amāʿa*. In many Muslim lands the word has become the name of a point of the compass, according to the direction in which Mecca lies; thus *ḳibla* (pronounced *ibla*) means in Egypt and Palestine, south, whereas in the Mag̲h̲rib, east.

In the mosques the direction of the *ṣalāt* is indicated by the *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*]; in classical *ḥadīth*, this word does not occur and *ḳibla* is used to mean the wall of the mosque towards which one turns. At a *ṣalāt* outside a mosque, a *sutra* [*q.v.*] marks the direction. In Egypt, small compasses specially made for this purpose are used to ascertain the *ḳibla* (Lane, *op. cit.*, 228). It should be noted that many mosques are not accurately but only approximately orientated (according to the *djiha*, see below). It sometimes happens that this error has been later corrected by the drawing of lines or the stretching of threads. This is, for example, the case in many mosques of Indonesia where the faithful at the *ṣalāt* take their direction not from the *miḥrāb* but from such indicators.

The laws relating to the *ḳibla* are here given very briefly only and according to the Shāfiʿī school as laid down in al-Shīrāzī's *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* (ed. Juynboll, 20). The adoption of a *ḳibla* is a necessary condition for the validity of a *ṣalāt*. Only in great danger and in a voluntary *ṣalāt* on a journey can it be neglected. But if one is on foot or can turn his steed round, it should be observed at the *iḥrām*, *rukūʿ* and *sudjūd*. One should turn exactly in the direction of the *ḳibla*, and one who is near it can do so with certainty. According to others, when one is distant only the general direction (*djiha*) is obligatory. Outside of Mecca one turns towards the *mihrāb* within a mosque; when not in a mosque one follows the direction of reliable people: only a man who is in a deserted region is allowed to ascertain the direction for himself by means of certain indications. For details of the laws see the *Bibliography*.

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(A. J. Wensinck*)

ii.—Astronomical Aspects

The determination of the *ḳibla* was an important problem for the scientists of mediaeval Islam. Although essentially a problem of mathematical geography, the determination of the *ḳibla* can also be considered as a problem of spherical astronomy. Thus most Islamic astronomical handbooks or *zīdj*s, of which close on 200 were compiled during the millenium beginning in 750 A.D., contain a chapter on the determination of the *ḳibla*. In addition, several dozen mediaeval manuals for timekeeping deal with the topic. In contrast, the number of treatises dealing specifically with the *ḳibla* problem is quite few.

The *ḳibla* at a given locality is a trigonometric function of the local latitude, the latitude of Mecca, and the longitude difference from Mecca. The derivation of the *ḳibla* in terms of these three quantities was the most complicated of the standard problems of mediaeval Islamic spherical astronomy, and the solutions to the *ḳibla* problem proposed by the leading astronomers of mediaeval Islam bear witness to the development of mathematical methods from the 3rd/9th to the 8th/14th centuries and to the level of sophistication in trigonometry and computational techniques attained by these scholars. Already in the 3rd/9th century Muslim scholars had derived exact solutions using the construction of Greek mathematics known as the analemma (in which the various significant planes involved in a specific problem are either projected or folded into a single working plane, whereupon the geometrical solution can be derived graphically or the trigonometric solution can be derived by plane trigonometry) or using the classical Theorem of Menelaos for the complete spherical quadrilateral. Later *ḳibla* methods included trigonometric solutions based on projection methods or on the simpler corollaries of the Theorem of Menelaos. Certain Muslim astronomers contented themselves with approximate solutions, which were adequate for practical purposes. The final mathematical solution to the *ḳibla* problem was the table compiled by the 8th/14th century astronomer al-Khalīlī, displaying the *ḳibla* for all latitudes and longitudes.

The mathematical problem

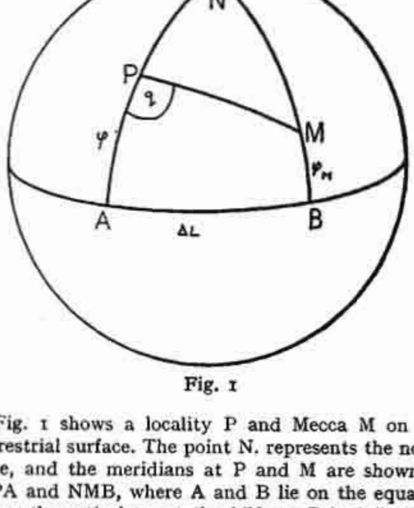

Fig. 1

Fig. 1 shows a locality P and Mecca M on the terrestrial surface. The point N. represents the north pole, and the meridians at P and M are shown as NPA and NMB, where A and B lie on the equator. In mathematical terms the *ḳibla* at P is defined by the direction of the great circle through P and M. In mediaeval Arabic the angle q between the arc PM and the local meridian NPS was called *inḥirāf al-ḳibla*, and the complementary angle between PM and the east-west line through P was called *samt al-ḳibla*. If φ and φ_M denote the latitudes of the locality and of Mecca (= PA nd MB), and ΔL denotes their longitude difference (= AB), then q is a function of φ, φ_M, and ΔL, and can be determined by spherical trigonometry. The modern formula, which can be derived from an application of the spherical contangent rule to ΔNPM, is:

$$q = \cot^{-1} \frac{\sin \varphi \cos \Delta L - \cos \varphi \tan \varphi_M}{\sin \Delta L}.$$

The exact solutions proposed by the mediaeval astronomers are less direct but ultimately equivalent to this.

Although the problem of determining the *ḳibla* is a problem of mathematical geography, it is mathematically equivalent to the astronomical problem of determining the azimuth or direction of a celestial body with given declination for a given hour-angle, and as such it was usually treated by the mediaeval

astronomers. Indeed, the *ḳibla* problem may be transferred to the celestial sphere simply by considering the zenith of Mecca rather than Mecca.

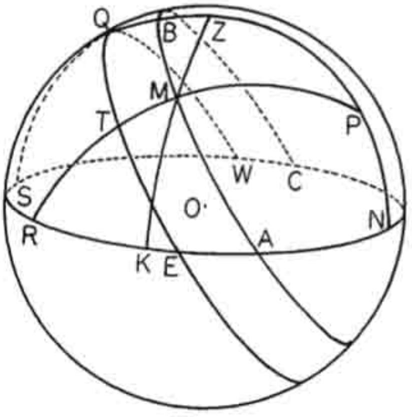

Fig. 2

Fig. 2 shows the zenith of Mecca M on the celestial sphere for a locality O. The local horizon is NESW and the local meridian is NPZS. EQW is the celestial equator, P is the celestial pole, and ABC is the day-circle of M. PMTR is the meridian of Mecca. Now:

$$PN = \varphi, MT = \varphi_M, \text{ and } QT = \Delta L,$$

and the problem is to determine the azimuth of M measured from the meridian by the arc SK = q. Most mediaeval methods involve first finding the altitude of the zenith of Mecca above the local horizon, measured by the arc MK = h. This is equivalent to finding the complement of the distance between the two localities. Thus the problem of determining q (φ, φ_M, ΔL) is mathematically equivalent to determining the azimuth a (φ, δ, t) of a celestial body with declination δ (measured by MT) when the hour angle is t (measured by QT) and the local latitude is φ (measured by PN). Indeed, several Islamic *ḳibla* methods state simply that if one faces the sun on the day when the solar declination is φ_M at the time when the hour-angle is ΔL (before or after midday, according as the locality is west or east of Mecca), then one is facing Mecca.

In the sequel a selection of methods is presented to illustrate the variety and sophistication of some of the few mediaeval *ḳibla* determinations that have been investigated in modern times. The notation has been modified in order to relate to that used in Fig. 2. For the details of the original constructions the reader is referred to the secondary literature listed in the bibliography. Those methods that are trigonometric in character are represented by means of trigonometric equations; in the original texts the relations are written out in words. The capital notation for trigonometric functions denotes that they are to a base other than unity: thus, for example, $\text{Sin}\ \theta = R \sin \theta$ where R is generally 60 and occasionally, in the case of works following the Indian-Sāsānid tradition, 150. Likewise $\text{Cos}\ \theta = R \cos \theta$, $\text{Vers}\ \theta = R \text{ vers}\ \theta = R\ (1 - \cos \theta)$, etc. The radius of the celestial sphere is taken to be R.

The trigonometric procedures outlined by the Muslim astronomers can also be performed geometrically using a grid of the kind which occurs on the circular instruments known in mediaeval Arabic as *al-dustūr* and *al-s̲h̲akkāziyya*, or the related quadrants known as *al-rubʿ al-mud̲j̲ayyab* and *rubʿ al-s̲h̲akkāziyya*. Most Islamic treatises on these instruments contain a chapter on the determination of the *ḳibla*.

Approximate solutions

A popular approximate method for determining the *ḳibla* which occurs in the *Zīd̲j̲* of the Syrian astronomer al-Battānī (*fl.* Raḳḳa, *ca.* 297/910) and in several unsophisticated Islamic astronomical works such as *al-Mulak̲h̲k̲h̲aṣ fi 'l-hayʾa* by al-D̲j̲ag̲h̲mīnī (*fl.* K̲h̲ʷārazm, ? *ca.* 725/1325) is the following.

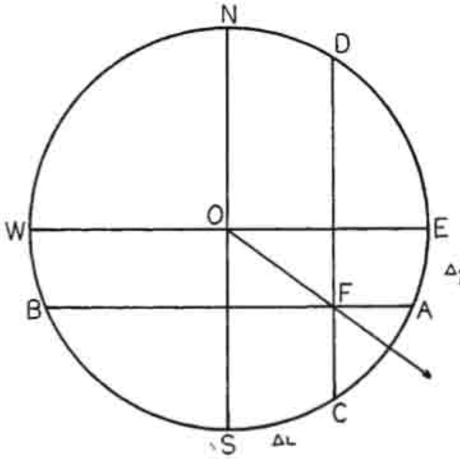

Fig. 3

Fig. 3 shows the construction for a locality where Mecca is to the south east. Mark the cardinal directions NWSE on a horizontal circle centre O and radius R and measure arcs $EA = WB = \Delta\varphi = \varphi - \varphi_M$ southwards and $SC = ND = \Delta L$ eastwards. Next draw AB and CD, and denote their point of intersection by F. Then OF defines the *ḳibla*. This method is equivalent to an application of the formula

$$q = \text{Sin}^{-1} \left\{ \frac{R\ \text{Sin}\ \Delta L}{\sqrt{\text{Sin}^2\ \Delta\varphi + \text{Sin}^2\ \Delta L}} \right\} = \text{Tan}^{-1} \left\{ \frac{R\ \text{Sin}\ \Delta L}{\text{Sin}\ \Delta\varphi} \right\}.$$

Certain Muslim astronomers also used tables based on this formula and displaying values of q ($\Delta\varphi$, ΔL) for each degree of both arguments from 1° to 20°. A feature of these tables is that the entries for $\Delta\varphi = \Delta L$ are all 45°0′.

Another approximate solution to the *ḳibla* problem is outlined in a treatise related to al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī (*fl.* Bag̲h̲dād, *ca.* 215/830). Here the formula

$$q = \text{Sin}^{-1} \left\{ \frac{\left[\frac{\text{Sin}\ \Delta L\ \text{Cos}\ \varphi_M}{R}\right] R}{\sqrt{\text{Sin}^2\ \Delta\varphi + \left[\frac{\text{Sin}\ \Delta L\ \text{Cos}\ \varphi_M}{R}\right]^2}} \right\},$$

with the trigonometric functions to base $R = 150$ rather than $R = 60$, is outlined in words. The table displaying q ($\Delta\varphi$, ΔL) that accompanies this treatise was rather popular with later Muslim astronomers and exists in several manuscript copies, some of which are of Syrian, Yemenī, and Turkish provenance. Yet other approximate *ḳibla* tables based on non-trivial formulae are found in the *As̲h̲rafī zīd̲j̲* of the Persian astronomer Sayf-i Munad̲j̲d̲j̲im (*fl. ca.* 710/1310), the *Zīd̲j̲* of the Persian astronomer S̲h̲ams al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲im al-Wābiknawī (*fl. ca.* 725/1325), and

in a treatise on the quadrant by Ibn Ṭaybug͟hā (*fl.* Aleppo, *ca.* 751/1350).

Exact solutions

Four exact solutions to the *ḳibla* problem are outlined below. The first and second illustrate the application and mathematical elegance of the analemma construction, and the way in which it can be used to derive complicated formulae of spherical trigonometry from a plane figure. The third and fourth illustrate the application and mathematical elegance of the Theorem of Menelaos and its corollaries. Al-K͟halīlī's *ḳibla* table, which is perhaps the most sophisticated trigonometric table compiled in the mediaeval period, illustrates the competence of an 8th/14th century scholar in the algebra of functions and computational techniques.

A geometric *ḳibla* construction proposed by Ḥabas͟h al-Ḥāsib (*fl.* Bag͟hdād and Damascus, *ca.* 235/850) involves an analemma in which the working plane is considered consecutively as the meridian, equatorial, meridian, and horizon planes. Ḥabas͟h's method may be summarised as follows (see Fig. 4). On a circle centre O and radius R mark the cardinal directione NWSE, and then draw arc WQ $= \varphi$, arc QB $= \varphi_M$, and arc QT $= \Delta L$. Draw the diameter QOR and the parallel chord BC with midpoint G. Mark the point M_2 on OT such that $OM_2 = GC$ and draw the perpendicular M_2M_1 onto BC. Next draw M_1L parallel to WE and M_1IJ parallel to SN to cut WE in I and the circle in J. Finally, construct the point M_3 on M_1L such that $OM_3 = IJ$ and produce OM_3 to cut the circle at K. Then OK defines the *ḳibla*.

This construction may be explained as follows. Firstly, QOR and BGC represent the projections of the celestial equator and the day circle of the zenith of Mecca in the meridian plane. Secondly, M_2 represents the projection of the zenith of Mecca in the equatorial plane. If we then imagine the equatorial plane to be folded into the meridian plane, M_2 moves to M_1, which is thus the projection of the zenith of Mecca in the meridian plane. Furthermore, M_1IJ is the projection in this plane of the almucantar through the zenith of Mecca, whose radius is thus IJ. Also M_1I and IJ measure the distances from the zenith of Mecca to the prime vertical and to the line joining the local zenith to O, respectively. Finally, we consider the horizon plane the working plane; by virtue of the construction, M_3 is the projection of the zenith of the Mecca in this plane. Thus OK defines the *ḳibla*.

From such a geometric construction a trigonometric solution for the *ḳibla* problem can be derived with facility. Indeed, from the analemma construction for the *ḳibla* proposed by Ibn al-Hayt͟ham [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Cairo, d. 430/1039: a single formula for q (φ, φ_M, L) equivalent to the modern one can be derived directly. Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Cairo and Fusṭāṭ, d. 399/1009) proposed the following trigonometric solution to the *ḳibla* problem. Firstly from the quantity

$$h = \mathrm{Sin}^{-1}\left\{\frac{\dfrac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M + \mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi}{R}\right\},$$

and then the *ḳibla* is defined by

$$q = \mathrm{Sin}^{-1}\left\{\frac{\mathrm{Sin}\,\Delta L\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M}{\mathrm{Cos}\,h}\right\}.$$

Ibn Yūnus offered no justification for this procedure, but his formulae can be derived from an analemma construction such as the one proposed by Ḥabas͟h.

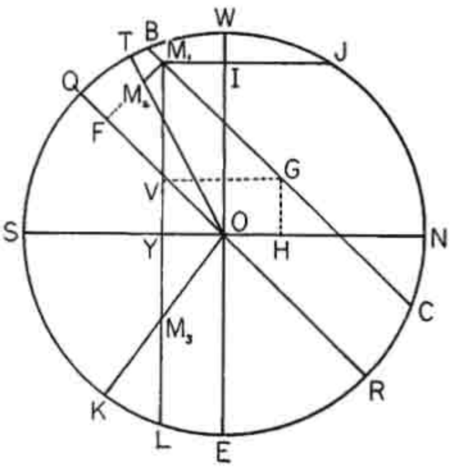

Fig. 4

If in Fig. 4 we draw the perpendiculars GH and GV from G to SN and M_1Y, then we have

$$M_1V = \left\{\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M}{R^2}\right\},$$

since

$$M_1V = M_1G\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi}{R}$$

and

$$M_1G = OF = OM_2\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R} = GC\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}$$
$$\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}.$$

Also

$$GH = OG\,\frac{\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi}{R}\;\frac{\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi}{R}.$$

Furthermore, since the arc JN measures h, we have $M_1Y = \mathrm{Sin}\,h$. But $M_1Y = MV + VY = MV + GH$. Ibn Yūnus' first formula follows immediately.

Next we observe that M_3Y and M_2F both measure the distance of the zenith of Mecca to the meridian and are hence equal. Thus

$$M_3Y = M_2F = OM_2\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}\;\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}.$$

Also, since the arc JN measures h, and OMf is by construction equal to IJ, we have OMf $=$ IJ $=$ Cos h. Ibn Yūnus' second formula follows immediately, since q measures the arc SK.

Ibn Yūnus also compiled a table displaying the solar altitude in Cairo when the sun is in the azimuth of Mecca. His table gives values for each degree of solar longitude, corresponding roughly to each day of the year. Tables of this kind were contained in the main corpora of tables for timekeeping that were used in such centres as Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Istanbul, and an isolated table of this kind was compiled for the observatory at Marāg͟ha in north-western Persia. The solar altitude in the azimuth of Mecca is occasionally displayed graphically on the backs of astrolabes.

Al-Nayrīzī (*fl.* Bag͟hdād, *ca.* 287/900) solved the *ḳibla* problem by four successive applications of the Theorem of Menelaos. His solution involves finding

successively the arcs TR, SR, MK and KS in Fig. 2, as follows. Firstly, find TR using

$$\frac{\text{Sin PS}}{\text{Sin SQ}} = \frac{\text{Sin PR}}{\text{Sin RT}}\,\frac{\text{Sin TE}}{\text{Sin EQ}},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\text{Sin }(180^\circ - \varphi)}{\text{Sin }\varphi} = \frac{\text{Sin }(90^\circ + \text{TR})}{\text{Sin TR}}\,\frac{\text{Sin }(90^\circ - \Delta L)}{\text{Sin }90^\circ}.$$

Secondly, find SR using

$$\frac{\text{Sin PQ}}{\text{Sin QS}} = \frac{\text{Sin PT}}{\text{Sin TR}}\,\frac{\text{Sin ER}}{\text{Sin ES}},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\text{Sin }90^\circ}{\text{Sin }(90^\circ - \varphi)} = \frac{\text{Sin }90^\circ}{\text{Sin TR}}\,\frac{\text{Sin ER}}{\text{Sin }90^\circ},$$

whence ER and SR ($= \overline{\text{ER}} = 90^\circ - \text{ER}$). Thirdly, find MK ($= h$) using

$$\frac{\text{Sin SP}}{\text{Sin SZ}} = \frac{\text{Sin PR}}{\text{Sin RM}}\,\frac{\text{Sin MK}}{\text{Sin KZ}},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\text{Sin }(180^\circ - \varphi)}{\text{Sin }90^\circ} = \frac{\text{Sin }(90^\circ + \text{TR})}{\text{Sin }(\text{TR} + \varphi_m)}\,\frac{\text{Sin MK}}{\text{Sin }90^\circ}.$$

Finally, find KS ($= q$) using

$$\frac{\text{Sin KS}}{\text{Sin SR}} = \frac{\text{Sin KZ}}{\text{Sin ZM}}\,\frac{\text{Sin MP}}{\text{Sin PR}},$$

that is

$$\frac{\text{Sin }q}{\text{Sin SR}} = \frac{\text{Sin }90^\circ}{\text{Sin }(90^\circ - h)}\,\frac{\text{Sin }(90^\circ - \varphi_M)}{\text{Sin }(90^\circ + \text{TR})}.$$

Al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Kh*arazm and Ghazna, d. after 442/1050) proposed several different methods for finding the *ḳibla*, based on a variety of different procedures. In his work on mathematical geography, the *Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin*, al-Bīrūnī derived the longitude difference between Mecca and Ghazna mathematically using the distances between staging posts on the major caravan routes, and then derived the *ḳibla* at Ghazna using four different methods, including spherical trigonometry (using Menelaos' Theorem), solid geometry (using procedures equivalent to those standard in solving timekeeping problems), and the analemma. Al-Bīrūnī's solution to the *ḳibla* problem in his major astronomical work *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, compiled after the *Taḥdīd*, is more elegant than his solution by spherical trigonometry in the earlier work. It was also proposed about thirty years previously as an alternative solution by Ibn Yūnus. Al-Bīrūnī proved its correctness by spherical trigonometry. Ibn Yūnus presented it algebraically with no justification, but he appears to have derived most of his formulae for spherical astronomy by projection methods rather than by spherical trigonometry. Al-Bīrūnī's treatment of the problem illustrates the progress made by Muslim scholars in spherical trigonometry during the tenth century. Whereas his predecessor al-Nayrīzī had laboriously used Menelaos' Theorem, al-Bīrūnī used its simpler corollaries, the spherical Sine Rule and the "Rule of Four Quantities".

Al-Bīrūnī first outlined an algebraic procedure for finding q using four auxiliary arcs which we call θ_1, θ_2, θ_3, and θ_4. Since he used $R = 1$ rather than 60 his trigonometric functions are the same as the modern ones. First find θ_1, "the distance on the day circle", thus $\sin\theta_1 = \sin\Delta L \cos\theta_M$. Then find θ_2, "the local latitude adjusted for the horizon (of Mecca)", using $\sin\theta_2 \frac{\sin\theta_M}{\cos\theta_1}$, and θ_3, "the correction to the latitude", using $\theta_3 = \varphi\text{-}\theta_2$. Then find θ_4, "the distance between the two localities", using $\cos\theta_4 = \cos\theta_3 \cos\theta_1$. Finally, q is given by

$$\sin q = \frac{\sin\theta_3 \cos\theta_1}{\sin\theta_4}.$$

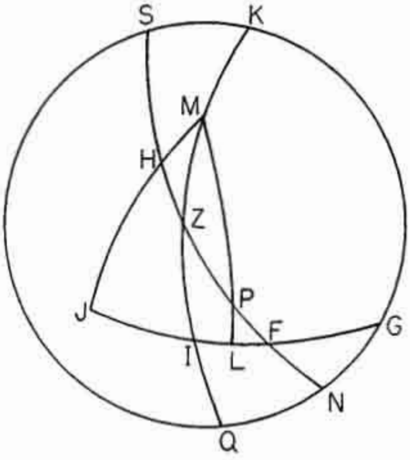

Fig. 5

Al-Bīrūnī's justification of this procedure is equivalent to the following. In Fig. 5, which is essentially the same as the diagrams in the manuscripts of the original text, the base circle represents the horizon, with N and S the north- and south-points. The local meridian is SZPN where Z is the local zenith and P is the celestial pole. M is the zenith of Mecca and GLJ and MPL are respectively the horizon and meridian at Mecca. ZMK is the altitude circle of M and MHJ is a great circle with F as pole. Thus PN $= \varphi$, PL $= \varphi_M$, and MPZ $= \Delta L$, and it is required to find SK ($= q$). Al-Bīrūnī observed that (by the spherical Sine Rule),

$$\frac{\sin \text{MP}}{\sin \text{MH}} = \frac{\sin \angle \text{MHP}}{\sin \angle \text{MPH}}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\cos\ \varphi_M}{\cos \angle \text{F}}\,\frac{\sin\ 90^\circ}{\sin\ \Delta L},$$

whence $\angle$ F ($= \angle$ PFL) is known. Thus θ_1 is the complement of $\angle$ F. Similarly

$$\frac{\sin \angle \text{F}}{\sin \angle \text{PLF}} = \frac{\sin \text{PL}}{\sin \text{PF}}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\cos\theta_1}{\sin 90}\,\frac{\sin\varphi_M}{\sin \text{PF}},$$

whence PF is known.

Thus θ_2 is PF. Thirdly, since FN $=$ PN $-$ PF $= \varphi\text{-}\theta_2$, θ_3 measures FN. Fourthly, al-Bīrūnī states that by the "Rule of Four Quantities"

$$\frac{\sin \text{FZ}}{\cos \angle \text{G}} = \frac{\sin \text{FH}}{\sin \text{HJ}}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\cos\theta_4}{\cos \angle \text{G}} = \frac{\sin 90^\circ}{\cos\ \theta_1},$$

(note that $\cos \angle \text{G} = \cos \angle \text{FGN} = \cos \text{IQ} = \sin \text{ZI}$) so that θ_4 measures $\angle$ G.

Finally, he points out that (by the spherical Sine Rule)

$$\frac{\sin \angle \text{G}}{\sin \angle \text{F}} = \frac{\sin \text{FN}}{\sin \text{GN}}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\sin\theta_4}{\cos\theta_1} = \frac{\sin\theta_3}{\sin \text{GN}},$$

whence $q = \text{SK} = 90^\circ - \text{GN}$.

Al-Khalīlī (*fl.* Damascus, *ca.* 766/1365) compiled a *ḳibla* table based on an accurate formula and displaying q (φ, ΔL) for each degree of φ from 10° to 56° and each degree of ΔL from 1° to 60°. Al-Khalīlī's table thus contains a total of almost 3,000 entries, and the *ḳibla* is computed to degrees and minutes. The vast majority of the entries are either correct or in error by $\pm$ 1 or $\pm$ 2 minutes, a remarkable achievement. Table 1 shows a section of al-Khalīlī's table.

Table 1

Sample Entries from al-Khalīlī's *Ḳibla* Table
(The errors in the minutes are shown after each entry)

ΔL ij	34°	35	36°	37°
25°	66°55′ + 1	64°59′	63° 9′ + 1	61°20′ — 1
24	65 39 + 1	63 39 — 1	61 45 — 2	59 56 — 2
23	64 17	62 16 — 1	60 19 — 2	58 29 — 1
22	62 52	60 50	58 50 — 2	56 58 — 1
21	61 25 + 2	59 18	57 18	55 24
20	59 50 + 1	57 42 + 1	55 41 + 1	53 46 + 2
19	58 10	56 2 + 2	53 59 + 3	52 2 + 2
18	56 25 + 1	54 14 + 2	52 10 + 2	50 12 + 2
17	54 33	52 19	50 14 + 1	48 17 + 2
16	52 34	50 20 + 1	48 13	46 14 — 1
15	50 30 + 2	48 15 + 3	46 8 + 2	44 9 + 1
14	48 16 + 2	46 0 + 2	43 54 + 2	41 56
13	45 52	43 38 + 2	41 33 + 2	39 38 + 1
12	43 23 + 3	41 8 + 2	39 6 + 3	37 12 + 1
11	40 42 + 4	38 26 — 1	36 29 + 2	34 40 + 2
10	37 46	35 38	33 43	31 59
9	34 42 — 1	32 40 — 1	30 50 — 1	29 12
8	31 28 — 1	29 34	27 51	26 18 — 1
7	28 7 + 2	26 19 + 1	24 44 + 1	23 20 + 1
6	24 31 + 2	22 54 + 2	21 30 + 2	20 14 + 1
5	20 44 + 1	19 20 + 1	18 7 + 2	17 2 + 2
4	16 49 + 2	15 38 + 1	14 36	13 44 + 1
3	12 43	11 48 — 1	11 1 — 1	10 21
2	8 33	7 56	7 24	6 57 + 1
1	4 19 + 1	4 1 + 2	3 45 + 2	3 33 + 4

Al-Khalīlī does not describe the way in which he compiled his *ḳibla* table. However, in his introduction to the table he expresses his approval of the *ḳibla* method of al-Marrākushī (*fl.* Cairo, *ca.* 679/1280). This involved first finding h using

$$\text{Sin } h = \text{Sin } (\bar{\varphi} + \varphi_M) - \text{Vers } \Delta L \, \frac{\text{Cos } \varphi_M \text{ Cos } \varphi}{R^2},$$

and then applying the standard Islamic formula for finding the azimuth from the celestial altitude, namely

$$q = \text{arc Cos} \left\{ R \; \frac{\left[\dfrac{\text{Sin } h \text{ Tan } \varphi}{R} - \dfrac{R \text{ Sin } \delta}{\text{Cos } \varphi}\right]}{\text{Cos } h} \right\}.$$

Both of these formulae can be derived from Fig. 4. If al-Khalīlī did use precisely this method to compile his *ḳibla* table, it may be that he also used his universal auxiliary tables (*al-djadwal al-āfāḳī*) to facilitate the computation. These tables which were specifically designed for solving all of the standard problems of spherical astronomy for any latitude, display the three functions

$$f\varphi(\theta) = \frac{R \text{ Sin } \theta}{\text{Cos } \varphi}, \; g\varphi(\theta) = \frac{\text{Sin } \theta \text{ Tan } \varphi}{R},$$

$$\text{and } G(x, y) = \text{arc Cos} \left\{ \frac{Rx}{\text{Cos } y} \right\}.$$

The procedure for finding q (φ, ΔL) would be to first find h (φ, ΔL) using the simple formula of al-Marrākushī and then to use the auxiliary tables to apply the formula

$$q(\varphi, \Delta L) = G\,\{x(\varphi, \Delta L), h\}$$

where

$$x(\varphi, \Delta L) = g\varphi(h) - f\varphi(\varphi_M).$$

This latter procedure is easily shown to be equivalent to the standard azimuth formula.

Al-Khalīlī also computed the *ḳibla* for 44 localities in Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. These are likewise very carefully computed. Sample entries from this list are shown in Table 2. Several other *ḳibla* lists were compiled by mediaeval Muslim astronomers, and the geographical tables in late Islamic *zīdj*s often display the *ḳibla* alongside the latitudes and longitudes of important localities.

Alignment of Mosques

Now even though the mediaeval astronomer might have been aware of an exact formula for computing the *ḳibla*, the accuracy of his *ḳibla* determinations depended on the geographical data that he had at his disposal. Mediaeval longitude determinations, based either on simultaneous observations of lunar eclipses in different localities or on measuring distances between the localities, were generally not very accurate. Mediaeval latitude determinations,

Table 2

Sample Entries from al-Khalīlī's *Ḳibla* List
(The errors are derived using the mathematically correct formula and al-Khalīlī's coordinates)

Locality	Longitude	Latitude	*Ḳibla*	Error
Gaza	57°0′	32°0′	42°46′	+ 1′
Hebron	56 30	31 35	45 21	— 6
Jerusalem	56 50	32 0	43 14	— 2
Damascus	60 0	33 30	29 4	+ 1
Beirut	59 15	33 20	31 59	— 4
Baʿlabakk	60 0	33 50	28 25	+ 1
Hamā	61 45	34 45	20 32	— 2
Aleppo	62 10	35 50	17 42	0
Mārdīn	64 0	37 55	9 48	0
Baghdād	70 0	33 25	13 19	0
Kūfa	69 30	31 30	13 12	+ 1
Mecca	67 0	21 30	-	-

on the other hand, based on observations of the solar meridian altitude, were generally more accurate. Even so, the most popular values used by Muslim astronomers for the latitude of Mecca were 21°, 21° 20′, 21° 30′, and 21° 40′, whereas the accurate value is 21° 26′. This explains why mediaeval mosques may be incorrectly oriented even though their *miḥrāb*s [*q.v.*] were erected in a *ḳibla* direction computed by competent mathematicians.

Another reason why mosques may be incorrectly aligned is that their *ḳibla*s were not computed from geographical data at all but were inspired by tradition. Thus, for example, mosques in the Maghrib and the Indian subcontinent generally face due east or due west, respectively. Likewise, in early Muslim Egypt, the *ḳibla* adopted was the azimuth of the rising sun at the winter solstice. Several mosques in Cairo face this direction, which was favoured as the *ḳiblat al-ṣaḥāba* but which is about 10° off the *ḳibla* computed mathematically using mediaeval geographical coordinates and about 20° off the true *ḳibla* for Cairo. No survey has yet been made of the orientation of mediaeval mosques. Such a survey would be of considerable interest for the history of Islamic architecture as well as the history of science.

Bibliography: Several of the following secondary sources contain descriptions and analyses of mediaeval *ḳibla* methods. There exist numerous Islamic astronomical works containing *ḳibla* methods that have not been investigated in modern times. On the *ḳibla* method of Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Samarḳand, d. 853/1449), which is none other than the method of Ibn Yūnus and al-Bīrūnī, see L. A. Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oloug-Beg: traduction et commentaire*, (Paris 1853), 116-21. On the approximate methods of al-Battānī and al-Djaghmīnī, see C. A. Nallino, *al-Battānī sive Albatenii Opus Astronomicum* (Milan and Rome 1899-1907), i, 318-9, and ii, p. xxvii; and G. Rudloff and A. Hochheim, *Die Astronomie des Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿOmar al-Ǵagmīnī*, in *ZDMG*, xlvii (1893), 213-75 (esp. 271-2).

The first serious investigations of Islamic *ḳibla* methods were conducted by C. Schoy (see his article ḲIBLA in *EI*[1]). The methods of Ibn al-Haytham and al-Nayrīzī were discussed in his *Abhandlung des al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haiṯam (Alhazen) über die Bestimmung der Richtung der Qibla*, in *ZDMG*, lxxv (1921), 242-53; and in his *Abhandlung von al-Faḍl b. Ḥātim al-Nairīzī über die Richtung der Qibla*, in *SB Bayr. Akad.*, Math.-phys. Kl. (Munich 1922), 55-68 (also contains a list of *ḳibla* values for various cities, taken from an 8th/14th century Syrian source). Schoy's other studies on the *ḳibla* include *Die arabische Sonnenuhr im Dienste der islamischen Religionsübung*, in *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift*, N.F., xi (1912), 625-9; *Mittagslinie und Qibla*, in *Zeitschr. der Gesell. für Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1915), 551-76; *Die Mekka- oder Qiblakarte* (*Gegenazimuthale mittabstandstreue Projektion mit Mekka als Kartenmitte*), in *Kartographische und schulgeographische Zeitschr.* (Vienna 1916), 184-5; and *Gnomonik der Araber*, in E. von Bassermann-Jordan, ed., *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*, Band 1F (Berlin-Leipzig 1923) (esp. 33-43 and 84-6 on the methods of al-Battānī, Ibn Yūnus, and Abu 'l-Wafāʾ).

On al-Bīrūnī's *ḳibla* methods, see his *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, ed. M. Krause, Hyderabad 1955, ii, 522-8; Schoy, *Die trigonometrischen Lehren des ... al-Biruni ...*, Hanover 1927, 70-1; and E. S. Kennedy, *A commentary upon Bīrūnī's Kitāb Taḥdīd al-Amākin*, Beirut 1973, esp. 198-215. Ḥabash's construction is discussed in E. S. Kennedy and Y. Id, *A letter of al-Bīrūnī: Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib's analemma for the Qibla*, in *Historia Mathematica*, i (1974), 3-11.

Al-Khalīlī's *ḳibla* table is analysed in D. A. King, *Al-Khalīlī's* Qibla *Table*, in *JNES* (1975), (which also contains references to other mediaeval *ḳibla* tables and a discussion of the determination of the *ḳibla* using a quadrant). Ibn Yūnus's table displaying the solar altitude in the azimuth of the *ḳibla* is discussed in idem, *Ibn Yūnus' Very useful tables for reckoning time by the sun*, in *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, x (1973), 342-94 (esp. 368). Considerable additional information on *ḳibla* determinations is contained in the forthcoming publication by idem, *Studies in astronomical timekeeping in mediaeval Islam. ii. A survey of mediaeval Islamic tables for regulating the times of prayer*.

Several lists of geographical coordinates of cities and the corresponding *ḳibla* values, taken from Islamic astrolabes, are given in R. T. Gunther, *The astrolabes of the world*, i, Oxford 1932, see esp. 24-6. On mediaeval Islamic longitude determinations, see Schoy, *Längenbestimmung und Zentral-meridian bei den älteren Völkern*, in *Mitt. der kaiserlich-königlichen Geographischen Gesell.*, xii (1915), 27-62; Kennedy's commentary on al-Bīrūnī's *Taḥdīd* (mentioned above); and F. Haddad and E. S. Kennedy, *Geographical tables of mediaeval Islam*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv (1971), 87-102.

On the analemma in mediaeval Islamic astronomy, see the reference cited in the study by E. S. Kennedy and Y. Id (mentioned above). On the development of spherical trigonometry and computational techniques in mediaeval Islam, see P. Luckey, *Zur Entstehung der Kugeldreieckrechnung*, in *Deutsche Mathematik*, v (1940), 405-46; Kennedy, *Al-Bīrūnī's Maqālīd ʿIlm al-Hayʾa*, in *JNES*, xxx (1971), 308-14, and the references there cited; and King, *Al-Khalīlī's auxiliary tables for solving problems of spherical astronomy*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, iv (1973), 99-110. (D. A. KING)

AL-**KIBRĪT**, sulphur. The Arabic term is derived from Akkadian *kuprītu* through Aramaic *ku/ebhrīthā*.

The Arabs knew both sedimentary and volcanic brimstone. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, *K. al-Murshid*, Ms. Paris 2870, f. 20a, mentions a place where "white" brimstone was to be found on the

shore of the Dead Sea and in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (see also Muḳaddasī, 184), in fact the deposits of brimstone to be found in clay, mixed with gypsum and calcium carbide, on the right bank of the river Jordan at a mile from the Dead Sea (see C. Hintze, *Handbuch der Mineralogie*, i/1, Leipzig 1904, 68 ff.). Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī (*al-Risāla al-thāniya*, ed. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, 22, tr. 54-5, ed. P. Bulgakov, Moscow 1960, 34) mentions already a sulphur spring on Mount Damāwand [*q.v.*] around which brimstone had crystalised, and this volcano showed immense deposits of brimstone. The same author (*ibid.*, 43 = Yāḳūt, ii, 619) knows also the sulphur springs of Dawraḳ [*q.v.*] in Khūzistān.

In general, four sorts of brimstone are distinguished: yellow, white, black and red (see *WKAS*, i, 536). Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī, *K. al-Asrār* (ed. M. T. Dānish-Pazhūh, Tehran 1964, 3), however, differentiates these even further into 1. pure, massive, yellow brimstone; 2. pure, granular, yellow brimstone; 3. white, ivory-coloured brimstone; 4. white brimstone mixed with soil; 5. black brimstone, adulterated with stones; and 6. red brimstone. Descriptions like *kibrīt ḳāni'* "bright red brimstone", *kibrīt dhahabī* "golden brimstone", *kibrīt dhakar* "male brimstone", *kibrīt baḥrī* "brimstone of the sea", *kibrīt nahrī* "brimstone of the river", etc. are also found. These descriptions indicate the various modifications and qualities: brimstone deposited by springs is mostly fine-grained and yellow-white; elementary brimstone is often contaminated with bitumen, selenium and arsenic. These various descriptions, however, were of course not used by the Arabs to indicate a strict classification.

A special case was the "red brimstone" (*al-kibrīt al-aḥmar*). According to Aristotles' *Stone-book* (ed. J. Ruska, Heidelberg 1912, no. 26, p. 161 = Ibn al-Bayṭar, *K. al-Djāmi'*, iv, 49) it shines by night over a distance of many parasangs, as long as it is left in its place of occurence. Others maintained that red brimstone was a mineral to be found in the valley of the ants, marched through by Solomon (Ibn Samadjūn, in Ibn al-Bayṭar *loc. cit.*). These are fairy-tales. Al-Rāzī (*K. al-Asrār*, *loc. cit.*) knew already that "red brimstone" does not exist as a mineral, and this scepticism was wide-spread. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*Risāla fi 'l-Djidd wa 'l-hazl*, ed. P. Kraus, Cairo 1943, 93; ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1964, i, 271) remarks that "red brimstone" is easier to be found than a trustworthy friend, and the caliph al-Mu'taḍid bi-llāh (279-89/892-902) said that two things exist only in name: the phoenix (*'anḳā' mughrib*) and *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* (Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 154). In this sense is also to be understood al-Maydānī's proverb "more costly than red brimstone" (see Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, i, 18, 220, ii, 149) and Bilawhar's saying (ed. D. Gimaret, Beirut 1971, 33) that his merchandise is better than red brimstone. The solution to this enigma is that *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* is a pseudonym for the elixir, by means of which silver can be changed into gold (Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 103, *WKAS*, i, 536 a25-b2).

The position of brimstone in the mineral system has been determined more than once: in Aristotles' *Stone-book*, compounds of brimstone and arsenic form one group together with salts and boraxes, without a fixed classification. The authors of the *Corpus Gabirianum* (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries) counted red, yellow, black and white brimstone, together with orpiment, realgar, quicksilver, camphor and ammonia among the "spirits" (*al-arwāḥ*, τὰ πνεύματα), as opposed by the "metallic bodies" (*al-adjsām*) and the "mineral bodies" (*al-adjsād*). Ibn Sīnā (*K. al-Shifā'*, *al-Ṭabī'iyyāt*, v, ed. Madkūr, Cairo 1965, 20-2) divides all minerals into four classes: the stones (*al-aḥdjār*), the salts (*al-amlāḥ*), the fusible bodies (*al-dhā'ibāt*) and the brimstone-like ones (*al-kabārīt*). Brimstone has become here a general notion indicating those substances in which wateriness has been combined with earthiness and airiness and which have then been consolidated by cold. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib*, 203-45, brimstone, together with quicksilver, pitch, naphtha etc. belongs to the viscous substances (*al-adjsām al-duhniyya*).

Already in the Middle Ages brimstone was an important mineral raw material. It was for instance used in bleaching. Thus the "brimstone of the river" (*al-kibrīt al-nahrī*) was also called *kibrīt al-ḳaṣṣārīn*, the "brimstone of the bleachers" (Galen, *K. al-Awdiya al-mawdjūda bi-kull makān*, in Ibn al-Bayṭar, iv, 49, below). Together with bitumen, fats, oil, etc., brimstone was a component part of Greek fire [see NAFṬ], and from the 7th/13th century onwards it was used with salpetre and charcoal, to make gunpowder.

Brimstone was also widely used in medicine. According to Dioscurides (*Mat. med.*, v, 107; Arabic tr. ed. C. E. Dubler, Tetuán-Barcelona 1952-7, 423) brimstone avails against a cough, against pus that is stuck in the chest, and against asthma. If a woman is fumigated with brimstone, she will have a miscarriage. Leprosy, cutaneous eruptions and other skin diseases are treated with brimstone, which, if mixed with natron, dissipates itching. Finally, brimstone avails against the stings of poisonous animals, against jaundice, cold, sweat, podagra, ear-ache and deafness. The same indications are found in Galen, *De simpl. med. temp. ac fac.*, ix, 3, 9 (Vol. xii, 217, Kühn; Arabic tr. in Ibn al-Bayṭar, iv, 50); 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *K. Firdaws al-ḥikma*, 122, 224, 271, 322, 324, 407 (cf. W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 380-2), Ya'ḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (cf. *The medical formulary of al-Kindī*, ed. M. Levey, Milwaukee 1966, ff. 95b, 101b, 133b), al-Rāzī, *K. al-Ḥāwī*, xvii, 55, and Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Rome 1593, i, 191. The *dawā' al-kibrīt* is one of the important electuaries. It equals theriae and avails against fever, cough, asthma, tetanus, dropsy, against stings of poisonous animals etc. ('Alī b. Rabbān 445; al-Madjūsī, *K. al-Malakī*, ii, 536; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, ii, 191).

The curative properly of sulphurous water is often praised: Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī (*op. cit.*, ed. Minorsky, 12, tr. 43, ed. Bulgakov, 21, Yāḳūt, ii, 317) mentions the sulphurous springs in the neighbourhood of Ḥulwān [*q.v.*] in 'Irāḳ, which avail against manifold diseases. According to Aristotles' *Stone-book* (no. 26, pp. 113, 162) bathing in sulphurous springs is good for open wounds, tumours, itching, scabies and fever. Baths in sulphurous water avail also against trembling (*irti'āsh*) (Philagrises, in Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, i, 44, see Galen, *De tremore et palpitatione*, vii, 600, Kühn). Finally, sulphurous water is curative of articular pains (Rufus, in Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xi, 199), hemiplegia (*fālidj*, 'Alī b. Rabbān, *Firdaws*, 197) and elephantiasis (*djudhām*, ibid.).

To the many palliatives which were recommended for expelling vermin from houses there are always included fumigations with sulphur (Rāzī, Ḥāwī, xix, 320-33), which was also used in magic as an ingredient of talismans (Pseudo-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyāt al-ḥakīm*, 243-6, German tr. by Ritter and Plessner, London 1962, 254-8).

Sulphur played a prominent part in alchemy (see AL-KĪMIYĀ'). Distillation of sulphur and the action

of sulphurous vapour on metals gave occasion to many observations and conjectures. Since sulphur is liberated in the distillation of most materials, it was believed to be a fundamental part of all minerals. In particular, it was assumed that the metals consisted of quicksilver and brimstone. If the parts of both materials are in an ideal ratio to each other, gold originates (see Dimas̲h̲ķī, *Nuk̲h̲ba*, 50 ff.). Sulphur is therefore also called "the mother of gold" (*umm al-d̲h̲ahab*, see *K. al-Kanz*, ms. Berlin 4191, f. 51a).

The alchemists invented many pseudonyms for sulphur, like "the yellow, red or white bride") *al-ʿarūs al-ṣafrāʾ*, etc.), "the red soil" (*al-turba al-ḥamrāʾ*), "the colouring spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-ṣābig̲h̲*), "the saffron" (*al-zaʿfaran*), "the divine secret" (*al-sirr al-ilāhī*). The breath-taking smell of burning brimstone gave it the name "the suffocater" (*al-k̲h̲annāķ*). Because brimstone combines quicksilver, it was also called "the fetter of the volatile" (*ķayd al-ʿābiķ*). Conversely, the term *kibrīt* was also used in various combinations as pseudonym of other substances, e.g. *kibrīta lā taḥtariķ* "incombustible sulphur" (see *WZKM*, lxiii-lxiv (1972), 168) designates the elixir of gold. (For the problem of the pseudonyms, see J. Ruska and E. Wiedemann, *Alchemistische Decknamen*. Beiträge LXVII, in *SPMSE*, lvi-lvii (1924-5), 20-33 = E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, ii, 599-612; A. Siggel, *Decknamen in der arab. alchem. Literatur*, Berlin 1951).

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ĶIBṬ, the Arabic term for the Copts or native Christians of Egypt. The term is a derivative of the Greek *Aigyptos*, a phonetic corruption of the Ancient Egyptian *Ha-Ka-Ptah*, i.e. the house or temple of the god Ptah, signifying Memphis. The Greeks used the word for Egypt and the Nile, hence the word "Coptic" is originally the equivalent of Egyptian. Curtailment of both prefix and suffix from the Greek term gives us *Gypt* > Arabic rendering *Ķibṭ*. According to Semitic sources, however, this term is derived from Kuftaim, son of Mizraim, a grandchild of Noah who first settled in the Nile valley and imparted his name to the city of Ķufṭ or Gufṭ near Thebes or modern Luxor [see ĶIFṬ]. This latter theory is commoner among Arab writers who call Egypt *Dār al-Ķibṭ*, sc. the home of the Copts who were the Christianised descendants of the ancient Egyptians at the time of the Arab Conquest of 20-1/640-2.

Apparently the Copts were not unknown to the pre-Islamic Arab traders whose caravans penetrated the fringes of the Fertile Crescent and to some extent touched Egypt. More directly, the Copts came into the life of the Prophet Muḥammad through Maryam the Copt who was a gift from al-Muķawķas [*q.v.*] and who bore him his short-lived and only son Ibrāhīm. The Prophet is said explicitly to have told ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb that "Allāh will open Egypt to you after my death. So take good care of the Copts in that country, for they are your kinsmen and under your protection". This is said to have appeared in the first *k̲h̲uṭba* by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ after the conquest, and in it he subsequently admonishes his Muslim audience to "Cast down your eyes therefore and keep your hands off them".

Though the caliph ʿUmar was hesitant to grant ʿAmr approval for the conquest of Egypt, certain factors in the Egyptian situation favoured the invaders. The Copts were restive under Byzantine rule. In pursuance to the policies established by Justinian (527-65), the Emperor Heraclius (610-41) in 631 appointed Cyrus (al-Muķawķas in Arabic sources) as prefect, army commander and patriarch of the whole of Egypt in order to facilitate the securing of both political and religious uniformity in that crucial part of the Empire. Byzantine taxation was also felt as oppressive. Cyrus forced the Copts to abjure their Monophysitism in favour of the Byzantine Chalcedonian profession and his legionaries pursued their native Patriarch-elect Benjamin I (623-62), who fled to the desert monasteries and remained in hiding until the removal of the Melkite Greeks from Egypt.

It was in these circumstances that ʿAmr crossed the eastern frontiers of Egypt [see MIṢR] and entered the country. Cyrus realised by then that he was fighting a lost battle, because the Copts wanted a change of masters at any cost. While the servitude of the latter was complete in civic, financial and religious matters, the Arabs cared more for the revenues from the province than for interference with the religion of the Copts. They did not distinguish between Melkites and Monophysites, and the Copts as Christians were regarded as a protected people (*Ahl al-D̲h̲imma*), in return for payment of the *d̲j̲izya* [*q.v.*].

When the Byzantine régime finally ended with the fall of Alexandria in 641, the Greek Melkite population was granted safe-conduct to depart with Cyrus, and the native Patriarch Benjamin I was summoned to emerge from hiding. His appearance in Alexandria was honoured by ʿAmr, and the Copts at last regained their religious liberty and even appropriated most of the Melkite churches and foundations then rendered vacant. Thus the new era augured well, and perhaps Muslim monotheism might have been interpreted as bordering on Coptic monophysitism, thus creating a temporary bridge between the two religions in the eyes of those who were unaware of their philosophies in details of doctrine and future developments.

From this moment, the relationship between the Copts and the Arabs was based pre-eminently on revenue and taxation. The Arabs recognised the elaborate system of government in Egypt, and left the administration unchanged in the hands of the Copts. In the first year, ʿAmr was able to raise 12 million *dīnār*s in revenue, but the caliph ʿUmar was dissatisfied and removed ʿAmr, nominating ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. al-Sarḥ [*q.v.*] to succeed him. The new governor was then able to raise 14 million *dīnār*s in the second year.

From 21/642 to 254/868, Egypt was directly under Caliphal control through a viceroy, and ninety-eight governors were appointed by the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. The average tenure of each governor was about two years, too brief a period for any constructive work. But caliphal policy aimed at removing governors before they had sufficient time for

trying to break away from the central government. In the circumstances, a governor's sole concern was simply to squeeze the maximum taxation from the subjects, not only to pay the necessary dues to the central government, but also for his personal enrichment. The depletion of the resources of the country was also often aggravated by low Nile floods and the spread of disease and plague.

The worsening of the economy meant heavier pressure and exactions for the Copts. The results of this situation were three-fold: many Copts fled to the desert monasteries to escape the poll-tax from which clerics were exempted, although this privilege proved to be ephemeral; some turned to Islam for the same reason, although wholesale conversions did not take place because the caliphs usually discouraged them in order to safeguard their revenue; and some rose in revolt, not infrequently reinforced in their insurrection by Muslim settlers.

Perhaps the Bashmuric Rebellion of 214-15/829-30 in the marshlands of the lower Delta was the most serious of those local insurrections. The caliph al-Maʾmūn had to come in person to Egypt to fight the Bashmuric rebels and to pacify the Copts. The outcome of a steadily deteriorating situation was a neglect of the irrigation system, the blocking of canals with sand and silt, and the ruination of the Nile dykes. In addition to a decline in the number of Coptic farmers, the steady shrinkage in the arable soil led to the fall of the revenue to 3 million *dīnārs* by the 3rd/9th century until the last of the ʿAbbāsid governors, Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir [*q.v.*], assumed power in 254/868 and doubled the *kharādj* and the *djizya*; now even the clergy and the desert monks lost their customary exemption from payment. In the same year Ibn al-Mudabbir was imprisoned by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. The latter soon introduced numerous financial reforms which earned for him the loyalty of the inhabitants. The leniency and understanding towards the Coptic subjects of the Ṭūlūnids (254-92/868-905) and the Ikhshidids (323-58/935-69) [*qq.v.*] stood in contrast to the rule of Ibn al-Mudabbir, from whose imposts the Coptic clergy were once again exempted.

It would be wrong to judge Ibn Ṭūlūn by his harsh treatment and incarceration of the Coptic Patriarchs Shenouda I (859-80) or his successor Khāʾīl III (880-90), caused by internal dissensions amidst the Coptic clergy themselves. An undeserving deacon and monk who wanted a bishopric hatched conspiracies against the Patriarchs, together with the bishop of Sakha, who had been excommunicated for misdemeanour. They went to the governor with false reports about the Patriarchs, including the worst of accusations in the eyes of a Muslim ruler, that is, trying to bring Muslims into apostasy and sending them to the desert monasteries to become monks. As usual, this was coupled with accusations that the Patriarchs were avaricious and possessed masses of gold. The truth was revealed in the end, and the Patriarchs regained their liberty after signing a warrant for debt, which they tried to repay through money raised from charity and from simoniacal practices.

The state revenue had declined to 3 million *dīnārs* at the advent of Ibn al-Mudabbir, and he aimed at doubling it without mending the cause of its decline. Realising that the cause of this deficit was the decline of agriculture, Ibn Ṭūlūn introduced land and irrigation reforms which ultimately improved the revenue. Even with exemptions, the revenue rose to 4 million *dīnārs* before Ibn Ṭūlūn's death, in addition to accumulated savings of 10 millions in the treasury and the execution of an extensive building program. With the help of Ibn Kātib al-Firghānī, an accomplished Coptic architect, he constructed the Nilometer at the southern end of Rawḍa (Rōḍa) Island [see MIḲYĀS] and his famous mosque with its external spiral minaret. Muslims commonly destroyed churches in order to use their materials and pillars in building mosques. To save the churches, Ibn Kātib promised the governor to construct the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn without having to utilise pillars from churches. Thus the new pillars were built of massive masonry supporting pointed arches long before their use in Gothic art in Europe, and only two small marble pillars were placed on the flanks of the *ḳibla*. The mosque still stands as a testimony to the architectural genius of the builder and the return of the country to affluence.

During the years of stability in the rule of both these dynasties of governors, the Copts enjoyed a great degree of tolerance and prosperity. It is recorded that Ibn Ṭūlūn cultivated the habit of retiring to the al-Ḳuṣayr monastery south of Fusṭāṭ for rest and recuperation, and the first Ikhshīdid, Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj (323-34/935-46) used to participate in the celebrations of the Coptic Epiphany, according to the contemporary 4th/10th century historian al-Masʿūdī. Both dynasties entrusted the Copts with key positions in government.

The really favourable position of the Copts, however, was still to come, viz. under the Shīʿī Fāṭimid dynasty (358-567/969-1171), if we except the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (386-411/996-1021 [*q.v.*]), who ended by persecuting Copts, Jews and even Muslims. Hence the Copts, whose religious freedom had been undisturbed and who had occupied the highest positions in the administration during the reigns of al-Muʿizz (358-65/969-75) and al-ʿAzīz (365-86/975-96) now faced forced apostasy or persecution by the unbalanced monarch, and many of their churches were levelled to the ground. However, towards the end of his reign, al-Ḥākim apparently fell under the spell of a priest named Anba Salomon during his visits to the monastery of al-Ḳuṣayr on the Ḥelwān road south of Cairo, and eventually began to wear a monks' garment, while his atrocities ceased.

During the caliphate of al-Ẓāhir (411-27/1020-36), the re-building of churches was again authorised, and Christians who had been forced to apostasise were permitted to return to their faith. Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], who visited Egypt in the reign of his successor, al-Mustanṣir, remarked that nowhere in the world of Islam had he seen Christians enjoy as much peace and prosperity as did the Copts. The strongest Fāṭimid vizier, Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*], and his son al-Afḍal, both Armenian converts to Islam, favoured the Copts and relied on their service. Ultimately, the sixty-sixth Patriarch Christodoulos (1046-77) decided to move his seat from Alexandria to Cairo in order to be within easier access to the central government.

Only towards the end of Fāṭimid rule, when internal disorder grew, did Copts and Muslims alike suffer in the ensuing broils and confusion, and the fate of the Copts was further aggravated by the outbreak of the Crusades. It would therefore seem that the Copts reached the height of power and prosperity, but also latterly some of their worst tribulations, during the Fāṭimid era.

The advent of the Sunnī Ayyūbid dynasty (564-648/1169-1250) re-established internal stability and

eliminated the confusion of the age of the last Fāṭimid caliphs, but these times proved rather a mixed blessing for the Copts. In the course of his fighting the Crusaders in the Holy Land and the Christian kings of Nubia in the south, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's suspicions led him to dismiss the Copts from government service. It was probably on this occasion that Zakariyyā' b. Abi 'l-Malīḥ b. Mammātī (a corruption of the Coptic *Mahometi*) of Asyûṭ, a Copt who held the joint secretaryship of the War Office and the Treasury, decided to apostasise with his family and become a Muslim, in order to retain his high office for himself and his descendants. His son al-Asaʿd inherited his father's office, and compiled one of the few cadastres of mediaeval Egypt (*al-Rawk al-Ṣalāḥī*), leaving a record thereof in his *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother, Shams al-Dawla, who led the Nubian campaign, destroyed in the years 567-8/1172-3 the monastic settlement of Bawīṭ in Middle Egypt, the Coptic city of Ḳufṭ, which sank into insignificance thereafter [see ĶIFT], and the important Convent of St. Simeon (*Anba Hidra*) across the Nile from Aswān. Ṣalāh al-Dīn further decided to remove the imposing building of the Cathedral of St. Mark in Alexandria for fear that it might serve Crusader inroads with a fortified site, and the Copts tried in vain to ransom this church.

It would however be erroneous to accuse the Ayyūbid sultans of continuous intolerance and persecution of the Copts. One of their first deeds was to suppress Ibn al-Mudabbir's substitution of the lunar for the solar calendar in order to shorten the year and thus get more taxes. They left most of the Coptic churches standing, and generally refrained from interference with religious freedom. Ṣalāh al-Dīn himself granted the Copts an imposing monastery adjacent to the Holy Sepulchre, which they own to the present day as *Dayr al-Sulṭān*. The sultan's successes against the Crusaders and the recapture of Jerusalem in 583/1187 seem to have terminated his early apprehensions about the Copts. The Copt Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Abi 'l-Maʿālī, surnamed Ibn Sharāfī, became his private secretary. Two Coptic architects, Abū Manṣūr and Abū Mashkūr, were employed to repair and extend the fortified walls of Cairo and to build the Cairo Citadel on the Muḳaṭṭam hills overlooking the capital, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's most enduring monument which became the fortified seat of successive governments and dynasties.

In the reign of Sultan al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn (596-615/1200-18 [*q.v.*]), the Saphadin of western chronicles, a Copt by the name of Ibn al-Mīḳāt assumed the administration of the War Office. In the Crusade of Damietta of 1218, the Coptic inhabitants participated in the defence of the city and with their clergy suffered greatly at the hands of the Latins. Again in the Crusade of St. Louis in 1249-50, notable Copts were to be found in the Sultan's camp. A number of Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid sources show that numerous Copts earned some of the highest titles of honour in the state such as *al-Ra'is*, *Hibat Allāh*, *al-Amdjad*, *al-Asʿad*, *al-Shaykh*, *Nadjīb al-Dawla*, *Tādj al-Dawla*, and *Fakhr al-Dawla*. The Church historian Yaʿḳūb Nakhla Rufayla collected as a sample some 30 Coptic names bearing these titles.

Two important processes were in progress since the Arab conquest, the Islamisation of Egypt and the Arabisation of Egypt, and these two processes should not be confused. That there should be a measure of conversion to Islam under early Arab rule was inevitable. The apparent kinship between Coptic monophysitism and Islamic monotheism might have played a role in a still amorphous body of doctrine, but the vexatious *djizya* or poll tax, increasing at a steady rate, left the impecunious Coptic taxpayer only one way to escape, sc. that of Islam. It is known that most caliphs discouraged wholesale conversion, in defence of a depleted inflow of revenue to the treasury. How can we explain, therefore, the eventual numerical superiority of Muslims as against the shrinkage of the Copts in Egypt? E. L. Butcher implausibly ascribed it to the popularity of the monastic life and called it "suicide of a nation". The Muslim social historian, Aly Mazahéri describes this phenomenon as "ethnic exhaustion", and discards the assumption of wholesale conversion. It does not seem that a single, facile answer can be given here.

The Arabisation of Egypt, on the other hand, is a more transparent process. A study of the papyri indicates that at first the Copts conducted the administrative records in Coptic, and that the Arabs, who did not know the native language, accepted their procedures thus. Then the year 86/705 witnessed the issuance of an edict by the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik imposing for the first time the use of Arabic in state records. At this point, bilingual papyri begin to appear in an intermediary stage. Meanwhile, the Copts hastened to master the language of the new rulers, but the clerks persisted in the use of bilingual protocols in the papyri. As to the use of Arabic in public life, this must have been a slower process, although we may note the compilation of Coptic grammars and Coptic dictionaries in the 13th century, which is probably to be regarded as an indication to national Coptic efforts to keep the torch of the Coptic language burning amongst those who were fast losing it. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that Coptic was becoming extinct at that early date. The same century produced eminent Coptic writers such as Ibn al-ʿAssāl [*q.v.*] and other members of his family, who were perfectly conversant with Coptic, Greek and Arabic. As late as 1673, the traveller Vansleb reported that he met the last Copt who really spoke Coptic; and Benoît de Maillet, an 18th century French consul in Egypt, stated that he found whole villages in Upper Egypt whose residents spoke Coptic. In the present century, Werner Vycichl is quoted by the Coptologist William Worrell to have discovered Coptic-speaking communities at Zēniya and other isolated villages in Upper Egypt. Of course, the liturgy is still celebrated today in Bohairic Coptic, together with Arabic, in Coptic churches. The Arabisation of Egypt is an undisputed reality, but the total extinction of the Coptic language is still a debatable problem.

The later Middle Ages brought difficulties for the Coptic communities. The Mamlūks (648-922/1250-1517) who were originally slave soldiers bought by the Ayyūbid sultans, ended by seizing power from them, and they then continued to reinforce their army by more slave purchases. They were therefore men of varied ethnic and religious origins and had nothing in common with the Egyptians except the bond of Islam; and it is doubtful whether any of them was fully aware of the doctrines of their faith or the language of the Coptic people. Internal insecurity and increasing poverty and isolation now began to drive the Coptic populace into desperation. Skilled Copts continued to work in the Muslim administration, but as soon as they rose to wealth and power, the Muslim mob tended to clamour for their dismissal from office and to start a wave of

church destruction. As mob fury became overpowering, the Mamlūk sultans had often to yield to public pressure and unseat the Copts and condone the assaults on their religious foundations. Yet after a short period, confusion usually supervened in the government machinery, and the sultans were constrained to reinstate the Copts in office once more.

On one occasion, a group of exasperated Copts decided to retaliate against Muslim oppression. In 720/1320, a number of Coptic monks from Dayr al-Baghl ("The Monastery of the Mule") south of Cairo, formed a secret pact to use arson against mosques and Muslim quarters in the capital. Once while the city was ablaze, four of these monks were seized carrying naphtha and other incendiary substances. The Sultan ordered them to be burnt and the Copts were again dismissed from office. The infuriated mob continued their destruction of more churches. From 678/1279 to 851/1447, forty-four churches are reported to have been levelled to the ground in Cairo alone. The Patriarch Yohannes X (1363-9) was summoned by the Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (764-78/1363-76), and he and the archons or elders of the Coptic community were subjected to abject humiliation and confiscation of property, partly to appease the populace and partly to raise funds for waging war against the Cypriots in retaliation for their sack of Alexandria in 766/1365.

Occasional spells of relief for the oppressed Copts came only as a result of foreign intervention from three main sources. The first was from Constantinople, where the Byzantine emperor, himself harassed by the Ottoman Turks, pleaded at the Sultan's court on behalf of the remaining Melkite minority. The second was from Aragon, whose kings were for commercial reasons, usually on good terms with the Mamlūk monarchs, though their intercession was essentially on behalf of the churches in the Holy Land and only incidentally for the Copts. The third and perhaps the most important source of mediation came from Abyssinia, whose Negus had a strong bargaining power on behalf of the Copts in the counter-threat of ill-treatment of the Muslims under his dominion, and in the imaginary menace of deflecting the course of the Nile to the detriment of Egypt.

The harassed Coptic patriarchs also hoped tentatively for an undefined form of assistance from the western world, without jeopardising their delicate position with the sultans. One such glimmer of hope appeared at the time of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-9), which aimed at the union of the Churches of East and West, separated since the Chalcedonian schism in 451. We know that a certain Yuhannes, Abbot of the Coptic Monastery of St. Anthony on the Red Sea, was a signatory to the *Decretum pro Jacobitis* declaring the formal union of the Churches. But the agreement long remained in abeyance until 1586, when Rome sent a delegation to Patriarch Yuhannes XIV (1571-86) in order to discuss the practical application of the union. The Patriarch and a few bishops were agreeable, though the majority of the community remained apprehensive; the sudden death of the Patriarch ended this abortive mission.

By then the Ottoman Turks had been established in Egypt since its conquest by Selīm I in 922/1517. Egypt became a dependent province with a vast empire, and the sultans derived their revenue from a governor, an Ottoman Pasha, whom they invested with the provincial government for brief periods. There was a Turkish garrison headed by a general independent of the governor, while the local administration was left in the hands of the surviving Mamlūk *amīrs*. Tax farming (*iltizām* [*q.v.*]) became the practice and the tax farmers and village headmen were subjected to all sorts of pressures for the payment of excessive dues, not only for the sultan in distant Istanbul, but also for the enrichment of a whole hierarchy of the administration. Within this framework, the Copts worked as clerks and tax collectors mainly in local Mamlūk households. Though they suffered occasional, temporary dismissals from service, they were not goaded by the outbreaks of mob fury as in Mamlūk times. In fact, they suffered, together with the Muslim inhabitants, from the depredations of the Arab nomads who used to descend on villages in the countryside for looting. The land became isolated and its inhabitants sank into lethargy and ignorance until the French Expedition of 1798-1801 arrived under Napoleon and opened Egypt to western influences.

Perhaps the most significant Coptic document after the rout of the Mamlūks and the settlement of the French was a petition submitted to Napoleon by a notable Copt, Girgis al-Djawharī, imploring him to lift Coptic disabilities, in keeping with the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity proclaimed by the French Revolution. However, the French, whose leaders feigned conversion to Islam in order to court favour with the Muslim majority, decided to overlook his plea and thus avoided the semblance of partisanship. Nevertheless, they did not hesitate to select the best candidates for the administration irrespective of religious considerations. Hence the same Girgis al-Djawharī became the head of the taxation department. They also nominated a commission of twelve to administer local justice. Six of these were Copts and the chairmanship fell to Muʿallim Malaṭī, a Copt about whom we possess no documentary evidence. But the real hero in Coptic annals emerged in the personality of Muʿallim Yaʿḳūb Ḥanna (1745-1801), whose meteoric career began in the predominantly Coptic city of Asyūṭ, in Upper Egypt.

Originally a humble civil servant under Sulaymān Bey, a Mamlūk *amīr* in charge of Asyūṭ province, he learned the equestrian art and the rudiments of Mamlūk warfare from his master and even participated in Mamlūk hostilities against the Turks. Later, when the French attempted to conquer Upper Egypt under Desaix, he played a prominent role in saving the French expedition from collapse. Then after the disastrous naval battle of Abūḳir, which gave Nelson and the British command of the sea, Napoleon left and Kléber succeeded him with an empty treasury, while Turkish infiltrators played upon religious sentiment and incited the Muslim population of Cairo to rebellion. It was in these precarious circumstances that Yaʿḳūb, with the approval of the French authorities, recruited a Coptic legion of 2,000 Coptic youths to be trained by professional officers under his own command, first as Colonel, then in 1801 as General.

Still more spectacular in Yaʿḳūb's career was his dream of Egyptian independence from both the Turks and the Mamlūks. The documents pertaining to this chapter in his biography were discovered and brought to light by an eminent Muslim historian, the late Professor Shafīḳ Ghurbāl. The departing French made the stipulation that any native desirous to leave with them should be permitted to do so. Thus the General, together with a few companions, left Egypt with the French on the British ship *Pallas*, in the hope of convincing the rulers of Europe

that the only solution of the Egyptian question was the independence of Egypt. Yaʿḳūb died on the high seas on 16 August 1801 leaving the fulfilment of his mission to his accompanying delegation. Apart from his secret deliberations with the captain of the *Pallas* Joseph Edmonds, preserved in the memoirs of his interpreter Lascaris, a Knight of the Order of Malta, his correspondence was communicated or signed by proxy and addressed to Bonaparte and his foreign secretary Talleyrand (23 September 1801) as well as to the British Lord of the Admiralty, Earl St. Vincent (4 October 1801).

Curiously, the man destined to realise Yaʿḳūb's vision was Muḥammad ʿAlī (1805-49), the Macedonian soldier who came to Egypt as the head of a Turkish force and succeeded in founding the dynasty in Egypt which did not end till 1953. Under the new régime, the enfranchisement of the Copts went a long way. With increasing security and acceptance, it became less necessary for them to congregate in fortified quarters for self-defence, and they began to scatter all over the big cities side-by-side with their Muslim compatriots. They even took courage to fight for the removal of a few remaining disabilities in the Coptic Congress at Asyūṭ in 1911, clashing with a countermovement in the Muslim Congress in Alexandria. Both, however, were confined to a war of words and were discouraged by the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī (1892-1914); eight years later both sides were engaged within the Wafd Party in the struggle against the British protectorate over their common homeland. The only cases of violence in contemporary history have consisted of localised incidents of arson against churches by the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN], whose organization was eventually suppressed by Djamal (Gamāl) ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1966.

In recapitulating the story of the status of the liberated Coptic community in modern times, we should not forget two 19th century movements. The first was an educational and cultural one sponsored by the Patriarch Cyril IV (1854-61), known as the Father of Coptic Reform. He founded public schools including the first girls' school in Egypt, and imported a printing press, the second in the country after the Būlāḳ press. On the international scene, he carried out with success a conciliatory embassy in 1856-8 with the Emperor of Ethiopia on behalf of the Khedive Saʿīd (1854-63). But he did not live to realise his grand dream of an oecumenical union with the Greek Church, the Russian Church and the Anglican Church; it is said that this enterprise disturbed the Muslim authorities and hastened the visionary Patriarch to his grave. The second movement was a natural corollary to the first, for western education created a Coptic élite who strove in the pursuit of establishing a more democratic system of government in community affairs and in the management of church property. This met with staunch resistance in the clerical conservatism of the age of Cyril V (1874-1927), and the project of a Community Council (*Madjlis Millī*) has been in abeyance ever since.

Within the framework of the Islamic legal structure, the Copts made several gains of capital importance. The abolition of the *djizya* came to pass in 1855 during Saʿīd's reign, and this was coupled with the acceptance of the Copts into military service. At his accession, the Khedive Tawfīḳ Pasha (1879-92) publicly proclaimed the principle of equality of all Egyptians in every way, irrespective of their ethnic origin or religion; this was later formalised in a decree of 21 July 1913 and again in the Constitution of 1922.

In a period of more than thirteen centuries of Islamic rule, it seems that the density of population of Egypt has varied from time to time. At the Arab conquest, judging from the papyrus tax returns, the Copts must have been at least 12 millions. Owing to many hardships, occasional failure of Nile floods and diminution of cultivable soil, recurrent plagues, conversions to Islam and flight to the desert monasteries, we must assume the existence of a downward trend in the number of Copts throughout the Middle Ages and Ottoman Turkish times. We note that their number sank to approximately one million souls. However, the latest three official itemised censuses of the population reveal the following figures:

Year	*Total population*	*Muslims*	*Copts*	*Jews*	*Other religions*
1947	18,966,767	17,397,946	1,501,635	65,639	1,547
1960	25,984,101	24,068,252	1,905,182	8,561	2,106
1966	29,943,810	27,919,528	2,018,305	2,484	3,493

It is difficult to accept the above figures unhesitatingly. This is largely due to the fact that Coptic villagers have always shown a reticence in divulging the real size of their families. The newly-founded Census Department in the Institute of Coptic Studies in Cairo has been working with the local country priests in assessing the Coptic population; suggestions of a Coptic population from four to six millions in the year 1974 have been put forward.

The basic causes of the survival of the Copts are both internal and external. Internally, the Copts clung to their Church as a cementing element in their private life. Coptic ethnicity and faith became a profound faith, a way of life, and an intangible doctrine of ethnic consciousness. Externally, it is fair to admit that Islam shares in the credit of this survival. Under the aegis of Islamic dynasties, there came dark times when the violence of the majority could well have exterminated minority groups with the concurrence of the rulers; yet this did not happen, despite such difficult periods as the reign of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim in the 5th/11th century.

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(A. S. Atiya)

KIBṬĪ [see čingane].

ḲIDAM (a.) in the technical vocabulary of philosophy and theology denotes eternity. It must be distinguished from *azal* and from *abad* [*q.v.*]. Al-Tāhānawī writes: "*Azal* is the constant duration of existence in the past, as *abad* is its constant duration in the future." As opposed to temporal origin (*ḥudūth*), it is the fact of having been preceded by nothing else (*al-lā masbūḳiyya bi 'l-ghayr*): *azal* implies the negation of a first beginning (*nafy al-awwaliyya*); it is therefore a case of eternity *a parte ante*, and *abad* is eternity *a parte post*. *Azal* and *abad* are essentially identical in God (*inna abaduhu ʿayn azalihi*), for they mean that the two relative extremities which are the beginning and the end are both "cut off" from God (*inḳiṭāʿ al-ṭarafayn al-iḍāfiyyayn ʿanhu*). For Him they are negative attributes (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, commentary on the Most Beautiful Names of God, sūra VII, 180; *azalī* and *ḳadīm* are classed among the real and negative attributes. First, *awwal* is regarded as real, accompanied by relationship and negation (*ṣifa ḥaḳīḳiyya maʿa 'l-iḍāfa wa 'l-salb*). He is eternal, in the sense of *azalī*, that which is not preceded by nothingness, that which is in existence before any rational conception of a first beginning (*ḳabla taʿaḳḳul al-awwaliyya*), and in the sense of *abadī*, that which persists beyond any rational conception of an ultimate term (*baʿda taʿaḳḳul al-ākhiriyya*). Through these various definitions there come to light two conceptions of pre-eternity and post-eternity. The first is that of endless duration (*lā nihāyata lahu*) which extends either towards the past, or towards the future (in which case it is also known as *al-la-yāzāl*, that which does not cease to be). This scheme (cf. below) raises many difficulties in the solution of the problem of the creation of the world, since it introduces the concept of an infinite time before the moment of this creation. The second is more philosophical: the two eternities are nothing more than negative conceptions, to which contemplative thought has recourse in order to grasp the idea of eternity in relation to time, but which do not correspond to the reality of an infinite time in the two senses: they are relative to the mode of thought belonging to the human spirit, which as al-Rāzī points out (cf. below), cannot conceive of itself outside time. The reality which is hidden behind these imaginary concepts is that of God and of His subsistence through His essence (*baḳāʾuhu bi-dhātihi*), that is, of a being totally unaffected by time and temporality.

So what does *ḳidam* denote? Etymologically, the term should be associated with *azal* since it is a root expressing the idea of anteriority. The *LA* says of it exactly the same as al-Tāhānawī says of *azal*: "It is the contrary of temporal origin (*naḳīḍ al-ḥudūth*)". Ibn Manẓūr also explains it through the roots *ʿataḳa* and *sabaḳa* ("to precede in a race"). It should in fact be noted that the idea of anteriorness in time or space is linked to that of superior worth, as would appear from the substantive *ḳadam* and from its Ḳurʾānic use: *ḳadam ṣidḳ* (X, 2) which al-Zamakhsharī interprets as *sabīḳa wa-faḍl wa-manzila rafīʿa*, a priority, a higher abode that God is preparing for the Believers. Another explanation is that in advance a gift has been prepared for them on the part of God (*ḳad sabaḳa lahum ʿind Allāh khayr*) which unites the two ideas of anteriorness and of the excellence of the divine gifts. It may be noted further, with regard to *ḳadam* ("step", whence the fact of being a step ahead of the others, of precedence) that the *LA*, as well as al-Ḳurṭubī in his commentary, quotes verses of Dhu 'l-Rumma [*q.v.*] where the expression of Bedouin mentality may be seen: *ḳadam* is associated there with high nobility and acts of splendour (*mafākhir*). Since the qualities of Bedouin ethic were in general transferred by Islam to God, it may reasonably be supposed that the root *Ḳ-D-M* served not only to connote the anteriorness of God, but also His ontological pre-eminence over all things, while it must be made clear that this is not an anteriority and a pre-eminence relative to others, as in the case of *mufākhara* which implies rivalry, but qualities that are transcendental and absolute. It is in this sense that the *LA* says that God is *al-Muḳaddim*, because he precedes all things (*yuḳaddim al-ashyāʾ*) and He puts them in their place (*yaḍaʿuhā fī mawāḍiʿihā*). But the terms *ḳidam* and *ḳadīm* in the sense of eternity and the

eternal, are technical creations (*iṣṭilāḥāt*); they are not Ḳurʾānic. The *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, in the *Sharḥ*, writes that according to the principles of the language *ḳadīm* is that which has existed for a longer time than something else (*mā taḳādama wudjūdhuhu*) and he quotes the verse (XXXVI, 39) where God compares the moon to an old palm (*ka 'l-ʿurdjūn al-ḳadīm*). As for the word *ḳidam*, it does not occur in the Ḳurʾān. The revealed Book conveys the idea of divine eternity through that of transcendence. God is al-Mutaʿālī (XIII, 9), and this name, according to al-Rāzī, belongs to him on the grounds that he is utterly removed (*munazzah*) in His essence, in His attributes and His actions from all that may not be asserted of Him. In consequence, He is outside time, Eternal, and it is thus that the term *ḳadīm*, taken absolutely (*al-Ḳadīm*) denotes God Himself.

Al-Tāhānawī also makes *ḳidam* the opposite of *ḥudūth* [*q.v.*]. These two terms denote attributes of existence and are studied together. Essence (*māhiyya*) is qualified only in regard to the qualification of the corresponding existence. They may be applied to nothingness, according to whether it is preceded by existence or not; thus one may speak of an eternal nothingness or nothingness resulting from obliteration. *Ḳidam* and *ḥudūth* may be taken according to reality (*ḥaḳīḳiyyan*) or according to relation (*iḍāfiyyan*).

1. Real eternity consists in the fact of not being preceded by another thing according to an anteriority which is essential and not temporal. This is what is known as essential eternity (*ḳidam dhātī*), which consists in the fact of needing absolutely nothing other than the self in order to exist. This implies the necessity of the being. The Eternal in this sense is the necessary Being. On the contrary, origin (*ḥudūth*) is the fact of having been preceded by something in existence according to an essential anteriority, which in this case may or may not also be a temporal anteriority (for example, the world is essentially the result of an origin, it is *muḥdath*, but nothing precedes its time; man is also essentially engendered, but his parents existed in the time previous to his birth). In a certain sense, time is the result of an origin (*ḥādith*), because if it has been preceded by nothing which could have existed before it in a temporal way, an absurd hypothesis, it does not have the absolute existence of necessary Being and at every instant it renews itself. It is possible to understand in particular by eternity the fact of not being preceded by the non-existence of a temporal anteriority: this will then be called temporal eternity (*ḳidam zamānī*), and the eternal in terms of time is therefore "that of which the time of existence has no first beginning". Similarly, one may talk of a temporal origin (*ḥudūth zamānī*) where the existence of a being is preceded by non-existence in time. Thus we define that which is the fruit of a temporal origin (*al-ḥādith al-zamānī*) as that which is preceded in time by its non-existence, according to the well-known formula: *lam yakun, thumma kāna* ("it was not, then it happened"). In this sense, time is not *ḥādith* because nothing can pre-exist itself.

2. As for relative *ḳidam*, it implies that the past time of the existence of a being is greater than that of the existence of another. But this sense cannot be conveyed by the word eternity. It concerns the antiquity of a being compared to the novelty of another, and *ḳadīm* means ancient, old, like *ʿatīḳ*. Conversely, *ḥudūth* will be novelty, *ḥādith*, that which is new.

Al-Tāhānawī adds that essential eternity is more particular (*akhaṣṣ*) than temporal eternity, which in its turn is more particular than relative eternity or antiquity. Thus necessary Being, which is *ḳadīm dhātī*, is also eternal according to a temporal point of view, since it is preceded neither by nothingness nor by that which is other than itself. But the converse is not true: thus the attributes of eternal Being, which are not preceded by nothingness since they are concomitants of its eternal essence, are not eternal in themselves and so do not have *ḳidam dhātī*. The same could be said of the world which is *ḳadīm zamānī* according to the *falāsifa*, but which is not however *ḳadīm dhātī*, because it depends on its cause, which is other than itself. As for *ḳidam iḍāfī*, it is not co-extensive with *ḳidam zamānī*. In fact, the past time of an existence may be greater compared with that which subsequently occurs for the first time. This applies to the father who is *ḳadīm* in relation to his son, but who is not thereby *ḳadīm zamānī*, because he is born of parents. So if we compare the world to a man, both of these have a history made up of successive events. In relation to one of these events, the past of the world and of this man extend over a time greater than that of the new happening. Each of them will therefore be called *ḳadīm* in relation to it. They are both *ḳadīm iḍāfī*. But the world is not only *ḳadīm* in this context: it is so in itself, because there has never been a time where it did not exist. Man is only *ḳadīm* in relation, for example, to the event of his paternity: doubtless he preceded it, but precisely according to an antecedence which is only relative to it. On the contrary, in the context of origins, it is *ḥudūth iḍāfī* which is the most particular; then comes *ḥudūth zamānī* and finally *ḥudūth dhātī*. This is because everything whose existence in the past covers a lesser time-span (*aḳall*: that is to say *ḥādith iḍāfī*) is preceded by nothingness, and is therefore *ḥādith zamānī*. *A fortiori*, it is *ḥādith dhātī*. This analysis has clearly been influenced by the thought of philosophers who tend to associate eternity with the ontological necessity of the *wādjib al-wudjūd* and *ḥudūth* with continuity. Theologians simply understand by *ḳadīm* that which is not preceded by nothingness, or in the vocabulary of al-Tāhānawī, *ḳadīm zamānī*.

To what does the notion of eternity apply? *Ḳidam* relates first to the essence of God. On this point all the philosophers and religious scholars are in agreement. On the question of the eternity of the attributes of God, there are differences of opinion among the *mutakallimūn*. God is eternal because He is not subject to an origin, and being, cannot be other than *muḥdath* or *ḳadīm*. So if God were subject to origin, in order to exist He would need another being to create him, a *muḥdith*. But the question would apply to the latter too and so on to infinity. So one must affirm the existence of God as eternal Creator, as it is expressed by ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*al-Ṣāniʿ al-ḳadīm*). This argument, which bears a philosophical mark, is not the exclusive property of the Muʿtazilīs. It is found in the same or similar terms in the *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* of al-Bāḳillānī, in the chapter where he shows that the agent which produces beings subject to origin (*fāʿil al-muḥdathāt*) cannot itself be the fruit of an origin. It is found in the *Kitāb al-Irshād* of al-Djuwaynī, where he proves that the existence of the Eternal "does not inaugurate itself" (*wudjūd al-ḳadīm ghayr muftatiḥ*); in the same place he gives an interesting and precise observation on the concept of an existence that has no beginning: does this not imply an infinite succession of moments? He replies

that the moment of a thing is defined by the fact that it is contemporary with other things. Now God is not contemporary with any other thing. So the eternity of God is implied by his uniqueness.

The As͟hʿarī school admits the eternity of the divine attributes. On the contrary, the Muʿtazilīs express the major principle that "God has no co-eternal", according to the formula of ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār in the *S̲h̲arḥ* (*lā ḳadīma maʿ Allāh*). Nevertheless, they recognise as eternal four attributes: existence, life, knowledge and power. In fact, according to al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī and the majority of the learned men of the school, these four attributes necessarily belong to God through his essence, therefore they are also eternal. His knowledge is His being in acts of knowledge (*kawnuhu ʿālimᵃⁿ*) and the same applies to the other *ṣifāt*. Or furthermore, He knows through a knowledge which is Himself (Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl), etc. They do not say that He possesses eternal knowledge, but that he has not ceased to be in acts of knowledge (*lam yazal ʿālimᵃⁿ*), etc. ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān refused to say that God possesses knowledge, any more than He possesses eternity (*ḳidam*); but it may be said that He is eternal (*ḳadīm*). Contrariwise, Ibn Kullāb thought that God is in acts of knowledge through a knowledge belonging to Him, and so on. To say that He is eternal, is to assert that He has not ceased to be in His Names and Attributes (*lam yazal bi-asmāʾihi wa-ṣifātihi*; *Maḳālāt*). The essence of God alone is eternal, not in the sense that it is stripped of all attributes, but on the contrary, clad in all that belong to God. Some of his disciples claimed that God is eternal through an eternity (*ḳadīm bi-ḳidam*), others that He is eternal, but not through an eternity (*ḳadīm lā bi-ḳidam*). We begin to deal here with pure subtleties of language, as in the distinction between the two expressions "God has not ceased to be" and "God has not ceased to be through the eternal attribute of eternity." A passage from the *Maḳālāt* deserves notice, however; "The supporters of the theory of attributes (*aṣḥāb al-ṣifāt*) differ in opinion concerning the attributes of the Creator: are they eternal or have they had an origin? Some say that they are eternal. Others declare: "If we say that the Creator is eternal in His attributes, we do not need to say that His attributes are eternal; so we say neither that they are eternal, nor that they have had an origin." According to al-Tāhānawī, Abū Hās͟hīm added a fifth eternal attribute to the four abovementioned; holiness (*al-ilāhiyya*), which is distinct from essence. This is reminiscent of the *divinitas* of the 12th century theologian of Chartres, Gilbert de la Porrée. It is no doubt to this thesis that ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār alludes when he writes that, according to Abū Hās͟hīm, the attributes belong to God necessarily, and by virtue of that to which he confirms in his essence (*li-mā Huwa ʿalayhi fī d͟hātihi*). So it is through divinity that these attributes are eternal. For Sulaymān b. D̲j̲arīr and other Ṣifātiyya, the attributes belong to God necessarily through "notions (*li-maʿānī*) which can be qualified neither by existence nor non-existence, nor by origin nor eternity" (*S̲h̲arḥ*). It is the concept of notional attribute (*ṣifa maʿnawiyya*), a term that has been translated variously as "essential", "qualitative", or even "entitative". It is nothing other than the qualification made necessary by the notion that one has of God. *Maʿnā* is always a notion signifying *cum fundamento in re*. The attribute *maʿnawī* therefore is not essence; neither is it a "thing" in God. It is that which the reality of God demands that one says of God. But, here too, that which is eternal is God and his essence, and the *ṣifa maʿnawiyya* escapes all ontological alternatives. Nevertheless, according to ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, certain disciples of Ibn Kullāb reified the *maʿānī* and considered them to be eternal; for them the four aforementioned attributes are fitting to God by means of the *maʿānī azaliyya*, which may be translated by "eternal entities". (We may note with ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār that here *azalī* has the sense of *ḳadīm*, as often happens.) The *Ḳāḍī* points out however that these Kullābiyya did not dare employ this formula in its absolute sense, so as not to run counter to the unanimity of the Muslims over the denial of co-eternal attributes.

From the same root as *ḳidam* is the 5th form *maṣdar*, *taḳaddum*, which occurs in a very interesting commentary by Rāzī on Ḳurʾān, LVII, 3: "He is First and Last". The word *taḳaddum* (antecedence) has several meanings: (1) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-taʾt͟hīr* where the antecedent exercises an influence over the consequent, for example, the movement of the finger entails that of the ring; (2) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-ḥād͟ja*, based on the need which the consequent has of the antecedent; thus the number one is anterior to the number two without being its cause; (3) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-s͟haraf*, according to worth; thus Abū Bakr has precedence over ʿUmar; (4) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-martaba*, according to a hierarchical order, either sensible, such as the place of the *imām* in prayers before the faithful who pray; or rational, such as the place of the genus in relation to the species; (5) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-zamān*, temporal anteriority or *ḳabliyya*; to which al-Rāzī adds (6) "But I think that there is a sixth division which is *like* the anteriority of certain parts of time in relation to others; this anteriority is not temporal, otherwise it would be necessary for time to develop another time, to the point of infinity. Thus the present would be within another present which would be within a third present... and all these presents would be present at the present moment (*kulluhā ḥāḍira fī hād͟hā 'l-ān*). But the ensemble of these moments would be posterior to the ensemble of past moments, to the extent that there would be another time for the ensemble of times (*mad͟jmūʿ al-azmina*), which is absurd, for, being a time, it would have to enter into the ensemble of times. Consequently, it would be both within and outside this ensemble, which is impossible. "Furthermore, this anteriority of parts of time in relation to one another is not an anteriority according to causality, nor according to need, otherwise they would co-exist; evidently it is not according to worth, nor according to space. It is therefore a sixth kind of *taḳaddum*. Now the Ḳurʾān shows that God is First (Primus, not prior) for all that is not Him, and al-Rāzī shows here that this qualification only fits the necessary, first and unique Being, for all that is not Him is possible (*mumkin*) and the possible exists only through origin: it is *muḥdat͟h*. But what is the nature of this divine anteriority? It is not owed to an act of influence, for the agent and the patient are relative one to another and co-existent. It is not a priority founded on need, since the precedence here is absolute. It is not a precedence owed to worth, for it cannot be said that God is more worthy or more noble (*as͟hraf*) than possible, since He is incomparable (although in one sense, necessary existence implies a fulness of being besides which the existence of the possible is deficient). As for anteriorities according to time or space, they have no meaning for God, because time and space are possibles which depend on an origin.

God, being anterior to the totality of times, is not anterior according to time, otherwise the divine anteriority would have to enter into the ensemble of times, since it would be a time; but it would have to be exterior to it, because it would contain them all and that which contains is other than what is contained. This would be an absurdity. Apparently al-Rāzī is proposing, in so far as concerns God, a sixth kind of anteriority which is not without analogies to the anteriorities of parts of time in relation to one another. However, these are not identical and that is why al-Rāzī, when introducing his sixth division, does not say it is, but only that it is *like* . . . In conclusion, we know that God is First in a universal manner (*ʿalā sabīl al-idjmāl*), not in a detailed manner (*ʿalā sabīl al-tafṣīl*). As for grasping the reality of this priority (*awwaliyya*), human intelligences have not the means, since they cannot escape temporal forms. We may note that a similar division of *taḳaddum* is to be found in the *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa* of al-Ghazālī, except that the *taḳaddum bi 'l-ḥādja* is called *taḳaddum bi 'l-ṭabʿ*, in a case where the antecedent is not suppressed by the suppression of the consequent, but the consequent is suppressed by the suppression of the antecedent (as with a series of numbers), and except that *taḳaddum bi 'l-taʾthīr* bears the name *taḳaddum bi 'l-dhāt* (in the relation of cause to effect).

The doctrine of the eternity of the world [see ABAD] was upheld in Islam only by the *falāsifa*, directly following the systems of thought of the Greek philosophers: Plato, Aristotle, Philo of Alexandria, Proclus, and John Philoponos the Grammarian. The two *Tahāfut* of al-Ghazālī and of Ibn Rushd deal with it in a detailed fashion. The fundamental argument is that it is impossible to conceive a temporal beginning to the world, a moment of time in which it was created, in such a way that an empty time preceded the creation. In fact, if, as Aristotle maintains, time is the numerical measurement of movement (a theory taken up by the *falāsifa*, see ḤARAKA), movement demanding a mobile thing, moving bodies, the physical world and in particular the stars, then it is impossible for time to have existed before the existence of the world. Furthermore, if it existed, it would be eternal or created. But eternity does not conform with time that is changing and elapsing (*sayalān*): each of its parts is new in relation to the preceding part, and time renews itself (*yatadjaddad*) in every one of its instants. If time is *ḥādith* in each of its parts, it has all the more reason for being so in its totality. So it is created: but then the problem arises: is it created in time and did a time exist before time? That is absurd. This is the argument as taken on the part of the world. On the part of God, given a temporal creation, what did the Creator do before creating. Was He inactive? That is not his nature and it is written (II, 255) that "Neither weariness nor sleep take hold of Him". Besides, if He was first inactive, then active, a change would have taken place in Him, which is inadmissible. What would have induced Him to create at the moment when He undertook His creation? A *muradjdjiḥ*, something which could have turned the scales in the sense of the act of creation? But this *muradjdjiḥ* is eternal or created. If it is eternal, the world must also be eternal, unless some other thing could prevent this *muradjdjiḥ* from acting; this is known as *tark al-muradjdjiḥ*. This *tark* in its turn will be created or uncreated. If it is eternal, there must have been, for creation to have taken place, the intervention of a *tark tark al-muradjdjiḥ*, and so on. If now the *muradjdjiḥ* is created, the question applies to it as to the world.

For their part, the theologians who believe in the creation of the world in time object on the grounds that if the world is eternal, it has no beginning, it has never ceased to exist and consequently it has existed for an infinite period of time. Now, according to an Aristotelian principle, it is impossible to traverse an infinite time. If there is an infinity of instants to traverse in order to arrive at the present instant that exists, it is impossible to arrive there and it does not exist. This is a contradiction. The same reasoning is made in considering the infinite chain of causes: the effect that exists at present could not possibly exist. The difficulty arises from the assimilation of eternity to an infinite time. But to say that the world is eternal is to affirm that while remaining in the interior of the world and of the time which is linked to the world, one will never find a moment which could be its first beginning. One will need to go back indefinitely, but not to infinity: in other words, we are dealing here with an indefinite, or in the language of Aristotle, with an infinity in power, not an infinity in action. In short, the objection supposes that the expression "not having a beginning in time" means "having a beginning in infinite time." Besides, an infinity may be traversed if it is contained; between two points on a line, an infinite number of points is traversed. Ibn Sīnā seems to have held this view with regard to the problem of the first cause, analogous to the problem of the first beginning. If one considers the ensemble (*djumla*) of causes within this world, it is clear that each one of them is at once cause and effect. Therefore, one cannot insert into this ensemble a first cause which would be without cause. "Every ensemble of which each unit is an effect caused demands a cause exterior to these units." In such a hypothesis of a causal chain "every series composed of causes and effects, whether finite or infinite, shows itself, if it contains within itself only caused effects, to need a cause that is exterior to it, but is definitely in continuity with it, as with a limit (*tattaṣilu bihā ṭarafan*)". If the components of this ensemble are infinite, we are then dealing with a limited infinite ensemble. That is to say, that in the search for the first cause, it will be seen to stand out as a limit to the infinite which thought can never reach and towards which it strives. But its action does not need to traverse the infinite discontinuity of causes and effects in order to act *hic et nunc*, for, as Ibn Sīnā points out "every cause of an ensemble which is not one of the units of that ensemble is in the first place cause of these units and in consequence cause of the ensemble." Such is one of Ibn Sīnā's points of view on this question, according to the *Ishārāt*. Another objection to the theory of the eternity of the world is based on astronomy. We have an example of it in the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm. Having declared that to an infinite time one can add nothing, and having thus shown that the infinity of centuries to come adds nothing to the infinity of centuries passed, Ibn Ḥazm writes: "In its circular orbit, Saturn makes one revolution in thirty years, and it has never ceased to turn. The greatest sphere, in these thirty years, makes approximately 11,000 revolutions, and it has never ceased to turn. Now beyond any doubt, 11,000 revolutions is greater than one alone. Consequently, that which is infinite will be approximately 11,000 times greater than that which is infinite, which is absurd." This is a

crucial variation on the same theme: the assimilation of eternity to an infinite time. The reasoning of Ibn Ḥazm is ingenious, but it ignores the powers of the infinite.

And what of the end of the world? Plato apart, the philosophers held the view that that which has a beginning has an end, and correspondingly that which has no beginning has no end. From a creationist perspective, one could, however, admit that God will not destroy that which He has created, in such a way that the world could have been created, but eternal *a parte post*. For the philosophers, the universe cannot perish, but a part of it may disappear. For the theologians who believe in the end of the world, there remain Paradise and Hell which are eternal in the sense of *abadī*; in fact, it is written that the Chosen and the Damned shall dwell there eternally (*hum fīhā k͟hālidūn*, as the Ḳur'ān says in a number of places). But on the basis of the verse where God describes Himself as the Last, D̲j̲ahm b. Ṣafwān supposed that Paradise and Hell shall also have an end, and he found a confirmation of his theory in verses 107 and 108 of Sūra XI, "To dwell there eternally as long as the heavens and the earth remain". Thus God will find Himself as absolutely alone in post-eternity as he was in pre-eternity.

Bibliography: See the bibl. to ABAD. Texts which should be especially consulted: As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*; Bāḳillānī, *K. al-Tamhīd*; D̲j̲uwaynī, *K. al-Irs͟hād*; ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, *S͟harḥ al-uṣūl al-k͟hamsa*; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, ch. on those who say that the world is eternal; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Bag͟hdādī, *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*, 4th principle, 1st question: explanation of the number of the eternal (*azaliyya*) attributes. Studies and articles: M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins*, Beirut 1965; R. Arnaldez, *La pensée religieuse d'Averroès*, in *SI*, vii (1957); idem, *Introd. to the De aeternitate mundi of Philo of Alexandria*, with Fr. tr. of J. Pouilloux, Paris 1969; E. Behler, *Die Ewigkeit der Welt*, Munich-Paderborn-Vienna 1965.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

ḲIFṬ, ḲUFṬ, ḲAFṬ, ancient Coptos, a small town of Upper Egypt situated where the Nile approaches its closest to the Red Sea (some 40 km. north of the ruins of Thebes, and about 2 km. to the east of the river). In Pharaonic times it was connected with the exploitation of the minerals in the hills between the Nile and Red Sea and with trade through the eastern part of Egypt, and enjoyed its greatest florescence in the Greek and Roman periods. Strabo describes the organisation of traffic up the Nile to Coptos, then by caravan across the desert to the Red Sea, and calls it a "town inhabited by the Egyptians and the Arabs together". In fact, it was a centre of attraction for the peoples of the eastern desert coming to trade there, above all, for the Bed̲j̲a [*q.v.*], who doubtless received from there their Christianity; a bishop of the Bed̲j̲a resided at Coptos-Ḳifṭ. It formed the centre of a pagarchy, then of a *kūra*, but then the position of Ḳifṭ as a starting-point for tracks to the Red Sea (in 132/750 some members of the Umayyad family fled there temporarily, probably with the intention of escaping) lost importance when the mainstream of oriental trade started using the Persian Gulf instead.

The tribes of the Nile-Red Sea deserts started attacking the Nile valley; Ḳifṭ was plundered with impunity in 204/819 by the Bed̲j̲a, who were still Christian, and not till 212/828 was a rampart constructed to protect the settlement. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, al-Masʿūdī wrote that Ḳūṣ was more important than Ḳifṭ, whose lapse into disfavour he connects with the distance of the Nile channel from the town. In fact, the skilful traders of Ḳūṣ had been able to benefit by the river, the only commercial axis still flourishing, because of the commerce with Nubia, whilst the tracks were all deserted; when they were utilised once more, with the revival of oriental trade under the Fāṭimids in the 5th/11th century, Ḳifṭ revived, but by then Ḳūṣ had assumed the first place, by now a provincial capital. Ḳifṭ nevertheless acquired a numerous, mixed population, especially as relations with the Ḥid̲j̲āz had over a long period led to the settlement there of ʿAlid families. It was no doubt their influence which explains the considerable expansion there of S͟hīʿism and its fidelity to the Fāṭimids after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's assumption of power; a conspiracy, leading to a revolt in 572/1177, was savagely repressed. Consequently, Ḳifṭ left to Ḳūṣ the task of imposing the Sunnī counterrevolution on the Ṣaʿīd. The departure of certain families from the town (e.g. that of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī) is probably to be connected with these events; Ḳifṭ does not seem to have had a *madrasa* like the other small towns of Upper Egypt, and it soon lost its *ḳāḍī* (it passed under the jurisdiction of the representative of the *ḳāḍī* of Ḳūṣ). Its territory remained a *waḳf* whose revenue went to support the *s͟harīf*s of Mecca. In the Mamlūk period, Ḳifṭ was nothing more than a small agricultural centre in a countryside where the cultivation of sugar cane provided the main means of livelihood, and it has remained thus to the present day.

Bibliography: Strabo, *Geography*, ed. Muller, ii, 664-5, 692; Kindī, *Wulāt*, ed. Guest, 98; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iii, 50; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 51-2, tr. 49-50; Idrīsī, *Mag͟hrib*, 48; *Synaxaire arabe jacobite*, in *Patrol. Orient.*, iii, 499-504; Yāḳūt, iv, 152; Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv, 106-11; Ibn al-D̲j̲īʿān, *al-Tuḥfa al-saniyya*, Cairo 1899, 195; *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités, descriptions*, ii, 63; ʿAlī Bās͟hā Mubārak, *al-K͟hiṭaṭ al-d̲j̲adīda*, xiv, 104; Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 148. (J.-C. GARCIN)

AL-**ḲIFṬĪ** [see IBN AL-ḲIFṬĪ].

KIHĀNA (A.) means divination in general. *Lā kihāna baʿd al-nubuwwa* "there is no divination after the prophetic mission"; if it were necessary to be content with this dictum, frequently repeated in the Tradition, such an article as this would be out of place in an *Encyclopaedia of Islām*. But once the precise sense of this term has been established and the range of concepts which it covers outlined, the reader will agree that it is, on the contrary, far from superfluous.

The word itself, both in terms of the conceptual aspect (*kihāna*) and the pragmatic aspect (*kahāna*) is a legacy, through its root at least, from the earliest Semitic antiquity [see KĀHIN]. Because of this fact, it covers all the concepts and all the practices which are connected, closely or distantly, to the general concept of divination or the art of knowing that which cannot be spontaneously known. The current division of divinatory methods into inductive and intuitive is also to be found in the immense Arab-Islamic corpus of Arab-Islamic mantic literature, without always taking on the nature of a rigid classification, in that the two types of method may overlap or be used concurrently.

It is fruitless to search for a theoretical definition of divination in the impressive mass of divinatory documents contained in the literatures of the Semitic languages, throughout the ancient period. At the most, there are to be found descriptive definitions,

consisting of a list of the techniques which it comprised, according to places and periods. It is such a pragmatic definition which may be drawn from the Arabic documentation reckoned to preserve pre-Islamic traditions.

But in the mediaeval era, with the impact of Greek and Hellenistic philosophical thought, there was born, among the Arabs and the Islamised Iranians, a taste for theoretical definitions and methodical classifications. Already, in the works of a polygraph like al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/956) there are recorded a number of attempts at theoretical definitions which have been summarised, by T. Fahd in *La divination arabe*, 43-5; cf. *Murūdj*, iii, 347 ff. = §§ 1233 ff. Some philosophers, such as Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Rushd and Maimonides, have tackled this problem and attempted to elucidate it (cf. *La divination arabe*, 51-63). Then came Ibn Khaldūn who put together all these speculations (*ibid*; 45-51). He emphasises that as a branch of prophetic practice, divination constitutes the lowest echelon. Like prophecy, it is a divine gift entrusted to a privileged group, men and women. In fact, according to al-Ḳazwīnī, there exist illuminated and celestial souls which possess the faculty of knowing the names of the spirits. These are the souls of prophets and saints; they are also the souls of physiognomists, of soothsaying genealogists and of those who see the future by means of past and present events. "As for the souls of the soothsayers", he continues, "they receive spiritual knowledge and see through it the contingencies of beings which appear in dreams and in other manifestations" (i, 317-22; *La divination arabe*, 50-51).

So, divination is seen to be theoretically legitimised by inclusion in the mainstream of prophecy (on divination and prophecy see *La divination arabe*, 63-90). But, for practical purposes, it was necessary to strip it of all that was obsolete and too closely linked to paganism. From that point was born, in Islamic literature, a detailed inventory of divinatory practices, with precise definitions of the techniques listed. In their taste for the classification of knowledge, encyclopaedists and bibliographers finished by conferring upon the concept of divination an epistemological quality. We shall begin with the most detailed classification, that of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (i, 34-5), who draws the data of his inventory from his predecessors, from Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*) to Ṭāshköprüzāde (*Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*).

Islamic divination, a legacy both of ancient Semitic divination and of Hellenistic divination, is divided into three categories:

I. *Firāsa* [*q.v.*], or physiognomancy, and its ramifications. Under this heading, eleven "sciences" are listed:

1. *ʿilm al-shāmāt wa 'l-khīlān* "beauty-spots and birthmarks" (see SHĀMĀT and *La divination arabe*, 390-3).

2. *ʿilm al-asārīr*, "chiromancy" (see AL-KAFF and *La divination arabe*, 393-5).

3. *ʿilm al-aktāf*, "omoplatoscopy" (see AL-KATIF and *La divination arabe*, 395-7).

4. *ʿilm ʿiyāfat* (read *ḳiyāfat*) *al-athar* "observation of footprints (on the ground)" (see ḲIYĀFA and *La divination arabe*, 370-3).

5. *ʿilm ḳiyāfat al-bashar*, "divination by morphoscopic and genealogical lines" (see FIRĀSA and ḲIYĀFA and also *La divination arabe*, 370-90).

6-7-8. *ʿilm al-ihtidāʾ fi 'l-barārī wa 'l-ḳifār*, "the sense of orientation in deserts"; *ʿilm istinbāṭ al-maʿādin* "the detection of minerals"; *ʿilm al-riyāfa*, "the detection of wells". These three categories may be put together under the heading of "divinatory observation of the ground" (see MĀʾ and *La divination arabe*, 403-6).

9. *ʿilm nuzūl al-ghayth* "the knowledge of (signs foretelling) rainfall". This consists in meteorological divination with its various techniques: neromancy, capnomancy, anemoscopy, phyllomancy, brelomancy, etc. (see ANWĀʾ, MALḤAMA and *La divination arabe*, 407-17).

10. *ʿilm al-ʿirāfa*, "knowledge of the future by means of past events". This definition suggest that it is a case *strictu sensu* of inductive divination, although initially *ʿirāfa* implied a certain intuitive, and consequently gnostic and esoteric, awareness (see KĀHIN and *La divination arabe* 113-19).

11. *ʿilm al-ikhtilādj*, "palmomancy" (see IKHTILĀDJ and *La divination arabe*, 397-402).

II. *Siḥr* [*q.v.*] or magic, and its ramifications.

12. *ʿilm al-kihāna*, "divination" (astrological divination, involving incantations and invocations to the stars). Thus the influence of Hellenistic ideas led to the division of divination into two types, traditional divination or *ʿirāfa* and astrological divination, which underwent a great expansion in the Hellenistic period and which the Arabs came to know through the many translations of Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi and Hindu astrological writings (see NUDJŪM and *La divination arabe*, 478-97).

13. *ʿilm al-nīrandjāt*, "white magic" (see NĪRANDJ and T. Fahd, *Le monde du sorcier en Islam*, in *Sources orientales*, vii (1966), 184 ff.).

14. *ʿilm al-khāwaṣṣ* "knowledge of the properties of divine names (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*), of prayers (*daʿāwī*), of numbers (see DJAFR and ḤURŪF) and various other special things" (see KHAWĀṢṢ AL-KURʾĀN; *La divination arabe*, 214-45; *Le monde du sorcier*, 175-6).

15. *ʿilm al-ruḳyā*, "sympathetic actions or sorcery" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du sorcier*, *loc. cit.*).

16. *ʿilm al-ʿazāʾim*, "conjurations of demons or incantations" (see SIḤR and *Le monde du sorcier*, 164-5).

17. *ʿilm al-istiḥḍār*, "the evocation of spirits in physical form" (see ISTINZĀL and *Le monde du sorcier*, 170 ff.).

18. *ʿilm daʿwat al-kawākib* "the invocation of (the spirits of) the planets" (see NUDJŪM and *Le monde du sorcier*, 169 ff.).

19. *ʿilm al-filaḳṭīrāt* (φυλακτήρια), "the art of making phylacteries" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du du sorcier*, 172 ff.).

20. *ʿilm al-khafāʾ*, "the art of making oneself instantly invisible" (see NĪRANDJ and *Le monde du sorcier*, 184 ff.).

21. *ʿilm al-ḥiyal al-sāsāniyya*, "the art of trickery and forgery" (see *ibid.*).

22. *ʿilm al-kashf ad-dakk*, "the art of disclosing frauds" (see *ibid.*).

23. *ʿilm al-shaʿbadha*, "conjury" (see *ibid.*).

24. *ʿilm taʿalluḳ al-ḳalb*, "charms" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du sorcier*, 172 ff.).

25. *ʿilm al-istiʿāna bi-khawāṣṣ al-adwiya*, "the art of employing the properties of drugs" (see ADWIYA).

III. Judicial astrology (see NUDJŪM) and its ramifications.

26. *ʿilm al-ikhtiyārāt*, "hemerologies and menelogies (see IKHTIYĀRĀT and *La divination arabe*, 483-8).

27. *ʿilm al-raml*, "geomancy" (see KHAṬṬ and *La divination arabe*, 195-204).

28. *ʿilm al-faʾl*, "omens" (see FAʾL, ʿIYĀFA; *La divination arabe*, 431-519).

29. *ʿilm al-ḳurʿa*, "rhapsodomancy" (see ḲURʿA; *La divination arabe*, 214-19).

30. *ʿilm al-ṭīra*, "ornithomancy" (see FAʾL, ʿIYĀFA; *La divination arabe*, 431 ff., 498-519).

As can be seen, in this inventory, Islamic divination avails itself of methods belonging to magic and astrology. A single term embraces all these arts: *ʿilm al-ghayb*, "the art of apprehending the invisible". Any method permitting the acquisition of supernatural knowledge or assumed to do so is considered as relevant to divination.

IV. The disciplines omitted in this inventory.

31. Divination by dreams (see TAʿBĪR AL-RUʾYĀ; *La divination arabe*, 247-367; Fahd, *Les songes et leur interpretation selon d'Islam*, in *Sources orientales*, ii (1959), 127-58. The absence of oneiromancy among the divinatory techniques is justified by the fact that it occupies in Islam a higher place than that of divination in the sphere of religious inspiration. It is closer to prophecy, of which it constitutes one of the forty (or forty-six) parts (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 343), while divination is the lowest echelon.

32-4. Among cleromantic practices, only rhapsodomancy and geomancy are mentioned. (32) Belomancy (see ISTIḲSĀM; *La divination arabe*, 181-8), (33) lithoboly (see RAMY AL-DJIMĀR; *La divination arabe*, 188-95), (34) *maysir* (see AL-MAYSIR; *La divination arabe*, 204-14).

The absence of these practices in the above inventory is due to the fact that they were associated with pagan culture and they were for this reason prohibited in the Ḳurʾān.

35-41. The use of the oracle (in its various forms: *sadjʿ*, *radjaz*, *hātif* [*q.vv.*], ventriloquism, and necromancy; see, *La divination arabe*, 148-9), which was still popular in pre-Islamic Arabia, (36) extispicsiny, (37) hepatoscopy, (38) teratomancy, (39) medical diagnoses, (40) lecanomancy, (41) ordeal, mantic disciplines much used in ancient Mesopotamia, are present only as vague survivals in Islamic divinatory literature (cf. the index of techniques and ideas in *La divination arabe*, 591-3, and J. Nougayrol, *La divination babylonienne*, in *La divination*, studies collected by A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, i, 28-81).

If the diviner ceased officially to exist in Islam, divination survived, but considerably changed, adapted progressively to the taste of the period and enriched by new Hellenistic, Iranian and Hindu practices, to which were added the local practices of the conquered territories. At the end of this period of adaptation and enrichment, Islamic divination progressively lost its primitive oracular nature to become a τέχνη, an art or a science (*ʿilm*). It is thus, for example, that to belomancy, condemned by the Ḳurʾān because of the its connections with paganism, there succeeded *ʿilm al-ḳurʿa* or rhapsodomancy, *ʿilm al-djafr* and *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* or onomatomancy, *ʿilm khawāṣṣ al-Ḳurʾān*, a combination of rhapsodomancy and iatromancy, *ʿilm al-raml* or geomancy and *ʿilm al-zāʾirdja*, a sort of machine for producing omens. To oneiromancy, in the sense of dream-messages received directly from the divinity by a man or by his substitute and often expressed in explicit language, there succeeded *ʿilm al-taʿbīr* or oneirocriticism. To *ḳiyāfa* or physiognomancy, there succeeded *ʿilm al-firāsa* or physiognomony and the ramifications indicated above. The sphere of *faʾl* or omens was enriched by the transition of the Arabs from a nomadic to a sedentary culture, while preserving nevertheless, its original structure, especially where ornithomancy was concerned (cf. *La divination arabe*, 525-6).

Islamic divination resembles a crucible in which the divinatory practices of Semitic and Hellenistic antiquity were fused. The rich divinatory literature written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish conveys an imposing heritage the study of which will contribute to a better understanding of ancient and mediaeval *Weltanschauungen*.

Bibliography: It is impossible to give here all the relative bibliographical items, but see for these T. Fahd, *La divination arabe, études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden 1966, cf. esp. 529-65. Amongst more general works, there are A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and divination among the Hebrews and other Semites*, London 1938, French tr. Paris 1941; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; A. Haldar, *Associations of cult prophets among the ancient Semites*, Uppsala 1945; J. Maxwell, *La divination*, Paris 1927; J. Nougayrol and contributors, *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les regions voisines*, Paris 1966; A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, *La divination*, i-ii, Paris 1968. See also the bibls. of the various articles quoted within the present article.

(T. FAHD)

ḲĪḲĀN / KĪKĀN [see KILĀT].

KILĀB B. RABĪʿA, an Arab tribe belonging to the group of tribes called ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*]. The territories and pre-Islamic history of the tribe are described in that article. Kilāb was considered to have ten main divisions, of which the chief for a time was Djaʿfar b. Kilāb, from which came leaders of the whole of ʿĀmir. The most serious war of the Fidjār [*q.v.*] resulted from the killing of ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl of Kilāb by al-Barrāḍ b. Ḳays al-Kinānī. Divisions within the tribe are reflected in hostility to the Muslims and friendship with them. Two men of Kilāb joined in attacking the Muslims at Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*]; but al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān became a Muslim and both called on his tribe to accept Islam and raided a recalcitrant section (al-Ḳurṭāʾ).

Bibliography: Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, index; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 340; al-Wāḳidī, ed. J. M. Jones, 349, 534, 805, 886-8, 973, 982; *Naḳāʾid Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. A. A. Bevan, esp. 662 ff.

(W. M. WATT)

KILĀT, KALĀT, KELĀT, the name of a town and of an extensive region, formerly a Khānate, of Balūčistān, now a District of Pakistan.

(1) The town (often called Kalāt-i Balūč to distinguish it from the Afghān Kalāt-i Ghilzay) lies in lat. 28° 53′ N. and long. 66° 28′ E. at an altitude of 6,800 feet, and has in recent centuries been the centre of the Khānate of Kalāt; until the rise of Quetta as a military base of British India [see KWAṬṬA] it was the most important town of Balūčistān. The name Kalāt or Kilāt represents Arabic *ḳalʿa* and Persian *ḳala/ḳalāt*, often pronounced *kilā/kilāt* in Indo-Muslim usage; in Balūčī we have *khilāt* "fortress, citadel", cf. Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, 480, s.v. *khelát*, this last being the form of the name usually found in Anglo-Indian sources of the period. On locally-minted coins we find the name of the town both as *K.lāt* and as *Ḳ.lāt* (W. H. Valentine, *The copper coins of India*, London 1914, ii, 223).

In earlier times, the town was known as Kalāt-i Sēwa, from a legendary Hindu king, or as Kalāt-i Ničārī, after the local Brahūī tribe of Ničārīs. The name is not found in any of the early Islamic histo-

rians and geographers, but it is very probable that Kalāt marks the site of mediaeval Kīzkānān or Ḳīḳān, judging by the latter's position in the itineraries; it seems to be the Ki-kiangna of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiuentsang (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 275-6). Ḳīḳān and Būḳān were raided by the Arab commander Sinān b. Salama al-Hu<u>dh</u>alī and then by al-Mun<u>dh</u>ir b. al-<u>Dj</u>ārūd al-ʿAbdī as early as Muʿāwiya's caliphate (Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Futūḥ*, 433-4). In the 4th/10th century, Kīzkānān is named as the residence of the local ruler of the region of Ṭūrān (on which see Minorsky in *EI* [1] s.v.), whom Ibn Ḥawḳal [2], 324, tr. Kramers-Wiet 317-8, calls Muʿtazz b. Aḥmad, adding that he recognised the ʿAbbāsids in his *<u>kh</u>uṭba* (a point probably made by Ibn Ḥawḳal because the adjacent province of Sind at this time acknowledged the Fāṭimids and the Ismāʿīlī imāmate). However, the capital of the region was located not long afterwards at Ḳuṣdār, modern <u>Kh</u>uzdār, 80 miles to the south of Kīzkānān/Kalāt [see ḲUṢDĀR]. In the early <u>Gh</u>aznawid period, it is recorded that Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd went lion-hunting in the district of Kīkānān (Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i Masʿūdī*, ed. <u>Gh</u>anī and Fayyāḍ, 126).

Since approximately the 9th/15th century, Kalāt has been in the hands of Brahūīs of the Kambarānī tribe, from whome the later Aḥmadzay <u>Kh</u>āns of Kalāt were descended. In the 18th century, the <u>Kh</u>āns recognised the suzerainty of Nādir <u>Sh</u>āh Af<u>sh</u>ār and Aḥmad <u>Sh</u>āh Durrānī [*qq.v.*] during their Indian campaigns, and their power in Balūčistān grew. The greatest of the chiefs of this period, Naṣīr <u>Kh</u>ān b. ʿAbd Allāh, tried to shake off Af<u>gh</u>ān control, and though Aḥmad <u>Sh</u>āh defeated him in battle, the latter was unable to take Kalāt town from Naṣīr <u>Kh</u>ān, despite three attempts (1172/1758). It was Naṣīr <u>Kh</u>ān who built the citadel of Kalāt, known as the Mīrī, which became the <u>Kh</u>ān's palace. We possess descriptions of Kalāt during the first half of the 19th century by travellers such as H. Pottinger (1810), who mentions the mud-brick defensive walls pierced with gun-holes and the ample water supply from a spring, which also turned several mills (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 40-51), and C. Masson (1830s), who describes the colony in Kalāt of Bābī Af<u>gh</u>āns, expelled thither by Aḥmad <u>Sh</u>āh from Ḳandahār, and who numbers the houses there at *ca.* 800, giving a population of say 3-4,000 (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 50-6, 96-8, 177-8).

In 1250/1834 the Af<u>gh</u>ān ruler <u>Sh</u>āh <u>Sh</u>u<u>dj</u>āʿ al-Mulk took refuge in Kalāt with Miḥrāb <u>Kh</u>ān b. Maḥmūd b. Nāṣir after his failure to recover Ḳandahār from Kūhandil <u>Kh</u>ān, governor there for his brother Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. During the First Af<u>gh</u>ān War (1839-42) Miḥrāb <u>Kh</u>ān was drawn into conflict with the British force which advanced on Ḳandahār in 1254/1838 through the Bōlān Pass in order to reinstate <u>Sh</u>āh <u>Sh</u>u<u>dj</u>āʿ. Kalāt was stormed in 1255/1839 and the <u>Kh</u>ān killed in the fighting; the districts of Kaččhī, <u>Sh</u>āl and Mustang in the northern part of the <u>Kh</u>ānate were taken from Kalāt and ceded to <u>Sh</u>āh <u>Sh</u>u<u>dj</u>āʿ, temporarily placed on the throne of Kābul, and British Agent installed in Kalāt. This last was killed by Brahūī tribesmen soon afterwards, leading to a second British occupation in 1257/1841. The ceded territories were now returned to the <u>Kh</u>ān, and with the annexation of Sind in 1843 and the Panjab in 1849, British influence was brought right up to the frontiers of the <u>Kh</u>anāte. The <u>Kh</u>āns themselves suffered several decades of disputed authority and tribal turmoil, till in 1876 the Government of India was compelled to intervene, and Capt. (later Sir Robert) Sandeman negotiated an agreement between the <u>Kh</u>ān and rival chiefs, making Kalāt a protected native state, with a British Political Agent to be henceforth stationed at Quetta. The northern *taḥṣīls* of the <u>Kh</u>ānate, Quetta, Nu<u>sh</u>kī and Naṣīrābād were leased to Britain in perpetuity, to form British Balūčistān, and the right to levy transit dues at the Bōlān Pass commuted for an annual subsidy (see T. H. Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: his life and work on our Indian frontier*, London 1895, 39-87, 117-82, etc.). Even so, further intervention was necessary in 1893, when the tyrannical Mīr <u>Kh</u>udādād b. Miḥrāb was deposed from his <u>Kh</u>ānate by the Government of India.

The earthquake of 1935 affected Kalāt badly, as well as Quetta and Mustang, demolishing most of the old town and causing widespread economic damage through destruction of the irrigation *kārīzs* [see ḲANĀT]. In 1940 strained relations and clashes between the <u>Kh</u>ān of Kalāt and the chief of <u>Kh</u>ārān [*q.v.*] to the northwest of Kalāt led to the recognition of <u>Kh</u>ārān as a separate native state under the control of the British Political Agent. Early in 1948 the <u>Kh</u>ān of Kalāt acceded to Pakistan and his <u>Kh</u>ānate became part of the Balūčistān States Union, with the <u>Kh</u>ān no longer an independent ruler but enjoying a privy purse from the central government.

(2) The province. This included by the 18th century the districts of Sarawān, <u>Dj</u>ahlawān, Kaččhī and Makrān, and the tributary states of Las Bēla and <u>Kh</u>ārān. In 1955 all the provinces of West Pakistan were merged into one unit, and Kalāt became a separate District under a Deputy Commissioner, whilst <u>Kh</u>ārān, Makrān and Las Bēla formed separate Districts. Kalāt District is today the biggest in area of all Pakistan, covering 30,931 sq. miles in area and with a population, made up of Brahūīs, Balūč, Jhāts, etc., of 341,420 (1961 census).

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KILĀT (KALĀT)-I **NĀDIRĪ**, "the most famous fort of Central Asia", located some 70 miles north of Ma<u>sh</u>had near the Irano-Soviet border, on a spur of the Ḳarā<u>dj</u>a-Dā<u>gh</u> Mts. Kalāt-i Nādirī consists of a high valley (altitude 2,500-3,000 feet), some twenty miles long and running west-east, which is converted into a natural fortress by walls of virtually unscalable rock to the north and south. The height of the southern rampart is 700-800 ft; the northern rampart is even higher. These walls are breached at only five points: Darband-i Ar<u>gh</u>ūn on the south-west; Nafta on the north; Ku<u>sh</u>tanī Darband on the south-east; Čūbast on the west; and Dihča on the north-west.

In 683/1284, the rebellious Mongol prince Ar<u>gh</u>ūn took refuge there after his defeat at the hands of

the Il*kh*ān Tekūder. In 782/1380-1, Tīmūr launched numerous assaults on Kalāt-i Nādirī without success; the fortress eventually fell as a result of pestilence. In 1153/1741, Nādir S*h*āh, who had previously used Kalāt-i Nādirī as the headquarters from which he set out to free Iran from the Afg*h*āns, chose it as the site for the treasure-house in which he deposited the loot from his Indian campaign; the treasure-house was built by Indian craftsmen from massive blocks of Marāg*h*a marble. After Nādir's death, his son Riḍā Ḳulī and fifteen members of his family were executed at Kalāt-i Nādirī by the future ʿĀdil S*h*āh.

Today, Kalāt-i Nādirī has reverted to its earlier name of Kalāt, and constitutes one of the five *bakhsh*s of the *shahristān* of Darragaz.

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(R. M. SAVORY)

ḲILBURUN (Ḳınburun), a sharp cape or headland at the mouth of Dnieper (Özi) river on the Black Sea coast of South Russia; this Turkish name was given to it by the Turks because it looked as slender as a single hair (*ḳīl*). It lies at 2 sea miles's distance from the fortress of Özi or Oczakof, and at the tip of the cape was a fortress built by the Ottomans. Within the Ḳilburun promontory is an inner estuary 40 km. long and 8-10 km. wide (P. Minas Bijişkyan, *Karadeniz tarih ve coğrafyasi*, tr. H. D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1969, 100). The salt obtained from the lakes in the vicinity of Ḳilburun increased its importance economically.

Ḳilburun came into prominence at the beginning of the 11th/17th century as a result of the Cossack invasions towards the Black Sea coastlands (Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 72, 103), hence fortresses were built in various places, including Ḳilburun, against Cossack raids (Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 152). The one constructed at Ḳilburun had a staff of 193 persons (Başbakanlık arşiv genel müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 4891). It became of especial strategic importance to the Ottomans when the Russians started descending the rivers to the Black Sea, and major reconstructions were accordingly undertaken in 1709 and 1733-4 (Muzaffar Erdoğan, *Lale devri Mimarı Kayserili Mehmed Ağa*, Istanbul 1962, 58-9, 81). In time of war, the Ḳilburun garrison worked in collaboration with the garrison of Özi (Oczakof) opposite to it, in defence of the mouth of the Dniepr. The Russians succeeded in capturing Ḳilburun for a while during the 1736-8 Ottoman-Russian war, but were later obliged to return it after demolishing it. The fort was again captured in 1772 during the 1768-74 Ottoman-Russian war, and this fact was accepted by Turkey at the settlement of Küčük Kaynard*j*a. Ottoman forces which tried to recapture it during the 1787-91 war failed decisively to do so (D*j*ewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, iii, 32). Ḳilburun fort was occupied by a French force on 17th January 1855 during the Crimean War, but finally demolished by Russia in 1860. Ḳilburun, on which there is a small fishing village, is now within the Ukrainian SSR.

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(C. ORHONLU)

KILĪD AL-BAḤR [see ČANAḲ-ḲALE BOG*H*AZĪ].

ḲILĪDJ ALAYI [see TAḲLĪD-I SAYF].

ḲILĪDJ ʿALĪ PASHA [see ʿULŪDJ ʿALĪ].

ḲILĪDJ ARSLAN I, also known to the Crusaders, like his father, under the name Sulaymān/Soliman, son of Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumus*h* [*q.v.*], second Sald*j*ūḳ prince of Asia Minor. At an early age, he was in Antioch when his father was killed in battle fighting Tutus*h* [*q.v.*], and he was handed over as a hostage to Malik-S*h*āh [*q.v.*] who conquered Syria in 1086. On the death of the latter (1092) he managed to escape, and arrived in Nicaea, his father's former residence, where he seems without much difficulty to have had himself accepted as sovereign by the semi-autonomous Turcoman chieftains who were waging against Byzantium a policy of entente with the Basileus, who for his part, threatened on all his frontiers, sought to use against his other opponents those of the Turks whom he hoped gradually to assimilate or to neutralise. Ḳilid*j* Arslan was especially anxious to maintain relations with the Turkish East, which other Turks, in particular the Dānis*h*mendids [*q.v.*] were threatening to cut off. In summoning his father to Nicaea, Alexis Comnenus had in effect brought his Turks far in advance of what then was still the principal zone of Turcoman population.

It was in these circumstances that the Crusades intervened, enabling Alexis temporarily to abandon the task of dealing with the Turks. Ḳilid*j* Arslan crushed the Peasant Crusade of Peter the Hermit, but was subsequently forced to give up Nicaea, along with his harem, to the Barons' Crusade, and was later beaten by the Christians again on the edge of the Anatolian plateau at Dorylaeum. These victories of the Christians enabled Alexis Comnenus to regain control of the entire Aegean coast of Asia Minor; but the Crusaders did not stay in Asia Minor, and the Turkish forces, who being still semi-nomadic in character had been repelled but not destroyed, returned behind the backs of the Crusaders. The danger had furthermore led to a temporary reconciliation between Ḳilid*j* Arslan and Dānis*h*mend, which led to the annihilation, in 1100-1, of the rearguard troops of the Crusaders, an operation in which Dānis*h*mend, it is true, played the more significant role; the latter, at the head of his troops, deprived the Franco-Armenians of the strategic centre of Malatya, vital to Ḳilid*j* Arslan's links with the East. Also, when Dānis*h*mend died in 1104, Ḳilid*j* Arslan, who had become reconciled with the Greeks to the point of sending them contingents to fight other enemies (1106), came and occupied the place.

From there he was able to control Upper Mesopotamia, where the lieutenants of his Eastern Sald*j*ūḳ cousins were in conflict with one another. When the enemies of Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik S*h*āh [*q.v.*]

appealed to him for help, he confronted the army of the latter on the Khābūr, and was killed (1107). This was for a long time the last intervention by the Saldjūķs of Rūm in the East, and the roughly-constituted Turkish state was definitively enclosed within Asia Minor proper.

Bibliography: The sources include Anna Comnena, Matthew of Edessa, Michael the Syrian and the Latin historians of the First Crusade; the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr and the chroniclers of Syria (Ibn al-Ķalānisī, Ibn Abī Ṭayyi' in the unedited part of Ibn al-Furāt and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ed. S. Dahan) and of al-Djazīra (Ibn al-Azraķ, unedited).

The modern bibliography is given in Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, and O. Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, Ankara 1971). (CL. CAHEN)

ĶILIDJ ARSLAN II, son and successor of Masʿūd I, and one of the most important sultans of Rūm (1155-92).

Masʿūd had, in dealing with the Greeks, succeeded in restoring the position of the Saldjūķs in relation to the Dānishmendids who were divided by quarrels over the succession. Ķïlïdj Arslan at first maintained this policy, and carried it to the extent of offering the Basileus Manuel Comnenus at Constantinople in 1162 a form of allegiance which, in concrete terms, cost him nothing. He was then able to make himself master of a portion of the Dānishmendid possessions, and he would have taken them all had he not been confronted by the powerful ruler of Muslim Syria, Nūr al-Dīn. The latter, champion of the Holy War against the Christians, pretended indignation at Ķïlïdj Arslan's relations with the Greeks. The two princes in fact were alternately allied and at odds, Ķïlïdj Arslan helping Nūr al-Dīn to deprive the Franks of their possessions on the Syro-Anatolian frontiers with the object of sharing them with his rival, and Nūr al-Dīn extending his power over this territory as soon as the Saldjūķ sultan withdrew. The conquest of Egypt by Nūr al-Dīn's lieutenants Shīrkūh and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn crowned his glory, and Ķïlïdj Arslan's enemies persuaded Nūr al-Dīn to undertake an expedition into Asia Minor which forced Ķïlïdj Arslan to recognise what remained of Dānishmendid territories. On the death of Nūr al-Dīn, he annexed them (Malatya in 1177) thus accomplishing, from the Byzantine territories in the West almost to the furthest limits of the East, the political unity of Asia Minor.

He no longer needed to deal with the Greeks, and on his side, Manuel Comnenus, though strengthened by the general success of his foreign policy, was uneasy at the growing power of the sultan, and decided that he must put an end to it. In 1176, at the head of a powerful army, he advanced on to the Anatolian plateau, but was crushed at Myriokephalon. This was, after an interval of a century, a replica of Mantzikert, which showed that henceforward there existed a Turkey which could never be further assimilated. If Ķïlïdj Arslan showed moderation in his official policy, the pressure of Turcomans on the frontiers led him to reach out to the upper valleys of the Aegean coast and, in spite of opposition from Rhodes, to the sea itself.

This expansion could not take place without risk. Trouble with the Turcomans, breaking out to the east of the Saldjūķ State, grew more intense, with these Turcomans supplying troops ready to serve any ambitious chief. Whether for this reason or not, Ķïlïdj Arslan divided the territories under his suzerainty between his nine sons, a brother and a nephew. Needless to say, the latter quarrelled among themselves and one of them, Ķuṭb al-Dīn, with support from some Turcomans, forced his aged father to accept his protection at Konya. These events were interrupted by the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa; the latter, an enemy of the Byzantines, had established diplomatic relations with Ķïlïdj Arslan who, indifferent to Syro-Palestinian affairs, was inclined to promise him free passage. But Ķuṭb al-Dīn's Turcomans attacked the Germans, who converged on Konya (1190). Shortly after, the old sultan succeeded in escaping from the semi-captivity in which his son was holding him, and took refuge with another of his sons, the son of a Greek mother, who was established on the western borders. It was there that he died, at the age of seventy-seven.

Bibliography: Sources include the Byzantine writers Cinnamos and Nicetas Choniatus, the Armenians Matthew of Edessa and Gregory the Priest, Michael the Syrian, and the Arab authors cited in the preceding Bibliography. References to modern works are given in the works of Cahen and Turan cited in *ibid.* and in N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-dīn*, Damascus 1968. (CL. CAHEN)

ĶILIDJ ARSLAN III, the young son of the sultan of Rūm Rukn al-Dīn, who reigned only a few months (1204-5), after which the majority of the *amīrs*, worried at the general dangers inherent in the rule of a minor, deposed him in favour of Kay Khusraw I [*q.v.*].

ĶILIDJ ARSLAN IV, better known by his *laķab* of Rukn al-Dīn, one of the sons and successors of Khusraw II (1246). It was at the beginning of the period of the Mongol protectorate that, the three sons of the late sovereign all being minors, the senior *amīrs*, in order to safeguard the unity of the state, sought to install, under their own executive power, a sultanate shared jointly between the three young princes; Ķïlïdj Arslan was sent on a mission to the Mongol chief Batu to persuade him to accept this solution. This very mission alone established a special relationship between Ķïlïdj Arslan and the Mongols, and for many years two opposing parties were in conflict; the one, taking him as its figurehead, believing that the only possible course of action was to submit to the Mongols, the other, rallying behind his brother ʿIzz al-Dīn, seeking to organise resistance with the aid of the Turcomans of the West and in alliance with the Byzantines. Successive schisms resulted, leading on each occasion to a division, temporary at first, between the territories in the east, favouring the Mongols who were close by, awarded to Ķïlïdj Arslan, and those of the west, left to ʿIzz al-Dīn. United for the last time in 1260, the two brothers participated in a campaign against Syria under the orders of the Mongol chief Hülegü. Eventually, ʿIzz al-Dīn fled to Constantinople, and Ķïlïdj Arslan remained sole sultan. This did not mean that he exercised power; power in fact belonged to the *perwāne* Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān, the favourite of the Mongols. When Ķïlïdj Arslan came of age and showed resentment towards him, the *perwāne* had him strangled (1265).

Bibliography: Sources include the Muslim historians of Anatolia Ibn Bībī, Aķsarāyī and the anonymous author from Konya of the *Saldjūķnāma*; the Arabic historians Baybars al-Manṣūrī (unedited) and Yūnīnī; and the Syriac one Bar Hebraeus. General references to modern works are given in the works of Cahen and Turan cited in the previous Bibliographies. (CL. CAHEN)

KILIFI, headquarters of Kilifi District in the Coast Province of Kenya, in lat. 4° S, is a small port which was an independent sultanate until 1592, including the present Kioni, Kitoka and Mnarani. The large Friday mosque, the wealthy *décor* of the adjacent tombs, and the walls and gatehouse, show that Mnarani was the chief amongst these settlements in medieval times. The cemetery is noteworthy for eleven inscriptions in 15th century *naskhī* script. Excavations by J. S. Kirkman in 1954 showed that the site was occupied from the end of the 14th century until some time in the 17th century when, as Capt. W. F. W. Owen recorded in 1833, it was destroyed by Galla tribesmen. The Sultan of Kilifi sent an ambassador to greet the Turkish commander Amīr ʿAlī Bey at Mombasa in 1586, and in 1589 joined him against the Portuguese in Mombasa. Following a long feud with Malindi, Kilifi was razed by the Portuguese with local allies in 1592, but recovered. It was to Kilifi that Sultan al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad of Mombasa withdrew in protest against the Portuguese Captain of Mombasa's exactions in 1612.

Bibliography: J. Strandes, *The Portuguese period in East Africa* (1899), ed. J. S. Kirkman, 2nd edn., Nairobi 1968; E. Axelson, *The Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1488-1600*, Cape Town 1973; J. S. Kirkman, *Mnarani of Kilifi*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1959); P. S. Garlake, *Early Islamic architecture of the East African coast*; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville and B. G. Martin, *A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the Eastern African coast*, in *JRAS* (1973); Capt. W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of voyages*, New York 1833.

(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

ḲILLAWRIYA, Calabria (in Yāḳut is found Ḳillawriya, and in Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, Ḳalawriya, both of these close to the Byzantine Καλαβρία, Kalavria, in Italian Calabria).

It is very likely that the Arabs, coming probably from Spain, launched attacks across the sea against certain coastlands of Calabria even before Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] landed in Sicily in 212/827, thus providing the Muslims with a base for military operations against the Italian mainland.

According to Ibn al-Athīr (M. Amari, *BAS*, Leipzig 1857, text 228), followed by Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid.*, 469), the first serious operation against Calabria took place in 225/839-40. With the capture of Messina in 228/842-3, it became easier for the Muslims of Sicily to undertake devastating raids and lengthy sieges, by means of which they were able to keep the Calabrian territory under continual threat from their incursions. This state of affairs lasted until the time when Constantinople decided to take the offensive and operations for the recovery of this region were entrusted to Nicephorus Phocas, who in 272/885-6 inflicted severe losses on the enemy. The Saracens, however, speedily counter-attacked. Possibly encouraged by the traditional hostility in southern Italy between the Lombard princes and the Byzantine imperial governors, they managed in the course of the following three years to assemble in Sicily a fleet meant for attacking Calabria. Operations began in 275/888, and ended in the waters of Milazzo by the rout of the Byzantine army, the sack of the town of Reggio and the resumption of the raids, henceforth continuous, into the interior of Calabria.

However, it was at the beginning of the 4th/10th century that the Muslim offensive grew more violent, under the stimulus of the savage Aghlabid prince Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm, who had been compelled, as a result of his unbridled despotism, to abdicate in favour of his son ʿAbd Allāh [see AGHLABIDS]; in order to expiate his misdeeds, he undertook a "holy war" in Sicily and Calabria, where he wrought, without any scruples, enormous devastations, attacking persistently Cosenza, before whose walls he died in 289/902.

The first Kalbid [*q.v.*] ruler to resume military operations in Calabria with both regular land and naval forces was al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, who captured Reggio in 339/950 and built there a mosque, which was however diverted from this usage after only four years; two years later, the same ruler gained a great victory over the Byzantine forces beneath Gerace.

The sequence of raids, sieges and movements of resistance on the part of the Christians continued until the point when, in 372/982, the Emperor Otto II decided to end this situation by simultaneously attacking both the Muslims and the Byzantines, whose troops, in this state of affairs, helped each other against the Frankish ruler. The latter's troops gained an initial success, but had to flee when his army was defeated before Stilo. In the period between this defeat and the occupation of Calabria by the Normans towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Calabrian region was once again the scene of clashes (in the course of the naval battle before Reggio in 395/1005, the Pisans inflicted a defeat on the Muslims), of unusual ententes between Christians and Muslims, and of exhausting trials for the local population, which suffered violent raidings and incursions and was never able to benefit from a stable Muslim régime which, in other places and in more favourable circumstances, was often the mediating force for the transmission of the genuine values intrinsic in its culture.

Bibliography: The texts of the greater part of the Arab geographers (above all, al-Idrīsī), chroniclers and historians, which involve Calabria, may be found in M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, 1st Appendix, Leipzig 1875, 2nd Appendix, Leipzig 1887, and *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², ed. C. A. Nallino, Catania 1933-9 (cf. the index s.v. Calabria, Reggio, Bruzzano, Gerace, Stilo, Tiriolo and Cosenza).

(U. Rizzitano)

KILLIZ, a town of northern Syria, situated to the north of Aleppo between the two rivers ʿAfrīn and Ḳuwayḳ, north of Aʿzāz and on the road from Aleppo to ʿAyntāb. It was apparently known to the Assyrians, since a letter in cuneiform script (Harper, no. 1037, Brit. Mus. K 13073, obv. 3) mentions a town Ki-li-zi. In Roman times, Killiz was called *Ciliza sive Urmagiganti* (*Itin. Ant.*, ed. Pinder-Parthey, 84). In the mediaeval period it seems to have been of no importance. It is mentioned by Ps. Denys of Tell-Mahré at the time of the revolt against the Patriarch Dionysius in 817. One should read Killiz instead of Kalaz or Shalaz in Bar Hebraeus, *Hist. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, 339, 342, and Killiz instead of Ḥalīf in Michael the Syrian, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Chabot, iii, 23.

The Arab geographers do not seem to mention Killiz. Yāḳūt is somewhat confused. His Ḳilliz (iv, 158, cf. 168) refers to somewhere which he places near Sumaysāṭ or Samosata, but his Killiz (iv, 299) really does mean our Killiz, a town in the *nāḥiya* of ʿAzāz (Aʿzāz) between Aleppo and Antich, and he believes that it should be written Ḳilliz. The place in the region of Samosata is probably not Killiz but al-Kalīs or al-Kalis, which Ḳudāma lists among the frontier settlements of Diyār Bakr and which Ibn Ḥawḳal², 196 (1st edn., 131) places on the May-

yāfāriḳīn-Malaṭya route, and which is consequently not near to Samosata/Sumaysāṭ but to Shimshāṭ (on this al-Kalīs, see Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 249-50).

Killiz and Mardj Killiz are mentioned in verses of Abū Firās (in regard to Sayf al-Dawla's campaigns), which Yāḳūt also cites (*Dīwān*, ed. S. Dahhān, 115, v. 128, 150, v. 137). Since his successor Abu 'l-Maʿālī Saʿd al-Dawla neglected to pay tribute owed to Byzantium according to the treaty of 359/969, the Domesticus Bardas Phocas led an expedition into Ḥamdānid territory, stormed Killiz and carried off its inhabitants into captivity. At the time of the Crusades, Killiz fell within the Frankish territories, no doubt after the capture of Aʿzāz by Roger of Antioch in 1118-19, for in 1124 the Turcoman *amīr* Balaḳ, who had become master of Aleppo, attacked Aʿzāz and his troops laid waste the region of Killiz. Killiz presumably fell into the hands of Nūr al-Dīn at the same time as did Aʿzāz, sc. in 1150.

Although Killiz is some distance away from the important meeting-place of routes near Aʿzāz, it has nowadays eclipsed Aʿzāz in importance. The present town is in Turkey (see *Guide bleu* under Killis), and *ca.* 1948 had 24,000 inhabitants; Cuinet had given 20,000 in 1891, 15,000 of which were Muslims. The town was in the 10th/16th century the residence of the Druze Jumblatt family [see DJĀNBULĀṬ]. According to Hartmann, ancient Killiz was the modern Tanzimé Khān, where can still be found enormous pieces of stone, whilst the little garden Ilezī Baghčesi, 20 minutes' journey to the east of Killiz, is traditionally pointed out as being the ancient site of the town or at least of part of it, since it is assumed that Ilezī contains the name Killiz, and there are at that site traces of an ancient settlement.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 158, 299; Sayf al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 440, 508; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, ed. Rosen (Rozen), in *Imperator Vasiliy Bolgaroboyca, Izvlečeniya iz letopisi Yakhii Antiokhiyskago*, 19, 166, 171-2 (repr. London 1972), Ar. text, 17; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, in *Patr. Or.*, 415 (207), ed. Cheikho, 165; Canard, *Sayf al-daula, recueil de textes*, 127, 145, 384; *idem*, *H'amdanides*, 224-5, 232, 851; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, i, 392, 513, 574, ii, 101, 147, 567; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps des Croisades*, 139, 298; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 486; M. Hartmann, in *Zeitschr. der Gesell. für Erdkunde*, xxix, 485; idem, in *Mitteil. der vorderasiat.-aegypt. Gesellschaft* (1896), 106; Barthélemy, *Rec. de trav. relatifs à la philol. et à l'archeol. égypt. et assyr.*, 1897, 34 (erroneous identification of Killiz with Kurus-Cyrrhos); Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 185 ff.; R. Hartmann, *Geogr. Nachr. über Palästina und Syrien in Ḫalīl aẓ-Ẓāhirīs Zubda* ..., diss. Tübingen 1907, 63; Meissner, in *ZA*, xxvii (1912), 266; Cumont, *Etudes syriennes*, 1917, 257 ff.; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, viii, 229, 503, 507; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byz. Reiches*, 95, 104. (M. CANARD)

KILWA, the name of various localities and islands of the east coast of Africa, amongst which should be mentioned KILWA KIVINYE, on the mainland (8° 45′ S.) about 140 miles south of Dār al-Salām (Dar es Salam), and in particular, the QUILOA of the Portuguese (Kulwa in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 191 ff., tr. Gibb, ii, 379 ff., and in the ms. B.M. Or. 2666, but Kilwa in Yāḳūt s.v.). This last is today called KILWA KISAWĀNI, and is situated on an island near to the Tanzanian coast, 150 miles south of Dār al-Salām (8° 58′ S., 39° 34′ E.). It is the site, covering about one km.², of the capital of a region which stretched from the Rufiji River to Sofala in mediaeval times and was the greatest of the Islamic trading states in East Africa.

Barros, *Da Ásia*, 1552, preserves an anonymous abbreviated *Chrónica dos Reyes de Quiloa*, composed perhaps before 1507; an independent 16th century *Kitāb al-Sulwa fī akhbār Kulwa*, by an anonymous Shīʿī author, survives only in B.M.ms.Or. 2666, dated 1862. Neither is complete. A 19th century Swahili *History* is of little value. Coins of at least seven rulers are certain, and with them, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Muḥammad al-Fāsī sustain the historicity of the documents. After 1500, numerous accounts occur in Portuguese and French sources. In 1960-5 H. N. Chittick excavated the chief buildings.

The chronology is controversial. Chittick's deletion from the text of Barros of some fifteen rulers must be regarded as unacceptable. He dates the earliest occupation to *ca.* 800. The finds agree well with the documentary sources as they stand. They describe a dynasty of "Shīrāzī" settlers from the Gulf established *ca.* 957. The founder, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, bought the island from the preceding pagan ruler, marrying his daughter. For two centuries the expanding trading centre was often at war with neighbouring islands. In the 12th century it acquired the monopoly of Sofala's gold trade with its hinterland; its former governor, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān, was Sultan of Kilwa *ca.* 1131-70, and "master of the trade" of Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia and the mainland. Essentially, it was an entrepôt trade serving Arab Indian Ocean routes, in gold, ivory and some slaves, against imported textiles, beads, and Near and Far Eastern ceramics. Under Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, *ca.* 1170-89, many important buildings were erected in a new style. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, otherwise unrecorded, issued the first coinage in the late 12th century. About 1294 Mahdalī *sayyids* succeeded the original dynasty, possibly by female descent. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Kilwa in 1331: the people were black, orthodox Shāfiʿīs, and devoted to *djihād* against mainland unbelievers.

Vasco da Gama sailed past Kilwa in 1498. In 1500 Pedro Alvarez Cabral was the first Portuguese to levy tribute. Francisco d'Almeida took it by storm in 1505. Contemporary accounts attest its wealth. A Portuguese fort controlled it until 1512: its economy was ruined by the Portuguese seizure of the Sofala trade in 1505. A population of perhaps 10,000 in 1500 had already dwindled to about 4,000 by 1587, when marauding Zimba massacred 3,000 inhabitants. Kilwa never recovered. After the ʿUmānī capture of Mombasa from the Portuguese in 1698, Kilwa also was made tributary to ʿUmān. In the 18th century the slave trade developed greatly, but Zanzibar was the main entrepôt. Zanzibar finally absorbed Kilwa in 1843, deporting the last sulṭān. When Germany acquired the mainland in 1886, some surviving royalties threw their records in the sea, lest they fall into infidel hands.

Bibliography: J. de Barros, *Da Ásia*, 1552, ed. A. Baião, Coimbra 1930; G. Ferrand, *Les sultans de Kilwa*, in *Mem. H. Basset*, Paris 1928, 239-60; B.M. ms. Or. 2666, ed. S. A. Strong (in Arabic), *The history of Kilwa*, in *JRAS* (1895), tr. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Medieval history of the coast of Tanganyika*, 1962, with detailed bibliography, and *The East African coast: select documents*, 1962, 2nd edn. 1975; J. Walker, in *EI*[1] Suppl., and in *Num. Chron.* (1936, 1939); Freeman-Grenville, *Num. Chron.* (1954, 1957, 1963, 1971), and *The French at Kilwa Island*, 1965; H. N.

Chittick, *Kilwa: an Islamic trading city on the East African coast*, Nairobi 1974, with detailed bibliography; B. G. Martin, *Arab migrations to East Africa in medieval times*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Afr. Hist. Stud.* (1975); S. A. Rizvi, in Sa'id Hamdūn and Noël King, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Black Africa*, 1975; R. W. Beachey, *The slave trade of Eastern Africa*, 1976; see also the Bibl. given by J. Walker in *EI*[1], Suppl., s.v. (G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

AL-ḲILY, also AL-ḲILĀ, according to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Liḥyānī also *al-ḳilw* (see al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, 170, § 643); the word is derived from aramaic *ḳelyā*), potash, potassium carbonate [K_2CO_3], but also soda, sodium carbonate [Na_2CO_3] (both materials were not clearly distinguished, therefore the Arabic term is kept in what follows.) *Al-Ḳily* thus indicates the salt which is won from the ashes of alkaline plants, but is also confusingly used for the ashes themselves and the lye. As synonyms are given *s̲h̲abb al-ʿuṣfur* and *s̲h̲abb al-asākifa* (Ibn Maymūn, *S̲h̲arḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 345). The plants or families of plants *rimt̲h̲* (Haloxylon articulatum Cav.) and *ḥamḍ* (Chenopodiaceae) serve as the standard plants employed. According to Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (*op. cit.* 104, § 411 = *LA*, s.v. *ḳ-l-y* = Ibn al-Bayṭār, *D̲j̲āmiʿ*, IV, 31) the best potash is won from *al-ḥuruḍ* (Arthroenemum c.q. Seidlitzia), the so-called "potash of the dyers" (*ḳily al-ṣabbāg̲h̲īn*). The other sorts sufficed for the fabrication of glass. The extraction of *ḳily* is concisely but accurately described by al-Layt̲h̲, the editor of the *K. al-ʿAyn* of al-K̲h̲alīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. *ca.* 170/786): the plants *al-g̲h̲aḍā* (Arthroenemum c.q. Salicornia) and *al-rimt̲h̲* are burnt while green; the ashes are slaked with water which then consolidates into *ḳily* (see *LA*, s.v.).

Ḳily is used for various purposes: in the absence of soap (*ṣābūn*), clothes are washed with it (see *LA*: Yāḳūt, iii, 465). Chemists used it to manufacture pungent lyes (Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, *K. al-Asrār*, ed. M. T. Dānis̲h̲-Paz̲h̲ūh, Tehran 1964, 76, 108 f.; J. Ruska and K. Garbers, *Vorschriften zur Herstellung von scharfen Wassern bei Ǧābir und Rāzī*, in *Isl.* xxv (1939), 1-34).

A prominent part is played by *al-ḳily* in the manufacture of glass. It is melted together with sand and magnesia and thus produces the "substance of glass" (*d̲j̲awhar al-zud̲j̲ād̲j̲*, Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 407). Above all, it happens that the glass easily absorbs the various colorations (see Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *Nuk̲h̲bat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 80; J. Ruska, *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze. Ein Grundwerk der spätlateinischen Alchemie*, Berlin 1935).

Because of its biting, burning and purifying effect *al-ḳily* is used in medecine to treat skin diseases like vitiligo (*bahaḳ*), leprosy (*baraṣ*), scabies (*d̲j̲arab*) and also wounds and sores (*d̲j̲irāḥ, ḳurūḥ*). Morbid growths are also etched with it (Masīḥ al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, who lived in the time of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, in Ibn al-Bayṭār, iv, 31; ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, Berlin 1928, 322; Pseudo-T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra, *K. al-D̲h̲ak̲h̲īra*, ed. G. Sobhy, Cairo 1928, 114; Ibn Sīna, *Ḳānūn*, Rome 1593, i, 248; *The medical formulary of al-Samarqandī*, ed. M. Levey and N. al-Khaledy, Philadelphia 1967, 148; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, 233). Many people apply *al-ḳily* and vinegar on scorpion stings (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 102).

Bibliography: E. Wiedemann, *EI*[1], s.v. *al-Ḳily*; idem, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, index, 825; E. Seidel, in *Isl.*, i (1910), 258; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna-Leipzig 1928, i, 635-50; A. Steiger and J. J. Hess, *Soda*, in *Vox Romanica*, ii (1937), 53-76; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 358 f. (no. 594); D. Goltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus*, Wiesbaden 1972, 234-8, and index; M. Ullmann, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library*, ii (forthcoming), s.v. *qily*. (M. Ullmann)

KIMÄK (in the texts usually Kīmāk, often wrongly vocalised Kaymāk), an early Turkish people living in western Siberia on the lower course of the Irtis̲h̲ River and on its tributaries the Is̲h̲im and Tobol, possibly as far north as the confluence of the Irtis̲h̲ and Ob and as far west as the Ural Mts.; they are mentioned in Islamic sources from the 3rd/9th century onwards.

The most detailed accounts of the Kimäk and their territories are in the anonymous *Ḥudud al-ʿālam* (begun 372/982-3), tr. Minorsky, 99-100, 304-10, and in Gardīzī's *Zayn al-ak̲h̲bār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 257-9. There is considerable confusion in these and other sources on the localisation of the Kimäk, possibly reflecting a major historical displacement of the tribe or else a confusion between their winter and summer pastures; but there must certainly have been confusion from the fact that the two major sources above believed that the Irtis̲h̲ flowed westwards through the Urals, becoming the Kama and joining the Volga in Bulg̲h̲ār. The *Ḥudūd* places the Kimäk to the west of the Ḳirg̲h̲īz and to the east of the Ḳïpcaḳ [*qq.v.*], but all the sources agree that to the north of them lay the forest lands inhabited by savage peoples who exchanged their goods by dumb barter. The fur-trapping Ḳirg̲h̲īz tribe of the K.s.y.m (* Kis̲h̲tim?) mentioned by the *Ḥudūd* as living near the Kīmäk may have been Samoyedes or a Yenisei Palaeo-asiatic people (see Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Dīn Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, 107-8). The Kimäk also had connections with the Og̲h̲uz to the south of them, and are said to have visited the Og̲h̲uz pasture-grounds in summer, possibly explaining why Muḳaddasī, 274, says that Sawrān on the middle Sīr Daryā is a frontier post against the G̲h̲uzz and Kimäk.

A legendary account of Kimäk origins given by Gardīzī mentions seven component groups, such as the Īmī, Īmāk, Tatār, Bayāndur, K̲h̲ifcāḳ, etc., and in his section on the Yag̲h̲mā tribe (ed. Ḥabībī, 260), he gives to the chief of the Kimäk the titles *s̲h̲ad* and *tutug̲h̲/tutuḳ*. The *Ḥudūd*, however, mentions that the ruler of the Kimäk is called the K̲h̲āḳān and has under him eleven subordinate chiefs. Two routes northwards to the Kimäk country from the northern fringes of Transoxania are mentioned: one from Ṭarāz or Talas, taking 80 days by swift horse (Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, Ḳudāma, the *Ḥudūd*), and another more westerly route from Yāngi-kant or Dih-i Naw near the Sir Daryā mouth (Gardīzī). The country of the Kimäk was excessively cold, so that the Kimäk lived in subterranean dwellings in winter and hunted on skis. They were in part pastoralist nomads, but were also trappers of sable and marten furs, which were exported to the Islamic lands; also mentioned is the *k̲h̲aland̲j̲* hardwood of the forest zone, brought from the Kimäk lands and used for making bowls and such-like table ware (see D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, ed. Ḥād̲j̲irī, 54, tr. Pellat, 77: *k̲h̲aland̲j̲iyya kīmākiyya*). The only town, or rather encampment, of any signifi-

cance, was the Khāķān's summer residence, Namakiyya (*Yimakiyya?). The Kimāk worshipped fire and water and venerated the Irtish; according to Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī in Yāķūt, *Buldān*, iii, 448, the Turks' "magnetic rainstone" belonged to the Kimāk.

The main significance of this remote people, who can never as such have been Muslim and who impinge little on Islamic history, is that the much more important people of the Ķîpčak [*q.v.*], the later Comans or Polovtsi, apparently sprang from them and eventually overshadowed them. By the late 5th/11th century, the Kimāk, whom Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, iii, 22, tr. Atalay, iii, 29, names as the Yamak (*Yimāk), were reckoned as a group of Ķîpčak, but different in origin; it is clear that the remnants of the earlier Kimāk were now being absorbed into the rising tribal confederation of the Ķîpčak. In the ensuing period, the name "Kimāk" fades into oblivion, although we belatedly hear of the Yimāk in association with the Ķîpčak and Kanghlî [*q.v.*] at the time of the appearance of the Mongols; thus Nasawī, *Sīrat Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn*, tr. Houdas, 44, 72, says that the Khwārazm-Shāh's mother Terken Khātūn was of the Baya'ut branch of the Yimāk.

Bibliography (in addition to the references given in the article): J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.F., xiii (1914), 89-113 and *passim*; idem, *Skizzen zur geschichtlichen Völkerkunde von Mittelasien und Siberien. 2. Die Iki Imāk*, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii (1919-20) [= *Festschrift F. Hirth*], 293-6.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ĶIMĀR, the name given in Islamic geographical and travel literature to Khmer or Cambodia. The geography and political organisation of South-East Asia early became of interest to Islamic scholars because of trade links with Further India and China, and information was brought back by, *inter alios*, Arab and Persian merchants and navigators. Some of this information relates to the Khmer kingdom on the lower Mekong River, an outpost of Indian cultural and religious life, which lasted from the beginning of the 9th century to the middle of the 13th century (see R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris 1929, 559-68, 587-8; G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*², Paris 1964, ch. vii, § 1, viii, § 1, ix, § 1, x, § 1, xi, § 1, Eng. tr. *The Indianized states of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu 1968).

Thus Ibn Khurradādhbih (mid-3rd/9th century), 66, 68, mentions Ķimār as a place on the route to the Far East. Some decades later, Ibn Rusta, 132-3, tr. Wiet, 148-50, devotes considerable space to the customs of the kings of Ķimār, their justice, their severity against fornication, adultery and wine-drinking, and he remarks on the flourishing state of the ascetic and eremitical life there; Muslim merchants were welcomed and not molested, and one Islamic funerary inscription has in fact been found in Cambodia [see KITĀBĀT. 8. South-East Asia]. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 169 ff., = §§ 178 ff., has a lengthy anecdote on the relations of the king of Ķimār and the ruler named as *al-Maharādj*, the usual designation in the Islamic sources for the ruler of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya (Zābadj, Zābidj), centred on Palembang in Sumatra but also controlling the Malayan peninsula. Ibn Rusta names as his source one Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāķ who had resided for two years in Ķimār, probably early in the 3rd/9th century under the great king Jayavarman II Parameśvara of Angkor (802-50); information from this authority came first to Ibn Khurradādhbih, who referred to Ķimār only cursorily, and was eventually utilised even by al-Idrīsī, see S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the* Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī 'khtirāq al-'āfāq *of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, 29, 142.

The *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* (372/982), tr. Minorsky, 86-7, mentions three great kingdoms of South-East Asia, sc. Ķāmarūn (Kāmarūpa, Assam [see ASSAM and KĀMRŪP], Ṣanf (Čampa, southern Annam or South Vietnam) and Ķimār, and it states that two of the most precious products of Ķimār were elephants' tusks and aloes wood. The aloes wood of Ķimār (*'ūd ķimārī*) is much-mentioned in Islamic sources, as is that of Čampa (*'ūd ṣanfī*), but there is considerable confusion in the sources about the origins of the different kinds of aloes wood stemming from eastern India and South-East Asia, with a particular uncertainty over the wood of Ķimār and that of Kāmarūpa. Moreover, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 240-1, 241-2, when speaking of Djāwa (possibly Sumatra, since Sumatra and Java were frequently confused or even regarded as one island by the Muslims) mentions Ķ.māra as part of that land (*min ba'ḍ bilādihā*) and the Ķ.mārī variety of aloes wood as being particularly fine. See, in regard to these problems, the discussions about the various varieties in Ya'ķūbī, *Buldān*, 367-8, tr. Wiet, 238-9; and also Maqbul Ahmad, *op. cit.*, commentary, 128-9, and J. D. Latham, *Arabic into mediaeval Latin: Letter C, M.L.D.*, in *JSS*, xxi (1976), 135-7 (on the linguistic problems involved).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, commentary, 240-1; Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, text 39, tr. 51-2, commentary, 152-4; G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1913-14, i, 229-30 (= Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī's information on Ķimār), and index s.v. "Khmèr".

(C. E. Bosworth)

ĶIMĀR is the most common Islamic term for gambling, which is strictly forbidden according to Muslim law. The prohibition goes back to the references to *maysir* [*q.v.*] in Ķur'ān, II, 219/216, and V, 90 f./92 f. *Maysir* was expressly equated with *ķimār* in general, supposedly already by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar (cf. al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, Cairo 1375, 325). Voices querying this assumption, and the assumption that the Ķur'ān had the legal classification of "forbidden" in mind, were rarely raised, and then only for the sake of argument. For all we know, the Muslim ban on all gambling has existed since the time of the Prophet in the same form as later on, and has remained in force throughout. Gambling was conceived as a transaction in which property changed hands arbitrarily and unproductively, something falling also under the injunction of Ķur'ān, IV, 29/33, against frivolous and worthless (*bāṭil*) business transactions. Economic theory, and economic realities, tended to favour a strict view of what constituted gambling.

According to Muslim sources, universal and reckless gambling was endemic in pre-Islamic Arabia. Although the Muslim attitude toward the *Djāhiliyya* no doubt contributed to this view, gambling was probably widely practised, and in a variety of ways, among which the drawing of arrows and the stake racing of horses and camels were the most prominent. The actual *maysir* game, as painstakingly reconstructed from stray verses of poetry by later scholars, principal among them Ibn Ķutayba, *al-Maysir wa-'l-ķidāḥ* (Cairo 1342), is presented to us as a kind of ceremonial lottery organised for charity.

Several gambling stories lead into the time of the Prophet. Thus, wagering with unbelievers by Abū Bakr "before gambling was forbidden" is mentioned in the Ḳur'ān commentaries in connection with Ḳur'ān, XXX, 1-4/1-3; it appears to be a rather old story, though hardly historical. Another, no less famous story, reported in connection with the battle of Badr, that of Abū Lahab gambling with al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām, may also be old, but its connection with gambling can be shown to be mostly a later elaboration. The Ḳur'ān clearly indicates the social and religious undesirability of gambling: it is something causing quarrels, and it interferes with the performance of worship and prayer. However, the commentators were at a loss to cite any particular occasion for the prohibition. While there is much room for speculation, no convincing historical explanation can be offered, unless there is some significance in the fact that the *awā'il* literature credits a contemporary of the Prophet, al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis [*q.v.*], with being the first to forbid gambling.

In spite of its being prohibited, gambling, or what was considered as such, seems to have always flourished everywhere in the Muslim world and at all levels of Muslim society. Lotteries proper appear to have been unknown in Islamic times, and wagering on unstaged events is not much attested (cf. for instance, al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, Būlāḳ 1286-7/1869-70, i, 127, 141). Favourite outlets for the gambling instinct were, among board games, backgammon (*nard* [*q.v.*]), played with six-sided dice, and, among sports, horse racing [see FURŪSIYYA]. Other board-games, such as merels (*ḳirḳ*) and "fourteen" (*sh/djahārdah/arbaʿata ʿashara*), could involve stakes; chess (*shaṭrandj* [*q.v.*]) and draughts [see KHARBGA], when played for stakes, fell into the category of gambling. Important sports suspected of being devices for gambling were archery (*ramy al-nushshāb* [*q.v.*]) and pigeon flying [see ḤAMĀM], as well as competitions such as footracing, swimming (*sibāḥa*), or, more significant as an organised activity, wrestling (*muṣāraʿa*). Fighting games of animals, looked upon with disapproval on the basis of the Prophetic warning against inciting animals against each other (*taḥrīsh*, *Concordance*, i, 446b, 64-66) and humanitarian principles, included cock [see DĪK] and dog [see KALB] fights. Playing cards (*kandjifa* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) are attested since Mamlūk times (cf. L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk playing cards*, ed. R. Ettinghausen and O. Kurz, Leiden 1971). All these activities, of course, could be, and were, undertaken and enjoyed for their own sake without any accompanying gambling, and the gambling habits connected with them differed considerably. According to Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwī* (Cairo n.d. [1384-6]), iv, 308, *nard* was mostly played for stakes, while chess usually was not. The gambling that did take place was commonly in the form of stakes put up by the participating players themselves or, in the case of sports competitions involving animals, by the owners of the animals. However, although our information on this point is most deficient, it is clear that spectators, too, engaged in gambling on the outcome of the games and sports they watched.

While gambling by outsiders was clearly and indubitably illegal, the main problem for jurists was the determination of what constituted gambling by virtue of the manner in which the stakes were put up. The *ḥadīth* expressly permitted competitions with camels (*khuff*), horses (*ḥāfir*), and arrows (*naṣl*) (*Concordance*, i, 480a, 16-18), and there are stories establishing precedents set by the Prophet. Later jurists were inclined to deny the legality of stakes in connection with any other kind of sports contests and, in particular, board-games (of which *nard* was often declared illegal, even when played without stakes, because of its dependence upon dice). However, the permissibility of the legal sports was rationalised on the ground of their usefulness for military preparedness, an argument which, in practice, could be extended to other sports, even though jurists were usually hesitant to do so. The crucial question of how stakes, where they were at all admissible, could be legally established, was considered under three basic aspects: the establishment of stakes by a non-participant such as, for instance, the government, by one of the participants, and by both (or all) participants. The first two cases were legal (with some doubts in the second case as to what is to be done with the stake if the donor himself is the winner). The third constituted illegal gambling. In order to make it legal, the presence of a "legaliser" (*muḥallil* [*q.v.*]) was required, i.e. the participation of someone who did not contribute to the stakes. There exists a *ḥadīth* to this effect (*Concordance*, ii, 402a, 15-17, etc.). However, the legality of this procedure was debated. Mālik personally did not admit the device of the *muḥallil*, with the consequence that later Mālikīs differed in their attitudes. The Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya and his followers rejected it forcefully. Legal attitudes towards potential gambling games in general can be said to cut across school lines. Shāfiʿism, whose basic text on games was *Kitāb al-Umm* (Būlāḳ 1324), vi, 213, was sometimes attacked, with little justification, for its alleged somewhat more lenient attitude. It should also be noted that by and large the legal literature paid comparatively scant attention to gambling, the reason being not so much the scarcity of gambling activities as the clearcut stand of the law as to its illegality. Occasionally we come across interesting statements, such as the one by the Ḥanafī Ḳāḍīkhān, *Fatāwī* (Calcutta 1835), iv, 587, suggesting that a Muslim could legally gamble with non-Muslims in non-Muslim territory.

The official handling of gambling offenders was determined by the peculiar nature of the circumstances under which gambling took place. Sporting events were mostly held in the open, but much other gambling went on in private. In the larger cities, there were gambling casinos (*dār al-ḳimār*, *ḳimār-khāne*, and other terms), where gambling was encouraged even to the extent of tempting losing gamblers with offers of loans (cf. Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. and tr. K. L. Tallqvist, Leiden 1899, 30/63). Ordinary taverns, as later on the coffee houses [see ḲAHWA], also had the reputation of allowing gambling (in connection with board-games) on their premises. These could be raided, if local authorities saw fit to do so. However, unless public annoyance resulted, or complaints were lodged, the legal authorities, presumably represented primarily by the office of the *muḥtasib*, had little power or incentive to interfere with voluntary activities undertaken by mutual consent in the privacy of the home. If brought before the authorities, gamblers were liable to discretional (*taʿzīr* [*q.v.*]) punishment. Jurists considered habitual gamblers as having forfeited their *ʿadāla* and their capacity to function as witnesses, thus decisively downgrading their social and legal standing. Social degradation was commonly associated with gambling, at least in literature and theory. In real life, this probably affected only those who were unable to afford the losses incident to their gambling.

Excessive gambling, though evidently not un-

common, is not frequently attested. We hear about the gambler in moderate circumstances who brought ruin upon himself and who neglected his family (cf. Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, al-Nadjaf 1381/1961, 210), or the poet al-Tallaʿfarī [*q.v.*] whose compulsive gambling made him a liability in court circles and kept him from advancement, or the—fictitious—Ṣūfī who intentionally freed himself from all worldly possessions by gambling them away (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 202). Most gambling probably involved the minor losses that the losers were somehow able to absorb. It lies in the nature of gambling activities, especially where they are illegal, that reliable statistics with respect to them are unobtainable, and we have, of course, nothing to go on in the way of statistical information for the Muslim Middle Ages. We can only guess that gambling as such, common as it was, was nevertheless in no way a major economic factor or disruptive social force.

In addition to the legal injunction against it, the social stigma it carried, and its unsuitability for the economic environment created by Islam, gambling also presented a challenge to the metaphysical presuppositions of monotheism. Gambling was felt to be a manifestation of trust in blind fate and of an attempt at interference with, and thus disrespect for, the divine government of the world. A clever story, circulating since at least the 3rd/9th century (cf. in particular, Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, *Risālat ḥikmat waḍʿ al-nard wa 'l-shaṭrandj*), praised *nard*, with its reliance upon chance, as representative of the orthodox view of predetermination and trust in God, and blamed chess for the freedom of choice it requires of the player as something akin to Muʿtazilī doctrine. The story appears to have been meant originally as the opposite of what it seems to suggest, namely, as an argument for the superiority of the Muʿtazilī view of free will, while taking a dim view of gambling as supporting the idea of blind chance in the realm of metaphysics.

Thus the factors that in Islam fought against the human propensity for gambling were numerous. They were, moreover, reinforced by the generally disdainful attitude toward "play and amusement" (*liʿb—lahw*) in all forms professed by religious scholars and intellectuals. This did not eliminate gambling in Islam but, to all appearances, succeeded in keeping its impact upon society largely under control.

Bibliography: T. Hyde, *De ludis orientalibus*, Oxford 1689-94; Mez, *Renaissance*, 382-4 (Eng. tr. 403-6). References to gambling are as sporadic in the modern scholarly literature as they are in the primary sources. A first attempt to bring the available information together has been made by F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, which contains the full documentation for the present article. (F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-**KĪMIYĀʾ**, alchemy. The word is derived from Syriac *kīmīyā* which in its turn goes back to Greek χυμεία χημεία "the art of casting or alloying metals" (see Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English lexicon*, 2013). The Arabs believed that *al-kīmiyāʾ* was a loanword from Persian (Ibn Durayd, al-Djawālīḳī), from Hebrew (al-Akfānī) or from Greek and had the meaning of "artifice and acuteness" (*al-ḥīla wa 'l-ḥidhk*, according to al-Khafādjī) or "solution and division" (*al-taḥlīl wa 'l-tafrīḳ*, according to Ibn Sallūm, 11th/17th century). As synonyms of *al-kīmiyāʾ* were used *al-ṣanʿa* (for ποίησις), *al-ṣanʿa al-ilāhiyya* (for ἡ Θεία τέχνη), *ʿilm al-ṣināʿa, al-ḥikma, al-ʿamal al-aʿẓam* (for τὸ μέγα ἔργον) etc. In abbreviation alchemy is also called *al-kāf*, which serves also as pseudonym (see *WKAS*, i, 439b, 29 ff.).

The Arabs have defined alchemy more than once. Its task is to make gold and silver without falling back upon the corresponding ores (*ṣanʿat al-dhahab wa 'l-fiḍḍa min ghayr maʿādinihā*, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 351); it should lend colourings to the metals which they did not have before (Djābir b. Ḥayyān, *Textes choisis*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1935, 141), and it should alter the specific qualities (*khawāṣṣ*) of the mineral substances so that gold and silver can be obtained through certain artifices (*ḥiyal*; Ghazālī, *Tahāfut*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1927, 270); through alchemy harm and poverty are done away with (Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Beirut 1957, iv, 286, 305). The theme of alchemy is therefore the transmutation of base metals into precious ones. And thus certain limitations are given: retrology and mineralogy do not belong to alchemy in the strict sense, although the alchemist must of course have an exact knowledge of minerals (as well as of animal and vegetable substances). In the same way, fabrication of glass and falsification of precious stones (see the *Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis*, ed. O. Lagercrantz, Uppsala 1913) belong no more to alchemy than metallurgical activities like extracting iron, gold and silver from their ores, so precisely and impressively described by al-Hamdānī (*K. al-Djawharatayn*, ed. C. Toll, Uppsala 1968). Nor does the technical chemistry of the craftsman, namely the manufacture of tints, colours and perfumes, come within the field of alchemy. The title *Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿiṭr* (ed. K. Garbers, Leipzig 1948) which al-Kindī gives to his book on the falsification of perfumes is as metaphorical as the *Kīmiyāʾ al-saʿāda* with which the mystics entitled their writings (see *WKAS*, i, 515b). Finally, it should be mentioned that the notion of "pharmaceutical chemistry" did not exist in the Islamic Middle Ages. The often very complicated "compound medicines" (*al-adwiya al-murakkaba*) are prepared by the physician or the apothecary according to Galen's work *De compositione medicamentorum* or to the many *Aḳrābādhīnāt* [*q.v.*] composed by the Arabs. There were of course points of contact between the various professions: the metallurgists and perfumers worked with the same instruments and appliances as the alchemists. Some of the latter also excelled in the related sciences, like Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, who classified the minerals. Alchemy, however, the art of transmuting metals, has to be singled out from the other more technically orientated professions because of its theoretical foundations.

Alchemy originated among the Greeks. In order to prevent misunderstandings, it should be mentioned that the fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorology* (the genuineness of which is disputed) is neither a writing about chemistry in the modern sense of the word nor was it a starting-point for alchemy. It discusses only the primary qualities as causes of all changes in nature (see J. During, *Aristotle's chemical treatise Meteorologica, Book IV*, Göteborg 1944; H. Happ, *Der chemische Traktat des Aristoteles, Meteorologie IV*, in *Synusia, Festgabe W. Schadewaldt*, Pfullingen 1965, 289-322). *Ca.* 200 B.C. Bolus of Mendes knew certain techniques of colouring, and such techniques, combined with neo-Platonic, gnostic and hermetic ideas (Stoic philosophy seems also to have had some influence) helped alchemy to assert itself in Egypt (H. Diels, *Antike Technik*, 2, Leipzig-Berlin 1920, 121-54). From the period between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. (see F. Sherwood Taylor, *The origins of Greek alchemy*, in *Ambix*, i (1937), 30-47; J. Lind-

say, *The origins of alchemy in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, London 1970) date a number of writings disseminated under the names of Hermes, Thoth, Agathodaimon, Cleopatra, Moses, Solomon, Mary, Jesus, Democritus (or Democrates), Zarathustra, Astanes etc. At the beginning of the 4th century these pseudographs are joined by the writings of Zosimus of Panopolis (= Akhmīm [*q.v.*]), the genuineness of which is better vouched for. In the 6th century the neo-Platonic philosopher Alymiodorus and emperor Heraclius wrote also on alchemy. A not inconsiderable amount of these Greek writings were translated into Arabic, but we have no exact information about times and places of these translations. It seems however that the first were made towards the end of the 2nd/8th century and that the greater part of these writings came to the Arabs in the 3rd/9th century (D. M. Dunlop, in *JRAS* (1974), 6 ff., makes it clear that the assertion according to which a work of Zosimus was translated into Arabic already in 38/659, is false). It is possible that in some cases there may have been intermediary translations in Syriac (for Syrian alchemy, see R. Duval in M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au moyen âge*, ii, Paris 1893), but it is not clear whether Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] and his pupils took part in the work of these translations. Most of the Greek writings have only been preserved in a very poor and fragmentary way. The oldest codex is Marcianus 299 dating from the 11th century (see M. Berthelot and Ch. E. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, i-iii, Paris 1887-8; J. Bidez, F. Cumont *et alii*, *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, i ff., Brussels 1927 ff.). Since the Arabic translations are thus two hundred years older, and the Arabs at that period still knew an essentially greater amount of Greek writings than we do at present, the oriental tradition is of the greatest importance. It is certain that the study of Arabic alchemical literature will bring to light Greek works which have been lost in their original language.

Unfortunately, Arabic alchemistic literature has remained until now still a *moles indigesta*. Very many manuscripts have been preserved, but only an extremely small part of their contents has been disclosed through catalogues or published. Consequently, it is not yet possible to sketch out a history of Arabic alchemy. In particular, the beginnings of this science in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries are still largely wrapped in darkness. It may however be stated that already in the period in which the *Corpus Gabirianum* (end of the 3rd/9th—beginning of the 4th/10th centuries) and the works of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] were compiled, an important literature must have come into being, whose authors might have been Greek, Egyptian, Jewish, Christian, Persian or Indian wise men and philosophers. This pseudographic literature uses to a great extent the same names that served early Greek alchemy as designations. Some writings are in fact translations of Greek works; others were composed directly in Arabic but are imitations of Greek examples. It should however not be assumed that all sentences of Greek wise men, quoted by the Arabs, are taken from specific writings which are ascribed to these wise men. It seems rather that some of them originate only from doxographical collective works.

Nevertheless, a great number of Greek notions are found in these writings. The etyma of the terms *al-kīmiyā'*, *al-ṣanʿa al-ilāhiyya* etc. have already been mentioned above. The metals are called *al-adjsād*, corresponding to τὰ σώματα, quicksilver and sulphur are *al-arwāḥ* τὰ πνεύματα. Elixir, *al-iksīr* is the loanword τὸ ξηρίον, the distilling apparatuses *al-uthāl* and *al-anbīḳ* are derived from τὸ αἰθάλιον and ὁ ἄμβιξ, the processes *tabyīḍ*, *taswīd*, *tashmī'*, *taṣdi'a* etc. are adaptations from λεύκωσις μέλανσις, ἐγκήρωσις, ἴωσις. In the same way a number of pseudonyms are imitations of Greek models, e.g. *zi'baḳ sharḳī* from ὑδράργυρος ἀνατολική, *zabad al-ḳamar* from ἀφροσέληνον, *kibrīta lā taḥtariḳ* from Θεῖον ἄκαυστον and *laban al-ʿadhrā'* from γάλα παρθενικόν (for other pseudonyms formed with *laban*, see *WKAS*, ii, 25 ff.). To these are added whole theorems: *al-ṭabīʿa tafraḥ bi 'l-ṭabīʿa* is the innumerably repeated ἡ φύσις τῇ φύσει τέρπεται, and *lam tafʿal al-ṭabīʿa shay'an bāṭilan lā fā'idata lahū* corresponds to ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν ποιεῖ μάτην. All this shows without any doubt the origin of Arabic alchemy.

We thus possess a great number of Arabic writings, fragments and quotations in which our attention is caught by the names of Pythagoras, Archelaus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Porphyrius, Galen, Democritus, Zosimus and Theosebeia, Secundus "the silent philosopher" and many others. Often Hermes Trismegistus [see HIRMIS] is mentioned, who in the opinion of the alchemists was the first to speak about alchemy (*ʿilm al-ṣanʿa*, see *Fihrist*, 351). The writings attributed to him, *al-Risāla al-falakiyya al-kubrā*, *Risālat al-Sirr*, *Tadbīr Hirmis al-Harāmisa*, *al-Dhakhīra al-iskandariyya*, etc. have introductions in which in a legendary way is described how these texts were found in temples, caves and sepulchral vaults. The "Emerald table", a brief text full of symbols, was considered to be the key to the ultimate secrets of nature (see J. Ruska, *Tabula smaragdina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur*, Heidelberg 1926; M. Plessner, *Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Tabula Smaragdina*, in *Isl.*, xvi (1927), 77-113). Sentences by Hermes are to be found in almost every Arabic alchemistic work (see e.g. H. E. Stapleton, G. L. Lewis, F. Sherwood Taylor, *The sayings of Hermes quoted in the Mā' al-Waraqī of Ibn Umail*, in *Ambix*, iii (1949), 69-90). Apollonius of Tyana [see BALĪNŪS] is considered to be the intermediary of the hermetic wisdom. Under his name a big commentary on the "Emerald table", the so-called *Kitāb Sirr al-khalīḳa*, an allegorical book on the seven metals, the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām al-sabʿa*, and other writings were disseminated. Agathodaimon [see AGHĀTHŪDHĪMŪN] is also associated with Hermes. In the *Risālat al-Ḥadhar* he communicates before his death to his pupils the secret of alchemy. Finally they are joined by Cleopatra (see M. Ullmann, *Kleopatra in einer arabischen alchemistischen Disputation*, in *WZKM*, lxiii-lxiv (1972), 158-75). Mary the Jewess, the Persian wise men Djāmāsfand and Ostanes, Mani, an Indian called Biyūn, Adam, Moses, Korah (Kārūn) and many others, whose writings and sentences became known to the Arabs at a relatively early period. This largely still uninvestigated complex of the pseudographs was enlarged by the Arabs since the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries and rendered even more opaque by stamping as alchemists the Umayyad prince Khālid b. Yazīd, the son-in-law of the Prophet, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the *Imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*qq.v.*] and the mystics al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd [*qq.v.*]. The alleged writings and doctrines of all these Greek, Persian, Jewish and Arabic authorities form the groundwork for the two large alchemistic corpora which came into being at the turn of the 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries, namely the *Corpus Gabirianum* and the writings of

Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (the mutual relation of these two cycles has been discussed by J. Ruska and K. Garbers, *Vorschriften zur Herstellung von scharfen Wässern bei Ğābir and Rāzī*, in *Isl.*, xxv (1939), 1-34). Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], who may have died *ca.* 196/812, is considered to be the author of the first work. Meanwhile, P. Kraus has proved that these writings cannot have originated before the second half of the 3rd/9th century and that a team of authors must be supposed (for this problem see also F. Rex, in *Isl.* xlix (1972), 305-10; idem, in *Deutsche Orientalistik am Beispiel Tübingens*, Tübingen 1974, 86-8). Accordingly, the writings of the so-called Ibn Waḥshiyya and the *Muṣḥaf al-djamā'a*, whose Latin translation carries the title *Turba philosophorum*, may have originated at the turn of the century. In the *Turba* a congress of alchemists is pictured, in which Pythagoras takes the chair and Archelaus records the minutes, while nine pre-Socratic philosophers present their doctrines (J. Ruska, *Turba philosophorum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie*, Berlin 1931; M. Plessner, *The place of the Turba Philosophorum in the development of alchemy*, in *Isis*, xlv (1954), 331-8; idem, *Vorsokratische Philosophie und griechische Alchemie in arabisch-lateinischer Überlieferung. Studien über Text, Herkunft und Charakter der Turba Philosophorum*, forthcoming). In the 4th/10th century Muḥammad b. Umayl [*q.v.*] was outstanding with writings of a hermetic-allegorical character, followed in the 5th/11th century by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Kāthī, pseudo-Madjrīṭī with the *K. Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and Muḥammad b. Bishrūn. In the 6th/12th century the most important alchemists were the poet and statesman Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Ṭughrā'ī and the preacher in Fās, 'Alī b. Mūsā, called Ibn Arfa' Ra's. Around the middle of the 7th/13th century, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Sīmāwī (*Book of knowledge acquired concerning the cultivation of gold by Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-'Irāqī*, ed. E. J. Holmyard, Paris 1923) worked in 'Irāḳ, and in the 8th/14th century the Egyptian Aydamir b. 'Alī al-Djildakī [*q.v.*] produced an unprecedented number of books in which he summarised and commented upon everything which had been written before him on alchemy and magic. In the following period a number of authors still further appear who are of importance partly as compilers, partly as producers of brief original writings, like al-Izniḳī (= 'Alī Čelebī), al-Maṣmūdī, Bel Mughūsh al-Maghribī and others. In the second half of the 11th/17th century Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣr Allāh b. Sallūm, the court physician of sultan Meḥemmet IV (1058-99/1648-87), tried to introduce into Arabic medicine the chemical concepts of Paracelsus, which gave the alchemists the chance to set about new ways. They did not however avail themselves of these; on the contrary, they continued until recent times the ancient fruitless search for the "philosopher's stone" (G. Salman, *Archives Marocaines*, vii (1906), 451 ff.; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, The Hague 1889, 215, Eng. tr. J. H. Monahan, Leiden-London 1931, 162 ff.; E. W. Lane, *The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. xii; C. Barbier de Meynard, *L'Alchimiste, comédie en dialecte turc azeri*, in *JA*, 8e série, vii (1886), 5-66; Osman Nevres, in O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur arabischen Poesie*, iv/2, Istanbul, n.d., 92 ff.).

In the Middle Ages Arabic works were translated into Latin. We have in Latin versions the *Tabula smaragdina*, the *Tabula chemica*, the *Practica Mariae prophetissae*, the *Liber de compositione alchemiae* of Morienus (translated by Robert of Chester in 1144; partly translated by J. W. von Goethe, *Die Schriften zu den Naturwissenschaften*, Part 1, Vol. vi: *Zur Farbenlehre, Historischer Teil*, revised by D. Kuhn, Weimar 1957, 131 ff. Part 2, Vol. vi: *Ergänzungen und Erklärungen*, Weimar 1959, 439-41), the *Liber secretarum alchemiae* of Calid, the *Liber de septuaginta* and the *Liber misericordiae* of Geber (E. Darmstaedter, *Eine lateinische Übersetzung des grösseren Kitâb alraḥma*, in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, xvii (1925), 181-97) and many other works (see M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, repr. Graz 1956, *passim*). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze. Ein Grundwerk der spätlateinischen Alchemie*, Berlin 1935, 11). Thus they introduced a process which leads via Arnald of Villanova, the Latin "Geber" and Paracelsus to Robert Boyle (1627-91), Joseph Black (1728-99), Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743-94) and finally to the miracle of modern chemistry. But they also gave important impulses to European cultural history; it may suffice to mention Jakob Böhme, the Rosicrucians, Novalis and Goethe (see R. D. Gray, *Goethe, the alchemist. A study of alchemical symbolism in Goethe's literary and scientific works*, Cambridge 1952).

This concise historical survey makes it clear that Arabic alchemy holds a key-position in the development of chemical thinking as a whole. However, in glaring contrast to its importance, it has been regrettably neglected by research until now. Most of what historians of science have written on the Arabic alchemists is second-hand, based on obsolescent literature and disfigured by gross errors. A vast and fertile field lies here open to research; access to it, however, is not easy.

Alchemy is an extraordinary complex phenomenon which combines many divergent trends. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī in his *K. al-Asrār* exerted himself in particular to build up a sober system. The Djābir-writings contain concepts of the Ismā'īliyya [*q.v.*] which came into existence *ca.* 263/877. The authors introduce also into their thinking magical, arithmological, astrological and biological reflections. The hermetic writings and those of Ibn Umayl are marked by gnosis, others are coloured by strong mysticism. So it becomes understandable that Ibn al-'Arabī (*Futūḥāt*, ii, 357) can indicate alchemy as a "natural, spiritual, divine science" (*'ilm ṭabī'ī rūḥānī ilāhī*). As a whole, it was a natural philosophy which aimed not only at teaching the transmutation of the metals, but also at the whole connection of the world. For many scientists, however, the effort to refine matter was inseparable from purification of the soul. The alchemists expressed their insight in theoretical discourses, and also in allegorical stories, myths, visions and poems (Pseudo-Khālid b. Yazīd, Ibn Umayl, Ibn Arfa' Ra's). In order to protect themselves against prosecution by orthodoxy or against competitors, they used pseudonyms and availed themselves of obscure, encoded expressions. All this renders the writings apparently abstruse. It was therefore bound to happen that the "Aufklärer" counted the history of alchemy among the *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit* (J. C. Adelung, Leipzig 1785-9), and even in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* E. Wiedemann still remarked: "Often it cannot be understood how reasonable beings could have written such things". Only the science of religion and depth-psychology have

smoothed the way for a more justified and significant explanation of alchemy. J. Evola, C. G. Jung and M. Eliade in particular have rightly shown how alchemy is dominated by mythical, mystical and gnostic ways of thinking. There remains, however, the task of decoding the Arabic texts through exact historical-philological studies, and thus laying foundations which will no longer permit rash conclusions and approximate assertions.

Until now it has not been possible to say much about the theoretical foundations of Arabic alchemy, and even this little only incidentally. The way theories are built up differs considerably from one author to the other, and even in the corpus of writings known under the name of Djābir b. Ḥayyān and thus claiming unity, they show quite varying concepts. Hence only a few basic notions can be given here, which cannot be generally applied.

Transmutation is possible because the various sorts (*anwāʿ*) of metals form only one single species (*djins*). They are differentiated only in accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) which can be proper (*dhātiyya*) or occasional (*ʿaraḍiyya*). The accidents, however, are not stable but changeable, as can be seen in nature. Indeed, the metals grow in the bowels of the earth over long periods. In a sort of maturation process they change from base into precious metals until finally they become gold. According to some scientists, this conversion comes about under the influence of the stars. The alchemist is able to hasten this process in his retorts and to achieve by his skill in one day that for which Nature needs a thousand years. The literature gives hundreds, even thousands of recipes for making gold. Basically three methods can be distinguished:

1. The first method is based on the quicksilver-sulphur theory. In quicksilver water and earth are present, sulphur contains fire and air and thus both substances together hold the four elements. When the particles of sulphur and quicksilver are mixed and enter into a close compound, the heat generates a process of maturation and cooking which result in the various kinds of metals. If the quicksilver is clean and the sulphur pure, if the quantities (*maḳādir*) of both substances stand in ideal relation to one another and if the heat has the right degree (*iʿtidāl*), pure gold (*dhahab ibrīz*, ὄβρυζον) comes into being. If before maturation coldness enters, then silver originates; if dryness, then red copper. The more disturbing factors enter, the more low-grade the metals become: thus originate tin (*raṣāṣ ḳalaʿī*), iron (*ḥadīd aswad*), plumbago (*usrub*) and antimony (*kuḥl*) (see Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Beirut 1957, ii, 106 ff.; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, 204 ff.). The alchemist, then, exerts himself to imitate nature. He tries to discover how much sulphur and how much quicksilver is contained in gold and how great the heat must be to bring about the maturation process. If he succeeds in establishing these conditions, he is able to synthesise gold. It should perhaps be added that "quicksilver" and "sulphur" did not necessarily mean for the alchemists the chemical elements Hg and S, but that by these terms they understood rather the basic principles of fluidity and inflammability (they speak of *ziʾbaḳ radjrādj* and *kibrīt muḥtariḳ*).

2. The second method is based on the doctrine of the relations of quantities (*ʿilm al-mawāzīn*) propagated by the authors of the *Corpus Gabirianum*. The alchemist tries to establish the mutual relation of the metals according to volume and weight (*hadjm wa-wazn*) and to construct on the ground of these data a body with corresponding volume and weight (for details of these strongly speculative doctrines, see P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Ḥayyān*, ii, Cairo 1942, 187-303, ch. "La théorie de la balance").

3. The most important and most recommended method, however, consists in projecting an elixir [see AL-IKSĪR]. An elixir can be made from mineral, but also from vegetable and animal matter. It is thrown upon a base metal which precedingly has been transposed into the passive (or black i.e. without any quality) condition; it permeates it like yeast pervades dough, and transmutes it into gold which is more valuable than mineral gold.

All these theories were based on premises which could neither be proved nor refuted. Therefore no real progress could be recorded in the dispute of the Muslim scientists about the possibilities of alchemy. It was significant that among the arguments advanced against the alchemists the reference to the *de facto* failure of all endeavours played only a small part. The alchemists admitted the difficulty of their undertaking, but emphasised that it must be possible to rediscover the secret of making gold, undoubtedly known to the wise men of old. The dispute was above all enacted in the theoretical field. Philosophical and theological arguments were put forward and conclusions based on analogy were often drawn.

ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Djāḥiẓ's [*q.v.*] standpoint towards alchemy is not completely unequivocal. He is sceptical, but poses the question whether once in five thousand years it could be possible to make gold, when the various factors, like the quality of the elements, the right period, the correct position of the stars etc. would coincide accidentally (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, iii, 374 ff.). It seems paradoxical to him that it is possible to make glass from sand, but that it is impossible to transmute brass and quicksilver into gold and silver, although quicksilver more resembles molten silver than sand does pharaonic glass.

Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī composed the *K. Ibṭāl daʿwā 'l-muddaʿīn ṣanʿat al-dhahab wa 'l-fiḍḍa min ghayr maʿādinihā*, a refutation of those who pretended to be able to win gold and silver otherwise than from ore. According to him mankind is unable to achieve acts which are reserved to nature. This polemic writing was immediately contested by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī.

Al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) was of the opinion that transmutation of metals is possible because, according to Aristotle's stonebook, the various sorts (*anwāʿ*) of the metals belong to only one single species (*djins*). But it was indeed extraordinarily hard to realise the transmutation, and a thorough study of logic, mathematics and natural sciences was a prerequisite. The alchemistic texts were rightly veiled by pseudonyms and symbols, because otherwise, anybody might be able to find out the secret of making gold, and gold would become useless as means of payment. This economic argument was repeated again and again by later authors (E. Wiedemann, *Journal für praktische Chemie*, clxxxiv (1907), 115-23; A. Sayılı, *Fârâbî'nin simyanın lüzûmu hakkındaki risâlesi*, in Türk Tarih Kurumu, *Belleten*, xv (1951), 65-79).

The geographer al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945) worked with obvious analogies taken from metallurgy, of which he possessed a thorough knowledge. In the same way as iron and steel could reach various degrees of good quality and pureness through metallurgy, i.e. through the skill of man, in the same way man is able to make in an artificial way gold that otherwise maturates in a natural way in the bowels of the earth

(*K. al-Djawharatayn*, ed. C. Toll, Uppsala 1968, ch. xxxvi).

But the very assertion that man is able to imitate nature was contested peremptorily by Abū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī and Abū ʿAlī b. Sīnā: the alchemists were only able to make something that externally resembles the precious metals, but the senses do not perceive specific differences (*fuṣūl*) in the metals after the alchemistic operations, but only attributes and accidents (*lawāzim*, *ʿawāriḍ*); the substance (*djawhar*) of the base metals remains untouched (E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville, *Avicennae de congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*, Paris 1927, 85 f.; Ibn Sīnā, *K. al-Shifāʾ, al-Ṭabīʿiyyāt*, v, ed. A. Muntaṣir *et alii*, Cairo 1385/1965, 22 f.; G. C. Anawati, *Avicenne et l'alchimie*, in *Convegno internazionale 9-15 April 1969* [*Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Atti 13*], Rome 1971, 285-341). Because of these utterances, Ibn Sīnā became the target for the polemics of all later alchemists, in particular of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭughrāʾī and Aydamir b. ʿAlī al-Djildakī.

With his *K. Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-istishhād*, written in 505/1112, al-Ṭughrāʾī produced the most important writing in defence of alchemy. He meets Ibn Sīnā's objection by stating that the alchemistic processes do not absolutely create a new *differentia specifica* (*faṣl*), but that through them matter is only prepared to take in the *differentia specifica* which is granted to it by the Creator. Al-Ṭughrāʾī's argumentation thus takes account of the front of orthodox theologians, whose criticism found a mouth-piece in Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalūsī, Ibn Taymiyya and the latter's pupil Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 750/1349).

The latter's *K. Miftāḥ dār al-saʿāda* contains a polemic of 200 pages against all secret sciences, especially astrology (see C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 33 f.). Like Ibn Sīnā, he is of the opinion that the alchemists only keep up appearances, but are in fact unable to make real gold and silver. The economic argument adduced by al-Fārābī to justify the disguise of the alchemistic writings is used by Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya to refute alchemy itself: if man were able to make gold and silver, the economic order of the world, created by God, would collapse. Gold would lose its value if it were available in abundance. The social order would also be destroyed because nobody would be willing any more to be the slave of a master (J. W. Livingston, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah: A fourteenth century defence against astrological divination and alchemical transmutation*, in *JAOS*, xci (1971).

Ibn Khaldūn also shows himself an adversary of alchemy, which in his opinion is in fact only a kind of magic (*siḥr*). With regard to Ibn Sīnā and al-Ṭughrāʾī his point of view is even somewhat more differentiated, without however alleging essentially new arguments (see G. C. Anawati, *La réfutation de l'alchimie par Ibn Khaldūn*, in *Mélanges d'Islamologie, Vol. mém. A. Abel*, Leiden 1974, 6-17). For this kind of polemic literature see also Abu 'l-Barakāt Hibat Allāh b. Malkā, *K. al-Muʿtabar*, ii, Hyderabad 1358, 231-6; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *K. al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya*, ii, Hyderabad 1343, 214-18; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (A. Dietrich, *NAWG*, i (1964), no. 2, p. 106); Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimashḳī, *K. Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 58-61; Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *K. al-Ghayth al-musadjdjam*, i, Cairo 1305/1887, 9-13.

The theoretical expositions and speculations of the alchemists were partly complete in themselves, and partly completed by experiments in the laboratory. The experiences gained in such experiments gave again rise to new writings and theories. It is probable that alchemy had a greater part in the development of experimental science than medicine, pharmacology, physics and astronomy (see L. Thorndike, *A history of magic and experimental science*, i-viii, London-New York 1923-58). An important experimental achievement was the oxidation of quicksilver which had been exposed continuously to a very slow fire over forty days. Pseudo-Madjrīṭī describes the process in his *K. Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and emphasises that the weight of the matter was the same before and after the experiment (E. J. Holmyard, *Makers of chemistry*, Oxford 1931, 78). The furnishing of a chemical laboratory is very impressively pictured by Ibn Shuhayd (382-426/992-1035) (see J. Dickie, in *al-Andalus*, xxix (1964), 243-310). There were many apparatuses: the *uthāl* (Latin *aludel*), used to distil and to sublimate, the *ḳarʿ* (*cucurbit*), a receiver over which was placed an alembic (*al-anbiḳ* [*q.v.*]), melting-pots (*būtaḳ*, pl. *bawātiḳ*), kilns (*tannūr*, pl. *tanānīr*, Latin *athannor*) to generate high temperatures, phials (*ḳinnīna*), casseroles (*ḳidr*, *tindjīr*), pans (*sukurrudja*) and mortars (*hāwūn*). Many apparatus are named after their alleged inventors, like *attūn Fīthāghūras*, the "oven of Pythagoras", the *biʾr Zūsim*, the "pit of Zosimos" and the *ḥammām Māriya*, the bain-marie (see A. Siggel, *Verzeichnis der Apparate und Geräte, die in arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften vorkommen*, in *Deutsche Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, Institut für Orientforschung, no. 1, Berlin 1950, 91-100; E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemical equipment*, in Ch. Singer *et alii*, *A history of technology*, ii, Oxford 1956, 731-52).

With such apparatus, vessels and ovens the procedures (*tadābīr*), i.e. certain chemical processes, were achieved. The methods of these procedures were essentially the same as those of Greek alchemy, and most of the Arabic *termini technici* are translations of Greek notions. The "solution" (*taḥlīl*, λύσις) of a matter is achieved by water, acids or lyes; the "putrefaction" (*taʿfīn*, σῆψις) is a process of decomposition furthered by water. Distillation and sublimation are indicated with *taṣʿīd* and *taḳṭīr*, calcination with *taklīs*. A substance is consolidated and fixed by *tadjmīd* and *taʿḳīd*. "Blanching" (*tabyīḍ*, λεύκωσις) indicates the making of silver, "reddening" (*taḥmīr*) the making of gold. Many alchemists, however, use these and many other expressions only symbolically or in a completely different meaning for fear that they might reveal their secret. Thus the understanding of alchemical texts is made extraordinarily difficult.

Since the alchemists were obliged from the earliest times to keep their esoteric knowledge secret (see *Papyrus Leidensis*, ed. C. Leemans, Leiden 1843, i, 10, 9: ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἔχε ὡς μεγαλομυστήριον, μηδένα δίδασκε), they used innumerable "pseudonyms", not only for the processes but also for the matters and elixirs. The same matter was often indicated with dozens of different names, and conversely, one and the same name was used to design different matters. These pseudonyms also have a Greek tradition. Thus the names of the planets serve as designations of the metals: *al-shams* is gold, *al-ḳamar* is silver, *al-mirrīkh* is iron, etc. Certain words contain the characteristics of a matter: *al-farrār* "the fugitive" is quicksilver, *al-ashḳar* "the reddish" is copper. Often names of animals are used: *al-ʿuḳāb* "the eagle" may designate sal-ammoniac, *al-ʿaḳrab* "the scorpion" and *ʿunuḳ al-ḥayya* "the snake-neck" can stand for sulphur, *ṭāwūs al-barbā* "the peacock of the Egyptian temple" for copper. The

meaning of such pseudonyms varied from one author to the other and from one workshop to the other; they had no general validity.

The first endeavours to solve this lexical problem were undertaken by the Arabs themselves: they composed glossaries or added to bigger theoretical works lists in which the meaning of the pseudonyms was explained. But the value of these lists is small. Only careful critical editions and competent lexicographical revisions of the sources may enable us to travel further in this thorny field, but in not a few cases it will probably be impossible to uncover now the original meaning of the alchemical recipes.

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(M. ULLMANN)

ĶIHĀ [see ĶUNĀ].

ĶĪNALĪZĀDE, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ʿALĪ ČELEBI (916-6 Ramaḍān 979/1510-22 January 1572), Ottoman scholar. His grandfather, ʿAbd al-Ķādir from Isparta, was one of the tutors of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, while his father was the *Ķāḍī* Amr Allāh, known also as a poet. His grandfather used to dye his beard with henna, hence was by-named *ķinalï* ("the one with henna"). This nickname was applied to other members of the family as well. Ķïnalïzāde ʿAlī was born in Isparta in 916/1510 where he had his elementary education. His first tutor was one of his relatives, the *Ķāḍī-ʿasker* Ķadrī Efendi. Then, he went to different *madrasas* and completed his education under such scholars as Maʿlūl Emīr, Sinān, Merḥabā, Ķara Ṣāliḥ, and Čiwizāde Muḥyī al-Dīn. In 948/1541, he was assigned by the *Shaykh al-Islām* Abu 'l-Suʿūd (Ebüssuʿūd) to the *madrasas* of Ḥusām al-Dīn (the Ḥusāmiyye) in Edirne as *müderris*. He next taught in the *madrasas* of Ḥamza Bey and Welī al-Dīn-oghlï Aḥmed Pasha—both in Bursa—and in the two *madrasas* of Rüstem Pasha, one in Kütahya and the other in Istanbul, and in *madrasas* of Khāṣṣeki and Semāniyye, also in Istanbul. In the year of 966/1559, when the construction of the *madrasas* of the Süleymāniyye Mosque was completed, he was assigned to one of them as *müderris*, thereby reaching the highest of the academic ranks. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 970/July-August 1563, he was appointed as *ķāḍī* of Damascus to succeed Ķurd Čelebi. He remained in Damascus nearly four years, after which he was appointed to Cairo and then to Bursa. Two years later he was appointed *ķāḍī* of Edirne, after which he became *ķāḍī* of Istanbul. Shortly afterwards, in Muḥarram 979/June 1571 he became *Ķāḍī-ʿasker* of Anatolia. This same year, while in Edirne with Selīm II, he died (6 Ramaḍān/22 January 1572) from an attack of gout, a complaint he had contracted during his earlier residence in Edirne. His funeral, attended by many of the statesmen and scholars of his time, took place at the Eski Djāmiʿ, and he was buried in the so-called Nāẓir cemetery on the road to Istanbul. In his youth, ʿAlī Efendi was famous for his memory and knew by heart numerous *ḥadīth*s and poems in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. He was versed in most of the branches of the knowledge of his time, including mathematics, astronomy and rhetoric; and while in Egypt his mastery of the Arabic language was admired by all. His son, Ḥasan Čelebi, informs us that he wrote marginal notes to the *Kashshāf* of al-Bayḍāwī up to *Sūrat al-Hūd* and that he corrected other versions of these manuscripts. According to his son's *Tedhkiret al-shuʿarā*ʾ, ʿAṭayī's *Dhayl al-Shaḳāʾiḳ* and *ʿOthmānlï müʾellifleri*, his works may be summed up as follows: (1) the *Akhlāḳ-i ʿAlāʾī*, his most famous work and an important source for the study of Ottoman culture. He completed this work on 25 Ṣafar 973/21 September 1565 when he was the *ķāḍī* of Damascus and dedicated it to ʿAlī Pasha, the *Beglerbegi* of Syria, hence its title *Akhlāḳ-i ʿAlāʾī* (For an analysis of the work and its sources, and in particular for its dependence on the *Akhlāḳ-i Naṣirī* of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, cf. the article by A. Adnan-Adivar in *IA*, iv, 710-11). (2) his *Dīwān*, which includes his poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian; (3) the *Ḥāshiye-yi tadjrīd*. He taught *tadjrīd* when he was *müderris* at the Ḥamza Bey Madrasa at Bursa, and wrote these marginal notes at that time; (4) *Ḥāshiye-yi Ḍurar u ghurar ilā niṣfihi*; (5) the *Kitāb al-Karāhat min al-Hidāya*; (6) *Risālatāni fī ḥaḳḳ al-wāḳif*, written as a reply to Shāh Meḥmed Čelebi who had criticised one of his *fatwa*s when ʿAlī Efendi was *ķāḍī* of Edirne; (7) the *Esʿāf*; (8) the *Risālet al-sayfiyya wa 'l-ḳalemiyya*; (9) the *Ḥāshiye ʿalā Ḥasan Čelebi li-Shārḥ al-Mawāḳif*; (10) his *Münsheʾāt*;

(11) the *Ḥās̲h̲iye-yi Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf*; (12) the *Ḥās̲h̲iye-yi Bayḍāwī*; (13) the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Ḥanafiyya*; (14) the *S̲h̲arh-i Ḳaṣīde-yi Burde*.

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ḲINALİZĀDE, Ḥasan Čelebi (953-12 S̲h̲awwāl 1012/1546 14 March 1604), Ottoman scholar and biographer. He was born in Bursa where his father ʿAlī Čelebi (see the preceding article) was *müderris* at the Ḥamza Bey Madrasa. He first followed the lectures of Nāẓir-zāde Ramaḍān Efendi, who was *müderris* between 967/1560 and 973/1562 at the Yeñi ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Madrasa founded by Semiz ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a in Istanbul. Afterwards he became a student of Abu 'l-Suʿūd (Ebüssuʿūd) Efendi. He began his career in 975/1567 as a *müderris* at Bursa. One year later, upon the assignment of his father as *ḳāḍī* of Edirne, he was transferred to the Čuḳhād̲j̲ī Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Madrasa as a *müderris*. Later he became *müderris* at the Sulṭāniyye Madrasa in Bursa, after which he taught at several *madrasas* in Istanbul, ultimately attaining an appointment to the Süleymāniyye. In D̲j̲umādā al-Āk̲h̲ir 998/April 1590 he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, following which he received the *ḳaḍā*'s of Cairo again, Bursa, Gallipoli, Eyyüb and Eski Zag̲h̲ra respectively. While in this last post he became ill and returned to Istanbul. He then requested and received the *ḳaḍāʾ* of the small town of Res̲h̲īd in Egypt, where he died shortly after his arrival. Although credited with several minor works, his fame rests on his biographical dictionary of the Ottoman poets, *Ted̲h̲kiret al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, the autograph of which is in the Library of Istanbul University (TY 1737). This is the fifth work in this genre after those by Sehī, Laṭīfī, ʿAhdī and ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳ Čelibi. Though completed at 994/1586, his own copy shows later revision and corrections. It is dedicated to Murād III and includes three sections: the first devoted to the *sulṭāns*, the second to the *s̲h̲ehzādes* and the third to poets proper, most of whom are also mentioned in previous *ted̲h̲kires*. Ḥasan Čelebi made use of the *ted̲h̲kire* of *Laṭīfī* [*q.v.*] and, in particular, that of ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳ Čelebi. As may be seen from the alterations in his autograph, his method was to adopt the information given by these two predecessors, recasting it in his own individual, elegant style. However, he sometimes criticises their views on the merits of certain poets and advances his own opinions. The information he has to give about the poets and scholars with whom he was personally acquainted gives his work a particular value.

Bibliography: ʿAṭāyī, *S̲h̲aḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya d̲h̲eyli*, Istanbul 1269, 491; *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, ii, 127; Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry*, iii, 199. For the *ted̲h̲kire* manuscripts, see *Istanbul kitablıkları tarih-coğrafya yazmaları*, vii, 588-97. (Mehmed Čavuşoğlu)

KINĀNA b. K̲h̲uzayma, an Arab tribe, genealogically related to Asad (b. K̲h̲uzayma) [*q.v.*]. The territories of Kināna were around Mecca from the Tihāma on the south-west, where they were next to Hud̲h̲ayl, to the north-east where they bordered on Asad. There were six main subdivisions of the tribe, though more are sometimes mentioned: al-Naḍr (or Ḳays), the ancestor of Ḳuray̲s̲h̲ [*q.v.*], which is reckoned a separate tribe; Mālik; Milkān (or Malkān); ʿĀmir; ʿAmr; ʿAbd Manāt. The latter was further subdivided. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt was a strong group, and included as parts Mudlid̲j̲, al-Duʾil and Layth, as well as the more independent Ḍamra. G̲h̲ifār [*q.v.*] is sometimes reckoned to Ḍamra and sometimes said to be G̲h̲ifār b. ʿAbd Manāt. Al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. ʿAbd Manāt was the main part of the Aḥābīs̲h̲ [see ḥabas̲h̲, end], who were probably a collection of small groups without common ancestry (named as ʿAḍal, al-Ḳāra and al-Dīs̲h̲, all of B. al-Hūn b. K̲h̲uzayma, together with B. al-Muṣṭaliḳ of K̲h̲uzāʿ and sometimes B. Liḥyān of Hud̲h̲ayl).

History. At an early date Fihr, the common ancestor of all Ḳuray̲s̲h̲, was leader of Kināna when they defeated a Ḥimyarite force. His descendant Ḳusayy [*q.v.*] had the help of men of Kināna in the fighting which gave him control of Mecca, and his position was consolidated by the arbitration in his favour of Yaʿmar b. ʿAwf of Layt̲h̲, though most of Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt opposed Ḳusayy. In the wars of the Fid̲j̲ār [*q.v.*] the "day of Nak̲h̲la" resulted from the killing of a Kilābī by al-Barrāḍ b. Ḳays, a man of Ḍamra rejected by his tribe but protected by al-Duʾil, and a *ḥalīf* of Ḥarb b. Umayya (of Ḳuray̲s̲h̲). In general, Kināna, including Bakr, supported Ḳuray̲s̲h̲ against Hawāzin, but some parts of Bakr continued to feel hostility towards Ḳuray̲s̲h̲, especially after the chief of Bakr was killed in revenge for a youth of Ḳuray̲s̲h̲. Because of this matter Ḳuray̲s̲h̲ hesitated before setting out for Badr in 624, until a man of Mudlid̲j̲ guaranteed that Bakr would not attack them from the rear. After this, however, Bakr supported Ḳuray̲s̲h̲ against Muḥammad, and it was an attack by Bakr on Muḥammad's allies of K̲h̲uzāʿa which led to his conquest of Mecca in 630. In his force on this occasion Muḥammad had men from G̲h̲ifār, Ḍamra and Layt̲h̲. Little is heard of the movements of Kināna after this. A prominent member of the tribe, Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī [*q.v.*], is known as a supporter of ʿAlī, and is incorrectly alleged to be the founder of Arabic grammar. In 230/844-5 al-Ṭabarī mentions some Kināna as still near Mecca but apparently weak. They are also recorded in the Ḥawrān, and, in the 6th/12th century, in Upper Egypt and the western delta.

Bibliography: Ibn His̲h̲ām, 79 f., 430-2, etc.; Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des arabes avant l'islamisme*, index; al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, i, 350 f.; idem, *Nihāyat al-arab*, mentions most subdivisions; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān*, index of tribes; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, index; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 156 f. (intercalators of months from Kināna), 195 f. (al-Barrāḍ), etc.; idem, *Munammaḳ*, index; al-Azraḳī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 61-4. (W. M. Watt)

KINĀYA (a.), a technical term of rhetoric corresponding approximately to "metonymy" and meaning the replacement, under certain conditions, of a word by another word which has a logical connection with it (from cause to effect, from containing to contained, from physical to moral, by apposition etc.). Etymologically, this term implies a sense of dissimulation found also in the word *kunya* [*q.v.*], which is considered by such a grammarian as al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 677) to be derived from *kināya*. *Kināya* constitutes a particular type of metaphor (*istiʿāra* [*q.v.*]) and it is distinct from trope (*mad̲j̲āz* [*q.v.*]) in that the latter is only to be understood if taken in its figurative sense (e.g. *raʿaynā 'l-g̲h̲ayt̲h̲* "we have caused the rain to feed", where *g̲h̲ayt̲h̲* can only mean the grass appearing after a fall of rain). For some theorists, *kināya* covers allusion (of which the various forms are called *taʿrīḍ*, *talwīḥ*, *ramz*, *īmāʾ* and *is̲h̲āra*), but this is not so because, if it may be

taken both in its proper and its figurative sense, it demands, if it is to be genuinely understood, an effort of imagination on the part of the listener, who may otherwise turn a deaf ear; after al-Tha‘ālibī, Ibn al-Athīr saw fit to put together *kināya* and *ta‘rīḍ* in *naw‘* xix of *al-Mathal al-sā’ir*, so as to condemn the errors made by his predecessors in this regard and to make plain the differences which exist between the two concepts. On the other hand, euphemism, antiphrase and other methods of dissimulation of a more popular nature are to be included under the heading of *kināya*.

In general, if we are to follow Ibn al-Athīr, *kināya* describes a word or a group of words which may be interpreted either in their literal or figurative sense and are used to replace other words which are to be rejected, sometimes simply for considerations of style, sometimes out of respect for decency, avoiding the use of words likely to shock or judged to be of bad omen; a logical relation must however exist between the literal and the figurative, the *kināya* and the *makni ‘anhu*.

This is not the place to examine the other definitions proposed by the theorists and to take into account their disagreements regarding classification and nomenclature. We will simply observe that al-Sakkākī distinguishes three types: (1) *tamthīl* or assimilation of one thing to another (e.g. *naḳī al-thawb* "clean of clothing" meaning "exempt from moral vice". (2) *irdāf* "implication", a term which Ḳudāma (*Naḳd*, 88) invariably uses to the exclusion of *kināya* (e.g. *ṭawīl al-nidjād* "with long crossbelt", meaning "tall in stature", because the one cannot go without the other); in certain cases it is by a series of implications, more precisely of *ridf*s "pillion-riders" that the intended sense is reached (*kathīr al-ramād* "having a great quantity of ash" to express generosity, hospitality: in fact the abundance of ash implies successively abundance of fire, then of wood and of cooking for a large number of guests). (3) *mudjāwara* "proximity" or "association" (e.g. the container for the contained: *zudjādja* "bottle" = "wine").

Studies and chapters devoted to *kināya* contain first a number of quotations from the Ḳur’ān and from *ḥadīth*s which may be interpreted as metonomies; thus LXXIV, 4: *wa-thiyāba-ka faṭahhir*" and your clothing, purify" where *thiyāb* may be understood as meaning the soul, behaviour etc. Another characteristic example is provided by XXXVIII, 22/23: *la-hū tis‘un wa-tis‘ūna na‘djatan wa-lī na‘djatun wāḥida*, which is translated as "he has ninety-nine sheep and I have only one sheep", but where some, influenced no doubt by popular usage according to which the wife is called *na‘dja* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā’*, 23, tr. Pellat, 40; *Ḥayawān*, i, 212), see a *kināya*. There seems little purpose in providing extensive examples of the ways in which the followers of allegorical interpretation (*ta’wīl*) can take advantage of this concept of *kināya* in order to justify all kinds of daring interpretations.

It must be said that the *fuḳahā’* themselves are sometimes obliged to take it into account where they have to use verses directly concerning the *Sharī‘a*. This is the case for example with IV, 46/43, V, 9/6 where two *kināya*s appear: *aw djā’a aḥadun min al-ghā’iṭi aw lāmastumu ’l-nisā’* "if one (of you) has come from the place hidden from view or if you have touched women", then washing is obligatory; *ghā’iṭ* comes to mean latrines, then excrement, and *lāmasa* may be taken in a literal sense of "touching" or in the figurative sense of "having sexual relations with a woman", so this verb is of a type which provokes discussions. Another notable example is the text which demands, for the application of the legal penalty to the fornicator, the presence of witnesses testifying that they have seen *al-mīl fi ’l-mukuḥla* "the needle in the container for kohl"; but here the context leaves no doubt as to the true sense of the expression.

In these last examples it is a case of euphemisms whose purpose is to "palliate the ugly" (*taḥsīn al-ḳabīḥ*), as al-Tha‘ālibī says (*Kināyat*, 55), and it is the examples of this genre that the authors most often quote, borrowing them from the Ḳur’ān, from *ḥadīth*s, from poetry; generally they concern woman, the sexual organs, defecation, various forms of uncleanness and everything which is of bad omen. Some *kināya*s testify to great finesse, notably that quoted by al-Mas‘ūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 350-4 = § 2550), where, in a letter addressed to al-Rashīd, the word *khayzurān* "bamboo", but also the name of the caliph's mother, is replaced by *ḳuḍbān*. Others however are criticised, notably the use of Abū Aws to describe a stone (*ḥadjar*), because the father of Aws was called *Ḥadjar* (al-‘Askarī, *Ṣinā‘atayn*, 370). There was thus ample scope for the making of puns, and the humorists did not hesitate to take advantage of this.

In the introduction to the *Kitāb Mufākharat al-djawārī wa ’l-ghilmān*, al-Djāḥiẓ makes fun of the hypocrites who cover their faces upon hearing a crude word, recalling that the most pious of the Muslims and the Prophet himself did not hesitate to use such words, and he adds that these words were created in order to be used and that it would be necessary to withdraw them from the Arabic language if one were not allowed to speak them. In the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (i, 33), he notes the unwillingness of his contemporaries to use the specific term for excrement and their habit of utilising a number of euphemisms to describe latrines: *makhradj*, *madhhab*, *khalā’*, *ḥashsh*/*ḥushsh*, *mutawaḍḍā’*, and excrement: *radjī‘*, *zibl*, *ghā’iṭ*; others could be added to this list. An anecdote probably invented for specific purposes figures in several sources (al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 330-3 = §§ 3490-2; al-Tha‘ālibī, *Kināyāt*, 31; al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ*, ed. Cairo 1314, ii, 270-1; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii, 215-6; etc.): a man is the victim of a joke in bad taste, in that he is asking for the latrines and appealing to a group of singing girls who pretend not to understand him. He tries one by one about eight different terms supposed to belong to various regions of the Arabic-speaking world (but the variants are too numerous to permit the drawing up of a linguistic map on the basis of this anecdote); to the words quoted by al-Djāḥiẓ we may add here at least *kanīf*, *mustarāḥ* and *mirḥāḍ*.

In this regard, W. Marçais (*Euphémisme*, 395-6) comments that in classical Arabic "the plurality of nomenclature sometimes contrasts with the simplicity of the items described. If the latter are by nature liable to shock, one's tendency is to attribute this discrepancy between means and ends to the practice of euphemism." It is quite possible in fact that, independent of dialectical variants, the abundance of synonyms is sometimes due to the listing, by the lexicographers, of euphemistic terms whose origin is not indicated. It is thus for example that Ibn Manẓūr lists, according to Ibn Khālawayh, eight verbs meaning "to menstruate" (s.v. root *ḥ.y.ḍ.*); *ḥāḍat* can in fact be replaced by: *nafisat*/*nufisat*, *darasat*, *ṭamithat*, *ḍaḥikat*, *kādat*, *akbarat* and *ṣāmat*.

It is not impossible that certain of the euphemisms which figure in the dictionaries belong to the language

of slang, but it is not always easy to determine the degree of decency of such and such a term of which the satirists make considerable use. In this connection, we quote only one epigram of *Diʿbil* (ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *Shiʿr Diʿbil*, Damascus 1384/1964, 204) where the sixth verse contains the word *ḳiththa*, "cucumber" the sense of which is all the more readily understood because of the appearance in verse four of *tisʿin* "ninety" which means the anus. This last *kināya* is borrowed from dactylonomy (*ḥisāb al-ʿuḳad* [*q.v.*]), which supplies a large number of less obscene examples (e.g. "93" or "99" = miser"); see now Ch. Pellat, *Textes arabes relatifs à la dactylonomie*, Paris 1977, 21-2 and passim.

As a result of its undeniable expressiveness, to which the numerous examples cited by rhetoricians bears witness, the *kināya* preserves all its force in colloquial Arabic, for not only do slang expressions abound here, but also convention demands a strict caution in circles where superstitions continue to be strong. To antiphrase (*bṣīr* "clear-seeing" for "blind", already found in the name of Abū ʿAlī al-Baṣīr [see AL-BAṢĪR], who lost his sight; with this may be compared Ḳurʾān, XI, 89/87; *inna-ka la-anta 'l-ḥalīmu 'l-rashīd* "truly you are long-suffering and just", which must be interpreted in the contrary sense), to designation by a verb without subject *kānet shayḥa lāyḥa* "the situation was lamentable"), by an adverb or a pronoun (*ʿand-hā hādūk* "she is having her menstrual period"; cf. in a verse of Abū Nukhayla, *Aghānī*, xx, 382, *ḥarraktu-hū*, where the pronoun refers to an obscene word not expressed (likewise *aduʿu-hu*, in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, xvi, 209, l. 3 from bottom), and to euphemism pure and simple (in Morocco, *fākhər* "glorious" to describe coal (*faḥm*) because of its black colour), there are to be added voluntary alteration (*tasʿūd* [*təsʿud*] "you shall be happy" for the number "nine" because *təsʿa* also means "you shall be a beggar"), borrowing from other languages (the Turko-Persian *shishma* for "latrines"), the refusal to specify ("those who are not to be named" = the djinns) and other procedures. On this subject, one can only refer to W. Marçais, *Nouvelles observations sur l'euphémisme dans les parlers arabes maghribins*, in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Philol. et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves* of Brussels (*Mélanges Isidore Lévy*), xiii (1953), 331-98. For Berber, see E. Destaing *Interdictions de vocabulaire en berbère*, in *Mél. René Basset*, Paris 1928, ii, 177-277.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Ḳudāma, *Naḳd al-shiʿr*, 88-90; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1356/1937, 472-4, 674-8; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, *passim*; Aḥmad al-Djurdjānī, *al-Muntakhab min kināyāt al-udabāʾ wa-ishārāt al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1326/1908; Thaʿālibī, *K. al-Kināyāt wa 'l-taʿrīḍ*, at the end of the preceeding item; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 368-70; Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, Cairo 1356/1937, 189-96; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vii, 59-60; Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 41-2. See also KHAMSA, TAWRIYA and the bibl. to ISTIʿĀRA. (CH. PELLAT)

KINDA, a South Arabian tribal group, whose descent, real or imaginary, from Kahlān correctly identifies them as Arabs and distinguishes them, as it does the Azd, from Ḥimyar and other non-Arab inhabitants of South Arabia. The tribe spread all over Arabia in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., from the south to the centre to the north, and played a decisive role in the military, political, and cultural history of the peninsula before the rise of Islam.

1. The pre-Islamic period.

From Kinda (a *laḳab*, nickname for Thawr) are descended Muʿāwiya and Ashras, and from the latter are descended al-Sakūn and al-Sakāsik. The more distinguished branch was Muʿāwiya, and within Banū Muʿāwiya, the house of Ḥudjr, nicknamed Ākil al-Murār, became the most illustrious.

Genealogical table of the Banū Ākil al-Murār

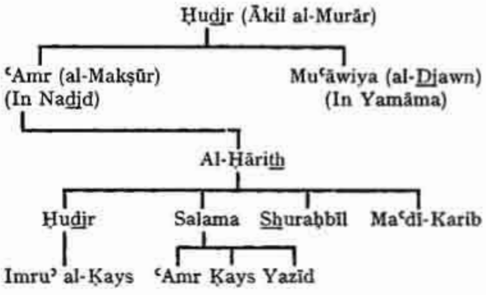

It was this Ḥudjr who, in the second half of the 5th century and supported by the power of Ḥimyar, moved into central and northern Arabia and assumed supremacy over the Arab tribes of Maʿadd. One of the celebrated *Ayyām*, battle days of the Arabs, Yawm al-Baradān, involves him with Ziyād b. al-Habūla, the Salīḥī client-king of Byzantium. It was his descendants, the Banū Ākil al-Murār, that dominated the political and military scene in Arabia for almost a century. He was succeeded by his son ʿAmr, nicknamed al-Maḳṣūr, while his younger son Muʿāwiya (nicknamed al-Djawn) ruled over al-Yamāma. Neither was distinguished, and it was his grandson, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr, who became the best-known member of the house, an international figure known not only to the Arabs of the peninsula but also to Persia and Byzantium and to their Arab clients, the Lakhmids and the Ghassānids. Around 500 A.D. his two sons, Ḥudjr and Maʿdī-Karib, mounted an offensive against the Byzantine border and in 502 A.D. the Empire had to conclude a peace treaty with al-Ḥārith. For a short time he ruled over Ḥīra, adopting Mazdakism during the reign of the Persian king Kawād. Then leaving al-Ḥīra, he went over to the Byzantines, who assigned to him a phylarchate in Palestine, but he quarreled with Diomede, the *dux* of that province, and fled to the desert where he was killed in 528 A.D. either by the Lakhmid Mundhir or by a member of the tribe of Kalb.

Al-Ḥārith had divided the Arab tribes of Maʿadd among his four sons, Ḥudjr, Shuraḥbīl, Salama, and Maʿdī-Karib. After his death, rivalries broke out among them and brought about a bloody engagement, the first day of al-Kulāb, in which Shuraḥbīl was killed. Then the tribe of Asad rose against Ḥudjr and killed him. It was at this juncture, after the violent death of al-Ḥārith when the power of Kinda was in disarray, that Byzantium sent its two diplomats, Julian and Nonnosus, *ca.* 530 A.D., to Ḥimyar, Ethiopia, and Kinda for an alliance against the Persians. The services of Kinda were indispensable, and Byzantine diplomacy was finally able to compose differences between the Ḥimyarīs and the Kindīs by withdrawing Ḳays (probably the son of Salama) from central Arabia and arranging for the division of his dominion between his two brothers, Yazīd and ʿAmr. Ḳays visited Constantinople and was given a command in Palestine.

In the second half of the 6th century, the power of Kinda in central and north Arabia was clearly disintegrating. In addition to the fratricidal wars among the sons of al-Ḥārith in Nadjd, the Banu

'l-Djawn branch in al-Yamāma allowed themselves to be involved in the inter-tribal feuds of Tamīm and ʿĀmir; these resulted in the two battles of Shiʿb Djabala and Dhū Nadjab, which proved disastrous to the Banu 'l-Djawn. So precarious had the position of Kinda become that the tribe, according to the sources, decided to go back to its original home in Ḥadramawt.

A century or so of rule over such a vast area in the Arabian peninsula calls for an assessment of the role of Kinda in Arab history: (1) The dominion of Kinda represents the first attempt, however forcible, to impose unity on the tribes of central and northern Arabia; but this unity could not have been achieved without the support of Ḥimyar. (2) Kinda brought from the Ḥimyarī South a tradition of sedentary life; it ruled the Arabs from such urban spots as Ghamr Dhī Kinda, Baṭn Ākil, and Hadjar. (3) The house of Ākil al-Murār adopted Christianity, and must have been an important factor in disseminating it in central and northern Arabia. The most important Arabic Christian inscription of pre-Islamic times, commemorating the erection of a church in al-Ḥīra, is that of Hind, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr; and the Banu 'l-Djawn must have done their share in spreading Christianity in al-Yamāma. (4) Kinda contributed towards the spread of literacy among the Arabs and one Bishr b. ʿAbd al-Malik (from the Sakūn) is said to have learnt the art of Arabic writing in al-Ḥīra and to have taught it in Mecca, where he settled and married a sister of Abū Sufyān. (5) Kinda's greatest contribution, however, to the cultural life of the Arabs was Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*], the foremost poet of pre-Islamic Arabia. Through him and through the unification of the Arab tribes for a century, Kinda accelerated the development of a common and standard Arabic language, transcending dialectal differences, a circumstance that attained its fullest significance with the rise of Islam.

While the Banū Ākil al-Murār were making history in the Fertile Crescent as well as in central and north Arabia, other Kindī groups were not idle in the south, where they rebelled against, as well as fought for, the Ḥimyarīs, with whom their relations as auxiliaries and clients remained close. They fought for Ḥimyar against the Lakhmid Mundhir, against Nadjrān and the Ethiopians, and also for Abraha [*q.v.*]. A measure of the military power of Kinda, in both the north and the south, is provided by the fact that of the twenty-one Djarrārūn (pl. of Djarrār, "leader of a thousand", chiliarch) of Yaman, eleven were Kindīs. Their military role in the south is evidenced by references to them in the Sabaean inscriptions (see below, Appendix).

The Arabic sources corroborate the Sabaean inscriptions on the importance of Kinda in the south and give prominence to Ḳays b. Maʿdī-Karib, also a member of Muʿāwiya but from the family of Banu 'l-Ḥārith. He was the lord of Kinda in Ḥadramawt, and is known to have adopted Judaism. Al-Aʿshā eulogised him and the famous al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] was his son. Kinda is counted among the Arab tribes who adopted Judaism in pre-Islamic times, and it must have been this Kinda in the south that became Judaised. Their Judaism could possibly support the view that the *Nasaʾa* (those in charge of intercalation in the pre-Islamic calendar) had been Kindīs before the tribe of Kināna took over the function after one of them had married a Kindī princess.

2. The Islamic period.

Although it was in pre-Islamic times that Kinda, sc. Kindat al-Mulūk, "Royal Kinda", had its heyday, the tribe retained some of its power and influence in the time of the Prophet and in Islamic times. In addition to the Banū Muʿāwiya, the Ashrasīs, especially the Sakūnīs, now come to the fore, and within the Sakūn the Tudjībīs become the most important group. The Kindīs crossed the paths of Muḥammad, the caliphs, and their governors, who enlisted their talents in the service of Islam, as is clear from the many personages listed in the pages of such works as Ibn Ḥazm's ***Djamhara***. They appear at critical junctures in the history of Islam, displaying the same unruliness and spirit of independence that had characterised their tribal *ethos* in pre-Islamic times.

Al-Ashʿath b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] led the delegation of Kinda to Medina and accepted Islam, and so did four other Kindī chiefs, Mikhwas, Mishraḥ, Djamad and Abḍaʿa, leading another branch of Kinda (in some sources the four chiefs are associated with the Ḥadramawt delegation); Tudjīb also sent a delegation and accepted Islam. In 9/630 the Sakūnī Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik, master of the strategic point Dūmat al-Djandal in northern Arabia, submitted to Khālid b. Walīd. Perhaps the best measure of the continuing importance of Kinda in the newly-emerging world of Islamic Arabia is the fact that Muḥammad contracted marriages with two, possibly three, Kindī princesses, but these do not seem to have been consummated.

After the death of Muḥammad, Kinda led a furious insurrection in Ḥadramawt, in which al-Ashʿath and the four chiefs mentioned above were involved, and it was with great difficulty that the insurrection was finally put down; the four chiefs were killed, and Abū Bakr spared the life of al-Ashʿath, who espoused the cause of Islam enthusiastically, fighting at both al-Yarmūk and al-Ḳādisiyya and later with ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn. Other Kindīs distinguished themselves in the conquests: Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana was one of the three or four main commanders appointed by Abū Bakr for the conquest of al-Shām or Syria and his front was al-Urdunn, which he conquered and later governed. Al-Simṭ b. al-Aswad, a member of Muʿāwiya, and al-Ashʿath b. Miʾnās, a Sakūnī, took part in the conquest of Ḥimṣ; the first is credited with the division of the city into quarters in which the Muslims settled.

It was during the caliphate of ʿUthmān that Kinda took part in what proved to be the turning point in the history of Islam, namely, the murder of the fourth Orthodox caliph. Many of the Sakūnīs had settled in Egypt, and in the rising against ʿUthmān they formed part of the Egyptian party of rebels which advanced against Medina. The weapon that actually killed ʿUthmān was wielded by a Tudjībī, Kināna b. Bishr by name, and two other Sakūnīs are also associated with the murder. A memorable event in the Second Civil War of Islam is also associated with a Kindī. It was al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr, a Sakūnī, whose catapults rained stones upon the Ḥaram when in 64/683 he conducted for the Umayyad Caliph, Yazīd, the siege of Mecca, during which the Kaʿba caught fire and was burnt down. More revelatory of the atavistic rhythm in the history of Kinda in Islamic times is the career of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, commonly known as Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*], a member of Muʿāwiya, vividly aware of his Kindī and South Arabian origins and worthy of his grandfather al-Ashʿath. After extending the boundaries of the Dār al-Islām by his invasion of Zābulistān in 80-1/699-700, he raised the standard of revolt and marched against al-Ḥadjdjādj in ʿIrāḳ, where he was

finally beaten at the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim.

It was, however, in the Islamic Occident, in far-away Spain and as late as the 5th/11th century, during the period of the *Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, that the Kindīs, unruly and rebellious as ever, achieved what figures such as Ibn al-Ashʿath in the Orient had been unable to achieve, namely, the carving out for themselves of an independent political existence, however shortlived this proved to be. The Tudjībids settled in Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa), Darawḳa (Daroca) and Ḳalʿat Ayyūb, in which cities they ruled, as they did also in al-Mariyya (Almeria), if the Banū Ṣumādiḥ were indeed Tudjībids, as is probable. Claims made by such historians as Ibn Khaldūn that the Dhu 'l-Nūnids [*q.v.*] of Toledo and the Afṭasids [*q.v.*] of Badajoz were Tudjībids, do not seem to have been substantiated by recent research, which affiliates them rather to a Berber ancestry.

Bibliography: Ibn Durayd, al-Ishtiḳāḳ, Cairo 1959, 362-73; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1962, 425-32; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Caskel, i, 233-4, ii, 47-53; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstädter, 94-5, 184-9, 245, 251-3, 368-70. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. M. A. Ibrāhīm, ii, 89-90, 95-6, 104; iii, 138-9, 167, 330-42, 387, 600; iv, 391-4; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Cairo 1956, i, 73-5, 120-4, 128-9, 135-40, 155-6; Yaʿḳūbī, Beirut 1960, i, 216-20; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Beirut 1965, i, 506-11, 583-7, 595-6; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, Beirut 1956, ii, 569-77; *Aghānī*, Beirut 1957, ix, 76-102; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1960, 323, 328, 349; Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. R. Malḥas, Mecca 1965, i, 182-3; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, Beirut 1956, ii, 487-9, 542; Imruʾ al-Ḳays, *Dīwān*, ed. M. A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1964; ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ, *Dīwān*, ed. and tr. C. Lyall, *GMS*, xxi, Leiden 1913; G. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, Nova Series, 1927, 1-118; idem, *Āl al-Ǧaun of the family of Ākil al-Murār*, in *MO*, xxv (1931), 208-29; Irfan Shahīd (Kawar), *Byzantium and Kinda*, in *BZ*, iii (1960), 57-73.

(I. Shahīd)

Appendix. The relations of Kinda with Saba and Ḥimyar.

Pre-Islamic Sabaean inscriptions furnish us with some useful references to Kinda in its epigraphic South Arabian form *Kdt*. Unfortunately, one of the earliest of those references is not at present securely dateable, since the precise chronology of the Sabaean texts is still in dispute; however, a date in the 3rd century A.D. seems possible. This text, Ja 576 (published in full by A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs*, Baltimore 1962), according to a recent re-interpretation offered by A. F. L. Beeston (*Notes on Old South Arabian lexicography VIII*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxvi (1973), 448-51), depicts for us a situation in which Mālik king of Kinda was head of a confederation in which a certain Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. ʿAwf, called "king of the *KHṢṢT*", was a subordinate member; the latter committed an act of agression against Saba, as a result of which the king of Kinda and his *shaykhs* were forced under duress to surrender the person of the actual offender, to pay an indemnity, and to give hostages to the Sabaeans.

In two other texts of approximately similar date (Ja 660 and 665) we find Kinda and Madhḥidj, together with other bedouin groups, placed under the overall control of a Sabaean official with the title "*kabīr* of the Arabs of the king of Saba, and Kinda, and Madhḥidj etc,", and evidently acting as bedouin auxiliaries of the Sabaean army. In an inscription published by Sharafaddin (*Yemen*, Taʿizz 1961, 44, bottom left), a mixed force of Sabaeans, Kindī Arabs and other elements, was commanded by two individuals bearing the title "*wāziʿ* of Saba".

In the early 6th century A.D., the Ḥimyarite king Yūsuf (= Dhû Nuwās [*q.v.*]) was similarly employing Kindīs, together with members of the Murād and Madhḥidj tribes, under the control of a Sabaean commander belonging to the Yazʾan (in Islamic sources Yazan) family, as auxiliaries in his campaigns in central Arabia; see Ry. 508.7. (G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions sud-arabes X^e ser.*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxvi (1953), 296) from Kawkab, an isolated rock north-east of the Kāra mountains and on the edge of the Empty Quarter.

In the mid-6th century, the Ḥimyarite king Abraha [*q.v.*] claims to have installed a certain Yazīd b. Kabsha as "his *khalīfa* over Kinda"; it appears that this Yazīd later revolted, but was defeated by the Ḥimyarites and forced to renew his allegiance in the year 657 of the Ḥimyarite era (*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*, iv, 541). Five years later, in 662 of the Ḥimyarite era, Kinda was again campaigning in support of the Ḥimyarites, this time being given the particular mission of pinning down the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa tribe [*q.v.*] while the king was engaged on military operations elsewhere (Ry. 506, *op. cit.*, 277).

(A. F. L. Beeston)

AL-KINDĪ, ʿABD AL-MASĪḤ B. Isḥāḳ, the name given to the author of a defence of Christianity presented in the forms of a letter written in response to that of a Muslim friend, named ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Hāshimī, who invited his correspondent to embrace Islam. The names of these two characters are supplied only by al-Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050 [*q.v.*]) in a reference that he makes to this defence in his *Chronology* (ed. Sachau, 205). In fact, the author of the two letters, who states in the prologue that he does not wish to mention the names of the correspondents "for a certain reason", speaks only of a Hāshimī and a Kindī. But it should also be noted that the headings of certain manuscripts supply the name of Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī, not to be confused with the name of the first Muslim philosopher (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]).

The authorship of this defence is the object, among orientalists, of serious disagreements concerning his period and his sect. Taking as evidence the historical data supplied by the text, mention of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), of the sack of Mecca by Abu 'l-Sarāyā (199/815) and of the revolt of Bābak al-Khurramī (204/819), W. Muir believes that the date of the composition of the letter can be fixed at 215/830. But L. Massignon believes the composition to be later than the year 300/912, seeing that the author has borrowed from al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) his criticism of an opinion of the Ḥanbalī al-Barbahārī (d. 329/940). Similarly, observing a parallelism between certain criticisms contained in the letter and in a work of the Muslim heretic Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. 298/910), P. Kraus concludes that the Christian author borrowed these criticisms from the latter and therefore the letter can only have been composed at the beginning of the 4th/10th century.

As for the sect to which the author of the apology belonged, the majority of orientalists make him a Nestorian, as is moreover indicated explicitly by his Muslim friend in his letter. The fact that he himself mentions the convent (*ʿumr*) of al-Karkh, a suburb of Baghdād, and Sābāṭ al-Madāʾin, near Seleucia-Ctesiphon, confirm this idea. But Massignon, considering that the distinction between the essence and

the attributes of the act is an "adaptation to Christian theology of the tenets of Islamic *kalām*", is led to identify the author with the celebrated Jacobite philosopher Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 364/974). Similarly, M.-Th. de Alverny, on the basis of a passage in the Latin translation which treats the Nestorians as heretics, makes the author of the letter a Jacobite philosopher who, according to a concluding passage figuring only in the Latin version and a Karshūnī manuscript (Paris B. N. syr. 204), must have composed a work against Arius.

Now the publication of the work of a Jacobite theologian of the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Rāʾiṭa Ḥabīb b. Khidma, shows that, contrary to the opinion of Massignon, this distinction between the divine attributes dates from a period considerably before that of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, since it is found in the work of Abū Rāʾiṭa, from whom the author of the letter borrowed it, as well as the whole of the philosophical-theological section dealing with the unity of God (ed. G. Graf, *CSCO*, cxxx, 5-10). As for the fact of a Nestorian author borrowing from a Jacobite a discussion of the unity of God, this is not surprising, since there was no difference of opinion between them on this point.

Similarly, the publication of the Latin version has shown that in this version, conforming to the original Arabic, the Muslim tells his correspondent that of all the Christians, the Jacobites profess the worst doctrine while the Nestorians, his friends, are closer to the Muslims (379); and it is clear that the passage in the Latin version which describes the Nestorians as heretics (413), and which is nowhere corroborated by the Arabic text, arises from the fact that the translator has "revised" the text in a "Catholic" manner (400); as for the concluding passage where there is mention of a work against Arius, it seems, judging from its content and style, that it does not belong to the original text, and that it is a later addition.

Finally, it should be noted that in a Karshūnī manuscript (Paris, B. N. syr. 205), the text of the letter of the Muslim has been revised in manner favourable to the Jacobites, the name of the Jacobites being replaced by that of the Nestorians and *vice-versa*, and the writing of the name of Cyrillus being distorted (fol. 3b).

Presented as the work of a Nestorian Christian, a senior official at the court of al-Maʾmūn, this defence of Christianity is also a refutation of Islam, and is thoroughly documented, assessing the respective worth of the two religions from a historical and moral viewpoint. Translated into Latin in 1141, by Peter of Toledo and revised by Peter of Poitiers, the letter of al-Kindī played a very important role, in the East as well as in the West, in the polemic between Christians and Muslims.

Bibliography: *EI*¹, art. s.v. (L. Massignon); Brockelmann, S I 344-5; Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 135-45; first edn, of the Arabic text by Anton Tien, London 1880; Eng. tr. in Sir William Muir, *The apology of al-Kindy*, London 1882; P. Kraus, *Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte*, in *RSO*, xiv (1933), 335-41; M.-Th. d'Alverny, *Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen-Âge*, in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale*, xxii (1947), 87-96; J. Muñoz Sendino, *La apologia del christianismo de al-Kindi*, in *Miscelanea Comillas*, xi (1949), 339-460; A. Abel, *L'Apologie d'al-Kindī et sa place dans la polémique islamo-chrétienne*, in *L'Oriente cristiano nelle storia della civilta*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Anno CCCLXI (1964), Cuaderno No. 62, 501-23; G. C. Anawati, *Polémique, apologie et dialogue islamo-chrétiens*, in *Euntes Docete*, xxii (1969), 380-92.

(G. Troupeau)

AL-KINDĪ, ABŪ ʿUMAR MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF AL-TUDJĪBĪ, historian of Egypt, was born on *yawm al-naḥr* (10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja) 283/18 January 897 and died on Tuesday, 3 Ramaḍān 350/Wednesday, 16 October 961. He heard al-Nasāʾī, the author of the *Sunan*, when the latter lectured in Egypt, and appears to have lectured on *ḥadīth* himself. Among his teachers and historical informants, Ibn Ḳudayd (d. 312/924-5) seems to have been the most important one. His principal transmitters (cf. his *Judges*) was Ibn al-Naḥḥās (323-416/935-1025). This is about all that is known of his life. The authentic information goes back mostly to his contemporary, the historian al-Farghānī, who mentioned him in his continuation of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*; this information has fortunately been preserved in biographical notices added in Ms. Brit. Mus. add. 23, 324. The name of the town where he was allegedly born is in fact to be read *yawm al-naḥr*; this shows that no independent biographical information is preserved in the notice on al-Kindī in al-Maḳrīzī's *Muḳaffā*, reproduced by N. A. Koenig, *The history of the governors of Egypt*, New York 1908, 1, n. 5.

Al-Kindī's *Histories of the* (1) *Governors* (wulāt) *and* (2) *Judges* (ḳuḍāt) *of Egypt* are preserved in the above-mentioned Brit. Mus. manuscript. The definitive edition, provided with a careful introduction, is that of R. Guest, (GMS xix, Leyden-London 1912, reprinted in 1964, re-edition of the *Governors* by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Beirut 1379/1959). The *Governors* end with the year 334/946; they were briefly continued in the preserved ms. for a few decades to the coming of the Fāṭimids. The *Judges* end with the year 246/861 in the preserved text; they were perfunctorily supplemented by two hands through the first third of the 5th/11th century. Both works contain important information, and are early representatives of provincial historiography. As to political history, they afford a glimpse into events as seen from outside the centre of empire. As to judicial history, they reveal a good deal about legal institutions and practices. We may suspect, however, that they do not really compensate for the loss of the older, and early Fāṭimid, literature on Egyptian history. In Mamlūk times, al-Kindī's works together with what was then still known of the literature now apparently lost, were much used.

Al-Kindī is further credited with works on (3) the *Mawālī* (known from a considerable number of quotations), (4) the *Khiṭaṭ* of Egypt, (5) the *Khandaḳ* (the trench made by Ibn Djaḥdam around Fusṭāṭ in 65/684, cf. *Governors*, 46), (6) the *Great Mosque of the Ahl al-Rāya* (the mosque of ʿAmr), (7) the *Western Contingents* (*al-djund al-gharbī* or *al-adjnād al-gharabā*), and (8) *Marwān b. al-Djaʿd*, presumably the last Umayyad caliph (unless it dealt rather with al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam). (5) and (6) may have been parts of (4). The assumption that he also wrote an independent history (see Brockelmann, in *EI*¹, s.v. *al-Kindī*) is quite uncertain.

A brief treatise on the *Faḍāʾil Miṣr* was compiled by al-Kindī's otherwise unknown son ʿUmar in the third quarter of the 4th/10th century. His authorship is indicated with some confusion at the beginning of the work and appears supported by the list of sources used, ending with Abū ʿUmar al-Kindī and Ibn Yūnus. Its transmitter was again Ibn al-Naḥḥās. Later authors took it for a work by Abū ʿUmar himself. It was first edited with a Danish

translation by J. Østrup, in *Oversigt over det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Forhandlinger*, Copenhagen 1896, 173-245. Another edition, by I. A. al-ʿAdawī and ʿAlī M. ʿUmar, appeared in Cairo in 1971 (including a reproduction of two pages of the ʿAkkā ms. supposedly dating from the 5th/11th century). Neither edition is complete with respect to the use of the available mss. material.

Bibliography: Given in the article, and Brockelmann, I, 155 f., S I, 229 f.; Sezgin, i, 358; Ḥasan A. Maḥmūd, *al-Kindī al-muʾarrikh*, Cairo n.d. (F. Rosenthal)

AL-KINDĪ, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ, "The philosopher of the Arabs" whose distinguished genealogy is obligingly given by the bio-bibliographers, was born before the end of the 2nd/8th century and died in about the middle of the 3rd/9th (perhaps approximately 185-252/801-66).

An eminent universal scholar and philosopher, he lived in a period of intellectual ferment in the sphere of the sciences as well as in that of *kalām*: the period of the translations, and of the controversies concerning Muʿtazilism.

He was a companion of the caliphs al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim. To the latter he dedicated notably his *On first philosophy*, and to his son Aḥmad, who was a pupil of his, he dedicated a number of other treatises. His association with these two sovereigns, plus the fact that he fell into disfavour during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (and was even deprived temporarily of his extensive library), lead one to suspect at least a tendency towards Muʿtazilism on his part. This hypothesis is supported by several passages from his known works (where there are references to the negation of the divine attributes or to the excellence of the works of God), as well as by the titles of works which are known only from the bibliographies. The latter show the extent and the variety of the work of al-Kindī: almost 250 titles (according to the *Fihrist*) concerning all the sciences cultivated in his day (these include astrology but not alchemy, which he regarded as a form of trickery), also technical subjects of particular interest to the ruling classes with whom he was associated: the manufacture of glass, jewellery, armour and perfume.

It is impossible to give a complete account of al-Kindī's thought because of the relatively small number of documents which has survived (less than 40 extant titles, as many of them philosophical as scientific; the task of editing and evaluating a number of unpublished ones is as yet incomplete). In the meantime, one can sketch the general outline, or at least note certain significant features, on the basis of the available texts.

His general philosophical position is best expressed in the introductory chapter of *On first philosophy*. Besides certain definitions and technical statements concerning philosophy, sc. the principles of philosophy, the four "causes", the four "scientific questions", there is to be found there what is in effect both an advertisement for, and a defence of, philosophy (it should be remembered that this treatise is dedicated to the caliph).

Taking as his inspiration, and sometimes borrowing literally from, the opening of a book of Aristotle's *Methaphysics*, of which he quotes a passage (without, however, acknowledging his source), al-Kindī describes the progressive accumulation of true knowledge which has come about in the course of time, thanks to the efforts of the philosophers: from this he infers that "the truth must be acquired, from whatever source it comes", and the statements of the philosophers must be re-examined and completed. He violently criticises the opponents of philosophy who attack it in the name of religion, while they themselves, he says, are without religion. The content of "the science of things and their true nature", that is to say philosophy, is identical to that of the message of the prophets: the science of divine sovereignty and divine unity, the science of morality and ethics. Finally, a brief quotation from Aristotle's *Protreptic* (again not acknowledged), according to which it is logically impossible not to be a philosopher, is followed by a prayer invoking the assistance of God in the pursuit of knowledge.

Thus al-Kindī sets forth an intellectual orientation doubly opposed to that of the traditionalists; according to him, knowledge can come from various sources and can still be expected to develop; but equally, he claims to respect the prophetic message. In precisely the same spirit his epistle *Concerning the number of Aristotle's works* compares human knowledge (*ʿilm insānī*) with divine knowledge (*ʿilm ilāhī*); whereas the first depends on prolonged effort and preparation regulated according to a precise scheme, God inspires the prophets, when He so desires, and without them having recourse to the methods of "human knowledge", with a type of revelation condensed into a few phrases whose sense the philosopher can only explain at the cost of a lengthy process of elucidation.

This position of al-Kindī's, with regard to the sciences and to philosophy, derived from various sources on the one hand, to revelation and religious speculation on the other, emerges also in some ways from the information supplied by the bio-bibliographers. These emphasise that al-Kindī had an unequalled acquaintance with the ancient sciences (Ibn al-Nadīm), that he of all the Islamic philosophers was closest to Aristotle (Ibn al-Djuldjul), that he studied in depth the various branches of Greek, Persian and Indian wisdom (Ḳifṭī); but also that he combined in his works the principles of the Law and those of the rational sciences (Bayhaḳī) and that he wrote an essay on *tawḥīd* according to the methods of the logicians (Ibn al-Djuldjul).

Also, in a systematic list of his works such as is first to be found in the *Fihrist*, one notes the section of "books of dialectic" or of "controversy" (*kutub djadaliyya*), many of which must have dealt with specific problems of *kalām*, such as prophecy, *istiṭāʿa*, divine unity, the creation of the body, of the atom, etc.

As regards the Greek philosophers, al-Kindī mentions by name Plato and Aristotle and hardly any others. We know on the one hand that he used the *Treatise on the heavens* of Aristotle, that he commissioned a translation of his *Metaphysics* and revised the translation of the *Theology* which was attributed to him. But careful scrutiny of his works shows that he must have been acquainted, directly or indirectly, with certain others, such as Epictetus, Proclus and probably John Philoponus; we find also echoes of the last phase of the teaching of the school of Alexandria as it is expressed notably in the writings of David. These various references to other authors and implied borrowings pose many problems, both historical and critical, which are far from being solved. Without doubt there are questions still to be asked.

The variety of these borrowings poses in addition a philosophical problem, which could only be solved by examining the entire corpus of works of our author and his precise chronology, and examining the con-

sistency and the development of his thought, and his vocabulary as well.

Without attempting to enter into the details of the philosophy of al-Kindī as it is known to us, we can say that he adopted from the Aristotelian tradition a certain number of concepts (the four causes, the categories of change etc.) and of propositions (the finiteness of the world, the impossibility of a corporeal infinitude as an act, the mechanics of intellectual perception etc.); from the Platonist tradition, he takes speculation on the soul in its relationship with the body and with the divine light and on its ascent to and beyond the heavens. Parenetic and semi-mystical in this last case, his style and method are by times extremely precise, very abstract, strained, proceeding freely and methodically by means of axioms and deductions of a geometrical regularity.

On the other hand, al-Kindī, who ceases to follow the Greeks where they are in disagreement with the Ḳur'ānic revelation (i.e. with regard to the creation, and the life-span of the Universe), is interested in establishing or formulating agreements between certain philosophical ideas and certain articles of the Islamic faith, even Muʿtazilī ones.

Thus the *On first philosophy*, after some reflections on the "one" and the "many", where we detect echoes of Proclus, concludes (that is to say, the first part of the book, which is all that has survived, concludes) with a kind of philosophical *tawḥīd* and with criticism of those who give attributes to God (the same theme is used in the essay *On the unity of God and finite nature of the world*). The epistle *Concerning the number of Aristotle's works* contains a philosophical commentary on verses 78-82 of Sūra XXXVI and the epistle *On the lowest prostration of the body* another on verse 6 of Sūra LV.

There are other detailed references to other works which could be quoted. It would appear that al-Kindī uses the same method in his choice of language where certain words or verbal roots are common to the vocabulary of religion and to that of the Greek translations (thus he refers to God by the name *al-wāḥid al-ḥaḳḳ*, which is both Ḳur'ānic and Neo-Platonist; he uses the word *rubūbiyya*, which belongs to the language of religion, in the title of the *Theology* attributed to Aristotle). It is important to analyse these various agreements and differences at this early stage of the history of *falsafa*.

In so far as one is able to judge from the bibliographical lists and the few treatises, of various lengths, which have survived, the scientific work of al-Kindī follows the same scheme as his philosophical work, sc. to revise and develop the findings of the ancient scholars in the light of new interests. He wrote essays on Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, on the astrolabe and on Hippocratic medicine; he also drew to a considerable extent on Asiatic sources, particularly for his knowledge of remedies.

On the other hand he followed ideas which were specifically his own, notably in his studies of optics and pharmacology. His article on perspective (known only in Latin under the title *De causis diversitatum aspectus*) follows Euclid, though without following him blindly. Three points are set out here in succession: the rectilinear propagation of light which Euclid postulated and which al-Kindī demonstrates; a theory of vision whereby the eye illuminates the object seen—this also is a Euclidean theory which al-Kindī modifies, giving three dimensions to the rays emitted by the eye (whereas for Euclid these were geometric lines); finally, a theory of mirrors. Here too, his study of burning mirrors is an adaptation, that is to say a revision, a criticism and a completion, of what Anthemios of Tralles had written on this subject.

The same method is used in the treatise *On compound medicines*. The ancients had studied the proportions of the four qualities (hot, cold, dry, wet) in simple medicines. Now this method had to be extended to compound medicines, and al-Kindī takes pains to explain mathematically the relation between increasing the number of parts of each quality, and the corresponding increase in the effect of the medicine on the organism.

Al-Kindī left a few pupils (Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī, Abū Maʿshar), but not a school in the strict sense of the word. It is most of all as a universal scholar and as an astrologer that he has survived (to the point that those of his works which were available in Latin, were still being read in medieval times). Ibn Khaldūn quotes him at various points in his *Muḳaddima*, but does not include him in his list of Islamic philosophers.

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(J. Jolivet - R. Rashed)

ḲINDĪL [see miṣbāḥ]

KINKIWAR, Kankiwar, Kangāwar, a small town of western Persia (population in 1975, 13,144) situated in lat. 34°29′ N., long. 47°55′ E., and in the *bakhsh* of the same time in the *shahristān* of Kirmānshāhān. The town is almost equidistant from the cities of Kirmānshāh and Hamadān [*qq.v.*], and lies at an altitude of 1,467 m.; it is first mentioned by Isidore of Charax under the name "Concobar". The *bakhsh* comprises (1975) four *dihistāns*, with a total of some sixty villages and a population of about 38,435. The economy of the region is based on agriculture and trade.

The Kangāwar valley has since ancient times been an important staging post and centre of communications on the great highway from Mesopotamia to the Iranian plateau, and recent excavations have established that nearby sites such as Gawdīn Tappa and Sih Gabī were occupied several thousands of years prior to the foundation of Kangāwar itself, which probably occurred in Parthian times. The important temple to the goddess Anahita, recently discovered at Kangāwar, is thought to date from the 2nd century B.C.; its construction was erroneously attributed by early Muslim writers to the Sāsānid monarch Khusraw Parwīz.

In Islamic times, Kangāwar seems to have flour-

ished up to the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century. At about that time, most of the Saldjūķ remains were destroyed by fire, and there seems to have been virtually no building on the site from Īlkhānid to Tīmūrid times, and little under the Ṣafawids and Ķādjārs.

In general, the Islamic geographers refer to Kangāwar as Ķaṣr al-Luṣūṣ ("Robbers' Castle"). Al-Ṭabarī, i, 2649, says simply that it acquired this name because the Arab army on the way to meet the Persians at Nihāwand (21/642) had some of its baggage-animals stolen there. Centuries later, this reputation of the people of Kangāwar still prevailed: Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ķulūb* (ed. M. Dabīrsiyāķī, Tehran 1336/1957) states that they were "first-class thieves" (Le Strange's translation in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 107, is inaccurate). From the name Ķaṣr al-Luṣūs derived the *nisba* "Ķaṣrī" (see Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 450).

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For the Islamic period, the principal references are listed in Le Strange, *Lands*, 188-9; see also ʿAlī Razmārā, ed., *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān*, v, Tehran 1331/1952, 378.

(R. M. Savory)

ĶINNASRĪN, an ancient town and military district in Syria; the name is of Aramaic origin and appears as Ķenneshrīn in the Syriac texts. Composed of *ķinnā* "nest" and *nasrīn* "of eagles", it is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud in the form of Kannishrayyā and the European historians of the Middle Ages called the area Canestrine. A distinction must be drawn between the town and the *djund*.

1. The town. At the present day, Ķinnasrīn is nothing more than a little village surrounded by ruins, a day's journey to the south of Aleppo, on the right bank of the Ķuwayķ which flows into the nearby marshy depression of al-Matkh. The Arab geographers place it in the fourth climate. Yāķūt, who gives various explanations for the origin of the name, says that the place was already populated in the period when the Amalekites, coming from the south, sought refuge there, and that the town had once been prosperous and strongly fortified, but that in his time (beginning of the 7th/13th century) it was nothing more than a village, owing its survival to its position in the centre of a district where a number of highways converged. In ancient times the town, founded by Seleucus Nicator, was called *Chalcis ad Belum*, and gave its name to the Syrian-Arab *limes*. In the 4th century A.D. Ķinnasrīn was a commercial centre and a prosperous agricultural market-town.

Set at a highway intersection and with a much-frequented *khān*, the town occupied an important position in the defensive system of the Syrian frontier from Antioch to the Euphrates and from the *hamad* toward Tadmur. It played a strategic role of some importance for the Byzantine empire and at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century A.D. it came under attack from the Persians.

After their victory on the Yarmūķ [*q.v.*], the Muslim Arabs went on to conquer northern Syria. At Ķinnasrīn, the garrison of local militia offered some resistance to the troops of Abū ʿUbayda, [*q.v.*] and in Shaʿbān 17/August-September 638, the town was taken. Under the reign of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, the town's defences were dismantled. Profiting by the experience of the Byzantines, the Umayyads, in their turn, installed a military headquarters at Ķinnasrīn, which rapidly became the capital of the rich agricultural region of which it was the centre. Until the 4th/10th century, the history of the town was not marked by any event of importance.

In 331/943, it was one of the most solidly constructed localities of the region. Two years later, in the spring, the Ḥamdānid prince Sayf al-Dawla was defeated there by the troops of the Ikhshīd of Cairo. In the second half of the 4th/10th century, Ķinnasrīn became the object of contention in the struggle between the Byzantines and the Ḥamdānids. At the approach of the Byzantines, in 351/963, the inhabitants fled from the city in panic. After the Ḥamdānid period, Ķinnasrīn began to decline to the benefit of Aleppo. In 355/966, when Nicephorus Phocas advanced against Aleppo, Sayf ad-Dawla fell back upon Ķinnasrīn, but being unable to defend it, he evacuated the town and the Byzantines came and burned the mosques. Part of the population settled to the East of the Euphrates and the rest took refuge in Aleppo. Shortly after, the town was repopulated, but in 389/998 it was burnt down and reconstructed once again. In 422/1030, it was again sacked by the Byzantines. Rebuilt at the end of the 5th/11th century by Sulaymān b. Ķuṭulmush [*q.v.*], it was destroyed by his enemy Tādj ad-Dawla Tutush, [*q.v.*] brother of the sultan Malik Shāh [*q.v.*]. It remained virtually uninhabited. Nāsir i-Khusraw, passing that way in *Radjab* 438/January 1047, saw nothing but a poor village.

In the period of the Crusades, Ķinnasrīn was to play only a strategic role and was scarcely populated at all. In Muḥarram 513/April-May 1119, without occupying Aleppo, Il-Ghāzī installed himself in Ķinnasrīn, made it a depot for military equipment and made raids against Ḥārim, the Rudj and Djabal Summaķ.

Some years later, Tughtakīn of Damascus joined forces with Aķsunķur and together they attacked Aleppo. Sawār, *amīr* of Aleppo in the name of Zankī, made Ķinnasrīn an operational base. In 529/1134-5 Pons of Tripoli laid siege to the place, which was relieved by Zankī, arriving in haste from Ḥimṣ. The traveller Ibn Djubayr (end of the 6th/12th century) describes the town as being in a state of abandonment and ruin.

From the time of the Ayyūbid period (7th/13th century), Ķinnasrīn is no longer mentioned as a town, but its *khān* is noted as a halting-place for caravans journeying from Aleppo towards the south, and, beyond the crossroads of al-Athārib, towards the west. Pilgrims continued to make their way to Tell Nabī ʿĪsā, one of the hills of the town, to the tomb (*maķām*, *ķabr*) attributed to the prophet Ṣāliḥ [*q.v.*] which is in fact the burial-place of the *amīr* Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās. In the Ottoman period, Ķinnasrīn was nothing more than an impoverished village, bearing the name Eski Ḥaleb. At the present day, it has returned to its original name.

2. The djund. Around Ķinnasrīn there extends a

vast undulating plain (*kūra*); this is one of the most fertile regions of northern Syria where, with the aid of irrigation, cereals, fruit trees and vines are cultivated. In 375 Saint Jerome, visiting the province where at that time monasticism and asceticism were developing, testified to its agricultural prosperity.

On the horizon, there are visible to the south the Djabal Zāwiya, to the west the Djabal Barīsha, to the north the Djabal Samʿān and the plain of Mardj Dābiḳ punctuated by tells, while to the east there are the shining salt-marshes of Djabbūl. The Arabs penetrated at an early stage the territory of Ḳinnasrīn, which corresponded to one of the Byzantine administrative divisions of Syria, representing the Roman "Syria Prima" of which Antioch was the capital. In the 6th century, Arab tribes were encamped in the eastern part of the region between the Euphrates and Ḳinnasrīn. Among the battles which took place on this territory, one may note the victory won in 554 A.D. near the source of the ʿUdhayya by the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith over the Lakhmid al-Mundhir of al-Ḥīra.

After the Muslim conquest, Syria was divided into four *adjnād*: the *djund* of Urdunn, that of Filasṭīn, that of Dimashḳ and that of Ḥimṣ. The creation of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn is attributed by some (al-Ṭabarī and al-Dimashḳī) to Muʿāwiya, who installed refugees from Baṣra and Kūfa there in 22/643, by others (al-Balādhurī, Yāḳūt) to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, who detached some districts from the *djund* of Hims.

In the ʿAbbāsid period, following the conquests of al-Manṣūr and his successors, the *djund* grew in size towards the north; at this time it covered its greatest expanse of territory. It absorbed to the north Ḳurūṣ, Tīzīn, Dulūk, to the north-west ʿAyntab at a distance of two days' march, and Ḳalʿat al-Rūm [*q.v.*] at a distance of five days' march from Aleppo. To the south, it included the districts of the two Maʿarras (M. Misrīn and M. al-Nuʿmān) and of Ḥamāt, and the territory of Sarmīn.

Under the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-92/786-809), the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn was deprived, to the west, of the territory stretching from Antioch to the coast, to the east, of the region lying between Aleppo and Manbidj, and to the north, of the *thughūr*, districts which were to constitute the region of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*]. The *djund* was then limited to the area lying to the south of Aleppo. This was the end of its period of military importance, but economic activity continued, as is shown by the increases in taxation and in the tribute payed to al-Maʾmūn. In the 3rd/9th century, the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn paid 350,000 *dīnārs* while that of Damascus paid only 120,000. In the mid-4th/10th century, the *djund* paid 400,000 *dīnārs* of *kharādj*, the same as Dimashḳ, and 370,000 of *ḥimāya* [*q.v.*]. The capital was then Aleppo, and the principal cities Antāḳiya, Ḳinnasrīn and Manbidj. Its limits were to the west, the coast from Lādhiḳiya to Bayās, to the north, Marʿash and the ʿAwāṣim, to the east the Euphrates between Sumaysāt and Bālis, and to the south, the region of Ḥamāt with Shayzar and Rafaniyya, a region claimed by both Ḳinnasrīn and Ḥimṣ.

In 349/961, Nicephorus Phocas attacked the region of Aleppo; he returned two years later to sow the ruins, and the population went in search of refuge elsewhere. The intervention of the Basileus led to the disappearance of the ʿAwāṣim, to the advantage of the Byzantines who occupied Antāḳiya. The reconstruction of northern Syria under the Saldjūḳs scarcely touched the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn. In the 12th century, the latter came under pressure from the Franks of Antioch, especially in 495/1102 when Bohemond demanded tribute. In Ṣafar 527/Dec. 1132, Fulk of Jerusalem and the armies of Antioch attacked the territory of Ḳinnasrīn and imposed a truce with the addition of tribute upon Sawār, the Aleppo representative of the *Atabeg* Zankī.

At the end of the 7th/13th century, the *djund*, which retained its name in spite of the dominance of Aleppo, retrieved from the Franks the province of Antāḳiya and the lands of Sarmīn.

Under the Ottomans, in the mid-11th/18th century, Hādjdjī Khalīfa still speaks of "the province of Ḳinnasrīn of which the capital is Aleppo". Later, the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn disappeared and was integrated into the *liwāʾ* of Aleppo.

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(N. Elisséeff)

ḲINṬĀR [see makāyīl].

ḲIPČAḲ, a Turkish people and tribal confederation; usually also written Ḳīpčāḳ or Ḳifčāḳ; the forms Ḳifčākh, Khifshāḳ, Ḳifshākh and Khifčākh are also found. The etymology of the name is uncertain: the origin of the Old Turkish word *ḳīvčaḳ* (*ḳībčaḳ*), which is known only in the form *ḳīvčaḳ ḳovī* "unlucky" (Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 581), is conjectural, as well the connection with the Sagai word *ḳīpčaḳ* "irate, hot-tempered". The proper name Ḳīpčaḳ is recorded in the Uyghur texts. See Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1899, ii, 843-5. In later popular and learned etymologies (first in Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Berezin = *Trudy Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, vii, 23, later in Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 19) *ḳīpčaḳ* is connected with *ḳobuḳ* or *ḳobī* and explained as a "hollow tree trunk"; at the same time a legend is told of the birth of a boy from a hollow trunk; the boy is said to have been adopted by Oghuz Khān [cf. kimāk] and to have been given a separate territory as a fief. The relation of the tribe Ḳīpčaḳ, emerging in the Western Siberian steppes, to the other Turkish tribes is unclear. Gardīzī (text in W. Barthold, *Otčet v poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*,

82 = ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 258) mentions the Ḳïpčaḳ along with the Īmāk as a division of the Kimak [see GHUZZ] who lived on the Irtish, [*q.v.*] although the earlier anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 19a tr. Minorsky, 101, § 21, comm. 315-17) says that the Ḳïpčaḳ had separated from the Kīmāk and dwelled to the north of the Pečenegs. Ibn Khurraddādhbih, 31, l. 9, and, following him, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 329, l. 3, tr. Massé 388, mention the Ḳïpčaḳ along with the Kīmāk as a separate people. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, i, 273, describes the Yimāk (*sic*) on the Irtish as a subdivision of the Ḳïpčaḳ, not of the Kīmāk. In another passage of the same work (iii, 22) we are told that the Yimāk are a Turkish tribe (*djīl min al-turk*), the same "as we call Ḳïpčaḳ" (*wa-hum al-ḳifdjāḳiyya ʿindanā*); the Ḳïpčaḳ themselves thought they were a separate branch (*thumma atrāk ḳifdjāḳ yaʿuddūna anfusahum ḥizban ākhara*). The Kīmāk mentioned by Muḳaddasī, 274 l. 3, at Ṣawrān must have been Ḳïpčaḳ. In connection with the advance of the Ḳïpčaḳ from north to south is the appearance (first in the 5th/11th century in the *Dīwān* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw; cf. Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, i, 227) of the name *Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ* for *Mafāzat al-Ghuzz*, cf. *ibid.*, ii, 168. The Ḳïpčaḳ (Khifčāḳ) are already mentioned by Bayhaḳī, ed. Morley, 91, as neighbours of Khʷārazm. According to Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, 102, the Ḳïpčaḳ appear in history for the first time in 514/1120-1 in Ibn al-Athīr, x, 399, as allies of the Georgians; according to Marquart (*ibid.*, 136) the kingdom of the Ḳïpčaḳ was founded by people who emigrated from Manchuria in connection with the rise of the Čurč (the Chinese Kin Dynasty); cf. thereon, P. Pelliot, in *JA*, ser. ii, xv, 125 ff. That the term Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ was also extended to South Russia is shown by the evidence of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* ed. Le Strange, 21, 238, that Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ is the same as Dasht-i Khazar. Altogether it seems to be sure, that in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries a loose political unit of Turkish tribes (including the Kīmāk) existed under this name in the above-mentioned territories. In the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Ḳïpčaḳ tribes moved to the Russian steppes, pushing the Oghuz toward the western areas of the Pontus region. [see GHUZZ]. After 1064 they became the lords of these territories, which they kept until the Mongol invasion. Among the Ḳïpčaḳ tribes, the Ḳuman (called Polovtzī by the Russians and Comani by Western Europeans) were the dominant element which played an important role in the history of Byzantium, Bulgaria and Hungary. They are often identified with the whole of the Ḳïpčaḳ tribal confederation. The Ḳïpčaḳ in South Russia were exposed not only to the influence of Islam but also to that of Christianity; a prince of the Ḳïpčaḳ (Chinese Kin-čʾa) in the time of the Mongol invasion (the same prince is mentioned in Russian annals) was called George (Russ. Yuriy, hence Chinese Yü-li-ghi, in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, ii, 297 ff. and Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 150). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Christian Ḳïpčaḳ at Ḳerč [*q.v.*]; the so-called "Codex Cumanicus" must be regarded as a memorial of the spread of Christianity among the Ḳïpčaḳ. The name Ḳïpčaḳ survived the Mongol invasion; it was later transferred to the empire of the Golden Horde. The Ḳïpčaḳ military slaves, coming to the Near East, especially to Egypt, played an important role in the history of this area as the Baḥrī Mamlūks [see AL-BAḤRIYYA and MAMLŪKS]. The first scant information concerning the language of the Ḳïpčaḳ is due to al-Kashgharī. According to his *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, ii, 253, iii, 23, the dialect of the Ḳïpčaḳ had the same phonetic pecularities as the dialect of the Ghuzz, with dj for *y* at the beginning of a word. The first linguistic record relating to the Ḳïpčaḳ (Ḳuman) language is the Codex Cumanicus. From the Ḳïpčaḳ Mamlūks, several linguistic monuments are known. From the Armenians in Poland and in Ukraine, speaking a special Ḳïpčaḳ dialect, several literary and other documents have come down to us. One section of the Turkish languages, according to the ethnic and historical relation of these peoples to the Ḳïpčaḳ tribes and regions, is also called Ḳïpčaḳ. The Ḳïpčaḳ are no longer mentioned after the Mongol period; like many other early names of peoples (Ḳarluḳ, Uyghur, Nayman etc.) the name Ḳïpčaḳ is found as the name of a family or of a minor tribal unit among the Bashkir, Nogai, Ḳïrghïz and Uzbek. The Ḳïpčaḳ are particularly associated with Farghāna in the modern history of Central Asia, cf. KHOḲAND.

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ḲÏR SHEHIR [see ḲÏRSHEHIR].

KIRĀʾ (A.), a legal term meaning the leasing or hiring out of things. This is a contract in every way like a contract of sale, but with this difference that a sale aims at transferring the possession of something in exchange for the sale price, whilst leasing or hiring out aims at the beneficial use or enjoyment of a thing for a fixed period to time in return for a hiring fee. It is accordingly the sale of a beneficial use (*bayʿ al-manāfiʿ*) and is built around the procedure for a contract of sale. The only differences are those which are inherent in the differing nature of the two contracts, but both of them come into the category of commutative contracts (*muʿāwaḍāt*), of which sale is the leading example. The term "commutative contract" is used in practice for all procedures (sale, exchange, loan, leasing or hiring out, settlement, etc.) in which we have the transfer of property (*milk*) or beneficial use (*manāfiʿ*) in return for the handing-over of an equivalent.

The essential elements of a contract of leasing or hiring out are (a) the contracting parties, the lessor (*kārī*) and the lessee (*muktarī*); (b) the object in question (*al-maʿḳūd ʿalayh*), i.e. the thing hired out and the sum corresponding to its beneficial use (*adjr*); and (c) the form or embodiment of the agreement (*ṣīgha*). The effects of a contract of this kind are those of a contract of sale, except for the differences arising out of the specific natures of the two contracts.

The contract is not dissolved by the deaths of either of the two contracting parties; the heirs have the power to re-negociate the contract. Hiring or leasing can always be annulled when there is an excuse (*ʿudhr*).

The types of objects which may be leased or hired out. Whilst *idjāra* [see IDJĀR] is the hiring out of a service and of movable objects, with the exception of ships and beasts which are used for

transportation, the term *kirāʾ* is used for these last and for immovable property. Hence in practice, *kirāʾ* may be a contract for transporting something. According to Ibn ʿArafa, it is in this case the sale of the beneficial use of an animal or of something else like a ship for purposes of transport. But the transporting of objects must be distinguished from the transporting of persons. Mālik sees there a *locatio operis*. Other Mālikīs pronounce in favour of a hiring out of services. The Shāfiʿīs consider this contract as a hiring out of objects. But in any case, the hiring out of beasts or burden and ships (*kirāʾ al-rawāḥil wa 'l-sufun*) is perfectly admissible, whether the beasts are individually determined or not.

Hiring out can cover land (*kirāʾ al-arḍ*), and the leasing of rural properties existed before Islam, under two forms: (a) *kirāʾ* involving payment of money; and (b) *kirāʾ* involving the making over of a proportion of the produce of the property (*mukhābara*). This last form must have been the commoner one, in view of the scarcity of coinage.

The last type of hiring out of an object is *kirāʾ muʾabbad* or *conductio perpetua*, the lease in return for a quit-rent of ancient French law. It is the equivalent of our emphyteusis or emphyteutic lease. In Egypt, this institution is known under the name of *mudda ṭawīla*, in Algeria as *ʿanāʾ*, and in Morocco as *kirāʾ ʿalā 'l-tabḳiya*; all these names indicate the idea of a perpetual lease.

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(A. M. DELCAMBRE)

ḲIRĀʾA, reading. Applied to the Ḳurʾān, *ḳirāʾa* also means *recitation*. In the present article the term *ḳirāʾa* is used as follows: 1. in the general sense of the recitation (a) of single parts of the Ḳurʾān, as prescribed for the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), or the recitation (b) of the entire Ḳurʾān, which has become, in the course of years, an accepted spiritual exercise (*ḳirāʾa* = recitation); 2. to indicate a special reading of a word or of a single passage of the Ḳurʾān (*ḳirāʾa*, pl. *ḳirāʾāt* = variant); 3. to indicate a particular reading of the entire Ḳurʾān (*ḳirāʾa* = reading). In the third case one speaks of the *ḳirāʾa* of Ibn Masʿūd or of the *ḳirāʾa* of the people of Kūfa as opposed to the *ḳirāʾa* of other authorities or to the redaction authorised by ʿUthmān.

The recitation of texts proclaimed by Muḥammad as revelation played from the very beginning a prominent part in the Muslim community. This is already evident from the fact that the collection of these revelations was designated as *ḳurʾān* "recitation". However, the Ḳurʾān had not yet been codified at the death of the Prophet and the form of Arabic letters used to note down single parts of it and later on the whole collection was very incomplete; in a group of consonants a choice between two or more readings was possible. Consequently, disagreements soon arose on exactly how to read the revealed text. The promulgation of a canonical redaction of the Ḳurʾān under the third caliph ʿUthmān (soon after 30/650) was intended to remedy this evil. Copies of this redaction were sent from Medina to Kūfa, Baṣra and Damascus, the most important cities of ʿIrāḳ and Syria. After a relatively short period, this redaction seems to have been generally accepted as the official text, finally even at Kūfa where Ibn Masʿūd (d. 33/653), the distinguished Companion of the Prophet, who maintained a "reading" of his own, had at first called upon his followers to resist.

On the whole, the text of ʿUthmān had a strong unifying influence, which was felt to an increasing extent. But a really uniform *ḳirāʾa* was not thereby guaranteed. During recitation, which was essentially based on oral tradition, readings deviating from the official edition continued to be followed. In so far as these readings went back to recognised authorities of the early period and to trustworthy witnesses, they were also noted by commentators on the Ḳurʾān and philologists, and turned to exegetic or linguistic account. Thus variant readings of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy b. Kaʿb (d. 29/649 or 34/654) and other early "readers", which deviated from the official text, were transmitted in early scholarly literature and have therefore come down to us, at least in extracts. The *ḳirāʾa* of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) was later even inserted among the "fourteen readings" (see below).

Further development was on characteristic lines. The untramelled freedom with which the text had been treated in the earliest times was followed by a period of systematisation and limitation of the possibilities of the "readings" which the consonantal text and the oral tradition offered. However, complete unification was not achieved. People neither would nor could simply set aside the power of tradition. Thus the free choice on the *ḳirāʾa* was limited, but not entirely forbidden. While reading the officially accepted consonantal text (already in itself constituting a limitation), the "reader" could still make a choice between a certain number of authorities. In its detail the history of Ḳurʾān reading is very complex. The scanty and sometimes unreliable sources leave much uncertain. In general, however, the course of development is clearly recognisable, thanks in particular to the penetrating studies of G. Bergsträsser (in collaboration with O. Pretzl) and E. Beck (see *Bibl.*). In this article only the essential aspects will be briefly mentioned.

Important progress in the standardisation of the "reading" was achieved by differentiating the letters *b, t, th, n, y* etc. by means of strokes (later dots) and by introducing vowel signs. The redaction of ʿUthmān, being officially recognised, gained in importance by this clarification. With the passage of time, other differences were gradually eliminated. Such a levelling seems at first to have been accomplished within single cities (*amṣār*), and later on through the influence of one city on another. Majority readings tended to prevail over minority readings, thus leading towards a general consensus. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Mudjāhid (d. 324/936), the influential *Imām* of the "readers" in Baghdād, publicly and with governmental support brought this process to its logical conclusion. He banned further use of the *ḳirāʾat* of Ibn Masʿūd and other uncanonical readings. Ibn Shanabūdh, a contemporary and fellow-reader of Ibn Mudjāhid, complied with this ban only after he had been arraigned and flogged. In addition, Ibn Mudjāhid declared the reading of the ʿUthmānic consonantal text, standardised by tradition and consensus, to be obligatory, and compelled Ibn Miḳsam, an other fellow-reader, to renounce the claim which he had maintained until that moment that he could decide for himself on the punctuation and vocalisation of the text. As authorities on the traditional reading of the ʿUthmānic text, Ibn Mudjāhid recognised seven "readers" belonging to the 2nd/8th century, among whom were ʿĀṣim of Kūfa (d. 128/745) and Nāfiʿ of Medina (d. 169/785), whose readings have both remained authoritative

to the present day, that of ʿĀṣim in the east and centre of the Islamic world, and that of Nāfiʿ—with some exceptions—in North Africa from Egypt westwards. To the seven "readers" recognised by Ibn Mudjāhid were added later on three others, and afterwards another four, but these never attained the same standing as the first seven. Furthermore, since Ibn Mudjāhid, in mentioning ʿĀṣim—one of the Seven—had often named two others, Abū Bakr Shuʿba (d. 193/809) and Ḥafṣ (d. 180/796), who transmitted ʿĀṣim's reading independently of one another, it became customary to add also the names of two other traditionists to each of the other six and of the "Three after the Seven". Thus originated the bewildering number of names in the list of readers recognised as canonical (*Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 186-9; Blachère, 118-23; Bell-Watt, 49 ff.).

After the readings had been limited to the "Seven" recognised as canonical, and to the other "Three after the Seven" and "Four after the Ten", all the others were eliminated in the practice of recitation. The "readers" henceforward had to keep exclusively to the canonical readings. This however did not completely rule out the uncanonical "deviant" (*shawādhdh*) readings. They were later adduced as useful evidence in the practical interpretation of the Ḳur'ān and in the elucidation of linguistic problems. Besides his "Book of the Seven" (*Kitāb al-Sabʿa*, ed. Sh. Ḍayf, see *Bibl.*) Ibn Mudjāhid also composed a "Book of deviant readings" (*Kitāb al-Shawādhdh*), which is not extant. The debate on the uncanonical *ḳirā'āt* was carried on throughout the centuries in a scholarly literature of growing importance. Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī's (d. 316/928) *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* and Ibn Mudjāhid's works already mentioned were followed—to cite only a few of the most important names—by the monographs on uncanonical readings of Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980) and Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002), by al-Dānī's (d. 444/1053) classical manual of the Seven Ḳur'ān-readings (verse version by al-Shāṭibī, d. 590/1194) and his works on orthography, punctuation of the vowels and other punctuation marks, by Ibn al-Djazarī's (d. 833/1429) works on the Ten readings and on the classes (*ṭabaḳāt*) of readers, and finally by al-Bannā''s (1117/1705) book on the Fourteen readings. For the practice of recitation, the literary tradition constituted, in contrast with early times, an almost indispensable complement to oral instruction.

The knowledge of Ḳur'ān-reading (*ʿilm al-ḳirā'a*) had become a distinct theological discipline and had many practitioners, few of whom, however, wrote books on it. In this connection, it becomes understandable that the official Egyptian Ḳur'ān of 1924 (following the reading of ʿĀṣim in the tradition of Ḥafṣ) is not founded on early Ḳur'ānic manuscripts, but is the result of reconstructions derived from the literature on the readings (see Bergsträsser, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 5 ff.).

In the recitation by professional "readers" (see above), a distinction is made between an incantatory, a rapid and a moderate tempo (*tartīl* or *taḥḳīḳ*—*ḥadr*—*tadwīr*). The manner of execution can be designated as cantillation, but there are also intricate musical settings (see the studies by K. Huber and M. Talbi). The technique of reciting is laid down in detail in works on the *ḳirā'āt*.

Special importance is attributed to the rules of pronunciation, including the theory of assimilation (*idghām* [*q.v.*], *iddighām*), the modification of *a* into *e* (*imāla*), extension (*madd*), forms of the pause (*waḳf*) and the conservation or alleviation (*tabdīl*) of *hamza* (see O. Pretzl's analysis of a typical treatise on the *uṣūl al-ḳirā'a*, in *Islamica*, vi (1934), 230, 291-331). The time required for private oral instruction is greatly increased by the fact that, since Ibn Mudjāhid, several different *Imāms* and Schools of Readers have been officially recognised. According to a distinctive method known as "assembling" (*djamʿ*) "the Ḳur'ān verse is divided into small fragments, each one of which is recited as often as there are variants of it, each time with another variant" (see the instructive passage, "Koranlesungsunterricht", by Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xx (1932), 36-42). When the whole of the Ḳur'ān is recited, the separate readings must be considered as self-contained units; the "readers" are thus not free to combine the text of their recitation from different *ḳirā'āt* (Bergsträsser, *ibid.*, 29 ff.). These, however, are details which concern only an élite of "readers". The great mass of the *ḳurrā'*, consisting largely of blind men, would in any case limit themselves from the start to the study of a single reading (*Ḥafṣ ʿan ʿĀṣim*, in the west *Warsh ʿan Nāfiʿ*). In general, the originally large number of readings has given way in the course of centuries to a far-reaching uniformity both in the practice of recitation and in the theoretical *ʿilm al-ḳirā'a*.

The history of the text of the Ḳur'ān and of the *ḳirā'āt* has also been studied by European and American orientalists, notably Nöldeke and Goldziher, followed by A. Jeffery, G. Bergsträsser, O. Pretzl and E. Beck (see *Bibl.*). Important sources have been published, and separate stages of development reconstructed. Jeffery, and likewise Bergsträsser in association with Pretzl, planned an apparatus criticus for the Ḳur'ān. Bergsträsser and Pretzl had begun a systematic collection of photostats of early manuscripts of the Ḳur'ān in the hope of discovering variants not registered in the literature. Because of their untimely death (1933 and 1941), this research came to a standstill. Jeffery also died (1959) without having realised his vast project. The task, however, remains to evaluate the known and still unknown variants for the study of old Arabian dialects and in general for a future historical grammar of Arabic. Whether much will emerge to the profit of the historical interpretation of the Ḳur'ān remains to be seen. The harvest so far obtained by Bergsträsser and Beck is rather meagre and promises no new results of any importance. During the last years of his life, Pretzl himself had apparently "retreated from the generally high appreciation of the manuscripts and readings of the Ḳur'ān". August Fischer, who noted this *en passant* in a posthumous article (*Isl.* xxviii (1948), 5 f. n. 4), also cited a passage from Spitaler's obituary of Pretzl (*ZDMG* xcvi (1942), 163 ff.). In Fischer's opinion the Ḳur'ānic textual variants "*for the most part* (emphasis by Fischer) consist of no more than attempts at emendation made by philologically trained Ḳur'ān specialists on difficult passages in the ʿUthmānic redaction".

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ĶIRĀ'A [see TADRĪS].

ĶIRĀḌ (also *muḳāraḍa* and *muḍāraba*, cf. below), a commercial arrangement in which an investor (*ṣāḥib al-māl*) or group of investors entrusts capital or merchandise to an agent-manager (*'āmil, muḳāriḍ, muḍārib*) who is to trade with it and then return it to the investor with the principal and previously agreed-upon share of the profits. As a reward for his labour, the agent receives the remaining share of the profits. However, in case of a loss resulting from an unsuccessful business venture, the agent is in no way liable for the return of the lost investment. He loses his expended time, effort, and anticipated share of the profit, while it is the investor who exclusively bears the direct financial loss.

The *ḳirāḍ* combined the advantages of a loan with those of a partnership (*sharika*); and while containing elements characteristic of both contracts, cannot be strictly classified in either category. In all Islamic legal writings, it is treated as a distinct and independent contract with a separate section or book (*kitāb*) devoted to it. As in partnership, profits and risks in the *ḳirāḍ* are shared by both parties, the investor risking capital, the agent his time and effort. However, in the *ḳirāḍ*, unlike a partnership, no joint capital is formed and the investor does not become directly or jointly liable with the agent in transactions with third parties; indeed, third parties need not ever be aware of the investor's existence. As in a loan, the *ḳirāḍ* generally entailed no liability for the investor beyond the sum of money or quantity of commodities handed over to the agent; and in the event of its successful completion, the agent returned the capital plus a share of the profits (the latter, corresponding to the interest in an interest-bearing loan).

The agent's complete freedom under normal trading circumstances from any liability for the capital in the event of partial or total loss and the disjunction between the owners of the capital and third parties are novel and distinctive features of the *ḳirāḍ* which made it a particularly suitable instrument for long-distance trade.

Although commercial arrangements resembling the *ḳirāḍ* were known in the Near Eastern and Mediterranean world from the earliest times, it appears very likely that its direct origins were indigenous to the Arabian peninsula, having developed in the context of the pre-Islamic Arabian caravan trade. With the Arab conquests, it spread to the Near East, North Africa and ultimately to Southern Europe. Its introduction in the form of the *commenda* in the Italian seaports of the late 10th and early 11th centuries A.D. was germinal to the expansion of mediaeval European trade. The *ḳirāḍ* was the subject of lengthy and detailed discussion in the earliest Islamic legal compendia (late 2nd/8th century). Its legal treatment in these early treatises bears the hallmark of long experience with the *ḳirāḍ* as an established commercial institution. Although not mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, numerous traditions attribute its practice to the Prophet and his leading companions (e.g. Shirbīnī, *Mughnī al-muhtādj*, ii, 309; Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxii, 18-19; Shaybānī, *Aṣl muḍāraba*, fol. 42). From the sparse indications available, it appears that this form of commercial association continued through the early centuries of the Islamic era as a mainstay of caravan and long-distance trade. In one of the very few mediaeval Arabic treatises of commerce, Dimashḳī's *The beauties of commerce* (probably 5th/11th century), the *ḳirāḍ* is cited as one of the three methods by which trade is carried out;

Ghazālī lists it among the six commercial contracts, "the knowledge of which is indispensable to anyone seeking gain in trade" (*Iḥyā*ʾ, ii, 66). The documents from the Cairo Geniza (5th-7th/11th-13th centuries) are replete with numerous examples of *commenda* agreements which account for a considerable share of the commercial activity reflected in these documents. Thus we may conclude that not only in law, but in practice as well, the *ḳirāḍ* constituted one of the most widespread instruments of commercial activity.

Three Arabic terms are used to designate this contract: *ḳirāḍ*, *muḳāraḍa*, and *muḍāraba* and the terms are interchangeable with no essential difference in meaning or connotation among them. The divergence in terminology was probably originally due to geographical factors. The terms *ḳirāḍ* and *muḳārada* apparently originated in the Arabian peninsula, and the term *muḍāraba* was of ʿIrāḳī provenance. Subsequently, the difference was perpetuated by the legal schools, the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs adopting the term *ḳirāḍ* and, to a lesser degree, *muḳāraḍa*, and the Ḥanafīs the term *muḍāraba*.

As in the case of several other commercial arrangements, Islamic law justifies the licitness of the *ḳirāḍ* contract on the religious grounds of traditional practice (*sunna*), the consensus of the community (*idjmāʿ*) and, more interestingly, on the practical grounds of its economic function in society. After quoting a series of traditions describing the *ḳirāḍ*'s use in trade by the Prophet and his companions, Sarakhsī adds that it is also allowed: "Because people have a need for this contract. For the owner of capital may not find his way to profitable trading activity, and the person who can find his way to such activity may not have the capital. And profit cannot be attained except by means of both of these, that is, capital and trading activity. By permitting this contract, the goal of both parties is attained" (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxii, 19).

Sarakhsī's summary of the *ḳirāḍ*'s economic function highlights one of the most important aspects of this contract's rôle in Near Eastern commerce, and helps explain its widespread use in mediaeval trade. For the investor, the *ḳirāḍ* served as a means of hiring trading skill, and for the agent-manager, as a means of hiring capital. Since, in the mediaeval commercial context, profit could be realised only by the combination of capital and trading activity, the *ḳirāḍ*, especially for the purposes of long-distance trade, became an ideal instrument to attain a profitable goal.

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(A. L. Udovitch)

ḲIRĀN, in Islamic astrology "the conjunction". Without further qualification, this refers to the mean or true conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter. The conjunctions of these two planets were combined, apparently by Sasanid astrologers, with the Hellenistic doctrine of the triplicities to form the basis of one of several methods of predicting the course of history available to mediaeval astrology.

The four triplicities were associated with the four sublunar elements as follows:

Fire	Earth	Air	Water
Aries	Taurus	Gemini	Cancer
Leo	Virgo	Libra	Scorpio
Sagittarius	Capricorn	Aquarius	Pisces

Mean conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter occur once in about every 20 years with a longitudinal increment of about 242;25°; for twelve or thirteen conjunctions, then, or about 240 or 260 years, they stay within the same triplicity, and it takes about 960 years (i.e. approximately a millennium) for the conjunctions to return to the triplicity in which the cycle started. The return of the conjunctions to the triplicity of fire (to Aries) in about a millennium was thought to indicate the appearance of a new prophet; the transfer of the conjunctions from one triplicity to the next in about 240 or 260 years was taken to signify a possible change in the dominant dynasty; and the occurrence of each individual conjunction was believed to portend lesser shifts in political, military, or economic status. The details of these predictions depended upon the horoscopes of the beginnings of the solar years in which the conjunctions occurred.

This theory of conjunctions usually appears in consort with various other elements of political astrology, all of which seem to have originated in the Zoroastrian millennarianism of Sasanid Iran. These other methods are: the revolutions of the world-years; the cosmic cycles—i.e. the mighty, big, middle, and small varieties of the *ḳisma*, the *intihā*ʾ, and the *fardār*s of the planets; the mighty years of the planets; and the planetary lords of the millennia, centuries, decades, and single years. These elaborate systems for predicting religious and political change, together with the related theory of the conjunctions of the maleficent planets, Saturn and Mars, in Cancer every 30 years, appealed strongly to dissident groups in the early ʿAbbāsid period and later, and especially to these with Iranian connections; in particular, one may mention the Ḳarmaṭians and the Ismāʿīlīs. Many leading astrologers wrote expositions of the significance of the conjunctions, including Māshāʾallāh and Abū Maʿshar; through their writings, this form of political astrology was transmitted to Western Europe, where it became extremely popular during the Renaissance.

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ḲĪRĀṬ [see makāyīl].

ḲIRD (a., fem. *ḳirda*, pl. *ḳurūd, aḳrād, ḳirad, ḳirada, ḳarida*), a substantive having the general sense of "monkey", but representing in fact, among the simians of the Ancient World, only the members of two families, the colobids and the cercopithecids, the only primates known in ancient Arabia. Egypt, Abyssinia, Somalia, the Yemen and ʿUmān in fact constitute favourite habitats of baboons (genus *Papio*) and macaques or cynocephalous magots (genus *Macaca*). Both types live there in groups of which the total population can vary from a dozen to a hundred; each of these societies, which are based on polygamous family units, is subject to the authority of a male leader and this animal social organisation has not failed to attract the attention of those Arab writers who have spoken about monkeys. Since ancient times, the peoples of southern Arabia have looked with respect and circumspection tinged with an element of superstitious fear at the colonies of hamadryad baboons (*Papio hamadryas*) and of green baboons (*Papio anubis*) infesting the areas of high ground. In the times of the Pharaohs, the Egyptians deified these monkeys, and there was certainly a time when, in pre-Islamic Arabia, these animals were taboo. Were they demons incarnate, maleficent genii or metamorphoses of men? There was no shortage of questions for the credulous Bedouin to ask himself, and more especially, there was the ever-current legend according to which Solomon made a pact with the race of monkeys, setting them to guard the demons vanquished by the genii. Even in the 4th/10th century, Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] and al-Masʿūdī report, with complete seriousness, that among these troupes of monkeys there is found one larger than the rest wearing at his neck the seal bestowed by Solomon. Apart from the involvement of the latter in the world of monkeys, there was alive in the minds of men the legend, of Talmudic origin (*Sanhedrin*, 109a), of the divine curse inflicted upon some of the builders of the tower of Babel; their expiatory punishment was to be changed into monkeys for all eternity. This curse was to be confirmed by the Ḳurʾān (II, 61/65; VII, 166; V, 65/60) where it is said: "those whom He has cursed, He has changed into monkeys and pigs". Popular belief in such metamorphoses (*maskh*, pl. *musūkh* [*q.v.*], encouraged by successful fables such as the *Thousand and one nights* (for metamorphoses of men into monkeys, see nights 9, 12, 299, 624), was to persist for a long time in the bosom of Islam, in spite of categorical refutations on the part of the Prophet reported in certain *ḥadīth*s (see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt*, ii, 243-4), according to Ibn ʿAbbās. More sceptical, al-Djāḥiẓ did not omit to set these alleged retrograde mutations in the realm of fiction (*Ḥayawān*, i, 309).

By nature less inclined towards superstition than the nomads, the settled people of the Yemen and of ʿUmān were familiar with the baboons of their region and also with other monkeys imported from East Africa, and were able at a very early stage to domesticate the young animals and to use them for such menial services as turning millstones; butchers and grocers used them to guard their goods (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*). The cunning and agility of the monkey were also exploited by thieves for picking pockets and housebreaking. So the monkey became a part of the every-day life of man, to almost the same extent as the dog, and the term *ḳird* was no longer sufficient to differentiate between ages and sexes; a terminology based on exterior traits filled this gap. Thus the large male baboon was called *rubaḥ* or *rubbāḥ* (whence the form II verb *rabbaḥa* "to train monkeys"); he was known also as *ḳurduḥ*/*ḳurdūḥ*, *ḥawdal*, *ḥibn*, and his thick fur hood earned him the epithets *habbār*, *hawbar*. In the Ḥidjāz he was known as *hidjris*, a name for the fox in other countries. The female and the young monkey, smaller in stature than the male and with less hair, were known, according to different places and people, as *daḥya*, *ḳishsha*, *ilḳa*. In spite of these cases of domestication, which were in fact limited in number, relations between men and monkeys were not always so peaceable, and it happened quite often that as a result of the proliferation of the simian species, rural populations had to take issue with destructive and aggressive hordes; speaking of baboons, al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*..., 2nd clime, section 6) remarks that, in ʿUmān, it is sometimes necessary to repel them with spears and arrows, and al-Maḳrīzī notes (*Khiṭaṭ*, and quoted in the *Manhal al-ṣāfī* of Ibn Taghrībirdī) in referring to a *ḳāḍī* of Mogadishu in Somalia, that in about the year 800/1398 this town was actually invaded by monkeys which installed themselves there firmly, and that in 839/1435-6, the date of his meeting with the *ḳāḍī*, this permanent occupation was still going on, causing grave annoyance to the inhabitants.

In spite of a fundamental quality of mischief, encouraged by captivity and a sometimes extreme lewdness, stigmatised by the adage *aznā min hidjris*, the Arabs recognised in the monkey qualities lacking in other animals, such as a concern for cleanliness expressed through a continuous and methodical process of delousing, its extreme agility, its astonishing ingenuity and above all its exceptional talent for imitation; these qualities were defined in proverbial expressions such as *aʿlam min hidjris* "more cunning than a monkey", *akyas min ḳishsha* "more sly than a she-monkey", *amlaḥ min rubbāḥ* "more pleasing than a baboon", *aḥkā min ḳird* "more imitative than an ape", and they summed all of this up in the antithesis *al-ḳird ḳabīḥ lākinnahu malīḥ* "rascal though he is, the monkey is agreeable".

The maritime trade of slavers and of Arab and Persian merchants in the Indian Ocean made known to the Muslim world a number of new species of cercopithics and a considerable trade in monkeys developed in the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The hunters, sea-farers from the coastal region of the Ḥaḍramawt, went by preference via the island of Socotra to the coast of East Africa (the country of the Zandj and the country of Sufāla) in search of the magnificent guereza colobes (*Colobus abyssinicus*) with its fine black pelt, an item of great luxury, exported at that time as far as Central Asia and Europe. Al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, 1st clime, section 7) speaks of an "Island of Monkeys" (*djazīrat al-ḳurūd*), in the Indian Ocean (perhaps the island of Pemba or that of Mafia?), where the hunters from Khuria-Muria and of Socotra went to trap monkeys (that is to say, the green monkeys *Cercopithecus callitrichs*, the vervets *Cerc. pygerythrus*, the moustacs *Cerc. cephus*, the grivets *Cerc. Aethiops* and the nisnas *Cerc. pyrrhonotus*) with the aid of small boats propelled to the coast by the tide and the currents. These boats contained delicacies for bait and on the gunwales

there were towing ropes manoeuvred by cords attached to the ship. Attracted by the food, the quadrumans soon crowded together in the boats and it was necessary only to operate the recovery ropes and to bring on board the teeming cargo; depending on the species, some were killed and their pelts sent to the fur market, and others, with collars on their necks, were sold at a high price either to merchants or to aristocratic collectors of rare beasts or to itinerant animal showmen.

It is known, from the chroniclers, and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, § 485) confirms it, that princes of India and of China kept trained monkeys, whose role was to detect poison in food and drink; the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī was advised by Chinese ambassadors to avail himself of the same precaution. But, a century earlier, the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya already had his monkey which accompanied him in processions, mounted on an ass (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*). The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil received, from a king of Nubia, two monkeys, of which one could sew and the other model in clay. On the other hand, the sea-farers of Sīrāf and of ʿUmān, maintaining commercial links with India, the islands of Indonesia and China, were the principal source of information on Asiatic fauna and flora, information exploited by Arab geographers and encyclopaedists from the 3rd/10th to the 7th/13th century; these hardy adventurers brought back, on their return, specimens of quadrumans native to these regions, such as rhesus macaques (*Macaca mulatta*) and crab macaques (*Macaca irus*) and semnopithics or langurs, including the hanouman entellus (*Presbytis entellus*), all of these being untouchable beasts to the Indians. Certain of these monkeys were offered, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, by the *amīr* of ʿUmān, to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muḳtadir bi-llāh to complete his menagerie (*Murūdj*, i, § 487); with hunting dogs and falcons, monkeys were regarded as princely gifts and they were to figure among the presents sent by Hārūn al-Rashīd to Charlemagne on the occasion of the two exchanges of ambassadors between the two sovereigns (181-5/797-801).

For its part, the Maghrib was well acquainted with monkeys through the numerous colonies of apes, known as Barbary macaques (*Macaca inuus*) in the Atlas. Very tame and friendly animals, they are a tourist attraction in the valleys of the Chiffa, in Algeria, and it is well known with what vigilant care the British keep their few specimens imprisoned on the Rock of Gibraltar.

The monkey has always and everywhere had, with its grimaces its mimicry, its mischief and its agility, the power of amuse crowds; among showmen and jugglers, the exhibitor of monkeys (*ḳarrād, ḳurādātī, ḳuraydātī*) was assured, in the Islamic countries, of success in the company of strolling players, in public places, at fairs and in markets. Yemenis and Somalians were the experts in this profession, which, while relatively lucrative, was held in considerable contempt by the upper classes; so, according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, Khālid b. Ṣafwān, in the course of an oratorical contest between the people of North and South Arabia, threw this insult at Ibrāhīm b. Makhrama al-Kindī: "You other Yemenis, you are nothing but exhibitors of monkeys. . ." In spite of this disapproval of public entertainers who were, it must be said, in many cases rogues, the mass of the people, both rural and urban, were attracted to open-air entertainments and to exhibitions of rare and "clever" animals, whether these were monkeys, dogs, bears, or goats. As trained quadrumans were a source of hilarity, the people readily abandoned the term *ḳird* to designate them, substituting expressions of a happier psychological effect; thus, in Syria and in Lebanon, the monkey was called *saʿdān* "lucky charm" and his trainer became the *saʿādnī*, while in Iran, ʿIrāḳ, Turkey and Egypt it was *maymūn*/*mīmūn* "fortune" which prevailed and which by a coincidence perhaps not fortuitous could quite well be linked to the Greek μιμώ "ape" from the verb μιμοῦμαι "imitate, mimic". In the same spirit, the entire Maghrib instinctively adopted, in parallel to the classical substratum, *ḳerd*/*gerd* (pl. *ḳrūd, krūda*/*grūd, grūda*) and the Berber *ibki* (pl. *ibkan*) and *iddū* (pl. *iddawn*), the arabised Persian adjective *shādī* (pl. *shwada, shwāda, shwādī*) "gay, joyous" which must have been introduced by the Turks and which ʿIrāḳ also made its own. Also in the Maghrib, the popular negro *Bū Saʿdiyya*, parodying black magicians, to the terror of small children, is often accompanied in his acts by a trained monkey, which he makes dance to the sound of the tambourine or of the *ghayṭa* [*q.v.*].

Arab authors have said very little about the tricks which the exhibitors of monkeys trained their pupils to perform. Al-Masʿūdī notes simply that the Nubian grivet exhibited in the fairs astonishes the audience by his surprising agility in climbing to the top of a spear fixed in the earth. As for al-Djāḥiẓ who, as an objective naturalist, enquired into the behaviour of monkeys employed by the *aṣḥāb al-ḳirada* (*Ḥayawān*, *passim*), he makes no mention of the kinds of acrobatics that were displayed in public. It is nevertheless easy to imagine them for anyone who has witnessed the displays given in Morocco by the wandering troupes of the Ulād Sīdī Aḥmed ū Mūsā, the native showmen of the Sus, with their performing monkeys, and this on the occasion of local patronal festivals like that of *Lāllā Kassāba* (see E. Laoust, *Noms et cerémonies des feux de joie*, in *Hespéris* (1921), 44). In addition, the ambience of these travelling shows with their dense crowds of curious onlookers has been finely caught by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] in his delightful *maḳāma ḳirdiyya* (*Maḳāmāt*, Cairo 1923, 104-6; Fr. tr. S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris 1827, iii, 246-7) where the *ḳārrād* is none other than the waggish Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī constrained by vicissitudes to occupy this dismal condition. One of the most familiar street characters, the exhibitor of monkeys, is not absent from the stories of the *Thousand and one nights*, notably in the very salacious tale of the nymphomaniac princess who ravished one of his animals (Nights 355-7).

In Islam, as elsewhere, to liken a man to a monkey was one of the most degrading insults. Among the Muslims of Spain, in periods of friction between the communities, while the pig and the dog were used as epithets for the Christians, the name "monkey" was generally reserved for the Jews, in reminiscence of the Ḳurʾānic verses quoted above (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, Paris 1953, 240-1). In Ifrīḳiya, under the Aghlabid dynasty, the *ḳāḍī*, in his zeal for *djihād* [*q.v.*], enjoined upon Jews and Christians the wearing on the shoulder of a square of cloth bearing the picture of a monkey in the case of Jews, and a pig in the case of Christians; these same symbols were to be shown on a board nailed to the door of their houses (according to al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, *apud* H. R. Idris, *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Ifrikiya*, in *REI* (1935), ii, 142). The satirical poets did not hesitate to use derogatory comparisons with monkeys to brand those whom they were attacking; this was

done by the Andalusian Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī in referring to the famous *amīr* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (Pérès, *op. cit.*), as was done before him by Abū Nuwās, proclaiming his hatred of the Barmakids [see BARĀMIKA] in this opening verse *hādhā zamānu 'l-ḳurūdi*. . ., "This is the age of the apes. . ." (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1953, 519; Beirut 1962, 415).

Under the scheme of Ḳurʾānic law, eating the flesh of the monkey is forbidden, since the animal is omnivorous and has canine teeth; an additional and fundamental reason for this prohibition is the instinctive revulsion, which is natural to the primates, the family to which the human race belongs, for the idea of devouring another member of the same family. For the evolved human being, eating the meat of the ape would be close to cannibalism. Nevertheless, ancient medical opinion held the flesh of the monkey to be an effective preventive agent against elephantiasis (*djudhām*). Certain other parts of the animal, such as the teeth, the hair and the skin, possessed "specific qualities" (*khawāṣṣ*) (see al-Damīrī, *loc. cit.*), which modern science has relegated to the rank of absurdity.

Finally, regarding the term *ḳird*, it should be noted that in astronomy the asterism ζ, λ *Canis majoris* and ύ, κ, θ, γ, λ, μ, ε *columbae* is wrongly called *al-Ḳurūd* "the Apes" in some treatises, a mistake arising from a misspelling of *al-Furūd* "the Hermits" (see A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, Algiers (1951), ix, 181).

With *ḳird*, there has not so far been any reference to other than colobids and cercopithecids; it might also be asked what conception the Arabs had of the large anthropomorphic, or anthropoid, apes. These number no more than eleven species world-wide, seven gibbons, two chimpanzees, one gorilla and one orang-outang; none of these species exists in Arabia, and to find them one must go either to Indonesia or to central Africa. It is impossible, however, not to see in one or other of these primates the mysterious *nasnās*/*nisnās* (pl. *nasānis*) of the mediaeval Arab writers, and there can be no doubt that such a "demi-man" with human face, and vertical stance, without a tail and possessing the faculty of speech, but also covered with a thick fleece, usually russet-coloured, was originally nothing other than an anthropomorphic ape observed by sea-faring Arab merchants of the Indian Ocean, and only the gibbon (*Hylobates lar*), found in Malaysia, Indochina, Burma and the Himalayas, corresponds fairly accurately to this description. Ibn al-Faḳīh, who is quoted by al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib*, in the margin of al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, i, 191) and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] say, with reference to Sumatra (*djazīrat al-Rāmnī* = Lambri), that "there are found there human beings of both sexes, who go bare-footed and without clothing. Their speech is incomprehensible and they live in the tree-tops. They are entirely covered with hair and they live on a diet of fruit; they constitute an innumerable people who flee at the approach of man . . . these beings are four spans in height, their language is a kind of whistling and their faces are covered with russet-coloured down. . ." Al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, 1st clime, section 8) adds that their movement through the trees is accomplished by means of the arms alone and no use is made of the feet, which gives the impression that they are flying from one branch to another. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, ii, 136) writes of the colonies of siamang gibbons (*Symphalangus syndactylus*) with black fleece and white mask which he encountered on the southern coasts of the Indies. As for the recently-discovered Asiatic orang-outang, the gorilla and the chimpanzees of Africa, these remained on the peripheries of knowledge until the 12th/18th century. Besides, in so far as they were known, their height, greater than that of man, meant that they could not be identified with the half-man which the *nasnās* is, by definition; the root *n.-s.-n.-s.* evokes in fact the idea of smallness and weakness. The reports of those who saw gibbons were rapidly distorted by the imagination of those who transmitted them to the point where the *nasnās* became a monstrous semi-anthropomorphic creature, one-eyed and one-legged, moving with successive bounds at a tremendous speed, in times past hunted for its meat in the Yemen. With the *shiḳḳ*, another half-human monster, the *nasnās* is not without analogy with the *monoculus* and the *satyrus* of Pliny. Understandably, sceptical minds demanded visual proof of the existence of such phenomena and to this end the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil, according to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, § 491), instructed the famous doctor and translator Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] to find for him some of these curiosities; it seems that the scholar brought back from his explorations two authentic *nasnās*, but nothing further is known of the episode.

Modern philologists, like P. Anastase-Marie, have gone so far as to see in the term *nasnās* the Greek νάννος "dwarf" (see Amīn Maʿlūf, *Muʿdjam al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932, s.v. *Ape*, 13-18); it cannot be denied that the two words have the same sense and one would thus be led to see, in the origin of *nasnās*, besides the gibbon, a human pygmy. Al-Djāḥiẓ, while not believing in them, lists a number of these fabulous beings which really existed in the popular imagination, and, this being an interesting fact, he assimilates the *nasnās* to the *wāḳ-wāḳ* and to the people of Gog and Magog (*Ḥayawān*, i, 189; vii, 178). Now the Arab geographers recognised three countries jointly said to be the land or the island of the *Wāḳ-Wāḳ* (or the *Wāḳ-Wāḳ*s), the first situated below the country of the Zandj [*q.v.*], beyond Sufāla "of gold" (Mozambique); the second in the most eastern islands of Malaysia (the Philippines, Celebes, the Moluccas); and the third in the extreme north of the Sino-Asiatic continent; it is found that these three countries correspond quite closely to those inhabited by particularly small peoples, the Negrillos and the Akkas in Africa, the Negritos in Malaysia, in Deccan and in the southern Himalayas, and the Lapps, the Samoyedes, the Tungus and other nomadic ethnic groups of the arctic and sub-arctic regions. It may thus be supposed that those who encountered these pygmy people by chance identified them in their accounts with the *nasnās*, as had also been the case with the gibbon; and a detail which may corroborate this interpretation is the insistence of the authors on the faculty of speech attributed to the *nasnās*. Nevertheless, there remains the mystery of the alleged existence of the *nasnās* in the Yemen, and we can hardly be satisfied by the *ḥadīth* (see *LA*, under *n.-s.-s.*) according to which the *nasnās* were the metamorphoses of men from the two cursed tribes of ʿĀd and Thamūd [*q.vv.*]. Was there, in Arabia, a small anthropoid ape, or a race of human pygmies? The question and its solution belong to the realm of palaeontology and of prehistory.

In fact, in historical times, the Arab peoples, having never encountered this fabulous *nasnās* in their own countries, quite naturally applied the term to all the small long-tailed flat-faced African monkeys with which the exhibitors made them

familiar (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 353-4), and modern systematic practice has simply ratified the vox populi in retaining the name "nisnas" and applying it to the Somalian *Cercopithecus pyrrhonotus*. In conclusion, having been born out of confused images of the gibbon and a pygmy in travellers' tales, to become subsequently a monstrous human mutation blighted by divine punishment, the *nasnās* has finally been placed, by common logic, in one of the families defined by *ḳird*.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, and Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1356/1937; Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, *K. al-Buldān*, tr. H. Massé, *Abrégé du livre des pays*, Damascus 1973; Ibn Taghrībirdī-G. Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Ṣâfî*, Cairo 1932; Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* (*K. Rudjār*), ed. Leiden, *Opus geographicum*, 5 fascs., 1970-5; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Cairo 1346/1928; N. Elisséef, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits*, Beirut 1949; R. and D. Morris, *Men and apes* (with bibliogr.), London 1966, Fr. tr. *Hommes et singes*, Paris 1967, and coll. "Marabout", MU No. 219, Paris 1971; M. Lombard, *La chasse et les produits de la chasse dans le monde musulman* (*VIIIe-XIe siècle*), in *Annales ESC* (May-June 1969); B. Heuvelmans, *Sur la piste des bêtes ignorées* (ch. "Les bêtes à face humaine d'Indo-Malaisie"), Paris 1955, i, 13-233; E. G. Boulenger, *Les singes*, Paris 1942. (F. Viré)

KIRESUN [see GIRESÜN].

ḲÎRGÎZ, a Turkish people, mentioned as early as the oldest Chinese accounts of Central Asia (from the 2nd century A.D.) under the name Kien-Kuen, which according to P. Pelliot (*JA*, Ser. 2, vol. xv, 137) goes back to a Mongol word, singular *ḳirḳun*. The lands of the Kirgiz are not exactly defined in these sources; according to a very reliable source, the land of the Kien-Kuen lay north-west of the land of the K'ang-Kiu, i.e. of Sogdiana. The name Ḳîrghîz first appears in the Orkhon inscriptions of the 8th century; at that time the Kirgiz (as the contemporary Chinese annals also tell us) lived on the Upper Yenisei (Turkish Kem), north of the Kög-men or Sayan mountains. The same name (Kūkmān) is also mentioned in Gardīzī (W. Barthold, *Otčet o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, 86 = ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 262); according to this source, the capital of the Khān of the Kirgiz was 7 days' journey north of these mountains. There is also said that the Kirgiz had red hair and a white colour of skin (*surkhī-i mūy wa sapīdī-i pūst*), which is explained by their alleged relationship with the Slavs; the same anthropological features, of which there is no longer any trace among the modern Kirgiz, are mentioned in the Chinese *T'ang-shu*; linguistically, the Kirgiz were then already Turkicised. They did not come to the fore politically till about 840 A.D., when they succeeded in conquering the lands of the Uyghur in Mongolia. Nothing was known in Muslim lands of this event; Marquart's endeavour (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 91-2) to connect with this the story in Djāḥiẓ of the defeats of the Toghuzghuz, can be utterly rejected; like Ḳudāma (ed. de Goeje, 262, l. 13) Djāḥiẓ only refers to the hostility between the Toghuzghuz and the Kharlukh (Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*]). Iṣṭakhrī (ed. de Goeje, 9-10) and others mention the Kirgiz (Khirkhīz) as eastern neighbours of the Kimāk [see KIMĀK] and as northern neighbours of the Kharlukh and Toghuzghuz; in the east their lands are said to have stretched to the ocean. The most important article of export for trade with Muslim lands was musk. The ethnic and historical continuity between the Kirgiz and the people living today under the same name in the USSR is supposed but not proved. The Kirgiz were probably driven out of Mongolia in connection with the foundation of the empire of the Khitāy in the beginning of the 10th century [see KARĀ KHIṬĀY] and the advance of the Mongol peoples; on the other hand, a body of Kirgiz must have migrated as early as this century southwards to the present abode of the genuine Kirgiz (Kara Kirgiz); according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 18a, tr. Minorsky, 98, comm. 293-4, even the town of Pančūl (the modern Aḳṣu in Chinese Turkestan) was in possession of the Kirgiz. The Kirgiz are not mentioned again in this region till the 16th century; what the Chinese Č'ang-Te, who was there in 1259, records of the Kirgiz (especially on the use of dog-sledges, cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, i, 129) he had only been told, and did not see himself, and these stories probably do not refer to the people of the land he passed through. The main body of the people had probably remained on the Upper Yenisei; the Ḳarā Khiṭāy when driven out of North China had to fight with these Kirgiz during their trek westwards. In the fertile region of the modern administrative district of Minusinsk the Kirgiz gradually adopted agriculture and a settled mode of life. According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 17b, tr. Minorsky, 97, comm. 286) there was only one town among the Kirgiz, called Kemidjkat, where their Khāḳān lived, and no other towns or villages, but only tents; on the other hand, Rashīd al-Dīn says (ed. Berezin, *Trudī Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.* vii, 168-9) that the Kirgiz had "many towns and villages". From these and similar statements Radloff has drawn the conclusion (*JA*, Ser. 6, vol. ii, 328) that the present state of Kirgiz culture is much lower than it used to be.

In the 13th century the Kirgiz on the Yenisei had to submit to the Mongols under Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*]. Negotiations for their submission were already begun in 1207, but it was only settled in 1218 when the last rebellion was put down. After the decline of the empire of the descendants of Čingiz Khān the Kirgiz had sometimes to be under the yoke of the Mongols, sometimes of the Kalmucks, and sometimes of the Russians; in 1607 they recognised the suzerainty of the Ḳazāḳ, but by 1609 we find them killing a tax-collector sent by the Ḳazāḳ. In 1642 they were described by the Kalmuck Khān Batur as Kalmuck, in 1646 by the Russian plenipotentiary Daniyil Arshinskiy as Russian subjects. In 1703 they were transferred by the Kalmucks, by arrangement with Russia, southwards to the region of the modern Semirečye; they are then said to have numbered 3,000-4,000 tents. As mentioned above, a portion of the Kirgiz had migrated at a much earlier date; shortly after 1514 a certain Muḥammad is mentioned as being invested as Khān of the Kirgiz by Saʿīd Khān the ruler of the Mongols (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. D. Ross, London 1895, 141); in the 16th century the Kirgiz were for the most part under the rule of the Khāns of the Ḳazāḳ. The Kirgiz were called *Burut* by Kalmucks; they were nearly all driven out from Semirečye to Farghāna and Ḳarātegīn; it was only after the destruction of the Kalmuck empire by the Chinese (1758-9) that they returned to their old settlements in the southern part of Semirečye. At this date the name Kirgiz was transferred to the Ḳazāḳ by the Russians; to distinguish them from the latter, the true Kirgiz were called

Black Kirgiz (Ḳarā Ḳlrghlz). The term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated. In Semirečye, the Ḳarā Ḳlrghlz, outwardly at least, professed Islam; in their epic, which takes its name from the principal hero Manas, the wars against the Kalmucks are described as wars of religion. Unlike the Ḳazāḳ, the Ḳarā Ḳlrghlz had neither princes or nobles; the elders, called *Manap*, were not chosen by any kind of election but owed their position entirely to their personal influence. Owing to the continual state of war, the tribes of the Ḳarā Ḳlrghlz did not break up into small subdivisions as was the case with the tribes of the Ḳazāḳ; an *aul* (camp) of the Ḳarā Ḳlrghlz comprised the members of a whole tribe and therefore occupied a much greater area than an *aul* of the Ḳazāḳ. In the 18th century authority over the Ḳarā Ḳlrghlz was claimed by the Chinese, in the 19th first by the Özbegs in Farghāna and later by the Russians; the final establishment of Russian rule dates from 1864. The prosperity of the Ḳarā Ḳlrghlz has been seriously affected by the Russian colonisation and particularly by the rising of 1916, when a considerable portion of the people migrated to China; the Russian government resolved—but nothing came of it owing to the revolution of 1917—to take from the Ḳarā Ḳlrghlz all their grazing-grounds except the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation.

Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Ḳazāḳ, from the Özbeg, cf. ABU 'L-KHAYR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Khān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Khān Ḳāsim (d. 924/1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Özbegs in the 16th century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomadic kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Khān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khān ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr, and later still even held the town of Tāshkent. In the 17th century the power of the Khāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of the suzerainty of the Khāns of the Özbegs. At this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *djüz* "hundred"; the great horde (*ulu djüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kishi djüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta djüz*). Towards the end of the 17th century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sayrām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this, the suzerainty of the Khān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement embodying this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse; but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Khayr negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the 18th century; but it was not till the 19th century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sīr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. The eastern part of the steppes was administered from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; regulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Khān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Khān or "Sultans" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ süyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last popular leader of the Ḳazāḳ was Kenesarī, who fought against the authorities in Siberia and Orenburg from 1842 in the mountains of Ala Tau; several risings were stirred up until 1873 by his son Sadik (so-called by the Russians, properly Ṣiddīḳ). Another son, Aḥmad, later wrote the life of his father Kenesarī and of his brother Sadik, entitled: *Sultanī Kenisara i Sadik. Biografičeskiye očerki sultana Akhmeta Kenisarina. Obrabotano dlya pečati i snabženo primečaniyami E. T. Smirnovīm*, Tashkent 1889 (review by V. Rosen in *Zap.*, iv, 122-3).

The most southern part of the Kirgiz steppes was conquered in the 19th century by the Özbegs of Farghāna and Khīwa and partly colonised; the advance of the Russians in this part was therefore assisted by the Ḳazāḳ. After the foundation of the general-gouvernement of Turkestan (1867) and the general-gouvernement of the Steppes (1882) (Semirečye belonged at first to the latter, but was later again united to Turkestan), the government of Kirgiz steppes had less unity than before. On the other hand, after the Revolution an administrative unit was established called at first by the Russians the "Kirgiz Republic" and by the people themselves "Ḳazāḳistān". Today the Kirgiz form one of the Union Republics in the USSR. The number of the population in the Kirgiz Socialist Soviet Republic was 3,145,000 in 1973 (43.8% Kirgiz, 24.2% Russians, 11.3% Uzbeks, etc.). The whole number of Kirgiz living in the USSR was 1,452,000 in 1970. The number of Kirgiz living in China and Afghanistan is over 100,000. The Kirgiz language belongs to the northwestern (Kipchak) group of Turkic languages.

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KIRID [see iḳrītish].

ḲIRIM, a peninsula jutting out into the Black Sea south of the Ukraine (Russian Krîm; English Crimea; French Crimée; German Krim; with an area of 25,500 km²), connected with the mainland by the isthmus *ca.* 8 km. wide of Perekop (in Turkish Or Ḳapî), and ending to the east in the peninsula of Kerč [*q.v.*]. The northern and central parts are flat; to the south lies a mountainous area consisting of three ranges, the most southern of which, Mt. Yayla (1,545 m. high), falls down steeply to the coastal strip. The climate is relatively mild and on the south-eastern coast similar to that of the Mediterranean area. The water of the few rivers and brooks—especially that of the Salghîr—is used for irrigation. The flat grounds are cultivated; in the mountains there are pastures besides woods, and wine-growing is not without importance. Some minerals are found (iron ore near Kerč, fluorspar near Sevastopol) and at present there is also all kinds of industry.

In antiquity, the peninsula was inhabited by the Scythians. From the 6th century B.C. onwards, Greek colonies existed on the coasts. Around 480 B.C. these formed the Bosporean State, whereas in the 1st century B.C. they belonged for a short time to the Pontian kingdom. From 63 B.C. onwards, the Roman Empire wielded supreme rule (see *Paulys Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new ed. by G. Wissowa, vi. Halbband, Stuttgart 1899, cols. 2254-69; H. G. Gundel, *Die Krim im Altertum*, in *Das Gymnasium*, liii (1942), 117-38). In the 4th century A.D. first the Goths came, then the Huns. Until 1239 the Byzantine empire held the Chersonese (Old Russian Korsun'), while the main part of the peninsula belonged to the territory of the Khazars [*q.v.*]. During the 10th and 11th centuries there was the Russian colony Tmutarakan' (probably near modern Taman'), important in relations with Byzantium. From around 1030 the peninsula was dominated by the Kumans or Ḳîpčaḳ [*q.v.*], and from 1239 by the Tatars of the Golden Horde. They also wielded a sort of supreme rule over the Genoese colonies that came into existence here (since 1261-5, especially in Kaffa, mod. Feodosiya, see kefe). These colonies took over the role of the Byzantine Chersonese and became of great significance for trade with Byzantium and the Mediterranean area until their downfall in 1475. They were to a certain extent tributary to the Tatars. Occasional plunderings of these towns by the Golden Horde (see batu'ids), e.g. in 1298-9, or sieges, e.g. 1343, remained incidental.

Ḳîrîm is only rarely mentioned by the Arab geographers (and even then partly following the Italian reports, as by Idrīsī). The first contact with Islam dates from a campaign of the Rūm Saldjūḳid sultan Kay Ḳubād ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn II [*q.v.*] (616-34/1219-36). After the Golden Horde occupied the peninsula, first in 1223 and then, definitively, in 1238-9, the religious situation did not change immediately. At the instigation of the Egyptian Mamlūks (who entertained trade relations with the peninsula) a mosque was erected at Old Ḳîrîm (also Solkhat/Solghad); another was built later by the Khān Özbeg (712-42/1313-41) [*q.v.*].

During the latter's reign, Sunni Islam had gained a firm footing among the Tatars of Ḳîrîm, like among the rest of the Golden Horde. From Egypt shortlived influences of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] asserted themselves.

Next, there existed of old also Jewish settlements, but little is known about them in these centuries except from tombstones. Karaites or Ḳarāʾīm [*q.v.*] were found at Čufut Ḳale, and the Orthodox Christians had a bishopric of Gothia at Old Ḳîrîm. Western or Latin Christianity, supported mainly by the Franciscans, was represented by the Genoese until the downfall of the latter in 1475. Already in 1261 a Latin bishop is mentioned, and in 1318 the bishopric of Kaffa was founded. Its jurisdiction stretched from Varna (in modern Bulgaria) to Sarāy [*q.v.*], the capital of the Golden Horde. The bishopric of Cherson, which came into being in 1303, was definitively established in 1333, with parishes in the individual towns. From here efforts were made to effect a union with the other Christians and to start missionary work among the Tatars, but at the end of the 14th century these attempts came to an end for lack of success. From 1351 until after 1370 there had even existed a Latin bishopric at Sarāy.

In the 14th century, during embittered fights with the Venetians in the Mediterranean and the Aegean Sea, the Genoese founded trading factories in Sughdaḳ (Russian Surož), in Balaklava (then Cembalo), in modern Sevastopol, in Tana (Azóv, Turkish Azaḳ [*q.v.*]) and in Moncastro (Aḳ Kirmān [*q.v.*], Rumanian Cetatea Albă, since 1368) to the west of the mouth of the Dnĕstr. Until 1343 the Venetians had a colony at Tana (Azóv). Besides Italians, who had their own rule and system of justice, there were living in these towns Arabs from various Near Eastern lands; Turks from Anatolia; Lurs [*q.v.*]; Greeks; and above all, such a large number of Armenians that Ḳîrîm was sometimes called Armenia Magna or Armenia Maritima. About the Crimean Goths we are informed by reports of the 13th century, and latterly in the 16th century by Augier Ghislain de Busbecq, ambassador of the Austrian emperor to Süleymān II (see E. S. Forster, *The Turkish letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, Oxford 1927, repr. 1968; W. von den Steinen, *Vier Briefe Busbecqs aus der Türkei*, 1926). Since that time they have merged with the Ḳîrîm Tatars.

The Mongols of the Golden Horde had a governor on the peninsula (*ḥākim* or *wālī*), who kept up his own diplomatic relations with the Nile valley. We hear also of an "*amîr* of the right wing" and "of the left wing of the army". Until the middle of the 15th century Ḳîrîm, thinly populated except for the coasts, remained a centre, especially through Byzantine intermediaries on the Dardanelles, for trade with Egypt. For a long period *via* the Ḳîrîm slaves

(Mamlūks) were sent to that country, while all kind of goods (fine shawls, perfumes and the like) found their way from there to Ḳïrïm, and further to the Volga along the road of Sughdaḳ, Old Ḳïrïm, and Perekop. Trade with Anatolia was also important. The traffic was later taken over by Trebizond, which had remained Byzantine until 1462. The Genoese brought European goods (linen and ceramics) to Ḳïrïm and to further on. In the 15th century especially, the commercial highway ran along the bank of the Bug *via* Luck and Lemberg to Breslau.

Both in Old Ḳïrïm, the peninsula's seat of government in these centuries, and in Eski Yurt, many goods were warehoused. The currents of trade manifested themselves also in the artistic construction of buildings and in ceramics. These showed influences from Sarāy, Saldjūḳid Asia Minor, Egypt and the Genoese colonies, as we know since the excavations of 1924-8. Besides trade, a part was played by the manufacture of salt, the gathering of honey (which went as far as Khwārazm) and grapes, and by horse-breeding and tanning.

Notwithstanding all these developments, Ḳïrïm remained until the 15th century only an annexe of the Golden Horde and occasionally a refuge for ambitious claimants in their struggle for power, like Nokhay in 1291 and Mamay in 1359. Around 1345-8, 85,000 persons allegedly fell victim to the Black Death, and in 1395 the peninsula was ravaged by Tīmūr. Attempts of the double kingdom of Poland and Lithuania to push as far as the Black Sea and to endanger also Ḳïrïm were foiled in 1399 by the victory of the "mayor of the palace" Edigü (Russian Yedigey) on the Vorskla. The latter had his base here during his struggle with Witold of Lithuania, until he died in 1419.

During the civil wars which ravaged the Golden Horde from 1359 onwards, princes of the Mongol ruling dynasty who were descendants of Čingiz Khān and his grandson Togha Temür (the son of Djoči), had settled on various occasions in the peninsula. At the beginning of the 15th century they had apparently adopted the family-name of Girāy [*q.v.*] or Kerey. Relying upon the noble family of the Shïrïn, Devlet Berdi had established himself in Ḳïrïm after 1426, and in 1427 he tried to enter again into relations with Egypt. But he (and since 1427 also his brother Ḥādjdjī Girāy [*q.v.*]) encountered opposition from the ruler of the Great (until then, the Golden) Horde. In August 1449 Ḥādjdjī formally declared himself ruler of Ḳïrïm. With the help of the Turkish sultan and the Polish-Lithuanian king Casimir IV, he was able to hold out until his death in 1466, first in his residence Ḳïrḳ Yer and later in the valley of Bāghče Sarāy [*q.v.*]. He and later his son again and again took in fugitives of the decaying Great Horde, and they thus became rulers of the strongest among the Tatar states that came into being. On the northern shore of the Black Sea a strip of land where the Noghāys [*q.v.*] lived, and since 1484 also the Budjāḳ [*q.v.*], came gradually under the rule of the Ḳïrïm Khāns.

After rather lengthy succession disputes, Mengli Girāy I [*q.v.*], one of Ḥādjdjī Girāy's eight sons, got the upper hand. He was to become the real founder of the independent Ḳïrïm state, in spite of the fact that he had to recognise Ottoman supremacy after the conquest of Kaffa in 1475 by the Sultan's troops. The Girāy family was then recognised as enjoying in Ḳïrïm the sole rights of succession and immunity. Since Islām Girāy II (992-6/1584-8) [*q.v.*], their name was mentioned in the *khuṭba* after the Sultan's; they had the right to strike their own coins; and they could grant asylum. They remained independent in internal policy and had at their disposal a richly-ramified officialdom which followed more and more the Ottoman Turkish pattern. Under the continuous political preponderance of the Sultan, co-operation between the two states generally passed off without too much friction, in spite of many dangerous tensions at times. Joint military expeditions were regularly organised; in 1476 and 1538 into Moldavia, in 1543 for the first time into Hungary. From the time when the Turks had conquered Kilia and Aḳ Kirmān (1484) and the Poles had been defeated in Moldavia (1497), the khanate of Ḳïrïm was in direct contact with the Turkish dominions in the Balkan peninsula. In the north-east the Čerkes [*q.v.*] and Kabards [*q.v.*] were subjects of the Ḳïrïm-Khāns, and thus the Black Sea became until 1739 a Turkish-Tatar inland sea.

Relations with the Christian powers in the north changed when, from 1470-2 onwards, Casimir IV decided to co-operate more and more with the Great Horde. The Ḳïrïm Khāns turned to the Grand Dukes of Moscow, who between 1468 and 1571 were exempted from paying tribute. With certain fluctuations in details, both states remained loyal to this alliance until the fall of the Great Horde in 1502, and even extended it, while the kings of Poland-Lithuania in 1480 and later repeatedly neglected their commitments to the Horde. From that period onwards, this double kingdom was exposed to attacks from both the Muscovites and the Ḳïrïm-Tatars, who again and again invaded Podolia, Volhynia and Galicia and more than once laid Kiev, Černigov and other towns under contribution (for the Tatar incursions between 1474 and 1569, see J. Ochmański, *Organizacja obrony przed Tatarami w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskim* ("The organisation of the defence against the Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania"), in *Studia i materiały do historii wojskowości* ("Studies for the history of the army"), v (1960), 349-98, esp. 362-4). Under these circumstances the Great Horde got into great difficulties, especially after the death of Khān Aḥmed in January 1481. Until the very end of this state, officers, soldiers and even princes of the ruling house continued to desert to the Ḳïrïm-Khāns (see M. Małowist, *Kaffa: kolonia genueńska na Krymie i problem wschodni w latach 1453-1475* ("Kaffa, the Genoese colony in the Crimea and the eastern problem in 1453-75"), Warsaw 1947 (*Prace Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* ("Publications of the Historical Institute of the University of Warsaw"), ii). Even after a temporary treaty of peace between the Grand Duchy of Moscow and Lithuania in 1493, the latter's contact with Ḳïrïm remained so close that the Khāns were able to mediate in 1496 for the establishing of diplomatic Russian-Turkish relations, initially in the main for commercial reasons (see V. E. Syroečkovskiy, *Puti i snosheniya Moskvi s Krimom na rubeže xvi veka* ("Ways and relations of Moscow with the Crimea at the turn of the 16th century"), in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, iii (1932).

When in June 1502 the Great Horde was finally defeated to the east of Kiev and close to where the Desna joins the Dnyěpr, and their last Khān was forced to flee to Lithuania (where he was executed in 1505), the Ḳïrïm Khān, in accordance with his claim, assumed the rights of the former Golden Horde and demanded tribute "without subterfuge" from Moscow and Lithuania. To the Grand Duke of Lithuania he offered a treaty "after straightening

out relations". In addition, Mengli Girāy felt himself responsible for the security of the khānates of Ḳāzān [q.v.] and Astrakhān [q.v.] and thus ran into increasing difficulties with Moscow (K. Pułaski, *Mendli-Giräy* (sic), *chan Tatarów perekopskich* ("Mengli-Giray, Khan of the Perekop Tatars"), Warsaw 1882). Under these circumstances, a treaty with Sigismund I Augustus (1506-48) of Poland and Lithuania was of great importance to Mengli Girāy I. But the negotiations had not yet been concluded when the Ḳirim Khān died at a great age in 1515 (J. Pajewski, *Projekt przymierza polsko-tureckiego za Zygmunta Augusta* ("A project of treaty between Poland and Turkey under Sigismund Augustus"), in *Księga ku Czci Oskara Haleckiego*, Warsaw 1935).

Under Mengli Girāy I, Ḳirim reached its cultural zenith. The area was opened up to Ottoman Turkish culture. Artists from the Islamic cultural environment and also Italian, often Genoese, artisans who had remained in the country after 1475, such as Augustino da Garibaldi and Vincento da Zugulfi, found work here, especially as architects and stone carvers. Intellectual and literary circles came also into being. Of special artistic importance was the Khān's palace at Bāghče Sarāy [q.v.], whither Mengli Girāy had transferred his residence from Old Ḳirim. It is actually in ruins today, but the Zendjirli Madrasa has been' preserved.

In view of the position of power which Meḥmed Girāy I (1515-22) [q.v.]) had inherited from his father (V. E. Syroečkovskiy, *Muchammed-Geraj i ego vassali* ("Meḥmed-Girāy and his vassals"), in *Učėniye Zapiski Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, lxi (1940)), the new Khān also aspired to the position of the Golden Horde and wanted to unite all Tatars under his rule. His son Ṣāḥib Girāy [q.v.] in 1521 succeeded in driving away a Khān of Ḳāzān who was friendly to Moscow and, in spite of the resistance of Astrakhān, in incorporating his territory into that of his father. Having become Khān (1532-51) after his father had been murdered and Islām Girāy I [q.v.] had been put aside, he did not however succeed in holding out after a defeat inflicted on him by Moscow on the Oka in 1541 (Ö. Gökbilgin, *Tarih-i Sahib Giray han (1532-1551)*, crit. ed., tr., notes and glossary, Erzurum 1973 (Atatürk Universitesi yayınları 212)). On the contrary, Ivan IV the Terrible (1533-84) who had born the title of Tsar since 1547, carefully collected his forces for a campaign which brought under his control Ḳāzān [q.v.] in October 1552, and Astrakhān [q.v.], firstly in 1554 and definitively in 1556. Thus the Volga valley was opened up to Russia right down to the Caspian Sea, the waterway to Caucasia and the north coast of Persia lay free and the Russians got an extensive new region for settlement. Dawlat (Dewlet) Girāy I (1551-77 [q.v.]) finally saw himself confined to the Ḳirim Khanate and its northern hinterland. After the manifold disturbances of the preceding decades he tried to collaborate again with Poland-Lithuania, which saw itself more and more threatened by Moscow and both of which merged into one single state in the Union of Lublin in 1569 (Ö. Gökbilgin, *1532-1577 yılları arasında Kırım Hanlığı'nin siyasi durumu*, Ankara 1973 (Atatürk Üniversitesi yayınları 289)).

However, the Khān was dissatisfied, as was Sultan Süleymān II, by the fact that so many Muslims had become subject to Orthodox Christian sovereignty. The two sovereigns entered upon a close treaty of alliance and for the time being supported Tatar revolts against the supremacy of Moscow; these revolts are echoed in the legends around Čora Batir (Saʿādat Šākir, *Čora Batyr. Eine Legende in dobrudscha-tatarischer Mundart*, Cracow 1935). Dewlet Girāy attempted to relieve them by marching against Russia in 1555. But his fear that the Sultan might enlarge his influence in Ḳirim by stationing his own troops there made him abandon a plan of supporting the Ottomans effectively. Thus the Sultan received little help from the Ḳirim Khān for his attempt to connect with a canal the Volga and the Don, at the place where they draw the nearest to each other (near modern Volgograd). He could rely only on the Noghāys [q.v.]. Consequently, when in the winter of 1569 the Turkish troops were defeated between Astrakhān and the Sea of Azov, the enterprise of Selīm II fell through. He had hoped to establish in Ḳirim a base for his campaign against Shīʿī Ṣafawid Persia, and to activate from there economic relations with Central Asia (H. İnalcık, *Osmanlı-Rus rekabetinin menşei ve Don-Volga kanalı teşebbüsü* (1569), in *Belleten* xii 146 (1948), 349-402; Eng. tex t in *AÜDTCFD* (1947), 47-106; A. N. Kurat, *Türkiye ve İdil boyu. 1569 Astarhan seferi, Ten-İdil kanalı ve XVI-XVII yüzyıl Osmanlı-Rus münasebetleri*, Ankara 1966 (*AÜDTDF* Yayınları 151); P. A. Sadikov, *Pokhod Tatar i Turok na Astrakhan v 1569 godu* ("The campaign of the Tatars and Turks against Astrakhan in 1569"), in *Istoričeskiye Zapiski*, xxii, Moscow 1947, 132-66). When in 1571 the Turkish fleet became decisively weakened by the defeat at Lepanto [see AYNA-BAKHTĪ], any plan of a Turkish advance against Russia had to be abandoned. On the other hand, Ḳirim was thus freed from the feared guardianship of the Sultan, although it also lost his direct protection.

The Khān availed himself immediately of this freedom at his rear to march against Moscow. In 1571 the city fell for the last time into Tatar hands and was burnt down. The Tsar was forced to declare himself prepared to resume paying tribute (*tïsh/tïyïsh*). It was only Peter the Great who was able to free himself decisively from this obligation. At this point, the Tsar was unable to counter-attack, as a result of his military engagements in the west in regard to Livonia.

Ḳāzān and Astrakhān thus remained in Russian hands. In order to change this situation, Khān Meḥmed II, the Fat (Semiz; reigned 1577-84) made new endeavours (Kırımlı Abdulla oğlu Hasan, *İkinci Mehmed Giray Han/Khān Meḥmed Girāy II*, in *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, iii (1934), 1). Since Turkish help failed to come because of the war with Persia (1578-90), the Khān sought an alliance against Moscow with Poland, Lithuania and even with Pope Gregory XIII. He held out a prospect of conversion to Roman Catholicism, which caused the Popes to send several ambassadors between 1571 and 1583. A Ḳirim embassy was honourably received at Vilna in 1579 (Stanisław Kryczyński, *Nieudana misja katolicka wśród muzułmanow litewskich w XVI w.* ("A failed Catholic mission among the Lithuanian Muslims in the 16th century"), in *Przegląd Islamski* (1935), 3/4, 11-14).

But not even in this way could Meḥmed Girāy II achieve a real success. He was forced to put *ca.* 5,000 soldiers at the disposal of the Sultan for the war against Persia. When the successor to the throne, the Kalghāy [q.v.], was taken captive by the Persians, the Khān himself interfered in the war against the Shāh. This led to friction with the Sublime Porte and in the course of the ensuing unrest in Ḳirim, the Khān was murdered in 1584.

The new Khān, Ghāzī Girāy II (1588-1608) [q.v.],

got the upper hand after lengthy disturbances. He also came forward as a poet (H. Ertaylan, *Gazi Geray Han, hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1958; C. M. Kortepeter, *Gazi Giray II, Khan of Crimea, and Ottoman policy in eastern Europe and the Caucasus, 1588-1594*, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xliv/102 (1966), 139-66). His attack against Moscow in 1591 failed, and during the Turkish campaign against Hungary of 1592-1606 he had, in the same way as his predecessor, to provide troops for the Sultan, which on various occasions led to friction (B. Kocowski, *Wyprawa Tatarów na Węgry przez Polskę w 1594 r.*, Lublin 1948; M. Alekberli, *Borʾba Ukrainskogo naroda protiv turetsko-tatarskoy agressii vo vtoroy polovine XVI/pervoy polovine XVII vekov* ("The struggle of the Ukranian people against the Turkish-Tatar attack in the 2nd half of the 16th and the 1st half of the 17th centuries"), Saratov 1961.

During these various wars, Ḳīrīm itself remained free of military incursions, and so the administration there could follow its even course. Public roads and inns were secure, and documents which survived the conflagration of the Khān's palace (in 1736) testify to well-organised archives and the regular proceeding of the Islamic law concerning justice, inheritance and marriage. Customary law (*ʿāda* [*q.v.*]) also played a rôle. The horse trade and rates of exchange of foreign currency were officially supervised. As in other Islamic countries, the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] was the supreme court of judicature. There were 48 judicial regions in the lowlands and 19 in the mountains, where, except for the infliction of the death penalty, convictions could be pronounced without right of appeal "insofar as the conviction was in accordance with the laws". However, in the administration of justice, corruption as always played a rôle that could not be disregarded.

The Tatars enjoyed personal freedom and, as in earlier centuries, passed for a friendly and hospitable people. Women were entitled to personal property, and took part now and then in public life, diplomatic negotiations or even in military expeditions; and occasionally they devoted themselves to poetry and literature.

Until the age of fifteen, the education of children of the ruling house was often left to Čerkes [*q.v.*], who taught them riding and the use of weapons. (Up to the 19th century other Caucasian peoples, including the Ossets, also had their children brought up by Čerkes.) The hardships thereby endured were supposed to influence many *khāns* up to their old age and to counterbalance Ottoman urban culture. In the course of time, however, rulers and high officials turned more and more to Istanbul for the education of their children; also, many a Girāy prince lived there as a hostage. Thus Turkish cultural influence became more and more important during the 17th and 18th centuries. Ottoman Turkish gradually began to supersede Ḳīrīm Tatar as the written language; Turkish melodies (played on drums, clarinets and later also violins) may well have merged into local musical tradition; but confinement of women in harems increased.

In this way, the ties with Turkey were strengthened, but they also reinforced dependency upon the Sultans, who more and more intervened, by deposing, and occasionally reinstating, many a *khān*. Thus the stability of the regional government was undermined both by the power of Istanbul and by the growing independence of the Begs, who possessed wide powers within their fiefs and fought out among themselves many a personal feud. The noble families, the prominent ones being the Shīrīn, the Ḳuluḳ, the Bārīn, the Manṣūr and the Sulesh, enjoyed tax freedom. The state revenues consisted largely of certain customs duties, payments by individual governors, indirect taxes (mainly on salt) and an annuity of the Sultan. Direct taxes, as far as they were levied, consisted (at least officially) of the *ʿushr* [*q.v.*] and *zakāt* [*q.v.*].

The interventions of the Sublime Porte bound Ḳīrīm the more closely to Turkey because no other policy of alliance was now possible with any power to the north (B. Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624-1629* ("Poland and Tartary in 1624-9"), Lodz 1948). Bad harvests in the Crimea, whose agriculture normally secured the subsistence of its inhabitants, may have caused the Tatars to plunder again and again the south-western regions of Poland and Lithuania (W. Czapliński, *Sprawa najazdów tatarskich na Polske w pierwszej polowie XVII w.* ("The problem of the Tatar incursions into Poland in the first half of the 17th c."), in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* lxx/3 (1963), 713-20; M. Horn, *Skutki ekonomiczne najazdów tatarskich z lat 1605-1633 na Ruś Czerwoną* ("The economic consequences of the Tatar invasions in 1605-33 in Red Russia"), Breslau 1964; J. Coldberg, *Chronologia i zasięg najazdów tatarskich na ziemie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w latach 1600-1647* ("Chronology and reach of the Tatar invasions into the land of the Republic of Poland in 1600-47"), in *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, vii/1, 3-71). Properly speaking, these incursions had no political motivation, but they were to such an extent prejudicial to relations with the neighbours to the north-west that there could be no more question of combined action against the common enemy Moscow, which now became more and more threatening to both parties; also, the Ḳīrīm Khāns themselves suffered repeatedly from the unrest of the nomads. When at the treaty of Pereyaslavlʾ in 1654 the Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmelʾnitskiy, who had been supported by the Tatars, changed sides and joined Moscow, the Tsar became a direct neighbour of the Crimean *khāns*. Now at last the Polish-Lithuanian king sought alliance with Islām Girāy III (1644-54 [*q.v.*]). They undertook a common military expedition against Moscow, which ended in 1655 with the victory of Ochmatów (J. Rypka, *Aus der Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmelnyćkyj*, in *Festschrift für Jar. Bidlo*, Prague 1928; idem, *Weitere Beiträge zur ...*, in *Archiv Orientální*, ii (1930); idem, *Další příspěvek ke korespondenci Vysoké Porty s Bohdanem Chmelnickým* ("Further contribution to the correspondence. . ."), in *Časopis Národního Muzea*, 1931; idem, *Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Krimchanen im II. Bande von Feridūns Münseʾāt*, in *Festschrift für Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, 249-69; O. Pritsak, *Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 266-98). The Tatars now also took part in the campaigns of the Poles against the allied forces of the Russians, Swedes, Brandenburgers, Transylvanians and Cossacks (in the period of the "Deluge") and fought in 1656 together with them before Warsaw, in Prussia and in Greater Poland. Many captives and rich booty were brought to the Crimea. Khān Meḥmed Girāy IV (who reigned for the second time 1654-66) concluded a treaty with the Polish king over the partition of the conquered regions; the Islamic areas, like Ḳāzān and Astrakhān, were to fall to the Crimean khānate. Both peoples fought shoulder-to-shoulder against Transylvania in 1657 and against Moscow in 1660 (the Battle of Tsudnov) (L. Kubala, *Wojna brandenburska i najazd*

Rakoczego i wojna moskiewska ("The Brandenburg War, the invasion of Rákóczy and the Moscow War"), Lemberg-Warsaw 1913; A. Hniłko, *Wyprawa cudnowska w 1660 r.* ("The campaign of Tsudnov in 1660"),Warsaw 1931). The Tatar army numbered at this time 20,000-30,000 troops at the most; higher accounts (up to 150,000 and even 200,000) are probably false (O. Górka, *Liczebność Tatarów krymskich i ich wojsk* ("The number of the Crimean Tatars and their armies"), in *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, viii/2, 1936). Single military units had their own standards, while the cavalrymen brought spare horses along with them. Victuals consisted mainly of millet, which was milled in leathern mortars. Prisoners of war were enabled to ransom themselves as far as possible; not infrequently they were humanely treated. In accordance with Islamic law, there may have been many freedmen.

The alliance between Poland-Lithuania and the Crimean khānate came to an end when Meḥmed Girāy was deposed in 1666 and the armistice of Andrusovo, between Poland-Lithuania and Moscow, was concluded in 1667. The political situation changed further when Peter Doroshenko (1665-76), the hetman of the Cossacks "of the left bank", submitted to the Sultan out of dislike for the equalising policy of Moscow (D. Dorošenko and J. Rypka, *Hejtman Petr Dorošenko a jeho turecka politika* ("Hetman P. D. and his Turkish policy"), in *Časopis Národního Muzea*, Prague 1933; Ch. Hilbert, *Osteuropa 1648-1681 bei den Zeitgenössischen osman. Historikern*, typewr. thesis, Göttingen 1948).

At the instigation of the Turks, Khān ʿĀdil Girāy (1666-71) had to collaborate with the Cossacks and therefore fell out with Poland-Lithuania. The ensuing war made Podolia in 1672 into a Turkish province, and thus the Sultan's empire reached its greatest expansion ever to the north of the Black Sea. Attempts by Khān Selim Girāy I (1671-8) at mediation failed because of the Sultan's uncompromising attitude (J. Woliński, *Pośrednictwo tatarskie w wojnie polsko-tureckiej 1674-1675 r.* ("Tatar mediation in the Polish-Turkish War 1674-5"), in *Polityka narodów* iv (1954)/4). The new khān, Murād Girāy (1678-83), tried to free himself from subordination to Turkey and wanted to replace the *Sharīʿa* by "the Law of Čingiz Khān" (*Töre, Yasa*), a daring enterprise which naturally angered the *ʿulamāʾ*. In accordance with his political principles, he remained aloof during the Turkish march against Vienna in 1683, and his army corps did not take part in the battle of the Barren Mountain Kahlenberg. As a punishment, he was banished to Bulgaria (Kırımlı Abdullah oğlu Hasan, *Viyana önünde Kırım suvarileri*, in *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi* ii (1933), 21-2, 348-53). Nevertheless, relations between the Tatars and Poland-Lithuania remained tense until the Peace of Carlowitz (1699 [see KARLOVČA]).

The Tsars availed themselves of this dissension. After the Cossacks of the left bank of the Dnyepr had come again under their control, two Russian armies marched against the Crimea in 1686 and 1687. While Khān Selim Girāy (who reigned for the second time in 1684-91) succeeded in defending the peninsula itself, Azóv was lost to Peter the Great in 1699, and thus the khānate was divided for several years into two parts, sc. the peninsula and the region towards the Caucasus. In order to counterbalance Azóv while it was in Russian hands, the fortress of Yeñi Ḳalʿe was founded near Kerč (B. H. Sumner, *Peter the Great and the Ottoman empire*, London 1949).

During this turbulent period, the cultural significance of the khānate declined. Artistic creativity was small, although Islamic influences from the Crimea and from Turkey are clearly recognisable in contemporary Poland (T. Mańkowski, *Sztuka Islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku* ("Islamic art in Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries"), Cracow 1935; F.-K. Spuhler, *Seidene Repräsentationsteppiche der mittleren bis späten Safawidenzeit: die sog. Polenteppiche*, doctoral thesis, Berlin 1968).

The victory of the European coalition over the Sultan in the great war of 1682-99 was of serious consequence for Ḳīrīm. Pressure from the north made itself more and more felt. The planned co-operation with the Swedish king Charles XII (1697-1718) and with the hetman of the Cossacks Ivan Stepanovič Mazepa, in which Ghāzī Girāy III (1704-7) [*q.v.*]) was very interested, failed owing to the Russian victory near Poltava in 1709. It is true that the allies succeeded in forcing Peter the Great, hemmed in by Turkish troops near the Pruth, to retrocede Azóv, but this was all that could be achieved: a protest of Khān Dewlet Girāy II (who reigned for the second time 1708-13) remained unsuccessful (A. N. Kurat, *Prut seferi ve barışı* ("The Pruth campaign and peace"), Ankara 1951). More and more the Tatars began to fear and reject the adversary from the north (G. Veinstein, *Les Tatars de Crimée et la seconde élection de Stanislas Leszczyński*, in *Cahiers du monde russe et slave*, xi (1970), 24-92), especially when the Russians invaded Ḳīrīm in 1737 and 1738, destroying many cultural monuments, among them Bāghče Sarāy [*q.v.*]. In 1739 the Tatars and Turks had to abandon Azóv definitively to the Russians (Z. Veselá, *Turetskij traktat ob osmanskikh krepostʾyakh severnogo Pričernomorʾya v načale XVIII veka* ("A Turkish treatise on the Ottoman fortresses on the north coast of the Black Sea at the beginning of the 18th century"), in *Vostočniye istočniki po istorii narodov yugo-vostočnoy i tsentralʾnoy Evropi*, ii, Moscow 1960, 98-139). As in Poland-Lithuania, the strength of Ḳīrīm was diminished by the heavy toll of human life, the demoralising defeats, the increasing interference of the Porte in Crimean affairs, the manifold struggles among the princes of the ruling house, and a fairly protracted revolt of the Noghays [*q.v.*] around 1758 (see B. Kellner-Heinkele, *Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Saʿīd Giray Ḫān. Eine zeitgenössische Quelle zur Geschichte des Chanats der Krim um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg i. B., 1975). An attempt at a new alliance between Poland-Lithuania, Ḳīrīm and Turkey remained without further result during the 18th century (W. Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja* ("Poland and Turkey") *1683-1792*, Warsaw 1936; D. Olјančyn, *Do istorii torhovli Ukraïny z Krymon* ("Contribution to the history of the trade between the Ukraine and Ḳīrīm 1754-8"), Lemberg 1933). An offer of alliance made to the Crimean khān by Frederick the Great in 1761, at the most difficult moment of the Seven Years' War, led to no result either (H. Scheel, *Ein Schreiben des Krim Giray Khan an den Prinzen Heinrich, den Bruder Friedrichs des Grossen*, in *Jean Deny Armağanı*, Ankara 1958, 213-20).

On the other hand, the devastations of the war years stimulated the zest for living of the Crimean Tatars which, during the last decades of their freedom, flowered into a second cultural bloom, and which found its most important expression in the reconstruction of the *khān*'s palace at Bāghče Sarāy in 1740-3. The Sultan made a present of a valuable library, and in 1763 a new stateroom (*Dīwān*) was erected, richly decorated with paintings and sculp-

tures. Former hydraulic works, like aqueducts and canals, were restored and preparations made for a new period of prosperity.

But already in 1771, Russian armies had again marched into the Crimea. Khān Selim Girāy III (second reign 1770-1) tried to make a stand against them, in vain, because the Sultan himself pressed hard by a war (1768-74), against the Tsarina Catharine II, was unable to render effective help. Many people perished and many places were destroyed. The Russians marched as far as Kaffa and the Khān had to flee to Istanbul (A. Mačanov, *Bor'ba Tsarskoy Rossii i Turtsii za obladeniye Krïmskim Khanstvom* ("The struggle of Imperial Russia and Turkey for the domination of the Crimea"), Moscow 1929).

Thereupon the nobility decided to appoint a *khān* who was friendly to the Russians and to accede to the Russian occupation of the fortresses of Kerč, Yeñi Ḳalʿe and Kaffa. Thus the independence which the Sublime Porte was forced to grant to the Ḳïrïm at the peace of Küčük Ḳaynardje [*q.v.*] in 1774 (E. I. Družinina, *Kyučukkayandardžiyskiy mir 1774 goda: ego podgotovka i zaklyučeniye* ("The peace of K. K. in 1774: preparation and conclusion"), Moscow 1955), and the renunciation of its rights over these fortresses, on the Kubań and on the Taman peninsula, were only fictions, the more so because Kerč and Yeñi Ḳalʿe were at that time already directly subject to Russia (V. D. Smirnov, *Sbornik vïbora važnĕyshikh dokladov i ofitsialnikh dokumentov otnosyashč ikhsya k Turtsii, Rossii i Krïmu* ("Selection of the most important reports and official documents with reference to Turkey, Russia and the Crimea"), St. Petersburg 1881 (bearing mainly on the period 1768-74); F. A. Unat, *Kırım tarihi veya Necati efendinin Rusya sefaretnamesi 1769-75*, in *Tarih vesikaları* iii (1944), 599 (with continuations in later issues); *Mubadele. An Ottoman-Russian exchange of ambassadors* [*1775/76*], annot. and tr. by N. Itzkowitz and M. Mote, Chicago-London 1970).

Even the Russian concession at the treaty of Aynalï Ḳavaḳ in 1779 to declare the Sultan "in his capacity of caliph" to be the head of all Muslims could not prevent Crimean independence from coming to an end. Already two years earlier, the successor to the throne, Shāhīn Girāy, had succeeded as Khān with the help of the Russians and the Noghays (F. F. Lashkov, *Shagin-Girey, poslĕdniy krïmskiy khan* ("Sh. G., the last Crimean *khān*"), in *Kiyevskaya Starina*, Sept. 1886, 36-80). He was educated in Salonica and Venice, had become acquainted with Russia while living there as ambassador, and was open-minded to European and especially to Italian culture. Like the last Polish king, he thought about reforming the state, mainly after the Russian example. He thus transferred the capital to Kaffa, on the sea coast, probably after the example of the Russian transfer of their capital to St. Petersburg. He invited foreign instructors to train his army of 6,000 troops, limited the *waḳf*s [*q.v.*] while indemnifying the *ʿulamāʾ* with a pension, and introduced under foreign supervision a new silver coinage. A council of ministers consisting of 12 members was created, and finances were set up anew by introducing financial registers. These reforms burdened the country with considerable debts, and Russia availed itself of the ensuing discontent. Besides, the khanate became upset by a new revolt of the Noghays in 1781 and a rebellion of two brothers of the Khān, who saw himself forced to flee to Grigoriy Aleksandrovič Potĕmkin, the governor of the regions newly conquered by the Russians in the south (the Ukraine). After the Khān had returned to his country with Russian help, Catharine II pressed him under deceitful promises to abdicate. Shāhīn Girāy saw no escape from giving in to this pressure and from abandoning his country to Russia, to which it has belonged ever since (A. W. Fisher, *The Russian annexation of Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970; N. F. Dubrovin, *Prisoedineniye k Rossii Krïma. Reskripti, pis'ma, relatsii i doneseniya* ("The union of the Crimea with Russia. Rescripts, letters, accounts and notes") i-iii, St. Petersburg 1855; idem, *V'ezd poslednyago krïmskago khana Shagin-Gireya iz Rossii v Turtsiyu* ("The journey of the last Crimean Khan Shāhīn Girāy from Russia to Turkey"), in *Zapiski Imperatorskago Odesskago Obshčestva istorii i drevnostey*, xiii (1883), 132-56).

The annexation of the peninsula to the Russian empire (first as the Tauris region, and then from 1796 onwards as the New Russia Government) brought about shiftings of the population which must be mentioned here. Already in 1779 the Orthodox Christians of the Crimea, for centuries subordinated to "the Bishop of Gothia", had been removed to Southern Russia at the latter's instigation: 31,280 people from 6 towns and 60 villages settled around Mariupol' (A. L. Berthier-Delagarde, *K istorii khristianstva v Krïmu* ("Contribution to the history of Christianity on the Crimea"), in *Zapiski Imperatorskago Odesskago Obshčestva istorii i drevnostey*, xxviii (1910), 1-108; A. I. Markevič, *K voprosu o položenii khristian v Krïmu vo vremya tatarskago vladičestva* ("Contribution to the situation of the Christians on the Crimea during the Tatar reign"), Simferopol 1910). Also the Armenians left the country (likewise with their own hierarchy) and settled in (New-) Nakhičevan, now a suburb of Rostov-on-Don. In order to be able to remain in their home country, many Christians, among whom were probably the last remnants of the Crimean Goths, embraced Islam. (E. I. Družinina, *Sĕvernoe Pričernomor'e* ("The northern edge of the Black Sea"), *1775-1800*, Moscow 1959). But also, many Tatars left the country at that period and in the 19th century to settle in Turkey (G. I. Levitskiy, *Pereselenie tatar iz Krïma v Turtsiyu* ("The settlement of Crimean Tatars in Turkey") in *Vĕstnik Evropï* v (1882), 596-639; A. Markevič, *Pereseleniya krïmskikh tatar v Turtsiyu v Ivyazi s dviženiem naseleniya v Krïmu* ("The settlements of the Crimean Tatars in Turkey in connection with the movement of the population on the Crimea"), in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR* (1928), 375-405). In the place of all these people, came first Russian newcomers, and then also Czechs and Serbs, but furthermore some 7,000 Tatars from the Kuban area (M. Pinson, *Russian policy and the emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, 1854-1862*, in *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, i, (1972), 37-62). Most of the Crimean Tatars who had remained were moved to Central Asia in 1945 (and have not until now been permitted to return—*New York Times*, 13 July 1972—in spite of their official "rehabilitation" (*New York Times*, 5 May 1967; *Frankfurter Allg. Ztg.*, 13 Sept. 1967)).

Until February 1954, Ḳïrïm belonged to the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR), but has since been combined with the Ukraine.

Chronology of the Crimean Khāns

(1449)-1456 Ḥādjdjī Girāy I
1456 Ḥaydar, son of the preceding
1456-1466 Ḥādjdjī Girāy I (2nd time)
1466-1467 Nūr Dewlet, son of the preceding

1467-1474 Mengli Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1474-1475 Nūr Dewlet (2nd time)
1475-1476 Mengli Girāy I (2nd time)
1476-1478 Nūr Dewlet (3rd time)
1478-1515 Mengli Girāy I (3rd time)
1515-1523 Meḥmed Girāy I, son of the preceding
1523-1524 Ghāzī Girāy I, son of the preceding
1524-1532 Saʿādet Girāy I, son of Mengli G. I
1532 Islām Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1532-1551 Ṣāḥib Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1551-1577 Dewlet Girāy I, nephew of the preceding
1577-1584 Meḥmed Girāy II, the Fat, son of the preceding
1584-1588 Islām Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1588-1596 Ghāzī Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1596 Fetḥ Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1596-1608 Ghāzī Girāy II (2nd time)
1608 Tokhtamīsh Girāy, son of the preceding
1608-1610 Selāmet Girāy I, son of Dewlet G. I
1610 Meḥmed Girāy III, grandson of Meḥmed G. II
1610-1623 Djānibek Girāy, grandson of Dewlet G. I
1623-1624 Meḥmed Girāy III (2nd time)
1624 Djānibek Girāy (2nd time)
1624-1627 Meḥmed Girāy III (3rd time)
1627-1635 Djānibek Girāy (3rd time)
1635-1637 ʿInāyet Girāy, brother of Tokhtamīsh G.
1637-1641 Bahādīr Girāy I, son of Selāmet G. I
1641-1644 Meḥmed Girāy IV, the Pious (*sofu*), brother of the preceding
1644-1654 Islām Girāy III, brother of the preceding
1654-1666 Meḥmed Girāy IV (2nd time)
1666-1671 ʿĀdil Girāy, from the collateral line Čoban G.
1671-1678 Selīm Girāy I, son of Bahādīr G. I
1678-1683 Murād Girāy, cousin of Selīm G. I
1683-1684 Ḥādjdjī Girāy II, cousin of the preceding
1684-1691 Selīm Girāy I (2nd time)
1691 Saʿādet Girāy II, brother of Ḥādjdjī Girāy II
1691-1692 Ṣafā Girāy, cousin of the preceding
1692-1699 Selīm Girāy I (3rd time)
1699-1702 Dewlet Girāy II, son of the preceding
1702-1704 Selīm Girāy I (4th time)
1704-1707 Ghāzī Girāy III, son of the preceding
1707-1708 Ķaplan Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1708-1713 Dewlet Girāy II (2nd time)
1713-1716 Ķaplan Girāy I (2nd time)
1716-1717 Dewlet Girāy III
1717-1724 Saʿādet Girāy III, son of Selīm G. I
1724-1730 Mengli Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1730-1736 Ķaplan Girāy I (3rd time)
1736-1737 Fetḥ Girāy II, son of Dewlet G. II
1737-1740 Mengli Girāy II (2nd time)
1740-1743 Selāmet Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1743-1748 Selīm Girāy II, son of Ķaplan G. I
1748-1756 Arslan Girāy, brother of Fetḥ G. II
1756-1758 Ḥalīm Girāy, son of Saʿādet G. III
1758-1764 Ķīrīm Girāy, son of Dewlet G. II
1764-1767 Selīm Girāy III, son of Fetḥ G. II
1767 Arslan Girāy (2nd time)
1767-1768 Maķṣūd Girāy, son of Selāmet G. II
1768-1769 Ķīrīm Girāy (2nd time)
1769-1770 Dewlet Girāy IV, son of Arslan G.
1770 Ķaplan Girāy II, son of Selīm G. II
1770-1771 Selīm Girāy III (2nd time)
1771-1772 Maķṣūd Girāy (2nd time)
1772-1775 Ṣāḥib Girāy II, son of Selīm G. III
1775-1777 Dewlet Girāy IV (2nd time)
1777-1782 Shāhīn Girāy, son of Selīm G. III
1782-1783 Bahādīr Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1783 Shāhīn Girāy (2nd time)

A list of the Crimean *khān*s can be found in A. W. Fisher, *op. cit.*, 158 (defective) and in Zambaur, 247 f. For genealogical tables of the Girāys, see H. İnalcık, in *İA*, iv, after p. 788; Zambaur, table S; and B. Kellner, *op. cit.*, after p. 263 (18th c.).

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ḲIRḲ KILISE, also Ḳïrḳ Kinise and Ḳïrknïsa (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1928, viii, 69) a town in eastern Thrace, modern Kırklareli. This region to the east of Adrianople or Edirne [*q.v.*] had a centre in classical times, but its name is unknown (for the view that this place was called Heraclea, see J. von Hammer, *Histoire*, i, 234). The Byzantine name of Ḳïrḳ Kilise was apparently Sarante Eklesiai, and the name Ḳïrḳ Kilise must mean the church of forty saints and not forty churches (F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii, 391-2).

The later writers Kātibi Čelebi (*Djihān-nümā*, Rumeli section, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Hazine kütüphanesi, no. 443, f. 17a) and Müneddjim-Bashï (iii, 295), record the date for the conquest of Ḳïrḳ Kilise as 770/1368-9 (see Feridūn Bey, *Münshe'āt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274, i, 71-2). The early historians do not mention its capture, but the implication is that it was conquered few years after the conquest of Edirne in 763/1361 (for this, see Halil İnalcık, *The conquest of Edirne* (1361), in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, ii (1971). The first Islamic building constructed in the town after its conquest was the ʿAtīḳ mosque (Başbakanlık arşiv genel müdürlüğü, Tapu defteri, no. 370; this building was in a ruined condition in 1226/1807). Nomads (*yürüks*) brought from western Anatolia were settled in the region of Ḳïrḳ Kilise, and were during the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries known as "the *yürüks* of Ḳïrḳ Kilise" (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de yorükler, tatarlar ve evlâd-i Fâtihan*, Istanbul 1957, 84, 180 and *passim*), Ḳïrk Kilise was first attached to the Vize *sandjaḳ* of the province of Rumelia, but was then established as *müsellem sandjaḳ* (idem, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlaraında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları*, in *Belleten*, lxxviii (1956), 255, 269).

In the 10th/16th century, Ḳïrḳ Kilise consisted of 6 quarters or *mahalles*: Djāmiʿ-i ʿAtīḳ, Djāmiʿ-i Kebīr, Ḥādjdjī Zekeriyā, Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān Ketkhüdāsī, Yapraḳlī and Ḳaradja Ibrāhīm, containing 283 households (Tapu defteri, no. 370). During the 11th/17th century, Ḳïrḳ Kilise was a small town with a few shops and red tile-roofed houses set among the vineyards, and visitors noted the Old Mosque (Eski Djāmiʿ), the *bedestān* or covered market, the Köprübashī fountain, and the coffee-house, meeting-place of the learned man, situated by a fountain (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1315, v, 79-80). For the remaining monuments of the town today, see *Sālnāme-i vilāyet-i*

Edirne, Edirne 1309, 145 ff., 247 ff.; A. Rıza Dursunkaya, *Kırklareli vilâyetin tarih, coğrafya, kültür ve eski eserler yönünden tetkik*, Kırklareli 1947, ii; Özcan Mert, *Kırklareli kitabeleri*, in *TD*, no. 25 (Istanbul 1971), 155-62. During the 12th/18th century, the Greeks in the town almost equalled the number of the Muslims (see *Rucer Yosin Boşkoviç'in 1762 tarihli Istanbul-Lehistan seyahatine ait hatıra defteri*, tr. Ismail Eren, in *TD*, no. 16. (Istanbul 1962), 98-9). In the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳirḳ Kilise of the province of Edirne there was in 1899 an important number of Greeks and Bulgarians, and the population of the region was 18,325 (*Sālnāme-i vilāyet-i Edirne*, Edirne, 1317, 398-9). For a time, the town was included in the boundaries of Bulgaria after the treaty of San Stefano (3rd March 1878), but was given back to the Ottomans after the Congress of Berlin (13 June-13 July 1878). It again passed into Bulgarian hands for a short while during the Balkan War of 1912-3, but was recaptured on 8 July 1913. It was under Greek occupation for two years after the Mudros truce (1918), but was recovered by the Nationalist forces on 10th November 1922. The population of the town fell when the Greek population was transferred to Greece after the Treaty of Lausanne settlement in 1923. The name Ḳirḳ Kilise was changed into Kırklareli by a law taking effect from 24th December 1924. Under the Republic, Kırklareli has become the centre of a province or *vilayet* of the same name. Its population was 13,000 in 1927, 19,097 in 1955, 27,431 in 1970 and 33,260 according to the latest census (1975).

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ḲIRḲLARELI [see ḲIRḲ KILISE].

ḲIRḲ WEZĪR [see SHAYKHZĀDE II].

KIRKŪK, the biggest town of the region of Mesopotamia (44° 25′ E., 35° 25′ N.,) bounded by the Little Zab in the north-west, the Djabal Ḥamrīn in the south-west, the Diyālā in the south-east and the mountain chains of the Zagros in the north-east. It is identified by some (e.g. C. J. Gadd in *Rev. d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.*, xxiii (1926), 64, and by Sidney Smith) as the site of the ancient city of Arrapḫa, and so Kirkūk participated in the revolt of the son of Shalmaneser II (850-824 B.C.) against his ageing father; again it rose up in the reign of Ashur Dan III (771-754 B.C.). It saw the victorious troops of Nabopolasser pass through in 626 B.C. before being taken by the Medes under Cyaxeres at the end of 615 B.C. (G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, London 1964, 247, 251, 312, 312). From the time of the ancient Babylonian empire and during the Assyrian empire the town and its surrounding territories were very exposed to raids by the mountain peoples from the north-east.

Under the Sāsānids (226-651 A.D.) the province of Kirkūk was called Garmakān (Moses of Khoren) and in Syriac sources, Beth Garmaï; here the town of Kirkūk itself is called Karkhā of Bēth Selōkh (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, in *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vii/3 (1880), 267 ff.). This name could have come from the king Seleucus I Nicator (*ca.* 255-280 B.C.) who is said to have had constructed a tower in the citadel. During the Sāsānid period the town also became a famous centre for the Nestorians. The metropolitan of Bēth Garmaï had his residence there (J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, iii, Beirut 1968). Christians suffered persecution under Shāpūr II (310-79) (Fiey, *Histoires de Karka d'Bēṯ Sloḫ*, in *Analecta Bollandiana* lxxxii (1966), 203-9) and especially in 445 under Yezdegerd II, who made victims of thousands of them. Their situation later improved when a Christian of the town of Yāzdīn became chancellor under Chosroes II (591-628) and achieved such fame that his native town took the name Karkh Yāzdīn, (Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne*, iii, 23-8). Bēth Garmaï of the Syriac sources is called Badjarmā by the Arab historians. Yāḳūt speaks of a town Karkhīna (iv, 276) which Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 272) believes can be identified, correctly it seems, as Kirkūk. Even today the people of Shaklāwā and ʿAyn Kāwā, when setting out for Kirkūk, still say that they are going to Karkhina (Fiey, *op. cit.*, iii, 44).

In the 6th/12th century the region of Kirkūk belonged to the territory dominated by the Begteginid dynasty [*q.v.*], who had their residence at Irbīl. After the death of Muẓaffar al-Din Kökbüri in 629/1232, the possessions of this dynasty reverted to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, but not long afterwards were conquered by the Mongols. The name Kirkūk appears for the first time in the history of Tīmūr of Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (*Ẓafar-nāma*, written *ca.* 823/1424-5, tr. Pétis de la Croix, Delft 1723, ii, 259). Then came the reign of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, followed by the conquest of Mesopotamia by Shāh Ismāʿīl I in the early years of the 10th/16th century. When finally Mesopotamia and ʿIrāḳ had fallen into the hands of the Ottoman sultans Selīm I and Sulaymān I (according to the first Turco-Persian truce at Amasya, 29 May 1555), Kirkūk again took on its rôle as an important bulwark against the enemy from the East.

The town fell again to the Persians after the fall of Baghdād in 1032/1623, but was reconquered by Khosrew Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1039/1630; in 1048/1638 Murād IV passed through the town on his march to reconquer Baghdād. But the true masters of these regions were the local Kurdish hordes, lords of the province of Ardalān (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 445). But shortly afterwards the Ottoman power became established there by the activity of the *pashas* of the *eyālet* of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*]. This *eyālet* was composed of 32 *sandjaḳs*, of which one was that of Kirkūk, and this town became the residence of the *pasha* of Shahrizūr after the castle in the town of this name had been razed by Shāh ʿAbbās (1571-1629) (*Djihān-nümā*, *loc. cit.*). In 1732 the future Nādir Shāh besieged the town in vain. A great battle took place near Kirkūk in the following year, when the Turks were completely beaten under the grand vizier Topal ʿOthmān Pasha, who died there. In 1743 Kirkūk fell again into the hands of the Persians, but was returned to Turkey after the truce of 1746.

The town remained in the Ottoman empire until the end of the First World War; it was occupied by the British on 7 May 1918, but abandoned fifteen days later. It was re-occupied at the end of October and remained occupied until the time of the Mudros armistice. Having remained outside the sphere of activities of Shaykh Maḥmūd (November 1918 until May 1919), Kirkūk and its district were administered peaceably. There was even a Turkish newspaper published there and sixteen schools were opened. At the time of the referendum of July 1921 Kirkūk

rejected the Amīr Fayṣal as king of ʿIrāḳ, and from that moment Turkish propaganda developed in the region, supported by a Turkish committee founded at Kirkūk by the family of the Naftčizāda and other Turcophiles. On 17 March the Turks named a *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* at Ruwanduz, and at the end of July, Col. ʿAlī Shafīḳ, who was called Öz Demir, "Pure Iron one", appeared and made some advances towards the territory; but he was unable to retrieve all the *vilāyet* of Mosul. The Turks tried again to claim it at the Lausanne Conference (20 November 1922 until 2 February 1923) but without success. The Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923) still left the question of Mosul undecided, and so it was referred to the League of Nations. A committee of enquiry was sent by them, and in its 34th session in Geneva on 16 December 1924, the Council gave a definite ruling: ʿIrāḳ was given the territory south of the so-called "Brussels line". Thereafter Kirkūk was incorporated into the kingdom of ʿIrāḳ.

The present-day town is built partly on top of an artificial mound or *ḳalʿa* about 40 m. high, and partly at its base, on the two banks of the Khasa Čay. These waters join with those of the Āwā Spī to form the Adhaym which flows into the Tigris 30 km. south of Balad. On the right bank of the Khasa Čay, in the middle of a fertile plain, rises the residential district of Arrapkha. In 1912 the population was estimated to be 15,000 (by E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan...*, 120), in 1922 to be 25,000 (by C. J. Edmonds), and in 1965 official statistics, determined according to maternal language, gave 184,000 inhabitants, comprising 71,000 Kurds, 55,000 Turcomans and 41,000 Arabs, plus others. The present population is certainly over 200,000. It should be noted that, for many years, the authorities have made strenuous efforts to replace the Kurds by Arabs. Kirkūk is the centre of an administrative region, formerly a *liwāʾ* and now since 1975 a *muḥāfaẓa*, and has had its name changed; it is now called al-Taʾmīm ("Nationalisation") in honour of the nationalisation of oil on 1 June 1972 and also in the intention of "de-Kurdicising" the town (though the latter has however kept its Kurds). The population of the *muḥāfaẓa* is rapidly increasing thanks to the development of the oil industry; its 388,900 inhabitants of 1957 increased to 523,000 in 1970, with a majority of Kurds. The Kurds, Arabs and Turcomans of the town are Sunnī Muslims, but the Turcomans of the villages belong to an unorthodox and secret sect, the Ḳizilbāsh. The Christians are mainly Chaldaean (about 4,500) with an archbishop, and the Nestorians, who are less numerous, have a bishop at Harīr. There was a small colony of Jewish merchants, one of whom was sent as a delegate to the Parliament in Baghdād and another was at the head of the Department of Finance of the *liwāʾ* of *Kirkūk*, but it has disappeared since the Arab-Israeli War of 1948. It is thought they were the descendants of the Jews who were deported to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar after the capture of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) and they continued to speak Aramaic. The little mosque of Nabī Dāniyāl on the slope of the hill of Kirkūk commemorates the Hebrew Prophet who was deported at the same time. This must be an ancient church which existed until *ca.* 1700, just like the Ulu Djāmiʿ mosque. The oldest church in the world was that of the martyr Mar Tahmazgerd, built by the metropolitan *ca.* 470 A.D., to the east of the citadel of Kirkūk; it was known as the Great Martyrion, but during the Turkish retreat of 1918 it was being used as a powder magazine and was blown up (C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, 267; Fiey, *Assyrie*, iii, 54).

Urban planning in Kirkūk has made the centre a large circle of broad streets. Christians have been established there since earliest times, and seem always to have maintained positions of greater or lesser importance. The presence of a Turcoman minority in Kirkūk, within its Kurdish majority, must go back considerably before the conquest by the Ottoman sultans; their origin could be sought in a Turkish garrison which the caliphs may have installed there in the 3rd/9th century, or in an immigration at the time of the Saldjūḳs, and the Begteginids or Atabegs of Irbīl (C. J. Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 267, has drawn attention to other opinions). Whatever may have been the circumstances of their coming to the region, the Turcomans of Kirkūk have always provided strong support for the Ottoman empire and its culture, and an abundant source for Ottoman officials (see *Türk Yurdu*, 1915).

Kirkūk's position as an administrative centre has varied through the ages: "In the 18th century Kirkūk was the chief town of the *eyālet* of Shahrizūr which included the modern *liwāʾ*s of Kirkūk, Irbīl and nominally of Sulaymānī under a *mutasallim* appointed by Baghdād. With the reforms of Midḥat Pasha, *wālī* of Baghdād from 1869 to 1872, the name of Shahrizūr was given to the *sandjaḳ* of Kirkūk, corresponding to the present-day *liwāʾ*s of Kirkūk and Irbīl, whereas the historic Shahrizūr remained outside, in the new *sandjaḳ* of Sulaymānī. The *vilāyet* of Mosul was formed in 1879 and Kirkūk remained an important garrison town" (Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 265-6). Under the Turkish régime, the *vilāyet* of Mosul was divided into three *sandjaḳ*s or *liwāʾ*s: Mosul, Kirkūk and Sulaymānī; in 1918 three *ḳaḍāʾ*s situated to the north of the Little Zab were detached from Kirkūk to form the *liwāʾ* of Irbīl. In the constitution of 1925, the new Iraqi state was formed of three Ottoman *vilāyet*s: Baghdād, which became the capital; Baṣra; and Mosul. The *liwāʾ* of Kirkūk was composed of four *ḳaḍāʾ*s: Kirkūk, Kifri, Čāmčamāl and Gil. Today, the *muḥāfaẓa* of al-Taʾmīm, with a *muḥāfiẓ* at its head, includes five *ḳaḍāʾ*s, as follows: Kirkūk, Ṭuz Khurmātu, Čamčamāl, Huwaydja and Kifrī. Each *ḳaḍāʾ* has at its head a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. The *ḳaḍāʾ* of Kirkūk has five *nāḥiya*s, as follows: Ṭāze Khurmātu, Ḳarā Ḥasan, Altun Köpri, Dibs and Shuwān, and each *nāḥiya* is administered by a *mudīr*. Kirkūk is the seat of the regional court and of a court of appeal, and it possesses a garrison and an airport. There is also an association of Turcoman writers.

Kirkūk is an important commercial centre and an agricultural market for the cereal and animal products of the neighbourhood. It is well served by good roads to Baghdād through Taʾūḳ and Kifri to Mosul through Altun Köprü and Irbīl, to Sulaymāniyya through Čāmčamāl with branches to Sanāndadj and Hamadān in Iran. A narrow-gauge railway links Kirkūk with Baghdād in the south and with Irbīl in the north. The region around Kirkūk is undulating and it is populated mostly by Kurds. The Mesopotamian steppe begins to the west of the town and it is inhabited chiefly by Arabs. The immediately-surrounding district produces much fruit.

The region of Kirkūk abounds in sulphur and bitumen products and it is especially rich in petroleum deposits, extensively exploited even in ancient times. It should be noted that the petroleum had a

certain importance in Ottoman times, being used by the army (V. J. Parry, *Materials of war in the Ottoman empire*, in *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, London 1970, 220. A *fermān* of 1049/1639 recognised the monopoly of rights over this petroleum to a group of Turks in the region of Kirkūk, the Neftčizādeler. But their systematic working dates from March 1925. At that time a concession was granted to the Turkish Petroleum Company (T.P.C.) which was founded in 1914 to exploit the deposits of the *vilāyets* of Mosul and Baghdād; royalties of 4 gold shillings per ton of extracted petroleum were payable. Before the end of 1925, geological work was begun and roads were constructed, water supplies, pipe lines and buildings were installed in the *vilayet* of Mosul, and there were 50 British and 2,500 Iraqis employed in the work. The drilling sites were chosen in the Djabal Ḥamrīn, near Ṭuz Khurmātu, in the neighbourhood of Kirkūk. The drilling programme was formally inaugurated in April 1927 by King Fayṣal I, and the first oil gushed forth on 27 October 1927 at Bābā Gurgur, near Kirkūk. The years 1927 to 1931 were given to preparing the whole region of Kirkūk for production by test drilling, scientific observation and arranging the necessary services; production units, reservoirs, workshops, housing etc. were established and at the same time negotiations were conducted with the Iraqi government to extend the period for selecting areas, according to the convention of 1925. In March 1931 the company, which had become the Iraq Petroleum Company (I.P.C.) in 1929, was able to operate in the whole territory in the north-east of Iraq, on condition that by 1935 they constructed a pipe-line to the Mediterranean with a capacity of 3,000,000 tonnes, with a branch at Ḥadītha on the Euphrates to Ḥayfā and Tripoli, and that they make an annual payment of £ 4,000 as an overall payment to the government.

It was also in 1931 that the operational headquarters of the I.P.C. was moved from Ṭuz Khurmātu to Kirkūk, and the headquarters for pipe-line operations was established at Ḥayfa. The drilling for crude oil at Kirkūk began at the end of 1934 and, from 1935 onwards, the annual production of 4,000,000 tonnes put Iraq in the eighth position among the oil producing countries. In January 1935 the double 12" pipeline from Kirkūk to the Mediterranean was formally opened, but because of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, the branch leading to Ḥayfā was closed. This caused a loss of almost 7,000,000 tonnes and the corresponding royalties. The Tripoli pipe-line was, however, doubled by a second (16") pipe in 1949 and this trebled the export figure. In 1952 a third (30") pipeline was brought into service between Kirkūk and Banias (Syria). From then on the world market for Iraqi oil was to increase to 14,000,000 tonnes per year. On 3 February 1952 a new agreement was signed between the Iraqi government and the I.P.C. for the distribution of personnel, production and revenues. A minimum production of 22,000,000 tonnes was expected annually from 1953 and a revenue of £ 30,000,000, in 1952 to reach £ 60,000,000 in 1955. The profits gained from the oil workings would be shared equally.

The Iraqi revolution of 1958 did not change the agreements between the government and the petroleum companies. The objective was to obtain exports worth 100 m. in revenue from a capacity of 70 m. tonnes per year. This target was reached in four years, but a few problems of interpretation persisted. In April 1961 negotiations were begun and, after different interruptions, they finally reached deadlock. They were concluded by Law 80 of 11 December 1961 which dispossessed the company of 99.5% of the territories where they had prospecting rights and left I.P.C. with only 22 sites, 12 of them at Kirkūk in an area of about 478.75 sq. kms., 6 at Bay Hassan of about 182.5 sq. kms., and 4 at Djambar, of about 86.5 sq. kms. (Vernier, *L'Irak...*, 435). New installations were planned between May 1964 and June 1965 and were completed, with future plans taking into consideration the Iraqi National Oil Company (I.N.O.C.) which had recently been founded on 30 October 1962. More new laws were enacted as a consequence: Law 97 (6 August 1967) forbade any new concessions to foreign companies and Law 123 (October 1967) authorised the I.N.O.C. to exploit the remaining sectors, which seemed to put an end to the monopoly of oil production which the foreign I.P.C. enjoyed. On 14 June 1972, the I.P.C. itself was nationalised, and thus Iraq gained for itself all the profits from its rich petroleum deposits. The annual production of crude oil in Iraq has regularly increased from the 47.5 m. tonnes in 1960; by 1975 it had reached more than 110 m. tonnes, 60 m. of which were from the Kirkūk region. In 1973 the Iraqi reserves of crude oil were estimated to be 4.143 billion tonnes.

If the petroleum industry with all its subsidiary operations gave a favourable social status to its workers, for their standard of living is superior to that of other workers in the country, it did not suppress all the movements for social reform. Several important strikes were called in Kirkūk among the oil workers. The most notable were those of 1937 which coincided with the workers' strikes at the Kūt barrage, the drillers of the B.O.P., the railways, the stevedores at Baṣra and the weavers of Nadjaf. These showed a hardening of class-consciousness and the discovery of a new political weapon (Longrigg, *Iraq*, 252). In July 1947 a serious strike aggravated by politicians of communist leanings broke out at I.P.C., and it claimed several victims (*ibid.* 338).

Other demonstrations have had a more political tone. The mere announcement of the Treaty of Portsmouth (15 January 1948) produced a general strike for three days. At Kirkūk the British consulate was attacked, but the most tragic of these events was the so-called "purge of Kirkūk". On the occasion of the first anniversary of the republic (14 July 1959) Communist elements helped by bands of Kurds, massacred the Turcomans of the town, for they were considered to be anti-Communist. There were probably 120 killed and about 100 wounded. The participation of the Kurds in the affair was interpreted not as a sign of an antagonistic nationalistic rivalry against the Turcomans, but one of social competition. The Turcomans, who are more socially and culturally advanced, occupied more high-ranking positions in the I.P.C., while the Kurds had to content themselves with more subordinate work (cf. M. Khadduri, *Republican ʿIraq*, 125).

It must not be forgotten that one of the obstacles to a definitive solution to the Kurdish problem is precisely the claim of the Kurds to the territory and the revenue of the Kirkūk oil-fields, which they would like to see included in the territory of an autonomous Kurdistan. These claims are categorically refuted by the central Iraqi government. In October 1970 a plebiscite was to settle this point of contention, but it was adjourned indefinitely (E. O'Ballance, *The Kurdish revolt*, 161 f.). This at least in part provoked the outbreak of hostilities in

March 1974, just as the Kurdo-Iraqi agreement of 11 March 1970 was beirg implemented. The law of 11 March 1974 awarding autonomy to the region of Kurdistan defined this region in terms of the 1957 census, carried out under the monarchy. At that time, the Kurds were afraid to declare themselves as such, and thus the census did not give a Kurdish majority to Kirkūk; hence the town and the *muḥāfaẓa* were accordingly excluded from the autonomous area.

A well-known personality of Kirkūk was the Kurdish poet Shaykh Riḍā Tālabānī (*ca.* 1840-1910). More-or-less an agnostic character, but at the same time fanatical also, he had gifts of satire and improvisation and a sometimes obscene verve, and composed poems in Kurdish, Turkish, Persian and Arabic. They were published in Baghdād in 1935 and 1946 and he is remembered as one of the most popular poets of Iraqi Kurdistan (cf. E. B. Sloane, *op. cit.*, 134-5; Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 57-8, 290-5; Edmonds, *A Kurdish lampoonist: Shaik Riza Talabani*, in *JRCAS*, xxii/l (1935), 111-27).

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(J. H. Kramers - [Th. Bois])

KIRMĀN, the name of a Persian province and of its present capital. The name goes back to the form Carmania, which is found in Strabo (xv, 2, 14), and which is said to be derived from the name of an ancient capital, Carmana (Ptolemy, *Geography*, vi, 8; Ammanianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 6, 48. See further Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 30, on the name Carmania, and Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i, 145, for the later popular etymology of the name).

The Province.—The province of Kirmān is situated to the south-west of the great central desert of Persia, the Dasht-i Lūt, which narrows to some 100 miles in width where it divides Kirmān from Sīstān. It is bounded on the north by Yazd and Khurāsān, on the east by Sīstān and Makrān (Balūčistān), which was regarded by most of the early geographers as separate from Kirmān, though Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it paid tribute (*kharādj*) to Kirmān (*Nuzhat*, 141), on the south by Makrān and Fārs and on the west by Fārs. Its boundaries have varied slightly from time to time. Ibn Rusta states that Fahradj was part of the tax district of Kirmān but that the ruler of Makrān claimed that it belonged to him (286). Khʷāsh, which is today included in Balūčistān, and Rīgān were both reckoned by Iṣṭakhrī to belong to Kirmān, though the former was, he states, part of the tax district of Sīstān (162). Idrīsī, on the other hand, includes Khʷāsh in Sīstān (417). Shahr-i Bābak was at various times included in Fārs, at others in Kirmān. In 1258/1842-3 it was placed, for revenue purposes, under Yazd (Aḥmad ʿAlī Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Parīzī, in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, xiv/1-4, 163). Bāfḳ, which had earlier belonged to Kirmān, was also placed under Yazd about the year 1774 (Wazīrī, 175), though Khināmān, one of its districts, continued to belong to Kirmān. During the reign of the Saldjūḳ *malik* of Kirmān, Arslān Shāh (494-536/1100-41), Yazd and Ṭabas appear to have been under Kirmān (Afḍal al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Kirmānī, *ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmirī Nāʾīnī, Tehran 1311, 76). Furg and Ṭārum, both placed in Fārs by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (129), were considered by Afḍal al-Dīn to belong to Kirmān (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 75). Ibn Balkhī states that Rūdān, which had belonged to Fārs, was put on the Kirmān side of the frontier in the reign of Alp Arslān (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 121), but according to Idrīsī, although it formed one of the dependencies of Kirmān, it was under Fārs for tax purposes (416). Hurmuz [*q.v.*] was sometimes counted as belonging to Fārs, sometimes to Kirmān, and has often been in different hands to its hinterland.

According to the Arab geographers, the western part of the province, which included Shahr-i Bābak, Sīrdjān, Urzūya, Aḳṭāʿ, Kushk, Ṣawghān, Isfandaḳa, Djīruft and Rūdbār, was in the third clime, and the eastern part, including Anār, Kūbanān (Kūhbanān) Zarand, Guwāshīr or Gawāshīr (also known as Bardsīr and later as Kirmān), Rāwar, Khabīṣ, Rāʾīn, Sardūya, Bam and Narmāshīr, in the fourth clime, while Hurmuz, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, was in the second clime (*Nuzhat*, 141).

In the variety of its topography the province is not dissimilar from Persia as a whole. A series of mountain ranges, with a general trend from north-west to south-east, runs through the province. Much is tangled broken country, but there are many fertile upland districts, pastures and mountain valleys with orchards, cultivated places, and many streams. Some of these have a high elevation: Saʿīdābād, near the site of the old city of Sīrdjān, lies at an elevation of 5,600 ft. and Pārīz at over 7,000 ft. There are also numerous arid waterless mountain districts and desert tracts. The main desert area is in the north and north-east on the borders of the Dasht-i Lūt, and is encroaching on the neighbouring fertile districts. The Lūt is defined in the south by the Bam-Zāhidān road and thus excludes Narmāshīr and the desert regions of south-eastern Kirmān and Rīgān, though physically these belong to the Lūt proper. There are also some stretches of arid land between the south-west highlands and the Djibāl Bāriz which run south-east from Sīrdjān to east of Djīruft. Salt swamps (*kafa*) are found in isolated depressions, notably the Kafa-i Ḳaṭrū near Sīrdjān (for a description of this, see K. E. Abbott, *Geographical notes taken during a journey in Persia in 1849 and 1850*, in *JRGS*, xxv (1855), 66-7). In some parts of the province the towns and villages tend to be separated from each other by broad stretches of uncultivated land (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 163, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 309). Along the nor-

thern littoral of the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of ʿUmān there is a narrow coastal plain.

The most northerly of the mountain ranges stretches from the neighbourhood of Yazd to Khabīṣ (the modern Shahdād) and south-eastwards towards Sarvistān. The fertile upland district of Kūbanān in the north, and, further south, the arid district of Rāwar lie along its eastern base. A second range, further to the west, which contains Mt. Djūpār (13,000 ft.) south of Kirmān city, and Mt. Hazār (14,500 ft.) to the south-west of Rāʾīn, runs towards Bam, while a third, still further west, runs south-eastwards from north of Shahr-i Bābak through Sīrdjān and Bāft, and contains Mt. Čihiltan (12,000 ft.) Mt. Čahārgunbad (13,000 ft.) and Mt. Lālazār (14,350 ft.). A lesser range, with Mt. Čāhhazār (9,480 ft.), lies to the south of Saʿīdābād, while the Mt. Dinā range of Fārs is prolonged in a south-easterly direction to near Bandar ʿAbbās. South of Sarvistān and to the east of Djīruft, lies the Djibāl Bāriz range [see DJABAL BĀRIZ in Suppl.], which also trends from the north-west to the south-east and rises to 13,000 ft. in the north and 12,450 ft. in the south. The Djibāl Kufṣ region of the Arab geographers (see Iṣṭakhrī, 164; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 124; al-Muḳaddasī, 471; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 309-10; C. E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian history*, in *Iran*, xiv (1976), 9-18) probably lay in the south-east in Bashākird, on the borders of Makrān and Rūdbār.

In the upland districts, notably in the Djibāl Bāriz, there exist remnants of a dry forest, consisting mainly of thin stands of pistachio trees, several species of almond, maple, celtis, juniper and other shrubs; stands of pistachio trees, almonds and other drought-resistant species are also found at lower levels. In the *garmsīr* the vegetation tends to be scattered trees and shrubs with a steppe-like ground cover. The *kunār* tree (*ziziphus spina Christi*) has a wide distribution, as also do several species of acacia, myrtle, tamarisk and oleander. Deforestation from charcoal burning and animal grazing has taken place, and present day cover, though in places still considerable, would appear to be appreciably less than the "forests" of both the early and mediaeval geographers and the 19th century writers.

There are no important rivers reaching the sea. The largest of them, the R. Mīnāb, rises in the hills of Bandar ʿAbbās. It has a considerable drainage and flows into the Persian Gulf some 30 miles east of Bandar ʿAbbās. The only considerable inland river is the R. Halīl, which is joined by its tributary, the R. Shūr, in the neighbourhood of Djīruft and disappears in the Djāz Muriān. According to Iṣṭakhrī, it had enough water to turn 20 (166), or, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, 50 mill wheels (ii, 311). The province relies, for the most part, on *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] and mountain streams for water. In many districts the sub-soil water is brackish and the soil is often impregnated with salt. Rainfall is low and decreases towards the south-east, though the relief of the land gives rise to many local variations. The maximum precipation is in winter. Kirmān town has an annual average rainfall of 7.9 in., Bandar ʿAbbās 10 in, and Bam 3 in. Drought, sometimes accompanied by famine, has not been uncommon in the history of Kirmān. The *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā* mentions one such in the *kharādjī* year 570 (97). In 1879 and 1880 Kirmān, like many other provinces, suffered severely from drought. Flash floods are also a hazard, such as the floods which occurred in Kirmān (and many other places) in 1001/1593 (Maḥmūd b. Hidāyat Allāh Natanzī, *Nuḳāwat al-āthār*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāḳī, Tehran 1971, 531).

According to the Arab geographers, some three-quarters of the province belongs to the warm regions (*djurūm, garmsīr*) and one quarter to the cold regions (*ṣurūd, sardsīr*). In the *garmsīr* the districts bordering the central desert have a hot dry climate, but in the southern parts of the province, especially in the Persian Gulf littoral, the climate in summer is hot and unhealthy. Bam is thus reckoned to have a better climate than Djīruft (Iṣṭakhrī, 166). The latter is described by Afḍal al-Dīn as a paradise for four months of the year but as hell for the rest of the year (*ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 69). The 5th/10th century Persian translation of Iṣṭakhrī adds to the latter's text the statement that the climate of Hurmuz was noxious (ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1340, 139). The upland country of Aḳṭāʿ and Sīrdjān has a temperate climate, while Kirmān, Rafsindjān, Zarand, Rāwar and Kūbanān have a hot summer and mild winter. Barley is harvested in Rūdbār at the Persian New Year (21 March) and wheat twenty days afterwards. In Aḳṭāʿ barley is not harvested until five months after the New Year and wheat a month later.

Outside the coastal area, where the annual range of temperature is lowest, the difference between the coldest month, January, and the warmest, July, is considerable. At Kirmān, with an elevation of 5,680 ft., the average maximum temperature in January is 55.4° F and the average minimum 33.8° F, with an absolute maximum and minimum of 75.2° F and -7.6° F respectively and a mean monthly average of 42.8° F. In July the average maximum and minimum temperature is 95° F and 64.4° F respectively with an absolute maximum and minimum of 105.8° F and 48.2° F and a mean monthly average of 80.6° F. At Bandar ʿAbbās the average maximum and minimum temperatures in January are 73.4° F and 57.2° F respectively with an absolute maximum and minimum of 86.0° F and 41.0° F and a mean monthly average of 66.2° F, while the comparable figures for July are 102.2° F and 87.8° F, 113.0° F and 82.4° F and 95.0° F. In some parts of the province, notably Kirmān, high surface winds are common at certain times of the year, especially in spring. In the Khabīṣ district a poisonous wind (known as *bād-i simur*) blows in the desert in the middle of the day for about forty days in summer.

Ibn Rusta states that Kirmān was divided into five *kūras*, Bardsīr, Sīrdjān, Narmāshīr, Djīruft and Hurmuz, each *kūra* being called after its chief town (286). Muḳaddasī also states that the province had five *kūras*, but lists them differently, omitting Hurmuz and including Bam (460). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it consisted of fifteen districts (*shahr*) (*Nuzhat*, 139). By the 8th/14th century the province was differently divided. In the 19th and 20th centuries there appears to have been a further proliferation of districts (*bulūkāt*), the names of which are variously given. Wazīrī in his *Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān*, written between 1874 and 1876, mentions the following districts: Guwāshīr (the modern city of Kirmān and its surroundings), Kūhpāya, Khabīṣ and Gawk (which two, he states, in reality formed one *bulūk*), Bam, Narmāshīr, Rāʾīn, Sardūya, Djīruft, Djibāl Bāriz, Isfandaḳa, Rūdbār, Kūshk and Ṣawghān, Bardsīr, Aḳṭāʿ (earlier known as the district of Bāft), Urzūya, Sīrdjān, Shahr-i Bābak, Rafsindjān, Bāfḳ, Zarand, Anār, Kūbanān (which, he states, had been administered with Yazd for revenue purposes for nearly a hundred years) and Rāwar. Later the boundaries appear to have been slightly redrawn: Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya were united into one district, as also were Bam and

Narmāshīr; Bāfḳ was transferred to Yazd, the district of Khināmān only remaining with Kirmān, Pārīz and Rābur, which had formerly belonged to Sīrdjān and Aḳṭāʿ respectively, both became separate districts, while Rūdbār was now called Rūdbār and Bashākird (Houtum-Schindler, art. *Kerman* in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911, xv, 756). Under Riḍā Shāh the province was divided into six *shahristāns*: Kirmān (which included the sub-districts of Zarand, Kūhpāya and Kūbanān), Bam (which included the sub-district of Rāʾīn), Djīruft (which included the sub-district of Sardūya, which in turn included Isfandaḳa, and Kahnūdj, which in turn included Rūdbār), Bandar ʿAbbās (which included the sub-district of Rūdān), Sirdjān (which included the sub-districts of Pārīz and Bāft, which in turn included Urzūya, Rābur, Kushk and Ṣawghān) and Rafsindjān (Ḥusayn ʿAlī Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, viii).

Agriculture and Livestock.—The Arab geographers describe Kirmān as a rich and prosperous province. The Persian translation of Iṣṭakhrī mentions that it produced all kinds of fruit (139), while Yāḳūt states that it was rich in date palms, cereals, cattle and beasts of burden and that it produced fruits belonging to both the cold and the hot regions in great variety, including an abundance of walnuts and dates (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 483). The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* notes that Djīruft, Bāft and the mountain country between Djīruft and Manūdjān, known as the Kūhistān-i Abū Ghānim, were prosperous and pleasant places (124). According to Muḳaddasī, the last-named district had many date palms (467). Rūdbār is described by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* as consisting of woods, trees, and meadows (124). The mountain region between Sīrdjān and Bardsīr was also very prosperous and pleasant according to the same authority, and contained 260 populous places. Muḳaddasī mentions a multitude of orchards and an abundance of fruit in Sīrdjān (464), and many orchards and citrus trees in Mughūn (467). Afḍal al-Dīn speaks of the excellence of the pastures of Rūdbār and states that animals thrived in them (70). He also praises the fertility of Narmāshīr and states that it produced the fruit of both the *garmsīr* and the *sardsīr* (72). Muḳaddasī notes the great quantity of fruit belonging to the *sardsīr* and the *garmsīr*—dates, walnuts and citrus fruits—in Djīruft (466; cf. Iṣṭakhrī 166). Plenty prevailed in the Djibāl Bāriz, which, like the Ḳufṣ Mts., were difficult of access (Iṣṭakhrī, 164; Ibn al-Ḥawḳal, ii, 310). Bam and Khʷāsh had many date palms (Iṣṭakhrī, 166; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 313), which also grew in great profusion in Hurmuz (Iṣṭakhrī, 166; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 311) and in the Ḳufṣ Mts. Honey was also produced there (cf. Idrīsī, 429). Indigo and cumin were cultivated in Djīruft and the district which extended from Mughūn and Walāshgird to the neighbourhood of Hurmuz, and also sugar cane (Muḳaddasī, 467; Iṣṭakhrī, 167; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312). Idrīsī mentions the excellence of the quality of the indigo and states that the inhabitants of Mughūn and Walāshgird occupied themselves much in its cultivation and took a great deal of trouble over it because it was a source of considerable profit to them (424). Wheat and barley were grown in the *sardsīr*, but in Hurmuz millet was the staple crop and the food of the inhabitants (Iṣṭakhrī, 127; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 311; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 124, Idrīsī, 424). Cotton, as well as grain and dates, were grown in Sīrdjān and Shahr-i Bābak (*Nuzhat*, 141). Silk was produced in Bam (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 71). Asafoetida and gum tragacanth were found in parts of the province.

In the Middle Ages, apart from a period of prosperity under the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān, agriculture suffered a decline. There were temporary fluctuations and local variations, but in general the agricultural recession continued until the second half of the 19th century. At that time a wide variety of crops were cultivated. Wheat and barley, though grown in most parts of the province, were not important in terms of the amount grown and some districts had a deficit. In the province as a whole, the yield was low. Some millet, and a small quantity of rice was also grown. Pulses, roots and edible gums were also produced. Cotton was grown in Rafsindjān (which was later, in the 1930s, to turn much cotton land over to the cultivation of pistachio trees), Kūhpāya, Dārzīn (Dardjīn), Bam, Narmāshīr, Djīruft, Zarand and Anār. Dates were still one of the most important products of the province and came from Bāfḳ, Khabīṣ, Bam, Dārzīn, Rūdbār and to a lesser extent from Kūshk and Ṣawghān. Rāwar was noted for its figs, Bāfḳ for its apricots and Khabīṣ for its citrus fruits. Cumin was grown mainly in Kūshk and Aqṭāʿ. Pistachios, almonds (mainly from Sīrdjān and Shahr-i Bābak) and walnuts (from Sardūya, Bardsīr and Aḳṭāʿ) were important products. Sugar and indigo were no longer grown except on a very small scale, though an attempt was made by Wakīl al-Mulk to re-introduce sugar cane together with indigo, pepper, ginger and various other Indian plants into Khabīṣ (Houtum Schindler, *Reisen im südlichen Persien 1879 . . .*, in *ZG Erd. Berlin*, xvi (1881), 357). Dye plants included henna in Narmāshīr, Khabīṣ, Djīruft, and Urzūya and madder in Sīrdjān, Rafsindjān, Bāfḳ, Kūbanān, Anār and Zarand. By 1880 the cultivation of henna in Bam had brought about in some measure a revival of prosperity in that district (Fīrūz Mīrzā Farmān Farmā, *Safarnāma-i Kirmān wa Balūčistān*, ed. Manṣūra Niẓām Māfī, Tehran 1963, 6). Silk, though a little was still produced in Bam, Rafsindjān, Bāfḳ, Djūpār, Bāghīn and Kūbanān, had also lost its importance, though some attention appears to have been given to the cultivation of mulberry trees during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48) (R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 354). Tobacco was grown in Zarand and Bāfḳ, and potatoes in the district between Sīrdjān and Pārīz. From the late 1870s opium cultivation became important in Māhān, Djūpār, Narmāshīr, Sīrdjān, Bāfḳ, Kūbanān and elsewhere. Honey came from Aḳṭāʿ, Bardsīr and Sardūya. (See further Wazīrī, who gives a list of the agricultural produce of each district (*bulūk*), and also references in E. Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, i, 184-238).

Sheep and goats were important throughout the province. There was much movement of flocks from the mountain districts to the plains in winter. Those from Rābur, Isfandaḳa and the neighbouring districts went mainly to Rūdbār and Djīruft. Much wool was produced, including a fine soft wool (*kurk*) produced by a special breed of goat. In Rūdbār there were also many herds of cattle. Buffaloes were found only in Djīruft.

Minerals.—Various minerals existed in the province and many of these were exploited. Ibn al-Faḳīh states that there were mines of gold, silver, iron, copper, sulphur, and zinc oxide (206), but their location is not clear from his account. Muḳaddasī describes how zinc oxide (*tūtiyā*) was mined and fired to produce tutty (459, 470). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes the process as carried out in "the village

of the tutty makers" as follows: the crude ore was brought out from the mine, moistened and made into bars (*mil*) one gaz long, dried and put into a furnace, the action of the fire then causing the tutty to form in a thin film (*Nuzhat*, 205). Marco Polo, who locates the mines in Kūbanān, gives a somewhat similar account. Muḳaddasī also states that there were iron and silver mines in the province (470), the latter presumably located in the Silver Mine Mountains west of Djīruft (cf. also *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 65). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* mentions lead, copper and lodestone in the mountains between Djīruft and Bam (65). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that there was a turquoise mine and a lapis lazuli mine in Kirmān, but that the turquoises were immature and unformed and therefore not of much value (*Nuzhat*, 204, 206). Marco Polo also mentions turquoise in the mountains of Kirmān, while Wazīrī states that there was a turquoise mine near the mountains of Maymand in the Shahr-i Bābak district (164). He also mentions lead mines in Sīrdjān and Zarand, of which the former produced the best quality lead (156, 178). Abbott records the existence of a lead mine in the mountains of Zarand near the village of Tugradja and states that the government took 10% of its produce (*op. cit.*, 27). Wazīrī mentions a sulphur mine in Kūbanān, which was in operation when he was writing (175); he also states that there were copper mines in Sardūya (113), a copper mine in operation in the mountains of Bazindjān in Aḳṭāʿ (139), and many disused copper mines in the mountains of Rābur (142-3). Salt was obtained from deposits near Khabīṣ, Sīrdjān, Rāʾīn and elsewhere. Curzon mentions coal north of Kirmān city and in Kūbanān, manganese oil in Rāwar, borax in Shahr-i Bābak and asbestos in Kūbanān (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 518). Extensive mining operations are being carried on in various parts of the province at the present day. Coal and other minerals are mined in the mountains between Rāwar and Zarand and copper in the Pārīz district.

The cities of Kirmān.—The main city of Kirmān under the Muslims until the middle of the 4th/10th century was Sīrdjān (the form Shīradjān is also found), which was situated some five miles to the east of the modern town of Saʿīdābād (Le Strange, *Lands*, 300). It was here that the governor (*wālī*) resided (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 49). Ibn Rusta describes Sīrdjān as the greatest city of Kirmān (286), as also does Iṣṭakhrī (167), Ibn Ḥawḳal (ii, 312) and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*. The last-named states that it was the capital of Kirmān and the seat of the king (124), though by the time the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* was written, Ibn Ilyās, the Būyid governor, had, in fact, moved the capital to Bardsīr. Muḳaddasī states that it was the biggest town in the province (although no longer the capital) and more extensive than Shīrāz (464). Ḥāfiẓ Abrū refers to Sīrdjān as the second city of Kirmān (*Djughrāfiyā*, f. 140a), although it had, in fact, been destroyed in 798/1396 (before he wrote) after a long resistance by the armies of Tīmūr. After the city was laid in ruins, the name Sīrdjān was nevertheless still applied to the district of which it had been the centre. Towards the end of the 18th century Saʿīdābād was founded near the site of the old city. Abbott, who visited it in 1850, describes it as one of the most flourishing towns in Kirmān (*op. cit.*, 63). In 1881 it had some 8,000 inhabitants and appeared to be in a flourishing condition (Stack, i, 181; cf. also Wazīrī, 151). At the present day, the town of which Saʿīdābād is the centre is known as Sīrdjān.

Bardsīr (Bardasīr), which became the capital of the province under the Būyids, is the mediaeval name of the city now called Kirmān (Le Strange, *Lands*, 303). It was also known as Guwāshīr. The two names, Bardsīr and Guwāshīr, may represent the form Beh-Ardashīr, the name of the town built by Ardashīr, the founder of the Sāsānid dynasty (Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwald, 46; Ibn Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 303). Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm uses the names Bardsīr and Guwāshīr indifferently. The copyist of Ibn Ḥawḳal, writing in 550/1155, states that Bardsīr in his time was a small town. It was, however, very prosperous and its surroundings, which had been brought under cultivation, were more flourishing than the town itself (ii, 309). Afḍal al-Dīn, writing some decades later, states that it was a large city with a wall (*rabaḍ*) and a suburb (*shahristān*). Adjoining the city outside the wall and surrounding it were orchards and villages. It had a temperate climate, good soil and good water (72). By the 10th/16th century the name Bardsīr appears no longer to have been applied to the capital of the province, which, although still called Guwāshīr, was by this time more usually known as Kirmān. It had the *laḳab* of *Dār al-Amān*. The name Bardsīr, although it had thus ceased to designate the capital of the province, was still applied to a district (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, lith. Tehran n.d., 164). This, however, did not include the town of Kirmān or its environs, but was bounded on the north-west by Rafsindjān, on the west and south by Aḳṭāʿ and Sīrdjān, on the south-east by Rāʾīn and on the north-east by Kirmān (Wazīrī, 133). The main centre of this district, Māshīz, is also known as Bardsīr.

Bam [*q.v.*] was the second major city of Kirmān in the early centuries. The third, Djīruft [*q.v.*], was a prosperous, commercial centre, having trade with Sīstān and Khurāsān (Iṣṭakhrī, 166; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 311; Muḳaddasī, 466; Idrīsī, 422). According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, when the Muslims conquered Kirmān, the region of Djīruft was wooded and occupied by wild animals. The Muslims cleared the country and made villages (140). Djīruft and its suburb Ḳamādīn flourished until the end of the Saldjūḳ period. Its buildings decayed during the reign of Malik Dīnār (582-91/1186-95), although the surrounding district continued to be cultivated (*ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 40). Subsequently the district decayed also. Abbott, who visited it in 1850, states that is possessed only four or five collections of huts which could be termed villages, each of which had a mud fort; for the rest tribal groups from the mountain regions resided in scattered groups over the plain in winter (K. E. Abbott, *op. cit.*, 46). Today the town which has grown up round Sabzawārān is also known as Djīruft.

The fifth of the great cities of Kirmān in early and mediaeval times was Hurmuz [*q.v.*], situated on the Persian Gulf. It was the emporium of Kirmān. Its merchants, perhaps because of its bad climate, lived in the surrounding countryside (Iṣṭakhrī, 166). In 700/1300, because of repeated raids by marauding tribesmen, the ruler of Hurmuz moved all the inhabitants to the island of Djarūn where he founded the town of New Hurmuz (see further, J. Aubin, *Le royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVIe siècle*, in *Mare Luso-indicum*, ii, *Hautes études islamiques et orientales d'histoire comparée*, iv/5, Geneva 1973). Other important towns were Manūdjān, Zarand and Narmāshīr. Many of the towns and villages mentioned by the early and mediaeval geographers have disappeared or have not yet been identified.

Communications.—In the early centuries Sīrdjān was the main centre upon which the principal roads converged. This, no doubt, in part accounted for its importance until it was destroyed in the 8th/14th century. Three roads led from it to Fārs, one via Shahr-i Bābak, another through Ṣāhik and a third to Nayrīz. Other roads went south to Furg, Ṭārum and Sūrū on the Persian Gulf, south-east to Bāft, Djīruft, Manūdjān and Hurmuz, north to Unās in Rūdān, north-east to Māshīz, Bāghīn and Kirmān, north-north-east to Māhān, Khabīṣ and Khurāsān, and east to Shāmāt and Rā'īn. From Kirmān (Guwāshīr) two roads went north-west to Yazd, one via Zarand, Rāwar, Kūbanān and Bāfḳ, and the other via Rafsindjān and Anār. From Rāwar and Kūbanān roads went north-north-east across the Great Desert to Ṭabas and Khūr respectively. South-east from Kirmān a road went to Māhān, Rā'īn, Dārzīn or Dārdjīn, Bam and Narmāshīr, where it bifurcated, one branch going to Faradj and Zarandj in Sīstān and the other to Rīgān, where it again divided, one road going east to Khwāsh and the other south-west to Manūdjān. From Dārzīn another road went south to Djīruft (see further Le Strange, *Lands*).

In the 19th and early 20th centuries communications were still very backward. Generally speaking, the roads were fit for pack transport only. Moreover, many were often shut for months at a time owing to the activity of bandits. In 1901 a convention was signed between Britain and the Persian government for a three-wire telegraph line on iron posts from Kāshān to Balūčistān via Yazd, Kirmān and Bam. It was begun in December 1902 and finished in March 1907.

Manufactures and Trade.—In the early centuries, the province had manufactures of silk, cotton and woollen goods, which were important articles of local and long-distance trade. A cotton cloth (*baṭā'in*), which appears to have been used as lining for clothes, was produced in Zarand and exported to Fārs and ʿIrāḳ (Iṣṭakhrī, 167-8). Ibn Ḥawḳal states that it was called al-Zarandiyya and taken to Egypt and the most distant parts of the Maghrib (ii, 313). There was also trade in cloth made in Sīrdjan (Muḳaddasī, 470). The people of Bam were noted for their craftsmanship, and the cloths which were made in Bam were of great elegance and lasting quality. They fetched a high price and were exported to Khurāsān, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312; Muḳaddasī, 465; cf. also Iṣṭakhrī, 167-8). Idrīsī states that the cloaks of goat hair made in Bam equalled the best to be found anywhere in the world (423). Turbans of fine material were also made in Bam and were in demand in Khurāsān, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312). There had at one time been a royal workshop for *ṭirāz* in Bam (*ibid.*). Cotton cloths (*aḳmisha*) were still produced in Bam at the turn of the 8th/14th century (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mukātabāt*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1945, 190). In the middle of the century it was apparently still an important trading centre with India, Sīstān, Khurāsān and Kābul (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzida*, ed. E. G. Browne, G.M.S., London 1910, 729). By the 9th/15th century, however, the textile industry appears to have no longer existed in Bam (J. Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XVe siècle*, Wiesbaden 1956, 91-2).

Idrīsī states that there were leather workshops in Zarand and that girths were exported to ʿIrāḳ and Egypt (427). Marco Polo mentions the manufacture of saddles, bridles, spurs, swords, quivers and other arms in Kirmān. Al-ʿUmarī also states that swords were made in Kirmān (*Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. K. Lech, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). In the 17th century pottery (blue and white) was made in Kirmān. According to Du Mans, the best examples of this were difficult to distinguish from Chinese porcelain (*Estat de la Perse*, Paris 1890, 197).

There was considerable trade, local and long-distance, in agricultural produce. Indigo and cumin were exported to distant regions (Iṣṭakhrī, 167; Muḳaddasī, 470; Idrīsī, 424). Narmāshīr had trade with Khurāsān and ʿUmān, and was a collecting centre for dates, which were exported to different parts (Muḳaddasī, 463). Djīruft also had a large export of dates to Khurāsān. Muḳaddasī states that nearly 100,000 camels used to set out every year. The trade appears to have been carried out on a *munāṣafa* basis, i.e. the profit was divided equally between the producer and the camel-driver (469). Khabīṣ also exported dates to distant parts (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 74).

Afḍal al-Dīn states that much trade from India, Sind, Ethiopia, Zangibar, Egypt, the Arab countries, ʿUmān and Baḥrayn entered the port of Tīz (which he places on the frontier of Kirmān, though usually it is reckoned as belonging to Makrān). Imports included musk, ambergris, indigo, velvets, cloths, and other luxury articles. Hurmuz was also an important trading centre, to which merchants came from the most distant parts (71). Later, in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās (996-1038/1587-1629), Bandar ʿAbbās (Gombroon) [*q.v.*] became an important port, but this did not bring at first much additional trade to Kirmān, since goods appear to have gone into the interior mainly through Fārs rather than Kirmān. How early the long distance wool trade became important in Kirmān is not entirely clear, or when carpets became an article of export and carpet weaving became important. In the 17th century wool was being taken from Kirmān and Yazd to Europe. By the end of the century it was an important export of the East India Company from Persia and was used in feltings, suitings, and coverings for buttons, while in the 18th century Kirmān wool for hats and shawls was a commodity consistently sought after. This wool came from goats and in different colours, black, white and red. The last named was highly prized (see *Gombroon diary* for a discussion of the arrangements for obtaining Carmanian wool. See also A. A. Amin, *British interests in the Persian Gulf*, Leiden 1967, 126-7). During the reign of Nādir Shāh (1148-60/1736-47) wool for export was in short supply because it was used for the clothing of his army, and some of the Zand rulers appear to have prohibited the export of wool because they wanted it for the internal manufacture of shawls. The situation was not improved by the desolation which Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār carried out in Kirmān in 1794.

In the early 19th century, the main manufactures of Kirmān were shawls, carpets, felts, silk and cotton cloths, loaf-sugar, matchlocks and earthenware (Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 366). Macdonald Kinneir in his *Geographical memoir of the Persian empire* states that "the trade of Kerman is still very considerable, and it is celebrated for its manufactures of shawls, matchlocks, and carpets, which they chiefly export to *Khorassan* and the northern provinces, receiving in return drugs, skins (from *Bockhara*), furs, silk, steel, and copper. These articles as well as pistachio-nuts, carpets, rose-buds for preserves, and bullion, they send to *India*; and import from hence tin, lead, iron, chintz, wrought silk, spices, indigo, muslin, kheemkhob, gold brocade,

china and glass-ware, broad-cloth, hardware, etc." (London, 1813, 198-9). Abbott, on the other hand, states in a report made in 1849-50 that the commerce of Kirmān was much restricted, though its woollen manufactures thrived. Such little importance as it had was due to the manufacture and trade in shawls and other woollen fabrics. He estimated the number of looms for shawls in Kirmān city at probably 2,200 (though some put the figure at nearly double that number), for other coarser woollen fabrics some 220, and in addition some 325 looms in nine of the surrounding villages (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60, 165, *K. Abbott's report on commerce of the south of Persia. Trade report. Notes on the Trade, Manufactures, and production of various Cities and of Persia, visited by Mr. Consul Abbott in 1849-50*). Wazīrī, writing rather later, states that shawls were exported to Transoxania, Anatolia, Arabia and Turkistan and that there were nearly 12,000 workshops in Kirmān (*Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān*, 33). His editor states that there was a great expansion at the end of the 19th century in carpet weaving, which displaced the manufacture of shawls, but that carpet-weaving declined again very shortly afterwards (33-4). *Karbās* (a kind of coarse cotton weave) was woven in many parts of the province, and there was some export from Zarand for the local market. The *karbās* of Rafsindjān was reported to be of excellent quality (171, 178).

In the mid-19th century some of the transit trade between Central Asia and India passed through Kirmān, and there was also some direct trade between Kirmān and India. Gums, asafoetida, madder, roots, carraway seeds, silk, saffron (from Khurāsān), wool, cotton and dried fruits were exported to India and Arabia via Bandar ʿAbbās. There were also some imports of English goods via India, Tabrīz and Yazd (Abbott, *Notes on the Trade, etc.*). Abbott states that caravans from Bīrdjan reached Khabīṣ several times a year. They brought wool, grain, dried fruits, silk, saffron (from Ḳāʾin), and clarified butter, etc., a great part of which went on to Bandar ʿAbbās for India. Returning caravans brought groceries, spices, indigo and English cotton manufactures for Khurāsān (*Geographical notes, op. cit.*, 34-5). Curzon states that Bandar ʿAbbās in 1889-90 was the start of the important caravan route running north to Kirmān and Yazd and ultimately to Khurāsān. Kirmān and Yazd were mainly supplied from India with piece goods, prints and yarn, copper sheets, iron bars, lead, tin, sugar, tea, dyes, spices, glass and china; and exported in return opium, wool, cotton, madder, almonds, pistachio nuts, etc. (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 571-2). According to Wazīrī, various districts of Kirmān took part in the long-distance trade. Among the articles which went to Bandar ʿAbbās and thence to India from Kirmān were cumin and wool from Aḳṭāʿ and Bardsīr (*op. cit.*, 136, 138), and a variety of dried and fresh fruit and nuts, namely pears and apples from Aḳṭāʿ and Rābur, quinces from Aḳṭāʿ, and raisins from Gawk; almonds from Shahr-i Bābak, Gawk and Aḳṭāʿ, walnuts from Sardūya and Aḳṭāʿ, and pistachios from Shahr-i Bābak; cotton from Sīrdjān (to Bombay) and Anār, peas from Aḳṭāʿ, and Bardsīr and sometimes wheat from Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya, and barley from the latter district also.

Abbott mentions exports from Kirmān to Yazd and other neighbouring towns and villages, which included shawls, woollens, wool, opium, lead, soap, henna, indigo leaves, figs, gums and wild asses' skins (*Notes on the Trade, etc.*). There was also, according to Wazīrī, some internal movement of wheat from Zarand to Yazd and Rāwar and sometimes from Urzūya to Kirmān; Sīrdjān also exported wheat to Yazd and Kirmān. Peaches were exported from Gawk to Kirmān and other districts, dried apricots and dried mulberries from Bāfḳ to Kirmān, and dried figs from Rāwar to Yazd, whence they were exported to other parts of the country as *andjīr-i yazdī*; dates from Khabīṣ to Yazd and Khurāsān; peas and lentils from Shahr-i Bābak to Yazd and Kirmān; henna and *rang* from Narmāshīr to Kirmān, whence they were distributed to neighbouring regions; sometimes henna was exchanged in Sīstān for clarified butter and swansdown.

Milk products were an important article of local commerce. Rūdbār exported clarified butter (*rawghan*) to Kirmān. Bardsīr also supplied Kirmān with clarified butter and *kashk* (a kind of whey). Shahr-i Bābak supplied Yazd, Rafsindjān, and Sīrdjān with clarified butter, *kashk* and cheese, while Kūbanān exported *kashk* to various districts beyond the bounds of Kirmān. Lastly, wood was exported from Aḳṭāʿ to the surrounding districts and to Fārs (see further Wazīrī).

In 1904-5 a British commercial mission visited south-east Persia in order to encourage British trade in the area. Russian efforts were also made to increase their trade, and Russian trade agencies were established in Kirmān, Bam and Rafsindjān.

Population.—The settled population appears to have been mainly of Iranian stock. Strabo states that the customs and language of the population of Kirmān were similar to those of the Medes and Persians (xv.2, 14). Idrīsī describes the inhabitants of Kirmān (apart from the tribal population) in favourable terms. He states that they were remarkable for the purity of their customs and the grace of their character and that the merchants especially were marked by an amiability, sincerity and docility greater than elsewhere (421). Stack, writing several centuries later, remarks on the quiet and orderly habits of the people (ii, 182). Bārfurūshī, on the other hand, gives an unfavourable account of the people of Kirmān and accuses them of being given to sedition (*Mufarriḥ al-ḳulūb*, B.M., Or. 3499, f. 198a).

The geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries mention a number of tribes as inhabiting Kirmān, namely the Ḳufṣ, (Kūfidjīs, Kūč [see KUFS], Balūṣ (Balūṣ, Balūč [see BALŪČISTĀN]), the Djibāl Bārizīs, and the Akhwāsh, all of whom were harried and, to some extent, displaced first by the Muslim armies, and then by the Ṣaffārids, Būyids, Sāmānids and Saldjūḳs. When Masʿūdī refers to Kurds (*Akrād*) in the province it is probable that he meant semi-nomadic or nomadic tent dwellers rather than ethnic Kurds. The Ḳufṣ were a mountain people, as their name suggests. They possessed herds of cattle (*ḍaraʿ*) and also practised agriculture. Their main occupation was alleged by Muslim sources to be highway robbery. The Ḳufṣ mountains in which they lived consisted, according to Iṣṭakhrī, of impregnable fastnesses. They were bounded on the south by the Gulf of ʿUmān on the north by Djīruft, Rūdbār and the Mountains of Abū Ghānim, on the east by Khwāsh and the desert of Makrān and on the west by Manūdjān and Hurmuz. There were seven different mountains each of which had a chief. The early Muslim governments, unable to bring the region under their direct control, gave the Ḳufṣ leaders allowances to keep them quiet, but they nevertheless raided the surrounding districts up to Sīstān and Fārs. Iṣṭakhrī mentions that they were reported to

have accumulated much wealth. He states that they were lean and swarthy; and that some said that they were, by origin, Arabs (163-4; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 471). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* adds that the government tax-collector (*ʿāmil-i sulṭān*) did not go into the Ḳufṣ mountains and that their chiefs were responsible for the collection and payment of the government tax, which would appear to have been assessed by a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract. It also states that they spoke a special language (65).

The Balūṣ were, according to Iṣṭakhrī, herdsmen and tent-dwellers living along the western base of the Ḳufṣ Mountains and were rich in flocks (164; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 471). Idrīsī, writing in the mid-6th/12th century, however, states that they lived at the base of the mountains to the north of the Ḳufṣ (429). They were the only people whom the Ḳufṣ feared. Iṣṭakhrī's claim that they were peaceable and did not commit highway robbery like the Ḳufṣ (164) is not born out by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (124) or Muḳaddasī, who couples them with the Ḳufṣ in the matter of brutality and bloodthirstiness and in their propensity to raiding the caravan routes (488-90). Muḳaddasī states that the Balūṣ had been very numerous until the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] destroyed them. The language of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, according to Muḳaddasī, was incomprehensible and resembled Sindhi (471).

It would seem that, in general, Muslim writers made no clear distinction between the two groups, and frequently mention them together. Miskawayh states that the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, together with the people of Manūdjān, joined Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās when he attempted, with help from the ruler of Khurāsān, to seize Kirmān from the Būyids. They were defeated by a Būyid force in 360/970, with heavy losses, and suffered further casualties when the Būyid forces pushed down to Hurmuz. The Balūṣ, however, did not remain quiet for long. Spreading into the districts of Sīrdjān they made ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bārizī their leader, and began to commit disorders. ʿAḍud al-Dawla then marched against them in person. They retreated into the Djibāl Bāriz, but were defeated in 361/972 (ii, 298 ff.). Miskawayh states that those who were not killed were removed from the mountains by ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who replaced them with peasants who received the land on a crop-sharing agreement and with persons who were not well-off (*al-akara al-muzāraʿīn wa 'l-mastūrīn min adjnās al-raʿiyya*) belonging to various races among his subjects (ii, 300). There is mention of a detachment (*djaysh*) of Ḳufṣ in ʿAḍud al-Dawla's army in 366/977 (Miskawayh, ii, 368, and see further C. E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian history*, 9-18).

The decline in the power of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ as a result of ʿAḍud al-Dawla's operations was only temporary. By the beginning of the Saldjūḳ period they were again in control of the *garmsīr* from Djīruft to the Gulf of ʿUmān, though, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, their main location was in the Djibāl Bāriz (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 66; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 6 ff.). They were reduced by Ḳāwurd b. Čaghrī Beg [*q.v.*] (Afḍal al-Dīn, *Badāyiʿ al-azmān wa waḳāyiʿ Kirmān*, ed. Dr. Mihdī Bayānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1326, 6 ff.). By the end of the 6th/12th century they were again operating in Djīruft and the *garmsīr* of Kirmān (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 5 ff., 182; *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 5 ff.). There are no references to the Ḳufṣ in the later Middle Ages, though there are, of course, many references to the Balūč, who were established in Makrān from the 5th/11th century and who may or may not have been the descendants of the Balūṣ [see BALŪČISTĀN].

Wazīrī claims that the Mihnī tribe were the descendants of the Ḳufṣ, but produces no evidence in support of this claim. When he was writing the Mihnī numbered some 700 families. They had a separate assessment, i.e. they were not included in the assessment of Djīruft and Isfandaḳa, where they had their winter quarters—and this, perhaps, suggests that they had at one time been more important. Wazīrī states that up to fifty or sixty years before he was writing the Mihnī leaders had enjoyed a considerable degree of independence. In 1259/1843-4, the government seized Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, their leader, and confiscated the many estates which he held in Isfandaḳa and Djīruft (*Djughrāfiyā*, 56, 113-14, 121). According to a tradition current among the tribe, however, the Mihnī came originally from Khurāsān to Isfandaḳa in Ṣafawid times, when a number of tribes formed a federation under their leadership. This would seem more probable, and would suggest that at most only some of those reckoned as Mihnī today are the direct descendants of the Ḳufṣ. Their leaders claim to be descendants of Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*]. In 1969 the Mihnī consisted of the following eleven sub-tribes: the Sulaymānī, Lurī (who are alleged to have come to Kirmān from the Mamassanī in the reign of Nādir Shāh or, according to another account, in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās), the Bahr Āsmānī, the Markī, Muḳbilī, Sālār Barkhʷurī, Lurī, Rāhī Bārčī, Iskandarī, Kahhūrī, Pushtkūhī, and Muẓaffarī. Wazīrī gives a list of twenty-three sub-tribes (199), which differs slightly from the above list.

The Djibāl Bārizīs, according to Iṣṭakhrī, were even worse robbers than the Ḳufṣ. They did not adopt Islam until ʿAbbāsid times and he alleges that they persisted, in spite of their conversion, in their evil ways. They were eventually pacified by Yaʿḳūb b. Layth and ʿAmr b. Layth and their leaders destroyed. They too had a special dialect (Iṣṭakhrī, 164, 167; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 471). Whether as a result of the operations of the Ṣaffārids or because of the movements of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, they appear to have been pushed out of the Djibāl Bāriz region. About the beginning of the 19th century the Manẓarī Tawakullī *tīra* of the Djibāl Bārizī apparently moved to Bazindjān, where they numbered some 4-500 persons in 1960. Wazīrī mentions Djabal Bārizīs in Pārīz (199), but whether they were the direct descendants of the earlier Djibāl Bārizīs is not clear. Wazīrī states that their prosperity and the numbers of their sheep, cattle and horses had decreased, especially from about 1860. They were engaged to some extent in trade, taking *kurk*, wool and cumin mainly to Bandar ʿAbbās for export to India and clarified butter and *kashk* to Kirmān (120). The *Gazetteer of Persia* records the existence of 50 families of Djabal Bārizīs in Aḳṭāʿ in 1903 (iv [Calcutta 1910], 338). In 1960 there were a few families of Djibāl Bārizīs who had summer quarters between Bāft and Rābur and winter quarters near Gulāshgird (Walāshgird).

The Akhʷāsh, the fourth of the tribes mentioned by the early geographers, centred on Khʷāsh, were said to be semi-nomads. They had camels and date palms and lived in houses made of reeds (Iṣṭakhrī, 168; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 313). They are not separately mentioned in later times.

Although there appears to have been some immigration of Arabs into Kirmān before the Islamic conquest (Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, 57)

there does not seem to have been widespread settlement by Arabs in the province during the early Islamic conquests. For the most part, the Arab armies pushed on through Kirmān into Sīstān and Khurāsān. So far as settlement took place, those who settled became, as in other provinces, largely assimilated to the local population. Small groups may also have been settled in the province after the period of the conquests. Yāḳūt records the existence of descendants of the Banū Azd [see AZD] and Banū Muhallab in Djīruft (Barbier de Meynard, 185). Wazīrī mentions the survival in Djīruft of a few families who still spoke Arabic (*Djughrāfiyā*, 119). The village known as Ḳaryat al-ʿArab, near the city of Kirmān, is believed to have been originally settled by the ʿĀmirī tribe, who came there from Simnān. In some of the coastal districts, such as Bandar ʿAbbās, however, much of the population was of Arab origin, though not necessarily Arab-speaking (cf. Houtum Schindler, *Reisen im südlichen Persien 1879*, 344).

Turkish tribes, Ghuzz and others, came into Kirmān from the 5th/11th century onwards. It is, however, difficult, if not impossible, to trace the changes in their locations and numbers. Whether the Salādjiḳa, who today are to be found in Rābur, are descendants of the Saldjūḳs is extremely doubtful. They do not appear to have any tradition among themselves of such an origin and are now Persian-speaking. They are mainly engaged in trade and for the past forty or fifty years have ceased to move from summer to winter quarters. The Khālū, centred on Rābur with winter quarters in Shastfīč, whom Wazīrī reckoned to be fifty families (*Djughrāfiyā*, 199), are related to the Salādjiḳa. They are so-called because Fatḥ ʿAlī (during the lifetime of his uncle Āḳā Muḥammad Khān) took one of their women, Fāṭima Khānum, to wife after he had defeated the tribes of Rābur. She in due course became his chief wife and was known as Sunbul Bādjī.

On the break-up of the Great Saldjūḳ empire there was a new influx of Ghuzz into Kirmān under Malik Dīnār. The Raʾīsī tribe claim to be their descendants. In the middle of the 19th century they numbered 200 families and lived in black tents in Narmāshīr, Rīgān and Rūdbār. Their *khāns* lived in the fortress of Kahnū in Rūdbār, which had been built by Malik Dīnār (Wazīrī, 108, 123). In 1903 they are recorded as comprising 700 families (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv (1910), 337). In 1960 their winter quarters were in Mīnāb and Rūdān and their summer quarters in Ustur, Balward, Sīrdjān and Čahārgunbad.

There was further movement of Turkish tribes into Kirmān during the Mongol, Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid periods. When exactly the Afshār [*q.v.*], who appear to have migrated westwards with other Ghuzz tribes in the 5th/11th century, settled in Kirmān is not known. There was already an Afshār presence in the province at the beginning of the 10th/16th century (cf. *ʿĀlamārā-yi Shāh Ismāʿīl*, ed. Aṣghar Muntaẓir Ṣāḥib, Tehran A.H.S. 1349, 326). Their *khāns* held governments there in the Ṣafawid period. On the death of Nādir Shāh, Shāhrukh Khān Afshār, who was settled in Zarand, temporarily extended his power over the whole province. In the 19th century the Afshār were the most important of the tribes of Kirmān. They consisted in Wazīrī's day of 52 subtribes (*tīra*) and *ca.* 1,000 families (*ibid.*, 145, 198-9). Sheil, writing rather earlier, put their numbers at 1,500 houses (*Note on the tribes by Sir J. Sheil*, in Lady Sheil, *Life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 398), which would suggest that Wazīrī's figures may be an underestimation. Today their summer quarters are between Bāft and Sīrdjān and their winter quarters in Urzūya and Dasht-i Bar. Their numbers in 1960 were estimated at *ca.* 20,000 and they were divided into 18-20 *tīras*. Among other Turkish tribes in Kirmān in Ṣafawid times there were the Ḳarā Oghlānū, a branch of the Ḳaramānlu, whose *khāns* held governships in Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya towards the end of the period. By the time Wazīrī was writing, the tribe had become much weakened (*ibid.*, 143). A few Tekkelu are said to have fled to Aḳṭāʿ in the reign of Ṭahmāsp and to have been absorbed in due course by the Ḳarā Oghlānū (*ibid.*, 144). Of the various other Turkish tribes, the most important were probably the Ḳarāʾī and the Bučāḳčī. The former, according to Sheil, numbered 700 families (*op. cit.*, 398). Wazīrī put them at 800 (*ibid.*, 199), but by 1903 they appear to have declined to some 600 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv [1910], 337). The Bučāḳčī, according to a tradition current among themselves, were brought from Ḳarā Dāgh to Fārs in Ṣafawid times to act as wardens of the marches and later moved to Kirmān. According to Wazīrī they numbered 200 families, and many of them were settled in their summer quarters around Balward (*ibid.*, 154, 199). Some of them had winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Bandar ʿAbbās. By 1903 their numbers had changed little (*Gazetteer of Persia*, ix [1910], 337), but by 1960 they numbered some 2,000 families. Some of their *tīras* were Turkī-speaking, others Persian-speaking, and some of them were settled. The Shūl, who formerly belonged to the Afshār federation, had by 1903 joined the Bučāḳčī and numbered some 90 families (*ibid.*). In 1960 there were some fifty families of Shūl Turks settled near Sīrdjān, who claimed that their forefathers had come from Fārs at the beginning of the 19th century. The *Gazetteer of Persia* mentions 150 families of Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu in Aḳṭāʿ in 1903 (iv, [1910], 338). It is possible that they were descendants of families left behind in Kirmān by the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu in the 9th/15th century. They appear to have been subsequently absorbed into the Afshār and in 1960 were reckoned among the Afshār *tīras*.

In the early 18th century a number of Lak tribes moved from Fārs to Kirmān and established their winter and summer quarters in Urzūya and Aḳṭāʿ respectively (Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā*, 144). They numbered some 2,000 families in 1903 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv [1910], 338-9). Sheil put the ʿAṭā Ilāhī, whom he described as Laks, at 3,000 tents and houses (*Note on tribes by Sir Justin Sheil*, in *op. cit.*, 398). According to Wazīrī, the Atā Ilāhī had cultivated land and cattle in Sīrdjān and Shahr-i Bābak. They were Ismāʿīlīs and numbered some 150 families (*Djughrāfiyā*, 157, 199). In 1960 there were some 2,500 Laks in the neighbourhood of Bazindjān. There are, or were, various other tribes and sub-tribes in the province whose origins are difficult to establish. Most of them are semi-nomadic and their numbers very small.

The internal organisation of these various tribal groups appears to have been broadly similar. Most of the tribes had a *raʾīs* or leader, whose office appears usually to have been hereditary within a family. Larger tribes or federations, such as the Afshār, had an *īlkhānī*. Each tribe was composed of a number of *tīras*, under a *kadkhudā*, whose office was sometimes hereditary but more often subject to election by the elders (*rīsh safīd*) of the *tīra*. The latter were composed of *ikhshām*, i.e. groups of, perhaps, 5-12 families, each under a *rīsh safīd*. The

number and size of the *tīra*s varied widely with the prosperity of the tribe. Success brought new followers, while failure or weakness caused the dispersal of its existing followers. The collection of taxes from the tribe and the decision of disputes were usually carried out by the *ra'īs-i īl*, though not infrequently an outsider became responsible for the payment of the taxes to the government. Thus Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, the grandson of Ẓahīr al-Dawla, became responsible for the taxes of the Mihnī tribe and for those of Isfandaḳa and Rābur (*ibid.*, 56), while Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī was charged with the collection of the taxes in the Afshār of about 1870 and had the title *īlbegī* (*ibid.*, 61). In recent years the tribal structure has largely broken down.

In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to give a breakdown of the population at different periods. From time to time, conquest brought about a transfer of power from one group to another, a redistribution of land and the emergence of new factions, but we are ignorant of the details of these events. It would seem likely, in view of the flourishing trade of Kirmān in the early centuries that the merchants formed a prosperous community, but that their importance declined with the decrease in trade. Aubin in his monograph entitled *Deux sayyids de Bam au XVe siècle* has studied the functions and influence of local religious leaders in the Tīmūrid period. Some information on the leading families in the 19th century is to be obtained from Wazīrī (*op. cit.*). In Kirmān, as elsewhere, in Persia, the *aʿyān* were composed of landowners, tribal leaders, religious dignitaries and merchants. The dividing lines were not always clearly drawn. Marriage alliances between them were common. Governors and local officials were also included in the *aʿyān*, and often used their official position to acquire wealth and land. In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries the leading officials of the bureaucracy were rich and influential. It is not always easy to decide what was the basis of a family's influence, whether it was government office, trade, landownership or religious leadership, for all might be combined in one family. But governors changed frequently and though they sometimes settled in the province, the government of which they had held, the system did not make for the emergence of families who retained their pre-eminence over a long period. Some of the local *sayyid*s were among those who could perhaps trace their influence back furthest. Wazīrī states that there were families of *sayyid*s in Bam and Narmāshīr who had held property there for over 400 years (*ibid.*, 102). One, the Ḳāḍī family of Bam, had held the office of *ḳāḍī* there from generation to generation (*ibid.*, 97). There appears also to have been some movement among *sayyid*s. Thus, the Mīrzā'ī *sayyid*s, who came to Bam about 1770, were by origin from Tabrīz. One of their number, Ḥadjdjī Sayyid ʿAlī Khān b. Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, was made *ra'īs* of Bam and Narmāshīr by Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk (who became governor of Kirmān in 1860) and put in charge of *dīwān* taxation and the *khāliṣadjāt* of Bam. This, however, proved disastrous for the family: he was a spendthrift and was dismissed, and all his estates and those of his nephews were taken in lieu of arrears. But their fall was only temporary, and when Wazīrī was writing they were again a rich and respected family (*ibid.*, 100-1).

As elsewhere, it was not uncommon for the religious classes and the merchants to be closely allied, either through marriage or by actual participation in trade. Thus, Ḥadjdjī Sayyid Muṣṭafā b. Ḥadjdjī Sayyid ʿAbi 'l-Maʿṣūm, a Riḍawī *sayyid*, who owned numerous villages and hamlets and many herds of camels and flocks of sheep and goats, had agents and partners in Bandar ʿAbbās, Yazd and elsewhere, who traded on his behalf (*ibid.*, 158-9). There was also movement from merchant families and craftsmen into the religious classes. Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Aḥmad b. Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Kirmānī, who belonged to a merchant family, studied *fiḳh* and became a *mudjtahid*. He owned much property in Rafsindjān and elsewhere (*ibid.*, 44-5).

Two families were especially prominent in Kirmān in the 19th and 20th centuries, those of Ẓahīr al-Dawla Ibrāhīm Khān b. Mihdī Ḳulī Khān b. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār Ḳuwanlu and Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk Nūrī, both of whom had been governor of the province. Their fortunes illustrate the ease with which government officials were able to acquire wealth and property and become part of the local *aʿyan*. The first, Ẓahīr al-Dawla Ibrāhīm Khān (d. 1240/1824-5), who became governor of Kirmān in 1216/1801-2, settled in the province, where he and his descendants acquired property (*ibid.*, 54 ff.). He himself bought some of the estates of the heirs of Āḳā ʿAlī Wazīrī (see below) in lieu of arrears due from Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Āḳā ʿAlī (*ibid.*, 170). His grandson, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, acquired villages in Isfandaḳa and Djīruft through marriage to a daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Mihnī. He also founded new estates in those regions (*ibid.*, 56). Ḥādjdjī Mūsā Khān b. Ẓahīr al-Dawla's daughter married Mīrzā Abu 'l-Hasan b. Āḳā Ibrāhīm of the Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān family. Wazīrī alleges that whoever in Kirmān married into the Ẓahīr al-Dawla family tended to become puffed up with pride because of the wealth of his wife (*ibid.*, 69-70). The second, Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk, whose family came from Nūr in Māzandarān, was sent as *pīshkār* to Kirmān and Balūčistān in 1275/1858-9. In 1277/1860 he became governor of the province, holding office until his death in 1284/1867-8. He exerted great efforts in the development of Kirmān and Balūčistān. He made a number of *ḳanāt*s and gardens, and revived much *khāliṣa* land which had fallen out of cultivation or into a bad state of repair. He rented these for a lump sum, which transaction proved extremely profitable. He was also a great builder and made many caravansarais, *ḥammām*s, *ribāṭ*s and other buildings. His son Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān Wakīl al-Mulk was governor from 1286/1869-70 to 1295/1878 (see further Asad Allāh Nūrī Isfandiyārī, *Tārīkh-i Khānawāda-i Isfandiyārī*, Tehran A.H.S. 1329). Both Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān and Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān acquired extensive estates in the province and established links with the local *aʿyān* through marriage alliances. Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān gave one of his daughters to Mīrzā Ghulām Ḥusayn b. Āḳā Ibrāhīm, who owned estates round the town of Kirmān. This Ghulām Ḥusayn belonged to a family of *sayyid*s originally from Djīruft (Wazīrī, *op. cit.*, 69), and his maternal grandmother was a sister of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Wazīr (see below).

In the local government offices there was often a hereditary tendency. For example, the office of *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] of Kirmān had been in the Kalāntarī family since the time of Shāh ʿAbbās. From towards the beginning of the 19th century they also held the office of *ḍābiṭ* of Khabīṣ and Gawk and from about the middle of the century the collection of taxes of the environs (*ḥawma*) of the town of Kirmān was also entrusted to them. Muḥammad Zamān Kalāntar

and his father Mīrzā Kāẓim Kalāntar were blinded by Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī in 1251/1835-6. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Abu 'l Ḥasan b. Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān, a nephew of Mīrzā Kāẓim Kalāntar, was the *kalāntar* and *ʿāmil* of Sīrdjān, and also the head of the Niʿmat Allāhī order. Another member of the family, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān b. Mīrzā Yūsuf, acquired many *mazāriʿ* and gardens in Khabīṣ and Gawk, where he was for years in charge of the collection of *dīwān* taxes. Mīrzā Mihdī Khān b. Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān was also an overseer (*mubāshir*) in the tax administration in Khabīṣ, where he too acquired desirable estates. He was a capable man, but tyrannical in the matter of tax-collection (*ʿāmilī*) (*ibid.*, 63-5).

Another family which seems to have risen to prominence through the holding of government office was the family of Mīrzā Khalīl, who was made *mustawfī* of Kirmān in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. His son, ʿAlī Akbar, became *kadkhudā* and *dārūgha* of Kirmān city and *ḍābit* of Sīrdjān in 1258/1842-4. While holding the latter post he acquired riches and bought property in the environs of Sīrdjān and in Bardsīr, but dissipated much of his wealth towards the end of his life. His son, Yaḥyā, became *kalāntar* of Kirmān. Another branch of the family held the office of *kadkhudā* of Kirmān. When Wazīrī was writing, Mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn was *kadkhudā* and known as the *kadkhudā-bāshī* although he did not have any authority over the *kadkhudā*s of the other quarters (*ibid.*, 65-8).

Among the oldest families of Kirmān was the Wazīrī family, who traced their origins back to the Ḳutlugh Khān, Barāḳ Ḥādjib [see BURĀḲ ḤĀDJIB], the founder of the Ḳarā Khitāy or Ḳutlughkhānī dynasty [*q.v.*], who died in 632/1234 (see below). At the turn of the 18th century the family was mainly engaged in trade but also owned land, Āḳā ʿAlī, the head of the family at the time, having many estates in Aḳtāʿ, Kushk and Khināmān. He was taken as a hostage by Karīm Khān Zand to Shīrāz, where he became acquainted with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān. On the death of Karīm Khān, Djaʿfar Khān gave money to Āḳā ʿAlī and sent him back to Kirmān on the understanding that he would bring Kirmān over to Djaʿfar Khān's side. After the death of Djaʿfar Khān, Āḳā ʿAlī threw in his lot with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and refused Luṭf ʿAlī entry to Kirmān. The latter, when he subsequently took Kirmān seized Āḳā ʿAlī's possessions, put two of his nephews, Hādī Khān and Ṣādiḳ Beg, in prison, and fined his son, Mīrzā Ḥusayn, heavily. He also took one of his daughters to wife and gave another to his uncle, Naṣr Allāh Khān. The former was later married to ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, the brother of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Āḳā ʿAlī, who had been sent to Tehran by Bābā Khān (later Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh), reported these happenings to Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and encouraged him to set out for Kirmān, which he did in 1208/1793-4, accompanied by Āḳā ʿAlī. When Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, after defeating Luṭf ʿAlī gave the town of Kirmān over to pillage, he exempted from this the residence of Āḳā ʿAlī, and several thousand persons are alleged to have taken refuge there and escaped slaughter. Āḳā Muḥammad Khān made Āḳā ʿAlī's son, Āḳā Muḥammad Taḳī, governor of Kirmān, which office he held until the death of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, and another son, Mīrzā Ḥusayn (d. 1270/1853-4), his treasurer (*ṣundūḳdār*). The mother of the latter, an Iṣfahānī, was a Mīr Muḥammad Rafīʿ *sayyida* on her father's side and a Ṣafawī *sayyida* on her mother's side. When Āḳā Muḥammad Khān returned to Shīrāz he took Āḳā ʿAlī and Mīrzā Ḥusayn with him. The former apparently died in Shīrāz shortly afterwards. Towards the middle of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, Mīrzā Ḥusayn was appointed *wazīr* of Kirmān, which office he held until about the middle of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. He had many estates in Aḳtāʿ, Urzūya and Kūshk. The office of *raʾīs* and *ʿāmil* (tax-collector) of the districts of Aḳtāʿ, Urzūya, Kūshk and Ṣawghān remained in his family for many years, and his descendants owned villages, gardens, flocks and herds in these districts. Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān, Āḳā ʿAlī's grandson, was *ʿāmil* of the districts of Aḳtāʿ, Urzūya, Kūshk and Ṣawghān and of the Afshār tribe for over twenty-five years. From about 1870 he had the title of *īlbegī*. In addition to the properties he inherited, Muḥammad ʿAlī founded many villages in Urzūya and Aḳtāʿ. His position as tax-collector enabled him to usurp the estates of his uncle Mīrzā Ḥusayn Wazīr and his cousin ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān after their deaths (*ibid.*, 61). His brother, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān also usurped some of the properties of ʿAlī Muḥammad in Aḳtāʿ and Urzūya. He founded other properties as well and gradually became a wealthy man. A third brother, Murtaḍā Ḳulī, had numerous estates in Urzūya, Aḳtāʿ, Kūshk and Bardsīr, some usurped, some bought and some founded by himself. He put money out with merchants and others. He owned herds of horses and flocks of sheep (*ibid.*, 5 ff., 58 ff., 62). A grandson of Āḳā ʿAlī, ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, married his cousin, Bībī Kūčik, a daughter of Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Āḳā ʿAlī: their son was Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī, the author of the *Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān* and the *Tārīkh-i Kirmān*. ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān is said to have brought back six *ḳanāt*s in Ṣawghān into a flourishing condition (*ibid.*, 12). Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī, unlike his forebears, did not enter government service, but occupied himself running his estates. He appears, however, to have received a government pension (*muḳarrarī*) (Wazīrī, *Tārīkh-i Kirmān*, ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran 1961, introduction).

Wazīrī mentions another old family, the Āḳāyān of Anār, who traced their origins back to Bahādur Idgū Barlās, who had been governor of Kirmān in the time of Tīmūr. For years this family had held the office of *raʾīs* of Anār, but by Wazīrī's time they had fallen on evil days and become poverty-stricken (*Djughrāfiyā*, 183). For the rest, most of the families mentioned by Wazīrī had risen to prominence in recent times.

In the middle of the 19th century, partly as a result of the increase in the price of agricultural produce and the revival of long-distance and local trade, there appears to have been a revival in the prosperity of the merchant class and also a strengthening of their links with the landowning class. This was notably the case in Rafsindjān. Wazīrī relates that a certain Ḥādjdjī Āḳā ʿAlī of Rafsindjān had landed estates worth over 100,000 *tūmān*s and partners and agents in Bombay, Yazd, Iṣfahān, Tehran, Mashhad, Tabrīz and Istanbul, whereas thirty years before he had not owned property worth 1,000 *tūmān*s (*ibid.*, 168-9, 172). Among merchant families in Kirmān city, Wazīrī mentions that of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad ʿAlī Amīn al-Raʿāyā b. Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Ḥādjdjī Allāhvardī Kirmānī, who was the *raʾīs al-tudjdjār* of Kirmān. His father and grandfather had built many caravanserais, baths and mosques in the city of Kirmān and elsewhere. He himself had acquired many estates in the district of Khabīṣ and in Māhān. According to Wazīrī, he

showed little care for the poor and the deserving (*ibid.*, 78).

Wazīrī asserts that between about 1844 and 1874 there was a great increase in the wealth of those holding land, due, he states, to the high prices for cotton and madder which had prevailed for several years in India and for grain in Persia. Persons whose property thirty years before he was writing had been worth 1,000 *tūmāns* were then receiving an income of 2,000 *tūmāns* from their estates, and those who had formerly been prepared to sell a hamlet or piece of cultivated land for a song to pay their tax demands would not then sell for 3,000 or 4,000 *tūmāns*. This was especially the case in Sīrdjān, Rafsindjān and Urzūya. He alleges that the condition of agricultural labourers had also improved, so much so that they were better off than had been the owners of hamlets formerly. Many of the agricultural labourers of Rafsindjān had become *ḥādjdjīs*. Flockmasters, because of the rise in the price of *kurk*, had also become rich men (*ibid.*, 168-9, 158).

Religion.—In Sāsānid times, there were in addition to Zoroastrians a number of Nestorian Christians in Kirmān. The bishop of Kirmān was under the metropolitan of Fārs. Conversion to Islam after the Arab conquest was slow. The province was exposed to Khāridjī influence in the 1st century and to some Ismāʿīlī activity in the late 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries (see below). Muḳaddasī states that the Khawāridj had a Friday mosque in Bam. According to his account, the dominant rite was the Shāfiʿī one except in Djīruft. The *fuḳahāʾ* were not numerous; among them the *ahl al-ḥadīth* formed the majority except in Hurmuz (468-9). Afḍal al-Dīn praises the good religion and orthodoxy of the people of Bardsīr. He alleges that Kirmān was free from every kind of heresy and that the people were either Ḥanafīs or Shāfiʿīs. Yāḳūt states that the inhabitants of Kirmān were virtuous, honest, and very attached to Sunnism and orthodoxy (483). Under the Ṣafawids, Kirmān, like the rest of the empire, accepted *Ithna ʿashari* Shīʿism. In the 19th century the Shaykhīs [*q.v.*] gained many adherents in Kirmān, as also did the Bābīs [*q.v.*]. The office of *Shaykh al-Islām* in Kirmān was held in the middle of the 19th century by Riḍawī *sayyids*, who were Shaykhīs (Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā*, 52-3). Factional strife between the Shaykhīs and Bālāsarīs was common. Under the Tīmūrids the Niʿmat-Allāhī dervish order, founded by Shaykh Niʿmat Allāh Walī (d. 843/1431), gained many followers in Kirmān and elsewhere. Shaykh Niʿmat Allāh's shrine at Māhān, near Kirmān, has remained one of the main centres of the order.

Zoroastrians appear to have maintained themselves as a community in Kirmān city, though in greatly reduced numbers, until modern times. Tavernier puts their numbers at 10,000 in the middle of the 17th century. In the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1667-94) they were removed from the city at the demand of the *ʿulamāʾ*. They built a suburb to the north of the town. They were plundered by the Afghāns in 1133/1720-1 (Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā*, 28; *Tārīkh-i Kirmān*, 294). Khanikoff states that there were 12,000 Parsi families in Kirmān before its destruction by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān in 1794. Thereafter, their numbers declined. According to Abbott, there were only 150 families in Kirmān in the middle of the 19th century. Of these some 40 families lived in the villages around Kirmān, and the remainder in the town (*Notes on the trade*, etc.). Wazīrī put the number at 200 families (*Djughrāfiyā*, 40). In 1903 the total number of Zoroastrians was said to be 1,700 persons (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv (1910), 349). A small community of Hindus from Shikarpūr appear to have settled in Kirmān some time after 1810. They were engaged in banking and trade with Karachi, Bombay, Sind and the Punjab (Stack, i, 215; Curzon, ii, 244). The export trade of Kirmān was largely in their hands in the 19th century (W. M. Floor, *The merchants (tujjār) in Qājār Iran*, in *ZDMG*, cxxvi/1 (1976), 121).

History.—Kirmān in many ways developed along different lines from the rest of Persia. It was distant from the early capitals of the caliphate. Its mountain fastnesses could not be easily controlled and local leaders were often able to assert their independence. Thus each of seven mountains which constituted the Djabal Ḳufṣ region had a separate leader in early Islamic times. The Lūt prevented easy access from Khurāsān and Sīstān, while the inhospitable country to the north-west discouraged expansion from and into the Djibāl. It was ideal country for dissident groups and was one of the regions where the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] carried on their resistance to the caliphate. Its abundant pastures attracted tribal groups, but the broken nature of the country militated against the formation of large tribal kingdoms. Lack of communications tended to isolate the province but trade with Central Asia, India and the Far East and with other parts of Persia was, nevertheless, important, though subject to interruption by local outbreaks of disorder.

The Arab conquest of Kirmān as recorded by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 315, 391 ff.) was begun about 17/638 by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād, who was sent by Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], then governor of Baṣra on behalf of the caliph ʿUmar. Al-Rabīʿ conquered Sīrdjān and made terms with the inhabitants of Bam. Another Arab expedition was sent about the same time by the governor of Baḥrayn, ʿUthmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ al-Thaḳafī, who killed the *marzbān* of Kirmān in the island of Abarkawān. The conquest of Kirmān was not, however, completed. In 29/649-50 Yazdagird, the last of the Sāsānid kings, fled from Iṣfahān to Kirmān and thence to Khurāsān. Most of the Arab army under Mudjāshiʿ b. Masʿūd al-Sulamī sent by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir in pursuit of him perished in the snow at Baymand (in the district of Sīrdjān). Mudjāshiʿ, appointed governor of Kirmān by Ibn ʿĀmir, subsequently took possession of the chief towns up to the Ḳufṣ mountains. A counter-attack by the Persians from Hurmuz was defeated. Further details concerning the early conquests are uncertain and variously recorded (see al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 286).

Under the Umayyads, Kirmān became a theatre for the activities of the Khāridjīs. In 68/687-8 the Azāriḳa fled to Kirmān. About 73/693 they reassembled and under Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa [*q.v.*] seized Fārs and Kirmān, being joined by a number of the local inhabitants. They extended their activities to ʿIrāḳ. Harried by al-Muhallab, they withdrew again to Kirmān. By about 79/698-9 they had been exterminated by him. Kirmān nevertheless continued to be a hotbed of rebellions and a favourite asylum for rebels. Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] took refuge there briefly *ca.* 82/701-2 or 83/702-3. In 101/719-20, the rebel Yazīd b. Muhallab, who, during his father's lifetime had for a period been governor of Kirmān, appointed a governor over Kirmān. After the failure of his rebellion, from about 102/720 the Umayyads (in whose name several coins struck at Kirmān survive) seem to have exercised control over the province, often through the governor of Khurāsān,

who would administer the province through a deputy. In 120/738 Muḥārib b. Mūsā, a supporter of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya b. Dja̲ʿfar, who had turned out Marwān's governors from Fārs, made inroads into Kirmān but was later routed by the supporters of Marwān. In 131/748-9 an Umayyad army set out from Kirmān to oppose the ʿAbbāsid army under Ḳaḥṭaba, which had advanced on Ray, and was defeated near Iṣfahān.

Under the early ʿAbbāsids, governors were appointed over the province, which continued for the most part to fall under the general control of Khurāsān. ʿAbbāsid coins struck in the province in the year 165/781-2 and 167/783-4 survive. During the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd rebellion spread to Kirmān when Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sharī occupied Harāt in 179/795 and extended his authority to Fārs and Kirmān, where there were still a considerable number of Khāridjīs, who appear to have recovered from the defeats inflicted on them in late Umayyad times (see further Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, 54 ff.).

Ibn Balkhī gives figures for the revenue of Kirmān at this period. In 200/815-16 Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān were assessed at 2,600,000 *dīnārs*, a new assessment having been necessary because the registers had been destroyed in the civil war. Another assessment made by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā in the reign of al-Muḳtadir was rather lower, namely 2,331,880 *dīnārs*, of which Kirmān and ʿUmān accounted for 444,380 *dīnārs*. After various deductions the net sum going to the *dīwān* was 364,380 *dīnārs* (Ibn Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 171).

A succession of governors, some of whom from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim onwards were Turks, ruled the province until the caliphate of al-Muhtadī, when Muḥammad b. Wāṣil al-Tamīmī rebelled in 250/864-5 and seized Fārs and Kirmān. Al-Muʿtamid on his accession to the caliphate sent an army against him. The two armies met near Ahwāz and the caliph's force was defeated. About the same time Yaʿḳūb b. Layth moved into Kirmān and took possession of it. Some of the supporters of Muḥammad b. Wāṣil joined him, while the remainder set out for Fārs. Yaʿḳūb after spending some two months in Kirmān, marched into Fārs in 253/867. Both he and his brother ʿAmr after him appointed governors over Kirmān. The latter, after he was defeated by al-Muwaffaḳ in Fārs, retired to Sīstān in 274/887-8, but in 280/893-4 al-Muʿtaḍid made peace with him and re-appointed him over Fārs, Kirmān and Sīstān. After the death of ʿAmr, his grandson Ṭāhir governed Fārs and Kirmān until 295/907-8, when it passed into the hands of Subkarī (?Sebük-eri), who was defeated by a caliphal army in 298/911 or 299/912. In 317/929, however, the Ṣaffārid Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Layth was able to send a military force to Kirmān to collect revenue.

Meanwhile, the Sāmānid kingdom was in the throes of revolt. One of Naṣr b. Aḥmad's *amīrs*, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ilyās, had seized Nīshāpūr. When Naṣr recovered the town in 320/932, Muḥammad b. Ilyās went to Kirmān and established himself there. In 322/934 Mākān b. Kākī drove Muḥammad out and took possession of the province on behalf of the Sāmānids. In either 323/935 or 324/935-6 Mākān left the province to undertake operations against Wushmgīr in Gurgān. Muḥammad b. Ilyās returned and attempted to restore his authority. Meanwhile Aḥmad b. Būya (later Muʿizz al-Dawla) had advanced on Kirmān and when he reached Sīrdjān in 324/935-6 the Sāmānid *amīr*, Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr, who was besieging Muḥammad b. Ilyās, withdrew to Sīstān while Muḥammad b. Ilyās retired to Khurāsān. Muʿizz al-Dawla then undertook operations against the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, the details of which are variously recorded (see above). In 326/937-8 he was recalled to Baghdād. After the withdrawal of the Būyids, it appears that Muḥammad b. Ilyās returned to Kirmān. He acknowledged the Sāmānids in the *khuṭba* and received in 348/959-60 a banner and robe of honour from the caliph al-Muṭīʿ. Somewhat later, quarrels broke out between Muḥammad b. Ilyās and his sons, and he was finally persuaded to abdicate in favour of Ilyasaʿ. In 356/967 ʿAḍud al-Dawla took ʿUmān and invaded Kirmān. Bardsīr fell in Ramaḍān 357/August 968 and Ilyasaʿ fled to Khurāsān. ʿAḍud al-Dawla, having received a diploma for Kirmān from the caliph, then appointed his son Abu 'l Fawāris Shīrzīl (later Sharaf al-Dawla) governor and returned to Shīrāz. In 359/969-70 an abortive attempt was made by the Sāmānids to regain possession of Kirmān with the help of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. Ilyās. In 364/974-5 al-Ḥusayn b. (?) Muḥammad b. Ilyās placed himself at the head of a group of malcontents in the *garmsīr* but was defeated and captured (see further C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam*, ed. idem, Edinburgh 1971, 107-24). The period of the Banū Ilyās was a time of disorder during which the revenues of the province were dissipated (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 315). Under ʿAḍud al-Dawla the province appears to have been highly taxed compared to the reign of al-Muḳtadir. According to Ibn Balkhī, the total revenue of Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān, together with *ʿushr* levied at Sīrāf and Mihrūbān on goods imported by sea (?*ʿushr-i mashraʿa-yi daryāʾī*), in the time of ʿAḍud al-Dawla was 3,346,000 *dīnārs*, of which Kirmān, Tīz and the coastal districts of Fārs (? *bulūk*) accounted for 750,000 *dīnārs* (*Fārs-nāma*, 172). After the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 372/982-3, his descendants began to fight among themselves for the province and a period of some confusion followed. Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 407/1016-17 attempted to instal his nominee in the province but without lasting success and in 424/1033 Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd temporarily occupied it (C. E. Bosworth, *The political and dynastic history of the Iranian world*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 13; see also ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR).

In 431/1040 the Saldjūḳs defeated Masʿūd at the battle of Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and some two years later in 433/1041-2 Ḳāwurd Ḳarā Arslān Beg b. Čaghrī Beg b. Mīkāʾīl b. Saldjūḳ [*q.v.*] was sent by Ṭoghrīl Beg to conquer Kirmān. This attack was repulsed by Abū Kālīdjār in 434/1042-3. A second expedition in 440/1048 was more successful, the governor, Bahrām b. Lashkar, surrendering the province without war. The Ḳufṣ, however, resisted but were defeated (see above). Ḳāwurd, who established his rule in Kirmān, made two attempts to usurp the sultanate. On the first occasion in 459/1066-7, Alp Arslān marched against him and defeated him, but reinstated him in Kirmān in his former position (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 36-7). After Alp Arslān left the province, Ḳāwurd went to Balūčistān, repaired the port of Tīz and appointed governors over Makrān. He also conquered ʿUmān, which remained in Saldjūḳ hands until the death of Arslān Shāh in 536/1141. When Alp Arslān died in 465/1072, Ḳāwurd made his second attempt to claim the sultanate. According to one account, he wrote to Malik Shāh stating that he was more fitted to succeed on the

grounds that he was Alp Arslān's eldest brother (Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūkiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, Lahore 1933, 56). According to another account, some of Malik Shāh's *amīrs* invited him to come (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 12-13). He was defeated near Hamadān, and taken prisoner and killed. The Saldjūḳs of Kirmān did not, however, come to an end with Ḳāwurd: the dynasty founded by him was to last some 150 years, during which the province enjoyed, on the whole, prosperity and peace.

The Saldjūḳs of Kirmān had a reputation for justice and caring for their subjects. Ḳāwurd took measures to establish security on the roads, and erected pillars at intervals along the Bam-Fahradj road so that travellers would not lose the way; he also built caravanserais and water tanks (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 10-11). Ḳawûrd, Tūrān Shāh b. Ḳāwurd, Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh and his wife Zaytūn Khātūn, and Muḥammad b. Arslān Shāh were all great builders. The latter built a library for the Tūrān Shāh *djāmiʿ*, which contained 5,000 books on different branches of learning. Some of them were also patrons of the religious classes. In the reign of Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh, the *ʿulamāʾ* are alleged to have come to Kirmān from far and wide. His son, Muḥammad, gave pensions to the *fuḳahāʾ* and during his reign there was, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, a spread of learning and a tendency for craftsmen to send their sons to study *fiḳh* (29). Some of the officials and *amīrs* of the Saldjūḳs were also builders and patrons of the religious classes. The atabeg, Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān, made many charitable foundations and constituted *awḳāf* for their upkeep (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 36).

Although the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān were familiar with city life, their existence was closely bound up with the well-being of their flocks. They habitually spent seven months of the year in Bardsīr and five (from Ādhar (Nov.-Dec.) to Urdī Bihisht (April-May)) in Djīruft, their flocks moving with them. Their financial position seems to have been favourable until towards the end of the dynasty, and Bahrām Shāh b. Muḥammad, under whom the decline of the dynasty set in, succeeded to a well-filled treasury. Throughout Ḳāwurd's reign of 34 years the value of the coinage remained stable (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 4). Trade probably contributed to this favourable situation. Ḳamādīn, even towards the end of the period, was still an important centre of long-distance trade and was "a place where strangers from Anatolia and India and travellers by land and sea lodged, and was full of wealth" (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 41, 69). Some of the ministers and *amīrs* owned considerable estates. Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān appears to have let his money out to merchants and others, who presumably worked it for him (cf. *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 40). The pay and allowances of the military following of the ruler (*ḥasham*) were controlled from the centre (cf. *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 34). The troops were mainly Turks, but there were also some Daylamīs. They received allowances and *iḳṭāʿ*s, mainly, according to Afḍal al-Dīn, in the district of Sīrdjān, where "a great *amīr* with a large force was always stationed because it was on the frontiers of Fārs" (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 74). The total number of the military following of the rulers and their *amīrs* was not large. Ḳāwurd, when he came to Kirmān in 433/1041-2 had, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm a force of 5,000 or 6,000 (2). The rival groups who disputed supremacy in the province at the end of the period and during the period of Ghuzz ascendancy were on the whole not large. Malik Dīnār is said to have ruled over 20,000 men (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 20). Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm credits Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubāriz and Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Shabānkāra *amīrs*, with having a force of 10,000 men, horse and foot, when they came to Kirmān in 596/1199-1200 (179).

Ḳāwurd was succeeded by his son Kirmān Shāh, whom he had appointed to act in his stead during his absence on the campaign against Malik Shāh. Sulṭān Shāh, who had been taken captive with his father Ḳāwurd, escaped from captivity and was brought to Kirmān. His brother had meanwhile died, and in 467/1074 he ascended the throne in Kirmān. In 472/1079-80 (or according to some sources rather earlier), Malik Shāh went to Kirmān and besieged Sulṭān Shāh in Bardsīr. After some seventeen days the siege was raised, Sulṭān Shāh was confirmed in his government and Malik Shāh returned to Iṣfahān. Sulṭān Shāh was succeeded by his brother Tūrān Shāh in 477/1085. His reign was on the whole uneventful. In 487/1094 he made an abortive expedition into Fārs. He was followed by his son, Īrān Shāh in 490/1097. The latter appears to have been won over to the Ismāʿīlīs. A number of *amīrs* had recourse to the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the *ḳāḍī* Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī, who issued a *fatwā* for his death. Īrān Shāh fled, but was overtaken and killed, and Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh placed on the throne in Muḥarram 495/October 1101 with the joint support of the *amīrs* and the *ḳāḍīs*. He reigned for 42 years and under him the dynasty reached its greatest heights. He married a daughter of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh. He appointed, as had his predecessors, *shiḥnas* over ʿUmān and attempted also to extend his dominion over Fārs. He defeated Čawlī Saḳāō in 508/1114-15, and on the death of the latter in 510/1116-17, Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh appears to have considered the threat posed by the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān to Fārs to be a real one (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 365). Towards the end of Arslān Shāh's reign, disputes arose between him and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, the ruler of Yazd. Bahrām Shāh b. Masʿūd, the Ghaznavid, when he was defeated by his brother Arslān Shāh, sought the help of Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh. The latter treated him with favour, but refused to help him on the grounds that he did not wish to interfere in affairs which properly concerned Sandjar. In 537/1142, Muḥammad b. Arslān Shāh set his father aside because of his advanced age and seized the throne, in spite of the fact that another son, Kirmān Shāh had been appointed *walī ʿahd*. A third son, Saldjūk Shāh, after making an abortive attempt to seize the kingdom, fled to ʿUmān, where he continued to constitute a potential threat to Muḥammad. The fact that the latter is said to have appointed *ṣāḥib khabar*s in the towns within his kingdom and to have had an excellent information service perhaps suggests that there was unrest or hidden opposition to him. However that may be, Kirmān continued to prosper under Muḥammad. He extended his rule over Ṭabas and his successors continued to appoint *shiḥnas* over that city for some years. There was also a proposal by Rashīd Djāmadār, the governor of Iṣfahān, to hand that city over to Muḥammad, but the death of both parties in 551/1156 brought the plan to nought.

Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Ṭoghrïl Shāh, a somewhat frivolous character, and there was during his reign a decline in public morals. However, Kirmān still enjoyed security and prosperity under his rule (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 7; *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 30; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 35). There was a total eclipse in the month of Urdī Bihisht 557 *kharādjī*/April-May

1169 (*ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 8; *Tārīkh-i Afḍal* 30). In the last years of Ṭoghrīl Shāh's reign, power was in the hands of the Atabeg Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān, who, on the death of Ṭoghrīl Shāh in 565/1170, placed the latter's son, Bahrām Shāh, on the throne, though not before Turkish troops had plundered Djīruft and carried off the cattle (*marākib wa sutūrān*) of the non-Turks and the bureaucracy (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 33, 36). His succession was disputed by his brother Arslān, who was joined by the Atabeg Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Buzkush, and a period of internecine strife ensued. A third brother, Tūrān Shāh, sought help from the Atabeg Zangī of Fārs and advanced on Sīrdjān, but was put to flight by Arslān, while Bahrām Shāh retired to Khurāsān to seek help from the Ghuzz leader, Malik Muʾayyid. A second attempt by Tūrān Shāh to seize the province was also defeated. Bahrām Shāh, having obtained reinforcements from Malik Muʾayyid, advanced in 566/1171 via Sīstān and Makrān on Djīruft and put Arslān's forces, which had been weakened by disease, to flight at Ḳamādīn, which the Khurāsān army then plundered. Subsequently, heavy impositions were laid upon the people of Bardsīr, who were reduced to misery. Arslān, meanwhile, with support from the Saldjūḳ ruler of ʿIrāḳ, Arslān b. Ṭoghrīl, returned and besieged Bahrām Shāh in Bardsīr. After six months, Bahrām Shāh and his supporters, who were short of supplies, made peace. Bardsīr, Sīrdjān, Djīruft and Khabīṣ went to Arslān and Bam and Makrān to Bahrām Shāh. Peace, however, did not last; Bahrām Shāh again appealed to Khurāsān for help while Arslān had recourse to ʿIzz al-Dīn Langar, the ruler of Yazd. Bahrām Shāh was put to flight and Arslān entered Bardsīr in 569/1174. Some years later, Bahrām Shāh retook Bardsīr. In 570/1174 he died. A further period of strife and disorder ensued, the main roles being played by the atabegs and *amīrs* acting in the name of one or other of the Saldjūḳ princes; inroads into the province were also made by the forces of the atabegs of Fārs, Yazd and ʿIrāḳ. Under Tūrān Shāh, who eventually defeated Arslān, the Muʾayyidī *ghulāms* (i.e. the followers of the Atabeg Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān) played a dominant role (cf. *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 79). The Atabeg Rayḥān was persuaded to return to Kirmān from Yazd, to which he had withdrawn some seven years earlier, but retired again almost immediately because of his advanced age. By this time, the province had become impoverished. Afḍal al-Dīn describes its condition in the following words: "every year the unfortunate peasants used to take loans or sell their substance (*khān u mān*) to buy seed grain from Ṭabas or elsewhere. They would sow it only for another to harvest it and eat it" (81; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 99; cf. also *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 13 ff., 77 ff.). All kinds of impositions and fines were meanwhile laid upon the population by the contending *amīrs* in order to support their forces. Little money remained in the treasury, and in 575/1179 the Turks rioted and killed a number of leading officials of the bureaucracy (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 86).

New disasters were meanwhile in store for Kirmān. About 574 or 575/1179, Sulṭān Shāh turned the Ghuzz out of Sarakhs and some 5,000, with their families and flocks, came to Kūbinān, plundered the countryside and went on to Zarand and Bāghīn. The Atabeg Tekelle of Fārs, who at the time held Sīrdjān and Furg, sent a force against them. Together with the Kirmān army, it was defeated in 575/1179-80 and the Ghuzz spread into the *garmsīr*, where they committed pillage and waste. In the years 575-6/1179-80 or 576-7/1180-1 there was a severe famine in Bardsīr (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal* 91; *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 97). In the winter of 577/1181-2, the Ghuzz again set out for the *garmsīr*. Afḍal al-Dīn states that since they had now come to stay, they began to develop and cultivate the districts of Djīruft and Narmāshīr and paid some consideration (*murāʿāt*) to the peasants (*bāzyār*), and brought from Iṣfahān, Sīstān and Fārs goods, beasts and booty which they took from caravans and accumulated in the *garmsīr* and the *sardsīr*. (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 95). They also took several fortresses into which the remnants of the Turkish forces had retired. The *sardsīr*, however, to which the nominal rulers of the province were confined, remained in a state of distress. In 579/1183-4 Tūrān Shāh was killed by a group of *amīrs*, who released Muḥammad Shāh b. Bahrām Shāh from the fortress where he had been imprisoned and placed him on the throne. In 580/1184-5 famine again broke out in Bardsīr. In the following year 581/1185-6, Malik Dīnār came with some 80 men to Rāwar and Khabīṣ from Kūbanān, intending to join the Ghuzz in Narmāshīr. Some 300 men from Bardsīr set out to prevent his advance, but did not dare to join battle with him (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 105). In 582/1186 Muḥammad Shāh set out for ʿIrāḳ to seek help against the Ghuzz. The following spring, Bardsīr surrendered to Malik Dīnār. Muḥammad Shāh, who had failed to obtain help from either ʿIrāḳ or Tekkele in Fārs, returned briefly to Bam. He then went to Sīstān and from there to the court of the Khwārazm-Shāh Takish. He finally took refuge with Shihāb al-Dīn, the ruler of Ghūr and Ghaznīn. In 583/1187-8 an abortive attempt was made to read the *khuṭba* in Bardsīr in the name of a Saldjūḳ princess, Khātūn Kirmānī, a daughter of Ṭoghrīl (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 146).

Malik Dīnār, having established himself in the district of Djīruft, struck coins and read the *khuṭba* in his own name. In Djumādā I 582/July-August 1186 he set out for Bardsīr, but lack of pasture and the ruin of the countryside appear to have prevented him from establishing himself there, and the town remained for some time in the hands of the Saldjūḳ forces until it surrendered on 5 Radjab 583/11 September 1187. During the next two years, Malik Dīnār was occupied in extending his power and putting down local pockets of opposition. He then made an expedition to the south, took Manūdjān and extracted 1000 *dīnārs* tribute from the ruler of Hurmuz (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 154). Revenue was also collected from the Makrānāt (*al-Muḍāf*, 5). Bam, which had been in the hands of an *amīr*, Sābiḳ ʿAlī, did not however submit until *ca.* 588/1192. In 589/1193 Malik Dīnār was again in the south and met the ruler of Ḳays, who promised him tribute. The death of Malik Dīnār in 591/1195 was followed by new outbreaks of disorder. He was succeeded by his son Farukh Shāh, who rapidly dissipated the contents of the treasury which Malik Dīnār had laboriously accumulated (*ibid.*, 164). Unable to establish himself, he had recourse to the Khwārazm-Shāh for help, but died in 592/1196 before this could arrive. Meanwhile, on the one hand the Ghuzz began to commit disorders and pillage on an unprecedented scale while on the other the *amīrs* were rent by faction and disunity.

The period of Ghuzz ascendancy, was a time of misery and distress for the people of Kirmān. The province was subjected not only to the ravages of the Ghuzz, but also to incursions by the rulers of Fārs and Khurāsān, or their *amīrs*, who from time to time established a temporary ascendancy in different

parts of the province. Trade was brought to a standstill and agriculture to ruin, even though the members of the warring factions were small—to be numbered in hundreds rather than thousands. The Ghuzz flocks commonly grazed the crops of the settled people, and in addition they levied a quarter of the share of the crop remaining to the landlord, after the payment of government dues to provide for their followers, although certain persons, mainly belonging to the religious classes, were exempted from this levy (*al-Muḍāf*, 19-20).

For a time the situation was extremely confused, until the Shabānkāra *amīrs*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubāriz and Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, defeated the Ghuzz in 597/1200, appointed a deputy over Kirmān and retired to Fārs. Shabānkāra rule proved no less harsh than that of the Ghuzz (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 183 ff., *al-Muḍāf*, 10 ff.). Finally, the population rose against them. Further disorders ensued until a group of the *amīrs*, townspeople and *imāms* of Bardsīr, fearing renewed attacks by the Ghuzz, decided to hand the town over to ʿAdjam Shāh b. Malik Dīnār, who, after a period spent at the court of the Khʷārazm-Shāh, had returned to Bam and placed himself at the head of the Ghuzz in that district. New forces arrived from Fārs under ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zaydān, Saʿd b. Zangī's nephew, and they recaptured Bardsīr. About 601/1205 an expedition into Kirmān was made by Khʷādja Raḍī Zawzanī, a Khʷārazm-Shāhī *amīr*, who had been in Kirmān on several occasions and acquired many estates there. In 603/1207 another expedition came from Fārs. Later Saʿd b. Zangī came himself to Kirmān and undertook operations against the Ghuzz. They submitted in 605/1209 and Saʿd b. Zangī returned to Fārs. When he appointed officials over Bardsīr in that year, he is reported by Afḍal al-Dīn to have levied a quarter of the net income of the landowners by way of tax, but in 606/1210 this appears to have been increased to one-third and the exemptions formerly allowed by the Ghuzz to certain members of the religious classes and others withdrawn (*al-Muḍāf*, 20, 42). Waṣṣāf states that the taxes of Kirmān were not sufficient for the needs of the kingdom and the wages of the army, and so Saʿd b. Zangī issued a decree for an additional levy of one-tenth (*ʿushrī*) on landed estates, which was called *fidyat al-mullāk*. The people complained of this levy and it was abolished (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 151). According to Afḍal al-Dīn, Saʿd b. Zangī bought up much dead land and spent on its development whatever he received from the *dīwān* of Kirmān (*al-Muḍāf*, 42). Meanwhile, Khʷādja Raḍī Zawzanī's forces, who are alleged to have committed great oppression, came into conflict with ʿIzz al-Dīn Faḍlūn, Saʿd b. Zangī's representative, and returned to Khurāsān in 606/1210.

Zangid supremacy in Kirmān was fleeting. In 609/1213, a Khʷārazm-Shāhī *amīr*, Ḳiwām al-Dīn Muʾayyid al-Mulk, also from Zawzan, asked the Khʷārazm-Shāh Muḥammad b. Takash to give him Kirmān and in Ramaḍān of that year, having received the title of *malik*, he set out from Zawzan for Kirmān (Faṣīḥī Khʷāfī, possibly mistaking the *kharādjī* year for the *halālī*, appears to put these events in the year 603, *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, ed. Maḥmūd Farukh, Mashhad A.H.S. 1239-41, ii, 281). Djīruft and Bam surrendered and also Bāfḳ and, finally Bardsīr in Ṣafar 610/June 1213. Muʾayyid al-Mulk then made an abortive expedition against Fārs, which he abandoned when part of his army deserted. In or about this year there was an outbreak of plague (? *wabā*) which spread from the south to Bardsīr and was accompanied by heavy loss of life (*al-Muḍāf*, 46 ff.).

Among the *amīrs* of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs was a certain Abu 'l Fawāris Ḳutlugh Sulṭān Barāḳ Ḥādjib (see BURĀḲ ḤĀDJIB), who had been in the services of the Gūr Khān of the Ḳara Khitāy [*q.v.*]. He rose to the position of *ḥādjib* to the Khʷārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and became atabeg to his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Shāh. The latter, after the fall of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, appointed him governor of Iṣfahān, but he, seeing the disorder into which the affairs of the Khʷārazm-Shāh had fallen, set off with his followers for Kirmān intending to proceed to India. Having reached Kirmān, he joined battle with the governor of the province, Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Abu 'l Ḳāsim, defeated him and besieged his son in Bardsīr. When Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubirnī returned from India some months later, Barāḳ Ḥādjib requested from him the government of Kirmān. Djalāl al-Dīn, having little choice in the matter, agreed and gave Barāḳ Ḥādjib the *laḳab* of Ḳutlugh Khān (for which reason, the dynasty which he founded is sometimes known as the Ḳutlugh-Khānid dynasty), and went himself to ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān. Barāḳ Ḥādjib later apparently demanded and received from the caliph the title of "sultan," and the sources refer to the rulers of the dynasty as *sulṭān* and their rule as *salṭanat*. When Ghiyāth al-Dīn subsequently came to Kirmān and sought to establish himself there, Barāḳ Ḥādjib, after first temporising, finally seized and killed him. He then sent an envoy to Ögedey offering submission and was in return confirmed in his possession of the province of Kirmān, which he held for fifteen years. He had four daughters, the eldest of whom, Sevinč Khātūn, was married to Čaghatay, while the other three were married into the family of the Atabegs of Yazd. His son, Rukn al-Dīn Khʷādjadjūḳ was sent to serve at the Mongol court and was with Ögedey at the time of his father's death, which took place on 20 Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 632/6 September 1235 (the accounts of these events given by Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī Kirmānī, *Simṭ al-ʿulā*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1327, 22 ff., Djuwaynī, *Djahān-gushā*, and Nasawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal al-Din Mankobirti*, ed. and tr. O. Houdas, Paris 1891-5, vary somewhat).

After the death of Barāḳ Ḥādjib, the Ḳutlugh sultans, although their status was that of local rulers rather than governors, had no real independence. Mongol *amīrs* who had come as *basḳāḳs* to Kirmān are mentioned at the court of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn in 655/1257 (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 38). All the contenders for power among them appear to have found it necessary to obtain the support of the Great Khān or the Īlkhān for their cause. Many of them made marriage alliances with the Mongols. Barāḳ Ḥādjib was succeeded by his nephew, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, who shortly after his accession, married Barāḳ Ḥādjib's daughter, Ḳutlugh Terken. However, when Rukn al-Dīn, who had obtained a *yarlīgh* for the province of Kirmān from Ögedey, approached the province, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn felt it necessary to set out himself for the Mongol court to seek support. Rukn al-Dīn, having reached Bardsīr in 633/1236, took possession of the province and ruled for some fifteen years. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, unable to oust his cousin, who was supported both by Ögedey and Čaghatay's wife, Sevinč Khātūn, remained for a while at the Mongol *urdū* and was then sent to Maḥmud Yalawāč, the Mongol governor of Khiṭāy. In 646/1248, when Mengü Ḳaʾān succeeded Güyük, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn obtained a *yarlīgh* for Kirmān

and set out for the province. On his approach, Rukn al-Dīn abandoned the province. After appealing in vain for help from the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim, he went to the *urdū* of Mengü Ḳāʾān, where the case between him and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was referred to the Mongol court (*yarg͟hū*). After examination, Mengü handed Rukn al-Dīn over to his cousin, who killed him and then returned to Kirmān. D̲j̲uwaynī mentions that he saw Rukn al-Dīn in Almālig͟h in Ramaḍān 651/December 1253-January 1254 (*D̲j̲ahān-gus͟hā*, ii, 217). When Hülegü crossed the Oxus in 654/1256, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn came to his camp at Ṭūs and was given permission to return to Kirmān provided he came back with an army to join the Mongol forces in their march on Bag͟hdād. He fell ill, however, in 655/1257 and died the following year.

Terken K͟hātūn, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's wife, was put on the throne in Kirmān amid general acclaim, and subsequently received, after she had had recourse to Hülegü in person, a *yarlīg͟h* authorising her to act for Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's sons, who were still children. She ruled some 25 years, during which time Kirmān prospered. Many learned men among the *ʿulamāʾ* and merchants resorted to Kirmān during her reign. It was then also that Marco Polo visited the province. When the Čag͟hatay horde crossed the Oxus in 668/1270 to attack Abaḳā's domains, Terken K͟hātūn sent Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ Sulṭān b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn to K͟hurāsān with an army to support Abaḳā. She also tried to strengthen her position by marrying her daughter, Pādis͟hāh K͟hātūn, to Abaḳā. However, when Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ Sulṭān came back to Kirmān he sought to curtail the influence of Terken K͟hātūn. She repaired to Abaḳā's court to complain of this and was well received. On her return to Kirmān, Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ Sulṭān retired to India, where he spent the next ten years. Finally, the sultan of Dihlī provided him with an army to retake Kirmān. He set out, but died en route and the army returned to India. (The *Simṭ al-ʿulā* gives 690/1291 as the date of his death. This is presumably an error.)

D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Suyūrg͟hatmis͟h b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, Terken K͟hātūn's step-son, who governed the western part of Kirmān on her behalf, also apparently went, with her approval, to Abaḳā's *urdū* while he was in K͟hurāsān. On his return to Kirmān, Suyūrg͟hatmis͟h had his own name inserted in the *k͟huṭba* alongside that of Terken K͟hātūn. She complained to Pādis͟hāh K͟hātūn, and received a *yarlīg͟h* forbidding the interference of Suyūrg͟hatmis͟h in the affairs of Kirmān. The latter then had recourse himself to the Mongol court. When Abaḳā died in 680/1281, Terken K͟hātūn immediately set out for Tabrīz to ensure her position. The new Īlk͟hān, Aḥmad Tegüder, however, dismissed her and appointed Suyūrg͟hatmis͟h in her stead. She was unable to secure her reinstatement, and spent the winter in Bardaʿa. The following summer, she went to Tabrīz where she died. Suyūrg͟hatmis͟h, who reached Kirmān in 681/1282, took possession of the province unopposed. After the accession of Arg͟hūn (683/1284), Bībī Terken, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and Terken K͟hātūn's eldest daughter, whose son, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Yülüks͟hāh, was powerful at the Mongol court, accused him of peculation in the collection of taxes. He was dismissed, his accounts demanded, and officials sent to Kirmān to collect the taxes. By the expenditure of considerable sums of money, Suyūrg͟hatmis͟h appears to have obtained permission to go to the Mongol court and there, by further expenditure, to have reached a compromise with the Mongol authorities. By this his half-sister, Pādis͟hāh K͟hātūn (who had been married to Abaḳā) was given in marriage to Gayk͟hātū, while Suyūrg͟hatmis͟h was married to Kürdüd̲j̲in, the daughter of Mengü Temür b. Hülegü and Abis͟h K͟hātūn, the daughter of Saʿd b. Zangī, and Suyūrg͟hatmis͟h undertook to pay an annual sum for Kirmān of 600,000 *dīnār*s, against which, however, he was allowed as expenses (*ik͟hrād̲j̲āt*) for his administration and military forces, etc. 390,000 *dīnār*s (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 57). During Suyūrg͟hatmis͟h's absence, there was apparently an outbreak of famine in Kirmān. The price of wheat rose and the Turkomans rioted and plundered the city. He restored order on his return. He then proceeded to expend considerable sums of money on charitable works: he built a *madrasa*, a *k͟hānḳāh* and a hospital, and constituted *waḳf*s out of *k͟hāliṣa* property for their upkeep. He also extended his patronage to the religious classes (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 58). During his reign, Makrān was reduced and tribute exacted. There were, however, renewed encroachments into the province by the Ḳarāwun (Nikūdārīs), who had already in 677/1278-9 invaded Kirmān from Sīstān. In 680/1281-2 they penetrated to the Persian Gulf and in 683/1284-5 plundered the neighbourhood of Bardsīr (see further P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 183-96 (art. *Caraunas*) and J. Aubin, *L'ethogenèse des Caraunas*, in *Turcica*, i (1969), 65-94).

On the death of Arg͟hūn in 690/1291, Suyūrg͟hatmis͟h, taking advantage of the disorders which had ensued, asserted his independence. In the winter of the following year he went to the *garmsīr* and took Hurmuz. Returning to Bardsīr, he reassessed the kingdom and laid down that the taxes should be collected in three instalments (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 63). Meanwhile, Gayk͟hātū had sent Pādis͟hāh K͟hātūn to Kirmān as governor. She immediately seized Suyūrg͟hatmis͟h and imprisoned him (691/1292). His wife Kürdüd̲j̲in contrived his escape, but he was recaptured and killed in 693/1294 (the sources differ in their relation of these events). In 694/1294-5 Kürdüd̲j̲in, encouraged by the rise of Baydū, laid siege to Bardsīr and captured and put to death Pādis͟hāh K͟hatūn. Kürdüd̲j̲in then ruled the province, though there was beside her a Mongol *basḳāḳ* (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 77).

Baydū was overthrown almost immediately by G͟hāzān K͟hān, who while still in K͟hurāsān appears to have sent *ilčīs* to Kirmān to collect money for the K͟hurāsān army (*māl-i čirīk-i K͟hurāsān*) (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 78). Once G͟hāzān had established himself as Īlk͟hān, he appointed Muḥammad S͟hāh b. Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ Sulṭān, who had been at his court, over Kirmān. During the early years of G͟hāzān's reign, Kirmān was the scene of internecine and factional strife between Muḥammad S͟hāh b. Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ and Süyüks͟hāh, one of the sons of Bībī Terken and brother of Nuṣrat al-Dīn Yülüks͟hāh, and between rival *amīrs* and officials (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 79 ff.). Demands for ever more revenue, including taxes for the K͟hurāsān army, were made; on one occasion a *yarlīg͟h* was issued for the payment of two years' taxes from Kirmān (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 83). There were also renewed attacks by the Ḳarāwun in 698/1298-9. In the following year, Fak͟hr al-Dīn, who had been appointed *wazīr* of Kirmān by G͟hāzān, proceeded to the province accompanied by a number of *amīrs*. His behaviour provoked an uprising and he and his followers were seized and killed. The revolt spread. The rebels took refuge in the town of Bardsīr and were besieged by the Mongol forces, which, although they received reinforcements from Fārs, Luristān and Yazd, were unable to take the town. G͟hāzān, who at the time was in Diyār Bakr or the neighbourhood, summoned Muḥammad S͟hāh and sent

him back to Kirmān as governor with a number of other officials. The siege continued for ten months. The defenders were reduced by famine and finally, according to Waṣṣāf's account, the city's defences were destroyed by siege engines brought from Fārs, where they had been made by experts summoned from Mawṣil, and the city fell. The ringleaders were put to death and Süyükshāh was sent to Tabrīz, where he was executed (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 85 ff.; Waṣṣāf, 426 ff.). The province was in a miserable condition and the treasury empty. The Ḳarāwun meanwhile renewed their attacks. A substantial remission of taxation was given (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 94), but the ensuing improvement was cut short by the death of Muḥammad Shāh in 703/1303-4 (Waṣṣāf gives the date of his death as 6 Djumādā I 702, 434). Shāh Djahān b. Suyūrghatmish, who was at the time at Ghāzān's court, was appointed to succeed him. At some time during the reign of Ghāzān or Öldjeytü, Rashīd al-Dīn's son Maḥmūd appears to have been governor of Kirmān and to have committed extortion against the people of Bam (cf. *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, 10 ff., and also 261). On the death of Öldjeytü, Shāh Djahān attempted unsuccessfully to establish his independence. He was dismissed after a reign of some two-and-a-half years, and with him the dynasty came to an end. He was replaced by Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Burhān, a descendant of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī, in 704/1305 (Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Öldjeytü*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 43).

Kirmān was ruled for the next few years by Mongol governors until it was taken in 740/1340 by Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffar, who was married to Ḳutlugh Khān, the daughter of Shāh Djahān b. Suyūrghatmish. An attempt made by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn b. Djalāl al-Dīn b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn to regain the city with the help of reinforcements from Harāt was repulsed and Mubāriz al-Dīn, who had temporarily withdrawn, retook the city in 741/1340. Bam, which was ruled by a governor appointed by Abū Saʿīd, held out and was not captured until three or four years later. Meanwhile, the Īlkhān empire was rent by war and faction. In 748/1347 Abū Isḥāḳ b. Maḥmūd Shāh, the Īndjūʾid ruler of Iṣfahān, attacked Sīrdjān and destroyed the town, but left the citadel unreduced. After continuing his march on Kirmān, he then retired to Shīrāz without joining battle with Mubāriz al-Dīn. During a second expedition, he was defeated by Mubāriz al-Dīn and again retired to Fārs. Meanwhile the Djurmāʾīs and Ughānān, some of whom may possibly have been the descendants of the Mongol detachment which had been sent to Kirmān in or about 683/1284 under the leadership of Ughān (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 58), were committing renewed disorders in the south of the province. Mubāriz al-Dīn marched against them. The campaign was inconclusive and the Ughānān and Djurmāʾīs continued for many years to disturb the province, in spite of the fact that they frequently served in the ruler's army (in which they proved to be an extremely unreliable element). In 753/1352 renewed encroachments into Kirmān by the Īndjūʾids were repulsed near Rafsindjān. Mubāriz al-Dīn then extended his power over Fārs and appointed his son Shudjāʿ al-Dīn governor of Kirmān in 754/1353-4 (though he did not reside permanently in the province, taking part in military expeditions in Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam). In 757/1356 Mubāriz al-Dīn was again briefly in Kirmān and undertook a campaign against the Ughānān and Djurmāʾīs, who had been committing disturbances. Mubāriz al-Dīn's death in 765/1364 was followed by a period of internecine strife and faction. In Kirmān, the governor Pahlawān Asad rebelled. After an inconclusive battle with Shāh Shudjaʿ near Kirmān, Pahlawān Asad retired into the city, but submitted after a siege of several months (Ramaḍān 775-Radjab 776/March-December 1374). On the death of Shāh Shudjāʿ (786/1384), his son, Sulṭān Aḥmad, went to Kirmān as governor. In 787/1335-6 he read the *khuṭba* in the name of Tīmūr. When the latter set out for Fārs in 789/1387, Sulṭān Aḥmad repaired to Tīmūr's camp, was favourably received and given the government of Fārs, ʿIrāḳ and Kirmān. Internecine strife, however, continued among the Muẓaffarids in Kirmān and elsewhere, until finally they were overthrown by Tīmūr in 795/1393 and Idgü Bahādur Barlās appointed governor of Kirmān (see further, the supplementary chapter on the Muẓaffarids in the *Tārīkh-i guzīda*). The province was in a state of disorder, and Idgü had to establish his authority by a series of military operations. On Tīmūr's death in 807/1405, he recognised Shāhrukh. The province was nevertheless subject to pillage and disorder in the struggles which ensued between the various Tīmūrid princes. Idgü died in 810/1407 and was succeeded by his son Saʿīd Sulṭān, who was assassinated almost immediately on the instigation of his brother, Sulṭān Uways. Disorders continued (see further, J. Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XV*^e^ *siècle*, 20 ff.). Agriculture declined; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū states in the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh-i Baysunghurī* that wherever the army of Mīrzā Iskandar (d. 818/1415-6) passed through, no building or cultivation was left, and in the *Djughrāfiyā* he says that wherever Mīrzā Iskandar went he sacked everything, destroying buildings, cutting down trees and sending troops into all districts so that there was not a single corner of Kirmān which was not devastated (quoted by Aubin, *op. cit.*, 35-6). In 819/1416 Sulṭān Uways was besieged in Kirmān by a Tīmūrid army, and in the following year there was a severe famine in Kirmān accompanied by a heavy loss of life. Shāhrukh then sent Sayyid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn to the province to restore agricultural prosperity. He devoted his efforts to the revival of *awḳāf* which had fallen out of cultivation. In the first year 250,000 *manns* of wheat were sown. Various tax reductions and remissions were also given to the peasants (Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Djughrāfiyā*, f. 173b, quoted by Aubin, 50). On the death of Shāhrukh in 850/1447, there was renewed anarchy until Djahānshāh b. Ḳarā Yūsuf, the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu, sent his son Abu 'l Ḥasan Ḳāsim Mīrzā to take possession of the province. Conditions showed little improvement (see Abū Bakr Tihrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyār Bakriyya*, ed. F. Sümer, Ankara 1964, ii, 334 ff., and Aubin, 58 ff.). Heavy taxes and dues were imposed on summer and winter crops and irregular levies made on the peasants; many properties were usurped by the government and *waḳf* revenues seized for the payment of the military (Aubin, 69-70). Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Mīrzā adopted the practice of billeting his followers on the province with all the attendant evils of such a practice (*Kitāb-i Diyār Bakriyya*, 302). On the death of Djahānshāh, confusion and disorder prevailed in Kirmān until the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu succeeded in establishing their rule. For a time Kirmān was governed by Zaynal, the third son of Uzun Ḥasan.

In 909/1503 the province came into the possession of Shāh Ismāʿīl. Some six years later, Kirmān, was invaded by the Uzbegs and suffered much damage (*ʿĀlamārā-yi Shāh Ismāʿīl*, 326 ff., 333). According to Wazīrī, the first Ṣafawid governor of Kirmān was Muḥammad Khān Ustādjlu (*Tārīkh-i Kirmān*, 265;

see also K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 11). From 930/1524 to 1000/1592 the province was under governors belonging to the Afshār tribe (*ibid.*, 31, 37). According to the late Ṣafawid manuals, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* and the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, Kirman was one of the thirteen *beglarbegis* of the Ṣafawid empire (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, G.M.S. London 1943, 163; Muḥ. Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā-Rafīʿa wa tadhkirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Samīʿa*, in *Rev. de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines*, Tehran, xvi/1-2 (1968), 75). For one or two years from 998/1590, however, part of the province, and from 1068-9/1658 to possibly 1106/1694 the whole of the province, was *khāṣṣa* (i.e. under the direct administration of the central government) (Röhrborn, 120, 122). From 1005/1596 to 1031/1621-2 it was under the governorship of Gandj ʿAlī Khān, though during that period he was frequently absent from the province with the Kirmān army on military campaigns with the shāh. During his government he built a number of caravanserais and bazaars in Kirmān city and elsewhere in the province.

During the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Kirmān was subject to renewed inroads by the Balūč. In or about 1133/1721 the Kirmānīs appear to have appealed to the Afghān Maḥmūd for help. He came to Kirmān and stayed for nine months, when he returned to Ḳandahār because of disturbances there. In the following year he came back, but it seems that the people were not prepared to receive him on this occasion and resisted his entry. He laid siege to the citadel, which fell. After plundering the countryside he continued his march to Iṣfahān (Mīrzā Mihdī Astarābādī, *Djahāngushā-yi Nādirī*, ed. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anwār, Tehran A.H.S. 1301, 12). In 1139/1726 Mīrzā Sayyid Aḥmad, who was descended from Shāh Sulaymān's eldest daughter, who had married Mīrzā Dāwūd Marʿashī, seized Kirman and assumed the title of *shāh*. From there he went to Fārs, where he was defeated. He came back to Kirmān, but whatever support he may have had there had disappeared, and so he went via Bam and Narmāshīr to Bandar ʿAbbās, which he temporarily occupied. Eventually, after further adventures, he was captured by the Afghāns and executed in 1140/1728 (J. R. Perry, *The last Safavids, 1722-1773*, in *Iran*, ix (1971), 59-70). After Nādir Shāh defeated Ashraf at Iṣfahān in 1141/1729, the Afghāns abandoned Kirmān.

Under Nādir Shāh, the province suffered further disasters. In the winter of 1149/1736-7 he marched through the province on his way to Ḳandahār and so denuded the people of supplies that there was famine for seven or eight years afterwards (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 112). Disturbances in southern Persia in 1156/1744 and in Sīstān in the spring of 1159/1746 brought the province into a state of confusion, and in the summer of that year a revolt broke out. It was on a small scale, and was speedily suppressed. In 1160/1747 Nādir Shāh again passed through Kirmān and treated the province with great severity (*ibid.*, 259). His death in that year was followed by anarchy and renewed encroachments by the Afghāns and Balūč.

It was not until 1172/1758 that Khudā Murād Khān Zand took possession of Kirmān on behalf of Karīm Khān Zand. During the period of his rule, Kirmān was less troubled by disorders and impositions by the government than had been the case under the Afshārs, and on the death of Karīm Khān in 1193/1779 remained little affected by the struggle between the Zands and the Ḳādjārs until 1205/1790, when Luṭf ʿAlī [*q.v.*], the last of the Zands, marched against Kirmān. Its governor, who had been appointed by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, agreed to submit but refused to come to Luṭf ʿAlī's camp. The latter thereupon besieged the town. Lack of supplies forced him to raise the siege and leave the district. Subsequently, having been defeated by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān near Shīrāz in 1206/1790-1, he fled to Ṭabas. Offers of support from some of the *khān*s of Narmāshīr induced him to return to Kirmān. He attacked the city and took possession of it in 1208/1793-4. Āḳā Muḥammad meanwhile advanced and laid siege to the town. After some four months, the population were reduced by hunger and a group of the defenders opened the gates on 29 Rabīʿ I 1209/24 October 1794. The surrender of the city was followed by a general massacre—the culminating disaster in the long series of calamities which the province had suffered during some four centuries. Luṭf ʿAlī escaped, but was captured in Bam and handed over to Āḳā Muḥammad Khān. Meanwhile Āḳā Muḥammad Taḳī b. Āḳā ʿAlī (see above) became governor of Kirmān and held office until the death of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān.

There appears to have been some fear that the disaffection caused by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān's brutality towards the people of Kirmān, coupled with the failure of the government to control raiding and disorder by the Balūč might give rise to a desire for secession from Persia. Because of this, and partly, perhaps, as an result of the influence of Sunbul Bādjī, Fatḥ ʿAlī's Kirmānī wife (see above), Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh appointed Ibrāhīm Khān Ẓahīr al-Dawla (see above) governor in 1218/1803. He held office until his death in 1240/1824-5 and was the first of a number of Ḳādjār princes to be appointed governor of Kirmān. Under him the province enjoyed for the first time for many years a period of security. He repaired *ḳanāt*s, fostered trade and agriculture (acquiring many estates himself in the process), and encouraged a revival of learning, inviting to the province *ʿulamāʾ* from Baḥrayn, Khurāsān, Fārs and elsewhere (Shaykh Yaḥyā Aḥmadī Kirmānī, *Farmāndihān-i Kirmān*, ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran A.H.S. 1344, introd., 3). He also made a successful expedition into Balūčistān. This favourable situation did not, however, last. His son, ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān, who succeeded him as governor, attempted to throw off control, and in the succeeding years there were a number of disturbances and perennial outbreaks of disorder by the Balūč. In December 1831 ʿAbbās Mīrzā was sent to the province to restore order. His efforts were only partially successful. After he left the province there were renewed disturbances by governors and others, and in 1835 further inroads by the Balūč. Meanwhile, Muḥammad Shāh had succeeded Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and in 1835 or 1836 appointed Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī, the leader of the Ismāʿīlīs, as governor of Kirmān. On his withholding revenue from the central government, a force was sent to collect arrears. Unable to resist, Āḳā Khān fled in 1837 to Bam, where he was besieged by Fīrūz Mīrzā Nuṣrat al-Dawla. He surrendered and was sent to Tehran. Later he was allowed to return to Kirmān in 1840 and renewed his rebellion. After a number of skirmishes he was defeated, and took refuge in Afghānistān and later India, whence, it was alleged, he carried on a secret correspondence with his supporters in eastern Persia. His brother, Muḥammad Bāḳir, made a movement into Balūčistān in 1844 or 1845 but was repulsed. Balūčistān was

meanwhile gradually reduced by the governors of Kirmān, and by the middle of the 19th century Persian control had been extended southwards from Bampūr over the Makrān east of Djāsk.

From about 1858 Kirmān once more had a period of security and good government, this time under Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Nūrī Wakīl al-Mulk (see above), first as *pīshkār* during the nominal government of Gayūmarth Mīrzā, and then as governor from 1860 until his death in 1284/1867-8. His period of office was marked by an increase in prosperity which continued during the subsequent decade. During the government of his son, Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān Wakīl al-Mulk, who was governor from 1869-1878, Čāh Bahār was brought under the control of the Persian government. In 1877 there was an outbreak of factional strife between the Shaykhīs and the Bālāsarīs, which led to the resignation of Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān and the despatch of a force from Tehran to restore order. Towards the end of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh there appears to have been considerable intellectual activity in Kirmān, and when the movement for reform became overt towards the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, a number of Kirmānīs, notably Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Bardsīrī Kirmānī (who became the editor of *Akhtar*, the Persian newspaper published in Constantinople) and Nāẓim al-Islām, played an important part (see DUSTŪR, and also, Nāẓim al-Islām, *Tārīkh-i bīdārī-i Īrān*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Saʿīdī Sīrdjānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1349).

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The principal sources for the 1st and 2nd centuries A.H. are al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Yaʿḳūbī, and al-Masʿūdī; for the 3rd and 4th centuries, al-Ṭabarī, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Miskawayh and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*; for the Saldjūḳ period, Afḍal al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Kirmānī, *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā li 'l-mawḳif al-aʿlā*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmirī Nāʾīnī, Tehran A.H.S. 1311; idem, *Badāyiʿ al-azmān fī waḳāyiʿ Kirmān*, reconstructed text by Mihdī Bayānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1326; idem, *al-Muḍāf ilā badāyiʿ al-azmān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1331; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Tārīkh-i Saldjūḳiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, *Receuil de textes relatives à l'histoire des Seljoucides*, i, Leiden 1886; Ibn al-Athīr; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*; for the Ḳarā Khitāy dynasty of Kirmān, and the 7th and 8th centuries A.H., Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī-yi Kirmānī, *Simṭ al-ʿulā li 'l-ḥaḍrat al-ʿulyā*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1328; Djuwaynī, *Djahān-gushā*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Djughrāfiyā*, ms. B.M.; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*; Muʿīn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Yazdī, *Mawāhib-i ilāhī*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran A.H.S. 1326; *Tārīkh-i Āl-i Muẓaffar*, included in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Browne; Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957; for the 8th and 9th centuries A.H., ʿAlī Yazdī, *Sharaf-nāma*, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*; Muḥammad Khalīl Marʿashī, *Madjmaʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1328; Saʿīd Mihrābī Khaṭīb, *Mazārāt-i Kirmān*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Hāshimī and Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1330; *Risāla-i Maḳāmāt-i ʿurafā-yi Bam*, ed. J. Aubin, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, ii, A.H.S. 1333; Mīrzā Muḥammad Kalāntar, *Rūznāma-i kalāntar-i Fārs*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1325; Aḥmad ʿAlī Wazīrī Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i Kirmān* (*Sālāriyya*), ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran A.H.S. 1340; Afḍal al-Dawla Kirmānī, *Tārīkh wa Djughrāfiyā-yi Afḍal al-Dawla*, Central Library, University of Tehran, m.s. $\frac{2856}{470}$; Mīrzā Muḥammad Kirmānī Nāẓim al-Islām, *Tārīkh-i bīdārī-i Iran*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Saʿīdī Sīrdjanī, Tehran A.H.S. 1349; Shaykh Yaḥyā Aḥmad Kirmānī, *Farmāndihān-i Kirmān*, ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran A.H.S. 1344. For a discussion on these and other sources for the history of Kirmān, see Bāstānī Pārīzī, introd. to Aḥmad ʿAlī Wazīrī *Tārīkh-i Kirmān* (*Sālāriyya*). See further, Maḥmūd Himmat Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i mufaṣṣal-i Kirmān*, Tehran A.H.S. 1350; Bāstānī Pārīzī, *Gandj ʿAlī Khān wa āsiyā-yi haft sang*, in *Procs. Fac. Letters*, Iṣfahān, 1/1-2, 125-60; C. E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian History*, in *Iran*, xiv (1976), 9-18; idem, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam*, ed. idem, Edinburgh 1971; A. H. Schindler, *Die Parsen in Persien*, in *ZDMG* (1882), 54-88; Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *History of the Parsis*[2], 1884; A. H. Gleadowe Newcomen, *Report on the British Indian Commercial mission to south-eastern Persia during 1904-5*, Calcutta 1906; P. W. English, *City and village in Iran: settlement and economy in the Kirmān basin* (Madison, Wisc. 1966); A. Smith, *Blind white fish in Persia*, London 1953; W. M. Floor, *The merchants (tujjār) in Qājār Iran*, in *ZDMG*, cxxvi/1 (1976), 101-35; D. L. R. Lorimer, *Farhang-i mardum-i Kirman, Folklore of Kirmān collected by D. L. R. Lorimer*, ed. F. Vahman, Tehran A.H.S. 1353; G. Scarcia, *Kerman 1905: La guerra tra Seihi e Bâlasari*, in *AIUON*, xiii (1963), 186-203; H. Algar, *The revolt of Āghā Khān Maḥallātī and the transference of the Ismāʿīlī imamate to India*, in *SI*, xxix (1969), 55-81; Murtaḍā Mudarris

Čahārdihī, *Shaykhīgarī Bābīgarī*, Tehran A.H.S. 1345. (A. K. S. Lambton)

KIRMĀNĪ, Awḥad al-Dīn Ḥāmid b. Abī 'l-Fakhr (not to be confused with Rukn al-Dīn Awḥadī of Maragha in Ādharbāydjān who was also called Awḥad al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and who died in 738/1337-8) was an eminent Iranian mystic (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn-i Nawā'ī, Tehran 1339/1960, 667-8; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Mahdī-yi Tawḥīdī Pīr, Tehran 1331/1962, 588-92). He was a pupil of Rukn al-Dīn al-Sidjāsī (Sindjānī), of the affiliation of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Abharī and Abū Nadjīb al-Suhrawardī. On his numerous travels, he came to Damascus where he became acquainted with Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī, who mentions him in his *Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* (ch. viii), and was deeply influenced by his ideas. Awḥad al-Dīn knew Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī (cf. B. Furūzānfar, *Risāla dar taḥḳīḳ-i aḥwāl wa zindagānī-i Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad mashhūr ba-Mawlawī*, Tehran[2] 1333/1954, 53-5), and probably met also Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, ʿUthmān Rūmī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī. He spent the last period of his life as a well-known mystical teacher in the neighbourhood of Baghdād and was honoured by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustanṣir in 632/1234-5. He died probably on 3 Shaʿbān 635/21 March 1238.

Awḥad al-Dīn belongs with Aḥmad Ghazālī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī to the representatives of *shāhidbāzī*, the contemplation of the divine beauty in earthly forms, preferably in beautiful boys. The basic concepts of his mystical philosophy are *ṣūrat* (outer form, image) and *maʿnā* (inner meaning, essence), in conformity with Ibn ʿArabī's key terms *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*. The famous *mathnawī* poem *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ*, often attributed to him, was actually written by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Bardasīrī Kirmānī. The poetical heritage of Awḥad al-Dīn is marked by short forms (i.e. only some *tardjīʿ bands* and a few *ghazals*, but a large number of *rubāʿiyyāt* which are grouped into 12 chapters), and is of a gnostic-mystical character. The *rubāʿiyyāt*, which are sometimes influenced by ʿUmar Khayyām, are not always of the best literary quality, but they show a deep mystical thought and experience, (as is found in verses of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Aḥmad Ghazālī, ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī.

Bibliography: B. Furūzānfar (ed.), *Manāḳib-i Awḥad al-Dīn Ḥāmid ibn-i Abī al-Fakhr-i Kirmānī*, Tehran 1347/1969, with an extensive introduction on the life and writings of Awḥad al-Dīn; B. M. Weischer, *Auḥaduddīn Kirmānī und seine Vierzeiler*, in *Isl.*, lxi (1979); B.M. Weischer and P.L. Wilson, *Hearts's witness. The sufi quatrains of Awḥaduddīn Kirmānī* Tehran 1978; (cf. also H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 474-6).

(B. M. Weischer)

AL-KIRMĀNĪ, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, was a prominent *dāʿī* of the Fāṭimids during the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh (386-411/996-1021) as well as the author of many works on the theory of the Imāmate and on Ismāʿīlī philosophy.

The life of al-Kirmānī is known only in its main outlines, which can be traced on the basis of statements contained in his own works. Some other details can be derived from unpublished Ismāʿīlī sources, as has been done notably by Muṣṭafā Ghālib (*op. cit.*, 41 f.) who, however, does not specify these sources. His *nisba* points to his origin from the Iranian province of Kirmān. It is evident from his works that he continued to be in touch with the Ismāʿīlī community in this area. It is not very likely that he was a pupil of the well-known *dāʿī* Abū Yaʿkūb al-Sidjzī [*q.v*], as Ghālib states, for Abū Yaʿkūb was not only al-Kirmānī's senior by half a century but there appears to have been a difference of opinion between the two on many doctrinal points as well. A great part of his life seems to have been spent in the service of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in the missionary district (*djazīra*) of ʿIrāḳ. The title *ḥudjdjat al-ʿIrāḳayn*, which is often added to his name by way of an honorific rather than as a designation of his rank (cf. W. Ivanow, *Naṣir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, Bombay 1948, 44; W. Madelung, *op. cit.*, 63 f., n. 117), implies that this district also included the parts of Iran known as ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī. At least one of his larger works (*Kitāb al-Maṣābīḥ*) was composed in Iran, while two shorter *risālas* (*al-Hāwiya fi 'l-layl wa 'l-nahār*, dated 399/1009, and *al-Kāfiya fi 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-Hārūnī al-Ḥasanī* were addressed to a subordinate in Djīruft (Kirmān). The title of his *Kitāb al-Madjālis al-Baghdādiyya wa 'l-Baṣriyya*, which has not been preserved, refers to his personal activities in these cities of ʿIrāḳ. Ghālib ascribes to him a part in winning over the ʿUḳaylids of Mosul to the cause of the Fāṭimids. In the early years of the 5th/11th century, al-Kirmānī came to Cairo, where a serious crisis had developed among the Fāṭimid *dāʿīs* concerning the nature of the imāmate as it was represented at that time by al-Ḥākim. Quite a few of them, among whom are the founders of the religion of the Durūz [*q.v.*], propounded the doctrine of the divinity of al-Ḥākim. Either at the request of the chief of the religious organisation, the *dāʿī al-duʿāt* Khattigīn al-Ḍayf, or of the caliph himself, al-Kirmānī interfered in the controversy. In 405-6/1014-15 he wrote the *risāla* called *Mabāsim al-bishārāt* upholding the tenet that the imāmate of al-Ḥākim was, in spite of its exceptionally blessed condition, of an ordinary kind and that the theory of his divine nature was incompatible with the Ismāʿīlī dogma of the absolute transcendence of God. The *risāla* called *al-Wāʿiẓa fī nafy daʿwa ulūhiyyat al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh* (ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb* (Cairo), xiv/1 (1952), 1-20), composed in 408/1017, was a reply to a pamphlet by al-Ḥasan al-Akhram al-Farghānī, one of the supporters of the extreme point of view. Apparently, al-Kirmānī returned afterwards to ʿIrāḳ where he completed his major work, *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl*, in 411/1020-1. The latter date provides also a dating *post quem* for his death.

Works. The fate of al-Kirmānī's work after his death has been determined by the further dogmatic history of the Ismāʿīliyya. While the later writers of the Fāṭimid period appear to be hardly influenced by him, he left a lasting imprint on the religious literature of the Ṭayyibiyya [*q.v.*] which continued a part of the Fāṭimid tradition in the Yaman and in India. This influence can be traced from the time of the second *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the sect, al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*], up to the present day (cf. e.g. R. Strothmann, *Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten*, Göttingen 1943). Thanks to this continuous tradition of Kirmānī studies, the main part of his works has been preserved, although all the copies that have been brought to light so far are very recent.

The defence of the theoretic basis of the Fāṭimid imāmate, which al-Kirmānī regarded as one of his most important concerns, was not only directed against deviations within the movement itself. He also attacked the claims of the ʿAbbāsids (in *Maʿāṣim al-hudā*, a refutation of al-Djāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-ʿUth-*

māniyya) and those of other Shīʿī pretenders (in *al-Kāfiya*, being a warning against the propaganda of the contemporary Zaydī Imām Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Muʾayyad bi 'llāh al-Hārūnī). In his *Kitāb Tanbīh al-hādī wa 'l-mustahdī*, the polemics against these opponents are combined with a plea in favour of the validity of the religious law for anyone without exception, addressed towards the antinomian strain current in the Ismāʿīlī movement. His fullest treatment of the theory of the imāmate, constructed as a support of the claim of al-Ḥākim, is contained in *al-Maṣābīḥ fī ithbāt al-imāma*. In the course of his argument, al-Kirmānī frequently resorts to Jewish and Christian scriptures, which he quotes in Hebrew as well as in Syrian (cf. Paul Kraus, *Hebräische und syrische Zitate in ismailitischen Schriften*, in *Isl.* xix (1930), 243-63, and A. Baumstark, *Zu den Schriftzitaten al-Kirmānīs*, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 308-13).

Of equal importance in the work of al-Kirmānī is his preoccupation with metaphysical speculation, to which his most important works are devoted. In the *Kitāb al-riyāḍ fi 'l-ḥikam bayn al-ṣādayn ṣāḥibay al-Iṣlāḥ wa 'l-Nuṣra* (ed. by ʿĀrif Tāmir, Beirut 1960), he attempts to settle the debate over a great number of philosophical questions which had been going on among the Ismāʿīlīs in Iran during the preceding generations. The starting-point of this discussion was the *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl*, a work by al-Nasafī (d. 331/942), to whom the introduction of neo-Platonism in the speculations of the Ismāʿīlīs has been attributed. Al-Nasafī had been criticised on several points, which according to al-Kirmānī are of fundamental importance, by Abū Ḥātim al-Warsinānī (*fl.* about 322-34/934-46) in his *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*, but the tenets of the former had been defended by Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjzī (d. after 360/971) in a work entitled *Kitāb al-Nuṣra*. Kirmānī, who on most issues takes the side of Abū Ḥātim, approaches these problems from a point of view to which he attributes an authoritative weight and which he denotes as "the canon of the guiding mission" (*ḳānūn al-daʿwa al-hādiya*); see further W. Ivanow, *An early controversy in Ismailism*, Leiden 1948, 115-59; 2nd ed. Bombay 1955, 87-122.

The *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl* (ed. by M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, Cairo 1371/1952; ed. by Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Beirut 1967) contains a *summa* of Ismāʿīlī philosophy written for adepts who have prepared themselves for the study of the fundamental truths both morally, through the fulfillment of the commands of religious law, and intellectually, by the study of less abstract works of earlier Ismāʿīlī authors and of al-Kirmānī himself. The subject-matter has been arranged in chapters and paragraphs which have been styled "walls" (*aswār*) and "crossroads" (*mashāriʿ*) according to the allegory of a city of gnostic knowledge. By travelling along the fifty-six crossroads enclosed within the seven walls of this city, the searching soul acquires an awareness of the real structure of the universe, which consist of four separate but fully congruent worlds: the world of Divine creation (*ʿālam al-ibdāʿ*), encompassing the purely spiritual beings, the world of bodily existence or the realm of nature (*ʿālam al-djism, dār al-ṭabīʿa*), the world of religion (*ʿālam al-dīn*), which is the hierarchy of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, from the *nāṭiḳ* up to the lowest delegate (*maʾdhūn*), and, finally, the world of the *ḳāʾim* where this universe returns to its primordial one-ness in its second perfection (*al-kamāl al-thānī*). In complete analogy to this macrocosmic process, the individual human soul, which by origin is only a virtually-existing first perfection, through acquisition of this metaphysical knowledge, can realise itself completely as an intelligent being.

The *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl* is the earliest attempt at a complete and systematic exposition of Ismāʿīlī philosophy. In comparison to older works, and even to al-Kirmānī's own *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*, it shows a profound influence of the metaphysical theories of the *falāsifa*. This is particularly evident in his concept of the world of creation as a decade of intelligent beings which has come into existence by way of "being sent out" (*inbiʿāth*) from the universal intellect, the first created being (see further ISMĀʿĪLIYYA. Doctrine).

Like many other Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs*, al-Kirmānī attacked the writing of the arch-heretic Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī. In the *Kitāb al-Aḳwāl al-dhahabiyya fi 'l-ṭibb al-nafsānī*, he supported the criticism of his predecessor Abū Ḥātim on al-Rāzī's ideas about the therapy of the mind expounded in the latter's *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* (cf. P. Kraus, in *Orientalia*, v (1936), 36 f.; idem, *Rasāʾil falsafiyya/Opera metaphysica*, i, Cairo 1939, *tawṭiʿa*, 7-13, and the excerpts from the first part of al-Kirmānī's treatise in the notes to the edition of *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*.

Bibliography: The editions of al-Kirmānī's works mentioned in the article all contain more or less extensive introductions to his life and work. Surveys of his works and of the manuscripts known to exist are given in W. Ivanow, *A guide to Ismaili literature*, London 1933, 43-6; 2nd ed. *Ismaili literature*, Tehran 1963, 40-5; Brockelmann, S I, 325-6; Muʾizz Goriwala, *A descriptive catalogue of the Fyzee collection of Ismaili manuscripts*, University of Bombay 1965, 37-57, nos. 51-65; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, Leiden 1967, 580-2. Fragments of some of the works of al-Kirmānī are contained in the great Ismāʿīlī compilations of ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs (d. 872/1468), *Kitāb ʿUyūn al-akhbar*, and Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharōčī, *Kitāb al-Azhār* (written 931/1525), which are still unpublished. Excerpts from his *al-Risāla al-lāzima fī ṣawm shahr Ramaḍān* have been edited and translated into Urdu by M. H. Aʿẓamī, *Niẓām al-ṣawm ʿinda 'l-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Karachi 1961, 18-60. A work of doubtful authenticity has been edited by ʿĀrif Tāmir, *Arbaʿ rasāʾil ismāʿīliyya*, Beirut 1952, 59-66. On the *Khazīnat al-adilla*, which is really the work of a pupil of al-Kirmānī, see W. Ivanow, *A creed of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1936, 10-2. See further: E. Griffini, in *ZDMG*, lxix (1915), 87; H. F. Hamdānī, in *JRAS* (1933), 372-5; idem and Ḥ. S. Maḥmūd, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn wa 'l-ḥarakat al-Fāṭimiyya fi 'l-Yaman*, Cairo 1955, 258-61, and passim; W. Madelung, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 119-27; Henry Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, passim; idem, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 130-1; S. H. Nasr, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 436, 440.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

KIRMĀNĪ, KAMĀL AL-DĪN [see KHWĀDJŪ KIRMĀNĪ].

KIRMĀNSHĀH, a town and province in western Persia. The province is situated between lat. 34° N. and 35° N. long. 44° 5′ to 48° 0′ E. It lies to the east and north of ʿIrāḳ and Luristān-i Kūčik (or Pusht-i Kūh) and to the south and west of Kurdistān and Asadābād. In the early 20th century the province was divided into nineteen *bulūks*. These were Bālādih, Wastām, Miyān Darband or Bīlawar, Pusht-i Darband or Bālā Darband, Dīnawar, Kuliyāʾī, Saḥna, Kanguwār, Asadābād, Harsīn, Čamčamāl, Durū Faramān, Māhīdasht, Hārūnābād, Gūrān,

Kirind, Zuhāb, Aywān and Hulaylān (Government of India, General Staff, Army Headquarters, Intelligence Branch, *Gazetteer of Persia*, ii, Simla, 1914, 358). At the present day it is bordered by Sanandadj on the north, Asadābād on the north-east, Shāhābād on the south, Nihāwand and Tūysirkān on the east, Khurramābād on the south-east, and Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn and Rawānsār-i Djawānrūd on the west, and contains the following districts: Sunḳur and Kuliyā'ī, Kanguwār, Saḥna, Harsīn, Sandjābī, Gūrān and Thalāth (Razmarā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, A.H.S. 1329-32, v). The town of Kirmānshāh (also known as Kirmānshāhān, a name which appears to be used first in the 4th/10th century) is situated approximately at lat. 34° 19 N. and long. 47° 5′ E. at a height of 1322 m. on the Ḳara Sū River, which runs to the north-east of the town in a south-easterly direction until it joins the River Gāmāsiyāb (Gawmāsa) (also known as the River Ṣaymara) which flows into the River Karkha. A series of mountain ranges, trending from north-west to south-east, run through the province. Between them there are extensive plains and valleys, containing pastures and cultivated lands. From Asadābād, with an elevation of 2,340 m., there is a gradual descent through a succession of peaks and valleys to Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, which is at 575 m.

The climate is mild in summer but cold in winter, except in the Zuhāb district and the plains near the ʿIrāḳī frontier and in the lower parts of the Kalhur country (in the region of Mandalī) where it tends to be hot in summer. Snow on the mountains is heavy in winter and spring rains are normally plentiful. The maximum July temperature of the town of Kirmānshāh is 37.2° C. and the minimum January temperature −3.5° C. Annual rainfall is 372.7 mm (H. M. Ganji, *Climate*, in W. B. Fisher, ed., *Cambridge history of Iran*, Cambridge 1968, i, 247).

Parts of the province in the south, notably districts in Hulaylān, Bīlawar and Gūrān, are wooded. Oak, elm, sycamore and some coniferous trees and walnut trees are found in the mountains; willows, poplars and oriental planes are common throughout the province; palm trees are found in Sar-i Pul-i Zuhāb and Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. Fruit is abundant in some districts, especially in Kandūla, Harsīn and Saḥna; Kirind produces excellent seedless grapes, Rīdjāb is famous for its figs and Gahwāra for its apples. Gum tragacanth was formerly plentiful in the province, but indiscriminate tapping has caused supplies to diminish. Gum mastic (*saḳḳiz*) is obtained from Hulaylān and was formerly exported to Russia (Government of India, H. L. Rabino, *Gazetteer of Kirmanshah*, Simla 1907, 163, 163).

Dry farming is practised in most parts of the province. In the valleys river water is used for irrigation. *Ḳanāt*s are not numerous. The province is rich in grain land. Formerly, in a normal year the province had a large grain surplus, though from time to time this would be cut by insufficient rainfall, ravages by locusts and other pests, and by disorders. Surplus grain was exported to other parts of Persia, Ottoman Turkey and, later, to ʿIrāḳ. The proportion of wheat to barley was usually two-thirds wheat to one-third barley. Both are grown as unirrigated crops. Grain land is left fallow in alternate years or in many districts for longer periods. Rice is grown in some of the river valleys, including Raziyān, Bīlawar, Dīnawar, Čamčamāl, Zuhāb and Kalhur. It is of inferior quality and mainly consumed locally. Peas (*nukhud*) are produced in quantity and exported to other parts of Persia. Sugar beet has been an important crop since the 1930s and is grown especially in Māhīdasht. Cotton, castor oil, tobacco, saffron, opium, the cultivation of which on a significant scale probably did not begin until the late 19th century (United Kingdom, Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual series, 3189, *Report on the Trade of Kirmanshah and district for the year 1903-04*, 22, and see further G. G. Silbermann, *The Persian Constitutional Revolution: the economic background 1870-1906*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1974, 132 ff.), indigo, maize, clover, alfalfa, and vegetable crops, such as melons, water melons, cucumbers, egg plants and tomatoes, are, or were, grown for local consumption (see further Rabino, 153 ff.).

The province has rich pasture lands. Transhumance is widely practised. Formerly, nomadic tribes commonly migrated annually across the Ottoman-Persian frontier and later across the ʿIrāḳī-Persian frontier. Animal husbandry is of great importance, not only among the nomadic tribes but also among the settled peasants. After grain the most important product of the province is wool. Part of the spring wool crop was formerly exported. The autumn wool was less in quantity and inferior in quality and mainly used for the manufacture of felts (*namads*). Formerly, the manufacture of carpets was a thriving industry in the villages and among the tribes, but declined towards the end of the 19th century. By the 20th century it had virtually disappeared. Goat's hair was made into tents, saddle bags, ropes and yarn. Goat skins were dried and exported and were used for coverings for clarified butter and water skins. The markets of Tehran, Hamadān, Ḳumm and Baghdād were largely supplied with sheep from Kirmānshāh (see further Rabino, 158-9).

Mules and horses were bred in considerable quantities in the 19th century. The horses, which had much Arab blood in them and were well adapted for both draught and saddle, were highly esteemed (cf. J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys*, London 1856, 26; *Gazetteer of Persia*, 341).

The extensive oil belt extending from Kirkūk in ʿIrāḳ to Khūzistān passes through the south-western part of the province of Kirmānshāh, and the extraction of oil has been carried on at various centres since antiquity (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 343). Other mineral resources include marble, porphyry and lime.

The province is mainly inhabited by Kurds, nomadic and sedentary, and Lurs. Most of the tribes have their own winter and summer quarters (see further ĪLĀT). A rough estimate of their numbers in the early 20th century put them at some 60,000 families or some 300,000 persons. Among them were the Kalhur, partly settled and partly nomadic, who were estimated at 12,000 families. They owned large stretches of irrigated land in the fertile plains of Māhīdasht, Gīlān and Kalleh Shahīn, the two last-named purchased by the Kalhur chiefs from their Turkish proprietors at the beginning of the 19th century (United Kingdom Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular reports, Miscellaneous Series, 590 (1903) *Report on the trade and general condition of the City and Province of Kermanshah by Mr. H. L. Rabino*, 46). The Gūrān, also partly settled and partly nomadic, were estimated at 4-5,000, the Sandjābī at 4,000, the Kuliyā'ī, mostly sedentary in Sunḳur, at 4,000 and the Zangana, who were mainly settled in Māhīdasht, at 2,500 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 339; Rabino 171 ff.). Apart from some tribes near the ʿIrāḳī frontier, who are Sunnī, most of the Kurdish tribes of Kirmānshāh are Shīʿī. ʿAlī Ilāhīs are also

found in considerable numbers (cf. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, Tehran lith. 1315, 492; *Gazetteer of Persia*, 356).

The town of Kirmānshāh or Ḳirmīsīn (var. forms Kirmāsin, Ḳarmāsīn, Ḳirmāsīn, Ḳarmashīn) as it was known by the early Arab geographers was founded in the Sāsānid period. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī attributes its foundation to Bahrām IV (388-99 A.D.) (*Nuzhat*, 108), who had acquired the title Kirmānshāh as governor of the province of Kirmān [*q.v.*]. The town founded by him was, however, more probably the small town of Kirmānshāh situated between Yazd and Kirmān (cf. Ṭabarī, in Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, 71). Another tradition attributes the foundation of Kirmānshāh to Kawādh b. Fīrūz (488-531 A.D.; cf. esp. Muḳaddasī, 257 ff.). The Sāsānid kings often resided there, and their example was from time to time followed by later rulers, notably the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who built a palace there (Muḳaddasī, 393). The province is rich in monuments of the Achaemenians and Sāsānids, such as the sculptures of Ṭāḳ-i Bustān, three miles east of Kirmānshāh, the rock inscriptions at Bīsutūn [*q.v.*] and various remains at Kanguwār [see KINKIWAR].

Kirmānshāh was peacefully occupied by the Arabs after the capture of Ḥulwān in 21/640 (Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 301). It became part of the province of the Djibāl and was known, together with Dīnawar [*q.v.*] as Māh al-Kūfa. Although situated on the great Khurāsān road almost midway between Baghdād and Hamadān, it was less important in the early centuries than Dīnawar or Hamadān. Ibn Ḥawkal does not mention it among the best known towns of the Djibāl, though he describes it as a pleasant place with running water, trees and fruit, in which living was cheap, and as having abundant pastures, where numerous flocks grazed, and much water. Many articles of commerce were also to be found there (i, 359). Later, Kirmānshāh with Hamadān, Ray and Iṣfahān became one of the four great cities of the Djibāl, though it did not rival them in importance. It was ruled successively by the ʿAbbāsids, the Būyids, the Ḥasanūya [see ḤASANWAYH] and the Saldjūḳs.

In 594/1197-8 Kirmānshāh was laid waste by the Khwarazmshāhī *amīr* Miyādjuḳ (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 398). After the Mongol conquest, the Djibāl appears to have been divided into two unequal parts, the larger in the east being known as Persian ʿIrāḳ and the smaller in the west, which included Kirmānshāh, as Kurdistān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that Kirmānshāhān (which, he writes, was known in books as Ḳirmīsīn) had been a medium-sized town (*shahrī wasaṭ*) but that in his time it was a mere village (*Nuzhat*, 108). Čamčamāl near Bīsutūn, because of its excellent pastures, was a regular camping ground of the Mongol establishments, and, according to Ḥamd Allāh, Öldjeytü b. Arghūn built a town (*ḳasaba*) there (*ibid.*, 107). It would seem from Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's account that there was a decline in production in Kurdistān as in the neighbouring provinces after the Mongol invasions (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 371).

During the 9th/15th century Kirmānshāh lay outside the main course of events in Persia, but with the rise of the Ṣafawids Kirmānshāh became a frontier province facing the Ottomans. Many of the Kurdish tribes enjoyed a degree of local independence, and it does not appear that central control was established throughout the region in the early Ṣafawid period. The sources make little mention of Kirmānshāh, though there is mention of Ṣafawid governors in Dīnawar—Solugh Ḥusayn Tekkelu in the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl and Čiragh Sulṭān in the reign of Ṭahmāsp (Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Tehran A.H.S. 1343, 410, 270). Intermittent warfare with the Ottomans kept the frontier regions of Kirmānshāh in a state of instability and often disorder, though the main theatre of operations was Ādharbāydjān. By the peace treaty made by Shāh ʿAbbās in 999/1590 the western provinces of Persia, including Kirmānshāh, were ceded to Turkey, and it was not until the campaign begun in 1011/1602 that Persian rights were reasserted and the lost provinces recovered in the following year. After the death of Shāh ʿAbbās an Ottoman expedition led by Khusraw Pasha penetrated up to Hamadān (1039/1630). When peace was again signed in 1048/1639, Sulṭān Murād IV recognised the frontier more or less along the line which it occupies at the present day.

About the middle of the 11th/17th century, the Zangana family began to emerge as the most powerful of the local leaders, and from then on frequently held the government of Kirmānshāh, which usually included Sunḳur and, from the reign of Shāh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42), Kalhur (K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 9). Shaykh ʿAlī Khān Zangana became governor under Shāh ʿAbbās II in or about 1058/1648 (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran, A.H.S. 1339, viii, 475). Members of the family also held important offices at court, which further strengthened their position. Shaykh ʿAlī Beg became *amīr ākhur* to Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1667-94). His son Shaykh ʿAlī Khān, who also held this office, became governor of Kirmānshāhān and finally Iʿtimād al-Dawla, which office he held for fifteen years. He died in 1101/1689-90 (*ibid.*, viii, 490).

After the fall of the Ṣafawids, Kirmānshāh was again occupied by the Ottomans in 1136/1723, the deputy-governor Ḥusayn ʿAlī Beg submitting without resistance. By the terms of the peace made by Ashraf with the Ottomans in 1140/1727 Kirmānshāh, Hamadān, Sanandadj, Ardalān and Nihāwand and various other places were allocated in perpetuity to Turkey (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 292). Kirmānshāh was retaken by Nādir Ḳulī (later Nādir Shāh) in 1142/1729-30 (Mīrza Mihdī Astarābādī, *Tārīkh-i djahāngushā-yi Nādirī*, ed. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anwarī, Tehran 1962, 119 ff.), and when peace was again made in 1145/1732 Kirmānshāh remained with Persia. It was reoccupied by the Ottomans later in the year, but evacuated after a brief siege by Nādir. The Zangana *khāns* were still powerful, and in 1156/1743-4 Ibrāhīm Khān b. Ẓahīr al-Dawla Zangana was appointed *sipahsālār* of Kurdistān and Luristān-i Faylī (*ibid.*, 400). On the death of Nādir in 1160/1747, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī, who had been made governor of Kirmānshāh by Nādir, took the part of ʿĀdil Shāh against his brother Ibrāhīm. The latter, sent an army to Kirmānshāh, which plundered the town and took temporary possession of the district (*ibid.*, 429), but when Ibrāhīm defeated and dethroned ʿĀdil Shāh, Muḥammad Taḳī made himself virtually independent. In 1179/1766 Karīm Khān took the town of Kirmānshāh after besieging the fortress for two years. The defenders were finally reduced by famine. ʿAlī Murād Khān was then made governor of Kirmānshāh. (See further Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amīn Gulistāna, *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, ed. Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran A.H.S. 1344.)

In the 19th century the commercial and strategic importance of Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh increased. It became the capital of Persian Kurdistān. The latter formed a separate province from Ardalān [*q.v.*]. The capital of Ardalān, which was also known as Kurdistān, was Sinna. Already in 1800, Sir John Malcolm noted the importance of Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh as a mart for trade between Turkey and Persia (Melville papers, quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago 1971, 268). Sir John Macdonald Kinneir states that it was a flourishing town in 1801, containing about 12,000 houses (*Geographical memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, 132), which would have given a population of some 60,000 persons.

Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh appointed his eldest son, Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, as governor-general of Kurdistān and Luristān in or about 1806, and it became one of the most thriving provinces of Persia. Muḥammad ʿAlī disposed of a considerable army, mainly cavalry, composed largely of Kurds and trained by French officers, and under his rule Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh formed a bulwark against the advance of the Ottomans. Because of the rivalry which existed between him and his brother ʿAbbās Mīrzā, the *wali ʿahd* and governor-general of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, and the likelihood of a struggle between them in the event of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh's death, he felt the need to attach the population to his interests. Ferrier states that he "administered the affairs of his government in a truly paternal manner. His charities enriched the town and the people lived in the enjoyment of plenty" (*Caravan journeys*, 24). Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn also comments on the expansion of the town under Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā's government. He states that the number of its buildings surpassed those of most other towns in Persia (*Bustān al-siyāḥa*, 492). In addition to buildings in the town, Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā surrounded the town by walls, flanked with loop-holed towers, and by a moat three miles in circumference.

Prior to the Turco-Persian war of 1821, the south-western boundary of Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh had been some seven miles west of Kirind at Sar-i Mīl. Muḥammad ʿAlī, having embarked on successful operations against the Ottomans, annexed Zuhāb and advanced on Bag̲h̲dād, but was forced to abandon his advance by an outbreak of cholera, to which he himself succumbed. The war continued until 1823. By the terms of the treaty then concluded, the districts acquired by either party during the war were to be respectively surrendered and the frontier line was to be restored to where it had been in Ṣafawid times. Zuhāb, although claimed by the Porte, nevertheless remained part of the province of Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh. Having been acquired in war, it became *k̲h̲āliṣa* [*q.v.*] and was farmed by the chief of the Gūrān tribe (H. Rawlinson, *March from Zohab to Khuzistan*, in *JRGS* ix (1839), 36).

After the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, the town of Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh decayed as a result of the extortion and tyranny of the governors who succeeded him. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, writing about 1832, states that there were then no more than 10,000 houses in Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh (*loc. cit.*), while Ferrier, writing in 1845, states that its splendid bazaars were deserted, nine-tenths of the shops were shut and three-fourths of the population had emigrated, the townspeople to Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and the nomads to Turkey (*op. cit.*, 25). All sign of Muḥammad ʿAlī's fortifications had disappeared by the 20th century. Cholera, plague and famine added to the misfortunes of the town, notably the plague of 1830, which is said to have reduced the population to 12,000 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 355; cf. also Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, *loc. cit.*); and in 1832 floods washed away about one fifth of the populated area with heavy loss of life (*ibid.*). These disasters, coupled with the rapacity of the governors, reduced the province to a low ebb. Consul Abbott, writing in 1849-50 states that there were some 5,000 inhabited houses (United Kingdom, Public Record Office, F. O. 60: 165, *K. Abbott's report on the commerce of South Persia* . . .), which would have given a population of about 25,000. Another report written in 1868 estimated the population at 30,000 (*Report on Persia, accounts and papers 1867-68*, 19, quoted by Issawi, 28). By the end of the century there had been some degree of recovery, and in 1914 the population was put at 60,000 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 355). This figure, which was probably a conservative estimate, was the same as that given by Sir J. Macdonald Kinneir rather over a century earlier.

Various Ḳād̲j̲ār princes held the government of Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh after Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā. The first was his son Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā Ḥis̲h̲mat al-Dawla, who held office for some ten years. Another of his sons, Imām Ḳulī Mīrzā ʿImād al-Dawla, also held the governorship for some twenty-one years under Muḥammad S̲h̲āh and Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh. In 1842 relations with Turkey again became critical, and a mixed commission was appointed to delimit the frontier, an operation which was not finally completed until 1914 (see further C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds Turks and Arabs*, London 1957, 125 ff.). When Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh passed through the province on his way to Karbalāʾ and Nad̲j̲af in 1871, a huge petition was presented to him complaining of the oppression of the governor. It was not answered. From 1881 to 1888 the province was included in the immense region coming under Ẓill al-Sulṭān, the governor of Iṣfahān [*q.v.*]. When he was deprived of all his governments except Iṣfahān, his nominees in Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh and Kurdistān were dismissed. For some years after that the government of Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh was given to the highest bidder, with the result that the people were greatly oppressed.

In the last quarter of the 19th century the volume of trade coming through Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh markedly increased (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 343-4). With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the establishment of a steamer service on the Tigris, it became the port of entry for all goods entering Persia from Bag̲h̲dād and coming from England and India via the Persian Gulf and the Tigris. By the end of the century the province equalled, if it did not excel, any other province in its general state (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 336-7). Consul Preece wrote in 1899 that "There are but few towns in Persia which show to-day so flourishing a condition, from a trade point of view, as Kermanshah, and this in spite of oppression by the local Governor, and badness and unsafety of the roads radiating from it" (quoted by Rabino, 206). There was a customs post at Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh, which was normally farmed. In 1881 the sum paid was 20,000 *krāns*. For the year ending 20 March 1897 the figure had risen to 480,000 *krāns* and for the year ending 20 March 1899 to 670,000 *krāns*. On 21 March 1899 the customs were taken over by the Belgians (see further *Gazetteer of Persia*, 350 ff.).

Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh also benefited greatly from the pilgrim trade, lying as it did on the direct route from Persia to Nad̲j̲af and Karbalāʾ. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries it was estimated that 150,000 to 200,000 pilgrims passed annually through the town. They brought money to exchange or tried to pay their way by selling things, and so gradually

added to the well-being of the town (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 344).

In 1914 there were about 200 merchants in Kirmānshāh dealing mostly in Manchester goods obtained direct from Manchester or through Baghdād, in sugar from Marseilles, and in opium, gums, goatskins, carpets and wool, which they exported to Baghdād and England. One of the most prominent of these was Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Wakīl al-Dawla, who combined trade with banking and landownership (for the career of his father and the rise of the family to wealth and influence, see Silbermann, 207). There were about twenty Ottoman Jews, who had in their hands the greatest part of the foreign and export trade. Kāshī merchants imported from Kāshān tobacco, native silk goods, copper-ware, to a total amount of some 100,000 *tūmāns*, which they covered by exports to Kāshān of prints and foreign goods received from Baghdād. Yazdī merchants imported henna and Yazdī silk from Yazd to the amount of 20,000 *tūmāns*, and exported an equal amount of foreign goods to Yazd. Iṣfahānī merchants imported native prints and cotton goods, such as *ḳalamkārs*, prints, *laḥāfs*, *ʿabās*, etc., and *gaz* and *gīvas* from Iṣfahān, and exported to Iṣfahān Manchester prints, iron, tea, cowhides, wool and *gilīms*. Their imports came to 100,000 *tūmāns*, but were exceeded by their exports. Hamadān merchants imported naphtha, rice, Russian prints, glassware and hardware (coming from Rasht), and exported to Hamadān dates from Mandalī, gall-nuts, grease, ghee, raw hides, tea, spices, iron, lead, Manchester goods and window glass. The exports exceeded the imports. Some Hamadān merchants worked exclusively as commission agents for releasing goods from the customhouse and forwarding them to Hamadān (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 355-6). There were also a few Persian Jews, who lived by small trade and hawking, and a very small number of Chaldean Christians, some engaged in trade and some living by the manufacture of *arak*.

Kirmānshāh played little part in the constitutional revolution, but in 1911 Sālār al-Dawla entered Kirmānshāh in the name of the ex-shah Muḥammad ʿAlī. In the following year he advanced on Tehran with a force of Kalhurs, Sandjābīs and other Kurdish tribes. He was defeated near Hamadān and government troops retook Kirmānshāh. Operations continued until the autumn, during which time Kirmānshāh repeatedly changed hands. In the first world war Kirmānshāh was one of the centres of the *muhādjarat* movement. A local committee for national defence was set up (*kumita-yi difāʿ-i millī*) and in December 1915 the central committee, which had retired from Tehran to Ḳumm and Iṣfahān in November of that year, withdrew to Kirmānshāh. A provisional government had barely been established when the *muhādjirīn* evacuated Kirmānshāh in March 1916 in the face of a Russian advance. Turkish forces later occupied the town but evacuated it in 1917 (see further Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, Tehran n.d., iii, 323 ff., Ḥusayn Samīʿī Adīb al-Salṭana and Amān Allāh Ardalān ʿIzz al-Mamālik, *Awwalīn ḳiyām-i muḳaddas-i millī*, Tehran A.H.S. 1332, 30 ff., 75 ff., P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*³, London 1963, ii, 446 ff.).

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(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

KIRMĀSTĪ, chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍaʾ* in Anatolia, 15 miles south-east of Mikhalidj (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, lxv [1911], 101) and 40 miles S.W. of Bursa with about 16,900 inhabitants (1960). The town lies on both banks of the Edrenos Čay (Rhyndacus), now called the Mustafa Kemal Paşa Çay. The origin of the name, often wrongly written Kirmāslī, which points to a Greek *Κερμαστὴ or *Κρεμαστὴ, is uncertain, nor is it known what ancient town was here. Perhaps the Kremastis in the Troas (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, ii, 743) mentioned in Xenophon, *Hist.* iv, 8, is to be connected with it. In the Byzantine period Aorata is said to have been here, where the troops of Alexius Comnenus under Kamytzes were defeated in 506/1113 by the Saldjūḳs (cf. Anna Comnena, ii, 279 ff.). In any case there is close to Kirmāstī a Byzantine castle in ruins which resembles that 6 miles farther up the Edrenos Čay at Kesterlek and presumably was intended with similar defences at Ulubad (Lopadium) and Bursa to keep back the advance of the Ottomans. In the town, which has 6 mosques, including one large very old one with a *türbe*, and 14 *masdjids*, there are ancient remains (sarcophagi, inscriptions on the walls, ornaments) which do not seem yet to have been studied. The history of Kirmāstī under the Ottomans is quite obscure, as there are no records. Ewliyā Čelebi (v, 290) and European travellers (cf. W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 77, 80, ii, 93) say practically nothing about it. The Muslim inscriptions have still to be studied and edited. Kirmāstī, which did not suffer from the Greek occupation, was in 1925 renamed Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha in honour of the Turkish President. Kirmāstī is the birth-place of Seyyid-i Wilāyet (d. 929/1522-3 in Istanbul), son-in-law of the historian ʿĀshiḳ-Pasha-zāde (cf. Tashköprüzāde-Medjdī, *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniya*, 352, 13), known from the *Menāḳib-i Tādj al-ʿĀrifīn* (i.e. Sheykh Ebū 'l-Wefā); cf. Pertsch, *Lat. Türk. Handschr. Gotha*, 137, No. 166 and Tornberg, *Cat. Uppsal.*, 211, No. cccvii.

Two hours' journey from Kirmāstī are two hot mineral springs, called Dümbüldak and Aḳardja.

Bibliography: (besides references in the text): Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vi, 155-6; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 656, 17, 660, 1; Ewliyā, *Seyāḥet-nāme*, v, 290, at top; *Murray's Handbook for Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, London 1895, 58; W. M. Ramsay, *Historical geography of Asia Minor*, 155, 437; Besim Darkot, art. *Mustafa-Kemal-Paşa* in *İA*.

(F. BABINGER*)

ḲIRMĪSĪN [see ḳirmānshāh]

ḲIRSH [see sikka]

ḲIRSHEHIR, modern Turkish Kırşehir (formerly *Ḳïrshehri* "town of the steppes", incidentally also called euphemistically *Gulshehri* "town of the roses"), a town in central Anatolia, *ca.* 490 m. above sea level, situated at 37° 9′ N. lat., and 34° 10′ E. long., on a small river called the Ḳïlïč Ozü which flows into the Ḳïzïl Irmaḳ [*q.v.*], the ancient Halys. The town, with a total population of 14,168 in 1950, lies on the road from Ankara (195 km. distance) to Kayseri (140 km. distance). Another road leads after some 15 km. to the Kesik Köprü, a long bridge over the Ḳïzïl Irmaḳ of 13 pointed arches, built in 640/1248 by a Saldjūḳ vizier called ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad (see Taeschner in *Festschrift Ernst Kühnel. Aus der islamische Kunst*, Berlin 1959, 290-2, and A. Dietrich in *ZDMG*, cx (1961), 310-13). Close to the bridge, on the eastern bank of the river, is a *khān* or caravanserai, erected in 667/1268 by Nūr al-Dīn Djibrāʾīl b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Djadja, *amīr* of Ḳïrshehir (see K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Istanbuler Forschungen, xxi/1, Berlin 1961, no. 21, 74-7). In the neighbourhood of the town are medicinal springs.

Ḳïrshehir is certainly an old settlement, as may be deduced from the *hüyük* (a hill indicating ancient cultivation) in the centre of the town, which, however, has not as yet revealed its secrets. The ancient name of the town is not known; the denominations proposed for antiquity are disputed. So far as is recorded by inscriptions and architectural monuments, its history starts only in the early Turkish (Rūm-Saldjūḳid) period. Then and shortly afterwards, from the middle of the 7th/13th until the middle of the 8th/14th centuries, the town must have been an important cultural centre.

After the battle of Malāzgird (1071), the Turks took possession of great parts of Anatolia, and Ḳïrshehir became also Turkish, but the control of the city changed more than once: sometimes it fell to an *amīr* of the Danishmandids of north-eastern Anatolia (Sivas and Malatya), sometimes to a sultan of the Anatolian collateral line of the Saldjūḳids, the so-called Rūm-Saldjūḳids who resided in Ḳonya. Under sultan Ḳïlïč-Arslan II, the amirate of the Danishmandids was incorporated (*ca.* 1173) in the territory of the Rūm-Saldjūḳids, who remained the overlords of the town until the end of their power in 1307. Then governors of the Mongol Il-Khāns of Iran started to rule the whole region, including Ḳïrshehir, which served as a place of coinage for them until 728/1328. In his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (ed. G. Le Strange, i. Text, London 1915, 99, *ll.* 13 ff., ii. Tr. London 1919, 99, *ll.* 22 ff.), Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī designates Ḳïrshehir as "a big town with high sacred constructions (*ʿimārāt*), which enjoys a fine climate; the revenue of its *Dīwān* amounts to 57.000 *dīnārs*".

After the disintegration of the Il-Khānid state, Ḳïrshehir again became a controversial issue between independently-behaving governors, like those of the Eretnids [see eretna] and other dynasties, until it was taken by the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I. After the latter's defeat near Ankara in 1402, the town was at first added by the conqueror Tīmūr to the territory of the Ḳaramānids (Ḳonya and Laranda), but afterwards changed masters several times until it became definitely Ottoman when Selīm I incorporated the principal ty of the Dulḳadïr, to which Ḳïrshehir had belonged ultimately. As capital of a *liwā* (*sandjāḳ*), the town was attached to the *eyālet* (*wilāyet*) of Ḳaramān.

When the *wilāyet* system was reorganised in the middle of the 19th century, the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳïrshehir was assigned to the *wilāyet* of Ankara. The town became a *wilāyet* in 1924 when the former *wilāyets* were abolished and the *sandjaḳs* raised to *wilāyets*. But in 1954 the *wilāyet* of Ḳïrshehir was suppressed; parts of its territory were added to the *wilāyets* of Ankara and Yozgad, but the greater part was assigned to the newly-formed *wilāyet* of Nevşehir.

The heyday of Ḳïrshehir was the late-Saldjūḳid and Il-Khānid period between *ca.* 1240-1340. The town must then have been really important; there was in any case an active intellectual life of a mystical-religious character, as may be seen from imposing architectural monuments which have survived until today (see Ali Saim Ülgen, *Kırşehir'de Türk eserleri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii [Ankara 1942], 253-61, figs. 1-25; Halim Baki Kunter, *Kırşehir kitâbeleri*, in *ibid.*, 432-36, figs. 4-23; W. Ruben, *Kırşehir'in dikkatımızı çeken san'at abideleri. A*, in *Belleten*, xi [Ankara 1947], no. 44, 603-40, pls. CX-XCVI; idem, *B*, in *Belleten*, xii [Ankara 1948], no. 45, 173-93, pls. XXXVII-XLVI; idem, *Eigenartige Denkmäler aus Kırşehir*, in *ibid.*, 194-205; Cevat Hakkı Tarım, *Kirşehir tarihi üzerinde araştırmalar*, Kırşehir 1938; idem, *Tarihte Kırşehri - Gülşehri ve Babailer - Ahiler - Bektaşiler*, Istanbul 1948).

The oldest cultural institution in Ḳïrshehir is possibly the *madrasa* of Malik Muẓaffar b. Bahrāmshāh, called Malik Ghāzī, of the Mangūčekdynasty, whom sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I had invested with Ḳïrshehir as compensation for the principality he had taken away from Ghāzī's family. Of the *madrasa* allegedly built in 644/1246, only the relatively simple portal has been preserved. When the ruins of the *madrasa* were carried away, the portal was used in 1312/1893 for the reconstruction of the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mosque on the hillock of the town. The still-standing graceful mausoleum of Malik Muẓaffar, the Malik Ghāzī Kümbedi, constructed by his consort in the style typical for the high-Saldjūḳid period, indicates the original site of the *madrasa*.

For the next period, the *madrasa* of the *amīr* Nūr al-Dīn Djabrāʾīl b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Djadja served as a centre of intellectual life. It belonged to an extensive foundation on which a deed of foundation (*waḳfiyye*) in Arabic and Mongol, dated 670/1272, provides information (see Ahmed Temir, *Kırşehir emiri Cacaoğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça Mogalça vakfiyesi*, Ankara 1959). Of the constructions belonging to this foundation, only a group of buildings in the centre of the town has survived. It consists of the *madrasa*, built in 671/1272-3 and presently used as the Friday mosque, its minaret and the tomb of the founder. The tomb is included in the north-eastern angle of the *madrasa* and can only be reached from the inside; on the outside, it is only marked by a window in the northern wall, of the same style as the portal of the *madrasa*.

To the north-west of the Malik Ghāzī Kümbedi, at a distance of *ca.* 200 m. from the Djadja Beg Madrasa, lies the Lâla Cami ("Tulip mosque"). A tale has it that its name is derived from a tulip of particular beauty, which the builders received from a pupil of the Djadja Beg Madrasa; proceeds of its sale then allegedly enabled him to build the Lâla Cami. The building, which lies in ruins and does not bear any inscription so that nothing is known about its construction and original use, apparently was not a mosque at the outset; during the Il-Khānid period it served as the mint, but was used as a mosque later,

probably still in the 14th century, as is shown by its *miḥrāb* built in Saldjūḳid style.

In the north-eastern part of the town, on a hillock in the Imaret ward, lies the tomb of Shaykh Süleymān-i Turkomānī, who is said to have introduced to Ḳïrshehir the Mewlewī order, and to have built a Mewlewī khān, nothing of which has survived. The tomb has no inscription and so nothing is known about its construction or about the death of the man who is buried there. A wooden panel on the tomb gives 693/1294 as the year of his death, but this can not be correct since there exists a foundation deed (*wakfiyye*) of Shaykh Turkomānī, dated Muḥarram 697/October-November 1297 (see C. H. Tarım, *Kırşehir tarihi*, 82-5). The biographical work *Nafaḥāt al-uns* of the Persian poet Djāmī (Turkish tr. Lāmiʿī, Istanbul 1289/1872, 652; M. F. Köprülüzāde, *Türk edebiyyātïnda ilk mütaṣawwïflar*, Istanbul 1918, 236, n. 1) mentions 714/1314 as the year of his death; this seems more probable. Until recent times, descendants of Shaykh Süleymān-ī Turkomānī have been known in Ḳïrshehir, as may be seen from *inter alia* their tombs, all of which carry Mewlewī characteristics. It seems probable that the dignity of Shaykh of the Mewlevī community in Ḳïrshehir was hereditary in their family.

The poet Gülshehri in all probability also originated from Ḳïrshehir. He was one of the first to write poetry in Rūm Turkish, and by doing so was largely instrumental in this language's, the later Ottoman-Turkish, finding its place among the literary languages of Islam. Nothing is known about his life, nor is there any trace of his tomb in Ḳïrshehir or elsewhere. But on the basis of his pen-name (*makhlaṣ*) Gülshehrī [*q.v.*] there can be no doubt that he originated from Ḳïrshehir. Because his *Mantiḳ al-ṭayr* contains many references to the prophet Süleymān (Solomon), it has been supposed that Gülshehrī can be identified with Shaykh Süleymān-ī Turkomānī. The identification, however, is in no way proved and remains controversial.

From an artistic point of view, the most important building in Ḳïrshehir is the *türbe* of the poet ʿĀshïḳ Pasha [*q.v.*; see also M. Fuad Köprülü, in *İA*, s.v.], born at Ḳïrshehir in 670/1272. His grandfather Bābā Ilyās had been the founder of the Bābāʾī sect, and one of his followers, Bābā Ilyās, had been the leader of the great dervish revolt which had been crushed with great difficulty in 1242 on the Māliyye plain near Ḳïrshehir. ʿĀshïk Pasha, himself a dervish also, died in the odour of sanctity on 13 Ṣafar 733/3 November 1333; his tomb at Ḳïrshehir became a highly-visited place of pilgrimage. The magnificent *türbe*, which guards the mortal remains of the poet, was built after his death and has a style of architecture all of its own. It has nothing in common any more with the Saldjūḳid tombs, generally called *kümbed* ("cupola"), but it departs also from the customary style of the Ottoman *türbes*. A characteristic feature of ʿĀshïḳ Pasha's *türbe* is that before it extends a closed entrance hall which is accessible at the side through a grand portal.

From an historical point of view, the most remarkable monument of Ḳïrshehir is perhaps the modest sanctuary of Akhī Ewrān which consists of the saint's *türbe*, a *tekiyye* and a mosque. On the role of this sanctuary in the economic life of Ḳïrshehir, see AKHĪ BABA and AKHĪ EWRĀN. When in 1925 the dervish monasteries were closed, the role of the *tekiyye* of Akhī Ewrān came also to an end, and so Ḳïrshehir was reduced to the status of a provincial town.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the article): Kātib Čelebi (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), *Djihān-nümā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 620; ʿAlī Djewād, *Djughrāfyā lughātï*, Der-i Seʿādet 1313, 645; Shemseddīn Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, Istanbul 1314, 3795; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 323 ff.; *EI*[1], *Ḳïr-Shehir* (Cl. Huart); *İA Kırşehir* (Besim Darkot); F. Taeschner, *Kırşehir, ein altes Kulturzentrum aus spät- und nachseldschukischer Zeit*, in *Necati Lugal armağanı*, Ankara 1968, 577-92. (F. TAESCHNER)

ḲIRṬĀS stands for 1. papyrus, papyrus roll, 2. parchment, and 3. later also rag paper; from the Arabic texts, it is not always clear which material is meant. The word *ḳirṭās*, *ḳarṭās*, *ḳurṭās*, or *ḳirṭas*, *ḳarṭas*, has been adopted from the Greek word χάρτη through the Aramaic; from the Arabic, it has been adopted by the Spanish as *alcartaz* meaning "bag", and by the Portugese as *cartaz* meaning "paper, permit; placard". In the Ḳurʾān, it is mentioned in the singular, *ḳirṭās* (Sūra VI, 7), and in the plural, *ḳarāṭīs*, meaning "[written] papyri" (Sūra VI, 91). Sometimes a genuine Arabic word is used: *waraḳ al-ḳaṣab*, "reedy sheet", and *waraḳ al-bardī* or *al-abardī*, "sheet made of the papyrus plant" [see ḲAṢAB, PAPYRUS]. The Arabs attribute the invention of the *ḳirṭās*, "papyrus", to the biblical Joseph (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Göttingen 1850, 274, etc.). Nothing is said about its production. Only in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990), 21, and in al-Bīrūnī's *India*, 81, completed in 421/1030, are there two statements: that *ḳirṭās* is obtained from the reed of the papyrus (*ḳaṣab al-bardī*), or else from its pulp (*lubb al-bardī*). Only in the 7th/13th century after the termination of the production of papyrus in the 5th/11th century, Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248) related in his *Djamiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdhiya*, Cairo 1291/1874-5, i, 87 from his teacher Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī (d. 637/1239), that the Egyptians, in former times, used to split the stalk of the papyrus in two parts, cut [the pulp obtained thereby] into strips, put them [crosswise, in two layers] on an even pad made of wood, spread size on them which they had obtained from the seeds of the blue lotus (*Nymphaea coerulea* Sav.), dry [the strips combined thereby], and beat them carefully with a beetle until they got an even [piece].

Ḳirṭās was not usually sold as pieces, but rather as rolls of pieces stuck together. From these rolls, pieces could be cut, irrespective of the glued joints which were usually not visible. The smallest piece used in trade was a sixth of a roll, which was called a *ṭūmār* (Greek τομάριον) or *ṭūmār ḳirṭās* (Greek τομάριον χάρτου). On the front surface (*recto*), the strips of the papyrus ran horizontally, hence parallel to the writing, while on the reverse-surface (*verso*), the strips ran vertically. In the early ʿAbbāsid period several sheets were, sometimes, bound into a booklet (*kurrāsa*). Because of the high price of the material, it was usual to write on the reverse surfaces as well or to wash the written papyri and write on them again (thus forming an opistograph or palimpsest). The sizes of the sheets were probably generally the same as those of the Ancient World. The usual size was 30-40 cm. high and 20-30 cm. wide, but the width later was increased. The manufactories producing the different kinds of papyrus were run by the government or were under governmental supervision; it seems that this governmental control was certified by an official note on the back side of the first sheet of a roll.

The word *ḳirṭās* did not remain confined to

"papyrus", "roll of papyrus", but was used for "bag" and, in medical science, for "dressing", "a kind of absorbent gauze", and things like that (cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, *op. cit.*, i, 87, and his sources, sc. Dioscorides, Galen, Ibn Sīnā, etc.), or else was applied to writing paper obtained from other materials, e.g. "parchment" [see DJILD, RAḲḲ] and "rag paper" [see KĀGHAD].

Bibliography: A. Grohmann, *Arabische Papyruskunde* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, erste Abt., Ergänzungsband ii, erster Halbband, Leiden-Cologne 1966), 49-118 (with bibliography); idem, *Arabische Paläographie*, i (Österr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, phil.-histor. Kl., Denkschriften, 94. Bd., 1. Abhdlg., Vienna 1967), 66-93 (with bibliography). (R. SELLHEIM)

AL-KISĀʾĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ḤAMZA B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. BAHMAN B. FAYRŪZ, *mawlā* of the Banū Asad, well-known Arab philologist and Ḳurʾān-reader (*ca.* 119-89/737-805). Descendant of an Iranian family from the Sawād, he was born in Bāhamshā, Dudjayl, north of Baghdād (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 458 s.v.; M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden 1901, ii, 226) and when still a boy, came to al-Kūfa (Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 138; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, 535). It is related that he had difficulties with the *ʿarabiyya* and therefore sought to attach himself to the grammarian Muʿādh al-Harrāʾ (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 404). Al-Khalīl's [*q.v.*] authority in the field of Arabic philology allegedly caused him afterwards to go to al-Baṣra; at his advice, al-Kisāʾī is said to have stayed for some time among the Bedouins in order to become fully conversant with the secrets of the *ʿarabiyya* by direct association with them. As is shown by the explanations and interpretations of details which are to be found in grammars and lexicographical works of the native philological literature and which are to be traced back to al-Kisāʾī, it is in any case certain that he attributed more importance to linguistic usage then to learned systematisation, as was aspired to by Sībawayh [*q.v.*], another pupil of al-Khalīl, who laid this down in his voluminous *al-Kitāb*. Even if al-Kisāʾī, in his discussions and investigations, made use of the generally accepted method of analogy (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]), he nevertheless, in his learned observations, left, as was fitting, wide space to the anomalous ways of speech as presented especially by colloquial speech or dialect; he took care not to squeeze into a system such anomalies, exceptions and discrepancies from the general rule (against Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 190; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 336). In this way, he and those who followed him in this method preserved for us vestiges of the everyday language, which was not acknowledged by other scholars and therefore concealed and suppressed. Three or four generations later, in connexion with the controversies between al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab [*q.vv.*] in Baghdād, the more independent treatment of the Arabic language by al-Kisāʾī, and not least that of his pupil al-Farrā [*q.v.*], became straightaway the method of the grammatical school of Kūfa; *ex eventu*, he and his teacher al-Ruʾāsī [*q.v.*] have entered the history of Arab philology as the real founders of that school. In his introduction to Ibn al-Anbārī's *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* (Leiden 1913), G. Weil pertinently characterised this method as the "anomalous" one, in opposition to the strictly "analogous" one of the school of Baṣra, which has generally prevailed among the Arab grammarians. Apart from the material preserved in the *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* with respect to the school of Kūfa and in particular to al-Kisāʾī's teachings, see also Thaʿlab, *Madjālis Thaʿlab*[2], Cairo 1960, index; al-Zadjdjādjī, *Madjālis al-ʿulamāʾ*, Kuwait 1962, index; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*[4], Cairo 1958, i-ii, index; idem, *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*[2], Ḥaydarābād 1360/1941, iii, 15, 18, 42; al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Kanghrāwī (?) al-Istanbūlī (1278-1349/1861-1931; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, v, 17, 292), *al-Mūfī fi 'l-naḥw al-kūfī*, ed. M. Bahdjat al-Bayṭār, in *MMIA*, xxiv (1949), 417-32, 560-82; xxv (1950), 223-46, 399-414, 511-34; xxvi (1951), 85-100, 199-222, 407-22, 577-89 (cf. too A. al-Ḥimṣī, Ẓāhiriyya, Naḥw, 519: al-Kanghrī).

Al-Kisāʾī's learned studies, more concerned with a description of reality than with scholastic systematisation, apparently sprang from a basic attitude, which must also have enabled him to maintain for many years those manifold good and close relations with the ʿAbbāsid court in Baghdād, where he had moved. There the scholar, as original in knowledge as he was in ideas, was all the more welcome as teacher of the princes since he was also able to act as a Ḳurʾān-reader (Azharī, *Tahdhib*, 15). The caliph al-Mahdī had entrusted to him the education of the young al-Rashīd, who in his turn later caused his sons al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn to be taught by al-Kisāʾī (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 186, 194 ff.). Al-Rashīd promoted his teacher al-Kisāʾī among his personal companions and confidants (*al-djulasāʾ wa 'l-muʾānisīn*) and requested him to accompany him on the *ḥadjdj* and other journeys (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 183, 186), thus manifesting the intimate relation between pupil and teacher. During one of these journeys, probably the road to Khurāsān in 189/805 (Ṭabarī, iii, 701 ff.), al-Kisāʾī died at the age of seventy (Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 269), probably in Ranbūya in the neighbourhood of Rayy. Fragments of an elegy on him and on the jurist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] by his antagonistic colleague Yaḥyā al-Yazīdī [*q.v.*] have survived (Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 290; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 142; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 413 ff., and ii, 182; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 824 f.; idem, *Udabāʾ*, v, 183, 199; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, 540); for the *laḳab* "Kisāʾī", see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 404 f.; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 445; etc.; O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur arabischen Poesie*, 1963-4, viii/1, 108.

It is evident that the opinion of al-Kisāʾī's colleagues on a man who seemed to be favoured personally by fate because of his good relations with the court of the caliph, was not always positive (Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 74), all the more so because—as indicated above—in controversial questions he preferred to rely on the reality of the spoken language rather than on speculative assertions of the learned (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 180). It was the Bedouins, undisputed authorities on the current language, who assisted him at the famous discussion with Sībawayh on the so-called *al-masʾala al-zunbūriyya* (Zadjdjādjī, *op. cit.*, 8-10; Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 288; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 358 f., etc.; A. Fischer, in *A volume of oriental studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 150-6). He is also reproached with being a pederast and fond of date-wine (*nabīdh*) (Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 284, 289; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 185, 194, 198).

Al-Kisāʾī's authority as a Ḳurʾān-reader was generally recognised, both at the court and among the public of Baghdād, al-Raḳḳa and elsewhere (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 403). At first, he represented the reading of his teacher Ḥamza al-Zayyāt [*q.v.*], but in the course of time he developed his own (*Fihrist*, 30). How highly al-Kisāʾī's reading was appreciated is shown by the fact that it became the seventh of the seven canonical readings [see ḲIRĀʾA].

Probably his reading was as little established by its reader, al-Kisāʾī, as were the others by their readers. This was first done by al-Kisāʾī's pupil Abū ʿUbayd [*q.v.*], when he compiled 32 *ḳirāʾāt*. As in parallel cases, the *Mufradat al-Kisāʾī*, which exists in Ms. Tehran University 4867,1 (M. T. Dāni<u>sh</u>-Pa<u>zh</u>ūh, xiv, 3897), could be a later extract from the *<u>Sh</u>āṭibiyya*, the *Taysīr* or a similar work (see R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1976, i, 38 f.).

Of al-Kisāʾī's 14 or 15 works enumerated in the *Fihrist*, 65 ff., 165—for some of them, see Azharī, *Tahd<u>h</u>īb*, 15 ff. and Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 278 (or should we read Sībawayh here instead of al-Kisāʾī?)—nothing apparently has come down to us. According to the titles, they were devoted to questions of grammar, lexicography and the Ḳurʾān, and also of poetry, of which he allegedly did not have much knowledge (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 193; Ibn <u>Kh</u>allikān, ii, 457). According to Brockelmann, I, 118, S I, 178, three other treatises which are connected with his name and are lacking in the enumeration of the *Fihrist*, have been preserved: *Risāla fī laḥn al-ʿāmma* (ed. Brockelmann, in *ZA*, xiii (1898), 29-46; cf. Th. Nöldeke, *ibid.*, 111-15, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, Cairo 1925, and R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma*, Cairo 1967, 111 f.); *Kitāb al-Muta<u>sh</u>ābih fi 'l-Ḳurʾān* (other mss. e.g. in Ẓāhiriyya [ʿIzzet Ḥasan, Ḳurʾān, 391], Chester Beatty [A. J. Arberry, 3165,1] or Bag<u>h</u>dād, Awḳāf [ʿA. al-<u>D</u>jubūrī, i, 144, no. 433]; a remark on the *ṭalāḳ* formula in a verse (British Museum [Ch. Rieu, Supplement 1203, 12]), preserved in detail in Za<u>d</u>j<u>d</u>jā<u>d</u>jī, *op. cit.*, 338-42 (for similar traditions, see e.g. Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 285, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u> Bag<u>h</u>dād*, xi, 406).

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the article): G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862 (reprint: Nendeln 1966), 121-6; Brockelmann, I, 117 f., S I, 177 f.; O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1933, ii, 167-72; M. Ma<u>kh</u>zūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa*², Cairo 1958, 77 ff., 97-119, *passim*; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, i, index; <u>Sh</u>. Ḍayf, *al-Madāris al-naḥwiyya*, Cairo 1968, 172-91; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 180 f., index; many sources are mentioned in: <u>Kh</u>. Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1955, v, 93 f.; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥalā, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1959, vii, 84; M. ʿA. Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*², Tabrīz (*ca.* 1347/1969), v, 52-6. The main sources are: al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *al-Taʾrī<u>kh</u> al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1959, iii, 2, 268; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, Göttingen 1850, 270 (Cairo 1960, 545); Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lug<u>h</u>awī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1955, 74 f.; 2nd ed., Cairo 1974, 120 f.; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muḳtabas*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1964, 283-91; al-Azharī, *Tahd<u>h</u>īb al-lug<u>h</u>a* (introd.) in *MO*, xiv (1920), 15 f.; al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa'l-lug<u>h</u>awiyyīn*, Cairo 1954, 138-42; 2nd ed., Cairo 1973, 127-30; *Fihrist*, 29 f., 65 f., 165; al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt al-sabʿ*, Istanbul-Leipzig 1930, 7; al-<u>Kh</u>aṭīb al-Bag<u>h</u>dādī, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u> Bag<u>h</u>dād* xi, 403-15; Samʿānī, fol. 482a-b; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, Cairo 1967, 67-75 (with references to other sources); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 183-200; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1952, ii, 256-74 (with indications of other sources); Ibn <u>Kh</u>allikān, Cairo 1948, ii, 457 f., no. 406; Ibn al-<u>D</u>jazarī, *<u>Gh</u>āyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, Cairo-Leipzig 1933, i, 535-40; Ibn Ḥa<u>d</u>jar, *Tahd<u>h</u>īb al-tahd<u>h</u>īb*, Ḥaydarābād 1326/1908, 313; Suyūṭī, *Bug<u>h</u>ya*, 336 f. (Cairo 1964, ii, 162-4); al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn*, Cairo 1972, i, 399-403.

(R. SELLHEIM)

KISĀʾ [see LIBĀS].

KISĀʾĪ, MA<u>D</u>J<u>D</u> AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN, a Persian poet of the second half of the 4th/10th century. In some later sources his *kunya* is given as Abū Isḥāḳ, but the form given above can be found already in an early source like the *Čahār maḳāla*. The *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* by al-Bā<u>kh</u>arzī contains a reference to the "solitary ascetic" (*al-mu<u>d</u>jtahid al-muḳīm bi-nafsihi*) Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Kisāʾī of Marw who might very well be identical with this poet (cf. A. Ateş, *giriş* to his edition of *Kitāb Tarcumān al-balāġa*, 97 f.). The pen name Kisāʾī would, according to ʿAwfī, refer to the ascetic way of life adopted by the poet, but it can also be explained otherwise, e.g. as a *nisba* derived from the trade of tailoring. From the very beginning the title *al-Ḥakīm* has been attached to his name.

His origin from Marw is confirmed by the early sources. It is also certain that he made at least a part of his career as a poet in that city. In one of his poems, a lament of old age, he has inserted a precise dating of his birth: Čahār<u>sh</u>amba, 26 <u>Sh</u>awwāl 341 (Wednesday, 16 March 953) as well as the statement that he had reached the age of fifty. From this poem, the conclusion has been drawn that he must have died in or shortly after the year 391/1000-1. The actual date of his death is, however, unknown.

The *dīwān* of Kisāʾī was still extant in the 6th/12th century. After that time, its transmission appears to have been discontinued. Hardly any complete poem has survived. The fragments that have been collected so far from a great variety of sources are generally not longer than a few lines. It is, therefore, difficult to assess the statements concerning the nature of his work that have been made both by ancient and modern writers. It can be regarded as certain, anyhow, that Kisāʾī did enjoy a great reputation as a religious poet during the two centuries following upon his death as well as in his own lifetime. ʿAwfī describes him in the first place as a poet who practised the genres of devotional poetry (*zuhd*) and religious admonition (*waʿẓ*), and quotes a few specimens of his eulogies (*manāḳib*) on the members of the House of the Prophet. The *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ*, an apology of the Imāmī <u>Sh</u>īʿa written about the middle of the 6th/12th century, establishes Kisāʾī with some emphasis as a <u>Sh</u>īʿī poet.

The Ismāʿīlī poet Nāṣir-i <u>Kh</u>usraw (died *ca.* 465/1072), who cultivated the same genres as Kisāʾī, acknowledged his indebtedness to this predecessor, indirectly, by using a claim to the superiority of his own poems over those by Kisāʾī as a *topos* of the epilogue in a number of *ḳaṣīdas*. As E. G. Browne has pointed out, these instances of poetical *fa<u>kh</u>r* need not be taken as evidence of a sectarian controversy between these two poets (as it had been suggested by H. Ethé). The opposite conclusion reached by Saʿīd Nafīsī—namely, that they both belonged to the same branch of the <u>Sh</u>īʿa—is equally untenable. The exchange of poems between Kisāʾī and Nāṣir-i <u>Kh</u>usraw quoted by Riḍā-Ḳulī <u>Kh</u>ān Hidāyat from the *<u>Kh</u>ulāṣat al-a<u>sh</u>ʿār* by Taḳī Kā<u>sh</u>ī, is an anachronistic forgery made up from poems that actually belong to the *dīwān* of the latter only.

The paucity of the primary sources available now does not permit us to estimate how far Kisāʾī specialised in the writing of religious poetry. It is also impossible to define the social groups to which he addressed himself in these poems. It is evident, on

the other hand, that he did not stay aloof entirely from the profane practice of poetry. He was patronised by a minister of the Sāmānid *amīr* Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, and in his later days he wrote at least one panegyric ode to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. ʿAwfī praises his descriptions and quotes several specimens which show that Kisāʾī used all the poetical themes current in his age.

Bibliography: The fragments of Kisāʾī's poetry were collected for the first time by Ethé, *Die Lieder des Kisāʾī*, in *SB Bayr. Akad.* (1874), ii, 133-53. This collection, based on manuscripts of a number of *tadhkiras*, is now outdated. More material has come to light from various other sources, such as dictionaries and *madjmūʿa*-manuscripts. New collections have been published, in particular by M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, *Gandj-i bāz-yāfta*, ii, and *Pīshāhangān-i shiʿr-i pārsī*, Tehran 1351/1972; see also *Lughat-nāma*, no. 182 (1351/1972), s.v. *Kisāʾī*. The most important primary sources on his life and work are of Naṣīr al-Dīn, al-Ḳazwīnī al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith-i Urmawī, Tehran 1331/1952, 252, 628; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān al-balāgha*, ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949, printed text 13, 22, 46, 47, 104; Asadī, *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1336/1957, passim; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Dīwān-i ashʿār*, ed. Naṣrat Allāh Taḳawī, Tehran 1348/1969, passim; Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, Tehran 1955-6, *matn* 44, *taʿlīḳāt* 89-97; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ed. E. G. Browne, ii, 33-9; ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 270-4, *taʿlīḳāt* 660-8; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, Tehran 1340/1961, ii, 7-9; Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, lith. Bombay 1299 A.H., 136; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, lith. Tehran 1295 A.H., i, 482-5. See further Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 281 f.; Browne, *LHP*, ii, 160-4; B. Furūzānfar, *Kisāʾī-yi Marwazī*, in *Ārmān*, i (1309/1930) 27-34 (= *Madjmūʿa-yi maḳālāt wa ashʿār*, Tehran 1351/1972, 1-7); idem, *Sukhan wa sukhanwarān*², Tehran 1350/1971, 38-42; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Īrānshahr*, i (1340 A.H.), 337-41; ʿAlī Ḳawīm, *Armaghān*, xxiv (1328/1949) 241-51; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*⁴, i, Tehran 1342/1963, 441-9.

(J. H. Kramers-[J. T. P. de Bruijn])

AL-KISĀʾĪ, Ṣāḥib Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ, unknown author of a famous Arabic work on the lives of the prophets and pious men prior to Muḥammad. Some small passages of this book were first edited in 1898 by I. Eisenberg in his thesis on Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisāʾī. A complete edition was published in 1922.

In his thesis, Eisenberg tried to prove that the author of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* was the well-known philologist al-Kisāʾī, to whom Hārūn al-Rashīd had entrusted the education of his sons al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. But what renders this identification impossible is that Ibn an-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* does not make any allusion to any book of the philologist, the contents of which could have been the legends of the old prophets; furthermore, the name of al-Kisāʾī the philologist is Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥamza, and not Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, as indicated in the text edited by I. Eisenberg. Thus the identity of the author of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* remains an enigma.

Moreover, recent enquiries into the subject have proved that the legends of the prophets as written down in the numerous manuscripts of al-Kisāʾī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* belong to the popular narrative tradition of mediaeval Islam and can be compared with works such as the romance of ʿAntar, so far as the narrative style is concerned. So it would be of little use to search for an individual author al-Kisāʾī who could have compiled the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* at a certain date; he is as vague a figure as the narrator al-Aṣmaʿī in the romance of ʿAntar. The mediaeval story-tellers (*ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see ḳāṣṣ]) apparently held al-Kisāʾī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* in high esteem; but they were not anxious to preserve one standardised text of the legends. It is for this reason that the manuscripts, the oldest of which date from the early 7th/13th century, differ considerably in size, contents, and even arrangement of the stories.

The legends of the pre-Islamic prophets as related in these compilations under al-Kisāʾī's name, or handed down unto us in many other anonymous manuscripts, must be considered as the vivid expression of the religious feeling of the average mediaeval Muslim. It is in this respect that al-Kisāʾī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* are sources of great value for scholars who want to carry out further investigations of the popular religious life of the Islamic world, a task which has been somewhat neglected up till now.

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(T. Nagel)

KISANGANI, the former Stanleyville, is a city now of well over 250,000 inhabitants, the third city in Zaire, and the capital of the province of Upper Zaire, formerly Province Orientale. The most important urban centre in north-eastern Zaire, it is situated on the bend of the river Zaire, formerly called Lualaba (upstream) and Congo (downstream from the city), just where it turns west and a few miles north of the equator.

In 1877, Henry Morton Stanley set up camp here to rest from the exhausting weeks during which he negotiated the seven cataracts still called Stanley Falls. In 1882, Hamed Muhammad al-Murjebi, better known as Tippu Tibb [*q.v.*], founded a town on the northern shore of the island in the Zaire river that was formed by a creek called the Abibu. The new settlers, about 1500 in number and all nominal Muslims, called their town Kisangani, Swahili for "On the sandbank". In 1883, Stanley returned with instructions from King Leopold II to found a government station at the upper end of the navigable part of the Congo river. This became Stanleyville, with its centre on the right bank just north of the original Kisangani. By that time the Muslims (called "Les Arabisés" by the administration) had settled on the left bank, calling their new town Kisingitini, Swahili for "On the threshold". Their language of culture and literature is Swahili; their tribal background is mainly Kusu, Tetela and Genia, the Genia (Wagenia) being the original inhabitants of Wanie Rusari or Wanye Lesali, the island of which Kisangani formed part. Stanleyville became an important trading centre, exporting coffee, cocoa, palm oil, timber and ivory. Modern Kisangani has a university; it was part of the policy of authenticity of President Mobutu to replace the name Stanleyville by Kisangani as the name for the whole city.

The Muslims flourished with the city. More adaptable to urban culture and more conscious of their cultural dignity than the tribal peoples, they were more self-confident in their attitude vis-à-vis the Europeans, since their religion claimed equality with Christianity. The Belgian Congo government tried to restrict the activities of the Muslim missionaries, but could not prevent Islam from spreading to the country districts south of the city. The Muslims called themselves Waungwana "free men", the name by which all the Swahili peoples once called themselves. Their language is called Kiungwana, a dialect of Swahili [*q.v.*]. This Swahili became the lingua franca of the entire country east of the Lomami river.

Always rebellious against the colonial administration, the Muslims were among the first groups to form a nationalist party about the time of independence, sc. the Mouvement National Congolais, from which the late Patrice Lumumba drew an important part of his support (he was a Tetela himself). No longer isolated, the Muslims in Kisangani, although they number only some 10,000, are in contact with, and receive support from, those in Egypt, Arabia and Pakistan. Two neighbouring states, Uganda and the Central African Empire, have been ruled by Islamic governments until 1979.

Bibliography: J.-P. Rossie, *Bibliographie commentée de la communauté musulmane au Zaïre des origines à 1975*, in *Les Cahiers du CEDAF*, no. 6 (1976), 38 pp.; *L'Evolution de la communauté musulmane de 1964 à 1975 dans la presse Zairoise*, in *ibid.*, pp. 29-37. On Tippu Tibb and Stanley, see F. Bontinck, *L'autobiographie de Hamed ben Mohammed el-Murjebi Tippo Tip (ca. 1840-1905)*, in *Academie Royale de Sciences d'Outre-Mer*, Classe des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Nouvelle Série, XLII/4, Brussels 1974, with bibl. on pp. 25-39. A specimen of the liturgical literature can be found in J. Knappert, *A Swahili Islamic prayer from Zaire*, in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* (1973), 197-206. Crawford Young, *Islam au Congo*, in *Etudes Congolaises*, x/5 (Kinshasa, 1967), 14-31, updates the following: A. Abel, *Les musulmans noirs du Maniema*, in *Correspondence d'Orient*, Centre pour l'Etude des Problèmes du Monde Musulman Contemporain, Brussels 1960, 160 pp.; perhaps the most important work on the Muslims in Zaire. F. M. de Thier, *Singhitini, la Stanleyville musulmane*, Publications de Centre pour l'Etude des Problèmes du Monde Musulman Contemporain, Brussels 1963, is the only work that deals specifically with the history of Stanleyville-Kisangani. The Wagenia (who call themselves Waenya) have been described by A. F. Droogers, *De Gevaarlijke Reis. Jongensinitiatie bij de Wagenia van Kisangani*, Amsterdam 1974. (J. Knappert)

ḲIṢĀṢ (A.), synonymous with *ḳawad*, retaliation ("settlement", not "cutting off" or "prosecution"), according to Muslim law is applied in cases of killing, and of wounding which do not prove fatal, called in the former case *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* (blood-vengeance) and in the latter *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs*.

1. For *ḳiṣāṣ* among the pagan Arabs see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 186 ff.; Procksch, *Über die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr*; the collection of essays *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvolker. Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung, gestellt von Th. Mommsen*, Sections v-vii; and Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, 284 ff.

2. Muḥammad takes it for granted that the bloodvengeance of Arab paganism—in which in contrast to the unlimited blood feud, definite retaliation, although not always on the person of the doer himself, forms the essential feature of the vengeance (cf. Procksch, *op. cit.*, 6 and n. 5)—is a divine ordinance with the limitation assumed to be obvious, that only the doer himself can be slain: Ḳur'ān XVII, 35; XXV, 68; VI, 152 (cf. ḲATL, i, 1; in these passages only the *jus talionis* can be understood by the right to kill another; already in XVII, 35 the avenger of blood is forbidden to kill any one other than the guilty one); II, 173 ff. (before Ramaḍān of the year 2): "To you who are believers the *ḳiṣāṣ* is prescribed for the slain, the freeman for the freeman, the slave for the slave and the woman for the woman; but if anyone is pardoned anything by his brother, he shall be dealt with equitably . . . and pay him compensation as best he can. This is an indulgence and mercy from your Lord. But he who commits a transgression after this shall be severely punished. In *ḳiṣāṣ* you have life, you of understanding . . ." (the first verse says that a free man can only be slain for a free man, a slave for a slave and for a woman only a woman [but probably a slave or a woman for a free man, but this is not expressly stated and must be deduced], naturally, of course, only the guilty one, and that in all other cases the payment of compensation (*diya*) takes place. This is an extension of what is presumed in the earlier passages: the treatment of the free man in relation to the slave is a matter of course, according to old Arab views, and that of the woman, which cannot be completely explained from them, represents an independent decision of Muḥammad's based on them (there is quite a different interpretation of the verse in Procksch, *op. cit.*, 75 n. 5). The commentators had difficulty in reconciling the passage with later developments (cf. below, 4). Only one explanation, thrust into the background and later completely abandoned, interprets the verse quite correctly, but makes it abrogated by v. 49 (see below). By "prescribed" is meant not a duty but a rule not to be transgressed; pardon is the abandonment of *ḳiṣāṣ* with a demand for compensation instead; the law is described as an indulgence and mercy and life-giving in contrast to the often unlimited blood-feud of pagan times, because only the guilty one is slain and the life of the innocent thus preserved); v. 49 (after the first encounter with the Medinan Jews, but before the outbreak of open hostilities): "and we have prescribed for them (the Jews) in it (the Torah): a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and *ḳiṣāṣ* for wounds; but if anyone remits it, it is an atonement for him (i.e. for his sins) . . ." (this verse of course does not cancel II, 173). In the years 3-5, with IV, 94 ff. there came the distinction between deliberate and accidental killing (cf. ḲATL, i, 1); in this the application of *ḳiṣāṣ* is excluded. In II, 190 (before the campaign of the year 6), *ḳiṣāṣ* is used metaphorically in the sense of retaliation of like with like (in the case of disregard for the holy territory and month by the enemy).

3. The facts gathered from the *Sīra*, the records of the life of Muḥammad, are in agreement with this. In the so-called constitution of the community at Medina, which belongs to the early Medinan period, it is laid down that if any one slays a believer and is convicted (proof of guilt in a trial before the authority —Muḥammad—is therefore required as a condition for the carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*), talion takes place even if the avenger of the blood of the slain man declares himself satisfied; all believers must be against the

murderer and must take an active part against him. Here the *ḳiṣāṣ* is brought from the sphere of tribal life into that of the religious-political community (*umma*), which finds an echo in the law, not however to be taken literally, that believers are one another's blood-avengers for their blood spilt for the sake of Allāh; but it is also throughout recognised as a personal vengeance, as is also laid down in the case of the Medina Jews, and no-one is to be prevented from avenging a wound. A limitation of *ḳiṣāṣ*, logical from the standpoint of the *umma*, lies in the fact that the believer is forbidden in the ordinance of the community to kill a Muslim on account of an unbeliever. On two occasions, when Muslims had killed heathens who had however treaties with Muḥammad, he did not allow *ḳiṣāṣ* to be made "because they were heathen" (this does not in any way follow from the ordinance of the community), and even paid the compensation himself; his utterance regarding the possibility of *ḳiṣāṣ* à propos of the second of these cases is, however, illogical. On two occasions, also for political reasons, he obtained the acceptance of compensation when the avenger of blood undoubtedly had the claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*, but in one case he cursed the murderer—again an illogical attitude. Muḥammad in his turn after the capture of Mecca, in keeping with the regulation of the ordinance of the community, abandoned his claim to compensation for the slaying of a nephew of his, which had taken place during the heathen period. In this connection, he is said to have laid down the principle that any blood-guilt attaching to a Muslim dating from the period of heathendom was to be disregarded (cf. ḲATL, i, 2). But Muḥammad also intensified the operation of *ḳiṣāṣ*, and on two occasions had the murderer executed, when there were aggravating circumstances, without offering the avenger of blood the choice between *ḳiṣāṣ* and compensation; the proscription and execution of murderers who were also *murtadd*s [*q.v.*; cf. ḲATL, ii, 5], is however to be interpreted differently; from everything, it is clear that Muḥammad also supervised the carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*.

Taking the evidence of the Ḳur'ān and the *Sīra* together, it is evident that Muḥammad did not recognise the blood-feud, but allowed *ḳiṣāṣ* to survive as personal vengeance. Moreover, he subjected its application to certain limitations and endeavoured to free it from tribal customs of pagan times, all important advances by which it was brought nearer in character to a punishment. That Muḥammad at the same time, according to the demands of the individual case, sometimes gave decisions deviating from his own rules, is intelligible.

4. Among the traditions (*ḥadīth*s) is one that must be genuine, according to which Muḥammad had a Jew, who had smashed the head of a Muslim *djāriya* (slave girl or young woman) with a stone, killed in the same way, because in this case there was no question of an avenger of blood. At a later period when Ḳur'ān, II, 173 (cf. 2. above) was interpreted in a new way, the attempt was made to see in it evidence that a man might be killed as *ḳiṣāṣ* for a woman, without observing that the tradition referred to an unbeliever while the Ḳur'ān passage was only concerned with Muslims. But this Ḳur'ānic prescription regarding the woman was very early neglected and interpreted differently; it is true that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAṭā' and ʿIkrima are quoted as representatives of the Ḳur'ānic view that a man cannot be put to death for a woman (al-Zamakhsharī on Kur'ān, II, 173) but Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, al-Shaʿbī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī and Ḳatāda had held the opposite view (*ibid.*), and the latter opinion prevails in the law-schools without any opposition (al-Zamakhsharī's statements on the point are not quite accurate); at the same time it is remarkable that traditions expressing the rejected view are hardly to be found. From the point of view of the difference of opinion in the law-schools, the following is important. For the view that *ḳiṣāṣ* could be inflicted on several, on account of one individual, if they had committed the crime jointly, no unambiguous tradition could be found. Those who held this opinion had therefore to rely on a tradition which does not at all prove what it is said to, and were only able to quote in support (alleged) decisions of old authorities. Their opponents naturally pointed out this flaw. The question how the *ḳiṣāṣ* is to be executed is also disputed; the champions of the view that it is to be inflicted in the same manner as the slaying, quote the tradition mentioned above, while those who insist upon execution with the sword in every case rely upon a saying of Muḥammad's. There are also varying opinions as to whether a man can be put to death on proof by *ḳasāma* (cf. 5. below), and ancient authorities are quoted for both; the historical truth is perhaps that Muḥammad wished to apply *ḳasāma* in a case of bloodshed and when it could not be managed, paid compensation himself; besides it is said (certainly wrongly) that he confirmed *ḳasāma* as it existed in the period of heathendom. Among other traditions, mention may be made of the story that among the children of Israel there was only *ḳiṣāṣ* and no possibility of paying compensation (this is wrongly cited in explanation of Ḳur'ān, II, 174) and that Muḥammad granted the blood-avenger's request to abandon claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*, laid great stress on forgiveness, and even asked him to do so (cf. above 3.—in these historically certain cases, however, his attitude was influenced by purely political considerations); finally, we are told that he who raises a claim for blood without cause is one of the men most hateful to God. Other traditions agree with the regulations mentioned and still to be mentioned, and need not therefore be quoted, especially as the *ḥadīth*s on this subject are collected in Guillaume, *The traditions of Islam*, 107 ff.

Summing up the results of the traditions as the expression of opinion of authoritative circles of Islam in the early period, we must notice in contrast to Muḥammad's period the important change in the treatment of women, which marks an undeniable advance, just as the request for forgiveness is evidence of a loftier point of view.

5. The *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* according to the *Sharīʿa*. In the cases of illegal slaying noted in the article ḲATL, i, 5-7, *ḳiṣāṣ* comes into operation, i.e. the next-of-kin of the slain man, who in this capacity is called *walī 'l-dam* ("avenger of blood") has the right to kill the guilty man under certain conditions. From what has been said above, it is obvious that this punishment still partakes for the most part of the character of personal vengeance; this is also clearly seen in the regulations—disputed in points of detail—prescribed for the case when the avenger in any way mutilates the murderer and only occasionally the idea of punishment by an authority for the sake of justice crops up. (Thus in all cases of culpable, illegal slaying in which *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot take place, *taʿzīr* intervenes; the competent authority is therefore regarded as the *walī* of one who has no *walī*; therefore anyone who kills a *dhimmī*, *muʿāhad* (an unbeliever connected with the Muslim state by a treaty) or a *musta'min*

(an unbeliever who enters a Muslim country after being given a safe conduct) must, according to Mālik, be put to death and the *walī* has no right to abandon claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*. On the other hand, however, it is laid down that anyone who kills a *waḳf* slave goes scot-free). But that this point of view is found at all is a step forward, for Muḥammad's decisions in this connection (cf. above, 3) were only dictated by the demands of the individual case; in other matters also, in certain points we see a loftier attitude adopted, at least in some of the schools.

For the application of *ḳiṣāṣ*, the fulfillment of the following conditions is necessary: (1) The life of the person slain must be absolutely secured by the *Sharīʿa*; this is the case with a Muslim, *dhimmī* and *muʿāhad*, at least so long as they are in the *Dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*], and *Dār al-Ṣulḥ* [*q.v.*] (in the case of the slaying of a Muslim prisoner in the *Dār al-Ḥarb* [*q.v.*], it is unanimously agreed that there is no *ḳiṣāṣ*, and for the slaying of another Muslim there is no *ḳiṣāṣ*, according to the Ḥanafī school; there are corresponding regulations for the *dhimmī* and *muʿāhad*) in contrast to the *mustaʾmin*, *murtadd* and *ḥarbī* (but *ḳiṣāṣ* may be inflicted on a *murtadd* if he kills another *murtadd*, and Mālik makes *ḳiṣāṣ* the general rule if anyone kills a *murtadd*, without the authority of the Imām). This point of view is to be distinguished from the conception of the illegality of the slaying (cf. ḲATL, i, 5) although the two ideas have a certain amount in common; the killing of a *mustaʾmin* is illegal, but there is no *ḳiṣāṣ* (apart from the special case just mentioned). (2) The slain man must not be a descendant of the slayer, nor the slave of the slave of one of his descendants, nor must there be a descendant of the slayer among the heirs of the slain man. (3) It is further taken for granted that the man when he committed the deed was of years of discretion and was in full possession of his faculties. (4) The further conditions are disputed (cf. below).

Any alteration in these relations of the doer after the deed makes no difference to the old blood-guilt (it is, however, to be noted that the adoption of Islam by a *ḥarbī* wipes out all previous blood-guilt) with the exception of lunacy (in which case *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot be inflicted), nor does, for example, an alteration in the relations of the slain man after the doer has decided on the deed but before it is actually committed (but there are various views on this point). If one of several men who have slain someone jointly cannot be put to death for one or other of these reasons, the others also escape *ḳiṣāṣ*; this is also the case if a further reason for killing leads to the action of the slayer. If the slayer dies before *ḳiṣāṣ* is carried out, all claim by the avenger of blood ceases according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik; according to al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, compensation can still be claimed.

Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal further demand, before *ḳiṣāṣ* can be allowed, in addition to the conditions mentioned, that the slain man is at least the equal of the slayer as regards Islam and liberty, so that they certainly uphold Muḥammad's intentions, while the Ḥanafīs—of course interpreting differently the evidence cited—take no account of this, and therefore occupy an undoubtedly higher position. A particular view of Mālik's has already been mentioned. According to Mālik, the slayer can further be put to death, if he has deliberately slaughtered his descendant, and this view is also admitted in the Shāfiʿī school. Several may be put to death for the killing of one, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, if they have done the deed together, provided the part taken by each was such that if he had acted alone, the result would have been the same (Mālik alone excluded *ḳasāma* (cf. below) on the basis of which, according to him, only a single individual can be put to death). There is unanimity on the point that anyone who has killed several people is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*; on the question whether compensation has also to be paid there are different views.

Ḳiṣāṣ can only be applied after definite proof of guilt is brought. The procedure of proof in a murder trial is essentially the same as in another case; in *Ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* there is however also the old Arab institution of the *ḳasāma* (cf. ḲASAM and Goldziher, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, viii, 412 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 187 ff.) which Islam allowed to survive (cf. above); according to Mālik, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Shāfiʿī's earlier opinion, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be inflicted on the accused (but according to Mālik on one only) if the *ḳasāma* is performed and the other conditions are fulfilled; according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the later view of al-Shāfiʿī, which became predominant in his school, he has only to pay compensation; among the Shāfiʿīs, with the limitation that he may be put to death if in the course of the trial the accuser swears to his guilt twice with fifty oaths each time. If the person entitled to inflict *ḳiṣāṣ* does so without previous judicial proof he is punished with *taʿzīr*.

The execution of *ḳiṣāṣ* is open to the avenger of blood, and according to Abū Ḥanīfa consists in beheading with the sword or a similar weapon; if the avenger slays in another fashion he is punished with *taʿzīr*, but not imprisoned. According to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, the guilty person, with certain limitations, is killed in the same way as he killed his victim; both views are given by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

Ḳiṣāṣ takes place—among other conditions—only when the next of kin (*walī*) of the slain man or the owner of the slain man, if he was a slave, demands it. If there are several (equally nearly related) avengers of blood, all must express this desire; if one of them remits *ḳiṣāṣ*, the refusal affects all. Views are divided on the case where the avenger of blood (or one of several) can give no definite expression of opinion. The *walī*, or the wounded man before he dies if the case occurs, is permitted to remit the *ḳiṣāṣ* and he is even urgently recommended to do so, either in return for the payment of compensation or for another equivalent or for nothing. There are many special regulations on detailed points and many differences of opinion between the schools of law.

6. *Ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* according to the *Sharīʿa*. If any one deliberately (with *ʿamd*, opposite of *khaṭaʾ*; cf. ḲATL, i, 5) and illegally (this excludes the wounding of one who tries to murder or injure or rob a fellowman, if it is not possible to repel him otherwise; it is for example permitted to strike someone in the eyes or throw something in the eyes of a man who forces his way into another's house without permission) has inflicted an injury, not fatal, which could be inflicted on the doer's person in an exactly similar way (what is meant by this is very fully discussed in the *Fiḳh* books), he is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* on the part of the wounded man, (except that Mālik makes it be inflicted by an expert), if the conditions necessary for carrying out the *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* are present with the following modifications: according to Abū Ḥanīfa, *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* is not carried out between man and woman or slaves among themselves, but it is accord-

ing to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik further allow no *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* between free men and slaves. According to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, this *ḳiṣāṣ* is inflicted for one on several, but not according to Abū Ḥanīfa. A sound limb may not be amputated for an unsound one; if the guilty person has lost the limb, there can of course be no *ḳiṣāṣ*. In the case where he loses it after committing the deed, there is a corresponding difference of opinion, as in the case of his death before the execution of *ḳiṣāṣ fī 'l-nafs*.

The further regulations correspond to those quoted in section 5.

7. If retribution is not permitted or if the person entitled to *ḳiṣāṣ* voluntarily remits his claim, compensation may nevertheless be demanded; for an unlawful slaying, the blood money (*diya* [*q.v.*]) is to be paid to the avenger(s) of blood, in an unlawful but not mortal wounding, according to the particular case either the full *diya* or a definite part of it or a contribution defined by the law (*arsh*) or a percentage of the *diya* laid down by the judge (the so-called *ḥukūma*) to the injured person; all this, of course, on the supposition that the slain or wounded man was a free man. If he is a slave, his value must be made good. If the culprit is a slave, his owner has to pay these contributions for him; he can however escape by handling over the slave (parallel in the Romano-Celtic institution of *in noxam dedere*; cf. e.g. Girard, *Nouvelle Revue Historique* (1887), 440 ff.).

8. Of the regulations of the Shīʿa *fiḳh* books, which need not be gone into fully here as they are essentially the same as the Sunnī, we need only mention that among the Twelver Imāmīs, for example, it is taught that if a man has killed a woman, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be carried out if the *walī* of the woman pays the relatives of the man the difference between the bloodmoney on each side; an isolated interpretation explains Ḳurʾān, II, 173, in this way. Here we can scarcely have a late effect of the Ḳurʾānic rule regarding woman, as similar calculations are also made in other cases.

9. On the practical carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*, cf. ḲATL, ii, 10, in which we may note that breaches of his regulations are recorded of even the Prophet's companions.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see T. P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, s.v. "Qiṣāṣ"; Schacht, in *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, Berlin-Leipzig 1935, index s.v. *qiṣāṣ*; idem, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 205-8 and index s.v. "Penal law"; J. N. D. Anderson, *Homicide in Islamic law*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1951), 811-28; Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 181-7; Aḥmad Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *al-Ḳiṣāṣ fī 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1944; Aḥmad Fatḥī al-Bahnasī, *al-Ḳiṣāṣ fī 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1964; Aḥmad Muʿāfī, *Bayn al-djarāʾim wa 'l-ḥudūd fī 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya wa 'l-ḳānūn*. i. *al-Ḳatl shibh al-ʿamd, al-djarḥ wa 'l-ḍarb, al-sariḳa*, Cairo 1966; Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Djarīma wa 'l-ʿuḳūba fī 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, i. *al-ʿUḳūba*, Cairo 1966; al-Bahnasī, *al-Djarāʾim fī 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī, dirāsa fiḳhiyya muḳārina*², Cairo 1968. (J. SCHACHT)

ḲIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀʾ, the "legends of the pre-Islamic prophets", is the title of several works relating the lives of the prophets of the Old Testament, the story of Jesus, and some other events into which pious heroes or enemies of God are involved (on the etymology of *ḳiṣṣa* = "story", see ḲIṢṢA). Very famous and widely-spread books on this subject were the *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis* by Abū Isḥāḳ Aḥmad al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1036) and the different versions of the *Ḳiṣaṣ* written down in the name of a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisāʾī [see AL-KISĀʾĪ].

The origins of this type of literature must be traced back to pre-Islamic Arabia. Knowledge of the tales of the Old and New Testaments and the apocrypha must have been transmitted to the Arabs through the Jewish influence in Yathrib and through Christian missionary work, the effect of which can be ascertained not only in the regions close to the Byzantine and Sāsānid empires, but also on the shores of the Red Sea and in South Arabia (see Baumstark, in *Islamica*, iv (1931), 562 ff.; Altheim and Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, iv, 306 ff.; v/1, 316 ff.). Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt [*q.v.*], a poet of al-Ṭāʾif and contemporary of Muḥammad, seems to have made use of some of these oral traditions; there are pieces of poetry ascribed to him dealing with Abraham, Isaac, the Deluge, etc., though their authenticity remains doubtful.

It was the Prophet of Islam who gave to these legends an entirely new meaning, finding the events of his own life reflected in them; his vocation for prophecy, his being rejected by his own people, the impending punishment, which might have meant the destruction of his own people. All these psychological implications of the Ḳurʾānic legends, and their didactic aspects, were studied at length by Khalafallāh in his book on the Ḳurʾānic art of storytelling. From the Muslim point of view, the lives of the pre-Islamic prophets are awful examples (*ʿibar*) warning against the evil fate of those who are disobedient to God and His messengers. Thus the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* became part of universal history, as history in general was often considered as a series of *ʿibar* (cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, preface and pre-Islamic period).

The edifying character of the legends became even more stressed when they were separated from historiography; this was, so far as we know, first done by Thaʿlabī. Moreover, Thaʿlabī's narrative is mainly based on the *tafsīr*-literature. It must be mentioned that even in modern times the legends retained their importance for edifying sermons, as is proved by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb an-Nadjdjār's compilation, which was published in Egypt in the thirties of this century. The wide-spread and various versions of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* which were written down in the name of al-Kisāʾī show another form of this type of literature; they are the result of the imaginative art of storytelling cultivated by the popular narrators (*ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see ḲĀṢṢ]), and they are an abundant source for the study of the religious feeling and thinking of the average mediaeval Muslim.

The historical sources allude to the activities of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* since the first Islamic century, but the oldest manuscripts of the popular legends date from the 7th/13th century. In certain circumstances, the activities of *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and the legends of the prophets could acquire a political significance; thus the story about Moses and Pharaoh was used in the anti-Umayyad propaganda, and the early Shīʿīs held that the history of the Muslim community was similar to that of the Israelites during Moses' lifetime, the Shīʿīs being the equivalents of those few who did not apostatise from the true faith when Moses was up on Mount Sinai.

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KISH, KISHSH, the later SHAHR-I SABZ, a town of mediaeval Transoxania, now in the Uzbekistan SSR and known simply as Shahr, but in early times in the region of Soghdia (Ar. Ṣughd [*q.v.*]). It lay on the upper reaches of the landlocked Khashka Daryā in an area where several streams came down from the Sayām and Buttamān Mountains to the east, forming a highly fertile valley, intersected with irrigation canals. The town lay on the Samaḳand-Tirmidh high road, two days' journey from Samarḳand; after passing through Kish, this road continued for four more days' journey to the famous Iron Gate, the Bozgala defile [see DAR-I ĀHANĪN] which guarded the approaches to the Oxus. Further down the Khashka Daryā lay Nakhshab or Nasaf or Ḳarshi [see ḲARSHI], a town with which the fortunes of Kish were often linked.

Kish was clearly an important town in pre-Islamic Soghdia, and had its own prince. According to Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 299, tr. Wiet, 122, at the time of the Arab conquests in the early 2nd/8th century, Kish was the chief town of Soghdia and was accordingly, by the common process of applying the name of a district to its main urban centre, actually known as Ṣughd also. It appears in several Chinese sources, e.g. in the travel account of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang as Kie-siang-na; cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1888, i, 82, and Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 55, 303-4, giving various Chinese renderings of the town's name.

When the Western Turks were defeated in Central Asia by the Chinese invasion of 645-8, the Chinese forces are said to have penetrated as far as Kish and the Iron Gate, after which the whole of Transoxania was nominally annexed to the empire and placed under the viceroyalty of Fīrūz, son of the last Sāsānid Yazdigird III. The raid across the Oxus of the Arab general Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān in 56/676, when according to Ṭabarī, ii, 179, the Arabs defeated the Soghdians and captured their city, may well have reached to Kish rather than to Samarḳand (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 19-20, 22). When Qutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] became governor of the East, al-Ḥadjdjādj ordered him to "crush Kish, destroy Nasaf and drive back [the local Soghdian ruler] Wardān" (Ṭabarī, ii, 1199). But he was unable in 88/707 to make headway against the Soghdian defending forces and had to fall back on Marw. It was not until 91/710 that he returned to subdue a revolt by the local ruler of Shūmān in upper Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*], and then marched through the Iron Gate and reduced Kish and Nasaf. The Arabs seem thereafter to have held on to Kish during the period of the Turkish revanche in Central Asia, but the town did rebel in 133/750-1, at the time of the final appearance of a Turkish army west of the Altai, in the expectation of Chinese aid. However, Abū Muslim's general Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm killed the local prince or Ikhshīd (*al-Ikhrīd* in the text of Ṭabarī, iii, 79-80) of Kish at Kandak just north of the Iron Gate, looted his treasures (which included many luxury goods from China) and appointed his brother Ṭārān in his place (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 196; Gibb, *op. cit.*, 38, 96).

Two or three decades later, in the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), the Kish district figured prominently in the anti-Muslim religious movement of Hāshim b. Ḥakīm, known as al-Muḳannaʿ, "the Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān". The revolt began in the Sayām Mountains just to the east of Kish, and it was in the Kish and Nasaf district that al-Muḳannaʿ drew strong support. Narshakhī states that the first village to join the rebel leader was Sūbakh in the Kish district (cf. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. Margoliouth, f. 316b) under a local leader ʿUmar Sūbakhī, who killed the Arab *amīr* there. Kish welcomed al-Muḳannaʿ and supplied him with much wealth, and it was in a nearby fortress that al-Muḳannaʿ finally shut himself up against the Arab general Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Djurashī, dying there in 163/779-80. Even two centuries later, the common people of the Kish and Nasaf districts were still accounted Mubayyiḍa "wearers of white" and awaiters of the messianic return of al-Muḳannaʿ (Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran *ca.* 1939, 77-89, tr. R. N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge Mass. 1954, 65-75; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 304, tr. 131-2; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 199-200; E. G. Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, i, 318-23; Gh.-H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècles de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, 163-86).

The geographers of the later 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries give good descriptions of Kish. The town, whose buildings were of clay and wood, had the typically eastern Islamic tripartite division of a citadel (*ḳuhandiz*), an inner city (*madīna dākhila*), in which lay the prison and Friday mosque; and an outer city or suburb (*rabaḍ*) called al-Muṣallā, where was situated the *Dār al-Imāra* or government headquarters. In Ibn Ḥawḳal's time (mid-4th/10th century) the citadel and inner city were both ruinous. The *madīna* had four gates, and the *rabaḍ* two. The whole administrative region or *ʿamal* of Kish contained 16 rural districts or *rustāḳs*, stretching up river to the mountains. It was watered by two constituent streams of the Khashka Daryā, sc. the River of the Fullers or the Butchers (Ḳaṣṣārīn or Ḳaṣṣābīn; on this ambiguity, present in both the Arabic and the Persian sources, see *Turkestan*, 134, n. 2) and the Asrūdh, and was highly productive, its early fruits and vegetables being exported to Khurāsān. Also stemming from the region were manna; therapeutic substances found in the mountains; red salt (the red rock-salt of the Oxus lands was known since the time of Pliny, see Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 76-7); and mules and other livestock. Muḳaddasī nevertheless comments on the unhealthiness of the place, a judgement endorsed by later travellers. The salaries (*ʿishrīniyya*) of the *Ṣāḥib-Barīd*, the Ḳāḍī and other officials of the Sāmānid administration there amounted to 300 *dirhams* each per annum. The ruinous state of the inner parts of the town show that under the Sāmānids, Kish had declined in status and given place to Bukhārā and Samarḳand, so that only the *rabaḍ* was occupied and a new town was being built on to it (see IṢṬAKHRĪ, 324; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 470, tr. ii, 452-3; Muḳaddasī, 282; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 113, § 25.15; *Turkestan*,

134-6; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 469-70).

In the period of the Ķarakhānids and Saldjūķs, little specific is heard about Kish, which seems to have continued its decline into secondary status. In spring 1222 the Taoist holy man and traveller Č'ang-č'un passed through what he calls Kie-shi on his way from Samarķand to Čingiz Khān's encampment south of the Oxus; and in autumn 1255 Hülegü met Arghun, governor of Khurāsān, and certain Persian magnates, and spent a pleasant month at Kish (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 521; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 115, 147; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 452, 483).

Kish revived, however, under the Čaghatayids and Tīmūrids, and Tīmūr himself was born in the Kish district in 736/1336. (according to Ibn ʿArabshāh, at a village called Khōdja-Ilghān). Since the mid-7th/13th century, the region had apparently been occupied by the Barlās tribe of subsequently Turkicised Mongols, from whom Tīmūr sprang and from whom he derived much support in his struggles to achieve power in Transoxania (cf. Barthold, *Ulugh Beg*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 14-16). He seized control of Kish from the chief Ḥādjdjī Barlās in 761/1360, and used it and the Barlās tribesmen for further expansion. Tīmūr's fondness for the Kish district perhaps depended less on a sentimental feeling for his birthplace than on his need to draw on the support of the Barlās there; after Tīmūr's death, these were a numerous element in Ulugh Beg's army during his campaign into Mogholistān of 824/1425. In 781/1380 Tīmūr made Kish his summer residence and the second capital of his empire after Samarķand. He rebuilt the town, constructing a *madrasa* and a mausoleum for his dead first-born son Djahāngīr, and above all, a splendid white-walled palace, the Aķ Sarāy. This new importance of Kish doubtless accounts for the detailed description of K'o-shi in the Chinese Ming annals, which expatiate on its fine palaces and mosques; and the Spanish traveller Clavijo, who passed through Kish in 1404, mentions the still-unfinished mosque of Tīmūr there (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1887-8, i, 4, ii, 18, 28; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 273-4; *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 83-4).

It is in the post-Mongol period that the old name Kish was gradually supplanted by that of Shahr-i Sabz "the green city". The 8th/14th century was the transition period; the Čaghatayid usurper Būyān Ķulī Khān struck *dīnār*s at Shahr-i Sabz in 752/1351, whereas other coins of his have Kish as the mint named on them. But the old name still persisted in literary usage for some time, since Bābur uses Kish as the primary name for the town (*Bābur-nāma*, *loc. cit.* and *passim*). The new name must derive from the greenness of the whole oasis, as Yazdī states, and was applied by the local people to the whole area, as well as to the town; local legend also gives other, fanciful explanations for the name. The identification of the recent Shahr-i Sabz with the older Kish seems fairly conclusive.

In the time of the florescence of the Özbeg Khāns, the towns of Shahr-i Sabz and Kitāb just to its north were often semi-independent under a *beg* of their own. It was therefore the constant ambition of the Khāns of Bukhārā in the 18th and 19th centuries to bring Shahr-i Sabz under their own control, although the desert to the west and the mountains to the north acted as effective barriers against attacks from the directions of Bukhārā and Samarķand respectively. In the 19th century, the Mangit Khāns Ḥaydar Tūra, his son Naṣr Allāh and the latter's son Muẓaffar al-Dīn all repeatedly tried to reduce Shahr-i Sabz, and in 1856 temporarily captured it. It only lost its virtual independence in 1870, when the Imperial Russian General Abramov was sent by Kaufmann against it. He besieged Shahr-i Sabz, and captured it after fierce resistance. The Beg fled to Khoķand, and the Russians handed over Shahr-i Sabz to the Khān of Bukhārā. See E. Schuyler, *Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 243 ff., ii, 62-76 (who estimated the population of Shahr-i Sabz at approximately 20,000 and that of Kitāb at 15,000), and F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates from the earliest times*, London 1899, 214-15, 219-20, 256.

In the 20th century, Imperial Russian and then Soviet scholars have shown considerable interest in the place and its antiquities, and a full-scale archaeological and architectural survey was commissioned in 1942; special attention has been directed to the imposing ruins of Tīmūr's Aķ Sarāy, to a mosque built by Ulugh Beg and to the two buildings known as the Dār al-Siyāda and the Dār al-Tilāwa. For a detailed account of these and the other surviving monuments, see M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugačenkova, *Shakhri Syabz pri Timure i Ulug Beke*, in *Trudī Sredneaziatskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, xlix (Tashkent 1953), 17-96, Eng. tr. J. R. Rogers, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, xvi (1978), xvii (1980), and also *BSE*², xlvii, 557-8.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ĶISHLAĶ (T., < *ķish* "winter"), winter quarters, originally applied to the winter quarters, often in warmer, low-lying areas, of pastoral nomads in Inner Asia, and thence to those in regions like Persia and Anatolia into which Türkmens and others from Central Asia infiltrated, bringing with them their nomadic ways of life; Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 464-5, defines *ķishlaķ* as *al-mushattā*. Its antonym is *yaylaķ* "summer quarters" (< *yay* "spring", later "summer"), denoting the upland pastures favoured by nomads for fattening their herds after the harsh steppe or plateau winters (cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 837-8; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 670, 672-3, 980-1).

The basic terms *ķish* and *ķishla-* "to spend the winter" are ancient Turkish ones, appearing in the Orkhon inscriptions. In the Čaghatay Turkish of Central Asia, the sense of *ķishlaķ* evolved from that of "the Khān's residence, winter quarters of the tribe" into the additional one of "village". Within the Iranian world, the word spread into such tongues as Kurdish, Pashto and the Pamirs languages; through Ottoman Turkish, it spread into Balkan languages, but here with the derived Ottoman sense of "barracks" and the form *ķishla* (G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersische. iii. Türkische Elemente im Neupersische*, Wiesbaden, 1967, 479-81, No. 1496). This meaning has in fact passed into the Arabic colloquials of Syria and Egypt, as has also that of "hospital, infirmary", so that in Egyptian Arabic we have both *ķushlāķ* "barracks" and *ķashla* "hospital" (S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English vocabulary of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, 488, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 351).

In Arabic, we find such terms for "winter and summer quarters" as *mashtā* and *maṣīf*, e.g. in the 4th/10th century geographers (the original sense of

the name for the Umayyad palace in Jordan, Mshatta [*q.v.*], is presumably that of "winter residence", *mushattā*).

In Persian, approximate synonyms to *ḳishlaḳ* and *yaylaḳ* are *sardsīr* (lit. "cold region") and *garmsīr* ("hot region"). But as well as denoting the seasonal pasture grounds of nomads, these Persian words were early used as geographical terms to denote, on the one hand, cooler, temperate highland regions, and on the other hand, hot, desert-type or sub-tropical lowland climates. Already by the time of the classical Arabic geographers, these topographical terms had been borrowed into Arabic, e.g. by Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasī. Thus the geographers use *garmsīr* or its arabised form *djarm*, pl. *djurūm*, for the hot, coastal region of the Persian Gulf shores and the regions bordering on the great central desert, and *sardsīr*, arabised form *ṣard*, pls. *ṣurūd* and *maṣārid*, for the mountainous Zagros hinterland of Fārs and Kirmān (cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 249). This distinction is carried further into the realm of their characteristic products, called by e.g. Muḳaddasī *al-ashyā' al-mutadāḍḍa* "products of the two opposing regions" (cf. A. Miquel, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm ... traduction partielle*, Damascus 1963, Glossary 390, 404-5), and of local populations (cf. the Djurūmiyya, inhabitants of the part of Kirmān bordering on the Straits of Hormuz, attacked by ʿAḍud al-Dawla's forces in 360/970, Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ii, 299, 359, tr. v, 321, 392).

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲISHM (Djazīra-yi Ḳishm, or in Arabic, Djazīra al-Ṭawīla, "the long island") is the largest island in the Persian Gulf. It lies off the southern (Lāristān) coast of Persia between Linga and Bandar ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], and is separated from the mainland by Clarence Strait, the width of which varies from three to twelve miles. The island measures nearly 70 miles in length, from north-east to south-west, and an average of seven miles in breadth (20 miles at its widest point). Its general formation is that of an eroded, sloping plateau, inclining northwards from a sharp, rocky scarp onthe seaward side. The highest point, almost in the centre of the island, is 1,300 feet.

Ḳishm now is virtually a desert, though it once produced grain, vines, fruit and vegetables in quantity. Salt is still mined from the great salt caverns, and there are workable deposits of sulphur and ferrous oxide, along with some naphtha springs on the south coast, near Salākh. The population, some few thousand souls, mostly Arab and Sunnī, lives by fishing, limited cultivation and salt-mining. Ḳishm town, at the north-eastern tip, is the only populated centre of any size.

The fleet of Alexander the Great, under the command of Nearchus, anchored at Ḳishm on its voyage from the Indus to the Euphrates in 326 B.C. The sporadic references to Ḳishm that appear in the next dozen centuries or so tell us nothing of its history. By the middle ages it was a dependency of the kingdom of Hurmuz [*q.v.*], and it remained so until Hurmuz fell to Portuguese in 921/1515. When the Portuguese were driven from Hurmuz by Shāh ʿAbbās I, with the assistance of ships of the English East India Company, in 1031/1622, Ḳishm was incorporated in the Ṣafawid empire. It was occupied in *ca.* 1132/1719-20 by Masḳaṭ Arabs who were in turn expelled by Nādir Shāh in 1150/1737-8. Some-time after his death in 1160/1747, Ḳishm fell under the control of the Banī Maʿīn (or Muʿayn) Arabs, who held it, along with Bandar ʿAbbās, in farm from Karīm Khān Zand (regn. 1163-93/1750-79). They retained possession of the island, despite attempts by the Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*] of Ra's al-Khayma and Linga to dislodge them, until 1208/1793-4 when Ḳishm, together with Bandar ʿAbbās and Hurmuz, was conquered by the Āl Bū Saʿīd ruler of Masḳaṭ, Sulṭān b. Aḥmad. He was afterwards confirmed in possession of Bandar ʿAbbās by a *firmān* from the Ḳādjār court, granting him the lease of the town and its dependencies in return for an annual rental.

In 1219/1804-5 the Masḳaṭ garrison was evicted from Ḳishm by the Banī Maʿīn and the Ḳawāsim in combination. Subsequently, the Banī Maʿīn joined the Ḳawāsim in piratical attacks upon British-Indian shipping, and in reprisal their stronghold at Lāft, on the northern coast of Ḳishm, was attacked and destroyed in Shawwāl 1224/November 1809 by the British expeditionary force sent from India to subdue Ra's al-Khayma and the other Ḳasimī ports. After the reduction of Lāft, Ḳishm island was returned to the authority of the ruler of Masḳaṭ, now Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (1221-73/1806-56).

Ten years later, after the second expedition to the Pirate Coast, a British military detachment was stationed on Ḳishm, from Shawwāl 1235/July 1820 to Rabīʿ II 1238/January 1823, to keep watch on the Ḳawāsim. The Persian government objected to its presence on the grounds that Ḳishm was Persian territory. Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, however, maintained that his father, Sulṭān b. Aḥmad, had acquired title to Ḳishm by right of conquest, and that the island had passed to him in full sovereignty. It was not listed among the dependencies of Bandar ʿAbbās in the original *firmān* granting the lease of the town to Masḳaṭ; nor was it mentioned in any of the annual receipts for the rental of Bandar ʿAbbās. When the British detachment was withdrawn from Ḳishm—because of the island's unhealthiness and the danger of the detachment's becoming involved in military operations on the Arabian mainland—the sovereignty issue was left unresolved. In Rabīʿ II 1239/December 1823 a stores depot for the Gulf squadron of the Bombay Marine was established at Basīdū, at the western end of Ḳishm, without protest from the Persian government.

The Masḳaṭ lease of Bandar ʿAbbās and its dependencies was renewed in Shaʿbān 1272/April 1856, shortly before Saʿīd b. Sulṭān's death. Ḳishm and Hurmuz were declared to be Persian islands, and were classed as "dependencies" of Bandar ʿAbbās. The lease, which was restricted to Saʿīd and his sons, was terminated in 1283/1866-7 after Saʿīd's successor, Thuwaynī b. Saʿīd, had been murdered by his son, Sālim. A new lease of eight years' duration was awarded to Sālim in Djumādā I, 1285/August 1868, only to be rescinded two months later when Sālim was overthrown. Despite attempts by Turkī b. Saʿīd after his accession in 1288/1871-2 to renew the lease, it was never granted again.

The British stores and coaling depot at Basīdū fell into gradual disuse, and it was finally abandoned in Muḥarram 1354/April 1935 to humour the wishes of Riḍā Shāh.

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(J. B. Kelly)

ḲIS̲H̲N, a small town on the south coast of Arabia, some 40 miles west of Raʾs Fartak. Formerly it was the mainland capital of the Mahrī sultanate of Ḳis̲h̲n and Suḳūtra (Socotra), which up to 1387/1967-8 formed part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. After that date it was designated the sixth governorate of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The inhabitants of Ḳis̲h̲n live mainly by fishing, pastoralism and trading, the principal exports being frankincense, dried fish and salt. The ruling family, now dispossessed, was the Bin ʿAfrār clan of the Mahra. The reigning sultan, from the senior branch of the family, traditionally resided on Suḳūtra, while the head of the cadet branch acted as his deputy at Ḳis̲h̲n.

Ḳis̲h̲n was several times raided by the Portuguese during their operations off the Ḥaḍramī and Mahrī coasts between *ca.* 929/1522-3 and *ca.* 956/1550-1. The period of Portuguese activity coincided with a successful war of conquest by the Kat̲h̲īrī sultans of S̲h̲iḥr against the Mahra, which culminated in the capture of Ḳis̲h̲n in 952/1545-6. The Bin ʿAfrār appealed for help to the Portuguese, who responded by expelling the Kat̲h̲īr from Ḳis̲h̲n, reputedly in Safar 955/April 1548.

A revival of Ottoman interest in South Arabia after 1287/1870-1 led the British authorities in Aden to secure an undertaking from the sultan of Suḳūtra and Ḳis̲h̲n in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1292/January 1876 not to alienate Suḳūtra or its island dependencies to any foreign power. A treaty of protection followed in Rad̲j̲ab 1303/April 1886, which was extended in S̲h̲aʿbān 1305/May 1888 to include Ḳis̲h̲n and the mainland dependencies. The treaties lapsed when British rule over Aden colony and protectorates ended in 1387/1967-8.

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ḲISMA (A.), Ḳismet (T.), a term used for "fate, destiny". In Arabic, *ḳisma* means literally "sharing out, distribution, allotment", and one of its usages is as the arithmetical term for "division of a number". It later came to mean "portion, lot", and was then particularised to denote "the portion of fate, good or bad, specifically allotted to and destined for each man". It is in this final sense, and especially via Turkish, that *ḳismet* has become familiar in the West as a term for the fatalism popularly attributed to the oriental (the first attestation in English being, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, in 1849; see also K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Europäischen ... Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*, Heidelberg 1927, 95, No. 1187).

As noted by H. Ringgren, the noun *ḳisma* does not occur in the Ḳurʾān in this sense (*Studies in Arabian fatalism*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1955, 106), but only in its basic sense of "division, apportionment" (IV, 9/8; LIII, 22; LIV, 28). In a verse like XVII, 14/13, the word *ṭāʾir*, originally "bird of ill omen", seems to convey the idea of a man's personal destiny as decreed by God (elsewhere in the Ḳurʾān, this word means rather "evil augury"), cf. Ringgren, *op. cit.*, 87-9; and T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 218, 436-8, 518). Concerning the more usual terms of early Islamic theology and philosophy for "determinism, predestination", see ḲAḌĀʾ and AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA 'L-ḲADAR; however, it should be noted that *ḳisma* makes an appearance in Arabic poetry of the 1st century A.H. (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, D̲j̲amīl) in the sense of "the share of human life allotted to a man by God" (Ringgren, *op. cit.*, 151, 156).

By Ottoman Turkish times, *ḳismet* was less a theological and philosophical term than one denoting a general attitude of fatalism, the resigned acceptance of the blows and buffetings of destiny (the same concept being often expressed in Persian and Turkish poetry by words like *falak*, *gardūn* and *čark̲h̲* in reference to the blind, irrational influences of the heavenly bodies of mankind). The climate of popular belief in fate and chance is well seen in many stories of the *Thousand and one nights* [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA] and in much of the Perso-Turkish moralistic literature; thus these attitudes loom large in the stories in chs. v and vi of Saʿdī's *Bustān*, on *riḍā* "acceptance" and *ḳināʿat* "contentment" respectively.

Also in Ottoman usage, *ḳismet* was a technical term of the *ḳassāmlıḳ*, the official department of state responsible for the division of estates between the various heirs, the military branch of this being the *ḳismet-i ʿaskeriyye maḥkamesi*. For this service, a fee called the *resm-i ḳismet* was exacted; for further details see ḲASSĀM.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the text): Sāmī Bey Frasheri, *Ḳāmūs-i türkī*, s.v.; *ERE*, vi, 794-6 art. "Fate (Muslim)" and viii, 738-9 art. "Kismet" (both by Carra de Vaux); E. Littmann, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen*, Tübingen 1924 s.v. (C. E. Bosworth)

KISRĀ, Arabic form of the Persian name K̲h̲usraw, derived from Syriac *Kesrō* or *Kōrsrō* by the 6th century A.D. The consonant and vowel changes occurred because ܟ was used for both *k* and *kh* in Syriac, and used here for the Persian *kh*, became *k* in Arabic. The first *u* became *i* by vowel dissimilation in Syriac, and the final vowel became an *alif maḳṣūra* by approximation to the *fiʿlā* form. Arabic lexicographers said there was no Arabic word ending in *wāw* with *ḍamma* after the first consonant, so K̲h̲usraw was put in the *fiʿlā* form and the *kh* became *k* to show that it was Arabicised.

Although K̲h̲usraw occurs in Arabic, Kisrā was usually employed for proper names, especially for the Sāsānid rulers Kisrā Anūs̲h̲irwān (531-79 A.D.) and Kisrā Aparwīz (591-628 A.D.). Because these two Kisrās dominated the late Sāsānid period and Arab memories of it, their name was identified with the dynasty. Arabs came to regard Kisrā as the name (*ism*), surname or title (*laḳab*) of Persian kings, the Sāsānid dynasty as the house of Kisrā (*āl Kisrā*), and crown lands in ʿIrāḳ as *arḍ Kisrā*. Women of the royal family were called "daughters of Kisrā". By the 2nd/8th century, the tendency to call all Sāsānid rulers Kisrā produced the broken plurals *akāsira* (the one most commonly used), *kasāsira*, *akāsir*, and *kusūr*, all contrary to analogy.

Kisrā personified Sāsānid royalty for the Arabs, who viewed him with an ambivalent combination of envy, awe and fear. They called Ctesiphon *Madāʾin Kisrā*, the great audience hall there the *Īwān Kisrā*, the defensive ditch the *Khandaḳ Kisrā*, spoke of the crown, treasure, dazzling carpet, sword and armour of Kisrā, and associated polished manners, lavish hospitality, *haute cuisine*, golden tableware and the arbitrary exercise of power, with his court. Kisrā provided a symbol for Arab assimilation to Persian high culture, for feelings of common nobility, and represented the Persian monarch in lists of kings of the world and in the murals at Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra. He was a poetic symbol of past glory and of fate that overtakes even mighty kings.

Kisrā's worldliness contrasted with Muslim spiritual values. *Ḥadīth* emphasised Muḥammad's lack of pretence, his avoidance of royal trappings, and his followers' greater respect for him compared to Kisrā and other rulers. Kisrā tore up Muḥammad's letter inviting him to Islam, and *ḥadīth* promised the destruction of Kisrā and Ḳayṣar and that Muslims would spend their treasures. In the simile ascribed to Hurmuzān, Kisrā is the main enemy of Islam (the head of the hostile bird).

A fictionalised Kisrā emerged by the 3rd/9th century as a vehicle for edifying tales, a person who conversed with a Bedouin on the virtues of camels or exchanged the lethal gift of a leopard for an eagle with Ḳayṣar. He was quoted as a source of proverbs and someone who knew these stories might be nicknamed "Kisrā".

Relative nouns *kisrawī*, *kisrī*, and *kisrawānī* were formed from Kisrā. The form *khusrawānī*, directly from Persian, referred to the greatest of the *akāsira* and meant a kind of drink or a very fine, royal silk used for clothing and used to cover the Kaʿba in the late 1st/7th century.

Bibliography: For lexical matters, see al-Ḳazwīnī, *Muʿdjam maḳāyīs al-lugha*, Cairo 1389-93/1969-72, v, 171; al-Djawharī, *Tādj al-lugha wa-siḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya*, Bulaḳ 1282/1865, i, 394; Ibn al-Djawālīḳī, *Kitāb al-muʿarrab min al-kalām al-ʿadjamī*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1867, 60, 99, 123, 128, ed. A. M. Shākir, Cairo 1389/1969, 183-4, 266, 319, 330; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*, Cairo 1311/1893-4, iv, 20; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, Cairo 1386/1966, v, 142; al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ* Calcutta 1817, i, 512, 648; al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, Kuwayt 1385/1965, iii, 176, 479, 522; E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English lexicon*, 2612; S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 43-4; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden 1879, 151 f.; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 134-9; A. Shīr, *Kitāb al-alfāẓ al-fārisiyya al-muʿarraba*, Beirut 1908, 54; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 39-40, 61, 72; M. Kamil, *Persian words in ancient Arabic*, in *BFA*, xix (1957), 62-3. For royal symbolism, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, Cairo 1389/1969, 612; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 52, 156, 314-5, 339, ii, 211, 371; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1469, 2358, 2436, 2447, 2453, iii, 1599; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 357, ii, 292 = §§ 395, 714; O. Grabar, *The Six Kings at Qusayr Amrah*, in *Ars Orientalis*, i (1954), 185-7; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1969, i, 400-1, pl. 71, e. For the fate of the mighty, see ʿAdī b. Zayd, *Dīwān*, Baghdād 1385/1965, 178; al-Mufaḍḍal, *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. and tr. C. J. Lyall, Oxford 1918, i, 534, ii, 288; al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Istanbul 1300/1883, 108-10; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, 115; Ṭabarī, iii, 320. For anti-Islamic symbolism, see Ibn Isḥāḳ, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1858, i, 971; Abu Tammām, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1370/1951, i, 215-7; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 608; al-Bukhārī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1390/1971, iv, 427, v, 112-3, 159, 239-40, ed. M. Muḥsin Khān, Gudjranwalla 1971, v, 507-8; Ṭabarī, i, 1161-2, 1473, 1537, 1707. For the fictional Kisrā, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 98, iii, 199; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 214. (M. Morony)

AL-KISRAWĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mahdī al-Iṣfahānī al-Ṭabarī, *rāwī* of the 3rd/9th century who was also a poet and man of letters. He was the teacher of Hārūn, the son of ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim, and transmitted historical and literary traditions, and especially on the authority of al-Djāḥiẓ. He was in contact with Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and exchanged verses with Ibn al-Muʿtazz. His knowledge of *adab* led him to compose several works, amongst which are cited a *Kitāb al-Khiṣāl*, a collection of literary traditions, maxims, proverbs and poetry, a *K. al-Aʿyād wa 'l-nawāriz* and a *K. Murāsalāt al-ikhwān wa-muḥāwarāt al-khillān*. His poetry consists mainly of occasional verses which were improvised. He died at some point between 283/896 and 289/902, although Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Istanbul, i, 705, places his death in *ca.* 330/941-2.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 214; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xv, 88-96; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 356; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, index; *DM*, iv, 251. (Ed.)

ḲIṢṢA (a.), pl. *ḳiṣaṣ*, the term which, after a long evolution, is now generally employed in Arabic for the novel, whilst its diminutive *uḳṣūṣa*, pl. *aḳāṣīṣ*, has sometimes been adopted, notably by Maḥmūd Taymūr [*q.v.*] as the equivalent of "novella, short story", before being ineptly replaced by a calque from the English "short story", *ḳiṣṣa ḳaṣīra*. The sections of the following article are largely devoted to these literary genres as they are cultivated in the various Islamic literatures, even if the word *ḳiṣṣa* is not itself used by them. Although some Berber tongues use the Arabic term (*lḳiṣṣt*), it has not seemed necessary to add a section on the story in that language [see berbers], but a brief section is devoted to the *ḳiṣṣa* in Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber.

The ensuing article is accordingly divided as follows:

1. The semantic range of *ḳiṣṣa* in Arabic.
2. The novel and short story in modern Arabic literature.
3 (a) The *ḳiṣṣa* in older Turkish literature.
  (b) The novel and short story in modern Turkish literature.
4. The genre in Persian literature.
5. The genre in Urdu.
6. The genre in Malaysia and Indonesia.
7. The *ḳiṣṣa* and its modern developments in Swahili.
8. The *ḳiṣṣa* in Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber.

1. The semantic range of *ḳiṣṣa* in Arabic.

Judging by the contents of the articles in the Arabic dictionaries devoted to the root *ḳ-ṣ-ṣ*, one may consider this as the result of a convergence of several different "roots". Among the various meanings shown here, two of them seem to be totally distinct from each other: "to clip the hair, wings, etc." (cf. Hebr. קצב and words made up of קצ־) and "to follow the tracks of a man or animal".

Taking into account the realities of Bedouin life, this last sense, to which *ḳiṣṣa* can easily be connected, is certainly old, if not the primitive signification. It is from the verb *ḳaṣṣa* taken in this sense that the name of the *ḳāṣṣ*, pl. *ḳuṣṣāṣ* "a kind of detective responsible for examining and interpreting tracks and marks on the ground" (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 343 = § 1227; cf. al-ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt* ..., ʿAmmān 1973-4, iii, 85, who points out the use in Jordan of *ḳaṣṣāṣ* with the generally-developed sense of *ḳāʾif al-athar* [see KIYĀFA]) has evolved). Moreover, the Ḳurʾān provides two attestations of this old meaning of the root *ḳ-ṣ-ṣ*. Moses' mother says to his sister *ḳuṣṣīhi* "follow his tracks" (XXVIII, 10/11), and in XVIII, 63/64, it is said that Moses and his page boy "followed their tracks back again, retracing them" (*fa-rtadda ʿalā āthārihimā ḳaṣaṣā*). Nevertheless, the verb *ḳaṣṣa* is most frequently found in the Ḳurʾān with the derived sense of "to tell a story, narrate", or more exactly, "to give a circumstantial account of some happening, to recount an event by giving all the details successively"; this nuance is usually lost in translation, though it may sometimes be conveyed through an adverb like "exactly". One may note, with repetitions within the same verse, 19 occurrences of this verb: the account is given by God to the Prophet (IV, 162/164, VI, 57, VII, 6/7, 99/101, XI, 102/100, 121/120, XII, 3, XVI, 119/118, XVIII, 12/13, XX, 99, XL, 78), by the Ḳurʾān (XXVII, 78/76) and by Moses to Shuʿayb (XXVIII, 25); Jacob tells Joseph not to recount his dream to his brothers (XII, 5); divine messengers recite to mankind the miraculous "signs" of God (VI, 130, VII, 33/35); and God instructs the Prophet to recount "the affair" (VII, 175/176).

In this last verse, the word *ḳaṣaṣ*, which has the general sense of "narrative, explanation, report, story" in its five other attestations (III, 55/62, XII, 3, 111, XXVIII title and v. 25), has been translated by "affair". Doubtless one should not neglect the nuance of precision and exactness contained in *ḳaṣaṣ*, but it is perfectly certain that the term's sense tends to become attenuated in order to assimilate it to that of *ḥadīth*. It could be perfectly easily substituted for the latter word in at least five occurrences out of 23 (XX, 8/9, LI, 24, LXXIX, 15, LXXXV, 17, LXXXVIII, 1), and furthermore, the verb *ḥaddatha* is clearly equivalent to *ḳaṣṣa* in three verses (II, 71/76, XCIII, 11, XCIX, 4). Also close to *ḳaṣaṣ* are *khabar* (XXVII, 7, XXVIII, 29) and especially the pl. *akhbār* (IX, 95/94, XLVII, 33/31, XCIX, 4), and also *nabaʾ*, with 12 attestations out of the 17 in the singular (V, 30/27, VI, 34, VII, 174/175, IX, 71/70, X, 72/71, XIV, 9, XVIII, 12/13, XXVI, 69, XXVIII, 2/3, XXXVIII, 21/20 and LXIV, 5) and 7 out of the 11 in the plural (III, 39/44, 51, 121/120, VII, 99, XII, 103/102, XXVIII, 66 and LIV, 4) corresponding fairly exactly to *ḳaṣaṣ* in the sense of "narrative, story, tale". Thus four terms of very different origins converge here in the Ḳurʾān and tend to assume a common signification, whilst losing at the same time the nuances implied in their original etymologies [see ḤIKĀYA].

Ḳiṣṣa itself does not appear in the Holy Book, but one can point to some examples in the *ḥadīth* with a general meaning of "thing, affair" (= *amr*, *shaʾn*), close to one of the meanings of *ḳaṣaṣ*; but this term seems however to have kept well its original nuance of meaning in the traditionists' vocabulary, to judge by the expression *sāḳa al-ḥadīth bi-ḳiṣṣatihi* "he cited the *ḥadīth* in all its details, giving it word-for-word" (Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, *Salām*, *bāb al-siḥr*, trad. No. 44). The word also very rapidly became a technical term of Arabic grammar. Sībawayh certainly uses the verb *ḳaṣṣa* in the sense of "to narrate" (i, 60) and the noun *ḳiṣṣa* in those of "narrative" (= *ḥadīth*, i, 60) and "affair" (i, 415, 418, 432), but above all he applies it (52 instances) to the idea of "state" (= *ḥāl*; see G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du* Kitāb *de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976, 172); consequently the expressions *ḍamīr al-shaʾn* and *ḍamīr al-ḳiṣṣa* are absolutely synonymous (W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic language*, index.)

At the moment when Sībawayh wrote his work, the verb *ḳaṣṣa* meant, from the time of the Prophet onwards, "to practise as a popular preacher of sermons and edifying tales "[see ḲĀṢṢ], this profession being called *ḳaṣṣ* or *ḳaṣaṣ* (see Wensinck, *Concordance*, v, 391-2, 394, 395). The more serious among the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* made a speciality of giving a commentary to their audience on the miraculous events referred to in the Ḳurʾān and of recounting, in particular, in reference to the lives of the prophets, edifying stories. The *ḳaṣaṣ* of the Ḳurʾānic text was then specialised in meaning, as we have just seen, and replaced, in order to designate the material in the répertoire of the popular religious story-tellers, by *ḳiṣṣa*, pl. *ḳiṣaṣ*, without the term having, at least at the outset, the least element of the pejorative in its sense. However, in the 3rd/9th century, al-Djāḥiẓ, following other authors, reserves for *ḳiṣṣa* the sense of "religious tale", but sometimes adds, with his usual irony, some fairly precise nuances of "story full of marvels and somewhat unbelievable", of "myth" and of "traditional explanation of a supernatural happening" (see *Tarbīʿ*, index).

At this period, the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* were already mingling with their discourses stories totally lacking in edification, but it seems that *ḳiṣṣa* did not yet mean a secular tale, and even in the next century, Ibn al-Nadīm does not use the word in the chapter devoted to stories in the *Fihrist*. Moreover, a few decades later, *ḳiṣṣa* appears with the religious sense which it had when used by the first *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, in the title of al-Thaʿlabī's [*q.v.*] popular work, the *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis fī ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*; the expression *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*] was to become the title of quite a considerable number of works. Despite the precise meaning implied by this latter expression, the lexicographers, who devote quite a lot of space to the root *ḳ - ṣ - ṣ*, hardly give the precise sense of *ḳiṣṣa* at all. The *LA* limits itself to asserting that the term is well-known, and then glosses it by *khabar*, *ḥadīth* and *amr*, though it does however give a pejorative nuance for *ḳaṣṣ*, in fact equivalent to "words, chatter", opposed to *ʿamal* "action". In the *Miṣbāḥ*, *ḳiṣṣa* is defined only by *shaʾn* and *amr*; and in the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, *amr* and *ḥadīth* are further used to gloss this term, whose plural *ḳiṣaṣ* would therefore only be used for the *ḳiṣṣa* when it was written (likewise, also, in the *LA* and *Ḳāmūs*). Assuming that we are probably not concerned here with the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, this rather enigmatic explanation is probably to be used with a technical sense different from that signalled in grammatical terminology; starting from the meaning of "affair", early attested and found from Ḳurʾānic times onwards, *ḳiṣṣa* very soon came in fact to mean "a written exposition of an affair or matter, a mémoire presented to a judge, a request placed before a ruler, a petition". Quatremère, in his *Sultans mamelouks*, i, 236 n. 111, gives a certain number of examples of this meaning and mentions the existence of an official, the *ḳiṣṣa-dār*, who was

concerned with such requests (see also Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. XLIV; Dozy does not appear to have interpreted the material in the dictionaries relative to the written *ḳiṣṣa* in the same way as we have done, since he includes this term in his *Supplément*). Al-Ḳalḳashandī, in *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 487-8, does not cite the *ḳiṣṣa-dār* but provides some details about the manner in which *ḳiṣaṣ al-maẓālim* were treated.

Since some *ḳuṣṣāṣ* began regularly to narrate stories which had no religious character at all, *ḳiṣṣa*, without ceasing at the same time to characterise a serious, even a historical narrative (e.g. the 27 mss. called *ḳiṣṣat ghazwat...* "narrative of the expedition of ..." classified by Ahlwardt in his Berlin catalogue) tended to be applied to any story, sacred or profane, and to become a synonym of *ḥikāya*, and secondarily, of *ḥadīth* and *khabar*. As an indication, the above-mentioned catalogue has a total of 216 works beginning with *ḳiṣṣa*; that of the mss. in the B.N. of Paris drawn up by G. Vajda has 115 (of which 75 have been restored according to their contents); *ḥikāya* appears there 47 times, *ḥadīth* 12 times and *khabar* 4 times. In the group as a whole, there are certainly some edifying stories (e.g. the *Ḳiṣṣat Ahl al-Kahf*), but titles like *Ḳiṣṣat Sulaymān maʿa Bilḳīs* or *Ḳiṣṣat Tawaddud* reveal true romances. In this way, the modern use of the term is to be justified, and this, conversely, has brought about a revival of *ḳaṣaṣ*, now specialised in the sense of "narration", the narrative genre and the narrative art", leading to the creation of the word *ḳaṣaṣī* "narrative" (adj.). (CH. PELLAT)

2. In modern Arabic literature.

The modern and technical meaning of this word: "fictional narrative", "novel" has come to be accepted without eliminating the more general, older sense of "story", "account". Furthermore, it should be noted that, in this case as in many others, the neologism has not been immediately accepted and does not cover the same semantic field for all those who use it, even today. From the start, it is seen to alternate with other words.

In an article appearing in *al-Ahrām*, on 11 May 1881, where the *shaykh* Muḥammad ʿAbduh drew attention, without otherwise deploring it, to the taste of his contemporaries for the novel, we find the word *rumāniyyāt*. The definition of the genre remains somewhat hazy since the eminent reformer included under this heading *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and the stories of traditional *adab* along with the recent translation of the *Aventures de Télémaque* by al-Ṭahṭāwī and the serial stories then published in *al-Ahrām*. Besides this borrowed term—which was not long to remain in use—there are words drawn from the Arabic vocabulary which come to mean the same as *ḳiṣṣa*. Understandably in the case of works on the borderline of the novel genre, the terminology appears uncertain: the *ʿAlam al-dīn* (1884) of ʿAlī Mubārak is presented by its author as a *ḥikāya* (story) while Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī gives the title *ḥadīth* (talk) to his very interesting *maḳāmāt*: *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā b. Hishām* (1907). It is all the same curious to note that in 1917 a certain Djubrān Khalīl Djubrān, suggesting to the editor of the review *al-Hilāl* the holding of a competition for the best story—to promote a genre that has proved its worth in Europe—uses the term *ḥikāya* to describe the genre. Little by little, however, *ḳiṣṣa* came to prevail, and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was seen claiming back his liberty as a creator and refusing to apply rules whose validity he did not recognise by saying in substance: the *ḳiṣṣa* is taught nowhere, and besides, what I write is not a *ḳiṣṣa* but a *ḥadīth* (cf. Ṣāliḥ, in *al-Muʿadhdhabūn fi 'l-arḍ*).

In fact, the lack of precision remains, mainly as a result of the differences in length among the various kinds of story. It is possible to account for these without departing from the root *ḳ-ṣ-ṣ*. For the abstract "narration", "narrative literature" we have *ḳaṣaṣ*, while the "story" of indeterminate length is called *ḳiṣṣa*, the novel being distinguished from the "tale" or from the "novelette" by an adjective (*ḳiṣṣa ṭawīla* in the one case, *ḳiṣṣa ḳaṣīra* in the other). The range of meanings may be conveyed in a still more precise fashion: a suitable adjective expresses the midway term, the long short story so popular with the British (*ḳiṣṣa mutawassiṭa*), while *uḳṣūṣa* (pl. *aḳāṣīṣ*) denotes the very short story, the short novelette.

But in practice, things are not so simple. The first Arabic story-teller to be universally known, Maḥmūd Taymūr, published successively two collections of stories, calling the first *aḳāṣīṣ* (*al-Shaykh Djumʿa wa-aḳāṣīṣ ukhrā*, 1925) and the second *ḳiṣaṣ* (*ʿAmm Metwallī wa-ḳiṣaṣ ukhrā*, 1926). At the other end of the scale, there are some who prefer *riwāya* to *ḳiṣṣa ṭawīla* to denote the novel; this neologism was more specifically reserved at the end of the 19th century to denote a "theatrical piece." Without it being an absolute rule, it may be stated that at the present day *uḳṣūṣa* is more frequently used in Syria and Lebanon in the sense of short story, while *riwāya* is preferred in Egypt with the meaning of novel.

Considerations of length are not the only ones to be of relevance. It should also be noted that some have tried to solve the ambiguity inherent in the word "tale" which exists also in English. If one wishes to differentiate the brief, realistic, truthful or plausible narrative (the short story) from a narrative of the same dimensions but imaginative, extraordinary or extravagant (the tale), one must call the latter by the name *ḳiṣṣa* (or *uḳṣūṣa*) followed by an adjective (*khayāliyya* or *khurāfiyya*), while being careful not to use the word *khurāfa* in isolation lest it be understood in a non-technical sense and with a pejorative flavour: "a cock-and-bull story".

The birth and evolution of Arabic fictional literature. The modern *ḳiṣṣa* owes nothing to Arab tradition. It is linked neither with the folklore of the *Thousand and one nights* nor with tales of chivalry nor with narratives of *adab*. The tradition of classical *maḳāma*, although taken up by two men of imagination and dual culture (Fāris al-Shidyāḳ for *al-Sāḳ ʿalā 'l-sāḳ*, 1855; and Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī, cf. above, 1907) has left no legacy. It is from Europe that the Arabs have borrowed this literary genre totally unfamiliar to them, sc. the novel.

The press, which has been remarkably prolific in Cairo and Beirut ever since its first appearance there in the middle of the 19th century, has in a short space of time put into circulation stories of various lengths translated from French and English. Some periodicals, like *Ḥadīḳa al-akhbār* (founded in Beirut in 1858) publish examples from time to time, others, like *al-Djinān* (Beirut 1870) regularly devote a part of each issue to such translations, and the same applies to the reviews that the Lebanese resident in Egypt have subsequently launched in Cairo (*al-Hilāl*, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, *al-Ḍiyāʾ*). Even the daily *al-Ahrām* founded in Alexandria in 1875 has its serial story. Furthermore, some weekly or monthly

entertainment publications are entirely devoted to them (*Silsilat al-fukāhāt*, Beirut 1884; *Muntakhabāt al-riwāyāt*, Cairo 1894). A certain degree of decentralisation has even been achieved with the appearance of *Silsilat al-riwāyāt al-ʿuthmāniyya* at Ṭanṭā in 1908 and *al-Samīr* at Alexandria in 1911. The second stage is the editing of the translated novels in volumes.

The essential object of this type of literature is to entertain. Publishers and translators search out stories of extraordinary adventures, of unhappy love-affairs, of poignant grief, rather than works of established quality whose authors are universally known. Fidelity to the original text was not regarded as an obligation in the period where the translator most in demand, Ṭanyūs ʿAbduh, a Lebanese who had settled in Egypt, was renowned for the imagination which he put into his work. The tendency was to adapt rather than to translate.

Quite naturally "original" composition has followed translation-adaptation and obeyed the same rules. It has even in some cases been exactly contemporary with it, and there are times when the translator is at the same time an author. This was the case with Salīm al-Bustānī, who published no less than five original works in serial form between 1870 and 1884 in *al-Djinān*, at the same time as he was translating French novels. His sister Alice and his cousin Saʿīd were also involved in the same sort of work. In serial stories of this kind as well as in the copied models there abound *coups de théâtre*, unexpected meetings, unsuspected relationships, etc. In order to avoid offending a very sensitive public moral sense, the scene of the plot still tends to be exotic, or if the action takes place in Egypt, the whole or the majority of the cast of characters must be foreign (*Fatāt al-ahrām* by Muḥammad Maḥmūd, *Fatāt Miṣr* by Yaʿḳūb Sarrūf). Saʿīd al-Bustānī discovered to his cost the powerful force of this unwritten rule: a resident of Egypt for ten years, a friend of Shaykh ʿAbduh, this Lebanese was nevertheless savagely criticised in conventionally-minded circles for having published *Dhāt al-khiḍr* (1894) which claims to show the disastrous results of an ill-matched marriage... in a wealthy family supposedly living in Alexandria!

Obliged to show some degree of discretion, limited in its intellectual ambitions, this newly-arrived genre would doubtless never have interested an enlightened Arab public had it not found sponsors and promoters. Shaykh ʿAbduh took an interest in it, as has been seen, because he reckoned it capable of having a reformatory effect, if carrying a well-formulated message. For Djirdjī Zaydān (1862-1914), it was the ideal didactic means to put into the service of history, and this Christian author of a *History of Islamic civilisation* therefore brought to the novel the caution of the scholar. Whereas Djamīl Mudawwar had published in Beirut in 1881 a single historical novel about ʿAbbāsid Baghdād, he was to publish twenty-four such novels between 1889 and 1914, of which the majority appeared in serial form in Cairo in the review *al-Hilāl* which he edited. Serious information being in his view the essential part, the amorous element of the plot would serve only to lure the reader; this element seems therefore to be somewhat stereotyped from one volume to another; but at least, the construction is solid and the language clear and precise.

After reason, sensibility. It would be impossible to overestimate the role of Manfalūṭī (1876-1924) for, in his two collections (*al-Naẓarāt* (1910-1921) and *al-ʿAbarāt* (1915)), he superbly arabises French romanticism to the point where, under his pen, translations, adaptations and original creations seem to flow from the same source. Having found a style and a tone, he knows how to stir emotions while dealing, in a context of traditional morality, with the problems posed by the irruption of European civilisation into the modern Orient. At the opposite extreme as regards content but with a similar degree of emotional intensity, is the message of "The American" Djubrān (1883-1931). Tears flow in abundance here too, but the romanticism is noble, protesting at the injustice practised by the powerful of this world as observed in the microcosm of the Lebanese village where the mayor and the priest seem to be constantly united in the effort to prevent the children from loving each other; *al-Adjniḥa al-mutakassira* (1912) hardly deserves to be called a novel, it is rather a long poem in prose devoted to an unhappy love affair of the author. "Broken wings" and "Tears", these are the two works, of Egypt and the *mahdjar*, which have moved or irritated several generations of Arabs all over the world.

But the first Arabic novel owes nothing to Manfalūṭī or to Djubrān. It was written in Paris—and perhaps partly in Geneva—by a young Egyptian student. Haykal (1888-1956) was feeling homesick when he wrote *Zaynab* (1914), and it is the Egyptian countryside that he attempts to re-create with its poetry, its variety, and also its characters, simple and poverty-stricken. But this evocation is centred around two victims of injustice in Egypt, sc. the peasant and the woman. Even though the first edition is signed under the pseudonym *Miṣrī Fallāḥ*, the poverty of the farm worker hardly holds our attention, while the fate of two women, equally unfortunate, illustrates the sorry condition of an entire sex and recalls the courageous protest of Ḳāsim Amīn at the beginning of the century. The hero ultimately makes his indictment: life has no appeal in a land where youth passes too quickly, where love is not allowed, and where the individual has no time to look at what is beautiful.

Even if the problems of writing and construction are not always perfectly solved, even if the influence of *La nouvelle Heloïse* of Rousseau is too obvious, this rich composition does not only have a historical interest, for it conveys an authentic tone, that of a desperate confession.

In spite of these promising beginnings, other novels were not to appear for a further fifteen years. In the interval, it is only short story writers who make a name for themselves, putting forward within the dimensions of shorter narratives technical solutions borrowed this time from the best European specialists. The stories that they tell, on the other hand, always deal with the reality that surrounds them. In "wringing the neck of rhetoric", these young pioneers feel that they are laying the foundations of a new literature. The first of them,—and paradoxically the only survivor—Mikhāʾīl Nuʿayma (born in 1889) began publishing his stories at the beginning of the First World War in *al-Sāʾiḥ*, then in *al-Funūn*, the two reviews edited by Syrian Lebanese settlers in New York. The best, later collected in an anthology (*Kāna mā kāna*, Beirut 1937), are striking for their simple language, the transparency of the characters, the significant choice of situations—where ancestral customs like the journey to America play a central role—and perhaps even more for the firmness with which the story is

told, a story where, however, emotion and humour make themselves discreetly felt. On Egyptian soil, slightly later, Muḥammad Taymūr (d. 1921) published in *al-Sufūr* some stories of which the best-known dates from 1919—an important year for Egyptian nationalism of which this writer was a passionate advocate. Add to this element the interest taken in social injustice and in poverty, and we have the principal source-material of the stories of Muḥammad Taymūr and of his comrades-in-arms. This expression is not an exaggeration when applied to his brother Maḥmūd, who describes himself as taking the torch from the hands of his brother, dead at the age of thirty. It is without doubt Maḥmūd Taymūr (d. 1974), the greatest story writer of the time, who has exerted the strongest influence in Egypt and in the other Arab lands, one of the most prolific of modern Arab writers and one of the most widely-translated too. Following the school of Maupassant—to whom his brother introduced him—he learnt to construct a plot firmly centred on a character who is bizarre to say the least, or on an exceptional incident. But he does not ignore the dominant themes of Egyptian social life, to which the brothers ʿUbayd and Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Lās̲h̲īn (d. 1955) also come to apply themselves, each according to his temperament and his special talent, Lās̲h̲īn being of the three the one whose palette would appear to be the best equipped both for varieties of subject and of resources of expression. Let it also be noted that this writer has written one of the few Arabic novels to appear before the Second World War: *Ḥawwāʾ bilā Ādam* ("Eve without Adam"), 1934.

Furthermore, it may be appropriate to note that this novel is distinct from the others in that its subject (the pitiable failure of a feminist schoolteacher who believed in love and social advancement) owes nothing to the life of the author, while Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (d. 1973) Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Māzinī (d. 1949), al-ʿAḳḳād (d. 1964) and Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm (b. 1902) had written nothing before 1939 but works largely autobiographical in character. What these men have in common is that they are not true imaginative writers, but rather they are part of the Egyptian intellectual élite. It should therefore surprise no-one that they look for material for their stories in their own experience. Besides, for these great thinkers of their generation also, this is the means of assessing the exact condition of their country, for carrying on, in short, the worried analysis conducted by Haykal in *Zaynab*. As chance would have it, the year 1929 saw both the second edition of this novel and the publication of the first part of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *al-Ayyām*. The accuracy in tone of this book, written with finesse and modesty, explains its immediate success in Egypt and the rest of the world; one feels that the blind boy struggling in a world that is hostile or indifferent or stupid symbolises more than an individual destiny. Even before the appearance of the second part of *al-Ayyām*, *Adīb* (1935) represents a split in the personality of the author, whose Egyptian half looks on helplessly at the folly and wreck of the Europeanised part.

The debate between the two civilisations—with their customs and culture—also interests Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm in two of his autobiographical novels, while in the two others (*ʿAwdat al-rūḥ*, 1933; *Yawmiyyāt nāʾib fi 'l-aryāf*, 1937) we find a number of the elements of the dossiers opened on Egyptian society by the short story writers. Superficially, the enquiry is less emphatic, there are times when the reader roars with laughter, but do not the laughter and the careless airs conceal a deep disquiet into which the faint-hearted lover and the Deputy Prosecutor are both plunged?

In drawing his self-portrait in *Ibrāhīm al-kātib* (1931), Māzinī speaks of disappointments in love which may be fictitious, but he is most certainly honest when he shows himself irresolute and easily discouraged. As if in spite of himself, he gives us suggestive insights into the three milieux that he sets himself to evoke and, when he does not overstep the bounds, his glibness does not lack charm.

Outside Egypt, a single novelist deserves mention for this period; the Lebanese Tawfīḳ Yūsuf ʿAwwād, who published *al-Rag̲h̲īf* in 1939. It is the Lebanon of the period of the First World War, the Lebanon "in the hour of the Turk", ravaged by famine, that we find here, the repression of nationalist movements coming to an end on the gallows of Beirut's Place des Canons. With a great deal of sobriety, a very sure sense of crowd-scenes, a properly romantic conception of history and politics, here is a writer who knows how to give to his narrative a depth which nobody else, Ḥakīm included, has yet succeeded in obtaining.

ʿIrāḳ at that time was still at a hesitant stage, with Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Sayyid (d. 1937) publishing from 1921 onwards, in Cairo, stories which are admittedly rudimentary but where the effects of Turkish rule on ʿIrāḳī society are succinctly shown; with Anwar S̲h̲āʾul (first collection of stories 1930), the influence of Taymūr is clear. In his stories and those of ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd Luṭfī (b. 1908), influenced by Tolstoy and Gorky, one feels that the seeds of a promising harvest have been sown in ʿIrāḳ.

Among the pioneers mentioned above, a certain number have lived on after the war. Their prestige has increased and they have attained immortality. Young Arabic literature has found in them its ancestors, its sponsors, its classics, it could be said. Each of them otherwise remains imperturbably faithful to his style. It is still the same self-centred man dissatisfied with home and love that Māzinī indulgently analyses (*Ibrahim II*). From an incident of everyday life, the Lebanese Mik̲h̲āʾīl Nuʿayma draws the material of an intimate diary (*Mud̲h̲akkarāt al-arḳas̲h̲*, 1949), where meditations on good and evil, the solitude of the soul and its mystical vocation, count more than the narrative plot. In the same way that Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm hardly descends from his ivory tower to stigmatise feminine duplicity and to comment ironically on the sacred bonds of marriage (*al-Ribāṭ al-muḳaddas*, 1944), Ṭāhā Ḥusayn pursues his dialogue with destiny, but through interposed characters, in a tragic family chronicle with slow tempo (*S̲h̲ad̲j̲arat al-buʾs*, 1954). The famous Maḥmūd Taymūr still composes short stories —his last collection appeared in January 1967—but he also writes novels where he expresses in the same pure language the qualities for which he is well known; very close to his times in *Ilā 'l-liḳāʾ ayyuhā 'l-ḥubb* (1959), he is halfway to fantasy in *al-Maṣābīḥ al-zurḳ* (1960). In this group, it is without doubt Haykal who has produced the least expected work for *Hākad̲h̲ā k̲h̲uliḳat* (1956) presents, on the eve of his death, a portrait of a woman that contrasts totally with the *Zaynab* of his youth; this cold, dominating female really existed, so well-informed contemporaries assert.

But the new-comers are henceforward very numerous, some of them belonging to Arab countries not

mentioned above. Reviews have been founded: in Egypt of course, but also in Baḥrayn, where a literary periodical of this name appeared when the first printing-press was installed in the Gulf (1939), most of all in Beirut where *al-Ādāb*, founded in 1953, and *al-Adīb* give young writers the opportunity to become known, in Tunis where, since 1944, the review *al-Mabāḥith* awards a prize (*Bahlawān*) to a writer every year. Henceforward, Arabic fictional literature is sufficiently vigorous and varied to convey trends which are to be noted elsewhere in the world.

The romantics. It is clear that romanticism has solid roots at its disposal—it is enough to recall the genre of the first European novels translated, the importance of Manfalūṭī, the tone of *Zaynab*. A younger generation dissatisfied with its condition finds at last the means of expressing its revolt and its dreams. Evidently it is love that polarises all attention. This lyricism is a phenomenon of youth in three senses: the youth of the writer, the youth of literature and the youth of the public. The theme of the impossibility of amorous relationships is treated at length by the Tunisian Ra<u>sh</u>īd <u>Gh</u>ālī in the short stories that he has published in the review *al-Fikr* since 1960; an encounter without future constitutes the subject of *al-Baḥr lā māʾ fīh*, a story which gives its title and dominant tone to a collection published by the Libyan A. Ibrāhīm al-Faḳīh in 1966; the Sudanese Sabbār (b. 1927) published ten years ago a novel on a small scale: *Sirr al-dumūʿ*.

It should not, however, be assumed that this type of novel is always attributable to an "indiscretion of youth." Writers of considerable renown who are no longer adolescents have built their success upon this specialised genre, and their prolific output shows that they know how to pluck the string of emotion. In this context, one could hope for no better example than the Egyptian trio of Yūsuf Sibāʿī (d. 1978), ʿA. H. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1973) and Iḥsān ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs. The systematic exploitation of sentimental problems is their common denominator, as well as their ability to impose their personal style. The first emphasises the dramatic, or melodramatic quality of the situations that he imagines; the second does not flinch from a certain moralistic purring owed for the most part to the very literary nature of his language; finally, the third flirts with scandal, and his gallery of pretty girls at once innocent and greedy for liberty has aroused many adolescent dreams.

Readers unmoved by the magic of these masters perhaps would allow themselves to be seduced by more subtle forms of romanticism. In Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh Ṭū<u>kh</u>ī finds in his native countryside (*Fī ḍawʾ al-ḳamar*, short stories, 1960) or in a cruise on the Nile (*al-Nahr*, a novel 1962) the appropriate setting that his dreams require, while Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd (b. 1931) studies the relationship of married people (*al-Mustaḥīl*, 1960) with much tact and sensitivity. In Syria, the short story writer <u>Sh</u>āmil Rūmī (*al-Ḳaṭāʾif*, 1960) even seasons his outpourings with a fair dose of fierce satire. Finally, we draw attention to a short story by the Algerian Ṭāhir Waṭṭār (*Mamarr al-ayyām*, in *al-Fikr*, 1959) for this disillusioned statement by one of his heroes: "There is no youth in the Arab world. The Arab knows only two ages: childhood and adulthood." We shall have occasion to speak again of this sense of malaise.

The realists. These writers have inherited a populist or poverty-oriented tradition that is not very old. On the eve of the war, the Syrians T. ʿAwwād, K. M. Karam, and the ʿIrāḳī <u>D</u>jaʿfar <u>Kh</u>alīlī were concerning themselves with fraternity, tearful commiseration or indignant horror at the sufferings of the lower classes.

We find this same interest in poor people with a great number of writers of the following period and in countries that have come to the novel more recently. From Morocco, we may mention two collections of stories; *al-Saḳf* by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū ʿAllū and *Ra<u>dj</u>ul wa-marʾa* (1969) by Zaynab Fahmī. Taymūr has really created a school, for we witness an impressive parade of pitiable or laughable "cases"; Y. Ḥakki's petty tradesmen, the charlatans of the Tunisian Muṣṭafā Fārisī, the baggage carriers of the Syrian Ṣamīm <u>Sh</u>arīf, the water-carriers of the Egyptian Sibāʿī. These specimens of an idle or poverty-stricken humanity, true to type even when they live on the fringe of society, clearly lend themselves to living in novels. Who could deny the vividness of the portrait of Tarnannuh, idler and football fanatic, product of the imagination of Ra<u>sh</u>ād Ḥamzāwī (Tunis, *al-Fikr*, 1959) or that of the "maker of grotesque cripples", the negro Zīṭa who introduces a kind of Court of Miracles in the lane (*Zuḳāḳ al-midaḳḳ*, 1947) described by the Egyptian Na<u>dj</u>īb Maḥfūẓ.

Apart from the hero, the writers strive to recreate a whole ambience to which they are deeply attached. Thus, thanks to the pen of a Ṭayyib Ṭarīkī or of a Ḥamzāwī, there appear before us the coloured quarters of Rabṭ and of Turbat al-Bey in Tunis, while the shrines of Old Cairo, Sayyidnā Ḥusayn and Sayyidatnā Zaynab, inspire the best works of Ḥaḳḳī and Maḥfūẓ, and the seascape of the <u>Sh</u>aṭṭ al-ʿArab is recreated in a story such as *<u>Dh</u>ākirat al-madīna* (1975) by the ʿIrāḳī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ma<u>dj</u>īd al-Rubayʿī.

It would be surprising if the countryside were to remain outside the fictional répertoire, when we recall that, with *Zaynab*, the Arabic novel was born there. It is in fact the same love of nature that shines through in a simple account of olive-picking in Tunisia, told by Muḥammad F. <u>Gh</u>azlī (b. 1927) in a short story (*al-Fikr*, 1961). But it is most of all in the novels of the Egyptian <u>Sh</u>arḳāwī (*al-Arḍ*, 1954, *Ḳulūb <u>kh</u>āliya*, *al-Fallāḥ*) that the rural life is conveyed in all its richness, at a time when new ideas are shaking the system of traditions that used to be thought immovable. On the contrary, Ḥusayn Naṣr (Tunisia) evokes the full force of the past in a few pages; this "Ox that my father left us" (*al-Fikr*, 1961) is slow to die and imposes his presence when the young men, rejecting the experience of the old, wish that the page had been decisively turned.

It will come as no surprise to find political involvement accompanying this meticulous survey of an entire people. At the same time that *al-Arḍ* appeared in Cairo, Ḥannā Mīna published in Damascus *al-Maṣābīḥ al-zurḳ*. We may thus see side-by-side two exemplary narratives: a peasant revolt in the Delta, and the resistance of the Latakians to the French Mandate at the end of the Second World War. The heroic times of such and such a country have inspired a considerable mass of stories. The Moroccan <u>Kh</u>anā<u>th</u>a Bannūna celebrates inter-Arab solidarity sealed in combat in a recent collection of short stories (*al-Nār wa 'l-i<u>kh</u>tiyār*) and his compatriot Mubārak Rabīʿ makes the participation of Moroccan troops in the battle of the Golan Heights, in 1974, the central subject of his novel: *Rifḳat*

al-silāḥ... wa 'l-ḳamar (1976). Sometimes one finds them to be too verbose and not sufficiently alive. This is especially the case with the entire output of Muṭā' Ṣafadī (Syria), a real propagandist of the Arab Revolution (*Thā'ir muḥtarif*; *Djīl al-ḳadar*; *Ashbāh abṭāl*, 1959). On the other hand, an ʿA. Ḥ. ben Haddūḳa (Algeria) succeeds in interesting us in the conscience of a man who has just committed a political crime (in *Ẓilāl djazā'iriyya*, 1960). It is the analysis of the social and psychological consequences of the war of liberation which interests him in his first novel appearing ten years later (*Rīḥ al-djanūb*), of which the form catches the attention. His compatriot Ṭāhir al-Waṭṭār also distinguishes himself in his two recent novels by the originality of his vision of guerilla warfare (*al-Āz*) or the traumatic after-effects of independence (*al-Zilzāl*). Similarly, the Palestinian tragedy is presented, free of forced sentimentality, in fascinating novels by the Lebanese Ḥalīm Barakāt and the Palestinian Ghassān Kanafānī (*Ridjāl fi 'l-shams*).

Oriental society is evolving to a varied rhythm in its different aspects. Industrialisation, for example, has scarcely been reflected by the appearance of workers in romantic literature. To our knowledge, only two writers have taken an interest in this: Ḥ. Mīna (Syria) mentioned above, who has made a study *à la* Gorky of type-setters in a printing-press, *The invisible thread*, 1960; and Muḥammad Ṣidḳī (Egypt), who through the experience of a self-taught man trained in a number of occupations, gives us an insight into the daily life of the working classes (in the collections *al-Anfār* and *al-Aydī 'l-khashina*, 1956 and 1958).

On the other hand, the number of Arab women writers is already remarkable. Quite naturally, they are interested in problems that are specifically feminine. Since professional involvement of women is still somewhat limited in their countries, it is most of all "psychological realism" that they aim at. The older ones—Bint al-Shāṭi' and S. Ḳalamāwī in Egypt, Widād Sakākīnī in Syria—have born witness to the deep transformation affecting the female mentality. The younger women writers—Samīra ʿAzzām in Irak, Colette Suhayl in the Lebanon, Ṣūfī ʿAbd Allāh in Egypt—seek to re-establish, with regard to their sex, the truth misunderstood or distorted by men. The Egyptian Laṭīfa al-Zayyāt does not claim to make any extraordinary revelations in her novel *al-Bāb al-maftūḥ*, 1960, but points out succinctly that the noble protests of the sterner sex are not yet fully convincing.

So as not to distort the perspectives, it is important to draw special attention to the work of three Egyptian novelists whose renown extends over the entire Arab world: Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, Yūsuf Idrīs and Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ. The name of the first, who was born in 1905, is linked with the difficult emergence of the Arabic short story in the years around 1925, but he has only become well-known since the war. His first collection *Ḳindīl Umm Hāshim* dates from 1943. His collections of stories, his short novel (*Ṣaḥḥa 'l-nawm*, 1954) and his memoirs (*Khallīhā ʿalā 'llāh*, 1959) have made him known to the public at large as a writer of prose that is firm but not prudish, and one who treats his characters with sensitivity and humour.

As for Yūsuf Idrīs, he has been writing "committed" stories since 1949. With the appearance of his first collection (*Arkhaṣ layālī*, 1954), there is the feeling of a talented writer making himself known. His subsequent works (*al-Ḥarām*, novel, 1959; *al-ʿAskarī al-aswad*, a short story, 1961, among many others) testify to his dramatic sense, and his condensed style, on the borderline of grammatical correctness, counts as one of the most original of all.

Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ enjoys an even wider readership. He owes this perhaps to his uncompromising adherence to the classical language but most of all to the seriousness and depth of his analysis and to a remarkably prolific output—some twenty novels and a dozen collections of short stories published to date. His *Trilogy* (1957, 1958) is considered to be the perfect masterpiece of Arabic realism. It gives us the key to an understanding of the generation of contemporary Egypt through a wealth of passions reminiscent of the Russian novelists, but with a concern for detail that is exclusively his own, and most important of all, from a perspective such that every Arab reader feels himself involved.

The existentialists. In a society in a state of flux, there are some who feel resentful, disillusioned, alienated, and who find in existentialism a philosophy in tune with their mood. The Lebanese Suhayl Idrīs has done much to install this philosophico-literary doctrine in the Orient. He has been the prime mover in a major series of translations that have introduced the Arabs to Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir in particular. But his role has not been limited to that of translator nor to that of editor-in-chief of the major review *al-Ādāb*. He is also the author of a number of novels. In the first (*al-Ḥayy al-lātīnī*, 1953) he too examines the reactions of the oriental to the European way of life, but the analysis is different from one given by Ṭawfīk al-Ḥakīm in *ʿUṣfūr min al-sharḳ* nearly twenty years earlier. In spite of his love for a European sweetheart—shared this time—the Arab student returns to the Lebanon to place himself beneath the yoke, and perhaps the protection, of the customs of his homeland. His resigned acceptance of the absurdity of life shows that his stay in the Latin Quarter has left deep marks on him.

The Lebanon is thus the favoured land for existentialism. There are some who take pleasure in a type of fiction that is closer to the debate of ideas than to the novel as strictly defined, like Emile B. Abī Nādir in *al-Farāgh* (1961). But the more interesting writers are able to bring to light in their plots the implacable character of life. A story by George Shāmī shows to what extent a personal sentiment, however sincere and profound, is helpless in the face of the tyranny of the family spirit, and another by Djamīl Djabr (*Ḳalaḳ*, 1961) finds the correct tone for describing, in the first person, an impossible love. The Lebanese novel does not however attain the level of despair except in the work of the woman-writer Laylā Baʿlabakki; in *Anā aḥyā* (1958) and in *al-Āliha al-mamsūkha* (1960) there is a vivid account of the revolt of a feminine sensibility stifling in a male society, made—taboos included—for men.

Although she has become known more recently, the Syrian Ghāda Sammān is closely akin to her. One of her collections of short stories (*Laylat al-ghurabā'*, 1966) presents us with a study fundamentally of a single character in a variety of settings: the woman who feels herself involved neither with the family nor with the revolutionary ideal, a "stranger" always and everywhere, her too-clear intelligence and her too-vivid sensibility making of her a person who suffers and sees no other future than this suffering, which she broods over with a kind of masochistic delight.

ʿIrāḳ shows us another kind of existentialism, less intellectual, more visceral. Among story-writers of talent, the first place belongs to ʿAbd al-Malik Nūrī (born in 1921). Between 1946 and 1954 (*Nas̲h̲īd al-arḍ*) he has created a genre: from the first to the last line, his fiction expresses malaise, an infinite despair or a fatal torpor. With Mahdī ʿĪsā Ṣaḳr and Fuʾād Takarlī (*al-Wad̲j̲h al-āk̲h̲ar*, 1961) we are steeped in the same unrelieved black that seems to be the dominant colour of young ʿIrāḳī literature.

The basic problems. During its sixty or so years of existence, Arabic fictional literature has been obliged essentially to cope with two basic problems.

The one, purely internal, concerns language. For obvious reasons, the novelist must choose the type of language that he is to lend to his characters, dialect or *fuṣḥā*. A writer as eminent as Maḥmūd Taymūr has, to his credit, carefully tried each of the two alternatives and subsequently remained absolutely faithful to the academic language, of which he is besides a perfect master. The no less eminent Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī has shown a quite original attitude, proclaiming everywhere his loyalty to Arabic and wielding in a delicious manner in his short stories the Cairoese of his childhood or the Ṣaʿīdian patois dear to his heart. These examples should not be misinterpreted; the question does not only apply to Egypt. Throughout the whole Arab world, from ʿIrāḳ to Morocco, there are novelists who believe that they would be betraying their mission as creators and artists if they were to avoid using a type of language that is natural, living and immediately evocative of the correct sentiment, the spontaneous idea. Conversely, in every Arab country there are today writers who would consider themselves unworthy of their art and traitors to Arabism if they were to adopt—even in dialogues—a language other than "pure" Arabic obeying the rules of declension, more or less modernised in its vocabulary, but effectively unchanged in its syntax. The question of the two languages has been debated so often since the beginnings of the *nahḍa* that there is nothing to be gained by dwelling on it here. The adherents of one or other mode of expression may be confident of finding themselves in excellent company and having no shortage of arguments. In particular, the equation frequently proclaimed in the last fifty years (dialogue in dialect = literature in the service of the people) is no longer put forward today, when the purists too are "committed". At the most, we may attempt a risky generalisation: the tendency to use the spoken "popular" language is more widespread in countries where the literary public is greatest and which, believe, rightly or wrongly, that they have a better-established "Arab" character—thus in Egypt, rather than in Algeria. Whatever the answer may be to these formal—and important—questions, there is no likelihood of provincialism gaining precedence over a common Arab heritage that is easily recognisable through the entire spectrum of fictional literary production from "the Ocean to the Gulf" and through all the trends that we have attempted to unravel.

The other problem concerns the relationship of the Arabic novel to Europe, the master, in both senses of the word, pedagogic and colonialist. This relationship first applies on the level of content. The dialogue of a floundering East with a West that is too sure of itself constitutes one of the themes and sometimes the central theme of novels that have become famous. It is natural, with regard to novels, that this ill-fated or violent confrontation should take the form of an amorous encounter between a practical or fickle or dominating European woman and an Arab emigrant, usually a student, convinced that he owns a share of the truth but naive and maladroit. Furthermore, the character of the latter and the general physiognomy of the work change in the course of the years. In *ʿUṣfūr min al-s̲h̲arḳ* by Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm (Egypt, 1938) Muḥsin is an incorrigible idealist, an incompetent pursuer of working-girls whom the author mocks and admires at once, while the hero of *al-Ḥayy al-lātīnī* discovers nausea in Paris, but returns to the fold of ancestral custom in Beirut. The English girl married by *al-Duktūr Ibrāhīm* by D̲h̲u 'l-Nūn Ayyūb (ʿIrāḳ, 1939) is only the first stage of an ambition which comes to light on his return to his country. If Ismāʿīl repudiates his God on leaving Mary's embrace, he finds Him again on the banks of the Nile (Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, *Ḳindīl Umm Hās̲h̲im*, Egypt, 1949). The experience of Adīb (Ṭāha Ḥusayn, *Adīb*, Egypt, 1935) is at the same time more profane and more desperate, but that described by the Sudanese al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ in *Mawsim al-hid̲j̲ra ilā 'l-s̲h̲amāl* (1966) is violent, and it disconcerts because hatred here is innocent.

Nobody is deceived; whether sex and suffering intervene or not, it is always the impact of a culture that is in question, an invading, besieging, disruptive culture. Two Moroccan novels examine in detail its traumatic aspects: *Dafannā 'l-māḍī* by G̲h̲allāb (1966) and *al-G̲h̲urba* by Laʿrwī (1971). Quite naturally, another level of connections with Europe appears. Has this literary technique been learnt, assimilated or, on the contrary, has there been constant re-adaptation to a model which, as time passes, remains indispensible? It is in reality impossible to answer this question. It may simply be stated that this common Arab heritage mentioned above adapts itself well to the most recent trends in universal fiction, that the surrealism of Zakariyyāʾ Tāmir (*Dimas̲h̲ḳ al-ḥarāʾiḳ*, Damascus, 1973) with its nightmare universe, takes up and carries to an obsessional and hardly bearable degree, the taboos and desires of a sick society. It is madness—superficially, for what the mastery resides in the cascade of images and the narrative twists!—that succeeds the meticulous and classic analysis of ʿAbd al-Salām al-ʿUd̲j̲aylī and the cruel realism of Fāris Zarzūr, two Syrian novelists who have achieved renown in the sixties. Echoes of such trends arise from elsewhere: from Egypt, of course, where established novelists like Yūsuf Idrīs and Nad̲j̲īb Maḥfūẓ have begun in the sixties and at the present day to turn towards the short story in preference to the novel, a wild and implacable type of short story, to which the younger writers are also drawn: the Arslāns, the Ṭūbiyās; but Algeria has not lagged behind with the stifling compositions of a writer such as Ṭāhir al-Waṭṭār; this is taken even further in Baḥrayn, where ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿAḳīl sets in motion with *al-Nazīf* a series of dream-like sequences that express his continuing anticipation of revolutionary liberation.

Finally, if such-and-such a name made famous by the European "new novel" suggests itself to the readership of one of these narratives, it should be recognised that the Arab intelligentsia is henceforth in sympathy with the evolution of ideas and tastes throughout the world, that purely internal lines of influence are clearly visible in Arabic fiction and that the contemporary proliferation of works, the

multiplicity of devoted talents in all provinces of Arabism, are signs of the flourishing state of the *ḳiṣṣa*.

Bibliography: Arabic journals. The literary journals are very numerous, and some have only a short existence. Among the most important are *al-Ādāb*, *al-Adīb* (Beirut), *al-Madjalla*, *al-Ṭalīʿa* (Cairo), *al-Maʿrifa* (Damascus) and *al-Fikr* (Tunis). Those in European languages include *MIDEO*, *Orient*, *OM*, *Jnal. of Arabic Literature*, and *Bulletin d'études arabes of the IPEA* of Rome.

For the beginnings of the novel, the general histories of Arabic literature may be consulted [see ʿARABIYYA. B. (V)].

Anthologies give a very representative picture of contemporary novel writing, general introductions and valuable biographical details about the authors covered: *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, Paris 1964. I. R. and M. Makarius, *Le roman et la nouvelle*; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, ed., *Arabic writing today, the short story*, Cairo 1968.

Studies—most of these on the Arab short story and novel centre upon Egypt. In particular, note ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Ṭāhā Badr, *Taṭawwur al-riwāya al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥaditha fī Miṣr (1870-1938)*, Cairo 1963; R. Francis, *Aspects de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, Beirut 1963; Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, *Fadjr al-ḳiṣṣa al-misriyya*, Cairo 1962?; ʿAbbās Khiḍr, *al-Ḳiṣṣa al-ḳaṣīra fī Miṣr mundhu nashʾatihā ḥattā sanat 1939*, Cairo 1385/1966; H. Kilpatrick, *The modern Egyptian novel*, Oxford-London 1974; Fatma Moussa-Mahmoud, *The Arabic novel in Egypt (1914-1970)*, Cairo 1973; Muḥammad Yūsuf Nadjm, *al-Ḳiṣṣa fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabi al-ḥadīth* (1870-1914), Beirut 1961; Hamdi Sakkut, *The Egyptian novel and its main trends (1913-1952)*, Cairo 1971; P. J. Vatikiotis, *Egypt since the revolution* (ch. on cultural life by Louis Awad), London 1968; Ch. Vial, *Contribution à l'étude du roman et de la nouvelle en Egypte, des origines à 1960*, in *ROMM*, iv (1967); idem, *Le personnage de la femme dans le roman et la nouvelle en Egypte de 1914 à 1960*, in the press. (CH. VIAL)

3(a). In older Turkish literature.

As a generic term, *ḳıṣṣa* in Turkish texts was synonymous with story, tale (*ḥikâye*) and legend (*menḳabe*, *efsâne*). Fakhrī in 778/1367 calls his version of the romance of Farhād and Shīrīn [*q.v.*] a *ḳıṣṣa*; Meḥmed, writing in 800/1397, says that a copy which he found was old but the *ḳıṣṣa* (story) was new, and Sheykhī [*q.v.*], in the first half of the 9th/15th century, found the mere telling of a *ḳıṣṣa* (story) no longer sufficiently enjoyable (B. Flemming, ed., *Faḫrīs Ḫusrev u Šīrīn*, Wiesbaden 1974, vv. 2915-16 and p. 140 f.; S. Yüksel, ed., *Mehmed. Işk-nâme*, Ankara 1965, v. 404; F. K. Timurtaş, *Şeyhî'nin Husrev ü Şirin'i*, Istanbul 1963, v. 1565).

Narrative works in verse and prose dealing with epico-religious and heroic themes [see ḤIKĀYA, iii] were often called *ḳıṣṣa*, the term alternating with *destān*. This is true for the ʿAntar, Abū Muslim, Ṣaltuḳ and Ghāzī Dānishmend stories [see ḤAMĀSA, iii] or the tales around *Ḳırān-i Ḥabeshī* and Bahmān Shāh b. Fīrūz Shāh (see A. S. Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi. I. Giriş*, Ankara 1972, 113, and ḲAHRAMĀN-NĀMA) and Djelāl Shāh and Djemāl Perī (see H. Sohrweide, *Türkische Handschriften*. Teil 3, Wiesbaden 1974, 276, no. 316); not a few tales still await examination.

The lives of holy men and great Ṣūfīs of Islam such as Ibrāhīm b. Adham [*q.v.*] were treated collectively in the genre called *tadhkira*, the most famous being the extensive Persian prose work *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* by ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*]. An early Turkish example is the *Tedhkire-yi ewliyāʾ* adapted from the Arabic and presented to the prince of Aydın [*q.v.*], Muḥammad Beg, by an unknown author (MS. Istanbul, Veliyüddin 1643).

In a more restrictive sense, *ḳıṣṣa* designated stories of the Prophets before Muḥammad, whose own life history gave rise to the *siyar* genre [*q.v.*], whereas events of the lives of members of his family inspired other books such as the *ghazawāt* of the caliph ʿAlī; the *maḳtal* works commemorated miracles and happenings around the martyrs of the house of the Prophet, particularly his grandson Ḥusayn [see ḤAMĀSA, iii and ḤIKĀYA, iii], especially famous being the *Ḥadīḳat al-suʿadāʾ* by Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*].

In the *ḳıṣṣas* some prophets were dealt with separately, such as Moses (*Ḳıṣṣa-yi Mūsā we Khiḍir*, see Levend, *op. cit.*, 126), and Solomon; such works being also known as *nāme* [see ḤIKĀYA, iii] the most voluminous of the *Süleymān-nāmes* being the compilation made by "Uzun" Firdewsī [*q.v.*]; Iskandar [*q.v.*] was also treated separately (see M. Götz, *Türkische Handschriften*. Teil 2, 161, no. 234 and ISKANDAR-NĀMA, iii).

Joseph or Yūsuf [*q.v.*] was a favourite hero of the histories of Prophets; his ascetico-mystical romance with Zulaykhā, based on the *Sūrat Yūsuf*, has been treated in many Turkish *mathnawīs* and prose works. The oldest appears to be the *Ḳıṣṣa-yi Yūsuf* by a certain ʿAlī, a work of uncertain provenance supposedly composed in the Crimea in 630/1232 (see N. Pekolcay, *Islamî türk edebiyatı*. I. Istanbul 1967, 77 ff.; Levend, *op. cit.*, 92, 125).

In Anatolia, Sheyyād Ḥamza wrote a *mathnawī* version (ed. D. Dilçin, İstanbul 1946); for Čaghatay, Mamlūk, Ādharbāydjānī, and many Ottoman versions see the list compiled by Levend, *op. cit.*, 128-30; for 19th century Kazakh versions, see *Fundamenta*, ii, 744.

Collectively, the prophets have been dealt with in the *Ḳıṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*], which made their appearance in Turkish literature in the 8th/14th century. In 710/1310 Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Rabghūzī, working for a Mongol *amīr*, composed his Eastern Turkish *Ḳıṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* on the basis of a Persian version (facsimile ed. K. Grønbech, Copenhagen 1948). Other Turkish authors consulted the Arabic *Ḳıṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* by al-Kisāʾī, the *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis* by al-Thaʿlabī and others (see K. Erarslan, *Kisâʾînin Bedʾi d Dünyâ ve Ḳısaṣı l-Enbiyâ adlı eserinin İstanbulʾdaki tercümeleri*, in *TDED*, xviii (1970), 125-32; N. Hacıeminoğlu, in *TDED*, xi (1961) and xiii (1964), on an anonymous translation in the MS. Bursa, Ulu Cami 2474; and A. Ateş, in *TDED* viii (1958), 93 f., on the Yozgat MS. of the translation made by Iznīḳī (d. 833/1429-30).

In 987/1579 an Ottoman writer, Hindī Maḥmūd, composed a *Ḳıṣaṣ-i enbiyāʾ* (G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Traces of a lost autobiographical work by a courtier of Selīm II*, in *BSOAS*, xxii/3 [1960]). Later, more complex titles were used for the genre, such as *Mirʾāt el-ṣafāʾ fī aḥwāl el-enbiyāʾ* written by Ḳara Čelebizāde (d. 1068/1658).

A highly esteemed educational *Ḳıṣaṣ-i enbiyāʾ* written by the Ottoman statesman and historian Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] as late as the end of the 19th century, in no less than twelve volumes, is evidence for the tenacity of the genre.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article, see the relevant articles in *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965; F.

Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927; *İstanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları.i. Türkçe tarih yazmaları*, Istanbul 1943 ff.; J. R. Walsh, *The Turkish manuscripts in New College, Edinburgh*, in *Oriens* xii (1959), 171-89, esp. no. 1; F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961; F. İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nesir. I*, Istanbul 1964; idem, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım. I-II*, Istanbul 1966-7; B. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*. Teil 1, Wiesbaden 1968. The impetus which the *ḳiṣṣa*, *siyar*, and *maḳtal* genres gave to Turkish religious iconography can be seen in N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974, and the literature cited by them.

(B. Flemming)

3(b). More recent Turkish literaiure.

After the *Mukhayyelāt* of ʿAlī ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] (1796), which form a transition between the old and the new, a series of translations, mainly from the French, followed some sixty years later, e.g. Fénélon's *Télémaque* as *Terdjeme-yi Telemak* (1862), Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* as *Maghdūrīn ḥikāyesi* (1862), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, as *Ḥikāye-yi Robenson* (from the Arabic, 1864), followed by Bernardin de Saint Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (1870), Voltaire's *Micromégas* (1871), Alexandre Dumas père's *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (1873), Lamartine's *Graziella* (1878), Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut*, Octave Feuillet's *Le roman d'un jeune homme pauvre* (1880) and many others. Except for the *Télémaque*, which was translated in a most flowery and ornate style, in the best Ottoman *inshāʾ* tradition, most of the rest were rendered in a comparatively simple language, not far removed from spoken Turkish. This translation movement or activity coincided with the emergence of the literary *Tanẓīmāt* school, and the first generation of modernist writers provided the early examples of Turkish short stories and novels in the modern sense.

1. *The short story*

The pioneer of the short story is the popular author Aḥmed Midḥat [*q.v.*]. Although he did not belong to the literary school initiated by Shināsī [*q.v.*] and his associates, and was looked down upon by them as a conservative in outlook, as informal in style and as lacking in technique, and was consequently unfairly judged, he was avidly read by the general public and youth intellectuals alike and greatly influenced the succeeding generation of writers as witnessed by many of them (see ḤUSAYN RAḤMĪ and KHĀLID ḌIYĀʾ). Aḥmed Midḥat published two collections of short stories: *Ḳiṣṣadan ḥiṣṣe* (1870) and *Leṭāʾif-i riwāyāt* (in 25 parts, 1870-95). His mostly romantic stories with an occasional touch of realism, some adapted from the French, became immensely popular and soon made the genre fashionable.

To this formative period belongs a collection of short stories in three volumes, the *Müsāmeret-nāme* ("The Book of soirées", 1872-5), inspired in structure, by Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and written by one Emīn Bülend, a civil servant about whom we know almost nothing. These are entertaining stories of uneven value, a mixture of traditional narrative and the new approach. Different from Aḥmed Midḥat's works, the *Müsameret-nāme*'s language and style vary in places from the ornate to the straightforward colloquial. A younger member of the *Tanẓīmāt* literary period, Sāmī Pasha-Zāde Sezāʾī [*q.v.*], is also reckoned among the pioneers of the modern Turkish short story. His modest output (two volumes, of which *Küčük sheyler* "Little things", 1308 Rūmī/1892), began the realist trend in the short story. He used a good technique and developed a tidier style and avoided ornate language. The great master of the Turkish short story is, however, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] literary school, who perfected the genre, of which he made a study in his work *Ḥikāye* (1307/1891). Khālid Ḍiyāʾ, who tends in his novels to concentrate on the life of Istanbul upper and upper-middle classes and to use a precious language, by contrast in his numerous short stories (collected in 20 volumes) describes mostly ordinary people of the middle and working classes, and uses a comparatively less ornate style. Among minor writers of the same school, the novelist Meḥmed Raʾūf and the critic and journalist Ḥuseyn Djāhid [*q.v.*] also wrote short stories of uneven value. Two prominent writers who remained outside the *Therwet-i Fünūn* school, the novelist Ḥuseyn Raḥmī and the essayist Aḥmed Rāsim [*q.v.*] contributed realistic short stories which are vivid sketches of everyday life in Istanbul of the 1890-1920 period.

The restoration of the Constitution (July 1908) followed by the movements of Turkism [see TÜRKČÜLÜK], Populism (*Khalḳa doghru*) and the New Language (*Yeñi lisān*), sponsored by Ḍiyāʾ Gökalp [*q.v.*] and ʿÖmer Seyf ed-Dīn [*q.v.*], revolutionised the whole approach to narrative in Turkish literature. Most short story writers (and novelists) switched from the capital (Istanbul) to the provinces and made an attempt to introduce colloquial Turkish into literary language and avoided, on the whole, elaborate psychological analysis for straightforward realism.

The prominent woman novelist, Khālide Edīb [*q.v.*], wrote realistic short stories mostly based on her own experiences or observations. ʿÖmer Seyf el-Dīn (1884-1920), who left ten volumes of short stories (posthumously collected in book form), led the reaction against the precious language of the *Therwet-i Fünun* school and wrote in spoken Turkish stories on the reminiscences of his childhood or on episodes of Turkish history. A hasty writer, his easy, even facile language is not always polished. But his deliberately direct style, avoiding the "literary", established a new tradition in Turkish narrative. The outstanding essayist and political satirist Refīḳ Khālid Ḳaray [*q.v.*], wrote his famous *Memleket ḥikāyeleri* ("Stories from the provinces", 1919), during his five years' exile in Anatolia. These stories on the types and customs of the villagers and provincial townspeople are told with a rare virtuosity of natural style and powerful realism unprecedented in modern Turkish literature.

Most novelists of the period (e.g. Y. K. Ḳara-ʿOthmānoghlu, R. N. Güntekin, Peyāmī Ṣafā, etc.) also wrote short stories. But others excelled in the *genre*; Memdūḥ Shewket Esendal [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a politician and diplomat, wrote, at irregular intervals, stories which are different in subject matter, plot and style from the "classical" Maupassant-type stories of his contemporaries. F. Djelāl el-Dīn, a psychiatrist by profession, left remarkable sketches and short stories, written in a very personal style, about eccentric types and harmless maniacs of Istanbul, against an authentic "local" setting of the Ḥüseyn Raḥmī tradition. They are character studies or sketches of the moods of ordinary people, with emphasis on women, written in spoken Turkish, without any elaboration or embellishment and inbued with human warmth and optimism. The

novelist Halikarnas Balîḳčîsî [q.v. in Suppl.] who belongs to the same generation, but who published his work in the Republican period, after the age of fifty, wrote fascinating stories on the life and struggles of the sea folk of the Aegean.

The 1930s inaugurated a new era in contemporary Turkish literature, and witnessed the emergence of two prominent but very different story writers: Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAlī (also a novelist [q.v.]), who pioneered social realism, writing powerful stories on the true life experience and hardship of the village and small town communities of Anatolia. Saʿīd Fāʾiḳ (1906-54), perhaps the greatest name in the Turkish short story, described, in his compelling stories and sketches, written in a forceful and romantic style, the life and milieu of the simple people, workers, fishermen, vagabonds, etc. of Istanbul, based mostly on his personal experiences, with a deeply human touch. Aḥmed Ḥamdī Tanpînar [q.v.], poet, critic and novelist, and adept of the neo-classicist Yaḥyā Kemāl [q.v.], wrote nostalgic, evocative short stories where unresolvable psychological issues are the *leitmotiv*. The playwright and essayist Khaldûn Taner (b. 1915) writes stories flavoured with humour and social criticism. Īlkhān Tarus (1907-67), a civil servant, described in his stories the intricacies of bureaucracy in the provinces.

In the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, most novelists (e.g. Kemal Tahir, Kemal Bilbaşar, Orhan Kemal, Samim Kocagöz, Yaşar Kemal, etc.) also wrote short stories in which concentration is on the plight of the peasantry, provincial townfolk and suburban dwellers (see below). This is particularly true of writers of peasant origin (e.g. Fakir Baykurt, Talib Apaydın, etc.). Aziz Nesin (b. 1915) the great humorous writer of unsurpassed popularity, has been writing innumerable stories and sketches where he uses his art to fight social evils and bigotry by ridicule. Oktay Akbal (born 1923) writes individualistic and romantic stories, mostly based on personal reminiscences, full of nostalgia for things past. Necati Cumalı (b. 1921), poet, playwright and novelist, differs from most of his contemporaries in not concentrating on any one given theme, but writing stories on a variety of subjects in a warm and flowing style.

Contemporary short story writers dwell as a rule on the social, political, economic and cultural problems of Turkey, a society in rapid transformation, linking them to the personal problems of the individual. From several dozen names (some of them also novelists), the following stand out: Mehmed Seyda (b. 1919), the poet S. K. Aksal (b. 1920), Yusuf Atılgan (b. 1921), Wüsʾat O. Bener (b. 1922), Muzaffer Buyrukcu (b. 1928), Bilge Karasu (b. 1930), Tahsin Yücel (b. 1933) and Bekir Yıldız (b. 1933). Among women writers one notes Nezihe Meriç (b. 1925), Adalet Ağaoğlu (b. 1929), Leyla Erbil (b. 1931), Füruzan (b. 1935) and Sevgi Soysal (1936-76) who dwell on the problems of women of all classes in present day Turkey.

2. *The novel*.

The outstanding lexicographer and scholar Shems el-Dīn Sāmī [q.v.] wrote the first Turkish novel in the modern sense: *Taʿashshuḳ-î Ṭalʿat we Fiṭnat* (1872). This is a love story used as a background to criticise the traditional marriage custom, marriage of partners unknown to each other. Nāmîḳ Kemāl [q.v.], the great poet and patriot of the *Tanẓīmāt* school, experimented with a romantic (*Intibāh*, 1876) and a historic (*Djezmī*, 1880) novel. One of his younger colleagues, Sāmī Pasha-Zāde Sezāʾī (1860-1936), wrote an anti-slavery novel (*Sergüzesht*, 1889), while another, Redjāʾī-Zāde Ekrem [q.v.] produced a social-satirical novel (*Araba sevdāsî*, "Devotees of the hansom cab", 1889, published 1896), which is a forerunner of later novels where the "westernising snob", the blind imitator of European manners and customs, is ridiculed (see below); and Nābī-Zāde Nāẓîm (1862-93) wrote examples of realist novels (*Ḳara Bibik*, a long short story, 1890, and *Zehrā*, 1895).

Outside this literary school of the "élite", the most important representative of the genre was the prolific popular writer, publicist and journalist Aḥmed Midḥat who flooded the post-1870s period with several dozen novels on subjects of all types: adventure, history, social satire, science fiction, realist and naturalist narrative, etc. He owes a great deal of his narrative technique, his dialogue and his handling of episodes to the traditions of Turkish popular art and literature (i.e. *Karagöz*, the *meddāḥ*, the *ṭulūʿāt* technique in the *Orta oyunu* and folk tales of various kinds), and also to the French novels of adventure. Many of his novels, particularly *Ḥasan Mellāḥ* (1875), *Ḥüseyn Fellāḥ* (1875), *Süleymān Muṣlī* (1876), *Henüz on yedi yashînda* (1882), *Dürdāne Ḥānîm* (1882), were enormously popular and read avidly by generations of readers of all classes until the 1910s. His novel *Eflāṭūn Bey ile Rāḳîm Efendi* (1896), pioneered a series of novels which satirise the *alla franca* way of life of Istanbul snobs.

In the following period of the *Therwet-i Fünun* school, the great representative of the novel is Khālid Ḍiyāʾ. Although as a boy writer, like most of his contemporaries, he greatly admired Aḥmed Midḥat, there is hardly any trace of the old Turkish popular narrative technique or the influence of the French novels of adventure and entertainment, even in his early novels of the formative period, which were romantic love stories with some elements of realism. He completely broke with traditional methods of story-telling and developed a well-disciplined narrative technique where there is no room for irrelevant digresssion or asides to the reader. Khālid Ḍiyāʾ perfected this technique in his later novels (e.g. *Māʾi ve siyāh*, "Blue and black", 1897, and *ʿAshḳ-î memnūʿ* "Forbidden love", 1900), inspired mainly by the method and style of the French realists. His works remained the best examples of realism in Turkish literature until the mid-1930s. The setting and characters are often chosen from the upper and upper-middle classes of Istanbul, the type of people with whom he came into direct contact during the strict Ḥamīdian régime. He chose, in his novels, to write, like most of his colleagues of the movement, in an extremely precious and artificial language, thus deviating from the trend of the first generation of modernists (the *Tanẓīmāt* writers) who had made an attempt to create a style which could be understood by a larger audience.

As Khālid Ḍiyāʾ dominated the scene in prose, minor writers were hardly noticed. One of them, Meḥmed Raʾūf (1875-1935), a naval officer, wrote a (probably autobiographical) novel, a poignant story of desperate love: *Eylül* ("September", 1900), which is the only work still remembered of his dozen novels.

Ḥüseyn Raḥmī, who did not join any particular literary group, began his career during the time of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* movement, and remained one of the most popular novelists from 1890s until the late 1920s. At the beginning, he followed in the steps of his master Aḥmed Midḥat, but he gradually pol-

ished the elements taken from Turkish popular arts and adopted them to his own purpose, blending them successfully with the technique of the French realists and naturalists, particularly of Maupassant and Zola. With his accurate observations of the life and types of Istanbul lower and lower-middle class families in the period approximately 1890-1920, his penetrating analysis of the burning social problems of his time and his acute sense of humour and satire, Ḥüseyn Raḥmī is perhaps the most original of all Turkish novelists. Like his prominent contemporary the essayist Aḥmed Rāsim [*q.v.*], his work is of great documentary value. He studied meticulously the everyday life of families and individuals and their development within disintegrating Ottoman society and all the social problems arising from the impact of Western ideas and customs. His best novel, *Shıpsevdi*, "Always in love" (written and partly serialised in 1901, published in book form 1912) is a further development of the theme already treated by his predecessor and himself: a character study of the "Westernising snob".

During this period, two works were the pioneers of the so-called "village novel" (*köy romanı*) which was to develop during the Republican period: Nabī-Zāde Nāẓim's long short story *Ḳara Bibik*, already mentioned, and Ebūbekir Ḥāzim Tepeyran's (1864-1947) *Küčük Pasha* (1910), which describes life in a central Anatolian village during the last decade of the 19th century.

During the post-1908 era, with the freedom of the press restored and in the midst of warring ideologies (Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Turkism), we see that most writers of the young generation gather around a new trend called "National literature" (*Millī edebiyyāt*), led by the sociologist and guiding spirit of the intellectuals of the epoch, Ḍiyā᾿ Gökalp and his associates (particularly ʿÖmer Seyf el-Dīn, see above). In this period, the prominent woman writer Khālide Edīb's early novels have considerable autobiographical elements, and with their passionate, independent, strongwilled heroines, outline the author's ideal of the emancipated Turkish woman. Under the impact of the Pan-Turkish-movement, she wrote *Yeñi Tūrān*, 1912, and her contemporary colleague, a minor woman writer Müfīde Ferīd (Tek, 1892-1971) followed her example with a similar novel *Aydemir*, 1918). However, Khālide Edīb later rejected this ideology and espoused the new nationalism of the resistance movement in Anatolia which she joined in April 1920. She wrote novels on the national struggle and life in Anatolia, based on personal experiences or observations (e.g. *Āteshden gömlek*, "Shirt of fire", 1922; *Vuruñ ḳaḥbeye* "Strike the whore", 1923). During her long exile abroad (1925-39) and after her return to Turkey, she continued to write, mainly period novels. Already by 1930s the approach to the novel was beginning to change (see below). Khālide Edīb's prominent contemporary, Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī Ḳara-ʿOthmānoghlu (1889-1974 [*q.v.*]) the most powerful novelist of his generation, excelled in studies of periods and institutions. In a series of novels he described the disintegration of a family caught between the old and the new towards the end of the Empire (*Kirālıḳ ḳonaḳ*, "Mansion to let", 1920); life in a convent of the decaying Bektāshī order of dervishes (*Nūr Baba*); party strife in the post-1908 period (*Ḥüküm gedjesi*, "The night of the judgment", 1927); life in occupied Istanbul in the early 1920s (*Ṣodom ve Gomōre*, 1928); a poignant description of the gap between an educated man and the peasants (*Yaban*, "The stranger", 1932), a pioneer "village novel"; the life of a young Turk exile in Paris (*Bir sürgün*, "An exile", 1937), etc. He also experimented with a *roman-fleuve*, covering the second and the third decade of the Republican era (*Panorama*, 2 vols. 1953-4).

The humorist and essayist Refīḳ Khālid Ḳaray is the author of some twenty novels, mostly of mediocre literary value, except for the first, *Istanbuluñ ič yüzü* (1920, Roman script edition as *Istanbul'un bir yüzü*, 1939). This is written in the form of a diary and is a series of masterly sketches of Istanbul "society" between 1900 and 1920, in which the last vestiges of the old régime, the influential magnates of the all-powerful Committee of the Union and Progress and the degenerate *nouveaux-riches* of the war years are depicted with brilliant, merciless sarcasm. Peyāmī Ṣafā (1899-1961), a self-taught writer, produced in the early 1920s novels which described various characters of the changing Turkish society, emphasising the clash between the traditional and the new (e.g. *Sözde ḳızlar*, 1922, *Maḥsher*, 1924, *Fatih-Harbiye*, 1931); later he studied cases of psychological stress and crisis and also supernatural phenomena. His partly autobiographical *9uncu hariciye koğuşu* ("External ward No. 9", 1930) is one of the best examples of the psychological novel in Turkish literature.

The best-seller of the early 1920s was *Čalıḳushu* (1922, Eng. tr. *The autobiography of a Turkish girl*, by Sir Windham Deeds, 1950) by Reshād Nūrī Güntekin [*q.v.*], who published several similar novels (e.g. *Aḳsham güneshi*, 1926, Eng. tr. *Afternoon sun*, by Deeds, 1951). These were sentimental romances mixed with realistic observations of Anatolian life. With the publication of *Yeshil gedje* ("Green night", 1928), where the influence of religious fanaticism in Anatolia is studied, Reshād Nūrī changed his manner and wrote a series of novels dealing with social change brought about by the reforms of the 1920s, (e.g. *Yaprak dökümü*, 1930). Güntekin perfected the literary language based on spoken Turkish initiated by ʿOmer Seyf el-Dīn and was recognised as one of the masters of modern Turkish prose until the middle of the 1930s, when a profound transformation of the language, style and literary taste began to take place.

The early generations of novelists of the Republican era inaugurated a new approach to the novel which began in the 1930s, and gathering momentum in the 1940s, matured in the 1950s and 1960s. For the majority of contemporary writers, the novel is only a vehicle to convey ideas, to prove a point and to discuss the burning problems of modern Turkey. Except for sporadic cases, for nearly forty years novelists have been concentrating mainly on the following themes:

(1) The background and various episodes of the War of Liberation; (2) The plight of the villagers and provincial townspeople; (3) The struggle of the peasants against exploiting land-owners and corrupt bureaucracy; (4) Unemployment in the villages, and peasant migration to labour areas (cotton fields, etc.); (5) The peasant migrations to the cities in search of work and its consequences; (6) Peasants turned brigands as a result of gross injustice; (7) The problems of the peasant populations of the shanty-towns (*gecekondu*) in city suburbs; (8) The problems of illiteracy and educating children (particularly girls) in villages; (9) The influence of religious exploitation on the masses in villages and towns; (10) The plight of peasant migrant workers in Europe,

particularly Germany; (11) Problems arising from long-sojourn of Turkish worker-families in Europe; (12) The exploitation of the defenceless citizens by the *nouveaux-riches* business classes in the cities; (13) The ravages of partisan politics in villages and provincial towns; (14) The problems of women in general and working women in particular; etc.

In short, all the problems of a rapidly developing and industrialising, once mainly rural, society where a population explosion and a universal yearning for better living defy the dexterity of all government. The days of the "art for art's sake" principle of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* days are left far behind: the contemporary Turkish novelist has no time or leisure for telling stories of personal woes.

Leading names of the modern period are: the pioneer Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAlī (1907-48), already mentioned) whose novel *Kuyucaklı Yusuf* ("Yusuf from Kuyucak", 1937) is a masterly description of life in a small western Anatolian provincial town at the beginning of the century; Orhan Kemal (1914-70), who wrote with a warm and deeply human style the epic of the Turkish "little man"; and Kemal Tahir (1910-73 [*q.v.*]), who spent long years in Anatolian prisons where he collected his material on a series of novels on the life and problems of the central Anatolian peasantry and small town communities. He also wrote several period novels on episodes of early and modern Turkish history. Further, Samim Kocagöz (b. 1916) wrote on the peasant-landowner relationship in the Aegean area and also related episodes of the Anatolian resistance movement; Yaşar Kemal (b. 1922) excels in describing, with an epic style inspired by Turkish folk tales, the life and struggles of the peasantry in the Adana area; and Fakir Baykurt (b. 1929), of peasant origin himself, describes the life and problems of southern Anatolian villages, etc. (The majority of short story writers cited above are also known as novelists, and most of them should be counted in this category.)

Outside this category, there are novelists who belong to previous generations but who published their work in the 1930s or later: The short story writer Memdūḥ Shewket Esendal (1883-1952), published a remarkable novel *Ayaşlı ve kiracıları* ("The man from Ayaş and his tenants", 1934), a powerful study of a group of disparate types during the early years of the new capital, Ankara. Midḥat Djemāl Kuntay (1885-1951), a minor epic poet and biographer, wrote a single novel, *Üç Istanbul* ("Three Istanbuls", 1938). Planned as a period novel, it is rather a series of loosely-connected sketches on the life and character of Ottoman society and government in Istanbul during the period of decay and disintegration of the Empire (1890-1920). It is a fascinating panorama of events and of personalities, Ottoman, Levantine and foreign, told with a personal, elaborate and, in places, precious style. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Shināsī Ḥiṣār (1883-1963 [*q.v.*]), who published some poems and critical essays in the 1920s, produced his first novel in 1941 at the age of fifty eight, *Fahim Bey ve biz* ("Fahim Bey and our family"), a powerful character study of an Istanbul type at the turn of the century, an inefficient civil servant turned businessman. After the great success of this novel, Ḥiṣār wrote several others, all in an anachronistic style which nostalgically evoke the Istanbul of 1900. Lastly, the unusual writer Halīḳarnas Balīḳčīsī the famous exile of Bodrum (Halicarnassus), must be mentioned, who produced his first novel at the age of sixty (*Aganta, Burina, Burinata*, 1946) and devoted his entire work to the epic of the sea and seamen of the Aegean.

Bibliography: Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede roman*, Istanbul 1936; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu asır türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1956; Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten sonra hikâye ve roman*, i, 1959, ii and iii 1965; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikâye ve roman*², 1970-1; Fethi Naci, *On türk romanı*, Istanbul 1971; Hilmi Yavuz, *Roman kavramı ve türk romanı*; *Türk Dili*, special numbers on the novel and short stories; *Roman özel sayısı I*, *Roman özel sayısı II*, *Türk öykücülüğü özel sayısı*, *Türk romanında kurtuluş savaşı özel sayısı*, Ankara, 1962-77. (FAHIR İZ)

4. In Persian literature.

In Persian the term *ḳiṣṣa* (together with its approximate synonyms *ḥikāyat*, *afsāna*, *dāstān*) covers a number of different literary forms, and while this article must be concerned primarily with the modern application, it is also true that the more traditional manifestations have had some influence on recent developments. One of the earliest uses of the term seems to have been in the sense of "biography". Examples of this range from the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, the title given to a number of works, of which one of the earliest and most popular is that by Mawlānā Muḥammad Djuwayrī, said to have been written in 352/963, containing biographies of the prophets from Adam to Muḥammad, to, at the other extreme, the *ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ* written by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Tunakābunī in 1290/1873 and consisting of accounts of leading Shīʿī divines, to which frequent reference is made in E. G. Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, iv, 354-449 *passim*. A condensation of this work was published in 1941 by Muḥammad ʿAlī Djamāl-zāda under the title *Ḳiṣṣa-yi ḳiṣṣa-hā*.

A second group includes pseudo-biographical works of a largely fictional nature. A classic example of this *genre* is the *ḳiṣṣa-yi Ḥamza* or *Ḥamza-nāma*, the hero of which was a contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad and the story of whose exploits is said to have been commissioned by a namesake who led a rebellion in Sīstān at the end of the 2nd/8th century. The story is extant in a number of versions, some parts of which, judging from their style, may well go back to the 3rd/9th century. Another example in a slightly different class is the *Bakhtiyār-nāma*, the account of the deeds of a putative descendant of the legendary hero Rustam, said to have been a contemporary of the Sāsānid monarch Khusraw Parwīz; the earliest surviving version of this is the *Rāḥat al-arwāḥ*, composed (in prose) by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Daḳāyiḳī Marwazī in the 6th/12th century.

From this phase we move by a natural progression to the traditional romance with few or no historical or religious overtones. Some of these are by known authors—ranging from the famous *mathnawī*s of classical poets like Niẓāmī, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī and Djāmī, retelling the stories of Laylā and Madjnūn, Khusraw and Shīrīn, Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, and so on—to the works of lesser or otherwise unknown writers, like Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī's *Wīs u Rāmīn*, ʿAyyūḳī's *Warḳa wa Gulshāh*, or the prose version of *Samak-i ʿAyyār* by Farāmarz b. Khudādād, all these dating from the 5th/11th century. Many such romances have been handed down orally in more or less corrupted versions, until they finally achieved permanence in manuscript or, most recently, in "chapbook" form. Characteristic examples are the stories of Ḥusayn-i Kurd, Bahrām and Gulandām, Ḥātim-i Ṭāʾī, Shīrūya, Falaknāz and Khurshīdāfarīn,

Malik Djamshīd, Nadjmā-yi Shīrāzī and Nūsh-āfarīn. Many of these must be of considerable antiquity, while others (for instance, the story of Amīr Arslān, known to have been composed, though doubtless on a foundation of traditional material, by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's storyteller, Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Naḳīb al-Mamālik, during the second half of the 13th/19th century) are comparatively recent. Such stories, often qualified by such epithets as *shīrīn*, *shīrīn-ʿibārat*, are part of the stock-in-trade of the *naḳḳāl* or *ḳiṣṣa-gū*, both professional and amateur, who provide entertainment alike for the clients of coffee-houses, the children of private households, and the peasants of rural villages. In a similar tradition are the humorous anecdotes of Mullā Naṣr al-Dīn and Mullā Buhlūl-i ʿĀḳil, whose Iranian versions have not yet been given the attention they have received, for instance, in the Turkish folk-literature area. This vast reservoir of oral narrative, which in addition to the long romances provides innumerable examples of every category of folk-tale —animal tales, fairy stories, tales of magic, moral and satirical anecdotes—has been sadly neglected in the past (in spite of early collections like *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Marzbān-nāma*, *Sindbād-nāma*, *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* and *Riyāḍ al-ḥikāyāt*), and it is only within the present century that serious attempts have been made by scholars and anthropologists, both privately and officially-sponsored, to collect and preserve this treasury of popular literature.

This neglect may account for the fact that, when the art of story-telling and novel-writing was revived on the literary level during the early years of the present century, models were sought not in Iran's own literary tradition but rather from the flourishing ateliers of Western Europe. Indeed, it is significant that the Persian language does not yet have a word for "novel", but still uses the French *roman* (*rumān*). In making this judgment, we are consciously leaving out of account such works as *Ruʾyā-yi ṣādiḳa* (1900), *Masālik al-muḥsinīn* (1905), and *Siyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm Bayg* (1903-9), since the story element in these is subordinate, the primary purpose of the semi-anonymous authors being to expose social and political abuses in pre-Revolution Iran through the medium of a fictionalised travelogue. The authors of the first novels proper may indeed have had similar motives in setting their tales in remote historical periods, but the European influence is unmistakeable, not only in the clear debt owed to the historical novels of such writers as Alexandre Dumas (several of which had been translated into Persian), but even in the use of European forms of Persian names from the Achaemenid and Sāsānid periods. Among the more noteworthy of these novels are the trilogy by Muḥammad Bāḳir Khusrawī, *Shams u Ṭughrā*, *Mārī-yi Winīsī* and *Ṭughrul u Humāy*, published in 1909-10, three independent novels whose common link is their single hero and their setting in the period of the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century; another trilogy by Shaykh Mūsā Nathrī, *ʿIshḳ u salṭanat*, *Sitāra-yi Līdī* and *Sargudhasht-i Shāhzāda Khānum-i Bābulī*, published in 1919, 1924-5 and 1931-2 respectively, and set in the reign of Cyrus the Great; *Dāstān-i Bāstān*, by Ḥasan Badīʿ, the Achaemenid background of which is a mixture of elements drawn indiscriminately from the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī and the works of Herodotus; and a long series of works by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ṣanʿatī-zāda Kirmānī, beginning with *Dāmgustarān*, a two-volume novel published in 1921 and 1926 and set in the period of the rebellion of Mazdak and the fall of the Sāsānid dynasty, and continuing with stories from such widely separated historical periods as the reign of Shāpūr the Great (*Dāstān-i Mānī-yi naḳḳāsh*, 1927), the rise of the Sāsānid dynasty (*Salaḥshūr*, 1933), the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty by the ʿAbbāsids (*Siyāh-pūshān*, 1944), the reign of Nādir Shāh (*Nādir, fātiḥ-i Dihlī*, 1956), and even the science-fiction future (*Rustam dar ḳarn-i bīst u duwwum*, 1935). Most of these works are noteworthy as pioneering efforts rather than through intrinsic literary value. Their language is literary, and even in the dialogues shows little attempt to adjust style to speaker, let alone to use colloquialisms; they are discursive and rambling, and historically full of inaccuracies and anachronisms. Their inspiration comes from the romantic historical novel of 19th century Europe rather from any native source. If they do reflect any particular society, it is rather that of the writers themselves, and in this respect at least the novels throw interesting light on contemporary Iran.

However, the popular success of these early works encouraged many other writers to follow their example, and a long list of such books, of varying merit, have appeared and continue to appear up to the present day. A fairly comprehensive list will be found in Kamshad's *Modern Persian prose literature*, 52-3, and it is sufficient here to mention a few of the outstanding names. The list includes a number of recognised scholars—Saʿīd Nafīsī, Yaḥyā Ḳarīb, Riḍā-zāda Shafaḳ, Dhabīḥ Bihrūz—whose writing is marked by a greater attention to accurate detail than some of their rivals, like ʿAlī Djalālī, Raḥīmzāda Ṣafawī, Ḥusayn Masrūr, Ḥaydar ʿAlī Kamālī, Djawād Fāḍil, Shīrāzpūr Partaw, and others whose novels show almost a tendency to revert to the style of the popular romances. Few writers have ventured into the field of contemporary history. A notable exception is Ḥusayn Ruknzāda Ādamiyyat's *Dalīrān-i Tangistānī*, first published in serial form in 1931 and recounting an episode in the southern tribal disturbances during the ffirst World War; though it appeared a year or two later in book form, it was subsequently suppressed and only reappeared after the abdication of Riḍā Shāh.

However, although contemporary history was too dangerous a subject for most writers, this did not apply to general social criticism, which indeed was quite consonant with the reforming mood of the years of Riḍā Shāh's reign. The theme that attracted most attention, partly perhaps because of the opportunities it offered to less talented and scrupulous writers to exploit sensationalism, was that of the position of women in traditional Iranian society. One of the first novels to take up this subject was Mushfiḳ Kāẓimī's *Ṭihrān-i makhūf* (1922), a somewhat rambling work woven round the subject of true love thwarted by family greed and social custom. Like a number of his successors, Kāẓimī devotes a good deal of space to the discussion and description of prostitution. ʿAbbās Khalīlī, Rabīʿ Anṣārī and Djahāngīr Djalīlī are other writers of this period who base their criticism of social conditions and the frustrations of youth on the oppression and in particular prostitution of women. The chief merit of these works is the light they throw on Iranian society, particularly of the middle class, under the impact of modernisation and western influences. Otherwise their style is rambling and discursive, with frequent digressions into moralising, while the language is still literary and ponderous.

A few writers of this category deserve fuller

mention. Muḥammad Masʿūd (Dihātī), who was assassinated in 1947 in consequence of his editorship of an outspoken and often slanderous newspaper, *Mard-i imrūz*, wrote a trilogy in 1932-4—*Tafrīḥāt-i s̲h̲ab*, *Dar talās̲h̲-i maʿās̲h̲* and *As̲h̲raf-i makh̲lūḳāt*—in which he draws on his own experience of lower middle class life in the provinces and Tehran. These novels were variously praised for their frankness and condemned for their pessimism and ribaldry. A later unfinished trilogy—*Gulhāʾī ki dar d̲j̲ahannam mirūyad* (1942) and *Bahār-i ʿumr* (1946)—is in the same vein, but shows a greater degree of maturity and objectivity. ʿAlī Das̲h̲tī is also well-known as a journalist and politician, and in addition has achieved distinction as an essayist and literary historian and critic. He earns mention here, however, for his three novels *Fitna* (1943), *D̲j̲ādū* (1951) and *Hindū* (1955). Like the others, these take the position of women in society as their central theme, but here it is the women of the upper classes that are under the microscope, and Das̲h̲tī's work has been criticised for its concentration on a rather narrow and repetitive stratum of Iranian life. His language, while no better suited to his subject than the others, is enjoyable for his skill in the handling of words and for his admittedly sometimes rather forced employment of Arabic and European terms. Muḥammad Ḥid̲j̲āzī is noted for a series of novels—*Humā* (1927), *Parīčihr* (1929), *Zībā* (1936-48), *Parwāna* (1952) and *Siris̲h̲k* (1953)—which also, as the names of the first four imply, have a woman as the central character. Ḥid̲j̲āzī's view of middle-class society, however, is less satirical and caustic than those portrayed by Das̲h̲tī and Dihātī, and sentimental philosophising expressed in high-flown language plays a greater part. Ḥid̲j̲āzī may also be regarded as one of the pioneers of the art of the short story, which during and since his time has tended in Iran to overshadow the full-length novel, perhaps because of its conciseness and discouragement of diffuseness and prolixity. Ḥid̲j̲āzī's many short stories are buried in some half-dozen collections of essays and sketches, notably *Āyina*, *Andīs̲h̲a*, *Nasīm*, published at intervals over the period 1932-60. Other novelists who deserve mention include Mahdī Ḥamīdī, for his three-part novel *ʿIshḳ-i dar-bi-dar* (completed in 1940), though he is better known as a poet; Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn S̲h̲ādmān for his *Tārīkī wa raws̲h̲nāʾī* (1950); and ʿAlī Muḥammad Afg̲h̲ānī for his two encyclopaedic novels *S̲h̲awhar-i Āhū K̲h̲ānum* (1961) and *S̲h̲ādkāmān-i darra-yi Ḳara-sū* (1966), the first of these being hailed at the time as a major breakthrough for the Iranian novel, though apart from its length it cannot be regarded as more than a worthy continuation of the tradition set by its predecessors mentioned above.

The true innovators are rather to be found in the field of the short story, and here the first name to be mentioned is that of Muḥammad ʿAlī D̲j̲amālzāda, whose first collection appeared in 1921 under the title *Yakī būd wa yakī nabūd*. The title itself is indicative of a new approach to the art of story-writing, for it is the conventional phrase used to open the traditional folk-tale ("Once upon a time"). In fact D̲j̲amālzāda's stories do not owe as much to folk-literature as this might suggest, though at least one of the six in this collection takes its basic plot from a well-known folk-tale (*Dūsti-yi K̲h̲āla K̲h̲irsa*). His contribution to the development of Persian prose lay rather in his insistence on the importance of using language that the ordinary people can understand, and although he does not go quite so far as to employ colloquial and dialect forms, except occasionally, his writings are nevertheless a rich mine of idiomatic and proverbial expressions. Indeed he has been criticised for using this stock rather in the manner of a card-index, instead of attempting to reproduce the tones and rhythms of common speech. D̲j̲amālzāda, like most writers of his time, indulges in social criticism; but the effectiveness of this is largely discounted by the author's long residence abroad and his consequent ignorance of present-day conditions. After his first volume of stories, D̲j̲amālzāda published nothing more for twenty years; but then there followed four more volumes of short stories, *ʿAmū Ḥusayn ʿAlī* (1942, extensively revised as *S̲h̲āhkār*, 1967), *Talk̲h̲ u S̲h̲īrīn* (1955), *G̲h̲ayr az K̲h̲udā hīčkas nabūd* (1961), and *Āsmān u Rismān* (1964), and six novels, *Dār al-mad̲j̲ānīn* (1942), *Ṣaḥrā-yi maḥs̲h̲ar* (1944), *Ḳultas̲h̲an-i dīwān* (1945), *Rāh-i-āb-nāma* (1947), *Maʿṣūma-yi S̲h̲īrāzī* (1953), and *Sar u tah-i yak karbās* (1955). D̲j̲amālzāda's literary life of more than forty years has assured him a high place in Iranian literary history, even though the momentum of his original incursion into the field was not maintained in his subsequent writings.

The credit for changing the direction of Persian prose writing must go rather to a somewhat younger man whose literary career lasted only half as long, as well as to others who associated with him or followed his example. Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat's [*q.v.*] first published work dates from 1923, when he was only twenty, but his contribution to story-telling began in 1930 when, shortly after his return from studying in Paris, he published *Zinda bi-gūr*, a collection of eight short stories. The next four years marked the first fruitful period of creative writing; during this time he was the leader of a group of friends known to themselves and others as the *Rabʿa*, the "Group of Four", who included in addition to Hidāyat himself Masʿūd Farzād, with whom in 1934 he collaborated on a volume of satirical sketches (*Wag̲h̲ wag̲h̲ sāhāb*), Mud̲j̲tabā Mīnuwī, with whom he wrote an historical drama in three acts (*Māzyār*, 1933), and Buzurg ʿAlawī, the only other member of the Four to achieve distinction as a writer of fiction (the other two had noteworthy careers as scholars). From Hidāyat's pen came two more volumes of short stories, *Sih ḳaṭra k̲h̲ūn* (1932), *Sāya-yi raws̲h̲an* (1933), and a short novel, *ʿAlawiyya K̲h̲ānum* (1933), as well as a satirical play, *Afsāna-yi Āfarīnas̲h̲* (written in 1930 but not published until 1946), books and articles on literary topics, folklore and magic, and translations from French. The range of this output shows the lines along which Hidāyat was developing. Like D̲j̲amālzāda, he wanted to write in the language of the people; but he achieved this not by having at his elbow a stock of idiomatic expressions, but through an ear well-attuned to the speech of his contemporaries, particularly those of the lower social classes. Moreover, he did not confine himself to any one milieu or class, but wrote with equal insight of all, though his sympathies were always with the underdog. This period in his writing culminated in an astonishing work, *Būf-i kūr* (not published until 1937, and then only in a privately duplicated edition in India—full publication had to wait until 1941). So much has been written about this essay in surrealism that it would be futile to attempt to add anything here, and it is sufficient to say that this one work has established Hidāyat as a writer of international calibre.

After the change of régime in 1941, Hidāyat began

to write fiction again (the intervening six years had seen only a handful of literary articles and some translations from Pahlavi), and by 1947 he had published two more collections of short stories (*Sag-i wilgard*, 1943, and *Wilangārī*, 1944), a novel (*Ḥādjdjī Āḳā*, 1945), and two long stories (*Āb-i zindagī*, 1944, and *Fardā*, 1946), as well as a quantity of articles and translations. The work of this period shows a greater awareness of political questions and even for a time a degree of optimism quite out of character with the prevailing trend of his writing. However, this mood was not to last. In 1947 he wound up his fiction-writing with a searing and in places scurrilous satire on Iranian society, cast in the form of a mock history of the Pearl Cannon that used to stand in the centre of Tehran and served as a point of pilgrimage and petition for the uneducated women of the city (characteristically, the manuscripts of this work, which has never been published, carry the "spoonerised" "byline" Hādī Ṣidāḳat). Also possibly from this period, though probably earlier, is another unpublished and undated work, *al-Biʿthat al-islāmiyya ilā 'l-bilād al-afrandjiyya*, a satirical account of a fictional Muslim mission to Europe, in which he takes the opportunity to lampoon typical figures in the religious and political establishment. Four years later Hidāyat died in Paris by his own hand.

His close friend and colleague, Buzurg ʿAlawī, though sharing many of his aims and ideals, differed from him in a number of respects. He took less interest in literature and folklore, and was more deeply influenced by Freudian psycho-analysis and Marxist political theory. This latter enthusiasm led to his imprisonment in 1937 and to prominence in the newly formed Tūda Party after his release in 1941. Prior to that experience he had written only one volume of short stories (*Čamadān*, 1934), apart from a single story contributed to the volume *Anīrān* (1931), one of the other two contributors to which was Ḥidāyat. In 1941 he published a second volume of short stories (*Waraḳ-pāra-hā-yi zandān*), and in 1952 a third collection (*Nāma-hā*) and a novel (*Čashm-hāyash*). In 1953 he left Iran for East Berlin, whence his output of fiction has been negligible. The fact that his reputation stands so high on such a small foundation is a tribute to the quality of his writing, which shows a strong sense of realism and a profound understanding of character.

The "school" of writing started by the *Rabʿa* attracted a number of imitators and followers, some of whom achieved status as independent writers. Among these must certainly be mentioned Ṣādiḳ Čūbak and Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Čūbak's reputation was established with his first book of short stories, *Khayma-i shabbāzī*, published in 1945, and this was followed by a second collection, *Antarī ki lūṭīyash murda būd* (1949). Like his colleagues, he is interested primarily in the lives and characters of members of the lower classes, and he depicts these with a strong sense of realism, which often leads him to use expressions and idioms that shock his elders. He is also one of the first writers to use colloquial language freely throughout. His second volume of short stories was followed by more than ten years of silence, but in 1963 he published a novel, *Tangsīr*, set in the Tangistān area of his home province of Fārs, which gives a vivid picture of the provincial and tribal life of the south of Iran. Two more volumes of short stories followed, *Rūz-i awwal-i ḳabr* (1965) and *Čirāgh-i Ākhir* (1966), and finally (for so far nothing else has appeared) in 1967 a long kaleidoscopic novel, *Sang-i ṣabūr*, written mainly in dialect, and with passages in dramatic dialogue form introducing characters from history, poetry, and so on.

Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad, who died in 1969, has a wider range of writing than Čūbak, being interested in sociology, folklore, and political questions, on all of which subjects he wrote articles and books. In the field of story-writing he has four volumes of short stories, *Dīd u bāzdīd* (1945), *Az randjī ki mībarīm* (1947), *Sitār* (1948), and *Zan-i ziyādī* (1952). A further five stories were published posthumously under the title *Pandj dāstān*. He also published four novels or long stories, *Sargudhasht-i kandū-hā* (1954), *Mudīr-i madrasa* (1958), *Nūn wa 'l-ḳalam* (1961), and *Nifrīn-i zamīn* (1968). Āl-i Aḥmad's sociological interests show clearly in much of his work, but this is not a criticism of his writing, which is concise and economical, allowing his characters to develop in their own words (which are usually in their colloquial form) rather than through the author's description. Other writers who may be considered as having been influenced by the same school of writing include Muḥammad Iʿtimādzāda (Bih-Ādhīn), Ibrāhīm Gulistān, Iḥsān Ṭabarī, Raḥmat Muṣṭafawī, Sharīʿatmadārī (Darwīsh), and Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad's widow, Sīmīn Dānishwar.

The interest in folklore shown by Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat was shared by other writers, some of whom could indeed claim to have preceded him, for instance, Amīr Ḳulī Amīnī, Kūhī Kirmānī, and Ṣubḥī Muhtadī. Only the lastnamed, however, ventured briefly into the field of original fiction, with a short novel in folk-tale form, *Ḥadjdjī Mullā Zulf ʿAlī* (1947). The two threads rejoined in the writings of Ṣamad Bihrangī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ghulām Ḥusayn Saʿidī. Both these writers, born in Tabrīz, use the folk-tale form as a medium for allegorical works commenting on contemporary social questions. Bihrangī, who was drowned in 1968, is the author of a series of ostensibly children's stories, all published between 1966 and 1969, of which mention may be made of *Ūldūz wa kulāgh-hā*, *Kačal-i kaftar-bāz*, *Afsāna-yi maḥabbat*, *Māhī-yi siyāh-i kūčūlū*, and *Kūrughlū wa Kačal-i Ḥamza*. A posthumous collection of short stories, *Talkhūn*, was published in 1970. Saʿidī, who writes his fictional work under the pseudonym Gawhar-i Murād, is best known for his plays, mimes and film scripts; his short story collections include *Khāna-hā-yi shahr-i Rayy* (1955), *Shab-nishīnī-yi bāshukūh* (1960), *Dandīl* (1966), *Wāhima-hā-yi bī-nām-unishān* (1967), *Tars u āz* and *Tūp* (1968). Like Āl-i Aḥmad, he is interested in sociology, and is the author of a number of monographs. Other writers in this category include Ṣādiḳ Humāyūnī, Djamāl Mīr-Ṣādiḳī and Shāpūr Ḳarīb.

The latest phase in fiction-writing shows a trend towards a more introspective approach, perhaps encouraged by current political and social conditions, which are felt to preclude open discussion of current questions. The writers of this category choose a somewhat obscure and allusive mode of expression, which leaves the reader free to make his own interpretation; they are also more concerned with inner feelings and psychological states. One of the first writers in this vein was Taḳī Mudarrisī, whose novel *Yakūlyā wa tanhāʾī-yi ū* appeared in 1956. This was followed in 1966 by *Sharīf Djān*, a novel of the 1930s. Bahman Fursī is known chiefly as a playwright, but his collection of short stories, *Zīr-i dandān-i sag* (1964), attracted favourable notice. Two poets, Maḥmūd Kiyā-Nūsh and Maḥmūd

Ṭayyārī, are also known as story-writers. Two other writers deserve special mention: Hūshang Gulshīrī for his three novels *Shāzda Iḥtidjāb* (1968), *Kristīn wa Kīd* (1971), and *Maʿṣūm-i duwwum* (1972), and Nādir Ibrāhīmī, who since the late sixties has published a steady flow of novels and short stories. Other names include Kāẓim Sādāt-i Ishkiwarī and Bahrām Ṣādiķī.

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(L. P. Elwell-Sutton)

5. In Urdu.

Until the beginning of the 19th century, prose literature was almost unknown in Urdu. A few prose works had been written in the Deccan as far back as the early 17th century, but they were mostly on religious subjects. A notable exception, however, was Wadjhī's story *Sab Ras* (1635). This is based on the Persian allegorical *mathnawī*, *Dastūr al-ʿushshāķ*, by Yaḥyā b. Sībak, who is generally known as Fattāḥī Nīsāpūrī (d. 852/1448). *Sab Ras* is written in ornate rhymed prose, and like its Persian source, it tells the story of the romance of Princess Ḥusn (Beauty) and Prince Dil (Heart). All the characters bear similarly allegorical names. The work appears to have been an isolated piece, and it cannot be considered a progenitor of modern Urdu fiction.

There did exist a kind of versified Urdu fiction in the 18th century, namely, the narrative *mathnawī*, of which the outstanding example is *Siḥr al-bayān*, by Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. At its best, the *mathnawī* included some of the essential elements of the novel—a story with a logical sequence of connected incidents; characterisation, however rudimentary; and vivid description of scenes and social customs. But the plots relied too heavily on the incredible and supernatural.

Another precursor of modern Urdu fiction is to be found in certain collections of short stories within a "frame", which were recited to general audiences, as well as to royal courts and rich households. They are the Urdu equivalents of Arabic collections like *Alf layla wa-layla* and *Sīrat ʿAntar*, and are termed *dāstān* (pl. *dāstāneṅ*). Ralph Russell (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 107) refers his readers to E. W. Lane's *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* for a "generally accurate account of how the dastans were recited in India". These cycles of legends were subsequently printed in Lucknow in the press established there in 1858 by Nawal Kishōr (d. 1895). *Amīr Ḥamza Ṣāhib Ķirān kā ķiṣṣa* recounts the wonderful exploits of a famous uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad in 17 volumes totalling about 17,000 pages. The most popular sections were *Ṭilsim-i Hōshrubā* (7 vols.) and *Nawshērān-nāma* (2 vols.). Vying in popularity with this vast collection was the seven-volume *Bustān-i khayāl*. These works are generally considered to be of Persian origin; but it is not clear whether the reciters employed by Kishōr to produce his Urdu versions were actually translating Persian texts themselves, or using existing Urdu versions which had been passed from mouth to mouth. The language is highly-coloured and uses rhymes; but the stories recounted were apparently well-known and appreciated in India. The *dāstāneṅ* were tales of chivalry, and, like the *mathnawī*, contained a strong element of the supernatural. But whereas a *mathnawī* might have a well-formed story, the *dāstān* consisted of a series of short stories or incidents, with little attempt at characterisation.

In the evolution of the Urdu novel, we find the *dāstān* gradually giving way to the European-style novel. Indeed, in some measure the one gradually merged into the other. But the prelude to this transformation takes us to Calcutta, where, in 1800, the British East India Company established Fort William College, to train British officials in the languages, laws and customs of India. The first Principal, John Borthwick Gilchrist, assembled a number of Indian writers, whom he commissioned to produce prose works which could be used as text-books for Urdu and other languages. While not discouraging a sense of style and a modicum of linguistic embellishment, he required fairly simple language. A number of Urdu books were written, some of them fiction, which became popular classics. They were all adaptions from other languages, chiefly Persian but occasionally Sanskrit. The emergence of the Urdu novel later in the century diminished the importance of these works, though they served until the Second World War as text-books for British officials and army officers.

The best-known was Mīr Amman's *Bāgh-o-bahār* (1801) based on a Persian tale by Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*]. It tells the story of four dervishes who are supernaturally guided to a city. There, aided by the King, they discover their long-lost loves. The scene is supposedly Istanbul; but it is described like Dihlī in the last years of the Mughals. Since the original Calcutta edition, this book has been frequently reprinted, and an English translation by Duncan Forbes appeared in London in 1862. S. A. B.

Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 18) describes it as "the first prose classic in Urdu... still read for enjoyment". Like other Fort William products, it is written in reasonably straightforward language, and includes good dialogue and characterisation. Amongst other Fort William fiction were *ʿArāʾis͟h-i maḥfil* by ʿAlī Afsōs, and Mīrzā ʿAlī Kāẓim D̲j̲awān's *S̲h̲akuntalā*, based on the drama by Kālī Das. Not all the fiction written for John Gilchrist was published at the time. Two previously unpublished ones have recently been edited by ʿIbādat Barēlwī. They are by Maẓhar ʿAlī K̲h̲ān Wilā. ***Haft guls̲h̲an*** (Karachi 1964) is a collection of fables; while ***Mādhōnal awr Kām Kandalā*** (Karachi 1965) is a short ***dāstān***, in 20 chapters. Finally, mention must be made of another Fort William publication which provides a link with the ***mat̲h̲nawī***—Mīr Bahādur ʿAlī Ḥusaynī's *Nat̲h̲r-i bēnaẓīr* (Calcutta 1803). It is a prose version of Mīr Ḥasan's ***Siḥr al-bayān***, including verses quoted from the poem from time to time. Strange to relate, it was published two years earlier than the ***mat̲h̲nawī*** itself.

Whether the fiction produced at Fort William forms a definite stage in the evolution of the Urdu novel and short-story, or was merely an interlude, is a matter subject to dispute. Muḥammad Sadiq (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 212) denies that it was a "formative factor in the development of modern Urdu prose". He adds that, had it never existed, Urdu prose would not have developed any differently. On the other hand, Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, 22) maintains that it not only furthered the simplification of Urdu prose, but also popularised prose romances. It is certainly arguable that the simpler prose fostered by the ʿAligarh Movement, and exemplified by the writings of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān and Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī, and even ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm S̲h̲arar, is at times reminiscent of "Fort William prose". But of those three, only S̲h̲arar wrote fiction.

Whatever the merits and demerits of the Fort William products, they were important enough to stimulate controversy as to what features constituted good Urdu literary prose. Many considered the Fort William prose style too simple to be literary. In fact, the first original prose romance in Urdu, *Fasāna-yi-ʿad̲j̲āʾib* by Mīrzā Rad̲j̲ab ʿAlī Bēg Surūr (d. 1867), was regarded, and perhaps intended, as a reply to the Fort William style. He wrote it in about 1824, but it was not published until between 1839 and 1842. It may fairly be described as a ***dāstān***, for it is a series of stories of chivalry, with a certain amount of the supernatural, set in a "frame"; but it is in one volume only. The frame is the love-story of Prince D̲j̲ān-i ʿālam and Princess And̲j̲uman-ārā. The stories or incidents describe the dangers, and fights with men and magicians, that the hero has to face in order to win her. The frame is a familiar one, and recurs in Sars̲h̲ar's *Fasāna-yi-Āzād*. The language contains much rhetoric and rhyme, and it is interesting to note that Surūr wrote it in Urdu only because he feared that his command of Arabic and Persian was inadequate.

However, it was not until the 1860s and 1870s that the Urdu novel, in the European sense, emerged. There were good reasons for this. English became not only the language of government and higher education, but also a common medium of communication between the various peoples of India. English novels became familiar in the original language. Later, a number were "translated", or, more accurately, adapted into Urdu, as were selections of short stories. But as far as can be ascertained, these "translations" did not become common until after the First World War, by which time the Urdu novel was already flourishing. Another factor favouring Urdu fiction was the appearance of numerous newspapers and magazines, which published novels either in instalments, or as supplementary special issues. Fiction therefore became cheap enough to attract a wide readership. Thirdly, the ʿAlīgarh Movement made prose a respected literary medium, and also demonstrated that prose need not be artificial, full of rare words, balanced sentences and rhymes, to be artistic. During the last thirty years of the life of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān (1813-98), the novel became an established form.

Of the three great novelists writing in this period, the first, chronologically, was Nad̲h̲īr Aḥmad (1836-1912). But it is more logical to discuss Pandit Ratan Nāth Sars̲h̲ār (1845-1903), first, as his stories retain some features of the ***dāstān***. Born in Lucknow, after a sketchy education he worked for the newspaper ***Awadh panč***, then for its rival, the ***Awadh ak̲h̲bār***, of which the proprietor Nawal Kis̲h̲ōr appointed him editor. His gigantic picaresque novel ***Fasāna-yi-Āzād***, on which his fame rests, appeared in this newspaper in instalments in 1878 and 1879, and was then published in book form in Lucknow in 1880, in four volumes totalling about 1700 double-columned pages. It is more like a collection of short stories and anecdotes than a novel, reflecting both Sars̲h̲ār's untidy and disorganised way of life and the demands of serialisation, which required him to produce regular instalments with or without inspiration. According to K̲h̲ūrs̲h̲īd (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 183), the idea of the work arose from a discussion about *Don Quixote* among members of the staff of the paper. Sars̲h̲ar's book was a tremendous success, and it was imitated by many subsequent novelists.

The "frame" of ***Fasāna-yi-Āzād*** is that the noble and chivalrous Āzād, of the city of Lucknow, falls in love with the beautiful Ḥusn-ārā. In order to win her hand, he has to go and fight for the Turks against the Russians, and his adventures are recounted in the book. He has a companion, K̲h̲ōd̲j̲ī, who is a figure of fun. In fact, in many ways, the roles of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are reversed in Āzād and K̲h̲ōd̲j̲ī. The work is so rich in characters, incidents and scenes that it defies description in a brief account. There are major sub-plots as well as the main "frame", and the incidents described are both numerous and varied, ranging from fighting and flirtation to discussions of poetry. It is notable for its pictures of Lucknow life. But above all, it is full of dialogue, often racy, and suiting the language to the speaker. A Western reader picking it up for the first time might think, from many pages, that it is a drama, with each speaker's name in bold letters at the beginning of the line, followed by "stage directions" and then what he or she says. This method of setting out dialogue was followed by a number of Urdu novelists—for example, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm S̲h̲arar.

The hero, Āzād, resembles the ***dāstān*** hero—handsome, brave, a great lover and a champion of what is right. The realistic pictures, however, are modern, sometimes reminding us of Dickens; and there is very little of the supernatural. Thus it is a transitional work, between the ***dāstān*** and the novel; though by the time it was published, three of Nad̲h̲īr Aḥmad's novels had already appeared, with their realistic contemporary social themes. However, Sars̲h̲ar wrote to entertain his readers. The abundant variety of characters, including many from the underworld

and the demi-monde; the wit and humour; the basic realism, despite a veneer of exaggeration—all these appealed so strongly to the readers, that it is said that when it first appeared in serial form, each new instalment was avidly awaited, and people rushed to buy the *Awadh akhbār* because of it.

Such a tour-de-force is hard to repeat; and Sarshār's Bohemian life-style, especially his addiction to alcohol, seems to have affected his work. Of his later novels, *Khudā'i fawdjdār* is an abridged and adapted version of Cervantes' novel. His *Kāmnī* is his only novel with a Hindu background—which is rather surprising, since he was himself a Hindu.

Nadhīr Aḥmad (1836-1912) is considered by many to be the first modern novelist in Urdu, especially by those who prefer a novel to be a study of contemporary social life, and who like it to have a message. Strange to relate, he became a novelist by accident. Educated at Delhi College, he worked first as a schoolmaster, then an inspector of education, and subsequently in various posts in the Revenue Department. His first "novel", *Mirā'at al-ʿarūs* ("The bride's mirror") (1869) was written for his own daughters to read privately; it was a moral tale to teach them the qualities required of a good and successful wife. A British Director of Public Instruction saw the manuscript, and urged Nadhīr Aḥmad to have it published. Because of its educational value and high moral tone, the Indian Government bought a thousand copies. Nadhīr Aḥmad achieves his didactic aim by describing two sisters and comparing their married life. Akbarī is a spoilt girl who proves incapable of running a house; while Aṣgharī is efficient and practical, almost a model of all the virtues. In 1873 he followed it with a sequel, *Banāt al-naʿsh*. Its subject is girls' education, but it is more like a series of lessons than a story. *Tawbat al-Naṣūḥ* (1877) is a more ambitious family tale. It tells how Naṣūḥ, while ill, repents; and, having previously allowed his children to do as they like, he now tries to reform them as well as himself. *Fasāna-yi-Mubtalā* (1885) treats of the evils of polygamy. *Ibn al-waḳt* (1888) describes the troubles of an Anglicised Indian who shuns his fellows Indians. But when his only British friend leaves the country, he finds himself isolated. All these novels, then, are stories with a moral, and the very names of many of the characters are descriptive of them: thus Naṣūḥ (repentant) and Mubtalā (afflicted).

These novels struck a new note and have many attractive qualities. They are straightforward stories of manageable (one-volume) size, in uncomplicated yet elegant style, dealing with the contemporary social scene and its problems. Their high moral tone, somewhat reminiscent of Victorian England, made them suitable reading for people of all ages and both sexes; and they were widely read, and frequently re-printed up to the Second World War. Nadhīr Aḥmad improved with experience, and his later novels are superior to his earlier ones in both character development and plot construction. But his earlier ones remained the most popular—especially *Mirā'at al-ʿarūs* and *Tawbat al-Naṣūḥ*. More recently, *Ibn al-waḳt* has attracted attention, because of its relevance to the last years of the British Rādj.

The main objection to these novels has been on grounds of the domination of the didactic aim; so much so, that it has been suggested that they are not real novels at all, but pleas for social reforms in the guise of novels. There is also a lack of humour in them. Nevertheless, they mark the advent of the social novel in Urdu.

Two distinct genres of novel, then, had emerged by the last quarter of the 19th century—the picaresque type of Sarshār, and the social type of Nadhīr Aḥmad. Both writers were imitated, and there was a burst of activity in both genres. The picaresque type gradually lost its appeal, and though many later examples could be mentioned, none achieved anything approaching Sarshār's success. The social novel, however, was continued unabated until the present time, and in 1899 an outstanding example appeared—*Umrāō Djān Adā*, by Mīrzā Muḥammad Hādī Ruswā (1858-1931). Ralph Russell describes it as the first true novel in Urdu (*op. cit.*, 132). It is the story of a retired high-class Lucknow prostitute, whose name forms the title, and who tells her life-story to the author. Like Sarshār, Ruswā tells much of the story in dialogue form, and the book is very readable and entertaining. As Muḥammad Sadiq says (*op. cit.*, 355), the didactic element emerges before the end. But what is remarkable in Ruswā's approach is his sympathetic and perceptive attitude to his heroine. He does not blame her, neither does he condone her sinful life, which has made her virtually a social outcast. He shows understanding without being sentimental. Ruswā wrote several other novels, but was unable to repeat the success of *Umrāō Djān Adā*.

As the 19th century drew to its close, a third genre of Urdu fiction appeared, the historical novel. Its pioneer was ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar (1860-1926), a journalist and historian, and a leading figure in the ʿAlīgarh Movement. Born in Lucknow, he worked there for 5 years as Assistant Editor of the *Awadh panč*. In 1887, he started the magazine *Dil gudāz*, which he continued, with interruptions, until his death. His earlier novels were first published in serial form; but later ones were published whole, and sold cheaply as supplements to the magazine. The idea of writing historical novels came to him while reading Sir Walter Scott's *Talisman* during a train journey. Struck by the unfavourable light in which Scott depicted Muslims, he decided to try to redress the balance, and produced *Malik-i-ʿAzīz awr Wardjāna*. He had previously published a social novel, *Dilkasp*. But though he did not completely abandon this genre, the majority of his novels, numbering about 35, are historical. They contain unashamed propaganda for Islam, and paint Christianity in a poor light; but they are vivid and exciting stories of heroism and romance, with brave heroes, cruel villains, and beautiful heroines—the latter often Christians girls who fall in love with Muslims. They achieved enormous popularity, because Sharar knew how to write a good story and sustain interest. His descriptive passages are convincing without being over-long, and there is considerable dialogue. But the drama often deteriorates into melodrama. His dénouements are frequently bloodthirsty, and he lingers too long over cruelty and killing for modern tastes. Historical veracity is often lacking, and there are anachronisms. Still, there is no doubt that he could draw characters credibly if not subtly. His language is eclectic and attractive, without being forced; and it still reads well. And though overladen with Arabic expressions for some tastes, this suits his themes.

His novels span the Islamic world from Spain to Africa, Turkey, the Middle East and India; whilst in time they range from the 7th to the 19th centuries. *Flōrā Flōrindā* (1897), a tale of Christians and Muslims in mediaeval Spain, is regarded as one of his best novels. The heroine, Flōrā, is the daughter

of a Muslim father who is brought up as a Christian. She is later raped by a "patriarch", whose child she bears, and whom she kills in the end. The story is highly involved, and the swift dénouement which occupies only 13 pages out of a total of 350, leaves almost all the main characters killed. Equally popular was *Firdaws-i-barīn* (1899), which to the present writer, is more convincing. The background to the story is the conquest of the valley of the Assassins (*Ḥashshāshiyya*) and their fortress of Alamût by Hûlāgû Khān in 1257. The hero and heroine, Ḥusayn and Zamurrad, have been in the power of the Assassin leader, Khūrshāh, but in the end they side with Hûlāgû against him. There is a vivid description of the final battle and the destruction of the "sublime paradise" of the Assassins, with the hero Ḥusayn playing a major rôle. Finally, Hûlāgû arranges for Ḥusayn and Zamurrad to marry, and they leave together for Mecca and the Pilgrimage. This accords somewhat ill with Ḥusayn's obvious enjoyment of prolonging the agony of those whom he kills in the final battle. But it is the sort of melodrama which doubtless appealed to the readers of 1899.

It is difficult to single out names of 20th century Urdu novelists who continued social and historical novels. Some of them, like Prēm Čand and M. Aslam, are better known as short-story writers. Rāshid al-Khayrī (1868-1936) was one of the most successful, and though best-known for his social novels, he also wrote a number of historical ones. His social novels, though not without humour, earned him the nickname of *Muṣawwir-i-ghamm* ("depicter of sorrows"). The main theme is the position of woman in Islamic society. His trilogy *Subḥ-i-zindagī*, *Shām-i-zindagī* and *Shab-i-zindagī*, is worthy of note. Among his historical novels, *ʿArūs-i Karbalā* deserves mention. The "bride" of the title is a Christian widow who feels drawn to Islam, and finally marries ʿUbayd, a partisan of al-Ḥusayn at the battle. Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, 118) regards Rāshid al-Khayrī's historical novels as "poor stuff", lacking social colour and realism.

The Urdu short story is held by most Indian and Pakistani critics to be an importation from the West, although some of its elements may be seen in stories and anecdotes of the *dāstān*, especially *Fasāna-yi-ʿadjāʾib* and *Fasāna-yi-Āzād*.

M. Aslam in his introduction to one of his short-story collections, *Ḥaķīķatēṅ awr ḥikāyatēṅ* (Lahore 1972, 3) maintains that the reverse is true, and that the Europeans really took the short-story from the Muslims! He goes on to say that the short-story originated in religious literature such as the Old Testament and the Ķurʾān, and attempts to substantiate this from stories in the Ķurʾān. However, there is no doubt that the creator of the genre in its modern sense, in Urdu, was Prēm Čand (real name Dhanpat Rāʾē) (1880-1937). Born near Benares, he was a Hindu, and wrote in both Hindi and Urdu: indeed some of his fiction appeared in both languages —or in both scripts, Arabic and Devanagri. He started his writing career as a novelist, then turned to the short-story, which was at that time in its infancy in India. He was a prolific writer, and his short stories were collected in a number of volumes, including *Prēm paččīsī*, *Prēm battīsī*, *Prēm čālīsī*, *Wāridāt* and *Zād-i-rāb*. Prēm Čand is noted for his pictures of village life. He depicts the poor and humble as inherently good, but compelled to do wrong by the pressures of poverty and temptation. They are exploited by landowners and rich employers, and are a prey to fear, superstitions and religious bigotry. For such people little acts or accidents may have dire effects. Prēm Čand, then, was no less a pleader for social reform than Nadhīr Aḥmad. But whereas the latter concentrated on the middle class, Prēm described the lower classes, especially in villages. A master of characterisation, style and form, he made the short story his métier, and whilst his novels are now neglected, many of his short stories are acknowledged masterpieces.

Among later short story writers, mention should be made of M. Aslam (*Ēm Aslam*). the author of over a hundred books. Many of his short stories are romantic, and he depicts the instability of middle-class society in a period of change. Finally, there have been several brilliant writers of humorous short stories, and essays in story form. They include Shawkat Thānawī, Mirzā ʿAẓīm Bēg Čughtāʾī and Paṭras Bukhārī (1898-1958).

A word must be said about the nomenclature of Urdu fiction, which includes Hindi, Persian, Arabic and English terms. *Dāstān* has already been mentioned. *Kahānī* was used chiefly for fables, anecdotes and short stories. Throughout most of the 19th century, the term *fasāna*, with its variant, *afsāna*, was current. Nadhīr Aḥmad's novels were called *ķiṣṣa*, but as we have seen, he also used the term *fasāna*. *Ḥikāyat* has been used considerably, particularly for the short-story. It seems likely that Sharar was the first to employ the English word "novel" (Urdu, *nāwal*) and this is now the ommonest name for a novel. A short-story is now usually called *afsāna*—more properly, *mukhtaṣar afsāna*.

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(J. A. Haywood)

6. In Malaysia and Indonesia.

In dictionaries of older Malay, *ḳiṣṣa* is defined as "story, narrative episode". It occurs regularly in this sense in literary words from the 17th century onwards, and, in addition, is used in Malay historiographical works and romances as a kind of pericope marker to introduce a new stage or episode in a longer narrative.

It appears in the title of a Malay adaptation of the Stories of the Prophets, *Ḳiṣāṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (largely the version of al-Kisāʾī) which became popular from the 17th century onwards, and in more recent times was the title of an Indonesian magazine, *Kisah* (Jakarta 1953-8) devoted to the short story. It appears in the title of a collection of short stories, purely western and totally secular in theme and content by Armijn Pané, *Kisah Antara Manusia*. Nevertheless, it did not establish itself as the title of a genre. For shorter length narratives, the Sanskrit-derived *cerita* (story) was preferred, with, in imitation of European usage, the qualifying adjective *pendek* ("short"), the two words now being abbreviated to *cerpen*.

The short story is currently the most popular literary form in Indonesia and Malaysia. Its roots are to be found in local fables and animal stories, in short narratives of Perso-Arabic origin, especially those set within frame-collections, and in the flowering of the genre in late 19th century Europe. Although none of the great Arabic collections of stories such as *al-Bukhalāʾ*, *al-Aghānī* or the *Alf layla wa-layla* has accompanied the islamisation of the Malay world, one of the very oldest Malay MSS (*ca.* 1615) is a fragment of the Persian *Tūtī-nāma*: a rendering in Malay of a Persian version of the *Sukasaptati* or "Tales of a parrot". Other frame-stories such as *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and the *Sindibād-nāma* established themselves in Malay renderings relatively early. The large number of MSS. of such works is an adequate index of their popularity.

All of these stories belong to the popular domain. The composition by individuals of realistic short stories did not begin until the 20th century with the development of a popular press, and the possibilities that newspapers and periodicals offered for the development of such a form of narrative fiction. It established its present popularity in both regions during the 1950s.

In Malaysia, during the 1930s, the authors of short stories were graduates of Malay stream education and religious schools. The majority of their stories were moralistic, concerning such issues as the backwardness of the Malays, the problems of forced marriage, and the need for a reformist understanding of Islam. In Indonesia during the same period the secular stream was dominant. But just as since Malayan independence in 1957, the short story in Malaysia has become secularised, in Indonesia some short stories by Muslims have brought a consciousness and sensitivity to the perception of religious experience which is characteristically modern. In many cases, the concern is purely with man as man, and while a religious dimension is suggested, it is not worked out within the dogmatic frame-work of a single identifiable religious tradition. In a few, however, and A. A. Navis (see *Bibl.* below) presents the best example, a religious problem lies at the very heart of the story, and is the reason for its existence. Nevertheless, apart from contributing the word *ḳiṣṣa* to the Malay vocabulary, the Muslim religious and literary tradition has played only a limited role in the shaping of the short story in Malay. The Western secular tradition has been, far and away, the most important single influence.

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7. In Swahili.

In Swahili literature, the word *ḳiṣṣa* was first used in the context of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*]. The numerous Swahili authors (i.e. writers as well as composers of oral traditions) had at their disposal rather more elaborate versions than those of al-Kisāʾī or al-Thaʿlabī from which to borrow their themes for the prophets' legends, extremely popular in East Africa. Also, several of the Swahili versions of the legends have their parallels in Indonesia; see J. Knappert, *The Qiṣaṣu 'l-Anbiyāʾi as moralistic tales*, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, vi (1976), 103-16.

In written Swahili literature, the legends of the pre-Islamic prophets are always treated in verse. Full-length epic poems are extant about Adam and Eve, Job (Ayyūb) and Joseph (Yūsuf), but fragments have also come to light dealing with Mūsā, Yaʿḳūb, Yūnus, Sulaymān and Dāwūd, Burahimu (Ibrāhīm), and Zakariyyāʾ and ʿĪsā; see Knappert, *Four Swahili epics*, London 1964; idem, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, ch. 2; idem, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden 1971, i, ch. 3. Many of these legends, and especially those with miraculous elements, circulate in oral tradition, see Knappert, *Myths and legends of the Swahili*, London 1970. It is

probable that these tales have come to the Swahili Coast with sailors from Arabia, Persia and India; the latter country in particular seems clearly to have influenced Swahili literature.

From this semi-religious usage, the word *ḳiṣṣa* (now spelt *kisa* with purely Swahili plural *visa*) acquired an extended range of meaning to that of "miraculous tale in general", "fairly tale of the type found in the *Alf layla wa-layla* collection" [*q.v.*]. The connection here is obvious, since many of the latter tales are variations on *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* themes or employ their characters, e.g. the tale of the fisherman who found a bottle that had been sealed by King Solomon, a tale well-known amongst the Swahili. These prose stories were not written down by the Swahili themselves, but missionaries with folkloric interests collected them in the 19th century; see e.g. E. Steere, *Swahili tales*, London 1869, and C. Velten, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*, Berlin 1898. These *visa* were never composed in verse, until very recently, whereas the *hadithi*, traditions about the Prophet Muḥammad or other holy men, were often composed in verse and written down, in Arabic script of course. As well as the above two genres, traditional Swahili storytellers distinguish also the *ngano*, an invented tale or fable, of which last there are several in Swahili oral literature, some apparently derived from the Indian treasure house of fables, of the type represented in Islamic literature by *Kalila wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] and the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* [see KĀSHIFĪ]).

It is only in the last thirty years or so that the word *kisa* has come to be used in the meaning of the modern novel, though Swahili novels have neither the extended treatment nor sophistication of European-language novels. Indeed, secular Swahili prose literature as a medium for artistic expression is still very much in its infancy. In the earlier, traditional society, prose was the vehicle for the conveyance of factual information, such as topics of history, law and theology. Artistic expression was channelled exclusively into poetry, even for subjects that in the West have not been represented in poetry for a century or so, such as theology and the rules of personal behaviour. Fable and fairy tale belonged to the realm of the (often illiterate) story-teller. The short story and novel have only come to the scene a generation after the influence of English literature, bringing with it an entirely new appreciation of the possibilities of prose writing, has affected the minds and creative faculties of Africans educated in mission secondary schools. Hence a major problem is now the adaptation of the Swahili language—previously largely a trade language, apart from its function in didactic and epic literature, where it has been bound by rigid conventions—into a flexible, modern medium for literature and belles-lettres.

The names of some recent Swahili novelists, with details of their works, are given below. No claim to completeness nor to any attempt at ranking in importance can be given, in view of the uncertain future course of development of Swahili prose. Muhammad Said Abdullah has written the first Swahili detective novel, *Mzimu wa watu wa kale* "The ghost of the old people" (1960), with a sequel *Kisima cha Giningi* "Mrs Giningi's well" (1968); in both, the chief character is Bwana Msa, a taciturn, pipe-smoking detective, obviously inspired by Sherlock Holmes. A. J. Amir's *Nahoda fikirini* "A captain in thoughts" (1971) is a semi-historical novel describing life on the Swahili Coast and at sea. Haji Chum's first novel is *Kisa cha ndugu saba* "The tale of the seven brothers" (1969), after his two epics *Vita vya Uhud* "The battle of Uḥud" and the unpublished *Utenzi wa Nushuri* "The Day of Judgment"; born in Zanzibar, he writes within the Islamic tradition. David Diva is a writer of short stories (*hadithi*) in the Islamic tradition, and one of the first modern writers in this genre. Abdullah Saleh Farsy, from a prominent family of Islamic scholars in Zanzibar, has written *Kurwa na Ndoto* "K. and N." about two young people getting married, with a concentration on the rites and ceremony of the Swahili wedding. Salim A. Kibao's *Matatu ya thamani* "Three priceless proverbs" (1975) describes how these proverbs save the life of a young man who buys them and make him into a king; the story has echoes of the Ḳur'ānic Yūsuf story so popular in Swahili. G. Ngugi wa Thiongo's novels are set in central Kenya and have the life of the Kikuyu as their background: *Mtawa mweusi* "The black hermit" and *Usilie mpenzi wangu* "Don't cry, my darling". F. V. Nkwera's *Mzishi wa baba ana radhi* "The one who buries his father will receive his blessing" (1967) is partly autobiographical. Abdullah Shariff Omar's *Kisa cha Hasan il Basiri* "The story of Hasan al-Basir" is an adventure story in the Arabian Nights' mould, still very popular in Swahili. Shaaban Robert is the only Swahili author of more than local fame, a poet, essayist and storyteller, and a writer of fine prose with a strong religious philosophy behind it; his *Kusadikika* "The credible country" (1951, 1960) and *Utubora* "Human excellence" both have moral implications behind their stories. John Ndeti Somba's *Alipanda pepo na kuvuna tufani* "He planted the wind and reaped the storm" (1969) and *Kuishi kwingi ni kuona mengi* "To live long is to see much" (1968) both deal with the author's own experiences in up-country Kenya.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. KNAPPERT)

8. In Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber.

The written and oral Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber literature is a genre of intellectual activity which has a place in the cultural field of the Muslim West which is by no means negligible. In this sphere of the expression of Jewish thought, the *ḳiṣṣa* enjoys a certain favour both among the educated and among the wider public and the masses. The themes and genres are very varied: rhymed versions of Biblical stories or liturgical poems, songs of joy or of lament (*ḳinot*), eulogies, and panegyrical and hagiographical pieces glorifying the saints of Palestine in Jewish antiquity (Rabbi Shim'on Bar Yoḥay, buried at Meron in Galilee, and Rabbi Me'ir Ba'al Hannes, buried at Tiberias) or local saints (Mūlāy Ighghi, Rabbi Iḥyā Lakhḍar, etc.), venerated by means of *hillulas* and by local pilgrimages. Also connected with the *ḳiṣṣa* are the songs of folklore celebrating family ceremonies (e.g. *rites de passage* such as circumcisions, burials and periods of mourning), except that these form a genre devoid of any literary or intellectual pretentions, made up in a language closer to the local spoken tongues, whilst the *ḳiṣṣa* proper has a more studied form and a more precise expression. It is written in a special language, comparable to the *malḥūn*, a kind of poetic *koinè* in Arabic dialect given literary touches, largely stripped of Hebraisms or outside linguistic influences, and generally to be understood by the Jewish communities of the Maghrib as a group, even though differing from the current spoken language.

As well as the folkloric setting which it describes

and the precious linguistic materials which it represents, the *ḳiṣṣa* reveals on examination deep structures and a content attaching it, on the one hand, to the general cultural ambience of the Maghrib, but on the other, to universal Jewish thought. A rigorous and minute analysis of the written text or the oral discourse, and of their direct or allusive references, throws light on their literary founda- and on a cultural substratum of great richness.

The present author has given a sketch of all this in various publications (*REI*, *REJ*, *JA*, *ROMM*, etc.). Thus *L'histoire de Job en judéo-arabe du Maroc*, in *REI* (1968), 279-315, surveys a considerable number of Jewish, Arab-Muslim, Morisco and Coptic chronicles and legends, the (Greek) apocryphal text of the Testament of Job, as well as the conflicts and speculations of the Biblical text.

The pieces involving parodies, published in *REJ*, cxxviii (1969), 377-93, as *La parodie dans la littérature hebraïque et judéo-arabe, folklore de Purim au Maroc*, borrow from local ceremonies, the Jewish homilectic literature of the *Midrash* and *Aggadah*, and Arab-Muslim legends. *L'hymne à Bar Yohay*, in *REJ*, cxxvii (1968), 366-82, is a *ḳiṣṣa* from Tinghir of the Todgha which derives its sources from local mystical folklore combined with the texts of the Zohar, the Kabbalah, the Talmud and the *Midrash*.

(H. ZAFRANI)

ḲISṬ [see MAKĀYĪL].

KI-SWAHILI [see SWAHILI].

ḲIṬʿA [see MUḲAṬṬAʿA].

KITĀB (A., pl. *kutub*) "book". The beginnings of the Arabic book go back to the early Islamic period. According to traditions, sheets (*ṣuḥuf*) with verses of the Ḳurʾān were collected and put between wooden covers (*lawḥayn, daffatayn,*) kept thus and called by the Ethiopian word for "book", *muṣḥaf/maṣḥaf* [*q.v.*]. Following Christian and Jewish patterns, this form of a codex was generally maintained for the Holy Book since the authoritative redaction done under ʿUthmān; by that means, the Ḳurʾān was distinguished, by its material form, from profane writings in rolls made of papyrus [see ḲIRṬĀS] and from the *kitāb* pure and simple which meant, in that early period, "something written", "notes", "list" or "letter". As writing material, sheets of parchment [see DJILD, RAḲḲ, ṬIRS] were used, which, folded into four pages and placed within one another, became quires (*karārīs*); it is uncertain whether these quires were sometimes stitched. Presumably covers made of wood or papyrus were covered over and kept together with leather and, like contemporary Coptic or later Islamic covers, decorated with coloured wood, bone or ivory.

With the rise of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, books and book knowledge, additional to knowledge of the Ḳurʾān, became a general aim of Islamic society. The interest of the government was evoked by questions concerning the legitimation of its power and by problems of administration connected with these questions, as a background to the theocratic claim to power [see SHUʿŪBIYYA]. During this period Arabic learning concerning problems of theology [see MUʿTAZILA], *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, history, philology, etc. and medicine, alchemy, etc., had its heyday, and this florescence was connected with the emergence and spread of rag paper [see KĀGHAD] from the end of the 2nd/8th century onwards. These scholars wrote books at the suggestion of or on order from the caliphs and the ruling classes, in the expectation of being honoured by presents and payments, in opposition to the organs of state and their policies, or just for the sake of belief (cf. Sūra LXVIII, 1; XCVI, 4). Apart from treatises on different subjects, general works were written by authors who were employed as secretaries or *ḳāḍīs* in state chanceries and offices, where the rather expensive writing materials were at their disposal. Others copied books not only for personal purposes, but for their living; moreover, they dealt in paper, ran a bookshop or a book-bindery, or combined one with one the other. It is surprising to note how quickly books were widely disseminated and did not remain confined to schools and learned institutions [see MADRASA], where also notes taken in lectures, enlarged by additional material, were made into books. Certain kinds of transmission of books and their authentication, including lists of students in a lecture audience, were formed [see IDJĀZA]; adoptations or quotations from other works were often marked by special terms, texts and copies were compared with each other, collated, complemented and glossed. In writing rooms which were sometimes associated to public libraries [see MAKTABA] books were multiplied commercially. An author could safeguard himself against dubious activities of scribes in these writing rooms through issuing his books by authorisation, only; e.g. al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122 [*q.v.*]) himself wrote a note in 700 copies of his *Maḳāmāt*, during a period of ten years. The production of such books and their trade was immense in quantity and was widespread. Titles of books which had in the past been simple and short became ornate and flowery in the course of time, consisting of two phrases rhyming with one another (*sadjʿ*). First the titles were given in the prefaces, which usually contained the author's name and which started on a *b*-page; later the previous page (*a*-page) became the title page with the author's name. Already in this period, autographs or copies made by learned men or calligraphers [see e.g. IBN AL-BAWWĀB] were sold for high prices. There was a big demand for the libraries of learned men; some of them went to pious bequests [see WAḲF], others were put into the stacks of an academy when an attachment to heretical ideas of their deceased owner was known. Bibliophiles, from the caliph to the craftsman, competed in searching for valuable or rare books. As early as the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990 [*q.v.*]), compiled in 377/987, we find that this work gives, before its information on books and biographical notes on their authors or compilators, informative details about these matters. There is also the voluminous biographical literature, with its innumerable names of learned and literary men, secretaries, calligraphers, etc., and the multiplicity of manuscripts with their countless, often very personal, notes of the owners and readers, to be found in libraries situated even in remote places and containing thousands or tens of thousands of volumes. These considerable survivals, give us an ample idea about books and their quality in the Islamic Middle Ages; these books have in common one thing only, *sc.* the *basmala* [*q.v.*] at the beginning.

The upright quarto size was widespread, sizes in folio or oblong sizes being usually reserved for special occasions, e.g. presentation copies for high-ranking persons. The cover, writing materials, format and type of script [see KHAṬṬ] were determined by these purposes. The kinds of leather used for the covers, their colouring, workmanship and decoration sometimes refer to patterns of the Pre-Islamic period, e.g. in Egypt to Coptic, and in Persia to Sāsānid ones; they were developed in forms charac-

teristic for the respective countries, e.g. regarding the different kinds of workmanship in leather. Moreover, in regard to the arrangement of the areas on the covers, there are, apart from general principles like lines parallel to the edges of the book, features characteristic of certain places or periods, e.g. the treatment of the centre, and the application of innumerable geometrical patterns and ornaments in certain variations by using brasses. The triangular flap to protect the edge and the clasp and eyes, appear at an early period. Asphodelos paste was used in the Syrian-Palestinian area, and paste made of wheat in South Arabia. While rag paper was used for books in general, parchment was sometimes used for copies of the Ḳur'ān and other de luxe editions. Fine paper imported from China was reserved for books valuable to their owners, like books of sects. These books were not written with the usual ink [see KITĀBA] only, but also with ink made of silver and gold, and their pages and lines were decorated with coloured ornaments (arabesques [*q.v.*]). There were always illuminations [see ṢŪRA, TAṢWĪR], in spite of the prohibition of depicting living beings with a *rūḥ* or soul, but these were exceptional. A quire (*kurrāsa*) usually consisted of five double sheets, and several quires combined together, sometimes by chain stitches, made a sewn book. The quires were marked by consecutive numbers which were written out in words, and the right order of the sheets was controlled by catch-words, which appear early. The pagination of sheets or, sometimes, of pages, is only found later or in modern times; the pagination of sheets was more widespread. Many books ended with a colophon containing the name of the scribe, and often the date as well as, though not so often, the place; but in certain cases, the dates given there are not correct, e.g. when taken from texts which had been copied. For the post-Mongol period, the following features of the books should be noted. The sizes and the writing became smaller, and the kinds of paper became thinner, stronger and smoother. Coloured paper was used and, from the Ottoman period, imported paper from Europe also, firstly from Italy, and with watermarks. The ink became darker and more shiny; the writing surfaces were framed with lines in different colours or in gold, and an *ʿunwān* [*q.v.*] was drawn on the first page of a book. Owner's stamps appear in considerable number for the late period; and bookbinders' brasses with their names shaped like a medallion, can be found on the covers, even on lacquered ones. Splendid, calligraphic specimens of large size, with covers superbly wrought (these being mostly works of Persian poetry, often illuminated by unique miniatures), were produced mainly at the courts of the Tīmūrids, Ṣafawids, Mug̲h̲als and Ottomans; splendid copies of the Ḳur'ān were produced also at the court of the Mamlūks. The painter is often identical with the decorator, the "gilder" (*mud̲h̲ahhib*); he came next in prestige to the highranking calligrapher. The bookbinders formed their own guild from the time of Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512 [*q.v.*]) onwards. Even after the introduction of printing [see MAṬBAʿA], books were written by hand, increasingly by European ink and nibs, and bound in the traditional way until the beginning of this century.

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(R. SELLHEIM)

KITĀB AL-D̲J̲ILWA, one of the two sacred books of the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*], which with the *Maṣḥaf-rās̲h̲* contains the fundamentals of their religion. As the religious language of the Yazīdīs is Kurdish and all the prayers of the Yazīdīs known to us are in Kurdish (for example, the chief prayer, the morning prayer, the formulae used at baptism and circumcision, the proclamation at the assembly of the *sand̲j̲aḳ*, and God Himself in the apocryphal continuation of the *Maṣḥaf-rās̲h̲* speaks Kurdish), it is rather remarkable that their two sacred books, the existence of which has long been known and of which copies of the originals have come into the possession of Europeans, should be in Arabic, namely the *Kitāb al-D̲j̲ilwa* (*Kitāb-i D̲j̲ālwā*), the "Book of Revelation" (the form *D̲j̲ulūw* which S̲h̲araf al-Dīn gives from the manuscripts available to him, seems to be a slip on the part of the copyist), and the *Maṣḥaf-rās̲h̲*, the "black book"; "black" obviously means something sacred: for example God descends upon the "Black Mountain" (*Maṣḥaf*, xvi). The explanation of the name from the forbidden words, said to be covered over with black wax, is wrong, as in this case the Ḳur'ān is substituted as the sacred book of the Yazīdīs.

Father Anastase Marie of Bag̲h̲dād was the first to succeed in getting exact tracings of the alleged

original parchment copies of the two sacred books by bribing the keeper of the books of the Sindjār in 1904-6; they were written in Kurdish in a simple transposition cipher. The text written in this cipher shows clearly that it was copied from an original written in Arabic script. The possibility of a fraud was, however, not excluded especially as, stimulated by the interest of European scholars in Yazīdī beliefs, sharp guarantors in Mawṣil were always endeavouring to discover new texts. Mingana endeavoured to show that a former Nestorian monk of the Alkosh monastery, named Shammās Eremia Shāmir of the diocese of Kirkūk, who died in 1906, forged all the texts published by Chabot, Giamil, Isya Joseph and Browne, but the authenticity of the Kurdish text was accepted in Bittner's monograph, *Die heiligen Bücher der Jeziden oder Teufelsanbeter*, with *Nachtrag*, in the *Denkschriften d. Wiener Ak. d. Wiss.*, lv, Vienna 1913. The syntax of the text is, according to Edmonds, basically that of the present-day dialect of Sulaymānī Kurdish. Both Bittner and Edmonds agree that the Kurdish version is not the original, but must be a translation from the Arabic, as some linguistic peculiarities suggest (plays on words which are unintelligible in Kurdish).

The *Kitāb-i Djālwā* might nevertheless conceivably have been originally written in Kurdish, as the Kurdish text is in many passages more lucid and coherent than the Arabic, while in the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh*, the Arabic text is better than the Kurdish. According to Sharaf al-Dīn, the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* in its present form could not have been written by an Arab, as the language is modern; there are a number of expressions which are either not used in classical Arabic or only came into use very late. In places also the construction is un-Arabic. These considerations could, of course, be arguments in favour of a recent forgery. The Arabic of the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* is even more modern, as it shows undeniably the influence of the spirit of Ottoman Turkish.

So far, we know of at least four versions of the two sacred books: one in the possession of O. Parry in 1895; one in the hands of Isya Joseph, who possessed two versions in addition to the one published in *AJSL*, xxv; two procured by Father Anastase Marie, one of which, the so-called Sindjār version, was copied in 1899 by a Sindjar Yazīdī for a Yazīdī apostate, while the other was copied in 1904 by Anastase himself from the original in the possession of a Mawṣilī.

The *Kitāb-i Djālwā* (also *Ktāb-i Djalwā*, *Djeloa*), the original of which according to Joseph was in 1892 still in the house of Mollā Ḥaydar in Bāʿadriyya and was taken twice a year to the tomb of Shaykh ʿAdī, is quite short. In book form it covers 8 pages and has 109 lines. It is ascribed to the reputed founder of the religion, Shaykh ʿAdī (d. 555/1160 or 557/1162; see ʿADĪ B. MUSĀFIR) who is said to have dictated it to Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn.

The fact that the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* is not mentioned in the *Radd ʿala 'l-Rāfiḍa wa-Yazīdiyya al-mukhālifīn li 'l-milla al-islāmiyya al-muḥammadiyya* written in 725/1325 by the well-informed Ibn Djamīl (Abū Firās ʿUbayd Allāh) who belonged to the Euphrates district, nor in al-Maḳrīzī in connection with his description of the destruction and burning of the tomb and bones of Shaykh ʿAdī in 817/1414, makes Sharaf al-Dīn think its date of composition cannot be put earlier than 725/1325 or 817/1414. As Ewliyā Čelebī does not mention the work, this would bring the date even farther down, to 1655.

The above facts seem rather to indicate, however, that the Yazīdīs have been able to maintain the secret of the book with success. In spite of the advantages which might have accrued to them as *ahl al-kitāb*, they have preferred to deny their possession of sacred books. Only in the Catechism of the Shaykh Mīrān Ismāʿīl Bek ʿAbdī Bek Oghlu Nazli Rāhānī Yazīd for the Russian Yazīdīs is there a reference to "the glorious *Djilwa*", *Gyliazim*, as a source of the tradition.

The contents of the *Kitāb-i Djālwā*, the form and text of which are in keeping with its high purpose, are as follows: Melek Ṭāwūs who existed before all creatures sent ʿAbṭāwūs (= ʿAbd Ṭāwūs = Shaykh ʿAdī) into the world in order to guide rightly his chosen people, the Yazīdīs, by oral instruction and later by means of the *Kitāb-i Djālwā* which no outsider may read (preface). He then speaks in the first person of his pre-existence and eternality, his omnipotence over all other creators and gods (not "creatures" as in the Arabic), of his omnipresence and providence, the erroneousness of other sacred books and the clear perceptibility of good and evil, his rule over the world and his inscrutable decree, to which in every age we owe the sending of a great man upon earth (ch. 1). Further, he deals with his power of rewarding and punishing, which also allows those who do not deserve it to receive benefits; with the dying of a true Yazīdī and the migration of souls (ch. 2); he says that he alone has power to dispose of the creatures and things of the world (ch. 3). He warns against strange doctrines, so far as they contradict his own ones, and against three unnamed things, and promises his followers his powerful protection if they keep together (ch. 4). He asks that his cult and the orders of himself and his servants should be followed (ch. 5).

The *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* is more comprehensive. The Yazīdī Kurdish original is in the form of rolls and contains 152 lines in cipher. It is much more mundane and banal and less coherent than the *Kitāb Djālwā*. It is full of contradictions and breaks off abruptly. According to tradition, it was composed about 200 years after Shaykh ʿAdī (*ca.* 743/1342) by the great Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*]. The original was said to have been at one time in the house of the Kahāya ʿAlī in Ḳaṣr ʿAzz al-Dīn near Semali on the Tigris, but it seems now to be in Sindjār like the *Kitāb-i Djālwā*.

Cosmogony. In a very confused fashion, without divisions into chapters, the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* deals with the creation of the world in three contradictory versions. According to what seems to be the more original story of the creation, God completed the creation alone. He made a white pearl which he put on the back of a bird Anfar (in many manuscripts, Anghar) created by him and was enthroned on it for 40,000 years. He then created the seven angels of God who are identified with the mystic *shaykhs*.

On the Sunday, God created ʿAzrāʾīl (Azāzīl, Zazāʾīl) = Melek Ṭāwūs, who is supreme over everything; on the Monday Melek Dardāʾīl = Shaykh Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī). The Yazīdī pronunciation is Shēkhūsin, as the invocation in the chief Yazīdī prayer shows (Sydjadin Shēkhysin = Sadjdjād al-Dīn Shaykh Ḥasan) (the conclusions which have been drawn from an alleged *Shaykh Sinn* who is compared with the moon-god *Sin*, e.g. by Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique*², Paris 1954, 200 n. 2, are quite wrong); on Tuesday he created Melek Isrāfāʾīl (Isrāfīl) = Shaykh Shams (al-Dīn); on Wednesday Melek Mīkāʾīl = Shaykh Abū Bakr;

on Thursday Melek Djibrā'īl = Sadidjādīn (Sidjādīn, Sadidjād al-Dīn); on Friday Melek Shamnā'īl (Shatmā'īl, Samansā'īl) = Nāṣir al-Dīn; on Saturday Melek Ṭūrā'īl (Nūrā'īl) = Fakhr al-Dīn.

Then he created the seven heavens, the earth, sun, and moon, whereupon the last-named angel of God Fakhr al-Dīn took over the rest of the work of creation and created man and the animals.

God now came out of the pearl with the angels and caused it to burst into four pieces with a loud cry. On the sea which was formed by the water rushing out of the pearl, God sailed for 30,000 years in a ship created by him. Djibrā'īl, created in the form of a bird, created from the pieces of the pearl sun, moon and stars, the mountains, plants, fruit-trees and the heavens (cf. on the rôle of the pearl, M. Mokri, *Le symbole de la perle dans le folklore persan et chez les Kurdes fidèles de vérité* (*Ahl-e Haqq*), in *JA* [1960], 463-81).

Parallel with this is the rather different conception of the seven deities, who arising through emanation, are light of the light of God just as light is lit from light, and among them the supreme god, Khudā, only appears as *primus inter pares*.

The statements regarding the creation of the religious community of ʿAzrā'īl (= Melek Ṭāwūs) i.e. the Yazīdīs, to whom God sent Shaykh ʿAdī from Shām (Syria) to Lālish [*q.v.*], are fragmentary, as are the statements regarding the descendants of Shahr b. Safar, the son of Adam and Eve, the ancestors of mankind. After God had been worshipped for 40,000 years by the 30,000 newly-created angels, he created Adam out of the four elements with the active assistance of Djibrā'īl and put him in Paradise, ordering him to eat of all the fruits of the earth, except wheat (according to one Yazīdī legend, the prohibition concerned grapes).

When, after 100 years, Melek Ṭāwūs reminded God that there could be no increase in Adam's race, God gave him permission to do what he thought fit. Melek Ṭāwūs induced Adam to eat of the forbidden wheat, whereupon Adam who had as yet no opening in his bowels was driven out of Paradise by Melek Ṭāwūs and suffered great discomfort until God sent a bird to pick an orifice in him. After another 100 years, God sent Djibrā'īl to create Eve from the lower part of Adam's left armpit.

Another story of the creation in the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* says that God, who was sailing about on the ocean on a ship created by Him, created a pearl but crushed it after 40 years; from its cry of pain arose the mountains, from the noise the hills and from its vapour the heavens. God then created six other deities by emanation from His light. Each of these deities in their turn then created something: the first the heavens, the second became the sun, the third the moon, the fourth created the horizons, the fifth the morning-star and the sixth the atmosphere.

There are further a few confused statements regarding the very early history of the Yazīdīs in the *Maṣḥaf*, which include a few features worth noting: after Melek Ṭāwūs had given Eve to Adam as a companion, he descended to earth to the Yazīdīs who, as descendants of Adam alone, had nothing in common with the rest of mankind. He appointed for them as for the Assyrians, who had been in existence from the earliest times, rulers namely: Nashrūḥ (Nasrūkh, Assyr, Nisroch) = Nāṣir al-Dīn; Djambūsh (Kāmūsh = Kamos) = Melek Fakhr al-Dīn and Artēmush (Artīmūs = Artemis) = Melek Shams al-Dīn. After them Shābūr (Shāpūr) I and II reigned for 150 years. From him, all their notables are descended, especially the family of the Yazīdī princes. The Yazīdīs had four rulers not definitely named. One of their kings, Āḥāb, ordered names of their own to be given to them (which names is not stated). Ilah Āḥāb (i.e. Baʿlzabūb) is now called Pīrbūb. Among other Yazīdī rulers were Bukhtnaṣar (Nebucchadnezzar) in Babel, Akhashwerosh (Akhashperosh) in Persia and Aghrinḳālūs (Aghrīḳalūs) in Constantinople.

The *Maṣḥaf* further contains prohibitions. The forbidden foods include lettuce (Yaz. *kāhū*, Arab. *khass*, which is prohibited on account of the resemblance of the name to that of the prophetess Khāsīa); beans (*lobīā*); fish (*māsī* = *māhī*, on account of the prophet Yūnān = Yūnus); gazelles (*āsek*); for the *shaykh* and his disciples, the flesh of poultry (*kālāshir*) and gourds (*kūlākā*) are forbidden.

As among the Sabians, the colour dark blue is prohibited. The following are also expressly forbidden: to micturate standing, to dress while sitting down, to use a closet and to wash in a bathroom (bath and closet are regarded as the abode of evil spirits). It is forbidden to pronounce the following words: *shayṭān* ("the name of their god"); *ḳayṭān* (noose); *shaṭṭ* (stream); *sharr* (evil); *malʿūn* (accursed); *laʿna* (curse) and *naʿl* (horseshoe).

Not mentioned in the *Maṣḥaf*, but traditionally regarded as forbidden, are words beginning with *shīn*; also *saraṭān* ("crab"); *ḥīṭān* ("hedges"); *bustān* ("vegetable garden"); *baṭṭ* ("duck"); *naṭṭ* ("jump") and others; reading and writing, shaving and complete removal of the moustache are also forbidden, as are the use of combs and razors belonging to others, taking wood from sacred forests, the rearing of bastards and drinking from gurgling vessels.

Bibliography: Cf. the Bibl. of the article YAZĪDĪ in *EI*[1]; Ismāʿīl Beg Čōl, *al-Yazīdiyya ḳadīman wa-ḥadīthan*... ("The Yarzīdīs past and present"), ed. C. Zurayḳ, American University of Beirut, Oriental Series No. 6, Beirut 1934, cf. thereon R. Strothmann, in *Isl.*, xxii (1935), 323-4; R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjār*, Beirut 1938; T. Bois, *Les Yézidis. Essai historique et sociologique sur leur origine religieuse*, in *Machriq*, lv (1961), 109-28, 190-242; C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967, 49-50, 87-8. (TH. MENZEL*)

KITĀBA [see Supplement].

KITĀBĀT (A.), inscriptions.

1. Islamic epigraphy in general.

The study of Arabic inscriptions today constitutes a science full of promise, an auxiliary science to be sure, but a science indispensable to the scholarly exploitation of a whole category of authentic texts capable of throwing light on the civilisation in the context of which they were written. From a very early period, seeing that the first dated Arabic inscription available to us goes back to the year 31/652 and that we are aware of previous inscriptions and graffiti known as "proto-Arabic", there appeared in Islamic circles the practice of engraving, on stone or other hard material, in a more or less skilful fashion, the symbols then used in so-called archaic Arabic writing [see KHAṬṬ]. This practice subsequently spread, benefiting from the prestige soon to be enjoyed by a writing capable of giving material embodiment to and preserving the very letter of the Ḳur'ānic revelation while responding to the needs of the new society born simultaneously with the Arab-Islamic empire and state. This corpus

of inscriptions drawn up in the Arabic language, disseminated and preserved up to the present day throughout a particularly vast geographical region, that of the Muslim countries where Arabic writing was practised, may today be suitably considered in its entirety, in spite of the difficulties inherent in the massive scale of the regions in question and in the inadequacies of the researches hitherto undertaken.

In its capacity as an original discipline, Arabic epigraphy, in common with the subsidiary sciences which it more or less borders on, like numismatics, glyptic or diplomatic for example, or even those which it partially overlaps, like palaeography *stricto sensu*, was among the disciplines subjected to specific study, at the end of the 19th century, by enthusiastic Western scholars curious about Oriental civilisations. Its methods, inspired principally by those of classical epigraphy, and the first attempts at their application, were owed to their zeal. It enabled various Western Arabist and Islamic scholars to obtain historical and archaeological results which guaranteed its vigour. It was not however until several decades later that it came to be recognised as a science by Arabic-speakers themselves, in regions where the traditional taste for calligraphy had hitherto reigned unchallenged but had never taken the form of the searching out or the study of texts of this type decorating the walls of buildings or the surfaces of pieces of furniture; it is in fact no accident that the early Arab sources, anxious to describe the stages in the development of writing and to give the names of its eminent exponents, mention only the names of copyists or scribes distinguished in their use of the pen, while remaining silent on the issue of so-called lapidary writing and refer only exceptionally to the existence of the monumental graphic compositions that are so remarkable.

A modern science therefore by its very definition, Arabic epigraphy saw some of its rules codified as a result of the personal efforts of the Swiss orientalist Max van Berchem. The attention which this passionate enquirer tirelessly brought to bear on the remains of Arabic inscriptions preserved in Egypt and in Syria was in fact accompanied by a detailed consideration on his part of the fundamental principles according to which their study should best be conducted; some spectacular initial progress was marked in his lifetime and under his inspiration by the establishment of the first corpora of Arabic inscriptions.

This progress went far beyond anything that had been previously attempted. They should not, however, condemn to oblivion those earlier efforts which can be set back as far as the 18th century with reference to Tychsen, but which owed most of all, at the beginning of the 19th century, to the personality of J. J. Marcel, the French palaeographer, a member of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, who devoted his energies to deciphering, reproducing and annotating in tentative fashion some Kûfic inscriptions of Cairo with the aim of gaining insights into the evolution of ancient Arabic writing. His studies, like the works of other pioneers upon whom there is no space to expatiate here (see J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Quelques étapes et perspectives de l'épigraphie arabe*, in *SI*, xvii [1962], 5-22, also the references to epigraphy in the detailed historical chapter entitled *Die Entwicklung der arabischen Paläographie im Abendlande*, in A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, i, Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1967, 32-65), gave clear indications of what was to follow. They even gave birth, alongside the ambitious and fruitless efforts of Lanci for example, to works that remain, even today, as indispensable for reference purposes as is the catalogue of inscriptions on objets d'art drawn up by Reinaud in connection with an important collection of his time (Reinaud, *Monuments arabes, persans et turcs du cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*, 2 vols., Paris 1828). The uneven quality of the results obtained emphasised even at this early stage the difficulties of a sphere where the best-conceived programmes—and this was the case with J. J. Marcel's programme at the dawn of the 19th century—most often came into confrontation with insurmountable obstacles of a material order and where the enthusiastic work of numerous specialists failed on every occasion to satisfy requirements, the importance of which they themselves had understood and asserted.

In fact, it was not at that time solely a case of showing that Arabic inscriptions deserved to be collected in the same way as Greek and Latin inscriptions. There was also a need to work .apidly in the field of new research, where the volume of exploitable documentation was remarkably copious. The initiative was taken by Max van Berchem when, having produced a large number of manifestos in commendation of Arabic epigraphy, he published, in the early years of the 20th century, the first volume of his *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*. But his ambitious and authoritative project of publishing systematically, region by region and monument by monument, a corpus of hitherto neglected epigraphic material soon had to be abandoned. The exemplary collections of inscriptions which he himself accomplished or supervised with regard to Cairo (M. van Berchem, *CIA Egypt* i, Cairo 1894-1903, *Mém. mission arch. fr.*, xix), Tripoli (M. Sobernheim, *CIA Syrie du Nord* i, Cairo 1909, MIFAO, xxv), Sīwās and Diwrigi (M. van Berchem and H. Edhem, *CIA Asie mineure*, i, Cairo 1910-17, *MIFAO*, xxix) and finally Jerusalem (M. van Berchem, *CIA Syrie du Sud*, Cairo 1920-2, *MIFAO*, xliii-xlv), were followed, after his death in 1921, only by a later supplement on Cairo (G. Wiet, *CIA Egypte*, ii, Cairo 1929-30, *MIFAO*, lii) and the publication still later, in the form of posthumous work taken over by other hands, of the results of a survey of Aleppo begun by Moritz Sobernheim, in the lifetime of Max van Berchem, and subsequently resumed by Ernst Herzfeld and Etienne Combe (*Syrie du Nord*, ii, Cairo 1954-6, MIFAO, lxxvi-lxxvii).

The terrain prospected on this basis remains, at present, minimal in comparison with that approached by less complete studies. Certainly there are other works of broad scope, undertaken in a different spirit, which also deserve mention. These have striven for example to deal with the question in their own way with regard to countries where Arabic inscriptions attracted attention at a very early stage: the inventories of Michele Amari for Sicily (*Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia, Iscrizione edili*, Palermo 1875, *Iscrizione sepolcrali*, 1879-81, *Iscrizione mobili e domestiche*, 1885, re-edited by F. Gabrieli, Palermo 1971) or of E. Lévi-Provençal for Spain (*Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden 1931), not to mention the various fascicules published in Calcutta under the title *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. But beside these, of far greater number are studies that are currently out of date, such as the *Corpus des inscriptions arabes et turques de l'Algérie* (G. Colin, *Département d'Alger*, Paris 1901, and G. Mercier,

Département de Constantine, Paris 1902), works that have quite recently been supplemented by the various published fascicules of the *Corpus des inscriptions arabes de Tunisie* (1st part: S. M. Zbiss, *Inscriptions de Tunis et de sa banlieue*, Tunis 1955, *Inscriptions du Gorjani*, Tunis 1962; *Inscriptions de Monastir*, Tunis 1962), or the volumes devoted to various epigraphic collections of the Iberian region (M. Ocaña Jimenez, *Repertorio de inscripciones árabes de Almería*, Madrid-Granada, 1964; G. Rosselo-Bordoy, *Corpus balear de epigrafía árabe*, Mallorca 1975; F. Valderrama Martinez, *Inscriptiones árabes de Tetuán*, Madrid 1975). Moreover, there are numerous tentative works which are still at the project stage, although more than ever there is an awareness of the fundamental need for studies conducted on a regional basis, taking advantage of opportunities for verification on the spot (see in this context, the remarks of Sourdel-Thomine, *Perspectives nouvelles dans le domaine de l'épigraphie*, in *Boletin de la asociatión espanola de Orientalistas*, v [1969], 183-90, and M. Sharon, *Un nouveau corpus des inscriptions arabes de Palestine*, in *REI*, xlii [1974], 185-91).

As a consequence, the uneven quality of results obtained and their partial insufficiency remain the principal defects of collections made up to the present day. This assertion, banal though it may be, cannot be passed over in silence, even if the reasons for it are easily explained in a world stretching from India to the Pyrenees and from Anatolia to Black Africa, covering an immense territory that is little-known from an archaeological point of view and of which certain parts are particularly difficult of access, and which in any case considerably oversteps the limits assigned today to the Arab world as strictly defined. It is not only that Arabic inscriptions are dotted throughout areas that have since reverted to a desert state and that some provinces islamised at a late stage, like Anatolia, are not the least rich in hitherto unsuspected treasures; but there is also the fact that these inscriptions that have remained so long outside the canon of research are also distinguished by their diversity of appearance according to the regions, as witnesses to a society where writing, spread broadly throughout all areas, was subject to numerous stylistic variations [see KHAṬṬ]. The difficulties of decipherment are thus magnified by the effect of these local practices, and the traits and qualities peculiar to Arabic writing itself from the time of its appearance, which have subsequently conditioned its development, continue to be partially responsible for the shortcomings of a discipline where scientific progress is confronted by uncertain readings and by problematic interpretation of scripts, since there are numerous instances where letters are easily confused and uncertainties are further multiplied and complicated by a concern for ornamentation, which in most cases takes priority over legibility (cf. R. Ettinghausen, *Arabic epigraphy: communication or symbolic affirmation*, in *Near Eastern numismatics, iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles*, ed. D. K. Kouymjian, Beirut 1974, 297-317).

Such conditions were hardly favourable to the intensive and systematic publication of documents in the series of *Matériaux pour un Corpus* inaugurated by van Berchem. They were no more favourable to the establishment of the other fundamental study-apparatus envisaged a little later by Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet in the form of a *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* which had the object of assembling, year-by-year and in an approximately geographical order, the texts of Arabic inscriptions already published, accompanied by their French translation and indispensable bibliographical information. To be sure, sixteen successive volumes of this *Répertoire* (Caire, PIFAO, 1931 ff.) have so far appeared and more than six thousand inscriptions have been edited covering the first eight centuries of the Muslim era. But since 1931, the date at which the enterprise was begun, the rhythm of discoveries has been more rapid than the rhythm at which the inventory has been assembled; the latter remains incomplete and today it swarms with inaccuracies in its most ancient sections, making it a vehicle for defective copies and sometimes of duplications. Even to consult it, in its present state of incompleteness, is to encounter difficulties which are barely alleviated by the publication of the *Index géographique* to its first six volumes, quite recently brought about through the good offices of the Centre d'Épigraphie Arabe of the École Pratique des Hautes Études IVe section of Paris. Even if it may be hoped that forthcoming volumes (vol. xvii prepared by L. Kalus, in press), profiting from experience acquired and designed to respond to more precise critical objectives in an age where our knowledge of Arabic inscriptions has considerably developed, will avoid some of these defects, they will continue to be no less restricted by the inadequacies of the previous publications on which they cannot help being based.

The *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* is, in any case, the only existing attempt at systematic grouping of inscriptions, in a sphere where the means employed are, to this day, seldom sufficient for the extent of the tasks to be accomplished. Also to be asserted is the almost total absence of studies of Arabic epigraphy constructed on the principle of the series, the non-existence of functional corpora, organised according to material and category for example, the only means permitting a thorough investigation of the limited types of documents which inscriptions are, by definition. It is appropriate to mention in this connection, insofar as concerns the signatures of craftsmen, the inventories, designed to form a *Corpus of Muslim artists*, with which L. A. Mayer hoped to bring about a re-evaluation of our knowledge concerning the artistic schools as well as the functioning of their influences, and the publication of which was, also, interrupted soon after the death of the inaugurator of the collection (see Mayer, *Islamic architects and their works*, Geneva 1956; *Islamic astrolabists and their works*, Geneva 1958; *Islamic metalworkers and their works*, Geneva 1959; *Islamic armourers and their works*, Geneva 1962).

The bibliographical guides and the synthesised surveys are also inadequate to enable a confident orientation in a mass of studies that are too often indebted to fortuitous discoveries and consequently scattered through the most diverse of volumes, ranging from "epigraphic appendices" accompanying reports of explorations, accounts of journeys or archaeological publications to museum catalogues or monographs dealing with themes such as Islamology, history, palaeography or even aesthetics. Such in fact is the variety of subjects covered by Arabic inscriptions of an equally varied interest. Such also is the slow progress of research, which has been principally concerned with a copious proliferation of notes, correspondences and brief articles of unfortunately uneven quality.

Nor do we have at our disposal, it should finally

be made clear, manuals providing an introduction to Arabic epigraphy and guiding the efforts of those who wish to become conversant with it; familiarity with the works of their predecessors, especially with the articles of Max van Berchem, loaded with methodology (*Notes d'archéologie arabe*, i and ii, in *JA* [1891], i, 411-495, and [1892], i, 377-407; *Recherches archéologiques en Syrie*, in *JA* [1895], ii, 485-515; in particular, *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie*, in *Mém. de l'Inst. égyptien*, iii, 417-520), with the volumes already mentioned of the *Matériaux pour un Corpus* and the specimen publications of subtly-deciphered and annotated inscriptions offered by some articles of J. Sauvaget (such as his publication of the *Décrets mamelouks de Syrie*, in *BEO*, ii [1932], 1-52, iii [1953], 1-29, and xii [1947-8], 5-60, as well as his *Quatre décrets seljoukides*) remains for the aspiring student the only possible path to follow, apart from various items of specific information provided here or there. More regrettable, however, is the fact that numerous aspects are to be distinguished in a body of inscriptions influenced simultaneously by regional practices and by the disparities between schools marked by the proliferation of dynastic centres. We know in fact that diverse currents presided, according to places and periods, over the drafting of inscriptions, the text of which evolved in parallel with the development and stylistic ramifications of so-called lapidary writing (which has in fact applied to various materials), a writing the history of which is an important chapter of the history of Arabic writing [see KHAṬṬ]. Influences of every kind were manifested here equally in the form of politico-social transformations and historical events which it would be impossible to evoke in this article in the context appropriate to each, geographically distinct, group of inscriptions.

But this continually-renewed variety should not cause one to forget certain traits characteristic of Arabic inscriptions which may be underlined here, in regard to their nature and customary content, and which will enable us to stress the value of the conclusions to which their study leads.

One important feature to be emphasised is the frequency and significance of religious inscriptions, which have sometimes tended to be overlooked in cases where they are not accompanied by documents judged to be of historical interest and which, for this reason, do not figure in their own right in the *Répertoire* and are only briefly mentioned in the *Matériaux pour un Corpus*. These are sometimes isolated inscriptions also capable of supplying an ornamental function on buildings, tombstones or even household objects, sometimes elements belonging to texts where in spite of the profane purpose there is an inevitable collection of pious expressions and customary doctrinal preoccupations. Here we shall assemble in particular examples of Ḳur'ānic quotations, professions of faith, isolated or linked to the texts of epitaphs, prayers, invocations and blessings.

These religious inscriptions appeared at the very beginning of the Islamic era among the primitive graffiti which covered a large number of the rocks of the desert (see the bibliographic references of Sourdel-Thomine, *Inscriptions et grafitti arabes d'époque umayyade, à propos de quelques publications récentes*, in *REI* [1964], 115-20). But they were also early situated in ornamental bands forming an integral part of the architectural decor, as admirably illustrated by the interior of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*]. From this period, their essential theme has been the glorification of the Muslim faith, which could be associated with the personal nature of the testimony left behind by each traveller in the course of his wanderings, as much as with the majestic impassiveness of epigraphic compositions on a grand scale. It would not be enough, however, to say with Max van Berchem, that the dominating feature here is principally the notion of divine power which is one of the two main concepts of the Muslim spirit. Some of these texts, regarded in the most ancient cases as useful means of access to the deity, continue to act as representatives of the dominant religious feeling of the period and their formulae of praise and trust, varied to a greater or lesser extent with requests for pardons, blessings and favours, for a long time remained free of the constrictions of a stereotyped vocabulary. But even when they obeyed more rigid rules, they still maintained an authenticity enabling them to share in the expression of genuine religious options, and texts of commonplace appearance thus continued to reflect diverse doctrinal tendencies in the bosom of the Islamic community; allusions to sectarian beliefs, in the form of eulogies of a Shīʿī flavour for example; echoes of theological arguments like references to the created Ḳur'ān in professions of faith accompanying Egyptian epitaphs of the 3rd/9th century; maxims bearing the marks of philosophical wisdom and of mystical self-denial observed for example in the inscriptions of Khumartāsh at Ḳazwīn at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. Even the poetic quotations so frequent for instance in later Sicilian texts could concur to the same design, and variations in formula came to be accentuated with the fragmentation, of a religious as well as a political nature, which the Islamic world suffered towards the end of the Middle Ages (note the originality of the theological texts which adorned at that time the sanctuaries of the Twelver Shīʿī conducting the prayers on the basis of a cult of *imāms* unknown in other Muslim circles).

A common denominator to all these inscriptions may assuredly be found in the constant use of Ḳur'ānic quotations, multiplied to the extent that they sometimes take the place of any other form of devout reflection. But even here the choice of verses copied in whole or in part obeys specific intentions, which are discernible, if not clearly asserted, and their arrangement is sufficient to indicate the theological or judicial implications of texts which have a doctrinal value for anyone who is able to interpret them. References to *ḥadīth*, the use of extracts from the Ḳur'ān of a recognised propitiatory nature (the "Throne" verse, for example), the insertion of certain types of prayer, also constitute revealing elements (see in this connection, D. Sourdel, *A propos des "Dix Élus"*, in *REI*, xxxi [1963], 111-14).

It is to be regretted, however, that few Islamic scholars take an interest in material that too often continues to be strange to them, while on the other hand there is a vigorous and widespread school of thought seeking, in the light of illuminist doctrines popular in certain circles of initiates, to decipher every ancient inscription as if it were an esoteric riddle, tinted with "traditional" gnostic philosophy both Shīʿī and Iranian. In fact, besides the intentional use of certain formulae that are legible and loaded with meaning beneath the flamboyant style of the writing—such as for example the remarkable stucco composition in "square Kūfic" on the names of the Twelve *Imāms* preserved in the sanctuary of Pīr-i Bakrān at Lindjān near Iṣfahān—one might hesitate to see a hidden sense in the quasi-mechanical

repetition, on certain monuments, of formulae such as *al-mulk li-llāh* "the power is God's", or, on certain pieces of pottery, of expressions of the *al-ʿāfiya* type sometimes evolving towards pseudo-inscriptions. These formulae, reproduced in the manner of respected graphic combinations, doubtless preserved no theological significance more precise than the successions of appeals, such as "fortune, prosperity, blessing ... to him who possesses it" *al-yumn wa 'l-iḳbāl wa 'l-baraka*, etc. ... *li ṣāḥibihi*, which at that time were invariably inscribed on manufactured objects. The connections between sign and signified which may still be legitimately read here, are thus shown to be especially typical of a psychological climate peculiar to Muslim society in the sense of a society marked by religiosity, and correspond to the tight liaison that we have already emphasised between the character, Muslim in tenor and ornamental in appearance, of the majority of the inscriptions in this category: these are works of art endowed in this sense with a fundamental ambiguity as means of expression, both aesthetic and symbolic, of the sensibilities of their period.

A second category of inscriptions that is no less copious is subsequently represented, that of historical texts which have the object of commemorating the individual and his acts, whether the case in question is of a senior government official or of the obscure occupant of a village tomb. To this category we may add construction texts fixing the date of a certain building, title deeds and other documentation of private transactions, foundation texts indicating (according to terminology originating with van Berchem and adopted by the *RCEA*) attestations of pious donations given in perpetuity through the custom of *waḳf* [*q.v.*], funeral texts of all kinds and even the straightforward signatures of master craftsmen and artists which will also be considered here. If these texts partially reflect the notion of "absolute political power" wherein van Berchem saw, according to an insufficiently-qualified assertion, the second major concept of the Islamic spirit, and if their principal gravitation is such that the same epigraphist expressed it, evolving around the names of the sovereign, his titles, his major deeds and his continuing praise, they also contain much more: through the evolution that they have undergone in the course of the centuries, they give information on popular beliefs, opinions current among the wealthy or academic classes of society and the functions served or the degree of respect attained, after their death, by certain of their members, as well as on the nature of the buildings, utilitarian or decorative, that the latter took pleasure in constructing. Some of this information of obvious value in the reconstruction of the social, economic and intellectual history of the Islamic world, is accompanied also by precise revelations touching on such-and-such a point of circumstantial history or such-and-such an archaeological detail: these amply compensate for the tedium that sometimes emanates from the stereotyped phraseology and the excessive enumeration of titles that are characteristic of documents tending towards a standard official formality rather than towards any personal touch, which is rarely encountered.

Of all these texts, the most copious category is undoubtedly that of epitaphs, collections of which, either remaining *in situ* in the ancient cemeteries or transferred to museums, are on such a massive scale as to discourage the most enthusiastic researcher and in consequence have seldom been catalogued in a systematic way. The specimens published since the unique example of 31/652 and the Egyptian steles of the end of the 2nd/8th century are nevertheless sufficient to give an idea of the progressive transformation, according to places and periods, of fairly simple types of texts, where the significant features have always been religious maxims and the professions of faith already mentioned (for supplementary details and bibliography, see ḲABR). Their references to certain currents of thought deserve in fact to be given more attention than the study of the dates of inscriptions or the genealogies of the deceased where statistics directed towards onomastic and prosopography, according to local perspectives, would alone be capable, in the longer term, of maintaining interest. But neither should one ignore the titulary inscriptions which are to be noted from the 6th/12th century onward, in a period where the devaluation of titles formerly reserved for sovereigns led to the attribution, to "men of religion" and other representatives of the upper urban classes, of honorific phrases, the history of which has not yet been written and which ought to be studied in the same way as the titles of individuals serving in the higher echelons of the administration [see LAḲAB].

Besides these epitaphs, marked by a discretion of vocabulary which is maintained up to the time of the royal epitaphs of the G̲h̲aznavid Sebüktigin (d. 387/997) or of the Artuḳid Balak (d. 518/1124), there are other funerary texts which belong more emphatically to the canon of inscriptions intended to celebrate the glory of the sovereign. These are those which, from the 4th/10th century onward, accompany monumental mausolea varying considerably in architectural structure. A greater freedom of composition, already perceptible in the dated and dedicatory epigraphic friezes of the Iranian tower-tombs, is shown when the opportunity offers, notably in the original version of inscriptions specially designed before his death in 607/1210-11 by ʿAlī al-Harawī [*q.v.*] for the decoration of his tomb. These texts are as valuable for the history of monuments as they are for that of the sovereigns, officials or military chiefs who chose them for the commemoration of their graves. Moreover, they become especially significant when the tombs in question are those identified by popular piety as objects of pilgrimage and supplication, whether in S̲h̲īʿī circles where the buildings of *imām-zādas* [*q.v.*] were widespread at a very early stage, or to a certain extent throughout the Muslim world from the 6th/12th century, when the practice of *ziyāra* [*q.v.*] developed to the proportions of a veritable "cult of saints" in honour of pious individuals renowned for their posthumous miracles, or of celebrities from the early periods of Islam commemorated now for the first time by newly-built sanctuaries; only inscriptions of sufficient antiquity may in fact give information about the original period of these devotions, inaccurately described in the literary sources, while at the same time supplying the names of rulers or wealthy patrons who promoted them. These data are also useful for the reconstruction of the complicated history of the multi-purpose architectural complexes which became numerous around the tombs of saints from the end of the 7th/13th century and which grew up a little later around royal graves, as is proved by well-known Tīmūrid and Mamlūk examples [see ḲUBBA, TÜRBE].

The formulae employed in this particular category of funerary texts also belong partially to that attested by the innumerable construction texts en-

graved on Muslim monuments since the Umayyad period. These latter texts in fact obeyed from the start strict obligations, which imposed the following elements: definition of the work undertaken, name of the initiator responsible, sometimes located between the name of the reigning sovereign and those of the authorities who supervised the progress of the work, and date of the construction or restoration, the whole incorporated within a series of variable additions: variously distributed pious formulae which included Ḳur'ānic quotations appropriate to the nature of the work, but which most of all were requests to God for reward in respect of the work accomplished in his honour more or less detailed appeals on behalf of the founder and optional complementary notes, including the names of the author-scribe and the architect-mason. This was the constant framework, and the additions made in ensuing centuries were only such as to incorporate subsidiary details affecting in particular the titles of the builder or those of the various authorities on whom he depended: thus one may find, in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries for example, successive mentions of the caliph of Baghdād, of the Saldjūḳ sultan, of the local sovereign, and the humble figure of the builder is introduced simply as *al-ʿabd al-faḳīr ilā raḥmati rabbihi* "the poor slave imploring the goodwill of his Lord". Furthermore, such rigidity of formulae provides the exact scheme that may be expected of inscriptions of this genre, texts that are easily reconstructed where there are lacunae in the details of ritual etiquette or in the order of succession of the various elements, but of scope limited by the constraints of their subject. Only on two points are we likely sometimes to be agreeably surprised: their archaeological interpretation, on the one hand, when care is taken to note their precise location in the building, to the dating of which they contribute; on the other hand, their richness in titles, from which one sometimes perceives the reality of Islamic government institutions which continue to pose numerous questions to the historian.

Comparable information is furthermore to be obtained, in the majority of cases, from foundation texts where the list of the titles of the legators obeys the same rules of precedence and is often clarified when account is taken of the more theoretical notions supplied by some Arabic texts dealing with chancellery practices. But the more original data contained in the disposal of these *waḳfiyya*s are of a topographical or toponymical order, on account of the large number of localities and regions listed as sources of revenue, or of an economic and social order, relating to daily life, sometimes also to urban life in general when the generous benefactor has decided for example to underwrite the excavation of *ḳanāt*s [*q.v.*] or the improvement of some municipal work. The profoundly Islamic character of these arrangements, as well as the attitudes that engendered them, is linked, through the solemn proclamation of the devotional work, to the psychological process according to which the construction of a building took on its true dimension when an inscription text preserved its memory and placed the builder or benefactor in his just position within the Muslim community.

This tendency was superimposed on a concern for the glorification of the individual concerned, which appears to a still greater extent in the inscriptions on material objects, which constitute the final category of Arabic commemorative inscriptions. The texts of these most often consist in fact of nothing more than greetings added to the name and titles which enable the owner to be identified, whether it was a case of a caliph ordering the manufacture of a *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] in a royal factory or of a Mamlūk *amīr* acquiring a bronze or a ceramic plate bearing his monogram. The mention that such an object has been manufactured on the orders of a certain powerful dignitary is sometimes the only information to be conveyed, in the form of a motif that is both epigraphic and decorative. But the sense of pride of ownership also sometimes finds an echo in the professional pride of the craftsmen who at an early stage adopted the practice of signing their works, even if in the briefest manner possible (see in this connection the writings of L. A. Mayer mentioned above).

It remains to consider, in the third and final place, the group which, while being definitely the least important, is nevertheless extremely rich in information of all kinds, the group constituted by administrative texts. Linked to the functioning of the machinery of power, they are not designed to glorify, except indirectly, the holders of this power, but rather to make certain government decisions known. Represented in early times by inscriptions stamped on coinage, or on weights and measures of glass paste which appeared from the Umayyad period onward, they made way somewhat later for decrees of abolition of taxes. Mamlūk specimens are among the best known: these are, once again, valuable documents of economic and social history, comparable with title deeds and records of donation, to the extent that they provide precise and detailed information regarding fiscal policy or give accurate descriptions of bureaucratic procedures. But the quaint symbolic notations that they preserve are shown in their turn to be extremely rich when one attempts, as Sauvaget has done, to glean from them certain data on the spot and to deduce from them, especially in the sphere of topographical studies, elements of assistance in the reconstruction of certain aspects of urban evolution.

So here we find once more this golden rule for the utilisation of Arabic inscriptions, which seems to be always to consider them as concrete documents, which are not to be separated, beyond the official formulae and the pious expressions that characterise them, from the local and monumental context within which their most original significance is expressed. Some such epigraphic commentaries, even when they deal closely with the purport of the various texts the principal tendencies of which we have reviewed above, thus remain subordinate to that which constitutes the prime quality of the documents with which they are concerned that of having been composed to occupy a particular location in lasting fashion and to be integrated into the exterior appearance of the objects or the monuments that they accompany. Nor should one neglect those inscriptions which were capable of being enclosed in the interior of the most varied types of framework (panels, scrolls, friezes of all dimensions, the entire surface of an object or a tightly-limited section), entrusted to the most varied materials according to equally diverse processes (stone engraved or sculpted in depth, stucco elaborately worked on several surfaces, experiments with bricks in relief, mosaic, painting, moulded or incised metal, wood, ivory, ceramic, etc.), sometimes reduced to the subsidiary role of motifs underlining with their shapes the principal lines of the architecture or joining with covering linear décors composed of arabesques and

lattice-work. These details are to be considered with as much attention as the formulae of the inscriptions or as the style as revealed by the idiosyncrasies of the writing. For the reasoned study of this body of facts, with which, in order to be complete, any survey of Islamic epigraphy ought to begin, is the only means that will enable the scholar to put into their just place, for an introduction to the realities of mediaeval Islamic civilisation, the inscriptions which up to the present day scholars have been content to examine in a fashion that is still too incomplete and inevitably superficial.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

2. In the Near East.

It is in the Near East, the cradle of Arabic writing, and more precisely in Syria (Namāra, Zebed, Ḥarrān, Umm Djimāl), that the oldest known inscriptions written in the Arabic language have been discovered. These so-called proto-Arabic inscriptions, sometimes bilingual (Greek-Arabic), have contributed to our understanding of the ancestry of the Arabic characters, which in the final analysis, derive from Syriac characters and not from Nabataean, as was previously believed.

The privileged place accorded by Islam to writing allowed the latter to undergo a rapid evolution and a rapid diffusion. From the time of the Umayyad era, inscriptions proliferated in all the provinces of the young Islamic empire. Construction texts, religious texts, milestones, epitaphs, and simple graffiti dating from this period have been and still are being discovered in the archaeological sites of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, and ʿIrāḳ.

The formula of these inscriptions was probably influenced by that of the Greco-Roman inscriptions, very numerous in these regions. It is simple, sober and varies in tenor according to the function of the text. It serves as a prototype for later periods which enrich it, while remaining faithful to its broad outlines. Official texts are generally composed as follows: almost always the *basmala*, one or more Ḳurʾānic verses, religious invocations, the dispositions of the work, the name of the caliph followed by his title *amīr al-muʾminīn*, sometimes the name of the overseer responsible for the work, and generally, the date.

The study of these inscriptions reveals the rapidity with which the crude and maladroit writing of the proto-Arabic inscriptions was transformed to the point of attaining, in the monumental inscriptions, a high level of aesthetic perfection. Engraved on rock in finely drawn lines of equal breadth, usually incised, very seldom in relief, sometimes executed in mosaic or in painting, Umayyad writing obeys the same norms: characters composed of simple geometric elements—verticals, horizontals, obliques, circles or segments of circles—set out on a base line which is strictly horizontal. This horizontal base line plays an essential role in Arabic writing. The latter was in fact conceived, after the pattern of Syriac characters, as resting on a foundation, as opposed to Nabataean characters, which appear to be suspended from an upper line. This role is such, that in certain types of archaic and crude writing, the base line is itself an integral part of the characters. These latter are in such cases formed of small simple lines, vertical or oblique, and of rings, resting on the horizontal of the base line, of which the continuity is unbroken (cf. Pl. VIII, 1).

In Umayyad epigraphy, the combinations of these geometric elements give two types of characters: tall letters with vertical strokes and short letters with notches or rings, connected by horizontal segments. This double typology constitutes one of the essential elements of the aesthetic quality of Arabic writing. In fact, it provides the artist with two areas where he can exercise his genius differently: the lower register, the more dense, where the artistic effect obtained results in a simple inter-play of characters, and the upper register where the spaces between the vertical strokes provide an ideal place for the artist to indulge his taste for multiple creations.

In the Umayyad period, this upper register was not used, but the stone-masons succeeded, by using the lower register alone, in creating "a harmony at once rhythmic and linear" which makes this form of writing a genuine work of art. The rhythm is obtained by the opposition and alternation of high and low characters, while the linear harmony results from the arithmetical reckoning of the proportions. This reckoning answers a need for equilibrium as much in height (the proportion of short characters to long varies generally between 1/3 and 1/2) as in width. It is to satisfy this latter need that the mason does not hesitate to extend his characters in width and to lengthen the joining segments. The standard of calligraphy definitely varies according to the type of inscription and it is especially in official texts that fine specimens are to be found. We shall mention simply as examples the inscriptions of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra in Jerusalem and his milestones (cf. Pl. VIII, 2 and IX, 3).

During the first two centuries of the ʿAbbāsid régime, the Arabic inscriptions of the Near-East underwent an evolution corresponding to that of the socio-cultural development of the entire ancient Baghdād and that of the palaces of Samarrāʾ. The fact that these were constructed of brick, a perishable material, has deprived us of the monumental inscriptions which probably adorned the official buildings and which disappeared as a result of these destructions. On the other hand, we have dating from this period a large number of epitaphs and inscriptions on movable objects, especially on fabrics which benefited from the expansion of state factories (*ṭirāz*) supplying the needs of the caliphs and their court. The formula of these inscriptions, often found on the edges of the fabric, is stereotyped. It begins with the *basmala*, generally followed by the phrase *baraka min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh* followed by the name of the caliph and his title, and the expression of a wish for his long reign, then the name of the individual who ordered the fabric, the name of the workshop where it was made and the date of manufacture. These inscriptions are executed in archaic, angular characters whose typology corresponds, in broad outline, to that of the characters of the stone inscriptions.

In this area, undoubtedly the most interesting evidence is provided by the epitaphs, most of them of Egyptian origin, engraved on marble or on sandstone, of which a considerable number of specimens have survived to the present day. The formula of these epitaphs is constituted of different elements of which the combinations vary according to a variety of patterns: the *basmala*, a verse of the Ḳurʾān, one or more religious invocations, the profession of faith, more or less developed, the dedication of the tomb, the verb introducing the name of the deceased followed by his titles and

profession, the date of his death and an appeal for God's mercy upon him.

These epitaphs provide valuable materials for following the evolution of inscriptions on stone during the first ʿAbbāsid centuries. The change of dynasty did not immediately change the practices of the stonemasons and the characters of early ʿAbbāsid epitaphs are similar in outline to those of Umayyad inscriptions. Nevertheless, differences soon appear in the reckoning of the proportions. The characters diminish in length and correspondingly the joining segments between the letters become shorter. As a result, ʿAbbāsid Kūfic presents a more cramped and less harmonious aspect appearance than Umayyad Kūfic. On the other hand, this evolution is inclined toward a concern for the ornamentation of characters. This is expressed first in the lengthening of the terminal segments in the form of a bevel which tends to grow larger and larger. In the crude types it is sometimes replaced by a small hook or even a ring. To the development of the bevel there correspond a thickening of the outlines of the letters and a more frequent adoption of the technique of engraving in champlevé (cf. Pl. IX, 4), which allows two parallel expressions of the evolution of characters. corresponding to the duality of engraving techniques. Thus, in incised inscriptions, the vertical strokes of the letters are decorated with hooks, simple, double or triple, pre-figuring the palm-leaf (cf. Pl. X, 5), while in inscriptions in relief, the bevels evolve into foils, double foils or triple foils which later open out into leaves, fleurons and palm-leaves, a style of décor much in vogue in the mid-3rd/9th century (cf. Pl. X, 6).

Various other processes of ornamentation are encountered in this period: symmetrical indentations in the parallel vertical strokes of the *alif* and the *lām*, softening of the lines and the appearance of curves (in the *lām-alif*, the *kāf*), transformation of the lower appendices into rising tails, fleurons arising from mouth-shaped letters (*mīm*), the intertwining of contiguous lines, (cf. the knot formed by the *alif* and the *lām* of the word Allāh, Pl. X, 6, l. 1). The indentations and arcs which sometimes adorn the joining segments, especially in the word Allāh, roses and fleurons at the end of a word, framing in linear décor (braids, zigzags, mouldings, spirals) or in a décor of plant-forms (plant palm-leaves alternated on one side and the other by a sinuous line, leaves and symmetrical fleurons), sometimes an even more subtle composition (an arc delineated by a flat moulding with spandrels adorned by an outline in arabesque), combine towards the embellishment of the script.

With the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969 and its sporadic expansion in Syria-Palestine, new practices are introduced into the inscriptions of the Near East. The formula varies little in its basic elements, but the name of the caliph is almost always followed by mention of his links with the "Family" in a phrase such as *ṣalawāt Allāh ʿalayhi wa-ʿalā abāʾi-hi al-ṭāhirīn*, and the name of ʿAlī is often mentioned with that of the Prophet (*Muḥammad rasūl Allāh ʿAlī walī Allāh ṣalawāt Allāh ʿalay-himā*).

The effort at the embellishment of calligraphy continues, and a real proliferation of types of decorative inscriptions is seen. As characteristic examples, we mention the inscriptions of the 4th/10th century mosque of al-Ḥākim in Cairo (cf. Pl. X, 7) and those of the cenotaph of Fāṭima in Damascus (dated 439/1047, Pl. XI, 8). In the former, the linear element maintains a predominant place. The characters show a vigour of design which accentuates their relief on the excised base, completely bare in the lower part, decorated in the upper register by an independent, foliated scroll which glides alternatively above and below the vertical strokes and which gives a free run in the empty spaces to the development of spiral designs which open out in fleurons (cf. Pl. X, 7).

In the cenotaph of Fāṭima, the foliated scroll is sometimes linked to floral elements issuing from the characters and develops in such a fashion as to form a more dense composition (cf. Pl. XI, 8).

In the Fāṭimid period, the typology of the characters is considerably enriched. Curvatures, counter-curvatures, knots and indentations are numerous in the interiors of the characters, offering the stonemason infinite opportunities for improvisation. Purely for the sake of example, let us note the ten different types of *lām-alif* in the single inscription of the cenotaph of Fāṭima.

It would of course be wrong to attribute to Fāṭimid artists alone all the epigraphic innovations in the inscriptions of the 5th-6th/11th-12th century in the Near East. The conquest of Syria by the Saldjūḳs, who imported with them the techniques and the graphical forms used in the eastern provinces of the Islamic empire, was accompanied by the intrusion of a number of the features mentioned in the Fāṭimid inscriptions, such as knots and right-angled bends in the vertical strokes of certain characters. There was probably a phenomenon of osmosis between these various regions where exchanges were frequent.

The inscription on the cenotaph of Sukayna in Damascus (end of the 6th/12th century; cf. Pl. X, 9) is an interesting specimen of the evolution of monumental Kūfic in the Saldjūḳ period. The inscriptions engraved in the wood of the cenotaph are distributed on three levels, in two bands superimposed and separated by a fine braid. The main inscription occupies the full height of the broadest band, while at half-way up, the second is intertwined among the vertical strokes of the first. The third, quite independent, occupies the small upper band. These three bands stand out against a background decorated by a fine network of arabesques which cover all of the part crudely excised.

Among the specifically Saldjūḳ types of monumental inscription, mention should be made of epigraphic bands with geometric décor where the vertical lines of the characters are extended in the upper area giving rise to the interweaving of stars and polygons. The inscription of Ṣafwat al-Mulk at Damascus is a living illustration of this.

The Saldjūḳ influence is also shown in the evolution of the formulary of inscriptions of small Syrian dynasties of Saldjūḳ allegiance where the titles become swollen with pomposity (cf. for example the titles of the *atābak* sovereigns in the construction texts of the great mosque of Damascus).

It was in the first half of the 6th/12th century that there was effected the most important transformation regarding the evolution of Arabic script in stone, when Nūr al-Dīn ordered the adoption of the cursive script in official inscriptions, to the detriment of the angular script, which, without disappearing completely, was reduced to repetitions of ancient types. Some fragments of cursive script are mixed, as an intrusion, in the Kūfic inscriptions of the bands of the minaret of the great mosque of Aleppo in 483/1090. There is found also at Buṣrā in Syria an inscription dating from 481/1188, where the characters, while still crude, are neatly rounded; but it is not until the first half of the 6th/12th century

that there appears the full flowering of cursive writing expressed in stone, with its full and its slender lines, its supple ligatures and the introduction of points and diacritical lines, not used in the inscriptions of angular type. A parallel transformation is effected regarding the base line which loses its rigidity and its horizontal continuity. The listels which delimit the bands of writing are not however eliminated, and they continue to compress the lower appendices, the latter being forced to develop below the base line. To remedy this inconvenience, the stone-masons divide the words and engrave the segments thus obtained on different levels, based on an oblique line descending from the centre of the band towards the listel of the base. This procedure permits a freer development of the lower appendices. The base line appears as a discontinuous line reduced to a series of oblique overlapping segments (cf. Pl. XII, 10). This procedure is accentuated in the Ayyūbid period, and already there appear inscriptions where the words are divided and staggered on two or three levels, almost parallel and superimposed. The word generally begins on the lower line and continues above (cf. Pl. XIII, 11).

In the Mamlūk period, this technique of engraving reaches its apogee. The characters are so interwoven that their decipherment becomes difficult all the more so as the characters used in the majority of the inscriptions of this period are of small dimensions, thick and squat. It is to this type of inscription that belong the Mamlūk decrees, engraved in profusion on the walls of official buildings and constituting precious documents regarding the socio-economic life of the Near East in this period (cf. Pl. XIII, 12).

There exists, moreover, a type of Mamlūk *naskhi* where this dense writing gives way to an elongated graphic style prefiguring the Ottoman script. This last gives the appearance of a transposition on to stone of manuscript writings, in particular the style known as *thuluth*, in which the Ottoman calligraphers excelled (cf. Pl. XIII, 13).

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(S. Ory)

3. In Muslim Spain.

At the time of the Muslim invasion of the Iberian peninsula (92/711), the *kūfī* or Kūfic script had already existed in the Islamic world, as an official and sacred script, for 60 years. It was this script that the conquerors used from the start in their inscriptions. The most ancient evidence that we have of it is constituted by the bilingual coinage struck by the governor al-Ḥurr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaḳafī (98/716-17); the uninterrupted continuity of its use is confirmed by all the coinages struck by subsequent governors and *amīrs*. From the time of the amīrate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, this writing figures in pious foundation texts, in funeral and other inscriptions which corroborate this numismatic evidence, as well as testifying clearly to the development of the usage of the Kūfic characters in al-Andalus before the Almohad invasion (542/1147). Following this event, a struggle developed between *kūfī* and *naskhī*, ending in victory for the latter which subsequently took the status of the official scripts of epigraphy, while the former lost ground and its use became limited to religious or profane inscriptions of little importance and intended for purposes of general ornamentation.

The Kūfic features which appear in the oldest Arabic inscriptions of al-Andalus are virtually the same as those which were used during the last decade of the first century A.H. in all the lands conquered by Islam, that is to say, the symbols originating from the city of Kūfa, with scarcely any evolution in design. This Kūfic, on account of its clearly primitive nature, is generally called archaic. It was reproduced, with more or less finesse over the years, by the traditional craftsmen of Spain who never succeeded in mastering it fully and in consequence introduced no novelty of design by virtue of which it might be considered characteristic of, or exclusive to, al-Andalus. In the last years of the amīrate of Muḥammad I, a new generation of rather more arabised craftsmen began to turn the more extreme features of Kūfic script into stylised plant-forms. At first, this innovation was used very timidly because it applied only to a very small number of letters; nevertheless, little by little it found acceptance to the point where it was applied to all the symbols which permitted it. The craftsmen thus succeeded in creating the Hispano-Muslim version of floral Kūfic, while it must be admitted that the development of this variant of Kūfic never attained, in al-Andalus, the level reached by contemporary Kūfic writing in other Muslim territories.

In the reign of the second caliph of Cordova, al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh, the religious puritanism and stern austerity which characterised the conduct of this powerful sovereign at the head of the government of al-Andalus made itself strongly felt, needless to say, in the epigraphy of the period. Decorative floral additions were suppressed and attempts made to restore the Kūfic letters to their primitive and classical design. But this was not entirely possible, because the letter-forms possessed henceforward a certain elegance which was lacking in them before; this elegance, far from disappearing as a result of this suppression, manifestly increased. Thus there was born a new Kūfic with streamlined, elegant shapes, stripped of all ornamental addition, commonly called simple Kūfic, which flourished until the downfall of the Caliphate of the West. Previous to this important historical event, there certainly existed a consistency in the style of writing Kūfic

in the whole of al-Andalus—as a consequence of the political unity of the region, feebly introduced by the governors and subsequently definitively enforced by the monarchs of the dynasty of the Banū Umayya—and a single cultural centre regulating its art, the metropolis of Cordova. After the downfall of the caliphate, a number of schools of design sprang up, for, with the end of the hegemony of Cordova, each province of al-Andalus followed its own political direction and developed its own artistic practices under influences of very diverse origin. Among the schools the most important were those of Seville, Toledo, Saragossa and Almeria, without counting that of Cordova. At Seville, simple Kūfic continued to be used in inscriptions; but the characters developed in height, which made them extremely elegant and distinctive. At Toledo, the craftsmen returned to floral Kūfic, with forms excessively overladen with plant-forms alternated with the use of simple Kūfic forms. Of these two variants, two distinct versions appeared: one traditional, firmly Cordovan in origin; the other authentically Toledan, which consisted in adding to characters carved in relief a central groove, giving them considerable force of expression. The Kūfic of Saragossa had a particular importance. It is known today through the inscriptions preserved at the Palace of Aljafería (al-Dja^cfariyya), built by the princeling Abū Dja^cfar Aḥmad al-Muḳtadir bi 'llāh (438-74/1046-81); it is known that in the building of this monument, originally called Dār al-Surūr or House of Rejoicing, the craftsmen experimented with numerous innovations, architectural as well as decorative; and inscriptions—an ornamental element of first importance in Islamic art—were no exception. They stylised Kūfic characters to an incredible extent, and by sometimes making them slide on a floral base or at other times cleverly interlacing them with geometric motifs, they succeeded in composing epigraphic bands of great beauty and an originality unusual for the period. As for Almeria, principal base of the Umayyad fleet in the Mediterranean, it had been intimately linked with the metropolis of Cordova during the caliphate. Its craftsmen had always represented Kūfic according to the model of Cordova, and they did not change their style when the latter lost its political status. They continued to use the simple Kūfic which was in use at the time of this event; later, this Kūfic evolved very slowly and its most brilliant period, corresponding to the importance and splendour of this naval base, was reached under the aegis of the Almoravids. From the study of the Arabic inscriptions of Almeria, of which a fine selection survives, it may be deduced that the Almoravid invasion brought no change in the shape of the Kūfic of al-Andalus. By contrast, as mentioned above, the Almohad invasion had very significant effects on epigraphy. At first, the latter respected the Kūfic script and used it, as is well-known, in the first building that they constructed at Marrākush; but, when they were obliged to put into practice a policy of reconciliation of the peoples whom they had subdued by force, they very soon realised that the Kūfic script, with its difficulty of interpretation, was not suitable for the development of their policies, and they replaced it with *naskhī* or cursive in all texts relating to new foundations of a public character. For the craftsmen of al-Andalus in particular, this change had the effect of enabling them to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Arabic characters and to distinguish, in each one of them, that which was essential and invariable from that which was secondary and could legitimately be altered according to the taste of the designer. Thus they came to appreciate the true significance of Kūfic forms hitherto reproduced more or less mechanically. They were no longer content with drawing their designs according to the good taste of the Almohads, but little by little they transformed the shapes. First of all, with the idea of making them attractive and graceful; then by building up their upper portions with complicated interloops, while increasingly filling up with stylised plant-forms all the interstices not covered by the letters in the lines of inscription. In the end, they created ornamental motifs of a type which, on account of its incontestable decorative worth, was subsequently copied by the Mudéjar craftsmen, including those who worked in the Alhambra of Granada, thus undoubtedly conferring upon it a long-lasting prosperity. For it is certain that it is by virtue of these copies, made with extreme care and fidelity, that we are acquainted today with the Arabic epigraphy of al-Andalus current in the period of the Almohads, since the original inscriptions of this historical period surviving to the present day are very few in number, and discoveries have not been made on the scale which could have been desired. The motif-types mentioned above were incorporated into Mudéjar decoration without further consequence, and through incessant use over the course of the years they patently degenerated and became a parody of what they had originally been. On the other hand, their inclusion in the ornamentation of the palace of the Banū Naṣr had the effect of inspiring the craftsmen of Granada to the creation and the development to hitherto inconceivable limits of the geometric Kūfic which is admired today in the Alhambra and which is, beyond doubt, one of the finest ornamental creations contributed by Andalusian craftsmanship to the art of Islam. It was also in the Alhambra that the *naskhī* script achieved the highest point of its development within Muslim Spain. In fact, it is known that among the most important elements contributing to the ormanentation of the Naṣrid palace there are epigraphic friezes composed in this script and containing the best works of the most prominent poets of the period, Ibn Zamrak and Ibn Djayyāb, which are thereby available to us in "the most sumptuous edition in the world", to borrow the apt expression of E. García Gómez.

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4. In North Africa.

The oldest inscriptions known to us in North Africa show no originality compared with those of the Near East in the Umayyad and, in particular, the ʿAbbāsid periods. The evolution of styles in Ifrīḳiya was to follow a course generally parallel to that of the styles known in Egypt which seems to have constituted the natural link in the chain connecting the Muslim East and West. The Maghrib al-Akṣā, by contrast, and especially from the time of the Almoravid period, was influenced by al-Andalus, which for a long time remained faithful to archaic forms of Kūfic but which, under the influence of the ʿAbbāsid East, submitted to the prevailing taste. Nevertheless, Muslim Spain was to interpret in its own fashion the styles of writing and their evolution such as were familiar in the Orient in the Fāṭimid period. This piece of the Orient set in Andalusion soil was to influence Morocco, and then with the victory of the Almohads, the whole of North Africa.

The style of monumental inscriptions in the Aghlabid period differs according to whether it is a case of carvings in relief, or incised engravings, on stone or wood, or of painting. The Kūfic carved in relief on stone may well be compared to that of the Nilometer of Rawḍa (199/814-15), notably on the marble at al-Kayrawān (the capitals and the interior of the *miḥrāb*). It may equally be compared to Ṭūlūnid Kūfic, but some of the details characteristic of the West appear to be quite original, for example the *alif* with a horizontal appendage towards the right in the lower part of the letter. The writing, whose essential value lies in the message to be transmitted, tends gradually to become a part of the ornamentation (for example, the inscription painted on wood at the base of the cupola of the Great Mosque of al-Ḳayrawān where the mis-shaping of the ʿ*ayn* gives a fleuron with three foils while the background is decorated with isolated floral motifs). The fine inscription on the façade of the Mosque of the Three Gates at al-Ḳayrawān also provides an example of this tendency which is emphasised in the marble plaque of the *miḥrāb* of the Zaytūna in Tunis, where the inscription in very fine Kūfic characters forms a decorative framework.

The Kūfic of the foundation-plaque of the *ribāṭ* of Sousse (206/821) appears very archaic in comparison with these inscriptions.

Funerary inscriptions are mostly engraved; the formula varies little, the main element being a few Ḳur'ānic verses, usually taken from Sūra CXII. These inscriptions perpetuate, in the 3rd/9th century, forms which are more emphatically archaic than those of the monumental inscriptions; this is especially notable in epitaphs on pillars, occasionally crudely executed in spite of some fine creations, and in the fine funerary inscriptions engraved on marble plaques or on tall columns. The similarity between the Aghlabid incised inscriptions and contemporary examples from Egypt and the Sudan is quite striking.

There can be no doubt that the arrival of the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya and their installation at Mahdiyya, then at Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya, accentuated the orientalisation of the country. The evolution of Kūfic in the Near East in the 5th/11th century, then in the 6th/12th century, was to be reflected almost immediately in the Maghrib. In the latter as in the former, the problem faced by the artist was how to alleviate the difficulties inherent in Arabic writing, very dense in the lower part of the line of inscription, but leaving important gaps in the upper areas. The solutions adopted consisted in the development of the vertical strokes and in their evolution, sometimes their distortion, in the intertwining of letters, and most of all, use was made of stylised floral patterns in decorating the background. These inscriptions are often divided in two parts by a rigid horizontal band, the lower part being occupied by the body of the letter while the upper register is decorated with a complicated floral design against which the vertical lines stand out. At Sfax, from the end of the 4th/10th century, the letter is seen to develop, the terminal

chamfer of the vertical strokes opening into floral shapes or curling so as to occupy the empty spaces. The influence of Fāṭimid Egypt is undeniable. The characters in general affect a refined elegance. The bordering strips contribute to the décor of the façades (Sfax, Great Mosque) or to that of the *miḥrāb*s (Sfax, Zīrid *miḥrāb*), mosque of Sayyida at Monastir (beginning of the 5th/11th century). At Constantine (*miḥrāb* of the Great Mosque, dating from the 6th/12th century), the epigraphic décor reaches a high degree of ornamental quality, recalling that of the finest Fāṭimid *miḥrāb*s of Cairo.

Funereal epigraphy also abandoned the archaisms of the Aghlabid period, but after a perceptible delay. Incised inscriptions practically disappeared. The form of the tombs evolved towards prismatic marble steles, notably at Monastir and at Tunis (cemetery of the Khūrāsānids). The writing, of refined elegance, recalls, by the development of the letters and by the appearance and proliferation of stylised floral designs, the style of the monumental inscriptions.

As for epigraphy on furniture, we have, in the magnificent *maḳṣūra* of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, one of the finest examples of floral Kūfic, with complex intertwining of letters and a background of plantforms comparable to the Kūfic of Aleppo or to that of Diyār Bakr.

In the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā and in the western region of the central Maghrib, very few inscriptions are to be noted before the Almoravid period. That of the Ḳarawiyyīn, dating from 263/877, is in Kūfic of the al-Ḳayrawān type, but, with the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, there appears the Andalusian Kūfic, characterised by well-proportioned letters with long and curved vertical strokes. However, the writing itself is very sober and stands out against a background flowered with arabesques and fleurons and palm-leaves with deep and multiple radiating divisions (Ḳarawiyyīn, Great Mosque of Tlemcen), or against a background of palms, of pineapples and of half-fleurons divided in two parts horizontally by a straight listel.

The epigraphy on furniture shows, on the contrary, an attachment to the old tradition, whence a surprising conservatism in the Kūfic inscriptions of the *minbar*s of Nedroma and of Algiers, and in those of the *maḳṣūra* of Tlemcen.

But the most important event of this period is the appearance of the cursive script (*naskhī*). This style appears in Ifrīḳiya from 490/1096, in funereal inscriptions where it is presented in a very elaborate form (the characters are fine, large and supple and well-proportioned, framed with a border and standing out against a rich floral background of oriental type). It is to be supposed that it was by this oriental route that the new alphabet penetrated to the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā in the Almoravid period (the inscriptions of Tlemcen and of Ḳarawiyyīn) in about 531/1136-7. It is in fact impossible, in the absence of precise documentary evidence, to propose an Andalusian influence, as it seems that cursive writing did not appear in Andalusia until much later.

Whatever the case may be, the victory of the Almohads had as a consequence a certain unification of styles in the whole of North Africa with an inclination towards sober, angular Kūfic in the monumental inscriptions and, on the contrary, a preference for cursive in the funereal inscriptions. It is worth noting that no foundation inscription appears in this period in the religious buildings, pious works through which the great caliphs of the dynasty were able to bring honour to themselves.

One consequence of the Ottoman domination of Tunisia and Algeria was a new "orientalisation". The inscriptions lose their decorative quality and adhere to the requirements of the message to be transmitted. They are inscribed in frames or in scrolls in cursive characters, often with diacritical points, sometimes with vowels, on several lines which may overlap. The execution is rather casual, and the use of the Turkish language is limited.

On the other hand, Morocco remained faithful to the Andalusian models and followed their evolution in the period of the Naṣrids of Granada. The type of Kūfic script which distorts the letters, twisting and stretching them into wreaths and fleurons, is hardly distinguishable from the background, where geometric and floral elements are mixed. The cursive begins to take the place of the Kūfic script in the fine framing strips of the *miḥrāb*s of the Marīnid period. After the disappearance of the kingdom of Granada, Morocco tended to withdraw within itself, apparently shut of from outside influences.

At no time did the artists of the early Middle Ages make so much use of Arabic writing as an element of decoration. It appears everywhere, in religious buildings, in funereal pavilions, in the houses of citizens or in the palaces of kings, on furniture, on table-ware and on the most minor objects of daily life, where the ornamental role is often more important than the meaning of the language. The result is a pseudo-writing without precise meaning, or a constant repetition of a word or part of a phrase, in ornamental friezes, where ease and routine take the place of refinement and, above all, of faith.

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(L. Golvin)

5. In West Africa.

Proof is still awaited that any system of writing was in use among the Negro civilisations of West Africa before the introduction of written Arabic. An animal drawing on a sherd found by F. Willet at Old Oyo in Western Nigeria was considered representational rather than pictographic, whilst K. Hau's search for linguistic interpretations of recurrent *motifs* in the art of Benin proved inconclusive. Gold-weights from Ashanti and neighbouring districts seem to represent a preliterate stage, some of the designs symbolising proverbs and injunctions and others perhaps conveying metrological data. Inscriptions in Punic, Greek, Latin or similar Classical languages have not yet been reported from tropical West Africa.

The Saharan Berbers (Tuareg, "People of the Veil") derived their *tifinagh* alphabet from the Libyan script used in North Africa during the second century B.C. and subsequently (see BERBERS. vi). *Graffiti* in *tifinagh* are known to extend from Tibesti and Djado westwards to the Niger bend, and even into Mauretania, Mauny (1954) providing the most convenient survey of the literature. A complication in the reading of these inscriptions is the problem of determining their direction. They may run from left

or right, top or bottom, but within each inscription the direction remains uniform, and clues to the orientation are provided by the alinement of certain asymmetrical characters, and the stereotyped opening phrases. In academic usage texts are conventionally arranged to read from the right.

Two main varieties of *tifinagh* script are generally recognised. The older (called variously "*tifinagh* archaïque"; "Saharien ancien" and "Libyco-berbère") renders by bars certain characters (王 *gh*, ☰ *h*) which in the modern script are represented by dots (⁝ *gh*, ⁞ *h*)). The older script also lacks several characters. A number of the older *graffiti* were interpreted by Marcy (1937). They contain recurrent formulae, commencing with such words as 王 ⊙ O *usǝrǝgh usereǵ*, "I require...", 王 | *enǝǵ* "I need...", and often accompanied by a drawing to illustrate fulfilment of the wish, all designed to have a magical influence. A group of modern inscriptions commences with the word ⁝ | *nǝkk nekk* "I...", followed by the writer's name, and a statement of his purpose or wish. Another group, still known only from modern examples, consists of formulae inscribed on the typical Tuareg stone armlets (*ahabeg*), and shields. These were presented to a departing lover to preserve his fidelity. Manifestly Islamic personal names in later inscriptions show that they are relatively modern, but much work has still to be done in the chronology, linguistics, and collection of the older *graffiti*.

Of Arabic inscriptions from West Africa, at once the oldest and the most important is the tombstone from Gao reported by Sauvaget. It records the decease on 1 Muḥarram 494/6 November 1100 of a personage designated *al-malik al-nāṣir li-dīn Allāh al-mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zāghī. The Kūfic calligraphy of this monument closely resembles tombstones from Almeria (reported by E. Lévy-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Pl. XXVII-XXX), and it is carved from similar marble. There is a strong implication that the monument may have been made at Almeria (a part of Spain then subject to rule by the Almoravid Murābiṭ dynasty) for transport across the Sahara to Gao. This situation would present a new aspect of Almoravid connexions in the Southern Sahara. The inscription seems also to confirm the remark attributed to the *Ḳāḍī* Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥādjdj al-Mutawakkil Kuʿt (Kati), that the Islamisation of Gao took place between 471 and 475/1078-9 and 1082-3 (Kati, *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, tr. O. Houdas, 332); also the reference of Ibn Khurradādbih, 89 (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 165, 476) to a ruler in West Africa named Zāghī b. Zāghī. The exalted titles appearing in the inscription may imply that the deceased person was himself Sultan of Songhay, but if so, his names are absent from the list given in the literary sources. Other inscriptions from Gao are of a Queen Swā (502/1108-9), of *al-malik al-nāṣir li-dīn Allāh al-mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh* Abū Bakr b. Abī Ḳuḥāfa (503/1109-10), of ʿĀʾisha daughter of *al-malik* Kūrī (511/1117-8), and of another possible Sulṭān Māmā b. Kmā b. (Z)āghī (514/1120-1). Further inscribed tombstones from the area of the Niger bend have subsequently been published by Mrs. Viré, including a specimen of the year 496/1102-3 from Gao, and other from al-Sūḳ (504/1110-11), Bentia (Kukiya, a former Songhay capital on the Niger above Niyameh) bearing the date 800/1397-8, and El-Kreib in Mauretania, a place thought to represent the ancient site of Aretenna.

Later Arabic rock-graffiti are known from the Saharan zone, but other inscriptions on stone have not yet been reported outside the area of the Niger bend. The well-known inscribed swords carried by *amīrs* in Hausaland, being apparently imported, bear conventional Arabic inscriptions not characteristically local. Many West African vernacular languages have, however, been written in Arabic script. A Bornu dialect, apparently Kanembu, occurs in Ḳurʾānic glosses at least as early as 1080/1669. Kanuri, Hausa, Fulani, Nupe and Yoruba all occur at slightly later dates—Hausa for example being found in glosses ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Fūdī (*ca.* 1762-1828) in a manuscript of *al-Mukhtaṣar* owned by Abū Bakr Ghummī at Kano; the inscription on an iron panel at *Kofar Waika*, a gate of Kano city, though of uncertain date, contains several sentences in Hausa. The situation for the languages of the Upper Niger, Songhay, Malinke etc. is however less clear.

Arabic inscriptions in two cryptographic alphabets, called *Suryāniyya* and *ʿIbrāniyya*, were described by Monod and Mauny. Talismanic inscriptions and magic squares are known all over the area, often written in carbon ink on wooden writing-boards (Ar. *lawḥ*), or iron replicas of these boards; also on earthenware bowls, sherds, bones, human skulls and polished stone axeheads, besides everyday examples on paper sheets or scrolls.

For an understanding of the magic squares (*wafḳ*, pl. *awfāḳ*), the most informative study is probably that of Camman, who traces them back to the Chinese origins. In Nigeria and other West African countries, the work on this subject of Muḥyī al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Būnī (d. 622/1225 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), *Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif*, is widely utilised. A Nigerian scholar of some renown, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fulānī al-Kashināwī (of Katsina, in Hausaland), friend of the Egyptian historian Ḥasan al-Djabartī, compiled a treatise on the subject entitled *Bahdjat al-āfāḳ wa-īḍāḥ al-labs wa 'l-ighlāḳ fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa 'l-awfāḳ*. Anawati's description of charms on paper from Mālī gives a full bibliography of Arabic talismans and magical symbols. Cryptographic alphabets had a long history in the Near East, and became especially prevalent in North and West Africa. A standard treatment in Arabic is that of Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr b. Waḥshiyya, *Shawḳ al-mustahām fī maʿrifat rumūz al-aḳlām* (ed. and tr. J. Hammer, *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters*, London 1806), though commentators have found these explanations obscure. One of these alphabets known as *al-Yāsīnī* (and conceivably therefore associated with the spiritual leader of the Almoravids, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn) was shown by Dalby to have influenced two of the modern indigenous scripts of West Africa, so that knowledge of it may have lingered from earlier centuries along the Senegal. The oldest of the scripts in question is the Vai syllabary of Liberia (212 characters: invented 1833); the other is the Mende syllabary of Sierra Leone (195 characters: invented 1921). Five other syllabaries and two alphabets, of differing structure and inspiration, designed for the expression of various African languages, are included in his account, but the currency of each is very restricted. Another item from the Islamic mystical repertoire, the *sabʿat khawātim* or "seven seals (of Solomon)" 6 日 |||| ˥ 而 卄 ✡ have been recorded amongst the Haua, amongst the Yoruba inscribed above the doorway of a building at Oyo, and in the Ivory Coast.

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(A. D. H. Bivar)

6. In eastern Africa.

So far some 250 inscriptions have been reported from the eastern coast of Africa lying between Mogadishu, in Somalia, and the mouth of the R. Zambezi, in Mozambique, as well as from the offshore islands, including also the Comoros [see ḲUMR] and Madagascar. The principal sites of most of the coast have been surveyed and some partly excavated; but very much remains to be done, and quite likely more inscriptions will come to light. Especially is this the case in Mozambique and the Kerimba Islands close to its coast, whose Islamic historical archaeology is still virtually unknown, albeit that the existence of mosques and widespread adherence to Islam is attested by 16th century Portuguese writers. Other than those of the present century, no inscriptions have been reported inland. Only one inscription is known completely in Swahili, even though some Swahili words occur in Arabic inscriptions of the 17th to the 19th centuries of the epitaphs of the petty Sultans of Kunduchi, 17 miles north of Dar es Salaam. With these exceptions and a group of 16th and 17th century Portuguese inscriptions in Fort Jesus, Mombasa, with a solitary one in Zanzibar, all the inscriptions are in Arabic.

The two earliest known inscriptions are an epitaph in the Friday Mosque at Barawa reported by Cerulli, dated 498/1104-5, and a Kūfic dedicatory inscription in the Friday Mosque at Kizimkazi, Zanzibar, dated 500/1106-7, which, if not carved in Sīrāf itself, would appear to have been the work of a Sīrāfī craftsman in Zanzibar [see KIZIMKAZI]. Apart from these, a small number of inscriptions in Kūfic or floriate scripts have been found in small numbers in or near Mogadishu, and at Malindi, Mnarani and Mombasa in Kenya. The remaining inscriptions are all in *naskhī* or cursive scripts. No comprehensive attempt has so far been made to identify or classify their style or provenance so far as it was not local, but at Kilwa certain decorative inscriptions have been thought to have Fāṭimid affinities. On these subjects it would probably be wisest to reserve judgment until more is known of the inscriptions of the Yemen and of the Ḥaḍramawt. The greatest number of inscriptions found in eastern Africa are epitaphs, very many of them of persons otherwise unknown. Quite exceptional are sixteen dedicatory inscriptions commemorating the foundation of mosques in Lamu between the 14th and the 19th century, which demonstrate the stages of growth of the town [see LAMU]. At Mombasa a number of inscriptions, mostly funerary, illustrate and provide a solid dating for the varying fortunes of the Mazarʾi family, of whom a number of members served as *wali* under the suzerainty of ʿUmān from *ca.* 1734 until 1837. At Kilwa there are a number of inscriptions in the Great Palace known as *Husuni* (Swa. from Ar. *ḥiṣn*), but all undated, and on whose date agreement has not yet been reached. A curiosity is a carved ivory state horn (*mbiu*) with an inscription in Swahili, which has been ascribed to the 19th century; but a reference in the traditional Swahili *History of Pate*, from which town it came, would suggest, however, that its approximate date of manufacture was *ca.* 1060/1650.

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(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

7. In Turkey.

The Muslim epigraphy of Turkey has not yet been the object of methodical research. It is true that there exist a large number of editions, but most of these are isolated undertakings.

The history of Muslim monumental epigraphy in Turkey does not in fact begin until the middle of the 6th/12th century. There had been building activity in Anatolia before, in the Turcoman states of the Dānishmandids, the Artuḳids, the Ṣaltuḳids and the Mengüdjekids, but most of the constructions of that time were destroyed as a result of the continuous fighting in the area.

Muslim epigraphy in Turkey can be divided essentially into three categories: commemorative inscriptions, pious inscriptions, and epitaphs. The most important of these, both from the historical and the

artistic point of view, is the former, which includes inscriptions commemorating the constructions or restorations chiefly of foundations for the public good—mosques, fountains, *sabīl*s, etc.—and, in later times, also of government buildings (offices, hospitals, schools, barracks, etc.). The pious inscriptions either contain only the names of God, Muḥammad or the four *rāshidūn* caliphs, or consist of *ḥadīth*s or citations from the Ḳur'ān that suit the purpose served by the object which they decorate. Thus in mosques one may find such Ḳur'ānic verses as IV, 104 or XV, 46; on fountains LXXVI, 18 and 21 or the words *min al-mā'i kulla shay'in ḥayy*, from XXI, 31; and on libraries the words *fīhā kutub ḳayyima* (XCVIII, 2). Pious texts may also serve as mottoes over commemorative inscriptions. Hence in foundation inscriptions of mosques one may find such sayings of the Prophet as "Whoever builds for God a mosque, even if only like the nest of a sand grouse, for him God builds a house in paradise". The number of inscriptions surviving on tombstones is very large. Especially in Istanbul very fine ones can still be seen. Unfortunately, the amount of research done in epitaphs is still less than that done in the other Muslim epigraphy of Turkey (see also ḲABR).

The typical Muslim inscription, including that in Turkey, is a rectangular slab with one or more lines of text, which are separated by narrow lines, the whole being enclosed in a narrow frame. In the Ṣaldjūḳ and early Ottoman periods the inscriptions were often also in the form of bands along the borders of porches, or, inside mosques, of *miḥrāb*s. Some inscriptions from this time consist of one line in *djalī thuluth* with elongated shafts through which runs a second line in Kūfī, these together against a background of spiral arabesques. In the Ottoman period the lines (in verse texts, the hemistichs) of most inscriptions are enclosed in cartouches with the left and right extremities elaborated in different manners; these inscriptions are sometimes decorated with such motifs as flowers (either separate or in vases), fruits, arabesques, rosettes and, especially in later times, *tughra*s and crescent-and-stars. In the relief inscriptions the (raised) letters and decorations may be gilded, and the (sunken) backgrounds painted—mostly green or blue; it is uncertain whether these colours were used in the older inscriptions too, because the original paint of these has mostly worn off.

On the tile inscriptions, it is not the relief but the colours that present the necessary contrast between the text and the background. Inscriptions of this kind are mostly of pious content and undated. They are found in buildings from very early times; after the 11th/17th century their number gradually diminishes. Very fine examples of this kind of inscription are found inside the Selimiye Mosque (completed 982/1574-5) in Edirne and in the Bağdat Köşkü (11th/17th century) in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul.

Since, under the Great Ṣaldjūḳs, Kūfic was very much used for inscriptions in Iran, it was also in the early Muslim epigraphy of Anatolia. This script, which was employed, roughly, in the period and areas of the above-mentioned Turcoman states, was, under the Rūm Ṣaldjūḳs, largely replaced in inscriptions by *djalī thuluth*, although it continued to be used for mere decorative purposes by them and by the Ottomans up to the reign of Meḥemmed II (855-86/1451-81). *Nasta'līḳ*, which was brought to Turkey by Persian calligraphers in the period of Meḥemmed II, became common especially in the commemorative inscriptions and epitaphs made after the middle of the 11th/17th century. (The earliest inscription written in this script is perhaps that of the Mosque of Seldjük Khātūn (dated 860/1455-6) in Edirne (Dijkema, No. 16)). This script became so popular because (a) by this time most of these inscriptions were in Turkish verse, which (as is demonstrated in the manuscript *dīwān*s) it was traditional to write in *nasta'līḳ*; and (b), since this script uses far less different auxiliary signs than does *djalī thuluth*, it is much simpler to handle for the stone carver. Such scripts as *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, *djalī muḥaḳḳaḳ* and ordinary *thuluth* are very rare in inscriptions. *Ruḳ'a* was used occasionally in the last period of the Ottoman empire, mostly on buildings of secondary importance.

Little is known about the calligraphers who designed the inscriptions in the Ṣaldjūḳ and early Ottoman periods. Later, the more reputed calligraphers used to sign their works, with such stereotyped formulas as *katabahu 'l-'abd al-ḍa'īf* ... or *katabahu 'l-'abd al-dā'ī* .... They might omit their signatures, however, if on the same building there was another inscription written by one of the sultans (as is the case, for instance, in the inscriptions on the front of the two fountains of Sultan Aḥmad III in Istanbul).

Under the Rūm Ṣaldjūḳs and the early Ottomans, the general Muslim tradition was followed of writing inscriptions in Arabic. The earliest inscription in Turkish is perhaps that of the *madrasa* of Ya'ḳūb Čelebi (dated 814/1411) in Kütahya (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya şehri*, Istanbul 1932, 79); later, especially from the end of the 10th/16th century, this came to be the language of most of the commemorative inscriptions and epitaphs, the cause of this rather radical change being probably an increase of the prestige of Turkish vis-à-vis Arabic following the Ottoman occupation of the Arab lands in the 16th and early 17th centuries. The Arabic inscriptions are mostly prose, the Turkish ones usually verse. The wording of the Arabic prose inscriptions closely follows the models of the Mamlūk and earlier Arabic epigraphy of Egypt and Syria. In most commemorative verse inscriptions, both those in Arabic and those in Turkish, the dates of the events commemorated are not expressed in figures or words but hidden in chronograms (see ḤISĀB AL-DJUMMAL). There do exist also Persian inscriptions, but they are very rare.

The redactors and calligraphers of the Muslim inscriptions in Turkey seem to have had a special liking for mystifying the reader—mostly in such a manner, however, that with adequate knowledge one can discover the true meanings of the texts. Not only is there the chronogram and, in verse texts, the often intricate language, but, for instance, in the inscription commemorating the 1282/1865-6 restoration of the Eski Cami (Dijkema, No. 126) in Edirne, some words are written phonetically. Calligraphers might add to the intricacy of inscriptions, often already sufficiently difficult to read through the interlacing of the letters, by several means: the inscription of the Muradiye Mosque (dated 839/1435-6) (*ibidem*, No. 7) in Edirne, for instance, contains unusual ligatures of letters; in the inscription of the Mosque of Sitt Khātūn (dated 889/1484) (*ibidem*, No. 23), in the same town, some letters are written mirror-wise; and in the inscription of the Ḳadln Most (dated 876/1471) (ed. by P. Wittek in *Byzantion*, xviii [1946-8], 327, n. 2) near Küstendil [*q.v.*] in Bulgaria, letters and words are arranged in an unnatural manner.

Damaged or lost inscriptions were often replaced by copies. The student of Ottoman epigraphy can mostly recognise these easily, for they are generally in a better state than originals dated in the same period. Also, the wording may give a hint. Knowledge of the history of calligraphy and decorative art may provide a means to ascertain the period when a copy was made. (The foundation inscription of the Darülhadis Mosque in Edirne, dated 838/1435 (Dijkema, No. 6), for instance, is written in a *nastaʿlīḳ* of a kind not used in Turkish epigraphy until the middle of the 11th/17th century.)

Bibliography: For a general appreciation of the significance of Turkish epigraphy, see R. Mantran, *Bilan et perspectives de l'épig aphie turque pour les périodes pré-ottomane et ottomane*, in *Revue d'histoire maghrébine* iv (1975), 217-20. For editions of Ottoman inscriptions, see the works of G. Colin, M. van Berchem, Khalīl Edhem, J. H. Mordtmann, F. Taeschner, P. Wittek, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarsılı, Mübārek Ghālib, H. B. Kunter, M. Mujezinović, A. P. Vekilov, A. Zajączkowski, P. Miyatev, R. Mantran and F. Th. Dijkema (bibliographical details in F. Th. Dijkema, *The Ottoman historical monumental inscriptions in Edirne*, Leiden 1977, Introd., § i); some of their editions include also pre-Ottoman inscriptions. Among the editions containing more specifically pre-Ottoman inscriptions, there should be mentioned: Cl. Huart, *Épigraphie arabe de l'Asie Mineure*, in *Revue sémitique*, ii (1894) and iii (1895); J. H. Löytved, *Konia: Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten*, Berlin 1907; the numerous articles of Aḥmed Tewḥīd in *TOEM*, esp. those in Nos. 29 (1330), 83 (1340), 86 and 87 (both 1341); P. Wittek, *Inscriptions*, in R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish architecture in southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1931, 77-116; J. Sauvaget, *Inscriptions arabes*, in A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, i, Paris 1940, 287-356; W. Hinz, *Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Orient*, in *Belleten*, xiii (1949), 745-69. The voluminous studies which İ. H. Konyalı has devoted to the monuments and inscriptions of a number of towns in (mainly western) Anatolia are unmethodical and possess little or no value for epigraphical research. See further the *RCEA*; the sections VIIIc in the different parts of J. D. Pearson's *Index Islamicus*, Cambridge (later London) 1958- ; H.-J. Kornrumpf, *Osmanische Bibliographie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkei in Europa*, Leiden 1973, 1183-6; the bibliographies of the articles devoted in this encyclopaedia to towns of the Ottoman empire and to dynasties and important families in the area. Finally, many local histories of towns formerly under Ottoman domination contain records of inscription texts, even though this may not always be indicated in the titles.

(F. Th. Dijkema and A. Alparslan)

8. In South-East Asia.

Islamic epigraphy is distributed very unequally in South-East Asia, it being understood that islamisation, although it did take place, was not accomplished everywhere at the same time or with the same intensity. The survey which follows can give only an idea of the importance of documents from Indonesia (*Republik Indonesia*) and from the Federation of Malaysia (*Persekutuan Tanah Malayu*). We shall have only a few words to say about the other regions.

A. *Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia*

The majority of epigraphic documents consist of tombstone inscriptions. Next in number are charters and related texts, and finally there are some brief legendary pieces on various subjects.

These three groups will be subdivided into four geographical regions, although the exigencies of history will not always allow a rigid separation: (a) Java (b) Sumatra (c) Malaysian Peninsula (d) Eastern Indonesia.

Regarding the Javanese year, since the introduction of the purely lunar calendar in 1633 A.D., it should be noted that the latter does not always correspond to the so-called "Arabic" system, because of a different distribution of "full" years of 355 days, and also as a result of local variations which are not all known to us. On this typically Javanese chronology (abbreviated Såkå Jav. or S.J.) and the theoretical conversion of its dates to the Gregorian system, reference should be made to the article *Tijdrekening*, in *ENI*², v (= Suppl. I), 73-9, which is accompanied by tables. For the pre-Islamic chronology (still in use in Bali) which consists of lunar-solar years, we shall use the term Śåkå (abbr. Ś.).

I. Tomb inscriptions.

(a) *Java*. It is on this island that the oldest known Muslim tomb in Indonesia has been found. It is the burial-place of a girl whose personal name is uncertain or is not indicated, but who is called Bint Maymūn. Without recalling here the arguments concerning the year of her death (there is an error in the writing of the word denoting tens), let us say that it may be read as 475 A.H. or 2 December 1082. This tomb stone is at Leran in eastern Java.

Eastern Java possesses a large number of tombs, among which we shall mention those of the cemetery at Trålåyå (usual orth. Trolojo). Here there are found, besides a number of undated or uninscribed tombs, ten dated inscriptions ranging from 1298 to 1533 Śåkå ,that is 1376 to 1611 A.D. It is seen that here the Śåkå chronology is still used for Muslim tombs, except in one case where we have a *hidjra* date expressed in Arabic numerals. Moreover, some of these tombs have a purely Javanese type of ornamentation and symbols which seem to link the interred persons to the court of Majapahit.

It is also in the east of Java that there is found the tomb of an individual reckoned by tradition to be one of the nine *Wālī*s responsible for the spreading of Islam to Java. His name is Malik Ibrāhīm, but his title cannot be established with certainty. The date is 822/10 April 1419.

In the cemetery of Tråwulan (usual orth. Trowulan) a few kilometres from Trålåyå, is the famous tomb said to be that of the Putri Čampå (a title interpreted as meaning Princess of Čampa), a figure well-known in legend, but the date, inscribed on the tomb in old Javanese numerals is 1370 Śåkå = 1488-9 A.D. which does not correspond to the year of her death given by the literary texts. The same cemetery contains a very simple tomb dated 1290 Śåkå = 1368-9 A.D., which is therefore more ancient and dates back to the glorious period of Majapahit.

There is furthermore in the Seṇḍang Ḍuwur complex, still in the east of Java, an inscribed wooden pole bearing the date 1407 Ś. (not 1507 as read by Stutterheim), again in old Javanese numerals. In another cemetery at Goṇḍang Lor (in the region of Tulung Agung) there is a tomb bearing the date

1470 Ś = 1548-9 A.D. In these two latter cases, the numerals are to be read from right to left, a mode of writing numbers unknown to epigraphy in the Arab lands but found in a number of cases in Indonesia (though rare in Sumatra), which doubtless arises from the system current in the Hindu period of expressing dates through chronograms.

Finally, in concluding this brief survey of the principal Muslim monuments of Java, let us note that in the burial complex of the famous Queen of Jåpårå (usual orth. Djaparra), Ratu Kali Nyamat, is a chronogram giving the date 1481 Ś = 1559-60 A.D.

(b) *Sumatra*. As a result of a systematic survey carried out between 1912 and 1917 in the region of the ancient kingdom of Samudra-Pasai and in the extreme north of the island, in Atcheh to be precise, the Archeological Service of Indonesia possesses a rich collection of photographs and casts of epitaphs, most of which however offer us nothing more than pious texts without historical value. Of the sixty dated inscriptions, wholly or partly legible, which we have been able to examine from Samudra-Pasai, the majority (more than thirty) are from the 9th/15th century; ten are from the 10th/16th century; four date from the 8th/14th century; and only one from the closing years of the 7th/13th century. Among these tombs, of which about half belong to women, a dozen or less are of persons of royal or princely rank. Only a few of these epitaphs have been published, and a systematic study has yet to be made.

We may mention among the historically more important, that of the first sultan of Samudra, Sulṭān Malik al-Ṣāliḥ who died in 696/1297, and that of his son al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Shams al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, which is of a completely different style and dates from 726/1326. Among the other tombs, we may mention those of a descendant of the penultimate caliph of Baghdād, named ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who died at Samudra in 809/1406; that of a queen of Samudra, great-granddaughter of the first sultan of the kingdom, dating from 831/1428; the epitaph of a princess with a Persian name, Mihr Shāh, daughter of Khōdja Aḥmad al-Sulṭān al-ʿĀdil; and finally, the tombs of two individuals, one named Rādja Khān dating from 834/1430 and the other, his son, Khōdja Rādja Khān b. Rādja Khān, buried in 865/1460-1.

One tomb, of unique type, is that of a person named Nāʾina Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Nāʾinā Amīn. As well as conventional texts, the tomb bears a poem by Saʿdī and dates from 823/1420.

Of two particularly interesting inscriptions apparently belonging to the same tomb, the one gives us a text in Old Malay written in palaeo-Sumatran characters, the epitaph of a queen whose name is uncertain but who died in 781/1380; the other stone bears an epitaph in Arabic of a princess, with a date almost identical to that of the former, the same day of the week, the same day of the month, the same month, but ten years later, 791/3 December 1398. It is probable that there is an error in the dating of one of the two inscriptions. In any case, the text in palaeo-Sumatran characters is very important, since it gives us evidence of the use of this script, which belongs to the pre-Muslim period, in the Islamic era and in the 8th/14th century, a hundred years after the islamisation of the region.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. Among the tombs discovered here are that of the sixth sovereign of Malaka, Sulṭān Manṣūr Shāh b. Muẓaffar Shāh, who died in 882/1477, and that of the first sultan of Pahang, Sulṭān Muḥammed Shāh, son of Sulṭān Manṣūr Shāh the conqueror of Pahang, who was the son of Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Muḥammed Shāh. The latter tomb is dated 880/1475, and it is noticeable that the genealogy here goes back further than in the previous example. The vast majority of tomb inscriptions are in Arabic, but one case is known where the epitaph proper is in Malay. It is that of a step-daughter of Sulṭān Aḥmad, the second sovereign of Pahang; she was in fact the daughter of the seventh sovereign of Malaka and sister of the seventh and last, who was forced to flee before the Portuguese invasion. Tl ere are various other royal tombs of the different sultanates, as well as those of eminent individuals dating from the 9th and 10th/15th and 16th centuries.

At Brunei, two tombs from the 15th century A.D. have been discovered. They are totally different from those of the Peninsular as regards the form and the style of the inscription.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. The island of Bali, where there is a small minority of Muslims in the north, has not hitherto yielded a single ancient inscription. There is one, however, on the island of Lombok, of which roughly half the population is Muslim. This inscription is bilingual: the *shahāda* in Arabic and a chronogram in Balinese script. The latter has been interpreted by Stutterheim as representing 1142/1727.

II. Charters and related documents.

(a) and (b) *Java and Sumatra*. On a *minbar* from the east of Java, of which we have only a facsimile, there is the date 1487 Śåkå/1565-6 A.D. inscribed in palaeo-Javanese numerals; but a chronogram which accompanies it causes difficulty. A small stele on at the centre of the ilsand, in Javanese, is dated 1624 S.J./1700-1 A.D. There are a number of texts in existence which are related to charters. They are written in Javanese and in Javanese characters, sometimes in Arabic characters (*pegon*).

In western Java (the Sundanese country), we have eleven charters dating from the 17th and 18th centuries A.D. (they are dated according to the Javanese Śåkå chronology).

From Bantan there are similar texts using both types of script, but dated according to the *hidjra* system. They date from the same centuries and are twelve in number.

Finally, from Palembang (southern Sumatra) there are various documents of which most are dated by the Javanese Śåkå chronology. They are written in Javanese language and characters and date from the 17th to the 19th century.

The appointment of a chief of the Badouy (the as yet Hindu population of the Sundanese country) dates from 1124/1712-13. This document is furthermore endorsed by the seal of a sultan of Bantan (the "Bantam" of the maps) which gives the date of the accession of this sovereign as 1102/1690. There are a number of other documents existing from the Lampung country, some written on bark, one on cattlehorn.

At Atcheh, documents of various kinds but generally authenticated by a seal, are called *sarakata*. None of those which have been preserved is very old.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. The most important document from this regıon is an inscription, unfortunately incomplete, of a type totally different and unique in this part of the world. The text includes a proclamation of Islam, followed by a list of ten in-

fractions, with the penalties laid down for each. The date is unfortunately incomplete but we can at least be sure that it belongs to the 8th/14th century. In this text there are very few Arabic words, and even the name of Allāh is rendered by an expression Hindu in origin, *Dewata Mulya Raya*.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. Especially interesting in this region are texts written in Arabic script but in the language of Ternate, emanating from the sultanate of the same name. They are all recent (19th century), but give valuable evidence concerning this language, which is not part of the Indonesian linguistic family (which henceforward may usefully be called Nousantarian), but which alongside Malay played the role of a lingua franca in the eastern parts of the Indonesian archipelago.

III. Inscriptions on various objects.

1. *Cannons*.

(a), (b), (c). *Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia*. Cannons of diverse origin have been found (of French, Dutch or Indonesian manufacture) bearing inscriptions in Malay or in Arabic. They date from the 17th and 18th centuries. On one of these is inscribed the name *Yakertra* (variant of Djakarta) written in Javanese letters. It also bears a date, which is, however, problematical.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. A cannon of Indonesian manufacture, dating from the start of the 18th century, has been found at Soulawesi. It bears the name La Patau, the nephew of the famous Sultan of Boné, Aru Palakka.

2. *Other objects*.

(a) *Java*. There are various brief inscriptions on mortars and on carved wooden panels, all of them from the 19th century.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. From this region there are a number of *gantang* (measures for rice) bearing the name of the sultan of the period. They are mainly from the 19th century, and one of them even dates from the beginning of the 20th.

B. *Thailand*

From this country we have only one inscription, which is now in the museum of Sukhothai. It consists of five lines in Arabic (the name of the four archangels and the s͟hahāda) as well as two lines in Urdu. It is dated 1338/1919 and has therefore no historical value, but it bears interesting witness to the behaviour of an Indian Muslim in a Buddhist country.

C. *Cambodia*

One inscription only has been found in the area of Pnom Penh. The first three lines consist only of pious texts and the fourth, which perhaps contains more interesting details, unfortunately cannot be deciphered.

D. *Čampa*

Two tombstone inscriptions have been found at Čampa, in Arabic with Kūfic characters. One is from 431/1039. The other is undated, but judging by the palaeography, is of roughly the same age as the first.

Bibliography: For convenience, the sources have been divided in the same way as in the text of the article, sc. in three groups: I. Tomb inscriptions; II. Charters and related documents; and III. Inscriptions on various objects. Each of these groups is subdivided also according to the article proper into (a) Java, (b) Sumatra, (c) Federation of Malaysia (including British Borneo) and (d) Eastern Indonesia. In general, only books and articles discussing the epigraphic data are listed here.

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C. *Cambodia*: (anon). *La stèle arabe du Phnoṁ Bakheṅ*, in *BEFEO*, xxii (1922), 160.

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(L. Ch. Damais)

9. Iran and Transoxiana.

Before the advent of Islam, the regions of Iran and Transoxiana had long-established traditions of

literacy. On the one hand, use was made of various scripts derived from the Imperial Aramaic of the Achaemenid chanceries during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. These employed a largely historical spelling for Iranian words, and combined with this, ideographic writing-elements formed from Semitic roots, but with added Iranian terminations (known as phonetic complements) to indicate the inflexions. On the other hand, in the regions of Balkh, Ṭukhāristān and Rukhkhadj, there had been current the cursive Bactrian script, a slightly modified form of the Greek alphabet, which like its parent employed for this Iranian dialect straightforward phonetic spellings. This survived on the so-called Arab-Hephthalite coins until the coming of Islam. Here and there, among the Buddhist communities, Indian Kharoṣṭhī and even Brahmī scripts had formerly been known; but with these, as with the Runic Turkish of Eastern Turkistan, and the undeciphered Kushan linear script of Dasht-i Navor, we are not here concerned.

To the first group, the descendents of Aramaic, belonged Parthian, Sogdian and Khwārazmian, besides a little-known variant of the same type used in Māzandarān. Sogdian and Khwārazmian lingered on, again on coins, well down into Islamic times. More prominent, however, was (Sasanian) Pahlavī, which, in its cursive form known as Book-Pahlavī, co-existed with Islam for centuries as a vehicle of Zoroastrian scriptures. It is found beside Arabic in bilingual Islamic inscriptions of the Caspian region at Rādkān (Neka), Lādjīm and Rasgit (Resget), and perhaps was the only method of writing the Persian language in the earlier Islamic period. Until the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj in 76/695-6, Pahlavī had been the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Subh al-aʿshā*, i, 423) converted the chancery of al-ʿIrāḳ, and ultimately of the Iranian east, to Arabic script and language. In 84/703-4, Book-Pahlavī and Cursive Bactrian occur together with Arabic on a coin of the Gūzgān district in Afghānistān issued by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. Sogdian and Khwārazmian script continue to occur on coins of Bukhārā and Khwārazm, and Book-Pahlavī on the issues of Ṭabaristān, well into ʿAbbāsid times. Otherwise, the language of the Umayyad "Reformed coinage", and succeeding Muslim issues, is uniformly Arabic, apart from the Marw issue of 79/698-9, which has the city-name in Pahlavī.

The four earliest varieties of the Arabic script, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 8) were *makkī*, *madanī*, *baṣrī* and *kūfī*. The implied differences between these forms still elude modern commentators, who today use the term Kūfic (as opposed to *kūfī* in Ibn al-Nadīm's sense) with general application to all varieties of monumental, angular, and (usually) unpointed Arabic script, employed for the writing of Ḳurʾāns, in lapidary inscriptions, and in coin-legends. It can be observed that the Umayyad "Reformed coinage" actually shows five distinct styles of script: that of Damascus with its related mints; that of the earliest issues from Iranian cities; that of Wāsiṭ, with the developed Iranian issues; that of Sidjistān, a curiously awkward script with "thorny" letter-terminals; and the thin and delicate script of the closing Umayyad, and revolutionary ʿAbbāsid coinages.

Apart from inscriptions on the coins, the dated Arabic inscriptions of Iran, as at present known, begin surprisingly late. The earliest are a still unpublished series at Bahmāndiz, near the border of Fārs and Iṣfahān Provinces. The clearest text reads *ʿamarahā Khāzim b. Muḥammad b. Djāba (?)/sanat khams sittīn wa-miʾatayn*. Another records the birth of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Khāzim on Monday, 27 Shaʿbān 309. The same site has one poorly preserved Book-Pahlavī inscription, and many other short texts in Arabic. A substantial list of the known Arabic inscriptions of Iran to 600/1203-4 was compiled by Miles. The earliest of consequence are the famous texts of the Būyid ʿAḍuḍ al-Dawla Fanā-Khusraw [*q.v.*] in the Tachara at Persepolis, recording the defeat of Muḥammad b. Mākān in Ṣafar 344/May-June 955 and the ʿAmīr's interest in the decipherment of inscriptions. One of the texts has been shown to contain several Persian words (R. N. Frye, *The heritage of Persia*, London 1962, 251, 290, with fig. 63). Nearby is the inscription of Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] dated 392/1001-2. Earlier in fact than any known Arabic inscription of Iran or Afghānistān is the enigmatic text from the Tochi Valley in Wazīristān, now in the Peshāwar Museum, which is dated Djumādā I 243/August 857. This seems to contain a mention of "the land of ʿUmān", which, with the early date, could imply a connexion with the Khāridjite amīrate at Gardīz [*q.v.*], since judging by the *Tāʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, caliphal control could not then have extended so far east.

Decorative varieties of Arabic script were equally slow to appear in the Islamic East. The texts of ʿAḍuḍ al-Dawla show no more than occasional barbed terminations, and characters linked by small loops beneath the base-line. Foliation of letter-terminals seems to have developed first in Egypt, and to have been quickly followed there by Floriation (by which is here understood the use of attached, but extended, leaf-decoration, as well as that of circular flowers, either attached or separate). Such features, as Grohmann showed, were known in Egypt as early as 218/833-4, and must have travelled thence to the East; not, as Van Berchem maintained, on the evidence of a restored inscription at Tashkent, from Central Asia westwards. In Iran, strongly Foliated Kūfic often tending to floriation is found in undated (probably 4th/10th century) inscriptions of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ at Nāyin. The earliest dated examples of floriation appear to be the inscriptions of Badr b. Ḥasanawayh, a Kurdish ruler in Luristān: one at each end of the Pul-i Māmulān near Khurramābād, alike dated 374/984-5, and another from the Pul-i Kashkān completed in 399/1008-9, which all record the building of the bridges. Very fine specimens of Floriated Kūfic are those of the minaret of the Pā-yi Minār mosque at Zawāra (461/1068-9), and the tomb-tower of Hormizdyār at Rasgit (Resget). From a reading of its date that was uncertain, Godard sought to ascribe the latter to the 5th/11th century, but its thick, heavy script and florid decorations are more comparable with the legends of the Khwārazm-Shāhī coins of the 6th/12th century; and in any event, the closing words can hardly be taken for a date. In fact, the principality of Khwārazm had been slow to develop an ornate calligraphy. That region during the 5th/11th century had adopted an austere and elegant style, unusual only for the sweeping curves of the *djīm*, *ḥāʾ* and *khāʾ*, which is exemplified by the foundation-text of Maʾmūn b. Maʾmūn (dated 401/1010-11), in lead, from a minaret at Urgandj, or Gurgāndj [*q.v.*], now at Tashkent. With this may be compared the silver tray of the unidentified prince Tādj al-Umma wa-Sirādj al-Milla Khwārazm-Shāh b. Ibrāhīm, reproduced by Smirnov. Further to the west in the Ziyārid kingdom,

the inscription of the Gunbad-i Ḳābūs (395/1004-5) is in a magisterially simple, yet wholly undecorated script. Such austere forms were well-adapted to rendering in the brickwork of the many minarets and domes erected under the Saldjūḳs in Iran: such, for example, as the plain and elongated lettering of the founder's inscription of the minister Niẓām al-Mulk in the sanctuary of the Djāmiʿ at Iṣfahān (*AMI*, vii, 2-3, 83) or that in the name of the Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh at Gulpāyagān.

More adventurous calligraphic developments had meanwhile been taking place in the Sāmānid territories of Transoxania and Khurāsān, no doubt stimulated by the introduction of paper-manufacture from China, and the stimulus consequently given to penmen. On the slip-painted "Nīshāpūr" pottery, magnificient lettering is found in black or chocolate over a pale ground, and plaited or interlaced letter-forms soon become widespread. In the absence of dated specimens, chronology of the pottery depends on examples in other media. Interlaced letters appear on a *dīnār* of Naṣr b. Aḥmad dated 324/935-6 from al-Muḥammadiyya (Rayy), and similar forms are found frequently on subsequent Būyid coins of North Iranian mints. Thus Plaited Kūfic seems to have been diffused from east to west across the Islamic world, in the opposite direction to floriation. In Iran, the classic example of the plaited style is the epigraphic frieze of Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Wandarīn on his tomb-tower at Rādkān in Māzandarān, commenced in 407/1016-17 and completed in 411/1020-1. The outstanding specimen to combine floriation with plaited decoration is the script at the tomb of Yaḥyā b. Zayd (known as Imām-i Khurd), at Sar-i Pul in Afghānistān. Undated, it mentions one Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shādān, evidently a relative of Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad, *wazīr* of the Saldjūḳ Čaghrī Beg, and so should be several decades later than the Saldjūḳ occupation of Balkh around 433/1041-2. Plaited script appears also on the celebrated arch of Bust in southern Afghānistān, which though ascribed by commentators to the 6th/12th century, has greater affinities, both architectural and epigraphic, with the Ghaznavid period. In view of this last fact, its fragmentary date could suitably be restored merely as *arbaʿmiʾa* (400/1009-10), which would thus be the earliest specimen of Plaited Kūfic in the Ghaznavid area, and belonging consequently to the reign of Maḥmūd I.

More typical of the lettering of the Ghūrid period, in contrast to the previous examples, is a Bordered Kūfic which descends from that of the later Ghaznavid minarets, those of Masʿūd III (492-508/1099-1115) and Bahrām Shāh (511-52/1117-57) at Ghazna. Here the decorative border is independent of the actual lettering, though both stand on a floral background. A forerunner of this convention may be the so-called shrine of Bābā Ḥātim or Sālār Khalīl, near Andkhoy, which may even predate the Saldjūḳ occupation there, and has bordered decoration of a simple kind. This monuments of the mature Ghūrid period (late 6th/12th century) show a great variety of scripts, which include a stiff, archaising Kūfic, and a flowing Naskhī (Thulth, see below). The most characteristic, however, both at Čisht, and in particular at Shāh-i Mashhad, is a form with broad decorative borders developed into complex geometrical forms. Further to the west, under successors of the Saldjūḳs in Iran, Bordered Kūfic is seen resembling that of the minarets at Ghazna on that at Nigār in Kirmān province. Enhanced with sparse turquoise tiling, it is presumed to date from 615/1218-19.

The Kūfic inscriptions so far discussed are all couched in Arabic. The small number of Persian epigraphs known which were written in this character were discussed by Bombaci in his examination of the long and fragmentary Persian verse-inscription on marble slabs, found in the palace of Masʿūd III at Ghazna (built in 505/1111-12). He notes Persian verses also on the tomb of an unknown person at Ghazna. However, the earliest example of such a text is on the portal-arch of Ribāṭ-i Malik near Bukhārā (Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, Pl. 272B), ascribed to the Ḳarakhānid Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Tamghač Khān Ibrāhīm (471/1078-9). Other monumental Persian inscriptions are at the tomb of Muʾmina Khātūn at Nakhčivān (N. Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase*, in *JA* [1862], 113-15); and especially that at the mausoleum of the later Ḳarakhānid Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī at Uzgend (547/1152), where the Persian foundation-text is in sinuous Naskhī, and the largely Turkish protocol of the ruler, below, in a rigorously geometrical Bordered Kūfic. In unpointed script Persian has always been found extremely difficult to read, and it was only with the advent of fully-pointed Naskhī that the monumental use of Persian became extensive.

In any event, by the close of the 5th/11th century, decorated Kūfic was passing out of favour, both by reason of its difficult legibility, and perhaps on account of associations with the Fāṭimid dynasty, considered hostile by the Saldjūḳs. Cursive handwritings, the rounded Naskhī, and the flowing and ligatured chancery hands, had always co-existed with the angular script, and now emerged with full monumental status. A Naskhī text on the tombstone of Maḥmūd I at Ghazna contains the date 421/1030, but is often considered a later addition, as are the Kūfic inscriptions on the wooden doors from that tomb. Nevertheless, Ghazna played a leading part in the innovation, for the specimen there on a marble panel naming the Sultan Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd is unlikely to be later than his death in 492/1099, in view of its wording. At Dandānkān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a Naskhī text is placed before 494/1100. A small panel in Naskhī appears on the Čihil Dukhtarān minaret at Iṣfahān (dated 501/1107-9), as also on that of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh at Sāva (504/1110-11), where the main text is Kūfic. The minaret at Dawlatābād near Balkh is ascribed to the year 502/1108-9. Besides a band of Kūfic it has a fine epigraphic frieze of Naskhī type (of a style which some designate Thulth). At the Imām-i Kalān shrine at Sar-i Pul nearby, the entrance inscription is in sprawling Naskhī, but unhappily only the units figure of the date is legible (- - 9). Thereafter, the historical inscriptions of Muslim monuments were regularly in the rounded script, as at the Imām-zāda Karrār at Buzūn (528/1133-4), which provided Herzfeld with the occasion to prepare a list of Kūfic and Naskhī inscriptions noted in his time. Recent discoveries enable us to add to his list the *madrasa* of Shāh-i Mashhad already mentioned, and the mausoleum of Qorveh (Ḳurwa) near Ḳazwīn, ascribed to 575/1179-80. Arabic manuals of calligraphy, followed by several recent commentators, apply special terms (*thulth*, *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, *rayḥānī*, *ruḳʿa* and so on) to varieties of Naskhī script. Yet since the application of these in succeeding periods is inconsistent, and the categories appearing on monuments do not always correspond, it is safer to use only the general term. From the second half of the 6th/12th century, Naskhī inscriptions exist in substantial

numbers in Iran. The best general study, no longer, of course, up-to-date, is that of Kratchkovskaya (in Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, iv, 1770-84). Often the Nas<u>kh</u>ī characters stand, without attachment, on an overall background of vegetable scrolls, a convention found also in the latest phase of Kūfic. In the period of the Il<u>kh</u>āns and later, wide variations are found in the forms of script under the Nas<u>kh</u>ī "label". As outstanding specimens, mention must be made of the *miḥrab* of Öl<u>dj</u>eytü in the <u>Dj</u>āmiʿ of Iṣfahān, and the *minbar* of the Muẓaffarid Aḥmad at Sīr<u>dj</u>ān, with its massed verticals typical of the *ṭug<u>h</u>rā* style. Yet the fashion for Nas<u>kh</u>ī, in numerous forms and varieties, with increasing use of diacritical points and signs, persists down to the time of the Ṣafawids and still more recently. In later centuries, monumental inscriptions stand closer to the traditions of the manuscript copyists. Besides foundation-texts, they often include the detailed provisions of *waḳf*-endowments. However, from the point of view of script, they hardly make the same call as the examples of the Kūfic period for separate treatment.

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10. India.

The Indian sub-continent is very rich in Muslim inscriptions, the study of which affords valuable information not only to the archaeologist and historian but also to the geographer, the economist, the student of religions, the linguist, and of course the calligrapher. Most of them are found on religious buildings (tombs, mosques, *ʿīdgāhs*, *imāmbāṛās*, *madrasas*) and military works (forts, gates, bastions, cavaliers, towers), or on works of public utility (bridges, tanks, *bāʾōlīs*, dams, sluices, *sarāʾīs*); some are also found on palaces, gardens, pavilions, etc.; and another class is found on movable objects such as guns and swords, ornamental metalwork including Bīdrī ware [see bīdar], and on crystal and jade [see billawr and ya<u>sh</u>m]. The greatest part of the public inscriptions is carved on stone; often of a stone identical to that of the main building material, but not infrequently a specially selected fine-grained stone is used for the inscription and cemented into the structure.

Here the question of authenticity must be considered. An inscription may indeed be exactly contemporary with the building on which it appears. But it may also be earlier, preserved through the reverence accorded to the written word or through the ascription to it of some special sanctity, and set into a later unrelated building; or else later, marking say the completion of a building project essentially constructed perhaps half-a-century earlier, as at the <u>Dj</u>āmiʿ mas<u>dj</u>id of Bī<u>dj</u>āpur [*q.v.*], a late ʿĀdil <u>Sh</u>āhī building whose inscription records its completion by Awrangzīb; or recording a restoration (as in many works in Dihlī of Fīrūz b. Ra<u>dj</u>ab, whose inscriptions have to be studied in connexion with the problems of interpretation in his own accounts of his restorations in the *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*: see dihlī. Monuments); or it may be fictitious—not necessarily mischievously: for example, the Persian inscription of the Mas<u>dj</u>id Ḳuwwat al-Islām at Dihlī is probably a *pia fraus* of sixty or seventy years after the conquest.

The technique of carving stone inscriptions in Arabic, Persian or Urdū is conspicuously different

from that of inscriptions in other Indian languages, where the characters are engraved into the surface of the stone; in the Muslim inscriptions the outline of the letters is first written on the stone, and the ground between the letters then chiselled away leaving the inscription level with the original surface. A similar technique may be applied to inscriptions on crystal and jade, and also to the larger metal pieces, although on any of these fields the letters may be incised and the grooves filled with another material to leave an inscription flush with the surface; in the case of Bīdrī ware this is regularly of silver bar laid into the base metal. Inscriptions in ceramics may be either of letters in a contrasting colour fired integrally in a regularly-shaped tile (*haft-rangī*: see KHAZAF), or consist of the individual letter-shapes let into a contrasting ground by a mosaic technique. The former ceramic technique is more commonly employed for simple repetitive motifs (e.g. the names Allāh or Muḥammad), sometimes combined with a moulded base on which the letter-shapes are raised, as on the merlons of Rukn-i ʿĀlam's tomb in Multān; mosaic tile inscriptions, which do not appear until the 11th/17th century, are best exemplified in the Mug̲h̲al buildings of Lahore ([see LĀHAWR]).

The language of the earliest inscriptions is invariably Arabic. There are no inscriptional records of the ʿAbbāsid presence in Sindh, although a few were engendered by the Muslim communities which lingered on in Sindh and the Pand̲j̲āb, with their occasional offshoots to Kačč̣h and the north coast of Kāṭhiāwāṛ [see GUD̲J̲ARĀT], to which were added the small communities which grew up around the *k̲h̲ānḳāh*s of individual Ṣūfī saints who drifted in to India before the G̲h̲ūrid conquest, especially in the Pand̲j̲āb and the Ganges valley. After the G̲h̲ūrid conquest of Dihlī, dating inscriptions remain in Arabic regularly until towards the end of the 7th/13th century, when they are replaced by Persian; non-historical epigraphs tend to remain in Arabic somewhat longer, and of course Arabic persists up to the present day for Ḳurʾānic quotations on mosque and tomb inscriptions. This does not, however, apply to the sultanates of Bengal, where the preferred language of dating inscriptions remains in Arabic until Mug̲h̲al times. In late Mug̲h̲al times, in north India Urdū inscriptions appear beside Persian. Away from Dihlī, there are many bilingual and trilingual inscriptions, especially in the Deccan (Persian/Sanskrit, Persian/Marāṭhī, Persian/Kannaḍa, etc.); there are a few inscriptions in the Deccan regions in Dakhnī [*q.v.*]. Not infrequently the date is written in Arabic words in a Persian inscription; and often the Arabic, and to a less extent the Persian, is grammatically incorrect. The date in north Indian inscriptions is regularly expressed in Hid̲j̲rī years, except for a few inscriptions of the time of Akbar and D̲j̲ahāngīr which use the Dīn-i Ilāhī [*q.v.*] system, or are dated by regnal years. In the Deccan, various solar calendars are occasionally used, especially the *S̲h̲uhūr san* (well studied by Marie Martin, in an unpublished M.A. thesis of the University of Colorado) in the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhī sultanate of Bīd̲j̲āpur, and a *Faṣlī san* in Golkonḍā and under the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād. In Mysore under Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tipū Sulṭān, the Mawdūdī era is used. For these eras, see TAʾRĪK̲H̲.

The scripts in use are the common Kūfic, *nask̲h̲*, *t̲h̲ulth̲*, and *nastaʿlīḳ*. Kūfic is used only in the earliest dating inscriptions, and retained long after its period of active use in Ḳurʾānic quotations. *Nask̲h̲* and *t̲h̲ulth̲* are in common use for both Arabic and Persian inscriptions all over India, with some regional modifications. *Nastaʿlīḳ* is regularly used for Persian inscriptions in and after the Mug̲h̲al period, and for inscriptions in Urdū. Of the regional styles, the most striking is that of Bengal, where the vertical strokes of *alif*, *kāf* and *lām* are much elongated and spaced evenly across the length of the inscription, leaving the significant parts of the remainder of the letters to occupy the lowest quarter or third of the band; sometimes the tails of final or detached *nūn* or *yāʾ* are so disposed in the top part of the inscription to produce the "bow and arrow" effect. A similar style is seen also on some of the coins of D̲j̲awnpur. Elaborate *ṭug̲h̲rā*s fall more in the domain of *farmān*s and other such documents rather than in public epigraphs, although they are certainly known in ceramic tile inlay and in *pietra dura* in Mug̲h̲al buildings; but simpler *ṭug̲h̲rā*s, in the square seal-script, are not uncommon, consisting usually of repetitions of the names Muḥammad or ʿAlī, or both, or the *kalima*. None of these seal-script inscriptions approaches the complexity of the Iranian examples. Simple dating inscriptions are usually unadorned; but many mosque inscriptions, starting with the *maḳṣūra* arches of the first stage of the Masd̲j̲id Ḳuwwat al-Islām in Dihlī, are engraved against an arabesque [*q.v.*] pattern also carried in relief on the ground. The finest example of this, however, is a dating inscription of the governor Tug̲h̲ril from a lost building at Bihār S̲h̲arīf. Similar arabesque patterns may also set off inscriptions in tilework or painted plaster, and occur also on coins of the Mug̲h̲al period [see SIKKA]. Many inscriptions are of a high order of calligraphic excellence, and the names of many calligraphers in many regions of India are recorded.

The information which the inscriptions provide for the historian is sometimes very valuable; at times, they furnish the only sources for doubtful points of dynastic chronology; they supply missing details from the literary histories, or enable confusing points to be resolved where the other documents are in conflict; they enable more complete lists to be made of rulers' families, of the local nobility or court and town officials; and they are a valuable source of information on the history of the buildings on which they are found (subject to the reservation on their authenticity referred to above). Indirectly, too, their location enables the political status of border regions at certain confused times to be determined, such as the regions in dispute between the Mālwā and D̲j̲awnpur sultanates [*q.vv.*], or the Rayčūr *dōʾāb* [see HIND. History]; in many cases, an inscription is the only evidence for a fort or stronghold having been occupied by a particular power at any time. Even when rulers and governors are known from chronicles, the inscriptions often provide essential information on details of their careers, their promotions and postings, their achievements, even on their families. Tomb-inscriptions frequently mention their subject's birthplace, and thereby provide evidence for the extent of immigration and for the settlement pattern of foreign groups.

Administrative and economic details contained in or implied by the inscriptions can also be invaluable: information on details of departments, names of offices, and designations of office-holders; on the imposition or remission of taxes, and their varied application to certain classes or trades; on the nature and conditions of grants of land, both to

holders of an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] and to charitable institutions such as mosque or *madrasa* as *waḳf* [*q.v.*]; on land cultivation or irrigation (well inscriptions, or records of repairs to tanks and dams, often refer to the amount of land intended to be irrigated); on regional boundaries; on markets. Records on works of public utility may include a schedule of expenses or the wages to be paid to employees. Geographical details, including distances, occur in inscriptions relating to roads and bridges, which also provide information on their builders—besides recording the correct forms of place-names, which seem singularly liable to corruption by copyists of the chronicles. Building inscriptions often indicate the cost of construction as well as details of the architects; an unusual inscription in the tomb of Hūshang Shāh at Māndū [*q.v.*] records a tribute by visiting Mughal architects of the family of master-builders who were later responsible for the Tādj Maḥall. Gun inscriptions, as well as prescribing essential instructions on the quantity of charge and shot required, frequently provide information on gun founding and the gun-founders—often Turks or Europeans—involved in the industry.

The literary contribution of the inscriptions must not be overlooked. Many inscriptions are in verses composed *ad hoc*, some of considerable beauty and skill; but it must be admitted that the verse of a lot of inscriptions is no better than doggerel. This is especially the case with verses containing a chronogram, where taste is often sacrificed in favour of ingenuity. There are occasional quotations from well-known Persian poets, but frequently the authors are local poets not otherwise recorded. Specimens of Dakhnī poetry are preserved in some Deccan inscriptions. Some prose inscriptions also evince literary merit, and may contain traditions not found in the usual collections of *aḥādīth*, such as the saying ascribed to Jesus in the Djāmiʿ masdjid of Fatḥpur Sikrī (Persian), or the variations on a tradition (Arabic) in the mosque inscriptions of Bengal, basically: "The Prophet, God's peace be upon him, said 'He who builds a mosque to God, for him God builds a *ḳaṣr* in Paradise' ". Sentiments expressed range from strict and self-conscious rectitude through quietist mysticism to wistful nostalgia.

There is also the linguistic contribution of inscriptions. The occurrence of local words (Hindī, Bengali, Marāṭhī, Gudjarātī, Urdū and Dakhnī in particular) is useful in reconstructing the history (and social conditions of use) of Indian languages. Bilingual inscriptions provide evidence on the extent of use of local languages and their place in communication of official instructions to the public, and the status of a particular local language in a border area; this is especially the case in the Deccan, where Muslim inscriptions in Kannaḍa, Marāṭhī and Telugu are not uncommon besides the usual Persian and Dakhnī.

The Indian sub-continent has been fortunate in the attention which has been paid to Muslim inscriptions for well over a century. Hundreds are recorded in orientalist publications, besides those in specialist journals devoted to epigraphy alone; and India has been well served by highly competent Government Epigraphists appointed specially to oversee Arabic and Persian inscriptions, of whom Ghulam Yazdani and Ziauddin Desai are pre-eminent. The work of exploration, interpretation and publication is still active.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography would be enormous in view of the great corpus of Indian Muslim epigraphs published so far. Inscriptions which relate to particular regions of India are listed under regional articles on History. In the 19th century epigraphs were mostly published, usually with translations and notes, in *JASB*. From 1907 the invaluable *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* appeared, which continued until the independence of India and Pakistan. Pre-*EIM* inscriptions are listed in J. Horovitz, *A list of the published Mohamedan inscriptions of India*, in *EIM* (1909-10). Since the cessation of *EIM*, Muslim inscriptions of India have appeared in *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, and valuable comments appear also in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*. Articles and studies are recorded in Creswell, *Bibliography*, and its Supplement, and in Pearson and Supplements. Many of the earlier *EIM* articles collect the epigraphs of individual sultans, but recent discoveries have rendered many of these out-of-date. V. S. Bendrey, *Studies in Muslim inscriptions*, Bombay 1944, extracts some historical information from epigraphs published in *EIM* to that date, but since the author knew no Arabic or Persian many significant details were not appreciated, and the work suffers from the limitation of its corpus. There is a valuable chapter on Arabic and Persian epigraphy in the Deccan by Z. A. Desai in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan*, ii, Hyderabad 1974. (J. Burton-Page)

KITĀBKHĀNA [see maktaba]

KITĀMIYYA [see shādhiliyya]

ĶIṬFĪR, one of the most common names for the biblical Potiphar in Islamic tradition. It is probably a corruption of Fiṭfīr, based upon an early scribal error. Other forms of the name based on confusions of similar letters in Arabic script are Ķiṭfīn, Ķiṭʿīn, and Ķiṭṭīn. The form Ķiṭfīr is frequently corrupted further to Iṭfīr (so generally in Ṭabarī, Thaʿlabī, Zamakhsharī, Bayḍāwī, and others), and in some manuscripts Iṭfīn. He is given the patronymic Ibn Ruhayb (also Ibn Ruḥayb and Ibn Rūḥīt in mss.). There is considerable confusion regarding his name, and Ṭabarī, for example, uses several forms. Kisāʾī alone calls him Ķūṭīfar, which is closest to the original Hebrew. In the Ķurʾān, he is merely referred to by his title al-ʿAzīz (XII, 30, 51).

Ķiṭfīr was the treasurer of Egypt. Because he immediately discerned Yūsuf's [*q.v.*] fine qualities, he is considered one of the three most insightful individuals (*afras al-nās*) in the judging of men, along with Shuʿayb's daughter, who asked her father to hire Mūsā, and Abū Bakr, who chose ʿUmar as his successor (Ṭabarī, Thaʿlabī, Zamakhsharī, Bayḍāwī).

Several reflections of the Haggadic Potiphar are found in Muslim legends. Ķiṭfīr dies after Yūsuf's release from prison. Yūsuf in most Muslim sources marries Ķiṭfīr's wife and finds her a virgin. This is never explained by the fact that Ķiṭfīr was a eunuch, as is common in the Judaeo-Christian tradition (based on a later interpretation of Bibli. Heb. *sārīs*), but rather that he was a homosexual as in some Jewish midrashim (comp. Ṭabarī, i, 396, with *Soṭa*, 13b, and *Genesis Rabba*, lxxxiii, 3). According to Kisāʾī, Ķiṭfīr had been unable to have sexual relations with his wife because he was an alcoholic (*ʿannāb*). Yūsuf's marrying Ķiṭfīr's wife probably reflects the association of Potiphar with Potiphera (Gen. xli, 45) in the midrash.

Ķiṭfīr is a minor character about whom little is related in Islamic tradition.

1. Near East. Stele from Aṣwān, 263/876. Archaic type of script (Photo. Goult).

2. Near East. Umayyad mosaic inscription in the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra, Jerusalem (Photo. K. A. C. Creswell).

3. Near East. Umayyad inscription. Milestone of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (Photo. M. Van Berchem).

4. Near East. ʿAbbāsid Kūfic type. Egyptian stele, 204/819 (Photo. S. Ory)

5. Near East. Angular script, carved out, and with hooks which foreshadow palmettes. Egyptian stele, 243/857 (Photo. G. Wiet).

6. Near East. Angular script, in relief, and with palmettes. Egyptian stele, 243/857 (Photo. Wiet).

7. Near East. Fragment of a Fāṭimid inscription in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, Cairo, end of the 4th/10th century (Photo. Van Berchem).

8. Near East. Fāṭimid inscription from the tomb of Fāṭima at Damascus, 439/1048 (Photo. J. Dufour).

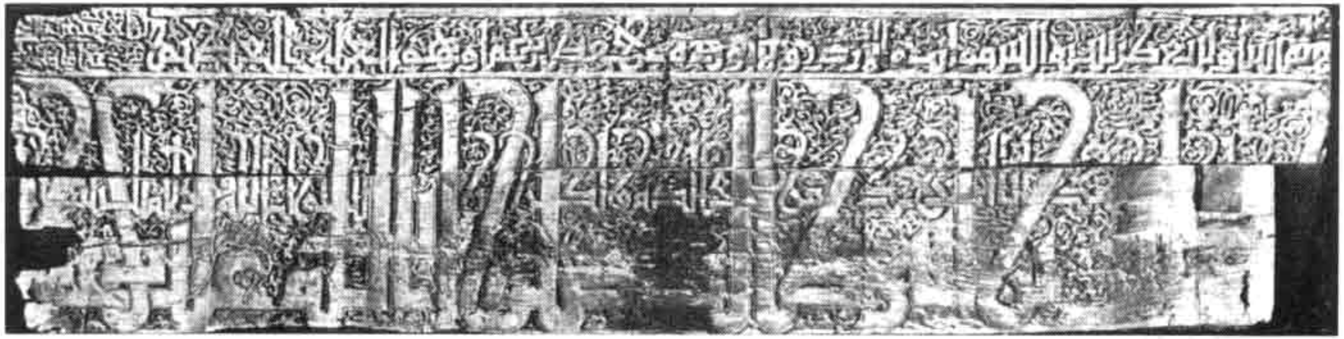

9. Near East. Saldjūḳ inscription from the tomb of Sukayna at Damascus, carved in wood, 6th/12th century (Photo. Dufour).

10. Near East. Cursive script type. Grave inscription (561/1166) from the cemetery of al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, Damascus (Photo. Kh. Moaz).

11. Near East. Ayyūbid *naskhī* type, citadel of Jerusalem, 610/1213 (Photo. Van Berchem).

12. Near East. Mamlūk *naskhī* type. Ordinance of 889/1484 at Tripoli (Photo. Van Berchem).

13. Near East. Type of Ottoman script which is still very close to Mamlūk *naskhī*. Inscription (943/1536-7) of the Bāb al-Nāẓir at Jerusalem (Photo. Van Berchem).

14. Spain. Almeria. Epitaph of a shaykh. 528/1133. Kūfic.
(Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, No. 137).

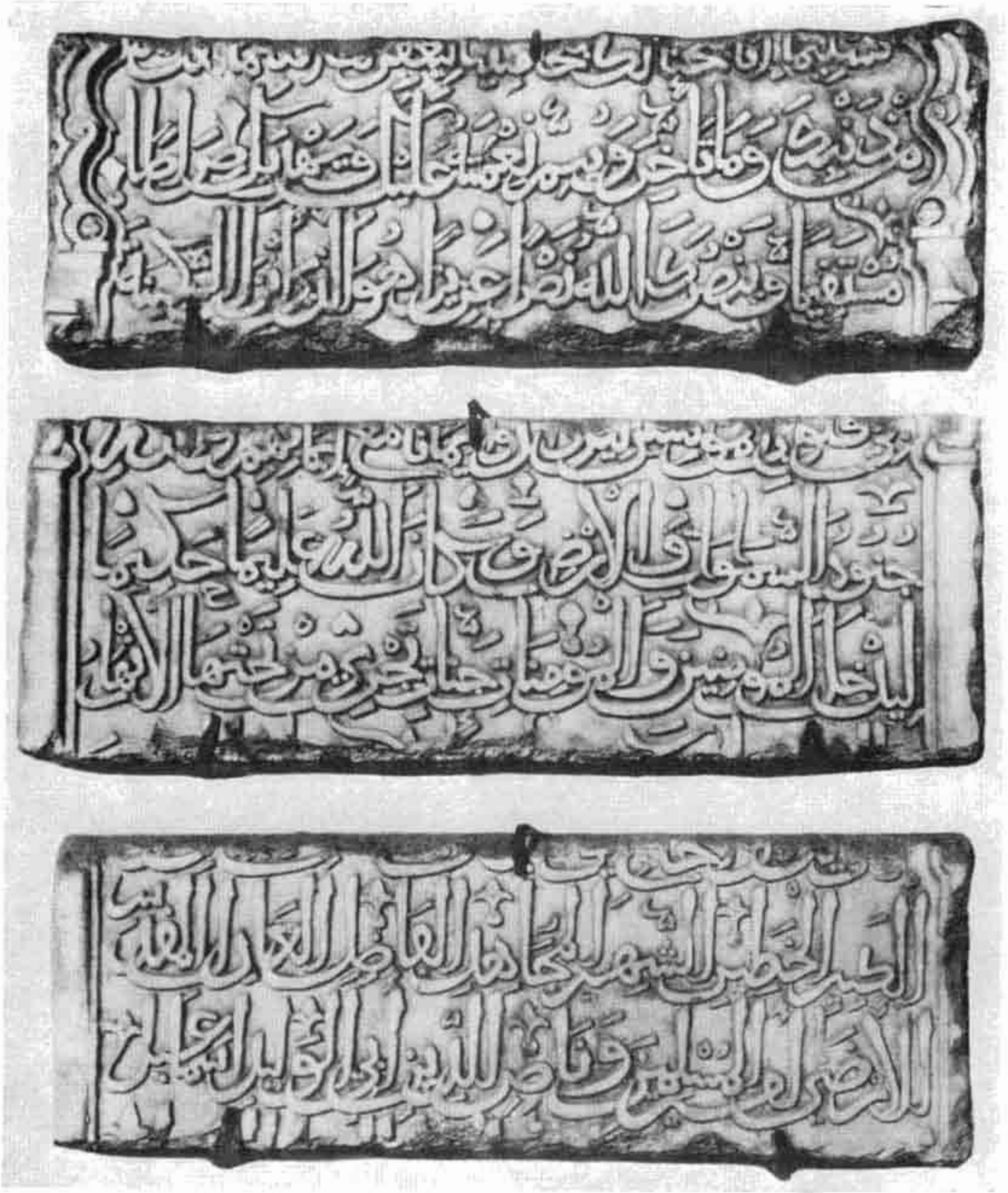

15. Spain. Granada. Fragments of the inscription commemorating the foundation of the Medersa. 750/1349. Andalusian cursive. (Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, No. 172).

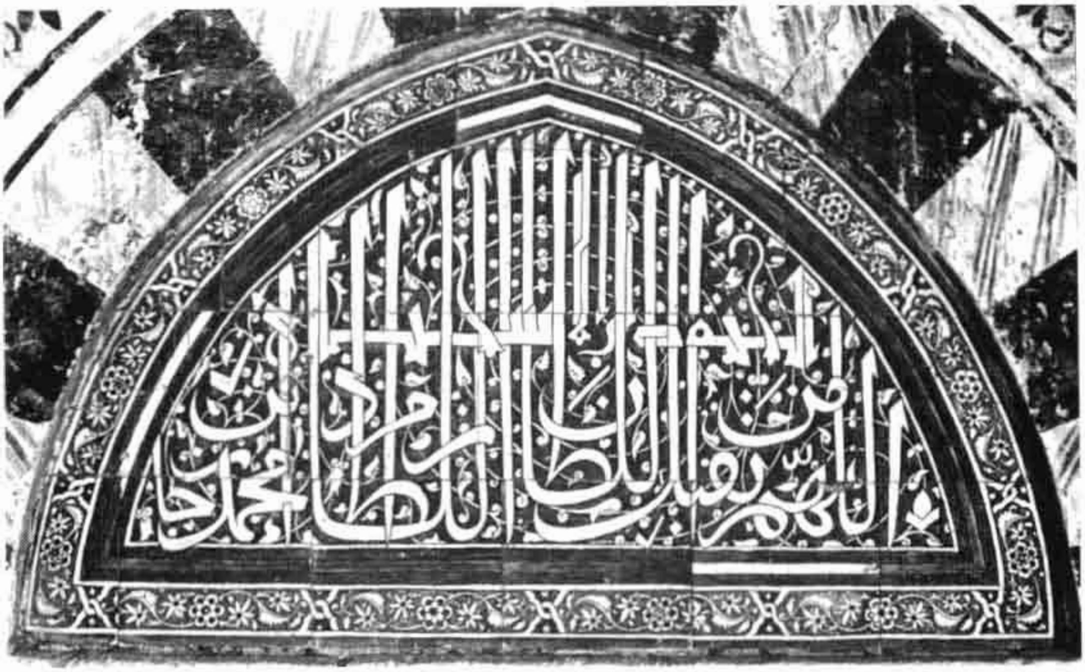

16. Turkey. Tile inscription in the courtyard of the Üçşerefeli Mosque, Edirne. *Ca.* 850/1446-7.

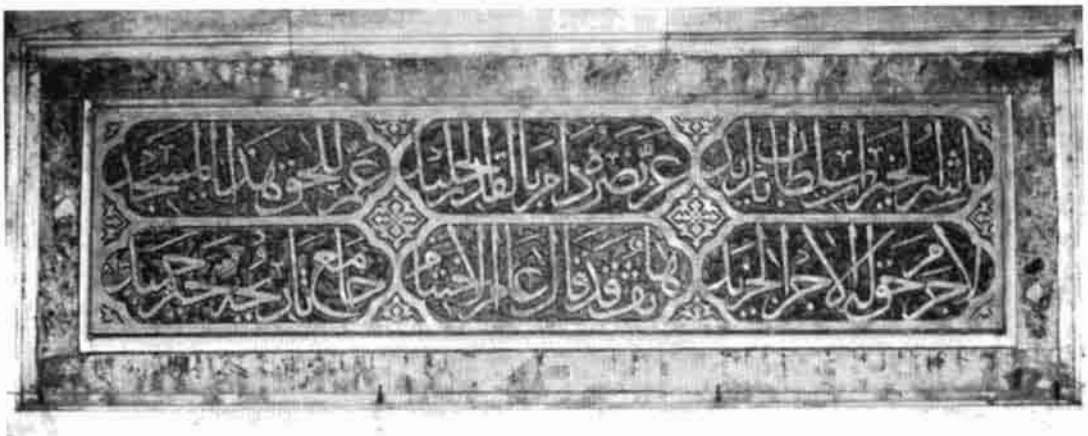

17. Turkey. Inscription over the entrance to the Mosque of Bāyezīd II in Edirne. Engraved on stone and painted. Reportedly designed by the famous calligrapher Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh. Dated 893/1488.

18. Turkey. Inscription on a public fountain (*česhme*) in Edirne. Engraved on white marble. Dated 1080/1669-70.

19. Iran. Persepolis. Inscription of the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla in the Tachara, dated 344/955-6. Simple Kūfic.

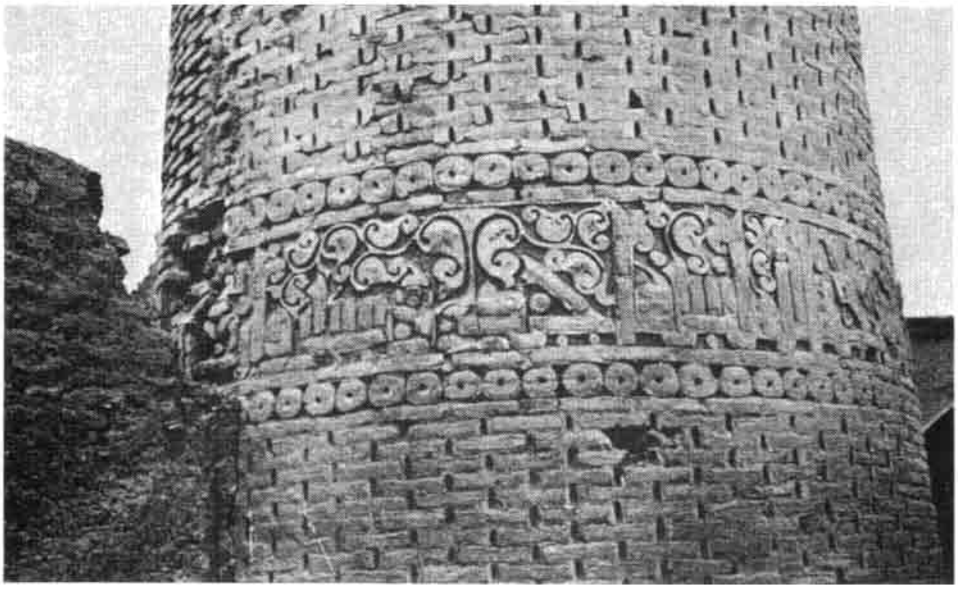

20. Iran. Zawāre, inscription of minaret, dated 461/1068-69.
Reads: *sannat iḥdā wa-sittīn wa-arbaʿ miʾa.* Floriated Kūfic (After *Āthār-i Īrān*, i [1936], 309).

21. Transoxiana. Tashkent Museum: inscription of Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn from Urgāndj, 401/1010-11. Simple Kūfic of Khwārazm.

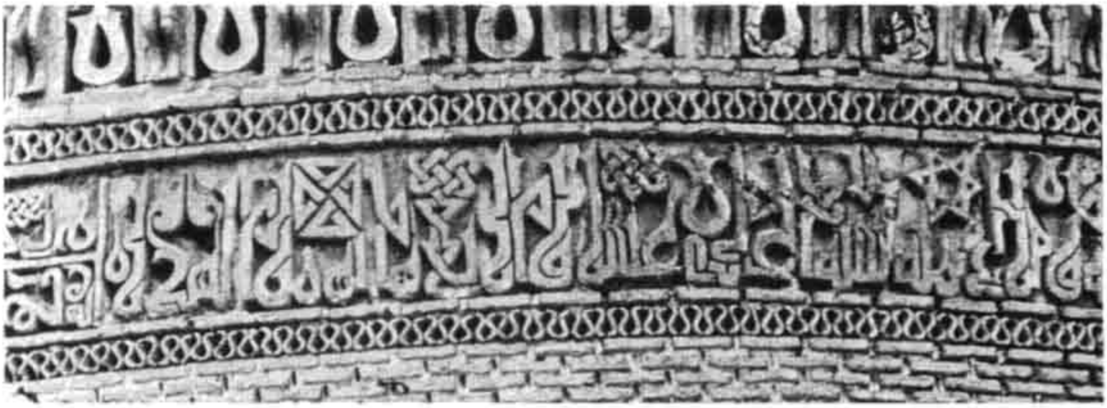

22. Iran. Rādkān (Neka), Māzandarān Province. Tomb of Muḥammad b. Wandarīn, 407-411/1016-17 to 1020-1. Plaited Kūfic. Reads: *wa-furigha minhu sanata iḥdā ʿashar wa-arbaʿ miʾa min al-hidjra.*

23. Iran. Rasgit (Resget), Tomb of Hormizdyār. Inscription over entrance. Late Floriated Kūfic: 6th/12th century. Bismillāh.

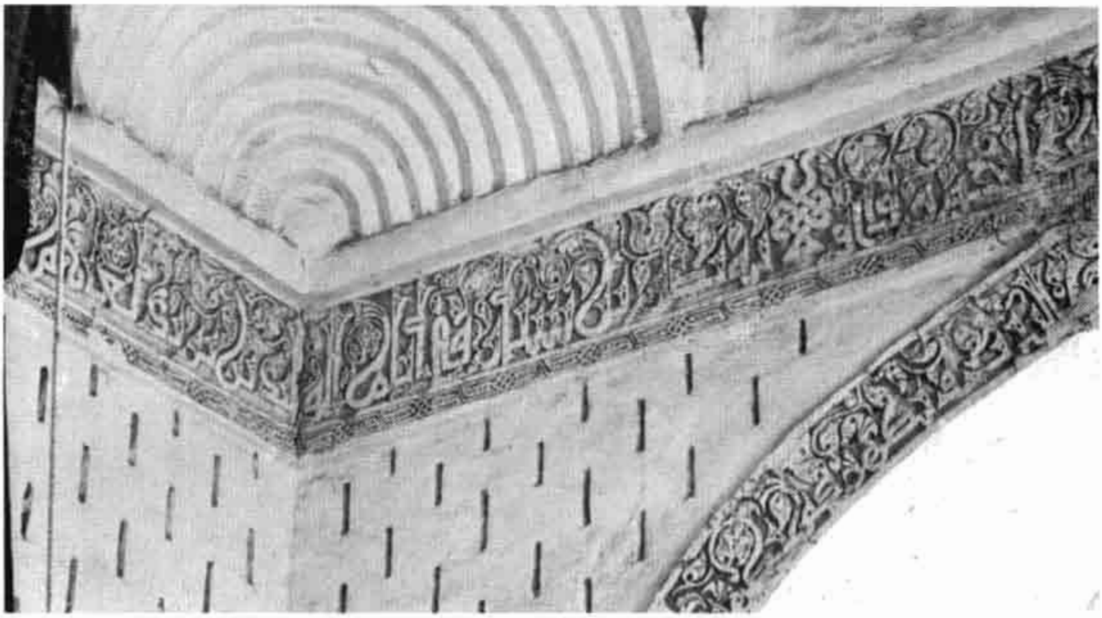

24. Afghānistān. Sar-i Pul. Shrine of Yaḥyā b. Zayd, known as Imām-i Khurd. Late 5th/11th century. Floriated and Plaited Kūfic. Reads: ... *bin Aḥwaz fī wilāyat Naṣr bin Sayyār fī ayyām al-Walīd b. Yazīd laʿanahum* [*Allāh*].

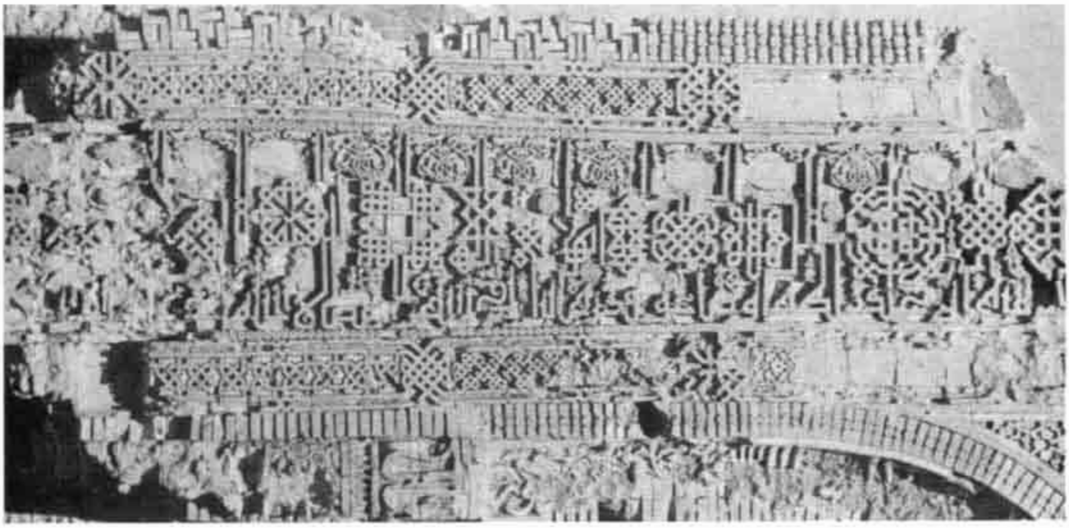

25. Afghānistān. Shāh-i Mashhad. *Madrasa* of Malika Muʿaẓẓama, daughter of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad. Late 6th/12th century. Bordered Kūfic with geometrical elements. (After Casimir and Glatzer, *East and West*, xxi [1971], Fig. 8).

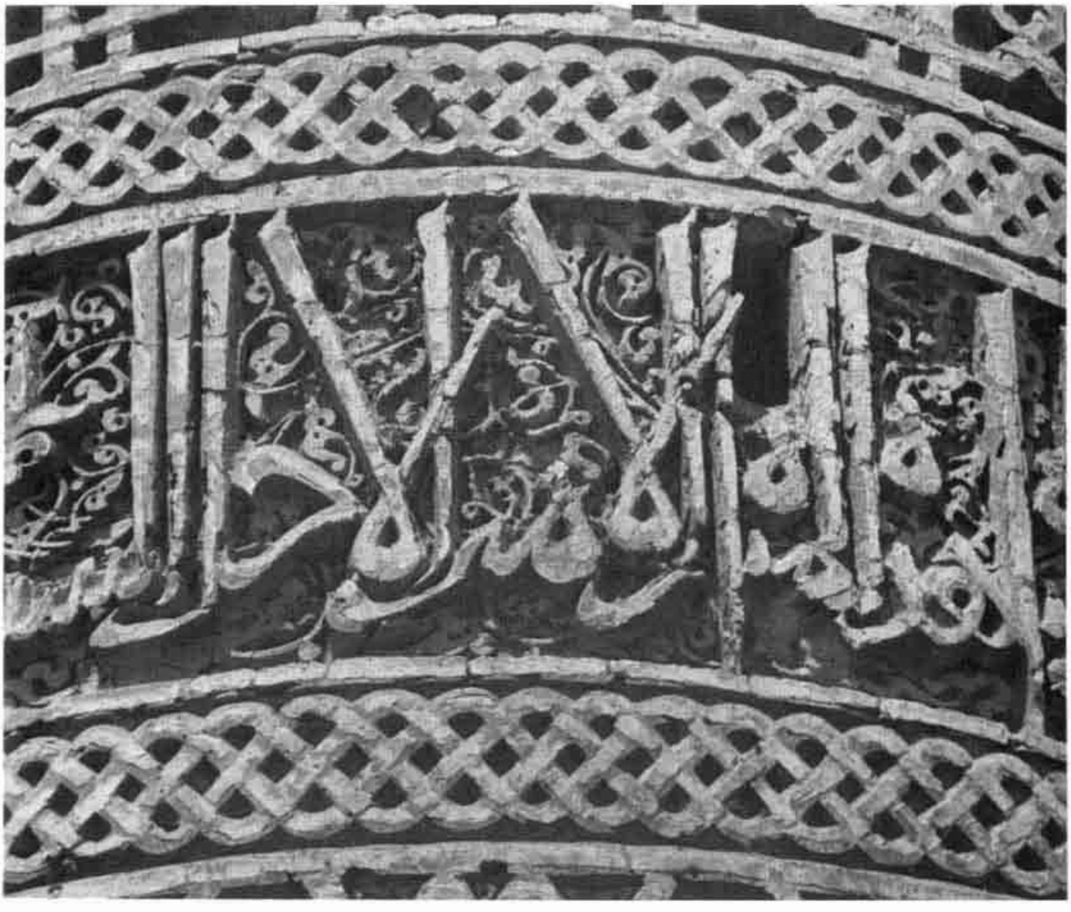

26. Afghānistān. Dawlatābād, nr. Balkh; lower frieze of minaret, 502/1109-10. (As in Y. H. Safadi, *Islamic calligraphy*, fig. 45; Photo Joséphine Powell, Rome).

27. Iran. Imām-zāde Karrār, Buzūn: plaster *miḥrāb*, dated 528/1133-34. Early Naskhī. (Reproduced after M. Bement Smith, *The Imamzade Karrar at Buzun*, in *AMI*, vii [1935], Pl. II, fig. 2).

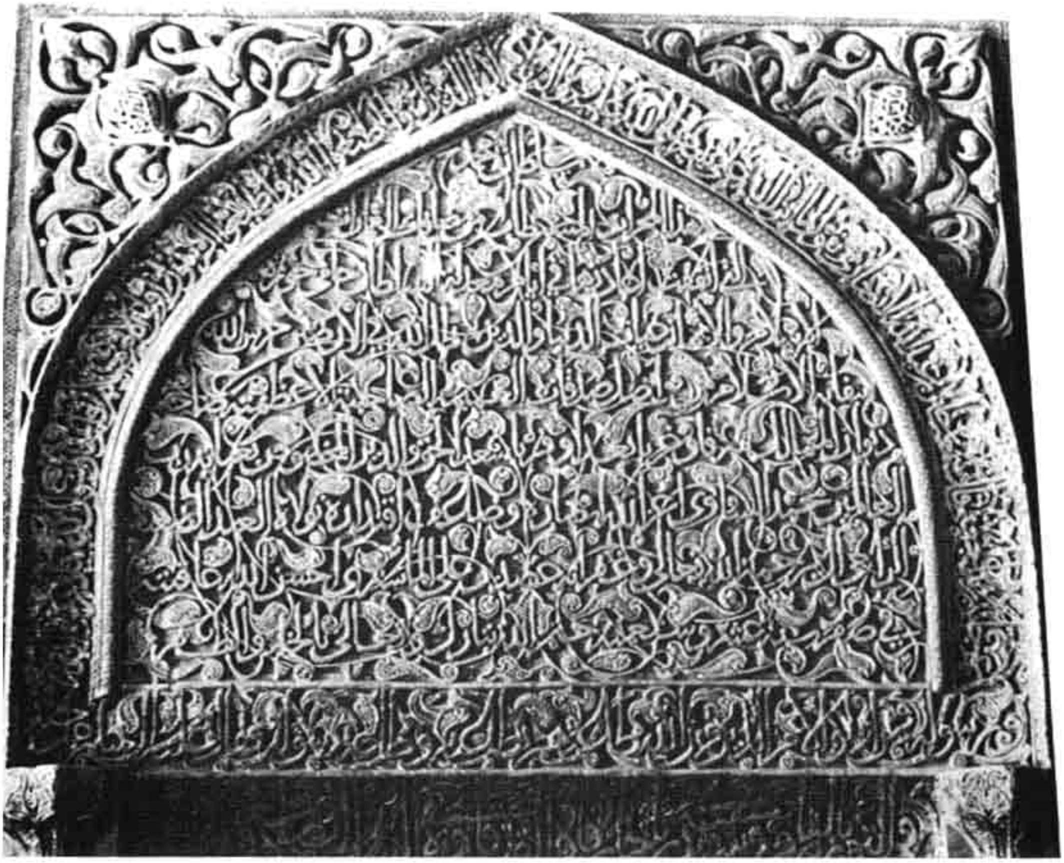

28. Iran. Iṣfahān, *miḥrāb* of Öldjeytü in Masdjid-i Jāmiʿ.

29. Iran. Sīrdjān, stone *minbar* of the Muẓaffarid Aḥmad; Ṭughrā script (Naskhī derivative with extended verticals) dated 789/1387-8. (Photo Paul Fox, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London).

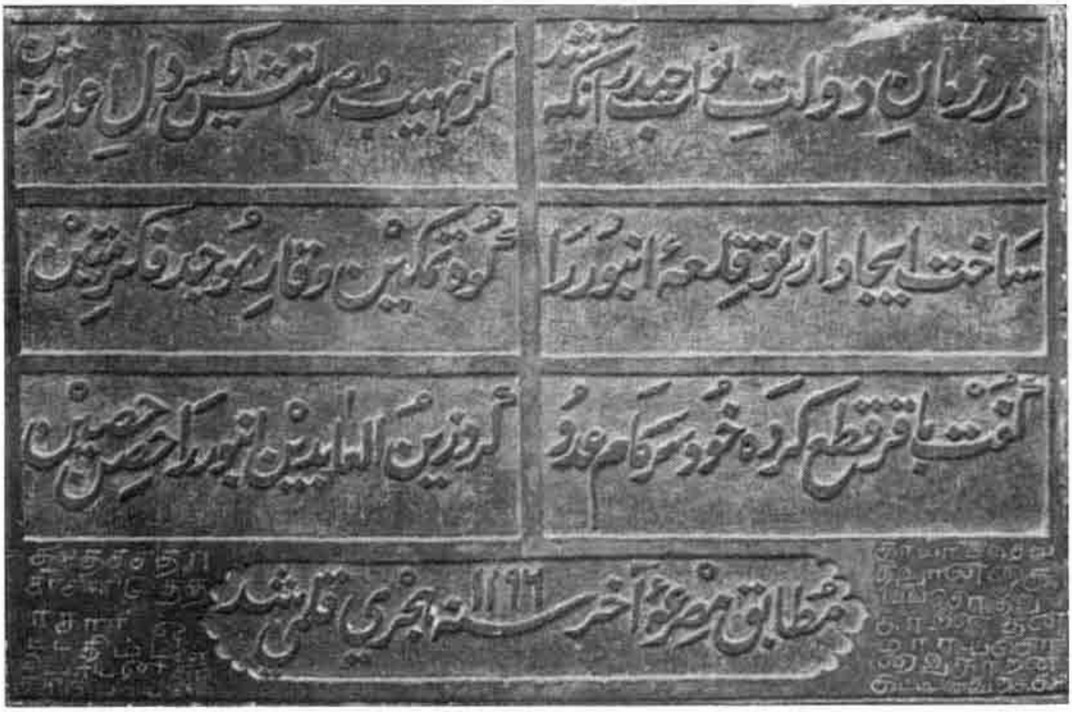

30. India. Inscription from Ambūr fort in Victoria and Albert Museum, London (reproduced by permission of Keeper, Indian Section). 1196/1781-2. *Nastaʿlīḳ*, with unrelated graffiti in Tamil. Last line is an obscure chronogram. (Publication by J. Burton-Page forthcoming).

Bibliography: The principal Arabic sources include Ṭabarī, i, 377-9, 381 f., 391 f. (cf. also Cairo ed. 1960, i, 335, notes, for ms. variants); idem, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1373/1954, xii, 184-6; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, 161 f. 164, 168; T̲h̲aʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, 74-6, 80; Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1385/1966, xii, 309 f.; Bayḍāwī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Fleischer, 456, 464.

For secondary studies, see: L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1909, ii and v; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, Paris 1933; A. Schulman *et al.*, art. *Potiphar*, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

(B. Heller - N. A. Stillman)

ḲIT̲H̲ĀRA, ḲITARĀ, a musical instrument of the lyre family. It first appears in Arabic literature on music in the 3rd/9th century to denote a Byzantine or Greek instrument of this type. It was made up of a richly-decorated rectangular sound box, two vertical struts fastened together by a yoke and strings which were left free at their greatest width. Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih in his *K. al-Lahw* (ed. I. A. Khalifé, Beirut 1969, 19) and in his account appearing in the *Murūd̲j̲ al-d̲h̲ahab* of al-Masʿūdī (viii, 91 = § 3216) says concerning the *ḳit̲h̲āra*: "They (sc. the Byzantines) have the *lūrā* which is a *rabab* (sc. viol), which is made from wood and has five strings; they also have the *ḳit̲h̲āra* with twelve strings". Al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* writes that "the *lūr* (*lyra*) is the *ṣand̲j̲* (harp) in Greek; the *ḳitāra* is one of their instruments, and resembles the *ṭunbūr* (lute with a long neck)". The approximation of the two instruments in the sources corresponds indeed to reality, because the *lūrā* and *ḳit̲h̲āra* were two variations of the same instrument type in vogue since classical times and up to the first centuries of Islam. The *lūrā* was a smaller instrument played by beginners and by amateurs, whereas the *ḳit̲h̲āra* was the instrument for professionals who towards the Islamic period used it to show off a virtuosity frequently displayed freely. It is possibly to this that a musical aphorism alludes, this figuring *inter alia* in the *Adab al-falāsifa* of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, the *Risāla fī ad̲j̲zāʾ k̲h̲abariyyat al-mūsīḳī* of al-Kindī, the *K. al-Lahw* of Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih and the *Risāla fi 'l-mūsīḳī* of the Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ; "A philosopher (Orpheus, according to Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih), having heard the sounds of a *ḳit̲h̲āra*, said to his disciple, 'Take me along to this musician, and possibly he will give us the benefit of a noble image'. But when they came upon him, they heard an unmetrical rhythm and a defective tune. So the philosopher then said to his disciple, 'The sooth-sayers assert that the raven's voice portends a man's death; if this is true, then the sound from this musician portends the raven's death'".

It seems that, at a later period, the term is used to denote a different instrument, the guitar, since this is the state of affairs in the *K. al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-intifāʿ*, where the *ḳitār* is one of the 32 instruments described in the second chapter (ms. Madrid, Res. 246). In the same realm of ideas, we believe that the name of the North African lute, the *kwītra*, derives from the interpretation of the *ḳit̲h̲āra* evolved by the authors of the 3rd/9th century who compared it to the *ṭunbūr* (lute with a long neck) or to the *murabbaʿ* (lute with a quadrangular sound box).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. Shiloah)

KITMĀN [see K̲H̲ĀRID̲J̲ITES; TAḲIYYA]

ḲIṬMĪR [see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF].

AL-KIYĀ AL-HARRĀSĪ, S̲H̲AMS AL-ISLĀM ʿIMĀD AD-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭabarī, known especially as al-Kiyā, jurisconsult of the S̲h̲āfiʿī school and As̲h̲ʿarī theologian, a dialectician known in his days as one of the best practitioners of the art of disputation. (The *nisba* al-Harrāsī = "a preparer of the food called *harīsa*", wheat and meat pounded together and cooked.) A class-mate of al-G̲h̲azālī and of the same age (they were born in 450/1058), al-Harrāsī died in 504/1010-11, one year before al-G̲h̲azālī.

He first studied in Ṭabaristān, which he left at the age of twenty to study under the direction of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-D̲j̲uwaynī [*q.v.*] in Nīs̲h̲ābūr; he was one of his most successful disciples and became one of the most able repetitors (*muʿīd*). He excelled in the field of law, both positive law (*fiḳh*) as well as its theory and methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*). From Nīs̲h̲ābūr, al-Kiyā went to Bayhaḳ where he taught S̲h̲āfiʿī *fiḳh*; this was very likely after the death of his teacher D̲j̲uwaynī in 478/1085. His class-mate al-G̲h̲azālī had gone to Ṭūs to the court of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk. From Bayhaḳ, al-Kiyā went to Bag̲h̲dād to assume the chair of law in the S̲h̲āfiʿī *Madrasa Niẓamiyya*, a position which he kept until his death in 504/1110-11. He also taught *ḥadīt̲h̲*, and one of his pupils in this field was the famous tradition-expert al-Silafī (d. 576/1180-1).

Al-Kiyā was accused of Ismāʿīlī sympathies and was in danger of losing his life, but was saved by a petition signed by notable scholars of Bag̲h̲dād, among whom his older colleague and sparring-mate in disputations, the Ḥanbalī jurisconsult and theologian Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*].

Among his works, biographers cite the *S̲h̲ifāʾ al-murs̲h̲idīn*, considered by Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn al-Subkī as one of the most excellent works in the field of *k̲h̲ilāf*; and the *Naḳd mufradāt al-Imām Aḥmad*, points of law on which he differs from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. Al-Kiyā was in turn criticised by the Ḥanbalī S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma al-Maḳdisī (704-44/1304-43), in his *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Kiyā al-Harrāsī*, as well as by the *Ḳāḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt* al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, a student of Ibn Taymiyya (see Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, *D̲h̲ayl*, ii 438 (l. 14) and 454 (ll. 3-4), respectively). Biographers also attribute to him a work on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and this is borne out by a discovery made by G. Makdisi of a manuscript in the library of the University of Ankara, several years ago, during a search for works on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. Indications on the title page show that this work of al-Kiyā had three recensions: great, medium and small, the extant copy being the medium recension. The title is given as *Taʿlīḳ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and appears to be the work by the same title cited by Suyūṭī in his *Muzhir*, i, 23. It is not to be confused with his work on *uṣūl al-dīn* as suggested in Brockelmann, *GAL*, S I, 674 (l. 11), a manuscript of which is in the National Library in Cairo, for the work is definitely on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*.

Bibliography: *GAL*, I, 390, S I, 67 (bibliography cited); G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle* (*Ve siècle de l'Hégire*), Damascus 1963, 216 and n. 1 (bibliography cited), and index; idem, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 41 and *passim*.

(G. Makdisi)

ḲIYĀFA (A.), the science of physiognomancy and the examination of traces on the ground.

In their concern for the purity of race and the

correctness of genealogical lines, the ancient Arabs perfected a technique which permitted them to verify, and, where necessary, to research into, lines of parentage. This technique consisted partly in experience and partly in divinatory intuition. In primitive times, a specialised personnel maintained the practice: but the progressive decline, in pre-Islamic Arabia, of personnel skilled in cultic and divinatory matters led to the accumulation of numerous mantic disciplines in the répertoire of the *kāhin* [*q.v.*]. But there were numerous individuals skilled in this sphere of activity who were not necessarily *kāhins* (cf., for example, Ibn Hishām, 115); certain tribes were noted for their practice of this art (the Banū Mudlidj, Khathʿam and Khuzāʿa).

Ķiyāfa, ancestor of the Islamic *firāsa* [*q.v.*], comprised two branches:

(i) *Ķiyāfat al-bashar*, "physiognomancy", which has the object of disclosing the lines of parentage between the child of an unknown father and his presumed father, with a view to his legitimisation. Thus by virtue of traditional *ķiyāfa*, Muʿāwiya was obliged to recognise, as his consanguineous brother, Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*]. The principle on which *ķiyāfa* is based is the necessary resemblance between the infant and his father. Certain parts of the body serve as points of reference, notably the sole of the foot, because, in most cases, the child has the same foot as his father (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 338 = § 1221). But these points of resemblances are not always evident; discovery of them requires a faculty of perception and a perfect memory (al-Rāzī, *Firāsa*, 13). The acute eye for detail possessed by the Bedouin contributed greatly to the perfection attained by the Arabs in this art.

(ii) *Ķiyāfat al-athar*, the faculty of minute observation which the Arab displays, most notably in the course of everyday life. The examination of footprints permits him to find a stray animal, a fugitive chief, a lost path, etc.; he distinguishes the footprints of a man from those of a woman, those of a young man from those of an old man, those of a white man from those of a negro and those of a stranger from those of a local resident. He can even tell if the woman is a virgin or not.

This astonishing faculty of observation and deduction extended to the behaviour of animals. The legend of the sons of Nizār, interpreting, in each case according to a particular point, the traces of a camel, on their road, and the origin of the honey, the roast meat and the wine offered to them by their host (Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, iii, 228 ff. = § 1092 ff.), is a perfect illustration of the minuteness with which the *ķāʾif* dissected the most insignificant facts.

As a spiritual faculty surpassing human intelligence, *ķiyāfa* possessed, as early as the pre-Islamic period, a sacred character which ensured its survival, as a judicial proof, in legal cases concerned with establishing the paternity of a child born of a slave (Ibn Ķayyim al-Djawziyya, *al-Ṭuruķ al-ḥikamiyya*, 208, 195-213). Shurayḥ, the famous *ķāḍī*, was a *ķāʾif*; al-Shāfiʿī wrote a *Risāla fī ʿilm al-ķiyāfa* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 452; ms. Süleymaniyye, Mihrimah Sultan, 185, 4, in Turkish).

A product of nomadism and the milieu of the desert where it was applied under many different circumstances, *ķiyāfat al-athar* rather lost some of its *raison d'être* in the Islamic city, where it was to be eclipsed by *firāsa*, which evolved on totally different principles.

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 370-8; Y. Mourad, *La physiognomie arabe et le* K. al-firâsa *de Fakhr ad-Dîn ar-Râzî*, Paris 1939; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 333-8 = §§ 1217-21.

(T. Fahd)

ĶIYĀMA (A.), the action of raising oneself, of rising, and of resurrection. The root *ķ-w-m* is employed very frequently in the language of the Ķurʾān. *Ķiyāma* occurs there seventy times, always in the expression *yawm al-ķiyāma* "the day of resurrection". The resurrection of bodies follows the annihilation of all creatures (*al-fanāʾ al-muṭlaķ*), and precedes the "judgment" (*dīn*), the "day of judgement" (*yawm al-dīn*). This will be the Last Hour (*al-sāʿa*). *Al-sāʿa*, *yawm al-ķiyāma* and *yawm al-dīn*, taken as a whole constitute one of the "necessary beliefs" which determine the content of the Muslim faith. It may be noted that the word *nushūr* is an equivalent (in the Ķurʾān) of *ķiyāma*.

The works of *ʿilm al-kalām* and of *falsafa* deal with the whole subject of eschatology under the general title of *al-maʿād* "the return", a word which appears only once in the Ķurʾān (XXVIII, 85) in the localised sense of "the place to which one returns". Hence very often, in learned discussions, the idea of resurrection will be expressed by "return". We may add that it would be inappropriate to deal with judgement as such and its modalities, or with retribution, under the term *ķiyāma*. In this respect, the present article needs to be supplemented by the articles reserved for *al-ḥisāb*, "the reckoning", *al-maʿād*, *al-sāʿa* and *yawm al-dīn* [*q.vv.*]. We shall confine ourselves here to considering (1) the succession of eschatological events which precede and accompany resurrection; (2) the Ķurʾānic arguments which demonstrate its possibility; and (3) the setting in perspective of the philosophico-theological problems which arise as a result.

I. *The succession of eschatological events.*

(a) Prophetic signs. Resurrection will be preceded by the end of the world, by "annihilation". The Meccan sūras are insistent on this. "Signs" will foretell the end; "the earth will be shaken with its earthquake" and will "yield up its burdens" (Ķurʾān, XLIX, 1-2); the sky will crack, the planets will be dispersed, the seas "poured forth", the graves overturned (C, 9; LXXXII, 1-4; cf. LXXXI, 1-14; especially LVI, 1-6, etc.); the mountains (will fly) like "tufts of carded wool" (CI, 5), etc. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (viii, 179) gives a systematic list of these "signs". Al-Nasafī, in his *ʿAķāʾid*, lists five of them, and the *Tafsīr* of al-Taftāzānī enumerates ten "major signs" (see the list in L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane—Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 262, n. 6).

(b) The annihilation. On that day "the Sound shall ring out, and a second shall follow it" (Ķurʾān, LXXIX, 6-7). This "sound" will be the "sound of the trumpet" (LXXIV, 8), which according to tradition will be blown by the angel Isrāfīl. Then there will not be, it is sometimes said, a single living being that does not die—"every soul shall taste death" (XXIX, 57). This is the final annihilation, where God alone remains in His absolute power, for "all shall perish save His countenance" (XXVIII, 88). In the course of time, this vision of an absolute *fanāʾ* came to be modified. From commentary to commentary, the number grows of the beings who shall escape annihilation: not because they are endowed with natural immortality, but on account of a "principle of permanence" (*ḥukm al-baķāʾ*) which the will of God shall concede to them (list in L. Gardet, *op. cit.*, 264-6).

(c) The resurrection. When the "second blast of the Trumphet" has sounded, the whole of mankind, long dead or annihilated in the "great *fanā*ʾ", will be revived in body, soul and spirit. "The day when the crier shall cry out from a nearby place, the day when they shall in all truth hear the cry, that will be the day of resurrection" (L, 41-2). Stress is always laid on the suddenness of this "return" to life. Resurrection is a rising up, the immediate passage, without reference to time, from non-life to life.

(d) The gathering (*ḥashr*). God "shall gather" (L, 44; LIX, 2). He shall gather men together "as if they had stayed (in their tombs) only one hour of the day" (X, 45). He will gather the believers (XIX, 85). He will gather the impious (XX, 102; XXV, 17; etc.). He will gather men and *djinn* (VI, 130), men and demons (XIX, 68). He will gather the angels (XXXIV, 40). This is the universal gathering. Also taking part in this, it is decided at a later stage, will be those protected from *fanā*ʾ by divine mercy; and even, according to al-Nawawī, pack-animals and wild animals. This will be the "standing" (*al-mawḳif*) in waiting for judgement. Some traditions maintain that the first who will "rise" and arrive at the place of assembly (*al-maḥshar*) will be the Prophet of Islam. According to the most widespread beliefs, the prophets, the angels and the virtuous will be spared the terrors of waiting. But humanity in general "will sweat with agony"; they will be drenched in their sweat (*al-ʿaraḳ*), which will "bridle" them, as the bit bridles the horse (cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 436-7).

The Ḳurʾānic texts are abundantly glossed by *ḥadīth*s (al-Bukhārī, ix, 46-61; Muslim, viii, 165-210, etc.). A whole didactic literature is grafted on to this stem. For example, in al-Ghazālī, *ibid.*, the last book of the fourth volume, entitled *Dhikr al-mawt wa-mā baʿdahu*, 381 ff., in particular on the *yawm al-ḳiyāma*, 437-9; and the text attributed to the same author (wrongly, it appears), *al-Durra al-fākhira* (ed. Cairo 1347/1928). See on this subject, as indicated in *EI*[1], Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 539 ff., taking up the "Preliminary discourse" of Sale, section 4, 73-103 of the 1734 edition (the latter itself being based on Edward Pococke, *Porta Mosis*, ii, 235-313 of the Oxford 1654-5 edition, which deals at length with Arabic passages and expressions).

Popular imagery abounds with descriptive details and continually builds on the foundations of tradition. But such imagery is irrelevant to faith. On the other hand, the very fact of the resurrection of the body is a cardinal element of the Muslim faith. A meta-historical and unique fact, linked, as if to an "opposite correlative" (*muḳābal*), to the fact, also meta-historical, of creation.

We may further note that the Shīʿī beliefs refer to a first "return" which will precede the universal ressurection and gathering; only the virtuous will take part in it under the guidance of the *Mahdī* of the last times. This is the *radjʿa* ("return to life"), a kind of millenarianism. The Rāfiḍīs, in the early centuries of Islam, insisted on this. It continues to be one of the perspectives of Imāmism, linked to the "return" of the 12th *Imām*, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the "vanished one" (*al-ghāʾib*), who, with this "first return", will be *al-Ḳāʾim*, "the riser". The Ismāʿīlī "hidden sense" has more than once transposed the foretold *parousia* on a gnostic and extra-temporal basis.

The Muʿtazilīs opposed the Rāfiḍīs and declared this first resurrection to be "vain". Al-Khayyāṭ returns to it in his refutation of Ibn al-Rāwandī (cf. al-Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, French tr. A. Nader, Beirut 1957, *passim*, in particular 95-97/118-20). The Ashʿarī reaction no longer held the idea of *radjʿa*. Sunnī thought as a whole denies or ignores the expectation of a preliminary "return" of the virtuous, a golden age on earth preceding the day of judgement. For Sunnism, the only "return" is that of the last hour which will follow the "great *fanā*ʾ", sc. that of the resurrection (*ḳiyāma*) and of the gathering (*ḥashr*).

II. *Ḳurʾānic arguments*. As suggested by D. Masson (Ḳurʾān tr., Paris 1967, index, under "Resurrection"), these arguments may be grouped around three themes:

(a) A constant comparison of the creation (*khalḳ*) with the resurrection, which then appears to be a "new creation" (Ḳurʾān, XVII, 49; cf. XVIII, 48; XXI, 104; XXVII, 64) or "the second creation" (LIII, 47). It is the creative power of God which is invoked in reply to the man who would doubt the resurrection (XXII, 5); and to produce a second creation is "easy" for God (XXIX, 19; XXX, 27). He has created man and "formed him harmoniously" (LXXV, 38): "Is He who has done these things not able to bring the dead to life?" (LXXV, 40; cf. LXXXVI, 5-8).

(b) A second "sign" of the resurrection is the analogy of the production of vegetables and of fruits, and the revivification of the soil by water (XLI, 39; LXIII, 11). "Thus we restore life to the earth after its death. Observe how resurrection (*nushūr*) comes about" (XXXV, 9; cf. L, 11). "God . . . brings forth the living from the dead and the dead from the living" (VI, 95; X, 31; XXX, 19): "thus we shall cause the dead to arise" (VII, 57). And resurrection after death is compared to the day that follows the night (XXV, 47).

(c) Finally, the example of miracles with reference to a dead man revived by God (II, 72-3 and 259). R. Blachère compares this last account with the Ethiopic version of the *Book of Baruch*. It should be noted that the Ḳurʾān does not speak here, like the *Book of Baruch*, of a waking after a miraculous sleep (cf. "the Seven Sleepers"), but of a new life after death.

III. *Problems posed*. The most diverse "professions of faith" (*ʿaḳāʾid*) steadfastly proclaim the resurrection of the body. But very soon problems of a philosophico-theological nature arise. The influence of the *falāsifa* is predominant. Not only the *Tahāfut* of al-Ghazālī, but every *Kitāb al-Maʿād* of the major treatises of *ʿilm al-kalām* has the intention of refuting them, and, for this very reason, to a large extent adopts their methods of examining problems, and sometimes their vocabulary.

(a) The "punishment of the tomb" (*ʿadhāb al-ḳabr* [*q.v.*]). First question: is there a survival of the soul or of the spirit? Will the predicted resurrection be of the body alone, or of the whole man, body, soul and spirit? The Ḳurʾān does not talk explicitly of a survival of the soul or of the spirit after death. Man dies, then is recalled to life on the day of resurrection. Three texts, however (XL, 45-6; XL, 11; III, 169-70), are advanced by the *mutakallimūn* as evidence for the "punishment of the tomb"; at a later stage, "the pleasures of the tomb" are reserved for the virtuous. In conjunction with these texts, there are many *ḥadīth*s, recognised as authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*), which are quoted, such as "I take refuge with You against the punishment of the tomb" (cf. further, al-Bukhārī, xxiii, 87; lxxx, 37-9). The

punishment of the tomb and the interrogation that precedes it, the formulation thereby of a "first judgment" are mentioned in the majority of professions of faith. The As͟hʿarīs accuse the Muʿtazilīs of denying them. ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, on the contrary, affirms them; he locates them, however, not immediately after the "first death", but between the "two blasts of the Trumpet" (of annihilation, and of resurrection) that will sound at the last Hour. And his arguments in support of the punishment of the tomb are very close to the arguments habitually propounded by the As͟hʿarīs (cf. ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, *S̲h̲arḥ al-uṣūl al-k̲h̲amsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUt̲h̲mān, Cairo 1384/1965, 732-3).

But what is at issue here is not the survival of a separate soul, by nature immortal. What is being discussed is a first and transitory resuscitation, at once corporeal and spiritual, which is not a true resurrection. It is not necessary, say some authors, that the entire body should revive; it is enough that some fundamental part or other, heart, kidney, etc., be animated afresh. Moreover, if the body has been completely devoured or reduced to ashes, it will not be difficult for God to reassemble it and restore to life a sufficient quantity of matter (cf. al-G̲h̲azālī, *Iḳtiṣād*, Cairo n.d., 88-9). Besides, this survival of the tomb is brief. After being thus examined and punished (or rewarded), the man experiences "the second death". For a resumé of the question, see al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, *S̲h̲arḥ al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 318. It is also declared that the prophets and the *s̲h̲uhadāʾ* who have died fighting for God are excused from the interrogation and from the punishment of the tomb.

Under various influences (Mazdaean? Christian? The *falāsifa*?), or through a simple endogenous development, the belief in a survival of the soul or the spirit is developed: whether in the tomb, with, according to the circumstances, appropriate punishments or rewards; or in other places; or even in Paradise for the spirits of the prophets, of the *s̲h̲uhadāʾ* and, according to some, of the Muslim children who have died before the age of reason. These spirits, in Paradise, are provided with a temporary body symbolised by "the gizzards of green birds". Furthermore, an exegesis that has come to be accepted of Ḳurʾān, XVII, 84 "the spirit proceeds from the commandment of your Lord", points to the directly divine origin of the spirit, hence to its immortality (cf. al-G̲h̲azālī, *al-Risāla al-laduniyya*, the second of the short treatises linked together under the title *al-D̲j̲awāhir al-g̲h̲awālī*, ed. Cairo 1353/1934).

We have here a brief revival (body and soul), prolonged or not by a survival of soul or spirit, and what is at issue is, in any case, only a transitory state. The eschatological hour of the *yawm al-ḳiyāma* and that hour alone, retains its absolute quality.

(b) The *falāsifa*. The "punishment of the tomb" could hardly be accepted in anything other than a metaphorical sense in the view of the *falāsifa* in general. In their habitual concern to integrate all the articles of faith, they refrain from rejecting it, but interpret it according to the major frameworks of their anthropology. For them, in accordance with their Hellenistic sources, the reasoning soul, a spiritual substance, is by nature incorruptible; it belongs by nature to the sphere of separate substances. It is thus that Ibn Sīnā, describing the lot of souls after death, speaks of pleasures, or of purifications, or of intellectual punishments; with this explicit statement that the souls which, on earth, have taken pleasure only in physical enjoyments are now found to be irremediably deprived of them; they will be eternally at grips with tormenting and insatiable desires of lust and anger, and will draw from the celestial bodies the view within their imaginations of their torments (cf. *Nad̲j̲āt*², Cairo 1357/1938, 297). Their "hell" is to be barred from joining the higher angelic world—which we may take to be the world of separate substances—"where are found supreme happiness and accomplished splendour" (*S̲h̲arḥ K. Ut̲h̲ūlūd̲j̲iyā*, published by A. Badawi, in *Arisṭū ʿind al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, 43). It is true, the "humble of spirit" (*buhl*), who have sought after good to the best of their ability, will enjoy a happiness that is subjectively absolute, objectively relative: an imaginative, not purely intellectual happiness, and the celestial bodies, here too, will supply them as if with an additional body. Thus, according to Ibn Sīnā, for the mass of humanity, what should hold is that which is said in the prophetic revelation about the judgment of the tomb, about punishments and potential rewards (cf. *Nad̲j̲āt*, 298; parallel texts in the *S̲h̲ifāʾ*).

Are these spiritual torments and joys of the life to come connected with the *yawm al-ḳiyāma*, the day of resurrection of the body foretold by the Book? Resurrection is an article of faith too central to Islam to be explicitly and overtly dismissed by the *falāsifa*. Their position is nonetheless highly ambiguous.

It is appropriate to set aside Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Kindī, "the philosopher of the Arabs". He is the only *faylasūf* who explicitly maintained that philosophical research could be and should be strengthened and guided by prophetic revelation. Consequently, he professes, from a specifically philosophical point of view, the fact of the creation in time, and the possibility of the resurrection of the body; the latter is possible, he says, since that is what the creation was—thus he adopts the major Ḳurʾānic argument (cf. *Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 372 ff.). In works aimed at the "simple philosophers" (see *Manṭiḳ al-mas̲h̲riḳiyyīn*, ed. Cairo 1328/1910, 3), Ibn Sīnā confines himself to affirming belief in the resurrection on the basis of Ḳurʾānic testimony: "The revealed law (*s̲h̲arʿ*) maintains, and reason does not deny, that the body also will enjoy pleasures" (or will be plunged into misery and suffering); cf. *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326, 114-6; analogous texts in the *S̲h̲ifāʾ* and *Nad̲j̲āt*. Such is, moreover, approximately the position of Ibn Rus̲h̲d. It is for the sake of his respect for prophecy and the revealed law that he opposes with such vehemence the accusations of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 580-6; see translation by S. Van den Bergh, London 1954, notes on vol. ii, 203-5).

But in fact, Ibn Rus̲h̲d confines himself to a statement of principle, without replying to the arguments and objections of al-G̲h̲azālī. Now it seems probable that the latter was familiar with the esoteric treatise of Ibn Sīnā, *al-Risāla al-aḍḥawiyya fī amr al-maʿād*, which was translated into Latin (*Liber Mahad*) by Andre Alpago (Venice 1546) and has been edited recently in Arabic by Sulaymān Dunyā (Cairo 1368/1949). In this work, Ibn Sīnā attempts to demonstrate explicitly that the resurrection of the body, which he does not mean to deny, should be understood as a symbol or an allegory which has the object of inducing the mass of humanity to persist in virtuous behaviour. In reality "it is known that the true well-being of man is

opposed by the very existence of the soul in his body, and that physical pleasures are other than true pleasures, and that the fact of the soul returning to the body would be punishment for the soul" (*Risāla aḍḥawiyya*, 53). We can understand how al-Ghazālī was able to accuse the *falāsifa* of not admitting in its explicit sense, and according to all its demands, the teaching of the Ḳurʾān concerning resurrection: this is the 20th question of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, Beirut 1927, 334 ff.).

(c) Responses and attempts at explanation of the Mutakallimūn. Later *kalām* was to judge the *falāsifa* much more by the esoteric treatise of Ibn Sīnā than by their statements of respect towards the religious law. When al-Djurdjānī lists the various attitudes which were or could be adopted (*op. cit.*, viii, 297; cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., 169), he seems to assimilate the *falāsifa* to those "deistic philosophers" who only accept "spiritual return", the *rudjūʿ*, in the sense found in the pseudographic *Theology of Aristotle*; while the men "with certainty of truth" (*muḥaḳḳiḳūn*), like al-Ḥalīmī or al-Ghazālī for example, profess a *maʿād* that is both spiritual and corporal. It is in this sense that developments of *kalām* will tend to prove the rational possibility of the "return", then of the "gathering", and to study its conditions. We cannot follow in detail the whole series of discussions, arguments, objections and responses in all their intricacy and multiplicity (cf. L. Gardet, *op. cit.*, 266-9, and refs.). Nevertheless, we make some comments:

(1) Curiously enough, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 170) declares that all the earlier prophets preached only the "spiritual return" and that it is the Ḳurʾān that proclaims the return of the body. His opponent, the Imāmī Shīʿī Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (in the margin of the *Muḥaṣṣal*, *ibid.*) states furthermore that the Gospel does not preach the resurrection of the body, and quotes Matthew, xxii, 30 "they are like the angels in heaven". Ibn Rushd (*Tahāfut*, 580) seems to have had a better knowledge of Judaism and of Christianity.

(2) In his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*loc. cit.*), al-Ghazālī, under the heading of a third hypothesis, and in the form of an argument *ad hominem*, concedes to his opponents that the soul may be of a wholly spiritual nature and that in it alone the human personality may reside (in the *Iḳtiṣād*, 88, he declared that this opinion "does not accord with what we believe"). Even in this case, he says, the resurrection of the body is still possible, and so it will take place, since the religious law foretells it. Also, he replies meticulously to three objections of a philosophical order (for the details of this debate, see L. Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, Paris 1951, 87 n. 3).

(3) Numerous explanations of the "return of the body" are proposed by the *ʿilm al-kalām*. The Muʿtazilīs seem to have professed the "annihilation", then the "return" of substances and of "durable" accidents (real accidents) which are necessarily linked to them (see summary in al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, ed. and tr. Luciani, Paris 1938, 211/316). Al-Djuwaynī himself (*ibid.*, 213/318) and al-Ghazālī (*Iḳtiṣād*, 87) envisage either the "annihilation" of substances (and therefore of accidents which could not alone remain in the being), and their "return"; or the "annihilation" of accidents, then their "return", the substances remaining. For al-Ghazālī, either hypothesis is possible (*mumkin*). According to the followers of Ashʿarism as finally evolved, such as al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 171) and al-Djurdjānī (*op. cit.*, viii, 297), either God brings back to life (*iʿāda*) an "annihilated" (*maʿdūm*) and the "return" is thus preceded by a reduction to non-existence (*ʿadam*), or else the return follows a total dispersion (*tafrīḳ*).

Discussion of these last two hypotheses led to developments concerning the relationship between substances and accidents, concerning an atomistic or non-atomistic view of the world, and concerning notions of being and of non-being. Three terms are constantly being repeated by the pen of the scholars: the being according to its first existence (*mubdaʾ*), to the "annihilated" (*maʿdūm*) and to the "similar" (*mithl*). For it is not a "similar" being that returns on the day of resurrection, it is the being itself, the same one that was "annihilated". No difference between the first creation (*ibdāʾ*) and the "return" (*iʿāda*) is spoken of by al-Ghazālī (*Iḳtiṣād*, 87-8), al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 169-70) and al-Djurdjānī (*Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, viii, 292, 294). Henceforward, declares al-Djurdjānī (*ibid.*, 293-4), the subject of the first creation and the subject of the return are not at all to be distinguished in terms of their ensemble of determining characteristics (*māhiyya*), but only in terms of the essence (*huwiyya*) which places them within the being. There is between these two "subjects", that is between the thing and itself having "returned", an "interference" (*takhallul*) of non-existence, which al-Ghazālī and no doubt al-Rāzī on the one hand, and al-Djurdjānī on the other would explain rather differently. But the consensus continues to rest on the return to existence of the same being that was annihilated.

This dialectic, subtly conducted, and originally devised as a reply to the *falāsifa*, is characteristic of the procedure of the "modern" *mutakallimūn* (in the sense used by Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Cairo n.d., 326-7, tr. de Slane, iii, 60, 62), and of the type of problems that they study. Also to be noted is their extreme sobriety in regard to traditional and descriptive data. We have, thus, in Sunnī Islam, as it were two lines of development: an expression of popular faith, employed to a large extent in the sermons of preachers and of a type to strike the imagination; and an explanatory effort at rational justification. Elementary manuals of a later period take inspiration from both one and the other. To this could be added various "hidden meanings" of Shīʿī traditions. But in opposition to the *Risāla aḍḥawiyya* of Ibn Sīnā and his allegorising theses, the existential reality of the basic fact of the resurrection of the body has not ceased to be vigorously maintained.

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(L. Gardet)

ḲIYĀS (Ar.), reasoning by analogy, the fourth source of Muslim law.

1. In law.

This word is derived from the Hebraic term *hiḳḳish*, infinitive *heḳḳesh* and from the Aramaic root *n-ḳ-sh* which signifies "to beat together". It is employed with reference to (a) the juxtaposition of two subjects in the Bible and the demonstration that they should be treated in the same manner; (b) the action of the exegete who applies the comparison suggested by the text; and (c) the conclusion of the reasoning by analogy which relies on the existence of a common characteristic in the "basic case" and the "analogous case" (J. Schacht, *Origins*, 99).

In a broad sense, *ḳiyās* can indicate inductive reasoning (*istidlāl*), and even deduction (*istinbāṭ*, *istikhrādj al-ḥaḳḳ*). It is thus that in *kalām*, *ḳiyās*

al-g͟hā'ib ʿala 'l-s͟hāhid (*Mad͟jmūʿ*, i, 333) indicates the syllogistic procedure which consists in induction from the known to the unknown; it is the *ḳiyās ʿaḳlī* that is inspired by Greek syllogism. While the Muʿtazilī Abū Hās͟him al-D͟jubbā'ī retains this meaning for the *Ḳiyās s͟harʿī*, his disciple Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī rejects it (*Muʿtamad*, ii, 697). In the terminology of *fiḳh*, *ḳiyās* is "judicial reasoning by analogy". It is the method adopted by the Muslim jurisconsults to define a rule which has not been the object of an explicit formulation: a verse of the Ḳur'ān, a *ḥadīt͟h* of the Prophet or *id͟jmāʿ*. It is *ḳiyās fiḳhī* or *s͟harʿī*, different from the former in the sense that it "has its own structure and its own complexity" (R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique*, 61). This specific structure results from the particular nature of the mode of reasoning by analogy; the absence of a middle term in the primitive form of *ḳiyās*, then definition of an explanatory principle (*ʿilla*) which is not a logical norm, but the prescription of a rule (*ḥukm*) established by God or His Prophet, this is the judicio-religious norm. The complexity of *ḳiyās s͟harʿī* results from the diversity of cases to be taken into consideration and from the detailed reflections of the *uṣūlī*s on the different procedures that may be adopted in the execution of *ḳiyās s͟harʿī*. The elaboration of the major treatises concerning *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*] develops the notion of *ḳiyās* in a systematic manner, conferring upon it a very strict and elaborate form. This work leads in the work of an author like al-G͟hazālī (d. 505/1111) to a much-expanded concept of the fourth source of law, embracing the perspective of "Greek logic and traditional exegetical method" among the Muslims (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, 57).

The problem. The establishment of *ḳiyās* as a new judicial source responds to the need to find solutions not foreseen in the texts and to define rules applicable to new situations. The problem of *ḳiyās* comes therefore to consist in determining "grounds of procedure" (*bawāʿit͟h*) which respect the spirit of rules dictated by the text. The putting into effect of *ḳiyās s͟harʿī* must, in consequence, appeal to principles of analogical deduction which enable the discovery in the rule of the derived case (*farʿ*) of the grounds which determine the rule of the basis (*aṣl*).

Like *id͟jmāʿ* [*q.v.*], *ḳiyās* was instituted after the demise of the Prophet. With the death of Muḥammad, the community of the faithful was deprived of the "organ of revelation" and of its political and religious chief. *Id͟jmāʿ* was born of the need to ensure the coherence of the nascent doctrine of Islam, in the face of the dispersion of the believers and the proliferation of sayings attributed to the Prophet. The institution of *id͟jmāʿ* had the purpose of preserving the social and doctrinal unity of the parent-community (*umma*). In origin and in its "summary and primitive" form, *ḳiyās* in ʿIrāḳ was employed as a means of giving the force of law to certain *ḥadīt͟h*s attributed to ʿAlī which had not met with success (Schacht, *Origins*, 106-7); the extension of this practice may be considered not so much a factor of unity as of divergence. The putting into effect of *ḳiyās* would appear more and more to respond to a need for diversification and clarification of the divine law. Also, the risk of divergence (*ik͟htilāf*) was the essential motivation of the S͟hīʿī opposition to the use of *ḳiyās*. The partisans of the S͟hīʿa do not accept the rule which considers that every *mud͟jtahid* speaks the truth (*muṣīb*), a rule implied by the practical application of *ḳiyās*. Nevertheless, the continuing crop of new cases (*ḥawādit͟h*) that the believer is obliged to cope with justifies in the view of the *mud͟jtahid* recourse to personal reflection, the practice of which is encouraged by the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna (Ḳur'ān, XIII, 3; XVI, 11, 67; XXX, 21; XXXIX, 41; XLV, 12; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, iii, 995). The Prophet said: "The study of knowledge (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*) is a duty (*farīḍa*) incumbent upon every Muslim; and the knowledge that must be studied is that of the rules which shed light upon the divine law" (*s͟harʿiyyāt*; *Mug͟hnī*, xvii, 278). *Ḳiyās* is one of the means whereby reflection leading to this awareness may be exercised.

Development. The practice of *ḳiyās* thus comes to be established as a means of establishing a judicial ruling not provided for in the texts. However, reasoning by analogy is, in the view of the faithful, to be treated with caution, for the simple reason that it is exercised by a fallible being who is liable to error. *Id͟jmāʿ* must therefore intervene to ensure the credibility and the cohesiveness of the opinions of the *mud͟jtahid*s. Only the information provided by the Ḳur'ān and the prophetic tradition is a source of integral truth (*iḥāṭa*). Such is the view of al-S͟hāfiʿī (d. 204/820), who may be regarded as the first of the *uṣūlī*s. The ruling that consists in believing that every *mud͟jtahid* speaks the truth (*muṣīb*; *Risāla*, ed. S͟hākir, § 1330; *Mug͟hnī*, xvii, 277) will authorise the specialist to make a decision according to that which conforms most closely to the divine intention. By means of *ḳiyās*, a search must be made, not for certainty (*yaḳīn*) but the proof which will permit the deduction of a peremptory ruling (*ḥukm ḳaṭʿī*). *Ḳiyās* must be a determinant in a practical sense (*mūd͟jib li 'l-ʿamal*; al-Sarak͟hsī, *Uṣūl*, Beirut 1973, ii, 159; *Mug͟hnī*, xvii, 291-2). There is thus a need to elaborate a theory of *ḳiyās* sufficiently precise for its use to confer upon the specialist's decision the greatest possible integrity. In the practice of the Ḥanafī, Mālikī and S͟hafiʿī schools, *ḳiyās s͟harʿī* cannot provide certain knowledge, it amounts only to a "strong putative probability" (*g͟hālib al-ẓann*; al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iii, 256; al-Sarak͟hsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 140; *Mug͟hnī*, xvii, 277).

It was at a very early stage that *ḳiyās s͟harʿī* began to be practised. As early as the 2nd century A.H., Ḥammād b. Sulaymān b. Rabīʿa, master of Abū Ḥanīfa and Ibn Abī Laylā, and judge at Baṣra, inaugurated its use. But the first to employ it systematically was Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), for which reason the practitioners of his school are known as those who use reason (*aṣḥāb al-ra'y*) to distinguish them from pure traditionists (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīt͟h*). The latter do not accept *ḳiyās* except as a last resort; according to them, analogy is like carrion, to be eaten only when no other food is available" (L. Milliot, 135). Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī (d. 270/884) avoided wherever possible reasoning by analogy, preferring the literal content of the Ḳur'ān and of *ḥadīt͟h*. In the same way that he restricts the notion of *id͟jmāʿ*, he imposes limits on recourse to analogy, without however rejecting it absolutely. According to him, one must bow the head before the inexorable law that the finite cannot contain the infinite and admit analogy in some cases (L. Milliot, *op. cit.*, 135; al-Sarak͟hsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 118; al-Ṣaymarī, *Masā'il al-k͟hilāf*, f. 48a-b). With Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), the Ẓāhirī school replaces *ḳiyās* with the implicit sense of the text (*mafhūm*); according to this last, the notion of analogy is vague and arbitrary. *Ḳiyās* is

rejected by the Ḥanbalīs and the Shīʿis, but adopted by the other schools of law. In practice, it is the Ḥanafī doctrine which prevails.

In his *Risāla* on the foundations of law, al-Shāfiʿī provides the first stage in systematisation of the theory of *ḳiyās*. Having established precisely the role of the Ḳurʾān, of the Sunna and of *idjmāʿ*, he neatly defines that of reasoning by analogy. It is to him that is owed the fundamental distinction between *ḳiyās ʿilla* or *maʿnā* and *ḳiyās shabah*. The first bases analogy on an explanatory principle (*ʿilla*). This form of *ḳiyās* considers a thing according to its original meaning (*aṣl*). In this case, there is no need for disagreement. *Ḳiyās shabah* considers the thing in its similarity (*shabah*) to others; those who employ it may disagree (al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, § 1334). Al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), a Ḥanbalī *uṣūlī* who went over to Shāfiʿism, is at pains not to confuse the ruling of the basic case (*aṣl*), with that of the derived case (*farʿ*). The ruling of the former is given by the text of the Ḳurʾān or of *ḥadīth* or by *idjmāʿ*; it is certain. The ruling of the latter is deduced (*thamara nātidja*); it is putative (*al-ḳiyās lā yufīdu ghayr al-ẓann*; *Iḥkām*, iii, 264). For this reason, the conclusions of *ḳiyās* cannot in their turn provide deductive principles (*rukn*; *op. cit.*, 277). Analogy on the basis of analogy is not acceptable. Such is not the opinion of the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who adopts the Shāfiʿī teaching and enlarges it. According to him, "there is no difference between the ruling of the basic case which is known through explicit evidence (*bi-ḍṭirār*) and that which is known through discussion (*istidlāl*); in fact, it is possible to extract a new ruling from the latter when there is a similarity between the reasons for which each of them is adopted. So there is not, in regard to knowledge (*ʿilm*), a need to take account of the different means whereby the ruling of the basic case is established. That which is known in an explicit manner may, in fact, be assimilated to that which is known through acquisition (*al-ḍarūrī fī-hi ka 'l-muktasab*). The explanatory principle (*ʿilla*) is fruitful; although dissociated from the basic case which has inspired it, it may be taken as operative, for it finds its own guarantee within itself. Thus, God (IV, 25) lays down that the punishment inflicted upon a slave woman should be half that applied to the free woman. As soon as we are aware that the reason for the existence of this *ḥukm* is the fact of slavery (*riḳḳ*), we may apply this ruling to the male slave. Similarly when we know that the reason for the prohibition (Ḳurʾān, II, 219; V, 90) of all fermented drink (*khamr*) is the existence of wine (*nabīdh*), we shall forbid the consumption of wine. For the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *ḳiyās*, when applied to scriptural or rational material, is dependent on a similar process, that of intellectual effort (*idjtihād*). Here the role attributed to the action of the subject in interpretation of the *Sharīʿa* is predominant.

Foundation. The various objections raised to the practice of *ḳiyās* which are known to us through the different treatises of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* divide into two types of argument: an argument of fact and an argument of law.

(a) The verses of the Ḳurʾān and of prophetic tradition which forbid recourse to reasoning by analogy are numerous: "We have presented to you the Book to make all things clear" (XVI, 89), "We have neglected nothing in the Book" (VI, 38), "Your Master is not forgetful" (XIX, 64). Recourse to personal opinion (*raʾy*) to extract a ruling from it amounts to imputing inadequacy to the Holy Book. The Prophet, in his turn, accuses of aberration and error those who deduce a non-existent rule from an existing rule (Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, iii, 991; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 120).

(b) The argument of law consists in denying that legal status (*ḥukm*) may be founded on reason. The "*raison d'être* of law" (*ʿilla*) is attained through its erroneously convincing nature (*shubha fi 'l-aṣl*). The text (*naṣṣ*) has never determined explicitly the 'properties" (*awṣāf*) which might provide a foundation for legal precepts. The latter are obligatory on the grounds that they result from divine decision (al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 121; Abu 'l-Ḥasan Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, iii, 992). Reason has no competence to exact that which only the All-Powerful is entitled to impose. The object of law is beyond reason. The content of a number of divine precepts cannot be subject to personal opinion; these *aḥkām* have no foundation other than divine decision; such is the case with regard to ritual ordinances (*ʿibādāt*). The practice of *ḳiyās*, in substance, far from providing a guarantee of rectitude, can lead only to a misunderstanding of rules (*djahālāt*; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 122). In the argument of authority there is no place for personal assessment.

According to the Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām, the process of *ḳiyās* is far from always respecting the rational model. It is not compatible with reason to impose fasting on the menstruating woman and to excuse her from prayer, when she is better able to pray than to fast. The same applies to the prohibition laid upon the man against gazing at an aged free woman, with repulsive features, while he is permitted to look at an attractive young slave. It is contrary to good sense to cut off the hand of a petty criminal (*sāriḳ al-ḳalīl*), while the judicial rule spares the man who robs on a large scale (*ghāṣib al-kathīr*; al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 9; *Muʿtamad*, ii, 746). In other words, in ethical questions, analogy is inoperative. It has the effect of linking together dissimilar cases and dissociating similar cases, which preludes passing from the basic case (*aṣl*) to the derived case (*farʿ*); cf. al-Ṣaymarī, *K. Masāʾil al-khilāf*, f. 48a. It is interesting to observe that the Ḥazmian objection to the principle of similitude in religious questions (Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, vii, 82) is the same as that of al-Naẓẓām. Such is the criticism of *ḳiyās* raised by these two authors. Classical Muʿtazilism, as represented by the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, replies to the objection of ancient Muʿtazilism in declaring that "neither *qiyās* nor *iǧmāʿ* should, in the last resort to reason or to *ʿaql*, figure in the arsenal of judicial-religious thought ... as regards *qiyās*, there is the need to detach, among the elements of basic prescription, the invariants on the basis of which *qiyās* will be legitimate, if account is taken of the indication (*amāra*) which specifies them" (R. Brunschvig, *Rationalité et tradition chez ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, 214). The convincing validity (*ḥudjdjiyya*) of *ḳiyās* is, like that of *idjmāʿ*, based on a text; reason only intervenes in order to put the analogical deduction into effect.

The Shīʿī criticism of *ḳiyās* is directed against the diversity of opinion which is liable to result from it. The Ḳurʾān condemns divergence of opinion in many places (IV, 82; XLII, 13; VIII, 46; XXX, 31; III, 105). A number of *ḥadīths* attack those who profess divergent doctrines (al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 10).

To these objections, the scholars of *ḳiyās* reply in their turn with scriptural and rational arguments in favour of judicial analogy.

(a) God said: "Learn from this, O you who are clear-sighted" (LIX, 2). To learn a lesson is to associate a thing with its "homologue" (*naẓīr*); such is the process of *ḳiyās*. "If you are capable of interpreting dreams ..." (XII, 3); *ḳiyās* does nothing other than interpret the rule. "These verses are addressed to thinking people" (XII, 3; X, 24; cf. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Pazdawī, *op. cit.*, 995); what is more, the Ḳur'ān (IV, 146) employs analogy in authorising ablution with sand (*tayammum*) when water is lacking.

It is well-known that the Companions of the Prophet employed *ḳiyās* and dialectical discussions (*munāẓarāt*) and that they practised judicial consultations (*mus͟hāwarāt*). In a general fashion, the partisans of *ḳiyās* appeal to the *ḥadīt͟h* where it is related that when the Prophet sent Muʿād͟h b. D͟jabal to the Yemen as *ḳāḍī*, the former asked: "How will you reach a judgement when a question arises?"; Muʿād͟h replied: "According to the Word of God".—"And if you find no solution in the Word of God?"—"Then, according to the *sunna* of the Messenger of God".—"And if you find no solution in the *sunna* of the Messenger of God, nor in the Word?"—"Then I shall take a decision according to my own opinion (*ad͟jtahidu raʾyī*)". Then the Prophet of God struck Muʿād͟h on the chest with his hand and said: "Praise be to God who has led the Messenger of God to a solution that pleases him" (Abū Dāwūd, *Aḳḍiya*, *b.* 11; al-Tirmid͟hī, *Aḥkām*, *b.* 3; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, Introduction; A. J. Wensinck, ḲIYĀS, in *EI*[1]).

(b) The person endowed with reason, the *mukallaf*, is naturally inclined to assess the invisible (*g͟hāʾib*) on the basis of the perceptible tokens of experience (*ḥāḍir*). Cracks in a wall foretell its collapse, a cloudy sky and fresh wind are signs of rain, etc. (al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 5). Similarly, in matters of religious law, *ḳiyās* puts into effect "the cause-norm association" (*ʿilla-ḥukm*) to assist the exercise of reflection on two similar cases, the second not being defined by this association.

The nature of *ḳiyās*. According to al-S͟hāfiʿī, *ḳiyās* and *id͟jtihād* [*q.v.*] are two terms expressing a single notion; when the rule concerning a specific case is not dictated by a particular indication (*dalāla*), this indication must be sought by a means conforming to truth with the aid of *id͟jtihād*. Now *id͟jtihād* is *ḳiyās* (*Risāla*, § 1323). The specific nature of *ḳiyās* is not yet detached, it is subjective opinion (*rāʾy*). With the elaboration of the science of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the concepts are defined and fixed. *Ḳiyās* can then be defined as the method which consists in assimilating the derived case (*farʿ*) to the basic case (*aṣl*) in virtue of their similarity with regard to the *raison d'être* (*ʿilla*) of the norm (*ḥukm*). *Ḳiyās* is thus a form of reasoning which proceeds from particular to particular, linking a new case to an old case: "It cannot ... be considered as inductive reasoning, since it does not aim at applying to all cases of the same kind the observations made concerning one of them". (C. Chehata, *Logique juridique et droit musulman*, 20). Such is the character of the reasoning which concludes that in a case of fornication, a confession repeated four times on the part of the guilty party may be considered a sufficient proof of the offence. The basic case is defined by a Ḳurʾānic text which prescribes the execution by stoning of the guilty party in the presence of the four witnesses. This assimilation (*tas͟hbīh*) of ancient origin belongs to a still simplistic concept of *ʿilla*. With the development of the theory of *ḳiyās*, *ʿilla* takes on a more logical quality. Whence the penalty that reduces by half the punishment applied to female slaves as compared with free women (IV, 25); the *ʿilla* of the reduction in penalty is slavery. By analogy, this reduction will be applied to male slaves as compared with free men. Of the same type is the *ḳiyās* that prohibits the lending of dry dates or raisins at interest (*ribā*), on the basis of the prohibition of lending grain (wheat, barley), with the demand of eleven measures against ten. The reason for the prohibition is that usury is forbidden.

For *ḳiyās* to be effective, four elements are necessary: (1) the appearance of a new case which causes a problem; (2) a basic case (*aṣl*) governed by a *ḥukm* defined by a text; (3) a *raison d'être* of the law (*ʿilla*) which can provide the line (*maʿnā d͟jāmiʿ*) justifying the assimilation of the derived case with the basic case. This *raison d'être* is the "sign" (*ʿalāma*) which permits the knowledge that the ruling from a text may be applied to a case not envisaged in these terms. Once this reason is known, the jurist, proceeding by analogy, applies the law thus motivated to the case in which he sees a similar reason to pronounce judgment. This is the *taʿlīl* (L. Milliot, *op. cit.*, 138); (4) finally, a result which is the *ḥukm* applied to the derived case. Such is the prohibition against striking one's parents drawn from the prohibition against saying to them "fie!" (XVII, 24). As regards the third condition, "the Ḥanafīs only recognise *ʿilla* as endowed with a "transitivity" (*taʿdiya*), that is, susceptible to being put into effect in a derived case on the basis of a basic case (al-Sarak͟hsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 161).The S͟hāfiʿīs, on the contrary, accept that an *ʿilla* may be intransitive (*ḳāṣira*), intransmissible to a derived case". In reality, the opposition between these two doctrines depends on the different manner in which the *ʿilla* is conceived in relation to *ḥukm*. According to the S͟hāfiʿīs, on the contrary the *ʿilla* is that which confers upon the *ḥukm* its "validity of origin". According to the Ḥanafīs, the *ʿilla* of the basic case justifies itself by the derived case (R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique*, 79-80).

From the point of view of modality, several types of *ḳiyās* are distinguished: (a) *ḳiyās ʿilla* or *ḳiyās al-dalāla* (al-Āmidī separates these two) which consists in associating (*d͟jamʿ*) the basic case with the derived case with the aid of the indication of the *ʿilla* and the qualifications which the latter entails (cf. Ibn Ḳayyim, *Iʿlām*, i, 138-9). An example is the association of wine (*nabīd͟h*) with alcoholic drink (*k͟hamr*), giving as "middle term" the faculty of upsetting good behaviour.

(b) *Ḳiyās s͟habah* is an analogy by "simple similarity" which requires no intervention of motive or of common indication (*min g͟hayri dalīl d͟jāmiʿ*; *Iʿlām*, i, 148). An example is the similarity established between the slave and the free man for the assessment of the *diya* [*q.v.*] when the slave is the responsible for the offence, and that which assimilates his compensation when he is the victim (*Muʿtamad*, ii, 692).

(c) *Ḳiyās al-ṭard* is a co-extensive *ḳiyās al-ʿilla* and its contrary is *ḳiyās al-ʿaks* or "reversibility", "reverting to non-*waṣf* → non-*ḥukm*" (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, 81; al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iii, 261). *Ḳiyās s͟harʿī* would thus appear with *id͟jmāʿ* to be a decisive criterion for the interpretation of Islamic law. It permits the establishment of new rules. But in the extent to which it is a process of reasoning which excludes the possibility of having recourse to a purely logical

norm, *ḳiyās sharʿī* belonging definitively to personal opinion (*raʾy*), it is for this reason limited in range. From this results the need to resort in certain cases to other methods of reasoning: *istiḥsān* [*q.v.*] or *benignitas* and *istiṣlāḥ* [*q.v.*] or *utilitas publica*.

In the modern period, the theory of *ḳiyās* is generally applied in the different schools which adopt it in the spirit of the Ḥanafī doctrine. Because of the major role accorded to personal effort by the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, the modern *mudjtahid* is generally eager to draw from this the norms enabling him to deduce new rulings; historically, the importance accorded to Ḥanafism results from the fact that the Ottoman empire followed the Saldjūḳ sovereigns in imposing it as an official doctrine. This ascendancy, which prevailed over a large proportion of the Muslim world, had the effect of conferring upon the Ḥanafī *madhhab* an official status in a number of countries "where the majority of the native Muslim population follows another school, e.g. in Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon and Syria" (J. Schacht, ḤANAFIYYA, in *EI*², iii, 163).

Bibliography: In addition to the Arabic sources cited, see the bibls. to *Ḳiyās* in *EI*¹ and *Idjmāʿ* in *EI*²; Djassās, *Uṣūl*, ms. Dār al-Kutub, Uṣūl 329, ff. 244b-293a; Ṣaymarī, *K. Masāʾil al-ikhtilāf fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, ms. Chester Beatty 3757, and the treatises on the *uṣūl*; R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique par analogie d'après al-Ghazālī*, in *St. Isl.*, xxxiv (1971); idem, *La théorie du qiyās juridique chez le Ḥanafite al-Dabūsī (Vᵉ/XIᵉ siècle)*, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, i, Leiden 1974, 150-4; idem, *Pour ou contre la logique grecque*, in *Convegno internazionale*, Rome 1971; idem, *Rationalité et tradition dans l'analogie juridico-religieuse chez le Muʿtazilite ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, in *Arabica*, xix/3 (1972), 213-21; Ch. Chehata, *Logique juridique et droit musulman*, in *St. Isl.*, xxiii (1965), 5-23; A. Turki, *Argument d'autorité, preuve rationnelle et absence de preuve dans la méthodologie juridique musulmane*, in *St. Isl.*, xlii, 59-92; R. Arnaldez, *La raison et l'identification de la vérité selon Ibn Ḥazm*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, Damascus 1956, i, 111-21; L. Milliot, *Introduction à l'étude du droit musulman*, Paris 1953; A. Turki, *Polémiques entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bāǧī*, Algiers 1976, iv; E. Tyan, *Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam*, in *SI*, x (1959), 182 ff.

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2. In Grammar.

In grammar, the word *ḳiyās* indicates the "norm", meaning the instrument which enables the grammarian to "regulate" (*ḳāsa*) the morphological or syntactical behaviour of a word, where this is not known through transmission (*naḳl*) or audition (*samāʿ*), on the basis of the known behaviour of another word, by means of a certain kind of analogy; it is synonymous with *miḳyās* (pl. *maḳāyīs*). The term is well attested in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi (cf. G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index*, 179); Sībawayhi does not define it but he says that it may be bad (*radīʾ*, *ḳabīḥ*), constant (*mutlaʾibb*, *mustamirr*), flowing (*djārī*), stable (*mutamakkin*) and that it is indispensable (*lāzim*); he insists that one does not "regulate" a thing on the basis of that which is rare (*ḳalīl*) or exceptional (*shādhdh*), but that one "regulates" it on the basis of that which is in frequent use (*kathīr*). The expression *ʿala 'l-ḳiyās*, which he often uses, indicates "according to the norm, normally".

It is the Muʿtazilī grammarian al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) who supplies the first definition of the term, in the *K. al-Ḥudūd* (ed. M. Djawād, 50); "*ḳiyās* is the combination (*djamʿ*) of two things, whence results necessarily their combination in principle (*ḥukm*)".

Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) devotes to *ḳiyās* five chapters in the *K. al-Khaṣāʾiṣ* (ed. M. A. al-Nadjdjār, i, 109-33, 357-69, 391-9). He asserts that the Arabs love affinity (*tadjānus*) and resemblance (*tashābuh*) and that this leads them to assimilate things that are close to one another, and to trace (*ḥaml*) a secondary thing (*farʿ*) to a primary thing (*aṣl*); he comments that this penchant of the Arabs for assimilation (*tashbīh*) sometimes leads them to trace a primary thing from a secondary thing, and that a rare thing can be the "norm", while a more common thing is not. As regards the links between the "norm" and audition and usage (*istiʿmāl*), he distinguishes four cases: (1) that which is generalised (*muṭṭarid*) according to the norm and according to usage; this is the optimum; (2) that which is generalised according to the norm, but exceptional according to usage; one adopts the word of most frequent usages; (3) that which is generalised according to usage, but exceptional according to the norm: one adopts that which is commonly heard (*masmūʿ*), but does not "regulate" anything else according to it; and (4) that which is exceptional according to the norm and to usage; this is faulty (*mardhūl*) and should be rejected (*muṭṭarah*). Finally, he observes that the grammarians considered that that which is "regulated" according to the language of the Arabs, constitutes a part of their language, even if the Arabs have not used it in speech.

In the *K. Lumaʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-naḥw*, Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) subjects *ḳiyās* to a lengthy examination (ed. A. Amer, 44-86). He considers that it is impossible to do without it in grammar, since the latter may be defined as being the science of "norms" (*maḳāyīs*) drawn (*mustanbaṭa*) from exhaustive study (*istiḳrāʾ*) of the Arabic language. He defines it as the tracing of a secondary thing from a primary thing, by virtue of a cause (*ʿilla*) which demands the application of the principle of the primary thing to the secondary thing. He distinguishes three kinds of *ḳiyās*, according to its basis upon (1) a cause to which the principle is attached; (2) a resemblance (*shabah*) other than the cause to which the principle is attached; and (3) a generalisation (*ṭard*) of principle. Where the assumption (*ikhāla*) of the cause is lacking in this case, only the two former kinds are utilised by the grammarians.

Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), in the third chapter of the *K. al-Iḳtirāḥ fī uṣūl al-naḥw*, classifies all the data concerning *ḳiyās* supplied by previous grammarians (ed. Ḥaydarābād, 38-72). He divides his study into three parts: (1) the primary thing, on the basis of which one "regulates" (*maḳīs ʿalayhi*); (2) the secondary thing, which one "regulates" (*maḳīs*); (3) the principle; and (4) the cause that unites them (*djāmiʿa*).

Finally, it should be noted that, in the *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-nuḥāt*, the Ẓāhirī grammarian Ibn Maḍā al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 592/1196) objects to the use of *ḳiyās* in grammar and calls for its abrogation (ed. Sh. Ḍayf, 156).

Bibliography: given in the text of the article.

(G. TROUPEAU)

ḲİZ (T.), basically "girl, unmarried female", but often used with the more restricted meanings of "daughter, slave girl, concubine". It is already found in the Orkhon inscriptions in the phrase *ḳiz oghli* "daughter", as opposed to *uri oghli* "son",

and subsequently appears in most Turkish languages. Through Türkmen forms it passed into Iranian languages like Kurdish and Ossetian, and through Ottoman usage into Balkan languages like Serbian and Bulgarian, often via the Ottoman technical expression (for which see below) *ḳizlar aghasi* (see Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 818-9; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersische. iii. Türkische Elemente im Neupersische*, Wiesbaden 1967, 569-70, No. 1601; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 679-80).

In mediaeval Islamic usage, one of its denotations was "Christian woman", doubtless influenced by the meanings "slave girl, concubine"; Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 257, calls the Georgian King David IV "the son of Ḳiz-Malik", i.e. son of the Queen Rusudani. Under the Ottomans, the term *Ḳizlar Aghasi* "*Agha* of the maidens" was generally used to denote the chief of the black eunuchs in the Imperial Palace, more correctly entitled *Dār al-Saʿādat Aghasi* "*Agha* of the House of Felicity". This officer was in charge of the sultan's harem, and was in practice the principal officer of the whole palace. From the last years of the 10th/16th century onwards, he enjoyed the prestige of vizierial rank, as a *pasha* of three *tughs*, with the title of *Mushir*, coming in order of precedence only after the Grand Vizier and the *Shaykh al-Islām*. After 995/1587 he also displaced the Chief of the White Eunuchs from his control of the *awḳāf* or pious endowments of the *Ḥaramayn*, Mecca and Medina (see N. M. Penzer, *The Ḥarēm*,[2] London 1965, 128 ff.; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 172 ff. and index; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the west*, i/1, Oxford 1950, 76-7, 329-31).

The element *ḳiz* also occurs in two well-known topographical features in the city of Istanbul and vicinity. First, there is the *Ḳiz-tashi* "Maiden's stone", the column of the Emperor Marcian (450-7), in the Fātiḥ quarter, so-called from its alleged power to distinguish virgins (in fact, the genuine "virgin's column" from near the Church of the Holy Apostles was incorporated in the Sülaymāniyye Mosque, which rose on that church's site after 1456); see E. Mamboury, *The tourists's Istanbul*, Istanbul 1953, 339-40, 41, and Baedeker, *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern*[2], Leipzig 1914, 180. Second, there is the *Ḳiz-külesi* "Maiden's tower", the signal station and lighthouse built on a rock in the Bosphorus just south of Üsküdar in the entrance to the Bosphorus, popularly called "Leander's tower", referring to Leander's death by drowning when trying to reach his beloved Hero (though this occurrence is usually located in the Dardanelles between Cestus and Abydos). The classical name for this rock was Damalis (from the wife of the Athenian general Chares), but the Turkish name is connected with the story of Meḥemmed II's daughter, allegedly shut up there in a fruitless attempt to preserve her from death by snakebite (see Mamboury, *op. cit.*, 496-7, and *Murray's handbook for travellers in Constantinople, Brūsa and the Troad*, London 1893, 107).

For the social status of women in Turkey, see MARʾA. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḲIZIL AḤMADLÎ [see ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU].

ḲIZIL ARSLAN [see ILDEGIZIDS].

ḲIZIL-BĀSH (T. "Red-head"). The word is used in both a general and a specific sense. In general, it is used loosely to denote a wide variety of extremist Shīʿī sects [see GHULĀT], which flourished in Anatolia and Kurdistān from the late 7th/13th century onwards, including such groups as the *Alevis* (*ʿAlawīs*; see A. S. Tritton, *Islam: belief and practices*, London 1951, 83).

The ʿAlawīs were closely connected with the Nuṣayrīs [*q.v.*] of northern Syria and Cilicia, and the *tahtacis* (*takhtadjis* [*q.v.*]), in order to protect themselves from persecution by the Ottoman government as schismatics, later "gained the right of asylum under the all-embracing and tolerant umbrella of the Bektāshī organization" (J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 83; see also BEKTĀSHIYYA). The *ḳizil-bash* did not constitute a Ṣūfī order as such, but rather a religious sect (Abdülbâkî Gölpinarlı, *İA* art. *Kızıl-baş*). The common characteristics of all those designated as *ḳizil-bash* was the wearing of red headgear. Gölpinarlı, *op. cit.*, sees the *ḳizil-bash* in this respect as the spiritual descendants of early Shīʿī *ghulāt* groups such as the Khurramīs [*q.v.*], who were also known as the Muḥammira from their practice of wearing red hats and robes, and even of pre-Islamic heretical sects of the Sāsānid period, especially that of Mazdak (see also Browne, *LHP*, i, 310-13). In its specific sense, the word *ḳizil-bash* was a term of opprobrium (often *ḳizil-bash-i awbāsh*, "scoundrelly *ḳizil-bash*", etc.) applied by the Ottoman Turks to the supporters of the Ṣafawid house [see ṢAFAWIDS], and adopted by the latter as a mark of pride.

In Ṣafawid usage, the term derived from the distinctive scarlet or crimson hat (*tādj*) with twelve gores (*tark*) commemorating the twelve Imāms of the Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿīs, worn by the disciples (*murīds*) of the Ṣafawid *shaykhs*. According to Ṣafawid tradition, in 893/1487 Shaykh Ḥaydar [*q.v.*], instructed in a dream by the Imām ʿAlī, devised this headgear (British Museum MS. Or. 3248, ff. 21a-b). When Ḥaydar first showed this "Ṣūfī *tādj*", as it became known, to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan, the latter kissed it and put it on his head (if the date 893/1487-8 is correct, this story is clearly apocryphal, because Uzun Ḥasan died in 882/1478). His son Yaʿḳūb, however, refused to wear it, and this was the origin of the enmity between Ḥaydar and Yaʿḳūb which resulted in the breakdown of the Ṣafawid-Aḳ Ḳoyunlu alliance. After the death of Ḥaydar, Yaʿḳūb not only forbade his subjects to wear the *ḳizil-bāsh tādj*, but also tried to prevent the Ṣūfīs of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa* from wearing it (R. M. Savory, *The struggle for supremacy in Persia after the death of Timur*, in *Isl.*, xl (1964), 54 ff.).

Strictly speaking (as noted by Chardin; see V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, London 1943, 188 and n. 5), the term *ḳizil-bāsh* should be applied only to those Turcoman tribes inhabiting eastern Anatolia, northern Syria and the Armenian highlands which were converted by the Ṣafawid *daʿwa* and became the disciples of the Ṣafawid *shaykhs* at Ardabīl. However, the term was also loosely applied to certain non-Turkish-speaking Iranian tribes which supported the Ṣafawids, for instance the tribes of Ṭālish and Ḳarādja-dāgh (Siyāh-kūh), and Kurds and Lurs. The great *ḳizil-bāsh* tribes (*oymāḳ*) were subdivided into as many as eight or nine clans (the list in Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 16-17, is by no means complete). The most important *oymāḳs* included the Ustādjlūs, Rūmlūs, Shāmlūs, Dulghadirs (arabice: Dhu 'l-Ḳadars), Takkalūs, Afshārs and Ḳādjārs; other tribes, such as the Turkmāns, Warsāḳs and Bahārlūs, are occasionally listed among the great *oymāḳs*. During the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*], the Shāmlūs were the most powerful of the *ḳizil-bāsh*

oymāḳs. The provenance of some of the great oymāḳs is clearly indicated by the name of the tribe: for instance, the names Shāmlū, Rūmlū and Bahārlū consist of a place-name with the addition of the possessive particle -lū; others, such as Afshār, Warsāḳ, and Dulghadïr, are the names of old Oghuz tribes. The origin of some names, such as Ustādjlū, is still obscure.

From the middle of the 9th/15th century, Ardabīl was the nerve centre of an extensive organisation designed to keep the Ṣafawid leadership in close touch with its ḳïzïl-bāsh murids in eastern Anatolia, Syria and elsewhere. This organisation was controlled through the office of khalīfat al-khulafāʾī, felicitously called by Minorsky (op. cit., 125) "the special secretariat for Ṣūfī affairs". The khalīfat al-khulafāʾ, who was necessarily a ḳïzïl-bāsh and usually a Turcoman, appointed representatives termed khalīfa in the region in which the Ṣafawid daʿwa was active, and the khalīfas in their turn had subordinates termed pīra. The presence of large numbers of ḳïzïl-bāsh Ṣafawid supporters in eastern Anatolia constituted a serious threat to the Ottomans. In 907/1502, Sulṭān Bāyazīd II transferred large numbers of Shīʿīs from Asia Minor to the Morea, yet in 917/1511 there was another serious ḳïzïl-bāsh revolt at Tekke [see BĀYAZĪD II], and Sulṭān Selim I, before invading Iran in 920/1514, massacred 40,000 of them in order to secure his rear (see Savory, *The consolidation of Safawid power in Persia*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 86-7).

The ḳïzïl-bash, as the murids of the Ṣafawid shaykhs, owed implicit obedience to their leader in his capacity as their murshid-i kāmil ("supreme spiritual director"). After the establishment of the Ṣafawid state, the Ṣafawid shāhs transferred this pīr-murīdī relationship from the religious to the political plane, since they were now not only their followers' murshid-i kāmil but their king (pādishāh) as well. As a consequence, what had formerly been an act of disobedience on the part of a Ṣūfī against the orders of his spiritual director now became an act of treason against the king or a crime against the state, and as such, punishable by death. The term ṣūfīgarī, "proper conduct for a Ṣūfī", was extended to mean, "conduct becoming to a ḳïzïl-bāsh officer"; the converse, nā-ṣūfīgarī, came to mean "failure to obey orders; rebellious or treasonable conduct". As late as 1023/1614-15, for instance, when Shāh ʿAbbās put to death some ḳïzïl-bāsh who had defected to the Ottomans, the charge was nā-ṣūfīgarī (Savory, *The office of khalīfat al-khulafā under the Ṣafawids*, in *JAOS*, lxxxv (1965), 501). A passage in the *Tāʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1334/1955, i, 68, where an officer is described as mard-i ṣūfī wa yakdjihat wa dawlatkhwāh, makes it clear that being a Ṣūfī and a ḳïzïl-bāsh was considered to be tantamount to being loyal to the shāh and the régime.

When the Ṣafawid state was established in 907/1501, the ḳïzïl-bāsh constituted the military aristocracy. Since they had been largely responsible for bringing the Ṣafawids to power, they considered it only right and proper that they should both fill the principal offices of state in the central administration and also hold the most important provincial governorships. The use of such terms to describe the Ṣafawid empire as ḳalamraw-i ḳïzïl-bāsh ("the ḳïzïl-bāsh realm") (*Tāʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 206); dawlat-i ḳïzïl-bāsh ("the ḳïzïl-bāsh state") (*ibid.*, i, 152); and mamlikat-i ḳïzïl-bāsh ("the ḳïzïl-bāsh kingdom") (*ibid.*, i, 523), makes it clear that, in the view of the ḳïzïl-bāsh, the Tādjīk or Persian elements did not count for much in the new order of things. Similarly, the shāh is commonly referred to as pādishāh-i ḳïzïl-bāsh, again a term which appears to ignore the existence of the Tādjīks altogether.

Initially, the two principal offices of the central administration, that of the wikālat and that of the amīr al-umarāʾī, were both held by the same ḳïzïl-bāsh officer. Under Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*], the office of amīr al-umarāʾ declined in importance, and was superseded by the office of ḳūrči-bāshī [see ḲŪRČĪ], which was also a ḳïzïl-bāsh prerogative. The government of the provinces of the Ṣafawid empire during the early period was allotted almost exclusively to ḳïzïl-bāsh amīrs, who ruled as petty princes in their provinces. The provincial governors had courts which were replicas of the royal court, and the system of provincial administration in many respects resembled that of the central administration. These provincial governorships were assigned to the ḳïzïl-bāsh amīrs as fiefs known as tiyūl [*q.v.*]. The governors, in return for the obligation to provide the king with a stated number of fully-equipped troops when required, were allowed to consume locally the greater part of the revenues collected in the provinces under their jurisdiction; such provinces were known as mamālik or "state" provinces.

After the conquest of Khurāsān in 916/1510, Shāh Ismāʿīl made Harāt the second city of the Ṣafawid empire, and it became the seat of one of the Ṣafawid princes and frequently of the heir-apparent. The royal prince was placed in charge of the ḳïzïl-bāsh governor-general of Khurāsān who, in his capacity as lala or atābeg ("guardian") of the prince, was responsible for the moral and physical welfare of his ward. It was his duty to see that the prince was trained in archery, horsemanship and the like, and also to see that he received his apprenticeship in statecraft.

Since the ḳïzïl-bāsh were "no party to the national Persian tradition" (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 188), their assumption that the principal offices of state would automatically fall to their lot led to immediate friction with the Persian elements in the administration. The Persians, or "Tādjīks" as the ḳïzïl-bāsh contemptuously called them, were the "men of the pen" who had traditionally filled the ranks of the bureaucracy in Iran and had provided administrative continuity under a succession of foreign rulers, Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Tatars and Turcomans. In the Persian view, the ḳïzïl-bāsh were "men of the sword", and were not expected to have any knowledge of statecraft. On the other hand, in the ḳïzïl-bāsh view, "Tādjīks" were fit only "to look after the accounts and dīwān business. They had no right ... either to maintain private bodyguards or to command troops in the field. If ḳïzïl-bāsh were asked to serve under a Persian officer, they consider it a dishonour" (Savory, *The qizilbāsh, education and the arts*, in *Turcica*, vi (1975), 169). Ismāʿīl I attempted to maintain a balance between these two forces by appointing Persians to the all-important office of wakīl, but this merely aggravated the tension between them, and the ḳïzïl-bāsh brought about the death of three of the five Persians appointed to that office under Ismāʿīl I (see Savory, *The significance of the political murder of Mīrzā Salmān*, in *Islamic Studies, Jnal. of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi*, iii (1964), 181-91).

When Shāh Ṭahmāsp succeeded his father in 930/1524, at the age of ten-and-a-half, the ḳïzïl-bāsh took advantage of his youth to assume control of the

state. Their mystical belief in the quasi-divine nature of Ismāʿīl I as their *murshid-i kāmil* had been shattered by the latter's disastrous defeat at Čāldirān [*q.v.*], and they now reverted to their primary loyalty to their tribe. This led to almost a decade of civil war as the great *ķizil-bāsh oymāķ*s fought for political supremacy, and between 932/1526 and 940/1533 either individual *ķizil-bāsh* tribes or coalitions of tribes ruled the state. In 937/1530-1 the Takkalūs attempted to seize the person of the shāh, but the other great *oymāķ*s rallied to his defence and, in the ensuing fighting, large numbers of Takkalūs were killed. The survivors fled to ʿIrāķ-i ʿArab; some of them subsequently entered Ottoman service, and one of their chiefs, the renegade Ulama (Ulâma), was involved in the rebellion of Alķāṣ Mīrzā [*q.v.*]. These events virtually ended the political influence of the Takkalū *oymāķ*.

In 940/1533 Shāh Ṭahmāsp managed to reassert the authority of the crown, and for some forty years remained in control of affairs, but in 982/1574, when he fell ill, there was immediately a recrudescence of dissension among the *ķizil-bāsh*. The political situation, however, was very different from the situation obtaining in 932/1526, at the outbreak of the civil war between the *ķizilbāsh* tribes. The new factor was the introduction of a "third force" to the political scene in the form of Armenians, Georgians and Circassians, who became *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*, "slaves of the royal household". These men, many of whom had been taken prisoner in Ṭahmāsp's campaigns in Georgia between 947/1540-1 and 961/1553-4, or were the offspring of women brought to Iran at that time, adopted Islam, and were given special training to fit them for service either in some branch of the administration of the royal household, or in one of the newly-constituted *ghulām* regiments. The *ghulāms*, instead of being paid on a quasi-feudal basis like the *ķizil-bāsh*, were paid direct from the royal treasury, and their primary loyalty was therefore to the shāh and not to any tribal unit. When therefore there was a fresh outbreak of factionalism in 982/1574, "it was no longer a struggle to determine which tribe could outstrip its rivals in a state in which the *Qizilbāsh* tribes as a whole enjoyed a dominant and privileged position, but whether the *Qizilbāsh* tribes as a whole could maintain their privileged position against the threat from the new elements in Persian society, the Georgians and Circassians" (Savory, *Ṣafavid Persia*, in *Cambridge History of Islam*, i, 407-8). This struggle was not resolved during the remainder of Ṭahmāsp's lifetime, or under his successors Ismāʿīl II and Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh [*qq.v.*].

When ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] was placed on the throne in 996/1588 by the powerful *ķizil-bāsh amīr* Murshid Ķulī Khān Ustādjlū, he realised that not only his personal future but the continued survival of the Ṣafawid state depended on his being able to establish his authority over the *ķizil-bāsh* as rapidly as possible. The Ottomans, taking advantage of *ķizil-bāsh* factionalism, had made large inroads into Persian territory in the west, as had also the Özbegs in the east. ʿAbbās's solution of curbing the power of the *ķizil-bāsh* and increasing that of the *ghulāms*, though successful in the short term, ultimately seriously weakened the military and political effectiveness of the Ṣafawid state. The *ķizil-bāsh* regarded the *ghulāms* with contempt, and dubbed them *ķarā-oghlu*, "sons of black slaves". The *ghulāms*, though some great commanders emerged from their ranks, did not have a fighting élan comparable to that of the *ķizil-bāsh*, the only troops in the Islamic world who had earned the grudging respect of the Ottoman janissaries. Essentially heavy cavalry, the *ķizil-bāsh* carried a formidable arsenal of weapons—bow, lance, sword, dagger and battle-axe; in action, the *tādj* was replaced by a helmet with mail cheek-pieces (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 32); as they charged, they set up a rhythmic chant of "Allāh! Allāh!" (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ii, 699). The basis of their fighting spirit, however, was their fierce tribal loyalty (*taʿaṣṣub-i oymāķiyyat*; *taʿaṣṣub-i ķizil-bāshiyyat*). Shāh ʿAbbās I was well aware of this and, in pursuance of his policy of curtailing the power of the *ķizil-bāsh*, not only reduced the strength of the *ķizil-bāsh* regiments but also deliberately weakened the all-important attachment of the *ķizil-bāsh* soldier to his tribe. He did this in a variety of ways: he placed an officer in charge of a tribe who was not himself a member of that tribe; in certain cases, alleging that a particular tribe did not possess an officer worthy of holding the rank of *amīr*, he appointed a *ghulām* as *amīr* of the tribe; he transferred groups of men from one tribe to a district belonging to another tribe. The continuance of these policies by his successors ultimately undermined the military strength of the Ṣafawid empire.

In Afghānistān, there exists a substantial Shīʿī minority group of *ķizil-bāsh*, living mainly at Kābul and in the high valleys of Foladi on the western edge of the Hazāradjāt [*q.v.*]. These people are the descendants of garrison troops left behind by Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] in 1150/1738 during his Indian campaign. The *ķizil-bāsh* hold clerical posts in government offices, engage in trade or are craftsmen; in short, they constitute an important and politically-influential element in the population. Estimates of their total number vary from 60,000 to 200,000 (see H. W. Bellew, *The races of Afghanistan*, Calcutta 1880, 107; D. N. Wilber, *Afghanistan*, New Haven, Conn., 1962, 49-50; and V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan*, Stanford 1969, index *s.v. Qizil-Bash*).

As recently as 1945, the fact that the name *ķizil-bāsh* still had an emotive power in Ādharbāydjān, the nerve-centre of the Ṣafawid organisation in earlier times, was demonstrated by the choice of this name for the regular troops recruited by the short-lived autonomous republic of Ādharbāydjān.

Bibliography: Given in the text. For a detailed description of the rites and ceremonies of the Anatolian *ķizil-bāsh*, see article *Kızılbaş*, in *İA*. For additional textual references, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 470-2.

(R. M. Savory)

ĶIZIL-ELMA (or **ĶIZIL-ALMA**), "Red Apple" is an expression which occurs in written sources from the 16th century onwards; it also occurs in Turkish oral traditions from Anatolia and Ādharbāydjān as well as in modern Greek, Bulgarian and Rumanian folklore, current to this day. It refers to a legendary city which was to be the ultimate goal of Turko-Muslim conquests, and some versions explain the term from the resemblance between a red apple and the golden dome of a building—in this latter case it refers to a large church situated in the area. In the Ottoman period Ķizil-Elma tended to be identified with the large cities associated with Christianity—Constantinople, Budapest, Vienna and Rome—which the armies of the *Pādishāh* were hoping

to conquer (see J. Deny, *Les pseudo-prophéties concernant les Turcs au XVIe siècle*, in *REI*, x/2 (1936), 201-20; E. Rossi, *La legenda turco-bizantina del Pomo Rosso*, in *Actes du Ve Congrès international des études byzantines*, Rome 1936, 542-53).

Another tradition, which must have developed before the Ottoman one, identifies Ķīzīl-Alma with Dāghistān, beyond Demir-Ķapu. It has been supposed that this legend originated from the ceremony for enthroning the Shamkhal of Dāghistān, in which the claimant to the throne is involved in throwing a "golden ball"; because of this ball, Dāghistān was called "The land of Ķīzīl-Alma" (see Fahreddin Çelik, *Kızıl-Almanın yerleri*, in *Cınaraltı*, Jan. and March 1942; Banıçiçek Kırzıoğlu, *Kars ili ve çevresindekilere göre Kızıl-Alma*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 181, Aug. 1964). The idea of Ķīzīl-Alma being situated in Dāghistān as the furthest point of Muslim expansion has persisted in the oral tradition of Eastern Anatolia among the residents of Kars, Ardahan, Kağızman and both parts of Ādharbāydjān. The legendary place is mentioned in the 18th century by two poets from the fringes of the Caucasus. The one, ʿĀshīķ Ṣafī, speaks of it in a song composed to celebrate an expedition of Nādir Shāh (1736-47) against the Russians in Dāghistān (see F. Çelik, *op. cit.*). But drawing on information given by a certain Bahrām of Damascus in his geographical work which was translated from Latin (Nūr-i ʿOthmāniyye Library, ms. 2996), Çelik suggests that the country of the Khazars was called Ķīzīl-Alma since the 4th/10th century.

A popular legend, which probably rose in the oral tradition of the Janissaries, has survived in written recensions. One version is dated 13 Shaʿbān 1084/23 November 1673 and is found in the National Library at Ankara ("cönk" collection, No. 72). A second, dated 15 Djumādā II 1179/29 November 1765 is in a collection of folk narratives from manuscripts brought together by P. N. Borotav. The narrative is written in the form of a letter and it combines the motif of "Ķīzīl-Alma, the ultimate goal of the Ottoman conquests" with that of a Christian king who, having been vanquished and wounded by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, was plunged into a deep sleep, and is waiting for a favourable day to revive and to take his revenge on the Muslims. In this version of the legend, an attempt can be seen at an identification and a localisation, which has ended in contradiction and anachronism. The Christian king is called Rum Papa "The Pope of Rome", so Ķīzīl-Alma is thus being identified with Rome. But the narrative also locates the same legendary place at Bec (Vienna), and links this legend with the account of the Ottoman raid carried out during the reign of Süleymān II in 1532 by the historical person Ķāsīm Voyvoda (see P. N. Borotav, in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, IVe section, 1966-7, 263-4). The motif of the resurrection of a king is certainly Christian and probably Byzantine. It is linked with the cycle of pseudo-prophecies at the end of the period of Turkish domination (Deny, *op. cit.*), but later on it must have been integrated into Turkish tradition.

Oral versions of this narrative are still being told today. The present writer has recorded five versions in Turkish folklore (1) Ispartalı Hakkı, *Köyümden geliyorum*, Ankara 1971, 34-5 (the material in this book dates from 1916); (2) H. I. Erginol, in *Gediz*, No. 33 (1944)—cf. P. N. Borotav, in *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xxviii (1958), 16; (3) Kurt Bittel, *Legenden vom Kerkenes-Dağ (Kapadokien)*, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1960), 33; (4) a version noted by Boratav in the villages of Han Köy and Ak-Dere (Afyon province) in 1950; and (5) a version noted by Oğuz Tansel in the village of Meyre (near Bozkır, Konya province). The two last versions are part of Borotav's own manuscript collection and are unpublished. A Greek version from Asia Minor has also been recorded; it comes from a village in the region of Ephesus (see Dido Sotiriou, *D'un jardin d'Anatolie*, a novel translated from Modern Greek, Paris 1965, 22). For an Arabic version, see Yakoub Artin Pacha, *Seize haddouta, contes populaires racontés au Caire*, Cairo 1903, 11-12.

Bibliography: A full bibliography is provided by J. Deny and E. Rossi in their articles. Apart from works cited in the article, see for the motif of the Ķīzīl-Elma Elmas Yılmaz, *Kızıl-Elma efsanesi* in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 146, Sept. 1961. (P. N. Boratav)

ĶİZİL-IRMĀĶ (t. "Red River"), the ancient Halys ("Ἄλυς) or Alys ("Ἀλυς), the largest river in Asia Minor. It rises in the mountains which separate the *wilāyet* of Sīwās from that of Erzerūm, waters the towns of Zarra (4,530 feet high) and Sīwās (4,160 feet high), then enters the province of Anķara where it meets the mountain of Ardjīsh and the Ķodja Dāgh range which force it to make an immense detour of over 160 miles. Its course is at first south-east, then it turns northwards, and finally it reaches the Black Sea below Bāfrā in the middle of marshes. It is nearly 600 miles long. Its waters, of a dark yellow colour when they are in flood, diminish enormously in the summer; its bed is wide and its banks high. Its principal right-bank tributaries are the Khān-ṣūyu and the Delidje-Čay; those on the left are the Ṣārūmṣāķ-Čay which flows by Ķaysariyye, the Dewrek-Čay from Ṭosya, the Gök-Irmāķ which comes from the Ighāz-Dāgh (the ancient Olgassus) and waters the town of Ķasṭamūni [*q.v.*]. According to Strabo (xii, 561), the river Halys ('Ἁλύς) took its name from the mines of rocksalt, the product of which was exported in the form of large blocks; these mines thirty miles to the north of Yūzghād (Yozgat) near the village of Ṣārī-Ķāmish, are worked among the red sandstone, covered with clay and marl of a reddish colour; this soil washed down by the heavy rains gives the river a reddish colour, whence its name.

In ancient times, this river marked the boundary between the autochthonous peoples of Asia and those who had come from Europe to colonise the country. Herodotos (i, 72) makes it a frontier between Lydia and Media. It seems to have been known to the Arabs by its ancient name, if it is this river that is referred to by the name *Ālis* in a verse of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*², iii, text, 45, tr. 109, gives by mistake "Alous", an error reproduced by Defrémery, *Mémoires d'histoire orientale*, ii, 221).

Bibliography: ʿAlī Djewād, *Djughrāfiyā lughātī*, 609; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 626; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 538; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 19, 272, 639, iv, 433; Fr. Spiegel, *Ērānische Alterthumskunde*, i, 183 ff. (Cl. Huart*)

ĶİZİL-ĶUM (t. "Red sand"), a desert between the Sīr-Daryā and Āmū-Daryā rivers [*qq. v.*, and also ĶARĀ-ĶUM], falling within the modern Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan SSRs. The country is less uniform, especially in the central part, than in the Ķarā-Ķum; the sand desert is crossed by several ranges of hills, and in some places is rocky. The Ķīzīl-

Ḳum becomes more and more inhospitable as one goes southwards. The region called Adam-Ḳīrīlghan ("where man perishes") between the Āmū-Daryā and the cultivated region of Bukhārā, consisting of sandhills (*barkhān*), is considered especially uninviting and dangerous. In summer, there is absolutely no life in the desert; in the winter, there is vegetation, such as the *saksaul* shrub, and a few springs and wells are visited by Kazakh nomads. Schuyler noted that "Kirghiz" (sc. Kazakh) nomads crossed into the Ḳīzīl-Ḳum from north of the Sīr-Daryā on the river ice and returned in the spring when there were still ice floes in the river. Moreover, the mediaeval Islamic sources show that the winter, when the desert was carpeted with snow, was normally the time for military and other movements across the Ḳīzīl-Ḳum. Thus the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī noted that it was the absence of snow which prevented the Oghuz ruler of Djand, Shāh Malik, from restraining the rebel in Khwārazm Hārūn and his Saldjūḳ allies from invading Khurāsān in spring 426/1035 (*Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 683-4); and in the 6th/12th century the raids of the Khwārazm-Shāhs to Djand and against the Ḳīpčaḳ were always made in winter [see DJAND in Suppl.]. At the south-eastern extremity of the Ḳīzīl-Ḳum lay the Ḳaṭwān Steppe, to the north of the Samarḳand-Khudjand road, where in 536/1141 Sultan Sandjar was defeated by the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy [*q.v.*]. In recent times, the desert sands have encroached on the cultivated fringes, and in the later 19th century several villages on the lower course of the Zarafshān river became buried in the sands.

Bibliography: E. Schuyler, *Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 68-9; W. Moralskiy, *Turkestanskiy krai*, St. Petersburg 1913, 25 ff.; F. Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch-Turkestan*, Stuttgart 1921, 286 ff.; V. Peltz, *Očerk yuzniīkh Ḳizil-Ḳumov*, Samarḳand 1912.

(W. BARTHOLD - C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲIZIL-ÜZEN (in Āzerī Turkish "Red River"), the ancient Amardus, a river which flows through Ādharbāydjān and enters the Caspian Sea forty miles east of Sefīd-Rūd, "White River", at its junction with the river Shāh-Rūd at Mendjil. Its source lies in the province of Ārdilān, and it begins by crossing ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī to the north; its right-bank tributary is the Zandjān, on the left it receives the Ḳara-göl at Miyāne, then it runs along the southern slopes of Elburz, describing a great arc 125 miles long and crosses this range through the defile of Rūdbār and the narrow valley of Rustamābād, a kind of couloir through which rush violent winds from the south in winter and from the Caspian in summer. It was known to the Arabs as Nahr al-Abyaḍ "White River" (tr. of the Persian *Sefīd-Rūd*) (cf. Dimashḳī, *Cosmography*, tr. Mehren, 145); at one time the Turks called it the Hūlān (Ḥādjdjī Khālifa, *Djihān-numā*, 304).

Bibliography: A. Chodzko, *Popular poetry of Persia*, 479, No. 2; Fr. Spiegel, *Ērānische Alterthumskunde*, i, 75 ff.; Rawlinson, in *JRGS*, x, 64; Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii, 98; H. L. Rabino, in *RMM*, xxxii, (1915-6), 262-3; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 169; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 217; M. de Kotzebue, *Voyage en Perse*, Fr. tr., Paris 1819, 186 (view of the bridge of Ḳaplān-tāgh as frontispiece); Fr. Sarre, *Reise von Ardebil nach Zendschan*, in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, xlv (1899), 215-17.

(CL. HUART)

KIZIMKAZI, in full, KIZIMKAZI-DIMBANI, a small hamlet in south-west Zanzibar situated in lat. 6° 26l S, which possesses the earliest datable mosque in East Africa. Its *miḥrāb* has a dedicatory Kūfic inscription recording its foundation by Shaykh Abū ʿImrān Mūsā al-Ḥasan Muḥammad in 500/1106-7. This is flanked by Ḳurʾānic verses and two inscriptions in roundels, all of great elegance. The nearest analogy is with a grave cover found at Sīrāf: the *ensemble* was either imported from there or executed in Zanzibar by a Sīrāfī mason. This Persian connection accords with traditions of trading relations attested by inscriptions in Somalia and by the Kilwa histories. Otherwise, the mosque is an undistinguished rectangular structure. H. N. Chittick excavated it and the adjacent site in 1960. The hutted settlement dates from the 11th century or earlier: a ruined stone house and defensive enclosures are probably 18th century, when, as is commemorated by another inscription dated 1184/1772-3, the mosque and *miḥrāb* were largely rebuilt, the earlier inscriptions being incorporated into the fresh structure. An oral tradition claims that it was the capital of Bakari, a 17th century Swahili ruler of southern Zanzibar, but this seemingly contradicts the archaeological evidence; the fortified residence and the rebuilding of the mosque are more congruent with the 18th century development of the eastern African slave trade.

Bibliography: *Chrónica dos reyes de Quiloa*, *apud* J. de Barros, *Da Ásia*, (1552), ed. A. Baião, Coimbra 1932; *History of Kilwa* (Arabic text), ed. S. A. Strong, in *JRAS* (1895); S. Flury, *The Kufic inscriptions of the Kizimkazi mosque*, in *JRAS* (1922); H. N. Chittick, *Preliminary report on the excavations at Kizimkazi Dimbani*, in *Annual report of the Antiquities Division, Tanganyika*, 1960, Dar es Salaam 1962; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa Island*, 1965; idem and B. G. Martin, *A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the Eastern African coast*, in *JRAS* (1973); P. M. Garlake, *The early Islamic architecture of the East African coast*, 1966; W. H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar, its history and its people*, 1931; anon., *Zanzibar guide*, Govt. Printer, Zanzibar 1952; D. B. Whitehouse, *Excavations at Sīrāf*, in *Iran*, vii (1969), 62 and pl. VIII.

(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

ḲĪZKĀHĀN [see KILĀT].

ḲĪZLAR AGHASĪ [see ḲĪZ].

ḲOČ ḤIṢĀR, a name of several towns and villages in Asia Minor, derived from Ḳodja-Ḥiṣar; compare such names as Ḳoč Ḥiṣārī, Ḳoyun Ḥiṣārī, Ḳoyul Ḥiṣārī, Keči Ḥiṣārī and Ṭoḳlu Ḥiṣārī. Confusion is often prevented by the addition of the name of the nearby provincial capital or of another word, e.g. Čankīrī Ḳoč-Ḥiṣārī, Sherefli Ḳoč Ḥiṣār. For the same reason, the toponyms of places with this name have been changed in recent times.

I. SHEREFLI ḲOČ ḤIṢĀRĪ (in modern usage *Şerefli Koçhisarı*, centre of an *ilçe* (previously *ḳaḍāʾ*) formerly called Esb-keshān, in central Anatolia nowadays within the *il* (*wilāyet*) of Ankara (formerly of Konya), 8 km east of the northeastern shores of the Tuz Gölü [*q.v.*]. The town is situated on the road connecting Ankara with Adana via Aksaray, nowadays a major line of communication. The countryside around it is watered by a mountain stream and yields a varied agricultural produce; there is also sheep-raising. Since ancient times salt has been produced at Kaldırım on the lake. In 1950 Şereflikoçhisar town had a population of 4,458 and the

ilçe (then called a *kaza*) one of 46,300, the latter including within its boundaries 97 villages.

Bibliography: B. Darkot art. s.v. in *İA*; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegennetz*, Leipzig 1924-6, i, Table 6*; *Ankara il yıllığı*, Ankara 1967; İ. H. Konyalı, *Şereflikoçhisar tarihi*, 1971.

II. Čankîrî Ķoč Ḥiṣārî, in modern usage Çankırı Koç Hisar, since *ca.* 1923 centre of an *ilçe* (*ḳaḍā*ʾ) in the *il* (*wilāyet*) of Çankırı (Čanķîrî [*q.v.*], Ķānghrî before 1925) in central Anatolia, nowadays called Ilgaz. In the 19th century it was a *nāḥiye* in the *sandjaḳ* of Ķānghrî, in the *wilāyet* of Anadolu, and since 1864 in that of Kastamonu. Situated in the valley of the River Devrez (= Devrek) on the southern slopes of the Ilgaz Mountains at an altitude of 905m. the town is an agricultural market centre, lying near the crossroads of the routes from Ankara to Kastamonu via Çankırı and of that from Istanbul via Bolu and Tosya to Erzurum and the east. Islamisation came after the conquest by the Dānishmend *amîrs* in *ca.* 468/1075. Afterwards the region became part of the dominions of the Isfendiyāroghlu [*q.v.*] or Djandārid dynasty of Kastamonu (Ķaṣṭamūnî [*q.v.*]). The Ottoman Sultan Bāyazîd I took it in 795/1393. After the invasion and restoration of the amîrates in Anatolia by Timūr (after 804/1402), Ķoč Ḥiṣār definitively became Ottoman territory in 855/1451. It then became an important halting-stage in the Ottoman network of routes of the so-called "left wing" (*sol ḳol*) of Anatolia. In 1950 the town of Ilgaz itself had a population of 1,783, and the *ilçe* (then called a *kaza*) one of 24,800, the latter including in its boundaries 76 villages.

Bibliography: [R. Bozkurt] *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda kollar ulak ve fase menzilleri*, Ankara 1966, 12, 15, 22 and map; *Çankırı il yıllığı 1967*, Ankara 1967; R. Leonhard, *Paphlagonia. Reisen und Forschungen im nordlichen Kleinasien*, Berlin 1915, 69, 122 f., 391, 398; F. Taeschner, *Wegennetz*, i, 26, 198, table 26; O. Yalçın, *Çankırı*, Istanbul 1961; Y. Yücel, *Kastamonu'nun ilk fethine Kadar Osmanlı-Candar münasebetleri*, in *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* (1963), i.

III. Ķočḥiṣār (Sivas) nowadays Hafik, centre of an *ilçe* in the province of Sivas situated on the old main road and caravan route from Sîvās to Erzindjan [*q.vv.*] and the East 37 km. N.E. of Sivas on the right bank of the Ķîzîl-Irmaķ at an altitude of 1340 m. The population of the town in 1970 numbered 3,156. Nearby is Lake Todurgha (Tödürge, now Kaz Gölü or Demiryurt Gölü). Ķočḥiṣār is identical with Hāfîk Ķalʿesi (Hāwîk), a stronghold of some importance during the amîrate of Sivas of Ķāḍî Burhān al-Dîn [*q.v.*]. In the 19th century the town had a mixed Armenian and Turkish population.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 695; B. Darkot, art. *Sivas* in *İA*, with list of older sources; H. W. Duda, ed. and tr., *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, Copenhagen 1959, 248 and n.b.; F. Taeschner, *Wegennetz*, ii, 2 f., 11 n. 1, 3, table 36; Y. Yücel, *Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devleti* (*1344-1398*), Ankara 1970, 32 f., 45 f., 52, 73.

IV. Ķočḥiṣār (Mardin) nowadays called Kızıltepe, the centre of an *ilçe* of the province of Mardin in southeastern Turkey (*Djazîra*) on the Zerkan Suyu, a tributary of the Khābūr, to the south-west of the city of Mārdîn [*q.v.*]. Its population numbered 16,376 in 1970. In early Islamic times this, Ķočḥiṣār was called Dunaysir (Dunaysar) [*q.v.*]. During the rule of the Artuķids [*q.v.*], the town was an important caravan centre, and a medical school existed here. The present ruins of the Ulu Djāmiʿ are a monument of that period (*ca.* 601/1204-5). At the time of Sultan Selîm I's campaigns against the Ṣafawids, an Ottoman army commanded by Bîyîķlî Meḥmed Pasha, *beglerbegi* of Diyār Bakr, defeated a Persian force under Ķarakhān Ustādjalū near the town in 922/1516. Afterwards the whole region came under Ottoman rule, with Mārdîn as a *sandjaḳ* (*liwā*) of the new *eyālet* (*beglerbegilik*) of Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*]. Ķočḥiṣār was a part of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Mārdîn in 924/1518 and remained a subdivision of that district, being a *nāḥiye* of the *sandjaḳ* of Mārdîn during the 19th and 20th centuries and a *ḳaḍā*ʾ of the *wilāyet* of Mārdîn since the Republic was founded.

In 1766 the well known traveller Carsten Niebuhr visited Kočḥiṣār ("Kodsje hissar" in Arabic "Gunässar" or "Dunässar"), finding five minarets still standing (cf. *Reize naar Arabie*, Amsterdam-Utrecht 1776-80, ii, 366-7).

Bibliography: *Dunaysar Taʾrîkhi*, MS by İlalmish ʿÖmer b. Durmush al-Turkî, cited by O. Turan, *Selçuklular tarihi ve Türk-Islam medeniyeti*, Ankara 1965, Istanbul 1969², 283, 293, 367; İ. Artuk, *Dunaysır'da Artukoğullarının Ulu Camii*, in *Belleten*, x (1946), 167-9; A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 191; J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, i, 378 (view of Ķočḥiṣār in 1826); N. Göyünç, *XVI. yüzyılda Mardin sancağı*, Istanbul 1969, 18, 25 f., 30, 39, 62-72, 75, 115; *Sālnāme-i wilāyet-i Diyārbekir 1308, 13 Defʿa*, Diyārbekir 1308/1890, 127.

V. Ķočḥiṣār also Ķodja Ḥiṣār, identical with the Byzantine fortress of Trikokkia in the Sakarya region to the south-east of Iznîķ [*q.v.*]. This place was conquered by Sultan Orkhān [*q.v.*] in 708/1308 (713/1313).

Bibliography: İ. H. Danişmend, *Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, i, 8; D. E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, 37; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, i, Ankara 1972³, 110 and n. 1. (A. H. de Groot)

ĶOČI BEG, also called Göridjeli Ķodja Muṣṭafā Beg, Ottoman writer of treatises on statecraft.

Ķoči Beg was a native of Göridje (Gorča, Korytza) in Macedonia. He entered the Palace service as a *devshirme* [*q.v.*] during the reign of Aḥmed I and served under successive sultans until his retirement to his native place in the early years of Meḥemmed IV's reign. He seems never to have served in any capacity outside the Palace. He gained the especial confidence of Murād IV and Ibrāhîm, and it is for his memoranda to these sultans that he is famous. He was also tutor to the historian Naʿîmā [*q.v.*] (for a full biographical account see M. Çağatay Uluçay, *İA* art. *Koçi Beg*).

Ķoči Beg's best-known work is his *Risāle*, presented to Murād IV in 1040/1630, where he analyses the causes of Ottoman decline and suggests remedies. There are several printed editions of the work: Aḥmed Vefîķ Pasha (ed.), *Ķoči beg risālesi*, London 1279/1862-3, Istanbul 1303/1885-6; A. K. Aksüt, *Koçi bey risalesi* (in Latin script), Istanbul 1939; German translation by W. F. A. Behrnhauer, in *ZDMG*, xv (1861), 272 ff., with comments by Fleischer in *ZDMG*, xvi (1862), 271. The work is summarised in J. von Hammer, *GOR*, v, 291. A second *risāle* attributed to Ķoči Beg was apparently compiled from memoranda submitted to Sultan Ibrāhîm on that Sultan's order. There is no critical edition of the work. The first published version is an incomplete but fairly full

German translation by Behrnhauer, entitled *Das Naṣîḥatnâme*, in *ZDMG*, xviii (1864), 699 ff., based on manuscripts now in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Mix. 477, A. F. 188, Hist. Osman. 150). The translator states that the author is anonymous. The second published edition is in A. K. Aksüt, *op. cit.*, 78 ff. (in Latin script), based on a manuscript in Millet Library, Istanbul, no. 474. In a third published edition, based on a manuscript in Nuruosmaniye Library, no. 4950, the editor attributes the *risāle* to the Grand Vizier Kemānkes̲h̲ Ķara Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a (F. R. Unat, *Sadrazam Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa lâyihasi*, in *TV*, ii, no. 6, 443 ff.). There are divergences between the published versions and between them and other existing mss. (for details and discussion, see M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Koçi Bey'in Sultan Ibrahim'e takdim ettiği risale ve arzlar*, in *Z. V. Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, 177 ff.).

The contents of Ķoči Beg's *risāle* presented to Murād IV resemble those of an earlier analysis of Ottoman decline, the anonymous *Kitāb-i müsteṭāb*, (ed. Yaşar Yücel, Ankara 1974) and are entirely conservative in outlook. The spread of corruption, he argued, had brought about a decline in the old institutions and bred disrespect for the *s̲h̲arīʿa* and old laws (*ķānūn* [*q.v.*]). Remove corruption, restore respect for the *s̲h̲arīʿa* and *ķānūn*, and the Empire would return to its former glory. In the old days before the reign of Süleymān I, the sultan had attended the *Dīwān* personally. Süleymān had abandoned this practice. Before the year 982/1574-5 the Grand Vizier had been independent, with no intermediary between him and the sultan. The sultan's favourites (*nüdemāʾ*) had never interfered in affairs of state. Bribery was unknown and *begs* were never unjustly dismissed. There was strict control over the emoluments of Palace officials and they never received lands whose rightful use was as *timars* or *zeʿāmets* [*qq.v.*].

After 982/1574-5 Palace officials and Sultan's favourites were able to engineer the dismissal of Grand Viziers, *beglerbegis* and *sand̲j̲aķ begis* and acquire lands rightfully allocated to timariots, as freeholdings (*temlīk*) or fief-holdings (*pas̲h̲maķlıķ*, *arpalıķ*). As a result, the state lost its worthiest officers and no longer had the timariots available for war. A similar decline occurred in the *ʿilmiyye* hierarchy. After 1003/1594-5 *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲ülislāms*, *ķāḍī ʿaskers* and *ķāḍīs* [*qq.v.*] frequently suffered wrongful dismissal. *Mulāzemets* and *ķāḍī*-ships were offered for sale, allowing ignorant men to enter the profession. Promotion, too, had come to depend on age, rather than ability. In the old days, the *ʿulemāʾ* had been upright men. Because they had feared God, the people had feared them, and the integrity of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* had been preserved.

The *timar*-system had underlain the Empire's former military strength. In 992/1584-5, however, Özdemir-og̲h̲lı ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a had allocated *timars* to deserving *reʿāyā*. After him, the principle was extended, and unworthy *reʿāyā* and Palace nominees had received *timars*. These made bad and rebellious troops. Few bothered to present themselves for campaigns. Many had contradictory *berāts* [*q.v.*], giving rise to disputes and a decline in the respect due to the sultan's decrees. Finally, the abolition of the *yürüks* and *müsellems*, who had acted as a pioneer corps on campaigns, meant that the timariots, the picked troops of Islam, now had to perform menial tasks. The Janissaries and other *ķapıķulu* corps [see ORDU] had also become corrupt. It was again Özdemir-og̲h̲lı ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a who, in 992/1584, had admitted suitable non-*ķuls* into these corps, and after 1003/1594-5 this had become a flood. The *devs̲h̲irme* system broke down; tradesmen and others secured posts lawfully due only to *ķuls*, and admitted their relatives to the corps. The number of so-called *ķuls* increased enormously, many of them retiring early without performing their military or other duties, and consequently they became a heavy burden on the treasury. Previously, they had resided only in Istanbul, Edirne and intermediate villages. They now resided throughout the empire, often exercising dictatorial powers in a region.

The swollen number of *ķuls*, together with a decline in *k̲h̲āṣṣ-i hümāyūn* lands [see K̲H̲ĀṢṢA], which had either passed to enemies or else been allocated as *pas̲h̲maķlıķ*, *waķf* or vizier's *k̲h̲āṣṣ*, meant a vastly increased burden of taxation on the *reʿāyā*. The sale of tax-collecting rights exacerbated the situation. Excessive taxation had impoverished the *reʿāyā* and this, in turn, led to insufficient treasury revenue. This led to military weakness which undermined the authority of the sultan. The result was internal dissension and military defeat.

Ķoči Beg's remedy for the decline was as conservative as his analysis of its causes: a return to the imagined perfections of the era before Süleyman I. Bribery should be removed by restoring the independence of the Grand Vizier and neutralising the influence of Palace favourites in affairs of state; by keeping *begs* in their posts without fear of unjust dismissal; by dismissing ignorant *ʿulemāʾ* and replacing them with learned men; by distributing *timars* only to men worthy to receive them, and ceasing the practice of distributing *timar*-lands as *pas̲h̲maķlıķ*, *waķf* or other form of tenure. Only *beglerbegis* should appoint timariots. They should make a roll-call (*yoķlama*) of present incumbents in their provinces (*eyālet*), renewing the *berāts* of qualified timariots and removing the unqualified. *Ķuls* with high pay should receive *zeʿāmets*, thus creating a warrior's fief (*ķılıč*) and removing a burden from the treasury. Able-bodied timariots should serve on campaigns with the number of retainers (*d̲j̲ebelü*) which the old *ķānūns* specify. This would produce 400,000 to 500,000 troops and provide a counterbalance to the influence of the *ķapıķulus*. Similarly, all innovations (*bidʿat*) in the Janissary and other *ķapıķulu* corps which contravene the old *ķānūns* should be abolished. There should be a graduation (*čıķma*) from the Palace once in every seven years, and at these times the *ķapıķulu* corps should receive only enough recruits to replace dead members. Officers (*ḍābiṭ*) of these corps should never be unjustly deposed.

Ķoči Beg's second *risāle* is a straightforward description of various state institutions and governmental practices, interspersed with political maxims. Its purpose was to guide the new and totally inexperienced sultan, Ibrāhīm, and its language, in accordance with that ruler's mental capacities, is extremely simple (see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *İA*, art. *İbrahim*, and IBRĀHĪM).

Bibliography: apart from works mentioned above, see also: V. D. Smirnov, *Kočybeg Gümüldzinskii* (*sic*) *i drugie osmanskie pisateli XVII. věka*, St. Petersburg 1873 (Turkish text with Russian tr.); Zuhuri Danişman, *Koçi Bey risalesi*, Istanbul 1972 (introd. and modern Turkish tr.); Meḥmed Süreyyā, *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*, iv, 63; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOt̲h̲mānlı müʾellifleri*, Istanbul 1334/1915-16, iii, 119 ff.; F. Babinger,

Geschichtsschreiber, 184 ff., 414 ff.; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in mediaeval Islam*, Cambridge 1968, 226-7. (C. H. Imber)

ĶODJA ELI, modern Turkish Kocaeli: a region between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, covering a part of ancient Bithynia with its centre Izmīd [*q.v.*] (ancient Nicomedia), and the name of a *sandjaḳ* of the Ottoman empire. Nowadays it is the name of a province (*il*) of Turkey (population 385,408 in 1970), with Izmit as its capital. In 1954 the eastern part of the province Kocaeli was separated to form the Sakarya (Saḳārya) province with its capital Adapazarı. Since this administrative reform, Kocaeli has comprised the *ilces* (formerly *ḳaḍā*ʾs) of (Izmit-) Merkez, Gebze, Kandıra, Gölçük (before 1936, Değirmendere) and Karamürsel. The province is traversed by the main route of communication between Istanbul and Ankara and the East, nowadays by the Anatolian railway (since 1873) and the motorway No. 1/E5. Modern industries have been founded along the Gulf of Izmit (Izmit Körfezi) in the Republican period, complementing the already existing ones (e.g. the Imperial Ottoman textile and carpet factory at Hereke). Thanks to the large forests prevailing in the region (in 1970 42,1 % of the area was still considered as forestland), the province became a centre for shipbuilding already in ancient times (cf. the mediaeval type of (rowing- and sailing) transport vessel, *Caramusali*, Turkish *Karamürsel*, called after the port of Karamürsel).

The Gulf of Izmit was a base area of the Ottoman navy from the 10th/16th century onwards. A dockyard and naval establishment existed at Izmit till World War I. Since 1926 Gölcük has been one of the main bases of the modern Turkish navy.

Ķodja Eli was one of the earliest Ottoman *sandjaḳs*, formed during the reign of Orkhān in the years 1327-38. Its name is derived from that of one of the *ghāzī* leaders of the first two Ottoman rulers Aḳčaḳodja, who with Ķara Mürsel and Ķonur Alp first raided this then Byzantine region, and was buried on Baba Tepe near Ķandīra in 728/1327. During the Ottoman interregnum 1402-13 the Byzantines were able to regain their territory, but in 1419 Timūrtāshoghlu Umur Beg reconquered Ķodja Eli definitively for the Ottoman Sultan. Before the end of the 10th/16th century, the *sandjaḳ* became part of the *eyālet* of the *ḳapudān pasha* and its *sandjaḳ-begi* a commander of a naval squadron. In 1867, within the framework of the new system of provincial administration, Ķodja Eli was incorporated in the *wilāyet* of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*]. From 1888 till the end of the Ottoman period it became the independent *sandjaḳ* (*mutaṣarrīflīḳ*) of Izmīd, with the 5 *ḳaḍā*ʾs of Adapazari, Ķandīra, Geyve, Karamürsel and Izmīd-Merḳez. In *ca.* 1890, V. Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv, 303 ff., 371) estimated the population of the *sandjaḳ* at 223,000, of which 129,000 were Muslims, 49,000 Armenians, 41,000 Greeks and 2,500 Jews.

Bibliography: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962, 454 ff., 532; ʿĀshīḳpashazāde, *Taʾrīkh*, tr. R. F. Kreutel, Graz, etc. 1959[2], 49, 51, 64, 100, 185, 197; *İA* arts. *Koca-eli* and *Izmit* by B. Darkot (where the most important older literature is indicated); F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegennetz*, Leipzig 1924-6, i, 91, 105-9, 112-6, 191-5 and map; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 390, 420, 423 n. 1, 448 f., 453, 456; M. A. Walker, *Old tracks and new landmarks*, London 1897, 7-46; R. Yüce, *Kocaeli tarih ve rehberi*, Izmit 1945; A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 114, 123. (A. H. de Groot)

KŌHĀT (p., "mountains"), a directly-administered District of what was the North West Frontier Province of British India and of Pakistan till 1955, covering some 2,694 sq. miles and with its administrative centre at the town of Kōhāt. The District is bounded by the Khyber Agency [see khaybar Pass] on the north, by the Kurram and North Wāziristān Agencies in the west, by the Bannū District [*q.v.*] on the south, and by the Indus River and the ʿĪsā Khēl *taḥṣīl* of the Pandjāb on the east.

The terrain of the District is that of a rugged tableland lying at an average of 2,000 ft., with low ranges of arid hills which rise to 3,000-4,000 ft., and with more fertile valley bottoms in which agriculture, sometimes by irrigation, is possible; the climate shows considerable variations in temperature and rainfall averages only 15 inches per annum. The region is connected with the Kabul River valley and the Khyber region by the Kōhāt Pass, called locally the *Darra* (2,866 ff.), whose control was in British times much disputed by the local Afrīdī tribesmen; the area round the Pass, a strip of unadministered territory, has for long been the site of a flourishing Afrīdī gun-making factory. An important commodity of the Teri village neighbourhood of Kōhāt has always been rock salt, of which there are extensive deposits at Bahādur Khēl; until recent years, these were owned by the *Nawāb* or titular head of the Khaṭak tribes. The Government of India's increase of the tax on Kōhāt salt in 1896 to a level with that on cis-Indus salt was one of the pretexts for the tribal rising along the Frontier in 1897.

The population of the District is essentially Pathan, mainly of the Bangash in the western parts, the Khaṭak [*q.v.*] in the eastern tracts down to the Indus shores, the Orakzay and Ādam Khēl Afrīdīs in the northern parts, and the Niāzīs along the Indus in the south of the district; of these, the Bangash speak the northeastern or "hard" variety of Pashto, and the Khaṭak and Niāzī the southwestern or "soft" one [see afghān, iii. The Pashto language].

The Khaṭak seem to have moved into Kōhāt from the west in the 8th/14th century, whilst the Bangash entered the district in the following century as allies of the Khaṭak against the Orakzay. The Mughal adventurer Bābur [*q.v.*] made his first foray into India in 910/1505 down the Kabul River valley to Peshāwar, then into Kōhāt and Bannū and through the Deradjāat to the Indus; he scattered the local Pathans, and built towers of skulls of the slain in Kōhāt (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, 230-2). In 1029/1620 the Mughal Emperor Djahāngīr's general Mahābat Khān [*q.v.*] campaigned in Kōhāt against the Rōshaniyya sectaries [*q.v.*] amongst the local Pathans.

In the early 19th century, Peshāwar, Kōhāt, Bannū and the Deradjāt came under the control of the Sikh ruler of the Pandjāb, Randjit Singh, although Sikh authority was contested by the local tribes. The British envoy Mountstuart Elphinstone passed through Kōhāt in early 1809 on his way to the Durrānī court in Kābul, and waxed lyrical about the green valleys and the fruits of "Cohaut" (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*[2], London 1842, i, 49 ff., ii, 50-1). After the downfall of the Sikh empire

and the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849, the British penetrated through the low Khaṭak hills and Kōhāt to the Kurram River valley at Thāl. The regions of Peshāwar, Kōhāt and Hazāra were then briefly placed directly under the Board of Administration for the Pandjāb. In 1876 these three northern regions of the Frontier were formed into the Commissionership of Peshāwar. Then after the frontier tribal wars of the late 1890s and in the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the North West Frontier Province was formed in 1901 as an administrative unit separate from the Pandjāb, with Kōhāt as one of its four trans-Indus districts; Kōhāt District itself comprised the three *taḥṣīls* of Kōhāt, Terī and Hangū. A road was made in 1901-2 connecting Peshāwar and Kōhāt via the Pass, and a narrow-gauge railway was also begun to connect Khushḥālgaṛh on the Indus with Kohāt town, Hangū and Thāl, thereby stimulating local trade with Tīrāh and Kābul. Kohāt town had already become an important garrison centre from which control was exercised over the turbulent Pathan tribes, and Sir Louis Cavagnari, who for more than a decade had been Deputy Commissioner in Kōhāt, had built himself a fine official residence there.

During the inter-war period, Kōhāt was, with Peshāwar, Bannū and other parts of the Frontier, the scene of disturbances caused by the political movement of the *Khidmatgārān* or "Redshirts" of ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Khān. The postpartition position has not been greatly altered since British days. The District continues to be divided into three *taḥṣīls*, with the names Kōhāt, Hangū and Karak; Kōhāt town is an important military base for the Pakistan Army and there is also a military airfield. A plan for a barrage across the Toi River, the "Banda Tanda Dam", in order to harness flood waters, has long been mooted. The 1961 census enumerated a total population for the District, including the attached tribal areas in the north, of 627,795, a 45 % increase since 1951, with a population for Kōhāt town and cantonment of 75,000.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

AL-KŌHĒN AL-ʿAṬṬĀR, Abu 'l-Munā (Dāwūd) b. Abī Naṣr b. Ḥaffāẓ al-Isrāʾīlī al-Hārūnī, Jewish pharmacist who in 658/1260 wrote in Cairo "for himself and his son" a pharmacopoeia under the title (changing slightly in the manuscripts) *Minhādj al-dukkān wa-dustūr al-aʿyān fī tarkīb al-adwiya al-nāfiʿa li'l-abdān*, which became very widely spread. About his life almost nothing is known, and his relation to Abū Manṣūr Sulaymān b. Ḥaffāẓ al-Kōhēn, the author of a *muntakhab* from which al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār quotes, is uncertain (see Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, 233 f.; M. Plessner, in *Oriens* xxiii-xxiv [1970-1], 454. The *Minhādj* has the following 25 chapters: 1. The duties of the pharmacist. 2. Drinks (*ca.* 1/6 of the whole work). 3. Concentrated fruit-syrups. 4. Preserved fruits. 5. Pastes. 6. Electuaries. 7. Powder. 8. Lozenges. 9. Remedies to be sucked. 10. Pills. 11. "Hallowed substances" (*iyāradjāt*). 12. Eye-powder. 13. Eye-salves. 14. Pomades. 15. Oils, etc. 16. Plaster. 17. Tooth-powder. 18. Suppositories. 19. Compresses, settings, sternutatories. 20. Substitutive drugs. 21. List of simple drugs. 22. Apothecaries' measures and weights. 23. Admonitions for a sensible way of living. 24. Professional instructions. 25. Test of the usefulness of the simple and the composite drugs. At the end, the author promises a monograph on generally-known simple drugs, which was probably not written.

Thus the work is a typical dispensatorium (*aḳrābādhīn*, from Greek γραφίδιον via Syriac *graphīdhīn*), in which, after the Galenic example, the composite drugs (*al-adwiya al-murakkaba*) are grouped according to classes (κατὰ γένη). In the present work, the simple drugs (*al-adwiya al-adwiya al-mufrada*), usually dealt with in separate works, have equally been treated from certain view-points in chapters 21, 24 and 25. The recipes are partly of the author himself, but the majority come from sources mentioned by name. Most conspicuous among the latter are the *Dustūr al-bīmāristānī* of Ibn Abi 'l-Bayān [*q.v.*], teacher and somewhat older contemporary of al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār, and the *Irshād* of Ibn Djumayʿ al-Isrāʾīlī, another pupil of Ibn Abi 'l-Bayān. In the introduction, al-Kōhēn claims to be the first to compose an extended pharmacopeia especially for chemists; the earlier ones, Ibn Abi 'l-Bayān's book included, are said to have been written for physicians in the traditional manner. This specialisation has possibly been one of the reasons for the wide dissemination of the work, a second one apparently being the very conveniently arranged survey of the current measures and weights (ch. 22), which must have met a generally felt need. For an officially-regulated standard did not exist, and the units of measures, so countlessly varying, were overseen with more or less care by the *muḥtasib* only. A third reason for the popularity of the work may have been its useful indications for the chemist's profession (purchase, efficient storage, cleaning, protection of the drugs against blight etc., chapter 24). Finally, the abundant use of popular Arabo-Egyptian names of drugs made the work easily accessible to every user.

Bibliography: The numerous manuscripts are listed in M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, 237 f.; Brockelmann, *GAL*² I 648, S I 897; A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia arabica*, Göttingen 1966, 148-50; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 309 f., 320; and also S. Hamarneh, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts on medicine and pharmacy in the British Library*, Cairo 1975, nos. 208, 209, 210, 219; idem, *Index of manuscripts on medicine, pharmacy, and allied sciences, in the Ẓāhiriyah Library*, Damascus 1969, 320-4 (= Dietrich, *op. cit.*); S. Kaṭṭāya, *Makhṭūṭāt al-ṭibb wa'l-ṣaydala fi 'l-maktabāt al-ʿāmma bi-Ḥalab*, Aleppo 1396/1976, 170-4; Istanbul, Veliyüddin 2554; *al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fī Maʿhad al-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya al-ʿulyā fī Baghdād*, 1968, no. 416, 1; private collection of Dr. Ḥaddād, Beirut, without numbering; and others. A critical edition is urgently needed, the Cairo editions—about half a dozen—being inadequate. See further Kātib Čelebi, *Keşf-el-zunun*, ii, 1871; L. Leclerc. *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, 1876, ii, 215-7; Steinschneider, *Eine arabische Pharmakopie des XIII. Jahrhunderts von Abu 'l-Muna und die Quellen derselben*, in *ZDMG*, lvi (1902), 74-85;

M. Meyerhof, *Un Glossaire de la Matière médicale . . . par Maïmonide*, Cairo 1940, XXIII; L. Nemoy, *The Arabic pharmacopoeia of Abu al-Munā al-Kūhin al-ʿAttār*, in *Hebrew medical Journal* (*Harofé Haivri*, New York), ii (1941), 68-76, 156-66; iii (1942), 88-93, 144-8; iv (1943), 77-85, 144-50; Hamarneh, *The climax of medieval Arabic professional pharmacy*, in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* xlii, (1968), 450-61. (A. Dietrich)

KOIL [see koyl].

AL-KŌHĪN [see al-kūhīn].

KÖKBÜRI [see begteginids].

KOKČA [see badakhshān].

ḲŌMIS [see ḳūmis].

KOMOTEN [see gümüldjine in Suppl.].

KONAKRY (usual orthography, Conakry), capital of the Republic of Guinea.

With its site fixed in the tables of latitudes of Ptolemy, Konakry has only been regularly inhabited since the second half of the 18th century. It is situated on the west coast of Africa in lat. 9° 31′ N. and long. 13° 43′ W., and occupies three distinct natural sites: part of the Kaloum peninsula, the island of Tumbo and the archipelago of Loos. Manga Damba, chief of the Susu people, founded Kaporo there in 1780, after having subjugated the Baga and the Mandenyi. The Loos islands, originally occupied by the Portuguese (Los Idolhos), were occupied by Britain in 1848. After the "Mulatto War" of 1865-70, there were four villages, sc. Kaporo, Bulbinet, Tumbo and Camayenne, which were placed together at the time of the first French post's foundation, when the corvette "Goëland" passed there on 26 January 1887. On 1 August 1889, Conakry became the capital of the colony of the Rivières du Sud and Dependencies, and then in 1890 of French Guinea, of which Ballay was the first governor.

It became the departure-point for roads into the interior after 1895, and then for the Conakry-Niger railway completed in 1914, and the town and its port enjoyed a rapid development facilitated by the filling-in of the Tumbo channel. Its vitality was shown by the increases of population: 13,000 in 1899, 78,000 in 1958 and 250,000 in 1975. The Loos islands were attached to it in 1904, and also the convict settlement of Fotoba, where the Wali of Gumba, Tierno Aliou, leader of the revolt of the Houbbous, died in 1912.

It became a Commune Mixte in 1913, with full powers in 1955, and then on 2 October 1958 Conakry became the capital of the Republic of Guinea. It has 1,853 m. of docks, 10 hectares of platforms, a volume of traffic amounting to 2 1/2 million tonnes and an airport with a 3,300 m. runway; it is thus a lively industrial centre. Despite the ending to the mining of Kaloum's iron deposits in 1966 and the slackening of the exploitation of the bauxite of Kassa, it remains the main outlet of the Fria Company, and also possesses many factories, including for tobacco and matches, furniture, tanning, shoes, plastics, brewing, fruit juice, etc. Since 1963 Conakry has had the Gamal Abdel Nasser Polytechnic Institute, with seven faculties, including one for medicine, and it also has several Écoles Nationales (Arts and Crafts, Meteorology, etc.).

The majority of the population is Muslim (71 % in 1955). The conversion of the Baga and Susu was achieved at the beginning of the 19th century by the Yattara family, the Diulas. Christianity came with the Anglican mission at Fotoba in 1864, and the Catholic mission, which built the cathedral of St. Mary, in 1890. On 18 October 1897 Conakry became an Apostolic prefecture, on 18 April 1920 an Apostolic vicariate, and on 15 September 1955 an Archidioces.The diocese contained 13,400 Roman Catholics in 1965, two-thirds of these in the capital. The strength of Islam is easily discernible from these figures. The main *ṭariḳa* there remains that of the Ḳādiriyya, which resisted the penetration of the Tīdjāniyya in the 19th century under the double influence of the *zāwiya* of Touba and of the Senegalese auxiliary troops of the French who adopted Murīdism. These last built a mosque on the island of Tumbo, still called the Senegalese mosque.

Despite the efforts of Malinka scholars, Wahhābism has remained only embryonic. One should further note a certain persistent strain of animism among the Baga population, characterised till 1963 by the cult of the tree of Bassicole, on the isthmus of Tumbo, cut down then to allow the building of the People's Palace at the expense of the People's Republic of China.

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(J. P. Alata)

KONG, corruption of *Kpon*, name of a place in the northern part of the Ivory Coast near to the watershed between the basins of the Comoé and that of the Nzi which flows into the Bandama. Kpon was founded in a very ancient period by the Senoufo of the Falafala tribe who to this day have retained their predominant rights over the land, while playing now only an unobtrusive role.

Kong is an illustration of the advance of the Malinka towards the south and towards the regions producing gold and kola. This immigration took place in the period following the 16th century and these Dioula who supposedly came from Macina founded Bobo Dioulasso on their way. Having established themselves in Kong they were reinforced at the beginning of the 18th century by contingents of Sohondji Malinka pagans, with whose help they were able to police the trade-routes. There can be no doubt that it was at the end of the 18th century that a Malinka chief, Sekou Ouattara, whose family was linked with the inhabitants of Boron on the Bandama, united a group of Malinka families coming from the north. From Macina he passed through Dé near Bandiagara, Téwélé near Bobo Dioulasso, then Teninguera near Kong where he ousted a red-haired chieftain named Lassiré Gombélé, taking his place and establishing Islam. Lassiré Gombélé would no doubt have been a Mandé, ruling over the autochthonous Falafala and the Paralha (Koulango).

Sekou Ouattara established his twelve sons so firmly in the villages that when his brother Famarha attempted to gain power, the resistance offered by the sons forced him to leave and to settle in Bobo Dioulasso, opening a long series of quarrels between the two cities.

From the city of Kong the power of this Dioula aristocracy spread throughout the neighbouring country, largely as a result of the superiority of their cavalry. To assure themselves of a supply of remounts, they founded on the Bani the village of *So fara* (stallions).

While the children of Sekou Ouattara received various appanages, the sixth son, Sambakari, at-

tempted to conquer Lobi and spent several years fighting interminable campaigns against the Léa, the Teguessié and the Dian. The authority of the Dioula over the land of Lobi seems to have been purely nominal.

Among campaigns involving external powers, one was repulsed by the *Tondion* of Biton Kouloubali in 1725. Also, the Ashanti army which, according to Bowdich, had reached as far as Kong, was defeated there and its leader injured by a lance-blow at a place which is still pointed out in the vicinity of the town.

Abo (1720-46), the ruler of the Abron, was pursued by the Ashanti king Opokou Ouaré and took refuge in Kong, where the sovereign's mother handed him over to the Ashanti who put him to death.

With its control over the gold and kola routes, the city of Kong took on greater and greater importance, and the authority of the sovereigns extended over the whole of the land from the Comoé to the Marahoué and, towards the Djimini in the south, where the Dioula had constructed terraced dwellings in the Sudanese style. Five mosques with twin pyramid-shaped minarets dominated the quarters of the city.

The military power of Kong depended on contingents of pagan soldiers. But commercial prosperity induced the more gifted elements to turn away from military pursuits, to such an extent that when the Pallaka pagans rebelled and closed their territory to caravan traffic, the punitive expeditions mounted by Kong came to nothing.

Although Mungo Park had heard tell of Kong, it was Binger who, on 20 February 1888, arrived in the town and stayed there until the 11th March. In December of the same year, Treich-Laplène made the sovereign of that time, Karamoko Oule Wattara, sign a treaty placing Kong under French protection. This treaty was signed on 10 January 1889 in the presence of Binger, who had occasion to return to Kong in 1892.

Two years later, Kong was visited by Captain Marchand, *Kpaki Bo* (= "feller of the forest"), who had heard of the threats made by Samori against Kong. It was then that Lt.-Colonel Monteil was recalled to the area; he had been preparing to attempt a regrouping of forces on the Upper Nile. Mustering at Grand Bassam in August 1894, the column encountered the utmost difficulties in making progress. Joining battle with the armies of Samori in March 1895, it was forced to retreat and on 15 May 1897, Samori razed the city to the ground and massacred those of the inhabitants who had not succeeded in escaping towards Bobo-Dioulasso. Only the houses of the Falafala were spared.

In January 1898, a French detachment established a post there, which was soon laid under siege but was relieved by Commandant Caudrelier. With Samori captured, and peace re-established, the French administration invited the refugees to return. Some accepted, but the majority remained in Bobo Dioulasso. Kong was never to regain its former eminence. It was to remain a mere regional capital with some 3,000 inhabitants, and an important centre of Muslim proselytism.

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KONYA (Arabic and Turkish orthography, Ḳūniya), known in antiquity as Iconium, an important town lying on the edge of the Anatolian plateau, on a diagonal line connecting the Dardanelles with the Taurus passes leading into Syria.

1. History.

Konya was, during the centuries of Arab invasion, a Byzantine military base which the attackers seem for this reason to have more or less deliberately avoided and circumvented, in preference either for Tarsus [see ṬARSŪS] to the south or especially for Cappadocia by the northern routes; this would seem to explain the fact that the town is seldom mentioned in military histories. It is probable, however, that Konya, like other towns, had suffered previously in the Persian invasion, and that it occupied only a section of its former territory. It is difficult to describe with certainty its history in a period for which no archaeological investigation has been performed, but the common and widespread re-use of older materials in the Saldjūḳ monuments would seem to indicate that many buildings were in ruins and the town only partially reconstructed. It reappears, however, in a better light at the time of the Turkish invasions of the 5th/11th century and at the time of the Crusaders who passed that away in 1097. The latter found no serviceable fortifications there, but were able to derive benefit from the gardens in the vicinity of the town.

It was the Saldjūḳ régime which marked the zenith of the history of Konya. The site, well irrigated in contrast to the neighbouring desert, commanded the southern route at a time when the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] denied the Saldjūḳs access to the northern route to the Dardanelles, and it must have found favour with the new masters when they became aware of the need for a secure political and military base as a focus for their still semi-nomadic peoples. The real development of the town dates from the reign of Masʿūd (512-50/1118-55), who resolving to make Konya a capital, built a mosque there and other monuments which his successors must have completed. It was already a city of note when in 1190 the German army raised in Cologne by Frederick Barbarossa passed through it. The progressive unification of Turkish Asia Minor under the rule of the Saldjūḳs evidently contributed to the prosperity of the capital. Besides the principal mosque, from about 1190 onwards the city possessed a number of smaller ones, as well as *madrasas*, *khānḳāhs* [*q.vv.*], flourishing markets and reconstructed ramparts. The development of the power of the sultans in the first half of the 7th/12th century was also reflected in the town, where apparently social hierarchy was judged by the importance and height of houses rather than by the allocation of separate quarters to the various ethnic groups. In Konya there were evidently Greeks (with their monastery, reputedly dedicated to Plato), Armenians and some Jews; the records make few references to Turks, a term reserved in this context for the Turcomans of the plains, but rather speak of Muslims, a designation normally embracing both indigenous Turks, who in a town of this kind were largely Iranised, and Iranian immigrants, arriving especially in the period following the Khʷārazmian and Mongol invasions, who, besides their involvement in craftsmanship, were sometimes promoted to the most important civil posts of the régime. Three social groups deserve special attention, the *idgish*, the *akhis* and the

Ṣūfīs or dervishes. The *idgish* were a kind of militia recruited among the half-breed sons of indigenous fathers converted to Islam and married to Turkish women; the *akhis* [*q.v.*] were a Turkish form of the Muslim *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], and were to play an important role especially in the period of the Mongols and their immediate successors; as for the Ṣūfīs, there were a number of different orders, but, from the middle of the 7th/13th century the prestige of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī must have drawn numerous disciples to him, although this was not an organised order (that of the Mevlevīs or Mawlawiyya, from Mevlānā/Mawlānā) until the 8th/14th century. Naturally, Konya also had a military garrison, composed to a large extent of slaves of Byzantine stock captured on the north-western marches of the kingdom. The sultans lived in the palaces which they had built in Konya and the surrounding area. The ramparts of the town had been extended and strengthened in the time of the great sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubād [*q.v.*] with the compulsory co-operation of the senior *amīrs* of the region. The buildings erected in this period are studied below, but the abundance and importance of the mosques, *madrasas*, *khānḳāhs*, hospitals, *khāns*/caravanserais, etc. testify to the considerable development of the Saldjūḳ capital, which the present-day remains continue to evoke, in an original and compelling style.

The progressive establishment of the Mongol protectorate over Saldjūḳ Anatolia in the second half of the 7th/13th century was naturally prejudicial to the importance of Konya, although in a slow and partial fashion. The rivalry between the brother sultans ʿIzz al-Dīn Kayḳāʾūs and Rukn al-Dīn Ḳılıdj Arslan represented in fact the struggle between the partisans of collaboration with the Mongols, the naturally dominant force in eastern Asia Minor beyond Kayseri, and the partisans of resistance, whose headquarters was at Konya and who relied to a large extent on the Turcomans of the southern and western frontiers. The decline of central authority was accompanied by a boost to the prestige of peripheral Turcoman principalities in such a way that centres of political activity, etc. were transferred to new regions, to the detriment of Konya in particular. The episode which marked this evolution for the first time was the temporary occupation of Konya in 675-7/1277-8 by the Ḳaramānids [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARĪ] of the western Taurus, who installed there a bogus Saldjūḳ known by the name of Djimri. Their independent government survived however until 713/1313; but in that year it was definitively annexed, although the Ḳaramānids did not lose their capital, henceforward to be situated at Laranda/Ḳaramān [see LARANDA]. The cultural and religious importance of the town and the relative importance of its population ensured, however, that it retained a certain vitality, as is attested by a number of buildings and pious foundations erected by Ḳaramānid princes and dignitaries. Once occupied by Bāyezīd Yīldīrīm, the town was definitively annexed to the Ottoman state, together with the remainder of the Ḳaramānid state, in 880/1475, and Ottoman documentary archives give evidence that *waḳfs* and Saldjūḳ and Ḳaramānid institutions were in general maintained there. Naturally in this vast empire, far removed from all the important areas, Konya could no longer be more than a provincial centre. The fact that it was under its walls that the Ottoman army of Reshīd Pasha was crushed by the Egyptian army of Ibrāhīm Pasha, the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, at the end of 1832, proves that the town could still occasionally play a strategic role.

A number of travellers have visited and briefly described Konya. One of the most valuable accounts is that of Henri de Laborde, who has left us plans of the town as it was in 1828, a period in which many buildings today in ruins were still standing. The population of the town, which in the time of Cuinet (end of the 19th century), was about 50,000, passed the 100,000 mark in the middle of this century (119,841 in 1960) and has continued to increase slowly since then.

Bibliography: An exhaustive bibliography of the geographers, travellers and historians was given in 1954 by Besim Darkot in his *İA* art. s.v. The most recent works include especially those of İsmail Hakki Konyalı, *Konya tarihi*, Konya 1963, and Mehmet Önder, *Mevlana şehri Konya*, Konya 1971. See also Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968; Osman Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, 1971; S. Vryonis Jr., *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971; E. Eickhoff, *Friederich Barbarossa im Orient*, 1977; Faruk Sümer, art. ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARĪ. (CL. CAHEN)

2. Monuments.

There are some eighty monuments surviving in Konya, but many are so heavily restored that only fragments of decoration survive of the first foundation. An example is the Hoca Hasan Mescid, *ca.* 1200. Major buildings lost but recorded include the *bedesten*. The number of houses and *konaks* dating from the 18th to the 20th centuries is declining rapidly, but the private Koyunoğlu Museum survives. A study of relative documents was made by İ. H. Konyalı, *Konya tarihi*, Konya 1963, and of ceramics by M. Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*, Tübingen 1976. His datings are here accepted unless otherwise stated, while an asterisk indicates buildings dated by inscriptions.

Walls and palaces. The walls were destroyed within living memory. C. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1882, and others recorded the wealth of antique and Saldjūḳ decoration incorporated in them, especially in the vicinity of the 108 towers, including fabulous beasts, a decapitated Hercules and extensive verses, all of which were gilded. The grandeur of the city is confirmed by the ruined kiosk of Ḳılıdj Arslān II (1155-92), which was once a square chamber clad in ceramics with balconies carried on large consoles above a vaulted hall. Illustrated in F. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konya*, Berlin 1936, it is situated in the citadel area which has yet to be excavated in depth and where such remains of the *kale* as exist are attributed by Konyalı to 618/1221, although it was founded in 569/1173.

Mosques and complexes. Adjacent is the Alaeddin Cami begun by Kaykāʾūs I [*q.v.*]. The consequences of frequent repairs are as important as the damage they mask. The area immediately round the *miḥrāb* is the oldest dated by the inscription to Sulṭān Masʿūd on the outstanding *miḥrāb*, *ca.* 1155. The west half of the prayer hall was completed in 617/1220* and the east pillared hall was added in 1235 when the *miḥrāb* (its heart mutilated irreparably) in the typical Anatolia ceramic manner was added. Among inscribed names are those of Ustād Ḥādjdjī Mengubirti (reading provisional) al-Khilāṭī (on the *minbar*), Muḥammad b. Khawlān of Damascus, an overseer, and of Atabeg Ayāz, the official in charge of work 1219-20.

Contiguous with the enlarged mosque and now entered from it is the duodecagonal *türbe* named after Ḳilidj Arslān and dated 616-17/1219-219. The cenotaphs are covered in white inscriptions on deep cobalt blue grounds. Except for Kaykā'ūs I, buried at Sivas, from 1192 onwards this was the mausoleum of the dynasty.

Externally, the courtyard wall is monumental, with two marble portals in a style developed from that of 12th century Zangid Damascus. The İplikçi Cami, 1220-30, was first rebuilt in 733/1332*, but the *miḥrāb* survived. The central aisle has three domes, and the three on each side are vaulted. The mosque is now the museum. The Larende or Sahip Ata Cami, 656/1258*, has lost its second brick minaret in the Iranian or Central Asian style. The stalactite porch, incorporating detritus from Christian monuments, is 13th century workmanship at its apogee, which was increasingly heavy and flamboyant. The fine faience *miḥrāb* and semi-domed *īwān* survived rebuilding. It is united with the *khānagāh* (of the four-*īwān* type retaining some original decoration) by the family tomb in a manner suggestive of ancestor worship. This mausoleum is of the domed *īwān* type with a crypt, where the cenotaphs retain some of their faiencework. The inscription on the mosque to the master Kalūk b. ʿAbd Allāh (reading provisional) makes this his only dated building. The Sadreddin Konevi Cami, 673/1274-5*, has lost two deeply-carved shutters to the Türk ve Islâm Eserleri Museum, Istanbul.

Kayḳubād I [*q.v.*], as patron of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], created Konya's greatest spiritual memorial, which is expressed materially as the Mevlevi complex and museum, to which the mosque of Selīm II is related. The *tekke* originated in 628/1231 (Meinecke, 342; Konyalı, 630), but the earliest *īwān* which contains the cenotaph of the poet is dated 672/1273-4. Its scalloped dome was recovered in Kütahya tiles externally in 1818, 1909 and 1949 (Konyali, 654) and the wooden cenotaph, 674/1277, completely covered in inscriptions, is hidden under the gold embroidered velvet cloth donated by ʿAbd Ḥamīd II. A second dome was built over the tombs of the successors of the Mewlānā, but the complex is largely 16th century in date. Bāyazīd II restored the mausoleums and added three domed units together with a typical Ottoman minaret in 910/1504, while Selīm I installed the garden fountain, 918/1512. Süleymān I rebuilt the *masdjid* and *samāʿ-khāna*, 973/1565, and Selīm II the *ʿimāret*, now destroyed. The cells of Murād III were transformed in the 19th century. Important repairs were effected by Murād IV, 1044/1634 and 1048/1650, and by Meḥemmed IV, 1060/1650. Four typical Ottoman *türbe*s in the garden court are dated *934/1527, Khürrem Pasha; 981-2/1573-4, Sinān Pasha; 994/1585, daughters of Küčük Murād Pasha; 1006/1597, Shaykh Khalīl. The museum houses textiles and other treasures of the order which is active again. The Selimiye Cami, begun by Süleymān I and completed by Selīm II, has a seven-domed portico carried on six Byzantine limestone columns. Its plan is based on that of the Fatih mosque in Istanbul, but without a *miḥrāb* apse. Erroneously attributed to Sinān, it is typical of the stark style that preceded his appointment as *miʿmār bashî*. Beside the mosque is the library of Yūsuf Agha, 1209/1794. Pir Paşa Cami, *ca.* 926/1519, is a typical Ottoman mosque, but with a *türbe* incorporated into a corner of the portico. Şerefeddin Cami was founded 1220-30, rebuilt by the Ḳaramānoghlu Ibrāhīm II, 848/1445, and transformed in 1046/1636 into an imitation of Ḳilidj ʿAlī Pasha mosque, Tophane, Istanbul. Fragments of 13th century ceramic can be seen in the mortar, and there are patches of brickwork amid the ashlar. Heavily restored, 1299/1881, the interior painting is in the 19th century fairground manner and includes a typical folk art representation of the Süleymaniye Cami, Istanbul, over the *miḥrāb*. Kapı Cami, 1060/1650 (Konyalı, 429), owes its light, open style to the repairs in 1226/1811*. Abdülaziz Cami, *minbar* 1293/1876; also replaces an older building, and its florid École des Beaux-Arts appearance is likely to be the work of Sarkis Balyan of the 19th century dynasty of court architects.

Colleges or medreses. The Sırçalı Medrese, 640/1242-3, is a partially-ruined two-*īwān* type. The outstanding faience *miḥrāb* is set in an *īwān* which retains a quantity of its décor. The carving of the portal is also notable. Inscriptions include those to the founder Badr al-Dīn Muṣliḥ and the master Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Ṭūsī.

The Karatay Medrese, 649/1251-2*, ruined, but retaining its famous marble portal, which was an Anatolian variant of the Damascus style (see Alaeddin Cami), and also the starscape dome with an oculus over the pool of the court-hall supported by deep fan-shaped tiled pendentives. This monument now houses a collection of Saldjūḳ ceramics. Only the *īwān* remains of the Küčük Karatay Medrese nearby, 646/1248-9.

The İnce Minareli Medrese, *ca.* 663/1264-5, built by Kalūk (Kölüg) b. ʿAbd Allāh, heavily-restored, lost two-thirds of its brick minaret in 1317/1899. It was a foil to the portal's giant inscriptive bands developed out of simple established decorative forms more appropriate to wood. Overweighted decoration which masks structure was the Achilles heel of later Saldjūḳ architecture.

Masdjids. These include Beşarebey Mescid, 610/1213 (inscription disputed), and Abdülaziz Mescid, 611/1214-5, both rebuilt with fragments of original ceramics remaining, as with Şekerfurus Mescid, 617/1220*. The Taş (Stone) or Haci Ferruh Mescid, 612/1215 (Konyalı, 364), has an inscription to the master Ramaḍān and idiosyncratic carved stone porch and *miḥrāb*. The Hatuniye Mescid, 627/1229-30*, retains most of its thick Güdük Minaret, built of glazed brick. The Bulgur Tekke Mescid 1240-50, still has its plain, hexagonal dado tiles, as does the Karatay Mescid, 646/1248-9, but the Sirçalı Mescid of the same date retains its brick minaret and its renowned *miḥrāb*. The *miḥrāb* of the Beyhekim Mescid, 1270-80, is now in the Staatliche Museum (Islamische Museum, Cat. No. 81), Berlin. Both the Kararslan and the Tahir ile Zühre Mescids, *ca.* 1280, have restored *miḥrāb*s.

Of many later examples, the Kadı Mürsel Mescid, 812/1409, has lost its dependencies which once were distinctively Ḳaramanīd in style, including the *miḥrāb*.

Lesser monuments. The Hasbey Darülhuffaz, 824/1421* built by Ḳaramānoghlu Meḥmed Bey, has a traditional ceramic *miḥrāb*. The marble panels have fallen from the façade below the sixteen-ribbed dome. A rare, extant *namazgāh* is the Musalla, 948/1541.

Among several, a typical *īwān* type *türbe* is the Gömeç Hatun, 674-84/1275-85, built of brick above ashlar with an ornamental tile façade and crenellations. It has two triangular buttresses and double stairs raised over the sepulchral vault. Fakidede Türbe, 824-60/1471-56, built of stone is transitional in style.

Of the fountains, Kapu Çeşme rebuilt in Ottoman times has claim to Saldjūḳ origins. A standard Ottoman example is the Akçeşme, 936/1555*. The Balıklı Çeşme incorporates a Byzantine plaque depicting two fishes.

Monuments in the vicinity. The large, pillared mosque at Meram of Ḳaramānoghlu Meḥmed Bey, 805/1402*, stands beside the *ḥammām* of Ibrāhīm Bey, 837/1424*, which is fed by the lime springs.

Local mid-13th century caravanserais each with portal, court and hall and all partially ruined, are Kandemir (Yazıönü) Han, 603/1206*; Kızıl Ören Han, *ca.* 604/1207; Dokuzun Han, 607/1210*; Altunba (Altunapa) Han, early 13th century. The Zazadin (Sadaddin) Han, 633/1235-6*, is in better repair and noteworthy for the extensive re-use of classical material and early Christian tombstones.

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(G. Goodwin)

KOPAK [see sikka].

KÖPRÜ [see vezīr köprü].

KÖPRÜ ḤIṢĀRĪ "fortress of the bridge", a village in the Ottoman province of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*] in northwestern Anatolia, and situated on the Čürük Ṣū river near Yeñishehir. It owes its historical fame to its being the site of a Byzantine fortress taken in 688/1289 by ʿOthmān b. Ertoghrul, chief of the ʿOthmānlī group of Türkmens based on Eskishehir, after the previous capture of Biledjik and during the course of the extension of Ottoman influence within the province towards Bursa [*q.v.*]; cf. H. A. Gibbons, *The foundation of the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1916, 32-3.

Bibliography: Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 3906; Von Hammer, *Histoire*, i, 87-9; Huart, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1897, 18 (illustr. of bridge). (Cl. Huart)

KÖPRÜLÜ, a family of Ottoman viziers who rose to prominence in the latter half of the 11th/17th century and dominated Ottoman life for much of that period, bringing a halt for some time to the decline of the empire, instituting internal reforms and gaining new conquests. The name derives from the close association of the founder of the family, Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha, with the town of Köprü [*q.v.*] (then in the *sandjaḳ* of Amasya), which, in turn, was later called Vezīr-Köprü through its association with the family (and to distinguish it from the near-by Tash Köprü). That Meḥmed Pasha was born in Albania, however, is clearly shown by his *waḳfiyya*, drawn up in Edirne in Radjab 1070/March 1660, in his own lifetime, in which it is stated that his homeland was the village called Rudnik, attached to the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Arnawut Belgrade (Berat). His first visit to Köprü appears to have occurred only when he departed the palace service to go there as a *sipāhi*, but he thereafter settled there, marrying and establishing a home to which he repaired when out of office.

The leading members of the Köprülü family are the following:

I. Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha (?986-1072/?1578-1661), the Ottoman Grand Vizier who gave his name to the family. If, as his contemporary, Fındıḳlılı Meḥmed Agha asserts (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 226), he died at the age of 86, he must have been born in *ca.* 986/1578 (for other estimates of Meḥmed Pasha's age, see Defterdār Ṣarī Meḥmed Pasha, *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ al-ʿOthmāniyya*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 2382; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865, i, 6; ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1291-3/1874-6, ii, 69; Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Köprülüler*, Istanbul 1331/1914, 19; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1951, 410) in Albania (see above). Brought to Istanbul in his youth, he was taken into the palace and by 1623 was a cook in the palace kitchens. He secured the backing of Khosrew Agha [see khosrew pasha, bosniak], then in the *khāṣṣ-oda* [*q.v.*], and entered first the *büyük oda*, then the *khazīne-odasī*. His quarrelsomeness and disobedience led to the termination of his career within the palace, and he went out to the provinces as a *sipāhī*: it was thus that he first went to the town of Köprü in Anatolia where he settled and married ʿĀʾisha Khānim, the daughter of the vaivode of Köprü, Yūsuf Agha, from the Ḳayadjïḳ *čiftlik* in Havza. During Khosrew Agha's tenure as *agha* of the Janissaries, Köprülü again entered his service, and when Khosrew became Grand Vizier (1037/1628) Köprülü became his treasurer (*khazīnedār*). Following Khosrew's execution (1041/1632), Köprülü served in certain provincial posts, as vaivode or *agha*, probably in or near Köprü: according to Ḥüseyn Ḥusām al-Dīn, for example, he was *sandjaḳ begi* of Amasya for some eight months in 1044/1634-5 (*Amasya taʾrīkhi*, iv, Istanbul 1928, 61). He subsequently came again to Istanbul where he held a variety of posts such as those of Inspector of the Guilds (*Iḥtisāb aghasī*), Inspector of the Arsenal (*Ṭopkhāne nāẓīrī*), Commander of the *Sipāhī*s (of the *altī bölük*: *Sipāhīler aghasī*) and Commander of the Armourers (*Djebedji-bashī*). Taking part as *sandjāḳ begi* of Čorum in the siege of Baghdād (1048/1638), in which he was wounded, be became attached to the Grand Vizier Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha and was appointed *Ḳapïdjïlar-ketkhudāsī* and, later, *Mīr-ākhūr*. In 1053/1643-4 he held the post of *sandjaḳ-begi* of Amasya a second time, for some five months. Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha's successor, Sulṭān-zāde Meḥmed Pasha, gave Köprülü the governorship of Trabzon with two *ṭugh*s. How long he remained in that post is unknown, but he later resided for a time in Köprü and then, in 1057/1647, became *mütesellim* for the *eyālet* of Damascus when that province was given to the seventh *khāṣṣekī* as a *bashmaḳlïḳ* by Sultan Ibrāhīm (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3/1864-7, iv, 243; Silāḥdār, i, 225). While in this post, he was ordered to campaign, acting as *beglerbegi* of Ḳaramān, against the rebellious

wālī of Sivas, Warwar ʿAlī Pasha, who was advancing on Istanbul. Having fallen prisoner to ʿAlī Pasha in the battle which ensued near Čankiri, he was rescued by Ipshir Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], who had also been deputed to deal with ʿAlī Pasha (1058/1648; cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314-8/1896-1900, ii, 452). The following year Köprülü was sent against Boynu-Yaralī (Boynu-Eğri) Meḥmed Pasha, for whose execution an imperial rescript had been issued because of his oppression of the peasants. Köprülü avoided bloodshed by sending him a letter recommending that he immediately seek pardon from the Wālide Sulṭān, which advice Boynu-Yaralī Meḥmed Pasha took and thus was forgiven and spared (Naʿīmā, iv, 459-60).

During the Grand Vizierate of Gurdju Meḥmed Pasha (1061-2/1651-2), the architect Ḳāsim Agha [*q.v.*], *ketkhudā* to the Wālide Sulṭān, knowing of her dissatisfaction with the Grand Vizier, recommended Köprülü to her, but the initiative led only to Köprülü's holding the office of *ḳubbe altī* vizier for a week or so before the jealous Grand Vizier brought about his virtual banishment as *sandjaḳ begi* of Köstendil (Ḳara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Rawḍat al-abrār dhayli*, Istanbul University TY3272, fol. 63; Naʿīmā, v, 178). He was later dismissed and, according to Silāḥdār (i, 225-6), scraped a living during this period in certain minor posts, suffering imprisonment for debt. While spending some time in Köprü, he met in Kütahya (February 1655) with Ipshir Pasha, who was on his way to take up his appointment as Grand Vizier and who appointed him governor of Ṭarabulūs al-Shām. Before Köprülü could take up his post, however, Ipshir had fallen; and Köprülü, dismissed, returned to Köprü (Naʿīmā, vi, 22, 125). Although Ḳāsim Agha advised the Grand Vizier Süleymān Pasha to seek Köprülü's help (February 1656), Süleymān Pasha did not heed the recommendation (Naʿīmā, vi, 142), Köprülü met with the newly-appointed Grand Vizier Boynu-Yaralī Meḥmed Pasha in Eskishehir a few months later and came with him to Istanbul: some time afterward he was once more appointed governor of Ṭarabulūs al-Shām. But as the result of efforts made on his behalf with the Wālide Sulṭān by such as Ḳāsim Agha and the *re'is al-kuttāb* Shāmī-zāde Meḥmed Efendi, Köprülü was himself proposed for the Grand Vizierate, which post he agreed to accept on four conditions, which were such as to guarantee him absolute independence and freedom from interference. The Wālide Sulṭān accepted these conditions on oath, and the sultan appointed him the next day (26 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1066/15 September 1656).

Köprülü's appointment to the Grand Vizierate aroused great astonishment at first, since his career thus far had not been characterised by any great success (Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Ta'rīkh-i Ghilmānī*, ed. A. Refīḳ in *TOEM*, supp. [1340], 44), but before long his considerable abilities came to be widely recognised. Among his first acts was to deal with the Ḳāḍī-zādeler, who, since the time of Murād IV, had been engaging in troublesome sectarian quarrels in Istanbul and who attempted to provoke such a quarrel after Köprülü had been in office only eight days. Having tried persuasion, Köprülü caused their ringleaders to be banished to Cyprus (see Kātib Čelebi, *The balance of truth*, tr. G. L. Lewis, London 1957, 132-4; Naʿīmā, vi, 227 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 57-9). Köprülü continued his efforts to bring peace and order to Istanbul. Along with causing the executions of certain individuals, among them Ābāza Aḥmed Pasha, accused of laxity in the defence of Bozdja-ada which he had surrendered to the Venetians, and the Orthodox Patriarch Parthenius III, who was accused of seditious activities, he succeeded in quelling a rebellion of the *sipāhī* dissidents (*zorbas*) and purging their number (18 Rabīʿ I 1067/4 January 1657: for details, see *Ta'rīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 44; Naʿīmā, vi, 246 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 62 ff.).

Köprülü then set about preparations for a campaign to end the Venetian threat to the Straits and in particular to recover Bozdja-ada and Limnos. Having sent the fleet out first, under the Ḳapudan Pasha Ṭopal Meḥmed Pasha, he himself set out, as commander-in-chief, on 1 Ramaḍān 1067/13 June 1657. The Ottomans fared badly at first in the clashes at sea, but their fortunes changed when, on 19 July, a ball fired from the Anatolian shore struck the powder magazine of the flagship of the Venetian admiral Mocenigo, destroying it and throwing the Venetian fleet into confusion (*Ta'rīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 44 ff.; Naʿīmā, vi, 279 ff.; P. Rycaut, *The history of the Turkish empire from the year 1677*, London 1680, 54 [Meḥemmed IV]. Köprülü rewarded the successful gunner and others who had fought bravely but executed a number of high-ranking commanders held responsible for the earlier failures. This action disquieted even his supporters in Istanbul and led to agitation for Köprülü's removal by Ḳara Ḥasan-zāde Ḥüseyn Agha, an influential member of the Janissary corps: his efforts were in vain, however (Naʿīmā, vi, 295 ff.). The Grand Vizier meanwhile continued his efforts to take Bozdja-ada, which goal his forces achieved on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1067/31 August 1657 (for a letter sent by Köprülü to the Ḳizlar-aghasī Meḥmed Agha, see *Ta'rīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 47; for other details, see Naʿīmā, vi, 289 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 69 ff.), an event which caused great joy in Istanbul. In an imperial rescript sent to Köprülü, the sultan ordered him to remain until Limnos was taken, and Köprülü's existing forces were strengthened by timariots from Bursa and other *sandjaḳs*. Having repaired, supplied and garrisoned Bozdja-ada, Köprülü dispatched Ṭopal Meḥmed Pasha to Limnos. After a 60-day siege from both sea and land, the defenders surrendered the fortress on 8 Ṣafar 1068/15 November 1657 on condition that those in the fortress be allowed to leave with their goods.

Having countered one danger to the state by opening the Straits and recovering the two islands lost to the Venetians in his predecessor's time, Köprülü went to Edirne (25 November 1657) where he had been summoned by the sultan on account of pressing problems in Transylvania [see ERDEL]. The ambitious George Rákoczy II, prince of Transylvania since 1648, had, as a result of an agreement made with the King of Sweden in December 1656, marched against Poland with Transylvanian forces; and when he incited the *begs* of Wallachia and Moldavia to act with him, in defiance of the Ottomans, the imperial *dīwān* felt it necessary to take measures against him, deciding that a campaign should be undertaken, first by the Khān of the Crimea, and later under the command of the Grand Vizier (for details, see Szilágyi Sándor, *Erdély es as eszakkeleti hábará*, Budapest 1891, ii, 244 ff.). The *begs* of Wallachia and Moldavia were also replaced (N. Iorga, *Histoire des Romains et de la romanité orientale*, Bucharest 1940, vi, 226 f.; Naʿīmā, vi, 321 ff.). Köprülü left Edirne on 22 Ramaḍān 1068/23 June 1658 and went to Belgrade. His army was strengthened by Crimean and Cossack forces, by the provincial forces from Buda and Silistria, and

by a force of 12,000 men sent by the King of Poland. Entering Transylvania, he moved first against Yanova (Kis Jenö), a key point taken in Ḳānūnī Süleymān's time but subsequently lost, and received the surrender of the fortress on 31 August. Rákoczy, who, under Ottoman pressure, had been replaced at the end of 1657, had returned and driven out the Ottoman-backed prince and re-established himself (see Szilády Áron and Szilágyi Sándor, *Török-Magyarkori állam-okmánytár*, Pest 1870, iii, 442 ff.; Hóman Balint and Szekfü Gyula, *Magyar történet*, Budapest 1935-6, iv, 80; Decei-Gökbilgin, *İA* art. *Erdel*). After the taking of Yanova, Köprülü caused the Crimean and Cossack forces to plunder Erdel Belgrad (Fehérvár), the centre of government, in order to seize Rákoczy, but the latter was understood to have escaped to a fortress on the Austrian frontier. Köprülü's desire to pursue him was thwarted by a summons from the sultan because of a revolt in Anatolia. He therefore appointed Akos Barcsay as prince on condition that he pay *kharādj* and that he hand over the areas (*mulḥaḳāt*) of the fortresses of Sebeş and Lugoj, together with the cannon and munitions within them; and at the same time he charged the *beglerbegi* of Buda, Ken'ān Pasha, with the oversight of that area (for the appointment of Akos Barcsay, see Uzunçarşılı, *Ekoş Barçkay'ın Erdel krallığına tayini hakkında bir kac vesika*, in *Belleten*, vii [1943]; idem, *Barçsay Akoş'un Erdel kırallığına âid bazı orijinal vesikalar*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, iv [1952-3]; Na'īmā, vi, 354 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 126 ff.).

For some time a revolt of serious proportions had been building up in Anatolia. To the long-standing causes of unrest there were added the uncertainty and fear inspired in many *sipāhī*s and commanders by Köprülü's harsh behaviour. The leader of the dissidents was the *beglerbegi* of Aleppo, Ābāza Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], who realised that his past actions constituted a cause for the sort of punishment which Köprülü had meted out to the *zorba*s in the capital. With him, in Konya, gathered a number of commanders, among them the *wālī* of Damascus, the vizier Ṭayyār Pasha-zāde Aḥmed Pasha; the *beglerbegi* of Anatolia; and some fifteen other active or retired *beglerbegi*s who, fearing for their fates, sought to replace Köprülü with Ṭayyār Pasha-zāde Aḥmed Pasha. At first replying to the summonses from the capital to join the Transylvanian campaign with excuses, they subsequently openly declared their rebellion, saying that they could not join a campaign with Köprülü, who had caused the deaths of so many Janissaries and *sipāhī*s (Na'īmā, vi, 344 ff.). Ignoring an imperial command that they should either disperse to their several places or engage in the defence of Baghdād, the rebels came as far as the vicinity of Bursa. Summoned by the sultan, Köprülü arrived in Edirne on 14 Muḥarram 1069/12 October 1658 and was present at an *ayaḳ dīwānī* three days later in the sultan's presence at which the *fatwā* given by the *Shaykh al-Islām* for the punishment of Ābāza Ḥasan was read out. Though a punitive force under the *beglerbegi* of Diyār Bakr, Murtaḍā Pasha, was already in the field, it was decided that Köprülü himself should campaign; and, accompanied by the sultan, he crossed to Üsküdar on 13 November 1658. Ābāza Ḥasan, meanwhile, using the pretext of the distribution of pay to the army in Istanbul, dispatched some 5000 *sipāhī*s to Üsküdar, ostensibly to collect their pay but in fact to assassinate Köprülü. The latter, however, apprised of the plot, removed the names of 7000 *sipāhī*s from the rolls and executed about 1000 who were caught. The unrest caused in the army by this fresh show of force led him to abandon the campaign and leave the matter to Murtaḍā Pasha. Although Ābāza Ḥasan defeated the latter near Ilgin (15 Rabī' I 1069/11 December 1658), he was compelled to winter in 'Ayntāb. Murtaḍā Pasha, having received reinforcements, pressed the rebels closely from Aleppo, depriving them of provisions and other necessaries. When Ābāza Ḥasan's forces began gradually to desert to Murtaḍā Pasha, the rebel leaders went to Aleppo to submit to the government, only to be deceived and executed (23 Djumādā I 1069/16 February 1659: *Ta'rīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 54 ff.; Na'īmā, vi, 378 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 132 ff.).

Following this outcome, Köprülü busied himself with the solution of internal problems like the local *ḳul* soldiery in Damascus who had been acting disruptively for some time, whom he struck from the rolls and replaced with five *oda*s of garrison Janissaries from Istanbul; and the revolts of Čerkes Meḥmed Beg in Egypt and of Muṣṭafā Pasha, known as Kör Beg, in Antalya. Coming to Bursa with the sultan (19 July 1659), Köprülü instituted a sweeping attempt to bring order to Anatolia by summoning Ismā'īl Pasha, who had been left as *ḳā'im-maḳām* in Istanbul, and charging him with carrying out investigations (*taftīsh*) throughout Anatolia, "from Üsküdar to 'Arabistān", specifically to seize and punish any whom he found to have been involved in the Djalālī revolts [see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.], whatever their rank or station; to restore to *re'āyā* status those falsely claiming to be *'askerī*; to deprive those unable to prove their claim to be *sayyid*s of their distinctive turbans; and to seize and send to the imperial arsenal any arms or weapons found in the possession of the *re'āyā* (Na'īmā, vi, 415-6). But during these years he was also guilty of certain injustices such as bringing about the execution of the famous Deli Hüseyn Pasha [see ḤUSAYN PASHA DELI], in spite of the opposition of the *Shaykh al-Islām*, by concocting false complaints (Rabī' II 1069/December 1658); and of Seydī Aḥmed Pasha (1071/1660-1), long in state service and most recently active in the continuing struggle in Transylvania (for the defeat and death of Rákoczy in this period and for the conquest of Oradea by Köse 'Alī Pasha (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1070/August 1660), see *İA*, art. *Erdel*).

Köprülü divided the remaining months of his life between Edirne, to which he returned with the sultan in November 1659, and Istanbul. Age and illness greatly weakened him, and while journeying with Meḥemmed IV to Edirne in July 1661, Köprülü recommended, and the sultan agreed, that his son, Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha, should succeed him on his death. Aḥmed (Köprülü-zāde) was immediately brought from Damascus and made *ḳā'im-maḳām* in Istanbul. When his father's condition worsened, he was summoned to Edirne and acted as *ḳā'im-maḳām* for his father for 48 days until Köprülü's death on 7 Rabī' I 1072/31 October 1661. His body was brought to Istanbul and buried in the mausoleum near the *dār al-ḥadīth* which he had built near Čenberli Tash (Silāḥdār, i, 219 ff.).

During his five years in power, in a period when confusion reigned in all the institutions of state, Köprülü succeeded in crushing the prevailing spirit of rebellion and disorder through harsh and merciless acts. On this latter count, certain historians have characterised him as cruel and bloodthirsty (Silāḥdār, i, 226; 'Othmān-zāde Tā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271/1854, 166); but while he was not

guiltless of unjust acts, such judgements must be tempered by the recognition of the disabling turmoil which had afflicted the state since the death of Murād IV and of the great services which he performed in office (ʿAṭāʾ, ii, 69 ff.). In fact, historians like Meḥmed Khalīfe, ʿAbdī Pasha, Naʿīmā and Rāshid are united in praising Köprülü. When Köprülü came to the Grand Vizierate, he said to those around him that the state expected service, not show from him, and he remained true to this principle to the end of his life (cf. the relation of Durmush Efendi, the *kātib* of the *Dār al-saʿāde aghasi*, in Rāshid, i, 18).

Köprülü caused the straits at Čanaḳ-ḳale to be strongly fortified [see ČANAḲ-ḲALʿE BOGHAZÌ]. His benefactions, estates, and endowments are to be found in a great many places: for example, a mosque, a school and shops in Yanova; a mosque and school in Rudnik; and a mosque and a school in the town of Taraklì in the *sandjaḳ* of Bolu (see further the listing in *İA*, art. *Köprülüler* (Gökbilgin), vi, 897b). His sons-in-law, Ḳìbleli Muṣṭafā Pasha, Ḳaplan Muṣṭafā Pasha, Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha (Merzifonlu) [*q.v.*] and Siyāwush Pasha, all held high positions during his own and his son's Grand Vizierate.

II. Fāḍìl Aḥmed Pasha (Abu 'l-ʿAbbās) (1045-87/1635-76), the elder son and successor of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha, was born in Köprü in 1635. Brought to Istanbul at the age of 7 by his father, he studied under the leading learned men of the period, first under ʿOthmān Efendi, later under Ḳara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi [see ḲARA-ČELEBI-ZĀDE (4)]. Through the influence of his father he was, while only 16, appointed a *müderris*, first at *khāridj*, then at *dākhil* level. Now known as Pasha-zāde, his lessons proved popular, and in 1657 he was raised to the *Ṣaḥn-i thamān*. Shortly after, however, upset by gossip amongst the *ʿulamāʾ*, he abandoned the learned profession and took up an administrative post. In 1069/1659 he was, at the request of his father, appointed to the governorship of the *eyālet* of Erzurum with a vizierate. One year later he was transferred to Damascus. There he won great popularity by causing an imperial rescript to be issued removing two taxes, called *dashisha* and *ḳarība*, which his predecessors had levied on the people of Damascus and which had sometimes risen as high as 3-4 million *akčas*. Under orders from the central government he moved against the Durūz [*q.v.*] and defeated the Maʿnids and Shihābids, thereby securing the payment of a tribute of 500 purses and the abandonment of the brigandage in which they had been engaging for some time. He also caused to be made into a *beglerbegilik* the region where the Maʿnids and Shihābids lived together with the areas of Ṣaydā, Bayrūt and Ṣafad which till then had been governed by a vaivode (1660: for details, see *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh der aḥwāl-i Fāḍìl Aḥmed Pasha*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 2242, fol. 4; Silāḥdār, i, 214-16). Although he was later appointed *beglerbegi* of Aleppo, he was summoned to Istanbul as *ḳāʾim-maḳām* before he could take up the post and subsequently succeeded his father as Grand Vizier (see above).

Amongst the new Grand Vizier's first concerns was the continuing unsettled situation in Transylvania. Some measure of order was established there, however, without Köprülü-zāde's direct intervention, by the victory in January 1662, near Sighisoara, of the *beglerbegi* of Yanova over Rákoczy's successor, János Kemény, which ensured the control of the Ottoman-supported Mihály Apafi. Though a campaign against Venice was mooted for 1663, this was abandoned in favour of a campaign against Austria, which had constantly been attacking Ottoman frontier forts and outposts and which was seen as the more dangerous enemy. The army moved out from Edirne on 5 Ramaḍān 1073/13 April 1663. During discussions in Belgrade and Osijek with Austrian ambassadors, Köprülü-zāde demanded the destruction of a newly-built Austrian fortress (Zerinvár) facing Nagykanizsa in western Hungary; the withdrawal of Austrian troops from Transylvania; and the restoration of the annual 30,000 florin tribute which the Austrians had paid from the time of Süleymān I until 1606 (later, in Buda, modified to a demand for a single 200,000 *ghurūsh* payment like that agreed at Zsitva-Torok in 1606). The Austrians were unable to accept the last of these conditions, and Köprülü-zāde set off from Buda against the fortress of Nové Zámky (24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1073/30 July 1663; see Kātib Muṣṭafā Zuhdī, *Taʾrīkh-i Uyvar*, Istanbul University TY2488; Rāshid, i, 25 ff.; *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*), to which he laid siege on 17 August and which finally surrendered on terms on 21 Ṣafar 1074/24 September 1663 (22 September in Montecuculi, *Mémoires de Montecuculi*, Paris 1712, 332 ff.). Having deputed subordinates to take several near-by fortresses, among them Neugrad and Nitra, Köprülü-zāde returned with the army to winter quarters in Belgrade, intending to move out from there against the Austrians in the spring. The campaign by the Hungarian commander Zrínyi and General Hohenlohe in January 1664, during which Berzence, Babócsa and Pecs were occupied (*Magyar törtènet*, iv, 168), led the Grand Vizier to move toward Osijek; but on hearing that the local commanders had gained control of the situation, he returned to Belgrade (21 February 1664).

The fall of Nové Zámky, regarded as the last major block to the Turkish advance into Europe, had aroused great anxiety in Europe and led to contributions of men and money to the Habsburg cause from the Papacy, Spain, some of the German princes and even France and to the formation of a sizeable force under the command of Montecuculi. A Christian force laid siege to Nagykanizsa, in response to which Köprülü-zāde advanced on that fortress. The siege having been lefted at his advance, he took and destroyed Zerinvár (6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1074/30 June 1664), the building of which had been one of the ostensible causes of the present campaigns, and then moved northward, his forces taking Kiskomárom (14 July), Egerseg, Egervár and Kemendvár (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fols. 82 ff.) and advancing to the river Rába (Raab). Here, near the village of St. Gotthard, they came face to face with the imperial forces under Montecuculi. Though Köprülü-zāde was actively engaged in peace negotiations with the Austrian ambassador, he decided to cross the river and engage the enemy. The bridge proved inadequate, however, and only a part of the Ottoman forces got across. In the battle which ensued (8 Muḥarram 1075/1 August 1664), these at first had some success but were ultimately driven back, both sides suffering heavy losses (for details, see Montecuculi, 416; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 181 ff.; Aḥmed Mukhtār, *Sen Gotar'da ʿOthmānlì ordusu*, Istanbul 1326/1908).

This defeat, though by no means decisive, forced a more defensive policy on the Ottoman army, which had previously moved as it willed (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fols. 90 ff.). But within ten days the two sides had signed the Treaty of Vasvár (17 Muḥarram 1075/10 August 1664) which largely satisfied Ottoman

aims and, in particular, left them in possession of Nové Zámky and assured their influence in Transylvania (for a Hungarian view of the treaty, see *Magyar történet*, iv, 169; for the treaty, see Baron de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte Ottoman*, ix, Paris 1898, 50 ff.; *Ta'rīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 90 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 361; Rāshid, i, 78 ff.). After advancing to the area of Nové Zámky, which he had heard was to be besieged, Köprülü-zāde received there the confirmed copy of the peace treaty from Vienna and therefore returned to Belgrade where he wintered in order to oversee the implementation of the treaty. He returned to Edirne only in July 1665, and from there to Istanbul, inspecting the fortifications of the Dardanelles in company with the sultan on the way.

At a consultative assembly in December 1665, Köprülü-zāde proposed a major effort to take Ḳandiya [*q.v.*] in Crete, the siege of which had for years been the cause of heavy losses; and it was agreed that preparations for such a campaign should be put in hand. Departing from Edirne in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1076/May 1666, Köprülü-zāde crossed from Monemvasia, chosen as the mainland base for the campaign, to Canea in early November. The fleet was strengthened during the course of the winter and spring, and on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1077/25 May 1667 Köprülü-zāde convened an assembly of the leading commanders in which the plans for the conduct of the siege were laid (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fol. 112; Defterdār Ṣarī Meḥmed Pasha, *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 2382, fols. 4 ff.; Rāshid, i, 164 ff.). The siege was pressed vigorously, with varying fortunes, until mid-November when Köprülü-zāde, who had lived in the trenches from the beginning of the siege in order to encourage the troops, suspended operations for the winter. During this period Köprülü-zāde received Venetian commissioners and was in correspondence with both the Doge of Venice and the Venetian captain-general Morosini with regard to negotiations about the fate of the fortress (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa, 231; Rāshid, i, 185 ff.). Both sides gathered reinforcements in the spring and, with Köprülü-zāde entering the trenches once more on 12 Muḥarram 1079/22 June 1668, the issue was again hotly contested through the summer (for details, see *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*; Rāshid, i, 208 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 311 ff.). Knowing that Köprülü-zāde would accept only the surrender of Ḳandiya, the Venetians approached the sultan, then in Yeñishehir (Lárissa), in Thessaly, for more favourable terms, as a result of which Meḥemmed IV demanded to know of the Grand Vizier the situation, warning that it would be impossible to raise men and supplies were the siege to last another year. At an assembly convened by Köprülü-zāde on 8 Radjab 1079/12 December 1668, it was agreed that the fall of Ḳandiya seemed close at hand, and arrangements were made to winter in the trenches (Rāshid, i, 218 ff.). Friction amongst the Venetians and their allies led to the withdrawal of the allied fleet at the end of August 1669, which act left the Venetians little choice but to surrender. After six days of discussion, terms were agreed on 8 Rabīʿ II 1080/5 September 1669 (see Rāshid, i, 240 ff.; *Muʿāhadāt Medjmūʿasī*, ii, 141 ff.; Noradounghian, *Receuil d'actes internationaux de l'empire Ottoman*, i, Paris 1897, 132 ff.). Köprülü-zāde received the 80 keys of the evacuated city and fortress of Ḳandiya on 27 September. He remained through the winter to repair the fortress and to have a new land survey (*taḥrīr*) made in the Mediterranean islands. He also pacified the Mainotes with a letter which he sent, and he forgave their outstanding taxes (for details, see *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fols. 122 ff.; Köprülü-Mehmed Asım Bey 724, fols. 231-6; Başvekalet arşivi, tahrir defterleri; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii 498 ff.; Silāḥdārı i, 538). Returning by way of Tekirdagh, he arrived in Edirne in mid-Ṣafar 1081/early July 1670 and surrendered the sacred standard to the sultan.

(For diplomatic relations with France in the early 1670s, leading to a renewal of the capitulations on 5 June 1673 (19 Ṣafar 1084), see J. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, Paris 1811, i; A. Vandal, *L'odysée d'un ambassadeur. Les voyages du Marquis de Nointel (1670-80)*, Paris 1900; Saint-Priest (ed. Schefer), *Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie*, Paris 1877; A. Galland, *Journal d'A. Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, Paris 1881; L. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux*, Paris 1735, iv; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 341 ff. See also IMTIYĀZĀT ii. The Ottoman empire, esp. at p. 1185a).

In 1672 a campaign was undertaken against Poland on behalf of Peter Doroshenko, hetman of a group of Ukrainian Cossacks, who had accepted Ottoman suzerainty in 1669; and on 7 Ṣafar 1083/4 June 1672, Köprülü-zāde left Edirne with the army, accompanied by Meḥemmed IV, who was to take an active interest in the campaign (for correspondence between Köprülü-zāde and the King of Poland in May 1672, see Rāshid, i, 261 ff.). The principal object of the campaign, the fortress of Kamenets Podolskiy [see ḲAMĀNIČA], was taken on 3 Djumādā I 1083/27 August 1672 after a nine-day siege (Nābī Yūsuf, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳamāniča*, Istanbul University TY2418; al-Ḥādjdj (Ḥādjdjī) ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳamāniča*, Süleymaniye-Lala Ismail Efendi 308; ʿAbdī Pasha, *Waḳāʾiʿ-nāme*, Süleymaniye-Halet Efendi 615, Topkapı Sarayı-Bağdat köşkü 217). The rapid Ottoman advance in Poland, and particularly the siege of Lwow, compelled the Polish King, Michael Wiśnowiecki, to sue for peace; and terms were agreed at the recently-taken fort (*palanka*) of Buchach (18 October 1672: ʿAbdī Pasha; Rāshid, i, 284 ff.; Noradounghian, i, 52). The harsh terms of the treaty, which included the loss of Podolia and the Ukraine and the payment of tribute, made it unacceptable to the Polish Diet. Their refusal to ratify it and implement its terms led to further Ottoman campaigns in the following years, of which Köprülü-zāde, once again accompanied by Meḥemmed IV, directed those in 1673 and 1674. In the main action of the former year, Köprülü-zāde was appointed commander to save Khotin [*q.v.*] from the attack of John Sobieski, but the fortress was lost before he could arrive. The latter year saw a successful campaign into the Ukraine (Khotin having been retaken by the Khān of the Crimea) in response to Russian incursions. Köprülü-zāde, now in poor health, returned to Edirne with the sultan on 22 Shaʿbān 1085/21 November 1674 (see Rāshid, i, 317 ff.), and the campaigns of 1675 and 1676 against the Poles were left to others.

In his last years, Köprülü-zāde's illness worsened through his addiction to drink. Although he followed the sultan when the latter left Istanbul for Edirne with the army in early Shaʿbān 1087/mid-October 1676, he was too ill to get even as far as Edirne and died on the Kara Biber *čiftlik*, near Ergene köprüsü (between Čorlu and Kırkkilise), on 26 Shaʿbān 1087/3 November 1676 at the age of 41 (ʿAbdī Pasha), his death resulting from acute

dropsy brought on by drink (Silāḥdār, i, 659). His body was brought to Istanbul and buried in his father's mausoleum near Čenberli Tash.

Köprülü-zāde's tenure in the Grand Vizierate was one of the two or three longest in Ottoman history. Tall and stout, with a round face and large eyes, he is described as dignified and inspiring respect. Especially significant is the high praise accorded his virtues by Silāḥdār (i, 659) in view of that historian's harsh judgements on Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha. Köprülü-zāde saw to the completion of pious foundations begun by his father, such as a half-finished *khān* and mosque in Rumeli, and also of his foundations in Čenberli Tash in Istanbul (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fol. 14); and, as evidence of the great value which he himself placed on learning, one may cite the library which he established near his residence (formerly that of ʿĀʾisha Sulṭān, daughter of Sultan Ibrāhīm and wife of Ipshīr Pasha) in the vicinity of Aya Ṣofya (Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, 438) and which he enriched with many very valuable books acquired both while as *müderris* and in later times. The *waḳfiyya* for the library, which was drawn up two years after his death, in 1089/1678, and which makes provision for students and the teaching of certain subjects there, is now in the Köprülü library (no. 4 of the *waḳfiyya*s of the Köprülü family; M. Gökmen, *Kütüphânelerimizden notlar*, Istanbul 1952, 52; Shaykhī, *Waḳāʾiʿ al-fuḍalāʾ*, Istanbul University TY81, fol. 691). His other foundations include a mosque in Ḳandiya (for a copy of the imperial grant of the land (*mulk-nāme*) given him in Ḳandiya, dated Rabīʿ II 1081/ August-September 1670, as well as other documents demarcating boundaries, see the above collection of *waḳfiyya*s in the Köprülü library); mosques in Nové Zámky and Kamenets; and an uncompleted *khān* (later completed) in Izmir (Silāḥdār, i, 659).

Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pasha was also the patron of a number of men of learning and the arts, among them his private secretary (*mühürdār*), Ḥasan Agha, author of the *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, which is based on the documents committed to his charge (there exists in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, a Latin translation of this work, made in 1680 and entitled *Annalium gemma, authore Hasanaga* .... Cf. A. Galland, *Journal*, tr. N. S. Örik, *Hatıralar*, Ankara 1949, 197, n; Babinger, 216-17); Mazāḳī, who was with him throughout the siege of Ḳandiya; Nābī; Zuhdī, the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Uyvar*; the *reʾis al-kuttāb* Ṭālib Aḥmed Efendi; the poet Fennī; and Ḥuseyn Hezārfenn [*q.v.*] (cf. Ṣafāʾī, *Tadhkira*, Istanbul University TY3215, fols. 189 ff., 242 ff.; Shaykhī, fols. 680-786).

III. Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā Pasha (1047-1102/1637-91), Ottoman Grand Vizier, the younger brother of Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pasha. Born in Köprü in 1047/1637, he began *medrese* education together with his elder brother. Whether he received a *medrese* appointment is not known, but in 1070/1659 he is seen to have received a *zeʿāmet* and to have entered the ranks of the sultan's guards as a *müteferriḳa* (Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/2, Ankara 1954, 431). In view of the facts that he was in Crete, together with his mother, for the whole of the final siege of Ḳandiya (1667-9), that he was at Fāḍīl Aḥmed's side when the latter died and that he bore the Grand Vizier's signet ring to the sultan (for the *berāt* granting him a *zeʿāmet* at this time, see Başvekalet arşivi, Ali Emiri tasnifi, period of Meḥemmed IV, 229), one may suppose that he spent most of his time with his elder brother, on campaign. On 1 Djumādā II 1090/ 29 June 1680 he became seventh vizier at the instigation of his brother-in-law, the Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [see KARA MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, MERZIFONLU]. In November of the same year he served as guard (*muḥāfiẓ*) to the Wālide Sulṭān and the princes Süleymān and Aḥmed when they went to Edirne; and he performed the same function the following year, now as sixth vizier, when they remained in Edirne after the departure of the army for Istanbul (Rabīʿ I 1092/March 1681) following the conclusion of peace with Russia. At the time of the army's departure on the Austrian campaign of 1683 (Rabīʿ II 1094/April 1683) he remained in Edirne as guard to the Wālide Sulṭān, with the posts of fifth vizier and *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of Edirne. He was later appointed to the governorship of the *eyālet* of Silistria with the addition of Nicopolis (i.e. the Özü *muḥāfīẓlīghī*) and became commander at Babadaghī [*q.v.*]. With Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha's dismissal and execution (December 1683) following the failure of the second siege of Vienna, and on the report that John Sobieski, King of Poland, was making preparations against Kamenets and Moldavia, it was decided to replace Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā with a more experienced commander: he was summoned to the capital as *ḳubbe altī* vizier, but kept the estates (*khāṣṣ*) he then possessed (Rabīʿ II 1095/March-April 1684; Silāḥdār, ii, 127). Reaching Edirne in mid-May, Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā occupied the position of third vizier in the *dīwān*; but before long he chose retirement, no doubt grieved by the enmity of the new Grand Vizier toward the Köprülü family. One year later, as the war with the Venetians in the Morea intensified, he was appointed commander (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Chios (according to Silāḥdār, ii, 222, transferred there from the command of Boghaz [Ḥiṣārī] = Sedd al-baḥr), subsequently being transferred to the command of Boghaz Ḥiṣārī on 4 Rabīʿ II 1097/ 28 February 1686 (Silāḥdār, ii, 230).

On 30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1098/7 October 1687, shortly after a rebellious army had made his brother-in-law, Siyāwush Pasha, Grand Vizier and begun a march on the capital, Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā was summoned to Istanbul as second vizier and *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. Though Meḥemmed IV had some hope that Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā might help him save his throne, past slights by the sultan made Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā unsympathetic, and the latter was in fact closely involved in the deposition of Meḥemmed IV (2 Muḥarram 1099/8 November 1687). He soon fell out of favour with the army, the instruments of the deposition, however, through resisting their demands for donatives and attempting to establish discipline; and though his position was once saved by the new sultan, Süleymān II, he was subsequently effectively exiled by being appointed again to the command of Boghaz Ḥiṣārī (7 Rabīʿ II 1099/10 February 1688: Silāḥdār, ii, 318 ff.; *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fols. 87 ff.; Rāshid, ii, 25). He was spared a worse fate by the refusal of the *Shaykh al-Islām* to sanction his execution. A little later he was moved to the command of Canea, then to that of Ḳandiya, then, in Ṣafar 1100/December 1688, to that of Chios.

With the war against the Holy League going badly for the Ottomans in 1688-9, particularly on the Austrian front, it was agreed by the *ʿulamāʾ* to recommend to the sultan the appointment of Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā Pasha to the Grand Vizierate, and he was accordingly summoned to Edirne (11 Muḥarram 1101/ 25 October 1689). His first act was to issue a declaration (*beyān-nāme*) designed to restore morale and to encourage the willing performance of military service. He also took steps to ease the lot of the tax-paying

subjects (*re'āyā*) by removing a number of onerous extraordinary taxes such as the *resm-i khamr ve 'arak*, a recently-imposed tax on drink which had led many Christian subjects in Rumeli to make common cause with the enemy (cf. *Zubdat al-wakā'i'*, fol. 122). During the winter he was engaged in preparations for a campaign which he himself was to lead; and on 6 Shawwāl 1101/13 July 1690 he left Edirne. He succeeded in recovering Pirot (10 August), the fort (*palanka*) of Mūsā Pasha, and, after a 23-day siege, the important stronghold of Nish (9 September). Despite the lateness of the season and the opposition of his commanders, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā determined to march to Belgrade. Semendria fell after a three-day siege, on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1101/27 September 1690, and Belgrade after an eight-day siege, on 4 Muḥarram 1102/8 October 1690 (Silāḥdār, ii, 501 ff.; *Zubdat al-wakā'i'*, fols. 169, 171, 173; Rāshid, ii, 123 ff.; cf. İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1947-55, iii, 470). Detachments sent out from Belgrade succeeded in taking Boghur-delen (Šabac) and re-establishing control over the Danube at Orşova but failed to recover Osijek. Having seen to the repairing and supplying of Belgrade, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā set out for Istanbul (4 November 1690). During his return he was mindful of the *re'āyā*, sending prisoners to their homes at the treasury's expense and also restoring lands and goods and providing the means of agriculture to those who had lived between Nish and Belgrade but had been moved across the Danube by the Austrians and now wished to return. He spent the winter of 1690-1 dealing with matters such as uprisings in Egypt (by Ibn Wānī) and Cyprus (*Zubdat al-wakā'i'*, fol. 182) and instituting reforms in the Janissary Corps, the imperial stables and the imperial larder whereby expediture was cut (Silāḥdār, ii, 559-60).

Though Fāḍil Muṣṭafā proposed that he remain in Istanbul in 1691 in order to oversee all fronts during the year and that another commander be sent to Hungary, it was thought best that he lead the campaign. By the time the army was ready to move (Sha'bān 1102/May 1691), Süleymān II was near death, and a faction opposed to Fāḍil Muṣṭafā was making efforts to restore Meḥemmed IV to the throne. Having taken measures to forestall these, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā left strict instructions, on departing from Edirne (18 Ramaḍān/15 June), that, in the event of the sultan's death, his brother, Aḥmed, should be placed on the throne. When, on 25 Ramaḍān 1102/22 June 1691, Süleymān II died, Aḥmed II ascended the throne without incident and confirmed Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha in the Grand Vizierate.

Having reached Belgrade on 23 Shawwāl/20 July, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā bridged the river Sava; and when the Austrians, encamped at Varadin (Petrovaradin), advanced and then retreated, the Grand Vizier set off in pursuit, overriding the advice of his commanders that he should await the arrival of the Crimean Tatars and the provincial forces. When the Ottomans took up a position before the fort of Slankamen, the Austrian commander, his road to Varadin threatened and fearing being caught between the Ottomans and the Tatars, engaged the Ottomans in battle (24 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1102/19 August 1691). The Ottoman right wing having been broken, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā himself led the attack to restore the position; but just as this was about to be achieved, he was struck in the forehead by a bullet and killed: the confusion consequent on his death led to the defeat and withdrawal of the Ottoman forces. The battle of Slankamen thus saw not only a serious military reverse but also the death of an able Grand Vizier from whom much might have been expected. Despite a thorough search, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā's body was not found. (For details, see Silāḥdār, ii, 583 ff.; *Zubdat al-wakā'i'*, fols. 184 ff.; Rāshid, ii, 161 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 319 ff.).

Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha, though Grand Vizier for less than two years, grasped the true needs of the state and demonstrated the ability to implement necessary reforms. He appreciated the political necessity of countering European hopes of defections from amongst the Christian subjects by taking account of their interests and by making reforms in connection with the *djizya* and other obligations laid upon them [for the effects of the *djizya* reforms, however, cf. DJIZYA ii—Ottoman, especially 565b]. To ensure the independence of the Grand Vizierate, he took steps to limit the number and influence of the *ḳubbe altī* viziers. The practice of giving gifts (*'idiyya*) to the sultans at *bayrams* by state officials was ended. In every provincial city he created councils of notables (*medjlis-i a'yān*), modelled on the imperial *dīwān*, to prevent the growth of local despotisms and to check abuses by keeping an eye on the judgements and procedures of *ḳāḍīs* and *nā'ibs*. In Istanbul, however, his failure to enforce the *narkh*, or fixed prices, on the grounds that the practice was not justified in the *shar'* and that trade should rest on the consent of the two parties, resulted in an increase in profiteering in his time of office. His learning, particularly in the fields of *ḥadīth* and lexicography, his devotion to the *shar'*, his dignity and his sense of justice are widely attested. He had three sons: Nu'mān, 'Abd Allāh and Es'ad (Silāḥdār, ii, 286, 587 ff.; *Zubdat al-wakā'i'*, fols. 187 ff.; Rāshid, i, 530; ii, 115, 148 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 307; Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, 242 ff.; Shaykhī, ii, 3216 ff.; *Amasya ta'rīkhi*, iv, 212 ff.; U. Heyd (ed. Ménage), *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973, 155).

IV. 'Amdja-zāde Ḥusayn Pasha (nephew of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha)—see 'AMŪDJA-ZĀDE ḤUSAYN PASHA.

V. Nu'mān Pasha (?1081-1131/?1670-1719), Ottoman Grand Vizier, the eldest son of Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha. Born in Istanbul, he studied under Demir-Ḳapīlī Fāḍil Süleymān and Ḳayserili Ḥāfiẓ al-Sayyid Aḥmed Efendi, among others, and became *mutawallī* of the Köprülü *awḳāf* after his father's death. While Muṣṭafā II was preparing for his second campaign against the Austrians, in 1696, he decreed that Nu'mān, like the administrators of other rich foundations, should take part in the campaign, providing 150 infantry. In Muḥarram 1112/July 1700, Nu'mān Beg became sixth vizier and was betrothed to 'Ā'isha Sulṭān, a daughter of Muṣṭafā II (*Silāḥdār dhayli*). He became *beglerbegi* of Erzurum in Ramaḍān 1112/March 1701 and then, in Djumādā I 1114/October 1702, of Anatolia. His marriage to 'Ā'isha Sulṭān, set for the spring of 1703, was delayed in the confusion surrounding the uprising known as the *Edirne wak'asī* which led to the deposition of Muṣṭafā II (9 Rabī' II 1115/22 August 1703), who was replaced by Aḥmed III. Following this event, Nu'mān Pasha was appointed commander (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Eğriboz (Euboea), and by June 1704 he had become *muḥāfiẓ* of Crete, being charged with making a land survey (*taḥrīr*) of the fiefs on the island (Rāshid, iii, 137). Transferred to the command of Boghaz Ḥiṣārī on 26 Shawwāl 1117/10 February 1706, he was shortly after returned again to Crete. Though

the marriage ceremony with ʿĀʾis̲h̲a Sulṭān was celebrated in Muḥarram 1120/April 1708, it was still to be several years before the marriage was consummated.

Appointed again to Eğriboz in D̲j̲umādā II 1121/ August 1709, he was summoned to Istanbul four months later (Ramaḍān 1121/December 1709) to consummate his marriage (Rās̲h̲id, iii, 311-2; cf. *ibid.*, iii, 317-8, however, where the consummation is said to have occurred in Muḥarram 1122/March 1710). He was made *beglerbegi* of Bosnia on 8 S̲h̲awwāl 1121/11 December 1709 but was then appointed to the command of Belgrade on 3 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1121/ 4 January 1710 (Rās̲h̲id, iii, 313; cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, Ankara 1959, 291, who dates this appointment on 17 Rabīʿ I 1122/16 May 1710). On 18 Rabīʿ II 1122/16 June 1710, Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a was elevated to the Grand Vizierate in the hope that he would be more resolute against the Russians and better able to handle the problem of the suppliant Swedish king, Charles XII, than his predecessor, Čorlulu ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, had been (see ʿALĪ PAS̲H̲A ČORLULU; Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Isveç Kıralı Karl XII.'ın Türkiye'de kalışı* ..., Istanbul 1943, 227, 229); his appointment was met with general satisfaction. Despite a strong movement in the government to concentrate attention on the Black Sea and the Polish question, Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a, trying to maintain peace with Russia, contented himself with announcing simply that a large army would see the Swedish king to his own country in the spring (see Rās̲h̲id, iii, 327; Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Memālik-i ʿOt̲h̲māniyye'de Demirbas̲h̲ S̲h̲arl*, Istanbul 1332/1913-14, 30 ff.; A. N. Kurat, *op. cit.*, 232 ff.; idem, *XVIII. yüz yılbası Avrupa umumı harbinde Türkiye'nin tarafsızlığı*, in *Belleten*, vii, 1943, 268 ff.; Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, 120-1).

Disappointed in his handling of both external and internal affairs, Aḥmed III removed Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a from the Grand Vizierate on 21 D̲j̲umādā II 1122/17 August 1710; he was subsequently appointed *muḥāfiẓ* of Eğriboz (*Silāḥdār d̲h̲ayli*; Rās̲h̲id, iii, 330-1. For a relation concerning his wish to resign from the Grand Vizierate, see Behd̲j̲etī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i sülāle-i Köprülü*). In the nine years before his death he held administrative and military positions continuously in various parts of the empire. He became *muḥāfiẓ* of Canea in S̲h̲awwāl 1122/December 1710, and of Ḳandiya in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1123/December 1711, while on 19 S̲h̲awwāl 1125/8 November 1713 he was given the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Yanya (Ioánnina) as an *arpalīk* (*Silāḥdār d̲h̲ayli*). The next year he was given the *eyālet* of Bosnia together with the military command of the Ḳaradag̲h̲ [*q.v.*] area. While in this post he moved against the rebels of Ḳaradag̲h̲, who were receiving aid from the Venetians, hunted them down and drove those who escaped to take refuge with the Venetians (S̲h̲awwāl 1126/October 1714: Rās̲h̲id, iv, 22-3. For the decree sent to him about this problem, see Başvekalet arşivi, Ibnülemin, dâhiliye, 2411).

Following this success, he was moved to the command of Belgrade (January 1715: *Silāḥdār d̲h̲ayli*), where affairs were at a delicate stage; but under him, as in his predecessor's time, disorder in this frontier fortress increased, as did desertions from the local levies and the *ḳapīḳulu* soldiery. Dismissed because of this in Rabīʿ II 1127/April 1715, he was transferred to the governorship (*mutaṣarrīflīḳ*) of the *sand̲j̲aḳ*s of Ičil and Mentes̲h̲e and given the task of following the activities of the bandits who were profiting from the absence on campaign of the viziers and *beglerbegis* of Anatolia (Rās̲h̲id, iv, 237, 240 ff.). In S̲h̲awwāl 1128/September 1716 he was made *beglerbegi* and *muḥāfiẓ* of Cyprus (*Silāḥdār d̲h̲ayli*); and three months later he became commander (*serdār*) in Bosnia while retaining the governorship of Cyprus (for part of the firman of appointment, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, 294, n. 1). During the period when the Austrians gained Belgrade (Ramaḍān 1129/August 1717), Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a beat back the enemy attack on Bosnia and forced the raising of the siege of Izvornik (October 1717). He remained active in the defense of Bosnia until after the signing of the Treaty of Passarowitz (22 S̲h̲aʿbān 1130/21 July 1718) (see Rās̲h̲id, iv, 383; and for a copy of a decree sent to him in mid-Ramaḍān 1130/August 1718, see Başvekalet arşivi, Ibnülemin, dâhiliye, 2436) and was then transferred at his own request to the governorship of Crete in Ramaḍān 1130/August 1718. Falling ill as soon as he reached the island, however, he died in Ḳandiya on 16 Rabīʿ I 1131/6 February 1719 and was buried beside the mosque of Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a.

Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a was accounted an honest and pious man of whom one author remarks that he would have been better suited to the office of *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* than to that of Grand Vizier (Charles de Ferriol, *Correspondance du Marquis de Ferriol*, Antwerp 1870, 120). He is said to have taking nothing from the estates attached to the various offices he held, but rather to have met his expenses exclusively from the income of the estates which he had inherited from his father (Behd̲j̲etī).

Both his younger brothers and, of his sons, particularly Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a (d. 1183/1769) made a mark in public life, as have other descendents of the family down to the present day [see KÖPRÜLÜ MEHMED FUAD].

Bibliography: For further details and a more complete bibliography, especially of archival materials, see *İA* art. *Köprülüler*, by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, on which this article is largely based.

(M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN - R. C. REPP)

KÖPRÜLÜ, MEHMED FUAD, until 1934 KÖPRÜLÜ-ZĀDE MEḤMED FUʾĀD (1890-1966), prominent Turkish scholar and the pioneer of Turkish studies in the modern sense in Turkey. Born in Istanbul, he was the son of Ismāʿīl Fāʾiz Bey, a civil servant, a descendant of the sister of the famous Ottoman grand vizier Köprülü Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] who married Ḳībleli Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a, one-time vizier of Meḥemmed IV. His mother K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a K̲h̲ānīm was the daughter of ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Efendi, a member of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Islimye in Rumeli (Sliven in present day Bulgaria). He was educated at Ayāspas̲h̲a junior high school (*rüs̲h̲diyye*) and at Merd̲j̲ān high school (*iʿdādī*) in Istanbul. Later, for two years he attended the School of Law (*Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ*), which he left in 1909, but he was mainly self-taught. After teaching in various schools, he was appointed in 1913, with Ḍiyāʾ (Ziya) Gökalp's support, to the chair of Turkish literature in the University of Istanbul, vacant upon the resignation of K̲h̲ālid Ḍiyāʾ [*q.v.*], a position which he kept until 1939. He also taught at the School (later Faculty) of Political Science (*Siyasal Bilgiler*) and in the Ankara Faculty of Arts (*Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi*) (where he covered Ottoman history and institutions). He served for eight months as under-secretary at the Ministry of Education in 1924 and was elected deputy from Kars in 1936. After 1939 he settled in Ankara and joined political life. In January 1946 he became one of the four

founders of the Democratic Party [see DEMOKRAT PARTİ]. Following the 1950 elections he became Foreign Minister (1950-5) and Minister of State in 1956, but resigned from the party on account of a rift with the other leaders. Following the revolution of 27 May 1960, he was arrested and briefly detained on Yassıada (in the Sea of Marmara) where all Democratic Party leaders were being tried, but he was acquitted on all charges. In 1961 he founded the short-lived Yeni Demokrat Parti ("The New Democratic Party") and soon afterwards retired from political life. He died in Istanbul on 28 June 1966 as a consequence of an earlier traffic accident in Ankara.

Fu'ād Köprülü started his career as a poet and literary critic. His name began to appear towards the end of 1908 in various papers and periodicals particularly in the *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*]. As a poet he belonged to the *Fedjr-i Ātī* group [*q.v.*], an extension of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* school. In 1912 he mainly contributed to the daily *Ḥakk* and its literary supplement. He gradually switched to research and in 1913 he published in *Bilgi Medjmū'asi* (i, 3-52) his "Method in the history of Turkish literature" (*Türk edebiyyātī ta'rīkhinde uṣūl*). Like many young talents of his generation he came under the impact of Ḍiyā' (Ziya) Gökalp [*q.v.*] and of the Turkist movement which he led [see TÜRKČÜLÜK], and contributed many articles to *Türk yurdu* (1913), the organ of the movement and to the daily *Iḳdām* where he serialised a study on folk poetry (February-June 1914). In 1915 he founded the journal *Millī tetebbü'ler medjmū'asī* ("Journal of National Research"), where he published some of his early important study on *'āshiḳ* poetry (i, 5-46). In July 1917 Ḍiyā' Gökalp founded the famous *Yeñi Medjmū'a* ("the New Review") which gathered together all the leading young writers of the period and where Fu'ād Köprülü published his new-style poems (in spoken Turkish, syllabic metre and on "national" topics as required by the new *Millī edebiyyāt* trend) and his articles of literary criticism and research. After the publication in 1918 of his epoch-making monograph on "Early mystics in Turkish literature" i.e. Aḥmed Yesewī and Yūnus Emre (*Türk edebiyyātında ilk mütesawwiflar*) and of the first two parts of his history of Turkish literature (*Türk edebiyyātī ta'rīkhi*, i, 1920 and ii, 1921), Köprülü concentrated his research on the origins and development of classical Turkish literature and culture in Anatolia; the evolution of Turkish Islam and Ottoman institutions; the Turkish legal system; and the development of Turkish literature in other literary dialects e.g. Azerī and Chaghatay. His work shed new light on the formative period of Turkish literature in Anatolia; very little research had been carried out in this field before him. But his greatest contribution is to have treated the evolution of the many branches of Turkish literature and culture as one unit and to have studied its development as a whole. In 1924 he founded in Istanbul University the Institute of Turcology (*Türkiyyāt Enstitüsü*) and its organ the *Türkiyyāt Medjmū'asī*. Apart from his many articles (some of which are independent monographs) published in various scholarly journals, particularly *Ḥayāt*, *Türkiyyat Medjmū'asī*, *Edebiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmū'asī*, *Belleten*, *Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecmuası*, and the Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* (*İslâm Ansiklopedisi*), Köprülü is the author of the following major works: *Türkiyye Ta'rīkhi*, i ("History of Turkey"), Istanbul 1923 (covers the period up to the settlement of the Turks in Anatolia); *Bugünkü edebiyyāt* ("Literature of today"), Istanbul 1924 (collection of early articles on literary criticism and book reviews); *Türk edebiyyātī ta'rīkhi*, i, Istanbul 1926 (revised and enlarged edition of the two parts published in 1920-1); *Millī edebiyyāt djereyānīnīñ ilk mübeshshirleri* ... ("Forerunners of the national literature movement"), Istanbul 1928 (contains selections from the 10th/16th century poet Edirneli Naẓmī who experimented with "pure Turkish"); *Türk dili ve edebiyati üzerinde araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1934 (a collection of research articles and book reviews); *Les origines de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1935; and *Türk saz şairleri*[2], in 3 volumes, the first of which is published for the first time (Istanbul 1962).

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ḲOPUZ [see 'ŪD]

KÖŔĀ or **KÖŔĀ DJAHĀNĀBĀD**, an ancient town of northern India in the Khadjuhā *taḥṣīl* of Fatḥpūr District in the former British United Provinces, now Uttar Pradesh. It lies in lat. 26° 7′ N. and long. 80° 22′ E. on the Rind River some 12 miles/20 km. from the Djamnā (Jumna) River between Kānpūr (Cawnpore) and Fatḥpūr.

In early times it was apparently held by the Rādjput line of the Rādjās of Argal, and the fortress there may have been their ancestral centre. Under the Mughals, Köŕā (sometimes spelt in Marāṭhi and Persian sources as Kurrah, and to be distinguished from Kārā Mānikpūr, an adjacent but separate *sarkār*) formed a *sarkār* or district of Allāhābād *ṣūba* or province, with a revenue of 17,400,000 *dams* (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. Jarrett and Sarkar, Calcutta 1949, 178). The great Mughal highway connecting Allāhābād with Āgra ran through Köŕā, and a bridge was built in *ca.* 1770 to carry the road over the Rind. During the fighting of the middle decades of the 18th century between the Marāṭhā invaders and the troops of the titular Mughal emperors and the Nawwāb-Wazīrs of Awadh or Oudh, Köŕā played a considerable rôle. A copper coin of Akbar's is known from the Köŕā mint, and it was a mint town of the later Mughals from Shams al-Dīn Rafī' al-Daradjāt (1131/1719) onwards.

During the 19th century, the population of both Köŕā proper and of Djahānābād, the township adjoining it to the north-west declined (populations of 2,806 and 4,379 respectively on 1901, the proportion of Muslim to Hindus being then 44% and 27%.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazeteer of India*[2], xv, 598; *District gazeteer of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, xx. Fatehpur*, Allahabad 1906, 105, 152, 154, 157-8, 251-8. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KORČA, modern Turkish Korçe, Greek Korytsa, Ottoman Görridje, all from the Slavic toponym "Gorica."), the only urban centre of importance in southeastern Albania, situated at the edge of the homonymous plain at the foot of the Moravë Mountains, which constitute the natural barrier

between the Korča plain and Macedonia. Korča was one of the most important towns founded by the Ottomans in Albania. Throughout the Ottoman period (late 14th century till 1912), Korča was a local administrative centre (*nāḥiye*, *ḳāḍilïḳ*), and latterly the capital of a *sandjaḳ* in the *vilāyet* of Manastir (Bitola) and a small Islamic centre.

The Ottomans annexed the eastern part of the present-day Albania in the last decade of the 8th/14th century and established their regular administration there, with the castles of "Göridje" and Premedi (Përmet) as bases. A *terminus ad quem* for the conquest, not recorded it seems by the Ottoman chroniclers (ʿĀshïkpashazāde, Orūč, Anonymus-Giese, Neshrī, Saʿd al-Dīn), is the church of the village of Mborje 3 km. east of Korča on the first spur of the Moravë, which church was, according to its well-preserved inscription, built by Bishop Niphon in the year 1390. Throughout the entire 15th century the name "Göridje" seems to have been used for a castle on the spur or the Moravç between the village of Mborje and the place where the town of Korča lies today. The Ottoman documents from the early period use "Enborye" (from Emporion) and "Göridje" indiscriminately. A fragment of a *tīmār* register from Ṣafar 886/April 1481 mentions a *tīmār* of an "Isḥāḳ the Albanian" situated in the "*nāḥiye* of Göridje". This *tīmār* included eight small villages (mostly with Slavic names), of which one numbered six Muslim households and two households of Christians. (Sofia, National Library, Orient. Dep., No D 649, p. 26). The document is an indication for the early start of the Islamisation of the district of Korča, an Islamisation which was not solely restricted to members of the old native nobility. The castle of Göridje was maintained throughout the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. When it disappeared is apparently not recorded. A *tapu defter* (Başbakanlık arşivi [= BBA] T. D 70, p. 257) from 925/1519 (mentions a *djemāʿat* of Christian *müsellems* of the castle. The village of "Enborye, dependent on Göridje" numbered, according to the same document, 18 households of Muslims, 7 Muslim bachelors, and 88 households of Christians as well as 10 Christian bachelors and 11 widows. According to a *tapu defter* of 936/1529-30, the same village numbered 15 Muslim households, 4 Muslim bachelors, 4 people with a *berāt*, 1 *sipāhī-zāde*, and 101 Christian households and 25 Christian bachelors (BBA. T. D. 167, p. 172). The same document states that there was a *djemāʿat* of Christian *müsellems* in the castle of Göridje consisting of 22 households and 9 bachelors. These *müsellems* were freed from *ispenče*, *ʿawāriḍ* and *teḳālīfat* in exchange for the fulfilment of the duties of repair and maintenance of the castle. Besides these privileged Christians, there was a *djemāʿat* of 5 Christian families in the castle who had to deliver yearly 1,500 arrows, for which service the state freed them from paying the *ʿawāriḍ* and the various *tekālīfat*s, but they had to pay *ʿöshr*, *djizye* and *ispenče*. The *dhimmī* Aydïn, son of Dimitri, thus a recent convert, was freed from *kharādj*, *ispenče*, *ʿawāriḍ* and *tekālīfat-ï ʿörfiyye* for the service of keeping the water supply of the castle in good order.

The actual town of Korča is an Ottoman foundation, intentionally founded in order to form a Muslim urban centre in the district. The history of the foundation of Korča can be reconstructed with help of some Ottoman documents. In 891/1486 the Master of the Imperial Stables (*Mīrākhor*), Ilyās Beg, received from Bāyezīd II the village of Bosotinče (Boboštice, 7 km. south of Korča), dependent on Göriče, as full possession (Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, 426). In 901/1495-6 the same person constructed a mosque and some other buildings in the village of Pisḳopiye near Göridje. In 910/1504-5 Ilyās Beg drew up the *waḳıf-nāme* for his mosque in Istanbul, (the former Studion Basilica near Yedi Kule) and for his foundations in Piskopiye: a mosque, an *ʿimāret* (in the sense of a building for the distribution of food to the poor), and a *muʿallimkhāne*. For the upkeep of these foundations, he allotted the tax revenue of four villages in the district of Korča (including Bosotinče and Pisḳopiye), the revenue of a village near Premedi, a *ḥammām* and seven shops in Istanbul, and another *ḥammām* and a mill in Jannina (Yanya) in Epirus (extract of the *waḳfiyye* by Gökbilgin, *Paşa livâsı*, 427-8). The full extent of the foundations of Ilyās are not known, with certainty. According to a late 18th-century source, the *Ḥadīḳat al-djewāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, i, 196, Ilyās Beg founded "benevolent works like an *ʿimāret*, a mosque, a *medrese*, and a *mekteb*" in Korča. The *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, (v, 3919) mentions: "a blessed mosque, a *medrese*, an *ʿimāret* and a *tekke*." Local tradition also attributes a *ḥammām* to Ilyās Beg. The *Ḳāmūs* states explicitly that the Beg "laid the foundations of the town" by building the above-mentioned objects. It is possible that Ilyās Beg, or his sons, added to the foundations of 910/1504-5 at a later date.

The *Ḳāmūs* further states that Ilyās was one of the dignitaries of the time of Meḥemmed Fātiḥ and tutor and *mīrākhor* of Bāyezīd II. The *Ḥadīḳat* noted that he was an Albanian by birth and that he was buried in Göridje. In a *waḳfiyye* of 915/1509-10 (see Gökbilgin, *Paşa livâsı*, ii, 212), he styles himself "Ilyās Beg b. ʿAbd Allāh". He was thus of local Christian origin. Ilyās Beg was married to the Ottoman princess Ḥundī Khātūn, daughter of Murād II and Umm Kulthūm Khātūn. The place where he erected his buildings, Piskopiye, explicitly styled a "village" in the 910 *waḳfiyye*, must have been the seat of a local bishopric in pre-Ottoman times. The *Ḳāmūs* states that Ilyās Beg constructed his buildings on the site of a destroyed old monastery. The name "Göridje", sc. Korča, came to be used for the new urban settlement which developed around the nucleus formed by Ilyās's buildings. In the Istanbul *Taḥrīr* of 953/1546, edited by Barkan and Ayverdi (Istanbul 1970, 375), the buildings of Ilyās are situated in the "*ḳaṣaba* of Göridje." The new settlement thus supplanted the old one and probably absorbed its population, as it did with that of Mborje or Enborye 3 km. away from the new centre. The latter sank down to a hamlet of a few houses around the preserved Byzantine church of 1390.

The development of Korča in the 16th and 17th centuries cannot have been a spectacular one. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (tr. Von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, 141) mentions it in the first half of the 17th century as an administrative subdivision of the *sandjaḳ* of Ohrid. Ottoman lists of the *ḳāḍilïḳ*s of Rumeli from 1078/1667-8 and 1203/1788 mention Göridje as the seat of a *ḳāḍilïḳ* of one of the lowest orders (Özergin in *Uzunçarşılı armağan*, Ankara 1976, 265, 300). Neither Muḥammed-i ʿĀshïḳ nor Ewliyā Čelebi describes Korča, nor does Mario Bizzi or other travellers, without doubt because it lies almost 60 km. off the Via Egnatia, the main road through the country.

In the second half of the 18th century, the development of the town received a strong impetus from the immigration of inhabitants of the Walachian trade metropolis of Voskopoje (Moschopolis), 20 km. due west in the mountains. Between 1768 and 1779 this

large urban settlement fell prey to the disorder which at that time reigned supreme. The French consul of Thessaloniki, Félix Beaujour, and the British traveller Colonel Leake, both writing in the first decade of the 19th century, describe Korča as a place with 450 houses and a population of 3,000 souls. After that time the development of the town increased in speed. J. G. von Hahn (*Albanische Studien*, Jena 1854, 55) spoke of "dem rasch aufblühenden Gjortscha." Other sources mention 10,000 inhabitants in 1859. In the eighties of the last century, Sāmī Bey describes the town in his *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām* as a place with 18,000 inhabitants, 757 shops, 23 *khāns*, two mosques, one *medrese*, one *tekke*, one *ʿimāret*, two *ḥammāms*, a clock tower and four churches. At the end of the century the town was burnt down in a general conflagration. It was rebuilt under Aḥmed Eyyūb Pasha according to a new and modern plan with wide and straight streets which crossed at a right angle, a plan which still characterises the place. Between 1887 and 1902 Korča possessed a special Albanian school, the very first school where lessons were given in the Albanian language. As such, the place played a role of first importance in the development of Albanian nationalism.

From the sixties of the 19th century, Korča was the capital of a sizeable *sandjaḳ* which comprised much of south-eastern Albania and a part of present day Greek Macedonia. Around 1900, Heinrich Gelzer numbered 2,027 houses in Korča, of which 1,420 were inhabited by Albanian Orthodox Christians, 102 by Vlachs and 505 by Muslim Albanians (*Vom Heiligen Berge und aus Makedonien*, Leipzig 1904, 200). Other sources also mention population two-thirds Christian and one-third Muslim. During the upheavals of the Balkan Wars (1912-13), the town suffered particularly from the struggle between pro-Greek Albanian-speaking Christians and Albanian nationalists, both Muslim and Orthodox. During the French occupation, in 1916, a short lived "Republic of Korča" was proclaimed. After the First World War, Korča remained within the frontiers of the new Albanian state. According to a French census of 1916 it numbered 22-23,000 inhabitants, of whom 17,779 were Orthodox and 5,464 were Muslim, all Albanian-speaking (Justin Godart, *L'Albanie en 1921*, Paris 1922, 94). The total number in the district of Korča was 39,533 Muslims and 17,671 others. At present, the number of inhabitants of the town has passed the 50,000 mark.

Korča is the native town of the "Ottoman Montesquieu", Koči Beg [*q.v.*]. His family lies buried in the yard of the Mīrākhor Mosque. The famous man himself rests, according to Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir's *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, in the graveyard along the Manastir Road, but according to Babinger (*Geschichtschreiber*, 185), in the yard of the Korča mosque itself. The family of the famous viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] also came from Korča.

Korča is today a modern industrial centre, manufacturing textiles. The mosque of Mīrākhor Ilyās Beg remains standing and is, together with the *türbe* of the Beg, an officially-recognised Monument of Culture. It lost its tall minaret during the fury of the Albanian Cultural Revolution of the spring of 1967. The mosque is one of the best examples of early classical Ottoman architecture in the country, a building which contributed considerably to the formation of Islamic architectural forms in Albania in the succeeding centuries.

Bibliography: Given in the text, but see also A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 71. (The *Tapu defters*, preserved in Istanbul and Sofia, have not yet been published).

(M. Kiel)

KORDOFĀN (Kurdufān) a region of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan lying west of the White Nile roughly between lats. 16° and 10° N. and longs. 32° and 27° E.; it is now divided into two provinces, Northern and Southern Kordofān, with a population of 3,103,000 (1973 census). The name, often pronounced locally and earlier written as Kordofāl, is said to come from a small hill some ten miles south-east of al-Ubayyiḍ (lat. 13° 11′ N., long. 30° 14′ E.); before the present century the name referred to the central settled area rather than to the whole region.

1. Geography and ethnology

A vast (about 147,000 square miles) open plain, forming a segment of Africa's Sudanic Belt, Kordofān may be divided into a number of ecological zones; the semi-desert in the north, a central *ḳoz* (stabilised sand dune) zone and the Nuba Mountains of the south-east. The mean annual rainfall ranges from less than 100 mm. in the far north to between 6 to 800 mm. in the south; the human ecology reflects this transition from camel and sheep nomadism in the northern zone which itself merges into the Bayūḍa Desert, to mixed hoe agriculture and pastoralism in the central zone and cattle nomadism in the south. Only in the Khayrān depression north of Bāra is irrigated agriculture practised.

The ethnography of Kordofān is complex, being historically the result of an Arab or Arabised component immigrating and intermingling with a discrete indigenous population; Arab nomads and semi-nomads, predominantly Kabābīsh, Dār Ḥāmid, Ḥamar and Bidayriyya live in the north and centre, while in the south the cattle nomads (*Baḳḳāra*), Misīriyya, Ḥumr and Hawazma, form but a part of the "Baḳḳāra belt" that stretches west to Lake Chad and east across the White Nile. The towns, established in the 18th century mainly by Djaʿaliyyūn and Danāḳla immigrants from the Nile Valley, are found in the central zone, al-Ubayyiḍ, Bāra, Umm Ruwāba and al-Rahad, an area of rain-fed agriculture which produces Kordofān's main export, gum arabic from the *hashab* tree (*Acacia senegal*). The Nuba Mountains are inhabited by a medley of ethnic groups, whose generic name, Nuba, conceals a linguistic and ethnic diversity which defies generalisations; at least thirty languages belonging to several different language groups are spoken. In the 20th century, partly because of colonial policies, the Nuba have increasingly moved their settlements down from the mountains onto the plains below.

2. History

Neither the name nor any certain information about the region appear in the mediaeval Arabic geographical literature; nor can anything very certain be said of the early peopling of Kordofān or of the course or chronology of the Arab immigration. A letter from the ruler of Bornū dated 794/1391 to Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ of Egypt may imply the penetration of Djudhām and other Arab nomads through Kordofān and beyond to the Lake Chad region (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿsha*, viii, 116-18; Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, 163), but of the two possible directions from which the original Arab nuclei of the modern Baḳḳāra tribes might have come, North Africa seems more likely than the Nile. The Baḳḳāra tribes in their present formation probably do not go

back beyond the 17th century. Oral traditions remember the existence of an Arab nomad confederation, the Fazāra, in Northern Kordofān in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries; recent research has discovered references to Egyptian merchants trading with merchants from *barr al-sūdān fazāra ca.* 1530. The Kābābīsh of Kordofān and the Zayyādiyya of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] appear to have emerged out of the débris of this confederation. In sum, it would appear that the earliest Arab penetration cannot be dated much before the 8th/14th century, probably following the collapse of the Christian Nubian kingdoms of the Nile Valley.

Fundj, Musabbaʿāt and Fūr rule. Following the emergence of the Islamised Fundj [*q.v.*] sultanate of Sinnār at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Kordofān experienced a secondary wave of Arabisation and Islamisation through commercial and political influences from the Nile Valley and the missionary activities of itinerant *faḳīhs*. The spread of Islam among the indigenous inhabitants is illustrated by the emergence of Taḳalī, a small Islamised kingdom, whose foundation at least as a Muslim state is traditionally ascribed to Muḥammad al-Djaʿalī, a *faḳīh* who came from the north in about 936/1530. Occasional glimpses of this spread of Islam may be found in the biographical dictionary of Wad Ḍayf Allāh; in the early 11th/17th century Tādj al-Dīn al-Bahārī from Baghdād visited Taḳalī. Later in the century the *faḳīh* Ibn al-Kaddāl visited Kordofān; he taught a local *faḳīh*, Djawdat Allāh, whose son Mukhtār was killed by Djanḳal (see below) (Muḥammad al-Nūr b. Ḍayf Allāh, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, Khartoum 1971, 127-9, 87-8, 130, 345-6).

In historic times Kordofān became a "buffer territory, now the prey of its eastern, now of its western neighbours" (MacMichael, *Kordofán*, 5), that is, between Sinnār and the rising Dār Fūr sultanate (established *ca.* 1650). Bādī II of Sinnār (1054-92/1644-5 to 1681) invaded and subdued Taḳalī, and Sinnār and occasionally recruited Nūba as mercenaries. Thereafter Sinnār exercised an informal hegemony over central and eastern Kordofān through their protégés, the Ghudiyyāt, living to the south of al-Ubayyiḍ, some of whose chiefs appear in Fundj documents with the title *shaykh Kurḍufān*.

Sinnār's overlordship was disputed in the late 17th and 18th centuries by three generations of Musabbaʿāt (sing. Musabbaʿāwī) chiefs, who attempted to carve out a kingdom for themselves in Kordofān. By origin from Dār Fūr, Djanḳal, ʿĪsāwī and Hāshim, grandfather, father and son, attempted to play off Sinnār and Dār Fūr against each other.

Although the Musabbaʿāt succeeded in ousting the Fundj, in about 1200/1785-6 Hāshim's activities provoked an invasion by Sultan Muḥammad Tayrāb (*ca.* 1166-1200/1752-3 to 1785-6) from Dār Fūr. Thereafter, despite Hāshim's attempts at resistance, Kordofān was ruled by Dār Fūr. Among Dār Fūr's governors (*maḳdūm* pl. *maḳādīm*) in Kordofān, Muḥammad Kurra and Musallim al-Tardjāwī encouraged trade in gum, ostrich feathers and slaves, granted land to *faḳīhs* and others around al-Ubayyiḍ and Bārā, and curbed the nomads.

Turco-Egyptian rule 1821-85. In 1821, as part of a wider invasion of the Northern Sudan, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], *wālī* of Egypt, sent an expedition of 3 to 4,000 troops and an artillery battery under his son-in-law, the *daftardār* Muḥammad Bey Khusraw, to conquer Dār Fūr and Kordofān (al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, iv, 318). After successfully crossing the desert, the *daftardār*'s army destroyed the Dār Fūr garrison and killed the *maḳdūm* Musallim at Bārā on 20 August 1821; Khusraw was prevented from invading Dār Fūr by a fierce revolt along the Nile. Al-Ubayyiḍ continued as the capital of what was now a province of the Turco-Egyptian Sudan, although the actual administrative arrangements fluctuated greatly (the governors are listed in R. L. Hill, *Rulers of Sudan, 1820-1885*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxii/1 [1951], 85-95).

Muḥammad ʿAlī had conquered the Northern Sudan to obtain slaves and gold; Kordofān yielded both, some alluvial gold from Djabal Shaybūn in the Nuba Mountains and slaves from those owned within Kordofān or captured by Baḳḳāra raids upon the Nūba and other southern peoples. As in other parts of the Sudan, the authorities themselves organised slave raids to the south; Rustum Bey (governor 1828-33) on one raid in 1830 seized 1,400 captives. Despite prospecting by W. P. E. S. Rüppell, J. von Russegger and others, the hopes of substantial gold deposits proved largely chimerical. For most of the Turco-Egyptian period neither the Baḳḳāra nor the Nūba were ever brought under an effective administration; Djabal Taḳalī put up a particularly prolonged resistance.

The Mahdiyya 1885-98. Kordofān was the scene of the first and final acts of the Mahdiyya [see KHALĪFA. iv. In the Sudanese Mahdiyya]. Although its history belongs to the wider history of the Mahdist Sudan, events in Kordofān contributed decisively to the success of the Mahdist Revolution. Thus, among the Djaʿaliyyūn settled in the province, a bitter conflict had developed between two factions led by Ilyās Pasha Umm Birayr and Aḥmad Bey Dafaʿ Allāh al-ʿAwaḍī. The former was appointed Governor of Kordofān by C. G. Gordon, but was dismissed following a revolt by the Ghudiyyāt instigated by his rivals. It was with Ilyās and others, embittered with the Turco-Egyptian régime, that Muḥammad Aḥmad, the future Mahdī, made contact on a visit to al-Ubayyiḍ, probably in 1879.

Following his manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) on 29 June 1881 and initial successes against the Turco-Egyptian authorities, the Mahdī, following prophetic precedent, made his withdrawal (*hidjra*) into Kordofān to Djabal Ḳadīr in the Nuba Mountains. It was in Kordofān that the Mahdī found the support and won the victories that firmly established his rule; on 19 January 1883 al-Ubayyiḍ finally capitulated and the destruction of the Hicks Pasha relief expedition at Shaykān, south of al-Ubayyiḍ, on 5 November 1883 gave the Mahdī complete control over Kordofān. In the context of these victories, Gordon's proposal that the Mahdī be made "Sultan of Kordofān" was derisory.

During the Mahdist period, Kordofān was basically administered from al-Ubayyiḍ by a deputy-governor (*wakīl*), but for most of the period was combined with Dār Fūr to form one great province of the West (*ʿimālat al-gharb*) under ʿUthmān Ādam (1888-91) and Maḥmūd Aḥmad (1891-96). Not everyone in Kordofān accepted the Mahdiyya; the Kabābīsh under their Shaykh, Ṣāliḥ Faḍl Allāh Sālim, who was in touch with the Anglo-Egyptian authorities, resisted until he was killed in May 1887. A revolt of a different nature was the mutiny of the *djihādiyya*, slave troops armed with rifles, at al-Ubayyiḍ in 1885; they marched off to the Nuba Mountains killing the provincial governor, Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, when he attempted to stop them.

In late 1896, under the threat of the Anglo-Egyp-

tian advance, the *Khalifa* ʿAbdallāhi ordered Maḥmūd Aḥmad to march east with the bulk of the forces of Kordofān and Dār Fūr. After the defeat at Karrarī (Omdurman) on 2 September 1898, the *Khalifa* withdrew into eastern Kordofān to Shirkayla; he was hunted down and killed at Umm Dībaykarāt, near Kostī, on 24 November 1899.

Condominium rule 1898-1956 and independence. At the outset of Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule in the Sudan, Kordofān was in a state of chaos; bands of Mahdist supporters roamed unchecked and the tribal order had largely disintegrated both as a result of the deliberate policy of the *Khalifa* and through the loss of herds and slaves. Order was gradually imposed by punitive patrols, the Nūba under their *makks* (chiefs) and *kudjūrs* (ritual experts) forming particularly strong pockets of resistance until the 1920s. By 1911 the railway joined al-Ubayyiḍ to Khartoum and the gum trade was revived.

In the 1920s direct military administration gave way to "Indirect rule", and local administration came to be largely committed to the tribal chiefs. Tribes like the Kabābīsh under a strong leader, Sir ʿAlī al-Tūm Faḍl Allāh Sālim (1874-1938), prospered; others, such as the Ḥamar, were re-assembled from the fragments left by the Mahdiyya. Al-Ubayyiḍ grew rapidly as the centre for the gum trade.

Since independence (1 January 1956) Kordofān has been one of the most prosperous and peaceful regions of the Sudan, although the rapid encroachment of the desert has become a major threat. Provincial and local government reorgans:ation in the early 1970s has largely transferred power from the tribal leadership to the administrators and locally-elected committees of the Sudanese Socialist Union.

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(R. S. O'Fahey)

ḲORDOS, the Ottoman Turkish name of the ancient Greek city of Corinth in the Morea [*q.v.*]. It has a naturally fortified citadel (Ἀκροκόρινθος) overlooking a fertile plain (whose main product is currants) and dominating the isthmus between continental Greece and the Moreot peninsula as well as the two adjacent ports on either side. Corinth remained under Byzantine rule up to 1210, when it was conquered by the Crusaders; it passed to the Florentine family of the Acciaiuoli (1358), to the Greek despot of the Morea (1395), to the Hospitallers of Rhodes (1400) and again to the Greeks (1404). The region of Corinth was attacked by the Turks of Aydīn in 1327, and in 1361 it is reported to have been deserted owing to Turkish raids. The city was attacked by the Ottomans under Ewrenos in 1395 and conquered after a siege by Meḥemmed II in 1458. In 1488-9 Corinth had a Christian population of approximately 18,000; after *ca.* 1400 the existence of Albanian settlements was signalled for the region. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, it formed a *sandjaḳ* of the *eyālet* of the Morea (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 185). In 1614 it was temporarily conquered by the Hospitallers of Rhodes; in 1682 it passed to the Venetians and again to the Ottomans in 1715. Finally, in 1822 (the second year of the Greek War of Independence) it was taken by the Greeks.

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KÖRFÜZ, KÖRFÜS (the first spelling in e.g. Pīrī Reʾīs and Rāshid, the second in Pečewī), the Turkish name for the island of Corfu off the coast of Epirus. Pīrī Reʾīs gives a full account of the island, together with a map, in his *Baḥriyye* (ed. Kahle, Berlin and Leipzig 1926-7, i, 113-16, No. 54). The Ottomans never succeeded in dislodging from Corfu the Venetians, who controlled it from the opening of the 15th century until 1797, but there were two major Turkish attempts to occupy the island.

The first took place in Rabīʿ I 944/August 1537 in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. The fleet assembled in spring of that year at Awlonya under the great corsair captain Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa and Luṭfī Pasha, then third vizier [*q.vv.*], with the sultan in charge of the land forces. The town of Corfu was besieged for 43 days, but with the approach of winter, the Turks withdrew, the sultan returning to

Edirne whilst the fleet attacked and plundered Cephalonia (see Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, i, 194-200; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, tr. J. Mitchell, *History of the maritime wars of the Turks*, London 1831, 55-8, drawing on the *Ghazawāt-nāma* of Sayyid Murād, see Bibl. to KHAYR AL-DĪN PASHA, BARBAROSSA). The second and last attempt took place in 1128/1716 under Aḥmed III, towards the end of the Ottoman reconquest of the Morea [*q.v.*] from Venice, when the attack was led from the land by the Serʿasker Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha and from the sea by the Ḳapudan-i Deryā Meḥmed Pasha, and was again unsuccessful (Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865-6, iv, 186, 189, 246).

Bibliography: given in the article; for a good general account of Corfu's history, see *Enciclopedia Italiana*, art. *Corfù*, and for the two Ottoman campaigns, Danışmend, *İzahlı osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, ii, 195-6, iv, 9. (ED.)

KORITZA [see KORČA].

ḲORḲUD B. BĀYAZĪD, ABU 'L-KHAYR MUḤAMMAD (874-919/1470-1513), Ottoman prince and eldest of the eight sons of Sultan Bāyazīd II [*q.v.*]. He was born in Amasya where his father was governor (Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira*, 66; Nishāndjī Meḥmed Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, 181; Cf. Kemāl-pasha-zāde, *Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Millet ms. 32, f. 23 etc., and Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya tarihi*, iii, 226). He spent his childhood and had his early education in the Old Palace at Istanbul in the care of his grandfather Meḥemmed II, after whose death in 886/1481 he was briefly placed on the throne, for some 17 days, by the Janissaries until his father returned from Amasya to assume power. Later, Ḳorḳud returned to Amasya and in 896/1491 was appointed governor of Sarukhān. His request to have the governorship of Bergama instead of Manisa was refused by his father, and perhaps upon the suggestion of his brother Aḥmad, governor of Amasya now, he was transferred to the governorship of Tekke and Antalya in 907/1502. Shortly afterwards, the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥamīd with a *khāṣṣ* of 843,363 *aḳčes* and the *zeʿāmet* of Lāzkiyye, amounting to 100, 721 *aḳčes*, were added to his personal *khāṣṣ* of 837,091 *aḳčes* (see the *fermān* of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 908/May 1503 in Topkapu Saray arşivi E. 6356).

The fact that his father and the leading state dignitaries, headed by the Grand Vizier Khādim ʿAlī Pasha, favoured Aḥmad as heir to the throne offended Ḳorḳud, and cause him to withdraw into seclusion on Antalyan coast (Muḥarram 914/May 1508; see ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, Istanbul Univ. Libr., Tkish. ms. 5959, ii, f. 152), despite his *khāṣṣ* being increased to 2,502,755 *aḳčes* (for the *fermān* dated 5 Shaʿbān 914/29 November 1508 and sent to Ḳorḳud, see TKSA E. 6357). He obtained permission to go on the Pilgrimage, and left for Egypt with 50 men and 87 slaves in Muḥarram 915/May 1509, sailing with five ships under the *Raʾīs* Aḳ-bash. He landed at Damietta after five days and arrived in Cairo on 9 Safar/29 May (for details, see ʿĀlī, f. 153), but did not feel that he was wholly welcome (details in TKSA, various letters in dossier No. 6684). However, it is clear from the Mamlūk sultan's letters to Bāyazīd II that he was pleased to welcome Ḳorḳud, but after a month was able to convince the latter to return, in the light of "a son's obedience due to his father". Ḳorḳud received the promise of restoration to his governorship, and set sail back to Turkey.

Despite an attack by the Knights of Rhodes on his Egyptian escort off the shores of Tekke at the end of 916/beginning of 511, Ḳorḳud was able to get through to Antalya and to send a warning letter to Sayyidī Yūnus, who was coming on later from Egypt with baggage, to postpone sailing in order to avoid attacks by the Knights (TKSA, letter in dossier No. 6684). It is recorded that his health deteriorated on his return and that he asked for treatment from the physician ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (letter to the Viziers in ibid.). Meanwhile, he was dismayed to hear of the appointment of his younger full brother Selīm to Sarukhān (TKSA E 5587 in ibid.), and he immediately left Antalya for that province (Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 916/March 1511). His sudden departure from Tekke brought about the outbreak of a Shīʿī-inspired rising under Shāh Ḳulī in that province, and the Grand Vizier Khādim ʿAlī Pasha had to be sent to suppress it.

Meanwhile, Ḳorḳud was being informed of Selīm's movements, and sent a letter to the latter adjuring him not to act precipitately (TKSA dossier 6684). At the same time, he was aware of Aḥmad's ambitions for the throne. Certain of the court officials, aware of Bāyazīd's intention to proclaim Selīm the heir, invited Ḳorḳud to the capital. He travelled to Istanbul in disguise and went to the mosque of the Janissaries, seeking their support in a bid for the throne. Although they held him in respect, they considered him less capable as a potential ruler than Selīm. Selīm arrived at Istanbul on 22 Muḥarram 918/19 April 1512 in order to forestall Aḥmad [for details, see BĀYAZĪD II], and ascended the throne on the abdication of his father. He then gave Ḳorḳud the governorship of the island of Midilli, together with Sarukhān again (Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, ii 204). But Ḳorḳud also demanded the *sandjaḳs* of Aydin, Manisa and Tekke, so that Selīm, considering him a threat to the throne's stability, marched secretly to Manisa and surrounded Ḳorḳud's palace there. Ḳorḳud managed to escape with his confidant Piyāle, disguised, but was betrayed by the governor of Tekke Ḳāsim Beg and caught near Antalya. He was strangled in his sleep by the *Ḳapīdjī-bashī* Sinān Beg's men at Egrigöz on the way back to Bursa, and was buried near Orkhān Ghāzī's tomb in Bursa (Muḥarram 919/March 1513; Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 230 ff.).

Ḳorḳud was highly educated, and skilled as a poet and musician, being able to play many types of musical instrument (Sehī, *Tadhkira*, 18). His verses, written under the pen-name or *takhalluṣ* of Ḥarīmī, were collected into a *dīwān*. He wrote several works in Arabic, including commentaries and *ḥāshiyas*. His extant works include: (1) *Waṣīlat al-aḥbāb* (dated 15 Ṣafar 915/4 June 1509, autograph in Aya Sofya 3529); (2) *Ḥall ishkāl al-afkār fī ḥill amwāl al-kuffār* (Aya Sofya 1142); (3) *Daʿwat al-nafs al-ṭāliḥa ila 'l-aʿmāl al-ṣāliḥa* or *Kitāb al-Ḥarīmī fi 'l-taṣawwuf* (thus in the ms. copy of R. Yelkenci; in Aya Sofya 1763, this is simply called *Kitāb fi 'l-taṣawwuf*); (4) *Sharḥ alfāẓ kufr* or *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān ʿan lāfiẓ al-aymān* (Aya Sofya 2289); (5) *Ḳorḳudiyya* or *Fatāwā-yi Ḳorḳudkhāniyya* (see *Kashf al-ẓunun*, ii, 1228); and (6) *Dīwān* (Millet 104).

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(M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN)

ḲORḲUD DEDE [see DEDE ḲORḲUD].

KÖROGHLU, a rebel of the Anatolian Djelālī movement [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the 10th/16th century and the hero of a popular romance. The real Köroghlu came from the region of Bolu, and is probably the same person as the soldier-bard of that name who is said to have taken part in the campaigns in the Caucasus and Ādharbāydjān of Özdemiroghlu Pasha in the years 992-3/1584-5.

Until fairly recent times, Köroghlu remained a legendary personality, whose exploits were chanted by bards and story-tellers in Anatolia, Ādharbāydjān, Turkmenistān and Uzbekistān. Manuscript versions, and later on, lithographs and prints, circulated in Turkish-speaking lands, and more or less extensive episodes of this great epic-romantic cycle even passed into the story-telling répertoire of peripheral Turkish-speaking communities like the Kirgiz, the Kazaks and the Tatars of Tobol, as into that of non-Turkish peoples like the Armenians, Kurds, Georgians and Tādjīks.

The historicity of the figure of Köroghlu was nevertheless asserted by writers as far back as the 11th/17th century. Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of him—without giving a precise date—as an honourable bandit whose exploits were still remembered in the mountainous parts of northwestern Anatolia; and Arakel of Tabrīz cites him as a Djelālī chief whose adventures, together with those of his companions, formed the core around the early 11th/17th century of a "romance" chanted by the ministrels of the lands bordering on the Ottoman empire and Persia. Towards the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the present one several attempts at identifying him were made, some people basing themselves on contradictory local traditions, and others putting forth hypotheses about the hero's historical prototype or about the origin of some feature or other or some legendary motif of the romance concerning him.

The discovery in 1942 of Ottoman archival documents has firstly confirmed Ewliyā Čelebi's information, and secondly allowed us to date his exploits as a Djelālī rebel. We have here a series of imperial orders from the years 988-90/1580-2 addressed to the Bey of Bolu and the *ḳāḍī* of Gerede concerning a Djelālī called Köroghlu Rūshen. Now Rūshen is also the forename of Köroghlu in several oral versions, Anatolian and Ādharbāydjānī, of the legend of our hero. Moreover, even in the cultural environments most distant from Ottoman territory, tradition has retained, in versions deformed in varying degrees, the name of Bolu Beyi as one of the hero's opponents, as well as allusions to the Ottoman sultan. Finally, several of Köroghlu's companions are mentioned with the same names in the Ottoman archival documents as in the different versions of the romance.

The ideas evoked by the name Kör-oghlu "son of the blind one" have contributed to the attracting around the genuine exploits of the bandit-hero legends of diverse origin, some of them going back to a long way in time, on the theme of the "hero, son of a blind father", who rises up against the masters who had mutilated his father.

Bibliography: A bibliography of published work—studies and texts, as well as lists of unpublished texts—may be found in the following works. Pertev Naili Boratav, *Köroğlu destanı*, Istanbul 1931; idem, *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikayeciliği*, Ankara 1946; idem, art. *Köroğlu* in *İA*; idem, *L'épopée et la ḥikâye*, in *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 24-8, 38-40, 42. See further W. Eberhard, *Minstrel tales from southeastern Turkey*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1955, 30-49 and 77-83 (notes to ch. v); Farruh Arsunar, *Köroğlu* (Maraş version), Istanbul 1963; Mehmet Kaplan, Mehmet Akalın and Muhan Bali, *Köroğlu destanı* (Erzerum version), Ankara 1973; M. H. Tāhmasib and H. Arasi, *Koroglu*, Baku 1956; idem, *Azärbaydjan dastanları*, iv, s.v. *Koroglu*, Baku 1969; M. H. Tāhmasib, *Azärbaydjan khalg dastanları*, Baku 1972, 130-76; *Uzbak khalk dostonlari*, Tashkent 1957, i, 203-425, ii, 243-456.

(P. N. BORATAV)

ḲORON (Ottoman Turkish Ḳorōn; Venetian Coron; in modern Greek Κορώνη), a fortress in the south-west Peloponnesus [see MOREA] and on the west coast of the gulf of Ḳoron, situated some 15 miles by land from the fortress of Modon [*q.v.*; modern Greek Μεθώνη], with which, in the period of Venetian and Ottoman rule, its history was linked and which, to some degree, overshadowed it. The Byzantine fortress of Ḳoron, "un luogo di maggior difesa ... di forma triangolare, posta in mezzo d'una lingua di terre" (P. Garzoni, *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Lega*, Venice 1705, 100-1) passed, with much of the Morea, under Frankish rule in 1204, but was seized by Venice two years later and was ceded to her in 1209. Ḳoron remained a Venetian colony for nearly two centuries, serving as a vital provisioning station for the Venetian fleet and becoming, with Modon, "the chief eyes of the Republic" (W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, 59, 152).

As early as 1428 Ḳoron was attacked from the sea and pillaged by the Ottomans, and after 1469, when Meḥemmed II completed the conquest of the Greek principalities of the Morea, its territories were contiguous with those of the sulṭān. It was not, however, until the Ottoman-Venetian war of 905/1499 to 909/1503 that Ḳoron fell to the Ottomans: in 906/1500, after Modon had been taken by storm and its defenders massacred, Ḳoron and Navarino "yeelded themselves by composition"—i.e. *vire ile*—to Bāyazīd II (Knolles, *Generall Historie of the Turkes*[1], London 1603, 460). This event took place on 15 August 1500; 17 August according to Bāyazīd II's *feth-nāme* for Modon and Ḳoron, addressed to the inhabitants of Chios, and written at Ḳoron on 21 August (M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, iii, Venice 1880, 827-8). Bāyazīd II installed in Ḳoron a garrison of 500 Janissaries and 1000 *ʿazab* troops (*ibid.*, 810-1).

In 938/1532 Ḳoron was retaken by the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria while Sulaymān I was engaged in the Güns campaign. In the spring of 939/1533 Ḳoron was besieged by the Ottomans by land and sea, but without success, and was once more relieved by Doria. It was this setback which precipitated the sulṭān's summoning the North African corsair chief Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] to Istanbul, from where, having kissed the hand of the sulṭān and received an appointment as *deryā beglerbegi*, he was sent with a naval force against Ḳoron in mid-Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 940 (Luṭfī Pasha, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1341, 343-4). Khayr al-Dīn Pasha's approach, an outbreak of plague amongst the defenders, and the hardships of the winter of 1533-4, all caused the Spanish garrison under Mendoza, which Doria had installed there, to abandon the fortress and withdraw to Naples; Ḳoron, accordingly, was once more reoccupied in an uncontested way by the Ottomans (cf. further on the events of 1532-4, Paulo Giovio, *Historiae sui temporis*, Paris 1553, ii, 114v. ff., *passim*).

In the reign of Sulaymān I, according to a *taḥrīr defteri* utilised by M. T. Gökbilgin (*Belleten*, xx, 280, 327), Ķoron was the seat of a *ķāḍī* with a revenue of 150 *akčes per annum*, in the *sandjaķ* of Modon, *liwā* of Mora. The fortress and its dependent territories formed an imperial fief (*khāṣṣ-i hümāyūn*) which yielded 162,081 *akčes* of revenue *per annum*: these revenues, according to Th. Spandugino, *Commentarii*, 78, were bestowed with those of Modon by Bāyazīd II on Mecca.

Later in the 11th/16th century (by 991/1582: cf. Gökbilgin, *loc. cit.*) the *ķaḍā'* of Ķoron was annexed to the *sandjak* of Mezestre (Mistra). At this time the town contained 300 Christian and 10 Jewish households; the entire Muslim population of garrison officials and some 300 *ķalʿe neferāti* must have been what it appears to have remained in succeeding centuries (cf. the testimony of Evliyā Čelebī for the late 17th century and Leake for the early 19th), i.e. of *ʿaskerī* status.

Western travellers apart, Ķoron was visited in 1040/1630-1 by the Ottoman historian Pečewī (*Tā'rīkh*, Istanbul 1283, i, 172) who recalls the events of a century previously, and, later in the century (1668) by Ewliyā Čelebī, who has left a description of the fortress and its inhabitants (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7 to 1938, viii, 326-33; cf. Ulrich Wolfart, *Die Reisen des Evliya Čelebi durch die Morea*, Inaug.-Diss., Munich 1970, 59-66).

In the Sacra Liga War of 1095/1684 to 1110/1699, Ķoron was the first fortified place to fall to Venice in the course of her reconquest of the Morea, despite a vigorous defence and attempts to relieve the garrison by land. (Djumādā 'l-ākhir 1086/25 June to 7 August 1685; cf. Silaḥdār, *Tā'rīkh*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 218 ff.; Pietro Garzoni, *op. cit.*, 101, 107-17; Alessandro Locatelli, *Racconto historico della Veneta guerra in Levante ...* 1684-1690, Colonia 1691, 124-38, 158.

Ķoron was recovered for the Ottomans by the Grand Vizier Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha in Shaʿbān 1127/ August 1715. In this last phase, the town and its trade insensibly declined. Leake, in 1805, found that the export of silk and olive-oil, which down to the 1770s had supported four French merchant houses, was no longer flourishing: the harbour, blocked and ruinous already at the time of Bernard Randolph's visit in the late 17th century, offered only an insecure anchorage, while the town itself was much affected by the depredations of the "Janissaries of Koroni" (W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, London 1830, i, 485). Ķoron finally passed from Ottoman, and Islamic, rule in the course of the Greek War of Independence.

Bibliography (apart from works already cited in the text): Plans and perspective views of the fortress and town of Ķoron as it appeared at the time of the Venetian reconquest (1685) are given by P. M. Coronelli, *Memorie istoriographiche de' Regni della Morea*², Venice n.d., 56-77; cf. O. Dapper, *Nauwkeurige Beschryving van Morea*, Amsterdam 1688, 23-30. The most accessible recent description of the fortress is by Kevin Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, Princeton, N.J. 1955 (= Gennadeion Monographs, iv), 11-23, with extensive further bibliography of western sources. Cf. also Pīrī Re'īs, *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, Istanbul 1935, 300-6; Silāḥdār Fındıķlılı Meḥmed Agha, *Nüṣret-nāme*, ed. Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1960-9, ii/2, 334; Rāshid, *Tā'rīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865, iv, 126-7.

(C. J. HEYWOOD)

ĶORYÜREK, ENĪS BEHĪDJ, modern Turkish orthography ENIS BEHİÇ KORYÜREK, Turkish poet (1891-1949). Born in Istanbul, the son of an army doctor, he attended schools in Salonica, Üsküb (Skopje) and Istanbul and graduated from the School of Political Science (*Mekteb-i mülkiyye*) in 1913. He served as a diplomat in Bucarest (1915) and Budapest (1916-22) and as a civil servant in various ministries. He died in Ankara on 18 October 1949. Like most poets of his generation, Enīs Behīdj wrote poems in the style and manner of the *Therwet-i fünūn* school [*q.v.*] and of its extension, the *Fedjr-i ātī* [*q.v.*] one, in *ʿarūḍ* metre and with an artificial language loaded with Arabic and Persian elements, and published them mainly in the periodical *Shehbāl* (1912-14) until he came under the influence of Ḍiyā' (Ziya) Gökalp [*q.v.*], who was leading the "national literature" trend (*Millī edebiyyāt djereyānī*). Under Gökalp's guidance, he switched to syllabic metre (*hedje wezni*), spoken Turkish and "national" themes, and soon became one of the five leading young exponents of syllabic metre known as *hedjeniñ besh shāʿiri* (the others being Khālid Fakhrī (Ozansoy), Orkhan Seyfī (Orhon), Yūsuf Ḍiyā' (Ortaç) and Fārūķ Nāfidh (Çamlıbel)). Ķoryürek was particularly successful, with an original approach and style, in his epic poems (e.g. *Millī neshīde*, *Süwāriler*) and in his evocative tales of the exploits of Turkish seamen in the Mediterranean (e.g. *Gemidjiler*, *Wenedikli ķorṣān ķizi*, *Ughursuz basķin*). He published his collected poems in *Mīrāth* ("The legacy", Istanbul 1927). His *Güneşin ölümü* ("The death of the sun"), containing his later, less interesting, poems, was posthumously published, with a new edition of *Mīrāth*, by F. Tevetoğlu as *Enis Behiç Koryürek'ten, Miras ve Güneşin ölümü*², Ankara 1971. During the last years of his life he was subject to depression and wrote old style pseudo-mystic poems of mediocre quality supposedly inspired by a 11th/17th century *sheykh*, *Varidat-i Süleyman*, Ankara 1949.

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(FAHIR İZ)

KÖSE DAGH, a land-corridor some 50 miles/ 80 km. to the north-west of Sīwās where there took place in 641/1243, probably on 6 Shawwāl/26 June, the decisive battle which opened up Asia Minor to the Mongols and sounded the knell for the Saldjūķ sultanate of Rūm. The first contacts of the Mongols and Saldjūķs went back to the last years of ʿAlā' al-Dīn Kayķubād I [*q.v.*], but at that time Anatolia was too well-protected in relation to the conquests already effected by the Mongols for the latter really to have any plans for conquering it. It was only under Kaykhusraw II [*q.v.*] that the threat took definite shape, without one being able to ascertain how far the invaders intended to advance. However, after the Great Khān Ögedey's death, the new Mongol head of the Caucasian region, Baydju, seized Erzerum in the midst of the winter of 1242, and thus opened up the way into Asia Minor for the following spring.

The sources give few details about the campaign and the battle. Kaykhusraw seems only very late to have fully realised the seriousness and imminence of the danger. He summoned forces together, comprising his allies or vassals, even including Armenians, Greeks and "Franks", ending up with what was certainly a force numerically superior to Baydju's.

But the impatience of his young commanders prevented him from awaiting the complete grouping of the Saldjūḳ forces. The Mongols, almost all cavalrymen, had recourse to their customary and invariably successful tactic of a simulated flight and then an unforeseen return to the attack against disorganised pursuers. The sultan lost his head and fled, and only the initiative of his vizier Muhadhdhab al-Dīn, combined probably with the Mongols' own prudence, allowed him to keep his throne as a vassal. In reality, the process now began which led to a *de facto* Mongol protectorate.

The weaknesses of the Saldjūḳ state at the time have often been stressed, this was true, but the Mongols, partly by the terror which they inspired, had overcome many other powers. It is hard to maintain that, even without these weaknesses, the course of history would have been any different.

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(CL. CAHEN)

KÖSE MĪKHĀL [see MIKHĀLOGHLU].

KÖSEM WĀLIDE or **KÖSEM SULṬĀN**, called MĀHPAYKAR (*ca.* 1589-1651), wife of the Ottoman sultan Aḥmad I and mother of the sultans Murād IV and Ibrāhīm I [*q.vv.*]. She was Greek by birth, and achieved power in the first place through the harem, exercising a decisive influence in the state during the reigns of her two sons and of her grandson Meḥemmed IV.

The views put forward concerning her origin and her first name—Nasya being derived from Anastasia (Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Ḳadinlar salṭanati*, Istanbul 1332, 47-8, deriving information from Guer, *Mœurs et usages des Turcs*, Paris 1747, ii, 474, see also Pétis de la Croix, *Abrégé chronologique de l'empire ottomane*, Paris 1768, ii, 74)—do not seem to be reliable. According to Pietro della Valle, *Voyages*, Rouen 1645, i, 94, she was given the nickname Kösem because of her smooth and hairless skin (*köse* = "hairless, beardless"). However, the epithet *kösem/kösemen* could also have been given to her on account of her ability as a leader and virtual ruler (for the meanings of *kösem* in Ottoman, see Hüseyin Kâzim, *Türk lûgati*, Istanbul 1940; iv, 181; B. Kerestedjian, *Quelques matériaux pour un dictionnaire etymologique de la langue turque*, London 1912, s.v. *keusemen* and *keusen*; Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-dialecte*, ii/2, 1294: "ram, bell-wether, leader; free, without a care, independent").

Through her beauty and intelligence, Kösem Wālide was especially attractive to Aḥmad I, and drew ahead of more senior wives in the palace. She bore the sultan four sons—Murād, Sülaymān, Ibrāhīm and Ḳāsim—and three daughters—ʿĀʾisha, Fāṭima and Djawharkhān (Von Hammer, *GOR*; cf. Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1280, iii, 67 ff.). These daughters she subsequently used to consolidate her political influence by strategic marriages to different viziers.

After Aḥmad I's death on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1026/23 November 1617, she supported the succession of his brother Muṣṭafā I, under whose feeble rule she was able to exercise effective power in the state. Muṣṭafā's deposition three months later was a setback for her, and she was relegated to the Old Palace (Eski Sarāy) at Bāyezīd under Aḥmad's young son ʿOthmān II, but she came to the fore again when ʿOthmān was deposed and executed and Muṣṭafā briefly restored (9 Radjab 1031/20 May 1622). Her full influence now became apparent when her minor son Murād IV ascended the throne in 1032/1623 and she thus became officially the Wālide Sulṭān, ruling as regent for five years till her son was old enough to take up the reins of power himself (Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 220; Von Hammer, *GOR*, quoting a Venetian report). Even thereafter, Murād greatly respected his mother's opinions, and she took a close interest in state affairs when he was away from the capital. Thus the *Shaykh al-Islām* Akhīzāde Ḥüsayn Efendi's disapproval of Murād's hanging the *ḳāḍī* of Iznik was communicated by her to the sultan, then on his way to Bursa; he immediately returned to Istanbul and hanged Akhī-zāde Ḥüsayn—an act which had taken place only three times in Ottoman history (Kātib Čelebi, *op. cit.*, ii, 160; Naʿīmā, iii, 183). She saved the Ottoman dynasty from extinction by preventing Murād, who had executed his other brothers, including Sülaymān and Ḳāsim, from killing Ibrāhīm also (Sagredo, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Amsterdam 1732, vi, 417; Vanel, *Abrégé nouveau de l'histoire générale des Turcs*, Paris 1689, ii, 545; *Histoire des grands vizirs*, Paris 1676, 34; Du Loir, *Voyages*, Paris 1654, 117; von Hammer, *GOR*).

Together with the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*] she became most active in affairs when Ibrāhīm succeeded to the throne after Murād's death on 16 Shawwāl 1049/9 February 1640 (Naʿīmā, iii, 429), especially as her son gradually became more and more involved with his concubines, the expenditure involved having disastrous repercussions on the treasury (Kātib Čelebi, *op. cit.*, ii, 309 ff.). He subsequently came under the influence of other Palace women, and Kösem Wālide therefore lost her ascendancy and left the *Sarāy-i Djedīd-i ʿĀmire* to live in a summer house outside Ṭopkapī. When Ibrāhīm learnt that his mother was plotting with the Grand Vizier Ṣāliḥ Pasha do dethrone him, he moved her to the Iskanda Čelebi garden in Florya and hanged Ṣāliḥ (Wedjīhī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul Univ. Library Turkish ms. 2543, fols. 29b, 32b). Ibrāhīm's weak rule caused a deterioration in affairs, whilst the Cretan war was dragging on and creating feeling against him. The chiefs of the Janissary corps, under Ḳara Murād Agha, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn and Bektāsh Agha, killed the Grand Vizier Aḥmad Pasha Hazārpāre and decided to depose Ibrāhīm. The new Grand Vizier, Ṣofu (or Ḳodja) Meḥmed Pasha and the *Shaykh al-Islām* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Efendi, together with other leading officials, obtained Kösem Wālide's consent after a meeting with her at Ṭopkapī, dethroned Ibrāhīm and put in his place his eldest son, the seven-years old prince Meḥemmed on 18 Radjab 1058/8 August 1648 (Naʿīmā, iv, 314, 319; Ḳara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi, *Rawḍat al-abrār dhayli*, Istanbul Univ. Library Turkish ms. 2635, pp. 9 ff.; Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Taʾrīkh-i-Ghilmānī*, Istanbul 1340, 21 ff.; Murād Bey, *Taʾrīkh-i-Abu 'l-Fārūḳ*, Istanbul 1329, iv, 48). Ten days later, Ibrāhīm was strangled by the executioner Ḳara ʿAlī, for fear that his partisans might attempt a restoration, with the consent of his mother and with a *fatwā* from the *Shaykh al-Islām* (Ḳara Čelebi-zāde, *op. cit.*, 27-30, 57 ff.).

With Meḥemmed IV's accession, Kösem Wālide's power started to revive, and she was given exalted titles like Büyük Wālide "Grandmother of the Sultan", Wālide-yi Muʿaẓẓama, Umm al-Muʾminīn, Ṣāḥibat al-Maḳām, Wālide-yi ʿAtīḳa, etc. (see Wedjīhī, fol. 44b; Kātib Čelebi, ii, 367, 376; Naʿīmā, iv, 279, 290, 315, 317-19, 415, 418, 450, v, 108). However, her influence was not unbounded. The

authority of the Janissary *aghas* was wrong, and Turkhān Sulṭān, Meḥemmed's mother and Ibrāhīm's widow, became her rival; this rivalry, and misunderstandings between the state officials and the Janissaries (Naʿīmā, v, 7), caused disturbances in Istanbul and Anatolia. Kösem Wālide and her supporters therefore decided to replace Meḥemmed with his brother Sülaymān, whose mother Dilāshūb Sulṭān was regarded as unlikely to interfere in state matters. But Turkhān Sulṭān learnt of these intentions (Naʿīmā, v, 108), took the initiative, and had Kösem Wālide strangled with a curtain-string by the Palace Janissaries (Naʿīmā, v, 111; her executioner was someone called Küčük or Kushču Meḥmed, see Rycaut, *Histoire de l'état présent de l'empire ottomane*, Paris 1670, 63; Naʿīmā, v, 109, 112, 137; von Hammer, *GOR*). Her body was taken from Topkapī to the Eski Sarāy and then buried in the mausoleum of her husband Aḥmad I (Wedjīhī, fol. 45a).

Kösem Wālide had exercised power in public affairs for nearly 30 years. She left much wealth and estates (Naʿīmā, v, 112; Ḳara Čelebi-zāde, 20), and much of her income was devoted to charitable and other humanitarian works, such as a Friday mosque at Üsküdar, completed in 1060/1650 (Ayvānsarāyi Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, ii, 184-5) and the Wālide Khān in Istanbul, built in 1056/1646 (Ewliyāʾ Celebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 325; Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1664, 49) (this latter building collapsed in March 1926). Also from these revenues she financed irrigation works in Egypt and provided relief for the poor in Mecca. In fact, she left behind in the popular Turkish mind a reputation for magnanimity, generosity and high intelligence.

Bibliography: Largely given in the article, but see the general histories of Von Hammer and Zinkeisen, which utilise both Turkish and European sources, e.g. the reports of the Venetian *baili*; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*; S. J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976, i, 190 ff. There is a detailed article in *İA* by M. Cavid Baysun, of which the above is a shortened version. See also Mücteba Ilgürel, *Kösem Sultanın bir vakfiyesi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xvi/21 (1966), 83-94.

(M. Cavid Baysun)

ḲOSH-BEGI, preferable to Ḳush-Begi, title of high officials in the Central Asian khanates in the 16th to 19th centuries. There are two different etymologies and explanations of the term: (1) from Turkish *ḳush* "bird" and *beg* [*q.v.*], thus *ḳush-begi* meaning, presumably, "commander of falconers"; (2) from Turkish *ḳosh* "detachment of nomads or troops, esp. on the march", "nomadic and military camp" (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 635b), thus *ḳosh-begi* meaning "commander of the [royal] camp", "quartermaster". The first explanation is found in an administrative manual *Madjmaʿ al-arḳām* compiled in Bukhārā in 1212/1798, where it is stated that the *ḳush-begi-yi kalān* (see below) in Bukhārā was chief of the royal hunt (see facsimile in *Pis'mennïye pamyatniki vostoka 1968*, Moscow 1970, 56). The etymology, however, remains dubious, because in this case one should rather expect *ḳushči-begi* (or *ḳushči-bashi*), from *ḳushči* "falconer" (the latter post actually existed at the Central Asian courts, as well as in Iran, but the chief of the hunt had the title *mīr-shikār*). Significantly, Iskandar Munshī [*q.v.*] in his *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (ed. Ī. Afshār, i, 486) mentions the post of *ḳosh-begi* (*manṣab-i ḳosh-begi-garī*) and, in another place (ii, 1040), the post of a falconer (*khidmat-i ḳushči-garī*), who became later the head of the royal hunt (*ba-manṣab-i mīr-shikārī sar-afrāz shud*) On the other hand, many historical references to *ḳosh-begis* in the Uzbek period show them as high military commanders, mentioned among the most high-ranking Uzbek *amīrs*, which, apparently, makes the second etymology and explanation of the term more plausible. The European Turkologists who visited Central Asia in the middle of the 19th century also transcribe the term as *ḳosh-begi* and explain it, in the first place, as "Chef des Dieners oder des Beamtenzirkels der Fürsten" (H. Vámberi, *Čagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig 1867, 318), or "Lord of the household" (R. B. Shaw, *A sketch of the Turki language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan*, Calcutta 1878, 156); see also Radloff, *loc. cit.*

The title *ḳosh-begi* is not attested in the Golden Horde and its immediate successors in the Eurasian steppes in the 15th century. The *Bābur-nāma* (ed. Beveridge, 174b) mentions a Turkish *amīr* as a *ḳosh-begi* of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā [*q.v.*], but nothing is said about his duties. Frequent references to *ḳosh-begis* in historical sources appear only in the late 16th century. The *ʿAbd Allāh-nāma* (MS of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, D 88, ff. 322a, 338a, 339b, 340b etc.) mentions a *ḳosh-begi* among the chief commanders of the army of Bukhārā. In the 17th century *ḳosh-begis* did not apparently play an important role in the khanate of Bukhārā. The *Baḥr al-asrār* by Maḥmūd b. Walī (second quarter of the 17th century), in a description of the ceremonial at the court of the Ashtarkhānids, only mentions the *ḳosh-begi* among the servants closest to the *khān*, and his place was the second after that of *ḳurči-bashi*, commander of the body-guards (see V. V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya*, ii/2, 391, 396). The rise of power of the *ḳosh-begi* in Bukhārā took place at the beginning of the 18th century, with the decline of the Ashtarkhānids. In 1121/1709 ʿUbayd Allāh Khān established the rank of "the great *ḳosh-begi*" (*ḳosh-begi-yi kull*), who became first minister. *Ḳosh-begi* remained the head of the Bukhārā administration also under the Mangīts [*q.v.*], when his official title was *kull-i ḳosh-begi* [*sic*], or *ḳosh-begi-yi bālā* "the upper Ḳ.", because he had to live in the residence of the *amīr*, the *ark* (citadel), situated on a hilltop; there was also "the lower Ḳ.", *ḳosh-begi-yi pāyān*, whose residence was at the foot of the *ark* and who held the post of *zakātči-yi kalān* (head of the collectors of *zakāt* [*q.v.*]). The "great *ḳosh-begis*" under the late Ashtarkhanids and the Mangīts were usually of mean origin, mostly former Kalmuk and Persian slaves. Besides the general supervision of the state affairs and, especially, the administration of finance, they were also governors of one or more *wilāyats* (provinces), especially that of Bukhārā itself.

Different development took place in Khīwa [*q.v.*], where the local historian Muʾnis (early 19th century) mentions for the first time the title *ḳosh-begi*, without defining his duties, when he tells about the administrative reforms of Abu 'l-Ghāzī Khān (died in 1074/1664 [*q.v.*]). It seems, however, that *ḳosh-begis* did not play any important role in Khīwa in the 17th century. Only under the Ḳungrat [*q.v.*] dynasty (from the last third of the 18th century) did the *ḳosh-begi* become one of the highest officials in the khānate, but he shared power with the *mehter* (Pers. *mihtar*) [*q.v.*]. The latter was the head of the civil administration, had the title *wazīr-i aʿẓam* and belonged to the hereditary bureaucracy recruited from among the Sarts [*q.v.*], while the *ḳosh-begi* always belonged to the Uzbek nobility, the *amīrs* (and sometimes was a relative of the khān), and was in charge,

mainly, of military affairs. Besides that, the *ḳosh-begi* governed the northern part of the khānate of Khīwa inhabited by nomadic and semi-nomadic Uzbeks, Karakalpaks and Turkmens (that is, he mainly supervised the collection of taxes in this region), while the *mehter* governed the southern part inhabited by sedentary Sarts. This division of authority seems to be a continuation of the administrative practice of the Tīmūrid period.

In the khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*] in the 19th century, the title *ḳosh-begi* is also attested by the local sources, but evidence about his duties is still unavailable; in any case, he had a lower status than in Bukhārā (the highest official in Khoḳand in the 19th century was the *ming-bashi*); according to V. V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov (in *Trudi Vostočnogo Otdeleniya Imp. Russkogo Arkheologičeskogo Obshčestva*, ii [1856], 331), *ḳosh-begi* was here a honorary title given to the governors of main towns and provinces. In the Čaghatāyid state of Eastern Turkestan, at least in the 17th century, the *ḳosh-begi* was supreme military commander or commander of the right wing (*ūdj-i burānghār*), and had the rank of the senior *amīr* (*amīr al-umarā'*), but the civil administration, apparently, was in the hands of a *wazīr* (see Shāh Maḥmūd b. Mīrzā Fāḍil Čurās, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. O. F. Akimushkin, Moscow 1976, text, 24, 32, 53, 70, Russian tr. 170, 178, 200, 218). Thus this system was probably similar to that which existed in Khīwa.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see [N. V.] Khanikoff, *Bokhara: its amir and its people*, London 1845, 242-5; A. A. Semenov, in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, v (1948), 148; idem, in *Materialī po istorii tadžikov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, ii, Stalinabad 1954, 53-7; M. A. Abduraimov, in *Obshčestvennīye nauki v Üzbekistane*, 1974, no. 11, 54-60; Yu. Bregel, in *Journal of Asian History*, 1978, part ii; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, 363, No. 1361. (Yu. Bregel)

KÖSHK, from Pers. *kūshk*, a pavilion in a pleasance which could be merely a modest shelter or have several rooms. The *djawsak*s of the rulers of Sāmarrā were much larger, and were country houses in the manner of the *ḳonaḳ*s of Anatolia and the Balkans. The word *ḳaṣir* (*ḳaṣr*) could be synonymous, but came also to mean castle and always implied more than one chamber, whereas *köshk* rarely suggested a substantial building, and in naval terminology was even the name given to the after-deck or poop cabin.

Although the Ottomans developed the *köshk* as a pavilion consisting of a single hall, it did occasionally take the form of a suite of rooms. Meḥemmad II Fātiḥ modelled the Činili Köshk in the outer court of Ṭopkapîsarāyî on Tîmurîd pavilions. It included two floors of apartments for himself and his officers, for it served as a lodging when he did not wish to return to his residence in the centre of the city. It was a *köshk* in the sense of being a pied-à-terre. Later examples such as the Sand Pavilion at Edirne (*Ḳum Ḳaṣîr*) were designated *ḳaṣîr*. But the essential characteristic which governed the transliteration of *köshk* into English as "kiosk" was that of a chamber under a dome with three sofas and a hooded open grate, forming the four arms of a cross with a balcony or terrace overlooking a garden and a pool or other expanse of water. There a day might be passed at any season of the year, enjoying a partly-indoor and a partly-outdoor life. The pavilion was, in a sense, a permanent tent and its portico the uplifted awning on poles common to nomadic life. However, a royal *köshk* was tiled, its woodwork gilded, ceilings elabborately painted, doors inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl and the sofas covered with silks and velvet rocades, the floor with rugs. In this form, they were ideal and intimate drawing rooms, the antithesis of the Napoleonic concept of the Piazza at Venice.

They also served as hunting lodges, like that of Siyāwush outside the walls of Istanbul, which is elevated above its own pool in a park. Originally it was a single domed chamber with a vestibule and closet. Similar *köshk*s or *ḳaṣîr*s were built as royal retiring-rooms from which access could be gained to the mosque or *djāmiʿ*. Less wealthy citizens built examples so modest that they were little more than bowers with shutters that served as walls in winter but which could be dismantled in the spring. These, rather than the ornate *köshk*s of the rich, inspired newspaper stands and the like in 19th century Paris and other cities in Western Europe.

Bibliography: References to kiosks appear in the descriptive works of travellers, more particularly of Ṭopkapîsarāyî, by pages who escaped from there. Among these are D. Hierosolimitano, Harley mss. 3408, British Museum; O. Bon mss., Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Cl. vii, cod. 578, 923; (the last in English by R. Withers, ed. Greaves, *A description of the Grand Signor's seraglio*, London 1650); also in R. G. Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlaine, 1463-6*, tr. G. Le Strange, London 1928. Engravings of examples are illustrated in R. Walsh and T. Allom, *Constantinople*, London 1838 and J. Pardoe, *The city of the sultan*, 3 vols., London 1838. Standard historical works on Islamic architecture, tiles, furnishings and the other decorative arts include E. H. Ayverdi, *Fatih devri mimarı eserleri*, Istanbul 1953 and *Murad II devri mimarı eserleri*, Istanbul, 1968; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954; A. Gabriel, *Une capitale turque, Brousse (Bursa)*, Paris 1958; A. Godard, *L'art d'Iran*, Paris 1962; İ. H. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Konya tarihi*, Istanbul 1964 and *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Karaman tarihi*, Istanbul 1967; G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish art and architecture*, London 1972; J. R. Rogers, *The spread of Islam*, London 1976. Monographs include H. Saladin, *Le yali des Keupruli à Anatoli-Hissar*, N. P. 1915; B. Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New Haven 1931; F. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konya*, Berlin 1931; Z. Orgun, *Cinili köşk*, in *Arkitekt Neşriyat*, ii, Istanbul 1943; R. O. Tosyeri (Tosyalı), *Edirne saray*, Ankara 1957; O. Aslanapa, *Erster Bericht über die Ausgrabungen des Palastes von Diyarbakîr*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Ankara 1957; E. Yücel, *Yeni cami'i hünkar kasrı*, in *Arkitekt*, 320, 5 April 1965; N. M. Penzer, *The ḥarēm*, London 1965; K. Otto-Dorn and M. Önder, *Bericht über die Grabung in Kubadabad*, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1966; also S. E. Eldem, *Köşkler ve kasırlar*, i, Istanbul 1969, which is the first part of a comprehensive work on the kiosk in Ottoman times, and D. N. Wilber, *Persian gardens and pavilions*, Rutland, Vermont 1962.

(G. Goodwin)

ĶOSHMA is originally a general term for poetry among the Turkish peoples. In the later usage of the word, it was applied to the native Turkish popular poetry, in contrast to the classical poetry taken from the Persian and based on the laws of the Arabic *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*]. The term corresponding in Eastern Turkî to the Western Turkî *ḳoshma* is *ḳoshuḳ* or *ḳoshugh*.

In the oldest source, e.g. in the *Ḳutadghu bilik* (composed in 462/1069-70 [see YŪSUF KHĀṢṢ ḤĀDJIB]), *ḳoshuḳ* still has the quite general meaning of "poem, verse", e.g. in Radloff's edition, St. Petersburg 1891, 1, l. 2 from below: *bu kitäbni ḳoshuḳnï aymïsh* "has composed this book, this poem"; *ibid.*, 5, l. 4, *bu türkčä ḳoshuḳlar tüzättim saña* "I have polished (i.e. composed) these Turkish verses for thee". In Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī [*q.v.*] also, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (begun in 464/1072), ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bey, i, 314, *ḳoshugh* is equated with the Arabic *shiʿr*, *radjaz* and *ḳaṣāʾid*. The Persian musician and scholar ʿAbd al-Ḳādir of Marāgha (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, cf. E. G. Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, iii, Cambridge 1920, index s.v.), in his work entitled *Maḳāṣid al-alḥān* does not yet discriminate between *ḳoshuḳ* and the quantitative quatrain *tuyugh* (see Raʾūf Yektā, *Eski türk musïḳïsina dāʾir tetebbüʿler*, in *Millī tetebbüʿler medjmūʿasï*, i, 461). On the other hand, in a verse by ʿAlī Shēr Nawāʾī (d. 906/1501 [*q.v.*]) quoted in Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, 432, s.v., and in Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, col. 640, the *ḳoshuḳ* is definitely contrasted with the *tuyuḳ*.

Later, we find poems and songs composed according to the rules of Turkish popular poetry expressly called *ḳoshma*, *ḳoshuḳ*. The characteristic features of this poetry are the following: 1. Strophic structure. The strophes are usually quatrains. The *ḳoshma* poems contain at least two strophes. 2. Syllabic or accented syllable rhythm, i.e. the lines of the strophe have the same number of syllables and the value of the syllables as regards stress is either a matter of indifference or stronger and weaker syllables follow one another in definite order, which is repeated. In the latter case, after a definite number of syllables, we always have of necessity a caesura in the middle of the line. In the later *ḳoshma* strophes the most popular lines are hendecasyllabic divided into 6-5 with one caesura or 4-4-3 (with two caesuras). 3. There is rhyme or assonance of at least two endings in the strophe. The rhyme is usually grammatical and may extend to several final syllables according to its nature. It usually arises as a result of strict parallelism in the syntactical structure of the two halves of the verse. The rhyming in the *ḳoshma* strophe is usually *abcb* or *aaba*. 4. Alliteration of the initial syllables of the lines is not maintained among all Turkish people (cf. T. Kowalski, *Études sur la forme de la poésie des peuples turcs*, in *Mémoires de la Comm. Orient. de l'Acad. Polonaise*, No. 5, Cracow 1922: in Polish with a French résumé, 157 ff.).

In earlier times, the *ḳoshma* songs were usually sung by the bards (*uzan*) to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, especially by the *ḳobuz* beloved of the Turks, at court festivities or in the camp of the army. The *ḳoshma* poetry was always industriously cultivated among the people, in spite of the increasing popularity of the classical quantitative poetry. The popular forms like *ḳaya bashï*, *deyish*, *ezgi*, *ïr*, *türkü*, *warsaghï* and *türkmäni*, some cultivated among the Ādharbāydjān and some among the Ottoman Turks, all belong to the *ḳoshma*. The songs of popular mystics called *ilāhi* and *nefes* from the time of Yūnus Emre (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries) are composed according to the rules of the *ḳoshma* (see Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Türk edebiyyātïnda ilk mütaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 334-6). The *ḳoshma* popular poetry, which sometimes produces really beautiful lyrics, was mainly cultivated by wandering singers (*ʿāshïḳ*, also called *sāz shāʿiri* or *čöyürdjü*). Many of them, like ʿĀshïḳ ʿÖmer, ʿĀshïḳ Kerem, ʿĀshïḳ Gharīb, Derdlī and Djewherī, attained great fame, and the collections of their songs or life stories are among the most popular books among the Turks (cf. Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Türk edebiyyātïnda ʿāshïḳ ṭarzïnïñ menshēʾ we-tekāmülü*, in *Millī tetebbüʿler medjmūʿasï*, i; idem, ʿĀshïḳ *Djewheriyye ʿāʾid iki wethīḳa* in the periodical *Yeñi Medjmūʿa*, No. 84; G. Jacob, *Türkische Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1901, 17-18). There were even singers of popular songs in the corps of Janissaries; cf. J. Deny, *Chansons des Janissaires turcs d'Alger*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 33-175.

The term *ḳoshma* (but not the kind of poetry to which it was applied) seems to have fallen out of use, and if the Ādharbāydjāni poet Djawād, who died in the first decades of this century, called his collection of songs *Ḳoshma*, this is probably simply to be explained by an archaicising popular movement in modern literature. The name has survived in the form *ḳožoñ* (*ḳoshoñ*) among the Altai Turks (Tatars). The Altai *ḳožoñ* (on them, cf. W. Radloff, *Über die Formen der gebundenen Rede bei den altaischen Tataren*, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* [1866], iv, 85-114, and Kowalski, *Études*, etc., 140-51) are very important in so far as from their structure and name we can make a definite deduction regarding the original meaning of the words *ḳoshma*, *ḳoshuḳ*, etc. They are pairs of strophes connected by a close parallelism between the two in form and content. From this we see that *ḳožoñ*, from *ḳosh-* "to join together", *ḳožo* "two and two", etc., refers to the parallelism in thought and syntactical structure, which originally formed the essential feature of Turkish popular poetry.

The *ḳoshma* poetry has not been without influence on more artistic forms of literature. The modern Turkish poets, for example, have taken many of their forms from popular poetry.

Finally, one should note that the term *ḳoshma* applies also to a folk-musical form, which varies in different parts of Anatolia and Ādharbāydjān, but which contains typically an instrumental introduction, followed by a vocal recitative and melody. This would be the normal setting for the *ḳoshma* as a literary form.

Bibliography: (dealing particularly with *ḳoshma*): Köprüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Ḳoshma ṭarzï*, a comprehensive article in *Yeñi Medjmūʿa*, No. 78, 1923 (with references to the literature); idem, *Türkiyye taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1923, i. 51-2; idem, *Türk edebiyyātï taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1920, i, 93; Kowalski in the above-quoted *Études*, etc., 140; Tâhir-ül Mevlevî, *Edebiyat lügatı*, Istanbul 1973, 89-90; P. N. Boratav, *İA* art. *Ḳoşma* (with many details about the regional forms of the *ḳoshma*). R. R. Arat, *Eski türk şiiri*, Ankara 1965, Introd.; Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, *Halk şiirinde türler*, Ankara 1969. On the rhythmic structure of Turkish popular poetry, cf. Th. Korš, *Drevnieyshiy narodniy stikh turečkikh plemion*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xix/2-3 (1909), 139-67. (T. KOWALSKI)

ḲOṢOWA, KOSOVO, the name of an upland plain of the Balkans, in upper Macedonia or southern Serbia, and the scene of two significant battles in the struggles of the Ottomans and the Christian powers of the Balkans for hegemony there. In the last quarter of the 19th century, it also became the name of an Ottoman *wilāyet* or province.

The South Slavonic expression *Kosovo polie* means "plain of the blackbirds" from *kos* "blackbird" in Old Slavonic, Czech and Bulgar. Ottoman Turkish

sources give various less convincing etymologies. For those sources which derive the *Ķoṣowa* from Turkish *kosa* or *köse owa* "bare, treeless plain", etc., see ʿAlī Ḥaydar, *Ķoṣowa maydān muḥārebesi*, Istanbul 1328, Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir's preface. The name is spelt as Kūs owasī in ʿĀshıķpashazāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1332, 62, 134, Neshrī, *Djihānnümā*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, 70, 139, 174, and Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, i, 117, and as *Kūs owasī* in ʿOrūdj b. ʿĀdil, *Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Hanover 1925, 25. Saʿd al-Dīn's explanation that the name means "plain of the kettle-drums" is, of course, yet another folk etymology.

The Ķoṣowa plain lies at an altitude of some 500-600 km., and is 14 km. wide and 84 km. long, covering an area of 502 km.² It is surrounded by high mountains, and has a north-west to south-east orientation. From this region, streams flow westwards to the Adriatic via the Drina, southwards to the Aegean via the Vardar, and northwards to the Danube via the Ibar and Morava. During mediaeval times, it was a meeting-point of several trade routes; today it forms part of the Novo Brdo-Kopavnik mining region of Yugoslavia.

The Ķoṣowa plain originally formed part of the Byzantine dominions, and Slav peoples were settled there at the beginning of the 7th century. During the 10th century it changed hands between Serbs, Byzantines and Bulgars (for the names of the Serbian *bans* who were active in the Ķoṣowa region, see V. Radovanović, *Kosovo Polje*, in *Narodna Enc. Srpsko-Hrvatsko-Slovenacka*, Zagreb 1926, ii, 434-8). After the victory gained over the Byzantines in 1168 by Stephen Nemanja, prince of eastern Serbia, Ķoṣowa passed under Serbian control, and the name became applied to the whole plains region. It now remained within the resurgent Serbian empire, with its zenith under Stephen Dushan (d. 1355), but Serbian grasp on the region became relaxed under his weaker son and successor Urosh V (1355-71), and thereafter, the Serbian princes were unable to offer any united opposition to the increasing Ottoman Turkish pressure.

The defeat of Serbia at the hands of the Ottomans at Ķoṣowa took place according to the Serbian and the western sources on 15 June 1389 and according to the Ottoman ones, on 4 Ramaḍān 791/27 August 1389. The Turkish army was commanded by Sultan Murād I b. Orkhān, and included his two sons Bāyezīd from Kütahya and Yaʿķūb from Ķarasī and contingents from the vassal *begs* of Ṣārūkhān, Menteshe, Aydīn and Ḥamīd. They were opposed by the Serbian prince Lazar Gresljanović, with contingents from the Bosnian King Tvrtko I. On the dawn of the battle, a Serbian noble, Milosh Kobilič, Lazar's son-in-law, gained access to the Ottoman camp by posing as a deserter and stabbed Murād to death. But Bāyezīd immediately assumed command, and in the ensuing fighting—the details of which are little known—the Turks gained the eventual victory. Lazar was taken prisoner and executed after the battle; a mausoleum was built on the spot where Murād had died, but his body was buried at Bursa. The death of Murād and the withdrawal of the Turkish army immediately after its victory caused false rumours to spread in Christian Europe of a Serbian victory; in fact, the consequence of the battle was that Serbia became an Ottoman vassal state, and Lazar's successor, his son Stephan Lazarević, had to pay tribute and supply an army under his personal command to the Ottomans. Ķoṣowa also gave rise to a great cycle of popular ballads among the Serbs, expressive of national feeling. For the Turkish sources on the battle, see Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 113; ʿOrūdj, 25; ʿAlī Ḥaydar, 27-32; ʿĀshıķpashazāde, 63; Neshrī, 82 ff.; Solaķzāde, 50; and also Von Hammer, *GOR*, i. After this first battle of Ķoṣowa, Bāyezīd I appointed Yigit Pasha as *üdj begi* of Üsküp/Skopje and the southern district of Ķoṣowa, and this region was now settled by Turks from Menemen and Tatars from Anatolia.

The second battle of Ķoṣowa took place on 17-19 October 1448, when a Hungarian army under John Hunyadi, and including also Wallachians and German Bohemian arquebusiers, met an Ottoman army under Murād II; the struggle was at first indecisive, but was gained by the Turks through the treachery of the Wallachians and the flight of the Hungarian king. During the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, the northern part of the Ķoṣowa plain also came under Ottoman control. In the 10th/16th century the town of Vučitrn became the administrative centre of the sandjaķ of Ķoṣowa in the *eyālet* of Rumeli. When Ewliyā Čelebi passed through the Ķoṣowa plain in 1070/1659-60, he found that Vučitrn had a Turkish and Albanian population and contained 2,000 households (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1315, v, 550). In 1688-9 the region was invaded by an Austrian army under Piccolomini, but driven out in the following year by Ķodja Khalīl Pasha and Selīm Girāy Khān (Fındıķlılı Meḥmed Agha, *Silaḥdār taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 269-70, 351-2, 423 ff.; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, ii, 95-112; V. Corović, art. *Kosovo*, in *Narodna Enc. Srpsko-Hrvatsko-Slovenacka*, ii, 433-4).

During the last quarter of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th, the Ķoṣowa district was involved in various attempts by local governors, such as the Bushatlı governors of Scutari or Ishķodra, Meḥmed Pasha and his son Ķara Maḥmūd Pasha, to break away from control by the Porte; the region was only firmly reattached to Istanbul after the defeat of the last Bushatlı, Muṣṭafā Pasha, by Maḥmūd II's new western-style army [see ARANAWUTLU. 6. History]. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 a new *wilāyet*, called specifically that of Ķoṣowa, was formed consisting of the regions of Nish and Prishtina and with Sofia as its centre (see Samī Bey, *Ķāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1314, v, 3746-8; ʿAlī Ḥaydar, *Midḥat Pasha*, Istanbul 1325, 13-24). In 1888 its centre was moved to Üsküb/Skopje, and in 1896 its boundaries widened to include six *sandjaķs*, sc. Üsküb, Prishtina, Senitsa, Ipek, Tashlidja/Plevlie and Prizren (see M. Rüshdī and M. Eshref, *Mükemmel we mufaṣṣal aṭlas*, Istanbul 1325, 21-4; *Sālnāme-yi wilāyet-i Ķoṣowa*, year 1314). The region was meanwhile considerably disturbed, for in 1878 a congress had been formed to protect the rights of the Albanians and to establish an autonomous *wilāyet* of Ķoṣowa, with its centre at Monastir. Albanian volunteers under the leadership of Süleyman Vokshi captured Üsküb, Prishtina and Mitrovitsa early in 1881, but in April of that year, were defeated by an army sent out from Istanbul under Derwīsh Pasha. However, the Albanians subsequently took advantage of the erratic policies of repression alternating with indulgence practised by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, and gradually captured all the villages extending up to the Ķoṣowa plain, until the restoration of the Constitution in 1908. Eventually, a Serbian army under General Janković captured Lab during the Balkan War of 1912, and by 23 October of that year the whole of the Ķoṣowa region passed into Serbian hands permanently, a state of affairs confirmed by the Treaty of London of 30 May 1913 which ended

the war. It was estimated that the population of the province at that time was one million, three-quarters of this being Muslim Turks and Albanians, and the rest Christian Serbs and Bulgars.

After the First World War, the region came of course within the new Yugoslavian state, and a policy of slavicisation was followed, so that the Muslim population shrank with the exodus to Albania and to Turkey. Today it is an autonomous unit of the Yugoslavian People's Republic under the name of Kosovo-Metohija and with its centre at Pri<u>sh</u>tina.

Bibliography: See the detailed article in *İA* s.v. *Kosovo* by M. Münir Aktepe, upon which the above is based, and also the bibliography to the *EI*[1] article by Cl. Huart, and for the first battle of Ḳoṣowa, *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*. iv. *The Byzantine Empire*. Part 1, Cambridge 1966, 550-1. (M. MÜNIR AKTEPE)

KÖSTEN<u>D</u>JE (in Rumanian, Constanța), a port on the Rumanian shore of the Black Sea, situated on the ruins of the Milesian colony of Tomes (Ovid, *Tristia*, i, 10, 41; iii, 9, 5) founded at the beginning of the 6th century B.C., and the place of exile of the Roman poet Ovid (9-18 A.D.). Mentioned in 260 A.D. (Memnon, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, ed. C. Muller, iii, Paris 1849, 537), Tomes enjoyed great prosperity in the Greek and Roman period and earned, under the Antonines, the title of metropolis of Western Pontus (μητρόπολις τοῦ Εὐωνύμου Πόντου). Under the later Roman Empire, Tomis became the capital of Scythia Minor, being designated in the epigraphic and literary sources by the name Constantia or Constantiana after the emperor Constantine II (337-61 A.D.), who contributed to its development. Sacked by the Huns (456 A.D.), the town was fortified by the Byzantine emperors Anastasus (491-518) and Justinian (527-65) (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, Bonn, iii/2, 307) and resisted attacks by the Avars. In 679 it was destroyed by the Bul<u>gh</u>ārs of the *<u>kh</u>ān* Asparu<u>kh</u>.

The fishing station set on the ruins of the ancient city continued to bear the name Κωνσταντία, in the writings of Byzantine authors of the 9th and 10th centuries, while the map drawn up in 548/1154 by al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] calls it Ṭamṭānā (P. A. Joubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, ii, Paris 1840, 382). In the 14th century, Italian nautical maps give the name Costanza—derived from the Rumanian *Constanța*, Turkish Kösten<u>d</u>je—to the Genoan trading mission used as a harbour by Genoese ships. When Dobru<u>d</u>ja was joined to Wallachia (Eflāḳ) by Mirčea the Old (1386-1418), the town followed the same destiny as the rest of the province. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Kösten<u>d</u>je was reportedly conquered by Bāyazīd I [*q.v.*], who ordered the dismantling of its walls. This event seems to have taken place during the reign of Vlad the Usurper (1394-6) in the province of Wallachia. Taking advantage of the fact that Bāyazīd was detained in Anatolia, Mirčea recaptured Kösten<u>d</u>je, which he retained after the Ottoman defeat of Ankara (28 July 1402) under the reigns of the *amīr* Süleymān (1403-10) and of his protégé Mūsā Čelebi (1410-13) in Thrace and Macedonia. But in the course of the expediton of Meḥemmed I (1413-21) dated by N. Iorga to 820/1417 (*GOR*, i, 375), and more plausibly by H. Inalcık to 822/1419 (*Ibn Hacer'de Osmanlılara dair haberler*, in *AÜDTCF Dergisi* vi, 525; O. Turan, *Tarihi takvimler*, Ankara 1954, 20, 56), the town was once again captured by the Ottomans. Its annexation did not become definitive until after 1445, since the captain of the Burgundian fleet, Walerand de Wavrin, met no Ottomans at Mangalya, on the coast of the Black Sea to the south of Kösten<u>d</u>je, when he landed there. In the 16th century, it was a fairly prosperous town, leased to a *ṣuba<u>sh</u>ī* and with a harbour and a market which, dealing in the major products of Dobru<u>d</u>ja (Ankara, *Tapu ve Kadastre* collection, 483, 30-31), played an important role in the supplying of cereals, fish and timber to Istanbul. The harbour was also used for the exporting of Wallachian products (hides, wax, honey, salt) which were much in demand by the merchants of Ragusa and Ancona.

At the beginning of the 17th century, Kösten<u>d</u>je suffered devastation at the hands of Polish cossacks (1602, 1616). Although this port was not included in the list of towns (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları*, in *Belleten*, xx, (1956), 254-5, 266-7), the Ragusan traveller Paolo Giorgi regarded it as such. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, it was a town of small prosperity belonging to the *eyālet* of Silistria (Istanbul, *Başbakanlık Arşivi* D-BMK-SLM, *Silistre ve Rusçuk mukataasi*), comprising one hundred and fifty houses, between forty and fifty granaries, some shops, a *<u>kh</u>ān* and a mosque, and serving as the residence of a *ḳāḍī*. Though possessing the status of a *ḳaḍā*ʾ, in the 18th century Kösten<u>d</u>je had the appearance of a large market-town whose *iḥtisāb a<u>gh</u>asī* (i.e. *muḥtesib*) was in charge of the supplying of grain to Istanbul. Devastated and depopulated during the Russo-Turkish wars (1711, 1718-39, 1768-74 and 1787-92), Kösten<u>d</u>je was fortified by the Ottomans, who considered its port one of the most important in Dobru<u>d</u>ja for the purpose of supplying their capital with cereals, cattle, sheep, hides and wool.

During the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12, Kösten<u>d</u>je was captured by the Cossacks (1809), who destroyed the fortress and the town, reducing it to the status of a village. Returned to the Ottoman Empire by the Treaty of Bucharest (1812), Kösten<u>d</u>je was surrounded by a line of fortifications. In 1829 the town surrendered to the Russians without a struggle and its defences were dismantled. During the Crimean War the French troops of General Canrobert, in alliance with the Ottomans, disembarked at Kösten<u>d</u>je (July 1854) but remained there only for a short time. In 1857, a British company, The Danube and Black Sea Railways Company, obtained from the Ottoman government a concession for the reconstruction and development of the port and of a new railway linking Boğaz-köy (Cernavoda) with Kösten<u>d</u>je, which as a result of this enjoyed a new period of prosperity. In 1877 the troops of the Russian general Orlov Denisov occupied the town, which was ceded to Rumania on 23 March 1878. At this time it was a *ḳaḍā*ʾ of the *wilāyet* of Tuna, created in 1281/1864. The Treaty of Berlin (13 Ra<u>d</u>jab 1295/13 July 1878) recognised this union. Kösten<u>d</u>je then possessed two *<u>d</u>jāmiʿ*s: the Maḥmūdiyya (1822) and the ʿAzīziyya (1822). It was at Constanța that the first newspaper of the Dobru<u>d</u>ja was published, the *Dobru<u>d</u>ja gazetesi* (1888-94), as well as the newspapers *Dobru<u>d</u>ja* (1901) and *Dobru<u>d</u>ja ṣadāsī* (1910-14) published by Meḥmed Niyāzī.

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(Marie M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru)

KOTA KOTA, An Arabic corruption of the Chi-Hiyao place-name Ngotangota, a town in East Africa, situated in lat. 14° S. on the west side of Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa). It was the seat of four Jumbes, or Walis, subject to Zanzibar between *ca.* 1845 and 1895. The first Jumbe, Salīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, came to Lake Malawi via the Arab settlement of Tabora in the present Tanzania, and built up an ivory and slave-trading state, and at the same time made Kota Kota an effective centre for the dissemination of Islam. He was succeeded by another Swahili, Mwinyi Mguzo (? Nguzo), who ruled from after 1860 to *ca.* 1875-6. Under his successor, Mwinyi Kisutu, a member "of a good Zanzibar family", the town was visited by H. B. Cotterill in 1876. It had many handsome square houses and numerous oil palms; the Zanzibar flag flew over the Jumbe's house. Although a slave-trader, when the British took power in Nyasaland in 1891, he co-operated with them until his death in 1894. His successor, Mwinyi Kheiri, the son of his predecessor, ruled from 7 September 1894 until May 1895, when he was deposed for conspiring to overthrow the British administration. Kota Kota remains an important Islamic centre in Malawi.

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(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

KOTOKO, a people of Black Africa. The Kotoko live south of Lake Chad on the lower Shari and Logone rivers. Most of their territory is presently in the Republic of Cameroun, but there are villages of the Kotoko also in Chad to the east and in Nigeria to the west.

The Kotoko (whose number was estimated at 50,000 in 1950) are a minority in their own territory. They are outnumbered by the Shuwa Arabs, who penetrated into these lands since the 18th century. Smaller groups of Kanuri, Fulbe and Hausa moved in later. Each of these ethnic groups, however, lives separately in homogeneous villages. The Kotoko live on fishing and hunting, supplemented by agriculture. The grassland between the rivers is left for the Arab pastoralists.

The etymological origin of the name Kotoko is obscure. Some authors referred to them as Makari, which is in fact the name of a northern group of Kotoko, first known to visitors coming from Bornu. Makari is the most important dialect among the northern Kotoko, as Lagwane (often spelled Logone) dialect is in the south. The linguistic diversity of the Kotoko reflects their political division, as the extent of each dialect is almost identical with the area of one principality. The particularism of each group is so strong that even under modern conditions no one dialect prevails, and almost all the Kotoko now speak the Arabic dialect of the Shuwa. The Kotoko dialects belong to the central sub-group of the Chadian languages. They are distantly related to Hausa, which is classified in the western sub-group of the Chadian languages (J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African linguistic classification*, New Haven 1955, 43-62).

The Kotoko are considered direct descendants of the Sao or So people, to whom the historical traditions of Kanem [*q.v.*] and Bornu [*q.v.*] refer as the early inhabitants of the area around Lake Chad. Those Sao who had not been assimilated or exterminated by the Kanembus and the Kanuris sought refuge in the less accessible flooding area of the Shari and Logone rivers, where they gave rise to the Kotoko. In the second half of the 16th century, Bornu under Idrīs Alūma expanded to the south. The northern Kotoko principalities, Makari and Afade, were brought within the political ambit of Bornu and under the cultural and Islamic influence of the Kanuri. Because of the imperial and dynastic connections with Bornu, islamisation among the Kotoko began chiefly in the courts. The southern Kotoko had been for a long period subject to the harassment of Bagirmi [*q.v.*]. Towards the end of the 18th century, the south was consolidated under the authority of the ruler of Logone-Birni, who was converted to Islam at about that period. Logone was visited by Major Denham in 1824 and by H. Barth in 1852. In between these two dates, probably *ca.* 1830, Logone became a tributary of Bornu. The Kotoko often saw their territory invaded by their more powerful neighbours. It was the battleground for Bornu's wars with its rivals Waday [*q.v.*] and Bagirmi. Between 1893 and 1900 it was overrun by Rābih [*q.v.*] and his warriors.

The authority of the Kotoko chiefs was circumscribed by a council of high officials and by Bornu's representative, the *alifa* (from Ar. *khalifa*). The chiefs were also bound by pre-Islamic taboos and by the obligation to consult "the protecting animals" through their priests. The Kotoko chiefs, referred by the colonial administration as *sulṭāns*, are Muslims but they must respect old traditions. Muslim *imāms* live in their courts with traditional priests. Mosques were built near traditional shrines, whereas pre-Islamic customs and rituals are performed during Muslim festivals. Most of the Kotoko are now considered Muslims, and the number of those more fully committed to Islam grows steadily. Thousands of Kotoko are to be found in the towns of Chad and in the Sudan along the routes to Mecca. The Kotoko, who had emerged as people in refuge, away from the Muslim states of the Central Sudan, are gradually becoming integrated into the world of Islam.

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(N. Levtzion)

KOTONOU or Cotonou, capital of the People's Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey). It had long been the economic capital and rival of the administrative one Porto Novo, and since independence Cotonou has established itself definitively as the capital of the republic, even if certain services still remain at Porto Novo.

The village founded by the Aïzo of Allada was called Donukpa ("near the hole", i.e. "near the lagoon"). An envoy from Abomey was struck by the reddish colour of the trees growing along this lagoon and thought that this was the result of blood. It was then believed by the Fon of Abomey that the spirits of the dead came down to Ouémé towards the lagoon and the sea; each dead person crossing the lagoon left behind a little blood which reddened the tree bark, whence the name of Ku Tonu (*ku* "dead person", *tonu* "lagoon") given to the village. However, the passage of armies from Dahomey in the 18th century led to the evacuation of this latter village. It was Yekpé Zinsou, a slave dealer, who found this spot favourable for loading up slaves away from the eyes of European control shipping, and with the help of a half-breed Portuguese interpreter Sangronio he founded this Fon village. Once he had become Jévogan of the king of Dahomey (i.e. the minister charged with relations with the white men), Yekpé settled there with his family. The place became prosperous through the trade in palm oil and through anchorage rights (payable in cowrie shells and in goods) which the Europeans had to pay. A Brazilian half-breed, Domingo Martins, settled now at Cotonou and developed the cultivation and trade in palm oil. It developed further during Glélé's reign and at the time of the French appearance there (treaties of 1868 and 1878). But Béhanzin refused France any rights over Cotonou, and two attacks on the 23 February and 4 March 1878 were repelled by the French garrison. A wharf was built between 1891 and 1899, bringing about a growth in trade, and the town's importance grew. In 1905 the population comprised 75 Europeans (including seven women and a child) and 1,100 Africans. It became a *commune mixte* in 1912 and grew especially in importance after 1928.

In the 1920s it had 8,500 inhabitants, including 300 Muslims, who were distributed in the following manner. There were 100 or so Senegalese who had come as infantrymen, officials and above all as railway workers; 100 or so Hausa from northern Nigeria, functioning as butchers or as traders in cloth and beasts; and 100 or so Nago (Yoruba), mainly coming originally from Porto Novo and working in the trading houses.

The first *imām* of Cotonou was Moussé Col Popo of Agoue, born in *ca.* 1845 and initiated into the Ḳādirī order by Seidou Collou of Nigeria. Being worn-out and hardly capable of delivering the sermon or *khuṭba* in Arabic, he was replaced in October 1920 by Soaïtou Mamadou, born at Lagos in *ca.* 1870 and living in Cotonou since the French occupation. Since he had received the Ḳādirī *wird* from Shaykh Ismailia of Zaria, it seems that he was an adherent of the mystical path of the Fulbe of Sokoto. After having given the *khuṭba* in literary Arabic, he himself translated into Hausa this sermon; then his *hailé* or deputy translated it into Nago. After these two Yoruba *imāms*, there followed a Sarakolé, al-Ḥādjdj Sakaba, born at Bakel in 1875, an educated and likeable trader who had made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1906 via Lagos, Las Palmas and Marseilles. He had connections with the Arab bookseller of Algiers, Kaddow Roudouci (Ḳaddūz Rudusī). He was succeeded by a Hausa, Malam Bako, but after the latter's death there was a division between the two main Muslim communities, the Yoruba and the Hausa, with the latter reproaching the Yoruba for retaining animistic practices, of drinking alcohol, of having more than four wives and of not fasting at the same time as other people. On 31 August 1966 the Muslim Union of Dahomey was formed, bringing about the pre-eminence of the Muslim community of Porto Novo; the President of the Union was in fact al-Ḥādjdj ʿAlī Paraiso. If the meetings of the Muslim community of Benin take place at Cotonou, it is nevertheless the Islamic north and Porto Novo who have benefited from these arrangements and from aid coming from the Arab world's communities.

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KŌTWĀL (Persian orthography, *k.w.twāl*), commander of a fortress, town, etc. The word is used throughout mediaeval times in the Iranian, Central Asian and Muslim Indian worlds, and has spread westwards into the regions of ʿIrāḳ and the Persian Gulf, where we find it, for instance, as a component of place names like Kūt al-ʿAmāra [*q.v.*], and given an Arabic-pattern diminutive form in al-Kuwayt [*q.v.*].

Although the word appears from the Mongol period onwards in Turkish, including Čaghatay, in such versions as *ketaul*, *kütäül*, etc., so that many native authorities (and following them, western linguists and lexicographers such as A. Vámbery, Pavet de Courteille and W. Radloff) assumed that it was a Turkish or even a Mongol word, G. Doerfer is undoubtedly right in tracing it back to an Indian origin, from *kōṭ* "fortress", whence *kōṭwālā* "castellan, keeper of a stronghold", and frequent north Indian place names like Nagarkōṭ, Lohkōṭ, etc. The earliest attestations of the word in Islamic sources are all in an Indo-Muslim context, e.g. Maḥmūd of Ghazna's bestowal of the *kōṭwālī* of Nandana in the western Pandjāb on one of his commanders in 405/1015 (Gardīzī *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 72, ed. Ḥabībī, 181), and the frequent appearance in Bayhaḳī's *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī* of a commander Bū ʿAlī Kōtwāl, the local governor of the capital Ghazna. On the other hand, it does not appear in Kāshgharī. Gradually, the word became general throughout the eastern Islamic world, passing into Turkic languages, into Pashto, and into Indian vernaculars like Pandjābī, Bengali and Urdu. In Persia of the Mongol, Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid periods it was the term used for the local governor of a town or citadel, as is attested by western travellers like du Mans (1660). Cf. Doerfer,

Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, iii, 618-21, No. 1658.

The term *kōtwāl* was especially used in Muslim India under the Mughals and, after the collapse of their empire in the mid-18th century, in British India for approximately a century more. But in fact, this office, in the sense of "official responsible for public order, the maintenance of public services etc., in a town" (something like the *Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭa* [*q.v.*] of the earlier caliphate), existed before the Mughals, e.g. in the territories of the Dihlī sultanate and in the provincial sultanates which arose in South India and eastern India during the post-Tughlukid period, cf. I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the sultanate of Delhi*[4], Karachi 1958, 173-4, and Majumdar, ed., *The history and culture of the Indian people*. vi. *The Delhi sultanate*, Bombay 1960, index s.v. The accounts of Portuguese adventurers in India, from Vasco da Gama onwards, speak of encounters with the *Catual* or royal representative in the towns where they disembarked (thus also in Camoëns, *The Lusiads* [completed 1572], vii, viii, *passim*).

In the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*], we find a classic exposition of the duties of the *kōtwāl*. His multifarious responsibilities included the maintenance of law and order, with the pursuance of criminals and robbers (for the recovery of whose depredations the *kōtwāl* was personally responsible); the keeping of a register of houses and streets; maintaining an intelligence system in the town, including observations of the incomes and life-styles of the populace, the results of which espionage to be reported to the central government; the enforcement of a curfew; the supervision of weights and measures and fair market practices; the upholding of the standard of coinage and the calling-in of bad coins for re-minting; the oversight of public water supplies; the appropriation for the state of intestate properties; the care that widows did not make the sacrifice of *sati* against their wills; the allocation of separate quarters in the town for noisome and despised trades like those of butchers, corpse-washers [see DJAZZĀR and GHASSĀL in Suppl.] and sweepers; etc. One notes the correspondence of many of these duties with those of the classical Islamic *muḥtasib*, whose office was certainly known in pre-Mughal India under the Dihlī sultans and their epigoni [see ḤISBA. iv. The Indian subcontinent]; it seems that the purely secular, semi-military *kōtwāl* now largely replaced the *muḥtasib*. But in many ways, the wide range of the *kōtwāl*'s responsibilities is an echo of those of the *nagaraka* or Town Prefect of Mauryan times; cf. Kauṭilya's *Arthasaśtra*, ch. xxxvi. Abu 'l-Faḍl's whole exposition has, however, a somewhat theoretical cast, and should probably be interpreted as a blue-print for the ideal administrative system for Akbar, rather than a delineation of actual practice; amongst other duties of the *kōtwāl* mentioned is responsibility for seeing that the festivals of Akbar's *Dīn-i Ilāhī* and the new *Ilāhī* era [see AKBAR] were observed (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. H. S. Jarrett[2], Calcutta 1949, 43-5; cf. also Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda 1947-8, i, 163 ff. [compiled in Gudjarat, 1175/1761], section on the duties of officials charged with the safety and good governance of the state).

More definitely in accordance with contemporary Mughal practice are the reports of European travellers within India at this time. Thus F. Bernier speaks of the *Cotoüal* or "grand Prevost de la campagne" as sending soldiers all through his town when the Mughal court passed through it, and these blew trumpets in order to scare away malefactors (*Travels in the Mogul empire A.D. 1656-1668*, tr. A. Constable 1891, repr. Delhi 1972, 188, 369). N. Manucci's personal observations are especially valuable. Describing the situation in the latter part of Awrangzīb's reign, he tells how the *kōtwāl* stopped the illicit distilling of arrack and spirits, and the practice of prostitution, and how he sent intelligence reports to the court based on the information gathered in private houses by the scavengers, *alacor* (= *ḥalāl-khūr*). He also saw that ferry tolls, abolished by the Emperor, were not illegally exacted. At his disposal, he had a force of cavalry and infantry, with detachments for each quarter of the town. In the administration of justice, on the other hand, he was under the orders of the *ḳāḍī*, and carried out his written orders, such as sentence of death (*Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. W. Irvine 1907-8, repr. Calcutta 1965-7, ii, 420-1). In fact, we know that towards the end of Awrangzīb's reign, *kōtwāls* in the newly-conquered, peripheral regions like South India, managed to achieve considerable freedom of action, away from the central government's control; this was the case with the *kōtwāl* and *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*] of Ḥaydarābād, the most important city of the eastern Deccan, see J. F. Richards, *Mughal administration in Golconda*, Oxford 1975, 83-5.

When a new police system was introduced into British India after 1861, the office of *kōtwāl* disappeared from most of the subcontinent, and his duties were taken over by Inspectors or Sub-Inspectors. In the North-West Frontier Province, however, the term continued in use to designate the chief police officer of the larger towns and cantonments.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KOUANDÉ, at present a regional capital of the People's Republic of Benin, was founded by a clan of Bariba hunters, the Tosso, specialists in the hunting of elephants, who provided a tribute of ivory tusks to the sovereign of Nikki. This settlement of hunters must have been ancient (perhaps in the 16th century), but a prolonged dynastic quarrel at Nikki brought to Kouandé considerable numbers of young warriors who must have used this city, every dry season, as a raiding-base.

The prince Chabi Gada of Nikki, having killed one of his pregnant wives, was expelled and took refuge at Birno Maro at the court of the *Tossounon* (chief of the Tosso) who offered him in marriage his eldest daughter, Gnon Birsi (in about 1762). Accepting succession to the throne of his father-in-law, he renounced all allegiance with regard to Nikki. He had, moreover, carried off with him some of the ritual objects that were the property of the king: six *kakati* (trumpets), silver and bronze stirrups, ceremonial sabres and lances, harness and bridle-bits as well as the ritual scissors which were used to cut the hair of young princes on the day of the ceremony of *Gnon Kogui*, which marked the passage from childhood to adolescence.

The death of Gada (in about 1789) led to a quarrel over the throne between Ouaoro Ouari, known as Tabouroufa ("wearer of the ear-ring"), a prince born at Nikki, and Ouorou Kpassi, son of Gnon Birsi, princess of Birni. The latter was victorious and took

the title of *Tossounon* while Ouarou Ouari moved from Birni to Kouandé.

The foundation of Kouandé. With an army of sixty-six horsemen Ouarou Ouari arrived in the region of Kouandé where the Bariba Seko had been installed for several generations. Ouarou Ourari was well received by the Kouandé Sounon, who gave him a vast area of land at the foot of the hill and died soon afterwards. A few days later he received the regalia brought from Nikki by Gada, and the following Friday, to the sound of the six royal trumpets, he accepted the homage of the Bariba and Somba chiefs. He took the title of *Bangana* ("buffalo") and appointed another Kouandé Sounon as his colleague and chief minister, and extended his authority over Birni, Pably, the region of Ouassa (Tobré and Péhounco), an area of some 10,000 km².

On his death, his brother Simé Yerima succeeded him, taking the name *Ourou Sourou* ("the Saint"). He took the young princes to task, demanding that they abandon their extortions "at once", thereby acquiring the nickname of *Baba Tantame* ("Papa at once"). To provide a diversion for the troublesome young princes, he mounted expeditions against the Berba, the Taneka, Pila-Pila, Somba, etc.

Dafia, eldest son of Ouorou Ouoari took the name *Sorou* ("the mortar that receives the blows of the pestle without being affected"). Tradition is reticent concerning his reign. All that is known is that the king authorised volunteers from his kingdom to take part in the campaign against the Peuls of Ilorin (1830). After these contingents were defeated and returned in disarray, king Sorou died as the result of being bitten by a dog; his sister, princess Ganigui, saw in this a conspiracy on the part of the successor and on the day of his coronation predicted an early death for him. In fact the *Bangana* Bio Diko ruled for only three months.

Sero, the eldest son of Baba Tantamé, was elected king (1833) and took the name *Bouko Ya Dari* ("stormy cloud"). He was obliged to suppress the intrigues of his younger brother Mora N'Gobi, who after two attempts on the throne, with the aid of the Natimba, was defeated. He obtained pardon for himself but not for Sinkossi, king of the Natimba, who, on coming to pay homage on the day of the *Gani*, was thrown into a ditch and crushed under a heap of stones, whence the king's nickname *Guinimoussikou* ("he who buries alive"). This king mounted expeditions against his neighbours the Berba, the Akpénon, the Cotokoli and the Aniagan of the valley of the Anié.

The *Bangana* Séké (1852-83) continued in similar circumstances the campaign against the Cotokoli of Kirikri (1866-8) and against Bafilo. He was also obliged to deal with civil wars.

Ouorou Ouari II (1883-97) was removed from office by Commandant Ganier in 1897 after the revolt of the Bariba. He withdrew to the village of Doh (30 km. to the east of Kouandé) and poisoned himself so as not to survive the surrender of the tombs of his ancestors. Since then the traditional sovereigns have been confined to their roles as regional chiefs.

Rules of investiture. Theoretically Islamised, the Bariba observe strict rules of investiture. After the funeral ceremonies which last three months, the council of ministers choose a new king. The choice having been made, the princes who are candidates for the throne kneel and the chief minister, Baba Agban, passes a white loincloth (*békou Kpékourou*) over the heads of the candidates.

In passing along the line for the third time, Baba Agban stops in front of the prince who has already been chosen as if held by an invisible force, then unfolding the *békou Kpékourou*, he wraps it round the body of the newly-appointed king. All those present kneel before the new king to wish him well, while the trumpets sound.

The festival of the Gani which takes place throughout the land of the Bariba is the occasion where the princes and senior officials assemble in the presence of the king to the sound of the ritual drums. At Kouandé, the Gani includes a special rite. The *Bangana* goes to the tree on the path where his ancestor used to rest. This tree lies at the southern end of the village of Kouandé and is called *Bouroh* ("good luck"). The king dismounts from his horse, leans against the throne and appeals to his ancestors for aid and protection.

A superstition holds that the man who picks up the pebbles under the tree will have his wish granted if the pebbles are of even number.

The Islamisation of Kouandé, at the beginning of the century, was very superficial. Only the community of foreign merchants was Muslim. Alfa Sabi, known as Aloufa, who was born in Kouandé in about 1863, supervised a Ḳurʾān school attended by a number of pupils. Since then, the influence of the Tid̲j̲ānī order has developed considerably.

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(R. Cornevin)

KÖY, the word used in western Turkish (e.g. in Ottoman and Crimean Tatar cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 1216) for village. It is the form in which Turkish has borrowed the Persian *gūy* (cf. Bittner, *Der Einfluss des Arabischen und Persischen auf das Türkische*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxlii, No. 3, 103), or perhaps more correctly *kūy* (Vullers, *Lexicon*; *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, 759) meaning originally path, street. In the toponomastic of the Ottoman empire we find many place-names compounded with *köy*, like Bog̲h̲az Köy, Ermeni Köy, etc. It seems that these names are not found before the end of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period; the word does not occur, for instance, in Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī. *Köy* in the sense of an open village is opposed to *ḳaṣaba* meaning a small town. In eastern Turkish place-names we always find the word *kend* (itself a loan-word from Soghdian) used for a village. Sometimes this last word seems to have been replaced by *köy* (cf. e.g. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 221 ff.; Ḳāḍī Kend, near al-Mawṣil, becomes Ḳāḍī Köy).

(J. H. Kramers*)

KÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ (T. "village institutes"), a Turkish educational institution of 1940-54, founded to combat the high illiteracy in rural areas by training and equipping village boys and girls for the special requirements of each region and using them as teachers in distant or under-developed areas where city-born teachers have been reluctant to work. They were the brain-child of İsmail Hakkı Tonguç [*q.v.*] a prominent educator, and were put into operation by Hasan Ali Yücel [*q.v.*] the reformist Minister of Education (1938-46) under President İsmet İnönü [see ʿIṣmet Pas̲h̲a İnönü in Suppl.].

From the early years of the Republic the problem

of mass education, particularly that of village children, was of great concern to Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) and Turkish educators. During this period, nearly 80% of the population of over 13 million (1927 census) lived in some 40,000 villages unevenly scattered throughout war-devastated Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. Less than 20% of village children (mostly boys) attended for the most part inadequate schools, where the majority of teachers had had little or no proper training. Early experiments in setting up village teachers' training colleges, first under the young pioneer minister of education Muṣṭafā Nedjātī (1894-1929), and later during an attempt at collaboration between the Ministries of Education and Agriculture, failed owing to poor planning and inadequate funds. In 1936, during the ministry of Saffet Arıkan (1935-8), a new project was developed. A selected number of villagers who had served in the army as corporals and sergeants were sent to special courses called *eğitmen kursu* (*eğitmen* "instructor, educator" from the newly-coined neologisms *eğitmek* "to educate" and *eğitim* "education"), trained as teachers and appointed to village schools. To facilitate their settlement there, the *eğitmen*s were given land, agricultural equipment, tools, seeds, young plants, etc. In the meantime, İ. H. Tonguç had been appointed Director-General of Primary Education in the Ministry (1936). In 1937 the idea of village-teachers' training colleges was revived, and three colleges were set up in the Izmir, Eskişehir and Kastamonu areas (in Kızılçullu, Mahmudiye and Gölköy respectively). The new minister, Hasan Ali Yücel, gave Tonguç full authority, and the latter was able to put into practice extensively his long-cherished project, elaborated in his many works (particularly in *Canlandırılacak köy*[2], Istanbul 1947). On 17 April 1940 the law No. 3803 on Village Institutes was passed, and with the law No. 4274 on 19 June 1942 they were fully organised (for the texts of these laws, see *Düstur, üçüncü tertib*, xxi Ankara 1940, 692-7 and xxii, 1942, 1575-6 respectively). The Institutes were put under the direct control of Tonguç and after a survey of local conditions and requirements, 20 of them were set up in the following regions of Turkey (the nearest provincial centre is shown in brackets): South-East: Dicle (Diyarbakr); East: Pulur (Erzurum), Cilavuz (Kars), Akçadağ (Malatya); Eastern Black Sea: Beşikdüzü (Trabzon), Akpınar (Samsun); Western Black Sea: Gölköy (Kastamonu); Marmara and Thrace: Kepirtepe (Kırklareli), Arifiye (Izmit), Savaştepe (Balıkesir); Aegean: Kızılçullu (Izmir), Ortaklar (Aydın); Mediterranean: Aksu (Antalya), Düziçi (Adana), Gönen (Isparta); Central Anatolia: Hasanoğlan (Ankara), Pamukpınar (Sivas), Pazarören (Kayseri), Çifteler (Eskişehir), Ivriz (Konya).

The village Institutes were co-educational, admitting students with five years' village schooling (or three years' village schooling with two years' extra training) and giving a five-year course of instruction. The syllabus, which allowed great freedom of variety according to local conditions and requirements, consisted mainly of "cultural subjects" (Turkish, history, geography, civics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, a foreign language, military science and art) for 22 hours per week; agricultural subjects (farming, gardening, fruit growing, poultry farming, bee-keeping, fishing, etc.) for 11 hours per week; and technical subjects (metal working, carpentry, building, tailoring and dress-making, etc.) for 11 hours a week. The curriculum was mainly functional and was based on the essentially concrete and practical, with special emphasis on skills needed in the peasants' daily lives in a particular region. The aim was not merely to train village school teachers, but also to equip them to participate in the leadership of the community by developing their sense of personal responsibility and their ability to co-operate with villagers (specific aims which so far most city-born and trained teachers had been unable to realise). In 1943 a special teachers' training college was set up in Hasanoğlan near Ankara (*Hasanoğlan Yüksek Köy Enstitüsü*) with a three years' training programme. Up to the school year 1946-7 these Institutes trained more than 5,000 village teachers and 500 health officers.

With the ending of the single party régime (1945) and the authoritarian rule of the Republican Peoples Party (RPP, see DJUMHŪRIYYET KHALḲ PARTISI), the Village Institutes began to be subjected to violent attacks both by the conservative wing of the RPP and the newly-founded (January 1946) liberal Democrat Party (DP, see DEMOKRAT PARTİ). They were accused of fostering an unruly, subversive, anti-traditional generation and being the hotbeds of Marxist indoctrination. This campaign was waged mainly by the great landowners in and outside Parliament, and their mouthpieces in the press. The campaign reached such dimensions that President İnönü replaced the Minister of Education, H. A. Yücel with the conservative Reşat Şemsettin Sirer (1946), who in turn removed İ. H. Tonguç, the brain behind the Institutes, from office, closed the Hasanoğlan Teachers' Training College and changed most of the staff of the Institutes. Under the ministry of Tahsin Banguoğlu (1948-50), the gradual liquidation of the İnstitutes continued and was completed by Tevfik Ileri (1951-61), the second Minister of Education (appointed August 1950) of the Democrat Party, which came to power in the general election of May 1950. İleri put an end to the co-educational system in the Institutes (1951) and reformed their curriculum to bring it into line with classical teachers' training colleges of the cities. Their abolition was officially registered when their name was eventually (1954) changed to *İlk Öğretmen Okulları* ("Primary Teachers' Training Colleges"). The heated controversy over village Institutes continued and still (1978) continues without abating between their supporters and accusers, and is a strong social, political, economic and emotional issue. In spite of the rapid industrialisation of Turkey since 1950 and subsequent migration of great numbers of villagers to the cities, which has considerably altered the rural and urban scene, leading intellectuals, particularly noted writers with Village Institute backgrounds, such as Mahmut Makal (b. 1930), Fakir Baykurt (b. 1929), Talip Apaydın (b. 1926), Dursun Akçam (b. 1930) and Mehmet Başaran (b. 1926), celebrate each year the date of April 17, the anniversary of the founding of these Institutes, and demand their re-opening.

The only notable objection to the conception of Village Institutes among non-conservatives was raised by Kemal Tahir [*q.v.*] in his novel *Bozkırdakı çekirdek* ("The Seed in the Steppe", Istanbul 1967), who maintained that the Institutes were planned to train a conformist generation in rural areas in order to postpone a real social revolution.

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KOYL, KOIL, a town of northern India situated 75 miles south-east of Dihlī and coming within the United Provinces in British India, now Uttar Pradesh in the Indian Union. The more modern town of ʿAlīgaṛh [*q.v.*] has expanded out of a suburb of Koyl. In 590/1194 the commander of the G͟hūrids, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], captured Koyl on a raid from Dihlī, and henceforth there were usually Muslim governors over local Rād͟jput rulers, such as Kučuk ʿAlī under Bābur (932/1526) (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 176). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Koyl on his way southwards from Dihlī to the Deccan and Malabar, and speaks also of a noted *s͟hayk͟h* of Kuwil (as he writes the name), one S͟hams al-Dīn b. Tād͟j al-ʿĀrifīn, whom Sultan Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ did to death (*Riḥla*, iii, 307-9, tr. Gibb, iii, 704-5, and iv, 6-7). The minaret of Koyl (now destroyed) had on it an inscription of the Slave King Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd S͟hāh from 652/1254 (see G. Yazdani, *The inscriptions of the Turk Sulṭāns of Delhi* . . . , in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* [1913-14], 22-3). Koyl is listed in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann and Jarrett², Calcutta 1939-48, ii, 197, as a *sarkār* in the Āgra *ṣūba* of the Mug͟hal empire, with a revenue of 55 million *dams*.

In *ca.* 1757 Koyl was captured by the Jhāt leader Sūrad͟j Mal and then in 1759 by the Afg͟hāns, its strategic position on the Dihlī-Āgra road giving it importance. It was re-named ʿAlīgaṛh "the high fortress" by Nad͟jaf K͟hān in 1776, when he rebuilt the citadel. All the upper Dōāb passed into British hands in 1803, but with Koyl-ʿAlīgaṛh only captured from the Marāṭhās after a prolonged siege. Native troops there mutinied in May 1857, but order was restored in August by a British force after internal strife between the Jhāts and Rād͟jputs. For the town's subsequent history, see ALIGARH.

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ḲOYLU ḤIṢĀR (ḲOYUNLU ḤIṢĀR), modern Koyulhisar, centre of an *ilçe* of the province (*il*) of Sıvas in the valley of the Kelkit River along the old route from *Niksar* to *S͟hābīn Ḳarahiṣār* and Erzurum in the so-called "left wing" (*sol ḳol*) of Anatolia within the framework of the Ottoman road and postal system. The site has changed a few times because of earthquakes (most recently in 1939). Before *ca.* 1850 the township probably lay on the site of the actual Yukarı Kale.

The town and fortress were lost by the Byzantines after the battle of Manzikert (Malazgirt). After direct Sald͟jūḳid rule, it became part of the amīrate of Eretna [*q.v.*], then possession of the semi-independent Turcoman ruler of Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i S͟harḳī (= S͟hābīn Ḳaraḥiṣār). In *ca.* 763/1381 it was part of the dominions of Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*] of Sīvās, whose government was succeeded by that of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]. Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] lost the place to Sultan Meḥemmed II in 865/1461, upon which it became part of the *eyālet* of Erzurum as a subdivision of Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i S͟harḳī. In 1864 its status became that of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *wilāyet* of Sıvas. In the 19th century its population was only half Muslim, and V. Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 237, 793) enumerated a population of 1,809, of whom 905 were Muslims, 604 Greeks and 300 Armenians. In 1927 the census indicated a total Muslim-Turkish population of 1,800. In 1970 the town numbered 3,524, with 28,887 in the *ilce*.

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ḲOYUL ḤIṢĀR (ḲOYUNLU ḤIṢĀR), more properly ḲOYUN ḤIṢĀR, the name for two Byzantine fortresses: 1. identical with Baphaeon, to the north-east of Izmīd, the site of the first battle won by ʿOt͟hmān I against the Byzantines in 1301; 2. a fortress on the Saḳarya river [*q.v.*] to the north-east of Bursa near Dinboz, taken by Ork͟hān during a campaign in 1324-5.

Bibliography: ʿĀs͟hıḳpas͟hazāde, *Taʾrīk͟h*, tr. R. F. Kreutel, Graz, etc. 1959, 43, 63, map I; H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman empire—the classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 6, 55; D. E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman empire*, Leiden 1972, 37; İ. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, i, Ankara 1972³, 109 ff., map 2. (A. H. DE GROOT)

ḲOYUN BABA, lit "father of sheep", a Turkish saint. He is thought to have been a contemporary of Ḥād͟jd͟jī Bektās͟h [see BEKTĀS͟HIYYA] and is said to have received his name from the fact that he did not speak, but only bleated like a sheep five times a day at the periods for prayer. Sulṭān Bāyezīd II, called *Walī*, built a splendid tomb and dervish monastery on the site of his alleged grave at ʿOt͟hmānd͟jıḳ (near Amasya, in Anatolia) which was one of the finest and richest in the Ottoman empire. Ewliyā Čelebi in his *Travels* (*Seyāḥet-nāme*, ii, 180 ff.) describes very fully the great Bektās͟hī monastery there, at which he was cured of a malady of the eye and was initiated into the order (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 608, on Ewliyā's pilgrimage to the tomb of Ḳoyun Baba). Nothing is known regarding the life of this remarkable saint, nor even whether he really existed. That he is represented as a disciple and contemporary of Ḥād͟jd͟jī Bektās͟h means nothing, as almost all early Ottoman saints are credited with having enjoyed this privilege. The sanctuary itself does not seem to have been examined; but see Maercker in *ZGE*, xxiv (1899), 376.

Bibliography: Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, *D͟jihān-numā*, 625 (brief mention of the tomb); Ewliyā, *Seyāḥet-nāme*, ii, 180 ff.; cf. also J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 230, 608 (extracts from Ewliyā). (F. BABINGER)

ḲŌZĀN, (1) a town in southern Turkey, formerly the Armenian town of Sīs [*q.v.*], and now administrative centre of Ḳōzān district (*kaza*) in the province of Adana.

(2) in Ottoman times, that portion of the Taurus Mountains comprising the present districts of Kadirli, Ḳozān, Feke and Saimbeyli. This name originated with the Ḳozān-og͟hlu *derebeys* [see below] who controlled the area during the 18th and much of the 19th centuries.

The origin of the Ḳōzān-og̲h̲lu dynasty and its name is uncertain. According to Aḥmad D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a, the family came from the Arıḳ tribe, one of the Wārsāḳ (Fārsāḳ) tribes which settled the Taurus Mountains in the 13th century A.D., and its name originated with an ancestor from the village of Ḳōzān near ʿAyntāb (*Ted̲h̲ākir*, iii, 108-9). The family had gained leadership of the tribe by 1689 (Ahmet Refik [Altınay], *Anadolu'da türk aşiretleri*, 89) and went on to control the entire area and exercise the functions of government in virtual independence of Istanbul. Only in 1865 were the Ottomans able to defeat, capture and exile the *derebeys*, settling the tribes on which their power had depended and establishing normal administration. Ḳōzān was of concern once again in 1878 when Ḳōzān-og̲h̲lu Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a tried to re-establish his control, but with his defeat the area ceased to be of special importance.

Bibliography: The most detailed accounts of Ḳōzān and the Ḳōzān-og̲h̲lu are those of Aḥmad D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a in *Maʿrūḍāt*, in *TTEM*, x (87), 278-82 and *Ted̲h̲ākir*, iii, ed. Cavid Baysun, Ankara 1963, 107-15, 117-19. A general description of the area as it was in 1890 is given in V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 90-7. Selected documents concerning the Ḳōzān-og̲h̲lu are found in Ahmet Refik (Altınay), *Anadolu'da türk aşiretleri: 966-1200*, Istanbul 1930. On the Wārsāḳ tribes, see Faruk Sümer, *Çukurova tarihine dair araştırmalar* (*Fetihten XVI yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar*), in *AÜDTCFD*, i, 70-93. The most recent study of this area in the nineteenth century is A. G. Gould, *Pashas and brigands: Ottoman provincial reform and its impact on the nomads of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1973, unpublished.

(A. G. Gould)

ḲŌZĀN-OG̲H̲ULLARÏ, a family of *derebeys* [*q.v.*] in Ottoman southern Anatolia, with their centre of power in the 19th century in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Ḳōzān [*q.v.*] (i.e. western Ḳōzān) and the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ḳōzān (i.e. east Ḳōzān), in the piedmont area where the Taurus Mountains come down to the Cilician Plain or Çukurova. They were thus in a good position, during the 19th century, together with other local *derebeys*, to dominate the plain and at times to exert influence in Adana itself.

The Ḳōzān-og̲h̲ullarï claimed descent from a Türkmen tribe which had entered Cilicia in Sald̲j̲ūḳ times, and which is certainly heard of in historical sources for the 17th century. From the beginning of the 19th century onwards, they were able to beat off several military attacks by the Porte in Istanbul and to act as virtually independent local rulers, levying taxes, but acting nominally as officials, *ḳāʾimmaḳāms* or *müdürs*, of the Ottoman government. Their position locally was strengthened by an informal alliance with the Armenian clergy and notables of Ḳōzān (the Armenian Catholicos or Patriarch had his seat in a monastery at Sīs in the Ḳōzān district, the ancient capital of mediaeval Little Armenia [see V. F. Büchner, art. *Sīs*, in *EI*[1]), who were also concerned lest the Sultan's direct influence be extended into the region. The Ḳōzān-og̲h̲lu family was, however, rent by internal rivalries in the middle years of the 19th century. In 1865 the central government was able to reduce the power of the Cilician derebeys by the despatch of the military "Reform Division" (*Fïrḳa-yi Iṣlāḥiyye*) to Iskenderūn; various members of the Ḳōzān-og̲h̲ullarï went over to the government side, and after some attemps at resistance, the family finally submitted. Several of them were given official posts in the Ottoman administration, and others brought to honourable exile in Istanbul; after a final local rising in 1878 just after the Russo-Turkish War, the region of Ḳōzān was substantially pacified.

Bibliography: see A. G. Gould, *Lords or bandits? The derebeys of Cilicia*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 491-505, with references to the sources, and a kinship table of the family as it was in 1865 at p. 492. (Ed.)

ḲRĀN [see sikka].

ḲRÏM [see ḳïrïm].

ḲRÏZ (Russian designation, Krïzï [from the *aul* Ḳrïz]), a small Caucasian ethnic group, forming with the K̲h̲aput [*q.v.*] and Dzhek the Dzhek subdivision of the Samurian group (Lezghin, Agul, Rutul, Tsak̲h̲ur, Tabasaran, Buduk̲h̲, Dzhek), of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian language family.

According to the 1926 Soviet census, ethnically there were 5 Ḳrïz, and linguistically 4,348 (including speakers of Dzhek and K̲h̲aput dialects). According to a 1954 estimate, there were some hundreds of Ḳrïz living in a single *aul*, that of Ḳrïz, located in the basin of the upper Ḳudialchay, in the S̲h̲ak̲h̲dag̲h̲ area (Konak̲h̲kend district, Azerbaidjan SSR). The Ḳrïz are Sunnī Muslims of the S̲h̲āfiʿī rite. The traditional economy of the Ḳrïz was based on sedentary animal husbandry, agriculture, and horticulture.

The Ḳrïz language is only a variant of Dzhek (as is K̲h̲aput), which is a purely vernacular language; Azeri is used as the literary language. The Ḳrïz are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

Bibliography: A. Bennigsen and H. C. d'Encausse, *Une république soviétique musulmane: le Daghestan, aperçu démographique*, in *REI* (1955), 7-56; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958. (R. Wixman)

KRUJË, a town in northern Albania, lying around the foot of a precipitous rock, a spur of the steep Krujë Range, with the fertile plain of the Ishm river to the south and west.

Under the Ottoman administration the town was officially known as Aḳ Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*]. It was the chief administrative centre of the *wilāyet* and after 1466 of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of this name. For most of the second half of the 19th century the *ḳaḍāʾ* was part of the *wilāyet* and of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Skutari (cf. Th. Ippen, *Beiträge zur inneren Geschichte Albaniens im XIX. Jahrhundert*, in L. von Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*, Munich-Leipzig 1916, i, 363). The *ḳaḍāʾ* comprised a *nāḥiye*, an area north of the river Mat, known as Ohëri i vogël (cf. F. Seiner, *Die Gliederung der albanischen Stämme*, Graz 1922, 6), which was inhabited by the Kthella tribe (cf. *Detailbeschreibung von Albanien. 1. Theil: Nord-albanien mit den angrenzenden Theilen Dalmatiens und Montenegros*, Vienna 1900, 110 ff., 130 ff.). At the time of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Northern Albania in 1916, the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Krujë functioned as part of the *sand̲j̲ak* of Krujë, together with the *ḳaḍāʾ*s of Matja and Ohëri (cf. F. Seiner, *Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Albanien in dem von den österr.-ungarischen Truppen 1916-1918 besetzten Gebiete*, Vienna-Leipzig 1922, 14). In the independent Albanian state the area of Krujë became a sub-prefecture of the prefecture of Dürres (cf. *Albania. Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division*, Oxford 1945, 146). After 1949, the position of the town was affected by various administrative changes; cf. *Die*

Verwaltungseinstellung und die Entwicklung der Bevölkerung in Albanien, Wissenschaftlicher Dienst Südosteuropa (München: Südost Institut), iii, No. 10 (1954), 211-16, *passim*. In present-day Albania the district (*rrethe*) of Krujë covers an area of 607 sq. km. and had a population of 70,700 in 1971 (cf. *Vjetari statistikor i R.P.SH.-1971 dhe 1972*, Tiranë 1973, 24). The number of inhabitants of the town itself, which is known for the characteristic architecture of its buildings (cf. Koco Zheku, *La Kulle (manoir) de Kruje*, in *Deuxième Conférence des Etudes Albanologiques*, ii, Tirana 1970, 263-8 (text), 269-89 (illustrations)), amounted to about 7,000 souls (cf. Zheku, *ibid.*, 263).

Throughout the 19th and early 20th century, the region of Krujë was the scene of various anti-Ottoman rebellions, mainly in response to the imposition of new taxes (cf. Luan Bajo, *Faqe nga Lufta e kacakëve në rrethin e Krujës (fundi i shekullit XIX—fillimi i shekullit XX)*, in *Studime Historike*, vi [1969], ii, 65-74). During one of the last of these rebellions in 1906-7, the so-called battle of Tallajbe—named after the quarter of the town of Krujë where it took place—was fought between peasants from the Krujë area and Ottoman forces under Shemsi Pasha (cf. Luan Bajo, *Mbi "Luftën e Tallajbesë" në rrethin e Krujës në vitet 1906-1907*, in *Studime Historike*, vi [1969], iii, 147-58).

Accounts of these events as well as of the revolts against local landlords belonging to the Toptan family, within which the office of *sandjaķ-beg* [*q.v.*] had become a hereditary position, are preserved in local oral tradition and were collected, studied and analysed by G. Komnino, *Expedita folklorike e Krujës*, in *Buletin për shkencat shoqërore*, iii (1955), 235-61. During the general insurrection of 1912, which led to the proclamation of Albanian independence, the region of Krujë was one of the major centres of anti-Ottoman activity (cf. P. Bartl, *Die Albanischen Muslime zur Zeit der Nationalen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung (1878-1912)*, Wiesbaden 1968, 180, and for a more detailed account, L. Bajo, *Mbi kryengritjen e përgjithshme të vitit 1912 në rrethin ë Krujës*, in *Studime Historike*, viii [1971], i, 131-54); and in 1914 it was the centre of the Essadist movement, which was partly pro-Turkish and directed against the Albanian sovereign Wilhelm von Wied. The town was captured by anti-Essadist troops of Mati tribesmen under Ahmet Zogu (cf. C. A. Dako, *Zogu the First, King of the Albanians*, Tirana 1937, 61).

The population of the *ķaḍā'* was predominantly Muslim and the town of Krujë was inhabited by Muslims exclusively (cf. Seiner, *Volkszählung*, 14). The majority of its inhabitants belonged to the Bektāshī order [see BEKTĀSHIYYA] which had several sanctuaries in and around the town and a *tekke* in the plain below Krujë (Fushë e Krujës), which was visited and described by F. Babinger in 1928 (F. Babinger, *Bei den Derwischen von Kruja*, in *Mitteilungen der Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung*, ix [1928], Heft 8/9, 148-9; Heft 10, 164-5; and idem, *With the Dervishes of Krooya*, in *The Sphere*, cxvii [1929], no. 1525, 63. For photographs of the *tekke*, see E. Rossi, *Credenze ed usi dei Bektasci*, in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, xviii [1942], 60-80). Until 1967, the *tekke* was the seat of a *gjysh* (grandfather) who had under his jurisdiction the prefectures of Tirana, Durrës and Shkodër. These constituted one of the six zones into which Albania had been subdivided by the order for administrative purposes (cf. S. Skendi, *Albania*, New York 1958, 294).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see J. G. von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, Vienna 1853-4, i, 87, and J. Müller, Albanien, *Rumelien und die österreichisch-montenegrische Gränze, oder statistisch-topographische Darstellung der Paschaliks Skutari, Priserend, Ipek, Toli-Monastir, Jakova, Tirana, Kavaja, Elbassan, und Ohrida, so wie des Gränzdistricts von Budua in Österreichisch-Albanien, nach eigenen Beobachtungen dargestellt*, Prague 1844, 72 (for descriptions of Krujë in the first half of the 19th century); A. Dozon, *Excursion en Albanie*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie* (Paris), 6e serie, ix (1875), 616 (for a short description of Krujë in the second half of the 19th century); A. Baldacci, *Itinerari Albanesi (1982-1902) con uno sguardo generale all'Albania e alle sue communicazioni stradali*, Rome 1917, 477 f. (factual observations on the town and its physical environment); Th. Ippen, *Denkmäler verschiedener Altersstufen in Albanien*, in *Wissenschaftlichen Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und Herzegowina*, x (1907), 59 ff.; S. Adhami, *La fondation de la citadelle de Krujë et ses principales reconstructions*, in *Monumentet*, i, Tirane 1971, 61-77 (on the citadel); and F. Bonasera, *Il "Bazar" nei centri albanesi*, in *Lares*, xx (1954), 1-2, 132 (for the bazar only).

(F. DE JONG)

ĶUBAČI, self-designation, Urbugh; Russian, Kubačintsï; Arabic and Persian, Zirihgarān), a people of the eastern Caucasus. The Ķubači inhabit the single *aul* of Ķubači, located in Dakhadaev *rayon*, Dāghistān. They are a Caucasic people whose language belongs with Ķaytaķ and Dargin to the Dargino-Lak (Lak-Dargwa) group of the Ibero-Caucasian language family. Ķubači is now regarded as a dialect of the Dargin language, and they are considered in the Soviet Union as a sub-group of Dargins rather than as a distinct ethnic group. The Ķubači use the Dargin literary language, and they are being assimilated by the Dargins. In 1926, according to the Soviet census, there were 2,322 Ķubači.

The first mention of the Ķubači appears in Arabic sources of the 4th/10th century from Darband [see BĀB AL-ABWĀB]. Although the Ķubači maintained patriarchal clan divisions and had a strong self-ruling free society, they paid tribute both to the Shamkhāl of Ķāzīķumukh (4th-8th/10th-14th centuries) and the Utsmiat of Ķaytāķ (9th-10th/15th-16th centuries). The *aul* of Ķubači was part of the Gapsh free society, a division of the Utsmi-Dargwa, a Dargin federation. The Ķubači are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī school. They, along with the Dargins, accepted Islam in the 6th/12th century.

Since the middle Ages, Ķubači artisans have been renowned as gold, silver, and coppersmiths, and as makers of fine jewelry and weapons. So famed were they as makers of daggers, sabres, and chain-mail that they were, and are, called Zirihgarān ("makers of mail") by the Arabs and Persians. Even under the Soviets today, the Ķubači masters are still famous for their fine jewelry, gold and silver smithing.

Bibliography: Geiger *et al.*, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; *Narodï Dagestana*, Moscow 1955. See also DĀGHISTĀN, DARGHIN, ĶAYTAĶ, ĶUMUĶ and LAM.

(R. WIXMAN)

ĶUBĀDĀBĀD, a residence of the Rūm Saldjūķ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ķayķubād I (616-34/1219-37) [*q.v.*] on the west bank of the Lake Beyşehir, *ca.* 100 km. south-west of Konya. On the spur of the Güllüce Dağları, probably in 624/1227 chosen by Ķayķubād I as a site for its scenic qualities, a palace-city was constructed under the direction of Saʿd al-Dīn Köpek, his Court Architect and Master of the

Royal Hunt (*amīr-i s̲h̲ikār ū miʿmār*). The first palace is said to have been erected in the presence of the ruler according to his detailed indications. But it may have taken longer to erect the buildings of the area, which measures *ca.* 430 × 200 m. and on which until now there can be identified the ruins of 15 constructions, as well as the outline of a quay and a fenced enclosure perhaps to be identified as an enclosure for animals. Unambiguous evidence for continued building activity is provided by an inscription, dated 633/1236, commemorating the foundation of a mosque by Badr al-Dīn Sūtās̲h̲, governor (*wālī*) of Ḳubādābād, later transferred to the mosque at Kürtler Köyü, at a distance of *ca.* 3 km. to the south. The palace-city was inhabited temporarily by G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Kayk̲h̲usraw II (634-44/1239-46) too and finally also by ʿIzz al-Dīn Kayḳāʾūs II [*q.v.*] (during his second reign 655-9/1257-61), but its importance must have declined sharply after the occupation of Anatolia by the Mongols (641/1243).

The ruins were identified in 1949 by M. Zeki Oral, who made limited, trial excavations up to 1951. The systematic excavations in 1965 and 1966 by Katharina Otto-Dorn and Mehmet Önder included a topographical survey of the area, but remained restricted to clearing the two main buildings located at the lake shore. Both buildings are characteristic palaces with central double rooms: a raised *īwān*, probably a throne-room, preceded by a barrel-vaulted entrance hall. The smaller building of 30 × 29 m. of dressed stone, by a quay and associated with a dockyard, is probably the older one of the two palaces. This is indicated by the stone blocks of the porch, which have been excavated; with its simple, angular, interlacing bands it points to the early years of the reign of Ḳayḳubād I. The greater palace of 50 × 35 m., erected probably only slightly later in an isolated position on the northern side of the building area, is a rubble construction clearly less pretentious as far as masonry is concerned. It is, however, distinguished by an outer court and a terrace which border upon the shore of the lake.

The rubble walls of the greater palace, not very notable by themselves, were originally richly decorated. Up to a height of 1.75 m., the inner walls of the main rooms bore a revetment of underglaze-painted tiles mostly arranged in an all-over star and cross pattern, the eight-pointed stars bearing figural subjects and the crosses florate ornaments. The tiles, datable *ca.* 627/1230 or a little later, show a variety of iconographic themes side-by-side, apparently reflecting the multiple functions of the building, as a Royal residence and as a hunting lodge; on the one hand, there are symbols of power like the sovereign enthroned, eagles bearing the inscription *al-sulṭān* on their breasts or lions; and on the other, astrological symbols and fabulous creatures, or trees of life which may well be allusions to paradise. Finally there are stylised animal figures, with falcons or horses together with game animals like foxes, hares, deer, bears, etc. Tile fragments proved that the smaller palace was also covered with tiles, bearing similar iconographic themes. This revetment, however, is possibly datable to a later phase of decoration.

In addition to these considerable series of tiles, which are particularly important as one of the earliest known examples in architecture of tile-decoration with figural subjects, there were also excavated in the greater palace fragments of window-screens of mosaic faïence, as well as vestiges of moulded stucco, decorated with peacocks and riders, and some figural stone reliefs. Together with numerous smaller finds, which included fine glazed pottery and in particular, a glass dish bearing the names and titles of G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Kayk̲h̲usraw II, the son of the imperial founder of the site, the richly-decorated palaces of Ḳubādābād represent impressive evidence for the artistic splendour of the court of the Rūm Sald̲j̲ūḳs which reached its zenith under Ḳayḳubād I.

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ḲUBĀD̲H̲IYĀN, Ḳuwād̲h̲iyān, in mediaeval

Islamic times a small province situated on the right bank of the upper Oxus, and also a town, the chief settlement of the province. The latter comprised essentially the basin of the Ķubādhiyān (modern Kafirnihan) River, which ran down from the Buttamān Mountains and joined the Oxus at the fording-place of Awwadj or Awzadj (modern Ayvadj); accordingly, it lay between the provinces of Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*] on the west and Wakhsh and Khuttal [*q.v.*] on the east. Administratively, it was most often attached to Khuttal. It now falls substantially within the Tadzhikstan SSR.

The name Ķubādhiyān/Ķuwādhiyān seems to appear in the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang's travel account as Kio-ho-yen-na, according to Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 226, 233. The 4th/10th century geographers describe it amongst the upper Oxus provinces of Transoxania. Its chef-lieu was the town of Ķubādhiyān itself (modern Kabadian), also called in Ibn Ḥawķal Fazz, but in Muķaddasī B.y.z. (?); this was a strongly-fortified town on the Ķubādhiyān River, smaller however than Tirmidh [*q.v.*]. In the north, on the upper course of the river, lay the fortresses of Wāshgird and Shūmān, frontier posts against such predatory peoples of the Buttamān Mountains as the Kumīdjīs [*q.v.*]; indeed, the whole province was well-supplied with *ribāṭ*s and defensive posts. According to Ibn Ḥawķal, the *Ṣāḥib-Barīd* or postmaster and intelligence agent [see BARĪD] for the Sāmānids in Ķubādhiyān received the salary for each three months (*ʿishrīniyya*) of 200 *dirhams*. The chief products for exports from the province were saffron in the north and madder in the south, the latter being a crop whose marketing was strictly controlled by the Sāmānid government (see Ibn Ḥawķal, ed. Kramers, ii, 454, 470, 474-7, tr. Kramers and Wiet, ii, 439, 453, 456-9; Muķaddasī, 284, 289-90; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 114-15, § 25; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 102-3). Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, f. 440b, gives "al-Ķubādhiyānī" as the best-attested form of the *nisba*, and accounts Ķubādhiyān as belonging administratively (in the Saldjūķ period?) to Balkh.

In Islamic history, we hear little of Ķubādhiyān under this very name. It was a dependency of the Sāmānid empire, passing with Khuttal and Čaghāniyān to the Ghaznawids in the early 5th/11th century (whence several mentions of it in Bayhaķī's *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*), and then to the Saldjūķs; in Tīmūrid times it was often controlled by the rulers of Harāt. See further for the historical aspect, ČAGHĀNIYĀN and KHUTTALĀN.

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the article, see J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang, Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran*, Leiden 1938, 36, 75, 90, 94; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 439-40. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KUBAFOLO or **BAFILO**, the centre of the administrative region of Northern Togo, situated in lat. 8° 40′ N. and long. 1′ 30′ E., 73 km. north of Sokodé. It owes its origin to the unforeseen halting of a column of Gonja warriors led by Mama, ruler of Pembi, and which was returning from a campaign against Djougou at the beginning of the 19th century. They stopped at Séméré (now in the People's Republic of Benin), and a group settled there. The warriors were tired by a long march through the mountain regions, but did not dare to ask their chief to stop; however, the latter's horse stopped to urinate, and the warriors seized the opportunity to halt. Finding the spot pleasant, they set up an encampment which they named Gobangafol (from *banga* "horse" and *mbofol* "urine"). These Gouang warriors settling there married Tem women and adopted the Tem language. The traditions vary concerning this expedition; according to Goody, it was probably commanded by Soumaïla Ndewura Jakpa, king of Pembi, and according to others, by Mama, with Séméré and Bafilo being founded by rebellious dissidents rather than by disciplined soldiers.

At present, representatives of the main clans are to be found at Bafilo: the Touré, originating from the Niger banks under the leadership of a certain Boukari; the Fofana, descended from Sabani (of the royal family of Fada N'Gurma); the Keita of Kabara; and the Taraore. The Peuls who are said to have arrived in Nigeria between 1840 and 1875 (the Sakara and Dabo clans) allegedly initiated the Temba into stock-raising. When the Germans arrived, there were already several mosques. Islamisation has continued, and at the present time, there are 27 mosques in the town, divided between its two component quarters, 18 in the Agodadé one and 9 in the Central one. The chief mosque is 25 years old; a Ķurʾān school with three grades is attached to it, with a Libyan teacher giving instruction there since 1977. About 100 men and some 50 women have made the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Until the Second World War there existed a small minority of the Ķādiriyya order, but with the death of the last Alfa then, these adherents have rallied to the Tidjāniyya. Bafilo is an important centre for the spread of Islam, since several of the Muslim missionaries in Togo have received their religious education there.

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ĶUBAN (called in Noghay Turkish, ĶUMAN, in Čerkes, PHSHIZ), one of the four great rivers of the Caucasus (Rion, Kura, Terek and Ķuban). It is about 450 miles long. It rises near Mount Elburz at a height of 13,930 feet. Its three constituents (Khurzuķ, Ulu-Ķam, Uč-Ķulan) join together before reaching the defile through which the Ķuban enters the plains (at a height of 1,075 feet). The Ķuban at first runs through the wooded outer spurs of the mountains and then, taking a westerly direction, flows through the plains with forests on either bank. Its left bank tributaries are the Daʾut, Teberda, Zelenčuk, Urup, Laba, Bēlaia, Pshish, Psekups, Afips, Adagum, etc. Its lower course breaks into two branches, one of which (Protoka) flows into the Sea of Azov and the other (the main one) into the Black Sea (although it also sends off a channel to the Sea of Azov). The lower course of the river frequently changes its bed. As late as the 15th century for example, it discharged the bulk of its waters into the Sea of Azov. The Ķuban with its tributaries drains an area of 20,000 sq. miles.

The administrative district of the Ķuban—before 1918 the province (*oblastʾ*) of the Ķuban Cossacks—also included the valleys, further north of the Baisugh, Čelbasī, Sasīka and the left bank of the Yeya, all flowing towards the Sea of Azov or ending in lakes and marshes. This territory between the chain of the Caucasus and the sea stretched to the north as far as the province of the Don Cossacks and to the east as far as that of the Terek Cossacks. The area of this

great province, which is divided into 7 districts (Yeya, Temrük, Kawkazski, Ekaterinodar, Maykop [in Turkish: "much oil"], Laba, Baṭṭālpas̲h̲insk), was estimated at about 32,000 sq. miles.

Klaproth, *Tableau du Caucase*, Paris 1827, 89, estimated the tribes of the Ḳuban at about 100,000 families. According to the *Russian Encyclopaedia*, the native population in about 1861 was 200,000 men (?), but as a result of expatriations en masse, this number had fallen to 90,471 by about 1883. Russian colonisation, which was begun by the Cossacks in about 1861, had reached 1,500,000 by 1894. In 1916, official statistics put the whole population of the province at over 3,000,000. The number of "highlanders" and "Sunnīs" included in this total had also increased and reached 139,000. The native elements indicated by these official terms, which lack precision, included the remainder of the Čerkes and Abaz tribes [*q.v.*] (related to the Abk̲h̲āz, *q.v.*) and Turks of Ḳara-Čay. The latter (about 15,000 in 1900) lived in the villages (*aul*) of Ḳart-D̲j̲urt, Uč-Ḳulan and K̲h̲urzuḳ, etc. in the upper waters of the Ḳuban and spoke a northern Turkish dialect (Nog̲h̲ay). They were at one time under the Čerkes princes of Ḳabarda and in 1822 submitted to the Russians.

After 1920, the territory of Ḳuban was re-organised on an ethnic basis; besides the Kabarda-Balḳar region (on the Terek) (now an Autonomous SSR) two autonomous (within the Soviet system) areas were created on the Ḳuban: first, the Ḳara-Čay-Čerkes, east of Urup with its capital Baṭṭāl-pas̲h̲insk; it has about 150,000 inhabitants of whom 45% are Turks, 25% Čerkes and 13% Cossacks; and second, the Adīg̲h̲e, a strip of territory along the Ḳuban and Laba; its capital is Tok̲h̲tamukay and it contains about 70,000 Čerkes. Both these are now Autonomous Regions.

The basin of the Ḳuban has been inhabited since the bronze age. The oldest tombs at Maykop go back to the second (according to Rostovtzeff, to the third) millenium B.C. Scythian tombs of the 4th-5th centuries B.C. are very numerous (Kelermes, Voronežskaia) and Sarmatian tombs from the 2nd century B.C. to the 1st A.D. The Greeks called the Ḳuban Hypanis, Vardanes and Anticites. In Byzantine authors we find Κοῦφις, Κοῦφις (Marquart, *Osteuropäische Streifzüge*, 32). The spread of Christianity among the Adig̲h̲e (Čerkes), according to local legends, dates from the emperor Justinian (527-65); cf. S̲h̲ora Nogmov, *Istoria adig̲h̲eiskago naroda*, Tiflis 1861, 43.

The Arabs were not well acquainted with the district. According to a bold conjecture of Marquart, *ibid.*, 37, 161, 164, Ḳuban is to be read for Dūbā (*Kūbā), which according to Gardīzī (quoting D̲j̲ayhānī, *ca.* 301/914) formed the southern boundary of the Mad̲j̲ār (Magyars) and to the south of which (on the left bank) lived (Ibn Rusta, 139) the Ṭwlās, probably an Alān [*q.v.*] tribe (cf. the southern Ossete tribe of Tual-tā and the name of the Alāns: Ās). On the other hand, Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲ al-d̲h̲ahab*, ii, 45-6) says that the immediate neighbours of the Alān were the Kasak living between the Caucasus and the Black Sea. The Kas̲h̲ak (a parallel form is al-Kāsakiyya, Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 157) are the Čerkes, whom the Russian chronicles call Kasogī and with whom the Russian principality of Tmutarakan (on the peninsula of Taman in the 9th to the 11th century) had continuous relations.

The later history of the territory of Ḳuban is at first the story of the struggle between the Russians and Ottomans, and more particularly the K̲h̲āns of the Crimea, for the possession of the fertile plains southeast of the Sea of Azov and later of the struggle of the Russians with the warlike tribes of the left bank of the Ḳuban.

In the 16th century, Moscow's interest in the northern Caucasus was stimulated by the marriage of Ivan the Terrible with the Ḳabardian princess, Maria Temrükovna, in 1561. Soon afterwards Sulṭān Selīm II sent Ḳāsim Pas̲h̲a to Astrak̲h̲an, and Dewlet-Giray of the Crimea invaded Ḳabarda.

In 1589 the Cossacks appeared before Azov, a former Venetian and Genoese colony, which the Ottomans had taken in 880/1475. A long series of struggles began for the possession of Azov [cf. AZAḲ] and the Čerkes principality of Ḳabarda (to the east of the Ḳuban on both sides of the middle course of the Terek). Down to the beginning of the 18th century the K̲h̲āns of the Crimea had the upper hand, and by about 1717 the Čerkes had been converted to Islam (Nogmov). By the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1739 the two Ḳabardas were proclaimed independent to constitute a buffer state between the two powers. By the treaty of Küčük-Kaynard̲j̲ī [*q.v.*] in 1774, Great and Little Ḳabarda were placed under the suzerainty of the K̲h̲ān of the Crimea, whose independence was recognised. In 1782 the Turks occupied Taman, but by the edict of 8 April 1783, Catherine II proclaimed the annexation by Russia of the Crimea, Taman and the "Tatārs of Ḳuban". On 28 December 1783, the Porte recognised the course of the Ḳuban as the frontier. Between 1787 and 1791, the movement in the western Caucasus led by the religious leader S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Manṣūr caused the Russians considerable trouble, but the Russo-Turkish treaty of Yassi (a town which owes its name to the Ās = Alān; cf. Tomaschek, in Pauly-Wissowa², i, 1282-4) confirmed the frontier of 1783. The treaty of 1829 moved it southwards to the roadstead of St. Nicolas (between Poti and Batum), but the territory within these bounds was only effectively occupied 32 years later after a stubborn and heroic resistance by the tribes of the Ḳuban.

The line of defences of the Caucasus had been planned under the Empress Anna (1730-40). In 1777, the line started from Azov and went by Stavropol, Georgievsk to Ekaterinograd (on the Terek). In 1792, it began at Bug̲h̲az (north of Anapa) and following the Ḳuban for a while, left it to go to Georgievsk (1794) and then 1798 to Ekaterinograd (cf. the map in the *Akti kavk. ark̲h̲eogr. kommissii*, Tiflis 1868, i). In 1834 General Veliaminov established a military cordon on the left bank of the Ḳuban as far as Gelend̲j̲ik on the Black Sea. In 1838 Novorossisk (Tsemes) was founded on the site of the old Turkish fortress of Sud̲j̲uk-Ḳalʿa. After risings provoked by the operations of the allies in the Crimean War, General Yevdokimov in 1861 carried out an enveloping manoeuvre with the object of making the highlanders descend into the plains and of driving the rebels towards the coast to force them to migrate to Turkey. According to native sources (H. Bammate, in the *Revue Politique Internationale*, Nov.-Dec. 1918), 75,000 (?) refugees left the Caucasus in 1864; Russian sources give the number of emigrants at 13,586 from 1871 till 84. In 1864, the Russians reached the passes of the chain of the Western Caucasus.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles ABK̲H̲ĀZ, AZAḲ, ČERKES, and AL-ḲABḲ. Archaeology: E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Oxford 1913, 634-8 gives a complete bibliography; N. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922. All the passages in classical authors relating to the Caucasus are in B. Latyschev, *Scythica et caucasica*

e veteribus scriptoribus graecis et latinis, in *Zap. Russ. Arkh. obshč.* (1890-1906). Similar passages in the Arabic geographers have been translated by N. Karaulov, *Sbornik materialov ... Kavkasa*, Tiflis, xxix, xxxi, xxxii, xxxviii (map). For the general bibliography, see Miansarov, *Bibliographia caucasica et transcaucasica*, St. Petersburg 1874-6, and Dubrovin in *Istorya voinî na Kavkase*, iii/1, St. Petersburg 1885-8. For Ottoman connections with the region, see C. M. Kortepeter, *Ottoman imperialism during the reformation: Europe and the Caucasus*, New York-London 1972. There is an account of the Russo-Turkish wars and geographical information in the *Grande encyclopédie russe*, ed. Brockhaus and Efron. For the situation after 1923, see the publication of the Foreign Office, *Soviet Russia. A description of the various political units*, London 1924, and in *BSE*[2], i, 240-3, under Adlghe. On the Čerkes [*q.v.*] language, cf. also Prince N. S. Troubetzkoy, *Langues caucasiques septentrionales*, in *Les langues du Monde*, ed. A. Meillet, Paris 1924, 336, 341, and N. Yakovlev, *Tables phonétiques de la langue cabarde*, and *Glossaire des exemples*, fascs. i-ii of the *Travaux de la section des langues du Caucase septent. de l'Institut Oriental*, Moscow 1923. For the Turkish dialect of Ḳara-Čay, cf. W. Pröhle, *Karatschaisches Wörterverzeichnis*, in *Keleti Szemle* (1911).

(V. Minorsky*)

ḲUBBA, the Arabic name used throughout the whole Muslim world for a tomb surmounted by a dome.

Purpose and significance. The term is applied to the thousands of simple local domed tombs of *shaykhs* and saints made by the people as well as to great mausoleums. The term *ḳubba* became established as a *pars pro toto* abbreviation for the domes of tombs, for which it is exclusively reserved. All the special names for sepulchral buildings, which vary with country and language as well as with the style of building and person interred, come under the generic name of *ḳubba*. The classical word *turba* was driven out of use by *ḳubba* until it was again popularised by the Turks. Just as we have *gunbād* for *ḳubba*, so we occasionally have *turbat* for *turba* in Iran. Tombs of saints which, along with tombs of princes, are almost the only material with which the history of art has to deal, have different names in different countries, and these usually also indicate different grades. The highest is the *mashhad*, which according to its etymology means a place where a *shahīd* is buried. "As a rule a *mashhad* is found only as the tomb of a martyr held in particular esteem, indeed of a saint endued with a semblance of divinity; but then the *mashhad* is not only a grave, but a memorial in the wider sense, which as a place of pilgrimage (*mazār*) attracts numerous visitors and has certain rites associated with it, that is to say, it is not a burial-place for any Muslim, but a tomb and also a place of worship for saints" (M. van Berchem, in E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* [to be quoted as *Ch. Bdkm.*], 89). The general term in Shīʿī lands for the tomb of a saint is *imām-zāde* or *shāh-zāde*. In lands where Arabic is spoken, these domed tombs are called *marbūṭ*, *shaykh*, *walī*, *nābī*, and as places of pilgrimage, *maḳām*.

Form, evolution and embellishment. The original form of the *ḳubba* is a square building covered by a dome, which evolved from the domed house of the peoples of the desert and became stereotyped as a monumental form. In the process, the very low-lying vaulting of the dwellinghouse, which is only a flat calotte rising from the cube of masonry, was raised. This evolution of a rounded vault into a round dome required the insertion of an octagonal intermediate story, the drum, and led in the interior to that development of the transitions from the square to the round dome which constitute the constructive and decorative charm of all Muslim domed chambers (pictures of round vaulting in Diez, *Kunst der islamischen Völker*[1], Berlin 1915, 79). This development began with primitive corbelling, then passed to simple spherical corner arcades or niches and in the end took its own way in West and East, as will be dealt with under the separate countries. Alongside of this typical orthodox normal form of *ḳubba*, which is found from the Maghrib to the eastern Asiatic steppes and India, special forms, which are described under the different countries, arose in the lands conquered by the Turkish peoples, such as northern Iran, Māzandarān, the lands of the Caucasus, Anatolia and Central Asia. The ornamentation of the buildings depended on the material and the systems of decorations in vogue in the different countries. So far and so long as brick predominated, we find also the primitive, probably almost always coloured, stucco covering, with which in Iran, and exceptionally also in Anatolia, is associated glaze, which gradually took the place of stucco. The stone buildings of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Anatolia and the Caucasus, attained their effects through alternating layers of colour and decoration in relief. The stone domes of the Cairo *ḳubbas* covered with geometrical patterns and scrolls rival the brightly decorated glazed domes of Iran.

We shall now deal with the form and development of the *ḳubba* in the various lands.

Maghrib. The *ḳubbas* or *marabūṭs* of the Maghrib are usually of uncertain age. Even the period of introduction of the different types is often difficult to determine. Comparisons with the architectural forms, especially with the decoration of the great dated mosques, sometimes afford a clue. The types of the different countries have their origins in old forms of the sepulchres of the people. The Tunisian type A has derived its octagonal drum from the monumental style; the Algerian type B shows the combination of the original domed circular structure with the later rectangle, with the addition of the pinnacles indigenous to African native architecture; the western type C also found in Spain conceals the dome under the pyramid roof, which comes from building in wood and thus points to mountain valleys rich in wood and is a parallel phenomenon to the tomb of similar form in Māzandarān on the south shore of the Caspian Sea. Type D is found among the nomads of the high Algerian plateau and follows the local style of building in clay of the nomad territory, with the egg-shaped dome and the usually tapering lower structure.

In view of this undoubtedly popular origin of the *ḳubba*, we can hardly agree with the common assumption that the open type of *ḳubba*—a dome on four pillars—as represented in the Cubola in Palermo, is the oldest in the Maghrib (Marçais, *op. cit.*, 532). Several *ḳubbas* of the cemetery of Ḳayrawān might, according to Marçais, date from the same time as the domes of the Great Mosque (cf. Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 17). To the same group also appears to belong the *ḳubba* of Sidi el-Mazeri in Monastir which can be dated to the 6th/12th century.

In al-ʿUbbād al-Suflī ("the Lower") near Tlemcen, Algeria, there are still several pre-Marīnid *ḳubbas* (i.e.

before 591/1195) built of brick and pisé on four pillars with horse-shoe arches and semi-niche pendentives as arcades and octagonal domes (Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 310). The walls were either crowned with wreaths of pinnacles or with corner pinnacles. In the old cemetery of Sīdī Yaʿḳūb outside Tlemcen is the "Tomb of the Sulṭāna", the rounded arches in nine sections of which piercing the eight sides of the lower drum make a date in the early 7th/13th century certain. The octagonal drum made the arcades superfluous here. The Ḳbibat Benī Merīn ("Tombs of the Marīnids") in S̲h̲ālla (Chella) near Rabat link up with the preceding type from Tlemcen. Here from 763-801/1361-98 were buried four successors of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī. One of these *ḳubba*s has a quadrangular drum, pierced by four horse-shoe arches, and a dome with twelve sections. The arcades have again the form of semi-pendentives. The mausoleum of Abu 'l-Ḥasan there, the most splendid of the Marīnid tombs, has also a square drum with slightly deformed horse-shoe windows in three sides (H. Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chella, une nécropole mérinide*, in *Hespéris* [1922]; Marçais, *op. cit.*, 497). Next to these open *ḳubba*s just mentioned the closed *ḳubba* is by far the most frequent. These buildings have only one door, but within, three similarly formed blind-niches. This is the form of the *ḳubba*s of Sīdī Bū Medyen, the famous Spanish mystic, in Tlemcen which was already in existence in the 8th/14th century and restored at the end of the 18th century. The dome is divided inside by painting with intertwining bands into twelve sectors. The *ḳubba* in Tlemcen now called Sīdī Brāhīm was built by Sīdī Abū Hammū Mūsā II (753-88/1352-86). The interior walls with the usual blind-niches still possess their socles ornamented with glazes and their painted stucco relief. The dome divided into eight parts rests on Mag̲h̲ribī arcades in the form of semi-pendentives. These two last-named *ḳubba*s have pillared outer halls for the pilgrims. As elsewhere, in the Mag̲h̲rib, particularly in Tunis, mosques and *madrasa*s were rendered particularly sacred by the inclusion of a *ḳubba* (Marçais, *op. cit.*, 860).

Egypt. The oldest buildings of the *ḳubba* type in Cairo belong to the Fāṭimid period. The oldest is the *mas̲h̲had* built by Badr al-D̲j̲amālī, the builder of the second wall and its gates, and by his son al-Afḍal—the *mas̲h̲had* of al-D̲j̲uyūs̲h̲ī on the Muḳaṭṭam hills. *Amīr al-d̲j̲uyūs̲h̲*, commander-in-chief of the army, was Badr's title. The date of the inscription was read as 478/1085 by van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe, I.*, in *JA* (1891), 478-9 = *Opera minora*, Geneva 1978, 144-5. The building consists of a rectangular chamber, roofed by a high arcaded dome raised on an octagonal drum and five cross-vaults, which opens into a little court with three arcades on which a minaret is built (picture in Glück-Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 159; M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924, figs. 35-8).The tomb chamber, left of the cupola, encloses the tomb of an unknown saint, whom the natives call Sīdī D̲j̲uyūs̲h̲ī, and to which pilgrimage is made on certain days; van Berchem raises the question whether this is the tomb of Badr himself (*Notes*, 487-8 = *Opera minora*, 153-4; idem, *Une mosquée du temps des Fatimides*, in *Méms. de l'Inst. égyptien*, ii [1888], 605-19). In the domed chapel is a finely painted stucco *miḥrāb*. The transition from square to octagon is done with Persian single arcades which survive in Cairo down to the Ayyūbid period. Directly below the D̲j̲āmiʿ al-D̲j̲uyūs̲h̲ī at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam hills in the Ḳarāfa is a building similar in plan and construction to the Mas̲h̲had on the Muḳaṭṭam, *D̲j̲āmiʿ Ik̲h̲wat Sidnā Yūsuf*. It has no court or minaret. The arches here again have the Persian profile characteristic of the Fāṭimid period as well as the cupola. This building again is not a mosque but a *ḳubba*. There are four small *ḳubba*s of this period in the Ḳarāfa near the *ḳubba* of Sīdī ʿUḳbā called by people *es-sabʿā banāt* "the seven daughters" (van Berchem, *Notes, loc. cit.*). These are small square buildings with octagonal drum and cupolas, originally seven, already mentioned by Maḳrīzī.

A *ḳubba* with tombs of ʿAbbāsid caliphs situated behind the renovated mausoleum of Sayyida Nafīsa in the south of Cairo shows the characteristic forms of the transition to the Ayyûbid style (van Berchem, *Notes. II.*, in *JA* [1892], repr., 20 ff.). A date 640/1243 in an inscription gives the *terminus ante*, which in view of the style of writing cannot be earlier than the beginning of the Ayyûbid period. Here the transition from square to octagonal drum is also produced through two series of *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*] niches which shows Turkish influence. This *ḳubba*, however, still follows Fāṭimid tradition as a brick building and in its stucco decoration. The profile of the cupola still retains its Persian form, indeed according to van Berchem, it is the only cupola of Cairo which still retains this cupola in completely characteristic fashion (*Notes. II.*, 21). From the Ayyūbid period also date the *ḳubba*s of Sulṭān Ṣāliḥ Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Ayyûb of 647-8/1249-50 and of his widow S̲h̲ad̲j̲arat al-Durr of 648/1250. These are rectangular buildings of stone with octagonal drum and a thin, eggshaped cupola with eight rectangular windows shooting up from it. Three keel-arched windows arranged in a triangle pierce each of the four principal sides of the drum. The façades of this *ḳubba* are ornamented with keel-arched flat niches and lozenge-shaped and circular shields decorated in stucco in the style of the Aḳmar mosque (519/1125) and other Fāṭimid buildings. In the interior, the transitions from the rectangular to the octagon are made with squinches and *muḳarnas*, the *miḥrāb*s were decorated with rich ornament and framed above with keel-arched *muḳarnas* in the form of a fan (pictures in the volumes of the Comité de Conservation . . . , in R. L. Devonshire, *Some Cairo mosques and their founders*, London 1922, fig. 32 and Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture*, figs. 72-5).

With the Baḥrī Mamlūks (1250-1390) there began an increase in the height of the cupola by raising the drum, as could be seen in the ruins still standing in the early 20th century of the *ḳubba*s of the family of Sulṭān Ḳalāwūn (678-89/1279-90) (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, figs. 187 and 153). The two *ḳubba*s, which were associated with *madrasa*s, had rectangular substructures of stone with an octagonal drum of brick like those of the great mausoleums of Ḳalāwūn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The two domes fell in and one was renovated. The interior of the drum had stepped recess niches with pillars from ancient buildings, but was otherwise bare. The substructures had windows of brick with pointed arches set into the stone walls, the fluted frames of which were decorated with stucco. The Syrian stone and the local brick technique here encountered one another. With these ruins the last remnants of the *ḳubba* of the Baḥrī Mamlūks disappeared. The *ḳubba* of Ḳalāwūn himself is an exception; he had it built after the model of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣak̲h̲ra [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem, and therefore it is outside of the regular line of development. It also fell in, and was given a wooden cupola. In the

Baḥrī period, the melon cupola also appears in Cairo.

The *ḳubba* of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, a Ṣūfī *s͟hayk͟h* of the line of the Banū Umayya, of 697/1298, is one of the most beautiful *ḳubba*s of Cairo, unfortunately much damaged in the interior by fire. The outside shows polygonal bevelling of the squinch area, a drum full of windows with a richly decorated calligraphic frieze about it, and a melon dome divided into numerous compartments. All the compartments and windows are framed in bands of stucco. The interior of the drum zone is broken up into richly ornamented, formerly painted, *muḳarnas* (picture in Briggs, *op. cit.*, 73). On this rests a dome of 28 segments, the ribs of which are decorated with sprigs of leaves in relief and it is beautifully adorned at top and bottom by inscriptions (picture in Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 42). If the influence of the Central Asian style was already seen in the melon cupola of the *ḳubba* just considered, it became more and more powerful in the raising of the cupola, the drums of which were no longer borne by Persian squinches and the cell-work evolved from it, but by Turkish triangular consoles and their numerous interruptions and combinations with *muḳarnas* honeycomb. The internal transition by means of such stereometric structures is henceforth shown outside also in triangular bevellings of the corners of the drum storey. The dome is in the shape of a helmet and is placed like a helmet on the drum. The external decoration of these domes with network patterns of all kinds in high relief carved in glazed stone is one of the peculiarities of Cairo. The older so-called "Tombs of the Mamlūks" and the later so-called "Tombs of the caliphs" all belong to the second Mamlūk period and are similar.

Lists of the *ḳubba*s of Cairo are given in K. A. C. Creswell, *A brief chronology*, in *BIFAO*, xvi, and Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 123-7.

Syria. According to Wulzinger's list, there are still in Damascus and its neighbourhood over a hundred *ḳubba*s, which are there called *turba* and *walī* and are usually connected with small *madrasa*s or *d͟jāmi*ʿs. The general form is the same as everywhere else: a quadrangular-cubic building with a squinch storey, a window storey and dome. Nothing has survived from the Umayyad period. It was only under the Zangids and their successors the Ayyūbids that architecture began to flourish again. As, however, the sepulchral dome over the Nūriyya *madrasa*, with its clusters of cells shows, architecture on the larger scale under Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī was still dependent on other lands, and in this case imitated the Mesopotamian form (F. K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus, die antike und die islamische Stadt*, Berlin 1921-4, ii, pl. 4b). Saladīn's *ḳubba* above the ʿAzīziyya *madrasa* has a rather too small dome above the heavy substructure.

From the period of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 1250-1390, many *turba*s still exist which are described by Wulzinger and Watzinger. Through the Crusaders, the Syrians learned to work in a way suitable to dressed stone. "A touch of Gothic, even in so far as the artistic side, the idea, the aesthetic norm is concerned, becomes perceptible in the time of Baybars, indeed half a century earlier, just as in Egypt. The dome now rises with still greater vigour, the drum becomes higher and the silhouette steeper ... In particular, the portal niche now becomes high and steep" (Wulzinger and Watzinger, 7). In keeping with this towering tendency, the *turba* of Rukn al-Dīn of 621/1224, which has a *masd͟jid* associated with it, has already two transitional stories on a square substructure, one octagonal with Persian concave squinches and the other 16-sided with windows, and a melon-shaped dome above (Wulzinger and Watzinger, fig. 42, pl. 8c and 9b). Very similar is the *turba* of ʿIzz al-Dīn of 626/1228-9 and several others (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 9a, figs. 34, 35; pl. 7b, pl. 10a). A more modest type is represented by the Ḳilid͟jiyya *turba* of 645/1247 built along with a *madrasa* for Sayf al-Dīn Ḳilid͟j al-Nūrī. As frequently in Syria, there were originally here two domes separated by a gateway, but of the western one nothing has survived. Here one squinch-area was sufficient, since with the help of pendentive consoles the transition was made direct from the quadrilateral to the duodecagon, and then by twelve triangular consoles, which are placed in the spandrels of the twelve pointed drum windows, the round base of the dome was reached (Wulzinger and Watzinger, figs. 10-12; cf. also fig. 47). Open *ḳubba*s with four great gate arches are also found in the 7th/13th century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 7c). As an example of rich inner decoration with stucco-relief may be mentioned the al-Ṣāliḥiyya *turba* of the 7th/13th century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 12).

As in Egypt, so also in Syria under the Circassian Mamlūks, the architectural form rapidly lost vigour, and was replaced by a fondness for decorative detail (Wulzinger and Watzinger, 10). The exterior was brightened, as in Cairo, by the use of stones of many colours, which were also arranged in ornamental patterns. The dome shows a further tendency to increase in height. The Ṭāwūsiyya of 784/1382 betrays a marked slackening in creative power by its two window-storeys directly opposite and externally exactly like one another (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 22b). As the al-Turīzī *ḳubba* of 828/1424-5 shows, there are no further changes internally in the transition from square to octagon and sixteen-sided figure (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 28a). The rich dome *muḳarnas* of Egypt is not to be found in Syria, and it remained here confined to the niches of the gateway. Outside of Damascus we may mention the double dome of K͟hayrbek in Aleppo, also known as the *ḳubba* of S͟hayk͟h ʿAlī and Kāʾit-Bay, of 924/1518 (Gluck-Diez, *op. cit.*, 189 and Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 106).

The Ottoman *türbe*s from 1517 A.D. offer, as in Egypt, little of interest and little variety. They are, as the *türbe* of Darwīs͟h Pas͟ha of 987/1579 shows, mainly octagonal with two drum storeys in the lower of which the corners are still decoratively rounded off with niches, although they are now functionally superfluous (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 55).

Asia Minor and Armenia. In Sald͟jūḳ Anatolia more than in other countries, the association of *madrasa*s with the sepulchral domes of the founders was the rule. In Ḳonya and the towns under its influence, such as Aḳsaray, we find in the open *madrasa*s, as in those with domes courts, at each side of the *ḳibla-īwān* in the main axis behind the court a domed chamber, one of which is usually used as a tomb, the other as a lecture room; exceptionally both are tombs (Ind͟je Minareli; cf. MASD͟JID, Architecture). In Ḳonya the transition to the dome is made partly still by fanshaped trihedral consoles and partly by salient and re-entrant friezes of trihedral consoles (Ḳara Ṭāʾiʿ, 649/1251-2), Ind͟je Minareli, 650-684/1252-85, Sird͟jeli Medrese, 641/1243-4). The earliest, still clumsy, trihedral console friezes shrink in the course of development to narrower, ornamental friezes. This abstract stereometric rounding-off of the angles was brought by Turkish architects from Central Asia where they had developed it in wood-

work. In the more eastern Anatolian towns like Nigde, Ḳayṣariyya etc., the system of transition with arcades, most used in Iran and Syria, predominates. In addition to those already mentioned, attention may be called in Ḳonya to the *turba* of Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn ʿAlī (666-82/1267-83) which was also built as a *madrasa* with two domed sepulchral chambers (cf. F. Sarre, *Konia*, reprinted from *Persische Baudenkmaler*). The independent *ḳubba*, usually called *turba* or *gunbād*, also *minareli*, forms in Anatolia and Armenia a uniform group of tent-like buildings, mainly of stone, polygonal in Asia Minor, round in Armenia, with pyramidal or conical roofs.

A list of the more important *turba*s, so far as they have been published, follows. In Ḳayṣariyya: Čifte Günbed, 645/1247; Döner Günbed, 675/1276; Sird̲j̲eli Günbed, 750/1349; ʿAlī D̲j̲aʿfar, 750/1349; Amīr ʿAlī, 751/1350, all of stone, octagonal with pyramidal roof, except the last named which is square (cf. A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*). The transition from the polygon to the round dome is here usually effected through rows of pointed arches. The Kös̲h̲-Madrasa in the same town (740/1339-40) has an octagonal *turba* standing in its court. The mosque of Lala Pas̲h̲a has an octagonal *turba* of the 8th/14th century built on to it. In Nigde the mosque of Sunḳur Bey has an octagonal *turba* of the year 620/1223 added to it. Outside of the town stands the octagonal *turba* of K̲h̲udābanda (712/1312-13); there are also several undated *turba*s in the vicinity (Gabriel, *op. cit.*). In Sīwās is the octagonal *turba* of Ḥusayn b. D̲j̲aʿfar of 629/1231-2) and the square one of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥasan Beg (Guduk Minâre) of 748/1347 (cf. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus ..., Asie Mineure*, i, 17 and 39, pl. ii). In Diwrigi are the octagons of Amīr Kamāl al-Dīn, 529/1134-5 and of Amīr S̲h̲āhāns̲h̲āh (Sayyida Malik), 529/1134-5, also an anonymous *turba* (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, 94, pl. xli). In Tekke, a village near Zara-Diwrigi, is the undated *turba* of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Marzubān. In Beys̲h̲ehir the As̲h̲raf Rūm D̲j̲āmiʿ has a square *turba* attached to it with a conical roof, the inner dome of which is decorated with unglazed mosaic such as we occasionally find in Ḳonya. These stone *turba*s are usually decorated on the outside with bands of relief and in the entrance doorway with *muḳarnas* lunettes. Of the *turba*s in Aḳs̲h̲ehir, Sarre mentions that of Sayyid Maḥmūd, 621/1224 (*Kleinasien*, 22; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure*, in *Revue sémitique* [1894-5]).

In Armenia there are several *turba*s of structural interest by Lake Van. They are cylindrical, like most northern Iranian sepulchral towers, with cement walls faced with hewn stone in the Armenian tradition, and occupy a special position in view of their subterranean tombs. The latter are vaulted on a square base and have concealed entrances. The interior chambers vaulted with pointed arched domes are therefore above the level of the ground, reached by steps and used as chapels. These sepulchral towers have further four entrances facing the four quarters with *muḳarnas* lunettes. The exterior is decorated with arcades in relief and Armenian two-sided niches with friezes of *muḳarnas* at the top. The combination of Turco-Islamic and Armenian traditions of structure constitutes their particular charm. The three great *turba*s in Ak̲h̲lāṭ date from the end of the 7th/13th century, the small one from 862/1457-8, the *turba* in Vostan from 736/1334-5 (cf. W. Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*, 1913; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 156 f., 118 f.).

Ottoman Turkey. The building of *turba*s continued under the rule of the Ottomans without, however, new types of artistic interest being created. The polygonal shape continues. The buildings show a stereometrically clear articulation of the façades, with triads of windows with pointed arches framed by straight lines. The often too large number of windows and the glazing of the windows make these *turba*s as a rule look plain and practical. In addition, the inner chambers lose in atmosphere by being too well lit and overfilled with sarcophagi. To give a list of the monuments by name seems hardly worth while here, in view of their large number and uniformity, as well as their lack of significance in the history of art; see on them G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971.

ʿIrāḳ, Iran and Central Asia. In ʿIrāḳ and Iran the normal type of *ḳubba* was preceded by indigenous tomb-buildings. In ʿIrāḳ these are the polygonal tombs with *muḳarnas* domes above them, of which the best known example is the tomb of Sayyida Zubayda near Bag̲h̲dād. Others are al-Nad̲j̲mī, al-Asiba, Imām Dūr, Imāmzāde Tuil, etc. This type was also taken to Ḳūm (figs. in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1911-20; Sarre, *Persische Baudenkmäler*; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, 100-202; or p. 20, 72-74 and MUḲARNAS). Ḳum [*q.v.*], as one of the holy places of Iran since an early date, still offers, with its 16 *ḳubba*s still standing, the most fruitful source for the study of this type in Iran. They are almost all octagonal with an inner dome, which is covered over by a polygonal tent roof. With one exception, they are built of red brick and have roofs of blue glaze. They date from the 6th/12th to the 10th/16th centuries. They are S̲h̲āhzāde Ibrāhīm, an octagonal domed building with eight high deep niches, a Sald̲j̲ūḳ (?) precursor of the similar Ṣafawid type (K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a Rabīʿ); S̲h̲āhzāde Ibrāhīm near the Kās̲h̲ān Gate of 721/1321 and restored in 805/1402; S̲h̲āhzāde Ismāʿīl 776/1374; ʿAlī b. D̲j̲aʿfar 740/1339; ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Maʿālī near the Kās̲h̲ān Gate 761/1359; K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a ʿImād al-Dīn near the Kās̲h̲ān Gate 792/1389; K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn near the Kās̲h̲ān Gate; S̲h̲āh Sayyid ʿAlī outside the Rayy Gate; S̲h̲āhzāde Aḥmad outside the Rayy Gate; S̲h̲ahār Imām-zāde outside the Rayy Gate; S̲h̲āhzāde D̲j̲aʿfar 707/1307; S̲h̲āhzāde Aḥmad (K̲h̲āk-i Farad̲j̲); S̲h̲āhzāde Aḥmad Ḳāsim; Čihil Ak̲h̲tarān 905/1499; S̲h̲āhzāde Ḥamza; S̲h̲āhzāde ʿAbd Allāh (A. U. Pope, *Preliminary report on the tombs of the saints at Qumm*, in *Bull. of the Amer. Inst. for Persian Art and Archaeology*, iv/1 [1935]). The Imām-zāde Karrār in Buzūn dated 528/1134 east of Iṣfahān was published by M. B. Smith and E. Herzfeld (*Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, vii [1935]). It contains splendid stucco decoration. In northern Iran along the Elburz chain, much more frequently than the normal *ḳubba* we find in the period of the 4th/10th to the 7th/13th centuries cylindrical sepulchral towers of brick, usually called *mīl* or *gumbād*: D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān, Rayy, Radkān, Dāmg̲h̲ān, Demāwend, Kis̲h̲mar, Wārāmīn, Nak̲h̲čewān, Marāg̲h̲a, Bistām, etc. (figs. in Sarre, *op. cit.*; Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.* and *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, etc.).

The type is found with variations beyond Iran as far as K̲h̲ʷārazm (Old Urgend̲j̲), although the norm in Central Asia is the domed *ḳubba*. These towers are mediaeval descendants of the very ancient Central Asian tombs, which were built by the sometimes nomadic, sometimes settled peoples of the steppes for their tribal chiefs and leaders. In form they are to be interpreted as a rendering of the prince's tent of the nomadic peoples in monumental form and sometimes they copy its textile character (cf. Diez, *Persien*,

islamische Baukunst in Churasan, 1923, 51-5, 73 ff.; R. Hillenbrand, *The tomb towers of Iran to 1550*, Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1974, unpublished). A particular type which is closer to that of the normal *ḳubba* developed in the province of Māzandarān on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. These are quadrangular and polygonal brick buildings, with pyramidal tower-roofs mainly belonging to the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries and are undoubtedly descendants of an older native type of wooden building (figs. in Sarre, *Persische Baudenkmäler*; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, figs. 98, 99 or 73.) The *ḳubba* proper was already latent in the old square building of stone with squinch dome, with which, however, it has nothing genetically to do. The few Sāsānid domed buildings of this kind that have survived are simply monumental examples of a much older Īrānian type of house (cf. the eastern Iranian, Sāsānid domed building Ribāṭ Sefīd in Diez, *Persien*, fig. 1). Domed buildings of the *ḳubba* were probably already in use as fire-temples in the pre-Islamic period.

The oldest *ḳubba* in ʿIrāḳ is, if Herzfeld's ascription is correct, the Ḳubbat al-Ṣulaybiyya in Sāmarrā, which deserves our attention as the domed sepulchre of the caliph al-Muntaṣir, in which al-Muʿtazz and al-Muhtadī were perhaps also buried, as three graves were found: a domed building quadrangular in the interior, while outside the corners were cut off by the corridor-like octagonal pathway round it. The transition to the (now destroyed) dome was made by an octagonal series of squinches with niches, of which only fragments survive. There are four gates at the ends of the axes. The building followed the Ḳubbat al-Ṣaḵh̲ra in Jerusalem and its Christian predecessors (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Erster Bericht ... von Samarra*, Berlin 1912, 28-31; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise im Euphrat- u. Tigrisgebiet*, i, 83-6).

The oldest remaining *ḳubba*s in Central Asia and Iran date from the 3rd/9th century, and in contrast to Sāsānid domes, show an innovation in construction which opened up new possibilities of development: the corners are bridged over with keel arches instead of with the clumsy, funnel-shaped squinches proper. These, in smaller buildings, as in the *ḳubba* in Sāngbāst, might be closed up with a filling of bricks arranged in a pattern, in larger buildings left open to the gallery passage behind, whereby the intramural passage which already existed in the great Sāsānid domes in Fārs in the squinch storey was now made visible for the first time and given an aesthetic function for the inner articulation of the chamber and the external articulation of the façades. The oldest *ḳubba* still preserved is the tomb of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad Sāmānī in Buk̲h̲ārā of 296/907; the most celebrated and largest is the *turba*—as Yāḳūt calls it—of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Sandjar (511-52/1117-57) in Marw. The building is of colossal dimensions. The square lower part, with walls 20 feet thick and sides 90 feet long, is 45 feet high and is crowned outside by a gallery 17 feet high, behind which rises the drum with the dome, originally covered with blue glaze, to a height of about 100 feet. The drum shows signs of its original concealment by a wall of niches, in the empty niches of which only the Buddhist idols are lacking to complete the resemblance to the stupas of similar structure—for example in Balk̲h̲ which is not far away. The direct connection between this decoration of the exterior of the *ḳubba* and the equally imposing stupas is undoubted. The gallery is ornamented with reliefs in brick and stucco. The interior walls are painted with ornamental designs, and have a frieze in Kūfic script around the top. The keel arches bridging the corners connect the chamber with the gallery. Similar windows pierce the walls in the central axes. The spandrels between these eight windows in the zone of transition are decorated with *muḳarnas*. The vaulting of the dome which towers above this is adorned with ribbed arches arranged in fan-shaped and criss-cross patterns in plaster, a method of giving the dome a spheroidal shape, which in later buildings came to be painted and filled in with tendril patterns (Diez, *Persien*, etc., 93 f.; E. Cohn-Wiener, *Das Mausoleum des Sultan Sandjar*, in *Jb. d. As. Kunst*, xi/1, 925; idem, *Turan, Islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien*, Berlin 1930).

In Old Sarak̲h̲s on the Harī Rūd in the modern Turkmenistan S.S.R. is a *ḳubba* similar in construction, but on a more modest scale (V. Zhukovskii, *Rasvalini Starago Merva*, fig. 33). Two others in the region of the Murg̲h̲āb and Zaraf̲s̲h̲an oases are Talk̲h̲atan Bābā and Mazār Sulṭān Ismāʿīl in Buk̲h̲ārā, both of the 6th/12th century (Zhukovskii, *op. cit.*, figs. 30-2). Their squinches are still funnel-shaped like the Sāsānid ones and without a gallery. Like the tomb of Sandjar, they are distinguished by their brick ornamentation and are evidence of a native pure brick style of a vigorous character in the Marw oasis area, of which Cohn-Wiener gives examples in his book. The small *ḳubba* with its richly decorated interior belonging to the former Ribāṭ of Sāngbāst in Mas̲h̲had is probably an outlier of this style on the Iranian highlands (Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, 52 f., pls. 14-18; Glüeck and Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, 292-3). The *ḳubba* of Sandjar opens the important series of Central Asian-Iranian mausoleum *ḳubba*s of the 7th-11th/13th-17th centuries. If the emancipation of the squinches from the body of the dome and their becoming independent in an intermediate storey was the first step in this development, the second is the emancipation of the gallery storey from the squinch area. We see the process completed in the *ḳubba* of New Sarak̲h̲s on the Persian side of the Harī Rūd, which was restored in the 8th/14th century, but probably dates from the beginning of the 7th/13th century (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, 62 ff., pls. 20-2; Glüeck and Diez, *op. cit.*, 291). Here the gallery is included in the lower structure which makes the latter, and also the dome, higher. The dome is still resting on a square substructure with an octagonal drum formed by corner arches. This intermediate storey, however, no longer plays an important part in the articulation. It has already disappeared in the *ḳubba* of Ṭūs almost contemporary with that of Sarak̲h̲s (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, 55, pls. 19-20; idem, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, coloured plate; idem, *Persien, Bauk. in Chur.*, fig. 40; Glüeck and Diez, *op. cit.*, 291). In Ṭūs the four interior niches of the square main course have become broader, and these now become broader still. They were also made higher than before and linked up by a common framework with the niches above (cf. *Chur. Bdkm.*, fig. 26, section). The four corner arches rising out of the squinches which make the transition from the square to the octagon are now also included by a common framework in the main body of the building, so that they no longer form as before a separate intermediate storey but bring about the change from square to octagon within the main storey. Formally, this is a fusion with combined effect, i.e. a step towards the decorative Islamisation of the interior. The development of the gallery as a factor in shaping the interior was thus more or less brought to an end. As Ṭūs is not dated (8th/14th century?), we cannot fix the time relation of this *ḳubba* with the Western

Persian one of Sulṭān Muḥammad Öldjeytü Khudābanda (703-16/1304-16) in Sulṭāniyya. In the interval, a variant had established itself there, the object of which was to transfer the gallery to the outside, an aim latent since the *ḳubba* of Sandjar. We really have here a type of building of a different, namely octagonal, shape which, as Texier has already pointed out, was an Indian variant imitated in Iran. The interior gallery with corridor has here become a series of separate windows which resemble in shape and size the eight doorways below, so that two stories of equal size are created within, which gives the interior an effect of massive calm. On the other hand, a staircase within the wall leads up to a gallery above the window storey, which opens to the outside only and can no longer be regarded as an interior gallery. Equally peculiar are the eight minaret-like pillars which are placed at the corners of the roof terrace to buttress the dome (cf. the illustrations in *Kunst d. isl. Völker* and Dieulafoy and Sarre's sketches in *Pers. Bdkm.*). We shall return to this type of *ḳubba* in the section on India. Another *ḳubba*, the only one of its kind in Iran, is the Djabal-i Sāng near Kirmān, an octagonal building of cement with dome and drum of brick, which resembles the Syrian *turba*s (Diez, *Persien*, etc., 97 and fig. at p. 79; Creswell, *Persian domes before 1400 A.D.*, in *Burlington Magazine*, xxii [1915], 208, pl. 2). With the sepulchral dome of Öldjeytü, the *ḳubba* in Iran reached the considerable height of 165 feet.

Alongside of this line of development in construction, there was a second which began probably as early as the Saldjūḳ, but certainly in the Tīmūrid period; this aimed at the same object, the raising of the height of the dome, and attained it by other means, namely by a drum and double-shelled dome. In both cases, the aim is not so much to raise the height of the interior chamber as to give a towering effect to the exterior. For the inner shell of the dome makes the interior much lower than would appear from the outer shell. The Ḳubba-yi Sābz in Kirmān is the oldest—at latest dating from the middle of the 7th/13th century—sepulchral tomb of this kind (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 115). The models for these towered domes may possibly be found in the equally towerlike stupas of Afghānistān and the Tarim basin, with domes built one above the other and chambers between them. Tīmūr's *ḳubba*, the Gūr-i Mīr in Samarḳand of 808/1405, the dome of which structurally resembles the Ḳubba-yi Sābz, is the next monument of this style still standing; after it come the *ḳubba*s of the Tīmūrids at Shāh Zinda near Samarḳand and others in Herāt and Turkestān (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 116, 119; J. M. Rogers, tr., *V. V. Barthold's article O pogrebenii Timura* ("*The burial of Tīmūr*"), in *Iran, Jnal. of the BIPS*, xii [1974], 65-87). Gūr-i Mīr has, it is true, a gallery, but this no longer opens on to the interior by open niches, piercing the wall, but only through grilles, which are in the plane of the wall, is it possible from the passage within the wall to get a glimpse of the interior, an innovation of decisive importance in the layout of the latter. In and around Herāt there were once many *ḳubba*s, of which only two still exist (Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, figs. 163, 164); others east of Herāt (figs. 182-4).

The last phase of evolution in Iran was reached in the Ṣafawid period. The very similar memorial buildings of Khōdja Rabīʿ of 1030/1621 near Mashhad and Ḳadam-gāh of 1091/1680 east of Nīshāpūr (*Chur. Bdkm.*, pls. 23, 39) are octagonal *ḳubba*s with galleries, which open to the outside in four great corner niches. These buildings seem to have their origin in the Persian garden pavilion, as a comparison with the Hasht Bihisht in Iṣfahān shows. But the idea of using garden pavilions as memorial buildings again comes from India. We may here mention also the *ḳubba* of Shaykh Djām which has a court mosque and *madrasa* adjoining in Turbat-i Shaykh Djām near the Afghān frontier, as an example of a *mazār* on a large scale (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, 78 ff., pls. 35-7). The largest place of pilgrimage of this kind is the sanctuary of the Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, with the domed sepulchre of the Imām (Diez, *Persien*, etc., figs. 44-56). In Afghānistān, the *mazār*s of Khōdja Akashi in Balkh and Mazār-i Sharīf, with domed tombs, may be mentioned (O. Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, 64 ff.).

India. The first Muslim dynasty to reign exclusively in India was descended from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], a former slave of Muḥammad Ghūrī who was installed by his master as viceroy in Dihlī and on the latter's death declared himself independent (602/1206). It is only with this dynasty of the "Slave Kings" or Sulṭāns of Dihlī that monumental Muslim architecture begins in India. Nothing has survived of earlier buildings, which were probably built of perishable material. From the 7th/13th century, however, the building of tombs in the Muslim regions of India becomes important, and in keeping with the great expansion of Islām over the vast peninsula there are still in India far more *ḳubba*s than in the other lands of Islām. The influences interacting within the peninsula were very varied; the main genetic principle in the style of the *ḳubba*, as for all Indian Muslim architecture, can therefore only be said to be the combination of foreign and native Arabo-Turkish-Persian and Indian, traditions. The amalgamation of these two traditions, which found expression in material, technique, shape and form, resulted in the manifold variations of the Indian types of *ḳubba*.

In the course of the general development, we can distinguish some ten different phases of style, or local styles (and when we use the word "local" we must remember the great scale of India). Sir Alexander Cunningham distinguished the following styles (*Archaeological survey of India, Reports*, iii, iv): 1. The Indo-Turkish, which began with the Slave Kings dynasty, with pointed or overlapping arches of corbelled horizontal layers, i.e. still using the old Indian technique of vaulting, and with rich decoration in relief in stone: tomb of Sulṭān Iltutmish in Dihlī (*Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 228, 187). 2. The style of the Khaldjīs of the second dynasty (689-720/1290-1320), or decorated Turkish style with horseshoe arches of radiating layers and rich ornamentation. 3. The Tughluḳid, called after the third Turkish dynasty (720-817/1320-1414), with sloping, very thick walls and cusped horseshoe arches. The domes rest on low drums and the walls of red limestone are panelled with white marble frames: *ḳubba* of Tughluḳ Shāh in Tughluḳābād (*op. cit.*, fig. 226, 168); also brick buildings inlaid with glazed bricks: sepulchral dome of Rukn al-Dawla in Multān. Later, we have still thicker walls without arches and inlay but with a covering of stucco, which was probably decorated and painted: *ḳubba* of Fīrūz Shāh in Fīrūzābād. 4. The Afghān style, called after the Afghān dynasties (Sayyids, Lodīs and Sūrīs) (817-962/1414-1555) with perpendicular walls; mostly octagonal mausoleums with arcades: tomb of Shēr Shāh (*op. cit.*, fig. 224, 173); decorated with coloured stucco or with strips of glaze: *ḳubba* of Bahlūl Lōdī near Čirak-Dihlī; the octagonal mausoleums of

Sikandar in Old Khayrpur and others in Mubārakpur-Kotila and Khayrpur. Later, a coating of different coloured stones was preferred to the covering of stucco: mausoleums of Shēr Shāh and Ḥusayn Khān in Sahsarām. 5. The Turkish style in Bengal, an independent provincial style; squat buildings of brick sometimes decorated with minute faïence work: tombs in Ḥaḍrat Pandua (769/1368) and Gawr with curved brick roofs. 6. The Turkish style of the Sharḳids in Djawnpūr (796-883/1394-1479) a provincial style similar to (1) and (2): tombs in Djawnpūr. 7. The early Mughal style comprises the buildings of the reigns of Akbar and Djahāngīr (963-1037/1556-1628). With the tomb of Humāyūn, finished in 980/1572, the Persian style established itself. In Akbar's tomb it again makes way for the Indian (here the old vihāra type) to reappear in Djahāngīr's tomb in Lahore—in the faïence which decorates it, at least (*ca.* 1039/1630). Red sandstone is the material preferred. 8. The late Mughal style under Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-57) finds its most brilliant manifestation in the Tādj Maḥall, which shows the Indian and Persian traditions in perfect union.

To this list may be added: 9. The Deccan style, which covers the numerous sepulchral domes and around the old capital on the plateau of the Deccan, although they show as many varieties as localities and are only variations of the north Indian sepulchral domes of the Turkish dynasties who founded Muslim rule in the Deccan. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh of Dihlī was the first to establish himself here in 693/1294. Half a century later the Bahmanids succeeded in bringing the northern half of the Deccan under their rule (748-934/1347-1527). Their capital was Gulbargā [*q.v.*]. At the end of the 9th/15th century began the division of the Deccan under five dynasties: the ʿImād Shāhs in Berār (890-980/1485-1572), the Niẓām Shāhs (897-1028/1492-1619) in Bīdar, the ʿĀdil Shāhs (895-1097/1490-1686) in Bīdjāpūr and the Ḳuṭb Shāhs (918-1098/1512-1687) in Golkondā. The most important sites for the study of the architecture are Gulbargā, the oldest capital, then Bīdjāpūr, Bīdar and Golkondā; Bīdjāpūr, "the Palmyra of the Deccan", stands out from all for the richness and size of the buildings. The shape common to all domed tombs is here as in northern India a square building with a dome. Some of them, like the Ibrāhīm Rawḍa, the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm II (987-1036/1579-1626), and the incomplete ʿAlī II Rawḍa of the last ʿĀdil Shāh in Bīdjāpūr, are enclosed by long terraced arcades. Almost all the old buildings in the Deccan are built of hewn stone; in Bīdjāpūr and elsewhere also we frequently find a reddish-brown basalt. The transition from the square to the dome was here again effected from the transition zone with corner arches to a kind of folding of the wall by means of crossing pendentive-like arches which led direct to the round of the dome without an intervening course. By far the largest of these tombs, indeed the largest *ḳubba* in the world, is that of Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh (1036-70/1626-60), the celebrated Gul Gumbād in Bīdjāpūr (pictures in *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, 223 and 171; *Die Kunst des Islam*, 319 and many other works); a square building with an interior diameter of 150 feet, i.e. larger than the interior of the Pantheon (110 feet). The interior narrows towards the top through a system of intersecting pendentives to a circular basis of about 105 feet in diameter on which rises the dome—leaving an inner gallery open—about 130 feet in diameter; the interior height is nearly 200 feet and the exterior 220 feet. The weight presses inwards through the pendentives, but is counteracted by the weight of the dome, so that it was not necessary to counteract any outward pressure by massive walls.

In Gulbargā, which was the capital of the Bahmanids (748-920/1347-1514), still stand the simple *ḳubba*s of the early rulers of this dynasty, among them the tomb—here reproduced—of its founder Ḥasan Gangū ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (748-59/1347-58). The *ḳubba*s of the later Bahmanids from Aḥmad Shāh Walī onwards (825-39/1422-36) are at Bīdar and are already much larger and sometimes richly decorated, especially the mausoleum of Aḥmad Shāh. The square building is transformed to the round by keel arches at the corners. The interior walls are brought into rhythm by three flat niches on each, of which the central ones on the north-south axis are opened as doors. The central niche on the west is deepened to form a pentagonal *miḥrāb*. The niches are flanked with Indian pilasters. The painting of the interior is undoubtedly of later origin, but the old designs may survive in places. The painting of the dome resembles that of Khōdja Rabīʿ (in Khurāsān; see above), as does the frieze of inscription. Almost as large as that just mentioned, but without decoration in the interior, is the *ḳubba* of Maḥmūd Shāh II (887-924/1482-1518). To this group also belongs an octagonal tomb without dome, obviously unfinished, which resembles the mausoleum of Khudābanda Shāh in Sulṭāniyya (Persia) and was built for Shāh Khalīl Allāh Ḥusayn, the iconoclast and saint, son of the tutor of Aḥmad Shāh Bahman. The tombs of the Barīdīs who followed the Bahmanids are open *ḳubba*s standing on pillars.

The fine city of tombs of the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs of Golkondā lies outside the town in a large walled garden, the *ḳubba*s of the last rulers of the dynasty, ʿAbd Allāh (1045-83/1635-72) and of Abu 'l-Ḥasan (1083-98/1672-87), who died in Mughal captivity, built only up to the dome, outside the walls. The cubic buildings are sometimes surrounded by galleries of arcades as in Bīdjāpūr. The bulbous domes rise out of a lotus pattern (see the illustrations). In the country around are *ḳubba*s of prominent families and saints, like the Čahār Gumbād reproduced here. They belong to the same type. The last great group to be mentioned is: 10. The style of Gudjārāt, with Aḥmadābād as its capital, founded by the second ruler of the sulṭāns of Gudjārāt, Aḥmad Shāh I (814-46/1411-42); his descendants ruled till 991/1583. Aḥmad Shāh's *ḳubba* or *rawḍa* in the centre of the town beside the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, a square building with sides 90 feet long, consists of a domed chamber 35 feet high and four corner chambers connected by pillared halls. The preference for rich, pointed ornamentation peculiar to this style finds expression in the marble cenotaphs and fillings of the windows. In *ḳubba*s outside the city, as in the mausoleum of Daryā Khān of *ca.* 857/1453, we again find the Turco-Persian transition storeys with corner arches and gallery with a dome above built of horizontal layers (*Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 214, and 182).

The most important groups have been mentioned. For the most notable Mughal tombs, which are only briefly mentioned above, see HIND, vii. Architecture, and MUGHALS, Architecture.

Finally, it should be noted that *ḳubba* "cover" occurs as a technical term in the construction of scales and balances, where the housing for the pointer (*lisān*), often used also as a carrying handle (cf. Pedro de Alcala: *cúbba = manija del peso*), was called the *ḳubba*. See J. D. Latham, *The interpretation of a passage on scales* (mawāzīn) *in an Andalusian* ḥisba *manual*, in *JSS*, xxiii (1978), 285-7.

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(E. DIEZ*)

ḲUBBA (now Ḳuba), a district in the eastern Caucasus between Bākū and Derbend [*q.vv.*]. The district of Ḳubba, with an area of 2,800 sq. miles, is bounded on the north by a large river, the Samūr, which flows into the Caspian, on the west by the "district" of Samūr which belongs to Dāghistān [*q.v.*], on the south by the southern slopes of the Caucasian range (peaks: Shāh-Dagh, 13,951 feet high, Bābā Dagh, 11,900) which separate Ḳubba from Shamākha (cf. the article SHĪRWĀN), on the south-east by the district of Bākū and on the east by the Caspian. The area between the mountains and the flat coast land is called Djāf (Vullers, i, 499; *djāf*, "ad venerationem principis destinatum nemus"). The plain between the rivers Yalama and Belbele is called Muskūr; Shābarān lies further south (cf. SHĪRWĀN). The other cantons are Barmak (so-called after a member of the Barmakī family, who sought refuge here in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd), Shishpāra, Tīp, Khinalugh, Budugh, Yukharī-bash, Sirt, Anakh-dara, and (sometimes) Ḳabistān (*Akti*, iv, 650).

The population in 1896 was 175,000; 36.7% Tāt [*q.v.*], speaking the Iranian dialect of Tatī; 25.5% of Ādharbāydjāni Turks; 24% of highlanders of the Kūrā group (the Kürin [*q.v.*]); and 8% highlanders of the group (southeastern Dāghistān group) formed of Khinalugh [*q.v.*], Djek, Ḳrïz [*q.v.*] and Budugh, to whom the Udi of Shekkī [*q.v.*] seem to be related. Muslims form 94% of the population (76.5% Sunnīs, and 17.5% Shīʿīs). Jews, Russians and Armenians together number several thousands. The town of Ḳubba (16,300 inhabitants), only founded in about 1750, lies on the right bank of the river Ḳudiāl; on the left bank is the Jewish quarter of the town. Near the mouth of the Ḳudiāl is the roadstead of Nisābād (called Nizovaia by the Russians) which played an important part in Russian military operations in Transcaucasia.

The history of the district of Ḳubba, which at first must have formed part of the ancient Caucasian Albania, is mixed up with that of Shīrwān; Shābarān (now a ruined site on the river Ḳulhan, Russian Gilkhin) had been an important centre inhabited by Christians (Muḳaddasī, 376) before Shamākha became the capital of Shīrwān. On the banks of the river Ḳulhan may still be seen ruins with a wall running from the sea to Bābā Dagh. Near the town of Ḳubba is the tomb of the Shīrwān-Shāh Kāwūs b. Kayḳubād (d. 774/1373).

It was only in the 18th century that Ḳubba enjoyed a period of independence. In the time of Shāh Sulaymān Ṣafawī, a member of the family of the *ūsmī* of Ḳaytaḳ (cf. DĀGHISTĀN) called Ḥusayn Khān arrived at the court of Iṣfahān. He became a Shīʿī and gained the favour of the Shāh, who appointed him Khān of Ḳubba and of Sāliyān (at the mouth of the Kura). Ḥusayn Khān built the castle of Khudād. His grandson Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, with the help of Peter the Great, regained the ancestral estates of the *ūsmī*, but his position was threatened by the alliance of Surkhay, prince of the Ḳāzī-Kumūkh, with Ḥādjdjī Dāwūd, religious chief of Muskūr, who with the help of Turkey played a considerable part in Dāghistān from 1712. Nādir Shāh restored Sāliyān to Ḥusayn ʿAlī. After the death of Nādir, local dynasties arose everywhere. At this time Ḥusayn ʿAlī moved his capital from Khudād to Ḳubba where he built a town and annexed Shābarān and Ḳulhan. He died in 1171/1758. His son Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān who succeeded him sought the help of the empress Catherine II, who in 1189/1775 sent General de Medem to Derbend, under a pretext of avenging the death of the academician Gmelin, who had died on 27 June 1774 in captivity with the *ūsmī* of Ḳayaḳ. With the help of the Russians, Fatḥ ʿAlī re-established his authority over what he could regard as his hereditary fief (Dāghistān, Ḳubba, Sāliyān). He also took Shīrwān, and the Khān of Bākū appointed him his son's guardian. The influence of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān gradually extended beyond the bounds of the district. In 1193/1778 he sent 9,000 men to Gīlān to restore Hidāyat Khān, who had been driven out by the Ḳādjārs [*q.v.*]. In 1202/1788 he seized Ardabīl, whereupon the Shāh-sewān [*q.v.*] recognised his authority. The Khāns of Ḳara-Dagh and of Tabrīz sought his support. Fatḥ ʿAlī is credited with ambitious designs on Ādharbāydjān. To reconcile his plans with those of the king Irakli of Georgia, Fatḥ ʿAlī met the latter at Shamkūr (Shamkhor) but soon afterwards fell ill and died in 1203/1789.

The political and military work of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān crumbled away under his successors. His young son Shaykh ʿAlī Āghā (succeeded in 1791) had a very adventurous career. This young Khān relied on the support of the Ḳādjārs, but Count Zubov took Derbend on 4 May 1796, and entrusted the government to his sister Perī-Djahān Khānum. Taken prisoner by the Russians, Shaykh ʿAlī Āghā escaped and renewed the struggle. On the accession of the emperor Paul, Russian policy suddenly changed and the Russian troops were withdrawn. Shaykh ʿAlī returned to Derbend. In 1801 he and the other Khāns sent a delegation to Alexander I, but by 1805 we again find Shaykh ʿAlī rebelling against the Russians to whom he caused continual trouble till 1226/1811. The khānate of Ḳubba was occupied by the Russians in 1806, and by the treaty of 1813 Persia renounced her claim to the eastern Caucasus. From its incorporation in the Russian empire, Ḳubba formed a "gouvernement" of Shīrwān (later of Bākū). Since 1919 Ḳubba has been part of the republic of Ādharbāydjān, at first independent and then a Soviet SSR.

Bibliography: cf. the articles DĀGHISTĀN, DERBEND, SHEKKĪ and SHĪRWĀN. See especially the work of the local historian ʿAbbās Ḳulī Āghā Bākī-Khānov (a descendant of the Khāns of Bākū, who were related to Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān), the *Gülistān-i Iram*, of which a Russian version by the author

1. Jerusalem. Dome of the Rock. Exterior.

2. Bu<u>kh</u>ārā. Mausoleum of the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl, 4th/10th c. (Photo A. F. Kersting)

3. Marw. Mausoleum of Sulṭān Sandjar, 5th/11th c. (Photo Karin Rührdanz)

4. Cairo. Mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, ca. 608/1211. Exterior. (Courtesy Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

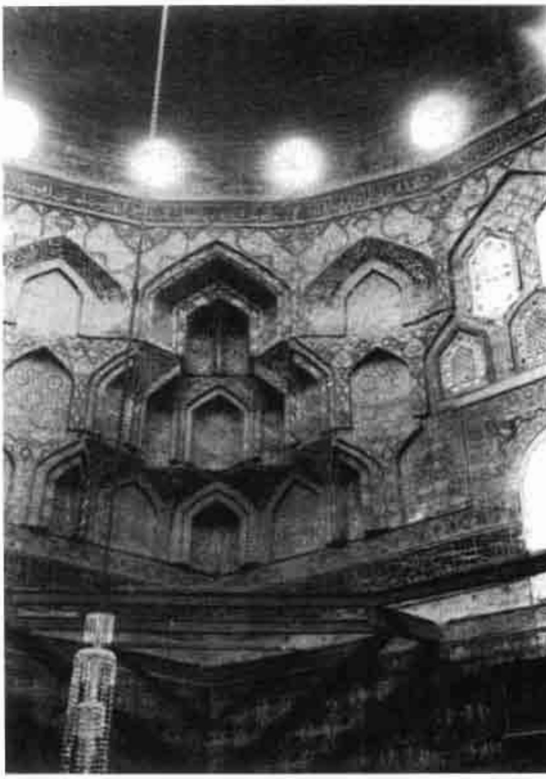

5. Cairo. Mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, ca. 608/1211. Interior. (Courtesy Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

6. Sulṭāniyya. Mausoleum of Uldjaytū, 707-11/1307-11. (Photo M. Rogers)

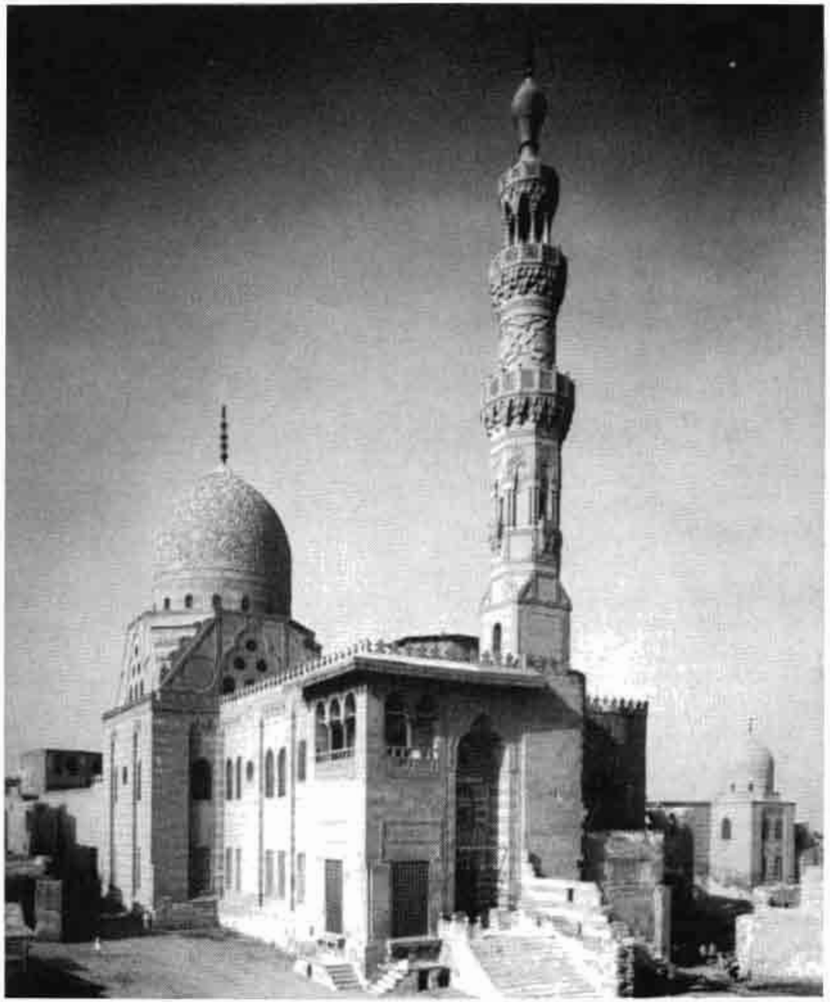

7. Cairo. Mausoleum of Ḳā'itbāy, ca. 877-9/1472-4. (Photo A. F. Kersting)

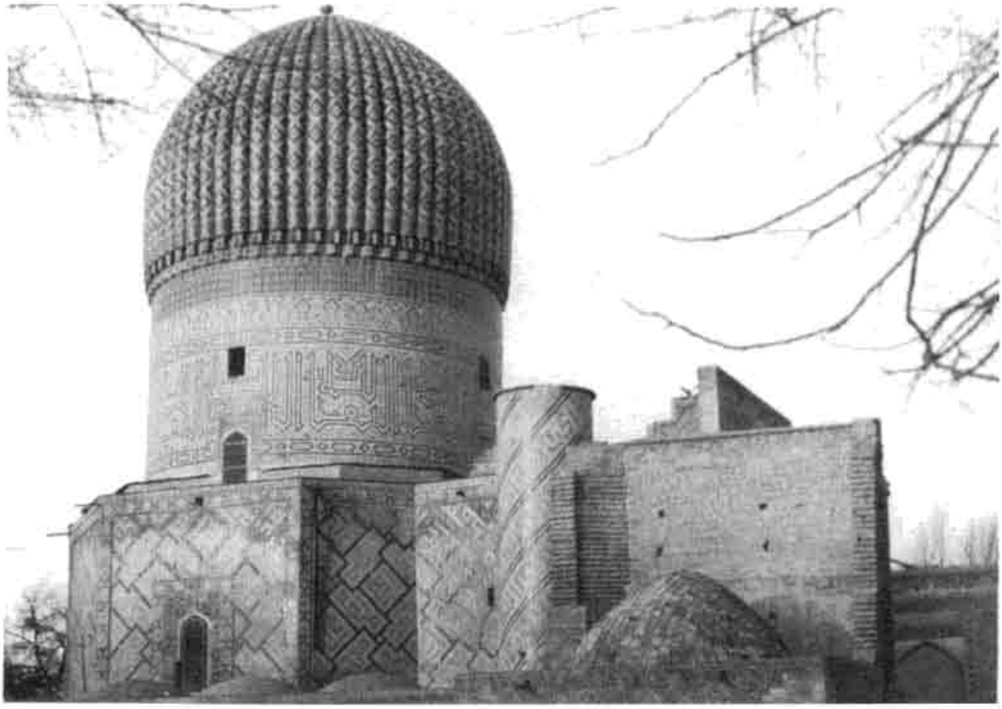

8. Samarkand. Mausoleum Gūr-i Mīr, 806/1404. (Photo B. Brentjes)

9. Samarkand. Shāh-i Zinde. General view. (Photo Konstanze Göbel)

himself (1794-1846) was published at Bākū in 1926 (*Travaux de la société scientifique de l'Azerbaidjan*, part 4). The principal documents are in the collection by A. Bergé, Tiflis 1866 ff., i-xii, index under *Derbend-Ḳubba*. (V. MINORSKY)

AL-ḲUBBA, ḲUBBAT AL-ʿĀLAM, Ḳ. AL-ARḌ, Ḳ. ARĪN "the dome of the world, of the earth, of Arīn", expressions used by the Islamic geographers and astronomers to denote the geographical centre of the earth (*wasaṭ al-arḍ*) at the zenith of which exists the *ḳubbat al-samāʾ* or *wasaṭ al-samāʾ*; the *ḳubbat al-arḍ*, defined as being equidistant from the four cardinal points or *d̲j̲ihāt* (see e.g. Ibn Rustih, 8, tr. Wiet, 7), is theoretically to be found at 90° from each of the poles and meridians of longitude zero and 180°, passing through the two extremities of the inhabited world (whether the longitudes are calculated starting from the east or the west). It is thus situated on the equator, and, for those authorities who followed Ptolemy, at 90° to the east of the meridian of the Fortunate Isles [see AL-D̲J̲AZĀʾIR AL-K̲H̲ĀLIDĀT] taken as the starting point. Now, if the theoretical position of the *ḳubba* causes no problems, its localisation in practice does in fact pose an interesting one.

The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (tr. Minorsky, 58, § 4, No. 13) echoes a tradition which places the centre of the inhabited world in an island called Nāra (read as Bāra by Minorsky) at a longitude of 90° east, and he adds that the astronomical tables and the position of the planets and fixed stars were calculated in relation to this equinoxial island (*istiwāʾ al-layl wa 'l-nahār*; cf. Ibn Rustih, 84 tr. 92, "l'île équatoriale"). However, al-Bīrūnī in his *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, whilst noting the fact that this island is mentioned by al-Fazārī and Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭārik, places it at 190° 50′ longitude east, i.e. at 50′ to the east of Yamakoṭi/D̲j̲amakūt/D̲j̲amagūd, which marked the extreme eastern boundary of the inhabited world, and he states that there are some more or less unknown places there. In his *India*, 157, tr. i, 303-4, al-Bīrūnī notes that the name Yamakoṭi is reminiscent of Kankdiz/Gangdiz, which Abū Maʿs̲h̲ar al-Balk̲h̲ī took as the starting-place for the longitudes, calculated from east to west and no longer from west to east (cf. D. Pingree, *The thousands of Abū Maʿshar*, London 1968, 41 and index). Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 131 = § 555, recording an ancient Iranian tradition, attributes to Kay K̲h̲usraw the foundation of Kankdiz, and he notes specifically that certain authorities equate it with Yang-ch'eou; he further adds that several Chinese kings made it their capital. Al-Bīrūnī, *loc. cit.*, mentions Kay Kāwūs or D̲j̲im/D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd as founder of this legendary town which was to remain, at least theoretically, as the extreme limit of the known world for later scholars. Abū Maʿs̲h̲ar likewise places it to the east of China and at 90° from the *ḳubbat al-arḍ*, but he identifies it with Ūzayn, which is a dangerous error.

The Indians used to calculate the longitudes from Lanka (Ceylon), whose southern tip is not very far from the equator, but they were led to displace the original meridian westwards and to adopt instead that of Ud̲j̲d̲j̲ayn [*q.v.*], which is near to the Tropic of Cancer but not at all near to the Equator. The name of this town, which has indeed a genuine geographical existence, was written in Arabic script Ūzayn/Uzayn أزين/أوزين (cf. Ibn Rustih, 22, tr. 19 and n. 6, with bibl.; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo 1357/1937, 192), and then, by means of a wrong reading, Arīn أرين; it is under this latter form that this toponym appears in later works, that it is transcribed in the mediaeval Latin translations, and that it appears even in some French lexica (Arine). Being unaware of the exact position of Ud̲j̲d̲j̲ayn, some authors tended to consider it as an island in the Indian Ocean (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 190), or at least to place it quite naturally on the equator, totally unaware of their error (thus Ibn Rustih, *loc. cit.*, or al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, *loc. cit.*). In this way, *ḳubbat Arīn* and *ḳubbat al-arḍ* became synonymous; an astronomer as recent as al-Rūdānī correctly defines the *ḳubbat al-arḍ* or *al-ʿālam* as the point of intersection of the equator and the *dāʾirat niṣf al-nahār* and still calls it the *ḳubbat Arīn*, but he probably saw only there a traditional name without any direct connection with the town of Ud̲j̲d̲j̲ayn.

Finally, it may be noted that the use of the word *ḳubba* to denote the geographical centre of the earth has given rise to the idea that a particularly high point of the earth is involved here. The Indian tradition which makes the zero meridian go through Ceylon, where Adam's Peak rises, may conceivably be influenced by this conception, which al-Bīrūnī attacked in his *Ḳānūn* (cf. A. Bausani, in *Studies on Islam*, Amsterdam-London 1974, 28-9).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources already mentioned, see above all the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 189, 245, 335-6; M. Reinaud, *Introd. générale à la géographie des Orientaux*, Paris 1848, pp. ccxxxix ff.; Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, Milan 1899-1907, *passim*; art. D̲J̲UG̲H̲RĀFIYA. (CH. PELLAT)

ḲUBBAT AL-HAWĀʾ, "the Dome of the Winds", a popular appellation for isolated monuments situated on rocky spurs, for example, the (undated) domed tomb of a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* on the west bank of the Nile (cf. Murray's *Handbook for travellers in Upper and Lower Egypt*, 9th edition, ed. Mary Brodrick, London 1896, 920) above Aswān. This presumably postdates the destruction of an adjacent Coptic monastery, attested by a graffito, in S̲h̲ams al-Dawla's Nubian expedition of 1173, though the monasteries of the area, to judge from desecratory Muslim visitation inscriptions in Arabic dated, *inter alia*, 694/1294-5, in the neighbouring monastery of "St. Simeon" (not mentioned in U. Monneret de Villard, *Description générale du monastère de Snt. Siméon à Aswân*, Milan 1927), survived for a further century or more.

The most celebrated edifice of the name no longer exists. This is recorded by al-Kindī (*Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, ed. Guest, 147, ll. 14-15; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, Būlāḳ 1853, 201, l. 21; 202, ll. 3-31) as a palace built by Ḥātim b. Hart̲h̲ama, governor of Egypt in 194-5/809-11 on a spur of the Muḳaṭṭam hills. This was deliberately destroyed on the fall of the Ṭūlūnid dynasty and no trace of it exists. The exact site has been disputed, but its total disappearance makes it more probable that it was on the site later occupied by the Ayyūbid Citadel of Cairo (K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, ii, Oxford 1959, 6, and references) than higher on the Muḳaṭṭam hills in the neighbourhood of the Fāṭimid *mas̲h̲had*, generally known as the Mas̲h̲had al-D̲j̲uyūs̲h̲ī. The site of this Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ was subsequently converted into a cemetery, and various mosques, which have equally disappeared without trace, were erected there (P. Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire* [= *MMAFC* VI], Paris 1894, 557-61).

Though the possibility that the Cairene Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ may be identified with the presumed Fāṭimid observatory on the Muḳaṭṭam hills must be

discounted (cf. A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam and its place in the general history of the observatory*, Ankara 1960, 130-56), the sense of the term *Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ* suggests the persistence into Islamic tradition of some reminiscence of the Athenian Tower of the Winds, described as an *horologium* by Varro (*De re rustica*, 3.5.17) and dated accordingly pre-37 B.C., but also representing the winds on its eight facets (H. S. Robinson, *The Tower of the Winds and the Roman market place*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlvii [1943], 291-305; J. V. Noble and D. J. de Solla Price, *The water clock in the Tower of the Winds*, in *ibid.*, lxii [1968], 345-55]. The term *Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ* may thus have been used in Islam for structures associated with time-keeping or meteorology, though the evidence for this in the standard authorities is lacking. The reasons, incidentally, for the use, in the 18th century A.D., of the Tower of the Winds in Athens as a *samāʿ-khāne* of the Ḳādirī dervishes (Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1928, i, 12 *et passim*) have still to be elucidated.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(J. M. Rogers)

ḲUBBAT AL-ṢAKHRA, the Dome of the Rock, at times called the Mosque of ʿUmar, is the oldest remaining monument of Islamic architecture, and probably the first conscious work of art of Islamic civilisation.

Location and description. The Dome of the Rock is located on an artificial platform, roughly but not exactly in the centre of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem. The shape and emplacement of the platform were probably determined by the ruined state of the old Jewish Temple area, together with whatever Roman constructions may have been left; it is also possible that there were pious and historical or legendary associations with parts of this area of the Ḥaram, but these are difficult to demonstrate (see below).

A celebrated inscription, in which al-Maʾmūn replaced ʿAbd al-Malik's name with his own, dates the construction of the Dome (*ḳubba* in the inscription) to 72/691-2. It has been superbly described in all details by K. A. C. Creswell, and recent repairs have only confirmed most of his reconstruction of the original monument. It consists of a dome (20.44 m. in diameter and 30 m. in height) surrounded by two octagonal ambulatories, each side of the outer one being around 20.50 m. Interior supports consisted of piers and columns; the dome was set on a high drum and probably was from the very beginning a wooden double dome. There were fifty-six windows in the drum and the octagons, a parapet on the outside, and simple porches. Two important architectural characteristics of the Dome of the Rock must be noted. One is the superb geometry of its layout, based on the extension of two squares inscribed in the circle of the rotunda. It is this geometry which provides the monument with its harmonious airiness and which makes it possible to perceive the whole building at a glance. The second characteristic is that, from the point of view of its plan and composition, the Dome of the Rock belongs to a high tradition of Byzantine architecture represented by monuments found in Ravenna, Syria (St. Simeon, Boṣrā), and Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre, Church of the Ascension). It is almost certain that its builders and planners were Christians from Syria or Palestine.

The Dome of the Rock was lavishly decorated with marble, mosaics, and gilt bronze plaques. The cupola was gilded on the outside and the outer walls were in large part covered with mosaics. Most of the exterior decoration has disappeared, but, in spite of numerous restaurations, the interior still approximates to its original appearance of a glittering sheathing of mosaics. Almost every part of the walls was covered with vegetal and geometric designs, and these included the very unusual motif of royal crowns and jewels. A fairly complete description of all these themes has been provided by Marguerite van Berchem in Creswell's *Early Muslim architecture*. Although there is some debate about the origins of the mosaicists (Syrian or Byzantine), there is little disagreement about the stylistic origins of the decoration. Most of it derives from the rich vocabulary of Late Antique and early Byzantine art, but there are also definite Iranian elements. Together with the important absence of any figural representations, this mixture of sources indicates that a conscious new Muslim taste affected the decoration of the Dome of the Rock far more than its architecture. We shall return later to the interpretation which could be given to these mosaics, since it is closely related to the problem of the meaning of the whole monument. As we shall see, a key document for whatever interpretation is given lies in the long inscription in gold mosaic cubes which runs along both sides of the octagonal arcades. In addition to providing the date of the building, this inscription contains numerous Ḳurʾānic passages which range from statements of the faith of Islam (cxii; xxxiii, 54; xvii, 111, etc.) to the major Christological passages in the Holy Book (especially iv, 169-71 and xix, 34-7). These are our earliest dated fragments from the Ḳurʾān, and C. Kessler has shown recently that many letters were already provided with clear diacritical marks (see *Bibl.*).

Although the Dome of the Rock has been amazingly well preserved, it was affected by many alterations and repairs over the centuries. The exact chronology of all these changes is difficult to establish. The cupola was redone in Fāṭimid times and under the Ottomans; the roof of the octagons was repaired in ʿAbbāsid times; and their ceilings transformed under the Mamlūks. The Crusaders added a handsome iron screen around the Rock, which has now been removed, but it was the Ottomans who in the 10th/16th century covered the building's exterior walls with some of the best-known examples of Turkish ceramics. Between 1956 and 1964 a Restoration Committee under the leadership of Egyptian and Jordanian architects and authorities undertook a complete restoration of the monument. Some part, such as the dome, were totally redone, others, the mosaics for instance, cleaned and repaired. The guiding principle of this work was to put every part of the building back in its earliest documented shape. Although future research may quibble at some of the decisions taken (for instance, it is likely that the beams of the ambulatory's roof were visible, since painted ones were found there), it has been one of the most successful jobs of restoration known anywhere, and it is hoped that its carefully-kept records will soon be published.

Significance. The Dome of the Rock has excited more scholarly concern than any other Islamic monument, and this for several reasons. It is a unique building which was rarely copied for its shape (a few later mausoleums like the Sulaybiyya in Sāmarrā or Ḳalāwūn's tomb in Cairo may have used it as a model), and never for its functions. It does not fit into any architectural series. Also it is located on the site of the Jewish Temple, in the holy city of

Christianity, without showing obvious traces of impact from the two older monotheistic faiths. It does not look like a mosque, and the Aḳṣā nearby fulfilled the congregational needs of the Muslim community. Finally, literary sources on the Dome of the Rock are confused and contradictory, even though the inscription on the building indicates that it was a major effort of the Umayyad dynasty.

The many explanations which exist can be divided into three broad groups. The first one is the traditional pious Muslim view, which interprets the Rock as the place whence the Prophet went on his celebrated Journey into Heaven (*miʿrādj* [*q.v.*]). That such became eventually the holy meaning of the Dome of the Rock is undisputable, since the whole Ḥaram became the *Masdjid al-Aḳṣā* of Ḳurʾān, XVII, 1. But, while the association between the Rock and the Prophet's Journey may have been made quite early, there is no trace of it in the most authentic document about the monument, sc. its long inscription.

The second explanation is concretely historical, and goes back to a passage from al-Yaʿḳūbī. This explanation holds that, during the struggle of the Umayyads with Ibn al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Malik attempted to create in Jerusalem a shrine which would compete with the Kaʿba and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Recently, W. Caskel revived the theory by pointing out that the Umayyads as a dynasty did seek a cultic center in Syria or Palestine, and that Jerusalem was the only one which fulfilled the necessary conditions. The main objection to this theory is that, even though there are several literary indications of a special Umayyad attachment to Palestine, there is some doubt as to whether such a basic Islamic requirement as the pilgrimage to Mecca could be altered. Furthermore, al-Yaʿḳūbī was a violently anti-Umayyad polemicist, whose interpretations are open to criticism.

The third explanation is cultural-historical. Starting with the evidence of the inscriptions and of the mosaics, it proposes to see in the Dome of the Rock a monument proclaiming the new faith and empire in the city of the older two religions. It sanctified anew a Jewish sanctuary and slowly incorporated within itself the memories of Abraham and Joseph, among others. It set up the crowns of Byzantine and Persian kings like an offering around the centre of the monuments, and put up its own Christology above the crowns. It was a missionary monument of victory, built at a time when ʿAbd al-Malik was concerned with Christian enmity, but especially when he sought to proclaim Islamic uniqueness within a common religious tradition, as, for instance, in his coinage. As the specific need of maintaining the cohesion of the community of faithful waned, pious associations grew up and eventually transformed the Dome of the Rock into the unique sanctuary it is today.

While this third explanation seems to us to reflect better than the first two the evidence of contemporary sources and of the spirit of the time, it is only fair to say that the debate is not yet closed. However it may be eventually resolved, two conclusions are pertinent. One is that, both as a work of art and as a cultural and pious document, the Dome of the Rock is a unique monument of Islamic culture in almost all repects. The second one is that it is a monument with a history, for, whatever its initial purpose may have been, it developed more and more complicated associations as time went on. It may indeed be a rare instance of a sanctuary whose holy meaning grew after it had been built. But, as a work of art, it is one of the most telling documents about the gradual transformation of a local Syro-Palestinian Christian art into Islamic art.

Bibliography: All earlier works are listed and discussed in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, i, Oxford 1969. Of particular importance are O. Grabar, *The Umayyad Dome of the Rock*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1957), and C. Kessler, *Above the ceiling of . . . the Dome of the Rock*, in *JRAS* (1964). Since 1969, one should see Grabar, *The formation of Islamic art*, New Haven 1973; Kessler, *ʿAbd al-Malik's inscription*, in *JRAS* (1970); M. Ecochard, *A propos du Dôme du Rocher*, in *BEO*, xxv (1972); W. Caskel, *Der Felsendom und die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem*, Cologne 1963.

(O. GRABAR)

ḲUBBE WEZĪRI (T.) "vizier of the dome" was the name given, under the Ottomans, to the members of the imperial *Dīwān* (*dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*]) who came together on several mornings each week around the Grand Vizier in the chamber of the Topkapı Palace called Ḳubbe altī because it was crowned by a dome. The *ḳubbe wezīrleri* were the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskers* [*q.v.*] of Rumelia and Anatolia, the *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, the *defterdār* [see DAFTARDĀR], the *nishāndjī* [*q.v.*], the *aghas* of the Janissaries, the commander of the cavalry and, when he happened to be in the capital, the *ḳapudan pasha* [*q.v.*]. This institution was abandoned under Aḥmed III [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 80 ff.; see also the *Bibls.* of the articles cited above and above all, WAZĪR. (ED.)

ḲŪBČŪR (in Central Asia), the most important of the taxes and impositions of Mongol origin in the Čingizkhānid period. It was originally a tax on flocks and herds, payable by the Mongols to their ruler. Such a levy was made by Čingiz-Khān early in his career for the support of his ally and patron the Ong-Khān of the Kereyts (*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1971, 107; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Sbornik letopisei*, ed. Berezin, xiii, 178). In the formative years of the Mongol Empire, *ḳūbčūr* was levied at a rate of one animal out of every 100 (Djuwaynī, iii, 79; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djami el-Tévarikh*, ed. Blochet, 42). At this stage it seems to have been paid only by the nomads.

In 650/1252 the Greak Khān Möngke introduced among other reforms a new method of taxation. Following the model that had been established in Transoxania by the governor Maḥmūd Yalawāč, he imposed on the Empire a poll-tax, levied according to the wealth of the individual taxpayer on a sliding scale from ten *dīnārs* down to one. Other rates are also mentioned. This tax was to be called *ḳūbčūr*, and was to be paid by the subject population (Djuwaynī, i, 253-4). Such a tax inevitably involved periodical censuses of the conquered population (Djuwaynī, i, 25; cf. Grigor of Akancʿ, *History of the Nation of the Archers*, ed. and tr. Blake and Frye, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 57). On the basis of a new census, *ḳūbčūr* was reassessed in 656/1258 on a scale ranging from 500 *dīnārs* to one. Thereafter the imposition of census and "poll-tax" *ḳūbčūr* seems to have become a regular procedure, at least in the west, as new territory submitted to the Mongols or was conquered by them (see e.g. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. Quatremère, 256-7). It became something of a byword for Mongol oppression (see Minorsky, *Pūr-i Bahā and his poems*, in *Iranica*, Tehran 1964, 299).

The original "animal-levy" *ḳūbčūr* continued to

be paid by the Mongols—in Persia until the reign of Ghāzān, who abolished it (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Geschichte Ġāzān-Ḫān's*, ed. Jahn, 300). The sources consequently sometimes use the term *ḳūbčūr-i mawāshī* for the animal-levy, in order to distinguish it from the poll-tax.

Bibliography: H. F. Schurmann, *Mongolian tributary practices of the thirteenth century*, in *HJAS*, xiv (1956), 304-89; J. M. Smith, Jr., *Mongol and nomadic taxation*, in *HJAS*, xxx (1970), 46-85; I. P. Petrushevsky, *Zemledie i agrarnïe otnosheniya v. Irane XIII-XIV vv.*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, 360-9; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 387-91; and see for this tax in Persia, KHARĀDJ. 2. Persia.

(D. O. MORGAN)

ḲUBILAY, Mongol Great Khān (1260-94), the brother and successor of Möngke [*q.v.*], was born in 1215. In 1251 Möngke entrusted him with the administration of Northern China, and he took part in the subsequent war which his brother launched against the Sung rulers of the South. The conquest of the Sung was finally completed only during his own reign (1279), when the whole of China was again united under one ruler for the first time since the tenth century. Already in 1260 he had transferred the capital of the Empire from Ḳaraḳorum [*q.v.*] to Peking, in Mongol Khān-Balïgh [*q.v.*], i.e. "Khān's Town", and in 1271 he proclaimed the foundation of the Yüan Dynasty, the twentieth of the Chinese Official Dynasties. His right to the Khānate was at first disputed by his younger brother Arïgh Böke, who perhaps had the stronger claim and who finally surrendered only in 1264; the struggle was then taken up by Ḳaydu [*q.v.*], who remained a thorn in Ḳubilay's side during the whole of his long reign. Nor was Ḳubilay more successful in his campaigns against the Japanese and the Indo-Chinese or in an attempt to gain a foothold on the island of Java. In China he encouraged the propagation of Tibetan Buddhism, but, like most of the Great Khāns, was favourably disposed to Islam and the Muslims; only for a time (during the years 1282-9), as a result of the events connected with the assassination of the minister Aḥmad, did the Muslims fall into disfavour with him. He was described by a European observer, who had travelled widely within his territories, the Venetian Marco Polo, as "the most puissant of men, in subjects, lands, and treasures, that there is on earth or ever was, from the time of our first father Adam to this day".

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 350-580, tr. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 241-315; Waṣṣāf, ed. Bombay, 16-23; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, 352-90; P. Ratchnevsky, *Rašīd ad-Dīn über die Mohammedanerverfolgungen in China unter Qubilai*, in *Rashīd al-Dīn commemoration volume (1318-1968)*, ed. J. A. Boyle and K. Jahn, Wiesbaden 1970, 163-80. (W. BARTHOLD - [J. A. BOYLE])

KUBRĀ, SHAYKH ABU 'L-DJANNĀB AḤMAD B. ʿUMAR NADJM AL-DĪN, eponymous founder of the Kubrawī Ṣūfī order, one of the major orders of the Mongol period in Central Asia and Khurāsān, from which stem numerous derivative initiatic lines. The sobriquet of Kubrā is an abbreviation of the Ḳurʾānic expression *al-ṭāmmat al-kubrā*, "the major disaster", a nickname Nadjm al-Dīn earned through his formidable talent in polemic and disputation.

Born in Khwārazm in 540/1145, he began his career as a scholar of *ḥadīth* and *kalām*, travelling extensively in the cultivation of these disciplines. His interest in Ṣūfism was awakened in Egypt, where he became a *murīd* of Shaykh Rūzbihān al-Wazzān al-Miṣrī, an initiate of the Suhrawardī order. After a number of years in Egypt, he went to Tabrīz to pursue his studies of *kalām*, but came instead under the influence of a certain Bābā Faradj Tabrīzī, who persuaded him definitively to abandon his concern with the external religious sciences and to devote himself fully to the Ṣūfī path. He then spent some time in the company of two other preceptors, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir al-Bidlīsī and Ismāʿīl al-Ḳaṣrī, from both of whom he received the ritual *khirḳa*, before returning to Shaykh Rūzbihān in Egypt. By then, Rūzbihān evidently regarded Kubrā as fully mature, for in about 540/1145 he sent him back to Khwārazm with full authority to train and initiate disciples. Kubrā swiftly gathered a large following, including a remarkable number of individuals who attained prominence in their own right as gnostics and writers on Ṣūfism; he is, in fact, frequently designated as *walī-turāsh*, the "manufacturer of saints". Among his foremost disciples were Madjd al-Dīn Baghdādī (d. 616/1219), Nadjm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (d. 654/1256; author of the celebrated Ṣūfī compendium *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, ed. Amīn Riyāḥī, Tehran 1352/1972; Eng. tr. Hamid Algar, *The path of God's bondsmen from origin to return*, forthcoming), Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya (d. 650/1252), Bābā Kamāl Djandī, Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī (d. 658/1260; cf. Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī*, in *Madjalla-y Dānishkada-i Adabiyyāt*, ii/4 [Tīr 1334/October 1955], 1-15, and Īradj Afshār, *Sargudhasht-i Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī*, Tehran 1341/1962), and Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī Lālā (d. 642/1244). Kubrā died during the Mongol conquest of Khwārazm in 617/1220; according to the traditional accounts, he refused an invitation by the Mongols to leave the city before they proceeded with their massacre of the inhabitants, and died at the head of a band of followers while engaged in hand-to-hand combat. He is reputed to have been buried at the site of his *khānaḳāh* outside the city, and his tomb, located in what subsequently became known as Köhne-Urgenj [see GURGANDJ], became a centre of pious visitation, retaining this function even under Soviet rule (cf. G. P. Snesarev, *Relikti domusul'manskikh verovanii i obryadov u Uzbekov Khorezma*, Moscow 1969, 269, 433).

Kubrā left behind a number of brief but important works dominated by a concern with the analysis of the visionary experience. He discussed in them, for example, the various significances of dreams and visions; the degrees of luminous epiphany that are manifested to the mystic; the different classes of concept and image (*khawāṭir*) that engage his attention; and the nature and interrelations of man's "subtle centres" (*laṭāʾif*). Most important of Kubrā's treatises are *Fawāʾiḥ al-djamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-djalāl* (edited with an exhaustive introduction on the life and work of Kubrā by F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957), *al-Uṣūl al-ʿashara* and *Risālat al-khāʾif al-hāʾim min lawmat al-lāʾim* (edited, together with other lesser treatises, by M. Molé under the title of *Traités mineurs*, in *Annales Islamologiques (Cairo)*, iv [1963], 1-78). In addition to these short works on the path, Kubrā also embarked on a Ṣūfī commentary on the Ḳurʾān that he was unable to complete but was continued after his death first by his *murīd* Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī and then by another Kubrawī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Simnānī (cf. H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1972, iii, 175-6, 276 n. 90, and Süleyman Ateş, *Işarî tefsir okulu*, Ankara 1974, 139-60).

The line of Kubrā was perpetuated by several of his disciples. Sayf al-Dīn Bāk̲h̲arzī established a well-endowed *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* in Buk̲h̲ārā. *Waḳf* documents relating to this *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* have been published by C. D. Ček̲h̲ovič, *Buk̲h̲arskie dokumentī XIV v.*, Tashkent 1965); it was there that Berke K̲h̲ān, fifth ruler of the Golden Horde, proclaimed his acceptance of Islam (J. Richard, *La conversion de Berke et les débuts de l'islamisation de la Horde d'Or*, in *REI*, xxxv [1967], 173-9). Badr al-Dīn Samarḳandī, a *murīd* of Bāk̲h̲arzī, travelled to India and established there a branch of the Kubrawiyya that came to be known as the Firdawsiyya; its most important figure was Aḥmad Yaḥyā Manērī (d. 772/1371), author of widely-read *Maktūbāt* (publ. Lucknow 1911). Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya established a *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* at Baḥrābād in K̲h̲urāsān, the direction of which was assumed by his son, Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who in 694/1295 presided over the conversion to Islam of G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān, the Īlk̲h̲ānid ruler of Iran (cf. Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Mubārak-i G̲h̲āzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 76-80). Another *murīd* of Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya was ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī (d. 661/1263), author of several important treatises (published by Molé under the title *Kitāb al-Insān al-kāmil*, Tehran and Paris 1962).

The most long-lived and prolific initiate line deriving from Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Kubrā was probably that descending by way of Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī Lālā and two further links of the chain to ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī. Simnānī further elaborated the analysis of the *laṭāʾif* and also formulated a critique of Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine of *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* that was to have much influence on Indian Naḳs̲h̲bandī circles (see H. Landolt's introduction to *Mukātabāt-i ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Isfarāʾinī wa ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī*, Tehran and Paris 1972, for a copious bibliography on Simnānī). ʿAlī Hamadānī, a *murīd* successively of two of Simnānī's followers, Taḳī al-Dīn Ak̲h̲ī and Maḥmūd Mazdaḳānī, introduced the Kubrawī order to Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān and Kas̲h̲mīr. He died in 786/1385, and is variously reputed to have been buried in K̲h̲uttalān (present-day Kulāb, Tadzhik SSR) [see K̲h̲uttalān] and Srinagar (J. K. Teufel, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Scheichs ʿAlī-i Hamadānī*, Leiden 1962; Sayyida As̲h̲raf Ẓafar, *Amīr-i Kabīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī*, Lahore 1972). He designated himself as a "second ʿAlī", and although the branch of the Kubrawī order he introduced to Kas̲h̲mīr remains purely Sunnī to the present day, it is not surprising that various descendants of Hamadānī came to adopt S̲h̲īʿism. Isḥāḳ al-K̲h̲uttalānī, successor of ʿAlī Hamadānī, was murdered by emissaries of the Tīmūrid ruler S̲h̲āhruk̲h̲ in about 826/1423, but before dying appointed as his successor Muḥammad Nūrbak̲h̲s̲h̲. The majority of K̲h̲uttalānī's followers accepted Nūrbak̲h̲s̲h̲, but a minority gave their loyalty to ʿAbd Allāh Barzis̲h̲ābādī instead. This schism gave rise to two separate derivatives of the Kubrawiyya, each with its own name, but having in common an adoption of S̲h̲īʿism. One was the Nūrbak̲h̲s̲h̲iyya, that survived in Iran into the Ṣafawid period; the other came to acquire, at a date and in a fashion unknown, the designation of D̲h̲ahabbiyya, and has survived down to the present in Iran, where its chief centre is S̲h̲īrāz (cf. R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, in *AfKM*, xxvi/1 [1965], 14-26).

The latter history of the Kubrawiyya in its Central Asian homeland is not well-known. It is probable that it was almost universally displaced, even in K̲h̲wārazm, by the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya from the early 9th/15th century onwards. The small town of Sāktarī near Buk̲h̲ārā remained, however, an active centre of the Kubrawiyya until at least the early 11th/17th century (for a list of works produced by the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* of Sāktarī, see A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostočnīk̲h̲ rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR*, Tashkent 1955, iii, 327-8); and at some point the Kubrawiyya spread eastwards from Central Asia into the Muslim regions of China (cf. Muḥammad Tawāḍuʿ, *al-Islām wa 'l-Ṣīn*, Cairo 1364/1945, 112).

Finally, there are traces of the Kubrawiyya in Turkey—a Kubrawī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* by the name of Muṣṭafā Dede is recorded to have fought in the ranks of the army that conquered Istanbul (Ayvānsarāʾī, *Ḥadīḳat ül-d̲j̲ewāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281/1861, ii, 261)—but no lasting implantation of the order appears to have taken place either in Turkey or the Arab lands. Only a nominal existence of the Kubrawiyya persisted in the western Islamic world as one of the multiple secondary affiliations professed by Naḳs̲h̲bandīs of the Mud̲j̲addidī-K̲h̲ālidī line (cf. Muḥammad Asʿad al-Irbilī, *al-Risāla al-asʿadiyya fi 'l-ṭarīḳa al-ʿaliyya*, Istanbul 1343/1924, 29).

Bibliography: (in addition to that contained in the text): Meier's introduction to his edition of the *Fawāʾiḥ al-d̲j̲amal* contains a comprehensive listing of all sources on the life and work of Kubrā. See also Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī, *Tibyān wasāʾil al-ḥaḳāʾik wa-salāsil al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, ms. Ibrahim Efendi (Süleymaniye) 430, iii, ff. 79b-84a; Molé, *Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et Shi'isme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'Hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 61-142 (a pioneering study, despite excessive emphasis on allegedly proto-S̲h̲īʿī elements in the early Kubrawiyya; cf. Algar, *Some observations on religion in Safavid Persia*, in *Iranian Studies*, vii/1-2 [winter-spring 1974], 287-90); Ye. E. Bertel's, *Četverostis̲h̲iya S̲h̲eik̲h̲a Nadžm ad-Dina Kubra*, in *Sufizm i sufiiskaya literatura*, Moscow 1965, 324-8; Corbin, *L'Homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien*, Paris 1971, 95-148; J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 55-8.

(H. Algar)

ḲUBRUS, modern Turkish Kıbrıs, Greek Kúpros (etymologically derived probably from the word for "copper"), in western languages Cyprus, is the largest island in the Eastern Mediterranean, with a surface area of 9,251 km². The nearest distance to the mainland is from Cape Kormakiti in the north to Anamur on the southern coast of Turkey, 71 km. The distance to the Syrian coast between Cape Andreas and Raʾs ibn K̲h̲ān north of al-Lād̲h̲ikiyya [*q.v.*] is 98 km. The distance to Crete (Arabic Iḳrīṭis̲h̲ [*q.v.*] is about 553 km. The island consists of two mountain ranges, Kyrenia-Karpass rising to 1,019 m. altitude in the north, and Troodos rising up to 1.952 m. in the south-west. In between lies a plain, the Mesaoria (Turkish Mesarya, Mesalya), which supports most of the island's agriculture, although its rainfall is marginal and the percentage of irrigated land is not large. Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of the economy. Copper has been mined since before 3,000 B.C., but its known veins, like those of other minerals (iron pyrites), are near exhaustion. Non-metal minerals are available in exportable quantities, e.g. asbestos. Refining of salt is still revenue-producing; it is being extracted from salt lakes in the low lands near Limassol and Larnaca (old names Les Salines, Turkish Tuzla).

The geopolitical situation of Cyprus within the spheres of the ancient civilisations of the Near East explains why the island has always played a certain

role in history, although its importance has sometimes been overrated. Lying on the main sea routes of the Levant, within striking distance of the mainland, the island has always been in a dependent position to any of the surrounding big powers; political independence has rarely been attained (see below, *Lusignan period*).

1. *Byzantium and Islam (632-1192).*

Cyprus' history in antiquity will not be dealt with here. When the expansion of Islam began, the island was a province of the Byzantine Empire, with its capital at Constantia, ancient Salamis. Since 431 (Council of Ephesus) the Orthodox Church of Cyprus has been autocephalous under an archbishop who ranks immediately behind the four great patriarchs. The church has moulded the island into a social, religious and cultural unit. The old and strong links between clergy and people have created a sense of social solidarity, which has remained characteristic for the history of the Orthodox Greek population of the island during the succession periods of foreign dominations. Cyprus's important cities at this time were: Salamis-Constantia, Citium (near Larnaca), Curium (near Episkopi), Tamassus (Nea) Paphos, Neapolis (Nemesos) (= Limassol), Amathos, Arsinoe (Marium) (= Chrysokhou), Lapithos, Karpasia (Near Rhizo karpaso), Chytri (= Kythrea), Tremithus, Soli, Kerynia and Ledrae or Leukosia (= Nicosia).

It was after the reign of Heraclius (610-41) that Cyprus began to be invaded by the Arabs. According to a Greek writer, a raiding party under the caliph Abū Bakr appeared on the island in 632, which is not very probable. In 647 (648, 649?) Muʿāwiya, governor of Syria, organised an expedition against the island, which was in fact the first large-scale maritime enterprise of the Arabs in the Mediterranean (cf. Balā̲d̲h̲urī, tr. Hitti, i, 235 ff., 431 f.). His fleet of 17,000 sail, commanded by ʿAbd Allāh b. Kays, landed the Arab forces at Constantia. The city was besieged, surrendered and sacked. The whole island was overrun. Cyprus was compelled to pay a tribute of 7,000-7,200 goldpieces, to be paid annually to the governor at Damascus, a sum equal to the island's tribute to the Byzantine treasury. This seems to indicate a form of joint-rule over the island by the Emperor and the caliph. It was during this raid that Umm Ḥarām, wife of ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, a relation of the Prophet, died and was buried near Larnaca. On that site was to be erected the most venerated shrine of the Muslims of Cyprus, the Hâla Sultan Tekke. A second raid was organised by Muʿāwiya in 33/653-4 led by Abu 'l-Anwār. Lapithos was sacked, and a force of 12,000 occupied the island permanently till the caliph Yazīd (680-3) withdrew it. The tributary relationship with the caliph at Damascus lasted till the time of caliph al-Manṣūr (754-75), it seems.

The peace treaty concluded between Constantine IV and ʿAbd al-Malik in 685 and renewed in 688-9 with Justinian II provided for the division of the revenues of Armenia, Iberia and Cyprus. The last-mentioned emperor decided to transplant the Orthodox population of Cyprus to the south coast of the sea of Marmara near ancient Cyzicus, where the city of Nova Justiniana (Justinianopolis) was founded for the archbishop of Cyprus and his flock. (This town's name still figures in the title of the head of the church of Cyprus. This exile of the Cypriots lasted till 698, when the island became resettled by its old inhabitants, and also by those who had gone to Muslim Syria.) For two-and-a-half centuries longer, there persisted the intermediate status of Cyprus between the Roman Emperor and the caliph. The island was normally used as a base for Arab maritime actions against Asia Minor.

In 747 a fleet from Alexandria was destroyed by a Byzantine force commanded by the admiral of the Cibyrrhaeote Theme. Raids and attacks followed each other in 772, 790 and 806 under command of the ʿAbbāsid governor in Syria, Ḥumayd. The island nevertheless remained a part of the Byzantine Empire, and the Emperor Basil I (867-86) reorganised its administration temporarily into a theme, the general Alexius being governor. The tribute to the caliph was continued (cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, Bonn ed., 40). Cyprus served as a base during the campaign of Himerius against the Arabs in Crete [see IḲRĪṬI̲S̲H̲] in 902. In 911-12 an Arab force under Dimyana occupied the island for four months. Byzantine authority was restored after the recovery of Crete in 963. After *ca.* 963, Cyprus was hardly ever more troubled by Arab invasions, and was able to restore its economy. Evidence for the island's renewed florescence is the new foundation of the main cities, old sites on the sea coast being abandoned. In 1042-3 and in 1092 revolts against the Emperor Alexius Comnenus occurred.

Towards the end of that century, Cyrpus became a base for operations of Byzantine land and sea forces, sometimes in combination with those of the Crusaders (in particular, Raymond de St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, and his successors at Tripoli). Scanty evidence for the interior history of Cyprus in this period points to maladministration and the economic draining of the island's resources by the Byzantine government. The source of Nicolas Mouzalon, one-time archbishop of Cyprus, must, however, be considered suspect because of prejudice against the emperor. The first half of the 12th century left Cyprus in peace. Pilgrim traffic passed through it as usual, and relations with Muslim powers were correct. The *amir* of Beirut and many inhabitants of that city found refuge on Cyprus when Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, captured it on 13 May 1110. The first Maronites probably settled on the island around this time. Inhabitants of Tell Ḥamdūn in Little Armenia were removed to Cyprus by the Emperor John II Comnenus (Caloioannes) (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1932, 241). In 1148 Manuel Comnenus extended the commercial privileges of the Venetians to Crete and Cyprus. This marked the beginning of the Latin penetration.

In 1155 or 1156 the Crusader Renaud of Châtillon, in co-operation with Thoros II (1145-68) of Little Armenia (Armeno-Cilicia), launched an expedition against Cyprus and put the Byzantine authorities (the Duke John Comnenus) out of action. Cyprus suffered badly, and had to pay ransom for hostages from among principal members of the clergy and the lay population.

In 553/1158 a fleet from Egypt raided Cyprus, and in 1161 pirates equipped by Raymond III of Antioch, Count of Tripoli, raided Cyprus and the coast of Cilicia. The last period of Byzantine dominion over Cyprus was the rule of Isaac Ducas Comnenus, the self-styled Emperor of Cyprus from 1185 to 1191, who was able with support of the Norman King William II to defeat an expedition sent by the Emperor Isaac II Angelus against him and to rule till he was dethroned by Richard the Lion Heart in 1191.

King Richard's fleet ran into heavy weather on its way to the Holy Land. The ship carrying his sister Joanna and his bride Berengaria, daughter of the King of Navarre, sought shelter in the port of Limassol. Isaac tried to take the ladies hostage, but Richard appeared on 6 May 1191 and landed in force on Cyprus. Having been joined by Crusader lords from Syria, among whom were Guy de Lusignan, a claimant to the crown of Jerusalem, Richard, after failure of a peaceful settlement, opened war against Isaac and defeated his forces. Isaac surrendered at the end of May 1191. The people of Cyprus delivered half of their possessions to the King of England, who confirmed the laws and institutions as granted to Cyprus by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. Frankish garrisons took the place of the Greek ones, and two English gentlemen were appointed as justiciars and sheriffs to administer the island. It was to serve as the base to provision the Crusaders in Syria, and the island became essential for the operations of the Franks in the Holy Land during the next century, after Saladin had almost destroyed the Latin's position there at Ḥaṭṭīn (1187).

2. *The Frankish period (1192-1571)*

(a) The rule of the House of Lusignan (1192-1489). — The King of England sold the island in July 1191 to the Knights of the Temple. During their rule, a rebellion broke out which was suppressed at great cost. In May 1192 King Richard resold Cyprus to Guy de Lusignan, husband to the heiress of the crown of Jerusalem. The Byzantine Emperor could only raise a protest on the diplomatic level.

Aimery de Lusignan succeeded his brother as lord of Cyprus (1194-1205). He continued the feudal organisation, granting fiefs to many Latin nobles and founding an extensive private domain. The state acquired its administrative institutions, and the castles of St. Hilarion ("Dieu d'amour"), Kyrenia (Cérines) and Buffavento were built. By Papal bulls of 20 February and 13 December 1196 a Latin hierarchy was installed under the archdiocese of Nicosia, with three suffragans, as a parallel to the Latin feudal institution. In 1197 Aimery acquired the title of King, holding his dominion from the Emperor Henry VI with Papal assent. In the same year, the Syrian Crusader barons elected him King of Jerusalem in Acre. This personal union was restored under King Hugh III (1267-84) of Lusignan in 1269, to remain as a honorific title of the Kings of Cyprus after 1291. A third royal title was collected by the Lusignans, that of Armenia in 1368—again an empty title without land.

The new kingdom kept the peace with the Muslim powers in Syria till the 5th Crusade (1228-9). The Cypriots also participated in the expedition to Damietta of 1219-21. During the Seventh Crusade, the King of France, St. Louis, used the island as his support base in the campaign against Egypt, when Damietta was again taken in 1249, and both Kings entered the town triumphantly together. The Kings of Cyprus remained involved in the Crusaders' wars till the end. In 1269 Hugh III became King of Jerusalem, but could not establish his authority over the unruly Crusader barons of Syria, Cyprus and the maritime republics of Italy. He withdrew from Acre in 1276, and when that town fell to the Mamlūks in 1291, Cyprus became the last refuge for the Christians fleeing from Syria. This new position in the Levant was of advantage to Cyprus.

The 14th century was the great period of the kingdom of the Lusignan "Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem". Its legal foundation was the purest feudal constitution ever to come about in mediaeval times, involving an elected monarchy controlled by the feudal nobility. The latter had as instruments of their policy the *Haute Cour* (*Cour des Liges*) with all executive, legislative and judicial power, as the only organ entitled to establish the rightful succession to the throne. The King was its president, and he had to convene the *Haute Cour*, but the continuity of the dynasty ensured the strong and dominating position of the monarch versus the Latin nobility.

The royal administration was directed by the *sénéchal, chambellan, chancellier* and *Grand Bailli* for civil affairs, and the *connétable, maréchal, Grand Turcoplier* (commander of light cavalry) and an admiral for military affairs. The two main cities of Nicosia and Famagusta were administered by 2 viscounts assisted by *mactasibs* (*mahtescps*).

The King, together with the Crusader aristocracy of baronial families of French origin (d'Ibelin, de Norès, etc.) and a smaller group of Frankish citizens, formed a small ruling class. The second element of Cyprus society formed the foreign merchants communities living in privileged, extraterritorial *fondachi*, Italians from Genoa and Venice, Catalans and Provençals.

The native Orthodox Greek-speaking people formed on the whole a class of subjects, ruled and exploited like slaves and serfs, *parici* and *perperiarii*. Personally free were the Greek *lefteri* or *Francomati*. The division between native Greeks and foreign Franks became strengthened by the existence of two churches. In 1196 King Aimery installed a Roman Catholic ("Latin") hierarchy at the side of the Orthodox one. By 1260 Pope Alexander IV issued the *Constitutio Cypria* confirming the supremacy of the Latins over the Greeks. The Latin archbishop solely remained as metropolitan of both hierarchies. However, the Orthodox clergy managed to subsist as a church organisation conserving the Greek ethnicity of its flock.

The Lusignan period was the first in which the island's produce and taxation became spent in and for the land itself. This alone must be considered a major cause of its economic growth. Next to that was the island's position as a transit trading station for the East-West trade, the *échelle du Levant par excellence* after the disappearance of the Crusader states. Famagusta developed into a commercial centre connecting Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Florence, Barcelona and Montpellier with Alexandria, Damascus, Aleppo, and through to the Persian Gulf, with South and East Asia.

King Henry II (1285-1324) had to direct the influx of the refugees from Syria and Palestine after the fall of Acre (1291) and the settlement of the Syrian Crusader barons and merchants. In 1343 a Holy League between the Pope, Venice, the Knights of St. John at Rhodes and Cyprus was instituted against the emerging sea power of the *amīrs* of Aydın [*q.v.*] in Anatolia. Smyrna was occupied on 28 October 1344. Otherwise, peaceful commercial relations were maintained with Mamlūk Egypt and the southern Anatolian coastlands. King Peter I (1359-69) revived the ideal of a crusade against Islam. In 1361 Gorhigos (Kızkalesi) was annexed and Antalya [*q.v.*] was captured from the Turkman Amīr Ḥamīdoghlu Meḥmed Bey. A European tour of the King, now styled *athleta Christi* by Pope Urban V, prepared for a Crusade: Venice, Cyprus and the Knights of St. John collected 10,000 troops transported in a fleet of 115 sail at Rhodes.

In October 1365 Alexandria was temporarily occupied, but the commercial interests of Venice and Genoa stopped any further confrontation with Mamlūk power. These two merchant republics were to dominate Cyprus's politics in the last century of its independent existence. At first, it was Genoa which gained the upper hand in the competition with Venice. In 1372 the Genoese Podestà (in Famagusta) defeated the Venetian Bailo, whose party received support from the Greek Cypriots. A Genoese force invaded Famagusta and Nicosia. In October 1374, a treaty was concluded which assured Genoa complete economic hegemony on Cyprus for 90 years. The *Maona Cypri* was the private mercantile organisation of Genoese bankers established at Famagusta. The King of Cyprus had to cede the town as a guarantee for the payment of reparations amounting to 2,146,400 florins and the yearly tribute to Genoa of 40,000 florins.

The next blow to Cyprus's independence was an invasion by the Mamlūk Sultan Barsbāy [*q.v.*]. On 7 July 1426, King Janus (1398-1432) and his army were defeated near Khirokitia, and Nicosia was plundered. The King was set free on the condition of becoming a vassal, paying 200,000 florins' ransom and a yearly tribute of 8,000 florins. After this invasion, the island's economy began to decline. Social unrest within the Greek population worsened the situation. In 1448 Gorhigos fell under control of the Ķaramān amīrate [see ĶARAMĀN-OGHULLARI]. Cyprus lost her last continental interest.

When in 1458 Charlotte, the daughter of King John II, came to the throne, her half-brother James the Bastard (1440-73) disputed the succession. He applied to the Mamlūk sultan for support. In 1460, with the aid of Mamlūk auxiliaries, James II defeated the legitimist opposition and took the last stronghold of the Queen, Kyrenia, and the Genoese held Famagusta in 1464. To defend himself against a Genoese counter-attack, James II enlisted Venice as an ally, and chose a Venetian subject, Caterina Cornaro (d. 1510) as his Queen in 1472; after his death (1473), she was to rule as the last monarch of independent Cyprus till 1489. During her reign, Venice installed a virtual protectorate. A Venetian garrison and two Venetian counsellors to the Queen were not considered enough by the Venetian government to safeguard the island from the Ottoman Turks' expansion. In 1488 an Ottoman fleet appeared before Famagusta. On 26 February 1489, Queen Caterina abdicated in Famagusta, and the Venetian *Capitan Generale da Mar*, Francesco Priuli, took over the government of the island.

Thus it was Christian Venice that ended the last of the Crusader states in the East. The Signory of Venice duly notified and offered justification of the take-over to the Sultan Ķā'it Bāy [*q.v.*] in Cairo, and the envoy carried with him presents and 16,000 ducats, being the tribute for 2 years. The Sultan thereupon agreed to the transfer of the Kingdom of Cyprus to Venice (February 1490).

(b) Venetian rule (1489-1571). — With the acquisition of Cyprus, the commercial "colonial" empire of Venice reached its greatest dimensions. The new possession was reorganised. The centralised government, the *Rettori*, consisted of the *Luogotenente* and two counsellors. Venetian nobles elected for a two years' tenure, controlled the finances and administration, and resided at Nicosia. A quadrennial census was instituted, the first reliable population data of Cyprus's history. The governor of Famagusta, the *Capitan del Regno di Cipró*, acted as commander-in-chief of the army and the fortresses in peace-time, and had a share in the civil administration. In time of war or menace, a proveditor-general was elected for two years to command. From the period of the Lusignan rule, two offices were retained only, the viscounties of Famagusta and Nicosia being reserved for Cypriots. A Great Council replaced the *Haute Cour*, but did not leave any real power to the Frankish baronage, by now a commingling of military adventurers from all over the Mediterranean world.

On the whole, Venetian administration was inefficient and corrupt. It estranged the local Latin ruling class and did not manage to gain the loyalty of the Greek population. The island remained a colony and a military base only for the Venetians, and one inadequately manned at that. The economy continued its decline, aggravated by natural disasters in the course of the century. The burden of the tribute to the Mamlūk sultans remained till 1517, when it became payable to the Ottoman sultan at Istanbul. The monopolistic exploitation of the island's resources did not encourage local enterprise. Apart from salt and grain, cotton, cultivated since the early 14th century, now became the major source of revenue, replacing sugar cane. Various forms of taxation pressed hard upon the labouring population. A conspiracy against Venice in 1562, led by a Greek, one Jacob Diassorin, was suppressed. Its dangerous aspect was that the rebels had made contact with the Ottomans. The Venetians now modernised the island's defences, and three fortresses, those of Kyrenia, Nicosia and Famagusta, were to be the sole defensible places; old fortifications like St. Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara were dismantled by 1567.

The Ottoman threat hovered over Cyprus during the rule of Venice, and in the years following the Ottoman-Venetian peace treaty of 1540 (cf. texts ed. by Bonelli, Lehmann and Bombaci), pressure increased. The admiral Piyāle Pasha promoted the continuation of a naval policy aimed at annexing the Latin-held islands in the Levant seas on the routes of Ottoman communications; Chios and Cyprus, the principal among them, were both already tributary to the Porte. In the end, the pro-Venetian peace party at the Porte, Soķollu Meḥmed Pasha's, gave in to the war party, and the attack on Cyprus was decided for the early spring 1570. Joseph Nasi, alias Don Juan Micas, seems to have been implicated here.

Selīm II (1566-74) issued his orders for war in 1568. A *fetwā* by the *sheykh ül-Islām* provided a justification for breaking the peace (cf. text in Pečewī, i, 386-7, tr. in d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ed. 1824, v, 73 f. = *GOR*, iii, 566 f.). Preparations continued during 1569. On 28 March 1570 the Ottoman envoy Ķubād formally handed to the Senate and the Doge Sultan Selīm II's demand for the cession of Cyprus, which was refused. In the meantime, Lâla Muṣṭafā Pasha, the fifth vizier [*q.v.*] was appointed *serdār*, and Piyāle Pasha, the third vizier [*q.v.*], was made commander of a fleet of 80 galleys and 30 galliots, followed by ʿAlī Pasha with troops, munitions and materials for the land campaign.

On 3 July 1570 the Ottoman fleet appeared before Larnaca (*Les Salines*). A Holy League created by Pope Pius V, Spain and Venice failed to organise a timely counterattack. The Venetian commander, the *Luogotenente* Nicolo Dandolo, had to limit himself to the defence of the fortress towns. On 25 July 1570 the siege of Nicosia began, and ended on 9 September when the city was taken by storm. Kyrenia capitulated without a fight 5 days later. The population

in the countryside seems not to have opposed the invaders at all. The fortress city of Famagusta still held out. The Ottomans began the siege in September 1570. The fleet of the Holy League never came nearer than Castelorizo island, and only small Venetian reinforcements reached Famagusta in January 1571. The new season of war began in the middle of April 1571, when work on the siege trenches and mines was begun in earnest. Heavy bombardments, mining and ensuing man-to-man fighting exacted a heavy toll (50-80,000 on the Turkish side, out of a force totalling 250,000 or more). Marc Antonio Bragadin surrendered on 1 August upon condition of a free withdrawal of troops with their dependents. Lala Muṣṭāfā Pasha did not, however, keep to the treaty of surrender in the end, and the Venetian commander and many of his staff were massacred.

3. *Ottoman Rule* (*1571-1878*).

By a treaty of 7 March 1573 Venice formally ceded Cyprus to the Ottoman Sultan and agreed to pay a war indemnity of 300,000 ducats.

Already, by an imperial order of 9 September issued by the *serdār* Lala Muṣṭāfā Pasha after the capture of Nicosia, Cyprus had been made an *eyālet* or *beglerbegilik*, with Muẓaffar Pasha as the first Ottoman governor. Next to the *beglerbegi* were appointed, as usual, a chief *ḳāḍī* of the province and a *defterdār*. The new province comprised eight *sandjaḳs*: *merkez* or Nicosia (Lefḳosha), and on the mainland Ičel, Sis, ʿAlāʾiyye (Alanya), Ṭarsūs, Ṭarāblus and Shām (till 1573) (all with the *tīmār* system), and Kyrenia, Paphos (Baf) and Famagusta (Magosha) (with *sālyāne* [*q.v.*]). Apart from the main towns, there were, according to the 1572 *taḥrīr*, 905 inhabited and 76 desolate villages.

Population numbers of Ottoman Cyprus fluctuated greatly; from the 18th century many observers indicated ± 80,000, but some observers 200,000, both figures contrasting with the census result of 1572 which produced ± 85,000 taxable heads of family (*khāne*). Ewliyā Čelebi indicated 30,000 Moslems and 150,000 infidels in around 1670-5. Probably the reports of the depletion of the island in the first centuries of Ottoman rule have been exaggerated. The first census after the British occupation in 1881 showed a total population of 185,630.

The organisation of the new province was based on a new survey of population and revenue, *taḥrīr*, ordered by a *fermān* of 19 Djumādā II 979/9 October 1571 to the newly-appointed *beglerbegi* Sinān Pasha. This survey is recorded in the *defter-i mufaṣṣal-i Ḳibrus* dated 18 October 1572 (Ankara tapu ve kadastro arşivi, Old records No. 506/64). Government was to be according to Islamic and Ottoman law. A major change was the grant of *mīrī* lands in usufruct to the native farmers, who were freed from serfdom, the feudal system being abolished. The amount of *djizya* (= *kharādj*) [*q.v.*] was one gold piece per head of family. In the other forms of taxation, the Ottoman government also exercised moderation and produced a favourable change in respect to Venetian and Lusignan policy.

The abolition of the *mète du sel*, for instance, resulted in a sharp decrease of revenue, though production of salt was not reduced (Inalcık, *Ottoman policy* ... [see Bibl.], 60 f.). Forced labour was abolished in practice as well. From 45 % to 67 % of taxes were levied in kind, as elsewhere in the Ottoman provinces; *djizya* and *ispendje* [*q.vv.*] were paid in cash.

A squadron of galleys was stationed at Famagusta and Kyrenia. Ottoman troops garrisoned on the island numbered 3,779 including 1,000 Janissaries, established in Nicosia, Limasol, Paphos, Famagusta and Kyrenia. A great number of Anatolian Turks from the regions of Ḳonya, Ḳaramān, Niğde, Içel, Alanya, Antalya, Menteshe and Deñizli were settled on the island as so-called *sürgün* (cf. Barkan, in *IFM*, xi [1949-50], xv [1955], *fermān* of Djumādā I 980/21 September 1571 to the *Ḳāḍīs* of Ḳaramān, Anadolu and Dhulḳadriyye; see *Muhimme defteri*, 19, pp. 334-7, no. 669, publ. in *ibid.*, 552-3). In total, 1689 families immigrated by 1572, mainly farmers. In 1581 8,000 families were registered as immigrants (MD 43, cf. C. Orhonlu, art. in *Kıbrıs tetkikleri kongresi* [see Bibl.], 99-103). Conversion of Latin and Greek Christians added little to the number of Muslim "Turkish" population, amounting to only about 400.

A major contribution to the welfare of the native Greek population was the Ottoman decision to abolish the Roman Catholic hierarchy and to restore the Orthodox Church of Cyprus under its archbishop. This prelate was made representative of his community vis-à-vis the Ottoman government as the Ethnarch or head of the Greek community. It meant an increasing degree of autonomy for the Orthodox Greek population under its own chosen leaders, and the relatively unhindered development of its own cultural tradition into modern times. This privileged status of the Greek population, together with the new dominating but smaller group of Turkish Muslims on Cyprus, was to form the basic situation of the Cypriots down to modern times. The Latin element entirely lost its former status. It survived only in small numbers, profiting from diplomatic protection within the framework of the Capitulations system [see IMTIYĀZĀT].

Ottoman possession of the island was not seriously threatened after 1571. The Grand Duke of Tuscany organised a raid on Famagusta in 1607 at the time of his grand oriental scheme involving Fakhr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], *amīr* of the Druzes, and the rebel Djānbulāt ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*]. The Veneto-Ottoman war of Candia (1645-69) did not have any great effect on Cyprus. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Cyprus was still an important centre of Levant trade, cotton and salt being valuable commodities. Consuls of Venice, France, of the Dutch Republic (since 1613) and of England resided at Larnaca, the factory (*iskele* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) of the island. The consuls and their national groups of foreign residents sometimes played an important political as well as a commercial role on the island, especially in times of rebellion.

The importance of Cyprus decreased after the conquest of Crete was completed in 1669. At that time, the *beglerbegilik* was incorporated into the province of the *Ḳapudān Pasha*, who sent a deputy-governor, the *müsellim*. The role of the Orthodox hierarchy in the administration increased at the same time. Strife among the Ottoman notables of Nicosia led to armed conflict, which in its turn caused the Porte to interfere by sending troops repeatedly. Čifutoghlu Aḥmed Pasha at last succeeded in defeating the rebels and executing their leader Boyadjı Meḥmed Agha in *ca.* 1690. In 1703 Cyprus was transformed into a *khāṣṣ* domain of the Grand Vizier. The government was now exercised by a *muḥaṣṣil* (*taḥṣildār*) in the name of the latter, who was a farmer of taxes at the same time. The frequent change of these functionaries, as elsewhere, led to overburdening by taxation. In 1745 Cyprus once

again became an independent province under its own *pasha* for a few years. Abū Bekir Pasha (1746-8) exercised his charge satisfactorily, bequeathing to the island an aqueduct serving Larnaca, the harbour and passing ships (*waḳfiyya* of 12 Rabīʿ I 1161/12 March 1748, in Luke, *Cyprus*, 69-74).

In 1754 a *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* was issued at the request of the Archbishop and suffragans to fix the amount of the *kharādj* together with the *maʿīshet* and *nuzūl* taxes at 21½ piastres per head on 10,066 assessments. The bishops acquired the status of *Ḳodjabashî* (Gr. *demogeron*), responsible for the peace and the payment of taxes by the Greek subject population. In 1764 Čil ʿOthmān Agha, *muḥaṣṣil* of the Grand Vizier and a *mültezim*, doubled the *kharādj* on Christians and Muslims alike, who rose in revolt and killed him. The revolt lasted till August 1766. Cyprus suffered the depredations of the Russian fleet after the destruction of the Ottoman one (Česhme 5-7 July 1770) till 1774. From 1777 to 1783 Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd ül-Bāḳī Agha was *muḥaṣṣil*. By this time, the actual administration and levying of taxes was shared between the Ottoman administrator and the Archbishop and bishops, who employed the Greek "Dragoman of the Saray" as their agent also. In 1804 a revolt of the Turkish troops broke out against the Archbishop and the dragoman Ḥādjdjī Georgiakis Kornesios (executed in 1809), and this lasted till 1805.

The Greek Cypriots contributed little to the Greek War of Independence (1821-9). The little involvement there was (1821) gave the *müsellim* the pretext for, firstly, a general disarmament of all Christians. Then the leading personalities were arrested and put to death in July 1821, among them the Archbishop Kyprianos (1810-21) and three bishops. After the massacre there followed a partial confiscation of the possessions of the victims and of the churches and monasteries on the islands, although much was restored later. The Christians living within the fortresses of Nicosia, Famagusta and other towns were ordered to remove themselves to the outside, a situation which has remained. The archbishops never recovered their powerful pre-1821 position. The Greek Kingdom was recognised by the Porte in 1829, and this caused the beginning of nationalist aspirations of *enosis* amongst the Greek Cypriots. The overtaxation of the island's resources continued to frustrate a fundamental improvement of its economy, and revolts by both groups of the population occurred in 1833.

In 1838 the era of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] set in. By 1849 Cyprus was reformed as a *sandjaḳ* of the province of the Islands of the Aegean Sea, *Djezāʾir-i baḥr-i sefīd* [*q.v.*] and administered by a *müteṣarrif*, assisted by a *dīwān* or council where Christians and Muslims were represented. Governors followed each other in quick succession. In 1861 Cyprus became an independent *sandjaḳ* (Hill, iv, 239). The second *tanẓīmāt* decree of 1856 was applied in Cyprus, and the effects of reform were becoming noticeable during the last decades of the Ottoman administration (1856-78), when courts came into being. The population increased from *ca.* 100,000 in 1840 to 200,000 in 1862. The island's economy progressed moderately, and Larnaca remained the principal port. The administrative status of Cyprus was however reduced again in 1868 to a *sandjaḳ* in the *wilāyet* of the Islands, but restored in 1870.

4. *The British Occupation 1878-1959.*

A few days before the Congress of Berlin, Great Britain concluded with Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] a secret Convention of Defensive Alliance in which she promised help to defend his empire against Russian encroachment. The sultan ceded Cyprus for occupation and administration as a "place d'armes". In an annexe of 1 July 1878 it was provided that the annual surplus revenue of Cyprus, assessed from the average of the previous 5 years, was to continue to be paid to the Sultan. The so-called "tribute" in fact never reached the Sultan, but was diverted to the creditors of the Ottoman Debt instead, and this arrangement remained in force till Sir Ronald Storrs' administration in 1927. The Sultan retained his sovereign rights to the island and continued appointing its *müfti* and *ḳāḍīs*. This status gave little incentive to the British government to develop Cyprus, but elementary reforms and ameliorations were effected. With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Great Britain annexed the island. A representative régime was instituted (1922), with a council of 18 members, comprising 9 Greeks, 3 Turks and 6 British officials. Any proposal for union with Greece, *enosis*, could thus be deadlocked by the Turco-British bloc. The repeated refusal of *enosis* created tension between Greek Cypriots and the British. At the Peace of Lausanne (1923), Turkey formally renounced all claims to Cyprus. In 1925 Cyprus became a British crown colony.

A small number of Turks, however, opted for the Turkish nationality and left. The first great conflict between Greeks and British broke in 1931 during Sir Ronald Storrs' tenure as governor. A state of emergency was proclaimed. Military government remained till after World War II. Already in 1941, however, political parties were permitted again: a communist party A.K.E.L., a Greek nationalist party K.E.K., and a Turkish party. Trade Unions came about mainly under communist leadership. Municipal elections were held in 1943. After 1945 the British government did not consider any change of status for Cyprus. In 1950 Greek Cypriot nationalists organised a plebiscite among Greek Cypriots, and 96 % voted for *enosis*. The young Bishop of Kition, Michael Mouskos, was the organiser of this demonstration. On 18 October 1950 he was elected the "Most Blessed and Most Reverend Archbishop of New Justiniana and all Cyprus" under the name Makarios III (1919-77). In 1954 a Cyprus-born Greek officer, George Grivas, began organising an anti-British guerrilla organisation, E.O.K.A. The British government devised a new constitution for the colony without giving any hopes for independence. In early 1955 the first discussion of the Cyprus problem in the U.N.O. failed to have a pro-Greek result. Soon afterwards guerrilla warfare by E.O.K.A. began. In July 1955 the British Premier Sir Anthony Eden held the first tripartite talks on the question, with Greece and Turkey, the latter also invited to have a say as an ally of N.A.T.O. Turkey's point of view was maintenance of the *status quo* as a guarantee against *enosis*. The leader of the Greek Cypriots, Archbishop Makarios III, protested against discussion of the interests of Cyprus without the presence of its own people, meaning only the Greek Cypriots. E.O.K.A. stepped up its activities. Field-Marshal Sir John Harding was appointed governor. He opened talks with Makarios upon the base of "a wide measure of self government". This was acceptable for the Turks and nearly so for Makarios. The talks were unexpectedly broken off by order of the London government, and Makarios deported to the Seychelles Islands (9 March 1956).

E.O.K.A. terrorism came into full fury. The

British began to recruit Turkish Cypriots as policemen, who consequently also fell victim to Greek bullets; the beginning of inter-communal violence dates back from this time. A Turkish militant organisation grew up, and a Turkish Cypriot leader emerged, Dr. Fazil Küçük. At the U.N.O. meeting in February 1957, neither *enosis* nor its Turkish answer *taksim* (division of Cyprus into two parts) got sufficient support. The new British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, decided to release Makarios, who was not, however, allowed to return to his island, and Sir Hugh Foot was appointed governor. The Menderes government in Ankara protested against this liberal figure succeeding the Field-Marshal, and blocked the plans for self-government of Cyprus, the return of the Archbishop and talks with all Cypriot leaders. A revised Foot-Macmillan constitutional proposal contained many elements later used in the London-Zürich treaties of 1959. At the time of its announcement, Cyprus experienced the worst terrorist fighting between the two communities, between E.O.K.A. and T.M.T., the Turkish National Defence Organisation, with 200 dead in two months. At this time there were 20,000 British troops on the island.

Civil war suddenly came to an end in July 1958, although E.O.K.A. continued its fight against the British. Makarios, fearing an Anglo-Turkish co-operation to divide Cyprus, came forward in September with a proposal for independence under auspices of the U.N.O. Grivas did not support it, and *enosis* remained his only aim. Great Britain did not consider it either, but began to change its own position: 28,000 troops on Cyprus became too heavy a burden, and a Greco-Turkish conflict would harm N.A.T.O. Sovereign base areas in Cyprus would be sufficient for Britain's strategic needs. Athens wanted to prevent *taksim*; but Ankara could accept any compromise which prevented *enosis*. The U.S.A. made it clear that it would not continue supporting Great Britain in the Middle East. Any Greco-Turkish solution must be accepted.

In December 1958, the first talks between Greece and Turkey (by Averoff-Tossizza and Zorlu respectively) were held. In February 1959 the prime ministers and foreign secretaries reached agreements in Zürich. At a second meeting in London these and a draft constitution were submitted to the British government. The Cypriots had not taken part officially before, but the Cypriot leaders Makarios and Küçük were now invited to accept the agreements. Makarios was put under heavy pressure by Greece. In London, at Lancaster House on 19 February 1959, three treaties were signed by all parties:

(1) a "Treaty of establishment", Britain declaring Cyprus independent, with the reservation of two sovereign base areas.

(2) a "Treaty of guarantee": the 3 powers guarantee the independence of Cyprus and its status as defined in a number of fundamental articles of its Constitution. *Enosis* and *taksim* are forbidden, and in case of violation, all three powers together, or if not feasible, each separately, may take action to restore the *status foederis*.

(3) a "Treaty of alliance" between Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, a military alliance with headquarters at Nicosia, where 950 Greek and 650 Turkish soldiers will be stationed, was laid down as an extra guarantee for the other treaties.

Furthermore, a Constitution was laid down which came into force on 16 August 1960. The independent Republic of Cyprus, with a presidential régime and Greek and Turkish as official languages, has an executive of one President and one Vice-President, a Greek and a Turk respectively, elected by their own communities. There is a council of 10 ministers, comprising 7 Greeks and 3 Turks, deciding with a majority vote. Its decisions are subject to a veto of President and/or Vice-President. There is a Parliament of 50 (35 plus 15), with a Greek speaker and a Turkish deputy speaker, deciding with a majority vote, except in electoral municipal and fiscal legislation, when separate communal majorities are needed. (Full text in: *Conference on Cyprus. Documents signed and initialled at Lancaster House on February 19, 1959*. Cmnd. 679, London [H.M.S.O.] 1959).

5. *Independence 1960.*

After the transitory period from 19 February 1959 to 15 August 1960, Cyprus became an independent state on 16 August 1960. Its population in about 1968 was estimated at 621,500 (last official census of 1960: 557,615, with 442,521 Greeks, 104,350 Turks, 3,628 Armenians, 2,708 Maronites, 3,351 British, 2,796 Latins and 18,261 others). Reliable estimates are that in 1970 the Greeks made up 78 % and Turks 18 %, which means a slight lack of increase of the Turks.

The application of the detailed and imposed constitution caused serious difficulties. The first opposition came from Grivas, who with his followers continued to insist on *enosis*. The formation of an army caused insurmountable difficulties; the Turks wanted separate communal units and Küçük in the end used his veto against Makarios. Appointments of civil servants became problematical because the Turks could not fill all the 30 % of posts due to them. The most serious conflict was caused by the separation of municipalities, no longer desired by the Greeks. The Turks took this point as a test case for the loyal application of the constitution. When the Turks proposed to continue with it in the end of 1962, Makarios blocked it. Both parties were considered to be wrong by the constitutional court, whose members ("neutral" German lawyers) left the country not long after for fear of their lives.

On the 1 January 1963 Makarios came forward with a proposal to amend 13 points of the constitution, which was no longer functioning. The idea was to install a more unified state, with guarantees for the Turkish Cypriots, Makarios and Küçük being co-presidents.

The Ankara government declined these proposals. The intercommunal deadlock led to civil war. On 4 March 1964 a United Nations peace force was organised and a U.N. mediator was appointed. Violence continued. Makarios introduced military service, and could thus mobilise a Greek National Guard to control the extremist bands directed by Grivas from Athens. The situation worsened in the course of the year. The U.S. President Lyndon Johnson warned the Prime Minister İnönü in June that Turkey would not be protected by N.A.T.O. in case of a Russian attack after Turkish unilateral action. All over the island the Turkish Cypriots withdrew inside fortified enclaves surrounded by Greek Cypriot guerrillas and men of the National Guard. This meant a definitive change of the old settlement pattern of 120 all-Turkish and 106 mixed villages. There was a relocation to Turkish-dominated areas of at least 25,000 Turkish refugees. In 1969, 115,189 Turk refugees still remained unsettled. A precarious balance was maintained by the U.N.

Force in Cyprus (U.N.F.I.C.Y.P.). Greek Cypriots dominated the greater part of the Republic. A U.N. mediator, Galo Plaza, began his work in March 1965. Makarios and Küçük did not act together any more, nor did the cabinet or parliament. Makarios kept on insisting that the imposed constitution was impracticable. Küçük maintained that a limitation of independence was necessary for the survival of the Turkish community, which must never be treated as a minority, and proposed *taksim*. Neither of the two Cypriot parties was able to make concessions.

Greco-Turkish talks in 1966 led to no results. In the autumn of 1967, violence flared up again after Greek Cypriot provocation. The Ankara government threatened intervention. The Athens Junta government gave in, and withdrew Grivas from the island. Makarios's position had now become the stronger one. Küçük proclaimed a separate transitional government for all Turkish sectors in December 1967. On 25 February 1968, presidential elections were held which resulted in a 95.4 % vote for Makarios and his independence policy. Concessions were granted to the Turks. R. Denktaş was allowed to return and was elected president of the Turkish Communal Chamber. He conducted intercommunal talks with G. Clerides in June, July and autumn of 1968 and in the spring of 1969. On 8 March 1970, an attack was made on President Makarios, probably by Greek ex-E.O.K.A. members. Parliamentary elections were held in July 1970 separately by both communities.

The year 1971 saw talks on Cyprus by the governments of Athens and Ankara in Lisbon (by Foreign Ministers Olçay and Xanthopoulos-Palamas). The communal talks between Denktaş and Clerides were also continued. In September, General Grivas returned secretly to organise a new E.O.K.A. terrorist (1972) movement, mainly directed against Makarios' position, but also a menace to Turkish Cypriots. In March 1972 Grivas, assisted by the Bishops of Paphos, Kitium and Kyrenia, staged a coup to defrock the President-Archbishop and followed it up with raids and killings among Makarios's party which continued during 1973. Grivas died on 27 January 1974. Makarios's conflict with the Athens Junta led to the overthrow by Greek army officers of his government on 15 July 1974.

Led by an E.O.K.A. terrorist, Nikos Sampson, the coup seemed to aim at *enosis*. The Turkish government invoked the Treaty of Guarantee and intervened unilaterally. On 20 July massive Turkish troop landings were effected near Kyrenia and elsewhere. A short war ensued between the Turkish army units and the Greek Cypriot National Guard, which led to a lasting division of the island along the cease-fire line, stretching from the East, south of Famagusta to the West, near Lefka including the Turkish zone of Nicosia. Massive relocation of the population was the result, with at least 200,000 displaced persons. In December 1974 Makarios returned to Cyprus as President. His authority was now, however, less. The new leaders of the two communities are G. Clerides and R. Denktaş, both lawyers by profession. Intercommunal talks were continued by them in 1975 without significant results, and on 13 February 1975 Denktaş announced the formation of a separate Turkish state in the northern half of Cyprus. The intercommunal talks were resumed in Vienna in April under the auspices of U.N. Secretary-General K. Waldheim.

On 3 August 1977, President Archbishop Makarios III died aged 63. S. Kyprianou succeeded him as President, and Bishop Chrysostomos of Paphos was elected head of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus in the course of the year. Intercommunal talks were resumed in January 1978 under auspices of the U.N.O. Secretary-General between Kyprianou and Denktaş.

The Cyprus Question, one of the last remnants of the Eastern Question, remains to be solved on the both national and international levels.

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(A. H. de Groot)

KUBU, a sub-district (*kecamatan*) of the regency (*kabupaten*) of Pontianak, situated in the south of the delta of the Great Kapuas river, in the Indonesian province of Western Kalimantan in Borneo [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 1971 it had 16,031 inhabitants, among them 643 foreigners, most of them Chinese. The scattered population is mainly of mixed Arab, Buginese, or Malay origin, besides the Chinese and few Dayaks. Since 1955, the Indonesian government has tried to open some areas for Javanese immigrants.

The family which ruled this area until 1958 was of Arab descent originating from Ḥaḍramawt. The founder of the kingdom was Sayyid (according to others S̲h̲arīf) Īdrus al-Īdrus, who settled not far from the mouth of the river Terentang with a few Arab, Buginese and Malay followers in *ca.* 1780, soon after his brother-in-law, the Arab adventurer S̲h̲arīf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḳadrī, had founded the sultanate of Pontianak. The capital and kingdom received its name from an entrenchment (Malay *kubu*) thrown up as a defence against raids by pirates. He put himself under the protection of the Dutch East India Company, who recognised him as a ruler with the title *tuan* (lord). One of his sons, ʿAlawī bin Īdrus, because of his opposition against the Dutch and favour of the British, left Kubu in 1823 and finally settled in Sarawak; some of his descendants have had a certain political influence there, especially since independence (1963).

In 1910, the Dutch introduced a *bestuur comité* in Kubu, consisting of three notables, each of whom was allotted a certain territory as an appanage. The last king, Ḥasan bin Zayn, was appointed as head of the *bestuur comité* by the Japanese in 1943, before he was elected head of the self-governing kingdom in 1949. In 1958, the monarchy was abolished and Kubu was transformed into its present administrative position as a *kecamatan*. The predominant religion is Islam, but this is mixed with animistic beliefs.

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(W. H. RASSERS — [O. SCHUMANN])

KŪČAK KHĀN DJANGALĪ, MĪRZĀ, known also as Shaykh Yūnus (1880-1921), Persian revolutionary and the first person to declare a republican régime in Iran. He was born into a lower middle class family of Rasht, in the north of Iran, and studied Arabic and other religious subjects in the traditional schools in his region. He then moved to Tehran, continuing his studies in a religious school called the *madrasa-yi maḥmūdiyya*. His early training in traditional schools, together with his association with the Russian revolutionaries in Tiflis and Baku in 1908, plus his close co-operation with the militant Iranians involved in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11, developed in Kūčak Khān a strong sense both of revolutionary patriotism and also of devotion to Islam. We therefore see him occasionally consulting the Ḳur'ān as well as setting up sessions for reciting the heroic poetry of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] (Ibrāhīm Fakhrā'ī, *Sardār-i Djangal Mirzā Kūčak Khān*, Tehran 1965, 37-8). In 1909 Kūčak joined the revolutionary group of Gīlān aimed at overthrowing the then despotic Shāh, Muḥammad ʿAlī (reigned 1907-9). The Gīlān Bakhtiyārī forces moved on Tehran victoriously in July 1909 while Kūčak Khān was suffering a severe back injury caused by carrying a heavy gun during the expedition.

After this short-lived victory on the part of the constitutionalists, Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh fled to Russia, where he made an attempt to regain his throne. A year or so later he entered Iran and, with the help of some Turkoman supporters, he moved towards Tehran. At this time (1911) Kūčak Khān joined the government troops in Māzandarān and "took many heroic actions" against the former Shāh's forces (Aḥmad Kasravī, *Ta'rīkh-i hidjdahsāla-yi Ādharbāydjān*, Tehran 1961, 181). In this expedition, Kūčak Khān was wounded. After his recovery, he was denied residence in Rasht by the then Consul-General of Tsarist Russia; hence he moved to Tehran, suffering extreme poverty.

While in Tehran, Kūčak Khān took an active interest in the idea of Pan-Islamism which was then (1913) being propagated by the Ottomans and which enjoyed a considerable following in Tehran and elsewhere. Kūčak Khān had a series of meetings and discussions with religious and political personalities concerned about the future of Iran, and finally decided to undertake armed struggles against the British-backed government of Iran. In 1914, therefore, he went to Gīlān and rose against the government and, with the help of some German and Ottoman advisers, organised his Pan-Islamic group, with the newspaper *Djangal* as its official organ, the latter first appearing in 1917.

After the Soviet Revolution, the termination of Tsarist claims on Iran and the conclusion of the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 which established British control over the Persian army, customs, and financial affairs, Kūčak Khān, like other revolutionary leaders such as Khiyābānī [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Pisyān, intensified his campaign against the British. He established friendship with the Russian Bolshevik régime and in the name of the liberation of Iran, in May 1920, he proclaimed the Socialist Republic of Gīlān.

To Kūčak Khān's revolution was, of course, opposed the British-backed government of Tehran; a number of clashes therefore took place between the Djangalīs and the opposing British and Persian troops. There were also internecine fights between Kūčak Khān on the one hand and other Djangalī leaders, such as Iḥsān Allāh Khān and Khālū Ḳurbān and a number of the ʿAdālat Party members, who held extremist communist views. These conflicts finally resulted in the murder of a prominent revolutionary, Haydar Khān ʿAmū Ughlī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In the meantime, the pro-British Sayyid Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabā'ī set up the Zarganda Committee, which was joined by a number of the large landowners of Gīlān such as Fatḥ Allāh Khān Sardar Manṣūr. At the same time the Soviets decided to establish friendship with the British and the government of Tehran, culminating in the Soviet-Persian Agreement of 1921, on the basis of which the Soviet Ambassador to Tehran, M. Rothstein, wrote a long letter to Kūčak Khān urging him to put an end to his revolutionary activities. Thus abandoned, Kūčak Khān took refuge in the forests of Gīlān, and shortly afterwards his frozen corpse was found and his head was taken to the authorities.

Kūčak Khān's writings and manifestos suggest that he was aiming at a united Iran without any foreign interference, including that of the Soviets. He believed in land reform and in compulsory education, and during his short control over Gīlān, he did carry out some land reform and founded a number of public primary schools in Sawmaʿasarā, Shaft, Kasmā, and Māsūla.

The evaluation of the revolutionary activities of Kūčak Khān has caused controversy, and many contradictory accounts have also been given concerning the factual history of the Djangalī movement. He has been called a "willing puppet" of the Soviets (George Lenczowski, *Russia and the West in Iran, 1918-1948*, Ithaca 1949, 60). On the other hand, Soviet writers (*The borderlands of Soviet Central Asia*, in *Central Asian Review*, iv [1956], 287-331), as well as the Iranian revolutionary groups (S. ʿAwn Allāhī, *Inḳilāb-i kabīr-i sūsiyālīstī-yi uktubr va naḥdat-i kumūnīstī va kārgarī-yi Īrān*, and Taḳī Mūsawī, *Inḳilāb-i uktubr va naḥdat-i Gīlān*, both in *Inḳilāb-i uktubr va Īrān*, ed. Ḥizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān, 1967, 241-62, 263-74; *Djunbish-i kumūnīstī-yi Īrān*, in *Tūda*: *Urgān-i sāzmān-i inḳilābī-yi Ḥizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān dar khāridj-i az kishwar*, No. 15, 1969, 22 ff.) do not seem to have paid enough attention to the eventual Soviet abandonment of the Djangalī movement; this latter question has constituted the point of emphasis of a number of other writers (Muṣṭafā Shuʿāʿī, *Nigāhī bi rawābiṭ-i shūrawī va naḥdat-i inḳilābī-yi Djangal*, Tehran 1968) who have considered Kūčak Khān to be a national hero. A third group of the accounts are hostile to the movement, expressing openly the attitude of the big landowners of Iran, particularly of those of Gīlān; the best example of this group of literature is the anonymously-written book *Ta'rīkhča-yi Djangaliyān*, Tehran 1918.

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

ḲŪČĀN, modern form of the mediaeval Islamic Khabūshān/Khūdjān, a town of northern Khurasān on the main highway connecting Tehran and Mashhad. It lies at an altitude of 4,060 feet in the fertile and populous Atrek River-Kashaf Rūd corridors, on the headwaters of the Atrek and between the parallel mountain ranges of the Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid on the north and the Kūh-i Shāh Djahān and Kūh-i Bīnālūd on the south; the modern town lies several miles upstream, sc. to the east-south-east, of the mediaeval town.

Khabūshān was apparently the earliest Islamic form of the town's name, although nothing is known about it during the period of the Arab conquests and the ensuing two or three centuries. But already in the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries, such writers as Ibn Ḥawḳal; ed. Kramers, 433, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 419, Muḳaddasī, 318-19, the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, § 23, and Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ[1], 604, 607, tr. Arends[2], 735, 739, spell its name as Khūdjān. Samʿānī (who had personally visited the town), *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, v, 223-4, repeated in Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, ii, 399-400, says that the locals pronounced Khadjdjān. The geographers and others describe it as the chef-lieu (*ḳaṣaba*) of the rich and flourishing rural district (*rustāḳ*) of Ustuwā (the Ἀσταυηνή of Greek sources), which was administratively a dependency of Nīshāpūr and comprised 93 villages. It constituted the granary of Nīshāpūr, growing corn and fruits in both rain-watered fields (*mabākhis*) and in those irrigated by *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 153-4. Cotton was also grown and textiles produced. Concerning the religious complexion of the district, we learn that in the early 5th/11th century the doctrines of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* were promoted in Khūdjān and Ustuwā by the *faḳīh* Abū ʿAmr Farāhī (Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-tawḥīd fī maḳāmāt al-Shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, Tehran 1332/1953, 24); at this time, the famous Shāfiʿī scholar Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Māwardī [*q.v.*] served for a while as *ḳāḍī* of Ustuwā before moving to Baghdād (cf. H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung des šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 96). By the Il-Khānid period, the name Ustuwā was going out of use, though still used in the tax-registers, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 150, tr. 149.

Ḳūčān makes sporadic appearances in the mediaeval Islamic chronicles, since it lay on the principal route from Gurgān and the Caspian provinces to Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr, and because the pasture grounds of the upper Atrek valley were especially attractive to powers with nomadic followings, such as the Saldjūḳs, the Mongols and the Il-Khānids. It played a part in the manoeuvrings of Masʿūd of Ghazna and the Saldjūḳs under Ṭoghrïl Beg during the struggle for Khurāsān (Bayhaḳī, *loc. cit.*). In 551/1156 it was the meeting-place of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Atsïz [*q.v.*] and the Ḳarākhānid Maḥmūd Khān, after the latter had invited the Shāh into Khurāsān to combat the Oghuz captors of Sultan Sandjar, and it was in Ḳūčān that Atsïz died shortly afterwards (Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 330-1). The town suffered badly during Čingiz Khān's attack on Khurāsān. According to Djuwaynī, the Mongol general Sübetey wrought great slaughter at Khabūshān, Isfarāʾin [*q.v.*] and (?) Adkan, and for nearly 40 years the town lay devastated and depopulated. Then in 654/1256, Djuwaynī—who had with considerable acumen purchased a quarter of the town from its inhabitants—himself persuaded Hülegü to rebuild it. The latter issued a *yarlïgh* for the repair of the *ḳanāts* and the rebuilding of the houses and markets, all at his own expense, and the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Aḳa expended 3,000 *dīnārs* on reconstructing and restoring the Friday mosque and cemetery (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 146, ii, 617, cf. Boyle, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 342).

Ķūčān thus enjoyed a recovery of prosperity under the later Mongols and Il-Khānids. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions that there was an imperial workshop (*kārkhāna*) there (Petrushevsky, in *ibid.*, v, 513), and also that Ghāzān, when governor of Khurāsān and himself still a Buddhist, built a Buddhist temple in the town for those devotees within the Mongol court entourage and official classes (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Alizade, iii, Baku 1957, 373, cf. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, The Hague 1834-5, iv, 147-8). However, Ķūčān had at some point of time also acquired an *imāmzāde* or saint's tomb of some importance, sc. that of Ibrāhīm, son of the Eighth *Imām* of the Shīʿa, ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

The whole Atrek-Kashaf Rūd corridor lay in the front line of Persian defences against the Özbegs during the Ṣafawid period. Hence Shāh ʿAbbās I settled Kurdish tribesmen in northern Khurāsān, to the number, it is said, of 15,000 families, and subsequently, what were in effect a string of Kurdish tribal principalities grew up along the frontier, with hereditary chieftains and exemption from taxation in return for maintaining armed cavalrymen against incursions from Central Asia. Ķūčān came within the area of the Zaʿfarānlū Kurds, whose hereditary leaders had the title of *Ilkhānī* bestowed upon them. Nādir Shāh had an especially consistent policy of resettling peoples in frontier regions for strategic purposes, and during his reign (1148-60/1736-47) there were considerable further implantations in northern Khurāsān, including the Ķūčān district (see on all these population movements, J. R. Perry, *Forced migration in Iran during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in *Iranian studies, Jnal. of the Society for Iranian Studies*, viii/4 [New York, Autumn 1975], 205 ff.).

The local chiefs of Ķūčān were nevertheless frequently in revolt against the Persian central government. Nādir Shāh was killed in 1160/1747 whilst engaged in the subjugation of the town, and a nearby hill is still called Nādir Tepe. In the reign of the Ķādjār Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the *Ilkhānī* Riḍā Ķulī Khān (who entertained the British traveller J. B. Fraser in Ķūčān in 1822) revolted against his overlord, so that the Shāh's *walī ʿahd* or heir, ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*], came and suppressed the outbreak, razing the town's walls and causing much destruction within it. Severe earthquakes in 1852, 1871, 1893 and 1895 increased the devastation, and Curzon, who was there in 1889, found many ruinous houses there, estimating the population at less than 12,000. With the pushing-forward in the later 19th century of the Russian frontier in Central Asia up to the natural frontier of the Kopet Dāgh-Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid range and the subjection to Imperial Russian rule of the formerly predatory Türkmens, the three Kurdish principalities of northern Khurāsān, Ķūčān, Budjnurd [*q.v.*] and Darreh Gaz, lost much of their military and strategic raisons d'être, and Curzon noted that the power and prestige of the then *Ilkhānī*, Shudjāʿ al-Dawla Ḥusayn Khān b. Riḍā Ķulī Khān, had diminished (G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 94-112).

In the present century, Ķūčān has remained the centre of an important wheat-growing area, supplying much of the rest of Persia; these crops are grown, as in mediaeval times, both on *ķanāt*-irrigated land and on *daymī*, dry-farmed (cf. *Admiralty handbook, Persia* London 1945, 40, 43 439, 453). Administratively, Ķūčān is now the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* or district of the 9th *ustān* or province of Khurāsān; the population of the *shahrastān* in 1950 was *ca.* 111,000 (cf. *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, ix, 307).

Bibliography: In addition to sources given in the article, see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 393, and for the accounts of European travellers who visited Ķūčān, see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 157-61, 221-3, 252. (C. E. Bosworth)

KÜČÜK ĶAYNARDJA (modern Tkish. Küçük Kaynarca, "little hot spring", a village in north-eastern Bulgaria, 25 km. south-east of Silistre, noteworthy as the place at which was concluded between the Ottoman and Russian Empires on 12 Djumādā I 1188/10/21 July 1774 one of the most famous and important treaties in the history of diplomacy. The Treaty of Küčük Ķaynardja, which brought to an end a disastrous war over the partition of Poland on which the Porte had irresponsibly embarked six years previously, contained terms which were uniformly regrettable in their consequences for the Ottoman state and, in particular, for the khānate of the Crimea.

The treaty, which consisted of 28 articles and a separate secret convention of two articles, was the final outcome of protracted negotiations for a truce which had been conducted by the two sides since 1186/1772. Only in the campaign of 1188/1774, with Russian forces strongly entrenched south of the Danube and with the strong fortress of Shumen (Shumla, Shumnī), which commanded the passage of the Balkan range, abandoned by the Ottomans, were negotiations pushed rapidly to a conclusion. The Ottoman field-commander (*serdār-i ekrem*), the Grand Vizier Muḥsinzāde Meḥmed Pasha, nominated as plenipotentiaries his *kāhyā-begi* Nishāndjī/Tewķīʿī Aḥmed Resmī Efendi and the then *reʾis efendi* Ibrāhīm Munīb (Münip) Efendi; the chief Russian negotiator, under the aegis of the Russian commander-in-chief, Field-Marshal Count Pyotr Aleksandrovič Rumyantsev, was Prince Nikolai Repnin, who had served as Russian ambassador at the Porte prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

Negotiations were begun and rapidly concluded in the Russian camp before Shumen on 8 Djumādā I 1188/6/17 July 1774; the actual date and place of signing were stipulated by the Russians for their historical significance. The controlling text of the treaty was drawn up in Italian; Russian and Turkish versions were also signed by the respective plenipotentiaries. Contrary to a widely-held belief, there are only minor textual variations between the Russian and Turkish versions.

The consequences of the Treaty of Küčük Ķaynardja were most unfortunate for the khānate of the Crimea. Although by the terms of art. 3 Russian forces were to evacuate its territory with the exception of the strong points of Kerč and Yeñi Ķalʿe, the Ottomans were obliged to relinquish their suzerainty over the khānate, and to concede to the Crimean Tatars a specious and unlooked-for "independence" (*serbestiyyet*). Religious supremacy over the Muslim inhabitants of the khānate was reserved to the Ottoman sultan as rightful caliph ("Supremo Califfo Maomettano"), a concept entirely alien to Islamic law, and one which was to cause endless diplomatic confusion, in part corrected by the *convention explicative* of Aynalī Ķavaķ (3 Rabīʿ I 1193/10/21 March 1779). The "independence" of the Crimea proved in fact to be merely a prelude to its absorption by Russia, on the pretext of misgovernment, in 1783 [see further, ĶIRIM].

For the Ottomans, the consequences, in strategic

terms, of the treaty were equally ominous. Through her possession of the fortresses of Ḳılburun (Ḳınburun) [*q.v.*] (art. 18); Kerč and Yeñi Ḳalʿe [*q.vv.*] (arts. 3 and 19); Azaḳ (Azov) [*q.v.*] (art. 20) and Greater and Lesser Kabarda [see KABARDS] (art. 21), and despite restitution to the Ottomans of Özü (Ochakov) and Bessarabia, including, *inter alia*, the fortresses of Aḳ Kermān, Kili, Ismāʿīl, Bender and Khotin [*qq.v.*], Russia gained a secure and permanent strategic foothold on the northern shores of the Black Sea, thus bringing to an end its four centuries' history as an Ottoman "lake". This new position of strength Russia was able immediately to exploit through further concessions (art. 11) which gave her unrestricted commercial privileges in the Black Sea and through the Straits into the Mediterranean, and the right to establish consulates and vice-consulates at will on Ottoman territory and to maintain a permanent embassy at Istanbul. A further detailed clause afforded Russia a privileged position with regard to the Christian population and the semi-autonomous hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia (Boghdan and Eflāḳ [*q.vv.*]) (art. 16), while by art. 13 the Porte was obliged to concede to Catherine II and her successors the title of *pādishāh* (*tamāmen Rusyalarinıñ pādishāhi*, i.e. "Empress/Emperor of all the Russians").

Two articles in particular (arts. 7 and 14) of the treaty have given rise to much subsequent misunderstanding. Art. 7, which in fact specifically recognised the protection of the *Ottoman* government over its own Christian subjects, permitted Russia only to make representations on behalf of a single church building—an Orthodox church in Ghalaṭa [*q.v.* in Suppl.], separate from the Russian embassy chapel, where services were to be held according to the Russian rite—and those who served in it. Art. 14, which actually gave to Russia the right to establish a church in Ghalaṭa to serve the Russian community resident there "on the example of the other Powers"—i.e., France and Austria—had already been proposed in the negotiations of 1772-3. From these articles, or possibly from those which related to Moldavia and Wallachia, or to the Archipelago (still under the occupation of the Russian fleet: art. 17) or to Georgia and Mingrelia (art. 23), but more probably from a general claim to guardianship over the Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire which was put forward by Catherine II in 1775, there derived the widely held but erroneous belief that by the terms of the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja Russia had acquired an "ill-defined 'right'" to exercise a protection over the largely Orthodox Christian subjects of the Sulṭān which might serve as a basis for subsequent diplomatic claims against the Ottoman state.

Two separate secret articles provided for the evacuation at an unspecified date of the Russian fleet from the Archipelago and for the payment by the Porte of a war indemnity of 15,000 purses (*kese*), i.e. 7.5 million *ḳurush*.

The largely factitious "rights" in arts. 7 and 14 apart, the gains which were made by Russia as a consequence of the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja were considerable, and the losses in territory and prestige in which the Ottoman state was obliged to acquiesce were correspondingly severe. For the khānate of the Crimea its consequences were sombre in the extreme. To Catherine II, Küčük Ḳaynardja was a treaty "the like of which Russia [had] never had before"; a recent historian has correctly characterised it as "a major step, possibly the greatest single step prior to 1955, by Russia into the Near East".

Bibliography: No satisfactory edition of the three versions of the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja exists. The original of the Italian and Russian-language treaty seems to be lost: the Russian text printed in Družinina, cited below, 349-60, does not derive from it (for references to other published Russian versions, see Davison, below, 469, n. 22). The original of the Turkish and Russian version has not yet been found in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul. A register book copy exists there (Ecnebī Defterleri, 83/1, 138-49), which may be the source for the various printed versions (e.g. *Medjmuʿāt muʿāhedesi*, 5 vols., Istanbul 1294-8/1877-8 to 1880-1, iii, 254-75; Djewdet (Cevdet), *Taʾrīkh*², Istanbul 1301-9/1883-4 to 1891-2, i, 285-95; Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netāʾidj al-wuḳūʿāt*², Istanbul 1294-1327/1877-1909, iii, 56-64). The Italian text is reproduced (from a version published in the *Storia del Anno* for 1774) in G. Fr. Martens, *Recueil des principaux traités de l'Europe*¹, 7 vols., Göttingen 1791-1801, iv, 606 38; 2nd edn. 8 vols., Göttingen 1817-35, ii, 286-322; no other version appears to exist. A French version (of no legal standing but widely regarded as authoritative in the 19th century) is most conveniently accessible in Gabriel Efendi, Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, i, Paris 1897, 319-34, and in *Treaties... between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, London 1855, 463 ff.

The sole monograph devoted to the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja is E. I. Družinina, *Kyučuk-Kaynardžiiski mir 1774 goda*, Moscow 1955; a collection of essays of unequal value by Soviet and East European historians (N. Todorov, E. I. Družinina and others) is contained in *Études Balkaniques* (Sofia), 1975/2, 74-127. For the effect of the treaty on the khānate of the Crimea, see A. W. Fisher, *The Russian annexation of the Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970; for a more extended treatment from the Ottoman side, cf. Cemal Tukin, *Küçük Kaynarca*, in *İA*, vi, 1064-71. The most recent study is R. H. Davison, "*Russian skill and Turkish imbecility*": *the treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji reconsidered*, in *Slavic Review*, xxxv (1976), 463-83. All these works contain supplementary bibliographies and further references to sources in the relevant languages.

(C. J. HEYWOOD)

KÜČÜK SAʿĪD PASHA (1838-1914), 19th century Ottoman statesman, seven times Grand Vizier under Sultan ʿAbd al Ḥamīd II, and twice in the Young Turk era. Born in Erzurum, Saʿīd received a traditional Muslim education until his father's death in 1853 forced him to seek an administrative career. Trained largely as an apprentice rather than in the new secular schools being established by the Tanẓīmāt [*q.v.*], he served first as secretary to the governor of Erzurum Province (1853-7) and secretary to the Anadolu Ordusu (1857-9) before entering the central bureaucracy in Istanbul. He served for some time as secretary in the *Medjlis-i Wālā* (1859-63), rising to various high positions in and out of Istanbul before becoming director of the Imperial Press (*Maṭbaʿa-i ʿĀmire*) and editor of the official government newspaper *Taḳwīm-i Weḳāyiʿ* (1863-8). He continued to rise in the secretarial service, becoming director of a department in the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi Dewlet*) in 1868, and of the Courts Department of the *Dīwān-ī Aḥkām-ī ʿAdliyye* in 1871, rising to become Chief Secretary of the Ministry of

Trade (*Tidjāret Neẓāreti*) in 1874 and Chief Secretary of the Grand Vizier a year later.

It was during these later years that Saʿīd Efendi came into contact with Prince ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, advising him on administrative matters, so that one of the latter's first acts after his accession to the sultanate was to raise him to the rank of Pasha and appoint him as Chief Secretary (1876-8), at which time he acquired the nickname *Küčük* ("the small one") to distinguish him from Ingiliz Saʿīd Pasha, who also advised the sultan for a time until he was dismissed due to implication in the ʿAlī Suʿāwī affair.

Küčük Saʿīd now became the Sultan's chief instrument in the Ottoman cabinet. As minister of justice (1878-9), he worked to modernise the *Niẓāmiyye* secular court system, introducing the institution of public defender, and also securing promulgation of new commercial and criminal codes of law. In seven terms as Grand Vizier (1879-80, 1880-2, 1882, 1882-5, 1895, 1901-3, 1908), he faithfully carried out the sultan's reform programs, also taking the initiative to introduce important reforms. He developed a program to centralise government control of the provinces, modernised the financial system, increased tax collections and balanced the budgets, negotiated the settlement with the empire's foreign creditors that led to the creation of the Public Debt Commission (1881), established the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce to develop native trade and industry, modernised and expanded the system of secular schools on the elementary and higher technical levels in particular, reorganised and modernised the regular police, and made the secular courts fully independent of government interference so they could administer justice without fear of intervention. He played a major role in modernising the bureaucratic hierarchy, introducing examinations for appointment and promotion and establishing a pension system so that aged officials could retire without fear of poverty.

As the sultan became increasingly withdrawn and subject to the influence of his palace coterie, Saʿīd Pasha became more and more fearful of his master. At the same time, his rivalry with Meḥmed Kāmil Pasha became so intense that he at times feared for his life, and at one point refused the sultan's call to resume the Grand Vizierate. As a result, Saʿīd Pasha was not included in the disfavour of the Young Turks for most of the sultan's advisers following the Young Turk Revolution (108), and in fact served twice more as grand vizier during the Constitutional period which followed, in 1911 and 1912, with the support of the Committee of Union and Progress, leading its fight against the Liberal Union Party, and directing the government's efforts against the Italian invasions of Libya and of the Dodecanese islands. In the face of strong military pressure in support of the Liberal Union, however, Saʿīd Pasha resigned for the final time (17 July 1912), so that the hero of the Russo-Turkish war, Aḥmed Mukhtār Pasha, could establish a non-party government to resolve the crisis. Saʿīd Pasha then served as chairman of the upper house of the legislature, the Council of Notables (1913-14) until he retired shortly before his death.

Bibliography: S. J. and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, ii, *Reform, revolution and republic: the rise of modern Turkey*, 1808-1975, Cambridge and New York 1977, 219-20, 274-5, 290-1, 453-4; Ercüment Kuran, *Küçük Said Paşa as a Turkish modernist*, in *IJMES*, i (1970), 124-32; idem, art. *Said Paşa*, in *IA*; Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*[3], Ankara 1951, 8-112; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Son sadrâzamlar ve başvekiller*, Istanbul 1940-9, v; Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrâzamlar*, Istanbul 1940-53, 989-1263; Saʿīd Pasha, *Saʿīd Pashanıñ khāṭirāti*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1328; *Saʿīd Pashanıñ Kāmil Pasha khāṭirātina djewāblari*, Istanbul 1327; ʿAbdurraḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1339; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Said Paşa'ya dâir bâzı vesikalar*, in *Tarih dergisi*, viii, 105-34.

(S. J. Shaw)

KUČUM KHĀN, a Tatar Khān of Siberia, in whose reign this country was conquered by the Russians. Abu 'l Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, 177), is the only authority to give information regarding his origin and his genealogical relation to the other descendants of Čingiz Khān. According to this source, he reigned for forty years in "Tūrān", lost his eyesight towards the end of his life, was driven from his kingdom by the Russians in 1003/1594-5, took refuge with the Manghït (Nogay) and died among them. References to Kučum are also found in the work of the Ottoman Turk Sayfī, said to have been written in 990/1582 (Leiden MS., No. 197; tr. without a reference to the MS. by Ch. Schefer as an appendix to his translation of the history of Central Asia. *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, by ʿAbd al-Karīm Bukhārī, Paris 1876, 303 ff.). Kučum's kingdom and its capital are there called "Turā"; the Russians had taken this town during Kučum's absence. Kučum afterwards returned and drove out the Russians after a long siege (one to two years), but the latter carried off his son a prisoner to Moscow. These stories seem to show that Sayfī's work was probably composed later than the year given in the title (Schefer, *loc. cit.*, Preface, p. iv, even gives the year 990 A.H. as date of death of the author).

The name of "Isker" for the capital of Kučum (near the confluence of the Tobol and Irtish) seems to be found only in Russian sources; it is only from the latter also that the principal events of his reign can be chronologically arranged. Kučum did not inherit his kingdom from his father but had expelled his predecessor Yādigār; in 1563 Yādigār is still mentioned as king of Siberia, while in 1569 we find Kučum. In 1581 Isker was conquered by Russian Cossacks under Yermak; the Cossacks owed their victory to the use of fire-arms, then still unknown in Siberia. Kučum's son Makhmet-Kul (Muḥammad Ḳulī) was sent a prisoner to Moscow. It was not till Yermak fell in an unexpected attack (1586 or 1585) that Isker was vacated by the Russians; but by the year 1587 we find troops, who had just arrived, building the Russian town of Tobolsk near this town. Kučum did not suffer his last defeat at the hands of the Russians till 20 August 1598. He is said to have been slain by the Nogay, with whom he had taken refuge, out of revenge for his father's raids on them. The document used by Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*[2], Leipzig 1893, 146 ff.) dealing with an embassy from Kučum to Bukhārā and the order by ʿAbd Allāh Khān to his governor in Khʷārazm to send teachers of religion to Siberia, cannot be genuine. Khʷārazm was at this date an independent kingdom and not under the rule of the Khān of Bukhārā. The form "Közüm" adopted by Radloff is also not to be found in any historical sources.

Bibliography: Sir H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii, London 1880, 982 ff. and the Russian works used there; Hādī Aṭlāsī, *Sibīr taʾrīkhī*, Kazan 1912, 36, 46, 67 ff., and W. Barthold's review in *ZVOIRAO*, xxiii, 421 f. (W. Barthold)

ĶUḌĀʿA, a group of Arab tribes of obscure origin. The opinions of the genealogists about their origin are contradictory. Some of them assert that they were descendants of Maʿadd, others say that they were from Ḥimyar. Both parties had recourse to traditions and utterances attributed to the Prophet, in which he is said either to have declared that Maʿadd's *kunya* was Abū Ķuḍāʿa, or to have stated explicitly that Ķuḍāʿa is a descendant of Ḥimyar. Harmonising traditions reported that the mother of Ķuḍāʿa was the wife of Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Murra b. Mālik b. Ḥimyar and later married Maʿadd, bringing with her Ķuḍāʿa, her son from the first marriage; Ķuḍāʿa was therefore later called Ķuḍāʿa b. Maʿadd. A contradictory tradition of this kind claimed that Ķuḍāʿa was the son of Maʿadd; later his mother married Mālik b. ʿAmr al-Ḥimyarī, who adopted the child, Ķuḍāʿa, and thus he was called Ķuḍāʿa al Ḥimyarī (see M. J. Kister and M. Plessner, *Notes on Caskel's Ǧamharat an-nasab*, in *Oriens*, xxv-xxvi [1976], 56-7, and references in notes 43-51; also Nūr al-Dīn al-Hay<u>th</u>amī, *Ma<u>dj</u>maʿ al-zawāʾid*, repr. Beirut 1967, i, 194-5; *A<u>gh</u>ānī*, vii, 77-8; al-Hāmdānī, *al-Iklīl*, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥiwālī, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 180-90). Some traditions say explicitly that the Ķuḍāʿī tribes related themselves to Maʿadd, but turned to the Ḥimyarī *nasab* under Muʿāwiya's pressure and bribes (see e.g. Kister and Plessner, *op. cit.*, notes 51-7; Nūr al-Dīn al-Hay<u>th</u>amī, *op. cit.*, i, 194; A<u>gh</u>ānī, *loc. cit.*; Iḥsān Naṣṣ, *al ʿAṣabiyya al-ķabaliyya wa-a<u>th</u>aruhā fi 'l <u>sh</u>iʿr al-umawī*, Beirut 1964, 340 3; and see al-Ķuṭāmī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrāʾī and Aḥmad Maṭlūb, Beirut 1960, 34, 145, 147, 149; al-Kumayt, *<u>Sh</u>iʿr*, ed. Dāwūd Sallūm, Ba<u>gh</u>dād 1969, nos 162, vv. 10-13, 469 vv. 1-7, 509 vv. 1-4, 523 v. 2, 550 v. 1, 606 v. 1). The name Ķuḍāʿa is an early one and can be traced in fragments of the old Arab poetry. The tribes recorded as Ķuḍāʿī were: Kalb [*q.v.*], <u>Dj</u>uhayna, Balī, Bahrāʾ [*q.v.*], <u>Kh</u>awlān [*q.v.*], Mahra, <u>Kh</u>u<u>sh</u>ayn, <u>Dj</u>arm, ʿU<u>dh</u>ra [*q.v.*], Balķayn [see AL-ĶAYN], Tanū<u>kh</u> [*q.v.*] and Saliḥ; the attribution of some of these tribes to Ķuḍāʿa (like Tanū<u>kh</u>, <u>Kh</u>awlān and Mahra) was the subject of dispute among genealogists. Several of the clans of Ķuḍāʿa joined other tribes, adopting their pedigree and changing their tribal identity.

Among the prominent divisions of Ķuḍāʿa one may particularly refer here to <u>Dj</u>uhayna and Balī.

1. The vast territory of <u>Dj</u>uhayna, controlling the coastal route of the caravans between Syria and Mecca, included the localities of Ṣafrāʾ, Ṣufayna, al Marwa, al Ḥawrāʾ and Yanbuʿ; to them belonged the mountains of Raḍwā ([*q.v.*]; and see M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig 1943, ii, 361, on the legendary story of the hidden *Imām* living in Raḍwā), A<u>dj</u>rad, A<u>sh</u>ʿar and ʿAzwar and the *wādīs* of Iḍam and al-ʿĪṣ (see e.g. al-Bakrī, *Muʿ<u>dj</u>am mā staʿ<u>dj</u>am*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saķā, Cairo 1364/1965; Yāķūt, s.v. Raḍwa; ʿArrām, *Asmāʾ <u>dj</u>ibāl Tihāma wa-sukkānihā*, in ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn's *Nawādir al-ma<u>kh</u>ṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1375/1956, ii, 8, 396-8 and indices; cf. Ḥamad al-<u>Dj</u>āsir, *Bilād Yanbuʿ*, Riyāḍ n.d., *passim*, and see esp. the supplement: *bilād <u>dj</u>uhayna wa-manāziluhā 'l ķadīma*, 156-7). <u>Dj</u>uhayna seems to have had a clear perception of tribal identity, as can be gauged from a collection of tribal war poetry, the *ayyām <u>Dj</u>uhayna*; some fragments of this poetry were recorded as late as the 4th/10th century (see al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Mukā<u>th</u>ara ʿind al-mu<u>dh</u>ākara*, ed. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭan<u>dj</u>ī, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, i [Ankara 1956], 37-9; see on Bu<u>gh</u>ayt: al-Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif wa 'l mu<u>kh</u>talif*, ed. Krenkow, Cairo 1354, 57-8; and see on Salāma b. al-Yaʿbūb, *ibid.*, 53, 165; on the compilation of war poetry of the Ķuḍāʿī tribe of Balķayn, *a<u>sh</u>ʿar Bani 'l Ķayn*, see *ibid.*, 23-4).

According to a tradition recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī, a <u>Dj</u>uhanī, ʿAbd al-Dār b. Ḥudayb (or Hu<u>dh</u>ayl in another version), intended to build a sanctuary in one of the centres of <u>Dj</u>uhayna, Ķawdam, to rival the Kaʿba of Mecca; however, he encountered opposition on the part of his people who were reluctant to aid him in carrying out his plan (Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pa<u>sh</u>a, Cairo 1343/1924, 45; Yāķūt, s.v. Ķawdam). This report may give us a clue for assessing the attitude of some other tribal groups of Ķuḍāʿa. Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām records a tradition according to which al-<u>Gh</u>aw<u>th</u>, who was in charge of certain pilgrimage practices at Mecca, used to announce during one of the services, "O God I am following the example of others; if there is a sin it is Ķuḍāʿa's" (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, *Sīra*, ed. al-Saķā, al-Abyārī, <u>Sh</u>alabī, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 126, l. 1; Guillaume's translation, *The life of Muhammad*, Karachi 1967, 50, of the second hemistich "If that is wrong, the fault is Quḍāʿa's" is inaccurate). It is evident that this declaration points to certain sections within Ķuḍāʿa who were reluctant to acknowledge the authority of Mecca and the sanctity of the Kaʿba.

The relations of <u>Dj</u>uhayna with the Aws and <u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u> seem to have been quite close; some <u>Dj</u>uhanīs are recorded as allies of the Medinan families or clans (see e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *<u>Dj</u>amharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1962, 444). It is noteworthy that among the Anṣārī group who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance at the ʿAķaba was an ally of the Banū Salima of Kalbī extraction, who joined <u>Dj</u>uhayna and stayed with them, ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays; he gained the honourable titles of *al-muhā<u>dj</u>iri, al-anṣārī, al-salamī, al-<u>dj</u>uhanī al-ʿaķabī* (see e.g. Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, ii, 106 sup.; Ibn al-Kalbī, *<u>Dj</u>amhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 22346, f. 73a; Ibn Ḥa<u>dj</u>ar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. ʿAlī al-Bi<u>dj</u>āwī, Cairo 1389/1970, iv, 15-17, no. 4553; Ibn Ķudāma al-Maķdisī, *al-Istibṣār fī nasab al-ṣaḥāba min al-anṣār*, ed. ʿAlī Nuwayhid, Beirut 1392/1972, 166-8; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, ed. al-Bi<u>dj</u>āwī, Cairo 1380/1960, 869-70, no. 1477; al-Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Ansāb al-a<u>sh</u>rāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, i, 249). It was ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays who asked the Prophet on which night he should come to Medina from his abode in al-Aʿrāf during Ramaḍān, and the Prophet bade him come on the night of 27 Ramaḍān; this night is therefore named "The Night of the <u>Dj</u>uhanī". It refers, of course, to the *laylat al-ķadr* (see e.g. *al-A<u>gh</u>ānī*, xvii, 133; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, 870).

On the Day of Buʿā<u>th</u> [*q.v.*], <u>Dj</u>uhayna fought on the side of the <u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u> (*A<u>gh</u>ānī*, xv, 162-3; Ibn <u>Kh</u>aldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, Beirut 1956, ii, 602), but on the eve of the encounter of *Badr al-mawʿid* they were said to have hurried to Medina (together with Balī) as allies of the Aws (al-Wāķidī, *Ma<u>gh</u>āzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, Oxford 1966, 385, l. 11).

When the Prophet settled in Medina, he was, of course, concerned to establish peaceful relations with its neighbours, <u>Dj</u>uhayna. <u>Dj</u>uhayna, making a careful assessment of the fundamental change in the situation in Medina with the advent of the Prophet, were eager to secure their position in the new structure of power. According to some traditions, a delegation of <u>Dj</u>uhayna came to the Prophet in Medina, pointed out that the Prophet alighted

"among them" (*bayna aẓhurinā*, i.e. in the area controlled by them) and requested him to conclude with them an agreement of mutual security (*fa-awthiḳ lanā ḥattā naʾmanaka wa-taʾmananā*). This treaty was indeed agreed upon between the Prophet and Djuhayna. A peculiar aspect of this treaty was the tacit agreement by the Prophet for Djuhayna not to convert to Islam; this is clearly indicated in the account about the treaty, *wa-lam yuslimū*. The implementation of the treaty occurred a short time after its conclusion; the Prophet sent a troop of less than hundred warriors to raid a tribal group of Kināna which dwelt in the neighbourhood of Djuhayna. When the Muslim warriors realised that the Kinānīs outnumbered them, they retreated asking refuge with Djuhayna. When the Djuhanīs interrogated them as to why they had gone out fighting in the holy month of Radjab, they justified their deed by mentioning that they were driven out from the *Ḥaram* (of Mecca) during the holy month. The account further tells about dissension among the Muslim warriors; a group of them wanted to remain in the place where they were staying, whilst another one planned to return to the Prophet to obtain a decision from him. When this group met the Prophet, he expressed his anger about the division that had occurred within the expedition, which having left in unity returned divided. He then appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaḥsh as the commander of the troop; ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaḥsh was thus the first appointed *amīr* in Islam (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Taʾrīkh*, Ms. Berlin 9409 = Sprenger 104, ff. 28b-30a; cf. Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, vi, 66-7, with an essential variant, that the Djuhanīs converted to Islam after the conclusion of the treaty; and see al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUthmān, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 304-5 [the commander of the first troop, dispatched by the Prophet, was Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās]; Ibn Djunghul, *Taʾrīkh*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 5912, i, 229b).

The reports about the first cases of co-operation between Djuhanīs and the nascent Muslim community at Medina, though sometimes divergent or even contradictory, point clearly to the period preceding the battle of Badr and are connected with the earliest attempts of the Prophet at impeding the free traffic of the Ḳurashī caravans. The detachments dispatched by the Prophet were relatively small and served a twofold purpose: that of reconnoitring in case a greater force of the enemy made an appearance, and of an attacking troop in case they met with a smaller division of the enemy. It was essential in such a situation to have at their disposal a territory with a friendly population both for military enterprises and as a resort to which the force could retreat in safety. The treaty with the Djuhanīs was indeed successful, and enabled the Prophet to launch his first attacks against some Kinānī allies of Ḳuraysh; the expeditions operated indeed in the territory controlled by Djuhayna.

Furthermore, some Djuhanīs carried out certain subtle and responsible duties for the Prophet's troops: Basbas b. ʿAmr and ʿAdī b. Abī 'l-Zaghbāʾ (both allies of the Anṣārī clans) served as spies for the Muslim troops (see e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Djawāmiʿ al-sira*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, Aḥmad Shākir, Cairo n.d., 110; Ibn Hishām, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1280, i, 178 ult.-179; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, i, 288, no. 640, iv, 474, no. 5486; al-Wāḳidī, 40-1; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 289). Another Djuhanī, Kashad, granted shelter to two other spies of the Prophet, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Saʿīd b. Zayd; he misled the men of the Ḳurashī caravan who inquired about the spies sent by the Prophet. After the departure of the Ḳurashī caravan, Kashad accompanied the two spies to Turbān, where he met the Prophet; the Prophet wanted to grant him Yanbūʿ (as an *iḳṭāʿ* or fief), but Kashad advised the Prophet to grant it to one of his relatives (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 19-20; Ibn Ḥadjar, v, 590, no. 7409; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 239; al-Māḳrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʾ*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, Cairo 1941, i, 62). Another Djuhanī, Madjdī b. ʿAmr, performed an even more complicated service for the Muslim detachment; he interposed between the small Muslim force under the command of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the Ḳurashī caravan escorted by 300 Ḳurashī riders under the command of Abū Djahl (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 9-10, 40-1; al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 302; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 446; idem, *Djawāmiʿ*, 101, cf. 110; al-Maḳrīzī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 51-2; Ibn Hishām, ii, 245, 269). Madjdī succeeded in accomplishing his task as he was an ally (*ḥalīf, muwādiʿ*) of both parties (i.e. of the Muslim party and the Ḳurashīs). It is noteworthy for the assessment of the personality of Madjdī and the reliability of the traditions that some reports state that he did not convert to Islam (see e.g. al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-ladunniyya*, Cairo 1325, i, 390).

The reports about the participation of Djuhanīs in the first encounters of the Prophet with Ḳuraysh seem to be sound, and are confirmed by a tradition recorded by al-Ṭabarānī, stating that the first tribe to fight on the side of the Prophet was Djuhayna (al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Awāʾil*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 1530, f. 196b).

Some factors which motivated Djuhayna in concluding the treaty with the Prophet can be deduced from a report recorded by al-Samhūdī and al-Fayrūzābādī; the Prophet alighted at Dhu 'l-Marwa; Djuhanī people assembled at the place from the mountains and the plains and complained of being pressed by alien people, who were trying by force to get hold of their wells. Then the Prophet granted the people of Djuhayna the lands of Dhu 'l-Marwa, forbade them to be treated with iniquity and announced that the angel Djibrīl ordered him to consider Djuhayna as his allies (al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, 1305-6; al-Fayrūzābādī, *al-Maghānim al-muṭāba fī maʿālim ṭāba*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1389/1969, 379). It is plausible that this utterance of the Prophet confirmed Djuhayna's rights to their landed property and formed a warning for tribal groups to refrain from transgressing on the wells (sc. wells and other property) of Djuhayna, as they were the allies of the Prophet and their rights would be defended by the Prophet. The lands of Dhu 'l-Marwa were in fact granted by the Prophet to a man from Djuhayna (see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1380/1960, i, 271; see on ʿAwsadja b. Ḥarmala, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 216; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iv, 739, no. 6093; on Dhū 'l-Marwa see al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. Marwa).

The Prophet concluded several treaties with the various tribal groups of Djuhayna. Some of these treaties can be traced to the very early period of the Prophet's stay at Medina; they do not contain any stipulation as to conversion to Islam. There are, however, some treaties which may be attributed to a later period, when conversion to Islam became obligatory, and include instructions concerning the religious duties to be performed (cf. Ibn Saʿd, i,

270-1). A tradition recorded by Ibn Saʿd (i, 333) says that a delegation of Djuhayna embraced Islam at the advent of the Prophet to Medina; this story may, however, refer to a unit of Djuhayna, and certainly not to the whole tribe.

The early conversion of several groups of Djuhayna and another Ḳuḍāʿī group, the Aslam, is reflected in some traditions attributed to the Prophet, in which Djuhayna is counted among the tribal groups surpassing (in virtues) the great tribes of Asad, Ghaṭafān, Tamīm and ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (see e.g. al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut-Cairo 1381, ii, no. 1048; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1392/1972, xi, 47, no. 19877; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣaghīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUthmān, Cairo 1388/1968, i, 54, ii, 151). Only few cases of opposition by some units of Djuhayna against the Muslim commonwealth of Medina are known (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 774-5; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1969, iii, 32, about the expedition of Abū ʿUbayda). When the Prophet set out for al-Ḥudaybiya, some nomad Djuhanīs were disinclined to respond to his summons and to join him, fearing that the Muslims might be defeated by the Ḳurashī forces (see e.g. Mudjāhid, *Tafsīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭāhir al-Sūratī, Beirut n.d., 601 inf.; Muḳātil, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Aḥmet II, 74/II, ff. 160b, 166b; al-Wāḳidī, 574, 619; al-Nawawī al-Djāwī, *Marāḥ labīd*, Cairo 1305, ii, 305 inf.; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1387/1967, xvi, 268, 348; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314, vi, 72-73).

Djuhayna appeared as a strong force of 800 warriors and 50 riders (or 1400 warriors according to Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 65 sup.) on the expedition for the conquest of Mecca; four banners were borne by its leaders (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 799, 820, 896; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Hyderabad 1390/1970, xvii, 78, no. 199; and see Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ii, 445, no. 2549, ii, 604 sup., no. 2897, vi, 165, no. 8098; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 124; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istiʿāb*, 871-2). The Djuhanī Rāfiʿ b. Makīth was appointed by the Prophet as tax-collector (*muṣaddiḳ*) of his tribe (al-Wāḳidī, 1073). A number of Djuhanīs emigrated to Medina; the Prophet himself fixed the place of the tribal mosque of Djuhayna in Medina (Ibn Saʿd, i, 333).

Djuhayna remained faithful to Islam after the death of the Prophet (cf. al-Wāḳidī, 1122) and favourable utterances attributed to the Prophet emphasised their virtues. The Prophet is said to have considered Djuhayna among his *mawālī* (see e.g. al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, Cairo 1348, xvi, 75-6; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-ḳadīr*, Beirut 1391/1972, iv, 516, no. 6122). The Prophet is said to have recommended seeking refuge in the mountains of Djuhayna during the periods of strife, *fitan* (see e.g. al-Bakrī, 154; Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *Abū ʿAlī al-Hadjarī*, Riyāḍ 1388/1968, 192; and see the utterance of the Prophet in Ibn Saʿd, i, 333). In an alleged utterance, the Prophet is said to have recommended marrying Djuhanī women (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Madjrūḥīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Beg al-Naḳshbandī, Hyderabad 1390/1970, ii, 10). A peculiar tradition attributed to the Prophet forbids anyone to harm Djuhayna, saying "he who harms Djuhayna harms me, and he who harms me harms God"; this utterance was instantly denied when transmitted to Muʿāwiya (al-Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif*, 60, no. 147).

Djuhayna participated, together with other groups of Ḳuḍāʿa, in the conquest of Egypt; some of them settled in Fusṭāṭ (cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, New Haven 1922, index). Djuhanīs lived in Manfalūṭ and Asyūṭ. After clashes with other tribal groups, Djuhayna migrated to Upper Egypt and settled in the region of Ikhmīm during the Fāṭimid period; they became one of the powerful Arab tribes of Egypt (see Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān wa 'l-iʿrāb ʿammā fī arḍ Miṣr min al-aʿrāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd ʿĀbidīn, Cairo 1961; and see the researches of ʿĀbidīn, in *ibid.*, 77-8). Groups of Djuhayna penetrated in the 8th/14th century into the Christian kingdom of Nubia and got mastery over it. From Nubia, Djuhayna continued to push forward into the Sudan and mixed with the native tribes (see C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des östlichen Sudan*, in *Isl.*, i, 153-77; idem, *EI*[1] art. *Djuhaina*; F. C. Thomas Jr., *The Juhaina Arabs of Chad*, in *MEJ* [1959], 142-55; von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, ii, 359). In the Djuhanī territories of the Arab peninsula, the different sections of that tribe became controlled by the descendants of ʿAlī, who succeeded in acquiring a great deal of landed property in these regions. Nevertheless, the various branches of Djuhayna succeeded in keeping their identity during the centuries. Although wavering at the beginning of the First World War, the majority of the tribe followed the sons of the *Sharīf* Ḥusayn; later, they changed attitude and became loyal subjects of the Saʿūdī dynasty (see von Oppenheim, ii, 360). In recent times, they have been exerting themselves in developing their region (see Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *Bilād Yanbuʿ*, *passim*).

2. To the north of the territory of Djuhayna was the region of Balī, another branch of Ḳuḍāʿa. Starting at Wādī Iḍam, their usual habitations extended far to the north, including the places of Shaghab, Badā and Taymāʾ (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, 516; von Oppenheim, ii, 315, 352-3). The Ḳuḍāʿī tribal groups of Balī, Djuhayna and ʿUdhra migrated, according to tradition, to the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā in which Jewish settlers cultivated the soil, dug the wells and planted palm-trees. According to an agreement between the Jewish settlers and these Ḳuḍāʿī groups, the Jews undertook to give them a certain payment; in return Balī, Djuhayna and ʿUdhra were under obligation to give protection to the Jewish settlements against the Bedouin tribes, including other Ḳuḍāʿī units (see Yāḳūt, s.v. al-Ḳurā; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, i, 43). The stipulations of this agreement remained valid until the advent of Islam; then the ʿUdhrī Djamra b. al-Nuʿmān visited the Prophet and was given by him a grant of land. The Jewish settlers of the family of ʿUrayḍ (or ʿArīḍ) were allowed by the Prophet to stay in their places; they were granted by the Prophet the privilege of receiving a certain annual payment (see Ibn Saʿd, i, 279; al-Bakrī, i, 44; cf. W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 107-8). Some clans of Balī got involved in internal fighting; one of the fighting groups, the Banū Ḥishna, was compelled to seek refuge with the Jewish settlers of Taymāʾ, and at their demand converted to Judaism. Some of these refugees left later for Medina and embraced Islam at the advent of the Prophet (see al-Bakrī, i, 29). A corroborating report counts among the Jewish tribal groups at Medina three groups from Balī (see Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 596; and cf. al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, i, 162-3, 194, 200, 223). Some traditions, in reporting of the migration of the Balawī clans to Medina, remark that they became allies (*ḥulafāʾ*) of the Aws and Khazradj (see e.g. al-Bakrī, i, 28; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh ʿalā*

ḳabāʾil al-ruwāt, Nadjaf 1386/1966, 128). The position of Balī at Medina and their status can be gauged from the accounts about the ʿAḳaba meeting, reporting that seven members out of the seventy Anṣārī group of delegates, who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance, were of Balawī descent (ʿUwaym b. Sāʿida [on whom see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 241; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istiʿāb*, 1248, no. 2052; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 158; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iv, 745 inf., no. 6116], Maʿn b. ʿAdī [on whom see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 241; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Istibṣār*, 297; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 401], Khadīdj b. Uways [on whom see al-Balādhurī, i, 249; Ibn Hishām, ii, 106], Abu 'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān [see on him: al-Balādhurī, i, 240; Ibn Ḳudāma, *op. cit.*, 228], Abū Burda b. Niyār [on whom see Ibn Hishām, ii, 198; al-Balādhurī, i, 241; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, i, 28 inf.], al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAmr [or b. ʿIṣr, on whom see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 27; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 443], Yazīd b. Thaʿlaba [on whom see al-Balādhurī, i, 251; Ibn Ḳudāma, 202; al-Samhūdī, i, 228; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, vi, 650]. However, the Balawī descent of some of these persons is put in question in some of the sources). Balawī tribesmen took part in the battles between the Prophet and Ḳuraysh on the side of the Prophet, and names of Balawī warriors can be found in the lists of those who were killed in the encounters. The traditions mention a peculiar letter of the Prophet sent to a Balawī group, the Banū Djuʿayl. According to this letter, the Prophet granted to them the privileges of being taxed no more than once a year and of not having to gather with their live stock in the tax-collection centres (*lā yuḥsharūn wa-lā yuʿsharūn*; this explanation given by Ibn Saʿd seems however to be uncertain: there are interpretations commenting that *ḥashr* and *ʿashr* refer to exemption from being levied and taxed); they were also appointed by the Prophet as tax-collectors of some other tribes. They were given the status of Ḳurashīs, as they were allies of the ʿAbd Manāf (see Ibn Saʿd, i, 270-1; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 111). The favourable conditions granted to the Banū Djuʿayl were probably intended to gain the loyalty of a tribal group allied with Ḳuraysh, securing their control over other tribal groups for the benefit of the Muslim community.

The expedition against the Balī sent in 8 AH was intended to gain their allegiance and their succour for the Muslim community; it was essential for the latter to secure the co-operation of the Balī who dwelt in the northern regions of the peninsula, who controlled the road to Medina and Mecca, and of whom some members were in the service of the Byzantine army; the commander of the troop which fought the Muslim force at Muʾta was a Balawī (see al-Wāḳidī, 760). It was a shrewd decision of the Prophet to appoint ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, whose mother was from Balī, as commander of the Muslim force (*ibid.*, 770); the expedition was also directed at the Mahra and Balḳayn, two Ḳuḍāʿī tribes sojourning in the region of Balī. In 9 A.H. the Prophet met the delegation of Balī, who embraced Islam (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd, i, 330; al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, iv, 57-8; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Zād al-maʿād*, Beirut n.d., iii, 49).

The forces of Balī played an important role in the conquest of Egypt; ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ fought under the banner of Balī (see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, i, 62). ʿUmar established the pay of Balī warriors as equal to that of Muḍar, Kalb and Ṭayyiʾ, sc. 300-400 *dirhams*; it was lower than that of the Yemeni tribes because they were closer to the places of migration (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-ʿUthmāniyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1374/1955, 212). When ʿUmar was informed that a man from Balī summoned his people in Syria by the battle-cry *yā Ḳuḍāʿa*, he ordered a third of Ḳuḍāʿa to be removed to Egypt; as Balī formed a third part of Ḳuḍāʿa, they were indeed transferred to Egypt (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 116; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān*, 29). It was a Balawī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUdays, a Companion of the Prophet, who was at the head of a troop of riders in revolt against ʿUthmān. He was later imprisoned by Muʿāwiya, and was killed on his flight from the prison (see al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, Hyderabad 1963, ii, 324, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 309-10; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iv, 334, no. 5166; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ashʿarī al-Mālikī, *al-Tamhīd wa 'l-bayān fī maḳtal al-shahīd ʿUthmān*, ed. Maḥmūd Yūsuf Zāyid, Beirut 1964, index).

Balī settlements are mentioned in the regions of Akhmīm, Asyūṭ and Ushmūn; they were expelled by Fāṭimid troops and were compelled to move to the south. In the 8th/14th century the Balī entered together with Djuhayna, the Sudān and contributed considerably to the islamisation and arabisation of the native tribes of the Bedja and the Baḳḳāra [*q.vv.*]; the Arabic language is known among the Bedja even today as "Balawiyyat", i.e. the language of Balī.

In the Arabian peninsula, the Balī played during the First World War an important role in the conflict between the *Sharīf* Ḥusayn and the Turkish authorities, finally (in 1918) following the lead of the sons of the *Sharīf* Ḥusayn.

Some groups of Balī joined the new régime in the Ḥidjāz in 1925 and became loyal subjects of Saʿūdī Arabia; but some rebellious units of Balī took refuge in the kingdom of Trans-Jordan. They crossed the borders at ʿAḳaba and raided, together with other rebels, the northern districts of Saʿūdī Arabia in 1932, but were defeated by the Saʿūdī forces (cf. von Oppenheim, ii, 354).

In Spain descendants of the Balī tribe lived in the region of Cordova or Ḳurṭuba and it was reported that they excelled in hospitality. They were unable to speak Romance (*al-laṭīniyya*), and spoke only Arabic, according to Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 443.

Bibliography: given in the article essentially, but see also W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885, 8-9, 155, 246-9, and H. Lammens, *EI*[1] art. s.v.

(M. J. Kister)

ḲUDĀMA b. Djaʿfar al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, Abu 'l-Faradj, philologist, historian, and one of the first scholars to introduce the systematic study of the figures of speech in Arabic literature. The date of his birth is nowhere mentioned and may have been as early as around the year 260/873-4. He died at an uncertain date which is variously given as "during the reign of al-Muḳtadir" (i.e. not later than 320/932), 328/939-40, and 337/948. The dates "shortly after 300" and 310 cannot be correct (see below).

Almost every aspect of Ḳudāma's biography, his work, and his personality as a scholar raises delicate problems which cannot be fully discussed, let alone answered, in the context of this article. The only data which are certain, or at least have not been questioned, are (a) that he converted from Christianity to Islam during the reign of al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8); (b) that he held unimportant positions in various *dīwāns* of the central administration in Baghdad till he won an appointment in Shawwāl

297/910, or shortly thereafter, to the *madjlis al-zimām* in the *dīwān al-mashriḳ* when Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] appointed his son, al-Muḥassin, as head of that office (thus according to Yāḳūt, vi, 205, whose account however contradicts reports that al-Muḥassin was in charge of the *dīwān al-maghrib*); (c) that he was alive in 320/932; and (d) that he was the author of a *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, which has survived in part. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the famous and often-quoted *Kitāb Naḳd al-shiʿr* was written by Ḳudāma, since al-Muṭarrizī [*q.v.*] in his commentary on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (quoted in the introduction to the edition of Ḳudāma's *Djawāhir*, 13), who lived three centuries later, is the only author to mention that the *Naḳd* was sometimes attributed to Ḳudāma's father.

The *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* does not have a biography of Ḳudāma. It only mentions (vii, 205) one Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma b. Ziyād whom the Khaṭīb describes as a learned and distinguished secretary. The Khaṭīb also mentions that Djaʿfar wrote books dealing with the secretarial art as well as other subjects, that he was often quoted as an authority by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, the author of the *Aghānī*, and was himself a pupil of, among others, Ḥammād, the son of the famous Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 130) states that Ḳudāma's father, Djaʿfar, was a man without scholarly distinction, and this statement is repeated by Yāḳūt, who clearly borrowed it from Ibn al-Nadīm. Since Yāḳūt (ii, 412-15) also has a fairly elaborate biography of Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma b. Ziyād al-Kātib (he adds the *kunya* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, cf. *Aghānī*³. x, 281, l. 7) he apparently did not believe that this Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma was the father of our author, since otherwise he would have noticed the discrepancy between the facts as they appear from this biography and the characterisation of Ḳudāma's father as a man without learning (if the "poet-secretary", Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma, mentioned in the *Fihrist*, 168, l. 7, is identical with the scholar mentioned in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* and in Yāḳūt, Ibn al-Nadīm must have held the same view). Yāḳūt's contemporary, al-Muṭarrizī does not, however, hesitate to identify the scholar mentioned in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* as the father of Ḳudāma. The question is of considerable interest, since, according to the *Aghānī*³ (x, 280-5, xii, 52), Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma [b. Ziyād al-Kātib in several places in the *Aghānī*] was a close friend of Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], the author of the *Kitāb al-Badīʿ*. Yet Ḳudāma is reported to have written a book to refute Ibn al-Muʿtazz (according to the version of the title of the book in Yāḳūt, in order to refute Ibn al-Muʿtazz's views on the poet Abū Tammām) and makes no mention of his predecessor in the *Naḳd*, even though some of the subject matter is the same and may even have been borrowed by Ḳudāma from the *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* (see *Naḳd*, introd., 29-30). Ḳudāma also fails to use the term *badīʿ*, but here the explanation may be that, unlike Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Ḳudāma was not concerned with the identification of the figures of speech to which this term was applicable, and that the practice of using the term as a collective for figures of speech had not yet been established (cf. *Kitāb al-Badīʿ*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1935, 57, l. 15-58, l. 3, and S. Bonebakker, *Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ's text of the Kitāb al-Badīʿ*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, ii [1972], 89-90). One could also suggest that the *Naḳd* was written shortly after the abortive attempt to bring Ibn al-Muʿtazz to the throne and that Ḳudāma thought it wiser not to make any reference to the unfortunate "one-day caliph". His attack on Ibn al-Muʿtazz could have been written in the same period as an attempt to dissociate himself from his famous predecessor. Still, the possibility remains that there were two personalities by the name of Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma who could easily be confused. The first would have been a member of a Christian family and a professional secretary who occupied a minor position in the central administration, in which he was succeeded by his son, Ḳudāma; the second a Muslim official who enjoyed a considerable reputation as a scholar, distinguished himself as a poet, and won the favour of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, of Ibn al-Muʿtazz's champion, the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (see below), and later of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's rival, the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt (see Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Tuḥfat al-umarāʾ fī taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 211-12; Yāḳūt, ii, 414, ll. 9-10). It is curious that the *Aghānī* nowhere mentions that Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma was a Christian, and even suggests in two places that his name was Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma (³x, 131, note and xxiii, 115). That both this Djaʿfar and Ḳudāma were acquainted with members of the Ibn al-Furāt family and with the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] may be due to the fact that both of them pursued the same type of official career (for ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and Djaʿfar, see Yāḳūt, ii, 413, ll. 16-18, and for ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and Ḳudāma, see below). Similarly, the fact that Djaʿfar and Ḳudāma distinguished themselves as men of letters would account for their reliance on the same sources: Ḳudāma, in his *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, used the same sources as Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*] (see de Goeje's ed., introd., xxii). Djaʿfar was acquainted with the same Ibn Khurradādhbih, as is shown by an *isnād* in the *Aghānī*³, xxii, 201, l. 6. It appears certain that Ḳudāma knew a definition of the *ishāra* [*q.v.*] by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and a definition of the *taḳsīm* by the same scholar (see Bonebakker, *Notes on the Kitāb Naḍrat al-Ighrīḍ*, Istanbul 1968, 18-19; idem, *Materials for the History of Arabic Rhetoric*, in *AIUON*, Suppl. no. 4 = vol. xxxv [1975], 36, 45, 48-50; cf. also *Naḳd*, introd., 26, ll. 17-21). Djaʿfar was a pupil of Isḥāḳ's son, Ḥammād. Less likely to be coincidental—and therefore to be considered an argument in favour of al-Muṭarrizī's identification—is the acquaintance of the two authors with the family of the Ṭāhirids (see *Materials*, 36-7; *Aghānī*³, v, 390, xi, 337, xviii, 128). Finally there is strong evidence that the author of the *Aghānī*, who related many traditions from Djaʿfar, also knew Ḳudāma's work and may even have met him in person (see *Notes*, 17-18, 27-9; *Materials*, 39, 51). If al-Muṭarrizī is correct, one could suggest that Ibn al-Nadīm had wrongly identified a certain Abū Ḳudāma as the father of our author. This Abū Ḳudāma appears in al-Marzubānī's *al-Muwashshaḥ* (Cairo 1385/1965, 572) as a *kātib* who composed bad verse (cf. also an anecdote on a certain Ibn Ḳudāma whom Yāḳūt, ii, 414-5 is apparently unable to identify, and al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-Awrāḳ*: *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa-'l-Muttaḳī*, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne, Cairo 1354/1935, 212-13).

The date 337/948 for Ḳudāma's death which is reported by Ibn al-Djawzī (*al-Muntaẓam*, vi, 363) and repeated by others, is rejected by Yāḳūt (vi, 204). Yāḳūt also rejects a statement by an unnamed commentator on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī who makes Ḳudāma a secretary of the Buwayhids. He argues that Ḳudāma was a contemporary of Thaʿlab (*adraka zamana Thaʿlabin*), al-Mubarrad, Abū Saʿīd al-Sukkarī, Ibn Ḳutayba, and other scholars of the same generation. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm* (Cairo 1348, iii, 297-8) goes further and says

explicitly that Ķudāma was a pupil of al-Mubarrad, and according to Ibn al-Djawzī, he consulted Tha'lab; but in the *Naķd* there is evidence only of a personal acquaintance between Ķudāma and Tha'lab (d. 291/904) (*Naķd*, text, 35, 44, 45, 102, 115, 117, introd., 23-9). If Ķudāma was indeed a pupil of Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī (d. at the latest 275/888), this would mean that he was born around 260, which would not necessarily conflict with the date reported by Ibn al-Djawzī. Yāķūt offers the year 320/932 as the only reliable *terminus post quem*. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, to whom Yāķūt refers, mentions that in that year Abū 'Amr (*sic*; read Abū 'Umar wa-?) Ķudāma b. Dja'far attended a famous disputation between Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī and Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus in the presence of Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl b. Dja'far b. al-Furāt (in 326 according to Abū Ḥayyān's *Imtā'*, Cairo 1373/1953, i, 108, but cf. i, 129, l. 1; in 320 according to his *Muķābasāt*, Cairo 1347/1929, 69, and Yāķūt, iii, 106 and vi, 204, see also *JRAS* [1905], 82, 84-5). According to a second report by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (*Imtā'*, ii, 145-6), Ķudāma showed (*'araḍa*) his *Kitāb al-Kharādj* to the vizier 'Alī b. 'Īsā in that year.

The two other dates for Ķudāma's death, "during the reign of al-Muķtadir" and 328, appear respectively in al-Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'* (Cairo 1351, 256 = Cairo 1383/1964, 386) and in the *Dhayl ta'rīkh Baghdād* of Ibn al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*] as quoted in an unedited section of the *Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt* of al-Ṣafadī (see Ṭabāna, 4 and 71).

Finally, mention should be made of de Slane's assertion that Ķudāma belonged to a Christian family from Baṣra, possibly based on a statement by al-Idrīsī, who mentions one Ķudāma al-Baṣrī among the sources which he used in compiling his monumental geography (*Opus geographicum*, i, Naples-Rome 1970, 6).

It is not easy to determine the range of Ķudāma's scholarly interests on the basis of the titles of his works. So much seems certain that he was competent as a philosopher and commentator on Aristotle, as well as a historian, a philologist, and an expert on administration. To the list in the *Fihrist*, 130, 250, we should add a *Zahr al-rabī' fi 'l-akhbār* mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ed. Ch. Pellat, i, 15-6) and Yāķūt, and an *al-Ḥayawānāt* (*Djawābāt*, *Djawābān*?) listed by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (*al-Baṣā'ir wa 'l-dhakhā'ir*, Cairo 1373/1953, 6). Lists of titles given by later authors are probably unreliable (see below). Only three works have survived: (a) the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*. The full title of this work is no doubt *Kitāb al-Kharādj wa-ṣinā'at* (or *ṣan'at*) *al-kitāba*. Not only is this the form in which the title appears in the unique manuscript of this work in the Köprülü Library (the manuscript in Paris is a late copy), but it also agrees with the contents of the work as far as they are known (Ṭabāna, 81-4; the *Ṣinā'at al-kuttāb* quoted by al-Ķalķashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, vi, 481, must be a work by Abū Dja'far al-Naḥḥās quoted by al-Ķalķashandī elsewhere in the *Ṣubḥ*). Only the second half of the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* (the 5th to the 8th *manzila*) have survived. They deal not only with a wide range of technical matters, sc. the various departments which constitute the central government, taxation and its historical, geographical and legal foundations, etc., but also give attention to linguistic usage, literary traditions, and the proper forms for conducting official correspondence. The first half had a section (the 3rd *manzila*) especially devoted to literary rhetoric (see Bonebakker, *A Fatimid manual for secretaries*, in *AIUON*, xxxvii [1977], 328), on which 'Alī b. 'Īsā (quoted in the *Imtā'*) had made some interesting observations. Some prose examples quoted on Ķudāma's authority may go back to this section, and its fame may have earned Ķudāma his proverbial reputation as a master of eloquence (see al-Ḥarīrī, *Maķāmāt*, ed. de Sacy, 9; al-Ķalķashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xi, 306; al-Maķķarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1388/1968, ii, 670). There is no satisfactory explanation for the statement of the *Fihrist* (repeated by others) that the book consisted of eight *manāzil*, to which Ķudāma himself added a ninth (Ṭabāna, 93). This statement conflicts with the testimony of al-Muṭarrizī, who had read the work and found that it had only seven. A note in the Chester Beatty manuscript of the *Fihrist* (quoted on p. 144 of the Tehran ed. of 1391/1971) lends support to al-Muṭarrizī's assertion and suggests that the 8th *manzila* did not originally belong to the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, though it may have been identical with a *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* by Ķudāma which is also listed in the *Fihrist*. This 8th *manzila* is the only extant section that remains unedited (apart from the historical outline in the 7th *manzila*, which merely copies al-Balādhurī, cf. de Goeje's ed. of the *Kharādj*, xxiii). It is characterised by Rosenthal as a systematic presentation of social and political science and as a *Fürstenspiegel*. De Goeje believes that the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* was written between 316 and 320.

(b) There is no reason to question the authenticity of the *Kitāb al-Alfāẓ* or *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ*, even though al-Muṭarrizī is the only author to mention this work (see *Naķd*, introd., 7-8, 12-5, 47 note, and the above-mentioned article in *AIUON*, 328-9, 336-7 and notes 34-5, 43). Nor is there any reason to suggest that it was originally perhaps part of the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*. The *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ* lists synonyms and phrases in *sadj'* for use by orators and writers of artistic prose, and offers a short introduction on the figures of speech.

(c) The *Kitāb Naķd al-shi'r* is intended, as its title says, as a guide for the literary critic. Disregarding the treatise by Ibn al-Mu'tazz and the Introduction to the *Kitāb al-Shi'r wa 'l-shu'arā'* of Ibn Ķutayba [*q.v.*], Ķudāma claims that no book has ever been written that would enable people to distinguish between good and bad poetry. He defines poetry as "metrical, rhymed speech expressing a meaning" (*ma'nā*). This definition in itself cannot be used to distinguish good poetry from bad, but it is possible to set standards for the use of the four constituent elements of poetry implicit in this definition, sc. the *ma'nā* (content), the *lafẓ* (verbal expression of this content, wording), the *wazn* (metre), and the *ķāfiya* (rhyme) [*q.v.*], and the combination of these elements two by two (the combination of the *wazn* with the *ķāfiya* need not be considered, since the *ķāfiya* is part of the *lafẓ* and as such already subject to the metre). In passing, he reminds his readers that the distinction between good and bad poetry does not rest on the moral quality of the theme or on the question whether or not the poet is consistent in the sentiments he expresses, but rather on his skill in the use of the four constituent elements separately and in combination. The success of the poems thus depends on the ratio between good qualities (*nu'ūt*) and defects (*'uyūb*) specifically related to these elements or to combinations of these elements. Ķudāma lists these *nu'ūt* and *'uyūb* in separate sections. In the first section he begins by discussing the four elements separately. Speaking of the *ma'nā*, he admits that there are an unlimited number of *ma'ānī*, i.e. concepts, ideas, that may come to the

poet's mind. He will therefore limit himself to the principal "aims" (*aghrāḍ*), i.e. subjects or themes which can be associated with these *maʿānī* and to which the *maʿānī* should correspond; panegyric, satire, elegy, simile, description, and the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] which he sees as an erotic theme. The various figures of speech which come next are interpreted as ornaments pertaining to the *maʿnā* or as successful combinations of the four constituent elements. In the classification of these figures Ķudāma shows much ingenuity. He has to recognise, however, that there are no figures of speech that can be classified as combinations of *lafẓ* with *wazn* and *maʿnā* with *wazn*: all technically good poetry that adequately expresses the poet's intentions illustrates these two combinations. Specimens of bad poetry are therefore the only illustrations of the principles involved. The section on the defects in poetry follows the arrangement of the section on the good qualities: Ķudāma examines the faults resulting from a wrong use of the four constituent elements and classifies certain errors under these four elements or the combinations of these elements two by two. He also shows how the figures of speech are sometimes handled incorrectly. In both sections the discussion follows the pattern of term—definition—example found in the *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* and the *Ķawāʿid al-shiʿr* of Thaʿlab [*q.v.*]; but whereas the two earlier treatises usually do not comment on the examples, Ķudāma often analyses his examples in detail.

There are some further points in Ķudāma's presentation that deserve to be mentioned. The following are perhaps the most important: (a) his interest in Greek philosophy which appears, for instance, in his analysis of the function of the four cardinal virtues, *ʿaķl*, *shadjāʿa*, *ʿadl*, and *ʿiffa* in panegyric, elegy, and satire (he goes on to list other virtues as deriving either from these cardinal virtues themselves or from combinations of these cardinal virtues two by two), from a quotation from Galen's Περὶ ἠθῶν in the chapter on satire, and from arguments based on Aristotle's *Categories* (further details in *Naķd*, introd., 36-44 and the recent studies cited in the *Bibliography*). There is no clear evidence, however, that he was influenced by the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle; (b) his defence of the hyperbole (*ghuluww*). Ķudāma quotes an unidentified connoisseur of poetry as saying: "The best poetry is the least truthful" (*aḥsanu 'l-shiʿri akdhabuhū*). He finds that the "Greek philosophers" support this view, but does not attribute the maxim itself to the Greeks (an antecedent of this famous maxim in L. Zolondek, *Diʿbil b. ʿAlī*, Lexington, Kentucky 1961, 128b, 133; cf. also al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, Cairo 1958, 26-7). Ķudāma does not go so far that he accepts every form of hyperbole: there must be a link with reality which can be established by using the verb *kāda*, "to be almost . . ." in a paraphrase of the statement, e.g. "You inspire the infidels with fear so that even the seed [of these infidels] fears you before it becomes a creature [in the womb]" can be paraphrased ". . . so that it is almost as though the seed of the enemy fears you . . .", but a prayer to grant immortality to a ruler cannot be justified, since immortality in man is inconceivable (*laysa fī ṭibāʿi 'l-insāni*; he illustrates this rule more clearly when he points out that describing the noise of battle as being so strong that it can be heard as far as a two days' journey is an exaggeration, though it is possible in principle that this should happen); (c) his lack of interest in the early ʿAbbāsid poets (*muḥdathūn*). This tendency appears clearly from the above-mentioned list of the "principal aims" from which genres like the love lyric (*ghazal*), the wine poem (*khamriyya*), and the hunting poem (*ṭaradiyya*) are conspicuously absent. Ķudāma nowhere expresses a categorical judgment. One could suggest therefore that his choice reflects a belief, which was perhaps not uncommon in his days, that ʿAbbāsid poetry did not represent a real break with ancient, that is classical, tradition. Consequently he may not have felt that there was a need to justify his choice. The same may be true of the examples, most of which are taken from ancient poetry, though Ķudāma occasionally discusses examples by later poets (see *Naķd*, text, 80-1, 83; for a list of *muḥdathūn* poets quoted in the *Naķd*, see p. 72 of the article by Kratchkovsky cited in the *Bibl.*).

Ķudāma may have been more dependent on his predecessors than is apparent at first sight (see *Naķd*, introd., 22-36). He may have followed Ibn Ķutayba and Ibn al-Muʿtazz respectively when he discussed the *lafẓ* and the *maʿnā* as independent constituent elements and distinguished between the proper and the erroneous use of the figures of speech. He may have depended on Ibn al-Muʿtazz and on earlier critics for the choice of his terminology and examples. Yet the theory on which he based the framework of his thesis, as well as many aspects of the elaboration of this theory, appear to be unique. However, his system did not provide a sound basis for a theory of literature and quickly fell into oblivion: the four-element scheme was rarely taken over and never in its complete form. The same is true of the distinction between *nuʿūt* and *ʿuyūb* and the system of cardinal virtues. By contrast, those aspects of his work that conformed closely to the system of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and the 2nd and 3rd century scholars who preceded him were readily accepted, in particular his terminology and definitions of the figures of speech. Ķudāma's figures were combined with those of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and came to be known collectively as *badīʿ*. The exact extent of Ķudāma's influence is not, however, always easy to determine, since direct references to Ķudāma are far exceeded by instances of unacknowledged borrowing (*Naķd*, introd., 44-60). In other cases it is clear that scholars used not only the *Naķd*, but also the *Kharādj* (*ibid.*, 57 and 47 note). There is a third category of borrowings where we find scholars borrowing from Ķudāma without having any direct knowledge of the text they are quoting (ibid., 58; Bonebakker, *Notes*, 16-17 and the above-mentioned article in *AIUON*, 309-10). Parallel to this we find that biographers after the time of Yāķūt copy out their predecessors or offer erroneous information on the author and his work (see, for instance, al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ Maķāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, Cairo 1372/1952, i, 20).

Ķudāma's *Naķd* was the subject of refutations and commentaries, none of which appear to have survived. A complex system of division into sections, chapters, and paragraphs introduced by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] was recently discovered in a manuscript in Tunis (see Bonebakker in a forthcoming article in *RSO*, which also offers minor corrections to the text of his ed.). A work with the title *Naķd al-nathr*, erroneously attributed to Ķudāma, was identified in 1949 as the *Kitāb al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān* of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Isḥāķ b. Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān b. Wahb al-Kātib (ed. A. Maṭlūb and Kh. al-Ḥadīthī, Baghdād 1387/1967), though it is occasionally still quoted by its old title [see IBN WAHB in Suppl.]. The Shīʿī bias of this last work may have prompted Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī to include Ķudāma in his *Ṭabaķāt aʿlām al-shīʿa* (*al-Ķarn al-*

rābiʿ, Beirut 1390/1971, 221). The attribution to Ḳudāma existed as early as the 6th/12th century (see *Naḳd*, introd., 15-20, 60-1; Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the Tawriya*, The Hague 1966, 48-9 note).

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(S. A. Bonebakker)

AL-ḲUDS, the most common Arabic name for Jerusalem.

A. History

1. The Islamic history of Jerusalem clearly falls into three periods. During the first six hundred years, the possession of the city was contested between Islam and Christianity and between many Islamic princes and factions. After the bloodless and poorly-recorded delivery of the town into the hands of an inconspicuous tribal commander, the history of the period was solemnly inaugurated by the erection of the marvellous Dome of the Rock, the majestic testimony to the Islamic presence in the Holy City; it culminated in the vicissitudes of the Crusades and was concluded by the devastations of the first half of the 7th/13th century, which, with the exclusion of the buildings on the Temple area and the Holy Sepulchre, left Jerusalem a heap of ruins.

The subsequent six hundred years were comparatively uneventful. Jerusalem mostly lived the life of an out-of-the-way provincial town, delivered to the exactions of rapacious officials and notables, often also to tribulations at the hands of seditious *fellaḥīn* or nomads. But, in conformity with the religious policy of the Mamlūks and Ottomans, and with the general spirit of the age, Jerusalem greatly benefited by its holy character. The many Mamlūk buildings still decorating the old city and Sultan Sulaymān's wall encircling it manifest this trend to the present-day visitor.

The modern history of Jerusalem begins with its conquest by Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1831. The reforms started by the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī could not be ignored by the Ottomans, to whose control the city reverted in 1840. The restrictions imposed on the non-Muslims were alleviated. Many important Christian buildings and institutions were erected both inside and outside the old city. The improved living conditions (albeit still very hard) induced many religious persons to settle in Jerusalem. By about 1880 Jews formed the majority of the population. Jerusalem became the capital of a *mutaṣarriflik*, whose governor was directly responsible to the government in Istanbul, and by 1920 it was the capital of mandatory Palestine. In December 1949 the State of Israel made it its capital and seat of government (a step not recognised internationally). Fortunately, the war of 1967 and the events following it have not changed the historical character of the old city, while the new city has immensely expanded in every respect and direction. Jerusalem will always live on its past, but at present one feels in it the pulse of an active and vigorous community.

Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, the excellent historian of Jerusalem, who wrote his book *al-Uns al-djalīl bi-taʾrīkh al-Ḳuds wa 'l-Khalīl* in 900/1494-5, rightly observes (p. 6) that besides material of the type of the *faḍāʾil* ("Praises of the excellence of the city"), "ʿUmar's conquest" and stories about the Dome of the Rock and scholars visiting Jerusalem, little useful about the history of the city had been written before him. He explains this deficiency partly by the interruption of the Muslim tradition by the Christian conquest (232, 262, etc.) and mentions the symbolic fact that Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Makkī, who had compiled a book on the subject, was killed by the Crusaders before completing it (264). The intrinsic reason for the absence of coherent information was, of course, the character of Jerusalem as a holy city which lived on the care lavished on it from outside, rather than being itself of political, administrative or cultural significance. Consequently, the presentation of its history must be one of highlights rather than a continuous account.

I. The first six hundred years

2. *Names*. In early Islam the full name of Jerusalem was *Īliyāʾ madīnat bayt al-maḳdis*, "Aelia, the city of the Temple" (Ṭabarī, i, 2360, l. 15). In practice, Īliyāʾ, or, more commonly, *bayt al-maḳdis*, were used. Īliyāʾ (pronounced in three different ways, Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, ed. 1945, i, 134, l. 5; 217), is the Roman Aelia, but since this origin was unknown to the Muslim scholars, they suggested various other ex-

planations, such as the sanctuary of Elijah (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. Huart, iv, 87, l. 8; from Hebrew, since the Ḳur'ānic form of the name is *Ilyās*), or "the House of God" (*Yāh* as name of God is mentioned by Muṭahhar). *Bayt al-maḳdis* is Aramaic *bēth maḳd'shā*, "Temple", and was used in this sense by Muslims, e.g. *'Iḳd al-farīd*, 1321, iii, 290, l. 10: "In the prayer of Ezra this is found: Oh God, from all places you have chosen Īliyā' and from Īliyā'—*bayt al-maḳdis*". Soon, however, the term (pronounced also *bayt al-muḳaddas*, see below) was transferred to the city, while the Temple area was designated by the Arabic equivalent of *bayt al-maḳdis*, sc. *al-ḥaram*.

The common name of Jerusalem, *al-Ḳuds*, still unknown to Ibn Sa'd, Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, the *Aghānī*, the *'Iḳd al-farīd* and other classics of the 3rd/9th century, underwent a similar development. Muṭahhar, himself a native of Jerusalem, writing in 355/966, mentions the term only once (vi, 91, perhaps a later change), but al-Muḳaddasī, writing *ca.* 375/985, uses it frequently. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (439/1047) states that *al-Ḳuds* was used by the local people. *Al-Ḳuds* is Aramaic *ḳudsha*, which, in the term *ḳarta de-ḳudsha* (e.g. Isaiah, xlviii, 2) was understood not as "city of holiness", but as "city of the sanctuary". This is borne out by the usage of Karaite scholars writing in Jerusalem early in the 10th century, who call the city *bayt al-maḳdis*, but the Temple area *al-ḳuds* (see the lengthy quotation in J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, Philadelphia 1935, ii, 18; cf. also the Geniza [*q.v.*] fragment in S. Assaf, *Texts and studies*, Jerusalem 1946, 21, l. 13). Similarly, in a version of the often-quoted tradition in which the Jewish convert Ka'b al-Aḥbār tries to induce the caliph 'Umar to pray north of the Holy Rock, he says to him: "Then the entire *al-ḳuds*, that is, *al-masdjid al-ḥaram* (!) will be before you (Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf al-akhiṣṣā'*, Ms. Heb. Univ. Library, fol. 81a, l. 8). It should be noted that, in letters from the 5th/11th century, when Hebrew had replaced Aramaic, Jerusalem was commonly called *'īr haḳ-ḳōdesh*, to be understood as "city of the sanctuary".

In accordance with the principle that "the multitude of names proves the excellence of their bearer", *Itḥāf al-akhiṣṣa'*, ff. 9b-10b, enumerates seventeen Arabic names of Jerusalem (*Midrash Tehillim*, ed. S. Schechter, 1896, 8-9, has "seventy"). Suyūṭī's list does not include here the Ḳur'ānic expressions taken by the Muslim commentators as denoting Jerusalem, such as *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* (see below), or *mubawwā ṣidḳ*, "the safe abode" (X, 93, cf. *neve ṣedeḳ*, Jeremiah xxxi, 22). *Al-arḍ al-muḳaddasa* (V, 21), "the Holy Land", also was understood as denoting Jerusalem (*Itḥāf*, fol. 188b, l. 9), which is in conformity with Jewish and Christian usage, which often expands the name of the city on the country. This explanation might have influenced the pronunciation of *bayt al-maḳdis* as *bayt al-muḳaddas*.

Various Arabic versions of Hebr. *shālēm* (Ps. lxxvi, 3) and Aram. *Urishlem* (Arabicised *urshalīm*) are found in the sources and even in ancient Arabic poetry (*Sallam*, al-A'shā, al-Bakrī, 144, l. 22, 812, l. 17; *Salim*, *Itḥāf*, f. 10a). Whether *dār al-salām*, "abode of peace" (S. Assaf, *Texts*, 108-10, corresponding to Heb. *'īr hash-shālōm*, Gottheil-Worrel, *Geniza fragments from the Freer Collection*, New York 1926, 26), found in Geniza letters of the 11th century, was used also by Muslims has not yet been ascertained.

3. *Jerusalem in the Ḳur'ān*. Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly in the Ḳur'ān. But "the city of the sanctuary" certainly was known to the Prophet. Sūra XVII, significantly named both *al-Isrā'* and *Banū Isrā'īl*, in vv. 2-8 clearly refers to the destruction of the first and second temples (called *masdjid* in V, 7) as crucial events in the history of the Banū Isrā'īl. *Al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* in the opening verse of the Sūra is taken by the prevailing Muslim tradition as referring to the sanctuary of Jerusalem. Against this, it has been argued that there was no building on the site of the Temple at the time of the Prophet, that the Holy Land is called in the Ḳur'ān the "nearest" (XXX, 2) and not the farthest (XVII, 1), and that, in general, the verse makes the impression (and is taken thus by Islamic tradition) of an account of a nightly ascension to a heavenly sanctuary (details in the articles of Bevan, Schrieke and Horovitz, cited in MI'RĀDJ). But knowledge of the state of the site of the Temple or consistency in geographical definition were outside the interests of the Prophet. It may be concluded with reasonable certainty that, at the time when XVII, 1, was combined with XVII, 2-8, the tradition identifying *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* as the Temple of Jerusalem was already dominant, and that the original meaning of the verse as that of a visionary experience was connected with it in one way or another (cf. "The Jerusalem above", St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, iv, 26).

The situation is similar with regard to the *ḳibla*, or direction of prayer (II, 136-8). Again, Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly, but the Islamic tradition that it was intended by "the first *ḳibla*" is no doubt genuine; since the new *ḳibla*, which satisfied the Prophet's heart, was to the direction of the sanctuary of his native city, it stands to reason that the original one also was oriented to a holy city, and there was none for monotheists except Jerusalem. No "political" reasons, however, should be assumed for this change ("trying to win the Jews", "breaking with the Jews"). One prayed towards Jerusalem because this was the direction of the People of the Book as was known in Medina. It simply was the proper thing to do. When Islam became a separate religion with Mecca as its central sanctuary, the change was natural and religiously cogent.

4. *The Conquest*. The battle of Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] in the summer of 13/634 opened southern Palestine to the conquering Muslims. No siege was laid on Jerusalem, but already in his sermon on Christmas night 634 the aged patriarch Sophronius expressed his grief that it was impossible to proceed from Jerusalem to Bethlehem as usual because of the marauding Arabs. A few days later, in his sermon on Epiphany, he mourned over the bloodshed, the destruction of the monasteries, the plunder of the cities and the burning of the villages by the Saracens, "who boast they would conquer the entire world". Still, four years passed from the Arab invasion of Palestine to the fall of Jerusalem. It came about early in the year 638 (end of 16, or beginning of 17 A.H.), after the decisive battle of the Yarmūk [*q.v.*] (Radjab 15/Aug. 636).

The stories about the fall of Jerusalem can be divided into three groups. The ancient and most trustworthy tradition simply reports that the capitulation was arranged with Khālid b. Thābit al-Fahmī, a little-known tribal commander, under the condition that the open country belonged to the Muslims, while the city would not be touched as long as its inhabitants paid the tribute imposed on them (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 139, ll. 4-9). No treaty is mentioned yet. The second type, represented, e.g. by Ya'ḳūbī, ii, 167, and Eutychius, *Annales*, ii, 17, reproduces a treaty,

but the treaty is very succinct and does not differ much from Balādhurī's version. Later, conditions similar to those made with the Byzantine authorities in Egypt were added and some (but not all) Christian authors added the condition "that no Jew should live with them in Jerusalem". This condition is found also in Ṭabarī, i, 2405, from where several later Muslim writers have copied it. But Ṭabarī's source here was Sayf b. ʿUmar, whose fathomless unreliability has been proved in detail long time ago (J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 3-7) and who tells us, e.g. here, Ṭabarī, i, 2404, about the conquest of Ramla, a city founded by the crown prince Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik eighty years later. A mere look at the treaty produced by Sayf, its wrong date and fantastic witnesses, shows its worthlessness. It is natural, however, that in times of tension, as in 879/1474, when the Mamlūk sultan ordered the rebuilding of a synagogue in Jerusalem, or as from 1929, this treaty served a purpose. From the Christian point of view, it is understandable that some writers wished to preserve Jerusalem as a Christian city, as it was in Byzantine times, but this was hardly in the interests of the Muslims, and their actions proved that such a stipulation never existed.

In addition to these three comparatively old versions, a later one, represented among many others by *Uns*, 225, adds several conditions of the legendary "Covenant of ʿUmar", in which the Christians undertake, *inter alia*, not to speak Arabic. Even more fantastic is Ibn ʿAsākir, ii, 323 (pseudo-Wāḳidī), where the treaty is made with twenty Jews headed by Yūsuf (a scribal error for Yūshaʿ) b. Nūn. This is a "harmonising" legend; a Jew, bearing the same name as the Jewish conqueror of the Holy Land, delivers it into the hands of the Muslims.

5. *The beginnings of Islamisation*. Ṭabarī, i, 2408, ff., and many later Muslim and Christian sources, tell about a visit to Jerusalem by the caliph ʿUmar, but all we have about it are legends whose easily recognisable tendencies betray their worthlessness. According to one school, the caliph was accompanied by Jews who showed him the true site of the Temple, which was concealed by rubble purposely heaped on it by Christians. When the place was cleared and the ubiquitous Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] suggested to ʿUmar to pray behind the Holy Rock so that the two *ḳibla*s should be in front of him (see § 2, above), the caliph refused, since the Muslims should turn towards the Kaʿba alone. This is, of course, one of the many traditions against the *bidʿa* of the overrating of the sanctity of Jerusalem (see § 11, below). According to Christian sources, the caliph visited the churches, but declined to pray in one of them in order to preclude any claims on it by later Muslim generations. This legend was a pious wish which originated at a time when the encroachments of the Muslims, which later became a reality, still were only a menace, see § 7, below. Since the conditions of the surrender safeguarded to the Christians the use of their churches, it is likely that the Temple area, which was largely or entirely unoccupied, served as a place of prayer to the Muslims from the very beginning, and there is no reason to doubt that this was done on order of the ruling caliph ʿUmar.

As far as the ancient sources go, it appears that the early Muslim settlers in Jerusalem were people from Medina, such as Aws, the nephew of the Prophet's court poet Ḥassān b. Thābit. Aws was a disciple of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and himself a pietist, Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 124; his tomb was still known at the time of Mudjīr al-Dīn, *Uns*, 233. Several other Medinese are listed as settlers in Jerusalem by Ibn Saʿd, iii/3, 57; vii/2, 129, l. 13, etc. Among them the famous "companion" ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, the first Muslim judge in the city (al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, 1364, i, 14) is to be noted. The Anṣār were accounted of Yaman; thus it was natural that the Yemenī auxiliary corps, *al-madad min ahl al-Yaman*, also was stationed there (Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 140, l. 14). Simeon, the father of Muḥammad's Jewish concubine Rayḥāna, settled in Jerusalem and delivered sermons in the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area. He, too, of course, was from Medina (*Uns*, 235).

The strange *ḥadīth* running *ʿimrān bayt al-maḳdis kharāb yathrib*, "The building of Jerusalem is the destruction of Medina", might have been originally a *bon mot* on this exodus from the capital of the Ḥidjāz to Jerusalem (which cannot have been more than a trickle); but soon became a standing element in the *malāḥim* literature. (Its continuation: *wa-kharāb yathrib khurūdj al-malḥama*, "and the destruction of Medina is the beginning of the war of the End of the Days". *Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, v, 232, 245; Abū Dāwūd, *Malāḥim*, 3; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Sandūbī, ii, 28; Ibn Kathīr, *Nihāyat al-bidāya*, i, 79; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, 1955, i, 120; *al-Sirādj al-munīr*, ii, 460, where are further sources).

Muḳaddasī, 171, l. 12 and others report that the caliph ʿUthmān, whose rule began only eight years after the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem, dedicated the revenue from the rich vegetable gardens of Siloam (which, in accordance with the peace settlement, belonged to the Muslims) to the poor of the city. Umm al-Dardāʾ, the wife of the wise *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, spent every year six months in Jerusalem, where "she sat among the poor" (*Uns*, 254). These and similar reports are not necessarily spurious, but may betray early Christian influence.

The Islamic conquest threw the Christian community of the city into complete disarray. The aged patriarch Sophronius died shortly afterwards and no new one was appointed until 706. The further history of the patriarchate of Jerusalem in early Islamic times is almost as obscure as that of the Jewish spiritual leadership in the country during that period. But Jerusalem retained largely its Christian character. As al-Muḳaddasī tells us (182, l. 16 ff.), the Christian holidays regulated the rhythm of the year also for the Muslim population, and through Jerusalem and the hermits populating the mountains in its environment, pious Muslims became acquainted with the ways of Christian ascetism (S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history*, 141, 146).

6. *The Umayyads (19-132/640-750)*. About two years after the fall of Jerusalem, the Umayyad Muʿāwiya was appointed commander of the army operating in Palestine and Syria. He governed these countries for forty years, first as governor, and later as caliph. Jerusalem was the scene of two decisive events in his career. In 38/658, Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, the conqueror of Egypt, concluded there a pact of co-operation, which decided the contest between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in the latter's favour (Ibn Saʿd, iv/2, 2, l. 22 ff.; the text of the agreement seems to be genuine). In Ṣafar-Rabīʿ I 40/July 660 homage was paid to Muʿāwiya as caliph in Jerusalem. A Syriac source, giving this date, reports also that Muʿāwiya prayed on this occasion at Golgotha, Gethsemane and the Tomb of Maria (T. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxix, 95). This was hardly mere politics (*ibid.*, 85), but a manifestation of the chiliastic state of mind of the time, sc. Islam entering into its inheritance of the preceding monotheistic religions.

During the long rule of Muʿāwiya, the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area, approximately described by bishop Arculfus in *ca.* 680 (see L. Bieler, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, clxxv, *Itineraria etc.*, Turnhout 1965, 177), must have taken shape. Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, iv, 87, l. 11, expressly states that Muʿāwiya built the Muslim sanctuary there "after ʿUmar". It stands also to reason that the plan for the erection of the Dome of the Rock, which needed immense preparations, was already made during the protracted and orderly rule of Muʿāwiya. The inscription in the dome bears the year 72/691-2, but the beginning of ʿAbd al-Malik's reign (65-86/685-705) was extremely turbulent. ʿAbd al-Malik had good reasons to make efforts towards the completion of the building, which would show him as the great champion of Islam, but the early years of his caliphate were hardly suited for both conceiving such an enormous undertaking and carrying it out to its very end during a comparatively short period. Contrariwise, Muʿāwiya is known also by his extensive buying and building activities in Mecca (in order to provide shelter for pilgrims and *mudjāwirūn*), in which he was not followed by later Umayyads, see M. J. Kister, *Some reports concerning Mecca*, in *JESHO*, xv (1972), 84-91.

Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 35-7, Eng. tr. ii, 44-6, expounded the theory that ʿAbd al-Malik, by erecting the Dome of the Rock, tried to divert the Pilgrimage from Mecca, then the capital of his rival ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr, to Jerusalem, and that the many "traditions" in the name of the Prophet in favour or against the sanctity of Jerusalem reflect this political contest for the caliphate. This thesis was generally accepted and has found its way into the textbooks on Islamic history. It cannot be maintained, however. None of the great Muslim historians of the 3rd/9th century who describe the conflict between ʿAbd al-Malik and Ibn Zubayr in utmost detail, nor any of the older geographers, including al-Muḳaddasī, a native of Jerusalem, makes the slightest allusion to such an intention of the Umayyad caliph. On the contrary, for the year 68/687-8, Ṭabarī, ii, 781-3 and others, report expressly that the soldiers of ʿAbd al-Malik's expeditionary force participated in the *ḥadjdj*. They wished to do so even during the very siege of Mecca, a request which Ibn Zubayr naturally had to refuse, Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 360. Moreover, it is obvious that ʿAbd al-Malik would not have strengthened, but endangered his position by trying to divert the *ḥadjdj* from the holy sites expressly mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, and this after the *ḳibla* had been emphatically turned away from Jerusalem. By abolishing one of the five pillars of Islam, he would have made himself a *kāfir*, against whom the *djihād* was obligatory. The two older sources that mention the allegation that ʿAbd al-Malik, by constructing the Dome of the Rock, tried to attract the *ḥadjdj* to Jerusalem, sc. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 311, and Eutychius, i, 39, invalidate their statements by others, obviously untrue, connected with them. They have the Umayyads forbid the Pilgrimage to Mecca, which is in flagrant contradiction to trustworthy reports that Umayyad caliphs made the pilgrimage themselves.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem in 439/1047, reports that people in Palestine who were unable to make the *ḥadjdj*, assembled in Jerusalem *wa-bi-mawḳif bi-īstand*, "and performed the *wuḳūf*", the standing in the presence of God which was the main ceremony at the sacred mountain of ʿArafāt [*q.v.*]. This statement, which has sometimes been adduced as a corroboration of Goldziher's thesis, must be understood in a wider Islamic context. Such a substitute for the pilgrimage is attested also for the main cities of other provinces, such as Baṣra and Fusṭāṭ; it even had a special name, *taʿrīf*, derived from ʿArafāt, Ibn Taghribirdī, i, 207. But, like the individual sacrifices, it manifested a participation in the *ḥadjdj*, celebrated on the same day in Arabia, not its replacement by a local pilgrimage.

The real urge for the erection of the Dome of the Rock on the site where it stands and in the form which it has, was religious, in addition, of course, to the natural acculturation of the Arabs to an environment, where magnificent edifices were the eloquent witnesses of a triumphant Church and of great rulers. Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywa [*q.v.*] of Baysān, who was in charge of the building operations (*Uns*, 241, and others; probably only the financial aspect, while the *mawlā* Yazīd b. Salām supervised the actual work) was the most prominent traditionist of Shaʾm, a pietist and ascetic, (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, 266), and he and people of his ilk might have been the spiritual originators of the undertaking. By choosing the site, Islam manifested itself as the exclusive heir of the older religions. The gorgeous mosaics, representing jewels and ornaments of the greatest variety, were in chiliastic fulfillment of the prophetic descriptions of the future Jerusalem (Isaiah, liv, 12, etc.), which had become known to the Muslims (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 97, ll. 11-13) and were incorporated by them in the legendary descriptions of Solomon's Temple (*ibid.*, 99, l. 10). The detailed inscriptions in the Dome betray a spirit of Islamic mission, specifically to the Christians, since the "prophethood" of Jesus is emphatically stressed and his sonship denied with equal fervour. Details in the articles of Goitein, Grabar and Caskel; see Bibliography.

Muslim and Jewish sources report that Jews were employed as servants of the sanctuary on the Temple area, its cleaning and illumination (including the making of the glass lamps). If true at all, these reports can refer only to an early and very short period. On the other hand, the contribution of oil for the illumination of the Temple area seems to have been regarded by both Christians and Jews as a pious deed, widely observed. Al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 261/874-5) in his book on *waḳf*, 341, says: "If a Christian or Jew dedicates his land or house to the repairs of the *Bayt al-maḳdis* or for the purchase of oil for its illumination, it is permissible to accept this from him, for this is an act of piety both with regard to Muslims and to them". Previously, the author had explained that it was not permitted to accept from non-Muslims a *waḳf* for specific Muslim purposes). An Italian Jew of the 10th century, who was of great munificence, also contributed oil "to the sanctuary on the Western Wall, namely to the altar (clearly an expression for a non-Jewish building) which is inside" (*Aḥimaʿa's chronicle*, ed. B. Klar, Jerusalem 1944, 47).

Besides the erection of the Dome of the Rock, the Umayyad period contributed to Jerusalem other great architectural achievements, the *masdjid al-aḳṣā* and the *dār al-imāra*, see section B. New gates were added (Ibn Kathīr, xi, 226, repeating the anecdote that the gate with the inscription of al-Ḥadjdjādj, at that time governor of Filasṭīn, remained intact, while that bearing the name of ʿAbd al-Malik collapsed) and the road to Jerusalem was repaired (mentioned also in a Jewish source), its milestones receiving Arab inscriptions (*RCEA*, no. 15). It is evident that such comprehensive building operations must have had a considerable impact on the composition of Jerusalem's population.

The extensive foundations of Umayyad buildings laid bare to the south and south west of the Aḳṣā mosque during the recent excavations of B. Mazar (1968-76) suggest that the Muslims planned to do in Palestine what they had done in Ifrīḳiya, Egypt and Syria, sc. to replace the Byzantine capital situated on the seashore (Caesarea) by an inland administrative centre. In view of the lack of written sources on the subject, we cannot know why Jerusalem finally did not acquire this status. For the then available means of transportation, Jerusalem was perhaps too far away from the main lines of international traffic.

The foundation of Ramla [*q.v.*] as capital city of the province of Filasṭīn by the crown prince Sulaymān was in the first place a blow for neighbouring Lod or Lydda, but in the long run was detrimental to Jerusalem. According to later traditions, Sulaymān himself received homage in Jerusalem and intended to stay there (Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, ix, 174; cf. also E. Sivan, in *Israel Or. Stud.*, i, 270, n. 33), but he took Ramla as his permanent residence and the town became the administrative and economic centre of the country. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were well aware of this fact, as Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, one of them, observes (iv, 72, ll. 2-3): *bayt al-maḳdis min sawād al-ramla baʿd mā kānat dār al-mulk fī ayyām Sulaymān wa-Dāwūd*, "Jerusalem is a provincial town attached to Ramla after having been the seat of the government in the days of Solomon and David".

7. *The ʿAbbāsid Period (132-358/750-969)*. The end of Umayyad rule was for Jerusalem, as for Palestine and Syria in general, a period of great tribulations. In the wake of a rebellion against the last Umayyad Marwān II, the walls of Jerusalem were pulled down and its inhabitants punished. Earthquakes aggravated the situation. At the beginning, the new dynasty paid special tribute to the holy character of the city. This was manifested by the first visit of al-Manṣūr, who set out for Jerusalem immediately after returning to Bag̲h̲dād from the pilgrimage to Mecca of the year 140/758 (Ṭabarī, iii, 129). He did so in order to fulfill a vow (Masʿūdī, vi, 212, l. 9), made perhaps because a hundred lunar years had passed since Muʿāwiya had received homage in the Holy City in 19/40. A second visit of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, in 154/771 (Ṭab. iii, 372) was made in connection with a great rising in the Mag̲h̲rib; al-Manṣūr accompanied as far as Jerusalem the large army assembled by him for the quelling of the revolt (Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 233, ll. 4-5, Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, v, 467). His son al-Mahdī also visited Jerusalem and prayed there (Ṭab. iii, 500), but Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, who made the *ḥadjdj* almost every second year and frequented Syria because of the Holy War against Byzantium, never came to Jerusalem. Nor did his son al-Maʾmūn, although he sojourned in Syria and even in Egypt, or any other later ʿAbbāsid caliph. This change of attitude probably reflected the new trend of Islamic piety, which abhorred the *bidʿa*s, the foreign elements and "innovations", in the legends about Jerusalem.

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, i, 446, reports that al-Manṣūr, on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem, ordered the Christians and Hebrews to tattoo their names on their hands (so that they could not escape the poll tax), whereupon many Christians fled to "Romania" via the sea. Such measures had been taken earlier in Islam; their adoption with regard to Jerusalem obviously means that at that time both the Muslim and the non-Muslim population of the city must have become quite numerous and the mutual assimilation of the various elements comparatively progressed. This increase must have been due to religious incentive, for the ancient *ḥadīt̲h̲* assuring the Muslims that God permanently guaranteed sustenance to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 94, l. 12, and others) proves that life there never was easy. The legendary biographies of most of the early Ṣūfīs, especially those of Iranian origin, contain the detail that they stayed in Jerusalem one time or another (*JAOS*, lxx, 107), and well-founded sources prove a considerable Muslim influx from Iran, see § 9, below.

The Christians of Jerusalem received a mighty uplift by the interest shown for the Holy City by the rulers and the pious of Western Europe. Whatever the truth about the embassies exchanged between Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd and Charlemagne, and the delivery to the latter of the key and the standard of Jerusalem (received by him in Rome in the year 800, at the time of his coronation as Emperor), there can be no doubt that many new buildings destined for the religious and material needs of pilgrims and newcomers were erected in Jerusalem by the emperor and his successors (a list in T. Tobler, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, i, 314). Charlemagne's son and successor Louis ordered each estate in his empire to contribute one denarius for the needs of Christian Jerusalem. It is evident that most of the money needed for the payment of the poll tax and other impositions on the Christians of the city came from abroad. The composition of the Christian population may be gauged from a list of the hermits living in cells on the Mount of Olives, of whom eleven said their psalmodies in Greek, six in Syriac, five in Latin, four in Georgian, two in Armenian, and one in Arabic (Tobler, *op. cit.*, i, 302).

Ca. 800, the Jewish High Council, the *yes̲h̲iva*, headed by the Gaon (corresponding to the Christian patriarch), moved from Tiberias to Jerusalem. His authority was soon challenged by the Karaites [*q.v.*]' a dissident Jewish sect, which made Jerusalem its centre. The Karaite dispensation, which mainly developed on Iranian soil, is to be understood in the Islamic context as a branch of the S̲h̲uʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], emphasising the return to the Bible, the revival of Hebrew, and the settling in the Holy Land. As is natural, the movement originated preponderantly in circles near to the Arabs, Jewish government officials or otherwise prominent people. Consequently, the Karaite settlers in Jerusalem easily got the upper hand. Jerusalem became indeed their main spiritual centre. In the ensuing controversies, which, during the turbulent 3rd/9th century, were brought before the Muslim authorities, one Gaon lost his life and two others with difficulty escaped a similar fate (J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimids*, repr. 1970, i, 57). In the course of time, the two denominations learned to co-exist and to cooperate, but in Jerusalem rather less than, e.g., in Egypt. The Fāṭimids recognised the Gaon of Jerusalem as the head of the Rabbanite Jews in their empire (see Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, ii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, 5 ff.).

During the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), Jerusalem suffered by a famine and became depleted of its Muslims, an opportunity used by the patriarch to execute repairs in the building of the Holy Sepulchre (Eutychius, ii, 55-57). More serious was a great revolt of *fellāḥīn*, which broke out at the end of the reign of his successor al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42). The revolt was led by one Abū Ḥarb al-

Mubarḳaʿ ("veiled one"—as former impostors had been) and soon encompassed the whole of Syria. Its leader assumed the role of the Sufyānī, or messiah of Umayyad stock, reduced the poll tax and made other promises to the population. But soon he changed his ways. When he entered Jerusalem, its entire populace, Muslims, Christians and Jews, fled and all the places of worship were pillaged. Only a large contribution by the patriarch prevented him from burning the Holy Sepulchre. It was a typical peasants' revolt, which was unable to make a stand against the regular army sent to subdue it by al-Muʿtaṣim's successor (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 371-2, who does not mention Jerusalem; Michael Syrus, ii, 541).

In 256/869-70 Syria and Palestine received for the first time a Turk as governor (Amadjūr, Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 165, ll. 3-7), but this did not change the ways of the ʿAbbāsid régime, which had long before assumed the character of a bureaucracy based largely on foreign hirelings. Precisely at that time, the patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem praised the Saracens for permitting the Christians to build churches and to live in accordance with their religion without oppressing them. (J. D. Mansi, *Conciliorum collectio*, repr. 1960, xvi, 26), and Bernard the monk expressed his admiration for the safety of the roads in the country (Tobler, *Itinera*, 319).

Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, who had made himself lord of Egypt in 254/868, conquered Palestine in 264/878, but in the wars between the Ṭūlūnids and later the Ikhshīdids [*q.v.*], the rulers of Egypt, and their overlords, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, Jerusalem played no role. But a new turn in the concepts about the holy character of Jerusalem must have taken place. The belief that it would be the scene of the Last Judgement and the gate to Paradise (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 94, etc.), must have gained ground, whence people who could afford it arranged for their burial there. Ṭabarī, i, 486, l. 12, and others report that the Jews from all countries, following the example of Moses, who carried the coffin of Joseph with him from Egypt, used to bring their dead to the Holy Land. This custom, as is proved by many Geniza documents, was indeed widespread, even among people of limited means. It went back to Roman times, when "Ḥimyarite" Jews buried their dead in the Bēth-Shaʿarayim necropolis near Haifa. In the 4th/10th century it must have become popular among Muslims. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Nūsharī, the first ʿAbbāsid governor of Egypt after the overthrow of the Ṭūlūnids, was buried in Jerusalem in 296/909; the founder of the Ikhshīdid dynasty, the Turk Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj, happened to die in Damascus in 334/946, but he and several other members of his family and retinue, including the famous black eunuch Kāfūr, one of the able rulers of Egypt, were interred in Jerusalem.

Ṭabarī, iii, 2128, l. 18, and others report under the year 891 that the esoteric sect of the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*] turned towards Jerusalem in their prayers. But he notes also that they kept Monday instead of Friday as their weekly day of worship and celebrated it (in the Jewish fashion) as a day of rest. Such oddities (if they really existed) were of no general significance for Islam. In their devastating raids, the Ḳarmaṭians reached also Palestine, but Jerusalem is not mentioned at that time in connection with their exploits.

The absence of a strong central government during the 3rd/9th century and perhaps also other circumstances, such as the Byzantine offensive against Islamic territories (culminating in the boasting threat of the emperor Nicephorus II Phocas in 964 that he would take Jerusalem) caused friction between the various religious communities. Half of the outer court of the Holy Sepulchre was taken away and a mosque erected on it (later called *masdjid ʿUmar*, probably in order to emphasise, against Christian claims (above, § 4), that the caliph had prayed there). Shortly afterwards, on Palm Sunday 938, the Christian procession was attacked and the Holy Sepulchre damaged by fire. Even worse, and characteristic for the period, were the events of 355/966. The patriarch of Jerusalem had sought the intervention of Kāfūr, the black viceroy of Egypt, against the overreaching Berber governor of Jerusalem who had imposed excessive financial demands on the Christians. Kāfūr sent a Turkish officer for the protection of the Christians. But the governor did not budge. When, on Pentecost, the patriarch refused to pay more than the tribute usually delivered on that holiday, the Berber incited the mob; the Holy Sepulchre and other churches were pillaged and set on fire, the patriarch was murdered and his body burnt. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, 125, who tells this story, adds that the Jews outdid the Muslims in damaging the sacred buildings. This sounds strange, considering the weak position of the Jews in Jerusalem, but perhaps finds its explanation in a cryptic remark by a contemporary Karaite scholar about dangerous Christian machinations against the Jews in the city (J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, ii, 18-19) and in complaints about Jews in letters sent from Jerusalem and Venice to Henry I the Fowler in 922 (*M.G.H. Const.*, i, 4-7).

8. *Fāṭimids, Turkomāns and Saldjūḳs* (*358-492/969-1099*). Shortly after the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*], Palestine with Jerusalem came under their domination, but participated only comparatively little in the economic efflorescence of the first hundred years of their rule. Palestine was incessantly harrassed by Ḳarmaṭians and bedouins, first as allies, but soon (as from 363/974) separately. For about seventy years the Banū Djarrāḥ chieftains tried to get a hold of the country including Jerusalem (Ibn Athīr, x, 308, l. 17), sometimes supported by the Byzantine emperors. The 1020s were particularly harrowing. The outrages perpetrated by the bedouins "were unlike anything experienced in the countries of Islam since its inception" (Geniza letter, J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt*, ii, 181, l. 22). The details reported in the Geniza letters are revolting.

The unceasing local tribulations were temporarily overshadowed by the general persecution of Christians and Jews ordered by the caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021). It culminated in the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre on 28 September 1009. This extraordinary measure cannot be explained by special circumstances alone, such as the abnormal state of mind of the caliph or the Muslims' anger over the pious fraud of the holy fire (M. Canard, *La destruction de l'Église de la Résurrection ... et ... la descente du feu sacré*, in *Byzantion*, xxv (1965), 16-43, where the literature on the event is surveyed). The persecution was a prolonged process; that of the Jews began only in 402/1012, at a time when the Christians of Jerusalem, with the help or connivance of the bedouin chieftain Mufarridj b. al-Djarrāḥ already tried to restore the Holy Sepulchre. Most likely, an inner turn-about of the religious policy of the Ismāʿīlī leadership was the main cause of the persecution. Anyhow, it left Jerusalem, which had consisted largely of Christian buildings, a shambles. The earthquake of 407/1016, in which the dome of the

Ṣak͟hra collapsed, made things worse (according to a Geniza letter, the collapse occurred on the 25 July, at 4 p.m., J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, i, 313). The persecution petered out, but the Jews and Christians were much too impoverished to be able to undo the destruction. It took almost forty years until the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre was completed.

Around the middle of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem began to take the place of Ramla as the main city of the country. Ramla had suffered by the earthquakes of 424/1033 and 460/1068 and by the endless depredations of the bedouins more extensively than had Jerusalem (cf. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, ii, 201). Contrariwise, the stream of pilgrims from Europe to Jerusalem became ever stronger, the great caravan of 12,000 pilgrims from southern Germany and Holland arriving in 1065, so lively described by Lambert of Hersfeld, being one of its best known examples. It may also be that the techniques of warfare and fortifications had changed, making Jerusalem more easily defendable than a city in a flat country like Ramla. The audacity of the Banū D͟jarrāḥ and other bedouin hordes forced the Fāṭimids to strengthen the walls of Jerusalem in 424/1033 and again in 455/1063. In the last third of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem and not Ramla was in the centre of military events.

The Sald͟jūḳ invasions set into motion motley crowds of soldiers of fortune from many nations, led by ruthless condottieri. One of these was the Turkoman Atsīz b. Uvak [*q.v.*], whom the Fāṭimid government, paralysed by famine, plague and complete anarchy in Egypt, called in against the unruly bedouins in Palestine. But Atsīz turned against the Fāṭimids and took Jerusalem in 463/1071 after a prolonged siege. Emboldened by his successes, he attacked Egypt itself, but there order had been restored by the Armenian convert Badr al-D͟jamālī [*q.v.*], and Atsīz was forced to retreat (469/1077). In a long Hebrew poem celebrating the Fāṭimid victory, a Jewish dignitary from Palestine describes in detail the sufferings of Jerusalem, and in particular the devastation of its environment with its vineyards and orchards by Atsīz's hordes (ed. J. Greenstone, repr. from *AJSLL* [1906], 1-34). The local population rose against the barbarian conquerors and Atsīz had to take Jerusalem a second time, putting the inhabitants to sword, even those who had fled into the al-Aḳṣā mosque. Only those who had taken refuge in the Dome of the Rock were spared. Atsīz was soon liquidated by the brother of the Sald͟jūḳ Sultan Malik S͟hāh, Tutus͟h, who then was governor of Damascus (470/1078). Thus Jerusalem was incorporated in the great Sald͟jūḳ empire, the borders of which henceforth were given as stretching "from Kās͟hg͟har to Jerusalem" (Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-d͟janān*, iii, 139). Tutus͟h assigned Jerusalem to Artuḳ [*q.v.*], the founder of the Mesopotamian dynasty called after him. It is not sure when exactly Artuḳ took possession of the city; it was in his hands in 479/1086 (Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 96), and was given by him to two of his sons in 484/1091. In S͟haʿbān 491/July 1098 (Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, 38), that is, when the Crusaders were already on their march to Jerusalem, al-Afḍal, the Fāṭimid viceroy of Egypt, laid siege on the city, "bombarding it from forty catapults during forty days" (Ibn K͟haldūn, *ʿIbar*, v, 184). The two brothers surrendered, but were released unharmed by al-Afḍal. How unaware the Muslims were of the magnitude of the Crusader menace can be gauged from the fact that another Sald͟jūḳ, Riḍwān, a son of Tutus͟h, set out from Damascus via Nābulus to wrest Jerusalem from the Fāṭimids. But he was no match for al-Afḍal's army; the viceroy returned to Egypt, leaving a small garrison in Jerusalem.

9. *Life in Jerusalem in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries*. Copious references in the works of Muslim authors and over a hundred Geniza letters from Jerusalem written during the 5th/11th century enable us to form a fairly substantial idea about life in Jerusalem during the two centuries preceding its capture by the Crusaders. This is particularly true with regard to the last third of the 4th/10th century, when al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir and al-Muḳaddasī wrote, and the second third of the 5th/11th, when Nāṣir-i K͟husraw visited the city and when the country had a short respite of comparatively normal times, reflected in the Geniza letters, between the atrocities of the bedouins and the devastations of the Turkomans.

The Muslim geographers naturally dedicated most of their attention to the sacred buildings and the fortifications, see section B. Al-Muḳaddasī, a keen observer (see e.g. his remark about a bath near the Bāb al-Asbāṭ (St. Stephen's gate), which was built half in the local tradition, and half according to the Persian fashion, 440, l. 15) again and again praises the unique beauty of Jerusalem (e.g. 33, l. 16; 166, l. 2; 167, n.n.), its clean and well-stocked markets and public bathhouses, and does not forget to mention the latrines near the mosques and in the bazaars (182, l. 9). During the 4th/10th century, it seems, Muslim religious instruction in Jerusalem was mainly concentrated in the mosques of the Ḥaram (comparable to what happened in other Islamic cities; see also below). In the wake of al-Ḥākim's persecution, some Christian buildings might have become available for the *zāwiya*s mentioned by Mud͟jīr al-Dīn, 264. The Persian religious group of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*], which had first settled in Jerusalem already around the middle of the 3rd/9th century, erected *k͟hānaḳāh*s for the needs of its members. By the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Christian quarter in the north-western part of the city, that is, around the Holy Sepulchre and other age-old churches, the Armenian quarter near St. James cathedral in the south, as well as two Jewish enclaves, one near the Western Wall, where people prayed, and one near the Damascus gate, were well-established. The synagogues referred to by Muṭahhar, Nāṣir-i K͟husraw and Ḳalānisī, might have been identical with the *midrās͟h*s or houses of learning mentioned in a Geniza letter as places where prayers were held. The Karaites lived in a separate quarter in the south of the city, called *ḥārat al-mas͟hāriḳa*, the quarter of the Easterners, since most of them had come from Persia and ʿIrāḳ.

It is difficult to form a judgment about the size of the population. Nāṣir-i K͟husraw's 20,000 betrays only the mysterious and widely-diffused predilection for the number 20. He gives 20,000 also for Tripoli in Lebanon, and for the number of people assembling in Jerusalem during the *ʿīd al-ḳurbān*, but Ibn At͟hīr, xi, 20, assigns that number to the membership of the Karrāmiyya settled in Jerusalem alone. Al-Muḳaddasī is more helpful when he says that Jerusalem was smaller than Mecca, but larger than Medina (167, l. 9), or more populous than many a provincial capital (165, l. 12). The repeatedly-mentioned number of 70,000 persons killed by the Crusaders in 492/1099 can by no means be used as an indication of the number of the inhabitants. Many people fled into the city before the approaching

invaders, and in general, on such occasions numbers are grossly exaggerated and worthless. If the al-Aḳṣā mosque was indeed reduced from fourteen to seven aisles after the earthquake of 424/1033 and others, the population must have considerably shrunk, possibly an outcome of the catastrophic tribulations by the bedouins in the 1020s.

The most characteristic trait of life in Jerusalem was, of course, that "no day passed without foreigners" (Muḳaddasī, 166, l. 6). Pilgrims from all regions filled the city (*ibid.*, 167, n. 12). The usage of pious Muslims to enter the state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] for the pilgrimage to Mecca in Jerusalem had the consequence that the city was frequented by Muslims from distant countries, in particular from the Maghrib (*ibid.*, 243, l. 12). Similarly, many a Jew from the Maghrib and Spain, visiting Jerusalem either as *ḥādjdj* (i.e. on the holidays prescribed for the pilgrimage) or as the *zā'ir* (on another occasion) has left letters in Geniza. The religious ceremonies of the various communities were not always confined to the houses of worship or even the walls of the city. We have detailed descriptions of these processions and assemblies. They must have conveyed to Jerusalem a festive appearance during many days of the year.

As to the government of the city, Muḳaddasī, 167, l. 7, complains that "the oppressed has no helper". But he makes similar remarks concerning other places, e.g. 448, and the Geniza letters show that the situation was not quite so hopeless. Justice was done, provided that there was someone strong and interested enough to take care of the case. Since Ramla was the capital of the province, everything had to be dealt with there, and in more serious cases appeals had to be made to Cairo. A dignitary from Jerusalem would appeal to a notable in Ramla such as "the chief physician of the dysentery department in the hospital", and ask him to bring the case of the wronged person or institution before the governor or chief *ḳāḍī* there, as the matter required, whereupon the latter would instruct their subordinates in Jerusalem to settle the dispute properly. In public affairs, the system worked the same way, as the edicts of the Fāṭimid caliphs for and against the Karaites of Palestine and the correspondence connected with these matters prove (see S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees*, London 1964; idem, *A petition to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir*, in *REJ*, cxxviii [1969], 203-22).

Ramla was also the economic centre of the country, as many references prove. *Suftadjas*, or bankers' cheques, for persons in Jerusalem were converted into cash in Ramla, which then was forwarded to Jerusalem, though we find also a banker, with a Persian name, in Jerusalem who issued *suftadjas* on Cairo. The money mostly used in Jerusalem around the middle of the 5th/11th century was the "Rūmī" (i.e. Southern Italian) and Muslim quarter-*dīnār* of the West, presumably because the pilgrims coming from those parts and from western Europe formed the majority of the customers. Oil, cheese, cotton and fruits are mentioned by the Muslim geographers and in the Geniza letters as main exports from Jerusalem. A letter from Tyre speaks of yarn sent from Jerusalem sufficient for the weaving of a thousand robes, *thawb*, of the bazaar type and even more of the home-made class. Since every mediaeval traveller tried also to do some business, we find in Jerusalem transit trade too, especially with Persians, bringing the heavy *ibrīzim* silk from Khurāsān (to be re-exported to Egypt), and taking with them Mediterranean goods such as coral. Jerusalem, as becoming a holy city, affected some austerity in clothing. "Here", a silk merchant writes in a letter to Fustat, "black and sky-blue silk is worn, not crimson as in Ramla and Ascalon". Wool traders, *ṣawwāf*, clothiers and *tādjirs* are mentioned as the prominent types of businessmen in the city. The well-developed commercial mail service connecting Jerusalem with Cairo, which was carried on by Muslims, shows that the city must have had some economic importance (Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, 292-4).

Those newcomers who could afford it bought houses and stores and lived on the income from their rents. Others tried to do business, but complaints such as "there is no livelihood in Jerusalem", "when one exerts oneself here, the exertion works against him", or "many have come here rich and have been reduced to poverty", are frequent. As many letters show, the town was too far away from the main stream of international commerce. Another unfavourable factor was the crushing impositions on non-Muslims (or perhaps on foreigners in general). The Jewish community was almost permanently in debt to Muslim creditors, paying them exorbitant interest, because it had to deliver the yearly tributes to the authorities and others, e.g. the *Aḥdāth* [*q.v.*], whether the expected numbers of pilgrims arrived or not. To a large extent, the city was a refuge for the poor, of whom their respective religious communities abroad took care in many different ways (about which social service the Geniza is again very specific, cf. Goitein, *op. cit.*, ii, 96-7 and *passim*).

Jerusalem's mostly unsatisfactory economic situation might have been responsible for another negative aspect of its life during this period; despite its holiness for the three monotheistic religions, it did not become for any of them a great spiritual centre with a characteristic contribution of its own (smaller groups, such as Armenians and Georgians on the Christian side and the Karaites among the Jews, perhaps excepted). Many Muslim scholars came there to teach or to study, cf. Yāḳūt, i, 516, 859, 887, etc.; Ibn ʿAsākir, i, 397, l. 26; ii, 54, l. 3; 161, 14; iv, 153, l. 16; 154, l. 2, etc. But it is characteristic that in Yāḳūt's *Dictionary of learned men* Baṣra occurs 170 times, Damascus 100, but Jerusalem only once and in passing; in the *K. al-Aghānī* it is not mentioned at all. Al-Muḳaddasī's complaint, 167: "The mosque (that is, the house of study, see above) is empty, there are no scholars and no savants, no disputations and no instruction", was certainly an exaggeration, inspired by the deep love of the writer for his native city, as was his famous censure that Christians and Jews had there the upper hand, but Jerusalem certainly could not boast of excellence in the sciences of Islam or any other fields. The great al-Ghazālī sojourned there in 488/1095 not in order to make contacts, but with the intention to locking himself up and of seeking solitude.

The city had some importance as a refuge or place of banishment for persons with unorthodox views and ways of life. This trend began already in Umayyad times (Ṭabarī, i, 1920, l. 10; Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 156-7). Thawr b. Yazīd had to leave Damascus because of his Ḳadarī [*q.v.*] views and died in Jerusalem ca. 153/770 (Ibn ʿAsākir, i, 68, l. 21; iii, 383-84). Tekīn, the Turkish governor of Egypt (who, at his request was buried in Jerusalem in 321/933) banished thither the Ṣūfī Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Dīnawarī (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 294). In Mamlūk times forced retirement in Jerusalem became almost customary, see § 12, below.

Jerusalem was a town of copyists, the occupation of the pious who were both learned and poor. Christian Arabic manuscripts written in the monastery of Mār Sābā near Jerusalem in the second half of the 3rd/9th century and in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 4th/10th are still extant, and an Armenian colophon from Jerusalem from the year 870 is known (J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic*, Louvain 1966, i, 24, 25, 33; E. Stone, *The manuscript library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem*, in *Tarbiz*, xli [1972], 158). Jewish copyists active in Jerusalem during the 5th/11th century give us many details about their work.

According to Mudjīr al-Dīn, 263-5, the main local *madhhab* in the town, even before the Crusades, was Shāfiʿī, with a sprinkling of the Ḥanbalī, introduced by the Persian Abu 'l-Faradj al-Shīrāzī, while a Ḥanafī Turk was the *ḳāḍī*, a situation similar to that of much later times.

There was a marked difference between the spirit of the late 4th/10th century and the 5th/11th one. The former was characterised by three highly interesting Jerusalemites of Persian origin and of wide humanistic interests: the great traveller al-Muḳaddasī, one of the finest personalities produced by Islamic civilisation; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, a keen and remarkably unbiased student of religions, writing in Bust, eastern Persia; and Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Maʿshar al-Ḳudsī al-Bustī, who, according to Abū Sulayman al-Manṭiḳī, was the author of the *rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*]. The subsequent century witnessed a narrowing down to the more specifically Islamic branches of knowledge. A typical representative of the age was Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Ṭāhir al-Ḳaysarānī, active in Arabic language study, *ḥadīth*, and, especially, mysticism; he made his extensive travels on foot, carrying his books on his back and finally settled in Hamadhān, continuing the long-standing connection between Jerusalem and Persia. Al-Musharraf b. Muradjdjaʾ, the author of a book on the *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* (see § 11, below) lived in the same century. The leading scholar of Jerusalem, "the *shaykh* of the Shāfiʿīs in the whole of Syria", Abu 'l-Fatḥ Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm, left the city for Tyre (Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt*, iii, 152-3). The Jewish Gaon did the same (*ca.* 1071). This, as well as many Geniza letters, shows that the situation in Jerusalem had become unbearable long before the Crusaders temporarily suspended Muslim and Jewish life in the city altogether.

10. *Crusaders and Ayyūbids*. The Crusaders laid siege on Jerusalem on June 6, 1099 and took it by assault on July 15, penetrating into the city from three different points. The behaviour of the different groups of conquerors, Frenchmen, Flemings, Provençals and Normans from Sicily, was not entirely uniform. Tancred, the leader of the Normans, granted safe-conduct to the Fāṭimid commander of the citadel (the "Tower of David") and to his men. A Geniza letter reports that the Jews in the entourage of the commander were included in the safe-conduct. Thus, no doubt, the Muslim civilians in the citadel were saved as well. The same letter says also that "the damned ones called Ashkenazim" (convincingly identified by B. Z. Kedar as Normans), "unlike others", did not rape women. The massacre of the Muslims and the Jews in the town was perpetrated out of military and religious considerations alike. The Crusaders did not run berserk, but proceeded systematically, as is shown first by the fact that they took time to collect hundreds of books, which they sold at Ascalon soon afterwards. The Geniza naturally speaks about Hebrew books, but there is no reason to assume that Muslim books were treated differently. The fact that a number of prisoners were sold far beneath the standard price of 33 1/3 *dīnārs* per person does not prove at all that the Crusaders were ignorant of the accepted norms; the war situation did not permit the keeping of larger numbers of captives for a protracted period. But prisoners from better families, for whom higher ransoms could be expected, were retained in Antioch for years. All in all, the letters of persons actually involved in the events somehow qualify the accepted notions about the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. There was a gruesome bloodbath, no doubt. But it was not as all-embracing as the summary reports of the chroniclers led us to believe.

Jerusalem became a Christian city, where no Muslim or Jewish cult was permitted and no non-Christian could take residence permanently. The mosques were turned into churches or used as secular buildings. The newly-founded kingdom was appropriately called the Kingdom of Jerusalem, *Regnum Hierusalem*, since the conversion of the Holy City into a Christian sanctuary had been the purpose of its erection. As a capital city, Jerusalem soon began to flourish. The court, the administration of the state, the ecclesiastical authorities, the monastic and military religious orders were all located here, and thousands of pilgrims visited the city every year, many staying on for longer periods or for good. Besides Eastern Christians, such as Syrians, Copts, Armenians and Georgians, the inhabitants were mostly Europeans, above all French. Smaller European communities, such as Spaniards, Provençals, Germans and Hungarians, lived in compact groups around their churches and public institutions. Many new buildings were erected, of which the enlarged Holy Sepulchre was the most conspicuous. The remarkably spacious and beautiful market hall, erected on the foundations of a similar Islamic building, still dominates daily life in the Old City today. Everywhere in Jerusalem the vestiges of Crusaders' activities are visible. When, after the war of 1967, the ruins of the Jewish quarter were cleared away, what is believed to be the remains of St. Mary of the Germans made their appearance.

Less than a decade after the conquest, a letter from Palestine (not from Jerusalem) reports that life in the country had returned to normal also for the non-Christian population. Jerusalem remained closed to Muslims and Jews, but, in the course of time, they were permitted to come there for business and prayer. A famous incident reported in the autobiography of Usāma b. Munḳidh [*q.v.*] shows him performing his prayers on the Temple area during a considerable stretch of time (ed. P. K. Hitti, Princeton 1930, 134-5). Jewish dyers worked for the King's wardrobe in the vicinity of the palace *ca.* 1170.

After the decisive victory of Ḥaṭṭīn (Rabīʿ II 583/July 1187), Saladin advanced towards Jerusalem and laid siege on the city. After prolonged negotiations, in which the defenders threatened to kill the Muslim prisoners and all non-combatants (so that they would not be sold into slavery), to burn all the valuables and to destroy the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, an agreement was reached in Ramaḍān 583/November 1187, which permitted the inhabitants to ransom themselves after surrender. Only the Eastern Christians remained, and Jerusalem soon assumed the character of a predominantly Muslim city. The Muslim shrines were given back to their original destination and many Christian buildings were

dedicated to Muslim purposes. Outstanding examples were the convent of the church of St. Anne, which became the famous Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa*, so called after its founder Saladin, and the Mūristān, a hospital, which originally had been the church at the hostel of the Knights of St. John. The Holy Sepulchre was left to the Christians, but the pilgrimage to it was temporarily suspended until 1192.

There remained the problem of repopulation. In 587/1191 the great port city of Ascalon was dismantled and destroyed at Saladin's command, in order to prevent the Crusaders from turning it into a new base for their operations. The dispossessed inhabitants must have found new homes in the empty houses of Jerusalem, for the Geniza letters from this period repeatedly speak of a community of *ʿAsāḳila* in the Holy City, and Jews certainly were given no preferential treatment. Another community listed alongside with them was that of the *Maghāriba*—a trend noted already two hundred years before by al-Muḳaddasī, see § 9 above. Individuals are described in the same source as hailing from Yaman, ʿIrāḳ, and Egypt. The influx of learned Jews from France attested for the period *ca.* 1210-15 in both literary texts and Geniza letters proves that Ayyūbid rule at that time must have had a reputation of an orderly government able to guarantee the safety of foreigners. But life in Jerusalem was hard, and before the 6th/12th century was out, we already read about newcomers who had left for the greener pastures of Egypt and the port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.

A new and catastrophic turning point in the history of Jerusalem was the rule of Saladin's nephew al-Muʿaẓẓam, the Sultan of Damascus. On the one hand, as his many inscriptions prove, al-Muʿaẓẓam did much to adorn the Ḥaram, and erected there the Ḥanafī college called after him, see section B; but being afraid of a new encroachment by the Christians, he ordered in 616/1219 the destruction of the city with the exception of the Temple area, the Holy Sepulchre and the citadel. His apprehensions did not materialise, but his brother al-Kāmil, the ruler of Egypt, in order to shield himself from the Syrian Ayyūbids, concluded a treaty with the Emperor Frederick II, ceding to him the city for ten years (626/1229). The emperor, being under papal ban, crowned himself there without clerical assistance—the last time that a monarch was crowned in Jerusalem. Again Muslims (and of course, also Jews, as proved by a Geniza letter from 1236) were not permitted access to the city with the exception of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, which remained in Muslim hands, but the *ḳāḍī*, the bearer of Muslim authority, had his seat outside Jerusalem (in al-Bīra, near Rāmallāh, J. Prawer, *Royaume latin*, Paris 1970, ii, 199). The subsequent hostilities between the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria resulted in an agreement between the latter and the Christians, which seemingly removed the Muslims even from the Temple area, so that the commander of the Templars could boast that the city was inhabited solely by Christians (Matthew Pâris, ***Historia major***, iv, 290, quoted by B. Z. Kedar, in *Tarbiz*, xli [1971] 88). But this lasted only a very short time. The Egyptian Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn enlisted the help of the wild Khwārazmians, who had been driven to the West by the Mongols. The Khwārazmians overran Syria and Palestine, took Jerusalem in Rabīʿ I 642/August 1244 and plundered and murdered in the town, desecrating the Holy Sepulchre and other churches. The combined armies of the Khwārazmians and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm joined battle with the Syrians and their allies, the Crusaders, and vanquished them (Djumādā I 642/October 1244). Consequently, Jerusalem came under the domination of the rulers of Egypt, under which, after a short interval in 647/1249, when again it was returned to the Sultan of Damascus, it remained until the Ottoman conquest of 922-3/1516-17).

II. The second six hundred years

11. *The sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam. Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds.* The history of Jerusalem during this period was largely influenced by the enhanced religious halo it had acquired through the long struggle between Christians and Muslims. The position of Jerusalem in Islam had its ups and downs. It cannot be described yet in full, since important relevant texts, such as the *Tafsīr* of al-Muḳātil (d. 150/767), the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (d. 211/827) and the two oldest books of *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* still await publication (see below). An excellent discussion of the literature on the subject and the present stage of research is found in E. Sivan, *Le caractère de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles*, in *SI*, xxvii (1967), 149-82, and idem, *The beginnings of the Faḍāʾil al-Quds literature*, in *Israel Or. Stud.*, i (1971), 263-71.

It was entirely in the spirit of early Islam that it incorporated the Jewish and Christian notions of the holiness of Jerusalem and made the area of the ancient Jewish Temple into a Muslim place of worship (§§ 4-6, above). The *ḥadīth* ranking Jerusalem as the third central sanctuary of Islam after Mecca and Medina, excluding others, was formulated in the course of the first century of Islam and obtained general recognition during the second, after the status of Jerusalem had been vehemently contested as being alien to Islam, whose cradle was the Ḥidjāz (cf. the saying attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd and Ḥudhayfa: "Even if the distance between me and Jerusalem was only two parasangs, I would not go there", quoted in M. J. Kister, *You shall only set out for three mosques, a study of an early tradition*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxii [1969], 173-96, where the material about this struggle is assembled [this quotation at 182, n. 39].

Both aspects, the veneration for Jerusalem and the objection to it, deepened with the increasing influx of foreign ideas on the subject and their development by Islamic popular piety. The notions that Jerusalem was holy as the domicile of the ancient prophets and saints [see ABDĀL] and as the scene of Muḥammad's *Isrāʾ* and *Miʿrādj* [*q.v.*] (the latter was mentioned in Saladin's letter to Richard Cœur de Lion as the main proof for the Muslims' claim on Jerusalem, Sivan, *Caractère sacré*, 165) were accepted by everyone; it was the more exuberant legends woven around those notions and, above all, the belief that Jerusalem would be the scene of Resurrection and of the Last Judgment, and the crude fantasies evolving from these themes, which aroused criticism and suspicion that they were local inventions destined to attract pilgrims and visitors. As Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, viii, 280, l. 4 ff., formulated it: "They (the people of Jerusalem) have depicted there the spectacles of the *Ṣirāṭ* (the bridge suspended from the Mount of Olives to the Temple Mount, which will be thinner than a hair etc.), of the gate of the Paradise, of the footprints of the Prophet, and of the valley of Gehenna". As a result, Jerusalem during the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries did not com-

mand a paramount position in the religious consciousness of the Islamic world. While many Islamic cities inspired books of *faḍāʾil* already by the end of the 3rd and throughout the 4th centuries, Jerusalem appears only with two, compiled during the 5th: a tract by Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, a *khaṭīb* of the al-Aḳṣā mosque (recently identified by M. J. Kister in the library of the al-Djazzār Pasha mosque of Acre; in the course of publication by Y. Hasson), and another by Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Musharraf b. Muradjdjā, a *faḳīh* living in Jerusalem (to be edited by E. Sivan). The author of a third compilation, mainly of *ḥadīths*, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Makkī al-Maḳdisī, did not complete his work, since he was captured and killed by the Crusaders, see above. It is characteristic that these three authors were inhabitants of Jerusalem. The often-noted astounding fact that the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders and its conversion into an exclusively Christian city did not arouse any strong Muslim reaction for decades also indicates that the veneration for the Holy City had not yet become a spiritual force in Islam.

The situation changed when ʿImād al-Dīn Zankī's conquest of Edessa in 539/1144 suggested to an ambitious ruler that territorial aspirations could well be underpinned by religious propaganda. The court poets and secretaries of Zankī and his son Nūr al-Dīn took up the topic of the *djihād* for Jerusalem. With Saladin, both before and after 583/1187, this propaganda reached its apogee. While no *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* work appeared during the first half of the 6th/12th century, they became abundant and ubiquitous in the second half and in the subsequent centuries. How much Jerusalem had become an all-Islamic concern might be gauged from the widely diffused protests against al-Muʿaẓẓam's dismantling of the city in 616/1219 and al-Kāmil's ceding it to the Emperor Frederick II in 626/1229. Precisely after Jerusalem had ceased to be a military or political issue, sc. during the Mamlūk period, the *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* multiplied; at least thirty are known from this period, see Sivan, *Caractère sacré*, 181. The exceptions taken by Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] in his treatise on the subject were directed against the *bidʿas* disfiguring the cult of Jerusalem; its canonical status as third in rank of the sanctuaries of Islam was never questioned.

To modern Muslims, this position symbolises the universal character of Islam. Sayyid Ḳuṭb (d. 1966) writes this in his huge work on the Ḳurʾān with reference to Sūra XVII, 1: "The *Isrāʾ* connects the great monotheistic religions from Abraham and Ishmael to the Seal of the Prophets. It combines the sites holy to the monotheistic religions with one another and it is as if Muḥammad, the last of the prophets, declares by this wondrous night voyage that his message contains those of the prophets preceding him and is connected with theirs" (*Fī ẓalāl al-Ḳurʾān*, xv, 12, ll. 5-9).

12. *Jerusalem under the Mamlūks (648-922/1250-1516)*. At the beginning of this period, Jerusalem was mostly in ruins and deserted. The few Christians who remained or returned there after the sack by the Khwārazmians in 642/1244 and the Muslims and Jews who had settled there anew, fled in 658/1260 before the onslaught of the Mongols who had reached places as far south of Jerusalem as Hebron and Gaza (latest discussion of the sources: B. Z. Kedar, *Tarbiz*, xli [1971], 89-91). After the victory of the Mamlūks at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q v*] in Shawwāl 658/September 1260, Jerusalem was definitely incorporated in their empire and was administered first by the Mamlūk viceroy of Damascus. In 778/1376 the Jerusalem district was made a separate administrative unit, whose governor, styled *nāʾib*, or deputy of the Sultan, was directly responsible to the government in Cairo. The sanctuaries of the Ḥaram (together with that of Hebron) were under the supervision of the "superintendent of the two holy sites", *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*, who was responsible for their upkeep and in charge of their endowments. The history of the period was mainly one of rebuilding the city, see section B, Monuments. While the sultans repaired or adorned the great sanctuaries and carried out works for providing them with water, or erected important institutions such as the Ashrafiyya (see section B), so the *amīrs* and princes of the Mamlūk empire, as well as of other Muslim states and private persons erected *madrasas*, *zāwiyas*, *khānaḳāhs*, and mausoleums, many of which are still extant, or at least identifiable. Most of these buildings were small, having the appearance of ordinary townhouses, and were probably built with the use of ruins and their materials. But some of these foundations, such as the 8th/14th century Tengiziyya college, were spacious and distinguished.

Because of its relative isolation, its proximity of Egypt the absence of strong fortifications or of a garrison of any size, which might be used by a potential insurgent, Jerusalem served as a place of compulsory sojourn for discharged, dismissed, or exiled members of the Mamlūk military nobility, the so-called *baṭṭāls*. What had been in early Islam an occasional occurrence (§ 9, above), now became a widespread practice of high socio-economic importance. As D. Ayalon, in a special study devoted to the subject, has pointed out, the Holy City was the most commonly assigned place of exile in the entire Mamluk empire (*Discharges from service, banishment and imprisonments in Mamluk society*, in *Israel Or. St.*, ii [1973], 324-49). To the many reasons for this choice adduced by the author, *ibid.*, 333, it might be added that the authorities intended with this perhaps the repopulation of the city. In any case, these *baṭṭāls*, to whom fixed incomes were assigned by the government and who often possessed means of their own, were in a position to keep fine households and to leave behind them well-constructed mansions.

In the main, Jerusalem of the Mamlūk period must be envisaged as a city of Muslim divines living on pious foundations and salaries. The most conspicious aspect of the members of this dominant class of Jerusalem's society was their mobility. They served, often simultaneously, in different occupations and posts, such as professors or "repetitors" in *madrasas*, as *khaṭībs*, *ḳāḍīs*, *muftīs*, or heads of dervish convents. They rarely stayed in Jerusalem for good, but moved on to Cairo or Damascus or other places, often returning for some time to Jerusalem, and finally concluding their lives somewhere else or back in the Holy City. Their literary output was equally diversified, comprising several or all of the fields of *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* (*uṣūl* and *furūʿ*), *tafsīr*, *sīra*, occasionally also Arabic language and rhetorics. Arranging and classifying the knowledge they wished to impart under novel headings, or in the form of commentaries to other works, or in versifications, were favourite means of pouring old wine into new bottles.

A second characteristic of this class of scholars was the prominence of leading families which divided between themselves the most richly-endowed offices. This was, of course, nothing new in Islam. But in Jerusalem, which lived on endowments from abroad, nepotism was rife, and family rule was not always

to the benefit of scholarship or good administration (we often hear about pious foundations falling into desuetude). The most prominent family of Muslim divines during almost the entire Mamlūk period (and also in early Ottoman times), were the Banū Ibn D̲j̲amāʿa [*q.v.*], who originated in Ḥamā and inhabited in Jerusalem a mansion bordering on the north-west corner of the Ḥaram. The biographies of the more prolific authors of this family show, however, that they passed most of their adult lives in the great centres of Islamic scholarship, sc. Cairo and Damascus. In Jerusalem they mostly served as *k̲h̲aṭīb*s and *ḳāḍī*s. One branch of them, the al-K̲h̲aṭīb family, is still extant. (There are other families in Jerusalem, unconnected with them, bearing this name.) An Egyptian family, the Ḳarḳas̲h̲andīs, shared with them the prerogative of the office of *k̲h̲aṭībs* in the al-Aḳṣā mosque. The Banū G̲h̲ānim, also living on the northern edge of the Ḥaram, mostly held the position of heads of the large al-Ṣāliḥiyya *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*. All these were S̲h̲āfiʿīs. The most important Ḥanafī family were the Dayrīs, natives of Palestine. They served as Ḥanafī judges in Jerusalem and in other cities of Palestine, as well as in Cairo, as teachers in the Ḥanafī al-Muʿaẓẓamiyya *madrasa*, and one of them became *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*. The well-known modern al-K̲h̲ālidī family (see §§ 13 and 14, below) derives its origin from them.

Besides the great families of divines, there were smaller ones, as well as unaffiliated scholars, local and foreign, who were appointed to teaching of juridical posts, or purchased them (or parts of them; positions were often held in partnership). Of the more distinguished scholars who passed considerable parts of their lives in Jerusalem, Ibn al-Hāʾim, an expert on arithmetic and the science of the division of inheritances (d. 412/1021), and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī S̲h̲arīf, a native of Jerusalem and great authority on Muslim law (822-905/1419-1500), both prolific authors, should be noted. Both died in Jerusalem and were buried in the Māmillāh cemetery (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ḳuds*, Jerusalem 1961, 506, 508).

Jerusalem, the city of the poor and the pious, was the proper domicile for Ṣūfīs. Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn notes about twenty Ṣūfī convents representing most of the major orders and several less known ones. E. Ashtor, in his study on Jerusalem in the Mamlūk period (the most comprehensive one on the subject, see Bibliography) describes the ambivalent relations prevailing in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, between the two classes of Islamic divines, the scholars and the mystics. On the one hand, we read about members of a *zāwiya* studying at a *madrasa* or about prominent scholars adopting the Ṣūfī way of life. On the other hand, the ecstatic practices of some orders, especially the whirling dances accompanied by instrumental music (prohibited in principle by Islam) were sharply condemned. A collection of *fatwā*s in this spirit, written by an Ibn D̲j̲amāʿa and copied many years later by a Dayrī, has been described by Ashtor.

The Christians, hard pressed in this intensely Islamic atmosphere of Mamlūk Jerusalem, were strengthened by the establishment of a Franciscan monastery on Mount Zion in the 1330s. Mount Zion with its many religious associations, the "Tomb of David", the Cenaculum (scene of the Last Supper) and the Dormitio (the place where Mary, the mother of Jesus, fell into eternal sleep), was the scene of endless contests between Christians and Muslims and even Jews, involving the demolition, re-erection and renewed destruction of buildings down to the very end of the Mamlūk period, see section B. Other Christian buildings were also objects of attacks. The demolition and restoration in 879/1474 of the synagogue of the then small Jewish community is described in great detail by Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 633-46, by Ibn Iyās, ii, 154-5, and in a book especially devoted to this matter by the S̲h̲āfiʿī *ḳāḍī* of Jerusalem Ibn ʿUbayya (analysed by Goitein, in *Zion*, xiii-xiv [1948-9], 18-32). Against orders from Cairo, Ibn ʿUbayya three times decided that the Jewish place of workship was to be closed; it was finally demolished by mobs led by a Ṣūfī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*. Upon this, the Sultan took stern measures. Ibn ʿUbayya and others involved were summoned to the capital, flogged and imprisoned; Ibn ʿUbayya lost his post and ended his days in Damascus, consoling himself with writing poems; the synagogue was restored. These happenings were typical for their time and place. Ibn ʿUbayya was certainly right in asserting that the synagogue was "new", that is, a building erected after the advent of Islam and used as a non-Muslim house of worship, which was against the provisions of Islamic law. But the government, naturally, had to pay attention to the exigencies of life and the preservation of public order.

The impressive number of Muslim schools founded in Jerusalem in the course of this period (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 236-57, describes fifty-six) should not be taken as an indication of economic prosperity. The endowments were mostly limited in size and dwindled rapidly. The governors and other officials who had often to buy their offices for considerable sums and frequently also served for only short terms, had to indemnify themselves by heavy impositions, first on the non-Muslims, but on Muslims as well. Jerusalem's only important industry (still flourishing in the 19th century), sc. the manufacture of soap made from the oil produced in the then rich olive groves of its environment, was heavily damaged by the pernicious economic policy of the Mamlūk government, which monopolised production and forced the population to buy quantities not needed by it for exorbitant prices. The constant insecurity inside and, in particular, outside the city added to the hardships of life. Early in the 16th century no one could make the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* from Jerusalem for ten years because bedouin anarchy prevented travel between Jerusalem and the Red Sea (L. A. Mayer, *A sequel to Mujir al-Dīn's chronicle*, in *JPOS*, xi [1931], 95-6, Ar. text 11-12). At that time, as travellers' reports show, there were still many unbuilt areas within the boundaries of the city. But the core of the Old City outside the Ḥaram, as it appears today, was the creation of the Mamlūk period.

13. *The first Ottoman period (922-1247/1516-1831)*. The exact date of the entry of the Turks into Jerusalem during the victorious campaign of Selīm I against the Mamlūks in 1516-17 is not known. His successor Sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī left most enduring imprints on the city: the wall, constructed between 944/1537 and 948/1541, as indicated in its eleven decorative inscriptions, the renovated Dome of the Rock and the four beautiful public fountains, *sabīl*, inside the city and the one near the Sultan's Pool, also created by him, at the foot of Mount Zion. The many *waḳf*s made by him and his wife K̲h̲urrem [*q.v.*] further contributed to the welfare of the city during his reign. The soup kitchen, *ʿimāret*, donated by her for the feeding of the poor and of students, naturally does not operate any more, but its caul-

drons, lists of recipients and other impressive remnants can still be seen in the Ḥaram Museum.

The Ottoman archives for the first time provide us with exact demographic, topographic and, to a certain extent, also economic data about Jerusalem. Bernard Lewis analyses the relevant material in *Studies in the Ottoman Archives*, in *BSOAS* xvi/3 (1954), 476, and *Yerushalayim*, ii/5, Jerusalem 1955, 117-27 (see *ibid.*, 117, n. 1, further publications of his on the subject, and also his *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives*, Jerusalem 1952). The population movement during Sulaymān's reign is illustrated on p. 122 by lists of taxpayers: (H = Heads of households; B = Bachelors; E = Exempt from the duty of paying taxes, such as religious dignitaries and insane persons):

	932/1525-6			940-45/1533-9			961/1553-4		
	H	B	E	H	B	E	H	B	E
Muslims	616	2	1	1168	75	34	1987	141	16
Christians	119	-	-	136	26	42	413	25	3
Jews	199	-	-	224	19	-	324	13	1
Totals	934	2	1	1528	120	76	2724	179	20

Thus at the beginning of the Ottoman period Jerusalem had a population of about 4,000 inhabitants, which tripled during Sulaymān's reign. (Lewis points out that the later lists might have been more complete than the first one). The slower increase of the Jewish population, which until the end of the thirties was more numerous than the Christians, was due to the fact that Ṣafad and not Jerusalem, was the main Jewish centre around the mid-century. By far the most important revenue collected in Jerusalem was the toll levied from the visitors of the Holy Sepulchre, which also tripled during this period (from 40,000 *aḳča*s in 1525 to 120,000 in 1553). It was given by the Sultan to the readers of the Ḳur'ān in the Aḳṣā mosque. The second largest item was the poll tax paid by Christians and Jews (one gold piece per person, the total being about one half of the income derived from the Holy Sepulchre). All taxes derived from economic activities, such as licenses (*iḥtisāb*), sales taxes and tolls on export of soap to Egypt, brought far smaller amounts.

Sulaymān's wall, though a lasting monument to his munificence, also revealed that the Ottoman government was not able, nor willing, to guarantee the safety of Jerusalem by administrative and military means. During almost the entire Turkish period, well into the second half of the 19th century, Jerusalem's development was impeded by this lack of security. The safety of the travellers between Ramla and Jerusalem, that is, the bulk of visitors from abroad, was entrusted already under Sulaymān to the Abu Ghosh, a rural clan after which the picturesque village Ḳaryat al-ʿAnab west of Jerusalem was renamed. Complaints that bedouins murdered Muslim inhabitants, burnt copies of the Ḳur'ān and taxed Muslim pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem are officially noted already in 991/1583 (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, no. 43). An imperial order of 1023/1614 exempts the fiefholders in the *sandjaḳ* of Jerusalem from participation in military expeditions outside the *sandjaḳ*, because this was "the border of ʿArabistān, where rebellious bedouins disturb the peace" (Heyd, *ibid.*, no. 28). By the end of the 18th century Giovanni Mariti, *Voyage*, Neuwied 1791, ii, 301-3, reports that the Pasha of Jerusalem accompanied the Christian pilgrims under heavy guard to the Jordan, but only after having paid the usual tribute to the bedouins. Shortly afterwards another traveller, W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, etc.*, London 1806, writes with regard to 1797 that the whole environment of Jerusalem was dominated by the bedouins (see Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1973).

The root of this misery was the fact that Jerusalem was not so much administered by Istanbul as given as a source of income, albeit a very modest one, to the *wālī* of Damascus, or sometimes to that of Sidon, or, early in the period, to that of Egypt. The *wālī* was represented in the town by a *mutasallim*, but once a year he himself would appear, accompanied by a detachment of troops and collect taxes (described by ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 309-10, for as late a date as 1808). By the 18th century the revenue from economic activities had dwindled to next to nothing (one list notes as income from the *iḥtisāb* only 500 *ḳurush*, one-twelfth of that of Sidon, Cohen, *ibid.*) and consisted mainly in taxes and tolls on Christians and Jews. A *firmān* by Selīm III (1205/1791) reducing the toll usually imposed on a Jewish pilgrim entering Jerusalem from between 3 and 4 to the legal 1½ *ḳurush* and freeing him from any payment while leaving the city, shows that arbitrary extortions were common in those matters (M. Maʿoz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period, documents from archives and collections in Israel*, Jerusalem 1970, 38).

An important source for the socio-economic history of Jerusalem under the Ottomans is contained in the *sidjill*s of the *maḥkama sharʿiyya* of the city. ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 241 ff., provides a number of specimens: a detailed list of prices by the *ḳāḍī* "in the presence of the two *muḥtasib*s" in 970/1563, the inventory of the estate of a Christian veterinary surgeon from the same year, and prices of building lots, houses, rents, salaries and *mahr*s through three centuries. Other matters, like three letters concerning the revolt of the *naḳīb al-ashrāf* in 1117/1705 and the demolition of his mansion, or notes about Jewish communal affairs, are also included. Only a systematic study of the entire material will provide historically valid results.

The governor of Jerusalem was a military man (a tentative list of Ottoman governors 1517-1917 in ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 317-28). The governor, the holders of fiefs in the *sandjaḳ* and the garrison in the town were not normally recruited locally. The *ḳāḍī* was sent from Istanbul and invariably belonged to the Ḥanafī rite. This preponderance of a foreign ruling class with no roots in the city and often connected with it only for short periods naturally precluded healthy developments. But it had also its advantages. Since few Turks settled permanently in Jerusalem, its Arab character was preserved and germs of local autonomy developed. Popular risings, sometimes deteriorating into riots, occasionally chased a particularly oppressive (or weak) governor from the city. A more constant factor was the rise of families becoming powerful by the holding of well-paid religious offices, tax-farming, the administration of *waḳf*s and by acting as protectors of villages (in which capacity they also mostly succeeded in acquiring large holdings of land). The well-known families of the Khaṭīb, Khālidī (see sec. 12, above) ʿAlamī, Anṣārī, Dadjānī, Ḥusaynī, Nashāshībī, Nusayba and others, were formed or gained prominence in this period. The very considerable percentage of fair, blue-eyed, round-headed persons found in these families indicates that the local upper class, during the long centuries of Otto-

man domination, became thoroughly mixed with the many non-Arab elements passing through the city.

An interesting picture of folk life in Jerusalem is preserved in a pamphlet by Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Dadjānī (d. 1660), entitled *Djawāhir al-ḳalā'id fī faḍl al-masādjid*. It shows the *ḥaram al-sharīf* as the scene of popular feasts and other mundane activities (see M. Perlmann, *A seventeenth century exhortation concerning al-Aqṣā*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, iii [1973], 261-92, reproducing the Arabic original of the *Djawāhir*).

The 19th century opened for Jerusalem ominously. In 1808 a fire destroyed most of the western part of the Holy Sepulchre. Sultan Maḥmūd II granted the Greeks the right to restore the building, but the Janissaries in the town, who were angry that the citadel was garrisoned by other troops, incited the Muslim population to obstruct the repairs. A general revolt ensued. Finally, the *wālī* of Damascus, alerted by the beleaguered *mutasallim* of Jerusalem, sent a detachment of Maghribī horsemen on a clandestine route, which succeeded in penetrating into the city and to overpower the insurgents. Thirty-eight of the leaders were hanged (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 356-8, quoting Mikhā'īl Burayk al-Dimashḳī). At the time of the Greek revolt of 1821, the Christians of Jerusalem were charged of conniving with them and were in great danger. But thanks to the quick action of the *wālī* of Damascus and the firm attitude of the *ḳāḍī* of Jerusalem, no harm was done to the Christians. Another *wālī* of Damascus was the cause of a revolt of large dimensions and long duration. Townsmen and *fellāḥīn* alike refused to pay the heavy taxes imposed by him. He came to Jerusalem with a large army in 1825 and raised a fine of 100,000 *ḳūrush* from the rebellious city. But hardly had he turned his back, when the population rose again; the *mutasallim*, who had been on a punitive expedition to Bethlehem, was unable to re-enter Jerusalem; the few soldiers who had remained in the citadel were easily overpowered, and the city and the countryside alike were in full revolt. Even when the Sultan sent a special detachment which laid siege on the city, the inhabitants would not budge. Only when the balls from the canons deployed on the Mount of Olives fell into the city and set some houses of notables on fire was the resistance broken (Neophytos of Cyprus, *Annals of Palestine*, 1821-1841, ed. S. N. Spyridon, Jerusalem 1938, 3-4). This time the revolt was terminated without bloodshed. But it showed that the spirit of resistance to tyranny, fully ablaze in Hellas, was not entirely absent from the Holy City.

III. Modern times

14. *1831-1917*. A time of radical changes. Before one half of this short period was over, Jerusalem had become preponderantly Christian and Jewish, while the Muslim population, too, had made visible progress. The unprecedented expansion of the Christians was caused by the increasing dependence of Ottoman Turkey on developments in Europe, with its rivalling states and churches, and by the upsurge of political, religious, humanitarian and scientific interest in the Holy Land manifest in many Christian countries. The steep increase in the number of Jews, who formed the majority of the population by the end of the seventies, was a corollary of the general improvement; they formed a modest community of devout and mostly poor people.

This development was put into motion by the conquest of Palestine by Ibrāhīm Pasha, the stepson of Muḥammad ʿAlī, in 1831. His actions, of particular significance for Jerusalem, were inspired by his endeavour to create a strong government and to win the friendship of the European powers. He started to disarm the civil population, to break the despotism of urban families and rural factions, to raise a standing army by enforced recruitment and also to enlist the co-operation of the local people by appointments to administrative posts and the formation of consultative bodies. The Christians (and Jews) of Jerusalem were freed from the many special contributions they had to pay to local notables, permitted to repair and erect religious buildings and to work in the government. All this hurt many vested interests and aroused the ire of the Muslim population in general. The *fellāḥīn*, supported by the leading urban families, rose in arms and drove the Egyptian garrison from the town (1834-5). But Ibrāhīm Pasha quelled the revolt and vigorously pursued his aims. The establishment of the British consulate in Jerusalem in 1838 was a sign of the time.

When European intervention forced Ibrāhīm Pasha to give up his conquests, the Sultan, who had just promised equality to all his subjects (1839), could not turn the clock back. The trend of western penetration was strengthened by the Crimean war, in which Turkey was saved by England and France from Russian aggression. France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, Spain and the United States opened consulates in Jerusalem. The flags of Christian powers were now raised in the Holy City on Sundays and Holidays, the birthdays of their sovereigns were honoured by 21-canon salvoes (an honour, formerly reserved in Jerusalem for Muslim holidays and the birthday of the Prophet), and bells began to chime from the churches. At first, the Muslims in Jerusalem tried to stop these innovations by force. But such attempts were quickly suppressed and soon the immense material and spiritual advantages derived by the local population from the foreign activities became evident. Naturally, the local Christians were the first to benefit; it was in this period that certain Christian families of Jerusalem became rich and influential.

The Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, which had been abolished in 1291 as a result of the Crusades (being represented by merely titular patriarchs who lived in Rome), was revived in 1847 and became a powerful factor in the city. The Greek Patriarch moved from Istanbul to Jerusalem. An Anglican bishopric was established in 1841 (functioning for some decades in co-operation with Prussia). In the same year the Jewish community of Jerusalem received by imperial *firmān* a *ḥākhām bashī*, or chief rabbi, who was sent from Istanbul and had access to the central government. The gift by ʿAbd al-Medjīd of the Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa* (see § 10, above), the ancient convent of St. Anne, to the French emperor Napoleon III in 1856 (resulting in its restitution to its original use) and the presentation of a part of the Mūristān area (see § 10, above) to Prussia, which used it for the erection of a Protestant church, palpably illustrate the new situation.

Slowly the central government was able to assert its authority over the unruly city and the anarchic countryside. At mid-century, the bedouins still plundered travellers under the very walls of Jerusalem and inside the town Christians and Jews were still exposed to arbitrary extortions by notables and officials. But administrative and military reforms, the interventions by the consulates and improved means of communications brought relief. By 1865 Jerusalem was connected with the outer

world by telegraph, and in 1868 the first road between Jerusalem and Jaffa usable by wheeled vehicles was completed. The railway followed only in 1892, and the French company building it had to insure its safety and that of its station-buildings (even that of Jerusalem) by arrangements with the heads of the villages adjacent to it. Postal services were provided by Austrian, French and other foreign agencies. There were many changes in the administration of the Jerusalem district (details in ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿIwāḍ, *Mutaṣarrifiyyat al-Ḳuds awākhir al-ʿahd al-ʿUthmānī*, in *Palestine Affairs*, iv [Beirut 1971], 126-41). In a letter to the German consul, dated 2 January 1872, the Pasha of Jerusalem calls himself "gouverneur de la Palestine" (M. Maʿoz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period*, 25), but the Jerusalem administrative unit never comprised more than the southern part of the country. As from 1874 (as several times before) Jerusalem was an independent *mutaṣarriflik* directly responsible to Istanbul and was headed by a rather ramified administration, having besides departments for general administration, finance, *ṭābū* (land register), *waḳf*, security, agriculture, commerce and education, one for foreign affairs, a speciality necessitated by the many consulates and foreign nationals in the town. In the consultative bodies, both of the district and the city, Christians and Jews were represented, albeit less than warranted by their numbers.

The area of Jerusalem, its physical appearance and the size and composition of its population totally changed during this period. Cathedrals and churches, some new mosques, synagogues and yeshivas (rabbinical colleges), palaces of patriarchs, convents, hospices, schools (first schools for girls, Jewish 1864; Arab, a German foundation, 1868), scientific institutions, hospitals, clinics, orphanages and other charitable foundations were erected in and outside the Old City, see section B. As from 1860, the inhabitants of the Old City began to establish new quarters outside, with the Jews, who were particularly closely crammed, taking the lead. For a further twenty years, the gates remained closed during the nights, which was not conducive to the security of the suburbs. The Muslims preferred to settle in the south (Abū Tōr) and in particular north of the city, in Wādī Djōz and the hills west of it; the Greek Orthodox centred mostly in the vicinity of St. Simon, the summer residence of their patriarch (the Katamon quarter), and the Jews founded about sixty suburbs mostly in the west. The "German colony" of the Templars in the south-west, and the "American colony" in the north, largely inhabited by Swedes, were renowned as particularly roomy. Selma Lagerlöf's famous novel *Jerusalem* (1901-2) depicts, besides the religious and personal plights of Swedish pilgrims, also local representatives of Islamic mysticism, inspired probably by the *imām* of the Shaykh Djarrāh mosque near the American colony, who was a leading Ṣūfī.

The events of the Young Turkish revolution of 1908, the disappointment following it and of World War I, with its terrible sufferings by an oppressive military dictatorship, famine and epidemics and the subsequent shrinking of the population—all these belong to the general history of the country. An often-reproduced photograph shows the British general Allenby entering the Holy City on 11 December 1917 on foot, displaying Christian humility.

15. *After 1917*. The military government of the British occupation army was replaced by civil administration on 1 July 1920. Jerusalem, as the seat of the Mandatory government, of the executives of the Jewish world organisations for Palestine, of the national council of the Jews of Palestine, of the Muslim Supreme Council (created in 1921), the various Christian church authorities and other local and foreign bodies, recovered, albeit slowly, from the effects of World War I. According to the census of 1931, the population comprised 90,503 souls, of whom 51,222 were Jews, 19,894 Muslims, 19,335 Christians and 52 others. It increased to about 150,000 at the beginning of World War II.

During the Mandatory period, important public buildings were erected, such as Government House (later the headquarters of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation), the Hebrew University campus and the Hadassah Hospital compound on Mount Scopus, the Pontifical Biblical Institute and the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, the YMCA and several new churches, and a great number of schools. New suburbs were founded, some of which quickly developed into populous centres.

The composition of the municipal corporation council experienced many changes, but always a Muslim mayor was appointed, although the vast majority of the population, and especially of the taxpayers, was Jewish. When, after the death of a Muslim mayor in 1944, the Jewish acting mayor demanded to be appointed officially, the council was dissolved and replaced by a commission composed exclusively of British officials.

The Pro-Jerusalem Society, whose committee comprised leading religious dignitaries, prominent scholars and other outstanding Jerusalem personalities, was indicative of the hopes for co-operation prevailing in the years immediately following the arrival of the British; its subsequent dissolution manifested the change of hearts and conditions. An interconfessional meeting place of longer duration was the Palestine Oriental Society, which had its seat in Jerusalem and in which local, British, American, French and other scholars joined efforts. The newly founded Hebrew University (opened 1925), the British, French, American and Pontifical institutes for archaeological and biblical studies and the ever-increasing number of writers (e.g. S. Y. Agnon, Nobel Prize winner) and artists of all descriptions created a lively intellectual atmosphere. The Government Arab College, led by the jovial savant Aḥmad Sāmiḥ al-Khālidī, laid the foundations for the rise of a new generation of Arab intellectuals in the country. Younger writers connected with the Government Department of Education, such as Isḥāḳ Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī and A. L. Ṭibāwī, published the first fruits of their pens. Jerusalem authors, such as Isʿāf al-Nashāshībī, Khalīl al-Sakākīnī and Khalīl Baydas, enjoyed good standing in the world of Arabic letters. Alongside with all these developments much of the traditional life of the various communities and their subsections continued almost unchanged.

The clash of the national aspirations of Arabs and Jews affected the destinies of Jerusalem more than that of any other city in Palestine. The first bloody events occurred in Jerusalem in April 1920 with several Jews and Arabs killed and many wounded. Al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, who had been condemned to death by a military court as main instigator of the disturbances and exempted from the amnesty granted by the new High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel when he took office, was appointed by him soon afterwards as *muftī* of Jerusalem and then elected head of the Supreme Muslim Council

created by the government (1921). For the next seventeen years al-Ḥādjdj Amīn strove for unrestricted leadership of the Palestine Arabs, which brought him into conflict with other leaders, especially the mayor of Jerusalem, Rāghib al-Nashāshībī and the *amīr* (since 1946 king) ʿAbd Allāh of Transjordan. The Western Wall - Burāḳ [*q.v.*] affair, which led to the shocking events of August 1929 (when, however, Jerusalem suffered less than Ṣafad and Hebron) greatly enhanced al-Ḥādjdj Amīn's prestige, and so did his collections in India and elsewhere for repairs on the Ḥaram and the organisation of the Muslim Conference convened in Jerusalem in 1931. The burial in the same year of the Indian leader Muḥammad ʿAlī in the western portico of the Ḥaram was another significant step in arousing the interest of the Muslim world.

The mass immigration of Jewish refugees in 1933 and after led to a general uprising of the Arab population and ferocious fighting. Internecine warfare between the followers of al-Ḥādjdj Amīn and his adversaries acerbated the situation. Among the many victims were the British archaeologist J. L. Starkey, famous as discoverer of the Lachish ostraca, and two fine Arabists, Levi Billig of the Hebrew University and Avinoam Yellin of the Government Department of Education, known to many students of Arabic as authors of a useful classical Arabic reader.

The Peel Royal Commission, sent out in 1936 to investigate the situation, for the first time recommended the creation of an Arab and a Jewish state and the conversion of Jerusalem, together with Bethlehem, into a separate unit remaining under British mandate. But neither this nor any other of the subsequent attempts of the mandatory government to find a solution led to results. On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolution 189 (II) calling for the division of Palestine into two states, but united by economic union. Jerusalem was to be "internationalised".

Immediately after this decision the country was in flames. Jerusalem in particular suffered great losses in lives and property even before 15 May 1948, the official end of the British mandate. An Egyptian detachment took position in the Bethlehem area, while the Transjordanian Arab Legion attacked the Jewish quarter in the Old City. It was left by its Jewish population on 27 May and subsequently demolished, including its old Sefaradi synagogues and the two large Ashkenazi synagogues, the Ḥurva (dedicated 1865) and Nisan Bak (1872), whose cupolas had been landmarks of Jerusalem.

The ceasefire divided Jerusalem by a line slightly west of the western wall of the Old City. This left a number of predominantly non-Jewish quarters within the Israeli sector, while Mount Scopus with its University and Hadassah Hospital compounds formed an Israeli enclave, which soon became useless, since the free access to it, envisaged in the armistice agreement with Transjordan of 3 April 1949, was never granted. East Jerusalem was cut off from its electricity and water supply and from its direct routes to the West and the South. Both parties had to work hard before a semblance of normality was restored.

On 13 December 1948 the Transjordanian parliament resolved the annexation of the areas of Palestine occupied by the Arab Legion. Israel followed suit by transferring its parliament from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in February 1949 and proclaiming Jerusalem its capital on 13 December 1949. Both actions were in contradiction of the U.N. resolution of November 1947, which had foreseen Jerusalem as a *corpus separatum*. The matter came up repeatedly in the U.N. until 1952, when it was left dormant, until the war of 1967 created an entirely new situation.

The history of the Israeli sector of Jerusalem during the years 1948-1967 lies outside the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that during this period it received most of the administrative and cultural edifices a modern society needs. The eastern sector had lost its status as part of a capital, but still was the main city of the West Bank and developed also as a centre of tourism. It expanded greatly towards the north, engulfing Shaʿfāṭ and other villages. Important public buildings, founded by both local and foreign authorities, were erected and stately new hotels were built to cope with the developing tourist trade. ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, a former senior official of the Mandatory regime and meritorious author of books on Jerusalem and on the Beersheba district and its tribes, became mayor of Jerusalem. The last Jordanian mayor was Rūḥī al-Khaṭīb (Rouhi el Khatib) of a Hebron family, thus personifying the considerable influx of Hebronites into Jerusalem during its Jordanian period. The ups and downs of inner-Arab politics with regard to the legal status of Jerusalem and Jordan's rights on it belong to history. Jordan's rule left a permanent imprint by the restoration work carried out in the *ḥaram al-sharīf*, in particular, the golden dome and the ceramic inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock. The murder of King ʿAbd Allāh while proceeding from the Aḳṣā mosque on 21 July 1951 did not have the far-reaching consequences expected by his assassins. Fires broke out during this period both in the Holy Sepulchre and the Aḳṣā mosque, but did not give rise to any demonstrations or diplomatic moves. The visit of Pope Paul VI in January 1964 to both sectors of Jerusalem showed his deep concern for the Holy City.

The war of 1967, which lasted in Jerusalem only three days (Monday-Wednesday 5-7 June) caused loss of precious lives, but comparatively little damage. The Jordanians had occupied the U.N. headquarters and tried to encircle the new city from the south, but this attempt failed. The main fighting was in the north. After having taken the positions on the north-eastern hills, the Israeli forces entered the Old City from the St. Stephen's (Lions) Gate, *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*, finding but little resistance. The barriers between the two sectors of the city were removed, the eastern sector was immediately connected with the Israeli water system and received other municipal services and on 28 June 1967 the inhabitants of the two sectors were permitted to move freely throughout the town.

Naturally, this sudden turn of events at first had a stunning effect on the population of East Jerusalem. There were also great socio-economic difficulties. The middle class, especially the circles connected with the Jordanian administration and courts, was particularly affected. But the enormous expansion of the city in the subsequent years, which provided work and income for almost everyone, greatly alleviated the economic situation and brought about many contacts between the two parts of Jerusalem. But this did by no means solve the political problem. Strikes and acts of terror were not uncommon, but under the leadership of Teddy Kollek, mayor of the united city, the policy devised and implemented was one of non-intervention in the daily life and communal institutions of the Muslim population. The

most conspicuous expression of this policy was to be found in the exclusive control which the Muslim religious institutions retained on the mosques of the Temple Mount and in the continued independent activities of the Muslim *Waḳf* and religious courts.

The declarations and actions of the Israeli authorities aiming at the "reunification" of Jerusalem were immediately followed by resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the U.N. calling for a return to the *status quo* prior to the war, as well as by protests on the side of Muslim bodies all over the world. The creation of a huge square in front of the Western Wall and of secure approaches to the inner city involved the demolition of a considerable number of Arab dwellings. Although such measures had been envisaged already in Ottoman times and although the inhabitants were indemnified, these were, of course, grave actions. Relevant complaints were submitted by Jordan to U.N., as from June 1967 but were described by Israel as grossly exaggerated. The fire damage caused to the Aḳṣā mosque on 21 August 1969 by a deranged Christian tourist from Australia made great stirrings in the Muslim world and it took some time until the truth penetrated.

About a year after the fire, the Muslim Council began repairing the damage caused by the fire. The repairs took several years and are practically completed. During the process of the work many parts of the mosque were built anew, including areas which were not damaged during the fire. With the funds of the Muslim *Waḳf* several ancient drinking fountains and the market of the cotton merchants were restored, existing mosques were repaired, and two new mosques were built.

Besides the monuments described in part B. and the vibrant folklife in the Old City, Jerusalem offers much of interest to the Islamist. The Palestine ("Rockefeller") Museum contains unique exhibits from Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*] and other treasures of Islamic art and archaeology. The Khālidiyya library in the Old City possesses valuable manuscripts, including some not listed in the *Barnāmadj al-maktaba al-Khālidiyya*, Jerusalem 1318, and so does the library of the Hebrew University. The Oriental reading room of the University library is an exceptionally good working library for Islamic studies. The Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Hebrew University harbours, among other collections, a Concordance of Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry, comprising at present over a million-and-half index cards, while the newly created L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute of Islamic Art (officially opened on 9 October 1974) can boast of exquisite examples of Islamic art and workmanship.

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(S. D. Goitein)

B. Monuments

The Islamic monuments of Jerusalem reflect at the same time the unique character of the Holy City itself with its complex memories translated into major works of architecture or into mystical and liturgical associations and the pecularities of the Muslim rule of the city as it has been outlined in the historical section A of this article. With the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem possesses the first consciously-created masterpiece of Islamic art, while the city remains unique among almost all Muslim cities in the manner in which its Muslim monuments are almost entirely concentrated in one part of the city, on or near the Ḥaram al-Sharīf [*q.v.*]. The first feature reflects the singular position of Jerusalem in early Umayyad times, while the second one is a direct result of the city's unique character. Any understanding of Jerusalem's monumental history requires, therefore, both an awareness of the city's archaeology, i.e. of its own peculiar relationship between a complicated topography and remains from former civilisations, and a knowledge of the types of official, religious, emotional, and financial investments which Muslim culture put into it at various times. As has been shown in the historical part, the latter changed considerably over the centuries and the changes affected the growth and the meaning of monuments in a way which is totally unique in Islamic history. While the presentation which follows is primarily historical, it should be borne in mind that eventually a similar survey could and should be made quarter by quarter, or else from the point of view of the type of political or pietistic associations which have surrounded the Muslim monuments of Jerusalem.

There is no complete study of Jerusalem's Islamic monuments as a whole. The most thorough investigation is that of Max van Berchem, which utilises simultaneously inscriptions, architectural remains, and written sources, especially the invaluable guidebook of Mud͟jīr al-Dīn. Since his time a number of monographs have modified our understanding of the two main buildings on the Ḥaram (we will use the term for convenience's sake, even though it did not become common until the Ottomans, see AL-ḤARAM AL-S͟HARĪF), the Dome of the Rock and the Aḳṣā mosque, while recent and still unfinished excavations to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram have introduced a large number of new elements in any understanding of the city in early Islamic times. A survey of Jerusalem's Ayyūbid and Mamlūk remains has only recently been initiated and very little has been published so far. The bibliography which follows this essay gives an idea of the considerable amount of information we possess about Jerusalem, but this very abundance identifies the main problem faced by the investigator of the city's monuments, which is to determine what in them is typical of Islamic culture as a whole and what is unique to a unique city. We shall return to this question at the end of our survey. In the meantime, it has seemed preferable to describe the city's growth chronologically and to identify in it four major periods of development: (1) early Islamic up to the middle of the 4th/10th century; (2) from the middle of the 4th/10th century to the Crusades (492/1099); (3) Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, from the time of the reconquest at the end of the 6th/12th century to *ca.* 1500; (4) Ottoman period. No mention is made of the city's development after its awakening to the modern world in the 19th century, for by then we are no longer dealing with an Islamic city in the traditional sense but with a modern town searching for ways to accommodate its own unique spiritual and emotional values with the pressures of contemporary life. Much thought has been given to these problems in Jerusalem since the first reports sponsored by British mandatory authorities and by various ecclesiastical groups. Their investigation and discussion belongs, however, to modern urbanism rather than to the understanding of a Muslim city.

1. *Early Islamic, until the middle of the 4th/10th century.*

All later developments in the monumental history of Jerusalem were affected by the manner of the

city's conquest and by the circumstances surrounding its first Muslim settlements. However uncertainly known the actual events of the conquest may have been, one key archaeological point is clear: the huge Herodian setting for the Jewish Temple on the eastern side of the city was standing in ruins; many courses of its magnificent masonry, most of its gates, possible fragments of its towers could still be recognised, and its surface as well as the surrounding areas were littered with easily-accessible stones from its constructions. For scriptural reasons, the Christians had left the Herodian space unused except for a small and comparatively late memorial church to St. James in the south-western corner. South of the Temple area there were Christian hostels and monasteries, but apparently no major living areas, for the Christian city was concentrated in the western side of the town, around the hills of Zion and Golgotha, with the Holy Sepulchre and its attendant constructions as focal points. Whether or not there was a Byzantine wall enclosing the whole of Zion hill and the spur of Mount Moriah which overlooks Siloam from the north (the so-called wall of Eudocia) is still a moot question, but seems likely.

Almost as soon as the formal take-over had been completed, the Muslims appropriated for themselves the Herodian Temple area for their own administrative and religious purposes. The reasons for this act were many. It was a large empty space in a city in which by treaty the conquerors were not allowed to expropriate Christian buildings; the early Muslims were under the influence of Jewish converts with presumed knowledge of the area's holy significance; the Muslims may have wanted to show their opposition to the Christian belief that the area must stay empty; and, finally, the Muslims themselves may have had a spiritual attachment to Jerusalem before conquering it, though the possibility is difficult to demonstrate. But regardless of the reasons, the key point is that a huge space became available to the new culture in a striking location overlooking most of the city. It can furthermore be deduced from a variety of later developments that the earliest settlements by Muslims took place in the sparsely populated area south and south-west of the Temple.

There began then a monumental and ideological Islamisation of an ancient site, for which we possess a rather remarkable series of documents, even though all of its concrete modalities are still far from being clear. What occurred in effect is that the Muslims provided new and highly individual meanings to an existing space with different meanings. The following chronological scheme can be provided for this unusual development, although, as will be seen, much in it is still hypothetical.

First a small "rudely built . . . quadrangular place of prayer" (as described by the western pilgrim Arculfus *ca.* 680) was erected. It was mostly in wood and set somewhere in the midst of the Herodian ruins. Nothing is known of its internal arrangements, but it was probably a typically early Islamic hypostyle mosque. Its exact location is also unknown, although it is likely but by no means certain that it was not far from the place of the present Aḳṣā mosque. This building probably remained until the first decade of the 8th century, but, as will be seen below, there is a possibility that already under ʿAbd al-Malik a new building was begun. There is no textual or archaeological information as to whether any of the newly found buildings south and south-west of the Ḥaram belong to this very first period, but the possibility cannot be excluded.

The second step in the development of the Herodian site coincided with the rule of ʿAbd al-Malik. Its most remarkable monument is the Dome of the Rock completed in 71/691. Often described and often studied, it consists of two octagonal ambulatories around a dome-covered cylinder, 30.30 m. high and 20.30 m. in diameter. The dome is set over a huge rocky outcrop with an underground chamber. The building is provided with four axial gates preceded by often redone porches. The building is a remarkably thought-out composition whose every detail in plan and in evaluation has been most accurately measured so as to create the most impressive effect. Its conception, and almost every architectural detail in its interior arrangement (piers, columns, capitals, arches, etc.), belong to the architectural repertory of Byzantine art and more specifically to the *martyrium* tradition of Jerusalem buildings like the Holy Sepulchre or the church of the Ascension. It is from the same tradition that derives its internal decoration of marble panelling and especially of mosaics covering almost all wall surfaces above the capitals and cornices of piers and columns. There is both literary and archaeological evidence that the early building was also covered with mosaics on the outside. The subject matter of these mosaics is also derived from earlier artistic traditions, mostly Mediterranean, but also with a few themes of Iranian origin. These mosaics are often considered as typical examples of a pre-Islamic way of decorating the interior of major buildings. This is true to the extent that a rich variety of vegetal and occasionally geometric motifs, superbly adapted to the shapes provided by the architecture, have any number of models in earlier buildings, even though rarely preserved in such spectacular fashion. But there is quite a bit of originality in these mosaics as well. In subject matter two points are of importance. One is the presence of an imperial jewelry of Byzantine and Iranian origin on all wall faces directed toward the centre of the building. The other one is the absence of any representation of living beings several decades before we become aware of a partial Muslim prohibition of images. A long inscription, however, comprising primarily Ḳurʾānic quotations, has been shown to fulfill an iconographic purpose by its choice of passages, as will be discussed below. Stylistically, the mosaics are perhaps less unique, although their effect as a sort of sheath over the architecture rather than as a series of independent panels emphasising each part of the building may be understood as prefiguring the later use in Islamic art of decoration overwhelming the architectonic values of a monument.

The Dome of the Rock, as it appears today, is not entirely in its original shape. Beyond numerous repairs and restorations carried out over the centuries on basically original elements (particularly under the Fāṭimids and after the Crusades), there are two areas where later changes have completely obliterated earlier features. Inside, all the ceilings, including the dome, appear in Mamlūk or Ottoman garb and the whole exterior has been redone with superb coloured tiles in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. In the 1950s and 1960s the building was virtually taken apart by a team of Egyptian architects and engineers supported with contributions from the whole Muslim world and then put back together and restored in a particularly successful manner. Every part of the building was put back in the manner which reflects the earliest information we possess about it.

The most frequently-raised question about the

Dome of the Rock is that of its original purpose. Three explanations are available. One is that it is a building commemorating the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension (*isrāʾ* and *miʿrād̲j̲*); the second one is that it sought to replace the Meccan Kaʿba for Muslim pilgrimage; the third one is that it was a monument celebrating the new faith's presence in the city of Judaism and Christianity and its belonging to the same monotheistic tradition. Too many arguments (see above, section A and articles by Goitein and Grabar) exist against the second explanation to maintain its possibility. The first one has the advantage of corresponding to the eventual association which was and still is made by Muslim piety, but there is much doubt about the likelihood of its existence at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. The third explanation agrees with the political and psychological circumstances of the times and with the internal evidence of the decoration (with its royal symbols strung like trophies around the centre of the building) and especially of the inscriptions (which contain the whole Christology of the Ḳurʾān). For the history of art, the Dome of the Rock would then appear as an extraordinary monument which succeeded in providing new meanings to traditional forms.

But the construction of the Dome of the Rock raises a number of additional problems which pertain to the archaeological history of the city of Jerusalem. It is on an artificial platform situated excentrically to any other part of the former Temple area. The platform was reached through a series of stairs, some of which must have been there at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. Since we know otherwise that at the time of the Muslim conquest the Temple area was in ruins, we must conclude that by 71/691 a considerable amount of work had already been accomplished on the walls and pavements of the area as well as on its gates. The nature and extent of this work cannot be determined but, if it is true, as H. Stern believes (*contra* Creswell and Hamilton) that the earliest Aḳṣā mosque may have been begun at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, then we must also assume that much of the south walls of the Ḥaram and the Double and Triple gates had been rebuilt, for, as Corbett and Monneret de Villard have suggested, their plans and location may be Herodian but their construction and completion are early Islamic.

Be this as it may, the third step in the transformation of the Temple area by the Muslims can be dated to the time of al-Walīd (86-96/705-15). It is to him that we owe the first clearly documented Aḳṣā mosque (see, however, the controversies between Stern, Hamilton and Creswell). It was a building consisting of an uncertain number of naves perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall with a central nave provided with a dome (following here Stern *contra* Creswell). The plan was an unusual one for its time, and should probably be explained by the fact that the substructures of the Ḥaram platform which had to be restored by this time consisted of north-south arcades serving as supports for the building above. The Aḳṣā mosque was decorated with mosaics and with marble and was also provided with remarkable carved and painted woodwork, now kept in the Palestine Archaeological Museum and in the Aḳṣā Museum. One last point should be made about the Aḳṣā mosque. Although its internal organisation was but a modification of the hypostyle tradition prevalent at the time, it was quite consciously located on the same axis as the earlier Dome of the Rock and thus was part of an architecturally thought-out ensemble comprising a congregational and a commemorative building, just as in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre in the western part of Jerusalem. Although their exact chronology is still difficult to establish with any sort of precision, we may also assume that the group of large buildings with courts and with long rooms recently excavated to the south and to the south-west of the Ḥaram had been completed by the time of al-Walīd. Whether they were the palaces and administrative buildings (*dār al-imāra*) mentioned in papyri, whether they were commercial establishments or more simply the residence of whatever Arab families and clans moved into the city in early Islamic times, they form a striking monumental ensemble of large constructions along streets and stairs (partly Herodian) leading up to the Double Gate, at the time the main entrance into the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, or, as we probably must call it, the *masd̲j̲id bayt al-maḳdis*, the mosque of Jerusalem. It is at this time that we begin to have the first indications of specifically Muslim associations with the Ḥaram, whether strictly new ones pertaining to the life of the Prophet or Muslim versions of the lives of earlier prophets. These developments are, however, very difficult to date properly. What can be ascertained is that by the middle Umayyad period a uniquely original architectural composition had been created: two major buildings on a partly refurbished enormous space inherited from earlier times which, unlike the Roman temple in Damascus, was too large to be transformed into a single building for new Muslim functions, but which therefore ended up by acquiring particularly original ones.

The following two centuries are the least documented in the monumental history of Jerusalem. Yet their importance is considerable, not so much by their contribution to the architecture of the city (consisting mostly of repairs and restorations, including major reconstructions of the Aḳṣā mosque under al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī) as by the indications they provide of the continuing concern of the Muslim community at large for its sanctuary in Jerusalem. Part of this concern is purely practical; walls are built up or repaired after earthquakes; the area of the Ḥaram is officially measured and apparently surveyed, as appears from inscriptions which are our main source for this aspect of Muslim activities on the Ḥaram. Each gate was provided with a wooden porch ordered by the mother of al-Muḳtadir, who also paid for the repairs of the Dome of the Rock's cupola. A portico was built on the western and northern sides of the Ḥaram, thus providing a formal frame to the sanctuary; some of the minarets may be of that time.

But another concern is far more interesting. It consists in the growth of pious associations. The latter were certainly translated into buildings, although none of the latter are known to have survived and our information is entirely through the testimony of geographers like Ibn al-Faḳīh or al-Muḳaddasī or through littérateurs like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. Three themes appear in these associations which will remain constantly in the religious and architectural history of the Ḥaram: the Night Journey of the Prophet commemorated through a score of *maḳāms* and of *ḳubbas*, ancient prophets commemorated either through gates or through *miḥrābs*, and eschatology commemorated by the new interpretations given to the strange *Ḳubba al-Silsila* (Dome of the Chain, probably the Treasury of Umayyad times, see van Berchem) as the place of Judgement, by a *ḳubba* of

the Trumpet, or by the appearance of a new name to the Golden Gate, the Gate of Mercy. The theme of eschatology should probably be related to the development of the Muslim cemetery to the east of the Ḥaram into something more than just a local cemetery, for even the rulers of Ikhshīdid Egypt wanted to be buried there. But it is also true that funerary cults grew at that time in many parts of the Muslim world, although Jerusalem, as the town of the Prophets and of Resurrection, played a unique part in this growth.

Altogether, then, if one takes the time of al-Muḳaddasī (*ca.* 385/985) as the terminal point of the first period in the monumental history of Jerusalem, one can clearly see that its most remarkable achievement was the transformation of Herod's ruined Temple into a unique Muslim sanctuary, by then already accepted as the third most important sanctuary of the faith. Dominated by the Dome of the Rock, high above the whole city, comprising a large mosque with a cupola, full of new commemorative buildings of varying sizes, partly surrounded by a portico, with almost all of its gates underground leading to the Muslim quarters to the south and possibly also to the west, the Ḥaram must have been a very impressive sight, a fitting tribute to the Umayyad princes who initiated the transformation of an empty space full of memories into a Muslim holy place. But beyond such conclusions as can be drawn from the buildings of Jerusalem in early Islamic times for religious and cultural history, they also lead to a number of important conclusions for the historian of art. For, on the one hand, they illustrate the ways in which pre-Islamic themes have been transformed into Islamic ones and, on the other, they are our best examples of what may be called an imperial Islamic style initiated by the Umayyad dynasty.

Little is known about Islamic constructions outside the Ḥaram area. From an inscription analysed by van Berchem and from a passage in the Christian chronicler Eutychius (*Matériaux, Ville*, no. 24), it appears that in the early 4th/10th century a mosque was built within the compound of the Holy Sepulchre in contradiction to the early treaties between Muslims and Christians. Nothing is known of its shape.

2. *From ca. 338/950 to the Crusaders.*

In many ways, the second period is nothing but a continuation of the first one. Repairs and restorations are recorded in texts and in inscriptions as buildings deteriorated or as they were damaged by man or by nature. But two phenomena identified primarily with the Fāṭimid dynasty appear to indicate more significant changes.

The first of these affected the whole city of Jerusalem. It is that under the caliph al-Ẓāhir, probably around 421-4/1030-3, the walls of the city were rebuilt and, more importantly, shortened on the south side of the city to approximately their present position. What this meant is that the traditional Muslim quarter to the south of the Ḥaram was abandoned and that the underground gates found there were blocked. The main entrances into the sanctuary were shifted to the west and possibly to the north. This involved certain changes in the names of gates (cf. Ḥaram), but it also involved a major building-up of the western gate, the present Bāb al-Silsila, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was there in 438/1047, describes the brilliance of its mosaics, apparently similar to those of the Aḳṣā mosque which are Fāṭimid (cf. below). It is also from the Persian traveller that we can infer that the commercial centre of the city had by then shifted to the area west of the sanctuaries, probably to where it is now.

The second phenomenon is the rebuilding of the Aḳṣā mosque also under al-Ẓāhir. Probably as a reflection of a depopulation in the city, the mosque diminished in size to approximately its present dimensions, but the most remarkable feature of the Fāṭimid mosque consists in its mosaic decoration, studied by Henri Stern who showed, among other things, that the Fāṭimids used Umayyad models in their decoration. If one considers that a number of additional buildings were built on the Ḥaram—for instance a mosque near the Golden Gate—and that the imperial mosaic inscription on the triumphal arch of the Aḳṣā is the first one in Jerusalem to begin with Ḳurʾān, xvii, 1, the *isrāʾ* verse, one may propose the hypothesis that there had been a formal attempt by the dynasty to build up the holiness of Jerusalem's sanctuaries. This development, which was cut short in the second half of the 5th/11th century by political difficulties, must probably be connected with other Fāṭimid activities in Palestine, as exemplified for instance in the celebrated *minbar* now in Hebron (G. Wiet, *Notes d'épigraphie arabe*, in *Syria*, v [1924], 217 ff.) and even with the earlier destruction of the Holy Sepulchre under al-Ḥākim. All these matters still require fuller investigation. What is important at this stage is that, even though the city had diminished in size, the Fāṭimids, probably for religious and political reasons of their own, sought to increase both the splendour and the meaning of the main sanctuaries of Jerusalem.

It should also be pointed out that it is under the Fāṭimids that we have our first evidence for the use of the citadel on the western side of the city. The evidence is primarily archaeological.

3. *The Ayyūbids and Mamlūks.*

As is well known, the Crusaders took over the Ḥaram area and transformed it into a palace and eventually into the military and religious centre of the Knights Templar. Since the earlier underground gates had been blocked, the Crusaders made a new gate, the so-called Single Gate leading directly into the Stables of Solomon in the north-eastern part of the sanctuary. In addition, the Crusaders modified the Holy Sepulchre and built many new churches, some of which, like the Church of St. Anne, still survive, even though in a slightly romanticised 19th century garb. Much in the city's topography during the time of the Latin Kingdom is not clear, but it does seem that they initiated many buildings in the valley immediately east of the Ḥaram and thus began the process of partial levelling of the Ḥaram's platform with its western surroundings which has continued from that moment onwards. Finally, it should be noted that the Crusaders were very active builders and, even though much of their work was destroyed, it provided an enormous supply of already-carved stones with the result that, in addition to remaining completed units such as the transept of the Aḳṣā mosque, a large number of subsequent Muslim buildings, especially in the area of the Bāb al-Silsila or in adjoining streets, contain decorative units taken from Latin constructions.

It is possible to discuss as one entity the monuments built in Jerusalem between 1200 and 1500 for two main reasons. One is that the nearly ninety original monuments which remain (not to speak of those mentioned in Mudjīr al-Dīn's chronicle) have

not been studied with as much attention as the earlier ones, and stylistic or functional differentiations which doubtlessly occurred cannot therefore be identified as precisely. The second reason is that, partly because of their number and partly because they are functionally and even stylistically relatable to monuments found in Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo, these monuments lend themselves more readily than the earlier ones to typological rather than to chronological definition.

One kind of architectural activity which followed the Crusades does, however, escape this general rule. It consisted in the task of re-Islamising the city. Churches were destroyed or transformed into mosques and the two main sanctuaries on the Ḥaram were systematically cleansed of as many traces of Christian occupation as possible. This activity was particularly notable in the Aḳṣā mosque, where Saladin put up a new *miḥrāb* with a rare mosaic decoration and to which he transported Nūr al-Dīn's celebrated *minbar* made especially for Jerusalem and which was tragically destroyed in 1969 (cf. the historical section, § 15, above). In addition, Saladin and his immediate followers sought to repair, rebuild, and resanctify all the holy places which had existed on the Ḥaram. As van Berchem showed on several occasions, this task was carried out in some confusion and led to any number of misunderstandings. On the whole, however, it seems that the old sanctuary was returned quite rapidly to its former shape but not necessarily splendour, for, as will be shown presently, a totally new taste affected its western and northern sides.

One can put into the same category of refurbishing the city of Jerusalem the rebuilding of its walls. Inscriptions, texts, and masonries are for the time being quite confusing for the establishment of a coherent chronology of the fortifications from the 7th/13th century until the Ottomans. It is not even certain whether the present walls coincide with those rebuilt under the Ayyūbids, although what differences may have existed were probably minimal. The citadel on the western side of the city, whose use by the Muslims before the Crusades is still uncertainly documented either archaeologically or through literary sources, was entirely redone and remained in use as a typical late mediaeval *ḳalʿa* until very recent times.

Within a walled city with its restored ancient sanctuary and with a diminished Christian population, an enormous building activity took place over three centuries. Its first characteristic is that it was almost entirely concentrated on the Ḥaram proper and on its western and northern sides, either alongside the sanctuary itself or along the streets leading to it. Only two Muslim buildings are known with certainty in the whole western half of the city. Its second characteristic is that it was a continuous activity. It is true of course that one can recognise and identify certain particularly active moments, such as the twenties and thirties of the 8th/14th century, during the times of the remarkable governor Tenkiz or else the times of Ḳāʾitbāy in the 9th/15th century. But these clusters of activity, which deserve individual monographs, should not hide the fact that buildings were erected all the time and by an extraordinary broad social spectrum of sponsors.

The functions of the buildings are typical of any place in the Mamlūk period: schools, orphanages, libraries, *madrasas*, baths, *k͟hānaḳāhs*, *ribāṭs*, hospitals, commercial establishments, caravanserais, public latrines, fountains. The only apparent peculiarity of Jerusalem when compared to Cairo or to Aleppo is the preponderance of purely charitable institutions over private mosques, *madrasas*, and mausoleums, the latter being quite scarce. This latter point obviously reflects the practicality of Muslim piety as well as the fact that, as a politically provincial city, Jerusalem did not lend itself to the conspicuous consumption inherent in the construction of mausoleums.

Few plans and elevations are available for these buildings but, when they do exist, the plans appear to be variations of the ubiquitous central plan (often covered, either because of the small size of the buildings or because of the impact of another tradition of construction than Cairo's) with one to four *īwāns*. The most visible feature of each building was always its façade, and Jerusalem is provided with an unusually wide range of Mamlūk portals. There are few variations in their plans, but many in their elevation, especially in the types of vaults used. Superb *muḳarnas* series coexist with simple barrel vaults and the zone of transition of the Bāb al-Silsila's domes exhibit the remarkable range of models available to local masons and architects. Of all the buildings the most remarkable ones are the Tenkiziyya, the Arg͟hūniyya, and the Sūḳ al-Kattānīn for the 8th/14th century and the As͟hrafiyya or the jewel-like fountain of Ḳāʾitbāy on the Ḥaram for the 9th/15th one. The construction is throughout of stone and all monuments exhibit the superb technique of Palestinian masonry: closely jointed courses often of stone of alternating colour, joggled voussoirs, sobriety of decoration consisting usually of mouldings around openings or of inscriptions. While it will eventually be possible to determine a number of stylistic details which will identify a Jerusalem style of architecture, the main impression given by most of these monuments is that they exemplify the consistently high standards of Mamlūk architecture all over Syria and Egypt.

The more important aspect of all these constructions lies in the manner in which they have transformed the Ḥaram. For instead of being simply an area surrounded by a portico and reached through a number of more or less monumental gates, the northern and western sides of the Ḥaram became a show place of façades to buildings whose function was no longer connected to the Ḥaram but received a certain value or grace from it. Thus the most magnificent gateway on the Ḥaram is not an entrance to it but to the bazaar of cloth merchants. The older, traditional gates with their consecrated names lost their importance. The Ḥaram itself became cluttered with all sorts of new buildings which detract by their very multiplicity from the main sanctuaries, inasmuch as many of them were for private or restricted use as places of prayer or for public charity rather than for the formal expression of the faith's beliefs. What seems to be involved is at the same time a different, far more practical and more pluralistic piety, and also a different taste, no longer the imperial taste of the Umayyads nor probably that of the Fāṭimids, but the taste of a wider social order which sought individual salvation through works rather than through the monumental glorification of the faith.

4. *The Ottomans*.

During the first years of Ottoman rule, earlier practices continued and a *madrasa* like the Risāsiyya (947/1540) still follows Mamlūk practice and Mamlūk ideals. A large number of fountains are even later.

But the main effort of the Ottoman dynasty in its heyday was once again an imperial one, and it is therefore not an accident that its two most spectacular achievements are still among the most impressive monuments of the city. One is the tile revetment of the Dome of the Rock and the other one is in the walls and gates of Jerusalem. Both are essentially 10th/16th century achievements attributed to Sulaymān the Magnificent, and it is important to note that neither one sought to be functionally or spiritually original. For regardless of their effectiveness, which is striking indeed, their main point is that they have managed to capture two consistent themes in the monumental history of Jerusalem: the creation of a new Muslim holy place and the symbolic as well as physical separation of the Holy City from the rest of the world.

After this century, the main activity of the Ottomans consisted in constant repairs of the main sanctuaries of the Ḥaram. The quality of these repairs decreased with the centuries as Ottoman wealth decreased and as Jerusalem declined in population and importance, until the second half of the 19th century brought a new, European-centred, significance and architecture into the city.

In the most recent years, two different types of investigations have been carried out in Islamic Jerusalem. The first one is the continuation and partial publication of excavations to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram. These have by now fully demonstrated that the Umayyads utilised and probably rebuilt the staircases of Herodian origin leading to the sanctuary. See N. Avigad, *Archaeological discoveries in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, Second Temple period*, Jerusalem 1976, and Mayer Ben-Dov, *Hashiridim min hatikufa hamuslamit hakaduma beʿazor har habayit*, in *Qadmoniot* (Jerusalem 1972).

The second group of investigations are the studies of Mamlūk monuments by A. Walls and M. Burgoyne, published in vols. iii (1971) onwards of *Levant, Jnal. of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, and with a checklist by Burgoyne, *The architecture of Islamic Jerusalem*, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1976. In addition to providing accurate plans and elevations of buildings to the west of the Ḥaram, these studies have at times dealt with broader issues and a particularly original note by A. Walls in *Levant*, viii (1976), 159-61, suggests that the construction of the minarets of Afḍal ʿAlī (1465-6) and of the Ṣalāḥiyya (1417) in the western and primarily Christian part of the city served to frame symbolically the domes of the Holy Sepulchre with prototypical Muslim monuments.

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Much less work has been done on the later periods. See O. Grabar, *A new inscription*, in *Studies in honour of K. A. C. Creswell*, Cairo 1965; A. Miquel, *Jérusalem arabe*, in *B. Et. Or.*, xvi (1961); L. Golvin, *Quelques notes sur le Suq al-Qattanin*, in *B. Et. Or.*, xx (1967); M. H. Burgoyne, *Some Mameluke doorways*, in *Levant*, from iii 1971 to present; *idem*, *The architecture of Islamic Jerusalem*, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem 1976. For the citadel, C. H. Johns, *The Citadel*, in *QDAP*, xiv (1950).

No understanding of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages can avoid a thorough awareness of pre-Islamic Jerusalem. Among the huge bibliography dealing with the latter, the most convenient works are L. H. Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, Paris 1954, summarising and revising his older work; J. Simons, *Jerusalem*, Leiden 1954; and M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba mosaic*, Jerusalem 1954.

Several general books have provided valuable introductions to Islamic Jerusalem, even though many of them still tend to deal primarily with pre-Islamic times. The most accurate ones are Y. Yadin, *Jerusalem revealed*, New Haven 1975 and Israel Pocket Library, *Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1973. An exception with good photographs is A. Duncan, *The Noble Sanctuary*, London 1972. An interesting but controversial book about the future is A. Kutcher, *The new Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1973. (O. GRABAR)

KUDSĪ, MUHAMMAD DJĀN, poet at the Mughal court in India. He was born and raised in Mashhad, from where he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was then engaged in the grocery trade before he went to India. In 1041/1632 he joined the ranks of the Emperor Shāh Djahān's poets. Dāghistānī, the author of the *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ*, states that Kudsī preceded Kalīm as poet-laureate to Shāh Djahān, but this is not confirmed by contemporary sources. He died in Lahore in 1056/1646-7 and, according to Ādhar's *Ātash-kada*, his remains were removed to Khurāsān.

Kudsī's poems are distinguished by a felicity of style. Like Kalīm, he was also engaged to compose a poetic history of Shāh Djahān's reign. Though less talented than his more famous contemporary, he seems to have been held in high esteem, and was regarded as a leading poet of his day.

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KUDUMMUL, a small volcanic island in the Red Sea in 17° 52′ N lat., called Kotumble on the English Admiralty charts and Qotanbul in *Admiralty handbook, Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 133. The island has a rich flora, which has been studied by the botanist Ehrenberg, and is noteworthy for its iron deposits, which are mentioned as early as the geographer Ibn al-Mudjāwir (d. 630/1233). Kudummul, which lies near Ḥamiḍa on the Arabian coast off ʿAsīr [*q.v.*], once marked the boundary between the land of the Kināna and Yemen.

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AL-ḲUDŪRĪ, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN/AL-ḤASAN AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. DJAʿFAR B. ḤAMDĀN AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Ḥanafī *faḳīh* who was born and who died at Baghdād (362-5 Radjab 428/972-24 April 1037). He was head of the Ḥanafī school in ʿIrāḳ, and had occasion to lead several public discussions, in which he defended his own viewpoint, with his contemporary, the Shāfiʿī Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāʾinī, whom he however especially revered. A number of pupils gathered around him, the most famous of whom was al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*].

As well as various works like his *K. al-Nikāḥ* on marriage and his *K. al-Tadjrīd* on the differences between the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs, al-Ḳudūrī wrote a *Mukhtaṣar*, which had a great scholarly renown and enjoyed a sanctity comparable to the *Risāla* of al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*] amongst the Mālikīs. It is a concise legal manual, but is clearer than the one of the same name by Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]; it deals with ritual, contracts, personal status, criminal law and the law of succession, without particular care for logical order. This *Mukhtaṣar* inspired many commentaries, including e.g. *al-Djawhara al-nayyira* of Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbādī (Istanbul 1301, 1314, 1323, Delhi 1327) and *al-Lubāb fī sharḥ al-Kitāb* of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maydānī (in the margins of the previous work, and Cairo 1344/1927). Numerous mss. of the *Mukhtaṣar* exist, which has been published many times, notably at Delhi in 1847, at Bombay in 1303 with trs. in Persian and Pashto, at Istanbul in 1281 with a Turkish paraphrase, and in 1309 also. The chapter on the holy war was edited and translated into Latin by Rosenmüller, in *Analecta arabica*, Leipzig 1825-6, and in French by Ch. Solve, Paris 1829; that on marriage was edited and translated by G. Helmsdörfer, Frankfurt 1832; and more recently, G.-H. Bousquet and L. Bercher edited and translated extensive passages in *Le statut personel en droit musulman hanéfite*, Tunis n.d.

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AL-KŪFA, one of the two cities (*miṣr* [*q.v.*]), along with Baṣra [*q.v.*], founded in ʿIrāḳ by early Islam. A permanent military establishment of the Arabs in Mesopotamia, Kūfa retained the whole of the ʿIrāḳī *Sawād* [*q.v.*] under its control. It participated actively in the Islamic expansion into Iranian territory, and, throughout the 1st/7th century, was a hotbed of intense political ferment. It was there also, as at Baṣra, that there took place for three centuries the gestation of Arabo-Islamic civilisation and culture. Then Kūfa experienced decline and ruin; today only a few traces remain, mostly of late date or restored.

Kūfa was founded in 17/638 by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], the victor of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], after the whole of ʿIrāḳ had been wrested from the hands of the Sāsānids and notably after the capture of Madāʾin-Ctesiphon (16/637), whose climate the Arabs could not endure. But other no less important reasons must be added to this: given the existence of a willingness to settle and immigrate, ʿUmar preferred to keep the Arabs grouped together and segregated from the peoples and territory conquered, in a relationship of spatial continuity with Arabia. This presupposes that, very swiftly, these main ideas were issued which set out to dictate the relationship of conquering people-conquered peoples: no dispersal in the *Sawād* or agricultural settlement, maintenance of the military striking force, the setting-up of a newly-originated fiscal system which would tap the revenues of the ʿIrāḳī territory without direct exploitation on the part of the Arabs, all this resting upon the co-existence of Arab clans very dissimilar in their origin. The role of the new state and the new religion as tutelary power and unifying principle was also implicitly taken into consideration. There is no doubt that ʿUmar wished to make of it the experimental melting-pot of his system, given concrete form by the establishment of the *dīwān* between 20 and 23/640-3.

I. The city of Kūfa.

Kūfa, a creation *ex nihilo*, was placed at the edge of the Arabian steppe, but on the bank of the principal branch of the middle Euphrates, guarding the passage to Bābil and, from there, Ctesiphon, a few miles to the north-east of al-Ḥīra; an excellent position of contact, astride two worlds, somewhat familiar to the Arab army due to its being situated in the region of al-Ḳādisiyya. Kūfa, placed on the right bank of the Euphrates, on a tongue (*lisān*) of dry, grey sand mixed with gravel, was slightly above the water level. It escaped floods, was well-supplied with water, and enjoyed a salubrious climate.

We do not know with exactitude the origin of the word Kūfa. The Arab historians and geographers, as they were accustomed, made of it a common noun designating any surface of rounded sand, but obviously, this appears to be a reconstruction a *posteriori*. Massignon derives it from the Syriac ʿAḳūla,

basing it in particular on Chinese testimony; a text of al-Ṭabarī situates the place ʿAḳūl between the Euphrates and the houses of Kūfa, probably to the north of the *miṣr*. Perhaps it is nearer the truth to see its origin in the Persianised form Kūba (Sarkis, in *Sumer* [1954]). Only a text of Sayf b. ʿUmar (al-Ṭabarī, ed. Cairo, iv, 40 ff.) gives some detailed information on the first settlement, on the *takhṭīṭ* of the mosque and the palace, and the apportioning of land to the tribes, clans and fragments of tribes, who constituted the army of Madāʾin. This has to be rectified and completed in the light of other historical and geographical texts. A public area was at first delimited; this was to include essentially the mosque and the governor's palace, and to become the focal point from which the whole encampment branched out. Fifteen *manāhidj* or avenues separating the tribal lots, each forty cubits wide, radiated from this central area. Along the five *manāhidj* of the north were settled the tribes Sulaym, Thaḳīf, Hamdān, Badjīla, Taghlib and Taym al-Lāt; to the south, the Asad, Nakhaʿ, Kinda and Azd; to the east, the Anṣār, Muzayna, Tamīm and Muḥārib, Asad and ʿĀmir; finally, to the west, Badjāla, Badjila, Djadīla and Djuhayna. This picture, it may be seen, contradicts a tradition of al-Shaʿbī cited by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 276) according to which all the Yemenīs were placed to the east, between the mosque and the Euphrates, and the Nizārīs to the west, a tradition which study of the topography of Kūfa as it appears from the narratives on the great revolts of the 1st/7th century does not corroborate. But it is beyond doubt that some alterations were effected by historical evolution in this picture of tribal geography: the Tamīm, in particular, migrated from the east to the west with the ʿAbs. The problem of the great tribes of Rabīʿa, Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays still remains. For the most part, the Bakr migrated to Baṣra, but a certain number of them settled at Kūfa—including the ancient family of Dhu 'l-Djaddayn. As for ʿAbd al-Ḳays, initially established at Baṣra, they were possibly moved on a large scale to Kūfa at the time of the caliphate of ʿAlī, to leave it again in 40/660 for Baṣra. In any event, a certain number of characteristic features of the tribal establishment at Kūfa are to be noted: settlement of the main part—but not the whole—of the Arab *muḳātila* who had to confront the Sāsānid armies; heterogeneity of the tribal structure, in contrast to Baṣra; presence of a majority of Muḍarī and Ḳaysī elements formed either from large Bedouin clans (Tamīm, Asad), or from clans of the Ḥidjāz (Thaḳīf, Sulaym, Djuhayna, Muzayna), but nevertheless a concentration of a strong Yemenī minority, completely uncustomary elsewhere. It may even be asked if early Kūfa did not contain a majority of Yemenīs, who later became a weaker and weaker minority; certain modern authors have gone as far as to assert that the *takhṭīṭ* of Kūfa was conceived to shelter these distant migrants, together with those of the Ḥidjāz, rather than the others (M. Hinds, in *IJMES*, ii [1971], 346-67). The pure Yemenī elements are here massively present (Ḥimyar, Hamdān, Ḥaḍramawt, Madhḥidj) alongside tribes newly Yemenised (Kinda and Badjīla in particular, Azd Sarāt and Ṭayyiʾ), but the tribe which became the most numerous of the Yemenīs and without doubt of all the tribes, that of Hamdān, was not settled at Kūfa as early as the Madhḥidj, Badjīla and Kinda, and it was made up for the most part of recent immigrants (*rawādif*), who had come under ʿUthmān, ʿAlī and perhaps Muʿāwiya. It remains a fact that the Yemenī phenomenon was to determine the political destiny of Kūfa as well as the colour of its civilisation. According to Massignon, it is through the influence of the old Yemenī element, city dwellers for a long period, that the sedentarisation of the Arab tribes at Kūfa was effected; hence a civilising and urbanising role of the first order may be attributed to it from very early on.

Figures for the total population vary according to the sources and periods. It may be admitted that during the very first phase, there were between 20,000 and 30,000 inhabitants (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 276), although Yāḳūt gives the figure of 40,000 (*Buldān*, iv, 491). A text of Abū Mikhnaf (al-Ṭabarī, v, 79) speaks of the mobilisation by ʿAlī of all the 57,000 *muḳātila*, of whom 40,000 were adults and 17,000 adolescents. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, having enlarged the mosque, foresaw it as accommodating 60,000 people, a figure corroborated by a reliable piece of information given by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 345) concerning the people registered in the *dīwān*. So there would have been, around the year 50/670, 60,000 men and 80,000 women and children, that is, 140,000 Arabs of whom a census had been made, to which it is reasonable to add the clandestine residents and the non-Arabs, slaves or *mawālī*. Certainly at the same period the figure for the population of Baṣra (200,000 registered) rather outnumbered that of Kūfa, but the demographic inflation in the space of a generation was nevertheless considerable. This may explain the transplantation by Ziyād to Khurāsān of 50,000 people, of whom 40,000 were from Baṣra and 10,000 from Kūfa. It is probable that after Ziyād and throughout the Umayyad régime, the number of Arabs drawing stipends and registered remained stable or even had a tendency to diminish from al-Ḥadjdjādj (75-95/694-713) onwards, but the number of non-Arabs, uprooted from the land, new *mawālī* flocking to the *miṣr*, cannot be known for certain. The fact that this last governor took drastic measures to repulse them is clear proof of the existence of this disordered influx, dangerous for the equilibrium of the city. The history of the population of Kūfa, in the earliest and Umayyad period, is that of a very swift and essentially Arab expansion in a first phase (17-53/638-73), followed by a stabilisation, at times disrupted by the rural non-Arab immigration.

The topographic framework of Kūfa during the 1st/7th century evolved while remaining faithful to the original plan. The first Kūfa, that of ʿUmar (17-23/638-43) was a military camp, geometrical, airy and open, where tents quickly raised for an expedition were drawn up in lines. Soon, without doubt after the pacification of the Iranian territories, the need arose for a more permanent settlement, where tents were replaced by huts of reeds, which were abundant in the region. A third stage saw the substitution of houses (*dūr*) for huts, in *labin* or clay dried and cut up in large rectangular blocks, a stage inaugurated under the first governorship of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba (22-4/642-4). In fact, all this is information given by Yāḳūt and reproduced by Massignon. Nevertheless, it is contradicted by Sayf, who compresses the stages, stating that the building of Kūfa in *labin* was decided very rapidly, before the *takhṭīṭ* itself, in 17/638. Finally, it is with Ziyād (50-3/670-3) that the *ādjur* or Mesopotamian fired brick was introduced, at first to construct the cathedral mosque and the governor's palace which adjoined it on the south, later no doubt for the houses of the aristocracy or *dūr*. Considerable ex-

penses were incurred to give to the mosque an architectural form: materials brought from al-Ahwāz for the columns, and the calling in of Aramaean or Persian masons. Kūfa was changed into a well-built city and began to take on, with this governor, the features of its topography which would only really change with the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period.

Umayyad Kūfa was not surrounded by ramparts; it may be supposed that its diameter did not exceed two kilometres. The monumental centre was composed of the *djāmiʿ*, of the fortified *ḳaṣr*, of the *raḥba* or *maydān* where various ceremonies took place, and of markets or *aswāḳ*, constructed under the governorship of K͟hālid al-Ḳasrī (105-20/723-37) but given a specialised use much earlier. Massignon sees here the prototype of the future *aswāḳ* of Bag͟hdād, but it is permissible to consider them as the model for the markets of all the Islamic towns of the Middle Ages by virtue of their vaulted form as well as the structure of their activities, where a special place had to be accorded to the *ṣayārifa* or moneychangers, at the time bankers of the governors and moneylenders of the S͟hīʿi conspiracies.

From the monumental centre there radiated out the *k͟hiṭaṭ* or tribal lots which constituted the main part of the dwellings of Kūfa. Nevertheless, *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* or individual lots were assigned from the earliest period as exceptional favours to the Companions and to certain great figures who had their aristocratic houses built there, always situated in the centre. Al-Yaʿḳūbī gives a list of 25 *dār*, in which are to be noted the names of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Saʿd and his son ʿUmar, Abū Mūsā al-As͟hʿarī and his descendants who played an important role in Kūfa before emigrating to Ḳumm, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, K͟hālid b. ʿUrfuṭa, one of the principal leaders of the army of conquest, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī, al-As͟hʿath al-Kindī and Umm Hānī sister of ʿAlī. Other sources speak of the private houses of al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba, al-Muk͟htār al-T͟haḳafī and ʿAmr b. Ḥurayt͟h.

In addition to the monumental centre, to the collective *k͟hiṭaṭ* and the private *dūr*, let us cite as essential elements of the topography of Kūfa the *manāhidj* or avenues, the *sikak* or streets, the *ṣaḥārī* (waste pieces of ground? e.g. *ṣaḥrāʾ al-Bardak͟ht*), the *ḥammāmāt*, the *masādjid*, small mosques of a clan or quarter, and especially the *djabbānāt* of Kūfa. The *djabbānāt*, numbering a dozen, riddling the city everywhere almost certainly from the time of ʿAlī, played the role of tribal cemeteries, but they owed their importance to the fact that they served as places of assembly, mobilisation and taking-up arms. Their name was linked with some major historical episodes, such as the revolt of al-Muk͟htār. It may be that we have there a privileged example of the influence of old Yemen on the urban structure of Kūfa. Among the principal *djabbānāt* may be cited that of Sabīʿ devolved to the Hamdān, dj. Mik͟hnaf (Azd), Murād (Mad͟hḥidj), Kinda (Kinda and Rabīʿa), Ṣāʾidiyyīn (Asad), Ut͟hayr (ʿAbs), etc. Other topographical features, whether in Kūfa itself or in its immediate environs, are often mentioned in the sources and assume a certain importance: the *Kunāsa*, at first a dumping-ground situated to the west of the camp-town, having become later, from the Umayyad period, a place of unloading for caravans from Arabia, a market for animals, on occasion a place of execution, and above all a fair for the poets similar to the *Mirbad* of Baṣra; the *dār ar-rizḳ*, the *sikkat al-barīd*, the *bāb al-fīl*, the *ḳinṭara*, all this within the city; *ḥammām* Aʿyan, *sūḳ* Asad, *dayr* Hind, *dayr* Kaʿb, *dayr* al-Djamādjim and *ḳaṣr* Muḳātil, situated immediately outside but all places intimately involved in the city's existence.

Umayyad Kūfa, marked by the attempt at urbanism of Ziyād and K͟hālid al-Ḳasrī, evolved, while remaining faithful to the earliest plan, from a Bedouin-style camp to a well-built, articulated, functional city, an evolution which was to be completed in the ʿAbbāsid period by the mere fact of the maturing of the Arabo-Muslim civilisation of which Kūfa was precisely one of the two primordial melting pots. Throughout the 1st/7th century, Kūfa no doubt remained airy, not yet surrounded by ramparts and open to the Arab steppe, as is witnessed by the traffic of men and poetry and the obstinate presence of the Bedouin model. Sedentarisation, a rapid and undeniable success, would have been inexplicable without the maintenance of the umbilical cord with Arabia, but the Arabs of Kūfa were well and truly settled people, almost totally cut off from the nomadic way of life. For it was the first time in their history that the Arabs united to form such a great urban concentration, a melting-pot where specimens of the whole of Arabia came to live and dwell together. If we continue to consider the urban sphere, we have to notice that Kūfa was to undergo profound changes during the high ʿAbbāsid period. The early ʿAbbāsids considered making it their capital and established themselves there for some time, but the ʿAlid presence and sympathies were so strong that they wavered for some time between Kūfa, Anbār and the new city of Hās͟himiyya which was coupled with Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra, before al-Manṣūr founded Bag͟hdād (145-6/762-3) and moved the *bayt al-māl* and *dawāwīn* there from Kūfa (al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 293), which indicates clearly that Kūfa had assumed the role of administrative capital of the empire, even if the caliphs did not always reside there.

During this short period of thirty years (132-46/750-63), there took place an Iranisation of a part of the Kūfan toponymy, following the influx of K͟hurāsānian soldiers: for example, the streets of Laḥḥām Djarīr and Ḥadjdjām ʿAntara and the naming of crossroads by the Iranian form of *čahārsūdj*, such as the *čahārsūdj* of Badjīla (al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 280). On the other hand, the early ʿAbbāsids undertook the building at Kūfa of al-Ruṣāfa and the castle of Abu 'l-K͟haṣīb; above all, al-Manṣūr, after the move to Bag͟hdād, had the city surrounded by ramparts and a moat, making the inhabitants bear the costs of it. It is probable that the enclosure did not surround the *Kunāsa* and some *djabbānāt* outside the centre, thus creating a differentiation between a *madīna* and suburbs. The term *madīna* in the sense of a historical urban nucleus, elaborated, closely-packed and protected by walls with gates, makes its appearance for the first time in the account given by al-Ṭabarī with regard to the revolt of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (199/814). The same author remarks that the *Kunāsa* contained dwelling houses, just as there appears in his writing the idea of a suburb or *rabaḍ* (viii, 561). Thus we are in the presence of the "process of civilisation" of Kūfa in every sense of the term: it became a classical Muslim town after having been an Arab camp-town, and it became a civil centre after having been a military camp. Finally, during the 3rd/9th century, and although it always remained clearly Arab, its population was mixed and the city began to live in osmosis with the Sawādiyyūn or people from the Sawād who started to become Muslim. Nevertheless, there is a problem of knowing

whether, at its apogee as a city, in the 3rd/9th century, Kūfa entirely lost its character of a spacious town and came to resemble those Islamic cities of a latter age where the *madīna* became an assemblage extremely crowded with houses and almost stifling. It does not seem so, because the geographers of a later period, such as al-Muḳaddasī and much later Ibn Djubayr (though the latter was writing in a period of the city's complete decadence), allow one to catch a glimpse of the existence of green or garden spaces in the heart of the town. But these same geographers, as the archaeological remains stretching as far as Nadjaf also indicate, testify to the expansion of Kūfa towards the west, far beyond the early boundaries. But then, Kūfa was no longer one of the centres from which early Islam, i.e. conquering Arab Islam, radiated, but an important city of ʿIrāḳ, the simple capital of an administrative area.

The provincialisation of Kūfa, and even its decadence, became an established fact in the 4th/10th century. The old structures (the military *arbāʿ*, the tribal spirit, the financial system) began to break down, because the whole edifice of the conquest, inherited from the Arab empire, and of which Kūfa was merely the concrete form, became obsolete, and it is known that at its height the caliphate submitted to the tutelage of the Būyids at the same time as the unity of the Muslim world broke up. Because of this, the decadence of Kūfa was only one of the manifestations of this profound change which intercontinental commercial activity was unable to sustain and prolong, as at Baṣra for one or two centuries. One may speak of a crisis of the Islamic city (Massignon), but in reality we are concerned with a general crisis of early Islam as a state and society, indeed as a civilisation; even more, one might say, with a historical mutation for which a town like Kūfa should certainly pay the price. On the concrete level, there was the great Ismāʿīlī outbreak at the end of the 3rd/9th century, of which Kūfa was the primordial crucible and of which the Ḳarmaṭian violence was one of the destructive elements. In 293/905, 312/924 and 315/927, Kūfa underwent the assaults and pillage of the Ḳarmaṭians. It was never to recover from these. It is this which explains the emergence in 334/945, not far from it, thanks to the protection of the Būyids, of Nadjaf or Mashhad ʿAlī as a centre of Shīʿī devotion which, since the 3rd/9th century, had become the specifically distinguishing dimension of Kūfa. Shīʿī religious symbolism was concentrated there, but as it happened, the old Arab Kūfa which was far from being identified with the Shīʿī phenomenon vanished. The urbanised tribal structure also collapsed at the same time as there arose a "re-bedouinisation" or, at any rate, a growing threat from a new nomad world of the Arabo-ʿIrāḳī steppe. Thus it was in 386/996 that Bahāʾ al-Dawla ceded Kūfa as an *iḳṭāʿ* to the chief of the ʿUḳaylids [*q.v.*]. The Banū Asad, the Ṭayyiʾ, of whom a large fringe remained outside the city limits, because undoubtedly living in symbiosis with it, and also the Shammār, newly-come on the scene, dominated Kūfa and ruined it. Thus these same Asad (to differentiate them from the settled Asad), from whom the grammarians of Kūfa derive, by means of a real ethnological effort, all the flavour of their citations, preserving themselves with their very strong identity, came to present themselves as taking part in the ruin of Kūfa, the new incarnation of Lagash, Ur and Babylon, and which was soon dead like them. In 495/1101, with the emergence of al-Ḥilla, Kūfa lost definitively its importance and the major part of its inhabitants. Ibn Djubayr (539-614/1144-1217), who visited it a little later (578-81/1182-5), speaks of it as a deserted and ruined city but one where some inhabitants still survived, subjected to the regular pillages of the tribe of Khafādja (*Riḥla*, Beirut 1959, 187, 188). The whole built-up area between the mosque and the Euphrates had been destroyed and was covered now with orchards. He speaks at some length of the cathedral mosque, still standing, with its high ceilings, its columns leaded on the inside, a prayer hall with five bays, its sacred vestiges where the Shīʿī myths were neighbours to the recurring myths of old Babylonia taken over by Islam: the *muṣallā* of Ibrāhīm, the *miḥrāb* of ʿAlī, the *tinnawr* of Noah and the supposed tomb of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl. After the Mongols had conquered ʿIrāḳ, Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī wrote for the Mongol prince a treatise describing the resources of the country (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 30, 166, 210), where he speaks of Kūfa as having ramparts with a circumference of 18,000 paces and of its important agricultural role. Finally, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (8th/14th century) who, on the subject of Kūfa, reproduces in part Ibn Djubayr but adds some personal elements, sees it, in a similar way to Mustawfī, as a town ruined for the most part, but not yet dead. According to him, of the *ḳaṣr al-ʿimāra*, nothing more than the foundations remained, but the markets, still beautiful, survived. He speaks of the *djabbāna* of Kūfa as if there were no more than one, where the tomb of al-Mukhtār had been repaired and over which a cupola had been erected (*Riḥla*, Beirut 1960, 219). In the Ottoman period, Kūfa fell to the rank of a *nāḥiya* dependent on the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Nadjaf, which was dependent in its turn on the *sandjaḳ* of Karbalāʾ. Niebuhr visited it and compiled a plan of it. Massignon went there for a first time in 1908 and for a second time in 1934. He spoke of the "now deserted site of the great city which was the most Arab of the Muslim metropolises", of which just a few traces of buildings were marked out: the Djāmiʿ, the tombs of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa and Muslim b. ʿAḳīl, the Bayt ʿAlī, two guard houses, one of which was built by the English, the small oratory Ḥannāna and the *masdjid* al-Sahla. He noted that a new quarter had appeared between the mosque and the Euphrates. It still exists, and has even been extended; however, it is less important than the recent western quarter, towards Nadjaf, which is mainly residential. Some other European archaeological missions went to al-Ḥīra (Talbot Rice in 1931, in particular). Since 1938, the site of Kūfa, declared an archaeological site, has become an object of interest to the ʿIrāḳī academic authorities and a first season of excavations was made there at that date. The great mosque, completely and sometimes awkwardly restored, remains the central building; it seems to be raised in comparison with its earlier level and only the ramparts remain. The *ḳaṣr*, much larger, has just been mapped out. It is a building now in ruins, though more instructive than the mosque. Let us also note the presence of the mosque of al-Sahla to the west of the site. Various objects in glass and ceramic and some coins of the Umayyad period have been found. Nevertheless, the archaeological exploration of Kūfa may be considered as only in its early stage and, if well handled, as being capable of adding much to our knowledge of the city, still essentially one derived from books.

II. Politics, ideology and culture in Kūfa.

While in the 1st/7th century Kūfa played a political

role of the first order, as the matrix of a large number of matters of future significance for Islam, in the 2nd/8th, after the foundation of Baghdād and with the opening-up of the Islamic empire, politics and the struggle for power left Kūfa aside; but, on the other hand, cultural activities developed there and achieved a high level (between 150 to 250/approx. 760 to 860). From then there is evidence of a triple Kūfa: a political Kūfa (up to 150); a cultural Kūfa (150-250) and then a purely ideological Kūfa (250-350) which had become a focal point of doctrinal Shīʿism.

The principal episodes which punctuated the political activity of early Kūfa were: the participation in the revolt against ʿUthmān (34-5/654-5); the support given to ʿAlī for the two great internecine battles of al-Djamal (36/656) and Ṣiffīn (37/657); the emergence in its heart of the Khāridjī movement; the beginnings of political Shīʿism with the action, which was suppressed, of Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī (51/671). After that, the pro-Shīʿī revolts succeeded one another, and were just as regularly quelled: the episode of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl and the massacre at Karbalāʾ (60-1/679-80), the march of the *Tawwābūn* (65/684), the uprising of al-Mukhtār (66-7/685-6), the preaching of al-Mughīra and of Bayān, the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī (122/739) and that of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya (127/744). Finally, it was Kūfa which was the directing brain behind the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, and it was at the great mosque of Kūfa that the first caliph of the new dynasty was solemnly invested (132/749). But Kūfa equally underwent numerous rounds of Khāridjī assaults, particularly in 76/695, when it was threatened by Shabīb, and more seriously in 127-8/744-5 by al-Ḍaḥḥāk. It participated, in 82-3/701-2, alongside Baṣra, in the great revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath which brought the Umayyad régime close to its collapse and which was a revolt of the *amṣār* without ideological content.

This abundance of insurrections, of seditious actions and political events, earned Kūfa the reputation of a turbulent, agitated, ambitious city, and, for the later Shīʿī consciousness, of a martyr city. Thus on the majority Sunnī side, there were some solid prejudices, on the other side, a whole apocalyptic elaboration in which "accursed Baghdād will be destroyed and Kūfa will be queen of the world, after having been a dwelling of exile and waiting for true believers." According to the *ḥadīth* of Salmān, "Kūfa is the *ḳubba* (= royal tent) of Islam; a time will come for the world when there will be no true believer except the one who lives there or whose heart sighs for it" (Massignon, *Explication du plan de Kūfa*, repr. in *Opera Minora*, iii, 54).

In reality, this constant political effervescence of the 1st/7th century resulted from the structure of Kūfa itself as well as in historical evolution. As a fundamental component of the system of the *amṣār* at least until 30/650, the date at which Baṣra outstripped it in the conquest of the Iranian East, Kūfa sheltered the conquerors of ʿIrāḳ from the time of the first wave onwards, that of the *Ahl al-Ayyām* until the *Ahl al-Ḳādisiyya*. The first presumed upon the antiquity of their conversion and their faithfulness to Islam, the second had participated in the *Ridda*, but they were of no less high Arab lineage. Kūfa, on the other hand, drained the major part of the resources of the *Sawād* and the leaders of the army managed the ancient royal domains, this becoming later a real apple of discord, while the immigration to Baṣra, except for that of the Bakr, was that of latecomers, of tribes from the Arabian south-east, newly come to the scene of conquest and arriving in complete, homogenous tribal groups. Within the tribal structure of Kūfa, in the conditions which surrounded its genesis, by the attraction exercised over the new immigrants or *rawādif*, and the lack of any immigration control, from the very fact of its supremacy in the high period, some germs of tension took root which were ready to develop. Under the caliphate of ʿUmar, the equilibrum was maintained, and the armies of Kūfa were occupied in conquering Persia. It is in the caliphate of ʿUthmān that the internal conflicts began to appear; the former Islamic élite, raised up by ʿUmar, yielded ground to the traditional chiefs who shared in the *aʿmāl* and saw their position reinforced by the waves of *rawādif* of their own tribes (a typical case of opposition is between an Ashtar Nakhaʿī and an Ashʿath b. Ḳays). The activism of the Ahl al-Ayyām, disappointed by the new politics, resulted in the murder of ʿUthmān in which a number among them were involved, and this ranged them necessarily on the side of ʿAlī. ʿAlī's coming to Kūfa highlighted the new phenomenon of the supremacy of the *amṣār* over Arabia for the definition of the political destiny of the Arabs; for four years, Kūfa was to be if not the capital of the empire, seeing that the empire was divided, at least a centre of major decision and the seat of the caliphate. From this privileged episode of its existence, Kūfa was to derive its future pretensions, but also a persistent faithfulness to ʿAlī and his family. Nevertheless, from its origin, this faithfulness was far from making for unanimity. The Ashrāf or traditional chiefs of the tribes, having in general participated at al-Ḳādisiyya, and being enrolled in the *sharaf al-ʿaṭāʾ*, were lukewarm towards the cause of ʿAlī and consequently also the mass of the inhabitants who, in general, followed them. The activists remained (who may be named as the *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*]), of whom a majority cast in its lot with ʿAlī and on whom he showered benefits, but of whom a minority, harder and more intransigent, showed itself reticent and soon hostile with regard to him. After the arbitration, it appeared that ʿAlī could no longer be certain of anyone except his partisans, his *shīʿa* in the political sense of the term, while the intransigent members of the *ḳurrāʾ* fell into Khāridjism and the conservative group of the Ashrāf abandoned him; whence the dislocation of the coalition which he had constituted, whence also the minority character and powerlessness of the Shīʿa for a century. The Umayyads governed indeed with the support of the Ashrāf, who did not like them, but found in them a principle of order. They were satisfied with their growing social influence, guaranteed by the Umayyad régime. It is this which explains why the Ashrāf ranged themselves on the side of the established power every time that a Shīʿī insurrection broke out, and why that power gained their collaboration in disarming the Shīʿī troops. In 61/680, they even took part in the murder of Ḥusayn; they mobilised actively against al-Mukhtār, who threatened their privileges; and they regrouped themselves around the governor in order to bring about the failure of Zayd b. ʿAlī's action. Only the great revolt of 82-3/701-2 was a specifically ʿIrāḳī revolt against the preponderance of the Ahl al-Shām, the tyranny of the governor al-Ḥadjdjādj and, because of this, it was led by the Ashrāf as well as by the *ḳurrāʾ*. But there followed a large-scale demilitarisation of the *miṣr*, and the foundation of Wāsiṭ, the settlement of the Syrian army in ʿIrāḳ as if in occupied territory.

If, throughout the 1st/7th century, the majority of the Ashrāf showed themselves hostile to the

Shīʿī movement. certain of the Ashrāf nevertheless participated actively in it, such as al-Mukhtār himself, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ al-Shibāmī, But after al-Mukhtār, it was above all popular elements which supported Shīʿī activism, whether from among the Arabs, Yemenīs in particular and, more precisely, Yemenīs from certain clans of Hamdān (Khārif, Shakir, etc.), or else recruited from among the plebeians of the new immigrant *mawālī*, a mass operation utilised by al-Mukhtār. It is probable that the rallying of the Yemenīs to the Shīʿī cause was due to their marginal position in the Arab city, socially as well as culturally, for there is no doubt that a number of poor were recruited from the clans of Hamdān (clans of *rawādif*?) and that the call for the rights of the *Ahl al-Bayt* found some echoes in the old Yemenī consciousness. It is this which explains the populist character of the revolt of al-Mukhtār (66-7/685-6), perhaps the most important Shīʿī revolt of the 1st/7th century. It succeeded in assuming power at Kūfa for some time; above all, it fashioned the Shīʿī consciousness by giving it a mystique, a language, slogans and some elements of a doctrine. Also, the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*], who derived from it, would be, via Abū Hāshim, at the root of the *daʿwa* for the Family.

With the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, there took place an intellectualisation and a deepening of Shīʿism, the political action becoming intermittent. Hence one must wait until the year 195/814 to see a resurgence of an insurrection of the old style, that of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, and the year 250/864 for that of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, far less dangerous, to break out. But Shīʿism as a faith did not cease to gain ground, so that it veritably became the quasi-unique ideology of the town at the end of the 3rd/9th century and constituted a cultural and religious tradition in the 4th/10th century. Certainly, it was at this moment that the Shīʿī imagination, re-reading the history of the town, reclassified its sites according to its own standards, dividing quarters and mosques into blessed and cursed ones.

Kūfa was able to export its Shīʿī consciousness to the Iranian world, and to Ḳumm especially. Ḳumm was indeed a projection of Shīʿī Kūfa, as Balkh, Marw and Nīsābūr were a projection of Baṣra. Because of this, as a colonising centre, Kūfa showed itself less active than Baṣra. Each of the two *miṣr*s is known to have had its *thughūr* and its *māh* [*q.vv.*]. The central Iranian territory was practically partitioned: Rayy was the *thaghr* of Kūfa, and Iṣbahān depended on it, but the *māh* of Kūfa, sc. Nihāwand, showed itself less active than the *māh* of Baṣra, sc. Dīnawar, although several sources speak of Dīnawar as the *māh* of Kūfa. But it is especially in the race to the peripheral Iranian territories, from 29/649 onwards, that Baṣra gained the upper hand, with the conquest of Khurāsān, while Kūfa had to be content with Ādharbāydjān, a province of little account, with Ḳazwīn as an extreme *thaghr*. Nevertheless, over the centuries, the specifically Shīʿī nature of Kūfa imposed itself by a process of slow penetration into the whole Shīʿī consciousness of Islam by way of Baghdād and, by that of Ḳumm and Mashhad, to the whole modern Iranian lands, while Baṣra was not alone in defining the structures of later Sunnī Islam, although it had been a primordial centre bringing the idea of *djamāʿa* into action. However, the religious and cultural legacy of Kūfa should not be limited to the transmission of the Shīʿī tradition. Far more important can be shown by analysis to be the participation of Kūfa in the elaboration of the universal Arabo-Islamic culture which became rooted in the great *miṣr* of the first two centuries. Baghdād was to be the heir of Kūfa and Baṣra. these two fundamental matrices which defined the general lines of the culture of Islam, each with its own genius: Kūfa excelled in the recovery of the Arab poetic patrimony, in the exegesis of the Ḳurʾān, in law and genealogy, whereas Baṣra, more rationalist and critical, invented Arabic grammar and was the great centre of Muʿtazilī speculation.

There are two great cultural moments in the history of Kūfa: the one oral, of obscure gestation, where the culture, still undifferentiated, was seeking to establish its foundations (17-150/638-767); the other, brilliant, which developed a true classicism and bequeathed to us some great works (150-250/767-864). In both cases, the two fundamental poles around which the new culture expressed itself were Bedouin Arabism and the Islamic message, the influence of the conquered peoples proving negligible. Arabic writing was perfected at Kūfa, undoubtedly with the participation of the Arabs of al-Ḥīra, and Kūfic, having become a monumental writing, may be considered the most ancient specimen of post-Islamic Arabic writing, although the type of writing was used on Sāsānid *dirhams*. It is also in very early Kūfa that Ibn Masʿūd lived and taught, later becoming the eponym whose name crystallised the traditionist current and to whom some disciples were attached: ʿAlḳama b. Ḳays, al-Aswad b. Yazīd, Masrūḳ b. al-Adjdaʿ, ʿUbayda, al-Hamdānī and Shurayḥ. Schacht thought that the founding role of Ibn Masʿūd was fictitious and that some forged traditions were projected on to him between 100 and 130/719-48, establishing the chain Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān-Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī-Ibn Masʿūd, but that nevertheless *fiḳh*, which preceded *ḥadīth*, was created by the single centre of Kūfa. In fact, it seems clear that three key-personalities, living in the 1st/7th century, played a main role in the first glimmerings of law, *ḥadīth* and exegesis: Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, Saʿīd b. Djubayr and ʿAmr b. Sharaḥbīl al-Shaʿbī. In the domain of spirituality, there was no personality here comparable to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but the currents of asceticism and mysticism found their masters in Uways al-Ḳaranī and Rabīʿ b. Khuthaym. Let us cite in the sphere of *tafsīr* and *akhbār* the names of two precursors: Mudjālid b. Saʿīd and Muḥammad al-Kalbī; for the collection of poetry that of Ḥammād; and for poetic creation, the names of Aʿshā Hamdān and al-Kumayt.

The second phase of the cultural history of Kūfa, whose beginnings coincide with those of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, saw the differentiation of the disciplines and the emergence of the great founders and synthesisers: Abū Ḥanīfa, master of the school of *raʾy* in canon law (d. 156/772); Abū Mikhnaf, one of the first great Arab historians (*akhbāriyyūn*) (d. 157/773); al-Ruʾāsī, to whom the first work of grammar is attributed, ʿĀṣim b. Bahdala (d. 131/748), and Ḥamza, who, together with al-Kisāʾī, established three of the seven canonical readings of the Ḳurʾān. Later, the generation of those who died in the years between 180 and 200/796-816 assumed the burden of recording, codifying and totalising the knowledge founded in the preceding period, so that the works which survive today belong to this generation of active disciples and totalisers: Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804) in law; Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 206/821), highly erudite, a genealogist and *akhbārī*, well-versed in

knowledge of the Arab patrimony which he worked increasingly at collecting and establishing; and finally al-Kisāʾī (d. 179/795), who was the supreme master of the grammatical school of Kūfa. This school collective opinion still claims to set up as a rival of that of Baṣra. It is regarded as more deeply rooted in the Arab environment, with a passion for anomalies (*shawādhdh*) and a more acute sense of poetry. Nevertheless, on examination, it is revealed as being a particularisation of the fundamental contribution of Baṣra, i.e. that of al-Khalīl, master of everyone, although the role of al-Ruʾāsī deserves to be clarified. This being granted, al-Kisāʾī, like Sībawayh at Baṣra, engendered a line of grammarians marked out by al-Farrāʾ, who is comparable to al-Akhfash, and by Thaʿlab, who may be compared with al-Mubarrad, the height of activity of these two last occurring around 250/864; the two of them achieved the totalisation of the earlier knowledge of the two schools. But already Baghdād, after having gathered to itself the greatest names of Kūfa and Baṣra for two generations, begins to give forth an eclectic tradition in all fields, digesting, surpassing and delivering to the Islamic world the admirable work of two centuries which had been produced in the two *miṣrs*.

In the intellectual consciousness of contemporary Islam, that which is willingly remembered of the historical evolution of Kūfa, that by which it is largely known, is its school of grammar and its role as cradle of Shīʿism, perhaps because this is what particularises it the most in the last instance, and laid the foundations for its survival in the other. But the renewal of interest in the political and cultural history of ancient Islam will allow for the growth of a further consciousness of the role it assumed as a place of Arab settlement and immigration, as a centre of great political struggles and as a specifically Arab city which, along with Baṣra, established the basis and true style of the cultural scheme of Islam.

Bibliography: The most ancient sources on the history of Kūfa, consisting of monographs written by the *akhbāriyyūn* of the 2nd/8th century, have entirely disappeared as such, but some more or less important fragments of them are to be found in the great well-known standard works which have derived from them the main part of their information. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, *Kitāb Khiṭaṭ al-Kūfa*, *K. Wulāt al-Kūfa*, *K. Ḳuḍāt al-Kūfa wa 'l-Baṣra*, *K. Fakhr ahl al-Kūfa ʿala 'l-Baṣra*; ʿUmar b. Shabba al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Kūfa*, *K. Umarāʾ al-Kūfa*; the well-known monographs of Abū Mikhnaf, resumed by al-Ṭabarī in particular, inform us of the main events but also indirectly of the topography. A manuscript attributed to Abū Mikhnaf exists at Berlin under the classification Spr. 160 and bears the number 9039 in Ahlwardt's catalogue, with the title *Kitāb Khabar al-Mukhtār wa-bni Ziyād*; the present author has examined it and it appears to him apocryphal. Moreover, the later monographs have themselves also disappeared: that of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Nadjashī al-Asadī (*Kitāb al-Kūfa*) and that of Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar b. al-Nadjdjār (*Taʾrīkh al-Kūfa*).

Great classical works: (a) Principal sources: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān* and *Ansāb al-ashrāf*; Ṭabarī; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, devoted to Kūfa; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh* and especially *Buldān*; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*.—(b) additional sources: these comprise the greater part of the works of history, geography, *adab*, law etc. The most useful are, apart from those which have been indicated in the body of the article: Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*; anonymous, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿAbbās wa-waladih*, ed. Dūrī, and anonymous, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, ed. Griyaznevitch; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh* and *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* and *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*; al-Khāṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*; all the classical works of geography and *adab*; amongst works of *fiḳh*, in particular Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, but also Abū ʿUbayd Ibn Sallām, *Kitāb al-Amwāl* and Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar; the works of *Ṭabaḳāt* and heresiography are equally useful;—Shīʿī sources: Ibn Abī Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*; Kulaynī, *Kitāb al-Kāfī*; al-Kashshī, *Akhbār al-ridjāl*, Bombay 1317; anonymous, *Mukhtār-nāma*, lith. Tehran 1351; Ṭabarsī Nūrī, *Nafas al-Raḥmān*, lith. 1868, *al-Iḥtidjādj*, Nadjaf 1966; al-Barāḳī, *Taʾrīkh al-Kūfa*, Nadjaf 1960;—Studies: Nearly all that has been written by modern scholars on early Islam, the Umayyads, the development of Islamic culture, Shīʿism, is relevant to Kūfa. We refer the reader only to the studies relating specifically to Kūfa: Le Strange; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, i, *IFAO*, Cairo 1910; idem, *Explication du plan de Kūfa*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, 337-60 (fundamental); idem, *Explication du plan de Baṣra*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, Wiesbaden 1954, 154-74; P. Pelliot, *Des artisans chinois à la capitale abbasside*, in *T'oung Pao* (1928-9); R. Guest, *A tablet in Kufic from Kūfa*, in *JRAS* (1933); F. Kmietowicz, *Un trésor de monnaies coufiques trouvé en Pologne*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i/2 (1959), 209-30; W. M. Watt, *Shīʿism under the Umayyads*, in *JRAS* (1960), 158-72; Muḥammad ʿAlī Muṣṭafā, *Taḳrīr awwalī ʿan al-tanḳīb fī 'l-Kūfa*, in *Sumer*, x, xii, xiii (1954, 1956, 1957), with Eng. tr. in *Sumer*, xix (1963); Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī, *Dirāsa Tubughrāfiyya li-nāḥiyat al-Kūfa*, in *Sumer*, xxi (1965); Mahdī al-Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa wa-manhadjuha fī dirāsat al-lugha wa 'l-naḥw*, Baghdād 1955; Kāẓim al-Djannābī, *Takhṭīṭ madīnat al-Kūfa*, Baghdād 1967; Yūsuf Khulayf, *Ḥayāt al-shiʿr fī 'l-Kūfa*, Cairo 1968; Ḥusayn al-Zubaydī, *al-Ḥayāt al-idjtimāʿiyya wa 'l-iḳtiṣādiyya fī 'l-Kūfa fī 'l-ḳarn al-awwal al-hidjrī*, Baghdād 1970; M. Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments and their background in the mid-seventh century A.D.*, in *IJMES*, ii (1971), 346-67; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132), a new interpretation*, Cambridge 1971; ʿAbd Allāh al-Kayyāḍ, *Taʾrīkh al-Imāmiyya wa-aslāfihim min al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1975; Hichem Djaït, *Les Yamanites à Kūfa au Ier siècle de l'Hégire*, in *JESHO*, xix/2 (1976), 148-81. (HICHEM DJAÏT)

KUFRA, a group of oases in the Eastern Sahara in the Libyan Desert half-way between Cyrenaica and Wadai. For a long time it was known only from Rohlfs' account, who managed to reach it in 1879. Subsequently, Kufra has been visited by two other Europeans, Maréchal des Logis Lapierre (1918) and Mrs. Rosita Forbes (1920-1). Their descriptions have completed and corrected that of Rohlfs.

The name Kufra applies to a number of oases

which stretch from the south-east to the north-west in a line about 300 km. long, between 24° and 26° N, 18° 40′ and 21° 40′ E. The most southerly oasis lies about 1,350 km. south-east of Tripoli and 900 km. south of Beng̲h̲āzī. There are five in all, and they are separated from each other by *sarir*, or plains of compressed gravel. The total area of the group amounts to about 17,842 km². It occupies the bottom of a depression which rises in altitude from 250 m. in the north to 460 m. in the south. The soil is generally formed from overlapping strata of marly sand in the northern area of the dunes which join those of the Libyan desert. In the central and southern parts, the depression is crossed by calcareous mountains which rise above a base of Numidian sandstone; their summits are table-shaped and similar to that of the *gūr* of the South Algerian Sahara.

There are neither springs or running water at Kufra, but everywhere the water-table rises to between one and three metres from the surface. At various points of the landscape the water forms brackish lagoons or even permanent lakes, of which the most imposing is 10 km. long. They can be regarded as the remains of an earlier situation when the lacustrian nature of the oasis was much more marked than it is to-day. The subterranean water is sufficient to support plentiful and varied vegetation. In the dried-out basins *hād* (*cornucala monacantha*) and *dīs* grow, which provide excellent food for camels. Although the green belt around the lakes and marsh depressions is often very narrow, cereal crops are grown in it—wheat, *d̲h̲ura* (*sorghum vulgare*), vegetables, plantations of fruit trees (olives, figs, oranges and lemons). The main source of wealth is the date palm. Among the fauna are gazelles, many species of bird (crow, falcon and stork) and reptiles such as lizards and non-poisonous snakes.

Almost the entire population belongs to the Zāwiya tribes, Arabised Berbers who took the place of the Tūbu, the previous masters of the oases. Most of them are semi-nomadic and occupy only temporary encampments. The geographical position of Kufra gives it a certain commercial importance. It was a stopping place on the caravan route leading from Cyrenaica to Wadai and has been in use as such since the beginning of the 19th century. According to Muḥammad al-Ḥas̲h̲āʾis̲h̲ī, there was a market at D̲j̲ōf, where business was conducted by barter. As in all Saharan markets, the chief item of trade was slaves.

There is very little information on the history of Kufra. According to Rohlfs, it could have been inhabited by the Garamantes. Buildings there are comparable with some at Fazzān [*q.v.*] which Duveyrier pointed out and which seem to go back a considerable period in time. When its history began, the country was occupied by the Tūbu, who left many traces of their stay from this period—cemeteries, houses and fortified villages built on the summits of mountains. The population of these places was pagan, and this may explain the origin of the name Kufra (*kafara*, pl. of *kāfir*, "infidel"), given to the region when they settled there. In about 1730 they were ousted by the Zāwiya and the Ḥassūna, tribes from Tripolitania, who took over their position. The last of the Tūbu seem to have disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century. In the middle of that century the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] appeared and built the *zāwiya* of al-Istāt not far from the village of D̲j̲ōf. They appropriated the best ground and the richest gardens. At the time of Rohlfs' journey, they already owned a quarter of the palm trees in the oasis and had begun new plantations. The *zāwiya* of al-Istāt was already very important at this time, and it became the residence of the Grand Master of the brotherhood from the moment in 1895 when Sīdī al-Mahdī, son and successor of Sīdī Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, the founder of the order, left D̲j̲ag̲h̲būb [*q.v.*] to go and take up residence there.

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(G. Yver)

ḲUFṢ, Arabised form of Persian Kūfičīs, a people inhabiting south eastern Persia, more exactly the Kirmān-western Balūčistān region, in early mediaeval Islamic times.

The name, literally "mountain dwellers", probably stems ultimately from O. Pers. *ākaufačiya*—(< O. Pers. *kaufa-* "mountain"), the name of a people in the Daiva inscription of Xerxes, who are mentioned together with the *mačiya* "men of Maka" (= Makrān, the coastal region of Balūčistān?), via N. Pers. *kūfid̲j̲/kūfič* (cf. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian grammar, texts, lexicon*², New Haven 1953, 151, 165). In early Islamic sources, the Kūfičīs are frequently linked with the Balūčīs in the alliterative phrase *Kūč u Balūč*, although it is clear that we are dealing here with two separate peoples [for the latter, see BALŪČISTĀN].

The Arabic and Persian geographical writers of the 4th/10th century (Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, etc.) mention the region of the Kūfičīs as a mountainous one, lying to the south of the D̲j̲abal Bāriz in eastern Kirmān, where dwelt the Balūč. *Grosso modo*, this region corresponded with the little-known one of Bas̲h̲ākard/Bas̲h̲kardia [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in modern Persia, sc. the mountainous area lying to the east of Mīnāb and between the D̲j̲āz Mūryān depression on the north and the coastal plain of Makrān on the south. Whether the present-day Bas̲h̲kardīs are descendants of the mediaeval Kūfičīs is unclear and probably impossible to prove or disprove, in view of the dearth of historical, demographic and linguistic information on this remote corner of Persia; one can only remark that the two groups of dialects making up Bas̲h̲kardī form a distinct Iranian language of its own, to be separated from New Persian on the one hand and Balūčī on the other.

The Islamic sources agree on stigmatising the Kūfičīs on the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries as a predatory people, nominally Muslim, but behaving with inhuman cruelty to the travellers and others whom they intercepted within the Das̲h̲t-i Lūṭ, into which they raided from their hill fastnesses; there is a classic description of their characteristic savagery in al-Muḳaddasī (wrote *ca.* 375/985), 488-90, cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 263-5. The Būyid *amīr*s Muʿizz al-Dawla and his nephew ʿAḍud al-Dawla took draconian measures against the Kūfičīs as they extended their rule eastwards from Fārs to Kirmān and put an end to the independent power in Kirmān of Muḥammad b. Ilyās [see ILYĀSIDS]. In 324/936 Muʿizz al-Dawla defeated the "chief of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ", ʿAlī b. al-Zand̲j̲ī, at Dilfārid in the *sardsīr* or mountainous zone of Kirmān, but had to leave him in control of the Kūfičīs' mountain haunts.

After the death of Muḥammad b. Ilyās in 356/967, ʿAḍud al-Dawla invaded Kirmān and wrested the province from the former's sons and their allies the Kūfičīs. During 360-1/970-2, two campaigns were launched against the Kūfičīs, as a result of which Būyid authority was extended as far eastwards as Tīz and Makrān, the Kūfičī and Balūč lands laid waste, and large numbers of them deported or taken as hostages (for details, see C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 111-18).

The Kūfičīs did not, of course, disappear after this. They continued to prey on travellers through the Great Desert, although the establishment in the 5th/11th century of the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate and the autonomous Saldjūḳ amīrate in Kirmān seems to have reduced their activities to manageable proportions. The *amīr* of Kirmān Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*] is said to massacred the Kūfičī chiefs in their strongholds in the Djabal Bāriz, and after this, mention of the Kūfičīs as a distinct ethnic element drops out of mention in the histories; presumably they now mingled with the general ethnic stock of south-eastern Persia.

Bibliography: The information of the mediaeval geographers is given in Le Strange, *The lands of the Castern Caliphate*, 316-17, 323-4, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 261-6, cf. also *Ḥudud al-ʿālam*, 65, 124, 201, 374-5. The Būyid campaigns are described by Miskawayh in his *Tadjārib al-umam*, later repeated in Ibn al-Athīr; see Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān, loc. cit.* All these sources are utilised in the detailed study by idem, *The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian history*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xiv (1976), 9-17. (C. E. Bosworth)

KŪH-I BĀBĀ, the mountain massif of central Afghānistān, being the westwards and southwards extension of the Pamirs "knot" and the Hindū Kush [*q.v.*] of north-eastern Afghānistān. The name Kūh-i Bābā is properly given to the east-west chaîne magistrale running westwards from Kābul and lying to the south of the upper Herī Rūd, with outliers running southwards and westwards through the regions of the Ghōrāt and Hazāradjāt [see GHŪR and HAZĀRADJĀT in Suppl.] between such river valleys as those of the Helmand, Arghandāb and Tarnak. On the northern side of the Herī Rūd stretch the Paropamisus Mountains, rising to 3,600 m./11,200 ft., and northwestwards to the Murghāb valley and the Russian border, the Kūh-i Ḥiṣār (4,230 m./13,150 ft.) and its continuation the Band-i Turkistān (3,500 m./10,900 ft.). To the east of Kābul, the Safīd Kūh stretches to the south of Djalālābād towards the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR PASS] and the Pakistan frontier, attaining a height of 4,760 m./14,800 ft. The central Kūh-i Bābā has as its highest point Shāh Fūlādī, 5,140 m./16,000 ft. high and covered in perpetual snow. The whole region is thus a ganglion of mountain chains and upland plateaux, across which communication has always been arduous: thus the Unai Pass between the headwaters of the Kābul River and the Helmand lies at 3,300 m./10,300 ft., the Shibar Pass between the Kābul valley and northern Afghānistān via the Ghōrband lies at 3,000 m./9,400 ft., the Hadjigak Pass from the Unai district northwards to Bāmiyān lies at 3,700 m./11,550 ft., and the Kirmu Pass connecting the valleys of the upper Herī Rūd and the Helmand lies at 3,100 m./9,730 ft.

Because of the difficult communications, the historic routes linking the principal towns of Afghānistān, sc. Kābul, Ḳandahār and Herāt, have often gone round this central massif southwards or northwards, and today, it remains one of the most thinly-populated and least-known regions of the country. Much field work, archaeological, ethnological and topographical, needs to be done here, and this will certainly throw important light on Afghānistān's past history. Because of the configuration and the harsh climate, much of the region is totally unpopulated, but on the plateaux and in the villages there is pastoralist transhumance and nomadism and some agriculture. The population of the Ghōrāt and Hazāradjāt regions is predominantly Tādjīk, with vestigal ethnic elements like the Mongols, and with increased penetration on the southern fringes by Pashtūns. The towns of the region, like Pandjāb or Pandjāō, Ghizāō, Uruzgān and Dawlatyār, are small and have only local importance.

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KŪH-I NŪR (Koh-i Noor) a diamond, now weighing 106¹/16 carats, but originally much larger; the early history of it is obscure, and authorities are not agreed as to whether it may be identified with the diamond mentioned by Bābur in his Memoirs (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 477, 702); but *ca.* 1656 it was presented by Mīr Djumla [see MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD] to the Mughal emperor, Shāh Djahān, and was seen in 1665 by Tavernier in the treasury of Awrangzēb; in 1739 it was carried off to Persia by Nādir Shāh, who gave it the name it now bears. Nādir Shāh's grandson, Shāh Rukh, gave it in 1751 to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, whose grandson, Shāh Shudjāʿ, when in exile in Lahore in 1813, had to surrender it to the Sikh Mahārādjā Randjīt Singh. On his death-bed in 1839, Randjīt Singh is said to have expressed a wish that the diamond should be sent to the temple of Djagannāth, in Orissa, but it remained in Lahore until the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849 by the East India Company, who presented it to Queen Victoria. It was subsequently incorporated in the state crown used by Queen Elizabeth, consort of King George VI, at their coronation in 1937.

Bibliography: E. W. Streeter, *The great diamonds of the world*, ch. xi, London 1882; J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, Appendix i, London 1889; N. S. Maskelyne, *The Koh-i-Nur*, in *Nature*, xliv (1891), 555 f.; H. Beveridge, *Bābur's diamond: was it the Koh-i nūr?*, in *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* (April 1899); Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. W. Crooke, London 1903, 491, s.v. *Kohinor*. (T. W. Arnold)

AL-**KŪHĪ** [see Suppl.]

AL-**KŪHIN**, name of a certain number of Moroccan families, of Jewish origin but converts to Islam. One of the best-known of them is the family to which belonged Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Aḥmad, who towards the end of the 12th/18th century pursued religious studies under the direction of such famous scholars as Ibn al-Ḥādjdj [*q.v.*], Ḥamdūn, Ibn Sūda [*q.v.*], Aḥmad and Ibn Kīrān [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Being an immediate disciple of Mawlāy al-ʿArbī al-Darḳāwī [see DARḲĀWA], he joined the religious order which the latter had recently founded. He made his first pilgrimage, and wrote about this in a *Riḥla* apparently lost, then finally settled in Medina where he died in Ṣafar 1254/April-May 1838.

Al-Kūhin left behind a *Fahrasa* [*q.v.*] called *Imdād dhawī 'l-isti'dād ilā ma'ālim al-riwāya wa 'l-isnād* (Ms. Rabat, 514, ff. 1-20), two commentaries on al-Bukhārī, *Minaḥ ilāhiyya wa-mawāhib ikhtiṣāṣiyya 'alā 'l-Djāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Ms. Rabat, 34) and *Nawāfiḥ al-ward wa 'l-'anbar wa 'l-misk al-wārī li-sharḥ ākhir tardjamat Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Ms. Rabat, 892 D), and finally, a *Munyat al-faķīr al-mutadjarrid wa-samīr al-munīr al-munfarid*, a selective gloss on the *Sharḥ al-Ādjurrūmiyya* of Ibn 'Adjība [*q.v.*], printed at Istanbul in 1315: "purely grammatical explanations are set aside, and only the allusive character is kept, in which the grammar is used to illustrate the process of the manifestation of divine light" (J.-L. Michon, 282, cf. 115-19, where two passages from this work are translated).

One of this mystic's descendants, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ķāsim b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ķādir (b. 1915 in Cairo) is the author of the *Kitāb Ṭabaķāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, published at Cairo in 1347/1938-8).

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ĶŪHISTĀN (P.) or **ĶUHISTĀN** is the arabicised form of the Persian name Kūhistān meaning a mountainous country (derived from *kūh*, "mountain" with the sufix *-istān*) and corresponds to the Arabic designation al-Djibāl. As the Iranian plateau is very mountainous, we find many more or less extensive areas in it to which the name Ķūhistān has been given, as Yāķūt has already remarked (iv, 204). Many of these names have disappeared in course of time. Thus Ķazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, 228) says that the term Ķūhistān is used for Media, which other geographers always call al-Djibāl. In the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī we even find Ķūhistān used as the old name of Mā warā' al-Nahr (ed. Vullers, 531) but this is probably a case of erroneous identification made by Firdawsī himself (cf. also Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Kūh*).

The principal districts that are or have been called Ķūhistān are as follows:

1. Ķūhistān-i Khurāsān. This is the mountainous and partially arable region which stretches south of Nīshāpūr as far as Sīstān in the south-east. It is surrounded on all sides by the great salt desert of the Central Iranian plateau and consists of scattered groups of oases; one feature of its geographical unity is the fact that no part of it belongs to one of the great centres of civilisation that surround it. These are in the north Nīshāpūr, in the north-east Herāt, in the south-east Sīstān, in the south-west Kirmān with Yazd, and in the west Media. Although Ķūhistān has always been connected with these by caravan routes and is therefore not absolutely cut off, its isolated position, combined with the relatively low productivity of the soil, has caused it to be little-known and neglected and its inhabitants have usually been ruled by a member of independent lords. If it has been reckoned a district of Khurāsān, this is only because Nīshāpūr and Herāt are relatively the nearest places to it. Ķūhistān has therefore never been a very clear-cut geographical term; a modern traveller like Curzon, although he describes the different districts, does not even mention its name.

The orography of Ķūhistān is still little known. The mountain chains which in the north run more east to west, assume the direction N.W.-S.E. as one moves southwards. These chains, which have passes rising to over 3,000 feet, enclose cultivated areas of which the principal are, beginning in the north: Turshīz and Turbat-i Ḥaydarī [*q.v.*], now called Turbat-i Shaykh Isḥāķ, and to the east Djām; next comes the district of Djunābād (formerly Yunābid) and more to the east, that of Khwāf [*q.v.*] with the old town of Zawzan; then comes Tūn, with the district of Ṭabas on the west of it, which later extends so far to the west that in the Middle Ages it was not included in Ķūhistān; next come to the south of these, Ķā'in and Bīrdjand, to the south of which there are no more oases of any importance until we reach Sīstān by the Nih route. The rivers of the region are of little importance; irrigation is done by canals and *ķanāts*; Muķaddasī, (322, reading of the Istanbul ms.) says that the only running stream he knows in Ķūhistān is near Ṭabas; the latter is also the only town which he includes, with the neighbouring district of Kurī, in the *djurūm* or warm regions.

It is probable that various places in Ķūhistān have a history going back to pre-Islamic times, but so far we have no information on this period. To realise this, it is sufficient to glance at the second map given by Herfeld in his article *Khorasan: Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 107-74. The journey of this writer in 1925 confirmed his first impression. Moses of Chorene does not mention this region in his *Geography*. In the period of the early Arab conquests, we find Ķūhistān under the rule of the Hephthalites. Historians say that it was first conquered in the caliphate of 'Umar by 'Abd Allāh b. Budayl al-Khuzā'ī; the latter setting out for Kirmān took al-Ṭabasayn—it is by this dual (for Ṭabas and Kurīn, according to al-Balādhurī) that the Arabs always refer to the district of Ṭabas—later called the "two gates of Khurāsān" (Ṭabarī, i, 2704); a deputation of the inhabitants is said to have concluded a treaty with 'Umar (Balādhurī, 403). In 31/653, when Ibn 'Āmir undertook the conquest of Khurāsān, his advance guard under al-Aḥnaf passed through Ķūhistān and defeated the Hephthalites there (Ṭabarī, i, 2885, and Balādhurī, 403, who give other traditions also). In the years following, Ķūhistān was the centre of a great national revolt under a chief called Ķārin (a village in Ķūhistān still bears this name), a rising which was put down by Ibn Khāzim (Ṭabarī, i, 2905; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 135). In 51/671 it was again necessary to reconquer it; this was done by al-Rabī' b. Ziyād from "the Turks" or rather Hephthalites (Ṭabarī, ii, 156). Henceforth Ķūhistān formed from the administrative point of view a part of Khurāsān, and more particularly of the provinces which the Arab geographers still call by the old name of Abarshahr with its capital Nīshāpūr (cf. particularly Ya'ķūbī, *Buldān*, 278, tr. Wiet, 84, who gives a rather limited definition to Ķūhistān, for he mentions al-Ṭabasayn, Djām and Zawzan separately). These remote districts became in the early centuries of Islam the principal refuge of Zoroastrians driven from their homes by the new religion (cf. particularly, Inostrantsev's work quoted in the Bibliography). In the 3rd/9th century the province was under the rule of the Ṭāhirids (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 35) and later of the Ṣaffārids. The Arab geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries know it very well. In this period Ķā'in was the capital and the commercial centre of

Ķūhistān, especially for through trade between Kirmān and Khurāsān. The province was further noted for a very fine linen woven there, which Abū Nuwās mentions under the name *Ķūhiyya* (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1332, i, 79, and R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 95-6); this industry flourished at Tūn in particular. Prayer-carpets also were made there. In the year 444/1052, Nāṣir-i Khusrāw passed through Ķūhistān, going from Iṣfahān. He went by Ṭabas, Tūn, Ķā'in and Sarakhs and describes them as large flourishing towns. In the time of the Saldjūķs, Ķūhistān, the old asylum of the Zoroastrians, became a refuge for the Ismā'īlī heretics, who for this reason were often called *al-malāḥida al-ķūhiyya*. They built here strongholds on the model of the famous citadel of Alamut; there are still many ruins of these castles which have not yet been fully examined (Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, 273; M. G. S. Hodgson, *The order of Assasins*, The Hague 1955, index; B. Lewis, *The Assasins, a radical sect in Islam*, London 1967, 44-5; P. R. E. Willey, *The Assassins in Quhistan*, in *Jnal. Royal Central Asiatic Soc.*, lv [1968], 180-3). The Khwārizmshāhs had on several occasions to send military expeditions to punish the *malāḥida* (cf. e.g. Djuwaynī, *Ta'rīkh-i Djihān-Gushā*, ii, 47, 49). The coming of the Mongols, who exterminated the Ismā'īlīs, at the same time brought about the ruin of Ķūhistān. The region lost all importance and the geographers—like Abu 'l-Fidā'—only quote their predecessors of several centuries before. It is improbable that this is the district referred to by Marco Polo under the name of Tunocain, which Le Strange, *Lands*, 352 proposes to identify as Tūn-u Ķā'in. During the following centuries the region must have very often been in a state of anarchy (cf. Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, i, 430) when power was in the hands of chiefs of Arab origin. The Ṣafawids exercised some authority there, but after them, power lay in the hands of the *amīrs* of Ṭabas and of Ķā'in. At this time, Ķūhistān inclined towards Afghānistān rather than Persia, until the Ķādjārs succeeded in bringing it under their sway towards the middle of the 19th century. The chiefs of the ruling families kept their positions as governors for the Shāh and received pompous titles from the Persian court. About 1900 the *amīrs* of Ķā'in no longer lived in this town but in Bīrdjand; they claim descent from the Arab tribe of Khuzayma. Some members of this family also ruled Sīstān. The rulers of Ṭabas also governed at this time the district of Djunābād (chief town Djunayn).

The settled population of Ķūhistān is of a very ancient stock; their houses are also of a very archaic type. Their dialect seems to offer few pecularities. Ivanov distinguishes in Ķūhistān the dialect groups of Turshīz and Djunābād and that of Ķā'in, Tūn and Bīrdjand. Many villages around Ķā'in and Bīrdjand are inhabited exclusively by *sayyids*. In some places we also find descendants of the Ismā'īlīs, who recognise the authority of the Agha Khān, e.g. at Ķā'in and Bīrdjand. There are also small colonies of Bahā'īs, while the Sunnī Afghān element is relatively strong. The nomads are for the most part Arab Sunnīs, still speaking Arabic; they live along the main routes, and include the Khuzayma, from whom came the *amīrs* of Ķā'in. A few Turkish tribes are found only in the north as far as Turbat-i Ḥaydarī. Finally, in the south there are Balūčīs, who move in summer towards Sīstān.

Ķūhistān has never in its history contained any major urban centres comparable to those of northern and eastern Khurāsān; when Sykes was there in 1900, Ķā'in had only *ca.* 4,000 inhabitants. This may be one reason why the region (with the exception of the more northerly part, around Zawzan, see KHWĀF) did not in earlier times produce such an abundance of *'ulamā'* and scholars as the other cities of Khurāsān. However, Storey, *Persian literature*, i, 923, mentions a modern *Tadhkira-yi shu'arā'-i Ķā'ināt* by one Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ķā'inātī on some poets of Ķā'ināt and Bīrdjand, and in mediaeval times we find Tha'ālibī mentioning poets with the *nisba* of "al-Ķā'inī", e.g. the Abū Manṣūr Ķāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ķā'inī in *Tatimmat al-yatīma*, ed. Eghbal, ii, 45. Bīrdhand has in recent times been the most important town, even though it lies in a less fertile situation than the smaller Ķā'in. Administratively, much of Ķūhistān falls today within the *shahrastān* of Bīrdjand, in the 9th *ustān* or province of Khurāsān, and within this *shahrastān* or district there is *bakhsh* or sub-district of the same name (pop. in 1950, 43,4009) and a further *bakhsh* of Ķā'in (pop. in 1950, 65,000). The products of the region include some cereals, such as wheat and barley, opium, silk and saffron, and there is carpet-weaving and camel-raising.

Bibliography: All the Arab authors in the *BGA*; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, comm. 326-7; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 95; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 79; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taķwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 444; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 466; G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 352-63; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 260 ff.; Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia*, i, 341; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i, 199-203; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900; Sykes, *Twenty thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 28 ff., 394; E. Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, in *ZDMG*, lxxx (1926), 272 ff.; von Hammer, *Geschichte der Assassinen*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1818, 99 and *passim*; Inostrantsev, *The emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musulman world in the middle of the 8th century*, tr. L. Bogdanow in *Journal of the K. R. Cama Institute*, No. 1 (Bombay 1922), 33, 71 (quoted by Herzfeld); W. Ivanov, *Notes on the ethnology of Khurasan*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, lxvii (1926), 143-57; idem, *On the language of the gypsies of Qainat (in Eastern Persia)*, in *JASB*, N.S. x (1914), 439-55; *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, 1945, 108-9, 388-9, and index *s.vv.* Birjand, Qain, etc.; W. B. Fisher, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, Cambridge 1968, 73-6. For the European travellers through the region, see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1950; N. N. Ambraseys and C. P. Melville, *The seismicity of Kuhistan, Iran*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, cxliii/2 (1977), 179-99. See also KHWĀF, ṬABAS and TURSHĪZ.

2. The Arab geographers appear to have known two towns of the name Ķūhistān in the province of Kirmān. One of them was called Ķūhistān Abī Ghānim and was in the district of Djīruft, between this town and the Djabal al-Ķufs (Muķaddasī, 52, 461, 467; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. 65, 124, comm. 374-5; Yāķūt, iv, 206; Le Strange, 318). The other Ķūhistān was situated on the road from Sīrdjān to Bām, 6 *farsakhs* from the former town (Ibn Khuradādhbih, 66; Ķudāma, 196; Muķaddasī, 473; Le Strange, 311).

3. Ķūhistān of Kābul in Afghānistān is a district to the north-east of the town of Kābul and includes the districts of Pandjshīr, Nidjzan, Tagan, etc. The population is composed of an element called Tādjiks,

who speak Persian and Pas̲h̲tō, and other elements called Ḳūhistānī who speak Pas̲h̲aʾi (a Dardic dialect, see DARDIC and KĀFIR LANGUAGES) and Parāči (Iranian) (cf. *Imperial gazetteer of India*, xiv, 241).

4. The northern part of the native state of Swāt in the north-west of India is also called Ḳūhistān. It is the mountainous region around the upper course of the river Swāt; it stretches eastwards as far as the Indus and westwards as far as Pand̲j̲kora so that a distinction is sometimes made between Ḳūhistān of Swāt and Ḳūhistān of Pand̲j̲ora. The people of the valleys (estimated to number 20,000) have suffered since the 9th/15th century from Afg̲h̲ān invasions. Under the rule of the Afg̲h̲āns they became very zealous Sunnī Muslims; the religious chiefs (*āk̲h̲und*) have had an enormous influence in the country. Another consequence of the Afg̲h̲ān invasions has been the expansion of Pas̲h̲tō all over the country. This language has gained ground at the expense of the old local dialects. The latter—to which the general name of Ḳūhistānī is given—are very numerous and belong to the Dardic group which, according to the researchs of Morgenstierne, seems to belong to the Indian group of dialects. The principal dialects are: Gārwī (Swāt Kūh.), Tōrwālī (Swāt and Pand̲j̲kora Kūḥ.) and Mayyā (Indus Kūh.).

Bibliography: Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo koosh*, Calcutta 1880; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xxiii, 183 ff. On the languages, see Grierson, *Linguistic survey of India*, viii/2, 507; G. Morgenstierne. *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo 1926, *Institutet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning*, series C, 1-2; idem, in DARDIC and KĀFIR LANGUAGES.

5. Lastly, Ḳūhistān is the name of a barren and mountainous region in the eastern part of the district of Karāčī. The population in 1901 was estimated at 12,877 (*Imperial gazetteer of India*, xv, 353). (J. H. KRAMERS*)

AL-**KUḤL**, traditionally translated as antimony sulphide (stibnite), is synonymous in the Arabic and Persian geographical sources with *it̲h̲mid* and *surma*. Its primary source was Iran, where the following places were noted for its production: in K̲h̲urāsān, Ṭūs (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, ed. M. Sutūda, tr. and comm. V. Minorsky, § 23.11—*surma*), and Gūzgān (*Hudūd a-ʿālam*, § 23.51—*sang-i surma*); in Māzandarān, Sāmār near Sārī (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 32.23—*surma*) and Ṭabaristān (Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān*, tr. E. G. Browne, 33—*surma*); and in D̲j̲ibāl province, Mt. Damāvand (Abū Dulaf, *al-Risāla al-t̲h̲ānīyya*, ed. V. Minorsky, § 51—*kuḥl*) and Iṣfahān (Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa*, 156—*it̲h̲mid*; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik al-mamālik*, 203; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, 372; al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 397; al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. de Jong 110, tr. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 128; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tid̲j̲āra*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in *RAAD*, xii (1932), 345—*kuhl*; al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-mak̲h̲lūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 210—*it̲h̲mid*). Modern geological surveys record only three sources of antimony in Iran—at Patyār (7 miles east of Anārak), at Turkmanī (25 miles south-east of Anārak), and at S̲h̲ūrāb (100 miles north-west of Bird̲j̲and) (G. Ladame, *Les ressources métallifères de l'Iran*, in *Schweizerische mineralogische und petrographische Mitteilungen*, xxv [1945], 189-91; J. V. Harrison, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, Cambridge 1968, 512-13, fig. 119). None of these, it should be noted, are near the sites listed above.

A study of the words *al-kuḥl*, *surma* and *it̲h̲mid* indicates that the substance was in fact only rarely antimony sulphide. *Al-kuḥl* was used in two different ways in mediaeval Arabic and Persian texts. First of all, it was used as a general term for any eye cosmetic. Such eye cosmetics were prepared from numerous different substances and would have had quite different colorations, as is made clear for example in the *Lapidary* of Pseudo-Aristotle (ed. J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, §§ 11, 12, 52) where turquoise, lapis lazuli and *tūtīyā* (zinc oxide) are mentioned as ingredients of *akḥāl*, and al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī also note a variety of stones and other substances which could be included (e.g. al-Ḳazwīnī, ii, 229-34). The word *kuḥl* was still used in this way in the last century—for example, Sanguinetti (*Quelques chapitres de médicine et de la thérapeutique arabe*, in *JA* [1866], 320-1) gives the constituents of three types of *kuḥl*—*kuḥl ag̲h̲bar*, *kuḥl aṣfar* and *kuḥl ʿazīz*, the latter being composed of eleven different substances.

Al-kuḥl was also used, however, to indicate a particular substance, as for example when al-Iṣṭakhrī records a mine of *al-kuḥl* at Iṣfahān, and an interesting story in this connection is related by al-T̲h̲aʿālibī (*loc. cit.*). He writes that al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ is reported to have given one of his special followers the provincial governorship of Iṣfahān with the words, "I make you governor of the area of which the stone is *al-kuḥl*", and adds that Iṣfahān was talked of in these terms because the *kuḥl* stone there was of such excellent quality. *Al-kuḥl* in these instances was something more specific than eye cosmetics in general, i.e. it was a particular substance, mineral or metal.

The equating of *al-kuḥl* in this latter sense with *it̲h̲mid* and *surma* is evident from such passages as al-Ḳazwīnī, i, 210, and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kās̲h̲ānī, *ʿArāʾis al-d̲j̲awāhir wa-nafāʾis al-aṭāyib*, Tehran 1345/1966, 189, and the sources are unanimous in associating the substance with lead. This is the evidence of Pseudo-Aristotle, § 51 and al-Hamdānī, *Kitāb al-D̲j̲awharatayn al-ʿatīḳatayn*, ed. C. Toll, fols. 21a, 23a, the latter identifying *it̲h̲mid* with the ore from which silver came i.e. lead ore. Al-Hamdānī, it should be noted, had a great deal of first-hand experience of metallurgy. Equally confirmatory is the evidence of al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī, ed. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xxiv, in *SPMSE* (1911), 93, and Kās̲h̲ānī, 190, 344. It therefore seems reasonable to assert that the *kuḥl* mined at Iṣfahān was a lead mineral (Ibn Rusta, 157, says that Iṣfahān produced lead as well as *it̲h̲mid*), and to suggest that where *kuḥl* in the literary sources indicates a naturally-occurring substance as opposed to an artificially-made compound, it almost certainly refers to a lead mineral too. In this connection it should be noted that while it had generally been assumed that eye-paint in ancient Egypt had an antimony base, A. Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian materials and industries*, revised by J. R. Harris, 1962, 195-9) showed by analysis that it in fact consisted of galena, pyrolusite, brown ochre or malachite, and only in one instance, of antimony sulphide.

As a cosmetic, *al-kuḥl* was ground as fine as possible and then used by women to dye their eyebrows and eyelashes or the edges of the lids. The cosmetic was applied by means of a small probe or stick with a rounded end called a *mirwad*, and was kept in a small vessel called a *mukḥula* (E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, 1954, 37-8); in mediaeval times, the sticks were commonly

of bronze and the vessels of glass, and a special object known in Khurāsān as *wasma-djūsh* was used for grinding the substance and pouring it into the narrow-necked vessels (for such an object, see G. Fehérvári, *Islamic metalwork in the Keir collection*, London 1976, no. 18, and numerous similar pieces elsewhere).

Al-kuḥl also had a specifically medical function as an eye unguent, particulars of which are to be found in Ibn al-Bayṭār and other such writers. From this function comes the idea of *al-kaḥḥāl*, ophthalmist [see ʿAYN].

Al-kuḥl is also the origin of our word alcohol. From a fine powder used to stain the eyelids, it came by extension to mean any fine impalpable powder produced by trituration or sublimation, and hence was applied to fluids of the idea of sublimation—an essence, quintessence or "spirit" obtained by distillation or rectification. Sublimation and the distillation of drugs was known to Khalaf b. ʿAbbās al-Zahrawī (Abulcasis) in the late 4th/10th century, but the more complicated process needed for the production of alcohol was probably introduced into the Islamic world from Europe, where it was first discovered in the 12th century. (For a description of the preparation of arak in 10th/16th century Mughal India, see Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllamī, *ʿĀʾin-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1893, i, 69).

Bibliography: the continued publication of previously unknown scientific or semi-scientific texts such as those of al-Hamdānī and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī means that the works cited in the article on *al-kuḥl* in *EI*[1] have become outdated, but no detailed work on *al-kuḥl* has since been published. The reader is referred to E. O. Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, Berlin 1919, and to the works of Wiedemann, *Beiträge* xxiv, 93, 99; xxv, 218-9; xl, 176, 186, in *SPMSE*, 1911, 1914, and H. E. Stapleton, *Chemistry in ʿIrāq and Persia in the tenth century*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society in Bengal*, viii, no. 6, 352, 372; but is advisable to read them in conjunction with all the information now available in the Arabic or Persian texts cited above. Additional information is to be found in other geographical texts, in works on pharmacology, and in semi-scientific texts such as Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Tansūkh-nāma-yi Īlkhānī*, Tehran 1348/1969. Much material is also to be found in *WKAS*, i, 73 f.

(E. WIEDEMANN - [J. W. ALLAN])

ḲUHRŪD, Arabic form of Persian Kōh-rūd "mountain river", a village in western Persia on the summer caravan route between Ḳāshān and Iṣfahān [*q.vv.*]. In mediaeval times it fell within the province of Djibāl, and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. 184, places it some 8 *farsakhs* from Ḳāshān, sc. 27 miles/45 km. from the latter town; cf. also Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 929 n. 16. Today, Ḳuhrūd falls administratively in the *bakhsh* of Ḳamṣar, in the *shahrastān* of Ḳāshān, in the second *ustān* or central province of Iran, see *Farhang-i djughrāfiyāʾ-yi Īrān*, iii, 218-19. It lies in the mountains on the slopes of a cultivated valley, and the agreeableness of its climate in summer has been commented upon by numerous European travellers, from Chardin onwards, who have passed through it. E. G. Browne was there in 1888 and collected specimens of the distinctive dialect of the Ḳuhrūd-Naṭanz district, see his *A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1926, 203-8.

Ḳuhrūd is apparently unmentioned by the earlier Arab and Persian geographers, until Mustawfī (8th/14th century) comments upon it and upon the fact that the river of Ḳuhrūd supplied Ḳāshān with some of its water (*op. cit.*, tr. 72); this river was dammed in Ṣafawid times by the Band-i Ḳuhrūd in order to assure a supply for Ḳāshān during the summer months, see Browne, *op. cit.*, 202-3. Its monuments comprise a Ṣafawid caravanserai and two 8th/14th century mosques, one apparently the Shīʿī mosque and the other possibly that of the Sunnī villagers; for these, see O. Watson, *The Masjid-i ʿAlī, Quhrūd: an architectural and epigraphic survey*, in *Iran. Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, xii (1975), 59-74. The mountains of the Ḳuhrūd district produce lead and cobalt, and the village may accordingly have had connections with the great ceramics centre of Ḳāshān; see Hans Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 163.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KŪKAWA, or **KŪKA**, capital of Bornū [*q.v.*] for much of the 19th century, situated at 12° 55′ N. and 13° 30′ E. It was founded about 1814 by al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānimī [see AL-KĀNEMĪ], better known as Shaykh, or Shehu, al-Kānimī. He was a Kanembu *mallam* [*q.v.*], who had established himself at Ngala, south of Lake Chad. In 1808 or 1809 Fulani forces, linked with the *djihād* of Usuman dan Fodio [*q.v.*], occupied and ravaged Birni Gazargamu [*q.v.*], then the capital of Bornū. The Bornū ruler, or *mai* [*q.v.*], called upon al-Kānimī's help. The city changed hands several times but, although eventually the Fulani were conclusively expelled, Gazargamu never became the capital again. Mai Dunama wandered about, earning the derisive title "*mai* of the calabash" (a significant item of luggage) for his much travelling. Al-Kānimī received the fief of Ngornu, northwest of Ngala but still far from Gazargamu, for services rendered. Dunama was deposed by his uncle, Muḥammad Ngileruma, who established a new capital, Birni Kafela, very near Ngornu. About 1813 al-Kānimī's power had so much grown that he was able to depose Muḥammad, and to reinstate Dunama, keeping however Kafela as the *mai*'s official capital. With Gazargamu abandoned, Kafela very much in the shadow of al-Kānimī, and al-Kānimī himself somewhat at odds with local leaders in his own fief of Ngornu, there was no obvious centre of power in Bornū. About 1814 al-Kānimī decided to leave Ngornu, and built a new town, Kūka, again somewhat to the northwest, nine miles from Lake Chad. The name comes from the Kanūri [*q.v.*] word for baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) tree, one of which was growing on or near the site of al-Kānimī's own future dwelling.

For the next thirty years, an uneasy balance existed between the legitimate dynasty at Kafela, and the *shehu*'s one at Kūka. In 1817 (Barth) or 1820 (Brenner) a Bagirmi [*q.v.*] force invaded Bornū, intending to oust al-Kānimī and restore to the *mai* his traditional powers; the plan failed and the *mai* was killed. Schultze (p. 257) mentions a sack of Kūka by the invaders at this time, but this is not confirmed in other sources. Al-Kānimī struck his own seal, dated 1819-20, but still continued to preserve a figurehead *mai*. Al-Kānimī died in 1837; the hitherto generally accepted date, 1835, seems almost certainly disproved by manuscript evidence. He was succeeded by his son ʿUmar [*q.v.*], under whom Kūka continued to become increasingly the seat of all real power. In 1846 Wadai [*q.v.*] was invaded,

with the intention of removing Shehu ʿUmar and re-establishing the *mai*. Kūka was partially destroyed, and for two months lay almost a desert; but again the plan miscarried. The *mai* was executed; after his son was killed in battle some months later, no new *mai* was appointed, ʿUmar openly asserting that sovereignty which he and his father had long enjoyed in fact. Kūka was now the official, as well as the actual, capital of Borno.

As, in the period after 1814, power came more and more to centre upon Kūka, the essential pattern of government—in essence, through fiefs ruled by courtiers—did not change, although there was greater centralisation than in the old days at Gazargamu. The Kūka court was characterised by relative informality, lack of splendour, and a certain religious simplicity, in contrast to the elaborate, and increasingly hollow, ceremonial at Kafela. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, son of a former imam at Gazargamu, was appointed *imām* of the Kūka mosque, and presided over all religious festivals. Minor legal matters, such as divorce and inheritance, were handled by *ḳāḍī*s appointed by al-Kānimī; serious crimes and capital cases were referred to al-Kānimī himself, and his six principal companions. After 1846, ceremonial tended to increase, and the number of courtiers and noblemen grew larger. With the challenge from Kafela removed, and with an ever-larger number of people competing for wealth and rewards which were no longer expanding sufficiently rapidly, divisive forces appeared within Kūka itself; ʿUmar, a pious and aimable man, was also irresolute and weak, unable to maintain his father's firm control of the city and the state.

After the Wadai sack in 1846, Kūka was rebuilt, but a new town was added to the east, and into this quarter the political leaders moved. The *shehu*'s main palace was in the east town, although that in the west town was refurbished, and the *shehu* visited it from time to time, particularly at religious festivals. The west town, i.e. the original Kūka, became the residential area of non-titled families, and foreign merchants; it had the larger population. Each town was walled separately. (Kūkawa is a plural form: there were in fact two Kūka towns). The wall of the eastern town, in 1870, was crenellated, about 20 feet high, made of clay and gravel, with terraces on the inner side; during the rains, the upper and thinner part of the wall began to disintegrate, and goats grazed on the terraces. The space between the two towns was almost as densely built up as the towns themselves, and there were in addition many huts, farms and hamlets round about. Nachtigal, who arrived on 6 July 1870, estimated the double town as about 2 1/4 miles long and 1 mile broad. A *dendal*, or promenade (Barth called it "this high road of ambition"), a standard feature of Kanūri towns but here on a much extended scale, started at the west gate of the west town, and ran straight on, across the intervening space, and two-thirds of the way through the east town, until it came to the *shehu*'s main palace, which was distinguished by an upper storey and some towerlike elevations. Before the palace, a little to the north, a low minaret overlooked the boundary wall of a complex of houses and huts, identifying them as a mosque. The usual dwelling consisted of a considerable area, in which were huts of thatch, and cubical earthen buildings usually of one room; as much as three-quarters of the total area might be of courtyards and unroofed enclosures, including gardens and stable yards. The general architectural appearance of the city was dispiriting; the outer walls, at a distance, could hardly be distinguished from the surrounding ground, whilst within, the roads and paths were generally lined by the windowless walls of adjoining compounds. Some trees, and an unusually abundant bird life, refreshed the eye of the visitor.

Daily markets were held in various parts of Kūkawa, but the main market took place on Mondays, outside the westernmost gate. Although this was often very crowded, and shopping there difficult because of the press of customers, the people were generally orderly. Among the goods offered for sale were livestock (camels, horses (both riding and draft), cattle, donkeys, goats, sheep and fowls), cloth and clothing of all kinds, foodstuffs (various grains and meats, honey, milk, butter, dried fish, vegetables, fruit, natron), cooking and eating utensils, leather goods, basketware, carpentry and metalwork, weapons, even boats, firewood, fodder, charcoal, building materials (mats, poles, etc.), rope, and other commodities. Slaves formed an important element in market transactions, with prices for a *sedasi* (a boy measuring six spans from the ankle to the top of the head, aged 12 to 15) indicating the general tone of the slave market. Special slaves, such as eunuchs, dwarfs, deaf-mutes and concubines, were generally sold privately, as were the best quality horses, and not on the open market. Major imports from Europe and North Africa about 1870 were coins (both cheap and of luxury quality), women's ornaments, rosaries, aromatics, tarbushes, paper, guns, swords and sabres (although weapons were also manufactured locally), chain mail, needles, scissors, knives and razors; principal exports northwards were slaves, ivory and ostrich feathers. Barth in 1851 was very critical of the lack of local industry in Kūkawa; there seems to have been a considerable improvement by the early 1870s, when also a greater variety of goods is reported on the market, and the use of currency (cowries, strips of cloth, Maria Theresa dollars) seems to have won a wider acceptance. Trade with North Africa was at this time being inconvenienced by the extreme unreliability, in any commercial contracts, of most of the Kūkawa nobility. Kūkawa did not profit much from modern trade patterns developing to the south. In 1891 Charles MacIntosh, of the Royal Niger Company, visited the city in search of a trade treaty, but the North African community there persuaded the Shehu, Hāshim b. ʿUmar, to refuse his presents and send him away.

The population of Kūkawa was probably about 60,000 during its heyday. There were a considerable number of Ḳurʾānic scholars and teachers, and many blind beggars; *shurafāʾ* came from Morocco and the *ḥaramayn*, pious men from Egypt and Tunis, Timbuktu and Senegal, pilgrims from the western Sahara and the Hausa and Fulani countries, all more or less attracted by the reputation for open-handed generosity which Shehu ʿUmar in particular enjoyed.

The downfall of Kūkawa was at the hand of Rābiḥ [*q.v.*], a man of eastern Sudanese origin. Probably early in 1893, although precise dating of these events is extremely difficult, Rābiḥ and his army, moving westwards, occupied Logone, a vassal state under Bornū. In two battles, at Amja and Legarwa, the Bornū forces vainly tried to defeat Rābiḥ; after the second defeat, organised Bornū resistance collapsed. Shehu Hāshim had been present at the second battle, though taking no active part; he fled to Kūkawa, and abandoned it within a few days, at Rābiḥ's approach. Rābiḥ occupied the town, sometime in 1893, without a struggle. What hap-

pened next is uncertain; some authorities report the ruthless pillaging of the capital, with several thousands of people killed or captured, while others argue that the violence was much more restrained. Certainly an immense booty was captured. Readings from the Ķur'ān were among the festivities celebrating the victory. Shortly after the conquest, Rābiḥ decided to move the capital to Dikwa, an older town of strategic importance, where water supplies were better and grain more accessible. Kūkawa was partly demolished, and everything which could not be carried away was burnt. Only the tombs of the Shehus, where Rābiḥ himself had prayed, were respected.

In 1902, the British installed Bukar Garbai, a grandson of ʿUmar, as Shehu, first at Mongonu 17 miles south of Kūkawa, but with the explicit intention of reoccupying Kūkawa. Attempts to revitalise the desolate capital failed, and at the end of 1906 both the British administration and the traditional Bornū administration were definitively established at Maiduguri. In 1922 Kūkawa was reported to be no more than a mass of ruins, and a small hamlet. By 1975 it had so far recovered as to be a thriving little town, and an administrative District Headquarters. The graves of al-Kānimī, ʿUmar, and their two immediate successors are still revered, and a baobab tree, said to replace the one from which the town first took its name, is preserved as an historical monument.

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ĶUL, an old Turkish word which came, in Islamic times, to mean "slave boy, male slave", defined by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bilge, i, 282, tr. Atalay, i, 336-7, as *ʿabd*. However, the original meaning of *ķul* in Orkhon Turkish was rather "servant, vassal, dependent" (the masculine counterpart of *kün* "female servant, etc.", the two words being linked in the Kültegin inscription, text references in Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkish*, Bloomington, Ind. 1968, 347), since slavery in the Islamic juridical sense did not exist among the ancient Turks.

The word spread through the northern tier of the Islamic world as the Turks became Islamised and entered the Iranian lands and beyond, passing into Persian, Kurdish, Caucasian languages, etc., and used both in a religious sense "slave [of God]" and above all in military contexts, since Turks became so omnipresent as military slaves. Under the Ottomans, *ķullar* became the standard designation for the Janissaries [see yeñi čeri], and under the Ottomans and the Persian Ṣafawids alike, the latter with their Turkish, Georgian and other slave troops, we find the title *ķullar aghasī* given to the commander-in-chief of the sovereign's slave forces [see ghulām, iv and ordū]. An extension of the religious usage of the word may also be seen in such names, common in Ṣafawid Persia and in neighbouring states influenced by it, with *ķul* as a component, e.g. ʿAlī-ķulī, Shāh-ķulī, Yazdān-ķulī; see further laķab v.

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ĶUL MUṢṬAFĀ, called **ĶAYİKDJİ**, 11th/17th century Turkish folk poet of Janissary origin. His nickname Ķayïkdjï ("The Boatman") seems to have originated from his association in his youth with the corsair, later admiral, Turghud Re'is [*q.v.*] in Algeria. His narrative or epic poems on contemporary important events became very popular in the army and at court, and his fame lies more in these than in his less attractive lyrics. Among his famous narrative poems, the most notable concern the assasination of ʿOthmān II by the Janissaries; Shāh ʿAbbās's conquest of Baghdād; Murād IV's siege of Baghdād; the revolt of Abaza Ḥasan Pasha, the governor of Aleppo; and particularly, the epic of Gendj ʿOthmān, a young hero who is drowned in the Tigris during the siege of Baghdād. Ķul Muṣṭafā's style and language are in the true tradition of folk poets, and are very little influenced by *dīwān* poetry.

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ĶŪLA, a town in western Anatolia, classical Opsicum. It lies on the margin of a fertile plain, a few miles south of the upper course of the Gediz river and to the north of the main Manisa-Uşak road, in lat. 38°33′ north and long. 28°40′ east and at an altitude of 2,140 feet/652 m. it is in a volcanic area (classical Katakekaumene or Combusta), with the extinct volcano Karadevlit north-east of the town; hence many of the houses are built from dark basalt. There are numerous marble remains from classical times, but the citadel, apparently late mediaeval, is ruinous.

Ķūla came within the lands of the Turkmen *beylik* of the Germiyān-oghullarī [*q.v.*], and was conquered by Meḥmed Germiyān (*ca.* 741-63/1340-61), and after his son Süleymān Shāh Čelebi (*ca.* 765-90/1363-98) had given Kütahya and several others of his towns to the Ottoman Bāyezīd I Yïldïrïm as dowry for his daughter Dewlet Khātūn, he himself went to Ķūla to reside and died there. In the *Tash wakfiyye* at Kütahya of Yaʿķūb Čelebi b. Süleymān Shāh (814/1411), the name of Ķūla is rendered as كولدى. In Ottoman times, Ķūla fell within the *sandjaķ* of Ṣarukhān, whose capital was Manīsa [*q.v.*]; Ewliyā Čelebi mentions there 8 quarters, 2,100 households, 24 mosques, 3 baths, 6 caravanserais and 200 shops. In recent times, carpet-weaving has been a significant local craft, and it is now a centre for wine-making. Cuinet (*ca.* 1890) recorded 6,100 inhabitants, of whom 5,655 were Muslims and 345 Greeks, together with 30 mosques and two Greek Orthodox churches. In 1950, Ķūla's population was 8,600, whilst the *kaza* of which it was the chef-lieu had one of 38,242 and

was composed of 62 villages. It is now the chef-lieu of an *ilče* (formerly *kaza*) in the *il* (formerly *vilayet*) of Manisa. In 1975 the population was 10,807.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KŪLAM, the name given in mediaeval Arabic geographical and travel literature to the port of Quilon at the southern extremity of the Malabar coast of southwestern peninsular South India, in ancient and modern Kerala (lat. 8° 53′ N. and long. 76°36′ E.).

Quilon early became a centre of the St. Thomas Christians of South India, and is mentioned in a letter of the Nestorian Patriarch Īshūʿyāb of Adiabene (d. 660) to Simon, Metropolitan of Fārs, under the name of Colon and as lacking at that time a settled ministry (Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, iii/2, Rome 1728, 437). The first mention of the place in the Islamic sources appears to be that of the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (237/851), which mentions "Kūlam of Malay" (this latter component being generally written in later Arabic sources, e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, as "al-Malaybār", yielding the name "Malabar", possibly meaning in the local tongue "hilly coastland"). It describes Kūlam as a fortified point where Chinese junks plying towards Arabia had to pay a transit due of 1,000 *dirhams* per ship to the local ruler (J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, text § 14, comm. 42-3, 69). Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳazwīnī, in his *Āthār al-bilād* (Beirut 1380/1960, 55, 106), quotes Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*], sc. the latter's *First Risāla*, on Kūlam, and he and other sources mention such exports from it to the Islamic world as locally-produced porcelain (which was not, however, as fine and translucent as the genuine Chinese porcelain), pepper, cinnamon, ginger, teak, brazil-wood, indigo, etc. In regard to the important export of pepper, we sometimes find Arabic authors (e.g. Abu 'l-Fidā) referring to the whole Malabar coast as *Bilād al-fulful* "Land of pepper". See on the Arab trade to Kūlam and beyond in general, G. F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early mediaeval times*, Princeton 1951, 70-4.

The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela visited Quilon, as did several western ecclesiastical envoys to the Far East in the Mongol period, such as Odoric or Pordenone (translated in Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*², London 1915-16, ii, 129-30) and John of Monte Corvino; the latter mentions that at that time, i.e. the end of the 13th century, the Chinese, Christian and Jewish traders there were being pushed out by the Muslims. Around this time also, Marco Polo visited what he calls Coilum, describing it as an independent city-state (Book iii, ch. 22 = *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. Yule and Cordier, London 1903, ii, 375-82; cf. P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 399-402).

To Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, iv, 99-104, cf. Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, iv, 79) we owe an especially valuable account of Kūlam in the first half of the 8th/14th century, with important information about its Muslim mercantile community. Whilst on his visit there, he stayed in the Ṣūfī *zāwiya* of Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Kāzarūnī, whose father was *shaykh* of another *zāwiya* in nearby Calicut/Kalikat [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The whole body of Muslim merchants was called Ṣūliyyūn (sc. Cholia, a term used in South India to denote either Arab settlers or Muslim converts from the indigenous peoples, see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*², London 1903, 207, s.v. *Choolia*), and these seem to have been largely composed of traders of Persian Shīʿī origin, the head merchant being ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Āwadjī (i.e. from Āwa [*q.v.*] in northwestern Persia), and the *ḳāḍī* a man from Ḳazwīn. The Muslim community was, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates, prosperous and highly-respected. He names the local ruler as Tīrwarī, sc. Tiruvati of the indigenous Venad dynasty, and praises his impartial justice and his tolerance of the Muslims.

From the opening of the 16th century onwards, the history of Quilon is bound up with European economic and political penetration of South India, a process which soon became unfavourable to the earlier Muslim commercial supremacy along the Malabar coast. In December 1500 Pedro Alvarez Cabral was at Cochin, and received friendly delegations from the ruler of Kannanūr [*q.v.*] and from the Queen of Quilon (Portuguese Coilom), both of these potentates being anxious to secure Portuguese help against the powerful Muslim ruler in Calicut, the Zamorin. In 1502 Vasco da Gama made a treaty with the Queen of Quilon, who promised to load two Portuguese ships per year with pepper, and in the next year Albuquerque secured permission to open a factory there. Muslim opposition was strenuous; Portuguese ships were prevented from loading, and 1504 the Portuguese factor at Quilon was killed by them. In 1505 Don Francisco de Almeida was appointed the first Viceroy of All the Indies, and received instructions to erect four fortresses along the Malabar coast, including one at Quilon. In 1516 and 1520, further treaties were made between the ruler of Quilon and the Portuguese aimed at providing the latter with a monopoly of the export of pepper from there.

In 1651 the Dutch captured the fortress of Quilon from the Portuguese, and in 1659 the Dutch East Indian Company made a treaty with the Queen. In December 1661 the Admiral Rijklof van Goens appeared with a fleet at Quilon, since regained by the Portuguese, and occupied the fortress without opposition; he then proceeded in 1662 to reduce the fortresses of Cranganor and Cochin (see, for the whole of this period of the rise and fall of Portuguese influence at Quilon, F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India, being a history of the rise and decline of their eastern empire*, London 1894, i, 88-9, 114, 118, 121, 336-7, ii, 325). But during the 17th century, the Dutch fortress at Quilon decayed from lack of cash and of profit in the trading operations there, and during the period of warfare between the British and the rulers of Mysore, Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.vv.*], in the later 18th century, these two rulers having in their expansionist phase extended Muslim political control into Malabar, the Dutch fortress of Cochin, together with its dependencies, including Quilon, surrendered to British troops (October 1795). During the middle years of the 18th century, the principality of Quilon had been absorbed by Travancore, and in British India, Quilon continued to fall within the native state of Travancore. It is now (since 1956) in the component state of Kerala in the Indian Union. According to the *Census of India 1961. vii. Kerala*, Quilon district had in 1961 a total population of 1,941,228 (Hindu 64 %, Christian 25 %, Muslim 11 %), and Quilon municipality alone 91,018 (1901 figure, 15,961).

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AL-ḲULAYʿA (A.), "little castle", the diminutive of *al-ḳalʿa* [*q.v.*], like this last used, in one way or another, as a place-name.

1. Muslim Spain

Students of the history and geography of Muslim Spain are familiar with *al-ḳulayʿa* as the name of a number of small or relatively small places whose importance seems to have lain only or primarily in the military purpose they served. In Spanish Umayyad history it occurs as the name of at least three different places mentioned in connection with raids and campaigns. One was situated in the Asturian kingdom, another in the neighbourhood of Guadalajara, and yet another to the north-east of Cordova (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 204; ii, 40, 282, 309 (map), 310). The exact location of the first two remains uncertain, but the third, which still bears its old name in Spanish guise, viz. Alcolea, is situated 10 km. or so on the main eastward road of Cordova.

As regards the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada, two places called *al-Ḳulayʿa* are listed in their appropriate administrative divisions by Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*]. Both are located in what is today Almería province. One—Alcolea—lies north of Berja on the main road to Laujar. In other parts of the Peninsula, the same hispanised name can be found in such compounds as Alcolea de Calatrava (Ciudad Real province), A. del Pinar and A. de las Peñas (Guadalajara prov.), A. de Cinca (Huesca prov.), A. del Río (Sevilla prov.; (?) *Ḥiṣn al-Ḳulayʿa*, Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vii, 196), and A. del Tajo (Toledo prov.). Other Peninsular forms are Alcolecha (Alicante prov.) and Alcoletge (Lerida prov.). In Spanish and other European writings the name appears in various guises (Alcolaya, Alcolya, Alcoleia, Alculeiha, etc.). Finally, in Spain today there are a number of place-names which are most probably literal translations of *al-ḳulayʿa* (Castilian diminutive: "castillejo"), e.g. Castillejo (Cáceres and Granada provs.). C. de Iniesta (Cuenca prov.), C. de Robledo (Soria prov.), etc.

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2. North Africa

1. El-Goléa (the French spelling of al-Ḳulayʿa, reflecting the local pronunciation with the usual voiced *ḳāf* of nomadic vernaculars) is the name of an oasis town situated at the far eastern end of the great western Erg (*ʿirḳ*; see map above, i, 365) of Saharan Algeria and lying, by road, 906 km. almost due south of Algiers on the parallel 30° 31′, and 320 km. south of Ghardāya [*q.v.*]—air distances are noticeably shorter—at a height of 391 metres. Although the most isolated of Algeria's larger oases, it is one of the most beautiful. In 1973 the *dāʾira* of El-Goléa had a population of 16,670.

The place owes its name to an old stronghold (*ḳṣar*) built on the north side of a *gāra* (*ḳāra*, pl. *ḳūr*), i.e. a small, isolated flat-topped hill. This *gāra*, from which can be seen a vast expanse of desert, sandy to the west and stony to the east, is one of three forming something of a protective semi-circle into which the huge oasis nestles beneath. Below the *ḳṣar* lies a town that has risen on old and new foundations: the old town, home of an original sedentary population living in mud houses similar in shape and size to the *tata*s of Mali, and the new, modern town, which owes its foundation to the French, but its felicitously harmonious architecture to the inspiration supplied by local tradition. The latter's mosque and market-place are the focal point of social, religious and economic life. From the outset this new town has accommodated administrative buildings. In 1938 it also witnessed the consecration of the first church in the Sahara.

Today the *ḳṣar* is deserted and in ruins. With the establishment and eventual consolidation of French rule, the need for its use as a stronghold disappeared and gradually it came merely to supply the local nomads' needs for storage. Its last inhabitants dispersed throughout the oasis to form hamlet communities alongside various plantations. The remains of the stronghold's double walls still stand, and among the ruins a small, plain mosque can be seen where it has been the custom of local women to gather for Friday prayer. The remains of rock dwellings are also in evidence. Dotted around the foot of the *gāra* on which the *ḳṣar* stands, as well as about the oasis generally, are the *ḳubba*s of local holy men, amounting to between forty and fifty in all and of different shapes and sizes.

As a result of improvements in irrigation and drainage techniques first effected by the French, the oasis now covers more than 800 hectares and supports around 182,000 date-palms watered from artesian wells dug in the bed of the Wād Seggur. Fruit trees also abound, notably citrous and apricot varieties, and there are winter crops of cereals, beans and many other kinds of vegetable.

The inhabitants and frequenters of the oasis are, in the main, wholly or partly sedentarised nomads of the Shaʿanba sub-tribe Mawādhī; traders from the Mzab; negroes and *ḥarāṭīn* (sing. *ḥarṭānī* [*q.v.*]) from Twāt (Touat) and Grāra (Gourara). These last two groups account for about half the population and between them work the land in one capacity or another. Formerly there was also a Jewish element.

El-Goléa's early history is lost in legend. The old *ḳṣar* is said to have been founded as Taurirt (Berb. "little castle") by the Zenata in the Middle Ages and to have then been taken by the Touareg. Its mediaeval origin may be well founded: Ibn Khaldūn mentions the existence of a seemingly not too dissimilar desert advance post inhabited by Matghāra Berbers and frequented in intensely hot weather by veiled nomads. It too was a *ḳulayʿa*, viz. Kulayʿat Wāllan (on some European maps Gucléa). Be that as it may, the Shaʿanba in and around El Goléa are said, probably rightly, to have come from the region of the Matlīlī oasis, near Ghardāya, where there is still a branch of the Shaʿanba, and to have been in the carrying-trade there, to say nothing of brigandage, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Drifting south as population pressures grew, they made El-Goléa their centre and doubtless profited from its position on the route from the Mzab to Twāt

and Tidikelt. In the 17th century, according to al-ʿAyyas̲h̲ī, this evidently prosperous place was ruled, through a governor, by the sultan of Wārglā. Its first contact with Europe was with Duveyrier in 1859. General de Gallifet reached it in 1873, and in 1891 a permanent garrison was installed. The local S̲h̲aʿanba provided Laperrine with the first detachments of the famous *méharistes* with whose aid the central Sahara was brought under French control.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in *EI*[1] art. AL-GOLÉA, see J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*[3], Paris 1964; *idem* and R. Raynal, *Géographie de l'Afrique du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1967; Algerian Ministry of Information (*Wizārat al-ak̲h̲bār*), *al-Fann al-miʿmārī al-Djazāʾirī*, Algiers-Madrid 1970; up-to-date information is always obtainable from the current edition of Hachette's *Guide bleu* on Algeria. On Kulayʿat Wāllan: Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 241; iv, 501.

2. Koléa, a small town of 35,000 inhabitants lying 46 km., by road, west of Algiers. Situated on the landward side of the Sāḥil hills at a height of 130 metres, it offers a commanding view of the Mitīdja plain. Dating from the Ottoman period, it is said to have been founded by Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a, son of the corsair K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn (Barbarossa) [*q.v.*], around 1550. What is certain is that it was peopled by Muslim refugees from Castile, Andalusia, and the kingdom of Valencia, for whom the excellent prospects offered by its fertile cultivable land were the main attraction. In the sources it is therefore referred to as "Col de Mudechares" (Mudechares being the Spanish *mudéjares* from Ar. *mudadjdjanūn*). In modern times Koléa's attraction has been the tomb and mosque of a holy man, Sīdī Mubārak, who lived in the 17th century. One of his descendants, Ibn ʿAllāl b. Mubārak (Ben Allal Ben Embarak), who fell in the cause of the Algerian rebel ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] in 1843, is also buried there.

Bibliography: Marmol, *Descr. de Affrica*, Granada 1573, ii, 214; O. Dapper, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, Amsterdam 1686; C. Trumelet, *Les saints de l'Islam* . . . ?*Les saints du Tell*, Paris 1881.

(J. D. LATHAM)

KULAYB B. RABĪʿA, a chief of the Banu Tag̲h̲lib of the Islamic period, whose murder by his brother-in-law Djassās b. Murra al-S̲h̲aybānī was the cause of a long and bloody war between the two sister-tribes Tag̲h̲lib and Bakr [*q.vv.*] which was known as "the war of Basūs" [*q.v.*]. His genealogy was: Kulayb b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Murra b. Zuhayr b. Djus̲h̲am (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, c. 22; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 164, where Murra is not mentioned). Kulayb's real name is said to have been Wāʾil, and the name of Kulayb ("little dog") to have given to him because of his habit of taking a small dog with him and making it bark by beating it in all the places which he wished to reserve as his own private property; the people who heard the barking of the dog refrained from using the place. This story, the point of which, however, eludes us, is evidently a later invention: the name Kulayb is frequently met with in Arab nomenclature and does not look like a surname.

Kulayb is represented as having all the characteristic traits of the tyrant, of which the independent and critical spirit of the Bedouins has always had a profound horror; he is said to have been proclaimed "king" (on the use of this title cf. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 210) after the brilliant victory won at K̲h̲azāzā over the united Yemenī tribes and to have ruled not only over Tag̲h̲lib but also over the Banū S̲h̲ayban, the most important section of Bakr. After a short time, he is said to have abused his power and to have usurped the rights of hunting and of pasturage at the expense of his subjects (the usurpation of the *ḥimā* is the regular grievance of the Bedouins against "tyrants"; the same reproach was made against the caliph ʿUt̲h̲mān). Indeed, it was because the she-camel Sarāb, belonging to a Tamīmī woman al-Basūs or to one of her clients of the tribe of Banū Djarm, trespassed upon the private property of Kulayb, that the latter put her to death (or killed its young one and injured the mother), and this act of violence was the cause of his murder by Djassās, whose mother was the sister of al-Basūs.

The details of the story are given in our sources with some variations, most of which are found as early as the work of Abū ʿUbayda who is, as is well known, the source of almost all our information on the *ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*]. Certain features, especially in the *K. al-Ag̲h̲ānī*, have been borrowed from Ibn al-Kalbī, and the account of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī has also been preserved. It is evident that we are no longer able to ascertain if the history of Kulayb (and in general that of the war against Tag̲h̲lib and Bakr) contains a nucleus of historical truth along with a mass of features undoubtedly legendary. This is a problem which can only be solved in connection with the general question of the historical value of the whole of the traditions of the pre-Islamic period. Considered by itself, the episode of Kulayb has nothing improbable about it. We might be tempted to recognise in it a fairly clear memory of an attempt to form a political organisation among Tag̲h̲lib and Bakr of a kind superior to the ordinary Bedouin tribes; the attempts, similar to that which gave the royal crown to the chiefs of the tribe of Kinda, must have been suggested by the example of the kingdom of the Lak̲h̲mids of al-Ḥīra, not far from which Tag̲h̲lib and Bakr have their houses. The story of the tyranny and the death of Kulayb must have taken form at a very remote period; this is evident from the verses of ʿAbbās b. Mirdās and of al-Nābig̲h̲a al-Djaʿdī (both contemporary with the beginning of Islam) given in our sources; in that of al-Nābig̲h̲a in particular, the history of the killing of the camel is already told in detail. An allusion to the power of Kulayb is found as early as the *muʿallaḳa* of the Tag̲h̲libī ʿAmr b. Kult̲h̲ūm (v. 65). We have, moreover, contemporary documentary evidence of the accounts relating to the fate of Kulayb in the numerous allusions contained in the elegies on his death, which were attributed to his brother Muhalhil (one of the earliest Arab poets; cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, ed. De Goeje, 164-6; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, ed. Hell, 13 lines 11-16 etc.), but naturally their authenticity is more than doubtful.

The story of the murder of Kulayb is developed in a quite arbitrary fashion in the romance cycle of the Banū Hilāl (cf. Mittwoch, *Proelia arabum paganorum*, Berlin 1899, 11).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article AL-BASŪS, see *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 905-7; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *Fāk̲h̲ir*, ed. Storey, 76-8; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *Amt̲h̲āl*, Istanbul 1300, 55-6; al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amt̲h̲āl*, 1310, i, 254-5; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 150-1.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-KULAYNĪ (or AL-KULĪNĪ), **ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD** B. YAʿḲŪB B. ISḤĀḲ AL-RĀZĪ, Imāmī traditionist. He originated from a village located 38 km. southwest of Rayy in the district of

Pas͟hāpūya whose Persian name Kolēn, with *imāla*, was Arabicised as Kulayn and Kulīn. His *nisba* is thus variously given in the sources as al-Kulaynī, al-Kulīnī, or, erroneously, al-Kalīnī.

Few facts are known about his life. Since his chief transmitters of Imāmī traditions were several scholars of Ḳumm, it is certain that he studied in that town for a prolonged time, most likely during the last decade of the 3rd century A.H. (903-13). He also transmitted from several scholars of Rayy, among them his maternal uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Kulaynī al-Rāzī, known as ʿAlān, and al-Nad͟jās͟hī describes him as the *s͟hayk͟h* of the Imāmiyya in Rayy in his time. It is uncertain if it was in Naysābūr or elsewhere that he heard Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Naysābūrī, his transmitter of the traditions and views of the prominent Imāmī scholar al-Faḍl b. S͟hād͟hān of Naysābūr, whom he evidently held in high esteem. At an unknown date, perhaps in the first decade of the 4th century A.H. (913-23), he moved to Bag͟hdād where he lived and taught in the Darb al-Silsila near the Bāb al-Kūfa on the west bank of the Tigris. Here he completed his voluminous *Kitāb al-Kāfī*, on which he is said to have worked for twenty years. The book, though mostly a collection of traditions of the *Imāms*, was meant to be a guide to authoritative Imāmī doctrine in theology and *fiḳh*. Thus it is arranged according to subject matter and tends to contain only those traditions which the author considered as reflecting orthodox teaching. Only exceptionally are the views and elaborations of Imāmī scholars quoted, such as the elaborations of al-Faḍl b. S͟hād͟hān on the law of inheritance. The work is divided into the *uṣūl*, dealing mainly with theology, prophecy, the imāmate, and prayers; the *furūʿ*, dealing with *fiḳh*; and a final volume, entitled *K. al-Rawḍa*, containing miscellaneous traditions of mostly edifying or paraenetic character. His other works, all of which are lost, included a refutation of the Ḳarāmiṭa, a book on transmitters (*rid͟jāl*), a collection of letters of the Imāms, an anthology of poems about them, and a book on the interpretation of dreams. The date of his death is given as 328/939-40 or 329/940-1. The latter date, mentioned by al-Nad͟jās͟hī, is more likely to be correct, since al-Ṭūsī, who in his earlier *K. al-Fihrist* gives the year 328, in his later *K. al-Rid͟jāl* specifies S͟haʿbān 329/May 941. The funeral prayer was led by the Imāmī Ḥasanid Abū Ḳirāṭ Muḥammad b. D͟jaʿfar, and he was buried near the Bāb al-Kūfa.

The reputation of al-Kulaynī and his *K. al-Kāfī* appears to have been modest during his lifetime and for a century after his death. Ibn al-Nadīm (writing in 377/987-8) does not even mention him, and Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūn (d. 423/1030) observed that his tomb had become obliterated. The *K. al-Kāfī* was evidently not widely used in the Imāmī communities as an authoritative source of *fiḳh*. Though the S͟hayk͟h al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) in Bag͟hdād referred to it as one "of the most important and useful books of the S͟hīʿa", his student the S͟harīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) included al-Kulaynī in his general censure of the Imāmī traditionist school of Ḳumm and accused him of including numerous forged and rationally absurd traditions in the *K. al-Kāfī*. It seems to have been largely due to the influence of the S͟hayk͟h al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068), who praised al-Kulaynī and relied extensively on the *K. al-Kāfī* in his *fiḳh* works, that the latter gained popularity. The favour in which the *K. al-Kāfī* was held by the pro-Muʿtazilī Imāmī school of Bag͟hdād, in spite of the criticism of al-Murtaḍā, was partially based on al-Kulaynī's support of the theology of the anti-anthropomorphist wing within the school of Ḳumm which was later represented by Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūḳ, the only scholar of Ḳumm whose works were preserved in large number, evidently because of their author's relative closeness to Muʿtazilī theological doctrines. The *K. al-Kāfī* soon came to be considered as one of the four canonical collections of traditions on which Imāmī *fiḳh* is to be based, and often as the most authoritative one among them. It reached the peak of its fame in the Ṣafawid and post-Ṣafawid age, when numerous commentaries, interpretations, glosses, studies of various aspects, Persian translations, and an abridgment of it were composed. A tomb of al-Kulaynī with a *ḳubba* was now shown on the east bank of the Tigris near the modern al-Maʾmūn bridge in Bag͟hdād, and has continued to attract large numbers of visitors until the present.

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(W. MADELUNG)

ḲULD͟JA or G͟HULD͟JA, modern Ili or I-ning, a town in the fertile and mineral-rich upper valley of the Ili river [*q.v.*] in Central Asia. For the mediaeval history of the district in which modern Ḳuld͟ja lay, see ALMALĪG͟H.

The town of Ḳuld͟ja ("Old Ḳuld͟ja") was probably a new foundation in 1762 by the Chinese after their victory over the Kalmucks [see KALMUK] in 1759, and they named it Ning-yüan-chen. Two years later the town of Hoi-yüan-chen was founded as the headquarters of the Chinese governor-general (*dsandsün*) of Chinese Turkestan; this was known as "Great" or "New" Ḳuld͟ja. The Imperial government resettled in the largely depopulated region, amongst other peoples, 6,000 families of Muslim Turks from Kās͟hg͟haria, after the devastation of the latter province during the wars with the Kalmucks; these came to be called the Tarančis, "agriculturists". Also in the 18th century were settled there Chinese Muslims (probably, in fact, of mixed Chinese and Uyg͟hur Turkish blood) called the Dungans or T'ung-kan. In 1851 a trade treaty was made at Ḳuld͟ja between the advancing Russians and the Chinese, opening the upper Ili region to Russian traders, and in 1860 the Treaty of Peking between Russia and China gave both Russia and Britain the right to establish consulates in, amongst other places, Ḳuld͟ja. In 1862 W. Radlov visited both Old and New Ḳuld͟ja and described them fully in his *Aus Siberien*, Leipzig 1893, ii, 305 ff., 336 ff., see also his *Das Ili-Thal in Hoch Asien und seine Bewohner*, in *Petermann's Mittheilungen* (1866); a decade or so later, the American traveller E. Schuyler visited Old Ḳuld͟ja and its hinterland, see his *Turkistan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Khuldja*, London 1876, ii, 156-201.

Following a Dungan rebellion in Shen-si, which spread to Kan-su [see KANSU] and other Muslim

areas of western China proper in 1862, revolt also broke out amongst the Muslim population of northern Chinese Turkestan, sc. in the province of Dzungaria, amongst both Tarančis and Dungans, and in 1863 it spread to the Ḳuldja area. After hard fighting between the Chinese authorities and the rebels, New Ḳuldja was captured in 1865 by the rebels and completely razed; Schuyler, *op, cit.*, ii, 162-4, found the site utterly deserted apart from the one or two houses of Dungan squatters. The Russian consulate in Ḳuldja and a Russian factory in the area were destroyed in this strife. The Dungans and Tarančis now began to fight amongst themselves, and after much internecine warfare, power passed in 1867 to a Taranči leader who styled himself Sulṭān Aʿlā Khān or Abu 'l-Aʿlā (in Russian sources, often Abil-Oglya); after savage massacres perpetrated by the Tarančis, some 5,000 Dungans and others fled westwards into Russian territory for refuge. In 1867 also, Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*], a Khoḳandī by birth who had earlier fought against the Russians at the battle of Aḳ Masdjid [see KHOḲAND], established his power in Kāshgharia, sc. the southern part of Chinese Turkestan. Since Yaʿḳūb Beg was believed to be anti-Russian and received two diplomatic missions from British India, the appearance of an ostensibly hostile power in Central Asia disturbed Russia, and was a factor in the Russian decision to annex completely in 1875-6 the Khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*]. It further led to the Russian occupation in 1871 of Ḳuldja and the upper Ili basin, this being announced as a temporary measure, till China should re-establish her authority in Kāshgharia and Dzungaria. The local ruler Aʿlā Khān was deported to Russia, and lived out his life there as a state pensioner.

The Russians probably assumed that Yaʿḳūb Beg would never be dislodged from power and that the Ḳuldja district would eventually be permanently annexed. In fact, Yaʿḳūb Beg was defeated in 1876-7 by the Chinese forces and died in May 1877; his state collapsed totally and Chinese authority was restored in Eastern Turkestan. In 1879 negotiations began between the Chinese diplomat Chʾung-hu and the imperial Russian government, but the Treaty of Lividia made in that year was abortive, and negotiations dragged on for a considerable time, the retrocession of Ḳuldja being used as a bargaining counter for extracting concessions elsewhere, till in 1881 the Treaty of St. Petersburg was made, and in 1883 Ḳuldja was finally evacuated by Russia. Russia nevertheless retained trading privileges in the upper Ili valley, received an indemnity of 9 million dollars for the expenses of the Russian occupation, and acquired consulates at Ḳuldja and Kāshghar which in the ensuing decades gave her important influence in Chinese Turkestan, e.g. during the period of the Chinese Revolution 1911-12, when Chinese settlers in the Ḳuldja region were massacred by the Muslims and the Russian consular defence forces of troops enlarged. Chinese Turkestan was from 1882 onwards organised as a formal province of China under the name of Sin-kiang "New dominion". The population of [Old] Ḳuldja was estimated at 7,700 in 1872, of whom 4,100 were Muslims; two or three years later, Schuyler estimated the population of the town at 10,000, over half of whom were Tarančis. These estimates were made at a time when the whole region was in a devastated and depopulated condition, and by *ca.* 1900, the estimated population of Ḳuldja had risen to 30,000.

When the authority of the Manchu Imperial government in the Sin-kiang capital of Urumchi crumbled in 1911, a revolutionary government proclaimed its independence in the Ili region, but in 1912 the new Chinese governor of the whole province, Yang Tseng-hsin (1911-28) managed to conciliate the separatists and secure unification of the Ili and Sin-kiang regions (see R. Yang, *Sinkiang under the administration of governor Yang Tseng-hsin, 1911-1928*, in *Central Asiatic Jnal.*, vi [1961], 270-7). Yang weathered a further potential crisis in 1916-17, when thousands of Kazakhs fled from Tsarist Russian oppression into the Ili and Kāshgharia regions (*ibid.*, 305-8), and under his long tenure of power, the whole of Chinese Turkestan enjoyed an unwonted period of prosperity and firm government. He kept up good relations with Soviet Russia, and even after the Kuomintang's diplomatic break with Russia in 1927, the Russian consulates at Ḳuldja and in other towns remained open. His successor Chen Shu-jen followed a similar policy, and in a secret treaty of 1931 conceded to the Russians rights to commercial offices in Ḳuldja or Ili, Urumchi, etc.

These governors in the far west of China had been virtually autonomous, but in 1941 Chiang Kai-shek managed to extend the direct control of Chunking over Sin-kiang, with disquieting effects on the non-Chinese population elements there. Hence in November 1944 there was a rebellion of the Kazakh Turks in the Ili region, soon joined by the Uyghurs. An Eastern Turkestan Republic was proclaimed in Ḳuldja, independent of the Sin-kiang Chinese provincial government in Urumchi. The Kuomintang government in distant Chunking was unable to do more than come to a compromise with Aḥmad Djān's régime in Ḳuldja, but by the end of 1948 its influence in Sin-kiang was in any case declining perceptibly. In September 1949 representatives both of the Ḳuldja régime and the Urumchi one started negotiating with the Communists in Peking, and in December of that year a Communist Provincial People's government was established in Sin-kiang. The Communists eventually accorded to the province a certain autonomy, and in 1954 the Ḳuldja region was made into the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District of what in 1955 became the Sin-kiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Now, under the Chinese name of I-ning, Ḳuldja is one of the chief towns of that Region.

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KULLIYYA (A. lit. "completeness"; Turkish: *fakülte*; Persian: *dānishkada*) acquired in the 19th century the technical meaning of faculty as a unit of teaching and learning, mostly at the university level, according to branches of learning.

Islamic education in *masdjid*, *madrasa* or *khānaḳāh* did not know of a division into *kulliyyāt*, which presupposes institutionalised specialisation. So it was only in 1930 that al-Azhar in Cairo was reorganised according to three *kulliyyāt* of higher studies: *uṣūl al-dīn*, *sharīʿa*, and *al-dirāsāt al-ʿarabiyya*. Nadjaf in ʿIrāq, as a centre of Shīʿī *Ithnā*

ʿas̲h̲arī learning, had in 1963, besides a number of independent *madāris*, a *kulliyyat al-fiḳh* which was connected with the University of Bag̲h̲dād. When modern institutions of higher education were established beside the traditional Muslim ones in the 19th and 20th centuries, the latter underwent a number of innovations and reforms which were mostly imposed by the state authorities. In this way, the faculty system was introduced into the traditional Islamic teaching, either by a radical transformation of an existing old-established institution (e.g. at al-Azhar); or by integrating such an institution as a *kulliyyat al-s̲h̲arīʿa* or a faculty of religious studies into a new modern state university (e.g. at al-Zaytūna in Tunis); or by establishing completely new religious institutions with a division into faculties, replacing older such institutions (e.g. the King Saʿūd Islamic University in Medina). By now, the faculty system has been introduced in nearly all Islamic institutions of higher education; sometimes such institutions have "modern" faculties side-by-side with those of the Islamic sciences. These institutions provide the education of religious leaders and they perform a function in the transmission and reformulation of Islamic thought. They may lead to a career in the judiciary, in institutional teaching or in less formal forms of instruction in Islam, both within and outside Muslim countries.

The non-religious modern (state) universities [see D̲j̲ĀMIʿA] and other institutions of higher education (*al-taʿlīm al-ʿālī*) have been organised according to the faculty system, as taken over from the West, since their establishment in the 20th and sometimes the 19th century. They come under the Ministry of Education, or in some cases the Ministry of Higher Education. These universities expanded greatly in number and size after the independence of the different countries, and they serve the modernisation and development of the societies of these countries by providing them with professional intellects, besides the general role of such institutions in the acquisition and transmission of knowledge. There is a direct link between the modernisation of a society and the expansion of its educational system, including higher education. The educational institutions undergo during the process the influence of those ideological forces which constitute, or at least accompany, the dynamic of the modernisation process. The planning of higher education has started in most countries according to the needs of these countries, following western models and resulting in the growth of faculties (*kulliyyāt*).

In Arab universities the following *kulliyyāt* have developed: *ādāb* (arts), *ḥuḳūḳ* (law), *ʿulūm* (sciences) and *ṭibb* (medicine), the first two of which are called *naẓarī* (theoretical), the latter two *ʿamalī* (practical). Then there are those of *tarbiya* (education, i.e. for teacher-training at secondary schools), *tid̲j̲āra* (commerce), *idāra* (administration), *handasa* (engineering), *zirāʿa* (agriculture), *ṣaydaliyya* (pharmacy), *ṭibb al-asnān* (dentistry) and *bayṭara* (veterinary medicine). In some cases there is a *kulliyyāt al-ʿulūm al-id̲j̲timāʿiyya* (social sciences), but mostly these disciplines are served by an institute instead of a faculty. Some universities, e.g. al-Azhar, have a *kulliyyat al-banāt* (women's faculty). In a number of cases, university faculties are the continuation of previously existing educational institutions which became part of the university once it had been founded.

The faculties have been organised in different countries according to French (especially for law faculties), British and American models, but they have developed on their own and adjusted to ministerial directives. The *kulliyyāt* constitute together a *d̲j̲āmiʿa*. Within the university, the *kulliyyāt* enjoy a relative independence; their deans have great authority; they often have their own *dalīl* (guide) besides the *taḳwīm* or *taḳrīr* (calendar) of the university. They mostly have their own library and may issue their own periodical. Generally speaking, the decision-making process is slow and the bureaucratic apparatus allows for little efficiency, apart from ever-recurring financial problems. Most programmes of study show an early specialisation, and the *kulliyyāt* or faculties tend to function as professional schools. Certain courses on history, culture and society may be made compulsory for all students. The degrees awarded are those of bachelor, master, specialised diplomas and doctorate. The faculties (*kulliyyāt*) are each subdivided into sections (*ḳusūm*, sing. *ḳism*), and specialised institutes may be attached to them. Nearly all teaching is done in the national language, and English and French are not well known; most universities have insufficient funds to obtain books for their libraries in these languages.

Given the great number of students enrolled, faculties like medicine and the sciences limit the admission of students according to the number of places available, taking into account the earlier marks received by applying students. There is evidently a job-market problem in most countries for those who obtain their bachelor degree, and even for those who finish graduate studies. A certain number of students are sent abroad or admitted for foreign scholarships to continue their studies or to specialise; a certain percentage of students, varying according to country, stays abroad. Faculty teachers, on the other hand, have a high teaching load and often take supplementary jobs besides; there is not only a lack of facilities for reading and research, but also in some cases a problem of intellectual independence.

As everywhere else, the *kulliyyāt* in Muslim countries are in transition and undergoing permanent re-organisation. The exact, natural and applied sciences have an immediate relevance for the modernisation of these countries. The social sciences, not always developed adequately, are sensitive to ideological considerations, but are pivotal for the interpretation of the present-day situation of the societies of these countries; this holds true for the teaching of history too. The tendency at all faculties is to spread knowledge imposed from above, and this knowledge often appears to be considered as a finite quantity, to be assimilated by memorisation. Consequently, little attention is paid to promoting the awakening of the available natural intelligence.

It would be difficult to interpret the *kulliyyāt*, and the institutions of higher education in general, apart from their social context and the function which they fulfil in societies with pressing needs and with many uncertainties. They play an important role, in particular in the construction of a modern society and in the cultural transformation of whole countries. This takes place at a time when the ideals of culture have changed greatly, not only in relation to the religious orientation of the traditional Islamic educational institutions, but also since the political independence of the countries under consideration.

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relation to Islam, in *Numen*, xii (1965), 96-138; Fahim Qubain, *Education and science in the Arab world*, Baltimore, 1966; Waardenburg, *Les universités dans le monde arabe actuel*, The Hague-Paris 1966; idem, *Enseignement supérieur et culture arabe*, in *Renaissance du monde arabe*, Gembloux, Belgium 1972, 533-51. See also the bibliography under DJĀMIʿA.

(J. D. J. WAARDENBURG)

KÜLLIYYE (T.), in Ottoman usage the complex of buildings with varying purposes centred round a mosque. The concept of a *külliyye* was inherent in the earliest form of the mosque or *djāmiʿ* where one building housed the place of prayer and teaching as well as serving as a hostel [see EI[1], art. MASDJID]. Later, other services were incorporated under one foundation document, and each was housed in its own building within an enclosure. This did not preclude the foundation of hospitals, etc., as separate institutions, as in 7th/13th century Anatolia. The early grouping of a *külliyye* was often due to the contours of hillsides or the irregularities of the site donated, as with the royal foundations at Bursa in the 8th/14th centuries. In the late 9th/15th century, the great ordered *külliyye*s of the Ottoman dynasty were founded, in particular those of Bāyazīd II at Amasya and Edirne, the latter devoted to all aspects of medicine including the training of students. While each element of the foundation was separate, the buildings, their courts and parterres were conceived as an architectural whole.

The greatest of these *külliyye*s were built in Istanbul by Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ and Sülaymān I (Ḳānūnī). The latter incorporated seven *madrasa*s, four for each of the Sunnī law schools, a preparatory college and one for studying the *Ḥadīth* and a medical school. Besides these with their courts, latrines and two houses for teachers or *mudarrisūn* there was a school for boys, a chantry, a hostel with stables, a bath or *ḥammām*, the mausoleum of the sultan and that of his consort in a cemetery, rooms for mosque servants over gateways, a large kitchen and refectory with store-rooms attached, a wrestling ground, and in the vaults supporting the vast platform on which these many buildings were erected, there were ironsmiths, cafés, button shops and other workshops. The one pavilion lacking was the usual royal *ḳaṣr* with access to the *maḳṣūra* or royal lodge (*khünkār maḥfili*).

Each and all of the charitable services had to be staffed, and detailed foundation documents regulated every duty, item of diet or salary. Besides the administrative officers who came under the chief eunuch in the department of the harem at Ṭopkapī Sarāyī, there were religious officers and teachers, porters, chanters, grave diggers, servants responsible for maintenance, including the polishing of courtyards and window grilles, cooks, scullions, plumbers, lamp-lighters, a guard against the theft of oil for lamps, carpenters, masons and tilers responsible for the lead sheets covering well over 500 domes. The kitchens coped with the feeding of this company, as well as the students and travellers and the poor; the scraps were given to the dogs. All these services required a considerable supply of water, and the cost of laying pipes and rebuilding aqueducts exceeded that of building the foundation. The initial building costs and the endowment needed to maintain so vast a foundation were raised by public subscription, including the gift of various properties, ranging from entire estates to a mill or one cottage. The donors ranged from the ruler, who might assign the revenues of a part of the realm through office holders of greater and lesser rank, to the common people.

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(G. GOODWIN)

ḲUL-OGHLU (T.) "son of a slave", in Ottoman usage, more specifically the son of a Janissary, admitted to the pay-roll of the corps; for further information see YEÑI ČERI.

In the period of Turkish domination in Algeria and Tunisia, the word *ḳulughlī*/*kulughlī* and, with dissimilation, *ḳurughlī*/*kurughlī* (pl. *ḳulughlān*/*kulughlān*, *ḳurughlān*/*kurughlān*/*krāghel*; French *koulougli* and variants) denoted those elements of the population resulting from marriages of Turks with local women. They were fairly numerous at Tunis, Algiers and Tlemcen, and in the towns which had Turkish garrisons, such as Médea, Mostaganem, etc. In Algeria, they lived in special quarters, and were rather looked down upon by the urban population (*ḥaḍar*), who would not give them willingly their daughters in marriage. The rules of the *odjaḳ* [*q.v.*] did not allow them to rise to higher levels, and they often endured harassment from the authorities. A considerable number of them also became mingled with the rural population and took up agriculture, especially in Tunisia. After the conquest, those who lived in Algeria were the target for hostility from the tribes, and many of them enrolled in the locally-recruited bodies of troops. They subsequently be-

came merged within the general urban or rural populations. (Ed.)

ḲULOGHLU, Turkish folk poet of the 11th/17th century. Hardly anything is known about his life. He seems to have belonged to the Janissary corps and to have flourished during the reigns of ʿOthmān II, Muṣṭafā I, Murād IV and Ibrāhīm, and to have found particular favour at the court of Murād IV. A contemporary of Ḳul Muṣṭafā and Kātibī, he was at his best in lyric and epic poems, the best known of which is his elegy for Murād IV. His poems, scattered in most of the 17th and 18th century anthologies of folk poets (*djönks*), have been collected and published by Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun.

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KULTHŪM b. ʿIYĀḌ al-ḲUSHAYRĪ, Ḳaysī notable [see ḳays] whom the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik sent to the Maghrib, in Djumādā II 123/April-May 741, to avenge the bloody defeat which the Berbers, commanded by the successor of Maysara [*q.v.*], Khālid b. Ḥamīd/Ḥumayd al-Zanātī, had inflicted on the Arabs in the "battle of the nobles" (*ghazwat al-ashrāf*). Kulthūm left at the head of an army of 30,000 men, to which there were added contingents raised along the way, and he joined up with Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda al-Fihrī, the former companion of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], who was endeavouring to halt the progress of the Ṣufrī Khāridjites near Tlemcen. The clumsy conduct of the Syrian army and the arrogant attitude of the commander of the vanguard, Baldj b. Bishr [*q.v.*], who was Kulthūm's nephew, towards Ḥabīb hampered the conduct of operations. Khālid al-Zanātī, after retiring before the Arabs, gave battle to them near the Wādī Sabū (Oued Sebou). Ignoring Ḥabīb's sensible advice, Kulthūm sent to the front Baldj's cavalry, which succeeded after great efforts in piercing the Berber lines, but the latter reformed behind them and overwhelmed by their mass the caliphal troops which had taken up battle order too late. Ḥabīb and the other chiefs were killed.

Kulthūm fought with the greatest bravery, reciting verses of the Ḳurʾān to encourage the others, but finally he fell. One-third of the army was killed and a third taken prisoners (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 123/Oct.-Nov. 741). Baldj's cavalry's only hope was to take refuge in Ceuta, whence after much suffering they were able to cross to Spain.

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ḲULUMRIYA, the name given by the Arabs to the town of Coimbra, on the right bank of the Mondego River in central Portugal. The town still has some ruins from the Roman period, and was originally called Aeminium; but it took over the name of another important Roman town, Conimbriga, which lay 18 km. to the south and had been devastated and depopulated during the barbarian invasions. The episcopal see of Conimbriga was transferred to Aeminium in *ca.* 580-9, and the change of name took place towards the middle of the 7th century A.D. Although the usual Arabic form was Ḳulumriya, Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (4th/10th century) has that of Ḳulunbiriya (*Iftitāḥ*, 200). The occupying of the town is attributed to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, governor of al-Andalus 95-7/714-16. His lands, like those of Santarém to the south, appear to have been omitted from the conqueror's division of the territories, probably because of a treaty (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 201-2).

The Arab geographers give descriptions of Ḳulumriya. Al-Rāzī states that it was an ancient town, well-fortified and with fertile surrounding estates where there were cornfields, olive groves and gardens. Al-Idrīsī (548/1154) says that the walls had three gates (one of which still exists, with the name of *almedina*), and mentions the mills along the Mondego vineyards and gardens and also the force of Christians living there. Al-Ḥimyarī repeats this information, and Yāḳūt gives a brief notice of the town.

Coimbra may have been the central town of a *kūra* or territorial district during its Islamic period. This last was very disturbed, for the town was coveted by the Christians who set afoot the *Reconquista* [see al-andalus and burtuḳāl]. In 264/878 the town was taken by Count Hermenegildo in Alfonso III's name, but al-Manṣūr recaptured it in 377/987 after having briefly occupied it two years previously. It was finally conquered by Ferdinand I in 456/1064 after a six-months' siege. He created the Mozarab Sisnandus Davidiz governor as a reward for his role here. The Coimbra district was one of the Mozarabs' most lively centres; as well as the facts described in e.g. the works of Gomez-Moreno and I. de Las Cagigas, P. da Cunha Serra (*Contribuição*, 35-6 and map II) has emphasised the role of the town's Mozarabs in the peopling of northern Portugal during the *Reconquista*. The presence of the Muslims in the area has left many traces, as its toponomy shows. From the 10th century onwards, Christian documents make a very clear distinction between what was in the *almedina* (the walled town and citadel) and what was in the *arrabalde* (< *rabaḍ*) outside the walls at that time.

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al-ḲULZUM, an ancient town and seaport on the Red Sea (A. *Baḥr al-Ḳulzum* [*q.v.*], *Baḥr al-Hind* or *Baḥr al-Ḥabasha*), now administratively in the province (*muḥāfaẓa*) of al-Suways. It appears to have been a fort as well as a town, and was,

perhaps, the spot where the troops destined to guard the sluices of the canal were stationed. It was called Castrum by Hierocles and Epiphanius; and κλύσμα (Clysma), or κλεῖσμα is first mentioned by Lucian. Ḳulzum is a corruption of the Greek name κλύσμα (in both Arabic and Greek almost always without the article; the Greek refers to the "sluice" at the mouth of the canal, which led from the Nile to the Red Sea). This canal, begun by Pharaoh Necho and finished by Darius of Persia, was later restored by Ptolemy II Philadelphos and by Trajan. In the Muslim period, when the construction of the canal was wrongly ascribed to Hadrian, labour was repeatedly spent on it.

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 23/643-4 for example had it repaired to facilitate the transport of corn for Mecca from al-Fusṭāṭ to the Read Sea; it was called after him *Khalīdj Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. According to Abū Ṣāliḥ, its mouth was at al-Ḳulzum, according to al-Masʿūdī and others (more accurately) at *Dhunb* (*sic*; *dhanab*?) *al-Timsāḥ*, one mile from the town, where the Meccan pilgrims from Egypt crossed the canal by a large bridge. The caliph al-Manṣūr in 158/775 had it partly filled in, fearing an attack from his uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, who had rebelled against him in Medina, so that in Abū Ṣāliḥ's time it ended at al-Sadīr at the entrance to the Wādī Ṭumīlāt. New but fruitless attempts to make it navigable again were made by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who is said to have abandoned the attempt out of fear of the Greeks. Henceforth the bulk of its water flowed into the Birkat al-Djubb till it was completely filled in (1899) for sanitary reasons.

The town of al-Ḳulzum owed its importance mainly to this canal, for according to the descriptions of the Arab geographers, it was a desolate and miserable site without water and vegetation; neither trees nor fruits could flourish there. However, it was useful as a source of salt which was transported to various parts of Egypt and Syria for sale, and al-Baghdādī reports that quarries for red flint were operated in its vicinity. In antiquity and in the early Muslim period its main importance was as a point of departure for shipping on the Red Sea, which consequently came to be most commonly known to the Arabs as *Baḥr al-Ḳulzum*. The corn ships of al-Fusṭāṭ after they had passed the canal sailed from here to al-Djār and Djidda. Of the Jewish merchants called al-Rādhāniyya, Ibn Khurradādhbih says that they came from the lands of the Franks to al-Faramāʾ; thence they carried their wares 35 *farsakhs* on camels to al-Ḳulzum, where they were loaded on ships which sailed to India and China. According to the same geographer, al-Ḳulzum with al-Ṭūr and Ayla formed a district of Egypt.

The country round al-Ḳulzum was inhabited at an early date by Arabs. They are already mentioned in the *Acta* of the hermit Sisoes (Coptic: *apa Djidjōi*). Sisoes was one of the three Coptic martyrs (the other two being ʿĪṭānās and Pidjīmī) whose place of burial is known to have been in al-Ḳulzum. For seventy years the anchorite Yūḥannā al-Ḳaṣīr (John Kolobos, died *ca.* A.D. 409) lived in a cave which he had dug himself in the nearby Djabal Anṭwān, and was buried beside the graves of the three martyrs. Djabal Anṭwān was so named after St. Antony who went into retreat there from the importunities of the secular world. In the *History of* John Kolobos, Ḳulzūm (*sic*) appears for the first time in the Arabic Synaxarium as the name of the ancient Clysma.

When under the last ʿAbbāsid governor in Egypt, ʿAnbasa b. Isḥāḳ, the Budjā or Bedja [*q.v.*] rebelled in Nubia, invaded the Ṣaʿīd or Upper Egypt and laid waste many towns, al-Mutawakkil sent against them an army under Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī which went from Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*] straight through the desert to the emerald mines, while seven ships with stores sailed from al-Ḳulzum to Ṣanga near ʿAydhāb and provided the victorious army from there with the necessary supplies.

In the autumn of 361/971, the Ḳarmaṭian leader Ḥasan b. Aḥmad on his campaign against the Fāṭimid Djawhar took the towns of al-Ḳulzum, al-Faramāʾ, and Tinnīs; after his defeat before Cairo (3 Rabīʿ I 361/24 December 971), he retired under cover of night via al-Ḳulzum to Arabia.

Reynald de Châtillon at the beginning of his naval expedition against the holy cities in the winter of 578/1182-3 sent two ships from Aden, which were to watch the citadel of al-Ḳulzum and prevent the garrison from procuring water. But soon afterwards the Ḥādjib Ḥusām al-Dīn Luʾluʾ built a fleet by order of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, in al-Ḳulzum, which sailed for ʿAydhāb and put a sudden end to the desperate enterprise. When al-Dimashḳī includes al-Ḳulzum among the lands under al-Karak, this is perhaps a memory of these events of a century before.

In the time of al-Idrīsī, Yāḳūt and al-Dimashḳī, al-Ḳulzum was already a deserted town. Al-Maḳrīzī found among old documents in the palace of Cairo accounts of the expenditure on the civil and military administration of the town and district and concluded from them that it must once have been most flourishing. He quotes al-Ḳuḍāʿī as saying that the town was already ruinous in his day, and this presumably included the fortress (Ḳalʿat al-Ḳulzum) mentioned in several accounts. According to al-Idrīsī, the Bedouins had occupied and plundered it. The only water-supply he knew of in the vicinity was the well at al-Suways, which yielded only a scanty supply of brackish water. Al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century) already mentions al-Suways (i.e. Suez), which gradually took the place of al-Ḳulzum, a mile from it.

The name of al-Ḳulzum is still given to some heights to the north of Suez, Kōm al-Ḳulzum.

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(E. Honigmann - [R. Y. Ebied])

ḲUM (Ar. Ḳumm, current Persian pronunciation Ghom rather than Ḳum), a city of central Iran (Media in ancient times, later Djibāl or ʿIrāḳ-i adjam) situated in lat. 34°38′ N. and long. 50°58′ E., 150 km. to the south of Tehran. It is the capital of a *shāhristān* of the Central Province (*Ustān-i markazī*) and the ninth city of Iran, with a population of 246,873 in 1976. Situated on the great north-west/south-east axis, which follows the foothills of the central Iranian range and skirts the fold of the Zagros, it lies at the junction of all the road and rail routes linking southern Iran with Tehran.

Geographical setting.

With a complex geological history (entirely post-Cretaceous terrain; late formation of mountains linked to volcanic activity; marine development of the site of Ḳum in the Oligo-Miocene period), the region is characterised by its uneven relief. As elsewhere in central Iran, the natural environment bears the marks of aridity and of the features associated with an inland continental setting (steppe vegetation, saline earth; see M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 5 ff.). To the south, the mountainous region of Ḳuhistān contains half-a-dozen peaks whose south-western elevation exceeds 3,000 m. Towards the north-west, other mountains separate Ḳuhistān from another dense range exceeding 3,000 m. in altitude in the region of Tafrish. The valley of the river Ḳum (Anārbār in antiquity) constitutes a pass crossing the mountainous region of the south. It clears the final barrier of the mountains through a broad gap and spreads a thick deposit of sediment on the plain where the city of Ḳum is situated. To the north-east, the plain is barred by hill-ranges of only moderate elevation (1,000 m.), dominated to the west by the Kūh-i Namak (Mountain of Salt); distorted in shape and dangerous of access, it has given rise to a whole cycle of legends (see Bazin, *op. laud.*, 8, n. 4). Further to the north, the relief rises, dominating the low-lying areas which are divided unequally between *dasht* and *kawīr*. Rivers of most irregular current flow into the basin of Ḥawḍ-i Sulṭān and the vast salt lake (*daryā-i namak*) of Masīla. Although meteorological data are incomplete, the temperatures are characterised by strong daily and annual fluctuations, and a high general average (18·4° over the period 1958-68, as calculated by M. Bazin, *op. laud.*, 13; the pioneering work of A. H. Adle, *Āb u hawā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1339, 77, gives an average of 18·5°). The winter is not very cold, and the temperature in summer frequently exceeds 40°. Rainfall is sparse everywhere (less than 200 mm. below 1,500 m.) and very irregular. Prolonged droughts can be disastrous (there have been instances in 1869-72 and more recently in 1960-6). The strength of the river-currents is also most irregular and there are often catastrophic floods (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 14 ff.; Bémont, 180). The soil is in general unfavourable to agriculture, and the natural vegetation is very poor.

Socio-economic setting.

This hostile natural environment is inhabited by a population of great ethnic and linguistic diversity. Since the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, a number of significant Arab elements have been added to the original Persian nucleus. Among the groups of foreign origin are the Khaladj [*q.v.*], who speak an archaic oriental Turkish and who arrived in the area at a very early stage (between the 11th and the 14th centuries). They have given their name to the mountains of Khaladjistān, to the east of Ḳum, the region where they are settled. There are considerable contrasts in the demographic evolution of this rural environment, where the density of population is generally below five inhabitants per square kilometre and where, in contrast to other regions of central Iran, the larger villages are mostly situated at high altitudes (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 23 ff.).

Agriculture depends primarily on irrigation by the traditional utilisation of water-courses (barrages, diversion channels) and of underground reserves (*ḳanāts* [*q.v.*]) as well as on modern techniques of developing fertility through wells of varying depths. The sharing of water among those exploiting it has given rise to a system of minute division which, in contrast to the practice elsewhere in Iran, operates without any particular supervision (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 39). In spite of the introduction of some modern methods of exploitation, agricultural techniques and systems are still archaic. Cereals (wheat, barley) give a rather mediocre yield. Summer crops (cotton, market-garden products including various kinds of melon and water-melon, pomegranates, figs, raisins, apricots, almonds, more recently opium, etc.) are mostly grown for sale. In general, agricultural production is inferior (Bazin, *op. cit.*, 40 ff.). In contrast to the situation prevailing elsewhere in Iran, before the implementation of land reform the bulk of the land belonged to urban middle class landlords and to peasant smallholders. The crown properties (*khāliṣa* [*q.v.*]) which existed in the Ḳādjār period were no longer represented in the region (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 55). The *waḳf* estates gifted to the sanctuary of Fāṭima al-Maʿṣūma continue to be decidedly less important than those of the sanctuary of Imām Riḍā at Mashhad (Bazin, *op. cit.*); for a comparison, see Fisher, 70, and on Mashhad, N. Hakami, *Le vaqf d'un lieu saint en Iran-Mas̱had*, Mémoire de l'EPHE, Section vi, Paris 1975, 22 ff.). Traditional forms of ownership, exploitation and the sharing of crops are now being modified by the gradual implementation of land reform; a number of successful co-operatives have been created (Bazin, *op. cit.*, 57 ff.).

The relatively meagre agricultural yields are supplemented by ancillary activities: peasants and numerous nomadic and semi-nomadic groups practise stock-breeding (cattle, sheep, goats, camels); the crafts formerly practised (see below) have been replaced by the manufacture of carpets, introduced, at least as far as quality products are concerned, by merchants of Kāshān in the nineteen-thirties (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 64 ff.; idem, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 105 ff.; idem, *Le travail du tapis dans la région de Qom*). Numerous factors (including the religious and social conservatism of the population) have hindered the industrial development of the town and of the region, in spite of the discovery and exploitation of petroleum and natural gas in the folds of the Alburz and of Sarādja (for a bibliography relating to the industry of the region: textiles, building materials, ceramics, flour-mills, petroleum, natural gas, etc., see M. Bazin, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 109 ff.). The influence of Ḳum over the region has been to some extent artificially diminished to the advantage of the surrounding

shāhristāns, especially those of Kāshān and Tafrīsh, the latter being a recent creation (*ibid.*, 124 ff.). In spite of the potential richness of the soil and attempts at modernisation, crop yields and the standard of living continue to be rather poor (M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 79 ff.; idem, with regard to nutrition, in *Studia Iranica*, ii [1973], 243-53).

Historical evolution.

Numerous signs testify to the occupation of the site of Ḳum in ancient times (M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 25 ff.). The remains of *čahār ṭāḳs* of the Sāsānid period are still visible in the region (A. Godard, *L'art de l'Iran*, Paris 1962, 232 ff.; M. Siroux, *Le site d'Atesh-Kouh pres de Delidjan*, in *Syria*, xliv [1967], 53-71). Excavations on the site of one of these, the Ḳalʿa-yi Dukhtar, very close to Ḳum, have brought to light fragments of pottery of the type associated with Sialk II and III (5th and 4th millenia B.C.): see M. Siroux, *Le Kalʿè Dukhtar de Ḳumm*, in *Āthār-e Īrān*, iii, (1938), 113-20; R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk*, Paris 1938, i, 91; L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, Leiden 1959, 125. Similar remains have been discovered in Khaladjistān (see M. Bahrami, in *Āmuzish wa parwarish*, x/4 [1940], 31-8). Two Seleucid columns are still to be found near Dilidjān (A. Godard, *op. laud.*, 149, 153, 164, and plate 88).

Ḳum is included among the *kūras* of Djibāl (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 20). Ibn al-Faḳīh (209 ff.) and other Arabic sources mention Sāsānid Ḳum in various contexts (see Faḳīhī, *Taʾrīkh-i madhhab-i Ḳum*, 54 ff.). According to the *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳum*, 24, Alexander the Great destroyed Ḳum, and it was the Sāsānid Ḳubād I (488-531) who restored its prosperity and gave it administrative independence from Iṣfahān. Many of the *rustāḳ*s of Ḳum mentioned in the *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳum* bear Iranian names, some of which are still in use today. A version of a Pahlavi text draws attention to the merits of the saffron of Ḳum (see J. M. Unvala, *The Pahlavi text "King Husraw and his boy"*, Paris 1924, 44, following al-Thaʿālibī). In the *Shāh-namā* of Firdawsī, Ḳum is included among the towns belonging to the Pishdādiyān and Kayānid kings (Faḳīhī, 55, etc.).

But in spite of the archaeological remains and the literary allusions to Ḳum in the ancient texts, as in the case of Kāshān, with which it is often associated (Ḳum and Kāshān together are said to have supplied 20,000 horsemen to the Sāsānid army at al-Ḳādisiyya: see Faḳīhī, 56, following Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī), virtually nothing is known of the pre-Islamic town. According to the majority of Arabic sources (which often contain internal contradictions), the town was an Islamic foundation. According to the *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳum*, the Ashʿarī Arabs of Kūfa, persecuted for their Shīʿī beliefs, came and established themselves in the region (where they were probably received by co-religionists), in 94/712-13, protected it from attacks by the Daylamīs, and ultimately built a wall around seven of the forty villages of the plain (240 ff.; on the non-Ashʿarī Arabs who established themselves at Ḳum, see Faḳīhī, 43 ff.). This conglomeration presumably took its name from that of one of these villages, Ḳumīdān. But the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳum* follows al-Barḳī in preferring to derive the name Ḳum from *kūma*, a kind of hut, possibly the origin of Ḳumamaydān, which could have been contracted into Kūmaydān/Kumīdān (25; Houton-Schindler, 59). A derivation from Godman, pronounced Goman, is suggested by R. N. Frye (*The golden age of Persia*, London 1975, 11). Other fanciful etymologies (generally based on the Arabic imperative *ḳum* "rise up!") have also been proposed (see for example, Houtum-Schindler, 59 ff.). There are also numerous Shīʿī *ḥadīth*s extolling the virtues of Ḳum as a place of refuge for believers etc. (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳum*, 90 ff.; Faḳīhī, 75, 83 ff.); this latter attribute earned it in the course of time numerous honorific titles such as Dār al-Muʾminīn, Dār al-ʿIbāda, Dār al-Muwaḥḥidīn, Dār al-ʿIlm, Khāk Faradj etc. (Faḳīhī, 14).

This region, with its strong undercurrent of religious feeling (including Jewish and Christian associations; see Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui magi evangelici*, Vatican 1952, 84 ff.) became one of the first bastions of Shīʿism (on the Shīʿī and non-Shīʿī groups at Ḳum, see Faḳīhī, 308 ff.). The Zoroastrian community, whose chief, Yazdānfadhār, had in an earlier period assisted the Ashʿarī Arabs to settle in the region, was ultimately eliminated (sometimes brutally) or Islamised; it has been observed, however, that Zoroastrian fire-temples continued to be in use in the area until the 3rd/9th century, and perhaps even later (Monneret de Villard, 139). From the start, the inhabitants of Ḳum had a reputation for rebelliousness, for resistance to Sunnī governors and to the payment of the levy (for the collection of taxes by force under Hārūn al-Rashīd; the destruction of the city's fortifications at the orders of al-Maʾmūn, who more than tripled the already excessive rate of *kharādj* exacted from the Ḳumīs; and a further punitive expedition ending in massacre in the reign of al-Muʿtazz, see Schwarz, 562). By contrast, a Shīʿī governor was accorded such co-operation that he was recalled by the caliph (Fisher, 56). Also to be noted are the conflicts between the people of Ḳum and the people of Iṣfahān, who were fanatical Sunnī (Faḳīhī, 222).

In the 3rd/9th century, the principal settlement was Manīdjān, one of the original "seven villages" or "seven fortresses" (Faḳīhī, 13, 58 ff.). In the 4th/10th century, Ḳum was described as a prosperous city, fortified with a rampart, with fields well-irrigated by means of canals, dams and pumping apparatus. The majority of the population was Shīʿī, ethnically Arab but Persian-speaking (Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, 370). There were frequent disputes between Ḳum and settlements lying up-stream (Taymara/Gulpāygān and Anār/Maḥallāt) regarding the distribution of the waters of the Anārbār. The flooding of this river was sometimes catastrophic (notably in 292/904-5, 1634, 1670, 1881, 1893: see Houtum-Schindler, 65 ff.; M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 33 ff.). With its many *ʿulamāʾ* (tradition tells of seventeen *tābiʿūn* and of hundreds of Ashʿarī *ruwāt* (see Faḳīhī, 37 ff.; in the 3rd/9th century there were two hundred and sixty-six Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* and fourteen Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ*, *ibid.*, 309) and especially the family of the famous Shaykh Ṣadūḳ (Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Bābūya), Ḳum could boast of having preceeded Nadjaf as a great theological centre.

The prosperity of the city seems to have begun with its administrative independence from Iṣfahān in 189/804-5. In 201/816-17, Fāṭima al-Maʿṣūma went to visit her brother, the Eighth Imām, ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, at Ṭūs. She fell ill at Sāwa (a Sunnī town) and asked to be taken to Ḳum, where she died and was buried. Besides the town's reputation as a centre of theological education, it was this event which contributed most to its fame. The town expanded progressively from north-east to south-west in the direction of the tomb of Fāṭima, which ultimately

became its centre (Faḳīhī, 94 ff.). Patronised by the Būyids (Faḳīhī, 127 ff.), Ḳum was renowned in the Saldjūḳ period for its *madrasas*, for the sanctuary of Fāṭima (visited by Sunnīs as well as Shīʿīs), for its religious foundations, and also for its administrators and viziers (see J. Calmard, in *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, Paris-Geneva 1971, i, 58 ff.) as well as for its many *ʿulamāʾ* and scholars, known by the *nisbas* of Ḳumī, Barḳī, Baravistānī, Ṭabrisī (from Ṭabris/Ṭafrish), etc. At the time of the Mongol conquest in 621/1224, its inhabitants were massacred, possibly at the instigation of the Sunnīs (see Faḳīhī, 223). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī described the town as being mostly in ruins in the 8th/14th century. It seems, however, that there was an attempt at reviving the region under the Īlkhāns, as evidenced by some important hydraulic constructions: the weighted dam at Sāwa (end of the 13th century) and the vaulted dam at Kebar, 25 km. to the south of Ḳum (see H. Goblot, *Kébar en Iran, sans doute le plus ancien des barrages-voûtes (1300 environ)*, in *Science Progrès (La Nature)*, Paris, February 1965, 50-6; the same, in *Arts et Manufactures*, Paris, June 1965, 43-9, April 1973, 15-20). Although travellers have drawn attention to the massacre perpetrated by Tīmūr, it seems that the Tīmūrids showed respect and favour to this holy city (we may note the mosque of Gawhar-Shād, wife of Shāh-Rukh, near the mausoleum of Fāṭima, and the fact that the sultan Muḥammad, son of Baysunghur, chose Ḳum as his capital in 846/1442: see Faḳīhī, 144-7). It was in any case from the 9th/14th century onwards that the town began to enjoy definite royal patronage. The Turkoman sultans Djahān-Shāh, Uzun Ḥasan, Yaʿḳūb, Murād and Alvand used it as a kind of winter capital for hunting, and this tradition was continued under the earlier Ṣafawids, Ismāʿīl I and Ṭahmāsp I (Fisher, 56 ff.; Faḳīhī, 147 ff.; on the *farmāns*, Turkomans charged with the appointment of an official (*mutawallī* of the sanctuary and *naḳīb* of the *sayyids*), see Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, xix/1-4, 118-35).

But it was above all the result of the religious policy of Shāh ʿAbbās I—consisting in attracting pilgrims to the Shīʿī shrines of Iran (Mashhad and Ḳum) rather than to those of ʿIrāḳ, then controlled by the Ottomans—which endowed Ḳum with an unprecedented glamour. The sanctuary was embellished, and two of its four *ṣaḥns* were transformed into a *madrasa* with a hostel for pilgrims. Many *ʿulamāʾ* came to Ḳum to study, men such as Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ, Mullā ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Lāhidjī, Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, Ḳāḍī Saʿīd Ḳumī, etc. (Fisher, 57). Traditions extolling the sanctity of the soil of Ḳum became current, and to the hundreds of tombs of Imām-zādas (at the time Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī counted 444 of them) were added the tombs of thousands of the faithful. The descendants of Shāh ʿAbbās I were buried there, as were thirty-one other princes (M. Bazin, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 84). No other Iranian city has such a vast number of tombs of *ʿulamāʾ*, of distinguished people or of simple believers, and the cemeteries extend over an enormous area.

In the 17th century, travellers described at length the merits of the town's craft-products (rapier and sabre blades, silks, cottons, glass, porcelain, porous white ceramics, etc.: see Bazin, *Qom*, 105). But at the same time it was a kind of land of exile for deposed aristocrats (Faḳīhī, 151), and insolvent debtors took refuge in the sanctuary (Gemelli Careri, ii, 74-5). Money was coined at Ḳum in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, and it appears that the Ṣafawids and the Ḳādjārs sought to re-establish this tradition (Houtum-Schindler, 73; Faḳīhī, 39, 152 ff.).

After the terrible depression of the 18th century (pillage by the Afghāns, massacres perpetrated by Ibrāhīm Khān, brother of Nādir Shāh and by an Uzbek governor in the service of this sovereign: Faḳīhī, 224 ff.), the practice of building royal monuments was revived by the Ḳādjārs. The shrine of Fāṭima built by ʿAbbās I was embellished by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh who also built a *madrasa*. The vast "new court" (*ṣaḥn-i djadīd*) was constructed by Amīn al-Sulṭān, vizier of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, in 1883. Around the "old court" (*ṣaḥn-i ʿatīḳ*) stand an octagonal monument containing the tombs of senior Ḳādjār dignitaries (Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh, his wife Mahd-i Awliyā, etc.) and the sanctuary library (1,000 manuscripts and 8,800 volumes) which also contains a museum. The Masdjid-i Aʿẓam, constructed on the orders of the Āyat Allāh Burūdjirdī (d. 1961), stands to the west of the sanctuary which includes other monuments (for a plan of the sanctuary, see Bazin, *Qom*, 91; Fisher, 58; a history of the monuments, including a description of their contemporary state, with plans and illustrations of inscriptions, documents, etc., is supplied by Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Turbat-i pākān*, 2 vols., Ḳum 2535/1976). The city-sanctuary today (1976) comprises fourteen large traditional *madrasas*, supervised by the Āyat Allāhs, four modern schools (Fisher, 23) as well as numerous private libraries, the most important being that of the Āyat Allāh Marʿashī Nadjafī (70,000 volumes including 15,000 manuscripts). After 1965, the sanctuary was administered by a *mutawallī* nominated by the Shāh (Fisher, 66). The revenues of the sanctuary and the annual number of pilgrims (about a million in 1970) are poor in comparison with those of Mashhad (four and a half million, including tourists, in 1352/1973-4). Nevertheless the spiritual role of Ḳum continues to be very important. Since 1340/1920, a modern Centre for Theological Education (*Ḥawḍa-yi ʿilmī*) has been established there (Fisher, 62 ff.). Three of the most eminent *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* (Gulpāygānī, Marʿashī Nadjafī, Sharīʿat Madārī) reside there (on the religious élite and the role of the *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*, see Fisher, 30 ff., and A. K. S. Lambton in *Studia Islamica*, xx [1964], 115-35).

The demographic evolution of the town—which, in spite of mistakes on the part of travellers, may be more or less traced from the 9th/15th century onwards—contributes to an understanding of the vicissitudes that have affected it:

20,000 houses in 1474 (Barbaro)
2,000 hearths in 1524 (Tenreiro)
2,000 hearths in 1565 (Mestre Afonso)
2,000 families in 1627 (Herbert)
15,000 houses in 1673 (Chardin)
50 houses (*sic*) in 1796 (Olivier)

(each hearth, house or family should represent five to six persons).

After 1850, the population fluctuated between 20,000 and 25,000 inhabitants (with a drop to 14,000 in 1874-5 on account of a famine; see A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 153, n. 3) rising to 35,000 in 1886-7. Since 1913 (30,000) the population has grown continuously (55,000 in 1937-8; 81,540 in 1947-8; 96,499 in 1956; 134,292 in 1966; and 246,873 in 1976).

Under the Ḳādjārs, Ḳum was a haven of refuge (*bast-nishīnī*) for political opponents of the régime. This opposition was particularly marked during the

events of the constitutional revolution of 1905-11. Under Riḍā Shāh (1925-41), the opposition of certain *ʿulamāʾ* was also manifested in various ways (Fisher, 62). There now exists a dichotomy between technocratic and religious power, and some influential *ʿulamāʾ* of Ḳum have encouraged their disciples to rebel: examples are Kāshānī, under Muṣaddiḳ, and Khumaynī, who was arrested on the 15th of Khurdād (5th of June) 1963 and exiled to Turkey, then to ʿIrāḳ (see H. Algar, in *Scholars, saints and Sufis*, ed. N. R. Keddie, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1972, 241 ff.); and riots involving "Muslim Marxists" on the 15th of Khurdād, 1975 (Fisher, 77 ff.). The troubles which convulsed the whole of Iran in 1978 began in Ḳum between the 7th and 9th of January 1978. In October 1978, Khumaynī took refuge in France, at Neauphle-le-Château, whence he led the opposition which caused the Shah's departure from Iran. He returned to Tehran (1 February 1979) and thence to Ḳum (1 March 1979). He still represents the most radical Islamic tendency; a steadfast though more moderate opposition had crystallised around other *ʿulamāʾ*, especially the *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* of Ḳum, Sharīʿat Madārī.

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(J. CALMARD)

AL-ḲŪMĀ or **AL-ḲAWMĀ**, the name of one of the seven types of post-classical poetry [see KĀN WA-KĀN]. It was invented by the people of Baghdād, and is connected with the *saḥūr*, i.e. the last part of the night when, during the month of Ramaḍān, it is still permitted to eat and drink and to take meals at that time; it derives its name from the expression *ḳūmā li 'l-saḥūr* which the singers recite after each strophe of a *ramal* or *zadjal* in praise of the master of the house. Contrary to what is generally believed, it does not seem that *ḳūmā* is the imperative dual, "Arise, both of you!", but the singular *ḳūman* > *ḳūmā* "Arise!". This interpretation is justified by Ḳurʾān, XCVI, 15, *la-nasfaʿā bi 'l-nāṣiya* (for *la-nasfaʿan*), and better still, by a verse of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1371/1952, 226, l. 4), where we have exactly *ḳūmā* for *ḳūman* "Arise!" as the rhymeword (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Anwāʾ*, § 158; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii 340 = § 1317). The origin of this poetic genre is obscure, and it is probable that it existed before Ibn Nuḳta, who is said to have invented it to please the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1179-1225). At all events, the *ḳūmā*, which is always in Arabic colloquial, has only been cultivated in ʿIrāḳ, where it has been used to express various themes, such as those of love, of wine-drinking, of flower-description, etc.

Technically, there are two types of *ḳūmā*:

Type 1 is made up of strophes of four hemistichs,

of which three (the first, second and fourth) are the same in length and rhyme with each other, whilst the third is longer and does not rhyme with the rest.

hemistiches 1, 2, 4	*mustaf{ilun* / *mafā{ilun* / *mutāfa{ilun*	*fā{ilān* / *fa{ilān* / *fa{lān* / *fa{lun*
hemistich 3	*mustaf{ilun*	*fā{ilātun* / *fa{ilātun*

Type 2 is made up of three hemistiches of the same rhyme, but of increasing length—

hemistich 1	*mustaf{ilātun* / *mafā{ilātun*
hemistich 2	*fā{ilātun, fā{ilātun*
hemistich 3	*mustaf{ilun, mustaf{ilun, mustaf{ilātun* / *mafā{ilun mafā{ilun*

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(M. BEN CHENEB - [CH. PELLAT])

ĶUMĀN, a Turkish people whose origin is connected with Central Asia. In all probability their forefathers are to be found in the people indicated by Marwazī (*Ṭabā'i{ al-ḥayawān*, ed. Minorsky, 18, § 3), as *s̲h̲ārī* (*sārī*), identical with the Yellow Uyghurs, who since about 850 A.D. were living to the east of the Tarim basin. This name is probably derived from their physiognomy, varying from that of the other Turkic peoples. At the beginning of the 11th century A.D. (*ca.* 1012-18), the Sārī left their homeland under the pressure of the Ķūn [*q.v.*] who were migrating to the west before the Ķitāy. This movement of peoples reached in the west also the regions of the Turkmens, who were driven away to new areas. In the newly-conquered regions to the north of the Sīr Daryā, close contact between the participants in this migration (the Sārī and the Ķūn) and the Kīmāk and Ķipčaķ [*q.vv.*] tribes who were living there, led to the formation of a new tribal confederation. It is probable that about this time the Sārī (*sarī* = yellow) were given by other Turkic-speaking peoples the name *ķumān*, derived from a root with similar meaning (*ķū* = yellowish).

A few decades later the Ķumān pressed forward to the west. Apart from their own name, various other names were mentioned in Western and Armenian sources (*polovci, polovcy, plauci, plavci, Valben, Valwen, Falones, Xarteš*, etc.), but semantically these terms ("yellow, pale, sallow, bright, clear") accord with the meaning of the name Ķumān. Towards the middle of the 11th century A.D., the Ķumān were living in the Dniepr region. In 1062 they started launching attacks against Kiev, and in 1078, together with the Pečenegs, against Byzantium. In 1085 they took part in the rebellion of the Bulghars, but in 1091 they were allies with emperor Alexius against the Pečenegs. Their raids against Hungary started in the same period. Hungarian historical sources mention them under the name Ķūn (*cuni, chuni*), but it has not yet become clear whether these tribes can be put in direct relation with the above-mentioned Ķūn, who probably were absorbed later by the Sārī (i.e. the Ķumān). In 1094 and again in 1114 the Emperor Alexius waged two quite important wars against the Ķumān, who were to be pushed back to the other side of the Danube. The Mongol invasion put an end to the control of the Ķumān over the Pontic steppes, and after the final defeat in 1239, a part of them sought refuge in Bulgaria. Thus they played an important rôle in the history of Hungary, in that of the second reign of the Bulgarian Tsars and in that of Byzantium. The Ķumān who had remained in the Pontus area were incorporated into the western part of the Mongol empire called Ķīpčaķ [see DAS̲H̲T-I ĶĪPČAĶ in Suppl.].

The most important document of the Ķumān language is the *Codex Cumanicus* (14th century) a collection of texts brought together in South Russia by Italian and German missionaries. Some rudimentary remnants of the language are also found in Hungarian. Important references to their language are further present in loan-words of Ķumān origin in Hungarian, Bulgarian and Rumanian, as well as in place-names in various regions of these countries.

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(G. HAZAI)

ĶUMĀS̲H̲ (A. pl. *aķmis̲h̲a*), in general sense, "cloth", but in a more particularised sense, "a Mamlūk garment". The term *ķumās̲h̲* in the later Middle Ages commonly designated "cloth" or any "woven stuff" in general and was synonymous with the classical words *bazz* and *t̲h̲iyāb*. Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Dimas̲h̲ķī (*ca.* 5/11th century) does not use the term at all in his handbook for merchants *K. al-Is̲h̲āra ilā maḥāsin al-tid̲j̲āra* (Cairo 1318), but the word is employed by the 4th/10th century geographer Ibn Ḥawkal in his *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (BGA ii², ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, 132). It rarely appears in the documents of the Cairo Geniza [*q.v.*] (for example, TS 16.298, ed. S. D. Goitein, *India book*, 190, l. 13; *al-ķumās̲h̲ al-s̲h̲arb*—"fine linen stuff"). *Ķumās̲h̲* does not seem to have come into common usage until Mamlūk times. Thereafter, it became the general word for fabric throughout the Middle East and is still current in most dialects, as well as in Persian and Turkish. It never seems to have been particularly common in the Mag̲h̲rib, although the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyā' (625-47/1228-49) is reported to have built a *sūķ al-ķumās̲h̲* in Tunis.

Under the Mamlūks, *ķumās̲h̲* took on the specialised meaning of "dress uniform" although this sense is not found in any dictionary. A young Mamlūk was presented with his horse, a *ķumās̲h̲*, and a sword upon his manumission and induction into the corps. Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ķalāwūn (693-741/1293-1341) is credited with introducing the *s̲h̲ās̲h̲ wa 'l-ķumās̲h̲*, or "turban cloth and formal coat" of a Mamlūk warrior (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i{ al-zuhūr fī waķā'i{ al-duhūr*, Būlāķ 1311, i, 173, ll. 15 f.). This dress uniform was also called *ķumās̲h̲ al-k̲h̲idma* (service coat), *ķumās̲h̲ al-rukūb*, and *ķumās̲h̲ al-mawkib* (parade or processional coast). The Mamlūk *ķumās̲h̲*

must have been a heavy garment. Mamlūk soldiers threw off their armour and *ḳumās̲h̲* when fleeing the battlefield (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 76, citing al-Yūninī), and the Sulṭān al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf Ḳāʾitbāy (872-901/1468-96) is reported to have abolished the obligation of wearing the *ḳumās̲h̲* for ordinary palace service (*k̲h̲idmat al-ḳaṣr*) as it was too hot for continual wear throughout most of the year in Egypt (Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, iii, ed. P. Kahle and M. Mostafa, Istanbul 1931, 322, l. 12). The less formal coat for everyday wear was called *ḳumās̲h̲ al-d̲j̲ulūs*.

Ḳumās̲h̲ (pl. *ḳumās̲h̲āt*) was also sometimes used in Mamlūk terminology as a synonym for *kanbūs̲h̲* or "caparison" of a horse (Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Duwal wa 'l-mulūk*, ed. Ḳ. Zurayḳ and N. Izzedin, Beirut 1942, ix, 247, ll. 9 f.).

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(N. A. Stillmann)

AL-KUMAYT B. ZAYD AL-ASADĪ, Abu 'l-Mustahill, an Arab poet of Kūfa (60-126/680-743) who is not to be confused with two earlier and lesser known Asadīs, al-Kumayt b. Maʿrūf and al-Kumayt b. Thaʿlaba (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *D̲j̲amhara*, ii, 373; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*; al-Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, no. 571; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Iṣāba*, nos. 7498 and 7499; etc.).

Al-Kumayt applied himself in an indirect fashion to the poetry and the language of the Bedouins, and he was acquainted with poets such as al-Farazdaḳ, Ruʾba b. al-ʿAd̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ and the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī al-Ṭirimmāḥ, whose hostility towards the Umayyads he shared; in contrast to the last-mentioned, he came under the influence of the S̲h̲īʿi tendencies of his native town and these had a decisive effect on the direction that his career was to take, inspiring him with violently pro-ʿAlid opinions. He is reckoned to have acquired a fairly extensive intellectual training, and he also possessed a talent for oratory which shows in his poems, to the extent that some critics regard them as speeches. At first a schoolteacher in a Kūfa mosque, he was pressed by his family, so at least tradition has it, to set his poetic gifts to work and to undertake a poetic career which nowadays would be called "committed". Henceforward he acquired distinction with the composition of verses in praise of the Ahl al-Bayt [*q.v.*] and of a series of poems, among which the best known are his long *Mud̲h̲ahhaba* directed against the Yemenīs and his *Malḥama* in praise of the Ḳurays̲h̲. The chronology of his work is far from clear, and the outstanding incidents of his career cannot be dated with certainty. His celebrated conflicts with the governor K̲h̲ālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (105-20/723-38 [*q.v.*]) and the decision of His̲h̲ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) to have him put to death, have given rise to conflicting accounts which are difficult to reconcile and to romantic embellishments which are to be treated with caution. It was probably the *Mud̲h̲ahhaba* which earned him the hostility of K̲h̲ālid, at a time when the latter needed assurance of the loyalty of the South Arabian elements. By a circuitous procedure, the governor informed the caliph of the attitude of the poet, who was imprisoned; with the help of his wife, who had come to visit him, he succeeded in escaping disguised as a woman and, after a period of wandering, he finally obtained pardon from the caliph through the mediation of the prince Maslama b. His̲h̲ām. On his return to Kūfa, he must have been gratified at the dismissal of K̲h̲ālid (120/738); although his successor, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-T̲h̲aḳafī [*q.v.*] was responsible, two years later (122/740), for the death of Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who had allowed himself to become involved in a S̲h̲īʿī revolt, al-Kumayt had no scruples about flattering him, although he did not succeed in deluding the Yemenī soldiers of his guard, who, on an occasion when he arrived to recite a poem, inflicted on him a mortal wound (126/743).

The renown of the poet, maintained by S̲h̲īʿī circles, rests fundamentally on the *Hās̲h̲imiyyāt*, which have been the objects of a commentary by Abū Riyās̲h̲ (d. 339/950 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and of a number of editions: of M. S̲h̲ākir al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ (Cairo 1321, 1331), of Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Rāfiʿī (*S̲h̲arḥ al-Hās̲h̲imiyyāt*, Cairo n.d. [1928]), of ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī, with a quite interesting commentary (*al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī, s̲h̲āʿir al-ʿaṣr al-marwānī wa-ḳaṣāʾiduh al-Hās̲h̲imiyyāt*, Cairo n.d.), and most of all, of J. Horovitz, with a German translation (*Die Haschimijat des Kumait*, Leiden 1904). In spite of the title, the poet's praises are not aimed at all the Banū Hās̲h̲im, but principally at the Prophet and at ʿAlī and his descendants. Some verses (i, 79, ii, 105 ff. of the Horovitz edition), in which mention is made of ʿAbbās and of his sons, were no doubt added in the ʿAbbāsid period, perhaps by the son of al-Kumayt, al-Mustahill, who was also a poet (see *Ag̲h̲ānī*, index) and was concerned to perpetuate his father's memory. The *Hās̲h̲imiyyāt* are composed, in the Horovitz edition, of four long *ḳaṣīdas* (103, 140, 133 and 111 verses), of two short *ḳaṣīdas* (33 and 20 verses), of one fragment of seven verses of which more than half constitutes an opening typical of the *ḳaṣīda*, and of four short pieces of six, two, two and two verses. In the long poems, al-Kumayt follows the framework of the *ḳaṣīda*, but with a short and not very conventional *nasīb*. In the *raḥīl*, he follows the classical tradition, and subsequently he produces lavish eulogies of the ʿAlids similar to those that were addressed to the Bedouin *sayyids*. He also borrows frequently from the Ḳurʾān, to such an extent that a scholar of Kūfa, Ibn Kunāsa [*q.v.*] was able to compose, in the 2nd/8th century, a *Kitāb Sariḳāt al-Kumayt min al-Ḳurʾān*. Some philologists and poets accuse him of plagiarism and inconsequence (see for example, al-Marzubānī, *Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*, 191-8) and do not judge him worthy, in spite of his antiquity, of figuring among the poets who serve as a "proof", a *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* (cf. al-Bag̲h̲dādī who takes his *s̲h̲āhid* no. 16 from a poem of al-Kumayt). His compositions were on the other hand very highly regarded in S̲h̲īʿī circles, whose members probably did not hesitate to add to them verses or even whole sections of which he was not the author. For R. Blachère, "the simplicity of the language, the platitude of the arguments makes one think of a poetry of propaganda aimed at a public (possibly urban) immune to the lexicographic beauties of the desert poets." The language of al-Kumayt nevertheless does not lack refinement, but the artifi-

cial use of a badly-understood *gharib* was a source of irritation to some of his contemporaries. In fact, the importance of the *Hāshimiyyāt*, insofar as they are entirely authentic, resides in the opinions and the sentiments current in the Shīʿī circles—or rather Zaydī circles, so it seems—of Kūfa which they reflect. Al-Kumayt, it is true, regards the first caliphs as usurpers (iv, 10), but he refrains from excommunicating them, even if they did wrong in not handing Fadak [*q.v.*] back to Fāṭima; ʿAlī is the *waṣī* of the Prophet, who bequeathed the *walāya* to him near the pool of Khumm (vi, 6, which seems to be the earliest evidence of this Shīʿī doctrine); it is to the ʿAlids alone that power belongs and it is they who will consolidate afresh the foundations of Islam which unworthy rulers have shaken. The poet's enthusiasm does not, however, run to the extent of leading him to take up arms in support of the ʿAlid cause, personified especially by Zayd b. ʿAlī, and his warfare is limited to virulent versified attacks on the ruling régime, although his convictions do not prevent him from addressing compliments to it, as is shown by the eulogies of Maslama and of Hishām himself, after his tirades had been pardoned. He recognises, besides, that in doing this, he had used *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], in a verse (iv, 86) where this term, according to Goldziher (in *ZDMG*, lx, 219) is used for the first time in the sense which the Shīʿis give to it (Goldziher, in *ZA*, xxii [1909], cf. *Arabica*, vii/1 [1960], 11, also comments on the metempsychosis referred to in iii, vv. 39-40).

It is probable that Hishām would not have shown so much clemency if he had really known the content of the *Hāshimiyyāt*; these must in fact have been circulated surreptitiously, with or without the complicity of the local authorities. It seems clear, in fact, in spite of divergences in the traditions, that al-Kumayt owed his rebuffs to the *Mudhahhaba* alone. This poem of 300 verses, of which only a part has been preserved, is a riposte to a Kalbī poet referred to by the name al-Aʿwar, who had attacked Muḍar and, among them, the ʿAlids. In the *Hāshimiyyāt* there is no sign of any hostility towards the Yemenīs, and the poet had even lauded the Muhallabids in the person of Makhlad b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, which seems to prove that the section in which were enumerated the disreputable characteristics of the tribes of the Yemen is of a mainly occasional nature. Not only was this poem the primary cause of the assassination of al-Kumayt, but in addition, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 36-46 = §§ 2267-72) comes close to seeing here both a manifestation and a cause of the conflicts between the Northern and Southern Arabs which led to the fall of the Umayyads. This *Mudhahhaba* certainly enjoyed a dangerous renown among the tribes of Muḍar, since, at the beginning of the following century, another Shīʿī poet, Diʿbil al-Khuzāʿī [*q.v.*], still considered it advisable to refute it and to take up the defence of the Yemenīs in a *ḳaṣīda*, which is said to have comprised 600 verses, of which only 25 are now extant (see ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *Shiʿr Diʿbil*, Damascus 1384/1964, 193-7; idem, *Diʿbil b. ʿAlī al-Khuzāʿī*², Damascus 1967, index).

As for the *Malḥama*, preserved by Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī (*Djamhara*, 187 ff.), it comprises 56 verses and contains general and personal observations and the eulogy of Ḳuraysh, that is, ultimately of the Umayyads.

The *Dīwān* of al-Kumayt, which must have contained 5,000 verses, has been the object—proof of the interest aroused by this poet—of a number of recensions by Ibn Kunāsa, Al-Aṣmaʿī, al-Sukkarī and Ibn al-Sikkīt (*Fihrist*, 158; Cairo ed., 225). It has been partially reconstituted by Dāwūd Sallūm, Baghdād 1969-70 (3 vols. without the *Hāshimiyyāt*).

In spite of the studies that have been devoted to him, the personality of this poet, who was capable of composing eulogies simultaneously to the ʿAlids and the Umayyads, remains inscrutable, even enigmatic, by reason of the meagre credit that may be accorded to the sources, Sunnī as well as Shīʿī; his versatility, even when justified by *taḳiyya*, is such as to throw doubt upon his sincerity and to advise the greatest caution in the use of his work.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index (giving the name of al-Kumayt's *rāwī*, Muḥammad b. Sahl, vii, 18; the abundantness of citations comes from the poet's frequent use of animal names in his verses); Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 268-9; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 368-71 (ed. Shākir, 562-6); Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 347-8; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; *Aghānī*, xv, 113-30 (ed. Beirut, xvi, 328-60) and index; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 67-71, 86-7 = ed. Cairo, i, 134-41, 168-70; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 7498; A. S. Nadjā, *al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī shāʿir al-Shīʿa fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-Umawī*, Beirut 1957 (a serious study); Yūsuf Khulayf, *Ḥayāt al-shiʿr fi 'l-Kūfa*, Cairo 1388/1968, passim; Brockelmann, S I, 96-7; R. Blachère, *HLA*, 518-21 (with bibl.). (J. Horovitz - [Ch. Pellat])

KUMĪDJĪS, a people mentioned in the Arabic and Persian historical and geographical sources of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries as dwelling in the Buttaman Mts. at the heads of the valleys running southwards through Khuttal and Čaghāniyān down to the course of the upper Oxus. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) describes them as professional brigands and as linked with a smaller group, the Kandjīna Turks. In fact, these two peoples must be remnants of some earlier waves of invaders from Inner Asia, left behind in the Pamir region, probably of the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA], or even of the earlier Sakas; Ptolemy mentions a Saka tribe of Kōmēdai, and it is accordingly probable that the name of our people should be read as *Kumēdh-djīs. Sources like Gardīzī and Bayhaḳī mention the Kumīdjīs as marauders called in by warring factions during the decline of the Sāmānids (*e.g.* by Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī), and during the disintegration of Ghaznawid power in the west (*e.g.* by the incoming Ḳarakhānids); but with the opening of the Saldjūḳ period, they disappear from recorded history.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 120, 361-3; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 233; idem, *Wehrot und Arang*, 54-9, 93; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 248, 297-8, 301; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 73, 239; idem and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 8-9.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KUMĪS, the Russian form of the Turkish *ḳïmïz* "fermented mare's milk", "koumiss", the staple drink of the steppe peoples of Eurasia from the earliest time. Herodotus refers to its manufacture by the Scyths and the Chinese sources to its use amongst the Ancient Turks and the Khitan. William of Rubruck, who calls it *cosmos*, describes in detail the production of this drink by the 13th-century Mongols: and we read in the *Secret history of the*

Mongols how the youthful Čingiz-Khān, fleeing from the Tayiči'ut, sought refuge in a tent "in which koumiss was churned all through the night till the dawn". In this, as in other respects, the Tīmūrids continued the practice of their Čingizid predecessors; and koumiss is prepared and drunk to this day by the nomads of North-Eastern Asia.

Bibliography: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, 512-17 (No. 1529). (J. A. Boyle)

ḲŪMIS, the Arabic transcription of the Latin *comes*, a title which in al-Andalus denoted the person responsible to the state for the *muʿāhidūn* [*q.v.*] or Scriptuaries, or at least, for the Christian Mozarabs [*q.v.*]. According to A. Fattal, "les représentants religieux des *dimmis* sont autorisés par le pouvoir, moyennant *waṣiyya*, a exercer leur autorité. Il semble bien que les Arabes de la conquête respectèrent tant l'organisation administrative que judiciaire, que religieuse des populations soumises". Certain capitulation documents (*ʿahd*, *ṣulḥ*) [*q.v.*] expressly affirm this: "They shall not be forbidden the exercise of their religious cult and shall keep their own laws". This was the case in al-Andalus, as reflected in clauses 3-9 of the "treaty of Tūdmir" [*q.v.*].

The first known *comes* was *Arṭubās ḳūmis al-Andalus wa-zaʿīm ʿAdjam al-dhimma wa-mustakhridj kharādjihim li-umarāʾ al-muslimīn* (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, 109), who advised the governor Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār to grant to the Syrians fiefs of income (Chalmeta, *Concesiones territoriales*, in *Cuadernos de Historia Hispania*, vi, 1975). According to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ*, 38, "he was the first to exercise *ḳimāsa* in Muslim Spain". We have therefore here a concentration in the person of the protector or defensor of extremely wide powers, embracing administrative, judicial and probably—to a certain degree—religious ones. At least, this is what one can deduce from the treatment as *serenissimo hominum catholicorum summo* which Alvaro of Cordova accords to the Count Romanus (*Corus*, 211), as does Ibn Khaldūn from Aṣbagh b. ʿAbd Allāh. In this context, it would probably be correct to see in the confiscation of Ardobas's properties not only a "resumption of former crown domains" (*ṣafāyā al-mulūk*), but also an extraordinary impost (not paid in cash) of the same type as we find in the East (Fattal, *Le statut légal*, 220-4) or as that which probably cost the Count Ḥazmīr his life. The *ḳūmis* was equally responsible, as *mustakhridj*—which could be translated by the Latin *exceptor*—for the collecting of taxes on his co-religionists. As such, he had to levy not only the *kharādj* and *djizya*, but also all extraordinary imposts (*maʿāwin*, *maghārim*). This gave him a certain expertise and "vocation" as a professional tax-collector, and it explains the fact that we find under al-Ḥakam I a *ḳūmis* Rabīʿ in charge of all taxes, on *dhimmīs* and Muslims equally (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 15).

The *comes* was, then, a Christian, appointed by the state, but we do not know whether he was officially designated from above or nominated after proposal and election of his co-religionists. As an official, he had his subordinates. His powers made him the supreme judicial authority over his flock, by virtue of his röle as *zaʿīm* or head of the community. He was therefore by virtue of his office also *ḳāḍī al-ʿAdjam* or *ḳāḍī al-naṣārā*, whether in person, or by delegating his powers. Consequently, the meagre list of our "counts" should be completed by adding the list of *censores* or *iudices* (a hypothesis put forward, but not followed up, by Simonet, *Historia de los mozarabes*, 112).

The names of some *ḳawāmis* have come down to us. After Arṭubās, one should doubtless place a certain Alfonso, since the genealogy of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn given by Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, iv, 134). and Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, ii, 108), quoting Ibn Ḥayyān, gives him as the sixth descendant after a *ḳūmis* Adfunsh. Rabīʿ b. Theodulf, *mutawallī al-muʿāhidīn min al-naṣārā*, was not only the hated chief tax collector over the Cordovans, but also commander of the foreign palace guards of al-Ḥakam I, and ended up by being crucified (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 96). He was probably followed by the count (and physician) Romanus cited by Alvarus (*Corpus*, 211). St. Eulogius mentions one Isaac, a noble Cordovan who, before retiring to the monastery of Tabanos, had been *doctus lingua arabica, exceptoris rei publicae officio fungeretur* (*Corpus*, 402). Ḳūmis b. Antunyān, who served in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's administration and was *kātib* to the *amīr* Muḥammad, and who is stigmatised by Alvaro and St. Eulogius as a hateful persecutor, *Ecclesiae publicanus... publicae rei exceptor*, should be included amongst the *comes* (and not amongst the "Gomez", as according to Simonet), because of (a) his function as *mustakhridj*, and (b) the fact that he seems to have been the official intermediary (much more than Recafred, metropolitan of Seville) between the state and the Mozarabs. With this authority, he transmitted the *amīr*'s commands, and consigned members of his flock to jail, when necessary, not as a state official, but as the leader and one responsible for the Christians under his jurisdiction. He presided over the council at Cordova in 852 which forbade the Mozarabs to seek voluntary martyrdom. The course of events shows that he had not only the backing of the whole state apparatus but also that of the majority of his community. The upper classes were unable to agree, and he reached the point of fearing for his life (Khushanī, *Ḳuḍāt*, 130-1; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, ii, 138, 142), but things did not go as far as his assassination, as frequently happened in the East (Fattal, *op. cit.*, 220-3). He must have been followed by the *comes* Servandus, who held power in *ca.* 853, according to Alvaro (*Corpus*, 214, 551, 554, 560, 581). Ibn Antunyān's son, also the *amīr*'s *kātib*, disappeared in 298/911 (*Bayān*, ii, 153). The Archpriest Cyprianus wrote in *ca.* 890 his *Epigrammas* for the *comes* Adulfus, and he also mentions a *comes* Guifredus (*Corpus*, 685-6). Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (*Iftitāḥ*, 5) cites his contemporary Abū Saʿīd *al-ḳūmis*, as well as the *ḳāḍī al-ʿAdjam* Ḥafṣ b. Albar, both of them descendants of Artobas. Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, ii, 142) records under the year 293/905 that "Ḥazmīr *al-ḳūmis* was imprisoned; he was tortured and underwent the torture of the iron boot until he died". It is likely that the *ḳāḍī al-naṣārā* of Cordova in 351/962, who acted as interpreter for Ordoño IV, was also the "*comes* of the Mozarabs". This was doubtless also the case with Aṣbagh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Nabīl, who was commissioned, in the name of the ʿĀmirid ʿAbd al-Malik, to arbitrate in the dispute over the tutelage of Alfonso V between the two counts, Sancho Garcia of Castile and Menendo Gonzalez of Léon. Aṣbagh must have been the successor of Muʿāwiya b. Lubb, who was *ḳūmis* in 361/971. According to Ibn Bashkuwāl (*Ṣila*, No. 443), there was in the time of the caliphate a little market in Cordova called the *suwayḳat al-ḳūmis*.

The fact that, in the course of the 4th/10th century, one finds more references to judges than to counts,

in contexts where one would expect the reverse, must indicate a lowering of the latter's status, who by then had lost many of his duties. It is hard to believe that Ibn Zaydūn, appointed by Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar to "enquire into certain affairs of the dhimmis" (Ibn al-Abbār, *Iʿtāb al-kuttāb*, 212-13), can have had the title of *ḳūmis*. Indeed, if he had really fulfilled this role, it would have been indicative of a profound change, since Christians would have become subject to a Muslim and not to one of their co-religionists. It is very possible that Ibn al-Ḳallās, *kabīr al-muʿāhidīn* of Granada in 1125-6, at the time of Alfonso the Warrior's Andalusian expedition, was *comes* of the Mozarabs (*Iḥāṭa*, 113, 116). The disorders of the period of *fitna* [*q.v.*], conducive to rebellions, the emigration of native Christians to the kingdoms of the north, and the severities of the Almoravids and Almohads, explain the silence of our sources for the later periods.

The term *ḳūmis* was applied not only to the head of the Mozarabs, however, but also to the counts of the Christian kingdoms. Ibn Ḥayyān (*Muḳtabas*, v) says that Ordoño II rallied for warfare all his counts at the siege of Evora in 301/913. He gives this title to the counts of Alaba and Djallīḳiya, to the Banū Gūmis and Banū Anshūr, and cites by specific name Sandjo b. Gharsiya (Banbalūna), Fardhiland b. Ghundishalb (Ḳashtīliya), Barmundh b. Nuño (Shalamanka), Abu 'l-Mundhir (Gormaz), Fortūn b. Gharsiya known as Amāṭ *al-ḳūmis*, Rudhmīr *al-ḳūmis* alias Ibn Māmma Ṭūta, the counts Manyūra and Falīn, and above all, *al-Ḳumṭ ḳūmis Djarisha*. At the time of al-Ḥakam II (*Muḳtabas*, vi), the same author gives this title to Bon Filyo, Gundishalb b. Munyo, Esimeno b. Gharsiya and Ashraka b. ʿUmar b. Dāwūd. Ibn Khaldūn, in his chapter in the *K. al-ʿIbar* on the Christian kings of Spain, speaks of Fernan Gonzalez and Garcia Fernandez *ḳūmis Alaba wa 'l-Ḳilaʿ*, Menendo Gonzalez *ḳūmis Ghalīsiya*, Henry of Burgundy, and the Banū Gūmis and Banū Fardhiland, as well as Alvar Fañez. Ibn Bassām spoke in *ca.* 1010 of the *ḳūmis* Raymund, lord of Barcelona. Speaking of events from the beginning of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Khaldūn uses *ḳumṭ*, *aḳmāṭ* for Raymond of Burgundy, Don Nuño (Gonzalez de Lara) and Henry of Trastamara. The *Vocabulista* attributed to R. Martí gives *ḳumṭ*, *aḳmāṭ* as the equivalent of *comes*; P. de Alcalá has *conde o condesa* = *cónd*, *aqnát*; whilst the *Fragmento . . . reyes nazaries* published by Müller and re-edited by Bustani-Quiros (Larache 1940) translates "count" by *kundī*.

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the article, see Fr. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas*, Madrid 1888, 125-6; idem, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Madrid 1903, 111-13; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 218-19; A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans*, Beirut 1958; A. S. Tritton, *The caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, Oxford 1930; I. Cagigas, *Los mozárabes*, Madrid 1947-8; E. P. Colbert, *The martyrs of Cordoba (850-859)*, Washington 1962; *Bol. R. Acad. Cordoba*, lxxx (1960), dedicated to St. Eulogius; J. Gil, *Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, Madrid 1973. (P. CHALMETA)

ḲŪMIS, a small province of mediaeval Islamic Persia, lying to the south of the Alburz chain watershed and extending into the northern fringes of the Dasht-i Kavīr. Its western boundaries lay almost in the eastern rural districts of Ray, whilst on the east it marched with Khurāsān, with which it was indeed at times linked. It was bisected by the great Ray-Khurāsān highway, along which were situated the chief towns of Ḳūmis, from west to east Khuwār or Khawār (classical Χοαρηνή, modern Aradūn), Simnān [*q.v.*]. Dāmghān [*q.v.*], and Bisṭām [*q.v.*], whilst at its south-eastern extremity, out in the Great Desert, was the small town of Biyār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], modern Biyārdjumand. The administrative capital of Ḳūmis was Dāmghān, which is often accordingly called in the sources Madīnat Ḳūmis or Shahr-i Ḳūmis, according to a well-known toponomastic process (cf. the town of Bardasīr/Kirmān). The name Ḳūmis is obsolete today, and the lands making up the mediaeval province are included administratively in the *farmāndārī-yi kull* or governorate of Simnān and the *ustān* or province of Māzandarān. The present-day town of Shāhrūd, just to the south-west of Bisṭām, does not seem to have been in existence as such in mediaeval times.

The province was one of considerable importance in pre-Islamic times. In Greek sources it appears as Κωμισηνή, and in Armenian writers like Sebeos and Moses of Khoren as Komsh. H. W. Bailey, in *JRAS* (1970), 61-2, has suggested that the name derives from an Old Ir. root *ka-*, *kaur-*, conveying the idea of "hollowness", plus a passive or agental suffix, whence Komish "opened up, excavated place". Seleucus Nicator seized the satrapy of Parthia between 311 and 302 B.C., and it was allegedly he who founded the "city of a hundred gates", Hecatompylos, although it almost certainly existed before then; a legend retailed in the 8th century A.D. Middle Persian catalogue of the towns of Iran says that Ḳūmis "the five-towered" (*pandj-burg*) was built by the sorcerer Azh-i Dahāk, whilst from later Islamic times, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 161, tr. 157, attributes the building of Dāmghān to the hero Hūshang. Such classical authors as Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, etc. mention Hecatompylos as the royal city of the Parthians, and some of these sources give the distance of the city from the Caspian Gates (e.g. Strabo, 1260 *stadia*, and Pliny, 133 *milia passuum*; the consensus of modern opinion tends to identify the Caspian Gates with the Sar-Darrah defile through the Kūh-i Namak spur of the Alburz). But the site was never properly identified with any reasonable certainty, although it was thought that it probably lay somewhere between the towns of Dāmghān and Shāhrūd, until recently, however, Hansman and Stronach have examined and excavated the site of the modern spot called Shahr-i Ḳūmis, near Ḳūsha to the south-west of Dāmghān on the Simnān road. It seems that this very extensive site could well be the ancient Parthian capital, apparently largely abandoned around the middle of the 1st century B.C. when the Arsacids moved their winter capital to Ctesiphon. See A. D. Mordtmann, *Hekatompylos*, in *SB Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Cl. (1869), 497-536; Pauly-Wissowa, xii/2, cols. 2790-7, *s.v.* (Kiessling); Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 12, 55-6; R. N. Frye, *The heritage of Persia*, London 1962, 183-4; J. Hansman, *The problems of Qūmis*, in *JRAS* (1968), 111-39; idem and D. Stronach, *Excavations at Shahr-i Qumis*, 1967, in *JRAS* (1970), 29-62; idem, *A Sasanian repository at Shahr-i Qumis*, in *ibid.*, 142-55; S. Matheson, *Persia: an archaeological guide*[1], London 1972, 191-2.

In Sāsānid times, there seems to have been a refounding of Kōmish, perhaps by Yazdagird I (399-421) as a defensive post against the Turks and Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA] who were threatening the north-eastern frontiers of his kingdom. The region

retained its old connection with the Parthians through its being the home of the noble Parthian family of Mihrān, to whom belonged the Spahpat (Islamic form, Ispahbadh, [*q.v.*]) Pahlav, killed by Hormizd IV (579-90); in the next reign, Kōmish was the residence of the Spahpat of Khurāsān, Ḳāren of Nihāwand [see ḲĀRINIDS for the subsequent history of this family]. There was there a highly-venerated fire-temple, described in Middle Persian sources of the early Islamic period as burning perpetually without fuel (whence, presumably, its N. Pers. name Khurishn < M. Pers. *a-xvarišn* "without food"), obviously a fire fed from some volcanic source or else from a natural seepage of petroleum. Towards the end of the Sāsānid period, however, the administrative centre of the province seems to have been transferred to the apparently new foundation of Dāmghān, which thereafter acquired in early Islamic times the name of [Madīnat] Ḳūmis. It may have been that the old Kōmish of middle Sāsānid times had never been more than a frontier post, since no Sāsānid coins are known to have been minted there. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 71-2; Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, 56-7; Hansman, *The problems of Qūmis*, 136-9.

At the time of the Arab conquest of Persia, the men of Ḳūmis fought in the Sāsānid army at Nihāwand and at the defence of Ray, but the province offered no resistance to the Arabs thereafter. According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 318, Sulaymān b. ʿUmar al-Ḍabbī sent troops into Ḳūmis, but according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2656-7, the caliph ʿUmar sent an army under Suwayd b. Muḳarrin in 22/643, and Ḳūmis was thereafter used as a base for attacks on Gurgān and the Caspian region. As with Djibāl and Ray, it was Arab warriors from Kūfa who garrisoned the chief town of Dāmghān. Al-Ṭabarī further records, i, 2839, that the more northerly highway to Khurāsān was less used in these early decades than the one via Fārs and Kirmān, since Ḳūmis was vulnerable to attacks by Daylamī and other mountain peoples of the Alburz; it was, so he says, the governor Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] who first regularly used the Ḳūmis route to Khurāsān and Transoxania (cf. C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 20). In fact, the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [*q.v.*] had used that route in 31/652, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 192. The region had meanwhile been disturbed by Khāridjī sectaries, involving the appearance there of the Azraḳī leader ʿAbīda b. Hilāl al-Yashkurī in 77/696 with the remnants of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa's forces fleeing before the pursuing Umayyad army [see AZĀRIḲA and ḲAṬARĪ B. AL-FUDJĀʾA]. Also, soon after 127/744-5, Ḳūmis, together with much of northern Persia, was occupied by the ʿAlid pretender ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1880, 1976). Reform type *dirhams* were minted under the name Ḳūmis from 91/710 onwards, but there do not seem to have been any Arab-Sāsānid coins minted there (cf. J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum. i. Arab-Sassanian coins*, London 1941, pp. cxxxviii-cxxxix).

Administratively, Ḳūmis was mostly linked during this period with Damāwand [*q.v.*] or Dumbāwand and with northwestern Persia in general; thus under the caliph Hishām, Ḳūmis and Iṣfahān both formed part of the governorship of Ray (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 388), until in 164/780-1 under the early ʿAbbāsids Ḳūmis was separated from Ray, according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 503. Abū Muslim's troops early occupied Ḳūmis in their march westwards during the ʿAbbāsid revolution, and some years later, in 137/754-5, it was briefly seized by the anti-ʿAbbāsid Persian rebel Sunbādh [*q.v.*]. In the 3rd/9th century, Ḳūmis suffered several severe bouts of plague (e.g. in 242/856-7), and in 259/873 it was occupied temporarily by the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] in his expansionary wars outside his base of Ṭabaristān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1880). By the beginning of the 4th/10th century, Ḳūmis had fallen away from caliphal control, and was disputed by various Daylamī and other adventurers contending, together with the major powers of the Būyids and Sāmānids, for mastery in northern Persia; at various times, Būyids, Sāmānids and Ziyārids controlled it, as the evidence of coins, principally bearing the mint-name of Dāmghān, shows (cf. E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 115).

The geographers of this period give descriptions of the province, usually dealing with it town-by-town. They emphasise its fertility, with exports of its fruit, such as the famed *ḳūmisī* and *bisṭāmī* apples, as far as ʿIrāḳ, and the fame of its woollen, silk and goats' hair textiles and carpets (see e.g. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 276, tr. Wiet, 80; Abū Dulaf, *Second Risāla*, tr. Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, Cairo 1955, 56-8; Muḳaddasī, 367; according to al-Djāḥiẓ's *K. al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra*, Ḳūmisī *ṭaylasān*s were the best procurable after those of Rūyān, Āmul and Egypt (cf. R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 75, 80). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 135, § 32, comments on the bellicosity of the people of Ḳūmis and Dāmghān, perhaps a reflection of their position, exposed to attacks along the Khurāsān highroad and from the Caspian region. Al-Muḳaddasī, 353, 367-8, comments on the piety of the Ḥanafī inhabitants of Ḳūmis and on the peculiarities of their Persian dialect, which he says is connected with that of Ṭabaristān and which seems to show archaic features. Various authorities give the tax-yield of the province, from the figures of Ibn Khurradādhbih (mid-3rd/9th century), 34, of 2,196,000 *dirhams* to those of al-Muḳaddasī, 371, according to whom the *kharādj* of Ḳūmis amounted to 1,196,000 *dirhams* plus 26,000 *dirhams* from Biyār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], this before Biyār was transferred administratively from Ḳūmis by the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43) and linked with Nīshāpūr and Khurāsān.

From the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the name Ḳūmis gradually drops out of usage, although Mustawfī (8th/14th century) still uses it in his *Nuzha*, 162-3, tr. 157-8, to denote the province; its last appearance on a coin appears to be on a Ziyārid *dirham* of 364/974-5 (Zambaur, *op. cit.*, 199).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 364-8, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, repr. Hildesheim 1969, 809 ff.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲŪMIYA, one of the most important tribes of the Maghrib in the Middle Ages; they were at one time called Saṭfūra and were descended through Fātin from Mādghīs al-Abtar. Tradition says that the brothers of Ḳūmiya, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, were Lemāya and Maṭghara from whom were descended numerous families, some of whom still exist at the present day. The most important representatives of the Ḳūmiya, who live in the north-

west of Algeria between Tlemcen and Areshķūl (Rashgun) are the B. ʿĀbid, from whom was descended the first caliph of the Almohad dynasty, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*], born at Tādjera between Humayn and Nedroma; the Nedroma who gave their name to an important town; the Saghāra, now represented by the Mātila, the Banū Hūl, of whom a section the Masīfa still exist. The Kūmiya showed themselves devoted to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who was one of them. They formed the second *djund* in the Almohad army; but they exhausted themselves in supplying the dynasty with soldiers for the wars in Spain and North Africa. Subjected to *kharādj* by the Zenāta, some of them joined another group, the Ūlhāṣa and formed the powerful confederation of Trāra in the north-west of Algeria.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Nédromah et les Traras*, Paris 1901, and the writers there quoted.

(R. Basset)

ĶUM(M)Ī, Ķāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīmī Ḥusaynī, Persian chronicler and chancery clerk (*munshī*), was born on 17 Rabīʿ I 953/18 May 1546 in Ķum(m), the son of the *munshī* Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī. In 964/1556-7 he went with his father to Mashhad at the court of the art-loving prince Ibrāhīm Mīrzā b. Bahrām Mīrzā b. Ismāʿīl I, where he was trained by well-known calligraphers. In 973/1566 he was a *munshī* at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, together with his father. At the instigation of Shāh Ismāʿīl II, he started composing in 984-5/1576-7 his chronicle *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*. From 984-8/1576-1580 he was employed at the chancellery of *mustawfī al-mamālik* Mīr Shāh Ghāzī, in 988/1580 as financial supervisor with Erdoghdī Khalīfa Takkalu and from 959/1581 onwards worked at the highest level of the financial administration by command of the highest authority. In 997/1589 he was at the residence of Shāh ʿAbbās I to whom he dedicated in 999/1591 his chronicle *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*. About his further life nothing is known; so far his works are the only sources for his life (see Minorsky, 1-12, Müller 3-7).

Ķum(m)ī composed at least three works: 1. *Madjmaʿ* (or *Tadhkirat*) *al-shuʿarā-yi ʿAbbāsī*. The work has not been preserved but the author refers to it several times in his later works. According to these references the work must have been an anthology of at least six volumes in which among other things information was given about the lives of great scholars, scientists and poets.

2. *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, a ch onicle in five volumes, of which the fifth volume only has been preserved. It describes at full length the history of the Ṣafawids from their origin to the first years of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I and was probably composed between 995/1587 and 1000/1592. It exists in five manuscripts. The first part of this volume, dealing with the early Ṣafawids, has been published, translated into German and annotated by E. Glassen, and the last part, in which the first years of Shāh ʿAbbās I are treated, by H. Müller. This chronicle is one of the most important sources of Ṣafawid history. Although the first part is highly dependent upon other known and unknown sources, the sections dealing with later times, witnessed by the author himself, give truly independent information. Together with Iskandar Beg Munshī's *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, it may be considered as one of the two most important sources for the period of Shāh ʿAbbās I.

3. *Gulistān-i hunar*, a treatise on calligraphers and painters, composed *ca.* 1005/1597, exists in several incomplete manuscripts; it has been edited by A. S. Khwānsārī, translated into Russian by B. N. Zakhoder and into English by V. Minorsky. The contents of this work, classified according to the various kinds of writing, are mainly based on earlier sources. There are however many important observations by the author himself on contemporary calligraphers, whom he had plenty opportunity to meet at the court of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, at that time a flourishing centre for calligraphy.

For other works, possibly written by Ķum(m)ī (*Muntakhab al-wuzarāʾ* and *Madjmaʿ al-khiyār*) see Müller, 8-10.

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2. Secondary literature: W. Hinz, *Eine neuentdeckte Quelle zur Geschichte Irans im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxix (1935), 315-28; H. R. Roemer, *Die Niedergang Irans nach dem Tode Ismāʿīls des Grausamen 1577 bis 1581*, Würzburg 1939; Zahrā Dāʿī-zāda, *Tadhkira-yi khwush-nawīsān u nakkāshān*, in *Armaghān*, xix (1317) nos. 5-6, 344 f.; C. C. Edwards, *Calligraphers and artists: a Persian work of the late 16th century*, in *BSOAS* x (1940-2), 199-211; Storey i/2, 1074 f. and 1279 f.; Ḥ. Ḥ. Nakhdjuwānī, *Muʿarrifī-yi kitāb-i Gulistān-i hunar*, in *Université de Tabriz, Revue de la Faculté des Lettres*, 9e année, no. 1, Tabriz 1336; I. Stchoukine et al., *Illuminierte islamische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1971, 100-102; M. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Ķāḍī Aḥmad Ķumī*, in *Barrassihâ-ye Târikhi*, x/2, No. 57 (1975), 61-100; E. Eshraqi, *Le kholâsat al-tawârikh de Qâzi Ahmad connu sous le nom de Mir Monshi*, in *Studia Iranica*, iv (1975), fasc. 1, 73-89.

(H. Müller)

ĶUMR, the Arabic name for the Comoro Is., a group of four islands in the Indian Ocean at the northern exit of the Mozambique Channel, halfway between East Africa and northern Madagascar. The largest island of the archipelago is Grande Comore (in the local language: Ngazija; in the chronicles also: Hangazidja, Langazidja, al-Angazidja, Ķum[u]r), with 1148 km² and *ca.* 120,000 inhabitants (1966); followed by Anjouan (Nzwani, Hinzwani; in older Portuguese and English sources: Johanna) with 424 km² and *ca.* 85,000 inhabitants; Mayotte (Mayuta, Ma[h]ore) with 374 km² and *ca.* 28,000 inhabitants; and Mohéli (Mwali; in older European sources Molaly, Mohilla etc.), with 290 km² and *ca.* 10,000 inhabitants. The capital of the islands is Moroni on Grande Comore. The islands are of volcanic origin (still active is the volcano Karthala, 2361 m, on Grande Comore) and consist mainly of basalt and tuff. The climate is tropical-maritime with the heaviest rainfalls from November to April. The natural vegetation is a dense rain-forest with rare varieties of wood, which, however, for the most part have been rooted out and replaced by plantations and savannas. Agricultural products of importance for export are coco palms, vanilla, coffee, pepper, aromatic plants (ylang-ylang), sisal and sugar-cane. Cattle-breeding and fishery are scarcely developed.

The population, which suffers from a very high birthrate (outside the islands, in Madagascar and

East Africa, there already live about 300,000 Comorians, cf. Guy, *Islam comorien*, 149), has developed from three different ethnic elements; (a) Bantus from East Africa, (b) Malayo-Indonesians who came via Madagascar, and (c) Arabs who immigrated directly from South Arabia (especially Ḥaḍramawt) or from Arab settlements in East Africa. The Comorian language is divided into two main dialects, the Shi-Ngazija and the Shi-Nzwani, and, at least from the phonetic point of view, seems to be related more to the Venda, a Bantu language spoken on the middle Limpopo river, than to Swahili (Heepe, *Die Komoren-dialekte*, 45). Like Swahili, which is well understood by most of the Comorians, it has incorporated many Arabic loanwords. While Arabic seems to have been used as the written language still in the last century, most of the recent chronicles and correspondence are written in the local language with Arabic letters. Arabic is taught in Ḳur'ān-schools but is understood only by a small minority. The Comorians are Sunnī Muslims of the S̲h̲āfiʿī rite, but many African animistic conceptions and magic practices have survived in popular belief (cf. Robineau, *Société*, 51, with further references). Al-Nawawī's *Minhād̲j̲ al-ṭālibīn* is widely used and still serves as the theoretical base for Civil Law. The S̲h̲afiʿī law was widely respected by the French administration, but in many fields it is supplemented by the customary law (*ada*) which shows many matriarchal characteristics (e.g. law of succession). The Ṣūfī brotherhoods of the S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya, Tid̲j̲āniyya, Rāfiʿiyya, Ḳādiriyya and ʿAlawiyya play a very important part in religious life (sc. Guy, *Islam comorien*, 145 ff.).

Local legendary tradition, as well as false identifications of place-names, have led some former historians (Gevrey, Grandidier, etc.) to fantastic speculations about the early relations between the Comoro Is. and the ancient Mediterranean world. Until now there seems to be only one hint which deserves some attention and which might establish such relations. Pliny gives as the name for an island, the location of which would fit well with one of the Comoro Is., Damnia, and Von Wissmann (art. *Zangenae*, in *Paulys Realencyclopädie*, Suppl.-Bd. xi [1968], 1339) may be right in identifying Damnia with Domoni, an old settlement on Anjouan and formerly used as name for the whole island. Arab geographers, including the pilots of the 15th and 16th century like Ibn Mād̲j̲id and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, used the name Ḳumr for Madagascar exclusively and cited, if they did at all, each of the islands by its proper name (cf. Tibbets, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean*, London 1971, 432). Local tradition starts the history of the islands with the legendary report (unknown on the Swahili coast) of the immigration of two families from the Arabian peninsula some years after the death of Solomon. But the first traditions which deserve more interest are those that speak of the arrival of Bantu-speaking people from East Africa to Grande Comore at an unknown date but in any case before the 14th century. One chronicle (Rotter, *Muslimische Inseln*, 24) calls them Wa-Mizi and Tungi; Mizi as a place-name was already known to Pliny (Von Wissmann, *Zangenae*, 1339) and corresponds with modern Kilwa Kisimani, while Tungi is identical with Tungui south of Cap Delgado. Since a group of former slaves in Anjouan bears the name Makwa (Robineau, *Islam*, 46; idem, *Société*, 34) which corresponds with the tribe Makua in the hinterland of Tungui, it is very likely that at least the greatest part of the Bantu element on the Comoro Is. came from the East African coast between Lindi and the mouth of the Limpopo River. This fits with the above-mentioned linguistic facts. At least on Anjouan these Africans were not the first inhabitants, but merged with an older population, now generally called Antalaotra, of Malayo-Indonesian race, which might have immigrated in the course of the first millenium (cf. Robineau, *Société*, 34) via Madagascar (former European sources often call them wrongly Bushmen, cf. Repiquet, *Sultanat*, 50).

The local tradition of Grande Comore and Anjouan has preserved the names of the ruling houses before the coming of the S̲h̲īrāzī (15th century). On Grande Comore the *ma-fey* (or *ma-fe* "chiefs", cf. Swahili *fu* and *fumu*) are said to have established and ruled the first eleven villages, before they were defeated by the *ma-beja* (cf. Swahili *wa-mbeja*) (Harries, *Swahili chronicle*, 12, 71). On Anjouan the *beja* are regarded as the oldest ruling class, which was replaced by chiefs who bore the title *fani* (Faurec, *L'Archipel*, 33). Although we must take for granted that at that time, i.e. in the first half of this millenium, Arab or Swahilised-Arab merchants were in contact with the islands, and some of them might have settled there, it is difficult to say, whether Islam was already wide-spread. It is noteworthy, however, that the last *fani*-rulers on Anjouan bore Arab names like ʿAlī and ʿĪsā.

The decisive turn in Comorian history was the arrival of the S̲h̲īrāzīs in the second half of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century, who by fighting and intermarriage seized power on all four islands (the coming of the S̲h̲īrāzī clan with their ancestor Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā is described through the legend of the Seven Brothers which is also well-known in East Africa, cf. among others, Chittick, *Shirazi colonization*, 276; Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*, 10 ff.) and became the real founders of Islamic culture on the islands (the first mosques were built by them at Tsaweni on Grande Comore, at Sima and Domoni on Anjouan, and at Chingoni on Mayotte, all in the middle of the 16th century).

In the following three centuries the political situation was marked by (i) very complicated internal dynastic struggles, (ii) the invasions of the Malagasy tribes, Sakalava and Betsimisaraka, and (iii) the growing political influence of the French and British in the area.

(i) Grande Comore was divided into eleven more or less independent territories (Bajini, La Dombe, Bambao, Hambu, Itsandra, Hamamvu, Mitsamihuli, Mbude, Mbaku, Washili, Hamahame) ruled by sultans who only seldom jointly recognised the supremacy (*utibe*) of one of them. Sulṭān Aḥmad (= Mwinye Mkuu) (1793-1875), the son of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ngome from Pate in northern Swahili country, and of Mwana Mtiti, half-sister of a *sulṭāna* of Grande Comore (women rulers were not unusual, and the maternal line was often accorded higher prestige on all four islands) was the last really great personality who, at least for some years, managed to unify the islands, before he was defeated by Mūsā Fumu. The rivalry between Sulṭān Aḥmad's grandson Sayyid ʿAlī, the favourite of the French, and Mūsā Fumu (d. 1883 in prison), who was supported by the British and the Sultan of Zanzibar, marked the last years of independence. Against the will of most of the other sultans ʿAlī signed in 1886 a treaty of protectorate with France.—On Anjouan the political situation was characterised by the bipolarisation of the two main towns Domoni, which was made the capital by the S̲h̲īrāzīs after Sima, and Mutsamudu, which became the political and commercial centre from the

end of the 18th century onwards when power shifted from the clan (*ḳabīla*) of Āl Madwa to the clan of Āl Masīla (both names show their Ḥaḍramawtī origin, cf. B. G. Martin, *Migrations from the Hadramawt to East Africa*, in *Centre of Arabic Documentation, Research Bulletin*, Ibadan 1973). Continuous succession struggles in the first half of the 19th century were only ended by Sulṭān Sālim (1842-55), whose son Sulṭān ʿAbd Allāh III (1855-1890) put his island under French protection. Neither was Mayotte spared from dynastic rivalries within the Shīrāzī clan who ruled at Chingoni from the 16th century. In addition, the situation was complicated by the constant attempts of the sultans of Anjouan to bring Mayotte under their control. The last Shīrāzī sultan ceded his island in 1832 to the Malagasy nobleman of the Hova tribe Ramanetaka who already ruled on Mohéli. In 1835 or 1836 Ramanetaka was defeated by the Sakalava Dia-Ntsoli (= Andrian-Tsouli), and the island became nominally a possession of the sultan of Anjouan. The same Dia-Ntsoli, without the authorisation of the sultan of Anjouan, in 1841 presented the island to France. The smallest island Mohéli apparently was always dependent on Anjouan, until in 1830 the above-mentioned Ramanetaka (d. 1841) after having become a Muslim, appointed himself sultan of the island. One of his descendants signed the treaty of protection with France in 1886.

(ii) There seems to have been a more or less peaceful influx of Malagasy people to the islands throughout the centuries, but around the turn of the 19th century the nearly annual invasions of the Betsimisaraka and Sakalava threatened the political and cultural integrity of the islands. The main reason for these invasions, which caused heavy losses among the population and the destruction of whole settlements, was the search for slaves, although some groups had been summoned by the quarrelling sultans themselves. Only after the Anglo-Malagasy treaty of 1817 did the invasions gradually stop. In the following decade it was the political situation on Madagascar and the extension of the Hova state that drove large groups of Sakalava (under Dia-Ntsoli) and Betsimisaraka (under Ramanetaka) to the islands. They finally settled down on Mayotte and Mohéli.

(iii) The first contact with a European power was a short visit of the Portuguese on Grande Comore about 1505 which, however, left no permanent traces on the islands. In the first half of the 19th century when the British and the French disputed control of the Indian Ocean, the Comoro Is. also became involved. In taking possession of Mayotte in 1841, France tried to counterbalance the growing British influence on the other three islands (in 1833 the British had reinstalled Sultan ʿAbd Allāh II on Anjouan by force). Only after the British slowly withdrew from the Malagasy region after 1880 could France bring the other islands under its protection in 1886 (a process intensively studied by B. Dubins, *Political history*).

From 1914 till 1946 the whole archipelago was placed under the Gouvernement Général of Madagascar. On 6 July 1975 the Comoro Is. declared their independence, except for Mayotte, where on 11 April 1976 a referendum saw a large majority voting to become a *département outre-mer* of France.

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ḲUMUḲ (variant: Ḳumiḳ) a people of the eastern Caucasus. The Ḳumuḳs belong to the Ḳipčaḳ Turkic ethnic group, along with the Noghay, Karačay and Balkar. They live north of the main chain of the Great Caucasus, on the northern, north-eastern and eastern slopes of the Dāghistānian Caucasus between the foothills and the Caspian Sea, from Derbend to Adzhi-Su (near the lower Terek River). Although confined to a narrow strip of land in the south, they inhabit a wider area near the Terek in the north. The Ḳumuḳs are bordered by the Noghays in the north, the Avars [*q.v.*] and Darghins [*q.v.*] in the west, and Tabasarans and Azeris [*q.v.*] in the south. The major rivers in Ḳumuḳ territory are the Terek, Sulak, Shura, Ullu-Čai, Gamzi, Manas, Aksai and Gubden. The great majority of Ḳumuḳs are Sunnī Muslims of the Ḥanafī school, although some Ḳumuḳs of Derbend and Makhačkala are "Twelver" Shīʿīs. The 1926 Soviet census lists 94,549 ethnic Ḳumuḳs, of which some 10,000 lived outside Dāghistān, and 94,909 Ḳumuḳ-speaking people. The 1959 Soviet census lists 134,967 ethnic Ḳumuḳs, and 132,303 Ḳumuḳ-speakers. (Due to the adoption of Russian as a primary language by Ḳumuḳ-speakers in the north, and Azeri by those in the south, the relative number of Ḳumuḳ-speaking people has declined, despite increasing numbers of

mountaineers using Ḳumuḳ as their primary language.)

The Ḳumuḳs inhabit eight districts of the Dāghistān ASSR: Baba-Yurt, Khasav-Yurt and Ḳizil-Yurt on the northern plains, and Buynaksk and Karabudakhkent in the eastern coastal plains. The "Southern Ḳumuḳs" (Ḳumuḳs of Kayakent) live in the Kayakent district and in the villages of Mağalis, Yangikent and Tumenler in the Ḳaytaḳ district. The Ḳumuḳs are also found in six settlements in the vicinity of Makhačḳala, and in the cities of Makhačḳala, Khasav-Yurt, Buynaksk, Izberbash and Derbend. A number of Ḳumuḳs live outside Dāghistān on the Noghay steppes in the Groznyi region, north of the Terek River, as well as in North Ossetia.

The ethnic origin of the Ḳumuḳs is complex and difficult to determine. They are probably a mixture of the indigenous Ibero-Caucasian tribes and various nomadic Turkic groups (Kuman-Polovtsî, Khazar, Ḳîpčaḳ, etc.) who were pushed into the lowlands from the North Caucasian steppes in the 11th-13th centuries, imposing their language on the inhabitants.

The formation of the Ḳumuḳ people began in the 7th century when the Khazars [*q.v.*] overran the plains of southern Russia and populated them with Turkic-speaking peoples. The indigenous Ibero-Caucasian population mixed with these Turkic peoples, especially the Ḳîpčaḳs [*q.v.*], and adopted their language. The Ḳumuḳ "nationality" appeared in the 13th century on the steppes of northern Dāghistān when successive waves of the Golden Horde pushed these Turkic-speaking peoples southwards. Their Islamisation began immediately, under the influence of the Golden Horde from the north and the Laks from the south, and was completed by the 14th century when the Golden Horde annexed northern Dāghistān. Prior to this, the people had been Christians, Jews and animists.

The first political organisation of the Ḳumuḳs was the feudal Shamkhalat, which united all the Ḳumuḳs as well as other northern and eastern Dāghistāni peoples. The Shamkhal originally resided in the mountains of the Lak (Kazi-Ḳumuḳ) region. When Shamkhal Čoban died in 986/1578, the Laks shook off the rule of his son Sulṭān-But, and the centre of government was shifted to Buynaksk. After 1050/1640, Tarku was the capital of the Shamkhalat. In the 16th century the Shamkhal ruled most of northern Dāghistān. The semi-independent states of Endirey, Aksaey, Kosteko, Bammatulah, Buinaksk, etc. were all headed by representatives of the Shamkhal of Tarku's family.

The Shamkhals acknowledged Persian sovereignty throughout their existence, in spite of their strong diplomatic ties with Russia in the late 16th century when Russia was attempting expansion into Dāghistān. The power of the Shamkhalat began to decline with the wars against the Kabardines and Georgians. It lost control of the area between the Terek and Sulak Rivers first, then the Darghin and Lak regions in the 17th century. However, the Russian expeditions of 1586, 1590 and 1604 were defeated by a joint Ḳumuḳ and Ottoman effort. Although the Shamkhals were formally vassals to the Moscow state, they remained close allies of the Ottomans from the late 16th till the late 18th centuries. In 1725 the Russians ended independent Shamkhal rule and the decline of the Ḳumuḳs was completed with the creation of the Mehtulin and Bammatulah Khānates. By 1765 the Shamkhalat was reduced to a 2,500 km² strip of land along the Caspian Sea.

Imām Manṣūr attempted to rally the feudal nobility of the Caucasus (especially among the Ḳumuḳs and Kabarda) against the Russians in the late 18th century, but failed. The Treaty of Gülistān (1813) formally ceded Dāghistān to Russia, but the Ḳumuḳs continued to be governed by the Shamkhals. After the Russians subdued the Murīd insurrection (1834-59) led by the Imām Shamīl [*q.v.*], the Ḳumuḳs and the other Dāghistāni peoples were incorporated into the Russian Empire. Native rule was supplanted by a Tsarist military administration.

A small Ḳumuḳ intelligentsia emerged in the early 20th century. They had been educated in the *Djadīd* [*q.v.*] schools on the borders of Dāghistān, and were among the first to be impregnated with socialist ideas. This small group was destined to provide the leadership for the national liberal movement (which was doomed to failure) during and after the Russian Revolution.

In 1917 the Ḳumuḳs played an important role in the North Caucasus peoples' move for independence. Motivated by their own political traditions and Turkic cultural influences, they favoured a "Turkic" consolidation of Dāghistān (as opposed to the "Islamic" consolidation favoured by conservative Dāghistānis), with linguistic unification based on Ḳumuḳ or Azeri. They sought to become part of the great Pan-Turkic movement centred on Bākū, Ḳāzān and the Crimea. Following a power struggle between the religious and conservative elements led by *Shaykh* Uzun Hağı and Imām Gotsinski and the socialists, the Soviet régime was established in the principal cities on the plain in April 1918. By September 1918, General Bičerahov's "White" army, equipped in Persia by the English, had crushed the Soviet forces. Soviet power was not re-established in Dāghistān until 1920 when the Eleventh Red Army defeated Denikin's White Army and drove the partisans of Imām Gotsinski back into the mountains.

The Ḳumuḳs had one of the most powerful, complete and complex feudal structures in Dāghistān before the Revolution. The ruling class consisted of the Shamkhal, *beks*, high nobility (*čanka*), middle nobles (*sala-uzden*), and religious leaders. The freemen (*uzden*), free serfs (*čagar*, organised into various groups (*dims*)), serfs bound to the land (*terkeme*, living in separate *aul*s and working the land), and house slaves (*kul*, a very small group) comprised the lower classes. The merchant class grew rapidly with the rise of industry and capitalism in the late 19th century, but the working class was never large, since most industry was domestically oriented.

The Ḳumuḳ language belongs to the Ḳîpčaḳ-Oghuz subgroup of the Ḳîpčaḳ group of Turkic languages, to which the Noghay and Ḳaračay-Balkar languages also belong. Ḳumuḳ has three dialects: Khaydak is strongly influenced by the Ibero-Caucasian languages and is used by the Meridional Ḳumuḳs; Buynaksk, and Khasav-yurt (or Aksay), which forms the basis of the literary language, developed with the Arabic script in the late 19th century. In 1927 a Latin alphabet replaced the Arabic, and Cyrillic script was adopted in 1938. Ḳumuḳ was the *lingua franca* of the Dāghistāni peoples. The first Dāghistāni Communists accepted this rôle for Ḳumuḳ in the 1920s, but Russian was later adopted as the official language. Although Avar has replaced Ḳumuḳ as an inter-tribal language, Ḳumuḳ remains the second or third language of certain Ibero-Caucasian peoples in north and central Dāghistān (Andi-Dido-Avar, Darghin, Lak). Article 78 of the *Constitution of the ASSR of Dāghistān*

names Kumuk as one of the nine official literary languages of Dāghistān.

The Kumuks are the only Dāghistān people having a true national literature which dates back to the early 19th century. These early works were generally local versions of heroic epics or adventure novels, and were often consigned to small pamphlets destined for public readings. Turkic-language publications from Kāzān, Adharbāydjān, the Crimea and Turkey satisfied the desire for other literature. Christian missionary publications of the early 19th century were instrumental in the development of a literary language. Written in a composite language of various Caucasian peoples, they were among the first written literature of the area.

Kumuk literature came under the influence of the Turkic modernist movement centred on Kāzān and Baghčesarāy in the second half of the 19th century, resulting in the nationalistic poetry of Yūsuf from Yakhay and Ayyûb from Djengutay. In 1883 the Kumuk ʿOsmānov Muḥammad (b. 1843) published an anthology of Kumuk and Noghay folklore and literary texts in St. Petersburg, where he was a member of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at the Academy of Sciences. The collection includes a letter in verse, dated 1872, from the revolutionary Kumuk poet Yirči Kazak (1830-80), inviting Muḥammad Efendi, then a student at St. Petersburg, to return home. This letter is one of the oldest literary vestiges of the Kumuk language, and Yirči Kazak is thus considered the founder of Kumuk literature.

Muḥammad Mīrzā Magarayef established a printing shop utilising Arabic script at Temir Khān-Shura at the beginning of the 20th century. By 1912 he had printed translations from Arabic and Kāzān Tatar and the poetry of Abū Sufyān in Kumuk. Nokhay Batırmurzayev (1860-1919) wrote the first modern narrative works inspired by Kumuk contemporary life in 1906-7. His son Zainalabid (1897-1919) was the first Kumuk Bolshevik writer. Together they founded the political-literary society *Tañ čolpan* ("*The morning star*") at Khasav-Yurt in 1916 to promote the development of modern Kumuk literature. With the assistance of poet and dramatist Temir Bulat Beybulatov and other Kumuk, Tat and Russian writers (including S. S. Kazbekov and H. O. Bulač), this organisation sponsored a nationalist, progressive review of the same name, first published at Temir Khān-Shura in August 1917. The Khasav-yurt dialect of Kumuk was adopted as their literary language.

Tañ čolpan was instrumental in reviving the Kumuk national consciousness. In actuality a radical nationalist organ, it professed to be apolitical and declined to choose between the socialist and nationalist positions. However, as a result of the first short-lived Soviet occupation of Dāghistān beginning in April 1918, *Tañ čolpan* adopted a pro-Bolshevik position. Publication ceased in July 1918.

Tañ čolpan was not the first Kumuk journal to appear. In 1913 the liberal nationalist Mīrzā Muḥammad Mavaraev of Temir Khān-Shura requested authorisation for a Kumuk journal entitled *Kumuk gazäti* ("The Kumuk journal"). This demand was rejected by the authorities, and the classical Arabic publication *Djarīdat Dāghistān* (published in 1915) notwithstanding, the first Kumuk publications did not appear until after the Revolution of February 1917. The journal *Musāvāt* ("Equality") was the first Kumuk periodical, published at Temir Khān-Shura in June 1917, under the editorship of Mavaraev.

This first period of Soviet domination witnessed the publication of a third Kumuk journal, *Iščči khalk* ("*The working people*"); it was edited by Zainalabid Batırmurzayev and adhered to a Bolshevik position. The journal *Yoldash* also supported the development of a national Kumuk literature. The Kumuk press is currently represented by one republican organ published at Makhačkala, and several district organs (at Khasav-Yurt, Baba-Yurt, etc.).

The Kumuks possess a very rich Soviet literature. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammadoghlu Magomedov (1869-1937) is considered the national poet of Dāghistān by the Soviets as a result of his pro-Communist writings in the post-Revolutionary years. The most celebrated Kumuk prose writer is Yūsuf Gereyef, whose satirical style was influenced by the Ādharbāydjānī poet Ṣābir. Other literary figures of note include poet, dramatist and author of children's books ʿĀlimpasha Salavatoghlu (1901-43), poets A. Beshirov and Kaiyan, poet-novelist ʿAbdul-Wahab Sulaymānoghlu (b. 1909), playwrights Ḥamīd Rustamov and Amīr Kurbanov (b. 1909), and novelist Anvar Agiev (b. 1913). The Kumuk poetess Inču Gadieva is the most renowned female Dāghistānī writer. In addition, many Russian authors have been translated into Kumuk (e.g. Tolstoy, Lermontov, etc.).

The Kumuks participate actively in the political life of Dāghistān. In 1924, Kumuks comprised 5.7% of the *profsoyuz* of the Dāghistān ASSR, and in 1927 there were 696 Kumuks in the Dāghistānī Communist Party.

The Kumuk educational system is less developed than that of the Avars; in 1948 there were eight Kumuk secondary schools (compared to 17 Avar); Karabudakhkent, Kayakent, Izberbash, Makhačkala, Buynaksk, Khasav-Yurt, Baba-Yurt and Kizil-Yurt. Islam seems to remain a strong force among the Kumuks up to the present time.

Modernisation is changing the character of the traditional Kumuk economy. Agriculture and animal husbandry remain the basis of the rural activity, but mechanisation and collectivisation have made the large-scale production of cereals and cotton possible. The fishing and canning industries, as well as oil (at Kayakent), hydroelectric plants and other factories are evidence of advanced industrialisation in certain sectors. Nonetheless, traditional crafts are still pursued: woven woollen goods and carpets (villages of Kumtorkal, Kayakent, Upper and Lower Kazanishče), gold work (Irneli, Kafir-Kumukh, Sultan-Yañi-Yurt, etc.), wrought iron work (Verkhneye, Nizhneye, Kazanishče, Anderey-aul), and pottery (Verkhneye, Kazanishče).

The Kumuks, along with the Avars, Darghins, Laks and Lezgs, appear to be points of consolidation among the Dāghistānī peoples, destined to absorb certain small groups (although certainly not all). Of the nine official languages of Dāghistān, newspapers are only published in the languages of these five groups.

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(W. Barthold - [David K. Kermani])

KUMŪN, "latency", a key-notion of speculative physics in early Muslim theology, especially in the system of al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*].

The concept was derived from simple observations: blood is "hidden" in the body of man, oil in sesame, flour in wheat, butter in milk etc.; these substances can be made patent by certain procedures, such as grinding, churning etc. On the other hand, new substances can be produced by putting several ingredients together: pottery results from the "mixture" of clay, water, and fire, and these primary elements are "hidden" in it afterwards. On this empirical basis, where the term still had a rather non-technical meaning, al-Naẓẓām constructed a rather elaborate system which has not yet been the object of more thorough investigation. He did not follow the atomism of his teacher and uncle Abu 'l-Hu<u>dh</u>ayl, who treated qualities as accidents which may be replaced by their contraries. For him, all natural qualities (with the exception of movement, understood in a very broad sense, as "all actions depending on man's will") were "bodies" inherent in other bodies: fire is not hot and luminous, but is composed of heat and luminosity. As such, fire may itself be considered an ingredient (*<u>kh</u>ilṭ*) of wood where it is "latent" until the wood is burnt. When it becomes manifest, other ingredients do so too: ashes, which consist of taste, colour, and dryness; smoke, which consists of taste, colour and smell; and water, which consists of humidity and a certain sound, i.e. the crackling produced in burning. In consequence of his "corporealism", al-Naẓẓām thus treated the qualities of an object and its constituent parts alike. It is possible that he differentiated between them insofar as the qualities form the ingredients of the primary elements which then make up for the more complex bodies; but we are not yet able to ascertain whether his theory implied such a hierarchy.

The "elements" (fire, water, etc.) are thus not simple themselves, but composed or, as al-Naẓẓām said, "joint" (*muzdawi<u>dj</u>*). They may inhere in each other: water always contains fire, which may be activated through heating and then leaves it for the empyraean. The process can be recognised through the bubbling of the water; the particles of humidity which are dragged along the fire in its upward movement manifest themselves as vapour. Similarly, water normally contains earth which remains as a salty or limelike sediment in the kettle after evaporation. On the other hand, earth usually contains water; otherwise, it would not keep together (clay being normally given as an example). That fire and water may penetrate each other (*mudā<u>kh</u>ala*) without conflicting, is to be explained by the fact that they keep each other's balance; God has wisely calculated their proportions so that things do not explode by themselves (cf. al-<u>Kh</u>ayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, Beirut 1957, § 18). Their equilibrium may even be used as a proof for the existence of a creator (*ibid.*, § 26). Only when this equilibrium of "hidden" contradictory ingredients is disturbed by external influence does disintegration ensue. When fire is brought close to wood, the fire latent in the wood gets the upper hand and destroys the coherent structure of its vessel. When somebody is bitten by a snake he dies not through the venom of the snake, but through the venom which he has in his own body and which is now reinforced. For the same reason the snake does not die from its own venom; here the venom is balanced by the right proportion of antidotes. When water freezes, this means that not only the cold which is latent in it has been enforced from outside, but also its "hidden" dryness; for ice is not only cold, but also dry. When it melts again, this process is thus not merely produced by heat, but also by humidity which was added from outside. When something wet becomes dry, it does not only lose humidity, but also weight; this shows that humidity contains "latent" weight, whereas heat does not.

Disintegration may be slow and imperceptible, as happens, e.g. with an oil lamp which burns down during the night, although it looks alike from one moment to the other. Disintegration may sometimes also be stopped. Wood must not lose all its fire at once; it may be transformed into charcoal which still contains part of it. Different species of the same genus may contain different proportions of the proper *a<u>kh</u>lāṭ*. Some kinds of wood are more inflammable because they contain more fire; for the same reason, some kinds of stone can be better used as a flint than other ones.

This advanced theory presupposes a rather intricate intellectual tradition and a widely-developed range of discussion. As a matter of fact, the word *kumūn* is already alluded to in a poem by Abū Nuwās, one generation before al-Naẓẓām (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. E. Wagner, i, 136, l. 6). Al-Naẓẓām took over his vocabulary (*kumūn* and *mudā<u>kh</u>ala*) and the basic structural assumptions of his system: his rejection of atomism and his definition of the body, from the <u>Sh</u>īʿī theologian Hi<u>sh</u>ām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], who had adopted them in his discussions with dualists, especially with Abū <u>Sh</u>ākir al-Dayṣānī, whom he seems to have converted to Islam. Via the Dayṣāniyya and their spiritual ancestor Bardesanes (died 216 A.D.), we may trace some basic ideas back to Stoicism: a similar definition of body (σῶμα) and the concept of κρᾶσις δι' ὅλον (= *mudā<u>kh</u>ala*) or μῖξις (= *imtizā<u>dj</u>*, *i<u>kh</u>tilāṭ*). In the Iranian environment this tradition was perhaps amalgamated with certain Indian ideas (the example of pottery is used in the Indian Samkhya; cf. W. Ruben, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Berlin 1954, 193). All dualist creeds understood the world as being in a stage of "mixture" (*gumēčišn*) between light and darkness. In a Syriac fragment of Bardesanes, the qualities (ποιότητες = *znayyā* or *ḥailē*) are called *muzzāgē*, "mixtures". But al-Naẓẓām did not simply imitate: he refuted the Manichaeans, as is shown by several passages in al-<u>Kh</u>ayyāṭ's *K. al-Intiṣār*, and he attacked the Dayṣāniyya; he did not accept their axiom that light and darkness are at the bottom of every mixture (cf. al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 46, ll. 6 ff. etc.). He used the advantage of meeting them on common ground, but he seems to have developed quite individual ideas.

Inside Islam, there were certain affinities with the—rather vaguely definable—*aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ* who believed that all things have a nature of their own which, once being created, no longer depends on God's will (and may as well be "hidden" in them, the *<u>kh</u>ilḳa* in al-Naẓẓām's terminology), and with the Muʿtazilī Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād (cf. H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād as-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, 110 ff.). Opposition came from the *aṣḥāb al-aʿrāḍ*, the "accidentalists" or atomists whose ideas had been first expounded by

Ḍirār b. ʿAmr [*q.v.* in Suppl.], but also from apparently al-Aṣamm [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who, in spite of denying the accidents, did not think of qualities as "bodies". The critique used mainly three arguments: (a) nothing can take place in something smaller than itself (and fire is bigger than wood); (b) several things cannot be simultaneously in the same place (which would be the case if several qualities were "hidden" in one substance); and (c) if fire were hidden in wood, we should feel it when we touch the wood, or we should find it when we cleave it. Arguments (a) and (b) were already brought forth against the Stoics (e.g. by Alexander of Aphrodisias in his Περὶ μίξεως, ch. 5 ff.); (c) is found in Indian philosophy (cf. W. Ruben in *AO*, xiii (1935), 147). The discussion turned especially around (c); al-Naẓẓām objected that coldness balances the fire hidden in the wood; when the fire comes forth in burning, the coldness also leaves the wood immediately and enters the cold substances in its environments, i.e. water and earth, in a leap (*ṭafra*), without getting into contact with the things in between. This is why the ashes are not cold, in spite of the fact that the fire has left; the warmth found in it is not the warmth of the fire, but the warmth which was "hidden" in it and was activated by the fire. As the "accidentalists" recurred to Aristotelian tradition (visible in (a) and (b)), al-Naẓẓām also criticised Aristotle's model of physics.

The theory was eagerly defended by Naẓẓām's disciples. But already al-Djāḥiẓ did not conceal his scepticism (cf. the quotations in van Ess, *Das K. an-Nakṯ des Naẓẓām*, Göttingen 1972, 120). In the second half of the 3rd/9th century, it was apparently given up completely within the Muʿtazila. The future belonged to atomism.

Bibliography: The main source for Naẓẓām's ideas about *kumūn* is Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 6 ff. (partly tr. into Turkish by Nafiz Danışman, *Kelâm ilmine giriş*, Ankara 1955, 126 ff.). Cf. also Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1927 ff., 327, ll. 4 ff., with further references mentioned in the apparatus; Job of Edessa, *The book of treasures*, ed. A. Mingana, Cambridge 1935, chs. xvi-xx. For an analysis of the material, cf. J. van Ess in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 241 ff. See also S. Pinès, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, index s.v. *Kumūn*; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rida, *Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār al-Naẓẓām*, Cairo 1365/1946, 140 ff.; van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī*, Wiesbaden 1966, index s.v. *Naẓẓām*; M. Fakhry, *Islamic philosophy*, New York 1970, 64 f.; F. Rex, *Zur Theorie der Naturprozesse in der früharabischen Wissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1975, introd.; J. Hecker, *Reason and responsibility. An explanatory translation of Kitab al-Tawlīd from al-Mughnī . . . by Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār*, diss. Berkeley 1975, index s.v. "latency." (J. van Ess)

ḲUN, Arabic orthography Ḳūn, a Turkish tribe of Inner Asia known in the pre-Mongol period, but only in a shadowy fashion.

The earliest mention of the Ḳun is in Bīrūnī's *K. al-Tafhīm* (420/1029), ed. R. R. Wright, London 1934, 145, and he places them in the Sixth Clime, in the territory of the eastern Turks between the Ḳāy and the Khirkīz [see ḳāyī and ḳirgiz]. The tribe is not, however, mentioned in Bīrūnī's *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* (*pace* Pelliot, *À propos des Comans*, in *JA*, Ser. 11, Vol. xv [1920], 134-5). Nor are the Ḳun given in Kāshgharī (who does however deal with the other two tribes mentioned in the *Tafhīm* as their neighbours), but there is an important section on them in Marwazī's *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān* (early 6th/12th century), see Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Dīn Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, text li, tr. 29-30, comm. 95-102. This was adapted a century later by ʿAwfī in his *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, section on the Turks, printed and tr. by Marquart in his *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in Bang and Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F. xiii/1 (Berlin 1914), 40-2, and used by him as the basis of a complex and convoluted commentary on the Ḳun, *ibid.*, 42-77.

It seems that the Ḳun were amongst the easternmost of the Turkish peoples, with their original homeland in eastern Mongolia and the fringes of Manchuria. It may be that the Ḳun were the epigoni of the T'u-yü-hun to the north of the great northwards bend of the Huang-Ho or Yellow River; the resemblance of the name Ḳun to that of the proto-Huns, the Hsiung-nu, etc., had already been noted by Marquart, *op. cit.*, 64-5, cf. also Sir Gerard Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, London 1962, 12. According to Marwazī, the tribe had been converted in their homeland to Nestorian Christianity (by missionaries from the Ordos region?), but had been impelled to migrate far westwards by pressure on their pasture grounds from the Ḳayi. The Ḳun then moved into the land of the Shārī/Sārī (whose name Barthold, in Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1936, *34*, connected with the Turkish word *sarï* "yellow" and the Ḳïpčaḳ/Comans, the Russian *Polovtsi* "pallid, yellowish ones"; possibly, however, they should be linked rather with the Sarï Uyghur of Kansu [*q.v.*]), and eventually ended up in the Aral Sea-Ḳïpčaḳ Steppe area. This chain of migrations must have been set off after Bīrūnī's time, i.e. in the middle or later years of the 11th century. Minorsky was at first inclined to identify the Ḳun with the Ḳūrī/Fūrī (mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 14, tr. 97, cf. comm. 283-6, 311-12, a savage and bestial tribe living to the east of the Ḳïrgïz (i.e. apparently to the east and south of Lake Baikal, their name surviving in the present-day Khori tribe of the Buryats), but subsequently abandoned this equation when he found the clear orthography *Ḳūn* in Marwazī. Earlier, Marquart had attempted to connect the Kun with the later Comans (in Magyar, Kún) of the South Russian-Western Siberian steppes [see ḳïpčaḳ], and this was later affirmed by J. Németh: that Ḳun and Ḳuman/Ḳoman both stem from a Turkish adjective *ḳū* < *kub* "yellowish, pale" (*Die Volksnamen* quman *und* qūn, in *KCsA*, iii [1941-3], 95-109).

At all events, the Ḳun have left very little mark on the Islamic history of Central Asia; we do not know whether they were substantially Islamised before losing their identity in some larger steppe confederation, such as that of the Ḳïpčaḳ or the later Golden Horde. The only member of the Ḳun to achieve mention in Islamic sources is the slave commander of the Saldjūḳs Ekinči b. Ḳočḳar [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who was appointed governor of Khwārazm by Berk-Yaruḳ in 490/1097; Minorsky plausibly surmised that he may have been Marwazī's informant for his section on the Ḳun.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see L. Rásonyi, *Les Turcs non-islamisés en Occident*, in *PTF*, iii, Wiesbaden 1970, 11-12 of offprint. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḲUNĀ, Qena, a town in Upper Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile (population 40,000). It is the

capital of the province (*mudīriyya*) of the same name, which is divided into seven districts (*markaz*), namely: 1. Di<u>sh</u>nā; 2. Isnā; 3. Ḳunā; 4. Ḳuṣayr; 5. Ḳūṣ; 6. Luḳṣur; 7. Nad<u>j</u>ʿ Ḥamādī. In 1897 the population of the province was 711,457, but by 1956 it was more than 1,100,000. In 1940 the town of Ḳunā and the village of al-Humaydāt and their dependencies were detached from the district of Ḳunā and made into a separate *maʾmūriyya*. The region produces cotton and cereals; in the town, cloth and sweet-stuffs are manufactured. But Ḳunā is especially noted for its porous pottery; the jars (*ḳulla*) which are made there are called *ballāṣ* from the name of a place a few miles to the south.

The Arabic name, written Iḳnā by some geographers and *Ḳūnā* in the Copto-Arab *scalae*, comes from the Coptic **ⲔⲰⲚⲎ** which gives rise to a play on the Greek καινή πόλις "new town", a name which did not last long as it is never found in the Byzantine period. The identity of this town with the Neapolis of Herodotus has been seriously urged; it is rather the modern Min<u>sh</u>aʾa, the ancient Ptolemais. On the other hand, it has been conjectured with much probability that at the end of the 3rd century it received the name Maximianopolis.

In the first Arab period, the *kūra* of Ḳunā extended to the east of the Nile between that of Fāw on the north and Ḳifṭ in the south, in front of that of Dandara from which it was separated by the river. The first author to mention it, al-Yaʿḳūbī, gives a very unflattering description of the district: he says it is a little town rapidly going to ruin, deserted by its inhabitants who feared the raids of the Bedouin robbers and brigands. Therefore, when the new provincial divisions were made under al-Mustanṣir, it was Ḳūṣ which gave its name to the district (*ʿamal*) and became its capital. Ḳunā remained unimportant for some time, as Yāḳūt only gives it a brief note and Abu 'l-Fidā does not mention it.

Its prosperity was not long in beginning, owing to the tomb of the saint ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, which became an object of pilgrimage, while pious Muslims settled in its vicinity. Some years previously, Ibn <u>D</u>jubayr had mentioned Ḳunā as a pretty little town with houses of a dazzling whiteness; he makes special mention of the virtue of the women, who never appeared in the streets. After Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, al-Adfuwī gives us an account of the merits of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm; he describes the houses of the town as spacious and very high and mentions two *madrasas* in Ḳunā and a number of hospices (*ribāṭ*), Ibn Duḳmāḳ only copies al-Adfuwī. In the Turkish period, Ḳunā was the residence of a *Kā<u>sh</u>if*, but it is only in modern times that it has assumed the administrative position which it owes to its present steadily-increasing prosperity.

The town, situated at the point where the Nile comes nearest to the Red Sea, had become the point of departure for caravans in the direction of Ḳuṣayr. This route took the place of the one used in the Middle Ages between Ḳūṣ and ʿAy<u>dh</u>āb, which in turn succeeded the ancient Copto-Berenice road. The continual intercourse between Egypt and Arabia and India gave these roads great value; it is by this route that many of the Muslims of North Africa go to Mecca, and even during the Crusades, it was the only pilgrim road. In 1831-3 Muḥammad ʿAlī had the wells inspected on the Ḳunā-Ḳuṣayr road; some were deepened so that they would provide water at all seasons (cf. *L'Égypte moderne*, collection *L'Univers*, 164-6; Barron and Hurne, *Topography and geology of the East Desert of Egypt, Central Portion*, Cairo 1902).

The saint who is the object of Muslim veneration, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad b. Ḥa<u>dj</u>djūn, twelfth descendant of <u>D</u>jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, was born in the environs of Ceuta in Morocco. After a journey to Mecca where he spent seven years, he settled in Ḳunā and died there on 9 Ṣafar 592/13 January 1196. Honoured during his life for his reputation for sanctity and asceticism, he has become one of the principal saints of Egypt, along with Aḥmad Badawī, Ibrāhīm Dasūḳī and Abu 'l-Ḥa<u>dj</u>djā<u>dj</u> Aḳsurī. At one time a pious formula used to be handed down which, if recited beside the tomb, hastened the realisation of a desire or brought about cures. According to some travellers, the pilgrims who came to Ḳunā made circuits (*ṭawāf*) of the tomb of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm similar to those made by the pilgrims at the Kaʿba (Adfuwī, *Ṭāliʿ saʿīd*, no. 231; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 315, Eng. tr. ii, 287; *RHR*, ii, 284; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 224). There were descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm living in Egypt for two centuries; they were, in particular, jurists and professors (Adfuwī, nos. 29, 117, 129, 308, 402, 476, 533; al-Maḳrīzī, <u>*Kh*</u>*iṭaṭ*, ii, 423).

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(G. Wiet)

ḲUNAYṬIRA [see ḲANṬARA].

ḲUNBI ṢĀLIḤ, an important cluster of ruins of mediaeval date, situated in lat. 15° 46′ N and long 7° 59′ W in Hodh (southern Mauretania), 330 km. N of Bamako, 95 km. WNW of Nara and 70 km. SSE of Timbédra. Most modern writers agree that it was the capital of the Sarakoli kingdom of <u>Gh</u>āna [*q.v.*] which dominated the southern part of the Western Sahara and the North Sudan from around the 6th century until *ca.* 1076.

The ruins are situated on a schistose plateau which is covered with thorn-bushes, and they stand between two seasonal pools. They extend for about 1,200 m. north to south and 800 m. east to west, but this does not include the scattered outbuildings and two extensive burial grounds. The one in the north-west covers an area 1,600 m. by 800 m. and contains a columned tomb with six chambers. The other in the south-east at Sohobi measures 700 m. by 400 m.

There are many mediaeval references in Arabic to <u>Gh</u>āna, from al-Fazārī (before 184/800) to Ibn <u>Kh</u>aldūn, but local oral traditions do not mention this place name. In fact, it is not until the 17th century that the name Ḳunbi appears in the *Taʾrī<u>kh</u> al-Fattā<u>sh</u>*, which says: "The name [of the empire of Kayamaga] was Ḳunbi, and this Ḳunbi was a great city." The *Taʾrī<u>kh</u> al-Sūdān* specifically states that the capital of Kayamaga was <u>Gh</u>āna, but all the Sarakoli traditions about the Wagadu speak of Ḳunbi (Ch. Monteil, *Mélanges ethnologiques*, 390; A. Bathily, *B. IFAN B* [1975], 73; Wa Kamissoko, 1976, unpublished) as the residence of the serpent Bida. The persistance of the Sarakoli and Moorish tradition is best illustrated by the fact that in 1914

Bonnel de Mézières was driven directly from Walata to Ḳunbi when he expressed a desire to the marabouts to see the site of the capital of Ghāna.

Although the ruins of Ḳunbi were well known to Africans, Bonnel de Mézières in 1914 was the first European to see them. He then undertook some excavations there, and the results were published in 1920, but unfortunately none of the material which was brought back from the expedition can now be located; it cannot be found in the Musée de l'Homme, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres or anywhere else. Later excavations have been made by M. Lazartigues (1939), P. Thomassey (1949-50) and R. Mauny and G. Szumowski (1951); the most recent excavations have been by J. Devisse, D. and S. Robert and their team (1972, 1975, 1976), but as yet these are not published. These excavations have revealed many schist-built houses with beautiful Arab-Berber architecture, which predates the Hispano-Moorish style. They contain carefully-made paving stones, wall-niches, stairways and stone beds. An imposing columned mosque is slowly being revealed on the Main Avenue which crosses the ruins from east to west. It has superimposed *miḥrābs* showing that at least two sanctuaries have stood on the same site. Material remains include stones with painted inscriptions of the *shahāda*, countless pieces of coarse pottery with some slip-decorated ware and even some glazed (Mediterranean) ware, tools and weapons in iron, objects in copper and glass and beads in stone and glass.

The north-east necropolis comprises a series of chambers for multiple Muslim burials; they are collective tombs for families or for people from the same Maghribī town or the same tribe. The most elaborate "columned tomb" is surrounded by six successive chambers, the last of which has a perimeter of 800 m.

The ruins show that this was an urban settlement with a high population density. The estimated population for the town at its peak is 15,000 to 20,000, which is an enormous figure for a Saharan town with a limited water supply (R. Mauny, *Tableau geogr.*, 482). Walls have been found at depths of up to 8 m., showing occupation levels over several centuries after the 8th century. The dates provided by carbon 14 analysis are: 828 ± 115 A.D.; 933 ± ? A.D.; 963 ± 114 A.D.; 1210 ± 121 A.D. This confirms what is already known of the history of the capital of Ghāna with which these ruins are to be identified, in the present writer's opinion, despite the hesitations of Ch. and V. Monteil (1951, 441-52; 1964, 58-62; 1968, 109-12), who are more inclined to follow al-Idrīsī (i, 2) in situating Ghāna "on the two banks of the river [Senegal]". However, their identification must be challenged, for al-Idrīsī made enormous errors in his work and, furthermore, no ruin of this importance has ever been found on the banks of the middle Senegal river. The evidence of oral traditions and what is written in the *Ta'rīkhs* all points to Ḳunbi as the correct site.

The irritating question remains to be resolved about the two places called Ghāna which al-Bakrī (460/1067-8) describes. The one was populated by Muslim merchants and had twelve mosques; the other was six miles away and was reserved for the king and his court. The present writer holds that Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ should be identified with the town of the rich Arab-Berber merchants described by al-Bakrī. If this is so, where was the royal capital? New ideas about this problem have been suggested at a recent conference on the history of Mali, held at Bamako in February 1976. Traditions show that the royal residence was apparently at Kalaka (Karka, 23 km. south of Ḳunbi) and the royal stockyard at Ḳunbi Dyufi, a modern village 20 km. SSE of Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ, which was in fact the merchants' town. The existence of a double or triple town can be understood because of the natural desire of the animistic kings to live apart from the Muslims and also because of the scarcity of water in the area. This is a potentially new field for archaeological investigation. Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ is the most important ruined site in West Africa—with Tegadaoust (Awdaghost?) running it a close second—and because of this, fresh excavations ought to be undertaken there.

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AL-KUNDURĪ, ʿAmīd al-Mulk Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, vizier of the first Great Saldjūḳ, Ṭughrīl Beg (447-55/1055-63). The *nisba* Kundurī may refer to one of two villages by the name of Kundur, one located in Ṭuraythīth in Ḳūhistān, the other near Ḳazwīn; the reference may also be to the selling of *kundur* (frankincense).

The Great Saldjūḳs, Ṭughrīl Beg, Alp Arslān and Malikshāh, were served by two *wazīrs*: Kundurī, *wazīr* of Ṭughrīl Beg, and the more famous Niẓām al-Mulk, *wazīr* of Alp Arslan and Malikshāh. The main ambition of these two *wazīrs* was to manipulate power and influence through the sultans whom they served. Niẓām al-Mulk did this with consummate skill for three full decades, outmanoeuvring his

rivals, and always keeping a step ahead of them in their plots and intrigues against him. Kundurī was not as successful. In comparison with the magisterial politics of Niẓām al-Mulk, he appears as a bungling fool.

Kundurī's first ill-advised deed is recorded early in his career as Ṭug̲h̲rïl Beg's minister. Sent by Ṭug̲h̲rïl on a mission to contract a marriage for him, Kundurī contracted the marriage for himself instead; as punishment for this, Ṭug̲h̲rïl had him castrated.

Kundurī's next ill-advised deed was to scheme against Ṭug̲h̲rïl Beg in an effort to replace him with Anūs̲h̲irwān, son of K̲h̲ātūn, Ṭug̲h̲rïl's wife. This plot against Ṭug̲h̲rïl appears to have been mounted when Ṭug̲h̲rïl was setting out to fight one of his rivals in Mawṣil, the Turkish general Arslān Basāsīrī [*q.v.*]. At his departure, noticing that he had a following of only 2,000 men, he reproached Kundurī, saying: "Why did you not inform me so that I could wait until all the men were assembled?" Again at Hamad̲h̲ān, faced by the superior forces of Ibrāhīm Inal, his half-brother, Ṭug̲h̲rïl asked his wife K̲h̲ātūn and Kundurī to come to his aid. K̲h̲ātūn wanted to do so, but was convinced by Kundurī that their troops would fall into the hands of Inal and that this would only serve to strengthen Inal's forces and weaken hers as well as Ṭug̲h̲rïl's. Kundurī then began to arrange for Anūs̲h̲irwān to make a bid for the sultanate, and money was distributed among the troops for their allegiance (*bayʿa*). Kundurī, K̲h̲ātūn and Anūs̲h̲irwān contributed, as well as the caliph, the merchants and the high functionaries of Bag̲h̲dād. But Kundurī's plan met with opposition from two of Ṭug̲h̲rïl's generals, ʿUmar and Inānd̲j̲īl, who refused to recognise Anūs̲h̲irwān. Then when Kundurī asked the caliph to proclaim Anūs̲h̲irwān as sultan, he was told to defer the matter, and to see that the city was not deprived of troops to defend it against the menace of Basāsīrī. K̲h̲ātūn also changed her mind and went to rejoin her husband. The sources are not expansive in their reports regarding this plot, but we later see both Kundurī and Anūs̲h̲irwān in the service of Ṭug̲h̲rïl Beg. They later fought against Basāsīrī and negociated the latter's delivery at the hands of the Mazyadid Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa, and their success here regained for them the confidence of the sultan.

After Ṭug̲h̲rïl's death in 455/1063, Kundurī once again saw his opportunity to serve under a sultan whom he could manipulate. Ṭug̲h̲rïl, before his death, had designated Sulaymān, son of his brother, Čag̲h̲rï Beg and brother of Alp Arslān. This choice may have been suggested by Kundurī. In any case, the succession to the sultanate had to be secured by eliminating all other pretenders. Alp Arslān was ready to oppose the choice of Ṭug̲h̲rïl, and here he had to deal with Kundurī. From the beginning, Kundurī had the *k̲h̲uṭba* in Rayy made in the name of Sulaymān. He then wrote a letter to Alp Arslān and, in threatening tones, told him to be content with the possession of K̲h̲urāsān. Alp Arslān marched on Rayy. Kundurī having now to face both Alp Arslān and Ḳutlumus̲h̲, called on Alp Arslān to help him against Ḳutlumus̲h̲, and made the *k̲h̲uṭba* in Rayy in the name of Alp Arslān. Arriving at the palace of the sultanate in Rayy, Alp Arslān did not make known his true feelings towards Kundurī, and insisted on Kundurī remaining with him in the palace when the latter wanted to move, saying "My joy consists in having you beside me, how can you entertain the thought of going away from us?". This was the beginning of a cat-and-mouse game played with relish by Alp Arslān, who kept Kundurī until he had recovered all the wealth amassed by the *wazīr*, before finally putting him to death, having taxed him with crass ignorance for imagining that he could stand against three Sald̲j̲ūḳ pretenders to the sultanate, meaning himself, Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*] and Ḳutlumus̲h̲.

Kundurī's ambition had been to hold *de facto* power under a docile and malleable sultan, but his plans failed disastrously. He did, however, succeed in arranging the marriage between Ṭug̲h̲rïl Beg and the daughter of the caliph al-Ḳāʾim, the negociations for which lasted for a period of three years (452-5/1060-3). Ṭug̲h̲rïl had hoped to see a Sald̲j̲ūḳ descendant assuming the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, but the marriage ended with his death and without issue. Kundurī's success in arranging the marriage, against the caliph's will, earned for him the enmity of al-Ḳāʾim who, on making the *k̲h̲uṭba* in Alp Arslān's name in Bag̲h̲dād (Rabīʿ II 456/March-April 1064) asked Alp Arslān to eliminate Kundurī.

Where Kundurī had failed, Niẓām al-Mulk succeeded. The difference between these two *wazīrs* consisted in the political acumen and consummate administrative skill of the latter as compared with the former's lack of perception and discrimination. Kundurī supported the Muʿtazilī movement, and was instrumental in having al-As̲h̲ʿarī cursed from the pulpits of K̲h̲urāsān by the order of Ṭug̲h̲rïl Beg. In Bag̲h̲dād, he earned the hatred of the Sunnīs by supporting the S̲h̲īʿīs. By contrast, Niẓām al-Mulk supported the As̲h̲ʿarīs, but was not averse to supporting *ʿulamāʾ* of other movements wherever these last had a strong following. Also, his establishing *awḳāf* for the *ʿulamāʾ*, in the form of *madrasas*, *masd̲j̲ids* and *ribāṭs*, secured the support of the masses among their followers. Not the least among al-Kundurī's mistakes was his personal engagement in battle, whereas Niẓām al-Mulk remained a man who manipulated the pen, leaving the sword for those better suited to the battle field.

Bibliography: Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, v, 138-43, tr. de Slane, iii, 290-5; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963, 106-8, 124-7, and index s.v.; idem, *The marriage of Ṭug̲h̲ril*, in *IJMES*, i (1970), 259-75, and the bibliography cited in the notes to both these works; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, index s.v.

(G. Makdisi)

ḲUNDUZ, the name of a river, a town and a modern province of Afg̲h̲ānistān.

1. The river is one of the two main left bank affluents in Afg̲h̲ānistan of the Oxus. It rises in the central region of the Hindū Kus̲h̲ [*q.v.*], with Bāmiyān in its catchment area, and flows for some 300 miles/480 km. until it reaches the Oxus just below where it receives its right-bank affluent the Wak̲h̲s̲h̲ River. The different stretches of the river have varying names; thus the middle course, within which are situated the towns of Bag̲h̲lān and Pul-i K̲h̲umrī, is called the Surk̲h̲āb or "Red River".

2. The town is situated in lat. 36°45′ N. and long 68°30′ E. at an altitude of 1,300 feet/400 m. in a region which has the general name of Ḳatag̲h̲ān. The surrounding countryside, centred on ancient Ḳunduz and the nearby modern town of K̲h̲ānābād, is now fertile agricultural land (rice, fruits, etc.) and pastures, but was until very recently notoriously malarial and unhealthy. The town of Ḳunduz (presumably Pers. *kuhan-diz* "fortress") is not mentioned under this name by the mediaeval Islamic geographers, but it

fell within the province of Ṭuk̲h̲āristān [*q.v.*], and is very probably identical with, or situated close to, the important early Islamic town of Walwālid̲j̲ or Walwālāz, originally a centre of the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA] in their struggles with the invading Arabs in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries, and then an administrative centre and mint town for northern Afg̲h̲ānistān until Sald̲j̲ūḳ times (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 340, and Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 428); today, there are many ruins in the vicinity of Ḳunduz.

In the Tīmūrid period, Ḳunduz is frequently mentioned under this name. It figures in the campaigns of Ḥusayn Bayḳarā [see ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ], e.g. in 901/1495-6, being until this time ruled by the rival Tīmūrid prince Maḥmūd Mīrzā b. Abī Saʿīd, d. 900/1495 (see Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia. iii. Mīr ʿAlī-Shīr*, Leiden 1962, 53, 62-3). It then passed for some years into the hands of Bābur, who during the years 916-20/1511-14 used it as a base for his unsuccessful attempts to conquer territory north of the Oxus in Ḥiṣār and Wak̲h̲s̲h̲ (*Babūr-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 45-8, 318, 345, 352 ff., and *passim*).

Northern Afg̲h̲ānistān was by now becoming increasingly Turkicised by Özbeg and Turkmen groups, and in the period of the Ṣafawid-Özbeg rivalry, petty Özbeg principalities were established in towns like Balk̲h̲, K̲h̲ulm and Ḳunduz. These submitted in 1164/1751 to Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Durrānī [*q.v.*], but in the early 19th century Mountstuart Elphinstone again found Ḳunduz under an independent Özbeg chieftain "Khauldaud Khaun", who had 15,000 men under his command (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*[3], London 1839, ii, 200). A few decades later, in the years 1850-9, the Özbeg principalities of Balk̲h̲, K̲h̲ulm, Ḳunduz, Maymana, Aḳča, etc. came into the orbit of Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*] of Kābul. Ḳunduz was visited by John Wood in the 1830s, who found it a miserable settlement of 500 to 600 mud huts of sedentaries plus reed huts and black tents of Özbeg nomads (*A journey to the source of the River Oxus*[2], London 1872, 137-8).

The present population of the Ḳunduz district is highly mixed, but includes a large proportion of Ozbegs, Turkmens and Kazakhs, plus some Pas̲h̲tūns settled there in the present century by the Afg̲h̲ān government, and some Arabic-speaking groups have been reported from the region (see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan, an attempt at a preliminary classification*, in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F. Avd. i, Bd. 35, Nr. 5 (1939), 17-20). There is now an important amount of seasonal immigration from the Hindū Kus̲h̲ mountain regions, the workers being attracted by the higher wages which can be earned in agricultural work.

Since the 1964 administrative re-organisation, Ḳunduz town has been the capital of a province of the same name, having been previously in the province of Ḳatag̲h̲ān; the population of the town has been estimated (1969) at 40,000, and of the province at 415,000. It is now a centre for agricultural development schemes in the Oxus lowlands, and the local Turkish population also carries on carpet-weaving; moreover, it has an airfield, with regular flights connecting the town with Kābul.

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ḲUNFUD̲H̲, ḲUNFAD̲H̲ (A., fem. *ḳunfud̲h̲a*, pl. *ḳanāfid̲h̲*), a masc. noun preserved in all the Arabic dialects (Maghrib, *ḳenfūd*/*genfūd*, Middle East, *ḳenfūḍ*) which denotes, like its Hebrew counterpart, *ḳippod* (see Isaiah, xiv, 23, xxxiv, 11, and Zephaniah, ii, 14), both the hedgehog and the porcupine. These two small excavating mammals, externally fairly similar through the sharp, hairy spines covering their backs and flanks and through their nocturnal habits, are nevertheless quite different zoologically in their respective species, dimensions and food habits. But all the ancient authors, Greek and oriental, systematically included them in the same family, although the first is insectivorous and the second a rodent.

1. The hedgehog (Pers. *k̲h̲ār pus̲h̲t*, Tkish. *kirpi*), of the Erinaceid family, comprises, in the Old World, some fifteen species spread from the Atlantic coasts to Manchuria and from the 60th parallel north to South Africa, with the exception of Madagascar, where it is not present. Thus in the Arab lands is found, at the side of the universal *Erinaceus europaeus*, the race *E. algirus* in the Mag̲h̲rib (nicknamed in Algeria *al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Aḥmad*, Berber *inisi*/*insi*, pl. *inisawen*/*insan*), *E. deserti* in the Sahara (Tamahaḳ, Hoggar *ekenisi*/*tekenisit*, pl. *ikenusay*/*tikenusay*, at G̲h̲āt *kensiin*, in Aïr *tikaneshit*), *E. albiventris* in Egypt and the Sudan, *E. aethiopicus* in Abyssinia, and *E. syriacus* and *auritus* in ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Arabia. This unobtrusive, nocturnal traveller, with its rapid and jerky movements like a mechanical toy, is endowed with, as well as the generic names *ḳunfud̲h̲* and *anḳad* (this latter one shared with the tortoise), various bynames evoking its nocturnal habits (*ʿasʿas, dālid̲j̲, madlid̲j̲*), its scampering gait (*darrām, darrād̲j̲, mudad̲j̲d̲j̲id̲j̲, d̲h̲afīf, mazzāʿ*), and its spinyness (*ḥasīka, ḥiskik, ḥiskil, ḥarba, abū s̲h̲ūkāt*); its sleeping or defensive attitude, involving its curling up into a ball like a chestnut-bur, cause it to have such names as *kabbābat al-s̲h̲ūk, kubbwiba* "ball of spines" in Syria and, since one cannot then see its head any longer, once it is buried within its prickly suit of armour, it is called *ḳubaʿ*/*ḳubbāʿ*. The cry of the male hedgehog is a short sighing noise, whence its name *hinana* "whining, grizzling one". The hedgehog is considered as one of the most inoffensive and feeble of animals, as expressed in the old, assonantal and metathesising adage, *matā lam naḳḍi al-tulunna ak̲h̲ad̲h̲atnā 'l-lutunna* "when one does not do what is required, one becomes subject even to every gentle hedgehog".

2. The porcupine (Pers. *tas̲h̲ī*, Tkish. *büyük kirpi*, in the Mag̲h̲rib *ḍorbān* through confusion with the classical *ẓaribān*/*ẓarbān* denoting the zoril, Berber *arwi*, Tamahaḳ, in Aïr and Adrar, *emerey*/*temereyt*, pl. *imereyen*/*timereyn*) is from the family of Hystricidae which comprises five genera and some fifteen species. It is present, with two geographical races which are the most universal (*Hystrix cristata* and *H. leucora*), in all Africa, the Near East, Iran, and from the East Indies to China; but in Arabia, it is present only in the southern half of the peninsula. It is three or four times larger than the hedgehog and always considered to be its big cousin, but this vegetarian is nevertheless distinguished from the former by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 461-2) under the

names *duldul/duldūl*, *shayham/shayẓam* and *nayṣ* (this last preserved as *niṣ/nis* in the Near East). This careful observer adds, in good faith, that the porcupine is to the hedgehog as the ox is to the buffalo [see DJĀMŪS in Suppl.] or the rat to the mouse. The long, horny, erectile and widely-spaced needles (*dhāt al-madārī*), which are its only defence, are at the base of the legend that it defends itself by hurling at the enemy these sharp-pointed darts although it only leaves them behind in the wounds caused by their immediate contact; without grudging it the by-name of *abū shūk*, that of *kabkāb* is in no way justified, though it is given it in Syria, because it never in fact goes into a spiny "ball" and never curls up like the hedgehog. On the other hand, the motherly care with which the female porcupine surrounds her young, usually from two to four, is well-recognised; a touching and very ancient fable (see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, i, 337-8, ii, 57, 265-7, and in the same edition, al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ii, 357-61) relates that the porcupine, when it has young, climbs up the vine-stems by night, pulls off the bunches of grapes and lets them fall, then comes down and rolls among its harvest and carries it off transfixed on its spines to its home territory, thus providing an ample diet of succulent grapes for its children.

3. Whether it is a case of the hedgehog or of the porcupine considered as a large hedgehog—and both of these are taken by the mediaeval Arab naturalists, together with the thorn-tail lizard [see ḌABB] and the jerboa (*yarbūʿ* [see FAʾR in Suppl.]), as "creeping beasts" (*aḥnāsh al-arḍ*, *ḥasharāt al-arḍ* (*Ḥayawān*, v, 283)—the *ḳunfudh*, through its nocturnal life and its innate distrustfulness, has given rise to such comparisons as *asrā min ḳunfudh* "travelling more often by night than a hedgehog" and *asmaʿ min ḳunfudh* . . . *min duldul* "having sharper ears than a hedgehog . . . porcupine"; whence a night racked by insomnia may be described as *laylat al-ḳunfudh*, *layl al-anḳad* "hedgehog's night". The mysteriousness of the gloom envelopping its journeyings summoned up in the fertile imagination of the Bedouin the image of dissimulation and calumny and, by a simple inversion of the construction of the two preceeding expressions, an "undercover" spy was called *ḳunfudh layl*, *anḳad layl* "night hedgehog" (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 166).

Like the Greeks, the Arabs, despite all this, well recognised the great value of the hedgehog as a destroyer of vermin and especially, against the venom of serpents, which they were considered to be immune from after having nibbled thyme bushes (*saʿtar*); for this reason, experienced men from certain tribes recommended that this valuable helper should not be killed, if the land abounded in vipers, and in particular, this was the order given to Ibn al-Ashʿath's army at the time of the expedition of 81/700 into Sidjistān, a region infested with these dangerous reptiles and a great producer of snake-charmers as well as the compounders of snake-bite antidote. The ancients had likewise observed in regard to the *ḳunfudh* an innate faculty for detecting the direction of winds (Aristotle, *Hist. anim.*, ii, 602, and *Ḥayawān*, iv, 229) prevalent at the orientation of the two entries of its burrow.

The flesh of the *ḳunfudh* (of both kinds) is succulent according to those who eat it, such as, in Europe, the gypsies. The Bedouins have always been fond of it, and in our time, the Touareg appreciate it in a stew or braised within the glowing embers after having wrapped it in a covering of clay. Although it formed a kind of game easily captured, in ancient Arabia the risk was never taken of killing it in the early hours of the night, because it could serve as the mount for some benevolent genie, and people preferred to pound it with a cudgel, by day, in chance encounters rather than mounting a regular hunt for it. At beginning of this present century, in the Maghrib and especially in Morocco, the capture of these two spiny creatures was one of the nocturnal activities of slimly-built adolescents of the equivocal class of kif smokers; slipping into the haunts of these animals, they would empty them of their occupants either with gloved hands in the case of the hedgehogs, or with a spear in the case of the porcupines, and groups of vagrants would have a feast of the *mashwī* of these victims (see L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, Paris 1927, 55-6). The long spines of the porcupine were used for the making of pretty, darkened cages for nightingales.

This ancient custom of eating the flesh of the *ḳunfudh* posed a question, as with the hyena [see ḌABUʿ in Suppl.], in early Islam, about the lawfulness of this practice. When the Prophet was asked about this, he is said merely to have relied laconically that such an animal was "ignoble" (*khabith*), but he did not make a formal prohibition. Basing themselves on this vagueness, the Shāfiʿīs considered the *ḳunfudh* to be perfectly legal eating, whilst the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs formally excluded it from the category of permitted types of meat. As for the Mālikīs, they remained undecided on the question and depended on the decisions of local authorities, basing themselves on the customs and usages of the region; thus amongst the Berbers in the Maghrib, no objection is met with against making the *ḳunfudh* an article of diet.

The various anatomical parts of the *ḳunfudh* possessed, in the ancient therapeutic inventory, numerous specific qualities, notably that of the right eye, which, boiled in sesame oil and mixed with collyrium, caused nyctalopia or day-blindness; this formula was, it seems, used by rogues and nocturnal prowlers in order to facilitate their nefarious activities. Salted hedgehog flesh was beneficial for children suffering from urinary incontinence. At the present day, according to what the Touareg say, a porcupine-needle stuck in a camel's saddle prevents fatigue in the loins for the camelriders of the Sahara. Of a more practical kind is usage of a hedgehog skin, with its spines, as a muzzle for kids too inclined inconsiderately to suck their mothers' milk. The porcupine's quills are also used, moreover, for making little instruments and tools like needles for sewing, sticks for applying kohl, etc.

For some time past, the hedgehog, which is very easily domesticated, has been the domestic pet in numerous dwellings of the Saharan oases in order to rid them of cockroaches and other undesirable infestations; here we have a modest rehabilitation of the *ḳunfudh burḳa*, "hedgehog of the stony ground", a byname given metaphorically to an individual with unattractive features but where there is still a possibility of finding someone even less attractive.

From a similarity of appearance, the terms *ḳunfudh al-baḥr* or *shayham baḥrī* "sea hedgehog" denote the edible sea-urchin (*Echinus esculentus*), whilst in al-Damīrī and al-Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, the term *ḳunfudh baḥrī* is applied to the beaver.

Bibliography: in additions to references given in the text, see A. Maʿlūf, *Muʿdjam al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932, s.v. Hedgehog and Porcupine; E. Ghālib, *al-Mawsūʿa fī ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿa*, Beirut 1965, s.vv.; L. Lavauden, *Les vertébrés du Sahara*, Tunis 1926, 32, 45; H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*,

Paris 1951, 117-18, 135-6; Fīrūz Iskandar, *Rāhna mā-yi pistāndārān-i Īrān (Guide to mammals of Iran)*, Tehran 1977, 7, 12, 20, 50. (F. Viré)

al-ḲUNFUDHA, a port on the Red Sea coast of the Tihāma or lowland of the southern Ḥidjāz, situated in lat. 19°9′ N. and long. 41°04′ E. and at the mouth of the Wādī Ḳanawnā. It lies 210 miles south of Djidda or Djudda [*q.v.*] and 45 miles north of Ḥaly.

The town is in the form of a large rectangle enclosed by a wall, strengthened at several points by towers and pierced by three gates. Practically the only stone buildings are at the harbour, where is the bazaar with its one-storied warehouses in an irregular line, and the chief mosque and smaller mosques with low minarets. On a little island about a quarter of a mile away is a small castle which used to be the residence of the representative of the Sharīf of Mecca. The town was estimated in *ca.* 1920 to have a population of 10,000, but S. Langer in 1882 put it at only 2,000. The harbour, which is enclosed by a number of sandy islets and is only accessible to Arab vessels of medium size, has great disadvantages, notably that the boats cannot land there; until recent times, however, a certain number of pilgrims on the *ḥadjdj* have landed there and at al-Līth to the north by sailing craft. Trade and commerce are moderate: It exports the myrrh collected in ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] and also hides and honey; the harbour used to be frequented by slave-dealers who brought their Abyssinian slaves for sale here, but Britain's sharp control made slave smuggling practically impossible by the early 20th century. Trade with the interior is limited to the exchange of provisions and everyday necessities and is confined to modest bounds. The much more important harbour of Ḥudayda further south has long since attracted almost all the trade. The poverty of the inhabitants is revealed by the primitive huts, built of poles and thatch with gable roofs, which are typical of the whole coast plain. Of agricultural products, cotton and millet are grown in the district.

Al-Ḳunfudha is perhaps a very old settlement; in any case it is a district of great interest to classical students, the land of the Debae. Pliny's *regio Canauna* has been identified by A. Sprenger and B. Moritz with the Ḳanawnā mentioned by al-Ḥamdānī, but this town lies at the mouth of the Wādī of the same name. Gold, for which this region was celebrated in antiquity, is still found here; the Āl Khatārish still get gold from the streams. Al-Ḳunfudha, however, seems to have been the northern limit of this ancient gold area. The name appears to be comparatively modern. The Portuguese know it in the form Confutá. Niebuhr calls al-Ḳunfudha a large but badly-built town, In his day (1761) it derived a certain importance from the trade in coffee, because all the ships carrying coffee from Yemen to Djidda had to pay toll here to the Sharīf of Mecca, although the town was within the sphere of suzerainty of the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ. It passed to the Sharīf, together with the whole strip of coast from Djidda to Haly which the Sharīf of Mecca won in *ca.* 1722, and even had a certain revival of prosperity when Muḥammad ʿAlī conquered the Sharīfs and made al-Ḳunfudha his base of operations for the campaign against Central Arabia and ʿAsīr. Soon after this, al-Ḳunfudha figured in the rebellion of the Georgian commander Meḥmed Agha Türkče Bilmez against Muḥammad ʿAlī's governor in the Ḥidjāz, Aḥmad Pasha (1832-3); Türkče Bilmez penetrated to al-Ḳunfudha, Abū ʿArīsh, Ḥudayda, and even to Mocha by 1833, before his revolt was quelled. It was only in 1870 that the Ottomans were able to revive Muḥammad ʿAlī's plans and al-Ḳunfudha became the base of operations against the tribes of the hill country of ʿAsīr, after the conquest of which in 1871, al-Ḳunfudha with its hinterland became a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjaḳ* of ʿAsīr. A certain degree of Ottoman control was now implanted, and al-Ḳunfudha was linked by telegraph with Djidda to the north and Luḥayya, Ḥudayda and Ṣanʿāʾ to the south. However, the district soon fell to the Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca's son ʿAbd Allāh at the time of the Arab Revolt, and in September 1916 both al-Ṭāʾif and al-Ḳunfudha were lost by the Turks; already in the previous year, the local ruler of adjacent ʿAsīr, Sayyid Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, had adhered to the Allied cause [see ʿASĪR]. In 1923-5 the whole of the Ḥidjāz was occupied by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd, and al-Ḳunfudha henceforth has formed part of the Saʿūdī kingdom.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884-91, 181, 188, 217; *Terceira decada da Asia de Joam de Barros*, Lisbon 1563, i, ch. 3; E. Rüppel, *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt a/M. 1838, i, 176-9; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Berlin 1846, viii/l, 921, 930-2, 934, 939, 940, 982, 1015, 1025, 1026; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 375; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, 52; S. Langer, *Irrfahrten an der südarabischen Küste*, in *Ausland* (1882), 352; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii, 3, 235; H. Burchardt, *Reiseskizzen aus dem Yemen*, in *Zeitschr. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1902), 594; M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage, Der islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen*, Leipzig 1909, ii, 540; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien, Hamburgische Forschungen*, Brunswick 1916, i, 88; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, i, 173-4; B. Moritz, *Arabien, Studien zur physikalischen und historischen Geographie des Landes*, Hanover 1923, 97, 109, 110; R. B. Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the nineteenth century*, London 1965, 71-3; *Admiralty handbook. Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 544-5 and index.

(A. Grohmann-[C. E. Bosworth])

ḲUNGRĀT, the name of first a Mongol and then a Türkmen tribe of Central Asia, and deriving its name from these last, a settlement on the lower Āmū Daryā or Oxus, modern Kungrad.

The Mongol tribe of Ḳonḳīrat/Ḳonḳurat or Onggirat (spelt Ḳ.n.ḳūrāt in Djuwaynī, Ungrat in Marco Polo) seems to have lived in the extreme east of Mongolia, towards the Khinggan Mts. in a district called Ābdjiya-Küteger. The tribe gave its allegiance to Čingiz in his struggle against Ong Khān [see ČINGIZ KHĀN], and had the privilege of supplying the Khāns with wives; thus Čingiz's wife Börte Fudjin, mother of his five principal sons, was from the Ḳonḳīrat, as were wives of Djoči and Orda. Cf. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis, trs., *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan: Cheng-wou ta'in-tcheng lou*, i, Leiden 1951, 402-9; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris 1959-63, ii, 869-70, No. 375; Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 38, ii, 585; J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York-London 1971, 17, 97.

The tribal name was carried westwards in the mass movement of peoples during the Mongol invasions, and elements of the Mongol Ḳonḳīrat doubtless mingled with and were eventually absorbed into Turkish tribes of the Turkestan steppes. Hence in recent times Ḳungrāt has been noted as a tribal name amonst both the Özbegs and the Ḳara Ḳalpaḳs of the

region to the south of the Aral Sea (M. A. Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia in history and at the present day*, London 1918, 38, 40). In the 18th century the Özbeg Ḳungrāt played a dominant role in the Khānate of Khīwa. When the ʿArabshāhid line of Khāns of Khīwa became extinct at the end of the 17th century, real power was exercised in the Khānate by Ḳungrāt military chiefs who held the title of Inaḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In the early 19th century, these Inaḳs came themselves to assume the title of Khān and ruled in Khīwa until the period of the Russian protectorate [see KHWĀRAZM]. The tribal name was given to a settlement in the delta or "island" area of the Oxus mouth, on the road between Khodja-ili and the Aral Sea shores; during the later 18th century, until 1226/1811 and the time of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān of Khīwa (1221-41/1806-26), this district centred on Ḳungrāt was in effect an independent principality (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 151, and idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 192).

In 1858 a Russian military steamer sailed up the Oxus delta, alarming the inhabitants of Ḳungrāt, and the town was an important strategic point in the Russian expeditions of 1873 under General Kaufmann and directed against Khīwa; it formed the concentration-point for the naval force from the Aral Sea and the land forces from Orenburg and from Manghishlāḳ (see E. Schuyler, *Turkistan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkestan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 107, ii, 331, 336, 346-8). Kungrad is now a town in the Kara Kalpak ASSR; see on it *BSE*², xxiv, 53.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲŪNKA, variant forms ḲŪNḲA, KŪNKA, KŪNKĀ, KUNKA, the Arabic name for the modern town of Cuenca, administrative centre of the province of the same name in Castile, Spain, situated near the confluence of the Júcar and Huécar Rivers at an altitude of 922 m. at the point where the Mancha becomes a mountain chain. According to al-Idrīsī, Ḳūnḳa was "a small, ancient town, surrounded by a wall, and lacking a suburb". Al-ʿUdhrī mentions it among the 20 stages of the route connecting Cordova and Saragossa. Al-Idrīsī mentions Cuenca in his division of al-Andalus into 26 *iḳlīms*, but gives it the title of a *kūra*. Al-ʿUmarī makes it the eleventh province of Spain, comprising the towns of "Orihuela, Cuenca, Elche and Denia, as well as numerous strongholds". Yāḳūt makes it part of the *aʿmāl* of Santaver, and Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, who was there in 567/1172, has left a description of it.

During the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, various political and economic factors reinforced the strategic importance of Cuenca. Previously, from 151/768 to 160/777, it had been part of the region shaken by the rebellion of Shaḳyā al-Fāṭimī. It had then passed to the Dhu 'l-Nūnids [*q.v.*], and in 295/908 had been divided among the three sons of Mūsā, who in these strongholds of the frontier zone, were virtually independent of the central government. At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, Cuenca belonged to Ismāʿīl b. Dhi 'l-Nūn, who proclaimed his independence in the *ṭāʾifa* of Toledo. Later, we find Ibn al-Faradj, who distinguished himself in military campaigns, as *wālī* of Cuenca for the Dhu 'l-Nūnids. Whilst al-Mutawakkil b. al-Afṭas temporarily occupied Toledo (472/1079), al-Ḳādir took refuge in Cuenca. In the following year, Sancho Ramirez and Aḥmad b. Hūd besieged the town, which bought them off with a sum of money. After Alfonso VI's capture of Toledo (478/1085), Cuenca passed under Castilian rule and was included in the famous "dot de la mora Zaida". Alfonso probably kept the Muslim structure of the town, requiring a tribute, according to the homilies of the Mozarab Count Sisnando. In 490/1097, whilst Cuenca was being protected by Alvar Fañez's army, the Almoravids led by Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾisha raided the district, and after the victory of Uclés (501/1108) occupied the town; but in 531/1137 the populace rose against the Almoravid garrison and felt the sting of Tāshfīn b. ʿAlī's sword. Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] made over to the Christians lands near Cuenca, but the latter retreated before the Almohad caliph Abū Yaʿḳūb, who in 567/1172 found the town sunk in decay, with only 700 inhabitants. It was besieged by Alfonso VIII, helped by Alfonso II of Aragon, and surrendered on 21 September 1177 after a seven months' siege, without the Almohads being able to protect it. Abu Yaʿḳūb tried to regain it in 1194 and burnt its standing crops in 1197. After the conquest of Cuenca, the Castilian king made grants to the military orders of Santiago and Calatrava, and the town was soon organised as a *Concejo*, whilst retaining some of its older organisations and structures, such as the office of *almotacen* (*muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA]). The *Fuero* offered commercial concessions to the Mudéjares. The second bishop of Cuenca was a Mozarab from Toledo, Saint Julian. There remained a mosque, "lindante con el monasterio de Ntra. Sra. de la Contemplacion" until the 15th century. During the period of the harrying of the Moriscos, Cuenca was the seat of a tribunal of the Inquisition.

The local economy of Cuenca flourished greatly during the 4th/10th century, with textile and ivory-carving crafts, and there were salt pans and silver and iron ore mines in the vicinity. Also, wood cut in the Serranía was sent down the Júcar to the Mediterranean shores.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Description*, ed. and tr. Dozy and de Goeje, 175, 195; al-ʿUdhrī, *Tarṣīʿ*, ed. Ahwānī, 21; tr. de la Granja, 9; ʿUmarī, *apud* Fagnan, *Extraits*, 83-4, 100; Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. ʿAbbādī, 80-1, 87, 108, 114; Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, *al-Mann*, ed. Tāzī, 73, 237, 487, 503-6; Ibn Bassām, *Dakhīra*, Cairo 1939-45, i/1, 175; iv/1, 110; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ*, tr. Huici², 329, n. 5; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, Beirut 1956, 180; P. Madoz, *Diccionario geografico . . .*, Madrid 1850, vii, 224-58; *Relaciones de pueblos . . . de Cuenca, hechas por Orden de Felipe II*, ed. J. Zarco, Cuenca 1927; G. ʿAbd al-Karīm, *La España musulmane en . . . Yāqūt*, in *Cuad. Hª. Islam*, Granada vi (1974), 262-3; J. P. Martir Rizo, *Historia de . . . Cuenca*, Madrid 1629, repr. Barcelona 1974; A. González Palencia, *Colleccion de documentos conquenses*, Cuenca 1930, 258-62; idem, *Los mozárabes de Toledo . . .*, Madrid 1930, i, 182-3; J. Bosch, *Albarracín musulmana*, Teruel 1959, index; idem, *Los almorávides*, Tetuan 1956, 161-2, 183; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La "Mora Zaida"*, in *Islam d'Occident*, Paris 1948, 139-151, 144; R. Menendez-Pidal and E. García Gómez, *El conde mozárabe Sisnando*, in *Al-And.*, xii (1947), 27-42; A. Huici, *Historia . . . imperio almohade*, Tetouan 1956, i, 255, 262-3, 273-6, 312, 377, ii, 620; idem, *Historia . . . Valencia*, Valencia 1969, index; J. González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, Madrid 1976, i, 233-4, 243-5; *El fuero de Cuenca*, ed. Ureña and Smenjaud, Madrid 1935; Torres Balbás, *El taller de marfiles de Quenca*, in *Al-And.*, iii (1935), 396-7; R. Pastor de Togneri, *La sal en Castilla y Leon*, in *C.H.E. Buenos Aires*, xxxvii-xxxviii (1963), 74 n. 92;

P. Iradiel, *Evolución de la industrie textil ... ss. XIII-XVI ... en Cuenca*, Salamanca 1974, 44-5; S. Cirac Estopañan, *Registros ... Sto. Oficio de Cuenca*, Cuenca-Barcelona 1965; B. Loupias, *La pratique secrète de l'Islam dans ... Cuenca*, in *Hesp.-Tamuda*, vi (1965), 115-31; M. Garcia-Azenal, *Inquisición ... de Cuenca*, Madrid 1978.

(Maria J. Viguera)

ḲUNṢUL [see consul].

KUNTA (sometimes pluralised as Kanāta), a highly ramified Arabic-speaking tribe widely dispersed over the southern Sahara from Tagānit in Mauritania to the Adrar-n-Ifoghas in eastern Mali and beyond. Their own genealogies claim descent from ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ al-Fihrī [*q.v.*], to whom they attribute a series of exploits in and beyond ancient G͟hāna as far as Takrūr. According to the so-called *Taʾrik͟h Kunta* (tr. in I. Hamet, *Notice sur les Kounta*), Sīdī ʿAlī, a descendant of ʿUḳba, married the daughter of Muḥammad b. Kunta b. Zazam (or Zam), chief of the Id Oukal (Ibdūkal/Abdūkal) fraction of the Lamtūna Berbers, allegedly in the early 9th/15th century. Their son, Muḥammad, married into another Lamtūna group, the Tād͟jakānt, as did also his son Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī. It is from the latter's three sons that all the branches of the Kunta derive. Thus, even by their own accounts, the Arab element in Kunta stock would appear small, and, significantly, their eponym is Berber. Their *zawāyā* (non-warrior) status, too, is indicative of Berber origin and, like most such groups in the western Sahara, they probably acquired an Arab pedigree along with the Arabic language during the period of Ḥassāniyya ascendancy in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

The period from the mid-10th/16th century, when Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī's son Sīdī ʿUmar al-S͟hayk͟h is said to have died, until the early 12th/18th century seems to mark the emergence of the Kunta as a distinct and relatively large tribe, their numbers no doubt being augmented by the acquisition and eventual integration of tributaries and slaves. They appear to have roamed over a wide area from the Hodh (al-Ḥawḍ) in the south to al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ in the north and Tuwāt in the east. Some members settled in Walāta and in a village in Tuwāt known as Zāwiyat Kunta where Sīdī ʿUmar's son, Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-S͟hayk͟h, is said to have been buried.

In the early 12th/18th century a rift occurred. The clans descended from Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ṣag͟hīr b. Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī hived off to roam the western Sahara from the banks of the River Senegal to al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ (the Kunta al-Ḳibla), while those descended from Sīdī ʿUmar al-S͟hayk͟h combined pastoralism with commerce, establishing a network of camps and trading posts from the Wādī Darʿa through Tuwāt and the Azawād region north of the Middle Niger to Timbuktu in the west and Katsina in the east.

Among the latter, the Awlād Sīdī al-Wāfī established a position of pre-eminence in the second half of the 12th/18th century, due to the role of their leader Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-Kabīr b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr (1142-1226/1729-1811), who combined qualities of sanctity with political astuteness and commercial acumen. In *ca.* 1167/1753-4 he established his camp at al-Ḥilla in Azawād, which rapidly became a centre of study and of the propagation of the Ḳādiriyya Order. It is from the sub-order which he established, the Muk͟htāriyya, that most of the Ḳādiriyya

Abridged genealogy of Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-Kuntī and some of his descendants

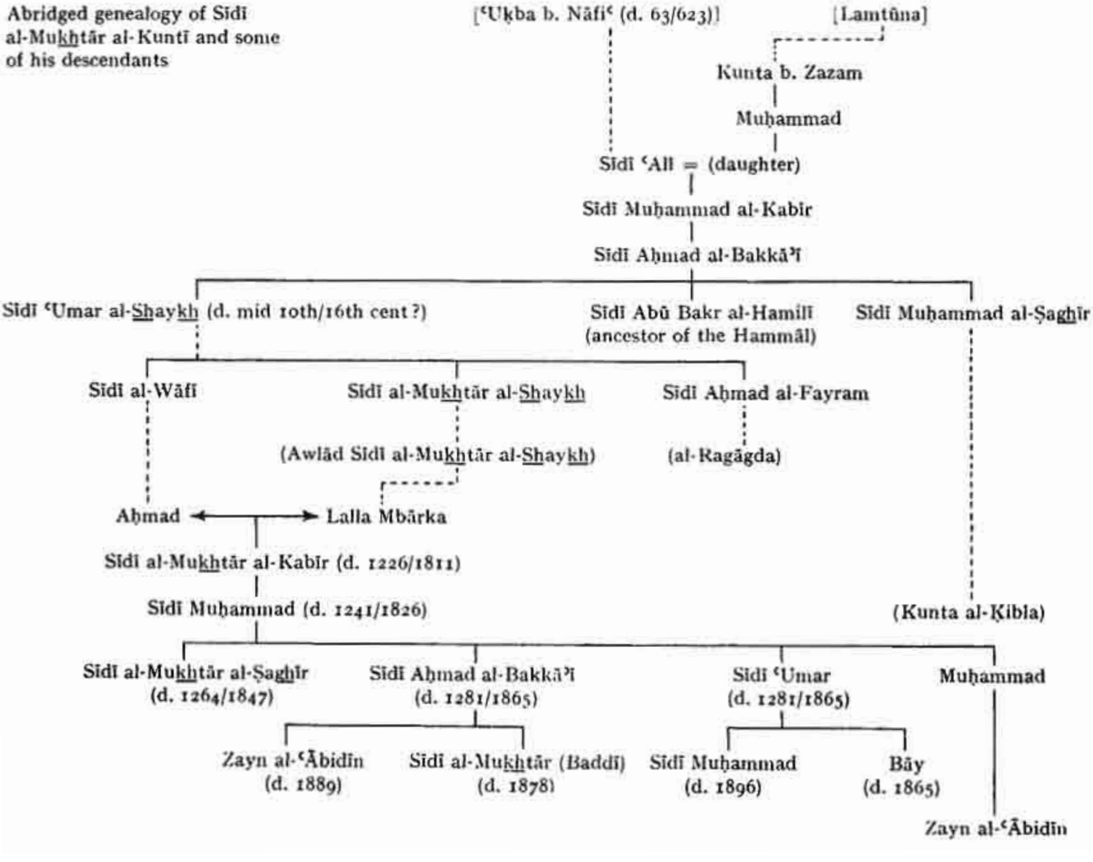

groups in West Africa derive their affiliation. Sīdī al-Mukhtār's role as a Ṣūfī leader and his prestige as a scholar enabled him to mediate between warring Arab and Tuareg tribes in the area and to heal the rift between the eastern and western Kunta. His far-ranging missionary tours (*siyāḥa*) in the Sahara, and his *zāwiya* at al-Ḥilla, which received disciples from distant areas, were supported by income from participation in the salt trade from Taoudeni to the Niger and the trade in tobacco from Tuwāt to Timbuktu.

His teachings, born of his Ṣūfī outlook as well as the position of his clan as a *zawāyā* group, emphasised leniency, the overlooking of faults and the winning of hearts through "*djihād* of the tongue" rather than "*djihād* of the sword", though when ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*] initiated a militant *djihād* in 1218/1804-5, he expressed his approval of it. He proclaimed himself the sole "regenerator" (*mudjaddid*) of the 13th century of the *hidjra* (1200 = 1786), though for earlier centuries he named a multiplicity of regenerators in different spheres of endeavour such as *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, *siyāsa*, *zuhd* etc. (cf. the view of Ibn Kathīr reported by al-Suyūṭī, *Risāla fī man yabʿath Allāh li-hādhihi ʾl-umma ʿalā raʾs kull miʾa*, ms. Leiden, 2409⁹, f. 6). Over sixty works are attributed to him, including several series of *adjwiba*, as well as a great deal of poetry. None has so far been published and manuscript copies are scattered over private libraries in Timbuktu and the southern Sahara and in such public collections as the Bibliothèque Générale et Archives, Rabat, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

His son, Sīdī Muḥammad (*ca.* 1178-1241/1765-1826), inherited his position as leader of the Ḳādiriyya-Mukhtāriyya and was himself a prolific author. His *Taʾrīkh Kunta* (properly called *al-Risāla al-Ghallāwiyya*) has already been mentioned, and his *Kitāb al-Ṭarāʾif wa ʾl-talāʾid*, ostensibly a hagiographical work on his father and mother, has been abstracted by Ismael Hamet in his *Littérature arabe saharienne*, in *RMM*, xii (1910), 196-213, 380-405. It contains an annotated *silsila* for the Ḳādiriyya-Mukhtāriyya, in which the names of al-Suyūṭī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī and Ibn ʿArabī appear as successive links, thus invalidating it as an historical document, but no doubt enhancing the spiritual prestige of the order in the eyes of its members. The *wird* of the Mukhtāriyya was widely propagated in southern Mauritania by an outstanding pupil of Sīdī Muḥammad, Shaykh Sīdiyya (1190-1284/1776-1868) of the Awlād Abyayri from his *zāwiya* in Būtilimīt.

On Sīdī Muḥammad's death, leadership of the Awlād Sīdī al-Wāfī and direction of the Mukhtāriyya passed to his eldest son Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Ṣaghīr (1204-64/1790-1847). He was instrumental in saving Timbuktu from the worst excesses of the Fulbe forces of Aḥmadu Lobbo [*q.v.*] and eventually driving them from the city. His brother, and successor to both his political and spiritual role, Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī (*ca.* 1217-81/1803-65) negotiated a pact with the Fulbe in 1846 at Muḥammad's request and himself came to settle in Timbuktu, gaining sufficient moral authority there to be able to act as protector for the explorer Heinrich Barth, an open Christian, in 1853. Al-Bakkāʾī wrote numerous poems and *rasāʾil*, some addressed to the Fulbe rulers of Māsina, others attacking the claims of the Tidjāniyya order.

In the closing years of the 19th century, two grandsons of Sīdī Muḥammad distinguished themselves by their attitudes to French penetration of the central southern Sahara: Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad al-Kuntī (b. 1848), who declared a *djihād* against the French after their occupation of Timbuktu in 1894 and whose continued challenge to French authority remained a menace in the first two decades of the 20th century; and Sīdī Bāy b. Sīdī ʿUmar (b. 1865), a scholar and man of saintly repute who took up residence in the Adrar-n-Ifoghas and encouraged both the Ifoghas and Ahoggar Tuareg to avoid conflict with the French. Several copies of his *Nawāzil*, as yet unstudied, are preserved in the Institut des Sciences Humaines, Niamey, Rép. du Niger.

The spiritual influence of the Kunta in the 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries was far-reaching. The two major Fulbe leaders, Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī and Shaykh Aḥmadu Lobbo, both received and propagated the *wird* of the Mukhtāriyya, though in both Hausaland and Māsina the Tidjāniyya gained ground rapidly from the mid-19th century. A list of the main groups of West African Muslims attached to the Order or branching from it may be found in P. Marty, *Études*, i, 140-1 (see Bibl.).

Bibliography: For the Kunta view of their own history, see Sīdī Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī, *Taʾrīkh Kunta* (= *al-Risāla al-Ghallāwiyya*), tr. I. Hamet in *RMM*, xv (1911), 302-18, and as *Notice sur les Kounta*, in *Mission Cortier 1908-1909-1910*, Paris 1914, 263-88, summarised in Shaykh Sīdiyya Bābā, *History of the Western Ṣanhāja*, in H. T. Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, Oxford 1972, 195-200; and idem, *K. al-Ṭarāʾif wa ʾl-talāʾid bi-karāmāt al-shaykhayn al-wālida wa ʾl-wālid*, ms. Bibl. Nat. Paris, 5511. A critical study of early Kunta history has been made by T. Whitcomb in his doctoral thesis *The origin and emergence of the tribe of Kunta: a contribution to the history of the Western Sahara between the Almoravid period and the seventeenth century*, University of London, 1979; see also idem, *New evidence on the origins of the Kunta*, in *BSOAS*, xxxviii (1975), 103-23, 403-17. Further biographical material on Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kabīr is to be found in Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Bartilī, *Fatḥ al-Shakūr fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-Takrūr*, ms Bibl. de l'Inst. de France, 2406/118, f. 23, which includes a list of his writings; Muḥammad Bello, *Infāḳ al-maysūr fī taʾrīkh bilād al-Takrūr*, Cairo 1964, 220-2; Aḥmad al-Amīn al-Shinkīṭī, *al-Wasīṭ fī tarādjim udabāʾ Shinkīṭ*, 3rd ed., Cairo 1370/1961, 361, also 494, 506-7, 509-10, for Kunta struggles in Mauritania. On Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī, see H. Barth, *Travels and discoveries in North and Central Africa*, New York 1857-9, repr. London 1965, iii, *passim*; on Sīdī Bāy, see Cortier, *D'une rive à l'autre du Sahara*, Paris 1908, 286-9, H. T. Norris, *The Tuaregs: their Islamic legacy and its diffusion in the Sahel*, Warminster 1975, 168-71, and other material on the Kunta, *passim*. A list of titles of works by Kunta authors is given in W. A. Brown, *The Bakkāʾiyya books of Timbuktu*, in *Research Bull., Centre of Arabic Documentation*, Ibadan, iii/1 (1967), 40-4, and ms. listings appear in C. C. Stewart, *Notes on North and West African manuscript material relating to the Qādiriyya ṭarīqa*, in *ibid.*, iv (1968), 1-25; see also L. Massignon, *Une bibliothèque saharienne*, in *RMM*, viii (1909), 409 ff. The fullest study of Sīdī al-Mukhtār's life and teachings is in A. A. Batran, *Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī and the recrudescence of Islām in the Western Sahara and the Middle Niger, c. 1750-1811*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1971; also idem, *The Qādiriyya-Mukhtāriyya brotherhood in West Africa and the concept of taṣawwuf in the writings of Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-*

Kuntī (1729-1811), in *Trans-African J. of Hist.* (Nairobi), iv/1-2 (1974), 41-70. For the influence of the Kunta *shaykhs* on Shaykh Sīdiyya, see C. C. Stewart, *Islam and social order in Mauritania*, Oxford 1973, 34-53. A history of the eastern Kunta and their *shaykhs* is given in P. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan*, i, Paris 1920, 1-175, and their contemporary situation is described in J. Genevière, *Les Kounta et leurs activités commerciales*, in *BIFAN*, xii (1950), 1111-27. See also Brockelmann, S I, 894; Muḥammed b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Cairo 1349/1930-1, 377; Cne G. Salvy, *Les Kounta du Sud Marocain*, in *Travaux de l'Inst. de Rech. Sahariennes*, vii (1951), 166-86; Kaḥḥāla, iv, 198.

(J. O. Hunwick)

ḲUNŪT (A.), a technical term of Islamic religion, with various meanings, regarding the fundamental signification of which there is no unanimity among the lexicographers. "Refraining from speaking", "prayer during the *ṣalāt*", "humility and recognition that one's relation to Allāh is that of a creature to his creator", "standing"—these are the usual dictionary definitions which are also found in the commentaries on different verses of the Ḳur'ān where *ḳunūt* or derivatives from the root *ḳ-n-t* occur. There is hardly one of these for which the context provides a rigid definition of the meaning (see II, 110, 239; III, 15, 38; IV, 38; VI, 121; XXX, 25; XXXIII, 31, 35; XXXIX, 12; LXVI, 5, 12).

The *ḥadīth* gives more definite contexts. "The best *ṣalāt* is a long *ḳunūt*" (e.g. Muslim, *ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, trad. 164, 165, *bāb afḍal al-ṣalāt ṭūl al-ḳunūt*; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 168). Here, in the unanimous opinion of all the commentators (see al-Nawawī on the passage), *ḳunūt* means "standing". In the well-known *ḥadīth*: "alike to the fighter on the path of Allāh is he who fasts, who stands, who *ḳānit bi-āyāt Allāh*" (Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 110), *ḳānit* has obviously the meaning of "to recite standing" (cf. Abu Dāwūd, *Shahr Ramaḍān*, *bāb* 9: "And he who recites 100 verses of the Ḳur'ān standing is enrolled among the *ḳānitūn*"). *Ḳunūt*, however, usually seems to be connected in meaning with *du'ā'*, e.g. in the oft-quoted tradition which tells how Muḥammad in the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* appealed to Allāh for a month against the tribe of Ri'l and Dhakwān, as they had slain the *ḳurrā'* at Bi'r Ma'ūna (*Witr*, *bāb* 7); in this case the meaning is certain from the explanation *yad'ū 'alā* (al-Bukhārī, *Witr*, *bāb* 7; *Djihād*, *āb* 184). In the parallel tradition, idem, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 28, trad. 3, there is added "and till then we were wont to perform the *ḳunūt*". Some sources (see Goldziher, *Zauberelemente*, 323) add that this was in the month of Ramaḍān.

The rite also appears in parallel traditions in a more precise form; it is said that the *ḳunūt* took place in the *ṣalāt al-fadjr* (al-Bukhārī, *Da'awāt*, *bāb* 59) after the *rukū'* (idem, *Witr*, *bāb* 7). It is still more precisely defined in a *ḥadīth* in al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 32: "... that he heard how the Prophet when he raised his head after the first *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, said: "O Allāh, curse this and that man (i.e. some of the *munāfiḳūn*); thereupon Allāh revealed: "It does not concern thee whether He turns to them with favour or punishes them" (III, 123). The following is another example of *ḳunūt*: "When the messenger of Allāh lifted his head after the second *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, he said: "O Allāh, save Walīd b. Abī Walīd and Salima b. Hishām and 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'a and the weak ones in Mecca. O Allāh, tread heavily on Muḍar and send them years of famine, like the years of Joseph" (al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 28). According to another tradition, which also goes back to Abū Hurayra (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 126), the *ḳunūt* consisted of prayers and blessings for the Muslims and curses upon the unbelievers.

We are also told that the *ḳunūt* was regularly performed at the morning and evening *ṣalāt* (*subḥ* and *maghrib*; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 177; al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 30). Al-Tirmidhī gives the following note on this tradition: "The learned differ in their views about the *ḳunūt* at the *ṣalāt al-fadjr*. Some of the scholars of the *Ṣaḥāba* and later generations advocate this *ḳunūt*, such as Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī". Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] and Isḥāḳ say: "There is no *ḳunūt* uttered at the *ṣalāt al-fadjr* except in case of a calamity, which affects the Muslims as a body". In such a case the *Imām* has to pray for the Muslim armies. *Ẓuhr* and *'ishā'* are also mentioned as *ṣalāt*s into which the *ḳunūt* was inserted (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 126; al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 29).

There is further a difference of opinion as to where, in the *ṣalāt*, the *ḳunūt* should be inserted. 'Āṣim is said to have asked Anas b. Mālik about the *ḳunūt*. Anas replied: "The *ḳunūt* took place ..." I asked: "Before or after the *rukū'*?" He replied: "Before the *rukū'*". I said: "But I have been told on your authority, after the *rukū'*". Anas replied: "Then they lied. The apostle of Allāh only uttered the *ḳunūt* prayer after the *rukū'* for a month. I think, after he ..., etc." (here follows the story of Bi'r Ma'ūna, see above, Bukhārī, *Witr*, *bāb* 7). It is even said that the *ḳunūt* is a *bid'a*. Abu Mālik al-Ashdja' records a tradition on the authority of his father, that the latter had performed the *ṣalāt* under the direction of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī and that none of these uttered the *ḳunūt* prayer. He adds "it is therefore also a *bid'a*, my son" (al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 33).

Nevertheless, it continued to be known as the name of the prayer (*du'ā'*) at the *ṣalāt*. In the books of tradition a formula is given for the *ḳunūt al-witr* (it occurs often and in different forms, though it is not always called *ḳunūt* but is given names like *du'ā'*, etc.): "O Allāh, lead me amongst those whom Thou guidest, and pardon me among those whom Thou pardonest, and care for me among those for whom Thou carest and bless me with what Thou distributest, and protect me from the evil that Thou has decided upon; for Thou decidest and none decides about Thee. Disgrace will never come upon him for whom Thou carest. Thou art blessed and exalted, O our Lord" (al-Tirmidhī, *Witr*, *bāb* 10). The same formula is found as an element in the *ṣalāt* in al-Nawawī, *Minhādj*, ed. van den Berg, i, 83, 455-6; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḳ-n-t*, who gives another formula.

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(A. J. Wensinck)

KUNYA (A.), patronymic, an onomastic element composed of Abū (m.) "father" or Umm (f.) "mother" plus a name. We have here a metonymic designation corresponding to a general tendency among primitive peoples to consider an individual's name as taboo and not to pronounce it unless exceptionally (see J. G. Frazer, *The golden bough*, ch. xxii). The *kunya* was therefore accordingly the name which should be used, but in historical times, the original intention here was forgotten, and al-Djāḥiẓ (see *JA* [1967], 70, 82), far from seeing here any

connection with sympathetic magic, counts the *kunya* amongst the claims to glory of the Arabs and, seeing only one aspect of the reality, stresses the honour attaching to it. Nevertheless, it is certain that the use of the *kunya* was not wholly honorific, since it gave the possibility of citing a person whose name, for various reasons, including certain rather humilating ones (e.g. in regard to an enemy), one did not wish to pronounce. In any case, usage was such that the *kunya* sometimes came to predominate over the *ism* [*q.v.*] or name proper, to such an extent that the *ism* of certain personalities cannot be established with certainty, has been forgotten or may even never have existed (see e.g. Abū Ṭālib, Abū Lahab, etc.)

In principle, Abū or Umm is followed by the eldest son's name, and this usage is based on the value which Semitic peoples placed upon their children, and above all their sons. This again points to the importance placed on the punctilious performance of funeral rites, a duty that was incumbent upon the eldest son in particular. There is negative evidence of the connection between the *kunya* and funeral rites from the facts that slaves, as a rule, had no patronymic and that, unless they had been received into the *familia*, they were buried without ceremonies.

However, the *kunya* can be composed of the name of a younger son or even of a daughter, but again, this does not necessarily correspond to reality, and since it is given to a child, the latter might well have no issue of its own throughout his life. The giving of a *kunya* can in effect act as an expression of the hope that its nearer will have a son and will give him a determined name. Several *kunyas* are traditionally attached to certain names (the *ism* [*q.v.*]) by custom or in order to show respect for a precedent; an Ibrāhīm is often called Abū Isḥāḳ or Abū Yaʿḳūb, and a ʿUmar, Abū Ḥafṣ. Contrariwise, in principle it is forbidden to take Muḥammad's *kunya*, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, in conformity with the *ḥadīth*, *tasammaw bi-smī wa-lā taknanū bi-kunyatī* "take my name [sc. Muḥammad], but not my *kunya*"; however, this prohibition was considered null and void at the Prophet's death, and it became regarded as sufficient to avoid the coupling of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad. The one and the same person might have more than one *kunya* (e.g. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān had three, Abū ʿAmr, Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abu Laylā), and cases are cited of warriors who had one for use in times of peace and one for times of war (e.g. ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl and Ḳaṭarī [*q.vv.*]; see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 342). On the other hand, the *kunya* may be purely metaphorical and allude to some desired quality, like Abu 'l-Faḍl "father of merit" or Abu 'l-Khayr "father of goodness", etc. In certain cases, it may be a sobriquet based on some personal feature or characteristic, e.g. Abu 'l-Dawānīḳ "father of farthings", given to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, renowned for his meanness, or Abū Hurayra "father of the little cat, kitten", allegedly given this *kunya* because of his love of cats. The *kunya* not unfrequently may have a pejorative sense, as in Abū Djahl "father of ignorance", or point to some physical pecularity, as in Abū Shāma "the man with a birth-mark". In this way, Abū loses its original sense completely and becomes a synonym for *dhū* "the man with . . .".

The *kunya* is also applied, from an early period, to certain animals, e.g. Abū Fāris "lion", Umm ʿĀmir "hyena", Abū Sulaymān "cock", and to all sorts of things which are in some degree personified, e.g. monuments like Abu 'l-Hawl "the Sphinx", and toponyms, e.g. Abū Ḳubays, a mountain. Furthermore, the ancient usage of the words *abū* or *umm* with the sense of *dhū*/*dhāt* called forth a proliferation, especially obvious in the dialects, of expressive appellations including some term which usually marks out a peculiarity of the person or animal or thing in question, either in a humorous way (*abū liḥya*/*bū laḥya* "bearded person"; *bū khemsa*, in North Africa, "colonel" with five rank stripes, etc.) or in an euphemistic one (*abu 'l-baṣīr* "blind person", etc.). Some compound expressions of this kind are particularly applied to some plants and their fruit (*abū zaʿḳa* "nux vomica" because of its bitterness (*zaʿḳa*); *abū farwa* "chestnut", from the husk which resembles a fur; etc.), but mainly to certain animals (*abū misalla* or *abū minḳār* or *umm minḳār* "woodcock", with its long beak; *umm arbaʿ wa-arbaʿīn* "centipede"; *abu 'l-waththāb* "flea", from its habit of jumping; etc.).

The *kunya* became very early an onomastic element charged with expressiveness, in such a way that it had a caritative value and could be employed in special circumstances outside the sphere of private life. The warrior who advanced against enemy armies to challenge an enemy to single combat would call himself by his *kunya*, and it was by this name that the tribe would appeal to its champion for help (see Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm, *Dīwān*, ed. Kowalski, fragment 4, v. 38). In official relationships, the caliph sometimes marked out one of his courtiers for special favour by publicly addressing him by his *kunya* and not by his name or *ism*, but after the 5th/11th century, protocol forbade such familiarity (Mez, *The renaissance of Islam*, Eng. tr. 136-7). Similarly, in correspondence emanating from the chancery, the *kunya* of the addressee was used when the sender wished to honour him (see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 430-7).

At the present day, the usage of the *kunya* has disappeared, and the term is sometimes used, in official contexts, together with the *laḳab* [*q.v.*], to denote a family name; but one should remark that a number of patronymics adopted after the setting-up of a civil government in Arabic-speaking countries stem from former *kunyas* and that the nom-de-guerre of several Palestinian fighters is precisely a *kunya*.

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(A. J. Wensinck*)

KUR, the largest river in the Caucasus (according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, 200 *farsakhs* = nearly 800 miles in length). The Kur, known as Cyrus to the Greeks; Nahr al-Kurr to the Arabs; Kura to the Russians (said to be derived from *a-kuara*, "river", in the Abkhāzī tongue); and Mtkvari to the Georgians (said to be derived from *mdinaré*, "river" in the Kartlian dialect), rises in Georgia south of Ardahani (west of Ḳārṣ in the Poso district), and flows northwards to Akhaltzikhé, where it turns east (see map in V. Minorksy, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries*, Cambridge 1958, 174). For the rest of its course it maintains a generally west-east alignment, bisecting the city of Tiflis [*q.v.*]. The Kur, 240 feet wide in places, is navigable only by rafts in its upper course, "but lower, 150 miles before the Caspian, large sailing boats may ply, drawing up to 3 ft. of water" (W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*,

London 1971, 8). The navigation of the Kur has only once played a part in political history, at the time of the destruction of the town of Bardhaʿa [*q.v.*] by the Rūs in 332/943-4. Some 100 miles west of the Caspian Sea [see BAḤR AL-KHAZAR], the Kur is joined by the river Aras [*q.v.*], and the "united waters find a double mouth along the sandy foreshore of the Caspian" (Allen, *loc. sit.*) in the Gushtāsfī district. Just east of the confluence with the Aras, the Kur is crossed by a bridge at Djawād. In Islamic times, the Kur formed the boundary between the province of Ḳarābāgh or Arrān [*q.vv.*], and the regions of Shīrwān [*q.v.*] and Georgia [see AL-KURDJ].

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(W. BARTHOLD - [R. M. SAVORY])

AL-KURA, the sphere.

1. The sphere itself. The Arabs studied the properties of the sphere, following Euclid, Archimedes and Theodosius. They also dealt with certain principles of spherical trigonometry, which form the foundations for astronomical theory, the principle of the transversal (*shakl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ*), the principle of the four magnitudes (*al-shakl al-mughnī*) and the principle of the shadow, i.e. of the tangent (*al-shakl al-ẓillī*) following Menelaus and Ptolemy. (On the translations cf. M. Steinschneider in *ZDMG*, i [1896], 161 ff.; the mathematical principles are discussed by H. Bürger and K. Kohl, *Axel Bjørnbo Thābits Werk über den Transversalensatz*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft und Medizin* [1924], part 7, pp. 1-91; references are given there to the earlier literature also).

2. *al-Kura dhāt al-kursī* (the globe mounted on a stand) is used in two senses:

(a) The globe of the heavens (instead of *al-kura* we also find *al-bayḍa*, the egg, in this sense, e.g. in *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 235, in al-Battanī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, 1913, i, 138; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. iii*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxvii, [1905], 239 ff.). The constellations are painted on a globe. It is placed in a ring which stands on 3 or 4 legs Such globes have been prepared and described. perhaps as early as by Hipparchus, at any rate by Ptolemy. Ptolemy's description is given in the Arabic translations of the *Almagest* and in separate treatises. One such globe, erroneously ascribed to Ptolemy, was seen in Cairo in 435/1043-4 by Ibn al-Sandbadī (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 440). The globes were made of wood covered with paper or with different metals. Hollow globes could also be made of metal, which were then fastened to wooden spheres. ʿAlam al-Dīn Ḳayṣar al-Taʿāsīf used a gilt wooden globe (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv. 497; H. Suter, *Mathematiker*, no. 358). The making of such globes and the errors that occur in them were fully discussed by al-Bīrūnī (*Beitrage zur Gesch. der Mathematik, etc.*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwiss. und Medizin*, part 4 [1922], 79-93; cf. also H. Schnell, *ibid.*, in a later part).

The astronomical instrument prepared by al-Idrīsī for King Roger of Sicily was apparently an armillary sphere.

(b) *al-Kura dhāt al-kursī* is also an arrangement by which one follows the movements of the heavens. The horizontal ring is directed to the horizon; it is notched at right angles in two opposite points, a meridian ring is placed in the notches and allowed to go to its lowest position in a groove. The globe itself turns round an axis which is placed in round holes at two opposite points on the meridian ring. Divisions are marked on the horizon and on the meridian ring. By turning the meridian ring in its grooves, the axis of the globe can be inclined at will to the horizon and the instrument can thus be used for all latitudes. A quadrant with divisions which can be placed on the globe enables many kinds of measurements to be taken. With this globe, the magnitudes of importance in astronomy, *al-ṭāliʿ*, *al-maṭāliʿ*, the props of the earth etc., can be obtained.

The oldest Arabic work on the subject is by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [*q.v.*] and exists in Arabic in several editions, e.g. that of al-Marrākushī; it may go back to classical originals, as is probable in view of the author's relation to the Greeks. It was also translated into Latin, and into Spanish by Alfonso of Castile (*Libros del Saber*, i).

If the globe is left out and a series of other rings is added to the horizon and meridian rings, which correspond to circles in the heavens, we get the armillary sphere (*ālat dhāt al-ḥalaḳ*), the instrument with the rings with which the ancients, the Arabs and notably Alfonso of Castile, occupied themselves a great deal.

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3. *al-Kura al-muḥarriḳa*, the burning-glass (lit. the strongly-burning globe). Even the ancients knew the property possessed by rock crystal and glass globes of concentrating sunlight falling upon them on one point and setting alight an inflammable material there. But we find no indications that any scholar of antiquity studied the theory of this phenomenon. Ibn al-Haytham and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.vv.*] investigated this theory very brilliantly. Ibn al-Haytham starts from the values, given in a table of Ptolemy's and collected by himself also, of the angle of incidence, angle of divergence and angle of refraction of a ray of light falling on a smooth surface of glass, and investigates the path of the rays when they strike the surface of the globe at different distances from the axis drawn between the sun and the centre of the ball. It is proved that after refraction they all meet on the opposite surface of the globe in a little section from which they emerge with their direction altered. They cut the axis at different distances from the ball: the majority, however, meet at a point distant less than half the radius of the ball, and this is the burning point. If drawings are placed in the cone of rays formed by the rays coming from it, for example a red circular surface with a black ring upon, it and this is looked at through the front of the ball, remarkable figures are seen; these were also studied very fully by Ibn al-Haytham and Kamāl al-Dīn; they were able even then to reach the same results as Schellbach at a later date.

Bibliography: J. Würschmidt, *Die Brennkugel*, in *Monatshefte für den naturwissenschaftl. Unterricht*, iv (1911), 98-113; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. xix, Über die Brechung des Lichtes in Kugeln nach Ibn al-Haitam und Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlii (1910), 15-58; cf. also the references in the article ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

KŪRA, a term designating, in the geographers and in official documents, an administrative unit within a province. It was felt as being a loan

word, certain authors giving it an Iranian origin, although a Greek origin (from χώρα) seems more likely. The exact definition of a *kūra* varies according to authors. Thus Ibn Khurradādhbih enumerates, in the same region, that of Ḥimṣ in Syria, *kūras* and *iḳlīms* at the same time, so that in this case, the two terms seem to be equivalent [see IḲLĪM]. But most of the geographers reserve the term *iḳlīm* for a region or province, call the districts *kūras*, and distinguish within these districts cantons called *tassūdj*s or *rustāḳ*s; this is distinguished in particular by Ibn al-Faḳīh (*passim*, and tr. Massé, *Abrégé*, index) and al-Muḳaddasī (*passim* and tr. Miquel, index). Usually, the *kūra* has a chef-lieu which is often called a *ḳaṣaba*.

According to Yāḳūt, the *kūra* is the equivalent of the Persian *istān*, with the *istān* comprising several *rustāḳ*s, the *rustāḳ* several *tassūdj*s, and the *tassūdj* several villages; thus Nāʾin is a *tassūdj* belonging to the *rustāḳ* of Yazd, which comes within the *istān* of Iṣṭakhr, in the province of Fārs (W. Juwaideh, *The introductory chapter of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-Buldān*, Leiden 1959, 56-8).

In mediaeval documents relating to Syria, acts of sale or *waḳfs*, the following classification is found: a *kūra* like that forming the Ghūṭa of Damascus comprises cantons (*iḳlīm*) which themselves contain villages (*ḳarya*) (see J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, *Trois actes de vente damascains du début du IVe/Xe siècle*, in *JESHO*, viii [1965], esp. 169 and n. 4, and also *Biens fonciers constitués waqf en Syrie fāṭimide*, in *JESHO*, xv [1972], 289-91). This usage of the term *iḳlīm* is apparently peculiar to Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and Yaḳūt (Juwaideh, *op. cit.*, 39-40). It is further used thus in al-Andalus, which is explicable by the influence of Syrian practices in that country.

In al-Andalus, a simple province of the original Islamic empire, there existed, as elsewhere, administrative divisions called *kūras*, of which certain ones were, in origin, "militarised zones", i.e. they held contingents of soldiers who were maintained on the revenues of land grants; these divisions were therefore termed *kūra mudjannada* (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 47-53).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(D. SOURDEL)

ḲURʿA (A.), in a technical sense designates rhapsodomancy. It is an Islamic divinatory procedure, analogous to bibliomancy; but in current usage the term refers to the drawing of lots, whatever form this may take, and this has been used following the Ḳurʾānic prohibition of *istiḳsām* [*q.v.*] and of *maysir* [*q.v.*], the two principal cleromantic techniques of pagan Arabia.

I. In the usual sense of "the drawing of lots", the term *ḳurʿa*, originally applied to "a wineskin with broad base and narrow neck" (*TA*, v, 453, l. 23) which probably served as a receptacle for the shaking of the lots, is still used in the present day in the sense of choosing and electing by lot or by vote. Monks choose among the novices those to whom they propose to give the habit, by *ḳurʿa* (the lots used being grains of wheat for "yes" and grains of barley for "no"). The polling station for legislative elections (*intikhābāt*) is called *maktab al-iḳtirāʿ*. In Ottoman Turkish circles, *ḳurʿa* was practised in the recruitment of conscripts, whence comes the expression *ḳurʿaya girmek* signifying "to reach the age of military service". A. Musil notes that in Arabia Petraea, the term *ḳurʿa* refers to a ball serving the function of a lottery ticket, made out of strips of paper bearing the names of the parties which are rolled in a ball of clay or wax and which are drawn out by persons who were not present during the inscription of the names or the rolling of the balls (*Arabia Petraea*, iii, 294).

The permanence of this usage is attested by the fact that the Prophet used to "draw lots" (*ḳāraʿa*) in order to decide which of his wives could accompany him in his travels (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1519), a procedure that he also used for the distribution of loot taken in raids (Ibn Saʿd, ii/l, 78, 82, 83), and also by the fact that a chieftain chosen by the drawing of lots was called *maḳrūʿ* (*TA*, *loc. cit.*, l, 8).

The legitimacy of recourse to *ḳurʿa* was acknowledged at a very early stage through imitation of the Prophet. *Ḥadīth* describes a number of cases where the latter resorted to *ḳurʿa* for a solution to questions of distribution (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*; al-Kasṭallānī, iv, 416 ff.).

In certain cases, where any decision is liable to appear unjust to one party or the other, the judge may resort to *ḳurʿa* (cf. al-Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Calcutta 1818, 813-14; tr. Hamilton, 2nd ed. London 1870, 565-6). Of the eleven cases of *ḳurʿa* listed in the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* (ed. Van den Berg, i, 119-20, 324; ii, 328, 404-5; iii, 99-100, 461-2) only two are considered impermissible.

II. In this list there is confusion between the drawing of lots and rhapsodomancy. On the latter, opinions vary as to its legitimacy. While al-Ḳasṭallānī, in his commentary on al-Bukhārī, concedes its legitimacy, following the Ḥanbalī Ibn Baṭṭa (d. 387/997), other authors like Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148), in *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520-5/1126-31) and Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḳarafī (d. 684/1405), quoted by al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* (ed. Būlāḳ 1284/1867), ii, 119, oppose the use of the Ḳurʾān for *faʾl* [*q.v.*]. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (d. 737/1336) expands on this prohibition in a chapter entitled *Karāhat akhdh al-faʾl min al-muṣḥaf* (cf. *Madkhal*, i, 878).

Of what does Islamic rhapsodomancy consist? Like bibliomancy, it is a divinatory procedure involving the interpretation of verses or parts of verses or prophetic words encountered by chance on opening the Ḳurʾān or the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. This practice is attested as early as the Umayyad period and the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period (cf. accounts relating to the end of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd II, d. 126/744, and to that of Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr, d. 158/775, in al-Damīrī, ii, 119; Fahd, *Divination*, 215).

This consulting of the two most venerated books in Islam takes place in various forms, as the rhapsodomantic writings that are available to us bear witness:

(1) *Ḳurʿat al-Imām Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib* or *Djaʿfariyya* (ms. Aya Sofya 1999, fols. 2-18b, 21.2 × 16 cm., a fine illuminated *naskhī* text dating from 907/1501), containing rhapsodomantic interpretations of Ḳurʾānic verses. Patronage of this art, propagated by the Shīʿa, is attributed to Djaʿfar, the Prophet's cousin, killed at the battle of Muʾta, in 8/629, because at the time of departure, one of his companions, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, drew a rhapsodomantic conclusion from a Ḳurʾānic verse relating to Hell (Ḳurʾān, XIX, 71) enunciated by the Prophet, and had a presentiment of the death of Djaʿfar.

(2) *al-Ḳurʿa al-Maʾmūniyya*, attributed to Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (d. after 256/870), containing, in the form of tables, 144 questions, followed by 144 chapters, each comprising 12 answers; cf. ms. Aya Sofya 1999, 3, fols. 59-138a: ***al-Ḳurʿa al-mubāraka***

al-Maʾmūniyya, a copy dating from 700/1300-1. The same *madjmūʿa* (fols. 19a-58a) contains an opuscule entitled *al-Ḳurʿa al-Dawazdhhamradj* (= *maʿrifat istikhrādj al-ḍamīr*) by an anonymous author, but an essay bearing an analogous title (*K. al-dawʾir-hamradj*) in the Library of the University of Istanbul (A 6292, 79 fols., 19 × 13 cm., a poor *naskhī* text from 1179/1765), carries the name of al-Kindī.

Two other works of *ḳurʿa* are attributed to al-Maʾmūn (d. 218/833): *Ḳurʿa li-ikhrādj al-faʾl wa 'l-ḍamīr* (Cairo ms. 7612, dating from 1058/1648) and *Ḳurʿa li 'l-Maʾmūn* (Cairo ms. 7613). These differ from the above and contain at the end some rhapsodomantic poems attributed to various authors.

(3) *al-Ḳurʿa al-Djawhariyya* (ms. Saray, Ahmet, III 1600, 1, fols. 1a-23b, 36.5 × 18 cm., *naskhī*, n.d.) marks a perceptible evolution in the practice of rhapsodomancy. In fact, the use of Ḳurʾānic verses interpreted according to the method of *taʾwīl* or allegorical exegesis, is supplemented by arithmomantic procedures (*ḥisāb al-djummal* or *ḥisāb al-nīm*), which play a part in *djafr* [*q.v.*] and in *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* [*q.v.*] *wa 'l-asmāʾ*. This consists, in the event, of combining the four consonants of the word *djawhar* *djdjw*, *djdjh*, *djdjr*, *djrh*, etc.). Each paragraph contains a prose interpretation of the combination, followed by another in verse, introduced by the formula *ḳāla al-rādjiz*.

In the *Ḳurʿat ḥurūf al-muʿdjam* (ms. Köprülü Fazil P. 164, fols. 57a-65b, 18 × 14 cm., *naskhī*, n.d.), the letters are arranged according to the *abdjad*, on three horizontal lines:

ʾ b dj d h w z ḥ ṭ y
k l m n s ʿ f ṣ
ḳ r sh t th kh dh ḍ ẓ gh

The inquirer selects one of these letters at random and is referred to the paragraph where the meaning of this letter is explained in verse (cf. the examples in Flügel, *Loosbücher*, 59-70).

In the *Ḳurʿat Dāniyāl*, it is numbers, formulated in two phrases, which serve as the *ḳurʿā*. These phrases are arranged in the following manner:

Ḳāraʿtu anā aḥad	*Ḳāraʿta anta aḥad*
Ḳāraʿtu anā ithnayn	*Ḳāraʿta anta ithnayn*
Ḳāraʿtu anā thalāth	*Ḳāraʿta anta thalāth*
Ḳāraʿtu anā ithnayn	*Ḳāraʿta anta aḥad, etc.*

The meaning of these formulae is explained, as in the essay discussed above, in the form of verses introduced by *ḳāla al-rādjiz* (cf. ms. AS 523, fols. 95a-103a, 26 × 17 cm., *naskhī* from 840/1436-7). In the *Fihrist*, 314, a similar essay is attributed to Daniel, to Iskandar Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn (with arrows), to Pythagoras (cf. P. Tannery, *Notices sur des fragments d'onomatomancie arithmétique*, in *Notices et Extraits*, xxxi/2 [1886], 231-60 = *Mémoires scientifiques*, ix, 17-50), to Ibn al-Murtaḥil and to the Christians.

The greatest degree of complexity attained by this type of *ḳurʿa* appears in three works which al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) claims that he translated (from Hindustani?) bearing the following titles: *al-Ḳurʿa al-muṣarriḥa bi 'l-ʿawāḳib* ("The *ḳurʿa* which gives clear indications of consequences"), *al-Ḳurʿa al-muthammana li'stinbāt al-ḍamāʾir al-mukhammana* ("The eightfold *ḳurʿa* for the discovery of inner thoughts in the mind") and *Sharḥ mazāmīr al-ḳurʿa al-muthammana* ("Commentary of the reeds of the eightfold *ḳurʿa*") (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1976, Introd., p. xlv).

(4) Too complicated for popular usage, these *ḳurʿas* have yielded place to a series of much simpler *ḳurʿas*, based essentially on the drawing of lots, such as *ḳurʿat al-anbiyāʾ*, consisting of looking for the answer to the question that one poses in the name of the Prophet on whom the finger falls; *Ḳurʿat al-ṭuyūr* (*ṭayr* to be taken here in the broad sense of "fortune", good or bad) which draws a conclusion from every omen presenting itself at the moment of consultation, including the flight of birds; *ḳurʿa maymūna* ("The *ḳurʿa* crowned with success"), etc. (cf. refs. in *Divination*, 218, n. 4). Thus the term *ḳurʿa* acquires a generic sense and serves to designate various forms of divination by lot (such as *Ḳurʿat al-raml*, *Ḳurʿat li-ikhrādj al-faʾl wa 'l-ḍāmir*, etc.).

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 214-19; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion en Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 376-7; G. Flügel, *Die Loosbücher der Muhammadaner*, in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlichsächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil. Kl. xii-xiii (1860-1), 24-74; G. Weil, *Die Königslose J. G. Wetzteins freie Nachdichtung eines arabischen Loosbüches überarbeitet und eingeleitet*, in *MSOS*, xxxi (1928), 1-69; D. C. Phillot, *Bibliomancy, divination, superstitions amongst the Persians*, in *JASB*, N.S., ii (1906), 339-42; Abdul-Kadir-e-Sarfaraz, Khan Bahadur, *Divination by the Diwan of Ḥāfiẓ*, in *M. P. Kharegat Memorial*, i, 1953, 276-94; H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 245-6. (T. Fahd)

ḲURAMA, according to Radloff (*Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1899, ii, 924) "a Turkish tribe in Turkistan"; the same authority gives the Kirgiz (i.e. Ḳazaḳ) word *ḳurama* (from *ḳura*, "to sew together pieces of cloth") with the meaning "a blanket made of pieces of cloth sewn together". In another passage (*Aus Sibirien*², Leipzig 1893, i, 225) Radloff himself says that the Kurama are "a mixed people of Özbegs and Kirgiz" and their name comes from the fact, asserted by the Kirgiz, that "they are made up of patches from many tribes" (*kura* to "patch together"). He further says that the Kurama are "a settled tribe" between Tashkent and Khodjand, to be more accurate, on the river Angren (a corruption of Āhengerān) south of Tashkent. In Russian sources we find it stated as early as 1875 that the Kurama first arose in the 18th century. But as early as 1045/1635 in the description of the wars between the Ḳazaḳ and Özbegs on the Angren we find the "leaders of the Kurama" (*sardārān-i Ḳūramā*) mentioned (Maḥmūd b. Walī, *Baḥr al-asrār*, India Office ms. 575, f. 119a).

Under the rule of the Khāns of Khoḳand in the 19th century, the word Kurama is used not only as an ethnographic but also as a geographical term and the name of an administrative division. The road from Khoḳand to Tashkent over the Kendir-Dawan pass was called the Kurama road (*Rāh-i Ḳūrama*, e.g. in the *Taʾrīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, ed. Pantusov, Kazan 1885, 238). The Kurama were ruled by a Beg who lived in the fortress of Kercuči (in the written language Kīrāwčī; on Russian maps also Kelyauči). This use of the word Kurama was retained for some time under Imperial Russian rule. In the division of the territory (*oblast*) of Sīr-Daryā into districts (*uʿezd*), what later (after 1880) became known as the "district of Tashkent" was called the "district of Kurama" (*Kuraminskiy uʿezd*). The centre of government of the district was intended to be the little town of Toy-Tübe founded in the reign of Madali Khān (1822-42; cf. Khoḳand); but the district headman (*uʿezniy načal'nik*) actually lived at Küylük on the Čirčik. Under Russian as under Khoḳand rule, the district of Kurama was of considerable economic importance as a centre of rice-growing. Russian

ethnographers put the Kurama in a class by themselves as descendants of nomads (Kirgiz, i.e. Ḳazaḳ) who have become agriculturists (Sarts, *q.v.*). In spite of the adoption of the Sart mode of life, the Kurama never quite lost their particular characteristics inherited from their nomadic ancestors.

This could still be seen in the early 20th century. Unlike the Sarts, the Kurama lived, like the Ḳazaḳ, in yurts; their wives, as with the Ḳazaḳ, were unveiled. In other respects, however, the Kurama had advanced further from their nomadic ancestors than they had at the beginning of Russian rule. At that time, Radloff and other observers could still distinguish among them the division into families. According to Radloff there were five of these Djulayr, Telău (this name is still borne by a village inhabited by the Kurama), Tama, Djagalbaylï and Tarakli. This division is now quite lost; where traces of it still exist, marriages between members of one family are no longer—as among the Ḳazaḳ—considered illegal. The fact that the Kurama are a mixed people can still be recognised; besides the mixture of different stocks among them there has been, according to Zarubın, a mixture of different social ranks. The Kurama themselves do not use this name, although they do with the addition of another ethnic (Kirgiz-Kurama, Sart-Kurama). The number of the Kurama in the district of Tashkent (formerly Kurama) was in 1917 52,335; in 1920 49,697. There were further some 9,330 Kurama in the district of Khodjand. The word with the meaning of "mixed people" is also found in the area where Turkoman languages are spoken, but these Kurama have no connection with those on the Angren.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned above): E. Schuyler, *Turkistan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 102, 326, ii, 205; Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, Petersburg 1880, i, 328; V. Masalskiy, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, Petersburg 1913, 306, 607; Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. Br. 1900, index, esp. 10-11; N. Mallićkiy, in *Protokoll Turk. Krużka Lyub. Arkh.*, iii (1898), 176-7; I. Zarubin, *Spisok narodnostey Turkestankogo Kraya*, Petersburg 1925, 12. (W. Barthold)

AL-ḲUR'ĀN (A.), the **Muslim scripture**, containing the revelations recited by Muḥammad and preserved in a fixed, written form.

Outline of the Article

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1. Etymology and Synonyms

a. Derivation and Ḳur'ānic usage. The earliest attested usage of the term *ḳur'ān* is in the Ḳur'ān itself, where it occurs about 70 times with a variety of meanings. Most Western scholars have now accepted the view developed by F. Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 33 f.) and others that *ḳur'ān* is derived from the Syriac *ḳeryānā*, "scripture reading, lesson", as used in Christian liturgy (see for example the 6th century Syriac mss., Brit. Museum, Add. 14, 432, e.g. *ḳeryānā d-yôm bāʿawātā*, "lection for the Day of Supplications", fol. 43b). See also J. Wellhausen, *ZDMG*, lxvii (1913), 634; J. Horovitz, *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 67; *Foreign vocab.*, 233 f.; Bell-Watt, 136 f. (for works abbreviated in this article, see *Bibl.*). The majority view among Muslim authorities has been that *ḳur'ān* is simply the verbal noun from *ḳara'a*, "he read" or "he recited". Both views find some support in the Ḳur'ān, where the verb *ḳara'a* does occur, but not as frequently as the usual term for reading or reciting, *talā*. In early Kūfic manuscripts we find *ḳurān* without the *hamza*, causing some authorities such as Ḳatāda and Abū ʿUbayda to derive it from *ḳarana*, "he put together" or "he bound together" (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 31 f.). Against this view it should be noted that the omission of the *hamza* was a characteristic of Meccan speech and early Kūfic Ḳur'ānic script, and that the term *ḳur'ān* is closely related to the verb *ḳara'a* in Ḳur'ānic usage. The soundest conclusion seems to be that the term *ḳur'ān* originated in the Ḳur'ān itself to represent the Syriac *ḳeryānā*, but was based on an Arabic *maṣdar* form (*fuʿlān*) from *ḳara'a*.

The verb *ḳara'a* occurs in the Ḳur'ān 17 times, usually meaning "recite", but occasionally "read (aloud?)". Where it clearly means "recite", it is always the Ḳur'ān that is recited, usually by Muḥammad (XVI, 98, XVII, 45, 106, etc.). But in one of the earliest contexts it is God who recited the revelation to Muḥammad: "When we recite it, follow its recitation" (LXXV, 18), and in one of the latest contexts (LXXIII, 20) it is the believers (see below). *Ḳara'a* means "read" in four or five verses, always with "book" (*kitāb*). In XVII, 93, Muḥammad is challenged by some unbelievers to ascend to heaven and bring down a book they can read for themselves. Three passages (XVII, 14, 71, and LXIX, 19) refer to the record books to be read at the Last Judgment, and one (X, 94) refers to some of Muḥammad's contemporaries—probably Jews and Christians—as "those who have been reciting [or reading] the Book" before him. Rudi Paret (*Übersetzung, ad locc.*) is no doubt correct in seeing in the Ḳur'ān different nuances in the meaning of *ḳara'a*, which he translates as *lesen, verlesen, rezitieren*, and *vortragen*. But there may not be as much variation in the Ḳur'ānic usage of this verb as these terms suggest, since where it

means "recite" it could be interpreted "recite (the Ḳur'ān) from written notes", and where it means "read" it could be interpreted "read aloud".

Most occurrences of the term *ḳur'ān* in the Muslim scripture date from a period of about ten years beginning when Muḥammad began to perform the *ṣalāt* publicly and ending around the time of the battle of Badr in 624. It is impossible to date the contexts precisely or determine their exact chronological order, but the general development of the Ḳur'ānic usage of *ḳur'ān* is fairly clear. (Unless otherwise indicated, all statements on dating in this article are the present writer's own conclusions. In most cases these analyses tend to support the conclusions reached by Richard Bell, who also dated individual pericopes rather than entire *sūras*—see section 5 below.)

(1) Among the earliest meanings of *ḳur'ān* is "act of reciting", seen in two passages where God addresses Muḥammad: "Ours is it to put it together and [Ours is] its *ḳur'ān*. When We recite it follow its *ḳur'ān*" (LXXV, 17 f.), and "Observe the *ṣalāt* at the sinking of the sun until the darkening of the night, and [observe] the *ḳur'ān* at the dawn; surely the *ḳur'ān* at the dawn is well attested" (XVII, 78). This last verse provides useful insight into the relationship between the *ṣalāt* and the *ḳur'ān* at the time when both were just being instituted. (2) In some verses *ḳur'ān* means "an individual passage recited [by Muḥammad]". In LXXII, 1 f. the Prophet is informed that "a number of the jinn listened, and said: 'Verily, we have heard a *ḳur'ān*, a wonder, which guides to rectitude, so we have believed in it'." See also X, 61, XIII, 31, and cf. X, 15. (3) In a large majority of contexts, dating mostly from the late Meccan and very early Medinan years, *ḳur'ān*, usually with the definite article, has a complex meaning involving several elements. It is the "revelation" (*tanzīl*) sent down by God upon Muḥammad (XX, 2 ff., LXXVI, 23, etc.). It is sent down at intervals (XVII, 106, XXV, 32), and in some contexts it appears to be something in God's possession that is larger than what has so far been "sent down": "What We send down of *al-ḳur'ān* is a healing and mercy to the believers" (XVII, 82). In other contexts *al-ḳur'ān* refers to a collection of revelations in Muḥammad's possession, which he is commanded to recite (XXVII, 91 f.; cf. XVI, 98, XVII, 45). Its liturgical setting is seen in a number of passages, such as VII, 204: "So when *al-ḳur'ān* is recited [by Muḥammad], listen to it and keep silent" and LXXXIV, 20 f.: "Then what ails them, that they believe not, and when *al-ḳur'ān* is recited to them they do not bow?" Specific references to other Muslims reciting parts of *al-ḳur'ān* occur only in one or two Medinan passages, such as LXXIII, 20, where the believers are told to recite during the night vigil only as much of *al-ḳur'ān* as is convenient or easy (*mā tayassar*) for them. (4) In a number of contexts that appear to be early Medinan, dating from before LXXIII, 20, the *ḳur'ān* (sometimes without the definite article) is said to be an Arabic version of "the Book" (*al-kitāb*): "By the clear Book. Behold We have made it an Arabic *ḳur'ān*" (XLIII, 2 f.; see also XII, 1 f., XLI, 2 f., and other verses quoted below). The closest the Ḳur'ān comes to using the term *al-ḳur'ān* with its present meaning as the name of the Muslim scripture is where it is mentioned with the Torah and the Gospel in IX, 111, in a construction that suggests three parallel scriptures. But it must be remembered that the revelation was not yet complete, and the final scripture was not compiled until after Muḥammad's death.

b. Synonyms in the Ḳur'ān. The meaning of the term *ḳur'ān* and the origin of the Muslim scripture cannot be understood fully without taking into consideration the Ḳur'ānic usage of several other closely related terms, especially *āya*, *kitāb*, and *sūra*, but also *dhikr*, *mathānī*, *ḥikma*, and others. Each of these terms has its own distinct, basic meaning in the Ḳur'ān, but in some contexts their usages converge with that of *ḳur'ān*.

The basic meaning of *āya*, like the related Hebrew *ōth* and the Syriac *āthā*, is "sign", in the sense of a token of some unseen reality or truth. Its derivation is uncertain. It would most naturally come from *'-w-h*, corresponding with the Hebrew *'āwāh*, but such a root does not exist in Arabic, and the Arabic form would be difficult to explain as a borrowing from Hebrew or Syriac (see *Foreign vocab.*, 72 f.). *Āya* and its plural *āyāt* occur in the Ḳur'ān almost 400 times, most frequently in reference to natural phenomena that confirm God's power and bounty and call for gratitude from man. These are the so-called "sign-passages", discussed below in 7.b. In other contexts *āya* refers to some extraordinary event or miracle that confirms the truth of the message of a prophet. Then in late Meccan or possibly very early Medinan passages, probably in response to the continuing demands for a miracle from Muḥammad, *āya* takes on a new meaning—"revealed message". And finally in a number of Medinan passages *āya* comes to be used for the basic unit of revelation. Later Muslim scholars interpreted *āya* in these passages to mean "verse", but the Ḳur'ān gives no indication as to the length of these units of revelation, except that in some contexts they are said to be parts of the *ḳur'ān*, the *kitāb*, and possibly of a *sūra*.

Kitāb, literally "book, writing", occurring 255 times in the singular and six times in the plural (*kutub*), is among the most difficult terms in the Ḳur'ān to interpret. Only rarely does it refer to some everyday type of writing, e.g. a letter sent by Solomon to the Queen of Sheba (XXVII, 28 f.), and a document of manumission (XXIV, 33). Sometimes it refers to a record of men's deeds (XVII, 71, XVIII, 49, XXXIX, 69, etc.), events that have been prescribed (XVII, 58, XXXV, 11, etc.), or God's knowledge (VI, 59, X, 61, XI, 6, etc.). The commentators tend to interpret these passages as referring to actual celestial books, a view also adopted by most Western writers on the topic. A. Jeffery (*The Qur'ān as scripture*, in *MW*, XL [1950], 47-50) saw references to the ancient Near Eastern Record Book, Book of Decrees, and Inventory Book, while G. Widengren (*Muḥammad, the apostle of God, and his ascension*, 1955, 115-22) argued that these passages referred to a single "Heavenly Book". There is no conclusive evidence in the Ḳur'ān for either view, and there are serious problems with any literal interpretation of these verses, all of which could just as well be taken as metaphorical references to God's knowledge and decrees. A similar interpretation is possible for those verses usually regarded as referring to the heavenly original of the Ḳur'ān, e.g., "Indeed it is a noble *ḳur'ān* in a treasured *kitāb* touched only by the purified" (LVI, 77-9), "Nay, it is a glorious *ḳur'ān* in a preserved tablet" (LXXXV, 21 f.), and "By the clear *kitāb*. Behold We have made it an Arabic *ḳur'ān* . . . it is in the *umm al-kitāb* with Us" (XLIII, 1-4; cf. III, 7, and XIII, 39, which are even more ambiguous). There is in fact no clear indication in these verses or anywhere in the Ḳur'ān of a heavenly original or archetype of the Muslim scripture. This concept has been read into the text by the

later commentators. By far the most frequent usage of *kitāb* in the Ḳur'ān is in reference to God's revelation to Muḥammad and to certain religious communities that existed before and during his time, especially the Jews and Christians, who are called "the people of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*). This complex series of ideas involving the Ḳur'ān, the Book, Muḥammad, and the People of the Book is discussed in more detail in section 2 below.

The term *sūra*, occurring in the Ḳur'ān nine times in the singular and once in the plural (*suwar*), seems to be derived from the Syriac *ṣūrṭā*, *sūrthā*, "scripture, scripture reading" (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 31; *Foreign vocab.*, 180-2). In the Ḳur'ān *sūra* refers to a unit of revelation and could be translated "scripture" or "revelation". Several verses mention a *sūra* being "sent down" (IX, 64, 86, 124, 127, XLVII, 20, etc.), in contexts that are similar to some Ḳur'ānic usages of *āya*, *ḳur'ān*, and *kitāb*. And Muḥammad's opponents, who are dissatisfied with what he has been reciting, are challenged to "produce a *sūra* like it" (II, 23, X, 38) or "ten *suwar* like it" (XI, 13). Cf. XXVIII, 49, where the challenge is to produce a *kitāb* from God. The Ḳur'ān gives no indication as to how long these units of revelation were. They were most likely only parts of the present *sūras*.

The Ḳur'ānic usages of *ḳur'ān*, *āya*, *kitāb*, and *sūra* converge at the following points: (1) *Ḳur'ān*, *āya*, and *sūra* are each used sometimes for the basic unit of revelation, a pericope consisting most likely of several verses (e.g. X, 61, II, 106, and X, 38, respectively), and *kitāb* may have the same meaning in XXVIII, 49, and a few other places. (2) *Ḳur'ān* (e.g. XXXIV, 31) and *kitāb* (e.g. II, 89, VI, 92, 155, VII, 2) sometimes mean "a scripture", and *sūra* may have this meaning in XXIV, 1. (3) Occasionally *ḳur'ān* and *kitāb* are used for the revelation of God as a whole, only part of which has been sent down, e.g. XVII, 82, quoted above, and XXXV, 31: "And what We have revealed to you [Muḥammad] of the *kitāb* is the truth, confirming what was before it". (4) Usually, however, there is a distinction. *Kitāb*, when referring to the revelation, usually means the "Book of God", the revelation as a whole, while *ḳur'ān* usually means that part of the revelation that has been sent down to Muḥammad, e.g. X, 37: "This *ḳur'ān* is . . . a distinct setting forth of the *kitāb* in which there is no doubt" and XII, 1 f.: "These are the *āyāt* of the clear *kitāb*. Verily We have sent it down as an Arabic *ḳur'ān*".

Other technical terms used in the Ḳur'ān for the revelation being sent down to Muḥammad include the following. (1) Three nouns from the verb *dhakara*, "to remember, to mention", are used for the revelation in the sense of a reminder or warning: *tadhkira* in LXXIII, 19, LXXVI, 29, etc.; *dhikrā* in VI, 90, XI, 120, etc.; and *dhikr* in the formula, "It is nothing but a *dhikr* to the worlds", at the end of the *sūras* XXXVIII, LXVIII, LXXXI, etc., in the introductory formula to XXXVIII where it is connected with *al-ḳur'ān*, and in VII, 63, 69, etc. (2) The term *mathānī* has puzzled Muslim commentators and given rise to several theories among Western interpreters of the Ḳur'ān. Even if it is a derivative of the Hebrew *mishnāh* (*Koran. Untersuchungen*, 26-8) or the Syriac or Aramaic *mathnithā* (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 114-16), the term *mathānī* must have been influenced by the Arabic *thanā*, "to double, repeat"; cf. *mathnā*, "by twos", in IV, 3, XXXIV, 46, and XXXV, 1. Thus it is probably best translated as "repetitions" (Bell, *Trans.*, 247; Blachère, *Trad.*, 290). But it refers to the revelation sent down to Muḥammad: "We have given thee seven of the *mathānī* and the wondrous *ḳur'ān*" (XV, 87), and "God has sent down the best of accounts, in agreement with itself, *mathānī* at which the skins of those who fear their Lord do creep" (XXXIX, 23). The commentators usually take the "seven *mathānī*" to be the seven verses of the Fātiḥa [*q.v.*]. A more likely interpretation is that this term refers to the punishment-stories (see 6.d and 7.d below), which Bell suggested may have once formed a collection separate from the Ḳur'ān (Bell-Watt, 134f., 143f.). For the literature, see *Foreign vocab.*, 257 f., and Paret, *Kommentar*, 279f. (3) *Ḥikma*, "wisdom", probably from the Aramaic *ḥekhmā*, is used in several Medinan passages for the revelation or part of it. God sends down the *kitāb* and the *ḥikma* to Muḥammad (II, 231, IV, 113, etc.). Muḥammad recites the *āyāt*, and teaches the *kitāb* and the *ḥikma* (LXII, 2). And the *āyāt* and the *ḥikma* are recited in the Muslims' homes (XXXIII, 34). These verses should probably be interpreted in the light of IV, 105, where it is said that Muḥammad is to judge (*taḥkum*) mankind on the basis of the Book sent down to him. For the literature, see *Foreign vocab.*, 111, and Paret, *Kommentar*, 68. The term *ḳur'ān* as the name of the Muslim scripture acquired connotations of these terms and others used for the revelation "sent down" to Muḥammad; see also Bell-Watt, 145-7, and Paret, *Kommentar*, 19, on *furḳān*.

2. Muḥammad and the Ḳur'ān

The Muslim scripture and Muḥammad's prophetic experience are so closely linked that one cannot be fully understood without the other. The orthodox view of the dramatic form of the Ḳur'ān is that God is the speaker throughout, Muḥammad is the recipient, and Gabriel is the intermediary agent of revelation—regardless of who may appear to be the speaker and addressee. An analysis of the text shows that the situation is considerably more complex than this. In what appear to be the oldest parts of the Ḳur'ān, the speaker and the source of the revelation are not indicated. In some passages (XCI, 1-10, CI, CII, CIII, etc.) there is not even any indication that the message is from a deity (on this, cf. Muir, *Mohammed*, 39 ff.), and in some (LXXXI, 15-21, LXXXIV, 16-19, XCII, 14-21, etc.) Muḥammad seems to be the speaker. In the earliest passages that mention Muḥammad's God, he is not named but is spoken of in the third person, usually as "my Lord", "your Lord", etc. (LI, 1-23, LII, 1-16, LXXIV, 1-10, LXXX, 1-32, LXXXIV, 1-19, LXXXVIII, 1-22, XCVI, 1-8, etc.). From LIII, 10, LXXXI, 23, and other verses it is clear that Muḥammad had visions of God, and at least in the Meccan years it was the voice of God himself, and not some intermediary, that Muḥammad heard. In the earliest passages to indicate the source of the revelation, God is the speaker and the direct source, e.g., "We shall cast upon thee [Muḥammad] a mighty word" (LXXIII, 5) and "We shall cause thee to recite without forgetting" (LXXXVII, 6). And a number of late Meccan and early Medinan passages speak of God reciting the *āyāt*, the *ḳur'ān*, and the *kitāb* to Muḥammad (II, 252, III, 108, XLV, 6, etc.).

But during the same period a series of passages have the effect of elevating God from direct revelation. This is done in two ways: the message is said to be brought down by certain intermediaries, and it is connected in some way with "the Book" (*al-kitāb*). Both of these concepts occur in XLII, 51 ff., where it is explicitly denied that God speaks directly to Muḥammad: "It is not fitting that God should

speak to any mortal except by inspiration (*waḥy*), or from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger to inspire whatever He wills .... Thus have We inspired you [Muḥammad] with a spirit of Our bidding (*rūḥ^an min amrinā*); you did not know [before] what the Book and faith were". The role of this spirit as the agent of revelation is seen more clearly in XXVI, 192 f.: "Surely it is the revelation of the Lord of all beings, brought down by the faithful spirit (*al-rūḥ al-amīn*)" and XVI, 102: "The spirit of holiness (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*) has brought it down from your Lord in truth". Then in the fairly early Medinan passage, II, 97, the agent of revelation for the first and only time in the Ḳur'ān is said to be Gabriel. On the basis of this verse and a number of *ḥadīth* accounts, the commentators have identified the "spirit" in the earlier passages as Gabriel, and have placed Gabriel at the very beginning of Muḥammad's ministry as the agent of revelation. Also, contrary to popular belief, Gabriel is never identified in the Ḳur'ān as one of the angels, and the angels are never said to be agents of revelation (XVI, 2, comes the closest). The angels may be the speakers in a few passages such as XIX, 64 ff. and XXXVII, 161-6, just as Muḥammad or Abraham is sometimes the speaker; but there is no need to interpret the plural "we" as referring to the angels in the numerous passages that also refer to God in the third person. On the "say" passages, in which Muḥammad is sometimes the speaker, see 7.c below.

The Ḳur'ān also speaks of Muḥammad's human informants, at first in contexts involving accusations made against the Prophet by his opponents: "The unbelievers say: 'This is nothing but a fraud [Muḥammad] has devised, and others have helped him with it' ... 'Tales of the ancients he has written down; they are recited to him morning and evening'" (XXV, 4f.). Except for the element of fraud, the Ḳur'ān does not deny what is reported in this passage. The response given in XVI, 103, to a similar charge seems to concede that Muḥammad had a foreign informant: "We know very well that they are saying: 'It is only a mortal who is teaching him'. But the language of him whom they suggest is foreign, and this is clear Arabic speech". Here again the accusation is not denied; there is simply insistence that the actual wording of the Ḳur'ān did not come from the informant. Several Medinan passages give the impression that Muḥammad actively sought information from the scriptures of the Jews, since they are condemned for concealing their Book from him. Some mention written copies that were shown to Muḥammad or his followers, e.g. VI, 91: "the Book Moses brought ... you have put on parchments you show, but you hide much of it". Others such as II, 79, accuse the Jews of writing out passages of their own and then saying "This is from God". See also II, 77, 140, 174, III, 71, and V, 15. In these passages it is not difficult to see Muḥammad receiving stories and other information from various informants, including Jews and Christians, and then in moments of inspiration reworking the material into its Ḳur'ānic form. Such a view, although considered unorthodox today, is not inconsistent with some reports found in the *ḥadīth* collections and other early Muslim sources.

This raises the question of the relationship between the Ḳur'ān and the scriptures of the Jews and Christians. Meccan and very early Medinan parts of the Ḳur'ān speak of a single revelation or Book, sometimes called the Book of God (*kitāb Allāh*), and specify those to whom it had been "given" previously: the prophets (II, 213), the seed of Abraham (XXIX, 27, LVII, 25 f., etc.), the Children of Israel (XL, 53, XLV, 16), Moses (II, 53, 87, VI, 154, etc.), John the Baptist (XIX, 12) and Jesus (XIX, 30, etc.). In II, 101 and III, 23 (cf. III, 93) the *kitāb Allāh* is specifically identified with the scriptures of the *ahl al-kitāb*, "people of the Book". This expression, which occurs over thirty times (II, 105, 109, III, 64 f., IV, 123, 153, etc.—all Medinan), is often interpreted as "the people who have a scripture". But it more likely means "the people who have (previously) been given the Book of God", since it is synonymous with the Ḳur'ānic expressions *alladhīna ūtū 'l-kitāb*, "those who have been given the Book", in II, 101, 144, 145, III, 19 f., IV, 131, etc., and *alladhīna ātaynāhumu 'l-kitāb*, "those to whom We have given the Book", in II, 121, VI, 20, 114, XIII, 36, etc. The often-discussed term *ummiyyūn* (II, 78, III, 20, 75, LXII, 2) seems to be the antithesis of these three expressions, thus meaning "those who have not been given the Book previously". And this is almost certainly the sense of the singular, *ummī*, which is applied to Muḥammad in VII, 157 f. That is, instead of sending to the Arabs and the world a missionary from among those who had already been given the Book (the *ahl al-kitāb*), God chose to send a prophet, Muḥammad, from among those who previously had not been given the Book (*al-nabī al-ummī*). There is no basis in the Ḳur'ān for the traditional view that *ummī* means "illiterate" (see UMMĪ; *Gesch. des Qor.* i, 14-17; Bell-Watt, 33 f.; and Blachère, *Introd.*, 6-12). After the so-called "break with the Jews" in Medina around the time of the battle of Badr, the Book came to be distinguished from the Torah and the Gospel (III, 48, V, 110, etc.) and identified more closely with the revelation being sent down to Muḥammad (see, e.g., the Medinan formulas, XII, 1 f., XLI, 3, XLIII, 2 f., etc.). And the expression "those who have been given the Book" became "those who have been given a portion (*naṣīb*) of the Book" (III, 23, IV, 44, 51, etc.). About the same time the plural "scriptures" (*kutub*) was introduced in two credal statements in II, 285 and IV, 136 (cf. LXVI, 12, XCVIII, 3).

In late Meccan and early Medinan passages Muḥammad is said to have been challenged to produce a book the people could read for themselves (e.g. XVII, 93), and his followers complained that they did not have a scripture like those of the Jews and Christians (VI, 155 ff.), The establishment of an independent, Muslim community in Medina, distinct from the *ahl al-kitāb*, was marked by the granting of a separate Islamic scripture that was to serve as a criterion (cf. *furḳān*) for confirming the truth of previous scriptures (III, 3, IV, 105, V, 48, etc.). The evidence seems to indicate that Muḥammad began to compile a written scripture some time in the early Medinan years, but that the responsibilities of leading the rapidly growing Muslim community forced him to leave the task unfinished (see Bell-Watt, 141-4). That Muḥammad participated in and directed the task of preparing a written scripture seems certain. This is to some extent supported by the *ḥadīth*, where we are told that he dictated to scribes and instructed them on how to arrange the revelations, sometimes inserting a new passage into an older one (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, *bāb* 2 f., Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 2, Ibn Sa'd, iii/2, 59). The Prophet most likely did not do the actual writing and editing himself, especially in Medina where he had scribes to perform these menial tasks (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 46f.). But it is not unlikely that Muḥammad did occasionally write out the revelations himself (see e.g. XXV, 4-6, quoted in part above, and Bell-Watt, 36, on this passage). The task

of preparing the written scripture included some revision and alteration of earlier revelations (see Bell-Watt, 89-101). The Ḳur'ān itself acknowledges that changes were made in the revelation: "For whatever *āya* We abrogate or cause [you, i.e. Muḥammad] to forget, We bring [another that is] better or like it" (II, 106), and "When We substitute one *āya* for another—and God knows best what He is sending down—they say: 'You [Muḥammad] are a mere forger'" (XVI, 101). A similar verse, XXII, 52, gives another explanation for changes in the revelation: "We have never sent any messenger or prophet before you [Muḥammad], but Satan cast [something] into his thoughts when he was yearning [for a message from God]. But God abrogates what Satan casts in, and then God adjusts his *āyāt*". These verses seem to be responses to complaints or accusations about changes in the revelation. The Ḳur'ān gives three explanations: that Muḥammad sometimes forgot parts, that Satan inserted something into the revelation, and that God simply replaced some parts with others as good or better. The term *āya* in these passages came to be interpreted as "verse", but the Ḳur'ān gives no indication as to the length of these units of revelation that were withdrawn and replaced by others.

In his commentary on XXII, 52, and in his *Annales* (i, 1192 f.), al-Ṭabarī records several versions of a curious story in which Muḥammad is said to have recited the two short verses, "These are the exalted ones (*al-gharānīḳ* = cranes), Whose intercession is to be hoped for", just after LIII, 19 f., which mention the Arabian goddesses, al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt [*q.vv.*]. The Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], who were in the mosque listening to Muḥammad, then prostrated with the Muslims at the *sadjda* at the end of the *sūra*, and some of Muḥammad's followers who immigrated to Abyssinia to avoid persecution returned to Mecca. But before they arrived, Gabriel informed Muḥammad that these two verses had been inserted into the revelation by Satan. God then revealed XXII, 52, to comfort Muḥammad, and then LIII, 21-7, to abrogate the two *gharānīḳ* verses. Hostility between Muḥammad and the Ḳuraysh resumed, and the immigrants had to arrange for protection before re-entering Mecca. This story of the "Satanic verses" has been accepted as historical by most Western writers who mention it, since they find it unthinkable that it could have been invented (e.g. *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 101-3; Watt, *Mecca*, 103; A. Guillaume, *Islam*, 189 f.). Although there could be some historical basis for the story, in its present form it is certainly a later, exegetical fabrication. Sūra LIII, 1-20 and the end of the *sūra* are not a unity, as is claimed by the story; XXII, 52, is later than LIII, 21-7, and is almost certainly Medinan (see Bell, *Trans.*, 316, 322); and several details of the story—the mosque, the *sadjda*, and others not mentioned in the short summary above—do not belong to a Meccan setting. Caetani (*Annali*, i, 279-81) and J. Burton ("*Those are the high-flying cranes*", in *JSS*, xv [1970], 246-65) have argued against the historicity of the story on other grounds, Caetani on the basis of weak *isnāds*. Burton concluded that the story was invented by jurists so that XXII, 52, could serve as a Ḳur'ānic proof-text for their abrogation theories.

3. History of the Ḳur'ān after 632

The history of the text and the recitation of the Ḳur'ān after the death of Muḥammad in 632 is still far from clear. The development of the canon involved three main stages, each of which is difficult to reconstruct and date: the collection and arrangement of the text from oral and written sources, the establishment of the final consonantal text, and the process by which several readings, i.e., different ways of vocalising the text, came to be accepted as canonical or "revealed". According to the orthodox view, the Ḳur'ān was perfectly preserved in oral form from the beginning and was written down during Muḥammad's lifetime or shortly thereafter when it was "collected" and arranged for the first time by his Companions. The complete consonantal text is believed to have been established during the reign of the third caliph, ʿUthmān (644-56), and the final vocalised text in the early 4th/10th century. Most Western scholars have accepted the main points of this traditional view. But there are problems here. In addition to the usual difficulties of evaluating Muslim sources that were regulated by the science of *ḥadīth*, the task of reconstructing the history of the Ḳur'ān is further complicated by the fact that the classical literature records thousands of textual variants, which, however, are not found in any extant manuscripts known to Western scholars. Several valuable works on the history of the Ḳur'ān were written during the 4th/10th century (see below), but later Muslim scholars, with just a few exceptions, have shown little interest in the problem of reconstructing the history of the canon. The basic European works continue to be the second edition of Th. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns*, especially Part II, *Die Sammlung des Qorāns* (1919), ed. and revised by F. Schwally, and Part III, *Die Geschichte des Korantexts* (1938), by G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, and A. Jeffery's *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān* (1937).

a. The "collection" of the Ḳur'ān. The most widely accepted story of the "first collection" of the Ḳur'ān places an official, written copy of the entire text in the reign of the first caliph, Abū Bakr (632-4), thus within two years of the Prophet's death. According to the dominant version of this story (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, *bāb* 3; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, ix, 9), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*] became concerned that so many Ḳur'ān reciters (*ḳurrā'* [*q.v.*]) had been killed at the battle of al-Yamāma. So he suggested to the caliph that a complete, written text of the Ḳur'ān be prepared so none of the revelation would be lost. Abū Bakr hesitated, saying "How dare I do something the Prophet did not do?", but ʿUmar convinced him of the need. Abū Bakr then sent for Zayd b. Thābit [*q.v.*], one of the Prophet's secretaries, and said: "You are a wise young man, and we trust you. And you used to write down the revelations for the Prophet, so go and find [all the fragments of] the Ḳur'ān and assemble it together". Zayd also hesitated, saying "How dare I do something the Prophet did not do?" But Abū Bakr convinced him of the need, and Zayd collected all the fragments of the Ḳur'ān "whether written on palm branches or thin stones or preserved in the hearts of men", and he wrote it out on "sheets" (*ṣuḥuf*) of equal size and gave them to Abū Bakr. When ʿUmar became caliph in 634 he acquired the "sheets", and on his death they passed to his daughter, Ḥafṣa, a widow of the Prophet.

This story makes several key points, either explicitly or by implication, that would be of considerable significance for our understanding of the history of the Ḳur'ān if they could be accepted: that Muḥammad did not leave a complete written text, that nothing of the Ḳur'ān was lost, that it was preserved primarily in oral form and that any written fragments were on crude materials, that the first

official recension, authorised by the first caliph, was also the first complete collection, etc. Muslim tradition came to accept this story as a historical account, and these points as facts. But there are serious problems with this account. For one thing, most of the key points in this story are contradicted by alternative accounts in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections and other early Muslim sources (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 131; *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 15-18; Burton, *Collection*, 120-8). According to one *ḥadīth*, ʿUmar once asked about a verse and was told that it had been in the possession of someone who was killed at Yamāma, so he gave the command and the Ḳur'ān was collected, and "ʿUmar was the first to collect the Ḳur'ān" (*Maṣāḥif*, 10; *Itḳān*, i, 58). Other accounts say that Abū Bakr began the collection and ʿUmar completed it, or that Abū Bakr was the first to collect the Ḳur'ān on sheets (*ṣuḥuf*), while ʿUmar was the first to collect the Ḳur'ān into a single volume (*muṣḥaf*). Others say ʿUmar ordered the compilation, but died before it was completed (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 212). In fact, each of the first four caliphs is reported to have been the first person to collect the Ḳur'ān (*Maṣāḥif*, 10; *Itḳān*, i, 57-9). And several alternative accounts state explicitly that no official collection of the Ḳur'ān existed prior to ʿUthmān's. Caetani (*Annali*, ii/1, 713) and Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 20) have questioned the significance of the al-Yamāma battles as an occasion for an official collection of the Ḳur'ān, pointing out that very few men distinguished for their knowledge of the Ḳur'ān are mentioned in the lists of those who died there (Schwally found two). Even more significant is the fact that there is no evidence that the alleged collection under Abū Bakr was ever accepted as authoritative. Finally, this story fails to acknowledge the role of written copies of parts of the Ḳur'ān left by Muḥammad. These important documents for the history of the Ḳur'ān, alluded to in the statement that Zayd "used to write down the revelations for the Prophet", must have played a significant role in the preparation of an official text. There are thus sufficient grounds for rejecting the historicity of this story, the most likely purposes of which were to obscure Muḥammad's role in the preparation of a written Ḳur'ān, to reduce ʿUthmān's role in establishing an official text, and to attempt to establish the priority of the ʿUthmānic text over those of the (pre-ʿUthmānic) Companion codices. All three purposes would be accomplished by establishing the belief that the first official collection of the Ḳur'ān was prepared during the short reign of Abū Bakr and served as the basis for ʿUthmān's rescension. See *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 11-27; Bell-Watt, 40-2; Blachère, *Introd.*, 27-34; also Burton, *Collection*, 117-37 (on Burton's view, see below).

The accounts of the collection of the Ḳur'ān under ʿUthmān assert that the final consonantal text was established during the last half of his reign, or about twenty years after Muḥammad's death. According to the dominant version (al-Bukhārī, *loc. cit.*; *Maṣāḥif*, 18 f.; *Itḳān*, i, 58 f.; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, ix, 14 f.; *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 47-50), the occasion for the final collection of the Ḳur'ān was a dispute between Muslim forces from ʿIrāḳ and Syria over the correct way of reciting it during communal prayers while on an expedition to Armenia and Ādharbāydjān. The general, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yaman, reported this problem to the caliph and asked him to establish a unified text. ʿUthmān obtained the "sheets" from Ḥafṣa and appointed a commission consisting of Zayd b. Thābit and three prominent Meccans, and instructed them to copy the sheets into several volumes following the dialect of Ḳuraysh, the main tribe of Mecca. When the task was finished ʿUthmān kept one copy in Medina and sent others to Kūfa, Baṣra, Damascus, and, according to some accounts, Mecca (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 112 f.), with an order that all other copies of the Ḳur'ān were to be destroyed. This was done everywhere except in Kūfa, where Ibn Masʿūd and his followers refused. The details differ in various versions of this story (*ibid.*, 50-4), mainly on the number and identity of the commissioners and the cities that received official copies.

This second collection story stands up to critical analysis no better than the first. Western scholars now accept the view argued by Schwally (*ibid.*, 57-62) and others that the Ḳur'ān is not in the dialect of the Ḳuraysh (see 6.a below). If this is so, one of the two main points of the story is discredited, and it is difficult to see what role the commission might have played. Schwally also showed (54-7) that those named in the various accounts are unlikely candidates for such a commission appointed by ʿUthmān, and he gave good reasons for doubting that the caliph would have ordered all extant copies of the Ḳur'ān to be destroyed. It also seems unlikely that differences in the way the Ḳur'ān was recited during the daily prayers would have caused serious dissension among Muslim forces involved in the initial conquests. These parts of the story all hint of a later historical setting. The Ḥafṣa element seems to be simply a device for tying the two collection stories together, while establishing an authoritative chain of custody for an official text going back almost to the time of the death of the Prophet, and explaining why this official text was not generally known (see Bell-Watt, 41 f.). For several alternative accounts that give completely different reasons and circumstances for ʿUthmān's order for an authorised text, see Burton, *Collection*, 138-59.

We thus have before us another story whose particulars cannot be accepted. But this does not mean necessarily that the story has no historical basis at all. The unanimity with which an official text is attributed to ʿUthmān, in the face of a lack of convincing evidence to the contrary, leads most Western scholars to accept one central point of this story: that the Ḳur'ān we have today, at least in terms of the number and arrangement of the *sūras* and the basic structure of the consonantal text, goes back to the time of ʿUthmān, under whose authority the official text was produced. This was, however, certainly not a *textus receptus ne varietur*, even in terms of its consonantal form (see below). Most Western scholars also accept one other element of the story: that Zayd played some role in establishing the ʿUthmānic text. Just what that role might have been is difficult to say; alternative accounts give several possibilities (see Burton, *Collection*, 117-26, 141-6, 150, 165-7, etc.). Burton contends that both collection stories are completely fictitious and that Zayd's prominence in the various accounts is due solely to the fact that he had been a young secretary to the Prophet and an early Ḳur'ān specialist who happened also to be one of the latest surviving Companions, dying *ca.* 45/665 (*Collection*, 120-4, 228, etc.). Burton has raised serious doubts about the role of Zayd in establishing the official text, and he has shown that the sciences of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* influenced the proliferation of Ḳur'ān collection stories; but he has not demonstrated the likelihood of his main contention, that the collection stories were fabricated by later jurists to provide support for their abrogation theories by hiding the fact that the final text of the

Ḳur'ān was produced, not by ʿUthmān, but by the Prophet himself.

b. Variant readings and Companion codices. The ʿUthmānic text tradition was only one of several that existed during the first four centuries A.H. The general view is that ʿUthmān canonised the Medinan text tradition and that this one was most likely the closest to the original revelation. Other text traditions, attributed to several Companions of the Prophet, are said to have flourished in Kūfa, Baṣra and Syria. The sources speak sometimes of various "readings" (*ḳirā'āt*, sing. *ḳirā'a*), i.e. different ways of reading or reciting the text, sometimes of "codices" (*maṣāḥif*, sing. *muṣḥaf*). On the usage of these two terms, see ḲIRĀ'A and *Materials*, 13 f. A number of works on the "disagreement of the codices" (*ikhtilāf al-maṣāḥif*) are said to have been written by Muslim scholars of the first four centuries. Ibn al-Nadīm lists eleven such works (*Fihrist*, 16; tr. Dodge, 79, which is incomplete), including the *K. Ikhtilāf maṣāḥif al-Shām wa 'l-Ḥidjāz wa 'l-ʿIrāḳ* by Ibn ʿĀmir al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 118/736), *K. Ikhtilāf maṣāḥif ahl al-Madīna wa-ahl al-Kūfa wa-ahl al-Baṣra* by al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/805), *K. Ikhtilāf ahl al-Kūfa wa 'l-Baṣra wa 'l-Shām fi 'l-maṣāḥif* by Abū Zakariyā al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), *K. Ikhtilāf al-maṣāḥif wa-djamʿ al-ḳirā'āt* by al-Madā'inī (d. *ca.* 231/845), and three works each called simply *K. al-Maṣāḥif* by Ibn Abī Dāwūd (d. 316/928), Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/939), and Ibn Ashta al-Iṣfahānī (d. 360/970). Of these works, most of which have not survived, the last two seem to have been the most complete and the most highly regarded by later scholars. The shorter and somewhat earlier work by Ibn Abī Dāwūd, son of the famous traditionist, was edited by A. Jeffery and published with his *Materials*, which lists several thousand variants taken from over thirty "main sources" (see 17 f.), including the classical commentaries by al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī, and al-Rāzī, and various works on *ḳirā'āt*, *shawādhdh*, *gharīb al-Ḳur'ān*, grammar, etc., including the *Maʿānī* by al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), the *Mukhtaṣar* by Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/979), and the *Muḥtasab* by Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) (see *Bibl.*). The comments made by al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) on variants (e.g. on XXIII, 106) show that the text of the Ḳur'ān was not fixed *ne varietur* in his day.

Most often mentioned in the sources are the "readings" or "codices" of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy, and Abū Mūsā, said to have been dominant in Kūfa, Syria and Baṣra respectively. All three codices are said to have been begun during Muḥammad's lifetime. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [see IBN MASʿŪD] (d. *ca.* 33/653), an early convert who became a personal servant to Muḥammad and accompanied him on many major occasions, is reported to have learned some seventy *sūras* directly from the Prophet, who appointed him as one of the first teachers of Ḳur'ān recitation (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 107). Later he was appointed to an administrative post in Kūfa by the caliph ʿUmar, and there he became a leading authority on the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*. Ibn Masʿūd is consistently reported to have refused to destroy his copy of the Ḳur'ān or stop teaching it when the ʿUthmānic recension was made official. Also, there are reports that many Muslims in Kūfa continued to follow his reading for some time after his death, thus dividing the community there. Ubayy b. Kaʿb [*q.v.*] (d. 18/639 or 29/649 or later), a Medinan Muslim who served as a secretary for the Prophet, seems to have been even more prominent as a Ḳur'ān specialist than Ibn Masʿūd during Muḥammad's lifetime. There are reports that he was responsible for retaining verbatim certain important revelations, apparently on legal matters, which from time to time the Prophet asked him to recite. Ubayy appears frequently and in a variety of roles in the various collection stories. For instance, the "sheets" of Ubayy are sometimes mentioned instead of those of Ḥafṣa, and he sometimes appears in place of Zayd, dictating the Ḳur'ān to a corps of scribes (see *Materials*, 114; Burton, *Collection*, 124 ff.). The accounts saying that when the ʿUthmānic text was made official, Ubayy destroyed his codex while Ibn Masʿūd refused to do so may be examples of historical telescoping, meaning that the people of Syria (possibly over a period of many years) gave up their distinctive reading (i.e. that of Ubayy), while the people of Kūfa refused to give up theirs (i.e. that of Ibn Masʿūd). This would explain the later dates sometimes given for Ubayy's death and the conflicting reports regarding his role in compiling the official text. Abū Mūsā ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] (d. 42/662 or later) was a Yemenite famed for his eloquent recitation of the Ḳur'ān. His codex is said to have been accepted in Baṣra, where he served as governor under ʿUmar, and there are reports that his reading continued to be remembered and studied there for some time after ʿUthmān's text was made official. According to one account, when the messenger from ʿUthmān delivered the Baṣra copy of the new standard text, Abū Mūsā said to his followers: "Whatever you find in my codex that is not in his, do not remove it; but whatever you find missing [in mine], write it in" (*Maṣāḥif*, 13). This is consistent with other reports saying Abū Mūsā's codex was large and that it contained the two extra *sūras* of Ubayy's codex (see below) and other verses not found in other codices (*Materials*, 209-11).

In addition to these three codices, two of which are discussed in more detail below, Jeffery classified as "primary" the codices attributed to twelve other Companions of the Prophet: the second and fourth caliphs, ʿUmar and ʿAlī; three of Muḥammad's widows, Ḥafṣa bint ʿUmar, ʿĀ'isha bint Abī Bakr, and Umm Salama; four whose readings seem to have been variations of the Medinan text tradition, Zayd b. Thābit, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, Anas b. Mālik, and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr; and three others, Sālim the Client of Abū Ḥudhayfa, ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, and Ibn ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] (d. 40/661), cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, is often said to have been the first to collect the Ḳur'ān after the Prophet's death (e.g. *Fihrist*, 28; tr. Dodge, 62 f.). He is reported to have arranged the *sūras* in some sort of chronological order, e.g. XCVI, LXXIV, LXVIII, LXXIII, etc., and to have given up his codex to be burned when ʿUthmān's text was made official. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 68/688), also a cousin of Muḥammad, later gained fame as the doyen of early Ḳur'ān exegetes. He is said to have included in his codex the two extra *sūras* of Ubayy's text (see below), and several later scholars are said to have taken their readings from him. Sālim b. Muʿḳib (d. 12/633), sometimes called Sālim b. Maʿḳil (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 11, 20, etc.), one of the Ḳur'ān reciters killed in the battle of Yamāma, was one of four to whom Muḥammad is reported to have advised his followers to turn for guidance concerning the Ḳur'ān. ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr (d. 74/693) was an early Ḳur'ān reciter in Mecca; his codex may have been the basis for the Meccan text tradition, which seems not to have been as strong as those of Ḳūfa, Baṣra and Damascus (or Syria). Compared with the large number of variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd

and Ubayy, relatively few are mentioned in the literature for these other codices. Jeffery also collected variants attributed to a number of Muslims of the second generation: al-Aswad b. Yazīd, ʿAlḳama, Ḥaṭṭān, Saʿīd b. Djubayr, Ṭalḥa, ʿIkrima, Mudjāhid, ʿAṭā' b. Rabāḥ, al-Rabīʿ b. al-Khuthaym, al-Aʿmash, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, Ṣāliḥ b. Ḳaysān, and al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd. More variants are attributed to some of these "secondary codices" than to most of the "primary" ones. In some cases, Jeffery was able to determine the primary codex from which a secondary one was derived.

Ibn Masʿūd's codex is said to have differed from the ʿUthmānic text in several important respects. The sources are fairly consistent in saying it did not contain the *Fātiḥa* and the two charms that became *sūras* I, CXIII, and CXIV of the ʿUthmānic text (see 4.a below). Variants in the *Fātiḥa* are, however, attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (*Materials*, 25), and Ibn al-Nadīm reported in 377/987 that he saw a number of Ibn Masʿūd Ḳur'ān manuscripts and that one that was about 200 years old included the *Fātiḥa* (*Fihrist*, 26; Dodge tr., 57 f.). Of the many variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 60-83; *Materials*, 25-113), some involve only different vowels with the same consonantal text, and some are purely orthographic, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd is said to have written *kulla mā* as two words rather than one in a number of places. But the vast majority of variants listed by Bergsträsser and Jeffery for Ibn Masʿūd involve differences in the consonantal text that would also show up in recitation. Of these, many may be regarded as explanatory glosses on the ʿUthmānic text; but in some cases it is the ʿUthmānic text that seems to contain an "expansion" or "improvement", sometimes apparently for theological reasons (see *Materials*, 17). Among the most questionable of the variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd are the "Shīʿa readings", e.g. in V, 67, XXIV, 35, XXVI, 215, XXXIII, 25, 33, 56, XLII, 23, XLVII, 29, LVI, 10, LIX, 7, LX, 3, LXXV, 17-19 (see *ibid.*, 40, 65, 68, etc.). More difficult to evaluate are the numerous "synonym variants", as for example the following found in Sūra XXV, where, instead of the ʿUthmānic terms given in parentheses, Ibn Masʿūd is reported to have read *djaʿala*, "makes, brings about", in verse 48: "and He it is Who sends (*arsala*) the winds"; *li-nunshira*, "give life", in 49: "that We may give life (*li-nuḥyiya*) thereby to a dead land"; *ḳuṣūr*, "castles", in 61: "Blessed is He Who has placed in the heavens constellations (*burūdj*)"; *yatafakkara*, "ponder, consider", in 62: "for him who desires to remember (*yadhdhakkara*)"; and *al-djanna*, "the Garden, Paradise", in 75: "They will be awarded the high place (*al-ghurfa*) inasmuch as they were steadfast". Just as frequent are cases where an entire phrase is different, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd's reading in III, 39: "Then Gabriel called to him, 'O Zachariah' ", instead of the ʿUthmānic reading, "Then the angels called to him as he stood praying in the sanctuary". Some variants may have significance for the early history of Islam or the history of the Ḳur'ān, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd's well-known reading *al-ḥanīfiyya*, "the way of the Ḥanīfs" [*q.v.*] instead of *al-islām* in III, 19: "Behold, the [true] religion (*dīn*) of God is Islam", and the fact that he is said to have included the *basmala* at the beginning of Sūra IX (see 4.c below). Also, the order of the *sūras* in Ibn Masʿūd's codex is said to have differed considerably from that of the ʿUthmānic text. Two slightly different, incomplete lists are recorded, the earlier one by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 26; Dodge tr., 53-7) and a later one by al-Suyūṭī (*Itḳān*, i, 64). The missing *sūras* in each list are included in the other, and it is possible to reconstruct a single list. The principle of arranging the *sūras* in order of descending length is followed more closely than in the ʿUthmānic text, but there is still considerable variation from this criterion (see Bauer, *Anordnung der Suren*, Table IV). Following the assumption that the longer *sūras* were not put together until the ʿUthmānic text was compiled, some scholars have concluded that the Ibn Masʿūd lists are "post-ʿUthmānic" and have little validity (e.g. *Materials*, 23 f.). But if most of the *sūras* were written down and put into approximately their final form during Muḥammad's lifetime, then there would be no strong reason for rejecting the validity of these reports outright.

Ubayy's codex seems according to the extant evidence to have been less important than Ibn Masʿūd's. It appears not to have been the source of any secondary codices, and very few unique variants are attributed to it. Most variants attributed to Ubayy are attributed also to either Ibn Masʿūd or Ibn ʿAbbās. Probably the best known feature of Ubayy's codex is that it is said to have included two short *sūras* not in the ʿUthmānic and Ibn Masʿūd texts, Sūrat al-Khalʿ, with three verses, and Sūrat al-Ḥafd, with six (see *Materials*, 180 f.). The order of *sūras* in Ubayy's codex is said to have differed from that of ʿUthmān's and Ibn Masʿūd's, and again we have two slightly different lists (*Fihrist*, 27; Dodge tr., 58-61; and *Itḳān*, i, 64). These lists are, however, less complete and less reliable than those given for Ibn Masʿūd, and some *sūras* are difficult to identify. Dodge (60) is probably correct in identifying *al-nabī* as Sūra LXVI, and Jeffery (*Materials*, 115) is no doubt mistaken in saying it is Sūra LXV. But Dodge is certainly wrong in reading *al-dīn* (one of the titles for Sūra CVII—see Paret, *Kommentar*, 554) as *al-tīn* (the title of Sūra XCV), and in failing to recognise Ubayy's two famous extra *sūras* mentioned above. Ibn al-Nadīm states at the end of his list in the *Fihrist* that Ubayy's codex contained 116 *sūras*, and he reports that his source of information, al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, saw a copy of an Ubayy codex in a village near Baṣra in the middle of the 3rd century A.H.

Western scholarship has not reached a consensus on what value this mass of allegedly pre-ʿUthmānic variants has for our knowledge of the history of the Ḳur'ān. Confidence in the variants declined during the 1930s as they were being collected and analysed. Bergsträsser (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 77-83, 92-6) still gave a fairly positive appraisal, but Jeffery (*Materials*, 16) wrote: "With the increase of material one feels less inclined to venture on such a judgment of value", a view that came to be shared by O. Pretzl. Then after the project to prepare a critical edition of the Ḳur'ān came to a halt, A. Fischer (*Isl.*, xxviii [1948], 5) concluded that most of the allegedly pre-ʿUthmānic variants were later attempts by philologers to emend the ʿUthmānic text. Recently J. Burton (*Collection*, 199-212, etc.) and J. Wansbrough (*Quranic studies*, 44-6, 202-7, etc.) have concluded that, not just some, but all of the accounts about Companion codices, metropolitan codices, and individual variants were fabricated by later Muslim jurists and philologers; but they reach opposite conclusions on the reason for this hoax. Burton argues that the Companion codices were invented in order to provide a setting for the ʿUthmān collection story, which in turn was invented to hide the fact that Muḥammad himself had already collected and edited the final edition of the Ḳur'ān (211 f., 239 f.). Wansbrough, on the other

hand, asserts that the collection stories and the accounts of the Companion codices arose in order to give ancient authority for a text that was not even compiled until the 3rd/9th century or later. He claims, without providing any convincing evidence, that the text of the Ḳur'ān was so fluid that the multiple accounts (e.g. of the punishment-stories) represent "variant traditions" of different metropolitan centres (Kūfa, Baṣra, Medina, etc.). Each writer has stressed a valid point, i.e., that Muḥammad played a larger role in compiling and editing the Ḳur'ān than is admitted by the traditional accounts (Burton), and that as late as the 3rd/9th century a consonantal *textus receptus ne varietur* still had not been achieved (Wansbrough). But both writers seem to have overstated their cases. Neither has given convincing reasons for his own hypothesis, or for the shared assertion that the Muslim accounts should be rejected altogether.

c. Establishment of the canonical text and readings. Historically, it is better to speak of the ʿUthmānic text and the oral tradition that accompanied it as evolving gradually over a period of about three centuries. The process by which this text came to prevail over its rivals and then became the foundation for several sets of accepted or "canonical" readings is far from clear, and the issues involved are complex. They include the difficult task of reconstructing the stages in the development of Ḳur'ānic orthography, the relationship between the written text and the oral tradition, and the tension between a critical evaluation of the historical evidence and the orthodox views on the Ḳur'ān.

From the beginning there were variations in the copies of the ʿUthmānic text. Even the official copies of the Medina standard codex (*al-imām*) sent to the main centres are said not to have been identical. Bergsträsser (*Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 6-19) lists and discusses a number of variations in the Medina, Damascus, Baṣra, Kūfa and Mecca copies of the ʿUthmānic text, reported in the *Muḳniʿ* of Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī (d. 444/1052) and in other works. E.g. the Damascus copy is said to have had *wa-bi 'l-zubur* and *wa-bi 'l-kitāb* instead of *wa 'l-zubur* and *wa 'l-kitāb* in III, 184, and *minkum* instead of *minhum* in XL, 21; and the Kūfa copy is said to have had *ʿamilat* instead of *ʿamilat-hu* in XXXVI, 35, and *aw an* (which occurs in the Egyptian standard edition) instead of *wa 'an* in XL, 26. These differences are of course minor, but they do involve changes in the consonantal forms. Such variations can best be explained as resulting from carelessness on the part of the scribes or lack of concern for exact uniformity among the authorities.

Deficiencies in the Arabic script used in the earliest copies of the Ḳur'ān led to further differences, in the oral tradition as well as the text tradition. During the first Islamic century, Arabic was written in a so-called *scriptio defectiva* in which only the consonants were given, and in several instances the same form was used for two or more consonants, e.g. *d* and *dh*, *ḥ* and *kh*, and even very different phonemes such as *r* and *z*, and in some positions *b*, *t*, *th*, *n*, and *y*. Since no diacritical points or vowel signs were included, the vocalisation was moreover left to the reader. This meant that even when there was agreement on the consonants, some verbs could be read as active or passive, some nouns could be read with different case endings, and some forms could be read as either nouns or verbs. The lists compiled by Jeffery in his *Materials* contain many examples of canonical and non-canonical variants based on forms that are indistinguishable in the *scriptio defectiva* of early Ḳur'ān manuscripts. In most cases the meaning is affected very little, as for example whether *kabīr* or *kathīr* is read in II, 219 (the latter was read by Ibn Masʿūd and two of the Seven, Ḥamza and al-Kisā'ī—see below), or *ḥadab*, "mound", or *djadath*, "tomb", is read in XXI, 96 (the latter was read by Ibn Masʿūd and others). In some instances the alteration of a case ending or some other slight change in the vowelling does significantly affect the meaning (see KHAṬṬ and Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 122 ff.).

During the Umayyad period (41-132/661-750) the ʿUthmānic text tradition became more and more diverse, and new readings arose combining elements of the ʿUthmānic and Companion oral and text traditions, especially those of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy. By early ʿAbbāsid times there was such a confusion of readings that it became impossible to distinguish ʿUthmānic from non-ʿUthmānic ones, or to recover with confidence the "original" ʿUthmānic text. Some order was brought to this confusion by the establishment of a *scriptio plena*, a fully vowelled and pointed text. Muslim accounts of the introduction of this improved script are unreliable because they vary so much and are not consistent with palaeographical evidence (Blachère, *Introd.*, 78-90). A popular view is that al-Ḥadjdjādj was responsible for introducing vowel signs and dots for the consonants when he was governor of ʿIrāḳ (74-95/694-714). But Ḳur'ān manuscripts from the first three or four Islamic centuries show that a *scriptio plena* came to be accepted very slowly. Dots of different colours or in different positions (above, below, and beside the consonants) were used to indicate the three short vowels in some fairly early manuscripts, and in some, but not all, later ones. Strokes or dots for distinguishing consonants, as well as other signs for doubled consonants, pauses, and even the finer points of recitation, were introduced later (see KHAṬṬ, *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 19-57 and N. Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic script*, 17-44; on the difficulty of dating these early manuscripts, see A. Grohmann, *The problem of dating early Qur'āns*, in *Isl.*, xxxiii [1958], 213-31).

By the early 4th/10th century the improved Arabic script was widely, although not universally, accepted by Ḳur'ān scholars. One result of the general use of the more precise script was that the differences in the texts became more pronounced, and this caused heated disputes as to which reading was the correct one. Another result was that it became possible for the authorities to enforce a greater measure of uniformity. The central figure in what became the most important Ḳur'ān reform since the time of ʿUthmān was Abū Bakr b. Mudjāhid (d. 324/936). His aim was to restrict the number of acceptable readings, accept only those based on a fairly uniform consonantal text, renounce the attempts of some scholars to achieve absolute uniformity (something which he realised was impossible), and at least ameliorate if not bring to an end the rivalry among scholars, each of whom claimed to possess the one correct reading. With a stroke of genius he chose seven well-known Ḳur'ān teachers of the 2nd/8th century and declared that their readings all had divine authority, which the others lacked. He based this on the popular *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet says the Ḳur'ān was revealed to him in "seven *aḥruf*" (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, *bāb* 4; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, trads. 270-4, etc.). The meaning of this expression in the *ḥadīth* is uncertain, the term *aḥruf* being the plural of *ḥarf*, "letter" (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 48-51, iii, 106 f.). Ibn Mudjāhid interpreted the ex-

pression to mean "seven readings". His view, worked out in a book called *al-Ḳirā'āt al-sab'a*, "The Seven Readings", came at just the right time. It was adopted by the *wazīrs* Ibn Muḳla and ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.vv.*] and made official in the year 322/934 when the scholar Ibn Miḳsam was forced to retract his view that the consonantal text could be read in any manner that was grammatically correct. The following year another Ḳur'ān scholar, Ibn Shanabūdh [*q.v.*], was similarly condemned and forced to renounce his view that it was permissible to use the readings of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy.

Selecting several rival systems and declaring them equally authoritative was of course the same method used elsewhere by Muslims to avert endless disputes, e.g. the four Sunnī legal schools. But Ibn Mudjāhid's system of seven readings was not completely arbitrary. Strong Ḳur'ān traditions existed in Kūfa, Baṣra, Medina and Damascus; and Mecca also had its own tradition. Kūfa stood out above the others as the leading centre for Ḳur'ān studies and the seat of several rival traditions. So Ibn Mudjāhid selected one reading each for Medina, Mecca, Baṣra and Damascus—those of Nāfiʿ (d. 169/785), Ibn Kathīr (d. 120/737), Abū ʿAmr (d. 154/770), and Ibn ʿĀmir (d. 118/736), respectively—and three for Kūfa, those of ʿĀṣim (d. 127/744), Ḥamza (d. 156/772), and al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/804). His attempt to limit the number of canonical readings to seven was not acceptable to all, and there was strong support for alternative readings in most of the five cities. Eventually scholars began to speak of the Ten readings, and even the Fourteen. The most widely accepted of these, the so-called "three after the seven" are the readings of Abū Jaʿfar (d. 130/747), Yaʿḳūb al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 205/820), and Khalaf (d. 229/843). Among the "four after the ten", two deserve special notice, the readings of the famous al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765), of Baṣra and Kūfa respectively. For each of the Ten, two slightly different "versions" (sing. *riwāya*) came to be accepted according to scholars of a generation or two later, e.g. the "versions" of Warsh (d. 197/812) and Ḳālūn (d. 220/835) for the reading (*ḳirā'a*) of Nāfiʿ, those of Ḥafṣ (d. 190/805) and Shuʿba (d. 194/809) for ʿĀṣim, and those of Khalaf (mentioned above) and Khallād (d. 220/835) for Ḥamza. For complete lists and discussion of this development, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 169-90, and Blachère, *Introd.*, 116-35.

During the 5th/11th century the exclusive authority of the Seven began to prevail, and several works were written on them, e.g., the *K. al-Taysīr* by al-Dānī (d. 444/1053) (see *Bibl.*), which replaced Ibn Mudjāhid's work. The seven came to be followed exclusively in public readings, while the others continued to be used in Ḳur'ān commentaries and works on philology, grammar, etc. The Ḳur'ān readers (*ḳurrā'*), who maintained a lively tradition, continued at least a scholarly interest in the "three after the seven", and further refinements were made in all of the Ten readings. Two "ways" (*ṭuruḳ*, sing. *ṭarīḳ*) of reciting each "version" (*riwāya*) came to be accepted, and then two more "ways" for each *ṭarīḳ*, making altogether eighty "ways" of reciting ten "readings". See Labib as-Said, *The recited Koran*, Princeton 1975, including a complete list of the eighty, 127-30; on the readings, see ḲIRĀ'A, and on methods of reciting, TADJWĪD.

At the present, only two "versions" are in general use, that of Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim, which for centuries has been followed in most regions and in 1924 was given a kind of official sanction by being adopted in the Egyptian standard edition of the Ḳur'ān, and that of Warsh *ʿan* Nāfiʿ, followed in parts of Africa other than Egypt. The latter was used by the Yemenite scholar al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), in the manuscript of his Ḳur'ān commentary (see *Bibl.*), but in the printed edition the Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim reading was substituted. The Egyptian standard edition is now regarded as the best of the Ḳur'ān so far available, although it was based on oral tradition and late *ḳirā'āt* literature and is not always consistent with the oldest and best sources (see G. Bergsträsser, *Koranlesung in Kairo*, in *Isl.*, xx [1932], and O. Pretzl, "Anmerkungen" to *Orthographie und Punktierung des Korans*, 1932).

The history of the text of the Ḳur'ān is yet to be written. One aspect of this task is a thorough analysis of the relationship between the Seven or the Ten and all the other readings, including the Companion codices. Until such an analysis is undertaken it will not be possible to give a final evaluation of the sources. The variants found in the "four after the ten" often involve a consonantal text that differs from that of the majority among the Ten (i.e., the "ʿUthmānic text"), and they sometimes have completely different words—see, e.g., the references to the readings of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and al-Aʿmash in *Materials*, especially in the listings for Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy. A rough survey of Jeffery's lists shows that Ibn Masʿūd's variants agree fairly frequently with those of two of the Seven from Kūfa, Ḥamza and al-Kisā'ī, as is to be expected, and even more frequently with those of al-Ḥasan and al-Aʿmash (the latter was also a Kūfan reader). Ubayy's variants agree fairly frequently with those of two others among the Seven, Ibn Kathīr and Abū ʿAmr (from Mecca and Baṣra), and also with those of al-Ḥasan and al-Aʿmash, but somewhat surprisingly not with those of Ibn ʿĀmir, the only reader from Damascus among the Fourteen. This important aspect of the history of the Ḳur'ān deserves a thorough scientific study, preferably with the use of a computer. On the question of the completeness and authenticity of the Ḳur'ān, see Bell-Watt, 50-6; for a clear statement and defence of the modern orthodox position, Labib as-Said, *op. cit.*, 19-41.

4. STRUCTURE

a. The *sūras* and their names. The Ḳur'ān consists of 114 sections of widely varying length and form called *sūras*, which are divided into a number of verses (*āyāt*), ranging from three to 286 or 287. As shown above, the terms *sūra* and *āya* both occur within the text of the Ḳur'ān, but it is not certain that either has its present meaning there, i.e., refers to the present *sūras* and verses. *Sūra* is sometimes translated "chapter", but this is misleading. The first *sūra*, *al-Fātiḥa*, "The Opening" [*q.v.*], is a prayer, and the last two, known as *al-muʿawwidhatān*, "the two [*sūras*] of taking refuge", are charms or incantations. These three serve as a kind of introduction and two-part conclusion to the Ḳur'ān. Except for a few other very short *sūras* near the end (e.g. CIX, CXI, CXII), very few treat a single topic (XII, on the story of Joseph, and LXXI, on Noah, are notable exceptions) or otherwise appear to be structured entities (e.g. XXVI and LV). Most of the *sūras* consist of several segments or pericopes that are only loosely connected, often with little or no apparent connection of thought. Some short *sūras* (e.g. CIII, CVIII) seem to be isolated fragments; and it is not unlikely that some of the present *sūras* or parts of them were once joined with others. For instance,

Ubayy b. Kaʿb and other early authorities are reported to have regarded CV and CVI as a single *sūra* (see *Itḳān*, i, 186 f.; *Materials*, 179; Birkeland, *The Lord guideth*, 100-30).

After the *Fātiḥa*, the *sūras* are arranged roughly in order of descending length, beginning with "The Cow" (II), with over 700 lines (60 pages) in a modern printed copy of the Egyptian standard edition, and ending with several *sūras* with just two or three lines. Actually, the *sūra* called "Abundance" (CVIII), mentioned above as a possible fragment, has the distinction of being the shortest, having only ten words. The length of the *sūras* was only one of several factors affecting the arrangement of the Ḳur'ān. If the *sūras* were exactly in order of length, the first thirty would be: II, IV, III, VII, VI, V, IX, XI, XVI, X, XII, XVII, XVIII, XXVI, XXVIII, XX, XXIV, XXXIII, XXII, VIII, XXI, XL, XXXIX, XXVII, XXIII, XXXVII, XIX, XXV, XLIII, and XXXIV. Note that Sūra VIII (which is 20th in order of length) and XIII, XIV, and XV (not in this list) are much too short for their positions, while XXXIX, XL, and XLIII are too long. The explanation for these last two groups is clear: XIII, XIV, and XV begin with the "mysterious letters" *al(m)r* and were kept with the other *alr sūras*, X-XII, while XL and XLIII begin with *ḥm* and were kept with the other *ḥm sūras*, a group to which XXXIX also belongs (see 4.d below). Other factors that influenced the order of the *sūras* include their dates, main topics, and introductions. For instance, LVII-LXVI are a group of Medinan *sūras* kept together in spite of varying lengths (see also their introductory formulas); X-XV, besides being *alr sūras*, all feature prophet stories and are named after prophets, except for XIII, which has *almr*; and XXXIV and XXXV begin with the same formula, as do LXV and LXVI, and several groups of *sūras* with the same mysterious letters (see below); cf. also LXXIII and LXXIV, LXXXV and LXXXVI, and others that begin with oaths. For complete lists of the *sūras* and their relative lengths, see Bell-Watt, 206-12, and Bauer, *Anordnung der Suren* (see *Bibl.*).

Muslim writers normally refer to the *sūras* by their names rather than their numbers. Since the names were not established during Muḥammad's lifetime and did not come to be regarded as parts of the text, most *sūras* came to be known by more than one name. The Egyptian standard edition has had a considerable impact in establishing uniform names, and most of the alternative ones are no longer used. Notable exceptions are the continued use by Indo-Pakistani writers (and also Pickthall's translation of the names *Banī Isrā'īl* for Sūra XVII, *al-malā'ika* for XXXV, *al-mu'min* for XL, *al-taṭfīf* for LXXXIII, *al-ins̲h̲irāḥ* for XCIV, *al-zilzāl* for XCIX, and most also use *ḥā'mīm* for XLI, *al-dahr* for LXXVI, and *al-lahab* for CXI. Flügel and thus Bell and other European writers use *al-malā'ika* for XXXV, *al-mu'min* for XL, *alam nas̲h̲raḥ* for XCIV, and *tabbat* for CXI. A complete list of the *sūra* names and abbreviations found most often in the literature on the Ḳur'ān is given in Paret, *Kommentar*, 551-9. Most of the *sūra* names do not indicate the subject-matter, as would normally be expected of a title. Instead they are taken from a key term or catchword that would identify the *sūra* for those who had them memorised, showing that the names arose within the oral rather than the written tradition.

The *sūra* names used in the Egyptian standard edition can be classified as follows: (1) Just over half of the *sūras* take their names from key words at or near the beginning of the *sūras*. The method most often used is to name the *sūra* for the first rhyme-word, i.e., the last word of the first verse. This is done in 30 *sūras*: XX**, XXIII, XXX, XXXVI**, LII*, LIV, LVI, LXIX*, LXXIII-V, LXXXIII, LXXXV-VIII, LXXXIX*, XC, XCIII*, XCVII-VIII, CI*, CII, CIII*, CV-VI, CVIII-IX and CXIII-XIV. In the eight marked with asterisks, the first rhyme-word is also the first word of the *sūra*, a method used in 14 other *sūras*: XXXVII, XXXVIII**, L**, LI, LIII, LV, LXVIII, LXXVII, LXXIX, LXXX, XCI-II, XCV and C. The four marked with two asterisks are named for their mysterious letters. A further 18 are named for other key words in the first or second verse: VIII, XXV, XXXV, XLI, XLVII-VIII, LIX, LXIII, LXVII, LXX-LXXII, LXXVI, LXXVIII, XCVI, XCIX, CIX and CX. (2) In about one-third of the *sūras* the name is a key term or catchword that occurs elsewhere in the *sūra*. In 16 of these this is the only occurrence of the term in the Ḳur'ān (given here without the definite article): Cow in II, 67-71; Table, V, 112-14; Heights, VII, 46-8; Ḫid̲ir, XV, 80; Bee, XVI, 68; Cave, XVIII, 9 ff.; Poets, XXVI, 224; Ant, XXVII, 18; Spider, XXIX, 41; Luḳmān, XXXI, 12 f.; Troops, XXXIX, 71-3; Counsel, XLII, 38; Hobbling, XLV, 28; Sand-dunes, XLVI, 21; Apartments, XLIX, 4; and Mutual Fraud, LXIV, 9 (some first-word and first rhyme-word names listed above are also only occurrences). Only two of the narrative *sūras* are named for a key term in the *sūra* that designates the single theme: Joseph (XII) and Noah (LXXI). Twelve are named for a key term that designates one of several themes or stories: Family of ʿImrān (III), Women (IV), Jonah (X), Hūd (XI), Abraham (XIV), Mary (XIX), Pilgrimage (XXII), Confederates (XXXIII), Sheba (XXXIV), and three listed above—Ḫid̲ir, Cave, and Luḳmān. Seven are named for other striking terms that occur also in other *sūras*: Cattle (VI), Thunder (XIII), Light (XXIV), Ornaments (XLIII), Smoke (XLIV), Iron (LVII) and Ranks (LXI). (3) The names of 14 *sūras* do not occur in these *sūras*, and most do not occur anywhere in the Ḳur'ān. Most of these names are based on verbs that do occur, usually near the beginning of the *sūra*: Night Journey (XVII), Prostration (XXXII), Disputer (LVIII), Woman Tested (LX), Congregation (LXII), Divorce* (LXV), Prohibition (LXVI), Veiling (LXXXI), Splitting (LXXXII), Rending (LXXXIV), and Expanding (XCIV). The names of the other three were chosen to indicate the function of the *sūra*, The Opening (I), or the main theme, Prophets* (XXI) and Unity (of God) (CXII). Only the two terms with asterisks occur elsewhere in the Ḳur'ān. On the names and abbreviations used for the *sūras*, see Paret, *Kommentar*, 545-50.

b. The verses. Like the *sūras*, the verses vary considerably in length and style. In some *sūras*, which tend to be short and early, the verses are short and often rhythmic. Sometimes there even seems to be an element of metre (LXXIV, 1-7, XCI, 1-10; cf. XCIX, CIV), but this is caused by the repetition of certain grammatical forms and not by an effort to carry through a strict metre of either syllables or stresses. These short, rhythmic verses are often also difficult to translate or interpret because of their use of rare terms, symbolism, metaphor, and other "poetic" features. Most longer *sūras*, and some short Medinan ones (e.g. LX, LXV), have longer, more prosaic verses, often with short statements or formulas attached to the ends in order to provide the rhyme. The one feature that all the verses have in

common is that they end in an irregular rhyme or assonance (discussed in 6.c below). Because of the rhyme the verses form the most natural divisions of the text, and yet we cannot be certain where some verses originally ended. Verse divisions are not indicated in the oldest manuscripts, and they vary somewhat when they are marked, possibly reflecting differences in the early oral tradition that go back to revisions made in the text during the Prophet's lifetime. There is clear evidence that the rhyme and the verse divisions were altered in some *sūras*, where passages originally in one rhyme were inserted into passages in another rhyme (see Bell-Watt, 89 ff.). But the main reason for the variation in the verse divisions is that the rhyme or assonance is usually formed by certain grammatical forms and endings that occur frequently in Arabic, and thus within many of the longer verses.

Several different systems of verse division and numbering arose within the Muslim community. In his English translation M. Pickthall followed an Indian text tradition in which VI, 73 of the Egyptian standard text is divided into two verses, so that 74-165 become 75-166, XVIII, 18 is divided so that 19-110 become 20-111, and XXXVI, 34 and 35 are combined so that 36-83 become 35-82. The editors of the 1976 Festival edition (see *Bibl.*) adopted the Egyptian verse divisions and numbering throughout. Even where the verse divisions are the same, there are variations in the numbering in various Muslim editions of the Arabic text and translations, depending on whether or not the *basmala* and the mysterious letters are counted. The Egyptian standard edition counts the *basmala* (see below) as verse 1 only in the *Fātiḥa*, and is inconsistent in counting the mysterious letters, counting them as a separate verse (verse 1) in *sūras* II, III, VII, XIX, XX, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXVI and XL-XLVI, except that in XLII *ḥm* and *ʿsḳ* are counted as two verses. In all other cases the mysterious letters are regarded as the beginning of verse 1. Pickthall counted these letters as a separate verse in the same *sūras* as in the Egyptian edition and also in X and XXXVIII. Some Indo-Pakistani Arabic texts and translations of the Ḳurʾān, e.g., those of Pir Salahaddin, M. Zafrulla Khan and M. G. Farīd, always count the *basmala* as verse 1.

The Arabic text of the Ḳurʾān most widely used in the West until recently is that of Gustav Flügel (1834), which does not follow any one Oriental text tradition. In an effort to establish an improved text, Flügel made many changes in the verse divisions, altering the numbering in slightly over half the *sūras*. The verse divisions and numbering are the same in the Egyptian and Flügel editions only in *sūras* XV, XLVIII-IX, LI-II, LIV, LIX-LXX, LXXIII, LXXV-VII, LXXIX, LXXXI-VIII, XC-XCVII, XCIX, C, CII-V and CVII-XIV. The Flügel text never counts the *basmala* as a verse, and never counts the mysterious letters as a separate verse, but always as the beginning of verse 1. The English translations by R. Bell and A. J. Arberry follow the Flügel numbering. The Italian translation by A. Bausani and the English by A. H. Siddiqui follow the Egyptian numbering, as does Yusuf Ali, usually but not always. The German translation by R. Paret and the French by R. Blachère give both numberings, Paret giving the Egyptian first, Blachère the Flügel first. For a complete list of the differences in these two numbering systems and a table for converting the Flügel numbers to Egyptian, see Bell-Watt, 202 f. The standard work on the various Islamic numbering systems is A. Spitaler, *Die Verszählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung*, Munich 1935.

c. The *basmala*. At the beginning of each *sūra* except IX stands the *basmala*, the formula, *bismi 'llāhi 'l-raḥmāni 'l-raḥīm*, which can be interpreted or translated at least three ways: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate" (e.g., Bell, Arberry); "In the name of God, the compassionate Merciful (One)" (cf. Blachère); or "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God" (cf. Paret). This formula occurs one other time in the Ḳurʾān, in XXVII, 30, as the opening of Solomon's letter to the queen of Sheba. The elements of the *basmala* also occur separately: *bismi 'llāh* (without the *alif* in *bismi*, as in the *basmala*) occurs once, in XI, 41, and the twin attributes, *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, occur together four more times, in I, 3, II, 163, XLI, 2 and LIX, 22. It may be significant that whenever these attributes appear together, including in I, 1 and XXVII, 30, *al-raḥīm* always serves as a rhymeword. *Al-raḥmān*, always with the definite article, occurs within the text 57 times altogether—i.e. counting I, 1, but not the other occurrences of the *basmala* at the head of the *sūras*. *Al-raḥīm* occurs 33 times with the definite article, and frequently without. The fact that the last two terms of the *basmala* occur together elsewhere in the Ḳurʾān following the same pattern as many other pairs of divine attributes (see 6.c below) suggests that the first of the three interpretations given above is the best (cf. Jomier, *Le nom divin "al-Raḥmān" dans le Coran* [see *Bibl.*]).

On the origin of the *basmala* and its placement at the head of the *sūras* there is difference of opinion. Some Muslims believe that this formula was part of the revelation and was included at the head of the *sūras* from the beginning. Textual evidence within the Ḳurʾān, supported by other early historical evidence, suggests that this is not the case. "Allāh" in the *basmala* is clearly the preferred name for God, and *al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm*, according to their Ḳurʾānic usage, are either names or epithets for God. Yet these names are conspicuously absent in earlier parts of the Ḳurʾān, where Muḥammad's Lord is referred to as *rabb*, "Lord", and the Ḳurʾānic formula that occurs during this early period is *bi 'smi rabbika*, "in the name of thy Lord", occuring in LVI, 74, 96, LXIX, 52, and XCVI, 1 (in this formula *bi 'smi* has the *alif*). Then, possibly as much as two years or even more after the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry, the names al-Raḥmān and Allāh were introduced into the revelation. For a while the name al-Raḥmān was preferred; see, e.g., XIII, 30, XXV, 60 and sixteen times in XIX. Ḳurʾānic evidence supports the testimony of early Muslim scholars who report that the Meccans refused to accept al-Raḥmān as the name of God, while they did know Allāh as a type of "High God" (see W. M. Watt, *Belief in a "High God"*, in *JSS*, xvi [1971], 35-40). The next stage in this development is seen in XVII, 110, a key verse that says Muslims may use either name, Allāh or al-Raḥmān; but the effect of this verse was to replace al-Raḥmān with Allāh as the primary or preferred name for God, as is seen in XIII, 16, XXXIV, 24 and many other verses that parallel the earlier al-Raḥmān contexts. After the revelation of XVII, 110 the term *al-raḥmān* seldom if ever occurs in the Ḳurʾān alone, and it loses its significance as a proper name for God, partly by being connected with *al-raḥīm* and the Arabic root *r-ḥ-m*. Further evidence for the conclusions stated here are given in Welch, *Allāh and other supernatural beings* (see *Bibl.*); on the foreign origin of *al-raḥmān* and its

use in Arabia as a proper name for God before and during the time of Muḥammad, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 112 f.; Horovitz, *Jewish proper names*, 57-9; *Foreign vocab.*, 140 f.; and BASMALA.

The evidence seems to indicate that the *basmala* came into use as a result of this controversy over divine names, probably a short time after the revelation of XVII, 110. It is possible that the *basmala* was formed from existing Ḳur'ānic expressions, i.e. *bismi 'llāh* in XI, 41 and *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* in what is now I, 3; but it seems much more likely that the *Fātiḥa* and all Ḳur'ānic occurrences of these twin attributes date from after XVII, 110. It also seems likely that the *basmala* was not originally part of the Fātiḥa; note that the Ḳur'ān scholars of Medina, Baṣra, and Syria did not count it as a verse in the *Fātiḥa*, and that this *sūra* without the *basmala* is often referred to as *al-ḥamd*, which may have been its original title [see BASMALA]. As soon as the *basmala* came into use, Muḥammad no doubt used it to introduce each recitation of a portion of the Ḳur'ān. Since many *sūras* contain passages from different periods (see 5.c below), Muḥammad must have recited the *basmala* before many segments that are now in the middle of the *sūras*. Only when the *sūras* reached their final, written form, in some cases after Muḥammad's death, was the *basmala* placed at the beginning of each *sūra* as we have it today.

d. The mysterious letters. At the beginning of 29 *sūras* just after the *basmala* stands a letter or group of letters called in Arabic *fawātiḥ al-suwar*, "the openers of the *sūras*", *awā'il al-suwar*, "the beginnings of the *sūras*", *al-ḥurūf al-muḳaṭṭaʿāt*, "the disconnected letters", etc., but generally referred to in European languages as "the mysterious letters". They are recited as letters of the alphabet, and for 14 centuries they have intrigued and baffled Muslim scholars. Some saw them as abbreviations, e.g. *alr* for *al-raḥmān*, *alm* for *al-raḥīm*, *ḥm* for *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, *ṣ* for *ṣādi yā muḥammad*, *ys* for *yā sayyid al-mursalīn*, etc. ʿIkrima and others relate from Ibn ʿAbbās the view that *alr*, *ḥm*, and *n* together stand for *al-raḥmān* (*Itḳān*, ii, 9). Others concluded that the letters are not abbreviations, but offered a variety of alternative explanations, that they are sounds meant to arouse the attention of the Prophet or to captivate his audience so they would be more attentive, mystical signs with symbolic meaning based on the numerical value of the Arabic letters, (written) signs of separation (*fawāṣil*) between the *sūras*, simply Arabic letters attesting that the revelation is in the familiar language of the people, etc. Al-Suyūṭī (*ibid.*, 10) mentions, for instance, a tradition related by Ibn Isḥāḳ on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās in which a group of Jews tell Muḥammad that the numerical value of the letters would indicate the number of years his community would last. At first they heard him recite *alm* (1 + 30 + 40 = 71), and said it would last 71 years. Then they heard *almṣ* (1 + 30 + 40 + 60) suggesting 131 years, then *alr* (1 + 30 + 200) or 231 years, and then *almr* or 271 years. In the end they concluded that the matter was ambiguous. Al-Suyūṭī discusses these and many other possibilities (*ibid.*, 8-13) and concludes that the *fawātiḥ* are simply mysterious letters or symbols known fully only to God. Later Muslim scholars have tended to accept this view, although the abbreviation theory has remained popular. A few modern Muslims have put forward new variations of mediaeval suggestions, e.g. Hashim Amir Ali (see *Bibl.*) argues that all of the groups of letters, not just some of them, are vocatives addressed to the Prophet, and ʿAlī Nāṣūḥ al-Ṭāhir (see *Bibl.*) proposes that the numerical value of the letters represents the number of verses in the "original" (in most cases, Meccan) versions of the *sūras* or groups of *sūras* concerned. Citing the same examples as al-Suyūṭī (but not always the same values), al-Ṭāhir says, for instance, that Sūra VII, which has 205 verses and begins with *almṣ* (1 + 30 + 40 + 90 = 161), originally consisted of only the first 161 verses. In other cases he has to combine various groups of *sūras* in order to obtain the required number of verses. Thus, adding the 111 verses of XII and the "120 Meccan verses" of XI gives him 231, the value of the letters *alr* which occur at the beginning of these two *sūras* (and also X, XIV, and XV, which he does not mention). Sūra XIII, with *almr* (1 + 30 + 40 + 200 = 271), he argues has 40 Meccan verse which when added to the 231 of XI and XII gives the required 271. In response, it is sufficient to note that no *sūra* with the letters now has the same number of verses as the value of the letters, and in no case does al-Ṭāhir's suggested number of original or Meccan verses agree with the view given in the Egyptian standard edition, much less a critical view of the chronology of the *sūras* involved. This theory is a prime example of the way arbitrary speculation has been applied to these letters.

A number of Western scholars have taken up the challenge to explain these letters since the publication of Th. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorâns* in 1860. Nöldeke suggested (215 f.) that they are the initials or monograms of the owners of the manuscripts used by Zayd when he first compiled the Ḳur'ān, e.g. *alr*[*z*] for al-Zubayr, *almr* for al-Mughīra and *ḥm* for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. These monograms, he said, got into the text by accident when later Muslims no longer knew their meaning. This view was widely accepted for a while in Europe and was taken up again and defended in 1901 by H. Hirschfeld (*New researches*, 141-3) who however regarded each letter as the initial of a different owner, *r*[*z*] for al-Zubayr, *m* for al-Mughīra, *ḥ* for Ḥudhayfa, etc. Hirschfeld's reason for rejecting the view that the letters went back to Muḥammad was that if they did "he must have had an important share in the arrangement of the *sūras*, and this would contradict all we know of the compilation of the Qorân" (141). But by the time Hirschfeld's book was published, Nöldeke had reversed his position, on the basis of a brief but insightful discussion on the subject by O. Loth (*Tabari's Korancommentar*, in *ZDMG*, xxxv [1881], 603 f.). According to Loth, the letters occur only in "late Meccan and early Medinan *sūras*" when Muḥammad was "drawing near to Judaism", and in some cases the beginning verses contain an allusion to the letters (i.e. "these are the signs (*āyāt*) of the Book"). He concluded that the letters are Cabalistic symbols standing for certain key words and phrases in the *sūras* before which they stand. Loth's arguments were sufficient to cause Nöldeke to abandon his earlier view and conclude that the letters are part of the revelation, having however no special meaning other than as mystical allusions to the heavenly Book (*Orientalische Skizzen*, 1892, 50 f., also stated in *Ency. Brit.*, 9th ed., xvi, 597 f.). F. Schwally, in a perceptive survey of the literature up to 1919 (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 68-78), wisely rejected Loth's abbreviation suggestions as being too arbitrary (73), while commending him on his main argument (73-5). Schwally could not, however, accept Nöldeke's later view, calling it "doubtful" and insisting that "the symbols are still somehow connected with the redaction of the *sūras*" (76). Leaving open the

possibility that the letters are part of the revelation, Schwally made the following important statement: "If Muḥammad was indeed the originator of the symbols, then he must also have been the editor of the ciphered *sūras*. This would indeed contradict earlier prevailing views, but would agree with our earlier statements that the Prophet relied on secretaries to whom he dictated his revelations, that already his object was to produce a special book of revelation, and that the manner in which pieces from various periods but of similar content are strung together in certain *sūras* produces the impression that this editing originates from the Prophet himself" (77). Schwally was thus a harbinger of the work of Bell in the 1930s.

In the meanwhile, two more attempts were made to follow up on Loth's version of the abbreviation theory. In 1921 Hans Bauer (*Anordnung der Suren*) provided statistical evidence for Schwally's first point, that the letters are connected with the redaction of the *sūras*, but failed to follow up on the second. Instead, he offered an unconvincing list of catchwords for which the letters are said to be old abbreviations: *ys* for *yasʿā*, "he who runs", in XXXVI, 20; *ṣ* for *ṣāfināt*, "chargers", in XXXVIII, 31; *ḳ* for *ḳarīnuhu*, "he who is at his side", in L, 23 and 27, etc. For the groups of *sūras* with the same letters he sought some "inner or outer connection among the *sūras*", and suggested that *ṭs(m)* in XXVI-VIII stood for *ṭūr sīnīn*, "Mount Sinai", and Moses, and that *alm* stood for *al-mat̲h̲ānī* (see 1.b above). Independently E. Goossens proposed a similar view in a 1923 *Isl.* article (see *Bibl.*), that the letters are abbreviations for discarded *sūra* titles: *ḳ* for *ḳur'ān*, *n* for *al-nūn*, "the fish", or *d̲h̲u 'l-nūn*, one of Jonah's titles, etc. The *alr sūras*, now named after individual messengers, he said once formed a *sūra*-group called *al-rusul*, "the messengers", and the *alm sūras* formed a similar group called *al-mat̲h̲al*, "the parable". His most innovative suggestion was that some letters are remnants of titles that were discarded or abbreviated when some *sūras* were rearranged, e.g. *ys* (XXXVI) is the remnant of *al-yās* or *al-yāsīn* (two names for Elias in XXXVII, 123, 130), the title of an earlier *sūra* consisting of XXXVI + XXXVII, 12-182, and *ṣ* (XXXVIII) is the remnant of *al-ṣāffāt* (the first word and title of what is now XXXVII), the title of an earlier *sūra* consisting of XXXVII, 1-11 + XXXVIII. Bauer and Goossens inspired another abbreviation theory, that of Morris Seale (see *Bibl.*) who suggested that the letters served as mnemonics of the contents of the *sūras* involved. Seale accepted Bauer's Mount Sinai and Moses for *ṭs(m)* and Goossens' *al-rusul* for *alr*, but preferred *al-mawʿiẓa*, "admonition", for *alm* and *Yūnus* (Jonah) for *ys*. The diversity of these proposals and the fact that several alternative suggestions are often equally plausible demonstrate the futility of this approach, which also fails to respond to some of the textual evidence. In the end, what Schwally said of Loth's abbreviation suggestions applies also to those of Bauer, Goossens, and Seale.

James A. Bellamy in a 1973 *JAOS* article (see *Bibl.*) has proposed an abbreviation theory that attempts to avoid the arbitrariness of the others. Starting with the views recorded by the classical commentators that *alr*, *alm*, *almr*, *ḥm*, and *n* (letters that occur at the beginning of all but ten of the affected *sūras*) are abbreviations for *al-raḥmān* or *al-raḥīm* or both, Bellamy proposes that these letters stand for these terms in the *basmala*, and that all the other mysterious letters are also abbreviations for this formula. In order to accomplish this he suggests a number of emendations, so that *ṭ* and *k* > *ba*, *ṣ* and *ḳ* > *m*, *y* > *b*, and *ʿ* > *bs* or *s*. Thus with the change of only one letter, *ṭsm*, *ṭs*, *ṭh*, *ys*, *almṣ*, *ṣ*, and *ḳ*, become *basm*, *bas*, *bah*, *bs*, *almm*, *m*, and *m*, all suitable abbreviations for the *basmala*. This leaves only *ḥmʿsḳ* and *khyʿṣ*, which with two and four changes respectively become *ḥm bsm* and *bah bsm*. Bellamy suggests that when the *basmala* was first introduced (in the "middle and late Meccan" *sūras*) it was abbreviated variously by the Prophet's scribes at the beginning of these 29 *sūras*, and that the later compilers, failing to recognise these abbreviations, gave them a permanent place in the text by writing the *basmala* out in full just before them. Most of Bellamy's suggested emendations are indeed plausible, but his theory as a whole is not consistent with some of the textual evidence (e.g. the letters are almost certainly not Meccan, but Medinan), does not answer some crucial questions (e.g. the relationship of the letters to their immediate contexts), and is based on several very unlikely assumptions (e.g. that a new formula was abbreviated a dozen different ways by unknown scribes in Mecca who died without revealing their meaning, that the well-known scribes in Medina knew nothing about the abbreviations, etc.).

Any solution to the puzzle of the mysterious letters must provide a reasonable theory that is consistent with all of the textual evidence, and the place to begin is the immediate contexts of the letters, which provide some important clues. The following list gives the *sūra* number, the position the *sūra* would have if all the *sūras* (except the Fātiḥa) were arranged exactly according to length (based on Bauer, *op. cit.*, Table II; see also Bell-Watt, 206-12, for the length of each *sūra*), the letters, and the opening formula or phrase:

2 (2)	*alm*	That is the Book, wherein is no doubt
3 (4)	*alm*	... He has sent down on thee the Book
7 (5)	*almṣ*	A Book sent down to thee
10 (11)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the Wise Book
11 (10)	*alr*	A Book whose signs are made clear
12 (12)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the clear Book; We have sent it down as an Arabic Ḳur'ān
13 (34)	*almr*	Those are the signs of the Book
14 (33)	*alr*	A Book We have sent down to thee
15 (41)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the Book and a clear Ḳur'ān
19 (29)	*khyʿṣ*	Mention of thy Lord's mercy to His servant Zechariah
20 (17)	*ṭh*	We have sent down the Ḳur'ān upon thee
26 (15)	*ṭsm*	Those are the signs of the clear Book
27 (25)	*ṭs*	Those are the signs of the Ḳur'ān and a clear Book
28 (16)	*ṭsm*	Those are the signs of the clear Book
29 (27)	*alm*	Do the people reckon that they ... will not be tried?
30 (36)	*alm*	The Romans have been vanquished
31 (46)	*alm*	Those are the signs of the wise Book
32 (54)	*alm*	The sending down of the Book wherein is no doubt
36 (40)	*ys*	By the wise Ḳur'ān ... the sending down of the Almighty
38 (39)	*ṣ*	By the Ḳur'ān, containing the remembrance
40 (23)	*ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God the Almighty
41 (37)	*ḥm*	A sending down from the Merciful, the Compassionate. A Book whose signs

	have been distinguished as an Arabic Ḳur'ān.
42 (35) *ḥmʿsḳ*	So reveals to thee and to those before thee God, the Almighty
43 (31) *ḥm*	By the clear Book. Behold, We have made it an Arabic Ḳur'ān
44 (55) *ḥm*	By the clear Book. We have sent it down in a blessed night
45 (47) *ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God, the Almighty
46 (42) *ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God, the Almighty
50 (52) *ḳ*	By the glorious Ḳur'ān
68 (62) *n*	By the Pen and what they inscribe

Two points, stressed by Schwally, Bauer, Loth and others but largely disregarded by all the abbreviation theories, stand out in this list: the mysterious letters influenced the final arrangement of the Ḳur'ān, and they are closely related to the introductory formulas and to the Book. Groups of *sūra*s with the same letters but with widely varying lengths have been kept together even though this violates the principle of arranging the *sūra*s according to length. This suggests that separate collections of *sūra*s with the same letters existed at the time of the compilation of the Ḳur'ān and that the redactors were hesitant to break them up. The most likely reason for this hesitancy is that they regarded the letters as part of the revelation, and the groups of *sūra*s as going back to the Prophet. In nearly every case the letters are followed immediately by a reference to some form of the revelation, usually a distinctive revelation formula or oath that mentions the Book or the Ḳur'ān or both (XXIX and XXX being obvious exceptions). In III this formula occurs in verse 2, which Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 75) says was probably the original beginning of the *sūra*. In XIX a Book formula, "Mention in the Book Mary (Abraham, etc.)", introduces five other accounts (verses 16, 41, 51, etc.), but what appears to be an older formula is retained at the beginning of the first (verse 2). The close connection between the mysterious letters and the Book is proved by the fact that, although many *sūra*s begin with formulas or oaths, only one other *sūra* opens with the same type of revelation formula, namely, XXXIX, which belongs with the *ḥm sūras*. It begins exactly the same as three of them (XL, XLV and XLVI), it shares the same themes, and it is placed with them despite its length (see Bauer, Table II). Ubayy and others are in fact said to have read *ḥm* at the beginning of this *sūra* (*Materials*, 160). Revelation is mentioned in a few other *sūra* introductions, but they are different, e.g. XVIII and XXV begin with praise formulas (*al-ḥamdu li 'llāh* and *tabāraka*), XCVII with a *wa-mā adrāka* formula (see 7a below) and LV mentions *al-ḳur'ān* in verse 2, but is in a completely different style. There is also some correlation between specific formulas and groups of *sūra*s with the same mysterious letters, e.g. the *ṭsm sūra*s have the same formula, three of the *ḥm sūra*s have the same formula, and four with unique letters (*ys*, *ṣ*, *ḳ*, and *n*) begin with oaths.

Whether or not Loth is correct in saying that several of the introductory formulas contain allusions to the mysterious letters, there is other evidence that these letters are part of the revelation and were recited as separate letters from the beginning. For one thing, most of the groups of letters when recited as letters of the alphabet introduce the rhyme of their respective *sūra*s. The 17 *sūra*s with groups of letters ending in *īm*, *īn*, or *ūn* (i.e. six with *alif lām mīm*, six with *ḥā' mīm*, two with *ṭā' sīn mīm*, and one each with *ṭā' sīn*, *yā' sīn*, and *nūn*) all have this rhyme, with one partial exception. Sūra XX, on the other hand, with *ṭā' hā'*, has the *ā* rhyme (in verses 1-24); XXXVIII, with *ṣād*, has the rhyme *āḳ*, *āṣ*, etc.; XI, with *alif lām rā'*, has *īr*, *ūr* in verses 1-5; and XIII, with *alif lām mīm rā'*, and XLII, with *ḥā' mīm*, *ʿayn sīn ḳāf*, both have *īn*, *ūn* in verses 1-5, and then change to *āb*, *ār* and *īl*, *īr*, respectively. The correspondence is not exact, and there are exceptions, but this close relationship between the letters and the rhyme or assonance of the *sūra*s must be more than a coincidence.

Another striking fact that must be more than coincidental is that the mysterious letters represent every consonantal form in Arabic, while no form occurs for more than one letter. Thus we have *y* but no *b*, *t*, or *th*; *ḥ* but no *dj* or *kh*; *r* but no *z*; *s* but no *sh*; *ṣ* but no *ḍ*; *ṭ* but no *ẓ*; *ʿ* but no *gh*; *ḳ* but no *f* or *w*; and *k* but no *d* or *dh*—along with each of the forms that represent only one letter, *'*, *l*, *m*, *n*, and *h* (note that in Kūfic Arabic *w* was written like *ḳ* and *f*, and *d* and *dh* were written like *k*, except that letters were not attached to the ends of *w*, *d*, and *dh*). The most reasonable explanation of the fact that these 14 letters, and no others, occur is that they were intended to represent the Arabic alphabet. If this is so, then the statements in the introductory formulas saying that the revelation was being sent down as a "clear Book" (*kitāb mubīn*) in Arabic take on new significance; other passages (XVI, 103, XXVI, 195) speak of the revelation being in "plain Arabic speech" (*lisān ʿarabī mubīn*). The fact that the literature on variant readings does not record differences in the way the 14 consonantal forms were recited seems to indicate that there was a strong oral tradition supporting the mysterious letters.

A number of questions still remain, but the evidence seems to support Loth, the later Nöldeke, Schwally, Bell, and Alan Jones (see *Bibl.*) in regarding the mysterious letters as part of the revelation. Moreover, Bell seems to have been correct in seeing the letters and the introductory formulas as part of the early Medinan revisions adapting the *sūra*s for inclusion in the written scripture Muḥammad was preparing. It is not unlikely that the *sūra*s with the letters are the ones Muḥammad prepared for the Book. The letters are significant for understanding the history of the text, and the chronology of the text is important for understanding the letters.

5. Chronology of the Text

The Ḳur'ān responds constantly and often explicitly to Muḥammad's historical situation, giving encouragement in times of persecution, answering questions from his followers and opponents, commenting on current events, etc. Major doctrines and regulations for the Muslim community, which are never stated systematically in the Ḳur'ān, are introduced gradually and in stages that are not always clear. There are apparent contradictions and inconsistencies in the presentation of both the beliefs and the regulations, and the latter are sometimes altered to fit new situations. Thus it is essential to know the approximate dates or historical settings of some passages, and at least the chronological order of others, if they are to be understood fully. This problem was recognised by early Muslim scholars who devoted much attention to it in the first few centuries, until a fairly rigid system of dating was established and given the imprimatur of orthodoxy. In modern times the study of the chronology of the Ḳur'ān has been almost exclusively a domain of

Western scholars, who have not however been able to reach a consensus on a dating system, or even on the possibility of establishing one.

a. Historical references and allusions in the Ḳur'ān. The Ḳur'ān mentions specifically or alludes to a number of historical events in the life of Muḥammad and his contemporaries, but it gives no dates or other indications as to exactly when these events occurred. In most cases, the specific occasions alluded to and the dates of the passages involved cannot be determined. This is especially true for the period before the Hidjra in 622, for which there are only a few references to dateable historical events, and even if the events could be identified with certainty this would be of little help in dating the passages that refer to them, e.g. XXX, 2-5, mentions a military defeat of the Byzantines, presumably their loss of Jerusalem to the Persians in 614 (cf. also CV, believed to refer to a military expedition against Mecca in the middle years of the 6th century). There are many allusions to Muḥammad's personal situation in Mecca (e.g. the persecution he suffered, accusations made by his opponents, his early life and orphanhood) and to specific practices of the Meccans, but the passages that contain these allusions cannot be dated with any precision. It is only in the Medinan period that we have a number of passages that can be dated fairly precisely on the basis of references or allusions to specific historical events that can be dated from other sources. For instance, the battle of Badr (spring 624) and the battle of Ḥunayn (early 630) are mentioned by name in III, 123, and IX, 25, respectively. The change of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] (direction one faces when performing the ritual prayer) from Jerusalem to Mecca in late 623 or early 624 is discussed in II, 162-50. The adoption of the ancient pilgrimage rituals about the time of the battle of Badr is discussed in II, 158, 198, V, 95 ff., etc., where the Kaʿba, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (two ancient holy places in Mecca), Mount ʿArafāt, and al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām (the sanctuary in Muzdalifa) are all mentioned by name. Muḥammad's adopted son, Zayd (b. Ḥāritha), is mentioned by name in XXXIII, 37 in connection with an episode that occurred in the spring of 627. And many other events are alluded to, although not by name: the battle of Uḥud (625) in III, 155-74; the expulsion of the Jewish tribe of al-Naḍīr (625) in LIX, 2-5; the Day of the Trench (627) in XXXIII, 9-27; the expedition to Khaybar (628) in XLVIII, 15; the expedition to Tabūk (630) in IX, 29-35, etc. All Ḳur'ānic dating systems, Muslim and non-Muslim, take these historical references and allusions in Medinan contexts as their starting-point.

b. Traditional Muslim dating. During the early Islamic centuries a number of passages in the Ḳur'ān came to be connected with stories that arose in the attempts to reconstruct the life of the Prophet, especially for the period in Mecca before the Hidjra: LIII, 1-18, and LXXX, 15-29, came to be interpreted as Muḥammad's call visions, while XCIV came to be associated with a story about the miraculous opening of his breast and purification of his heart, XCVI and LXXIV with his call to public prophethood, XVII, 1, with his Night Journey, etc. (see, e.g., al-Ṭabarī and al-Zamakhsharī, *ad locc.*; for the European literature, Paret, *Kommentar*, 460 f., 513-15, 493 and 295 f.). Other passages came to be connected with certain events in the life of the Muslim community: XIX is said to have been recited to the Negus of Abyssinia by Muḥammad's followers who were forced to emigrate from Mecca to escape persecution around 615; and a written copy of XX is said to have been involved in the conversion of ʿUmar at about the same time. Early Ḳur'ān scholars also attempted to identify and explain vague allusions in the Ḳur'ān, e.g. they explained that the blind man alluded to in LXXX was a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm, and that the man involved in a divorce dispute in LVIII was Aws b. al-Ṣāmit. And episodes related to IX, 40, XXIV, 11-20, XXXIII, 37-40, LXVI, 3-5, CXI, 1-5, and many others were similarly explained. From these stories and explanations there arose a separate genre of Islamic literature called *asbāb al-nuzūl*, "the occasions of the revelation", the prime example being a work of the same title by al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075-6). This literature does not attempt to provide a complete system for dating the various parts of the Ḳur'ān, and only a small proportion of the text is treated. Also, there are a number of inconsistencies, e.g. whether XCVI or LXXIV was the "first revelation" (see *Itḳān*, i, 23 f.). Some of the stories and other explanations found in this literature and in the Ḳur'ān commentaries are obviously legendary, and in some cases the process by which these accounts came to be attached to Ḳur'ānic passages can be reconstructed (see, e.g., H. Birkeland, *The legend of the opening of Muhammad's breast*, Oslo 1955, and *The Lord guideth*, Oslo 1956, 38-55). Others probably have some historical validity, but there is often good reason to suspect elaborate embellishment. These accounts—historical, semi-historical, and legendary—came to be accepted, often without discrimination, as the basis for the traditional Muslim dating of the Ḳur'ān.

The adoption of the Ḳur'ān as a primary source for Islamic law played an important role in the establishment of a chronological order for the text. Rather than attempting to explain away the inconsistencies in passages giving regulations for the Muslim community, Ḳur'ān scholars and jurists came to acknowledge the differences, while arguing that the latest verse on any subject "abrogated" all earlier verses that contradicted it. A classic example involves the Ḳur'ānic teaching or regulation on drinking wine, where V, 90, which has a strong statement against the practice, came to be interpreted as a prohibition, abrogating II, 219, and IV, 43, which appear to allow it. This theory or doctrine of abrogation (*naskh*) has only limited support in the Ḳur'ān itself, since the verses on which it is based, especially II, 106, involve passages that are no longer in the Ḳur'ān. But a number of treatises on the subject influenced the development of the traditional dating of the Ḳur'ān by establishing a widespread belief in the chronological order of certain groups of isolated verses. Eventually, long lists of "abrogating and abrogated (verses)" (*al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*) were drawn up, as jurists and others, in efforts to support their own views, sought out all possible inconsistencies and claimed that the "earlier" verses involved had been abrogated. See NASKH and TAFSĪR; *Itḳān*, ii, 20-7; Bell-Watt, 86-9; Burton, *Collection*, 46-104.

The task of dating parts of the Ḳur'ān and determining its chronological order was further complicated by the assumption that the present *sūras* were the original units of revelation, i.e. that except for a few verses in some *sūras*, each *sūra* was revealed all at once or during a short period of time before the next *sūra* was begun. This assumption led to the practice of designating each *sūra* as "Meccan" or "Medinan" (i.e. revealed before or after the Hidjra) and to attempts to determine the exact chronological order of all the *sūras* as wholes—rather than dealing with

separate parts as in the *asbāb al-nuzūl* and *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh* literature. But al-Suyūṭī's lists of *sūra*s attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. *ca.* 68/688), Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma (d. *ca.* 112/730), and others show that the schools of these early Ḳur'ān scholars could not agree even on whether some *sūra*s were "Meccan" or "Medinan", much less on their exact chronological order (*Itḳān*, i, 10 f.). Al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316) classified the *sūra*s as "Meccan", "Medinan", or "disputed", and included 17 in this last category: XIII, XLVII, LV, LVII, LXI, LXIV, LXXXIII, XCV, XCVII-C, CII, CVII and CXII-CXIV. The lists given by al-Suyūṭī show that there was also difference of opinion on six others: XLIX, LXII-LXIII, LXXVII, LXXXIX and XCII. The chronological order attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (*ibid.*) came to be widely accepted, and with a few changes was adopted by the editors of the Egyptian standard edition of the Ḳur'ān (1322/1924), who indicated in the heading to each *sūra* the *sūra* revealed just before it and any verses that belong to a different period. Thus the heading for XIV reads: "Sūra of Abraham, Meccan, except verses 28 and 29 which are Medinan; it has 52 verses; it was revealed after Sūra of Noah".

The Egyptian standard edition gives the following chronological order of the *sūra*s, with the verses said to date from a different period given in parentheses: XCVI, LXVIII (17-33, 48-50 Med.), LXXIII (10 f., 20 Med.), LXXIV, I, CXI, LXXXI, LXXXVII, XCII, LXXXIX, XCIII, XCIV, CIII, C, CVIII, CII, CVII, CIX, CV, CXIII, CXIV, CXII, LIII, LXXX, XCVII, XCI, LXXXV, CVI, CI, LXXV, CIV, LXXVII (48 Med.), L (38 Med.), XC, LXXXVI, LIV (54-6 Med.), XXXVIII, VII (163-70 Med.), LXXII, XXXVI (45 Med.), XXV (68-70 Med.), XXXV, XIX (58, 71 Med.), XX (130 f. Med.), LVI (71 f. Med.), XXVI (197, 224-7 Med.), XXVII, XXVIII (52-5 Med., 85 during Hidjra), XVII (26, 32 f., 57, 73-80 Med.), X (40, 94-6 Med.), XI (12, 17, 114 Med.), XII (1-3, 7 Med.), XV, VI (20, 23, 91, 114, 141, 151-3 Med.), XXXVII, XXXI (27-9 Med.), XXXIV (6 Med.), XXXIX (52-4 Med.), XL (56 f. Med.), XLI, XLII (23-5, 27 Med.), XLIII (54 Med.), XLIV, XLV (14 Med.), XLVI (10, 15, 35 Med.), LI, LXXXVIII, XVIII (28, 83-101 Med.), XVI (126-8 Med.), LXXI, XIV (28 f. Med.), XXI, XXIII, XXXII (16-20 Med.), LII, LXVII, LXX, LXXVIII, LXXIX, LXXXII, LXXXIV, XXX (17 Med.), XXIX (1-11 Med.), LXXXIII—Hidjra—II (281 later), VIII (30-6 Mec.), III, XXXIII, LX, IV, XCIX, LVII, XLVII (13 during Hidjra), XIII, LV, LXXVI, LXV, XCVIII, LIX, XXIV, XXII, LXIII, LVIII, XLIX, LXVI, LXIV, LXI, LXII, XLVIII, V, IX (128 f. Mec.), CX. Sūra II is the only one said to have an addition later in the same period. Sūras VIII, XLVII, and IX, all Medinan, are the only ones said to have earlier verses inserted into later *sūra*s. Of the 86 Meccan *sūra*s, 33 are said to have some Medinan verses. The traditional dating seen here is based on three assumptions: (1) that the present *sūra*s were the original units of revelation, (2) that it is possible to determine their chronological order, and (3) that Tradition (including the *ḥadīth*, *sīra*, *asbāb al-nuzūl*, *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, and *tafsīr bi 'l-ma'thūr* literature) provides a valid basis for dating the *sūra*s.

c. Modern Western dating. Since the mid-19th century, Western scholars have been applying critical methods to the Ḳur'ān in varying degrees, and have proposed a variety of dating systems. The one that has gained the most acceptance is that of what might be called the Four-period School, founded by Gustav Weil in his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in der Koran* (1844, 1878). Weil reassessed the dating of the Ḳur'ān and offered his own chronological order of the *sūra*s using three criteria: (1) references to historical events known from other sources, (2) the character of the revelation as reflecting Muḥammad's changing situation and roles, and (3) the outward appearance or form of the revelation (1st ed., 54 f.). His most notable contribution was his division of the "Meccan *sūra*s" into three groups, thus establishing altogether four periods of revelation, with the dividing points at about the time of the emigration to Abyssinia (*ca.* 615), Muḥammad's return from al-Ṭā'if (*ca.* 620), and the Hidjra (September 622). Weil's four-period dating system and his three criteria were then adopted, with some changes in the order of the *sūra*s, by Th. Nöldeke in 1860 and F. Schwally in 1909 in their monumental *Gesch. des Qor.*, and then by R. Blachère in his *Introd.* (1947, 1959) and translation, *Le Coran* (1949-50, 1966). In the 1st ed. of his translation, Blachère arranged the *sūra*s in what he took to be their chronological order; in the 2nd ed. the *sūra*s were put in the traditional order (this 2nd ed. was meant for a wider public; but Blachère may also have felt, after deeper acquaintanceship with Bell's work, that it was not possible to arrange the *sūra*s in an exact chronological order). In order to show the similarities and differences among the three versions of this four-period system, and to facilitate a comparison of this system with the traditional dating, the three European versions are all given below. The few verses in some *sūra*s that are said to date from a different period are not indicated here, except where Blachère divided two *sūra*s in the first edition of his translation.

The *sūra*s of the First or Early Meccan Period tend to be short, with short, rhythmic verses. They often begin with a series of *kāhin*-style oaths, and the language is said to be full of "poetic imagery and power". Assuming a progressive deterioration of style, Weil placed in the First Period the *sūra*s he felt have the most exalted poetic style, along with others that share the same themes and general style. The chronological order of the *sūra*s of the First Period according to the three versions is as follows:
Weil: 96, 74, 73, 106, 111, 53, 81, 68, 87, 92, 89, 93, 94, 103, 100, 108, 102, 107, 109, 105, 113, 114, 112, 80, 97, 91, 85, 90, 95, 101, 75, 104, 77, 86, 70, 78, 79, 82, 84, 56, 88, 52, 69, 83, 99.
Nöldeke: 96, 74, 111, 106, 108, 104, 107, 102, 105, 92, 90, 94, 93, 97, 86, 91, 80, 68, 87, 95, 103, 85, 73, 101, 99, 82, 81, 53, 84, 100, 79, 77, 78, 88, 89, 75, 83, 69, 51, 52, 56, 70, 55, 112, 109, 113, 114, 1.
Blachère: 96^{1-5}, 74^{1-7}, 106, 93, 94, 103, 91, 107, 86, 95, 99, 101, 100, 92, 82, 87, 80, 81, 84, 79, 88, 52, 56, 69, 77, 78, 75, 55, 97, 53, 102, 96^{6-19}, 70, 73, 76, 83, 74^{8-55}, 111, 108, 104, 90, 105, 89, 112, 109, 1, 113, 114.

The *sūra*s of the Second or Middle Meccan Period are longer and "more prosaic", but still with "poetic" qualities. In style they are said to form a transition between the *sūra*s of the First and Third periods. The signs of God in nature and the divine attributes such as mercy (*raḥma*) are emphasised, and God is often called the Merciful One (*al-raḥmān*). There are vivid descriptions of paradise and the hellfire, and here too the punishment-stories are introduced. The *sūra*s of the Second Period are (italics = Nöldeke only; parentheses = Blachère only):
Weil: 1, 51, 36, 50, 54, 44, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 67, 37, 38, 43, 71, 55, 15, 76.

Nöldeke and Blachère: (51), 54, (68), 37, 71, 76, 44, 50, 20, 26, 15, 19, 38, 36, 43, 72, 67, 23, 21, 25, 17, 27, 18.

The *sūra*s of the Third or Late Meccan Period are even longer and "more prosaic", and Weil says the "poetic power" has been lost altogether. The revelation often takes the form of sermons or speeches, and the prophet stories and punishment-stories are retold in more and more detail. Nöldeke emphasises changes in vocabulary, but similarity of form, in Late Meccan and Medinan *sūras*. The *sūra*s of the Third Period are:

Weil: 7, 72, 35, 27, 28, 17, 10, 11, 12, 6, 31, 34, 39, 40, 32, 42, 45, 46, 18, 16, 14, 41, 30, 29, 13, 64.

Nöldeke and Blachère: 32, 41, 45, (17), 16, 30, 11, 14, 12, 40, 28, 39, 29, 31, 42, 10, 34, 35, 7, 46, 6, 13.

The Medinan *sūra*s and their chronological order are determined by the subject matter of these revelations that reflect Muḥammad's growing political power and the general development of events in Medina after the Hid̲j̲ra. New themes and key terms are said to help distinguish these *sūra*s from certain Late Meccan ones. The Medinan *sūra*s are:

Weil: 2, 98, 62, 65, 22, 4, 8, 47, 57, 3, 59, 24, 63, 33, 48, 110, 61, 60, 58, 49, 66, 9, 5.

Nöldeke and Blachère: 2, 98, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 65, 59, 33, 63, 24, 58, 22, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5.

Here we see a combination of excessive dependence on traditional Muslim dating and on matters of form and style, e.g. in Weil's First Period the first 34 *sūra*s, with just a few exceptions, are in almost exactly the same order as in the traditional Muslim dating (cf. the Egyptian list above). Weil then closed this period with eleven *sūra*s that have the same "poetic style", but are dated considerably later by Muslims (note the exact order of LXX-LXXXIV). Nöldeke then accepted all of Weil's First Period *sūras*, and added three more (I, LI, LV); and Blachère accepted all of Nöldeke's except for two (LI, LXVIII), and added one (LXXVI)—these differences involve mainly the dividing points between the periods. Also, the traditional stories involving certain *sūras*—Muḥammad's call (XCVI, LXXIV), an incident involving Muḥammad's uncle, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā (CXI), the emigration to Abyssinia (XIX, XX), etc.—seem to have been accepted as historical. But the Tradition, especially on the Meccan period, is not this trustworthy. Weil, Nöldeke, and Blachère have accepted the three assumptions of the traditional Muslim dating stated above; their four-period system is essentially little more than a European variation of the traditional dating. On the question of style, it is true that there were changes through the years; but there is no reason to assume that all *sūra*s with the same style belong to the same period. The Four-period School have not demonstrated the validity of the historical framework or the development of ideas and key terms assumed by their system, which has been widely accepted in the West with much more confidence than is justified. It should be emphasised, however, that this system is often used by others in a rigid way not intended by its founders (Weil and Nöldeke), e.g. giving the exact chronological order of several verses, or the exact number of occurrences of a term in each period. Schwally in particular emphasised that the order proposed by Nöldeke was only approximate.

Three other dating systems were proposed by Europeans within a span of ten years around the turn of the 20th century. That of H. Grimme, presented in his *Mohammed* (1892-5), ii, 25 ff., was basically a variation of Nöldeke's, with more emphasis on stages in the development of doctrinal themes. Grimme's analysis of groups of ideas that occur together in the Ḳur'ān was useful, but his view of the overall sequence of ideas (monotheism, resurrection, the Last Day, etc.) was not widely accepted, and has since been discredited. Sir William Muir, in his *The Coran: its composition and teaching* (1896), 43-7, offered an arrangement of the *sūra*s in six periods (five Meccan and one Medinan). His most significant and innovative suggestion was that the first period in the composition of the Ḳur'ān comprised eighteen short *sūra*s, which he called "rhapsodies", dating from before Muḥammad's call: CIII, C, XCIX, XCI, CVI, I, CI, XCV, CII, CIV, LXXXII, XCII, CV, LXXXIX, XC, XCIII, XCIV and CVIII. Muir pointed out that none of these is in the form of a message from a deity. His second period has four *sūra*s (XCVI, CXIII, LXXIV, CXI) treating "the opening of Muḥammad's ministry", presumably *ca.* 610. The other dividing points are the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry (*ca.* 613), the Abyssinian emigration (*ca.* 615), the Year of Sorrow (*ca.* 619), and the Hid̲j̲ra. Muir is no doubt correct in dating some *sūra*s before XCVI and LXXIV, but I and others he lists are almost certainly later. In general, the criticisms stated above of the four-period system apply also to Muir's. In 1902 H. Hirschfeld, in his *New researches* (see *Bibl.*), proposed a chronological arrangement of the Ḳur'ān based on the character or function of individual passages. After the "first proclamation", XCVI, 1-5, Hirschfeld's arrangement also has six periods, in which the revelations are classified as "confirmatory" (LXXXVII, LXVIII, 1-33, XCII, LXIX, 40-52, etc.), "declamatory" (LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXIV, etc.), "narrative" (LXVIII, 34-52, LI, XXVI, 1-220, LIV, etc.), "descriptive" (LXXIX, 27-46, LXXI, LV, etc.), "legislative" (VI, 1-73, XCIII, 9-11, XXV, 63-72, etc.), and Medinan, grouped together but discussed separately as those up to the battle of Badr, political speeches, revelations on Muḥammad's domestic affairs, and preparations for the Pilgrimage to Mecca. This system has a number of obvious flaws, but Hirschfeld's work was valuable for its preliminary analysis of Ḳur'ānic literary types and its recognition of the fact that in dating parts of the Ḳur'ān we must deal with individual pericopes rather than entire *sūra*s.

This insight became a guiding principle in the most elaborate attempt so far to identify and date the original units of revelation, Richard Bell's *The Qur'ān, translated, with a critical re-arrangement of the surahs*, 2 vols. (1937-9). Over a decade earlier he became convinced that Nöldeke's dating was inadequate (*ibid.*, 689 f.). Bell's verse-by-verse analysis of the entire Ḳur'ān led him to conclude that the *sūra*s are far more complex than is assumed by the traditional Muslim and European dating, that the revelations underwent considerable revision, including expansion, replacement of older passages with new material, changes in the rhyme, etc., that this revision involved written documents and was done during Muḥammad's lifetime under his supervision, and that the material for most of the *sūra*s was compiled, but not put into its final form, under Muḥammad's supervision. Bell did not present a rigid dating system, but concluded "provisionally" (vi f.) that the composition of the Ḳur'ān fell into three main periods: an early one from which only some sign-passages and exhortations to worship God survive; a "Ḳur'ān period", covering the latter part of the Meccan period and the first year or two in

Medina, during which Muḥammad's task was to produce a *ḳur'ān*, a collection of lessons for liturgical use; and a "Book period", beginning about the end of the year 2 A.H., during which Muḥammad began to produce a written scripture. According to Bell, the present Ḳur'ān is not to be divided into these three periods, since a number of sign-passages were incorporated into the liturgical *ḳur'ān*, and in Medina this collection of oral materials was revised to form part of the Book. Bell attempted to date some Medinan passages fairly precisely—"early Medinan, revised after Badr", "shortly after Uḥud", "year VII", etc. But for most passages he gave very general and often tentative suggestions, especially for the Meccan material, e.g. "early, revised in Mecca (?), "Meccan, with Medinan additions", and very often "Meccan" and "late Meccan or early Medinan". A survey of Bell's provisional dating of the individual passages shows that he regarded fewer than twenty *sūras* as being probably completely Meccan: L, LIII, LV, LXIX, LXXV, LXXIX, LXXX, LXXXII, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII-LXXXIX, XCI-XCIII, XCV-XCVI, XCIX, CIV and CXIII, all of which are said to have material from different dates. Of the other short *sūras*, some of which he regarded as possible unities, Bell said CII, CV, CXII and CXIV seem to be Medinan; I, XCIV, CIII and CVI-CVIII could be either Meccan or Medinan; and on C, CI, CIX and CXI he gave no opinion. He regarded as completely Medinan the same 24 *sūras* said to be Medinan by Nöldeke, but saw them as having significant amounts of material from several different dates, thus making it impossible to put the *sūras* as wholes in chronological order. This leaves exactly half of the *sūras* (57) which Bell regarded as having significant amounts of material from both before and after the Hidjra: 33 said to be mostly Meccan, with Medinan revisions and additions—VI, VII, XII, XIII, XV, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXV-XXVI, XXXIV, XXXVI-XXXVIII, XLI, XLIV, LI-LII, LIV, LVI, LXVIII, LXX-LXXIV, LXXVI-LXXVIII, LXXXI, LXXXIV, LXXXVII and XC; and 24 said to be mostly Medinan, with some Meccan passages, or based on Meccan material—X, XI, XIV, XVI, XIX, XX, XXIII, XXVII-XXXII, XXXV, XXXIX, XL, XLII-XLIII, XLV-XLVI, LXVII, LXXXIII, LXXXV and XCVII. He thus distinguished between dates of original revelation (or earliest recitation) and dates of later editing and composition during Muḥammad's lifetime. The fact that he indicated breaks in the text and identified older components, e.g. Meccan passages in *sūras* that were completed in Medina, does not mean he failed to recognise that some longer *sūras* (e.g. XII, XIX, XXVI) and many shorter ones (e.g. LXXXVII, CIV) are carefully composed, unified works in their final form.

Bell's analysis of the Ḳur'ān has often been misunderstood or ignored by later writers, partly because the extensive notes to his translation, giving the arguments for his reconstructions, were never published. Nor has any thorough study and critique of Bell's work yet appeared. The review articles by J. E. Merill and W. M. Watt (see *Bibl.*) and Watt's remarks in Bell-Watt (113 f., 101-7, 137-41, etc.) are useful introductions. Watt has expressed reservations about Bell's hypothesis on the disjointedness of the Ḳur'ān. Bell suggested that when some passages were being revised Muḥammad instructed the scribes to write the new versions on the backs of the sheets on which the verses being replaced were written, and that the later editors, not wanting to discard any of the revelation, inserted the old verses just before or after the new ones. E.g. II, 185, was written on the back of 184, 186 (on fasting), II, 196, on the back of 197-9 (on the Pilgrimage), XXIV, 2-9, on the back of 10-18 (on fornication), and XVIII, 6-9 (a new introduction to the story of the Seven Sleepers), on the back of 10-12, which was replaced by a longer version of the story in 13-21a. In other cases the scribes simply used the backs of sheets on which older, discarded material was written, e.g. IV, 11-14, on the back of 2-10, IV, 19-21, on the back of 15-18, and VII, 3-5, on the back of 6 9. This hypothesis provides a feasible explanation and solution to textual problems in some cases, but not in others. It now seems that Bell was sometimes too quick to designate a passage as "discarded" material or a "scrap" that got into the Ḳur'ān by mistake; and he seems to have failed to recognise some literary forms, e.g. the *wa-mā adrāka* formula (see 7.a below). But it must be remembered that Bell was a pioneer in this field, and that he attempted to locate all possible breaks in the text, acknowledging that many of his suggestions were uncertain or tentative and that some would be proved untenable by later research. On the whole, his dating and reconstructions have been supported by later studies, e.g. K. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran* (Leiden 1968), 47-81, on II, 183 ff.; see also Welch, *Allah and other supernatural beings* (see *Bibl.*) on the emergence of the doctrine of *tawḥīd*, and idem, in W. M. Watt and A. T. Welch, *Der Islam*, i (Stuttgart 1980), 264-71, 300-3, on the origin and early development of the *ṣalāt* and *zakāt*. Careful studies of a number of passages and topics are needed before a final judgment of Bell's work can be made.

There is room for disagreement on specifics, but there can now be little doubt that Schwally was correct in concluding that passages from different dates were put together to form the present *sūras*, that written documents were involved, and that this revision was done under Muḥammad's supervision (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 45 ff., ii, 1 f., 77, etc.). Furthermore, Bell seems to have been right in his main conclusions, which went beyond Schwally's position. Most *sūras* have significant amounts of material from different dates, and nearly all of the longer *sūras* with Meccan material were revised or expanded in Medina, so that we can no longer speak of "middle Meccan" or "late Meccan" *sūras*. We can speak with more confidence of "early Meccan" *sūras*, although we cannot be certain as to which ones belong to this group. And we can speak of "Medinan *sūras*", i.e. those that are made up completely of Medinan material (of various dates). It is not possible to put the *sūras* as wholes in chronological order, or to determine the exact order of the passages on any major teaching—the creation, God and other supernatural beings, the nature and destiny of man, etc. This does not mean that nothing can be said on the development of ideas in the Ḳur'ān. On the major teachings and other subjects on which the Ḳur'ān has much to say, it is possible to reconstruct the sequence of the main stages of development, and sometimes the approximate dates of these stages. It now seems certain that the most important single turning point in the development of the Muslim scripture was not the Hidjra, dividing the Ḳur'ān into "Meccan" and "Medinan" *sūras*, but a series of events surrounding the battle of Badr and Muḥammad's so-called "break with the Jews". Late Meccan and very early Medinan material is difficult to distinguish; there are many passages that could just as well date from Muḥam-

mad's last year in Mecca or his first in Medina.

6. Language and Style

a. **Language of the Ḳur'ān.** Most mediaeval Muslim scholars believed that the Ḳur'ān was in the spoken language of the Prophet, the dialect of the Ḳuraysh, which was also the language of the "Classical Arabic" poetry of Muḥammad's day. It was assumed that the Ḳuraysh and the classical poets retained the pure language of the Bedouins (*al-aʿrāb*). Support for this view, more a theological doctrine than a linguistic theory, was found in the Ḳur'ān in the statements that the revelation was in "clear Arabic speech" (*lisān ʿarabī mubīn*) (XVI, 103, XXVI, 195; cf. XLI, 44), which came to be interpreted as "pure Arabic". This Ḳuraysh dialect theory was attacked by Karl Vollers in a series of well-documented articles beginning in 1894 and culminating in his classic *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (1906), in which he argues that the Ḳur'ān was first recited by Muḥammad in a colloquial Arabic without case-endings (*iʿrāb*) (thus distinguishing it from the Classical Arabic of the poets), that the language of the Ḳur'ān as we now have it was a fabrication of later philologists who attempted to put the revelations into Classical Arabic, and that the original language of the Ḳur'ān survives only in a few orthographic peculiarities (e.g. the omission of the *alif* in some words) and in the non-canonical readings. Voller's theory gave rise to much discussion of the language of the Ḳur'ān, but it found little support outside of Germany, except for several articles by Paul Kahle (e.g. *The Arabic readers of the Koran*, in *JNES*, viii [1949], 65-71), who presented evidence to show that at least during the 2nd century the Ḳur'ān was indeed recited without *iʿrāb*, a characteristic of colloquial Arabic. Kahle's arguments also failed to convince others, and the earlier refutations of Vollers' thesis given in a lengthy review by R. Geyer (*Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*, clxxi [1909], 10-56) and by Nöldeke (*Neue Beiträge*, 1-5) have been generally accepted (on the views of Vollers, Kahle, Geyer, and Nöldeke, see Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 112-30). Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*) and Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 59) argued that the language of the Ḳur'ān was not the spoken language of any tribe, but was a somewhat artificial *Hochsprache* that was understood throughout the Ḥidjāz. On the other side, it has come to be generally agreed that the Classical Arabic of the poetry of Muḥammad's time was not the spoken language of the poets or the dialect of any one tribe, but a literary language that was understood by all the tribes. This language has come to be called the "poetic *koinē*" or the *ʿarabiyya*. In the late 1940s three European writers, H. Fleisch, R. Blachère, and C. Rabin, reached the conclusion, apparently independently, that the language of the Ḳur'ān, far from being the spoken dialect of the Ḳuraysh or a *Hochsprache* of the entire Ḥidjāz, was simply the "poetic *koinē*" of the Classical Arabic poetry, with some adaptation to the Meccan speech, e.g. the omission of the *hamza* (for references and discussion, see C. Rabin, *The beginnings of Classical Arabic*, in *Stud. Isl.*, iv [1955]. 19-37, and Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 130-72). This view has been accepted by most Western Arabists. One notable exception is J. Wansbrough (*Quranic studies*, 85-118) who rejects the *koinē* or *ʿarabiyya* concept, without offering any clear alternative. He asserts that very little can be known about the text of the Ḳur'ān or about Classical Arabic prior to the "literary stabilisation" of both in the 3rd/9th century. There is nothing in the Ḳur'ānic usage of *ʿarabī* and its cognate forms to support the suggestion of J. Fück (*ʿArabīya*, Berlin 1950, 1-5) that *ʿarabī* in the expression "clear Arabic speech" refers to the *ʿarabiyya*, the literary language of the Bedouins.

b. **Foreign vocabulary.** The earliest exegetes recognised and discussed freely a large number of non-Arabic words in the Ḳur'ān, and Tradition credits Ibn ʿAbbās and his school with having a special interest in seeking their origin and meaning. Then when the dogma of the eternity and perfection of the Ḳur'ān was elaborated (see 8. below) some jurists and theologians, such as al-Shāfiʿī (d. 205/820), came to believe that it was in pure Arabic and thus denied that any of its vocabulary was borrowed from other languages. But prominent philologists such as Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838) continued to argue that the Ḳur'ān contained foreign words. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) and others, attempting to reconcile the two views, asserted that the alleged foreign elements in the Ḳur'ān were simply words that Arabic and other languages had in common. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī (d. 873/1468) explained in his *Kitāb al-Djawāhir* (Algiers 1905, i, 17) that these words came into Arabic through the ancient Arabs' contacts with other languages in foreign travel and commercial affairs, but that they had been thoroughly Arabised by the time of the Prophet. Other writers seem to have freed themselves altogether from religious considerations, e.g. al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who gave special attention to foreign loan-words in the Ḳur'ān. In his *Itḳān* he has a chapter on words that are not in the language of the Ḥidjāz (i, 133-5) and another on words that are not in the language of the Arabs (135-41). In a separate treatise, the *Mutawakkilī* (ed. and tr. Wm. Y. Bell, Cairo 1924), he classifies a large number of terms as words borrowed from Ethiopic, Persian, Greek, Indian, Syriac, Hebrew, Nabataean, Coptic, Turkish, Negro, and Berber (for a discussion of these, see *Foreign vocab.*, 12-32). Jeffery indicates surprise that al-Suyūṭī was able to gather from the older authorities so many words "whose Arabic origin to us is obvious, but which they regarded as foreign", and he says that some of these are simply rare Arabic words, while others are variant forms used in the Ḳur'ān to establish the rhyme. He then concludes that the foreign elements in the Ḳur'ānic vocabulary are of three distant types: (1) words that are entirely non-Arabic and cannot possibly be traced to Arabic roots, e.g. *istabraḳ* (silk brocade), *zandjabīl* (ginger), *firdaws* (paradise); (2) Semitic words that, although their triliteral root is found in Arabic, occur in the Ḳur'ān in a sense used in another language but not in Arabic, e.g. *fāṭir* (creator), *ṣawāmiʿ* (cloisters), *darasa* (to study [the scriptures] earnestly); and (3) words that are genuinely Arabic and commonly used, but are used in the Ḳur'ān with technical or theological meanings influenced by other languages, e.g. *nūr*, "light", used in the sense of "religion"; *rūḥ*, "spirit", and especially *rūḥ al-ḳudus*, "the spirit of holiness"; and *kalima*, "a word", when used of Jesus (*ibid.*, 39 f.). Jeffery then discusses about 275 words, other than proper names, that have been regarded as foreign, and he summarises the views of earlier European scholars as to their origin, and sometimes gives his own views. For the Arabic and European literature on this topic, see *ibid.*, xi-xix, to which should be added two studies by L. Kopf, *Religious influences on medieval Arabic philology*, in *Stud. Isl.*, v (1956), esp. 40-5, and *The treatment of foreign words in mediaeval Arabic lexicology*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix (1961), 191-205 (both reprinted

in Kopf, *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew lexicography*, Jerusalem 1976) and other works cited by him.

c. Rhymes and refrains. A distinctive feature of Ḳurʾānic style, closely related to its oral nature and liturgical function, is that it is all rhymed or assonanced prose. There is no attempt to produce the strict rhyme of Arabic poetry (see Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 103-10). Some short *sūras*, and segments of longer *sūras*, do have a fairly consistent rhyme if the short inflectional vowels at the ends of the verses are disregarded. For instance, the three verses of CVIII end in *-ar*, the four verses of CXII end in *-ad*, CV has *-īl* except for the last verse with *-ūl*, CXI has *-ab* except for the last verse with *-ad*, and the 55 verses of LIV end in *r* (or *rr*) preceded by a short vowel. But in most *sūras* there is a loose rhyme or assonance formed by common grammatical endings and word forms. By far the most frequent assonance in the Ḳurʾān is *-ūn/-īn* (considered interchangeable), which is formed by the plural endings of nouns and verbs. And even this form, which occurs frequently in Arabic, is often varied with words ending with one of these vowels but a different consonant. The feminine singular endings *-at* and *-hā* occur in CIX, XLVII, XCI and XCIX; the dual ending *-ān* occurs in LV; the accusative ending *-an* occurs in XVIII, LXXII, and C; and the form *-ā(l)*, a long *a* followed by a variable consonant, occurs in parts of longer *sūras* such as II, III, XIV, XXXVIII and XL. On the various rhyme forms in the Ḳurʾān (technically known as *faʿīl, fiʿʿāl, fāʿilat, ifʿāl, tafʿīl*, etc.), see *Itḳān*, ii, 96-105, and F. R. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Reimprosa im Koran* (Bonn 1969), who presents a systematic compilation of the evidence that peculiarities in Ḳurʾānic style and vocabulary were brought about by the imposition of rhyme.

The whole of the Ḳurʾān is often said to be in *sad̲j̲ʿ*, the rhythmic, rhymed utterance of the *kāhin* (soothsayer) [*q.v.*], which, like the Ḳurʾān, does not have a fixed metre or proper rhyme and is thus distinct from both poetry and prose. But those who have insisted that the Ḳurʾān is not in *sad̲j̲ʿ* seem on the whole to be on sounder ground (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 36 ff.; Blachère, *Litt.*, 212; Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 157 ff.). Some of the shorter *sūras* do have short, rhythmic, rhymed verses of the *sad̲j̲ʿ* type, often beginning with oaths, e.g. XC to XCIII (see 7.a below); and parts of a few somewhat longer *sūras*, e.g. the beginning of LXXV and LXXXII-LXXXV can be described as being "*sad̲j̲ʿ*-like". But most *sūras* have longer, prosaic verses that are simply made to fit a loose rhyme or assonance pattern. In some a distinctive, fairly consistent rhyme is formed by words that are integral to a context and its meaning, giving the impression of being carefully constructed compositions, e.g. XVIII-XX. But in others, especially some of the *sūras* that are completely Medinan, the rhyme is formed by set formulas that are attached loosely to the ends of the verses, often with little or no connection of thought with the contexts. For instance, in II, the longest *sūra* in the Ḳurʾān, the rhyme in about three-fourths of the 286 verses is formed by divine epithets, aphorisms, and other formulas that often have little relevance for the meaning of the narrative. In verses 127-268 double divine epithets occur over 30 times, e.g. God is *samīʿ ʿalīm* (Hearer, Knower) occurs seven times; *ʿazīz ḥakīm* (Mighty, Wise), six times; *g̲h̲afūr raḥīm* (Forgiving, Compassionate), six times, etc. Theological aphorisms occur even more often, and some are repeated several times: "God is not heedless of the things you do", in verses 74, 140, 144, 149, etc.; "God sees the things you do", in 110, 233, 237, 265, etc.; "God has knowledge of everything", in 29, 231, 282; and "God is powerful over everything", in 20, 106, 259 and 284, etc.

A special type of rhyme-formula that occurs in a number of *sūras* is the refrain, i.e. an entire verse or more repeated verbatim at more or less regular intervals. The most striking example is the rhetorical question, "Then which of the benefits of your Lord will you two deny?", which occurs as LV, 13, 16, 18 and 21 and then almost every other verse to the end of the *sūra* in verse 78. A similar refrain, "Woe is that day to those who deny it!", occurs in LXXVII, 15, 19, 24, 28, 34, 37, 40, 45, 47 and 49. In both of these cases the refrain has little connection with the meaning of the other verses, and it is difficult to tell whether the latter should be read as an introduction (see Bell, *Trans.*, 627 f.) or a conclusion (e.g., Arberry trans., ii, 318 f.) to the ten segments ranging in length from two to five verses. Each of the seven punishment-stories in XXVI ends with the two verses, "Lo, in that is a sign, but most of them have not believed" and "But, lo, thy Lord is the Sublime, the Compassionate", which appear to be separate refrains, the latter being later. Four punishment-stories in LIV end with "We have made the Ḳurʾān as the Reminder (*d̲h̲ikr*), but is there anyone who takes heed?", and the first three also have what appears to be an earlier refrain, "Of what nature, then, was My punishment and My warning?" Similar formulas occur frequently in the Ḳurʾān, but usually not as refrains. On internal rhymes and the possibility that there are strophes within the Ḳurʾān, see Bell-Watt, 70-5.

d. Schematic form and multiple accounts. The last two examples of refrains occur in stories that also share another characteristic of Ḳurʾānic style, schematic form, i.e. the repetition of certain verses, or formulas that are woven into the narrative in a regular pattern in different stories presented together as a group. A good example of one type of schematic form occurs in XXVI, where five punishment-stories have the same five-verse introduction, as well as the refrains mentioned above and other repeated verses. The introduction of the first story reads: "The people of Noah denied the envoys. / When their brother Noah said to them: 'Will you not show piety? / Lo, I am to you a faithful messenger. / So show piety towards God, and obey me. / I ask you for no reward for it; my reward rests only upon the Lord of the worlds' ". The only difference in the five-verse introductions of the other four accounts is the name of the people (the tribes of ʿĀd, T̲h̲amūd, etc.) and the prophet (Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Lot, etc.). Another type of schematic form occurs in the Sūra VII versions of the same five punishment-stories, where about two-thirds of the Noah story is repeated in the Hūd story (a smaller percentage is repeated in the others), but the repeated parts are interspersed with statements, phrases, and individual words that are distinctive to each story. To show the first stage in the development of this group of schematic accounts, the Noah story is given here with the elements that also occur in the Hūd story put in italics: "We sent Noah to his people, and *he said 'O my people, serve God. There is no god for you other than He.* Verily I fear for you the punishment of a mighty day'. *Said the nobility of his people: 'Verily we think you are in* manifest error'. *He said 'O my people, there is no* error *in me; I am but a messenger from the Lord of the worlds. I deliver to you the messages of my Lord, and* give you *sincere* advice; I have knowledge from

God which you have not. *Does it astonish you that a reminder from your Lord should come to you upon a man from among yourselves, in order that he may warn* you and that you may show piety? Perhaps mercy will be shown you'. But they denied him; *so We rescued him and those with him* in the ark, and We drowned *those who denied Our signs*. Verily they were a blind people." Part of the Noah story and other parts of the Hūd story are then repeated in the Ṣāliḥ, Lot, and Shuʿayb stories. Other groups of parallel accounts in the Ḳurʾān have one of these two types of schematic form. The extent of the repetition in these parallel accounts has important implications for understanding their nature and purpose, e.g. they are not intended as historical accounts.

These groups of punishment-stories also illustrate another feature of the Ḳurʾān: the complex development of its multiple accounts and their changing relationships with other accounts. Many stories are repeated in different versions in two or more *sūras*, and these multiple accounts of the same story differ not only in length and details, but also in their purpose and their relationship to other stories. For instance, different versions of the punishment-stories or brief references to them occur in 16 different *sūras*. Longer versions of the Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Lot stories occur in LIV, XXVI, VII and XI; the first three also occur in XXV, LI and LIII; they are referred to in IX, XIV and XXIX; and they occur separately in still other *sūras*. There are two different Lot punishment stories: the first occurs in LIV, XXVI and VII (mentioned above) and also in XXVII and XXXVII; the second, involving the visit of celestial messengers, occurs in XI and XV. Then in XXIX both appear together separated by a brief version of an Abraham story, which also occurs in earlier, longer versions in LI, XV and XI. On the punishment-stories, see 7.d below, Bell-Watt, 127-35, and bibliography given there. A similar development can be seen in the creation stories: the story of (the fallen angel?) Iblīs occurs as a complete, independent story in XV and XXXVIII and is repeated in shorter versions in XVII and XVIII; then it occurs with an account of the temptation and fall of Adam in VII, XX, and finally II. In the last two the Iblīs story is reduced to a single verse, and in II these two story segments are preceded by the only Ḳurʾānic version of a third creation story, about God consulting the angels before creating man. A third example, of a somewhat different type, involves the two parallel accounts of the miraculous births and childhood of John (the Baptist) and Jesus in XIX, 2-34 and III, 38-51. In XIX the stories of John and Jesus are the first two in a series of separate accounts; in III they are woven together as part of a longer account that begins with the birth and early life of Mary. Among the significant patterns seen in the development of these and other multiple accounts in the Ḳurʾān is that the earlier groups of stories tend to be ahistorical in their arrangement, e.g. in XXVI we have Moses, Abraham, Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Lot, and then Shuʿayb (who came to be identified with Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses), while the later versions are put in "historical order", e.g. in XI we have Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Abraham, Lot, Shuʿayb, and Moses. The ahistorical groups are typical of what Bell calls the Ḳurʾān period, while the "historical" ones reflect the Book period, where we see stories combined to form longer multi-episodic narratives that constitute the beginning of a Muslim sacred history going back to the creation.

7. Literary forms and Major Themes

The nature and arrangement of the Ḳurʾān make it difficult to classify its literary forms or systematise its main themes. Any attempt to classify the parts of the Ḳurʾān according to the standard literary types—myth, legend, saga, short story, parable, etc.—very soon founders. A few examples can be given for each of these types, but altogether they comprise a very small percentage of the text. Also, they have been adapted so much to conform to the style and message of the Ḳurʾān that they have little significance as distinct types. Bell has argued that since the Ḳurʾān disclaims that Muḥammad was a poet and since his function as a prophet was to convey messages from God to his contemporaries, we should seek "didactic rather than poetic or artistic forms" (Bell-Watt, 75). This is true, except that only parts of the Ḳurʾān can be described as "didactic" in purpose. Other parts are hortatory, rhetorical, legislative, etc., and some parts addressed to Muḥammad and his family can only be described as personal (Bell questioned whether some of these, e.g. CXI and parts of LXVI, were "intended for publication"). Thus it seems best to discuss the literary forms of the Ḳurʾān in terms of its own distinctive types of material. What follows is not a complete, systematic classification, but brief descriptions of the main literary forms found in the Ḳurʾān, which at the same time provide summaries of some of its major themes.

a. Oaths and related forms. An interesting variety of oaths and related forms occur in the shorter *sūras*, usually at the beginning. The assumption that most (but certainly not all) of these oaths are among the earliest parts of the Ḳurʾān seems to be justified. Some oaths that are cryptic and difficult to interpret or translate are generally thought to be typical of the ancient Arabian soothsayer utterances. In other cases, the oath form has simply been used to convey Ḳurʾānic (and sometimes Biblical) themes. The oath form that occurs most often consists of one or more verses beginning with *wa*, "By", followed by a noun in the genitive case, and ending with one or more verses beginning with an asseverative particle, usually *inna* but sometimes *ḳad*, both meaning "verily, surely". A fairly typical example occurs at the beginning of XCII: "By the night when it veils, / By the day when it shines out in splendour, / By what created the male and the female, / Verily your course is diverse" (Bell tr.). Here the first three verses begin with *wa*, and the assertion closing the oath begins with *inna*. Sometimes the intervening verses between the opening *wa* verse and the closing *inna* begin with *fa-* instead of *wa*, as in XXXVII, 1-4: "By those who dress the ranks, / By those who scare by shouting, / By those who recite the warning, / Verily your God is One" (Bell). The *wa* and the *fa-* in the intervening verses can be interpreted as conjunctions (see, e.g., Arberry's tr. of these two passages), but this seems to weaken the impact of the oath. Some *wa*/*inna* oaths have only two elements (e.g. XXXVI, 2 ff., CIII, 1 ff.), while others have several, including additional *inna* assertions, e.g. LI begins with a six-verse oath, the verses beginning with *wa*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *inna-mā*, *wa-inna*; and C has *wa*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *inna*, *wa-inna*, *wa-inna* (other variations occur in XLIII, XLIV, LII, LIII, etc.). A fairly typical example of a *wa*/*ḳad* oath occurs at the beginning of XCV: "By the fig and the olive, / By Mount Sinai, / By this land secure, / Surely We have created man most beautifully erect" (Bell)—with *wa*, *wa*, *wa*, *la-ḳad*. The ten-verse oath at the beginning

of XCI, the longest in the Ḳur'ān is also of this type, with *wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, fa-, ḳad, wa-ḳad* (the *wa* before the asseverative particles in these examples is the conjunction "and"). Other types of oaths also occur in the Ḳur'ān, e.g. the stronger *lā uḳsimu bi-*, "No! I swear by", oath, at the beginning of LXXV: "No! I swear by the Day of Resurrection", also in LXXV, 2, XC, 1, and within other *sūras*.

Related to the Ḳur'ānic oaths are several other formulaic usages that are typical of soothsayer or prophetic utterances. One is the *idhā*, "When", passage, which has the same force, if not the same meaning, as an oath. A good example occurs at the beginning of LXXXII: "When the heaven shall be rent, / When the stars shall be scattered, / When the seas shall be made to boil up, / When the graves shall be ransacked, / A soul shall know what it has sent forward, and what kept back" (Bell). The longest "when" passage is LXXXI, 1-14, culminating in "A soul shall know what it has presented". See also LVI, 1 ff., LXXXIV, 1 ff., XCIX, etc. Other passages, especially at the beginning of some of the other shorter *sūras*, feature rhetorical questions, such as "Have you seen him who denies the Judgment?" (CVII, 1 ff.; cf. XCIV, CV), or a modified type of curse or threat, such as "Woe to every maligner, scoffer, / Who gathers wealth and counts it over . . ." (CIV, 1 ff.; cf. LXXXIII, 1 ff., 10 ff., CVII, 4 ff., etc. and a different type in CXI). This last example of a "Woe" (*wayl*) passage continues with another distinctive Ḳur'ānic form, consisting of at least three verses the second of which is the rhetorical question *wa-mā adrāka mā* ———?, "And what has let you know what ——— is?"; see XCVII, 1 ff., CI, 1 ff., CIV, 4 ff., and LXXXVI, 1 ff., which begins with an oath.

The fact that the Ḳur'ān itself affirms that Muḥammad was accused of being a soothsayer (*kāhin*) suggests that his contemporaries saw a similarity between what he recited and what they heard from the soothsayers. Bell identified five passages in the Ḳur'ān as having "*kāhin*-form": XXXVII, 1-4, LI, 1-6, and C, 1-6, mentioned above, and also LXXVII, 1-7, and LXXIX, 1-14. But most of the Ḳur'ānic oaths and related forms are more in the nature of prophetic than soothsayer utterances.

b. Sign-passages. Meccan and early Medinan parts of the Ḳur'ān often speak of certain phenomena of nature and human life as "signs" (*āyāt*) of God's omnipotence and benevolence towards man, calling for gratitude and worship of Him alone. Most often mentioned are the creation of the heavens and the earth, the creation or procreation of man, the shining of the sun, moon, and stars, the alteration of day and night, the sending of the rain, and the permanence and stability of nature. Thunder, lightning, fire, and other natural phenomena are also mentioned, as are human understanding and relationships, the variety of languages and colours, hearing, sight, etc. The "sign-passages" treating these themes have no distinctive form, but are recognised by their content. An example of an early sign-passage is seen in LXXX, 24-32: "Let man look at his food; / Lo, We have poured out water in showers, / Then have broken up the earth in cracks, / And have caused to sprout up in it grain, / And grapes and green shoots, / And olives and palms, / And orchards luxuriant, / And fruits and herbage ——— / A provision for you and for your flocks" (Bell). See also XXIII, 17-22, 78-80, LXXVIII, 6-16. An example of a late, more structured sign-passage is XXX, 20-5, which begins: "And of His signs is that He created you of dust; then lo, you are mortals, all scattered abroad. / And of His signs is that He created for you of your own species spouses that you may dwell with them, and has set love and mercy between you. Surely in that are signs (*āyāt*) for those who consider. / And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the variety of your tongues and hues. Surely in that are signs for all living beings". The next three verses also begin with "And of His signs is . . .", and the first two of these end with "Surely in that are signs for those who ———" ("hear" in verse 23; "understand" in 24). A similar sign-passage in XVI, 10-18, begins: "It is He who sends down to you out of heaven water of which you have to drink, . . . / And thereby He brings forth for you crops, and olives, and palms, and vines, and all manner of fruit. Surely in that is a sign (*āya*) for those who reflect". And a similar formula closes the next two verses. These last two examples are typical of most sign-passages in consisting of separate sign-verses grouped together in no particular order; but they are somewhat unusual in having set introductory phrases and concluding formulas (cf. VI, 97-9, XIII, 2-4, XVI, 65, 67, 69, 79, XXXVI, 33, 37, 41, XLI, 37, 39, XLV, 3-5). The singular, *āya*, is used occasionally in sign-passages, either with one verse treating one sign (as in XVI, 11, quoted above; also XVI, 13, 65, 67, etc.), or with two or more verses treating a single sign (XVI, 10 f., 68 f., etc.). The plural, *āyāt*, occurs much more often, usually with two or more signs mentioned in a single verse (as in XXX, 20-2, quoted above; also X, 6, 67, XIII, 3 f., XXX, 23 f., etc.). This analysis provides no clue as to how *āya* came to mean "verse". In many sign-passages that are otherwise like those cited above the term "sign" does not occur (e.g. VI, 141 f., XIII, 12-15, XVI, 3-8, 80 f., XXX, 48-51, XXXII, 4-9). On the other hand, the term "sign" occurs many times in contexts that are not "sign-passages". See 1.b above and Bell-Watt, 121-7.

c. Say-passages. Scattered throughout the Ḳur'ān are a number of passages in which the main element is a short statement or question introduced by the imperative verb, "Say", usually the singular, *ḳul*, but occasionally the plural, *ḳūlū*. Most say-passages, i.e. the immediate contexts in which the say-statements occur, have two main parts: (1) a statement or question indicating the setting, and (2) the say-statement, which is sometimes followed by a comment or two on 1 or 2. The setting statement occasionally involves Muḥammad's followers, but usually is a report of something said or done by the unbelievers. One frequently occurring form is "They say: . . . Say: . . .", e.g. X, 20: "They say: 'If only a sign had been sent down to him from his Lord'. Say: 'The unseen belongs to God' " (see also II, 80, 91, 93, 111, 135, etc.). Sometimes the setting statement has two or more parts, and the say-statement either has two or more parts or is followed by one or more comments. A good example of this more complex form is seen in X, 18: "They serve apart from God what neither injures them nor profits them, and they say: 'These are our intercessors with God'. Say: 'Will you inform God of what He knows not either in the heavens or in the earth?' Glory be to Him, and exalted be He far from what they associate with Him!" Here the setting statement has two parts, involving something the unbelievers do and something they say; and the say-statement, a rhetorical question, is followed by a praise formula (cf. II, 80-2). In X, 68 f. a praise formula, "Glory be to Him", and

a comment on the setting statement come between the "They say" and "Say" elements. Another common form is "They will ask you [Muḥammad] ... Say: ...", e.g. II, 220: "They will ask you about the orphans. Say: 'To set right their affairs is good'." Sometimes one *ḳul* introduces a question, and a second one gives an answer, e.g. VI, 12: "Say: 'To whom belongs what is in the heavens and the earth?' Say: 'To God ...'" (also VI, 63 f., 71, etc.). Some say-statements are formulas that can be classified as maxims or slogans, e.g. "To God belongs the East and the West" (II, 142), "The guidance of God is the guidance" (II, 120, III, 73, VI, 71), "God guides to the truth" (X, 35), "Those who invent falsehood about God will not prosper" (X, 69), and "Intercession belongs to God alone" (XXXIX, 44), and some of these (e.g. the first two mentioned here) occur elsewhere in the Ḳur'ān. On maxims and slogans, see Bell-Watt, 75-7. Others are credal statements, e.g. II, 136: "Say (*ḳūlū*): "We believe in God and what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham ... and what Moses and Jesus received ... and to Him we have surrendered'" (cf. XXIX, 46). Still others are prayers, e.g. III, 26 f.: "Say (*ḳul*): 'O God, owner of sovereignty, Thou givest sovereignty to whom Thou wilt, and seizest sovereignty from whom Thou wilt ... Thou bringest forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living; Thou providest for whom Thou wilt without reckoning'." This last example is unlike the say-passages described above, since it is not preceded by a setting statement. Thus it is best classified with a second group of say-statements, some of which are in the first person singular and seem to be spoken by Muḥammad, e.g. a group of four in LXXII, 20-8, beginning: "Say: 'I call only upon my Lord, and I do not associate with Him anyone'. / Say: 'Surely I possess no power over you, either for hurt or for rectitude'" (Arberry); see also XXXIV, 36, 39, 46-50, CIX, etc. Other isolated say-statements occur in LXVII, 23 f., 28-30, CXII-XIV, etc., the first of these being two short say-statements in the form of the sign-passages. Say-passages and separate say-statements are often grouped together, e.g. VI, 11-19, 56-8, 63-6, 161-4, and the groups mentioned above.

d. Narratives. If the term "narrative" is taken in the broader sense to include any story or description of actual or fictional events, then many parts of the Ḳur'ān can be classified as narratives. There is virtually no historical narrative, even though as mentioned above (see 5.a) there are many references and allusions to historical events. Most Ḳur'ānic narratives are versions of traditional stories found in other Near Eastern cultures, which have been adapted to conform to the world-view and teachings of the Ḳur'ān. Several versions of ancient Near Eastern myths and many mythic motifs occur. The creation of the world in six days and the Throne from which the universe is controlled are mentioned several times, as in VII, 54: "Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, then seated Himself upon the Throne causing the night to cover the day" and the well-known "Throne verse", II, 255: "God, there is no god but He, the Living, the Eternal. Slumber overtakes Him not nor sleep .... His Throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and He is never weary of preserving them" (cf. X, 3, XXV, 59, XXXII, 4, and on the Throne, IX, 129, XIII, 2, XX, 5, XXI, 22, etc.). But there is no six-day creation story, and no account of what was created on each day (a partial explanation is given in XLI, 9-12; see Paret, *Kommentar*, 433). The seven heavens are mentioned (XVII, 44, XXIII, 86, etc.), as is the Trumpet that signals the Last Day (VI, 73, XVIII, 99, XX, 102, etc.), but there are no stories or complete descriptions. Brief accounts of the fall of Iblīs (Lucifer?), the fall of man, and the naming of the animals (not so specified) do occur (II, 30-9, VII, 11-25, XV, 28-44, XVII, 61-5, XX, 115-26, etc.). There are several versions of the ancient Near Eastern shooting-star myth (XV, 16-18, XXXVII, 6-10, etc.), and several accounts of Noah and the Flood (XI, 36-48, XXV, 37, XXIX, 14 f,, LIV, 9-17). which however is not a world-wide deluge.

The prophet stories, some of which are also punishment-stories, make up the largest category of Ḳur'ānic narratives. The longest single story, which could be classified as a "short story", is that of Joseph, taking up nearly all 111 verses of Sūra XII. It follows the Biblical account more closely than do most Ḳur'ānic stories, and it shows evidence of revision, including what appear to be two introductions. There are two parallel accounts of the births of John (the Baptist) and Jesus, III, 33-51 and XIX, 1-36, which have some significant differences in details, reflecting the development of ideas in the Ḳur'ān. Both accounts have elements from apocryphal Christian writings and oral tradition, e.g. Mary's stay in a convent or temple until the time of the conception of Jesus, and his miracles of speaking from the cradle and forming a bird out of clay that became alive when he breathed on it. Abraham, Moses, and Solomon have major roles in Ḳur'ānic narrative in that there are several different stories about each, as well as several versions of some stories. Also, there are non-Biblical stories about each of these three: Abraham destroying the idols of his people (XXI, 51-72, etc.) and building the Kaʿba in Mecca (II, 122-9, etc.), Moses and his servant on a journey (XVIII, 60-82), and Solomon building the Temple with the jinn and demons (XXXIV, 12-14, XXXVIII, 36-40) and dealing with his army of jinn, men, and birds (XXVII, 15-21). There are also stories about Adam and Noah (mentioned above) and Lot, Ishmael, David, Elijah, Jonah, and Job; and several others are mentioned, including Isaac, Jacob, Elisha, Aaron (in some Moses stories), Saul, Ezra, and Haman, who however is an associate of the Pharaoh. The heroes of these stories are generally referred to as "messengers" (*rusul*, sing. *rasūl*), but sometimes as "envoys" (*mursalūn*, sing. *mursal*) or "prophets" (*nabiyyūn*, sing. *nabī*). The latter seems to occur only in Medinan passages and is applied specifically only to Muḥammad and certain "messengers" mentioned above from the Hebrew and Christian traditions, while the other two terms occur earlier and have broader usages. But in later parts of the Ḳur'ān *rasūl* and *nabī* are synonymous, although not exactly interchangeable. Note, for instance, the consistent usage, "God and His Messenger", but "the Prophet", for Muḥammad throughout XXXIII. This no doubt explains why *rusul* occurs in the credal statements in II, 285 and IV, 136, which require belief in "His angels, His books, and His messengers (*rusulihi*)", while *al-nabiyyīn* occurs in II, 177, which requires belief in "the angels, the Book, and the prophets". Among the non-Biblical characters, the most prominent are Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and S͟huʿayb (see below), but there are also stories about Luḳmān, an Arabian sage (XXXI, 12-19), and D͟hu 'l-Ḳarnayn, generally regarded as Alexander the Great (XVIII, 83-98), and brief references to D͟hu 'l-Kifl and Idrīs (XIX, 56, XXI, 85, XXXVIII, 48), sometimes said to be Elijah and Enoch. The story of the Men of the Cave (XVIII,

10-26) is usually identified with the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. On these stories, see the commentaries and Paret, *Kommentar*, *ad locc.*

Several forms are used indiscriminately for introducing prophet stories and some of the stories about non-Biblical characters, e.g. "Recite to them the story (*naba'*) of ..." (V, 27, VII, 175, X, 71, XXVI, 69; cf. XVIII, 27, XXIX, 45); "We recite to you [Muḥammad] part of the story (*naba'*) of ..." (XXVIII, 3; cf. III, 58); "Has there come to you the story (*ḥadīth*) of ... ?" (XX, 9, LI, 24, LXXIX, 15, etc.); "Has there come to you the story (*naba'*) of ... ?" (IX, 70, XIV, 9, XXXVIII, 21, etc.); and "Mention in the Book ..." (XIX, 16, 41, 51, 54, 56). All of these are addressed to Muḥammad. Far more frequent are two simple forms, *idh ḳāla*, "(Recall) when ——— said", said of Moses (V, 20, XIV, 6, XVIII, 60, XXVII, 7, etc.), Abraham (VI, 74, XIV, 35, etc.), Joseph (XII, 4), God (V, 110, 116, XV, 28, XVII, 61, XVIII, 50, etc.), and others, and *wa-laḳad arsalnā*, "And We sent", said of Noah (XI, 25, XXIII, 23, XXIX, 14, etc.; cf. VII, 59), Moses (XI, 96, XIV, 5, etc.; cf. XXIII, 45), and others. Cf. *wa-laḳad ātaynā*, "And We gave" (e.g. "And We gave Moses the Book") in XVII, 101, XXI, 48, 51, XXXI, 12, XXXIV, 10, etc.

One special type of Ḳur'ānic narrative that made up a major part of the revelation during the Meccan years is the punishment-story, discussed above for its use of refrains and schematic form in some versions. Five punishment-stories stand out from the others, those of Noah, Hūd and the tribe of ʿĀd, Ṣāliḥ and the tribe of Thamūd, Lot, and Shuʿayb and the people of Midian. And two others are prominent in some *sūras*, the story of Moses and the drowning of Pharaoh's army, and the story of Arabham rejecting the idols of his people. These seven occur together in XXVI, 10-191, and are mentioned together in XXII, 42-4. Fairly complete versions of some of these stories also occur in VII, 59-93 (all but Abraham and Moses), XI, 25-95 (all but Moses), XXXVII, 75-148 (only the Biblical ones), and LIV, 9-42 (all but Abraham and Shuʿayb). Shorter versions of some of these seven and references to these and some others (Jonah, the people of Sheba, the men of al-Rass, and the people of Tubbaʿ) occur in IX, 70, XIV, 9, XXI, 48-77, XXIII, 23-48, XXV, 35-40, XXVII, 7-58, L, 12-14, LI, 24-46, LIII, 50-5, LXIX, 4-10, and LXXXIX, 6-14. The "men of al-Ḥidjr" in XV, 80-4, are probably the tribe of Thamūd; the "men of the Grove" (XV, 78 f., XXVI, 176-91, etc.) seem to be identical with the people of Midian [see MADYAN SHUʿAYB]; and "the subverted (cities)" (*al-mu'tafikāt*) are most likely Sodom and Gomorrah, the cities of Lot. Thus these three are apparently variations of three of the seven. Most Western scholars have accepted the view of A. Sprenger (*Leben*, i, 462) and J. Horovitz (*Koranische Untersuchungen*, 26-8) that the term *mathānī* in XV, 87 and XXXIX, 23 (see 1.b above) refers to the seven most prominent punishment-stories, since the first verse says "seven of the *mathānī* and the mighty *ḳur'ān*" have been sent down to Muḥammad by God, and the second describes the Book sent down to Muḥammad as having *mathānī* "at which the skins of those who fear their Lord do creep". See Paret, *Kommentar*, 279 f., and Bell-Watt, 134 f.

The Ḳur'ān also contains some parables, the longest and clearest one being the parable of the Blighted Garden in LXVIII, 17-33. Others include the parable of the man with two gardens (XVIII, 32-44), the good and corrupt trees (XIV, 24-7), and the unbelieving town (XXXVI, 13-32). Several other brief parables are little more than expanded similes, e.g. the fire at night in II, 17, the downpour in II, 19, the slave in XVI, 75, the dumb man in XVI, 76, the water and vegetation in XVIII, 45, the light of God in XXIV, 35, the master and his slaves in XXX, 28, and the slave with several masters in XXXIX, 29 (see Bell-Watt, 81). These parables have no standard form; some are introduced by the statement addressed to Muḥammad: "And coin for them a parable" (*wa 'ḍrib lahum mathalan*), e.g. XVIII, 32, 45, XXXVI, 13, others by the statement: "God has coined a parable" (*ḍaraba 'llāhu mathalan*), e.g. XIV, 24, XVI, 75, 76, 112, XXXIX, 29, LXVI, 10.

e. Regulations. The Ḳur'ān provides detailed regulations on some aspects of the conduct of the Muslim community, and general instructions on others. No complete code of conduct or list of required duties is presented; each issue is treated separately, usually in several different places. The main religious duties are introduced in stages, and there are inconsistencies in some of the requirements. What follows are some examples that illustrate the nature and form of the various Ḳur'ānic regulations, beginning with four that later became Pillars of Islam.

On the prayer ritual (*ṣalāt*): "Observe thou [Muḥammad] the Prayer (*aḳimi 'l-ṣalāt*) at the two ends of the day and the neighbouring parts of the night" (XI, 114; cf. XVII, 78 f.); "Remember the Prayers (*ṣalawāt*), including the middle Prayer, and stand [in worship] to God reverently" (II, 238); "so recite what is convenient of it [the Ḳur'ān], and observe the Prayer (*aḳīmū 'l-ṣalāt*), and pay the Zakāt, and lend to God a good loan" (LXXIII, 20); "verily the Prayer has become for the believers a thing prescribed for stated times" (IV, 103). On almsgiving (*zakāt, ṣadaḳa*): "If you give alms (*ṣadaḳāt*) publicly it is well, but if you conceal it and give to the poor it is better for you" (II, 271); "Observe the Prayer, pay the *zakāt* (*ātū 'l-zakāt*), and obey the Messenger" (XXIV, 56); "The alms (*ṣadaḳāt*) are for the poor and the destitute, for the agents employed therein, for those whose hearts are to be won over, for the ransom of slaves, for the relief of debtors, for expenditure in the way of God, and for the follower of the way—an ordinance (*fariḍa*) from God" (IX, 60). On fasting (*ṣiyām, ṣawm*): "O believers, fasting is prescribed for you (*kutiba ʿalaykum*) as it was for those before you ... [during] the month of Ramaḍān ... It is allowable for you on the night of the fast to go in to your wives ... and eat and drink until so much of the dawn appears that a white thread may be distinguished from a black; then keep the fast completely until night" (II, 183-7). On the Pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj, ʿumra*): "Fulfil the pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj*) and the visitation (*ʿumra*) unto God. ... If anyone of you is sick or suffering from an injury to the head, then a compensation (*fidya*) by way of fasting or almsgiving (*ṣadaḳa*) or pious observance" (II, 196); "Ṣafā and Marwa are among the manifestations of God. ... It is no fault (*djunāḥ*) if anyone makes the circuit of them" (II, 158).

These four religious duties are required of all Muslims only in Medinan passages dating from around the time of the battle of Badr or later. The *ṣalāt* is mentioned in Meccan or early Medinan passages, but is required only of Muḥammad, with the imperative verb in the singular, *aḳimi 'l-ṣalāt* (XI, 114, XVII, 78, XXIX, 45, XXX, 31, etc.). The term *zakāt* in Meccan passages (XVIII, 81, XIX, 13) means "purity". Passages that are late Meccan or early Medinan say that earlier prophets instituted the

ṣalāt and the *zakāt* (X, 87, XIV, 40, XIX, 30 f., 54 f., XX, 14, XXI, 73, etc.), or recommend them to the Muslims as signs of piety (II, 177, XXVII, 1-4, etc.). Then in passages dating from the year 2 A.H. and later these two practices are required of Muslims, with the imperative verbs in the plural, *aḳīmū 'l-ṣalāt* and *ātū 'l-zakāt* (II, 43, IV, 77, 103, IX, 11, XXII, 78, XXIV, 56, LVIII, 13, LXXIII, 20, etc.). The Muslim fast was introduced in two or probably three stages in the Ḳur'ān (see Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran*, 41-127), and the pilgrimage was adopted as a Muslim ritual probably before Badr, but was not practised as such until the last years of Muḥammad's life.

The form used most frequently for introducing and stressing regulations for the Muslim community is the plural imperative verb, seen several times in the examples given above and often elsewhere involving a variety of practices, e.g.: "O believers, when you stand up for the Prayer, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows, and wipe your heads and your feet up to the ankles" (V, 6); "O believers, show piety towards God and abandon the usury that remains if you are believers" (II, 278); "O believers, when you contract a debt with another for a stated term, write it down" (II, 282); "Fight in the way of God those who fight you, but do not provoke hostility" (II, 190); "Contribute in the way of God; hand not yourselves over to destruction, but do well" (II, 195). Sometimes negative commands are given, as in VI, 151: "Come, let me repeat what your Lord has forbidden you: do not associate anything with Him . . . do not kill your children because of poverty —do not draw near indecencies . . . do not kill the person whom God has made forbidden except with justification"; cf. XVII, 22-39. The expression *kutiba ʿalaykum*, "prescribed for you is", seen in II, 183, above on fasting, also occurs elsewhere, e.g. "O believers, retaliation in the matter of the slain is prescribed for you, the free for the free, the slave for the slave, the female for the female; so if anyone is forgiven anything by his [injured] brother, let him follow it with what is reputable, and pay with kindness" (II, 178), and "Prescribed for you, when death draws nigh to one of you, and he has goods to leave, is the making of a testament in favour of parent and relatives reputable—a duty resting upon those who show piety" (II, 180). And an expression having the opposite meaning, *ḥurrimat ʿalaykum*, "forbidden to you is", also occurs, e.g. in IV, 23, and V, 3. Other forms and many other regulations occur, especially in the *sūras* that are completely Medinan. Some of these passages can be classified as commandments or divine legislation; others are more in the nature of religious instruction or exhortation.

f. Liturgical forms. While all of the Ḳur'ān is recited in liturgical settings, only some parts are distinctly liturgical in form. By far the most important part of the Ḳur'ān for use in worship is the opening *sūra*, the *Fātiḥa*, a seven-verse prayer recited at least twice in each performance of the *ṣalāt*. Whether or not the *Fātiḥa* [*q.v.*] was considered to be part of the Ḳur'ān during Muḥammad's lifetime is uncertain. Prayers might seem out of place in a text in which God is the speaker, but others also occur, the best example being the prayer at the end of Sūra II: "O our Lord, take us not to task if we forget, or make a mistake; O our Lord, lay not upon us a task such as Thou didst lay on those before us . . . Pardon us and forgive us, and have mercy upon us; Thou art our patron; so help us against the people of unbelievers" (Bell). Some prayers are also included within narratives, e.g. Abraham's prayer in XIV, 35-41. Exaltations, in which God is praised in the third person, occur more frequently; the best known of these is the "Throne verse", II, 255, mentioned in 7.d above for its mythic motif. The divine epithets mentioned in 6.c above as rhyme phrases are also a type of praise formula, which however do not give the impression of being liturgical. Praise forms that do seem to have a liturgical purpose occur at the beginning of several Medinan *sūras*. A *sabbaḥa li 'llāh* formula, "Magnifies God (*sabbaḥa li 'llāh*) all that is in the heavens and the earth", occurs at the beginning of LVII, LIX, LXI, LXII and LXIV, three of which continue with "He is the Almighty, the All-wise". These five *sūras* date mainly from the middle Medinan years, after the completion of the *sūras* that begin with revelation formulas and the mysterious letters (see 4.d above). The liturgical setting of the *sabbaḥa li 'llāh sūras* is suggested by their introductions and conclusions. One might conjecture that the Friday prayer service was the occasion for the first recitation of these *sūras* (see LXII, 9-11), and possibly also those with the revelation formulas. Other praise formulas, which may or may not have specifically liturgical functions within the Ḳur'ān, include: the *taḥmīd*, i.e. *al-ḥamdu li 'llāh*, "Praise be to God", at the beginning of I, VI, XVIII, XXXIV and XXXV, and in VII, 43, X, 10, XVII, 111, etc.; the *tasbīḥ*, i.e. *subḥāna 'llāh*, "Glory be to God", occurring with variations in XVII, 1, 93, 108, XXVIII, 68, XXXVI, 36, XXXVII, 180-2, XLIII, 82, etc.; and *tabāraka 'llāh*, "Blessed be God", occurring with variations in VII, 54, XXIII, 14, XXV, 1, 10, 61, XL, 64, XLIII, 85, LV, 78 and LXVII, 1.

Others: The Ḳur'ān contains other distinctive literary forms and themes that can be mentioned only briefly here. Especially important in Meccan parts of the Ḳur'ān are a large number of dramatic scenes, usually involving death, the Last Judgment, the pleasures of paradise (*al-djanna* = the garden), and the tortures of the hellfire (see the O'Shaughnessy arts. in *Bibl.*). Dramatic scenes constitute the main Ḳur'ānic form for treating these subjects, which are nowhere fully or systematically explained, and they also occur frequently in narratives, reflecting the oral qualities of these Meccan parts of the Ḳur'ān (see Bell-Watt, 80 f.). There are also many addresses on a variety of topics. Most Meccan ones treat theological topics—the signs of God, messages of earlier prophets, etc.—and thus can be classified as sermons. Early Medinan ones are often addressed to the Jews, either as the Children of Israel or the People of the Book. Later Medinan ones, usually addressed "O believers", but sometimes "O children of Adam" or "O people", treat specific legal, political, and military matters as well as general religious, moral, and social themes. Another special type of material found in both Meccan and Medinan parts of the Ḳur'ān involves Muḥammad's personal situation. Many Meccan passages addressed to Muḥammad bring comfort and encouragement in times of persecution, instructions on religious practices, etc. Some Medinan ones, addressed "O Prophet", give special marriage and divorce regulations. Others are addressed to Muḥammad's wives or otherwise treat his family problems (see *sūras* XXIV, XXXIII, LXVI).

8. The Ḳur'ān in Muslim Life and Thought

For Muslims the Ḳur'ān is much more than scripture or sacred literature in the usual Western sense. Its primary significance for the vast majority through the centuries has been in its oral form, the form in

which it first appeared, as the "recitation" (*ḳur'ān*) chanted by Muḥammad to his followers over a period of about twenty years (on its liturgical function during Muḥammad's lifetime, see VII, 203-6, LXXIII, 20, LXXXIV, 20 f., etc.). The revelations were memorised by some of Muḥammad's followers during his lifetime, and the oral tradition that was thus established has had a continuous history ever since, in some ways independent of, and superior to, the written Ḳur'ān. During the early centuries when the written Ḳur'ān was limited to the *scriptio defectiva* of the period (see 3.c above), the oral tradition established itself as the standard by which the written text was to be judged. Even when the Egyptian "standard edition" was prepared in the early 1920s, it was the oral tradition and its supporting *ḳirā'āt* literature (rather than early Ḳur'ān mss.) that served as the authority for determining the written text. Through the centuries the oral tradition of the entire Ḳur'ān has been maintained by the professional reciters (*ḳurrā'*) (on Ḳur'ān reciters in Egypt, see M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt today*, Cambridge 1970, 11-13, 37-43, and for the oral tradition in general, Labib al-Said, *The recited Koran*, see *Bibl.*), while all Muslims memorise parts of the Ḳur'ān for use in the daily prayers. Until recently, the significance of the recited Ḳur'ān has seldom been fully appreciated in the West.

The Ḳur'ān also had a central role in the theological debates of the early centuries, and it has continued to be one of the most controversial issues in Islamic theology. Since the Ḳur'ān was held to consist of messages brought from God to Muḥammad by Gabriel, and since God is the "speaker" in these messages, it was natural for Muslims to think of it as God's speech (*kalām*). About the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, theologians began to discuss whether or not the Ḳur'ān was created. Among those who maintained that it was were the Mu'tazila, including some who had positions at the court of al-Ma'mūn. Convinced by their arguments, and also thinking that adoption of the doctrine would be politically beneficial, al-Ma'mūn in 218/833 established the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] or "inquisition", in which most leading officials were obliged to profess publicly that the Ḳur'ān was created. Nearly all submitted but a few refused, notably Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) [*q.v.*]. In 234/848, shortly after the accession of al-Mutawakkil, the *miḥna* was abandoned, probably because its political results were disappointing. Up through the time of the *miḥna* the issue seems to have been whether the Ḳur'ān was the actual speech of God or was created. Those who accepted the latter view, arguing that God "has never spoken and does not speak", were called by their opponents the Djahmiyya [*q.v.*—see also Watt, *Formative period*, 143-8]. Then Ibn Ḥanbal argued that the Ḳur'ān is part of God's knowledge (*'ilm*), and after the *miḥna* he accepted the expression "uncreated" (*ghayr makhlūḳ*) as a description of the Ḳur'ān. This led to the formulation of the doctrine that it is eternal (*ḳadīm*), argued for by al-Ash'arī (d. 323/935) [*q.v.*] and others. Although this became the standard Sunnī view (see, e.g. the 4th/10th century Ḥanafī creed called by Wensinck *Fiḳh Akbar II*, art. 3), it has not been accepted by all. The Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) [*q.v.*], for instance, disavowed this view, arguing that the question of the eternity or temporality of the Ḳur'ān was not an issue before the time of Ibn Ḥanbal, and that in affirming the uncreatedness of the Ḳur'ān the "pious ancestors", including Ibn Ḥanbal, never meant to assert its eternity. It should also be noted that even the expression *ghayr makhlūḳ* does not occur in Muslim creeds until after the *miḥna* (see, e.g. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, 103 f., 127, 189) and that the early discussions and creeds do not mention the Ḳur'ānic expression "preserved tablet" (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*) [see LAWḤ] in LXXXV, 22, and "mother of the Book" (*umm al-kitāb*) in III, 7, which only later came to be interpreted as referring to a heavenly archetype of the Ḳur'ān in support of the doctrine of its eternity. See W. Madelung, *The origins of the controversy concerning the creation of the Koran*, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, Leiden 1974, i, 504-25; W. M. Watt, *Early discussions about the Qur'ān*, in *MW*, xl (1950), 27-40, 96-105; idem, *Formative period*, 178 f., 242-5, 280-5, 293; J. Bouman, *The doctrine of 'Abd al-Djabbār on the Qur'ān as the created word of Allāh*, in *Verbum*, the H. W. Obbink *Festschrift*, Utrecht 1964, 67-86; H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Munich 1962, 75-89. For an outline of the views of the various schools on the Ḳur'ān as the *kalām Allāh*, see KALĀM.

Parallel to the development of the doctrine of the eternity of the Ḳur'ān there also arose the dogma of its inimitability (*i'djāz*) [*q.v.*]. From the beginning, the Ḳur'ān had been seen as a "sign" (*āya*) or "proof" (*burhān*) of Muḥammad's prophethood. This belief took a more precise form in the teaching that each prophet was given a verifying miracle (*mu'djiza*), and that the Ḳur'ān was Muḥammad's; the term *i'djāz*, it should be noted, still had not received its technical meaning as late as the time of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (see Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammad in Lehre und Glaube*, Uppsala 1917, 101). Early discussion of the *i'djāz* of the Ḳur'ān centred around the concept of *taḥaddī* or "challenge", based largely on several verses of the Ḳur'ān (II, 23, X, 38, XI, 13, XVII, 88, etc.). The failure of Muḥammad's contemporaries to take up the challenge to produce even one *sūra* like those he recited was taken as proof that it was impossible. This argument was then supplemented by the concept of *ṣarfa* (lit. "turning away"), meaning that God prevented the competent from taking up the challenge. In one of the earliest treatises devoted solely to *i'djāz*, 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/944) mentioned both of these arguments along with several others, involving the eloquence of the Ḳur'ān, its prophecies of future events, its establishment of new literary forms and style that surpass all others, etc. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388/998) in his *al-Bayān fī i'djāz al-Ḳur'ān* (see *Bibl.*) stressed the rhetorical eloquence of the Ḳur'ān, and al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013) in the most famous work on the subject (see *Bibl.*) rejected the *ṣarfa* argument and compiled what he regarded as empirical evidence of the Ḳur'ān's superior style. He also argued that since Muḥammad was illiterate, he could not have read other scriptures or written down stories told by human informants, and thus Ḳur'ānic reports of past events and prophecies of future events are further proof of the miracle of the Ḳur'ān and its divine source. For summaries of the development of these views see *Itḳān*, ii, 116-25; Abdul Aleem, *I'jazu'l-Qur'an*, in *IC*, vii (1933), 64-82, 215-33; J. Bouman, *Le conflit autor du Coran et la solution d'al-Bāqillānī*, Amsterdam 1959; H. Stieglecker, *op. cit.*, 371-408; and art. I'DJĀZ. The standard modern work on the subject is that of Muṣṭafā Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfi'ī (see *Bibl.*).

The doctrines of the eternity and perfection or inimitability of the Ḳur'ān contributed to its extensive influence throughout Islamic life and culture.

It became the first "source" (*aṣl*) of Islamic law, the *Sharīʿa*, which also came to be regarded as eternal (cf. the Torah in Jewish belief). Its grammar became standard for later Arabic, which replaced other languages across the Near East and North Africa (among Christians and Jews as well as Muslims), and its script came to be adopted in Persian, Turkish, Urdu, and other languages. Verses of the Ḳurʾān became the main subject of Islamic calligraphy and one of the main decorative motifs of Islamic religious art and architecture, as a substitute for statues and pictorial representation. At the same time, these two doctrines have been the strongest factor working against the acceptance of critical studies of the Ḳurʾān within the modern Muslim community. In the early centuries, Muslim scholars studied the Ḳurʾān as literature and as a historical source, analysing its grammar, style, poetic imagery, etc., and attempting to determine its chronology, development of ideas, and historical settings. But the widespread acceptance of belief in the eternity and *iʿdjāz* of the Ḳurʾān has made modern Muslims loath to accept methods of historical and literary criticism that have proved so fruitful in the study of other scriptures. To a certain extent this is understandable to Christians, since the development of the doctrines of the eternity and *iʿdjāz* of the Ḳurʾān is parallel to the development of the doctrine of the Trinity, and the closest analogue in Christian belief to the role of the Ḳurʾān in Muslim belief is not the Bible, but Christ. Thus the difficulty Muslims have in adopting a critical approach to the Ḳurʾān is comparable to the difficulty many Christians have in accepting a critical view of the life of Jesus (e.g. regarding his virgin birth and resurrection). But this should not prevent critical analyses of the Ḳurʾān, which is after all still a literary work of supreme importance and an invaluable historical document.

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(A. T. WELCH)

9. TRANSLATION OF THE ḲUR'ĀN

a. The orthodox doctrine concerning translation. In the time of Muḥammad it is certain that nobody had considered the possibility that the Ḳur'ān might be translated either as a whole or in part into a foreign language. It was revealed expressly as an "Arabic Ḳur'ān" (Sûra XII, 2; XX, 113; XXXIX, 28; XLI, 3; XLII, 7; XLIII, 3), in "clear Arabic language" (XVI, 103; XXVI, 195; cf. XLVI, 12), that the Prophet through it might "warn the capital (i.e., Mecca) and the people in its surroundings" (VI, 92; XLII, 7). It was not originally intended for non-Arabs. It was only as a result of the spread of the Arabic-Islamic conquests that the sphere of influence of the Ḳur'ān was extended to territories outside the Arabic-speaking world. The Persians and other non-Arabs who embraced Islam were obliged, in the same way as their genuinely Arab fellow-believers, to recite in the ritual prayer the Fātiḥa and several other texts from the Ḳur'ān. The question thus arose whether they should be permitted to recite the texts in question in their native language instead of in Arabic. In so far as Muslims from the non-Arabic-speaking territories were interested in getting to know not only the texts used in the prayers, but also other parts of the Ḳur'ān, or the whole of the Ḳur'ān, there arose the further question whether this might be achieved with the help of a translation.

The theologians and jurists who had to decide on this matter in general adopted a rigorous attitude. With regard to the recitation of the Fātiḥa in the ritual prayer, the Mālikīs, Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs insisted that the text must be spoken in Arabic. In a case where the person praying could not recite the Fātiḥa in Arabic, he must substitute for it another passage from the Ḳur'ān, or observe a silent pause, or repeat the name of God for the same length of time. On the other hand it is reported that Abū Ḥanīfa had originally declared that the recital of the Fātiḥa in Persian was permitted without reservation; he later restricted this concession to those worshippers who were unable to speak Arabic. This then became the general rule for the Ḥanafī school. In similar circumstances other non-Arabic languages besides Persian might be employed.

As for the production and use of translations of the whole of the Ḳur'ān, the attitude of the scholars was that a "translation" of the Ḳur'ān in the true sense of the word was not possible. They based their attitude mainly on the argument that the wording of the Ḳur'ān is a miracle (*mu'djiza*) incapable of imitation by man. This characteristic would be invalidated in a translation into a foreign language, since this would be made by man. Furthermore, the scholars maintained that a translation of the Ḳur'ān which was both literal and at the same time true to the meaning was not possible. They conceded, however, that a so-called translation (*tardjama*) in the sense of a commentary (*tafsīr*) might be used, on the assumption that the text of the original was not superseded by this. Thus manuscripts of the Ḳur'ān might be provided with an interlinear (quasi-)translation. In more recent times this was extended to the printing of the translation (as a commentary) beside the Arabic text. This is the practice which remains usual for translations made by Muslims.

The question whether in the ritual prayer texts from the Ḳur'ān may be recited in a non-Arabic language and whether the production and use of translations of the Ḳur'ān should be permitted became once again acute when in Turkey in the nineteen-twenties the authorities proceeded to "nationalise" the ritual prayers and to publish Turkish translations of the Ḳur'ān not accompanied by the Arabic original. Authoritative theologians found themselves induced once again to explain and to justify the orthodox standpoint by reference to earlier authorities.

The first statements were mainly of a polemical and negative nature. In the course of time, however, there prevailed a more eirenical judgement on the matter. Thus the Ḥanafī scholar of al-Azhar, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, in a thorough investigation first published in 1932, adopted the attitude that for a Muslim without a knowledge of Arabic the recital of the Ḳur'ānic texts prescribed for the prayer in an appropriate translation was absolutely obligatory (*wādjib*). The important thing in the prayer is the meaning of the text, not the character of the *i'djāz*. The true sense is, however, transmitted through a translation. Furthermore, it is not realistic to require the great mass of Muslims from the non-Arabic-speaking territories to learn Arabic on account of the Ḳur'ān. It is much more desirable and indispensable (according to Maḥmūd Shaltūt, even obligatory) for them to use translations, quite apart from their use in the prayer. The thesis that the Ḳur'ān in translation ceases to be the Word of God (*kalām Allāh*) is, according to Marāghī, valid only with reservations. The translation does not simply represent human speech (*kalām al-nās*), for although it does not contain the Word of God literally, yet its content consists of the meaning of God's Word.

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b. Translations into specific languages. The Ḳur'ān has been translated into most of the languages of Asia and Europe, and into some African ones. A Persian translation is said to have been made during the time of the Orthodox Caliphs by Salmān al-Fārisī, a Companion of the Prophet; one into Berber in 127/744-5; and a Sindhi one in 270/883-4; but none of these survives.

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1. Persian and Turkish. One of the oldest surviving works in the Persian language is the translation of the large Arabic *tafsīr* of Ṭabarī (d. Bag̲h̲dād 310/923), which was made for Abū Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr b. Nūḥ, Sāmānid ruler of Transoxania and K̲h̲urāsān (350-66/961-76). The precise date is not recorded, but the Persian preface explains how it came to be made. Abū Ṣāliḥ, after questioning his *'ulamā'* about the legality of translation of the Holy Book into Persian, decreed that this should be done by learned men from the cities of this realm. Several MSS. are mentioned by Storey, the earliest, at Rāmpūr, being dated *ca.* 600/1203-4. There is a Persian translation in Roman characters in the Vatican.

Possibly not much later is the Persian text, translation and commentary, copied (and perhaps composed) by one Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Fatḥ in 628/1231, which is preserved at Cambridge and described by E. G. Browne.

Storey lists 48 dated translations and commentaries, and in an appendix, 74 titled or quasi-titled commentaries, as well as a selection of 8 miscellaneous unidentified commentaries and specimens of the numerous anonymous translations to be found in Persian, Indian and other MS. collections, and some lithographs.

The Bregel-Bors̲h̲čevsky Russian translation of Storey (*Persidskaya literatura*, Moscow 1972) records earlier MSS. of the Ṭabarī translation (Bursa 562/1166-7 and end of 6th/12th century), as well as some 250 other translations and commentaries.

The Persian translation of Ṭabarī's commentary was the basis for the first Turkish version, which Togan regards as its contemporary, but which Inan places in the first half of the 5th/11th century.

There are said to be over 70 translations into Turkish made from at least the 4th/11th century onwards, existing in many hundreds of MSS. in public and private collections, and these have frequently been printed. These are in various forms of the Turkic languages, Eastern and Western, and in the Uyg̲h̲ur and Arabic scripts and in Roman characters, with at least four transliterations into Modern Turkish of the Arabic text.

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2. Indo-Pakistani languages. Of the many Urdu versions, the earliest are said to have been made by S̲h̲āh 'Abd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] and S̲h̲āh Rafī' al-Dīn, each of them an uncle of the celebrated preacher and scholar Muḥammad Ismā'īl S̲h̲ahīd [see ISMĀ'ĪL S̲H̲AHĪD]. The British Museum Hindustani catalogue lists innumerable examples, including versions made by Christians and printed in Roman characters. Details may also be found in the bibliographies of the And̲j̲uman-i taraḳḳī-yi Urdū Pākistān (i, Karachi 1961) and of 'Abd al-Sattār Chaudharī (1974).

In the other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, there are versions in Assamese, Bengali (innumerable; a 1908 version by Rev. Wm. Goldsack of 1908 is illustrated in *MW*, v (1915), 254-5), Gujarati, Hindi, Kashmiri, Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi (often combined with a Persian version and the Arabic text), Pashto, Sanskrit (Chauvin, x), Sindhi (surveyed by A. M. Schimmel in *Oriens*, xvi (1963), 224-43), Sinhalese; and in the Dravidian languages, Malayalam, Tamil and Telegu.

3. South-East Asian. There are many translations into Malay and Indonesian mentioned in the catalogues and bibliographies, and into other Indonesian languages (Sundanese, Javanese, Macassarese and Buginese). A Burmese version with the Arabic text, by one Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Nūr al-Dīn known as Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Lū, published in 1938, may be found in the British Library (*BM. Arab. cat.*, 2nd suppl.), while Tinker mentions that a project to translate the Ḳur'ān into

that language was initiated by U Nu while Prime Minister in 1955. Two translations into Thai (one with Arabic text) of 1968 and 1971 are in the Wason Library at Cornell University.

Bibliography: *Catalogus van de Bibl. v. het Kon. Inst. v. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk.* and suppls.; Ockeloen, *Catalogus van boeken en tijdschriften uitgegeven in Ned. Oost-Indië*, 1870 (-1953); H. Tinker, art. BURMA.

4. Far Eastern (Chinese and Japanese). Several 19th and 20th century works contain selections in Chinese, sometimes with commentary. A MS. believed to date from about 1800 in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, gives "pieces from the Koran and prayers transcribed from the Arabic original in Chinese sounds". Translation into Chinese was recommended by Sakuma, a Japanese businessman and convert to Islam who, in 1925, founded the progressive but short-lived newspaper *Mu kiang*. Another source says that in that same year a complete translation was under consideration by the International Muslim Association. The British Museum has a *Kuo-yü ku-lan ching*, with commentary translated from English versions by Shih Tzu-chou and others (Taipei 1958).

Japanese versions by Toshihiko Izutsu and Tanaka Shiro were published in several editions in the nineteen-fifties, sixties and seventies.

Bibliography: *Un commentaire chinois du Coran*, in *RMM*, iv (1908), 540-7; I. Mason, *Notes on Chinese Mohammadan literature*, in *J. North China Branch RAS*, lvi (1925), 172-215; R. A. Syrdal, *Christ in the Chinese Koran*, in *MW*, xxvii (1937), 72-83.

5. Non-Islamic Near Eastern Languages. Three manuscripts of Hebrew translations exist (in Oxford, Cambridge and the Library of Congress), the first two made from the Italian of Arrivabene, the third from the Dutch of Glazemaker. All of these predate the translation of Hermann (Ḥayyim) Reckendorf, Leipzig 1857, made direct from the Arabic. Two further translations have since appeared: by Joseph Joel Rivlin (Tel Aviv 1936-41, 1963²) and by Aharon Ben-Shemesh (Ramath Gan 1971).

Quotations from the Ķur'ān, in Syriac, appear in a polemical work against Jews, Nestorians and Muslims by the West Syrian writer Barsalībī (d. 1171), which exists in a manuscript now in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester, and in another in the Harvard University Semitic Museum. It is doubtful if a complete Syriac translation ever existed.

In the Bhopal State Library is to be found a Ķur'ān in classical Armenian, translated from the Latin by Stephanos of Ilov, a monk of Echmiadzin. This MS., in a "simply perfect calligraphy", lacks title-page and date but is thought to be of the first half of the 17th century. A printed translation, with a life of Muḥammad, by Leron Larēnc', made from the French versions of Savary and Kasimirski, was published in Istanbul (pt. 3 in 1912).

A Georgian version (Tiflis 1906) is in the Wardrop Collection in the Bodleian Library.

Bibliography: M. M. Weinstein, *A Hebrew Qur'ān manuscript*, in *Studies in bibliography and booklore* (Cincinnati), x (1971-2), 19-43; A. Mingana, *An ancient Syriac translation of the Ķur'ān*, in *Bull. John Rylands Libr.*, ix (1925), 188-235, and repr.; J. Rendel Harris, *The new text of the Ķur'ān*, *ibid.*, x (1926), 219-22; Mesrob J. Seth, *A manuscript Koran in Classical Armenian*, in *JASB*, N.S. xix (1929), 291-4.

6. African languages. There are three translations of the Ķur'ān into Swahili: Christian, Aḥmadī and Sunnī Shāfiʿī. The earliest, made by Godfrey Dale, a missionary with the Universities Mission for Central Africa, was published by the S.P.C.K. in London in 1923. It contains over 700 *maelozo* (explanatory comments or notes) by Dale or his colleague, G. W. Broomfield.

The Aḥmadī version (Nairobi 1953, 1971²) was made by Shaykh Mubārak Aḥmadī, chief missionary of the Aḥmadiyya Muslim Mission in East Africa, while the Sunnī Shāfiʿī version, by Shaykh ʿAbd Allah Ṣāliḥ al-Fārsī, was published in fascicules between 1956 and 1962 at Zanzibar, in a one-volume edition in Bangalore (1949), and by the Islamic Foundation at Nairobi in 1956.

Other African-language versions exist in Yoruba (Rev. M. S. Cole, Lagos 1924), Ganda (Uganda Aḥmadiyya Muslim Mission, 1965) and Amharic (Artistic Press, Addis Ababa, 1961). Possible versions in Berber are discussed by Henri Basset, see *Bibl.*

Bibliography: H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 63-4; G. Dale, *A Swahili translation of the Koran*, in *MW*, xiv (1924), 5-9; V. Monteil, *Un Coran ahmadi en Swahili*, in *Bull. IFAN*, xxix, B (1967), 479-95; J. D. Holway, *The Qur'ān in Swahili; three translations*, in *MW*, lxi (1971), 102-10.

7. European languages. The Latin paraphrase made by Robert of Ketton at the behest of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, and completed in 1143, exists in the autograph of the translator in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris. Robert is said to have been "always liable to heighten or exaggerate a harmless text to give it a nasty or licentious sting, or to prefer an improbable but unpleasant interpretation of the meaning to a likely but normal and decent one" (N. Daniel, *Islam and the West, the making of an image*, Edinburgh 1960, see Index, s.v. Ketton). The work of Robert formed the basis for several mediaeval versions, but was apparently unknown to another early translator, Marc of Toledo. It was recopied in the 17th century by Dominicus Germanus, whose work exists in Montpelier, the Escurial and elsewhere, and was published in the Cluniac corpus, together with various other works of Christian propaganda, by Theodor Bibliander (Buchmann) in three editions at Basel in 1543, and one at Zürich in 1550 containing a preface by Martin Luther.

The first translation in a modern European language was the Italian version of Andrea Arrivabene, published in 1547. Though its author claims that it is made directly from the Arabic, it is clearly a translation or paraphrase of Robert of Ketton's text as published by Bibliander. Arrivabene's version was used for the first German translation made by Solomon Schweigger, preacher at the Frauenkirche in Nürnberg, which in turn formed the basis of the first Dutch translation, made anonymously and issued in 1641.

The first French version by André du Ryer, "Sieur de la Garde Malezais", came out in a great many editions between 1647 and 1775. All editions contain a "summary of the religion of the Turks" and other documents. This gave rise to the first Koran in English by Alexander Ross, and also fathered versions in Dutch (by Glazemaker), German (Lange) and Russian (Postnikov and Veryovkin).

The second Latin version was made directly from the Arabic text by Ludovico Marraci (or Marracci), published first in 1698 and secondly, with additions and annotations, by Reineccius in 1721. It was translated into German by Nerreter.

The 18th century brought translations made directly from an Arabic original by Sale into English (first published in 1734), Savary (French, 1751) and Boysen (German, 1773). Sale's version was in vogue in the English-speaking world for nearly two centuries: his renowned preliminary discourse, based, according to Nallino, on Marracci and Edward Pococke senior, was translated into several European languages. It was even translated into Arabic by Protestant missionaries in Egypt.

Savary's version was, according to Chauvin, evidently made from the Latin of Marracci: it bears the distinction of having been published in Mecca in A.H. 1165 (or so the title-page of one edition states!). Kasimirski, whose translation has also had a long run, and indeed like that of Savary, is still being republished in our own time, was requested by Pauthier to revise Savary. He preferred, however, to make a new translation directly from the Arabic while consulting the works of Marracci and Sale.

Throughout the 19th century, the translations were normally made without remove from the Arabic. In the 20th century, the first English versions made by Muslims appear, and the Aḥmadiyya movement began to issue the Ḳur'ān text with translations into European and even African languages. In recent times translations have been made by many of the most prominent Arabists and Islamic scholars into all the main languages of Europe, undeterred by the dictum of A. Fischer that only second or third-grade scholars dared to undertake this task.

Conspectus of European Language Versions:

Afrikaans. Anon. 1950. M. A. Baker, 1961.

Bulgarian. Lica, 1902-5. Tomov and Skulov, *ca.* 1930. (*MW*, xxiii [1933], 189-90.)

Czech. Vesely, 1913-25. Nykl, 1934. Hrbek, 1972. (A. Schimmel, *Die neue tschechische Koranübersetzung*, in *WO* vii [1973-4], 154-62.)

Danish. Madsen, 1967. Selections in chronological order, Buhl, 1921, 1954².

Dutch. Anon., 1641. Glazemaker, 1658, 1696, 1698, 1707, 1721, 1734. Tollens, 1859. Keyzer, 1860, 1879. Bas̲h̲ir al-Dīn Aḥmad (Aḥmadiyya), 1953. Kramers, 1956, 1965, 1969.

English. Versions by Christians: Ross, 1649, 1688, 1719, 1806. Sale, 1734-1892; American versions 1833-1923. Rodwell, 1861, 1876, 1909 (often reprinted to 1963). Palmer, 1880, 1900 (often reprinted to 1965). Bell, 1937-9. Arberry, 1955 (repr. 1963, 1964, 1969, 1971). Many versions by orthodox Muslims including Pickthall, 1930 etc., bilingual eds. 1938, 1976. A. Yusuf Ali, 1934, etc.; Dawood, 1956 etc. and by the Aḥmadiyya.

Finnish. Ahsen Böre, 1942. Aro, 1957.

French. Du Ryer, many editions, 1647-1775. Savary, 1751-1960. Kasimirski 1840-1970. Fatma-Zaida, 1861. Montet, 1929. Laïmèche, 1931. Pesle and Tidjani, 1936. Blachère, 1949-50, 1957, 1966. Rajabalee (Mauritius) 1949-. Mercier, 1956. Ghedira, 1957. Hamidullah, 1959, 1966. Masson, 1967. Si Boubakeur Hamza, 1972.

German. Schweigger, 1616, 1623, 1659. Lange, 1688. Nerreter 1703. Arnold, 1746. Megerlin, 1772. Boysen, 1773, 1775. Wahl, 1828. Ullmann, 1840-1959 (10 editions). Grigull, 1901, n.d. Henning, 1901, 1960, 1968. Goldschmidt, 1916. Aubier, 1957. Sadr-ud-Din, 1939. Aḥmadiyya versions, 1954, 1959. Paret, 1966, 1977, paperback ed. 1979, second ed. 1980.

Greek. Pentake, 1878, 1886, etc. Zographou-Meraniou, 1959.

Hungarian. Szdmajer, 1831 (*MW* [1927]). Szokolay, 1854.

Italian. Arrivabene, 1547, 1548, 1912. Calza, 1847. Anon., 1882, 1912, 1913. Fracassi, 1914. Bonelli, 1929, 1940 (repr. 1948, 1956). Bausani, 1955, 1961. Moreno, 1967, 1969. Violante, n.d.

Latin. Robert of Ketton, 1543, 1550. Marracci, 1698, 1721.

Polish. Sobolewski, ? 1828. Buczacki, 1858.

Portuguese. Anon., 1882. Castro, 1964.

Rumanian. Isopescul, 1912.

Russian. Postnikov, 1716. Veryovkin, 1790. Kolmakov, 1792. Nikolaev, 1864-1901 (5 editions). Boguslavski, 1871 (MS. only, *Bull. N.Y. Publ. Library*, xli, 101). Sablukov, 1877-9, 1894-8, 1907. Krimskiy, 1902, 1905, 1916? Kračkovskiy, 1963.

Serbo-Croat. Ljubibratić, 1895. Pandža and Čaušević, 1936, 1936, 1969. Karabeg, 1937. (A. Popović, *Sur une nouvelle traduction du Coran en serbe-croate*, in *Arabica*, xx [1973], 82-4).

Spanish. Gerber de Robles, 1844. Ortiz de la Puebla, 1872. Murguiondo, 1875. Anon., 1931. Bergua, 1931 (9 editions to 1970). Cansinos Assens, 1951 (5 editions to 1963). Vernet Ginés, 1953, 1963. Anon., 1960. Cardona Castro, 1965. Anon., 1965. Herñandez Catá, n.d. Garcia Bravo, n.d. Anon., n.d.

Swedish. Crusenstolpe, 1843. Tornberg, 1874. Zetterstéen, 1917. Ohlmarks, 1961.

There also exist partial translations in Albanian and Norwegian, and the MS. of a Ukranian version by Volodymyr Lezevyc (Hamidullah, *Le Coran*³, 1966, p. lxv).

Bibliography: J. Kritzeck, *Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an*, in *IQ*, ii (1955), 309-12; M. Th. d'Alverny, *Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Age*, in *Archives hist. doctr. litt. Moyen Age*, xxii-xxiv (1947-8), 69-131; W. K[öhler], *Zu Biblianders Koran-Ausgabe*, in *Zwingliana*, iii (1913-20), 349-50; M. Th. d'Alverny, G. Vajda, *Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tumart*, in *And.* xvi (1951), 99-140, 259-307, xvii (1952), 1-56, esp. xvi, 260-8: C. de Frede, *La prima traduzione italiana del Corano . . .*, Naples 1967; Denison Ross, *Ludovico Marraci*, in *BSOS*, ii (1921-3), 117-23; C. Nallino, *Le fonti arabe manoscritte dell' opera di Ludovico Marracci sul Corano*, in *Rend. Accad. Lincei*, Cl. Sci. mor. stor. filol., ser. 6, vii (1931), 303-49; A. Bausani, *On some recent translations of the Qur'ān*, in *Numen*, iv (1957), 75-81; W. A. Bijlefeld, *Some recent contributions to Qur'anic studies*, in *MW*, lxiv (1974), 79-102, 172-9, 259-74; A. Fischer, *Der Wert der vorhandenen Koran-Übersetzungen und Sure 111*, Leipzig 1937; M. Hamidullah, *Le Coran, traduction intégrale, avec une bibliographie de toutes les traductions . . . en langues européennes*, Paris 1966°; J. Vernet, *Traducciones moriscas de* El Corán, in *Der Orient in der Forschung, Festschrift für Otto Spies*, Wiesbaden 1967, 686-705; J. D. Pearson, *Bibliography of translations of the Koran into European languages*, in *Cambridge history of Arabic literature* (forthcoming).

(J. D. Pearson)

AL-KŪRĀNĪ, Ibrāhīm b. al-S̲h̲ahrazūrī al-Ḥasan S̲h̲ahrānī, al-Madanī (1023-1101/1615-90), scholar and mystic, born in S̲h̲ahrazūr in the mountains of Kurdistān on the frontiers of Persia. He studied first in Turkey, then in Persia, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt before settling in Medina. In one of his works, *Masālik al-abrār ilā ḥadīt̲h̲ al-nabī al-muk̲h̲tār* (Ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Ṭalʿat ff. 55-6), he refers to a period of 3 months at the Azhar in 1061/1650, where he studied with S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-S̲h̲abrāmallisī, *Imām* of the Azhar until 1087/1677, the whole *Taysīr fi 'l-ḳirā'āt al-sabʿ*

attributed to al-Ḳurṭubī, and with Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shiḥādha al-Yamanī the *Ṭayyibat al-nashr fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashr* of al-Djazarī up to Sūra IV, 41, *fa-kayfa idhā djiʾnā min kulli ummatin bi-shahīdin*, after which he travelled to Baghdād where he spent a year and a half. He was a member of several *ṭuruḳ*, the most important among them being the Naḳshbandiyya. In Medina, he was a student of al-Kushāshī and succeeded him as head of his *ṭarīḳa* on the former's death in 1071/1661.

He was a prolific author in various of the Islamic disciplines, and wrote on *fiḳh*, *tawḥīd* and *taṣawwuf*. He was one of the last great exponents of the school of Ibn ʿArabī, and is of particular interest because of his use of the techniques of scholastic theology in his *Itḥāf al-dhakī bi-sharḥ al-tuḥfa al-mursala ilā 'l-nabī* (edition in preparation) in order to explain and defend the monistic tradition of Ibn ʿArabī. Yet despite his commitment to the Ibn ʿArabī tradition, he was by nature a conciliator, arguing that it was preferable to reconcile two opposing points of view than to choose one of them or the other. This did not save him from condemnation by the followers of al-Sanūsī in Fās for his Ḳadariyya learnings on the question of *kasb*, and for Muʿtazilī influence in his views on the material character of non-being as well as for his views on the faith of Pharaoh, and his assertion of the historicity of and explanation of the so-called "Satanic verses" allegedly interpolated into Ḳurʾān, LIII, 21.

Other Moroccans, however, thought highly of him and of his humility and learning. He was esteemed by foreign students in the Ḥidjāz and was well-known among Indian scholars. He had an important influence on the development of Islam in the region now known as Indonesia because of his special relationship with the Achehnese ʿAbd al-Raʾūf of Singkel [*q.v.*] and with succeeding generations of Javan students referred to in the *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl wa-natāʾidj al-safar* of Muṣṭafā al-Ḥamwī (Ms. Dār al-Kutub, *Taʾrīkh* 1093, ff. 166-7). His association with ʿAbd al-Raʾūf was particularly close. They were friends in Medina, they corresponded across the Indian Ocean for thirty years after ʿAbd al-Raʾūf returned to Acheh in 1071/1661, and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf made renderings of some of his works in Malay.

The number of works attributed to him ranges from forty-two (Brockelmann, s.v.) to over a hundred, only two of which have been published, sc. *al-Lumʿa al-saniya* and *al-Amam li-īḳāẓ al-himam* (see *Bibl.*). The former is a brief treatise on the "Satanic verses", for which some of the Moroccans condemned him; the latter is a most interesting and important work, setting out in detail his intellectual credentials as a teacher.

Bibliography: Reference works: Brockelmann, II², 514-15; al-Ifrānī al-Marrākushī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣulaḥāʾ*, lith. [Fās], n.d., 210-11; Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fās 1310/1892, ii, 130-7; Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-thānī ʿashar*, Būlāḳ 1301/1883, i, f. 5; Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ Khān al-Ḥusaynī, *Abdjad al-ʿulūm*, n.p. [India] 1296, 846. Published texts: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam li-īḳāẓ al-himam*, Ḥaydarābād 1328; A. Guillaume, *al-Lumʿat al-saniya fī taḥqīq al-ilqāʾ fī 'l-umniya by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī*, in *BSOAS*, x (1957), 291-303; General: P. Voorhoeve, *Bayān Tadjallī*, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Jakarta), lxxxv/1 (1952), 87-117; A. H. Johns, *Islam in Southeast Asia: problems of perspective*, in C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters (eds.), *Southeast Asian history and historiography*, Ithaca 1976, 304-20.

(A. H. JOHNS)

KURĀNĪ, GURĀNĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN [see GURĀNĪ].

KURAYBIYYA or, more commonly, KARIBIYYA is the name of a subsect of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] derived from its otherwise unknown leader Abū, more rarely Ibn Karib (or Kurayb, Karnab) al-Ḍarīr.

The heresiographical sources are agreed that Abū Karib denied the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, the *Imām* and *Mahdī* of the Kaysāniyya. It is thus evident that he was active immediately after the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in 81/700 and probably played a major rôle in promoting Messianic ideas about him among the Kaysāniyya. The sources disagree, however, in regard to other points of his teaching. The Muʿtazilī and Sunnī sources attribute to him the belief that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was alive hidden in the mountains of Raḍwā near Medina, guarded by a lion on his right and a leopard on his left and provided with food in the morning and the evening, until the time of his reappearance. Some of Abū Karib's followers held that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was punished by God with confinement in the Djabal Raḍwā because of his voluntary submission to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. In the account of these sources, Abū Karib appears as the founder of what became the mainstream of the Kaysāniyya expecting the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, and whose views were later expressed in the poetry of Kuthayyir [*q.v.*] and al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*].

According to the Shīʿī sources, on the other hand, Abū Karib and his followers asserted that the place where Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was concealed could not be known and they were distinct from those who believed that he was hiding in the mountains of Raḍwā. They maintained that ʿAlī had named him the *Mahdī*. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī adds to this that Abū Karib considered Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya the immediate successor of ʿAlī in the imāmate and opposed those who upheld the imāmate of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn before him. This view was in conflict with the position of the majority of the Kaysāniyya, expressed in verses by Kuthayyir, that the three sons of ʿAlī were consecutively *Imāms* and al-Maḳdisī, representing the Muʿtazilī account, expressly states that Abū Karib (Ibn Karnab) considered al-Ḥasan as the *Imām* after ʿAlī. According to al-Nawbakhtī, the extremist Shīʿī Ḥamza b. ʿUmāra al-Barbarī of Medina was originally a follower of Abū (Ibn) Karib, and among Ḥamza's early supporters in Kūfa were Bayān b. Samʿān [*q.v.*] and Ṣāʾid al-Nahdī. The Karibiyya and all its extremist offshoots claimed that they would return to life at the time of the reappearance of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. According to the account of the Muʿtazilī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, on the other hand, the doctrine of return (*radjʿa*) was first taught by Ḥayyān al-Sarrādj who, in contrast to Abū Karib, believed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya had died and would return to life. While there is no external evidence supporting either of the two groups of sources, the Shīʿī sources, providing more specific details, appear to be generally better informed.

Bibliography: al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 25 f.; Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. Muḥ. Djawād Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 27, 34; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-33, 19; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Zīna*, ms.; al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *al-Urdjūza al-mukhtāra*, ed. I. K. Poonawala, Montreal 1970, 227-9; al-Maḳdisī,

al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh, ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1899-1916, v, 128; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 27 f.; idem, *al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. A. N. Nader, Beirut 1970, 50 f.; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, Cairo 1367/1948, 157-9; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Iʿtiḳādāt firaḳ al-muslimīn wa 'l-mushrikīn*, ed. ʿAlī Sāmī al-Nashshār, Cairo 1357/1938, 62; W. Montgomery Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 47-9; Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi 'l-taʾrīkh wa 'l-adab*, Beirut 1974, 172 f. (W. MADELUNG)

ḲURAYSH, the tribe inhabiting Mecca in the time of Muḥammad and to which he belonged; the name, which may be a nickname, is mostly (e.g. Ibn Hishām, 61) said to come from *taḳarrush*, "a coming together, association"; but it is also possible (cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1104) that it is the diminutive of *ḳirsh*, "shark", and it could then be a totemic name like Kalb, etc. (A man called Ḳuraysh, other than Fihr, is mentioned in *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 12.7-9.) The tribe is taken to consist of the descendants of Fihr, and he himself is sometimes spoken of as Ḳuraysh; but the name is mostly used only of the tribe, which is reckoned among the "northern Arabs" (cf. ʿADNĀN and AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT, vi, p. 544b). The ancestry of Fihr is given as: b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān. The following table shows the main subdivisions of Ḳuraysh (for a fuller version, cf. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 7); an asterisk indicates those commonly spoken of as "clans" in Muḥammad's time.

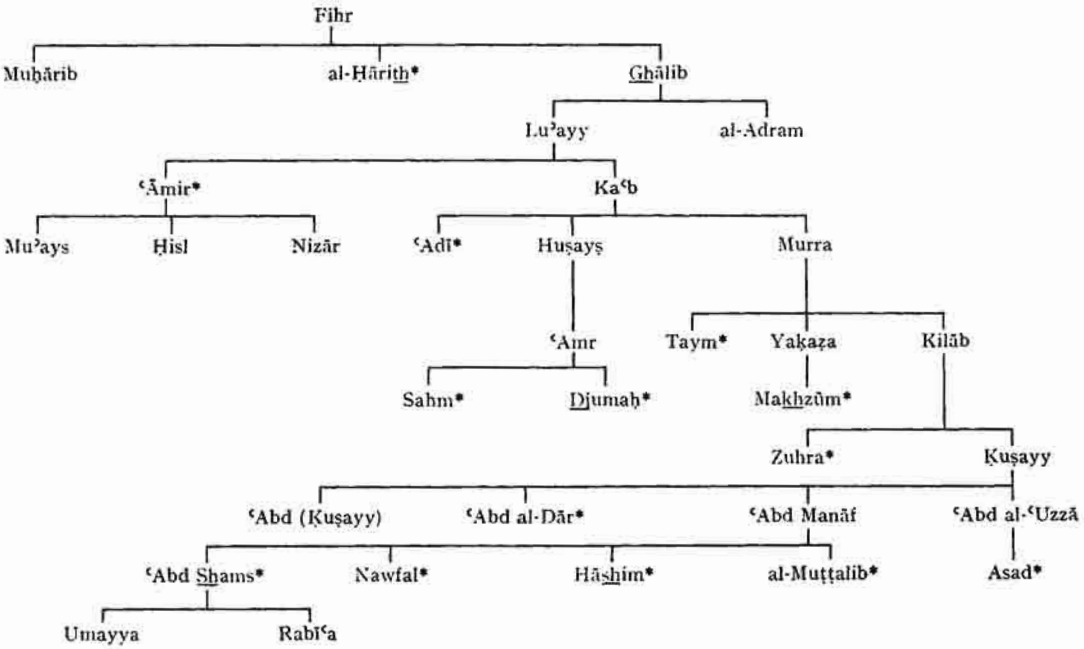

Fihr is said to have been the leader of men of Kināna, Khuzayma and other tribes in fighting to defend the Kaʿba against an attack by Yamanī tribes, but the sanctuary and various privileges connected with it remained in the hands of the tribe of Khuzāʿa. There was probably little, if any, permanent settlement at Mecca at this period. The descendants of Fihr lived in scattered groups among their relatives of Kināna. A change came about through Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], in the sixth generation from Fihr. He collected together the scattered groups of his kinsmen of Ḳuraysh (and this may be the occasion of their receiving the name), and, with help from certain men of Kināna and Ḳuḍāʿa (normally resident in Syria), he wrested the possession of the sanctuary from Khuzāʿa and became virtual ruler of Mecca. He is also said to have assigned quarters of Mecca to the various groups of Ḳuraysh; those in the area round the Kaʿba were known as the Ḳuraysh of the Biṭāḥ, and included all the descendants of Kaʿb b. Luʾayy, and perhaps some others, while those on the outskirts were the Ḳuraysh of al-Ẓawāhir. In so far as this assignment of quarters implied permanent settlement, it must have been made possible by the development of trade. Certainly by 600 A.D. the leading men of Ḳuraysh were prosperous merchants who had obtained something like a monopoly of the trade between the Indian Ocean and East Africa on the one hand and the Mediterranean on the other. They organised caravans which went to the Yaman in winter and to Gaza and Damascus in summer, and they were involved in mining and other activities along these routes. Victory in the war of the Fidjār [*q.v.*] against Hawāzin and Thaḳīf brought the routes of the Nadjd under Ḳuraysh. In particular, they gained control of the trade of the town of al-Ṭāʾif, which for a time had been a rival. Since al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*] was much higher and cooler than Mecca, many Ḳuraysh acquired estates there. They had also stations in other parts of Arabia. The Ḳuraysh

became renowned for their *ḥilm* [*q.v.*] "steadiness" or "absence of hotheadedness", and in practice this meant that they placed business interests first and maintained a measure of unity despite their rivalries.

On the death of Ḳuṣayy (probably in the first half of the 6th century A.D.), his powers and rights passed to ʿAbd al-Dār, but after a time he was challenged by ʿAbd Manāf, and this led to a division of Ḳuraysh into two rival groups. ʿAbd al-Dār was supported by Makhzūm, Sahm, Djumaḥ and ʿAdī, and these were known as the Aḥlāf or Confederates. The opposing party, known as the Muṭayyabūn, the Perfumed, consisted of ʿAbd Manāf, Asad, Zuhra, Taym and al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. It is impossible to know how long these groups remained effective. There is a reference to Muṭayyabūn in a letter from Muḥammad to some men of Khuzāʿa written in 8 A.H. (al-Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, ii, 750). Long before this, however, about 605 A.D. (*Munammaḳ*, 46), the Muṭayyabūn had been replaced by a new confederacy, the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl [*q.v.*] (exact meaning uncertain), which consisted of Hāshim, al-Muṭṭalib, Asad, Zuhra, Taym and perhaps al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. The essential change here is that ʿAbd Manāf has split into four parts, of whom two, Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib, have remained with their former allies, while the other two, ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal, have abandoned them. This may mean that ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal had become strong through commercial succes. It is clear that ʿAbd Shams, though not fully identified with the Aḥlāf, had developed close business relations with them. In all the stories of the pre-Islamic period there is admittedly a legendary element, but the main outline of events appears to be roughly correct, even if most of the dating is uncertain.

A man did not cease to belong to his clan when he became a Muslim, and in many of the events of Muḥammad's career, and of the period up to 132/750, the influence of old rivalries or alliances can be seen. As late as the reign of Muʿāwiya I, an appeal against injustice was made by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (of Hāshim) to the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, and was given a whole-hearted response from men of Taym, Zuhra and Asad (Ibn Hishām, 86 f.). The leaders of the revolt defeated at the Battle of the Camel in 656 were from Taym and Asad. Of course, there were changes in the relative power and wealth of the clans. The clan of ʿAbd Shams rose to pre-eminence through the Umayyad dynasty, since Umayya was a son of ʿAbd Shams; and the early Shīʿis and then the ʿAbbāsids represented their old rivals, Hāshim. Under the first four caliphs and the Umayyads, men of Ḳuraysh played a very important role in the organisation and administration of the empire, and without their skills in these fields the empire would probably not have endured.

On the death of Muḥammad, the Anṣār wanted one of them to be head of the community of Muslims, but they were persuaded by ʿUmar to accept Abū Bakr as *khalīfa*, on the grounds that only a Ḳurashī could hold together the federation. There are indications that the Anṣār continued to feel strongly about this point for some decades (cf. Watt in *MW*, xlii (1952), 161, 164). A *ḥadīth* came to be generally accepted, however, that "the *imāms* are from Ḳuraysh" (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 129, 183; iv, 421; cf. T. W. Arnold, *The caliphate*, Oxford 1924, 47). The Qurʾānic verse IX, 100/101 was also quoted in support. When the Sunnī theory of the caliphate was formulated, it was generally insisted that the caliph or *imām* should be from Ḳuraysh (e.g. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo 1952, i, 26, 34; ii, 21; al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, 5; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 350-4; Eng. tr., i, 396-401). A few scholars, however (e.g. Ḍirār b. ʿAmr), held otherwise, and most of the Khawāridj considered that a pious and upright man of any origin could be *imām* (al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 461 f.; al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 275-7; etc.). This matter caused a little difficulty in more recent times when the caliphate was claimed by Mughal emperors and Ottoman sultans, but most *ʿulamāʾ* found a way of circumventing the difficulty (Arnold, *Caliphate*, 162, 175).

The geographer al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945) mentions small groups of Ḳuraysh in various parts of Arabia, possibly remnants of trading stations (ed. D. H. Müller, 119, 122, 165, 194, 258); while al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 284/897) reports a group of Ḳuraysh near Ṣaydāʾ in the Lebanon (*Buldān*, Leiden 1892, 327). At the present day there are many Ḳuraysh living as Bedouin in the neighbourhood of Mecca, while in Mecca itself the key of the Kaʿba is held by a clan of Ḳuraysh called Shayba.

The *nisba* is Ḳurashī, but this was not much used in the heartlands of the caliphate in the early centuries; if any *nisba* was used it was mostly that from a clan. After a time, some men seem to have prided themselves in descent from Ḳuraysh. The following are some examples: one in ʿIrāḳ, 7/13th century; six in Egypt and Syria, 8/14th, 9/15th, 11/17th, 12/18th centuries; two in North Africa, 7/13th and 9/15th centuries (*GAL*, ii, 110, 111, 112, 449; *GAL* S, i, 298 foot, 537, No. 20, 609; ii, 58; Ibn Khaldūn, Eng. tr., iii, 126n.). In Pakistan, etc. it is common at the present time in the form Qoreshi.

Bibliography: (for the earlier period): Ibn Hishām, 61-70, 75 f., 79-87, etc.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, Hyderabad 1942; idem, *K. al-Munammaḳ fī akhbār Ḳuraysh*, Hyderabad 1964; al-Azraḳī, *K. Akhbār Makka*, in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, Leipzig 1858; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, iii, 91-122, etc.; al-Zubayrī, *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh*, Cairo 1953; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 4-16, etc.; H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1924. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḲURAYSH B. BADRĀN [see ʿUḲAYL, Banū —]

ḲURAYYĀT AL-MILḤ, a group of villages in the extreme northwest of Saʿūdī Arabia, in the northern section of the NW-SE depression of Wādī al-Sirḥān (approx. long. 37° 40' E. and lat. 31° 25' N.). The largest settlements, (though none are larger than 2,000 inhabitants) are Ithra, al-Ḳarḳar, Manwā, Ghaṭṭī, Kāf, and an-Nabk, which is the administrative centre and residence of the local *Amīr*, who now reports to Mecca, but at the time of Euting's visit (1301/1883) reported to the *Amīr* of Ḥāʾil. Until the consolidation of the House of Ibn Saʿūd's power, the villages were frequently under dispute between the Shammar and Ruwāla Bedouins, to whose leaders the inhabitants of Ḳurayyāt al-Milḥ had to pay tribute. Aside from some meagre oasis agriculture (chiefly dates, alfalfa, and a little grain in good years), the principal income was derived from the caravan trade, particularly during the pilgrimage season, but most importantly from the area's extensive salt pans, which have been intensively mined for several centuries; hence its collective name of "Salt Villages". The salt was traded southeastwards to al-Djawf, Sakāka, and Ḥāʾil, and northwards to Jordan and Syria. By the mid-20th century the drilling of deep water wells and the spread of industrialisation had allowed a greater diversification of agriculture and employment for

cash wages, so that the villages were much less dependent on trade and salt production.

Reputedly Nabataean, but certainly pre-Islamic ruins, pottery, and inscriptions attest to the antiquity of settled life in this area.

Bibliography: Fu'ād Ḥamza, *al-Bilād al-ʿArabiyya al-Suʿūdiyya*, Mecca 1355; J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, i, Leiden 1896; Department of Antiquities and Museums, Ministry of Education, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, *An introduction to Saudi Arabian antiquities*, al-Riyāḍ 1395/1975. (F. S. VIDAL)

ĶURAYẒA, BANŪ, one of the three main Jewish tribes of Ya<u>th</u>rib (Medina), with lands towards the south-east of the oasis. As in the case of the other Jewish groups, it is not known whether they were descended from refugees of Hebrew stock or from Arabs who had adopted Judaism. They adhered firmly to the Jewish religion, but at the same time had adopted many Arab practices and had intermarried with Arabs. According to a genealogy given by al-Samhūdī, Ķurayẓa, Hadl and ʿAmr were sons of al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u> b. al-Ṣarīḥ, who was descended from Aaron (though only eight intermediate names are given). The related tribe of al-Naḍīr was said to be al-Naḍīr b. al-Naḥḥām b. al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u> b. al-Ṣarīḥ. Ķurayẓa and al-Naḍīr, with the related groups, after their settlement in Ya<u>th</u>rib developed agriculture (palms and cereals) and dominated politically the previous Arab inhabitants. The Jews lost their dominant position, however, after the coming of al-Aws and al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u>, though they appear to have retained a measure of independence. Both Ķurayẓa and al-Naḍīr supported al-Aws at the battle of Buʿāth [*q.v.*]. At the time of the Hi<u>dj</u>ra, the two most important men of Ķurayẓa appear to have been al-Zabīr b. Bāṭā b. Wahb and Kaʿb b. Asad; each of these had an *uṭum* or fort. These and fifteen others are named as hostile to Muḥammad (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 352). Ķurayẓa are said to have had two assemblies (*ma<u>dj</u>lisān*), those of Banū Kaʿb b. Ķurayẓa and Banū ʿAmr b. Ķurayẓa (*ibid.*, 691 foot, 711).

It is reported that at the Hi<u>dj</u>ra, Kaʿb b. Asad, acting on behalf of Ķurayẓa, made an agreement (*ʿahd*) with Muḥammad, and that later during the siege of Medina (the <u>Kh</u>andaķ) he was persuaded by Ḥuyayy b. A<u>kh</u>ṭab of al-Naḍīr to break it, and the actual document was torn up by Ḥuyayy (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 352, 674; al-Wāķidī, 456). This report is open to grave doubt, however. Ibn Isḥāķ does not name his sources. Al-Wāķidī has two: one is a grandson of Kaʿb b. Mālik of Salima, a clan hostile to the Jews; and the other is Muḥammad b. Kaʿb (d. 117-20/735-8), the son of a boy of Ķurayẓa, who was sold as a slave when they surrendered and later became a Muslim. Both these sources may be suspected of bias against Ķurayẓa; and it is therefore probable that there was no special agreement between Muḥammad and Ķurayẓa. It is virtually certain, however, that Muḥammad had a general agreement with the Jews that they were not to support an enemy against him (al-Wāķidī, 176); and something like this was probably implicit in his alliance with the Arab clans of Medina, since the Jewish clans were allied to one or other of the Arab clans. The Constitution of Medina as given by Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām (341-4) does not mention Ķurayẓa or al-Naḍīr or Ķaynuķāʿ by name; but its present form almost certainly dates from after the execution of the men of Ķurayẓa, and these Jewish groups were probably mentioned in an earlier version.

The question of an agreement affects the moral judgement on Muḥammad's treatment of Ķurayẓa. During the siege of Medina (<u>Dh</u>u 'l-Kaʿda 5/April 627), Muḥammad became anxious about their conduct and sent some of the leading Muslims to talk to them; the result was disquieting. Though Ķurayẓa does not appear to have committed any overt hostile act, they had probably been involved in negotiations with the enemy. On this ground, as soon as the besiegers withdrew, Muḥammad attacked Ķurayẓa and besieged them in their forts (*āṭām*) for twenty-five nights. After negotiations they agreed to surrender unconditionally. Saʿd b. Muʿā<u>dh</u>, chief of the clan of ʿAbd al-A<u>sh</u>hal, with whom they had an alliance, was brought to give judgement on them. He decreed that all the men (who numbered between 600 and 900) were to be put to death and all the women and children sold as slaves. This decree was carried out (recently, W. N. Arafat in *JRAS* [1976], 100-7, has maintained that by no means all the adult males were killed, but his argument is not entirely convincing). Three young men of the clan of Hadl, who had been with Ķurayẓa in the strongholds, slipped out before the surrender and professed Islam. One or two other also escaped. As part of his share of the booty, Muḥammad received one of the women, Rayḥāna, and married her as a concubine, though she is said to have become a Muslim. Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Ķuraẓī (mentioned above) gained distinction as a scholar.

Bibliography: Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 372, 389-400, 684-97, 711-13; al-Wāķidī, ed. Marsden Jones, 496-521; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1485-98; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā*, Beirut 1971, i, 159-65, 305-10 (ed. Cairo 109-16, etc.); Caetani, *Annali*, i, 630-2; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 274-7; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 193-7, 213-7, 226 f., etc.; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden, 1928, 38 f., 168-74; (Eng. tr. London 1976); idem, *Handbook*, s.v. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ĶURBA [see ĶARĀBA]

ĶURBĀN, sacrifice, sacrificial victim. The word goes back to the Hebrew *ḳorbān*, perhaps through the intermediary of the Aramaic (cf. Mingana, *Syriac influence on the style of the Ķur'ān*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xi (1927), 85; S. Fränkel, *De vocabulis in . . . corano peregrinis*, 20). The language of the Ķur'ān, as is well known, shows a preference for religious technical terms ending in *-ān* and some of them are not always used with their original significations. This is true of *ķurbān*, which occurs three times in the Ķur'ān. In sūras III, 179 and V, 30 it obviously means sacrifice. In sūra XLVI, 27, however, we read: "Did those help them, whom they had taken for *ķurbān* as gods to the exclusion of Allāh!" Here the word must be more or less synonymous with "gods". Probably it has a meaning which is connected with the Arabic *ķ-r-b* (see below); the commentators take the same view and the word is explained as "mediators" [see <u>SH</u>AFĀʿA].

The word hardly seems to occur in classical *ḥadī<u>th</u>*. The *Lisān* mentions two traditions which are striking enough: "The characteristic of the community (i.e. the Muslims) lies in the fact that their *ķurbān* is their blood", i.e. that instead of sacrifice they have offered the blood of their martyrs. And the other: "The *ṣalāt* is the sacrifice of every pious man". We may suppose there are apologetic tendencies in both traditions.

The term also came to be applied in Muslim ritual

to the killing of an animal on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and the whole celebration on this and the following *tashrīḳ* days is called *ʿĪd al-Ḳurbān* [cf. ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀ] in Turkish-speaking countries *Ḳurbān-bayramī* (cf. BAYRAM).

In Christian-Arabic the word means the eucharist; cf. G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirklicher Termini*² (= CSCO, 147), Louvain 1954: the consecrated elements, especially the host; *ʿĪd al-Ḳurbān* = feast of Corpus Christi.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that there seems to be a genuine Arabic word *ḳurbān*, plur. *ḳarābīn*, which means the courtiers and councillors in immediate attendance on a king; the word probably comes directly from *ḳ-r-b* "to be near".

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KURBUḲA, properly KÜR-BUGHA (T. "stout-hearted bull, stallion") ABŪ SAʿĪD ḲIWĀM AL-DAWLA, Turkish commander of the Saldjūḳ period and lord of al-Mawṣil.

In the war waged by Tutush b. Alp Arslan, Berk-yaruḳ's uncle [*q.v.*], against the two rebellious governors Aḳ Sonḳor and Būzān, which ended with the capture and execution of these two, the *amīr* Kurbuḳa, who had been sent to their help by Berk-yaruḳ, was also taken prisoner. After Tutush had fallen in Ṣafar 488/February 1095 (cf. BARKYĀRŪḲ), Kurbuḳa was released by his son Riḍwān, and with his brother Altūntāsh collected a band of adventurers and occupied Ḥarrān. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Ḳuraysh lord of Naṣībīn then applied to him for help against his brother ʿAlī, who had been appointed governor of al-Mawṣil by Tutush; Kurbuḳa made an alliance with Muḥammad, but had him murdered after he had seized Niṣībīn and set out against al-Mawṣil, which ʿAlī had to surrender after a long siege (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 489/Oct.-Nov. 1096). After the capture of al-Mawṣil he disposed of his troublesome brother Altuntash and occupied al-Raḥla. In 491/1098 Berk-yaruḳ sent him with a large army to retake Anṭākiya [*q.v.*], which had just been conquered by the Christians. Edessa, which had also just been taken from the Muslims, was besieged by Kurbuḳa on the way, but he had to give up the siege and soon afterwards appeared before Anṭākiya. When the Christians made a bold sortie against the besiegers, he inflicted a disastrous defeat on them in spite of their superior numbers; Kurbuḳa's own conduct is said to have contributed towards the disaster, as his arrogance irritated his commanders so that they only awaited a favourable opportunity to abandon him. In the battle between Berk-yaruḳ and his brother Muḥammad in Radjab 492/May-June 1100, which ended in the defeat of the former, Kurbuḳa commanded Berk-yaruḳ's left wing. In the following year he was sent to Ādharbāydjān. Here he conquered the greater part of the country, but when he was nearing the town of Khûy or Khoī [*q.v.*], he fell ill and could not continue the campaign. He died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 492/Aug.-Sept. 1102, after appointing Sonḳordja his successor.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, x, index; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii, 290, 292, 308, 316, 322, 336; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii, 140, 151, 152, 154, 164-9; M. F. Sanaullah, *The decline of the Saljūqid empire*, Calcutta 1938; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 109-10.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN*)

ḲŪRČĪ (from the Mongolian *ḳorči*, "an archer", from *ḳor*, "quiver"; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943, 32, n. 2), a military term with a variety of different meanings: "he who bears arms, the sword, chief huntsman" (Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turc. or.*, 425; "armourer, sword-cutler, troop of cavalry, captain of the watch; leader of a patrol, commandant of a fort, gendarmerie in charge of a city's security" (Sulaymān Bukhārī, *Lughat-i Čaghatāy ve Türkī ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1298/1880-1, 233), "sentry, sentinel, guard, inspector" (Vambery, *Čaghataische Sprachstudien*, 316).

In Ṣafawid usage, *ḳūrčī* denoted a member of the Turcoman tribal cavalry which formed the basis of Ṣafawid military power, and in this sense was therefore synonymous with *ḳizil-bāsh* [*q.v.*]. The *ḳūrčīs* were clearly distinguished from non-*ḳizil-bāsh* units, which were termed *lashkar-i umarāʾ*; *sipāhiyān*; etc. *Ḳūrčīs* with special functions were denoted by special titles (see index to Minorsky, *op. cit.*, under *qūrchī*; for additional titles, see index to Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ii, Tehran 1335/1956, 1219-20); some of these titles (e.g. *ḳūrčī-yi tarkash*, "*ḳūrčī* of the quiver"; *ḳūrčī-yi shamshīr*, "*ḳūrčī* of the sword"; *ḳūrčī-yi tīr-u-kamān*, "*ḳūrčī* of the bow and arrow"), appear to denote ranks, but their relative importance is not certain. *Ḳūrčīs* constituted the royal bodyguard, in this capacity sometimes being specially designated *ḳūrčīyān-i khāṣṣa-yi shāhī* (*Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 99), or *ḳūrčīyān-i ʿiẓām-i shāhī* (*ibid.*, i, 47).

The commander of the *ḳūrčīs* was called *ḳūrčībāshī*. This office is first mentioned in the Ṣafawid chronicles in 911/1505-6, and seems from the first to have been distinct from the office of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* (R. M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Ismāʿīl I (907-30/1501-24)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii [1960], 101). At first overshadowed by the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, the *ḳūrčībāshī* became one of the most important officers of state under Ṭahmāsp, Ismāʿīl II and Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh [*q. vv*], wielding great authority in both military and political affairs. It is noteworthy that for a period of forty years (*ca.* 955-95/1548-87), nearly all the *ḳūrčībāshīs* were drawn from the Afshār tribe. With the accession of ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*], the importance of the *ḳūrčībāshī* declined *pari passu* with that of the *ḳūrčīs* themselves, but he still "carried great weight in public affairs" (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 117).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see R. M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930-34/1524-76)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 79; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. i. *Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1943, 427-32, contains an excellent discussion of the various meanings of *ḳūr* and *ḳūrčī*, with full textual references.

(R. M. SAVORY)

KURD ʿALĪ, MUḤAMMAD FARĪD, Syrian journalist, scholar and man of letters, was born in Damascus in 1876, of a father of Kurdish origin and a Čerkes mother. From an early age, he showed an interest in nature and in books, and it was reading which, combined with his innate curiosity and gifts of observation, made the greatest contribution to his intellectual development. Already bilingual in Turkish and Arabic, he learnt French from the Lazarist Fathers of Damascus, and this enable him to acquire, thanks to assiduous reading of books and periodicals a knowledge, extensive for his time, of Western civilisation, and in particular, of French literature. He perfected his Arabic-Islamic education as a pupil of some distinguished masters: Ṭāhir al-

Djazāʾirī, Muḥammad Mubārak and Salīm al-Bukhārī. In 1897 he joined the staff of the first Arabic newspaper of Damascus, *al-Shām*, and at the same time collaborated in the Egyptian review *al-Muḳtaṭaf*. He also attempted to translate some French novels into Arabic. Four years later he decided to visit Paris, but while passing through Cairo he was detained there by the friends whom he had made by his collaboration in *al-Muḳtaṭaf* and he thus had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the celebrities of the age, most notably with Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], whose lectures at al-Azhar he attended. Obliged to leave Egypt because of an epidemic, Kurd ʿAlī returned to Damascus, but the atmosphere there seemed to him so oppressive that he soon returned to Cairo, where he stayed until 1908; during this second stay, he collaborated in editing *al-Ẓāhir*, *al-Musāmarāt*, and *al-Muʾayyad*, and founded the review *al-Muḳtabas*, a periodical which was always very close to his heart; after three years of publication in Cairo, *al-Muḳtabas* was transferred in 1908 to Damascus and continued to appear for a further six years, until the time when the Ottoman authorities, irritated by Kurd ʿAlī's frankness, forbade its publication.

At the end of 1908, Kurd ʿAlī succeeded in realising the dream which he had first cherished eight years before and, passing this time through Lebanon, went to France and spent a year there; in the course of this visit, for which he had been preparing himself for a long time, he observed the people of the country and their way of life, visited the principal libraries, attended, theatrical performances and took a special interest in the Académie Française. Returning to Damascus via Istanbul, he continued to edit his review and then, at the end of the year 1913, undertook a second journey to Europe; he went first to Italy, where he had the good fortune to install himself in the library of prince Leone Caetani, whose *Annali dell'Islam* had revealed to him a method of working to which the Orient was not yet accustomed; it was here that he assembled much of the documentation which he required for the composition of a definitive history of Syria, the *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, a monumental work which is still the most complete study of this vast subject. In 1921-2, a third journey took him to the countries of western Europe, and it was on his return that he wrote the *Gharāʾib al-Gharb*, a *riḥla* [*q.v.*], published in 1923, based on notes taken in the course of his three journeys and reflections inspired by his observations. Immediately after the Great War, he had been appointed general secretary of the Committee for Public Education and it was in this capacity that he considered the creation of an organisation responsible for purifying and enriching the Arabic language, publishing texts and encouraging the literary and intellectual activity of his country. On 8 June 1919, he obtained authorisation to transform the *Dīwān al-Maʿārif*, which had been founded a few months earlier, into an Arab Academy [see MADJMAʿ ʿILMĪ. 1. Arab countries]; he was thus able to put into effect the project of which he had been inspired, ten years previously, by his visit to the Académie Française. The career of Kurd ʿAlī was henceforward inseparable from the activity of his Academy, to which he devoted the greater part of his time and over which he presided until his death, on 2 April 1953; the only intervals in his work with the Academy were his two terms of office as Minister of Public Education and his third journey to Europe.

Kurd ʿAlī was of a witty and playful nature; a great conversationalist, he loved to joke and play with words, and his style is an accurate reflection of his personality. He left an abundant corpus which included, apart from the thousands of pages of articles published in the review in which he collaborated at the start of his career, in *al-Muḳtabas* and in the *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī* (*MMIA*), editions of texts and original works of a historical or literary nature. He was largely responsible for making known the "epistles" of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, of Ibn al-Mudabbir [*q.vv.*]., etc. in his *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1908, 1913, 1946, and he enriched the Arab Academy Publications with the *Sīrat Ibn Ṭūlūn* of al-Balawī (1939), the *al-Mustadjād min faʿalat al-adjwād* of al-Tanūkhī (1946), the *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ al-Islām* of al-Bayhaḳī)1946), the *Kitāb al-Ashriba* of Ibn Ḳutayba (1947), and the *al-Bayzara* of Kushādjim (1953).

Among his original works, mention should be made of his contribution to literary history and criticism: *Umarāʾ al-bayān*, Cairo 1937, and *Kunūz al-adjdād*, Damascus 1950. Apart from the *Gharāʾib al-Gharb* of 1923 and the *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, Damascus 1925 (6 vols.), his major work, Kurd ʿAlī collected in *al-Ḳadīm wa 'l-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1925, a large number of the articles published in *al-Ẓāhir*, *al-Muʾayyad* and *al-Muḳtabas* and added an account of his travels in the Ḥidjāz and Palestine. In addition, he pleaded the cause of Arab-Islamic culture in *al-Islām wa 'l-ḥaḍāra al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1934 (2 vols.), published a critical study of the morals and customs of the Orient in *Aḳwālunā wa-afʿālunā*, in Cairo 1946, devoted a monograph to the oasis of Damascus, *Ghūṭat Dimashḳ*, Cairo 1949, and finally published four volumes of memoirs, *Mudhakkirāt*, Damascus 1948-51.

Bibliography: Apart from the biographical data given at the end of the *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* and of his *Memoirs*, see Brockelmann, S III, 430-4; S. Dahhān, in *MMIA*, xxx/2, 211-52; idem, in *Mélanges Massignon*, i, 379-94; idem and H. Laoust, *L'oeuvre de l'Académie arabe de Damas, 1921-1951*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-51), 161-219. (CH. PELLAT)

KURDS, KURDISTĀN.

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i. — General Introduction

The Kurds, an Iranian people of the Near East, live at the junction of more or less laicised Turkey, Shīʿi Iran, Arab and Sunnī ʿIrāḳ and North Syria,- and Soviet Transcaucasia. The economic and strategic importance of this land, Kurdistān, is undeniable. Since the end of the First World War, the Kurdish people, like all the rest of their neighbours, have undergone considerable transformations as much in the political order as in the economic, social and cultural domain. Many works have been published, a few in every country, on these different problems. Some excellent general bibliographies exist: F. B. Rostopčin, *Bibliografiya po kurdskoy probleme*, in *Revol. Vostok*, 1933/3-4 (19-20), 292-326, 5 (21), 159-73; O. Vil'čevskiy, *Bibliografičevskii obzor zarubežnukh kurdskikh pečatnukh izdaniy v XX stolety*, in *Iranskie Yazîki*, i, Moscow-Leningrad 1945, 147-81; M. B. Rudenko, *Opisanie Kurdskikh rukopisey Leningradskikh sobraniy*, in *Izdat. Vost. Lit.*, Moscow 1961; N. A. Aleksanian, *Bibliografiya k'têbêd k'ördiêye Sovetie*, Erevan 1962, in Kurdish and Russian; J. S. Muaelian, *Bibliografiya po kurdovedeniyu*, in *Izdat. Vost. Lit.* 1963; C. J. Edmonds, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1920-1936*, in *JRCAS*, xxiv (1937), 487-97; idem, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1937-1944*, in *JRCAS*, xxxii (1945), 185-91; D. N. MacKenzie, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1945-1955*, in *JRCAS*, lxiv (1957), 31-7; E. R. McCarus, *Kurdish language studies*, in *MEJ* (Summer 1960), 325-35; P. Rondot, *Les Kurdes, le Kurdistan, la question kurde, Essai de bibliographie*, in *En Terre d'Islam*, 1947/2; A. Bennigsen, *Les Kurdes et la Kurdologie en Union soviétique*, in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, ii (April-June 1960), 513-30; M. Mokri, *Kurdologie et enseignement de la langue kurde en U.R.S.S.*, in *L'Ethnographie*, 1963, 71-106; Th. Bois, *Bulletin raisonné d'études kurdes*, in *Machriq*, lvii (1964), 527-70; *ISK*'s *Kurdish bibliography*, ed. Silvio van Rooy and Kees Tamboer, Amsterdam 1968, i, 658 pp. (9350 nos.). cf. review by Th. Bois, in *BiOr*, 1969/3-4, 184-87; Mistefa Ehmed Nerîman, *Kitêbxane kurdî*, Kirkūk 1960.

ii. — The Kurds and their Country: Kurdistān

A. The territorial extent of Kurdistān. If the ethnic term "Kurd" is of ancient usage, for it is known since the Arab conquest if one does not wish to go further back (cf. below, *Origins*), it seems that, historically, the name Kurdistān or "land of the Kurds" dates from the time of Sultan Sandjar (d. 552/1157), the last great Saldjūḳid, who created a province with its capital called Bahār, to the north-east of Hamadān. This province, situated between Ādharbāydjān and Luristān, included the regions of Hamadān, Dīnawar, Kirmānshāh and Senna, to the east of the Zagros and to the west of Shahrazūr and Khuftiyān, on the Zāb. The whole numbered 16 cantons, enumerated by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (d. 750/1349), in his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (ed. Le Strange, 108; ed. Tehran 1957, 127). The nominal extent of Kurdistān varied however throughout the centuries. Sharaf al-Dīn, in his *Sharaf-nāma* (1596), does not hesitate to include the Lurs in Kurdistān, in chs. 3 and 4 of his 1st Book, as do all the Arab historians, who include everything in the province they call al-Djibāl [*q.v.*], cf. V. Barthold, *Istoriko-geografičeskiy obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 138. For his part, the Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebi (d. *ca.* 1093/1682), in his *Siyāḥat-nāme*, iv, 74-5, enumerates the 9 *wilāyet*s which formed Kurdistān in his time: Erzurum, Van, Hakkāri, Diyārbakr, Djazīra, ʿAmādiya, Mawṣil, Shahrazūr and Ardalān, and which required 17 days to traverse.

But the rivalries between the Ottoman sultans and the Shāhs of Persia broke up this unity. In the 17th century the Turkish administration gave no more than 3 *liwā*'s to the *eyālet* of Kurdistān: Darsîm, Mush and Diyārbakr. In the same way, in Iran in the 16th century, Hamadān and Luristān were detached from Kurdistān and the name was reserved for the region of Ardalān with Sinna as its capital. Today, Iran is the only country to recognise a province by the name of Kurdistān. Everywhere else, Kurdistān has been banished from the language of the administration and the geographical atlases. In Turkey one speaks of Eastern Anatolia; in ʿIrāḳ, of the provinces of the north; in Syria, of the province of Djazīra (Ghassemlou, 14).

B. The ethnic and geographical extent of Kurdistān. From the above, it is clear that the historical and then political extent of Kurdistān does not coincide with its actual ethnic extent. So the frontiers within each of the countries concerned must be defined more or less approximately.

In Turkey, the Kurds inhabit the whole of the eastern region of the country. According to Trotter (1878), the limit of their extent to the north was the line Divrıği—Erzurum—Kars. In the region of Erzurum they are found especially to the east and the south-east. The Kurds also occupy the western slopes of Ararat, the districts of Kağizman and Tuzluca. On the west they extend in a wide belt beyond the course of the Euphrates (Ritter, xi, 144), and, in the region of Sivas, in the districts of Kangāl and Divriği. Equally, the whole region includes areas to the east and south-east of these limits. Some quite important colonies of Kurds are even found in Cilicia, to the south of Ankara, in Heymana and in the large towns of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. In brief, it may be said that if Turkey is at present divided administratively into 67 *il*s or provinces, Turkish Kurdistān numbers at least 17 of them almost totally: in the north-east, the provinces of Erzincan, Erzurum and Kars; in the centre, going from west to east and from north to south, the provinces of Malatya, Tunceli, Elaziğ, Bingöl, Muş, Karaköse (Ağri), then Adiyaman, Diyarbakir, Siirt, Bitlis and Van; finally, the southern provinces of Urfa, Mardin and Çölamerik (Hakkāri). The Kurds of Turkey are also linked on the east with their brothers from Iran.

The latter inhabit the north-west of Iran. Firstly in the provinces of Western Ādharbāydjān, to the east of Lake Riḍā'iyya (Urmiya), the districts of Makū, Kotur, Shahpur, and to the south of the lake, Mahābād (ex-Sabla); in the province of Ardalān, called the province of Kurdistān, whose capital is Senna or Sanandadj, the districts of Bukan, Saḳḳiz, Sardasht, Bana, Bidjar (Garrus), Meriwān and

Hawramān; in the province of Kirmānshāh, Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. There are furthermore isolated groups of Kurds in Khurāsān, at Budjnurd and in Fārs and Kirmān, not to mention the numerous Kurds who live in the cities such as Tabrīz and the outskirts of Tehran (Brugsch, *Reise*, ii, 496). Much further to the east and outside Iran, an important Kurdish tribe is to be found in Balūčistān.

In ʿIrāḳ, the Kurds occupy the north and north-east of the country in the *liwā*ʾs or provinces of Duhok, recently detached from the province of Mawṣil, the *nāḥiya*s or districts of Zakho, Mazuri Djēr, ʿAmādiya and ʿAkra. Left outside their administration are Sindjār and Shaykhān, peopled by the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*]; the *liwā*ʾs of Kirkūk, Arbīl and Sulaymānī (entirely Kurdish) and, in the *liwā*ʾ of Diyālā, the *nāḥiya*s of Khānaḳīn and Mandali, where they are neighbours of the Kurds of Iran to the west of the Zagros. The Kurds are equally numerous in Baghdād and Mawṣil.

In Syria, they constitute three distinct belts, in the north of the country and to the south of the highway which forms a frontier and where they are in direct contact with their compatriots in Turkey. A belt of 40 km. width, in the Kurd Dāgh; a group (60 × 40 km.), to the east of the Euphrates where the river enters Syria near Djarablus; and finally, a belt of 250 km. in length by 30 km. in depth in the Djazīra, between the Khābūr, a tributary of the Euphrates and the Tigris, with Raʾs al-ʿAyn, Darbisiyya, ʿAmūda, Kamishlī, Andivar and Dērik. In this "duck's beak", the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ and those of Turkey are juxtaposed (Rondot, 80). The Syrian towns of Damascus, Ḥamāt and Aleppo count many thousands of Kurds.

Some still exist in Soviet Transcaucasia. In the Republic of Armenia, 35 villages in the *rayon*s of Aparan, Basargečar, Huktemberia, Talin and Eč-miadzin; in the Republic of Ādharbāydjān, 25 villages in the *rayons* of Kelbadjan, Latchin and Kubatli (Aristova, 47-8, 64). There are numbers of Kurds living in Erevan, Baku and, in the Republic of Georgia, Tbilisi or Tiflis.

The imprecise limits of the frontiers of Kurdistān hardly allow an exact appreciation of the area. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* estimates the length of Kurdistān at 600 miles and its breadth at 150 miles. The *Ḳāmūs al-ʿālam*, Istanbul 1896, which naturally is only concerned with the Kurdish *wilāyet*s of the Ottoman Empire, sets its length at 900 km. and its breadth between 100 and 200 km. At present, the different provinces of Kurdistān cover around 190,000 km² in Turkey, 125,000 km² in Iran, 65,000 km² in ʿIrāḳ, and 12,000 km² in Syria. The total area of Kurdistān can then be estimated at approximately 392,000 km².

While there are many Kurds who live outside ethnic Kurdistān, there are numerous non-Kurds who live in Kurdistān. In Turkey, there are some Turks everywhere, but also, in the north, some Ossetes and some Tcherkesses, and in the south some predominantly Syriac or Jacobite Christians (Cl. Dauphin, *Situation actuelle des communautés chrétiennes du Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (Turquie orientale)*, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, xxii/2-3 (1972), 323-7). The Armenians have in fact completely disappeared. In Iran to the west of Lake Riḍāʾiyya and in ʿIrāḳ in the region of Duhok-Zakho and Kirkūk, some Nestorians and Chaldaeans are to be encountered, together with, in the towns, a few rare Armenians. The Jews, at one time relatively numerous, have all emigrated since 1948 (W. J. Fischel, *The Jews of Kurdistan a hundred years ago, a traveler's record*, in *Jewish Social Studies*, vi [1944], 195-226; I. Ben-Zvi, *The exiled and the redeemed host in Assyria*, in *The Jewish Publication Society of America*, Philadephia 1957). In Kirkūk one finds some Turcomans (I. C. Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 342-3).

C. Numerical extent of the Kurds. As the Kurds are not ordinarily registered as such in the censuses of the population carried out by the different states where the Kurds are resident, it is impossible to have exact statistics of the total population of Kurdistān. Besides, statistics require delicate handling, and they risk being manipulated for political motives. Cf. for ʿIrāḳ, M. Durra, 1st ed. 1963, 210 and 2nd ed. 1966, 225; for Turkey, E. Esenkova, 1967, 29. Here are a few examples, whose divergences, which show the complexity of the question, may undoubtedly be explained by the fact that their authors do not apply the same criteria of ethnic adherence, religion and language. Hence the elimination of the Lurs. Account must also be taken of demographic progression, which works in favour of the Kurds, a fact which is at times equally forgotten. Here are a few figures, in thousands, supplied by: (1) B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 1956, 42; (2) S. I. Brouk, *L'ethnographie*, 1958, 30; (3) A. Ghassemlou, *Kurdistan*, 1965, 23; (4) I. C. Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 1970, 30; (5) C. J. Edmonds, *Kurdish nationalism*, in *Journal Cont. Hist.* vi/1 (1971), 92:

	1	2	3	4	5
Turkey	4,500	2,500	4,900	6,600	3,200
Iran	1,500	1,800	3,300	4,250	1,800
ʿIrāḳ	500	900	1,550	2,000	1,550
Syria	500	300	250	500	320
Transcaucasia	250	—	160	150	80
Total	7,250	5,500	10,160	13,500	6,950

(cf. Edmonds, 92 n. 1).

D. The geography of Kurdistān

1. *Physical aspect*

Kurdistān is in its entirety a country of high mountains. Its skeleton, in its Turkish part, is constituted by the different chains of the Eastern Taurus. These chains begin to take shape from the shores of the Mediterranean at the latitude of the Gulf of Alexandretta, and radiate at first towards the north-east. To the north of Maraş, they form a fork whose northern line pivots away from the Engirek Dağ and Nuruhak Dağ (3,090 m.), continues by the Akra Dağı, joins the chains of Mounts Munzur (3,088 m.), Mercan and Kargaparazı (3,388 m.), then curves in and crosses the mountainous chain of the Araxes and finally ends in the Ararat system.

From our point of departure a second chain, very clearly a crescent in shape, begins to the south of Malatya, continues by the mountains of Maden, the ridges of Haçres (2,689 m.) and Sasun (2, 590 m.) to the south of Muş, pursues its curve to the south of Lake Van, via Mounts Bitlis and Hakâri (3.630 m.), with the Cilo Dağı which culminates in Mount Reşko (4,170 m.).

Between these two lines is situated what is called the Armenian plateau, whose altitude comes down no lower than 1,500 to 1,000 m. Furthermore, some parallel chains on the northern border maintain quite a high level, such as the Çakmak Mountains and, to the south of Erzurum, the volcanic system of Palendöken Dağı (3,124 m.), to the south of which the combination of Mounts Bingöl, Şerafettin and,

further to the west, the heights of Tunceli, constitute this natural fortress of Dersim. In this mass of crystalline rocks the Euphrates has hollowed out deep canyons, and the mountains with steep slopes clothe these inaccessible sites in fantastic shapes. But beautiful fertile plains extend to the north of Malatya (915 m.) to the south-east of Elaziğ (1,020 m.) and to the north of Muş (1,500 m.). All along this Anatolian scar frequent tremors shake the region and claim numerous victims. We may recall the earthquakes of Erzincan in 1939 which killed 25,000 and those, less murderous meanwhile, of Varto in 1966 and Bingöl and Genc in 1971.

To the south of the curve of the Taurus spread the vast flat regions of Adiyaman, Urfa (550 m.) and Diyarbakir (650 m.) which descend abruptly towards Mesopotamia with contours of 3,000 metres, always allowing for certain land movements, such as the volcanic cone of Karacadağ (1,915 m.) and the chain of Ṭūr ʿĀbidīn, which extends from Mardin (1,130 m.) and meets on the east with the much higher massifs of Herakol (2,943 m.) and Mount Cudi (2,089 m. [see DJŪDĪ]).

To the extreme east and more to the north is the supporting point for the Great Ararat or Ağrı Dağ (5,165 m.) and the Small Ararat (3,925 m.) perhaps considered as the pivot of a new system of mountains. Indeed, from this centre seem to radiate several points which, on one side, encircle Lake Van, with to the north the chain of the immense sulphur-spring which is the Tendurek (3,313 m.) and that of the Ala Dağ (3,255 m.); to the east, the Kuh Dağ (2,850 m.), the Mengene (3,610 m.) and the Ispiriz Dağ (3,537 m.) and to the south the Vaviran Dağ (3,550 m.) and the chain of Satak. Let us note, apart from the two Ararats whose structure is due to very ancient volcanic eruptions, two famous volcanoes on the shores of Lake Van: to the north, the Sipan (about 4,434 m.) and especially Mount Nemrut (Nimrūd), whose highest peak has an altitude of 3,140 m. and whose crater has a diameter of 6,400 m. with an interior lake of fresh water at a height of 2,552 m. All this region to the south of Lake Van, which is itself at an altitude of 1,720 m., is in its entirety the highest part of the Kurdish-inhabited area of Turkey.

Elsewhere, other chains of mountains are connected with Ararat; these are clearly oriented north-south, lying between Lake Van and that of Urmia and also separating Turkish Kurdistān from its Iranian part. After having rejoined the almost inaccessible node of the Harki-Oramar country, they slant towards the south-west and also form this *chaîne magistrale* of the Zagros which, in a set of parallel lines, makes up for a good part, the portions of Kurdistān, the eastern faces being situated in Iran and the western faces in ʿIrāḳ. As C. J. Edmonds remarks, it is not always easy to give a name known by all to designate the different chains, for their names vary with the informants, according to whom they are situated on such-or-such a slope, or close to a better-known peak, pass, village or the tomb of a famous saint.

We have, in Iran, some chains which lie, oriented north-west to south-east, with multiple ramifications and parallel series. Let us note in passing some of the highest summits: the Dalenpar (3,748 m.) at the intersection of the three frontiers: Turkish, ʿIrāḳī and Iranian; the Spiraz, the Ḳandīl or Kogiz (3,782 m.) the Galala (3,364 m.), further to the east the Čehel Če<u>sh</u>me ("at the forty springs") (3,416 m.) a real rampart of water of Iranian Kurdistān, and further to the south, the chain of Hawramān (3,216 m.) and that of Cilo, whose average height is 3,500 m., up to the mountains of Luristān and the Pu<u>sh</u>t-i Kūh.

On the ʿIrāḳī side, to the south of the Turkish frontier, in the extension of the chains of the Cudi Dağ, Seman Dağ and Cilo Dağ, but at the same time in a graduated descent towards the Mesopotamian plains, between the Tigris and the Great Zāb, are the Bē<u>kh</u>ayr, Metina and Gara chains and, approaching the Iranian frontier, beyond the Zāb, Mounts Ser-i Korawa (3,603 m.), Dolare<u>sh</u> (3,449 m.), and <u>Kh</u>u-warabtē (3,168 m.). In this region of Bradost, if the frontier chains are still high, e.g. Mount Halgurd (4,013 m.), they tend to become lower as they approach the plains. Also, Mount Handrīn to the south-east of Rawāndiz [*q.v.*] is no more than 2,793 metres. As soon as one crosses the Little Zāb, the chains stretch out in parallels from the dorsal column of the Zagros. The line Kurakad<u>j</u>aw-Go<u>dj</u>ar-Kurkur-Asis includes further numerous peaks between 2,950 and 1,960 metres high. A second line Azmir-Ḳarasird is yet lower, between 1,870 and 1,608 m. high, with however, to the north-west of Sulaymāniyya, the remarkable ridged upthrust of the Pira Magrun (3,183 m.). A last parallel chain Bingird-Beranan is still several hundreds of metres lower (between 1,739 and 1,477 m.). Further to the west, the long chain of the Kara Dağ, from 1,378 to 2,017 metres, with multiple passes, henceforth separates the high country from the plains which now extend without an obstacle towards Altun Köprü, Kirkūk and Ṭawḳ, to be bordered and limited further to the west by the Ḥamrīn Mts. (1,640 m.) which, oriented transversely south-east to north-west, traverse the Diyāla, the Sirwān and finally the Tigris, quite near to where the Little Zāb flows out.

Let us further note, although the new administrative division of ʿIrāḳ leaves it outside Kurdistān, the <u>Dj</u>abal Sin<u>dj</u>ār, where the Yazīdīs, who are themselves really Kurds, live. This chain, 60 km. in length and 15 km. in width and lying at an altitude of approximately 1,600 m., is situated in Mesopotamia to the west of Mosul and at the same latitude.

If Kurdistān is a country of very uneven relief, it is no less generously watered by numbers of clear springs and many watercourses and actual rivers.

Let us first note the Araxes or Aras whose source is clearly in Kurdistān in the plateau of Bingöl, with a thousand lakes, between the Tigris and Euphrates, but in contrast to these two rivers which are directed towards the south-west, it flows first towards the north, bends towards the east and passes into Soviet Armenia.

The two great Biblical rivers traverse Kurdistān in particular. The Euphrates [see AL-FURĀT] is formed by two principal branches which enclose a vast Kurdish region. The northern branch, the Kara Su (450 km. long) is made up at its source of numerous springs which come from the Dümlü Dağ; then it flows in the plain of Erzurum where it receives the springs which rise in the Çoruh Dağ, directs itself westward in narrow gorges, waters Erzincan, slants towards the south and follows a capricious course which snakes in every sense. It waters Kemah, passes by Kemaliye, and runs into mountains on all sides which block its passage, to rejoin a little to the south of the Eğil the southern branch or Murat Su (659 km. long). This last has its source to the noth of Lake Van, at the foot of the volcanic Mounts Ala Dağ and Tendürek; the Murat Su climbs up again a little to the north, passes by Diyadin and Karaköse, turns off again to the south and waters Tutak and Malazgirt.

Then, always following its sinuous course, it passes to the north of Muş, waters Genc, Palu and Pertek, finally joining the northern branch to the north of Keban. Thereafter the two branches form the Euphrates properly so-called. Although the only important tributary on the right bank of the Kara Su is the Tohma Su (194 km. long), which flows into it to the north of Malatya and then runs outside Kurdistān, the Murat Su has numerous tributaries which, like the Peri Su (235 km. long), with their sub-tributaries, literally criss-cross Kurdistan; no area is very far from a watercourse.

The Tigris [see DIDJLA], the other great river of the region (1,718 km. long), waters Kurdistān in its upper course. It has its source in the region of Lake Hazar to the north of the Maden Mts., waters for 300 km. of Turkish Kurdistān the towns famous in Kurdish history, sc. Ergani, Diyarbakir, Hasankeyf and Cizre/Djazīra. There are numerous tributaries, all on the left bank: Anbar, Batman, Gurza and especially Botan (226 km.), fertilise the land. It passes the ʿIrāḳī frontier at Pēsh Khābūr, where its tributary the Khābūr [*q.v.*] joins it, and whose sub-tributary the Hazil waters Zakho. There then develops a complete network of beautiful streams, all tributaries of the Tigris and which are actual rivers. First of all the Great Zāb (392 km. long), which rises in Turkey in Mergene Daği between Lakes Van and Riḍāʾiyya. It waters Culamerik/Djulamarg, then in ʿIrāḳ the regions of Zibar and Barzan and, by one of its offshoots, the highly picturesque town of Rawāndiz. It joins the Tigris 45 km. south of Mawṣil. The Little Zāb (400 km. long) has its source in Iran, near Lāhīdjān, a land of lakes. Its tributaries are numerous in Persia as well as in ʿIrāḳ. After having watered Taktak and Altun Köprü, it joins the Tigris. On its lower course, at Dukan, an enormous dam was completed in 1958 with a capacity of 7 billion m^3 of water, which stretches over 50 $km.^2$ Its aim is firstly to regulate the flow of the Tigris, subject to catastrophic floods, but also to irrigate about 250,000 hectares. A hydro-electric plant with a capacity of 200,000 kilowatts is of importance in the region of Čamčamāl and will give the Kurdish provinces of ʿIrāḳ self-sufficiency in energy. The ʿAdhaym (230 km. long) rising in the locality of Bazyan, with its various ramifications, waters Kirkūk, Daḳūḳ Tuz and Khurmatu, and traverses the Ḥamrīn Mts., hurling itself into the Tigris 30 km. south of Baghdād. Finally, there is the Diyāla (386 km. long) which rises in the mountains of the ʿIrāḳī-Iranian frontier; its principal source in ʿIrāḳ is the Tandjaru which waters the plain of Shahrazūr, and in Iran the Sirwān rising in Luristān. After Derbend-i Khān, where a great dam has been constructed which is intended to serve for irrigation in ʿIrāḳ, these two branches constitute the Diyāla, which flows into the Tigris south of Baghdad.

Iranian Kurdistān is also traversed by numerous streams of which several rise in the Čihil Česhme, a great massif of 2,085 m. height in the Mukri country. Let us note only the Ḳïzïl Uzun, whose various ramifications water all the Ardalān counry, not to mention the Djagatu (240 km.) and the Tatahu which both flow into Lake Riḍāʾiyya.

As with the mountains, the streams which run through Kurdistān may change their names according to the region traversed. Many watercourses, moreover, take their name very simply from the principal locality that they traverse.

There are also several lakes in Kurdistān, of which the largest is Lake Van. Situated at an altitude of 1,700 m., it has an area of 3,700 $km.^2$ Its salt waters are due to a volcanic barrier which deposits on its banks carbonate and soda sulphate. Only one kind of fish is caught there, a sort of large bleak with changing colours. To the north of Lake Van is Lake Nazik and to the north-east of Van is Lake Ercek. Further to the north is Lake Balik lying to the east of Karaköse. At the sources of the Tigris to the north-west of Maden is the Hazar Gölü, quite deep and with an area of about 50 $km.^2$ Its waters are salt and eels are caught there. In Iran one may cite Lake Urmia with a Kurdish population bordering it. It is larger than Lake Van (5,700 $km.^2$), 130 km. long and 40 km. wide in places; it is more salt than the Dead Sea, and no fish can live there. Not far from there and to the south are two small lakes, the Shor Göl and the Daryāče-i Kopi. At the ʿIrāḳī frontier to the west of Mari Van and south-east of Pendjwin is Lake Zrêbar. In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān there are no lakes at all.

Because of its altitude, the climate of Kurdistān is harsh. Snow covers the high summits for many months of the year. Precipitation is variable according to the regions. In the plains, rainfall varies between 200 and 400 mm. a year, although it may reach between 700 and 2,000 and even 3,000 mm. on the plateaux between the different chains of mountains. But in the valleys of central Kurdistān, the climate is continental and even arid, and there are sometimes several months without a drop of water.

The temperature also undergoes quite large variations. At Karaköse in the north it may fall to —30°-35°C. in winter and rise in the south in summer to +35°-40°C. at Kirmānshāh (Ghassemlou, 15). In Iranian Kurdistān, where a dry continental climate rules, the range may vary between —22°C. and +32°C. In general, the eastern slopes of the Zagros are more favoured than the western slopes. At Senna we have —15° in January and +35° in July; at Khāniḳīn, +2° in January and +41.8° in July; at Kirkūk, + 14.5° and +43°C. Further to the west, we find, in January and July respectively, at Malatya —1°, 5° and +26.5°; at Urfa, +4.5° and +32°, at Diyarbakir +2.5° and +31°; and at Van, —3.5° and +22.5°.

2. *The living landscape and habitat*

Harsh as Kurdistān may be, it is far from being a desert; its mountains are covered with pasture and vegetation, and its valleys with forests and meadows which, in spring, are dotted with multicoloured flowers. There are also 10 million hectares of forests in Turkish Kurdistān, 4 million in Iran and 1,720,000 in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, of which 50 $km.^2$ are firs. The oak, of which more than 15 kinds can be counted, is the most widespread species up to an altitude of 2,700 m.; then there are the firs and other conifers. Moreover, the forests are not always very dense and often have the appearance of scrub with many stands of junipers. The plane tree, willow and especially the poplar, flourish by the waters.

In the mountains, high mountain-pastures stretch over many kilometres and provide pasturage for herds of goats and sheep. In places, edible wild plants grow, sought after by shepherds and simple folk for their medicinal properties and carefully collected by old women. In spring, flowers cover in abundance the smallest corner of earth, whose richness of colours literally stupefies and whose perfumes intoxicate the passersby. All this flora is familiar to us, for the species of Europe are found there and travellers do not fail to record the names (see e.g. C. J. Rich, i, 284; Bishop, i, 290-1, 343, ii, 12, 14, 115;

Lynch, i, 181, 190-1, ii, 208, 248, 253, 268, 269, 303, 362, 369, 239, 241, 242, 382; Freya Stark, 257, 273, 330; Hamilton, 141-3; Balsan, *passim*, etc.).

Only a part of the arable Kurdish lands is covered by cultivation and crops. If, in Turkey, there are 25 million hectares of cultivable lands, only 30% are cultivated, of which one-third lies fallow each year (Esenkova, 108). In Iranian Kurdistān, out of 5 million hectares of cultivable lands, 24% are cultivated and 16% lie fallow (Ghassemlou, 90). In the various districts of ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, of an arable area of about 8 million hectares, one-quarter is cultivated (Khosbak, 43). Despite this, the cultivation of cerals in Kurdistan plays a good part in the economy of the respective countries: 15% in Turkey; 35% in Iran; in ʿIrāḳ, 50% for corn and 15% for barley (Ghassemlou, 89, n. 6). Les us add here the cultivation of rice, which supplies ʿIrāḳ with one-third of its production. Apart from this cultivation of foodstuffs, cotton and the newly-introduced sugar-beet give a good yield. The best tobacco of Turkey and ʿIrāḳ is cultivated in Kurdistān which, for ʿIrāḳ, supplies almost all of its needs (Khosbak, 45; Durra, 1963, 226, 1966, 245). If the vine grows a little everywhere in Turkey, ʿIrāḳ and Iran, it only flourishes in Kurdistān on sunny slopes; there are 12 million stands in ʿIrāḳ (Vernier, 468) and the kinds of grapes are numerous and varied (see the names in *Hawar*, no. 34, 8; Wahby, *Dictionnaire*, 148). Some are reserved for the preparation of raisins used so much for food. Fruit trees also abound in Kurdistān: pomegranates, peaches, apples, figs, apricots and centenarian walnuts. Market-gardens are developed around the villages and even in the mountains where the Kurd, an ingenious gardener, constructs terraces supported by small walls in order not to lose any parcel of arable land. Of the vegetables in general use in the west, the onion, for example, so much appreciated by all the Kurds, is especially cultivated, and certain vegetables such as watermelons, cucumbers, melons, aubergines, corn on the cob, capsicums, etc., without forgetting the lettuce, held in abhorrence by the Yazīdīs.

Wild animals are far from having disappeared in Kurdistān. There were still lions at the beginning of the 19th century; if they no longer exist, the *piling*, a kind of leopard, survives. Bears are plentiful in Nebirnao to the south of Van, where they have "a table served from June to September" (Balsan, 229); the wild boar also abounds at Bingöl (1,200 shot in 3 months in 1939 (*ibid.*, 90-1), and 55 killed in a single round-up in 1963 at Barzan. Wolves, jackals, foxes and hyenas often approach the villages. But there are other animals called wild which are neither carnivores nor predators, but which are hunted either for their meat, such as the ibexes, or for pleasure, such as hares and rabbits. One also finds porcupines, which are edible according to the Christians of the region, agile squirrels, and martens and sables sought for their fur. So it is not surprising that the Kurd is a born hunter. Birds are also plentiful. The high mountains shelter the majestic eagles; streams and watering places attract ducks, teal and snipe. In 1972, 500,000 spent the winter on Lake Riḍāʾiyya, nourishing themselves there on the small crustaceans which abound there, and at the same time Lake Van housed numerous colonies of pelicans (J. Vieillard, in *Le Monde*, 13 January 1973). Nightingales, storks and cranes are also found in the Kurdish countryside, as much as in the songs of Kurdistān. Doves and pigeons frequent in thousands the innumerable grottoes and caves of the mountains. Partridges and quails are choice game. Fish abound in the streams of fresh and crystalline waters. But it is not always easy to identify them and give them a name. A large fish is caught in the Zāb, called by the Christians "Tobias's fish", which is two metres long and whose flesh is excellent. One may see a photograph of it in Hamilton (between pp. 32-3). Apart from these pleasanter creatures, one must beware of the snakes, small but venomous, such as vipers, and of the yellow or black scorpions whose sting can be deadly, especially for the very young, although the numerous lizards, geckoes or varans and the chameleons are harmless, as are the tortoises. But in spring, flies, mosquitos and fleas are dreadful and constitute a real plague. The bee also stings, but produces a very tasty wild honey.

Apart from these creatures, who live wild, there are in Kurdistān many animals which have been domesticated and have been raised for profit since the earliest antiquity (cf. Ch. A. Reed, *Animal domestication in the Prehistoric Near East*, in R. J. Braidwood, B. Hove, etc. *Prehistoric investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*, Chicago 1960, 119-45). Indeed, Kurdistān is a land of stock-breeding: sheep, goats, cows and buffaloes supply milk, butter, cheese and meat, skins, fleeces, guts, horns etc. of which the leather and wool serve to make clothes, shoes, felts, etc. and provide an obvious economic yield. In 1957, in the Kurdish regions of Turkey, there were 7,662,332 sheep; 4,176,016 goats, one-quarter of all Turkish stock-breeding, and 2,240,825 cows, one-sixth. There are also many buffaloes (Balsan, 128). In the Kurdish provinces of ʿIrāḳ there are 1,674,912 sheep or two-thirds of the ʿIrāḳī breeding stock, 2,234,238 goats (two-thirds), 226,858 cows (one-third) and 4,287 buffaloes (one tenth). Apart from the large-scale breeding of the nomads (half the production in Iran; Stauffer, 291), each household has its small herd of a few animals, sheep or goats, four to eight (*ibid.*, 290). The Kurdish villages of ʿIrāḳ studied by Barth (19) are richer. Each house also possesses a few chickens. There are different breeds of sheep with fat tails and goats with long hair, carefully watched by shepherds expert in their craft. Other animals indispensable in everyday life are also reared. Among the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ are found 22,289 horses (one-seventh), 52,336 mules, almost the whole production, 130,804 donkeys (one-third; Khosbak, 52). Also, let us not forget the Kurdish sheepdogs, a strong, imposing and redoubtable breed (Balsan, 236). Naturally, no pigs or rabbits [see ARNAB in Suppl.] are reared in Kurdistān.

The interior of the soil in Kurdistān is no less rich in minerals than its surface in vegetation and animals. But until now, its resources have been very little exploited. Quite abundant supplies of coal have been discovered in the region of Maden, Kiği, Kemah and Harput, where it has been exploited (several thousand metric tons in 1970), but not at Za<u>kh</u>o in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān. Near Sulaymānī limestone is extracted and, at Sar Çinar, a cement works has been producing since 1958, 350 metric tons of cement a day. Deposits of rock-salt can be exploited at Sin<u>dj</u>ār, <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>ān and Tuz-<u>Kh</u>urmatu. Sulphur is found in the province of Senna, at ʿAmādiyya, and a Polish group plan to extract 250,000 metric tons of it a year at Mi<u>sh</u>rak in the north of ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān. Iron is not lacking in Kurdistān, and is mined (1,600,000 tonnes in 1960 at Maden). But very rich, easily exploitable deposits of iron ore are found in the region of Rawāndiz and Sulaymānī. Copper exploited (32,000 t.) at Erganī,

Diyarbakir and Palu, is also to be encountered in the region of ʿAkra. Chromium is found in the region of Barzan and at Diyarbakir, where it is extracted (270,000 t. annually). There is lead at Keban, Elaziğ and Maku, gold at Yergü and to the south of Kirmānshāh, and also silver at Kemah. At Kirkūk, the reserves of salts allow the manufacture of caustic soda and chloride. But it is petrol which is the chief riches of Kurdistān. The petrol of Kirkūk gushes forth in the midst of Kurdish territory and represents a good part of the ʿIrāķī production (83 million t. in 1970). The same applies to the petrol of Batman in the Siirt region and the oil-fields of Karaçok in northern Syria. Natural gas is abundant and sulphurless in the region of Čamčamāl.

3. *The human aspect*

This region which the Kurds occupy today has been inhabited since the most ancient antiquity, e.g. Berda Balka, the cave of Hazar Merd of the Mousterian period, not far from Sulaymānī or that of Shanidar, near Rawāndiz, where the first Palaeolithic human skeleton in ʿIrāķ was discovered. Djarmo, in the valley of Čamčamāl, may be the most ancient village in the Near East, for it was probably one of the centres where man cultivated for the first time various species of barley and corn, according to excavations of a team of researchers of the University of Chicago (cf. Braidwood, Hove etc., *Prehistoric investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*). Today, the Kurd is settled throughout the land and has established numbers of villages there.

Originally, he was content to occupy the innumerable refuges, shelters under rocks and numerous caves, some of which are difficult of access and very picturesque with stalagmites and stalactites (Edmonds, 235), and which sometimes extend deep under the mountain. These caves always serve, on occasion, to shelter the herds, but sometimes peasants are still to be encountered living in them. Numerous legends circulate about some of these caves where treasures are said to be hidden and where the passing of djinn and ifrits is mentioned (Edmonds, 206-7, 246, 332, 368-9; Hamilton, chs. xiv-xv). Certainly, the nomadic Kurds, on the verge of extinction, and the seminomads live under their black tent, which should not be confused with the tent of the Bedouin Arab, the *kibitka* of the Mongols, the *yurt* of the Samoyeds and the *kote* of the Lapps (cf. C. G. Feilberg, *La tente noire*, Copenhagen 1944, 81-6; Bishop, i, 373; Lescot, 144-5; and KHAYMA). It is formed from a great awning made of woven strips of goats' hair 50 × 60 cm. wide. The poles which hold it up are 2.50 by 3 m. in height; their number varies according to the size of the tent, i.e. according to the importance of its owner. There are no ridge poles. Reed partitions separate the corner of the women and provisions from the part of the tent where the men and visitors stay. All the furniture consists of a few mats, cushions and some carpets in the chiefs' tents. But the Kurdish peasant lives in rough houses. The construction materials are ordinarily unfired bricks in the plains, but fired ones at Sulaymānī, for example, or rough stones, in the mountains joined together with mud. The walls are 2 by 2.50 m. high. In the rough stone walls are sometimes inserted poorly-hewn beams to make them stronger. Inside, niches are arranged in the walls to serve as cupboards.

The walls are roughcast with mud and sometimes whitened with lime. The door is of massive wood. There is no window on the exterior, but these exist looking out on the courtyard, with protective bars. Simple little lanterns light the place, when the door cannot be left open. The floor is of beaten earth. In the centre the hearth (*tendur*) is covered in winter by the *kursī*, a kind of wooden bench with a covering on which all the family warm themselves in the coldest regions. A hole in the roof serves as a chimney. Along the walls runs a broad bank of earth where people sit during the day and where they sleep at night on mats, felts or mattresses. The terrace is made of poplar trunks spaced 50 cm. apart and covered with branches, leaves and dried grass and a thick bed of hard-pressed earth. If the room is too wide (more than 3 m.), poles hold up the beams and roof battens. For the water to run off, the terrace extends beyond the retaining walls or gutters for a metre, e.g. at Sulaymānī, facilitating the running off of rainwater. In any case, a roller is always to be found on the terrace in order to press it down after downpours. One climbs up by a ladder or outside staircase. The house of the plain, where there is space, has a courtyard and a building principally composed of a rectangular living room, lengthened by a corner reserved for the animals. A solid annexe building serves as a kitchen and store for household utensils, tools and work implements. There is no cellar or attic, often not even latrines. In the mountain houses the stable is often in the courtyard, as are the annexes. The living room is situated above with, at the bottom, a small corner for the provisions. Often there is also a small veranda or loggia facing south. The terrace is the favourite place for the women, who perform their many daily occupations there. (For descriptions, plans, photos or drawings of different Kurdish dwellings, see: in Djazīra, R. Montagne, 53-66; at Sindjār, R. Lescot, 146-7; at Sulaymānī, Edmonds, 90-3; again at Sulaymānī and at the village of Topzaya and Belkha, H. H. Hansen, 21-43; and in Iranian Kurdistān, Bishop, i, 88, ii, 191, M. Mokri, 89-91. See also Leach, 49; T. F. Aristova, 95, 97, 99 for Transcaucasia.) Naturally, man does not live isolated in his house, but in a group. Villages have grown up, and the Kurd, a man of the earth, lives more in the village than in the towns. Like all villages in the world, and especially those in mountainous countries, the position is chosen in relation to the sun and to water, a stream or spring. So it must be oriented to be at once well-exposed to the sun and sheltered from the wind, following the axis of the mountain chains. Exposure to the north is avoided. The south, the direction of Mecca (Mokri, 81), is preferred to the east. The importance of the village depends on their proximity to places of passage (mountain passes and bridges) and also on sufficient cultivable lands and pasturages. Many villages are built on a slope, the roof of the higher houses forming a terrace for the houses below, and this occurs in all the regions of Kurdistān, e.g. at ʿAkra, Barzindja and Shār-i Hawramān. It is not rare to sight on a neighbouring peak some ruins of an old castle, a trace of the past glory of a local magnate vanished for centuries. Such as it is, the Kurdish village has a rather pleasing and sympathetic appearance, precisely because of the water, gardens and trees.

The Kurdish villages are closer to one another or more dispersed, according to whether the region is more or less exposed to hazards. In the whole of the 17 provinces of Turkey with all or a high proportion of Kurdish population, according to the official census of 1960, 8,817 villages were counted, of which 395 had less than 100 inhabitants, 513 from 101 to 500, 1891 from 501 to 1000, 372 from 1,001 to 2,000 and only 39 with more than 2,000 inhabitants.

Three provinces of Muş, Hakâri and Van can be taken as criteria for appreciation:

	Area in km²	Inhabitants	Density in km	Number of cantons	Number of villages
Muş	8,195	167,638	20	15	368
Hakâri	9,532	67,766	7	12	133
Van	18,619	211,034	11	21	557

Thus the villages are more or less dispersed. They are also unequally populated, as the table below shows:

Inhabitants	less than 100	101-500	500-1000	1000-2000	+2000
Muş	9	280	64	14	1
Hakâri	5	84	40	5	0
Van	39	456	51	11	0

This average of small villages from 500 to 300 inhabitants is found in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, in the region of Rawāndiz (Barth, ii) and in other regions; 300 inhabitants is also the average of the Kurdish villages of Iran.

Altitude is also a very important factor in the establishment of the Kurdish village. By examining the snow contours on Hütteroth's map, e.g. to the south of Lake Van in the region of Hakâri precisely, it may be ascertained that the villages are relatively very numerous between 1,000 m. and 1,500 m., quite numerous between 1,500 and 2,000 m., rare between 2,000 and 2,500 m. and that they disappear altogether above 2,500 m., apart from pasturing camps or *zozān*. Some agreable summer dwellings are found in the middle altitudes. Thus in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, in the province of Duhok, we have Zawitha, at 1,422 m. in the midst of vast fir woods, Suwaretuka, at 1,675 m. among cypresses and maples, Sersing, at 1,046 m. with gushing springs, Sulav, at 1,150 m., and its waterfalls, Ser ʿAmādiyya, at 1,905 m; in the province of Sulaymāni: Ser Činar, with great plane trees, as its name indicates; in the province of Arbil, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, at 1,090 m., Shaḳlawa, at 565 m. with luxuriant orchards at the foot of Saffin, Gali ʿAlī Bag, at the same altitude with a great waterfall, and especially Ḥādjdjī ʿUmrān, at 1,780 m., very fresh in summer and a ski resort in winter. In the province of Hakâri, the high peaks of Cilo Dağ, which are between 3,500 and 4,000 m., have for some time attracted foreign mountaineers (cf. B. Amy, *La montagne des autres. Alpinisme en pays kurde*, 1972, with maps, photos and bibliographies of the last expeditions).

The smaller the village, the more its comfort is reduced. This is the case also in Turkish Kurdistān, where more than half of the villages do not have drinking water, a mill, a school, a *čāyāna* (or cafe) or a special house for guests. The lighting there is primitive, the hygiene deficient. The wells are near the latrines when these last exist. In winter, in view of the lack of means of communication, hundreds of villages are isolated from the rest of the world (E. Esenkova, 55-7). It is the same in the Kurdish villages of ʿIrāḳ, where electricity and running water only exist in 22 of them among the hundreds that are to be counted in the provinces of Sulaymānī, Arbil, Kirkūk (Khosbak, 56-7). For a population estimated at 8,766,000 in 1962, in 1970 for the whole of ʿIrāḳ there were only 150 hospitals, 987 dispensaries and 18,256 beds with 2,890 doctors and 1,771 nurses (Ministry of Information, *L'Irak va de l'avant*). The same situation applies in Turkish Kurdistān. In 1967, there were 12,275 doctors in Turkey, but only 2,500 for the whole of Anatolia, with a total of 60,196 beds, of which nearly half were for the towns of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir alone. Malaria affects especially the Kurdish provinces of Diyarbakir, Siirt, and Hakâri (E. Esenkova, 87-8). In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, malaria, which was the cause of a quarter of the mortality in ʿIrāḳ (Dr. A. Ghalib, *Malaria and malaria in Iraq*, Baghdād 1944) has been practically eliminated since the campaign of the WHO in 1954-6 (cf. J. Manevy, *Il est quatre heures docteur Malaria*, in *Réalités*, no. 122, March 1956, 48-55). In Iranian Kurdistān, there are only 250 to 300 hospital beds = 1 for 10,000 persons (Ghassemlou, 32).

To move from one village to another, to enter into more or less intimate social relations of family, friendship, tribe or commerce, the Kurd follows either the paths or tracks which link the villages or else the larger motor roads of commercial or strategic value which have been constructed by the interested governments. In the mountains, the mule tracks of tenfollow either the stream which runs at the bottom of the valley, passing from one side to the other or the flank of the mountain, often precipitous and hazardous. They rise steeply to reach the mountain passes, at times quite high, e.g. in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, Paykuli, 1,000 m. and Sagirma, 1,700 m. To cross the streams, one fords them or uses trail-bridges or *keleks* [*q.v.*] at a fixed point, where the river is wider and the current less swift, or bridges. The Kurdish bridges are still rudimentary today and sometimes dangerous, being made of ropes and lianas (Layard, 1970, 166; Bishop, ii, 114) or else of tree trunks (Wigram, 288; Hamilton, 96). On the more important roads, the ancient bridges are of stone, hump-backed with one or several arches. Today, some modern iron bridges replace at many points these primitive bridges which are often, in any case, no more than foot bridges (Hamilton, 192). Many legends are attached to these ancient bridges (Edmonds, 201, 212, 247). In the plains, especially in Turkish Kurdistān, there are still many simple earth tracks only usable in the good season. But some modern metalled, tarred and macadamised roads have also been built. The roads through the mountains are often real works of art.

ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān is now furrowed with numbers of fine roads which facilitate human relations. In ʿIrāḳ, some roads or good tracks link Mawṣil to Zakho, ʿAmādiyya, Arbil and ʿAkra. From Arbil one goes to Harīr and Rawāndiz and also to Kirkūk and then Sulaymānī. In Turkey, one road goes from Malatya to Elaziğ, Tunceli, Erzincan, Askala, Erzurum, and Kars. From Elaziğ a branch goes off tor Bingöl, Muş and Tatvan, and another towards Diyarbakir, Mardin and Nüseybin. From Diyarbakir, one may branch off for Silvan and Siirt, or Silvan in the direction of Bitlis, Tatvan and Van, by the road or by steamer on the lake.

Few railways cross Kurdistān. In Turkey one may pick out the line Erzincan-Erzurum-Kars, towards Armenia; the line Malatya-Elaziğ-Genı-Muş-Tatvan-Van by ferry in the direction of Tabriz; and the line Malatya-Sivrece-Maden-Erganı-Diyarbakir-Batman, towards Siirt. The Orient Express from Istanbul goes to Aleppo, skirts the Kurdish populations of the Turko-Syrian frontier, and reaches Mawṣil and Baghdād. In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, a single narrow-

gauge railway goes from Baghdād to Kirkūk (320 km.).

Several military routes fan out from the airports situated in Kurdistān. The most important are in Turkey: Erzurum, Kars, Karaköse (Ağrı), Elaziğ, Malatya, Van and Diyarbakir; in ʿIrāķ: Mawṣil, Kirkūk, Semel, Ser ʿAmādiyya and Bamerni; in north Syria: Kamishlī; in Iran, Sanandadj, Kirmānshāh and Riḍāʾiyya.

E. An anthropological profile of Kurdistān. Situated as it is at the crossroads of populations as different as the Turkish, Persian, Caucasian and Arab peoples and in very intimate relations with most of them, does the Kurdish people possess characteristics such that it may be distinguished very clearly from the others? The question can legitimately be posed, and many scholars have tried to distinguish the anthropological aspects which would allow this process of discrimination. It is evidently not a matter of searching for a Kurdish race, since this notion of race can scarcely be applied to humans, although some important genetic differences are ascertainable between more or less homogenous populations possessing such-or-such characteristic blood-group (Ruffié, 1972). Anthropological researches on the Kurds began more than a century ago with E. Duhousset (1863) and N. V. Khanikoff (1866). They have been carried out in all the regions of Kurdistān.

In Iran, first of all by the authors cited, then by M. Houssay (1887); in Transcaucasia by E. Chantre (1880, 1890) and Pantukhoff (1891); in Turkey in the valleys between the Euphrates and the Tigris (G. Pisson, 1892), to the south of the Black Sea at Karakus, at Nemrut Dağ, to the west of Lake Van, and at Zencirli (von Luschan, 1922); in Syria, at Damascus (Ariëns Kappers, 1931). The Yazīdīs of the Caucasus were studied by Eliseyev in 1887 and in 1900 by Ivanovski; those of Sindjār and Shaykhān by Field (1934), as well as the Kurds of ʿIrāķ, of Zakho, Rawāndiz, ʿAkra, Kirkūk and Sulaymānī; these latter studies were not published until 1951 and 1952. All these researches are only in fact sample surveys, given the relatively restricted number of individuals examined (some hundreds or more out of several thousands of inhabitants) and of the really scientific measures obtained. Some travellers have in their turn made certain records and added some typical photographs. Despite all this, and because the observations concerning the Kurds are of different regions, the results obtained do not always coincide perfectly. There has been an attempt to make an anthropological classification of them (A. Bashmakoff). The Western Kurds (von Luschan) have been distinguished from the Eastern and Southern Kurds. The former are of a blond, blue-eyed, dolichocephalic type. The others are of a brown, black-eyed, brachycephalic type. The one group consider themselves of the same race as the Turks (Sekban, Inan) or the Iranians (Modi), the others regard themselves as close to the Arabs or Armenians. Certain photographs of Mark Sykes (321, 342, 373, 424-5, 427, 429) of Lynch (ii, 4-5) or of Soubrier (112, 113, 144, 160, 172) reveal at first sight types among the Kurds: Arab, Jew, Biblical, Nestorian and Turkoman. It is this which H. Field confirms and expresses in a more scientific fashion in the photographs of 162 individuals out of 598 examined, where he personally discovers Armenoid types (48), Balkan (12), Modified Mediterranean (36), Eur-Anatolian (38), pure or mixed Iranian (4), Alpinoid (12), Mongoloid (1) and Negroid (1). The proportions are not exactly the same among the 235 Yazīdīs examined, and the comparison with the Assyrians, the Shammar and Ṣulubba Arabs or the Turkomans also studied by the author is interesting. The resemblances encountered are no doubt to be explained by intermarriage. But this does not prevent E. Duhousset (1863) from recognising in the Kurdish people a rare homogeneity with respect to its type and, for his part, Ariëns Kappers (1931) admits that the Kurds, despite their anthropological differences, constitute a truly distinct race. Thus we can, in summarising the studies of H. Field, present as follows the portrait of the Kurd of ʿIrāķ: "The Kurd is of medium height (1.66 m.) with a relatively long body and short limbs. The forehead is wide and the head wide and round. The brachycephalics predominate. The height of the face is medium. The nose is quite often convex. The Kurd is more hirsute than the Arab. His hair, rather wavy and pliant, is normally dark brown and the eyes black. But blond hair and blue eyes are also to be encountered, especially in the western regions. The colour of the skin is more clear than that of the Arabs, but less fine than that of the Assyrians. The teeth are normal and well-placed. The musculature is good, as is the health, in general, of those who have been observed" (Th. Bois, 18).

Despite everything, these anthropological researches on the Kurds are too fragmentary and uncertain for us to be able to conclude from them what may be the origin of this people. It is indispensable here to combine the study of the language with that of the history.

Bibliography: Maps. No complete scientific map of Kurdistān exists, The *Carte du Kurdistan* 1/4,000,000, Cairo 1943, aims especially "to give a graphic representation of that which the Kurds occupy in the Middle East"; a *Note* of 12 pp. which accompanies it is intended to explain it and to justify the different data. *Die Kurden, Volke ohne Staat*, 1/1,500,000; ed. Die Aktuelle Landkarte, no. 224, Munich 1966, clear and simplified, does not indicate the relief at all. For Turkey, the old maps of H. Kiepert, 1892, or better *Türkiye*, 1/2,000,000 of Faik Sebri, Istanbul 1948, *La carte de l'Asie orientale* 1/2,000,000 of the Troupes du Levant, Beirut 1939, or that of the War Office and Air Ministry, London 1961-2, 1/1,000,000, sheets NJ37 Erzurum, NJ38 Tabriz and NI38 Baghdad, of series 1301, GSGS, cover the whole of Kurdistān. More or less elaborate maps are often to be found in the different accounts of journeys. So much the more to be appreciated are the precise and detailed maps in the book and many articles of C. J. Edmonds.

Albums. To illustrate all this: M. Zikmund and J. Hanzeika, *Kurdistan, country of insurrection, legends and hope*, Artia, Czechoslovakia 1962; K. Dettmann, *Vertraue der Pranke ... Löwe die Heiligen werden dir nicht helfen*, Hamburg 1966.

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iii. — History

A. Origins and Pre-Islamic history.

The classification of the Kurds among the Iranian nations is based mainly on linguistic and historical data and does not prejudice the fact there is a complexity of ethnical elements incorporated in them. The type of the latter varies visibly from place to place. It is probable that the expansion of the Kurd element took place from east (Western Persia) to west (Central Kurdistān) but there is nothing to have prevented the existence in Central Kurdistān, before the coming of the Kurds, of a nationality of different origin but bearing a similar name (Ḳardū) which later amalgamated with the Iranian Kurds.

On two Sumerian inscriptions dating from about 2,000 B.C., Thureau-Dangin (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, v, 99; vi, 67) found a country *Kar-da-ka* mentioned (in which word the initial is *k* and not *ḳ* and the function of the element *ka* is uncertain). This country was beside the "people of Su" (cf. *ZA*, xxxv, 230 n. 3), which G. R. Driver located south of Lake Van; there is an old fortress Sūy in the region of Bidlīs (*Sharafnāma*, i, 146). A thousand years later Tiglath Pileser waged war on the people called Ḳur-ṭi-e in the mountains of Azu, which Driver (in *JRAS* [1923], 400) identifies with the modern Ḥazō (Sāsūn). The reading Ḳur-ṭi-e is not certain, however.

Herodotus in the 5th century B.C. mentions no name like this, but, according to him (iii, 93), the thirteenth nome of the Achaemenid empire included next to the Armenians a Πακτυική which Nöldeke (*Gramm. d. neusyrischen Spr.*, Leipzig 1868, p. xviii) and Kiepert (*Alt. Geogr.*, § 81) have connected with the name of Bokhtān (= Bohtān).

The retreat of the Ten Thousand described by Xenophon (401-400 B.C.) made famous the name of the Karduchoi (Καρδοῦχοι) whose country lay to the east of the Kentritēs (Bohtān). From this time onwards we continually find the name on the left bank of the Tigris near Mount Djūdī [*q.v.*]. In classical authors, the country became Corduene (on the numerous forms of this name, probably produced by the difficulty of reproducing the Semitic *ḳ*, cf. Driver, *op. cit.*). In Aramaic the district was called Beth-Ḳardū and the present town of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Gazartā of Ḳardū. The Armenians had the name Korduḍh, the Arabs (Balādhurī, 176; Ṭabarī, iii, 610) Baḳardā (Ḳardai). According to Yāḳūt (iv, 56), who relies on the authority of Ibn al-Athīr, the canton of Bāḳardā formed part of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, contained two hundred villages (al-Thamānīn,

Djūdī, Fīrūz-Shābūr) and was situated on the left bank of the Tigris opposite Bāzabdā on the right bank (cf. the full analysis of the texts in M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 33-5). Later, the name, which was only applied to the district, disappears from Muslim terminology and is replaced by Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Bohtān, etc. To the Armenians and Arabs the territory of Ḳardū in the strict sense had a very limited application. We do not know the exact frontiers of the province of Corduene; its three towns, Sareisa, Satalka and Pinaka (= Finīk) lay on the Tigris, but the statement of Strabo (ix, 12, 4) is remarkable; according to this, the term Γορδυαῖα ὄρη was sometimes applied to the mountains between the modern Diyārbakr and Mūsh.

Now, who were the Καρδοῦχοι whose name undoubtedly survived in the later names (the termination -χοι must represent the Armenian plural in -*kh*, which is perhaps explained by the fact that the Greeks learned this name from an Armenian)? According to Xenophon (iv, 3, 1), the Karduchoi recognised neither the authority of King Artaxerxes nor that of Armenia. When in the 1st century B.C. Corduene was conquered by Tigranes II, he had its king Zarbienus executed. In 115 A.D. the king of Corduene was called Manisarus. According to Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen*, 239, and *Armenische Grammatik*, i/2, 518-20, the province of Corduene was only superficially Armenicised.

There is nothing really surprising in finding at the time of Xenophon an Iranian tribe settled to the north of the Tigris, but we have nothing but the evidence of the name from which to judge the ethnology of the Karduchoi. The name has Semitic analogies (Akkad., Assyr. *ḳardu*, "strong", "hero", *ḳarādu* "to be strong"); on the other hand, there is a certain consonantal resemblance with the name of a people Khaldī, better known under the Assyrian form Urarṭu/Urashṭu, in Hebrew Ararat, among the Greeks Αλαρόδιοι, Χάλδοι and sometimes Χαλδαῖοι. This people appeared in Armenia towards the end of the 9th century B.C. and afterwards established a powerful kingdom in the region of Lake Vān which lasted until the beginning of the 6th century. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Mater. z. älter. Gesch. Armeniens*, Göttingen 1907, 123, sees in them Khaldī immigrants from the west; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, i/2, Stuttgart 1913, § 474, seeks their original home on the central Araxes. As a result of the arrival of the Armenians, towards the 7th century, the Khaldī were dispersed and driven towards the mountains (*Cyropaedia*, iii, 1-3). But their name survived in the toponymy of the region north of Lake Van (the Byzantine theme Χαλδία near Trebizond, the town of Khilāṭ = Akhlāṭ, etc.; cf. Belck and Lehmann, in *ZA*, ix [1894], 84; de Goeje, in *ibid.*, x [1895], 100; Streck, in *ibid.*, xiv [1899], 112). Parallels for the name *Khaldi* have been sought on the other side of the Caucasus: the Georgians are called *Kharthveli* or *kharth-ul-i* (in Svanian *khyard*; in Mingrelian, *khort-u*); cf. N. Adontz, *Armenia v epokhu Iustiniana*, St. Petersburg 1908, 398.

Whether we identify the Ḳardū as Semites or as an indigenous people, it is certain that the land of the ancient Karduchoi is at the present day one of the principle centres of the Kurds. It has therefore been concluded that the Karduchoi were identical with the Kurds, and this view was still considered axiomatic at the beginning of the 20th century; cf. *Grundriss d. Iran. Phil.*, ii, 464. Going a step further, the Kurds were directly connected with the Χάλδοι; Reiske in his commentary on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, B. 13 (713, 11) said "Chaldi et Kordi vel Curti, Gordyaei iidem". A similar opinion is expressed in the title of P. Lerch's work, *Recherches sur les Kurdes iraniens et sur leurs ancêtres, les Chaldéens septentrionaux* (St. Petersburg 1856).

A new turn was given to the problem by the researches of M. Hartmann, Nöldeke and Weissbach, who showed the philological necessity of distinguishing between the stems *Kurd* and *Ḳardū*. These scholars at the same time proposed to recognise the Kurds in the Κύρτιοι, Cyrtii, mentioned by classical writers in Media and Persia (Strabo, xi, 13, 3, and xv, 3, 1). This hypothesis is confirmed by the presence in Fārs of numerous Kurdish tribes in the Sāsānid period (cf. *Kārnāmak-i Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān*, tr. Nöldeke, Göttingen 1879, 37, 48, and the testimony of Arab writers).

The justifiable distinction between the names *Kurd* and *Ḳardū* does not, however, decide the important question, how the Cyrtii (= Iranian Kurds) came to colonise lands west of the Zagros, the country of the ancient Ḳardū, and the mountains of the Anti-Taurus as far as northern Syria. The problem still requires careful research. In the first place, the Median and Persian conquests must have brought about considerable displacements of the Iranian peoples. We have an example in the migrations of a part of the Asagartiya whose original home was in Sīstān. In the Assyrian period we find these Sagartians in Media (*Zikirtu* or *Zakruti*, cf. Streck, in *ZA*, xiv [1899], 146) and in the time of Darius (Bihistūn inscr. 2, 90) their capital was already in the Assyrian plain at Arbela, where Darius had their chief Čitrantakhma executed, whose portrait on the rock of Bīsutūn suggests a Kurdish type (L. W. King, *The sculptures of Behistan*, London 1907). Between 220 and 171 B.C. we find Cyrtii mercenaries taking part in the wars between Rome, the Seleucids and the kings of Pergamon (Livy, xlii, 58, 13; xxxvii, 40, 9; Polybius, v, 52, 5; cf. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa², s.v. *Cyrtii*, and A. J. Reinach, *Les mercenaires de Pergame*, in *Revue Archéologique* [1909], 115-19). A very interesting state of transition is seen from the Armenian *Geography* of the 7th century, in the case of the province of Korčēkh (according to Adontz, *Armenia*, 418, Korčēkh is from **kortič-aikh* where *kortič* means "Kurd", as *atrpatič* means "inhabitant of Atropatene"). In the time of Faustus Byzantinus (4th century) Korčēkh was only a canton near Salmās [*q.v.*]. As a province, Korčēkh stretched from Djūlāmerg to Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and included the following cantons: Kordukh, the three Kordrikh (Kordikh), Aituankh, Aigaṛkh, Mothołaukh (Othołaukh), Orsiraukh (Orisankh), Karathunikh (Saraponikh), Čahuk and Little Albak (Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 93; Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen*, 255-9).

We see the changes that were gradually brought about. Of the three districts, Kordukh, Kordikh and Tmorikh, which Faustus mentions in place of the ancient Corduene, Kordukh had become a mere canton of Korčēkh and Tmorikh disappeared altogether to the advantage of Kordrikh (Kordikh), of which simply upper, middle and lower cantons were distinguished.

Hübschmann *op. cit.*, 385), confines himself to distinguishing between the Kordrikh (Kordikh) of the Κόρτιοι, but in general the linguistic distinction established by M. Hartmann and Nöldeke does not preclude the existence of hybrid and corrupt forms (M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 92: "es gingen wohl schon früh die Namen durcheinander"). Nöldeke even

distinguishes a third group of names: Aramaic Ḳartēwāyē (Arabic Ḳartāwiya?), meaning the true Kurds; cf. G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyren*, Leipzig 1880, 207, n. 1639.

We thus find that about the period of the Arab conquest a single ethnic term *Kurd* (plur. *Akrād*) was beginning to be applied to an amalgamation of Iranian or iranicised tribes. Among the latter, some were autochthonous (the Ḳardū; the Tmorikh/Ṭamurāyē in the district of which Alkī = Elk was the capital; the Χοθαῖται [= al-Khuwaythiyya] in the canton of Khoyt of Sāsūn, the Orṭāyē [= al-Arṭān] in the bend of the Euphrates); some were Semites (cf. the popular genealogies of the Kurd tribes) and some probably Armenian (it is said that the Mamakān tribe is of Mamikonian origin).

In the 20th century, the existence of an Iranian non-Kurdish element among the Kurds has been definitely established (the Gūrān-Zāzā groupe). In several districts a social stratification based on the political domination of newcomers has been established (at Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.*], at Sāwdj-Bulāḳ [*q.v.*] and at Ḳotūr, where we find remnants of the Küresinli [?] in subjection to the Shakāk). Systematic investigation may discover traces of ancient peoples overlaid by a Kurdish element giving an appearance of unity.

Genealogies and popular etymologies. The Muslim sources and Kurdish traditions do not help us to solve the problem of the origin of the Kurds. Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 251) already speaks of their descent from those Persians who escaped from the tyrant Ḍaḥḥāk. This legend is best known from the version of the *Shāh-nāma* (Macan, i, 27-8; Mohl, i, 71; Vullers, i, 36, verses 29-38). In 1812 Morier (*Second journey*, 357) mentions the celebration at Damāwand (on 31 August) of a festival commemorating the delivery of Persia from the tyranny of Daḥḥāḳ, known as the *ʿAyd-i Kurdī*, "The Kurd festival". On the other hand, the Kurds sought Arab genealogies for themselves. Some (*Murūdj*, iii, 253) claimed as their ancestor Rabīʿa b. Nizār b. Maʿadd, others Muḍar b. Nizār, both eponyms of the districts of Diyār Rabīʿa (Mawṣil) and Diyār Muḍar (Raḳḳa). They said that the Kurds had separated from the Arab stock as a result of feuds with the Ghassānids, and, having retired to the mountains, intermingled with strangers and forgot their mother tongue. Of more interest is a series of ancestors among whom we find Kurd b. Mard (cf. οἱ Μαρδοί the neighbours of the Kurds) b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Ḥarb b. Ḥawāzin (Masʿūdī, *ibid.*, and *Tanbīh*, 88-91: Kurd b. Isfandiyādh b. Manūshahr; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 185-7: Kurd b. Mard b. ʿAmr). All these genealogies may contain a few grains of historical fact (iranicisation of Semites, intermingling of the tribes of the Zagros and of Fārs).

Nor is there any lack of popular etymologies. The attempt has been made (*Murūdj*, iii, 249) to connect the name with the Arabic root *karrada*; the Kurds would thus be the children of young slaves and the demon Djasad ("driven out" by Solomon). Very frequently (cf. Driver, in *JRAS* [1923], 403) the name *Kurd* is connected with the Persian word *gurd* ("hero"), although this root really had a *g* in Pahlavī and goes back to the root *var* "to protect" (Horn, *Neuper. Etymol.*, 200).

In later times, the names of tribes were often explained by those of their eponyms. The *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 158, makes all the Kurds (the Badjnawī and Bokhtī tribes) come from Badjan and Bokht; the former of these names may be connected with that of Basn-āw, a tributary of the Tigris (Andreas, in Hartmann, 131), while the second recalls the Πακτυική of Herodotus, or the "dragon-king" (Kurd?) Haftān-Bokht killed by Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān; cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, 11 According to another legend, especially popular in the north and west, the Kurds were at one time divided into two branches, Milān and Zilān, the former coming from Arabia and the latter from the east; the Zilān were regarded as an inferior race (cf. P. M. Sykes, in *Jnal. R. Anthropological Inst.*, xxxviii [1908], 470).

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B. The Islamic period up to 1920.

We have detailed notices of the Kurds from the time of the Arab conquest onwards. During the five first centuries of the Hidjra, the Kurds frequently played a considerable part in events and often took the initiative in them. Several Kurd dynasties arose at this time. Waves of Turk and Mongol invaders seem to have submerged the Kurds from the 6th to the 10th century A.D. But the period of the wars between the Ottoman Sulṭāns and the Ṣafawid Shāhs produced a state of affairs in Kurdistān favourable for the growth of a feudal system, of which a faithful

picture is given in the *Sharaf-nāma* (1003/1596). The Turco-Persian frontier became gradually stabilised and the Persians fell back behind the wall of the Zagros and its northern extension. Then Turkey began the work of strengthening the authority of the central power within her eastern provinces. Towards the end of the 19th century the last Kurdish principalities disappeared in Turkish territory (Hakkārī, Bidlīs, Sulaymāniyya) and in Persia (Ardalān). But the great tribes still exist, and their cadres assure the preservation of the Kurdish element with its social and ethical peculiarities. Ḳādjār Persia hardly ever interfered in the domestic affairs of her Kurdish tribes, while in the late Ottoman period Turkey tried to use the Kurds as a political support for the central authority. Sometimes the Kurds were overwhelmed with favours, and sometimes they had to resist attempts to abolish the remnants of their ancient autonomy. Several risings of the Kurds took place in the 19th century, and towards the beginning of the 20th century a Kurd movement added one more element to the nationalist agitations within the Turkish empire. The revolution of 1908 drew the Kurds into politics; newspapers, magazines and Kurd societies began to multiply. During the First World War of 1914-18 the idea of an autonomous Kurdistān was first mooted by the Western Powers, but the plan was only partially and temporarily realised in so far as the part of the old *wilāyet* of Mawṣil attached to the new state of ʿIrāḳ was concerned.

The Kurds after the Arab conquest. We shall find it useful to begin by collecting the information given by Arab authors regarding the distribution of the Kurd tribes.

The term Kurdistān being unknown before the time of the Saldjūḳs, information regarding the Kurds is usually to be found in the Arab authors under such heads as Zawzān, Khilāṭ, Armīniya, Ādharbāydjān, Djibāl, Fārs, etc. (cf. Driver, *The dispersion of the Kurds in ancient times*, in *JRAS* [1926], 563-72).

Masʿūdī (about 332/943) and Iṣṭakhrī (340/951) are the first to give systematic information about the Kurds. In the *Murūdj al-dhahab* (iii, 253) Masʿūdī enumerates the following tribes: at Dīnawar and Hamadhān: Shuhdjān; at Kangawar: Mādjurdān; in Ādharbāydjān (so the text should be emended): Hadhbānī and Sarāt (probably Shurāt = Khāridjīs [*q.v.*]; cf. the story of Daysam below); in Djibāl: Shādandjān, Lazba (Lurrī?), Mādandjān, Mazdānakān, Bārisān, Khālī (Djalālī), Djābārḳi, Djāwānī and Mustakān; in Syria: Dabābila etc.; at Mawṣil and Djūdī the Christian Kurds: al-Yaʿḳūbiyya ("Jacobites") and the Djurḳān (Djurughān). To this list, the *Tanbīh* of the same author (88-91) only adds Bāzindjān (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 115), Nashawira, Būdhīkān and Kīkān (at the present day found near Marʿash), but he gives a list of the places where there were Kurds: the *rumūm* (*zumūm*?) of Fārs, Kirmān, Sidjistān, Khurāsān (Iṣṭakhrī, 282: a Kurd village in the canton of Asadābād), Iṣfāhān (a section of the Bāzandjān tribe and a flourishing town described as Kurd, Yaʿḳūbī, 275; Iṣṭakhrī, 125), Djibāl, notably Māh Kūfa, Māh Baṣra, Māh Sabadhān (Māsabadhān) and the two Īghārs (i.e. Karadj Abī Dulaf and Burdj), Hamadhān, Shahrizūr, with its dependencies Darābād and Ṣamghān (Zimkān), Ādharbāydjān, Armenia (at Dwīn on the Araxes the Kurds lived in houses built of clay and of stone; Muḳaddasī, 277), Arrān (one of the gates of Bardhaʿa was called Bāb al-Akrād and Ibn Miskawayh says that at the invasion of the Rūs in 332/942 the local governor had Kurds under his command), Baylaḳān, Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband), al-Djazīra, Syria and al-Thughūr (i.e. the line of fortresses along the Cilician frontier).

Iṣṭakhrī, 98, particularly mentions five *rumūm* in Fārs, this term being applied to districts over which the Kurds were distributed (in spite of de Goeje, *BGA*, iv, 250, it is preferable to keep the reading *ramm-rumūm* [from Persian *ramm*, "flock", "crowd"] for it is improbable that *zoma* could have given a plural *zumūm*). Each *ramm* had its town, its Kurd chief in charge of the *kharādj* and responsible for public safety. These *rumūm* were: 1. Djilūya, or Rāmidjān, bordered by Iṣfahān and Khūzistān; 2. Lawālidjān, between Shīrāz and the Persian Gulf; Dīwān, in the *kūra* of Sābūr; 4. Kāriyān in the direction of Kirmān; 5. Shāhriyār, alongside of Iṣfāhān also called Bāzandjān after the principal tribe, a part of which had been transferred to the province of Iṣfāhān. As a supplement to the list of *rumūm*, Iṣṭakhrī, 114, gives a list of 33 nomad tribes (*ḥayy*, plur. *aḥyā*') of Fārs, based on the records of the *dīwān al-ṣadaḳāt* and reproduced by Ibn Ḥawḳal, 185-7 and Muḳaddasī, 446: Kirmānī, Rāmānī, Mudaththir, Muḥammad b. Bashar, Baḳīlī (Muḳaddasī: Thaʿlabī), Bundādhmahrī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, Sabāḥī, Isḥāḳī, Adharkānī, Shahrakī, Ṭahmādahnī, Zabādī, Shahrawī, Bundādakī, Khusrawī, Zandjī, Ṣafarī, Shahyārī, Mihrakī, Mubārakī, Ishtāmharī, Shāhūnī, Furātī, Salmūnī, Ṣīrī, Āzāddokhtī, Barāzdokhtī, Muṭallābī, Mamālī, Shāhkānī, Kadjtī, Djalīlī, in all 500,000 families living in tents.

The *Fārs-nāma* (*ca.* 500/1107) says (168) that the Kurds of the old large *ramm* of Djilūya, Dhīwān, Lawālidjān, Kāriyān and Bāzandjān, who formed the most brilliant element in the old army of Fārs, all perished in the wars at the time of the introduction of Islam, with the exception of a single ʿAlak, who became a Muslim and left descendants. Other Kurds were transferred from Iṣfahān to Fārs by ʿAḍud al-Dawla. It is difficult to admit that 500,000 (?) families of Kurds were exterminated, but we must recognise the possibility of regrouping among the tribes of Fārs and of their denationalisation. The old *ramm* of Djilūya (Kūh-Gilū) is now inhabited by Lurs; we do not know how long they have been there. For the rest, Iṣṭakhrī's list mentions a tribe al-Lurriya (variant: Lazba?) among the Kurds of Fārs. On the other hand the *Fārs-nāma* distinguishes from the Kurds the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*] clans, who had become very powerful in Fārs at the time of the last Būyids. The *Masālik al-abṣār* of al-ʿUmarī speaks of the Shabānkāra under a separate heading, and the *Sharaf-nāma* does not mention them among the Kurd dynasties. One of their clans, however (Rāmānī), bears the name of one of the "Kurd" tribes of Iṣṭakhrī. Everything then suggests that the Kurds of Fārs differed considerably from the tribes of Kurdistān (cf. SHŪL and LUR).

The term al-Zawzān, which corresponds broadly to central Kurdistān (*zozān* in Kurdish "summer pasturages"), is not well defined. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, 250, the king of al-Zawzān was called al-Dayrānī (= Deranikʿ, Armenian king of Vaspurakān). Muḳaddasī, 137, regards Zawzān as a *nāḥiya* of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar. Later this region, which had a mixed Kurd and Christian population, became extended in area. According to Ibn al-Athīr (in Yāḳūt, ii, 257), al-Zawzān began at two days' journey from Mawṣil and stretched to the borders of Khilāṭ; on the Ādharbāydjān side it extended to Salmās. Many strong places belonged to the Bashnawī and Bokhtī Kurds; the former held Barḳā, Bashīr [and Fanak];

to the latter belonged: Djurdhakīl (Gurgīl), the residence of their *malik* Atil (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 117: Nash Atil?), ʿAllūs, Bāz al-ḥamrā. To the lords of Mawṣil (the Zangids) belonged-Alḳī (= Elk), Arwakh, Bakhawkha (= Bekūkī in Barwārī), Barkho, Kingawar (?), Nīrwa (east of Akr?) and Khawshab. The text of Yāḳūt is not very certain; in any case, the reference here may be to Kurd strongholds gradually annexed by the Ḥamdānids and the Zangids (see below).

The Kurds under the caliphs and Būyids. Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 249) has preserved traditions from the pre-Islamic period of feuds between the Arab princes of Ghassān [*q.v.*] and the Kurds. The Muslim Arabs came into contact with the Kurds after the occupation of Takrīt and Ḥulwān in 16/637. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ marched on Mawṣil, where the districts with a Kurd population were occupied (al-Mardj Bā-Nuhadhrā, Bā-ʿAdhrā, Ḥibtūn, Dāsin etc.); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ii, 408. The conquest of the region was completed by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm and ʿUtba (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 331). The Baṭrīḳ of al-Zawzān in 19/640 obtained confirmation of his authority on payment of *kharādj* (*Futūḥ* 176). In Susiana in 18/639 the Arabs fought against the Kurds, who had taken up the cause of al-Hurmuzān, Persian governor of Ahwāz (*Kāmil*, ii, 425). In Fārs, likewise, the Kurds supported the Persians in 23/642 at the defence of Fasā and Darābdjird (*ibid.*, iii, 32). ʿUmar had to send several expeditions against the Kurds of Ahwāz (*Futūḥ*, 382, 389; *Kāmil*, iii, 37). On the other hand, in the reign of ʿUmar the Kurds invaded the region of the central Karkhā (Ṣaymara, Māsabadhān), the language of which was still Persian in the time of Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 236). The Arabs had reached Shahrizūr before Islam (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 130), but the final occupation of Shahrizūr, Dārabādh and Ṣamghān in 22/643 was only achieved after bloody fighting (*Futūḥ*, 334; *Kāmil*, iii, 29). In the south, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], governor of Baṣra, had to put down risings of the Kurds at Bērūdh and Balasdjān in 25/645, but the Kurds, forcibly converted to Islām, apostatised en masse (*Kāmil*, ii, 66, 76). Under the caliph ʿAlī, the Kurds, along with the Persians and Christians, took part in the rebellion of al-Khirrīt [*q.v.*] near Ahwāz and in Fārs, but the chief was defeated at Rām-Hurmuz (*ibid.*, iii, 309).

Al-Mukhtār, who had seized Armenia and Ādharbāydjān in the reign of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, appointed in 66/685 a governor at Ḥulwān whose task was to fight the Kurds (*Kāmil*, iv, 187), but the death of al-Mukhtār prevented the plan from being carried out. Under the same caliph the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH] made an alliance in 83/702 with the Kurds of Sābūr in Fārs (*ibid.*, iv, 352). In 90/708 the Kurds ravaged Fārs and were punished by al-Ḥadjdjādj. In 129/746 the Kurds of Sābūr resisted the ally of the Khāridjīs, Sulaymān, who had rebelled against the caliph Marwān II and had besieged Sābūr (*ibid.*, iv, 387, 341; v, 283). The caliph Marwān himself was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii, 51) whose blue eyes and fair complexion he had inherited (Sir William Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, London 1891, 429).

Under the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, the invasion of Armenia by the Khazars in 147/764 resulted in numerous risings. A few years later the Kurds (*intishār al-Akrād*) are again mentioned in connection with the rising at Mawṣil and its repercussions in Hamadān (*Kāmil*, v, 448; vi, 9). Djaʿfar, son of al-Manṣūr, was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii, 442).

In the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim, a Kurd rebellion is mentioned under 225/839; it broke out in the district of Mawṣil, led by Djaʿfar b. Fahardjis, a scion of a noble Kurd family. Defeated at Bābaghēsh, Djaʿfar took refuge in the mountains of Dāsin, where he defeated the troops of the caliph. A new army commanded by the Turk Aytākh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] put an end to the rebellion (*Kāmil*, vi, 360-1). A Kurd rising broke out in 231/845 in the regions of Iṣfahān, Djibāl and Fārs; it was speedily suppressed by the Turk general Waṣīf.

The Kurds of Mawṣil in 252/866 joined the Khāridjī Musāwir, who had seized Mawṣil. In 262/875 they played a considerable part in the Zandjī slave-revolt (cf. Nöldeke, *A servile war in the East*, in *Sketches from eastern history*, Edinburgh-London 1892, 146-75) led by an ʿAlid Khāridjī (?) ʿAlī Muḥammad, called al-Khabīth, and in the rising of Yaʿḳūb al-Ṣaffār, founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty [*q.v.*]. At Ahwāz, Yaʿḳūb appointed a Kurd lieutenant, Muḥammad ʿUbayd Allāh b. Hazārmard, who, cherishing ambitious plans, engaged in secret negotations with al-Khabīth. With reinforcements sent by the latter, Muḥammad marched on Sūs, but was defeated by Aḥmad b. Laythūya; the latter, also a Kurd and commander of the Kurd levies, had been sent by the caliph to put down Yaʿḳūb's rising (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. de Slane, iv, 304-8). When Aḥmad had departed, Muḥammad, after securing from al-Khabīth further reinforcements consisting partly of Kurds, seized Shustar where, according to the arrangement he was to have had the *khutba* read in the name of al-Khabīth, but instead he did it in the names of the caliph al-Muʿtamid and his adversary Yaʿḳūb al-Ṣaffār. His Zandjī allies deserted Muḥammad, and Shustar was reoccupied by Ibn Laythūya. Muḥamnad retired to Rām-Hurmuz, but he was dislodged from it by al-Khabīth's generals. As a result of difficulties with the Dārnān Kurds, Muḥammad again sought the help of al-Khabīth. The latter sent him troops, which Muḥammad sent into battle but suddenly left them in the lurch and attacked them. To avoid a breach with al-Khabīth, Muḥammad agreed to proclaim him caliph. The death of Yaʿḳūb (265/879) and of al-Khabīth (270/883) put an end to these exploits (*Kāmil*, vii, 264).

About 281/894 the Kurds were among the partisans of the Arab Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn (cf. ḤAMDĀNIDS) when he established himself in Mawṣil. The Kurd rebellion raised in 284/897 by Abū Laylā did not last long (*ibid.*, vii, 325, 337). In 293/906 the Hadhbānī Kurds led by their chief Muḥammad b. Bilāl laid waste the region of Niniveh. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, the new governor of Mawṣil, pursued them, but suffered a reverse at Maʿṭūba. With reinforcements sent by the caliph he resumed next year the pursuit of 5,000 Hadhbānī families. The Kurds began negotiations to gain time and retired to Ādharbāydjān. ʿAbd Allāh returned to Mawṣil and with new troops set out once more against the Hadhbānīs, who had entrenched themselves at Djabal al-Salaḳ (probably Lāhīdjān, cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ). The Hadhbānīs were forced to surrender, and their pacification was followed by that of the Ḥumaydī tribe and of the people of Djabal Dāsin (*ibid.*, vii, 371). In the reign of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, the Kurds plundered the environs of Mawṣil but were punished by the Ḥamdānid government; the Djalālī tribe put up a particularly stubborn resistance (*ibid.*, viii, 118). Under the year 337/943 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, GMS, vi, 105, speaks of the expedition of the Ḥamdānid Ḥusayn against Ādharbāydjān; on this occasion he

had as an ally Dja'far b. Shakkūya, chief of the Hadhbānīs who were settled at Salmās.

About this time, Daysam b. Ibrāhīm appeared on the scene, and his adventurous life is closely associated with the Kurds. He himself was the son of an Arab by a Kurd woman. His followers were Kurds with the exception of a small body of Daylamīs. Daysam was a Khāridjī. He seized Ādharbāydjān after Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj and in 327/938 used his Kurds to drive out Lashkārī b. Mardī, one of the lieutenants of the Ziyārid Wushmagīr. But the Musāfirid Marzubān, a noted Shī'ī, succeeded in taking Ādharbāydjān from Daisam and the latter took refuge with his friend Ḥādjīk b. al-Dayrānī (the Armenian king of Vaspurakan Khačik or Gaghik, son of Deranik'). Then the people of Tabrīz appealed to Daysam, but again he suffered a reverse and with the consent of the Musāfirids fell back to Ṭārum. In 337/948-9, Marzubān was made prisoner by the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, who sent a representative to Ādharbāydjān. Marzubān's brother Wahsūdān then thought of Daysam, to whom his Kurds had remained faithful, and sent him against Rukn al-Dawla's representative. Daysam was defeated, but held out in Ardabīl and Bardha'a. When Marzubān returned from his captivity, Daysam had to take refuge first in Armenia and then in Baghdād, where the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla treated him generously. As his friends were urging him to return to Ādharbāydjān, he went to the Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil and Syria to ask for assistance. In the absence of Marzubān, Daysam returned to Salmās in 344/955-6, where he had the *khuṭba* read in the name of Sayf al-Dawla of Syria. Once more driven out by Marzubān, Daysam sought refuge with his Armenian friends, Ibn al-Dayrānī (Deranik' b. Khačik) had to hand him over to Marzubān, much against his will. Daysam was blinded and died in prison in 345/956-7 (*Tadjārib*, ed. Amedroz, i, 345; ii, 148-51; *Kāmil*, viii, 289, 361, 375-7).

During Marzubān's captivity, in Rayy, several independent governors set themselves up in the north-west of Persia. One of them (about 340/951) was Muḥammad Shaddād b. Ḳarṭū of the Rawwādī tribe, out of which later sprang the great dynasty of the Ayyūbids. The principal fiefs of the Shaddādids were Dabīl and Gandja. The Shaddādids were allies of the Byzantines and of the Saldjūḳs. In 465/1072 Abū Suwār bought Ānī for his young son Manūče. From this time onwards, the dynasty was divided into two branches: that of Gandja and that of Ānī. In 1124, Ānī was taken by the Georgians but between 520/1126 and 557/1161 and again from 1165 to 1174, Ānī was again held by the Shaddādids. The Shaddādids were enlightened princes and left a number of remarkable buildings. Cf. the articles ARRĀN, DWĪN, GANDJA and SHADDĀD; the Armenian bibliography in Lynch, *Armenia*, i, 363-7; cf. also Barthold in the appendix to his Russian translation of Lane Poole's *Muhammadan dynasties*, St. Petersburg 1899, 294; Barthold, *Pers. nadpis' na ... mečeti Manūče*, Aniyskaya Seriya, No. 5; N, Y. Marr, *Eshče o slove "čelebi"*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1911), 120; E. D. Ross, *On three Muhammadan dynasties*, in *Asia Major*, ii (1925), 215.

In 349/960 a pretender appeared in Ādharbāydjān He was called Isḥāḳ b. 'Īsā, and was supported by Faḍl, chief of the Ḳaḥṭānī (?) Kurds, while his adversary, the Musāfirid Djastān b. Marzubān relied on Hadhbānī support. Isḥāḳ was soon disposed of (*Tadjārib*, ii, 179). The Kurds and the Daylamīs also played a considerable part in the quarrels between Djastān and his brother Nāṣir al-Dawla and between Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān and his cousin Ismā'īl b. Wahsūdān (*Tadjārib*, ii, 219, 229; Kāmil, viii, 420-3).

About 348/959, the second Kurd dynasty arose in al-Djibāl (Zambaur, Manuel, 211) founded by Ḥasanwayh (Ḥasanūya) b. Ḥasan [*q.v.*; cf. also the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 20-3], chief of the Barzīkānī (Barzīnī) tribe, who had assisted the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla on his expedition to Khurasān. Rukn al-Dawla showed great tolerance to the Kurds, and when someone complained to him of their excesses he used to say: "Even the Kurds must live" (*Tadjārib*, ii, 281). Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 519) praises the noble character of Ḥasanwayh, his prudent policy and the purity of his morals. When Ḥasanwayh died in 369/979, in his capital Sarmādj (south of Bīsutūn), 'Aḍud al-Dawla overran his possessions (Hamadān, Dīnawar, Nihāwand) to bring them under his authority, but in the end he granted investiture to Badr b. Ḥasanwayh (369-405/979-1014), who remained loyal to 'Aḍud al-Dawla and even fought against his own brothers who had taken the side of the rebel Fakhr al-Dawla. The caliph gave Badr the title of *Nāṣir al-Dīn wa 'l-Dawla*. The historians give an extremely favourable verdict on Badr; he had his tribe educated, distributed taxation fairly and protected the peasants (Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse*, iii, 287-99, 327; Hilāl b. Muḥassin, in *ibid.*, iii, 429, 449-54; 'Utbī, *Kitāb-i Yamīnī*, tr. Reynolds, 424). Badr's successor Ẓāhir (Ṭāhir?) only reigned a year and in 406/1015 was driven out by the Būyid Shams al-Dawla. Ḥasanwayh's uncle Wandād, chief of the 'Ayshiyya section, died in 349/960, his brother Abu 'l-Ghanā'im died in 350/961, and a little later his son Abū Sālim Daysam, the last of this collateral branch, was dispossessed of his castles (Ḳasān or Ḳasnān [Ḳaslān? near Bābā Yādigār on the Zohāb], Ghānimābād, etc.).

'Aḍud al-Dawla had to deal with the Kurds on several occasions, but he was much more severe with them than his father Rukn al-Dawla. In 368/978 the Kurd Ibn Bādūya with the help of the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib [*q.v.* in Suppl.] became an independent ruler at Ardamusht (= Kawāshī near Djabal-Djūdī, Yāḳūt, i, 199), but soon allowed himself to be seduced by the promises of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (*Tadjārib*, ii, 392). In 369/979 the latter sent an expedition against the Kurds of Shahrizūr whom he wished to separate from the Banū Shaybān Bedouins, who had business and matrimonial ties with them. The town of Shahrizūr was occupied, and the Arabs went back to the desert (*Tadjārib*, ii, 398; *Kāmil*, viii, 516).

Another expedition was sent in 370/980 against the Hakkārī Kurds, who were besieged and surrendered, relying on a promise that their lives would be spared. But the leader of the expedition crucified them along the side of the road for five *farsakhs* between Ma'althāyā and Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, viii, 521).

Even in the lifetime of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, the Ḥumaydī chief, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Dushandj (or Abū Shudjā' Bādh b. Dustāk), known as Bādh, had attained considerable notoriety. At first a shepherd, he gradually rose to be lord of Ardjīsh, Āmid and Mayyāfāriḳīn. A rising in Niṣībīn brought him into conflict with Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. Bādh defeated the latter's forces at Bā-Djulā'iya (on the Khābūr al-Ḥusayniyya in the canton of Kawāshī = Ardamusht), seized Mawṣil and was planning a march on Baghdād to end Būyid rule when he was defeated by Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. He fell back on Mayyāfāriḳīn and, by an arrangement with the captain of the army sent against him, secured possession of Diyārbakr and the western part of Ṭūr

ʿĀbidīn (374/984). Bādh did not relinquish his designs on Mawṣil and in 379/990, having collected a large number of Bashnawī Kurds, encamped under the walls of this town and engaged in negotiations with its inhabitants. But the Ḥamdānid princes, who had just regained possession of their hereditary fief, secured the help of the Banū ʿUḳayl Arabs and attacked the invader. An accident put Bādh *hors de combat* and he was slain. His body was crucified, but the people of Mawṣil obtained his burial with the usual rites because he had fought against the unbelievers (*Kāmil*, ix, 25, 27, 38, 49; Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 83-4, 176-8; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Pococke, 321-3).

In 380-90/990-1000, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla made an attempt to improve his position and with this object, made an alliance with Fūlād b. Mundhir, who was supported by the Kurd cavalry mobilised at Shīrāz. After the failure of the enterprise he sought refuge with the Kurds, but the latter betrayed him and he took refuge with Fakhr al-Dawla, who was notorious for his hatred of the Kurds (Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 184; on Ibn Fūlād, see ʿUtbī, *op. cit.*, 424-5).

The Kurd dynasty of the Marwānids (Zambaur, 136; Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 53-4) is closely connected with Bādh. After the defeat at Mawṣil, Abū ʿAlī b. Marwān b. Dustāk, the son of Bādh's sister and his ally, withdrew to Ḥiṣn Kayfā [*q.v.*] where Bādh's Daylamī wife lived. He married her and took one of the strongholds that had belonged to Bādh. He twice took prisoner Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamdānī who had defeated Bādh, but treated him generously. Ibn Marwān established himself in Diyārbakr and by his conciliatory attitude won the sympathy of the inhabitants. The Marwānids reigned from 380/990 to 489/1096. Their power extended not only over Diyārbakr (Āmid, Arzān, Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ḥiṣn Kayfā) but also to Khilāṭ, Malāzgird, Ardjīsh and the canton to the northeast of Lake Vān. In the west they held Urfa for a time. Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan in 381/991 invaded Syria and took it from the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. He was killed in 387/997 by the people of Diyārbakr, who had rebelled. His brother Abū Manṣūr Mumahhid al-Dawla, who after the death of Bādh had seized Mayyāfāriḳīn, reigned there till 402/1011 (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales moslemici*, ed. Reiske, ii, 569). His brother Abū Naṣr Aḥmad (Ibn Khallikān, i, 157-8) succeeded him and reigned from 402/1011-12 to 453/1061. In 416/1025 he seized Urfa, but the Byzantines re-established their power in 422/1031 (Abu 'l-Faradj, 342). He earned the reputation of being a just and enlightened ruler, and able, though given to pleasure. In 442/1050 Abū Naṣr had to pay homage to the Saldjūḳ Ṭughril Beg. His son and successor Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Naṣr, called Niẓām al-Dawla (453-72/1061-79), shared the power with his brother Saʿīd (d. in 257/1065. He added to his possessions Ḥarrān, Suwaydā, etc. His successor was Manṣūr b. Saʿīd, who nominally reigned from 472-89/1079-96, but by 478/1085 the Saldjūḳ general Fakhr al-Dawla b. Djahīr [see DJAHĪR, BANŪ] had taken almost the whole of his lands, which were placed under the authority of the Atābeg of Mawṣil (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iii, 77-9, 87, 121, 125, 249). On the Marwānids, cf. the special study by H. F. Amedroz, in *JRAS* (1903), 123-54.

On the eve of the Turkish invasions, we find frequent reference to exploits and expeditions of the Kurds. In the reign of the caliph al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031), the historians record the exploit of the Kurd Aḥmad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who killed the Emperor Basil II's general and thus stopped the Byzantine advance (Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 247). Between 366/976-7 and 388/998 the Kurds took part in the struggle between the Būyids and the Ziyārids for the possession of Djurdjān (ʿUtbī, tr. Reynolds, 298-302; Ibn Isfandiyār, abridged tr. E. G. Browne, 226-8). A few years later we find Maḥmūd of Ghazna using Kurds against the Ḳarakhānids (ʿUtbī, 336).

The Kurds took part in the civil wars of the Būyids, in the struggle of the Banū ʿUḳayl for the possession of Mawṣil, etc. In 411/1020 they fought against the Turkish troops who mutinied in Ḥamadān. In 415-20/1024-9 we find them fighting in Fārs and Khūzistān against the last Būyid, Abū Kālidjār (*Kāmil*, ix, 100, 134, 226, 232, 239, 247, 249, 265; Hilāl b. Muḥassin, iii, 348, 376, 381). Thus the Kurdish element was exhausting itself in continual fighting when the Turkish hordes arrived who were destined to modify radically the ethnical aspect of the Near East.

The Turkish conquest. When in 420/1029 the Ghuzz precursors of the Saldjūḳs reached Rayy, Tāsh Farrāsh, the Turkish general of the Ghaznawids, went to meet them with 3,000 horsemen including a number of Kurds. The leader of the Kurds, being captured by the Ghuzz, sent a message to his men to cease fighting. This caused a tumult and Tāsh was killed (*Kāmil*, ix, 268). In the same year the Ghuzz reached Marāgha and executed many Hadhbānī Kurds. The Kurds made an alliance with the ruler of Ādharbāydjān (Wahsūdān II) and the Ghuzz had to retreat. Another body of Ghuzz, after a raid into Armenia, returned to Urmia and the lands of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ Hadhbānī; the Kurds attacked the Ghuzz but suffered a defeat. In 432/1041 the Musāfirid Wahsūdān II b. Mamlān massacred a large number of Ghuzz at Tabrīz; the Ghuzz of Urmia went into Hakkārī, a dependency of Mawṣil, and ravaged the country, but while they were involved in the mountains the Kurds attacked them, killed 1,500 men and took many prisoners and much booty (*Kāmil*, ix, 270-2).

On the approach of Ṭughril Beg's troops, the Ghuzz took fright and pushed onwards. Kurdish guides led them through al-Zawzān to the Djazīra. One section of the Ghuzz under Manṣūr b. Ghuzoghlī remained to the east of the Djazīra, while the other under Būḳā marched on Diyārbakr, and going on pillaged the districts of Ḳardū, Bāzabdā, Ḥusayniyya (Yāḳūt, ii, 270: a town between Mawṣil and Djazīra) and Fēshābūr. The Marwānid Sulaymān b. Naṣr al-Dawla, ruler of Djazīra, persuaded the Ghuzz to wait till the spring before traversing his lands to join the other Ghuzz who had settled in Syria. Then by a ruse he seized Manṣūr, and with the help of the Bashnawī Kurds of Finīk, pursued the Ghuzz. But the latter did not cease their depredations; they ravaged the district of Diyārbakr and seized Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, ix, 272-3).

Meanwhile, the dynasty of the Ḥasanwayhids had perished and the power in Djibāl had passed to a new family the Banū ʿAnnāz (see Zambaur, 212, and ʿANNĀZIDS. The *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 22, has ʿAyyār), which is often called that of Abu 'l-Shawk. Previously in 340/951 during a Turkish rising in Hamadān, the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla had had recourse to the services of Ibn Abi 'l-Shawk, chief of Ḥulwān (*Tadjārib*, ii, 2). The real founder of the dynasty seems to have been Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAnnāz (*Kāmil*, ix, 158) who ruled 380-401/990-1011. His son Abū 'l-Shawk slew the last of the Ḥasanwayhids, Ẓāhir (Ṭāhir) in 406/1015-16. The possessions of the Banū ʿAnnāz included Shahrizūr, Kirmānshāh (occupied in 431/1039-40; *Kāmil*, ix, 300, 316),

Bīlawār, Ṣamghān, Daḳūḳa and Khuftidhakān. In 437, Ṭughril sent his brother Ibrāhīm Yināl to pacify Djibāl. Ibrāhīm drove the Kākūyid Garshāsp out of Hamadān and he sought refuge with the Djūzkān Kurds. At Kirmānshāh there was a garrison of Abu 'l-Shawk's composed of Daylamīs and Shādjandjān Kurds. Kirmānshāh was occupied and Abū Shawk died in 438/1046 at Sirwān. Ibrāhīm took Ṣamīrān (Shamirān? Ṣaymara?) and subjugated the Djuzkān. Saʿdī, son of Abu 'l-Shawk submitted to the Saldjūḳs. The dynasty lasted till 520/1116 (Münedjdjim-bashī).

The defeat of the Emperor Romanus IV at Malāzgird (463/1071) delivered all Armenia into the hands of Alp Arslān. Under the Great Saldjūḳs there arose in Fārs the turbulent dynasty of the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*], but it is very doubtful if this dynasty, the fortunes of which can be traced from 421/1030 to 756/1355, was strictly Kurdish (cf. above). On the other hand, the small Kurd dynasties were ruthlessly wiped out in favour of Turks. In 493/1100 the last Marwānid disappeared in the region of Khilāṭ, where the Turk Suḳmān Ḳuṭbī founded the dynasty of the Shāh Armans which lasted a century until the coming of the Ayyūbids. Under the date 495/1101 Ibn al-Athīr (x, 238) mentions the killing of two thousand Kurds of Surkhāb b. Badr, a scion of the Banū ʿAnnāz, by the Turkomans of Salghūr Ḳarabulī. Other Turkomans later took all the lands of Surkhāb except Shahrizūr, Daḳūḳa and Khuftidhakān. In spite of these crushing blows, the Kurds are often mentioned in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. In his struggle with Ḳāwurd of Kirmān, Malik Shāh employed Kurdish and Arab forces, whom he later rewarded with fiefs at Kirmān (*Kāmil*, x, 53), where there were already colonies of Kurds (cf. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 88; Ibn Khallikān, i, 516). Raids of Kurds took place at Dudjayl, Mārdīn etc. in 496/1103, 498/1105 and 503/1109-10. In Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh's campaign against Syria (504/1110) there took part the lord of Marāgha, Aḥmadīl b. Wahsūdhān, a Kurd of the tribe of Rawwādī (cf. *Kāmil*, x, 391) and the "Shāh of Armenia" Suḳmān. The campaign was a fiasco, and the Kurds left to lay siege to the Turk Suḳmān (*Recueil des hist. des Croisades, docum. orientaux*, iii, 542, 599).

During this period we often find the Kurds mentioned in Syria, where they came into contact with the Franks (cf. Derenbourg, *Ousāma b. Munḳidh*). Under Sandjar the province of Kurdistān was formed out of the western part of Djibāl. Sulaymān, the nephew of Sandjar, became its ruler with Bahār (to the north-east of Hamadān) as its capital. The province was in a flourishing state. In the reign of Sandjar also the Kurds took part in the troubles of 513/1119. In 516/1122 a punitive expedition passed through the Hakkārī, Zawzān and Bashnawī districts (*Kāmil*, x, 374, 377, 426), but shortly afterwards the Kurds seized the stronghold of the Christian patriarch at Ṭūr ʿĀbidīn (Assemani, *Bibl. or.*, ii, 221).

The Atābaks of Mawṣil. The Atābaks, the immediate neighbours of central Kurdistān, played an important part there. ʿImād al-Dīn al-Zangī several times invaded Kurd territory. In 528/1134 he took Ṭanza (on the left bank of the Bokhtān) and to punish the Ḥumaydīs, who had supported the caliph Mustarshid when he was besieging Mawṣil, seized their fortresses, al-ʿAḳr, Shūsh, etc. (Shams al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 666-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiya*, in *ibid.*, ii, 87). Abu 'l-Haydjā', lord of Arbīl, Āshib, etc., submitted to Zangī (was he perhaps a Hakkārī? At this period this tribe lived south of the territory which now bears its name; cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 203). After the death of Abi 'l-Haydjā', Zangī intervened in the quarrels among his successors, seized Āshib and dismantled its defences; the fort of Djalāb received the name of ʿAmādiya (= ʿImādiya, in honour of ʿImād al-Dīn). In 534/1139 Zangī took Shahrizūr from Ḳifdjāḳ b. Arslān Tāsh the Turkoman. In 537/1142 he sent a new expedition against the Hakkārī and took the fortress of al-Shaʿbānī (= Āshib?), which he rebuilt. In 538/1143-4 Īrūn and Khīzān were taken (Shams al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 685). ʿAlī, lord of al-Rābiya (cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 284, Rābiya-bulāk?), Faraḥ and Alḳa (Elk?) joined Zangī of his own accord. The last expedition of Zangī was against the Bashnawī of Fanak (Finīk), but the siege of this town was raised on the death of the Atābak in 541/1146: (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiyya*, in *Recueil*, ii, 86, 114, 129, 188). Karādja Tādjna, *muḳtaʿ* (?) of Hakkārī, who was sent in 547/1152-3 by the Atābak of Mawṣil against the Atābak of Ādharbāydjān, seems to have been a Turk foreign to the tribe.

Later, after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (589/1193), the Zangids consolidated their position in central Kurdistān. In 607/1211 ʿImād al-Dīn, a younger son of Arslān Shāh Zangī, received as a fief the strongholds of the Ḥumaydīs (ʿAḳr and Shūsh). In 615/1218 the same prince seized ʿAmādiya and "the remainder of the fortresses of the Hakkārī and Zawzān" which were ceded to him by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbürī of Arbīl (Abu 'l-Faradj, 433, 438). It must have been these events that caused the Hakkārī to be driven back towards the lands at the sources of the Great Zāb.

The Artuḳids [*q.v.*], Atābaks of Diyārbakır, several times came into conflict with the Kurds (Abu 'l-Fidā', iii, 583; Usāma, i, 321). The ʿAbbāsid caliphs, freeing themselves from the tutelage of their protectors, negotiated with the Kurds (cf. the case of ʿĪsā Ḥumaydī in 528/1134, and *Kāmil*, xi, 7, 188) and sought to weaken the Turks. In 581/1185 under the caliph al-Nāṣir, a minor incident resulted in a war between the Kurds and the Turkomans (*Kāmil*, iii, 342) which extended over a vast area (Syria, Diyārbakır, Djazīra, Mawṣil, Shahrizūr, Khilāṭ and Ādharbāydjān). Two years later the rivals stopped fighting in order to join against the Christians of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia, but new feuds soon broke out between the Kurds and Turkomans. After many fierce battles, the Kurds fought their way back into Cilicia. The Turks practically exterminated the Kurds of Cilicia and Syria. As the Kurds on leaving their old homes had entrusted their goods to their Christian neighbours, and as the Christians concealed some Kurds, the Turks finally fell upon the Christians at Thelmuzen(?) and Arabthil (= Arabgir?) (Michael the Syrian, in *Recueil, doc. armen.*, 395).

The Ayyūbids. The Kurdish origins of this remarkable dynasty are well-established (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 55-82). The Armenian historian Hayton (Hethum) says on this point: "Postea vero Sarraceni amiserunt dominium Egipti et Medi, qui Cordins vulgariter dicebantur, regni Egipti dominium occupaverunt", *Recueil, docs. arm.*, ii, 225, 343). The grandfather of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Shādhī b. Marwān was a Rawādī Kurd (Rāwadī, Rawanda, a clan of the Hadhbānī) of Dwīn [*q.v.*]; see Minorsky, *Prehistory of Saladin*, in *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 107-57.

The important fact is that it was from Dwīn that the Shaddādī dynasty had come, the memories of which must have been still alive in the time of Shādhī Ayyūb [see AYYŪBIDS] and Shīrkūh [*q.v.*], son

of Shādhī, were born in the old home (the village of Adjdanakān). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [q.v.] was born at Takrīt, but Kurd traditions were certainly familiar to him through his father and uncle. The persistence of Iranian names in the Ayyūbid family is significant. Nevertheless, the scene of the main activities of the dynasty was Egypt and Syria. The families of the old Saldjūḳ Atābaks, even when they became vassals of the Ayyūbids, continued to rule in Diyārbakr (Artuḳids), Mawṣil (Zangids) and Arbīl (the Begteginids, at first deputies of the Zangids). By the treaty of 585/1187 with ʿIzz al-Dīn Zangī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn annexed only Aleppo and Shahrizūr (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiyya*, in *Recueil*, ii, 334; *Kāmil*, xi, 340; Bahāʾ al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 85). In 585/1189 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave Shahrizūr to his *mamlūk* Keshtoghdī (?), a relative of Yaʿḳūb b. Ḳifdjāḳ. The only independent way by which the Ayyūbids penetrated into Kurdistān was that of Khilāṭ. This district was at first conquered by Taḳī al-Dīn in 587/1191 (*Kāmil*, xii, 40), but it was only after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn that his nephew al-Malik al-Awḥad Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb installed himself there in 604/1207. Later, Khilāṭ passed to his brother Ashraf, who assumed the title "Shāh Arman", and finally to the third brother Muẓaffar who ruled there till 642/1244. The peace of this fief was several times broken by invasions of Georgians, of the Khwārazm-Shāh and of the Mongols. The Georgian troops who were operating round Khilāṭ at this time were commanded by the Armenian princes Zakaré and Iwané, whose genealogies make them descendants of the *Khel Babirakān*, i.e. of the Kurd tribe of Bāpīrakān; cf. Marr in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1911), 120.

The Ayyūbid forces were composed mainly of Turks, but the Kurdish element was by no means negligible. In 583/1187 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn addressed an appeal for a holy war to the Kurds on the upper Tigris. The Djazīra forces were disbanded in 584/1188, but the Diyārbakr detachments and particular tribes are often mentioned. These Kurds were sometimes on bad terms with the Turkomans (Bahāʾ al-Dīn, in *Recueill*, iii, 86, 313, 381).

Kurds were numerous in the civil and military service of the Ayyūbids, but very often they acted against the dynasty's interests. When Shīrkūh died, there were Kurds who opposed the appointment of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his successor (Ibn Khallikān, iv, 494).

An important part was played by the family of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ [Hadhbānī], hereditary chief of Arbīl (?). He directed the defence of ʿAkkā against the Crusaders and was appointed *isfahsālār* of the army and governor of Jerusalem. In 592/1196 he was transferred to Baghdād: he conducted an expedition against Hamadān and died at Daḳūḳa. His nephew Ḳuṭb al-Dīn built the Ḳuṭbiyya *madrasa* in Cairo. Another Kurd, of the tribe of Hakkārī, Sayf al-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-Mashṭūb, succeeded Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ at ʿAkkā. His descendants had exciting careers; his son Aḥmad ended his days in the prison of Ḥarrān; his grandson, the Ḳāḍī ʿImād al-Dīn plotted against al-Kāmil and had to go into exile.

The Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn. In 614/1217 the Kurds of Zagros inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Khwārazm-Shāh sent from Hamadān to Baghdād. Djalāl al-Dīn's operation against Khilāṭ (623-6/1226-9) disorganised the life of the country, and the Kurds were decimated by famine (*Kāmil*, xii, 207, 308). Defeated and pursued by the Mongols, Djalāl al-Dīn took refuge among the Kurds of Diyārbakr and in 628/1231 was killed, probably by one of them (Djuwaynī, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, ii, 190; *Kāmil*, xii, 325; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 62). In 634/1237 again the remnants of the Khwārazm hordes traversed and plundered the region of Kharpūt (Abu 'l-Faradj, 477). After the death of Djalāl al-Dīn, the Mongols laid waste the region of Diyārbakr and Khilāṭ. Another horde had descended from Marāgha on Arbīl; this latter region was three times invaded. In 645/1245, Shahrizūr was laid waste and in 650/1252 Diyārbakr.

The Mongol Īlkhāns. The Kurds are rarely mentioned under the Īlkhāns. As these rulers—at first pagans and later Muslims—were on good terms with the Christians, and the latter had sufficient causes of complaint against their Muslim neighbours, the Kurds so recently involved in the wars of the Ayyūbids had to remain confined to their mountains and to hope for success for the enemies of the Mongols.

The province of "Kurdistān" formed in the time of the Saldjūḳs, the capital of which was Bahār (near Hamadān), was conquered by Malik b. Tūdān, father of the celebrated Amīr Čoban. Leaving Hamadān in 655/1257, Hūlāgū marched on Baghdād. At Kirmānshāh the Mongols began to murder and plunder (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 225, 255, 267). Before the capture of Baghdād, Hūlāgū sent troops to take Arbīl. The governor of this stronghold, Tādj al-Dīn Ṣalāba (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 261), submitted to the Mongols, but the Kurd garrison refused to follow his example. Arbīl was taken with the help of the Atābak of Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ (d'Ohsson, iii, 256). The taking of Baghdād resulted in the depopulation of Shahrizūr [q.v.], and its Kurd inhabitants, according to Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, left for Syria and Egypt (cf. d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, iii, 309, 330, 337). An echo of these events is found in the appearance in Algeria of two Kurd tribes: Lawēn and Babīn (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, ii, 461, iii, 413).

Returning to Ādharbāydjān, Hūlāgū set out for Syria in 657/1259. In the Hakkārī country, the Mongols put all the Kurds they found to the sword (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 328). Djazīra, Diyārbakr, Mayyāfāriḳīn (held by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn) and Mārdīn were taken in succession. After the death of the Atābak Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, who had remained faithful to Hūlāgū, his son Ṣāliḥ went over to the side of Baybars, Sulṭān of Egypt, and received confirmation of his investiture from him. The Kurds around Mawṣil at once fell upon the Christians. The garrison of Mawṣil consisting of Kurds, Turkomans and Shūls, courageously resisted the Mongols.

In Syria also the Kurds threw in their lot with the Mamlūks. In his letter to the Khān Berke, Baybars boasts of the number of his troops, who were Turks, Kurds and Arabs (d'Ohsson, iii, 385). In the time of Abaḳa, the Armenian Hayton tells how after an invasion of Egyptian troops (before 677/1278) the Kurds took 5,000 houses of Kurds (Gordins) living in northern Syria (*Recueil, docs. armén.*, ii, 179). But after the defeat of the Mongols in 680/1281, a body of Muslim troops, made up of Turkomans and Kurds, laid waste Cilicia. The rare cases in which Kurds are found allied to the Mongols were generally in distant Fārs. Under Öldjeytü there were Kurds in the troops that invaded Gīlān in 706/1306-7. A little later a Kurd, Mūsā, who had proclaimed himself the *mahdī* of the Shīʿīs, was executed by Öldjeytü. In 712/1312-13 Badr al-Dīn, the Kurd lord of Raḥba, resisted the Mongols.

The Kurd provinces were governed by the Mongol *amīrs*. The fighting in Arbīl never ceased. The

"Ḳayači", Christian highlanders, forming part of the Mongol army and stationed in Arbīl, brought a charge against their chief Zayn al-Dīn Bālū and came into conflict with the Kurds, whom the Arabs supported. Incidents began in 696/1297 but the situation came to a height in 710/1310. With great difficulty, the Mongols drove the Christians out of the citadel. The Mongols had summoned the Kurds to help them in the siege, but their *amīrs*, who were friendly with the Christians, wanted to use the Kurds to prevent the massacre of the Christians by the Arabs. The massacre took place, but the Kurds had no share in it (*Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, tr. J. B. Chabot, Paris 1895, 152-77).

The country between Marāgha and Arbīl was a kind of high road for the Mongol armies; at this time the country south of Lake Urmia was still for the most part occupied by Turks and Mongols (cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ).

The capital of the province of "Kurdistān" under Öldjeytü was moved from Bahār to Sulṭānābād (of Čamčamāl). The extent to which the province had suffered may be judged from the statement of the Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (ed. Le Strange, 107), according to which its revenues were reduced to one-tenth of what they were under the Saldjūḳs.

When the Īlkhāns had disappeared, two families of Mongol chiefs of the tribes of Sulduz [*q.v.*] and Djalāyir [*q.v.*] became rivals for power. By virtue of the division of the fiefs between "the two Ḥasans" (in 738/1338), (Persian) Kurdistān and Khūzistān returned to the children of the *amīr* Akrandj or Akrash (?). In 784-5/1382-3 the Djalāyir Bāyazīd carved a fief for himself out of Persian Kurdistān and ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī (Zambaur, *Manuel*, 253, and d'Ohsson, iv, 747).

Table of the Kurd tribes in the time of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns. The Mongol conquest had completely eclipsed the political part played by the Kurd tribes, but in Egypt, where the Mamlūk Sulṭāns were cherishing secret plans against the Īlkhāns, much interest was taken in the fate of this Muslim element. The *Masālik al-abṣār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1348) shows how exactly the chancelleries of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns were informed about Kurd affairs. According to al-ʿUmarī, there were Kurds near al-ʿIrāḳ and al-Diyār al-ʿArab and in Syria and Yemen. The mountain country (al-Djibāl) inhabited by the Kurds began near Hamadān and ended in Cilicia (*bilād al-Takfūr*); to the west of the Tigris the Kurds of al-Djazīra and Mārdīn were at the mercy of all their neighbours. At Mārdīn, however, a certain Ibrāhīm al-ʿArs Bālū (?) had shortly before then proclaimed himself independent and had attained considerable power. The author then gives a list of twenty tribes living between Hamadān and the part of al-Djazīra that lies between Mawṣil and Kawār (cf. Kēwar in the *Sharaf-nāma*):

1. The Gūrānī, who were warriors and agriculturists (*djund wa-raʿiyya*).

2. The Gilālī (cf. the mountain called Galāla among the Sohrān; *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 286, and Rich, *Narrative*, i, 123: *Ghellali*). A portion of this tribe migrated to Syria. Their prince Sharaf al-Dīn was governor of Arbīl under the Mongols, but was killed by a Mongol.

3. The Zangalī (Zangana?).

4. The Kūsa and the Mabir (??) of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*] migrated to Syria and Egypt.

5. The Sabūlī (Sutūnī?), lived in Shahrizūr and Ushnū. Near them lived the Ḳartāwī (? cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 207).

6. The Ḥasnānī (Khushnāwī?), several thousand in number, divided into three branches, one of which living at Karkār alongside of the Ḳartāwi (?) levied tolls on the pass Darband-i Karabolī (the defile of the Little Zāb; cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 263).

7. Near Karḥīn (= Kirkūk?) and Daḳūḳ lived a tribe of 700 men.

8. A tribe living "between two mountains" (*bayn al-djabalayn*) on the territory of Arbīl in winter sought the good graces of the Mongols, and in summer assisted the invasions of Egyptian troops.

9. The Māzandjān [?] to the number of 500 lived near Arbīl and Māzandjān, Nērwa and Bēkhma (these two latter cantons are situated on the Great Zāb east of ʿAḳr). The chiefs of Māzandjān also ruled the related tribe of the Ḥumaydī (of which there were 1,000 men). The chief of the Māzandjān called Kak had received the title Mubāriz al-Dīn from the ʿAbbāsids. The Mongols divided his lands into two and Kak remained *nāʾib* of Arbil. He was dispossessed for a time under Arghūn, but according to the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* of al-Ḳalḳashandī, his sons and his grandsons retained their fief (ʿAḳr and Shūsh).

10. Near Tell Ḥaftūn was the land of the numerous Sohrī tribe (Sohrān).

11. Their neighbours were the Zarzārī ("children of gold"). They also possessed Malāzgird (= Rūbār-i Barāzgird) and Rustāḳ (the southern part of Shamdīnān).

12. The Djūlāmerg, of Umayyad origin, numbered 3,000 men.

13. The Kurds of the district of Markawān (read Margawar) were allies of their Djūlāmergī and Zarzārī neighbours.

14. Near Djūlāmerg was the canton of Gawār.

15. Near Djūlāmerg beside ʿAḳr and ʿAmādiya was the canton of Zibārī inhabited by 500 men.

16. The Hakkārī lived at ʿAmādiya and numbered 4,000 men.

17. Near the Hakkārī beside Mardj were the Djabal al-ʿAmrānī and the cave of Kahf Dāwūd where lived the Besītkī (??).

18. Near Djūlāmerg towards Mawṣil lived the Bokhtī, rivals of the Ḥumaydī.

19. The Dāsinī had been very numerous, but their chief Badr al-Dīn came down to more accessible country and there were no more than 1,000 Dāsini in the province of Mawṣil; 500 Dāsini lived at ʿAḳr.

20. The Dumbūlī (?) inhabited the high mountains.

To this information given by the *Masālik*, the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, basing itself on *al-Tathḳīf* composed by Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Nāẓir al-Djaysh about 748/1347, adds a list of 25 Kurd chiefs with whom the chancelleries of Cairo were in correspondence.

Tīmūr and the Turkoman dynasties. After the Mongols, the rival Turkoman dynasties extended their power over Kurdistān. This period, of which little is yet accurately known, was of considerable importance for the Kurds. The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu dynasties penetrated into the heart of Kurdistān, involved the Kurd tribes in political and religious quarrels (cf. the extremist Shīʿa of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu) and provoked considerable movements of the population: it was at this period that the Mukrī Kurds seized the country south of the Lake of Urmia [cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ]. In contrast to this, the conquest by Tīmūr which temporarily swept aside the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu had only a transitory character.

Many incidents in the history of Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Djazīra between 796-897/1393-1491 are recorded in the Syriac Chronicle (written at Haytam) published

by Behnsch, *Rerum seculo XV in Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838.

Tīmūr had to deal with the Kurds in his campaigns of 796/1394 and 803/1400-1. After overrunning Baghdād and Diyārbakr, Tīmūr attacked Djazīra, which was destroyed. The dependencies of Djazīra were likewise conquered. Tīmūr next crossed the mountains separating Diyārbakr from Mūsh and gave a favourable reception to Sharaf al-Dīn of Bidlīs "renowned for his kindness and justness throughout all Kurdistān". In 803/1400-1 Tīmūr returned from Baghdād to Ādharbāydjān and on the way was attacked by the Kurds.

After the death of Tīmūr, Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳara Koyunlu [see ḲARĀ ḲOYUNLU] returned to Kurdistān and sought refuge at first with Shams al-Dīn of Bidlīs. He gave him his daughter and with his assistance re-established his power. In 820/1417 Ḳara Yūsuf by a *nishān* confirmed the princes of Bidlīs in their possessions. When in 824/1421, Shāhrukh, son of Tīmūr, arrived in Armenia, homage was done to him by Shams al-Dīn of Bidlīs, Malik Muḥammad Hakkārī, Malik Khalīl of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, the *amīrs* of Khīzān, etc. The Kurds of Khoy also remained loyal to Shāhrukh's governor (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, in, *Notices et extraits*, xiv, 153).

The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] (the Bayandur dynasty) whose principal centre was in Diyārbakr, conducted a systematic policy of exterminating the great Kurd families (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 164: *istiṣāl-i khānawādahā-yi Kurdistān*), and in general they persecuted tribes who had compromised themselves by their attachment to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, like the great tribe of Čamishgezek. Uzun Ḥasan's generals Ṣūfī Khalīl and ʿArab Shāh conquered Hakkārī, which was later taken for a brief period by the Dumbulī tribe from Boltān. In 875/1470 (cf. Behnsch, *op. cit.*, 14) Djazīra passed entirely into the power of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, who appointed their own governor Čalabī Beg, whose merits are recognised even by the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 123. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu general Sulaymān b. Bīzan drove out of Bidlīs the Ibrāhīm Khān who was later put to death by Yaʿḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan.

The Ṣafawid Shāhs and the Ottoman Sulṭāns. Shāh Ismāʿīl had invaded Armenia at the beginning of his war with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. After the battle of Sharūr (907/1502) he won all the country between Baghdād and Marʿash. Ismāʿīl I's policy with regard to the Kurds did not differ from that of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Like the latter, the Shāh relied on the Turkoman tribes, but being a zealous extreme Shīʿī (cf. KHAṬĀʾĪ in *EI*[1]) he was still more predisposed against the Sunnī Kurds. When eleven Kurd chiefs presented themselves at Khoy to pay homage, Ismāʿīl imprisoned most of them and appointed in their stead governors chosen from the Ḳizil-bash tribes.

Henceforth, for about three centuries Kurdistān became the arena for the struggle between the Ottoman Sulṭāns and the Shāhs of Persia. The defeat of Čāldirān [*q.v.*] (920/1514) was a terrible blow to the prestige of the new Persian dynasty. In spite of the temporary successes of the successors of Shāh Ismāʿīl, their conquests never attained the importance of his early victories and Persian territory west of the Zagros melted away. Ismāʿīl's attempt to thrust Persian governors upon the Kurds was a marked contrast to the Ottoman policy instituted by the able Ḥakīm Idrīs, himself a Kurd, which aimed at giving Kurdistān a feudal organisation securing the predominance of the Kurd nobility.

The battle of Čāldirān deeply affected Kurdistān. Malik Khalīl (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 155), the dispossessed prince of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, had regained possession of Siʿird and was trying to regain his hereditary fief. Muḥammad Beg of Ṣāṣūn was fighting against the Persians. Aḥmad Beg of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ḳāsim Beg of Agīl, Djamshīd Beg of Pālū, had declared in favour of the Ottomans. The governor of Djazīra had succeeded in repulsing the Persians from Mawṣil. Saʿīd Beg Sohrān had taken Arbīl and Kirkūk. Some twenty other chiefs were wavering in their loyalty to the Persians. A personal visit by Idrīs to all these chiefs won 25 of them over to the Sulṭān.

Whem Selīm had left Tabrīz, Ismāʿīl sent reinforcements to Diyārbakır and Ḥiṣn Kayfā. Idrīs summoned to his flag the Kurd levies and defeated Kurd Beg, a former Persian governor of Kurdistān. The Kurds of Diyārbakır resisted the Persian attack until help arrived from Bīyīḳlī Meḥmed Pasha. Bīyīḳlī and Idrīs met at Ḥiṣn Kayfā and defeated the Persians. Then, reinforced by 5,000 Kurds (from ʿAmādiya?), the Turks relieved Diyārbakır and took Mārdīn, except for the citadel which remained in Persian hands. The Persian commander then executed a successful diversion from Baghdād and Kirkūk and the people of Mārdīn drove out the Kurds and invited the Persians to re-occupy the town. The two armies met on the Niṣībīn-Urfa road. The Persians were defeated, and Bīyīḳlī forced Sulaymān Khān, who was still at Mārdīn, to surrender. The occupation of Niṣībīn, Dārā, Mayyāfāriḳīn, Diyārbakır and Sindjār followed and Idrīs completed the administrative organisation of the *sandjaḳ*. In the province of Diyārbakır eleven *sandjaḳs* were put under Turkish officials and eight under Kurds (*Akrād beyligi*). The *wālīs* confirmed the investitures of the new begs, but the latter were always chosen from the same family. Five hereditary *ḥukūmats* (*Kurd ḥukūmeti*) retained their dynasties with the transmission of power direct from father to son (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in d. moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, chs. ii and iv, quoting ʿAyn-i ʿAlī Müʾedhdhin-zāde who wrote at the beginning of the 11th/17th century). A similar system was later applied throughout Kurdistān from Malāṭiya to Bāyazīd and Shahrizūr (cf. below the *Sharaf-nāma*, and the very interesting remarks of Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 176-80, 271-316, on the 37 *sandjaḳs* joined to Vān by the law of Sulaymān I and the order of march of the local army). Only the province of Kirmānshāh remained to the Persians. Idrīs was liberally rewarded and the *firmāns* of investiture were sent him with the spaces left blank for him to fill in the names of the recipients (von Hammer, *GOR*[2], i, 749).

In 936/1530 Shāh Ṭahmāsp recovered Baghdād from Dhu 'l-Faḳār, a Kurd of the tribe of Mūṣlū (Moṣullu?). A long series of wars began again. Sulṭān Sulaymān led armies against Persia in 1533, 1534, 1535, 1548, 1553 and 1554. In this last year the Baghdād troops conquered the Kurds of Belḳās and Shahrizūr while the Persians were occupied in Georgia (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii, 236).

By the peace of 999/1590 ʿAbbās I had to cede to the Turks the western provinces, including Ādharbāydjān, Shahrizūr and Luristān (*ibid.*, ii, 559) but in 1010/1061 fighting was resumed and by the peace of 1021/1612 Persia regained possession of the lost provinces, except Shahrizūr (*ibid.*, ii, 745). Shāh ʿAbbās transported 15,000 Kurds to the frontier of Khurāsān to serve as a bulwark against the Turkomans.

Towards the end of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, Turkish efforts were concentrated on Baghdād.

During Ḥāfiẓ Pasha's first campaign (1012/1623) his army included the Kurdistān troops. The Kurds fought bravely. The Persians, having defeated the attackers, sent punitive columns to Mārdīn. After the death of Shāh ʿAbbās, the grand vizier Khosrew Pasha [*q.v.*] advanced on Baghdād in 1039/1629. Sayyid Khān of ʿAmādiya, Mīra Beg Sohrān and the mixed Kurdi-Arab tribe of Bādjilān took the side of Khosrew Pasha, while Aḥmad Khān Ardalān threatened the Turkish flank. Khosrew Pasha advanced as far as Sinna [*q.v.*] and Hamadān. On their way back, the Turks defeated at Čamčamāl and Dartang a Persian force. Baghdād still held out, and when Khosrew Pasha had retired, Aḥmad Khān Ardalān reoccupied Shahrizūr (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, iii, 17, 23, 49, 86, 93). Not till 1048/1638 did Murād IV finally take Baghdād, and in the next year the treaty was signed with Persia which *grosso modo* fixed the Turco-Persian frontier down to the 19th century (*Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā*, i, 686). Persia was now completely behind the Zagros chain.

The great struggle between the Ṣafawīs and Ottomans made the Kurds conscious of their political importance. The *Sharaf-nāma* has preserved for us an accurate picture of the feudal life of the Kurd tribes and principalities at the height of its development about 1005/1596.

Sharaf-nāma. This book by the chief of Bidlīs, Sharaf al-Dīn [see BIDLĪSĪ], finished in 1005/1596, occupies an exceptional place among the sources for Kurdish history. The history of the Kurds in the strict sense (vol. i. in Véliaminof-Zernof's edition) is divided into four parts (*ṣaḥīfa*): the first of these deals with those Kurd dynasties which have actually enjoyed the privilege of royalty (*salṭanat*); the second with those whose members have sometimes had coins struck and the *khuṭba* recited in their name; the third enumerates the families of hereditary governors (*ḥukkām*) and the fourth is devoted to a detailed history of the chiefs of Bidlīs. Part i. gives five dynasties, the Marwānids [*q.v.*] of Diyārbakr and Djazīra, the Ḥasanwayhids [*q.v.*] of Dinawar and Shahrizūr; the Faḍlūyids of the Great Lur [see LUR-I BUZURG], the princes of little Lur [see LUR-I KŪČIK] and the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*].

As the distinction between the second and third class of princes is rather subtle and the order in which Sharaf al-Dīn enumerates the dynasties is quite arbitrary, it is better to arrange these dynasties according to the geographical position of the fiefs, taking Djazīrat ibn ʿUmar as the centre. This list will be followed by that of the Kurd tribes in Persia. The fiefs of the second class (including Bidlīs) will be marked with an asterisk (*).

Sharaf al-Dīn distinguished as far as possible between the tribes and the families of their chiefs, and it is necessary always to bear in mind the bases of feudal organisation in Kurdistān. Chiefs of varied origins rule the Kurdish, Kurdicised and Christian tribes, with the help of warlike Kurd tribes (*ʿashīrat*), which are sometimes settled, sometimes nomad or rather semi-nomad.

Group A. Between Djazīra and Darsim:

1. The chiefs of Djazīra* claimed Umayyad origin, but gave as their ancestor Khālid b. al-Walīd. In such confused genealogies we have a combination of memories of the Kurd alliances of the Umayyads with the local cult of the descendants of the famous general Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v*], whose tombs are shown near Siʿird (Hartmann, *Bohtān*, 19, 124). These chiefs were at first Yazīdīs and only later became converted to be orthodox Sunnīs. After the death of Sulaymān b. Khālid his three sons divided his possessions: Djazīra fell to Mīr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Gurgīl to Mīr Ḥādjdjī Beg and Finīk to Mīr Abdāl. These three branches each kept their own fiefs in later times.

The *Sharaf-nāma* refers to the possessions of this family as *wilāyet-i Bokhtī* (i, 320), and enumerates in detail but without system the 14 *nāḥiyas* forming this important fief: Gurgīl, Arwakh, Pirūz, Bādān and Ṭanzē (Kalhūk) occupied by the tribe Kārsī; Finīk; Tūr, Haytam (Hethum) and Shākh inhabited by the Christians; Nīsh Atil; Aramshāt the tribe of which (Brāspī) is the chief among those of Bokht; Kēwar or Ḳamīz (?); Dayr-dih which belongs to Ṭanzē.

In spite of the careful study by M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, in *Mitteil. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.* (1896), No. 2, and (1897), No. 1, 1-163, the localisation of some of these places is not quite certain.

The fief of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar lay between the right bank of the Bohtān and the Tigris. It did not include the sources of the Bohtān. Towards the east, the neighbours of the Bokhtī were the Sindiyān (cf. under ʿAmādiya) settled on the Khābūr.

2. The ancestors of the rulers of Khīzān, Isbāyerd (Sparhet, Ispert; in Ewliyā Čelebi: Isbaʿird) and Muks (Mukus) were three brothers who came from Balīdjān (Khnis) in the time of the Saldjūḳs *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 217). The tribe of the principal fief was Namīran; this fief lay along the right bank tributaries of the Bohtān and stretched as far as Marwānān.

3. Shīrwān (on the right bank of the Bohtān below Khizān and north-east of Siʿird). The ancestors of the "Shīrawī" chiefs were in the services of the Ayyūbids and came to Shīrwān at the same time as the "Malikān" to Ḥiṣn Kayfā. The Shīrawī played even the rôle of viziers by the Malikān (*op. cit.*, i 155). The capital of Shīrwān was Kufrā. The other dependencies were Āwīl, Shabistān (also called, Garni = Kirnik?) and Īrūn.

Bidlīs. The Rozagī (Rozagī) tribe is said to have taken its name from the fact that 24 clans, assembled one day (*rūzī*) in the village of Ṭāb in the canton of Khoyt (now the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Modkī west of Bidlīs), and formed a confederation which later became divided into two sections: Bilbāsī and Ḳawālīsī. Sharaf al-Dīn (i, 361) enumerates the 24 (read 25) clans of Rūzagī, of which five were old settlers and the others newcomers: Bilbāsī (10 clans) and Ḳawālīsī (10 clans).

The Rūzagī took Bidlīs and Ḥāzo (Ṣāṣūn) from the Georgian king Tāvīt (David the Curopalatus, 984-1001?). Later they brought from Akhlāṭ two brothers of Sāsānid origin. One became chief at Bidlīs and the other at Ṣāṣūn. 18 chiefs of the line of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn had ruled at Bidlīs before 1005/1596. The only interruptions took place under the Saldjūḳs (534-76/1139-80) under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (871-900/1467-95), under Shāh Ismāʿīl (913-20?/1507-14?) and between 941/1534-5 and 986/1578. In this last year Sulṭān Sulaymān wanted to exchange the hereditary fief of Amīr Shams al-Dīn for that of Malāṭiya. Shams al-Dīn had to leave Bidlīs, but fearing new intrigues, went to the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who treated him with generosity. Shams al-Dīn died in Persia in 965/1558. His son Sharaf al-Dīn, born in exile in 940/1533-4, was carefully educated at the court (the Shāh even had him taught painting). He ruled several Persian provinces in succession, and was appointed chief of all the Persian Kurds. After the accession to the throne of Ismāʿīl II, Sharaf al-Dīn fell under suspicion

and was sent to Nakhčuwān. From there he succeeded in reaching Vān and received from Murād I investiture for Bidlīs, to which Mūsh was added in 991/1583. For the year 1065/1655 Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 81-121) gives us a detailed description of Bidlīs. The last prince of Bidlīs, Sharaf Beg, was dispossessed by the Turks in 1849 (Lynch, *Armenia*, ii, 149).

The rulers of Ṣāṣūn (Ḥāzo) were called ʿIzzīn from their ancestor ʿIzz al-Dīn, brother of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn of Bidlīs. The *ʿashīrats* of Ṣāṣūn were at first Shīrawī, Bābūsī, Sūsānī and Ṭamūkī. The Rūzakī [see BIDLĪS] arrived afterwards; later, after the annexation of Arzan the clans of that district Khālidī, Dayr Mughānī, ʿAzīzān, who had at first belonged to Ḥiṣn Kayfā, came to join those of Ṣāṣūn.

6. The Suwaydī chiefs claimed a Barmakī origin. Their ancestors were adopted by the Suwaydī tribe. The hereditary fief of the Suwaydī was Gandj (this should be read for *Kīkh* in Véliaminof-Zernof, i, 260).

7. The Pāzūkī tribe, which Sharaf al-Dīn places among the tribes of Persia (i, 328), is said to have been of Suwaydī origin. According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 328, it had no definite religion and showed signs of heresy (*rafḍ wa-ilḥād*). The tribe was divided into two branches, Khālid-beglu and Sheker-beglu, and one was under the Amīrs of Bidlīs. Khālid received as fiefs Khnis, Malāzgird and the canton of Uḥkān (?) of Mūsh. They grew so pround that they thought of proclaiming their independence. After the battle of Čāldirān, the Suwaydī dispossessed the Pāzūkī from many of their fiefs (*ibid.*, i, 257). In the time of Shāh Tahmāsp, Ḳīlīdj Beg, appointed chief of the Pāzūkī, received Zagam (near Tiflis). Later, Pāzūkī were transferred to Alashkert, where the tribe increased.

8. The Mirdāsī chiefs (*Mirdesī* in the *Selīm-nāma*) claimed to be descended from the ʿAbbāsids. Their ancestor was a religious leader who came from Hakkārī to Agīl and whose disciples the Mirdāsī became. The tribe themselves said they were of Arab origin, being Banū Kilāb from around Aleppo, who migrated about 420/1029 as a result of troubles with the Fāṭimids [see KILĀB B. RABĪʿA and MIRDĀSIDS]. The main one of the three branches, the Bulduḳānī, lived at Agīl; it maintained good relations with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, but under Shāh Ismāʿīl, Agīl was occupied by the Persians. Of the two other branches of the Mirdāsī, one ruled at Pālū, at Bāghin (below Kighī) and at Kharpūt, and the other first at Bardandj and later at Djarmūk (south of Arghanamaʿdan).

9. The rulers of Čamishgezek claimed to be of ʿAbbāsid descent, but their names rather show a Turkish origin (Saldjūḳ). Their *ʿashīrat* was called Malkīshī (Malik-Shāhī?). There were about 1,000 hearths of Malkīshī in the Persian service (in Persia?). The lands of the Malkīshī were so numerous that the name *Kurdistān* had become synonymous with Čamishzezek (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 163). They kept them in the Mongol period, under Tīmūr and Ḳara Yūsuf, but the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu did all they could to weaken the tribes faithful to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and sent the Turkish tribe to Kharbandalu against Čamishgezek. Shaykh Ḥasan drove out the Kharbandalu and submitted to Shāh Ismāʿīl. The latter put a Persian governor in his place. Selīm I restored the hereditary *amīr* Pīr Ḥusayn.

Group B. Between Djazīra and Kilis:

10. Ḥasan-kayf* [cf. ḤIṢN KAYFĀ]. The local chiefs (*malikān*) claimed to be of Ayyūbid descent, which seems very probable. Their ancestor was alleged to have received the fief of Ḥiṣn Kayfā from the ruler of Mardīn. The first chief mentioned by the *Sharaf-nāma* is Malik Sulaymān who died in 736/1335. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu seized Ḥiṣn Kayfā, but Malik Khalīl, who had taken refuge in Ḥamā, later regained possession of his fief. At a later date the Ottomans dispossessed the sons of Malik Khalīl. Among the dependencies of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, the *Sharaf-nāma* mentions Siʿird, Bishēri, Ṭūr (which sometimes figures among the possessions of Djazīra, cf. *ibid.*, 117, 127, 157) and Arzan.

11. Sulaymānī, rulers of Marwānid origin (i.e. from the later branch of the Umayyads) established themselves at first at Khūkh in the canton of Ghazālī (between the Ḳulp and the Baṭmān Ṣu before they join) and gradually captured many strongholds and territory as far as the Tigris. They ruled a powerful confederation of tribes, the majority of which were nomads and in summer moved to the Ala Tagh (Niphates). The chief of these tribes was Banūkī, but the more enterprising was Basiyān, 1,000 families of which migrated to Bāyazīd under their chief Shāhsawār. A number of these tribes professed Yazīdī doctrines. The Sulaymānī lived on bad terms with their neighbours of Ṣāṣūn. They were divided into two branches, that of Ḳulp and Baṭmān and that of Mayyāfāriḳīn.

12. Zraḳī (the modern pronunciation attested by Addai Scher, in *JA* [1910], 119-39); according to Sharaf-al-Dīn, Zraḳī is a contraction of the Arabic Azraḳī. The ancestor of the family, who was an Arab holy man from Syria of ʿAlid origin, arrived in Mārdīn in the time of Artuḳ (d. 516/1122; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Mukhtaṣar*, 379). The family formed connections by marriage with the Artuḳids and later with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. There were four branches of Zraḳī, the principal branches being those of Tardjīl (west of the Baṭmān Ṣu) and ʿAtāḳ. The two other branches were that of Darzīnī (an old Christian convent Dayr Zīr?) and that of Kurdikān (between Diyārbakr and Mayyāfāriḳīn), the latter descendants of the marriage of a Zraḳī chief and a gipsy woman (*dukhtar-i kābulī*).

13. Kilīs. The ruling dynasty believed it was related to those of Hakkārī and ʿAmādiya. Their ancestor Mand (Mantashā) had rendered services to the Ayyūbids, who gave him the canton of Kuṣayr (near Antioch). He united under his rule the Yazīdīs of Ḳusayr and those living between Ḥamā and Marʿash, as well as the Kurds of Djōm and Kilīs. Under the Mamlūk Sulṭāns and under Selīm I, disputes broke out between the Yazīdīs (Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn) and the family of Mand, which ended in favour of the latter; but the hereditary rights of this north Syrian fief do not seem to have been on a very solid basis.

Group C. Between Djazīra and Khoy:

14. Hakkārī* [see HAKKĀRĪ and SHAMDĪNĀN]. Sharaf al-Dīn does not seem to know the old quarters of the tribe around ʿAmādiya from which the Zangid Atābegs had driven them northwards. The *amīrs* claimed to be of ʿAbbāsid descent.

The first *amīr* mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* is ʿIzz al-Dīn Shīr (probably simply an arabicisation of the name Yazdān-Shīr) who held out against Tīmūr in 789/1387 in the fortress of Vān. Under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the tribe of Dambulī (of Djazīra) took possessions of Hakkarī, but the Christians of Diz (*Āsūrī* = Nestorians) went to Egypt to bring back the scion of the ancient family Asad al-Dīn Zarrīn Čang ("Golden arm"). The restored dynasty received the name of Shambō (M. Garzoni, *Grammatica della*

lingua kurda, Rome 1787, 4: *Sciambò*). In the time of Ismā'īl I, the Shambo chiefs lived in the castle of Bāy (in Shamdīnān); a member of the family ruled at Vostān (southwest of Vān), but the possession of the *nāḥiya* of Kawāsh west of Vostān was disputed with the Hakkārī by the Rūzakī. Hakkārī rule extended to Albāḳ in the north. The last representative of the Hakkārī house, Nūr Allāh Beg, was dispossessed by the Ottomans after the rebellion of Badr Khān Beg of Bokhtān, and in 1845, Ḥalīme Khānim surrendered Bash-ḳal'a to the Turks. The tribe of Pinyānish (*ibid.*, i, 97, 100) which still exists is mentioned as living near the Hakkārī.

15. The Maḥmūdī fief lies north of Hakkārī on the rivers which feed the lakes of Vān and Arčak. The rulers (Marwānids or 'Abbāsids of Bokhtan), who originally professed the Yazīdī faith (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 307) settled there in the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu period and soon came into conflict with the Hakkārī and Dumbulī.

16. The Dumbulī are a tribe of Bokhtān (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 118, 310: *Dumbul-i Bokht*, which for long remained Yazīdī). The Dumbulī later came into Ādharbāydjān where they received as a fief Sukmanābād (Sögmänābād) north-west of Khoy (now Zūrawā). Under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the Dumbulī had seized the castle of Bāy (in Shamdīnān) and a part of, Hakkārī (*ibid.*, i, 193). To their *odjaḳ* of Sukmanābād Shāh Ṭahmāsp added Khoy. Under Sulṭān Sulaymān, the Dumbulī received Ḳoṭur and Bārgīrī; later they annexed Abaghā, Sulaymān-Sarāy (the modern Sarāy) and Čāldīrān. Zayn al-'Ābidīn Shirwānī in his *Bustān al-siyāḥa* (beginning of the 19th century) says that all the Dumbulī are Shī'īs (cf. the allusion in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 312) and speak Turkish (!).

17. Brādost. The ruling family was of Gūrān [*q.v.*] or Ḥasanwayhid descent. Its lands lay west of Urmia. One branch ruled at Ṣomāy [*q.v.*]; another at Tergewer and at Ḳal'a Dāwūd. The remnants of the Brādost tribe now live south of Shamdīnān on the Rūbār-i Brādost (a tributary of the Great Zāb, the sources of which lie west of Ushnū).

18. Ustūnī. The chapter, which is wanting in the manuscripts, must certainly refer to the first dynasty of Shamdīnān, whose headquarters were Sutūnī in the *nāḥiya* of Harkīk [see SHAMDĪNĀN].

19. The history of the Zarzā (cf. the Zar-zarī of Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umarī) announced in the preface to the Sharaf-nāma is lacking in the text.

20. Tarzā. The paragraph is lacking in the manuscripts and we know nothing of the tribe.

Group D. South of Hakkārī:

21. 'Amādiya* [*q.v.*]. We have seen that the town of 'Amādiya was built on the site of an ancient castle under 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī (521-41/1127-46). The local dynasty of Bahdīnān mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* seems to have settled in the country after the end of the Zangids (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries). The chiefs of 'Amādiya were known for their fervour in religious studies. The *Sharaf-nāma* gives their names for the Tīmūrid period. Later (under Ismā'īl I), the Bahdīnān annexed the Zakho district inhabited by the Sindī and Sulaymānī which had at one time formed a separate fief (*wilāyat-i Sindiyān*). In this way the fief of Bahdīnān incorporated the greater part of the mountainous country north of Mawṣil (Mount Gāra, etc.).

22. Ṭasinī (Dāsinī). The chapter dealing with this important Yazīdī tribe is lacking in the manuscripts, but in the text we find a reference which shows that the *amīr* s of 'Amādiya took Dohūk from the *sandjaḳ-i Tāsinī* (i, 109) and that in 941/1534 Sulṭān Selīm I gave the *sandjaḳ* of Arbīl and the whole *wilāyat* of Sohrān to Ḥusayn Beg Dāsenī, a Yazīdī chief which provoked a bloody war with the Sohrān (i, 274-7). The latter ended by regaining their patrimony and Ḥusayn Beg was executed at Istanbul. On the region called Dāsen, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 202-7.

23. Sohrān ("the red ones"), descendants of Kalūs, an Arab shepherd of Baghdād who had fled to the village of Hūdiyān in the *nāḥiya* of Āwān (in the Sohrān territory). His son was proclaimed Amīr of Balakān (east of Rawāndiz) and seized the castle of Āwān. The capital of Sohrān, which was embellished by their buildings (Rich, *Narrative*, i, 157) was Ḥarīr (on a tributary of the Great Zāb below Rawāndiz). The Sohrān were still a powerful tribe about 1005/1596-7, but later succumbed to attacks of neighbours and the Bābān (*Narrative*, i, 157) benefited by their decline.

24. Bābān. This name is really applied to several successive dynasties. Their principal fief lay south of the little Zāb and had as its capital Shāri-Bāzēr, but in 1199/1784 the Bābān built a new capital Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.* for details].

25. Mukrī, who now occupy the region south of Lake Urmia [for details see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ] had broken off from the tribe of Bābān.

26. Bāna. The Ikhtiyār al-Dīn chiefs bore this name because they had adopted Islām of their own free will (*ikhtiyār*) (for details see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ].

27. Ardalān: see the articles, ARDALĀN, SHAHRAZŪR,, SINNA, SĪSAR.

28. Gāl-Bāghī (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii, suppl. 36-45; the addition is dated 1092/1681. Their chief 'Abbās Agha of the Turkish tribe of Ustādjalu received a "spring of water" in Marīwān [cf. SINNA] from Bīgebeg Ardalān (900-42/1495-1535]. 'Abbās Āghā later settled at Bilāwar, a former fief of the Kalhur. His followers were recruited from different tribes. Shāh Ṭahmāsp confirmed him in his rule over Bilāwar and the "Twelve Oymāḳ".

Later, the Porte gave 'Alī Khān Gālbāghī the *sandjaḳ* consisting of Kirind, Shaykhān, Čakarān (?), Khorkhora, Zend, etc., while Yār Allāh received the *timar* of Erekle (?), Rangrazān and Sahbānān (?).

29. Kalhur (Kalhurr). The chiefs claimed to be descended from Gūdarz, son of Gīw, in the Persian epic. The *'ashirat* of the Kalhur is called Gūrān (i, 317) but some manuscripts talk of "Kalhur and Gūrān" (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii, suppl. 6). There were three branches of the Kalhur; those of Palangān [cf. SINNA], Dartang and Māhī-dasht [cf. KIRMĀNSHĀH].

The possessions of the chiefs of Darna and Dartang (now Ridjāb in the district of Zohāb) according to Sharaf al-Dīn, i, 319, corresponded to the older Ḥulwān [*q.v.*]. About 1005/1596-7, the power of Ḳubād Beg stretched from Dīnawar and Bilāwar to Baghdād. Māhīdasht and Bīlāwar (south of the Murwārī pass) formed the patrimony (*odjaḳ*) of the third branch of the Kalhurs. The Māhīdasht branch was nomadic. All this perhaps explains the scantiness of the information given by Rashīd al-Dīn. The Gūrān now keep their old patrimony, but the Kalhur tribe occupies the region south of the great Baghdād-Kirmānshāh road.

Group E. The Persian Kurds:

The plan of the section (*firḳa*) of the *Sharaf-nāma* devoted to the *Akrād-i Īrān* is not very clear. The author was writing at a time when the Perso-Turkish frontier was not settled.

The principal tribes of Persia were three in number: Siyāh Manṣūr, Čiganī and Zangana. Their eponyms were three brothers who came from Luristān or "Gūrān and Ardalān". Besides those tribes and the lesser ones mentioned by Sharaf al-Dīn, there were 24 tribes (*yirmi dört*) of Ḳarābāgh [*q.v.*] (in Transcaucasia), about 3,000 men under one ruler, and the Gīl tribe in Khurāsān without counting tribes of minor importance.

The tribe of Siyāh Manṣūr. In the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp its chief had become *Amīr al-umarā'* of all the Kurds in Persia (over 24 tribes).

A part of the Čiganī emigrated to Gharčistān.

The tribe of Zangana (Zengene) distinguished itself in al-ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān.

From 1650 to 1730. "Great Kurdistān", as it has been described by Sharaf al-Dīn, and in so far as it consisted of a series of autonomous Kurd chieftainships, had been already reduced in size by the introduction of Turkish rule in the *sandjaḳs* of Diyārbakr and Vān. Not only did the treaty of 1049/1639 put an end to the Persian expansion westwards, but Turkey during the reign of the Ṣafawid epigoni succeeded in re-occupying the western provinces of Persia as well as Transcaucasia (von Hammer, *GOR*², iv, 235). Practically all the Kurds in this way were reunited under Ottoman rule. Having no longer cause to fear the Persians, the Turks systematically undertook the task of centralisation.

As early as the reign of Murād IV, we find Malik Aḥmad Pasha, appointed governor-general of Diyārbakr in 1048/1638, making an expedition against the Yazīdīs of Sindjār. Later (1065/1655), the same Pasha after his transfer to Vān subdued all the Kurds in this region.

In 1076/1666 a Kurd, the son of a *shaykh*, declared himself the *Mahdī*, but was captured by the rulers of Mawṣil and ʿAmādiya. The affair ended harmlessly by Sulṭān Meḥemmed IV taking the *soi-disant Mahdī* into his personal service (von Hammer, iii, 589).

In the reign of the feeble Shāh Ḥusayn, the Kurds of al-ʿIrāḳ in 1131/1719 besieged Hamadān and carried their depredations up to the capital itself. In 1134/1722 by order of Shāh Ṭahmāsp II an attempt to retake Iṣfahān, which had been occupied by the Afghāns, was made by the Kurd chief Fandun (Ferīdūn ?), but it was confined to an attack on the Armenian quarter. The Afghāns drove off Fandun who went back to his lands and submitted to the Turks (J. Hanway, *A Historical account of the British trade*, London 1753, iii). Fortune deserted the Ṣafawids. Even ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān Ardalān submitted to Ḥasan Pashā (von Hammer, iv, 211; cf. however, *RMM*, xlix, 87). His example was followed by the chiefs of Djawānrūd, Darna, Djāf, Harsīn and finally by the *sipahsālār* ʿAlī Mardān Bakhtiyārī [Faylī ?] (von Hammer, iv, 227).

The Afghāns. During the bloody and transitory period of Afghān rule in Iṣfahān, Ashraf defeated the Turks (battle of Andjīdān in 1138/1726), who had in their ranks 20,000 Kurds under Bebek Sulaymān-oghlu (Sulaymān Bābān ?). The Turks attributed their defeat to the conduct of the Kurds, upon whom Ashraf had lavished promises; indeed, shortly before some of the Kurds had gone over to the Afghāns. In spite of his initial success, in the next year 1140/1727 Ashraf had to repurchase his sovereign rights by ceding to the Turks the whole of western Persia, including the Kurd and Lur cantons.

Nādir Shāh. Towards the end of the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad III, affairs began to change. By the treaty of 1144/1732 the Persians regained their western provinces, and soon Nādir invaded Ottoman territory and advanced up to the gates of Baghdād. The Turks tried in vain to check his advance with Kurdish troops until in 1146/1733 Topal ʿOthmān Pasha appeared on the scene with Kurd reinforcements which he had raised in Mawṣil. Nādir was defeated. In 1147/1734, he operated with success in the Caucasus and took Tiflīs, which had a garrison of 6,000 Kurds. By the peace of 1149/1736 the old frontiers of 1049/1639 were restored. In 1743, Nādir again invaded Turkish territory, but in spite of Kurd and Arab help was driven back to Sinna where he was finally defeated (von Hammer, iv, 317, 398-9).

Nādir was not popular with the Kurds, although there is an epic poem in the Gūrānī dialect on his struggle with Topal ʿOthmān Pāshā. Among the Ardalān, Nādir replaced Subḥān Verdī Khān by his brother, which provoked a popular rising (*RMM*, xlix, 88). In 1137/1727 during a revolt of the Turkomans, the Kurds of Khurāsān (Čamishgezek and Ḳaračorlu) refused their help to Nādir, who punished them and transported them to Mashhad. Nādir was assassinated in 1160/1747, while on his way to punish once more the Kurd rebels of Khurāsān (Jones, *Histoire de Nādir*, London 1770, 118-20). The Kurds (Dumbulī, etc.) played their part in the anarchy which followed the death of Nādir, but the Porte refrained from intervention.

The Zand dynasty. After the death of Nādir Shāh, Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*], one of the best rulers Persia has ever had, ruled the greater part of the country. The Zand were a Kurdish tribe of secondary importance (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 323) living between Hamadān and Malāyir in the district formerly called Īghār. Under Nādir they had been transported to Khurāsān, but after his death they went back to their old homes (*Ta'rīkh-i Zandiyya*, ed. Beer, pp. xi, xviii). With the death of Luṭf ʿAlī Khān in 1209/1794, the dynasty came to an end. The Zand tribe was certainly too weak to be a serious support to the dynasty, but Karīm Khān, like his predecessors, had brought several Kurd tribes from Kurdistān to Shīrāz (Aḥmadāwand, *RMM*, xxxviii; Kōrūnī, who live in a particular quarter in Shīrāz, O. Mann, *Die Tājik Mundarten d. Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p. xxix).

The Ḳādjārs. On the death of Agha Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār (1211/1797), Ṣādiḳ Khān Shaḳāḳī seized the crown jewels and for some time tried to gain the throne (*The dynasty of the Kajars*, tr. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, London 1833, 20, 27, 32, 37, 50, 78, 106; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 107, 115, 125). In 1221/1805 the Persians had intervened on behalf of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha of Sulaymāniyya (cf. Rich, *Narrative*, i, 384; Watson, *op. cit.*, 155, and the Mukrī Kurd song in the collection made by O. Mann, No. xvi). In 1236/1821, as a result of troubles caused by the Kurd tribes of Ḥaydarānlu and Sipkān, the Persians invaded Turkish territory as far as Bidlīs and Mūsh; at the same time they advanced as far as Sherābān near Baghdād by the Kirmānshāh road. The peace of 1238/1823 signed at Erzerūn restored the frontier of 1049/1639, but the Persians refused to evacuate the district of Zohāb peopled by Kurds. The fate of Sulaymāniyya remained in suspense. A new war was about to break out in 1842 when Great Britain and Russia intervened to mediate, and in 1246/1847 a new treaty was signed at Erzerūm by which Zohāb was to be divided into two parts, while Persia gave up all claim to Sulaymā-

niyya in favour of Turkey. During 1848-52, a mixed commission composed of representatives of four powers went over the frontier, but the attitude of the Ottoman delegate Darwī<u>sh</u> Pa<u>sh</u>a prevented an agreement being reached. Darwī<u>sh</u> Pa<u>sh</u>a not only had the canton of Ḳotūr occupied by soldiers, but in a secret memoir (published at Istanbul in 1286/1869 and 1321/1903) developed the thesis that all the Kurd cantons south and west of Lake Urmia belonged to Turkey.

Turkey in the 19th century. In 1826, the governor of Sīwās, Ra<u>sh</u>īd Meḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a, was given the task of pacifying the Kurds and installing Turkish governors in Kurdistān. About 1830 a great Kurd rising broke out in several places. Its leaders were Badr <u>Kh</u>ān and Saʿīd Beg, Ismāʿīl Beg and Muḥammad Pa<u>sh</u>a of Rawāndiz. About 1820 (1830?) he had declared himself independent and attacked the tribes of <u>Kh</u>u<u>sh</u>nāw; in 1831 he seized Arbīl, Altun Köprü, Koy-San<u>dj</u>aḳ and Rāniya. The following year he extended his power towards Mawṣil; at Alḳo<u>sh</u> 172 Christians were put to death. ʿAkra, Zībar and ʿAmādiya were next taken. In 1833 the troops of Rawāndiz penetrated as far as Za<u>kh</u>o and <u>Dj</u>azīra to re-establish Badr <u>Kh</u>ān in power there. The Yazīdīs were severely punished on several occasions. Their chief ʿAlī, who refused to become a convert to Islām, was executed (cf. the popular ballad commemorating this event, *JA* [1910] 134-6), and a whole body of Yazīdīs were massacred on the hill of Ḳoyun<u>dj</u>iḳ. In 1835 Ottoman troops were sent against Ra<u>sh</u>īd Meḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a from Ba<u>gh</u>dād, Mawṣil and Sīwās, and in 1836 the Mīr of Rawāndiz was captured by a ruse. Risings and their suppressions continued for several years longer (cf. Poujoulat, *Voyages*, i, 373; Moltke, *Briefe*, Berlin 1841, 259-84).

The defeat at Nizīb (1839) inflicted on the Ottomans by the Egyptians released new troubles in Kurdistān. In 1843 began the rising of Nūr Allāh Beg of Hakkārī and of Badr <u>Kh</u>ān of <u>Dj</u>azīra. The Nestorians of Hakkārī had lodged a complaint in Mawṣil against the oppressions of Nūr Allāh Beg. In reply, the latter laid waste the Nestorian canton of Barwārī. The massacres went on for several years and the number of victims is said to have reached 10,000. The powers made representations at Constantinople, and in 1847 a large army under ʿO<u>th</u>mān Pa<u>sh</u>a attacked the Kurds. Badr <u>Kh</u>ān and Nūr Allāh, defeated in several battles, surrendered and were deported from Kurdistān (cf. Sir H. Layard, *Nineveh*, vii; *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* [1900] v, 649-53; Addai Scher, in *JA* [1910], *loc. cit.*; on Kurd-Nestorian affairs in general see: A. Grant, *The Nestorians*, New York 1841; G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians*, London 1852; J. Perkins, *A residence of 8 years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians*, New York 1852; C. Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul und durch Kurdistan und Urumia*, Stuttgart 1857; Riley, *Christians and Kurds*, in *The Contemporary Review* [Sept. 1889]; F. N. Heazell and J. Margoliouth, *Kurds and Christians*, London 1913; W. A. and E. T. A. W. Wigram, *The cradle of mankind*, London 1914; W. W. Rockwell, *The pitiful plight of the Assyrian Christians in Persia and Kurdistan*, New York 1916; H. C. Luke, *Mosul and its minorities*, London 1925).

The Russo-Turkish Wars. In 1804-5, the Russians came into contact with the Kurds and this new influence soon made itself felt. The Russo-Turkish wars of 1828-9, 1853-8, 1877-8, each had far-reaching effects in Kurdistān (the question has been specially studied by Averianov, *Kurdī v voina<u>kh</u> Rossii*, Tiflis 1900). As early as 1829 the Russians had raised a Kurd regiment. As a result of the expatriation of Christians, the Kurds after the war began to spread considerably farther north and west. During the Crimean campaign, the Russians raised two Kurd regiments. On the other hand, when the Turkish troops had left for the north, a considerable rising was stirred up in Bohtān by the popular Yazdān <u>Sh</u>īr, nephew and a former rival of Badr <u>Kh</u>ān.

The war of 1877-8 was at once followed by a rising among the Hakkārī Kurds of Bahdīnān and Bohtān directed by the sons of Badr <u>Kh</u>ān and later by the rebellion under <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> ʿUbayd Allāh of the Naḳ<u>sh</u>bandī order. The Kurd invaders in 1880 ravaged the Persian districts of Urmia, Sāw<u>dj</u>-Bulāḳ, Miyāndoāb and Marā<u>gh</u>a and threatened Tabrīz itself. The chief victims were <u>Sh</u>īʿis. Russia sent a detachment of troops to protect the Araxes frontier. Persia mobilised considerable forces including the Mākū [*q.v.*] cavalry. Turkey, which had barely finished the war with Russia, endeavoured to avoid complications. Finally, the <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> returned to <u>Sh</u>amdinān, whence he was sent to Istanbul. He soon escaped from the capital, and via the Caucasus returned to <u>Sh</u>amdinān, but he was again captured and in 1883 died in Mecca.

The *Ḥamīdiyya* troops. The weakening of Turkey after 1878, art. 61 of the treaty of Berlin securing for the Armenians reforms and security against the Kurds and Circassians, the stubborn reaction of the Ottoman government against reforms, and from 1885 the development of the Armenian revolutionary movement with branches in Russia, Switzerland and London, brought complications into the hitherto quite peaceable relations of Kurds and Armenians, in as much as the latter had hitherto submitted to the authority of the Kurd feudal chiefs. About 1891 <u>Sh</u>ākir Pa<u>sh</u>a, later appointed to bring into operation the reforms in Anatolia, conceived the idea of creating irregular Kurd regiments, like those of Russian Cossacks. The object of the reform was to train the Kurds and attach them to the Ottoman government. The attempt was not considered satisfactory, for later the *Ḥamīdiyya* levies were transformed into regulars (*<u>Kh</u>afīf suwārī*). The creation of the *Ḥamīdiyya* in any case, by the part given to the Kurds and the ambitions aroused, made a considerable stir. There was even bloodshed between the tribes.

Armeno-Kurd relations. At the same time, relations between the Armenians and the Kurds (these "brothers of land and water" according to a phrase recorded by the European consuls) were changing for the worse. The summer of 1894 was marked by bloody encounters at Ṣāṣūn which ended by the devastation of five villages and the whole of the canton of Talori (Dalvori<u>kh</u>) inhabited by Armenians. The events at Ṣāṣūn were the first of a long series of Armenian demonstrations and their sanguinary suppressions, in which the Kurds took an active part. In 1895 an attempt at a rising had been made among the Hakkārī Kurds, but was speedily suppressed; it was not directed against the Christians. From the beginning of the 20th century to the World War, the relations between Armenians and Kurds seem to have been fairly peaceful. On the question in general, see Abovian, *Kurdī*, in the *Kavkaz* newspaper, Tiflis 1848, Nos. 46, 47, 49, 50, 51 (where the "father of Armenian literature" gives a very sympathetic picture of the Kurd character); Creagh, *Armenians, Koords and Turks*, London 1880; A. S. Zelenoy, *Zapiska k karte raspredeleni<u>ya</u> armiansk.*

naseleniya, in *Zapis. Kavkaz. Otd. Geogr. Obshč.* (Tiflis 1895), xviii; A. Vambéry, *Armenier u. Kurden*, in *Deutsche Rundschau* (1890), lxxxvi, 216-31; Rohrbach, *Armenier u. Kurden*, in *Verhand. d. Gesell. Erdkunde* (Berlin 1900), 128-33; Baron L. de Contenson, *Chrétiens et musulmans, voyages et études*, Paris 1901; H. B. Lynch, *Armenia, passim*; Mayevski, *Opisaniye Vanskago i Bitlis vilayetov*, Tiflis 1904 (the authoritative work); N. Y. Marr, *Yeshče o slove "čelebi"*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1910); Zarzecki (consul of France at Vān), *La question kurdo-arménienne*, in *La Revue de Paris*, 15 April 1914, and the diplomatic correspondence, publ. in the "Livres jaunes", the "Blue books" and the Russian "Orange book" of 1914.

The 20th century. At the beginning of the 20th century a new figure appeared on the Kurd horizon outside of the usual centres of Kurd movements: Ibrāhīm Pasha b. Maḥmūd b. Timawī b. Ayyūb, chief of the Millī (Milān) tribe in the canton of Shariwērān (between Diyārbakr and Aleppo). Ibrāhīm Pasha had made himself an almost independent position. When the constitution of 1908 was proclaimed, he openly rebelled and retired to the mountains of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz where he was killed (M. Wiedemann, *Ibrahim Pascha's Glück und Ende*, in *Asien*, viii, 1909, 34-7, 52-4, and Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, 317-27).

A considerable agitation was aroused among the Kurds when the question of the Turco-Persian frontier was re-opened. After the check to the Russians in the Far East (Russo-Japanese War), Turkey in 1905 occupied the disputed cantons of Urmia and Sāwdj-Bulāķ inhabited by the Kurds. The latter were drawn into the very complicated political game. Turkish occupation only ceased at the beginning of the Balkan War (in October 1912), but only to make room for Russian troops sent into the districts of Khoy and Urmia. Scions of noble Kurd families travelled in Russia. On 17 November 1913 a protocol of delimitation was signed at Istanbul and just before the World War, a Four-Power Commission (Turkey, Persia, Britain and Russia) succeeded in settling the frontier of the disputed regions by re-establishing generally the *status quo* of the beginning of the 19th century (cf. Minorsky, *Turetsko-perisdsk. razgraničeniye*, in *Izvestia Russ. Geogr. Obshč.*, Petrograd, lii [1916], 351-92).

The War of 1914-18. In the course of the war from 1914 to 1918, the Kurds were between two fires. On the activities of Ismāʿīl Agha Simko, see SHAKĀK. On the inter-allied plans (March 1916) regarding Kurdistān, cf the documents in *Razdel Aziatskoi Turtsii*, Moscow 1924, 185-7, 225.

After 1917-18, the situation was radically changed. Kurd committees were formed everywhere (cf. Driver, *Report on Kurdistan*, Mount Carmel, Palestine 1919; this publication is in the British Museum). Sharīf Pasha assumed the role of Kurd representative in Paris and on 22 March 1919 and 1 March 1920 presented to the Peace Conference two memoirs on Kurd claims with a map of "Kurdistan intégral" (cf. *L'Asie francaise*, No. 175, 1919, 192-3). At the same time, on 20 December 1919, an arrangement was reached between Sharīf Pasha and the Armenian representatives, and the two parties made conjointly declarations to the conference (cf. the text of the agreement in the newspaper *Peyām-i Ṣabāḥ*, Istanbul, 24 Feb. 1920; cf. also *Le Temps*, Paris, 10 March 1920). The Treaty of Sèvres of 10 August 1920 having created Armenia (Arts. 88-93) out of the four *wilāyets* (of Trebizond, Erzerūm, Vān and Bidlīs), provided in articles 62-4 for "a local autonomy for the land where the Kurd element predominates, lying east of the Euphrates, to the south of the frontier of Armenia and to the north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia". If the Kurd population within the limits mentioned showed to the Council of the League of Nations "that a majority of the population of these regions desires to be independent of Turkey and if the Council then thinks that this population is fit for independence", Turkey agreed to conform to the recommendation, and in this case the Allied Powers would raise no objection to the voluntary adhesion to this "independent Kurd state" of the Kurds living in the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil. As a result of later events, the Kurd question reduced itself to the fate of the Kurds in the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil. The Turkish representatives held that "the Kurds differed in nothing from the Turks and that although speaking different languages, these two peoples formed a single bloc as regards race, faith and customs" (Conference at Lausanne, speech of ʿIṣmet Pasha at the meeting of 23 Jan. 1923). By the decision of the Council of the League of Nations on 16 December 1925, the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil was allotted to ʿIrāķ, buth with a stipulation reserving to the Kurds the fulfilment of their desires, notably that "officials of Kurd race should be appointed for the government of their country, for the administration of justice and for teaching in the schools and that the Kurd language should be the official language of all these services".

During the long negotiations concerning Mawṣil, serious troubles broke out in the region of Kharpūt and Diyārbakr as a result of the insurrection of Shaykh Saʿīd Naķshbandī. Shaykh Saʿīd was captured on 16 April 1925 and executed at Diyārbakr. After the settlement of the Mawṣil question, the Turkish government in Ankara enforced a policy, the tendency of which was to eliminate from Kurdistān feudal and tribal influences; cf. Gentizon, *L'insurrection kurde*, in *La Revue de Paris*, 15 Oct. 1925.

Bibliography: A history of the Kurds, the preliminaries of which have been outlined above would necessitate a great deal of preparatory work and research in Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Aramaic and Georgian sources. A systematic ransacking of sources like the *Selīm-nāma* of Ḥakīm Idrīs and his son Abu 'l-Faḍl and the *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* would yield a rich reward. The basis of our knowledge of Kurd history is certainly the *Sharaf-nāma* (down to 1005/1596). The text was published (mainly from a manuscript collated by the editor himself) by Veliaminof-Zernof, *Scheref-nameh*, i (history of the Kurds), St. Petersburg 1860; ii (variants of volume i, and general history of Turkey and Persia from the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty to 1005/1596), St. Petersburg 1862. New editions of it exist by M. ʿA. ʿAwnī, Cairo 1931, and by M. A. ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1343/1965; Arabic translations by M. J. Bendi Rojbayani, with copious notes and comments, Baghdād 1372/1953; M. ʿA. ʿAwnī and Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb, Cairo 1958-62, 2 vols.; a Russian translation by E. I. Vasil'eva, i, Moscow 1967; the French translation by F.-B. Charmoy, *Cheref-nâmah ou fastes de la nation kurde*, in 2 volumes and four parts, St. Petersburg 1868-75, includes commentaries (including a translation of the relevant chapters in the *Djihān-numā* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), but is now in many respects out-of-date and lacks an index. Cf. also the works of H. Barb, *Über die Kurden-*

Chronik von Scheref; *Geschichtliche Skizze d. 33 verschiedenen kurdischen Fürstengeschlechter*; *Geschichte v. 5 Kurden-Dynastien*; *Gesch. v. weiteren Kurden-Dynastien*; *Geschichte d. kurdischen Fürstenherrschaft in Bidlis*, which appeared respectively in *SB Ak. Wien*, x (1853), 258-76; xxii (1857), 3-28; xxviii (1858), 3-54; xxxi (1859); xxxii (1859), 145-50. The lost history of Kurdistān by Muḥammad Efendi Shahrazūrī (d. 1073/1662 at Medina, cf. *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. *Kurd*), had not come to light by 1927. For the histories of the house of Ardalān, cf. SINNA, where should be added the history (to 1254/1834) of Khusraw b. Muḥammad b. Minūčihr, cf. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibl. Nationale*, i, 305, No. 498. On the *Risālat Ansāb al-Akrād*, belonging to the Asiatic Museum of Petrograd, cf. Romaskevič in *Mélanges Asiatique*, new ser., Petrograd 1918, 392. The newspaper *Zār-i Kurmāndjī* (of Rawāndiz) published in Kurdish a short history *Ghunča-yi Bahāristān* (1926) and announced the early publication of the *Taʾrīkh-i Kurdān* of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Beg. General information on Kurd history will be found in G. Campanile, *Storia della regione di Kurdistan e delle sette di religione ivi existenti*, Naples 1818; E. Quatremère, *Notice sur le Masālik al-abṣār*, in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 1838; C. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836 (cf. SULAYMĀNIYYA); Charmony, in the preface to his translation of the *Sharaf-nāma*; P. Lerch, *Izsledovaniya ob iranskikh Kurdakh*, St. Petersburg 1856, i, 20-33; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyren*, Leipzig 1880; W. Tomaschek, *Sasun*, in *SB Ak. Wien* (1895), 133-4; M. Bittner, *Der Kurdengau Uschnuje*, in *ibid.*, 133; H. Rawlinson and A. Wilson in the *Encycl. Britannica*, 1911, xv, 949-51; Addai Scher, *Episodes de l'histoire du Kurdistan*, in *JA*, xv (1910), 119-40 = the events of 1202, 1508, 1510-12 (Djazīra), 1523, 1689, 1712 (ʿAmādiya), 1820-36 (Rawāndiz); E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia . . . in disguise*, London 1912, ch. xvi; V. Minorsky, *Kurdī*, St. Petersburg 1915; G. R. Driver, *Studies in Kurdish history*, in *BSOS*, ii (1922), 491-513; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, in Publ. Soc. Ét. Ir. et Arts persans, Paris 1932 (also in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 1964, 12-30); idem, *La Perse au XVe s. entre la Turquie et Venise*, in *ibid.*, No. 3, Paris 1933; A. Sakisian, *Abdel Khan, seigneur kurde de Bitlis au XVIIe s. et ses trésors*, in *JA*, ccxxix (1937), 253-70; A. Safrastian, *Kurds and Kurdistan*, London 1948; M. Canard, *H'amdanides*, i, Algiers 1951; M. A. Zakī, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal wa 'l-imārāt al-kurdiyya fi 'l-ʿahd al-islāmī*, Ar. tr. M. ʿA. ʿAwnī, Cairo 1364/1945; Cl. Cahen, *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, Damas, xii (1947-8), 1-163; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history. I. New light on the Shaddādids of Ganja. II. The Shaddādids of Ani. III. Prehistory of Saladin*, London 1953; idem, *Thomas of Metsopʿ on the Timurid-Turkman wars*, in *Prof. Muhammad Shafi volume*, Lahore 1955, 145-70; *Mongol place-names in Mukri Kurdistan*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 58-81; Cl. Cahen, *Contribution à l'histoire du Diyār-Bakr au quatorzième siècle*, in *JA* (1955), 65-100; H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, Boston 1966, 74-90; idem, *The achievement of Saladin*, in *ibid.*, 91-107; M. S. Lazarev, *Kurdistan i Kurdskaya problema*, Moscow 1964; A. Khalfin, *Bor'ba za Kurdistan*, *Kurdskiy vopros v meždunarodnikh otnosheniyakh XIX veka*, Moscow 1963; Džalile Džalil, *Vosstanie Kurdov 1880 goda*, Moscow 1966; N. Kh. Mahmudov, *The Kurdish people* [in Armenian], Erivan 1959; M. M. ʿUmar al-ʿAbbāsī, *Imārat Bahdīnān al-ʿabbāsiyya fi Kurdistān al-wusṭā*, Baghdād 1972; S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925.

(V. MINORSKY)

C. From 1920 to the present day.

The First World War (1914-18) led to many political upheavals in the Near and Middle East. The Arab countries (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and ʿIrāḳ) were detached from the Ottoman Empire. The sultanate was abolished in 1922, the republic proclaimed in Turkey on 23 October and the caliphate suppressed on 3 March 1924. Finally, the Council of the League of Nations assigned to ʿIrāḳ the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil on 26 December 1925. For his part, General Riḍā Khān overthrew in Persia the Ḳādjār dynasty and founded the Pahlavī dynasty on 23 October 1925. These rectifications of frontiers resulted in rendering still more complicated the situation of the Kurds who, instead of living under only two governments, the Ottoman Empire and the Persian Empire, were henceforth to find themselves divided between five different countries: Turkey, Iran, ʿIrāḳ, with some quite important minorities in Syria and several colonies in the lands of Soviet Transcaucasia, sc. Armenia, Georgia and Ādharbaydjān. From now on, their destiny would evolve differently, according to the different states which sheltered them.

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In TURKEY, from after the First World War and during the long negotiations concerning Mawṣil, some Kurdish nationalists, disillusioned at seeing their hopes of an independent Kurdistān vanish, a Kurdistān foreseen by the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) but suppressed by the Treaty of Lausanne (24 June 1923), provoked troubles. Shaykh Saʿīd Naḳshbandī of Pīran led a rebellion in the regions of Urfa, Severek and Diyarbakir, either through religious fanaticism and respect for the caliphate (Gentizon) or at the alleged instigation of Britain (Muṣṭafā Kemāl). The Shaykh was soon made a prisoner, judged by the Tribunals of Independence (April-June 1925) and hanged at Diyarbakir with 53 other insurgents. The whole trial was followed by the Turkish newspaper *Vaḳit*, from 20 April 1341/1925 to the 28 June, insisting upon the nationalist character of the movement. The failure of the attempt forced the leaders who had escaped to seek refuge abroad.

On 3 October 1927, the Kurdish National League

Hoyboun ("Independence") was constituted by the fusion of all the old committees or associations. Iḥsān Nūrī Pasha of Bitlis was nominated commander-in-chief and a civil administration was established. Some conversations even took place with the representatives of the Turkish government in September 1928 at Shaykh-i Köprü with the promise of a general amnesty for those who had been compromised. The few Kurds who came forward were massacred. After that, the revolt of Ağri Dağ (Ararat) (1930-2) broke out in the spring. Well-organised militarily, the Kurdish troops, who were supported by the tribes in the region of Diyarbakir, achieved some spectacular successes, but ended by succumbing under the blows of a Turkish army, 45,000 men strong and supplied with modern equipment in artillery and aircraft. The Second International, in its session at Zurich, published a resolution of its executive in favour of the Kurdish people (Vol. vii, no. 60, 30 August 1930). The attitude of the Soviets at the time has been interpreted differently by Agabekoff, in his *Mémoires*, published in French in 1930, and by M. A. Kondkarian in the Russian newspaper of Paris, *Dni*, of 31 August 1930, the former speaking of a Soviet activity among the Kurds themselves and led from Tauris by a certain Minossian who represented the G.P.U. there, and the latter asserting to the contrary that the Turks found an aid and complete assistance from the Russian Bolsheviks outside. From 1931 to 1934, some periodic convulsions were felt at Menemen, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, and, in a series of articles of the *Hakimiyet-i Milli*, Burhan Assaf Bey denounces Armeno-Kurdish intrigues. Soon a Turkish law was promulgated on 5 May 1932 which established a plan destined to organise an actual deportation of Kurds to the interior of Turkey. This law, however, was only to be applied after the visit of the Shah of Iran to Ankara in the summer of 1934. But henceforth, officially there were no longer Kurds in Turkey. All the inhabitants of the eastern provinces were from now on regarded as "mountain Turks".

This psychological error and the assimilation of the Kurds by force were to trigger off in 1937-8 a new revolt, as its centre, the mountainous region of Darsim, inhabited by the Zaza Kurds. It was Sayyid Riḍā, *shaykh* of the Naḳshbandī brotherhood, who headed it. This revolt was the most terrible for the Kurds, for it was suppressed with the utmost harshness by the Turks. After having hanged the *shaykh* and ten of his companions at al-ʿAzīz on 15 November 1937, the Turks erased Darsim from the map and replaced this ill-fated name with that of Tunceli. The Kurds disappeared from the official vocabulary, and the region remained under martial law until 1946.

After this, there was no more armed uprising in Turkey. Kurdistān stayed calm throughout the Second World War, during which Turkey moreover remained neutral. There followed a certain softening of the régime for the Kurdish regions. Meanwhile, intellectuals were always strictly watched; 49 of them were even arrested in December 1959 and accused of separatism. The military coup d'état of the 27 May 1960 was followed by a new more liberal constitution. Despite some declarations by official personages (cited in the Swedish journal *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 November 1960; cf. *C.E.K.* Paris, no. 12, 8), some articles on Kurdistān and the Kurds were able to appear in the Turkish press and, between 1965 and 1968, some bilingual, Turko-Kurdish journals: *Dicle Ferat* and *Deng*, a Kurdish grammar, a Kurdo-Turkish dictionary, a play *Birîna reş* "The black wound", and the long classical poem *Mem-o-Zin* saw the light of day. But soon everywhere the journals were forbidden, published works confiscated and their authors prosecuted. In addition, to avoid all possible contamination by events in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, which had been in revolt for several years, a presidential decree of 25 January 1967 and published in the official journal no. 12,527 of 14 February 1967 declared: "It is illegal and forbidden to introduce the country and to distribute, under whatsoever form, every publication, record or tape registered of foreign origin and in the Kurdish language". Some virulent articles against the Kurds appeared in the Turkish nationalist review *Ötüken* (no. 40, April 1967, no. 42, June 1967; cited in Vanly, *Kurdistan irakien*, 298-300). It was this which led to a retort by the associations of Kurdish students of 19 Kurdish towns, protesting that such an attitude was contrary to art. 12 of the Constitution and art. 37 and 44 of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). In April 1970, brutal police operations in the town of Silvan, in the province of Diyarbakir, provoked the condemnation of the Kurdish students and of liberal Turks (cf. *Milliyet*, June-July 1970), as well as the question, on 24 July 1970, in the House, of a Kurdish deputy, Mehmet Ali Aybar, an old president of the Labour Party of Turkey (TIP). The Fourth Congress of the TIP (29-31 October 1970), in a resolution, recognised the right of existence of the Kurdish people in Turkey (Vanly, *Survey*, 51-4). More than the ethnic and political side, it seems that from now on the economic and social question must play a role in the solution of the Kurdish problem in Turkey (Rambout, 23-44; Nikitine, 196-8; J. Blau, 35-40; Ghassemlou, 50-62; Arfa, 33-46).

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In Iran, the situation of the Kurds has always been different from that which they experienced in Turkey. Indeed, the Iranian government often insists on the affinities, as much racial as historic, which unite the two peoples. But this does not prevent political and social malaises appearing from time to time, and conflicts, often latent, sometimes bloody, must be recorded. Already during the Great War, the province of Ādharbāydjān in northern Persia had been troubled by the movements of the Turkish or Russian armies on this territory. The chief of the Shakāk, Ismāʿīl Agha Simko, profited from it to attempt to carve out for himself a small Kurdish state of which he intended to assume the leadership. He also succeeded in uniting under his command the Kurdish tribes of the north of the country, achieving several victories over the Turks, the Assyrians and the Iranian troops, changing camp according to the circumstances. He also became the only authority of the region, to the west of Lake Urmiya, finally to be assassinated at Ushnu by the Iranians on the 21 June 1930 (Arfa, 48-54), in the same manner in which he had murdered the Assyrian Patriarch, Mar Shimun Benjamin, on the 3 March 1918 (Joseph, 140-1).

For his part, further to the south, in the province of Kurdistān, Sālār al-Dawla Ḳādjār, related by marriage to the great Kurdish families of Sanandadji, rose in revolt, but was defeated. Some Kurdish chiefs refused to be disarmed, and it was not until 1930 that Djaʿfar Sulṭān surrendered (Arfa, 64-7; Ghassemlou, 73-5).

But the Second World War was also bound to have a great influence on Kurdish nationalism in Iran. Indeed, the occupation of the provinces of the north and west of the country by the Soviet and British troops (25 August 1941), followed by the abdication of Riḍā Shāh (16 September 1941) favoured, by the enfeeblement of the central power, the movements of emancipation, and, for several months, the Iranian army had to confront harshly Hama Rashīd Khān of Bāneh who, aided by numerous neighbouring tribes, had made himself master of the Sardasht-Bāneh-Marivān region in the summer of 1942 (Arfa, 67-70). But this was only the prelude to a real independence movement. First of all, the Kurds profited from the situation to form (September 1942) in the no-man's-land where central authority had disappeared an organisation *Komelat jiyant Kurdistan* "Committee for the Life (Resurrection) of Kurdistan" (Eagleton, 34). This nationalist but quite conservative committee was composed of city intellectuals and of petits bourgeois from Mahābād, the ancient Sāwdj-Bulāḳ [*q.vv.*], but to which the religious *shaykhs* and chiefs of tribes soon rallied. Soon Ḳāḍī (Kazi) Muḥammad, from a family of rich notables and a jurist himself, adhered to it in his turn (October 1944) and after the end of the war, all these judged the occasion favourable and proclaimed on the 22 January 1946 the Kurdish Republic of Mahābād, in the heart of the autonomous Republic of Ādharbaydjān, which had been established at Tabrīz. In fact, Ḳāḍī Muḥammad wished rather for internal autonomy within the framework of the Iranian empire. This small state, with its limited area, to the west and south of Lake Urmia, was well-organised; schools and hospitals were opened, classical books and reviews in the Kurdish language were published, attempts were made to promote the development of agriculture, commerce, industry and hygiene. A small army was constituted of tribal elements with four generals, among them Mollā Muṣṭafā Barzānī, who came from ʿIrāḳ with his well-equipped contingent of armed men. But on the departure from the Iranian territories of the Russian army (May 1946), who had helped the autonomous republic of Ādharbaydjān, the government of Tehran was to recover the dissident provinces of the north of the country. Ḳāḍī Muḥammad surrendered, but was hanged at dawn on 31 March 1947 together with several other chiefs. The Kurdish Republic of Mahābād had lasted eleven months. But this event had a great repercussion among all the Kurds (Arfa, 70-102; Ghassemlou, 76-82; Rambout, 94-108 and especially Eagleton, *passim*). Then, in September 1950 and February 1956, for economic reasons, the tribe of Djavānrūdī was taken to task by the troops of the Shāh and harshly repressed, on the pretext that it refused to pay its taxes, give up its arms and devote itself to the cultivation of *ḥashīsh*. According to Rondot (*Vie intel.*, 1956, 107-9), the efficacy of the intervention of the Iranian troops was the first positive result of the Baghdād Pact (1955). Since these last backwashes, the Iranian government, by constructive social reforms, attempted to gain the sympathy and even the help of its numerous Kurdish population. It published at Tehran, from May 1959 to May 1963, the weekly *Kurdistān*, in which literature, religion, sciences, history and even politics were competently treated. Later on the ʿIrāḳī government accused that of Tehran of having aided, materially and morally, the insurrection movement of the Kurds in ʿIrāḳ. But this political attitude has in no way changed the distrustful position of the Iranian authorities with regard to its own Kurds.

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In ʿIrāḳ, the period from the end of the First World War to the revolution of 1958 saw the foundation of the new ʿIrāḳī state and the establishment of the Hāshimite monarchy. The British who, at San Remo (1 May 1920) were to receive from the League of Nations a mandate over ʿIrāḳ and Palestine, were charged with organising the land which they had already occupied militarily. Few among them knew the Kurds and their problems, which rendered their task difficult. In December 1918, Major Noel installed at Sulaymānī Maḥmūd Barzandjī (1880-1956) as governor, *ḥukmdār*, with authority over the Kurdish tribes situated between the Great Zāb and the Diyālā. At the end of six months, Shaykh Maḥmūd proclaimed the independence of Kurdistān (end of May 1919), and the British army had to intervene to

overcome him. Wounded at the battle of Bazyan (17 June 1919), Maḥmūd was taken prisoner and condemned to death, but, with his sentence commuted, was sent into exile to India. Meanwhile, several British officers had been assassinated at Zakho, ʿAmādiyya and ʿAkra. Major Soane governed instead of the *shaykh*, and calm soon returned. Difficulties arose with the installation as king in Baghdād (23 August 1921) of the Amīr Fayṣal of Arabia, who had been chased from Damascus by the French, and the intention of attaching to the ʿIrāḳī crown the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, which the Turks continued to claim and which the Kurds wanted to organise for their own profit. The recent Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) recognised in effect the right of the Kurds to independence. Since agitation did not cease to spread over the whole of Kurdistān, Shaykh Maḥmūd was recalled to Sulaymāniyya (September 1922) and was no longer content with the title of *ḥukmdār*, but proclaimed himself king of the whole of Kurdistān (November). He set up a government of eight members, issued postage and fiscal stamps, levied taxes on tobacco and published a newspaper *Roj-i Kurdistan* "The sun of Kurdistan" which gives many details of all these events (Edmonds, *A Kurdish newspaper: Rhozh-i Kurdistan*, in *JRCAS*, xii [1925]). On 24 December 1922, His Britannic Majesty's government and the government of ʿIrāḳ recognised "the right of the Kurds living within the frontiers of Iraq to establish a Kurdish government within these frontiers, in the hope that the different Kurdish elements would reach agreement as soon as possible on the form to give to this government and the extent of its frontiers, and that they would send to Baghdad some responsible delegates to discuss their economic and political relations with His Britannic Majesty's government and the government of Iraq" (Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, 312; Rambout, 58-9). But there were soon frictions between King Maḥmūd and his British protectors, as well as with some Kurds who envied his authority. His intrigues with the Turks also triggered off raids by the R.A.F., who forced him to take refuge at Sardash (3 March 1923), where he published a newspaper, *Bangê haqq* "The call of truth". He stayed there until 1930, the year which saw the end of the British mandate.

This new political régime did not help the situation of the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ much, for the ʿIrāḳī government wanted immediately to withdraw from the Kurdish regions the local Kurdish officials in order to install Arabs and to suppress the teaching of the Kurdish language in the administrations of the north. Whence a malaise which degenerated into open revolt when ʿIrāḳī soldiers opened fire on the civil population of Sulaymāniyya (6 September 1930). Shaykh Maḥmūd once more headed the movement. The ʿIrāḳī army was incapable of bringing it to an end (September 1930-April 1931), and asked for the intervention of the R.A.F. This was very severely criticised by a number of Britons, and especially in a Note of General H. C. Dobbs, former High Commissioner at Baghdād; Maḥmūd was sent into house arrest in Baghdād. In 1931, Shaykh Aḥmad of Barzān, a less balanced personage, as Longrigg says (86, 103), quarrelled with a neighbouring Kurdish chief. In order to restore calm, the government undertook a winter campaign which also necessitated the intervention of the R.A.F. (cf. Mumford and Wilson, *The Crisis* . . .). There was a new uprising in 1933-4, and Shaykh Aḥmad and his young brother Mollā Muṣṭafā, who had helped him militarily, were forced to reside at Kirkūk and then at Sulaymāniyya. In 1941, during the abortive insurrectional adventure of Rashīd ʿAlī Gaylānī and the "Golden cadre", Shaykh Maḥmūd, who had profited from it to escape from Baghdād, had tried to raise a levy of Kurdish troops to help the British (Longrigg, 295). In 1943, Mollā Muṣṭafā Barzānī, in residence at Sulaymāniyya, unhappy with the food supplies and the social conditions of his supporters, succeeded in escaping as far as his territory of Barzān, accompanied by Shaykh Laṭīf, son of Shaykh Maḥmūd, and raised the standard of the revolt. A Kurd, Madjīd Muṣṭafā, named as Minister of State, intervened to settle the affair. Barzānī surrendered on condition that the Kurdish districts would be better provisioned, that Kurdish and non-Arab officials would be sent there, and finally that schools and hospitals would be opened in Kurdistān. These conditions, accepted by Nūrī Saʿīd, the Prime Minister, who even foresaw the establishment of an entirely Kurdish *liwāʾ* (Longrigg, 325), were not agreed by the regent ʿAbd al-Ilāh and, in the spring of 1945, the revolt broke out more fiercely. This time it was more serious. The Kurds achieved several spectacular victories, while the army underwent heavy losses. Once again the R.A.F. came to play its role of saviour of ʿIrāḳ and the Hāshimite monarchy. At the end of August, the operation was completed. Mollā Muṣṭafā withdrew to Iran with a party of his troops and his plunder (Rambout, 74-80). Four of his officers who had had faith in governmental promises of amnesty, Muṣṭafā Khushnavē, ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Muḥammad Maḥmūd and Khayr Allāh ʿAbd al-Karīm, were tried and executed on 19 June 1947.

After these events determined by force, all that remained for the Kurdish nationalists of ʿIrāḳ was to go underground, and this is what they did. They founded the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (D.P.K.) with leftist tendencies, and published two bulletins *Azadi* "Liberty" and *Rizgari* "Liberation". In its second issue (October 1946), the latter extolled an Armeno-Kurdish Union. At the same period, Colonel Elphinston, chief of the Intelligence Service in the Levant, asked himself if these efforts were not going to lead to the constituting of a Republic of the Soviet Union with an Armeno-Kurdish character. In any case, the calm returned, the Kurds profited from the liberty which had been left them to work with more ardour in the cultural domain. Literary reviews saw the light of day. Collections of poetry and articles on the history of Kurdistan and famous Kurds of the past were published. Sulaymāniyya became a very active cultural centre and a lively seat of Kurdish nationalism.

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ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān since the proclamation of the ʿIrāḳī Republic (14 July 1958) until 1970 underwent many vicissitudes. This Republic aroused the enthusiasm of the Kurds who, with the other political parties, had participated in the overthrow of the Hās͟himite monarchy. For the first time in history, the (provisional) Constitution of the state proclaimed in effect, "the Arabs and Kurds are associated in this nation". The Constitution guaranteed their national rights within the heart of the ʿIrāḳī entity (art. 3) (cf. *Orient*, no. 7 (3rd quarter 1958), 191-9). For his part, General ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] reinstated the Kurdish officials suspended in 1947 and authorised (2 September 1958) Mollā Muṣṭafā, who had taken refuge in the Soviet Union since this date, to return to ʿIrāḳ. He received him there with joy on the 7 October 1958, while his companions in exile returned in April 1959. Ḳāsim gave him a personal guard and a house in Bag͟hdād and, for some time, made him his counsellor to whom he paid attention. The Kurdish Democratic Party, which had prepared itself in secret for the great day and, from April 1959 published its weekly newspaper *Xebat* "Struggle", was authorised to appear. The Kurdish reviews and newspapers prospered, and from now on had a political aspect no longer simply a literary one. But this state of euphoria was not to last much longer, and the struggle of the Kurds for liberty broke out again and lasted ten years, interrupted by arrests and by more and more terrible reprisals. Four periods may be distinguished here:

Difficulties—as much external as internal—were not lacking for the "Faithful Leader". His see-saw politics ended by his setting everyone against him. The Kurds themselves, impatient to see him fulfil the promises which were late in coming, ended up by taking up arms against his dictatorial régime. Naturally, Mollā Muṣṭafā headed the movement (9 September 1961). This uprising was in no way tribal, for it was truly all the ʿIrāḳī Kurds, peasants and townsfolk, intellectuals and feudalists, who formed a bloc against Ḳāsim. The riposte was terrible: a strict economic blockade to starve the north of the country; massive bombardments with napalm, burning villages and harvests and shooting women, old men and children as well as combatants, but which only electrified the courage of the Kurds who, in March 1962, were the uncontested masters of all the ʿIrāḳī north, with the exception of the cities where the government troops were garrisoned. The losses of the army quickly rendered this war in the finest colonialist style unpopular. The soldiers deserted or went over to the enemy; business and commerce were reduced to nothing. A coup d'état was afoot, and the Kurds—without whom nothing could be done—were kept well-informed. At dawn of 8 February 1963, Ḳāsim disappeared tragically from the political scene and, from the next day, the Kurds declared the ceasefire. The Baath (Baʿt͟h) took power in Bag͟hdād. But when the Kurds reminded the new government of their neutrality, they were met with excuses. However, negotiations were embarked on and, on the 24 April 1963, the Kurds even presented a detailed *Memorandum* in which they expressed their desiderata (*Orient*, no. 26 (2nd quarter 1963), 207-11). Meanwhile, once it considered itself quite strong, the Baʿt͟hist government imprisoned the Kurdish deputies, issued an ultimatum (10 June 1963) and the same day resumed hostilities with an increased violence. As in the interval, the Baʿt͟h had also assumed power in Damascus, the Syrians lent assistance to their ʿIrāḳī friends by sending aircraft and the Yarmūk Brigade. The Kurds had soon eliminated the latter. They multiplied their ambushes, seized military posts and convoys of munitions and took prisoners by hundreds. The ʿIrāḳī army, beaten and humiliated, then brought in the "National Guard", aid of the Baʿt͟hist government, whose atrocities against the communists and all the opponents of the régime aroused universal reprobation. By a new coup d'état, aided by the army, General ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif ousted the Baʿt͟h and took all power into his own hands (18 November 1963). Military actions did not continue any the less. Barzānī launched an appeal to the International Red Cross (September 1963; Vanly, 319-21), and the Kurds addressed themselves to the Pope on the occasion of his journey to the Holy Land (2 January 1964; *L'Orient*, Beirut, no. 5240 (4 January 1964); complete text in *C.E.K.* no. 30, 82-8; cf. Mauries, 95, 96).

With a view to finally settling the Kurdish problem, Field-Marshal ʿĀrif negociated a ceasefire (10 February 1964) which Mollā Muṣṭafā accepted without even consulting the political bureau of the D.P.K. The Kurds who, as much as the ʿIrāḳīs, needed a breathing space, profited from it to make known to the outside world the true situation, thanks to foreign journalists who came to visit them; they renewed their provisions in livestock and munitions. The ʿIrāḳī government, occupied with still-born projects of Arab unity, left things to settle down, persuaded that in the end everything would be settled through weariness. Nothing came of it and the Kurds, disillusioned at seeing that no-one was seriously occupied with their demands, after October 1964 resolved to organise in effect their internal autonomy. They nominated administrative officials at all levels, levied dues and taxes, meted out justice in their tribunals. Naturally too, their troops were better-and-better equipped and trained. For the Sixth Congress of the D.P.K. (1-7 July 1964), the general state of the revolution (9-10 October 1964) as well as the new organisation of the Party and Constitution (17 October), cf. Vanly, 227-44 and texts: Constitution, 375-6, Administrative Law, 376-7. On the military organisation, *ibid.*, 244-8; Pradier, 210-23.

But the ceasefire of February was bound to provoke a serious crisis in the heart of the Kurdish insurrectional movement between Barzānī and the political bureau of the D.P.K., which in a brochure published on the 19 April, *L'accord ʿĀrif-Barzānī, une paix ou une capitulation*? accused him of having by this accord betrayed the objectives of the revolution. There was even a bloody engagement at Mawat, on 17 July, between antagonistic groups. At the Sixth Congress, 14 out of the 17 members of the political bureau were excluded from the party, among them Ibrāhīm Aḥmad and D̲j̲alāl Talabānī, and took refuge in Iran. This crisis due to differences of view between theoreticians and realists, despite its miseries, did not have any repercussions on the later military

events (cf. Vanly, 218-25; Pradier, 203-9, Viennot, 95-111; Arfa, 149-52).

But the ambiguity of the situation between Kurds and ʿIrāḳīs was bound soon to be dissipated. On 10 May 1964, the ʿIrāḳī government promulgated a new provisional Constitution which passed over in silence the rights of the Kurds explicitly recognised in the 3rd art. of the Constitution of 1958. This would not do for the Kurds who, for their part, had not disarmed their troops. The spring offensive was launched on the 4th March 1965 by almost the entire ʿIrāḳī army (infantry, armour, aircraft) with at its head General ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿĀrif, brother of the President. It began by achieving some local successes (March-May), but in summer (June-September) some murderous combats developed in the chain of Safīn. The small town of Pendjwīn, which had been destroyed, was occupied by the ʿIrāḳīs. Throughout this period, while the Kurds used artillery for the first time, the ʿIrāḳīs used toxic gases, but suffered heavy losses (4,194 killed, 2,201 wounded, 12 tanks destroyed and 5 aircraft shot down). Egypt helped ʿIrāḳ (*Le Monde*, 23 October). The winter campaign (22 December 1965-end February 1966) was resumed with intensity. On 1st January 1966, Barzānī sent a Memorandum to the U.N.O. (text in Vanly, 378-9). On 13 April 1966, Marshal ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif was killed in a helicopter accident. His brother, the general, was chosen to replace him as head of state. The same day as this death a new offensive began to liquidate definitively the rebellion. This campaign, which lasted from 12 April to 15 June, was particularly notable in May for the battle of Rawāndiz or Hendrin, the "Kurdish Verdun", as an eye-witness called it, R. Mauriès (171-213), and was transformed into a rout for the ʿIrāḳīs who, despite intensive use of napalm, lost 1,056 killed, 476 wounded, 600 mercenaries, the "cavaliers of Saladin" were put out of action and an enormous booty taken. The Kurds for their part only had to lament 38 killed and 85 wounded. Despite proclamations of victory, after a new ceasefire demanded from the 15 June by the government, an accord negociated by the Prime Minister Bazzāz (d. 28/6/73) was signed on 29 June 1966 (Vanly, 379; Viennot, thesis, ii, 189-92). Some secret clauses recognised in effect a certain autonomy for the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ; ʿĀrif made a visit to Barzānī (28 October) to try to reach agreement with him, for the ʿIrāḳī General Staff, unhappy with the "Bazzāz plan" did everything to torpedo it. Again, things dragged on for a long time. But the war of 5-11 June 1967 was bound to have its counter-effect in several Arab lands, as also in ʿIrāḳ, where a new coup d'état (17 July 1967) saw General Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Bakr install himself as President of the Republic, followed by a second coup d'état (30 July 1968) in which al-Bakr took over all power and re-established the Baʿthist dictatorship, whose "National Guard" in 1963 had hardly left behind good memories. While the Kurds maintained their material and moral potential and made a great effort in the field of primary instruction by opening 300 schools in 1968, the government flirted with the Kurdish dissidents, created an (Arabic language) University at Sulaymāniyya and the new administrative division (*liwāʾ*) of Duhok among the Kurds, but nevertheless prepared to resume hostilities. These, preceded by several skirmishes, began in April around Koy-Sandjaḳ. The ʿIrāḳī troops had to abandon the towns of Kala-Diza, Pendjwīn and Čwarta, and then attacked in June the peasant population of Arbīl, Ḥalabdja and Badīnān, spraying the harvests with napalm and sulphuric acid. In July, cholera broke out at Kala-Diza. In August there was the massacre of Dakan, at Shaykhān. In January (5 January 1970, *L'Express* mentioned that between September and December 1969, the Kurds had stopped the ʿIrāḳī offensive outright; 151 aircraft had been shot down during the last six months. Also in January 1970, the Baʿthist régime opened negociations with Barzānī and the executive bureau. A Kurdish delegation, headed by Dr. Maḥmūd ʿUthmān, went to Baghdad and, on the 11 March, an accord on 15 points was signed at Nawperdan, in Kurdistān, between the two parties, which put an end to a war of nine years (text in *Kurdish facts*, February-March 1970). The Kurds obtained their internal autonomy and the Vice-Presidency of the Republic. The Kurdish language became the second official language of ʿIrāḳ (Arabic text in *al-Djumhūriyya*, Baghdad no. 704, of 12 March 1970; English text in *Kurdish facts*, February-March 1970; German text, Nebez, *Kurdistan*, 232-5). Five Kurds were named as ministers, the amnesty was declared on both sides. Great festivities celebrated the event. However, all the problems were not solved. There was an attempt against Mollā Muṣṭafā (29 September 1971), troubles at Sindjār (summer 1972) and controversies over the attribution of the territories of Kirkūk after the nationalisation of the I.P.C. (1st June 1972). In June 1973, an *Appel en faveur du Kurdistan irakien* for the application of the accord of 11 March 1970, emanated from combined groups and from Black Africa (*Le Monde*, 15 June 1973).

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The Kurds of Syria and Lebanon, apart from some great families and their entirely arabised dependants, such as the Barazī of Ḥamāt, the beys of ʿAkkār, the Djumblāṭ Druze chiefs (Djān Bulād "soul of steel"), have preserved their original characters, although some may often have been settled for several centuries and, in every case, well before the establishment of the French mandate. They posed practically no political problem to the mandatory

power and were able to develop freely a very lively cultural movement. They had a large share in the economic prosperity of the Djazīra (Rondot, *Les Kurdes de Syrie*, 94, 99 and passim; A. Muʿawwad, *al-Akrād fī Lubnān wa-Sūriyā*, Beirut 1945). But difficulties of a political order arose under the various régimes after 1957 and the plan for the "Arab Belt" (1963). Then, on the pretext of agrarian reform, the lands of the peasants were confiscated, and 120,000 Kurds forfeited their Syrian nationality, also loosing the right to become civil servants, to send their children to state schools and to be admitted to the public hospitals. All Kurdish books and music were forbidden. The names of villages were changed to give them Arab names and to settle Arabs there instead and expel Kurds (I. C. Vanly, *Le problème kurde en Syrie*, 1968 (cf. Muḥammad Ṭālib Hilāl, *Dirāsa ʿan muḥāfaẓat al-Djazīra min al-nawāḥī al-ḳawmiyya al-idjtimāʿiyya al-siyāsiyya*, 1963, ed. I. C. Vanly, and 1968); idem, *La persécution du peuple kurde par la dictature du Baas en Syrie*, Amsterdam, October 1968.

(TH. BOIS)

iv. — KURDISH SOCIETY

The social and economic life of Kurdistan is strongly structured. If a small part of the Kurdish people still leads a nomadic life, its great majority is now sedentarised in numerous villages, but "it survives as well today, and in the countryside Kurdish society is essentially tribal" (Edmonds, 12), as always among nomads. But in the detribalised villages the organisation of the group comes under the influence of the government administration, landlords and religious leaders. This leads to a certain number of transformations of fundamental structures at present clearly evolving in Kurdish society, family, tribe and landlord, which we are going to examine first before considering the religious impact, then drawing attention to the social customs which are attached to them.

A. The fundamental structures of Kurdish society.

1. *The Kurdish family.*

The normal Kurdish family consists of a cell or household composed of the father, mother and children. This household, founded on marriage, is ordinarily monogamous and not patriarchal. Marriage is essential. In Kurdistān there are no old bachelors or spinsters, and also no celibacy nor free love at all. Prostitution does not exist in the small Kurdish villages of ʿIrāḳ or Iran. Adultery is practically unknown because too dangerous. People marry young, the boys at 20, the girls at 12. But in the towns, and since the young Kurds prolong their studies, marriage is delayed. Cousins frequently marry one another. The agnatic cousin is preferred and has rights over his cousin. This way of doing things has many advantages, for the father of the bride knows his nephew better; who, himself, is more in a position to protect the girl. Moreover, in the case of tribal conflicts, especially in the past, this would make one rifle more. At the same time, the marriage portion is diminished. To renounce his cousin, the agnatic cousin will exact the price of his renunciation. If not, he will be able to abduct the girl or even to shoot her as well as her parents (Daghestani, 22-3). So abduction is not therefore unknown, with all its risks (ʿAḳrāwī, 130; Daghestani, 17). Marriage can also be conducted by the exchange of sisters, *berdêlî* (Avdal, 222; Daghestani, 3). In this case, the marriage portion is not exacted and only the costs of the wedding feast remain. Marriage can also be conducted between people who are not related, but there is a preference for the same village or the same tribe, more than for a stranger, so that marriage is always endogamous in the broad sense. Barth (61) was able to ascertain a much greater frequency of marriage between cousins in the tribal populations (57%) than in the non-tribal populations (17%). Hence the importance of knowing lineage and names well (cf. genealogical table: Leach, 63; Barth, 31; Hansen, 116). Among the Yazīdīs and the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ strict endogamy is obligatory between some families (Avdal; Mokri, 44). The marriage portion, except in the cases cited, is exacted everywhere (Daghestani, 28; Leach, 44-5; Hansen, 123-4) and is not necessarily considered by the interested parties as being a sale, as it is often seen in the West. On the contrary, they like it as an appreciation of their value. This marriage portion, which varies according to the regions and especially the social situation of the family, is paid in kind, livestock, lands, a mill, etc., or in cash, of which the sum varies enormously, and its high sum may at times cause the aspirant to despair. Despite the critics, even among the Soviet Kurds, it has not completely disappeared. Cf. on this subject some poems translated in *Machriq*, 1958. The virginity of the girl before marriage must not be in doubt and proof must be given on the night of the wedding and kept for a year at least (Nikitine, 109, 115; Hansen, 13-4; Mokri, 68).

Polygamy exists legally as much among the Muslim Kurds as among the Yazīdīs. Horizontal or simultaneous polygamy was very frequent in the past, and was still so in the 19th century. The chiefs of tribes did not always keep to the four legitimate wives authorised by the Ḳurʾān. Ibrāhīm Pasha, founder of Sulaymāniyya, had 40 wives (Campanile, 107); the great Bedir Khān had 14 and 99 children. At his death, 21 boys and 21 girls remained to him. These customs are now ended. In the past, polygamy was a luxury and a sign of power; today it is sometimes an economic need. It can still be encountered in the urban poorly-educated milieu (Hansen, 138), but also in the peasant milieu (Barth, 25). In any case, where it is found, it does not exceed 2% in the Kurd Dagh (Daghestani, 79), 4% in ʿIrāḳ (Barth, 24), and there are never more than two wives. Among themselves, they are called *hewî*. In Turkey and among the Soviet Kurds, polygamy is forbidden by the civil law. But vertical or successive polygamy always exists, thanks to divorce or repudiation, for three *ṭalāḳ*s suffice for a husband to be able to repudiate a wife who no longer pleases him in order to marry another. Also, the *shaykh* of Shadala at 70 had been married 19 times (Hansen, 138), and similarly old Ibrāhīm, *agha* of the Dizai (Hay, 43). The wife can also be repudiated because of sterility or the impossibility of bringing male infants into the world. In this case, she may remain with her husband. If she is repudiated for other reasons, she returns to her father and has few chances of remarrying. A woman guilty or even simply suspected of adultery will not only be repudiated, but will run a high risk of death, which her own father or brother or one of his parents will be entitled to inflict on her. The children of the repudiated wife remain with their father. The widow remains in the house of the father or brother of her husband (Barth, 29). The levirate is practised at times, and a little everywhere (Daghestani, 99; Avdal, 221; Barth, 29; Edmonds, 348; Hansen, 136), not as a rule of law, but for convenience. In the Kurdish family, the husband has great authority,

but the wife also has her word to say. Speaking of the situation of the two spouses, Mrs. Hansen (117) finds that of the woman inferior to that of the man in the humble villages, equal in the village aristocracy and the educated urban milieu, but superior in the uneducated urban milieu.

The birth of a child is always desired, even if a son is not necessarily preferred to a daughter. Also, the children are numerous but decimated by a fairly severe infant mortality. The children are always welltreated, but without excessive refinement, for life is harsh. The name is given at birth and ordinarily by the women (Nikitine, 106), but at times by the mollah (Barth, 112; Hansen, 108). This name is often that of an Islamic personage or a hero of history or national legend, or it may well be one of the virtues which one wishes to see possessed by the newborn, or the name of a flower, fruit, animal with qualities appreciated by everyone. Hypocoristic forms of the name are very widespread. Some names possess at the same time the desinence *o* of the masculine and the desinence *e* of the feminine. But curiously, the masculine forms are used to address individuals who are not noble, while the feminine forms are reserved for personages of distinguished birth (Celadet Bedir Khan, *Grammaire* 98). On names, diminutives, surnames, see Edmonds, 42.

Circumcision, *sinet*, is practised a few days after the birth, either by a specialist *sinetker* or by a simple barber (Barth, 112; Nikitine, 106). In some places, the ceremony may be carried out later, when the child is 5 or 7 years old and often with several children at the same time. The chief or notable whose son has to be circumcised organises a small festivity, and offers a meal to the families concerned (Barth, 112).

2. *Tribal organisation.*

(a) *Listings of the Kurdish tribes.*

A fundamental element of Kurdish society is without dispute the tribe. We possess at present the nomenclature of all the Kurdish tribes. In 1826 Lerch already made a good summary of the Kurds of Turkey (63-87), the Russian territories (88-9) and the Persian territories (92-121). Jaba (1860) specified some numbers of them (1-8 of the Kurdish text). A map of their habitat in Transcaucasia was published at Tiflis by E. Kondratenko (1896) and Col. Kartsov (1897). In 1908 Sir Mark Sykes recorded 305 names of Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire, and G. R. Driver (1919) drew up Sykes' list differently and added the Kurdish tribes of southern Kurdistān (ʿIrāḳ) and those which remain outside the Kurdistān foreseen after the Great War (19-74). But the different political events which have occurred since then have led to many changes in the distribution and situation of the Kurdish tribes. In the Kurdish edition of his *History of Kurdistan* (1931), M. A. Zakī draws up a complete table of all the tribes (319-98, Arabic tr. [1939], 373-468 with map). The Kurdish tribes of Syria were counted by the French services of the Levant in 1930 (5th part, 137-90), and with more care and exactitude by P. Rondot in 1939. The lists published in Kurdish in *Roja nû* of the Kurdish tribes of ʿIrāḳ (No. 66,14—January 1946) and those of Iran (No. 68,4 of February 1946) are not of much use, given the few precise figures, in particular. M. Mokri in Persian gives information on the Sandjābī tribes of Iran (1946), and A. ʿAzzāwī presented in Arabic (1947) an excellent study on the Kurdish tribes of ʿIrāḳ (27-222). A good account of the tribes and sub-tribes of ʿIrāḳ, northern Kurdistān (18-27), and southern Kurdistān (45-51), is supplied for us by H. Field in his *Anthropology of Iraq* (1953), with their numerical importance, the names of the chiefs and the habitat. But in fact, his information is earlier than that supplied by ʿAzzāwī. In Persian, the name of 490 tribes are to be found in Mardūkh (1953), i, 75-119, and a long study on the tribes of Sanandadj, ii, 10-48. Finally, in B. Karabudat there are eight sketches of the position of the Kurdish tribes and clans of Turkey in the *vilayets* of Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakir, Siirt, Bitlis, Muş, Van and Hakkâri, and similarly in the border districts of Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Iran. As for the Yazīdī tribes, they were in their turn enumerated and placed by A. ʿAzzāwī in 1935 (90-110), and those of Sindjār and Djabal Akrād especially by R. Lescot (1938), 251-61). The interest of this vast table and listing is particularly to show the universality of the tribal phenomenon in the history and life of the Kurdish people. Clearly, it is not our concern to write at length on these different tribes. The fundamental work remains the *Sharaf-nāma* (1596). Much historical and ethnographical information is to be found in the different works of Soane (1912-26). Longrigg (1925), Leach (1940), Nikitine (1950), Barth (1953) and Edmonds (1957). An exhaustive study of the Yazīdī tribes, clans and villages with statistics is given us by S. Damlūdjī (1949) in his work on the Yazīdīs in Arabic (224-60).

(b) *The Kurdish tribe and its components.*

"The Kurdish tribe is a community or a collection of communities which exists for the protection of its members against an external aggression and for the maintenance of the old racial customs and way of life" (Hay, 65). It is evident that a land of mountains, such as Kurdistān, favours the birth and development of groups more or less closed and shut in on themselves, as perhaps was the tribe in its origin. Although constituted like every human grouping which is formed from a kernel like the family, it would be wrong to believe that the Kurdish tribe is an enlarged family, a little in the manner of which the Bible speaks of the Twelve Tribes of Israel (F. Millingen, 284). Indeed, some contemporary Kurdish sociologists are opposed to this way of seeing things. If the vertebral column of the Arab tribe (*ḳabīla*) is a kinship line (*nasab*), among the Kurds it is the soil (*arḍ*), i.e. the region inhabited by all and submissive to the chief of the group (Khesbak, 68; ʿAkrāwī, 18).

However, the western sociologists who have studied tribal organisation among the Kurds (Leach, 1940; Barth, 1953; W. L. E., 1956) seem to have remarked some differences among the nomads on the one hand and the sedentaries on the other. Barth also examined the political organisation of the Djaff, a powerful federation of tribes, almost entirely nomadic until very recently (34-44 and diagr. no. 3); political organisation among the Hamawend (45-9 and diagr. no. 4 and 5), where the economy is based on agricultural exploitation and where non-tribal elements are mixed with the population; and finally, the organisation and political structure of the Baban, a princely family (60-6 and diagr. no. 6). For his part, the anonymous W.L.E. (432) was able to distinguish in the rural population various types of social and economic organisation, e.g. the classical tribe under an *agha* claiming a common origin and divided into *tira* or fractions, such as the Girdī and the tribe under a "feudal" chief of different lineage, such as the Dizaī and Djaff. The influence and the social role of the landlords and religious *shaykhs*, who are not chiefs of a tribe, are another aspect of the problem (cf. Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes*, 39-47).

Furthermore, real social classes are recognisable in Kurdish society. The most evident distinction exists between the villagers of tribal origin, *eşîr* (*ʿa<u>sh</u>īra*) and those who are not and are named after the regions and dialects, either *kurdmanč* (Kurdman<u>dj</u>), *goran* or *miskîn*, some of them being sometimes almost the serfs of the landlords of the village (Nikitine, 124). The last name *miskîn* should be preferred, says Edmonds (123), for the two others denote different meanings (dialect or tribe). Perhaps they are to be seen as the descendants of the autochthonous populations conquered by the warlike tribes? But even within the same tribe, there is no uniformity of rights and duties. There are the noble families, one might say, *torin*, such as the Begzādas; and the commoners who comprise firstly a military caste, the *xulam* (*<u>gh</u>ulām*) (Nikitine, 125) or *piştmala* (Barth, 42), a kind of praetorian guard of the chiefs who are recruited in all the *tira* of the tribe (Barth, 46) and who, in the past, had almost the status of slave (Nikitine, 125), and finally the class of peasants.

Perhaps one may now give the classical scheme of the organisation of a Kurdish tribe according to Rondot (*Tribus*, 18 ff.) with regard to the Omeran. At the base is the house or household or family in the strict sense of father, mother and children. A group of houses form a *bavik* or *mal*, an extended family. The union of many *baviks* constitutes the clan or *ber*. The collection of all these clans gives us the tribe or *eşîr* (*ʿa<u>sh</u>īra*). The terminology is different in Barth, who divided e.g. the <u>Dj</u>aff *ʿa<u>sh</u>īra* into a certain number of tribes or *tira*, a political group not to be confused with the *hoz*, a group of the same lineage. The *tira* is subdivided into many *<u>kh</u>el*, each *<u>kh</u>el* composed of 20 to 30 tents or households united by economic links as well as by family links. At the head of the *ʿa<u>sh</u>īra* there is, or used to be, a *pa<u>sh</u>a* of the family of Begzāda; each *tira* has at its head a *raiz* (*raʾīs*); and at the head of each *<u>kh</u>el* an elected chief of a village, the *ki<u>kh</u>a*. Among the Hamawend, the chief of a *tira* is called *a<u>gh</u>a*. For his part, Leach (13-14), distinguished the *ʿa<u>sh</u>īra* whose "name describes at the same time the people and the territory which occupies it". It is essentially descriptive of a political grouping. It is formed of one or several clans or *ṭāʾifa*, descriptive of a kinship grouping and divided into several subsections or *tira*. He also finds, he says, the normal anthropological classification: *ʿa<u>sh</u>īra*, *ṭāʾifa* and *tira*, i.e. tribe, clan and lineage. This divergence in vocabulary where Arabic and Kurdish words of different dialects are mixed together hardly favours clarity of exposition.

Let us draw attention to the system of the *oba* (cf. the *<u>kh</u>el*), which is particular to the semi-nomadic tribes and which makes its appearance towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. It is a temporary association of stock-breeders from different villages, formed in the spring to lead the herds to the pastures and to return at the end of the autumn. Neither kinship nor tribal relations are necessary to be a member of the *oba*. The *ser-oba* or *oba başî* organises the transhumance on condition that he has dues appropriated in kind. There are still to be remarked the differentiations in the groups: the chief *ser-oba* and his family, the different more or less important landlords and the simple shepherds. On this organisation of the *oba*, see Ereb Şemo, *Şivanê kurd* (ed. Beirut 1947, 29), Nikitine, 149-52; Ghassemlou, 158-60. According to O. L. Vilčvevsky, *Economie de la communauté agricole chez les Kurdes*, 1936, it is around the *oba* that the "class struggle" is concentrated in Kurdistān.

(c) *The chief of the tribe, his obligations, his responsibilities and his compensations.*

The chief of the tribe, whatever its importance, is ordinarily called *a<u>gh</u>a*, a relatively recent title, at the earliest after the conquest of Ba<u>gh</u>dād by Sultan Murād IV in 1637 (Edmonds, 223). He always comes from the family of the chiefs. He normally acquires this rank by heredity, but not always. The eldest son generally takes the place of his deceased father, but not necessarily, for a younger brother, judged more able, because more competent or better-liked, can supplant his elder brother. But the choice can also be made after the election of other chiefs or clans, or even, if necessary, by violence. In some cases even, the central government can intervene and nominate the chief directly.

In the feudal age, the chief, almost autonomous in his tribe, had to supply the suzerain, sultan or <u>sh</u>āh, with levies in the form of troops or tributes which, naturally, he levied on his dependents, whom he had besides to aid protect in time of war and danger. But this is ancient history. Today the chief has other obligations, and especially it is to him or his representative, the chief of the village, that there falls the duty of sheltering guest travellers, Kurds or foreigners, more or less numerous according to the seasons or circumstances. To collect his expenses, the chief imposes on the people of his tribe certain dues, which bear the general name of the *a<u>gh</u>a*'s right, *axatî*, either taxes on all the revenues of the shepherd or peasant, or corvées, *herewez*, days of obligatory work, not to mention some obligatory presents, *êdanî*, in certain circumstances (marriages, feasts) and the rights of justice or fines in cash which he can exact for theft, abduction or murder, if recourse is had to his good offices and to his intervention to regulate the litigation (details of all levies due to the chief will be found in Th. Bois, *Connaissance* . . ., 36-8 or *La vie sociale*, 610-11 and notes 46 and 47 with the references). These tribal rights should not be confused with the other rights to which the Kurdish shepherds or peasants are obligated by the landlords.

3. *The economic structures.*

(a) *Kurdish nomadism.*

The nomads are essentially organised around the tribe and are devoted almost exclusively to stock-breeding in a fairly closed economy. The life of a nomad is harsh and is submissive to the heavy authority of the chief. But this way of life, both for social and economic reasons, is tending to be transformed and to disappear. On nomadism and its repercussions on the economy of Kurdistan, see J. Frölin, *Les formes de la vie pastorale en Turquie*, in *Geografiska Stockholm Annalen* (1944), 219-72; H. Christoff, *Kurden und Armenier*, Hamburg 1935; O. L. Vilčevsky, *Economie de la communauté agraire nomade kurde de la Transcaucasie et des districts environnants dans la 2e moitié du xixe s.*, in *SE* (1936), No. 4-5, 135-61; N. Bogdanova, *L'exploitation féodale des nomades*, in *Arch. Hist. Acad. Sc. URSS*, ii (1939); I. P. Petru<u>sh</u>evsky, *Essai sur l'histoire des relations féodales en Azerbaidjan et en Arménie, du xvie au debut du xixe s.*, Leningrad 1949, 389; W. D. Hütteroth, *Bergnomaden und Yaylabauern im mittleren kurdischen Taurus*, Marburg 1959, 190; T. R. Stauffer, *The economics of nomadism in Iran*, in *MEJ* (Summer 1965), 284-302; V. Monteil, *Les tribus du Fars et la sedentarisation des nomades*, Paris-The Hague 1966. Also, X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1968, 442; H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Aperçu sur le problème du*

nomadisme au Moyen-Orient, in Documentation française, *Notes et Études*, doc. No. 2095 (3 November 1955).

Some efforts at sedentarisation were undertaken between the two World Wars, in the different states where nomadic tribes, Kurds or others, were living; but both in Turkey as well as in Iran, with Mustafa Kemal or Riḍā Shāh Pahlavi, the methods used were not always well received by the interested parties. This is the reverse of Russian policy with the tribes of the Caucasus, according to R. J. M. Goold-Adams (*Middle East journey*, London 1947, 95), who says that the Russians succeeded better than anywhere else in the Middle East. "In fact, their way of approaching the problem was economic as much as political and military ... For they offered the nomads lands, water and the advice of agricultural experts to make them capable of augmenting the harvests necessary for their subsistance." Elsewhere, sedentarisation has been effected without violence and in stages, as for the Djaff, for example (Edmonds, 146).

(b) *The Kurdish peasantry.*

The Kurdish population is essentially rural. The Kurd is thus a peasant in a rough proportion of 65 to 80%, although industrialisation is beginning to take place. If such are the facts, it is understandable that the land must play a fundamental role in the life of the peasant. The land system in force among the Kurds poses more of a problem. Until the First World War, the major part of Kurdistan was contained in the Ottoman Empire, and the land system came under the Ottoman Land Code (1858), for military fiefs had been abolished in 1839. This system existed until around 1930, in the lands (Syria, ʿIrāḳ) which were inheritors of the Ottoman Empire (Warriner, 66). This Code recognised various kinds of properties: *mulk* property, in the absolute form *raḳaba*, recognised by a title deed or *senet tapo*, or in the form of usufruct, *taṣarruf*; property of the state, *mīrī*, absolute for the state, with usufruct possible for some private individuals; properties of *waḳf* or mainmorte, either *khayrī* if the beneficiaries are works of charity, such as mosques, schools or students, hospitals, or *ahlī* if the beneficiaries are minors; public properties for the use of all, *matrūka*, e.g. roads, rivers, village commons etc.; and finally dead properties, *mawāt*, desert and empty lands which all belong to the state. In Iran the *khāliṣa* crown properties must be added here (Lambton, 238-58).

The extent of these different types of property varies between the countries, and in general leaves little room for the small landowner ($^2/_3$ of the rural population in Turkey, $^1/_4$ in ʿIrāḳ). Everywhere large landownership is the rule. In ʿIrāḳ, out of 10 million hectares of arable land, 4 millions belong to the state and 6 million to private landowners. In Iran 10% of the peasants possess 8% of the land, from 1 to 3 hectares or a *cot* per household. The *cot* is both the pair of oxen used for labour and the work carried out by the peasant in one day (Ghassemlou, 128). The great landowners, i.e. the state, the chiefs of tribes, the religious shaykhs and the great bourgeois businessmen, lease out on short lets their immense lands at a price which renders the situation of the peasant highly precarious. Indeed, the dues are heavy. If, in Iran, the annual revenue of the great landowners reaches 5,600 dollars a head, that of the average peasant only reaches 60 dollars (Ghassemlou, 168). In ʿIrāḳ, before the Second World War, the income of the Kurdish peasant came to £ 10 a year (Khosbak). There are the dues in kind or in corvée labour (80%), in kind (15%) and for the rest (5%), which fall so heavily on the peasant. In Turkey, several systems are distinguishable: *yarıcılık*, where the peasant uses his own tools, plough and livestock and gives half of the harvest; *resimcilik*, where the amount of the rent depends on the situation and fertility of the soil, the manpower, the rentability of the cultivation and the degree of dependance of the peasant; and *murabbacılık*, where, in exchange for his work the farmer only touches $^1/_4$ of the harvest (Moiselev, 13). In Kurdish Iran, the same servitudes under different names and rather similar systems are to be found: *nimekare*, in which the landowner leases out the irrigated lands and supplies the seed, and the peasant supplies the work, with the landowner taking $^3/_5$ of the harvest and the peasant $^2/_5$; *sêykbar*, in which the landowner supplies the land, the water, the seed and the beasts of labour, and takes $^1/$ of the harvests; *sêqut*, in which the landowner supplies soil and water and receives $^2/_3$ of the harvest; and *dawudu*, in which the landowner, in return for supplying earth and seed, takes $^2/_{10}$ of the harvest (Ghassemlou, 132-8). In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān the same problems are encountered. Thus for the summer harvests, tobacco or cotton, the landowner takes $^1/_2$ and $^1/_3$ in the case of the rice; for the winter harvests, wheat or barley, $^1/_{10}$ or $^1/_5$. In addition, there is that which is owned or levied: 7,5% for the *serkal*, the agent of the landowner, 10% for the government, and in addition, all that there is set aside for the *qahwaçi* or coffeemaker of the master, the *mudhif* or guest house, etc. (Khosbak, 48). Also, for the detribalised villages under landlords, the revenues of the soil are distributed roughly as follows: $^3/_6$ for the landowner, $^1/_6$ for his representative in the case of the landowners who do not always live on the spot but are settled in the towns, $^1/_6$ for the share-cropper or farmer, and $^1/_6$ for the agricultural worker who has neither land nor beast, but only his labour. If account is made at the end of the year, the poor Kurdish peasant is left with empty hands and overwhelmed by debts (Rossi, 86), for he is often forced to take on usurious loans in order to survive until the next harvest.

If such are the conditions of life of the Kurdish peasant, one can understand the rebellions which break out from time to time, e.g. that of the *mouroud* of the Kurd-Dagh (Syria) directed by Ibrâhîm Khalīl between 1930 and 1940 (cf. Th. Bois, *Les Kurdes*, 15-115), and the revolt of 20,000 families of Dizai, in 1954, who demanded the reduction of the tax to $^9/_{20}$th of the harvest, the suppression of forced labour, and the suppression of gifts on the occasion of feasts or marriages (Gavan, 19).

To remedy this feudalism of the land which makes the Kurdish peasant a taxable serf, subject to forced labour at pleasure, some projects of agrarian reform have been envisaged by the governments of the regions inhabited by the Kurds. In all these lands however, the feudalists, chiefs of tribes or religious shaykhs, privileged in the past, have been the stubborn enemies of these attempts at reform.

In Iran, since 1955, a law provides for the distribution of the lands belonging to the crown and state (Muḥammad Shāh, 205). In 1960, an agrarian law aimed at regulating the property of private lands by fixing the maximum at 400 hectares for irrigated lands and 800 hectares for non-irrigated lands. Provision was also made for rural co-operatives which, from 500 in the beginning, rose to 4,500 in 1965 and 8,000 in 1969. But above all, the Shāh proclaimed the "White Revolution" (26 January 1963), approved by referendum and which, in its

twelve points, was among other things to lead to the abolition of feudalism and the liberation of the peasant. In Turkey, since 1938, provision has been made for the purchase of the lands of the great landowners to distribute them to the peasants, but few have benefited from it. A legal project regarding agrarian reform was promulgated on the 21 June 1945, which envisaged the distribution of the lands of the state and of landowners whose area exceeded 500 hectares, but this art. 17 was abrogated in 1950. The price had to be paid within 20 years (Mouseiev, 14). A new agrarian project began in 1961. The deplorable situation of the peasants was acknowledged, hence it was concerned with the distribution of the lands belonging to the Treasury, 8 million *dönums* (in Turkey 1 *dönum* = 1,000 m² approx.); those managed and cultivated by the state, quite extensive in the provinces of the east and south-east; those of *waḳfs*, of which there still remained 1 million *dönums* to distribute; and finally the private estates, whose total area exceeded 38 million *dönums* (Vatan, 14-15). In 1965, out of 13,591,622 members of the active population, nearly ³/₄, i.e. 9,764,652 lived by agriculture (Esenkova, 116). They were also the most unprovided for (cf. M. Makal, *Bizim köy*, Fr. tr. *Un village anatolien, récit d'un instituteur paysan*, Paris 1963, Eng. tr., *A village in Anatolia*, London 1954).

In ʿIrāḳ, the agrarian policy of the royal government was originally rather favourable to the chiefs of tribes, Arabs or Kurds. In 1932, law No. 50 (Dowson) assigned landed property, pasture or arable, to the tribes, then law no. 51 (called *lazma*) assigned to the chiefs the ownership of the properties of the tribe. In 1933, Law No. 28 forbade the peasant "in debt" to leave the land of his master, unless his house was destroyed. Finally, in 1954, Decree No. 11 allowed the Minister of Justice to assign the national properties. Furthermore, e.g. in 1952-4, 1,794,560 *dönums* (in ʿIrāḳ a *dönum* = ¹/₄ hectare) were distributed to 6,863 peasant families from the region of Sindjār, but the major part was assigned to Aḥmad al-Adjil, *shaykh* of the Shammar (Warriner, 160).

Such a situation could not continue. After 30 August 1958, the new Republic published an agrarian law which was aimed at putting an end to feudalism, to raise the social level of the peasant and develop agriculture. According to this law, the area of properties should not exceed 250 hectares in irrigated lands and 500 hectares in non-irrigated lands. The benefits of cultivation were strictly regulated. The lands thus freed had within five years to be distributed to the peasants, from 30 to 60 *dönums* of irrigated lands or from 60 to 120 *dönums* of non-irrigated lands. The landowners had to be compensated in goods from the Treasury at 3%, reimbursable in 20 years (Vernier, 398). There was euphoria among the peasants, who did not wait to help themselves, and a general outcry on the part of the landlords, and many rebellions had to be faced.

In these different lands, the Kurdish peasant was bound to benefit from these agrarian reforms. But it is not sufficient to have the land; he still had to have the means to cultivate it. The means are lacking or insufficient: seed is expensive, the agricultural equipment rudimentary and primitive, everywhere mediaeval ploughing methods are still in use, the indispensable irrigation works are expensive and the co-operatives cannot answer all needs. The Kurds of ʿIrāḳ, as Kurds, are the only ones to have their word today. Thus the D.P.K. at the time of its Seventh Congress, in November 1968, published its programme whose long article 14 presents its views on the group of projects which take account of the special needs of their region (Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 365-6). A witness records a partition of lands at which she was present in Kurdistān in 1964, Joyce Lussu, *Anche i Kurdi conquistano il loro socialismo*, in *Rinascità Sarda*, an. ii, No. 9, 10 March 1964, 19.

These problems of the land are not posed in the same manner for the Kurds of Soviet Armenia. Indeed, the First World War was still not finished when the peasants of the Alagöz rebelled with the cry of: "We want the land. How long are we to remain slaves?" They were excited by their young compatriot who relates it himself (Ereb Şemo, *Şivanê kurd*, Beirut 1947, 62). After many struggles against the *kulaks*, the dream was realised, but perhaps not in the fashion originally envisaged. From then onwards, property has been collective and the peasants enrolled in the *kolkhoz* (cf. Aristova, *Kurdî Zakavkaz'ya*, 1966, 64). Instead of the plough and cart of the past, it is the tractor and the combine-harvester which serve to cultivate the lands of the *kolkhoz*. Hence the standard of living of the Kurdish peasant has been noticably raised. But perhaps this new life is somewhat idealised in the work (in Armenian) of Emine Evdal on the *Manners and customs of the Kurds of Transcaucasia*, 1957 (cf. Th. Bois, *La vie sociale des Kurdes*, 605-9; P. P. Mouseiev, *Le problème agraire en Turquie*, in *Sovietskoie Vostokovedenie*, 1956, No. 1 (Fr. tr. in *Doc. Franc., Articles et Documents*, No. 0.369, 14 June 1954, 8-15); Warriner, *Land reform and development in the Middle East, a study of Egypt, Syria and Iraq*, 1957, 1962; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia, a study of land tenure and land revenue administration*, London 1953, 1969; P. Rossi, *L'Irak devant la reforme agraire*, in *Orient*, vii/3 (1958), 81-93; *La réforme agraire en Irak*, in *al-Bilād*, Baghdād, 12 September 1960, Fr. tr. in Doc. Franc., *Articles et Documents*, No. 01027, 29 November 1960; *Un projet (turc) de réforme agraire*, in *Vatan*, Istanbul, of the 9 and 12 October 1960, Fr. tr. in Doc. Franc., *Articles et Documents*, No. 0.1174, 9-10; Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Mission for my country*, London 1961; B. Vernier, *L'Irak aujourd'hui*, 1963, ch. 19, *Structure du secteur rural*, 371-7, ch. 22, 1, *La réforme agraire*, 397-406; H. Mandras and Y. Tavernier, *Terre, paysans et politique*, Paris 196; Jaafar Khayyat, *The Iraqi village, a study in its condition and reform*, Beirut 1950 [in Arabic]; anon., *Notre question de l'Est aux yeux d'un sociologue*, in *Yön*, 3rd yr., No. 90, 18 December 1964 (in Turkish); Ismail Besikçi, *Doğu Anadolu'da geri bırakılmışlığı oluşumu* ("*The under-development of Eastern Anatolia*"), in *Ant*, No. 10, February 1971, 46-73; idem, *Doğu Anadolu'nun duzeni: sosyo-ekonomik ve etnik temeller*, ("*The situation of Eastern Anatolia: its socio-economic and ethnic causes*"); *Iran-Shahr, a survey of Iran's land, people, culture, government, economy*, Tehran Univ. Press 1963, published with the assistance of UNESCO, i, 117 pp.).

B. The religious impact.

Kurdish society, based on the land (tribe and village) and blood (family), is coloured by a religious aspect which appears often in daily life (cf. Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes*, 47-8). The central kernel of the present Kurdish habitat, to the east of the Tigris, around Lakes Van and Urmiya, as well as in the north and east of ʿIrāḳ, was contained before Islam within the Sāsānid empire (224-642) where Zoroastrianism became the state religion. But already before that, in the time of the Parthians, Christian evangelisation had encountered there some Jewish groups against pagan populations who worshipped trees, had

a solar cult and sacrificed to the devil. Some of them were converted. The *Acts of the martyrs of Persia* (Syriac ed. Bedjan, Leipzig 1892) report that these autochthonous Christians suffered under Sapor II (309-63). But at the beginning of the 5th century the church was reorganised, bishops were installed in all the Kurdish lands (cf. P. Labourd, *Le christianisme dans l'Empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide* (224-632), Paris 1904, *passim*) and a number of monasteries were built, some of which were maintained until t·e invasions of Tīmūr (1336-1405); cf. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, *passim*. But the mass of the people followed the official cult, and the Kurds recognise that their ancestors could have been *madjūs* [*q.v.*] or followers of Zoroaster (Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, 424).

The fall of the Sāsānid dynasty (642) favoured the Islamisation of the country that the Arabs had begun to invade a decade or so previously. This happened neither without a blow nor without regret. But after many combats in which they allied themselves sometimes with the Sunnīs, sometimes with the heretical Khāridjīs, the Kurds ended by rallying collectively to the new religion. Having become Muslims faithful to the *Sunna*, the Kurds follow almost in their entirety the juridical school of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), as the *Sharaf-nāma* already recognised (i, 14) and also Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 75).

In the course of history, the Kurdish chiefs of the community have shown a fine religious zeal without the national factor intervening, beginning with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn or Saladin (1137-93). They immortalised their passing by building mosques, schools, hospitals or simple fountains (*Sharaf-nāma*, ed. Cairo, 96-7). Alongside these builders, an intellectual élite, *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ*, devoted itself to the study of theology and law. Also to be noted are the famous *madrasas* of Bitlis (*Sharaf-nāma*, 455, 495), of Djazīra (*ibid.*, 171) and of Zakho (*ibid.*, 147). At Akhlāṭ, one of these scholars worked on the construction of the Observatory of Marāgha in the 7th/13th century (*ibid.*, 409). ʿAmādiyya is also a centre renowned for its masters (cf. Damloodji, *Imārat Bahdīnān*, 59-61; al-ʿAbbāsī, *Imārat Bahdīnān*). The famous university of al-Azhar in Cairo counts numerous Kurds as teachers of theology (cf. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 210). The cemetery of Eyyūb in Istanbul and that of Scutari contain the tombs of numerous Kurds who, in the Ottoman period, held the post of *Shaykh al-Islām* (cf. Th. Bois, *La religion*, 7).

But over against this official and institutionalised Islam, there has sprung up a popular Islam, often on the fringe of the authorities, civil as well as religious, and which leads a very active life. It is the world of the small folk, peasants or artisans, illiterate for the most part, a kind of secular tertiaries attached to a mystical *ṭarīḳa* and linked directly to a *shaykh* who serves them as spiritual guide, *murshid*. From the 6th/12th century onwards Ṣūfīs entered Kurdistān and prospered there (cf. Lescot, *Enquête*, 23-4). Today, the principal brotherhoods strongly implanted among the Kurds are the Ḳādiriyya, who trace their origin to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Gīlānī (1078-1166), who died at Baghdād and was a Kurd himself, and the Naḳshbandiyya, who claim attachment to Bahāʾ al-Dīn of Bukhārā (1317-89) and are quite widespread in the Islamic world, especially in India and as far as China. This *ṭarīḳa* was introduced into ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān at the end of the 19th century by Mawlānā Khālid after a journey to Dihlī. He was of the Djaff tribe, born at Kara Dağ in 1779 and dying at Damascus in 1826 (cf. Rich, *Residence*, i, 140-1, 320-1; Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 212-15; Edmonds, *Kurds*, 77-8). He was to encounter strong opposition on the part of the Ḳādirī *shaykhs*, but ended by supplanting some of them. In south Kurdistān, the disciples of the Ḳādirī order are ordinarily called *darwish* and those of the Naḳshbandīs are termed Ṣūfī (Edmonds, 63). The meetings of the brotherhood are held with the *shaykh* in his residence, *khānḳāh* or *takiyya* or simply *tekke*, a kind of monastery-hospice where the *shaykh* who keeps open table there dispenses his teaching to his *murīds*. But in every place where a mystical *tekke* is established, in a tribe or in a village, some tensions are going to be produced almost automatically. For the *shaykh* is rich, he is the owner of numerous villages, and because of that he is opposed to the *agha* of the tribe who sees there competition with his authority; he is endowed, it is believed, with supernatural and miraculous powers and also is regarded askance by the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* who have almost no faith in him and distrust him; finally, and above all, he often has the ambition to play a political role; whence the suspicion which he meets with from the government authorities. On the other hand, the credulity of the *murīds* is well imaginable, and their fanaticism can lead to many excesses and eccentricities. Hence from time to time some individuals with an inner light arise who claim to be their *mahdī*, or who are reformers without a mandate but preaching social revolution. Examples abound (Campanile, *Storia*, 91-3; Nikitine, *op. cit.*, 221; Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes*, 43; Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes*, 52-3; Edmonds, *Kurds*, 74-6). A recent group of Naḳshbandīs, the Nurcular, was founded by the Kurd Saʿīd Nūrsī (1870-1960) in Turkish Kurdistān (cf. *MW* [1960], 232-3, 338-41, [1961], 71-4). The hand of the *shaykhs* and their adepts, especially Naḳshbandīs, is to be found in many uprisings in Turkey and in ʿIrāḳ, with the bloody government reactions which follow, as e.g. the movement of Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh of Nehrī (1880) and that of Shaykh Saʿīd of Pīran (1925), which brought about the closure of all the mystical *tekkes* in Turkey, and also the insurrections of Shaykh Maḥmūd of Barzindja (1919 and 1922).

The teaching of certain *shaykhs*, in order not to be revolutionary, must be heard and followed with prudence. Such is the mystical doctrine and procedures for contemplation of Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Shāfiʿī al-Naḳshbandī of Arbīl (d. 1904) in his *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb*, in numerous editions (7th in 1961), cited by A. J. Arberry, *Sufism*, London 1950, 129-32, and the French translation of his mystical technique of *dhikr* by J. Gouillard, *Petite philocalie de la prière du coeur*, Paris 1953, 234-48.

But these different brotherhoods, despite all their excesses and political involvements, are always considered as integral parts of orthodox and official Islam. It is not the same with some sects who, pushing their theories to the extreme, have left Sunnī Islam, such as the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*] who, born of the ʿAdawiyya of Shaykh ʿAdī b. Musāfir (*ca.* 1073-1162), have diverted their spirituality completely from it to the point of having forgotten their origins (cf. Th. Bois, *Les Yazidis, essai historique et sociologique sur leur origine religieuse*, in *Mashriq*, lv (1961), 109-28, 191-242). Similarly, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] are really Shīʿī extremists. Dr. Mohammad Mokrī has published numerous Gurani and Persian texts concerning them, e.g. *L'ésotérisme kurde*, Paris 1966. Edmonds studies the members of the sect of the ʿIrāḳ-Iranian frontier, known by the name of Kakai, *op. cit.*, 182-201; idem, *The beliefs and practices of the Ahl-i Haqq of Iraq*, in *Iran, Journ. Brit. Inst. of Persian Studies*, vii (1969),

80-101. Also to be encountered among the Kurds are some aberrant small groups in ʿIrāḳ, such as the Sarlī who are connected with them and, around Mawṣil, the Shabāk who are Kurdish Ḳizilbāsh, not without contact with the Bektāshīs, formerly so powerful in Turkey (Edmonds, 268-9).

Bibliography: In Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 228-33, is to be found an excellent account of the theories of N. Marr, *Eshče o slove Čelebi*, in *ZAP*, xx (1912), 99-151; G. R. Driver, *The religion of the Kurds*, in *BSOS* (1922), 197-215; Nikitine, *Les Kurdes et le Christianisme*, in *RHR* (1922), 147-56; idem, *Une apologie kurde du sunnisme*, in *RO*, viii (1923), ii, 116-60; idem, *Les thèmes religieux dans les textes kurdes de ma collection*, in *Actes du Cong. intern. d'histoire des religions*, Paris 1925, ii, 415-34; idem, *Les Kurdes racontées par eux-mêmes*, in *Asie française* (1925), No. 231, 148-57; P. Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes de l'Asie antérieure, Quelques aspects sociaux des populations kurdes et assyriennes*, in *BEO*, Damascus, vi (1936), 1-50; Th. Bois, *La religion des Kurdes*, in *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, xi (1961), 105-38; J.-M. Fiey, *A la recherche des anciens monastères du nord de l'Irak*, in *POC*, ix (1959); idem, *Assyrie chrétienne. Contribution à l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclesiastiques et monastiques du Nord de l'Irak*, Beirut, i, ii, 1965, iii, 1969; Bois, *Monastères chrétiens et temples yezidis dans le Kurdistan irakien*, in *Mashriq*, lxi (1967), 75-102; D. N. MacKenzie, *Pseudoproto-kurtica*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1967), 170-3; J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971; R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar*, Beirut 1938; C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967.

Religious texts in Kurdish: Cl. Huart, *La prière canonique musulmane*, in *JA* (1895), 86-109; K. A. Bedir Khan, *Dersên şerîete*, in *Kitêbxana Hawarê*, 12, Damascus 1938; idem, *Tefsîra Quranê*, sûra i-iv, v. 48, in *Hawar*, Nos. 27-57 (15 April 1941 to 15 March 1943); idem, *Hedîsên Cenabê Pêxember*, in *Hawar*, Nos. 27-47 (27 July 1942); D. N. MacKenzie, *A Kurdish creed*, in *A locust's leg, studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 162-70.

C. Customs and social traditions.

1. *Dress.*

Clothing is characteristic of man. The style of clothing changes from one country to another and varies with the social rank [see LIBĀS]. It also evolves with the times. So it is among the Kurds. Today, the costume of the Kurds tends to fall into line with Western costume, in order to conform with the law (September 1925) in Turkey, and to follow the fashions, especially the masculine ones, for the other Kurds of the towns. But all the Kurdish women and the men in the villages keep to the traditional national costume. The evolution of Kurdish clothing can be followed through the accounts of travellers and the sketches that they give us, e.g. Campanile (1810), 135-40; Rich (1820), i, 180-1, 287-9; Frazer (1834), i, 71, 85-7; or in addition Binder (1885), 172 n. 1; Soane (1912), 399-402 and Nikitine (1956), take up the descriptions of their predecessors. One must wait for the women to have detailed information on the modern dress of the Kurds. Mrs. Aristova (1965), 108-26, speaks of the Kurds of Transcaucasia and gives some photographs of the women's jewels, and Mrs. Hansen (1961) has a very long chapter (65-98) to explain to us in detail the materials and colours of different parts of the clothing, with what is specifically Kurdish, what is the consequence of Islamic customs, and what derives from Western influence, together with measurements, diagrams and numerous photographs, so that one may have an exact idea of the present national Kurdish costume, for men as well as for women. While jewels of every kind and in every material, gold, silver, precious stones, necklaces, bracelets and pendants, sparkle on the costumes of the women, the pride of the men is to be noted in their arms, cartridge pouches and damascened belts, chased daggers and lethal revolvers. The pipe and the tobacco pouch also form part of the Kurd's accoutrement.

2. *Marriage and burial customs.*

From the cradle to the grave, man is everywhere accompanied by customs or traditional rites, which vary with civilisations. Among the Kurds are to be found some customs very much alive which have been preserved from time immemorial. The choice of a fiancée, her toilette before the wedding, the price of prenuptial virginity, whose linen bloodied by the ruptured hymen will bear clear proof, the crossing of the threshold and introduction into her new household, the joys at the birth of the first baby, after a confinement which has nothing of a story about it (cf. A. Brunel, *Gulasar, contes et légendes du Kurdistan*, Paris 1946, 109-11), are the occasion of usages respected by all. It does not concern us to give a systematic and exhaustive account, but to indicate some examples, according to the various Kurdish regions. Kurds in general: Campanile, 103-5; K. A. Bedir Khan, *La femme kurde*, in *Hawar*, 19 (1933), 6-8/294-6; Tawûsparêz, *Le mariage chez les Kurdes*, in *ibid.*, 52 (1943), 12-16/764-8. Kurds of ʿIrāḳ: Barth, in *op. cit.*, 24-9/29-37; Edmonds, 225-6; Hansen, 115-38. Kurds of Iran and the Urmiya region: *ibid.*, 113-15. Kurds of Syria and the Kurd Dagh: K. Daghestani, *La famille musulmane contemporaine en Syrie*, Paris 1932, *passim*. Kurds of Azerbaidjan: Nikitine, 108-11. Kurds of Transcaucasia: E. Avdal, *op. cit.*, 22-83 (cf. Nikitine, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xlix [1960], 61-6). Kurds of the Alagöz: Ereb Şemo, *Şivanê kurd, The Kurdish shepherd*, ed. Beirut, 44-7, 114-8. Kurds of Alamut: Freya Stark, *The Valley of the Assassins*, 1946, 270-1. Yazidī Kurds: Giamil, *Monte Singar. Storia di un populo ignoto*, Rome 1900, 45-9, Isya Joseph, *Devil worship*, Boston 1919, 186-91; E. S. Drower, *Peacock angel*, London 1941, 17-25, 86; S. Damlûdjī, *al-Yazīdiyya*, Mawṣil 1949, 276-88. Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ Kurds: M. Mokri, *Le mariage chez les Kurdes*, in *L'Ethnographie* (1962), 42-68.

The funerary rites are no less varied, whether in regard to the toilette of the dead, the funeral cortège or *kotel*, the ceremonies of mourning and the tree of the deceased, *dara şîn*, or the collective meal of condolences. Descriptions of them are found for the Kurds in general: Campanile, 81-6, with a fine elegy; Nikitine, 115-8; Mukri Kurds: O. Vilčevsky, *Mukriskie Kurdi*, in *Peredneaziatskiy etnografičeskiy Sbornik*, i (1958), 214-18. Kurds of Turkey: Ahmed Mêrazî, *Bîraniyêd min* ("My memoirs"), Erivan 1966, 89-91. Yazīdī Kurds: Lescot, *op. cit.*, 154-6; Drower, 97-8, 185-6; I. Joseph, 192-3; Damlûdjī, 70-2. Children's funerals: Hansen, 139-43.

3. *Festivals and seasonal rites.*

Among the numerous festivities which punctuate periodically the life of the Kurdish people, the Islamic religious festivals are famous everywhere and so do

not merit special mention, with perhaps an exception for the *mawlid* or festival of the birth of the Prophet. Indeed, the brother-in-law of Saladin, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbüri, governor of Arbil, is perhaps at the origin of this festival which he had celebrated with much solemnity and gaiety in 604/1207. An account of it has been given by a native of Arbil, Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), French tr. J. Sauvaget, *Historiens arabes*, Paris 1946, 118-25. On the occasion of the festival, a panegyric is read, of which numerous specimens are to be found in Kurdish. Let us cite simply the *Mewlûdnâme* of Mela Aḥmad of Batê (1425-95?) edited in Cairo in 905 and re-edited in Istanbul in 1919 and always used; Bîyisa Pêxember, *Life of the Prophet*, edited in Damascus, in *Kitêbxana Hawarê*, 4 (1933); Shaykh Mohammad Khâl, *Mewlûdnâme-i new-eser* ("The new account of the birth of the Prophet"), Sulaymânî 1937; idem, *Mewlûdnâme*, in *Kurdistan* (Tehran) Nos. 166 ff.; Mela Ḥasan Hartûşi, *Mewlûdnâme*, in *ibid.*, Nos. 43-134 (1960-2).

A very popular festival among the Kurds, and now official in ʿIrāḳ since the establishment of the Republic (1958), is *Novruz* (see NAWRŪZ), or the festival of the new year, i.e. in spring (21 May). It is a sort of national festival of the Kurds. Moreover, it has always been celebrated by the Yazidīs, who are supposed to have preserved many ancient traditions and who call it *Sersal*. There is also the Festival of the New Year (cf. Lescot, *op. cit.*, 71). The festival is in any case earlier than Islam, as "myth of the eternal spring" which was always celebrated in the Iranian world (cf. G. Widengren, *Les religions de l'Iran*, Paris 1968, 58-67). It is said to have been instituted by the mythical King Djamshīd (H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, 145). Today, the official festival is accompanied by speeches, poems, dances and theatrical scenes, where the myth and struggle of the smith Kāwe against the dragon Zahhāk or Aži Dahaka is mimed, a prefiguration of the struggle of the Kurdish people for its independence. In Sulaymānī, the festivities are associated with all kinds of entertainment and masquerades with a false *amīr*. It is a real carnival (Edmonds, 84-5; Taufiq Wahbi, *The rock sculptures of Gunduk caves*, in *Sumer*, iv/2 [1948], Fr. tr. in *BCEK*, vii (1949), 1-13. Ereb Şemo cites another form of carnival: *Kose geldi*, *Berbang*, in *Berevok*, Erivan 1969, 61-2. It is in connection with this festival that a special cake, *samani pazan*, is baked, which, by night, ʿĀʾisha or Fāṭima will come to bless by touching it with their hands. It is eaten in the family and with friends, with the aim of having offspring (Wahbi, 11-12). In Iran, on the eve of the New Year, magical rites are mixed with the rejoicings (M. Mokri, *Les rites magiques dans les fêtes du "Dernier Mercredi de l'Année" en Iran*, in *Mélanges Massé*, Tehran 1963, 288 ff.). The girls make vows then: Thirteen at the door, New Year. Husband in the house, baby in the lap (Massé, *op. cit.*, 159). Abroad, the Kurdish students celebrate this national festival with gaiety (Deichi Delair, *Nawroz and the legend of Kawa*, in *The Kurdish Journal*, U.S.A., ii/1 [March 1965], 3-5). Let us note further in *Kurdistan*, London, organ of the K.S.S.E., Nos. 7/8 (1961), the poem *The festival of Newroz* of Salih Karadaghi, 32.

Other seasonal festivals are celebrated above all by the shepherds on the occasion which concerns them particularly: the first lambing, *serapez*; the departure for the *zozan* or summer pasturage, *berodan*; the shearing of the sheep, *berxbir*; and above all the releasing of the rams, *beran berdan*. Ereb Şemo, *ibid.*, 58, has described these entertainments with many picturesque and lively details. Stig Wikander believed that he had discovered in this last festival reminiscences of ancient myths (*Ein Fest bei der Kurden und im Avesta*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, ix [1960], Uppsala 1961, 7-10. The peasants also have their traditions. At the time of the harvest, the first sheaf reaped is offered to the stranger who passes by (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 51), and the gathering of the mulberries is the occasion of a festival with a special dance, *gzîdan*, the sweeping, which consists of sweeping the soil under the trees before the children climb them to shake them so as to allow the women to gather the berries (Edmonds, 170, n. 1).

Although it does not really concern us here as a festival properly so-called, let us indicate some more or less superstitious practices which relate to the cycle of nature and whose origins stretch back without doubt into remote antiquity. If activities to make the rain stop are mentioned only rarely (cf. Nikitine, *Une apologie kurde*, 16), by contrast T. Wahby, *op. cit.*, 7-9, counts no less than nine different rites, more or less laughable and doubtless efficacious, to combat drought and obtain rain. If the prayer *noja berana* does not suffice, a dervish is to be thrown into a water tank or women are to harness themselves to a plough and till the river. Still other singular acts are to be performed in order to have one's prayers finally answered (cf. S. Reinach, *Charme pour obtenir la pluie (en Kurdistan)*, in *L'Anthropologie*, xvii [1906], 633).

4. *Dances and music.*

The Kurd sings always and everywhere. All the family festivals, birth, circumcision, and especially marriage, are accompanied by dances and songs, and equally the tribal or peasant gatherings and some religious ceremonies. The name of the dances varies according to whether it designates the region or the tribe where it is danced, e.g. Botanî, Serhedî, Şêxanî, or according to the different figures which distinguish them, *sêgavî*, *giranî*, *royne*, or the rounds *govend* and *çopî*. The students have a special dance *bêlîte* or *bêlûte*, of which Tawûsparêz has given us some examples and has described the rhythm (*La vie universitaire au Kurdistan*, in *Hawar*, No. 53 [15 March 1943], 772-6). The old or more recent travellers admired the particularities of these Kurdish dances (e.g. F. Millingen, *Wild life*, 378-9, or Edmonds, *Kurds*, 84; Drower, *Peacock angel*, 130-4; Bois, *Connaissance*, 61-2, cites the name of twenty dances). Let us note that these folkloric dances are mixed, which distinguished the Kurds from the other neighbouring Muslim peoples.

Kurdish music, inseparable from the dances and songs, is part of what it is convenient to call oriental music, but it cannot be confused either with Arabic music or with Armenian or Turkish music at all, although it has had an influence at times on the songs of the neighbouring countries, such as Iran or Mesopotamia (cf. S. Jargy, *Chant populaire et musique savante au Proche Orient arabe*, in *Orient*, vi/2 [1958], 108-9). Kurdish music today is not learned, but popular, and knows neither harmony nor polyphony. Its melodies, as numerous as varied, preserve a serious, pathetic, quite often melancholy character, as a consequence quite astounding among this warlike people (cf. Dulaurier, *Chants opulaires de l'Arménie*, in *Rev. des deux Mondes*, 10 April 1852, 224-55). Western travellers have not failed to draw attention to the originality of this music. Some have felt the attraction and very palpable charm of these chants; others, on the contrary, e.g. Mrs. Hansen, 129-9, have found this music "flat and false" with its 17 tones. It was an Armenian priest, Vartabed Comitas (1869-

1935) who was the first to gather and note down some popular Kurdish songs (*Quelques spécimens des mélodies kurdes*, in *Recueil d'Emine*, Moscow 1904, and re-edited in Erivan in 1959). In Erivan precisely, the Malikian School of Music is formed of young Kurds who study the traditional songs with the old *dengbêj* or troubadours. Thus Nura Cewarî noted 33 *Chansons de danse kurdes*, 1960, gathered at Tiflis. For her part, Cemîla Celîl has published two annotated collections of *Chants populaires kurdes*. The first, at Erivan (1964), gives the Kurdish text and the musical annotation of 75 pieces; the second, at Moscow in 1965, apart from the Kurdish text, gives the musical notation and Russian translation of 100 varied songs. In ʿIrāḳ, since 1958, a society of Kurdish music has been organised with a view to preserving, standardising and developing in Kurdish music (cf. B. A. Ali, *An approach to Kurdish music*, in *Kurdistan*, K.S.S.E., 1 March 1958), 3-6; S. S. Gavan, *Divided nation*, London 1958, 15). But Europeans too are interested in Kurdish music (cf. Dr. D. Christensen, *Tanzlieder der Hakkari-Kurden. Eine materialkritisch Studie*, in *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völker-Künde*, Berlin i [1963], 11-47). This is a very serious study of the dance, instrumental and vocal music of Hakkâri, whose melodies the author analyses and whose style and rhythms he studies scientifically. See also Edith Gerson-Kiwi, *The Music of Kurdistan Jews. A synopsis of their musical styles*, in *Yuval, Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre*, ii, Jerusalem 1971.

The Islamic religion does not authorise music at all in its liturgy, and music has taken refuge in the rites of the different *ṭarīḳas* where its use probably dates from the foundation of these groups (cf. Trimingham, *op. cit.*, 195, 196 and *passim*; M. Mokri, *Le Soufisme et la musique*, in *Encycl. de la Musique*, Paris 1961, 1014-15). From there, music has passed without any problems into the aberrant sects of the Yazīdīs, into their processions and their gatherings for *samāʿ* or religious recital. Three religious songs of the Yazīdīs had already been noted by H. Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon*, 1853, 507, Nos. 667-9. Similarly, E. S. Drower (*op. cit.*, 118-19), recorded the rhythm of the drums in the course of a ceremony. As for the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, Mohammed Mokri enlightens us on their musical customs in his article on *La musique sacrée des Kurdes "Fidèles de Vérité" en Iran*, in *Encycl. des musiques sacrées*, Paris 1968, 444-55.

Musical instruments among the Kurds are often manufactured by artisans. The most usual are, among wind instruments, the pipe, *bilûr*, which every shepherd carries in his bag, the *zorna*, a kind of clarinet or oboe which has a place in all the dances, and the *duzale*, a flute with two pipes of reed or bird bone, pierced with holes and whose mouthpiece has a kind of vibratory tongue. The sound resembles that of the Scottish bagpipes. The percussion instruments include the *dahol* or bass drum which is beaten on both sides, the *tepil*, a narrow drum, a kind of kettledrum in pottery covered with a skin which is beaten with the fingers; and the cymbals, *xelîle*, are sometimes used by the Yazīdīs in their religious ceremonies. Among the stringed instruments, there are the *ribāb* or monochord viol, the *keman* or *kemanca*, violin, and especially the *tenbûr*, the lute, whose player plucks the strings in the sacred and heroic songs. The nomenclature of all these instruments varies with the regions. A description of some clumsy impressions of musical instruments is found in *Serincîk le derwaze-i folklor-i kurdiwe*, Notes for an introduction to Kurdish folklore, Hewlêl/Erbil n.d., 36-7.

5. *Games, sports and hunting.*

On the occasion of seasonal or other festivals, travellers have remarked among the Kurds the practice of certain popular games or sports, always in use. It is not possible to recount them all. Among the indoor games, cards, *iskenbil*, can be cited among the most frequent, especially among the townspeople; backgammon, *nard*; and above all chess, *şetrenc*, the noble game par excellence. Among the outdoor games are the *cerîd* or horseback fantasia; the ball game *çowgan*; a kind of hockey; and many games of pursuit or throwing, not to mention some modern sports like football and basketball and some games reserved for children. Worth noting are the fights of rams, buffaloes or partridges. Much information is to be found in Tawûsparêz, *Les jeux kurdes*, in *Hawar*, 42 (15 April 1942), 654-6; Kurdî we Mêrîwanî, *Kitâb-i Yarî*, Baghdād 1932, 32; M. Mokri, *Bazîhâ-ye Kordî: Khurmâyla*, in *Yaghmā*, 2nd year, Tehran 1331/1951; *Bazîha-ye Kordestân*, in *Tamaddon*, 2nd ser. 7, 317-20, Tehran 1332/1952. In his *Kurdish dialect studies*, i, Oxford 1961, 147, 218, D. N. MacKenzie gives the name of several Kurdish games; Bois, *La vie sociale*, 32-3/628-9 and notes 136-41.

The abundance of game in Kurdistān, furred and feathered, already mentioned above, is at the origin of the Kurd's passion for hunting. The best way of learning about this national sport is to read the two articles of Osman Sabrî, who explains in them the methods employed with the art of an experienced hunter. *Nêçîr* ("Hunting") in *Ronahî*, 17 (1 August 1943, 317-23, 18 (1 Sept. 1943), 347-50. The bear is hunted in three ways (317), also the hyena (317), the ibex (318), the fox (319) and the hare (319). There are five ways of hunting the partridge, with the spear, the decoy, the rifle or the running noose, depending on whether one wishes to capture it alive or to kill it (320). Game can also be hunted with the help of birds, sparrow-hawks or falcons of three different kinds and at a more or less expensive cost (321-2). The way in which these birds are trained is also indicated (347-8). O. Sabrî very much appreciates hunting the hare with the help of a hound, of which there are several kinds (348-9). The author does not forget fishing (319), which may be done with the net, hook or harpoon. Hamilton devotes a whole chapter to the hunting of the ibex, so picturesque and so difficult (*op. cit.*, 165-73). There are also to be found patterns of different bird-calls or whistles, traps, nets, running nooses or snares used for certain forms of hunting, in *Serincîk*, *op. cit.*, 99-102.

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(Th. Bois)

V. — Language

The many forms of speech known to outsiders as Kurdish do not constitute a single, unified language. Instead it can be said that the various Kurdish dialects, which are clearly interrelated and at the same time distinguishable from neighbouring but more distantly related Western Iranian languages, fall into three main groups. The differences between dialects are generally proportional to their distance apart and beyond a certain distance certainly make them mutually unintelligible. The Northern group of dialects comprises all those spoken in the Turkish republic, the Armenian and Azerbaidjan S.S.Rs, the Mawṣil *liwā'* of ʿIrāḳ (Bahdīnān [*q.v.*]), and some areas bordering on these, together with those of Kurdish colonies in Khurāsān and the Turkmen S.S.R. All these dialects are known as *Kurmāndjī* (*Kirmāndjī*), as the speakers all call themselves Kurmāndjī. Within the group a sub-division into Eastern and Western Kurmāndjī can be made, from each of which a literary language has emerged. The Central group is made up of the dialects spoken in the Arbīl, Sulaymāniyya and Kirkūk *liwā*'s of ʿIrāḳ and the neighbouring districts of Persian Kurdistān, Mahābād (Sāwdj Bulāḳ) and Sanadadj (Sinna), These dialects are generally called *Kurdī*, but are also now known collectively as *Sōrānī*, from the name of the former principality of Sōrān. The dialects of Sulaymāniyya and Sanandadj, especially, have gained pre-eminence as literary languages. The remaining Kurdish dialects, a heterogeneous group spoken in the areas south and east of Sōrānī, of which Kirmānshāhī is probably the most important, may be classed together as a Southern group. Some of these dialects, e.g. Lakkī, appear to merge with the neighbouring non-Kurdish dialects of Lurī. Between the Central and Southern groups of Kurdish an island of non-Kurdish speech, with mixed dialects on its shores, is formed by the area occupied by the Gūrān [*q.v.*]. Other Kurdish dialects are spoken by isolated colonies of Kurds scattered throughout Iran.

Northern Kurdish is more archaic than the other dialects in both its phonetic and morphological structure, and it may be inferred that the greater development of the Central and Southern dialects has been caused by their closer contact with other (Iranian) languages, or, indeed, their absorption of such a substrate. On the other hand, Northern Kurdish appears to have been somewhat more open to the penetration of Arabic and especially Turkish loanwords. Traditionally Kurdish has been written in various modifications of the Arabic script and still is so written in ʿIrāḳ and Iran. The Armenian script has also been used on occasion, and in recent years alphabets based on both the Latin and Cyrillic scripts have been devised, especially for Northern Kurdish.

The common "Iranian" phonemic inventory of Northern Kurdish is: *aiu*, *āēīōū*, *ptčk*, *bdj* (dj)*g*, *fsš* (sh) *x* (kh), *vzž* (zh) *γ* (gh), *mn lr* (flapped) *ř* (rolled), *hwy*, to which most dialects add the "Arabic" phonemes *q* (ḳ), *ḥ*, ʿ, and emphatic *ṭ*, *ṣ*, *ẓ*. In the north-east, probably under Caucasian (Armenian) influence, a further distinction between aspirated phonemes *p*ʿ, *t*ʿ, (*č*ʿ), *k*ʿ and unaspirated *p*, *t*, (*č*), *k* is found. In a large part of the Kurmāndjī area *ō*, *ū* are replaced by *ü*, *ǖ* respectively. In Central and Southern Kurdish the distinction between *v* and *w* is lost, in favour of *w*. A new distinction is made, however, between palatal *l* and velarised *ł* (though this coincides with *r* in Arbīl), and *ŋ* has acquired phonemic status in Sulaymāniyya and other more southerly dialects. In general, Kurdish is marked by a greater degree of phonetic development than Persian, notably of postvocalic stops to fricatives, e.g. *āv/w* "water", P(ersian) *āb*; *šav/w* "night", P *šab*. Many post-vocalic consonants, especially dentals, have been lost, e.g. *birā* "brother", P *birādar*; *dān*, *dāin* "to give", P *dādan*; *sipī* "white", P *safīd*; *sa* "dog", P *sag*; *čiyā* "mountain", P *čakād*. The development of the ending of the past participles of verbs is noteworthy, e.g. North. *mirī*, Cent. *mirdū*, South. *mirdig* "dead", cf. Cent. *zīndū*, *ziŋū*, South. *zīnig* "alive", P. *zinda*.

There is no single early historical sound change which characterises Kurdish, but a combination of two later changes and one conservative feature serves to identify a dialect as Kurdish, viz. (i) *-m-*, *-šm-*, *-xm-* > *-v-* (*-w-*), e.g. *nāv/w* "name", P *nām*; *čāv/w* "eye", P *čašm*; *tov/w* "seed", P *tuxm*; (ii) Iranian initial *x-* > *k-*, e.g. *kar* "donkey", P *xar*; *kānī* "spring, source", P *xānī*; *kiřīn* "to buy", P *xarīdan*; (iii) Ir *čy-* > *č-* (other West. Ir. > *s-*), e.g. *čūn* "to go", P *šudan*. Kurdish shares many phonetic developments with non-Persian dialects, e.g. *z:d*, *zān-* "know": P *dān-*; *s:h*, *āsik* "deer": P *āhū*; *ž:z*, *žin* "woman": P *zan*; *řož* "day": P *rūz*, but others with Persian, *e.g.*, *y-* > *j-*, *jo*, P *jaw* "barley"; *hw-* > *xw-*, *xwa*, *xo*, P *xwad*, *xud* "self"; *-rd-* > *-l-* (*-ł-*), *pālew-*, P *pālāy-* "to filter". Taken in conjunction with a number of characteristic lexical items, these isoglosses show proto-Kurdish to have been a close, if not the closest, neighbour of Persian. There is no sound evidence to suggest a Median origin for Kurdish, though it has been suggested that the name Kur-

mān<u>d</u>j may combine Kurd with a form from *Māda* "Median".

Old morphological features preserved in North. Kurd. are a distinction of case (nominative and oblique) and gender (masculine and feminine) in nouns and pronouns and the "agential" construction of the past tenses of transitive verbs, e.g. *az hātim* "I came", but *min xawnak dīt* "I saw a dream (lit., of me ... seen)". Both case and gender have been lost in South. Kurd. and in the literary forms of Central Kurdish. In these dialects the pronominal suffixes, absent from North. Kurd., have largely taken over the functions of the cases, cf. *min hātim* "I came", *xawēk-im dī* "I saw a dream". In some Central dialects, at least, the agential construction has developed in a remarkable way, with the verbal stem sometimes taking two personal endings, one representing a person only indirectly affected, e.g. *xaw-im pēwa dīw-īt* "I have seen a dream about thee (-*īt*, lit. "art")", and even the agential suffix as well, *dā-m-ī-n-ē* "he (-*ī*)" gave me (-*m*, lit. "am") to (-*ē*) you (-*n*, lit. "are"). Note the 3rd person pronominal -*ī*, plural -*yān*, in contrast to Persian -*š*. All dialects have an indefinite suffix, North. -*ak*, Cent., South -*ēk*, but only Central and Southern share (with Gūrānī) the definite suffix -*akā*. In all dialects the *iḍāfa* [*q.v.*, ii], appearing in various forms, plays a considerable rôle both as relative pronoun and simple connective particle, e.g. North. *xawnak-a xwaš*, Cent. *xawēk-ī xōš* "a pleasant dream", North. *xawn-ā min dīt*, Cent. *xawaka-y dī-m* "the dream which I saw". In the north-east, the *iḍāfa* construction of both Northern and Central dialects has been contaminated, especially in the plural, by a particle *da*, -*d*, -*t*, probably of Aramaic origin, e.g. Cent. (Mukrī) *pyāw-ī da pāšā* "the king's men", North. *kuṛ-et xwa* (= *kuṛē di xwa*) "his sons". (This is not, however, a "*t*-plural" comparable with those of Eastern Iranian, Ossetic, Sogdian, etc.). Central and Southern Kurdish, unlike Northern dialects, have developed a secondary passive conjugation of the verb, formed from the active present stem, e.g. *kuštin*, *kuž-* "to kill", Cent. *kužrān*, *kužre-*, South. *kužyān*, *kužye-* "be killed".

Bibliography: A comprehensive list of all studies and monographs on Kurdish to 1926 is given in Minorsky's (otherwise outdated) article on "Kurdish Language", in *EI*¹, ii, 1153 f. This is supplemented by a select bibliography in D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies I*, London 1961. Fuller, but uncritical, lists of relevant publications appear in Ž. S. Musaélyan, *Bibliografiya po Kurdovedeniya*, Moscow 1963, and S. van Rooy and K. Tamboer, *ISK*'s *Kurdish bibliography*, Amsterdam 1968 ff. The following are most readily available: (1) *History*. D. N. MacKenzie, *The origins of Kurdish*, in *TPhS* (1961), 68-86. (2) *Grammars, dialect studies*. D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies*. i; K. Kurdoev, *Grammatika kurdskogo yazïka* (*Kurmandži*), Moscow-Leningrad 1957; Dj. Bedir Khan and R. Lescot, *Grammaire kurde* (*dialecte kurmandji*), Paris 1970; Č. Kh. Bakaev, *Govor Kurdov Turkmenii*, Moscow 1962; idem, *Yazïk Azerbaydžanskikh Kurdov*, Moscow 1965. (3) *Dictionaries*. A. Jaba and F. Justi, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, St. Petersburg 1879; Č. Kh. Bakaev, *Kurdsko-Russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1957; T. Wahby and C. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish-English dictionary*, Oxford 1966.

(D. N. MacKenzie)

vi. — Folklore and Literature

A. Popular and folk literature.

As among all peoples whose scholarly instruction is little developed, the oral literature of the Kurds is superabundant and very rich; Prof. O. Vilčevsky was able to speak of the "hypertrophy" of their folklore. A mass of documents has also been collected and published by foreign orientalists: A. Jaba, *Recueil et notices et récits kurdes*, St. Petersburg 1860; E. Prym and A. Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, St. Petersburg 1890; O. Mann, *Kurdische u. Persische Forschungen. iv. Die Mundart der Mukri*, Berlin, i, 1906, ii, 1909; H. Makas, *Kurdische Texte* (Mardin), Leningrad 1926; B. Nikitine, *Kurdish stories from my collection*, in *BSOS*, iv (1926), 121-38; idem, *Quelques fables kurdes d'animaux*, in *Folklore*, xl, (1929), 228-44; E. Lescot, *Textes kurdes*, i, Paris 1940, ii, Beirut 1942; Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes à la lumière de leur folklore*, in *Cahiers de l'Est*, Beirut, Nos. 5 and 6 (1946); S. Wikander, *Recueil de textes kurmandji*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1959; D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies*, London 1961-2. Kurds themselves, since the end of the First World War, have gone about collecting their treasures of folklore from the old folk or the decreasingly numerous professional storytellers and singers. Firstly, the Bedir Khān *amīrs* from 1932 to 1946 in their reviews *Hawar*, *Ronahî*, and *Roja nû*; H. Cindî and E. Evdal, *Folklora kurmança*, Erivan 1936; Cindî, *Folklora körmanciê*, Erivan 1957; and there is a comprehensive survey in I. M. Resul, *Edeb-i folklor-i kurdî*. Lêkolînewe, Baghdād 1970 (cf. Th. Bois, *Connaissance*, 117-25).

This folkloric richness is found, firstly, in the proverbs, popular sayings, enigmas or riddles. The Kurd likes to embroider his conversation with rhymed and rhythmic sentences which denote a real sense of observation. Proverbs also supply a racy summary of practical wisdom. Thousands of them have been published: E. Noel, *The character of the Kurds as illustrated by their proverbs and popular sayings*, in *BSOS*, iv (1921), 79-80; D. P. Margueritte and Emir K. Bedir Khan, *Proverbes kurdes*, Paris 1938; Lescot, *Proverbes et énigmes kurdes*, in *REI*, iv (1937), 307-50, reprinted and added to in *Textes kurdes*, i, 189-237; Prampolini, *Proverbi kurdi*, Milan 1963; MacKenzie, *Some Kurdish proverbs*, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, viii (1970), 105-13; Ismail Heqî Şaweys, *Oise-i pêşînan*, Baghdād 1933; Marûf Çiyawok, *Hezar bêj û pend*, Baghdād 1930; Cegerxwîn, *Gotina pêçîna*, Damascus 1957; M. Xal, *Pend-i pêşînan*, Baghdād 1957; Djamīl Kenna, *Amthāl kurdiyya*, Aleppo 1957; O. Celfi, *Mesela û met'elokê cima'ta k'ōrda*, Erivan 1969-71, 2 vols.; O. Celfî and C. Celfî, *Kurdskie posloviči i pogovorki*, Moscow 1972; J. Nebez, *Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Kurdistan*, Munich 1970. There are numerous proverbs and sayings cited in Cindî, *Folklor*, 1957, 249-81, and in the grammars of Jardine and Beidar, as well as in the dictionary of Mardukh, ii, 1-86.

The songs are infinite in number and variety: dance songs, *dîlok*, songs of love, *lawik*, or war, *şer* or *delal*; songs which accompany the transhumance in the spring, *serêle*, or in the autumn, *pahîzok*; lullabies, *lorî*; epithalamia, *hevalê* or *serêzavano*; also songs of mourning, *şîn* or *qewil*, punctuate the daily life of the Kurds from the cradle to the grave and throughout their days of hard labour. The reviews *Hawar*, *Ronahî* and *Roja nû* have published hundreds of them, as have Cindî and Evdal, *Folklor*, 342-474; Cindî, *Folklora köirmanciê*, 189-248; see also Rondot, *Trois*

chansons kurdes, in *Cahiers du Sud*, No. 274 (1945), 817-24; Nikitine, *La poésie lyrique kurde*, in *Ethnographie*, xlv (1945-50), 39-53; Mokri, *Gūrānī yā taranahā-yi kurdī*, Tehran 1951; G. Chaliand, *Poésie populaire des Turcs et des Kurdes*, Paris 1961; Cindî, *K'lamêd cmae'ta K'ordaye lirîkîe*, Erivan 1972. Furthermore, see the collections with musical notation mentioned earlier.

Stories and anecdotes (*çîrok*) abound and are full of imagination. The stories of marvels allow one to forget the worries of life; the anecdotes are replete with humour; the satirical stories do not hesitate to criticise the faults of individuals, rival tribes, religious leaders, in the spirit of the fables of the Middle Ages. Above all, the Kurds are fond of animal stories which always contain a spiritual moral. M. Duiresne, in *Un conte kurde de la région de Sō'ōrt*, in *JA* (1910), 107-17; Nikitine and Soane, *The tale of Suto and Tato*, in *BSOS*, iii (1923), 69-106; Nikitine, *Kurdish stories*, in *ibid.* (1926), 121-38; Lescot, *Textes*, i, 2-185; Cindî and Evdal, *Folklor*, 1936, 579-651; Cindî, *Folklor*, 1957, 161-88; M. Khaznadar, *Aleman kurdi and other Kurdish short stories*, Baghdād 1969; A. Brunel, *Gulasar, contes et légendes du Kurdistan*, Paris 1946; Joyce Blau, *Trois textes de folklore kurde*, in *Études*, Brussels, vii (1965), 29-50; J. Nebez, *Kurdische Märchen und Volkerzählungen*, NUKSE, 1972.

Alongside these minor genres, the numerous much longer legends constitute choice morsels of Kurdish folklore. They can be classified in different categories which, however, are often combined. Some legends basically concern the supernatural, such as *Mamê Alan* (Lescot, *Textes*, ii, 2-369) or Sêvahacê or Hozbek; others are a purely idyllic form, such as *Zelixa û Fatûl, Layla û Mejnûn, Siyabend û Xacê, Zambilfiroş*, "the basket-seller", *Xurşid û Xawer, Şîrîn û Xoşnew, Şîrîn û Ferhad, Faxîr û Sitiye, Manica û Bîjan*; finally, the epics with an historical plot, such as *Dimdim, Julindî*, the adventures of Rustem with Zoraw, Cihangir or Zendeheng and more recently the exploits of Nadir and Topal, the Twelve Cavaliers of Meriwan, Abdul Rehman Baban or Ezdînşêr Bedir-Xan. These accounts were the glory of the *dengbêj* or professional troubadours, whose class is on the point of disappearing. All these texts can be read in the collection of Mann, Socin, Cindî etc., and also Bois, *Poètes et troubadours au pays des Soviets*, in *al-Machriq*, liii (1959), 266-99; various authors, *Kurdskie épičeskie pesni skazl*, texts and trs. Moscow 1962; V. Minorsky, *The Gūrān*, in *BSOS*, xi (1943), 75-103; O. Dž. Džalilov, *Kurdskiy geroičeskiy épos "Zlatorukiykhan..*, Moscow 1967; O. F. Qazi, *Mehr-o-Vafa*, Tabrīz 1966; A. Ayyubian, *Çirike kurde*, Tabrīz 1961; idem, *Çirike Xec û Siyamend*, Tabrīz 1956; Piremerd, *Diwanzde siwarê Meriwan*, Sulaymānī 1935; Gew Mukriani, *Zembîlfiroş*, Hewlêr 1967; Mokri, *La légende de Bîzan-û Manîja*, Paris 1966; idem, *Le chasseur de Dieu et le mythe du Roi-Aigle*, Wiesbaden 1967; K. A. Bedir-Khan and A. de Falgairolle, *Le Roi du Kurdistan. Roman épique kurde*, Gap, n.d.; K. A. Bedir-Khan and Herbert Oertel, *Der Adler von Kurdistan*, Potsdam 1937; Cegerxwîn, *Serpêhatiya Resiwê Darî*, Damascus 1956; J. Blau, *Le kurde de ʿAmādiya et du Djabal Sindjār*, thèse de doctorat du 3e cycle, Paris 1973.

B. Written and learned literature.

Alongside the mass of illiterate people, there has always been among the Kurds a highly cultivated intellectual élite. The fact was already mentioned by the Kurd Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) in his *Kāmil* (ix, 7-8) and taken up many times in the *Sharaf-nāma* and also by other witnesses, such as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (1658) (cf. Adnan Adıvar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939, 92, 106), or the traveller Ewliyā Čelebi in his travel account (1682), who was justly ecstatic when confronted with the so well-stocked library of Abdāl Khān, the lord of Bitlis, cf. A. Sakisian, *Abdal Khan, seigneur kurde de Bitlis au XVIIe siècle et ses trésors*, in *JA*, ccxxix (1957), 253-76. Unfortunately, these men of letters preferred to write their scientific works either in Arabic, the language of the Ḳurʾān, if the works were concerned to deal with law, theology or history, as did Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), author of biographical notices of famous men, or Abu 'l-Fidā (672-732/1273-1331), historian and geographer; or else in Persian, as did Sharīf Khān Bidlīsī [*q.v.*] himself in his *History of the Kurds* or *Sharaf-nāma* (1005/1596-7), as also Idrīs Ḥakīm of Bitlis (d. 926/1520), who wrote the first history of the Ottoman Empire, *Hasht bihisht*, "The eight paradises" [see BIDLĪSĪ, IDRĪS]. The great poet in the Turkish language Fuḍūlī (d. 963/1556) [*q.v.*] was a Kurd, as was the modern sociologist Ḍiyāʾ Gök Alp (cf. J. Deny, in *RMM*, lxi [1925], 3). Even today, many poets in the Arabic language—al-Zahāwī (1863-1936), Aḥmad Shawḳī, the prince of poets (1868-1932), al-Ruṣāfī (1875-1945), the sociologist Ḳāsim Amīn (1865-1908), the novelists al-ʿAḳḳād (1889-1964), Muḥammad Taymūr (1892-1921) and his brother Maḥmūd (born in 1894)—are all of Kurdish origin. The following historians who write in Persian, such as Muḥammad Mardūkh Kurdistānī, Rashīd Yāsimī and Iḥsān Nūrī, or those who write in Turkish, such as M. N. Dersimli and A. Yamulki, are all Kurds. If the old writers knew and composed in all the great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, rather than their mother tongue Kurdish, the young authors of today use the European languages, English, French, German and even Russian, especially in Armenia, where they further add Armenian. Indeed, the Kurds have been at all times polyglots as they have been polygraphs, the same authors exercising their talents as much in poetry as in history, in the physical and human sciences and in journalism.

In 1860, A. Jaba, in his *Recueil de notices et de récits kourdes*, 3-11, gave a brief notice on eight poets, who used the Kurmanci dialect, and almost all originating from Hakâri. Less than a century later, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sidjādī published in Baghdād a *History of Kurdish literature* (1952), a large volume of 634 pages in which, after an introduction on Kurdistān and the Kurds (3-66), he recounted the stages and forms of Kurdish literature (69-146), then gave substantial notices on twenty-four poets (147-534), followed by a rather dry list of 212 other authors (535-58). Even so, he confines himself to the no longer living poets of ʿIrāḳ and Iran. Since then, there have been two more recent works of Maʿrūf Xiznedār, *Essay on the history of contemporary Kurdish literature* [in Russian, 1967, 232 pp.] and of ʿIzz al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Rasūl, *Realism in Kurdish literature* [in Arabic, 1968, 236 pp.], not to mention other studies which show the progress of Kurdology since Jaba's time and felicitously complete our information on this oriental literature still so little known in the West.

1. *Origins and the classical period.*

Jaba's informant gave the 15th century as the period in which the first poets flourished: Elî Herîrî (1425-95), Şêx Ehmed Nîşanî, better-known under the name of Melayê Cizrî (1407-81) and Mela Ehmed of Batê (1414-95), who were therefore contemporaries. Mîr Mihemed of Mûkis, surnamed Feqiyê Teyran, was

supposed to be even earlier than them (1307-75). All these dates are to be corrected and placed later. In fact, D. N. MacKenzie in his article *Melâ-ê Jizrî and Faqî Ṭayrân*, in *Yād-nāma-yi Īrānī-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, showed pertinently, thanks to the method of the *abdjad*, that Melayê Cizrî lived between 1570 and 1640 and his disciple, Feqiyê Teyran, between 1590 and 1660. The most famous is Melayê Cizrî, later than Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791/1389 or 792/1390) and Djāmī (817-98/1414-92), whose *Dīwān* of more than 2,000 verses has remained very popular among the *shaykhs* and mollahs, much more than among the masses. It has always been read and commented on in the Ḳur'ān schools of Kurdistān, but its text is difficult. His ideas are those of Persian Ṣūfism. His *Dīwān* was published by M. Hartmann, *Das kurdische Diwan des Schêch Ahmed*, Berlin 1904, in photocopy; by Mohammed Şefîq Anwasî Heseniye, Istanbul 1340/1922; Qedrî Cemîl Paşa, *Diwana Melê*, in Latin characters, in *Hawar*, Nos. 35-57 (1941-3), incomplete text; and above all, the fine edition of Shaykh Aḥmad b. al-Mella Muḥammad al-Buhtī al-Zivingī, *al-ʿAḳd al-djawharī fī sharḥ Dīwān al-Shaykh al-Djizrī*, 2 vols., 943 pp., Kamishlī, 1377/1958. Under the vocalised Kurdish text, at a lower level, are given, every two verses, an Arabic word-for-word translation, a more elegant total translation and finally a mystical commentary. Melayê Batê is especially known for his *Mewlûd*, published by von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, Berlin 1903. Feqiyê Teyran, who composed an elegy on the death of his master Cizrî, is the author of numerous works, in particular of the *History of Shaykh San'an*, published and translated into Russian by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1965, and in Persian by Q. F. Qazi, Tabrīz 1967.

The succeeding generation of poets cited by Jaba is dominated by Ehmedê Xanî (1650-1706), who settled at Bayazid. He is the author of the famous Kurdish national epic, *Memozîn*. In this work, which has been frequently re-published, the poet adapted the popular epic *Mamê Alan*, publ. by R. Lescot, Beirut 1942, and by N. Zaza, Damascus 1957, which he recomposed according to classical literary rules, and also Islamising it more. This poem of 2,655 couplets is the real breviary of Kurdish nationalism. If the text of the popular epic *Mamê Alan* has multiple variants which have been translated into German, French, Russian, Romanian, English, Armenian and Arabic, the classical poem *Memozîn* has also had numerous editions: Istanbul 1338/1920, Aleppo 1947, Hewlêr (Erbil) 1954; translated into Mukri by Hejar, Baghdād 1960; with Russian translation by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1962; with Turkish translation by M. E. Bozarslan, Istanbul 1968. Many authors often confuse these two epics. Apart from numerous pieces of verse written in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, Ehmedê Xanî is also the author of a rhymed Arabo-Kurdish vocabulary *Nûbuhar* "First fruits" edited by Yūsuf Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, *al-Hadiyya al-Ḥamīdiyya fi 'l-lugha al-Kurdiyya*, Istanbul 1310/1892, 279-97. and also in facsimile by von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, i, 1-47. His disciple and successor in his school of Bayazid, Ismaîlê Bayazidî (1654-1709), also left behind many Kurdish poems and a Kurmanci-Arabic-Persian glossary, *Gulzar* "The rose garden".

In the 18th century, mention should be made of Şerîf Xan (1682-1748), of Culamerg, of the family of the *amīrs* of Hakârî, author of numerous verses in Kurmanci and Persian, and Mûrad Xan of Bayazid (1736-78), author of numerous lyrical poems.

In the same period, but at the court of the *wālīs* of Ardalān or the sultans of Hewraman, appeared a whole pleiade of poets whose lyrical or religious works are in the Gūrānī dialect. One may cite Ehmedê Textî (*ca.* 1640) and Şêx Mistefa Besaranî (1641-1702), whom Minorsky believes to be more recent (d. 1760). In this case, he would be contemporary with a whole group of poets, with Xânay Qubâdî (1700-59), author of a *Ṣalawāt-nāma*, and with Mahzûnî (*ca.* 1783).

It is impossible to cite all the poets who lived in the 19th century and whose works have been printed between the two World Wars. Their names and the list of their works will be found cited in the literature of Xiznedar (218-20) and Resûl (228-32). On the poets in Gūrānī, cf. Minorsky's article, *The Gūrān*. Some have been studied at greater length by Sidjādī in his *History of Kurdish literature*, e.g. (247-76), Mewlewî (1806-82). It will be noted that the dates advanced by the different authors do not always coincide, and the taste of the Kurdish poets for choosing a *takhalluṣ* or pseudonym will also be remarked.

Among the poets of the 19th century whose formation was purely religious, one may mention above all Nalî (1797-1855), who travelled extensively, wrote verses in Kurdish, Persian and Arabic, and whose Kurdish *Dīwān* was published in Baghdād in 1931 and in Erbil in 1962; Salim (1800-66), and Kurdî (1803-49) (ed. Hewlêr 1961), whose lyricism blossoms into patriotism; the Naḳshbandī Mehwî (1830-1909) explains Ṣūfī theories (ed. Sulaymānī 1922), likewise, too, Mirza Rehîm Wefa'î (1836-92) ed. Hewlêr, 1951-61, 2 vols.). The greatest poets of the end of the century are Hacî Qadir Koyî (1815-92), whose patriotic poems still arouse enthusiasm in many young people (ed. Hewler 1953, Baghdād 1960); Şêx Riza Talebanî (1842-1910), agnostic and satirist, very popular still today and who composed verses in Kurdish, Persian and Turkish (ed. Baghdād 1935, 1946; cf. C. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish lampoonist: Shaikh Riza Talebani*, in *JRCAS*, xxii [Jan. 1935]); Salih Heriq (1851-1907), writing in traditional forms and on Ṣūfī themes (ed. Baghdād 1938); Edeb, Evdelah Beg Misbah al-Diwan (1862-1917, *Dīwān* ed. H. H. Mukriani, Rawāndiz 1936, ed. Gêw Mukriani, Hewlêr 1960, and unpublished poems ed. M. Xiznedar, Baghdād 1970), a delicate and romantic poet.

Let us also mention some women who have played a role in literature: Mah Şeref Xanim of Ardelan (1800-47), Sira Xanim of Diyarbakir (1814-65) and Mihreban of Berwarî (1858-1905).

2. *The modern age.*

The end of the First World War gave Kurdish literature an impetus which still continues, thanks to the numerous newspapers and journals which have allowed young talents to publish their poems and express their national and social ideas (see section 3. below).

It is extremely difficult to make a choice among the poets of this revival which extends from 1920 to our own days.

In the intellectual radiance of Sulaymānī, the real capital in ʿIrāḳ of Kurdistān, let us cite before all Pîremêrd "The old man" (1863-1950), pseudonym of Hacî Tewfîq, an original spirit, indefatigable traveller, journalist, who devoted the last years of his life to making known to the young Kurds, who adored him, the beauties of their land, their language, their history and their literature. The tortured Bâkes, Faîq Abdallah (1905-48), did not cease to encourage the youth and to exhort them to work and study and to exalt in them love of their homeland and of goodness. Ziwer,

Abdallah Mihemed (1875-1948), is full of lyricism and sensibility in singing of nature and the national soil.

Gora, Abdallah Suleyman (1904-63), one of the greatest contemporary Kurdish poets, has abandoned stereotyped forms and classical metre, for he is the partisan and practitioner of free verse, as he has been of liberty of ideas and of life; a poet with advanced ideas, who is not lacking in lyricism to criticise social abuses. Qani', Mihemed Sêx Abdul Kerim (born in 1900), published from 1951 to 1955 numerous small books which each evoke an aspect of the Kurdistān which he celebrates with love. Let us further mention among the Kurdish poets of ʿIrāḳ, Ehmed Muxtar Caf (1897-1935; ed. Sulaymānī, 1960); Hamdī (1878-1936, ed. Baghdād, 1958) and the younger Abdul Wahīd Nūrī (1903-44), Dildar (1918-48, *Diwan*, ed. Hewlêr 1962) and Dilzar, born in 1920, who edited in 1957 the *Quatrains* of Bābā Ṭāhir, the 5th/11th century writer, whom some Kurds claim as their own.

In Iran, at the time of the Republic of Mahābād, two young patriotic poets came to the front: M. Hêmin and especially ʿAbd al-Rahman Hejar (born in 1920), who was the official poet and who published thousands of verses to exalt love of the homeland and liberty, such as *Alekok* (Tabrīz 1945); in 1958, he published a collection of verse narratives and the comedy of the Dog and the Moon, *Beitī seremer û lasayī sag û mangesew*; he presented a summary of his autobiography (142-85) and several poems (185-222), in the *Kurdskiy dialekt Mukri* of K. R. Ayyubī and I. A. Smirnova, Leningrad 1968, and published a translation of the *Quatrains* of Khayyām (Beirut 1968).

In Kurmancî, one may note Kamiran A. Bedir Xan, writer of romantic free verse, and above all Cegerxwîn, Sêxmus Hesen (born in 1903), author of two collections; *Diwanê Cegerxwîn* (Damascus 1945) and *Sewra azadî* "The revolt of liberty" (Damascus 1954); an extremely vibrant and patriotic poet, preaching the instruction of youth and the union of all the Kurds, and going beyond pure nationalist élan to hope for radical social reforms; his many verses, varied in their workmanship, often preserve a classical form, but also he knows how to use more modern techniques. His rhymes are very rich. He is well-known and loved by the Kurds of Syria and Turkey (cf. Ordixanê Celîl, *Poèsia Cegerxwîn bajarvanié*, ["Civic poetry of Cegerxwin"], Erivan 1966).

But the great novelty is the vitality of Kurdish letters in Soviet Armenia, including Kurmancî. Those who were the pioneers in this field were mostly from the old Yazīdīs, illiterate by definition, immigrants from Turkey, who were to profit from their new social situation. Without the least Islamic culture and without any contact with the educated élite of the rest of the Kurdish world, their works are often ideologically oriented, but of a much more natural workmanship. They ignore classical prosody and their versification gains from simplicity. Lyricism is far from absent. They sing of love of the family and the beauties of nature, such as Casimê Celîl (born in 1908) and especially Mikaîlê Reşîd (born in 1925), who is rich in sensibility. Some of their strongly committed poems have social inspirations. Woman must be liberated, says Etarê Şero (born in 1906) in numerous quatrains. Usivê Beko (born in 1909) criticises feudal exploitation; Qaçaxê Murad (born in 1914), Wezîrê Nadiri (1911-47) and Emînê Evdal (1906-64) are pleased to recall the heroic times of the war of liberation. Let us further cite Haciyê Cindî (born in 1908) and Sement Siyabend (born in 1908), hero of the Soviet Union, who clothed in a new form the fine popular lyric epic *Siyabend û Xecê*, 1959. The teacher Karlênê Çaçanî, a younger man, has published in particular animal fables which are not lacking in freshness. The paper *Riya taze* of Erivan and various anthologies, not to mention numerous small booklets, make known these Kurdish poets of Soviet Armenia, all nourished by their rich folklore.

In fact, it is only since 1920 that prose has made its appearance in Kurdish letters. In order to enlarge the intellectual horizon and to enrich the vocabulary by allowing its progress and modernisation, the Kurdish men of letters have translated, at least in the shape of fragments, the works of foreign authors. In Syria and Lebanon they have translated from French; in ʿIrāḳ, from English and Arabic; in Iran, from Persian; in Soviet Armenia, from Russian and especially from Armenian. There have also been placed at the disposal of the potential Kurdish reader out of the plays of Shakespeare, *The tempest*, by Jamal Nebez (Baghdād 1957); of the stories of Voltaire, *Zadig*, by Mohammad Elī Kurdī (Baghdād 1954); of the pages of Victor Hugo, *Gavroche* and Daudet, *Les étoiles*, translated by Zaza, or of Anatole France. J. Nebez has also translated *The cloak* of Gogol (Baghdād 1958). But it is especially the Soviet Kurds who are the translators of Russian authors, Pushkin, Gorki, Tolstoy or Lermontov, not forgetting Lenin and Stalin, or Armenians, Abovian,Toumanian, Isahakian, etc. The principal names of the translators to be encountered are: C. Celîl, H. Cindî, E. Evdal, Q. Murad, N. Esed and T. Murad. Some even write several of their works directly in Armenian, such as C. Celîl, E. Evdal, Nadoyê Xido Mehmûdov and many others.

In ʿIrāḳ, many articles of scientific popularisation have been translated, e.g. Dr. Haşim Dixirmacî, and Naci Ebas have specialised in the translation of accounts of early British travellers in Kurdistān.

In the purely literary domain, the novel is the genre which seemed the best adapted to the mentality and art of the Kurds. In the review *Hawar*, one may read the stories of Nuredîn Zaza (born in 1919), and the fables in prose of Mistefa Ehmed Botî. In these stories, Qadri Can (born in 1918) is concerned with religious fatalism and the feudal ascendancy. But one should note very especially Osman Sebrî (born in 1909) who, whilst a poet when in the mood, is particularly a born storyteller, with a lively, simple and direct style.

In ʿIrāḳ, where the intelligentsia is more numerous, history is a privileged field, with the fecund Husayn Huznî Mukrianî (1886-1947) as the author of varied studies: *The history of the Kurdish emirates*, 1929-31, *Famous Kurds*, 1931, *The Soran emirs*, 1935, *The Kurds and Nadir Shah*, 1934, *The Zend Kurds*, 1934, *Mukriani Kurdistan or Atropatene*, 1938, etc. General Mihemed Emîn Zekî (1880-1948), published a *Summary of the history of the Kurds and Kurdistan*, 1931, a *History of the Kurdish states and emirates in the Islamic period*, 1948, a *History of Sulaimani and its district*, 1939, and two volumes of *Kurdish celebrities and Kurdistan*, 1945-7. All these works have been translated into Arabic. Refiq Hilmî (d. 1961), began the publication of his *Memoirs*, in fascicules of a hundred pages, beginning in 1956 and entitled them *A recollection, Southern Kurdistan, the revolutions of Shaykh Mahmud* (a work still uncompleted). Tewfîq Wehbî, pioneer of Kurdish grammar, 1929, 1956, is also a historian who has studied the Yazīdīs, 1962, and the origins of the Kurds and their language, 1965.

Literary criticism began with Yûnis Reûf and Dildar, Kamuran and especially Marûf Xiznedar, who

in review articles and prefaces of anthologies presented many ancient and modern poets. Xiznedar, apart from his *History of Kurdish literature*, also composed *Ķeş û qafiyet le şi'irî kurdî da* ("Rhyme and rhythm in Kurdish poetry", Baghdād 1962). Cemîl Bendî Rojbeyanî, Arabic translator of the *Sharaf-nāma* in 1957, is especially interested in the poets and writers of the Zengene, Kelhûr and neighbouring tribes. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sidjādī published not only his *History of Kurdish literature* (in 1952), *Researchs on Kurdish literature* (1968) and also the *Value of knowledge* (1970), but also five volumes of *Necklace of pearls* (1957-72), a collection of literary narratives, stories and anecdotes, in which philosophy, beliefs and history are mixed, and his *Journey in Kurdistan* (1958). Let us finally cite ʿIzz al-Dīn Rasūl (born in 1935), for his works on literature and folklore (1968).

In ʿIrāķ also, numerous authors, writers, journalists and militants, have published, in verse and prose, collections and articles in which they have pleaded the most urgent social causes of the disinherited, such as Şekir Fetah in *The companion of the children* (1948), *The Kurdish woman* (1958), *The new life* (1960); Ibrahîm Ehmed (born in 1912), in *Misery* (1959) and many articles in newspapers; Miherem Mihemed Emîn (born in 1921), in *Uncle Omar* (1954), *The tranquil lake* (1957) and *The path of liberty* (1954).

In Soviet Armenia, one also finds young literary critics who give in *Riya taze* their often severe appreciations of poetic works which appear. Among them are Mikaîlê Reşîd, and especially Emêrikê Serdar, and Ordixanê Celîl is an excellent critic. His books on Cegerxwîn, Dimdim, on proverbs and his articles on folklore are the proof of that, and he has also published *Poems* (1954) and *Telî Hamza*, a kind of epic (1963). But the prose writers there are less numerous than the poets. They do not enter into the domain of the dream, nor even into history properly speaking, but most of their writings set forth the wretched life that they led in the past in the time of the Turks and the revival of their present social situation. At their head is their veteran Ereb Şemo (born in 1898), who is also the most fecund. His latest compilation, *Berevok* (Erivan 1969), takes up the text of *Berbang* "Dawn" (1958), a rehash, revised and corrected, of *Şivanê kurd* "The Kurdish shepherd" (1935), retranslated and republished in Beirut (1946), in which he narrated with much freshness and simplicity the life of his childhood as a small herdsman, the picturesque events of the life of the tribes and the implantation of communism among them; there are also his *Jîna bextewar* "The happy life" (1959) and the unpublished *Hopo*, which is its complement, in which is described the existence of the Kurds under the Soviet régime. Şemo has also published *Dimdim* (1966), which is the romanticised history of this famous epic. He is furthermore the author of numerous articles in many Russian language newspapers on all the social and historical subjects which interest the Kurds. Elî Evdal-Rehman published in this same vein of social preoccupations, *Xatê Xanim* "Lady Xatê" (1959) and *Gundê Merxasan* "The village of heroes" (1968), and Rehîm Gazî, *Hişyarbûn* "Awakening" (1960), which speaks of the resistance of the Kurds of Iran against their Turkish or Iranian oppressors.

Thus one sees the true novel, as it is understood in the West, does not yet really exist in Kurdish literature. It is rather the new genres which Kurdish writers prefer, even in ʿIrāķ. The same remark may be made with reference to the theatre. In Armenia, from the beginnings, there were attempts with W. Nadirî, *Reva jinê*, "The abduction" (1935) and A. Mîrazî, *Zemanê çuyî* "Time past" (1945), and recently Ismaîle Duko, *Zewaca bê dil* "Marriage without love" (1964). In all these cases, the theme is the struggle against the customs of the past age. Similarly in Irak with Burkan, *Kiç û qutebxane* "The girl and the school" (1956), and Jiri, *Afret û niwişte* "The woman and the talisman" (1956), plays performed in the schools. There are also critical themes in the comic scenes of Emîn Mirza Kerîm. In 1953-4, Goran published in his newspaper *Jîn* several verse plays, including *The poor man's dream, The voice of death*, etc., which aim at waging a vendetta against the faults of the present society. But the *Four martyrs* (1959) is a patriotic play of Xalid Delair. Cemal Abdul Qadir Baban published *Nôrûz* (1960), a play in five acts in verse, and Zakî Ehmed Henarî, *The fate of the oppressor Dahak* (1960). Let us mention especially, because it was published in Istanbul (1965), *Birîna reş* "The black wound" of Musa Anter (born in 1920), in which the author calls attention to the misery and ignorance of the Kurdish peasant in Turkey. On Kurdish theatre, cf. Azad Kardo, *The Kurdish stage*, in *The Kurdish Journal*, ii/3-4 (1965), 13-5.

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C. The Kurdish press.

The influence of the press is basic in the national and cultural life of a people. With regard to this, the development and transformations of the Kurdish press are characteristic of the political evolution of the Kurds. Of the 119 recorded newspapers and reviews, whose periodicity is all relative, some have only had ephemeral life. The publishing centres have been moved from Istanbul to the different towns of ʿIrāķ, Baghdād, Sulaymānī, Hewlêr and Kirkûk; of Iran, Tehran, Mahābād and Tabrīz; or even to Damascus and Beirut. Often these newspapers are bilingual. Most of the journals consist of a precious

and inexhaustible mine of information on language, folklore and the customs of the Kurdish land, and also on its history and geography. Furthermore to be found in them are numerous texts of poets, ancient or modern, as well as fine ideas of literary criticism. Young talents are also exercised there.

The first Kurdish newspaper, *Kurdistan*, was founded in Cairo in 1898 by Midhet Paşa Bedir Xan and his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and moved from Cairo to Geneva and Folkestone (31 nos.); republished in Baghdād, 197?, by Kamāl Fuʾād. In Istanbul, there was the monthly *Roja kurd* "Kurdish day", which became "The Kurdish sun", in 1912 (3 nos.). In 1916, Sureya Bedir Xan published in Turkish the weekly *Jîn* "Life" which proclaimed "Kurdistān for the Kurds". He also published there in 1917-18 the weekly *Kurdistan* (37 nos.).

Between the two wars (1920-45), the Kurdish press really began to flourish and develope. There appeared in Sulaymānī in 1920-2, *Pêskewtin* "Progress" (118 nos.); in 1922-3, *Roj-i Kurdistan* "The Sun of Kurdistan" (15 nos.), re-published in Baghdād in 1973 by Djamāl Khaznadār; the weeklies *Bangê Kurdistan* "The call of Kurdistān" 1922 (14 nos.) in 1923, *Bangê haqq* "The call of truth", the official newspaper of Şêx Mehmûd (3 nos.) and *Umîdî istiqlal* "Hope of independence", edited by Refîq Hilmî (25 nos.). In 1925-6, *Diyarî Kurdistan* "The gift of Kurdistān" of Salih Zeki Sahîbqran, in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish, had 16 nos. In 1924-6, the weekly *Jiyanewe* "The resurrection" an official newspaper (56 nos.) which took the name *Jiyan* "Life" 1926-38 (556 nos.), and that of *Jîn*, 1939-63, under the direction of Piremerd until his death (1950), exceeded a thousand nos. In 1938 there appeared the scientific review *Zanistî* "Science" of Salih Quftan, who published in it historical and literary articles, but which only had a few issues, while the weekly *Ziban* "Language" 1937-9, published by the municipality, had 70 nos. In Rawāndiz, Huseyn Huzni Mukriani published 1926-32 *Zari kurmancî* "The Kurdish language" which had 30 nos. Baghdād was to become an important Kurdish cultural centre through the publication of the very numerous monthlies, *Gelawêj* "Sirius", 1939-49, directed by Ibrahîm Ehmed and *Dengê Gêti-e Taza* "The voice of the New World" edited by the British Embassy and edited by Tewfîq Wehbî. Outside ʿIrāḳ, it is important to mention the major reviews, in Latin characters, *Hawar* "The alarm cry", 1932-5 and 1941-3, 57 nos., and its illustrated supplement, *Ronahî* "The lamp" 1941-5, 28 nos., both published in Damascus by Emir Celadet Bedir Xan, and the weekly *Roja nû* "The new day" 1943-6, 73 nos. and its supplement *Stêr* "The star" which only had 3 issues, published by Emir Kamiran Bedir Xan in Beirut. These journals provide an enormous mass of folkloric documents. Let us mention, in Erivan, the bi-weekly newspaper *Riya taze* "The new view", the organ of the Kurdish section of the Communist Party of Armenia, which appeared, in Latin characters from 1930 to 1938 (612 nos.), then in Cyrillic characters from 1955. It has now exceeded its 2,500th number. It is along with *Jîn* of Sulaymānī the best example of longevity of the Kurdish press.

The equivocal political situation in Iran between the years 1941 and 1946, especially after the proclamation of the independent Kurdish Republic (1945-6), brought about the blossoming of a whole Kurdish press in Mahābād: *Kurdistan*, 1945-6, the official newspaper (113 nos.) and a literary review of the same name (16 nos.) *Hawarê nîştiman*, *Awar*, *Gir û gali mindalanî kurd*, *Helale* "The red poppy" only survived a spring. For his part, in Lāhīdjān, Şêx Latif, son of Şêx Mehmûd, published the journal *Niştiman* "Homeland" which had 3 issues.

After the War and until the proclamation of the Republic in ʿIrāḳ (14 July 1958), the journals normally appeared in both Kurdish and Arabic. In 1948-9, in Baghdād, Eladin Sêcadî published *Nizar* "The rock" (22 nos.), and in 1957-63, Hafiz Mistefa Qazî published there *Hêwa* "Hope" (36 nos.). In Erbil, from 1954 to 1960, Gew Mukriani published the bi-monthly *Hetaw* "The sun", which had 188 nos. Under the Republic, in Kirkûk, 1959-62, *Ray gel* "Popular opinion" (34 nos.); 1959-61, *Azadî* "Liberty", organ of the ʿIrāḳī C.P. (56 nos.). In Sulaymānī, the Teachers' Union published the monthly *Bilêsê* "The flame", 1959-60, with 10 nos. In 1960, appeared *Roj-i nuwe* "The new sun" with 18 nos. and the communist political and literary daily, *Birwa* "Belief", from July 1960 to January 1963 brought out 95 nos., while Baghdād, the bilingual daily *Xebat* "Effort", organ of the D.P.K. brought out 462 nos. in 1959-61. The Ministry of Agriculture published from 1959 to 1956, in Arabic and Kurdish, *Çareser kirdinê kişt û kal* (21 nos.), and the Ministry of Orientation *Iraqê nuwe* (24 nos.). In the course of the year 1960, the lawyer Omer Celal Huwaizi published 69 nos. of the democratic political daily *Dengê kurd*. One cannot pass over in silence *Kurdistan*, a weekly, published in Tehran under the auspices of the Iranian Government from May 1959 to May 1963 with 205 nos., political, scientific, literary and social; this very interesting weekly was only circulated abroad.

The internecine Kurdi-ʿIrāḳī war from 9 September 1961 to 13 March 1970, diminished the activity of the Kurdish press. Nevertheless, in Erbil the municipality published (1962-3) its newspaper *Hewlêr*, with 76 nos. In Baghdād there appeared in 1964 the first Kurdish issue of the seasonal journal *Tutin*, published by the tobacco administration, and, in 1967, *Biyaretî* "Fraternity", a political newspaper of Ṣāliḥ Yūsufī. It is this period which saw the appearance in Turkey, in Turkish and in Kurdish, several ephemeral reviews: *Dicle û Firat* (1962-3) in Istanbul with 8 nos.; *Deng*, in 1963 and in 1966 *Dengê taze* "The new voice" which only had 4 nos. before it was immediately stopped and the directors prosecuted.

The end of hostilities in Kurdistān saw the birth, from 1970 to 1973, of 29 periodicals, of which 2 were in Kirkûk, 6 in Hewlêr, only 4 in Sulaymānī, but 16 in Baghdād, which seems to indicate that the ʿIrāḳī capital has now become the intellectual and cultural centre of the Kurds in ʿIrāḳ. In Sulaymānī, there is *Birayetî* (1971-2, 18 nos.); *Deng-i mamosta* (7 nos.); *Jîn*, since 1971, presented as the continuation of the newspaper founded by Piremerd; and since 1972, the monthly *Êstêre* "The star", intended for children. In Baghdād, there is *Birayetî*, supplement of the daily *Taʾākhī* (1970-1, 18 nos.). Since 1970, the Philatelist Club has published *Gêti-i pûl* "The world of stamps", in Arabic, Kurdish and English. The General confederation of trade unions has as its official organ *Hişyar-i kirêkaran* "The awakening of the workers" which, since its no. 189 of December 1972, has a Kurdish section. One should mention as an annual publication *The Journal of the Kurdish Academy*, i/1 (1973), a great volume of 800 pages whose editor-in-chief is Iḥsān Shīrzād, Minister of Municipalities, and of which one section is in Arabic. In Iran, one should note the name *Rêga-i yekîtî* "The path of unity", a monthly publication of the Iranian Govern-

ment, whose no. 1 came out in April 1971 and which continues to appear regularly (in 1978).

The different Kurdish groups abroad publish ephemeral bulletins, at times simply typed. In 1949, there appeared in French *Dengê Kurdistan* "la Voix du Kurdistan", organ of the D.P.K. in Europe. Since 1958, the Association of Kurdish Students in Europe has published in English each year *Kurdistan*, in Kurdish and in Latin characters, some annual issues of *Hîviya welêt* "Hope of the homeland" in 1963-5, and similarly *Çiya* "The mountain" in 1965-7. The Commission for the Advancement of Kurdistan (CAK) of the United Kingdom published in English a single issue of *Kurdica*. In English also there exists one of the best publications of this genre, *The Kurdish Journal*, from December 1963 to September 1969, published by the Association of the Kurdish Students in U.S.A. Finally, in Kurdish and Turkish, *Ronahî*, "The lamp", organ of the Kurds of Turkey in Europe, since August 1971; this is now (1978) at its 8th issue.

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AL-KURDĪ, MUḤAMMAD AMĪN (d. 1332/1914), one of the leading figures in the recent history of the Naḳshbandī order, and author of several influential works.

Born in Irbīl, he made early acquaintance with Ṣūfism, for his father, Fatḥ Allāh-zāda, was a Ḳādirī *shaykh*. His own initiation was at the hands of a Naḳshbandī *shaykh* of the city, Shaykh ʿUmar, who was separated by only one link in the initiational chain from the great renewer of the Naḳshbandiya in the western Islamic lands, Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1242/1826). After several years spent in the company of Shaykh ʿUmar, Muḥammad Amīn received a licence himself to initiate disciples into the Naḳshbandī path, and he left his homeland, never to return. He retained, however, a certain mode of reverential awareness of Shaykh ʿUmar's spiritual presence through the distinctive Naḳshbandī technique known as *rābiṭa*. He spent many years in Mecca and Medina, enjoying numerous mystical and visionary experiences; he compared his state while in Mecca to that of Ibn ʿArabī when he began the composition of *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. Inspired by a desire to visit the tombs of the *Ahl al-Bayt* in Cairo, he left the Ḥidjāz for Egypt, which was to be his residence for the rest of his life, with the exception of a return visit to the Holy Cities in 1323/1905. He lived first in the *rawāḳ* of the Kurdish students at the Azhar, later moving to the village of Ambāba outside of Cairo, and finally to Būlāḳ. Initially he concealed his Naḳshbandī affiliations and Ṣūfī interests, concentrating on the study of *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and *fiḳh* at the Azhar. Later he began to proclaim the path, and to accept each year a small number of disciples. Upon an indication from Shaykh ʿUmar contained in a dream, he then decided to accept all who came to him, and indeed vigorously to propagate the Naḳshbandī order throughout Egypt, travelling widely to numerous towns and villages. He encountered opposition from the followers of other orders and from adherents of the Salafī movement, but soon came to gather a large following. In his instruction, he placed emphasis on two particular elements of Naḳshbandī practice; silent *dhikr* and the recitation of a litany known as the *khatm-i khʷādjagān*. He died in Būlāḳ in 1332/1914 and was buried in the Ḳarāfa cemetery of Cairo.

He left behind him numerous *khalīfa*s, the most prominent of whom was Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsūf al-Saḳḳā; many contemporary Naḳshbandīs of Egypt are descended from him. The best known of his numerous writings is *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb fī muʿāmalat ʿallām al-ghuyūb*, a compendium of religious knowledge of which the third part is devoted to Ṣūfism. The eighth edition of this book was printed in Cairo in 1368/1949. He also wrote a biographical dictionary of Naḳshbandī saints (*al-Mawāhib al-sarmadiyya fī manāḳib al-Naḳshbandiyya*, published in Cairo in 1329/1911, as well as manuals of Shāfiʿī and Mālikī *fiḳh*.

Bibliography: A comprehensive account of Muḥammad Amīn's life is given in a 55-page preface by Shaykh Salāma ʿAzzāmī to *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb* (8th ed., Cairo 1368/1949). Some mention is made of him by A. J. Arberry in his *Sufism*, London 1950, 129-32, where Muḥammad Amīn's description of Naḳshbandī practices of *dhikr* is summarised. The same passage from *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb* is also to be found in French translation as an appendix to Jean Gouillard's version of *La petite philocalie*. (HAMID ALGAR)

AL-KURDJ, GURDJ, GURDJISTĀN, the names in Islamic sources for the province of Georgia in western Caucasia. Georgia comprises four distinct regions: Mingrelia and Imereti in the north-west; Samtaskhe in the south-west (adjoining the Black Sea coastal region of Lazistān [see LAZ], inhabited by a people closely related to the Georgians); Kartli in the north, with the capital Tiflis [*q.v.*], Georgian Tbilisi; and Kakheti in the east. Topographically, much of Georgia comprises mountains, hills and plateaux, with lowland only on the Black Sea coastal plain and in the valleys of the River Rioni and its tributaries, draining westwards into the Black Sea, and of the River Kura (Georgian Mtkvari, Islamic Kur [*q.v.*]) and its tributaries, draining eastwards into the Caspian.

The Georgian people (who refer to themselves as Kartvel-ebi and their homeland as Sa-kartvel-o, after a mythical, semi-divine ancestor Kartlos) are linked with the Svans of northern Mingrelia and the Mingrelo-Laz in the so-called "Ponto-Zagros" group of Caucasian peoples, although over the millennia their blood must have been much mingled with that of other peoples who have invaded or have passed through their country. Linguistically, the Georgian language forms with Svanetian and Mingrelo-Laz the southern or Ibero-Caucasian group of Caucasian languages; for details, see AL-ḲABḲ, languages. It is written in an alphabet of considerable phonetic exactness, which is traditionally considered to be the creation of St. Mesrop, inventor of the Armenian alphabet, but which apparently had two forms originally; these must at all events have been derived in the first place from Aramaic-Pahlavi scripts (see D. Diringer, *The alphabet, a key to the history of mankind*³, New York 1968, 252-4).

Early history. From earliest times, Georgia has been a meetingpoint for the cultures of East and West and a place where the products of European

and Asian commerce were exchanged. In Homeric times, the western Georgian coastal region, Imereti and Mingrelia, formed the famed Colchis, land of the Golden Fleece sought by Jason and the Argonauts, whilst the lands to the east, Kartli, Kakheti and Samtskhe, formed the Caucasian Iberia, with its capital at Mtskheta-Armazi, on the River Kur just upstream from modern Tiflis. The campaigns of Pompey in the 1st century BC brought Georgia into the sphere of Roman political and cultural influence, and to classical geographers like Strabo we owe a description of Iberia, and the fourfold class-division of its society, a division not dissimilar from that of ancient Iran. The Iberians did indeed have close cultural links with the Parthians, and we find Iberian kings and nobles with Iranian names like Parnavaz and Asparukh, together with a certain spread of the Zoroastrian religion within Iberia, a process only arrested by the adoption of Christianity within Georgia *ca.* 330 AD, during the reign of the Emperor Constantine the Great and through the missionary efforts of a Cappadocian slave woman, St. Nino. The consequences for the future history of Georgia and its people of this conversion to Christianity were incalculable. Georgia, and Armenia [see ARMĪNIYA] to the south of it, henceforth became bastions of the new faith against the pagan regions of the eastern Caucasus and against the Sāsānids of Persia, the enemies of Byzantium. At first dependent on the Patriarchate of Antioch, the Georgian Church, like that of the Armenians, espoused Monophysitism and rejected the formulae of the Council of Chalcedon, and at the Council of Dvin of the Armenian and Georgian Churches in 506, the Georgians seceded from Orthodoxy and set up their own national church of St. George, with its Catholicos-Patriarch resident at Tiflis.

The period of Byzantine-Persian rivalry. The old capital of Georgia Mtskheta (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 5.10 Μεστλῆτα = Μεσχῆτα) was sometimes called by the Arab geographers by a popular etymology Masdjid Dhi 'l-Ḳarnayn (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 56; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 186). According to the Georgian Chronicle, the Persian *eristav* ("ethnarch") sent against Varaz-bakar (379-93?), king of Georgia (of the Khosroid dynasty, descended from the Sāsānids), built Tiflis "between the Gates of the Caucasus" (i.e. between Darial and Darband) "to serve as a bulwark against Mtskheta" (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 140).

During the wars of king Wakhtang Gurgasal (446-99?) with the Persians, the fortress (*kala*) and the village (*sopʿeli*) of Tiflis were destroyed. Wakhtang laid the foundations of a town at Tiflis and his son Dači (499-514) completed its walls (*op. cit.*, 180, 196-201).

After 523, the Persians, having suppressed the ruling dynasty of eastern Georgia, maintained a Persian *marzbān* in Tiflis, beside whom representatives of the Georgian nobility had a nominal share in the administration of the country (Brosset, i, 226; Marquart, *op. cit.*, 397, 431-2; Djavakhov, *Khrist. Vostok*, i [1912], 110). The governor of Mtskheta was under the *marzbān*. Theophanes of Byzantium (6th century) is the first Byzantine author to mention ἡ Τίφιλις (Τιφλίς) μητρόπολις under the year 571 (Theophanes apud Photium, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, ciii, 139; cf. Muralt, *Essai de chronologie byzantine*, St. Petersburg 1855, i, 156).

The wars with the Turks and the Byzantines having distracted the attention of the Persians from Iberia, the Georgians asked the Byzantine emperor to give them a king and the Bagratid Guaram (575-600) was set up at Mtskheta. To this king tradition attributes the "restitution of the foundations of the church of Sion in Tiflis" (i, 222).

After the victory gained over the Byzantines by Khusraw Parwīz (after 606), the son of Guaram, Stephanos I (who was content with the title of *eristʿavi* = "ethnarch"), joined the Persians. Later, when in 624 Heraclius and his Turkish allies laid siege to Tiflis, Stephanos defended the town bravely. Heraclius appointed as *mtʿavar* ("chief") Adarnases of the old Khosroid family and associated with him the *eristʿavi* Djibghu (Theophanes: Ζιέβηλ; according to Marquart: Tʿong Yabghu Khaḳan). The citadel (*kala*) was taken and Stephanos slain.

The Arab conquest. The Arabs confounded Armenia and Georgia (cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 194; and Yāḳūt, ii, 58, where Djurzān is a *nāḥiya* of the country of Armīniya). According to the Georgian chronicle (*Kʿartʿlis tskhovreba*), the Agarians invaded Somkhetia ("Armenia", a rather ambiguous term, for "Somkhetia of Karti" began to the south of the river Khram, about 20 miles south of Tiflis) in the reign of Stephanos II (639-63?), son of Adarnases, who lived in Tiflis. On the death of this king, his sons Mir and Arčil withdrew to Egris in Mingrelia. In the period of their joint reign (663-8) Georgia was visited by the ferocious Murwan Ḳru ("Marwān the Deaf") sent by the *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* Eshim (= Hishām whose dates are actually 105-25/724-43!). Such mistakes and anachronisms may be explained by the fact that at this period, the national life of Georgia had taken refuge far to the west in lands not easily accessible from Čʿorokh (Klardjetia). The thread of events may, however, be pieced together from Arab and Armenian statements [see ARMĪNIYA].

In reality, Arab expeditions penetrated into Transcaucasia in the reigns of the early caliphs. According to Ṭabarī, i, 2666, in 22/643 Surāḳa, having made peace with Shahr-Barāz (king of Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*]), sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama against Tiflis. To the same year Ṭabarī, i, 2674, puts the peace with the people of this town, but it was actually made in 25/645 in the reign of ʿUthmān (Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, 194; Balādhurī, 198). When Habīb b. Maslama had conquered Armenia, he turned his attention to Georgia. A Georgian ambassador (Nkly = Nicolas? Tfly = Theophilus?) appeared before him to testify that the *baṭrīk* of Djurzān and his people were well-disposed. Habīb's answer (cf. the versions in Balādhurī, 201 and Ṭabarī, i, 2764; Yāḳūt, i, 857, rather follows Balādhurī) was addressed simply to "the inhabitants of Tiflis, in [the *rustāḳ* of] Mandjalīs (now Manglis) in al-Djurzān (= Georgia) in the land of Hurmuz".

Habīb guaranteed the people the exercise of their religion, but he sent to Tiflis the learned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Djazʾ to expound the law of Islam, and indeed the people of the town were soon converted to Islam.

After reducing Tiflis, Habīb extended his conquests or his treaties of peace over other regions inhabited by the Georgians and their neighbours (Balādhurī, 202-3; cf. the attempts to analyse them in Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arabischen Herrschaft*, in *Zeitschr. f. armen. Philologie*, ii (Marburg 1903), 149-225). Among these, the Ṣanāriya play a prominent part Ptolemy, 5.8.13: Σαναραῖοι; in Armenian: Tsanarkh), a very warlike Christian people who lived in Kakheti and the high Alazan and who, according to the hypothesis of N.Y. Marr, were identical with the modern Tʿush, whose language is related to that of the Čečens (cf. *Izv. Akad. Nauk.*, x/12 [1916], 1379-1408).

From the time of Ḥabīb's expedition to the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) the Djurzān (eastern Georgians) and the Abkhāz (*q.v.*, here in the wide sense of "western Georgians of the valley of the Rion", i.e. of Imereti) paid tribute to the Arab military commander in Tiflis (*Murūdj*, ii, 65; Yāḳūt, ii, 583). From the time of Yazīd II (101-5/720-4) we have a letter in which Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh confirmed to the Djurzān the guarantees given by Ḥabīb b. Maslama (Balādhurī, 202; there is a reference there also to the *rustāḳ* of Mandjalīs, but several place-names are still unidentified).

As to the "Murwan Ḳru" of Armenian and Georgian tradition, two personnages seem to have been confused in this figure (Marquart): Muḥammad b. Marwān, of whom the Georgians seem to have heard the Armenians speak, and his son Marwān b. Muḥammad who in the reign of Hishām was fighting mainly in Dāghistān, but whose expedition against the "Gate" of the Alān [*q.v.*] must have passed through the region of Tiflis. His headquarters were at Kisāl(?), 20 *farsakhs* from Tiflis and 40 *farsakhs* from Bardhaʿa (probably Kesala below Tāwūs, which satisfies the description; see below). A *dirham* is known of ʿAbd al-Malik struck at Tiflis in 85/704.

The ʿAbbāsids. In 141/758 the Khazars [*q.v.*] under Raʾs Ṭarkhān invaded Armenia (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 446). Ṭabarī (iii, 328), speaking of the same event under 147/764, says that during the invasion of Astār Khān al-Khwārazmī (*sic*), many Muslims and *dhimmīs* were made prisoners and the Turks entered Tiflis. Yaʿḳūbī immediately after 141/758 mentions a rising of the Ṣanāriya. The latter were defeated by ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl, who then returned to Tiflis and executed his prisoners there.

Another Khazar invasion took place in 183/799. Their king came as far as the bridge over the Kur and ravaged the country, but the taking of Tiflis is not mentioned by the Arab writers (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 518; Ṭabarī, iii, 648) while the Georgian chronicle says that in the joint reign of the brothers Ioane and Djuansher (718-86?) the Khāḳān's general Blučan (in Armenian Bulčʿan) took Tiflis and conquered Kartli.

Of the governors whom Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809) sent to Armenia, the harshest was Khuzayma b. Khāzim (Balādhurī, 210). The Georgians called him Cʿičʿum-Asim. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 210, confirms the cruelty of his second governorship. The Djurdjān (read Djurzān) and the Ṣanāriya rebelled. Khuzayma's general Saʿīd b. Haytham defeated them, drove them out of the country and then returned to Tiflis.

Under al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb established himself in Armenia. In 214/829 he conquered the land of the Djurzān and the Ṣanāriya joined him (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 540, 565-6). Khālid b. Yazīd gave *amān* to Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb and defeated his allies, the Ṣanāriya, but the disturbances in Armīniya went on (Yāḳūt, ii, 566; Balādhurī, 210-11). In 215-39/830-53, Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl carved himself out a principality in Georgia.

Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 65, he was of Ḳuraysh origin. His father Ismāʿīl was the son of Shuʿayb, a client of Marwān II (126-32/744-50); he had settled in Georgia in the time of the caliph al-Amīn (193-8/809-13) and had had skirmishes with the governor Asad b. Yazīd (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 528). The uncle of Isḥāḳ, ʿAlī b. Shuʿayb, mentioned in the Georgian chronicle, i, 260, 265, is said to have received Tiflis from Khālid, probably after Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb. But already in the governorship of Ḥasan Bādhghīsī, the second successor of Khālid, we find the name of Isḥāḳ. When the Byzantine troops of Theophilus (829-42) reached Wanand (near Ḳars), they "were cut to pieces by Sahak, son of Ismael" (cf. Stephen Asolik, ii, ch. 5., tr. Dulaurier, 171). As a result of such exploits, the caliph al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7) recognised Isḥāḳ as lord of Armenia, but this did not last long. Muḥammad, son and successor of Khālid, defeated Isḥāḳ and drove out the Ṣanāriya. According to the Georgian chronicle, the Georgian princes (who had less fear of the central government so far away) supported Muḥammad against Isḥāḳ and his allies, the people of Kakheti and the Ṣanāriya.

Finally, in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, the Turkish commander Bughā al-Kabīr al-Sharābī [*q.v.*] was sent to Armenia. In Rabīʿ I 238 (August-September 852), he left Dabīl for Tiflis. Bughā watched the operations from the high hills beside Sughdabīl (the reference is to the heights of Makhatha to the north of Isani = Sughdabīl).

Isḥāḳ made a sortie, but Bughā's *naffāṭūn* (throwers of Greek fire) set fire to the town. Isḥāḳ's palace was burned. He and his son ʿAmr were taken prisoners by the Turks and the Maghāriba. Isḥāḳ was decapitated and 50,000 (?) men lost their lives in the destruction of the town by fire. The Maghāriba took the survivors prisoners and mutilated the dead. Isḥāḳ's wife, daughter of the lord of Sarīr (= the principality of the Avars in northern Dāghistān), was at Sughdabīl, which was defended by the Khuwaythiya (people of Sasun; cf. MAYYĀFĀRIḲĪN). Bughā granted them *amān* on condition that they laid down their arms and he continued his operations in the direction of Djardmān and Baylaḳān (Ṭabarī, iii, 1114-16; cf. Thomas Artsruni, iii, chs. 9-10, ed. Brosset, St. Petersburg 1874, 140-50. A Georgian inscription on the church of Ateni gives the Islamic date 239 for the taking of Tiflis by Bughā; cf. Djavakhov, *Khrist. Vostok*, i [1912], 284). The destruction of the Muslim principality of the former clients of the Umayyads, which was a focus around which local elements gathered, was an irreparable mistake for the caliphate. The Arab authors (Masʿūdī, ii, 67; Yāḳūt, ii, 58) date the decline of Arab power in the Caucasus from this. Bughā was soon recalled; cf. Brosset, *op. cit.*, i, 266-8, and Thomas Artsuni, *ibid.*

There was an ʿAbbāsid mint for *dirhams* at Tiflis till 331/942 (pieces are known of 210, 248, 250, 294, 298, 304, 307, 311, 312, 314, 330, 331); cf. Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des khalifs orientaux*, St. Petersburg 1873; Pakhomov, *Moneti Gruzii. i. Domongolskiy period*, in *Zap. Num. Otd. IRAO*, i/4 (1910); E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 89-90.

The aid which Bagrat (826-76) had lent to the caliph against Isḥāḳ did not bring the reward desired by the eastern dynasty. The rival dynasty, called of Abkhazia (cf. the explanation of this term above), seized Kartli. Thus Masʿūdī (writing in 332/942), *Murūdj*, ii, 69, 74, says that the Kur left the possessions of Djurdjīn (Bagratid of the lateral line, d. 941; Marquart, *op. cit.*, 176) crossed the land of Abkhāz (*sic*) and arrived in front of Tiflis, the inhabitants of which, although surrounded by infidels on all sides, still retained their courage and were numerous. The founder of the Armenian Bagratid kingdom Ashot (885-90?) also intervened in the affairs of Kartli (Brosset, i, 270, n. 12). Masʿūdī gives Masdjid Dhi 'l-Ḳarnayn (= Mtskheta) as the residence of the king of Djurzān (*al-ṭanbaghī*, ingeniously emended by Marquart, *op. cit.*, 186, to the Armenian **mambaghi* > *mamphali*, a Georgian title).

The Sādjids, the Sālārids and the Shaddādids. In the meanwhile, there arose in Ādhar-

bāydjān the first Muslim dynasty that owned the suzerainty of Baghdād, the Sādjids (276/889 or 279-893 to 317/929; see SĀDJIDS and R. Vasmer, *O monetakh Sadjidov*, in *Izvestia Obshč. izuč. Azerb.* (Baku 1927), No. 5, 22-51). Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yūsuf went to assist the isolated Muslims in the north. In 299/912 (?) he came to Tiflis, the *amīr* of which was then called Dja'far b. 'Alī (cf. below), and seized the fortresses of Udjarmo and Boč'orma (on the upper Iora) (cf. Brosset, i, 275, n. 2). The chronicle also mentions another expedition (between 305/918 and 311/923) of the "Saracens called Sadj", in the course of which Mtskheta was taken. The Muslim sources are silent about these expeditions. Immediately afterwards the chronicle mentions the appearance of the Musāfirids [*q.v.*] or Sālārids at Bardha'a and in Ādharbāydjān.

Bagrat III and Bagrat IV. The series of reigns "shows the greatest confusion" (Brosset), until the king Bagrat III (980-1014 ?) reunited Kartli, Abkhazia, Tao (on the Č'orokh) and Ardanudj. In his time, the Shaddādid [*q.v.*] Faḍlūn invaded Armenia, but was defeated by the Georgians, and Mtskheta was always regarded as the royal city, although the rulers resided in Kutais (K'ut'at'isi). In 421/1030 the Georgian and Kakhetian notables, with the help of the *amīr* Dja'far of Tiflis, undertook an expedition against the Shaddādid P'adlon (Faḍlūn of Gandja). But when the latter died, Liparit Orbeliani, the powerful lord of T'rialet' (on the upper Khram), captured Dja'far by a ruse and only released him on the appeal of the young king Bagrat IV (1027-72), who evidently did not wish Tiflis to be annexed by the turbulent Liparit. Dja'far was re-established at Tiflis, but a few years later the king himself laid siege to Tiflis. The siege had lasted for two years when suddenly the king at the suggestion of Liparit made peace with Dja'far. After the death of the latter, the elders (*ber*) of Tiflis offered the keys of the town to Bagrat, who occupied the citadel Dār al-Djalāl and the two "towers" Ts'ḳalḳin and T'abor. The inhabitants of the Isan quarter on the left bank of the Kur, however, destroyed the bridge, and Bagrat had to turn his ballistas upon them.

The Saldjūḳs. In 439/1048 the troops of Ibrāhīm Yināl (in Georgian Bahram-Lam) appeared for the first time in Basian (Pasin on the upper waters of the Araxes). In 445/1053 (?) the Saldjūḳs undertook an expedition against Gandja, but a countermovement by the Byzantines, who were allies of Bagrat IV, saved the town. Thereupon the people of Tiflis again invited Bagrat, but as a result of Liparit's intrigues, the Byzantines kept Bagrat prisoner in Constantinople for three years. Then Bagrat recovered the greater part of his fortresses, when suddenly Alp Arslan (455-65/1063-72) invaded Georgia (Brosset, i, 326). On 10 December 1068, Alp Arslan, accompanied by the kings of Armenia and Kakheti (Aghsar'an, son of Gagik, of the dynasty of Korikoz (Chorepiscopi), which ruled from 787 to 1105), as well as the *amīr* of Tiflis, marched against Bagrat. All Kartli was occupied and many Christians slain or taken prisoners. The Shaddādids were given compensation. Tiflis and Rustaw were given to Faḍlūn of Gandja, and Ānī to Manučihr b. Abi 'l-Aswār. In the spring of 461/1069, Bagrat returned to Kartli. Faḍlūn encamped at Isan (a suburb on the left bank) and with 33,000 men ravaged the country. Bagrat defeated Faḍlūn, who took the road through Kakheti, but was taken prisoner by Aghsart'an. At the price of conceding several fortresses on the Iora, Bagrat ransomed Faḍlūn and received from him the surrender of Tiflis, where in the meanwhile a certain Sithlaraba (Sayyid al-'Arab ?) was proclaimed *amīr*. This plan failed, for Alp Arslan obtained the liberation of Faḍlūn. Giorgi II, son of Bagrat (reigned 1072-89, lived to 1125), lived in Kutais. In Kakhet Aghsart'an retained his possessions on condition that he adopted Islam.

Dawid II. The revival took place under Dawid II Aghmashenebeli (the "Restorer") who took the title of king "of Kartli and Abkhazia" (1089-1125 ?). Dawid brought into Georgia through the pass of the Alans (Darial) 40,000 Ḳïpčaḳs (Polovtsi) and 5,000 slaves converted to Christianity. In spite of their unruliness (Brosset, *op. cit.*, i, 379), these warlike elements enabled Dawid to throw off Saldjūḳ domination. He ceased the payment of the *kharādj* and put an end to the seasonal migrations of the Turks into Georgia. He gave his daughter T'amar in marriage to the Shīrwān-Shāh [*q.v.*] Akhsitān (in Georgian, Aghsart'an) and treated him as his vassal.

The capture of Tiflis in 515/1121. On the complaints of the Muslims of Tiflis, the Saldjūḳ Maḥmud b. Muḥammad (511-25/1118-31) sent an expedition into Georgia in which the Artuḳid Nadjm al-Dīn Ghāzī, the Mazyādid Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa (Durbez of the Georgian chronicle) and the brother of the Sulṭān Tughrīl (lord of Arran and Nakhičewan) with his atābeg Kün-toghdī, all took part. On 18 August 1121 this army entered T'rialet' and Manglis, but was destroyed by Dawid and his Ḳïpčaḳs, after which in 515/1121-2), Dawid stormed Tiflis, so that the town might become "for ever an arsenal and capital for his sons"; Brosset, i, 365-7, and *Additions*, i, 230, 236-41; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 398-9 (= Defrémery, *Fragments*, 26); Kamāl al-Dīn, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, in *Recueil des hist. des croisades*, iii, 628; Yāḳūt, i, 857 (s.v. art. Taflīs). The Arab historian al-'Aynī (761-854/1360-1451), who utilises sources, some of which are no longer accessible (Brosset, i, 241), admits that Tiflis was burned and pillaged but, contrary to the other sources which emphasise the atrocities committed by Dawid (Matthew of Edessa in Brosset, *Add.*, i, 230), says that the king respected the feelings of the Muslims more than Muslim rulers had done. Dawid is also said to have promised to strike coins with Muslim legends; the coins however of the king (cf. Pakhomov, *Moneti*, etc., 77-81) bear the image of the Virgin. Great caution in dealing with the Muslims was necessary because, as the Georgian chronicle acknowledges, the fighting between Muslims and Christians was still very bitter (cf. Brosset, i, 380).

The Banū Dja'far. Dawid succeeded in Tiflis to the Banū Dja'far, of whom it is not known whether they were of Arab or purely Georgian origin. While the Georgian Chronicle (i, 367) puts at 400 years the period of Muslim rule in Tiflis, al-'Aynī gives the Banū Dja'far alone a period of 200 years. Indeed, we have seen that in *ca.* 300/912 the *amīr* of Tiflis was already called Dja'far [b. 'Alī] (Brosset, i, 275). His successor struck coins at Tiflis; *dirhams* are known of Manṣūr b. Dja'far, dated in 342 and 343 (with the name of the caliph al-Muṭī' li 'llāh), and of Dja'far b. Manṣūr, dated 364, 366 (al-Ṭā'i' li 'llāh). In the time of Bagrat IV (1027-72) the *amīr* of Tiflis was called Dja'far (his father 'Alī had carried off the property of the Sveti-Tskhoveli church of Mtskheta). The Chronicle calls him Mukhat' Gwerd Djap'ar (Mukhat' Gwerd is a place near Mtskheta). During the 40 years before the conquest of Tiflis by Dawid, the town was governed by the young members of the Banū Dja'far family, each of whom in turn held power for a month (al-'Aynī).

The strong kings. The reign of Dimitri (1125-54) was occupied with a civil war with the Orbeliani family. The Muslim rulers contemporary with him were: in Ādharbāydjān, the *atābeg* Ildeñiz or Eldigüz [*q.v.*] (in Georgian Ildiguz); at Ānī, the scions of the Shaddādids; at Khilāt, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Shāh-i Arman (523-79/1128-83); at Erzerum, the *amīr* Saltuḳ b. ʿAlī, whom the Georgians defeated near Ānī in 548/1153; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 126, year 548/1157; Münedjdjim-bashī, ii, 577; Defrémery, *Fragments*, 40. It was Dimitri who, taking advantage of the earthquake in 1139 at Gandja, carried off the famous iron gate of this town and took it to the monastery of Gelatʿi (cf. Fraehn, *Mém. Ac. St. Pétersbourg*, ser. 6, *Sc. morales*, iii, 531). The position in Tiflis is described by Ibn al-Azraḳ, the historian of Māyyāfāriḳīn, who visited Tiflis in 548/1153. He says the Muslims were in a favoured position. Every Friday Dimitri came to the mosque and sat on a dais (*dakka*) opposite the *khaṭīb*; cf. Amedroz, *Three Arabic manuscripts . . .*, in *JRAS* (1902), 791 (al-Azraḳ may have been the source used by al-ʿAynī).

Under Giorgi III (1156-84), the Muslim kingdoms around Georgia remained the same, and the king conducted vigorous campaigns against Erzerum, Ānī, Dwīn, Nakhičewān, Gandja, Bardhaʿa and Baylaḳān. To assist his cousin the Shīrwān-Shāh Akhsitān, son of Tamar, Giorgi's aunt, the king even went to Darband (cf. Brosset, i, 383-403, and *Add.* i, 253-7, 266; Ibn al-Athīr, years 556, 557, 559, 561, 569).

The reign of **Tamar** (1184-1211 or 1212), the "Sun of Kartli", is the culminating point in the history of Georgia, now on the threshold of terrible trials. Having forced the diadochi of the Saldjūḳs to accept peace, the Christian kingdom now assumed the offensive and surrounded itself with Muslim vassals. Tamar played an important part in the creation of the empire of the Comnenoi of Trebizond (Kunik, *Osnov. Trapez. imperii v 1204*, in *Učen. Zap. Akad. Nauk*, ii [1853], 705-33). The troops operating from Erzerum and Erzindjān inflicted defeats on the Ildeñizids of Ādharbāydjān. The sack of Ardabīl by the Georgians (Brosset, i, 469-73) finds confirmation in the *Silsilat al-nasab-i ṣafawiyya*, Berlin 1843, 43; cf. Khanykov, *Mél. Asiatiques*, i (1852), 580-3. The Chronicle also mentions in 1210-12 an expedition through the whole of northern Persia as far as Romguaro (= Ramdjār near Nishāpūr!), but beyond Tabrīz the stages in this march seem to be quite fanciful (Brosset, i, 469-73). In spite of the brilliant success of the generals Zakharé and Iwané of the Mkhargrdzel family (Armenian of Kurdish origin; cf. Brosset, *Add.*, i, 267), the Georgian victories were not lasting and of all her conquests, Tamar could only retain Ḳars (Brosset, i, 467). At home also (Djavakhov), the growing power of the feudal lords demanded the attention of the queen. Muslim customs penetrated into Georgia; the general Iwané was given the title of *Atābeg* ("used among the Sulṭāns"; Brosset, i, 474). In the reign of Tamar, we find mention of a rebel, Gozan son of Abu 'l-Hasan, "*amīr* of Tiflis and Kartli" (is this a scion of the Banū Djaʿfar?).

The Mongols. The son of Tamar, Giorgi III Lasha ("splendid" in the Abkhazian language) who ruled from 1212-23, levied the *kharādj* of Gandja, Nakhičewān, Erzerum (Karnukalak) and Khilāṭ, but in 617/1220 the Mongol troops of Subutay and Djebe (in Georgian: Suba and Iama or Čʿeba) made their appearance in Persia. The Georgians were several times defeated; the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 493) considers the defeat at Berdudj (on the Borčala) as the turning-point in the fortunes of the Georgian armies, hitherto invincible.

Giorgi died suddenly and the throne passed to his sister Rusudan (1223-47) (*Kiz-malik*, the "maiden king" of the Muslims), a beautiful princess devoted to pleasure, whose hand was sought by her Muslim neighbours (Brosset, i, 495). In the end she chose the son of the Saldjūḳ of Erzerum, Mughīth al-Dīn Toghrïl (in Georgian Orʿul) who by his father's orders became a Christian (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 270: *ḥāditha*^{tun} *gharība*^{tun} *lam yūdjad mithluhā*). In the letter from Rusudan to the Pope Innocent III (which reached Rome in 1224), the king speaks of the Mongol invasion as an insignificant episode, but a new enemy was at the gate.

The **Khwārazm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn** defeated the Georgians at Garni in Shaʿbān 622/August 1225; (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 283; Nasawī, ed. Houdas, 112; Brosset, *Add.*, i, 309). The Georgian commander Shalwa (Djuwaynī, ii, 159: he and his brother) was taken prisoner. Tiflis was occupied on 9 March 1226, thanks to the treachery of the Persians who lived in the town. According to Djuwaynī, Djalāl al-Dīn spared the inhabitants and allowed them to withdraw to Abkhazia, but destroyed all the Christian places of worship. Ibn al-Athīr on the other hand says that the town was taken by storm (*ʿanwata*^{an} *wa-ḳahra*^{an} *min ghayri amāni*^{in}) and all those who did not accept Islam were massacred. Nasawī (122) also confirms the massacre of all Georgians and Armenians in Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 504-7). The vizier Sharaf al-Mulk was appointed governor of the town. When he left for winterquarters at Gandja, the Georgians returned to Tiflis and burned the town, knowing that it was impossible for them to hold it (Nasawī, 125). Djalāl al-Dīn, occupied elsewhere, did not return to Georgia till 625/1228 when at Mindor (in Georgian "field") near Loré, he scattered the forces of the commander-in-chief Iwané, made up of very diverse elements: Georgians, Alāns, Armenians, people of Sarīr (= the Avar of Daghistān), Lakz, Ḳipčaḳ, Svan, Abkhāz, Djanīt (= Čʿan-etyi; cf. LAZ), men from Syria and Asia Minor (cf. Djuwaynī, ii, 170). The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i, 510) says that after the victory at Bolnis (= Mindor ?), Djalāl al-Dīn committed fresh atrocities at Tiflis.

Second coming of the Mongols. Djalāl al-Dīn disappeared from the scene in Shawwāl 628/August 1231), but the remnants of the Khwārazmians disturbed the eastern part of Georgia and shut the feudal lords up in their castles. Tiflis, however, was still in possession of Rusudan, when the Mongols of Djurmaghan entered Georgia via Gandja. This took place in 1236 (Brosset, i, 333; according to d'Ohsson, iii, 75: *ca.* 632/1235). Rusudan left Tiflis for Kutais, and the governor of Tiflis burned the town (Brosset, i, 514: "thus was ruined the city of Tiflis").

The *noʾins*, of whom the Chronicle always mentions four (Čarmaghan, Čaghtar, Ioser and Bičuy) occupied the country and restored Tiflis. Rusudan's rule was confined to the valley of Rion.

The Mongols broke up the political organisation of the country: the Georgians were pressed into the Mongol service (expeditions against the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, against the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt, against Baghdād etc.). The country was divided into six *tumans* and the Georgian feudal lords (*mtʿawar*) whose fiefs underwent changes, were divided among the *noʾins*. The people of note had to go to Batu-Khān and then to the Great Khān in Mongolia, where they were kept for years. In this way the heir to the throne, Dawid (called in Mongol Narin "splendid"),

was removed from the country. A certain Egarslan tried to unite the country against the Mongols ("he only lacked the name of king"; Brosset, i, 542), but the Mongols set up against him Dawid, son of Georgi Lasha, who was crowned at Mtskheta. He also had to go to Batu and to Karakorum. The "two Dawids" are mentioned among these present at the *kurultay* of Güyük-Khān in 643/1245 (cf. Djuwaynī, i, 205, 212; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 242). Returning to Georgia, after the accession of Möngke (1248-59), they ruled together at first.

As Hülegü did not like Dawid Narin, the latter escaped to Abkhazia. "It was thus that our country became two principalities", says the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 546). Eastern Georgia owned two suzerains: on the one side, Batu-Khān, lord of the country north of the Caucasus, wished to extend his authority over Georgia; on the other side, the Il-Khāns of Persia asserted their rights over it. Dawid, son of Lasha, exasperated by the exactions of Khōdja ʿAzīz, collector of Mongol taxes (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 395, calls him "one of the governors of Georgia"), fled to his cousin. The *noʾin* Oyrat Arghun occupied Tiflis. A reconciliation only took place when the son of Lasha had fought beside Hülegü against the troops of Berke, successor of Batu who had invaded Shīrwān in 2162 (d'Ohsson, iii, 182). In the reign of Abagha or Abaka, Berke returned to Transcaucasia and reached Tiflis, where many Christians were massacred (in 1266; cf. *ibid.*, 418).

The successor to Dawid, son of Lasha, was his son Dimitri II (1273-89), who took part in the numerous campaigns of Abagha and Aḥmad, but in the reign of Arghun his treasures were confiscated and he himself beheaded after being bastinadoed at the *ordu*. The Georgians call him Tʿav-Dadebuli, "he who gave his head as a sacrifice".

Several further kings were nominated and deposed by the Mongols. In vain Dawid VI (1292-1310) endeavoured to negotiate with the Khān of the house of Batu (Otakha = Tokhtoghu); he had to send to Ghazan an embassy consisting of the Orthodox Catholicos and the *ḳāḍī* of Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 615; this last detail is evidence of the revival of Islam as a result of the accession of Ghazan!). The Georgians continued to take part in all the campaigns of the Mongols, which however saved them neither from persecutions (cf. the activity of the Muslim *noʾin* Nawrūz in the reign of Ghazan: Brosset, i, 617) nor from attempts to convert them (e.g. after the Gīlān expedition of 1307).

Giorgi V. After the death of Öldjeytü (717/1317), Giorgi V (Brtskinwale, the Splendid"") was placed on the throne (1316-46) under the patronage of the *amīr* Čoban. Giorgi profited by the troubles in the last years of the dynasty of the Il-Khāns to drive out the Mongols. He exterminated the rebels, went with his army into Imereti, and united under his rule not only the Georgian lands as far as Sper (now Ispir) but all the lands from "Nikophsia (15 miles from Sukhum on the Black Sea) to Darband".

Tīmūr. It was during the long reign of Bagrat V (1360-95) that Tīmūr made his appearance. The official historian of his reign represents his campaign in Georgia as a *djihād*. Tīmūr set out from Kars in the winter of 788/1386 (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 401). Bagrat had shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. The town was captured and the King and Queen taken prisoners. The Chronicle and Thomas of Metsopʿ (Nève, *Exposé*, 37) mention the apostasy of the King, but represent it as a clever ruse which enabled him to exterminate 12,000 of Tīmūr's soldiers and regain his lands. His son Giorgi succeeded him in 1395. The *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 705, 720, does not give these details. In 796/1394 it only mentions the despatch of four generals to the district of Akhaltsikhe (Akhiskha [*q.v.*]) in order to apply the law of *ghazāʾ*. Tīmūr in person finally chastised the Georgians called Kara-Kalkanlīk ("with black bucklers" = the Georgian mountaineers, the Pshaws and Khewsurs) and returned via Tiflis to Shakkī [*q.v.*].

In 798/1395 the Georgians, allied with Sīdī ʿAlī of Shakkī, inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Tīmūrid Mīrān-Shāh who was besieging Alindjak (near Nakhičewān) and delivered Sulṭān Ṭāhir Djalāyir, who was shut up in it (*ibid.*, ii, 203). This event brought about its reaction in winter 802/1399 when Tīmūr took Shakkī and mercilessly ravaged the wooded defile of Khimshā (?), probably in northern Kakheti, where a Khimshia family held a fief at Mareli, to the east of Tʿionetʿi (Brosset, ii/2, 464). In the spring of 802/1400 Tīmūr marched on Tiflis and demanded that King Giorgi (Gurgīn) should hand over Sulṭān Ṭāhir. On receiving an evasive answer, Tīmūr laid the country completely waste (*ibid.*, ii, 214). Tiflis received a Khurāsānian garrison, but Giorgi retired again to the mountains. After the voluntary submission of a Georgian prince named Djānī-Beg and the capture of the fortress of Zarīt (?), Tīmūr's troops set out in pursuit of Giorgi and laid Svanethia waste. Giorgi went into Abkhazia and sent Ṭāhir back to Asia Minor. Through the intermediary of a Muslim named Ismāʿīl (Brosset, i, 668) he offered to Tīmūr to pay the *kharādj*. Tīmūr accepted the offer. Next the land of the Georgian Ivané (the *atābeg* of Samtskhe) was converted to Islam and that of the Kara-Kalkanlīk plundered. After resting for two months in the summer quarters of Min-göl ("1,000 Lakes") near Kars, he sent troops against the Georgians who had concentrated at Farasgird (Pʿanaskert, on the upper Čʿorokh); *ibid.*, ii, 250.

In 804/end of 1401 Tīmūr returned to Transcaucasia via Sīvās-Baghdād-Tabrīz. His delegates (*muḥaṣṣil*) went to collect the tribute (*sāw wa-kharādj wa-djizya*) from Giorgi, who sent his brother with the contributions. Tīmūr gave Giorgi *amān* on condition that he supplied him with troops and treated the Muslims well (*ibid.*, ii, 379). In the summer of 804/1402 Tīmūr went from Karabāgh [*q.v.*] to Min-göl and took the fortress of Tortum occupied by Kurdjīk, lieutenant of a certain Tadji (?).

When, in 805/1403, Tīmūr returned to Erzerum, he decided to punish Giorgi for not having come to present his congratulations on his victory over Bāyazīd. At Min-göl, Ivané, son of Ak-budjā, arrived with gifts as did Kustāndīl (Constantine), brother of Giorgi, who was then on bad terms with his brother (*ibid.*, ii, 512). Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān went to estimate the revenues and expenses of Georgia (*ibid.*, ii, 521). Giorgi sent new presents, but Tīmūr refused them and summoned Giorgi to appear in person. In Muḥarram 806/August 1403 he himself laid siege to the impregnable fortress of Kūrtīn defended by Nazāl or Nazwāl (the Chronicle calls it Birthwis on Alget) and took it in nine days (*ibid.*, ii, 524-32). The troops then laid waste the country round (*aṭrāf*) Georgia as far as the borders (*ḥudūd*) of Abkhazia: "which is the end of this country". Seven hundred towns and villages were destroyed, and the historian of Tīmūr waxes eloquent over the massacres and destruction (ii, 536). Tīmūr only stopped them when the *ʿulamāʾ* The Georgians sent 1,000 *tan*possible to grant *amān*. The Georgians sent 1,000 *tangas* of gold struck in the

name of Tīmūr, 1,000 horses, a ruby weighing 18 *mithkals*, etc.

Tīmūr passed through Tiflis, destroyed all the monasteries and churches and went to Baylakān (winter of 806/1403-4). All the country from Baylakān to Trebizond was given as an appanage to the prince Khalīl Mīrzā (ii, 545).

Post-Tīmūrid period. The general disorder, after the havoc wrought by Tīmūr, is reflected in the part of the Chronicle which gives a brief account of the reigns. The Muslim sources (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, in *Notices and extraits*, xiv, 235 and Mīrkhwānd; cf. Defrémery, *Fragments*, 245) mention an expedition of Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān, a friend of the dynasty of the Djalāyirids against the Kara-Koyunlu Kara Yūsuf in which Kustāndīl, king of Gurdjistān, took part. The allied forces were defeated to the north of the Araxes, and Kara Yūsuf slew Kustāndīl with his own hand. This happened in 815/1412-13. Also, 300 *aznāʾūrs* (Georgian nobles; cf. Armenian *azn* "race") were massacred. Vakhusht (Brosset, i, 689) alone mentions Constantine as king and puts his death in 1414. In 1413 (1416?) on the invitation of the Persians (= Muslims) of Akhaltsikhe, Kara Yūsuf invaded this region and laid the country waste (Thomas of Metsopʿ; cf. Nève, *loc. cit.*, 96; Brosset, *Add.*, i, 399). The Chronicle confesses that down to the accession of Alexander (1413-43) "no consoler arose from anywhere". The king gradually drove out the invaders, restored the cathedral of Sveti Tskhoveli (at Mtskheta) and repaired the fortresses. The Georgian envoys who greeted Shāh-Rukh in 823/1420 at Kara-bāgh (cf. Mīrkhwānd, in Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 251) must have been sent by Alexander, and when in 841/1437 Shāh-Rukh arrived in Somkhetia (cf. above), Alexander sent him rich gifts, after which the son of Tīmūr left Georgia. In 1444/848 the Kara-Koyunlu Djihān-shāh made a raid to Akhal-tsikhe (cf. Brosset, i, 683; according to Thomas of Metsopʿ, Djihān-shāh took Tiflis in 1440; cf. Nève, 149).

The partition of Georgia. At this period, Georgian tradition becomes exceedingly difficult to unravel (Brosset, i, 679-89). The history of Vakhusht, which continues and corrects the Chronicle and agrees better with the statements of the Muslim historians, begins with the reign of Constantine III (1469-1505), during which Georgia was divided into three main kingdoms (Brosset, ii/1, 11-18, 147, 208, 249): Kartli, with capital Tiflis; Imereti, with capital Kutais; and Kakheti, with capital at Gremi (Persian Girīm) and later at Tʿelav. In addition, the *atābeg* of Samtskhe (with capital Akhal-tsikhe) rebelled and founded the independent principality of Santabago (consisting of Samtskhe, on the upper course of the Kur, and of Klardjetʿia on the Čʿorokh), the princes of which from Manučar III = Ṣafar-pasha (1625) had become Muslims (Brosset, ii, 228). A number of local princes also became independent of Imereti (the Guriels of Guria, the Dadians of Mingrelia, and the Gelovani of the Svans; cf. ABKHĀZ). In Kartli also, Constantine III's reign was disturbed by the invasion of Bagrat II of Imereti.

The Ak-Koyunlu. In this period Uzun Ḥasan comes on the stage. According to Münedjdjim-bashī, iii, 160, he went to Georgia for the first time in 871/1466, when he liberated the Muslim prisoners and took the fortress of Čemākār (?). Civil complications prevented him taking Akhal-tsikhe, but he returned to the attack in 877/1472. King Bakzātī (read: Bagrat II of Imereti) was dethroned (*kahr*) and 30,000 prisoners taken from Georgia. According to Vakhusht's version, Tiflis was surrendered to Uzun Ḥasan by Constantine, evidently to prevent Bagrat getting it. Uzun Ḥasan left a garrison in Tiflis but entrusted its government to Constantine (cf. Brosset, ii, 13, 25). The *Taʾrīkh-i Amīnī*, however, calls the governor (*iyālat*) left by Uzun Ḥasan, Ṣūfī Khalīl Beg, who stayed there till the death of Uzun Ḥasan in 882/1478, when the Georgians re-occupied the town.

Sulṭān Yaʿkūb Ak-Koyunlu invaded Samtskhe in the autumn of 891/1486 to chastise the *Atābeg* Kvarkvare. In the next year, Yaʿkūb sent Ṣūfī Khalīl Beg to conquer Georgia. The construction of the forts of Aghdja-kalʿa and Kaozani was begun by the Turkomans on the lower course of the Debeda (Borčala) at the place which commands the approaches to Georgia from the south (cf. the *Geography of Vakhusht*). Kustāndīl (Constantine III) withdrew from Tiflis, Ṣūfī Khalīl began the siege with the help of reinforcements which arrived in the winter; he took first of all the fortress of Kudjīr (Kodjori, south of Tiflis). In the fighting around Tiflis, the Muslims suffered heavily but finally Walī aghā eshikči-aghasī took the town (3 Rabīʿ I 894/4 February 1489) (cf. the unpublished history of the reign of Yaʿkūb, *Taʾrīkh-i Amīnī*, MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, 101, fols. 101a-5a and 155a-9a). The Chronicle (Brosset, ii, 326-7), which confirms many of the details, denies however that Tiflis was taken and adds that the people of the fief of Sabaratʿiano (called Barāt-ili by the Muslims) on the Alget inflicted a defeat on the Turkomans.

The Ṣafawids. In 907/1501 a detachment of Ismāʿīl's forces under the command of Khādim-Beg invaded Georgia (*Shāhinshāh-nāma*, quoted by Dorn). The invasion by Dīw Sulṭān in 926/1520 was stopped by the embassy of Ramaz, son of Dawid VIII, to Ismāʿīl I (cf. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay, iii, *djuzʾ* 4, 92). In 929/1522-3 the founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty seized Aghdja-kalʿa and by making certain promises obtained the surrender of the citadel of Tiflis; he desecrated the churches and built a mosque "at the corner of the bridge"; cf. Vakhusht, in Brosset, ii/1, 23 (the mosque is still standing on the right bank).

Iskandar Munshī mentions four expeditions on a large scale sent by Shāh Ṭahmāsp against Georgia. In 947/1540 Ṭahmāsp seized Tiflis, the governor of which (for Luarsab I) submitted to the Persians and became a Muslim. Next, the fortress of Bartīs (? Birtvis) was taken (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, Tehran 1314, 63). The second time was in 193/1546 when the Georgian princes came to pay homage to Ṭahmāsp at Shūragel (near Gümri = Alexandropol = Leninakan). The third expedition in 958/1551 was sent from Shakkī on the appeal of the *atābeg* Kay Khusraw, son of Kurkura (Kwarkware) who complained of the injuries done him by Luarsab (Iskandar Munshī writes Lawārṣāb, but the name is Iranian: Luhrāsp; cf. *Mirʾāt al-buldān*).

According to Iskandar Munshī, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 65, by the Turco-Persian peace of 961/1553 the territories of Mask (Meskhi = Samtskhe), of Kārtīl (Kartli) and of Kākhit were allotted to Shāh Ṭamhāsp, while Sulṭān Sulaymān received those of Bashī-ačuk ("with head uncovered", a nickname of the king of Imereti), of Dādiyān and of Gūriyān (Guria) as far as Trebizond and Trablus (Tire-boli). Luarsab I, however, continued to worry Tiflis. This provoked the fourth expedition. Barāt-ili (Sabaratʿiano), Gori and Ateni were occupied and the king himself fel in battle. Vakhasht dates the four expeditions to 1536, 1548, 1553 and 1558 respectively. Brosset, ii/1, 452, considers these very probable as they coincide very well

with the visissitudes of the Turco-Persian war.

King Swimon I, son of the indomitable Luarsab, had a troubled reign (1558-1600). He was defeated by the Persians and replaced by this brother Dawid (Dāwūd Khān), who purchased the throne at the price of apostasy. Swimon was imprisoned in Alamūt, from where he was released by Ismāʿīl II (984/1576-7) to checkmate the activity of the Ottomans.

Ottoman domination 986-1011/1578-1603. In 986/1578, during the reign of the weak Shāh Khudābanda, the Ottomans under Muṣṭafā Lala Pasha penetrated into Georgia via Samtskhe, and in August seized Tiflis, from which Dāwūd Khān had fled. The Turks put a garrison of 200 men with 100 guns in Tiflis. Muḥammad, son of Ferhād-Pasha, was given the *sandjak* (*pashalïk*?) of Tiflis (von Hammer, *GOR*², ii, 483). Two churches were turned into mosques. In October, Gori received a Turkish garrison and was given as a *sandjak* to Swimon. When Muṣṭafā Pāshā returned to Erzerum, Imām Ḳulī Khān, son of the Shamkhal slain by Özdemir-Pasha, and Swimon laid siege to Tiflis. Supplies were brought to the garrison by Ḥasan Pasha (*ibid.*, 489), but the struggle around the town continued. In 1580 the new *serʿasker* Sinān Pasha arrived in Tiflis and appointed as *Beglerbeg* a son of Luarsab who had adopted Islam under the name of Yūsuf (?). Swimon made advances to the Turks which were not accepted. In Radjab 990/August 1582 Muḥammad Bey left Erzerum to bring supplies to Tiflis, but was defeated at Gori by the Persians and Georgians. Ferhād Pasha put himself at the head of a new expedition (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 990/December 1582) intended to strengthen the towns held by the Ottomans. In 992/1584, Riḍwān Pasha left for Tiflis. Dāwūd Khān on further reflection went over to the Turks. Swimon attacked Riḍwān but without success. Ferhād Pasha's Janissaries mutinied at Akhal-kalaki, which forced him to retire. After the campaign of 993/1585 against Tabrīz [*q.v.*], the Ottomans obtained from Persia the cession of Ādjarbāydjān and of Transcaucasia including Georgia (treaty of 25 Djumādā I 999/March 21, 1590); cf. the *Chronicle of the Psalter of Meshki* (1559-87) in Takaishvili, *op. cit.*, 183-214; von Hammer, ii, 481-97 (Brosset has given an annotated translation, ii/1, 411-19). The principal source used by von Hammer is the *Nuṣret-nāma* of ʿAlī (Jan. 1578-Jan. 1580). On the other Turkish sources, cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 117, 181. Soon after the accession of Muḥammad III (1003/1595), Swimon was taken in a skirmish and sent to Istanbul, where he died in 1600. Ottoman rule, more or less undisturbed, lasted from 999/1591 till 15 Djumādā I 1012/21 October 1603 when Tiflis was retaken by Shāh ʿAbbās I. The Turco-Persian treaty of 1021/1612 re-established the situation as it had been under Sulṭān Selīm (918-26/1512-20).

Shāh ʿAbbās I and the Muslim Kings. The worst misfortunes fell upon Georgia (and especially on Kakheti) in the region of this monarch. Although Giorgi of Kartli and Alexander of Kakheti had fought under his banner at the siege of Eriwān in 1602, ʿAbbās after his victory took Lore from Georgia. He married the sister of Luarsab II (1605-16) but brought the latter to Persia and had him strangled at Gulāb-ḳalʿa. In 1025/1616 ʿAbbās came in person to Georgia and granted Kartli to the Muslim Bagrat VI (1616-19). He then punished Kakheti. According to the official history of the reign, *ʿĀlamārā*, 635, the number of those put to death was 60-70,000 and the number of young prisoners of both sexes 100,000-130,000: "since the beginning of Islam no such events have taken place under any king". In 1033/1623 Karčiḳa-Khān on being sent to Georgia called to the colours 10,000 men of Kakheti and instead of leading them against Imereti had them massacred "as if at a battue" (*shikārī-wār*; *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 719). Exasperated by such treachery, the *mourav* ("governor of lower rank"; Brosset, ii/1, 148; the Persians write *mihraw*) Giorgi Saakadze (a Muslim and till then a faithful servant of the Shāh) raised a rebellion in Kartli which the Persians did not overcome till 1035/1626 (Iosselian, *Žizn mourawa G. Saakadze*, Tiflis 1848; Brosset, ii/1, 53-9, 489-97). In spite of all these disasters, the part played by Georgians in the life of Persia becomes more and more important, and Shāh Ṣafī, successor to ʿAbbās I, owed his throne to the support of Khusraw Mīrzā, brother of the King Bagrat who was *darugha* of Iṣfahān.

When Swimon II perished in the civil war (1629), Tʿeimuraz I of Kakheti (1605-64, a very troubled reign marked by all kinds of misfortunes; his mother Khetʿewan was put to death at Shīrāz in 1624; Brosset, ii/1, 167) came to Kartli, where he reigned from 1629 to 1664, after which the Kay Khusraw already mentioned arrived from Persia and set himself up in Tiflis under the name of Rostom (1634-58). The old King, brought up in Persia, took the Persian title of *ḳullar-aghasï* and ordered his court in the Persian fashion. Persian garrisons were installed at Gori and Suram. The Georgian prisoners who had become converts to Islam returned from Persia; Persian manners and customs became the fashion. On the other hand, as if to celebrate the fusion of the two cultures, Rostom celebrated his marriage both in the mosque and in the church, and restored the cathedral of Mtskheta, etc.

In 1045/1636 Murād IV took Erīwān and by the treaty of 1049/1639 Persia renounced her claims to Ḳars and Akhal-tsikhe (*Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā*, 686); according to Vakhusht (Brosset, ii/1, 68), the Sulṭān received Imereti and Saatbago and the Shāh kept Kartli and Kakheti.

Vakhtang (to Muslims, Shāh Nawāz I), adopted son of Rostom, succeeded him (1658-76). The Persophile policy continued. Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66) married the daughter of Shāh Nawāz. The latter, although a Muslim, favoured the Christian religion and even restored the confession and the communion of which the people "had been ashamed" in the reign of Rostom (Brosset, *ibid.*, 79). In order to give more support to Shāh Nawāz, the Muslim tribes of Ādharbāydjān and Ḳarabāgh (15,000 Djawānshīrī and Bayats) were settled in Kakheti (cf. the *History of Shāh ʿAbbās II* by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waḥīd, in Dorn, 109, 111 = Brosset, ii/1, 503-4). Shāh Nawāz fought in Imereti, but when he set his son on the throne there, the Shāh restored the situation as guaranteed by the treaty of 1049/1639.

Giorgi XI (Shāh Nawāz II) received investiture from Shāh Sulaymān. In 1688 he fell a victim to his own intrigues in Kakheti and the Shāh replaced him by Erekle I (1688-91, 1695-1703). This King, who had been brought up in Russia, became a convert to Islam under the name of Naẓar ʿAlī Khān.

The Afghān Invasion of Persia. When the Balūč and the Afghāns began to disturb eastern Persia, King Giorgi with a body of Georgians was sent against them by Shāh Ḥusayn. He restored order in Ḳandahār, but in 1121/1709 was treacherously slain by Mīr Ways [cf. AFGHĀNISTĀN. v. History (2)], who then defeated the new Georgian forces led by Giorgi's successor, Kay Khusraw (1709-11). These events paved the way to the Afghān invasion of Persia.

Vakhtang (governor of Kartli 1703-11; king,

1711-24 with interruptions) was at first a Christian. The Persian garrisons with the connivance of certain Georgian elements went in for slave-trading. Vakhtang tried to put down this traffic (Brosset, ii/1, 97, 101, 105) and in general "humbled the Muslims, especially those who garrisoned the citadel of Tiflis". Between 1714 and 1716 he was replaced by a fervent Muslim Iese (= ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān) and only regained the throne at the price of professing Islam.

After the decisive victory of the Afghāns at Gūnābād, near Iṣfahān (1134/1722), Shāh Ḥusayn sought help from Vakhtang, but in November 1721 the latter had offered his services to Russia (Brosset, ii/1, 117). Peter the Great, who reached Darband on 23 August 1722 had to return at once to Russia. On the other hand, the King of Kakheti Muḥammad-Ḳulī Khān (Constantine III) took the field on the side of the Lezgis against Vakhtang and in 1723 took Tiflis, which was plundered for three days.

The second Ottoman occupation (1135-47/1723-34). The troubles in Persia and the Russian advance disturbed Turkey. War against the Shīʿīs was declared permitted. In Ramaḍān 1135/June 1723 the *serʿasker* Ibrāhīm Pasha, who had been negotiating with Vakhtang, installed in Tiflis the latter's son Bakar (in Persian Shāh Nawāz and now given in Turkish the name Ibrāhīm Pāshā). The Janissaries occupied the citadel. Bakar soon rebelled, but the Turks sent to Tiflis reinforcements under Iese, uncle of Bakar (who now assumed the name of ʿAbd Allāh). In the meanwhile the Russo-Persian treaty of 12 September 1723, was signed by which the provinces on the Caspian were ceded to Russia. As a counterpoise, through the good offices of the French ambassador, a Russo-Turkish treaty was concluded at Constantinople on 12 June 1724: Russia kept Dāghistān and the narrow strip of litoral; Turkey obtained all Transcaucasia as far as Shamākha, including the Georgian territory (von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 206-14. The Ottoman historian of these events is Čelebi-zāde; on the other sources, cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 289; Nāmī, *Feth-nāme der ḥakḳ-i Gürdjistān*).

The deposed King Vakhtang went to Russia with a retinue of 1,400 (August 1724). The Turks, having taken possession of Kartli, took a census and levied taxes on the inhabitants. The stay at Tiflis of the noble ʿOthmān Topal Pasha alone has left a pleasing memory among the Georgians (Brosset, ii/1, 129). Iese did not bear the title of king, and the real power passed to Isḥāḳ Pasha, a hereditary ruler of Akhaltsikhe established at Tiflis. After the death of Iese (1727), Isḥāḳ Pasha was appointed governor of all Georgia (Brosset, ii/1, 236). In 1728 he divided Kartli among the feudal lords (*mtʿavar*) whose dissensions made it easy for him to control them. The Lezgis continued to ravage Georgia (cf. Brosset, *l.c.*; von Hammer, iv, 223, 231, 235, 280, 313).

Nādir Shāh. In 1143/1730-1 after a war in which he won little glory, Shāh Ṭahmāsp recognised the Araxes as the frontier between Persia and Turkey (Mahdī Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī*, Tabrīz 1284, 90 = tr. Jones, i, 141; von Hammer, iv, 227 dates the peace to 6 February 1732). Nādir dissatisfied, dethroned Ṭahmāsp and resumed the conquest of Transcaucasia. While he was operating against Dāghistān (1147/autumn of 1734) Isḥāḳ Pasha of Tiflis set out with an army to the help of Gandja. Tʿeimuraz, son of Naẓar ʿAlī Khān (= Erekle I), and his nephew ʿAlī Mīrzā = Alexander (son of Imām Ḳulī = Dawid III) attacked Isḥāḳ Pasha and forced him to shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. Nādir, highly gratified, gave presents to the two princes (*ibid.*, 114 = Jones, i, 200). At the siege of Gandja, Nādir ordered Ṣafī Khān Bughārʾirī to lay siege to Tiflis with the help of the Georgian nobles (*mawrāvān wa-aznāwurān*; *ibid.*, 116 = Jones, 205).

When ʿAbd Allāh Pasha was defeated at Baghaward near Erīwān, Isḥāḳ Pasha surrendered the citadel of Tiflis on 22 Rabīʿ I, 1147 = 17 Sept. 1734 (*ibid.*, 123). Nādir summoned the nobles (*tāwādān wa-aznāwurān*) of Kartli and Kakheti among whom Ṭahmūrath (= Tʿeimuraz) had most importance and privileges. Nādir however appointed as *wālī* of Kartli and Kakheti, ʿAlī Mīrzā, because he was a Muslim, and his brother Muḥammad Mīrzā (= Leon) had fallen in battle against ʿOthmān Pasha. Ṭahmūrath was allowed to go to Kakheti to bring his family (*kūč*) to Tiflis. Now he was a "man of the sword and rapid decision"; he fled to the mountoins of "Ḳaraḳalkhān (Pshaw), Rūs (Ruʾis, west of Gori?) and Čerkes". Nādir sent his troops in pursuit of him, and arrived himself at Tiflis on 29 Djumādā I, where he distributed punishments and rewards. 6,000 Georgian families of the Ḳayḳul (Abots) were transported to Khurāsān (*ibid.*, 124 = Jones, 219). In 1149/1736 Ṣafī Khān captured Tʿeimuraz and sent him to Persia. At the beginning fo the Indian campaign, Nādir released Tʿeimuraz but kept his young son Erekle with him.

In 1156/end of 1743, Ṭahmūrath Khān captured the pretender Sām Mīrzā and later (1157/1744) along with ʿAlī Khān Ḳilidja (? the Georgian sources call him Khandjal, Ḳizilidjali), new *beglerbegi* of Tiflis, defeated near Ruʾis on the Aragwi Yūsuf Pasha of Akhaltsikhe, who by order of the Porte went to Daghistān to work for another pretender Ṣafī Mīrzā. Arriving at Gori, Nādir, as a reward for Ṭahmūrath's services, transferred him to Karli and gave Kakheti to his son Erekle (*ibid.*, 202 = Jones, ii, 164; cf. Brosset, ii/1, 77 (Papuna Orbeliani) and ii/2, 208 (Kherkheulidze).

In 1158/1745 Nādir levied an impost of 50,000 *tumans* on Georgia. Tʿeimuraz went to obtain a reduction, but on reaching Tabrīz he heard of the death of Nādir. The latter's successor was ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān, husband of Khetʿevan, daughter of Tʿeimuraz.

The Bagratids of Kakhetʿi. The period of troubles after the death of Nādir (1162/1749) and the reign of Karīm Khān, a prince of a peaceful disposition, whose influence did not extend north of the Araxes, secured a respite for Georgia. The opportunity was skilfully exploited by Tʿeimuraz (king of Kartli 1744-61) and by his son Erekle or Irakli II (king of Kakheti 1744-61; king of Kartli and Kakheti 1761-90). The reign of these Christian kings is one of the happiest periods in the history of Georgia. They conducted numerous expeditions into Transcaucasia. In 1752 the Afghān Āzād-Khān, a rival of the Zand dynasty, was defeated by Erekle near Erīwān and in 1760 captured at Ḳazakh and sent to Karīm-Khān. The Kurds of Erīwān were chastised in 1765, 1770 and 1780, and the Georgian troops pursued them over the district of Bāyazīd. Almost every year the Georgians drove back successfully the incursions of the raiding bands from Dāghistān (the most dangerous leader of whom was ʿUmar Khān Awar). Only the Khāns of Shakkī, Ḥādjdjī Čelebi and Agha Kishi (in 1752-3), ever succeeded in inflicting reverses on the Georgians.

In spite of all these success, the situation of Georgia was precarious, and in 1760 Tʿeimuraz went to Russia to seek assistance. But he only arrived a few days after the death of the Empress Elizabeth, and he himself died in St. Petersburg on the 8th/20th January 1762.

Erekle, becoming king of the united kingdoms, continued the policy of rapprochement with Russia. At the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war, a Russian force under the command of General Totleben arrived in Georgia (in 1769) and with Erekle marched against Akhal-tsikhe. The allies did not agree (cf. the letter from Catherine II to Voltaire of 4 December 1770) and the Russian troops returned to Russia in 1772. But, left alone, Erekle gained a considerable success at Aspindza and, with Solomon of Imereti, besieged Akhal-kalaki. Sulaymān Pasha of Akhal-tsikhe soon assumed the offensive. The Russo-Turkish treaty of Küčük-Ḳaynardja (1774 [q.v.]) brought no territorial change in the lands of Georgia. The Porte only renounced the tribute of youths and maidens and other levies (art. 23). But after the treaty, Sulaymān Pasha of Akhal-tsikhe had to send a representative to Istanbul. On the other hand, he renewed his appeals to St. Petersburg and asked that his kingdom should be united (*prisovokupleno*) to Russia (Tsagareli, *Gramoti*, No. 144). Russia gave an evasive answer, and it was not till 24 July 1783 that the treaty establishing a protectorate was signed. Russia guaranteed to Erekle his lands and left him full control of domestic policy, but the management of foreign affairs passed to Russia. A Russian force was sent to Tiflis but recalled in 1787.

The Ḳādjārs. During this period the Ḳādjārs had succeeded the Zands. In 1795 Agha Muḥammad Ḳādjār laid siege to Shūsha in Ḳarabāgh and then turned against Tiflis, which was taken on 11 September 1795 and pillaged in dreadful fashion; cf. Brosset, ii/2, 260; Olivier, *Voyages en Orient*, iii, 78 (testimony of an Hungarian physician who was an eye-witness). The Persian invasion was followed by an invasion by Dāghistānis. In 1795 two Russian battalions arrived in Georgia; in March 1796, Russia declared war on Persia. But on Nov. 6/18, Catherine II died and her son Paul I at once recalled the Russian troops. Agha Muḥammad set out again for Transcaucasia, but was assassinated near Shūsha (15 June 1797). The aged King Erekle died on 12/23 January 1798.

His son Giorgi XII succeeded him. Fatḥ ʿAlī Ḳādjār was occupied in dealing with his rivals. From Ḳars, Giorgi sent a force of 2,000 Lezgis under the command of his two sons; dynastic intrigues in the King's family rendered his position very difficult. In 1799 he sent an embassy to St. Petersburg, the object of which was as follows: Georgia should be placed not under a protectorate, but under the full power of the emperor, like the other provinces of Russia. On the other hand, the throne was to be guaranteed to the dynasty.

On 18 December 1800, Paul I signed the manifesto of annexation (*prisoyedineniye*) of Georgia, which was proclaimed on 18 January 1801 after the death of Giorgi on 28 December 1800. On 11 March, Paul I was put to death. In April the Georgian envoys begged the emperor Alexander I to appoint a Georgian prince as governor with the title of imperial lieutenant and king of Georgia. On 12 September 1801 Alexander I, alleging the impossibility of re-establishing the old government under a protectorate, confirmed the manifesto of Paul I and affirmed that Kartli-Kakheti were henceforth to be an integral part of the Imperial Russian dominions. The remaining members of the old Georgian ruling house were exiled forcibly to Russia.

Georgia under Russian rule. Russian possession of Georgia facilitated the extension of Russian power in Transcaucasia. The Commander of the Caucasus, Prince Tsitsianov (himself the scion of the noble Georgian family of Tsitsishvili and governor 1802-6), had to preserve Russia's latest acquisition against several open enemies, including the Lesghian tribesmen of Muslim Dāghistān and the Muslim khāns of Bakū, Shakkī and Gandja in Ādharbāydjān, nominal vassals of Persia. He now carried the war into the enemy's camp and in January 1804 captured Gandja, killing its ruler Djawād Khān, who had helped the Ḳādjār Agha Muḥammad to invade Georgia and sack Tiflis in 1795 (see above); Gandja [q.v.] was now renamed Elizavetapol in honour of the Tsar Alexander I's wife Elizabeth. But when Tsitsianov marched on Bakū in January 1806, he was killed in battle by local Persian troops, although a further expedition later in that year lead to the capture of both Bakū and Darband. Pressure was also exerted on the Ottomans, and the Black Sea port of Poti captured in 1809, Sukhum-Ḳalʿa in Abkhāzia in 1810 and the strategic centre of Akhalkalaki in south-western Georgia in 1811; it was only now, in 1810, that the local ruler of Imereti submitted to the Russians after strenuous fighting.

Meanwhile, Russian rule in Georgia had speedily become hated, and a mass revolt of the Georgians came in 1812, when a Bagratid prince was proclaimed King of Georgia, before the outbreak was suppressed. However, a general peace in Transcaucasia was now made between the exhausted warring parties. The Treaty of Bucharest of 1812 restored Poti and Akhalkalaki to the Ottomans. The Treaty of Finkenstein of 1807, by which the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte had recognised Persia's rights over Georgia, had never had any practical effect, and in the Gulistān Treaty of 1813 Russia was now confirmed in possession of Georgia, together with Daghistān and the Muslim khānates of Ḳarabāgh, Gandja, Shakkī, Shirwān, Darband, Bakū and Ḳuba [q.vv.]. Naturally, the Persians were unreconciled to these serious losses of ancestrally-controlled territories in the eastern Caucasus, and in 1826, taking advantage of the death of Alexander I and the Decembrist conspiracy in St. Petersburg, Persia invaded Georgia and Ḳarabāgh. The attack was nevertheless repulsed by General Paskevich, and by the Treaty of Turkmānčay in 1828, the Russian frontier was firmly fixed at the Araxes and Persian influences in the Caucasus finally eliminated. An important consequence of this was that Persia was now cut off from direct contact with the Muslims of Dāghistān. Paskevich now turned to deal with Turkey in the west, aiming at the reconquest of the former Georgian province of Samtskhe, and Russian troops penetrated as far as Erzerum; the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 handed Samtskhe over to Russia and also the Black Sea ports of Poti and Anapa, thereby cutting the Ottomans off from direct access to Circassia and the north-western Caucasus.

Muslim alarm at Russian aggrandisement in the Caucasus showed itself in the outbreak in 1829 in the eastern Caucasus of the *Murīd* movement under the *Imāms* Ḳāḍī Mollā and then Shamīl [q.v.], who for a quarter of a century kept large numbers of Russian troops tied down in the region. Rebellions against the Russians also broke out in the western Caucasus, in Circassia and Abkhāzia, with Turkish and British encouragement. During the Crimean War (1854-6), Georgia was the base for Russian attacks on Turkey, leading to the capture of Ḳārṣ in 1855; meanwhile, a Turkish army under ʿÖmer Pasha landed in Abkhāzia and invaded Mingrelia.

Internally, Georgia stagnated in the first decades

of Russian rule, an especial cause of resentment being the suppresion in 1811 of the independent Georgian Church, as a focus for national Georgian loyalties, in defiance of the guarantees of the 1783 Russo-Georgian Treaty, and its forcible incorporation into the Russian Orthodox Church, with the Catholicos-Patriarch Antoni II exiled to St. Petersburg. The Russian administration cut down the feudal rights of the Georgian nobility, and taxation for the numerous wars impoverished the land. In 1830-2 Georgian conspirators, grouped round such figures as Prince Alexander Bagration, an exile in Persia, made at last attempt to throw off Russian rule in Georgia; but when this failed, all hopes of a Bagratid restoration ended, and Georgia sank into what D. M. Lang has called "a mood of torpid acquiescence" for two or three decades. Only during the viceroyalty in Georgia of Count Michael Vorontsov (1845-54) did Georgia at last enjoy a measure of prosperity, educational and cultural encouragement and commercial development, with the beginnings of industrialisation in the Tiflis district as part of the distinct industrial revolution in Russia as a whole during Nicholas I's reign (1825-55). It was during Vorontsov's time that the doyen of modern Georgian studies in the west, Marie-Félicité Brosset (1802-80), visited Georgia and worked there under his encouragement. The old Georgian nobility suffered a general decline in this period of transition, accompanied by an increased disinclination on the part of the peasantry to endure their former subjugation. Outlying parts of Georgia, which had retained some autonomy, were now brought under direct Imperial rule. In 1857, the Regent of Mingrelia, Catherine Dadiani, was deposed, and in 1867 the youthful heir, Nicholas Dadiani, was compelled to cede his sovereign rights to Russia. The mountain region of Upper Svanetia was annexed by military force to the viceroyalty of the Caucasus. In Abkhāzia, a region half-Christian and half-Muslim, with the Muslims looking to the Ottomans for support, the ruling prince Michael Sharvashidze was deposed by force of arms in 1864, leading speedily to the final subjugation of the hitherto indomitable Circassians and the consequent emigration of some 600,000 Muslim Circassians to Ottoman territory in preference to living under Russian rule [see ČERKES]. In 1864 the serfs were liberated in Georgia, and those of Mingrelia, Abkhāzia and Svaneti in the following years, although the burden of redemption payments imposed on the former serfs meant that their emancipation was formal rather than real.

There was another period of enlightened rule under the Grand Duke Michael, Alexander II's brother, Viceroy of the Caucasus 1862-82, during whose tenure of power Russia recovered during the war with Turkey of 1877-8 substantial areas of ancient Georgian territory which had been under Ottoman control since the 16th century. By the abortive Treaty of San Stefano and then the Congress of Berlin (1878), Russia acquired the port of Batum and retained her conquests of the important fortresses of Ḳārṣ and Ardahān [*q.vv.*], commanding the routes into eastern Anatolia (these last two districts were not recovered by Turkey till 1920 and 1921 respectively). The latter years of the Grand Duke's governorship were however marked by the intensification of Pan-Slavist feeling which characterised Imperial policy at this time and which was ominous for the non-Russian minorities of the empire, seen e.g. in the banning of 1872 of the use of Georgian for instruction at the Tiflis Theological Seminary, the main centre for the training of the Georgian priesthood and a focus for Georgian nationalist and anti-Russian feeling (one of its future students was to be Joseph Djugashvili, the later Stalin). One aspect of the Georgian cultural reaction and re-awakening in these years was the appearance of anarchism and the Populist or Narodnik movement in Georgia from the 1870s onwards, together with the Marxist so-called "Third Group", one of whose leaders was Noe Zhordania, the future Menshevik and president of independent Georgia (1918-21). The ending of serfdom and the break-up of feudal estates in Georgia, and the growth of railway and oil-producing industries in Transcaucasia at places like Baku, Batum, Tiflis and Kutaisi, created propitious conditions for the spread of these movements, aimed in the first place at the Russian Imperial government (which was in fact by far the largest landowner in Georgia). The 1905 revolutionary period was preceded in 1902 by peasant unrest in Guria in southwestern Georgia, where holdings were especially fragmented, and in 1905 itself, the Georgian (Marxist) Social Democratic Party organised strikes and communes. Subsequent repression by Russian and Cossack troops drew the attention of the West to Georgia's claims as a nation, seen for instance in Britain by the formation through the efforts of the Georgian scholars Oliver and Marjory Wardrop of the Friends of Georgia Committee, which worked on lines parallel to those of E. G. Browne for the Persian Constitutionalists.

During the First World War, Georgian émigrés organised themselves in Central Europe, under German patronage, and in 1915 a Georgian Legion was formed to fight on the Black Sea coastal front. In the Russo-Turkish fighting in the western Caucasus, the Muslim Georgian Laz [*q.v.*] and Ačars supported the Ottomans, and Armenian irregulars the Russians. With the fall of the Tsarist government in April 1917, the Georgian Mensheviks assumed power, but the crumbling of the Imperial Army allowed Turkey to recover her occupied territory in eastern Anatolia and to advance on Transcaucasia, wreaking vengeance on the local Armenians in requital for Armenian slaughter of Muslims. The Muslims of Ādharbāydjān refused to continue fighting against Turkey, and now, cut off from Russia itself, Transcaucasia on 12 April 1918 declared itself an independent federative republic, comprising Christian Georgia and Armenia and Muslim Ādharbāydjān. The Ottomans still pressed for the retrocession of territory in Georgia lost to Russia in the 19th century, and had taken the offensive and occupied Batum. Centrifugal forces thus soon made the Transcaucasian Republic dissolve into its three component parts, and on 26 May 1918 an independent Georgian Republic, under German protection, was set up; peace was made between Georgia and Turkey in June, with Turkey regaining Batum, Ḳārṣ, Ardahan, Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki. Hence from 1918 to 1921 a Menshevik or Social Democratic régime governed Georgia, headed by Zhordania, with a great upsurge of Georgian nationalism (Georgia's first university being opened at Tiflis in 1918) and hopes of the following of a peaceful policy of democratic socialism. After the Armistice of November 1918, British troops replaced the German ones in Georgia, with Oliver Wardrop as Chief British Commissioner to the three Transcaucasian republics, with his headquarters in Tiflis. On 27 January 1921 France and Britain recognised Georgia diplomatically as a sovereign state. However, the new state was under pressure, having to fight off Armenian claims to Georgian territory, the Kemālist Turkish forces to the south, and above all, the Bolsheviks. In February 1921 the Bolsheviks were

threatening Tiflis itself, and it fell after a heroic resistance on 25 February to a fearful sacking by the Red Army, Zhordania fleeing with his government by sea to Istanbul.

Georgia under the Soviets inevitably suffered from the recrudescence of Great Russian chauvinism and imperialism, the excesses of Russian troops provoking a guerilla resistance movement in Georgia akin to the Basmači movement [*q.v.*] in Central Asia, culminating in a general uprising in 1924, ruthlessly suppressed. For the next two decades or more, up to 1953, Georgia groaned under the repression of Stalin and his henchman Beria, himself a Mingrelian and who excercised dictatorial powers in Transcaucasia 1932-8. Until 1936, Georgia was deprived of its autonomy and became part of a Transcaucasian Federated SSR, of which Tiflis was the capital, but in that year it became the Georgian SSR, and now forms one of the constituent republics of the USSR and includes the Abkhaz and Adzhar Autonomous SSRs and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, with a total area of 27,000 sq. miles/70,000 km².

According to figures from January 1970, the total population of the republic is 4,686,000, 48% of these being town dwellers and 52% rural, the main towns being Tiflis (pop. 907,000) and the much smaller centres of Kutaisi, Rustavi, Sukhum and Batum. Ethnically, the population is returned as being 67% Georgian, but with considerable minorities of Armenians, Russians, Azerbaijanis, Ossetians and Abkhazians (see *BSE*³, vii, 360-92). What proportion of all these may still be described as Muslim is unclear, but in 1921 the capital Tiflis had a fair number of Turks in its population, and in 1922, under Soviet rule, there was still being produced a local Turkish newspaper, *Yeñi fikir*, and a journal, *Dan yildizi* (see Mīrzā Bālā, *Ādharbāydjān türk maṭbūʿāti*, Baku 1922); but the 1922 census enumerated only 3,255 Azerbaijani Turks and 3,984 Persians, presumably all Muslims. The Azerbayjani Turks in Georgia are naturally to be found mainly in the extension of the Ādharbāydjān plain to the east and south-east of Tiflis, in such districts as Borčalī and Ķarayazī, and they formed part of the Kazak-Shams al-Dīn tribal group (see Bala, *İA* art. *Gürcistan*).

Bibliography: The older bibliography is given at length in Minorsky's *EI*¹ art. TIFLIS. The basic standard work still remains M.-F. Brosset's *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Petersburg 1849-57. On general bibliography, see D. M. Lang, *Catalogue of Georgian and other Caucasian printed books in the British Museum*, London 1962; D. Barrett, *Catalogue of the Wardrop collection and of other Georgian books and manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1973; and the *Bibl.* given in Mirza Bala's *İA* art. *Gürcistan*. Specific works include W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people from the beginning down to the Russian conquest in the nineteenth century*, London 1932; Zurab Avalishvili, *The independence of Georgia in international politics 1918-1921*, London 1940; S. S. Jikʿia, *Gurjistanis vilaietʿis didi davtʿari*, Tiflis 1947 (= Turkish text and Georgian translation of a 16th century Ottoman *mufaṣṣal tapu defteri*); Firuz Kazemzadeh, *The struggle for Transcaucasia, 1917-1921*, Oxford 1951; A. Manvelichvili, *Histoire de Géorgie*, Paris 1951; W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields*, Cambridge 1953; D. M. Lang, *Studies in the numismatic history of Georgia in Transcaucasia*, ANS Numismatic notes and monographs, No. 130, New York 1955; idem, *The last years of the Georgian monarchy, 1658-1832*, New York 1957; idem, *A modern history of Georgia*, London 1962; M. Canard, *Les reines de Géorgie dans l'histoire et la légende musulmanes*, in *REI*, xxxvii (1969), 3-20; Allen, ed. and A. Mayo, tr., *Russian embassies to the Georgian kings, 1589-1605*, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge 1970; J. M. Rogers, *The Mxargrdzelis between East and West*, in *Atti del Primo Simposio Internazionale sull'arte georgiana, Bergamo 1974*, Milan 1977, 257-72. (V. MINORSKY - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

ĶURḤ, AL-ĶURḤ, a town and district of mediaeval Islamic times in the northern Ḥidjāz, mentioned in early Islamic sources as of prime importance, but not now known under this name.

It seems very likely that the place had a role in the pre-Islamic history of the Wādī 'l-Ķurā [*q.v.*], where the settlement of later Ķurḥ was situated, although the principal towns then were Dēdān (modern al-Khurayba) and al-Ḥidjr [*q.v.*] or Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ (modern al-ʿUlā). According to Yāķūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, iv, 320-1, and al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Beirut 1393/1971, iv, 1288, there was a well-known fair at Ķurḥ in the Djāhiliyya, and popular tradition located there the destruction of the people of Hūd, sc. ʿĀd [*q.v.*] As the culture of Dēdān and Liḥyān decayed in the northern Ḥidjāz, Ķurḥ seems to have become the main settlement of the Wādī 'l-Ķurā around the time of the coming of Islam, and *mukhaḍram* poets like Ibn al-Muķbil [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt mention it. The tribe of ʿUdhra [*q.v.*] lived in the district; the Prophet prayed in Ķurḥ, and a mosque was built there (see Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*, ed. M. M. al-Ṭannāḥī, Cairo 1383/1963, iv, 36, and H. Lammens, *L'ancienne frontière entre la Syrie et le Ḥigāz, notes de géographie historique*, in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut 1928, 304-5).

Following a well-known process in Islamic geographical nomenclature, the name Ķurḥ was applied both to the town, the administrative and commercial centre of the Wādī 'l-Ķurā, and to the surrounding district, in effect, the Wādī 'l-Ķurā itself. Hence al-Muķaddasī, 69, says that Ķurḥ is one of the four regions (*nawāḥī*) of Arabia and also one of the towns of the Ḥidjāz; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, iii, 1056, describes it as the *ķaṣaba* of the Wādī 'l-Ķurā, with a variant form of the name as al-Ķurāḥ (*loc. cit.* and i, 247). It obviously flourished highly at this time. Al-Muķaddasī, 83-4, says that it was populous and much frequented by traders, and had many amenities; it had a strong citadel, a defensive ditch and walls; and Jews were a decisive element (*al-ghālib*) there (cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 307), though elsewhere (96) he states that Ķurḥ (here meaning the district) was essentially Sunnī in faith.

Where exactly, then, was the town of Ķurḥ located, since the toponym is not in use today, although that of al-Ḥidjr (*pace* Vidal, in *EI*² s.v.) does in fact survive? C. M. Doughty (1876-7) enquired among the local people, but could find no memory of it, although he was shown a ruined site "el-Mubbiát" six miles south of al-ʿUlā; he nevertheless thought that the mediaeval Ķurḥ lay much further south towards Medina (*Travels in Arabia deserta*, London 1926, i, 161-2). Subsequently, A. Musil definitely identified Ķurḥ with al-ʿUlā (*The northern Heǧâz, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1926, 295; but elsewhere, 217-18, n. 52, he placed it, more correctly, to the south of al-ʿUlā). It has now been convincingly argued by ʿAbd Allāh al-Naṣīf, himself a native of the region, that the site of mediaeval Ķurḥ should indeed be located at the present-day ruins known

locally as al-Mabyāt/al-Mābyāt (cf. *mabīt* "place where one halts for the night") along the main route down the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā to Medina, in an extensive plain, a spot well-fitted to be a flourishing commercial centre and market and a convenient staging-post, 12 miles/18 km. south of al-ʿUlā (al-Naṣīf, *The identification of the wādī 'l-Qurā and the ancient Islamic site of al-Mibyāt*, in *Arabian studies*, v [1979], 1-19). Jaussen and Savignac saw ruins there, and in 1968 the expedition of P. J. Parr, G. Lankester Harding and J. E. Dayton made a surface survey of the site (see *Preliminary survey in N.W. Arabia*, 1968, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Archaeology*, London, viii-ix [1970], 199-204, section on "Maʿabiyat"). Excavation of the site may well settle the question finally.

Bibliography: given in the article, but see also Abdullah al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Hijaz in the writings of the Arab geographers 800-1150*, Beirut 1973, 220-1. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḲURHUB b. Djābir al-Khuzāʿī, the ardent eulogist of the Zīrid princes of al-Ḳayrawān and of their governors, the Banū Abi 'l-ʿArab, and a virulent and shameless satirist. He dominated with great verve the poetic contests stirred up by his strong personality and his biting aggressiveness in the literary sessions of al-Ḳayrawān, owing his success as much to his lack of scruple as to the swiftness of his replies and his improvisations.

However, Ḳurhub remains a poet with a ready talent able to adapt himself to the thematic and formal exigencies of the genres employed by him. Variety of usage of verse-forms, suppleness of verses and purity of language combined in due course to place him in the élite of the poets of Ifrīḳiya during the Zīrid period. He died at al-Ḳayrawān in 420/1029.

Bibliography: ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ms. Paris 2327, xvii, ff. 96a-98a, and Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ms. Tunis 4850, xxii, 65-6, who both use Ibn Rashīḳ's *al-Unmūdhadj*. See also ʿA.-R. Yāghī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān*, Beirut 1962, 100, 214-15; H.-R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, 791; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīqiya sous les Zīrides*, Tunis 1972. (Ch. Bouyahia)

ḲŪRĪLTĀY, Arabic orthography of Mongol *ḳurilta* from *ḳuri-* "to collect, gather together", an assembly of the Mongol princes summoned to discuss and deal with some important question such as the election of a new khān. Djuwaynī describes the *ḳūriltāy*s that preceded the accession of Ögedey, Güyük and Möngke. John de Plano Carpini was present in person at the *ḳūriltāy* held in the Khangay mountains at which Güyük was elected and enthroned. The institution still survived in the time of Tīmūr, when however it seems to have become little more than a parade. The very word has disappeared from the modern Mongolian language; it has been resuscitated by the Turks in the form *kurultay* and used in the sense of "assembly, congress".

Bibliography: Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 178-91, 248-58, ii, 555-602; J. A. Boyle, *The seasonal residence of the Great Khan Ögedei*, in *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altäischen Völker*, ed. G. Hazai and P. Zieme, Berlin 1974, 145-51 (147); V. V. Barthold, *Four studies in the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, Leiden 1958, 27; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 435-7 (No. 305). (J. A. Boyle)

KÜRIN, designation used by the Ottomans in the 10th/16th century and by the Russians in the 18th-19th centuries for the Lezghins [*q.v.*]. Kürin (Russian: Kürinskiy yazîk) is also the former designation for the Lezghin language, and appears as such in the 1926 Soviet census. (R. Wixman)

KÜRIN KHĀNATE [see lezghin].

ḲŪRIYA, Ḳawriya, the Arabic name for the modern town of Coria in Spain, *municipio* of the province of Cáceres on the banks of the Alagón River. It was the Caurium of the Romans, who built its walls, as was noted by al-Ḥimyarī ("strong walls of ancient construction"). Al-Idrīsī states that Coria belonged to the *iḳlīm* of al-Ḳaṣr, and was then "an attractive, well-built and spacious town, whose surrounding countryside was fertile and highly productive of fruit". Al-Iṣṭakhrī's itinerary (43-7) places it at 12 days' journey from Cordova.

When the Muslims withdrew to the line of Coria, after the famines of the post-136/753 period (*Akhbār madjmūʿa*, 62/67), the town was thus left in the frontier zone, and must have been one of the main centres of the Berber settlement of the north-west of the peninsula. There were frequent rebellions there. In 170/786 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I attacked there the rebel Abu 'l-Aswad Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Fihrī (*ibid.*, 116/106). Muḥammad b. Tādjīt al-Maṣmūdī rebelled there during the amīrate of Muḥammad I, and in alliance with Ibn Marwān al-Djillīḳī made Coria one of his main centres (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 466; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, tr. de Slane, iv, 289). It is in this region and around this same period that the Christian sources place the revolt of Zeith/Zeiti (*Cron. Alfonso III*, Valencia 1961, 62-3). The town became much fought over; it was taken by Ordoño I in 860, but recaptured by the Muslims in 862. Alfonso III besieged it without success in 868, but ended by taking it some years later. Yaḥyā al-Tudjībī, sent by al-Ḥakam II, attacked the King of Navarre and the Count of Castile near Coria (Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 248). Al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] passed by Coria on his route into the Christian territories during his campaign of 387/997. The town was taken by Alfonso VI (472/1079), and he fled there after the defeat of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]. Al-Mutawakkil b. al-Afṭas mourned the loss of Coria in a letter to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn (*al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. Allouche, 23). It was occupied by the Almoravids in 513/1119-20, but definitively taken by Alfonso VII in 1142.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. M. ʿA. Makkī, Beirut 1973, 642-4, ns. 594-6; F. Hernández Jiménez, *La kūra de Mérida en el siglo X*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxv (1960), 313-71; idem, *Los caminos de Córdoba hacia el NO*, in *ibid.*, xxxii (1967), 37-123, 277-358; M. Terron Albarrán, *El solar de los Aftásidas ...*, Badajoz 1971, 396-8, 561-3; *El fuero de Coria*, ed. J. Maldonado, Madrid 1949 (see *Indice Histórico Español*, not. no. 94.545 on the "Fueros de Cáceres"); A. de Torres y Tapia, *Crónica de la Orden de Alcántara*, Madrid 1973. (M. J. Viguera)

ḲURḲŪB, a town in Khūzistān, on the road from Wāsiṭ to Sūs (Susa). The statments regarding distances given by the Arab geographers were collected and arranged in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, 1921, iv, 396 ff.; cf. also 431. The town was noted for its carpets; there was also a state *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] manufacture there. A material called *sūsandjird* was made there, cf. de Goeje's glossary in *BGA* iv, s.v. Al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal say that the *sūsandjird* of Fasā [*q.v.*] was better than that of Ḳurḳūb; the latter was a mixture of silk and cotton, while in the former wool was used; cf. on the textiles of Ḳurḳūb, R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol con-*

quest, Beirut 1972, 45, and J. Karabaček, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susanschird*, Leipzig 1881.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 241, 246; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, ii, 98, where all the important quotations from the Arab geographers are given, to which should be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 131, 382.

(M. Plessner)

ḲURRĀʾ. Political organisation. The term *ḳurrāʾ*, sing. *ḳāriʾ* (A.), occurs in Arabic historiography referring to a group of ʿIrāḳians rising against ʿUthmān and later on against ʿAlī, after he had accepted the arbitration. In European research, *ḳurrāʾ* has been usually rendered as "reciters of the Ḳurʾān" (*ḳurrāʾ* < *ḳ-r-ʾ* "to recite").

Brünnow was the first historian to try to assess the role of the *ḳurrāʾ* as an independent group acting within a heterogeneous Khāridjite [*q.v.*] movement. Brünnow's results were partly rejected by Wellhausen, who held that the *ḳurrāʾ* were not an autonomous movement which was merged in Khāridjism at a certain date. He claimed that the *ḳurrāʾ* had been in close connection with the learned *fuḳahāʾ*, forming a wider circle of pious men around those *fuḳahāʾ*, the supposed nucleus of men of religious learning. It was the *ḳurrāʾ*'s religious zeal, unhampered by scrupulous deliberation, which according to Wellhausen led them to act against an Islamic authority which in their opinion had failed to carry through the commandments of the Holy Book. Their ardour for the sake of Islam became obvious for the first time, when they took part in fighting against the Ridda [*q.v.*] rebels (Battle of the Yamāma or of ʿAḳrabāʾ [*q.v.*]). During ʿAlī's war against Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, they threw in their lots with him, and they supported ʿAlī in his abortive warfare against Muʿāwiya. When the Syrians proposed to resort to the judgement of the Ḳurʾān, they at first approved of ʿAlī's compliance with this proposal, but later on, when the disastrous consequences of the arbitration had become obvious, they turned against ʿAlī, blaming him ruthlessly for having preferred human decision to God's judgement. In the Khāridjite rebellions against ʿAlī, and later on against the Umayyads, the *ḳurrāʾ* are said to have been the most fanatical instigators. Wellhausen's account of the *ḳurrāʾ* shows his general view of the early Muslim parties as resulting from a politico-religious conflict. This view, which aimed at studying the development of political and religious thought in Islam, has proved very fruitful, but it impedes us in realising the social conflicts concomitant to religious strife. Therefore, until recently the character of the *ḳurrāʾ* was described vaguely or even misleadingly. If the *ḳurrāʾ* actually had been a group of people applying themselves to a peculiar form of reciting the Ḳurʾān, or holding a certain view concerning the validity of the Ḳurʾānic commandments, why do we not find any trace of such a group in treatises on heresiography or on recitation of the Ḳurʾān? Besides this *argumentum e silentio*, one doubts whether Wellhausen's almost generally-accepted assumption was right that only after ʿAlī's political defeat did the *ḳurrāʾ*, repenting of their imaginary failure, become the fanatical partisans of the Ḳurʾān. For according to the sources, they had never been wholehearted followers of ʿAlī's cause; hence they had no reason to consider themselves as traitors because they had urged ʿAlī to accept the appointment of the two arbiters.

Recent research into the matter has tended to take the social groups into consideration, resuming in principle Brünnow's idea. In a detailed study on Kūfan political alignments, G. M. Hinds has drawn an entirely new picture of the *ḳurrāʾ*. He states that a group of people called *ḳurrāʾ* first acted jointly against Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, ʿUthmān's governor in Kūfa until 33/653. The evidence adduced by Hinds proves that most of them were people who had settled in southern ʿIrāḳ at the very beginning of the conquests and thus had acquired some privileges. But under ʿUthmān, the political situation in southern ʿIrāḳ was changing rapidly: those early-comers who could not stabilise their position by amalgamating with an influx of population belonging to their respective tribal entities gradually lost their influence. Al-Ashtar and Yazīd b. Ḳays, who were to play a prominent part in the subsequent troubles, were among these early-comers who feared lest they be ousted from their position. Their situation was even aggravated when ʿUthmān allowed the fighters of al-Ḳādisiyya now resident at Medina to exchange their shares of ʿIrāḳian land for landed property in the Arabian Peninsula. To carry through this measure meant first of all a careful distinguishing between the *ṣawāfī* estates and *dhimma*-land. The early-comers suspected that they would be the losers by these administrative measures. Fearing a blow to their pretended rights, they succeeded in removing Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ from his post. They then elected Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī governor of Kūfa. During the events which led to the murder of ʿUthmān, the *ḳurrāʾ* played only a secondary part, though al-Ashtar figures in the list of the assassins. When ʿAlī arrived in the neighbourhood of Kūfa, the powerful tribal leaders did not join him. They seem to have favoured a neutral position, which would have served their interests best. ʿAlī, pursuing an egalitarian Islamic policy, did not even want to attempt a compromise with them. A coalition between him and the disappointed early-comers therefore came into being. Al-Ashtar, Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī, and ʿAdī b. Ḥātim are said to have been *ḳurrāʾ*; now they were Shīʿī leaders. During the fighting at Ṣiffīn, the *ḳurrāʾ* are mentioned as separate para-tribal entities supporting ʿAlī. When Muʿāwiya suggested settling the points at issue by means of arbitration, the *ḳurrāʾ* urged ʿAlī to accept the proposal, because they envisaged a peace in which ʿAlī would be able to accomplish an Islamic policy checking an ascendancy of the new-comers. When they felt that their dreams would not be realised, they turned against ʿAlī, who refused to withdraw from the agreement. ʿAlī tried to placate this dangerous internal opposition by giving high appointments to the most prominent *ḳurrāʾ*, but the majority of the *ḳurrāʾ* became his irreconcilable enemies. In the Khāridjite movement of the first century they are often mentioned as one of the most active groups.

In the light of these new results, it seems rather absurd to refer to the *ḳurrāʾ* as "Ḳurʾān-readers". Shaban was the first to suggest a new interpretation. He holds that *ḳurrāʾ* means "villagers" (*ahl al-ḳurā*), denoting those participants in the early wars (*ahl al-ayyām*) against the Sāsānid Empire who had occupied the vacated estates of southern Irāḳ and whose *de facto* privileges had been threatened since ʿUthmān's reign. Shaban and G. H. A. Juynboll have adduced evidence corroborating this thesis, but it still remains speculative. The rendering of *ḳurrāʾ* as "Ḳurʾān-readers" seems to be a result of the well-known fact that Muḥammad used to appoint reciters for stimulating the zeal of the Muslim fighters (see Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāʿiyya wa 'l-iḳtiṣādiyya fi 'l-Baṣra*, Beirut 1969, 56 ff.); further-

more, the ʿIrāḳian *ḳurrāʾ* had appealed to the Ḳurʾān. But they did so, not because they held some special doctrine concerning it, but because they wanted to enforce the judgement of the Ḳurʾān in that actual issue, where the reference made in the Ṣiffīn agreement to an ill-defined "practice" (*sunna*) seemed dangerous for their interests.

Bibliography: R. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leiden 1884; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901; G. M. Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments*, in *IJMES*, ii (1971), 346-67; idem, *The murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān*, in *IJMES*, iii (1972), 450-69; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D.* 600-750, Cambridge 1971, 50-11; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The Qurrāʾ in early Islamic history*, in *JESHO*, xvi (1973), 113-129; idem, *The Qurʾān Reciters on the battlefield and concomitant issues*, in *ZDMG*, cxxv (1975), 11-27.

(T. Nagel)

ḲURRA b. SHARĪK b. Marthad b. Ḥāzim al-ʿAbsī al-Ghaṭafānī, governor of Egypt 90-6/709-14 for the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Ḳurra came from the group of North Arab tribes which had settled extensively in northern Syria and the Djazīra and which were in the forefront of the warfare along the Taurus Mountains with Byzantium. He himself came from the region of Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*] to the south of Aleppo, and was thus a member of the experienced and capable cadre of Syrian Arabs whom the Umayyads liked to appoint to high civil and military office; the fact that al-Walīd's mother Wallāda bint al-ʿAbbās was also from the tribe of ʿAbs may well have helped further Ḳurra's career.

The early part of this last is very obscure. From indications in Michael the Syrian's chronicle, Lammens inferred that he may have served as governor of Ḳinnasrīn or possibly of Armenia; it is obvious that he would not have been appointed to such an elevated post as the governorship of Egypt without considerable administrative experience previously.

Ḳurra was appointed governor of Egypt *ʿalā 'l-ṣalāt wa 'l-kharādj*, i.e. as *amīr* and as *ʿāmil* or financial director, in place of the caliph's own brother ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik, whose governorship had been rendered difficult by economic hardship through failure of the Nile to rise sufficiently. Ḳurra accordingly reached the capital of Egypt, Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*], on 3 or 13 Rabīʿ I 90/10 or 20 January 709 or shortly afterwards, and took up his duties there. The Arabic general chroniclers give woefully little information about Ḳurra's governorship, if indeed they mention it at all; Ṭabarī merely records the dates of his appointment and of his continued tenure of the office, and then records his death (ii, 1200, 1208, 1266, 1305; repeated in Ibn al-Athīr).

Our best sources of historical information are naturally the local Egyptian ones, above all Kindī, *Wulāt*, ed. Guest, 63-6, more briefly in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, i, 302, also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 217-20, resuming several earlier authorities, but the information given here is fairly exiguous too. However, contemporary records, as embodied in the papyri discovered in Egypt over the last 80 years or so, round out the later chronicles and give a much better picture of the administrative and financial condition of Egypt during Ḳurra's governorship. They also supply a corrective to the unfavourable image of Ḳurra as a typically tyrannical Umayyad governor of the stamp of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], which grew up in the ʿAbbāsid and post-ʿAbbāsid periods, a condemnatory view which is expressed in both the Muslim and the Coptic Christian sources. Thus one oft-repeated saying attributed to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz runs "al-Walīd in Syria, al-Ḥadjdjādj in ʿIrāḳ, ʿUthmān al-Muzanī in Medina, Khālid al-Ḳasrī in Mecca and Ḳurra in Egypt! By God, the earth has become filled with iniquity!" (cf. the biography of Ḳurra in Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 36-7). Another libellous story is that after the completion of the rebuilding of the mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Fusṭāṭ (see below), he called for wine and music-making and held an orgy there.

Amongst the occurrences of Ḳurra's governorship is mentioned a plot against his life staged at Alexandria by a group of Ibāḍī Khāridjīs under al-Muhādjir b. Abi 'l-Muthannā al-Tudjībī, which failed, and the rebuilding of the mosque of ʿAmr. At the beginning of 92/autumn 710, the caliph ordered Ḳurra to demolish some additions made by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik and to rebuild the mosque entirely. Yaḥyā b. Ḥanẓala al-ʿĀmirī was appointed supervisor of work; the mosque was enlarged at the north-east end and in the *ḳibla* direction, which Ḳurra caused to be corrected from ʿAmr's slightly inaccurate alignment. Whilst the work of rebuilding was in progress, the Friday prayers were held in the Ḳaysāriyyat al-ʿAsal, and the mosque was completed in Ramaḍān 93/June-July 712 (see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1932-40, i, 99-100, with extensive bibliography). Yet much of Ḳurra's governorship was necessarily taken up with the financial administration of Egypt and the economic and agricultural regeneration of the province, and it is here that the papyri give valuable information. The serious famine of 86-7/705-6 in the preceeding governorship of ʿAbd Allāh (see above) had left a legacy of hardship in the land. Ḳurra was therefore concerned to increase agricultural production and to bring disused land (*arḍ mawāt*) into cultivation once more. The chronicles mention his restoration of the Birkat al-Ḥabash as an instance of this work of *iḥyāʾ*, this being planted with sugar cane [see ḳaṣab al-sukkar] and subsequently known as "Ḳurra's stable".

A further, controvertial problem was that of the imposition of the poll-tax or *djizya* [*q.v.*] on new Muslim converts from the Coptic community. The papyri show Ḳurra as keen to exact the full *djizya* from these *mawālī*, to collect arrears of taxation and generally to safeguard the caliph's financial rights. Egypt suffered, like ʿIrāḳ and other of the conquered provinces, from the flight of peasants to the towns in order to escape taxation, a process which had already been discernible in Byzantine Egypt; these fugitives were now rigorously pursued and brought back to their villages wherever possible. However, Ḳurra was equally concerned to punish tyrannical local officials, and he maintained control over the provinces by means of an efficient intelligence system or *barīd* [*q.v.*]. The bilingual (Greek and Arabic) papyri also mention the levying of special taxes (*liturgia*) for the building of ships for *koursos* or *ghazw*, presumably against the Byzantines in the eastern Mediterranean. Finally, Kindī notes that Ḳurra re-organised the *dīwān*s of Egypt in 95/713-14, being the third person (after ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān) to do this. As Becker observed (*Beiträge*, ii, 124-5), this doubtless increased the Arab element in these departments; the official language there had already been changed from Greek and Coptic to Arabic just before Ḳurra's time [see dīwān].

Ḳurra died of the plague whilst still in office in

Ṣafar 96/October-November 714 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1305) or on 23 Rabīʿ I 96/6 December 714 (Maḳrīzī, i, 302), and was succeeded (as *amīr al-ṣalāt* only) by his trusted deputy ʿAbd al-Malik b. Rifāʿ al-Fahmī, who had been *Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭa* or police chief under Ḳurra; Usāma b. Zayd became head of finances in Egypt.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ, ed. C. F. Seybold, *Alexandrinische Patriarchengeschichte*, Hamburg 1912, 140, 142; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*. i, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xx (1875), 39-40; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strasburg 1902-3, ii, 100-2; idem, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, Heidelberg 1906, iii, 15-19; A. Grohmann, ed., *Corpus papyrorum Raineri*. iii. *Series arabica*, Vienna 1924, i/3, 46; H. J. Bell, *The administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschr.*, xxviii (1928), 284-6; H. Lammens, *Un gouverneur omayyade d'Égypt, Qorra ibn Šarīk, d'après les papyrus arabes*, in *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930, 305-23; A. Grohmann, *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library*, i. *Protocols and legal texts*, Cairo 1934; idem, *From the world of Arabic papyri*, Cairo 1952, 123-32; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, in G. Hanotaux, ed., *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iv, Paris 1937, 46, 49-51; N. Abbott, *The Ḳurrah papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 15, Chicago 1938; H. Cadell, in *Recherches de Papyrologie*, iv (1967), 107-60.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KURRAM, Kuram, the name of a river which flows down from the western end of the Safīd Kūh or Spīn Ghar range of the Hindū Kush-Koh-i Bābā massif of eastern Afghānistān and which joins the Indus River in modern Pakistan just below ʿIsā Khēl. The lower course of the river flows through Bannū [*q.v.*], and the middle reaches through the northernmost part of Wazīristān [*q.v.*]. The upper valley, beyond the railhead of Thāl, forms what in British India and now in Pakistan is the administrative region of the Kurram Agency, a thin wedge of territory some 70 miles long and covering 1,305 sq. miles. From the headwaters of the river, the fairly easy Shutargardān Pass leads towards Khōst and Kābul [*q.vv.*], with the village of Paiwar Kotal marking the present frontier between Afghānistān and Pakistan; this has always been one of the historic routes by means of which migratory peoples and armies from Central Asia and Afghānistān have descended to the Indian plains.

Little is known of the early history of the region of Kurram, though the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien was there in the early 5th century A.D. Kurram is certainly mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 89, as the place (here spelt Kurramān) to which the Ghaznavid sultan Bahrām Shāh fled ignominiously in 543/1148 when the Ghūrid chief Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī temporarily occupied his capital. Djūzdjānī (7th/13th century) further records that Kurramān was granted as an *iḳṭāʿ*, together with S.n.k.rān (? Shalōzān, the name of a modern left-bank affluent of the Kurram River, in the surmise of Raverty), by the Ghūrid ruler Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad in 572/1176-7 to his slave commander Tādj al-Dīn Yildiz; Muʿizz al-Dīn used regularly the Kurram valley route for descending from Ghazna to the Indus valley (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī[2], Kabul 1341-3/1962-4, i, 411-12, tr. Raverty, London 1881-99, i, 498-500). The original Pathan inhabitants of Kurram were Sunnī Bangash, but *ca.* 1500 nomads of the Tūrī tribe of the Karlānrī group of Pathans appeared as vassals (*hamsāya*) of the Bangash and gradually came to control all the villages of the upper Kurram valley. The Tūrī are Shīʿī in faith, and claim popularly to be of Persian origin; in the early 11th/17th century they participated, with other Pathan tribes, in the general movement of the Rōshaniyya sect [*q.v.*] against the attempted domination of the Mughal Emperors of Dihlī.

In the early 19th century, Kurram never formed part of the Sikh empire of the Pandjāb, but the Durrānī and Bārakzay rulers of Kābul claimed a vague suzerainty over the region. In 1845 they affirmed their claims by appointing a resident governor in Kurram, the later *amīr* in Kābul Muḥammad Aʿẓam Khān. In 1856 a British expedition was sent into the valley after Tūrī raids on the people of Kōhāt [*q.v.*]. In autumn 1878 Lord Roberts entered the valley and temporarily occupied the region as an advance base during the Second Afghān War, pushing on from there to capture Khōst. The Shīʿī Tūrī began to complain of oppression by Afghān officials, and this created a sentiment in Kurram in favour of a British presence there or at least of some degree of British protection, especially as the Treaty of Gandamak made with Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb Khān in 1879 declared Kurram to be an assigned district, to be administered by the Government of India, together with the Khyber and the Pathan districts of northern Balūčistān. Hence in 1892 British forces moved up from Thāl at the request of the Tūrī, and in the next year the border with Afghānistān was delimited along the Durand Line at the head of the valley. In 1894 it became a political agency, and then at the time of Lord Curzon's creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901, Kurram became one of the five tribal agencies. British garrisons were withdrawn, and replaced by two battalions of the Kurram Militia, organised on the same lines as the Khyber Rifles [see KHAYBAR PASS]. It was down the upper Kurram valley that Nādir Shāh briefly penetrated with an Afghān force during the Third Afghan War of 1919.

Kurram now comes within Pakistan, and has its administrative centre in the town of Pāračinār. The Pakistan government gives the Kurram Agency the same degree of autonomy as the other tribal areas, except that it enforces certain regulations identical with those prevailing in the directly-administered areas along the Indus, including the collection of land-tax; in fact, a negligible amount of taxation is collected from this economically poorly-endowed region, and the Agency receives back far more from the central government by way of subsidies and salaries of local militiamen and officials. It nevertheless forms the only tribal area along the Frontier where the central government's authority goes right up to the Afghānistān border. Administratively, Kurram is divided into two *taḥṣīls*, an Upper Valley and a Lower Valley. The 1961 census estimated the population of the whole Agency at 200,512, with the population of Pāračinār as 22,953.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲURRAT AL-ʿAYN, Fāṭima Umm Salmā, also known as Dhakiya, Zarrīn-tādj, Ṭāhira (see below), Persian poetess and Bābī martyr, was born in Ḳazwīn in 1231/1814, the eldest daughter of a famous *mudjtahid*, Ḥādjdj Mullā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Baraghānī.

She was educated in Ḳazwīn, and became proficient in the Islamic sciences. She was married to Mullā Muḥammad, the son of her uncle Mullā Muḥammad Taḳī, by whom she had three sons, Shaykh Ismāʿīl, Shaykh Ibrāhīm and Shaykh Isḥāḳ, and one daughter. While staying with him in Karbalā, she joined the Shaykhī sect, together with her sister Marḍiya and brother-in-law, Ḥādjdj Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī, an action that earned her the fierce hostility of her husband and father-in-law, though her own father remained neutral. She studied with Sayyid Ḳāẓim Rashtī, then living in Karbalāʾ, who was so impressed by a *risāla* she wrote on Shaykhī doctrine, that he gave her the *laḳab* of Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn. Her sectarian activities led finally to her divorce, by which time she had returned to Ḳazwīn. It was here that she first heard of the Bāb, and when Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrūya left for Shīrāz to seek out the Bāb in Rabīʿ I 1260/April 1844, he took with him a letter from Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn which so impressed the Bāb that he nominated her among the eighteen *Ḥurūf al-Ḥayy* ("Letters of the Living"). Later, in a letter addressed to certain Bābīs who had expressed doubt about the propriety of Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn's activities, he described her as *Djanāb-i Ṭāhira*, whence the name by which she came commonly to be known amongst the Bābīs and Bahāʾīs. By this time she was back in Karbalā, where she is reputed to have preached without a veil, to have claimed to be the incarnation of Fāṭima, and to have proclaimed the abrogation of the Sharīʿa. Her preaching of Bābī doctrines eventually alarmed the Ottoman authorities, and in 1263/1846 she was arrested and exiled to Iran. She travelled by way of Kirmānshāh and Hamadān, preaching openly on the way, and in due course arrived in Ḳazwīn, where she found herself subjected to the same family hostility as before. Matters came to a head when her uncle, Ḥādjdj Mullā Muḥammad Taḳī, a strenuous opponent of Babism, was found murdered (15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1263/25 October 1847). Widely suspected of complicity, it was no longer possible for her to remain in Ḳazwīn, and she left for Tehran, and thence for Māzandarān, where she joined the great gathering of Bābī leaders at Badasht. Here she preached constantly (sometimes unveiled, though this has been denied), and took an active part in the decisions taken there. After the break-up of the gathering by local villagers, she went to Māzandarān with some of the other leaders of the community, and stayed for some time in Nūr. In 1266/1850 she was arrested and taken to Tehran, where she was detained as a prisoner in the house of Maḥmūd Khān Nūrī, the Kalāntar [*q.v.*] of Tehran, for the next four years. After the attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1268/1852 by three Bābīs, Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn, together with at least twenty-seven other Bābīs, was cruelly put to death by means that have been variously reported but are still unknown, the only eyewitness account—by Dr. Polak—merely stating that "she endured her slow death with superhuman fortitude".

By a strange twist of fate, Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn was the only one of the eighteen "Letters of the Living" never to meet the Bāb. She was famous both inside and outside the Bābī movement for her beauty, eloquence, and devotion to the cause. Her poetry, a fair amount of which has survived, is said to have been widely read by the Bābīs long after her death. Though doubts have been cast on the stories of her discarding of the veil, it cannot be denied that her way of life was extremely emancipated for her time, and she has remained a symbol of women's liberation in Iran ever since.

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(L. P. Elwell-Sutton and D. M. MacEoin)

ḲURṢĀN (A.), pl. *ḳarāṣina* and also *ḳarāṣin*/ *ḳarāṣīn*, "corsair, pirate", stems from Italian *corsale*, which has further given forms closer to the original but less commonly-found, such as *ḳurṣāl*, pl. *ḳarāṣil*/*ḳarāṣīl*, and *kursālī*, pl. *kursāliyya*. In turn, Arabic has formed the abstract noun *ḳarṣana* "privateering, piracy", still in use today, as is also *ḳurṣān*, sometimes conceived of as a plural. In the colloquial there is further the verb *ḳarṣan* "to raid, act as a pirate", and the dialects also given to *ḳurṣān* the double sense of "corsair" and "boat". This latter term was an Andalusian one (cf. Pedro de Alcala, ... *De lingua arabica libri duo*, Göttingen 1883, 158), and it is uncertain whether one should link with the Spanish *corsario* the adjective *ḳurṣariyyāt* used by al-Saḳaṭī, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, Paris 1931, 50, to denote women who are supposed to have recovered their virginity (the two editors prudently suggest the translation "carried off by the corsairs?", and P. Chalmeta, in *al-And.* (1971 ff.), § 111, translates this term as *corsarias*).

The necessity felt by the Arabic language, probably in the course of the 3rd/9th century, to use a loanword shows that, even if piracy had long existed in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, the Arabs (who called a pirate *liṣṣ al-baḥr* "sea-robber") had a distinct feeling that privateering had a different character. They

nevertheless adopted the same term to denote two distinct forms of activity, which are indeed often enough confused, even by Europeans; in fact, privateering consists of attacking enemy ships with the more or less explicit connivance of the authorities, whilst piracy proper is a purely private enterprise involving the capture and pillaging any vessels encountered.

i. The Western Mediterranean and the Atlantic

It was in the Mediterranean, "the sea of adventures" (Ch. E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIIIe et XVIe siècles*, Paris 1965, 574), that the Muslims most continuously practised *ḳarṣana* from the moment onwards when they established themselves along its shores and had to face attacks from the Christian powers there. In reality, the Arabs—and very soon, as will be seen, adventurers of European origin, renegades and captives—were merely participating in a traditional practice of the Mediterranean basin since the most early antiquity, whilst at the same time giving it, more or less consciously, a religious aura, since it was often in the name of Islam that the corsairs of the southern shores of the Sea acted, just as those of the northern shores acted at times in the name of Christianity. It was for this reason that privateering, if not piracy, soon came to be considered as an integral part of the holy war, *d̲j̲ihād* [*q.v.*], and it is as part of this that the question is treated in the works on law.

Given the fact that it is impossible, in an encyclopaedia article, to go into detail and to trace the entire history of privateering and piracy as they were practised by men based on the coasts of the Muslim lands, what follows is a sketch of the broad features of the topic. Reference should be made to those sources which are in general well-documented and which have been utilised for this present article, and also to the articles MILĀḤA and SAFĪNA, especially for technical details; the article FIDĀʾ in the Supplement should also be consulted for the topic of the ransoming of captives.

From the 1st/7th century onwards, there were added to the attacks against the islands and the shores of the western Mediterranean by corsairs coming from the Near East, raids undertaken by the people of Ifrīḳiya, whose regularly-organised fleets succeeded in gaining control, in the first decades of the 3rd/9th century, of Malta, Sicily and Pantellaria [see ḲAWṢARA], whilst the Balearic Islands were definitively taken over by the Spanish Umayyads in 290/903.

However, from the 2nd/8th century onwards, what one may properly call organised pirate activity began to take shape both in North Africa and in Muslim Spain. One notable action is that in which, after the suppression of the "Revolt of the Suburb" in Cordova [see AL-ANDALUS and ḲURṬUBA] in 202/818, a group of émigrés who practised piracy in the central and eastern Mediterranean gained control of Alexandria and in 212/827 seized the island of Crete, which they made into a Muslim possession and a centre for their further activities [see IKRĪṬIS̲H̲]. It was likewise from Spain that there set out the Muslims who, between 278/891 and 281/894, established themselves at Fraxinetum [*q.v.*], where they founded a pirate state which lasted for 80 years. As early as 227/842, other corsairs sailed up the Rhône to Arles, and they renewed their incursions in 235/850 and 255/869; under the Umayyads of al-Andalus, the sailors of Péchina acquired a great notoriety in this respect (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 244, 349, 352, 355, ii, 154-60). Some centuries later, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, text, i, 619, tr. de Slane, iii, 117, summarised the two essential forms which the activities of the *ḳarāṣina* took. "A more or less numerous group of corsairs gets together. They build a ship and choose as its crew men of proven valour. These warriors go off and descend on the coasts and islands where the Franks dwell, arriving there suddenly and carrying off everything they can find. They also attack the infidels' ships, frequently capturing them, and then return home, laden with plunder and prisoners". This text is one of the ones rarely encountered on this subject in the Arabic sources, which dwell at much greater length on the Christians' naval enterprise against the Muslim lands, or on the spectacular attacks from the Atlantic made on al-Andalus by the "Northmen" from 230/844 to 355/966 [see AL-MAD̲J̲ŪS]. In the Mediterranean, violent attacks by the Christians were more difficult, for a defence system had been established along the coasts, whether in Spain (see R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, Paris 1973, 273-6) or from Alexandria to Tangier (see M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, 395).

Concerning the situation obtaining on the high seas, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn's remark (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 35, tr. de Slane, ii, 42, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 41) alleging that "the Christians could not even launch a plank on the Mediterranean" is probably correct for the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, when the Muslims did have command of the seas. Economic necessity accordingly compelled the states to try and assure the safety of navigation along the various commercial routes (see Chr. Courtois, in *Mélanges G. Marçais*, Algiers 1957, ii, 51-9), but the international agreements made with this end in mind were not always respected by the pirates. The activities of these last were however controlled, and there are extant some interesting *fatwā*s on these. M. Talbi has published one of them (in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 1956), pronounced by Saḥnūn (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]) and concerning three associates who had organised a pirate enterprise but had then fallen out over the division of their booty. More interesting still is a *fatwā* of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]) analysed also by Talbi (*Émirat aghlabide*, 534-5); it emerges from this that seizure was legal in the case of a Christian merchant ship making for a non-Muslim country, but illegal when it was a case of a building utilised for commercial exchanges between Christendom and Islam. Thus, whilst hindering freedom of navigation, pirate activity tended to divert traffic into a pattern favourable to the Muslim lands.

After the beginning of the 6th/12th century and during all the Crusades period, privateering may be regarded as more often than not assimilable to the *d̲j̲ihād*. The Zīrids (see H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, index) organised it on a grand scale and sowed terror in the western Mediterranean, whilst the island of D̲j̲arba [*q.v.*], already an important base, became a real haunt of pirates, who were not content with attacking Christian ships but also infested the coasts of Ifrīḳiya. D̲j̲arba was conquered in 510/1116 by ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, but soon resumed its traditional rôle, until it was captured in 529/1135 by the Normans of Sicily; it was to remain the plaything of Christian and Muslim rivalries until the end of the 8th/14th century, and then was to play a leading part in the events of the 10th/16th century.

Various dockyards built along the coasts of the Mag̲h̲rib and al-Andalus [see DĀR AL-ṢINĀʿA], especially at La Calle (Marsā 'l-K̲h̲araz), Bône and Bougie,

provided local pirates with galleys which skimmed the coasts of the Mediterranean islands and swept the seas in search of prey. As well as the cargoes and crews seized on the open seas, the raids on the Sardinian and Corsican coasts secured slaves of both sexes which were much in demand.

Dufourcq (*op. laud.*, index) has gathered together considerable material on the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. From this, it appears that, despite the rulers' desires to make maritime commerce safe, the occasional prohibition of privateering warfare and concluding of international treaties, the Mediterranean remained for adventurers of all varieties a special field of activity. After having died down somewhat, from the Muslim side, in the 7th/13th century, *ḳarṣana* revived with fresh force, and the islands and shores of the Christian world were often ravaged. On the Christian side, their exploits yielded nothing in scope or violence to the Muslims; Sicily was a fine jumping-off base and arsenal, and Djarba was neutralised for a while by Roger de Lauria and Ramon Montaner.

The other bases in the Maghrib remained active, but the situation hardly changed in the course of the next century. On the other hand, it took a completely new turn in the 10th/16th century, when there began the so-called "Barbary corsairs", whose activity was to last until the 19th century. This is the period in which such figures as the Barbarossa brothers [see ʿARŪDJ and KHAYR AL-DĪN], Dragut [see ṬŪRGHŪD], Sinān Pasha, Aydin, and many others for whom there is not space here to recount the prowess, distinguished themselves. The articles devoted to the most famous of them should be consulted, and one should merely note that ʿArūdj chose Tunis as his base and from there, was able to defy the power of Charles V and to seize Algiers. After his death in 924/1518, his brother Khayr al-Dīn (d. 953/1546), who had offered the province of Algiers to the Ottoman sultan, resumed his pirate activities against Mediterranean shipping and his attacks on the Christian towns. For his part, Dragut (d. 972/1565) set up his base in Djarba, and then succeeded Murād Agha, whom he had helped, together with Sinān Pasha, in seizing Tripoli from the Knights of Malta; he may be considered as the founder of the new regency.

It is, it is true, difficult to distinguish between naval warfare, privateering and piracy in the activities of these corsairs, whose common feature is that they succeeded in founding "Barbary" states in more or less nominal dependence on the Sublime Porte and that they established pirate organisations which necessitated numerous interventions by the Europeans. The battle of Lepanto in 979/1571 [see AYNA-BAKHTĪ] put an end to privateering, but made no difference to pirate activity, which continued to rage until the conquest of Algiers.

Amongst these pirates, Murād Raʾīs was especially notable. He was the first, in 993/1585, to venture into the Atlantic (if one excepts the expedition of Khashkhāsh [see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 258-9 = § 274] and his companions from Cordova in the 3rd/9th century, see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 354, iii, 342). Murād went on to plunder the Canary Islands, and en route, put in at Salé, which was not as yet the nest of corsairs of which later history was to have a burning memory.

It should also be noted that, at the moment when these Barbary states mentioned above came into existence, there was an event of highest importance happening in Spain, sc. the reconquest of Granada, followed by the exodus of the Andalusians and then, in 1610, by the expulsion of the Moriscoes [*q.v.*]. Like their predecessors, these last groups settled in various parts of North Africa where, without always openly proclaiming *djihād*, they constituted a fresh impetus and a new pretext for the Barbary pirate activity, seeing in this a means of mounting a revanche. Algeria and Tunisia remained very active centres (see M. de Epalza and R. Petit (eds.), *Études sur les Moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, Madrid 1973, index), but it is from this point onwards that piracy based on the port of Salé comes into prominence, and the history of this is well-documented for us (see H. de Castries, *Les corsaires de Salé*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, xv/2 (1903); L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920, 152-72; and R. Coindreau, *Les corsaires de Salé*, Paris 1948). During the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, Salé [see SALĀ] had been a centre for privateering on a relatively modest scale only, like other ports of the Moroccan littoral like Tetuan [see TIṬṬĀWĪN], whose corsair fleet had however been destroyed by the Spaniards in *ca.* 803/1400, or al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], which on occasion gave refuge to pirates, whose captured booty was sold to the sultans. In the 17th century, however, the twin town of Rabat became, under the influence of Andalusian emigrants, a real corsair republic, in which certain strong personalities stand out, these being used for diplomatic missions (e.g. the Bénache and vars. = Sīdī ʿAlī b. ʿĀʾisha, who was charged by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl with a mission to Louis XIV for the hand of the Princess de Conti). These Salé corsairs, called "Turks" by the Europeans, were generally no more Turkish in origin than were the "Barbary" pirates; they included in their ranks Andalusians and Moroccans, to be sure, but also Greeks, Russians, Portuguese, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, etc., renegades and even Christians. The diverseness of the polyglot crews allowed them to hoist false colours and to reassure ships under attack by addressing the enemies in the tongue of their own nation. One notable feature of the Salé pirates was that, being right on the spot for combing the North Atlantic seas, they were bold enough to sail as far as Iceland, to reach the fishing-grounds of the coasts of the New World and Nova Scotia, or to enter the Channel and reprovision themselves in the Netherlands, where they had accomplices. For almost a century, from 1668 to 1757, privateering was organised by the sultans, and may be considered as taking the place of a national fleet.

There is no need here to dilate upon the various types of vessel employed by the corsairs and pirates, nor upon their arms, for these questions will be studied under MILĀḤA and SAFĪNA. It should merely be noted that until the end of the 16th century, the pirates in the Mediterranean used galleys propelled by a large number of oarsmen (sometimes more than 200) and that the lateen sails of these ships were only auxiliaries; on the other hand, in order to secure a speed superior to that of the merchant ships, these galleys were slender in shape (the proportion of length to breadth reaching up to 9 times) and hence instable. In 1606, a Dutch renegade called Simon of Danser taught the Algerians to construct and to operate sailing ships, and Salé, which, because of the bar and shallow waters, could only used light vessels, benefitted particularly by this innovation, and built so-called "round" (i.e. with a proportion of only 3 or 4) ships, which were much more stable.

Finally, thanks to the anonymous author of *La connaissance des Pavillons ou Bannières que la plupart des Nations arborent en mer*, The Hague 1737 (cf.

Coindreau, *op. laud.*, 211-22), we have information about several of the flags of the Muslim corsairs.

Bibliography: The above account, inevitably brief, can only give a slight sketch of *ḳarṣana* in the western Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Outside the archives, some of which have been used by the authors cited above, and the *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, reference should be made to the works cited in the text, which usually have detailed bibliographies, and to the following basic works: F. Dan, *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires*, Paris 1649; J. Morgan, *Histoire des États barbaresques qui exercent la piraterie*, Paris 1757; L. de Mas-Latrie, *Relations et commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale avec les nations chrétiennes au moyen age*, Paris 1886; S. Lane Poole, *The Barbary corsairs*, London 1890; P. Gossee, *The history of piracy*, London 1932 (Fr. tr. P. Teillac, *Histoire de la piraterie*, Paris 1933, 2nd edn., 1952); Ch. Penz, *Les captifs français du Maroc au XVIIe siècle*, Rabat 1944; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au moyen âge*, Paris 1946, 225-8; I. de las Cagigas, *La cuestión del corso y de la pirateria berberisca en el Mediterraneo*, in *Curso de conferencias sobre la politica africana de los reyes catolicos*, i, Madrid 1951, 127-49. (Ch. Pellat)

ii. In Turkish waters

Within a decade of the Saldjūḳ victory at Manzikert (Malāzgird [*q.v.*]) in 463/1071, the Turkish invaders had extended their raids to the Aegean. In 474/1081, or shortly afterwards, the Turks of Nicaea (Iznik [*q.v.*]) constructed a fleet at Kios (Gemlik [*q.v.*]), possibly for the transport of troops. However, the Byzantine Emperor, Alexios I Comnenos, burned it before it could put to sea. A more formidable Turkish maritime force appeared in 481-2/1088-9, when a Turkish chieftain called Tzachas (this name is probably a Greek form of Čaka), with the aid of a Smyrniot Greek, built a fleet at Smyrna (Izmir [*q.v.*]), which harried the Aegean coast of Asia Minor from Smyrna to Adramyttion (Edremit [*q.v.*]) and captured the neighbouring islands of Chios (Saḳlz), Lesbos (Mytilene), Samos (Susam), and possibly some other islands. The unexpected appearance of Tzachas, so soon after the Byzantine destruction of Arab pirate bases in Cilicia, led to the construction of a new fleet at Constantinople in 484/1091, and the expulsion of Tzachas from the islands. His rival, the Saldjūḳ Ḳllīč Arslan, poisoned him in 489/1096.

After the defeat of Tzachas, Alexios I was able to recapture the coastlands lost to the Turkish invaders and built a number of coastal fortresses between Abydos (near Čanaḳ ḳala [*q.v.*]) and Syria. Muslim corsairs did not disturb Byzantine waters again until the last quarter of the 6th/12th century, when Arab pirates reappeared in the eastern Mediterranean. This does not mean that piracy in general diminished. In fact, it increased with the growth of commerce in the Levant following the Crusades. A pattern arose of professional pirates in the Aegean and Mediterranean finding employment in the Byzantine and other fleets. The same phenomenon was to occur with the growth of Turkish fleets.

The Latin occupation of Constantinople in 601/1204 did nothing to prevent piracy, despite the presence of Venetian fleets in the Aegean. In 633/1236, the Despot Manuel of Epiros could claim that pirates made the sea too dangerous for his bishops to cross from Greece to the Laskarid capital at Nicaea. The Latin conquest seems merely to have increased the number of Latin pirates, such as the Lombard Licario, who was to serve Michael VIII Palaiologos as Admiral after the Byzantine recapture of Constantinople in 659/1261. Muslims, however, were not in evidence. The Laskarid administration effectively fortified the boundaries with the Saldjūḳs in Asia Minor, preventing the Muslim access to the Aegean coast. Ibn Bībī [*q.v.*] refers to an *amīr-i sawāḥil*, possibly commanding Saldjūḳ vessels in the Mediterranean, but there are no further references to Muslim maritime activity.

Despite Michael VIII's construction of a powerful Byzantine fleet after 659/1261, his reign saw the foundation of Turkish naval power in the Aegean. Pre-occupied with regaining Byzantine territories in the west and warding off the threat of an Angevin invasion, Michael neglected his eastern frontier. Turkish raids and settlements followed and, as in the 5th/11th century, the invaders soon took to the sea. Already in 676-7/1278, there are records of pirates, including the obviously Muslim "Saladinus" at Ania to to south of Ephesus. In 681-3/1284, Michael VIII's successor, Andronikos II Palaiologos, disbanded his father's fleet, which he evidently regarded as an unnecessary expense after the removal of the Angevin threat. The results were disastrous. Not only were the seas unprotected against burgeoning Turkish piracy, but unemployed Greek sailors now defected to the Turks. After 682-3/1284, Turkish sea-raids extended to the Cyclades and even into the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea. By 700/1300, the Turks had occupied the Aegean coast and, according to the Catalan Muntaner, were pillaging Chios and the surrounding islands.

It was these years in the late 7th/13th and early 8th/14th centuries that saw the establishment of the Turkish emirates on the Aegean coast. Since these states sheltered corsairs and used their own vessels simply to collect booty by harrying foreign settlements or commerce, rather than to protect trade or acquire new lands, they may be described as "pirate-states". The most notorious was Aydln [see Aydlnoghll], especially in the days of Umūr Pasha [*q.v.*] but ships from other maritime emirates of Menteshe, Sarukhān and Ḳarasl [*q.vv.*] also engaged in sea-borne raids. In the Black Sea, Ghāzī Čelebi (d. *ca.* 724/1324?) established an emirate around Sinop [*q.v.*], whence he made raids on Genoese and Trapezuntine commerce and settlements. The Ottomans do not seem immediately to have taken to the sea as corsairs. When Orkhan [*q.v.*] gave lands to Ḳara Mürsel after the conquest of Nicomaedia (Iznikmid, Izmit [*q.v.*]) in 1737/1337, his purpose appears to have been to protect the shores of the Gulf of Izmit against Byzantine raids.

During the 8th/14th century, Turkish raids became a feature of life in the Aegean. In 718/1318, corsairs from the mainland of Anatolia ravaged Santorin, and in 726/1326 Marino Sanudo reported how the Turks infested the Cyclades, their attacks made easier by the disunity among the Latin Lords of the islands. In 739/1328-9, Umūr of Aydln occupied the harbour of Smyrna and began his attacks on Christian ships and on islands and territories in the Aegean and mainland Greece. In 736/1335, however, he signed an agreement with Andronikos III Palaiologos not to attack Byzantine shipping. It was possibly in part to compensate them for loss of booty that Andronikos employed Umūr's troops as mercenaries in Albania. With the death of Andronikos III in 742/1341, Umūr again began to raid throughout the Aegean and, between 742/1341 and 745/1344, intervened in the Byzantine civil war on behalf of his friend and ally John Cantacuzene.

Piracy particularly affected Venetian and other Latin commerce. In 731/1331, Venice had imposed a treaty on the Catalans of Athens, forbidding them to help or employ Turkish corsairs, although this did not prevent the Catalans calling on Umūr to defend the Duchy of Athens against the claims of Gautier de Brienne. The activities of Umūr and other Muslim corsairs eventually led Pope John XXII to assemble a fleet under the command of the Venetian Pietro Zen to which Venice, the Papacy, France and the Knights of St. John contributed vessels. This force did much damage to the Turkish corsairs and defeated the fleet of Ya<u>kh</u>s<u>h</u>i Beg of Ḳarasī in the Gulf of Edremit in 735/1334. However, it disbanded after the death of Pope John in the same year, and piracy continued as before. More effective was the Latin occupation of the port of Smyrna in 745/1344, and the death of Umūr in 749/1348, after which <u>Kh</u>iḍr of Aydīn signed a treaty with the Latins, according to which he undertook to burn all the ships in the emirate, forbid all acts of piracy and offer no help to corsairs. Large-scale raids may have ceased, but in a letter dated 751/1350 the Dodge Andrea Dandolo indicated that Turks from Aydīn continued to attack Christian shipping. Piracy based on other emirates seems also to have flourished. After 671-2/1360, Aḥmed <u>Gh</u>āzī of Mentes<u>h</u>e preyed on shipping between Cyprus and Rhodes.

Ottoman raiders began to appear on the Aegean in the 1390s. They seem to have infested the Sea of Marmara considerably earlier, leading the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene to clear the old harbour of Heptaskalon in Constantinople some time after 750/1349, as a base against Turkish pirates. The annexation by Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] of Saru<u>kh</u>ān, Aydīn and Mentes<u>h</u>e brought the western Aegean shoreline under Ottoman control by the 1390s. With Bāyezīd's construction of an arsenal at Gallipoli, the Ottomans were able to build sizeable fleets. In 793/1391 an Ottoman fleet of 60 vessels ravaged Chios, the Cyclades and the coasts of Euboea (Negroponte, I<u>gh</u>riboz) and Attica. To meet this new threat, Venice allotted a fleet to Francesco I Crispo of Naxos.

The defeat of Bāyezīd by Tīmūr in 804/1402 and the subsequent restoration of the emirates put an end to the depredations of an Ottoman fleet under the Sultan's auspices, but did not otherwise prevent piracy. In 806/1403, the restored ruler of Mentes<u>h</u>e, Ilyās Beg, signed a treaty with Venice in which he undertook to prevent acts of piracy. He was evidently unsuccessful, since in 813/1410 a Venetian fleet appeared off the ports of the emirate as a forceful reminder of the *beg* to adhere to the terms of the treaty. It made no difference. In 819/1416 vessels from Ottoman territory raided the Cyclades and, at about this time, the Florentine Buondelmonti reported Turkish raids on all the Aegean islands except Patmos. Perhaps the shared reverence for the shrines of certain saints, such as St. George of Levitha, called Ḳoč Papas or Ḳoč Baba in Turkish, led the Turks to leave the monks of Patmos in peace. Piracy remained endemic throughout the 9th/15th century, and measures such as the imposition of direct rule on the Venetian Duchy of Naxos in 899/1494 only temporarily deterred the corsair fleets of Ḳarā Ḥasan and others.

There were, however, significant changes in the Aegean in the late 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. Under Meḥemmed II and his successors, the Ottoman fleet became an instrument of conquest and a weapon of imperial policy rather than simply a pirate fleet of the Sultan. Meḥemmed II's fleet, for example, played an important part in the conquests of Constantinople in 857/1453, Sinop, Trebizond (Ṭrabzon [*q.v.*]), and Lesbos (Midilli) in 865-7/1461-2 and Euboea in 875/1470. Under his successor Bāyezīd II, Ottoman fleets appeared in the Ionian Sea during the war with Venice between 904/1499 and 908/1503. As the frontiers of naval warfare moved south and westwards from the Aegean, Turkish pirates such as the famous Kemāl Reʾīs [*q.v.*] extended their activities to North Africa and the western Mediterranean. By 947/1540 most of the Aegean coasts and islands were Ottoman possessions, and the odd exceptions such as the Venetian Tinos (Istindīn) and the Genoese Chios, which in any case fell to the Ottomans in 974/1566, did not threaten Turkish hegemony in the area.

The Aegean was now an Ottoman sea and the Sultan had no wish to encourage piracy in his own waters. The Ottoman government attempted to control the activities of corsairs, forbidding the construction of privateer vessels without special permission. In 967/1560, the *ḳāḍī* of Iznikmid received instructions to seize an illegally-constructed ship; whereas in 972/1565, the *levends* [*q.v.*] of Rhodes (Rodos [*q.v.*]) and Mentes<u>h</u>e were encouraged to build ships and serve in the Imperial Fleet. The squadrons permanently based in the Aegean at Kavalla, Lesbos and Rhodes presumably guarded the seas against pirates as much as against enemy action. In the 990s/1580s Muṣṭafā ʿAlī of Gallipoli or Gelibolu [*q.v.*] looked back with nostalgia to the mid-century when the Imperial Fleets kept the sea free of corsairs.

It is, however, most unlikely that Muslim pirates ever disappeared from the Aegean. The western shores of Anatolia seem, in fact, in the 10th/16th century to have been a forcing ground for pirates who, after acquiring sufficient ships and booty in their native waters emigrated to Algiers (al-<u>Dj</u>azāʾir [*q.v.*]), or later to Tripoli (Ṭarābulus al-<u>Gh</u>arb [*q.v.*]) or Tunis [*q.v.*], where their raids on non-Ottoman Christian shipping changed them, in Ottoman eyes, from pirates to warriors of the faith. The famous <u>Kh</u>ayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] and Ṣāliḥ Reʾīs of Algiers, for example, originated from the west coast of Anatolia, found fame in North Africa and, like many lesser known corsairs, later served in the Ottoman Imperial Fleet. Muṣṭafā ʿAlī specifies Ḳazda<u>gh</u>ī in particular as an area from which many North African pirates originated.

In the late 10th/16th century, piracy seems to have increased throughout the Mediterranean, and the Aegean too was affected. It is most likely that the disorders in Anatolia in this period found their counterpart on the sea.

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iii. In the Persian Gulf

Piracy has been endemic in the Persian Gulf since ancient times, which is hardly to be wondered at in view of the poverty, until very recently, of the peoples dwelling around its shores and the richness of the commerce which has at various periods passed through its waters. Piracy has flourished most in time of war or in its wake, when authority has broken down and the predatory instincts of the maritime tribes have been given full rein. Thus, for example, the Ḳarmaṭian revolt, the Mongol invasions and the collapse of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate were all accompanied or followed by maritime depredations on an extensive scale.

To all intents and purposes, piracy in the Gulf was indistinguishable from maritime warfare, which in turn originated in political, dynastic, sectarian or racial conflict among the littoral principalities. Hostilities at sea were apt to degenerate swiftly into the indiscriminate plunder of any and all shipping, not only in the Gulf but in the adjacent seas also. Such was the case with the first great piratical campaign of modern times, that waged by the seafaring tribes of ʿUmān against the trade and shipping of the Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the western Indian Ocean in the late 11th/17th century. After the expulsion of the Portuguese from Masḳaṭ, Ṣuḥār and their other footholds on the ʿUmāni coast by the Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sulṭān b. Sayf (1059-90/1649-79), the ʿUmānīs pursued their vendetta against the Portuguese by attacking and plundering their shipping and their settlements on the coasts of India, Persia and East Africa. Under Sulṭān b. Sayf's successors, and especially the fourth Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sayf b. Sulṭān (*ca.* 1103-23/1692-1711), ʿUmān became a formidable maritime power; and commensurate with the increase in her naval strength the scope of her marauding activities widened to embrace vessels under any flag wherever they might be encountered. The depredations of the Masḳaṭ and ʿUmānī pirates only ceased when civil strife broke out in ʿUmān over the succession to the Ibadi imāmate following the death of the Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sulṭān II b. Sayf, in 1131/1718-19.

A wave of piracy followed the Afghān incursions into Persia in the 1130s/1720s and again after the death of Nadir Shāh in 1160/1747. On both occasions, as during the height of the ʿUmānī piratical campaigns, some of the chief sufferers were the European trading establishments on the Persian coast. The most notorious pirate of the 12th/18th century was Mīr Muhannā b. Naṣir of Bandar Rīg, whose family, an off-shoot of the Zaʿāb tribe dwelling on the southern shore of the Gulf, had migrated to the Persian coast earlier in the century, intermarried with Persians, espoused Shīʿism and settled at Bandar Rīg. While still a youth Mīr Muhannā had helped contrive the murder of his father, and when his mother reproached him with his crime he slew her in a fit of rage. He likewise put to death his two sisters for receiving offers of marriage, and exposed his first-born child, a daughter, to die on the seashore. The greatest triumph of Mīr Muhannā's career was the capture and destruction of the Dutch trading settlement on Khārg or Khārk I island [see KHĀRAG] in Radjab 1179/December 1765-January 1766. Eighteen months later he despoiled the Masḳaṭ coffee fleet on its way to Baṣra in the summer of 1181/1767. It was his final *coup*. Driven from Bandar Rīg by his own people, who had finally sickened of his monstrous cruelties, he sought refuge in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1182/March 1769 at Baṣra, where he was unceremoniously put to death by the Ottoman *mütesellim*.

An outbreak of piracy by the Kaʿb of the lower Kārūn followed the siege and capture of Baṣra by the Persians in 1189-90/1775-6. A far more serious upsurge, however, was that which occurred after the death of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] in 1193/1779. The coastal tribes of Fārs, most of whom were of Arab descent, threw off the authority of Shīrāz and became a law unto themselves, plundering any vessels that came within their reach. Their depredations were shortly to be overshadowed by those of the Ḳāsimī tribal confederacy [see AL-ḲAWĀSIM] of Shārdja (al-Shāriḳa) and Raʾs al-Khayma [*q.vv.*], who took advantage of the disturbed state of Persia to re-establish themselves at Linga [*q.v.*] (which they had first seized after the death of Nadir Shāh and from which they had been expelled by Karīm Khān in 1179/1765) and to prey upon shipping—European and Indian as well as Arab and Persian—off the Persian coast and in the Straits of Hurmuz.

Part of the impulse for the Ḳawāsim's marauding derived from their persistent quarrel with the Āl Bū Saʿīd rulers of ʿUmān, a quarrel which in the last two decades of the 18th century came to focus upon control of the stretch of coast to the north of Ṣuḥār, which the Ḳawāsim endeavoured—with some success—to wrest from the Āl Bū Saʿīd with the object of commanding the approaches to the Gulf and waylaying vessels passing through the Straits of Hurmuz. It was largely the exploits of the Ḳawāsim that were responsible for the southern shore of the Gulf, from Rams to Dubayy, becoming known to European mariners in these years as "the Pirate Coast". A new twist, and added strength, was given to the Ḳawāsim's piratical activities, and to their feud with the Āl Bū Saʿīd, by the assertion by the Wahhābīs of Nadjd of an ascendancy over the Pirate Coast in the first decade of the 19th century. The conversion of the Ḳawāsim and other maritime tribes to the Wahhābi practice of Islam injected an element of fanaticism into their piratical forays, so that the campaign of depredation that ensued took on the character of a seaborne *djihād*.

The Ḳāsimī war fleet, operating with Wahhābī encouragement, if not under actual Wahhābī direction, was reckoned in 1223/1808 to number some 70-80 large dhows; if fishing and pearling vessels were included, the Ḳāsimī confederacy's total strength was said to exceed 800 vessels manned by 18,000-25,000 fighting men. (Another estimate, made in 1233/1818, put the resources of the Arabian maritime tribes at 89 large dhows and 161 smaller craft, manned by 10,000 fighting men.) Controlling Linga and part of

Ḳishm Island, and with bases at Khawr Fakkān, Dibba and Khawr Kalba, facing the Gulf of ʿUmān, the Ḳawāsim were able to strike at will at any ships entering or leaving the Straits of Hurmuz. Often they would lie concealed, waiting for their prey, in the deep winding inlets of Khawr al-Shaʿm (Elphinstone's Inlet) and Ghubbat ʿAlī (Malcom's Inlet) on the western and eastern sides respectively of the Musandam peninsula (Raʾs al-Djibāl), the existence of which was not known to European seamen until the first survey of the Gulf was undertaken by the Bombay Marine (the armed maritime service of the English East India Company) after 1235-6/1820. Hence the Ḳawāsim were able on a number of occasions to elude pursuit by the cruisers of the Bombay Marine by slipping into these hidden anchorages.

With the passage of time the Ḳawāsim grew bolder, ranging as far afield as the coasts of Kutch and Kathiawar, the ports of the Ḥaḍramawt and the lower reaches of the Red Sea. They sailed in squadrons of up to twenty dhows, taking their prizes by closing alongside, grappling and boarding. As often as not they would put the entire crew of a captured vessel to the sword—generally amid clamorous avowals of religious fervour. Women, children and slaves taken captive were afterwards either distributed among their captors or, in the case of the first two, held for later ransom. A fifth of all booty taken was reserved for eventual consignment to the Saʿūdī *imām* at Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], the Wahhābī capital. A good portion of the remainder was customarily disposed of at Baḥrayn, which served as the principal clearing-house for the proceeds of Ḳāsimī piracy.

After the capture of a number of European and Indian ships by the Ḳawāsim the British authorities in India dispatched an expedition to attack Raʾs al-Khayma, Linga and the Ḳāsimī outposts on Ḳishm I. and at Shinas, on the ʿUmānī coast, in the autumn and winter of 1809-10 (Shaʿbān-Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdjah 1224). The expedition had only partial success in crippling the Ḳawāsim's naval capabilities. Many Ḳāsimī dhows were absent from their home ports on piratical or trading voyages, while others had been hidden, after word of the expedition's objectives had leaked out ahead of its sailing, in the inlets of the Raʾs al-Djibāl. The expedition's commanders were also inhibited by the orders given them not to cross swords with the Wahhābi ruler. A second expedition, dispatched in the winter of 1819-20 (Muḥarram-Djumādā I, 1235), after the defeat of the Wahhābis and the destruction of Dirʿiyya by Ibrāhīm Pasha the previous year, was far more effective in subduing the Ḳawāsim. Raʾs al-Khayma and the other piratical ports were reduced, the Ḳāsimī war fleet was burned or prized, and the Ḳāsimī chieftains, along with the other principal *shaykh*s of the Pirate Coast, were made to subscribe to a treaty (the General Treaty of Peace of Rabīʿ I, 1235/January 1820) outlawing piracy for ever.

Neither the expedition of 1809-10 nor that of 1819-20 had attempted to bring to book the man who was undoubtedly the most reckless and ferocious free-booter in the Gulf in the entire 19th century—Raḥma b. Djābir, head of the Āl Djalāhima branch of the ʿUtūb, whose base for more than thirty years was located at Khawr Ḥasan in north-western Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*]. Raḥma's blood-stained career had its origins in his falling out with the Āl Khalīfa of Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] over the division of the spoils from their joint conquest of the island in 1197/1783. From that time until the end of his life he conducted an unrelenting war of attrition, marked as much by fierce daring as by atrocious cruelty, against the trade and shipping of the Āl Khalīfa and their kinsmen, the Āl Ṣabāḥ of Kuwayt. His most remarkable single feat was his capture in Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 1224/December 1809 of twenty large Kuwaytī dhows, whose crews he massacred to a man. He escaped the attentions of the British expeditionary force at that time in the lower Gulf, partly because of confusion over his status (he was a Wahhābī protégé) but mainly because his stronghold at Khawr Ḥasan was deemed too difficult of access to attack from the sea. Some time later (in 1227/1812 or 1231/1818—the accounts vary) he fell out with the Wahhābis and was forced to abandon Khawr Ḥasan. He established a new lair in 1234/late 1818, after the Wahhābī collapse, at Dammām, on the Ḥasā coast, from which he continued to harry the seaborne commerce of Baḥrayn.

Raḥma b. Djābir was again spared retribution at the hands of the British expedition of 1819-20, less because he had now assumed the guise of a Persian dependant than because his vendetta against the Āl Khalīfa, however, brutally it might be conducted, was reluctantly conceded to come within the category of legitimate warfare and not that of piracy. As a consequence of the improved security established by the British expedition and the subsequent system of "watch and cruise" operated by the Bombay Marine, Raḥma b. Djābir's fortunes steadily declined, until by 1241-2/1826 his fleet has been reduced to a single dhow. Now seventy years of age and totally blind, he had his last fight with the Āl Khalīfa war fleet off Dammām in Djumāda II, 1242/December 1826-January 1827. Surrounded and outnumbered, he calmly set fire to the magazine of his ship and blew her, himself and everyone aboard to the gates of Paradise.

The last serious piratical outbreak in the Gulf occurred in Shawwāl-Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1250/February-April 1835, when the Banū Yās of Abū Dhabī (Abū Ẓabī), hitherto little given to piracy, made a wholesale attempt upon the trade of the Gulf in a desperate bid to recoup their economic fortunes, which had been severely depressed by prolonged warfare with the Ḳawāsim and the loss of the annual pearl fishery for several years running. Brought to action off the Tūnbs by the Bombay Marine sloop *Elphinstone* on 18 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1250/16 April 1835, the Banū Yās war fleet was outfought and scattered. The following month the British political resident in the Gulf, Captain Samuel Hennell, persuaded the rulers of Abū Dhabī, Shārdja, Raʾs al-Khayma, Dubayy and ʿAdjmān to agree to a suspension of hostilities at sea among themselves for the duration of the coming pearling season. The maritime truce signed on 22 Muḥarram 1251/21 May 1835 ran for a period of six months, to 29 Radjab 1251/21 November 1835. It was renewed every spring for the next seven years, being gradually extended in length to cover the full twelve months of the year. In 1259/1843 it was renewed for a ten-year period, at the expiry of which it was made permanent, in a treaty signed by the principal Trucial Shaykhs on 25 Radjab 1269/4 May 1853. Though isolated outbreaks of piracy were to occur at intervals up to this century, notably in the narrow waters between Baḥrayn and the Ḥasā coast, the institution and consolidation of the trucial system brought to an end the great age of piracy in the history of the Gulf.

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account of the Arabs who inhabit the coast between Ras el Kheimah and Abothubee in the Gulf of Persia, generally called the Pirate Coast, in *Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc.*, i (1836-8); J. R. Wellsted, *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, London 1840; *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, new series no. xxiv, Bombay 1856; C. R. Low, *History of the Indian Navy*, London 1877; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Oman and Central Arabia*, i, Calcutta 1915; H. Moyse-Bartlett, *The Pirates of Trucial Oman*, London 1966; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf*, 1795-1880, Oxford 1968; R. D. Bathurst, *Maritime trade and Imamate government: two principal themes in the history of Oman to 1728*, in *The Arabian Peninsula: society and politics*, London 1972. (J. B. Kelly)

KURSĪ, an Arabic word borrowed from Aramaic (Syriac form *kurseyā*ʾ, in Hebrew: *kissē*; see Th. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 128; Fraenkel, *De vocabulis peregrinis*, 22; L. Koehler, W. Baumgarten, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, 446) which can signify seat, in a very general sense (chair, couch, throne, stool, even bench). In the daily life of mediaeval Muslims it refers more specifically to a stool (i.e. seat without back or arm-rests), and there are a number of other terms which are applied to a throne (*sarīr* and *takht*, for example).

Kursī is found on two occasions in the Ḳurʾān (II, 256, XXXVIII, 33), and the commentators (al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, Cairo 1323, iii, 7; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, Calcutta 1856, i, 170; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Zād*, Cairo 1964, i, 304; al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār*, Leipzig 1846, i, 139; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1952, i, 309-310; al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*, Beirut 1969, 56; al-Ḳāsimī, *Maḥāsin*, Cairo 1957, iii, 659-67) tend to accord it the sense of throne, since its function (in the first verse, the throne of God which encompasses both Heaven and Earth, in the second, the throne of King Solomon) is to bestow a particular majesty on the one who sits there. In opposition to an apparently anthropomorphic concept of God "sitting" on a seat, another explanation has been put forward according to which, of the seven heavens encircling the universe, the two furthest from the globe will be *ʿarsh* (see below) and *kursī* (the commentators and the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, Cairo 1929, ii, 22; Ibn Sīnā, *Risālat al-ʿArsh*, Ms. Nuruosmaniye 4894, fol. 494 b -495 b). *Kursī* (in the Ḳurʾān) need not therefore indicate a seat in the usual sense of the word. There are other interpretations of the term, some allegorical (*kursī* = the absolute knowledge of God, or his kingdom), some literal, for example: *ʿarsh* (Ḳurʾān, XVII, 44; XL, 15; XLIII, 82; LXXXI, 20;) = throne of God, while *kursī* = footstool, a bench set before the throne. This throne of God has been an object of debate among theologians (A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, 67, 90, 93, 115 and especially 148, concerning *ʿarsh* and *kursī*). The rite of a certain Shīʿī sect, at an early period in Muslim history, attributed a particular sanctity to an empty *kursī* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. S. D. Goitein, vi, 242; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, 85).

The distinction between throne (*ʿarsh*) and footstool (*kursī*) probably reflects the tendency of mediaeval Muslims to indicate by means of the term *kursī* all kinds of supports: the word *mirfaʿ*, which, among other usages (including that of footstool!) indicates an ink-stand and the base of the small oriental table, may be replaced, in certain texts, by *kursī* (J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche-Orient médiéval*, Leiden 1976, 91-4). To this meaning of "support", that of "lectern" should also be added. Many examples, designed to support copies of the Ḳurʾān (with straight or crossed legs) adorn mosques and are to be found in various museums (*ibid.*, 124-5, n. 470; J. A. Jaussen, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, 19-23 and especially O. Kurz, in *Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum*, ed. R. Ettinghausen, 299-314). The term tends thus to become loaded (especially in colloquial speech) with senses which, in richer and more exact terminology, are covered by distinct terms. Among the other objects designated by *kursī* the following are examples: a support (stool) on which the turban is deposited during the night (Dozy, *Suppl.* ii, 455-6); a chair of particular design used by women in childbirth (*ibid.*); a stool for daily ablutions (al-Tanūkhī, *al-Mustadjād*, 108); in mediaeval Egypt, a seat for flour sellers (Maimonides, *Ṭeharōt*, ed. Derenbourg, i, 137); an astrolabe-stand (Dozy, *loc. cit.*); a slab into which a pointed instrument is implanted, through the base (*ibid.*); in Mecca, a kind of moving ladder (or staircase) near the Kaʿba (*ibid.*); among the Persians, a kind of stove (a low "table", under which a fire is lit; blankets are laid on this table and then wrapped round the knees to provide warmth, *ibid.*); the base of a column, pedestal (Beaussier, s.v.); a plate supporting the powder compartment and percussion mechanism of the flint-lock rifle (*ibid.*); in Spain, small pieces of silver or gold worn by women in their collars and known in Spanish as *corci* (Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols*, 93); *kursī* is the seat of a bishop, his see, diocese etc. (Dozy, *Suppl.*, *loc. cit.*); in orthography, each of the characters (*alif*, *wāw*, *yāʾ*) on (or under) which the *hamza* is placed; in calligraphy, a kind of embellishment in square form (Huart, *Calligraphes*, 352).

In certain miniatures illustrating an Arabic astronomical work, which represent *dhat al-kursī* (Cassiopeia) in the form of a woman seated on a chair with back and arm-rests, we find the shape of a genuinely "classical" chair (E. Wellesz, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii, 8-9 and figs. 6, 44, 47, 51), which, copied from one manuscript to another, tends to become modified to the point where it is adapted to the mediaeval Muslim concept (Sadan, *op. cit.*, 125-6). In general, the *kursī* is nothing more than a stool. But, surrounded by other lower seats (cushions for example), such a stool can draw attention to the person who is seated there (see the dimensions indicated by M. D. Lutfi in *Sumer*, xvi, 129-30, in the Arabic section, unless it is lecterns that are in question). These *kursī*-stools were of various heights. Some had straight legs, others crossed legs (they are illustrated by a rich iconography, as well as by texts: O. Kurz, *loc. cit.*; Sadan, *op. cit.*, 123-33). In the modern period, *kursī* is also applied to various chairs of "western-style" form.

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(Cl. Huart - [J. Sadan])

ḲURṬUBA, Spanish Córdoba, French Cordoue, English, Italian and German Cordova (Kordova), Latin Corduba, a town of southern Spain situated at 370 feet above sea-level on the right (north) bank of the central course of the Guadalquivir (from the Arabic al-Wādī al-Kabīr "the great river"), the ancient Baetis, with 1,234,000 inhabitants, is at the present day the capital of the province of the same name which lies on both sides of the river in the heart of Andalusia.

The southern and smaller half of the province, practically the famous La Campiña [see ḳanbāniya], rising in the south-east to a height of over 1,200 feet, is more level, hot and fertile, being especially devoted

to viniculture, while the northern, larger half which begins in the Sierra de Córdoba immediately to the north of the town, rises to heights over 2,900 feet high in the central Sierra Morena (Mariani Montes) with the plateau of los Pedroches which inclines in a northerly direction to the Zújar valley in the west and the Guadalmez valley in the east; this plateau is called *Iḳlīm al-Balālīṭa* by al-Idrīsī and by others *Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ* "Field of Oaks", and in it lies the little town of Pedroche, known to the Arabs as Biṭrawdj or Bitrūsh (whence al-Biṭrūdjī [*q.v.*]). The north has a more temperate climate and includes great stretches of hill country, suited for sheep and horse breeding (*caballos cordobeses*) and rich deposits of coal and minerals. The name Córdoba has frequently been explained as from the Phoenician-Punic קרת טובה, "good town" since Conde first suggested this etymology in his *Descripcion de España de Xerif Aledris*, Madrid 1799, 161 (for even rasher etymologies, see Madoz, vi, 646 and al-Maḳḳarī, i, 355). The name is certainly not Semitic but Old Iberian (cf. Salduba, the Old Iberian name for Caesar-Augusta, whence Saragossa, Zaragoza; there is a Salduba = Marbella in the south between Málaga and Gibraltar). After the Second Punic war it became known as an important and wealthy commercial city (*aes Cordubense*) under the name Κορδύβη or Κορδυβά or Corduba. It was finally taken for Rome by C. Marcellus in 152 B.C., colonised with Roman citizens and as Colonia Patricia raised to be the capital of the Provincia of Hispania Ulterior. As Cordoba had taken the side of Pompey, it was severely punished by Caesar after the battle of Munda in 49 B.C., but in Imperial times it remained the capital of the province (it was the home of the two Senecas and Lucan) alternately with Hispalis (Seville) and Italica (later the Arabic Ṭāliḳa).

Towards the second decade of the 5th century A.D., Cordova was devastated when the Vandals conquered Baetica en route for North Africa. In 554 it passed to the Byzantines, who had come into the Iberian peninsula to help King Athanagild of the Visigoths, and the Greeks spread all through southern Spain. They probably took upon themselves the rebuilding of the old protective wall of the Roman *urbs quadrata* and the enlargement of this enceinte in a southwards direction, as far as the northern bank of the river. In 571, King Leovigild, Athanagild's successor, recovered it from the Byzantines; but although it was an episcopal see, it remained a place of no importance under the Visigothic domination.

At the time of the Muslim conquest of Spain, Cordova was leading a precarious existence; its protective enceinte was partially ruinous on the west side, and a heavy surge in the river's height had destroyed its bridge. The freedman Mughīth al-Rūmī, lieutenant of Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, occupied the town without resistance in Shawwāl 92/July-August 711, and three months later, in Muḥarram 93/October-November 711, the fortified church of San Acislo to the south-west of Cordova, where 400 knights of the Cordovan nobility had held out against the invaders, surrendered to al-Mughīth; he treated the Cordovan citizens with clemency and entrusted the guarding of the town to the Jews. The governor al-Ḥurr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaḳafī transferred the capital of al-Andalus from Seville to Cordova (97-100/716-19). His successor, the governor al-Samḥ b. Mālik al-Khawlānī (100-2/719-21) restored the old Roman bridge and the ruinous part of the protective enceinte, and he founded the first Muslim cemetery of the town, sc. the Maḳbarat al-Rabaḍ or "Cemetery of the Suburb" on the northern bank of the river. In *ca.* 133/750, the governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī expropriated the church of San Vicente, where he established the first cathedral mosque (*al-Djāmiʿ*) in Cordova. This governor (129-38/747-56) was overthrown by the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya al-Dākhil [*q.v.*], the only Umayyad who had escaped from the massacre of his house in Syria; the great period of prosperity of the city now began, and lasted throughout the Umayyad dynasty [*q.v.*] of Cordova, which was independent of the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād (138-403 or 422/756-1013 or 1031).

This incomparable period of splendour of the western rival of Baghdād, the city of the caliphs, is uniquely perpetuated in the great mosque lying just in front of the lofty ancient Moorish bridgehead, the Christian fortress-tower of La Calahorra (Arabicised from the Iberian Calagurris), the Kaʿba of the west; although, at the reconquest in 1236, it became a Christian cathedral and was disfigured by alterations, it has on the whole faithfully retained its Arabic character with its forest of pillars, its outer court (Patio de los Naranjos), the wall which encircles it as if it were a fortress or monastery, and the bell-tower, which is a work of the 16th century constructed from the remains of the 4th/10th century Arab minaret. Also, the name of La Mezquita or "The Mosque" has remained the popular one for this building. However, all the other splendid buildings and monuments of this world-famed period of splendour in the early middle ages have disappeared except for a few wretched fragments. When the shrewd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I had laid the foundations for the supremacy of his dynasty in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, by attaining some success in putting a stop to the rivalries and quarrels of not only the Arabs of North and South but also between them and the Berbers of North Africa, the Spanish renegades and the Mozarabs who remained a constant weakness to Arab rule in Spain and brought about its ultimate fall, he began the building of the great mosque in the last two years of his life 171-2/787-8. His son and successor Hishām I (172-80/788-96) completed it, and built the minaret (often called in Spain *ṣawmaʿa* and *manār* = *manāra*), but ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52), son and successor of the *Amīr* al-Ḥakam I (180-206/796-822), found himself forced to enlarge the building; by extending the 11 naves southwards he added 7 transepts with 10 rows of pillars and built the second *miḥrāb* into the south wall, where was later constructed the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Villaviciosa (833-48), while his son and successor Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86) had in 852-6 thoroughly to overhaul the older building, which had been too hurriedly put up; he devoted particular attention to the decoration of the doors and walls, railed off the *maḳṣūra* reserved for the *Amīr* and the court in front of the *miḥrāb* by a wooden screen and built a covered passage (*sābāṭ*) from Alcázar, the palace to the west of the mosque, to provide a direct and private entrance to the *maḳṣūra* at the daily prayers. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, al-Nāṣir (300-50/912-61) [*q.v.*] who marks the zenith of the Arab epoch in Spain, rebuilt the minaret, which had been severely damaged by the earthquake of 880, in splendid fashion. He enlarged the *ṣaḥn* or courtyard in a northerly direction, demolished the ancient *ṣawmaʿa* and built another one, the forerunner of the great Hispano-Moorish minarets of the 6th/12th century, which support an actual bell hidden behind a stone revetment. It was this same prince who was the builder of the celebrated country estate Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ (now called Cordoba la Vieja) for his beloved al-Zahrāʾ, one-and-a-half

hours' journey north-west of Cordova at the foot of the Sierra (cf. al-Maḳḳarī, i, 344 ff.). In 1853, Pedro de Madrazo identified the remains of this town, and in 1923 the whole of its enceinte was declared a national monument; since then, excavations have restored some of the splendours of the great caliph al-Nāṣir's creation, and especially, the great hall called the "Salon Rico", which is at present to a considerable extent restored. The most beautiful extension of the mosque proper (almost doubling it) was carried out by the learned and scholarly caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir billāh (350-66/961-76), son and successor of the great ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who ordered his Prime Minister or Grand Vizier (called *ḥādjib* in Spain) Djaʿfar al-Ṣaḳlabi to extend the colonnades in the mosque to the south by the addition of 14 transepts, and built a splendid new *maḳṣūra*, a new *sābāṭ* and the third noble *miḥrāb*, which alone has survived in its entirety. The last great extension was made by Hishām II al-Muʾayyad's (366-99/976-1009) powerful vizier, the regent al-Manṣūr (Almanzor, d. 392/1002), who added seven colonnades to the whole length of the building in the east and thereby raised the total number of naves (previously 11) to 19, but threw the *miḥrāb* out of its proper place at the end of the central axis of the sanctuary (on account of the precipitious slope down to the Guadalquivir it was found impossible to extend the building further to the south). Like al-Zahrāʾ in the north-west, al-Madīna al-Zāhira ("the flourishing city"), founded to the east of Cordova by al-Manṣūr to be the seat of the government and its offices, was destroyed in the period of revolution in the beginning of the 5th/11th century and has now quite disappeared.

After the complete extinction of the Umayyads with Hishām III al-Muʿtadd (418-22/1027-31), Cordova became a republic under the presidency of three Djahwarids: Abu 'l-Ḥazm Djahwar b. Muḥammad b. Djahwar (1031-43), Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad (1043-64) and ʿAbd al-Malik (1064-70). In the latter year it passed to the ʿAbbādids of Seville; in 1091 to the Almoravids, who in 517/1123 built the protective enceinte of the eastern part of the town; and in 1148 to the Almohads. With its conquest by Ferdinand III of Castile in 1236, it was doomed to inevitable decline.

Of the countless Arab scholars who belonged to Cordova, we will only mention here Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]), Averroës (Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*]) (d. 595/1198) and Maimonides (d. 601/1204 [see IBN MAYMŪN]).

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AL-**ḲURṬUBĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ABĪ BAKR B. FARADJ AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-KHAZRADJĪ AL-ANDALUSĪ, Muslim scholar of the Mālik, law school, an expert on *ḥadīth* and well-known for his commentary on the Ḳurʾān. He is the subject of an article in the *Dībādj* of Ibn Farḥūn, which is devoted to biography of the Mālikī *fuḳahāʾ* of Spain and the Maghrib up till the 8th/14th century. He also features in an article in *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of al-Maḳḳarī. Very little information is known concerning his life. Born in Spain, he was one of those who travelled outside this country (al-Maḳḳarī). Al-Dhahabī is said to have written of him: "He travelled, he wrote and he took lessons from the masters." In fact, he made his way to the Orient and settled at Munyat Abi 'l-Khuṣayb in Upper Egypt (Mīnat Banī Khaṣīb in the version of Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt*, v, 335); he died and was buried there in 671/1272.

Al-Dhahabī says of him, in his *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, that he was an *imām* versed in numerous branches of scholarship, an ocean of learning whose works testify to the wealth of his knowledge, the width of his intelligence and his superior worth. Al-Kutubī, in his *ʿUyun al-tawārīkh*, refers to him in approximately the same terms. But in addition to being a conscientious scholar, he was remembered as a pious man, inclined towards asceticism and towards meditation on the life after death. He appeared in public attired in a single garment and wore a small cap (*ṭaḳiyya*) on his head.

Among his masters, the best known is Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Ḳurṭubī whose commentary on Muslim, *al-Mufhim fī sharḥ Muslim*, he studied. This man was an eminent Mālikī *faḳīh*, born in Cordova in 578/1173, and died in Alexandria in 656/1259. (He was a teacher of traditions and a foremost expert on the Arabic language. He travelled in the Orient where his reputation became widespread. Al-Nawawī quotes his *Mufhim* in a number of places in his own work.) There is mention of two other masters from whom he learned *ḥadīth*: the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī, and the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥafṣ al-Yaḥṣubī.

Among his works, his biographers first mention his commentary on the Ḳurʾān intitled *al-Djāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān wa 'l-mubayyin li-mā taḍammana min al-sunna wa-āyāt al-furḳān*. Then they refer to the following titles: *al-Asnā*, on the interpretation of the most beautiful names of God; *al-Tadhkār fī afḍal al-adhkār*, where "he followed the pattern of the *Tibyān* of al-Nawawī, while producing a more complete work and making use of greater learning"; *Kitāb al-Tadhkira bi-umūr al-ākhira* [see AL-MAHDĪ]; *Sharḥ al-Taḳaṣṣī*; *Kitāb Ḳamʿ al-ḥirṣ bi 'l-zuhd wa 'l-ḳanāʿa wa-radd dhill al-suʾāl bi 'l-kutūb wa 'l-shafāʿa*, which Ibn Farḥūn considers the best example of writing in this genre; and an *Urdjūza*, where the names of the Prophet were brought together. All these titles testify eloquently to the religious preoccupations of al-Ḳurṭubī.

His commentary is of great richness and of great utility. All the authors who have spoken of al-Ḳurṭubī acknowledge it and insist on the benefit which may be derived from it. From the introduction onwards, he puts emphasis on the worth of the Ḳurʾān, on the elevated rank of those who are its "bearers", on the eminence in the eyes of God of those who make an effort (*idjtihād*) to derive from it by *istinbāṭ* teaching which conforms to the *maʿānī*, that is to say, to that which God wishes to signify: "what is known with certainty by the man who

knows the Book of God, is that he is to reject that which He forbids and to remember that which has been explained to him in this Book, to fear God and stand in awe of Him, to hold himself under His protection, and to abstain from disobeying Him through shame in respect to Him; then he is charged with the burdens of the prophets (*fa-innahu ḥummila aʿbāʾa 'l-rusul*) and he must become a witness to the Resurrection before adepts of religions of a different persuasion (*milal*)." Such is the high estimation placed by al-Ķurṭubī on the role of the commentator.

The entire Introduction is divided into chapters which constitute a sort of ethic, methodology and theology of the commentary. Attention is drawn to the superior qualities of the Ķurʾān (*faḍāʾil al-Ķurʾān*) which comes from the light of the essence of God (*fa-huwa min nūr dhātihi*); God gives his servants the strength to bear it (4 ff.). Then (10), al-Ķurṭubī turns to the manner of reading the Book of God (*kayfiyyat al-tilāwa li-Kitāb Allāh*) in a chapter which may be compared with that of al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyāʾ*, intitled *Ādāb ķirāʾat al-Ķurʾān*; he discusses at length the problem of knowing whether the Ķurʾānic text may be chanted or set to music: he maintains that it is impious to believe that the Ķurʾān requires embellishment by the human voice. An important chapter (17) concerns the inward dispositions of men who pursue knowledge of the Ķurʾān: they must rid themselves of all hypocritical consideration of the self (*taḥdhīr min al-riyāʾ*) and, turning towards God through *tawba* and *ināba*, attain with self-purification to perfect sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*). This could be interpreted, on account of the opposition of the two terms *riyāʾ* and *ikhlāṣ*, well-known in Ṣūfism, as a sign of deep mystical piety, and this is confirmed by the passage which follows (20) dealing with that which the soul must observe and not neglect. Then comes a technical chapter (23) on the *iʿrāb* of the Ķurʾān and the effort which must be made to read and recite it correctly. A few more headings may be noted: Value of commentary and commentators (26): That respect for the Book and its sacred character is an obligatory requirement of the reader and of the "bearer" of the Ķurʾān (27); Against a commentary based on personal point of view (*raʾy*) (31); On interpretation (*tabyīn*) of the Book through the *sunna* of the Prophet (37); How to study and understand the Book and the *sunna* (39); and On the meaning of the saying of the Prophet: "This Ķurʾān has been revealed according to seven letters" (or readings:) *nuzzila ʿalā sabʿat aḥruf*); "therefore read according to that which is the easiest for you" (41). Particularly interesting is the chapter (49) on the unity (*djamʿ*) of the parts of the Ķurʾān; it comprises a precise and concise history of the text, as far as the recension of ʿUthmān, with a study of the arrangement (*tartīb*) of the sūras and verses (59). After which, al-Ķurṭubī defines the meaning of the words *sūra, āya, kalima, ḥarf* (65), and he replies to the question as to whether there are in the Book words foreign to the Arabic language (68), which leads him to speak of the inimitability of the Ķurʾān (*iʿdjāz al-Ķurʾān*) (59), of which he examines ten aspects: 1. the extraordinary stylistic arrangement (*al-naẓm al-badīʿ*); 2. the method (*uslūb*), different to all those followed by the Arabs; 3. the penetrating eloquence (*djazāla*) which cannot be that of any created being; 4. the information regarding events of the past since the beginning of the world until the revelation given to Muḥammad; 5. the power to handle the Arabic language in a way that no Arab has been able to do, which has led to the unanimous consensus on the fact that God "has placed every word and every letter in its correct place"; here al-Ķurṭubī refutes the Muʿtazilī concept of *iʿdjāz*; 6. the fulfilment of promises, whether absolute, or accompanied by a condition; 7. information concerning the future; 8. the teaching of *aḥkām*, the permitted and the forbidden constituting the sustenance of all men (*ķiwām djamiʿ al-anām*); the sonorous phrases (*al-ḥikam al-bāligha*) of which the number and the nobility are beyond the abilities of a human being; and 10. the coherence (*tanāsub*) between all that is contained in the Book whether of manifest or arcane nature, without any contradiction. The introduction ends with reflections on the *istiʿādha* and the *basmala*.

The commentary of al-Ķurṭubī is principally distinguished by the recourse to a very great number of *ḥadīths*. Many are found here which are not mentioned by al-Ṭabarī and, unlike his eminent predecessor, al-Ķurṭubī is more interested in the content (*matn*) than in the process of transmission. The *ḥadīths* are therefore assembled for the purpose of the reply that they offer to the question raised by the verse under discussion. Above all, the work consists of exegeses designed to clarify the meaning and implication of the Law. On this point, his work approximates to the composition of a treatise of *uṣūl* and of *furūʿ*, and it can be understood how Aḥmad ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm al-Bardūnī, in the preface to the second edition of the *Tafsīr*, should write: "This work is such that the reader can almost dispense with the study of works of *fiķh*."

Al-Ķurṭubī also devotes considerable space to philological and stylistic commentary, founded on the vast knowledge that he had of the work of grammarians, of works of rhetoric, as well as of books of *adab*. In addition, there are brief references to the theological ideas of *kalām*, accompanied by discussion of doctrines. For example, with regard to the verse (II, 7) "God has set a seal on their heart", he gives the Sunnī interpretation and rejects that of the Ķadariyya. But, unlike Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Ķurṭubī does not attempt to derive philosophical notions and conceptions from Ķurʾānic verses. Thus, when explaining the word *ķayyūm* (II, 255) in the verse of the Throne, al-Rāzī interprets it at once as denoting *ķāʾim li-dhātihi* (existing through Himself) as Ibn Sīnā defined it in the *Ishārāt*, and he draws from this all the metaphysical consequences: al-Ķurṭubī simply gives it the sense, according to Ķatāda, of *al-ķāʾim bi-tadbīr mā khalaķa* (He who concerns Himself with the government of His creation), or, according to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the sense of *al-ķāʾim ʿalā kulli nafs bi-mā kasabat*, He who exercises His surveillance over every soul and that which it acquires, with a view to recompensing it according to its actions.

Finally, al-Ķurṭubī reduces considerably, but not entirely, the dependence on interpretations and especially elucidations based on accounts furnished by rabbinical legends, apocryphal gospels and other equally unreliable sources. Thus he makes very little use of the *isrāʾīliyyāt* [*q.v.*], unlike al-Ṭabarī and even al-Rāzī.

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AL-ĶURṬUBĪ, YAḤYĀ B. ʿUMAR B. SAʿDŪN AL-AZDĪ, poet and Mālikī jurist, born in Cordova in 486/1093. He travelled extensively in the east, visiting Cairo, Baghdād and Damascus for the purpose of study. He died in Mawṣil on the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr in 567/1172. His chief surviving literary works are

Dalā'il al-aḥkām, *ʿAḳīdat al-Imām ʿAlī*, and the poem on Muslim religious observances, the *Urdjūzat al-wildān*, also known as *al-Muḳaddima al-Ḳurṭubiyya*, for which he is best known. The *Urdjūza* sets out in summary form the basic observances of the five "Pillars of Islam" in rhyming couplets designed to be easy for children to memorise, but the contents of the poem are in no way simplified for the juvenile reader. The eighteen *abwāb* into which the *Urdjūza* is divided deal both with the obligatory rul (*farā'iḍ*) connected with each observance, and with rules which are recommended but not obligatory (*sunan*).

The *Urdjūza* has been the subject of two commentaries, those of Aḥmad b. Zarrūḳ al-Fāsī (died 898/1493) and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khālid al-Tatā'ī (died 941/1535).

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(R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young)

ḲŪṢ, a town of Upper Egypt situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, some 30 km. to the north of the ruins of Thebes (al-Aḳsur/Luxor) where the course of the river is at its closest point to the Red Sea, or about 200 km. from Ḳusayr [*q.v.*].

This large village with a Coptic name, first called Ksa or Ksi (H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, v, Cairo 1928, 178) seems to have become a more important place with the name Apollinopolis Parva in the Ptolemaic age, when the Greek sovereigns of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. undertook to develop commercial contacts between Egypt and Arabia Felix and the Indian Ocean through the ports of the Red Sea, and favoured the building-up in this region of various centres to the detriment of what was left of Thebes. The remains of the small Ptolemaic temple are still visible in the town. Under the Roman domination, Apollinopolis Parva was, like Coptos/Ḳifṭ [*q.v.*], although to a lesser degree, the terminus of the caravan route from Berenice; it took the name Diocletianopolis towards the end of the 3rd century A.D. A bishop of the town is mentioned among those present at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The Greek residents would appear to have been in a minority, and when the pressure exerted by nomadic peoples between the Nile and the Red Sea brought to an end contacts with the east and caused a decline of urban life, the town reverted to its Egyptian name (in Coptic form, Kôs) more than a century before the Arab conquest; this name was retained, transcribed into Arabic as Ḳūṣ. In the organisation of Arab Egypt, it belonged first to the *kūra* of Ḳifṭ and al-Aḳsur. A rampart was constructed in about 212/827 to protect the urban area against the attacks of the Bedja [*q.v.*].

Subsequently the town developed: al-Yaʿḳūbī noted towards the end of this century that it had taken the place of al-Aḳsur (*Buldān*, BGA, vii, 334, tr. Wiet, 188) and according to al-Masʿūdī, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, it had taken the place of Ḳifṭ (*Murūdj*, iii, 50 = § 893). The reason for this prosperity must doubtless be attributed to the trading of its merchants with Nubia; its administrative status, however, did not change, because the population of the town was basically Christian, and the Muslim community was comparatively small. Under the Fāṭimids, the restoration of contacts with the Indian Ocean through the ports of the Red Sea, especially ʿAydhab [*q.v.*] brought advantages, at first most notably to Uswān [*q.v.*], where goods unloaded at ʿAydhab joined the Nile. But at the time of the serious crisis experienced by the Fāṭimid caliphate in the mid-5th/11th century, the occupation of the region of Uswān by the negro troops who took refuge there after being expelled from the capital, after 459/1067, and the revolt of the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt, disrupted commercial traffic until the restoration of order by the vizier Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] in 469/1077; the traders then adopted the practice of joining the Nile at Ḳūṣ, thus avoiding the extreme south of Upper Egypt, where Uswān began to decline. The governor of the Upper Ṣaʿīd, given the task of maintaining order in the region, installed himself in the town which became the new capital of the south and a point of surveillance on the situation in the Red Sea. Ḳūṣ was henceforward an important market on the major trade-route with the Far East, frequently mentioned in the documents of the Geniza of Cairo on account of the presence of a Jewish community providing a staging-post for these exchanges.

The establishment in Palestine of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which cut the normal route of the Pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz, deflected towards Ḳūṣ a large proportion of the pilgrims (who used to embark at ʿAydhāb, which lies opposite Mecca) and added still further to the increase of traffic. A mint was established there in 516/1122 (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, iii, 93) and no doubt continued to function there until the arrival of the Ayyūbids. In the troubled times that marked the decline of the Fāṭimid caliphate, the role of the governor of the Upper Ṣaʿīd was seen as "the most important post after the vizierate" (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 191) and an ante-room of power, to which the careers of the viziers Riḍwān and Shāwar also bear witness.

In 550/1155, Ṭalā'iʿ b. Ruzzayḳ ordered the construction of the mosque and gave to the town one of the finest *minbars* of the Fāṭimid epoch; the Muslim community grew, apparently through the installation of families from Uswān and Isnā; but the town continued to have a Christian majority.

The abolition of the Shīʿī Fāṭimid caliphate seems to have been strongly felt; from 562/1167, Ḳūṣ was besieged by the Sunnī troops of Shīrkūh, who did not succeed in capturing the town, and it seems to have been affected by the revolts in Upper Egypt that followed Saladin's accession to power in Cairo. However, when the Ayyūbids reverted to the policies of the Fāṭimids in the area of the Red Sea, the growth of Ḳūṣ continued. It served as a point of arrival for Yemenī traders in Egypt and it was a staging-post for the merchants of the "Alexandrian Kārim" (al-Nuwayrī [see KĀRIMĪ]). This flow of wealth into the town was reflected in the agricultural prosperity of the surrounding countryside, where the growing of sugar-cane was developed, and Ḳūṣ became a centre for sugar production. The urban area outgrew its fortifications, and in the 7th/13th century Yāḳūt considered it the third city of Egypt, after Cairo and Alexandria (*Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 362). Cultural life developed; the poets Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr spent part of their lives in Ḳūṣ. The town was nevertheless unable to play the part of a regional capital because the minds of the growing Muslim community of Ḳūṣ were not reconciled to Sunnī

Islam: the influence of the Sunnī counter-reformation promoted by the pietist school in the neighbouring town of Ḳinā [*q.v.*] led to the founding of the first *madrasa* of Ḳūṣ in 607/1210. Henceforward Ḳūṣ became in its turn a centre for the propagation of Sunnī Islam in Upper Egypt.

It is under the Baḥrī Mamlūks that the town seems to have reached its zenith, even though the inclusion of Egypt in a political unity embracing the Syrian states had long ago deprived the governors of Ḳūṣ of the power that they had enjoyed in the last days of the Fāṭimid caliphate. The expeditions mounted against the Christian kingdom of Nubia in the last quarter of the 7th/13th century and at the beginning of the 8th/14th one contributed to the maintenance of a strategic role for the town, its main function being to control the highways of the South.

Doubtless following the collapse of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and especially since the start of the Mamlūk period, the pilgrims to the Ḥidjāz for the most part reverted to the route via the Gulf of Suez, but a certain number continued to use the ʿAydhāb route, and traders still frequented it. Ḳūṣ was then known to Europeans as a staging-post in the transporting of spices. The profits from large-scale commerce, but also from urban craftsmanship (textiles in particular), created the wealth of its markets. The Christian community continued to be important and perfectly integrated into the Mamlūk state (they were employed in the administration of the funds of the sultans and *amīrs*); it was during this period that Athanasius of Ḳūṣ drafted in Arabic his grammar of the Coptic language. But the Muslim community now played a dominant role. Nothing, however, of an architectural nature remains of the Muslim city which seems to have developed around the ancient town, never penetrating the Christian enclave with its churches, grouped round the Pharaonic temple; this is because the severe post-mediaeval decline affected this peripheral zone first. The names are known, however, of some fifteen places of education, *madrasas* or mosques, including a *dār al-ḥadīth*, whose Sunnī Muslim teaching was felt throughout Upper Egypt, eliminating the last traces of Shīʿism which in the Mamlūk period continued to hold out only in Udfū, creating a movement of people from the minor centres of the province to Ḳūṣ, and from Ḳūṣ to Cairo, and ultimately spreading Islamic culture in Upper Egypt to an unprecedented extent. The Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd al-Ḳushayrī, al-Nuwayrī and al-Udfuwī were the products of this social and cultural phenomenon.

The factors which had assisted the expansion of the town disappeared altogether towards the end of the Baḥrī period and at the beginning of the Circassian era. The fight against the Arab tribes, constantly growing in strength since the disappearance of Christian Nubia permitted them useful access towards the upper Nile valley and Sudanese Africa, necessitated the dispatching and then the maintenance of military units at other points of the valley, especially at Asyūṭ [*q.v.*], from the middle of the 8th/14th century. On account of changes affecting the equilibrum between the Arab tribes controlling the highways, the use of the route from ʿAydhāb to Ḳūṣ came to be endangered following the disorders of 767/1365-6; goods still had to be transported to Ḳūṣ via Ḳuṣayr until, faced with the instability prevailing over Mamlūk territory as a result of the decline of the administration of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, the traders decided to avoid Upper Egypt, unloading their wares at Ṭūr in the Sinai peninsula, closer to the Mediterranean. This occurred perhaps from 776/1374-5 onwards, the date at which a serious drought affected Ḳūṣ and the surrounding region. (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iii, 300).

Henceforward, the major commerce of the spice trade only occasionally passed through Ḳūṣ. The town, living on its assets, nevertheless remained probably the most important urban centre of Upper Egypt until the catastrophic crisis at the start of the 9th/15th century: famine, epidemic and political upheaval. According to al-Maḳrīzī, the plague of 808/1405-6 killed 17,000 people at Ḳūṣ (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv, 124), or a large section of the population. In the unfavourable demographic context of the 9th/15th century, and in view of the total transformation of the regional framework which had formerly promoted the prosperity of the town, this destruction of the fabric of the town proved irreparable. When the Mamlūk state had succeeded in surmounting the problems of the early decades of the century, at least from the time of the sultanate of Barsbāy [*q.v.*] onwards, the governor of Ḳūṣ was nothing more than a secondary figure under the authority of the *kāshif* of Asyūṭ. A section of the Muslim élite apparently left this declining city, and the proportion of the population formed by Christians began to rise once more, in an Upper Egypt no longer invigorated by commerce of any kind and henceforward less Islamised then the rest of the country. Commercial relations, on a reduced scale, with the Red Sea through the Ḳuṣayr highway, now tended to be directed from Ḳinā, and not from Ḳūṣ; it was to Ḳinā that the *ḳāḍī* was transferred after the Ottoman conquest. The major regional centre was henceforward Girga [*q.v.*], where the Hawwārī Bedouins [*q.v.*] settled; their hegemony was gradually established over the region in the course of the 9th/15th century and was to be maintained until the end of the 18th century. The material ruin of the mediaeval Muslim urban cadre seems to have been essentially brought about during the 17th century, a period when the city, although the seat of a *kāshif*, appears to have sunk to its lowest depths of degradation and dilapidation. It only recovered a certain degree of vitality in the second half of the 18th century, although the population numbered only 5,000 at the time of the French expedition.

The renewal of the town dates from the end of the 19th century. The swelling of the population following the rural exodus to towns, the opening-up of the town towards the outside world by means of education dispensed by foreign missions and the Egyptian state, and the installation of a modern sugar-producing industry, have brought about the rebirth of a expansive urban area, where, apart from a few isolated remains, nothing bears witness to the ancient mediaeval centre.

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(J.-Cl. Garcin)

KŪS OWASÎ [see ḳoṣowa].

ḲUSANṬĪNA [see ḳusṭanṭīna].

al-ḲUSANṬĪNĪ (in dialect Ḳsentīnī, in French Ksentini) Rashīd, Algerian dramatist, comic actor and song-writer. Under his real name Ibn al-Akhḍar (pronounced Bel-Lakhḍar) he was born on 11 November 1887 at Bouzarea (a surburb of Algiers). His father, a shoemaker, was a native of Constantine. As a child he attended a Ḳurʾānic school, where his

progress was mediocre, and he learned French in the street. Some years later he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker. In 1909 he married one of his cousins by whom he had two daughters, both dying in infancy. Having grown up in a class of petty Algerian artisans, nostalgic for the past and constantly on the verge of poverty, al-Ḳusanṭīnī inherited a dual legacy of bitterness and failure. He felt ill at ease in his milieu, from which he brusquely broke away in 1914, abandoning his wife and setting out to travel the world. During the first months of the war he worked as a merchant seaman; Marseilles, Malta, Salonica, India, China and America were all to be visited in turn by this son of the Mediterranean, this bit of a "card", insatiably curious, interested in everything but attached to nothing.

Four years later he returned to France, where he worked for a while in a factory in Normandy and married a Frenchwoman. In 1920 he moved to Paris and obtained employment as a cabinetmaker in the workshop of a large store. It was at this time that he began attending theatres and he even played a number of walk-on parts, in particular at the Alhambra, the Châtelet and the Odéon.

Returning to Algiers in 1926, he rapidly became friendly with some amateur comic actors (ʿAllalū, Daḥmūn, Bash Djarrāḥ), and, a few months later, he appeared in public for the first time in a play by ʿAllalū, *Bou Akline* (*Bū ʿAklīn*), a play which owed its success to his flair for energetic bufoonery. From the very start he made a powerful impression, with his innate acting talent and his unusual gift for improvisation, expressing himself not only with his face but with his whole body, from head to foot; he was all movement. His silhouette, his mime, the twinkle of his eye, the unexpected laugh gave a sharp edge to each response emphasising the word, with an incomparable shaft of humour. To call him a comedian would be an understatement; he was a spectacle.

In fact, he was still not sure at this time how to make his own entry into the threatre, and his first attempt—*al-ʿAhd al-wāfī*, "The promise kept", a drama in three acts performed in Algiers in March 1927, was far from being a masterpiece. After this failure, he was luckier the following year with a comedy (*Bū Bǒṛma*), which was warmly received by the Algerian public.

Over the next ten years, al-Ḳusanṭīnī was to compose, stage and act in twenty-five plays, as well as a number of farces, most of which have been lost. In this brief space of time he chalked up a number of important dates in the history of the young Algerian theatre. In fact, his successes were as varied as were the responses of the public and the critics, and the conditions under which the plays were staged. Even the settings varied: sometimes the municipal theatre of Algiers, Constantine or Oran, sometimes a cinema auditorium, sometimes, in a rural district, a hastily-adapted barn. Furthermore, these performances generally gave only a meagre profit to the author and his colleagues, actors, singers, dancers and musicians.

During this same period, al-Ḳusanṭīnī played minor roles in French films like *Sarati le Terrible* and *Pépé le Moko*, alongside Harry Baur and Jean Gabin.

After 1938 he practically stopped writing for the stage, but, deeply attached to his profession, he was acting in the plays of his successor, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Bāsh Ṭarzī, almost to his last day. He died in Algiers on 2 July 1944, having lived for close on twenty years the somewhat austere existence of the milieu to which he belonged; he was however, a straight-forward man, generous and sincere, an enemy of all forced pretence and all hypocrisy.

Written in Algerian dialect and almost entirely unpublished, al-Ḳusanṭīnī's work covers a wide variety of genres. But in spite of the diversity of form, the central core is one of powerful originality. His work comprises:

(a) Approximately two hundred satirical songs, for the most part on moral and social themes, often written as parodies of well-known Arabic and French songs. About a hundred have been recorded on disc. The most successful of these are: *Mən taḥt l-oʿdjār*, "Under the veil"; *Wlīd l-blād*, "The father's son"; *Ḳālā ḳulnā* "The gossips"; *Bīh grello* "That gives him the itch"; *Djārī Sīd-Aḥməd* "My cousin Sid Ahmad"; *Z-zmān tbəddəl* "Times have changed";

(b) About thirty sketches, composed of series of humorous and entertaining scenes with two or three characters, accompanied by songs, in a realistic setting, that of the Algerian petit-bourgeoisie, whose foibles and vices are energetically satirised. Half of these have been recorded on disc: the peasant before the judge, the rustic and the man-about-town, the drunkard, the old man and the old woman, the old woman and the ghost, the mysterious table, the unwilling sportsman Bachir, etc.

(c) Twenty-five stage-plays, listed below in chronological order: 1. *al-ʿAhd al-wāfī* (see above); 2. *Bū Bǒṛma*, comedy in three acts, Algiers, 22 March 1928; 3. *Zeghirebbane ou les deux mangeurs de haschisch et le fils du roi* (*Zrirabbān*), comedy in three acts, Algiers, 15 February 1929; 4. *Tūnəs w-əl-Djazāʾir*, "Tunis-Algiers", revue in two acts, Algiers, 11 March 1929; 5. *Khūdh ktābī* "Take my book", comedy in three acts, Blida, 13 November 1929; 6. *Bābā Ḳaddūr əṭ-ṭəmmāʿ* "Bābā Kaddour the Envious", or "My cousin from Istanbul", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 20 December 1929; 7. *Lundja 'l-Andalusiyya*, comedy in five acts, Algiers, 28 February 1930; 8. *Shədd rūḥək* "Take care!", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 25 January 1931; 9. *Thukba f-əl-arḍ* "A hole in the ground", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 18 February 1931; 10. *Čənəč* "Carry on talking!", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 11 January 1932; 11. *Bū Səbsī* "The man with the pipe", comedy in three acts. Algiers, 18 January 1932; 12. *ʿAysha w-Bēndū*, comedy in four acts, Algiers, 22 January 1932; 13. *al-Muṛsṭān*, "The lunatic asylum", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 25 January 1932; 14. *Fāḳū* "They woke up!", revue in two acts and twelve tableaux, Algiers, 5 February 1932; 15. *Yā rāsi yā rāshā* "It's her or it's me!", comedy in two acts, Algiers, 7 February 1932; 16. *Zīd aʿlīh* "Outdo him!", melodrama in three acts, Algiers, 2 January 1933; 17. *Aḷḷāh yəstərnā*, "Allah protect us!", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 23 January 1933; 18. *Bābā Shikh*, comedy in three acts, April 1933; 19. *Təkhīr əz-zmān*, "The time is ripe", comedy in three acts, Mascara, 1933; 20. *Khūdnī b-əs-sīf*, "Take me by force!" comedy in one act, Djidjelli, 20 November 1934; 21. *Sbābī djārī* "It's my neighbour's fault!", comedy in one act, Djidjelli, 20 November 1934; 22. *Shədd mlīḥ* "Hold tight!", comedy in two acts, Orléansville, May 1935; 23. *Ḳaṣba Ūtīl*, comedy in two acts, Fez, 1936; 24. *Yā ḥasra ʿlīk*, "All this trouble you're causing me!", melodrama in three acts, Bougie, 3 July 1936 (inspired by Marcel Pagnol's film *Angèle*); 25. *Ash ḳālū* "What are they saying?", comedy in three acts, Blida, 19 February 1938.

The theatrical work of al-Ḳusanṭīnī thus presents a rich variety. It is in fact possible to classify his plays as: drama (1); melodramas (2); revues (2);

farces (8), which were performed at public festivals and whose essential object was to entertain the spectators; moral comedies (7), where the author satirises Algerian society; and finally, comedies of character (5), which describe the failings and vices of humanity. But it is clear that such a classification cannot be absolute, since all these elements, or at least the majority of them, combine, to varying degrees, in each play: there is a plot, simple to the point of being negligible, a depicting of morals and a description of human nature in general, set in motion with the full panoply of sarcasm, with man as a prey to a quasi-tragic contradiction, represented by the blunt and malicious rustic, or one of his rivals, the vagabond, the insecure, the unfortunate, condemned to do battle in the jungle of society and struggling there in his own way, clumsily, nervously, sometimes craftily, his conscience never easy, but at the same time anxious for respectability, secretly longing to integrate himself in the world which rejects him, always ready to accept the situation that presents itself, and even more than this, to be excited by outward appearances, as a means of approaching reality; in short, a Charlie Chaplin figure, drinking anisette and munching Barbary figs.

The comedy of al-Ḳusanṭīnī depends to some extent on the characters, but more frequently on the situations, and also on the wit of the dialogue, which in most cases is not included simply for its own sake, but with the object of throwing light on a character.

However, without being totally pessimistic, the themes tackled by al-Ḳusanṭīnī are not primarily light-hearted—a fact not uncharacteristic of a humorist. We find here the naïve provincial cheated by flatterers and mischievous servants, vain bourgeois merchants exploited by swindlers, egotistical parents sacrificing the well-being of their children for their own interests or for social traditions, etc. But this gloom, which should not be exaggerated and which al-Ḳusanṭīnī, a keen observer, has drawn from his own experience of life, is always concealed beneath his comic sense. At the moment where comedy is in danger of turning into tragedy, farce intervenes, with its sometimes rather crude elements, and brings back the laughter. Predictably, under these circumstances, the dénouements tend to be happy. Al-Ḳusanṭīnī is no more concerned than was Molière in making his endings plausible. Often, in fact, the dénouement should logically be an unhappy one; but then it would no longer be a comedy.

Al-Ḳusanṭīnī is a comic author and not a philosopher. It is vain to attempt the discovery of a coordinated doctrine in his works. However, it is not impossible to draw from his plays a group of ideas which make up what might be called a system of morality.

Everything which is contrary to nature and hostile to reason is anathema to al-Ḳusanṭīnī: the prejudices which trap Algerian society in a stifling traditionalism, the superstitions which divert the faithful from true piety, the hypocritical distortion of religion to favour the machinations of corrupt individuals and profiteers, and the greed which transforms man into a kind of moral monster. Conversely, he is eager to spring to the defence of the young, even when they are not totally irreproachable.

It is clear that such a philosophy might appear to be a somewhat superficial approach to the problems; nevertheless, the fact remains that it is a philosophy closely linked to the life experienced by the mass of Algerians between the First and Second World Wars, concerned with the images that people saw around them every day, in the street as well as within their families, and this is fairly remarkable.

Al-Ḳusanṭīnī confined himself in general to making rough drafts, sketching out his ideas, laying down the simple foundations of what was to become a play on the stage. His style also reflects this improvisation: it is a comedy style, meaning that it commends itself better to performance than to reading. It is admirably suited to its purpose, natural, alive, full of ingenious features and significant images, always pleasing and witty, often provocative.

In his satirical verses, which by contrast were written before being sung, the phrases are short and staccato, punctuated by exclamations and rhetorical appeals; it could be said that they represent an almost breathless approach to the pursuit of emotion.

In conclusion, it is thanks to al-Ḳusanṭīnī that Arabic comedy rose for the first time in Algeria to heights similar to those attained, for example, in Athens with Aristophanes, in Rome with Plautus and Terence, and in France with Georges Courteline.

For his high qualities of theme and of form, in drama as well as in his satirical songs, al-Ḳusanṭīnī deserves to be long remembered.

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KUSAYLA B. LAMZAM, or KASĪLA was, in the tradition of the Massinissa and of Jugurtha, one of the most eminent figures in the struggle of the Berbers to preserve their independence. In 55/674, at the time when the *mawlā* Abu 'l-Muhādjir Dīnār came from Egypt to replace ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ as governor of the recently-conquered province of the Maghrib, Kusayla was certainly "king" of the Awraba, a broad alliance of tribes of the Barānis group, for the most part sedentary. The territory of the Awraba was centred at that time on the region of Tlemcen, called Pomaria in antiquity, and it probably stretched from west of the Aurès range to Walīla (= Volubilis) to the north of Fez. It may be recalled that Idrīs [*q.v.*] was brought to power by the Awraba of Walīla. At the time of the conquest, the majority of the latter were no doubt Christianised. In fact, according to al-Bakrī their

capital Tlemcen maintained, along with the features of its ancient civilisation, a large Christian population until the 5th/11th century. It was at Tlemcen that Abu 'l-Muhādjir was confronted by Kusayla. The new governor, preferring a policy of conciliation to one of force, took the opportunity of making an ally of the "king" of the Awraba. Kusayla became converted to Islam and henceforward lived with Abu 'l-Muhādjir at Takerwān which had replaced the capital founded by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, and the name of which, by its prefix, symbolised a full scheme of Arab-Berber agreement.

The death of the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Muʿāwiya, led to a change of policy. In 62/681 ʿUḳba set out once again for Ifrīḳiya, dreaming only of vengeance and a great *djihād*. With him, the policy of subjugating the Berbers by force took on a new lease of life. His first act was to put Abu 'l-Muhādjir in irons, to take Kusayla prisoner, and to re-instate as the capital, with its former name, the place which he had initially selected for the purpose during his first term of authority. Subsequently, forcing Abu 'l-Muhādjir and Kusayla to accompany him, he embarked on the major expedition which was supposed to take him—there is no serious reason to doubt it—as far as the Atlantic. On the way, in spite of the warning of Abu 'l-Muhādjir, he went out of his way to humiliate the Berber "king". We are familiar with the typical scene, described in all the sources, where ʿUḳba, as a means of humiliating Kusayla, forces him to skin a sheep in his presence.

In the early stages, the lightning campaign that he initiated, the more unexpected in that it followed the policy of peace and conciliation of his predecessor, seems to have had the advantage of surprise, which explains, in part at least, his initial decisive success. But resistance soon became organised. In fact, ʿUḳba made no major conquest. The Barānis, the most romanised of the Berbers, allied themselves with the Byzantines. The Awraba secretly made contact with Kusayla, their chief. He—it is not known from where—escaped from detention under ʿUḳba, and assumed leadership of the resistance. Over-confident in his successes, did ʿUḳba for his part, as all the sources assert, commit the foolish error of sending the bulk of his troops towards al-Ḳayrawān, keeping with him only a handful of men, some of three hundred horsemen? Was there an over-riding need to relieve the capital threatened by the Byzantines? Or was this more simply a question of an act of indiscipline on the part of soldiers exhausted by a long and tedious campaign? Whatever the case may have been, to the south of Biskra, at Tahūda (= Thabudeos), ʿUḳba found himself confronted by Kusayla at the head of powerful Barānis and Byzantine contingents. Here he found, along with all his men, including Abu 'l-Muhādjir, the epic and spectacular death of which he dreamed and which perpetuated his legend. A mausoleum, that of Sīdī ʿUḳba, was erected on the site of the battlefield and became a centre for pilgrimage which is still revered today.

At al-Ḳayrawān, there was panic, which illustrates the importance of Kusayla's victory and especially the strength of his forces. The idea of evacuating the country, proposed by Ḥanash al-Ṣanʿānī, finally prevailed over that of resistance, supported by Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī. So the army withdrew. But al-Ḳayrawān did not lose the whole of its Arab and Muslim population. It had already advanced beyond the status of a simple military camp, a fact which deserves underlining. Between the years 64-9/683-8, it became the capital of a huge Berber kingdom ruled by Kusayla. Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, i, 31) notes that: "Kusayla granted *amān* to the Muslims who had stayed in al-Ḳayrawān. He established himself there as sovereign (*amīr*) of all the inhabitants of Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib, including the Muslims present in that area." Hence no xenophobia, no persecution, no religious fanaticism. We may underline this fact, reported by witnesses who had no cause to flatter their adversaries. Kusayla himself, we are assured, took care not to renounce Islam after his victory. These measures are sure evidence of a political programme designed to deprive the Arabs of any religious pretext for invading the Maghrib once again.

But the wave of conquest was not yet exhausted. When the crisis which arose in the East with the revolt of Ibn al-Zubayr had abated, Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī set out for Ifrīḳiya with a strong army. Kusayla, who was not sure of the conditions prevailing at his rear in al-Ḳayrawān, chose to go and wait for his enemy at Mams, 50 km. to the west of the capital, thus in a region where mountains could offer refuge in the event of defeat. The battle, in which he lost his life, went against him. But it should not be believed that it was as decisive as our sources claim. In fact, although victorious, Zuhayr preferred to evacuate the region again, so as not to succumb to the good things of this world, so we are told. In turn, he met his death on the return journey, at Barḳa where the Byzantines had effected a landing. Was this supposed to be a combined operation, designed to catch the Arabs in the Ifrīḳiyan trap, a plan which failed because of poor co-ordination? If Kusayla's attempt to found a great empire governed from the city founded by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ had succeeded, the history of the Maghrib would certainly have taken a different turn. But were the Berbers ripe then for such a scheme? With al-Kāhina [*q.v.*], the torch of resistance passed subsequently to the Buṭr, but with no more lasting success.

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(M. Talbi)

ḲUṢAYR, a port situated on the African

shore of the Red Sea, a little to the north of lat. 26°. A gap in the madreporic barrier which runs along the coast (A. Prompt, *La vallée du Nil*, in *Bull. de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3rd ser., 1891) has allowed at various periods of history the utilisation of this anchorage which, by virtue of the sweep described by the Nile towards the east at the level of Ḳifṭ, Ḳūṣ and Ḳinā [*q.vv.*], is in fact the nearest access from the sea to the Nile (about 200 km.).

Remains of works from the period of the Middle Kingdom and from Ptolemaic times (P. Jouguet, in *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iii, 94-5) show that the site was used from ancient times onwards, although it lost its importance in the Roman period when, because of difficulties in navigation through the Red Sea to Suez, landing was preferred on the coast further to the south, at the port of Berenice, in the neighbourhood of the future ʿAydhāb, despite the increased distance along the track between the sea and the Nile thereby required (G. W. Murray, *The Roman roads and stations and the Eastern Desert of Egypt*, in *Jnal. of Egyptian archaeology*, xi [1925]). Towards the end of the Romano-Byzantine period, inadequate control of the regions through which this more southerly road passed probably brought Ḳuṣayr an increased importance, and at the opening of the Islamic period it served as a port of embarkation for pilgrims travelling to the Ḥidjāz.

However, when the Fāṭimid caliphate in Cairo revived the ancient traffic of Greco-Roman times with the Yemen and the Indian Ocean shore lands, the security which was re-established in the mountainous desert between the Nile and the Red Sea favoured the use once more of the southerly route to ʿAydhāb, a port which was moreover more or less opposite the holy places of the Ḥidjāz. From the end of the 5th/11th century, the installation of the capital of Upper Egypt at Ḳūṣ nevertheless brought a certain amount of traffic to Ḳuṣayr, even if it was still much less important than that of ʿAydhāb. Whilst ʿAydhāb was over two weeks' journey from Ḳūṣ, Ḳuṣayr is given as only three days' journey from it, and is described as "the port of Ḳūṣ". In the Mamlūk period, naval units intended to maintain Mamlūk control over the Red Sea were stationed there, and some commercial operations were conducted through Ḳuṣayr. The western portolans of the 14th century mix up, however, Ḳūṣ and Ḳuṣayr (which last they pinpoint correctly but call "Chôs"). The revival of Ḳuṣayr increased in tempo after 767/1365-6 when the abandoning of the ʿAydhāb road, by now increasingly unsure, brought about the decline of the latter port, from which large-scale commerce now turned away; but after some fifty years, it was Ṭūr, on the Sinai peninsula, which inherited the role of ʿAydhāb as the main spices port on the Red Sea.

The local importance of Ḳuṣayr continued to grow in the 9th/15th century. Apart from the fact that the spice merchants sometimes still used it as a port of disembarkation, Ḳuṣayr became the main outlet for Upper Egypt on to the Red Sea. Corn exported to the Ḥidjāz travelled via Ḳuṣayr, which had become the departure port for the Pilgrimage and whence one could also travel to the ports of Ethiopia. The inconspicuous Christian missions which tried to establish relations with the Negus of Ethiopia set off from Ḳuṣayr, and Fra Mauro's map of 1460 gives it the name of "Cuser" (the site of ʿAydhāb further to the south symptomatically received that of "Chaser"). Ḳuṣayr's primacy was all the more firmly established because the economic centre of gravity of the Upper Ṣaʿīd was from this time onwards fixed in the northern part of the province. The beginning of the Ottoman occupation saw the rise of Ḳinā, which replaced Ḳūṣ as the regional centre and also, it seems, as the main departure point for Ḳuṣayr. The greater part of commercial traffic continued to consist of corn, continuously despatched to the Ḥidjāz, and of coffee imported from the Yemen. In the 18th century, Hawwāra control over Upper Egypt did not harm the port's traffic, in fact the reverse, since Ḳuṣayr's situation along the route to the Indies attracted the attention of the French and British as much as that of the Beys of Cairo. Bonaparte's soldiers found at Ḳuṣayr an agglomeration essentially made up of stalls open to the sky, with a very scanty permanent population (this being also the case with ʿAydhāb in his time), and with Ḥidjāzī influence very strong (*Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, i, 193-202). Under Muḥammad ʿAlī, buildings for the Egyptian government were again set up at Ḳuṣayr. The small town became one of the district centres of the province of Ḳinā. The pilgrim traffic remained each year the main source of activity for the port, but after 1859 the Pilgrimage traffic was deflected to Suez. At the time of the 1897 census, Ḳuṣayr had *ca.* 1,802 inhabitants.

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(J.-Cl. Garcin)

ḲUṢAYR ʿAMRA [see ARCHITECTURE].

ḲUṢAYY, an ancestor of Muḥammad in the fifth generation and restorer of the pre-Islamic cult of the Kaʿba in Mecca.

His genealogy is unanimously given in all sources as Ḳuṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Fihr or Ḳuraysh b. Ghālib (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamhara*, Tab. 4), and his life and exploits are recorded by our sources in three recensions which only differ from each other in trifling details; these go back to Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 146/763-4), Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 150/767) and ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djuraydj al-Makkī (d. 150/767). Ḳuṣayy is represented, like the usual legendary type of hero who founds a city, as having passed his childhood and youth far from his native land and in obscurity: a younger son of Kilāb b. Murra, a descendant of the Ḳuraysh whose supremacy in Mecca had been replaced by that of the Banū Khuzāʿa, he loses his father soon after his birth and is taken by his mother Fāṭima bint Saʿd b. Sayāl who had married again, her second husband being a member of the tribe of Banū ʿUdhra, to that new husband's tribe in the north of the Arabian Peninsula (in the neighbourhood of Sargh, according to Ibn al-Kalbī [in Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 36, 26] a place on the Syrian frontier of the Ḥidjāz, near Tabūk [Yāḳūt, iii, 77], or right into Syrian territory near Yarmūk [al-Bakrī, 773]); here his original name of Zayd was changed to Ḳuṣayy from the root *ḳ-ṣ-y*, "to go far away". Having learned his true origin from his mother, he returned to Mecca where as a result of his marriage with Ḥubbā, the daughter of the Khuzāʿī chief Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya, who controlled all the arrangements for the worship of the Kaʿba and the pilgrimage, he soon acquired an important position in the city. On the death of his father-in-law, Ḳuṣayy managed to succeed him in his offices, either after a long struggle with the Khuzāʿa, or as a less reliable tradition has it by means of a tricky bargain which he made with (Abū) Ghubshān, with the son or only some more distant

relative of Ḥulayl (cf. Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, 277, 7 with 282, 2). The detailed narrative of the events which brought Ḳuṣayy to fame is given in the article KHUZĀʿA.

Becoming master of Mecca and guardian of the Kaʿba, Ḳuṣayy rebuilt the latter and organised its worship; he united the clans of the Ḳuraysh, who were previously scattered, into a solid body which assured them the mastery of the town for the future; indeed it is even said that it was on this account that the name Ḳuraysh (from *taḳarrasha*, "to combine") replaced the old name Banu 'l-Naḍr; Ḳuṣayy is said to have been called *al-Mudjammiʿ* "the re-uniter". On his death, the sacred offices that had become his perquisites, were inherited by his four sons ʿAbd al-Dār, ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā and ʿAbd Ḳuṣayy, the second of whom through his son Hāshim was the direct ancestor of the Prophet. The house which Ḳuṣayy had built himself quite close to the Kaʿba was henceforth the centre of the civil and religious functions of the Ḳuraysh under the name *Dār al-Nadwa*. To Ḳuṣayy is also attributed the discovery and digging of the well of al-ʿAdjūl (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn = *Chron. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 107, below; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 48; Yāḳūt, iii, 19-20; al-Bakrī, 646, cf. 766).

From what has been said above, it is evident that the Ḳuraysh regarded Ḳuṣayy as their true founder and the founder of the Kaʿba. The antiquity of this tradition is attested by a verse of al-Aʿshā (al-Bakrī, 489) and by several of Ḥassān b. Thābit. Later historiography has tried to harmonise this old native tradition with the genealogical system which later became established and according to which Ḳuraysh = Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, N.) as well as with the tradition quite different in origin and character of the Abrahamic cult of the Kaʿba and its vicissitudes under the Djurhum and the Khuzāʿa. Ḳuṣayy is therefore to Mecca "what Theseus was for Athens and Romulus for Rome" (Caetani). In the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to say whether he should be regarded as a historical personage transformed into a hero or the mythological transfiguration of a hero. His name is found, although by no means commonly, in the Arab onomasticon: a Nahīk b. Ḳuṣayy al-Salūlī, a contemporary of Muḥammad, is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, vi, 14-15; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. Cairo vi, 257; the *Djamhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskel, Tab. 114) mentions a Ḳuṣayy b. ʿAwf and (Tab. 125) a Ḳuṣayy b. Mālik. The fact that this name is to be recognised in the קציו of the Nabataean inscriptions and probably also in the Κουσας of a parchment from Dura on the Euphrates (cf. Cumont, *Les fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1926, 320) does not justify us in concluding that it is of northern origin, since as we have seen, it is found among different tribes. The tradition which makes Ḳuṣayy pass his childhood in Syria is in favour of the hypothesis which makes the worship of the Kaʿba introduced, or at least renewed, as a result of influences from the north; perhaps in some statements of tradition (e.g. al-Kalbī, quoted by Ibn Saʿd i/1, 39, 1-11) we have an echo of an actual fact, namely that on the old cult of Hubal [*q.v.*], "the idol of the Khuzāʿa" there was super-imposed that of al-ʿUzzā and Manāf-Manāt, for which we have definite evidence in Northern Arabia in particular.

In any case, the figure of Ḳuṣayy soon became legendary; his story, as we have seen, has the characteristic features of the legends of eponymous heroes; his alleged sons are only symbols of the part played by Ḳuṣayy in the religion of Mecca. If it is not quite true that he was the object of regular divine worship (the name ʿAbd al-Ḳuṣayy borne by one of his sons does not necessarily imply the divine character of the father), he was undoubtedly venerated according to the ancestor worship, which certainly existed in pre-Islamic Arabia, although we know very little about it. The eponymous hero of the people of al-Ṭāʾif, Thaḳīf, is analogous in character to Ḳuṣayy. The latter's memory remained particularly associated with the Dār al-Nadwa [*q.v.*].

Whatever the origins may be, it is certain that at the beginning of the 6th century A.D. the control of the Kaʿba and of the *ḥadjdj* was in the hands of a clan claiming descent from Ḳuṣayy and that the Ḳuraysh were agreed that he was the founder of their tribal unity. It is to be noted on the other hand that even if this clan included among its members some of the recognised chiefs of the Ḳuraysh, among others the Banū Umayya, it was far from having complete political and financial control in its hands; the Banū Makhzūm, for example, one of the most powerful families in Mecca, were not descended from Ḳuṣayy. It seems probable then that the Meccan "republic" was constituted on the initiative and under the direction of the Banū Ḳuṣayy, but that the latter were forced to admit into their social organism other clans having the same rights and privileges as themselves, although the prestige of noble blood and supremacy in religious matters always remained the exclusive prerogative of the Banū Ḳuṣayy.

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

ḲUṢDĀR, ḲUZDĀR, the name of a town in mediaeval Islamic Balūčistān [*q.v.*], modern town and district of Khuzdār in the former Kalāt state [see KILĀT] in Pakistan. It lies in lat. 27° 48′ N. and long 66° 37′ E. at an altitude of 4,050 feet, some 85 miles south of Kalāt; the long, narrow valley of the Kolachi River in which it is situated is strategically important as a nodal point of communications, from Karāčī and Las Bēla [*q.vv.*] in the south, from Kaččhī in the east, from Kalāt in the north, and from Makrān and Khārān [*q.vv.*] in the west.

Ḳuṣdār was first raided by the Arabs under Sinān b. Salma al-Hudhalī, who was appointed governor over the Indian marches early in Muʿāwiya's caliphate by Ziyād b. Abīhi, and then by al-Mundhir b. al-Djārūd al-ʿAbdī (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433-4). The 4th/10th century geographers mention it, together with Kīzkānān or Ḳīḳān [see KILĀT] as one of the towns of the region of Ṭūrān or Ṭuwārān, which must have lain in the east-central part of Balūčistān (see Minorsky, *EI*[1] art. *Ṭūrān*), and as being 80 *farsakhs* from al-Manṣūra in Sind. Kīzkānān is mentioned in he middle years of this century as being the residence

of the local ruler, but Ḳuṣdār is described as the chief town, with a citadel and a flourishing mercantile quarter, to which traders from Khurāsān, Kirmān and India resorted, and with fertile agricultural lands around it (Ibn Ḥawḳal², 324-6, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 317-20; Muḳaddasī, 476, 478, 486; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 123, 373; Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, iv, 353; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 331-2). Ḳuṣdār was certainly the seat of the local ruler by the later years of the century, the time of the rise of the early Ghaznawids, for in 367/977-8 Sebüktigin reduced the ruler of Ḳuṣdār to obedience. However, his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna had to come once more and attack Ḳuṣdār in 402/1011 and make its ruler tributary (ʿUtbī, in Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 74), and his son Masʿūd in 420-1/1030-1 also sent his uncle Yūsuf b. Sebüktigin to Ḳuṣdār and Makrān on a punitive expedition (Bayhaḳī, in R. Gelpke, *Sulṭān Masʿūd I. von Ġazna. Die drei ersten Jahre seiner Herrschaft (421/1030-424/1033)*, Munich 1957, 87 ff.).

Thereafter we hear little about Ḳuṣdār. In recent times it fell within the Khānate of Kalāt. H. Pottinger visited it in 1810 and found it a small town of *ca.* 500 houses, it being the summer residence of Mīr Murād ʿAlī of the Brahūī Kambarānī tribe, brother-in-law of Maḥmud Khān of Kalāt (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 35-7). C. Masson noted a large tepe north of the town of Khuzdār, with the remains of mud walls, presumably relics of the mediaeval Ḳuṣdār (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 41-4). In 1870 a fort was constructed there and a garrison placed in it by Mīr Khudādād b. Miḥrāb Khān of Kalāt in the course of his warfare with the Djām or local ruler of Las Bēla [*q.v.*]. Khuzdār town and district now form a *taḥsīl* of the Djahlawān Subdivision of the Kalāt District of Pakistan, with a population in 1961 of 26,476.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned above, see *Imperial gazeteer of India*, xv, 298-9, and *Population census of Pakistan* 1961. *District census reports. Kalat*, I-24-5, IV-2.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KŪSH, a Biblical personage whose name appears in ch. x of Genesis in the genealogical lists of the posterity of Noaḥ (Nūḥ). According to the information in verses 6-7, Kūsh, the eldest son of Ḥām, is the brother of Miṣrayim, Pūṭ and Kenaʿan (Kanʿān), the father of Sebāʾ, Ḥawīlāh, Sabtāʾ, Raʿmāh and Sabtekaʾ and, by Raʿmāh, the grandfather of Shebāʾ and Dedān. Miṣrayim is Egypt, Pūṭ doubtless Libya, Kenaʿan, the land of Canaan (Palestine and Phoenicia). Most of the names of the descendants of Kūsh are to be attached to the maritime regions of the Red Sea. Sebāʾ has been identified hypothetically with the port of Saba in the Bay of Adulis on the south-west of the Red Sea, which is mentioned in Strabo (xvi, 4, 8, 10); Ḥawīlāh, which is given in Genesis xxv, 18, for the western border of the Ishmaelites' territory, has been associated with the name of the South Arabian tribe of Khwln; is Sabtah the Σαβατα of Strabo (xvi, 42), the Sabota of Pliny (vi, 155, xii, 63), the Σαββαθα of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (27)? Whatever may be the case, it is to be located in the Arabian peninsula, as Raʿmāh is placed by various authors in Ḥaḍramawt. Shebāʾ, which is not the Kingdom of Saba, is situated in the north-west of Arabia. As for Dedān, this is the oasis of al-ʿUlā, near Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, in the north-east of the Ḥidjāz.

Thus Kūsh appears to be linked by this genealogy with Arabia and the Red Sea. But in verse 8 of the same ch. x of Genesis, which seems to reflect another tradition, he is presented as the father of Nimrōd (Arabic Namrūd) with whom Mesopotamia is associated.

Indeed, in the whole text, Kūsh, as an ethnic term, in the ordinary way designates neither Arabia nor Mesopotamia, but the neighbouring populations of Egypt, on the south-west borders of the land, i.e. precisely the region which the Egyptians called Kʾsh (see also Babylonian *kūshu*, Assyrian *kūsu*, Old Persian *kūsha*). An oracle of Ezekiel (xxix, 10) also announces the destruction of the land of Egypt "from Migdol to Syene (from the extreme north to the extreme south) and as far as the frontier of Kūsh". In 2 Kings xix, 9, the Pharaoh Tirhāqāh, of the so-called Ethiopian dynasty, is called King of Kūsh. Everything leads us to suppose that Kūsh is the name of ancient Nubia, i.e. of the region which extends as a whole from the first to the fourth cataract of the Nile. The Septuagint translates it in general as Ethiopia, which, because of the value placed on the word "Ethiopian" in antiquity, is at the source of the erroneous interpretation of *kūshī* as "black" or "African".

In the Ḳurʾān, Kūsh is named no more than the sons of Nūḥ. Islamic tradition, which knew his name, however, supplies pieces of evidence which do not agree totally with one another or with the evidence of the Bible. They are all reported by al-Ṭabarī. According to some, Kūsh, son of Ḥām, is the brother of Miṣrayim, Ḳūṭ (Biblical Pūṭ) and Kanʿān (*Annales*, i, 212, 217). But elsewhere Kūsh appears as the son, and not the brother, of Kanʿān, himself presented as a fourth son of Ḥām (i, 219, 220; see also i, 192; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 50). He is given finally as the predecessor of Kanʿān as king of the universe after the disappearance of the sons of Afrīdūn (*Chronique*, French tr. H. Zotenberg, i, 120). In all the traditions, he is the father of Namrūd, tyrant (*mutadjabbir*) of Bābil, conforming with Genesis, x, 8. But if, in the general way, the paternity of the Ḥabasha as well as those of the peoples of Sind and Hind are attributed to him, the Nubians on the other hand are never explicitly associated with him. In the genealogy supplied by al-Ṭabarī (i, 223) on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih, it is from Kanʿān, brother of Kūsh, and his wife Ḳrnbyl, great-granddaughter of Yāfith, that the Nubians are descended, together with the populations of Fezzān, the Zandj, the Zaghāwa and all the Blacks (or, according to another passage, the blacks with fuzzy hair). Elsewhere (i, 216), it is Ḥām who is the only one named as the ancestor of these peoples.

The Kushitic languages.—It is from the name Kūsh that the word Kushitic is derived, under which are grouped a body of Hamito-Semitic (but not Semitic) languages spoken by about fifteen million people, the majority of them Muslims, scattered over a vast territory of almost 2 million km², within which are included the populations speaking the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. The area is constituted basically by the Horn of Africa and spreads in the north into Sudanese and Egyptian territory to around the first cataract of the Nile and in the south into Tanzania, as far as the 4th degree of latitude.

Bedja (Tu-Beḍawiye) is spoken by Muslims in the north of the area, in the northern part of Eritrea, and stretches between the Nile on the west (where it is in contact with Nubian and Arabic) and the Red Sea (where it is in contact with Semitic Tigré) as far as the environs of Ḳuṣayr. It is true that in the northern-

most part, the Muslim ʿAbābde tribes are today almost entirely Arabised. At the same time, in the south, a part of the Beni Amer (Banū ʿĀmir) nomads have abandoned Bedja for Tigré. Between these two groups are to be distinguished, with their particular dialects, in the centre the Bishari and Hadendowa, and in the south the Halenga and Arteiga.

Still further to the south, on the shores of the Red Sea, there is the area of Saho and ʿAfar, other Kushitic languages.

Saho is the language of an almost entirely Islamised population leading a pastoral existence in the south of the Massawa region in Eritrea. The Irob-Shao Christians, who constitute an enclave on the Abyssinian plateau, have partially abandoned Saho in favour of Semitic Tigrinya.

The language of the ʿAfar (Arabic Danākil) is spoken in the south of Eritrea, in the north of the region of Djibouti, and extends towards the west as far as the Awash River.

The Somali-speaking tribes who inhabit the extreme shore of the Horn at the mouth of the Tana River are also almost entirely Islamised. The most important dialects are those of the Isāḳ who inhabit the shore of the Gulf of Aden and the Darōd tribes at the edge of the Indian Ocean as far as the north of Kenya and who also inhabit the province of Ogaden in Ethiopia. In the north, in the territory of Djibouti and as far as Diré-Dawa in Ethiopia, it is the dialect of the ʿĪsā which is widespread.

In the valley of the Wēbi Shebelle as far as Khamar (ancient Mogadishu), it is Hawiya which dominates, while in the south, in the province of Benadir, Digil is spoken, a dialect of the Sab, also widespread in Aden among the emigrant foreigners called *Djabartis* [see DJABART].

The Oromo (whom the Europeans, adopting an Abyssinian word resented as pejorative by the natives, call Galla) at present occupy a vast territory from the centre of the Abyssinian plateau as far as the centre of Kenya (to the north of Mombasa and along the Tana River). These are on the whole pagans. Islam, however, has conquered a part of the northernmost populations. Of the dialects of the Oromo, Mača in the west, Tulamā in the north-east and Boranā in the south-east, are very close to each other. They are opposed to a southern dialect group, sc. that which constitutes the speech of the Bararetta and Kofira in Kenya.

Agaw, in the north of Ethiopia, occupies no more than a limited and fragmented territory, having for the most part given place to Semitic, sc. Tigrinya and especially Amharic. A northern Agaw dialect, Bilin, is spoken by a small Muslim population. Other dialects still in use are Khamir, Khamta, Ḳwara, Kamant and Awngy or Awiya.

To the west, a group of languages relatively close to one another covers the region of the lakes (from Zway to Shamo and Lake Rudolf) and extends into the adjacent mountainous zone (the province of Sidamo). These are Gudella or Hadiya and Kambatta in the north-west of the region in question, Alaba, Sidamo, Darasa, Burdji and Konso in the east. Generally connected with them, but without any totally compelling reason, are Gidole or Gardulla, Arbore, Galaba etc. On the other hand, there is a tendency today to consider Rendille in the north-east of Kenya, on the edge of Lake Rudolf, and Bayso in an island to the north of Lake Abaya, as projections of Somali.

In the region of Omo, one can distinguish Ometo, Dawro or Kullo, Goba, Walamo, Maruro or Gatsamba, Badittu, Zaysse, Basketto, Doko, Čara, Djandjero, Kaffečo, Anfillo, Shinasha or Gonga, etc.

In the same region, some languages, which are probably Kushitic, are spoken by Nilotic peoples, sc. Gimira, Madji and Gunza.

A Kushitic extension in Tanzania is possibly represented by Iraḳw and less probably by Mbugu.

There may be seen from this simple inventory, although it remains incomplete, the immense linguistic variety of the vast area generally considered as Kushitic. It is still very inadequately explored, and numerous tongues are known to us only by a rare and insignificant documentation. There result from this problems of classification which lead at times to calling into question the very membership in the group of some of the most anciently recognised languages. There has also been a proposal to detach from the Kushitic ensemble an Omotic group consisting essentially of the languages of the region of the Omo, and from this some authors have come to consider Bedja as a particular division of Hamito-Semitic without any special connection with Kushitic.

In so far as the existing documentation allows one to judge, such questionings appear excessive. The existence of common traits peculiar to a body which can be called Kushitic do not appear capable of being explained by simple phenomena of diffusion. But it is no longer as possible today to admit the traditional division into two groups: Lower Kushitic with Bedja, ʿAfar, Saho, Somali and Oromo, Upper Kushitic consisting of Agaw, Burdji, Sidamo and the western languages. Without attempting here to propose a real classification, for which the state of studies still gives no authority, one may to some extent rely on the characteristics of these languages to discern some particular affinities. The linguistic information which is to be supplied below can justify the following table:

A. *Northern Kushitic*: Bedja;
B. I. *Eastern and southern Kushitic*: ʿAfar, Saho, Somali and Oromo;
II. *Central Kushitic*: Agaw and languages of the region of the lakes;
C. *Western Kushitic*: languages of the region of the Omo.

The group of Eastern and Southern dialects and that of the Central dialects are closer to one another than each of the two others.

Linguistic characteristics.—These are the principal common traits in the Kushitic languages or in the majority of them.

(i) *On the phonetic plane*.—The predominant syllabic type is of the consonant + vowel form, at the beginning of a word; closed syllables of the consonant + vowel + consonant type are present especially as final syllables. In the intervocalic position, the best-tolerated consonant groups have a first liquid element or are constituted by a nasal — an oral homorganic consonant (*mb*, *nt*, etc.).

The consonant system includes in general "emphatics", most often glottalised in effect, which complete, at the same point of articulation, the orders formed by an unvoiced stop and a voiced stop, without always participating themselves in correlation of voicing. The majority of the languages also present a post-palatal order: *k*, *g*, *ḳ*, but none opposes a *g* to a *ḳ*. However, one must take account of the very frequent present of a voiced cerebral *ḍ* which can adjoin the "emphatic", unvoiced dental.

Except in some Agaw dialects which are innovative on this point, there is no distinction in the labial zone between the spirants and occlusives. Where there is

an *f*, it is not opposed to *p*, and the voiced equivalent is in general *b*, never *v*. The following table, in which the phonemes are put in parentheses, being frequently, but not in all cases, represented, will give an idea of the Kushitic consonant system:

labials: *p/f*, *b*, *m*, *w*;
dentals: *t*, *d*, (*ṭ*), *ḍ*, *n*;
sibilants: *s*, (*z*);
palatals: *k*, *g*, *ḳ*, *y*;
laryngals: *h*, ʾ;
liquids: *l*, *r*;

The pharyngals *ḥ*, ʿ, the labio-velars *kʷ*, *gʷ*, at times *ḳʷ*, the prepalatals *č*, *dj*, at times *c*, the emphatics *ṣ* and *ṭ*, are only attested in certain languages. The minimal vowel system is triangular, with five vowels: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, with most often an opposition of quantity.

The majority of languages are familiar with tonal opposition, in various degrees of development. In a language like Bedja, only a small number of lexemes of the CVC-form seem to bear a characteristic descending tone, capable of constituting a distinctive morphological mark, cf. *det* "mother": *dèt* "mothers", *kʷât* "sister": *kʷāt* "sisters"; but in Awiya and in Moča for example, tones play as important a role in the morphological plan as in the lexical one: (Moča) *búno* "ashes": *bùno* "coffee"; (Awiya) *ədjé* "I give": *ədjè* "he gives". Unlike the tonal schemes, the accentual schemes are not generally distinctive, except possibly in some forms where phonetic evolutions have accidentally conferred on them a differentiating role: (Bedja) *ha'ḍāb adir* "I killed a lion", *'haḍāb adir* "I killed lions".

(ii) *On the morphological plane.*—Lexemes are constituted in Kushitic by constant radicals with variable morphemes, generally suffixed: (Sidamo) *min-*: *min-ino* "he built", *min-é* "house", (Ometo) *meḍ-*: *meḍ-ės* "he forms", *meḍ-a* "form"; (Somali) *ḍeḥ-*: *ḍeḥ-da* "environment", *ḍeḥ-ē* "to be between, among", *ḍeḥ-dōdi* "between". Despite some phenomena of apophony in some languages (Bedja *dir* "to kill": *dar* "to massacre", *rimid* "to avenge": *rimad* "to be revenged", the radical vowel may be considered stable in every series of derivation, as may be seen from the preceding examples.

By far the most frequent form of radical is CVC: 90% of the verbal radicals in Kaffečo, 67% in Somali. In Bedja, however, and uniquely in Bedja, it yields predominance to radicals of type CVCC or CVCVC. But analysis reveals that these roots are often derived from Semitic, and particularly from Arabic. The verbal system is based in general on the fundamental opposition of two aspects: the incompleted and completed. Conjugation is of two types. In some languages, a certain number of verbs are conjugated by means of prefixed signs. This is the case with ʿAfar, where this type of conjugation represents more than a third of all verbs, and especially with Bedja, where it represents nearly two-thirds; but Somali and Agaw have only four verbs with prefixal conjugation. For all the other verbs and in all the other languages, conjugation is suffixal. Thus the verbal forms are constituted in principle according to one of the following two schemes:

A. *Prefixal conjugation*: sign of the person + sign of the aspect/mode + verbal root + desinence of the gender and/or number. Example ʿAfar: *t-a-ḷigd* "you know" incompleted indicative); *t-i-ḷigd* "you knew" completed or perfective indicative).

B. *Suffixal conjugation*: root + sign of the aspect/mode + desinence of the gender and/or number. For example Bedja: *tám-t-én-i* "you (fem.) eat" (incompleted indicative) *tám-ta-i* "you (fem.) ate" (completed or perfective; *tam-ti-i* "(if) you were eating" (modal).

These schemes are capable of minor modifications in various languages. In particular, attention is drawn to newly-developed forms by means of suffixed morphemes. The most frequently used variable morphemes are:

— for the gender and number: *i* for the feminine singular and *n* for the plural;

— for the aspect: *a* as the sign of the incomplete is often opposed to an antecedent vowel (*ä*, *e*, *i*) for the completed or perfective, while the modal form is characterised by *u*; certain languages however, such as Bedja or Agaw, present some slightly different situations from this point of view;

— for the expression of the persons, the paradigm is the following: Sing. 1. (ʾ-) 2. *t-*, 3. masc. (*y*-), fem. *t-*; Plur. 1. *n-*, 2. *t-*, 3. (*y-*). (The forms between parentheses are often represented by *ø*). The identity of this system of signs with that of Semitic and Berber conjugation, whose very characteristics it presents (the same form in the singular for the 2nd pers. and the 3rd fem., distinct forms for the 1st pers. sing. and plur., the 1st pers. plur. being in addition deprived of the sign of number) has led to the positing of the probable hypothesis that the morphemes of aspect/mode which in the scheme follow these marks, are no more etymologically than short auxiliary verbs conjugated by means of prefixes.

The completed: incompleted opposition, with possibly a modal form, does not exhaust the complexity of the Kushitic verbal systems. Periphrastic forms, constituted by means of auxiliaries, often serve to add the expression of different aspectivo-temporal nuances such as the near past, the pluperfect and especially the "continuous-progressive" or "concomitant". Examples: ʿAfar: *tábelä tinä* (incomplete + complete of *nä* "to be") "you were engaged in looking, you were looking"; Somali: *ʿún-a* "he eats (will eat)", *ʿún-ay-a* "he is engaged in eating".

As regards their conjugation, the languages of the Omo have a separate place in the Kushitic group. The scheme there is also suffixal, but the morphemes used and their modes of combination are peculiar to them. For example, Ometo: 2nd sing. incomplete *er-ása* "you know", complete *er-ád-asa* "you knew".

The Kushitic languages distinguish various secondary verbal themes by added signs. A first method of derivation is partial or total duplication of the radical which gives the roots intensive or frequentative value: Agaw (Bilin): *dāb-* "to cover": *dābdāb* "to cover completely"; Sidamo; *ḳub* "to shake": *ḳubḳub* "to shake strongly"; Bedja: *beʾas* "to turn": *babeʾas* "to turn and turn again"; Oromo: *bēk-* "to know": *bebbēk* "to know well".

The second method is the fixing of signs to express the orientation of the process in relation to the subject: *s* (*č*, *sh*) for the causative, *t* (*ḍ*), *m*, n for the internal reflexive, the passive and the reciprocal. Hence in Bedja: *hisham* "to extend" (intrans.), *hisham-ish* "to extend" (trans.); *dir* "to kill", *so-dir* "to have [someone] killed"; *tam* "to eat", *tam-am* "to be eaten"; *min* "to shave", (*a*)*to-man* "to be shaved". In Oromo: *čab* "to break" (intrans.), *čab-s* "to break" (trans.), *bēk-a* "he knew", *bēk-at-a* "he understood"; *arg* "to see", *arg-am* "to be seen". In Ometo: *ke* "to go out", *ke-s* "to cause to go out"; *beʾ* "to see", *beʾet* "to be seen".

One should also mention a type of verbal composition widespread in the majority of the Kushitic languages and which consists in the juxtaposition of

an invariable element (plain verbal radical, noun, interjection, onomatopoeia, etc.) and of a verb meaning "to say": ʿAfar: *hō y* "to say *ho*" = "to roar", Sidamo: *suta y* "slowly + to say" = to act slowly"; Agaw: *yik y* "down + to say" = "to lower"; Oromo: *ol gečč* "to say + up = to raise"; Ometo: *s̲h̲iʾi ga* "hush + to say = to be silent".

The Kushitic languages of the centre and east have various series of pronominal forms. One of them, called "emphatic", is used especially to act as a subject. Other forms generally suffixal serve to express the complements of the verb and noun. The following tables will show both the common bases and the developments peculiar to the various languages:

"Emphatic" pronouns

	Somali (Benadir)	ʿAfar	Oromo	Awiya	Sidamo
Sing. 1	*ani*	*anū*	*áni*	*án*	*áni, ané*
2	*adi*	*atū*	*áti*	*ənt*	*áti, até*
3 mas.	*ussu*	*ússuk*	*inni*	*ŋi*	*isi, isó*
fem.	*iyyo*	*issi*	*is̲h̲in*	*ŋi*	*ise*
Plur. 1	*anu*	*nanū*	*nū(i)*	*ənnód̲j̲i*	*ninke*
2	*idin*	*issīn*	*isīn(i)*	*əntód̲j̲i*	*kinʾe*
3	*iyyu*	*ussún*	*isān(i)*	*ŋád̲j̲i*	*inse, insa*

Attached pronouns

	Somali	ʿAfar	Oromo	Sidamo
Sing. 1	*-key*	*-yi*	*-ko, -kīya*	*-ʾya*
2 mas.	*-kā*	*-ku*	*-kē*	*-ki*
2 fem.	*-kā*	*-kā(y)*	*-kē*	*-ki*
3 mas.	*-kīs*	*-tā*	*-sa*	*-si*
fem.	*-kēd*	*-tā*	*-s̲h̲i, -s̲h̲e*	*-si*
Plur. 1	*-keyn*	*-na*	*-kēna*	*-nke*
2	*-kīn*	*-sīn*	*-kēsan(i)*	*-nʾe*
3	*-kōd*	*-kān*	*-kēsan(i)*	*-nsa*

In Northern Kushitic (Bed̲j̲a) the "emphatic" forms, apart from the first persons, appear to be clearly constituted by an invariable base with personal suffixal signs added: Sing. 1. *ani* 2. mas. *bar-i-ūk*, fem. *bat-i-āk*, 3. mas. *bar-i-ūs*, fem. *bat-i-ūs*; plur. 1. *āni*, 2. mas. *bar-i-āk*, fem. *bat-i-āk*, 3. mas. *bar-i-ās*, fem. *bat-i-ās*.

The languages of the west have a system of their own which is well illustrated by Ometo: Sing. 1. *tā*, 2. *nē*, 3. *i*; plur. 1. *nu*, 2. *inte*, 3. *enta*.

All the Kushitic languages recognise a distinction of gender between masculine and feminine, at times in a vestigial state, as in certain languages of the west, for example. Among the varied signs which are used, the frequency of the suffixal morpheme *-t-* for the feminine should be noted. On the syntactical plane, the essential fact is the agreement of the majority of the languages on the order determinant-determined. The only exceptions are Somali and Oromo which regularly present the inverse order; in Bed̲j̲a, the qualifying adjective follows the qualified noun when the latter has a definite article. But in all the languages, the dependent proposition precedes that on which it depends (except, in certain particular cases, in Bed̲j̲a and Somali) and the verb is placed at the end of the phrase after the subject and the various complements.

On the lexical plane, the certain cognate forms are still relatively few in number, above all because of inadequacy of the theory of phonetic correspondences. Nevertheless, the existence of a common vocabulary can be established in several forms. Here are some examples. Bed̲j̲a: *sim*, Agaw: *s̲h̲un*, Sidamo: *s̲h̲umʾe*, Ometo: *sun-ta*, D̲j̲and̲j̲ero: *sun* "name"; Somali: *wadne*, ʿAfar: *wodana*, Oromo: *onne*, Sidamo: *wodana*, Ometo: *wozana* "heart"; Somali: *daw*, Oromo: *dandi*, Sidamo: *doga*, Burd̲j̲i: *dawa*, Agaw: *dokʷ*, Ometo: *age*, Kaffa: *dag* "way". For some words, the languages of the west present forms which distinguish them from the rest of the Kushitic group: Bed̲j̲a: *lili*, Somali: *il*, ʿAfar: *il*, Oromo: *ig-ia*, Sidamo: *ille*, Agaw: *yil*, but Ometo: *ayfe*, D̲j̲and̲j̲ero: *afa*, Kaffa: *afo* "eye"; Bed̲j̲a: *yaf*, Somali: *af*, Sidamo: *afo*, but D̲j̲and̲j̲ero, Kaffa: *nōnō* "mouth".

Bibliography: In Ernest Renan's *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (1st part only appeared, 1855; other editions revised with additions 1858, 1863, 1878), the term "couschite" is already used in relation to the East-African languages: "One may believe that, among the non-Semitic languages (of Ethiopia), the remains of the ancient language of the Kushites have been preserved" (2nd ed. 1863, 339). But it was R. Lepsius who first recognised the linguistic group and definitively gave it its name in his *Nubische Grammatik mit einer Einleitung über die Völker und Sprachen Afrika's*, 1880. Kushitic appeared there to be constituted by Bed̲j̲a, S̲h̲oho (or Saho), Falas̲h̲a (an Agaw dialect), Agaw, Galla (or Oromo), Dankali (or ʿAfar), Somali to which is added Hottentot. In an earlier work, *Standard alphabet*, 2nd ed. 1863, he had grouped under the name of Ethiopian, the majority of these languages with Semitic Harari, but without Hottentot. For the recognition of their membership in the Hamito-Semitic family, see the information supplied by M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947, 3 ff. For Kushitic in general: A general overview of the distribution of the languages and their linguistic structures is to be found in M. A. Bryan, *The distribution of the Semitic and Cushitic languages*, London 1947, completed by A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan, *The non-Bantu languages of North-Eastern Africa*, London 1966; J. Greenberg, *Studies in African linguistic classification*, New Haven 1955; idem, *The languages of Africa*, The Hague 1966. For recent perspectives, see F. R. Palmer, "Cushitic", in *Current trends in linguistics* (vol. vi, under the direction of T. A. Sebeok), The Hague 1970, and D. Cohen, *Les langues chamito-sémitiques. 4. Le couchitique*, in *Les langues dans le monde*, under the direction of M. Cohen and J. Perrot, Paris, in the press. Comparative studies. A. B. Dolgopol'skiy, *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskay̲a̲ fonetika kis̲h̲itskik̲h̲ yazîkov* "Historical and comparative phonology of the Kushitic languages", Moscow 1972. On the root, see E. Cerulli, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, i (1934), 44-5, ii (1937), 25-6, 85-7, iii (1938), 33-6; A. B. Dolgopol'skiy, in *Voprosî Yazîkoznaniy̲a̲* 1967, 278-82; A. Zaborski, in *Folia Orientalia*, xvi (1975), 263-6. On the verbal system, see B. W. Andrzejewski in *Hamito-semitica*, ed. J. and Th. Bynon, The Hague 1975, 361-74; G. R. Castellino, *The Akkadian personal pronouns and verbal system in the light of Semitic and Hamitic*, Leiden 1962; E. Cerulli, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, ii (1937), 613, v (1948), 1-2; D. Cohen in *REI*, xl, 43-68; idem, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, xiv (1969-70), 69-74; idem, *Langues et techniques, nature et société*, ed. J. M. C. Thomas and L. Bernot, i, Paris 1973, 57-63; idem, *Actes du 1er Congrès International de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique*, ed. A. Caquot and D. Cohen, The Hague 1974, 40-8; M. Cohen, in *Mélanges Maspero*, Cairo, 704-19; B. Ferrario, in *Archivio di Glottologia e filologia africana*, i (1923),

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(D. Cohen)

KUSHĀDJIM, Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Sindī b. Shāhak, Abu 'l-Fatḥ, poet of the 4th/10th century whose death is variously given in the sources between 330/941 and 360/971, but which must have taken place *ca.* 350/961. Originally from a family of Sind [see ibrāhīm b. al-sindī], he was born at al-Ramla and lived at al-Mawṣil at the court of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān [see ḥamdānids], and then at Aleppo, in the entourage of Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; he also made several journeys to Egypt, Baghdād, Damascus and Jerusalem. His verses are described by R. Blachère, *Motanabbî*, 134, as "excessively florid and enjoying a contemporary vogue", which is confirmed by al-Masʿūdī, who in his own lifetime, devoted long passages to him in his *Murūdj* (see index). He was closely associated with his son-in-law al-Ṣanawbarī [*q.v.*], and he is one of the creators of nature poetry in Arabic, in which he evokes visual pleasure by his descriptions of gardens, flowers and trees. But he was also a *kātib*, an astrologer and master-cook to Sayf al-Dawla; he excelled in so many branches of knowledge and activity that his surname Kushādjim is said to be an acrostic formed out of the initial letters of the subjects in which he excelled, or out of various adjectives—a *kāf* for *kitāba*/*kātib*, *shīn* for *shiʿr*/*shāʿir*, *alif* for *adab*/*adīb* or for *inshāʾ*, *djīm* for *djadal*/*djawād*, *mīm* for *manṭiḳ*/*munadjdjim*. It is even said that, after having studied medicine, he added a *ṭāʾ* (for *ṭibb*) to his name, which became Ṭakushādjim, but had hardly any success.

He has left behind a *Dīwān*, first published at Beirut in 1313/1895-6, then at Baghdād in 1970 (by Ṭ. Kh. M. Maḥfūẓ); a collection of *Rasāʾil* (*Fihrist*, 200), an *Adab al-nadīm*/*al-nudamāʾ*, ed. Būlāḳ 1298, Alexandria 1329; a *K. Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ṭarab*; a *K. al-Ṭabīkh*; a *Kanz al-kuttāb* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 154, 162-3; a *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid* (partial ed., carelessly done, Baghdād 1954) comprising some 20 poems on hunting, some of which are reproduced in the *K. al-Bayzara* (cf. F. Viré, *Le traité de l'art de volerie*, Leiden 1967, 2), in the *Dīwān* and in vol. x of al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*.

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(Ch. Pellat)

AL-ḲUSHASHĪ, Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus, al-Madanī al-Dadjānī, Ṣūfī mystic and scholar, b. Medina 991/1583. Little is known of his life. His family on his father's side migrated from the village of Dadjān near Jerusalem and settled in Medina. He spent part of his life as a soldier. In 1011/1602-3 he travelled with his father to the Yemen, where he studied with various of the religious teachers, especially those with whom his father, Muhammad b. Yūnus had studied. An incident not specified in the sources disturbed him deeply, causing him to return hurriedly first to Mecca, and then to Medina, where he continued to study from some of the great mystics of Indian origin, especially al-Shinnawī and Ṣibghat Allāh, and through them, the works of al-Ghawth al-Hindī. He was affiliated to several mystical orders, including the Naḳshbandī, the Ḳādirī and the Shaṭṭārī. He attracted numerous students, and enjoyed a reputation for extraordinary humility. He is of particular importance because of the character of his transmission of the doctrines of the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], particularly as reformulated by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī [*q.v.*] to various parts of the Muslim world, including Sumatra and Java. Among his students for almost twenty years (1051-70/6141-60) was the Sumatran ʿAbd al-Raʾūf of Singkel, and numerous Djāwī associates of whom we do not know the names. His pupil and successor as *shaykh* of the Shaṭṭāriyya order, al-Kūrānī [*q.v.*], maintained his wide circle of students, and gives much information about him in his *al-Amam* (see *Bibl.*). It is worthy of note that Ṭāhir, the son of his greatest student al-Kūrānī, was a teacher of Shāh Walī Allāh [*q.v.*].

His works include Ṣūfī interpretations of *ḥadīth*, rare among Ṣūfī authors, who devote most of their exegetical skill to the Ḳurʾān. He was noted for the extent to which he associated Ḳurʾānic and *ḥadīth* quotations with his views, and his skill in presenting the *isnād* of every *ḥadīth* that he cited. A commentary on his rhymed credal statement *al-ʿAḳīda al-manẓūma* by his student Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī entitled *Ḳaṣd al-sabīl* was rendered into Malay, possibly by his student ʿAbd al-Raʾūf.

His books on *ḥadīth*, *uṣūl* and *taṣawwuf* number more than fifty. One has been published (*al-Simṭ al-madjīd fī talḳīn al-dhikr*, Ḥaydarābād 1327). Other works, listed by al-Baghdādī, include *Hāshiya ʿala 'l-Insān al-kāmil li-ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī*, *al-Kalima al-wusṭā fī sharḥ ḥikam Ibn al-ʿAṭāʾ*, and *al-Kamālāt al-ilāhiyya*. He died at Medina in 1071/1660-1, and was buried in the Baḳīʿ cemetery.

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ḲUSHAYR, an Arab tribe forming part of the great group of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*] whose fortunes we find them almost continuously sharing in the period before as well as after Islam.

They had particularly close associations with the tribes of ʿUḳayl and Djaʿda, whose genealogical table makes them brothers. Their genealogy is Ḳushayr b. Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Tradition makes the mother of Ḳushayr Rayṭa bint Ḳunfudh b. Mālik of the tribe of the Banū Sulaym [*q.v.*]. During the pre-Islamic period, the Banū Ḳushayr settled in al-Yamāma were involved in all the wars of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, especially in those against the Tamīm, the Shaybān, whose chief Ḥādjib b. Zurāra was made prisoner by Mālik b. Salama al-Khayr b. Ḳushayr, called Dhu 'l-Ruḳayba, at the battle of Djabala, and against the kings of al-Ḥīra (cf. *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 70, 404-5). After Muḥammad's successes in central Arabia, the Ḳushayr joined with the other tribes of the ʿĀmir in sending him envoys and coming to an arrangement with him; it is to this time that tradition dates their conversion to Islam (cf. the texts in Caetani, *Annali*, i/1, 297 [9 A.H., § 78]). Later they took part, without particularly distinguishing themselves, in the wars of conquest in Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and settled particularly in the eastern parts of the Arab empire. In the Umayyad period they were very numerous and powerful in Khurāsān, of which several Ḳushayris were governors (among others Zurāra b. ʿUḳba, whose family possessed a very highly esteemed breed of horses). This Ḳushayrī colony has as its founder and common ancestor Hayda b. Muʿāwiya b. Ḳushayr, a half-mythical personage who is said to have lived to a fabulous age and to have had a thousand descendants (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, ii, 56, No. 1890; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, in Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Phil.*, ii, 97). On the other hand, we find in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 273, a similar longevity attributed to Dhu 'l-Ruḳayba, the Ḳushayrī chief mentioned above, and indeed almost all the Ḳushayrīs of note settled in Khurāsān recorded by history, belonged to the clan of Salama al-Khayr to which Dhu 'l-Ruḳayba belonged, and which seems to have been the aristocracy of the tribe.

The Ḳushayr did not number many poets of note among them; the best known is Yazīd Ibn al-Ṭathriyya who lived between the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period.

The genealogical sources, and in particular Ibn al-Kalbī, also mention other ethnic groups bearing the name Banū Ḳushayr, two of which belonged to the southern tribes of the Aslam and the Aws (Anṣār).

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AL-ḲUSHAYRĪ, the *nisba* of two noted Khurāsānian scholars.

1. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin, theologian and mystic. He was born in 376/986 in Ustuwā (the region of actual Ḳūčān [*q.v.*] on the upper Atrak), the son of a man of Arab descent (from B. Ḳushayr) and a woman from an Arab (from B. Sulaym) *dihḳān* family. He got the education of a country squire of the time: *adab*, the Arabic language, chivalry (*furūsiyya*) and weaponry (*istiʿmāl al-silāḥ*). When as a young man he came to Naysābūr with the intention to get the taxes on one of his villages reduced, he became acquainted with the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ, who became his master on the mystical path. Later on he married Abū ʿAlī's daughter Fāṭima (born 391/1001).

Besides his mystical exercises, he studied *fiḳh* with the Shāfiʿī jurist Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Bakr al-Ṭūsī (d. 420/1029) in nearby Ṭūs; he seems also to have visited the city of Marw *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* (Subkī, v, 158). In Naysābūr he studied *kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* with the Ashʿarī scholars Abū Bakr b. Fūrak (d. 406/1015-16) and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāʾinī (d. 418/1027).

After the death of Abū ʿAlī in 405/1015, he seems to have become the successor of his master and father-in-law as leader of the mystic sessions (*madjālis al-tadhkīr*) in the *madrasa* of Abū ʿAlī (built in 391/1001), which henceforth was known as *al-madrasa al-Ḳushayriyya* (later on as *madrasat al-Ḳushayriyya*, "the *madrasa* of the Ḳushayrī family").

At an indeterminable date, al-Ḳushayrī performed the Pilgrimage in company with Abū Muḥammad al-Djuwaynī (d. 438/1047), the father of the *Imām al-Ḥaramayn*, and other Shāfiʿī scholars; during these travels he heard *ḥadīth* in Baghdād and the Ḥidjāz. Probably after his return to Naysābūr he held his first *madjlis al-imlāʾ*, i.e. session for the teaching of *ḥadīth*, in 437/1046.

After Naysābūr had passed under the control of the Saldjūḳs in 429/1038, al-Ḳushayrī was involved in the struggles between the Ḥanafī and Ashʿarī-Shāfiʿī factions in the city. In 436/1045 he issued a manifesto defending the orthodoxy of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī; the document (preserved by Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn*, 112-14; cf. Subkī, iii, 374 f.; Halm, *Der Wesir al-Kundurī*, 214 ff.) was signed by the most renowned Shāfiʿī scholars of the city. When in 446/1054 the Ḥanafī-Shāfiʿī conflict broke out into a violent *fitna*, al-Ḳushayrī was imprisoned by his adversaries, but was rescued some weeks later by his partisans by force of arms. As a reaction to these events, he wrote his famous "Complaint", *Shikāyat ahl al-sunna bimā nālahum min al-miḥna* (preserved by Subkī, iii, 399-423; separately ed. by Muḥammad Ḥasan, see below), by which he defended al-Ashʿarī against the slanderous accusations of his adversaries (analysed in Halm, *Der Wesir al-Kundurī*, 224 ff.).

In 448/1056 al-Ḳushayrī went to Baghdād, where the caliph al-Ḳāʾim commissioned him to teach *ḥadīth* in his palace. After his return to Khurāsān he left Naysābūr, now dominated by the Ḥanafī faction, and emigrated with his family to Ṭūs, where he stayed until the accession to the throne of sultan Alp Arslan in 455/1063. When the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk re-established the balance of power between the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfiʿīs, he returned to Naysābūr where he lived until his death. He died on 16 Rabīʿ II 465/30 December 1072 and was buried in his *madrasa* besides his father-in-law Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ. He left six sons and several daughters; some of his numerous descendants (cf. the pedigrees in Bulliet, *Patricians*, 180-4; Halm, *Ausbreitung*, 61) officiated as *khaṭīb* of the Shāfiʿī Manīʿī mosque in Naysābūr.

Even if al-Ḳushayrī's studies covered the whole scale of the traditional Islamic sciences, his writings

mostly deal with mystical topics. His great mystical *tafsīr*, the *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt*, was composed before 410/1019; the *Tartīb al-sulūk* is an introduction to the practice of *taṣawwuf*, and the famous *Risāla* (composed in 438/1045) is a most important compendium of the principles and terminology of Ṣūfism (analysed by R. Hartmann). In all his works (cf. Subkī, v, 159; Brockelmann, I, 556 f.) al-Ḳushayrī tried to reconcile mystical practices, suspected by so many scholars, with the principles of the *Sharīʿa*.

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2. ABU 'L-NAṢR ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM B. HAWĀZIN, son of the former; Shāfiʿī jurist and Ashʿarī theologian. Born in Naysābūr before 434/1043, he studied *tafsīr* and *uṣūl* with his father and with the *Imām* al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī. When in 469/1077 he publicly taught Ashʿarī *kalām* in the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdād, he provoked the wrath of the local traditionalist Ḥanbalī faction supported by the masses, and caused a violent *fitna*. The vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, who protected the young scholar, had to summon him to Iṣfahān, from where he sent him back to Naysābūr. There Abu 'l-Naṣr died, after a peaceful life, in 514/1120, in his eighties.

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(H. HALM)

ḲUSHBEGI [see ḳOSH BEGI].

AL-**ḲUSHDJĪ** [see ʿALĪ AL-ḲUSHDJĪ].

KUSHIYĀR B. LABĀN B. BASHAHRĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-DJĪLĪ, Persian astronomer and mathematician. He was born in Gīlān, to the south of the Caspian sea, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, probably between 322/934 and 332/944. The date of his death is equally obscure, but was probably in the first quarter of the 5th/11th century. Very little is known of his life; most of it was spent in Baghdād, with the peak of his career in *ca*. 990/1000.

His principal works comprise two *zīdjs*, the *z. al-djāmiʿ* and the *z. al-bāligh*, as well as an arithmetical treatise, the *Uṣūl ḥisāb al-Hind*. His astronomical tables mark an advance on those of Abu 'l-Wafāʾ and al-Battānī. Whereas the latter only indicate the values of sines and the cotangent, Kushiyār also gives those of the tangent, and the values of these functions are given by him to the third sexagesimal.

His other great work, the *Uṣul ḥisāb al-Hind*, contains the first description of the "Indian system of calculation", i.e. of the system of numeration by position (the value of the figures depending on their place in a number), which brought about a revolution in the ways of calculating used in the Near East. The work is divided into two parts. In the first, the author works out logarithms for the four basic arithmetical operations and for finding the square root. Whole numbers are treated within the decimal system, and fractions in the sexagesimal one. The second part deals with this latter system, already used by the astronomers, but set forth by Kushiyār in a way of numeration by position. He shows how whole numbers can be converted from the decimal into the sexagesimal system, and then sets forth logarithms for the basic arithmetical operations, for finding the square root and for finding the cube root. Finally, he gives a famous multiplication table, called "the table of sixty", for multiplying within the sexagesimal system. In these various calculations, he already makes use of the elementary rules for multiplying and dividing both positive and negative whole powers. As for the figures which he uses, for calculations made in the sexagesimal system he uses the Arabic alphabetical characters, the *ḥurūf al-djumal*; but for those in the decimal system, the so-called "Indian" figures, the origin of what were later called "Arabic numerals". Kushiyār's system of logarithms for finding the square root forms the basis for the theory of decimal fractions which was subsequently to be elaborated by al-Karadjī and al-Samawʾal.

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(K. JAOUICHE)

KUSKUSŪ (A.), a word probably of Berber origin meaning couscous, a culinary preparation containing semolina which is the national dish of the peoples of North Africa. It appears with the article and with a final *nūn* in an anecdote depicting an Oriental being advised by the Prophet, in a dream, to treat with *al-kuskusūn* a sick Maghribī; this anecdote, related by Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v.) is very well known and is probably responsible for leading Moroccan scholars to adopt the form attributed to the Prophet. L. Bauer (*Wörterbuch der arabischen Umgangsprache*[2], Wiesbaden 1957, 402), heard *kusukson/kuskusān* in Palestine, describing it as "Teigkügelchen in Fleischdampf gekocht". Couscous was known in Spain, and the word *kuskusū* is provided with the article in the *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* published by A. Huici Miranda (Madrid 1965, 181), but this is a case

of an arabisation which is not found in vernacular Arabic, where the word never takes the article; *sekso*, *ksĕkso*, *kuskus*, *kusksi*, etc., which betrays its non-Arabic origin. The equivalent term among the majority of the Bedouin tribes of Algeria and at Tlemcen is *ṭʿām* used alone, elsewhere it is *ʿaysh*, *mʿāsh*, or *noʿma*, all of which illustrate the importance of couscous in the minds of the people, especially those in rural areas, who make it the invariable staple of their evening meal.

The quality and the weight of the grains as well as the presentation of the dishes offer a considerable diversity, which is covered by the generic terms cited above but which is expressed by means of a detailed and extremely varied vocabulary according to regions. We confine ourselves here to a description of the general processes.

Couscous may be prepared at any time, but it is exclusively the work of women: some chose out of preference the nights of Monday and of Friday to take advantage of the *baraka* [*q.v.*] which is attached to them. The housewife makes an invocation and she must not see or hear anything that might constitute a bad omen; on the contrary, it is the custom to speak in her company only of saints, of the prosperity of the land, etc.

To make her couscous, the woman sits on the ground, places in front of her a wooden plate called *djəfna*, *gəṣʿa*, *ḳəṣriyya*, etc. and, to one side, a receptacle containing lightly salted water and a sack of semolina; in some regions, a little flour is also used and to the salted water are added a few drops of *nīsān* water (rain of early May preserved in a flask). The housewife takes a handful of semolina, puts it in the plate, sprinkles it with salted water applied with the hand or with a spoon and proceeds to roll it (verb *ftəl*) with the flat of her hand, until small grains are formed with the size of small buckshot. When the stock of semolina provided is exhausted, the grains are passed through a sieve, and the bigger ones are rolled again until they acquire the desired dimensions or set aside to make a coarse couscous called *mḥammṣa*, *bərkūks*, *bərkukesh*, *mardūd*, etc. The grains are then cooked in steam and may be kept for some time.

When they are to be eaten, the housewife cooks them for a second time. In a cooking-pot (*ḳədra*), she boils water to which she adds vegetables (chick-peas, turnips, wild teasels, etc.) and/or mutton or beef sometimes browned in a little oil; she puts the couscous grains in a special receptacle (*kəskās*), a conical vessel made of earthenware or plaited alfalfa, the perforated, smaller base of which is placed over the cooking-pot and sealed by means of a twist of straw. Escaping, the steam passes through the holes and cooks the couscous. The housewife takes care that no curds are formed, and when the grain is cooked, she tips it into a bowl, garnishes it with a little butter and covers it with gravy. The vegetables and the meat are most often laid out on the grain. The diners make pellets with their thumb, index and second fingers, and flick them dexterously into their mouths.

In the preparation of couscous with sugar (*səffa*, *məsfūf*), the cooking-pot contains only water; once cooked, the grains, which are generally finer, are garnished with rather more butter, and the cone which they form in the dish is decorated with ground sugar and cinnamon.

Among the other varieties, we mention *bərbūkh*, with fine grain, eaten cold, without butter, and moistened with a little milk; *barbūsha*, made with barley semolina; this is called *ṣīkūk* in Morocco. The *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* gives the recipe of *fityānī* which is prepared by cooking grain in gravy and which is sprinkled with cinnamon; it also mentions couscous with chicken.

Couscous is quite widely known at the present time, especially in France where it is found commercially produced in food factories and sold "pre-cooked"; conical utensils ("couscoussiers") made of metal are also produced. Restaurants serve several varieties of this Maghribī dish accompanied by a sauce strongly seasoned with pepper (*marga ḥārra*; *harīsa*).

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ḲUSS B. SĀʿIDA AL-IYĀDĪ, a semi-legendary character of Arab antiquity pictured as the greatest orator of all the tribes (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 52) and whose eloquence has become proverbial (*ablagh min Ḳuss*: al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ*, i, 117-18; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] even formed an adjective rhyming with *ḳudsī* in the title of his history of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, *al-Fatḥ al-ḳussī* "of Ḳussian inspiration"). He is also an heroic figure, described as being also the poet, sage, judge, etc. par excellence of the Arabs of his time. His genealogy cannot be established with certainty, but the nearest to reality seems to be: Ḳuss b. Sāʿida b. ʿAmr b. Shamir b. ʿAdī b. Mālik b. Aydaʿān b. al-Namir b. Wāʾila b. al-Ṭamathān b. ʿAwdh Manāt b. Yaḳdum b. Afṣā b. Duʿmī b. Iyād (cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 174 and Register, ii, 473). Moreover, his very name poses a problem, since it is unique (cf. however the toponym Ḳuss al-Nāṭif, in Yāḳūt, iv, 97-8); although it is given without the definite article, it could well be connected with *ḳass* and *ḳissīs* and point therefore to a relationship more or less close to the Christian clergy. It is not impossible that Ḳuss had relations with the Christians of Nadjrān, but it is wrong to take him, as has sometimes been done, as the bishop of that town, perhaps on account of an assimilation brought about by the phrase "eloquent as the bishop of Nadjrān" (see e.g. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 88). Legend, which also credits him with a number of miracles, has it that he presented himself at the court of the Emperor of Byzantium, but he seems to have delivered his orations in the regions between ʿIrāḳ (where the Iyād [*q.v.*] had been established, but had lost however their independent existence by the end of the Djāhiliyya), the Ḥidjāz and Syria. Nothing is known of the date of his death, which Cheikho (*Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 211) fixes arbitrarily in 600 A.D., and, it is at Rūḥīn, one of the dependencies of Aleppo, that his tomb was fixed, becoming the goal of a still much-followed pilgrimage in the 7th/13th century (al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 5/10; Yāḳūt, ii, 829; D. Sourdel, in *Syria*, xxxi [1953], 89-107). Interred beside him were supposedly the two friends to whom he is said to have devoted an elegy (in *ṭawīl* metre, and the rhyme-*ākumā*) which is often

mentioned but attributed to various poets (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 261-8 = ed. Cairo ii, 66-79, of which *shāhid* 92 is taken from this piece of verse, lists the possible authors in his long commentary; see also D. Sourdel, *op. laud.*, 100-1).

In fact, as well as his eloquence—the specimens which are extant of this, in rhymed prose, being of very doubtful authenticity—tradition further ascribes to him a poetic talent and attributes to him an extensive œuvre whose remnants are equally suspect (they have been gathered together, with extracts from his homilies, by L. Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 211-18).

He is counted amongst those who enjoyed longevity, having allegedly lived between 180 and 700 years, so that in the view of certain people he had even known the Apostles; but we have here the manifestation of a tendency of the traditionists to prolong considerably the lives of certain personalities of the past [see MUʿAMMARŪN]. Although al-Suyūṭī (*al-Laʾālī al-maṣnūʿa fī 'l-aḥādīth al-mawḍūʿa*, i, 95-100) criticises the legend of Ḳuss, no-one doubts his historical existence, which seems to be attested by an *ḥadīth* often given on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās. When receiving a delegation from the Bakr b. Wāʾil (whom the Iyād had joined), the Prophet is said to have enquired about Ḳuss, and learning that he was dead, to have recited a passage from a speech which he had heard delivered at ʿUkāẓ and to have had someone (Abū Bakr or another person) remind him of some lines of the orator-poet's which he had forgotten. He is even said to have exclaimed, "I hope that on the Day of Resurrection, he will return to life and form a people of his own". Al-Djāḥiẓ, who is usually fairly prudent, remarks (*Bayān*, i, 52) that if the Prophet repeated his words, it was because Ḳuss upheld the concept of monotheism and believed in the resurrection. This is why he was quickly included in the list of the *ḥanīf*s [*q.v.*] and of the "people of the interval" [see FATRA], and even considered as an ascetic (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 365). Ibn al-Athīr (*Usd*, iv, 204) and Ibn Ḥadjar (*Iṣāba*, No. 7340) cite him in their biographies of Companions, and although Ibn Isḥāḳ and Ibn Hishām do not mention him, ʿAlī b. Burhān pays some attention to him in his *Sīra Ḥalabiyya* (i, 210-12, 216-18).

Finally, tradition attributes to him the merit of being not only the first to believe in the resurrection, but also to have been the first to preach mounted on a camel or leaning on a sword or staff [see ʿANAZA] and to use the formula *ammā baʿdu* and write at the beginning of a letter (!) *min Fulān ilā Fulān* (cf. Goldziher, in *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, 56). He is even said to have formulated the juridical rule that "proof is incumbent on the plaintiff and the defendant who denies his guilt must speak on oath". All these legendary details are evidently aimed at exalting the prestige of a personage considered to be a precursor of Islam.

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ḲUṢṢĀṢ [see ḲĀṢṢ].

ḲUSṬĀ b. LŪḲĀ AL-BAʿLABAKKĪ, mediaeval scientist and translator. He was of Christian origin, from the town of Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*]. In Baghdād, where he worked for some time as a doctor, scientist and translator, his reputation was as high as that of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]. He was fluent in Greek, Syriac and Arabic, being particularly noted for his excellent style in Arabic. The last part of his life was spent in Armenia, where he was induced to take up residence by the prince Sanḥarīb. According to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djibrāʾīl, he came into contact with a certain Abu 'l-Ghiṭrīf al-Baṭrīḳ, for whom he composed a number of scholarly works. Ḳusṭā died in Armenia *ca.* 300/912-13; a shrine was erected over his grave, which was accorded the same honours as the graves of kings and other eminent personages.

It was, of course, usual for Arabic scholars to be well versed in a wide range of subjects, and Ḳusṭā was no exception. He is said to have been skilled in medicine, philosophy, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music—all these subjects are included in the lists of his works given by the biographers. Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 410-11), having first stated specifically that he has excluded translations, lists over thirty of Ḳusṭā's original works, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa adds a further thirty works to this list (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, Cairo 1882, i, 244-5). Medical works, which preponderate, include the following treatises: on gout; infectious diseases; insomnia; knowledge of fevers, types of crises in illnesses, the pulse; paralysis-types, causes and treatment; the four "humours"; and phlebotomy. Non-medical works include several treatises on philosophy and logic; on astronomy, on the celestial sphere; two commentaries on Euclid's *Elements*, a treatise on algebra, a commentary on the book of Diaphantos on algebra; on the steelyard (*ḳarasṭūn* [*q.v.*]); on weights and measures; and on burning mirrors. Some of Ḳusṭā's translations are extant, e.g. those of Diaphantos, Theodosios, Autolykos, Hypsikles, Aristarchos, and Hero. For a list of his works, both originals and translations see Suter, 40-2 and Index, and Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 270-4, v, 285-6, and Indexes). Both writers give locations of extant manuscripts.

No comprehensive study of Ḳusṭā's works has yet been undertaken, nor has there been made any detailed evaluation of his contribution, certainly a significant one, to the progress of science. His services as a translator must surely rank at least equally with his original works. The biographers are unanimous in praising his skill as a translator of Greek works into Arabic, and in the light of the surviving translations their esteem seems to be fully justified. For example, although the original of Hero's *Mechanics* is lost, an examination of Ḳusṭā's Arabic version (Carra de Vaux in *JA*, 9e Série [1893], Tome i, 386-472, Tome ii, 152-269, 420-514 = Arabic text and French translation) leaves us with little doubt that this is a faithful and sensitive rendering.

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ḲUSṬANṬĪNA, Ḳusanṭīna, Constantine, a town in Algeria and the chief town of the *wilāya* (department) of the same name. It lies 330 miles east of Algiers and 50 miles south-east of Skidda (former Philippeville), which is the port for Constantine, with which it is connected by railway, in lat. 36° 22′ N. and long. 18° 56′. The population in 1965 was 235,000.

The situation of Constantine makes the town a natural fortress. It is built on a rocky plateau in the form of a trapezoid, bounded on the south-east, north-east and north-west, by deep ravines and connected with the surrounding country on the south-east only by a narrow isthmus. The plateau itself declines rapidly from north to south. The Ḳaṣba on its highest point is 2,500 feet above sea-level, while the Marabout of Sīdī Rās̲h̲id not a mile away is only 2,170 feet high. Of the ravines which represent the moats of this natural fortress, the most remarkable is that which runs along the south-east and north-east faces of the plateau, at the bottom of which the Rummel (Wādī 'l-Raml) flows. This river runs along a narrow gully, a real cañon, the walls of which rise sheer upright to a height of 500 to 600 feet, disappears for 1½ miles under three subterranean passages which the water has hollowed out, makes its exit in waterfalls and descends to the verdant plain of al-Ḥamma. Across this gorge, above which on the right bank rises the plateau of Manṣūra (2,340 feet), the Romans threw a bridge which existed for several centuries after the Arab conquest. Al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique*, ed. and tr. de Slane, Ar. text 63, tr. 131-2) mentions it, and al-Idrīsī (ed. de Goeje, 111, ed. Naples-Rome, iii, 265) describes it as one of the most remarkable works which it had ever been granted him to see. Consisting of two rows of arches, one above the other, 217 feet high, a road and an aqueduct bringing the water necessary for the town ran across it. It collapsed in the 7th/13th century, was rebuilt in the 18th by order of Ṣāliḥ Bey under the supervision of a Spanish engineer, and on finally breaking down in 1947, it was replaced by an iron bridge 423 feet long crossing the Rummel at a height of 528 feet. Another bridge is, farther up the river, to connect the plateau of Manṣūra with the quarters previously in existence to the southwest of the town.

This last preserves an originality of aspect which is in striking contrast to that of other Algerian towns. It resembles a great Kabyle village rather than a oriental city. It is an agglomeration of houses with clay roofs, penetrated by an irregular system of narrow, tortuous streets, which sometimes descend like stairways to the edge of the ravine, the heights of which are crowned by houses. A few monuments recall the past history of Constantine. The great mosque dates from the time of the first Ḥafṣid sovereigns (7th/13th century). The mosques of Sūḳ al-G̲h̲azāl, of Sīdī Lak̲h̲ḍar and of Sīdī al-Kattānī, all of which were built in the 18th century, belong to the Turkish period, as does the palace built by Aḥmad, the last Turkish Bey, just before the French conquest.

The origins of Constantine are obscure. But in all probability, the site must have been occupied at a very early period by autochtonous peoples. The classical texts mention the existence of a town named Cirta at this place. The origin of the name (*ḳart* "town" [see ḳarya]) would lead one to suppose that the Carthaginians had established a colony there. In any case, Cirta appears in the period of the Punic Wars as the capital of the kings of Numidia; Syphax had a palace there. Masinissa and his successors erected important buildings in it and invited Greek and Roman merchants thither. During the civil wars of the 1st century B.C., P. Sittius Nucerianus, an adventurer, seized Cirta and on the latter's ultimate triumph received the town and territory. Cirta then became a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Cirta Julia or Cirta Sittianorum. Juba II made it his capital after the restoration of the kingdom of Numidia by Augustus and lived there for seven years (24-17 B.C.), till he was forced to exchange Numidia for Mauritania. Cirta still remained the capital of the republic of the "four colonies", then in the 3rd century A.D. it became that of the province of Numidia Civilis or Numidia Cirtensis established by Maximianus Herculus in 297. In the course of the civil wars which followed the abdication of Diocletian, the inhabitants recognised the authority of the usurper Alexander and gave him asylum after he had been driven from Carthage and thus brought upon their heads the wrath of Maxentius. The latter took Cirta and razed the town to the ground in 311. It was rebuilt in 313 by Constantine, the conqueror of Maxentius, and received the name of Constantine which it has retained to the present day. At the Vandal invasion, Constantine was occupied by the barbarians, but given back in 442 by Gaiseric to the Emperor. After the destruction of the Western Empire, Constantine remained independent, till the Byzantines, victorious over the Vandals, brought Northern Africa under their sway in 533. It remained subject to them till the invasion of North Africa by the Arabs.

The chroniclers are silent as to the date at which it fell into the hands of the Muslims. It is probable, however, that it was not affected by the first Arab incursions but was only occupied at the end of the 1st/7th century at the same time as Carthage and the other Byzantine strongholds which were the last to surrender. Included in the province of Ifrīḳiya, Constantine owned the rule successively of the governors of Ḳayrawān, the Ag̲h̲labids, the Fāṭimids, then the Zīrids. The latter retained it even after the Ḥammādids had deprived them of a portion of the eastern Mag̲h̲rib. They lost it entirely at the Hilālī invasion. The Ḥammādid al-Muʿizz took advantage of their troubles to seize the town and include it among his own possessions. The successors of al-Muʿizz retained the town for a century in spite of a revolt instigated by the uncle of the *amīr* al-Nāṣir. After the capture of Bougie by the Almohads, Yaḥyā, the last king of Bougie, sought refuge in Constantine, then giving up any idea of further resistance, surrendered to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin whose troops took possession of the town. Attacked unsuccessfully by ʿAlī b. G̲h̲āniya in 581/1185, Constantine remained faithful to the Almohads till the final collpase of the empire founded by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin.

At this period, Constantine was a very prosperous city: "Ḳusṭanṭīna", says al-Bakrī (*op. cit.*, 63, tr. 131-2), "[is a] large and ancient town with a numerous population; . . . it is inhabited by various families who were originally part of the [Berber] tribes established at Mila, in the land of Nafzāwa in that of Ḳasṭīliyā, but it belongs to certain Kutāmī tribes. It has rich bazaars and a prosperous trade". Al-Idrīsī describes Constantine (Ḳusanṭīnat al-hawāʾ, "of the air", because of its position) as a populous and commercial town. "The inhabitants, he continues, "are rich; they have agreements with the rural population (*al-ʿArab*) and co-operate with them for the cultivation of the soil and the preservation of the harvests.

Their silos are so good that corn may be kept in them for a century without suffering any deterioration. They collect large quantities of honey and butter, which they export to the outside . . ." (*loc. cit.*).

When the Almohad Empire broke up, Constantine recognised the authority of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyā', who was proclaimed at Tunis in 628/1230 [see ḤAFṢIDS]. The history of the town under the Ḥafṣids (7th-10th/13th-16th centuries) is very confused and disjointed. The rulers of Tunis attached great importance to the possession of Constantine; they frequently lived there and delighted in improving it; they usually entrusted its government to princes of their own family. Nevertheless, in spite of their precautions and trouble they lost it on several occasions; in 681/1282 for example, in the reign of Abū Isḥāḳ, the governor Ibn al-Wazīr rose against the sovereign of Tunis, who had to send his son, Abū Fāris, to retake the town by force. In 683/1284, its inhabitants opened their gates to the pretender Abū Zakariyyā' of Bougie; in 704/1305 at the suggestion of the governor Ibn al-Amīr, they submitted to the Ḥafṣid sovereign of Tunis, whom they cast off almost immediately afterwards, however, to place themselves again under the authority of the king of Bougie, Abu 'l-Baḳā'. The latter succeeded in restoring to his own advantage the unity of the Ḥafṣid kingdom in 709/1309 and for some years maintained peace in the eastern Maghrib. But new troubles were not long in arising. From 712/1312 to 719/1319, Constantine was almost independent under the authority of the vizier Ibn Ghamr, who succeeded in placing on the throne of Tunis a prince of his own choosing, Abū Yaḥyā. In 725/1325, the revolt of another vizier, Ibn al-Ḳātūn, exposed the inhabitants to an attack, which proved unsuccesful, from the ʿAbd al-Wādids. The wars which then broke out in the eastern Maghrib between the Marīnids and the ʿAbd al-Wādids, as well as the good government of the governors Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Zayd, son and grandson of Abū Yaḥyā, king of Tunis, gained Constantine a few years of respite. But peace, which had only been established with difficulty, was again broken in the middle of the 8th/14th century by Marīnid expeditions. Abu 'l-Ḥasan entered Constantine without striking a blow and supplanted Ḥafṣid authority by his own in 748/1347. The defeat of Abu 'l-Ḥasan at Ḳayrawān brought about a revival in favour of the Ḥafṣids and one of them, al-Faḍl, took advantage of the occasion to seize the town. He held it for only a short time. The former Ḥafṣid governor, Abū Zayd, set at liberty by Abū ʿInān, retook Constantine, then abandoning his protector, proclaimed as Sulṭān a son of al-Ḥasan named Tāshfīn. Soon afterwards, Abū Zayd's brother, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, overthrew him and dethroned Tāshfīn. He in his turn took the title of Sulṭān, repulsed the Dawāwida and Sadwīkash Arabs, who had laid siege to Constantine in 756/1355, but could not prevent the town being taken by Abū ʿInān, who came in person against it. He regained it from the Marīnids in 761/1360. Becoming Sulṭān of Tunis in 772/1370, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās maintained peace in the province of Constantine till his death. His successor Abū Fāris had on the other hand twice to reconquer the town from his brother Abū Bakr, who had seized it with the help of the Arab tribes.

We have no exact details on the history of Constantine in the 9th/15th century. Rebellions against Ḥafṣid rule were, it seems, less frequent than in the preceding century, but its authority was more nominal than real. During this period, the real masters of Constantine were the chiefs of the Awlād Sala, a section of the Arab tribe of Dawāwida. In the town itself the exercise of authority was in the hands of a few families, clients of the Awlād Sala. Such, for example, were the family of ʿAbd al-Mu'min of Marabout origin, whose chiefs exercised by hereditary right the functions of *shaykh al-Islām* and *Amīr al-Rakab* (leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca); the family of the Banū Bādis, whose members had arrogated to themselves the duties of *ḳāḍī*; and that of the Banu 'l-Faggān (or Lafgūn), famous as legal authorities.

The arrival of the Turks in Northern Africa reopened an era of troubles for Constantine. There were two parties in the field. The one, led by the ʿAbd al-Mu'min, was favourable to the maintenance of Ḥafṣid suzerainty; the other, led by the Lafgûn, invited the Turks thither. According to Vaysettes, a first attempt by the Turks to occupy the town was made as early as 923/1517. According to Mercier, Ḥasan, one of Khayr al-Dīn's lieutenants, forced the people of Constantine to recognise his master's authority in 925/1519 or 926/1520. The submission of the town was only an ephemeral one, however, for in 932/1526 a representative of the Ḥafṣid sovereign of Tunis was residing in the town. It is not till 940/1534 that the establishment of a garrison definitely marks the occupation of Constantine by the Turks. Their authority was not firmly established without difficulty. The belated partisans of the Ḥafṣids did not bow at once to the Turkish yoke, but sought to rid themselves of their new masters. In 975/1567-8 they massacred the Turkish garrison and expelled their supporters. To restore order, the Pasha Muḥammad had to lead an expedition against Constantine, the inhabitants of which did not dare resist but opened the gates without showing fight. Another rebellion broke out in 1572 and was suppressed with the greatest rigour. The ʿAbd al-Mu'mins who had instigated it, were deprived of their privileges, and from that date ceased to play a predominant part in the affairs of the town. They resigned themselves to their fall with a very bad grace. We find them again in 1052/1642 taking advantage of the difficulties caused to the Turks by the revolt of the Kabyles and the insubordination of the great Arab chiefs to stir up risings again which were, however, speedily put down. After being selected as the capital of the *beylik* of the East in the 10th/16th century, Constantine enjoyed complete tranquility for the half century following the period of government of the Bey Farḥat (1046/1637). But the intervention of the Algerians in the affairs of Tunisia ended in exposing Constantine to the reprisals of its neighbours. In 1112/1700, Murād Bey of Tunis, victorious in two battles against ʿAlī Khōdja Bey of Constantine, laid siege to the town and blockaded it for three months. The Dey of Algiers at length received warning of the precarious situation of the town by a messenger, who had succeeded in escaping from Constantine after being let down the cliff by a rope, and sent an army to its help, the arrival of which the Tunisian general did not dare await.

The 18th century marks the zenith of Turkish domination at Constantine. The *beylik* was held during this period by men of energy and intellect, ruling like independent sovereigns rather than as docile representatives of the Dey of Algiers. Such were Kalyān Ḥasan Bey, called Bū Kamya (1713-36), Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn called Bū Ḥanak (1736-54), Aḥmad al-Ḳullī (1756-71) and above all Ṣāliḥ Bey (1771-92). Constantine owes to them many public works and buildings of general interest. Bū Kamya built the

mosque of Sūķ al-Ghazāl; Bū Ḥanak made new streets and built the Mosque of Sīdī Lakhḍar. Ṣāliḥ Bey rebuilt the bridge over the Rummel and the Roman aqueduct bringing the waters of the Djabal Waḥsh to the city; he also built the mosque and *madrasa* of Sīdī al-Kattānī and commissioned Italian artificers to built him a palace adorned with faiences and marble columns purchased in Italy.

A period of anarchy and disorder succeeded this brilliant epoch. Ṣāliḥ Bey himself, deposed by the Dey of Algiers, to whom he had given offence, tried to stir up a rebellion but perished miserably. Seventeen Beys ruled Constantine in the period 1792-1826. Some of them only held office a few months or even a few days; almost all were distinguished by their cruelty and rapine. Constantine suffered much from this state of affairs. To the internal disorder were soon added attacks by the surrounding peoples. The Kabyle hordes of the Marabout (Ibn al-Aʿrash Sulaymān Kāhya) rose against the Turks and advanced up to the walls of Constantine in 1804. A Tunisian army commanded by Sulaymān Kāhya besieged the town three years later. It was blockaded for two months (April-May 1807) and was once bombarded. The approach of a relieving army from Algiers caused the Tunisians to raise the siege, and in their retreat they lost 1,167 prisoners and all their artillery.

Aḥmad, the last Bey of Constantine, possessed those qualities which were lacking in his predecessors, Intellectual, active, ambitious and energetic, he unfortunately made himself hated by his acts of cruelty and by the exactions levied by him to raise funds to built a palace in Constantine to replace the old Dār al-Bey. After the French occupation of Algiers, he sought to profit by the disappearance of the *odjaķ* to create an independent principality in the east, and had the title of Pasha given to him by the Ottoman Porte. Deposed by a decree from General Clauzel on 15 December 1830, he nevertheless retained possession of Constantine. The hesitation on the part of the French government, which tried to come to terms with him for his voluntary submission and after the failure of these negotiations did not wish to enter on a dangerous campaign, delayed his fall. But in 1836, Marshall Clauzel, then governor-general of Algeria, obtained permission to undertake an expedition against Constantine. Leaving Bone on 2 November, the French troops arrived without difficulty in sight of the town and took up a position on the heights of the Manṣūra and of the Kudya. Two sorties by the besieged, led by Ibn ʿĪsā, *khalīfa* of the Bey, were repulsed; on the other hand, two attacks by the French in the night of the 22-3 December also failed. Clauzel decided to raise the seige and returned to Bone after a retreat which was rendered very difficult by bad weather. This check was made good the following year. An army under General Damrémont laid siege to Constantine on 6 October 1837. He was killed on 12 October; but his successor, General Valée, ordered an assault on the 13th. The town was taken after fierce fighting by columns led by Colonels Combe and Lamoricière. Aḥmad Bey, who had left Constantine on the approach of the French troops, retired to the south where he held the country against the French for eleven years longer. It is said that the siege of 1837 was the ninetieth that Constantine had to endure.

After the French occupation, Constantine, the administration of which had been entrusted to a *ḥākim* under the supervision of the military authorities, became the headquarters of a *commandement supérieur* and the base of French operations in the eastern province. At first under military law, it was not given a municipal government till 1848 and became the capital of the *département* in 1849. Since then the town has developed considerably. It has in fact remained a market and centre of supplies for the tribes of the east; its native industries have survived and supply the population of the surrounding country with cotton stuffs and articles of leather.

Bibliography: in addition to sources given in the article, see Vars, *Cirta-Constantine*, Constantine 1895; Cherbonneau, *Constantine et ses antiquités*, Paris 1857; Vayssettes, *Histoire des beys de Constantine*, in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Constantine* (1869); E. Mercier, *Histoire de Constantine*, Constantine 1903; G. Mercier, *Corpus des inscriptions arabes et turques de l'Algérie — Département de Constantine*, Paris 1902; Chr. Courtois, *Vandales*, index; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Epaulard, 365-8 and index; M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, index; H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, index; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, 384-98 and index.

(G. YVER*)

(AL-)**ĶUSṬANṬĪNIYYA**, Constantinople.

1. TO THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST (1453).

The city, which Constantine the Great on 11 May 330 raised to be the capital of the Eastern Empire and which was called after him, was known to the Arabs as *Ķusṭanṭīniyya* (in poetry also *Ķusṭanṭīna*, with or without the article); the older name *Byzantion* (*Buzanṭiyā* and various spellings) was also known to them, as well as the fact that the later Greeks, as at the present day, used to call Constantinople simply ἡ πόλις as "the city" par excellence (Masʿūdī, iii, 406 = § 1291 n.; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 235; Abu 'l-Fidā, ii/1, 39; Dimashķī, 241, 259; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 431). From εἰς τὴν πόλιν arose the Turkish name "Istanbul" [*q.v.*]. *Ķusṭanṭīniyya*, with the variant *Ķusṭanṭiniyya*, remained the official designation on coins and firmans under the Ottomans.

The campaigns of the Arabs against Constantinople. It is said that the Prophet himself had foretold the conquest of Constantinople by the faithful. The Ottoman historians adduce the following *ḥadīth* "You shall conquer Constantinople; peace be upon the prince and the army to whom this shall be granted!" (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, v, 252; Ṣolaķzāde, 194; Ewliyā, 1, 32, 73; ʿAlī Sāṭiʿ, *Ḥadīķat al-djewāmiʿ*, i, 2); Suyūṭī's *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* is given as authority; older references are wanting. As a matter of fact, the Umayyads set about this enterprise with the energy and valour that inspired the early warriors of Islam. In the year of the world 6146 (beginning 1 September 653), according to Theophanes, 345, a fleet was equipped in Tripolis "against Constantinople", which under the leadership of Ἀβουλαθάρ (i.e. Busr b. Abī Arṭāt) defeated the Greek fleet at Phoenix (Finika) on the Lycian coast [see DHĀT AL-ṢAWĀRĪ in Suppl.], but did not reach Constantinople; at the same time, Muʿāwiya had invaded Byzantine territory by land.

In the year 44/644 took place the campaign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid, who advanced as far as Pergamon; the admiral Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, according to Arabic sources, is said to have reached Constantinople (Ṭabarī, ii, 86).

In the course of the next years, Faḍāla b. ʿUbayd advanced as far as Chalcedon, and Yazīd, son of Muʿāwiya, was sent after him (according to Theophanes, in the year 6159 of the world, beginning 1 September 666; according to Elias of Nisibis, Yazīd

appeared before Constantinople in 51/672); a fleet commanded by Busr b. Abī Arṭāt supported this enterprise. In 672 a strong fleet cast anchor off the European coast of the Sea of Marmora under the walls of the city. The Arabs attacked the town from April to September; they spent the winter in Cyzicus and renewed their attacks in the following spring until they finally retired "after seven years' fighting". A great part of the fleet was destroyed by Greek fire; many ships were wrecked on the return journey (Theoph., 353 ff.). There are difficulties in the chronological arrangement in Theophanes of the various phases of this seven years' blockade. The land army seems to have appeared before Constantinople in 47/667 and the fleet to have finally retired in 53 673. The Arab historians vary between the years 48 49, 50 and 52 and place the death of Abū Ayyūb in the year 50, 51, 52 or even 55. As the fighting around Constantinople was spread over several years, the difference in the estimates is not so unaccountable.

This siege has acquired particular renown in the Arab world, as the Anṣārī Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd fell in it and was buried before the walls of Constantinople; the finding of his tomb during the final siege by Meḥemmed II was an event only comparable to the discovery of the holy lance by the early Crusaders at the siege of Antioch. (The grave of Abū Ayyūb is first mentioned by Ibn Ḳutayba, 140; according to Ṭabarī, iii, 2324, Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 381, Ibn al-Djawzī and Ḳazwīnī, 408, the Byzantines respected it and made pilgrimages to it in times of drought to pray there for rain (*istisḳā*ʾ); the Turkish legend is given very fully in Leunclavius, *Hist. Mus.*, 41 ff. and in the painstaking monograph by Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Āthār al-madjīdiyya fi 'l-manāḳib al-khālidiyya*, Istanbul 1257.)

There was a truce for over 40 years between Byzantines and Arabs until in 97/715-16 Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik came to the throne. A *ḥadīth* was at this time current according to which a caliph who should bear the name of a prophet was to conquer Constantinople. Sulaymān took the prophecy to refer to himself and equipped a great expedition against Constantinople. His brother Maslama led the army which was equipped with siege artillery through Asia Minor, crossed the Dardanelles at Abydos and surrounded Constantinople. The Arab armada anchored partly near the walls on the coast of the Sea of Marmora and partly in the Bosporus; the Golden Horn was barred by a chain. The siege began on 25 August 716 and lasted a whole year; Maslama then found himself forced to retire owing to the attacks of the Bulghars and the scarcity of provisions (Theophanes, 386-99; full details in Ibn Miskawayh, ed. de Goeje, 24-33; cf. also Ṭabarī, ii, 1314 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 17 ff.; cf. the vivid account in Gelzer, *Pergamon unter Byzantinern und Osmanen*, 49-64). There are many references to Maslama's hazardous march among the later Arabs. Even several centuries later they knew of "Maslama's Well" at Abydos, where he had encamped (Masʿūdī, ii, 317 = § 738; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 104), and the mosque built by him there (Yāḳūt, i, 374). ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭayyib, the first Muslim to lead an attack on the "Gate of Ḳusṭanṭīniyya" was one of Maslama's comrades (Ibn Ḳutayba, 275). Maslama is said to have made the building of a house near the Imperial palace for the Arab prisoners of war one of the conditions of the treaty of peace and to have built the first mosque in Constantinople (Muḳaddasī, 147; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 18; Dimashḳī, 227); finally, he is credited with building the Tower of Galata (Dimashḳī, 228) and the ʿArab Djāmiʿ in Galata (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh*, year 97 A.H.). Ewliyā and his sources have made two sieges out of Maslama's campaign and embellished their narrative with incredible stories. Nerkesī (d. 1044/1634) discusses Maslama's campaigns in the fourth section of his Pentas, following, so he says, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-ʿArabī's *Musāmarāt*.

Only on one other occasion did an Arab host appear within sight of Constantinople, namely in 165/782. Hārūn, the son of the caliph al-Mahdī, had marched through Asia Minor unopposed and encamped at Chrysopolis (Scutari). The Empress Irene, who was acting as Regent for her son Constantine, hastened to make peace and agreed to pay tribute (Theophanes, 455 ff. under the year 6274 of the world [781-2]; Balādhurī, 168; Ṭabarī, iii, 504 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 44: year 165/781-2). Ewliyā and his authority (Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Djamālī, died 957/1550 according to Rieu, *Catalogue*, 46 ff.) have made no less then four regular sieges of Constantinople out of the campaigns of the Arabs under al-Mahdī and Hārūn against the Greeks. After the second, Hārūn gained a quarter in the city by a trick similar to that by which Dido gained the site of Carthage (Leunclavius, *op. cit.*, 54; Ewliyā, i, 81 = *Travels, etc.*, i/1, 25); the same story is given by Clavijo, 23, of the settlement of the Genoese in Galata, and Ewliyā, *Travels*, i/2, 66, of the building of Rumeli Ḥiṣār by Meḥemmed II.

The Arab accounts of Constantinople date from the 3rd/9th century. They considered the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosporus as a single "canal" (*khalīdj*), connecting the Mediterranean with the Black Sea. Iṣṭakhrī and others mention the great chain which prevented the entrance of Arab ships; this is probably the chain, which was stretched between Galata and Constantinople in time of war, that is referred to. The high double walls of the city with their towers and gateways, including the Golden Gate, the Aya Sofya, the Hippodrome with its monuments (notably the Egyptian obelisk), the four brazen horses at the entrance to the palace, and the great equestrian statue in bronze of "Constantine" (really of Justinian, the so-called Augusteus) are described by them in greater or less detail. Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasī devote particular attention to the Praetorium where their countrymen, prisoners of war, were kept under a mild custody and to the mosque attributed to Maslama (Yāḳūt, i, 709, s.v. *Balāṭ*, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, i, 592, 767). The most detailed account is that of Ibn al-Wardī (8th/14th century); he mentions the bronze Obelisk of Porphyrogenitus, the Pillar of Arcadius and the Aqueduct of Valens and also knew that the Golden Gate was closed. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 431-44) described from his own observation the monastic life of his time; the latest notices are given by Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415) in his dictionary the *Ḳāmūs*.

Apart from prisoners of war, numerous Muslim merchants and envoys from the caliphs and other Muslim rulers sojourned in Byzantium; the Mamlūk Sulṭāns occasionally banished thither troublesome persons with their families; Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns and pretenders (Ḳilīdj Arslān II, Kaykhusraw I, Kaykāwūs II) repeatedly spent long periods in Constantinople; remarkable details of their life in the capital are given by Byzantine writer and in the Saldjūḳ historians.

No definite traces have as yet been discovered of the two sieges by the Arabs and the residence of Arabs and other Muslims in Constantinople; in particular, the mosque of Maslama has not come to

light; it is first mentioned by Const. Porphyr., *De adm.*, ch. xxii (Bonn *Corpus*, 101, l. 22); it was destroyed in a popular rising in 1200 and pillaged by the Crusaders in 1203 (Nicetas Choniates, 696, 731, ed. Bonn). According to Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 381, cf. x, 18 (whence Abu 'l-Fidā derives his information), it was restored in 441/1049-50 by Constantine Monomachos at the request of the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrīl Beg. According to Maḳrīzī (i, 177, ed. Quatremère), Michael VIII Palaeologus built a mosque about 660/1261-2 which the Mamlūk Sulṭān Baybars equipped in splendid style. The accounts of the ʿArab Djāmiʿ and other buildings by the Arabs in Constantinople belong to the domain of fable.

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(J. H. MORDTMANN)

2. AFTER THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST [see ISTANBUL].

KÜSTENDIL, KÖSTENDIL (in Serbian: Ćustendil), a town of some 35,000 inhabitants in Western Bulgaria. It was in the Serbo-Bulgarian Middle Ages a small fortified stronghold on a hill above the wide plain of Küstendil, serving as a princely residence, and was known as Velbuzhd. In Ottoman times it was capital of the *sandjāḳ* of Küstendil, and was an Islamic cultural and administrative centre of some importance. The town is the indirect successor of the Roman Pautalia, of which substantial remains have been unearthed.

The Ottoman chroniclers Saʿd al-Dīn and Münedjdjimbashī mention that the ruler of the land of Konstantin (the son of the Serbian nobleman Dejan) accepted Ottoman overlordship in 773/1371-2, after the latter had captured the strategic fortresses of Ikhtiman and Samokov. Neshrī mentions Konstantin among Murād's vasals during the Ḳaramān Campaign. ʿAshīḳpashazāde, Oruč Beg and the Anonymus Giese do not however mention the acquisition of the land of Konstantin. This prince married Helena, the daughter of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander (their daughter married Manuel Palaeologus, emperor of Byzantium), and died as a loyal Ottoman vassal in the Battle of Rovine in 1395 assisting Bāyezīd I against the Walachians (797/1395). He left no suitable heir behind. The memory of the princely couple is perpetuated by the monastery of Poganovo in the ravine of the Erme north of Küstendil, today just across the Yugoslav border. Konstantin's lands, including the towns and castles of Štip, Radomir, Petrič, Melnik, Vranje and the rich silver mines of Kratovo (places today partly in Yugoslavian, partly in Bulgarian territory), were transformed into an Ottoman *sandjāḳ* known as Ḳostadin-ili, the land of Ḳostadin. There are some traditions that the Bulgarian population rose in revolt in the difficult years of the Fetret Dewri and around the time of the ascession of Murād II. The fortified town had allegedly to be retaken, after which it was dismantled. The unreliable population was transferred to the neighbouring villages. Whether true or not, it is at least certain that in the time of Murād II a new open town was founded below the "Castle Hill", grouped around a mosque, a caravanserai and a school. The new settlement became known as Ilīdja-yī Küstendil, or Ilīdja in Turkish, Konstantinova Banja or Velbužka Banja in Slavic. The Turkish form Küstendil appears to be a corruption of Ḳostadin-ili.

At the end of the 8th/14th century and the beginning of the 9th/15th century, important groups of Turkish colonists from Asia Minor were settled in the *sandjaḳ* of Küstendil. According to an Ottoman census from the beginning of the 10th/16th century, these groups numbered 6,640 families. The Christian section of the population then comprised 56,988 families. According to the census of 925/1519, the city itself counted a Muslim population of 293 families and 60 bachelors, as well as 47 Christian families, six bachelors and eight widows, perhaps altogether 1,800 civil, non-administrative inhabitants. In spite of this relatively small size, Küstendil appeared in 1499 to the widely-travelled Rhenish knight Arnold van Harff as "eyn gar grosse schone Stadt". This source also remarks that "Wruskabalna" (Velbužka Banja) had a palace where the sultan kept a number of his wives. At the beginning of the 20th century, Jordan Ivanov still saw a "Seray Kulesi", situated next to a fine basin (*ḥawḍ*) built and paved with large slabs of marble. Tower and basin were situated in the "Seray Mahallesi".

In the 10th/16th century, Küstendil witnessed a rapid expansion. In 966/1559 an anonymous Italian traveller described it as a town with "about a thousand houses, built in the Turkish manner, many mosques and quite a number of baths. The town is inhabited by Turks and some Jews . . ." We passed the night in a Khan, called Imaret, which in our language is an inn. A Sandjakbeg ordered the construction of this very convenient building for the traveller and stranger, for the salvation of his soul." During this century, a number of military commanders and members of the administration erected a considerable number of mosques and caravanserais, and opened up mineral baths. Meḥmed-i ʿĀshīḳ in his *Menāẓirü'l-ʿawālim* (Halet Efendi, No. 616, I, fol. 212a) noted in 997/1589 twelve mineral baths, many with stone-built domes over the disrobing section and over the bathroom proper, others even with separate rooms. The most beautiful was the so-called Beg Ilīdjasī. In 894/1489 the *beglerbegi* of Rumeli, Khādīm Süleymān Pasha, had erected a large domed mosque and a double bath in the city, and had laid out a water supply system which brought good drinking water from the village of Bogoslov, some 15 km. away, to the town. The villagers of Bogoslov received a privileged status as *ṣu-yoldji̱l*. The *taḥrir defteri* of 925/1519 also attributes an *ʿimāret* and a number of shops to this governor. (The mosque, very similar to that built by Khādīm Süleymān Pasha on the banks of the Tundja in Edirne, was demolished shortly before the Second World War.) Other important buildings were the ʿImāret Djāmiʿi, with

caravanserai, *madrasa* and bath, erected in 937/1531 by Meḥmed Beg (the building was often confused with the mosque of Murād II; see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*, iv, Istanbul 1974, 806, which enumerates and continues the old mistakes). The mosque was demolished in 1949. Other 10th/16th century buildings, happily preserved, are the Dervīsh Banya from 973/1566 and the large mosque of Aḥmed Beg from 983/1575-6, this last now serving as a local museum.

According to the Ottoman census register of 981/1573, the town then numbered 623 Muslim households, 90 Muslim bachelors, 84 Christian households, 28 Christian bachelors, 14 widows and a Jewish community of four families. The whole population, including the members of the administration and their families, amounted perhaps to 4,000 souls. By then the number of Muslim *maḥalle*s had risen from six (in 925/1519) to 21, the number of *imām*s of mosques from seven to seventeen. An Ottoman *Dj̲eleb* register (*Turksi Izvori za Bâlgarskata Istorija*, iii, Sofia 1972, 129-50) from 981/1573 gives a fair cross-section of the composition of the town's population. A total of 57 Muslim *dj̲eleb*s are registered against six Christians, all given by name, patronymic and profession. Both groups were almost all craftsmen, leatherworkers, smiths, *mūtāf*s, *ḥelvādj̲ı*s, goldsmiths, shoemakers, soapmakers, cartwrights, etc. Out of the number of *dj̲eleb*s in the villages of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Küstendil, 558 were Christian against 20 Muslims, from which may be concluded that the Bulgarian Christian element continued to be the bulk of the rural population.

In the 11th/17th century, the development of Küstendil apparently stagnated. The city had suffered badly from earthquakes in 993/1585 and 1051/1641. Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vi), who visited it in 1071/1660-1 and left his signature on the front wall of the Aḥmed Beg Mosque, counted eleven small *maḥalle*s with 1,100 houses, and he further made some important notes on the Islamic buildings of the city, among which he mentions a number of mosques, three *madrasas*, five *tekkes*, six schools and twelve mineral baths "with lofty vaults and many basins".

In March 1690 Küstendil was occupied by an Austrian force under Antonio Valerio Žić, which led to a considerable diminishing of the Muslim population. In about or after that year, the entire settlement was surrounded by a wall with towers and gates, and the Castle Hill was again fortified. A picture of these works, made at the end of the 17th century by the Dutch artist Harrewyn, is preserved in the "Prenten Kabinet" of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum.

In the early 19th century, Küstendil recovered slowly. St. Denis gives the number of inhabitants in 1807 as 7,000. J. Hütz (*Beschreibung der europäischen Türkei*, Munich 1828, 250-1) gives the same number. Ami Boué (*Recueil d'itinéraires*, i, Paris 1836) counted 9,000 inhabitants, Bulgarians and Muslims. The *Sāl-nāme* of the Ṭūna Wilāyeti of 1285/1868-9 mentions 16 mosques in Küstendil, three *madrasas* and 16 *tekkes*. When in 1878 Küstendil came within the frontiers of the newly-established Bulgarian state, most of the Muslim inhabitants emigrated. In 1890 Jireček (*Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1891) counted in 1890 10,689 inhabitants, of which only 581 were Turks. Jireček still saw nine lead-covered mosques. Jordan Ivanov noted in 1908 ten mineral baths. Today (1979) only two mosques and one of the baths remain preserved, and the Muslim element is reduced to a handful of families.

Küstendil produced some Ottoman scholars and men of letters, such as Sanūberzāde Ḥāletī (d. 973/1566); S̲h̲emʿī Meḥmed Efendi Küstendil, scholar, poet, and calligrapher who was for a long time *muftī* of the town (d. 1272/1855-6); and especially, Küstendilī Mollāzāde Süleymān S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ī Efendi, for a long time *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the Naḳs̲h̲bandī convent of Küstendil, who left behind some 26 works including a *History of Küstendil*. The Naḳs̲h̲ī Dergāh, built by Süleymān himself, and in the yard of which he was buried, was demolished shortly after Bulgaria became independent.

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KUSŪF, K̲h̲usūf, eclipse of the sun or of the moon. As regards linguistic usage, it may be noted that *al-kusūf* is used alike for the eclipse of the moon (*kusūf al-ḳamar*) and for that of the sun (*kusūf al-s̲h̲ams*), e.g. in al-Farg̲h̲ānī, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī; but they are often distinguished as *al-k̲h̲usūf*, eclipse of the moon, and *al-kusūf*, of the sun, e.g. by al-Ḳazwīnī (on the linguistic usage, it should be noted that according to the *Mafātīḥ al-ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 222-3 the viith form, as in *inkasafat al-s̲h̲ams*, should not be used, although this is very often done; e.g. by al-Ḳazwīnī and others).

The eclipse of the sun and of the moon have from the earliest times attracted the liveliest attention. Ptolemy, following Hipparchus, studied the theory of eclipses, and following him the Arabs and Syrians, etc. We shall deal first with the eclipse of the moon. It must be premised that the apparent path of the moon—we must adhere to the geocentric view—cuts the ecliptic in two opposite points, which however in course of time come to move on to the

ecliptic. These points are called *al-djawzahar* (Persian *djawz čihr*, nut-shape, or less correctly *gūy čihr*, globe-shape); they are also called *al-tinnīn*, "dragon" (see below). All the planets have of course such *djawzahar*; without an addition the word always refers to the moon. Their positions are given in the Ephemerides. The massive ball into which, according to Ibn al-Haytham, the moon is inserted, and which carries it along as it moves, is called *falak al-djawzahar*.

The eclipse of the moon is caused, as was early recognised, by a dark body coming between the sun and the moon. It was at one time thought that this was a dragon, which ended at two opposite points on the globe of the heavens and had the same motion as the nodes of the moon. Eclipses occur when we cannot see the moon, because the head or tail of the dragon comes between us and the moon. From this idea comes the name for the crescent and waning nodes, i.e. the points where the moon passes through the ecliptic, "head, *al-ra'*s" and "tail, *al-dhanab*", which were retained long after the "dragon" had disappeared. The sign ☊ for the length of the node is a distorted dragon. The astrologers credited this dragon with certain influences on the horoscope. But Severus Sebukht (*ca.* 650) (F. Nau, *Notes d'astronomie syrienne*, in *JA*, Ser. 10, xvi [1910], 15) long ago denied this, as there was no dragon and the calculations in question referred to the movements of the modes. But we still find in al-Bīrūnī's *Tafhīm*, etc. the assertion that head and tail have separate natures. The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates increase (of property etc.). The tail is cold, brings misfortune, and indicates diminution of wealth, etc. Eclipses of the sun or of the moon are really caused by the earth coming between the sun and moon or the moon coming between the earth and the sun. Instead of *djawzahar* we often have the word "node" *'aḳd* and *'uḳda* used, also in combination with *ra's* and *dhanab*.

The shadow of the earth arising in the first instance, because the sun is considerably larger than the earth, consists of a cone-shaped convergent shadow (the shadow) on one side and a divergent shadow (penumbra) on the other side. Only in the shadow is there absolute darkness. As the diameter of the shadow at the place of the moon's path is considerably greater than that of the moon at the same point, under certain conditions, the moon may remain some time in the shadow and therefore be perfectly eclipsed for the period. Ibn al-Haytham, for example, investigated these conditions very fully (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.* xiii, *Über eine Schrift von Ibn al-Haitham, "Über die Beschaffenheit der Schatten"*, in *SBPMS Erl.* [1907], xxxix, 226).

If earth, sun and moon were very small bodies, mere points, eclipses would only take place when the sun and moon were exactly in the nodes. But as they are large, eclipses also occur when these bodies have passed beyond the nodes, i.e. have experienced an alteration in latitude and longitude. A total eclipse occurs when the breadth is smaller than the difference between the diameter of the shadow and that of the moon, a partial eclipse when it is larger than the latter but smaller than the sun of the diameters; if it is however equal to the latter, there is only a contact but no eclipse.

Taking into consideration the shadow alone, the *makhrūṭ* (cone) or *ṣanawbar* (pine-cone)—its cross-section is called *dā'irat al-ẓill*—we have the following: the entrance into the shadow is called *bad' al-kusūf*, beginning of the eclipse; the phase from the beginning of the eclipse, to the beginning of totality, is called *suḳūṭ* (falling, the ἔμπτωσις of Ptolemy), the middle of the path covered in shadow is called *wasṭ* (middle). The phase which corresponds to complete emergence is called *tamām al-indjilā'* ("the completion of disappearance"); *al-makth* ("stop, stay") means the phase in which the moon is eclipsed; in a partial eclipse there is no such stop. A *kusūf kull al-ḳamar bilā makth*, a total eclipse without a stop, is said to occur when the moon's path is such that the darkened moon touches the cone of the shadow at only one point; then a total eclipse exists at this point only. For the case of total eclipse, the place where it begins is called *awwal al-makth* and where the moon begins to emerge from the shadow, *ākhir al-makth*.

A diminution of light but no complete extinction also occurs when the moon moves through the half-shadow. In his classical work on the shadows Ibn al-Haytham (see above) discussed the theory of this question and checked it by observation. In very rare cases, however, the whole of the eclipsed moon does not appear quite black but shows different colours, especially a dark red; this was observed by various early astronomers and minutely described by Ibn al-Haytham (his statements agree with modern observation, e.g. Joh. Müller, *Lehrbuch der kosmischen Physik*[5], § 9, p. 196). Al-Bīrūnī further studied these colours (*al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, *maḳāla* vii, *bāb* vii, *faṣl* iii); he also examines critically earlier views and particularly Indian ideas on the astrological significance of the colours (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über die verschiedenen bei der Mondfinsternis auftretenden Farben nach Bīrūnī*, in *Eders Jahrbuch für Photographie, etc.*, 1914). This light on the completely eclipsed moon is explained by the fact that the sun's rays are diverted in passing through the earth's atmosphere and thus enter the shadow and illuminate the moon. According to the amount of moisture in the atmosphere, these diverted rays are more or less coloured. For the possibility of a solar eclipse, the conditions are the same as for a lunar one.

Solar Eclipse: As the angle at which the moon appears to us is smaller, although only slightly, than that at which the sun appears, the moon can never completely cover the sun. Therefore even at a so-called total eclipse of the sun, even if the centres of sun and moon and earth all lie on a straight line, a narrow rim of light still remains. Bright formations, the corona and the protuberances radiate from this. They are described by al-Bīrūnī in *al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, *maḳāla* viii, *bāb* xi (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und Sonnenfinsternis*, in *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, xv [1923], 43).

The local times at which the same lunar or solar eclipse appears at different places are obtained from the difference of their geographical longitudes. The calculations are made difficult by the fact that these bodies show a considerable parallax. This partly explains the great differences between the calculated and true values.

It would take us too far to go into the details of the theoretical considerations, for example when each eclipse begins, how long it lasts, its periodicity, etc. In the works of al-Farghānī, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Djaghmīnī, al-Khiraḳī, and particularly in that of Abu 'l-Faradj, *Le Livre de l'ascension de l'esprit*, ed. F. Nau, Paris 1899, also in the *Kitāb al-Tafhīm* etc. of al-Bīrūnī, we find more or less full general descriptions, while the works on astronomical theory like the *Zīdj* (tables) of al-Khwārazmī, of al-Battānī, the *Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī* of al-Bīrūnī, the *Zīdj* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, etc., give information about

mathematical considerations and the particular observations to be made (on the above scholars, cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der math. Wissensch.*, x [1900]).

To obtain a standard for measuring the amount of the eclipse, the diameter of the sun or of the moon, was divided into twelve equal parts, called "fingers" (*iṣbaʿ* or *iṣbaʿ al-kusūf*) and the number of these that were eclipsed was calculated. In the West one spoke of "digits". In the same way, the surface is imagined to be divided into 12 equal parts and it is calculated how many of these are eclipsed. The latter may be calculated from the former which refer only to length. Al-Battānī, for example, gives tables in connection with this. The diopter of Hipparchus was used to measure the magnitude of a lunar eclipse. Two rods are fixed at right angles to a rod. The one with a small round hole is fixed and the other with a larger round hole can be moved towards the other. The second hole is so placed that at an appropriate distance from the other the moon is seen to fill it exactly. A dark plane is pushed in front of the second hole. The amount a of the shifting of its edge from one side of the hole, which bounds the dark side of the moon, to the edge of its bright part, is measured, and the magnitude b of the shifting over the whole surface of the moon and their relation expressed as $a:b$. The amount g in fingers of the eclipse is $g = \frac{a}{b}\,12$.

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(E. Wiedemann)

KŪT AL-ʿAMĀRA, a place in al-ʿIrāḳ (lat. 32° 30′ N., long 45° 50′ E.), on the left bank of the Tigris, between Baghdād and ʿAmāra, 100 miles south-east of Baghdād as the crow flies. *Kūt* is the Hindustānī word *kōt* meaning "fortress" [see KŌTWĀL] found in other place-names in al-ʿIrāḳ, like Kūt al-Muʿammir; Kūt al-ʿAmāra is often simply called Kūt. Kūt lies opposite the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy, also called al-Gharrāf, the old canal connecting the Tigris with the Euphrates, which has several junctions with the Euphrates, e.g. at Nāṣiriyya and Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh. The plains to the north of Kūt are inhabited by the Banū Rabīʿa, a division of the great tribe of Banū Lām [*q.v.*]. Kūt is not an old town; it has been proposed to identify it with al-Madhār mentioned by Yāḳūt (iv, 275; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 38, and H. H. Schaeder in *Islam*, xiv, 17). In the beginning of the century and down to 1860 it was a miserable little village surrounded by walls of terre pisée (Keppel in 1824, according to Ritter; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1860, ii, 150). But after Messrs. Lynch obtained a concession for a line of steamers between Baghdād and Baṣra, Kūt became an important station on the river and the result was a considerable increase in its population. In the last period of Turkish administration (beginning 1861), Kūt was the capital of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the same name in the *sandjaḳ* of Baghdād. About 1890 the population was estimated at 4,115 (Cuinet), almost all Shīʿīs (but including about 100 Sunnīs and 100 Jews). The *ḳaḍāʾ* extends northwards as far as the mountains of Luristān [*q.v.*]. The plain at the foot of the mountains is watered by the river Kallāl and contains several villages, the Turkish ownership of which was disputed by the Persian authorities. The population of the *ḳaḍāʾ* likewise grew after 1861, and about 1890 numbered 30,000, all Sunnīs (except the population of Kūt itself).

It was at Kūt al-ʿAmāra during the course of the First World War that several thousand British and Indian troops were cut off by Turkish forces and compelled to surrender on 26 Djumāda II 1334/29 April 1916, after a siege lasting five months.

Ḳūt was first taken by the Sixth British-Indian division under Major-General Charles Townshend in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1333/late September 1915. Continuing his advance northwards, in an ill-judged attempt to occupy Baghdād, Townshend was repulsed at Ctesiphon in late November by the Turkish Sixth army under Yūsuf Nūr ad-Dīn Bey and forced to retire on Ḳūt. Here he decided to stand, for the ostensible purpose of blocking a Turkish advance down the Tigris to ʿAmāra, or by way of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy to Nāṣiriyya. In fact, however, his troops were exhausted, he was burdened with many wounded, and the Turks, under their new commander, Khalīl Bey (later Pasha), were hard on his heels. If he had not halted at Ḳūt, his division would almost certainly have been caught in the open and destroyed.

Ḳūt was invested by the Turks on 27 Muḥarram 1334/5 December 1915. Townshend's force consisted of just under 13,000 infantry and artillerymen (he had sent his cavalry south before Ḳūt was encircled) and over 3,000 Indian non-combatants (cooks, drivers, etc.). A quarter or more of the fighting troops were sick or wounded. The Arab population of the town, which Townshend allowed to remain, numbered about 6,000. The besieging force was made up of one-and-a-half divisions (about 7,500 men) of the Turkish Sixth Army, whose total effective strength of something under 30,000 men was mainly disposed between Ḳūt and Shaykh Saʿd, 30 miles to the east. Its tactical direction lay with Field-Marshal von der Goltz, head of the German military mission in ʿIrāḳ.

Desperate endeavours were made by the main body of the British expeditionary force between January and April 1916 to relieve the garrison at Ḳūt. In a series of severely fought actions, notably at Shaykh Saʿd, Ḥanna and Dudjayla, the British and Indian troops suffered 23,000 casualties, while Turkish losses were estimated at 10,000. The British efforts were in vain, and in the last week of April Townshend asked Khalīl Pasha for terms. When the Turkish commander indicated that he would not be content with anything less than unconditional surrender, Townshend suggested, with the concurrence of the Cabinet in London, that the Ḳūt garrison be freed on parole in exchange for its guns, stores and one million pounds sterling. On the orders of Enver Pasha [*q.v.*], the Turkish Minister of War, the offer was rejected, and the fact of its having been made was afterwards used to good effect by the Turkish government to discredit Britain's reputation in the Middle East. A last-minute attempt to persuade Khalīl Pasha to change his mind was made by Colonel W. H. Beach, head of military intelligence in ʿIrāḳ, and Captains Aubrey Herbert and T. E. Lawrence of Military Intelligence, Cairo, who were authorised to double the ransom offered. The attempt failed, and twenty-four hours later, after destroying his guns and stores, Townshend surrendered, under a solemn guarantee from Khalīl Pasha, which was afterwards reaffirmed by Enver Pasha that his troops would be treated as "the honoured guests of the Turkish nation".

During the siege, the garrison at Ḳūt had suffered

casualties of 1,818 men killed or died of wounds (278 of them Indian non-combatants) and 2,500 wounded. Nearly 250 of the Arab inhabitants had been killed and over 600 wounded, though more were to die after Turkish forces had re-occupied the town. The Turks allowed the worst cases among the British and Indian wounded, 1,475 in all, to be sent down to Baṣra in exchange for Turkish prisoners of war. Nearly 12,000 British and Indian troops, along with their Indian camp followers, went into captivity in Anatolia and elsewhere. By the end of the war more than 4,000 of them, including 70% of the British rank and file, had died from disease, starvation and inhuman treatment at the hands of their Turkish captors.

Ḳūt was retaken by the Mesopotamian expeditionary force in Djumādā I 1335/late February 1917, opening the way for the occupation of Baghdād a fortnight later. After the war, in the administrative reorganisation that accompanied the institution of the mandate, Ḳūt was made the principal town of a new *liwāʾ*.

Bibliography: C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 935 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iii, 139-42; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1899, 288 ff.; M. Moukbil Bey, *La campagne de l'Irak*, Istanbul 1919-Paris 1933; Sir Charles V. F. Townshend, *My campaign in Mesopotamia*, London 1920; H. von Kiesling, *Mit Feldmarschall von der Goltz Pascha in Mesopotamien und Persien*, Leipzig 1922; *Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers. Report of the Mesopotamian Commission* (*Cmd.* 8610), 1917; *History of the Great War based on official documents. The campaign in Mesopotamia 1914-1918*, by Brig.-Gen. F. J. Moberley, i-ii, London 1923-4; S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 294, 313; Sir Arnold T. Wilson, *Loyalties: Mesopotamia, 1914-1917*, London 1930; *Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944, 277-83, 543-4 and index. None of the popular accounts of the siege of Ḳūt and the ʿIrāḳ campaign of 1914-17 published in recent years (e.g. A. J. Barker, *The neglected war*, London 1967; R. Braddon, *The siege*, London 1969; R. W. Millar, *Kut: the death of an army*, London 1969) is of any scholarly value.

(J. H. Kramers - [J. B. Kelly])

ḲUTADGHU BILIG ("Knowledge that brings happiness"), the first long narrative poem in Turkic literature as well as the oldest monument of Turkic Islamic literature. A relatively long (6,645 distichs) didactic work, it is in Ḳarakhānid, the earliest variety of Eastern Middle Turkic and the first literary language of the Muslim Turks. Its author, Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib of Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*], a Muslim Turk educated in the Arabic and Persian languages and in the classical Islamic sciences, completed his work in 462/1069-70 in Kāshghar and dedicated it to Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Tabghač Bughra Khān (d. 495/1102), ruler of the eastern Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS].

The *Ḳutadghu bilig* has come down to us in three manuscripts: the Harāt ms., dated 842/1439, which is in the Uyghur script and was made from an unknown version in the Arabic script; and the Farghāna and Cairo mss., both undated and in the Arabic script.

It is essentially a political essay which, in an Islamic setting, describes an ideal monarchy of the Sāsānid type. The main goal of this monarchy is the public good, which is conceived of as the strength of the king and the happiness of his subjects. This ideal kingdom is based on dedicated service rendered by highly-qualified state officials and servants to a wise and noble ruler of royal descent, who properly rewards those who serve him. Islam, of an Avicennan and Fārābian hue, has a vital role in it. Every individual must possess the faith and act in accord with it. He should not renounce this world: services rendered by ascetics in seclusion are of little value, since they produce no public good. Through his services to God and men, he should rather aspire to obtain both this world and the hereafter.

The author presents his views in a series of dialogues, in which the chief participants are a king, Kün Toghdï; his ministers, first Ay Toldï and, after his death, his son Ögdülmish; and the ascetic Odghurmïsh, a relative of Ögdülmish. The author uses these characters symbolically: Kün Toghdï represents the true path; Ay Toldï, happiness; Ögdülmish, reason; and Odghurmïsh, destiny.

No one source or model for the *Ḳutadghu bilig* has been discovered. Frequent references in it, however, indicate a broad spectrum of still-unidentified sources: poetic works (*shāʿir sözi*); sayings of elders (*örüng bashligh är, kökčin, avučgha*), the learned (*biliglig, bögü, bilgä*), the wise (*uḳushluḳ*), and notables (*sartlar bashï, ötükän begi*); as well as proverbs (*türkčä mathal*). Some of these references appear to be direct quotations, especially those in the form of quatrains.

The *Ḳutadghu bilig* follows the rules of Arabic-Persian prosody, but also includes a few elements of the traditional Turkic syllabic versification. It is in the *mathnawī* form and in the *mutaḳārib* metre (⏑−−/⏑−−/⏑−−/⏑−). The quatrains (*rubāʿīs* or *tuyughs*) embedded in the poem are all in the same metre, and all have the rhyme pattern *aaba*. Alliteration and rhythmico-syntactic parallelism, features of pre-Islamic Turkic prosody, occur quite frequently. The author's style is concise and expressive. He favours such stylistic devices as epithets, apostrophes and rhetorical questions, and he often indulges in word-play and folk-etymology.

The language is very closely related to Late Uyghur, although the Persian language—colloquial and classical—has left an imprint in the form of loan-translations and direct borrowings, both on its grammar and vocabulary.

Philological research on the *Ḳutadghu bilig* is at a fairly advanced stage. The three extant mss. have been published in facsimile. There is also a good critical edition, translation into Modern Turkish and thorough philological analysis by R. R. Arat (*Kutadgu bilig. I. Metin*. Istanbul 1947, II. *Tercüme*, Ankara 1958). Its language has been described, very sketchily, by M. Mansuroğlu (*Das Karakhanidische*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, i, 87-112). Most of the lexical material of the *Ḳutadghu bilig*, with illustrations, has been included in the Old Turkic dictionary, prepared by Nadelaev and his team (*Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969). The best content-analysis of the work to date is that given by A. Bombaci in his book on the history of Turkish literature (*La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 83-96).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see H. Vámbéry, *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik*, Innsbruck 1870; W. Radloff, *Kudatku-Bilik, Facsimile der uigurischen Handschrift der K.K. Hofbibliothek in Wien*, St. Petersbourg 1890; idem, *Das Kudatku Bilik des Jusuf Chass-hadschib aus Bälasaghun*, i, St. Petersburg 1891; O. Alberts, *Zur Textkritik des*

Kudatku Bilik, in *ZDMG*, li (1897), 715-17; W. Radloff, *Über eine in Kairo aufgefundene zweite Handschrift des Kudatku Bilik*, in *IAN*, ix (1898), 309-19; idem, *Zum Kudatku Bilik*, in *ZDMG*, lii (1898), 152-4, 289; idem, *Das Kudatku Bilik des Jusuf Chass-Hadschib*. ii. *Text und Übersetzung nach den Handschriften von Wien und Kairo*, St. Petersburg 1900-10; O. Alberts, *Der Dichter ... des in uigurisch-türkischem Dialekt geschriebenen Kudatku Bilik (1069-70), ein Schüler des Avicenna*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, vii (1901), 319-36; M. Hartmann, *Zur metrischen Form des Kudatku Bilik*, in *Keleti Szemle*, iii (1902), 141-53; idem, *Die metrische Form des Qudatqu Bilik*, in *OLZ*, v (1902), 349-51; Z. Validi, *Vostočnie rukopisi v ferganskoi oblasti*, in *ZVO*, xxii (1914), 312-13; W. Barthold, *The Boughra-Khan mentioned in the Qudatqu-Bilik*, in *BSOAS*, iii (1932), 151-8; F. Köprülü, *Türk edebiyyâtî ta'rîkhi*, Istanbul 1922-6, 194-204; A. Rahim and A. Aziz, *Tâtâr edebiyyâtî ta'rîkhi*, Kazan 1924, i, 107-21; Fitret, *Kutadgu Bilig*, in *Maʿârif va okutghučî*, ii (1925), 68-74; L. Bonelli, *Del Kudatku Bilik, poema turco dell XI sec.*, in *Annali del R. Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, vi (1933), 3-38; R. Arat, *Kutadgu bilig'de tabipler ve efsuncular ile münasebet hakkında*, in *Ülkü*, xlvi (1936), 280-92; *Kutadgu Bilig*. I. *Viyana nüshası*. II. *Fergana nüshası*, III. *Mısır nüshası*, Istanbul 1942-3; M. S. Aran, *Türkün altın kitabı Kutadgu Bilig*, Istanbul 1944; A. Bombaci, *Kutadgu Bilig hakkında bazı mulâhazalar*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 65-75; R. Arat, art. *Kutadğu-bilig*, in *İA*, v (1955), 1038-47 (with detailed descriptive bibliography).

(A. J. E. Bodrogligeti)

KUTĀHIYA, modern Kütahya, a town of north-western Anatolia, lying at an altitude of 3,251 feet/991 m. in lat. 39° 25′ north and long. 29° 59′ east. It is in the south-western corner of the well-cultivated plain of the Porsuk Çay, which eventually runs into the Sakarya river; the old town nestles on the slopes of the hill called ʿAdjem Dagh, which is crowned by the ruined citadel. In classical times it was Cotyaeum, the city of Cotys, and the largest city of Phrygia Salutaris, an early centre of Christianity and then in Byzantine times the seat of an archbishopric.

Kutāhiya was taken by the Turkmen Sulaymān b. Ḳutulmush in *ca.* 472/1080, in the aftermath of the battle of Mantzikert or Malāzgird [*q.v.*], and until the battle of Dorylaeum remained under Saldjūḳ control. It then reverted to the Greeks for a brief while as a frontier fortress subject to Turkmen attacks, and was retaken in 579/1183 by the Saldjūḳs under Ḳïlïdj Arslan II [*q.v.*]. It later passed once again to the Byzantines but was finally regained by the Saldjūḳs in 631/1233-4. In the 8th/14th century it formed the centre of the *beylik* of the Germiyān-oghullarï [*q.v.*]. Süleymān Shāh Čelebi (*ca.* 765-90/1363-98) transferred Kutāhiya, with others of his towns, to the Ottoman prince Bāyezīd Yïldïrïm when the latter married his daughter Dewlet Khātūn. Süleyman's son Yaʿḳūb Čelebi tried to recover it on the death of Murād I (791/1389), but it was regained by Bāyezīd in the following year. After the Ottoman defeat at Ankara (804/1402), Kutāhiya was taken over by Tīmūr, who installed his son Shāh Rukh as governor whilst he himself went on towards Ephesus. In the subsequent period of succession squabbles in the Ottoman ruling house, Kutāhiya fell briefly into the hands of the Ḳaramānid Meḥmed I [see ḳaramān-oghullarï] (814/1411), but was recaptured by Yaʿḳūb Germiyānī with Ottoman help. When Yaʿḳūb died at Kutāhiya in 832/1429, the principality of the Germiyān-oghullarï passed, according to his bequest, to the Ottoman Murād II.

Under the Ottomans, Kutāhiya was the capital of a *sandjaḳ* of Anadolu, and then in 1841 a *sandjaḳ* of the province of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*]; in 1902 it comprised the *ḳaḍā*'s of Kutāhiya, Eski Shehir [*q.v.*], ʿUshāḳ [*q.v.*], Kedus or Gediz and Sīmāw. Kutāhiya was the farthest point reached by the Egyptian army of Ibrāhīm Pasha b. Muḥammad Pasha [*q.v.*] in its advance on Istanbul (1833), and his camp at the nearby hot springs of Yenidje was the scene of diplomatic negotiations which followed the intervention of the European powers. In *ca.* 1890, Cuinet numbered the population of the town at 22,266, including 4,000 Greeks and 3,000 Armenians; there were 24 mosques, 21 *madrasas*, 16 dervish *tekkes*, 4 churches, 9 caravanserais, 11 baths and 12 potteries. Kutāhiya was indeed formerly an important centre for the production of glazed, polychrome pottery with floral decorations, the so-called Rhodian ware, and this is still produced today in a somewhat cruder form; carpet weaving has also been an important family craft. A standard-gauge railway runs from Balikesir to Kutāhiya and joins the Eski-Şehir-Afyon Karahisar line a few miles further on. Kutāhiya is today the capital of an *il* (formerly *vilayet*) of the same name; in 1975 the town's population was 82,442 and that of the *il* 470,423.

The monuments of Kutāhiya, from the Germiyān and early Ottoman periods, are significant, and include the Ḳurshunlu Djāmiʿ (777/1375-6), the Ulu Djāmiʿ (814/1411), the Yaʿḳūb Čelebi Djāmiʿ (837/1433-4) and the Ḳaragöz Aḥmed Djāmiʿ (915/1509); notable is the use of tiles for roofing rather than lead. There are also some interesting old houses remaining.

Bibliography: Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, 632; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 3910; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire ottomane*, i, 246; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 203; *Murray's Handbook, Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, London 1895, 57; Cl. Huart, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1897, 54 ff.; *Baedeckers Konstantinopel, Kleinasien, Balkanstaaten*, Leipzig 1914, 283; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya şehri*, Istanbul 1932; *Admiralty handbook, Turkey*, London 1943, ii, 566 and index; G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 31, 175, 439-40; A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 115, 123; *İA*, art. *Kütahya* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin: exhaustive treatment).

(C. E. Bosworth)

KUTAI, now a *kabupaten* (regency) in the Indonesian province of Kalimantan Timur (East K.) [see borneo in Suppl.] which stretches along the Mahakam river .It covers 40,000 km.² and has 250,492 inhabitants, among them 137,229 Muslims (1971). It is rich in oilfields (near Balik Papan), gold, and timber.

The population consists of: Kutainese, probably originally Malays who immigrated as pagans, and whose Malay language now bears the influence of Javanese, Buguinese and Banjarese; Buginese, from South Sulawesi, and especially from the old kingdom of Wajo, who appeared as sailors, shipbuilders and traders since the first half of the 17th century; Banjarese, who may have participated already in the colonisation of Kutai by Hindu-Javanese from Banjarmasin, which later on kept close contacts with Kutai; Bajau, who originate from the Sulu Islands and who came first as sea-

nomads until they finally settled on the coasts; several Dayak tribes, living mainly in the interior and up-river areas; and some 245 Chinese and 246 Indian traders (1971).

In the hillside area of Muara Kaman, some plates with votive inscriptions in Sanskrit from the 4th century A.D., which belong to the oldest known Hindu relics in the archipelago, have been discovered. The Hindu kingdom of that area, which in the course of time moved more to the interior, obviously developed independently from the Hindu and Buddhist empires in Java, and was only conquered and consequently Islamised by Kutai around 1630 A.D.

Kutai itself appears in history as a dependency of Majapahit at the time when Gajah Mada was *patih* of that kingdom (1331-64), as is stated in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (14, I).

According to the *Salasila raja-raja di dalam negeri Kutai Kerta Negara*, or Chronicle of Kutai, Islam was first introduced during the reign of Raja Makota by Tuan di Bandang (in Buginese sources known as Dato' ri Bandang), who only stayed for a short while, and Tuan Tunggang Parangan, both of whom arrived from Makassar, most probably in the first years of the 17th century. In his efforts to spread Islam, Tuan Tunggang Parangan extensively used magical means, as the *Salasila*, composed under the reign of Raja Makota's grandson Pangeran Adipati Sinum Panji Mendapa ing Martapura before 1635, eloquently narrates.

This *Salasila* reveals a still-existing attachment to the animistic and magical mentality which is stronger here than in other Malay chronicles. It tries to avoid anachronism, such as the mentioning of Islamic terms or customs in its narratives about pre-Islamic events, and although it shows a remarkable familiarity with the moral and legal prescriptions of the *Tādj al-salāṭīn*, or *Makota segala raja-raja*, and the Javanese *Panji* narratives as well as the *wayang*, it gives the impression that the *adat* law [see ʿĀDA, iv. Indonesia] which remained in use even at the sultan's court at Tenggarong, was to a large extent the old, indigenous one.

An important role in the history of Kutai was played by the Buginese settlers, most of whom originated from Wajo, and who were centred on Samarinda, forming the strongest "foreign" colony and enjoying some kind of internal autonomy under the *Pua Adu* or *Matoa* elected from among their own nobility, but reconfirmed by the sultan (until 1860). In 1726-7, prince Aru Singkang from Wajo conquered for a short time Pasir and Kutai, but usually the Buginese supported the sultan, especially in his fights against the pagan Dayaks and the pirates. The relations with the Dutch, who first appeared in 1635, were, generally speaking, smooth, and these preserved to the sultan a considerable degree of internal jurisdiction based on Islamic and *adat* law.

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(O. SCHUMANN)

KUTĀMA or KETAMA, one of the great Berber families; when Islam was introduced into North Africa, they occupied all the northern part of the region of the Constantincis, between the Awrās [*q.v.*] and the sea, that is the region containing the towns of Īkdjān, Seṭīf, Bāghāya, Ngaus (Niķāwus), Tiguist (Tikist), Mīla, Constantine, Skīkda, Djidjellī, Bellezma, and also Lesser Kabylia. One legend flattering the national pride makes them to have been descended from the Ḥimyarites brought there by Ifrīķus. Katām, the eponymous ancestor of their race, was said be the son of Bernes. He had two sons, Gharsen and Issūda, from whom are descended all the tribes of the Kutāma. They do not seem to have played a part in the civil and religious wars which desolated North Africa from the time of ʿUķba to the days of the Aghlabids; we do not find them among the Khāridjīs. When ʿUbayd Allāh gave himself out to be the Mahdī, his emissaries met some Kutāma pilgrims in Arabia and converted them to Ismāʿīlī doctrines. The principal convert was Mūsā-chief of the Sakyān, a branch of the Djamīla whose name survives in the town of this name. The missionary (*dāʿī*) Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] settled in Īkdjān and succeeded in maintaining his position there in spite of the efforts of the Aghlabids. From there he was able to extend his conquests and to deliver the *Mahdī*, who was a prisoner at Sidjilmāsa.

The empire of the Fāṭimids was thus founded with the help of the Kutāma. It was they who furnished its main strength and supplied the means of conquering Egypt. But these continual efforts exhausted them. Those who remained in the Maghrib after the departure of al-Muʿizz were forced to submit to local rulers, as Ibn Khaldūn tells us. In our day the principal representatives of the Kutāma are the Zuwāwa of the Djurdjura and the population around Djidjellī and in Lesser Kabylia. We do not know at what date Ismāʿīlī doctrines disappeared from among them, but long afterwards their attachment to this teaching was regarded as a subject of obloquy, and for this reason the powerful tribe of Sedwīkish, of Kutāma origin, renounced all connection with this family. At the present day, all the Berbers of this region are Sunnīs.

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(R. BASSET)

AL-ĶUṬĀMĪ ("the falcon"), the name of several poets (including one from Ḍubayʿa b. Rabīʿa and another from Kalb; see al-Āmidī, *Mukhtalif*, 166); the best-known of these was ʿUMAYR B. SHUYAYM B. ʿAMR, who probably came from the Djusham b. Bakr of Taghlib (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Register*, 474). On account of one of his verses, he was also given the name of Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī "the one felled by beautiful maidens". Like his fellow-tribesman and maternal uncle (?) al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*], he was involved in the quarrels of the second half of the 1st/7th century between the Taghlib and Ķays ʿAylān in the region of the Khābūr [*q.v.*].

In opposition to late sources which depict him as a convert to Islam, it seems correct to follow the author of the *Aghānī*, who states that he remained a Christian. The verses favourable to Islam figuring in piece No. 20 of the *Dīwān* could have been added later or could have resulted from an attitude dictated by gratitude; the eulogies of the Umayyads, and especially of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (No. 29), prove nothing about his adhesion to Islam. This point has been discussed by Father L. Cheikho, with strong arguments (*Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya baʿd al-Islām*, 191-203).

Al-Ķuṭāmī's Dīwān was published, with notes, by J. Barth (*Dīwān des ʿUmeir ibn Schujeim al-Quṭāmī*, Leiden 1902), together with an anonymous com-

mentary, and has also been the subject of a somewhat enlarged edition by I. Sāmarrāʾī and A. Maṭlūb (Beirut 1960). The first edition contains 35 pieces of varying length (the longest of 100, 71, 66 and 58 verses) and 9 isolated verses, making a total of 764 verses, to which should be added 52 hemistiches of *radjaz*.

Al-Ḳuṭāmī was a Bedouin poet who detested the townspeople, and who hymned his own military exploits and those of his tribe, together with the virtues of *sayyids* like Zufar b. al-Ḥārith. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iii, No. 5619), he died in 101/719-20.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given above and the introds. to the editions of the *Dīwān*, see Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Shākir, 452-7 and index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 453-6; *Aghānī*, xx, 118-31 (ed. Beirut, xxii, 175-236); Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, i, 128-9; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 391-4 = ed. Cairo, ii, 320-6 (*shāhid* No. 143); Brockelmann, S I, 94-5; R. Blachère, *HLA*, 474-5.

(H. H. Bräu - [Ch. Pellat])

ḲUTAYBA B. MUSLIM, Abū Ḥafṣ Ḳutayba b. Abī Ṣāliḥ Muslim b. ʿAmr al-Bāhilī, Arab commander under the Umayyad caliphs. He was born in 49/669 into a family influential at the court and with extensive possessions in Baṣra. His father Muslim was the boon-companion of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, and during the revolt of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*], he was in charge of the prison at Baṣra; but he later sided with Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and was killed in 72/691-2 when Muṣʿab's dominion in ʿIrāḳ was ended, after having failed to secure a pardon from ʿAbd al-Malik. The family nevertheless continued to be important in Baṣra, and a tribal mosque of their branch of Bāhila, the *masdjid Banī Ḳutayba*, is mentioned (see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 11, 87, 91-2, v, 341-2).

Ḳutayba himself attracted the attention of the governor of ʿIrāḳ and the east, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, after participating in the warfare against the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ashʿath [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH]. He was given the governorship of Rayy in 83/701 after he had expelled from there the rebel ʿUmar b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (see G. C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 9). Then at the end of 85/704 or beginning of 86/705 he was appointed by ʿAbd al-Malik to succeed al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab as governor of Khurāsān under al-Ḥadjdjādj, thus reversing the position in Khurāsān, where the Yamanī Muhallabīs had previously been dominant, for the Bāhila tribe [*q.v.*] generally allied itself to the Ḳaysī or North Arab interest in the Marwānid period.

There thus begins the ten years' governorship of Ḳutayba, which contributed much to the extension of Islam in what is now Afghānistān and Central Asia, and which forms one aspect of the wave of Arab expansionism which characterised al-Walīd's caliphate. Ḳutayba's administrative talents, backed by the authority of al-Ḥadjdjādj, had full play in the consolidation of Arab rule in Khurāsān, although the momentum was not maintained after his death. An appreciable factor in his success here seems to have been some recognition of the position of the indigenous Iranian population, and some care to use their administrative talents. There were in his time perhaps as many as 7,000 *mawālī* troops registered in the *dīwān* and receiving regular pay, and in addition to these regular forces, Ḳutayba required *ad hoc* levies of soldiers from the towns of Khurāsān for his spring and summer campaigns into Central Asia; in Ṭabarī, ii, 1245, the contingents from Bukhārā and Khwārazm besieging Samarḳand in 93/712 are described as "the slaves" (*al-ʿabīd*). Also, he left the local Persian *dihḳāns* in power on payment of tribute, apart from the planting of Arab garrisons in Bukhārā, Samarḳand and probably Kāth in Khwārazm. With regard to the Arab tribesmen in Khurāsān, Ḳutayba organised these, on the Baṣra model, into the five groups of the Azd, Tamīm, Ahl al-ʿĀliya, Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays; at least, it is in his time that such a division is first mentioned. (See for general reviews of Ḳutayba's political and social policies, Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 29-31, and Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, 63 ff.)

The military campaigns of Ḳutayba's governorship have been divided by Gibb, *op. cit.*, 31 ff., into four periods: firstly, the recovery of Bādghīs and Ṭukhāristān in 86/705; secondly, the conquest of Baykand and Bukhārā from the local Soghdians, 87-90/706-9; thirdly, the consolidation of Arab authority in the Oxus valley and the securing of Khwārazm and Samarḳand, 91-3/71-12; and fourthly, expeditions into the Jaxartes valley from Shāsh against Isfīdjāb and Farghāna, 94-6/713-15. Many of these undoubtedly remarkable successes were achieved through Ḳutayba's own blend of military skill and ruthlessness, combined with a willingness to use treachery, if need arose, and to exploit local divisions, as amongst the princes of Ṭukhāristān and Soghdia and amongst the rival claimants to the throne of Khwārazm.

In 86/705 Ḳutayba moved against the princes of the upper Oxus valleys of Shūmān, Akhrūn and Čaghāniyān, and he also persuaded Ṭarkhān Nīzak, ruler of the northern Hephthalite principality in Bādghīs [see HAYĀṬILA], to submit to the Arabs and accompany Ḳutayba on the ensuing campaign against Bukhārā. The campaigns of 87-90/706-9 against Baykand and Bukhārā were long and arduous. Ḳutayba's savage sacking of Baykand stiffened the resistance of the Soghdians under Wardān Khudāh, but Bukhārā was in the end stormed against fierce local resistance, apparently backed up by Turkish help. A tribute of 200,000 dirhams was imposed on the city and an Arab garrison placed in it; in 94/712-13 Ḳutayba built a mosque inside the citadel, but had at the outset to pay the local people to attend the worship. In 91/709-10 Ḳutayba and his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim were occupied with suppressing the last rebellion of Nīzak, now in collusion with the *Yabghu* (Arabic form *Djabbūya*) or local ruler of Ṭukhāristān. On capturing Nīzak, Ḳutayba had him killed, despite his earlier promise of *amān* or quarter; and although in the poetry quoted by Ṭabarī, ii, 1225-6, we find Nahār b. Tawsiʿa praising Ḳutayba's behaviour as salutary for the interests of Islām, like that of the Prophet towards the Jews of Medina, we also find a verse by Thābit Ḳuṭna warning against calling perfidy "resolute action". However, for the first time, Arab rule became reasonably secure in lower Ṭukhāristān, and Balkh now developes as a centre of Arab power and Islamic culture; a subsequent governor of Khurāsān, Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, was to move temporarily the provincial capital from Marw to Balkh (118/736).

In 92/711 Ḳutayba was in Sīstān, which was at that time under the subordinate governorship of his brother ʿAmr. Here, the Arabs in their strongpoints of Zarang and Bust faced the powerful ruler of the southern Hephtalites, the Zunbīls of Zābulistān [see ZUNBĪL]. Ḳutayba's presence scared the Zunbīl into temporary submission, but as always happened, once the Arab forces departed, all obedience was

renounced. The conquest of Khwārazm in 93/712 was a spectacular feat of Ḳutayba's, and it led to the tentative implanting of Islam there, though it was several decades before the people of the province or their Shāhs were fully converted; for details, see KHWĀRAZM. In the last years of his governorship, Ḳutayba's attention was focussed on Soghdia again. In 93/712, on the way back from Khwārazm, he attacked Samarḳand and imposed a fresh peace treaty on its ruler Ghūrak; the breaking thus of an earlier agreement considerably tarnished Ḳutayba's reputation in Soghdia amongst the Iranian population. It may be that it was at this point that the Western Turks or Türgesh intervened in Transoxania at the request of the Soghdian princes; at all events, Ḳutayba endeavoured to secure the regions of the Jaxartes adjacent to the steppes of Turkistān, moving into Shāsh and Ushrūsana, and in 94-5/713-14 he led a series of raids into Farghāna. Whether Ḳutayba had expressly in mind the securing of the trade route through Central Asia towards China is uncertain, and the report in Ṭabarī, ii, 1276, that his troops crossed the Tien Shan Mts. to Kāshghar was rejected by Gibb as a fabrication, see his *The Arab invasion of Kashghar in A.D. 715*, in *BSOS*, ii (1923), 467-74.

The fall of Ḳutayba in 96/715 was ultimately the result of the change of régime in Damascus from al-Walīd to Sulaymān, the death of Ḳutayba's patron al-Ḥadjdjādj, and an expected reversal of the favour previously shown to the Ḳaysī elements in the empire. Ḳutayba was campaigning in Farghāna when he heard the news of al-Walīd's death, and though the new caliph confirmed him in his governorship, he feared an imminent change of attitude. He therefore proclaimed rebellion against the caliph's authority, but was supported only by his own family, the inadequate power-base of his fellow-Bāhilī tribesmen, and his bodyguard of Iranian archers; the mass of the Arabs mutinied and refused to support him, as also did the Persian *mawālī* troops under Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, formerly his faithful supporters. He and several of his family were therefore killed by their soldiers in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 96/August 715, or according to some sources, later in that autumn at the beginning of 716, and Wakīʿ b. Abi 'l-Sūd al-Tamīmī assumed power in the east in his stead.

Ḳutayba's death meant a halting for several decades, and indeed, a definite regression, in the momentum of Arab conquest beyond the Oxus; the Soghdians and their Turkish allies were now able to mobilise their forces for counterstrokes. He is undeniably one of the heroic figures of the age of Arab conquests, even if the Bāhilī tribal tradition enshrined in Ṭabarī tends at time to exaggerate his exploits, and this halo placed around his head brought about much confusion in the sources over the events surrounding his death.

The descendants of Ḳutayba continued to be influential in both the later Umayyad and the early ʿAbbāsid periods, with various of his sons and grandsons attaining official posts; his son Muslim (d. 149/766) was twice governor of Baṣra, and his grandson Abū ʿAmr Saʿīd b. Salm (d. 217/832) was governor of Armenia, Mawṣil, al-Djazīra, Sīstān, Sind and Ṭabaristān.

Bibliography: 1. Primary sources: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 330, 342 ff., 354-5; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 419-26, 431; idem, *Ansāb*, ivb, v, indices; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, index; Dīnawarī, Cairo 1960, 317-18; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkkāsha, 406-8; Ṭabarī, ii, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 320-3 = §§ 3482-3; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, ed. de Goeje, 2-3, 17-19; *T. al-Khulafāʾ*, ed. Gryaznevich, ff. 135b-136b, 150b-153b; Narshakhī, *T.-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 43-54; *Aghānī*, index; *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, index; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iv, 86-9, tr. de Slane, ii, 514-20; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 311 ff., v, 2 ff.

2. Secondary sources: Muir, *The Caliphate*[4], 349-53; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 267-78, Eng. tr. 429-44; Périer, *La vie d'al-Ḥadjdjâdj ibn Yoûsof*, 232-45, 337; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[2], 184-7; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 29-58; Spuler, *Iran*, 29-33; M. A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 61, 63-75; idem, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 122-4, 128; A. N. Kurat, *Kuteybe bin Müslim'in Ḫvārizm ve Semerkand'i zabti*, in *AÜDTCFD*, vi (1948), 385-430 (gives text of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī on Ḳutayba's conquests in Khwārazm and at Samarḳand). (C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-ḲUṬB (A.), pole.

1. As an astronomical term

In Arabic, *ḳuṭb* covers nearly the same field of semantic aspects as Greek ὁ πόλος: a pivot around which something revolves (in Arabic, especially the pivot for mill stones), which was extended to the revolution of the sky, designating the axis of the celestial east-west movement and, more specifically, its two "poles" (*LA*, Beirut 1955, i, 681b f.; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḳuṭb*; Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English lexicon*, s.v. πόλος). Hence later, in Arabic translations of Greek works, *ḳuṭb* was often used as a rendering of πόλος, (e.g. Ptolemy, *Almagest*, i, 3 (both translations, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar, and Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn); but Aristotle, *De caelo*, has *al-falak* in all instances, cf. Badawī's edn., Cairo 1961, 232 f., 280, 294).

The celestial pole was a known feature among the Arabs already in their "pre-scientific" period, i.e. before their contact with the scientific literature of the Greeks. Certain traditions concerning the location and nature of the pole have been transmitted in some philological and astronomical books (Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Anwāʾ*, Hyderabad 1956, 122 f.; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *apud* al-Marzūḳī, *K. al-Azmina wa 'l-amkina*, Hyderabad 1332, ii, 7 f., 371 ff.; Ibn al-Adjdābī, *al-Azmina wa 'l-anwāʾ*, Damascus 1964, 65 f.; Ibn Manẓūr, *K. Nithār al-azhār*, Istanbul 1298, 146, 173; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣūfī, *K. Ṣuwar al-kawākib*, Hyderabad 1954, 27 f. (repeated by al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, Göttingen 1849, 29; tr. H. Ethé, *El-Kazwīnī's Kosmographie*, Leipzig 1868, 62); al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Tafhīm*, ed. and tr. R. R. Wright, London 1934, 77 [§ 163]; idem, *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Hyderabad, iii (1956), 995 f.). Here it is stated that the [north] pole was not a star, but merely a spot (*nuḳṭa, buḳʿa*) in the sky. Its place was assumed to be in the middle of the figure of a fish (*samaka*; al-Bīrūnī has instead: *shakl halīladjī*, "an elliptical figure") formed by two curved lines of stars, one consisting of the five stars β, ζ, ε, δ, α Ursae Minoris, and the opposite one of very small and faint stars (most of them not registered by Ptolemy in his *Almagest*), among which Fl. 5 and 4 Ursae Minoris and 32 H Camelopardalis. In some places, this statement is corrected, with the addition that the true place of the pole is not in the very middle of that figure, but more in the direction of α Ursae Minoris, near one of the small stars in the curved line of faint stars, (al-Marzūḳī, Ibn al-Adjdābī, al-Ṣūfī, *locc. cit.*). This difference in location obviously reflects the effect

of precession, due to which the place of the north pole was near the star 32 H Camelopardalis in A.D. 1000, and still more southwards in A.D. 500. It was also observed that the opposite point of the sky, the south pole, was invisible in the lands of the Arabs (Ibn Ḳutayba, *loc. cit.*, 122; Ibn Manẓūr, *op. cit.*, 173)

After the introduction of scientific astronomy, it was known that this pole belonged to the equatorial system, hence it was occasionally called *ḳuṭb muʿaddil al-nahār*, "pole of the equator", besides its other designations, such as simply *al-ḳuṭb*, or *al-ḳuṭb al-shamālī* (and *al-djanūbī* respectively), *ḳuṭb al-djudayy*, *ḳuṭb banāt naʿsh*, *ḳuṭb al-falak*, *ḳuṭb al-kull*, etc. Al-Bīrūnī seems to be the first to declare α Ursae Minoris (= "Polaris") to be the nearest bright star to the [north] pole, at his time, and hence to serve as a substitute for the pole *wa-yanūbu ʿani 'l-ḳuṭbi li-annahū fī zamāninā aḳrabu 'l-nayyirati ilayhi* (*Tafhīm*, 77 [§ 163]). At the same time, the ecliptical system was assigned two poles, as well, which were called *ḳuṭb[ā] falak al-burūdj* and *ḳuṭb[ā] dāʾirat al-burūdj*, "pole[s] of the ecliptic" (al-Ṣūfī, *loc. cit.*, 25 f.; al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, 55 f. [§ 139]; idem, *Ḳānūn*, iii, 993, 995 ff.; al-Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, 27, tr. 59, and 52 f., tr. 108).

North and south pole became of actual value for the Islamic navigators of the Indian Ocean (*ca.* A.D. 1500), who used both of them for altitude measurements in order to fix their position and determine their routes. In their terminology the north pole was generally called *al-djāh* (a word of Persian origin, used both for the pole itself and for the Pole Star). Travelling south of the equator, they also acquired a complete knowledge of the south pole, *ḳuṭb suhayl* ("the pole [in the region] of the star α Carinae"), or simply *al-ḳuṭb* (as opposed to *al-djāh*), which they observed—in contradistinction to the north pole—not to be marked by a bright star near it, but having the two Magellanic Clouds at some distance (Aḥmad b. Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī; in English tr. see G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean*, London 1971, the glossaries and indexes, 518 and 547 [s.v. *al-djāh*], 538 [s.v. *ḳuṭb*], 609 [s.v. Polaris; Pole, North-South]).

The poles also seem to have excited the fantasy of astrologers, for two lists of magic virtues (*khawāṣṣ*) appertaining to both of them are repeated by Ibn Manẓūr (*op. cit.*, 146-53; partially also in al-Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, i, 30 f. tr. 64 f. and 40, tr. 83 f.).

In modern terminology, the terrestrial poles are also called *ḳuṭb* (with adjective *ḳuṭbī*, "polar").

Apart from this, in the construction of the astrolabe *al-ḳuṭb* signifies the central pivot, or axis (elsewhere also called *al-miḥwar*), which keeps together its different discs, the spider, and the rule (*Alhidade*), latinised (since the 10th century) as *Alchotob*, *Alchitob*, *Alchitoth*, etc. See ASṬURLĀB; al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 235; al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, i, Milan 1903, 141 and 319; al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, 195 [§ 325], etc. Latin: J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig de història de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*, i, Barcelona 1931, 278, 66; 288, 4; 289, 29. 32. 36; N. Bubnov (ed.), *Gerberti postea Silvestri II papae opera mathematica*, Berlin 1899, 123, 10; Herimannus, *De mensura astrolabii*, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, cxliii, Paris 1882, 387 A; (Ps.-) Messahalla (Māshāʾallāh), *De compositione astrolabii*, ed. R. T. Gunther, *Chaucer and Messahalla on the astrolabe*, Oxford 1929, 201, 202, etc.

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(P. KUNITZSCH)

2. In mysticism

In Islamic mysticism, this term (lit. "pole", "axis") denotes either the most perfect human being, *al-insān al-kāmil* [*q.v.*], who heads the saintly hierarchy [see AL-GHAYB and WALĪ] and is also referred to as *al-ḳuṭb al-ḥissī* ("the [temporal] phenomenal *ḳuṭb*"); or else *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya* [see ḤAḲĪḲA] which manifests itself in *al-insān al-kāmil* and is sometimes referred to as *al-ḳuṭb al-maʿnawī* ("the [cosmic] noumenal *ḳuṭb*"). Both meanings of the term are covered by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī's definition: "the place of God's appearance in the world at all times" (Kamāl al-Dīn Abi 'l-Ghanāʾim ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshī [al-Kāshānī] al-Samarḳandī, *Kitāb Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. A. Sprenger, London-Calcutta 1845, 141; cf. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Būlāḳ 1274/1857, ii, 6).

The conception of the temporal *ḳuṭb* (A. *ḳuṭb al-waḳt*, *ṣāḥib al-waḳt*, *ṣāḥib al-zamān*; P. *mard-i waḳt*), referred to by some authors as *al-ghawth* ("the helper") [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who exists by virtue of the cosmic *ḳuṭb* or *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb*, manifest in him, has been traced back to al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], whose *huwa huwa* (i.e. the image of God with all his *asmāʾ* [*q.v.*] and *ṣifāt* [*q.v.*] in Adam) may be considered as the prototype of the conception of *al-insān al-kāmil* (cf. A. E. Afifi, *The mystical philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul Arabi*, Cambridge 1939, 79, 189), and also further back to pre-Islamic ideas, in particular to Iranian, Neo-Platonic and early Christian thought (see T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und glaube seiner gemeinde*, Upsala 1917, 333 ff.; and H. H. Schaeder, *Die islamische Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen, ihre Herkunft und ihre dichterische Gestaltung*, in *ZDMG*, N.F. iv [1925], 192-268).

The notion of the *ḳuṭb* as head of the saintly hierarchy is found in the teaching of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī [*q.v.*] outlined by ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Hudjwīrī in his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* (see R. A. Nicholson, tr., *The Kashf al-Maḥjúb. The oldest Persian treatise on Ṣúfism*, Leiden-London 1911, 214, 228). The scriptural justification for the belief in this hierarchy, of which the different forms mentioned by a variety of authors are discussed by E. Blochet, *Études sur l'ésoterisme musulman*, in *JA*, xx (1902), 77 ff. (in addition, see Ḥasan al-ʿIdwī al-Ḥamzāwī, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Shādhiliyya fī Sharḥ al-Burda al-Būṣīriyya*, Cairo n.d.; Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, in *La philosophie Shiʿite*, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahia, Bibl. iranienne 16, Tehran-Paris 1969, 446, and H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, Paris 1971-2, i, 118 ff.), is a *ḥadīth* attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (cf. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāfiʿī, *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyat al-ṣāliḥīn wa 'l-awliyāʾ wa 'l-akābir*, Cairo 1286/1869-70, 10; Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī, *Shawāhid al-ḥaḳḳ fi 'l-istighātha bi-sayyid al-khalḳ*, Cairo 1323/1905-6, 101; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khabr al-dāll ʿalā wudjūd al-ḳuṭb wa 'l-awtād wa 'l-nudjabāʾ wa 'l-abdāl*, Cairo 1351/1932-3, 27). The reliability of the *sanad* of this *ḥadīth* was discarded by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (*al-Manār*, xi [1908], 50 ff.). Other *aḥādīth*, all without *isnād*, mentioning the existence of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb*, are listed in al-Yāfiʿī's *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*, 10 (see also al-Zamzamī al-Ṣiddīḳ, *al-Abdāl wa 'l-nudjabāʾ wa 'l-akhyār fī ḥadīth sayyidinā Rasūl al-Mukhtār*, in *al-Muslim*, ii/6 [Cairo, September 1952], 18 f.), including the most frequently cited one attributed to Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī [*q.v.*].

The tentative suggestion by R. A. Nicholson (*The*

idea of personality in Ṣūfism, Cambridge 1923, 44 ff.) that *al-muṭāʿ*, mentioned in al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār*, is identical with the *ḳuṭb* as *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya* was discarded by W. H. T. Gairdner, *Al-Ghazzālī's Mishkāt al-anwār ("The niche for lights"). A translation with introduction*. London 1924, 23 ff., who had earlier questioned L. Massignon's suggestion that *al-muṭāʿ* is an obscure allusion to the doctrine of the *ḳuṭb* as the head of the saintly hierarchy (idem, *Al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-anwār and the Ghazālī-problem*, in *Isl.*, v [1914], 144).

Each of the various ranks in the saintly hierarchy has also been conceived of as being headed by a *ḳuṭb*. From these *aḳṭāb* the saints who belong to these different ranks receive their knowledge, which they owe in the last resort to the supreme (temporal) *ḳuṭb* (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, ii, 7; Aḥmad Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Gümüshkhānlī, *Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl fi 'l-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 4; ʿAlī Sālim ʿAmmār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, ʿaṣruhu, taʾrīkhuhu, ʿulūmuhu, taṣawwufuhu*, Cairo 1951, i, 192; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAyyād, *al-Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya fi 'l-maʾāthir al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1964, 20 ff.).

For Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], the universal rational principle, the *rūḥ Muḥammad*, or *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya* through which Divine knowledge is transmitted to all prophets and saints, finds its fullest manifestation in and is identical with the *ḳuṭb*, who is *al-insān al-kāmil*. He is the cause of creation, for in him alone creation is fully realised. He is *al-barzakh* [*q.v.*], the *ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, or in other words he is Muḥammad as the inward aspect of Adam, i.e. the real Adam (Mankind) or *al-lāhūt* [*q.v.*], which is forever manifesting itself on the plane of *al-nāsūt* [*q.v.*] in prophets and saints (i.e. in *aḳṭāb*) who come within the category of *al-insān al-kāmil*, since they are perfect manifestations of God and have realised, in mystical experience, essential oneness with Him. This makes *aḳṭāb* infallible, and since there is only one *ḳuṭb* at a time (*al-ḳuṭb al-wāḥid*), he is God's real *khalīfa* [*q.v.*], who is the preserver and maintainer of the universe, the mediator between Divine and human, who passes on knowledge of the *manāzil* (degrees of mystical perfection [see MANZIL]), which cannot be entered by anybody else except by him, through virtue of his being in the *manzilat tanzīh al-tawḥīd* (absolute transcendence of God); cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, i, 168 ff., 201 ff., 253 ff.; ii, 7 ff., 77, and in particular iv, 80 ff.

These ideas were further elaborated by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī (cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 86 ff.). They were rephrased and/or simplified by other authors (cf. Blochet, 86 ff.) and have remained part of the mainstream of Islamic mystical thinking ever since.

An identical conception of the *ḳuṭb* as the active principle (or interior, *bāṭin*; cf. al-Kāshānī, 141) in all inspiration and revelation, comparable to the νοῦς in Neo-Platonism and manifesting itself in the form (*ṣūra*) of a prophet, is found earlier with ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ (cf. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, *Ibn al-Fāriḍ wa 'l-ḥubb al-ilāhī*, Cairo 1945, 273). This idea as noted by Ḥilmī, ibid., 277, has a striking similarity to the Ismāʿīlī [*q.v.*] belief in the personification of *al-ʿaḳl al-awwal* in (*al-imām*) *al-nāṭiḳ*. Other authors have equally drawn attention to the similarity between the Shīʿī conception of the *Imām* as a manifestation of the Divine Logos and the conception of the cosmic *ḳuṭb* in Islamic mysticism, or the possible identity of both concepts (see e.g. Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣila bayn al-taṣawwuf wa 'l-tashayyuʿ*, Cairo 1969, 463, and Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, i, 92). Several authors have noted the analogy between the Ismāʿīlī (Fāṭimid) *daʿwa* hierarchy and the mystical hierarchy under the *ḳuṭb* (see e.g. al-Shaybī, 457 ff. and Y. Marquet, *Des Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ à al-Ḥaǧǧ ʿUmar (b. Saʿīd Tall), marabout et conquérant toucouleur*, in *Arabica*, xv [1968], 27) or have regarded the mystical hierarchy as derived from it. The historical possibility of such a derivation was discarded by W. Ivanow, *An Ali-Ilahi Fragment*, in *Collectanea*, i, The Ismaili Society, Series A, No. 2, Leiden-Bombay 1948, 166.

Among the Shīʿī scholars, some have stated explicitly that *ḳuṭb* and *Imām* are terms which have the same meaning and which refer to one and the same person (Amoli, *La philosophie shiʿite*, 223; ʿAllāma Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shiʿite Islam* (tr., ed., introd. and notes by Seyyed Hossein Nasr), London 1975, 114; Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, 76). The notion of the saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb* is considered by H. Corbin as basically a Shīʿī idea which has been appropriated by Sunnī mysticism (see e.g. his *En Islam iranien*, i, 229, iii, 279; cf. al-Shaybī, 213). Several of his publications contain phenomenologically-inclined analysis of the hermeneutics involving conceptions of *ḳuṭb* in a perspective of Iranism (see e.g. his *L'homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien*, Paris 1971, *passim*, and his *En Islam iranien*, i, 186 ff.).

Conceptions of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb* and distinct from the hierarchy headed by the *Imām* are found in the works of ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī (cf. M. Molé, ed., *ʿAzizoddin Nasafi, Le livre de l'homme parfait* (*Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil*), Bibl. Iranienne xi, Tehran-Paris 1962, 20, 26) and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (*idem, Les Kubrawiyya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'Hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 107 f.; cf. Corbin, *op. cit.*, ii, 74). Similar conceptions are held in contemporary Shīʿī mysticism (cf. R. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Zweiter Teil: Glaube und Lehre*, Wiesbaden 1976, 160 ff.). Shīʿī mystics have referred to the twelfth Imām as *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb* (Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, 74-5, iv, 357) or *ḳuṭb-i shamsī* (Gramlich, *op. cit.*, 158), and to the head of a *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] as *ḳuṭb*, *ḳuṭb-i ḳamarī* and *ḳuṭb-i zamān* (idem, 159 ff. for further references and additional detail).

Belief in the existence of *aḳṭāb* and in the whole saintly hierarchy was denounced by Ibn Khaldūn (cf. Ibn Khaldûn, ed. de Slane, ii, 164; iii, 74, 105-6; Ibn Ḫaldûn, *Şifâʾu ʾs-Sâʾil litehzîbi ʾl-Mesâʾil*, ed. M.B.T. al-Ṭanjī, Istanbul 1958; H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*, Leiden 1919, 113 f.), and has been under attack by those adhering to a non-mystical conception of Islam up to the present day (see e.g. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Wakīl, *Hādhihi hiya 'l-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1375/1955, 124 ff.).

The *ḳuṭb* is regarded as being able to perform distinct *karāmāt*, which reveal his *maḳām* (cf. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Sakandarī, *Laṭāʾif al-minan*, Tunis 1304/1886-7, 57 f.; and ʿAmmār, i, 193), to know the meaning of the letters at the beginning of the *sūras*, which he has received from God directly—this qualifies him for *al-khilāfa* (al-Idwī, *op. cit.*, ii, 98), which is known as *khilāfat ūlā 'l-iṣṭifāʾ* (see e.g. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlawī b. Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭās, *Ẓuhūr al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī bayān al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, Bombay 1312/1894-5, 263; Muṣṭafā Yūsuf Salām al-Shādhilī, *Djawāhir al-iṭlāʿ wa-durar al-intifāʿ ʿalā matn al-Iṣfahānī Abī Shudjāʿ*, Cairo 1350/1931-2, 270)—and to incorporate the *ṣifāt* of the *nuḳabāʾ*, the *nudjabāʾ*, the *abdāl* and of all those who belong to the saintly hierarchy (al-Gümüshkhānlī, *Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl*, 4; ʿAmmār, i, 192),

in consequence of the fact that he is the means by which *al-ḥaḳḳ* sees his own names and *ṣifāt* (cf. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī, *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī maʿrifat al-awākhir wa 'l-awāʾil*, Cairo 1328, ii, 48). All secret beings and every animate and inanimate body have to give him their pledge (*bayʿa*) except for the following three classes of beings: *al-afrād*, who belong to the angels and are independent of the *ḳuṭb* (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, i, 223); the *djinn* who are under the authority of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] (cf. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī, *Kitāb Manāzil al-ḳuṭb wa-maḳālihi wa-ḥālihi*, Ḥaydarābād 1948, 4); and those belonging to the tenth stratum of *ridjāl al-ghayb* [see AL-GHAYB], namely *al-ḥukamāʾ* or *al-wāṣilūn* (cf. al-ʿIdwī, *op. cit.*, ii, 101). According to Dāwūd al-Ḳayṣarī in his *Sharḥ Muḳaddima al-tāʾiyya al-kubrā* (the relevant section is published in al-Tirmidhī, *Kitāb Khatm al-awliyāʾ*, ed. ʿUthmān I.Yaḥyā, Beirut 1965, 494 f.) only the *awtād* [*q.v.*] do not come under the authority of the *ḳuṭb*: they are equal to him in rank, they owe to God everything they are but they have not been granted the *maḳām al-khilāfa* (*ibid.*, 495). In another treatise, *Maṭlaʿ khuṣūṣ al-kilam*, al-Ḳayṣarī states that al-Khaḍir was the *ḳuṭb* in secret at the time of Mūsā before the latter became *ḳuṭb* on the plane of manifest being (see Andrae, 345).

Belief in al-Khaḍir as a mortal being identical with the temporal *ḳuṭb* is reported as being held by contemporary Shīʿī mystics (Gramlich, 146). The possibility of such an identification is implicit in the conception of a mortal Khaḍir, related by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba*, Cairo 1358/1939, i, 434-5. This scholar, however, expresses himself in a *fatwā* to the effect that the orthodoxy of the belief in the *ḳuṭb* (*al-ghawth*) cannot be established (cf. al-ʿIdwī, ii, 98).

Early belief in the existence of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb* (cf. Nicholson, *Studies*, 78 f.) seems in the course of time to have been elaborated into a conception of a secret assembly (*dīwān bāṭinī*) where the saints presided over by the *ḳuṭb* directed the affairs of the seen and unseen worlds (see Aḥmad b. Mubārak al-Sidjilmāsī, *al-Ibrīz min kalām ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, Cairo 1292/1875-6, i, 2 ff. Al-Sidjilmāsī relates the sayings and ideas of his *shaykh*, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh. Al-Dabbāgh's description of the composition and functioning of the *dīwān* has found its way into the works of Muḥammad al-Makkī b. Muṣṭafā b. ʿAzūz, *al-Sayf al-rabbānī fī unḳ al-muʿtariḍ ʿalā al-ghauth al-Djīlānī*, Tunis 1310/1892-3, 74; and ʿUbayd Allāh Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳusanṭīnī al-Ḥanṣalī, *Fatḥ al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān bi-sharḥ naṣīḥat al-ikhwān*, Cairo 1312/1894-5, 176). This conception is prominent in certain mystical traditions to the present day (see Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Maʿ al-Badawī al-muftarī ʿalayhi*, in *al-Muslim*, xv/7 (Cairo, June 1965), 15; and *idem*, *Maʿ ḳaḍiyyat al-aḳṭāb al-arbaʿ wa-marātib ahl al-ghayb*, in *al-Muslim*, xx/11 (August 1970), 11 f.: and ʿAbd Rabbihi b. Sulaymān al-Ḳalyūbī, *Fayḍ al-Wahhāb fī bayān ahl al-ḥaḳḳ wa-man ḍalla ʿan al-ṣawāb*, Cairo 1964, v, 57 ff.).

Opinions as to the whereabouts of the *ḳuṭb* vary. According to Ibn al-ʿArabī (cf. *Futūḥāt*, i, 168; *Manāzil al-ḳuṭb*, 4), the *ḳuṭb* is corporeally present at Mecca; according to Aḥmad Muḥammad Riḍwān, *al-Nafāḥāt al-rabbāniyya*, Cairo 1390, 270, his bodily presence is confined to Upper Egypt. Popular belief in Egypt held him to be miraculously present in a niche behind one of the doors of Bāb al-Zuwayla, the southern gate of Cairo (see E. W. Lane, *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1860, 231 f.; and H. H. Harrison, *The Bab il Metawalli*, in *MW* viii [1918], 141-4), which was a site for veneration and votive offerings (cf. J. W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941, 141). In contemporary Islamic mysticism, the dominant view seems to be that only his spirit is seen at Mecca, i.e. at the Kaʿba, which is the *maḳām* [*q.v.*] of his spirit and the throne of his heart (see Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Kulaymāt mukammilāt li-mawḍūʿ al-aḳṭāb*, in *al-Muslim*, xv/8 [June 1965], 8).

A few cases are found where a *ṭarīḳa* teaches explicitly that the *ḳuṭb* will always belong to this particular *ṭarīḳa*. Examples are al-ʿAzāziyya (see the relevant section in F. de Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt*, forthcoming) and al-Shādhiliyya (see Ibn ʿAyyād, 105). The latter *ṭarīḳa* teaches that God gave Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī the *bayʿat al-ḳuṭbiyya* after the death of Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj al-Uḳṣurī (b. ʿAyyād, *ibid.*, 35). The *silsila* of the *ṭarīḳa* is referred to as the *silsilat al-aḳṭāb* (Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Bannānī, *Madāridj al-sulūk ilā Mālik al-Mulūk*, Cairo 1330/1912, 90) going back to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib through his son Ḥasan, who is considered the first *ḳuṭb* (al-Sakandārī, 59; Ibn ʿAzūz, 75; al-Ḳusanṭīnī, 181).

Distinct cosmological systems revolving around a conception of *ḳuṭb* and derived from the ideas outlined above, and presenting or incorporating a modified version, have been developed and have gained some degree of significance at distinct times and places. Notable are, in chronological order, Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī's [*q.v.*] presentation of the Mughal emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] as *insān al-kāmil* or temporal *ḳuṭb* around whom the world revolves in his *Akbar-nāma*; Aḥmad Sirhindī's [*q.v.*] conception of the *ḳayyūm*—the vicar of God on earth to whom the *ḳuṭb* is a servant under his rule, a rank which he ascribed to himself and which was claimed by four of his descendants (S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim revivalist movements in Northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Agra 1965, 266 ff.): this belief seems to have influenced the teaching of Mīr Dard (cf. A. Schimmel, *Pain and grace. A study of two mystical writers of eighteenth-century Muslim India*, Leiden 1976, 81); and Tidjānī doctrine centred upon the belief that Aḥmad al-Tidjānī [*q.v.*] was *khatm al-wilāya* and *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb* simultaneously (J. M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya. A Sufi order in the modern world*, London 1965, 27 ff.).

Before and after Aḥmad al-Tidjānī, Ṣūfīs claimed or were considered to be *aḳṭāb*. Some examples from among the earlier mystics are listed in Gramlich, 168, n. 910). Other notable examples among the later mystics are Abū Saʿīd b. Abī 'l-Khayr (see Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn Munawwar b. Abī Saʿd Asʿad, *Asrār al-tawḥīd fī maḳāmāt al-shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, Tehran 1348, 352 f.), ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḳināwī (cf. Aḥmad Ḥusayn Djabaruh, *Kalima mutawāḍiʿa ʿan ḳuṭb Ḳinā sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḳināʾī*, n.p. Ḳinā] 1388/1968); Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj al-Uḳṣurī (see Ibn ʿAyyād, 35); Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (see al-Sakandārī, 68); ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, Aḥmad al-Badawī [*q.v.*], and Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī [*q.v.*]. The last four of these are frequently referred to as *al-aḳṭāb al-arbaʿa* (see Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Suṭūḥī, *al-Taṣawwuf wa-aḳṭābuhu*, Cairo 1970, 15, 24; cf. Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Maʿḳaḍiyyat al-aḳṭāb al-arbaʿa*, 6 ff.). In some mystical cosmologies they are presented as occupying a position of pre-eminence in the successive stages of pre-creation out of *al-nūr al-muḥammadī* before their birth, as successors to the four *khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn* during their lifetime, and as continuing forces in the world of the unseen after their death

(see ʿAḳīl Maẓhar, *Ḳuṭra min baḥr al-Ḳurʾān*; *dawlat Abi 'l-ʿAynayn*, in *Sanābil* v (Cairo-Kafr al-Shaykh, April 1967), 41; and Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Maʿ al-Badawī*, 8 ff.; cf. idem, *Kulaymāt mukammilāt li-mawḍūʿ al-aḳṭāb*, 8 ff.).

In some mystical traditions, those belonging to the saintly hierarchy, including the *ḳuṭb*, are held to be identical with the serious mystical teachers present at a certain time but whose spiritual rank remains undivulged to those outside this hierarchy (cf. ʿImrān Aḥmad ʿImrān, *al-Talbiya fī wudjūd shaykh al-tarbiya*, Asyūṭ 1354/1936, 14). This tenet may imply the belief that potentially everybody can become *ḳuṭb* by means of following the *ṭariḳa*, i.e. by means of the method prescribed by a distinct mystical tradition (cf. Sulaymān al-Djamal, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya bi-tawḍīḥ Tafsīr al-Djalālayn bi 'l-daḳāʾiḳ al-khafiyya*, Cairo 1913, i, 114).

The statement by J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 163 f., that the conception of the *ḳuṭb* has gone through a process of vulgarisation would seem to be in need of further substantiation.

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(F. DE JONG)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN [see MAWDŪD B. ZANGĪ; AL-NAHRAWĀLĪ].

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AYBAK, the first ruler of the Indo-Muslim state which arose after the death of the Ghūrid Shihāb al-Dīn (Muʿizz al-Dīn) Muḥammad b. Sām in 1206 and was subsequently to be based at Dihlī. Brought as a slave from Turkestān first to Nīshāpūr and then to Ghazna, he was purchased by Muḥammad, then engaged in the reduction of the independent Hindu principalities in northern India, and rose to be *amīr-i ākhūr* (master of the horse) and *muḳṭaʿ* of Kohrām (now Ghurām in Patiāla) and Sāmāna. The sources for this period, composed either under Aybak's hegemony or under his successors, ascribe to him personally the capture of Meerut, Dihlī, Kōl (ʿAlīgaṛh), Thankīr (Bayāna), Gwāliyār, Badāʾūn, Kanawdj and Kālindjar, between 587/1191 and 599/1202-3, and the sack of Nahrwāla in Gudjarāt (593/1197).

On his master's assassination in 602/1206, he moved from Dihlī to Lahore, where he is said to have ascended the throne on 17 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/25 June, and which became his permanent residence. Aybak's precise status is problematical. No coins of his are extant, and the statement of Ḥasan Niẓāmī that the *khuṭba* was read and coins struck in his name is not corroborated elsewhere. Djūzdjānī on the contrary specifies at one point that these prerogatives were retained by Muḥammad's immediate successor Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who now reigned at Fīrūzkūh, though elsewhere he says that Maḥmūd conferred on Aybak the title of Sulṭān. In view of Aybak's slave rank, it is most likely that he was simply manumitted by the new Ghūrid sovereign, as we read in Ibn al-Athīr, and remained his subordinate, receiving a diploma and canopy of state as *malik* of Hindūstān. Aybak's attentions appear to have been absorbed by the situation in the north-west, where the Ghūrid empire was succumbing to pressure from the Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad b. Tekish, and it is significant that no efforts to extend the Muslim conquests in India are recorded for his reign. He engaged in hostilities with another Ghūrid slave officer, Tādj al-Dīn Yīldiz, who was based at Ghazna and who endeavoured unsuccessfully to take Lahore in 605/1208-9. Aybak's own subsequent occupation of Ghazna, however, was merely temporary, and he was expelled by the citizens in favour of Yīldiz. He died at Lahore in 607/1210-1, of wounds sustained in an accident during a game of polo (*čawgān*), and his successor Ārām Shāh, whose relationship to him is uncertain, was soon set aside in favour of the *muḳṭaʿ* of Badāʾūn, Aybak's son-in-law Iltutmish [*q.v.*, and see also DIHLĪ SULTANATE].

Aybak, who has achieved renown as the builder of the Ḳuṭb Minār [*q.v.*] at Dihlī, was a patron also of the literary arts. Fakhr-i Mudabbir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], author of a manual of war, the *Ādāb al-ḥarb*, dedicated to him his book of genealogies, and it was probably under Aybak's régime that Ḥasan Niẓāmī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] began writing his florid *Tādj al-maʾāthir*, which was completed under Iltutmish. Both are important sources for the early period of Muslim rule in Hindūstān.

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(P. JACKSON)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN BAKHTIYĀR KĀKĪ, a Ṣūfī who settled at Dihlī during the reign of Iltutmish [*q.v.*].

Khwādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār (Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Kākī al-Ushī) was a native of Ush, a town in eastern Farghāna. The *tadhkira* literature depicts him as the disciple of Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī (d. 634/1236), the founder-figure of the Čishtī affiliation in India. The accounts disagree on whether the two contemporaries first met at Ush, or at Iṣfahān, or in the Ṣūfī circle of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), or in the mosque of Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī at Baghdād. After years of wandering, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn came to Multān early in the 7th/13th century during the rule of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḳabāča (d. 625/1228). There Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd (d. 664/1265) sought his company, while Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ (d. 666/1268) seems to have encouraged his departure for Dihlī. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn settled outside the walls of Dihlī near the tank, *ḥawḍ-i shamsī*, during the reign of Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36), but declined the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* offered to him by the Sulṭān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was well-known for his Ṣūfī practice of listening to music (*samāʿ*), and is said to have died during a *samāʿ* performance on 14 Rabīʿ I 633/27 November 1235. His tomb is in the vicinity of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār at Mihrawlī. The Ḳuṭb Mīnār [*q.v.*], completed by Iltutmish in 629/1229, is believed to derive its name from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār (not from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak).

The Čishtī affiliation venerates Ḳuṭb al-Dīn as one of the outstanding members of its founder-generation in India, and records him in its *silsila* as the link between Muʿīn al-Dīn and Farīd al-Dīn. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn is the alleged compiler of the apocryphal *malfūẓāt* of Muʿīn al-Dīn, entitled *Dalīl al-ʿārifīn* (Lucknow 1868), whereas his own sayings supposedly have been collected by Farīd al-Dīn in the spurious *Fawāʾid al-sālikīn*. A more reliable source, however, appears to be the *Miftāḥ al-ṭālibīn*, which was compiled in the immediate circle of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's associates at Dihlī.

Bibliography: Amīr Ḥasan Sidjzī, *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, Lucknow 1302; Ḥamīd Ḳalandar, *Khayr al-madjālis*, ʿAlīgarh 1956; Amīr Khwurd Kirmānī,

Siyar al-awliyā', Dihlī 1302; Muḥammad Akbar Ḥusaynī, *Djawāmi' al-kalim*, Kānpūr 1356; Djamālī, *Siyar al-'ārifīn*, Dihlī 1311; 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1309; Dārā Shikūh, *Safīnat al-awliyā'*, Nawal Kishore 1872, 94-6; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Murādābādī, *Anwār al-'ārifīn*, Lucknow 1876, i, 342-8; Ghulām Sarwar Lahawrī, *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā'*, Lucknow 1872, i, 267-76; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Hindū, *Ta'rīkh-i Firishta*, Nawal Kishore 1323, ii, 378-83; Minhādj al-Dīn Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. H. G. Raverty, London 1881, i, 621 f.; 'Abd al-Ḳādir Mulūk Shāh Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārikh*, tr. Ranking, Lowe, Haig, Calcutta 1925, i, 92, 123, iii, 19, 45; K. A. Niẓāmī, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, Bombay 1961; R. N. Munshī, *The history of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār*, Bombay 1911. (G. Böwering)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AL-IZNĪḲĪ, Muḥammad al-Rūmī, early Ottoman Ḥanafī scholar and father of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn-zāde Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. He was born at Iznīḳ [*q.v.*] and died there on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 821/7 December 1418. Popular story puts him in contact with the conqueror Tīmūr when the latter occupied Anatolia, and he was the author of commentaries on the work of the great Spanish mystic Ibn al- Arabī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ṭāshköprüzāde, *al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-nu'māniyya*, Beirut 1395/1975, 24, German tr. O. Rescher, Constantinople-Galata 1927, 18-19. (Ed.)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUBĀRAK [see KHALDJĪS]

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD [see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS].

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN SHĪRĀZĪ, Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd b. Muṣliḥ, Persian astronomer and physician, was born in Ṣafar 634/October 1236 in Shīrāz and died in Tabrīz on 17 Ramaḍān 710/February 1311.

Like many Muslim medical men, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn belonged to a family of distinguished physicians; at the same time, however, he was not only a prominent medical man, at least as regards his writings, but he distinguished himself also in astronomy, philosophy, and the treatment of religious problems. This versatility induced Abu 'l-Fidā' to give him the name *al-mutafannin* "experienced in many fields". He received his medical training with his father Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Kāzarūnī, i.e. of Kāzarūn (to the west of Shīrāz), in the hospital of Shīrāz. He lost his father at the age of 14 and then became a pupil of his uncles Kamāl al-Dīn Khayr al-Kāzarūnī and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zakī al-Rushkānī (Suyūṭī has Rukshawī) and Shams al-Dīn al-Kutubī; he then went to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, studied with him and surpassed everyone. It was probably Naṣīr al-Dīn who stimulated him to study astronomy. While still quite young he conceived the idea of editing the *Kulliyyāt*, the first theoretical part of the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā. He next sought instruction with the physicians in Shīrāz and then studied deeply the works of earlier scholars. He then travelled in Khurāsān, the two 'Irāḳs, Persia, Anatolia, and Syria. Everywhere, as he tells us in the introduction to the commentary on the *Kulliyyāt*, he sought the acquaintance of scholars. It was probably after these journeys that he became associated with the Mongol rulers of Persia, the Īl-Khāns; in what year and under which ruler this happened, we do not know. In any case in 681/1282 he was *ḳāḍī* of Sīwās and of Malaṭya in Anatolia under Aḥmad Nikudār (680-3/1281-4). There he was still engaged on the *Kulliyyāt*; he must have played a part in politics, as Aḥmad sent him with his uncle Kamāl al-Dīn to Egypt to the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Ḳalāwūn (678-89/1279-90 [*q.v.*]). He was sent to report the former's conversion to Islam, no doubt the result of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's influence, and to conclude a peace between the Muslims and the Mongols. The latter part of his mission was a failure. In Egypt also he collected material for the *Kulliyyāt*. He dedicated the work, probably finished shortly after his return from Egypt, to Muḥammad Sa'd al-Dīn, Aḥmad Khān's vizier, and called it *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'diyya*, "the present to Sa'd", or *Nuzhat al-ḥukamā' wa-rawḍat al-aṭibbā'*, "the delight of the wise and garden of the physicians".

In his later years Ḳuṭb al-Dīn retired to Tabrīz. Towards the end of his life he ardently studied *ḥadīth* and made critical notes on the subject, e.g. on the *Djam' al-uṣūl* ("Encyclopaedia of principles") and to the *Sharḥ al-Sunna* ("Commentary on the *Sunna*"). Ibn Shuhba and al-Subkī give a sketch of the character of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn. He had a brilliant intelligence, combined with unusual penetration; at the same time his humour was innocent; he was known as "the scholar of the Persians". It is evidence of his efforts to preserve his independence that, in spite of his prestige with princes and subjects, he lived remote from the court. He also led the life of a Ṣūfī. It is emphasised that he had many pupils; among these was Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (see below), who cannot praise him highly enough: he also induced al-Taḥtānī (d. 766/1364; see Brockelmann, II², 271, S II, 293-4) to come to critical decisions (*muḥākamāt*) on the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā on points disputed between Naṣīr al-Dīn and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, No. 743). He neglected his religious duties; nevertheless, al-Suyūṭī mentions that in Tabrīz he always performed his *ṣalāts* with the congregation. He loved wine and sat among the scorners. He was a brilliant chessplayer and played continuously; he was also skilled in the tricks of the conjurer and played the small viol (*rabāba*). His commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ* ("the philosophy of illumination") of Suhrawardī is undoubtedly connected with his religious attitude. Nevertheless, as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (No. 1169) emphasises, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn distinguished himself in theology. He annotated the Ḳur'ān very thoroughly and in a fashion that won recognition in his *Fatḥ al-mannān fī tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*; in the *Fī mushkilāt al-Ḳur'ān* he also dealt with passages in the Ḳur'ān difficult to reconcile with one another. He wrote a commentary on *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tanzīl* of al-Zamakhsharī. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn played a special part in the history of optics, because he called the attention of his pupil Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 720/1320) to the *Optics* of Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*], with which he had become acquainted on his travels, and procured a copy for him. Al-Fārisī wrote a commentary on it and extended it by his own observations. It is noteworthy that Ḳuṭb al-Dīn so completely forgot Ibn al-Haytham's expositions that he based his observation not on rays of light like the latter, but on rays of vision.

In the two comprehensive astronomical works *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk*, the "highest intelligence in the knowledge of the spheres", and *al-Tuḥfa al-shāhiyya fi l-hay'a*, which are very similar to each other, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn has given what is conceivably the best Arabic account of astronomy (cosmography) with mathematical aids. It closely follows the al-*Tadhkira al-naṣīriyya*, the memoranda of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, his teacher. But Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's works are very much fuller and deal with many questions which Naṣīr al-Dīn did not touch; they are therefore much more than commentaries. The

Nihāya discusses, for example, details of the cosmography of al-Khiraḳī or Ibn al-Haytham, which are again found in Roger Bacon. Passages from these works are discussed by E. Wiedemann in: *Zu den optischen Kenntnissen von Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Schīrāzī*, in *Archiv für die Gesch. der Naturwissensch., etc.*, iii (1912), 187-93; *Über die Gestalt, Lage und Bewegung der Erde, sowie philosophisch-astronomische Betrachtungen von Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Schīrāzī*, in *ibid.*, 395-422; *Beiträge*, xxvii, *Auszüge aus al-Schīrāzīs Werk über Astronomie*, in *SBPMS Erl.* xliv (1912), 27-35, reprinted in *Aufsätze zur arab. Wissenschaftsgesch.*, Hildesheim 1970, i, 802-10; *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und bei Sonnenfinsternissen nach arabischen Quellen*, in *Archiv für Gesch. der Medizin*, xv (1923), 47-8; *Inhalt eines Gefässes in verschiedenen Abständen vom Erdmittelpunkt*, in *Zeitschr. für Physik.*, xiii (1923), 59-60.

One work is entitled *Sharḥ al-tadhkira al-naṣīriyya*. As an appendix to the *Nihāya*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn wrote the *Fī ḥarakāt al-daḥradja wa 'l-nisba bayn al-mustawī wa-'l-munḥanī*, "On the motion of rolling and the connection between the straight and the crooked". Other works are *al-Tabṣira fi 'l-hay'a* and a work with a very peculiar title, *Kitāb faʿaltu fa lā talum fi 'l-hay'a*, "Work on astronomy; I have composed it but blame it not".

Besides the works by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn already mentioned, there are also recorded a treatise on diseases of the eye and a commentary on the *Urdjūza* of Ibn Sīnā; a work on medical ethics, the *K. Bayān al-ḥādja ilā 'l-ṭibb wa-ādāb al-aṭibbā' wa-waṣāyāhum*; commentaries on the work, mainly grammatical of al-Sakkākī and on a work of Ibn al-Ḥādjib, and an encyclopaedia of philosophy, the *Durrat al-tādj*, written for one of the Isḥāḳwand amīrs of Gīlān [see RŪMAN], which includes an important section on music.

After his death, Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī wrote verses on Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, in which he expresses surprise that the mill (*raḥā*) of knowledge still turns after it has lost its axis (*ḳuṭb*).

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ḲUṬB AL-DĪN-ZĀDE, MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ḲUṬB AL-DĪN IZNĪḲĪ, Ottoman scholar and mystic. He was born in the early 9th/15th century, the son of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Iznīḳī (d. 821/1418 [*q.v.*]), himself a scholar and the author of works on *tafsīr* and *fiḳh* (see *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, i, 144, romanised version, i, 124-5). He was in his early years the pupil of the famous *muftī* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, Mollā Fanārī (d. 834/1431) [see FENĀRĪ-ZĀDE], and later became interested in Ṣūfism. He wrote several works, many of them commentaries, e.g. on the mystical works of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his pupil Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḳūnawī, and others on the interpretation of dreams (*taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*), He died in 885/1480 and was buried in the Tatār Khān cemetery at Edirne.

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ḲUṬB KHĀN LŌDĪ [see LŌDĪS].

ḲUṬB MĪNĀR, a lofty tower of red sandstone, said by Fergusson (ii, 206) and Diez (165) to be one

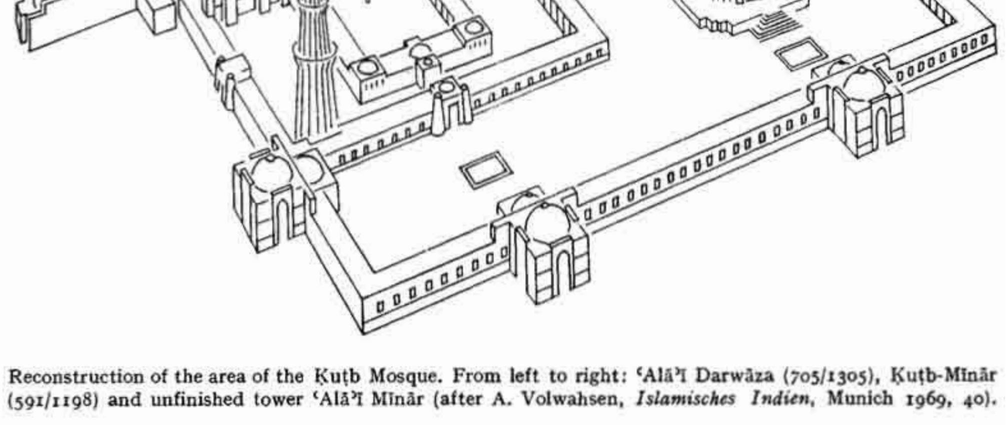

Reconstruction of the area of the Ḳuṭb Mosque. From left to right: ʿAlāʾī Darwāza (705/1305), Ḳuṭb-Mīnār (591/1198) and unfinished tower ʿAlāʾī Mīnār (after A. Volwahsen, *Islamisches Indien*, Munich 1969, 40).

of the most beautiful buildings of its kind in the world.

It is situated about 11 miles from the modern city of Dihlī [*q.v.*], in the ruins of the first city of that name, and about 160 feet from the great mosque which was erected by Kuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*] in 589/1193, just after the capture of the city from the Hindu king, Prithvīrādj. Like the Mīnār at Ghazna [*q.v.*] and the Mīnār at Koyl [*q.v.*] (no longer in existence), it is an isolated structure, from which the *mu'adhdhin* gave the call to prayer, and is 238 feet in height; it is not attached to the mosque, but stands in the southeastern corner of the southern outer court, which was added in 622/1225 to Aybak's mosque by Iltutmish [*q.v.*]; it is not straight, but tapering, and is divided into five stories, above each of which (with the exception of the topmost story) are boldly projecting balconies, with richly-sculptured bands of inscriptions below them. The basement storey appears to have been built while Aybak still recognised the overlordship of Muʿizz al-Dīn Ghūrī (i.e. before 601/1205); the second, third and fourth stories were built by Iltutmish, but during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk [*q.v.*] the building was struck by lightning, and this king in 769/1368 had it repaired and added a fifth storey. The two uppermost stories, both of which in their present form are probably the work of Fīrūz Shāh, have a plain surface, chiefly of white marble, with bands of red sandstone; but the rest of the surface of the tower is entirely of red sandstone, and is not round but made up of flutings, which in the basement story are alternately round and angular, in the second rounded only, and in the third angular only. The line of each fluting is carried up unbroken through each story. The inscriptions are partly historical in character and partly made up of quotations from the Kur'ān; they have been reproduced and translated in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1911-12).

Recently, the prototype of this Mīnār was discovered in the ruins of the tower at Khʷādja Siyāh Pūsh in Afghān Sīstān: in the ground plan of the regularly alternating 8-rounded and angular flanges, we can recognise the transition between the Eastern Iranian stellate plan, continued for example at Ghazna [see GHAZNAWIDS. Art and monuments] and the round plan of Djam [see GHŪRIDS] in Central Afghānistān (K. Fischer, ed., *Nimruz*, pls. 252-4).

The tower derives its name from the saint Khʷādja Kuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 633/1235 [*q.v.*]), who was held in high honour by Iltutmish.

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KUṬB SHĀHĪ, the name of an Indo-Muslim dynasty that dominated the eastern Deccan plateau as one of the five successor states to the Bahmanī kingdom. Basing their power on the city and hill-fort of Golkondā [*q.v.*], the Kuṭb Shāhī kings achieved *de facto* independence with the decline of the parent Bahmanī kingdom in the early 10th/16th century, maintaining effective rule until Mughal armies under Awrangzīb conquered and annexed the kingdom in 1098/1687.

The founder of the dynasty, Sulṭān Kulī Kuṭb al-Mulk, was a Turkoman adventurer of the Karā Koyunlu clan [*q.v.*] who, having migrated from Persia to India as a youth, rose in Bahmanī service until in 901/1496 he was appointed governor over the easternmost Bahmanī dominions. Although he never claimed legal sovereignty during his long rule, Sulṭān Kulī managed to carve out for himself and his descendants the broad territorial outlines of a kingdom over which they held effective sway for nearly two hundred years. He also gave the dynasty ideological definition by declaring Shīʿism the official creed, following the precedent set by Shāh Ismāʿīl of Persia in 907/1501. This orientation, continued by all of Sulṭān Kulī's successors, caused the dynasty to identify ideologically with Persia as its link with *Dār al-Islām*, rather than with the Ottoman or Mughal empires, which were Sunnī. The sequence of Kuṭb Shāhī kings is as follows:

Kulī Kuṭb al-Mulk	901-50/1496-1543
Djamshīd b. Kulī	950-7/1543-50
Subḥān b. Jamshīd	957/1550
Ibrāhīm b. Kulī	957-88/1550-80
Muḥammad-Kulī b. Ibrāhīm	988-1020/1580-1612
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad-Kulī	1020-35/1612-26
ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad	1035-83/1626-72
Abu 'l-Ḥasan, son-in-law of ʿAbd Allāh	1083-98/1672-87

Throughout most of the 10th/16th century and the early 11th/17th century, the Kingdom of Golkondā was engulfed in constant warfare either with the most powerful two of its sister successor states to the west, Bīdjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar, or with the Hindu state of Vijayanagar to the immediate south. These conflicts were sustained by mutual jealousies and petty intrigues, resulting in constantly shifting military alliances among these four principal states of the Deccan. Thus, although Golkondā, Bīdjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar were able to band together in 972/1565 to crush Vijayanagar and sack its wealthy capital in the battle of Talikota, immediately after this battle the three Muslim states resumed their mutual hostilities. This situation prompted increasing intervention in Deccan affairs by the Mughal empire, which was expanding its imperial interests in the 11th/17th century. Finally, in 1045/1636 Shāh Djahān forced ʿAbd Allāh Kuṭb Shāh to recognise the Mughal government's ultimate suzerainty over Golkondā in a "Deed of Submission". By clarifying Golkondā's relationship to Dihlī, however, this arrangement relieved ʿAbd Allāh of further anxieties about Mughal aggression so long as tribute was paid, and freed him to expand Kuṭb Shāhī arms southward as far as the Palar river (near Madras), absorbing a number of petty Hindu principalities formerly dependent upon Vijayanagar.

But the reign of ʿAbd Allāh's successor, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kuṭb Shāh, witnessed a dramatic transformation in the internal ruling structure of the kingdom as a number of Brahmins, especially the brothers Madanna and Akkanna, acquired the reins of central authority. This development, combined with the

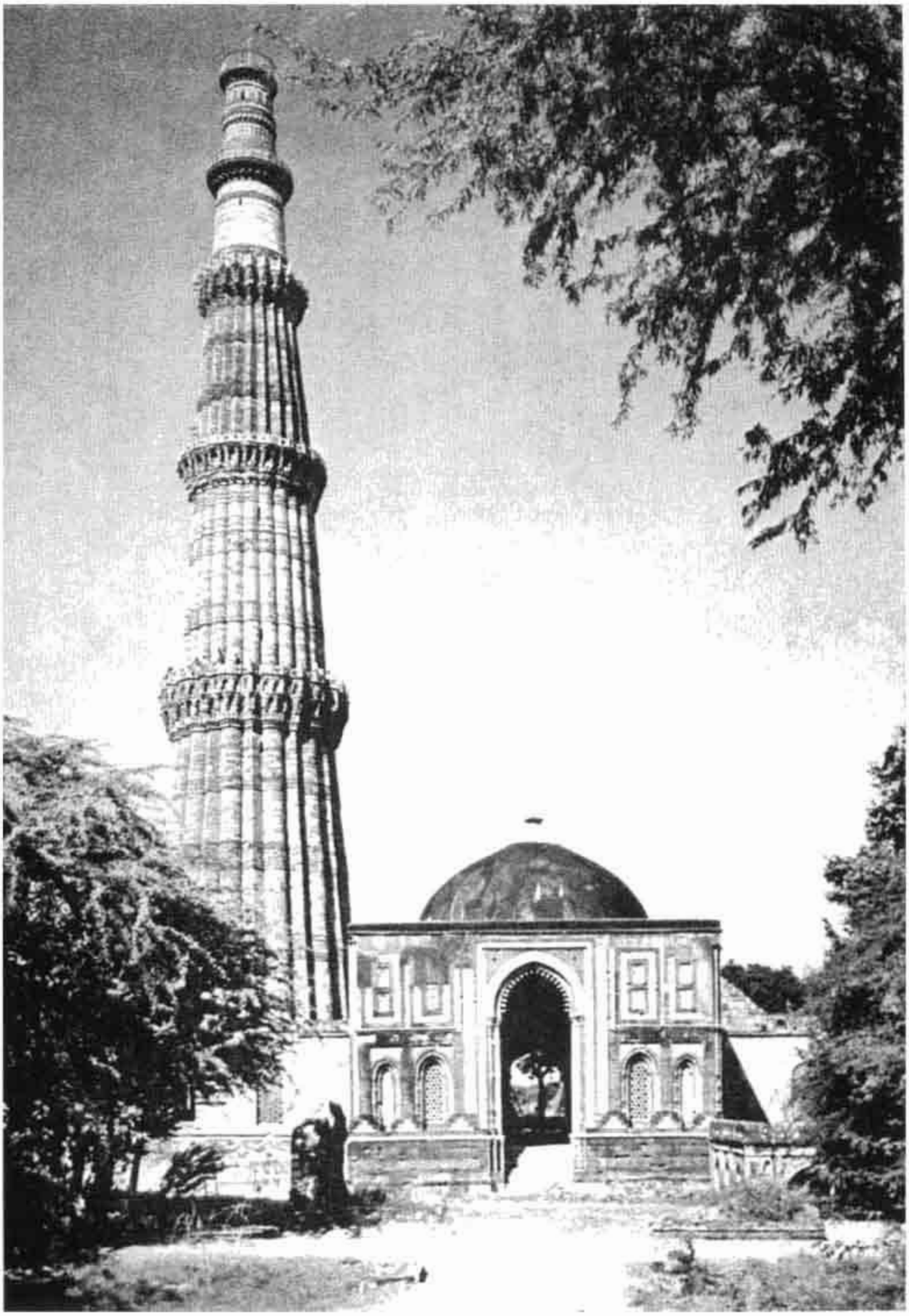

1. Dihlī, Ḳuṭb Minār (594/1198) and ʿAlāʾī Darwāza (705/1305). (A. Volwahsen, *Inde islamique*, Fribourg 1971, 17)

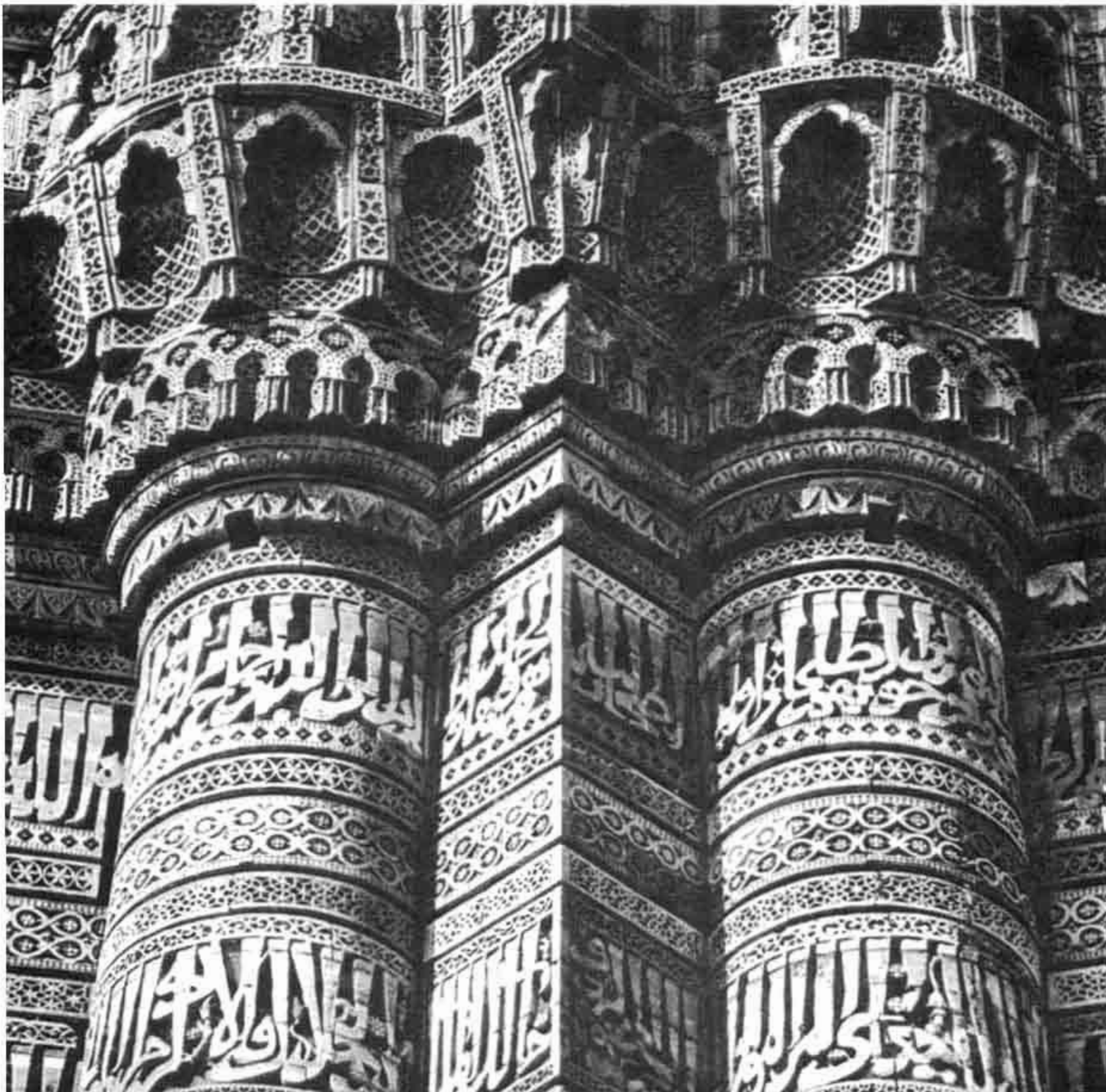

2. Kuṭb Minār, decoration and inscriptions. (A. Volwahsen, *Inde islamique*, Fribourg 1971, 19)

state's official S̲h̲īʿī ideology, arrears of unpaid tribute to the Mug̲h̲als, the general chaos in the Deccan prompted by the rise of the Marāṭhās, and renewed expansionist sentiment in the Mug̲h̲al government now under Awrangzīb, led to a determined Mug̲h̲al effort to end Golkondā's subordinate but semi-independent status and annex it to the Empire. In 1098/1687, after a protracted siege of Golkondā fort, the Mug̲h̲al conquest and annexation of the kingdom was accomplished.

In its two centuries of rule, the Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī monarchy sank roots deep into Indian society and culture by successfully integrating multiple groups into its political fabric, by founding an efficient economic basis for the kingdom, and by forming a distinctive Indo-Muslim culture that accommodated itself in important ways with the pre-existing Hindu culture. On the political level the dynasty, faced with the choice of dislodging or absorbing the indigenous class of Hindu warrior chiefs (*nāyaks*) already dominant in Telugu society, adopted the latter alternative, employing *nāyaks* in garrisons throughout the kingdom and even in the royal guard at the capital. The other indigenous élite group, the Brahmins, were likewise absorbed into the dynasty's political structure, especially in the central revenue administration as clerks, accountants, and even chief administrators. On the local level too, virtually the entire revenue system was entrusted to Brahmins who functioned as agents, brokers or accountants. In fact the more important members of this rural gentry received royal orders guaranteeing their tenure, frequently hereditary, and assuring them of royal support against rivals.

By far the greatest share of the kingdom's revenue was derived from the land tax, collected in cash through a highly-organised and ruthlessly efficient revenue bureaucracy. Further contributing to the kingdom's economic stability, and also its notorious wealth, was the successful exploitation of a number of diamond mines discovered in the Krishna river valley during the early years of the dynasty's history. The diamond enterprise became a vast state monopoly that involved several hundred thousand labourers, officials, and merchants, and made Golkondā the world's most important diamond market in the 11th/17th century.

A distinctive aspect of the dynasty was its composite culture that combined Islamic and Indian styles, as reflected in the nature of its rule, in the flourishing of Telegu, Persian, and Dakhnī literature, and in painting and architecture. Having lived seven years in exile in Vijayanagar, where he learned Telugu and acquired a Hindu wife, Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh set the tone of this syncretic culture. He adopted not only the usual symbols of Muslim sovereignty (*sikka*, *k̲h̲uṭba*, etc.), but also the style of a traditional Hindu rajah, reserving tax-free lands for the support of Brahmins and temples, erecting pillars on which the sworn loyalty of *nāyaks* was inscribed, patronising Telugu poets, and reviving the ancient Telugu monarchical tradition of building large irrigation works. Moreover, extensive contact between Hindus and Muslims in the Deccan gave rise to a new language, Dakhnī, which achieved its first literary expression in Golkondā in the 10th/16th century, with Sulṭān Muḥammad-Ḳulī himself being one of the foremost writers in the language. A blending of Hindu and Muslim styles is similarly reflected in contemporary painting and architecture, especially the architecture of Ḥaydarābād. Planned in 999/1690-1 by Muḥammad-Ḳulī Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh as a suburb of Golkondā fort, the city of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], with its gardens, bazaars, palaces, and such architectural masterpieces as the Čārminār, has indeed remained the dynasty's most lasting legacy.

Bibliography: Original authorities include *Burhān-i ma'āt̲h̲ir*, completed in 1004/1596 by Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, Dihlī 1936; Firis̲h̲ta, abridged tr., J. Briggs, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India*, Calcutta 1910; *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i Sulṭān Muḥammad Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh*, compiled anonymously in 1026/1617, mss. in India Office Library, etc., see Storey, i, 747; *Ḥadīḳat al-salāṭīn*, completed in 1054/1644 by Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, ed. S. ʿAlī Bilgrāmī, Ḥaydarābād 1932; Mackenzie Collection, London, India Office Library; J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd. edn., London 1925; W. H. Moreland, ed., *The relations of Golconda in the early 17th century*, London 1931; S. N. Sen, ed., *Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi 1949. Secondary authorities include Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Calcutta 1912-30; P. M. Joshi, *Coins current in the Kingdom of Golconda*, in *J. Num. Soc. of India*, v (June 1943), 85-95; Jagadish N. Sarkar, *Life of Mir Jumla*, Calcutta 1951; Abdul Majeed Siddiqui, *History of Golconda*, Hyderabad 1956; Percy Brown, *Indian architecture* (*Islamic period*), Bombay 1956; Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel*: *1615-1690*, The Hague 1962; J. F. Richards, *Mughal administration in Golconda*, London 1975; H. K. Sherwani, *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, London 1967; idem, *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*, New Delhi 1974 (the most comprehensive study). (R. M. EATON)

KŪT̲H̲Ā, a very old town of ʿIrāḳ, on one of the canals joining the Euphrates and Tigris and one stage from Bag̲h̲dād on the Kūfa road. The town as well as the canal are often mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions (cf. the references in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920-5, Indices, s.v. Kutû and the map by Schwenzner in vol. i). The town is said to be identical with the place mentioned in 2 Kings, xvii, 24, from which came a part of the people whom the king of Assyria settled in Samaria in place of the deported Israelites. The course of the canal, at least for its western part, coincided with that of the modern Ḥabl Ibrāhīm; on modern maps, this last ends in the S̲h̲aṭṭ al-Nōl; the Arab geographers make no reference to this, but make this canal flow direct into the Tigris (cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Map II facing p. 25).

The Arab geographers distinguish two places called Kūt̲h̲ā Rabbā and Kūt̲h̲ā al-Ṭarīḳ, but only give further information about the former. (The distances from other places are collected in Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, 11.) The geographers also mention the bridge of boats over the canal at Kūt̲h̲ā, which gave it the further name of D̲j̲isr Kūt̲h̲ā, and the Abraham legends, which are associated with the town; al-Muḳaddasī (*BGA*, iii[2], 121) actually calls the town Madīnat Ibrāhīm, and to this day the ruins of the town are erroneously located in the Tell Ibrāhīm which lies approximately on the site of the ancient Kūt̲h̲ā. Abraham is said to have been born at Kūt̲h̲ā, and the name of the town comes from that of his maternal great-grandfather. When his mother (her name is very variously given: Yāḳūt writes Būnā bint Karnabā b. Kūt̲h̲ā; the Talmud, *Bābdā bat̲h̲rā*, 91ª. אמלתאיבת כרנבו; for other names, see Eisenberg, *EI*[1] art. IBRĀHĪM and *The life of the prophets according to Arabic legend*. ii. *The life of Abraham* [in Hebrew, 1912], 9 n.) was about to give

him birth, she had to take refuge from Nimrod in a cave outside the town. Later, Nimrod threw her into a fiery furnace; therefore, in the time of the Arab geographers, many heaps of ashes were still pointed out which came from this fire.

Kūthā is also the name of the *ṭassūdj* around the town, which comes within the district of Ardashīr Pāpakān and is in turn divided into 10 *rustāḳs*. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, *BGA*, viii, 79), Ūr Kashd (the Biblical Ūr Kasdīm) from which Abraham migrated is a place *min bilād Kūthā*. The *nisba* from *Kūthā* is *Kūthī* or *Kūthānī*.

Besides Kūthā in Mesopotamia, Yāḳūt and al-Bakrī also mention a place of pilgrimage of this name in Mecca.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Serapion, in *JRAS* (1895), 75; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 168 (ed. Kramers, 245, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 237); al-Muḳaddasī, 26, 121-2; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7, 9, 125, 185, 236; Ibn Rusta, 174, 182 (tr. Wiet, 202, 210); Yāḳūt, iv, 317-18; idem, *Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 377; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 485; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, Ar. text, 80, tr. 183; Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, i, II, 16, 24; Le Strange, 68-9. On the question of the canals cf. also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 771.
(M. Plessner)

KUTHAM b. al-**ʿABBĀS** b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī, Companion of the Prophet, son of the Prophet's uncle and of Umm al-Faḍl Lubāba al-Hilāliyya, herself Muḥammad's sister-in-law. Although the *Sīra* brings him into contact with Muḥammad by making him one of the inner circle of the Hāshimī family who washed the Prophet's corpse and descended into his grave, and although his physical resemblance to the Prophet is also stressed, he was obviously a late convert to Islam, doubtless following his father al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] in this after the conquest of Mecca.

Nothing is heard of him during the reigns of the first three Orthodox Caliphs, but then ʿAlī on his accession made Kutham governor of Medina (36/656), and in the next year, when menaced by his rivals for the caliphate, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾisha, he made him governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. He seems to have retained this office all through his cousin's caliphate, leading the Pilgrimage in 38/659 (cf. Ibn Hishām, iii, 1018, 1020, tr. Guillaume, 687-8; Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 70, iv/1, 2, 22, vii/2, 100; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. Hamidullah 447, 569, 577-8; Ṭabarī, i, 1830, 1833, 3092, 3106, 3390, 3343; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 17, 46; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vi, 351; etc.).

After this comparatively undistinguished career, Kutham achieved fame through the manner of his ostensible death. He was with the army of Khurāsān under Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān when the latter invaded Transoxania in 56/676 (cf. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 19-20), and was allegedly killed (thus in Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 107, and Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 27) or died a natural death (thus in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 412) at the siege of Samarḳand in 57/677. Ṭabarī makes no mention of Kutham's death in his account of this campaign, and Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 298, tr. Wiet, 119, and Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 40, state that he in fact died at Marw.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the supposed tomb of Kutham at Samarḳand subsequently became a shrine and pilgrimage place; Barthold plausibly surmised that this cult was probably built up by his family, the ʿAbbāsids, when they came to power. It is, however, equally possible that some existing pre-Islamic cult of Soghdia was islamicised and transformed into the cult of Kutham. In the inscriptions of the later buildings making up the shrine complex of Afrāsiyāb, the citadel area of Samarḳand and the heart of the pre-Mongol invasion city [see samarkand], Kutham is generally referred to as the *Shāh-i zinda* "living prince" or *Shāh-i djawānān* "prince of the youths", and I. I. Rempel has suggested that Kutham is a syncretistic figure incorporating elements of the Islamic prophet Khiḍr [see al-khaḍir] and of Siyāwush and other ancient Iranian heroes (in G. A. Pugačenkova, ed., *Iz istorii velikogo goroda*, Tashkent 1972, 36-52).

The shrine flourished greatly and was added to in Karakhānid and Saldjūḳ times, so that a whole complex was formed there, and during Sandjar's sultanate, probably in the 520s/1130s, a *Madrasa Kuthamiyya* was founded. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Samarḳand two centuries later, in the reign of the Čaghatayid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tarmashīrīn (726-34/1326-34), he found the shrine opulently appointed and much visited by the local people of Samarḳand plus the Tatārs of the region. It had a *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] or hospice attached to it for pilgrims and travellers, and a scion of the ʿAbbāsids, the *amīr* Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, great-great-grandson of the penultimate Baghdād caliph al-Mustanṣir (623-40/1226-42), who had migrated from ʿIrāḳ to Transoxania, acted as *nāẓir* or superintendent of the shrine (*Riḥla*, iii, 52-4, tr. Gibb, iii, 568-9). The shrine continued to attract royal patronage, including from the Tīmūrids; a mausoleum, possibly to be ascribed to Kutlugh Āḳā, one of Tīmūr's wives, was built in 762/1361, and in the next century, Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] added to it. Alterations were, indeed, made to it up to the early 19th century.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 29. For the development of the cult of Kutham at Samarḳand, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[2], 91-2, and N. B. Nemtseva, *Istoki kompozitsii i etapi formirovaniya ansamblya Shakhi-Zinda*, in *Sov. Arkheologiya* (1976), No. 1, 94-106, Eng. tr. with commentary by J. M. Rogers and ʿĀdil Yāsīn, in *Iran, Jnal. of the Brit. Inst. of Persian Studies*, xv (1977), 125-47.
(C. E. Bosworth)

KUTHAYYIR b. **ʿABD** al-**RAḤMĀN** (better known as Kuthayyir ʿAzza and often called al-Mulaḥī after Mulayḥ, a sub-tribe of Khuzāʿa, or Ibn Abī Djumʿa, after his maternal grandfather), a poet of the ʿUdhrī school of the Umayyad period. Like other poets of the same school, his life was a favourite field for the imagination of story-tellers who wrote entertaining *asmār* literature. In such cases, legend plays such havoc with history that it becomes almost impossible for later critical studies to separate one from the other. Legends were introduced to suggest pseudo-historical occasions for some poems, and some poetry was made to suit stereotypes of the ideal lover. Other factors, both political and sectarian, made it easy for the *ruwāt* to shroud Kuthayyir's character with ever thicker layers of legendary material. Nowhere else does authentic poetry stand in sharp contrast to the alleged character of its writer as it does in the case of Kuthayyir. When stripped of such accretions, the biography of such a poet becomes a mere skeleton.

Kuthayyir's parents were both from Khuzāʿa, and lived in Medina or in the adjacent hills to the east. If we believe al-Marzubānī, who states that the poet lived 80 or 81 years (*Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1960, 242), then he must have been born *ca.* 23 or 24/643 or 644 (since

there is no doubt that he died in 105/723). This date of birth seems very early if we consider that there are no traces of his poetical activities before 60/679, a fact which makes one think that he could not have been born earlier than 40/660. Although Kut̲h̲ayyir's father died when he was still in need of a guardian, he is nevertheless accused of being an undutiful son (this is more likely a reflection of much later sectarian prejudice). When his father was afflicted with a sore in one of his fingers, Kut̲h̲ayyir considered that as a heavenly punishment for the father, who used to raise that same finger whenever he swore falsely. The pious interpretation here is ignored, and the sharp comment is taken as indicating an unfilial attitude. Kut̲h̲ayyir's uncle became a watchful guardian who, to keep the boy away from the vices of urban life, sent him to tend a herd of camels in the outskirts. At that stage, so the legend says, a brass figure trudging heavily appeared to him and ordered him to begin to recite poetry. Thus his inspiring *d̲j̲inni* disclosed himself to him at an early age. Yet it was not this *d̲j̲inni*, but the author of the legend, who reduced the camels to sheep and took Kut̲h̲ayyir to al-D̲j̲ār on the Red Sea coast where, on his way, he met a group of women, from among whom a young girl approached him in order to buy a sheep. The lad, who in his manhood became known for his proverbial stinginess (D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *al-Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, Cairo 1948, 165), gave her a sheep and refused to accept payment. This girl was inevitably ʿAzza, the daughter of Ḥumayl from the D̲h̲amra tribe, who entangled Kut̲h̲ayyir with her beauty. According to later evidence from a woman who knew ʿAzza, ʿAzza is described as a "sweet", pretty, clean and pale-skinned woman, whose conversation was most enchanting. ʿAzza's family must have previously given her as a wife to a first suitor because, shortly after that heady meeting, Kut̲h̲ayyir's poetry became very embarassing to them. That same husband is referred to in his poetry as a jealous, impotent old man (*ḥawkal*), who used his authority over his wife to make her scold her lover and abuse him. It is also probable that the migration of ʿAzza and her husband to Egypt (*ca.* 67/686) was not only due to a drought that broke out in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, but also represented the husband's wish to avoid embarassment. Nevertheless, Kut̲h̲ayyir, who cared but little about the feelings of his rival, found in travelling to Egypt a good opportunity to see both ʿAzza and his friend ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, governor of Egypt. Through the latter, the poet's attachment to the Umayyad caliphs and *amīrs* was strongly established, an attachment which endured until his death.

Yet at a date previous to these travels, Kut̲h̲ayyir is said to have met a man called K̲h̲andaḳ who attracted him to the Kaysānī beliefs. In its early stage, the Kaysāniyya sect [*q.v.*] must have been compatible with the belief in the right of ʿAlī's son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, to the imāmate, as successor to his half-brother, Ḥusayn. The poet's relation with Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya is a historical fact, to which Kut̲h̲ayyir's own poetry attests. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was imprisoned by the rebel and anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and that imprisonment was strongly resented by the poet (*Dīwān*, Beirut 1971, 224). As for the other Kaysānī beliefs, such as those of the occultation of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in the mountain of Raḍwā, near Medīna and his final return (*rad̲j̲ʿa*), or the transmigration of souls, nothing is explicitly or implicitly expressed about them in Kut̲h̲ayyir's poetry. Even his two surviving elegies for his friend K̲h̲andaḳ are completely silent about any doctrines or beliefs. Yet the poet was later identified with the extremist Kaysānī poet, al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 173/789), and some of the latter's poems were ascribed to him. The *riwāyas* about his Kaysānī beliefs hardly conform with the accepted Kaysānī doctrines. Ludicrously enough, instead of believing in the return of his *imām*, Kut̲h̲ayyir, according to these *riwāyas*, believed in his own *rad̲j̲ʿa*. In examining similar traditions, one can discover not only contradictions but also a humorous strain which was intended to mock Kut̲h̲ayyir's own character. Kut̲h̲ayyir's attachment to the Kaysāniyya must have been a short, emotional interlude, to which he was driven by his friendship with K̲h̲andaḳ and his pity for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment. When the latter acknowledged the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik in 69/688, the poet felt no ambivalence in his allegiance and became an Umayyad partisan till the end.

Some traits in Kut̲h̲ayyir's character made it easy to ascribe rather ridiculous beliefs or modes of behaviour to him. He was a very short, ugly, red-faced, long-necked, huge-headed and very slender man, who adopted a haughty and conceited manner to mask his limitations. His naiveté and lack of urban sophistication are easily detected in his poetry. In one of his poems he bridles at ʿAzza's humorous comment that he has become pale and rough in manner of late, and accuses her of ridiculing him only to please her husband (*Dīwān*, 379). Yet he explicitly acknowledges, in the same poem, that he had really become a shadow of a man, "like the remnants of a rope", totally bony but, in spite of all that, naturally handsome, without adornment, "like a Byzantine *dīnār*". Madness, which must be taken to mean no more than eccentricity, becomes an easy accusation. But no mad person, in reality, could have enjoyed the durable favour and esteem which the poet gained from his Umayyad patrons, or could have become so well-loved that nearly all the men and women of Medina would throng his funeral in order to bid him a final farewell. Kut̲h̲ayyir was also accused of being insincere in his love. Considered as a ʿUd̲h̲rī lover, this accusation might be true; at a certain time, he was temporarily attracted to another woman called Ẓallāma, whose "magical tie" was easily broken by ʿAzza. Other tales about his unfaithfulness in love are mere elaborations on the same theme by *asmār* writers. His poetry, in a way, gives credence to such an accusation because it shows a sober restraint which falls short of a passionate abandonment to love. Love, in Kut̲h̲ayyir's poems, is conceived in the terms of friendship. Let it be also remembered that he, unlike other ʿUd̲h̲rī-love poets, like al-Mad̲j̲nūn or even his tutor D̲j̲amīl, did not restrict himself to love-poetry. Not only his eulogies, but also his harsh satirical poems against his beloved's tribe, testify that love, in his heart, was rivalled by other strong emotions. His elegies on his friends, K̲h̲andaḳ and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, are not less in warmth than his love poems. His eulogies, though not so warm, are lengthy and symmetrical. In them, the poet's hard Bedouin life or the pangs of his forlorn love, are sharply contrasted with the luxurious life of the patron (*mamdūḥ*), and this latter is also drawn in contrast to the hardships which the patron faced in an inevitable war. Although the Umayyad *amīr* is an Arab chief who has, sometimes, the eyes of a snake and who seized sovereignty by force, it seems as if the poet resorts to a special set of distinguishing Umayyad attributes in his eulogies. Friendship, rather than financial benefit, is the stronger incentive for such poems This feeling of social equality helped

the poet to preserve much of his dignity. But when such a feeling is exploited in love-poetry, it reduces the sense of sacrifice to a minimum. The lover even, in moments of self-esteem, acquires the awe of the sovereign when he describes how admiring women feel towards him and how he enjoys the sight of entreating "subjects". It is true that this is not always the case, but, being there for once, it can outweigh all his other expressions of total absorption in love.

Kut͟hayyir was a prolific poet. During his long life, he appears never to have stopped writing poetry except for a certain period, after the death of ʿAzza and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (86-99/705-17); the poet's use of a simple and direct style of composition helped that profuseness. When writing on love or praise, or combining both themes in one poem, his vivid descriptions of the scenes from the Ḥid͟jāz or those on the route to Egypt or Syria add much to the length of his poem. It is said that, of *lāmiyyāt*, he wrote 30 of considerable length. However, all that has survived of that poetry, scattered through the available sources, does not exceed 2,000 lines.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Ibn al-Nadīm, ed. Flügel, 110, 111, 306; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. M. Shākir, Cairo 1952, 457; Ibn Ḳutayba *al-S͟hiʿr wa 'l-S͟huʿarāʾ*, Beirut 1964, 410; Abu 'l-Farad͟j al-Iṣfahānī, *Ag͟hānī*, Beirut 1957-64, ix, 4, xii, 170, xv, 224; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwas͟hs͟hah*, Cairo 1965, 143; al-Murtaḍā, *al-Amālī*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1954, ii, 387; al-Bakrī, *S͟harḥ al-Amālī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maymanī, Cairo 1936, 61; al-Sarrād͟j, *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿus͟hs͟hāḳ*, Beirut 1958, i, 136; Ibn K͟hallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1972, iv, 106; al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-aswāḳ*, Cairo 1302/1884, i, 43; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīt͟h al-arbiʿāʾ*, Cairo 1926, ii, 116-26; S͟hawḳī Ḍayf, *al-Adab fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1963, 319-23; Aḥmad Rabīʿī, *Kut͟hayyir ʿAzza*, Cairo 1967; Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi 'l-taʾrīk͟h wa 'l-adab*, Beirut 1974, 312-22; Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 609-16 and index; Brockelmann, I², 44, SI, 79; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 408-9. Editions of the *Dīwān*: H. Pérès, *Koṯayyir-ʿAzza, Dīwân, accompagné d'un commentaire arabe*, Algiers 1928-30; I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1391/1971. (Iḥsān ʿAbbās)

ḲUTLUG͟H-K͟HĀNIDS. 1. a dynasty in Kirmān [*q.v.*] in the 7th/13th century, descended from the Ḳara-K͟hitay [*q.v.*] of Transoxania. The dynasty, successively vassals of the K͟hwārazm-S͟hāh, the Mongol Great K͟hāns and the dynasty of Hūlāgū K͟hān (Īlk͟hāns), lasted from 619/1222 or 620/1223 to 706/1305-6, but never had more than local importance. It entertained close relations with the neighbouring dynasties of the Atābegs of Yazd, the Salg͟hurids of Fārs and the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] and came into occasional contact with the caliph and with India. The founder of the dynasty (from 619 or 620) was Naṣr al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris Ḳutlug͟h Sulṭān Burāḳ-Ḥād͟jib [*q.v.*], son of Kuldūz (?), d. 632/1235. His title Ḳutlug͟h Sulṭān was given him by the caliph, although his conversion to Islam was of a very recent date. He had a son Rukn al-Dīn K͟hād͟jad͟jūḳ (or Mubārak K͟hwād͟ja) and four daughters, of whom Sawind͟j Turkān was married to Čag͟hatay K͟hān, K͟hān Turkān to her cousin Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and the two others to members of the family of the Atābegs of Yazd.

Burāḳ appointed as his successor his nephew and son-in-law Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad K͟hān, whose father K͟hamītūn Tāyangū b. Kuldūz (variants: K͟hamītbūr, K͟hantimūr, Tānīkū) is perhaps identical with the Ḳara-K͟hitay chief captured by the K͟hwārazmians in 607/1210; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 364. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn at the end of a year had to retire into Mongolia on the approach of Rukn al-Dīn, son of Burāḳ and Ukā-K͟hātūn, who after spending some time at the Mongol court received from Ögedey investiture for the fiefs of Kirmān and Narmas͟hīr. He ruled for 16 years. He was not well disposed to the Tād͟jīks and men of letters, according to the *Simṭ al-ʿulāʾ*.

In 650/1252 he had in turn to make way for Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, who had in the interval been serving in China under Maḥmūd Yalawač and upon whom Möngke after his accession conferred the *yarlīḳ* over Kirmān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was authorised by the Ḳāʾān to put Rukn al-Dīn to death as he was suspected of intriguing with the caliph. He soon suppressed a rising by a pretender who claimed to be the K͟hwārazm-S͟hāh D͟jalāl al-Dīn. He severely punished the Kūč and Balūč [see BALŪČISTĀN and KUFṢ]. His successes were attributed to the advice of his wife, Ḳutlug͟h Turkān K͟hātūn, whose wisdom is highly praised by the historians. Some doubts exist as to her origin; according to the *Taʾrīk͟h-i guzīda* she had been the concubine (*surriyya*) of Burāḳ (according to the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, that of G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn, brother of the K͟hwārazm-S͟hāh D͟jalāl al-Dīn) and would thus be a different person from K͟hān Turkān, daughter of Barāḳ; this fact might explain her feud with the sons of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn.

Ḳuṭb al-Dīn died in 655/1257. His son Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j being a minor, the notables asked the Ḳāʾān to entrust the government to the widow of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn ʿIṣmat al-dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Ḳutlūg͟h Turkān who ruled 655-81/1257-82 (in 662/1264 her powers were confirmed by Hūlāgū; cf. Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 403).

Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j when he grew up sought to get into touch with the sons of Ögedey and acted with little regard for Ḳutlug͟h Turkān, but the latter, strong in the support of her daughter Pāds͟hāh-K͟hātūn, married to Abaḳa-K͟hān, forced Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j to retire to Dihlī in 666/1267-8. Then the other son of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, Suyurg͟hatmīs͟h, successfully disputed Turkān's power and she went to Tabrīz, where she died in 681/1282-3. Her daughter Bībī K͟hātūn, who had married the *amīr* ʿAḍud al-Dīn Ḥād͟jd͟jī, removed her remains to Kirmān. Marco Polo went through Kirmān (*ca.* 1272) in the reign of Ḳutlug͟h Turkān.

D͟jalāl al-Dīn Abū Muẓaffar Suyurg͟hatmīs͟h (681-93/1282-94) received his investiture from the Īl-K͟hān Aḥmad, but could not agree with his sister Pāds͟hāh-K͟hātūn. She had been brought up among her brothers under the name of Ḥasan S͟hāh (cf. MIRK͟HWĀND) to enable her to escape compulsory marriage with a Mongol prince. She became, however, the wife first of Abaḳā and after his death, of his son Gayk͟hātū. The latter on coming to the throne in 690/1291 gave Kirmān to Pāds͟hāh-K͟hātūn. The princess, who was a poetess of talent, was of a vindictive and passionate nature. At first, Suyurg͟hatmīs͟h governed the province in the name of the Pāds͟hāh, but she later threw him into prison. He was freed by his wife K͟hudāwand-zāda Kardud͟jīn, daughter of Mengū Tīmūr b. Hūlāgū and the Salg͟hurid [*q.v.*] princess Abis͟h, ruler of Fārs, and by his daughter S͟hāh ʿAlam. Gayk͟hātū, however, handed him over to Pāds͟hāh-K͟hātūn, who had him strangled. His death was followed by the execution of his vizier, who was captured by stratagem. In 694/1295 Baydū,

husband of ʿĀlam Khātūn, became king, and Pādshāh was handed over the vengeance of the wife and daughter of Suyurghatmïsh. In the reign of Pādshāh Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, 23, 91) passed through Kirmān on his return journey (ca. 1293).

In 695/1296 Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad Shāh Sulṭān b. Ḥadjdjādj succeeded his aunt by command of Ghāzān Khān, but his brother slew his vizier and rebelled in Kirmān. The troops of Fārs and ʿIrāḳ besieged Kirmān for 18 months. Muẓaffar al-Dīn came from Tabrīz, forced the town to surrender and executed the ringleaders. His methods must have been summary, for his new vizier left him in terror. Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who loved wine, died in 703/1303-4 as a result of his excesses.

His nephew Sulṭān Ḳuṭb al-Dīn II Shāh Djahān b. Suyurghatmïsh succeeded him and ruled for two years and a half (until 706/1306-7). As he was very cruel and did not pay his dues regularly to the Mongol treasury, Öldjeytü deposed him and appointed a simple governor to Kirmān, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Burhān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn II retired to Shīrāz to Kardudjīn, wife of his father. His daughter Ḳutlugh Khān (*wālidat al-salāṭīn*) in 729/1328-9 became the wife of Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, the real founder of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, who later took possession of Kirmān (in 741/1340-1).

Before the earthquake of 1896 there still existed in Kirmān the *Ḳubba-yi sabz* (remains of the *madrasa* of Turkānābād) bearing the date 640/1121-3 (i.e. contemporary with Rukn al-Dīn). This "green mausoleum" was the family tomb for the dynasty (cf. P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 60-2, 194, 264). Turkān Khātūn founded the little towns of Sar-āsiyāb and Čatrūd, to which she brought a water supply. Suyurghatmïsh built the *madrasa* of Darb-i Naw, where he was buried.

Bibliography: The special history of the Ḳutlugh-Khānids is the *Simṭ al-ʿulā' li 'l-ḥaḍrat al-ʿulyā*, written in 716/1316-17, cf. Storey, i, 358, 1297. The author Nāṣir al-Dīn was the son of Khwādja Muntadjab al-Dīn Yazdī, the trusted adviser of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (cf. the Paris ms., B. N. Persian No. 1377, f., 125). On Burāḳ, Rukn al-Dīn and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, cf. Djuwaynī, ed. Ḳazwīnī, ii, 211-18, tr. Boyle, ii, 476-82. On the whole dynasty: *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Browne, 527-35, 625; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*, Bombay 1266, iv, 128-31; cf. E. A. Strandman, *Chuandamir's afhandling om Qarachitaiska i Kirman*, Helsingfors 1869; Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay, ii/3, 10-12; Münedjdjim-bashī, Turkish tr., Istanbul 1285, iii, 587; Rieu also quotes Waṣṣāf, iii (to the year 694) and the *Geography* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, part ii, which seems to contain full references. Cf. also d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii, 5, 19, 32, 131-3, 396; iv, 90-3, 269, 485; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 237; Boyle, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 323.

2. The title Ḳutlugh-Khān was conferred in 629/1231 by Ögedey on Abū Bakr b. Saʿd, the Salghurid [*q.v.*], cf. d'Ohsson, iii, 398.

(V. Minorsky)

ḲUTLUGH-SHĀH NOYAN, a notable Mongol *amīr* in Īlkhānid Persia, especially during the reigns of Ghāzān Khān and Öldjeytü (694-716/1295-1316). He was a member of the Manqut tribe, and a descendant of Čingiz Khān's general Djedey Noyan.

After the accession of Ghāzān. Ḳutlugh-Shāh led the pursuit of the *amīr* Nawrūz, besieged Harāt, where Nawrūz had taken refuge, and captured and executed him in 696/1297. He was also charged with the execution of the fallen *wazīr* Ṣadr al-Dīn. In 698/1299 he was sent by Ghāzān to Rum to suppress the revolt of prince Sūlāmïsh. In 699/1299 he accompanied Ghāzān's invasion of Syria, and was subsequently appointed by him *shaḥna* of Damascus. He commanded the right wing of the Īlkhānid army when the Mamlūk forces were defeated at Ḥimṣ. During the Syrian campaign of 703/1303, Ḳutlugh-Shāh was less successful; he was defeated by the Mamlūks at Mardj al-Ṣuffar. He among others was held responsible by Ghāzān, and together with his fellow-general Čūbān he was sentenced to be beaten with rods at the judicial enquiry (*yārghū*) which followed his precipitate return to Persia. Any eclipse that Ḳutlugh-Shāh may have suffered as a result of this defeat was only temporary, however. On his accession in 704/1304, the Īlkhān Öldjeytü appointed him commander-in-chief. But in 707/1307 Öldjeytü's armies invaded Gīlān, and during the campaign Ḳutlugh-Shāh was defeated and killed. His death cleared the way for the later ascendancy of Čūbān in the Īlkhānid state.

Ḳutlugh-Shāh's eminence among the *amīrs* of his time is amply attested in anecdotes concerning him. Kāshānī records that during a dispute at court between Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs during the reign of Öldjeytu, Ḳutlugh-Shāh urged in his exasperation that the Mongols should abandon Islam—of whose tenets he is represented as having a very curious conception—and return to the *yāsāḳ* and *yūsūn* of Čingiz Khān (*Ta'rīkh-i Uldjāytū*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 98 = Aya Sofya MS 3019, f. 178a). On the other hand, in Ibn Bazzāz's *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, a near-contemporary life of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn of Ardabīl, he is shown as a devotee of Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, and there is an entertaining account of how in a contest of piety and abstinence, Ḳutlugh-Shāh's favoured *shaykh* was beaten by Ghāzān Khān's candidate, Shaykh Zāhid Gīlānī (ed. Aḥmad b. Karīm Tabrīzī, lith. Bombay 1911, 38-9 = Aya Sofya MS 3099, f. 28b).

Bibliography: references in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, ed. J. A. Boyle, Cambridge, 1968; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[3], Berlin 1968.

(D. O. Morgan)

ḲUṬN, Ḳuṭun (A.), cotton.

1. In the mediaeval Arab and Persian lands.

In the period of the Arab conquests cotton had already been propagated from India to eastern Persia and the neighbouring lands. It was cultivated everywhere and a flourishing industry produced cotton goods there. The Arab geographers, in describing the economy of these lands in the ʿAbbāsid period, speak especially of the production of cotton goods, but there is good reason to suppose that these factories used the cotton planted in their own regions.

In modern Afghānistān, Kābul and Herāt had cotton factories which were known for the excellent quality of their products. Kābul exported cotton goods as far as China. Marw and Nīshāpūr were the most important centres of the cotton industry in Khurāsān. The province of Marw also exported large quantities of raw cotton, much appreciated for its softness. The cotton materials produced at Marw, especially *mulḥam*, a cotton and silk fabric, were so renowned that, according to al-Thaʿālibī, in all countries fine materials originating from Khurāsān were called *shāhidjānī* (after the name of Marw).

The industry of Nīshāpūr was known for the material called *hafīī*. The cotton goods of these two towns passed in the caliphal empire, according to an observation of al-Djāḥiẓ cited by al-Thaʿālibī, as the best in the world. Transoxania also produced large quantities of cotton. From the province of Shāsh it was exported into the Turkish lands. Samarḳand, the small town of Wadhār not far from it, Bukhārā and Ṭawāwīs were the most important centres of the cotton industry there, whilst Bukhārā was renowned for its heavy cotton goods, whose firm fabric was praised. The cotton plantations had even been introduced into cold lands such as Khwārazm. Factories for cotton goods were also developed there, whose products, such as those called *arandj* and *amīrī*, enjoyed a great reputation.

Djibāl itself produced cotton and had factories which worked it, although on a smaller scale than those of Khurāsān. The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century relate that the cotton of the province of Rayy was exported as far as ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān. Speaking of irrigation by means of subterranean canals in the province of Iṣfahān, Ibn Ḥawḳal remarks that it served for the cultivation of cotton. In Kirmān, there was a flourishing cotton industry at Bamm which doubtless used the raw material produced in the province. As for the province of Fārs, there is no room for doubt about its presence there, for Ibn Ḥawḳal points out to us the rate of tax levied on the cotton plantations in the district of Shīrāz. Yazd and Abarḳūya themselves had factories which certainly worked the cotton cultivated in their provinces. However, in this part of Persia, the cultivation of flax and its manufacture prevailed over that of cotton.

At the end of the 3rd/9th century and beginning of the 4th/10th century, there were already cotton plantations in Upper Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, but in these lands they constituted a new sector of agriculture. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, writing in the first half of the 4th/10th century, relates that in most of the lands of Rās al-ʿAyn, in Upper Mesopotamia, cotton was cultivated, and Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the cotton plantations and cotton goods production in the town of ʿArabān, in the same province. Al-Muḳaddasī, for his part, mentions cotton plantations in the district of Ḥarrān. Later on, Yāḳūt mentions cotton goods' production at Ḥazza, a small town near Rās al-ʿAyn. In the 4th/10th century much cotton was also planted in the province of Aleppo and in Palestine, in the region of the Ḥūla and in the Djawlān, near Bāniyās. To judge by the description of Palestine by al-Muḳaddasī, it was also cultivated near Jerusalem. A passage in the description of Upper Mesopotamia by Ibn Ḥawḳal reveals that the cotton plantations increased considerably in the 4th/10th century in this land, when the new lords, who had replaced the caliphal régime, established large estates and introduced the cultivation of industrial plants such as cotton. Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the Ḥamdānids, but there is reason to suppose that other dynasties were also involved. Whatever may be the case, the cultivation of cotton as yet only played a modest role in this period within the total agricultural production of these lands. Indeed, Ibn Ḥawḳal specifies that cotton goods were imported from Upper Mesopotamia into Syria.

In Egypt, the cultivation of cotton constituted, in this period and also later, under the domination of the Fāṭimids, a still more limited agricultural sector. Several papyri, it is true, testify to the cultivation of cotton in Egypt, in the 2nd-4th/8-10th centuries, and other documents refer to cotton plantations in Egypt under the Fāṭimids. According to al-Idrīsī it was even exported in this period from Egypt to Libya. On the other hand, numerous Judaeo-Arabic documents preserved in the Cairo Geniza from the second half of the 5th/11th and first half of the 6th/12th century show that cotton and cotton goods were imported from Sicily and especially from Syria and Palestine.

The same observation will be made as to the cultivation of cotton in the Maghrib in this period; it was planted almost everywhere but on a relatively small scale. Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions the cotton plantations in the districts of Tunis and M'sila in Algeria. Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī mentions too the cotton plantations in the province of M'sila and speaks of them further in his description of Mostaganem in western Algeria. In Morocco, cotton was planted, according to the reports of the Arab geographers, in the districts of Fez, Tādlā, Baṣra and Kurt. In Islamic Spain it was cultivated, in the 4th/10th century, in the province of Seville and also in the district of Guadix, to the east of Granada.

In the period of the Crusades, the cultivation of cotton developed to a great extent in Syria, especially in its northern provinces. Several treaties concluded between Venice and the Ayyubīd princes of Aleppo and Ṣahyūn report the export of cotton from their states. However, the great rise of cotton cultivation in Syria was to begin later, after the fall of the Crusader states. When the farmers lost the great markets provided by the Crusaders' towns, there was a glut of cereals and they went over apparently to the cultivation of cotton. Already in 1304, some Venetian emissaries went to visit the Mamlūk governor of Ṣafad, doubtless to negotiate with him concerning the trade in cotton, the plantations of which had increased considerably in his province. The depopulation following the Black Death and the still further diminished demand for cereals accelerated this development, so that the export of Syrian cotton became an important sector of the Levant trade.

The connection between the reduced demand for cereals and the increase in cotton production emerges clearly from the development of agriculture in Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia. Marco Polo relates, at the end of the 13th century, that the provinces of Mush and Mārdīn produce enormous quantities of cotton which was worked there. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, writing in the first half of the 8th/14th century, also speaks of the cotton plantations in the district of Mārdīn and still others in the districts of Bāzabdā, Barṭallā and Irbil in Upper Mesopotamia and in the environs of Walasdjird in Armenia. The Venetian ambassador Giosafa Barbaro, who travelled across these lands in 1474, also mentions the cultivation of cotton and the cotton goods' factories at Mārdīn as well as plantations in the district of Ḥiṣn Kayfā. The fiscal regulations of Uzun Ḥasan, then lord of this country, refer to the cotton industries of Urfa, ʿArabgīr and Erzindjān, towns today forming part of Turkey. In ʿIrāḳ cotton was cultivated then in the districts of Baghdād, Kūfa and Ḥilla. The accounts of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī of the agricultural production of several provinces of Persia are particularly significant in this regard, in so far as they mention cotton plantations in some districts which do not figure as producers of cotton in earlier sources. He speaks of large harvests of cotton in several districts of Ādharbāydjān, Djibāl, Ḳūhistān and Kirmān. There is no doubt that the diminution of the population and consequently of the demand for

cereals after the Mongol conquests led also the farmers of these regions to go over to the cultivation of cotton. Al-Mawṣil and several other towns then became centres of the cotton goods industry and their products were exported to other lands, such as Egypt.

In this latter country, the production of cotton also increased from the middle of the 7th/13th century, although it was still imported from the Sudan. The Irish pilgrim Simeon Simeonis, who in 1323 passed by Fuwwa in the western delta, describes the plantations of cotton which he had seen there and later, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, Emmanuel Piloti relates that cotton is the most important product of the province of al-G͟harbiyya. Arnold von Harff, a German traveller of the end of the 9th/15th century, saw cotton plantations on his way from Ḳaṭya to G͟hazza. In the late Middle Ages, Egypt was also able to export cotton to Europe.

Nevertheless, in no other country of the Near East was the role of cotton, in the late Middle Ages, as important as in Syria, nor was the volume of its production as considerable in relation to other crops; Syria exported large quantities of cotton to Europe, where it served as the raw material for the flourishing fustian industries in Lombardy and southern Germany. The great centres of the plantations were the region of Aleppo, the province of Ḥamā and the northern districts of Palestine. In northern Syria cotton was cultivated especially in the districts of D̲j̲abala, ʿĀzāz and Sarmīn (called Siamo by the Italians, by confusion with al-S̲h̲ām), and in Palestine in the environs of Acre and in the valley of Jizreel. But cotton was also planted in the province of Tripoli and on the coasts of Lebanon, near Bayrūt, Ṣaydā and Tyre. In the travel books which pilgrims in the Holy Land have left for us, there is mention of cotton plantations near Jaffa and Ramla. In Transjordania cotton was planted in the district of ʿAd̲j̲lūn. Accordding to the Merchants' Guide of Pegolotti, the cotton of Ḥamā was considered the best, and this statement is corroborated by numerous price lists of the Venice market. But all varieties of Syrian cotton were more appreciated in Europe than the cotton originating from other countries, such as Turkey, Cyprus, Egypt or Malta. It was appreciated for its longer fibres and for being more flexible. Part of the Syrian cotton fed the cotton goods' industry (especially "bocasin" from the Turkish *būg̲h̲āsī*) which flourished at Baʿlabakk, in the villages of the Lebanon, to the east of Tripoli and in the villages near Aleppo. It appears however that this industry only worked up a small part of the cotton produced in the country and that the greatest part of it was in fact destined for export. From the end of the 15th century, the Venetians made the largest purchases, while the Genoese traded especially in the cotton originating from the Balkans or Turkey, where there existed important plantations in the provinces of Konya and Siwas. The Catalans, who, at the end of the 14th century, still bought on a large scale in Syria, were supplied in the 15th century especially in Sicily. Venice sent each year two convoys of cogs to Syria, one in February and the other in August. Numerous documents which have been preserved in the archives of Italy allow us to evaluate the volume of the export of Syrian cotton by the Venetians. It will be concluded that in some periods of good (political and economic) conjuncture, the Venetians exported each year from Syria 8,000 sacks of raw cotton (apart from relatively small quantities of cotton thread) and in others, 5,000. Since a sack contained, on average, 150 kg., the value of these exports may be evaluated at 90-140,000 ducats a year. But when the price of cotton rose, at the beginning of the 15th century, from 24-5 ducats a *ḳinṭār* (of northern Syria) to 30-5 ducats, the Venetian investment rose to 200-250,000 ducats and more. Also, there were some years in which the Venetians bought Syrian cotton for 300,000 ducats.

The registers of fiscal returns made in Palestine in 1525-6 and 1555-6 indicate the large volume of cotton production in Galilee and also in the district of Jaffa after the conquest of the land by the Ottomans. Indeed, Syria still exported cotton to Egypt and other countries until the end of the 18th century. In Egypt cotton was cultivated, at the beginning of the 19th century, near Damanhūr on the western branch of the Nile and in the provinces of Sammanūd and Manṣūra on its eastern branch. But these plantations were not of great extent. Then, in 1818 or 1819, the French engineer Louis Alexis Jumel discovered in Cairo a species of cotton which was distinguished by its long, strong fibres and began to cultivate it with the help of Muḥammad ʿAlī. As the new species fetched a much higher price in Europe than the others, it was cultivated from 1822 on a large scale, principally on the eastern bank of the eastern branch of the Nile. Always under the sponsorship of Muḥammad ʿAlī, experts on cotton cultivation were invited to Egypt and in 1830 a type of agricultural code (*lāʾiḥat zirāʿat al-fallāḥ*) containing detailed instructions for the cultivation of cotton was published. However, the great rise of its cultivation in Egypt only began in the 1860s, when the Civil War in America made the price of Egyptian cotton rise and the plantations were greatly enlarged. It is from this time that cotton has come to occupy a place of the first rank in the agriculture of Egypt.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 213, 302, 366, 490; Muḳaddasī, 160; T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. Bosworth, 121; *La Péninsule ibérique ... d'après le Kitāb ar-Rauḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 192 of the Arabic text; *La description de l'Espagne de Rāzī*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, in *al-Andalus*, xviii (1953), 93; M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien*, in *Mitteilungen u. Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästinavereins* (1903), 68; W. Hinz, *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *ZDMG*, c (1950), 195; *I viaggi in Persia degli ambasciatori veneti Barbaro e Contarini*, ed. Lockhart-Morozzo della Rocca-Tiepolo, Rome 1973, 114, 116, 117; B. Lewis, *Studies in the Ottoman archives*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 489; idem, *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives*, Jerusalem 1952, 18; idem, *Nazareth in the sixteenth century according to the Ottoman tapu registers*, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 417; idem, *Jaffa in the sixteenth century, according to the Ottoman tahrir registers*, in *Necati Lugal Armağanı*, Ankara 1969, 437; the other sources are cited in: C. J. Lamm, *Cotton in mediaeval textiles of the Near East*, Paris 1937; D. Müller-Wodarg, *Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens in der frühen ʿAbbāsidenzeit*, in *Isl.*, xxxii (1957), 38 f.; R. Pfister, *L'introduction du coton en Égypte musulmane*, in *Revue des arts asiatiques*, xi (1937), 167 ff.; E. Ashtor, *The Venetian cotton trade in Syria in the later Middle Ages*, in *Studi medievali*, xvii (1976), 675 ff.; idem, *Social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, London 1976, 222 ff., 240, 262, 276, 318 f.; R. B. Serjeant, *Material for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, ix (1942), to

xv-xvi (1951). E. R. J. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian economy 1820-1914*, Oxford 1969.

(E. Ashtor)

2. In the Ottoman Empire.

In western Turkish dialects, *pan(m)buḳ*, *pamuḳ*, *bamuḳ* or *mamuḳ* (see G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*) "cotton" is derived from Middle Persian *pambaḳ*, while in eastern dialects cotton is *paḵḫta*, *baḵḫta*, or *baḳta* (Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türkdialecte*, iv) and cotton cloth *boḵḫtāy* (Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Divānü Lügāt-it-Türk*, facs. ed. B. Atalay, 550; in Chinese *po-tie*, see J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouighours*, Paris 1955, 57-8). In Uyghur, *kebez* designated cotton. The word *bäz* (*bez*) is a common word for coarse cotton cloth in various dialects (also in the forms of *böz*, *biz*, or *bös*, with a theory of its derivation from the Greek βύσσος, Assyrian *busu*, W. Bang, *Vom Köktürkischen zum Osmanischen*, Berlin 1921, 14 n. 2, now challenged; see G. Doerfer and S. Tezcan, *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch*, Budapest 1980, 91; H. Ecsedy, *Böz, an exotic cloth in the Chinese imperial court*, in *Alt-orientalische Forschungen*, iii, 145-63).

Continuing a long tradition of cotton growing and industry in Central Asia, the Uyghur Turks produced cotton and exported cotton textiles to China, as recorded in the Chinese sources of the 9th century (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, Index, s.v. *po-tie*). Under the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*], cotton production and manufacture had apparently a considerable development in Asia Minor, in which principal towns had cotton bazaars (for instance, *panbah furūshān* in Ḳonya, Aflākī, *Manāḳib*, 618) and caravanserais of cotton textiles (for al-Khān al-Bazzāzī in the *Sūḳ al-Bazzāzīn* in Ḳirshehir, see A. Temir, *Caca oğlu Nūr el-Din*, 23). "Cotton fabrics edged with gold embroidery" of Lādhiḳ (Laodicaeaon-Lykos, today Denizli) noted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 733/1322 (tr. Gibb, ii, 425) were famous all over Anatolia and referred to as late as the 9th/15th century (see ʿĀshıḳ-Pashazāde, ed. Giese, 52).

Although European markets preferred better-quality northern Syrian types (Ḥamā, Aleppo) and those of Cilicia and Cyprus (in the 1330s, Pegolotti: *cotone*; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 463), a substantial part of the cotton imported into Europe in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries came from western and southern Anatolian ports—Ayasoluk (Ephesus), Balat (Palatia), Alanya (ʿAlāʾiyya, Candelore), Antalya (Satalia), and Ayas (Lajazzo) (Heyd, ii, 463; H. Wescher, 2335; M. Mazzaoui, ch. 2). Cotton was grown in the immediate hinterlands of these ports. The island of Chios became the main entrepôt of the Anatolian cotton exported by the Genoese in this period. In the mid-15th century, the value of the annual export of cotton via Chios was estimated at 600,000 ducats. Turkish cotton was re-exported by the Genoese to other European countries and even to the Maghrib (J. Heers, 393).

Over the course of time, Venice tried to monopolise the import and distribution of imported cotton in the West. Venetian annual cotton trade with Lombardy alone was estimated to be worth 250,000 gold ducats in the 9th/15th century (Wascher, 2337; M. Mazzaoui, *ibid.*). By the end of the 10th/16th century, Venice imported an average 4,000 tons annually from the Levant (8,000 sacks from Cyprus and 6,000 from Izmir). The expanding Swiss and German fustian industries were dependent on the cotton imported from the Levant.

Although first known in Germany in *ca.* 978/1570, cotton from Brazil and the West Indies became a serious competitor only after the mid-18th century. At that time, the cotton industries in France and England began to experience rapid growth. Favvoured by special trade privileges [see imtiyāzāt] granted by the Ottomans, France, England, and the Netherlands were then directly importing cottons from the Levant, and superseded Italy in cotton industries in the 11th/17th century. The war of Cyprus (1570-1) can be taken as a turning point for the Venetian decline.

Cotton-producing areas in the Ottoman Empire before 1215/1800. Ottoman survey books, customs registers, guilds and price regulations, as well as *ḳāḍi* court records, attest to a very active cotton manufacturing industry with export capacity in Anatolia, both in the small towns near main cotton producing areas as well as in the large cities with extensive dye-houses in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries.

Apart from a growing demand by the Europeans and from internal trade, the state's need of cotton products for the navy and army too appears to have become one of the factors contributing to the extension of cotton production and that of certain kinds of cotton fabrics. According to the tax regulations of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Index, s.v. *panbuk*, *penbe*), tithes on cotton produce were collected in the provinces of western Anatolia (Khudāwendigār, Ḳarasī, Kütahya, Aydīn), of the Aegean Sea and Greece (Triccala, Morea, Euboea, Chios), of southwestern Anatolia (Ḳaramān, Ḥamīd-ili, Ič-il, Adana, Sīs, Özer) and south-eastern Anatolia (Malatya, Beḥisni, ʿArabgīr, Kemākh, Ergani, Mārdīn, Urfa, Diyārbakir, and Mawṣil). Northern limits of cotton cultivation on the southern Mediterranean coast reached as far as north as Egirdir lake (X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne*, fig. 7). Today, the cotton cultivation is concentrated in the valleys of Gediz and the two Menderes rivers, and in the Čukurova (Cilicia), and to a lesser degree, in the Antalya, Hatay, Marʿash, and Diyārbakr areas (*Atlas of Turkey*, map no. 75).

The Ottoman survey of the Aydīn province dated 859/1455 (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Istanbul, No 1/1M), which included the Küçük-Menderes and Büyük-Menderes valleys with the Izmir (Smyrna) area, attest to extensive cotton cultivation in the region. In many villages (Adakitlü, Yūsuflu, Bozdeghan, Ḥaydara, Orta-Seyid, Čalishu, Ḳalu-beglu, Ḳutlīldjı, etc.) cotton production was near or sometimes exceeded wheat production. Ḳalu-beglu, for example, where two Türkmen nomad groups had settled, produced about 8.44 tons of cotton against 5.83 tons of wheat in 858-9/1454-5. These were flooded lands and mostly settled by Türkmen nomads by the mid-15th century. Obviously, cotton production in this area was oriented to supplying distant markets as well as to supplying towns and cities exporting cotton goods in the region. In the interior, the Beypazarī-Mikhaličcīḳ area in the Saḳarya-Kirmir valley, a number of villages (Čeltük, Ḳaraköy, Sürmeli, Ḳayalar, Sobran, Ḳīzīldja-vīrān, Bash-vīrān, Yarīmdja-Avshar, Čay, etc.) showed a different structure with a much more limited production of cotton compared to other crops—wheat, barley, and rice (see the *taḥrīr* and *waḳf* registers of Khudāwendigār province, ed. Ö.L. Barkan). Apparently, this area supplied cotton to the nearby towns as well as to Ankara, the important centre of loom industries in this region. The area of Toḳāt, another important centre of cotton industry, displays a similar situation. Here, Venk, Ḳaraḥiṣār, Niksar, Felis,

Katar, and Ḳaraḳus͟h in particular, cotton cultivation constituted only a small percentage of the overall agricultural production (H. İslamoğlu, *Dynamics of agricultural production*, ch. 2) The general trend, however, showed an increase in cotton production, over ten times in some areas. In no case is there a shift to monoculture in the period before the 13th/19th century.

According to the Ottoman surveys of the 10th/16th century (Soysal, 32), 6,506 hectares or 19% of the cultivated land in the *sand͟jaḳ* of Adana was devoted to cotton, while barley and wheat cultivation took an area four times larger. By the middle of the 12th/18th century, the cotton production of the Čukurova appears to have been quite important. O'Heguerty (200) tells us that in the good harvest years, "cotton of Adana" was exported from Izmir.

Varieties of Indian *gossypium herbaceum*, the so-called *yerli* ("native") cotton, were well suited to the climate and soil conditions, and were known as the only varieties cultivated in Asia Minor until the 13th/19th century. Yielding a coarse fibre, thick, short, and of unequal length and curl, this variety was not considered suitable for fine cotton fabrics. However, in the Ḳirḳag͟hač area in the Baḳirčay valley, in the Ḥamīd-ili, Gelibolu (Gallipoli) the Čukurova (Adana, Cilicia), and Toḳāt areas, superior varieties were produced for making fine *bog͟hasī* fabrics. It was in the second half of the 13th/19th century that American and Egyptian varieties were introduced and cultivated in Asia Minor and the Balkans. In 1333/1941, however, 90-95% of the cotton production in western Anatolia and the Adana region still came from the *yerli* varieties (W. F. Brück, *Türkische Baumwollwirtschaft*, tr. C. Issawi, *The economic history of Turkey*, Chicago 1980, 242-6; *Türk ziraat tarihi*, 129-35)

At the exhibition of Istanbul of 1279/1863, many qualities of cottons from various parts of the Empire were displayed: 24 varieties from western Anatolia, 4 from Içel (Ič-il), 3 from Adana, 1 from Marʿas͟h, 1 from Mārdīn, 1 from Diyārbakir, 7 from Amasya, 6 from Serez, 4 from Filibe, 3 from Edirne, 3 from Drama, 1 from Trikkala, 1 from Rhodes, 9 from Syria, and 4 from Egypt. Egyptians cottons were considered the best quality, while those of Aydīn, though of short fibre, were preferred for their colour and strength (*Türk ziraat tarihi*, 166). Of the varieties of western Anatolia, that of Subiča and Ḳirḳag͟hač were rated first, with those of Aḳḥiṣār, Ḳaṣaba, Ḳinik, and Bayindir coming next. Ḳirḳag͟hač and Aḳḥiṣār, as well as Gelibolu, were the chief suppliers of the Istanbul cotton industries in the 11th/17th century (*Eṣnāf niẓāmlari*, in the *Müftülük Arşivi*, Istanbul).

Cotton-producing lands were listed among the best quality lands, and a higher land tax was imposed (Uluçay, doc. 41). Tithe on cotton was, as a rule, one-tenth, while in grain it was one-eighth.

Irrigation works for cotton growing were carried out only on large farms organised and created by the élite (see *Vakıflar dergisi*, ii, 364-5). On big farms, *ortaḳd͟jis*, sharecroppers, were usually employed, and one-third of the crop went to the landowner (at Turgutlu in Ṣaruk͟hān, see Uluçay, doc. no. 33). Such farms of the élite were almost always converted into *awḳāf*. On lands under the *tīmār* [*q.v.*] system, cotton was grown by individual peasants using primitive means, and often with no irrigation. Disputes arose when cotton prices were low and the *tīmār*-holder tried to leave the tithe to the peasant and ask instead for cash (examples in Uluçay, docs. 33, 41).

In Ottoman Egypt, cotton was grown on irrigated land in parts of Middle Egypt and the Delta. Egypt, however, had to import cotton from Syria to meet the needs of its cotton industries. By the end of the 12th/18th century, the imports of Syrian cotton reached 2,000-3,000 bales (Raymond, i, 190, 250, 273, 317-18). A special *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] was established on the cotton trade in the ports of Rosetta and Būlāḳ in 1132/1720-1 and 1161/1740 respectively, which provided evidence of the growing importance of cotton in the Egyptian economy. During the same period, the cotton markets at Būlāḳ, Damietta, Rosetta, Maḥallat al-Kubrā, Manṣūra and Semenūd, united under one *muḳāṭaʿa*, brought 2,195,000 *paras* per year in tax revenues collected on cotton grown in Egypt or imported from Syria. The total amount of this cotton was approximately 24,000 bales (1 bale = 325 *raṭl* or 143,9 kg). The *muḳāṭaʿa* figures show an eight-fold increase in the period 1169-82/1755-68, falling to half that amount in the following period 1183-1213/1769-98 (see S. Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt*, Index, s.v. *cotton*; for the following period, see E. R. J. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian economy*, Oxford 1969).

Already in the 9th/15th century, the coastal plains between Drama and Karaferye (Verroia) and Vodena formed an important cotton producing area in Rumili. In 1163/1751, the Venetian consul Choidas estimated the total amount of raw cotton exported from this area to be 13,000 bales (7,000 for France, 4,000 for Venice; in Salonica, 1 bale was equal to 110, sometimes 100 *okkas*, see Svoronos, 249), while in 1212/1797, Felix de Beaujour's estimate was 60,000 bales of both raw cotton and cotton yarn exported (40,000 to Germany, 10,000 to France). In 1211/1796, de Beaujour gives a record 98,500 bales for the total export of raw cotton (50,000 to London and Amsterdam, 30,000 to Germany and 12,000 to France). De Beaujour that only 10,000 bales were consumed in the area itself.

The cotton boom in the second half of the 12th/18th century was apparently responsible for the structural changes in the area, sc. the shift from rice cultivation to cotton, the reclamation of new land for cotton agriculture, the extension of big *čiftliks* and commercialisation of agriculture, and the growing prosperity of the big *aʿyāns* with increasing control of the land and peasant labour.

The organisation of cotton trade and industries. The *ḳāḍī* court records and market regulations provide us with quite detailed information on the processes of cotton trade and manufacture in the Ottoman towns (see *Iḥtisāb* regulations in *Tarih vesikaları*, nos. 5, 7, 9; for court records see Eluçay).

In cotton producing areas, *ḳozaḳ*, i.e. cotton bolls, and cotton cleaned from its seeds, was brought to nearby town markets, usually by camels (Uluçay, doc. 22). In towns, special markets, *penbe pazarı*, were reserved for cotton sale. Most of the crop was purchased in small quantities by local *d͟jullāhs* or *čulāhs*, spinners who were poor townsfolk, mostly women. Usually, foreign merchants from the port cities tried to reach producers or local markets through their agents. In order to get the best grade cottons, the merchants, in keen competition among themselves, used a system of advanced payment for a crop directly to the producers through their "factors". The system of a future contract was bitterly denounced by the French, since they said it caused scandalous competition, resulting in higher prices (Masson, ii, 435). Also, native middle-men or speculators in the cotton trade, mostly consisting of members

of the Ottoman élite along with Jews and Armenians in the Izmir area, bought the next season's produce in advance. Such contracts, called *salam*, widely practised in Islamic countries, were strictly regulated in Islamic law because of the uncertainty about the subject of contract (see al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Kitāb al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr*, ed. J. A. Wakin, New York 1972).

The customs registers provide definitive evidence that there was a group of Anatolian merchants who specialised in the cotton trade and who took their cotton goods as far as the northern Black Sea ports (İnalcık, *The Black Sea*, 91-107). The cottons in hairsacks or bales were taken in caravans into centres such as Kayseri, Ankara, Bursa, Ḳasṭamonu, Toḳāt and other parts of the Empire or by sea to Europe. Public regulations provided that all cotton imported for sale in the large cities had to be brought into a special building, called the *penbe ḳabbānī*. Cotton was to be weighed, taxed, and distributed there. For accomodating caravan merchants with their cotton goods, special caravanserais (*penbe-khānī*, *wakālat al-ḳuṭn* in Egypt) were built (Raymond, ii, 640).

In the *penbe ḳabbānī*, each member of the guild of *ḥallādj*s purchased his share of cotton at the officially-fixed price (*narkh-i djārī*) under the supervision of the *kadkhudā* and *yigit-bashī* of the guild. The *ḥallādjīn*, or carders, separated the fibre from the seed by beating (*atma* or *čalma*) the cotton with a *kemān* or *yay*, a bow-like instrument, to make the cotton clean and fluffy. The *ḥallādjīn* were also cotton dealers in the cities. According to a regulation dated 1138/1717 (Istanbul *eṣnāf niẓāmlari*), there were 104 *ḥallādj*s in Istanbul, 15 in Galata (Pera), 9 in Üsküdar and 4 in Eyüp.

Each group of artisans was responsible for a stage in manufacturing. They were organised in *ḥirfets*, guilds, and their shops occupied the same street or *khān*.

For example, in Magnisa, a relatively small town but an important centre of production of cottons, we find *pamuḳdjular* (cotton dealers), *djullāhlar* or *bezdjiler* (weavers of coarse cottons), *boghasīdjīlar* (weavers of fine cottons), and *bezzāzs* (dealers of cotton stuffs) directly involved in cotton trade and industry, while *boyadjīlar* (dyers), *takyedjiler* (capmakers), *yorghandjīlar* (quilt-makers), and *terziler* (tailors) were considered as related crafts. In 980/1572, there were 520 *ḥallādjs*, 120 dyers, and 150 *bezzāzs* in Magnisa (Uluçay, doc. 64). Each craft guild elected its governing body, a *shaykh*, a *kadkhudā*, a *yigit-bashī*, and a committee of experts (*ehl-i khibra*) responsible for the supervision of the guild regulations, called *niẓām* or *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*]. *Djullāh*s in Magnisa had an *akhī baba* [see AKHĪ] as the head of the guild (Uluçay, doc. 38, dated 1044/1634). In important cities, these men obtained through local *ḳāḍī*s the Sultan's diploma empowering them to exercise authority over their guild members and to get the support of the local law-enforcing bodies.

In Istanbul, the guilds using cotton goods were *khayyāṭān* (tailors), *ḳawuḳdjuyān* (makers of wadded headgear for men), *tākyedjiyān* (makers of headdress for women), *yorghandjīyān* (quilt-makers), *gömlekdjiyān* (shirt-makers), *dülbenddjiyān* (dealers of muslim turbans), *yaghlīkdjīyan* (dealers of napkins and handkerchiefs), and *čadīrdjīyān* (tent makers); for Cairo, Evliyā Čelebi (x, 370-1) gives a similar list of crafts and dealers. In both cities, guilds dealing with cottons were included in the group of 14 crafts connected with clothing or home furnishings, headed by the chief tailor.

Bazzāzs (in Turkish *bezzāz*), textile dealers, can be classified into two groups: big merchants of international or interregional connections; and local traders (see *Edirne askerî kassâmı*, ed. Barkan, 143, 261, 303, 306, 308, 325, 344, 352, 406, 421). The former dealt with costly goods, cottons, silks, and woollens, products of Anatolia, Aleppo, Damascus, Yemen, Egypt, Baghdād and India. Their stocks and credits amounted to big sums, sometimes over one million *aḳčas* or about 16,000 Venetian ducats in the 10th/16th century. They supplied the local guilds of dressmakers, cap makers, etc. with imported materials or re-exported them to distant areas usually on credit. These big merchants usually had their shops in the *bazzāziyya* or *bazzāzistān* (in Turkish, *bedestan* or *bedesten*) in the cities (see İnalcık, *The hub of the city: the Bedestan of Istanbul*, in *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, i, 1-17), and were the wealthiest and most respectable members of the society. As far as their social background was concerned, many of them came from the ruling élite (*ibid.*).

The second group included those dealers of modest capital, dealing only in local trade in the city. Their stocks usually consisted of cheap cottons, and a large variety of textiles in small amounts. In Edirne, we find former Janissaries among their ranks (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 306, 308), but also a big merchant of Janissary origin (270).

Some of the big *bezzāzs* specialised in importing or selling particular kinds of cotton goods.

Market dynamics. Artisans and dealers in cottons had a variety of difficulties as a result of shortages of raw materials, competition from other centres of production, and intrusions by related guilds in procurement of raw materials and marketing. It was in large cities or export-oriented production centres with a dynamic economy that strains and conflicts were particularly acute and recurrent. There was a kind of delicate balance established by custom and regulation among the guilds which performed successive stages of manufacturing. If one guild in cotton crafts or some members of it diverged from the standards or marketing rules laid down in the regulations, the other guilds were disturbed and the whole system affected. Consequently, the government was usually scrupulously conservative in keeping the old standards and regulations, and often intervened authoritatively to restore the established norms. However, should the public interest require modifications, the innovations were accepted and introduced into the regulations. It was usually through the local *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*] that the government changed the regulations; he consulted with the guild officers and elders in making these changes.

In the regulations, the quality and measures of each product were laid down. Prices were fixed periodically, every three or six months, by the *ḳāḍī* in consultation with the representatives of each guild. *Djullāh*s, for example, were required to make coarse cotton fabrics called *baladī*, three *arshīn* or 2.04 metres long, and *bučuk ve rubʿ* or 49.5 cm wide, with 1,600 threads at warp (*Bursa iḥtisāb*, II 7, 33, 908/1502).

It was the duty of the officers of the guild, *yigit-bashī* and *ahl-i khibra*, in particular, to supervise the standards during the process of manufacturing. The goods were also inspected by the *muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA] when marketed. Periodically, the government conducted inspections using special inspectors (*müfettish*) sent from the capital (see *Bursa iḥtisāb*, *loc. cit.*). In larger cities, growing demand and the

import of cheaper grades of cottons caused difficulties for the town handicrafts under regulations with strict standards. Despite the periodic inspections, the regulations and standards for town handicrafts were often ignored in order to produce cheap products so as to compete with imports (see *ibid.*).

Not being organised as a guild, spinners of cotton yarn in cities came from among the poorest segments of the population, mostly poor women and children. They purchased cotton at the cotton market directly from the peasants or from the *ḥallād̲j̲*s. This group of spinners, the real proletariat in the Ottoman cities, was particularly vulnerable to the speculation which caused unfair competition and unemployment among them. They often claimed that the merchants caused shortages and high prices by purchasing and re-exporting the imported cotton. Also, since too many spinning wheels depleted quickly the cotton supply at the market, the government restricted the number of the wheels in a town so that hand spinners could find enough raw cotton for their use (Uluçay, doc. 25). Sensitive to the complaints of the poor masses in the towns, the government repeatedly ruled that no merchants could purchase raw cotton until after the town spinners and weavers had completed their purchases at the cotton market.

Cotton manufacturers in large cities distant from the cotton producing areas were usually supplied with imported cotton yarn (*Bursa iḥtisāb*, II-7, 33) as opposed to bulky raw cotton with high transportation costs. Under regulations, imported yarn was to be available to the weavers directly from the importers. The regulations forbade the dealers of cotton yarn of the city to re-sell imported yarn to merchants—a measure taken to prevent the prices of cotton goods from going up and disrupting the price system set up by the regulations. Actually, better prices offered by the Europeans tempted local merchants to engage in smuggling with the foreigners. The government acted energetically to prevent this (Faroqhi, *Şehirleşme*, ch. 2, 73-4).

The important issue for *bezzāz*s, sellers of cotton textiles, was to protect their monopoly of sale in the city. Both weavers in the city or merchants from outside (in Magnisa, native Armenians or those of Persia) sometimes sold their wares in the bazars of *k̲h̲ān*s (caravanserais) or as peddlers in the back streets. All finished goods, however, either locally made or imported, had to be sold under regulation to the dealers of cotton in the city (Uluçay, docs. 16, 44, 43, 48, all belonging to the 11th/17th century). In Magnisa the *bezzāz*s obtained the Sultan's order, which protected their monopoly and banned Armenians of Persia from having shops and competing with the town dealers (Uluçay, doc. 61; cf. A. Refik, *Istanbul 1100-1200*, 40-1).

*Bezzāz*s were also concerned with keeping up the standard in the size of the cottons and the quality of cotton and dyes used in the fabric. The finished goods were to be inspected and stamped by the government agents at a specified place in the cotton textile market (*bog̲h̲asl-pazarl*). Those products found short of standards were fined one *aḳča* for each two *parmaḳ*s (1 *parmaḳ* = 2.83 cm.) of coarse *bog̲h̲asl* and for one *parmaḳ* of fine quality (Uluçay, doc. 3). The *resm-i tamg̲h̲a* or stamp tax was 2 *aḳča*s for each two *d̲h̲irāʿ*s (1 *d̲h̲irāʿ* of the bazaar = 68 cm.) of fine cotton fabrics such as *elwān*, *alad̲j̲a* and white *bog̲h̲asl* and for each ten *d̲h̲irāʿ*s of *astarllḳ*, a kind of coarse cotton fabric (this rate was valid in the provinces of Ṣaruk̲h̲ān, Aydln, Mentes̲h̲e, and Sug̲h̲la in Ramaḍān 1070/1659; Uluçay, doc. 46).

Concentration in cotton loom industries. In the 12th/18th century, the makers of towels of all kinds (*pes̲h̲temāl*, *ḥawlu*, and *siled̲j̲ek*), kerchiefs (*maḥrama* or *mahrama*), white "raw" *alad̲j̲a*, and bundle wrappers (*bog̲h̲ča*) were permitted to work only in the workshops in the three *k̲h̲ān*s in the district of Klz-tas̲h̲l in Istanbul (Ṣldḳl, *Gedikler*, Istanbul 1323/1907, 17).

Again in Istanbul, the makers of printed cottons (*basmad̲j̲l*), all located at Wezīr-k̲h̲ānl, were organised in 27 *gedik*s or workshops with patent. In 1138/1725, there were 192 *basmad̲j̲l*s in the *gedik*s, each *gedik* consisting of one master, one associate (*s̲h̲erik*) and several journeymen (*k̲h̲alīfa* or *ḳalfa*). Thirty-three of them were Muslim and the rest were Armenian. The *kadk̲h̲udā*, or head of the guild, was Muslim, while his associate was an Armenian. Considered as "workers" (*ʿamele*), they worked for merchants or individual citizens in return for a fee (*Eṣnāf niẓāmlarl*). Such centres of manufacturing activities were created, as a rule, as part of the *waḳf* [*q.v.*] establishments and were rented to the members of the guilds (see A. Refik, *Istanbul 1100-1200*, 98). Thus the state or the members of the ruling élite became instrumental in constructing "factories" (*kār-k̲h̲āne*) or workshops which brought together the artisans of the same manufacture in one place. The confessed purpose for it was to serve the public by making goods abundant and cheap (*rāyegān ve rak̲h̲iṣ*). The leases for the shops included the provision that the leasers acquired the monopoly of the manufacture of a specific product. In 1102/1690 the *basmad̲j̲l*s obtained such a monopoly in an area from the Black Sea mouth of the Bosphorus down to the mouth of the Dardanelles on the Aegean. Also, the Ottoman government sent orders to the main production centres for large quantities of sailcloth for the navy (Uzunçarşılı, *Bahriye*, 515) and coarse cottons for lining and underwear for the soldiery in Istanbul (Uzunçarşılı, i, 282-4).

Government orders involving the output of large quantities of cotton goods in a limited period of time appear to have generated changes in the volume, prices, and even in the organisation of manufacturing in the centres of cotton production. The areas most affected by this situation were those closest to the Ottoman capital or those connected with it by sea—Gelibolu, Bergama, Cyprus, Livadia, Athens, Euboea, Stifa and Aleppo (Uzunçarşılı, *Bahriye*, 515; Faroqhi, *Şehirleşme*, 65-73).

Export centres. It can safely be said that, next to leather manufactures, the cotton industry with a large export capacity was the most important of all the industries in the Ottoman dominions, particularly in western Anatolia, Syria, upper Mesopotamia and southern Macedonia. It constituted the foundation of economic prosperity and urban development in the empire until the 13th/19th century. The high cost of transport of the bulky raw cotton accounted for the concentration of cotton industries in districts near cotton production areas, whereas finished goods, costly cotton textiles, *bog̲h̲asl* and *dülbend*, as well as cheaper cottons, *kirbas* and *astar*, and cotton yarn were sent by sea or land to all part of the Empire and to Europe.

First among the main areas of cotton industries with large export capacity was western Anatolia during the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. The most active towns in this region at this period were Bergama, Magnisa, Menemen, Tire, Uşak, Gördes and Denizli. Tire specialised in making pillow and mattress cases, *alad̲j̲a*, as well as cotton thread, called

Cottons imported in the northern Black Sea lands in *ca.* 1164/1750.
(1 groush = 40 para = 120 aḳča; 1 arshīn = 68 cm; 1 okka = 1,2828 gr.)

	Thousand in groush	Price	Origin
Toḳāt-basmasī (prints of Toḳāt)	200	6-10 para per arshīn	Toḳāt
Boghasī (fine cotton fabric)	400	1½ groush per piece of 10 arshīn	Toḳāt, Ḳasṭamonu, Amasya
Astar or *bez* (coarse, cotton fabric)	250	—	from various Anatolian towns (*Čorum-bezi, dag-bezi, etc.*)
Dülbend (Muslin)	10-12	17-20 groush per piece	—
Čember (handkerchief and headdress)	250	6½ groush per piece	Anatolian as well as European and Indian kinds
Cotton shirts	4	2½ groush per piece	—
Cotton yarn	7.5	2½ groush per okka	—
Towels of Serres	8-10	—	Serres
Peshtemāl	10	15 para to 10 groush per piece	Sinope, Istanbul
Threads	16-18	30-35 para per okka	—
Gediz-bezi	600 bales	50-65 para per piece of 20 arshīn	Gediz in western Anatolia

Source: M. de Peyssonel, *Traité sur la Mer Noire*, Paris 1757.

rishte-yi Tire or simply *Tire*. Bergama specialised in sailcloth for the navy. The Ḥamīd-ili was known in the 9th/15th century for its large exports of *boghasī* from such centres as Ulu-Borlu (Borlu), Egirdir, Burdur and Isparta. Products from this area were sent to the great transit centre of Bursa, where they were dyed and re-exported (on the dependence of the area on Bursa market, see *Tarih vesikaları*, II-7, 32). The Ḥamīd-ili appears to have dramatically increased its production of cotton fabrics by the mid-10th/16th century (Faroqhi, *Şehirleşme*, 96).

During the 10th/16th century, the Antalya and the Silifke-Mut areas on the Mediterranean coast appear to have been among the most important areas of cotton growing and processing (Faroqhi, *Şehirleşme*, 96-7). The Ḳaramān-Ḳonya area, with centres at Ḳonya and Lāranda, exported fine cottons, *dülbends*, *boghasīs* and ordinary *bez* to Istanbul and the Black Sea region. The *boghasī* of Ḳaramān was found among the imports of Buda (Hungary) in 980/1572 (L. Fekete and Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda*, Budapest 1962, 227).

Aleppo, along with Antakya (*Anṭākī* cottons), Kilis, ʿAyntāb (Gaziantep) and Marʿash made up another major area of cotton industries with large capacity for export to the other parts of the Ottoman lands, Egypt, and Europe. *Ḥalebī* cottons were among the imports to Kaffa as early as 892/1487 (Kaffa Customs Register). The *ḳabbān-ī penbe*, cotton scales tax in Aleppo, amounted to 13,000 *aḳčas* and dues at dyehouses to 50,000 *aḳčas* in 926/1520 (*Tapu defteri*, 93). Half-a-century later (*Tapu defteri*, 544), the increase to 38,360 and 71,274 respectively can be taken as a proof of the development in cotton trade and industries in Aleppo. In the 1091/1680s and 1102/1690s, the costly cotton fabrics of the area, white and blue "daman" (of Ḥamā), handkerchiefs and cotton yarn were among the imports to France (Masson, i, table VIII). Ḥamā is described as "a city where the population made cotton yarn, cloaks for women, and towels" (Evliyā, iii, 60). Aleppo was also a transit centre for Indian cloths coming via Baṣra-Baghdād in the 11th/17th century (Sahillioğlu, *Belgelerle türk tarihi*, ix, 67). In Aleppo, imitations of the Indian cottons wrre made, while *ḳalebī* fabrics were imitated in Bursa and Istanbul.

Further east, Mārdīn (Göyünç, *Mardin*, 139, 167) and Diyārbakir were important centres of cotton loom industries. Coarse cottons and red cotton yarn of Diyārbakir were exported to Istanbul and Europe.

In northern Anatolia, the Ḳasṭamonu-Amasya-Toḳāt area developed as an important centre with large outlets in the northern Black Sea countries. According to the customs registers of Kaffa and Akkerman about 1100/1500 (İnalcık, *The Black Sea*, 95, 105), these lands imported large quantities of cotton textiles as well as cotton yarn and raw cotton. The imports included varieties of cotton cloths, such as *kirbās*, *boghasī*, *aladja*, and *ḥalebī*, as well as quilts, handkerchiefs, aprons, bath wraps, covers, thread, belts, and tents. Judging from the merchants taking these goods to Kaffa, one can conclude that western and southern Anatolian centres of cotton industries too took part in this trade also. Moreover, merchants came from large centres of the cotton trade and industries: Istanbul, Ḳasṭamonu, Sinope, Amasya, Merzifon, Toḳāt, and Bursa in northern Anatolia, and Bergama, Uşak, Gördes, Menemen, Tire, and Denizli in western Anatolia (*ibid.*, 101). Merchants from Bursa imported cotton manufactures of Ḥamīd-ili; those from Istanbul cottons of western Anatolia, and those from Ḳasṭamonu and Sinope cottons of the Amasya-Toḳāt area.

Altogether, cottons exported from Anatolia to northern Black Sea countries amounted to over one million groush in the mid-18th century. It appears that foreign cotton imports were negligible in this period.

The pattern of cotton trade between Anatolia and the north did not change much, as demonstrated by a comparison of this table with the data from the customs registers of Kaffa, Akkerman and Kili of the 1500s.

Indian competition and the Ottoman cotton loom industries. Apparently it was the Levant market that originally contributed to the expansion of Indian cotton industries. India began to manufacture the

Ottoman types of cotton or cotton and silk fabrics much in demand in Turkey—*aladja* and *ḳuṭnī*—in in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (*allejaes* and *cuttanees* in the English East India Company documents, see Chaudhuri, 502, 504). *Aladja* and *ḳuṭnī* were varieties already popular in Turkey before 906/1500 (Customs Registers of Kaffa, Akkerman and Kili).

Indian textile imports to Turkey go back to the 9th/15th century. In 875/1470, Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] sent his agents from India to Bursa "with *aḳmisha* (cloths)" to trade there and in the Balkans (*Belleten*, xxiv, 69, 75, 95). The list of the Indian textiles, as found in the court records of Edirne, includes Indian dark-blue *ḳuṭnī* (*Ḳuṭnī-i Hindī lādjiward*) (960/1553), Indian napkins (*peshkīr-i Hindī*) (977/1569), Indian kerchiefs (*maḳrama-i Hindī*) (979/1572 and 1016/1608), kerchiefs of *Ser-hindī* and *Bihārī* and Indian *boghasī*, turbans, quilts, and girdles (*Edirne askerî kassâmı*, ed. Barkan, 120-3, 138, 147, 224, 335-8, 431). Home made *fūṭa* and *bāfta* were used in Turkey in much earlier times than in Europe (*phataes* and *baftas* in English, see Chaudhuri, *ibid.*)

It is possible that while the Indian industries, alert to the demands of the Levant market, made necessary adjustments in fashion and varieties (Chaudhuri, 239-40, 247), the original Indian luxury fabrics became popular in the Ottoman lands, as in Europe, particularly from the mid-17th century onwards. The fashion and use of Indian textiles became so widespread in the Ottoman lands that an Ottoman historian, Naʿīmā (iv, 293) claimed in the 1112/1700s that bullion sent to India to pay for Indian luxury textiles, had reached an alarming point for the whole economy of the Empire. He recommended the use of home-made products instead. At any rate, it was before European cottons dominated the Ottoman market in the 13th/19th century that Indian cottons, fine muslims, prints, *aladja* and *ḳuṭnī* types, as well as Indian cotton yarn, invaded and apparently threatened the Ottoman native cotton industries. It was during the period 1071-1164/1660-1750 when India became the chief producer and exporter of cotton textiles in the world that Indian cotton fabrics began to be imported in great quantities into the Ottoman markets.

By 1102/1690, the Indian exports to this area were estimated at five times as many calicoes as to the British and Dutch markets (Chaudhuri, 245-16) although no figure is available. Indian textiles reached the transit centres of the Empire, Baghdād and Aleppo via Hormuz and Baṣra on the Persian Gulf and Djidda and Mecca via the Red Sea. In the spring of 1019/1610, in a caravan from Baghdād to Aleppo with 120 merchants, there were ten Indian merchants, all Muslims. Most of the merchants in the caravan were carrying indigo, drugs, silk, and Indian textiles. Although Arab and Persian merchants made up the majority of the merchants in the caravan, there were also Turks, Armenians, Christian Arabs and Italians (five persons). Two Persian merchants from Hamadan had Indian wares, including indigo, drugs, and three bales of cloth of Lahore, all estimated to be worth 12,000 groush (H. Sahillioğlu, *Bir tüccar kervani*, 63-9.

In the Persian Gulf, Baṣra and Bandar ʿAbbās (Gombroon) were two outlets through which Indian textiles entered the Ottoman and Ṣafavid territories (R. W. Ferrier, *The trade between India and the Persian Gulf and the East India Company in the 17th century*, in *Bengal: past and present*, lxxxix/2, No. 168 (Calcutta, July-Dec. 1970), 189-98). An East India Company memorandum dated 1107/1695 tells us that "the Moors drive a great trade from hence (sc. from Surat) to Persia, Bussora, Aden, Mocha, and Judda, where they dispose of those goods which from hence are carried throughout the Grand Signor's Dominions" (Chaudhuri, 195). Gudjarāt was the main emporium of Indian textiles to Baṣra. Turkey also received luxury fabrics from the Pandjāb by the land route via Lahore and Ḳandahār or Sind (Chaudhuri, 242-45).

Also, an important part of the cotton fabrics imported by the Dutch and British from India was re-exported to America, West Africa, and the Levant (K. Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic trade*, Copenhagen 1958, 133-4, 143). In the last three decades of the 11th/17th century, however, the European market showed a great demand for Eastern textiles when the use of Indian cotton textiles became fashionable, beginning with the women of the upper class (Glamann, 133; Chaud huri, 280-3; Masson, ii, 195). The fashion spread to lower classes, and initiated a dramatic increase in demand for cotton fabrics, despite the government prohibitions of the use of imported cottons which were brought about under pressure from the domestic industries of woollens and linen (prohibitions in France in 1098/1686, 1112/1700, and 1121/1709; in England in 1112/1700 and 1133/1720; cottons banned by the Church as "the manufactures of the Infidels", see Chaudhuri, *ibid.*, and Masson, ii, 277-8). The French imports of coarse cotton cloths from the Ottoman lands rose to about 3 million French livres in 1115/1703. The imported cotton fabrics were dyed and "printed" in Marseilles and an important part of them re-exported to Spain and Italy (Masson, 198-9). Thus the Levant shared with India the boom in the production and export of cotton textiles to Europe. This boom reached its maximum in the period 1112-64/1700-50. With their superior quality, the Indian textiles, however, dominated western markets through the East India Companies of Holland and England, while Levantine products, cotton yarn and coarse fabrics, were chiefly imported into France. Peyssonel (*Traité*, i, 31), the French consul in Izmir and the Crimea in the mid-12th/18th century, found that the export of French textiles to the Levant was limited mainly by the successful competition of the native cotton manufactures. The French export of cottons to the Levant in 1204/1789 was only 42,000 livres' worth (Masson, ii, 495; then 3 French livres = £). Red cotton yarn from western Anatolia and Diyārbakir exported from Izmir always found a ready market in the West, due to its high quality in dyeing and its low price. It was exported in great quantities to the Netherlands (O'Heguerty, 204) and to France.

Cotton yarn exported to France
(value in French livres)

	1700-02	1750-4	1786-9
Southern Syria	735,000	1,305,000	421,000
Aleppo	46,000	41,000	268,000
Cyprus	—	—	97,000
Egypt	213,000	267,000	156,000
Izmir	295,000	238,000	1,951,000
Istanbul	3,200	73,000	15,000
Total	1,292,200	1,924,000	2,908,000

Source: R. Paris, *Le Levant*, 514.

By the end of the 12th/18th century, the annual cotton yarn production of Thessaly and Macedonia reached 20,000 bales, or about 2.5 million kg., half of it dyed (F. de Beaujour, cited by Svoronos, 248). The Austrian firm of Starrhemberg, established in Salonica in 1190/1776, became a spectacular success. By 1204/1789, it had opened several factories which produced cotton yarn in Serres and Larissa (Svoronos, 182-5). Importing cotton and cotton yarn mostly through Marseilles, Switzerland too developed a cotton textiles industry, and in 1174/1760 a Swiss consulate was established in Salonica with the main purpose of promoting the cotton trade (Svoronos, 185, 252).

Cotton yarn and textiles from Egypt to Europe, i.e., France, Leghorn and Venice, consisted of only a small part of Egypt's total exports (Raymond, ii, 180). However, cotton textiles from Cairo, Maḥallat al-Kubrā and Rosetta, called *dimittes* (*Dimyāṭī*?), *agamy* (*ʿAd̲j̲ami*), and *mellaouy* (*Maḥallawī*), which were mostly exported to France, increased rapidly from 1133/1720. These exports reached their peak in the period 1143-52/1730-9 with an average of 609,362 livres, or 30.5% of total export. They then experienced a decline, to 291,708 livres in 1786-9 (the figures include exports of fabrics of flax, which made up one-third of the total in 1798). The decline was explained by the deterioration in quality, possibly a result of competition with western cottons (Raymond, i, 230).

England's share in the import of Egyptian tissues was less than 10% during the same period (Raymond, i, 174, 180-2). On the other hand, Egypt itself imported cotton fabrics from Syria, Izmir, Bursa and Istanbul. Syrian cottons or silk and cotton fabrics, such as *Anṭākī*, *Nāblusī*, *ḳuṭnī*, *alad̲j̲a*, and *S̲h̲āmī*, were an important part (about 43 million *paras* by the end of the 12th/18th century) of the Egyptian imports from that country (Raymond, i, 190). Before the English cottons invaded the area, Cairo was the main emporium of Indian textiles imported via the Read Sea. The total value of the Indian, European, and Syrian cloths imported was estimated at 500 million *paras*. The growing imports had a disruptive effect on the domestic textile loom crafts in Egypt as early as the turn of the 12th/18th century (Raymond, i, 191, 193, 199).

European competition. It is generally accepted that the reversal of the roles in cotton manufacturing and export between East and West occurred in the period 1164-84/1750-70. After 1184/1770, England, France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland began to export their cotton textiles to the Levant markets in growing quantities. Already by the mid-18th century, Western governments, changing their policies of prohibition, permitted the expansion and protection of their domestic cotton manufactures.

Cotton textiles exported to Istanbul in 1191/1777 (value in French livres)

	Muslins	Woollen Cloths
Britain	691,000	656,000
Netherlands (1778)	298,000	583,000
Venice (1782)	97,000	217,000
Trieste (1782)	108,000 ("bours" and muslims)	220,000 (Austrian and German products)
French	42,000	7,448,000

Sources: Masson, ii, 495, 615, and R. Paris, 552.

Note the first-place ranking of the British in the export of cotton goods already at this time, and the dominance of the French woollens in the Levant market.

It is said that while the British cotton industries developed under the impact of Indian trade, the French developed under the Levantine one (Masson, ii, 434, n. 2). From 1133/1720 onwards, in order to protect national industries and those of its colonies in the Antilles, the French government imposed a heavy duty (20 livres per quintal) on the cotton yarn imported from the Levant (Masson, ii, 201). Already by 1142/1729, the French noted with pride that French imitations of Indian cotton prints found an outlet in Istanbul and were expecting even to manufacture the white cotton cloths themselves, thereby reducing their import from the Levant and Holland (Masson, ii, 436, 456).

In the second half of the 18th century, of the great variety of imports from Germany (Leipzig) and Austria to the Ottoman Empire, cotton textiles, muslins, and the so-called *indiennes*, were at the top of the list. German cotton goods had quite a large market at Izmir (55-60,000 pieces annually) and Bursa (30,000 pieces) (C. Aubin's report, ed. A. Cunningham) English cotton products exported to Germany also reached the Balkans through the Leipzig fair. Along with Leipzig, Vienna was another important centre for the Ottoman trade. Here we find 268 Ottoman resident merchants by 1181/1767, including a number of Muslim Turks (a certain Mollā Ḥuseyn owned six storehouses and Mollā Ḥasan four). During the period 1164-1227/1750-1812, when Austrian-Ottoman trade showed great development, raw cotton and cotton yarn became the principal exports from the Serres area to Austria and Germany (V. Paskaleva, 49-56).

However, the Eastern cotton yarn still had the advantage of lower prices due to the cheaper food and lower wages in the Levant (Masson, ii, 436-7). The cotton yarn imports from the Levant continued. By the 1195/1780s, while French cotton industries found markets, first in Spain and then Italy for their products, whose designs appealed to the taste of the populations there, the Muslim population of the Levant did not favour the imitations of the West. Western cotton industries would definitively conquer the Eastern markets only when they succeeded in solving the problem of price differential (by using machines) and when they imitated or created designs and colours which attracted an eastern clientèle.

The introduction of dyeing methods from the Levant was a crucial factor contributing to the success of western cotton industries and exports. The Dutch and the French finally succeeded in learning the special technique known as Edirne dyeing. Consequently, Turkey's export of red cotton yarn was reduced (O'Heguerty, 204; Masson, ii, 439-40). This reversal of the situation was apparent in the rapid growth in raw cotton imports and the diminishing proportions of cotton textiles and yarn from the Levant. Between 1112/1700 and 1203/1788, the French imports of raw cotton increased ten times, representing 39% of the total imports from the Levant, while cotton yarn did not make the same progress.

As has been seen above, change was a rather long process and one achieved in stages. For some time the Levant continued to export its cotton cloths, now in a raw state, undyed; then mainly its cotton

yarn, especially those dyed red with *alizari*; and finally only its raw cotton. On the other hand, invasion of the Levantine markets by western products was realised only after the industrial revolution in England with its mass production of cheap and finer quality cotton yarns (the so-called twist and mule) and prints. The dramatic change occurred in the period 1194-1231/1780-1815, and led to a situation in which the Levant became totally dependent on the western cotton industries for the supply of cotton yarn and textiles and for the sale of its raw cotton.

British supremacy and impact of the industrial Revolution. It was to the cotton imported from the Levant that the first cotton industry in England owed its foundation. First, fustians, made with a cotton weft and a linen warp, were produced in Lancashire under Elizabeth I at some time before 994/1586. By the middle of the 11th/17th century, the cotton industry was considered to be a well-established industry in England, although it depended upon a regular import of raw cotton from the Levant, Izmir, Cyprus, Acre and Sidon (A. C. Wood, 74-5).

During the period 1091-1184/1680-1770, the Levant suffered a decline in its exports of cotton and cotton goods to Britain. This was mainly due to the overall decline of the English trade in the Levant, as well as to the English domestic policies against the use and manufacture of cotton goods (R. Davies, *Devonshire Square*, 29-31). Another factor, a more enduring one, was the competition of colonial supplies to England from the West Indies and India. After the mid-18th century, when British cotton industries were encouraged, the cotton trade experienced a revival from which western Anatolia emerged as one of the main sources of supply.

Cotton imported from the Levant was approximately 300 tons in the years 1111-13/1699-1701, 150 tons in the 1133/1720s and 1143/1730s, and over 500 tons in the 1164/1750s (Davies, *op. cit.*, 173). Also some Levant cotton was imported to England through the Netherlands (Wood, 160). In the 1184/1770s, large cargoes in British ships from the Levant consisted of cotton and fruits. The "cotton boom" was responsible for the revival of the British trade in the Levant in the period after 1194/1780, when the English industry made its tremendous advance (R. Davies, *op. cit.*, 187, 241-2).

British cotton manufactures had to compete in the Levant not only with the Indian fine cotton textiles—muslins and calicos in particular—but also with Indian cotton yarn. The Ottoman consumer did not at first favour the British imitations of Indian cottons, but price became a key factor, and by 1215/1800, he came to prefer the cheaper British manufactures (Aubin's report). For the manufacture of fine cottons, Indian yarn was imported into the Levant until 1800, when it was replaced by British "twist", a strong thread used mostly for the warp (Aubin). "Twist" invaded Ottoman markets as far as the cotton production centre of Diyārbakir via Trebizond, and Central European markets via Salonica (Aubin). The demand of the Istanbul weavers alone was estimated at 10,000 *okka*s and that of Izmir and its hinterland at 400-500,000 lbs. Also, British imitations of Indian muslins, widely used in turbans, veils, and headgear for women, superseded the Indian imports in the Levant. By 1227/1812, other more popular English cotton textiles, all of them imitations of Indian cottons, were printed calicoes (with a consumption estimate of 35-40,000 a year in Izmir), chintz (Hindī *čhint*, Persian and Turkish *čit*), shawls and "shirtlings", etc. (Aubin gives a long list in his report).

Cheap, durable, bright in colour, the English cotton goods thus enjoyed a "prodigious demand" over the Levant from Cairo to Istanbul. This was considered to be a trade of the "highest importance" for England (Isaac Morcmer's report dated 1814, cited by Wood, 192-3). Although raw cotton imports from the Levant showed a great increase during the same period, their value was not significant when compared to that of the manufactured cotton goods exported to the Levant. Turkish cotton was only one-twelfth of the total imported by Britain.

British imports of raw cotton from the Levant
(in Sterling Pounds, declared value)

1233/1817	1234/1818	1236/1820	1240/1824	1241/1825
799	24,112	7,863	249,271	611,547

Source: A. C. Wood, *op. cit.*, 193.

After India, Germany too experienced losses at the Levant market for cottons in favour of British manufactures. During the Napoleonic Wars, the British took advantage of the rising prices in Germany and the closure of Trieste and Fiume, principal transit ports for Austrian-German exports. Great Britain's interest in the Levant as an important market for British manufactured cotton goods grew particularly from 1241/1825, when the full impact of the Industrial Revolution was felt at home. Taking advantage of its role as a protector during the Egyptian crisis, Great Britain had the Ottoman government sign the commercial treaty of 1254/1838 which awarded Britain favourable conditions and turned the empire into an open market for its cotton industry (V. J. Puryear, *International economics and diplomacy in the Near East*, repr. Archon Books, 1969, 107-30; F. E. Bailey, *British policy and the Turkish reform movement*, Cambridge 1942, 39-178; Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-Ingiliz iktisadi münasebetleri, 1838-1850*, Istanbul 1976). The principle of free trade was virtually introduced into Turkey before it was accepted in Great Britain (Puryear, 117). From 1254/1838 to 1269/1852, British imports of cotton textiles tripled and those of cotton yarn doubled, 63.9 to 183.8 million yards and 5.6 to 11.9 million lbs. respectively (Kütükoğlu, 82, 86). The value of the British cottons imported to Turkey rose approximately from one thirty-eighth in (1241/1825 to one-ninth of the total production in 1272/1855 (Bailey, 86).

Ottoman-British Trade in 1269/1852
(official value in £)

Total imports to Great Britain	Total imports to the Ottoman Emp.
2, 252, 283	8, 489, 100 (of this, textiles were over 3 million in 1850)

Sources: Bailey, 74; O. Kurmuş, *Emperyalizm*, 49.

The Ottoman trade occupied third place in Great Britain's foreign trade in 1267/1850 (Bailey, 82-3).

In the Ottoman Empire, the break-down occurred first in the cotton yarn production, which directly affected spinners, the poorest section of the population in rural and urban areas. In 1249/

1833 D. Urquhart tells us (*Turkey and its resources*, 148) that "their own yarn being unequal, heavy in weaving and liable to break, the weavers prefer much the English yarn". Also, the first serious crisis in cotton loom industries appears to have occurred in the period 1241-6/1825-30 (Urquhart, 47-54; Ö. C. Sarç, in Ch. Issawi, *Econ. history of the Middle East*, 48-9). At a later date, in 1279/1862, another Englishman, Lewis Farley (*The resources of Turkey*, 59-60) observed that "Turkey is no longer a manufacturing country. The numerous and varied manufactures which formerly sufficed, not only for the consumption of the empire, but also stocked the markets of the Levant, as well as those of several countries in Europe, have, in some instances, rapidly declined, and in others became altogether extinct ... The printed calicoes of Tokat ... the muslim looms of Scutari and Tirnova [in Thessaly] which in 1812 numbered 2,000 were reduced in 1841 to 200 ... Baghdad was once the centre of very flourishing trades, especially those of calico printing ... Aleppo was still more famous, for its manufactures of gold thread, of cotton tissues, ... and pure cotton called nankeens gave occupations to more than 40,000 looms, of which, in the year 1856, there remained only 5,560 ... now taste has changed. Cloth and every variety of cottons have supplanted silk. English muslins are preferred to those of India, and cashmere shawls were replaced by the Zebras of Glasgow and Manchester." He adds (61) that Great Britain "will continue to find Turkey an increasing and profitable market for our merchandize."

An American observer (C. Hamilton, *Among the Turks*, New York 1877) tells us how, following the free trade granted by the treaties of 1254/1838, "five thousand weavers in Scutari were without employ, and reduced to the most deplorable beggary. The fast colors and firm material of Diarbekr disappeared, ... and Bursa towels came from Lyons and Manchester ... Thus, all the industries of Turkey have perished."

Apparently, all these figures given are simply rough estimates, sometimes grossly exaggerated. In Aleppo, for example, in the period before 1273/1856, only 1,000 looms with an annual output of half a million pieces are mentioned in John MacGregor, *Commercial statistics*, 140; cf. Issawi, *Econ. history of the Middle East*, 221; also Viquesnel's more modest figures, *ibid.*, 51. In a French report cited by Chevallier (*Les tissus ikatés*, 300), the total number of looms manufacturing cotton-silk textiles in Damascus and Aleppo was estimated at 25,000 for the year 1241/1225. The report dated 1261/1845 considered the ruin of native cotton loom industries in Syria to be the result of the growing imports of low-priced cottons from Europe. English cotton yarn and prints headed the imports. However impressionistic, these Western reports demonstrate the dramatic disruption in Ottoman cotton industries by the mid-19th century. In the 1277/1860s, the first Turkish journalist (see İhsan Sungu, *Yeni Osmanlılar*, in *Tanzimat*, i, 787) became the mouthpiece of the population in their distress, and blamed the government's westernisation and free market policies as well as the shift in taste and fashion to Western products, for the depression.

In a survey of the Ottoman economy made in 1332-5/1913-5 (*Osmanlı sanayii*, ed. G. Ökçun, Ankara 1970, 134; V. Eldem, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun iktisadi şartları hakkında bir tetkik*, Ankara 1970, 76), it was observed that 80 % of all cotton production (20,000 tons in 1335/1915) was exported abroad, while imported cotton manufactures constituted the major part of the overall imports. By 1335/1915, modern cotton factories in the Ottoman lands numbered only nine (altogether 82,000 looms and 68,500 spindles employing 3,024 workers), all of them making only cotton yarn and coarse cotton textiles (*ibid.*, 133; Eldem, 130-1). However, by the end of the 13th/19th century, Ḳonya, Ḳaramān, Antalya, Niğde, Ağlasun, Toḳāt, Merzifon, Marʿas̲h̲, and Antep (ʿAyntāb) were still mentioned as the important centres of cotton loom industries (Oppel, 525). At the turn of the 13th/19th century, as a result of the disorders, a number of cotton weavers left Aleppo for Egypt, ʿAyntāb and Marʿas̲h̲. ʿAyntāb made great progress in cotton manufactures, especially in red dyed yarn in the 1900s (Oppel, 528).

Some branches of the Middle Eastern loom industries, though adhering to the traditional techniques and types, resisted and survived the invasion of western machine-made cottons, thanks to the rural population's conservatism which favoured old-fashioned fabrics of the urban centres as luxuries. In Turkey, *alad̲j̲a* and *ḳuṭnī* are still popular with the peasants who use them in clothing and furnishings. As in the past, in these fabrics the woof is cotton and the warp is silk (or rather artificial silk).

Glazed and stiff, these fabrics still preserve traditional colourful designs and stripes (cf. Syrian *alad̲j̲a* and *ḳuṭnī* manufactured today in Aleppo, see Chevallier, 308).

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(H. İNALCIK)

ḲUṬR means in Arab geometry (1) the diameter of a circle or of any section of a cone and the diameter of a cone; (2) the diagonal of a parallelogram or of any quadrilateral; (3) in trigometry, the hypotenuse of the so-called umbra triangle; as such it is either the secant or the cosecant of an angle, according as the side opposite it is the tangent or cotangent of this angle; in the first case it is called *ḳuṭr al-ẓill al-awwal* ("hypotenuse of the first umbra"), in the second case *ḳuṭr al-ẓill al-thānī* ("hypotenuse of the second umbra").

Bibliography: M. Souissi, *La langue des mathématiques en arabe*, 283-5. (H. SUTER)

ḲUṬRABBUL, a place name of ʿIrāḳ. Also given as Kaṭrabbul, the name is regarded as Persian in origin. (1) Yāḳūt lists a village (*ḳarya*) of that name which was situated between Baghdād and ʿUkbarā. This Ḳuṭrabbul was reportedly frequented by pleasure seekers, who recognised the quality of the local wine. As a result, the village is often mentioned by such poets as Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] and in tales comparing the virtues of different wine-bearing locations. (2) Ḳuṭrabbul also refers to one of the four major administrative subdistricts (*tassūdj*, and in Yāḳūt, also *kūra*) of the greater urban area of Baghdād. The sub-districts, which also included Bādūrayā, Nahr Būḳ and Kalwādhā, were in existence before the Islamic occupation of the area and may have continued to serve some administrative function after the construction of the Islamic city. Ḳuṭrabbul and Bādūrayā occupied the lands west of the Tigris River with the Ṣārat Canal serving as a boundary between them. The geographers speak of Bādūrayā being east of the Canal and Ḳuṭrabbul to the west, though it would perhaps be more correct to speak in terms of south and north. Ḳuṭrabbul thus came to represent the area which comprised the Round City of al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] and the northwestern suburbs, including the military cantonments of al-Ḥarbiyya.

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(J. LASSNER)

ḲUṬRUB, the werewolf. The Arabic word goes back to Syriac *ḳanṭrōpos* (or *ḳanṭrōpā*), which was subsequently transformed into the Arabic *ḳuṭrub* in the same way as other names of animals, like *djundub* "locust" or *ḳunfudh* "hedgehog". *Ḳanṭrōpos* itself is the Syriac transcription of Greek λυκάνθρωπος.

The saga of the werewolf is by itself indigenous to Arcadia in the central Peloponnesus (see Pausanias, viii, 2), but has many parallels amongst the Romans, Celts, Teutons and Slavs. Originally it was unknown to the Orient, and the Arabs came to know the figure of the werewolf in the 2nd/8th century at the earliest. According to an oft-repeated anecdote, Sībawayh once described his pupil Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr as *ḳuṭrub^u layl^in*, so that the latter was subsequently known by the nickname of Ḳuṭrub [see following

article]. The poet Abū Dulāma called his mother *khayāl al-ḳuṭrub* (*Aghānī*[1], ix, 133, [2]x, 259), but alleged earlier evidence for the word in ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd (d. 32/652-3) (Zamakhsharī, *Fāʾiḳ*, ii, 177/360 Bidjāwī) and Imruʾ al-Ḳays (ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, no. 76, 36) is forged. Al-Djāḥiẓ does not seem to refer to the *ḳuṭrub*, but al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 319 = § 1203) mentions it amongst several fabulous beings. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ẓafar (d. *ca.* 564/1169) apparently confuses it with the *ʿudār* (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index, and al-Masʿūdī, *loc. cit.*). Although the werewolf was integrated into the demonological world of the Arabs, it never attained the popularity which was always enjoyed by the *djinn*, the *ghūl*, the *ʿifrīt* and the *shayṭān*.

The Greeks, however, saw in the werewolf not only a fabulous creature, but also the manifestation of a mental disorder. Following Marcellus of Side, Oribasius (*Synopsis ad Eustathium*, viii, 9), Aëtius of Amida (vi, 11), Paul of Aegina (iii, 16) and later Byzantine physicians described lycanthropy as a kind of melancholia which caused the diseased person to shun the company of mankind, to seek out solitude and frequent cemeteries, and to roam about aimlessly with hollow eyes and lost in gloom. Through the translations of the works of Paul of Aegina in the 3rd/9th century and of Aëtius of Amida in the following one, the Arabs likewise came to know about this alleged illness. Paul of Aegina's information is quoted by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (*Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1955, 205 ff., 222), and Aëtius's chapter was the model for the descriptions of ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī (*Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, i, 333), of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī (*Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*, Ms. Chester Beatty 4009, fols. 110-11), and of Ibn Sīnā (*Ḳānūn*, Rome 1593, i, 315/Būlāḳ 1294, ii, 71).

Finally, the term *ḳuṭrub* is also a component of the plant name *sirādj al-ḳuṭrub* (a translation borrowed from the Syriac *shrāghā dh-ḳanṭrōpos*), mostly used to indicate the mandrake root (*yabrūḥ*).

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(M. Ullmann)

ḲUṬRUB, the cognomen of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr, grammarian and lexicographer of Baṣra in the 2nd/8th century, the freedman of Sālim b. Ziyād. He was born in Baṣra, where he studied not only grammar with the founders of that science, ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb and Sībawayh (who is said to have given him his nickname), but also theology with the famous Muʿtazilī authority al-Naẓẓām. He became the tutor to the son of the military commander and minister Abū Dulaf al-ʿIdjlī [see al-ḳāsim b. ʿīsā, abū dulaf], and died at Baghdād in 206/821. According to Ibn al-Sikkīt, his pupil, he was not to be regarded as a reliable authority for lexicography.

Ḳuṭrub holds a very important place in the history of Arabic grammar, as the first grammarian known to have written a work on the three following topics: (1) words with two opposing meanings (*aḍdād* [*q.v.*]); (2) words with the same consonant skeleton capable of having three different meanings (*muthallath*) according to whether they have one or other of the three vowels; and (3) the explanation of the causes and occasions (*ʿilal*) of grammatical phenomena.

Furthermore, Ḳuṭrub seems to have held original ideas about syntax. Al-Zadjdjādjī in his *K. al-Īḍāḥ* (ed. M. al-Mubārak, 70, 77) states that Ḳuṭrub, as opposed to all the other Baṣran grammarians, did not believe that the *iʿrāb* affected nouns in order to show their different functions and to distinguish them from each other; he averred that there are nouns with the same *iʿrāb*, whose function differs, and nouns with differing *iʿrāb* but with the same function, and accordingly held that *iʿrāb* only affects a noun in order to distinguish two grammatical states, sc. at the end of a speech unit, without a final vowel, to mark pause (*waḳf*), and within a speech unit, with a final vowel, to mark liaison (*waṣl*) with the succeeding word.

Of the 18 works listed by Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* and which dealt with exegesis and theology as much as grammar and lexicography only four have survived: the *K. al-Muthallath*, ed. E. Wilmar, Marburg 1857, and R. Souissi, Tunis 1398/1978; the *K. mā khālafa fīhi 'l-insān al-bahīma*, ed. R. Geyer, in *SBAK Wien*, cv (1888), 380-91; the *K. al-Aḍdād*, ed. H. Kofler, in *Islamica*, v (1931), 241-84, 385-461, 493-544; and the *K. al-Azmina*, still unedited.

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(G. Troupeau)

KUTTĀB (a., plural *katātīb*), itself probably plural of *kātib* ("scribe"), a type of beginners' or primary school. The term is frequently synonymous with *maktab* in Arabic and Persian and *mektep* in Turkish. In Ottoman it was also called *mekteb-khāne* or *mekteb-i ṣibyān* or *ṣibyān mektebi*, ("children's school"); later, in the *Tanẓīmāt* era, it was more generally referred to as *ibtidāʾi mekteb* ("beginner's school") and then as *ilk mekteb* ("primary school"). European writers have often called it "Ḳurʾānic school".

The *kuttāb* was formerly widespread in Islamic lands. Although the appellation was almost universally applied to Muslim beginners' schools, *kuttāb* has also been known to designate Jewish *ḥeder*-type schools in Arabic-speaking countries. While there are no precise indications as to when they were first established, they spread during the Umayyad era in the wake of the conquering armies. and the *kuttāb* system was already wide-spread in early ʿAbbāsid times. There is some evidence that the structure and teaching methods of the *kuttāb* were modelled on the Byzantinie primary school (Lecomte, in *Arabica*, i [1954], 324 ff.), but its curriculum was purely Islamic and Arabic. The early *kuttāb* was an important agent for socialising different ethnic groups into the Islamic faith and its way of life. Later, in the Ottoman Empire, it served as vehicle for transmitting the values of the Ottoman Islamic society from generation to generation. The *kuttāb* provided a common educational basis for all who attended it. It was homogeneous in its aims and methods, and thus differed from the indigenous traditions of education, which displayed remarkable diversity. Until the penetration of Western models of education in modern time, the *kuttāb* was the only vehicle of public instruction for young Muslim children. Even up to the present, it has displayed remarkable staying-power by continuing to compete tenaciously with other educational institutions in many Islamic countries.

Since basic education [see tarbiya] was usually imbued with a religious spirit, and its professed goal was to produce a true believer, much of it was closely connected with the mosque [see masdjid]. Consequently, the *kuttāb* was frequently attached to a mosque, whose officials also provided further instruction.

The *kuttāb* itself was located in any sort of room available, a tent in the desert or even (as in Uganda) in the open. If specially constructed, a *kuttāb* consisted (in the Ottoman Empire, at least), of a large domed, unadorned hall in which all the pupils sat crosslegged on mattresses in a rough semi-circle, usually next to low desks. Such buildings were generally erected by philanthropists (through a *waḳf* or otherwise) or by the pupil's parents, who also provided the teacher's fees (in money and food). In the Middle Ages, wealthier families sometimes set up a private *kuttāb* for their children. The state hardly intervened until well into the 19th century, so that fees, physical arrangements and the curriculum were agreed upon between teachers and parents alone. There are even recorded instances of teachers volunteering their services without pay, though in many other cases they were underpaid, and some had to send their pupils to collect alms for them (as in Nigeria, in the late Middle Ages). In other instances (mostly in Africa and possibly in Iran), schoolchildren performed all sorts of tasks for their teacher in lieu of school fees.

Boys formed the overwhelming majority of pupils in the *katātīb*, while girls studied, if at all, separately (although there are recorded cases of coeducation, chiefly in Iran and India). Attendance was voluntary, and there was no precise age-limit: pupils enrolled at age four or above and, in general, studied for between two and five years. All the pupils studied in the same room—there was seldom, if ever, a division into groups by age—and each pupil progressed at his own rate. Instruction was usually carried out from sunrise to sunset (or earlier) daily; Fridays (and Thursdays in the Maghrib) as well as some festivals, like Ramaḍān, were free days. The *kuttāb* was open throughout the year, except when economic needs (such as harvesting) or natural calamities (like floods) prevented attendance. Due to the character of the *kuttāb*, its student body was almost exclusively Muslim. There were, however, infrequent cases of others attending, as in Iran even during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (who forbade the attendance of non-Muslim children) and in Egypt, where a few Copts attended in the late 19th century.

The teacher was called *mudarris* or *muʿallim* and later *muʾaddib* in the Arab lands (in some cases, the *muʾaddib* was a higher rank, namely the more learned or the private tutor); *k͟hōd̲j̲a* in Turkey; *maktabdār* in Iran; *mollah* in some parts of Central Asia; *lebbe* in Ceylon; and *mallam* (from *muʿallim*) in Nigeria and some other areas in Africa. He was popularly referred to as *fiḳī*, or *fḳīh*, probably the vernacular for *faḳīh*. In the larger *katātīb* he was sometimes aided by an assistant (*muʿīd*, literally "repeater"), or, in other cases, by a senior pupil (*ʿarīf*, literally "monitor"). All these persons frequently adopted the carrot-and-stick approach: beatings [see FALAḲA] were administered to the lazy or unruly, while the meritorious, who had mastered a large section of the Ḳurʾān by heart (*k͟hatma* [*q.v.*]), were offered prizes, usually sweets or even the honour (in Morocco and Ḥaḍramawt) of being led around on a camel.

At first, when books were very difficult to acquire, the teacher used to dictate the material, which his pupils wrote down with a pen or reed (*ḳalam*) on a tablet (*lawḥ*). Afterwards, the pupils read the material aloud, with the teacher correcting their errors and elaborating on some points. Emphasis was generally laid on memorising. Since independent thinking was frowned upon, as liable to lead to the weakening of belief and disobedience, learning by rote was customary. This method was, to a large extent, self-defeating, as it meant studying difficult subject-matter in a barely understood language. Literary Arabic was hardly known even by Arab children, not to speak of non-Arab Muslims. Even among the latter, however, the Ḳurʾān was initially taught in Arabic, although it was clear that the pupils could not understand the language. Only later were difficult passages sporadically explained in the local language, such as Turkish, Persian or Urdu. The teaching of Arabic *per se* in these schools was instituted in the Ottoman Empire only in 1781, by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I (Persian was added then, also, but not Turkish!). However, this revolutionary innovation was in effect introduced in only a few schools; it became more widely accepted, along with other reforms, in the *Tanẓīmāt* era (beginning in 1846, the study of Turkish was also added, selectively).

While the general aims of the *kuttāb* were universally identical—to impart the rudiments of instruction required for the formation of a good Muslim—there were obvious qualitative differences between the towns and countryside, as well as substantive variations in emphasis in the curriculum. The Ḳurʾān was studied in all the *katātīb*, with stress laid on memorising and absolute accuracy. The teacher began with the *Fātiḥa*, then proceeded to the shortest, the 114th, *sūra* (*al-Nās*) and continued back until the class reached the longest, the 2nd, *sūra* (*al-Baḳara*). When a pupil had mastered all this, he began to practise his recitation in the correct order.

As a general rule, the early-morning hours, considered the best time of the day, were earmarked for studying the Ḳurʾān. At other times, prayer and religious rituals were imparted regularly. In the eastern Arab lands (Egypt, Palestine, Syria and ʿIrāḳ), Arabic grammar and poetry were usually studied as well. This was likewise the case in Muslim Spain, where composition was also added to the curriculum. While in Algeria, Morocco and among the Muslims of Africa south of the Sahara, little was learned besides the Ḳurʾān, in Tunisia *ḥadīt͟h* was generally included as well. Some calligraphy and a smattering of arithmetic were added in some *katātīb* in Turkey as well as in Iran, where Islamic history and fragments of Persian poetry (e.g. from Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ) were occasionally included, from the 7th/13th century onwards. A little Persian poetry was also taught in the *katātīb* of Afg͟hānistān and the parts of Central Asia ruled by Imperial Russia. In some *katātīb* in Ceylon, Arabic grammar, elementary arithmetic and the writing of Tamil in Arabic characters was practised in addition to the Ḳurʾān. All considered, one may surmise that although the *kuttāb*'s curriculum laid a basic foundation for further study, many of the pupils who ended their education at this level were hard to put to use it profitably, except for prayer.

Since the mid-19th century, the *kuttāb* has exhibited signs of change. Some reform has been promoted from above, as in the Muslim parts of the French possessions south of the Sahara, where the authorities initiated a campaign to supervise these schools and improve their quality (their success has not always been evident). Elsewhere the *kuttāb* stood in competition to the newly-imported Western-type primary schools, which also imparted a Muslim education but in more efficient ways. The *kuttāb* has held its own in Egypt, partly because this was the first Arab country that attempted to adapt it to modern requirements and integrate it into the state system.

An inspector of these schools (*Mufattish al-makātib*) was first appointed in 1835; since 1867, the Ministry of Education has been officially empowered to inspect these schools regularly (in the Ottoman Empire, a Ministry of Education to supervise the *katātīb* and other schools was established by an *irāde* in 1846). By 1890, official supervision of *katātīb* was fairly widespread in Egypt, and its effectiveness was increased by governmental grants-in-aid. Later, Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] was instrumental in expanding their curriculum (which today includes object lessons). Indeed, there are recorded cases of 20th century Egyptian children attending an elementary school in the morning and the *kuttāb* in the afternoon, or going to the *kuttāb* in the early morning before school.

The fortunes of the *kuttāb* in the 20th century have accordingly varied. In the Sudan, it has coexisted with the more general schools introduced by the British soon after they had defeated the Mahdist [*q.v.*] forces. In Zanzibar, in 1907, the British director of education decided to make the Ḳurʾān a basic component of the general curriculum and to integrate the *katātīb* into the school network. In India (e.g. in Bengal) the British rulers tried to increase the number of *katātīb* and raise their standards by introducing secular studies (The Reform Scheme, 1914). The same trend was evidenced in the British administration of Arab education in Palestine after the First World War. In Syria, in the 1943-4 school year, there were still 1,229 *katātīb*, with an enrolment of 34,440 children; more recently, however, the bulk of Islamic education is carried out in secular government schools. Although in Iran western influences began to affect the *kuttāb* adversely in the 1890s, and a Ministry of Education was set up in 1910 to foster modernism, as late as 1939 there were still 2,356 *katātīb*, compared to 1,218 state primary schools.

In recent times, the fortunes of the *katātīb* have as a rule suffered wherever Muslims are in a minority, e.g. in the Soviet Union, where all these schools were closed by the authorities in 1928. Much the same occurred in Yugoslavia in 1946. In India, however, they made a comeback after Partition, sponsored by active Muslim organisations. The *kuttāb* is on the decline (although no detailed statistics are available) in countries undergoing modernisation, especially in urban areas. The extreme instance is Republican Turkey, which disestablished these schools in 1924 and closed them down in 1926—although some have continued to function surreptitiously in remote villages. The opposite case is to be found in theocracies like the former monarchical Libya or in Saudi Arabia, where the *kuttāb* (sometimes under other names) has long provided the only type of basic instruction in both the desert and rural areas; modernised primary schools have gradually been introduced there only recently.

In some other Islamic countries, the *kuttāb* has survived thanks to efforts towards raising its level and enriching its curriculum and to the generosity of various philanthropists. In yet others, the *kuttāb* flourished for a while due to the importance ascribed to it by anticolonialist movements. In Morocco during the 1930s, the prestige of the *kuttāb* (called *msid*, from *masdjid*) increased because it served as a focus for nationalist propaganda against the French Protectorate. In Algeria during the 1930s, an Association of *ʿulamāʾ* set out to revive the *katātīb* and increase their number as a means of protecting the younger generation against the modernising influences of the French. Later, in January 1964—less than two years after independence—a decree reorganised basic Muslim education to suit the new situation. Elsewhere, too, *kuttāb* instruction still continues to have current relevance; in 1962, for example, an Upper Volta politician in search of Muslim votes claimed that he had studied in such a school.

Practically all newly-independent Arab states, as well as Pakistan, Malaya and Indonesia, have attempted to incorporate the *katātīb* into the national school system, to supervise them and to provide them with a better-organised curriculum, including regular class hours, examinations and grades. While the integration of the *katātīb* into the state systems of education may well ensure their continued existence, particularly in rural areas, state supervision is gradually altering their original character. This is especially so since in all Islamic lands the study of the Ḳurʾān and of Islam has become a standard part of the core curriculum of basic instruction.

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(J. M. LANDAU)

AL-KUTUBĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SHĀKIR AL-DĀRĀNĪ AL-DIMASHḲĪ (686[?]-764/1287-1363), Syrian historian. The date of his birth is uncertain, since only one ms. of Ibn Ḥadjar's *Durar* fills the blank that was to contain it. It is plausible, however, and neither confirmed nor contradicted by the fact that a highly personal obituary notice in the *ʿUyūn* (Ms. Cambridge 699, fols. 7b-8a, *anno* 735) speaks of a young scholar born in 706/1306 as "our friend" (*ṣāḥibunā*). Born apparently in Dārayyā in the Ghūṭa, he spent all his later life in Damascus. He possibly went there to study with famous *ḥadīth* scholars such as Ibn al-Shiḥna (apparently), Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥadjdjār, *ca.* 624[?]-730) and al-Mizzī (654-742), but, being very poor, he went into the book trade and acquired a sizeable fortune. He had personal contact with the great al-Dhahabī, who quoted verses to him (*ʿUyūn*, *anno* 748). A fellow historian, Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*], took part in the funeral service for him on Saturday afternoon, 11 Ramaḍān 764/24 June 1363.

If there is practically nothing known about his life, this is due to the fact he did not occupy any major official position in the scholarly-political establishment. His two surviving works were, however, highly esteemed and much used. His large history *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, is represented in many libraries but usually only by individual volumes (presumed autograph in Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III 2922, cf. Cat. Karatay, iii, nos. 5853-65; O. Spies, *Beiträge*, in *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, xix/3 [1932], 76). It has been little studied and not yet been edited, possibly on the *a priori* assumption that most of its contents is known from other sources. It does contain valuable information; see, e.g., F. Sayyid's introd. to *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, Tunis 1393/1974, 43-5, for the bibliography of Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī. That al-Kutubī considered new information not to be found else-

where as the hallmark of a successful history is shown by his statement to this effect in connection with al-Djazarī (*ʿUyūn, anno* 739), even if this statement should turn out not to be original with him (cf. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 124). The value of the *ʿUyūn*'s contemporary section, preserved in Cambridge 699 (Add. 2923) and Ahmet III 2922, vols. 22, 24, has been stressed by E. Ashtor. It contains al-Kutubī's own observations, principally on Syrian intellectual and religious life. The close relationship of the *ʿUyūn*, for its last two decades (years 741-759/60), to Ibn Kathīr's *Bidāya* (cf. also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 1185 f.), has been tentatively explained by Ashtor as being the result of al-Kutubī having used Ibn Kathīr's original notes; however, despite first-person references in Ibn Kathīr, it could well have been the other way round, especially if al-Kutubī was so much older than Ibn Kathīr.

Al-Kutubī's other work, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, has been edited repeatedly (Būlāḳ 1283, 1299; ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1951; ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, utilising autograph volumes written in 753/1352, Ahmet III 2921, cf. Cat. Karatay, iii, nos. 6405-7). Following Ibn Khallikān and using al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī*, it contains a wealth of biographical and literary information, mainly on Syrian littérateurs, which is noteworthy for its uniqueness and for the intimate glimpses it offers of Syrian cultural life.

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AL-KUTUBIYYA [see MARRĀKUSH].

KÜTÜPHANE [see MAKTABA].

ḲUṬUZ, AL-MALIK AL-MUẒAFFAR SAYF AL-DĪN AL-MUʿIZZĪ, third Mamlūk sultan of the *Dawlat al-Turk* or Baḥrī dynasty. A nephew of the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn, Ḳuṭuz (whose original Muslim name was Maḥmūd b. Mamdūd) was taken prisoner by the Mongols and sold to a Damascus merchant who, in turn, sold him to the Mamlūk *amīr* Aybak in Cairo. Aybak, as the husband of Shadjar al-Durr, became in 648/1250 al-Malik al-Muʿizz, from which title Ḳuṭuz derived his *nisba*, al-Muʿizzī.

While still a youth, Ḳuṭuz claimed on the basis of various prophecies that he would rule Egypt and avenge his uncle by defeating the Mongols. A major step toward fulfilling that ambition was taken in 650/1252 when Aybak deposed his Ayyūbid co-sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā and appointed Ḳuṭuz viceroy of Egypt (*nāʾib al-salṭana*). In the following year Ḳuṭuz was one of those *mamlūk*s who assassinated Aybak's rival to the throne, Aḳṭāy, a leader of the Baḥrī regiment. When Aybak was himself murdered in 655/1257 at the instigation of Shadjar al-Durr and was succeeded by his young son al-Manṣūr ʿAlī, Ḳuṭuz retained the viceroyship and managed the affairs of state. In 655-6/1257-8 he led expeditions against Baḥriyya *amīrs* and their Syrian Ayyūbid allies. In the following year (657/1259), however, Ḳuṭuz and the Baḥriyya were reconciled and joined forces to combat a Mongol invasion of Syria. In addition, claiming that al-Manṣūr ʿAlī was too immature to defend Muslim territory, Ḳuṭuz deposed him and had himself proclaimed sultan. Thus Ḳuṭuz was the first of many *mamlūk*s to depose the son of his *ustādh* in order to make himself sultan, thereby setting, according to Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo, vii, 56) "an evil precedent which led to the decline of affairs in Egypt".

Ḳuṭuz promised those *amīrs* who protested against this act of usurpation that he would step down from the sultanate once the Mongols had been defeated. To secure the co-operation of the Ayyūbids of Syria, Ḳuṭuz proffered his allegiance to al-Malik al-Nāṣir of Damascus and Aleppo and volunteered to defend him against the Mongols. To Hülegü himself, however, Ḳuṭuz offered only defiance and in 658/1260 put to death the envoys whom Hülegü had sent to demand his submission. Proclaiming a *djihād*, Ḳuṭuz led an army from Egypt into Palestine. Although the Mamlūk *amīrs* were reluctant to join battle against the Mongols, Ḳuṭuz succeeded in persuading them to march with him and sent Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī, the future sultan, at the head of an advance force. Ḳuṭuz first secured the neutrality of the Franks at Acre and then met, and defeated, the Mongol army at ʿAyn Djālūt. After the battle Ḳuṭuz marched to Damascus, which he used as a base from which to clear Syria of Mongol troops and to establish Mamlūk rule in the province, appointing his own *amīrs* to some key posts and retaining Ayyūbids in others. During the march back to Egypt, Ḳuṭuz was murdered at al-Ḳuṣayr, near al-Ṣāliḥiyya. Though the court historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir claims that Baybars was the sole assailant, it is clear from other sources that this historian was attempting to establish Baybars' unique claim to the sultanate according to "the law of the Turks" which states that *man qatala malikan kāna huwa al-malik*. (Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī, quoted in *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*, ed. al-Khowaitir, 31).

There is also disagreement over the motivation for the assassination. Several historians claim that Ḳuṭuz reneged on his promise to award Baybars the viceroyship of Aleppo after ʿAyn Djalūt, but Ibn al-Dawādārī says that Ḳuṭuz had already aroused Baybars' enmity by rebuking his brother *amīrs* for cowardice during the battle. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir claims that Ḳuṭuz offended Baybars by refusing to share the glory of the *djihād* with him. In any event, it is clear, as Baybars al-Manṣūrī points out, that the enmity between Ḳuṭuz and the Baḥriyya was of long standing, and Baḥriyya ambitions for the sultanate were undoubtedly a factor. The disposition of the body of Ḳuṭuz is also a point of dispute, with Ibn Taghrībirdī claiming that Baybars transferred it from the original grave when it became a site of pilgrimage, while others merely say that it was buried in Cairo. Be that as it may, the sources are virtually unanimous in hailing Ḳuṭuz as a hero of Islam for the victory at ʿAyn Djalūt.

Bibliography: The fullest contemporary source that has been published is Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. A. A. al-Khowaitir, Riyadh 1976, see index; a shorter version of this source was edited and translated by Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca 1956, index. See also the 8th/14th century historians: Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, British Museum MS. Ar. 1233, fols. 11a-16a; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, viii, ed. U. Haarmann, Freiburg 1971, index; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mirʾāt al-zamān*, i, Hyderabad 1954, 379-84; and

the 9th/15th century historians: al-Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, i/2, ed. M. M. Ziada, Cairo 1936, 417-35; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, vii, Cairo 1938, 72-89. There are biographies of Ḳuṭuz in Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. and tr. Jacqueline Sublet, Damascus 1974, no. 205; and Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1951, ii, no. 353; ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, iii, 201-3. See also A. A. al-Khowaitir, *al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, Riyadh 1976, 18-26; idem, *Baibars the first; his endeavours and achievements*, London 1978, 15-25; M. M. Ziada, *The Mamlūk sultans to 1923*, in *A history of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, ii, Philadelphia, 1962, 735-58. (D. P. Little)

ḲUʿŪD (A.), the verbal noun *Ḳaʿada* "to sit", which developed into a technical term. (1) In the *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*] it indicates the sitting posture which is the penultimate component of a *rakʿa* [*q.v.*]. For descriptions and illustrations, see Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, 3rd edn., London 1842, i, 107, postures 7 and 13, and T. P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, 467. (2) In early Islamic history it is the designation of the political attitude of a faction of the Khāridjīs, the *ḳaʿada* (also called *ḳuʿʿād*, *ḳāʿidūn* and simply *ḳaʿad* after the analogy of *ḥāris*, pl. *ḥaras*). This designation is sometimes taken to refer to "self-declared non-rebels" (M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 151), although the generally accepted notion is "quietism". This notion may have been derived from the pre-Islamic custom with the Arab tribes to "abstain from" warfare, raiding, etc. (in Arabic: *ḳaʿada ʿan*) during Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, one of the four sacred months.

The quietist is extolled in a probably spurious tradition dating possibly from the end of the first century A.H.: "There will be a *fitna* [*q.v.*]; he who does not take an active part in it (*ḳāʿid*) is better than he who does (*ḳāʾim*)", cf. *Concordance*, v, 439, left column, first trad., where Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 169 and 185, may be added to the list of references.

(G. H. A. Juynboll)

AL-KUWAYT (conventionally spelled Kuwait), the capital city, situated in lat. 29°20′ N and long 47°59′ E, of an amirate of the same name situated on the Arabian shore at the head of the Persian Gulf. The mainland state is bounded by ʿIrāḳ to the north and west and by Saudi Arabia to the south. Kuwayt also owns a number of islands and islets, the largest and most important of which are Būbiyān, Warba and Faylaka. The total area of the state is approximately 6,900 sq. miles.

1. Geography and economy

At least two explanations have been suggested for the origins of the name; one is that it is a diminutive form of *kūt* ("fort"), and this in turn is said to refer to the existence of a small Portuguese defensive settlement there in the late 16th century. The other less general derivation suggests that in local usage Kuwayt means "a number of small wells", and that these exist near the low sandstone ridge called Raʾs Adjūza, which is where the modern town was founded in the early 18th century. European sources usually refer to this settlement as Grane or Graine, which is probably a corruption of al-Ḳurayn, an islet in the bay about four miles west of the centre of the town, near to which there was a good anchorage.

The bay is the largest in the Persian Gulf, with a maximum length of 20 miles (east-west) and a maximum breadth of 10 miles (north-south). It is the only good natural harbour near the head of the Gulf. The terrain is mainly flat and arid with occasional low hills; the highest point in the country, less than 1,000 ft. in elevation, is in the south-west. The coastlands are low and sometimes marshy. Natural vegetation is very sparse and consists of scrub and stunted bushes. Spring rains sometimes produce a short-lived cover of grass. Oases are few; the largest is al-Djahra, some 18 miles west of the capital city. Permanent surface water does not exist, neither do springs. In the past drinking waters was drawn from wells which were often brackish, and it was also brought by boat from Baṣra. Some drinking water now comes by pipeline from the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, but a large sea-water distillation plant is the most important source of supply. The underground water table near al-Rawḍatayn in the north is also tapped for additional supplies.

The climate is hot, but often less humid than at other places in the Gulf. Summer daytime shade temperatures usually reach 105° F. to 110° F., but temperatures of over 120° F. have been recorded. The coldest month is January, when the daily maximum shade temperature is usually about 60 F. to 65° F. but temperatures as low as 24° have been recorded inland. Frosts sometimes occur in the desert but are almost unknown at the coast. Rainfall occurs chiefly between October and March and is slight: the average is under 5″ per year. Winds in winter are generally from the north-west and are relatively cool. Southerly winds in the spring and early summer are mainly hot and dry, those from the south-west later in the year are also hot but are often damp. Sandstorms more often occur during the winter than during the summer.

Before the discovery and exploitation of oil, the chief coastal occupations were trading, pearl and other fishing, and boat building. In the interior, nomads herded sheep, goats and camels and there was a little settled cultivation. The port served much of north-eastern Arabia, as well as acting as an entrepôt for trade with the south of ʿIrāḳ and southern Persia. Horses, animal products, fish and pearls formed the major traditional export items. Imports were chiefly foodstuffs and piece goods. In 1904, some 460 pearling boats worked out of Kuwayt and their crews numbered about 9,200 men. In the winter, about a third of these went to Ceylon for the pearling season there. The world-wide economic depression which began in 1929, and the introduction of cultured pearls from Japan, greatly reduced the demand for Gulf pearls. Boat-building using wood and fibre from India employed about 300 men in 1904, but this number obviously increased, for in 1912-13 as many as 120 pearling boats were reported to have been built. In 1904 the population of the town was estimated to be about 35 000. Of that number, about 1,000 were Persians, up to 200 were Jews and the Negro population was said to be about 4,000. By 1952 the population of the state had risen to about 152,000. Since that date it has grown very rapidly, because of changes which spring from the development of the oil industry. According to the census of April 1975, the population of the state was over 990,000. This very sharp rise was due chiefly to immigration, but the native birth rate is also very high. The same census reported that non-native-born residents made up 52.6% of the population; many of these were Palestinians or other Arabs, but immigrant workers have also entered Kuwayt in large numbers from Iran and the Indian subcontinent. There is a significant European and American community.

The first oil exploration concession was granted in December 1934, and oil was discovered in 1938 at al-Burkān, but the Second World War halted the development of these fields. The Kuwait Oil Company, which held the concession, was owned jointly and equally by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (later the British Petroleum Company) and the Gulf Oil Corporation of the United States of America. Production began in 1946, and in that year approximately six million tons of oil were exported. The Ābādān crisis of 1951 and the resulting embargo on oil supplies from Iran gave much impetus to the development of the oil industry in Kuwayt. In 1956 production exceeded 54 million tons, and Kuwayt was at that time the largest oil producer in the Middle East. By 1972 production had reached 148 million tons, but Kuwayt was no longer the leading regional producer, having given way to Saʿūdī Arabia and Iran. In January 1973 the Kuwait Oil Company and the Government of Kuwayt reached an agreement under which the state was to acquire immediately a 25% share in the Company, and by 1982 this would have risen to a 51% controlling interest. The Kuwaytī National Assembly, however, expressed strong disagreement with these terms, and there were demands for the immediate nationalisation of the Company. Further negotations were held and in December 1975 a new agreement was signed which transferred full ownership of the Company to the Government with retrospective effect from March of that year. During the War of October 1973, Kuwayt joined other Arab countries in restricting production, and for the first time since oil had been produced output showed a decline. The sharp increase in oil prices in 1973 encouraged the authorities to give increased attention to the question of conservation in order to extend the life of the oil reserves, the country's only known natural asset. A limit on production has been established of two million barrels per day, equivalent to about one hundred million tons per year; at this rate, it has been estimated that the state's known reserves should last at least until the middle of the next century. Kuwayt was a founder member of both the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (established in 1960) and of the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (established in 1968). The latter institution has its headquarters in Kuwayt and the Kuwaytī authorities have taken an important and active part in the work of both bodies.

The recent development of the oil industry has had some striking economic and social effects. From being a relatively poor society of traders, fisherfolk, boatbuilders and herdsmen, the country now (1978) has one of the highest levels of income per capita in the world, and the state provides an impressive array of social services. Kuwayt has become, despite its harsh environment, one of the most highly-urbanised states in the world. The dependence on oil is overwhelming, with over 90% of government income currently being derived from oil production. The pearling and boat-building industries are no longer of economic importance. Fishing has been modernised and catches of shrimp are sold in Japan, Western Europe and the United States of American rather than locally. Agriculture is of little significance; less than 3% of the land is regarded as cultivable and only about 1% is actually in use. Imports now consist of construction materials, consumer goods and industrial equipment as well as foodstuffs and textiles. Exports, apart from oil and related products such as petrochemicals and fertilisers, are negligible. Ships of all the major maritime nations now use the port; the airport is served by many daily international flights; and the most modern means of international telecommunication are widely available. Oil revenues have enabled the government to offer significant amounts of financial aid to poorer states, both Arab and non-Arab. By 1977 loans worth over US $ 1,500 million had been provided.

2. History

Archaeological excavations on Faylaka island have revealed traces of settlements dating back to 2500 B.C., but relatively little is yet known of the history of Kuwayt prior to the 18th century and the assumption of power by the first members of the present ruling dynasty of Āl Ṣabāḥ in about 1170/1756.

The Sāsānid King S̲h̲āpūr I is said to have had a great ditch dug from Hīt on the river Euphrates to the northern shore of Kuwayt bay to protect the Sawād [*q.v.*] from Arab raids, and it was in the neighbourhood of Kuwayt that K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd is reported to have defeated a force of Persians in 12/633. The foundations of the modern state date from about the end of the 17th century when a group of ʿUtūb Arabs, who claimed to be a branch of the ʿAnaza confederation [*q.v.*], migrated into the area. According to local tradition the three clans—the Āl Ṣabāḥ, the Āl K̲h̲alīfa, and the Āl D̲j̲alāhima—were expelled from their previous settlements near Umm Ḳaṣr by the Ottomans because of their acts of brigandage and piracy. By the middle of the 18th century, the Āl Ṣabāḥ had achieved a position of local dominance. The Āl K̲h̲alīfa [*q.v.*] left Kuwayt in 1179-80/1766 and migrated to Zubāra in Ḳaṭar before taking control of Baḥrayn in 1197/1783. The Āl D̲j̲alāhima left Kuwayt later and they too went to Ḳaṭar.

The first mention of Kuwayt by a European is that of E. Ives, who refers to it as Grane, but he does not give the name of the ruling *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* at the time of his visit in 1758. Niebuhr refers to the town as having a population of 10,000, but he noted that during the hot months the number declined to about 3,000. He reported that the harbour contained 800 ships and that the inhabitants were employed in fishing and pearling; but like Ives, he does not give the name of the ruler.

Kuwayt grew in prosperity after Karīm K̲h̲ān Zand had seized Baṣra in 1190/1776, for during the three-year Persian occupation, the East India Company used Kuwayt instead of Baṣra as the terminal point for its caravan route from Ḥalab (Aleppo) to the Gulf. According to Capper, who did not visit the town, the ruler of Graine was very friendly towards local British officials in 1193/1779; and in 1207/1793, after a quarrel with the Ottoman authorities in Baṣra, the East India Company's Agency was moved from there to Kuwayt. The Agency returned to Baṣra in 1210/1795. It was at this period that Kuwayt was often threatened by Wahhābī raiding parties.

The next century-and-a-quarter of Kuwayt's history was to be shaped by three sets of circumstances and by the relations between them. Those circumstances were threats from Northern and Central Arabia, the uncertain and varying nature of the relations between Kuwayt and the Ottoman Empire, and the emerging interest of first Great Britain, and later of other European powers, in this large natural harbour at the head of the Persian Gulf.

The temporary eclipse of Wahhābī power in Nad̲j̲d and al-Ḥasā after their conquest by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1232-4/1817-19 reduced the threat to Kuwayt for a

time. When a British officer visited Kuwayt in 1252/1836, he found that Egyptian envoys were present in the town, and the re-entry of Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces into Eastern Arabia shortly afterwards increased British suspicions about the extent of Egyptian ambitions. An officer of the Indian Navy surveyed the island of Faylaka in 1255/1839 as a possible base for British military forces, but it was concluded that the island was unsuitable. The harbour at Kuwayt was also surveyed at this time. The withdrawal of Egyptian forces in 1256/1840 meant that British interest began to wane. The fact that Kuwayt had not been heavily involved in piracy meant that the trucial system of relations, which had been established by Britain from 1820 with Baḥrayn and the other s͟hayk͟hdoms of the lower Gulf, was not extended to Kuwayt. Although Kuwayt was involved in the slave trade, the anomalous nature of her relations with the Sublime Porte meant that the British government was reluctant to seek engagements for the suppression of that trade from Kuwayt similar to those which had been secured from the Arab rulers of the lower Gulf.

The economic fortunes of Kuwayt fluctuated throughout the 19th century. Stocqueler, who visited the town 1246-7/1831 estimated that its population was only about 4,000. Some revival appears to have occurred, for Palgrave, who was in Arabia in 1278-9/1862-3 but who did not visit Kuwayt, reported that the town was well-governed and that trade was flourishing. The same author described Kuwayt as the natural maritime outlet for the trade of the D͟jabal S͟hammar area, and Guarmani, who visited that region in 1280/1864, reported that many horses were exported from there to India via Kuwayt. The possibility of building a railway line from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Euphrates and onwards to the head of the Persian Gulf had been suggested as early as 1856, but the construction and opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 put a temporary end to such plans.

The relationship between the rulers of Kuwayt and the Sublime Porte had varied ever since the Āl Ṣabāḥ had established themselves in Kuwayt, but it was rarely anything other than vague and nebulous. Occasionally, as in 1871, the Ottoman authorities in ʿIrāḳ were able to exercise some sort of sovereignty over the S͟hayk͟h of Kuwayt, and the town was then used briefly as a staging post for the Ottoman annexation of al-Ḥasā, Kuwaytī boats being employed to transport some of the troops. In May 1896 the ruler of Kuwayt, Muḥammad b. Ṣabāḥ, was murdered and he was succeeded by his half-brother Mubārak. There was much suspicion that Mubārak was implicated in the death, and intense family rivalries threatened the position of the new S͟hayk͟h. In order to consolidate his authority, Mubārak tried to secure the recognition and support of both the Ottoman and the British governments. The former showed some signs of seeking to extend its influence over Kuwayt. The latter initially declined Mubārak's invitations, but when it became known that a Russian entrepreneur, Count Kapnist, was seeking a concession from the Ottoman government to build a railway line from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, with Kuwayt as the suggested railhead, British interest quickly revived. The concern of the British government was also increased by the belief that the Russian government might be seeking permission to construct a coaling station on Kuwayt Bay, and in Ramaḍān 1316/January 1899 an agreement was reached under which S͟hayk͟h Mubārak gained British support in return for a promise not to cede, sell, lease, mortgage or otherwise dispose of territory to a foreign government or national without specific permission from the British government. Increased international interest in Kuwayt became even more apparent in 1900 when a party of German railway engineers visited the area to seek a suitable site for the terminus of a possible extension to the Persian Gulf of the projected Berlin—Bag͟hdād railway. S͟hayk͟h Mubārak opposed these plans, believing in part that they would tend to lead to an increase in Turkish control over Kuwayt. After a prolonged period of diplomatic negotations, the British and Ottoman authorities completed in 1913 a draft convention concerning their interests in the Persian Gulf. Under article 1 of this convention, Kuwayt was recognised as an autonomous *ḳaḍāʾ* within the Ottoman Empire. That document also laid down the land frontiers of Kuwayt, but the outbreak of the First World War prevented the draft convention from being ratified. In 1914 the British government sought the support of S͟hayk͟h Mubārak against Turkish forces in Southern ʿIrāḳ, and among other reassurances the ruler was informed that the British government recognised Kuwayt as an independent government under British protection.

The Ottoman authorities were not the only threat to the independence of Kuwayt at the end of the 19th century. The value of that port as an outlet for the trade of D͟jabal S͟hammar attracted the attention of the rulers of the Āl Ras͟hīd [*q.v.*], and that clan was engaged in open rivalry with the Āl Saʿūd [*q.v.*]. Much turbulence was caused in Northern Arabia in the late 19th and early 20th century by that contest for power. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fayṣal Āl Saʿūd and his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz took refuge for a time with S͟hayk͟h Mubārak, and a raiding force from Kuwayt was defeated by the forces of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ras͟hīd near Ḥāʾil in March 1901. The recapture of al-Riyāḍ by the Āl Saʿūd and the curbing of the power of the Āl Ras͟hīd reduced the immediate threat to Kuwayt, but as the power of the Āl Saʿūd increased it looked as if they rather than the Āl Ras͟hīd would now pose a danger to S͟hayk͟h Mubārak.

In 1913 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd succeeded in expelling the Turks from al-Ḥasā and in gaining an outlet to the Persian Gulf. This meant that Kuwayt was now encircled to the west and the south by the territory of the Āl Saʿūd. In December 1915 the British authorities signed a treaty at al-ʿUḳayr with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd, among the provisions of which was a promise by the latter not to attack Kuwayt. Shortly before the signature of this document, S͟hayk͟h Mubārak had died and there was renewed family rivalry over the succession. Mubārak's eldest son D͟jābir became the *s͟hayk͟h*, but he died in February 1917, and was succeeded by Mubārak's second son Sālim. Sālim was by no means as prudent as his father had been in his relations with either the British or with the Āl Saʿūd. He allowed the harbour of Kuwayt to be used for the transport of supplies to the Turkish army and from February 1918 the port was blockaded by ships of the British navy. This blockade was lifted in the autumn after the cessation of hostilities between the Allied Powers and the Ottoman Empire.

The lack of a defined frontier meant that relations between the Āl Ṣabāḥ and the Āl Saʿūd were unlikely to be easy or harmonious, but the activities of the *Ik͟hwān* [*q.v.*], and particularly their building of a *hid͟jra* at Ḳarya al-ʿUlyā, made matters worse. In 1920 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd

imposed an embargo on trade with Kuwayt and this ban lasted until 1937, doing much harm to the prosperity of Kuwayt. Fear of an *Ikhwān* attack prompted the building of a defensive wall around the city and in October 1920 a force of *Ikhwān* led by Fayṣal b. Sulṭān al-Dawīsh, the leader of the Muṭayr tribe, attacked the nearby oasis of al-Djahra. This attack did not succeed, but *Ikhwān* raids continued to pose a threat to the security of this part of north-eastern Arabia until the movement was finally suppressed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd in 1930 after it had rebelled against his authority.

Shaykh Sālim died in February 1921 and he was succeeded by Aḥmad b. Djābir, the eldest son of the previous ruler. Shaykh Aḥmad endeavoured to improve relations with the Āl Saʿūd, and in December 1922 a Convention was signed at al-ʿUḳayr in which a fixed frontier between the two states was established. The new territory of Kuwayt was very much smaller than that which had been allotted to it in the draft Anglo-Ottoman convention of 1913, and Shaykh Aḥmad believed that the British authorities had not supported his claims against those of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd as strongly as they should have done. This belief was an important factor in Shaykh Aḥmad's reluctance to grant an exclusive oil concession to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company; and it strengthened his later determination to secure the involvement of an American company in the development of Kuwayt's oil resources. (The growth of the oil industry has been treated in section 1 above.)

In 1920 Great Britain had been awarded the Mandate over ʿIrāḳ by the League of Nations, and in April 1923 the British High Commissioner for ʿIrāḳ recognised the frontier between Kuwayt and ʿIrāḳ as being that which had been laid down in the Anglo-Ottoman draft convention of 1913. There have, however, been disputes about this boundary. The most serious occurred in June 1961, when the 1899 agreement between Great Britain and Kuwayt was terminated and Kuwayt became a fully-independent state. The Government of ʿIrāḳ immediately claimed that Kuwayt was rightfully an integral part of ʿIrāḳ. The ruler of Kuwayt, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim (who had succeeded Shaykh Aḥmad in 1950) appealed to Britain for military assistance. This request was granted and the dispute was debated by the Security Council of the United Nations. On 20 July Kuwayt was admitted to the League of Arab States and that body resolved to preserve the independence of its new member. In 1963 Kuwayt became a member of the United Nations.

In November 1962 a new constitution was promulgated and elections for a 50-member legislative assembly were first held in January 1963. The Constitution was suspended in August 1977 as a result of internal political difficulties.

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(R. M. Burrell)

ḲUWWA (pl. *Ḳuwā*), Arabic term denoting "strength, power".

1. Lexicographical study. Ibn Sīda defined the word *ḳuwwa* as the opposite of weakness (*naḳīd al-ḍa'f*), cf. Ḳur'ān XXX, 54: "It is God who has created you from weakness (*min ḍa'f*) and who then, after weakness, has given you strength (*ḳuwwa*)". It is thus the concept of strength and of vigour which is paramount. A man is described as *ḳawī* when he is strong in himself, and as *muḳwī* when he owns a robust mount. On the other hand, like the word *ṭāḳa* (which also has the sense of "ability to act"), *ḳuwwa* denotes a thread which is part of a rope. As may be read in a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Daylamī: "Islam is unravelled link by link, as a rope is unravelled thread by thread (*ḳuwwatan ḳuwwatan*)". Abū 'Ubayda observes that when such threads become loose (*tukhrī*), the rope is liable to be broken. This may be seen as a further example of the idea of strength and solidity. Thus it is primarily a physical force that the term *ḳuwwa* evokes in the language.

Numerous words in Arabic have similar meanings. Attention has been drawn above to *ṭāḳa*, defined in *LA* as power over something (*al-ḳudra 'alā shay'*). The term *ḳudra* is itself given as a synonym of *ḳuwwa* (*ibid.*); it is employed, as *maṣdar* of the verb *ḳadara*, in the expression *ḳadara 'alā 'l-shay' ḳudratan*, with the sense of possessing (*malaka*) something. Possession is the exercise of a power, either physical or judicial. Furthermore, just as the idea of power-to-act implies possibility and aptitude, so *ḳuwwa* has been likened on the one hand to *imkān* (possibility) and to *isti'dād* (disposition). *Ḳuwwa* in the sense of possibility is, according to al-Tahānawī, the power or the faculty which is a preparation (*tahayyu'*) to produce a thing or its opposite, whereas *isti'dād* is limited to preparation for production of a single effect.

2. *Ḳuwwa* in the Ḳur'ān. A quite frequent use is that which gives this word the meaning of power in the sense of capacity to act, to fight, to win, and which applies it either to communities or to individuals. Thus in IX, 69, there is reference to "those who before you were stronger than you in power (*ashadda minkum ḳuwwatan*) and were richer in goods and offspring". Speaking of man at the Day of Judgment, God says (LXXXVI, 10): "He will then have for himself neither strength nor succour". A second use of a more moral nature is to be found in verses where there is the injunction to "take" the Revelation "with strength" (*bi-ḳuwwa*)" (cf. among other verses, II, 63 and 93; VIII, 145). Al-Zamakhsharī explains the word with the expression: "with effort and firmness" (*bi-djidd wa-'azīma*). Finally and most importantly, *ḳuwwa* is attributed to God with the sense of *ḳudra*; for example in LI, 58, where it is said: "God is the Provider of all good things; He is the unshakable Master of power (*dhu 'l-ḳuwwati 'l-matīn*)" and in XLI, 15: "God, who has created them, is stronger than them in power (*ashaddu minhum ḳuwwatan*); elsewhere we find "There is no power but through God (*lā ḳuwwata illā bi-llāh*)" (XVIII, 39).

3. *Ḳuwwa* in theology. In the discussion by the Mu'tazila concerning the attributes, and with regard to the doctrine of *ta'ṭīl* which stripped the divine essence of all its attributes, by reducing them either to this very essence, or to simple names, it was necessary to stress that the revealed Book speaks of the power (*ḳuwwa*; cf. above), as well as of the knowledge (*'ilm*) of God. In the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, al-Ash'arī notes that one group of Mu'tazila, on the basis of XLI, 15, "claim that in saying that God has power, we are led to say that He is powerful (*ḳādir*). They take *ḳuwwa* purely and simply as a synonym of *ḳudra*. But they maintain this point of view only in regard to *ḳuwwa* and *'ilm*, being two substantives which occur definitively in the Book of God, and not in regard to the other attributes of the essence such as life (*ḥayāt*), sight (*baṣar*) and hearing (*sam'*)." This is, according to al-Ash'arī, the doctrine of al-Naẓẓām and the majority of the Mu'tazila of Baṣra and Baghdād. A second group understands "knowledge" in the sense of the object of knowledge (*ma'lūm*), and "power" in the sense of the object of power (*maḳdūr*). To say that God has a power (*ḳudra*=*ḳuwwa*), therefore signifies, not that there exists in Him such an attribute, but that created beings depend on Him in such a fashion that they could be called *maḳdūrāt*. This is why, when Muslims see rain, they say: "That is the power of God", meaning that it is a *maḳdūr*. These theologians reserve this explanation, among the attributes of the essence, for knowledge and power, for a purely scriptural reason, as has been seen in the case of the preceding group. A third group assert that God has a power which is identical to Himself (*ḳudra hiya huwa*), and the same applies to His knowledge; but they extend this interpretation to all the other attributes of the essence: this is the thesis of Abu 'l-Hudhayl and his disciples. A third group comprises the disciples of 'Abbād b. Sulaymān, who is known to have sacrificed the texts to the requirements of reason: it can neither be said that God has knowledge and power, nor that He does not have them. This contradicts the formal declaration of the Ḳur'ān.

Ibn Ḥazm, in addition to the verse XLI, 15, quotes a *ḥadīth*. When instructing his Companions how to formulate a prayer to obtain a favour (*istikhāra*), the Prophet says: "O my God! I ask You for this favour through Your knowledge; I ask You for it through Your power" (*ḳudra*=*ḳuwwa*). Then Ibn Ḥazm puts power on the same level as knowledge: *ḳuwwa* and *ḳudra*, like *'ilm*, belong to God really and not metaphorically; they are nothing other than He, although it cannot be said that they are God, because if power were God, God would be power, which is false. The same applies to knowledge. These terms play the same role as the word *nafs* (soul) in the verse VI, 17: "It is He Himself (his soul) that ordains mercy". The expression "soul of God" is a "description of Him (*ikhbār 'anhu*)", but indicates nothing at all other than Him.

4. *Ḳuwwa* in philosophy. In his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-'ulūm al-islāmiyya*, al-Tahānawī gives a panoramic

survey of the question. *Ḳuwwa* is the origin of the act (*mabdaʾ al-fiʿl*), whether or not it is differentiated, and whether or not it is accompanied by awareness (*s̲h̲uʿūr*) and by will (*irāda*). In this general sense, *ḳuwwa* is dependent at the same time on nature (*ṭabīʿa*), the principle of involuntary movement, and on the soul, the principle of voluntary movement. There is thus a distinction between the power of the spheres (*al-ḳuwwa al-falakiyya*) which produces a unique act, and the power of the elements (*al-ḳuwwa al-ʿunṣuriyya*) which produces acts that are differentiated in terms of the various combinations of elements, and which has also been called *al-ḳuwwa al-suk̲h̲riyya*, executive power of imposed labour, as a way of recalling that all power to act comes from God, taking inspiration from, among others, the verse XXII, 65: "Have you not seen that God has pressed into your service (*sak̲h̲k̲h̲ara lakum*) all that is on the earth?" Nevertheless, in the Ḳurʾān, this term is also applied to the stars, as in XIII, 2, since the Book makes no ontological distinction between the firmament and the sublunary world. After elemental power come vegetative power, the faculty of the vegetal soul, and animal power, the faculty of the soul of animals. Finally, the term *ḳuwwa* is also applied to the origin of the change that is produced in one thing, transforming it into something else (*mabdaʾ al-tag̲h̲ayyur fī s̲h̲ayʾ āk̲h̲ar min ḥayt̲h̲u huwa āk̲h̲ar*).

By origin is understood the cause (*sabab*), whether it is efficient (*fāʿil*) or not. In effect, the power can be active or passive, engendering qualities or receiving them (*ḳabūl*). As the origin of the change, it can be applied solely to its receptacle (*maḥall*), as is the case with the form (*ṣūra*) of the air which demands the production of humidity in the matter which it pervades. It can also be the origin of change in its receptacle first, then in another thing: this is the case with the form of fire which produces heat and dryness in its matter and transmits these features to neighbouring objects. But the power of change can act from the start in something other than a receptacle: this is the case with the rational soul which acts immediately on a thing other than itself in producing a change in the body.

According to Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, some powers have substantial forms (*ṣuwar d̲j̲awhariyya*), such as the power of fire; others have a basis in accidents which happen to the substance. Consequently, there is no generic notion of *ḳuwwa*, as it is impossible to unite substance and accidents in a single genre.

5. *Ḳuwwa* in medicine. As an extension of its philosophical usage, this term is frequently employed in medicine. Al-Tahānawī indicates that the physicians introduced three divisions: natural power; animal power; and psychical power. The natural and animal powers include powers served by others (*mak̲h̲dūma*) and powers which serve them (*k̲h̲ādima*). The first are, in the realm of the living, those which operate with a view to the preservation of the individual, the faculty of nutrition and the faculty of growth, or with a view to the preservation of the species, generative power (*muwallida*) and plasmatic power (*muṣawwira*). The second are four in number: the power of attraction (*d̲j̲ād̲h̲iba*), the power of retention (*māsika*), the power of digestion (*haḍma*) and the power of repulsion or of evacuation (*dāfiʿa*). These four faculties are served in their turn by heat and cold, dryness and humidity. As for psychical powers, they are divided into two types: the power of perception (*mudrika*) and the power of motion (*muḥarrika*). Perceptions are external (*ẓāhira*), in the case of the five senses, or external (*bāṭina*), in the case of the coenaesthetic sensations. The power of movement comprises on the one hand the power that incites movement (*bāʿit̲h̲a ilā 'l-ḥaraka*) with the faculty of desiring (*s̲h̲awḳiyya*) which may be positive or negative, and the power of inclination (*nuzūʿiyya*) which guides the former towards the act; and on the other hand, the power responsible for the setting in motion (*mubās̲h̲ira li 'l-taḥrīk*).

6. *Ḳuwwa* in human psychology. This is the faculty of deliberate voluntary action. It operates in accordance with a certain order; first there is a representation of the movement to be executed, then a desire, then a will to achieve the end envisaged, and finally the realisation of the movement and the act. Certain philosophers introduce an intermediary between the faculty of desire and the active power: they call it *id̲j̲timāʿ*, a term which seems to correspond to the δογκατθεδις (consent) of the Stoics. It is the decision (*d̲j̲azm*) which follows after a hesitation (*tarraddud*) between action (*fiʿl*) and non-action (*tark*), as a result of which one of the two parties prevails (*yataradjdjaḥ*). According to others, there is no intermediary, but a desire which may continue to grow until the decision and the act are put into effect. *Id̲j̲timāʿ* is nothing more than this desire at its maximum intensity. As for the followers of Ibn Sīnā, they reckon that *id̲j̲timāʿ* depends on will and that there is a great difference between desire and will.

A position of eminence is given to the power of the intellect (*al-ḳuwwa al-ʿāḳila*). All theories concerning the intellect, from the end of Antiquity, throughout the Hellenistic period and until the time of the *falāsifa*, depend on interpretations of the third book of Aristotle's ***Treatise on the soul***.

7. The notion of *ḳuwwa* and Greek influences on *falsafa*. The numerous meanings applied to the term *ḳuwwa* in philosophy may be examined, with a view to comparison with Greek thought, from two points of view. The concept δύναμις has two opposites in the writings of Aristotle: 1. ἀδυναμία (*lā-ḳuwwa* or *ḍaʿf*, inability or weakness); 2. ἐνήργεια (*fiʿl*, activity, reality). *Ḳuwwa* in the former sense is dealt with in the *Categories* and *Metaphysics* (v. 12), in the latter mainly in the *Metaphysics*, viii-ix. It may be here observed that inability is to be distinguished from impossibility (ἀδύνατον = *mumtaniʿ* or *mustaḥīl*).

A. *Ḳuwwa*, to be more accurate *ḳuwwa ṭabīʿiyya* (productive ability), being the second species of the category of quality (ποιόν [cf. MAḲŪLĀT]) is defined, with Aristotle, as that arrangement by which some one or some thing comes into action quickly and easily, while *lā-ḳuwwa* predisposes to undergo something easily and quickly. Activity and passiveness are here to be conceived as opposites, which exclude one another. They cannot be present at the same time in one and the same subject. *Ḳuwwa* in this sense is the positive capability for a definite activity or, as the Stoics expressed it: the qualities of things are active forces, agencies. The orthodox *kalām* referred this doctrine only to the activity of God. Muslim theologians said for example—cf. Christian dogmatics—that God's qualities (*ṣifāt*) are the sources (*maṣādir*) of his actions. The philosophers, however, referred it in the first place to the workings of nature. Nature is endowed with many forces and abilities and each ability has a corresponding inability. Inability, however, is nothing positive but a deprivation (στέρησις, *ʿadam*) or a decay (φθορά, *fasād*). *Lā-ḳuwwa* is not an absolute nothing but a non-existing of what according to Aristotle

belongs to a thing from its nature. It is especially emphasised that the transition from *ḳuwwa* to *lā-ḳuwwa* (or from active to passive) takes place not continuously but without intermediary, i.e. suddenly, timelessly. The Muslim philosophers are, for the rest, usually content to explain these sometimes very questionable assertions with the examples given by Aristotle. In the *Logic* (*Categories*) these are with reference to living beings health (ability) and sickness (inability), and in the organic world, hardness and softness. In addition, in other branches of knowledge, rest is sometimes defined as deprivation of motion, blindness as a want of ability to see, wickedness as the non-existence of good, and so on. All these deprivations (στερήσεις) are regarded with Aristotle as accidents of matter. Hence the practice (at least since Ibn Sīnā [cf. *Tis*ʿ *rasāʾil*, 64] who probably follows a Greek exposition) of distinguishing *ʿadam* as accidental principle from the essential principles: matter and form.

Al-Fārābī (*Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, 87, fr. 11) first discussed the question whether suffering (πάσχειν), as the term is used under the category of quality, meant the same as suffering as the last (10th) of the categories. Perhaps he was led to this by a passage in Aristotle (*De anima*, 417b) in which "suffering" is said to have two meanings: 1. it is a kind of decline (φθορά) through the opposite (see above); and 2. the preservation (σωτηρῖα) of the possible through what is active, and in this way that thereby a natural basis is evolved for its own being. Instead of a decline we have here a question not only of a mere survival but also of a higher development, a suffering in *bonam partem*, an endurance (passive, receptive, contemplative) of higher influences [see ATHAR].

B. More important than the contrast between *ḳuwwa* and *lā-ḳuwwa* for the history of philosophical terminology became the distinction between *ḳuwwa* and *fiʿl*, or, to use the language of the schools, power and action, commonly found in the formulae *bi 'l-ḳuwwa* (δυνάμει) and *bi 'l-fiʿl* (ἐνέργεια). Both expressions are closely connected with the two fundamental conceptions of Aristotelian philosophy, matter and form. Power is peculiar to matter, action to form. Power and action are called ὑπάρχοντα (Arab. *lawāḥiḳ*, attributes) of matter and form. Aristotle sought in this way to reconcile a static with a dynamic consideration of the world. Matter and form [see SABAB] are names for the constituents of the existing, power and action for the stages of development of the becoming. These fundamental conceptions cannot be defined more exactly. Like Aristotle, the Muslim philosophers endeavour to illustrate them by examples.

The development from power to action presupposes a continuous world of becoming, time and change. According to one principle of Aristotle, which was taken over by the Muslim thinkers, at least with reference to the world, the infinite cannot be real. But in time, especially if it is conceived without beginning and without end, lies the unending possibility of all that possesses its limited reality in any particular moment. Under definite conditions, if there is no obstacle in the way, the possible advances to full realisation by stages. Possibility and realisation are to be regarded as termini of a development taking place within time. This process, the development from power to action, is called by Aristotle motion (κίνησις, *ḥaraka*) which is defined as the realisation (ἐνέργεια) of the possible as such. The end (to be *bi 'l-fiʿl*) is called in Arabic also *kamāl* (perfection) just as Aristotle uses ἐνέργεια and ἐντέλεχεια synonymously.

The concept of an originally pure (i.e. without quality) possibility which can in course of time become everything, is according to Aristotle a conceivable abstraction. Everything becoming is already more or less formed, realised; deprivation is an accident of matter, not as the neo-Platonists asserted, matter itself. Aristotle himself did not succeed in carrying through logically his distinction between the principle of deprivation (*ʿadam*) and matter as pure possibility. The Muslim thinkers who were under neo-Platonic influences were naturally still less able to do so. They often identified *ʿadam* and *ḳuwwa*. Usually however, they endeavoured to represent our world of becoming as a hierarchy of positive forces or powers. The process of becoming is then to be conceived as a co-operation, a working into one another of active and passive. With Aristotle, the Stoics, etc., they talk of active and passive, moving and moved, ruling and serving forces, which by no means rule one another out. Two aspects of one and the same process are thus described. One and the same power may therefore be active, moving, ruling with respect to what is below it in the order of stages of being but passive, receptive, contemplative with respect to those above it. In other words *ḳuwwa* and *fiʿl* are used in the correlative sense exactly like matter and form. A material more or less formed, e.g. clay, is matter for bricks and the formed brick is material for a building. Similarly, in the sperm there is the potentiality to become a boy, in a boy a potentiality to become a man. In other words, the sperm possesses the immediate potentiality for a boy, a remote potentiality for a man.

Amongst the Ismāʿīlī thinkers, the problem of power is equally put forward in another form, in the shape of the idea of receptiveness (*ḳubūl*). Whilst the Primal Intellect receives at a single stroke (*dafʿat^an^ wāḥida*) everything which rightfully makes up its being, the "creatures" inferior to it are incapable of this. Hence they receive successively in the course of time the characters and qualities which belong rightfully to their essence and which make up their secondary perfection. This explains why these latter gradually become transformed according to the different kinds of movement. It is through this that the power of generation (*kawn*) is explicable. But when they have reached their perfection, certain beings tied down to matter are unable to keep it and decline into final corruption (*fasād*); in this way, the force of destruction may be explained.

The whole theory is closely connected with the dynamic view of the existence of the world. Thus as in Aristotle, in the Muslim philosophers physics, including psychology, are developed into a hierarchical system of natural forces and faculties of the soul. In place of faculty we sometimes find parts of the soul (μέρη, *ad̲j̲zāʾ*; Platonic terminology, also used by Aristotle). Galenic influences may be traced, in the doctrine of the faculties of the soul especially and their localisation (in al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and al-G̲h̲azālī). Al-Fārābī deals with this in his *Fuṣūṣ* (i.e. *Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, 72 ff.; wrongly ascribed to Ibn Sīnā in *Tis*ʿ *rasāʾil*, 42 ff.); cf. his "Model State" (ed. Dieterici, 34 ff.). Ibn Sīnā (*Kitāb al-Nad̲j̲āt*, Cairo 1913, 258 ff.; cf. *Is̲h̲ārāt*, ed. Forget, 123 ff.) enumerates some 25 *ḳuwā* from the highest faculty of the reasoning soul to the powers of the simplest bodies. Al-G̲h̲azālī (*Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, index) is acquainted with over 30 *ḳuwā*; but some are synonyms.

As briefly explained above, in the world of becoming *ḳuwwa* is earlier in time than *fiʿl*, but *fiʿl* —so his Muslim successors teach following Aristotle—is always the earlier in the sense of the higher. What is potential cannot of itself devolve into actuality. God who is the perfectly real, according to the Muslim philosophers, brought the world from non-existence (*ʿadam*) to existence (*wudjūd*) or from *ḳuwwa* to *iʿl* (*ikhrādj*). The spirits (*ʿuḳūl*) which act as intermediaries between God and the world are usually called real. It is the activity of the last heavenly spirit, the *ʿaḳl faʿʿāl*, which as Ibn Sīnā, following al-Fārābī, expresses it, gives everything earthly its form (*wāhib al-ṣuwar*; cf. for this expression *Enneads*, v. 9, 3), or, as Ibn Rushd prefers to say, brings everything potential here into actuality. This is however not a distinction in principle between the two philosophers: with Aristotle they regard matter and form as substances, potentiality and activity as their attributes (*lawāḥiḳ*).

C. In the *Theology of Aristotle* (ed. Dieterici, 94) is the following remarkable passage: "In this (sensual) world, action is preferable to potentiality, in the higher (intelligible) world, however, potentiality is preferable to action". This pregnant sentence is not found in the *Enneads* but corresponds completely to the utterances of Plotinus (*Enn.*, v. I, 6 f.; 3, 15 f.; 4, 1 f.; 5, 13 f.) According to a general principle of Plotinus—not however always logically carried through—the categories and main conceptions of Aristotelian philosophy are only to be referred to the sensual world. If they are applied to the spiritual world, they have another but higher meaning. The higher *ḳuwwa* is an intensification of the productive faculty discussed under A. In addition, there is an exchange of value in the factors potentiality and actuality.

According to Plotinus, the first and only principle of all things (in the *Theology of Aristotle* = God) is raised above the logos of the Stoics (*kalima*, active force) and above the energeia of the Peripatetics (*fiʿl*). It is true that one can say of the νοῦς (*ʿaḳl*), the first created thing, it is λόγος καί ἐνέργεια of the First, but the First himself is from his nature δύναμις, i.e. power, all-power. With the uniqueness of the First (also called, as e.g. by Plato, the absolute good) only one quality, that of omnipotence, is compatible. All activity however, whether it is thinking or acting, presupposes multiplicity and effort, which cannot be ascribed to the absolutely simple Being. On this definition of the First as Dynamis, cf. Plato's utterance (*Soph.*, 247 E): "I define the being of the existing in this way, that it is nothing but a Dynamis".

Excluding the Muʿtazila, it may be said that this emphasis on the omnipotence in the being of the Unique (God) must have been much more natural to the Muslim theologians—although traditionally they deal with God's knowledge before his power—than the Aristotelian view that God is pure Energeia, which manifests itself only in thinking.

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(Tj. de Boer-[R. Arnaldez])

ḲUZAḤ [see ḳaws ḳuzaḥ].

KWANADI (self-designation—Kwantl hekua or Bagolal; Russian designation—Bagulall, but Kvanadinskiy yazlk for language), a people of the eastern Caucasus. Kwanadi forms, with Andi, Akhwakh, Botlikh, Čamalal, Godoberi, Ḳarata and Tindi, the Andi division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the Ibero-Caucasian languages. Their population was 3,054 according to the 1926 Soviet census.

The Kwanadi inhabit the auls of Khushtada, Kwanada (Tsumada region), Gimerso, Tisi, Tlibisho (Akhwakh region) south of the bend of the Andi Ḳoysu in the Dāghistān A.S.S.R. Living in isolated mountain valleys, the Kwanadi have maintained many patriarchal customs. The Kwanadi are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī school. Their traditional economy was based on sheep and goat herding and related activities, and on agriculture.

There are two dialects of Kwanadi, sc. Bagulal and Tlisi, both of which are purely vernacular. Avar and Russian serve as literary languages. The Kwanadi are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Avars, and they appear as Avar-speaking Avars in the 1959 and 1970 Soviet censuses (see also andi, avar, dāghistān, al-ḳabḳ).

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(R. Wixman)

KWAṬṬA, Quetta, a town and district of northern Balūčistān, now in Pakistan. In both the former British India and now in Pakistan, Quetta and Pīshīn, some 20 miles to its north, have formed an administrative district. The region is geologically complex and is very mountainous, with peaks rising up to nearly 12,000 feet/3,850 metres, and it is centred upon the basin of the Pīshīn-Lora river and its tributaries. The climate is temperate, with cold winters. Crops—wheat being the chief *rabīʿ* or spring crop and sorghum the chief *kharīf* or autumn one—can only be grown in the alluvial river bottoms, and then by irrigation; at present, there are about 300 *kārīzs* or *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], plus a reservoir and a canal, for this. The surrounding mountains furnish chromite and also coal (in the Sor range near Quetta and at Mač in the Bolān Pass area), whose exploitation now employs several thousand men, including Swati migrant labour and Pathan and Balūč nomads in the off-herding seasons.

In mediaeval Islamic times, the history of the Quetta-Pīshīn region was closely connected with that of Ḳandahār [*q.v.*], some 130 miles/210 km. to the north-west with which it is connected by an ancient route through Čaman just on the Pakistan side of the modern border with Afghānistān. The town of Quetta (whose name may stem from Pashto *kwata* "heap, hill", or from *kota* "room, fortress", ultimately from Hindi *kolhā*) was more commonly known till the 19th century, and is still known by the local people, as Shāl or Shālkot; Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1809 calls it "Shawl" (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*³, London 1839, ii, 225). In 884/1479 Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bayḳarā [*q.v.*], the Tīmūrid ruler of Harāt, awarded Shāl, Mustang and Sībī to Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg Arghun of Ḳandahār [see arghun]. These places passed after Dhu 'l-Nūn's death in 913/1507 to his progeny, and in 930/1524 Shāh Ḥusayn Beg b. Dhi 'l-Nūn acknowledged the Mughal Bābur's suzerainty. After a brief Ṣafawid occupation of 963-6/1556-9,

they were incorporated in the Mug͟hal empire. The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*[2], tr. H. S. Jarrett, ii, Calcutta 1949, states that the Quetta-Pīs͟hīn region supplied the Emperor Akbar with 2,500 cavalry and 2,500 infantry, plus grain, sheep and 38 *tūmāns* in money. After 1031/1622 it came under Ṣafawid control again, and S͟hāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] conferred S͟hāl, Mustang and Sībī on the Pathan chief S͟hīr K͟hān Tarīn. In the 18th century, the Quetta-Pīs͟hīn region was disputed by G͟hilzay Pathans and the Brahuis of Kalāt, but after 1112/1758-9, Aḥmad S͟hāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] left Naṣīr K͟hān of Kalāt as ruler in Quetta in return for a contingent of troops, at a time when the Afg͟hān ruler's position in India was being threatened by the Mahrāṭās. Henceforth, Quetta was controlled by the rulers of Kalāt, whose seat was the town of that same name 103 miles/182 km. to the south [see KILĀT]; Pīs͟hīn and S͟horarūd, however, remained in Afg͟hān hands till 1879 (see below).

The importance of Quetta in recent times has arisen from its commercial role as an emporium for trade between southern Afg͟hānistān and the lower Indus valley, but above all, from its strategic position. It lies at a point where a north-south route runs from Ḳandahār and the southern Afg͟hānistān frontier via Quetta and the Bolān Pass to Jacobabad and the Indus at S͟hikarpur in Sind, and where a transverse route comes from the middle Indus at Dēra G͟hāzī K͟hān [see DĒRADJĀT] and runs westwards through Quetta to the Persian border. These factors became especially operative in the 19th century after the annexation by Britain of Sind (1843) and the Pandjāb (1849). During the First Afg͟hān War (1839-42), when S͟hāh S͟hudjāʿ al-Mulk was placed on the throne in Kabūl [see AFG͟HĀNISTĀN, v. History], Quetta was occupied by British forces during these years; the town was used as a forward base for operations in the Ḳandahār region, and a political agent, Capt. Bean, installed there. It was, nevertheless, still only a small place, with a mud wall pierced by two gates and the governor's fort or *mīrī* on artificial mound; C. Masson in the late 1820s said that "Shāll" possessed "about 300 houses and a fair bazaar" (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, London 1842, i, 327-30); and W. Hough described it in 1839 as "a most miserable mud town, with a small castle on a mound, on which there was a small gun, on a rickety carriage" (*A narrative of the march and operations of the army of the Indus in the expedition into Afghanistan*, London 1840). Three decades later, A. W. Hughes still estimated its population at only *ca.* 4,000 (*The country of Balochistan, its geography, topography, ethnology and history*, London 1877, 67, 73-4).

After 1842, when Quetta reverted to the K͟hān of Kalāt's control, voices in the Government of India, such as that of General Sir John Jacob in 1856, urged its permanent occupation as a vital strategic point and also its being linked with Sind and Karāčī by railway (*The views and opinions of General John Jacob*, ed. L. Pelly, Bombay 1858, 349). It was, however, feared that such a distant place, as it then was, in the heart of the tribal area of northern Balūčistān, would be difficult to hold in times of crisis, and the proponents of "masterly inactivity" carried the day until the 1870s. Fears arising from the Russian advance against the Central Asian khanates and possible pressure on Afg͟hānistān led, however, to the adoption now of a "Forward policy", and in 1876 a decision was made to occupy Quetta. The Treaty of Jacobabad between the Viceroy Lord Lytton and the K͟hān of Kalāt renewed the right of Britain, already secured in 1854, to send troops into Kalāt territory in times of stress and made Kalāt into a protected native state. Quetta was occupied, and Major (later Sir) Robert Sandeman became the first Agent there to the Governor-General.

Quetta's military value was soon proved in the Second Afg͟hān War (1878-80), when troops were moved through the Bolān Pass and via Quetta into the Ḳandahār region. By the Treaty of Gandamak of 1879 with the Afg͟hān Amīr Yaʿḳūb b. S͟hīr ʿAlī, Sībī and Pīs͟hīn, with the land up to the K͟hʷādja ʿAmrān Mts., the so-called "assigned districts", were ceded to Britain, to form with Quetta in 1887 the nucleus of British Balūčistān; in 1883 Quetta was formally leased to the Government of India by the K͟hān of Kalāt in return for an annual payment of 25,000 rupees. It was at this time that the administrative District of Quetta and Pīs͟hīn was formed. After 1879 a broad-gauge railway was built from a point near Sukkur to Pīs͟hīn via the Harnai Pass, and Quetta now became linked with the North-West Railway system of India. Later, during the First World War, a lengthy branch (441 miles/830 km.) was constructed through British Balūčistān westwards to a railhead in Persian territory at Zāhidān.

Quetta town is situated in lat. 30°10' N. and long. 67°1' E., and lies at an altitude of 5,508 feet./1,770 metres at the northern end of the S͟hāl valley. Under British rule, it became a very important military centre, the headquarters of the 4th Division of the Western Command, and the seat of the Staff College. In 1896 it became a municipality. Quetta lies in an earthquake zone, and was severely hit by the earthquake of 1935, when tens of thousands of people died: buildings subsequently erected there have had to be earthquake-proof (see R. Jackson, *Thirty seconds at Quetta, the story of an earthquake*, London 1960). It now possesses a good amount of local industry, and in 1972 had an estimated population of 139,800 (swollen in summer-time by temporary residents), comprising the cantonment and the civil area. The population of Quetta itself is now somewhat mixed, though still largely Pathan. The surrounding areas are, to the north, overwhelmingly Pathan and Pas͟hto-speaking (Kākaṛs, Tarīns and Āčakzays); this Pas͟hto is close to that of Ḳandahār, i.e. of the southwestern group (for specimens of the Pas͟hto of Ḳandahār and Pīs͟hīn, see *Linguistic survey of India*, x, 105-12). To the south of the town, the Brahui area begins. Quetta accordingly straddles the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Pathans and Brahuis-Balūč.

In the present administrative organisation of Pakistan, Quetta is the centre of Quetta-Pīs͟hīn District, continuing the former British arrangement here (area 5,314 sq. miles/13,763 km.²), and also, since the re-organisation of 1955, when Balūčistān was merged into the single western unit of Pakistan, the centre of the Quetta Division, comprising the Districts of Quetta-Pīs͟hīn plus those of Zhob, Loralai and Sībī to the east, and Chagai to the west (area 53,115 sq. miles/137,567 km.²).

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L

LAʿAḲAT al-DAM "lickers of blood", the name given to a group of clans of Ḳuraysh̲. According to tradition, Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*] had allocated to the different subdivisions of Ḳuraysh̲ the quarters which they were to occupy in Mecca and had entrusted to the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār various local offices: administration of the *dār al-nadwa* and bearing the standard (*liwāʾ*), the furnishing of provisions (*rifāda*) and drink (*siḳāya*) to the pilgrims, and custodianship of the Kaʿba (*ḥid̲j̲āba* [see kaʿba]). However, the Banū ʿAbd Manāf thought themselves more worthy of these privileges, and Ḳuraysh̲ (with the exception of the B. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy and Muḥārib b. Fihr, who stayed neutral) split into two hostile factions.

The B. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, the Zuhra b. Kilāb, the Taym b. Murra and the al-Ḥārith b. Fihr joined the side of the B. ʿAbd Manāf, and the five clans swore to aid each other and not to abandon each other's cause *mā balla baḥrᵘⁿ ṣūfa*, i.e. till the end of time. In order to make binding the oath, a vessel full of perfume was brought into the Kaʿba, and the participants dipped their hands in it and then dried them on the walls of the shrine. Thus they became known as the Muṭayyabūn "perfumed ones".

In the opposing group, the B. ʿAbd al-Dār had the support of the B. Mak̲h̲zūm, the Sahm, the D̲j̲umaḥ and the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, and these five clans took the same oath and became known as the Aḥlāf "allies". The two sides were ready to come to blows when an appeal for reconciliation was made, and peace was kept by the ʿAbd al-Dār's conceding to the ʿAbd Manāf the *siḳāya* and the *rifāda*.

The composition of the respective two groups is given identically in the old sources, but the Aḥlāf are not always given, and Ibn Ḳutayba, for instance, speaks only of the Muṭayyabūn (*Maʿārif*, 604). Nevertheless, in his rescension of the *dīwān* of Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit (ed. W. Arafat, London 1971, ii, 260), Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb cites a passage of al-Kalbī which attributes also the name *laʿaḳat al-dam* to the Aḥlāf, and in his *Muḥabbar*, 166, this same author states that this group slaughtered a camel and plunged their hands into its blood; since one member of the B. ʿAdī licked this blood, the rest of the Ḳuraysh̲ present imitated him and were therefore called *laʿaḳat al-dam*. A parallel version is given by Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Beirut 1380/1960, i, 77), with the difference that we only have mention of a vessel containing blood and no reference to the sacrifice of a camel. The author of the *Ḳāmūs* (s.v. *l. ʿ. ḳ*) echoes this tradition and gives the name of *laʿaḳat al-dam* to the five clans mentioned above, giving the detail that in order to seal the oath they killed a camel and either licked its blood *or* dipped their hands into it; he does not however say anything about the circumstances surrounding this ceremony.

Now, for its part, the *Sīra* indeed sets forth the difference between the Muṭayyabūn and the Aḥlāf over the public duties in Mecca (i, 131-2), but does not mention here the name *laʿaḳat al-dam*, which it reserves (i, 196-7) for one of the two groups formed at the time of the dispute among Ḳuraysh̲ about the positioning of the Black Stone during the rebuilding of the Kaʿba. It relates that the B. ʿAbd al-Dār brought in a vessel filled with blood and dipped their hands in it, swearing, together with the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, to fight to the death; it was at this time that they became called *laʿaḳat al-dam*, but the *Sīra* does not say whether other clans joined with the ʿAbd al-Dār and the ʿAdī nor anything about the licking of fingers. In any case, it was a member of Mak̲h̲zūm who advised the two opposing sides to submit to the arbitration of the first person who entered the Kaʿba by the door of the Banū S̲h̲ayba, and as is well-known, this was the Prophet. We find exactly the same version as the *Sīra*'s one in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1138.

A little later, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, iii, 119-21 = §§ 968-70) enumerates the factions making up the Aḥlāf and Muṭayyabūn, but gives the name of *laʿaḳat al-dam* to the ten clans belonging, in his view, to the Ḳuraysh̲ al-Biṭāḥ and made up, apart from two exceptions, of the united body of the two factions involved.

It appears clearly from all the pieces of evidence mentioned here and agreeing about the Muṭayyabūn and Aḥlāf of Mecca, but disagreeing about the episode of the *laʿaḳat al-dam*, that we have such a vague tradition that one wonders whether the story of the hands dipped in blood and licked has not been invented in the interests of symmetry by traditionists anxious to find a parallel with the perfume of the Muṭayyabūn. It is furthermore the only attestation of a practice involving the taking in of a few drops of blood [see dam in Suppl.] which we possess, and the *LA* makes no allusion to it when it cites, in regard to the oath called *g̲h̲amūs* (s.v. *g̲h̲. m. s.*), the ashes, perfume and blood in which the oath-takers steeped their hands.

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(Ch. Pellat)

LAʿB [see laʿib].

LABĀB (from Pers. *lab-i āb* "riverside"), the irrigated region along the banks of Amū Daryā [*q.v.*] in its middle course. The name, though of Persian origin, became known apparently only in modern times, when this region became one of the main centres of the settlement of the Turkmens. The exact limits of the region have never been defined; it seems that it extended as far as Darg̲h̲ān (the southernmost town of K̲h̲ʷārazm [*q.v.*]) in the north and as far as Kālif [*q.v.*] in the south. In pre-Mongol times a narrow tract of cultivated land stretched along both the left and the right banks of the river, though on the left bank conditions for artificial irrigation were better; the uniformly cultivated tract began to the north of Āmul [*q.v.*].

In the post-Mongol period, the irrigation system fell into decay, and both banks of Amū Daryā were inhabited by nomads, except for several townships with their surroundings. After the middle of the 17th century, a number of Turkmen tribal groups began to migrate to Labāb from Western Turkmenia through Kh^wārazm, and in the 18th century the region was inhabited mainly by Turkmens who became sedentarised and built a network of irrigation canals. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Labāb belonged to the Khānate of Bukhārā and was administratively divided between two *wilāyats*, Čārdjūy (former Āmul) and Kerkī. In the 19th century, Labāb was the most densely populated region among all those inhabited by the Turkmens, and lack of irrigated lands brought about considerable emigration to Afghānistān and Eastern Bukhārā. The most numerous among various Turkmen groups of Labāb have been the tribes Salur [*q.v.*] to the north-west of Čārdjūy, Sakar to the south-east of Čārdjūy, and especially Ersarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] further to the south, up to Kālif. Besides them, there have been in Labāb almost 30 other tribal groups of Turkmens interspersed with each other and, in the vicinity of Čārdjūy, with Uzbeks. Now Labāb belongs to the Turkmen Soviet Republic of the U.S.S.R., forming the core of the *oblast'* (province) of Čardjūy.

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(Yu. Bregel)

LABBAI (Tamil *ilappai*, thought by Tamil *ʿulamāʾ* to derive from *labbayka*, the pilgrims' cry [see TALBIYA]), a community of Tamil-speaking Muslims residing in or originating from Tamilnadu State, South India. Labbai is a generic term incorporating four subdivisions, the Marakkayar, Kayalar, Rawther and Labbai. All four groups are Sunnīs, the first two predominantly of the Shāfiʿi school, while the latter two are Ḥanafīs. The Marakkayars and Kayalars predominate in the southern coastal regions of Tamilnadu, while Rawthers and Labbais reside in greater numbers in the state's north and its interior. Urbanisation has led to the geographic mixing of these communities, but in the countryside usually only one group lives in a particular location.

Each subdivision is associated with a distinctive tradition. The Marakkayars claim to be the descendents of Arab sea traders and have a reputation as dealers in gems and pearls and as smugglers. Kayalars are said to originate from Kayalpatinam, once an important port on the southern Coromandel coast. These two groups once published books and newspapers written in the Tamil language and using the Arabic script. The Rawthers claim a heritage as cavalrymen and horse-traders, while the subdivision of Labbais are said to be the descendents of Ḳurʾānic scholars. In Madurai District, Rawthers refer to the employees of their mosques as Labbais.

The four Labbai subdivisions are effectively endogamous, although they accept no ideology that would dictate this. On the contrary, they are adamantly egalitarian and do not accept any caste ranking of their groups, despite being surrounded by caste Hindus. The small amount of intergroup marriage that does occur in the cities substantiates this egalitarianism, since these marriages are considered socially acceptable.

The Labbais are more urban than rural, and consider mercantilism to be their occupational forte. In 1961 approximately 55% of the Muslim population of Tamilnadu was urban compared to 26.7% of the total state population. This latter figure is commensurate with a society based on an agricultural economy. The 55% figure is high and reflects the non-agricultural basis of the Muslims' livelihood. Throughout the state they are recognised as astute businessmen and traders. A few families have achieved wealth, but most operate petty businesses.

In search of a livelihood, Labbais have travelled over much of the Asian world, especially over South-east Asia. For centuries they were an important economic and political force in Malacca, and they are found in numbers in Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore. Prior to World War II, some had business in Japan. Wherever they go, they are primarily merchants.

Despite the Labbais' far-flung wanderings, India remains a homeland for them and ties are maintained with kinsmen in India. Often, overseas Labbais maintain households and families in India to which they periodically remit money and return home. It is clear that, despite their wanderings and attachment to Islam, they identify themselves as Tamilians.

The Labbais identify strongly with Tamil culture and society. For most of them, Tamil is the language both within and without the mosque. The Tamil-speaking Muslims are proud of their contributions to Tamil literature, the *sine qua non* of Tamil culture. The Labbais of the countryside dress in a fashion which is more similar to the Hindu mode than do most of their urban fellows. Their celebration of the ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Djīlānī *ʿUrs* commemorating the death of "Mohaiyadeen Abdul Kadar Andakai Jilani" is in many features similar to the Hindu cart festivals. Saint worship centred around this *ʿUrs* forms an important popular undercurrent to the strict orthodoxy of urban religious leaders. Many Labbais do not eat beef because they have been socialised to Hindu custom, but not to Hindu religious ideology.

In the northern part of Tamilnadu and in Madras City, the Labbais have undergone a process of Islamisation with a stress on Sunnī orthodoxy. Saint worship is frowned upon as *shirk* by religious leaders, and when it occurs is much less flamboyant than the gala events of the countryside and is accompanied by conscious attempts to avoid *shirk*. Labbai dress is distinctively Muslim, and many have acquired Urdu as a second language because they consider it the language of Indian Muslims and akin to Arabic, if only in script. Some mosques in this northern part of the state recognise the importance of the *Dār al-ʿUlūm* at Deoband as a centre of religious learning, and hire *ḥāfiẓ*s from there during Ramaḍān. The impulse towards Islamisation is part of a process of de-parochialisation. As Muslims have become urbanised, their desire to become

recognised as good Muslims as well as good Tamilians has increased.

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LABBAYKA [see TALBIYA].

LABĪBĪ, the pen-name of a Persian poet who lived at the end of the 4th/11th and the beginning of the 5th/12th century. His personal name as well as almost any other particulars of his life are unknown. The *Tardjumān al-balāgha* has preserved an elegy by Labībī on the death of Farrukhī [*q.v.*], which means that the former was probably still alive in 429/1037-8. A *ḳaṣīda* attributed to him by ʿAwfī is addressed to a *mamdūḥ* by the name of Abu 'l-Muẓaffar, who in that source is identified with a younger brother of the Ghaznavid Sultan Maḥmūd. But it is more likely that he was a member of the Āl-i Muḥtādj, the rulers of Čaghāniyān, who was also a patron of Farrukhī's poetry (see C. E. Bosworth, *The rulers of Chaghāniyān in early Islamic times*, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, xix [1981], 11-12). In the *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* (i, 445) the poem is in fact presented as a work of the latter, but it also occurs in manuscripts of the *Dīwān* of Manūčihrī and in the works of other poets. The attribution to Labībī was rejected by Rypka and Borecký, but is defended by most modern Iranian scholars. Apart from this poem, the remaining poetry of Labībī consists of fragments only, mostly single lines quoted in evidence by lexicographers. Some of these lines belonged to *mathnawī*-poems, the subject of which can no longer be ascertained.

Though his work fell into oblivion quite soon, Labībī must have been a poet of some distinction in his own age. Bayhaḳī, writing about 450/1058, appreciated him as an *ustād-i sukhan*; and so did Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān, who also styled him *sayyid al-shuʿarāʾ* and imitated one of his *ḳaṣīdas* (*Dīwān*, ed. R. Yāsimī, Tehran 1339/1960, 571). The many quotations contained in the *Lughat-i Furs* of Asadī prove that his poems were still circulating in the later part of the 5th/11th century.

Bibliography: The remnants of Labībī's poetry were collected and studied most comprehensively by J. Rypka and M. Borecký, in *ArO*, xiv (1943), 261-307; other collections were published by Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāḳī, in *Mihr*, viii (1331/1952), 310-2, 367-71, 650-3, *Labībī wa ashʿār-i ū*, Tehran 1332/1953, and *Gandj-i bāz yāfta*, i, Tehran 1334/1955, 1-34. See further: Rādūyānī, *Tarcumān al-balāġa*, ed. Ahmed Ateş, Istanbul 1949, 32 and *giriş*, 121 f.; Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1319/1940, i, 75; Kay-Kāwūs, *Ḳābūs-nāma*, ed. Ghulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufī, Tehran 1345/1966, 128, 365 f.; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 40 f., ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 276 f., 671 f.; Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, lith. Tehran 1295/1878, i, 494; M. T. Bahār, in *Āyanda*, iii (1306/1927), 151-7; idem, in *Āryānā*, iii (1324/1945), 518-22; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, i, Tehran 1342/1963[4], 547-50. (J. T. P. de Bruijn)

LABĪD b. RABĪʿA, Abū ʿAḳīl, Arab poet of the *mukhaḍram*. He belonged to the family of Banū Djaʿfar, a branch of the Kilāb, who belonged to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 93 and Register, ii, 374-5).

According to Ibn Saʿd, vi, 21, he died in 40/660-1 in the night on which Muʿāwiya arrived in al-Nukhayla to conclude peace with al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. Others, like Ibn Ḥadjar, iii, 657, whom Nöldeke (*Fünf Moʿallaqât*, ii, 51) thinks ought to be followed, give 41 A.H., others again 42. He is said to have reached an unusually great age (al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, ed. Goldziher, § 61). In fact, he makes several allusions to this in his poems. The date of his birth can only be approximately fixed. Even before 600 A.D. he seems to have attained a prominent position in his tribe by his command of language. As quite a young man, he is said to have accompanied a deputation from his tribe to the court of king Abū Ḳābūs Nuʿmān of al-Ḥīra (*ca.* 580-602), and when the latter was incited against the Banū ʿĀmir by his friend Abū Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-ʿAbsī (of the tribe to which Labīd's mother belonged), Labīd succeeded with a satirical *radjaz* poem (*Dīwān*, no. 33) in so ridiculing him to the king that he restored his favour to the Banū ʿĀmir. A verse from Nuʿmān's answer to his courtier, who sought to defend himself from the lampoon on him in this *radjaz* poem, became proverbial (cf. al-Mufaḍḍal, *al-Fākhir*, i, 41-2; al-ʿAskarī, *Amthāl*, on the margin of al-Maydānī, ii, 117, 7-18; al-Maydānī, ii, 33; *K. al-Aghānī*,[1] xv, 94 f.; [2]xvi, 22 f.; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *Khizānat al-adab*, ii, 79 ff., iv, 171 ff.). In his later poems Labīd also often prides himself on having helped his tribe by his eloquence. He remained loyal to his tribe even when a famous poet, and scorned the profession of a wandering singer, practised by his contemporary al-ʿAshā. But the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad threw him out of the usual groove. We do not know the exact date of his conversion to Islam. As early as Djumādā II of the year 8 Sept.-Oct. 629, the chiefs of the tribe of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, sc. ʿĀmir b. Ṭufayl and Arbad b. Ḳays, a stepbrother of Labīd, seem to have negotiated in Medina about the adhesion of their tribe to the new community, but without reaching any result (see Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 90 ff.). Both men are said to have soon afterwards come to an

untimely end, ʿĀmir from plague and Arbad from a lightning stroke; the latter story seems to find confirmation in Labīd's lament for him (*Dīwān*, no. 5). The accusation on the other hand that Arbad attempted to kill the Prophet is quite incredible. In the year 9/630-1, the tribe again sent a deputation to Medina which included the poet, and an agreement was reached. Labīd is said on this occasion to have become a Muslim. He later migrated to Kūfa, where he died. Of his family, only a daughter is mentioned who is said to have inherited his talent (see al-Maydānī, ii, 49, 13 ff.; al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*, i, 52, 7 ff.).

Labīd's poems were very highly esteemed by the Arabs. Al-Nābigha is said to have declared him the greatest poet among the Arabs or at least of his tribal group, the Hawāzin, on account of his *Muʿallaḳa*. He himself is said to have claimed third place after Imruʾ al-Ḳays and Ṭarafa. Al-Djumaḥī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Hell, 29-30) places him in the third class of pagan poets along with al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī, Abū Dhuʾayb and al-Shammākh. Labīd showed himself equally master of the *hidjāʾ*, the *marthiya* and the *ḳaṣīda*. One of his *ḳaṣīdas* was adopted into the collection of *Muʿallaḳāt* and is thought by Nöldeke (*Fünf Moʿallaqât*, ii, 51) to be one of the best specimens of Bedouin poetry. Labīd uses the traditional pictures from the animal world—wild asses and antelopes fleeing before the hunter and fighting with his dogs—as charmingly as the usual complacencies about drinking bouts. He seems, on the other hand, to have cultivated the *nasīb* only because it was traditional. He deals far less with the subject of woman's love than with the description of the *aṭlāl*, which he likes to compare with artistic calligraphy. He is also fond of recalling memories of places of his native district, the palmgroves and irrigation channels which continually move him to charming descriptions; indeed, in one such connection he gives the whole itinerary (*Dīwān*, no. 19, vv. 4 ff.) of a journey from central Arabia to the coast of the Persian Gulf (see von Kremer, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.* below, 12). As his almost contemporary Abū Dhuʾayb is fond of doing, in the *Muʿallaḳa*, v. 55 ff., he turns however once more to his beloved, and thus combines the *nasīb* with the main part of the *ḳaṣīda* into an organic whole; but for him this is simply a mode of transition to a new descriptive passage. His poetry is, however, distinguished from that of other poets of the pagan period by a certain religious feeling which seems to have been not exactly rare among his contemporaries, even before Muḥammad's mission. While Zuhayr, for example, still expresses his practical wisdom derived from the experience of a long life, in plain though impressive language, Labīd on such occasions always strikes a religious note. He certainly did not profess Christianity, nor can we see in him a representative of the so-called *ḥanīf*s of the *Sīra*, as von Kremer wished to do. In him, rather, we find the belief in Allāh as the guardian of morality finding particular expression, a belief already widely disseminated in Arabia. Such passages naturally invited the Muslim traditionists to increase them. Indeed, a later author went so far as to ascribe to him a verse by Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (fragment 18). But many passages of his *Dīwān* seem to owe their inspiration to the Ḳurʾān. The statement that he wrote no more poetry after his conversion to Islam is obviously an invention (see Ibn Saʿd, vi, 21, 4, repeated later; e.g. by al-Ghūzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, i, 52, below); it is contradicted by the simple fact that poems 21 and 53 of the *Dīwān* were only composed shortly before his death (*Aghānī*, xvi, 101). The description of Paradise (*Dīwān*, nos. 3, 4) is certainly inspired by the information in the Ḳurʾān, like the idea that precedes it, that a record is kept of the doings of men. Under the influence of Islam in nos. 39 and 41 (v. 11 of which, as Ibn Ḳutayba (*K. al-Shiʿr*, 153, 5) already points out, certainly must be written after his conversion, if it is not to be considered an interpolation), he replaces the *nasīb* by pious admonitions. Thus he creates a new artistic form, that of poetical paraenesis on the transitoriness of human life; besides the Ḳurʾān, he may of course have been influenced by the Christian preaching in the works of ʿAdī b. Zayd. He only follows older models in this connection when he combines admonition with the averting of blame from a woman in no. 14, as in Ṭarafa's *Muʿallaḳa*, vv. 56 ff., 63-5 (cf. Caskel, *Das Schicksal*, 9), where this is, however, only an episode in the *ḳaṣīda*.

Labīd's *Dīwān* was edited, according to the *Fihrist*, 158, by several of the greatest Arabic philologists, al-Sukkarī, Abū ʿĀmir al-Shaybānī, al-Aṣmaʿī, al-Ṭūsī and Ibn al-Sikkīt. Of these recensions, only half of that of al-Ṭūsī, together with a commentary, has survived in the manuscript of al-Khālidī (see below) from the year 589/1193. All other manuscripts are much later, e.g. those in Leiden and Strasbourg, and that in Cairo not yet utilised, which also contains the *Dīwān* of Abū Dhuʾayb, ed. by J. Hell.

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LABIN or Libn (coll.; singular *labina*, *libna*) designates in Arabic the unfired brick whose use in building dates back to the earliest antiquity; to speak only of the present domain of Islam, some traces have survived above-ground on the Iranian plateau, in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt, where this material was used in the Pharaonic period to build palaces and royal tombs as well as poor hovels; it is certain that it was also in use in the Arabian peninsula and North Africa. The hog-backed bricks of Mesopotamia appear to be no longer used, and the *labina* generally has a geometric, fairly regular shape, that of a parallel-sided rectangle, whose variable dimensions are at the largest those of a bond-stone and often have the ratio 4 × 2 × 1 (e.g. length 56 cm., width 28, thickness 14, or 42 × 21 × 10.5,

36 × 18 × 9, 32 × 16 × 8; but 45 × 35 × 5 in South Arabia). This unfired, rough and fairly economical brick is composed essentially of dampened, shaped clay, which is then turned into a wooden mould (*milban*) without a bottom or cover, packed tight and finally dried in the sun; the clay is fined down, depending on the region, with sand, gravel, chopped straw, and potsherds in fixed proportions to prevent its crumbling and cracking. Once taken out of the mould, the bricks are left for a while longer in the sun and sometimes stockpiled before being used in the construction of buildings which can reach a considerable height; this was notably the case of the ziggurats of Mesopotamia, and it is still that of the houses, several storeys high, which are built in South Arabia (the technique of manufacture and construction is explained by M. Bāfaqīh and J. Chelhod, *Notes préliminaires sur l'architecture de Shibām*, in *St. Isl.*, li [1980], 195-6). At Shibām, the foundations to a depth of 3 m. are of stone; however, the trench intended for them, usually wider than the wall, may only be filled up with beaten earth and ballast. In low houses and enclosures the walls are sometimes supported by wooden posts driven into the ground with regular spaces between them. The building can be strengthened, at least in its lower part, by means of two thicknesses of bricks placed alternately longwise and crosswise; the walls erected are generally thicker at the bottom than at the top, which, on the outside, gives the impression that they are leaning dangerously. Houses of unfired brick have the advantage of being warm in winter and cool in summer, and there are countries, such as Egypt, where *labin* is preferred to fired brick. But the large buildings form great masses of thick walls (as much as 10 m. in antiquity), pierced with a few narrow apertures.

This material is in current use, either because of its low cost, or because, in the region, clay is readily exploitable, and stone is rare, hard to extract or too heavy; but rainfall must not be very plentiful, for heavy rains cause severe deterioration of the walls to the point of making them disintegrate, even if they are lined with a coating of earth mixed with lime or plaster. The ancients took some supplementary precautions against erosion, by providing gutters, drains, reed beds, etc.

Unfired bricks are pointed with a mortar made of earth with an admixture of lime or ash (the use of bitumen, as in ziggurats, does not seem to be current). This mortar, like the coating mentioned above, is called *madar* (see *LA*, s.v.) in Classical Arabic, but this term (which one hesitates to connect with *materia*) seems clearly to be applied also to construction of earth and *labin*, to judge at least by the expression *ahl al-madar* which designates the sedentaries as opposed to *ahl al-wabar* "the people of the camel skin" = tents, i.e. the nomads, even allowing for the Arab taste for paronomasia; a fairly strong indication is supplied by the meaning of *madara* "a village built of *labin*". However, the ambiguity of the vocabulary does not always enable us to distinguish clay or mud from unfired brick, for Arabic texts give the impression that the same term was used for the different techniques; but it is probable that the Prophet's house in Medina was actually of unfired brick and that the *ahl al-madar* lived in dwellings of the same kind, while the expression is also applied, by extension, to some citizens living in stone houses.

Another difficulty arises from the uncertainty of the terminology. Although Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*, s.v.) classifies *ṭūb* as a synonym of *ādjurr* "fired brick" (see below) and this word still has this meaning in Egypt for example, it designates in the Muslim West a lump of earth or an unfired brick, and it is furthermore in this latter sense that it has been adopted and preserved in Spanish in the form *adobe*. But Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, Bk. i, Ch. v, 25) states that the *ṭawwāb* is the mason who builds a wall in clay. At first sight, this craft name appears to be derived directly from *ṭūb* with the meaning of "clay", but it is quite possible that a telescoping may have taken place with *ṭāb(i)ya* "clay, mud" which, on the other hand, comes from the Spanish *tapia* (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.). This borrowing leads us to think that the clay technique, well-known in antiquity, notably in Mesopotamia, was imported into the Maghrib from Spain. *Ṭābya*, which is still in use today in Algeria and Morocco, is used by Ibn Khaldūn, when he speaks (*loc. cit.*) of *binā' bi 'l-turāb*) and describes in detail the way a clay wall is built, according to a process which has not changed since then (cf. a description in Berber in E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 24). The masons, generally specialists belonging to particular tribes, use a frame made of two boards (*lawḥ*) of variable dimensions, but on average 150 to 180 cm. long by 80 wide, which they place face-to-face at a distance equal to the width of the wall under construction; the frame is held in place by cross-pieces and ropes and closed at both ends. The earth, prepared as for unfired brick, is mixed with lime, gravel etc. and carried in baskets; as soon as it is ready to be turned into the frame, it is beaten with a kind of rammer (*mirkaz*, pl. *marākiz*). The workmen generally arrange several frames so as to be able to carry out their work horizontally, then vertically with superimposed coats until the work is completed. Clay, which can form a really solid concrete, is used for the construction of all kinds of buildings, which can reach a great height and be very long-lasting. This is the case particularly with ramparts and military works; near Fās a bridge was built of very hard clay reinforced with fired bricks on top of the arches.

The kiln-fired brick is designated in Arabic by the collective *ādjurr*, but to judge by the multiplicity of forms which this term assumes (*ādjur*, *adjūr*, *yādjur*, *ādjirūn*, *udjurr*, etc.; noun of unity *ādjurra*, *adjurra*, etc.), all at any rate in the *LA*, it is clear that the Arabs did not possess either the term signifying or the object signified; nor is it known in what period there took place the borrowing from Persian *agūr* which Arab lexicographers freely recognise. It is a fact that fired brick, whose use is widespread throughout the Islamic world, was used particularly in Persia and the lands which fell directly under its influence. It will be recalled, for example, that the Muslims who founded Baṣra first demarcated the mosque by means of a reed enclosure, then built it in *labin* and rebuilt it in fired brick a few years later. All the same, a Roman and Byzantine influence was felt to an equal extent in the regions situated further west. The word which is used today with the meaning "tile", *ḳirmid*, is a sing. made from *ḳarāmid*, of which the *LA* asserts (√*ḳ.r.m.d.*) that it designates in Syria the fired bricks (*ādjurr*) of the baths and comes from the *rūmī* word *ḳirmīdāl* (*sic*; κεραμίς, ιδος "brick, tile", rather than κέραμος).

The kiln (*attūn*) is similar to that of the potters, and consists of a furnace with a firing-room on top of it. Of smaller dimensions than the *labin*, the fired brick is not nearly so thick (3 to 6 cm.). Buildings

in which it is exclusively used are rare (a characteristic example is the Mausoleum of the Sāmānids at Bukhārā, where the arrangement of the bricks is particularly stylistic); in fact, it is generally combined with other materials (e.g. the Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.v.*] consists of a wall of limestone, fired brick and unfired brick at the top); it is used for certain parts of the building (arches, vaults, staircases, etc.) and put to good use by architects to vary the decoration of their works. From the 6th/12th century, the glazed block has offered the possibility of obtaining similar effects to those of mosaic.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources cited, see the various works on Islamic architecture, the bibliography of the sections related to the monuments of the towns, countries and dynasties, and the articles ARCHITECTURE and BINĀʾ.

(CH. PELLAT)

LABLA, the name given by Arabic authors to NIEBLA, ancient Ilipla, which was the seat of a bishop in the Visigothic period and which is situated about 40 miles to the west of Seville in the right bank of the Rio Tinto (in the modern province of Huelva). Certain authors, notably Yāḳūt, also call it al-Ḥamrāʾ because of the reddish colour of its walls and of its environs. It was the main town of one of the *kūra*s of the Gharb al-Andalus [*q.v.*]; it must have been integrated within the great division of Ishbīliya [*q.v.*], and separated from it in the course of the administrative reorganisation. The *kūra* was bounded, at 40 miles to the west, by the plain of Ukshunūba; at 20 miles to the east, by the Aljarafe of Seville; at 50 miles to the north, by the *kūra* of Bādja [*q.v.*] (Beja); and at 6 miles to the south, by the Atlantic. According to al-ʿUdhrī, it contained eight districts (*aḳālīm*), including that of the town itself, and the total tax revenue in the time of al-Ḥakam I went as high as 15,627 *dīnārs*. The town's population included a certain number of Arab families, amongst whom the Yaḥṣubīs were dominant, some Berbers and the descendants of the Hispano-Romans and the Hispano-Visigoths, both Christian and Islamicised.

The soil of Labla favoured all sorts of agricultural exploitation, thanks to its fertility and to the waters which the three river sources of the Sierra d'Aracena brought down; one of these gave sweet drinking water, another contained alum and the third copper sulphate. The district produced cereals and a wide variety of fruits, with fig trees, numerous olive trees and vineyards which yielded high-quality raisins. Excellent safflower (*ʿuṣfūr, carthamus tinctarius*) was grown which, together with other dyestuffs like cochineal (*ḳirmiz*), was used for dying leather and skins. Bovines and horses were reared, and these, plus hunting and fishing, were sources of wealth. It was also a lively commercial centre.

Niebla still retains ancient remains and solid walls from its original foundation. There were dependent on the *madīna* towns and a fortress, notably for a certain period, Huelva (Awbābā, Ūnaba or Wānaba), Tejada (Ṭalyāta) and Gibraleón (Djabal al-ʿUyūn) on the Odiel.

According to Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, it was conquered in 93/712 by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr or, more feasibly, by his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in the next year. Niebla was the seat of a part of the *djund* of Ḥimṣ. In 149/766 there was the rising of Saʿīd al-Maṭarī al-Yaḥṣubī. In 240/844, after having occupied Ishbīliya for some days, the Northmen or Madjūs [*q.v.*] went on to Labla, sacked it and carried off the inhabitants. In 284/897 occurred another rising, whose suppression the *amīr* of Cordova entrusted to his son Abān. Between this date and 304/916 it must have risen yet again, for on 20 Ramaḍān 304/17 March 917 the *ḥādjib* Badr b. Aḥmad occupied it when it was in the power of a certain ʿUthmān b. Naṣr. At the fall of the caliphate, it became a *ṭāʾifa* principality, actually set up in 414/1023-4 when Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣubī, Tādj al-Dawla, rose up and was proclaimed ruler, this being recognised by the people of Gibraleón. His brother and successor (in 433/1041-2) had difficulties with al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville. For some time, al-Muẓaffar of Badajoz provided the ruler of Labla with help, but in the end the latter had to shelter under the protection of Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar [see DJAHWARIDS], with whom he sought refuge in 433/1052-3. Labla remained under the rule of his nephew, Fatḥ b. Khalaf b. Yaḥyā, Nāṣir al-Dawla, who made a treaty with al-Muʿtaḍid; but the latter ravaged his territories and in 445/1053-4 Fatḥ b. Khalaf had to flee to Cordova, where he died.

In the middle of the year 484/1091, Labla passed into the hands of the Almoravids. In *ca.* 538/1144, the doctrines of Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*] of Mértola caused a certain amount of anxiety. Being hostile to Almoravid power, Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Bitrūdjī defended the town against Ibn Ghāniya until the time when it submitted, in 540/1146, to the Almohad Barrāz al-Masūfī. Eight or nine years later, the latter rebelled, and Labla had to be taken in 549/1154 by Yaḥyā b. Yaghmūr, who conducted a great massacre of the populace. The Infante Don Sancho of Portugal and Portuguese troops passed by Labla in 574/1178 and 578/1182. Under Ibn Maḥfūẓ, it came to form, in the 7th/13th century, an independent principality comprising Huelva, Saltés and part of the Algarve, and recognised the suzerainty of Ferdinand II of Castile. It was besieged for several months by Alfonso X, and capitulated in 660/1262.

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(J. Bosch Vilá)

LACCADIVES, a group of coral islands in the south-eastern Arabian Sea lying off the Malabar Coast of India between lat. 8° and 12°30′ N., and between long. 71° and 74° E. Under British Indian rule these were formerly the Laccadive Minicoy and Amindivi Islands; but in 1956 the group was brought under a single administration to form the Indian Union Territory of Lakshadweep (Sanskrit: *Lakṣadvīpa* "the hundred thousand islands"). There are in all 27 islands and islets of which ten—Maliku, Kalpeni, Kavrathi, Androth, Agathi, Amini, Kadmat, Kiltan, Bitra and Chetlat—are inhabited. Maliku, which is separated from the rest of the group by the 114 mile-wide Nine Degree Channel and from the Maldive Islands [*q.v.*] by the 71 mile-wide Eight Degree Channel, is attached to Lakshadweep politically, but belongs ethnically and culturally to the Maldives. In this article it is considered separately from the "Laccadives Proper".

The Laccadives were originally settled (possibly as early as the 2nd century A.D., but certainly by the 1st/7th century) by Hindu groups (Nambudiri, Nayar and Tiyyar) from North Malabar. Little is known of the early history of the islands. They were conquered by the Chola Rādjās of South India in the 4th/10th century. By *ca.* 1500 they had passed under the rule of the Kólatirri Rādjās of Kólattunād (North Malabar), by whom they were given in *djāgīr* [*q.v.*] to the Āli Rādjās of Kannanūr [*q.v.*] in the mid-10th/16th century. The Āli Rādjās were the leading family of the Malabar Muslim community or Māppilas [*q.v.*], and under their rule the Laccadive Islands' coir trade became the monopoly of the Kannanūr Māppilas.

In 1786 the inhabitants of the northern (Amindivi) islands of Amini, Chetlat and Kiltan rose in protest against the coir monopoly and the harshness of Kannanūr rule. They appealed for protection to Tīpū Sulṭān of Mysore [*q.v.*], and as a result were transferred to his rule in 1787; they passed to the East India Company after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. The Southern (Laccadives) group remained under Kannanūr until they were finally sequestrated by the British in 1875 (though the Bībī of Kannanūr retained a nominal sovereignty until 1908). Both groups of islands remained under British rule until India attained independence in 1947. Today the capital of the Union Territory of Lakshadweep is Kavrathi Island, and the population (including Maliku) is 31,810 (*Census of India*, 1971, Series 29 (*Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands*, part ii/A, 5)).

The people of the Laccadives are linked ethnically and culturally with the Malayalam-speaking Dravidian people of Kerala, especially with the Māppilas of North Malabar. There has also been a sustained Arab—particularly Yemeni—influence on the islands which lie in the path of the direct sea route between Arabia, South India and the Far East; certainly the mediaeval Arab navigators were familiar with the Laccadives, which they knew as the *Djuzur al-fāl*, *Djuzur al-fālāt* or (collectively with the Maldives) as the *Dībadjāt* (G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, 458-60). As a result of this Arab influence, the islanders speak Malayalam with an admixture of Arabic, and write in the Arabic script.

The Laccadives were converted to Islam in *ca.* the 7th/13th century, according to legend by one ʿUbayd Allāh, an Arab castaway whose tomb on Androth island is particularly venerated. The islanders are overwhelmingly Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, but there are also followers of the Rifāʿī and Ḳādirī *ṭarīḳas*, and of the Wahhābī-oriented Mudjāhid movement (which is active in Kerala). The women do not observe *purdah* and may (as in the neighbouring Maldives) have their own mosques with a female *imām* (Ellis, *A short account of the Laccadive Islands and Minicoy*, Madras 1924, 66).

Unusually for an Islamic society, the Laccadives are predominantly matrilineal. The people follow the Malabar system of matrilineal descent (Malayalam: *Marumakkathāyam*). The community is organised in exogamous matrilineal groups known as *taravāds*. There is a duolocal residence pattern (i.e. after marriage the wife remains in her maternal home and is "visited" by her husband). Descent is traced through the mother, and family (*taravād*) property is passed on through the mother's line. The self-acquired property of the father is passed on according to the Islamic family law. Monogamy is usual, but divorce is common.

The Laccadive Islanders are divided into three caste-like endogamous groups, in hierarchical order the *Koyas* (the land-owners); the *Malmis* (from the Arabic *muʿallim*, traditionally the sailing class); and the *Melacheris* (the coconut workers—originally the agricultural serfs of the *Koyas*). Today both the traditional caste-structure and the *marumakkathāyam* system are breaking down under the impact of modernisation.

Maliku (corrupted by Europeans to Minicoy, perhaps from the Arabic *Milikai*), is an isolated island within the Maldivian cultural sphere which by the mid-10th/16th century had fallen under the control of the Āli Rādjās of Kannanūr. Maldivian political control has never been re-established. The inhabitants are Indo-European, speak the Maldivian language *Divēhi* (though it is known on Maliku as Māhl), and use the Maldivian script *Tāna*. Originally Theravada Buddhist, the islanders are today Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. They were probably converted in the mid-6th/12th century. Descent is patrilineal, but women occupy a respected and powerful position in society. They do not observe *purdah*, but sometimes wear a head-veil called the *burūga*. As in traditional Maldivian society the people are divided into four hierarchical, caste-like groups; see MALDIVES.

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(A. D. W. FORBES)

LADĀKH, a region of the extreme north of India. It lies between lat. 32° and 36° N and long. 75° and 80° E, and is bounded on the north and east by the Chinese territories of Sin-kiang and Tibet, on the south by the Indian province of Himačāl Pradesh, on the north-west by Baltistān, and on the west by Kashmīr, of which it now constitutes a province, covering an area of 30,220 sq. miles. Its capital is Leh.

Ladākh is known to the Tibetans as Mangyāl or Māryul. The population may be divided into four racial groups, Čampās, Ladākhīs, Baltīs and Dārds, of whom the first three are of Tibetan stock and the last Aryan. There is a small Muslim community, but the majority are Buddhist, whence the name Bhottas traditionally given to the inhabitants of Ladākh by their neighbours.

The indigenous chronicles furnish little more than a list of rulers with the merest sketch for each reign (see K. Marx, *Three documents relating to the history of Ladakh*, in *JASB*, lx [1891], 97-135; lxiii [1894], 94-107; lxxi [1902], 21-34), but from time to time references in external sources provide a valuable landmark. In the 8th century A.D., through the medium of Kashmīr, then vassal to the T'ang, Ladākh was briefly drawn into the Chinese sphere of influence, after which there is a long gap until around 1400, when Leh received an embassy from the great Tibetan reformer Tsong-kapa. At this time there were two main principalities in Ladākh, but in the mid-10th/16th century we find the country reaching its greatest extent and united under one ruler. Its size was temporarily reduced through subsequent wars with its neighbour ʿAlī Mīr [see BALTISTĀN], and late in the 11th/17th century it was invaded from Tibet by the Džungarian Mongols [see KALMUK]. This threat Ladākh withstood by calling in the aid of the Mughal Emperor, who made it a condition that the ruler should become a Muslim. His successors were again Buddhists, but from this time dates the penetration of the country by Islam.

In 1834 it was invaded by Zurāwar Singh, the general of Mahārādjā Gulāb Singh of Djammū, and was obliged to pay tribute. There ensued a series of risings and intrigues until 1841, when Ladākh seized its opportunity to revolt following the defeat of the Dōgrās in Tibet, but was soon crushed by a fresh army from Djammū. It was now definitively annexed to Djammū [*q.v.*], thus becoming in 1846 part of Kashmīr. For its subsequent history, see KASHMĪR..

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(P. JACKSON)

LĀDHIḲ, the name of several Anatolian towns, and the Turkish form, phonetically identical, of the name of Laodicea (Λαοδίκεια), which, since the imperial period often appears in inscriptions with the form Λαδίκεια, accented on the second syllable (cf. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*², Paris 1962, 283); Modern Turkish orthography Lâdik.

1. Lādhiḳ near Denizli, Laodicea of Lycos, or Laodicea of Phrygia. The ruins are located at a place called Eski Hisar, 8 km. to the north of the centre of Denizli, the acropolis standing on a hill which dominates the valley of the Lycos (Çürük Su), a left-bank affluent of the Great Meander. Captured for the first time by the Turks before 1119 (Cinnamus, Bonn ed., 5), this date saw the restoration of the town's defences by John Comnenus (Nicetas, *John Comnenus*, Bonn ed., iv, 17), but the town was abandoned before 1156, at which period its population was dispersed into the surrounding countryside (idem, *Manuel Comnenus*, iii, 163). It survived, however, for some time, following a shift in location, transferring to a more remote and more defensible site close to the foothills of the Baba Dağ (*in pede altissimi montis*, Ansbert, *Historia de expeditione Frederici imperatoris*, in *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* (*Scriptores*, v), Vienna 1863, 58), where the fortified strongholds perhaps survived until the end of the 13th century. But a parallel development was the growth in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turkish urban settlement of Denizli, where the first epigraphical datings go back to the second third of the 13th century. The latter had no direct connection with Laodicea, but nevertheless bore the name of Lādhiḳ concurrently with

its own. It is also found separately (for example in the work of Ibn Bībī who, writing in 679/1280-1, speaks exclusively of Lādhiḳ) until the 8th/14th century (in Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Browne, 444, 483, and on the coinage of the Īnandj Oghullarī and the Germiyān Oghullarī until the year 760/1360), then as the equivalent of the new name until the 12th/18th century, at least in the work of Western writers (Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*, tr. Armain, 620, in L. Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Histoire des découvertes...*, iii, Paris 1848: "Degnizli ou Lazakieh"), but this was nothing more than a scholastic tradition; the original text does not give the name of Lādhiḳ.

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2. Lādhiḳ near Konya, Laodicea Katakekaumene. Currently a large village, 35 km. to the north of Konya, in the *kaza* of Kadınhanı, *nahiye* of Sarayönü, on the road leading towards Afyon Karahisar and Eskişehir. The ancient name (Λαοδίκεια ἡ κατακεκαυμένη, Laodicea Combusta, which passed into the Islamic sources with the form Lādhiḳ Sūkhta, "the burnt L."), no doubt referred not, as is the opinion of J. A. Cramer (*A geographical and historical description of Asia Minor*, Oxford 1832, ii, 33), to the volcanic nature of the terrain (as in the case of Phrygia Katakemaumene), which here is primarily calcareous, but definitely to the existence of ancient mining or metallurgical workings. There is no need to retain the form "Yorgan Ladik" (from *yorgan*, quilted covering fixed to the upper bed-sheet), recorded by the Western travel literature of the 19th century (and the works which derive from it, *EI*¹, art. s.v.), starting with W. M. Leake, *Journal of a tour in Asia Minor*, London 1824, 43, and explained by the textile industry (coverings, carpets) which was active in the locality. What has happened, as has been shown by Besim Darkot (art. *Ladik* in *İA*), is a mis-reading of the form يوركان لاديق given in the *Djihān-nümā*, which should be interpreted as Yürükān Lādīḳ ("Lādīḳ of the Yürük or nomads", with Persian suffix). The form "Ladik-el-Tchaus", also given by Leake (*loc. cit.*) appears incomprehensible. The village, which Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ed. Zuhuri Danışman, iv, Istanbul 1970, 87) describes as having suffered ravages on the part of the Djelālīs [see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.], is cited by Kātib Čelebi as a small town which is nevertheless the administrative centre of a subsidiary district of Konya (tr. M. Norberg, Lund 1818, ii, 584-5), with numerous shops, and Leake (*loc. cit*) calls it "a large place". Decline must have set in in the 19th century (cf., for a comparison of the population in the 19th and 19th-20th centuries, the figures of W.-D. Hütteroth, *Ländliche Siedlungen im südlichen Inneranatolien in den letzen vierhundert Jahren*, Göttingen 1968). It had no more than 1,785 inhabitants in 1941 and had no administrative role of any kind.

3. Lādhiḳ near Amasya, a large village 40 km. north of Amasya, currently centre of a *kaza* (*ilçe*) subsidiary to the *vilayet* of Samsun. At an altitude of 950 metres, it stands on the edge of a plain, at the extremity of the Phazimonitis of antiquity, the base of which is occupied by a lake (formerly Lake Stiphanus, currently "Lake of Lâdik") 9 km. to the east of the town, reduced to a shallow swamp in summer but considerably augmented to the point of overflowing in spring, its waters, at this time, spreading, via the Terdekan Çay, into the Yeşil Irmak. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, who has left us a detailed description of the place (iv, 87-91), the urban area comprised, in the 11th/17th century, 3,020 houses and 400 shops. Its prosperity was owed in particular to the fact that Bāyezīd II, when he was governor of Amasya (known to be residence of hereditary Ottoman princes in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries; cf. P. Kappert, *Die Osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Istanbul 1976), chose it as a summer resort, spending six months of the year there, and embellishing it with numerous monuments and gardens. Important *waḳf*s were constituted there and the village, in the 17th century, still lived practically independently of provincial authority. Being off the main route, it declined when it lost its status as a princely residence. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, London 1842, saw only "a small and miserable place, but called a town because it possesses a royal mosque with two minarets". It had no more than about 1,500 inhabitants at the end of the 19th century, rising to a population of 5,054 in 1950.

4-5. Two other localities, in the same region, currently small villages of a few hundred inhabitants, also bear this name: Lādhiḳ near Çekerek, in the *nahiye* of Kadı-Şehri, *kaza* of Çekerek, 28 km. to the south of Zile, on the southern flank of the Deveci Dağ; and Lādhiḳ near Niksar, 20 km. to the west of this town, to the south of the valley of the Kelkit, on the northern slope of the Kemer Dağ.

All these three localities must correspond to ancient "Laodiceas". Only one is attested in the region: Pontic Laodicea (Λαοδίκεια Ποντικῆ), whose existence is, in addition, known only from the coinages of Mithridates Eupator. Although E. Honigmann, in *EI*¹, wanted to locate it at Lādhiḳ near Çekerek, it should almost certainly be sought at Lādhiḳ near Amasya, in accordance with the opinion of Ruge, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädia*, on the basis of the text of Strabo (xii, 560) which identifies near the lake a ruined fortress (Ikizari) and a royal place (cf. J. G. C. Anderson, *A journey of exploration in Pontus*, Brussels 1903 (*Studia Pontica*, i) 79-80).

6. Finally, "The Blind Lādhiḳ". (Kör Lādhiḳ) is known exclusively from the works of Ewliyā Čelebi (*loc. cit.*, 87), who mentions it as a *sandjaḳ* of the province of Van. This locality is cited in no other source, and it may be an error on the part of Ewliyā.

Bibliography: on the overall subject, see the article *Lâdik* by Besim Darkot, in *İA*, vii.

(X. DE PLANHOL)

AL-**LĀDHIḲIYYA** (European transcriptions: Lattaquié, Latakia), a major Syrian port, was known by the Greek name of Λαοδίκεια ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, and later by the Latin name of Laodicea ad Mare, whilst the Crusaders called it La Liche. In the second millenium, the settlement bore the name of Ramitha of the Phoenicians and was dependent, before taking its place, on Ugarit, a powerful metropolis lying 8 miles/12 km. to the north. It was in 327 B.C., or six years after the death of Alexander that Seleucus Nicator (301-281 B.C.) founded on this site

a city to which he gave the name of Laodicea in honour of his mother Laodice. At the end of the period of Seleucid domination it belonged to the Tetrapolis, a union linking the four most important cities of Syria: Antioch, Apamea, Laodicea and Seleucia, πόλεις ἀδελφαί—the "sister cities". It was for a long time to remain one of the major centres of Greek-Roman Syria.

Conquered by Pompey in 64 B.C., it suffered in the Roman civil wars. Sacked by Pescennius Niger at the end of the 2nd century, it was restored by Septimus Severus. In the 3rd and 4th centuries the city was dependent on Antioch.

The city is situated in lat. 35° 32′ N. and long. 35° 40′ E. and is built below a massive rocky promontory pointing towards the south, the Rās Ziyāra, which is surrounded by the sea on three sides with cliffs. It is principally linked to the dry land towards the east, two hills of 60 to 70 m. in height constituting the eastern limit of the ancient town. On the northern hill are two twin castles. The modern city has grown to the west of the mediaeval town. The urban area has been the victim of a number of severe earthquakes, of which the most recent took place in 1822.

The city plan. When Laodicea was founded, Seleucus laid down housing blocks of 112 m. by 57 m., following an orthogonal schema, as in other Seleucid foundations. To the original settlement the Romans added identical blocks. It is the remains of four avenues with lateral colonnades which have enabled Jean Sauvaget to reconstruct the ancient plan of the city and to discover in the present-day layout of Lādhiķiyya some elements of the Seleucid square design. The limits of the ancient city are defined by two large extramural cemeteries to the east and the north. Together with the port, the city covered an area of 220 ha. "The city of Laodicea has retained its straight streets. It is curious that this apparently quite modern design existed in the Middle Ages. It possibly dates back to antiquity, like some straight streets of Damascus and Jerusalem", observed Max van Berchem (*Voyage en Syrie*, i, 289).

Around Lādhiķiyya stretches a small fertile coastal plain (*sāhil*); it is bounded to the north by the Djabal al-Lukkām [*q.v.*], to the east by the Djabal Anṣāriyya, and enjoys a Mediterranean climate with strong prevailing winds from the west and south-west in January and March; rainfall varies from 750 to 1000 mm. annually, while temperatures reach their average minimum in January at 11° C. and their average maximum in July at 26°. To the north of the city, olive-trees flourish, while in the hinterland citrous fruits grow in abundance. In the Middle Ages, white and green marble were mined in the vicinity of the town and this material was exported to ʿIrāķ.

Mediaeval history. After the revolt of Antioch in 387 A.D., Laodicea returned to imperial favour and enjoyed prosperity in the Byzantine period. Justinian made it the capital of the province of Theodorias, recently founded (528). At the time of the Muslim expansion, the town was captured, after a siege, by troops under the command of ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit al-Anṣārī. The citadel was stormed. Those of the Christian inhabitants who had taken refuge at al-Busayṭ were permitted to return on payment of the *kharādj*; they retained their church while ʿUbāda built a mosque which was later enlarged.

In 100/719, supported by their fleet, the Byzantines attacked the coast of Lādhiķiyya, burnt the city and led the inhabitants away into captivity. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz organised the restoration of the buildings and the fortifications and ransomed the prisoners. After the death of the Umayyad caliph, his successor and cousin Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik completed the reconstruction of the city, improved its fortifications and reinforced the garrison.

In the golden age of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, Lādhiķiyya does not seem to have played a particularly distinctive role. In 357/968, Nicephorus Phocas appeared in northern Syria; two years later the city, which was the port of Apamea, was taken over from the Ḥamdanids and became Byzantine. According to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (d. 458/1066), the emperor Basil II appointed as governor of Lādhiķiyya in 980 a certain Karmarūk, who distinguished himself in an expedition against the Fāṭimid prov nce of Ṭarābulus [*q.v.*]. When the city was attacked by Nazzāl, governor of Ṭarābulus, Karmarūk was taken prisoner in the course of a sortie and later beheaded in Cairo. In 374/985, Lādhiķiyya belonged to the *djund* of Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*]. Ibn Buṭlān gave a description of the Byzantine city in 440/1049.

In 479/1086 it belonged to the Banū Munķidh [*q.v.*] of Shayzar, who then ceded it to the Saldjūķ sultan Malik Shāh. On 8 Ramaḍān 490/19 August 1097 a fleet of twenty-two ships from Cyprus penetrated the harbour and sacked the town. In 491/1098, Raymond de Saint-Gilles in the course of his journey to Jerusalem left a garrison at Lādhiķiyya and returned to establish his base there following the success of the First Crusade. In spring 1100, Raymond set out on the Anatolian crusade; returning to the coast in 1101, Raymond was obliged to renounce his claims to the city, then occupied by the Byzantines. Tancred took control of the city in 1103, after a siege lasting eighteen months, with the aid of a Genoese fleet of forty ships. Lādhiķiyya was integrated into the principality of Antioch and at that time was one of the most active ports of the eastern Mediterranean. This port, called by the Crusaders La Liche, used to export the commodities brought by the caravans from the Far East. For a number of years the city was the object of rivalry between the Franks and the Byzantines. In 1104, a fleet commanded by the admiral Cantacuzenus succeeded in forcing the Franks to capitulate. Tancred succeeded in forcing the Franks to capitulate. Tancred succeeded four years later, after Bohemond had promised it to Alexis Commenus, in recapturing Lādhiķiyya with the aid of the Pisans; the latter, like the Genoese before them, were granted an enclave in the city, as well as freedom of trade in the ports and markets of the Principality.

In 1134, the princess Alice donated a house to the Knights of the Order of the Hospital [see DĀWIYYA and ISBITĀRIYYA, in Suppl.], who made it their headquarters in Lādhiķiyya. In Radjab 530/April 1136, the *amīr* Sawār who governed Aleppo on the authority of Zankī, mounted a raid against Lādhiķiyya and devastated it. In 559/1164, Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], in his turn, invaded the region and attacked the port.

On 25 Djumādā I 584/22 July 1188, after a rigorous siege, Saladin captured Lādhiķiyya; the most beautiful city of the coast, according to ʿImād al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, was pillaged, and the marble façades of the houses were ripped off and carried away. The Ayyūbid prince appointed the *amīr* Sunķur al-Khilāṭī as governor of the city, which was given a strong Muslim garrison. This was the end of the Frankish occupation. In 1190, at the approach of Frederick Barbarossa, Saladin had the ports of the

Syrian coast dismantled. In October 1191 Bohemond III tried in vain to recapture Lādhiķiyya. He renewed the attempt in 1197, but al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī had given the order to make the port unusable; seeing the damage, the prince of Antioch withdrew and shortly after, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir of Aleppo restored the citadel.

Under the Ayyūbids, the district of Lādhiķiyya was part of the province of Aleppo. In 601/1204-5, the Franks of Tripoli and the Hospitallers attacked the town, which was also an embarkation base for expeditions against Cyprus. In 1207 the Venetians, the rivals of the Genoese, received from al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī a concession with a *funduķ*, a *ḥammām* and a church. At the end of 620/December 1223, an army sent from Aleppo, fearing it would be unable to resist the forces of the Fifth Crusade, destroyed the defences of Lādhiķiyya and dismantled the citadel. In 1261, taking advantage of the defeat of the Muslims at the hands of the Mongols of Hülegü, Bohemond VI took possession of the town with the support of the Hospitallers, to whom he awarded half of the city and of the surrounding area. The Genoese re-established themselves there at the expense of the Venetians. In 673/1275 there was an exchange of correspondence between Baybars [*q.v.*] and King Hugo III of Antioch-Lusignan on the subject of Lādhiķiyya. On 4 July 1275 the Franks obtained from the Mamlūk sultan the freedom of the city in return for an annual tribute of 20,000 *dīnārs*, and continued to exercise authority, but the town was in a state of constant decline to the benefit of Tripoli, Alexandretta and Payas, whither commerce was diverted following the fall of the Principality of Antioch. In 1287, a severe earthquake caused damage to the fortifications and a number of towers, including the Pigeon Tower, the Pier and the lighthouse collapsed; without delay, the sultan Ķalāwūn [*q.v.*] sent the *amīr* Turuntay, one of his lieutenants, to attack Lādhiķiyya. The siege machinery completed the destruction of the fortifications; to capture a massive tower built by Bohemond III in order to guard the entry to the harbour, Turuntay was obliged to enlarge the embankment linking it to dry land. On 5 Rabīʿ I 686/20 April 1287, the city fell, putting an end to the presence of the Franks in northern Syria. Lādhiķiyya soon become the centre of one of the *niyābas* of the new province of Ṭarābulus, its *nāʾib* being an *amīr* of ten with military responsibilities. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the city in 1355 he was impressed by its size and by the number of its inhabitants, as well as by its fine anchorage. But the city was not slow to decline. In 1366, arriving from Cyprus, Pierre de Lusignan attacked Lādhiķiyya, pillaged and razed it. In 1436, the sultan Barsbay [*q.v.*] expelled the Venetian merchants from the town, and in the middle of the 15th century it was less populated than Beirut and Tripoli, and much of it was in ruins. It exported cotton and luxury fabrics (*samīs*) as well as Arabian manna to Europe, and in 1494 was importing its sugar from Cyprus. Until 1516, Lādhiķiyya was apparently subject to the viceroys of Ḥamāt.

Ancient and mediaeval monuments. Arab historians and geographers mention a large number of ancient buildings in Lādhiķiyya. Ibn al-Athīr and Abū Shamā praise the "high and beautiful houses and the perfectly straight streets paved with slabs of marble". The baths, the amphitheatre, the hippodrome and the sanctuaries built by Septimus Severus existed at the start of the 5th/11th century only in the memory of the inhabitants. However, thirteen monolithic columns still mark the location of commercial streets covered in by porticos of the Roman period. A number of cisterns in use at the beginning of this century and the remains of an aqueduct to the east of the city bear witness to the ancient hydraulic system. The city's ramparts have finally disappeared as a result of earthquakes, innumerable sieges and successive demolitions. The anchorage was designed according to the relief plan which is unconnected with the external shape of the built surface. The gates of the city were situated at the ends of the main arteries, each one flanked by two crenellated towers, if we are to judge by the mural crown worn on Roman coinage by Tyche, the tutelary goddess of the city. There were two gates, that in the east which was the starting point of the road to Afāmiya [*q.v.*] and which proceeded by way of the pass between the hills dominating the town, and the north gate which stood at the end of the colonnaded avenue which passed by the foot of the citadel and continued beyond the walls as the road towards Antāķiya [*q.v.*]. Among the best-known towers are the Tower of the Pigeons that provided the postal service, and the Pier which, in the Middle Ages, protected the narrows of the harbour on the site of an ancient lighthouse, probably the new tower constructed by Bohemond in 666/1268. On the northern causeway, at the site of the modern lighthouse, the Fārūs marked the entry to the port. This was, judging by the evidence of numismatic iconography, a round or polygonal tower built on a base of two levels with a second smaller tower bearing a tall, draped statue at its summit. This monument existed in the reign of Domitian (1st century A.D.). The Fārūs gave its name to a famous convent, the Dayr Fārūs, which was held to be the most beautiful in Syria; situated outside the town according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, it was much visited by Christians and also attracted large number of Muslims.

At the perimeter of the ancient town there stands an important monumental arch, the Tetrapyle, with its four fully-rounded arches banded between four strong pillars. The east-west thoroughfare came to an end at this monument. At a distance of 500 m. from the Tetrapyle there remain four Corinthian columns of a peristyle—doubtless the remains of a temple dedicated to Bacchus which was converted into a church (*Kanīsat al-muʿallaķa*).

All the authors speak of two twin castles linked together and built on a hill overlooking the town to the north-east. Röhricht (in *ZDPV* x, 310) has prepared a list of the buildings that are known to us from the Frankish sources.

The Ottoman period. In the middle of the 16th century, the port of Lādhiķiyya was part of the *liwāʾ* of Djabala; cotton and olives were cultivated in the region; walnuts and mulberry trees were of high quality, while vine-growing retained its ancient reputation. In the first half of the 18th century, Lādhiķiyya was subject to Ṭarābulus, and was governed by Yāsīn Bey, son of Ibrāhīm Pasha al-ʿAẓm. In Rabīʿ I 1143/September 1730, there was a major uprising; the rebels were joined by the troops sent to rescue Yāsīn Bey, and when a few months later fresh troubles broke out, the ʿAẓms were removed from all their positions of authority in Syria.

The modern period. In 1914, Lādhiķiyya, with a population of 7,000, was nothing more than a small town belonging to the *vilāyet* of Beirut and administered, according to the Ottoman law of

1294/1877, by a municipality of which the president was chosen by the government in Istanbul from among the elected councillors.

In 1919, with the arrival of foreign troops, the opposition rallied behind the Shaykh Ṣāliḥ and incited insurrections against the French. On 31 August 1920, with the establishment of the French Mandate—confirmed by the League of Nations in 1922 and put into effect in 1923—Lādhiķiyya became the capital of the autonomous territory of the Alaouites, with a governor under the authority of the mandatory administration. In June 1922 this territory became the State of the Alaouites, composed of two *sandjaķs* : that of Lādhiķiyya and that of Ṭarṭūs. It received a French governor and was integrated into the federation of mandated states. In 1923, Sulaymān Murshid headed an anti-French movement with a religious flavour. In December 1924, General Weygand announced the secession of the State of the Alaouites, proclaiming its independence on 1 January 1925. In 1930, a fundamental law, published on 14 May by the High Commissioner, created a government of Lādhiķiyya. In 1936 this government was integrated into Syria, but benefited from a special administration under the authority of the Syrian government; France was authorised to station troops there for five years. In July 1939, Lādhiķiyya became the capital of the autonomous territory of the Alaouites, separate from Syria. On 20 June 1942, this territory was once more integrated into Syria. This integration was confirmed in 1946 with the proclamation of independence.

The port. At the present day, the port of Lādhiķiyya is the most important port of Syria. Originally, it was a bay open to the south-west, with no protection from the prevailing winds. The sea-bed is of inferior consistency, but the inlet is well protected from the south winds. Immediately behind rises a range of hills with fertile soil; "it is not the prosperity of the port that has created that of the town, but the reverse" observes Weulersse.

The ancient port was "perceptibly more low-lying on the ground than the present-day port". In 1934, Sauvaget noted a depression, which corresponded to the ancient docks, gradually covered over by shifting soil, whose outline marked those of the ancient port. The conquering Arabs found a port which had already lost its prominence. Its economic value remained; the battles fought by Byzantines, Muslims and Crusaders for possession of the town are proof of this. The Arab geographer al-Dimashķī (d. 727/1327) describes it as "a very beautiful port, one of the most spacious, always full of great ships".

The expulsion of the Franks led to a decline which lasted until the Capitulations. The port silted up. In the 18th century it could contain no more than four to six small boats. In the 19th century the haven was used only by small sailing boats; European ships anchored out at sea. Nevertheless, the port was very active, and around 1835 more than a hundred ships were visiting it annually. At the end of the 19th century, the volume of traffic using Lādhiķiyya placed this port behind Beirut and Tripoli, but well ahead of Sidon and ʿAkkā [*q.vv.*]. The annual traffic was 120 steamships (55 of them French) and 570 sail-boats.

With the establishment of the Mandate, Lādhiķiyya was roused from its lethargy. A restoration of the harbour was undertaken; the north and south moles were rebuilt, the depth of the inner harbour was increased from two to six metres, but these enlargements were still not sufficient for large ships, and merchandise and passengers continued to be disembarked at sea and brought ashore in lighters. In 1932, the scale of Syrian importing and exporting was such as to give rise to speculations that Lādhiķiyya might be able to regain its original prosperity, and a plan was formulated to double the size of the dock by building an outer harbour and to construct a solid embankment further to the west proceeding towards the north, thus creating a deep-water port and an easily-dredged inner harbour.

Lādhiķiyya lived "a life without glory and without future" until the day when, after the loss of the *sandjaķ* of Alexandretta in 1938, Syria had no other solution to the problem of its commerce than to provide the means of restoration to its sole remaining harbour on the Mediterranean coast. The first plan was prepared in 1944 and then a more extensive project was envisaged in 1948. Lādhiķiyya was at that time only a fishing port, with an annual turnover of 300 to 400 tons of fish. The construction of the modern port began in 1950; the following year, 24.6% of overseas trade passed through Lādhiķiyya. In 1953, the construction of a large jetty was begun and also a silo of 35,000 tons capacity. In 1955, it was realised that the original project no longer responded to the needs of a major port. In 1957 the first stage of the modernisation was completed. If the activity of the port was modest until 1958, it was already handling no less than 52% of overseas trade. The ten-year plan of 1958-68 foresaw important works of infrastructure; thus it was that by 1968 there was a breakwater 1423 m. in length, assuring the protection in all seasons of a dock of 44 ha. a principal quay 600 m. long by 9.50 m. high capable of accommodating five ships at once, a quay 250 m. long beside the old dock, the total length of the quays amounting to 1160 m., and with modern equipment permitting the rapid handling of merchandise. The construction of a railway and of the highway No. 3 leading to Aleppo and the valley of the Euphrates have given a strong impetus to the economic activity of the Lādhiķiyya, which has become the commercial outlet for Aleppo, northern Syria and the Djazīra. In 1967, 1,526 ships visited the port; they imported 1,294,000 tons and exported 331,000 tons of such Syrian products as tobacco, cotton, silk, fruit and eggs. The activity of the port is supplemented by industry represented by asphalt factories, soap factories, cotton processing works, flour-mills. The population of Lādhiķiyya has expanded remarkably: in 1914, 7,000; in 1931, 20,000; in 1940, 30,000; in 1960, 68,000; and in 1970, 126,000.

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LADJĀʾ (literally "refuge") is the largest, geologically-recent lava-field in the south of Syria, comprising a plain of *ca.* 900 square km. It has roughly the form of a triangle, the base of which is formed in the south by the line Izraʿ-Shahba (*ca.* 45 km.) and the apex of which lies *ca.* 48 km. to the north near Burrāķ (*ca.* 50 km. south-east of Damascus). In the north, the area is limited by the Wādī al-ʿAdjam, in the east by the Arḍ al-Bathaniyya [see al-bathaniyya], in the south-east by the Djabal al-Durūz, in the south by the Nuķra of Ḥawrān [*q.v.*], in the south-west by Djawlān [*q.v.*] and in the north-west by Djaydur.

Volcanic cones, some more than 1,000 m. high (the highest, 1,159 m., lies west of Shahba), tower up from the volcanic fields, which lie at an average of 600-700 metres above sea level. The fringes of the area are inhabited, as are also a few favoured places in the interior where agriculture is made possible by depressions which are free of stones and which have a diameter of several hundreds of metres. These depressions, called *ķāʿ*, probably originated from volcanic eruptions of gas. Since springs and underground water are now failing, water is supplied by cisterns (R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 371-81; E. Wirth, *Syrien*, Darmstadt 1971, 419 ff.).

The area has borne its contemporary name since the Middle Ages (Yāķūt, iv, 350). In antiquity, it was known under the name of Trachonitis (indicating also the *Tulūl al-Ṣafā* which lie further eastward) (Josephus, *Ant.* xv, 10,1; Ptolemy, v, 15, 26; Strabo, xvi, 2,16 and 20). During the second and first millennia B.C., Trachonitis, itself without any political and economic significance, was under the influence of the Hebrews in the south and the Aramaeans of Damascus in the north. In the second century B.C., Trachonitis was annexed to the empire of the Seleucids and formed the frontier between the spheres of influence of the two Arab peoples, the Nabataeans in the south and the Ituraeans in the north-west. When in 24 B.C. the region was put by the Romans under the command of Herod, it was inhabited by a rapacious nomadic people without agriculture, who infested both the trade route to Damascus and the Jewish pilgrimage route from Babylonia to Jerusalem. In order to check the Trachonites, who were living with their cattle in the volcanic caves and depressions of the region (Josephus, *Ant.*, xv, 10,1), the town of Bathyra was founded during Herod's reign (its site is disputed, but was probably in the neighbourhood of Ṣanamayn, see Dussaud, *Topographie*, 331). Trachonites and the neighbouring regions obtained freedom from taxation and were soon sedentarised.

Between the 1st century B.C. and the 4th century A.D., numerous settlements and towns with theatres, colonnades and several temples were founded, like Philippopolis (Shahba) and Shāʿara (the classical name of which is unknown). A road, traversing the Ladjāʾ from north-west to south-east, was connected with the Roman road system in Syria. Inscriptions and ruins from the Roman period are found in nearly 20 sites (for the antiquities, see H. C. Butler *et alii*, *Syria. Publ. of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Expedition to Syria in 1904-5*. Division i, Leiden 1930, 95 ff.; Division ii, Section A, Part 7: *The Ledjâ*, Leiden 1907-19).

The post-Roman pattern of settlement in the Ladjāʾ resembles that of other regions in Syria which are equally disfavoured by nature. Under the Byzantines (4th-7th century A.D.), the density of settlement reached a height that can only be compared with that of most recent times. In nearly 30 sites, Byzantine remains have been preserved, among which is the famous bilingual inscription in Greek and Arabic at Ḥarrān in the south of the Ladjāʾ (*RCEA*, i, no. 3). Not far from Ḥarrān, in Busr al-Ḥarīrī (Bosor in ancient times) and Izraʿ (Andrea Zorava, with the still undamaged St. George's church from 515), lie the most impressive Byzantine ruins of the region. Both sites are also mentioned by the Arab geographers of the 7th/13th century. According to Yāķūt (ii, 921), Izraʿ (= Zurrā or Zurʿ) belonged to Ḥawrān (also in the later Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 254). Busr (= Busr al-Ḥarīrī), where the tomb of al-Yasaʿ or Ilyasaʿ was revered (Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, 16; Yāķūt, i, 621), seems to have been the more important site at the time. The fact that the Ladjāʿ is mentioned only by the later Arab geographers points to a re-settlement in the area at that period. As in other volcanic regions of Syria, repopulation was caused by the pressure produced by the Mongols on the population to the east of Syria. There is no doubt that the greater part of the Islamic ruins, proved to exist in 13 sites of the area, date from the 13th century.

We do not have accurate information on the period when settlement started to decline after the Middle Ages. With the exception of a few Christian settlements on the borders, the region seems to have been depopulated by the 17th century at the latest. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Druzes immigrated from Lebanon into the eastern and southern parts of the Ladjāʾ, and in the 19th century Bedouins settled in the north and the west. As in pre-Roman times, the Ladjāʾ was considered to be a hiding place for rebels and marauders during extensive periods of Ottoman rule. Notwithstanding the garrisons established on the border of the Ladjāʾ, the Ottomans were not able to bring it under control. Only the French mandatory power succeeded in doing this by sending over low-flying aircraft. At present, the Ladjāʾ is inhabited by peasants who are Muslim, Druzes and Christians (the latter mostly Greek Catholics).

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(H. Gaube)

LADJDJŪN, a small town in the Esdraelon plain in the vicinity of ancient Megiddo, in the north of Palestine, at lat. 32° 34′ N. and long. 35° 21′ E. It was the seat of the sixth Roman legion, on account of which it came to be known as Legio, and Ladjdjūn is the Arabic adaptation of the Roman name. The town, which is 175 m. above sea level, is referred to by early Arab geographers as part of Djund al-Urdunn bordering on the Djund of Palestine. The Islamic geographers emphasise its location on the highway between Damascus and Egypt, and it was also well-connected by roads to other parts of northern Palestine.

When the Mamlūks, after the expulsion of the Frankish Crusaders from Bilād al-Shām (Greater Syria), reorganised the country into a number of *mamlakas* or provinces, the old Djund al-Urdunn was incorporated into the new province of Ṣafad. Al-Ladjdjūn and Djīnīn constituted the seventh *ʿamal* or district in this province. Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, better known as al-ʿUthmānī (d. 780/1379), states that Ladjdjūn's inhabitants and those of the Esdraelon plain belonged to the Yamanī faction [see KAYS ʿAYLĀN. Ḳays and Yaman in the Ottoman period] and are most likely the descendants of the B. Djudhām [*q.v.*] mentioned in earlier sources as living in that neighbourhood. During the late Mamlūk period and during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, an indigenous Bedouin clan by the name of the Āl Ṭarabay, sometimes called Āl Ḥāritha, emerged in that area. The Mamlūks, as well as the Ottomans, entrusted this family with administrative and fiscal duties.

Ladjdjūn owed its prominence to its excellent location in a fertile plain with abundant water supply, to the influence of the Āl Ṭarabay and to the sanctity of a shrine, attributed to Abraham, which attracted pious people and on the site of which a domed building was constructed. It was also important because the Mamlūk sultans and senior officials travelling through the region used to rest there, since the sultan had his own *maṣṭaba* (an elevated piece of land for pitching his pavilion) there. Furthermore, it had its own *khān* [*q.v.*] or caravansaray to accomodate travellers and merchants, referred to by Ewliyā Čelebi.

In 945/1538 the town of Ladjdjūn, mentioned as a *ḳarya* or village in a *tapu defter*, had a population of 23 Muslim households. One-fourth of its revenue amounted to 4,670 *aḳčes* and formed part of the *iḳṭāʿ* of Ṭarabay. From the list of revenues, it appears that wheat, barley and sesame were grown there, and it had its own two-stone water mill paying a tax of 1,000 *aḳčes*. The protection-money tax (*bādj ghifārah*) yielded 30,000 *aḳčes*, collected annually at the above-mentioned *khān*. As late as 1696, when the English traveller Henry Maundrell was passing on his way from Aleppo to Jerusalem, he paid a local Bedouin chieftain "two caphars, one of Legune, one of Jenin".

In the second half of the 10th/16th century, a new *sandjaḳ* consisting of four *nāḥiyas*, that of Ladjdjūn, was set up in northern Palestine, where the village of Ladjdjūn formed part of the *Khāṣṣ-i Pādishāh*. The number of its inhabitants had now risen to 41 Muslim households and one-fourth of its revenue amounted to 15,500 *aḳčes* yearly. The extant imperial *firmāns* addressed to the various officials in both the *sandjaḳ* itself or in the Province of Damascus, exhibit the sultan's interest in maintaining law and order and in restoring fortifications in the area.

The decline of Ladjdjūn is associated with the eclipse of the Āl Ṭarabay in 1677, and the rising importance of the Syrian coastlands, following the creation of the new province of Sidon in 1660 and the benefits arising there from the growing trade with Europe. This fact was recognised by the Bedouin clan of the Āl Zaydānī, who replaced the Āl Ṭarabay and made Acre their principal town. Ladjdjūn remained a centre of the *sandjaḳ* and had its own *mutaṣarrif* (provincial governor), but nevertheless it continued to lose importance to the coastal villages of Ḥayfā and Acre. In 1940, the village had 1,103 souls; nine years later, after the establishment of the state of Israel, a Jewish settlement was established in its environs reviving the old name of Megiddo.

Ladjdjūn is further the name of a place to the east of modern al-Karak [*q.v.*] in Trans-Jordan, described by several geographers as a halting-place on the route to Mecca.

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(M. A. BAKHIT)

LĀDJĪN (LĀČĪN), AL-MALIK AL-MANṢŪR ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN, alias SHUḲAYR or AL-ASHḲAR, Turkish Mamlūk sultan. Originally a *mamlūk* of al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aybak, Lādjīn was purchased after his master's deposition in 658/1259 by the future sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], on whose accession he was raised to the amirate, and sent to Damascus as governor of the citadel (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 678/April 1280). His appointment alarmed the provincial governor, Sunḳur al-Ashḳar, who proclaimed himself sultan. The revolt was suppressed by an expeditionary force from Egypt, and in Rabīʿ I 679/July 1280 Lādjīn was appointed governor of the province. His successful tenure of this office throughout the

remainder of Ḳalāwūn's reign made him one of the most powerful magnates in the realm at the accession of al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl in 689/1290, and the two regarded each other with mistrust. Lādjīn headed the Damascus contingent at the siege of Acre, during which he was arrested and sent to Ṣafad (Djumādā I 690/May 1291). He was restored to favour, but in Shawwāl 691/September 1292 he fled, fearing arrest, was captured by Arabs, and sent a prisoner to Cairo. Again released, he conspired with the vicegerent (*nā'ib al-salṭana*) Baydarā al-Manṣūrī and other malcontent *amīrs* against the sultan, who was murdered during a hunting expedition (Muḥarram 693/December 1293). The conspirators failed, however, in their further aim of placing Baydarā on the throne; he was killed, and Lādjīn absconded. Khalīl's infant brother, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, was installed as sultan with the vicegerent Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī as *de facto* ruler. In Ramaḍān/August, Lādjīn emerged from hiding. Under his inspiration, Kutbughā usurped the sultanate (Muḥarram 694/December 1294), and Lādjīn himself was invested as vicegerent. Kutbughā's short reign was marked by dearth and famine in Egypt, and by the settlement in Palestine of numerous Oirat warriors with their families, fugitives from the Īlkhān Ghāzān after his overthrow of Baydū [*q.vv.*]. Since Kitbughā was himself a Mongol, the Turkish and Circassian *amīrs* may have seen this immigration as a threat to their ascendancy. A faction headed by Lādjīn deposed Kitbughā and installed Lādjīn as sultan in Muḥarram 696/November 1296.

Recurrent crises of the Mamlūk sultanate arose from the inveterate hostility between the *mamlūks* of the reigning sultan and those of his predecessor, whom the new ruler invariably sought to displace in order to reward his own household and to secure his own position. In an attempt to safeguard themselves, Lādjīn's fellow-conspirators made an accession compact with him by which he undertook to renounce the absolute discretion, the essence of the royal autocracy, and not to give his own *mamlūks* power over them. The absence of institutional sanctions for this compact soon rendered it null. In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 696/September 1297, the sultan removed his fellow-conspirator, Ḳarā Sunḳur al-Manṣūrī, from the vicegerency, which he bestowed on his own *mamlūk*, Mankūtamur. The tactless exercise of plenary powers by the new vicegerent antagonised the *amīrs*, who had still more reason to be alarmed by the sultan's fiscal reforms. A cadastral survey and redistribution of *iḳṭā'*s in Egypt (*al-rawk al-Ḥusāmī*) was carried out in Djumādā I-Radjab 697/March-April 1298, the first measure of this kind since Saladin's time (572/1176). The sultan retained the previous categories of beneficiaries, i.e. the privy purse (*al-khāṣṣ*), the *amīrs* and the *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*], but whereas the allocation to the privy purse was unchanged, the other two categories were combined and given a smaller total assignment. The sultan was thus left with a surplus, free of the charges on the privy purse, on which he could maintain a new military force—an obvious threat to the power of the *amīrs*. In the following months their resentment led to a conspiracy, and on the night of 11 Rabī' II 698/eve of 16 January 1299 Lādjīn was murdered and Mankūtamur put to death. After some days of uncertainty, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was restored as titular sultan.

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(P. M. Holt)

LAGHOUAT (al-Aghwāṭ), Algerian town and oasis, administrative centre of a *wilāya* (district), 420 km. to the south of Algiers (long. 0° 30′ E. [Paris], lat. 33° 48′ N. Altitude: 787 m.). It was formerly the administrative centre of one of the four "Territories of the South" forming the region of Algeria administered under martial law, until the reform instituted by the law of 20 September 1947 (*Statut de l'Algérie*). On account of its geographical position, dominating the defence of the Sahara, as well as memories connected with the dramatic story of its conquest by the French (1844-52), not to mention its attractions as a centre of tourism, Laghouat has been the subject of numerous studies (see *Bibl.*). On the other hand, the town occupies a position of eminence in the cultural and religious history of contemporary Algeria, especially as one of the very first focal points of orthodox reformism of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*].

Population. Because of its isolated location, on the fringes of the desert, far removed from the main areas of economic activity in the north, Laghouat has for a long time lived the uneventful life of a self-contained oasis. Its small-scale economy was limited to the cultivation of palm-trees, supplemented by local craftsmanship (weaving of wool) and sheep-rearing, according to long-standing practices of association between Laghouatis and Bedouin of neighbouring tribes (Larbā' and Mkhālīf). In this phase of economic stagnation, the population only grew at a very slow rate: from 7,000 in 1928, to 11,999 in 1954, a rate of increase lower than that of the remainder of the Muslim population of Algeria. With independence (1962), and in spite of the departure of the Europeans (who numbered about a thousand) and of the Jewish community (about 600), the population of the town underwent a spectacular increase, this being due to the economic influx engendered by the hydrocarbon industry (particularly prospecting and exploitation of natural gas deposits in the area of Hasi Rmel, and heavy road traffic towards the oil-fields of the far south).

Location. The town and the oasis are situated on the right bank of the Wādī Mzi, which descends from the Djabal 'Amūr and is absorbed into the Shaṭṭ Malkhīr, in the Constantinian south. The oldest sectors are set out on the two slopes of two rocky outcrops, foothills of the Djabal Tizgrārīn. The new town has developed to the north-west of these hills, and is steadily encroaching on the area of palm-plantations. The oasis itself extends in a semi-circle to the north-west and south-east of the town. The palms (about forty thousand trees) produce several excellent varieties of dates (but not the famous *daglat nūr*) and constitute one of the main pillars of the local economy. Through its position on the central north-south (Algiers-Sahara) axis, which has become a vital artery for independent Algeria, and its location between the Oranian south and the Constantinian south, at the point of divergence of routes leading, to the west towards the territory of the Awlād Sīdī 'l-Shikh, to the east towards the

Zībān and the Biskra, to the south towards the Mzāb (Ibāḍī territory), then towards the oilfields (Ḥāsī Mas'ūd) on the one hand, and towards the main highway for penetration of the African continent, the "Trans-Sahara", on the other, Laghouat is at the centre of a considerable network of communications.

History. In the 4th/10th century, there already existed on the banks of the Wādī Mzi a locality whose inhabitants, after acknowledging the authority of the Fāṭimids, took part in the revolt of Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī [*q.v.*]. The neighbouring region was overrun by Berber tribes belonging to the family of the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Algiers 1851, i, 64, Beirut 1956-9, vii, 96; Baron Mc G. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères...*, iii, 273). The Hilālian invasion brought into the region other tribes of the same race, notably the Ksel, fugitives from the Zāb, who founded a village called Ben Būṭa (the *nisba* "al-Būṭī" is still in use in Laghouat). Several other *ksour* (Bu Mendala, Nadjal, Sīdī Mīmūn, Badla, Ḳaṣbat Ftūḥ) were built by other emigrés, some of Arab origin (Dwāwda, Awlād Bū Zayyān), others from the Mzāb. This collection of urban centres was known by the name *Laghwāṭ/Laḳwāṭ*, the latter orthography being the only one which corresponds in reality to the current pronunciation in the Laghouati dialect. The modern form al-Aghwāṭ indicates a concern for conformity with the paradigms of Classical Arabic (cf. the model *afʿāl*). Now the classical form *ghawṭ/ghāṭ*, plur. *aghwāṭ*, is totally foreign to the linguistic usage of Laghouat and its surrounding neighbourhood. In spite of the feeling of Arabism which is a feature of the collective consciousness, there is still evidence of an ancient Berber stock, in various forms: personal names: numerous patronyms cited by Ibn Khaldūn (cf. above) are still borne in Laghouat and its surroundings; toponymy: place-names of Berber consonance in the Laghouat region are too numerous to be mentioned (see the detailed maps); agricultural sphere: the technical vocabulary of palm cultivation includes terms of Berber pedigree, particularly to denote fine varieties of dates (*timdjuhret, tizzawet, taddalet*, etc.); social sphere: the *twiza* (Berber *thiwizi*) has for a long time been a form of ritualised collective mutual aid (domestic tasks, weaving of wool, seasonal work in the oasis or the fields); and folklore: the old antagonism between sedentary Berbers and Arab tribesmen is still expressed in the form of a satirical folklore which perpetuates a more or less caricature image of "Arabs" (meaning Bedouin).

Little is known of the social and political history of Laghouat until the 18th century. At the end of the 16th century, it paid tribute to the king of Morocco. In 1666, the *ksour* of Badla and Ḳaṣbat Ftūḥ were abandoned. In 1698, a holy man, a native of Tlemcen, Sīdī 'l-Ḥādjdj, took up residence in Ben Būṭa and sought to reconcile the rival factions. His moral authority extended to the people of three other *ksour* as well as to the neighbouring tribe of the Larbāʿ. Under his leadership, the people of Laghouat defeated the inhabitants of the *ksar* al-ʿAssafiyya, but found themselves obliged to pay tribute to the sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1672-1727 [*q.v.*]), who came and camped under the walls of the town in 1708. After the death of al-Ḥādjdj, the patron of the town (1151/1738), the history of Laghouat was reduced to that of confrontations between two parties who competed for political and religious superiority: the Awlād Serḳīn, inhabitants of the south-west quarter, allied to the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] and the Aḥlāf, the majority of them affiliated to the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. In the course of these internecine struggles which periodically brought bloodshed to the oasis, the Turks succeeded in having their supremacy recognised. From 1727, the Bey of Tīṭrī had, in effect, imposed an annual rent on the people of the *ksour*. On the other hand, the Mzābīs, expelled from the oasis where they had acquired a share of the plantations, formed a confederation with the nomads of the south, over which the Laghouatis triumphed thanks to the support of the Larbāʿ (1752). This memorable episode seems to have put an end to a prolonged religious war, through the definitive elimination of Ibāḍiyya from an oasis whole-heartedly attached to Mālikī orthodoxy, over and above its ancestral discords. Towards the end of the 18th century, the Turks made an effort to re-assert their supremacy, from which the Laghouatis had been gradually freeing themselves. Military expeditions were undertaken for the annual collection of taxes, with varying degrees of success, by the Bey of Medea, then by the Bey of Oran (1784 to 1802). In turns, the Aḥlāf and the Awlād Serḳīn were the object of favours or reprisals on the part of the Beys.

The two parties were not slow to re-align themselves with their respective allies, and the confrontations resumed with even greater severity, until the day when the chieftain of the Aḥlāf, Aḥmad b. Sālim, having allied himself through marriage with one of the leading Serḳīn families, became master of Laghouat and of the neighbouring *ksour* (1828). After a period of tranquillity, Laghouat became involved in the struggle of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir against the French. The chieftain of the Awlād Serḳīn, al-Ḥādjdj al-ʿArbī (descendant of the patron saint of the town) was appointed *khalīfa* by the *amīr*. But he was unable to maintain his position and was obliged to flee to the Mzāb. His successor, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, was no more fortunate, although he had a force of 700 regular soldiers and a piece of artillery. His policies met opposition from the civic leaders and caused a riot; he was forced to leave Laghouat (1839). Al-Ḥādjdj al-ʿArbī was appointed *khalīfa* for the second time. The same year, when the *amīr* was forced to raise the siege of ʿAyn Māḍī (after eight months) to regain control of the Tell, Aḥmad b. Sālim and his partisans took the opportunity to rally their troops. The *khalīfa* al-Ḥādjdj al-ʿArbī was overthrown and then captured, at Ḳsar al-Ḥīrān, where he was killed (1839). Thus restored to power in Laghouat, Aḥmad b. Sālim entered into negotiations with the French (Col. Marey-Monge) to ask for recognition of his authority over southern Algeria (March 1844). This protectorate constitutes the first stage in the process of annexation of Laghouat, a process too long to be summarised (cf. R. Le Tourneau, *Occupation de Laghouat par les Français (1844-1852)*, in *Études Maghrébines. Mélanges Ch. A. Julien*, Paris 1964, 111-36). Following several expeditions (1844, 1847, 1852), the town was taken by storm on 4 December 1852, at the cost of heavy losses on both sides (more than 2,500 dead). The taking of Laghouat (on the orders of General Pelissier) was one of the bloodiest episodes in the conquest of Algeria. On the Algerian side, the memory of the martyrs never ceased to be honoured, in the guise of a semi-folkloristic, semi-religious ritual, until the time of independence. After its conquest and fortifications, Laghouat received a permanent garrison and became the operational base of the French in the south.

In its various phases, from the beginnings (4th/10th century) to the eve of the contemporary period, the dramatic history of Laghouat has been a microcosm of the general history: (a) of the Central Maghrib, as depicted by the historian Ibn Khaldūn: chronic anarchy, with no respite for the population, exhausted by a perpetual struggle for survival independent of any aspiration for economic and cultural order, and any effort towards civilisation; (b) of modern Algeria under Turkish domination. Like all urban centres or tribes escaping direct control on the part of the central authority (Algiers) and of its beyliks (Oran, Medea, Constantine), Laghouat had only the most distant connections with the Turkish administration, which was interested only in the collection of taxes (the regularity of which was determined by the relative strength of the sovereign power and its vassals); and (c) of French Algeria. After a rigorous conquest and a long period of pacification, the oasis of Laghouat was, for almost a century, to be oriented towards the Sahara, as administrative centre of one of the four "Territories of the South" under military control. The population of Laghouat and its environs thus lived on the fringe of northern Algeria, without becoming permeated by French influence. In the absence of a political will and sufficient means, the "moral conquest" by means of education and the exercise of republican freedoms would seem to be a myth incompatible with colonial realities. Until the inter-war period (cf. the celebration of the "Centenary of Algeria" in 1930), the diffusion of French language and culture attained only insignificant proportions, even within the native Jewish community. For this reason, the traditional aspect of the Muslim society of Laghouat were preserved almost intact. With its natural connections with neighbouring Bedouin peoples (on account of pressing economic requirements), with the permanence of specific symbols of religious culture (a dozen mosques, some twenty Ḳurʾānic schools), and the preponderance of shrines and institutions of religious mystics (Tidjāniyya, Ḳādiriyya, Shādhiliyya, etc.), Laghouat found itself well-equipped in its cultural resistance to the West. These socio-cultural features were to be reinforced, in the nineteen-twenties, by the reformist preachings of the Salafiyya. In fact, thanks to the prestige and the strong personality of the *shaykh* Mubārak al-Mīlī (1897-1945), Laghouat became (from 1927) onward) one of the strongest centres of the reformist movement in Algeria, under the stimulus of the Association of Algerian Muslim *ʿUlamāʾ* and of its leader, the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] (cf. A. Merad, *Le réformisme musulman en Algérie...*, Paris 1967, 199-200).

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LAḤAD [see ḲABR].

LĀHAWR (LAHORE), the principal city of the Pandjāb [*q.v.*], situated on the left bank of the Rāwī about 700 feet above sea level, at lat. 31° 35′ N. and long. 74° 20′ E. Its strategic location in the fertile alluvial region of the upper Indus plain has guaranteed it an important rôle in Indian history, very often as a frontier stronghold and more recently as the capital of the Sikh [*q.v.*] empire. Since 1947 it has been included in the republic of Pākistān, of which it is the second largest city.

1. History. Popular etymology connects the foundation of Lāhawr with the mythical Lava (Lōh), son of Rāma, and the forms Lōhāwar (cf. Peshāwar) and Lavapura have both been hypothesised by scholars, Cunningham (*Ancient geog. of India*, i, 197-8) identifying it with the place Labokla (< Lavalaka) mentioned by Ptolemy. Yet another possibility, Lahanagar, may have been preserved in the spelling Lāhanūr which appears in the 7th/13th century *Ḳirān al-saʿdayn* of Amīr Khusraw. It has also been identified with the anonymous flourishing city which the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsʾang came upon around A.D. 630 on his way to Djālindhar.

At one time confused with Lohara in Kashmīr (see Sir M. Aurel Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Westminster 1900, ii, 293, 298, 363-4), Lāhawr is actually first mentioned in 372/982 in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*[2], 89-90, where we read that it was subject, although a city populated exclusively by Hindus, to the Ḳurayshite ruler of Multān [*q.v.*]. Possibly this is what underlies a later tradition that at the time of the first Ghaznawid invasion the capital of the Hindū-shāhī rulers of the western Pandjāb had been moved from Lāhawr to Siyālkoṭ [*q.v.*]; and certainly Bīrūnī, writing shortly afterwards, locates the capital of the Lāhawr region at a place called Mandhūkūr (ed. Sachau, 101; cf. the discussion in S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, Bombay 1939-57, i, 53). Lāhawr was captured at an uncertain date by Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], who constructed a fortress there and allegedly renamed the city Maḥmūdpūr, though this is doubtful. Under his successors it effectively became, as the administrative centre of the Indian provinces, the second capital of the Ghaznawid empire. The governor Aḥmad Yīnaltigin rebelled in 424/1033, and in 435/1043-4 Lāhawr was subjected to a long and unsuccessful siege by a confederacy of Hindu princes. But it remained firmly in Ghaznawid hands, serving, after the loss of Ghazna itself in 558/1163, as the capital until its capture by the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] in 583/1187 put an end to the dynasty.

On the murder of the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām in 602/1206, Lāhawr became temporarily the capital of the Indian domain ruled by his slave Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], but after his death it was disputed for some time among the other former Ghūrid officers Ḳubāča, Yīldīz, and Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish [*q.v.*]. Ḥasan Niẓāmī in his *Tādj al-maʾāthir* (Brit. Lib. ms. Add. 7,623, fols. 124b-129a) describes at great length its capture by Iltutmish's forces in 613/1217, although Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh [*q.v.*], who invaded the Pandjāb a few years later, found a son of Ḳubāča in revolt against his father at Lāhawr (Nasawī, ed. Houdas, text 90), and it probably fell definitively to Iltutmish shortly before Ḳubāča's overthrow in 625/1228. Under Iltutmish's weak successors [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE], the govenors of Lāhawr were frequently in rebellion, and Kabīr Khān Ayāz was virtually independent there in 639/1241, when Lāhawr was taken and sacked by the Mongols. They did not follow up their victory, abandoning the city immediately, but around 651/1253, in the course of another inroad, they installed at Lāhawr the renegade prince Djalāl al-Dīn Masʿūd b. Iltutmish. Sub-

sequently, however, it appears again as part of the Dihlī Sultanate under its governor Shīr Khān, who is credited by the historian Baranī (*Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī*, ed. S. A. Khān, Calcutta 1860-2, Bibl. Indica, 65) with numerous military successes against the Mongols. The city was restored by the Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban [*q.v.* in Suppl.] soon after his accession in 664/1266, but Lāhawr was to remain for some decades a frontier region subject to regular Mongol attacks and seems to have been replaced as an administrative centre by Dēōpālpūr. It attained to a temporary prominence once more early in the 8th/14th century under the governorship of Ghāzī Malik, who himself ascended the throne of Dihlī in 720/1320 as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ [*q.v.*]. In the reign of his son Muḥammad [*q.v.*], however, the district was ravaged by the Čaghatay khān Tarmashīrīn around 729/1329, and a few years later Lāhawr was occupied by a Mongol chief named Hülečü [see HÜLĀGŪ] in alliance with the Khokars [*q.v.*]: the brutal reprisals against the populace by Muḥammad's forces are mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 333). After this, its history is again obscure until the turn of the century, when Shaykhā Khokar, who had been appointed governor of Lāhawr by Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluḳ, made a timely submission to Tīmūr (801/1398), but on showing signs of disaffection was suppressed by an army under the conqueror's grandson Pīr Muḥammad b. Djahāngīr.

Lāhawr was included in the territory conferred by Tīmūr upon Khiḍr Khān, who in 817/1414 seized power in Dihlī and established the Sayyid dynasty. Under his successor Mubārak Shāh, the city was twice attacked by the Khokars, now led by Shaykhā's son Djasrat, while at the same time the Afghān Lodīs [*q.v.*] were beginning to encroach upon the Pandjāb. In 845/1441 Muḥammad Shāh Sayyid, in an effort to curb the power of the Khokars, granted Lāhawr to Bahlūl Lodī, who repaid the Sayyids by supplanting them at Dihlī ten years later. During the Lodī era, the province continued to enjoy a quasi-independence. It was the sulṭān's kinsman Dawlat Khān Lodī, governor of the Pandjāb, who encouraged the designs of Bābur [*q.v.*] on Hindūstān, leading to the occupation of Lāhawr by the Mughals in 930/1524. On the outbreak of the rebellion of Shīr Shāh Sūr, Bābur's son and successor Humāyūn fled to Lāhawr, which he had been compelled at an earlier date to cede to his brother Kāmrān Mīrzā. The two Mughal princes were unable to hold the Pandjāb, and abandoned it to Shīr Shāh (947/1540), with the result that Lāhawr once again enjoyed a period of Afghān rule. Shīr Shāh is said to have regretted on his deathbed that he had not razed the city, in view of its strategic value to an invader from the northwest, a sentiment doubtless echoed by his ephemeral successors when Humāyūn reoccupied Lāhawr in Rabīʿ II 962/February 1555.

With the restoration of Mughal rule, Lāhawr entered on the era of its greatest prosperity, to which belong also its principal monuments (see below). Abu 'l-Faḍl in his *Akbar-nāma* testifies to its flourishing condition under Akbar, who used it as his headquarters for his expeditions against Kashmīr, Sind and Ḳandahār in the period 992-1006/1584-98. It was here that he received in 1595 the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries who were later, under his son Djahāngīr, to build the church and school which were destroyed by Shāh Djahān. Djahāngīr actually made Lāhawr his capital from 1031/1623, and it continued as such for most of the reign of Shāh Djahān, who was particularly attached to it as his birthplace, establishing a carpet manufactory and renovating the *dawlat-khāna*. During the period of its apogee, Lāhawr continued to serve at intervals as a centre of disaffection. Akbar had to march to its relief when besieged by his half-brother Muḥammad Ḥākim Mīrzā in 974/1566-7, and under his successors it was several times used as a base by aspirants to the imperial dignity: by Khusraw at the outset of Djahāngīr's reign (1015/1606), by Shāhriyār on the accession of Shāh Djahān (1037/1628), and by Dārā Shukōh on that of Awrangzīb (1068/1658).

Lāhawr's importance declined under Awrangzīb, who resided there less than his predecessors, though it continued to be styled *Dār al-salṭana* and the emperor was responsible for the construction of the *Djāmiʿ Masdjid*, with which the city's architectural history is usually assumed to have terminated. Bernier, however, visiting Lāhawr in 1665, gives the impression that it was already decaying and that large areas were in ruins. And with Awrangzīb's death, the region swiftly became a prey to the rising power of the Sikhs.

In 1123/1711 the Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh I arrived at Lāhawr in the course of a campaign designed to crush the first Sikh insurrection under Banda, which was threatening the city, but died before he could achieve his object. The struggle for the succession between Djahāndār Shāh and ʿAẓīm al-Sha'n in 1124/1712 was actually fought out in the vicinity of Lāhawr, and it was not until the reign of Farrukh-siyar (1124-31/1713-19) that further action could be taken against the Sikhs. They were ruthlessly suppressed in a series of expeditions mounted by the governors of the Pandjāb, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Khān and his son and successor Zakariyyā Khān, the activities of the latter winning Lāhawr the nickname of *Shahidgandj*. Zakariyyā submitted to Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] in Shawwāl 1150/January-February 1738, but recovered his independence once the Persian monarch had withdrawn from India. After the governor's death in 1158/1745, however, his sons engaged in a struggle for power, as a result of which the Afghān Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] was able to launch his first invasion of the Pandjāb and occupy the city in Muḥarram 1161/January 1748. On his departure, the court of Dihlī entrusted Lāhawr to Muʿīn al-Mulk, surnamed Mīr Mannū, son of the *wazīr* Ḳamar al-Dīn, but he was shortly obliged to submit to the Afghāns; and following a further invasion by Aḥmad Shāh in the winter of 1165/1751-2, the Mughal emperor signed a treaty whereby Lāhawr passed into the Afghān sphere of influence. This did not prevent the Dihlī *wazīr* Ghāzī al-Dīn ʿImād al-Mulk from invading the Pandjāb in 1169/1756, seizing Lāhawr from Mīr Mannū's widow, who had endeavoured to secure recognition from both Dihlī and Kābul, and installing as governor Adīna Beg. Aḥmad Shāh was thereby provoked into reoccupying the city in the following winter and establishing there his son Tīmūr Shāh. During this time, the Sikhs are found assisting Adīna Beg and his allies the Marāṭhās against the Afghāns. Together they expelled Tīmūr in 1171/1758 and repulsed another Afghān attempt on the city in 1172/1759. When Aḥmad Shāh decisively crushed the Marāṭhās at Pānīpat [*q.v.*] in 1174/1761 and again took Lāhawr, it was the Sikhs who were the ultimate beneficiaries of the victory. On his withdrawal, they simply reoccupied the city, and did so again after each of two further Afghān invasions, finally securing it in 1181/1767. For the next thirty years Lāhawr was governed by a triumvirate of Sikh chieftains, whose rule was disturbed

only by two temporary Afghān occupations under Aḥmad's grandson Zamān Shāh in 1211/1796 and 1213/1798-9. During the second of these invasions, the Sikh chief Randjīt Singh negotiated with the Afghāns for the office of *ṣūbadār* of Lāhawr, but it was not until Ṣafar 1214/July 1799 that he was able to wrest it from its three Sikh lords, who had meanwhile retaken it in the wake of Zamān Shāh's retreat.

Under the rule of Randjīt Singh, proclaimed *mahārādja* of the Pandjāb in 1802, Lāhawr, as his capital, recovered something of its lost prestige. He repaired its walls, and embarked upon a programme of construction works which did much to rehabilitate the city. On his death in 1839, it passed among various members of his family until the accession of Dalīp Singh in 1843, but the Sikh government soon became embroiled in its first war with the British, and by the terms of the two treaties of Lāhawr, in March and December 1846, Dalīp Singh had to accept a temporary British garrison into his capital and a permanent British Resident in the person of Colonel Henry Lawrence. In March 1849, as a result of the second war with the British and Dalīp Singh's deposition, Lāhawr was formally incorporated in the British empire. The city remained comparatively quiet at the time of the Indian Mutiny in 1857, though it was the scene of numerous disturbances during the twenties and thirties of the present century, with the rise of the Congress Movement and the conflicting claims of the Muslim League. In the partition of 1947, despite Sikh hopes of separate statehood for the Pandjāb, the city and most of its district were allotted to Pākistān. From 1955 it was the capital of West Pākistān, and since 1970 it has been the capital of the new province of the Pandjāb.

During this century Lāhawr has undergone a considerable expansion. In 1901 its population stood at less than a quarter of a million, but at the 1961 census it had reached 1,296,477 and in 1971 was estimated at 1,985,800 (all these figures include the cantonment). It consists essentially of the old city, the Anglicised quarters and the cantonment (formerly called Miyān Mīr) added during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the industrial areas which have grown up over the last few decades. First linked by rail to Amritsar in 1861, Lāhawr is now well integrated into Pākistān's railway network, being situated on the main line from Karāčī to Peshāwar, and is also accessible by air. It is an important educational centre, possessing two universities.

Bibliography: Historical surveys are to be found in the standard descriptive accounts of Lāhawr: see *Imperial gazetteer of India* [2], Oxford 1907-9, xvi, 95-115; *Imp. gaz. of India. Provincial series. Panjab*, Calcutta 1908, i; S. M. Laṭīf, *Lahore: its history, architectural remains and antiquities*, Lāhawr 1892, 1-83, contains many chronological inaccuracies, and is in any case mostly derived from the earlier account of T. H. Thornton, dating from 1860 and reproduced in H. R. Goulding, "*Old Lahore*": *reminiscences of a resident*, Lāhawr 1924, 56-80; see now also M. Bāqir Malik, *Lahore past and present*, Lāhawr 1952 (Panjab University Oriental Publications, 34).

In addition to the works cited in the text, see for individual periods of the city's history C. E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977; A. B. M. Habibullah, *The foundations of Muslim rule in India* [2], Allāhābād 1961; U. N. Day, *The northwest frontier of the Sultanate*, in *Some aspects of medieval Indian history*, New Delhi 1971, 29-57; K. Jahn, *Zum Problem der mongolischen Eroberungen in Indien (13.-14. Jahrhundert)*, in *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München*... 1957, Wiesbaden 1959, 617-9; K. S. Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, London 1963; *Camb. hist. of India*, iv, index; J. D. Cunningham, *A history of the Sikhs*, new ed. H. L. O. Garrett, Oxford 1918; Khushwant Singh, *A history of the Sikhs*, Princeton 1963-6.

(P. JACKSON)

2. Monuments. The architectural history of Lāhawr can be traced substantially from the Mughal administration. Tombs remaining from earlier periods have undergone such extensive alteration that their interest lies mainly in their inscriptions. Among these are the graves of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Hudjwīrī (d. 465/1072 [*q.v.*]), called Dātā Gandj-bakhsh, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak (d. 607/1210 [*q.v.*] near the Lawhārī (*sic*) Gate, Pīr Balkhī (d. 637/1239?), of which the small domed *ḥudjra* may be original, and Sayyid Ṣūf (d. 786/1384); the tomb of Sayyid Muḥammad Isḥāḳ Kāzarūnī, or Miyān Pādshāh (d. 788/1386) is preserved in the *ṣaḥn* of the Masdjid-i Wazīr Khān. Of the eighty-four tombs in the city listed by Čishtī, few in fact survive. No trace has been found, either, of the victory tower at the Fort and the mud-brick mosque known as Khishti Masdjid said by Fakhr-i Mudabbir to have been built by Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], or the Ḳaṣr-i Humāyūnī of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak. There is, however, an impressive *miḥrāb* from the Sultanate period which appears to have been the focus of an *ʿIdgāh* near Čāh Mīrān. The *pīshṭāḳ* [*q.v.*], 7.4 m high, is surrounded by a band of geometric interlace; the semidome within the arch is reticulated to match, as is its central arched recess, and the squinches on either side have simple nets of groins, with hoods in floral relief. This decoration, which shares some features with Tīmūrid work, is carried out in plaster on a brick core. Burnt brick is in fact typical of Lāhawr, as of the Pandjāb as a whole, for want of local stone: it is usually covered with a revetment of cut plaster or tilework which conceals the structure, while stressing its main lines.

The Fort (*Ḳilʿa*) which still dominates the city centre has been shown by excavations (1959 ff.) to rest on strata dating back to the Ghaznavid occupation; the fort of Ghūrid times, and those rebuilt by Balban and Mubārak Shāh in 666/1267 and 825/1422 were presumably on the same site near the northwest corner of the former city wall. The present structure was begun by Akbar (*ca.* 974/1566) while work at Āgrā Fort was still in hand. He extended the site to the bank of the Rāwī in the north, maintaining the level by an elaborate undercroft, and enclosing a rectangle of about 340 by 427 m with walls that still exist to the north, east, and south. The twin polygonal towers of the Masdjidī Darwāza (Pandjābī: Mastī Darwāza) are panelled in blind arches like the Dihlī Gate at Āgrā, here offset vertically, and their rhythm continues throughout the north wall. Of Akbar's palace we know only that its Dawlat-khāna-yi ʿĀmm had a courtyard enclosed by 114 bays (*īwān* [*q.v.*] or *aywān*). The Djharōkhā balcony which still overlooks the site may be of this date. Akbar also built the city wall with its thirteen gates, now largely demolished or replaced. The early phase of building at the Fort was completed by Djahāngīr in 1027/1618 with a courtyard of private apartments in the same trabeated style, with faceted pillars and intricately

carved surfaces of Mathurā stone; the *čhadjdjā* brackets with their profusion of elephants, lions and peacocks owe much to Hindu timber-work. The architect responsible for this complex, ʿAbd al-Karīm Maʿmūr Khān, appears also to have carried out the remarkable and unorthodox cladding of panels in mosaics of cut glazed tiles, on the north, and later the west walls, with the semi-octagonal Shāh Burj, between 1034/1624-5 and 1041/1631-2. Their brilliant colours, which extend the range previously used in the Pandjāb from dark blue, azure and white to include yellows, brown and green, depict courtiers, scenes of hunting, elephant fights, battle and myth. The Dīwān-i ʿĀmm of forty columns ordered by Shāhdjahān in 1037/1628 follows the pattern of its contemporary at Āgrā; its present form was reconstructed by the British in 1846, but fragments of two ceremonial railings survive. Shāhdjahān, dissatisfied with the existing scheme, raised the level of the earlier work, and built a new group of private apartments inside the Shāh Burdj, including the Shīsh Maḥall of white marble set off with *pietra dura* inlay of floral motifs, opening onto the court through five bays with paired columns supporting engrailed arches in the fully-developed marble style: it rises to double height, with a ceiling of convex glass set in gypsum plaster (*āyina-kārī*), the walls now being Sikh work. To its west is a marble pavilion, the Banglā (Nawlakha), that reproduces a Bengali hut with its gridwork walls and arching roof, again inset with semi-precious stones (*parčīn-kārī*). In 1043/1633 he had the Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ and Khʷābgāh replaced, the former with a marble hall five bays by five, anticipating that at Dihlī [*q.v.*] in layout, with open arcades surrounding an inner hall, and a parapet inlaid to simulate merlons. The Motī Masdjid (ca. 1645) makes finely restrained use of marble as the first of the three Pearl Mosques (cf. Āgrā 1648-54, Dihlī ca. 1660); its *pīshṭāḳ* frames a four-centred arch that contrasts with the cusped ones on either side, and the three domes rise from strong cavetto mouldings in a rounded profile recalling Humāyūn's tomb, though crowned with a small pointed lotus. The round towers of Awrangzīb's ʿĀlamgīrī Gate (1084/1673-4) rise vigorously from a swelling lotus-petal base in broad gadroons to leaf-like merlons, and each is capped with a light *čhatrī* to counter the upthrust.

The Mosque of Maryam Zamānī, built for Djahāngīr's mother in 1023/1614, follows the established scheme of a five-arched prayer hall, with a tall semi-domed *pīshṭāḳ*, and five domes supported on massive brickwork piers. Square towers at the angles carry domed lanterns. The stilted central dome, less overpowering than that at Fatḥpur Sīkrī, has an inner shell of stucco; extensive use is made of squinch nets and honeycomb squinches, and the interior has the finest floral painting in Pākistān, on incised plaster. The prayer hall of the Masdjid-i Wazīr Khān (1044/1634) is of the same type, with four-centred arches, double-shelled Lōdī domes—albeit of an improved shape—and deep piers separating the façade from the domes. The courtyard is much longer and arcaded with stout octagonal minarets, capped with *čhatrīs* and set on squared bases: the first use of such towers, it seems, for a Mughal mosque. The main gate is enlarged to house the domed, octagonal central chamber of a bazaar street. The brickwork is extensively panelled, and its grids house flat panels of cut mosaic tile [see KĀSHĪ] on the surfaces of the gates, prayer-hall and minarets, with flowers, trees, tendrils and inscriptions in an inventive but strongly Iranian display. The building achieves great distinction in contrasting this vivacious decoration with the robust composition of the structure. Inside, the mosaic is replaced by paint. A *ḥammām* of the same date, and Iranian in type, still exists near the Dihlī Gate. These elements are readjusted in the much smaller mosque of Dāʾī Angā (1045/1635), where the three frontal arches are engrailed, the domes articulated with cavetto mouldings well above the parapet, and the hall is limited at either end by the massive square bases for minarets with lanterns that have been rebuilt this century; exceptionally, tile mosaic is used inside as well as out. Its form is close to that of the mosque and its counter-image flanking the Tādj Maḥall (*ca.* 1632-47). The mosque of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ [*q.v.*] the historian and calligrapher (1070/1659) is also tiled, and remarkable for its inscriptions. The Bādshāhī Masdjid (1084/1673), Awrangzīb's finest building, combines local tradition with experience from the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Dihlī (1059/1649) [see DIHLĪ]. From the former come the octagonal minarets at the courtyard corners, the smaller ones at the angles of the prayer hall, and the recessed panelling; from the latter are drawn the plan, the raised plinth with steps and gateway, the bulbous domes, and the handling of the façade. The brick structure is faced throughout in red sandstone, and white marble for the domes; the interior is decorated with floral reliefs in lime plaster (*munabbat-kārī*), and painted, with almost Rococo delicacy.

Tombs. The tomb of Shaykh Mūsa Āhangar (*ca.* 1560?) whose squat dome on a cylindrical drum rests on a square, panelled cell, provides unique evidence of earlier tilework in the city: the dome is tiled in green horizontal courses, and the upper part of the walls in square tiles set diagonally, with floral motifs in blue and white. The squared mass of Djahāngīr's Tomb at Shāhdara (completed *ca.* 1046/1637) is derived from the base of Akbar's tomb [see ĀGRĀ], with the same number of arches and projecting bays at the centre of each side. Its red stone façades are inlaid with white and black marble in magpie elegance within the usual grid, and the tall octagonal corner towers are patterned in chevrons of white and yellow between four balconies. The absence of a central pavilion on the roof destroys the composition: the original arrangement is uncertain. A finely inscribed cenotaph lies in an octagonal central chamber with floor and walls all in superb *pietra dura*. This single-storey form is repeated at half-size in the tomb of his empress Nūrdjahān (d. 1055/1645) nearby, built by herself; no vestige of its original surface remains on the brickwork core. Dāʾī Angā's Tomb (1082/1671-2) in the Gulābī Bāgh is also square, with gridwork walls and a square *čhatrī* on each corner; the plan however incorporates a cross-shaped tomb chamber, with calligraphy by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ in the coving, and an ambulatory with octagonal corner cells. A central dome shaped like those of Wazīr Khān's Mosque is patterned in chevrons of white and dark blue tiles, and its tall drum with floral motifs.

A series of octagonal tombs begins with that of Anārkalī (1024/1615), built by Djahāngīr for a former love. It has octagonal, panelled corner towers with *čhatrīs* at roof level, arched walls rising through two stories, and a dome of this same profile. It suffered various alterations when adapted for a church in 1851. Entrances formerly alternated with octagonal corner cells around a central octagon,

with the cenotaph, carved in bold relief, at the middle. The tomb of Āṣaf Khān (d. 1051/1641 [*q.v.*]) at Shāhdara has a single octagonal chamber, and a semi-domed arched recess on each external face around it. The reveals once had dados of square painted tiles, unique in this reign, and the squinch nets were enhanced with mosaic tile; the tall bulbous dome, now stripped of its white marble, was contemporary with that of the Tādj Maḥall. The cenotaph is modelled on that of Djahāngīr, below a *munabbatkārī* vault. ʿAli Mardān Khān's tomb (*ca.* 1650), built for his mother, is similar in plan, but is crowned with a dome of the earlier type on a tall drum, balanced, Sūrī-style, by a *čhatrī* set above every angle of the octagon. Once more the veneers have been stripped by the Sikhs, but there are traces of a floral marble inlay on the dome. The Mausoleum of Sharaf al-Nisāʾ Bēgam (d. 1158/1745), called Sarwwālā Maḳbara, is a low tower, square in plan, whose walls are relieved by a frieze of cypress trees (*sarw*) 2.2 m high in glazed tilework around a tomb chamber at the upper level, surmounted by a *čhadjdja* and a hipped square dome. That of Sir Muḥammad Iḳbāl, designed by Nawwāb Zayn Yārdjang Bahādur in 1951, is a severe orthogonal cell with battered walls, set off by mouldings around a strong plinth and *čhadjdja*, and deep openings, reminiscent of Tughluḳ building yet somewhat Germanic; the white marble interior is carved in ornamental relief and lines from his *Zabūr-i ʿAdjam*.

The gardens associated with these buildings, all but obliterated and requiring extensive restoration on Lord Curzon's initiative, have lost their original planting, but still display the *čārbāgh* layout, with causeways patterned in local brickwork set between regularly-spaced cypresses. The first, planted by Mīrzā Kāmrān on the bank of the Rāwī (*ca.* 1530-40) has disappeared, but its summerhouse, a *bāradarī*, survives in midstream. Nūrdjahān's Bāgh-i Dilkushā, adapted for her husband's tomb at the centre, has each of the four quarters subdivided into four square plots, with canals and tanks at the intersections, within a huge walled enclosure. The Bāgh-i Shālimār [see BUSTĀN. ii], completed in 1052/1642, and like its namesake at Dihlī inspired by the eponym in Kashmīr [*q.v.*] was originally entered at the lowest terrace, allowing movement, as in the palace, through successively more private areas, past cascades backed by lamp-niches, a *takht-gāh* set in a tank, and 450 fountains. The Ḥaḍūrī Bāgh, formerly a *sarāy* built by Awrangzīb, is apparently Sikh work.

Three gateways clad in mosaic tile have survived the gardens to which they once led. The Čawburdjī (1056/1646), with four corner towers like those of Wazīr Khān's mosque, but more attenuated and lacking their *čhatrīs*, has cleanly-cut archways set in a gridded surface. The Gulābī Bāgh Gate (1066/1655) follows a similar scheme, but with angle-shafts in place of the towers, and with cusping of the upper arches. The undated gate at Nawānkōt (*ca.* 1650) has the panelled corners left unbroken as support for its twelve-pillared *čhatrīs*, remarkable for their gadrooned, green-tiled domes.

Bibliography: See HIND for general works including references to Lāhawr; of these Sir R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, *Five thousand years of Pakistan*, London 1950, 75-93, is the most comprehensive. For works on the city in particular, see T. H. Thornton and J. L. Kipling, *Lahore*, Lahore 1876; S. M. Latif, *Lahore: its history, architectural remains and antiquities*, Lahore 1892; H. R. Goulding and T. H. Thornton, *Old Lahore*, Lahore 1924. A more recent guide incorporating the latest information then available is by Muhammad Wali Ullah Khan, *Lahore and its important monuments*, Lahore, Dept. of Archaeology, 1961. Works in Urdu include a translation of Dārā Shikōh, *Sakīnat al-awliyāʾ*, Lahore, n.d.; Mawlwī Nūr al-Dīn Čishtī, *Taḥḳīḳat-i Čishtī*, repr. Lahore 1934; and M. Ṭufayl, *Naḳūsh*, Lahore 1962, on the inscriptions. Earlier work on inscriptions is in H. Cope, *Public inscriptions at Lahore*, in *JASB*, xxvii (1859), 308-13, and the latest in S. Mahmood, *Islamic inscriptions in Pakistani architecture to 1707*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1981, 3 vols., ii, 427-566.

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For the gardens see S. Crowe, S. Haywood and S. Jellicoe, *The gardens of Mughul India* (London 1972). (P. A. ANDREWS)

LAḤDJ, colloquially called Laḥidj, a town and area of south-western Arabia, now situated in the second governorate of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The town, also known as

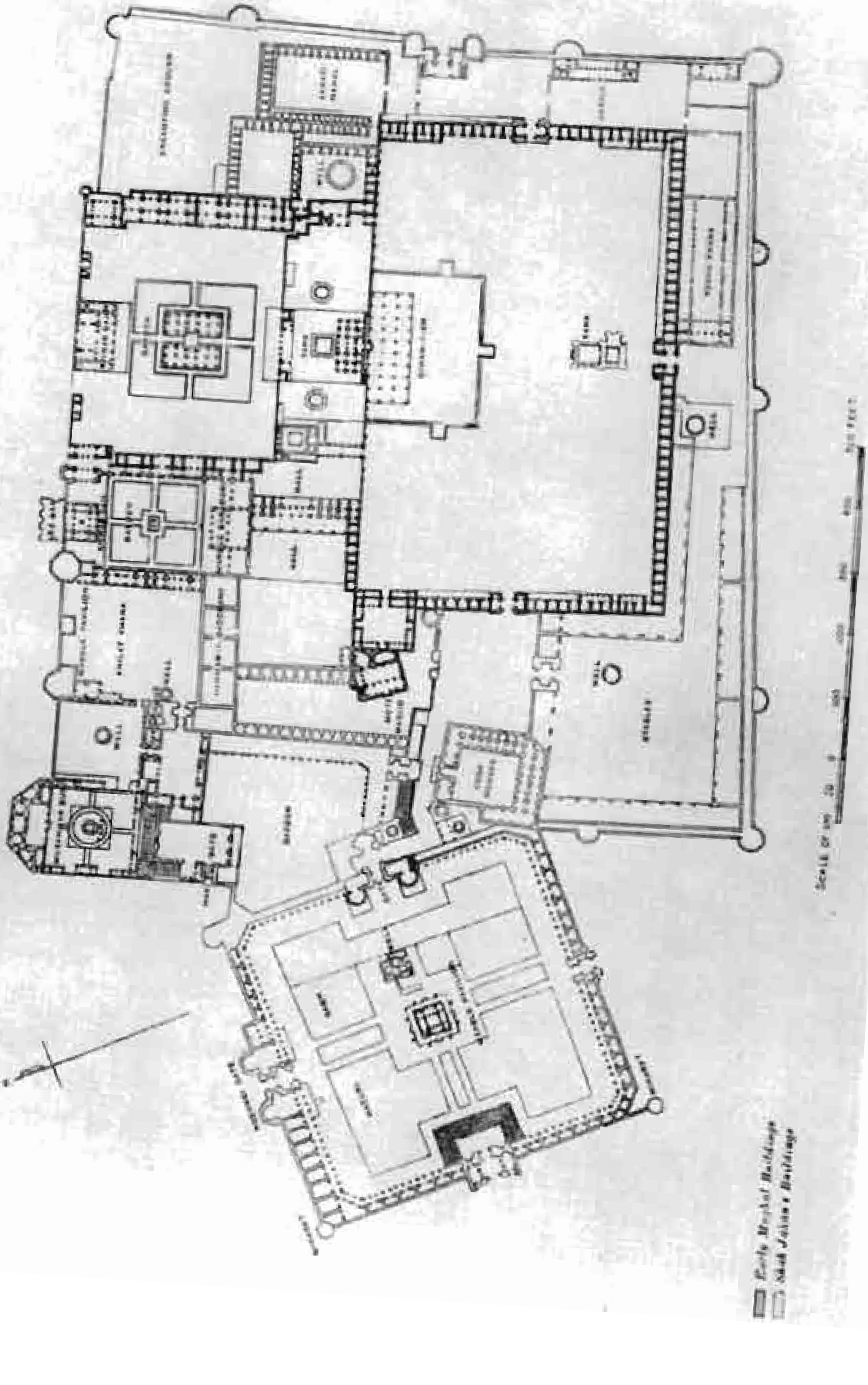

Fig. 1. Plan of the Fort. (Archaeological Survey of India)

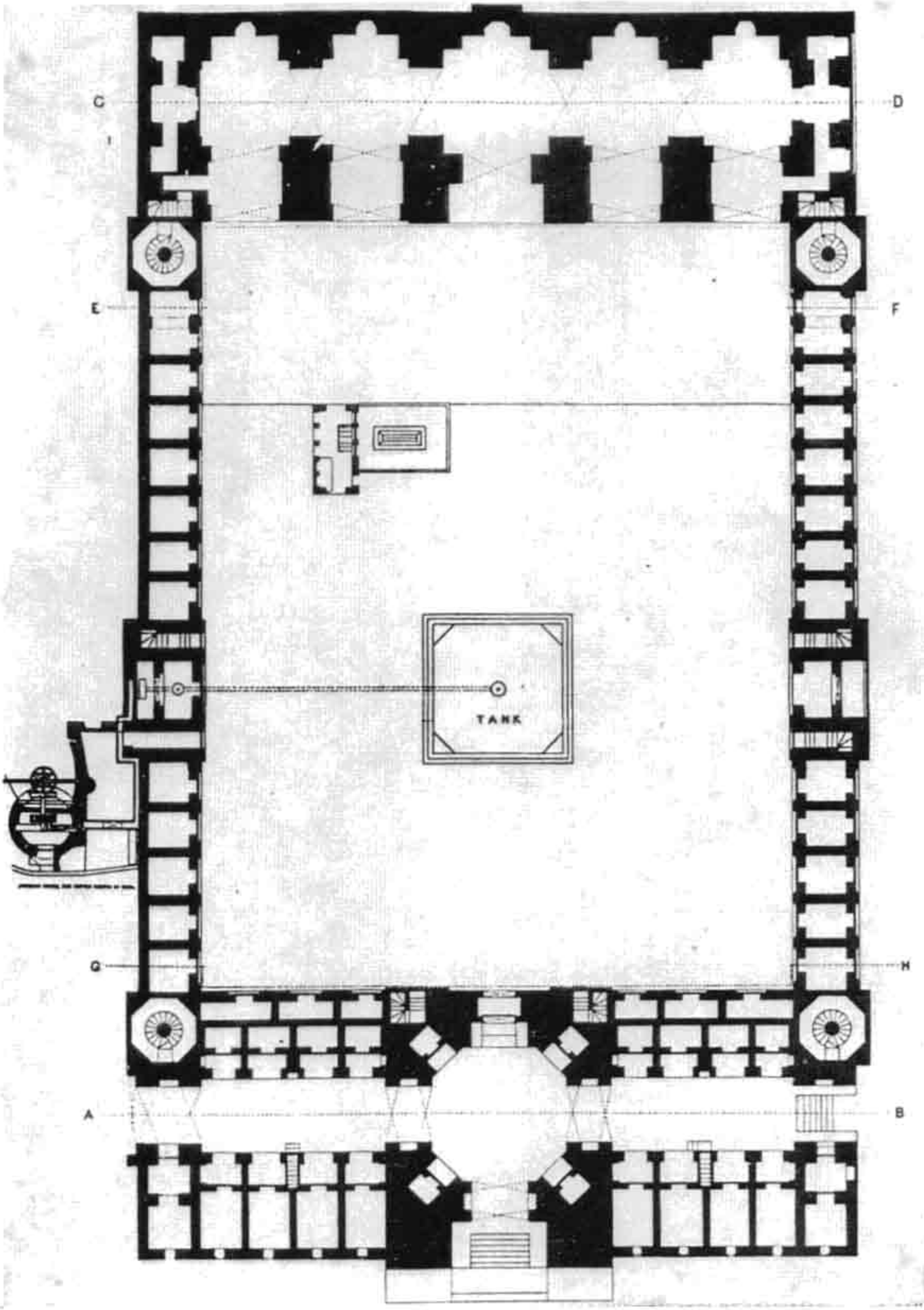

Fig. 2. Plan of the Masdjid-i Wazīr Khān. (From M.A. Chaghatai, *The Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore*)

al-Ḥawṭa, lies between the two tributaries of the Wādī Tuban, al-Wādī al-Kabīr and al-Wādī al-Ṣaghīr, about 25 miles north-west of Aden. The town is surrounded by a fertile area which is cultivated by means of an elaborate system of irrigation using the water of the wadis and also of wells. Date-palms abound, as well as cereal crops and vegetables. In fairly recent years too, cotton has become an important addition to the local agricultural economy.

Definition. In early Islamic, mediaeval and later times, Laḥdj comprised a whole area to the north and north-west of Aden and formed a joint fief with Abyan which at that time must have extended much further westwards to the north and north-east of Aden than the present-day area of the same name. Perhaps Laḥdj and Abyan in those times might have been divided by a line drawn due north from Aden, with the former on the western side and the latter on the eastern. It seems that the area of Laḥdj remained as described above until the late 19th century, when the then sultan of Laḥdj occupied the territories of the Ṣubayḥa, the tribal group inhabiting the territory between Laḥdj proper and Bāb al-Mandab. Thus the Laḥdj sultanate was composed of historic Laḥdj and Ṣubayḥī territory.

History. The genealogists connect the geographical name with the Ḥimyar, Laḥdj b. Wā'il b. al-Ghawth b. Katan b. ʿArīb b. Zuhayr b. Abyan b. al-Humaysaʿ.

After the Yemen had been won for Islam, Laḥdj shared the fortunes of this extensive province of the Arab empire. Laḥdj thus passed with the Yemen to the Umayyads and then to the ʿAbbāsids, though in early times governors in Ṣanʿā' and Ḥaḍramawt must have had little control in the area. In 203/818-19 the caliph al-Ma'mūn appointed Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ziyād as governor of the Yemen. He was the founder of the Ziyādid dynasty and built the Tihāma town of Zabīd, which was to be their capital until 402/1011-12. Laḥdj, with Aden, Abyan, Ḥaḍramawt and al-Shiḥr, passed into the hands of the Banū Maʿn in the time of the Abyssinian slaves who ruled Ziyādid territory when the dynasty came to an end. In 454/1062-3, Aden came under the control of the Ismāʿīlī ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, though the Maʿnids were left in effective control until his death in 473/1080-1, when his son, al-Mukarram Aḥmad, reclaimed the area. Aḥmad installed as rulers of Aden and the neighbouring area al-ʿAbbās and al-Masʿūd, the two Zurayʿids, in return for their past services to the Ismāʿīlī cause in the Yemen on behalf of the Ṣulayḥids. The Zurayʿids remained in power until the entry of the Ayyūbids from Egypt into the Yemen in 569/1173. Laḥdj, with Aden and indeed the rest of the Yemen, thus came under the control of the Ayyūbids (569-626/1173-1228) and their successors, the Rasūlids (626-858/1228-1454), who were followed by the Ṭāhirids (858-*ca.* 954/1454-*ca.* 1547).

The expeditionary force led by Ḥusayn al-Mushrif which the Mamlūk Sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī sent at the request of the Ṭāhirid Sultan ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to prevent the encroachment of the Portuguese in the Red Sea, and which conquered a great part of the Yemen, only paved the way for the Turks. In 945/1538 the Turkish governor of Kulzum, Sulaymān Pasha, set out with a fleet and took Aden, which thus belonged to the Turkish empire until in 1045/1635 the Turks had to leave the Yemen to the Zaydī Imāms.

In 1141/1728, however, the ʿAbdalī tribal leader, Faḍl b. ʿAlī b. Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Sālim, made himself independent of the Zaydīs and made Laḥdj the capital of his territory. Thus the area remained under the ʿAbdalī house down to the evacuation of south-western Arabia by the British in 1967. With the arrival of the British under Captain S. B. Haines in 1839, when the Laḥdj sultan also controlled Aden, the latter was ceded to the Government of Bombay. As already mentioned, the vast area of the Ṣubayḥa fell under their sway in the late 19th century. By the time of the formal signing of the agreement with the British Government to inaugurate the Federation of the Amirates of the South in 1959, the Laḥdj sultan Faḍl b. ʿAlī, as ruler of the senior state in the Western Aden Protectorate, held the key portfolio of Federal Minister of Defence and continued in that post until the collapse of the Federation and declaration of the new Republic in 1967.

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LĀHĪDJĀN. 1. A town in the Caspian coastal province of Gīlān [*q.v.*] in north-western Persia, in long. 50° 0′ 20″ E. and lat. 37° 12′ 30″ N. It is situated on the plain to the east of the lower reaches of the Safīd-Rūd and to the north of the Dulfek mountain, and on the small river Čom-khala or Purdesar, but at some 14 miles/20 km. from the Caspian Sea shore.

Lāhīdjān does not seem to have been known as such to the earliest Arabic geographers, though legend was to attribute its foundation to Lāhīdj b. Sām b. Nūḥ. It does, however, appear in the Persian *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) as Lāfdjān, one of seven "large districts" (i.e. it was not yet a town) of the south-eastern part of Gīlān, that known locally as Biya-pīsh ("this side of the water", *biya* cognate with Avestan *vaidhi* "water-course") as opposed to Biya-pas ("beyond the water") on the north-western side of the Safīd-Rūd, which had Fūman [*q.v.*] and Rasht [*q.v.*] as its centres (tr. Minorsky, 137, § 32. 25, comm. 388-90; on this passage of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, see Barthold, in *Izvestiya Kavkaz. Istor.-Arkheol. Instituta*, vi [1927], 63-6). In ancient times, the Safīd-Rūd or Amardus River [see ḲÏZÏL ÜZEN] had formed the frontier between the Amardoi or Mardi to the east and the Gelai or Kadusioi to the west; see F. C. Andreas, in Pauly-Wissowa, i/2, 1729-33, s.v. *Amardos*.

During the middle years of the 3rd/9th century, Lāhīdjān district formed part of the dominions, straddling Gīlān and the mountainous hinterland of Daylam [*q.v.*], of the Djastānid or Djustānid Wahsūdān b. Djastān (still alive in 259/873, according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1880; see also Sayyid Aḥmad Kasravī, *Shahhriyārān-i gum-nām*, Tehran 1335/1956, i, 25); the rulers of Biya-pīsh were generally able to extend

their power up from the plain into the mountains, and even at times over them to the south of the Elburz (as was to be the case with the Kar-Kiyāʾī Sayyids, see below).

There then arose in Biya-pīsh a family ruling from Kūtum or Hūtum in the Rān-i Kūh district, whose centre is Langarūd to the east of Lāhīdjān. This line was founded by the ʿAlid Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917) [*q.v.*], who introduced Zaydī Shīʿism into the Caspian region; the eastern part of Gīlān, sc. Biya-pīsh, thus became strongly affected by Shīʿism, whereas Sunnī doctrines, including Ḥanbalism, remained dominant in Biya-pas. The wider political authority of al-Uṭrūsh's family shrank during the middle decades of the 4th/10th century, and became concentrated more on Ṭabaristān or Māzandarān to the east, but the Nāṣirid Sayyids remained influential in the Caspian region because of their religious prestige. The history of Lāhīdjān in the succeeding period is obscure; but it is probable that the Djastānids re-asserted their authority there after the highland region of Daylam had passed into the hands of the Musāfirids or Sallārids or Langarids (the latter form better than "Kangarids") of Ṭārum [see MUSĀFIRIDS and ṬĀRUM], and it was the Djastānid "king of Daylam" who submitted at Ḳazwīn to the incoming Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg in 434/1042-3 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 348).

Subsequently, we find a family of local origin called the Nāṣirwands ruling Biya-pīsh from Lāhīdjān. The story of their origin from Maḥmūd of Ghazna's brother Nāṣir al-Dawla b. Sebüktigin retailed by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Kāshānī in his *Taʾrīkh-i Öldjeytü* is wholly fanciful, and the name Nāṣirwand obviously relates to a connection, real or supposed, with Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Uṭrūsh's tenure of power there. In the time of the Mongol Il-Khān Hülegü, the Nāṣirwand Djamāl al-Dīn Ṣaʿlūk b. Ṣaʿlūk was ruler in Lāhīdjān; some decades later, in Öldjeytü's reign, the family was divided into two branches, that of Ṣaʿlūk b. Sālār in Kūtum, and that of Naw-Pādishāh or Shāh-i Naw in Lāhīdjān. The latter submitted to the Il-Khānid when he appeared in Gīlān and at Lāhīdjān specifically in 706/1306-7, receiving in marriage the daughter of a Mongol commander and being granted suzerainty over the other local princes of Gīlān; Rashīd al-Dīn also testifies to Naw-Pādishāh's riches and prestige at this time. Lāhīdjān itself flourished, and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes Lāhīdjān and Fūman as the two chief towns of Gīlān; in the vicinity of Lāhīdjān silk cultivation and weaving were actively pursued, and corn, rice, oranges and other sub-tropical fruits were grown (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 162-3, tr. 158-9; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 71).

Biya-pīsh was racked by warfare between the various local chiefs during the course of the 8th/14th century, and by 792/1390 the rule of the Nāṣirwands, already once interrupted in Lāhīdjān, foundered completely, and Sayyid Hādī Kiyā became master of Biya-pīsh. The Kar-Kiyāʾī Sayyids ruled there from 769/1367-8 (with a brief revanche shortly after this by the last Nāṣirwands) till 1000/1592, the first of the family to make himself completely independent being Sayyid Amīr Kiyā (for a genealogical table of the family, see H. L. Rabino, in *JA*, ccxxxvii [1949], at pp. 322-3). His son Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā, with the help of the Marʿashī Sayyids of Māzandarān, made himself master of all Biya-pīsh, and extended as far as Ḳazwīn, Ṭārum and Shamīrān; and Sayyid Raḍī Kiyā (d. 829/1426) chased out of the mountains south of Lāhīdjān the local family of Hazāraspids and the Ismāʿīlīs. Likewise, Mīrzā ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad Kiyā (883-911/1478-1506) at the zenith of his power controlled Ḳazwīn, Ṭārum, Sulṭāniyya, Sāwa, Zandjān, Fīrūzkūh, Tehran, Rayy and Warāmīn.

From the end of the 9th/15th century, the information of the local Caspian chroniclers like Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī may be supplemented by that of the Ṣafawid chronicles, the interest of the latter being focussed on the region because of the crucial role played by Mīrzā ʿAlī Kiyā in sheltering the young Ṣafawid Ismāʿīl b. Ḥaydar [see ISMĀʿĪL I]. The future ruling family of Persia already had close links with the Lāhīdjān district, for in the village of Shaykhānbar on the Lāhīdjān-Langarūd road lay the tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zāhid (d. 714/1314) the *pīr* and *murshid* of Shaykh Ṣafī 'l-Dīn Ṣafawī (cf. Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia: an archaeological guide*, London 1972, 71). When Ismāʿīl was a fugitive from the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in 899/1494, he fled eventually from Ardabīl to Lāhīdjān. Mīrzā ʿAlī welcomed him there, refused in 902/1497 to extradite him to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu leader Rustam Mīrzā (allegedly after receiving a vision of the caliph ʿAlī enjoining him to protect the young prince), and assigned for his education a tutor, the Lāhīdjān scholar Shams al-Dīn. Then early in 905/later 1499, when he was still not quite 11 years old, Ismāʿīl left Lāhīdjān for the bid for power which was to end in the defeat of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and Ismāʿīl's conquest of Ādharbāydjān (see E. D. Ross, *The early years of Shah Ismaʿil*, in *JRAS* [1896], 249-340; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufsteig zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin-Leipzig 1936, 98-100; Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk, a manual of Safavid administration* (circa *1137/1725*), London 1943, Appx. II, 191 ff.)

During the 10th/16th century, Biya-pīsh and the Kar-Kiyāʾīs became vassals of the Ṣafawids from 909/1503-4 till the region's final incorporation in the Ṣafawid empire in 1000/1592. At first, a Ḳïzïl-Bāsh [*q.v.*] governor was appointed to oversee the Kar-Kiyāʾīs, and then in the middle years of the century, royal princes acted as governors, including a brother and two sons of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (in 943/1536-7 and 985/1577-92). The Kar-Kiyāʾī Sayyid Aḥmad b. ʿAlī (943-75/1536-67 and 985-1000/1577-92) introduced at Shāh Ṭahmāsp's behest the official Ṣafawid Twelver or Djaʿfarī form of Shīʿism in place of the Zaydī one; but he fell from favour when he started intriguing with the Ottomans, inviting them to send troops into Shīrwān and to Lāhīdjān for an attack on Ḳazwīn, so that in 975/1567 Ṭahmāsp invaded Gīlān and deposed Aḥmad. He was restored nine years later, and was formally adopted in brotherhood (*akhawī*) by Shāhs Ismāʿīl II and Muḥammad Khudābanda. But he continued to have relations with the Ottomans, and in 1000/1592 Shāh ʿAbbās came to Lāhīdjān, whilst Aḥmad fled to Shīrwān and then Istanbul, where he ended his days (cf. Von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 562, 576). All Gīlān was now placed under a centrally-appointed *wazīr*, and after the death of the grantee of the province Farhād Khān in 1008/1600, it became till the end of the Ṣafawid period one of the crown domains (*maḥāll-i khāṣṣa*); see K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 19, 44, 83, 87, 93, 105, 121).

Since then, Lāhīdjān's history has been only sporadically eventful. Under Shāh Sulaymān I there took place in South Russia the Cossack revolt of

Stepan Razin (1668-71), with raids expected against Persian territory along the Caspian coasts; hence troops were mustered in Biya-pīsh, the *Ghāziyān-i Ṣūfī*. During the Russian occupation of Gīlān 1136-46/1724-34, the Russians built two forts at Lāhīdjān, and the town was once more under Russian domination during the local Soviet Republic of Gīlān in 1920-1. According to the traveller Gmelin, who was in Gīlān in 1772, Lāhīdjān had seven years previously submitted to Hidāyat Khān of Fūman. Ḳādjār control was subsequently established there, but the last hereditary governor of Lāhīdjān, Mīrzā Aḥmad Khān, Sālār-i Muʾayyad, was dismissed by the constitutionalist government in 1907.

In recent times, Lāhīdjān has lost most of its administrative importance to Rasht, but still has considerable commercial importance as a centre for the local Gīlān silk and cotton industries and as a centre for citrus fruit growing; tea was first introduced into the Caspian region in 1914, and later, Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī employed Chinese experts to start new plantations near Lāhīdjān in the lower foothills adjoining the coastal plain (see *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, London 1945, 148, 464).

The antiquities of the town include various graves of the Kar-Kiyāʾī Sayyids. Administratively Lāhīdjān is now the centre of a *shāhristān* or district of the same name, in the first province of Iran; according to the 1966 census, it had a population of 25,725 and *ca.* 5,573 houses (see Razmārā, ed., *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, ii, 270-1, and L. W. Adamec, ed., *Historical gazeteer of Iran*. i *Tehran and Northwestern Iran*, Graz 1976, 410).

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Secondary sources: D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongoles*, iv, 488-97; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 544 ff.; P. Melgunoff, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1858, 230-4; Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, 174; W. Barthold, *Istor.-geogr. očerk Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 156; Rabino, *Les provinces caspiennes de la Perse. Le Guîlân*, in *RMM*, xxxii (1916-17), 291-334, 397 ff. (very detailed geographical survey of the region); idem, *Rulers of Lāhijān and Fūman, in Gīlān, Persia*, in *JRAS* (1918), 85-92; idem, *Les dynasties locales du Gîlân et du Daylam*, in *JA*, ccxxxvii (1949), ʿAbbās Kadīvār, *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān*, Tehran 1319/1940. For the coins minted at Lāhīdjān, see E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 218. (C. E. Bosworth)

2. Several districts in Persia have however derived from the stems *Lāh* and *Lār* [*q.v.*]: Lāhīdj, an important little town in Transcaucasia west of Shamākha [see shirwān]; Lāhīdjī, a village in the canton of Kurbāl in the province of Fārs; Lāhīdjān, a canton of Mukrī Kurdistān [see sawdj-bulāḳ], which the *Sharaf-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, ed. Veliaminof -Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860-2, i, 280, calls Lārdjān. There is a village of Lāhīdjān near Ilkhiči, south of Tabrīz, and a village of Lāridjān south of the Araxes about 12 miles above the mouth of the river of Ardabīl (Ḳara-Ṣu). The forms *Lāh* and *Lār* may both come from **Ladh* (cf. the Old Persian *Māda*, which gave *Māh* in Persian and *Mar-kh* in Armenian). According to the dictionaries (e.g. Vullers) the old name of the town of Lār [*q.v.*] was Lād/Lādh; the silk called *lādh* is also known as *lāh* (*lāh* however may equally well be explained by *lās*). The change of *d* (*dh*) to *r* is attested in the Caspian dialects (it is regular in Tātī; Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, 221). The fact that we have districts of Lāhīdjān and Lāridjān in the adjoining provinces of Gīlān and Māzandarān is remarkable, but still more significant is the fact that Lāhīdj of Shīrwān represents an island of Iranian Tāt surrounded by Turks (the Tāt are now found scattered throughout Dāghistān, the country round Tehran, Ādharbāydjān, etc.). Their present name has a rather general and vague character, see tāt. The colony of Lāhīdj may have retained the original dialect formerly spoken in the metropolis. The name of the silk *lādh*/*lāh* suggests the former existence of a place called Lād, which produced silk (cf. Yāḳūt, s.v. Lāhidj; he says that Lāhidj produces the silk called "Lāhidjī" which is not of high quality). With the suffix *-ič*, the word *Lāh-ič* would mean the people of Lād". It remains to be seen if the region of Lāhīdjān is not the ancestral home of numerous *Lāhidj* colonies. At the present day there is spoken in Lāhīdjān—although with certain local pecularities—the Gīlakī dialect, but this parent dialect has here exercised a levelling influence, of which the foreign Turkish was incapable in the case of the people of Lāhīdj of Shīrwān. As to Lāhīdjān of Kurdistān, we may recall the hypothesis of Andreas that the name "Dimla" by which the Zāzā call themselves (north of Diyārbakr) is a metathesis of Dēlam (Daylam). The emigrations from Gīlān, still very obscure, certainly penetrated far to the west. Finally, to the names mentioned one might add perhaps that of Ḳalʿa-yi Lāhūdj in Khūzistān (?); cf. Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, GMS facs., 240. (V. Minorsky)

LĀHĪDJĪ, the *nisba* of several eminent persons connected with Lāhīdjān [*q.v.*] in the Caspian region of Persia, among whom the following may be mentioned.

1. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Gīlānī, theologian, mystic, and poet of the Tīmūrid-Ṣafawid period and a renowned *shaykh* of the Nūrbakhshiyya Ṣūfī order in Shīrāz. He joined his master Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh in 849/1445, and during a period of 16 years, under Nūrbakhsh's spiritual direction, accomplished considerable progress along the Ṣūfī path. After the death of Nūrbakhsh (869/1464), or even slightly before then, Lāhīdjī retired to Shīrāz, where he founded a Nūrī (= Nūrbakhshī) *khānaḳāh* [*q.v.*], and spent much of his time in mystical exercises and teaching Ṣūfī doctrines. During this period of retirement, he was held in great respect not only by scholars such as Dawānī [*q.v.*] and Djāmī [*q.v.*], but also by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I, who paid him a visit at his *khānaḳāh* in 909/1503 in Shīrāz. Nevertheless, the biographical data which we can glean from his own writings are minimal: a six-months' stay in Tabrīz

prior to his master's death; a pilgrimage to Mecca in 882/1477; and a short sojourn in Yemen, where in the course of his way back home from Mecca, he made an investiture of Nūrbakhshi khirkas to a couple of disciples—a father and son—in Zabīd, for whom he also wrote a concise idjāza in Arabic, with traditional Ṣūfī instructions. His death, according to an oft-cited chronogram (= *Mādda taʾrīkh*), occurred in 912/1506. Other dates, including 980/1572 (cited by Pertsch, *Persische Handschriften*, 830) and 869/1464 (H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, index) are definitely incorrect. Lāhīdjī's literary output, including his *Dīwān*, with Asīrī as his pen-name, and a didactic *mathnawī* called *asrār al-shudūd*, contains a theosophical prose work called *Mafātīḥ al-iʿdjāz* (an extensive commentary on the well-known *Gulshan-i rāz* of Maḥmūd-i Shabistarī [*q.v.*]), together with a number of shorter tracts with comments on the difficult verses of some old poets. His own poetry, although of considerable theosophical value, is of rather mediocre literary quality. His son Fidāʾī-yi Lāhīdjī (d. 927/1521), better known as Shaykhzāda, was also a poet and reportedly a Nūrbakhshī *shaykh* as well.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the text): Nūr Allāh-i Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, lith. Tabriz, 306-9; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān-i Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn* [2], 63; Maʿṣūm ʿAlī-Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ii, 143; iii, 55-6; Ibn-i Yūsuf-i Shīrāzī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-yi Sipahsālār*, Tehran 1318/1939, ii, 559-60; Mudarris-i Khiyābānī, *Rayḥānat al-adab* [2], ii, 125-6; Kaywān-i Samīʿī, preface to his edn. of the *Mafātīḥ al-iʿdjāz*, Tehran 1337/1958. For an analysis of some of Lāhīdjī's personal mystical experiences, see H. Corbin, in *Eranos-Jahrbücher* (1959); the *Dīwān-i Asīrī-yi Lāhīdjī*, together with his minor tracts, edited by Dr. Barāt-i Zandjānī, is now in press.

2. ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ B. ʿALĪ B. ḤUSAYN GĪLĀNĪ, theologian, philosopher and poet of the late Ṣafawid period and a leading master of the so-called philosophical school of Iṣfahān. Although a favourite pupil and a son-in-law of Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, he did not share his master's philosophical teachings over several topics. Among these one may mention Mullā Ṣadrā's belief in the movement of substances (= *al-ḥarakat al-djawhariyya*) and his opinion on the basicality of being (= *aṣālat al-wudjūd*). Lāhīdjī spent the latter part of his life in Ḳumm, where he died in 1072/1661, leaving behind him a considerable literary output. His own philosophy was of a rather eclectic character, owing much to Ibn Sīnā's and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's thought. His works include the *Ḥāshiya-yi Kitāb-i Ishārāt*, being glosses upon Ṭūsī's commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tashbīhāt*, and the *Shawāriḳ al-ilhām*, a concise but original commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Tadjrīd al-ʿaḳāʾid*. He wrote also a commentary on Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī's *Hayākil al-nūr*, along with other theological works. Among these are two Persian books dealing with the elements of Shīʿī theology: the *Gawhar-i murād*, which he dedicated to Shāh ʿAbbās II *ca.* 1052/1642, and *Sarmāyī-yi īmān* which he composed in 1058/1648 at the request of a friend. Lāhīdjī's poetical pen-name was Fayyāḍ, under which he composed a *dīwān* of no less than 5,000 verses. He is said to have had personal connections with contemporary poets, such as Ṣāʾib-i Tabrīzī and others. His own poetry contains gnostic ideas, though Lāhīdjī had no sympathy for the Ṣūfī *shaykhs* of his time. Although equally criticised by some fanatical *ʿulamāʾ* of his epoch, Lāhīdjī has been considered as in general more acceptable to orthodox Shīʿism than his teacher Mullā Ṣadrā was. Lāhīdjī's sons Mīrzā Ibrāhīm and Mīrzā Ḥasan were also theologians of some repute. The latter, who died in 1121/1709, left behind no less than twelve books on theological problems.

Bibliography: later authors have sometimes confused Shams al-Dīn Lāhīdjī and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Lāhīdjī, so that they have called the commentator of the *Gulshan-i rāz* ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (see e.g. E. G. Browne, *LHP*, iv, 148), or Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, which is but a forged name (see Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 56). Concerning the philosophical school of Iṣfahān, see Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, iv, Paris-Tehran 1972, 9 ff.; A. Bausani, *La Persia religiosa*, Milan 1959, 386 ff.; S. H. Nasr, in M. Sharif's *A history of Muslim philosophy*, 1966, ii, 904 ff. For an analysis of the philosophical teachings of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ-i Lāhīdjī, see S. Dj. Āshtiyānī's *Anthologie des philosophes iraniens, textes persanes et arabes*, Introduction analytique par H. Corbin, Tehran-Paris 1972, i, index. For his life and works, see Brockelmann, II, 590; C. Rieu, *Cat. of Persian manuscripts, Suppl.*, 205-6.; Browne, *LHP*, iv, 408-9, 435; Mudarris-i Khiyābānī, *op. cit.*, iv, 361-3. (A. H. ZARRINKOOB)

LAḤN AL-ʿĀMMA, "errors of language made by the common people", is an expression which characterises a branch of lexicography designed to correct deviations by reference to the contemporary linguistic norm, as determined by the purists. The treatises which could be classed under this heading, correspond, broadly speaking, to our "do not say ... but say...", the incorrect form generally being introduced by "you say" or "they say = one says" (*taḳūl, yaḳūlūn*) and the correct form by *wa 'l-ṣawāb*... "whereas the norm is..."; they are most often intitled *Kitāb Laḥn al-ʿāmma* or *Kitāb mā talḥan/yalḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*, but may also be *Kitāb mā taghlaṭ fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*, *Kitāb ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*, *Kitāb Tathḳīf al-lisān*, etc., although this range of titles does not necessarily imply a significant difference in the manner of presentation of linguistic facts or a particular method of choosing the material to be considered. These works give evidence of the development of current usage and can, to a certain extent, serve as a means of tracing the history of the language, especially from the time that a standardisation of the *ʿarabiyya* [*q.v.*] came into operation through the efforts of the philologists.

Under the heading AL-KHĀṢṢA WA 'L-ʿĀMMA, reference has been made to the *ʿāmma* of the grammarians, without any attempt to define it and determine its limits. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, who has considered this point (in *RIMA*, iii/1 [1376/1956], 133 ff.), relies quite rightly on a passage of al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 137) who writes: "When you hear me speak of the *ʿawāmm*, I do not refer to the peasants, the lower orders, the artisans and the tradesmen, nor the Kurds of the mountains or those who dwell on the islands in the sea... the *ʿawāmm* who belong to our nation and our religious community and possess our culture and morals constitute a class endowed with intelligence and qualities superior to those categories cited above, without however attaining the level of our *khāṣṣa*. It should be noted, in addition, that the *khāṣṣa* is also divided into hierarchical strata". It will be seen from this passage that al-Djāḥiẓ, without making a decisive contribu-

tion to the problem posed by the definition of the *khāṣṣa* and of the *ʿāmma*, excludes from the latter, from a linguistic point of view at least, the lower orders of society and the foreign elements whose language was not regarded as belonging to the *ʿarabiyya*, as strictly defined, and he includes among the *ʿawāmm* a medium social class who, at a time when literary Arabic and dialectal Arabic, as we call them, had not been irretrievably divorced, were expressing themselves in a language which was already less formal, but still fairly close to that of the *khāṣṣa*, of the intellectual élite, or the upper echelons of the latter, theoretically guardians of the norm of the past, of the innate and spontaneously respected *faṣāḥa* [*q.v.*].

Al-Zubaydī provides a number of definitions in this context when he writes in the introduction to his *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm* (cf. al-Ahwānī, *art. cit.*, 133; G. Krotkoff, *The "Laḥn al-ʿawāmm" of Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī*, in *Bull. of the College of Arts and Sciences, Baghdad*, ii [1957], 6-7): "I have examined the language employed in our time and in our land (Muslim Spain) and here I have found phrases which are cited neither by Abû Ḥātim (al-Sidjistānī; see below) nor by other lexicographers; it is a question of alterations, owed to our *ʿāmma*, which has modified the pronunciation (of certain words) or adapted the meaning, and has been followed in this practice by a great many people, to the point where these incorrect usages have infiltrated into the works of poets, and the most eminent scribes and functionaries include them in their correspondence and make use of depraved expressions in their conversations. I have therefore decided it appropriate to draw attention, in my turn, to these faults, to indicate the correct form which corresponds and to devote a book to the inaccuracies which I have observed . . . while leaving aside those that are committed by the mass of the people. . . and concentrating on those which one may expect to find in the language of the *khāṣṣa*." His treatise is however intitled *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, and one gains the distinct impression that this last term, or its singular *ʿāmma*, in the titles considered in this connection, is pure euphemism designed to disguise the truth and spare the feelings of the *khāṣṣa*, while laying the responsibility for linguistic deviations upon the latter. In fact, if he was referring to the uneducated people of whom al-Djāḥiz speaks, the works which belong to this genre would be descriptions of dialects, of the type which are known today as *ʿāmmī* or *ʿāmmiyya*; now this is far from being the case, even if dialectal forms did infiltrate the usage of the scholars who constituted a faction of the *khāṣṣa*. Furthermore, authors are well aware that their works will not be read by "the man in the street" and it is not a part of their objective to induce illiterates totally separated from their roots, or, which is more to the point, arabophones of foreign origin, to express themselves like the Arabs of the Djāhiliyya who merit the qualifying adjective of *faṣīḥ*. In reality, all the treatises of which we shall attempt a fully inventory in due course address themselves to a fairly closely-defined *khāṣṣa* whose practices are in need of correction, and al-Ḥarīrī is one of the few authors who has the courage to break with tradition and tell the truth, when he intitles his book *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣ* (*ṣ*).

In this case, *awhām*, elsewhere *khaṭaʾ*, *ghalaṭ*/*ghalaṭāt* or *saḳaṭāt*—"errors, faults, lapses"—are often substituted, in the titles of treatises, for *laḥn*, which is the time-honoured term. This technical expression has been the object of a vigorous semantic study on the part of J. Fück, in an appendix to his history of the Arabic language, *ʿArabīya* (Berlin 1950, 128-35; Fr. tr. Cl. Denizeau, Paris 1955, 195-205). Apart from its ancient connotations such as "word with double meaning, obscure allusion", "intelligence" etc., between which a subtle line of association may be traced, *laḥn* also appears to have signified, originally, "manner of speaking", "use of a word or pronunciation of a phonem peculiar to an individual or an ethnic group", in such a way that it could be considered an equivalent of the word *lugha*, adapted by the grammarians to take on the technical meaning of "dialectical or regional variation". These peculiarities were not, in themselves, reprehensible, but they were observed and sometimes derided by Arabs who, rightly or wrongly, stimulated by a spirit of purism and regarding themselves as defenders of the *faṣāḥa*, judged them contrary to their instinctive conception of the norm. *Laḥn* was not slow, however, with the establishment of normative grammar, to be applied to any deviation with regard to the rule and, in the first instance, to the abandonment of the *iʿrāb* [*q.v.*], of which an illustration or a relic may be perceived in the use of the word *malḥūn* [*q.v.*] to designate a form of popular poetry. It is thus that *laḥn* takes on the sense of "deed of committing faults of language", then of "perverted use (solecism, barbarism, malapropism, etc.)", as opposed to idiomatic usage and simple regionalism. Having become a synonym of *khaṭaʾ*, it is with this meaning that it figures twice in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh (i, 262, 349; see G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du* Kitāb *de Sibawayh*, Paris 1976, 188). In the following century, the use of the term in this precise sense had become so widespread that al-Djāḥiz himself, commenting on a verse in which *laḥn* signified "word with double meaning, obscure allusion", spontaneously, but erroneously, gave it the meaning of "fault" (see Fück, *op. laud.*, 131-2; Fr. tr., 200-1; Pellat, in *Arabica*, xxi/2 [1974], 183-4).

The norm to which reference has been made above is nothing more than an ideal to which the various grammatical schools are at pains to pay attention in their application of criteria which sometimes lead to contradictory results. In addition to differences in viewpoint, there is no shortage of regional peculiarities, as is to be expected in a region as vast as the Arabic-speaking world, which serve to explain both the relative abundance of works of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* and the divergent tendencies of which they are sometimes the expression.

In the course of the last hundred years, more or less detailed inventories of these works have been compiled, completed, and corrected by both Eastern and Western scholars who have taken a particular interest in this branch of philological study. The earliest is that of H. Thorbecke who, in his introduction to the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī (Leipzig 1871, 7-12) supplied a preliminary list which was soon to be enlarged by I. Goldziher (in *ZDMG*, xxvii [1873], 155-6); a few years later, the latter devoted an article to the question, *Zur Literaturgeschichte des Chaṭaʾ al-ʿâmma* (in *ZDMG*, xxxv [1881], 147-52). In publishing his catalogue of the Arabic mss. of Berlin (vi, 1894, 319), Ahlwardt was to put a considerable store of useful information at the disposal of Arabist scholars. Although two books on the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* were written during the subsequent period, a gap of some forty years elapsed before the appearance of a new inventory, this time

in Arabic, compiled by ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf (*al-Lahadjāt al-ʿarabiyya*, in the *Madjalla* of the Academy of Cairo, i [1935], 350-68 and iii, 349-71). The following year, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī was to put forward, in the introduction to his edition of the *Takmila* of al-Djawālīḳī (in *MMIA*, xiv [1936], 169-226) a brief list, later to be completed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid (in *MMIA*, xvi [1941], 287), Kurkīs ʿAwwād (*ibid.*, xvii [1942], 282) and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī (*ibid.*, xxv [1950], 471-7). In 1953, the IFAO of Cairo published the anonymous *Djumāna*, preceded by an introduction by the editor, Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and containing a list of Maghribī treatises. The most complete inventory is that with which U. Rizzitano prefaced his analysis of the *Tathḳīf al-lisān* of Ibn Makkī (*Studia et documenta orientalia*, 5, Centro di studi orientali della Custodia Francescana di Terra Santa, Cairo 1956); this work, which has lost none of its value, will be extensively utilised in the present article. In the same year, there appeared in Cairo a thesis presented in 1953 by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, *al-Muʿdjam al-ʿarabī*, which also contains (96-115) a rather muddled list. The history of research on the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* up to the year 1957 has been traced by G. Krotkoff (*op. laud.*), who also corrects and supplements Rizzitano on points of detail. Apart from the editions to which attention will be drawn in due course, the most recent works on this subject are those of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī (in *RIMA*, iii/1-2 [1376-7/1957], 133-7, 285-321), of Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (*Laḥn al-ʿāmma*, Cairo 1961, and *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa 'l-taṭawwur al-lughawī*, Cairo 1967) and of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar (*Laḥn al-ʿāmma fī ḍawʾ al-dirāsāt al-lughawiyya al-ḥaditha*, Cairo 1967); the studies of these three last-mentioned authors are based on the partial or complete editions which they had procured.

The earliest treatise dealing with the genre studied here could well be the *Kitāb mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿawāmm* (or *Risāla fī laḥn al-āmma*) attributed to al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805 [*q.v.*]) and published by C. Brockelmann (in *ZA*, xiii, 31-46; cf. Nöldeke, *ibid.*, 111-15), later by al-Maymunī (in *Thalāth rasāʾil*, Cairo 1344/1968); this work comprises 102 entries in which the correct form is introduced by *taḳūl*—"you shall say . . ." and the incorrect form by *lā taḳūl* "you shall not say. . ." (see also Brockelmann, I, 115, S I, 178; Rizzitano, no. 18); the two editors, faced with the question of the legitimacy of the attribution of the text to al-Kisāʾī, finally decided in favour of its authenticity, but Fück (*ʿArabīya*, 50-1; Fr. tr. 77) has cast serious doubt on the issue; since Rizzitano indicates (no. 41) that *al-Naṣīḥa al-tāmma li 'l-khāṣṣa wa 'l-ʿāmma* by a certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAlāʾī al-Ḥanafī is a presentation in alphabetical order of the *Laḥn al-ʿāmma* of al-Kisāʾī, this fact would seem to be an argument in favour of authenticity (cf. Krotkoff, 12, n. 13).

In the list of the writings of al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822 [*q.v.*]), there figures a *Kitāb* (*al-Bahāʾ fī-*) *mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*, now apparently lost (see Ibn al-Nadīm, Cairo ed., 100; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 278 = *Udabāʾ*, xx, 13; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 357; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 411; Rizzitano, no. 4); Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii, 229) compares it with the *Faṣīḥ* of Thaʿlab (see below). In keeping with the chronological order of the authors, by dates of death, it is appropriate to mention next Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/825) [*q.v.*]), who is also credited with a *K. mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* (Ibn al-Nadīm, 80; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 169 = *Udabāʾ*, xix, 161; *Bughya*, 395; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 357; Rizzitano, no. 1) which has not been preserved. The same applies to an article by his compatriot al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828 [*q.v.*]), bearing the same title and mentioned notably by Ibn Yaʿīsh (*Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, Leipzig 1882-6, i, 8), Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (*Fahrasa*, 375), Ibn al-Djawzī (*Taḳwīm al-lisān*, 97, 175) and Rizzitano (no. 2) but omitted, perhaps inadvertently, from the lists of works of this prolific philologist. Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838 [*q.v.*]) is said to be the author, according to the *LA* (root *ḳ-z-z*), of a *K. mā khālafat fīhi 'l-ʿāmma lughāt al-ʿArab* (cf. Rizzitano, no. 5). The *K. mā yalḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* of al-Bāhilī (d. 231/845 [*q.v.*]) has not yet been recovered (see Ibn 'l-Nadīm, 83; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 36; *Bughya*, 130; Rizzitano, no. 10).

A different title, *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (ed. Shākir and Hārūn, Cairo 1949, ²1956; cf. *Oriens*, iii [1950], 325 ff.; Krotkoff, 13), was chosen by Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 244/858 [*q.v.*]) to deal with the same subject. Al-Māzinī (d. 249/863 [*q.v.*]) reverted to the traditional title (Ibn al-Nadīm, 85; al-Anbārī *Nuzha*, ed. ʿĀmir, 112; *Inbāh*, i, 246; *Irshād*, ii, 388 = *Udabāʾ*, vii, 122; Ibn Makkī, *Tathḳīf*, 265; *Bughya*, 202-3; Rizzitano, no. 6), but his treatise is lost. The same fate has befallen that of Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]), also intitled *Mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* (al-Zubaydī, *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, introd.; Ibn al-Nadīm, 87; *Inbāh*, ii, 62; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 348; *Bughya*, 265; Brockelmann, S I, 167; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii, 87 = *Udabāʾ*, xi, 265; Rizzitano, no. 7).

It was no doubt a particular category of the intellectual *khāṣṣa* which came under attack from ʿUmar b. Shabba (d. 262/877 [*q.v.*]) in his *K. al-Naḥw wa-man kāna yalḥan min al-naḥwiyyīn* (*Irshād*, vi, 49 = *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 61; *Bughya*, 361; Rizzitano, no. 7A); to judge by the title adopted, this work must certainly have covered a less extensive span than those mentioned so far, since the author was apparently obliged to draw attention to individual faults committed, in conversations and lectures, by certain grammarians identified by name in order to chastise them for the bad example that they were setting, not with the object of illustrating the evolution of the language and certainly not to justify a certain degree of informality and abandonment of the *iʿrāb*, as was done by his contemporary al-Djāḥiẓ. In imitation of the latter, even an individual as conservative as Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889 [*q.v.*]) went on record as arguing "in favour of the introduction of the spoken, or more exactly, vulgarising style into the written language, when the context requires that the expression be enlivened or embellished" (G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 435); it is nevertheless true that this author, in the chapter intitled *Taḳwīm al-lisān* of his *Adab al-kātib*, also takes his place among the ranks of the defenders of the purity of the *ʿarabiyya*. His contemporary Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. *ca.* 281/895, see AL-DĪNAWARĪ) follows the now well-established tradition in writing a *K. Laḥn al-ʿāmma* or *mā yalḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* (Ibn al-Nadīm, 116; *Inbāh*, i, 42; *Irshād*, i, 127 = *Udabāʾ*, iii, 32; *Bughya*, 132; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 358; Rizzitano, no. 8), as well as, according to al-Suyūṭī, an *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (which is perhaps none other than the *Laḥn al-ʿāmma*).

To Thaʿlab (d. 291/904 [*q.v.*]) there is attributed a *K. mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* (*Inbāh*, i, 150; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 357; Rizzitano, no. 9), but this title must apply, as is suggested by Krotkoff (*op. laud.*, 12-13, n. 15), to the well-known *Faṣīḥ* (ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādjī, Cairo 1949), which is

concerned with the genre being studied here; this work, with its object of establishing the norm, has given rise to a series of commentaries and supplements such as the *Fāʾit al-Faṣīḥ* of Ghulām Thaʿlab (d. 345/957 [*q.v.*]), the *Tamām Faṣīḥ al-kalām* of Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004 [*q.v.*]) edited by A. J. Arberry, London 1951, the *Dhayl Faṣīḥ al-kalām* of al-Ghaznawī (d. 442/1050), the *Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ* of Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī (d. 577/1182 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), the *Dhayl Faṣīḥ Thaʿlab* of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231 [*q.v.*]) edited with the *Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ* of al-Harawī, etc. (see Brockelmann, S I, 181).

Abu 'l-Haydham (d. after 300/913) is likewise credited with a *K. mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* (Ibn al-Nadīm, 122; *Irshād*, vi, 209 = *Udabāʾ*, xvii, 21; *Bughya*, 382; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 357; Rizzitano, no. 3). Ibn Durayd (d. 321/934 [*q.v.*]) wrote a *Taḳwīm al-lisān*, composed in imitation of Ibn Ḳutayba and left incomplete (*Irshād*, vi, 89 = *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 136), but his *K. al-Malāḥin* (Brockelmann, I, 112, S I, 173; Rizzitano, no. 19) is not to be taken into account in this context, since it deals with words of double meaning and not with errors (cf. Krotkoff, 13, n. 15).

As Krotkoff (14) quite correctly points out, reference to mistakes is made in a vast number of works, so that it is difficult to select those which belong to the category of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* without bearing this specific title or one of the equivalents so far encountered. As far as it is possible to judge, the preceding treatises are concerned essentially with oral usage and its more or less accidental repercussions as they affect the written language, but it is legitimate to include in the present inventory works which draw attention to faults of orthography and errors of transmission or reading which threaten to be repeated on a lasting basis and to damage the integrity of the *ʿarabiyya*; after all, authors whose object is undoubtedly to correct what they call the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* do not neglect to devote a chapter to *taṣḥīf* and to *taḥrīf* [*q.v.*], and it will be noted that even Ibn Makkī puts the *bāb al-taṣḥīf* at the head of his book. It will therefore be appropriate to mention here *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīf* (ed. A. Talas, Damascus 1968) of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 350/961 [*q.v.*]), which deals largely with erroneously transmitted verses (cf. Brockelmann, I, 145, S I, 221; Rizzitano, no. 20) and *al-Tanbīhāt ʿalā aghālīṭ/aghlāṭ al-ruwāt* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baṣrī (d. 375/985), which deals with errors and inaccuracies of one stratum of the intellectual *khāṣṣa* (on the mss., see Brockelmann, S I, 176-7). Also belonging to the same category are the *K. al-Taṣḥīḥ/al-Taṣḥīf wa 'l-taḥrīf* of al-Dāraḳuṭnī (d. 385/995 [*q.v.*]), mentioned by Krotkoff (14), and the *Sharḥ mā yaḳaʿ fīhi 'l-taṣḥīf wa 'l-taḥrīf* (ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Aḥmad, Cairo 1963) of Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī (d. 382/993, see AL-ʿASKARĪ), where there are studies of words whose similar *ductus* leads to errors of reading and pronunciation among the *khāṣṣa* as well as among the *ʿāmma*. Also deserving mention perhaps is the *Istidrāk al-ghalaṭ* of al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989 [*q.v.*]) which corrects the errors of the *K. al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl (ed. Guidi, in *Mem. Acc. Lincei*, vi [1890], 414-57).

We return to the subject as such with the *K. Laḥn al-ʿawāmm* or *K. ma yalḥan fīhi ʿawāmm al-Andalus* of the same Zubaydī; this work has been analysed by G. Krotkoff (*op. laud.*) before being published successively by R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (Cairo 1963) and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar (Cairo 1966, with the *Taḳwīm al-lisān* of Ibn al-Djawzī and the *Tathḳīf al-lisān* of Ibn Makkī; see below); for the first time, we encounter an Andalusian author who observes curiously that Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (see above) has found in the Orient faults which are not committed by his compatriots, but he adds that the latter are not immune to inaccuracies; it will be noted that another Andalusian, Ibn Hishām, does not hesitate to criticise his predecessor.

Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005, see AL-ʿASKARĪ) is credited, for his part, with a *Laḥn al-khāṣṣa* (*Bughya*, 221) which is mentioned several times by Ibn al-Djawzī, but which has not survived. We do however have the *K. Tathḳīf al-lisān wa-talḳīḥ al-djanān* of Ibn Makkī (d. 501/1108 [*q.v.*]) first analysed by U. Rizzitano (*op. laud.*), then edited by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar (Cairo 1966, see above). This Sicilian author, who was *ḳāḍī* of Tunis, makes statements analogous to those of al-Zubaydī with reference to the Orient and the Maghrib, and he takes up arms against the degradation of the *ʿarabiyya* which has become so accentuated that people who express themselves correctly are subjected to ridicule; in his opinion, even the few individuals who respect the norm when they read and write cannot resist using the informal language of the common people, that is, dialectal Arabic, in their speech.

The *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣ(ṣ)* of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122 [*q.v.*]) may be considered the most eminent work of this category (ed. H. Thorbecke, Leipzig 1871 and several oriental editions; numerous commentaries; see Brockelmann, I, 277, S I 488).

Salāma b. Ghayyāḍ al-Kaf(a)rṭāʾī (d. 533/1138) is the author of a *K. mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* which is now lost (*Irshād*, iv, 246 = *Udabāʾ*, xi, 234; *Bughya*, 259; Rizzitano, no. 12). Besides the celebrated *Muʿarrab*, al-Djawālīḳī (d. 539/1144 [*q.v.*]) wrote a *K. al-Takmila fi-mā yalḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* published by H. Derenbourg (in *Festschrift Fleischer*, Leipzig 1875, 107-66, under the title *K. Khaṭāʾ al-ʿawāmm*), then by ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī (in *MMIA*, xiv [1936], 163-226, under the title *Takmilat iṣlāḥ mā taghlaṭ fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*); this is a supplement to the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī (see introd. of Tanūkhī, 167-8) which al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 401; cf. Rizzitano, no. 24) entitles in fact *Tatimmat Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, also citing a *Mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*, which must be the same work. Besides the commentaries and supplements to which reference has been made above, the treatise of al-Ḥarīrī gave rise to several refutations, among which that of Ibn al-Khashshāb (d. 567/1171), the *Radd ʿalā Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* (*Bughya*, 276-7), is preserved in the Dār al-Kutub (*Madjāmīʿ*, 198). Al-Djawālīḳī (*Takmila*, ed. Tanūkhī, 167) mentions *al-Laḥn al-khafī* of Hishām b. Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī (d. 577/1182) also noted by al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 406; cf. Rizzitano, no. 13).

Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī (d. 577/1182 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) revises the *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm* of al-Zubaydī and the *Tathḳīf al-lisān* of Ibn Makkī in searching out the ancient attestations of terms rejected by these authors and also corrects faults current in Spain in a work in two parts intitled *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Zubaydī fī laḥn al-ʿawāmm* and *al-Madkhal ilā taḳwīm al-lisān*; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī has extracted from it and published in the *Mélanges Ṭaha Ḥusayn* (Cairo 1962, 273-94) the chapter on popular proverbs drawn from more or less corrupt classical verses, and he has also devoted to this author two articles inserted in *RIMA*, iii/1-2 (1376-7/1957). On the problems posed by the revision of this

treatise and the successive summaries which have been made of it, see below and IBN HISHĀM in the Suppl.; in addition, al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 20) cites a *Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ* (of Thaʿlab) by the same author, considered to be of high quality.

Ibn Barrī (d. 582/1187 [*q.v.*]) takes issue, in his turn, with the *fuḳahāʾ*, but not without taking precautions since he entitles his article *K. Ghalaṭ/Aghlāt al-ḍuʿafāʾ min al-fuḳahāʾ* (ed. C. C. Torrey, in *Orient. Studien ... Th. Nöldeke*, Giessen 1906, 211-24). The *K. Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm* of Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]), published by Maṭar (*Taḳwīm al-lisān*; see above), is mentioned under a variety of titles.

Nothing is known of *al-Taṣḥīf wa 'l-taḥrīf* (Krotkoff, 14) of al-Balaṭī (d. 599/1202 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), nor do we have any information on the refutation of Ibn Makkī by Ibn al-Adjdābī (7th/13th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), *al-Radd ʿalā Tathḳīf al-lisān*, mentioned in the introduction by Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to his edition of the *Djumāna* and in that by ʿIzzat Ḥasan to that of the *al-Azmina wa 'l-anwāʾ* (Damascus 1964, 22) by the Tripolitanian philologist (see also Rizzitano, no. 14).

Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Sakūnī al-Ishbīlī (8th/14th century) is the author of a *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm fī-mā yataʿallaḳ bi-ʿilm al-kalām* (*Djumāna*, p. *yāʾ*, n. 9; Brockelmann, ii, 250; Rizzitano, no. 30), but this work deals with Ashʿarism and not with errors of language properly speaking (see J. D. Latham, *The content of the* Laḥn al-ʿawāmm *of Abū ʿAlī ...*, in *Actas del primer Cong. de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos*, Madrid 1964, 293-307; it has been published by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Zamāma in *Revue des manuscrits arabes*, xvii/2 (1971), 235-76 and by S. Ghrāb, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-Djāmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, xii, (1975), 111-255). The father of the editor of the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn Djuzayy (d. 741/1340), left a *K. al-Fawāʾid al-ʿāmma fī laḥn al-ʿāmma* (see *Djumāna*, p. *ṭ*, n. 6; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, viii, 29; Rizzitano, no. 15). By another Andalusian, Ibn Hāniʾ al-Lakhmī (d. 733/1332), the *Irshād al-ḍawāl(l) wa-inshād al-sawwāl* is a revision of the work of Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī (see above).

Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1348 [*q.v.*]) is the author of an article intitled *Aghlāṭī*, of which one ms. has survived (Derenbourg, *Mss arabes de l'Escurial*, 76, no. 123; cf. Brockelmann, II, 296), but it is unclear whether it fits into the category which concerns us (cf. Rizzitano, no. 31).

The *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf* of al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]) is a criticism and a resumé of nine previous works (of al-Ḥarīrī, al-Djawālīḳī, Ibn Makkī, al-Zubaydī, Ibn al-Djawzī, in particular; see Rizzitano, no. 32); a ms. of it exists in the Dār al-Kutub (37 *lugha*) and it has been the object of an analysis by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī (*K. Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf li 'l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣafadī*, in *MMIA*, xxv [1950], 471-7; see also al-Ahwānī, in *RIMA*, 1957/1, 133, n. 1).

Ibn Khātima (d. 770/1369 [*q.v.*]) restricts himself to a summary, in the *Īrād al-laʾāl fī inshād al-ḍawāl(l)* of the work done by Ibn Hāniʾ al-Lakhmī on the *Taḳwīm al-lisān* of Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī, and his, abridgment has been further edited, anonymously, into the form of a brief article published by G. S. Colin (in *Hespéris*, xii [1931], 1-32). Another unknown western scholar of the 9th-10th/15th-16th century has left a treatise with the revealing title *al-Djumāna fī izālat al-raṭāna* which has been edited by Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (*PIFAO*, Cairo, ix, 1953).

The prolific Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]) was not a man likely to omit a contribution to the genre, and there remains in Istanbul (see Rizzitano, no. 34) a ms. of his *Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*. The same title was given to the Turkish translation (*Terdjüme-i Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*) of *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-khāmil* (or *al-djāhil*) *wa 'l-nabīh* by Ibn Kamāl Pasha (d. 940/1533, see KEMĀL PASHA-ZĀDE), which concerned Arabic words disorted or badly pronounced mainly by the Turks [see also GHALAṬĀT-I MESHHŪRE]; the Arabic text of the *Tanbīh* has been published by R. ʿA. al-ʿUbaydī, in *al-Mawrid*, ix/4 (1401/1981), 551-98.

Raḍī al-Dīn al-Hanbalī (d. 971/1563) seems to a certain extent to take the opposite view from that of previous authors in his *ʿIḳd al-khalāṣ fī naḳd kalām al-khawāṣ(ṣ)* of which one manuscript exists in Istanbul (Rizzitano, no. 3) and his *Baḥr al-ʿawwām fī-mā aṣāba fīhi 'l-ʿawām(m)* (ed. Tanūkhī, in *MMIA*, xv, 85-139, 165-215). Khusraw-zāde (d. 998/1590) summarises al-Farrāʾ, al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda, al-Sidjistānī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, Ibn Ḳutayba, Thaʿlab, al-ʿAskarī, etc., in his *Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm* (ms. in Istanbul; see Rizzitano, no. 38) and corrects some linguistic errors in his *Tanbīh al-anām fī tawḍīḥ al-kalām* (ms. in Berlin; see Brockelmann, ii, 423; Rizzitano, no. 39).

Whereas al-Djawālīḳī confines himself, in his *Muʿarrab*, to considering words borrowed from Arabic, al-Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659 [*q.v.*]) gives, in his *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fī-mā fī kalām al-ʿArab min al-dakhīl*, numerous examples of commonly-committed errors.

Rizzitano further mentions (nos. 43-5) some anonymous *Saḳaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*, equally anonymous *Aghlāṭ al-ʿawāmm wa 'l-khawāṣṣ* (ms. in Istanbul) and *al-Tanbīh ʿalā 'l-laḥn al-djalī wa 'l-khafī* by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Rāzī (various mss.; on the difference between *laḥn djalī* and *laḥn khafī*, see al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, iv, 1308).

The attitude of the authors cited above is by no means homogenous. Some of them show an excessive purism and lay down the law without reservation, whereas others take a more liberal line, accept variations and are content to define the form which they consider the most correct in terms of the *faṣāḥa*; the latter applies, in particular, to the work of Thaʿlab, in his *Faṣīḥ*. The study of those treatises that have survived enables us to make a few general remarks.

In the first place, as has been stressed above, the philologists are not concerned with purely dialectal usage, which they regard as an adaptation of the *ʿarabiyya*, of the perfect form of Arabic, and not at all as a survival and evolution of ancient speech-patterns influenced by the mixture of ethnic elements as well as by the language formerly spoken in that territory and the language of neighbouring areas. It is therefore quite interesting to see for example an Ibn Hishām going in search, to justify usages considered erroneous, of attestations of terms rejected by his predecessors with regard to the criterion of the *faṣāḥa*, but alive and well in the ancient Arabic dialects. The faults to which attention is drawn in the works in question do not however apply exclusively to elements of vocabulary, and usages which transgress the norm can be classified in five main categories: 1. The most common applies to phonetics (incorrect vocalisation; lengthening of a vowel; alteration of a consonant by lengthening, emphasis, disemphasis, sonorisation, deadening, etc.; metathesis; reduction of a dipthong, etc.); 2. Morphology gives rise to remarks on, for example,

the first person singular of the imperfective in *n*-, but does not figure significantly; 3. The same applies to syntax. 4. Orthography, especially of the *hamza*, is the object of a few observations; 5. But it is most of all vocabulary which interests these authors (shifts of meaning; neologisms and borrowings which are regarded as superfluous because a proper Arabic term exists; excessive use of dialectal forms, etc.).

The mediaeval authors of treatises of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* have in the present day some worthy successors, of whom there will be found in the introduction by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn S. al-Zaʿbalawī to his work entitled *A*k͟h*ṭāʾunā fi ʾl-ṣuḥuf wa ʾl-dawāwīn* (Damascus 1358/1939, 3, 6-9) a critical list, which may be enlarged by a study of the reviews of the various Arab Academies and of publications concerned with the language. Using criteria similar to those of their mediaeval predecessors, these authors are at pains to correct errors current in the press, in administration and in literature; we shall confine ourselves to mentioning Ibrāhīm al-Yāzid͟jī (1847-1906), *Lug͟hat al-d͟jarāʾid* (Cairo 1319/1901, Asʿad K͟halīl Dāg͟hir, *Tad͟hkirat al-kātib* (Cairo 1933), al-Zaʿbalawī (see above), and Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī (1875-1945) who, in his *Dafʿ al-hid͟jna fi ʾrtiḍāk͟h al-lukna*, draws attention to deviations from Arabic caused by the Turkish domination.

To judge by the way that the language has been degraded, works of *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, whether ancient or modern, do not seem to have born fruit, and the efforts of the purists continue to be vain in confrontation with the development of the written and oral usage of so-called "literary" Arabic, which hardly allows interested parties the time to polish their language, even assuming that they are capable of doing so. In addition, it may be asserted that there is a tendency to put into practice the old adage *li-kull maḳām maḳāl* and to consider that the *faṣāḥa* to which one refers is not intangible and that it has the right to evolve it (on this subject see R. Ḥamzāwī, *al-Faṣāḥa faṣāḥāt, aw al-daʿwa ilā ḍarūrat murād͟jaʿat al-faṣāḥa* (*sic*), in *Ḥawliyyāt al-D͟jāmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, xvi [1978], 45-63).

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(CH. PELLAT)

LAHNDĀ, meaning "west" in Pand͟jābī, was first given wide currency as a linguistic term by Grierson in the *Linguistic survey of India*. Following this authority, the name is often applied to the Indo-Aryan dialects of the western Pand͟jāb (Pākistān), as opposed to the PAND͟JĀBĪ [*q.v.*] of the central and eastern districts. The more natural feminine "Lahndī" is now general in South Asian scholarly usage, but neither form has ever achieved popular local currency.

1. **Status and dialects.** Grierson distinguished the dialects of the westen Pand͟jāb as belonging to a "Lahndā language" (L.), regarded by him as a pure example of his conservative "Outer Circle" group, from the immediately neighbouring dialects he assigned to Pand͟jābī proper (P.), described as a member of his innovating "Central Group", which had come to overlay territory formerly occupied by L., although still retaining several L. features. Both the failure of Grierson's division of Indo-Aryan into "Outer" and "Central" groups to find much later support and the absence of any cohesive local consciousness of linguistic unity suggest that L. is to be regarded less as a language than as a convenient linguistic label for a group of dialects. In the latter sense, L. may be quite properly be distinguished from P. on the basis of such features as the conservative retention of many irregular past participles, the extensive use of pronominal suffixes with verbs (suggesting a parallel with the immediately neighbouring Iranian languages), the presence of a distinctive form of the past substantive verb (L. *āhā, hā* "was", P. *sī*), the non-periphrastic formation of the passive (L. *suṅī-* "be heard", P. *suṅiā jā-*), or the sigmatic formation of the future (L. *suṅsī* "he will hear", P. *suṅēgā*); many basic lexical items may also be collectively distinguished, as in the common verbal stems L. *ghinn-* "take", *t͟hī-* "become", *wanj-* "go" (< Sanskrit *gṛhṇāti, sthīyatē, *vrañjati*), for P. *lai-, ho-, ja-* (< *labhatē, bhavati, yāti*). The recognition of such differences should not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that the many similarities between L. and P. make them closer to one another than either are to their immediate neighbours, respectively Sindhī and western Hindī.

Grierson's internal division of L. into dialect-groups, based as it was on data of very uneven quality, has been rightly criticised (see bibliography). While much detailed work still needs to be done, at least four such groups probably need to be distinguished.

The main group is that which covers the south-western Pand͟jāb on either bank of the Indus below the Salt Range, including Multān and Bahāwalpūr, also the districts of Dēra Ismāʿīl K͟hān and Dēra G͟hāzī K͟hān. Apparently as the result of earlier Balūč migrations from the latter areas, it is also widely spoken in eastern Balūčistān and upper Sind. In Sind it is called Sirāikī (< Sindhī *sirō* "up-river, north"), and this term has recently come to be generally current in the Pand͟jāb also, replacing such local terms as "Multānī", etc. The absence of separate enumeration in the censuses and the settlement of large numbers of P.-speaking Muslim refugees from India since 1947 in the area makes the number of Sirāikī-speakers impossible to estimate accurately, though a figure of 15-20 million is often suggested. Both the number of speakers and the fact that Sirāikī (Sir.) is the only variety of L. to have been seriously cultivated as a vehicle for literature (see § 2. below) go some way to support its claim to be considered a separate language. Linguistically, Sir. is the variety of L. most distinct from P., as may be most clearly illustrated from typical phonological features. Middle Indo-Aryan initial and medial geminate voiced unaspirates are retained as such in P. and other varieties of L., but become implosive in Sir., as in Sindhī, and are in phonemic contrast with the corresponding explosives (often as a result of Perso-Arabic loans, which are very extensive): historical aspiration, whether as *h* or in the voiced aspirate series, is retained as such in Sir., where it has been reduced to tonal realisation of the adjacent syllables in P.: and, while L. is collectively distinguished from P. by the retention of *tr-* as an initial cluster (L. *truṭṭ-, trōṛ-* "break", P. *ṭuṭṭ-, ṭōṛ-*), Sir. is further distinguished by retention finally also, without anaptyxis, so Sir. *putr* "son" (< *putra-*), but northern L. *puttur*, Pl. *puttar*. Three main dialects of Sir. may be distinguished, although the differences are not particularly marked: these are the northern Thalī, the central Multānī, and the southern Bahāwalpūrī.

To the north of Sir., in and above the Salt Range, a number of related dialects are spoken, of which only Awāṅkārī has been properly described. This group of dialects is distinguished phonetically by the retention of historical aspiration, or its realisa-

tion as a high-falling tone, but normally without the low-rising tone of P., and morphologically by the use of extension in -ē to mark the singular oblique of unextended masculine nouns. Immediately to the east of this "northern L." group (of which the Hindkō of Peshāwar may be regarded as a member having many innovating features) is found Pōthōhārī, the speech of the Rāwalpiṅḍī area, which appears to be an intermediate dialect between it and P. Finally, to the south of this, in the Shāhpūr area, a complex group, containing features of P., northern L., and Sir. is encountered. This is clearly a linguistic frontier area, and it is unfortunate that Grierson should have chosen it as his standard for the description of L. The number of all speakers of varieties of L. other than Sir. is impossible to estimate accurately, but may amount to about 7 million.

2. Muslim literature. While the L.-speaking region was one of the first in the sub-continent to fall under Muslim political dominance, and the area has long had a large majority of Muslims in its population (now almost total, since 1947), the predominant literary language was naturally always Persian until its replacement by Urdū in the last century. Sir. has, however, also been cultivated for some types of writing, leading to the creation of an interesting local literature.

The earliest record of Muslim poetry in the Pandjāb is in the *shalōk* and hymns attributed to Farīd in the Sikh *Ādi Granth* (1604). While their traditional ascription to Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar (571-664/1175-1265 [*q.v.*]) is exceedingly doubtful, their language does suggest that a composite idiom, based on the Sir. of Multān, long important as the seat of influential Ṣūfī dynasties, and the P. of the political capital of Lahore, was already well established as a local Muslim literary language by the 16th century. This is confirmed by the more reliably transmitted works of such slightly later writers as Mawlawī ʿAbd Allāh "ʿAbdī" (d. 1075/1664), author of many versified treatises on Islamic law and dogma.

Only in the 18th century, with the collapse of centralised Mughal authority, does a linguistically distinctive tradition of Sir., as opposed to P., Muslim literature properly emerge. This literature is nearly all in verse, and most of its genres and themes are naturally very similar to the contemporary local literatures being cultivated both in P. and in Sindhī. The largest single category of writing was probably the versified teaching material produced in the form of short treatises on the tenets of Islam, or rhyming Persian-Sir. vocabularies, of little intrinsic literary interest. Adaptations of popular Persian *mathnawī*-themes were also made, the best-known of these poems (locally termed *ḳiṣṣa*) being the *Sayf al-Mulūk* by Luṭf ʿAlī of Bahāwalpūr (119/1781) and the *Yūsuf Zulaykhā* by ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm of Uč (1218/1803). Local legends were also treated in this form, the best early example being from Sind, in the *Sassī Punnūn* by Nabī Bakhsh Laghārī (1254/1838).

The chief glory of the literature is, however, its Ṣūfī lyrical poetry, whether in the form of the short *dōhṛā*, cultivated by ʿAlī Ḥaydar of Multān (d. 1201/1785), or the longer *kāfī*, a sung lyric with a refrain repeated after each verse, first brought to perfection by Saččal Sarmast (1152-1242/1739-1827) of Khayrpūr in Upper Sind, who wrote with equal fluency and immediacy in Sindhī also. The finest example of the Sir. *kāfī* are to be found in the *dīwān* of Khʷādja Ghulām Farīd (1845-1901), the head of an important Čishtī dynasty, who lived at Čāčṛān in Bahāwalpūr State. With their subtle blend of a sensitive handling of local desert scenery, and the most profound Islamic learning, these poems mark both the end and the culmination of Muslim writing in the local languages of the Indus valley.

Mention should be made of the Shīʿī elegies (*marthiya* [*q.v.*]) produced in great numbers from Multān since the mid-19th century. These represent interesting local adaptations of the vast store of Shīʿī legendary material found in the popular Persian sources, and are notable stylistically as being typically written in alternating sections of verse and prose (*taḳrīr*), thus directly reflecting the usual style of performance of the professional *dhākirs* at the local *madjālis-i mātam*.

Traditional genres continue to be cultivated, while in recent years a modern prose literature has begun to be created. The problem of a uniform adaptation of the Perso-Urdū *nastaʿlīḳ* script [see KHAṬṬ. 4. India] to record the many additional phonemes of Sir. has yet to be fully resolved. In Sind, no longer important as a centre for the production of original Sir. literature, older Sir. texts are published in the Sindhī *naskhī* script, with its many additional letters.

There is a much smaller Muslim literature in the northern L. Hindkō. Writings produced in the areas of Pōṭhōhārī and Shāhpūrī are hardly to be distinguished from the main stream of Muslim Pandjābī literature [*q.v.*].

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2. Literature. The best surveys of the literature (in Urdū) are Kayfī Djāmpūrī, *Sirāēkī shāʿirī, Multān* 1969; Fārigh Bukhārī, *Hindkō adab*, and Ḥassān al-Ḥaydarī, *Sirāēkī adab*, in *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt-i musulmānān-i Pākistān ō-Hind*, ed. Fayyāḍ Maḥmūd, xiv, part II, Lahore 1971, 210-56, 257-343; there is a general survey of Sir. literature in C. Shackle, *Sirāikī and Sirāikī literature, c. 1750-1900*, in *Upper Sind and South-West Panjab*, University of London Ph. D. thesis 1972 (unpublished), while detailed aspects are considered in idem, *The south-western style in the Guru Granth Sahib*, in *Journal of Sikh Studies*, v/1 (1978), 69-87; *Styles and themes in the Siraiki mystical poetry of Sind*, Multan 1976; *The Pilgrimage and the extension of sacred geography in the poetry of Khwāja Ghulām Farīd*, in Attar Singh, ed., *Socio-cultural impact of Islam on India*, Chandigarh 1976, 159-70; *The Multani marsiya*, in *Isl.*, lv (1978), 100-28; and [Muḥammad Djamāl Multānī], *Nūr-e-djamal*, ed. Mahar Abdul Haq, tr. C. Shackle, Multan 1977. (C. SHACKLE)

LAHORE [see LAHAWR].

LĀHŪT and **NĀSŪT** (A.), two terms meaning divinity (or deity) and humanity, and forming a pair which plays an important role in the theology of certain Muslim mystics and in the theosophical conceptions of the extremist Imāmate.

1. **Philological considerations.** The termination *-ūt* of these two words may be traced to an Aramaic origin. It is also present in the words *malakūt* (which is Ḳur'ānic, XXXVI, 83), and *djabarūt* which appears in the *ḥadīth*: "Glory to the One to whom belongs Ruling Power (*djabarūt*) and Kingship (*malakūt*)." So *malakūt* was already Arabised in the time of the Prophet. It is a direct borrowing from Syriac (*malkūtō*), or Ethiopic (*malakôt*), where this word means divinity, the Semitic root *'l* (God) being lost and replaced by the composite noun *'ègzī' abèḥèr*? Is it a difficult question to settle. Muḥammad's known relations with Abyssinia would lead one to suppose a Ge'ez influence. Whatever may be the case, Ibn Manẓūr, in *LA*, states, without posing the problem, that "*al-malakūt* comes from *mulk* (kingdom), just as *rahabūt* (terrifying nature) comes from *rahba* (terror)." As for *djabarūt*, he says that it is the *fa'alūt* form of *djabr*. Consequently, he seems to give these words in *-ūt* a right to be cited as Arabic. He is more precise with regard to *lāhūt*: "Sībawayh thinks that *lāh^{un}* is the original form (*aṣl*) of the name of God (*Allāh*)", and he cites a verse of al-A'shā in which *lāh* is understood in the sense of *ilāh* ("god"). Then he adds: "As for *lāhūt*, if it is correct that it is a word drawn from the language of the Arabs, it is derived from *lāha*: *lāha 'llāh al-khalḳ, yalūhuhum = khalaḳahum* "He created them". The form of this word (*wazn*) is *fa'alūt* like *raghabūt* (e.g. *radjul raghabūt*: a man of desires, naturally carried away by desire) and *raḥamūt* ('compassionate nature')." Thus there are several examples in Arabic of words in *-ūt*. The question as to whether they are, as such, of Arabic origin, remains unsettled by the lexicographers. In any case, a Syriac text of Aphraatus (4th century) has *shem alohūtō*, followed by *shem malkūtō*, the noun of the Divinity and the noun of the Kingship, and further on *raḥmonūtō* (*Patrologie Syriaque*, i, 794). *Alōhūt* may be the equivalent of *lāhūt*, although Syriac preserved the *alif* which is in the name of God, *alōhō* = *ilāh*, and which forms part of the root (cf. the discussions of the grammarians on the formation of the name *Allāh*). Finally, one should note that in Syriac, *alōhūt* designates the essence or nature of God (*kyōnō*).

On the origin of *nāsūt*, by contrast, there is no information available. Al-Tahānawī in his *Dictionary of technical terms* has not devoted any article to it. Ibn Manẓūr does not cite this word under the root *nās* or under the root *'ns* from which come *ins* and its pl. *unās*, as well as *insān*. Here, it is well-established, according to Abu 'l-Haytham, that the *alif* is radical (*aṣliyya*); this grammarian is also ingenious in showing how *nās* ("men") could have come from *unās*, by adding the article *al*: *al-unās* > *alunās* > *annās* (*al-nās*), and, after the dropping of the article, *nās*. This laborious explanation shows that if the form *nās* raises difficulties, *a fortiori* the form *nāsūt*. But Syriac has a word ܐܢܫܘܬܐ (')*noshūtô* with an occulting stroke (*m^{e}b^{h}atlōnō*) under the *alif*, indicating that his letter must not be pronounced. There is the form *nōshō* without *alif*, which means "man". This can be compared, in Sermon xv of the *Liber graduum* (*P.S.*, iii, 379), with *per humilitatem hypostaseos ejus humanae* (*da-ḳnūmeh d-bar nōshō* "from the hypostasis of the son of man"). So the Syriac origin of the word *nāsūt* does not seem to be in doubt; it designates human nature. Doubtless it was also chosen because of its assonance with *lāhūt*.

2. ***Lāhūt*** **and** ***nāsūt*** **in Christian literature.** Al-Bāḳillānī in the *Tamhīd* (Cairo 1366/1947) speaks of the Christians who claim that the union of the Word with the *nāsūt* is a mixture and mingling (*ikhtilāṭ wa-'mtizādj*) like that of water with wine (the Jacobites) or with milk (the Nestorians). Some claim that the significance of the union of the Word with humanity (*nāsūt*) which is the body, consists in its taking it as a temple (*haykal*) and dwelling place (*maḥall*) (86). Further on, al-Bāḳillānī reports that for the Christians, the name Messiah has two meanings: *lāhūt*, God (*ilāh*) and *nāsūt*, created man (*insān makhlūḳ*): the prayers of Christ come from the man, his miracles come from God and not from the man. But, demands the Muslim theologian, could the same not be said of Moses? The production of his miracles comes from the divinity, to the exclusion of his humanity (*min al-lāhūt, dūn al-nāsūt*) (94). For his part, al-Djuwaynī, in his *Kitāb al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* (ed. al-Nashar, Alexandria 1969, 582), writes with regard to the Christian doctrines concerning the union (*ittiḥād*), that the Christians mean by it the manifestation of divinity in humanity (*ẓuhūr al-lāhūt 'alā 'l-nāsūt*). But in the way in which they conceive of this manifestation, they are divided into three groups. Some say that an object placed in front of a polished body appears there and can be seen without being transferred there and without dwelling there (*wa-lam yaḥullah*); it is in this sense that divinity appears in humanity, thus without *ḥulūl*. Others take the example of the impression of a seal in wax; it is the seal itself which appears there, although there is no part of it which comes to dwell there. The last group say that the manifestation of divinity in Christ means the same thing as, for Muslims, God's sitting on the throne, all of them agreeing that contact is impossible. Furthermore, they express union with the image of an act of clothing oneself (*tadarru'*), as if they believe that it is possible and true that the divinity had taken the body of Christ as clothing (*dir'*). Reference may be made to what H. Corbin wrote (*En Islam iranien*, iii, 285, n. 102), on al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336). So it may be reasonable to suppose that the terms *lāhūt* and *nāsūt* were borrowed from the Christians who wrote in Arabic using Syriac sources and originals, particularly the Nestorians who had had, as we learn from al-Tawḥīdī, numerous relations with Muslim thinkers, especially in Baghdād. It is conceivable that the problem of the union of the divinity and humanity in Christ had been able to interest the mystics of Islam, who were faced with an analogous problem, *mutatis mutandis*. On this subject, the ideas of assuming a garment, indwelling and temple are present in the writings of St. John and St. Paul, and these images were applied not only to Christ, but also to the saints in whom God, Christ and the Spirit are said to reside. An echo is to be found in Syriac literature. Thus one can read in the *Liber graduum* (Sermon iii, *P.S.*, iii, 71): "And Christ dwells in them" (*w-'ômer b-hūn Mashīḥō*); they are "filled with God" (*metmalen men Alōhō*). One should note the translation of the passage of St. Paul: "You are the temple of God" (I Cor., iii, 16): *Hayk^{e}leh a(n)tūn d-Alōhō*. The Arabic language has the word *haykal* whose significance, according to the lexicographers, is that of an adjective which has the meaning of "corpulent", "large", "long or high". This qualification is applied to animals and plants, especially the horse when it is "high on its hooves" (*ṭawīl*). A building is called *haykal*, when it is raised like a horse on its hooves (*LA*); Ibn Manẓūr (*ibid.*) informs us that the *haykal*

"is stated as being, among the Christians, a temple (*bayt*) in which there is an idol in the likeness of Mary (*fīhi ṣanam ʿalā khalḳat Maryam*) or even: "in which there is the effigy of Jesus and Mary". He adds that this name is sometimes given to Christian convents. Only lastly does he mention the meaning of an idol temple. So it seems indisputable that the use of the term *haykal* to designate the place where the *lāhūt*, i.e. the *nāsūt*, resides is of Christian origin. As for the image of clothing, in Christian literature, it has the two senses: the divine nature wears (*lᵉbesh*) the form (*ṣūrōt*) of the earthly man and we wear (*nelbesh*) the form of the celestial man (Aphraatus, *Démonstration* vi, 18, P.S., i). As for the Word, it wore (*lᵉbesh*) a body of dust, and it drew it to its own [divine] nature (*la-knyōteh*) (*Dém.* xxiii, 49, P.S. ii). But what is involved here is the Melkite doctrine of God made body (in Arabic: *ilāh mutadjassid*), meaning by body human nature, or even *Allāh al-mutaʾannis* (cf. St. Athanasius, *P.G.* 26, col. 804, where the incarnation σάρκωσςι, is identified with "humanisation" ἐναvυρωπήσις. According to the Nestorians, the divine nature of the Word wears an integral human nature and subsists as such in the union, this union being that of two concurrent wills (συνάφεια) in a *prosōpon* of union. In the *Book of Heraclides of Damascus* (French tr. F. Nau), Nestorius explaines his conception clearly (158, 212-13), and he expands in several ways on the image of the clothing which has its own nature, but which nevertheless is always and everywhere present with that which bears it, for example "on account of the One which is worn, I adore the clothing" (*ibid.*, 159). The image of the temple is also developed: "The temple is passive (παυητὸς ὁ ναός), but not God who gives it life" (*ibid.*, 207). In the same sense, Ibn al-Djawzī writes in *Talbīs Iblīs*: "the Christians maintain that Christ is two substances, the one eternal, the other created; that he had need of nourishment; that he was crucified; and that this was on account of his humanity" (*fuʿila hādhā bi-'l-nāsūt*). But, as a good Muslim, Ibn al-Djawzī asks "why did not the divine element in him (*lāhūt*) oust that from the *nāsūt*?"

The word *lāhūt* is used by Arabic-speaking Christians. Thus in the *History of the Twelve Patriarchs of the Church at Alexandria*, Severus, bishop of al-Ashmūnayn (towards the end of the 10th century), citing a letter from St. Cyril to Nestorius (*Patrologie orientale*, i, 434), reports that Christ "died on the cross in his body, while he is living by the force of his divinity" (*ḥayy bi-ḳuwwat lāhūtihi*). He confesses the Trinity by saying that there are three persons (*aḳānīm*), one unique nature (*ṭabīʿa wāḥida*) and one unique divinity (*lāhūt wāḥid*).

3. The pair *lāhūt-nāsūt* in the thought of al-Ḥallādj. The preceding discussion may clarify many difficult aspects of Ḥallādjian mysticism. According to L. Massignon (*Passion*², iii, 51), al-Ḥālladj borrowed from the lexicon of the extremist Imāmī theologians the words *lāhūt* and *nāsūt*, "however, profoundly modifying their significance". In a note he states that it is unlikely that he had made this borrowing from the Christians, as was formerly believed: "for him, as for the Ghulāt, *nāsūt*, *nūr shaʿshaʿānī* ('resplendent light') and *amr* ('command') are synonyms, which is in no way Christian". But the argument does not stand up, for the question is that of the origin of the words and not of the origin of their significance; if, even by the confession of Massignon, al-Ḥallādj modified the significance of expressions which he took from the Imāmīs, why would he not have accomodated to his own thought some terms which he had taken from the Christians? ʿAfīfī, in his book *al-Taṣawwuf: al-thawra al-rūḥiyya fi 'l-Islām* (Alexandria 1963, 82-3), followed by Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shībī in his *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥallādj*, has upheld the thesis of the Christian origin. But which Christians are concerned? If it is the Nestorians, it seems that, even going beyond words, similarities in ideas may be detected, allowing for the fact that in al-Ḥallādj there is no Christian christology. In fact, the Ḥallādjian *nāsūt* could be considered the equivalent of the *prosōpon* of union in which the will of God and the will of man are united, which justifies L. Massignon's important remark (*ibid.*, iii, 52): "The only aspect through which divine action takes part in transforming man is not *lāhūt*, the creative omnipotence ..., but this essential, intelligible word which is at the basis of every command of the Divine ...". *Nāsūt*, like *amr*, is actually the place where the wills of the One who commands and the one who obeys are united. As in Nestorianism, there is never any confusion between the divine essence, *lāhūt*, or as L. Gardet says (*Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, 491), "the sealed world of the divine essence" and the human substance. To mark this irreducible distinction of the two natures, al-Ḥallādj uses the terms *lāhūtiyya* and *nāsūtiyya*: "My observance of what is properly Yours differs from Your observance of what is properly mine; in fact, Your observance of what is properly mine is divinity (*lāhūtiyya*) and my observance of what is properly Yours is humanity (*nāsūtiyya*), and even while my humanity (*nāsūtiyya*) is lost in Your divinity (*fī lāhūtiyyatika*) without being confused with it, at the same time Your divinity takes possession of my humanity without having any contact with it" (*Akhbār al-Ḥallādj*, no. 1, Arabic text, 8). "He who supposes that *lāhūtiyya* mingles with humanity (*bashariyya*), or the *bashariyya* mingles with divinity (*ulūhiyya*) is an infidel" (*ibid.*, no. 25). The synonymous *ulūhiyya-lāhūtiyya* and *bashariyya-nāsūtiyya* allow us an accurate understanding of the meaning of the two terms constructed from *lāhūt* and *nāsūt*. Let us note that Ibn al-Fāriḍ (*Tāʾiyya*, 455) uses *lāhūt* in the sense of *lāhūtiyya* and *nāsūt* in the sense of *nāsūtiyya*: "I am not diverted by *lāhūt* from the condition of the place of my appearance, and I do not forget, through *nāsūt*, the place of my wisdom's appearance." If, as for the Nestorians, there is no mingling of the two natures, by contrast, when al-Ḥallādj uses the image of clothing, it is to say "my temporality is beneath the clothing of Your eternity" (*ḥadathī taḥt mulābis ḳidamika*); (*Akhbār*, no. 1). "O All of my all ... The all of Your All is a clothing worn by my inner significance" (*Dīwān*, 7, v. 5: *wa kullu kullika malbūs bi-maʿnāʾī*). The act of wearing this All (*labs*), that Massignon explains by "the deiformity of the sanctified man" (*Passion*, iii, 356, n. 7), results in the all of the man containing the all of God with which he is clothed. "I contain in my all the All of Your All, O You, my sanctity. You are revealed to me to the point where it is as though You were within me" (*Dīwān*, 44, v. 1). Indeed, in the order of the stations of mystical ascension, *labs* comes immediately after *kashf*. Finally, there is also to be found in al-Ḥallādj the image of the *haykal* which is the corporeal form: "The *haykal* remains on earth, putrefied" (*Dīwān*, 63, v. 2). So it is not simply a question of the divine dwelling within him; he must also be transfigured. Al-Ḥallādj asked for "the destruction of the Kaʿba,

then its rebuilding with wisdom." The Kaʿba to be destroyed is the "temple of the human body", the *haykal* "whose transfiguration is to be hastened" (*Passion*, i, 689). As for myself, He does not veil Himself from me for a single moment, until my *nāsūtiyya* is lost in His *lāhūtiyya* and my body disappears in the lights of His essence" (*Akhbar*, 10; cf. *Passion*, iii, 52-3). *Nāsūtiyya* must then, in so far as it is purely human, be assumed by the *nāsūt*, the aspect of God in which union is realised: "Glory be to Him whose *nāsūt* manifested the secret of His dazzling *lāhūt*'s sublimity, in the form of a man who eats and drinks" (*Dīwān*, 9, v. 1).

The origin of the idea of *nāsūt* conceived by al-Ḥallādj must be looked for in the word that, in eternity before all creation, God addresses to man, the Word which is contained in the uncreated Ḳurʾān. To this idea of a pre-eternal conversation between God and man is linked all the Ḥallādjian dialectic of Me, You and Him, which underlies the relations between *lāhūt* and *nāsūt*, *lāhūtiyya* and *nāsūtiyya* as in the following example, "The Yourself which is a Him has borne witness to Me" (*awʿazta ilā shahīdika 'l-huwī*) i.e. that the dialogue between the divine You and the human me, on the level of the *nāsūt*, manifests the essence of God (*lāhūt*) in his ipseity (*huwiyya*).

4. The pair *lāhūt-nāsūt* in the thought of Ibn ʿArabī. For Ibn ʿArabī, the *lāhūt* is the divine aspect in the prophet and saint, as supposed to the *nāsūt* which is the human aspect. In a poem concerning knowledge of Jesus (*Futūḥāt*, ed. ʿUthmān Yaḥyā, iii, 41, 88-9), one can read: "His *lāhūt*, which was in the world of the Invisible, was his union (with God: *ṣihr*), was a spirit in whose image (*rūḥ mumaththal*) God made the secret appear." The term *ṣihr* (relationship through women) indicates, according to ʿUthmān Yaḥyā, that no natural parenthood is concerned, but the result of a divine choice. The spirit is a lifegiver; it is through it that Jesus brought the dead to life. Also, generally speaking, the *lāhūt* is the life infused in things, and the recipient that the spirit brings to life is called *nāsūt* (*Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ch. x, where it is Christ; tr. Burckhardt, 110). The same definition is to be found in ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshī (or al-Kāshānī [*q.v.*]): "The *lāhūt* among the Ṣūfis is life which flows into things, and *nāsūt* is its place (*maḥall*): it is the spirit" (cited by al-Tahānawī, art. *Lāhūt*). Ibn ʿArabī does not make systematic use of these two terms. There are equivalents in his theory of the relation between the two domains of the Kingdom (*Mulk*) and the Kingship (*Malakūt*), in that of the Light of Muḥammad (*Nūr Muḥammad*) and the Muḥammadan Tree, which is "the totalising, universal human Tree" (R. Deladrière, *Ibn ʿArabī: la profession de foi*, 62). The *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ* (*ibid.*, 62, 133) also says: "The letters of the Muḥammadan Tree are the human nature of its intelligible truth and the veils of its significance...".

5. The pair *lāhūt-nāsūt* in Shīʿi thought. According to the Imāmī conception, different planes of the universe exist (cf. H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, i, 35): *lāhūt*, *djabarūt malakūt*, *nāsūt*, [see ʿALAM]. *Lāhūt* is the world of secrets (*ʿālam al-asrār*) and the Unrevealed (*ibid.*, 203). The mystical relations between *lāhūt* and *nāsūt* express the different aspects of the theophanic conception of the Imām. Al-Tahānawī, who discusses *lāhūt* in his article *djabarūt*, refers essentially to Persian texts. It is thus finally in Iranian thought that the two terms *lāhūt* and *nāsūt* received the widest reception, following what al-Ḥallādj and Ibn ʿArabī had written on this subject. If comparisons can be made with the Christological doctrines of Christianity, particularly with regard to the image of clothing (cf. H. Corbin, *op. laud.*, iii, 174-5), it must be stated that these two terms were henceforth perfectly integrated in Shīʿi imamology.

We shall mention in conclusion a curious etymology given by al-Tahānawī; *lāhūt* originally derives from the formula: *lā huwa illā huwa*: it is the custom of the Arabs when they use a complex formula in speaking to add something to it (*čīzī ziyāda kunand*, i.e. the final letter *tāʾ*, and to cut something off it (*hadhf kunand*: here *illā huwa*). The result is that *lāhūt* is the radiance of the essence (*tadjallī 'l-dhāt*).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

LĀHŪTĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM, Persian poet and revolutionary, was born in Kirmānshāh on 4 December 1887, the son of a petty shoemaker. As a youth he joined the struggle for constitutionalism in Persia, and in 1908 took part in the fight against the royalist troops in Rasht, following Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh's attempt to reimpose autocracy. After the restoration of the Constitution in 1909 he entered the gendarmerie and was eventually promoted to the rank of major. There, charged with subversion, he was condemned to death, but he managed to escape taking refuge in the Turkish (now in ʿIrāḳ) border town of Sulaymāniyya. In 1915 he returned to his home town, and was drawn in the movement against Allied intervention in Persia. Around this time he also started the periodical *Bīsutūn* from Kirmānshāh, and founded a workers' party. In the period that followed, he again came into conflict with the authorities and migrated to Istanbul. While he was there he taught in a Persian school and issued the Persian-French periodical *Pārs*. Towards the end of 1921 he was allowed to return to Persia and was reinstated in the gendarmerie. Not long afterwards he headed an abortive revolt in Tabrīz and, after its failure, fled to the Soviet Union (February 1922).

In the Soviet Union, Lāhūtī's activities were connected mainly with the political and cultural life of Tādjikistān, where he took up residence after 1925. He served as deputy commissar of education, and was honorary president of the Tādjīk Writers' Union. The Soviet government awarded him several honours including the Order of Lenin. He died in Moscow on 16 March 1957.

Lāhūtī was the most outstanding Communist poet in Persian, and has been rightly acclaimed as one of the founders of Soviet Tādjīk poetry. His early political verse appeared in the periodicals of the Constitutional Period, such as *Ḥabl al-matīn*, *Īrān-i naw* and *Sharḳ*. In his poems written before 1922 he often displayed sentiments favouring workers and peasants. Thereafter, his permanent domicile in the Soviet Union strengthened his trend towards Communism, and his art became progressively identified with the literary and political assumptions of the Soviet government. The poem *Kreml* ("Kremlin"), composed in 1923, was the first notable indication of this development. It recalled Tsarist atrocities and condemned imperialism and capitalist exploitation, welcoming the triumph of the Communist Revolution in Russia. Lāhūtī's subsequent poems concerned themselves largely with his immediate environment, but themes dealing with Persia were not lacking. The poet employed both conventional and new forms,

and used non-traditional metres, which were apparently inspired by Russian literary models. He also composed songs, and wrote the libretto of *Kāwa-i āhangar* ("Kāwa the Blacksmith"), which was the first original opera to be performed in Tādjikistān. His literary endeavours extended to the field of translations, which he rendered from the works of such writers as Shakespeare, Pushkin, Gorky and Mayakovsky. His diction was simple and uncomplicated, and he used a language which almost verged on ordinary speech.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

LAʿIB (LIʿB, LAʿB), the Arabic word for "play" (also used variously in Persian, against Turkish *oyun*), in the Muslim world as fundamental a concept of vast sociological and psychological implications as in other civilisations. Only a few of its aspects can be briefly discussed here. The "play" character of many important human activities (dance, theatre, music, etc.) does not come under our purview, nor do ritual games as survivals of pre-Islamic religiously-motivated customs. We find them occasionally mentioned, as, for instance, in references to New Year practices, cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, 216, who also mentions the enactment of a Persian religious ceremonial played on seesaws; for a modern example from southern Morocco, see M.-R. Rabaté, in *Objets et Mondes*, x (1970), 239-62. The stress here is on children's games, but, in Islam as elsewhere, no clear dividing line separates the games of children from those of adults; there is no typological distinction, the only difference sometimes encountered being certain material factors. Al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1323-5, iii, 79, may have been aware of this circumstance when he singled out playing with pigeons as best representing the easy potential transition in games from playfulness to seriousness. The various expressions of the human play instinct and the various types of games were all cultivated in the Muslim world. The constant use in literature of metaphors built upon combinations with the root "to play" attest to the concept's living strength.

The large role of "play" in Muslim life is all the more remarkable as it ran counter to firm religious objections. These objections have indeed greatly coloured the expressed Muslim attitude toward play. They were no doubt effective in curtailing the factual information on games available to us. The Ḳurʾān refers to play (and *lahw* "amusement") as a particularly insidious expression of human unconcern with man's true task in this world, which is working toward salvation in the other world. Much ingenuity was spent by Muslim intellectuals on condemning it, as attested in innumerable statements such as, for instance, many verses in the *zuhdiyyāt* of Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya or ʿAlī's indignant rejection of being called a *tilʿāba timzāḥa* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii, ed. M. B. al-Maḥmūdī, Beirut 1394/1974, 151). Not dissimilar to the thought expressed by Anacharsis (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1176 b 33), that playing should be tolerated only when it enhances a man's ability for serious occupations, is the idea that all work and no play dulls the sensitivity of even the greatest and most dedicated minds, and light relaxation, therefore, is to be tolerated (e.g. F. Rosenthal, *Humor in early Islam*, Leiden 1956, 5, and see AL-DJIDD WA 'L-HAZL), but the authors who quote statements to this effect would hardly have gone so far as to include simple games in what they meant by relaxation. Worldly wisdom required that rulers be warned against excess in playful activity. As a matter of fact, "play" in Islam came to be considered the exclusive prerogative of children, bracketed at times with women also in this respect. In the Greek tradition as represented by Bryson (ed. M. Plessner, Heidelberg 1928, 202; cf. also al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, *riyāḍat al-nafs*, Cairo 1352/1934, iii, 63) and used by such influential thinkers as Miskawayh, even children should be permitted moderate playing as relaxation only to be better able to tolerate the hardships of education, or (according to *al-Saʿāda wa 'l-isʿād*, ed. M. Minovi, Wiesbaden 1957-8, 360) to acquire serious skills. Sometimes, we find statements to the effect that future greatness is foreshadowed in childhood by a disdain shown for playing. References to children are often routinely associated with play. It was quite natural to have the youth killed in the story in Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 74/73, described as having been found playing with others (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, Cairo 1378-83, i, 232, xi, 25, 33; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, *ad loc.*), or to worry that Yūsuf's playing in XII, 12 (the only morally neutral reference to "playing" in the Ḳurʾān) might implicate his adult brothers (I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, 28 f.), or to explain *daʿāmīṣ* applied in the *ḥadīth* to Muslim infants in Paradise from their being similar to water bugs (?) because of their playing in the rivers of Paradise (al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Madjāzāt*, Cairo 1387/1967, 406). The Prophet as a child is said to have engaged in a game called *ʿaẓm* (*ʿuẓaym*) *waḍḍāḥ*, described as searching (in the dark) for a very white bone tossed far away, with the finder being allowed to ride upon his playmates (Lane, 2087b, 2947a; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, iv, 476; Ibn Ẓafar, *Anbāʾ nudjabāʾ al-abnāʾ*, Cairo n.d., 24); the Prophet's alleged participation in such a game could easily have struck strict interpreters of the doctrine of *ʿiṣma* as objectionable and is, in fact, mentioned only very rarely. The Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās is described as having played *ḳula* as a boy, a game mentioned in ancient poetry (ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, Labīd, cf. T. Nöldeke, *Fünf Moʿallaqât*, i, Vienna 1899, 47; *Sharḥ Dīwān Labīd*, Kuwait 1962, 81) and described as played with two small wooden boards, one twice as long as the other and the one being hit with the other (or with a *miḳlāʾ*), this being in an anecdote intended to show al-ʿAbbās's innate decency (Ibn Ẓafar, *Anbāʾ*, 52).

The most influential reference to child's play goes back to the biography of ʿĀʾisha, reported in

many traditions with only slight variations (for instance, *Concordance*, *s.v. l-ʿ-b*; Ibn Saʿd, 40-5; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. M. Hamidullah, Cairo 1959, 410-12). It happened when the Prophet saw ʿĀʾis̲h̲a playing on a seesaw (*urd̲j̲ūḥa, mard̲j̲ūḥa*) that she first caught his attention, and he once, or on different occasions, came upon her playing with dolls. "Dolls" (*banāt* "girls", or *luʿba*, pl. *luʿab*, the typical "plaything") came thus to be discussed intensively in the legal literature. The gist of the Sunnī jurists' discussion and the problems of detail they chose to face can best be captured from Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Fatḥ*, xiii, 143 f. In sum, dolls were usually given very reluctant approval as having educational value for training little girls to become good mothers. The obvious conflict between the prohibition of figurative representations [see EI [1] art. ṢŪRA] and the permissibility of dolls, although often they were not realistic representations of living beings, proved impossible to solve to everybody's satisfaction. The connection with idol worship was only hesitantly mentioned. The *ḥadīt̲h̲* also informs us that dolls were made of wool (ʿ*ihn*, *Concordance*, iv, 409a, 16 f.) to be given to children who were made to fast, in order to divert them (as other toys, such as polo sticks, might be promised to children as incentives for studying, see Ibn ʿAḳnīn, *Ṭibb al-nufūs*, ms. Bodl. or Hunt. 518, 70b). Some of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a's toys had, or were seen by the child's imagination to have, the shape of (winged) horses, with the wings made of rags. In this connection, al-G̲h̲azzālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, *ādāb al-samāʿ*, ii, 245) speaks of the "imperfect forms" (of toys) fashioned by children from clay and rags as something tolerated by S̲h̲āfiʿis, as he also mentions elsewhere (*Iḥyāʾ*, *ādāb al-kasb*, ii, 60) animal toys made of clay given to children on festivals.

Numerous names of games were mentioned as being of philological interest and listed because of their strange forms or because of literary connections (e.g. al-ʿAskarī, *al-Talk̲h̲īṣ fī maʿrifat asmāʾ al-as̲h̲yāʾ*, Damascus 1389-90, 718-24, see F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, 65). We also find references to such things as *diḥindiḥ*, *dirkila*, *daʿlad̲j̲a* (a running, and ? catching, game, al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1373, ii, 315; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, iii, 97), or the putting of *fid̲j̲rim* into *uwaḳ* (al-Ḳālī, ii, 4 f.). Games are given at times names in the form of noun combinations or sentences, such as *al-muʿallim wa 'l-ad̲j̲īr* "master and hired hand" (T. Hyde, *De ludis orientalibus*, ii, Oxford 1694, 234-6), *d̲j̲iʾtukum k̲h̲ud̲h̲ūnī* "I have come to you, seize me" (Hyde, ii, 240 f.), *k̲h̲asā wa-zakā* for even-and-odd, (Turkish) *tut Leila* "catch Laylā" (H. Ritter, *Knabenspiele aus ʿAmāra*, in *Isl.*, xxvi [1942], 49-57), etc. Characteristically, the names of games change greatly in the course of time so that those found in Hyde from the 17th century and even more so those from modern times (e.g. K. L. Tallqvist, *Arabische Sprichwörter und Spiele*, Helsingfors 1897, or Ritter) are nearly all different from those known from the mediaeval literature, quite apart from local differences.

The philologians no doubt had often no personal experience of the games they sought to describe. Descriptions are often non-existent, or they are so brief as to indicate hardly more than the general type of a given game and to be practically useless; this is nothing peculiar to Muslim philologians but something worldwide, since the play instinct required to be satisfied by intricate and volatile rules hard to describe fully. Ambiguities of interpretation are always present. Similarities between modern and mediaeval names, in the rare cases in which they exist, do not necessarily indicate that the games are the same. Thus, the *laʿb al-k̲h̲umaysa* mentioned by Ibn Ḳuzmān (E. García Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzmān*, Madrid 1972, i, 32/33, 36 n. 6) is hardly the *k̲h̲emis* described by A. Robert from Algeria, in *Revue Africaine*, lxii (1921), 69. The ring (*k̲h̲âtam*) game of prestidigitators is no doubt the guessing game described by Robert, but hardly represents all the games thus designated (cf. Rosenthal, *Gambling*, 62; al-Sīmāwī, ʿ*Uyūn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ch. 11). The modern game called *bilbil* may be related to ancient *ḳula* as suggested by Ritter, but we have no way of knowing how far this relationship, if it in fact exists, extends to details.

Of the more important types of games, we may mention here (1) guessing games such as *k̲h̲arid̲j̲*; (2) board games of the chess [see S̲H̲AṬRAND̲J̲] and backgammon [see NARD] types and of the *manḳala* type which were usually, but not always, played on boards, involving the placing of chips into holes, as, for instance, the game of "fourteen" (*arbaʿata ʿas̲h̲ara*), the throwing of dice and, of greater antiquity in Arabia, of knucklebones (*kaʿb*, pl. *kiʿāb*), also in a way the walnut (*d̲j̲awz*) game, see also K̲H̲ARBGA; (3) skill and sports games, such as ball playing, the great favourite of children, often mentioned as done in the streets, also played with balls and (polo) sticks, see al-G̲h̲azālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, *riyāḍat al-nafs*, iii, 53, further jumping games, catching games, the seesaw, imitation fighting games, the egg game, also tops (*duwwāma*, *k̲h̲ud̲h̲rūf*); dancing with a hobby-horse (*kurrad̲j̲*) was apparently not practiced as a children's game, cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Mél. Wm. Marçais*, Paris 1950, 155-60; and (4) "playing" with animals such as small birds, pigeons, dogs (add al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 28, to Rosenthal, *Gambling*, 58 n. 242a), or reptiles, either as an innocent pastime or as a gambling, racing, and fighting sport.

Most children's games contain an element of gambling, inasmuch as they entail rewards for the winners and penalties for the losers [see ḲIMĀR]. This added to the scruples raised by the play concept in general and the *ṣūra* problem of dolls, and cast doubt in the eyes of jurists upon the legality of commercial transactions involving toys. In conjunction with prevailing economic conditions, it probably contributed to keeping toys used by children mostly simple and makeshift.

Bibliography: given in the article, in particular, Hyde, *De ludis*, and Rosenthal, *Gambling*. For board games, cf. H. J. R. Murray, *Board games*, Oxford 1952.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

LAK 1. The most southern group of Kurd tribes in Persia. According to Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, their name (Lāk, often Lākk) is explained by the Persian word *lāk* (100,000), which is said to have been the original number of families of Lak. The group is of importance in that the Zand dynasty arose from it. The Lak now living in northern Luristān [*q.v.*] are sometimes confused with the Lur (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn), whom they resemble from the somatic and ethnic point of view. The facts of history, however, show that the Lak have immigrated to their present settlements from lands further north. The Lākkī language, according to O. Mann, has the characteristics of Kurdish and not of the Lurī dialects [cf. LUR]. Čirikov, *Putevoi z̲h̲urnal*, St. Petersburg 1875, 227, says that "the Lur and the Lak speak different dialects, and hate one another".

The Lak appear in the *S̲h̲araf-nāma*, i, 323, along-

side the Zand, among the secondary Kurd tribes, and as subjects of Persia. According to Rabino, the Lak were settled in Luristān by order of Shāh ʿAbbās, who wished in this way to create some support for the new *wālī* of Luristān, Ḥusayn Khān, whom he had chosen from among the relatives of the old Shāhwardī Atābeg (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, 369). Of these tribes, the Silsila had formerly lived at Māhīdasht (to the south-west of Kirmānshāh); the Dilfān take their name from Abū Dulaf [see AL-ḲĀSIM B. ʿĪSĀ], whose fiefs in the 3rd/9th century lay in the north of Luristān [see SULṬĀNĀBĀD]; the Bādjilān of Zohāb as well as Luristān say they come from al-Mawṣil and are evidently one tribe. The Luristān branch seem to have exchanged its Kurmandjī dialect for Läkki during its sojourn among the Lak in the time of Shāh ʿAbbās. Even after Shāh ʿAbbās there were several Lak tribes outside of Luristān. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (opening of the 19th century) mentions among the Lak: the Zand, the Māfī, the Bādjilān and the Zandi-yi kāla (?). To the last tribe (according to Houtum-Schindler: Begele) belonged Karīm Khān Zand (born in Pāriyā, the modern Pāri, about 20 miles from Dawlatābād on the Sulṭānābād road). When at Shīrāz, Karīm Khān sent for the Lak tribe of Barānwand. In 1212/1797 the Bayrānwand and the Bādjilān actively supported Muḥammad Khān Zand in his attempt to seize power from the Ḳādjārs (Sir Harford Jones Brydges, *A history of Persia*, London 1833, 46, 58; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 116). Under the Ḳādjārs, several Lak tribes were broken up. The Zand have almost completely disappeared; in 1830 remnants of them were to be found among the Bādjilān of Khānikīn (Khurshīd-Efendi, *Siyāḥat-nāme-yi ḥudūd*, Russ. tr. 112, 221); there are still a few Zand families in the Dorā-Farāmān district to the south-east of Kirmānshāh (*RMM*, xxxviii, 39); a section of the ʿAmala of Pusht-i Kūn claims to be descended from the Karīm Khān tribe. At the present day, there are Māfī at Waramīn, Tehran and Ḳazwīn.

According to a good list compiled by Rousseau at Kirmānshāh in 1807 (cf. *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vienna 1813, iii, 85-98), there were considered as Lak the following tribes: Kalhūr, Māfī, Nānakī, Djalīlwand, Pāyrawand, Kulyāʾī, Ṣūfīwand, Bahrāmwand, Karkūkī, Tawalī, Zūyirwand, Kākūwand, Nāmīwand, Aḥmadwand, Bohtūʾī, Zūliya, Ḥarsinī and Shaykhwand.

According to O. Mann and Rabino, the Lak tribes of Luristān are as follows: Silsila (9,000 families), Dilfān (7,470). Tirhān-Amrāʾi (1,582 families), the Bayrānwand (6,000 families) and Dālwand (1,000 families) forming part of the Bālā-girīwa group, a total of about 15,000 tents. The Bayrānward and Djālwand live to the east of Khurramābād around the sources of the river which flows through this town; the Silsila and the Dilfān occupy the beautiful plains of Alīshtar and Khāwa respectively, while the Tirhān (perhaps = Tarkhān, i.e. "exempt from taxes") live between the left bank of the Saymara and the lower course of its left-bank tributary from Khurramābād. The territory occupied by the Lak, and including northern and north-western Luristān is sometimes called Lakistān.

The cohesion of the Lak tribes is evident from the fact that even before 1914 the Silsila, Dilfān and Tirhān were united under the authority of Naẓar ʿAlī Khān of the Amrāʾī clan. In addition to the bonds of tribe and language, there is that of religion, for all the Dilfān and many of the ʿAmala of Tirhān belong to the extremist Shīʿa sect of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*].

Bibliographie: E. Beer, *Das Tarikh-i Zendije*, Leiden 1888, pp. xviii, xxvi; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, Tehran 1315, 522; O. Mann, *Skizze d. Lurdialecte*, in *SBAk. Wien* (1904), 1173-93; O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910, pp. xxii-xiv; to the number of tribes speaking "Läkkī", the author adds the Kalhur of Kirmānshāh and the Mākī of the Pusht-i Kūh; Rabino, *Les tribus du Luristan*, in *RMM* (1916); Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahlé-Haqq*, in *RMM*, xl (1920), 56.

2. The name given to themselves by the Ghāzī-Ḳumuḳ, a people living on the eastern Ḳoy-su in central Daghistān (see the next article and ḲUMUḲ, also Erckert, *Der Kaukasus und seiner Völker*, Leipzig 1887, 248-57, and Dirr, *Die heutigen Namen der kaukasischen Völker*, in *Petermanns Mitteil.* [1908], 204-12).

On the other hand, the term Lêk in Armenian and Lek-i (plural Lek-ebi) in Georgian means the Lezgi/Legzi of Daghistān (where the *e* may certainly designate the value of *ä/a*: Lägzi). This last name seems to have been applied to the highlanders of Kürä, living in and around the sources of the Samur, and later to have been extended to all the people of Dāghistān, although no people of the Caucasus actually call themselves Lezgi/Legzi. Marquart, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Eran*, in *ZDMG*, xlix (1895), has attempted to explain the Arabic al-Lakz by the addition of the Persian suffix *-zi* to the name Lek (or Lak), cf. Sag-zi, "inhabitant of Sīstān". (V. MINORSKY)

LAḲ (self-designation: Laḳ, Laḳuču; Russian variants: Lak(tsi), Kazikumukh(tsi); Avar: Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezg: Yakholshu; Dargin: Vuluguni, Vulečuni; other: Ḳaziḳumukh [from Arabic Ghāzī, warrior for the faith, and Ḳumukh, the political and cultural centre of the Laḳ territory, see ḲUMUḲ]), a Muslim people of the Caucasus.

The Laḳ language belongs with Dargin, Ḳaytaḳ and Ḳubači [*q.vv.*] to the Dargino-Laḳ (Laḳ-Dargwa) group of the Northeast-Caucasian language family. There are five dialects of the Laḳ language, Ashti Ḳuli, Balkhar, Vitskh, Vikhli and Ḳumukh. The Ḳumukh dialect forms the base of the Laḳ literary language, as Ḳumukh was, and is, the cultural and economic centre of the Laḳ territory. Laḳ was originally (since the late 19th century) written in the Arabic script; this was changed to the Latin script in 1928, since 1938 it has been written in the Cyrillic. Prior to the establishment of Laḳ as a written language, Arabic served as the literary language of the Laḳ people. Laḳ is at present one of the nine official literary languages of the Dāghistān ASSR, although it is no longer used as a medium of instruction in the schools (Laḳ served as a language of education among the Laḳs until the fifth year, between the late 1920s and the late 1960s; virtually all education since then has been conducted only in Russian).

The Laḳs are inhabitants of the mountainous central region of the Dāghistān ASSR. They live primarily in the basins of the upper Ḳaziḳumukh, Tleuserakh, and Khatar Ḳoysu rivers located in Laḳ and Ḳuli districts, and in separate settlements in the districts of Tsudakhar, Aḳusha, Rutul, Ḳurakh, Čaroda, and Dakhadaev. In 1844 many Laḳs were resettled in the steppes and foothills north of the Andi Ridge in what is now "Novo Lakskiy" ("New Laḳ") district of the Dāghistān ASSR. According

to the 1970 Soviet census, there were 85,822 Laks in the USSR, of whom 72,240, or 84.2%, lived in Dāghistān (1926 population, 40,380; 1959 population, 63,529). Although the Laks are reported to be the most Russianised of all Dāghistānis, according to the 1970 census only 3.7% of the Lak population considered Russian their native language, with 95.8% considering Lak their native language.

According to legend, the Laks were conquered by Abū Muslim in 777 [*sic*] and converted to Islam, making them the first Dāghistāni people to be Islamicised. However, it is more likely that the final conversion did not occur until the 13th century, with some Christian and Jewish traditions surviving up until the 15th century. The Laks are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿi school.

Legend has it that the Shah-Baala was the first Muslim ruler of all Dāghistān and founder of the Shamkhal dynasty, which reigned at Kumukh until the 17th century. At this time Kumukh, which had been established by Abū Muslim as the seat of the ruler of Dāghistān, was renamed Kazikumukh. In the 14th century, the rulers of Kazikumukh adopted the title "Shamkhal" (supposed etymology from Shām = Syria, suggesting descent from the former Arab governors). During the 15th and 16th centuries, at the time when the Shamkhals ruled a large part of central and coastal Dāghistān, a second capital, which also served as a winter residence, was established at Tarku in the Kumuk territory. In 1640 the Laks broke away from the rule of the Shamkhalate, replacing it with appointed *khakhlavai* (from Arabic *khalk* "people", and Lak *lavai* "supreme"). Although appointed administrators, their chief function was that of military leaders, and as such they received land and tribute as payment.

With the death of the last Kazikumukh khān, Agalar, the Lak territory was incorporated in the Dāghistān *oblast'*, and became an integral part of the Russian empire. By 1842 both the Lak territory and Avaristān had come under the control of Shamīl [*q.v.*] and his Murīds, and in 1877, during the Russo-Turkish War, the Lak beks, together with other Dāghistāni feudal lords, staged a revolt against Tsarist rule. This revolt was, however, put down, resulting in a greater integration of Dāghistān into the Russian empire.

The Laks are reported to have been the first mountaineer Dāghistāni people to establish a feudal system. Their feudal society was comprised of the khāns; the *bagtal* (beks), i.e. the khān's family and the nobility; the *cankri*, i.e. children of marriages between beks and women of lower social orders; the *uzdental* (*uzden*), i.e. free peasants (the numerically largest class); the *rayat* or serfs; and the *lag'art* or slaves. This feudal system coexisted with a system of free societies based on the patriarchal clan (*tukhum*), which was made up of one or more extended families. These free societies were ruled by the village *ʿadat*. Within the *tukhum*, there was mutual help in work and family affairs, as well as group responsibility in vendettas, which were under the jurisdiction of the *ʿadat*. Although exogamy was not forbidden, an endogamic marriage system prevailed.

The traditional economy of the Laks was based upon transhumance, with sheep and goat raising, and home industries (leather working, pottery, weaving, gold and metal smithing, etc.). These activities still play a large role in the village economies. Due to the lack of fertile land in the mountainous regions of the Lak territory, agriculture played only a minor role in the Lak economy, and migrant working was common (with the highest rate of migrant labour among any Dāghistāni people). In the steppe and foothills of the new Lak territory of northern Dāghistān, horticulture, vineyards, agriculture and silk production are important activities. In the larger towns in the Lak territory, there is a rising level of industrialisation (flour milling, printing, etc.).

The first written documents of the Lak people appear in the 15th century. A rich religious and didactic literature appears in the 18th and 19th centuries (ʿUmar of Balkar, Ghāzī Saʿīd Ḥusayn, Ḥādjdjī Mūsā Ḥādjdjī, etc.), lyrical literature in the late 19th century (Yūsuf Ḳāḍī Murkulinskii), as well as historical (Shāfiʿī Nitsovkrinskii). Lak literature of the Soviet period was established by Hārūn Saʿīdov, who was both the first Dāghistāni dramatic author and the author of the first Bolshevik Dāghistāni journal, *Ilči* ("The Messenger"). Other Lak authors include Saʿīd Gabiev, Abutalib Gafurov, Abdurahman Omarov, and Efendi Kapiev (who wrote in Russian only).

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LAḲAB (A.) nickname, and at a later date under Islam and with a more specific use, honorific title (pl. *alḳāb*). For suggestions about its etymology, see L. Caetani and G. Gabrieli, *Onomasticon arabicum*. i. *Fonte-introduzione*, Rome 1915, 144-5; and for its place in the general schema of the composition of Islamic names, see ISM.

The *laḳab* seems in origin to have been a nickname or sobriquet of any tone, one which could express admiration, be purely descriptive and neutral in tenor or be insulting and derogatory. In the latter case, it was often termed *nabaz*, pl. *anbāz*, by-form *labaz*; cf. al-Bayḍāwī on sūra XLIX, 11, "In common usage, *nabaz* is particularised for an unpleasant *laḳab*". The grammarians, in their love for schematisation, divided *alḳāb* into simple (*mufrad*) ones, comprising only one word, and compound (*murakkab*) ones, comprising two or more words, but this division has neither historical nor semantic significance, beyond the obvious point that as Islamic society developed and became more complex, honorific titles tended to become lengthy and grandiloquent.

1. The pre-Islamic and the earliest Islamic periods. Already in these times, we have many examples of Bedouin leaders, poets, orators, etc. with nicknames, e.g. Ākil al-Murār, al-Abraṣ, al-Mutalammis, ʿĀʾid al-Kalb, Muḳabbil al-Rīḥ, etc., and from the ʿAbbāsid period we have Dīk al-Djinn, Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī, etc. These names might relate to physical characteristic or defects, to striking lines in a poet's verses, to incidents in the holder's life, but often to events whose significance is now lost in the mists of time. Explanation of the more unusual and bizarre names drew the authors of literary biographical works into much fanciful

theorising; cf. *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāk, xviii, 209, ed. Beirut, xviii, 480-1, on the origins of the name Ta'abbaṭa Sharran, and for a useful list of such names, together with explanations drawn from the sources, A.-C. Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe*, in *JA*, Ser. 10, ix (Jan.-June 1907), 173-244, 365-428, x (July-Dec. 1907), 55-118, 193-273.

The giving of nicknames was clearly widespread in early Arab society, where the number of personal names was limited and where there was, as in the Arab world today, keen observation of personal foibles, physical peculiarities, etc.; and from the Arabs, the practice spread to the Persian, Turkish and wider Islamic world. The personal connection of such nicknames is presumably behind the oft-quoted anonymous line of poetry, "It is rare that you see a man whose character is not revealed, if you consider the matter, in his *lakab*" Al-Thaʿālibī, who devotes two out of the ten chapters of his *Laṭā'if al-maʿārif* to the *alkāb* of prominent literary and political figures, quotes this verse in reference to the philologist al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*], and makes the curious observation that the people of Baghdād and Nīshāpūr were celebrated for their facility in coining appropriate nicknames; he gives numerous examples from each town, some quite grotesque, but unfortunately omitting to explain—if he ever knew—the origins of the names (ed. I. Abyārī and Ḥ. K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1960, 46, 53-4, tr. C. E. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 63, 66-7).

Some nicknames were clearly given as *nomina boni augurii*, aimed either at attracting a favourable future for the recipient or else at averting harm. Thus arose the practice of giving antiphrastic and apparently unpleasant names and nicknames in order to avoid attracting the evil eye [see ʿAYN] which might otherwise fix itself on something wholesome and perfect; whilst slaves and other persons of little importance might be given euphemistic and euphuistic names, such as those of flowers, jewels, perfumes, etc. Thus the caliph al-Mutawakkil called one of his slave concubines, the mother of al-Muʿtazz, Ḳabīḥa "the hideous one" because she was famed for her beauty. Euphuism is seen in such names as Yāḳūt (lit. "jacynth, ruby") and Djidjak (< Turkish *čiček* "flower", the slave mother of the caliph al-Muktafī), and a good example of antiphrasis in the name of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī [*q.v.*] (*kāfūr* "camphor" being white and fragrant, whereas Kāfūr was a black eunuch, proverbially noisome and malodorous [see KHAṢĪ. i. In the Central Islamic lands]). In these connections, there is an interesting passage in Ibn Durayd's *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 4-5, in which he quotes al-ʿUtbī as having once been asked, "How is it that the Arabs give their sons names which are considered unpleasant (*mustashnaʿa*), yet give their slaves names considered pleasant (*mustaḥsana*)?" Al-ʿUtbī replied that the Arabs gave their sons names with their enemies in mind, whereas they gave their slaves any names they wanted (i.e. without any ulterior motive). Ibn Durayd then goes on to give examples of names given to sons which would augur well against their enemies (*tafā'ul^an ʿalā aʿdā'ihim*), expressing violence, harshness, bellicosity and endurance, e.g. Ghālib, Ẓālim, Muḳbil, Thābit, etc. (see further, M. P. Kister, *Call yourself by graceful names...*, in *Lectures in memory of Professor Martin B. Plessner*, Jerusalem 1970). We are here perhaps straying into the realm of the *ism* proper rather than the *lakab*, although the names given to slaves and slavegirls may be considered as *alkāb* replacing those persons' first given names.

The fondness of the Arabs, and of Ḳuraysh in particular, for giving satirical and opprobrious nicknames is condemned in Ḳur'ān, XLIX, 11, where there is a warning against the practice of groups of both men and women mocking at each other, "Do not scoff at each other or give each other derisory nicknames (*wa-lā talmizū anfusakum wa-lā tanābazū bi 'l-alḳāb*)". This sūra is accounted late Medinan, from a year or two before Muḥammad's death, by Nöldeke (*Gesch. des Qorâns*, i, 221) and Montgomery Watt (*Companion to the Qur'an*, London 1962, 237); it may be that the Prophet was feeling particularly aggrieved by nicknames given to him in the past by his opponents and by the Hypocrites, like that of al-Abtar "the childless one", even though the *sabab al-tanzīl* was, according to the commentators, the women's insults to Muḥammad's wife Ṣafiyya bint Ḥuyayy because of her origin from the Jewish tribe in Medina of al-Naḍīr (cf. Sale-Wherry, *A compendious commentary on the Qurán*, London 1896, iv, 70-1).

Yet whilst retaining for some time to come its derogatory and insulting aspects, the *lakab* tended to be transmogrified into higher roles within Islamic society. In one direction, it evolved into the nom-de-plume of authors and artists, the *makhlaṣ* or *takhalluṣ* [*q.v.*], above all in the Persian, Turkish and Indo-Muslim worlds, such as we find in the name of the Persian poet Khāḳānī [*q.v.*] or the pseudonym adopted by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I for his Azeri Turkish verses [see ISMĀʿĪL I. 2. His poetry]. Most significantly for the development of Islamic culture, the *lakab* developed from being a nickname of praise or admiration (as in such examples as Mulāʿib al-Asinna "he who played with lances" for the pre-Islamic poet ʿĀmir b. Mālik, famed for his prowess in battle) into becoming an honorific title, conferring status and prestige on its owner, since it frequently implied a specially close relationship to the sovereign or the divinity or else a reward for personal bravery or services to the state. As such, the *lakab* was to have an extended life-span in the Islamic world—more particularly, in those parts of lying between Egypt and India, though these honorifics were also to be found to a more limited extent in Muslim Spain and North Africa, see below, 3—right up to the 19th and early 20th centuries, when floridity and hyperbole went out of Islamic titulature just as they did from literature and other aspects of culture.

It is not difficult to discern why such titles became eagerly sought after; the desire to stand out above the rest of mankind is a universal one. Indeed, al-Ḳalḳashandī, in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 440, following the line of traditional Islamic *awā'il* literature writers, traces what he calls the *alkāb al-madḥ wa-nuʿūt* back to such figures as Abraham al-Khalīl "the friend of God", Moses al-Kalīm "the one who spoke with God", Jonah Dhu 'l-Nūn "the man in the fish", etc. Within a formalised, hierarchial society such as the Islamic one became in the ʿAbbāsid period, modes of address, insignia or rank and office, dress, etc. all contributed to the fixing of a man's status in society and the state, and as such were prized as the visible and audible symbols of success in the temporal world. In this process of the spread of honorifics, there were—as for other aspects of early Islamic culture—the precedents of

the earlier Near Eastern civilisations, the Romano-Byzantine and the Persian ones, to provide an element of continuity with the past.

The early Arabs knew from their contacts with the Byzantines on the Syro-Palestinian borders that a complicated system of honorific titles and modes of address existed for Byzantine civil and military dignitaries. Allies of the Greeks, such as chiefs of the Ghassānids [see GHASSĀN] like al-Ḥārith b. Djabala and his son al-Mundhir, were honoured by having the honorary title of *patricius* bestowed on them; this term found its way into general Arabic usage as *biṭrīḳ/baṭrīḳ* [see BIṬRĪḲ]. In Achaemenid Persia, the characteristic expression of pomp and magnificence (μεγαλοπρεπεῖα) through grandiloquent titles was familiar to Herodotus (i, 139), who further mentions (viii, 85) that meritorious servants of the state were enrolled in the list of "the king's benefactors" (ʹοροσάγγης). Under the Sāsānids, the great men of state were likewise honoured by the award of a wide range of honorifics, e.g. the title *buzurg framadār* "chief executive" for the emperor's chief counsellor and minister; Mahisht "the greatest [of the ruler's servants]"; Hazārmard "[with the strength of] 1,000 men" for military commanders; and various compounds including the sovereign's name, e.g. Zhāyedhān Khusraw" "eternal Kh.", Hormuzd Varāz "wild boar of H.", and many with *tahm* "strong" like Tahm Shāpūr or Tahm Yazdigird. These honours were usually completed by the grant of robes of honour, the later Islamic *khilʿa* [*q.v.*] (see Nöldeke-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 8-9, 443 and n. 1; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 318; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* ², Copenhagen 1944, 113-14, 326, 409-11).

2. The period of the caliphate. The wide dissemination of honorific titles in the Islamic world began at the top, with the adoption of regnal titles by the caliphs. Later historians, projecting backwards what had become common practice in their own time, attributed the use of such titles to the Umayyads and even to the Orthodox caliphs. Al-Masʿūdī, in his, *K. al-Tanbīh*, 335, tr. 431-3, cites pro-Umayyad traditions to the effect that the Umayyads had honorifics of the theocratic type which had by two centuries later become familiar from ʿAbbāsid practices, e.g. al-Nāṣir li-ḥaḳḳ Allāh for Muʿāwiya, al-Ḳāhir bi-ʿawn Allāh for Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Mutaʿazziz bi'llāh for Ibrāhīm b. Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik; but he rightly rejects these traditions as weak and uncorroborated by the historians and biographers (cf. E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*. i. *Le califat*, Paris 1954, 486-7). Similarly, the epithets attributed to the Orthodox caliphs, such as al-Ṣiddīḳ "he who testifies to the veracity of the Prophet's mission" for Abū Bakr, al-Fārūḳ "the just" for ʿUmar and Dhu 'l-Nūrayn "possessor of the two lights" for ʿUthmān, are probably of early growth (cf. al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 105), but must nevertheless have been applied only after the deaths of their owners.

Honorifics of a theocratic nature, expressing dependence on God, reliance on Him, or participation with Him in the work of ruling, are really an innovation of the early ʿAbbāsid period. B. Lewis has stressed the importance of the atmosphere of messianic expectation around the time of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, when the worldly *Realpolitik* of the Umayyads and their animus against the Prophet's kinsfolk, the ʿAlids, was replaced by what it was hoped would be the reign of divinely-guided justice; and these feelings favoured the adoption of religious-based titles by al-Manṣūr and his successors. The first ʿAbbāsid caliph, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, had no formal regnal title, though his partisans may well have attributed to him various names with messianic implications. His successor Abū Djaʿfar formally adopted the *laḳab* of al-Manṣūr bi'llāh "he who is helped by God to victory", and the chiliastic tone of early ʿAbbāsid titulature is especially clearly seen in the *alḳāb* of his successor al-Mahdī bi'llāh "the divinely-guided one" and then of al-Hādī ilā 'l-ḥaḳḳ "the one who directs towards the divine truth" (cf. Lewis, *The regnal titles of the first Abbasid caliphs*, in *Dr. Zakir Husain presentation volume*, New Delhi 1968, 13-22; F. Omar, *A note on the laqabs* (*i.e. epithet*) *of the early ʿAbbasid caliphs*, in *ʿAbbāsiyyāt, studies in the history of the early ʿAbbasids*, Baghdād 1976, 141-7). In subsequent ʿAbbāsid usage, the apocalyptic element is less prominent, but the honorifics still express reliance upon and submission to the deity, or confidence in His guiding power, e.g. al-Wāthiḳ bi'llāh "he who puts his trust in God" and al-Muṭīʿ bi'llāh "he who shows himself obedient to God" (cf. Tyan, *op. cit.*, 483 ff.).

It is notable that the ʿAbbāsid honorifics up to the later 4th/10th century and the period of Būyid control in Baghdād are formed essentially with participles or adjectives of a passive or reflexive character, thereby emphasising the supremacy of God's controlling power and the vital securing of His favour for the business of ruling in conformity with the Sharīʿa, the ideal, if not always the practice, of the ʿAbbāsids. A. Abel has noted that the ʿAbbāsids' great rivals in North Africa and Egypt, the Fāṭimids, had, in order to press their superior claim, as they saw it, to the caliphate and imāmate, to adopt a more aggressive and active form of titulature (*Le khalife, présence sacrée*, in *Stud. Isl.*, vii [1957], 38 ff.). This new type of titulature reflected the role assigned in Ismāʿīlī cosmogony to the *Imāms* in the hierarchy of intelligences emanating from the godhead, and it actively associated the holders of these titles with God's direct working in the world. Thus we have al-Ḳāʾim bi-ʿamr Allāh "he who takes charge of the execution of God's command" for the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh's successor Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad; and from the time of al-Muʿizz's accession onwards (341/953), the honorifics of the Fāṭimids are all active participles or adjectives emphasising the ruler's decisive part in the implementation of God's will in this world, e.g. al-Ḥākim, al-Āmir, al-Ẓāfir, etc., usually with a complement like . . . *li-dīn Allāh* or . . . *bi-amr Allāh*.

Not surprisingly, the ʿAbbāsids strove from the latter years of the 4th/10th century onwards to emulate these activist forms of titulature, in order to emphasise their own position as upholders of the Sunna; whence titles like al-Ḳāʾim bi-ʿamr Allāh appear in the middle years of the 5th/11th century and ones like al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh and al-Ẓāhir bi-amr Allāh in the early 7th/13th one. In all these cases, the *laḳab* might be adopted as a new regnal title on the caliph's accession; but increasingly, the *walī 'l-ʿahd* or heir to the throne was given a *laḳab* as soon as he was invested formally as heir to the reigning monarch, with his own *kunya* and/or honorifics thereafter appearing on the coinage side-by-side with those of the actual caliph. This *laḳab* usually remained with the heir once he acceded to the caliphate proper; but occasionally, the *laḳab* adopted by such an heir-apparent was exchanged

for a different, often more grandiloquent one on his obtaining the throne. Thus al-Mutawakkil's original *laḳab*, during the period when he was his brother's heir, was al-Muntaṣir, but this was changed on the second day of his succession to the caliphate (232/847) by the chief *ḳāḍī* Abī Duʾād to al-Mutawakkil (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, vii, 189 = ed. Pellat, § 2872; cf. Tyan, *op. cit.*, 280, 486).

If the caliphs could assume splendid and sonorous honorifics themselves, it lay also within their power to confer titles on their servants and supporters, in the first instance to their viziers and secretaries and to their military commanders. The process dates from the early 3rd/9th century, and at least until the following century it was practised comparatively sparingly by the ʿAbbāsids. The Persian secretary al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*], former protégé of the Barmakīs and eventually vizier to the caliph al-Maʾmūn, exercised the functions both of *wazīr* and *amīr*, and by 196/811-12 he is found with the honorific Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn "possessor of the two executive functions", sc. of civil administration and military leadership. Around the same time, the Persian general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], founder of the line of Ṭāhirid governors in Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ, received the *laḳab* of Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn "possessor of two right hands, the ambidextrous" (various explanations for this phrase are in fact given in the sources; it had already been used in the earliest Islamic times as a synonym for "liberal, open-handed", e.g. by the great poetess al-Khansāʾ [*q.v.*] when elegising her brother Ṣakhr); al-Faḍl b. Sahl's cousin ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿīd received that of Dhu 'l-Ḳalamayn "possessor of the two pens" (either alluding to the two principal government departments of finance and the army, or else to "the two modes of writing", sc. Arabic and Persian); whilst later in the century, in 269/885, the vizier Saʿīd b. Mukhallad was granted by al-Muwaffaḳ the title Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn "possessor of the two vizierates" (referring either to the two spheres of power, civil and military, or recognising Saʿīd's role as servant both of al-Muwaffaḳ and the titular caliph al-Muʿtamid) (see D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, i, 201-3, 319-20, ii, 678, 681).

This type of *laḳab* containing a dual expression was, however, one known before this time, as is attested by the name Dhu 'l-Nūrayn for the caliph ʿUthmān and Dhu 'l-Shahādatayn, applied to the Companion and partisan of ʿAlī, Khuzayma b. Thābit al-Anṣārī (because the Prophet had promised him double the normal martyr's rewards, see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 425, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 114). The type was, indeed, to enjoy a long life in Islamic titulature, just as dual forms of the simple *ism* (Muḥammadayn, al-Ḥasanayn) have been current in the Islamic world until the present day. The ʿAbbāsids' successors in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ, the Būyids, continued the usage of the caliphs for their own ministers and secretaries; thus we find Rukn al-Dawla's great vizier Abu 'l-Fatḥ b. al-ʿAmīd with the *laḳab* of Dhu 'l-Kifāyatayn "possessor of the two capabilities" (i.e. of the sword and pen), though this title was in fact awarded directly by the caliph [see IBN AL-ʿAMĪD]. In the following period of the Saldjūḳs, titles in *al-Ḥaḍratayn*, referring to the separate courts of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the Saldjūḳ sultans, occur, e.g. Thiḳat al-Ḥaḍratayn "confidant of the two courts", and Niẓām al-Ḥaḍratayn "support of the two courts", the title held by the *Naḳīb al-Nuḳabāʾ* ʿAlī b. Ṭarrād al-Zaynabī in Baghdād during the latter decades of the 5th/11th century (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968-72, iv, 454, tr. de Slane, iii, 151). See for all these types of dual titles, I. Goldziher, *Ueber Dualtitel*, in *WZKM*, xiii (1899), 321-9 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, Hildesheim 1967-73, iv, 195-203, and Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon arabicum*, i, 167-9.

An interesting fact of usage has recently been highlighted by P. Balog. Pious invocations after names are familiar from the early use of the *taṣliya* after the name of the Prophet, the *taslīm* after those of earlier prophets, the *tarḍiya* after the names of the early caliphs, etc. From the latter Umayyad period (from the time of Yazīd II b. ʿAbd al-Malik [101-5/720-4] onwards, in regard to the evidence of inscriptions on glass weights and measure stamps from Egypt) onwards, pious invocations like *aṣlaḥahu Allāh* "may God set him in the way of righteousness!", *abḳāhu Allāh* "may God grant him long life!" and *akramahu Allāh* "may God honour him!" are consistently appended to the names of caliphs and of high officials and governors. It seems that a particular formula like those just mentioned remained with an official or governor throughout his career, unless he were awarded a fresh invocation of higher prestige. Such *adʿiya* (sing. *duʿāʾ*) may accordingly be approximated to *alḳāb* as expressions of particular honour awarded by the ruler to a faithful servant, and in the manuals of secretaryship from the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods (see below, section IV), the two types of honorific are often treated together. See Balog, *Pious invocations probably used as titles of office or as honorific titles in Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid times*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 61-8.

Characteristic of the 4th/10th century was the appearance and then the growing popularity of compound honorifics including as their second elements the terms *dīn* "faith" and *dawla* or *mulk* "secular power", or less commonly, compounded with *umma* "religious community" and *milla* "religion". These titles have been studied in detail by M. van Berchem, *Eine arabische Inschrift aus dem Ostjordanlande mit historischen Erläuterungen*, in *ZDPV*, xvi (1893), 84-105; Caetani and Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, i, 199 ff.; J. H. Kramers, *Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn*, in *AO*, v (1927), 53-67; and A. Dietrich, *Zu den mit addīn zusammengesetzten islamischen Personnamen*, in *ZDMG*, cx (1960), 43-54. The last three of these studies contain extended lists of these types of *laḳab*, for they were to enjoy a popularity which ran for almost a millenium, and Dietrich puts the total of *dīn* titles enumerated by Kramers and himself at 186. The *dawla* titles were the earliest to appear, but in the first place, were titles of great honour granted only exceptionally by the caliphs. Thus when al-Muktafī honoured his vizier al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh of the Banū Wahb (vizier 289-91/902-4) by giving to him one of his daughters in marriage, he also awarded him the title Walī 'l-Dawla "friend of the state" as a special mark of intimacy (Sourdel, *Vizirat*, i, 356). In 330/941-2 the Ḥamdānid of Mawṣil Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan received from al-Muttaḳī, as a reward for his services against the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Muḥammad b. Rāʾiḳ, the *laḳab* of Nāṣir al-Dawla, whilst his brother Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī of Aleppo obtained that of Sayf al-Dawla. Shortly afterwards, in 334/945, the Daylamī Būyids entered Baghdād and took over the office there of *amīr al-umarāʾ*, and the three Būyid brothers Aḥmad ʿAlī and Ḥasan b. Būya received the honorifics of Muʿizz

al-Dawla, ʿImād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla respectively. All the subsequent Būyid *amirs* obtained from the caliphs titles of this type, sometimes with a greater degree of elaboration, e.g. the ʿAḍud al-Dawla wa-Tādj al-Milla of Fanā-Khusraw, the Sharaf al-Dawla wa-Zayn al-Milla conferred on Abu 'l-Fawāris Shīrzīl by the caliph in 376/986, and the Bahāʾ al-Dawla wa-Ḍiyāʾ al-Milla wa-Ghiyāth al-Umma of Abū Naṣr Fīrūz b. ʿAḍud al-Dawla (see Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 133, Eng. tr. 135; L. Richter-Bernburg, *Amir-malik-shāhānshāh: ʿAḍud ad-Daula's titulature re-examined*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the BIPS*, xviii [1980],; and BAHĀʾ AL-DAWLA in Suppl.).

It may be noted, in connection with the mention of Muḥammad b. Rāʾiḳ [see IBN RĀʾIḲ], that it is in the first half of this century that we have the formal constitution of the office of *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] as the concomitant of caliphal decadence. In fact, this title, or a similar form like *kabīr al-umarāʾ*, appears in the later years of the 3rd/9th century in reference to the commander-in-chief of the caliphal armies; but only with the caliphate of al-Rāḍī (322-9/934-40) did the holder of the *imārat al-umarāʾ* achieve a commanding grip on affairs, so that it seemed natural for the Būyids to step into the office a few years later (see Tyan, *op. cit.*, 531-41).

Especially interesting, in the light of the significance of the Būyids and the *dawlat al-Daylam* or "reign of the Daylamīs" for an attempted reconstruction, in Islamic form, of the ancient kingship of Iran, is their assumption of the ancient imperial title *Shāhanshāh* "emperor of emperors". ʿAḍud al-Dawla used it widely and with great pride in his titulature and protocol, and indeed the title became so characteristic of the Būyids that the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī actually refers to them as the Shāhanshāhiyān (*Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ [1], 41, 400, 438), but it seems possible that use of the title goes back to the very beginnings of the Būyids' seizure of power in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ, and was begun by ʿAḍud al-Dawla's father Rukn al-Dawla or even before that by his uncle ʿImād al-Dawla. Its assumption without caliphal permission clearly indicates a claim to temporal power by the Būyids independent of any caliphal act of delegation; but after ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death, his weaker and squabbling successors were compelled to seek caliphal support and hence pay more respect to the "caliphal fiction" by seeking validation for the title *Shāhanshāh* directly from the ʿAbbāsids. As is well-known, al-Ḳāʾim complied over this when asked by Djalāl al-Dawla, but when in 429/1038 the title was introduced publicly into the Baghdād *khuṭba* for the first time, a near-riot ensured, and the approval of the *fuḳahāʾ* of the three law schools of the East, the Ḥanafīs, the Ḥanbalīs and the Shāfiʿīs, had to be sought before this ostensibly blasphemous (at least in the eyes of the pious) title could safely be re-introduced from the pulpits (see H. F. Amedroz, *The assumption of the title Shâhanshâh by Buwayhid rulers*, in *Num. Chron.*, Ser. 4, vol. v [1905], 393-9, and the detailed and important study of W. Madelung, *The assumption of the title Shāhanshāh by the Būyids and "The reign of the Daylam* (Dawlat al-Daylam)", in *JNES*, xxvii [1969], 84-108, 168-83). Until approximately the time of the Mongol invasions, *Shāhanshāh* remained an exalted regnal title, e.g. the Ismāʿīlī Grand Master of Alamūt ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III (618-53/1221-55) is called al-Mawlā al-Aʿẓam Shāhanshāh al-Muʿaẓẓam in one inscription (van Berchem, *Épigraphie des Assassins de Syrie*, in *JA*, Ser. 9, vol. ix [1897], 453-501). Subsequently, however, it declined from being a *laḳab* into an ordinary *ism* amongst Persian princes and those Turkish ones who at times adopted ancient Iranian nomenclature. As we have seen above in regard to dual titles, the Būyids likewise secured imposing honorifics for the great viziers and secretaries who served them. Notable here is the use of the element *kāfī* "capable one", and al-Bīrūnī singles out such *alḳāb* of Būyid officials as Kāfī 'l-Kufāt, al-Kāfī al-Awḥad and Awḥad al-Kufāt as "nothing but one great lie" (*al-Athār al-bāḳiya*, 134, tr. Sachau, *The chronology of ancient nations*, 131).

The Sāmānids [*q.v.*] in distant Transoxania and then Khurāsān were abstemious in the use of honorifics, and al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, praises them for this, comparing them favourably with the Būyids. The epithets of al-Saʿīd, al-Sadīd, al-Ḥamīd, al-Riḍā, etc., seem to have been applied to them retrospectively after their deaths, and the only clear instance of a *laḳab* used by one of the Sāmānids in his own lifetime is that of the last of the line, Ismāʿīl b. Nūḥ (d. 395/1005), who styled himself al-Muntaṣir "the one rendered victorious [by God]", perhaps as a hopeful omen—vainly, as events turned out—for the restoration of his dynasty's fortunes. Yet although the Sāmānids, in practice independent, were usually punctilious in their deference to the ʿAbbāsids, they did in the second half of the 4th/10th century confer *alḳāb* unilaterally on their great commanders; thus Nūḥ b. Manṣūr (365-87/976-97) gave the title of Nāṣir al-Dawla to the commander of the Bukhārā *ghāzī*s, and the Sāmānids' Turkish commanders in Khurāsān received similar titles, e.g. Ḥusām al-Dawla for Tāsh Ḥādjib and ʿAmīd al-Dawla for Fāʾiḳ Khāṣṣa (see Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Oriens*, xv [1962], 214-15).

The successors of the Sāmānids in eastern Persia and Afghānistān, the Ghaznavids [*q.v.*], departed, on the other hand, from the path of Sāmānid simplicity, and from the time of the line's founder, Sebüktigin, onwards, regularly sought from the caliphs numerous honorifics. Those of Sebüktigin were Muʿīn al-Dawla and Nāṣir al-Dawla or Nāṣir al-Dīn wa 'l-Dawla, perhaps commonly abbreviated to Nāṣir al-Dīn (cf. S. M. Stern, in *Paintings from Islamic lands*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson, Oxford 1969, 14-16; the question of the exact form of the *laḳab* is of some importance for the first appearance of the compound *dīn*-type honorifics, see below). By the time of Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd (451-92/1059-99), the sultans bore a dazzling array of honorifics, in this case Ẓahīr al-Dawla and some twelve others, as well as the ceremonial designation (e.g. for the coinage) of al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam/al-Aʿẓam "highly-exalted sultan", a designation probably adopted under Saldjūḳ influence (details in Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 215 ff., and idem, *The later Ghaznavids: splendour and decay, the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 55-6).

Compound honorifics in *dīn* appear at a slightly earlier date than the *dawla* ones, and the award of Nāṣir al-Din wa 'l-Dawla to Sebüktigin would appear to be the earliest instance of a *dīn* title; it is certainly the only *laḳab* of this type listed by al-Bīrūnī in his *Āthār*, 133-4, tr. 130-1, under the heading "the holders of *alḳāb* granted by the caliphal court", the remainder being mainly compounded of *dawla*, *milla* and *umma*. (Kramers thought that the linking of *dīn* and *dawla* in titles—see further on this coupling, below—stemmed from a long Islamic tradition

in which these two strands of human existence were regarded as interdependent in this temporal life and their fortunes inextricably interwoven; he also thought that the combination of ideas came "incontestably" from Persia, see *Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn*, 61.)

In the 5th/11th century, usage of the two types of *laḳab*, in *dawla* and in *dīn*, fluctuates, but the coming of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs gave a great impetus to the spread of those of the second type. According to the Sald̲j̲ūḳ historical sources, when Ṭog̲h̲ril appeared in Bag̲h̲dād in 449/1058 for the second time, the caliph al-Ḳāʾim bestowed on him the honorifics of Rukn al-Dawla "pillar of the states" and Malik al-Mas̲h̲riḳ wa 'l-Mag̲h̲rib "king of the east and west" (see Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 47); but in practice, Ṭog̲h̲ril was generally referred to, in the short period of life remaining to him and also retrospectively, as Rukn al-Dīn. *Dawla* titles seem to have fallen into disfavour under the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, for the subsequent sultans of the 6th/12th century favoured titles with *dīn* or, instead of the frequent alliterative coupling of *dīn* and *dawla* in a title, a further alliteration of *dīn* and *dunyā*; Malik S̲h̲āh had the honorifics D̲j̲alāl al-Dawla (whence the name of the D̲j̲alālī era [*q.v.*]) and Muʿizz al-Dīn wa 'l-Dunya, whereas his son Muḥammad had that of G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn wa 'l-Dunyā. Whether the overshadowing of the *dawla* titles had any theological significance, as Kramers suggested—a preference for those in *dīn* stemming from the strongly orthodox religious atmosphere of the Sunnī reaction against political S̲h̲īʿism, and an avoidance of the non-Ḳurʾānic term *dawla*, with its connotations of the changes and vicissitudes of blind fate—is unproven, but seems unlikely. But if *dawla* titles became less popular, the Sald̲j̲ūḳs had no hesitation in the use of compound titles with *mulk* for their viziers and high military commanders (e.g. ʿAmīd al-Mulk for Abū Naṣr Kundurī [*q.v.*] and Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] for Abū ʿAlī Ṭūsī); and the ʿAbbāsids themselves came to imitate the Sald̲j̲ūḳs in the bestowal of titles expressing the idea of secular power, e.g. al-Muḳtafī's award of the title Sulṭān al-ʿIrāḳ, Malik al-D̲j̲uyūs̲h̲ to his vizier ʿAwn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] in 549/1154 as a reward for expelling the Türkmens from Wāsiṭ. Sald̲j̲ūḳ practice was also the model for the K̲h̲ʷārazm-S̲h̲āhs of the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries; see L. Richter-Bernburg, *Zur Titulatur der Ḫwārezm-Šāhe aus der Dynastie Anūštegīns*, in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, N.F. ix (1976), 179-205.

The S̲h̲īʿī Fāṭimids, the Sald̲j̲ūḳs' great opponents in the struggle for influence in the Syrian Desert region and its fringes of Syria and al-D̲j̲azīra, did not have this reluctance to use *dawla* titles, at least for their viziers and officials. A standard formula for their viziers was al-Wazīr al-Ad̲j̲all "most exalted vizier", awarded for instance to Yaʿḳūb b. Killis by the caliph al-Muʿizz in 368/979, but at this same time, compound *dawla* and other titles appear for the Fāṭimids' viziers, e.g. Amīn al-Milla for Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār, and for their commanders, governors and vassal princes, e.g. Sayf al-Dawla for the Zīrid Yūsuf Buluggīn in 361/972, and similar titles for Yūsuf's successors Bādīs and al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (see H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes Xᵉ-XIIᵉ siècles*, Paris 1959, ii, 509; when al-Muʿizz in 433/1041 transferred his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids, the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir awarded the *laḳab* of his former vassal, S̲h̲araf al-Dawla, to al-Muʿizz's kinsman, the Ḥammādid al-Ḳāʾid, who returned to the Fāṭimid allegiance); and Murtaḍā 'l-Dawla for the Ḥamdānid commander Luʾluʾ s son Manṣūr in Aleppo in 399/1008 (see M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, i, 710). An individual feature of Fāṭimid titulature for their viziers was the use of compound titles in *amīr al-muʾminīn*, e.g. Ṣafī Amīr al-Muʾminīn wa-K̲h̲āliṣatuhu for Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad al-D̲j̲ard̲j̲arāʾī, and Muṣṭafā Amīr al-Muʾminīn for Abū Manṣūr Ṣadaḳa b. Yūsuf al-Fallāḥī. Very soon the titulature of these Fāṭimid officials became remarkably luxuriant and pompous, heralding the later verbosity of Mamlūk titulature in Egypt; thus in 447/1050-1 the vizier Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Yāzūrī enjoyed the titles of al-Wazīr al-Ad̲j̲all al-Awḥad al-Makīn, Sayyid al-Wuzarāʾ wa-Tād̲j̲ al-Aṣfiyāʾ wa-Ḳāḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt wa-Dāʿī 'l-Duʿāt, ʿAlam al-Mad̲j̲d, K̲h̲āliṣat Amīr al-Muʾminīn, to which were later added al-Nāṣir li 'l-Dīn, G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Muslimīn, the ensemble denoting the wide extent of his powers, not merely as a vizier but also as chief *ḳāḍī* and chief *dāʿī*.

But in general, Fāṭimid procedure over the grant of honorifics was on similar lines to that of the ʿAbbāsids, as is attested by the texts of such awards (called technically *kutub al-tanwīh* "documents conferring eulogy") quoted by al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī from the *Mawādd al-bayān* of the Fāṭimid author ʿAlī b. K̲h̲alaf (a work which was long believed lost, but which has recently turned up in Istanbul, see A. H. Saleh, in *Arabica*, xx [1973], 192-200, and IBN K̲H̲ALAF in Suppl.). Here a sterotyped formula is set forth, in which the grant of titles is accompanied by other favours such as the gift of a standard, a sword and a fine mount (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, viii, 341). As in the Sunnī world, the awarding of honorifics was often proclaimed *urbi et orbi* by the Fāṭimids in Cairo, either before the caliphal palace or from the mosque pulpit; thus al-Ḥusayn b. D̲j̲awhar was in 390/1000 honoured by al-Ḥākim, receiving a robe of honour and having his newly-acquired title of Ḳāʾid al-Ḳuwwād "supreme commander" read out from the *minbar* (al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 15; see further on Fāṭimid titulature in general, Ḥasan al-Bās̲h̲ā, *al-Alḳāb al-islāmiyya fi 'l-taʾrīk̲h̲ wa 'l-wat̲h̲āʾiḳ wa 'l-āt̲h̲ār*, Cairo 1958, 65 ff., 92 ff.).

After the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period, sc. after the 6th/12th century, the dominance of *dīn* titles was firmly established, not only for rulers and their servants, but also, by what must have been unilateral adoption or else by the general consensus among religious groups, for outstanding spiritual leaders, Ṣūfī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*, etc., e.g. Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Kubrā, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Muʿīn al-Dīn Čis̲h̲tī [*q.vv.*]. In any case, by this time all pretence at the caliph's being the sole dispenser of these honours had been abandoned. A consequence of this was that honorifics began to be adopted according to a method of rough conformity with a person's original *ism*. Al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī has a passage on this custom in *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, v, 488-90, under the heading of *Fi 'l-alḳāb al-mufarraʿa ʿalā 'l-asmāʾ*, and the practise clearly dates back to early Mamlūk times, if not before. Thus among the Turkish mamlūks, ʿAlam al-Dīn went with the name Sand̲j̲ar, D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn with Aḳ Ḳus̲h̲, Ḥusām al-Dīn with Ḥasan or Ḥusayn, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn with ʿAlī, Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn with Ibrāhīm, etc. Even eunuchs had their characteristic combinations of *laḳab* and *ism*, e.g. S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dīn with ʿAnbar, as had the Coptic officials of the administration in Egypt, e.g. Taḳī 'l-Dīn with Wahba (cf. a similar list in al-Suyūṭī's

Risāla fi maʿrifat al-ḥulā wa 'l-kunā wa 'l-asmāʾ wa 'l-alḳāb, ed. Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *Une importante Risāla de Suyūṭī*, in *MFOB*, xlviii [1973-4], 352-4, and also Ḥasan al-Bās͟hā, *op. cit.*, 103-5). This type of usage was carried over into the Ottoman empire, especially amongst the *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ*, e.g. Badr al-Dīn with Maḥmūd, and the already-mentioned couplings with Ḥasan or Ḥusayn, ʿAlī and Ibrāhīm; the alliterative effect often achieved was obviously a factor favouring the adoption of several of these (cf. F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi [1923], 20 n. 3).

Whilst the ʿAbbāsid caliphate was still a living organism (i.e. till the Mongol sack of Bag͟hdād in 656/1258), the granting of honorific titles remained, at least in theory, a jealously-guarded privilege of the caliphs. Local rulers or provincial governors who maintained the "caliphal fiction" of Sunnī constitutional theory, that all executive authority derived ultimately from the caliph, sedulously sought a grant of honorifics at the outset of their reigns of governorships; and titles expressing personal closeness or a special relationship to the caliph, such as Mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn, Walī Amīr al-Muʾminīn and Ḳasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīn, were especially sought after (early examples of the designation *mawlā amīr al-muʾminīn*, say before the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, probably simply expressed a relationship of subordination and dependence, clientship or *walāʾ*, between the caliph and its bearer, rather than being the grant of an official title; O. Grabar thinks that the attribution of this phrase to the governor of Egypt Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] in 265/878-9 still expressed dependence rather than a title of honour, cf. his *The coinage of the Ṭūlūnids*, ANS Numismatic notes and monographs no. 139, New York 1957, 39-40).

Recognition by the caliph, involving an investiture charter (*ʿahd*, *mans͟hūr*), plus the other insignia of power such as honorifics, a richly-caparisoned charger and banners, might give a contender for power in a disputed succession the edge over his opponent. In 421/1030 the G͟haznawid prince Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd hurried eastwards from western Persia to Afg͟hānistān in order to confront his brother Muḥammad, who had been proclaimed sultan by the army in G͟hazna. At Nīs͟hāpūr he received from the caliph al-Ḳādir an investiture diploma for the G͟haznawid empire plus a strong of honorifics, *nuʿūt-i sulṭānī* as Bayhaḳī calls them, Nāṣir Dīn Allāh, Ḥāfiẓ ʿIbād (or ʿUbbād) Allāh, al-Muntaḳim min Aʿdāʾ Allāh and Ẓahīr K͟halīfat Allāh Amīr al-Muʾminīn. Masʿūd ordered that details of the award should be proclaimed and publicised in the towns of K͟hurāsān, and it proved to be a valuable propaganda weapon in his successful wresting of the sultanate from Muḥammad later that year (Bayhaḳī, cited in Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, 224-5, and idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 54).

Not surprisingly, the ʿAbbāsids held on their privilege of granting these titles in the Sunnī world for as long as possible. The caliph personally was the fount of honours, and the precise form in which they were granted had to be rigorously observed; the Mamlūk author Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī [see FAḌL ALLĀH] states, concerning the correct form of address used by kings for governors and lesser rulers. that there was an inflexible rule in ancient times "that no king was ever addressed except by the precise honorific granted to him from the caliphal *dīwān*, with no addition or omissions", *bi 'l-naṣṣ min g͟hayr ziyāda walā naḳṣ* (*al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-s͟harīf*, Cairo 1312/1894-5, 86-7). Conversely, the unilateral and unauthorised assumption of *alḳāb* by a person was an act of *lèse-majesté*, a virtual declaration of rebelion against the caliph or sovereign, as happened in K͟hurāsān during the late 4th/10th century; the ambitious military commander of the Sāmānids, Abū ʿAlī Sīmdjūrī, in 381/991 rose against his master Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, appropriated all the revenues of K͟hurāsān and styled himself (*talaḳḳaba*) Amīr al-Umarāʾ, al-Muʾayyad min al-Samāʾ "the heavenly-guided supreme commander" (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, *al-Taʾrīk͟h al-Yamīnī*, Cairo 1286/1869, i, 155).

Since the granting of such titles and honours created status and prestige for the recipients, it was natural that the ʿAbbāsids, in the period of penury into which they had fallen by the early 4th/10th century, should expect a return for this services; during the Būyid period in particular, when the caliphs were reduced to subsisting in straitened circumstances as pensioners of the Būyids, this sale of honours, normally in return for presents, became all the more vital for them. The grants seem to have become in time regulated by something like a fixed tariff. In Bayhaḳī's *Taʾrīk͟h-i Masʿūdī*, 293, there is an account of the detailed discussion at Masʿūd of G͟hazna's court in 422/1031 about the presents to be sent to the new caliph al-Ḳāʾim, from whom the sultan expected confirmation of his territories plus a grant of fresh *alḳāb* and other insignia of royalty; much of this discussion revolved round what was the usual *rasm* or practice here, with the adducing of precendents from the Ṣaffārid period.

Inevitably, voices were raised against the over-lavish granting of honours and titles, with a consequent cheapening in their value. Already the poet and littérateur Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-K͟hʷārazmī (d. 383/993 or 393/1003 [*q.v.*]) had complained in a satire.

> What do I care that the ʿAbbāsids have thrown open the gates of *kunā* and *alḳāb*?
>
> They have conferred honorifics on a man whom their ancestors would not have made doorkeeper of their privy.
>
> This caliph of ours has few *dirhams* in his hands, so he lavishes honorifics on people.

(al-T͟haʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iv, 230; cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 78-9, Eng. tr. 86-8). Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 448/1056) has a long passage in his *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Farādj, Cairo 1958, 166 ff., lamenting the changes between the time of the viziers Ibn al-Furāt and ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (the latter of whom had refused to increase the designation of a certain governor above the simple wish "May God exalt him"!, although threatened for his obduracy), and even between the time of the viziers of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, and the position at the end of his own lifetime. His main gravamen is that social and functional differentiation becomes impossible when titles lose their real meaning, and his conclusion is that "Inevitably, official positions have declined in status where they have been reduced to one level [in titulature], and have become cheapened when they have all been made equal. They no longer possess any glory which one can admire, nor any splendour to be prized. Indeed, I have heard our master the caliph al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh—may God prolong his reign!—says that there is no designation

left for a deserving person". Hilāl's contemporary al-Bīrūnī likewise moralisingly observes that when the ʿAbbāsids started rewarding their adherents with vain *dawla* titles, extending even to triple ones, their empire foundered: "In this way, the matter became utterly opposed to common sense and clumsy to the highest degree, so that he who mentions them gets tired before he has hardly begun, he who writes them loses his time and writing, and he who addresses [people] with them runs the risk of missing the time for prayer" (*al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, 132, tr. 129). By the end of the 5th/11th century, the process of debasement had gone even further in the Muslim East, and the Saldjūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk complains volubly, in the section of his *Siyāsat-nāma* on titles (ch. xl, ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340/1962, 189-200, tr. idem, *The book of government or rules for kings*, London 1960, 152-63) that "There has arisen an abundance of titles, and whatever becomes abundant loses value and dignity", and that "In these days, the meanest official gets agry and indignant if he is given less than seven or ten titles". In particular, Niẓām al-Mulk denounces the confounding of *dawla* titles, formerly reserved for military commanders and the Turks, with the *mulk* and other titles used by viziers, governors and other civilian and religious officials and dignitaries, so that there results the absurdity of a Turkish general, illiterate, tyrannical and totally ignorant of the *Sharīʿa*, being given titles like Tādj al-Dīn "crown of the faith or Muʿīn al-Dīn "succourer of the faith". He places the time when the floodgates were opened in the Saldjūḳ empire to the indiscriminate and incongruous granting of honorifics as being the years after Alp Arslan's death (sc. after 465/1072 and the accession of Malik Shāh; these strictures on the trends of the latter sultan's reign must be regarded as from a later hand than Niẓām al-Mulk's, perhaps from that of his copyist Muḥammad Maghribī).

3. The Muslim West. Most of what has been said so far relates primarily to the central and eastern lands of Islam, sc. Egypt and the lands further east. The vogue for honorifics followed a rather different course in the Muslim West. In general, their use was less developed in the more puritanical West, where there was a tendency to regard elaborate and fancy names and titles as effete and Persianising phenomena. Hence the term *alḳāb mashriḳiyya* is not infrequently used by Maghribī writers in disparaging references to them, e.g. by al-Maḳḳarī and by the Maghribī traveller to Egypt and Syria just before the Ottoman conquest, ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Idrīsī. This last shows himself, in his opuscule *Bayān ghurbat al-Islām bi-wāsiṭat ṣinfay al-mutafaḳḳiha wa 'l-mutafaḳḳira min ahl Miṣr wa 'l-Shām wa-mā yalīhā min bilād al-ʿAdjam* (written in 916/1510, see Brockelmann, I [2], 152, S II, 153), as particularly severe against the habit of the religious scholars (the first of the two classes mentioned in the title of his work) of taking honorifics like Shams al-Dīn and Zayn al-Dīn, which he stigmatises as *bidʿī* "heretical" and *shayṭānī* "devilish", in preference to the plain good old *sunnī* names Muḥammad and ʿUmar, and of insisting on the use of these honorifics in addressing them (see Godziher, *ʿAlī b. Mejmûn al-Magribî und sein Sittenspiegel des östlichen Islam*, in *ZDMG*, xxviii [1874], 306-10 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, vi, 14-18).

Already the Idrīsid *sharīfs* of Morocco, with their claims to ʿAlid descent, had styled themselves *imāms*, and the Khāridjī Rustamids of Tāhart utilised not only this last designation but those of "caliph" and *amīr al-muʾminīn* also; these powers, of course, rejected the legitimacy of ʿAbbāsid rule, whereas the Aghlabids of Ifrīḳiya, faithful in theory at least to the Baghdād connection, never took such liberties in matters of titulature. The rise of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in North Africa during the early years of the 4th/10th century nevertheless introduced fully to the Maghrib a titulature with messianic implications and one wholly opposed to the ʿAbbāsid moral and constitutional position (see above, Section II), and the new trend inevitably had repercussions in Muslim Spain. A dynasty like the Spanish Umayyads, which had to defend itself on the cultural and ideological planes against both the distant ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād and, more pressingly, against the aggressively Shīʿī Fāṭimids (on the propaganda offensive of the Fāṭimids directed against the Spanish Umayyads and its effects, see M. Canard, *L'impérialisme des Fatimides et leur propagande*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi [1942-7], 162-9), could not but be influenced by the political and religious propaganda value of honorific titles. When the greatest sovereign of the family, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, adopted after his victory at Bobastro over Ibn Ḥafṣūn in 315/927 the *laḳab* of al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh, together with the designations of "caliph" and "commander of the faithful", he thus placed himself firmly within what had now become the mainstream ʿAbbāsid tradition of theologically-oriented caliphal titulature. His lesser successors studiously followed his example till the end of the dynasty in 422/1031, so that we find e.g. Hishām II al-Muʾayyad, Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn, etc., as did the Ḥammūdids who alternated with the last fainéant Umayyads, e.g. al-Ḳāsim al-Maʾmūn (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 132-3, ii, 21, 115-16). The *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* who followed them during the period of the disorder and fragmentation in the middle decades of the 5th/11th century followed suit, with a disparity between the actual extent of their authority and the grandiloquence of their titles which attracted the satirical or ironic comment of contemporaries. Thus Ibn Khaldūn in two places in his *Prolegomena* quotes verses of the panegyrist of the Zīrids, Ibn Rashīḳ [*q.v.*],

> What makes me feel humble in Andalus is the use of the names "Muʿtaṣim" and "Muʿtaḍid" there.
> Royal epithets (*alḳāb mamlaka*) not in their proper place, like a cat that by puffing itself up imitates the lion.

(*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 281, 412, tr. Rosenthal, i, 316, 470, attributing the verses to Ibn Sharaf [*q.v.*]; al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Muʿtaḍid were honorifics adopted by princes of the Ḥammūdids of Malaga and the ʿAbbādids of Seville respectively). In matters of titulature, the Naṣrids of Granada "demeurèrent fidèles à la tradition orientale adoptée par les Umayyades de Cordoue, fondée sur l'autorité absolue du souverain et sa caractère semi-religieux" (R. Arié) Like their contemporaries amongst the rulers of the Muslim West, they used the title of Amīr al-Muslimīn, known from Almoravid times (see below), although the Mamlūk chancery in Egypt simply addressed them in official documents as *Ṣāḥib Ḥamrāʾ Gharnāṭa*, according to Ibn Nāẓir al-Djaysh, cited by al-Ḳalḳashandī in *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vii, 413. Certain Naṣrid rulers assumed, as Arié implies, *alḳāb* of the usual theocratic pattern, such as the dynasty's founder, Muḥammad I, called al-Ghālib bi'llāh, and on returning from a successful expedition against Castile, Muḥammad V assumed that of al-Ghanī

bi'llāh (Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)*, Paris 1973, 185-7).

Yet although the trends of the East filtered through to the Iberian peninsula in considerable measure, the effect of these trends tended to operate at the highest level only, that of the monarchs themselves. The Spanish Muslim sovereigns were much more careful over the bestowal of honorifics to their servants, ministers and generals than were the eastern dynasts. Ibn Abī ʿĀmir of course assumed the title of al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], for which his role in the state at the end of the 4th/10th century befitted him, on his return from the expedition against Leon in 371/981, and he was followed by his son ʿAbd al-Malik, styled al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*]. Other isolated instances occured, such as the award by al-Ḥakam II of the title Dhu 'l-Sayfayn in 363/974 to the general Ghālib on his victorious return from a campaign in the Maghrib, and the bestowal of the title Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn in 367/978 to both Ghālib and Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, one borne previously only by the general charged with defence of the Spanish frontier against the Christians; and over three centuries later, the great vizier of the Naṣrids, Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], was to enjoy the *alḳāb* of Lisān al-Dīn and Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 194, 213, 215-16, 228-9).

North Africa remained faithful for a longer period to the puritanical ideals of an equalitarian, earlier form of Islam, in its disapproval of pompous titles, once the interlude of the rise of the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimids was over and the domination of Mālikī orthodoxy was re-established under the Almoravids. The Almoravids originally recognised ʿAbbāsid authority, but to mark the reality of their own power in North-West Africa adopted—whether of their own accord or with the approval of Baghdād is unclear—the title of Amīr al-Muslimīn. Thus there was created, from the constitutional point of view, what van Berchem conveniently called a "sub-caliphate", whose rulers recognised an authority higher than their own and did not therefore adopt a titulature proclaiming their total independence and non-recognition of any superior power. The Almohads, however, came to power in the middle years of the 6th/12th century on a wave of messianic enthusiasm and under a charismatic leader, the Mahdī Muḥammad b. Tūmart [see IBN TŪMART], and took up again in some measure the pattern of titulature instituted in the Maghrib two centuries before by the Fāṭimids. During Ibn Tūmart's lifetime, his lieutenant ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was styled the Mahdī's *khalīfa* and Amīr al-Muʾminīn, sc. of the Almohad faithful, and on Ibn Tūmart's death, he became the *imām* of the community, with the title of al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh; from the reign of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿkūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) onwards, the Almohad sultans are found with honorifics of the familiar theocratic pattern (see van Berchem, *Titres califiens d'occident, à propos de quelques monnaies Mérinides et Ziyanides*, in *JA*, Ser. 10, vol. ix [1907], 263-79, and the important section on the title Amīr al-Muʾminīn in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 408-14, tr. i, 465-72).

The pattern of titulature was in this way established for the sovereigns of the three successor-states in the Maghrib and Spain to the Almohads, sc. the Naṣrids (for whom see above), the Marīnids of Morocco and the Ḥafṣids of Ifrīḳiya. The Ḥafṣids' eponymous ancestor was the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart's celebrated companion and partisan, Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, and the Ḥafṣids continued to use in reference to themselves the term al-Muwaḥḥidūn "those who proclaim God's unity" (an assumption admitted by the secretaries of the Mamlūk chancery in Cairo, who used the titles Zaʿīm al-Muwaḥḥidīn "chief of those proclaiming God's unity" and Ḳudwat al-Muwaḥḥidīn "exemplar of those..." in adressing them, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 51, 65). The most significant factor in the pattern of Ḥafṣid titulature, as it evolved in the 7th/13th century, was their claim to the caliphate, put forward by the second ruler of the dynasty, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (647-75/1249-77) in 650/1253. This was buttressed firstly by the attempts of the family's apologists to impute to them a Ḳurashī descent from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (whose *kunya* had been Abū Ḥafṣ), so that the sultans proudly termed themselves *ibn al-khulafāʾ al-umarāʾ al-rāshidīn*; and secondly by the recognition of the Sharīf of Mecca and, briefly, of the Mamlūks of Egypt even, after the extinction of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdād by the Mongols and before its revival in Cairo. Whence also the Ḥafṣids' adoption of the characteristically caliphal designation of Amīr al-Muʾminīn (although their rivals, the Mamlūks, would only allow them the "sub-caliphal" one of Amīr al-Muslimīn), and of theocratic *alḳāb* on the exact ʿAbbāsid pattern (al-Mustanṣir and al-Mutawakkil being especially favoured by various members of the dynasty), in order to demonstrate the genuine nature of their caliphal claims and the continuity of their titulature with the older ʿAbbāsid practice.

Looking forward to what will be said below about the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk usage of such titles, we may also note that the Ḥafṣids, deeply involved in struggles with Christian powers such as Spain and France, seeking a foothold in North Africa, assumed titles reflecting their roles as leaders in the holy war, such as al-Mudjāhid fī sabīl Allāh "he who fights in God's way", and allowed themselves to be addressed impersonally by titles of respect like al-Maḳām al-ʿalī/al-aʿlā and al-Ḥadra al-ʿaliyya (the latter expression being used by the Bey of Tunis until the proclamation of the republic there as the equivalent of the European diplomatic forms "His Majesty", "Son Altesse", etc.). See on all these questions of Ḥafṣid usage, von Berchem, *Titres califiens d'occident*, 283-93; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides des origines à la fin du XVI siècle*, Paris 1940-7, i, 40, ii, 7-17.

The Marīnids for long accepted the supremacy of the already-established Ḥafṣids, hence they (and also their neighbours of Tlemcen, the ʿAbd al-Wādids or Zayyānids) normally used the lesser title of Amīr al-Muslimīn rather than the fully caliphal one of Amīr al-Muʾminīn; many of the Marīnid sultans also bore theocratic-type *alḳāb* like the Ḥafṣids. But there were episodes when certain sultans did assume the higher title. For a short period of 9 month in 708/1308-9, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān adopted it on the coins which he issued conjointly with his Naṣrid ally Muḥammad III, apparently as an act of defiance to the Ḥafṣids. Furthermore, Abū ʿInān Fāris al-Mutawakkil (749-59/1348-59) seems to have employed the title as a lever to secure the deposition of his father ʿAlī, who had already styled himself in his official documents Amīr al-Muʾminīn and Ḳāʾid al-Muwaḥḥidīn, Almohad titles par excellence (and also Baḳiyyat al-Salaf al-Karīm in allusion to the Berber Marīnid's pretensions to an Arab genealogy). The mention in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 414, tr. i, 472, of the "Zanāta rulers", sc. the Marīnids, using the title Amīr al-Muʾminīn must be a reference to this episode, though subsequent

sultans reverted to the lesser title Amīr al-Muslimīn. The whole question of this alternation of titles was examined in great detail by van Berchem in his *Titres califiens d'occident*, 245-335.

With the decline of the Marīnids and their kinsmen the Waṭṭāsids, the Saʿdī Sharīfs from southern Morocco rose to power in the early decades of the 10th/16th century on a wave of Moroccan enthusiasm for the expulsion of Turkish Algerian influence and of renewed Islamic maraboutist fervour for *djihād* against the Portuguese encroachers on the Moroccan coastlands. In an atmosphere which was thus fed on religious enthusiasm and popular messianic expectations of a new defender of the Muslims, it is not surprising that the first of these Sharīfs of the Sūs, Muḥammad (d. 924/1517-13) assumed the chiliastic titles of al-Mahdī and al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh, reminiscent of Fāṭimid and then Almohad usage. Similarly religiously-motivated honorifics were adopted by several of his successors, e.g. Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, etc. One should also note the very characteristic forms of address used by both the Saʿdī sultans and their ʿAlawī successors, those of Mawlāy/Mūlāy "my master" and Sayyidī/Sīdī "my lord", as also by other high dignitaries, princely and religious, in the Maghrib. The form Mawlānā "our master" had been used by the Naṣrids during the 8th/14th century, and the Christians of Spain in the 9th/15th century often referred to the ruler of Granada as Muley (Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, 187); whilst both Mawlānā and Sayyidunā had been early used by the Ḥafṣids in their official documents. The form with the first person singular pronoun affix, *mawlāyā* > *mūlāy* apparently appeared amongst the Ḥafṣids in the course of the 8th/14th century, but is only at first attested in Christian sources, e.g. the "Muley Bolabes" = Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad II al-Mustanṣir of a Latin document of 1391 (cf. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 15-16).

4. The post-caliphal period. With the strengthening of the grip of Turkish and Kurdish dynasties over the central and eastern lands of Islam from the 5th/11th century onwards, regal, military and ministerial titulature increased in complexity and grandiloquence. After the extinction of the Baghdād caliphate and the establishment by the Mamlūks of a puppet line only of ʿAbbāsids in Cairo, the granting of titles became in practice the responsibility of the Mamlūk chancery or *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ*, so that this office became the concentration-point of a great deal of expertise in these questions. In any case, the correct ordering and recounting of all the various components of the titles of rulers and dignitaries had always been vital in epistolary and other official usages. The various manuals for secretaries and officials, stretching back to Fāṭimid times but reaching their full florescence in a great document-producing civilisation like that of the Mamlūks, devote much space to forms of address and titulature. In the most monumental of these manuals, al-Ḳalḳashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, the first *bāb* of the third *maḳāla* (v, 423-506, vi, 1-188, cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 110-13) is devoted to the topic of names of all kinds, but with special reference to *alḳāb*, which are traced from the origins of Islam to the author's own time, the 9th/15th century. Al-Ḳalḳashandī has several lists of titles, e.g. of these which he calls "honorifics of more recent times", *alḳāb muḥdatha*, such as *nāʾib*, *sāḳī*, *mushrif*, *awdjāḳī*, *ustād al-dār*, *bunduḳdār*, *dawādār*, *amīr al-ākhur*, etc.—this last class of titles being descriptive of offices rather than *alḳāb* in the true sense of honorifics as we have been discussing them.

Of greater interest for our present purpose are al-Ḳalḳashandī's numerous pages on the protocol of correct address, when addressing the caliph or sultans downwards. Many delicate and subtle distinctions are stressed here: thus *al-madjlis al-sāmī/al-sāmiyy* (with *yāʾ mushaddada*) is a higher designation than *al-madjlis al-sāmī* (with single *yāʾ*); *al-madjlis al-ḳaḍāʾī* is higher than *al-madjlis al-ḳāḍī*, and al-*madjlis al-ḳāḍawī* higher still (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 141 ff.; cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, Introd. LXXXII ff.). Even heathen rulers and notables were not to be denied their honorifics, though these were naturally on a lower level than those accorded to Muslim equivalents; the Mamlūk chancery had, of course, a sphere of diplomatic contacts embracing many non-Muslim powers, from the Christian empire of Byzantium and the Latins of the Western Mediterranean to the still-pagan Turkish and Mongol rulers of Inner Asia. As an example, we might cite the titles used in addressing the Doge of Venice (Dūk al-Bunduḳiyya): "al-Dūk al-Djalīl, al-Mukarram, al-Mubadjdjal, al-Muwaḳḳar, al-Baṭal, al-Humām, al-Ḍirghām, al-Ghaḍanfar, al-Khaṭīr, Madjd al-Milla al-Naṣrāniyya, Fakhr al-ʿĪsawiyya, ʿImād Bani 'l-Maʿmūdiyya, Muʿizz Pāpā Rūmiyya, Ṣādīk al-Mulūk wa 'l-Salāṭīn N.". If such titulature was used for infidels, the luxuriance of contemporary practice for Islamic addressees may be judged!

Only some of the salient features of Ayyūbid and Mamlūk honorific titulature can be mentioned here; the existing documentation is so rich that a whole monograph could easily be written on the topic, and indeed, much of the material used by Ḥasan al-Bāshā for his book derives from these two periods and from the Syrian and Egyptian milieux; such material from the Mamlūk period has further been used to good effect by Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Ḥusaynī in his study, based in the first place on coin legends, *al-Kunā wa 'l-alḳāb ʿalā nuḳūd al-Mamālik al-Baḥriyya wa 'l-Burdjiyya fī Miṣr wa 'l-Shām*, in *al-Mawrid*, iv/1 (1975), 55-104.

All the Ayyūbid sultans, and following them the Mamlūk ones, bore honorifics of the *al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn* pattern—continuing here Saldjūḳ practice —and these appear in inscriptions and offical documents, although for less formal usage a shorter form in *al-Dīn* only seems to have been current. Especially characteristic of the Ayyūbids was the use of an honorific composed of *al-Malik* plus a laudatory epithet (e.g. al-Malik al-Kāmil, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam) beginning with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's title of al-Malik al-Nāṣir bestowed on him by the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid when he appointed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his vizier in succession to Shīrkūh in 564/1169. Titles like these had been known in the Fāṭimid caliphate for some time, and al-Ḥāfiẓ's vizier Riḍwān b. Walakshī had already in 531/1137 borne the titles of al-Sayyid al-Adjall al-Malik al-Afḍal. The inscription on the Khān al-ʿAḳaba to the south-east of Lake Tiberias by its founder, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak, describes him as al-Malikī al-Muʿaẓẓamī "connected with al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam", sc. with Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn, at that time (610/1213-14) governor of Damascus for his father and not yet an autonomous Ayyūbid prince; these titles were not therefore confined under the Ayyūbids to reigning princes only (van Berchem, *Eine ara-*

bische Inschrift aus dem Ostjordanlands, 89). From the Ayyūbids, titles of this type spread to the Mamlūks, and were used by the sultans, e.g. al-Malik al-Muʿizz for Aybak and al-Malik al-Ḳāhir and then al-Ẓāhir for Baybars. Such titles were also adopted unilaterally by presumptous, often rebellious, *amīrs* and governors, e.g. that of al-Malik al-Mudjāhid assumed by ʿAlam al-Dīn Sandjar al-Ḥalabī after the murder of Ḳuṭuz in 658/1260, and the fashion spread to powers dependent upon or culturally influenced by the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, such as the Rasūlids of Yemen, whose rulers, from al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar onwards in 626/1229, all had honorifics of this type (see al-Bāshā, 498 ff.).

The titulature of the Mamlūk rulers and of their *amīrs* was particularly complex. The title Sulṭān [*q.v.*], though certainly known in the Ayyūbid period, had not been widely used by the Ayyūbid monarchs, but was now extensively adopted by the Mamlūk ones. Each of the sultans bore honorifics of the characteristic Ayyūbid type compounded with *al-Malik*, as discussed above, and also titles in *al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn* (see also above). But because of their military slave origin, the Mamlūk sultans and *amīrs* usually further bore special *nisbas* relating to their ethnic or local origins, their early professional training or their affiliation to the household of their masters. Thus sultan Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*] had the *nisba* of al-Yalbughāwī because he had been the *mamlūk* of the general Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, and Baybars [*q.v.*] that of al-Ṣāliḥī from his original master, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb; the general Ḥusām al-Dīn Özdemür was called al-Mudjīrī from the slave dealer who had sold him; and both the sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] and the *amīr* Shams al-Dīn Sonḳur were called al-Alfī because they had been bought for 1,000 (*alf*) *dīnārs*. Although these names are in form technically *nisbas*, they were not regarded as in any way derogatory, but were, rather, a source of pride to the holders and may in this wise be regarded as honorific titles.

One class of *laḳab* borne by some early Mamlūk sultans may be characterised as "quasi-territorial" or "quasi-ethnic", sc. those titles in which the ruler claims lordship over particular regions and/or peoples. Already al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb had grandiloquently styled himself Shahriyār al-Shaʾm Sulṭān al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam Ṣāḥib al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn Malik al-Barrayn wa 'l-Baḥrayn Malik al-Hind wa 'l-Sind wa 'l-Yaman Malik Ṣanʿāʾ wa-Zabīd wa-ʿAdan Sayyid Mulūk al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam Sulṭān al-Mashāriḳ wa 'l-Maghārib (*RCEA*, xi, no. 4308), and in certain inscriptions of the Mamlūks Baybars and Ḳalāwūn we find headship over al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam extending to al-Turk and even al-Daylam (= the Mongols here?) (*ibid.*, xiii, no. 4817, etc.).

A notable feature of the Mamlūk age was the strongly orthodox Sunnī atmosphere, now that the very seat of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had been transferred to Cairo and the Mamlūk rulers had become the principal defenders of Islam. This stress on orthodoxy appears naturally in the Mamlūks' external policy, against such assailants of the *Dār al-Islām* as the Mongols and the Christian Franks and Armenians, and in their internal policy as repressions of Muslim sectaries like the Nuṣayrīs and Ismāʿīlīs. Under the stimulus of an increased religiosity, both in official theological circles and in the sphere of popular religion and mysticism, the duty of *djihād* was exalted. Whence the frequency in Mamlūk titulature of designations like al-Mudjāhid, al-Muthāghir, al-Murābiṭ, al-Ghāzī, al-Mughāzī, etc., though these had already appeared under the Saldjūḳs, the Atabegs and the later Fāṭimids as a reaction to the landings of the Frankish Crusaders (cf. al-Mudjāhid as a title of the Börid Atabeg Ṭughtigin in a Damascus inscription of 524/1130, *RCEA*, viii, no. 3034, and also as a title of ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak in the Khān al-ʿAḳaba inscription, van Berchem, *op. cit.*, 101-2). The proximity now of the seat of the caliphate and this atmosphere of religious exaltation and bellicosity probably gave an impetus also to the increased popularity of a type of *laḳab* already well-known, that compounded with one of the titles of the caliph or sultan, and expressing close dependence on the supreme ruler, the enjoyment of his favour or support for him and the furtherance of the faith. Thus Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, at the time of his recognition as ruler by the ʿAbbāsid caliph, adopted the title of Khalīl Amīr al-Muʾminīn, and others of this type include Thiḳat Amīr al-Muʾminīn, ʿUmdat al-Mulūk wa 'l-Salāṭīn, Nuṣrat al-Islām wa 'l-Muslimīn, etc. Those titles which included as one of their elements the caliphal title *par exellence*, Amīr al-Muʾminīn, were naturally the highest-regarded, and al-Ḳalḳashandī arranges the different forms which this class of title took in a hierarchy of status. Ḳasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīn is the highest, and may only be borne by the sultan's sons or used in correspondence with certain neighbouring Muslim princes; ʿAḍud Amīr al-Muʾminīn is the highest title which can be used for the sultan's provincial governors; Walī Amīr al-Muʾminīn can be used by high civil officials and by religious scholars, and ranks above Ṣafī/Ṣafwat Amīr al-Muʾminīn; and so forth (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 108-9).

The type of honorifics classified by al-Bāshā, *op. cit.*, 83 ff., as "those indicating place and status". *alḳāb makāniyya*. were used as indications of reverence and humility in addressing or referring to the great. They had already been used in the heyday of the ʿAbbāsids, for in the vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt there had arisen the practice of addressing the caliph indirectly as *al-khidma*, in effect, "the one to whom service is due", and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ states that what had originally been just a formula of *ḳurba*, ingratiation, soon became a *sunna*, compulsory practice (cf. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*. i. *Le califat*, 488). By the time of the later ʿAbbāsids, we find the caliphs regularly referred to in epistolary style (e.g. in such sources as Abū Shāma and the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil) by such circumlocutions as al-Djānib al-Sharīf, al-Mawāḳif, al-Sharīfa, Maḳām al-Raḥma, etc. The Būyid and Saldjūḳ usage of al-Ḥaḍra (see above) is clearly a precursor of these expressions, although by the Mamlūk period, al-Ḥaḍra had declined from being a form of address suitable for caliphs, as in al-Ḥaḍra al-Sāmiya, into being used in addressing civil officials, infidel foreign rulers and the Coptic Patriarch in Egypt, according to al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 498. These "honorifics indicating place or status" enjoyed a great expansion in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times. That of al-Madjlis spread under the former dynasty downwards from the sovereign to the great men of state, so that by al-Ḳalḳashandī's time it was regarded as essentially a title for the "men of the sword and the pen", but somewhat below al-Djanāb. Hence towards the end of the Ayyūbid period, the ruler tended to adopt instead the forms al-Maḳām al-ʿĀlī or al-Maḳām al-Ashraf. This usage was followed by the Mamlūks, so that Ibn Shīth, for instance, says in

his *Maʿālim al-kitāba* that al-Maķām and al-Maķarr are the highest *alķāb* and are exclusively royal (*ibid.*, vi, 495-6, where it is also stated that the reference in such titles is to the seat of the ruler's power or his capital).

Van Berchem's opinion was that the study of mediaeval Islamic honorifics was only of value for the study of administrative institutions, and that these titles only had historical significance in so far as they were linked with specific offices—"lose Ehrentitel haben so gut wie keinen Werth" (*op. cit.*, 105). As already noted above, Kramers combatted this negative view, suggesting that the nature of these honorifics reflected the religious and cultural atmosphere of their time, e.g. that the later predominance of *dīn* titles over *dawla* ones coincided with the Sunnī reaction against political S͟hīʿism and against external Christian pressure. Whether certain *dīn* honorifics did owe their popularity in the Iranian world to the fact that they resembled traditional names, e.g. Farīd al-Dīn and Farīdūn/Āfrīdūn, Bahāʾ al-Dīn and Behdīn, and Ķiyām al-Dīn and Kāmdēn (*Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn*, 63-5), seems impossible to prove or disprove.

5. The period of the great empires. The use of honorifics continued in the great empires of later mediaeval Islam, sc. those of the Indo-Muslim sultans, the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans, almost down to modern times.

The titulature of the first Muslim dynasties to be permanently established in the northern Indian plain, the Slave Kings of Dihlī and their successors, inevitably followed *grosso modo* the pattern set by their original master, the Afg͟hān G͟hūrids [*q.v.*], who had in their turn continued in the ways established by the power which they had overthrown in the later 6th/12th century, the G͟haznawids (for G͟haznawid titulature, see above, 3, and for that of the G͟hūrids, the information given in the *Ṭabaķāt-i Nāṣirī* of Minhād͟j-i Sirād͟j D͟jūzd͟jānī [*q.v.*], who is always careful to detail the titles of his G͟hūrid forebears, as also those of the Dihlī sultans contemporary with him).

The Slave Kings, essentially the Turkish military commanders of the G͟hūrid sultan S͟hihāb al-Dīn or Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 602/1206 [see G͟HŪRIDS]), followed their old masters in favouring on the whole *alķāb* in *dīn*, whence Ķuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, S͟hams al-Dīn Iltutmus͟h [*q.vv.*], etc. However, as both D͟jūzd͟jānī's information and the contemporary inscriptions show, there were many variants and elaborations. Thus Aybak appears in an inscription of the Ķuwwat al-Islām mosque in Dihlī as Ķuṭb al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn, Amīr al-Umarāʾ, whilst D͟jūzd͟jānī gives Iltutmus͟h's *laķab* in full as S͟hams al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn. Basking in the glory of their extensive military conquests, various sovereigns of this period conceived of themselves as following in the footsteps of Alexander the Great. Already the G͟hūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad is described on the Ķuṭb Minār [*q.v.*] as Iskandar al-T͟hānī, a title imitated e.g. by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad S͟hāh K͟hald͟jī of Dihlī (695-715/1296-1316) on his coins, with such variants as Iskandar al-Zamān "the Alexander of the age". The geographical and ethnic extent of the empire ruled by these Turkish commanders is indicated by Iltutmus͟h's adopting later in his reign (in an inscription of the Hānsī mosque) the title Mawlā Mulūk al-Turk wa 'l-ʿAd͟jam, whereas previously he had styled himself (on the Ķuṭb Minār) by the conventional, but by then obsolete title for an eastern Islamic potentate of Mawlā Mulūk al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAd͟jam. Like other Turkish ruling dynasties of the East, being newcomers into the Islamic society and polity and as yet uncertain of their place within these last, the Indo-Muslim rulers sought to validate their rule by expressing their loyalty to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (who were of course after 659/1261 puppets under the control of the Egyptian Mamlūks). Iltutmus͟h, in the last decades of the independent ʿAbbāsids of Bag͟hdād, usually styled himself Naṣīr or Nāṣir Amīr al-Muʾminīn, but in one instance at least, Ķasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīn, the title favoured by the G͟hūrids to demonstrate their fidelity to Bag͟hdād. Later in the century, G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Balban (664-86/1266-87 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) followed the same tradition when he styled himself Yamīn K͟halīfat Allāh as well as Nāṣir Amīr al-Muʾminīn. See J. Horovitz, *The inscriptions of Muhammad ibn Sām, Qutbuddin Aibeg and Iltutmis͟h*, in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, 12-34; G. Yazdani, *The inscriptions of the Turk Sulṭāns of Delhi-Muʿizzu-d-dīn Bahrām, ʿAlāʾu-d-dīn Masʿūd, Naṣīru-d-dīn Maḥmūd, G͟hiyāt͟hu-d-dīn Balban and Muʿizzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād*, in *ibid.*, 1913-14, 13-46; Z. A. Desai, *The inscriptions of the Mamlūk Sultans of Delhi*, in *Epigraphica Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1966, 4-18.

The Turco-Mongol successors of these first Turkish and Afg͟hān Indo-Muslim rulers, the Mug͟hals, brought to India Tīmūrid traditions in using the grant of titles and other marks of honour to strengthen the loyalty of their own Turkish commanders and to win over other groups, such as the great Afg͟hān chiefs. Bābur mentions that, in India, permanent designations (*muķarrarī k͟hiṭāblar*) were given to highly-favoured *amīrs*, such as Aʿẓam Humāyūn, K͟hān-i D͟jahān and K͟hān-i K͟hānān (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 537). Bābur's son Humāyūn followed a careful policy in the award of titles appropriate to services rendered or expected; thus the supreme distinction of Amīr al-Umarāʾ was bestowed on Amīr Hindū Beg, an old commander of Bābur's who had fought at Pānīpat [*q.v.*] in 932/1526 and who was, moreover, allowed the signal honour of sitting with the emperor in formal court sessions. Under Bābur's immediate predecessors in India, the Lōdīs, the titles of nobility had been (in ascending order) Malik, Amīr and K͟hān. In the course of the 10th/16th century, the title of Malik fell out of fashion and that of Beg, one of prestige under the first two Mug͟hal rulers, subsequently declined in favour of K͟hān, so that under Akbar, Beglar Begi was a lower title than that of K͟hān-i K͟hānān. This last was the highest title of all, held e.g. by the young Akbar's *atālīķ* or guardian Bayram K͟hān (d. 968/1561 [*q.v.*]), together with that of Amīr al-Umarāʾ. Other titles tended to be associated with specific affairs or functions; thus that of Āṣaf K͟hān was mostly conferred on civil officials acting as *wazīr* or as *wakīl* of the royal household, hence mainly on Persians; whilst Akbar conferred the Hindu title of *rād͟jā* not only on the hereditary successors to princely power but also on faithful Indian servants like the master-gunner Sabbahan. See Radhey Shyam, *Honours, marks and titles under the Great Mughals (Babur and Humayun)*, in *IC*, xlvi (1972), 101-17, and idem, *Honours, ranks and titles under the Great Mughals (Akbar)*, in *ibid.*, xlvii (1973), 335-53.

As the political and military power of the Mug͟hals shrank in the post-Awrangzīb period, the conferring of titles became more and more widespread by the

emperors and by provincial Muslim dynasties, so that their social value declined; hence today, old titles like Mīrzā, Khān and Beg have in the modern subcontinent become nothing more than the equivalents of western surnames.

In Ṣafawid Persia, one notes first of all, in connection with the strongly Shīʿī basis of the state and the theocratic nature of the early Shāh's authority, a fondness for names and titles expressing devotion to or dependence upon either some venerated figure of Shīʿism, such as ʿAlī or his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, or upon the sovereign himself, considered as the vicar on earth of God or the *Imāms*. In pre-Ṣafawid times, there had occasionally been used by rulers in Persia names compounded with the Persian word *banda* "slave, devotee", e.g. the Mongol Il-Khānid Muḥammad Khudābanda Öldjeytü (the *laḳab* being assumed when Öldjeytü became a Muslim; his pro-Shīʿī sympathies should perhaps be noted here). Under the Turkmen Ṣafawids, the equivalent Turkish word *ḳul* was commonly used, as in ʿAlī-Ḳulī, Imām-Ḳulī, Ṭahmāsp-Ḳulī, Ṣafī-Ḳulī, etc., especially in regard to military commanders and governors, although the Shāhs themselves retained simple regnal names. The usage of these titles in *ḳul* was imitated in Muslim India by certain of the South Indian sultans who were Shīʿī in faith and strongly under Ṣafawid cultural influence, e.g. the ruler of the Ḳuṭb-Shāhīs [*q.v.*] in Golkonḍa, Muḥammad-Ḳulī b. Ibrāhīm (988-1020/1580-1612).

Whilst the Shāhs themselves remained modest over the use of personal *alḳāb*, their subordinates enjoyed a rich titulature. It is under the early Ṣafawids, apparently towards the end of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I's reign *ca.* 976/1568-9, that the characteristic Ṣafawid title for the *wazīr*, that of Iʿtimād al-Dawla [*q.v.*] "trusty support of the state" appears; this title is much distorted in the travel accounts of contemporary western visitors to Persia, e.g. the "Athemadeulat" of Du Mans and the "Etmadowlett or prime minister" of John Bell. The late Ṣafawid administrative manual *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (*ca.* 1137/1725) gives detailed information on this latter official and on the other important figure of the Ḳurčī-Bashī [see ḲŪRČĪ] (who was, in early Ṣafawid times, before the establishment of a regular, standing army, virtually the commander-in-chief, with the title of Amīr al-Umarāʾ), here called the Rukn al-Salṭana al-Ḳāhira, and on a host of lesser officials. The top fourteen officials of the administration had the title of *ʿālī-djāh* "exalted in rank", and there were groups of officials with the title of *muḳarrab al-khāḳān* "confidant of the supreme ruler" because of their special closeness to the throne, and with that of *muḳarrab al-ḥaḍra* "confidant of the royal presence". The first group included the head of the palace eunuchs, the royal physician (*ḥakīm-bashī*), the court astrologer (*munadjdjim-bashī*), the controller of assay (*muʿayyir al-mamālik*), the state secretary, who drew the royal *ṭughra* [*q.v.*] (*munshī 'l-mamālik*), the keeper of the seal (*muhr-dār*) and the keeper of the ink-holder (*dawāt-dār*). The second group, somewhat lower in status, included senior harem attendants, aides-de-camp (*yasāwulān*), the heads of various departments of the royal household and workshops (*buyūtāt*), including the master of the mint (*ḍarrābī-bashī*), etc. (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 8b, 12b, 30a-55a, tr. Minorsky, 44, 46, 55-69).

Under the Ḳādjārs, the title of Iʿtimād al-Dawla for the *wazīr* declined in currency, being replaced by that familiar in Ottoman usage also (see below), Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam. There was also a great expansion of honorifics in *dawla, mamlaka, salṭana*, etc. for the numerous princes of the Ḳādjār family and for other great officials, a process which the Amīr Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.] endeavoured in the mid-19th century years to check, but one which continued with little abatement till the end of the Ḳādjārs in 1925. This rich array of titulature, with by now elaborate forms of address extending down the social scale as low as mere village headmen, inevitably came under fire from the reforming Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī. Muḥammad Riḍā had indeed already in the Fifth Madjlis, as *Sardār Sipāh* and before he had overthrown the Ḳādjārs, abolished the honorific titles which had been sold for the personal enrichment of the Shāh and court officials, even though this act had been an infringement of the monarch's prerogative. On 2 August 1935 there was issued a decree on the abolition of titles and on the terminology of social intercourse. The royal family was to receive new titles, with the Shāh himself to be Aʿlā-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Humāyūn Shāhanshāhī; high officials were to be addressed just as *djanāb*, and the old titles of *amīr, beg, khān, mīrzā*, etc. were to be abolished. In fact, although these reforms were honoured in the press and in public announcements, the old titles continued very much in common and spoken usage (see P. Avery, *Modern Iran*, London 1965, 267, 273; D. N. Wilber, *Riza Shah Pahlavi: the resurrection and reconstruction of Iran*, Hicksville 1975, 167, 171). When western-type surnames were introduced, some people turned the old *alḳāb* which went back to Ḳādjār days into family names, e.g. in the cases of Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ, Prime Minister 1951-3, formerly Muṣaddiḳ al-Salṭana, and his contemporary the statesman and former Prime Minister in 1921 Aḥmad Ḳawām, formerly Ḳawām al-Salṭana.

A centralised and bureaucratic institution like the Ottoman empire, with from the late 8th/14th century onwards extensive diplomatic contacts, firstly with the Muslim beyliks of Anatolia and the Turkmen powers of the East, and then with the Christian states of the West, increasingly affected by Ottoman expansionism, evolved a complex and elaborate chancery procedure in which the careful recounting of honorific titles played a vital role. The immense bulk of surviving Ottoman diplomatic and administrative documents would make feasible a highly detailed study of this titulature, a task which remains however to be done. For the moment, it may be noted that Feridun Beg devotes the opening pages of his great collection of correspondence to an exposition of the *alḳāb* of the various classes of addressee, from the sultan at the top down to civil and military officials and members of the religious institution within the empire, and also of the *alḳāb* to be used in communicating with dependent rulers such as those of the Trans-Danubian principalities and with foreign potentates like the Doges of Venice (*Münshe'āt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274/1857, i, 2-13). Also, L. Fekete devoted a section of his *Einführung in die Osmanisch-Türkische Diplomatik der Türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest 1926, pp. XXXII-XXXVI, to an exposition of honorifics as found in administrative and diplomatic documents of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries concerning relations between the Porte and local officials in Hungary or between the sultans and the Christian monarchs in adjoining lands. The luxuriance of the titulature of, for instance, Süleymān the Magnificent is seen in a letter of this sultan from 972/1565, where in the *intitulatio* of the document

Süleymān describes himself as Sultān-i Salāṭīn-i Sharḳ wa Gharb, Ṣāḥib-Ḳirān-i Mamālik-i Rūm wa ʿAdjam wa ʿArab, Ḳahramān-i Kawn wa Makān, Narīmān-i Maydān-i Zamīn wa Zamān, Aḳ Deñiziñ wa Ḳara Deñiziñ wa Kaʿba-yi Muʿaẓẓama wa Madīna-yi Munawwaranīñ wa Ḳuds-i Sharīfiñ wa Takht-i Miṣr Nādira-yi ʿAṣrīñ wa Wilāyet-i Yaman wa ʿAdan wa Sanʿāʾnīñ wa Dār al-Sadād Baghdād wa Baṣr wa Laḥsānīñ wa Madāʾin Anūshīn-Rawānīñ wa Diyār-i Djazāʾir wa Ādharbāydjānīñ wa Dasht-i Ḳîpčaḳ wa Diyār-i Tātārīñ wa Kūrdistān wa Lūristānīñ wa Kulliyyᵃⁿ Rūm Īlī wa Anāṭūlī wa Ḳaramān wa Aflāḳ wa Bughdān wa Angarūs memleketleriniñ wa bunlardan ghayrī niče mamālik wa diyār ʿaẓīm al-iʿtibārīñ Pādishāhī wa Sulṭānī Sulṭān Süleymān Khān b. Sulṭān Selīm Khān (*ibid.*, p. XXXII).

The honorifics of the sultan's subordinates were naturally less florid, but considerable care was taken to differentiate niceties of rank, so that a *ḳāḍī* with a stipend of less than 150 *aḳčes* was addressed as Ḳudwat al-Ḳuḍāt al-Islām [*sic*], ʿUmdat Wulāt al-Anām, whereas a *ḳāḍī* of 150 *aḳčes* or more could add to the above titles that of Mumayyiz al-Ḥalāl ʿan al-Ḥarām (*ibid.*, p. XXXIV). The grand vizier was from the time of Süleymān onwards awarded the designation of Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam "most illustrious of the high dignitaries", and this title remained in use all through the Ottoman sultanate's existence, surviving the reforms in the bureaucracy of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], the last Ṣadr-i Aʿẓams being Dāmād Ferīd Pasha [*q.v.*] (till October 1920) and his successor Aḥmed Tewfīḳ Pasha (till November 1922) who served Meḥemmed VI Waḥīd al-Dīn. The vizier had several other epithets of distinction, such as *sāmī*, *āṣafī* and *ʿālī*, and he was entitled to the same form of address as the Khedives of Egypt in the 19th century, *dewletli fekhāmetli* (see further ṢADR-I AʿẒAM).

It was during the *Tanẓīmāt* period of the mid-19th century that some attempt was first made at rationalising and restricting the unchecked growth of titulature, as part of the institutionalisation on western lines of the old Ottoman bureacracy. It seems that the traditional titles were now bureaucratised. Thus Redhouse in his *Turkish and English lexicion*, s.v. *bey* (375a), has "5. The title given [to] the sons of Pashas, and of a few of the highest civil functionaries, to military and naval officers of the rank of colonel or lieutenant colonel, and popularly, to any persons of wealth, or supposed distinction"; s.v. *pasha* (434a) he has an explanation of the modern military and naval positions, of general officer and flag rank, entitled to use this designation; and s.v. *vezir* (2136a) he has the definition "a civil state functionary of the highest rank, with the title of pasha". Hence in the biography of Fuʾād Pasha [*q.v.*] given in Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inan's *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*[4], Istanbul 1969, i, 159, he is referred to merely as Efendi in all official documents until he achieved the rank of vizier in Shaʿbān 1271/May 1955 and thereby acquired the title of Pasha. See for this period, S. Kekule, *Über Titel, Ämter, Rangstufen und Anreden in der offiziellen osmanischen Sprache*, Halle 1892, and the entries in M. Z. Pakalın's *Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, s.v. *elkâb-ı resmiye*, *rütbe*, *mülkiye*, *vezir*, etc.

It seems that these bureaucratic gradations in titulature introduced under the *Tanẓīmāt* continued under the Young Turk régime in the early 20th century, but, as in the parallel case of Persia under Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, Kemal Atatürk's secularising and reforming policies did not allow these titles to continue in official and public usage. According to the Law no. 2590 of 26 November 1934 "Concerning the abolition of appellations (*lâkap*) and titles (*ünvan*) such as Efendi, Bey and Pasha", these modes of address were swept away, and religious titles such as Hacı, Hafız and Molla were also banned (Kazim Öztürk, *Son degiçiklikleriyle gerekçeli anayasa*[2], Ankara 1975, 306; Bülent Dâver, *Türkiye cumhuriyetinde lâyiklik*, Ankara 1955, 175). Instead of Bey and Hanım, Bay and Bayan were introduced for "Mr" and "Mrs". But as in Persia, old conventions and speech habits die hard, and in popular speech, the old title survive: Paşa for generals, whether active or retired; Efendi for artisans and non-Muslims; Üstad for craftsmen, artists, etc.; Hoca for teachers, secular and religious; and so forth (cf. G. Lewis, *Turkey*[3], London 1965, 110-11).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. E. Bosworth)

LAḲANT, the name of two places in al-Andalus. The first, which has now disappeared, was situated some 60 km. to the south of Mārida [*q.v.*] in the district where la Fuente de Cantos is at present to be found, on or near to the road connecting Mérida with Seville and followed by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, and on the left bank of the Guadiana (see F. Hernandez Jiménez, *Ragwāl y el itinerario de Mūsā, de Algeciras a Mérida*, in *al-And.*, xxvi [1961], 106-13, and *La kūra de Mérida en el siglo X*, in *ibid.*, xxv [1960], 320, 361, 368). Yāḳūt (iv, 363) speaks of two fortresses dependent on Mérida, Laḳant al-Kubrā and Laḳant al-Ṣughrā, but this seems highly improbable, for one might more feasibly conclude that *al-kubrā* refers to the place mentioned above or the alternative, and that *al-ṣughrā* corresponds to Alicante (or the alternative) on the Mediterranean coast to the south of Dāniya [*q.v.*] or Denia.

Alicante, classical Lucentum, formed part of the *kūra* of Tudmīr [*q.v.*]. It was one of the six towns included in the pact with Theodomir, on the journey from Orihuela to Elche, six miles from the latter according to al-ʿUdhrī. Al-Idrīsī (*Maghrib*, text 193, tr. 235), copied by al-Ḥimyarī (*al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, text 170, tr. 205), says that there was here a little town (*madīna ṣaghīra*) which was fairly prosperous, with a market, a great mosque and a *minbar*. The earth produced in abundance fruits and vegetables, figs and grapes, and the town was a port for shipping esparto to the Mediterranean lands, and a centre for the construction of shipping for commercial purposes and for fishing. It had a *ḳaṣaba* well-garrisoned with troops, on the summit of a mountain, Benacantil, which was difficult of access. At the time of Muḥammad I, it seems to have become an anchorage used by the seafarers of Pechina. In 316/928, the lord of Callosa de Ensarriá (Ḳalyusha) and of Alicante and its strongholds, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shaykh al-Aslamī, was subdued. In the 5th/11th century, Alicante became part of the *ṭāʾifa* of Denia, whose fortunes it followed. After the Almoravids had passed by there, it came within the possessions of Aḥmad b. Hūd Sayf al-Dawla and was governed by Ibn ʿIyāḍ. Subsequently, it fell under the domination of Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] and of the Almohads. After having recognised for some period of time Ibn Hūd's authority, and having known several confused years, whose history deserves to be studied more thoroughly, it passed under the control of James I of Aragon, on condition that the local Muslims might retain their lands.

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the text, see *Cronica del Moro Rasis*, ed. Diego Catalan and Mª Soledad de Andrés, Madrid 1974, 35-6, 293; ʿUdhrī, *Fragm. geogr.-hist. de al-Masālik ilā djāmiʿ al-mamālik*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, Madrid 1965, index; E. Fagnan, *Extraits*, 64, 210-11; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, 103 (writing *Alḳant*), 566; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. Antuña, Paris 1937, 118, 130; *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Ḥakam II, por ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī* (tr. of the *Muḳtabis* by E. García Gómez, Madrid 1967), 128; Ibn ʿIdhārī, ii, 51, 52; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, Cairo 1962, 499; E. Llobregat Conesa, *Teodomiro de Oriola. Su vida y su obra*, Alicante 1973, 30-3; J. Vallvé, *La división territorial de la España musulmana (II). La cora de "Tudmīr" (Murcia)*, in *al-And.*, xxxvii (1972), 147, 150, 158; E. Molina López, *La cora de Tudmīr según al-ʿUdrī (s. XI)*, in *CHI*, iv (Granada 1972), index; M. Gaspar y Remiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905; F. Figueras Pacheco, *Compendio histórico de Alicante*, Alicante 1957; R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane aux temps des Naṣrides (1232-1492)*, Paris 1973, 65 and index; J. B. Vilar, *Orihuela musulmana*, Murcia 1976, index; see also the *Bibl.* to IBN MARDANĪSH.

(J. BOSCH VILÁ)

LAKHM, an Arab tribe, especially influential in the pre-Islamic period. With the exception of the Lakhmid family [see LAKHMIDS] in ʿIrāḳ, so frequently celebrated in the old Arab poetry, the pre-Islamic history of this family is not well-known and is full of legend. According to the traditional genealogy, Lakhm was of Yemenī origin and was the brother of Djudhām and ʿĀmila [*q.vv.*]. Yemenīs and Maʿaddīs claimed descent from the powerful Lakhmid dynasty of ʿIrāḳ.

Of the three sister-tribes, Lakhm was undoubtedly the most illustrious and the oldest also. Legend connects it with the descendants of Abraham. A Lakhmid is said to have taken Joseph out of the well into which his brothers had thrown him. But by the eve of the *hidjra*, the vigour of the Lakhm had been sapped, while the ʿĀmila and notably the Djudhām, who under the Umayyads played a leading part, had increased in importance. Two centuries before the *hidjra*, the surplus Lakhmid population had spread over the lands in the north of the peninsula in Syria and Palestine and in ʿIrāḳ where they established the Lakhmid phylarchate of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*, and also DJADHĪMA], continually at war with the Ghassānids of Syria. In Syria we find the Lakhm settled in the same districts as the Djudhām. Like the latter, they adopted Christianity, which also became latterly the official religion of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra.

However, the al-Namāra inscription, dated A.D. 328, has thrown much light on the history of Lakhm. It fully explains the presence of Lakhm or part of it in Syria after it emigrated from ʿIrāḳ with its king, Imruʾ al-Ḳays, who went over to the Romans. It was after its emigration to Roman Syria that Lakhm became associated with the "sister-tribes", Djudhām and ʿĀmila, and so the geneaology that related the three tribes to one another as descended from one ancestor is fictitious, and is merely the reflection of geographical and political conditions that obtained after the emigration of Lakhm to Roman territory and its settlement in the southern part of Syria, not far from where these two tribes had settled. The separation of Lakhm from the two "sister-tribes" genealogically tips the scales against Lakhm's being a non-Yemenī or South Arabian tribe and suggests a Mesopotamian origin. The re-appearance of the tribe in ʿIrāḳ, and what is more, in al-Ḥīra, after a long interregnum may be explained by the possible return of part of it to ʿIrāḳ after its disappointments with the Romans, or by the fact that part of Lakhm had not accompanied its king Imrūʾ al-Ḳays when he went over to the Romans but had stayed on in al-Ḥīra.

When Islam appeared, the Djudhām had practically absorbed their relatives, the Lakhm of Syria, a peaceful absorption by mutal agreement. In the 1st century A.H. the two tribes were usually named together as forming one group, and even when reference is made to a "chief of Lakhm", we can hardly be wrong in thinking that he also ruled the Djudhām. The *nisba* "Lakhmī" becomes rare in comparison with "Djudhāmī." In the wars of Islam, during the conquest of Syria, at the Yarmūk, at Ṣiffīn, and later in the course of the campaigns under Yazīd I against the sacred cities of the Ḥidjāz, the two tribes fought under the same chiefs and under the same banner. "Lakhmī" became practically reduced to little more than a title of honour. Its archaic flavour, the glorious memories which it recalled of the phylarchs of ʿIrāḳ, was socially impressive, but the tribe of Lakhm no longer had a separate existence from the Djudhām. When in the lands to the west of the Euphrates, we find them mentioned alone, the name must be taken to mean the Djudhām, and it is the latter that the chroniclers usually have in mind.

Only a last echo of the aristocratic connotation of the name "Lakhmī" is seen in the claim of the ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*], *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* in al-Andalus during the 5th/11th century, to be of Lakhmid stock.

Bibliography: For the al-Namāra inscription and bibl. on it, see *RCEA*, i, 1-2, and I. Shahid, *Philological notes on the al-Namāra inscription*, in *JSS*, xxiv (1979), 33-42. For the history of the tribe in general, see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 225-7; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ii, 85; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, ed. D. M. Müller, 129, 9, etc., 130, 131, 205, 206; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, i, 229, 264; idem, *Buldān*, 329, 242, 244; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 59, 136; Masʿūdī, iv, 353, v, 192; al-Kindī, *The governors and judges of Egypt*, ed. R. Guest, 45, 151, 162; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 41, etc.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i, 326, 349, ii, 232, iii, 212, 352, 422; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, 272-4 = *MFOB*, v (1911-2), 591 ff.; O. Blau, in *ZDMG*, xxiii, 577; F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, Berlin 1964-8, ii, 312-24, iii, 106-7, iv, 262-3, 280; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamhara*, Leiden 1966, ii, 53-6; C. E. Bosworth, *Iran and the Arabs before Islam*, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iii, Cambridge 1982.

(H. LAMMENS-[IRFAN SHAHID])

LAKHMIDS, a pre-Islamic Arab dynasty of ʿIrāḳ that made al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] its capital and ruled it for some three centuries from *ca.* 300 A.D. to *ca.* 600 A.D. Strictly speaking, the dynasty should be called the Naṣrids after their eponym, Naṣr, Lakhm [*q.v.*] being the tribe to which they belonged. As semi-independent kings and as clients of the Sāsānids, the Lakhmids were the dominant force in the political, military, and cultural history of the Arabs during these three centuries before the rise of Islam.

1. History. The founder of the dynasty, whose *floruit* may be assigned to the last quarter of the

3rd century, was ʿAmr b. ʿAdī, the nephew of the Tanūkhid king Djadhīma [*q.v.*]. It was he who made al-Ḥīra the Lakhmid capital, whence he conquered far and wide in the Arabian Peninsula and, according to the Arabic tradition, warred successfully against Queen Zenobia of Palmyra. He appears as the protector of Manichaeism after it was outlawed in Persia. He was succeeded by his son, Imruʾ al-Ḳays, described in the famous al-Namāra inscription as "king of all the Arabs". He, too, was a warrior king who after conquests in Arabia went over to the Romans, died in A.D. 328, and was buried at al-Namāra in the province of Arabia. The defection of Imruʾ al-Ḳays to the Romans resulted in the first interregnum in the history of the Lakhmids. The sources speak of a certain Aws b. Ḳallām in the sixties of the 4th century, and he is given various tribal affiliations, but it is almost certain that the interregnum began long before the sixties and that the Ghassānids played an important role in the affairs of al-Ḥīra, now that more light has been shed on their early history. Certainty cannot be predicated of the names and reigns of the Lakhmid kings assigned by the Arabic tradition to this obscure period in their history, sc. the 4th century.

The 5th century is much better documented in the Greek and Syriac sources as well as the Arabic ones, which yield imporant data on three Lakhmid kings. The first is al-Nuʿmān, nicknamed al-Aʿwar ("the one-eyed"), and also al-Sāʾiḥ ("the wanderer"); according to the Arabic tradition he earned the latter for his having renounced the world. This is not improbable, since he is known to have visited the Syrian saint, Simeon, between 413 and 420. His name is associated with the building of the famous palace, al-Khawarnaḳ [*q.v.*], and with the two divisions in the Lakhmid army known as al-Shahbāʾ and al-Dawsar. He was succeeded by his son al-Mundhir, who is said to have reigned forty-four years, possibly 418-52. He took part in the Byzantine-Persian war of 421-2 and played an even more important role in the internal affairs of Persia by his support of Bahrām Gūr for the throne. Little is known about the Lakhmid kings that followed him, al-Aswad and al-Mundhir II, but much is known about the warrior-king al-Nuʿmān II. He took part in the Byzantine-Persian war of the period. In 498 he was beaten by the Byzantine commander Eugenius at Bithrapsos; in 502 he advanced against Ḥarrān, where he was first beaten by the Romans and then triumphed over them, but shortly after died of a battle-wound in the vicinity of Circesium. A second short interregnum takes place in this period, *ca* 500, associated with a certain Abū Yaʿfur.

Of the three centuries of Lakhmid rule in al-Ḥīra, the last is the best documented and the most important. It is dominated by al-Mundhir III, who reigned for a half-century, 503-54. Firstly, during his reign the Arabian Peninsula witnessed a reassertion of Persian power and al-Mundhir made his presence felt in it, both as an Arab king and as the vassal of Khusraw Anūshirvān, who entrusted him with the entire Persian sphere of influence in Arabia. He warred continually with the South Arabian kings; *ca.* 520 he received an embassy from the South Arabian king, Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*] and *ca.* 540 he sent one to the new ruler of South Arabia, the Ethiopian Abraha [*q.v.*]. During his reign, probably in the twenties, took place a third interregnum, that of al-Ḥārith of Kinda [*q.v.*]. Secondly, throughout the Byzantine-Persian conflict he was the spearhead of raids and expeditions against the border provinces, especially in the twenties; *ca.* 520 he attained international fame when he received an embassy from the Byzantine emperor Justin; in 531 he conceived and in part executed the Persian campaign which ended in a great victory against Byzantium at Callinicum on the Euphrates; in 539 he engaged in a dispute with the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith, which was one of the causes for the outbreak of the Byzantine-Persian war of 539-44; in the forties he continued to war with the Ghassānids, but in 554 he was killed in an engagement with al-Ḥārith near Ḳinnasrīn, probably the Yawm al-Ḥiyār of the Arabic tradition.

He was succeeded by his son ʿAmr (554-69) whose mother was Hind, the Kindī princess and daughter of the same al-Ḥārith who ruled al-Ḥīra during the Kinda interregnum in the twenties, and it is by his matronymic, son of Hind, that ʿAmr, the son of the most famous of all the Lakhmid kings, is known to the Arabic sources. The Lakhmids and their adversaries, the Ghassānids, are mentioned in the treaty of 561 between Persia and Byzantium; according to one of its clauses, both were expressly forbidden from waging wars against each other which would involve the two world powers, and yet ʿAmr continued to make raids against the Byzantine frontier in the sixties as did his brother Ḳābūs, who appears associated with him as his general. In 569 ʿAmr died a violent death, killed by the poet ʿAmr b. Kulthūm [*q.v.*] and was succeeded by his brother Ḳābūs, who reigned for some four years (569-73). It was during his reign that the Ghassānid al-Mundhir scored, *ca.* 570, a victory in Lakhmid territory not far from al-Ḥīra itself, probably the battle of ʿAyn Ubāgh, but it was also in the same reign that the Persian occupation of South Arabia took place in 572; this turned the tide against Byzantium, and resolved in favour of Persia what might be termed the struggle for Arabia.

The short period that intervened between the death of Ḳābūs in 573 and the accession of the last Lakhmid king in 580 was punctuated by two interregna; that of the Persian Suhrāb may be assigned to 573-4, while the other, during which most probably ruled Ḳabīṣa, an Arab from the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ, lasted for a few months in 580, before the accession of al-Nuʿmān. Between the two interregna there ruled the unpopular al-Mundhir IV, during whose reign his namesake, the Ghassānid al-Mundhir, scored a decisive victory over the Lakhmid, this time capturing al-Ḥīra itself, *ca.* 578, and setting it afire.

The last Lakhmid king was al-Nuʿmān, the son of al-Mundhir IV, who ruled for some twenty years (580-602). He is the Lakhmid best known to the Islamic Arabs and the post-Islamic Arabic sources through the panegyrics of al-Nabigha al-Dhubyānī [*q.v.*] and through his relations with ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*]. Unlike the reign of al-Mundhir III, his is not memorable for its international relations but for those with the Arabs of the Peninsula and with his Sāsānid overlords. In his Peninsular wars he was unfortunate in a battle (the Yawm Tikhfa or Takhfa) with Djarbūʿ, a subdivision of Tamīm. His relations with the Sāsānids varied. Hormuzd gave him a splendid crown, while Khusraw Parvīz fell out with him, possibly because he was intolerant of Lakhmid pretensions to independence. After wandering among the Arab tribes seeking refuge, he surrendered himself to Parvīz, who had him killed in 602, and with his death the Lakhmid rule over

al-Ḥīra came to an end. In so doing, Parvīz destroyed the shield that protected Persia's flank against the Arabs of the peninsula. Some two years after the death of al-Nuʿmān, the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*] was fought, in which the Arab tribe of Bakr scored a victory over the Persians, a foretaste of more dramatic victories in the thirties by the Muslim Arabs. Dhū Ḳār foreshadowed al-Ḳādisīyya [*q.v.*], both of which were splendid justification of Lakhmid al-Ḥīra as a bulwark for Persia against the Arabs of the Peninsula.

After the death of Nuʿmān, al-Ḥīra was ruled by an Arab from Ṭayyiʾ, Iyās b. Ḳabīṣa, assisted by a Persian, al-Nahīragān, for some nine years, 602-11. After this it became a Persian possession directly ruled by the Persians until it fell to Khālid b. al-Walīd in 633. The last Lakhmid prince known to the sources in this period is al-Nuʿmān, nicknamed al-Gharūr ("the deluder"), who took part in the *ridda* war in Baḥrayn and was defeated by al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī in 633.

2. Culture. The geographical location of their capital al-Ḥīra and their special relationship to Sāsānid Persia determined for the Lakhmids the direction that their history took. In spite of a certain independence which they enjoyed, they were vassals of the Sāsānids, for whom they performed the following important functions: (a) they were their shield against the inroads of the nomads from the Arabian Peninsula; (b) they watched over their sphere of influence in Arabia, especially the Arabian littoral of the Persian Gulf, including Baḥrayn and ʿUmān, which they ruled for them; (c) they were their spear against Byzantium and the latter's client-kings, the Ghassānids; and (d) they protected their trade interests in the Peninsula, especially the caravan-route that connected al-Ḥīra with South Arabia.

Their fruitful association with Persia is reflected in the various forms of their military, political, and social life, and in their material culture: (a) the sources speak of five units in their army—al-Shahbāʾ, al-Dawsar, al-Waḍāʾiʿ, al-Ṣanāʾiʿ, and al-Rahāʾin, the first of which are said to have consisted of Persian troops; besides, there was the Khandaḳ Sābūr, "Shāpūr's Ditch", rebuilt by Khusraw Anūshirvān, a *limes* of some sort protecting al-Ḥīra and extending down to where al-Baṣra was to be in Islamic times; (b) the crowns of the Lakhmids were apparently bestowed on them by the Persian kings and with the crown came the word itself for crown, *tādj*, as a loanword into Arabic from Persian; and (c) the various aspects of their material culture must also have been dominated by the Persians in such areas as architecture, dress, food, drink, and music.

Zoroastrian Persia was also the determining factor in the attitude of the Lakhmids towards Christianity. The Sāsānids understandably frowned on their adoption of a missionary religion with universalist claims, especially after the conversion of their secular enemy, Rome, to that religion. The second Lakhmid ruler, Imruʾ al-Ḳays, adopted Christianity, which fact must at least partly explain his defection to the Romans. Only the last Lakhmid king, al-Nuʿmān, adopted it openly; but since it was the Nestorian form of it, in opposition to the Chalcedonian one adopted by Byzantium, it was acceptable to the Sāsānids. And yet their capital, al-Ḥīra, became the great centre of Arab Christianity and of its transmission to the Arabs of the Peninsula. The city was adorned with churches and monasteries, was the seat of a bishopric, and the refuge for many a persecuted ecclesiastic.

Important as their role was in the political and military history of the Arabs and of the Near East, it was their development of al-Ḥīra itself as the great Arab urban centre in pre-Islamic times that must be considered the major and enduring contribution of the Lakhmids. In the 3rd century A.D., the Arab cities of Hatra, Edessa, and Palmyra fell in rapid succession, and the rise of al-Ḥīra as the capital of the Lakhmids, almost immediately after the fall of Palmyra, ensured a certain continuity in Arab urban life in the Fertile Crescent.

For almost three centuries, al-Ḥīra stood almost alone as a metropolis radiating higher forms of culture to the Arabs of the Peninsula; and of all the elements of culture that mattered, the most important was undoubtedly the development of the Arabic script and of written Arabic, called for by the demands of an organised and stable urban life in al-Ḥīra [see ʿARABIYYA. A. The Arabic language (ii) (I)].

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LAKHNAW, conventional English spelling LUCKNOW, the capital city of the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh (the United Provinces of British India). It is situated on the south bank of the winding Gumti river at lat. 26° 52′ N. and long. 80° 52′ E. It is the eleventh largest city in the country (population, 1971 census: 750, 512) and the second largest town of the State. Besides being the seat of the State government, the city also serves as the administrative headquarters of Lakhnaw district and division.

1. History. Though legend connects the origin of Lakhnaw to a mythical local mound called Lakshman Tīlā, a pre-historic stronghold built by Lakshmana, brother of Rama, king of Ayodhya, the known history of the city can be traced to the beginning of the 13th century A.D. when it was colonised by the *Shaykhs*, one of whose descendants *Shaykh* Muḥammad, better known as Shāh Mīnā, attained

great saintly renown, and his shrine, located with the confines of the historic Machhi Bhavan, is a place of pilgrimage for devotees all the year round, apart from being the oldest epigraphic monument of the city. During the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] period, La<u>kh</u>naw figured prominently in connexion with the revolt of ʿĀʾin al-Mulk, son of Māhrū, governor of Awadh, against Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tu<u>gh</u>luḳ. Between 1394 and 1478, La<u>kh</u>naw became part of the <u>Sh</u>arḳī kingdom of <u>Dj</u>awnpur [*q.v.*]. After changing hands several times between different occupants of the Dihlī throne, La<u>kh</u>naw finally passed into the Mu<u>gh</u>al dominion under Humāyūn, after suffering from frequent Afg<u>h</u>ān incursions. The Emperor Akbar, under whom the district of La<u>kh</u>naw formed part of the *sarkār* of that name in the *ṣūba* of Awadh, had a special fascination for La<u>kh</u>naw, whose delightful surroundings, pleasant climate, flowers and fruits and different varieties of rice are highly spoken of by his court chronicler, Abu 'l-Faḍl. During <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr's reign, La<u>kh</u>naw blossomed into a *magnum emporium*. Awrangzīb's visit to the place is commemorated by a mosque which he built on the top of the said Lak<u>sh</u>man Tīlā, the oldest site of the city.

As the fortunes of the Great Mu<u>gh</u>als dwindled, those of La<u>kh</u>naw rose, until a new and independent kingdom sprang up as an offshoot from the decayed tree of the Empire. The governors henceforth paid only nominal allegiance to the titular Dihlī king. Saʿādat <u>Kh</u>ān, who was appointed *ṣūbadār* by the Emperor Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh in 1134/1722, became the founder of the dynasty of the Nawwābs of Awadh, with whose régime most of La<u>kh</u>naw's glorious past is intimately connected. The period of the fourth ruler, Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla, marks the greatest height of La<u>kh</u>naw's prosperity. The extravagance and munificence of his court passed into a byword, and could be rivalled only by the Imperial court of Dihlī. Along with the Rūmī Darwāza and the adjacent mosque, the great Imāmbārā, whose central hall is one of the largest vaulted rooms in the world, forms the apotheosis of his building achievements. La<u>kh</u>naw was raised to the rank of a royal city in 1819 when Lord Hastings transformed the seventh and the last Nawwāb Wazīr, <u>Gh</u>āzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar, into the first king of Awadh. The puppet monarchy came to an end in 1856 when the territory was annexed to the East India Company territories and Wā<u>dj</u>id ʿAlī <u>Sh</u>āh, the last king, was exiled to Calcutta, where he lived a pensioner's life under British supervision till his death in 1887.

To the Englishmen, however, La<u>kh</u>naw is best known as the city where a regiment of British troops under Sir Henry Lawrence, joined by the local English inhabitants, put up a gallant defence of the La<u>kh</u>naw Residency for twelve weeks against heavy odds during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, when the city witnessed some of the fiercest fighting. The history of the La<u>kh</u>naw district after its annexation by the British is a history of a long chain of administrative changes caused by the exigencies of situations obtaining at different times. Later on, La<u>kh</u>naw had a conspicuous role to play in the political movements of British India, for the famous La<u>kh</u>naw Pact resulting from meetings held there in December 1916 between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League led to the Hindu-Muslim co-operation in the *<u>kh</u>ilāfat* movement and the Non-co-operation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920.

With gilded domes and graceful minarets rising above its many mosques, *imāmbāṛās*, palaces and tombs, La<u>kh</u>naw gives the impression of fantastic splendour, characteristic of the capital of an eastern potentate. The fine <u>Dj</u>āmiʿ Mas<u>dj</u>id, the handsome Čhattar Manzil and the glittering <u>Sh</u>āh Na<u>dj</u>af mausoleum are, apart from Āṣaf al-Dawla's buildings, some of the finest speciments of the architectural glory of the prodigal Nawwābs. La Martinière, an impressive Christian landmark of La<u>kh</u>naw, symbolises the zeal and influence of General Claude Martin (1735-1800), a French soldier of fortune who amassed great wealth and position during the days of Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla. The building is an exquisite memento of the synthesis of European and Indo-Saracenic architecture. "As regards learning" says Abdul Halim Sharar, the noted contemporary Urdu writer, "La<u>kh</u>naw was the Baghdad and Cordova of India and Nishapur and Bokhara of the East". The world famous *čikan* embroidery, the hallmark of La<u>kh</u>naw's craftsmanship since the days of the fastidious Nawwābs, has developed as the most flourishing industry. Another legacy of the Nawwābī era is the manufacture of good-quality *<u>kh</u>amira* tobacco used for smoking and the *zarda* for chewing, which have acquired a reputation of their own.

With La<u>kh</u>naw's name is indissolubly associated a particular school of Urdū poetry which developed there under the benign patronage of the Nawwābs. Cultivation of delicacy and refinement, which characterised the city's social life, left an indelible mark on the Urdū poetry produced there. The Urdū language was purified almost to the point of perfection. The intensive interest of the La<u>kh</u>nawī Muslims in <u>Sh</u>īʿism brought about the sophistication of the poetical genre known as *mar<u>th</u>iya* [*q.v.*] (martyrological epic mourning the tragedy of Karbalā), of which Anīs and Dabīr were the two great exponents.

Modern developments have made La<u>kh</u>naw a leading city of northern India. It occupies a central place in a rich farming region, producing and marketing wheat, barley, grain, mustard, mangoes and sugar cane. Paper and carpet, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, cigarettes and shoes, gold and silver wares, wood carving and leather goods, embroidery and perfumery are among the chief commercial and industrial products of La<u>kh</u>naw. It is a very important centre of the country's railway system. For its numerous parks and avenues, La<u>kh</u>naw is called a "garden city". There is a residential University founded in 1921, with a large number of boys' and girls' colleges, several private and technical schools and the provincial museum. A University of Indian music and two national research institutes, sc. the Central Drug Institute and the National Botanic Garden, are housed there, Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ, popularly known as Nadwa College, is universally regarded as the leading centre of Islamic studies in India.

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(ABDUS SUBHAN)

2. Monuments. The most noteworthy of the older sites is the tomb of Shaykh Muḥammad, known as Shāh Mīnā, dated 884/1479 (though biographies of saints give 870/1465-6). The tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Čishtī, near the ʿAysh-bāgh, dated 961/1553-4 is a square limestone cell surmounted by blind merlons and a hemispherical dome set on a octagonal drum; the plain doorway arch, flanked by two small superimposed niches on each side, resembles Sultanate work at Dihlī. Two Mughal mausolea in the same area are close to work at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*] in character, but undated. One, the Nadān Maḥall, apparently the tomb of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, was built as a twelve-pillared open pavilion, but this was converted to a square cell with *djālī* lattices, and surrounded with a verandah of twenty pillars whose elaborate brackets, including elephant and birds, support a *chadjdja* pent. The parapets of this verandah, the cell, and the base of the dome carry brilliant tile mosaic ornament in dark blue, turquoise and yellow set in red plaster: a confirmation of detail to be seen on some contemporary book paintings (e.g. *Akbar-nāma*, V & A, IS 2-1896 113). The *mahāpadma* finial base is extended by a petal-like network of tilework lines. The red sandstone Sola Khambā preserves the open form, here rectangular, with sixteen columns surrounding a line of five cenotaphs, and supporting a florally carved ceiling above a finely panelled plinth. The details indicate the transition from the Akbarī to the Djahāngīrī style. The Mosque of Awrangzīb with three frontal arches to its prayer hall, and three domes, is flanked by massive octagonal minarets engaged to the front corners like the larger Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Dihlī, and lanterns at the rear; its *pīshṭāḳ* however incorporates new Baroque curvatures in the upper storey, with an arching *čhadjdja* and flanking *čhatrīs*. Following his transfer of the administration of Awadh from Fayḍābād [*q.v.*] in 1189/1775, Āṣaf al-Dawla built a complex including the Āṣafī Masdjid within the Mačhī Bhawan or Old Fort (Ḳilʿa) to relieve the famine in 1198/1784. This mosque follows the lines of the earlier one, but with a prayer hall of eleven bays, still with three domes, here bulbous, gadrooned, and reeded. The façade of plain arches set within engrailed arches on tapering engaged pillars is crowned with a deep foliated frieze, and a continuous register of delicate arches surmounted by tiny bulbous domes, a device already used in the mausoleum of the Nawwāb Ṣafdār Djang (d. 1168/1754) at Dihlī. The prayer court, flanked by arcaded ranges with octagonal pavilions, is approached by a long surge of steps. The same tradition is resumed in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (1837-42); there the *pīshṭāḳ* is no longer rectangular, but rises into a pointed arch, and within its *īwān*, where squinch nets are reduced to waving lines, there are three arched entrances. Secondary *pīshṭāḳ*s are introduced at the centre of each wing, rising in taller arcades. Luxuriant leaves spring round the dome bases, and the same foliation pervades the interior, where the *miḥrāb*, matching the entry, is triple. *Guldastas* of differing length are clustered on the skyline.

The *taʿziya* ceremonies [*q.v.*] required large halls, of which the greatest, the Bafā Imāmbāfā is in Āṣaf al-Dawla's complex of 1784 (see Fig. 1). The long range of the façade is handled like that of his mosque, but with niched piers, and triads of arches at each end marked off by domed octagonal pavilions in two storeys. The arches and domes of the parapet are reiterated in a second range above, set back with two more pavilions on the flat roof. The hall within, *ca.* 49 m by 16 m by 15 m high has a solid concrete vault carried on successive covings of converging groins, and the founder's tomb lies in the middle. The architect was Kifāyat Allāh. The third building of the complex, the Rūmī Darwāza, possibly so-named after its triple gateway, shares the rapid change of rhythm and the recession in levels, but the river elevation unexpectedly reveals a giant *īwān* framed within an arch with radiating *guldastas*, and capped by a *čhatrī*. The Ḥusaynābād Imāmbāfā of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh again contrasts arches of different sizes with parapet arcades and *guldastas*, though in a light, lacy manner culminating in a gilded dome. The Ḥaḍratgandj Imāmbāfā of Amdjad ʿAlī Shāh (1842-47) is comparatively plain, but its interior, like the other two, was once

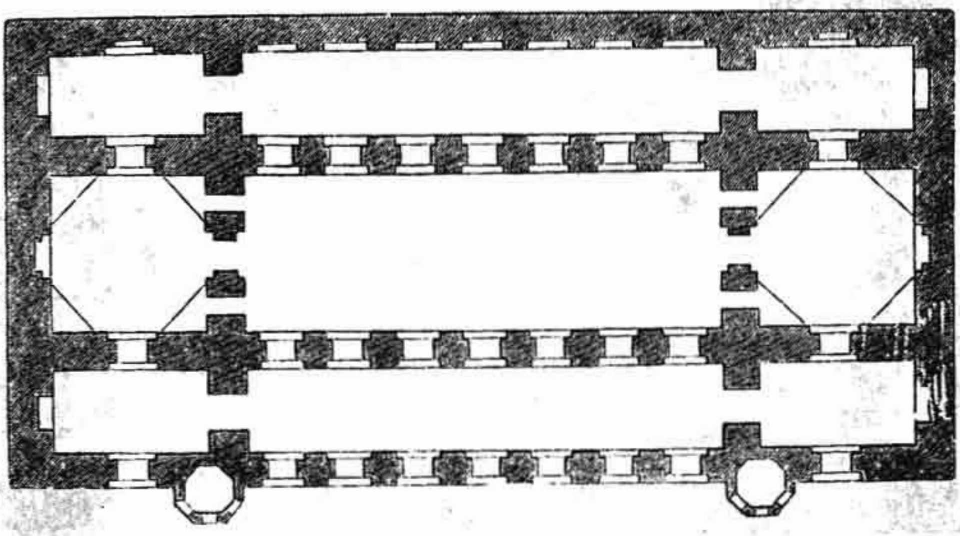

Plan of the Bāfā Imāmbāfā, Lakhnaw (after J. Fergusson).

splendid with crystal chandeliers and precious shrines.

Besides the *imāmbārā* burials, the tradition of mausolea continued with those of Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān (1798-1814) and his wife Khurshīd-zāda, built by his successor Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar (1814-27). Both follow the organisation of Ṣafdar Djang's monument with corner turrets capped by *čhatrīs* around the main dome, but the *pishṭāḳ* and *īwān* are absent, replaced in the former by a tetrastyle portico on each face (R. Smith, *Journal* 1832, V & A. IM 15/58-1915, pp. 581-2). Both have domes of a strongly European profile, with prominent finials and salient angles around a tall drum suggesting a derivation from Les Invalides (1693-1706); the accumulation of lesser domes and *banglā* vaults around the Queen's tomb also recalls Hindu massing. Ghāzī al-Dīn built his own tomb, the Shāh Nadjaf (Nadjaf Ashraf) dominated by a white, stupa-like dome and finial within an arcaded precinct. The garden at Ḥusaynābād contains two supposed replicas of the Tādj Maḥall for a daughter of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh and her husband, which however demonstrate complete lack of its classical balance.

The origin of European influences is apparent in domestic buildings. Initially Saʿādat Khan had taken over the Panč Maḥall built by the Shaykhzādas in the Fort; the buildings were improved on a grand scale by Shudjāʿ al-Dawla (1754-75), but by 1775 they still lacked unity (Modave, *op. cit.* 183). Both palace and fortifications were destroyed in 1857 and after. Āṣaf al-Dawla transferred the court to a new Dawlat Khāna including the Āṣafī Koṭhī, probably commissioned from Claude Martin, in 1782-9. Martin, who had arrived in Lakhnaw in 1776, rose to become advisor to the Nawwābs, whose taste he influenced, creating fine buildings for them and obtaining furniture from Europe. These included Mūsā Bāgh (Barowen) (1780-1804), a classical house with a bow front to the river, and a landward court sunk for coolness, and Bībīyapur Koṭhī, a much plainer building. His own town house, Farḥat-bakhsh (1781) shows the same combination of climatic ingenuity, strong defences, and wit; it was bought in 1800 by Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān, who used it as his residence at the centre of a new palace complex. Constantia (La Martinière (1795-1800) though influential was, as Martin's tomb, unsuitable for adoption, and continues in his endowment as a school. Dil-kushā (*ca.* 1805), built by Sir Gore Ouseley as a reinterpretation of Seaton Delaval back home in Northumberland (1729) became a favourite hunting lodge of Saʿādat ʿAlī, and provided the portico model for his tomb. By 1803 the Nawwāb had bought all the English houses but three, and himself constructed a fine new street of such houses, radically different from the Indian model, in Ḥaḍratgandj. The building of palaces continued with his domed Motī Maḥall and Lāl Bāradarī (Ḳaṣr al-Sulṭān), a throne room with *djālīs* as fine as the Nadān Maḥall. Ghāzī al-Dīn built the Čhattar Manzil, incorporating the Farḥat-bakhsh, for his harem, blending Martin's classicism with the local tendency to culminative recession, and domes with *čhadjdja* eaves, carrying gilded parasols. That these allusions were deliberate is confirmed in the Darshan Bilās, of whose four façades two are taken from Barowen, one from Farḥat-bakhsh, and one from Dil-kushā, much as the images in Urdū poetry (Jones, *op. cit.*, 224). The borrowing of Western motifs remained superficial, and even the use of such houses was not fully grasped. Such stylistic variety could be realised with ease in the local medium of stucco on brickwork. This was fully exploited in the vast palace of Ḳayṣar Bāgh built for Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh by Čhōṭā Miyān in 1848-50; the final, Rococo phase of Mughal architecture is combined with the gamut of Western elements with a splendid and theatrical disregard for rule, but little now remains.

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LAKHNAWTĪ (shortened form of Lakhanawatī, "home of Lakhan", which is a derivation from *Lakshmanā*, son of Dasarata and half-brother of Rāma Čandrā, and *watī*, meaning "home" or "habitation", the name of an ancient city which served as the principal seat of government in Bengal under Muslim rule for nearly four centuries. Its ruins are still found spread over a narrow and deserted channel of the River Ganges in lat. 24° 52′ N. and long. 88° 10′ E., 10 miles/16 km. south-west of the modern Mālda town (administrative headquarters of Mālda district in the State of West Bengal, India), from which it is reached by a macadamised road.

Though the date of the foundation of the city is shrouded in obscurity, tradition has it that it was built by one Sangaldīb of the Cooch Behar area of north Bengal, who had become unchallenged master of Bengal and Bihār after defeating Rādja Kedar Brahmin of the same region. But the recorded

history of Lakhnawtī does not begin until the Muslim conquest of western and northern Bengal in 594/1198 by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī, the military general of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak of Dihlī, who surprised and defeated Lakhan Sen, the ruling Hindu king, at Nadia (represented by the present Nabadwip town). After the fugitive king escaped into eastern Bengal, Bakhtiyār Khaldjī established his capital at Lakhnawtī, which thenceforth became the centre of Muslim power till the end of the 10th/16th century. The most ancient name of the city was Gawr, afterwards changed to Lakhnawtī, and subsequently called Gawr again. The city was also known by various names at different times, such as Fatḥābād, Ḥusaynābād, Nuṣratābād and Djannatābād, the last name, meaning "paradise", being given to it by the Emperor Humāyūn when he stayed there for three months in 1538. The earliest numismatic mention of Lakhnawtī as a mint town occurs in a coin of Sulṭāna Raḍiyya dated 634/1236. The nearest contemporary account of this early period is the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, whose author Minhādj-i Sirādj visited Lakhnawtī in 641/1245 within fifty years of its conquest by the Muslims. Under the Emperor Akbar, Lakhnawtī was one of the nineteen *sarkārs* in which Bengal was divided for administrative purposes. Abu 'l-Faḍl states in his *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* that the city was known in his time both as Lakhnawtī and Gawr.

After the lapse of three decades of the Khaldjī oligarchical rule, the Lakhnawtī kingdom passed under slave governors, during which it acquired so much influence and status that its governors used to be called *Malik al-Sharḳ*. But soon the palace intrigues and political squabbles of the Dihlī Sulṭanate emboldened the viceroys of Lakhnawtī to revolt against the central imperial authority, the distance from Dihlī being a greatly-contributing factor here. The greatest of these revolts took place during the reign of the strong-willed Sulṭān Ghiyath al-Dīn Balban [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who personally led a large army to Bengal to crush the rebel governor Sulṭān Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭughril, who was mercilessly put to death. Bughrā Khān, Balban's youngest son, became governor of Lakhnawtī in 681/1282. Baranī, the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, gave Lakhnawtī the name of "Bulghāḳpūr", meaning "place of sedition", in view of the insurrections which frequently occurred there ever since the inception of the Muslim rule.

With the passage of a century, the small principality of Lakhnawtī expanded into a redoutable Muslim kingdom, embracing in its fold Sunargaun (the present Dacca area), Satgaun (present Hooghly area), the Brahmaputra valley and the marshy lands of southern Bengal. The founder of the Ilyās-Shāhī dynasty, Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh, used to be called "Shāh-i-Bangāla". The process of the cultural identification with the Bengali people which had begun during 140 years of Ilyās Shāhī rule culminated during the next half-century's reign of the Ḥusayn Shāhī Sultans, who were particularly noted for their active patronage of arts and literature. The fame of the Lakhnawtī kingdom spread far and wide, and its sultans exchanged ambassadors with the potentates of China and Khurāsān. Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Aʿẓam Shāh (795-813/1392-1419) established *madrasās* in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and invited the famed Persian poet, Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī, to visit his court and elicited from him a celebrated panegyrical ode. The writ of the Sulṭān of Lakhnawtī was respected even beyond the frontiers of Bengal, within Orissa, Kamrup, Tippera and Arakan.

The prosperous condition of Lakhnawtī in the mediaeval times attracted the attention of foreign travellers. The Portuguese traveller, de Barros, writing before 1540, speaks of broad and crowded streets with trees planted in rows along the walls to give shade to the passers-by. Faria y Souza, visiting the city around 1640, describes the capital city lying on the banks of the Ganges as being three leagues in length, and well-fortified, and containing 1,200,000 families. Rennell, the cartographer, who visited Lakhnawtī in the third quarter of the 18th century, portrays the city as "not less than fifteen miles in length and from two to three in breadth".

On account of changes in the course of the Ganges, the capital was removed from Lakhnawtī to other nearby places several times in its long history. Twenty-six rulers from Bakhtiyār Khaldjī (1198) to Ḳadir Khān (1325) ruled from Lakhnawtī, while six kings of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty had their capital at Pandua, 20 miles/32 km. away in the north-easterly direction, till 1414, when it was transferred back to Lakhnawtī in the reign of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (818-36/1415-32). In 1564, Sulaymān Karrānī subsequently removed the capital from Lakhnawtī to Tānda, lying still further to the south-west near the present village of Mahdīpur. The capital was again shifted back to Lakhnawtī in 1575 by Munʿim Khān Khān-i-Khānā, the first viceroy of Akbar, but excessive rains in that year caused a pestilence in which thousands of inhabitants perished, the viceroy himself falling a victim to the contagion. The few people that survived the epidemic left the deserted city, which never regained its old glory. The capital was hurriedly shifted to Tānda, from where it was later changed to Rādjmahal in 1589 by Rādjā Mān Singh, and then to Dacca in 1608 by Islām Khān, and finally to Murshidābād in 1704 by Murshid Ḳulī Khān.

Though Lakhnawtī was finally deserted towards the end of the 10th/16th century, its magnificent buildings withstood the ravages of time for another century, for as late as 1683 when William Hedges, governor of the East India Company, visited the place, the architectural remains of the historic city were fairly intact. But systematic human spoliation caused irreparable damage to the monuments, whose bricks and stones were carried away to adorn the palaces and houses of distant Rādjmahal and Murshidābād. According to Grant (*Fifth report*), the *niẓāmat daftar* of Murshidābād received Rs. 8000/- annually from the local *zāmindārs* of Lakhnawtī as fees for the privilege of demolishing the ruins and stripping from them their highly-prized enamelled bricks and basalt stones. Early in the 19th century, many carved stones, found in the ruined city, are said to have become prey of the Calcutta undertakers and others for ornamenting graves in Calcutta. Some of the important relics which are still extant are as follows:

The Sona Masdjid or Great Golden mosque, a massive rectangular mosque, built by Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh in 932/1526, is the largest as well as the finest of all the monuments of Lakhnawti. It is called golden because its domes were actually gilded, and *Barādarī* (meaning "audience hall") because it has a spacious court-yard resembling an audience hall. The Čhota Sona Masdjid, built during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh (899-925/1494-1519) is situated in that portion of Lakhnawtī which now forms part of the Rādjshāhī district of Bangladesh. Of the historic Fort of Lakhnawtī, which lay on the

banks of the Ganges and extended for about a mile from north to south, only the Main Gate, called the *Dākhil Darwāza*, and the Royal Entrance, commonly called *Luka Čūri*, are in existence today. The Fīrūz or Fīrūz Shāh Minār is a sort of a victory tower, 84 ft. high and 62 ft. in circumference, popularly supposed to have been built by Ṣayf al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (1488-90). The Ḳadam Rasūl is a single-domed square building, constructed by Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh in 937/1531 and situated within the enclosure of the Fort. The actual relic, which comprises a small carved pedestal of black marble containing a stone representation of the footprint of the Prophet, is said to be preserved in a private residence nearby for reasons of security. Of the remaining important mosques, there are the Tāntīpārā Masdjīd, erected around 1480, the Lattan Masdjid, built in 1475, and the Čamkattī Masdjīd constructed by Sulṭān Yūsuf Shāh in 880/1475. In a spot known as Banglākot there existed the tomb of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Shāh (d. 925/1519), but it was destroyed in about 1846. The tomb of *Shaykh* Akhi Sirādj al-Dīn ʿUthmān, the famous saint who visited Lakhnawtī in the early 8th/14th century, is located in the north-west corner of the Sāgardighī, the enormous cistern, nearly 7 miles/10 km. south-west of Mālda town.

Bibliography: Minhādj-i Sirādj Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1864, tr. H. G. Raverty, Calcutta 1881; Ghulām Ḥusayn Salīm, *Riyāḍ al-salāṭīn*, Calcutta 1898, Eng. tr. Abdus Salām, Calcutta 1910; ʿAbd ʿAlī Khān, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, Calcutta 1931; Abdul Karim, *Social history of Muslims in Bengal*, Dacca 1959; M. R. Tarafdar, *Ḥusayn Shāhī Bengal*, Dacca 1965; West Bengal District Gazetteers: *Mālda*, Calcutta 1969. (ABDUS SUBHAN)

LAĶĪṬ (A.) "foundling", according to the definition of Mālikī law, a human child whose parentage and whose status (free or slave) is unknown.

It is a collective duty (*wādjib*) to pick up an abandoned or exposed child. A person finding such a child may not, having taken it up, replace it in the place where found. If two persons wish to take up the child, preference is given to the one finding it first; if they have both found the child together, it should go to the one best fitted to rear it, but if both are equally qualified, then lots may be drawn for it. The child's finder must swear in the presence of witnesses that he has found it, so that he may not subsequently claim that it is his own son or slave. The child's paternity must be established by regular means. A slave, even if liberated through *mukātaba*, and a married woman, may not pick up a child unless with the master's or husband's consent. A person who has picked up a child must be free, a Muslim, *sui iuris* (*rāshid*) and of good character.

The foundling is presumed to be of free status until proved otherwise, and is presumed to be a Muslim if found by a Muslim in a place populated by Muslims. If the local people are, however, all infidels, the child is presumed to be non-Muslim.

Looking after the foundling is the responsibility of the finder; the collective obligation (*farḍ kifāya*) is converted for him into a personal obligation (*farḍ ʿayn*). Nevertheless, certain authorities set the child's upbringing as a charge to the public treasury (the revenue derived from the *fay*ʾ) or to special endowed foundations (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 171). The finder administers the child's possessions, represents him in civil law and is responsible for the expenses of his upbringing, but he may have a remedy against the child's father for the cost of these expenses if it can be proved that the father voluntarily exposed the child and not through necessity. The child's upkeep is due until the end of puberty if it is a boy and until marriage if a girl. If the child dies, its inheritance belongs to the public treasury as representative of the Muslim community, but the *imām* may nevertheless make over the inheritance to the child's finder.

Bibliography: Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Abrégé de la loi musulmane selon le rite de l'imam Mâlek*, tr. G.-H. Bousquet, iii, § 270; Khirshī, *Sharḥ ʿalā Mukhtaṣar Khalīl*, vii, 130 ff.; Shaykh Dardīr, *Sharḥ ʿalā Mukhtaṣar Sayyidī Khalīl*, iv, 112; Māwardī, *Adab al-ḳāḍī*, i, No. 1831; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano Malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, i, 306.

(A.-M. DELCAMBRE)

LAĶĪṬ AL-IYĀDĪ, pre-Islamic Arab poet. The name Laḳīṭ does not necessarily mean that the person bearing it was a foundling; but in the present instance, whilst the genealogists know all the poet's ancestors (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 174 and Register, ii, 377), the *ductus* of his father's name has given rise to divergent readings; MAʿBAD (Ibn al-Kalbī, *loc. cit.*; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 42, 43, 52; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 104; al-Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 175); MAʿMAR (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 152-4; *LA*, s.v. *l-ḳ-ṭ*); and YAʿMAR/YAʿMUR (al-Shammākh, *apud* al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 829; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Mukhtārāt shuʿarāʾ al-ʿArab*, 2-7; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā staʿdjam*, 71-5; *Aghānī*, xx, 23-5, ed. Beirut, xxii, 394-8; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 398; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 125). This last reading seems to be the most correct; it even appears in the mss. of the *Dīwān* whose rescension is attributed to Ibn al-Kalbī, for whom, in his *Djamhara*, the poet was Maʿbad's son (see above). Such variation is easily explicable, but one nevertheless wonders whether two distinct persons have not been confused (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Register, ii, 377; amongst Kināna, there was moreover a Laḳīṭ b. Yaʿmar, cited by Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 36).

Ibn Ḳutayba, *loc. cit.*, says that the Iyād [*q.v.*] established in ʿIrāḳ had to flee for refuge in al-Djazīra under pressure from the troops of Anūshirwān (531-79 A.D.), who wanted to put a stop to their depredations. These last continued, and Laḳīṭ, who happened to be in al-Ḥīra (or, according to Ibn al-Shadjarī and al-Bakrī, *loc. cit.*, was allegedly secretary for Arab affairs in the Sāsānid king's chancery), placed his fellow tribesmen on guard against an expedition which the Persians were preparing, in a poem in *-ādī*. But the Iyād remained deaf to this warning, persisted in their ways, and were scattered; it was then that Laḳīṭ wrote a long poem in *-ʿā* exhorting them to take seriously the new threats against them and to choose a valiant chief to oppose their enemies.

The *Aghānī* (*loc. cit.*) places these events in the same sovereign's reign, after the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim, during which the Iyādīs repelled the Persian cavalry sent against them (see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Dayr al-Djamādjim; naturally, this was not the famous battle of 83/702 [*q.v.*]), and makes the poem in *-ādī* the prelude of the poem in *-ʿā*. Al-Bakrī (*loc. cit.*) also speaks of Dayr al-Djamādjim, whilst for Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, the incidents in question were contemporaneous with Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*], hence later, which seems very unlikely.

Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 176-7 = §§ 601-2) tells palpably the same story, but places it much further

back in time, since, for him, the poet was serving in the army (var. in *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 175: was languishing in jail) of Sābūr II (310-79 A.D.); this last exterminated the Iyād, and it was the fate wrought on the prisoners which, according to this tradition, gave Sābūr the sobriquet of Dhu 'l-Aktāf.

From all these pieces of information, the personality of Laḳīṭ remains highly confused, and it is hardly possibly exactly to fix the period when he was living, though it was probably during the second half of the 6th century A.D. Thanks to his two poems, the poet passed into posterity; in the 6th/12th century indeed, Ibn al-Shadjarī (d. 542/1148) thought highly enough of the poem in -ʿā to place it at the beginning of his *Mukhtārāt*, where it has 55 verses. It was set to music, and the passage in which the ideal war commander is sketched was especially famous (see al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 497, 1166; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, 203). Laḳīṭ is placed on the same level as Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*] in some verses of Zayd b. Djundab al-Iyādī in praise of his tribe (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 42), and as a result, considered as the glory of Iyād. One editor of the *Dīwān*, Muʿīd Khān (see below), makes him "the first nationalist poet of pre-Islamic Arabia". This *Dīwān*, which contains no more than these two poems, is preserved in several mss. of a few leaves: Aya Sofya 3933, Fatih 1665, Chester Beatty 5474 and Berlin 1123, 1176, 1130. It was made the subject of an edition and German tr. by Th. Nöldeke (in *Orient und Occident*, i [1862], 689-718), an edition by Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya (Baghdād 1390/1970) and an edition and English tr. by M. A. Muʿīd Khān (Beirut 1391/1971).

Bibliography: In addition to references given above, see the introds. to the various editions; O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxviii, 382; *Fihrist al-makhṭūṭat al-muṣawwara*, i (1954), 466; Brockelmann, I, 27, S I, 55; Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 254-5; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 175-6. (CH. PELLAT)

LAḲĪṬ B. **ZURĀRA** B. ʿUDUS B. ZAYD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. DĀRIM, ABU NAHSHAL, poet and *sayyid* of the second half of the 6th century A.D.

His name apparently appears for the first time in a tradition concerning the assassination by his brother-in-law Suwayd b. Rabīʿa b. Zayd (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 60, and Register, ii, 521) of a son (or of a young brother) Mālik, of al-Mundhir b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ, who had entrusted him to Zurāra, and the vengeance of ʿAmr b. Hind [*q.v.*], in the first place on the seven sons of the murdered man and then on the Banū Ḥanẓala b. Mālik (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 59), from whom he is said to have had about a hundred tribesmen burned; in a piece of verse, Laḳīṭ reproaches these last for having remained in the service of the king of al-Ḥīra (*Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, 1084-7 *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut xxii, 190). In his article devoted to a mountain in the Ḥidjāz infested with lions and called Tardj, Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, i, 835-6) alludes to a "famous" *yawm Tardj* (cf. al-Maydānī, ii, 409; E. Meyer, *Der historische Gehalt der Aiyām al-ʿArab*, Wiesbaden 1970, does not mention this), in the course of which Laḳīṭ is said to have been captured by a certain Kumayt b. Ḥanẓala. Nevertheless, it is in the traditions about the "days" of Raḥraḥān (see Meyer, *op. cit.*, 47-50) and of Shiʿb Djabala (see DJABALA and Meyer, 65-71) that he is most often mentioned. In the course of the first battle, which took place after the death of Zurāra, the latter's son, Maʿbad chief of Dārim, was captured by a section of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa commanded by al-Aḥwaṣ b. Djaʿfar (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 93). Laḳīṭ, now chief of Dārim, then offered his enemies 200 camels as the purchase price for his brother, alleging that Zurāra had forbidden his sons to go beyond that number so as not to incite their enemies to obtain large ransoms. Despite the prisoner's supplications, in which he offered 1,000 camels from his own herds, Laḳīṭ remained immovable and left Maʿbad to die of hunger and thirst in captivity (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 227; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 424; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ed. 1346/1928, iii, 306; etc.).

As *sayyid* of Dārim, Laḳīṭ decided to avenge the death of his brother, and assembled a force of warriors from Tamīm (with the exception of the Banū Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt, according to Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 247, who accounts him one of the war leaders worthy of the title *djarrār*), from Dhubyān and Asad, as well as a contingent said to have been sent by al-Nuʿmān b. Mundhir, against the coalition of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and the ʿAbs. Exactly a year after the "day" of Raḥraḥān, *ca.* 580 according to Meyer, *loc. cit.*, the "day" of Shiʿb Djabala took place; during the clash, accompanied by the usual exchange of verses, Laḳīṭ, who was mounted, for the first time among the Arabs, on a horse caparisoned with brocade provided for him by the king of Persia, was felled by the blows of an opponent variously named in the sources (see e.g. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 194; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 24) but who must have been Shurayḥ b. al-Aḥwaṣ (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 663-5; *Aghānī*, xi, 135-7). He died the next day, not without having uttered once more some verses, and the leadership passed to his brother Ḥādjib [*q.v.*]. Since his enemies had yet again struck him after his death, this gratuitous action inspired some verses of his daughter (or his sister, according to *ʿIḳd*, iii, 309) Dukhtanūs, wife of his cousin ʿAmr b. ʿAmr b. ʿUdud (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 665; *Aghānī*, xi, 137-9; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 24).

Although al-Djāḥiẓ, in a rather obscure passage (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 93), seems to consider Laḳīṭ as a tyrant, the sources cite an anecdote in which one has his widow (a daughter of Hāniʾ b. Ḳabīṣa according to al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 493, and al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ii, 231-2, or else a certain Muḳadhdhafa bint Ḳays b. Khalīl according to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 372-3), who had remarried, eulogising Laḳīṭ and telling her new husband that he was certainly as [sweet as] water, though not however as sweet as that of the famous spring of Ṣaddāʾ—*māʾ wa-lā ka-Ṣaddāʾ*, an expression which became proverbial.

Al-Djāḥiẓ (*op. cit.*, iv, 382) considers that all the sons of Zurāra (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 60, cites ten of them) were poets, but their output hardly appears profuse, and only a small number of verses attributed to Laḳīṭ survive; these are brought together by Abkāryūs in *Rawḍat al-adab*, 258-9.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 138; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 170, iii, 220; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 662; idem, *ʿUyūn*, iv, 17; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 175; Rothstein, *Laḥmiden*, index; Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 257 and index; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 194. See also DJABALA and ḤĀDJIB B. ZURĀRA.

(CH. PELLAT)

LĀLĀ [Owing to circumstances beyond their control the editors are unable to supply the article planned under this entry. They intend to publish it in the Supplement.]

LALA MEḤMED PASHA, grand vizier under Aḥmad I. He was a Bosnian by origin and a relation of Meḥmed Soḳollu Pasha. The year of this birth is not given. After having had higher education

in the palace, he was *mīr-ākhūr*, and became in 1003/1595 *agha* of the Janissaries. In the next year he took part in the Austrian wars as *beglerbegi* of Rūm-ili and was commander of Esztergom (Gran, Turkish: Usturghon) when this town capitulated to the Austrian army in Muḥarram 1004/September 1595. During the following years, Lala Meḥmed was several times *ser-ʿasker* in Hungary and when, in Ṣafar 1013/July 1604, the grand vizier Yawuz ʿAlī had died in Belgrade on his way to the Hungarian theatre of war, the sultan sent the imperial seal of office to Lala Meḥmed. Although peace negotiations were continually being resumed, the new grand vizier took in that year Waitzen (Turk. Wāč) but besieged in vain Esztergom. During next year's campaign, Esztergom was taken by Lala Meḥmed (29 September 1605), and in November he crowned the Hungarian Bocskay as king of Hungary (excepting the regions occupied directly by the Turks) and Transylvania. In that same year, the Turkish eastern army under Čighale Pasha was beaten by the Persians, while the troops sent to subdue the revolt in Anatolia were routed at Bolwadin. After his return, it was decided that the grand vizier should remain next year in the capital and lead the war on the two fronts and, if possible, bring to a successful end the long-drawn peace negotiations with Austria. The young sultan, however, changed his mind in keeping with the wishes of the Ḳapudan Pasha Derwīsh, who was intriguing against Lala Meḥmed. Accordingly, the latter was ordered to take command of the army against Persia. He had already put up his tent in Üsküdār, when overcome by sorrow because of the frustration of his plans, he was seized with an apoplexy and died three days afterwards (23 May 1606). He was buried near the *türbe* of Ṣoḳollu Pasha.

Bibliography: The *taʾrīkhs* of Pečewī who, as scribe, had served Lala Meḥmed on several occasions (cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 192), Naʿīmā and Ḥasan Beyzāde; ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, 52 ff.; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 140; von Hammer, *GOR*, iv. (J. H. Kramers)

LĀLE DEVRI, "The Tulip Period", the name given to one of the most colourful periods of the Ottoman Empire, corresponding to the second half of the reign of Aḥmed III (1703-30 [*q.v.*]) and more precisely to the thirteen years of the vizierate of Nevshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. The tulip which gave its name to this era had been exported from Turkey to Austria by Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, the ambassador of Ferdinand I of Habsburg (1503-64) at the court of the Sultan, but it was in Holland that its cultivation was developed, through the efforts of the botanist Charles de l'Écluse (C. Clusius) (Arras 1526-Leiden 1609), who occupied the Chair of Botany at the University of Leiden. The predilection for tulips spread rapidly throughout Europe, but the mania for this plant adopted its most extravagant forms in Turkey. In fact, imported back to Turkey from Holland in the 17th century by the Austrian ambassador Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn during the reign of Aḥmed III, this flower became the object of extraordinary enthusiasm. The tulip fashion gave birth to an architecture, of which the elegant Lāle Djāmiʿ mosque, in Istanbul, is an example; to an art form, Ottoman baroque, inspired by French "rococo"; and to a literary genre, the poet Nedīm [*q.v.*] being the prototype here.

The promoter of this fashion was the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha of Nevshehir, son-in-law of the Sultan. Coming to power at the beginning of 1718, he showed great diplomatic skill in the negotiations over the Treaty of Passarovitz (21 July 1718), putting an end to a state of continual war which had disrupted the economic structure of the Empire and devasted its rural areas. After Passarovitz, the Grand Vizier applied himself to pursuing the objective of peace, and his vizierate was to be marked by an initial period of absolute peace, followed by a period of euphoria induced by victorious campaigns in Iran, which was then in a state of anarchy as a result of the Afghān invasion. Agreeable and peace-loving by temperament, Aḥmed III had a strong hedonistic streak. He was a cultured man, a poet and calligrapher, but also a man of exceptional greed. Ibrāhīm Pasha was himself refined and cultured, an extrovert personality and a lover of peace and pleasure. Having similar tastes, the two men were well-suited to each other. Ibrāhīm Pasha was at pains to satisfy both the hedonistic nature and the avidity of the Sultan. By anticipating the latter's desires, he simultaneously reinforced his own status and ensured the relaxation and well-being of his master. The Sultan took no interest in any aspect of government and left all the responsibility of state to his vizier, who surrounded himself with close relatives and rid the court of all hostile elements. Until 1730, the entire administration of the state was under his control and all important posts were held by his appointees; this nepotism caused much resentment and earned him numerous enemies.

Overtures to the West. The Grand Vizier was a man of enlightened sympathies, and the years of his vizierate were marked by a series of approaches to the West. For the first time in the history of the Ottoman Empire, attempts were made to benefit from the political, economic and cultural structures of Europe. Diplomatic relations were fostered, especially with France: an ambassador, Yirmisekiz Čelebizāde Meḥmed Efendi, was accredited to the court of Louis XV, and was instructed to study those French institutions which might be adapted to the requirements of Ottoman lands (1719). Commercial relations with France were developed: each year, five hundred trading ships operated between France and Turkey.

Policies of progress, construction and innovation. In 1724, the first printing-press was installed in Istanbul, through the good offices of Ibrāhīm Müteferrika [*q.v.*], a Hungarian converted to Islam, aided by the son of the Sultan's ambassador to the court of Louis XV, who had accompanied his father to Paris. A French officer of engineers, de Rochefort, was invited to prepare plans for reforming the army on the Western model, while another French convert to Islam, Khumbaradjī Aḥmed Pasha [see AḤMED PASHA BONNEVAL], organised a corps of artillery. Yet another French convert to Islam, Gerček Dāwūd Agha, was responsible for the foundation of the first team of fire-fighters. A lover of arts and literature, the Grand Vizier surrounded himself with poets, musicians and artists. He prohibited the export of rare manuscripts and founded a society for the translation of Arabic and Persian texts. He established five libraries, in addition to that of the Sultan, of which the poet Nedīm was curator. He gave a fresh impetus to the manufacture of porcelain and earthenware, restoring the workshops of Izmid and Kütayha and founding a new one in Istanbul, that of Tefkūr Sarāyī. He founded a textile-mill. In the context of municipal engineering, the projects that he instituted include the construction of a dam to bring water from the Forest of Belgrad to the capital and the building of roads and

of harbour installations; he supervised the markets personally, regulating the sale of bread and the importation of coffee. He encouraged progress in medicine. Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu, the wife of the British ambassador to the court of the Sultan, states in her *Letters* that certain maladies were, better treated in Turkey than elsewhere and, in particular, she mentions the existence of a vaccine against small-pox. The Sultan was an enthusiastic promoter of construction projects: fountains, mosques and mausoleums sprang up in every corner of Istanbul; palaces, pavilions (*köshk* [*q.v.*]) gardens and places of recreation adorned the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. Architects were brought in from Europe, and on his return from France in 1721, Yirmisekiz Čelebizāde Meḥmed Efendi brought with him the plans of palaces and gardens. The most famous of these palaces, that of Saʿdābād, was built at the base of the Golden Horn, at Kāghitāne. Given this name on account of an ancient paper-mill dating from the Byzantine era, it was to become a favourite place of promenade; the palace was erected in two months, according to the plans brought from France; the French ambassador, the Marquis de Bonnac, presented the Sultan with the forty orange-trees which adorned the façade; and the first feast was held there on 31 July 1722, of which Nedīm has left us an account. The Tulip Period was an era of progress and increased interest in art and culture, poetry and music being pre-dominant; in poetry, Nedīm was an innovator, introducing music into verse and popularising ballads (*sharkī*).

Entertainment. When wearied with affairs of state, Aḥmed III sought rest and recreation. Over a period of almost thirteen years, Ibrāhīm Pasha procured for him an ambience of continuous festivity, symbolised by the tulip. Gardens and window-frames were decorated with tulips; different varieties proliferated; 839 were enumerated in 1726. Competitions were organised. Bulbs became so expensive that the government was obliged to control prices in order to prevent speculation (*firmān* of Muḥarram 1140/ September 1722). A bulb in the possession of an ambassador went missing; town-criers appealed in vain for its return and houses were searched. At times when the flowers were in bloom, Aḥmed III used to change his place of residence, proceeding majestically to his *yalī*s (palaces built on the edge of the water). The people resorted *en masse* to the tulip promenades, and barges sailed to Saʿdābād and other places of recreation. Festivities were also held at night, and these were renowned for the spectacle, in the gardens of the Palace of Čirāghān, "Palace of Candles", at the mouth of the Bosphorus, of burning night-lights or candles under every tulip, hence the name given to this palace; in the illuminated gardens, tortoises were to be seen meandering over the beds of tulips, bearing night-lights on their shells. Nedīm has left us a reminiscence of these festivities in the lines: "Let us laugh, be glad, make merry/ . . . Come, slender cypress, let us set our course for Saʿdābād." When the tulip season was at an end and the rigours of the winter arrived, the round of entertainments continued unabated. The cold and the inclement weather were forgotten at the "feasts of *ḥelvā*"; poets, men of letters, musicians and singers were invited to these occasions, and the most intemperate nights of the winter were passed in convivial company, enlivened by a profusion of choice viands and confections; the banquet came to its climax with the arrival of the *ḥelvā*, brought in on copper plates and prepared in the presence of the guests, to the accompaniment of music and song. Besides the tulip feasts and the *ḥelvā* banquets, the ceremonies associated with the circumcision and marriage of the thirty-one princes and princesses, the children of Aḥmed III, were the occasion for interminable festivities. Such feasts sometimes lasted for as long as a week or ten days (for example, in April 1719, April 1720, May 1721). In 1727, there were *ḥelvā* banquets which lasted for a whole month; that same year, the month of Ramaḍān fell in May, giving rise to further festivities; between 1726 and 1730, the month of Ramaḍān fell in the spring, and was celebrated accordingly each year.

With the passage of time, the festivities became ever more extravagant: the Sultan's palace was crammed with tulips and pinks at the height of winter and also with odoriferous shrubs; thousands of birds sang in gilded cages; pleasure was the sole purpose of living; the Sultan and the Vizier, both of them poets and calligraphers, wrote love-poems addressed to each other. Under the influence of the court, a change in public morals was discernible, and a love of luxury and the pursuit of pleasure became more marked. In her *Letters*, Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu declares that Turkish women are more liberated than their English counterparts. Lines by Nedīm are an indication of the moral freedom of the time: "Ask permission of your mother, say that you are going to the Friday Prayer/ . . . Come, slender cypress, let us set our course for Saʿdābād." Wishing to rival the people of the court, the middle class also embarked on schemes of reckless expenditure, thus causing the ruin of numerous households. As a means of restraining such expenditure, the Grand Vizier was obliged to pass a law regulating clothing according to social class, especially in regard to decorative dress worn by women. But this moral laxity scandalised the public; the Sultan had swings built for the people's amusement, and the sight of swinging women pushed by young men was an affront to public opinion; in addition, members of the nobility, including the Grand Vizier himself, were accused of amusing themselves, during barge-trips on the water, by tossing gold coins into the corsages of the ladies; there was even an accusation levelled against the Grand Vizier that he had made continual advances to the attractive wife of the *Ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, Zülālī Ḥasan Efendi.

The end of the festivities. The unbridled expenditure by the court, the relaxation of morals, the taxes levied by the Grand Vizier to pay for ever-more costly entertainments, caused discontent among the people, in particular the fanatical and reactionary class of the *ʿulemāʾ*. The people felt that they had been let down. Although the Grand Vizier had made great efforts in the interests of cultural growth, had had done nothing to combat the fanaticism of the *ʿulemāʾ* and the ignorance of the masses. The Janissaries, ignorant and fanatical, whose income depended on pillage in time of war, felt themselves threatened by the military reforms advocated by the Grand Vizier. The latter had imposed new taxes on commerce, taxes which caused discontent both among the artisans and among the Janissaries, who engaged in smallscale trading during their leisure time. The *ʿulemāʾ* took it upon themselves to fan these grievances. However, the revolt was caused by political factors.

The foreign policy of Ibrāhīm Pasha consisted in the avoidance of war; however, the Tulip Period saw a temporary extension of Ottoman sovereignty, on account of the Afghān invasion of Iran. In the

anarchic conditions which prevailed, a new rivalry brought the Turks and the Russians into confrontation in the Caucasian provinces. Thanks to the mediation of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Bonnac, this tension was resolved in an amicable fashion and a Russo-Turkish treaty, signed 23 June 1724, divided the Iranian spoils between the two powers: the Turks occupied Tiflis, Erevān, Tabrīz and the territories to the west of a line from Ardabīl to Hamadān, while the Russians took possession of Derbend, Bakū and Dāghistān. This treaty was the occasion for fresh festivities, with exchanges of gifts between Turks, Russians and French, then control of affairs was delegated into the hands of the *wālīs* of the frontier regions, and the festivities continued. However, in Iran, the situation was soon reversed: Nādir Shāh succeeded in seizing power having overturned the Afghān dynasty and, in 1730, he compelled the Turks to restore the Iranian territory that they had occupied. There was news of the capture of Hamadān and the massacre of its Turkish garrison. The Grand Vizier tried to keep the defeat a secret and to settle matters peaceably through diplomacy, but Nādir Shāh refused to negociate. In order to stifle public unrest, it was necessary to prepare a campaign. On 17 July, the Ottoman army paraded at Üsküdār, where until 3 August it awaited the arrival of the uncommunicative Sultan. The latter finally joined his troops to conduct a grandiose procession which was nothing more than a show-off, all the soldiers returning to their homes at the end of the parade. But on 12 August, it was heard that the Iranians had taken Tabrīz and brutally massacred the Turks who had been stationed there. Again, Ibrāhīm Pasha tried to suppress the news, but Janissaries returning from the frontier regions spread the news of Iranian atrocities through the *ḥammāms*. Discontent mounted, and the Grand Vizier was held responsible for the setbacks. Janissaries and *ʿulemā*ʾ fanned the fanaticism of the artisans. In his report dated 17 September 1730, the Marquis de Villeneuve, the French ambassador, speaks of hesitation to act on the part of the Sultan's court. This indecision was to prove crucial to the success of the revolt, which broke out on the morning of 28 September. The leading officials of the State were on holiday at the time: the Sultan and the Grand Vizier at Üsküdār, the governor of Istanbul, Ḳaymaḳ Muṣṭafā Pasha, son-in-law of Ibrāhīm Pasha, was busy tending his garden beside the Bosphorus, as was the Ḳapudan Pasha, another son-in-law of the Grand Vizier. The insurgents were able to act with total freedom. Their leader was Patrona Khalīl, an Albanian, formerly a *levend* [*q.v.*] on the Sultan's flag-ship *Patrona*, of whom we have a portrait painted by the artist of the Tulip Period, the Dutchman Vanmour (1656-1738); he was a man between thirty-five and forty years old, already an active veteran of numerous rebellions, a skilled demagogue and inciter of crowds, who made a precarious living, sometimes as an itinerant trader, sometimes as a town-crier or *ḥammām* masseur. The crowd which assembled at the Hippodrome Square (At meydānī) consisted of some thirty artisans, mostly Albanians, who were joined by the tradespeople from the bazaar and about three hundred Janissaries whose *Agha* had made his escape with great difficulty and had reached Üsküdār in disguise. Towards evening, the number of rebels had risen to 2,000 persons. The revolt was the work of a handful of ignorant artisans: Patrona Khalīl, Muslu the vegetable merchant and ʿAlī the coffee stall owner, but in fact it was skilfully directed by two individuals belonging to the *ʿulemā*ʾ class: the preacher of Aya Sofya, Ispirīzāde Aḥmed Efendi, and the *Ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, the Albanian Zülālī Ḥasan Efendi, who had personal reasons for hating the Grand Vizier. According to the report of the Marquis de Villeneuve, dated 7 October, the tragic outcome was caused by the indecision of the Sultan. The court did not return to Istanbul until the night of 29 September, two days after the outbreak of the revolt. On the morning of the 30th, Aḥmed III sought to negotiate with the rebels: feeling themselves in a position of strength, the latter demanded that the Grand Vizier and his two sons-in-law, the Ketkhüdā Ḳaymaḳ Muṣṭafā Pasha and the Ḳapudan Pasha, be handed over to them. The Sultan tried in vain to rescue his favourite; in the night of 30 September, fearing for his own life, he ordered the strangling of Ibrāhīm Pasha and his two sons-in-law, and at dawn their bodies were surrendered to the rebels, on three ox-drawn hearses. But the insurgents, who had pillaged and sacked the palaces of the viziers, now insisted on the abdication of the Sultan. Zülālī Ḥasan Efendi and Ispirīzāde, acting in the name of the rebels, communicated the decision to Aḥmed III. In the night of 2 October, having received the guarantee that his own life and those of his sons would be spared, he abdicated in favour of his nephew Maḥmūd who was immediately enthroned. Soon afterwards, Maḥmūd I had the ringleaders of the revolt assassinated.

The age of festivity had come to an end: the tulip gardens, the palaces and the places of recreation had been destroyed. The tulips had gone: they left behind a sumptuous but tragic memory.

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LĀLEZARĪ, Shaykh Meḥmed, Ottoman author of a work on tulips, the *Mīzān al-azhār* "Balance of flowers". This treatise on the cultivation of tulips was composed in the reign of Sultan Aḥmad III (1115-43/1703-30), who had given the author the title of *Shükūfe-perwerān* "cultivator of blossoms" on the suggestion of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha between 1718 and 1730.

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LĀLEZĀRĪ, Shaykh Meḥmed Ṭāhir, Ottoman *ḳāḍī* and author of several theological works, often known as Ḳāḍī Meḥmed.

The date of his birth is unknown, but he was born in Istanbul and was presumably connected with the Lālezār quarter near the Fātiḥ Mosque. He became a *mollā* and a *müderris*. In 1201/1786-7 he was *ḳāḍī* at Eyyūb, and then on 30 Muḥarram 1204/20 October 1789 he died at his house in Rumeli Ḥiṣār. None of his extant works has been printed, but these all exist in manuscript in Istanbul libraries. They include a series of theological commentaries, such as the *Mīzān al-muḳīm fī ma'rifat al-ḳisṭās al-mustaḳīm*, the *Daf' i'tirāḍ Rāghib Pasha fī ḥaḳḳ al-fuṣūṣ*, and one on the *Ḳaṣīde-yi nūniyye*, and various others on works of leading Sunnī scholars like al-Māturīdī, al-Ghazālī, 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī and al-Birgewī.

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LĀLISH, a valley some 30 miles/50 km north-north-east of Mawṣil in 'Irāḳ, in the *ḳaḍā'* of Shaykhān and in a largely Kurdish mountain area, famed as the principal pilgrimage centre of the Yazīdī sect [see YAZĪDĪS]. The *djamā'iyya* of the Yazīdīs is held from the 23th to the 30th September O.S. (6th to the 13th October N.S.) each year, and revolves round the shrine of the founder, Shaykh 'Adī b. Musāfir [*q.v.*] and the tombs of other early saints of the sect. The first European to attend and describe the festival seems to have been Sir Henry Layard in 1846 and 1849; a valuable description of the ceremonies as they were held in the 1940s is given by C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967.

Bibliography: given in the article. (Ed.)

LALITPUR, the name of a town in the Bundelkhand region of Central India, administratively in the southwards-protruding tongue of the former United Provinces, Uttar Pradesh of the Indian Union. It is situated in lat. 24° 42′ N. and long. 78° 28′ E. on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and on the Kānpūr (Cawnpore)—Saugor road. Tradition ascribes its foundation to Lalitā, wife of a Deccani Rādjā, and till the early 16th century it was held by the Gonds. In the 17th century it fell within the Bundelā state of Čanderi. In the first half of the 19th century, it passed from Marāṫhā control to that of the British, and in 1844 the District of Čanderī was formed, with its name changed in 1861 to that of Lalitpūr; in 1891 it was absorbed into Jhānsi District. The Čanderī and Lalitpūr Districts were centres of fighting, under the leadership of Rādjā Mardān Singh of Banpūr during the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, and Lalitpūr town was temporarily abandoned by British troops. The antiquities of Lalitpūr include several Hindu and Jain temples, and there is an inscription of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ dated 759/1358.

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LALLŪDJĪ LĀL, the most important translator of Sanskrit works into Bradj-bhāshā prose at the Fort William College, Calcutta. Born at Āgra in 1763 of a family of Brahmin priests, in 1786 he sought employment with Nawwāb Mubārak al-Dawla of Murshidābād and then settled in Calcutta, where he died in 1835.

In 1802 John Gilchrist, the Professor of Hindustānī (later known as Hindī and Urdū) at the Fort William College, appointed Lallūdjī as an assistant in Bradj-bhāshā. His primary duties were to help the Professor in his publications of a Hindustānī grammar and dictionary. Lallūdjī also collaborated with the senior Muslim translators of Hindustānī in their works. Based on Lallūdjī's interpretation, Kāẓim 'Alī Djawān translated *Shakuntala*, the celebrated Sanskrit drama of Kālidāsa (*ca.* 375-455 A.D.). Lallūdjī also translated a book on Hindū polity and wrote an elementary manual of Bradj-bhāshā, but became infinitely more famous for his *Premsāgar*. This is a translation of the tenth book of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* or *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*, containing the life story of Krishna, especially of his boyhood. The original Sanskrit was first translated into Bradj-bhāshā poetry by Čaturbhudjdās in 1510, and Lallūdjī translated it into lucid Bradj prose, which even the Muslims of that century praised highly, both for its content and its language.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article HINDĪ, see T. Roebuck, *Annals of the College of Fort William*, Calcutta 1819; *Proceedings of the College of Fort William 1801-1805*, National Archives, New Delhi. (S. A. A. Rizvi)

LĀM, the 23rd letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed as *l*; numerical value 30 [see ABDJAD].

Definition: *fricative, lateral, voiced.* It is called a *liquid* (H. Fleisch, *Traité*, i, § 3 b) because of the fluidity of its emission. This act of emission comes

normally from the two corners of the mouth, *l* bilateral; it can be made from one side only, with unchanged acoustic results, *l* unilateral (M. Grammont, 71 penult. This last was probably the case with the *ḍād* (a lateralised consonant [see ḌĀD]), called *al-ḍaʿīfa*, which was made from the right or left side of the mouth (Sībawayh, ed. Paris, ii, 452, ll. 17-18). J. Cantineau has placed *l* amongst those "consonants outside the classification scheme" (*Esquisse*, 183, and *Consonantisme*, 288), see A. Martinet's observations in *BSL*, xlix/1 (1953), 77. According to Arabic tradition, it is *bayniyya*, *dhawlaḳiyya*, *madjhūra*, and also called *munḥarifa* "incurvated" (see Fleisch, *op. cit.*, § 47 a, d, § 48, c, f, § 49, i, and Cantineau, *Cours*; 50).

The articulation described above is for the phoneme; for the phonological oppositions which define the phoneme *l*, see Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 172, and for the incompatibilities, *ibid.*, 200.

Lām is emphatic *ḷ* in the word *Aḷḷāh* when it is preceded by the vowels *u* or *a*, so that one says *ʿinda ḷḷāh*, but *li-llāh* (see references in Cantineau, *Cours*, 51 n. 1; for a study of its articulation, references in Fleisch, *op. cit.*, 224 n. 1). The treatises on *tadjwīd* set forth the rules according to which *l* may be found in other words (Cantineau, *Cours*, 51).

Lām seems to continue an articulation which was similar to it in common Semitic (Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 172 n. 1); indeed, one may go further and add that "La liquide latérale *l* se trouve en correspondance régulière en sémitique, berbère et couchitique" (M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947, 182).

Alterations: (a) Exchange of phonemes: $l > n$ in a fairly numerous groups of doublets. In several of these, the phenomenon does not seem to be conditioned, e.g. *ḳullat* and *ḳunnat* "mountain peak", and $l > r$ in *ʿūd mutaḳaṭṭil* and *mutaḳaṭṭir* "a piece of split wood" (Fleisch, *op. cit.*, § 9 f, g).

(b) Assimilation. The *l-* of the definite article is assimilated when in contact with the "sun" consonants, sc. the dentals to the prepalatals (except for *dj*). For *-l* when it is final in a word, assimilation of the initial following consonant is especially notable in the case of the interrogative particle *hal* and of *bal* "nay, on the contrary" (*ibid.*, § 12 k); for the variations of the Ḳurʾān readers, see *loc. cit.* For the position in the dialects, see Cantineau, *Cours*, 53-4, to be completed for Egypt by the material in N. Tomiche, *Le parler arabe du Caire*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 27; and for Mauretania by that of D. Cohen, *Le dialecte arabe Hassaniya*, Paris 1963, 23-4. In regard to Lebanon one might add *mliḥ* > *mnīh* "well", *ṣār-lna* > *ṣār-rna* "has been for us", and *-lna* > *-anna* "for us" (Fleisch, *Études*, 398), and for Aleppo (A. Barthélemy, *Dict. ar.-fr.*, Paris 1935-54 and 1969), assimilation at a distance, as in *lakhʾr* (750) and *rakhʾr*, *rakhri* and also *rəkhrāni* and *rəkhreni* (273) "other" or" another".

(c) Dissimilation. For this see Cantineau, *Cours*, 51, and for the dialects, *ibid.*, 53. To the nouns cited there one might add for Lebanon *karakol* > *karakon* and *karakūn* "police station" (Fleisch, *Études*, 361 and 188 *l.* 3, and the examples of J. Grand'Henry in his *Le parler arabe de Cherchell, Algérie*, Louvain 1972, 42; see also W. Fischer, *Die Sprache der arabischen Sprachinsel in Uzbekistan*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1961), 238.

Bibliography: Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, and *Études d'arabe dialectal*, Beirut 1974; Cantineau, *Cours de phonétique arabe*, *Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'arabe classique* and *Le consonantisme du sémitique*, in *Études de linguistique arabe, Mémorial Jean Cantineau*, Paris 1960; M. Grammont, *Traité de phonétique*, Paris 1933; Zadjdjādjī, in his *K. al-Lāmāt*, ed. Māzin Mubārak, Damascus 1389/1969, has gathered together all the uses of *lām* as a particle *-l*, *la-* and *li-*.

(H. Fleisch)

LĀM, Banū, a numerous and formerly powerful Arab tribe living on the borders of Iran and ʿIrāḳ, principally on the plain between the foothills of the Pusht-i Kūh mountains and the river Tigris. The easterly limit of the main tribal territory follows the course of the Rūd-i Karkha southwards from Pā-yi Pul to the area north of Ḥawīza where the river peters out into salt flats. The course of the Tigris between Shaykh Saʿd and ʿAmāra forms the westerly limit of that territory. Small and isolated groups of Banū Lām have been observed outside the main area—as far afield as Mandalī to the northwest and in the Rām Hurmuz district to the southeast.

The tribe is divided into numerous sub-groups which have varied over time in their size and relative importance (A. H. Layard, *A description of the province of Khuzistan*, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xvi [1846], 45; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, ii, 1081-4; Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, with Werner Caskel, *Die Beduinen*, Wiesbaden 1952, iii, 471-3, and H. Field, *Contributions to the anthropology of Iran*, Chicago 1939, *Anthropological Series of the Field Museum of Natural History*, xxix/1, 195-8). According to Lorimer (ii, 1085), all members of the tribe spoke Arabic, but a minority also knew and used Persian. The great majority of the tribe was, and remains, Shīʿī. In the past, different groups have followed sedentary, semi-nomadic and nomadic ways of life, but in the 20th century, particularly since the Second World War, the former has come to predominate. The Banū Lām have long had a reputation for being very good pastoralists. In former times they raised a wide range of animals—sheeps, goats, cattle, horses, donkeys and camels. Demand for some of the latter animals has declined sharply in recent decades, and most attention is now devoted to sheep. The Banū Lām also grow crops, chiefly for their own consumption; these include wheat, barley, oats and maize, but little attention is apparently given to rice.

It is impossible to give accurate figures for the population of the tribe either now, or in the past. One estimate made in 1840-1 put the total number of families at about 30,000 (Layard, *op. cit.*, 46). Some seventy years later Lorimer (ii, 1084) estimated the total population to be about 45,000. After fieldwork in 1934, the number of Banū Lām living in Persia was estimated to be about 5,700 families (H. Field, *op. cit.*, 196). Another source put the number of families in Persia at 10,650 in 1945 (Admiralty [Great Britain] Naval Intelligence Division, *Persia*, Geographical Handbook Series, London 1945, 379). A similar source for ʿIrāḳ noted that the Banū Lām were the most powerful tribe on the Tigris, but no figures were quoted (Admiralty [Great Britain] Naval Intelligence Division, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, Geographical Handbook Series, London 1944, 371).

The origins of the tribe remain obscure (see von Oppenheim, iii, 459-69, for a summary history of the tribe). Tradition relates that the name of the tribe derives from a certain Lām b. Ḥāritha, a leader of the Ḳaḥṭān tribe in the Ḥidjāz; and that one of his grandsons, Barak, led a migration to the Ḥawīza area of ʿIrāḳ. Later, Ḥāfiẓ al-Lām, a son of Barak, is reported to have quarrelled either with his father,

or with the *wālī* of Ḥawīza, who was also a leader of the Banū Rabīʿa. Ḥāfiẓ is then said to have taken control of the land between Shaykh Saʿd and ʿAmāra which had previously belonged to the Banū Rabīʿa and to have become the founder of the Banū Lām (S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 8, and H. Field, *The anthropology of Iraq. The Lower Euphrates-Tigris region*, Chicago 1949, *Anthropological Series of the Field Museum of Natural History*, xxx/1 no. 2, 329-30). A putative date for these events would be about the end of the 10th/16th century (von Oppenheim, iii, 460 states that the Banū Lām were already living on the east bank of the Tigris in 1575).

The Banū Lām were reluctant to accept Ottoman control, and the *Pasha* of Baghdād, ʿUmar (who was in office 1088-92/1677-81) ordered the first of many Turkish campaigns which tried to compel their submission. ʿAlī Pasha (in office 1107/1695-6) personally led a punitive raid against them, and Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] (in office 1116-36/1704-23) also mounted a series of expeditions against them beginning in 1116/1704 (Longrigg, *op. cit.*, 93-4, 124, 126). The Banū Lām sometimes acted in concert with other tribal groups in rebelling against Ottoman rule; for example, in 1138/1726 they joined with various groups of Lurs to attack Baghdād.

The rise to power of Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī Khān (later Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]) provided further opportunities for insurgency on the part of the Banū Lām. In 1145/1733 Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī Khān laid siege to Baghdād and the leader of the Banū Lām, ʿAbd al-ʿAlī, joined forces with the Persians. He apparently agreed to cooperate with the Arab *wālī* of Ḥawīza in launching an attack on Baṣra, but the decision was not implemented (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 68). After the defeat of the Persian army by Ottoman forces under Ṭopal ʿOthmān Pasha [*q.v.*] in Ṣafar 1146/July 1733, the Banū Lām helped many of the survivors to return to their native country; for this, a Turkish force led by Aḥmad Pasha later inflicted punishment on the tribe.

The destruction and chaos brought about by the Persian invasion and retreat provided conditions in which tribal rebellion could flourish, and the Banū Lām were not slow to take advantage of them; "Les Muntefiks et les Beni Lames avoient donné plus de peine que les autres aux Paschas" (M. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris 1748, quoted in Longrigg, *Four centuries*, 156). In 1156/1743 Nādir Shāh's forces again invaded Turkish territory and they were joined by the Banū Lām, who this time did take part in the siege of Baṣra (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 646-7). During the next century and a half, the pattern of rebellion followed by punitive Ottoman military expeditions was often repeated. Important Turkish campaigns were mounted against the Banū Lām in 1763, 1800, 1806, 1849, 1879 and 1911. In 1841 the Persian ruler Muḥammad Shāh sent an expedition to collect arrears of taxation from Muḥammad Taḳī Khān, the *ilkhānī* of the Bakhtiyārī. During this campaign, which was led by the governor of Iṣfahān, Muʿtamid al-Dawla, the Banū Lām were plundered by the Persian troops (Layard, *loc. cit.*). But in later years the tribe had relatively little to fear from Tehran; it seldom paid taxes to the Shāh (Lorimer, ii, 1085), and it retained a position of autonomy between the Ottoman empire and Persia.

The Banū Lām were often in conflict with their neighbours, particularly with the Lurs, the Āl Bū Muḥammad and the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*]. De Bode, who visited the area in 1841, reported that it was only the existence of strife between the Banū Lām and the Muntafiḳ which prevented Dizfūl from being attacked (C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, ii, 198-9). At other times, the tribe was riven by internal feuds, and these too led to bloodshed and the intervention of Turkish forces.

Raids by the tribe not infrequently interrupted traffic on the Tigris, and this was seen as a serious menace to British lines of military communication during the First World War. The Banū Lām attacked both boats on the river and military outposts at this time, and British forces were involved in minor actions against them (A. T. Wilson, *Loyalties: Mesopotamia 1914-1917*, London 1930, 46, 79, 145; idem, *Mesopotamia 1917-1920: a clash of loyalties*, London 1931, 96). In the years immediately following the First World War, disputes between the Banū Lām and the *wālī* of Pusht-i Kūh were again frequent —particularly during the summer months when members of the tribe moved into Persia for better grazing (S. H. Longrigg, *Iraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953, 107, 158). The rise to power of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī and the establishment of effective central government in Iran reduced both the degree of migration and the incidence of such skirmishes.

Bibliography: substantially given in the article. Von Oppenheim provides many useful references to Arabic, Persian and Turkish works, as well as to the accounts of European travellers. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, also has a useful survey of both types of sources. There are references to the tribe in Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Taʾrīkh-i pānṣad sāla-yi Khūzistān*, Tehran 1312/1934-5.

(V. Minorsky-[R. M. Burrell])

LAMAK, the Biblical personage Lamech. In Gen. iv, 21, the invention of music is attributed to Jubal, son of Lamech, but various Arabic sources give primacy here to Lamech/Lamak, of Cain's posterity. Bringing together the origin of the *ʿūd* with the invention of music, the story goes that Lamech had an only son in his old age, who died at the age of five, leaving his father full of grief. Not wishing to be separated from him, Lamech hung the corpse up until it decomposed. There then came to him the idea of making from his foot an *ʿūd*, on which he could accompany himself in his lamentations. The most detailed, and perhaps the oldest, version of this story occurs in the *K. al-Lahw wa 'l-malāhī* of al-Mufaḍḍal a-Ḍabbī, who in fact cites a lost source going back to the historian Hishām b. al-Kalbī. With variants, the story comes up again in several authors, notably in Ibn Khurradādhbih (*K. al-Lahw*), al-Bayhaḳī (*Maḥāsin*), al-Djāḥiẓ (*Tarbīʿ*), al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (*ʿIḳd*) and al-Adfūwī (*al-Imtāʿ bi-aḥkām al-samāʿ*). Elements of Hebrew legends and of the universal myths concerning the origins of music can be found in these stories.

On the other hand, al-Thaʿlabī retails in his *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*] the Hebrew legend about Lamech, how the latter, when blind, inadvertently killed his father Cain and then his own dear son who was accompanying him out of hunting; after these events, he recited the first Biblical lament (Gen. iv, 23). This source, together with others, emphasises the connection of music, invented in the bosoms of the posterity of Cain, with the excesses and trickery of Satan.

Bibliography: See A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings* (*RISM*, BX), Munich 1979, index, s.v. Lamek. (A. Shiloah)

LAMAS-ṢŪ, a small river of Southern Anatolia, descending from the Eastern Taurus and flowing into the Mediterranean, about 60 km. in length, whose canyon, carved deep in Miocene limestone, constituted in antiquity the border-line between lowland Cilicia and Trachoean Cilicia. Muslims and Byzantines often assembled on its banks for exchanges of prisoners, in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries (see below). The flanks of the upper river, above Kızıl Geçit, are totally uninhabited; along the lower reaches a series of ancient ruins marks the edge of the plateau. At the mouth, the small township of Lamas retains the name of the ancient settlement of Lamos (a simple village according to Strabo, xiv, 6, not to be confused with the town of the same name situated much further to the west, between Gazi Paşa and Anamur; cf. W. M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 382, 455-6). Nearby are the important ruins of an aqueduct which carried the waters of the rivers as far as Ayas (Elaeûssa-Sebaste) at a distance of 14 km., and of a mediaeval fortress, held for a long period by the Armenians (Lamas Kalesi).

Bibliography: Among the numerous descriptions by travellers, see in particular F. X. Schaffer, *Cilicia*, Gotha 1903 (*Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 141), 64-5; J. Th. Bent, *Explorations in Cilicia Tracheia*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* (1890); L. M. Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie*, Venice 1899, 413-14. (X. de Planhol)

On the banks of the Lamas-Sū there took place, on numerous occasions, payment of ransoms and exchange of prisoners of war with the Byzantines.

The first of these arrangements, in the reign of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and that of the emperor Nicephorus I, was effected in 189-90/805, in the name of al-Ḳāsim b. al-Rashīd, by a eunuch of the caliph named Abū Sulaymān; the exchange lasted 12 days, and 3,700 Muslims were freed. The second (*fidāʾ Thābit b. Naṣr*) took place under the same sovereigns in 192/808; it lasted 7 days, and 2,500 Muslims of both sexes were exchanged. The third (*fidāʾ Khāḳān*), in the reigns of al-Wāthiḳ and of Michael III, in Muḥarram 231/September 845, lasted 10 days and involved some 4,000 prisoners; the chief *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*] sent an emissary to interrogate them on the question of the creation of Ḳurʾān, with instructions to leave in the hands of the Byzantines those who refused to comply with official doctrine. The fourth (*fidāʾ Shunayf*) was effected in the reigns of al-Mutawakkil and of the same emperor, in Shawwāl 241/February-March 856; it lasted 7 days and allowed the liberation of 2,000 men and 200 women. The fifth (*fidāʾ Naṣr b. al-Azhar wa-ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā*) took place in the reigns of the same sovereigns, at the beginning of Ṣafar 246/April-May 860; it lasted 7 days and involved 2,367 Muslims of both sexes. The sixth (*fidāʾ Ibn Ṭughān*) was effected in Shaʿbān 283/September-October 896, in the reigns of al-Muʿtaḍid and of Leo VI; it lasted 10 days and allowed the liberation of 2,500 or 3,000 Muslims of both sexes. The seventh took place in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 292/September 905, in the reigns of al-Muktafī and of the same emperor; it lasted 4 days and 1,155 Muslims of both sexes were freed; Rustam conducted the negotiations, but this exchange is usually known by the name *fidāʾ al-ghadr* "the ransom of treachery"), because the Byzantines reneged on their guarantees and took several thousand prisoners. The eighth, also effected by Rustam, took place in Shawwāl 295/July 908, and 2,842 prisoners of both sexes were released; it bears the name *fidāʾ al-tamām* ("the ransom of completion") because it supplemented the preceding. The ninth (*fidāʾ Muʾnis*) was negotiated in Rabīʿ II 305/September-October 917 in the reigns of al-Muḳtadir and of Constantine II; it lasted 8 days, and 3,336 Muslims of both sexes were the beneficiaries of it. The tenth (*fidāʾ Mufliḥ*) was effected under the same sovereigns, in Radjab 313/September-October 925; it lasted 19 days, and nearly 4,000 Muslims of both sexes were freed. The eleventh, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 326/October 938, in the reigns of al-Rāḍī and the same emperor, was negotiated by Ibn Warḳāʾ; it lasted 16 days and 6,300 Muslims of both sexes regained their freedom, but 800 prisoners remained in the hands of the Byzantines and were subsequently freed in small groups. The twelfth was effected in Rabīʿ I/October 946, under al-Mutīʿ and the same emperor, by Naṣr al-Thamalī, but in the name of Sayf al-Dawla (it also bears the name of *fidāʾ Ibn Ḥamdān*); 2,482 Muslims of both sexes were exchanged, and 230 remained in the hands of the Byzantines. Subsequent exchanges do not figure in the lists, since they cannot have taken place on the Lamas-Ṣū, henceforward situated in Byzantine territory; we may note in particular that of which Abū Firās [*q.v.*] was the beneficiary, in 355/966, at Samosata.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 706, 707, 1339, 1353, 1426, 1449, 2153, 2253-4, 2280; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §§ 3313, 3369; idem, *Tanbīh*, 189-96 (ed. Ṣāwī, 161-6; tr. Carra de Vaux, 241, 255 ff.); Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 191 ff.; A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i-ii, index; M. Canard, *Hʾamdanides*, 759-60, 823-4. (Cl. Huart*)

LAMASAR [see LANBASAR].

AL-**LAMAṬĪ**, an ethnic designation stemming from Lamaṭa, a quarter of the Moroccan town of Sidjilmāssa, borne in particular by two mystics:

1. Aḥmad al-Ḥabīb b. Muḥammad al-Ghumārī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣiddīḳī (since he traced his genealogy back to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr) al-Ṣidjilmāssī, who belonged to the Shādhiliyya order [*q.v.*]; he had numerous pupils, including Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Hilālī [see al-Hilālī in Suppl.] and his cousin through his female relatives, Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak (see below). He died in the odour of sanctity at Sidjilmāssa on 4 Muḥarram 1165/23 November 1751.

Bibliography: Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fās 1310/1892, ii, 253; Marrākushī, *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush* ..., Fās 1355-8/1936-9, ii, 187-9; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 200-1.

2. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sidjilmāssī, born at Sidjilmāssa *ca.* 1090/1679, settled at Fās in 1110/1698-9 and died there on 12 Djumādā I 1156/4 July 1743 after having acquired the title of *shaykh al-djamāʿa* given to the doyen of the professors. He was buried in the mausoleum of the Fāsī saint ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh (1095-1131/1684-1719; see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 309), with whom he had been connected and whose fame he had helped spread by devoting a work called *al-Dhahab al-ibrīz fī manāḳib al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* (lith. Cairo 1278/1861-2; printed Būlāḳ 1292/1875, Cairo 1304/1886) to his *manāḳib*. He was furthermore the author of several treatises, commentaries and glosses of a religious, grammatical, etc. nature (see mss. detailed in Lakhdar), of an *idjāza* containing some of his epistles and of a short work called *Djawāb ʿamman ḥalla bi-bilādihim ṭāʿūn: hal yadjūz lahum al-khurūdj minhu firāran am lā?* (ms. Rabat D 1348).

Bibliography: Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, ii,

247, Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, Fās 1307/1898, ii, 203; Ḥadjwī, *al-Fikr al-sāmī*, Fās 1345/1926-7, iv, no. 787; ʿA. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī*², Beirut 1961, i, 278; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 309-10; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-Akṣā*, i, 209-10, ii, 317; Brockelmann, II¹, 462, S II, 704; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 185-7 and bibl. cited. (Ed.)

LAMBADIS, a name of unknown origin designating in general a group of tribal peoples, ancient nomads, who were active in western and southern India as salt carriers, cattle herders and porters of general merchandise. They were known by different names in different parts of southern India: Lambani, Brinjari, Boipari, Sugali and Sukali, as well as Lambadi.

The origins of the Lambadis are obscure, but appear to be similar to those of groups like the Koravar and Yerukala. All are ancient nomadic tribal groups, who maintained their freedom of movement by securing a place in the economic structure of pre-modern India as carriers, herdsmen and porters in an age when modern modes of transport and adequate roads were non-existent. Apart from their occupation as carriers, members of such groups were often found on the fringes of villages as hunters and distillers of toddy.

Edgar Thurston (see *Bibl.*) indicates that the Lambadis were mainly Hindus, and clung to their tribal rituals and mixed Hindu-animistic religious practices. However, some Lambadis, in the Telugu coastlands and the Mysore highlands, claimed to be Muslims and aspired to the title of Shaykh. Their numbers were very small, but nevertheless they represented a very basic level of Hindu-Muslim interaction within the Indian subcontinent. At one end of the spectrum were the orthodox Urdu-speaking Muslims of northern India, at the other end odd tribal groups caught in the transition from tribal identity to something more distinctly Muslim. Some groups of Lambadis fell into this category, as did the Ahir cowherds of the Andhra highlands and the Dudekula and Panjuvetti cotton cleaners of coastal Andhra and Tamil Nadu.

Such groups were generally despised by the main body of Muslims, and possessed few overt signs of being followers of Islam. The Muslim Lambadis spoke a dialect of Telugu strongly interlaced with Tamil and Kanarese words, followed no Muslim marriage rites and practiced circumcision. In dress, daily life-style, names and casual worship, however, they retained many tribal and Hindu rituals. Like the more numerous Dudekula, who were also of Telugu origin, the Lambadis were endogamous and rarely mixed with other Muslim groups, who regarded them with scorn.

The only settled groups of Muslim Lambadis found in southern India were located in the Anantapur district of the old Madras Presidency and in the region of Mysore. There are three recorded groups, all Telugu-speaking, with bards or priests known as Tamburian (or Thamburi), who appear to be the equivalent of the Hindu Lambadi priests or *bhat*. Most of these Lambadi Muslims claimed to have been forcibly converted by the Mysore Muslim prince Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.v.*] in the late 18th century, who found the nomadic Lambadis ideal espionage agents in his wars against the British in Madras. However, some in Anantapur also claimed descent from carriers who had accompanied Mughal generals in their invasions of southern India.

Until the 19th century, nomadic tribal groups like the Lambadis had a distinct function in the economic life of India; but with the evolution of modern modes of transport their status and fortunes declined. The Hindu Lambadis (and Karavars and Yerukala) probably suffered more than their Muslim counterparts, as the *jati* system made the changeover to alternative occupations very difficult. Many in fact took to brigandage and petty crime, and were officially classified as problem groups and habitual criminals. The Muslim Lambadis were far fewer in number, and appear to have made the transition to sedentary occupations, though generally they were ones of low social and economic status.

The Dudekulas, a similar Muslim marginal group, were more fortunate in that their traditional occupation—cotton cleaning—facilitated their absorption into the economy of modern India. By the early 20th century, they were merging into the mainstream of Islam in the subcontinent, with overtly Muslim practices and names replacing those of their pre-Islamic past.

By the middle of the 20th century, the Muslim Lambadis appeared to have all but vanished. They were no doubt absorbed into the surrounding body of Muslims, and probably can still be traced amongst the more impoverished and illiterate Muslims in remote areas of Andhra Pradesh in India.

Bibliography: The most detailed description of the Lambadi group can be found in E. Thurston's *Ethnographic notes on Southern India*, Madras 1906, and vol. iv of his *Castes and tribes of Southern India*, Madras 1909. Thurston, however, concentrated on Hindu Lambadis, with only an occasional reference to the Muslim ones. The same is true of the District Gazetteers, especially G. A. Grierson, *North Arcot*, Madras n.d., and W. Francis, *Bellary*, Madras 1904; W. Francis, *Anantapur*, Madras 1905, does mention the Tamburian priests. J. Dupuis, *Madras et le Nord du Coromandel*, Paris 1960, puts the Lambadis in their tribal and occupational perspective, whilst L. Dumont, *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du Sud*, Paris 1957, further explains the painful transition from porterage to crime for the nomadic tribal peoples in an excellent case study. G. A. Herklots, *Islam in India*, London 1832, makes a brief reference, perhaps the earliest, to Muslim Lambadis. In addition, there are a few isolated references scattered through the records of the British administration of the Madras Presidency.

In official publications and in Thurston's *Castes and tribes of Southern India*, the Dudekulas and Panjuvettis are far more prominent than the Muslim Lambadis, and references to them can be found in the following District Gazeteers: W. Francis, *Anantapur*, Madras 1905; idem, *South Arcot*, Madras 1906; F. R. Hemingway, *Godavari*, Madras 1907; C. F. Brackenbury, *Cuddapah*, Madras 1914; *Guntur* (statistical appendix), Madras 1915; A. F. Cox and H. A. Stuart, *North Arcot*, Madras 1895; W. Francis, *Bellary*, Madras 1904; F. R. Hemingway, *Trichinopoly*, Madras 1907; W. Francis, *Vizagapatam*, Madris 1907. See also references in *Census of India*, 1901, xv, 1911, xii, 1921, xiii. Brief references occur in T. W. Arnold, *The preaching of Islam*, repr. Lahore 1961; I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim community in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, The Hague 1962, and *Murray's handbook of the Madras Presidency*, London 1879. (K. McPherson)

LAMENTATION [see NIYĀḤA].

LAMGHĀNĀT, a district of eastern Af-

ghānistān, thus designated in the Islamic sources of the later mediaeval period, deriving its name from its urban centre Lamghān (later form, Laghmān). It comprises the fertile plain of the middle course of the Kābul River, much of it lying to the north and east of Kābul city [*q.v.*] itself. It is bounded on the north by the mountains of Kāfiristān [*q.v.*], modern Nūristān, and includes the lower reaches of the Alingār and Alishang Rivers; on the south and east, it adjoins, and was sometimes considered (e.g. by Bābur) to include the region of Nangrahar and the comparatively recent town of Djalālābād [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Ethnically, the region includes Pushtūns and Tādjīks, and also a considerable proportion of Dardic-speaking Pashaʾīs [see DARDIC AND KĀFIR LANGUAGES], who are probably descended from the ancient Hindu and Buddhist population of pre-Islamic Kapisá and Nangrahar; the ancient Iranian Parāčī language also lingers on in a few villages of the region [see AFGHĀNISTAN, ii. Ethnography, and iii. Languages].

The town of Lamghān was already a flourishing one in the 4th/10th century. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) describes it as being situated on the middle stretch of the Kābul River (which the anonymous author in fact calls "the river of Lamḳān" [*sic*], regarding this, plus "the river of Dunpūr", Bābur's Adīnapūr, as constituting the modern Kābul River), and as a residence of merchants and an emporium for the products of India (tr. Minorsky, 72, 92 = §§ 6, 10, comm. 209, 252). Until the advent of the Turkish adventurer Sebüktigin and the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] towards the end of that century, Lamghān was still part of the Indian cultural and religious world, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* specifically mentions the presence of idol temples there. It lay on the western marches of the extensive kingdom of the Hindūshāhīs [*q.v.*] of Wayhind, which spanned the middle Indus and lower Kābul River basins; ʿUtbī's *Yamīnī* describes how Sebüktigin twice defeated the Rādjā Jaypāl in the Lamghān region, annexed it to his dominions and implanted Islam there (M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 30, 36, 86, 194). Islam was still however precarious there for some time to come, and the Muslim settlements were vulnerable to attacks by the pagan Pashaʾīs and Kāfirs to the north of the Kābul River. An anecdote in Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī's *Čahār maḳāla* describes how the infidels raided and despoiled Lamghān during the reign of Sebüktigin's son Maḥmūd of Ghazna (388-421/998-1030), so that the vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī had to remit that year's taxes (ed. Ḳāzwīnī, 18-19, revised tr. Browne, 20-1). Yet a century or so later Lamghān was producing Muslim scholars, for Yāḳūt mentions a family of Lamghānī Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī*s and *faḳīh*s who had settled in Baghdād during the 6th/12th century (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374/1955-7, v, 8, s.v. *Lāmghān*; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 503).

During the early years of the 10th/16th century, the Mughal prince Bābur [*q.v.*] spent much time in this region, and in the *Bābur-nāma* he expatiates on the beauty of the forested hillsides (cypress, holm oak, etc.) and on the fertility of the valley bottoms (corn, rice, oranges, citrons, mulberries, and in one favoured spot, even date palms). It is in this source that we find the name given as Lamghānāt, and the area described as containing administratively five *tūmān*s and two *bulūk*s of cultivated land; a "greater Lamghanāt" included the Muslim-settled parts of the lower Kāfiristān valleys, including the easterly one of the Kunār River (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1922, 206 ff., 222, 424, 494, 510-11; cf. also G. Scarcia, *Ṣifat-nāma-yi Darviš Muḥammad Ḫān-i Ġāzī, cronaca di una crociata musulmana contro i Kafiri di Laġmān nell' anno 1582*, Rome 1965, Introd. pp. CXXXVIII-CXL). Lamghān was doubtless the base for many expeditions of *djihād* against the Kāfirs, and as such is frequently mentioned in the Kābulī Persian account of the crusade led by the Mughal Emperor Akbar's younger brother Muḥammad Ḥakīm, governor of Kābul, in 990/1582, cf. Scarcia, *op. cit.*, index to text, s.v.

The district of Lamghān is today an important food-producing area, supplying Kābul, Djalālābād and other centres with rice, cereals, fruit, etc., and it further produces textiles (J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 172-3, 327-8). Since the administrative reorganisation of 1964, a province specifically called Laghmān has come into being, and this comprises essentially the central part of Nūristān, with its centre at Meh Tarlam.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

LĀMIʿĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL, Persian court poet, born about 402/1011, died some time after 460/1067, who left a *dīwān* of *ḳaṣīdas*, only some 1,100 *bayts* of which have survived.

Although Lāmiʿī was a contemporary of, and panegyrist to, such major historical figures as Ṭughrīl Beg, Alp Arslan and Niẓām al-Mulk, very little reliable information about his life and work has come to light. From his *Dīwān* we learn only that he was a native of Gurgān and that he went to Baghdād in the train of Ṭughrīl Beg in 447/1055. The *tadhkiras* of Dawlat-Shāh, Ādharbīkdilī and Riḍā Ḳulī Hidāyat state that he was a student of Muḥammad al-Ghazālī and a disciple of the poet Sūzanī, but Nafīsī has shown that these statements are fabrications (cf. *Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā*, s.v.).

Stylistically, Lāmiʿī was an enthusiastic but unexceptional imitator of the great Ghaznawid court poets, ʿUnṣurī, Farrukhī and Manūčihrī, particularly the latter. His poems reflect none of the stylistic innovations that may be seen in the works of his contemporaries Azraḳī and Abu 'l-Faradj Rūnī [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

Bibliography: Lāmiʿīs *Dīwān* has been published twice, by Saʿīd Nafīsī in 1319/1941 and by Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāḳī in 1353/1974, both times in Tehran. The only studies of his life and work are to be found in the introductions to these editions, the substance of which is repeated in the article on Lāmiʿī in the *Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā* already cited. There is a brief chapter on Lāmiʿī's use of metaphor and simile in Muḥammad Riḍā Shafīʿī-Kadkanī's *Ṣuwar-i khiyāl dar shiʿr-i Pārsī*, Tehran 1350/1971. (J. W. CLINTON)

LĀMIʿĪ, SHAYKH MAḤMŪD B. ʿOTHMĀN B. ʿALĪ AL-NAḲḲĀSH B. ILYĀS, a celebrated Ottoman Ṣūfī writer and poet of the first half of the 10th/16th century. He was born in 877/1472-3 at Bursa, where he spent all his life. His grandfather, Naḳḳāsh ʿAlī Pasha, teacher of Fawrī [*q.v.*] and one of the great painter-carvers (*naḳḳāsh*) of his time, had in his youth been taken by Tīmūr to Samarḳand, where he perfected his art; after his return, he contributed masterly decorations to the Yeshil Djāmiʿ and the Yeshil Türbe in Bursa.

As the son of ʿOthmān Čelebi, the *defterdār* of Sultan Bāyazīd II's treasury, Lāmiʿī learnt Arabic and Persian, and received an excellent *madrasa*

education from the *mollās* Akhawayn and Muḥammad b. Ḥādjdjī Ḥasan-zāde. He aspired to the career of a jurist and theologian, but his father's death created difficulties (preface to *Farhād-nāma*, see A. S. Levend, *Lamiī'nin Ferhad ü Şirin'i*, in *TDAY Belleten 1964*, Ankara 1965, 87). He seems to have written worldly poetry and prose, until he became aware of his preference for the mystic path, *ṭarīḳa*, and took as his spiritual guide the Naḳshbandī Shaykh Amīr Aḥmad al-Bukhārī, who exerted a decisive influence on his life.

Lāmiʿī's success as a writer began when two of his works attracted the attention of Sultan Selīm I, who awarded him a pension of 35 *aḳčes* a day, and bestowed on him the revenues from a village. Sultan Süleymān, whose accession he celebrated in a chronogram, kept up this patronage; to his Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], who showed him the greatest favour, Lāmiʿī dedicated several of his *mathnawīs* as a mark of gratitude. Already in 918/1512 Lāmiʿī was able to found a *waḳf* of 4,000 *aḳčes*.

Occasional complaints over lack of money did not go unanswered: Ibrāhīm Pasha awarded him a stipend of 20 *aḳces* daily which Lāmiʿī needed for the education of his children. He had married early and had three sons and one daughter; among his descendants, his son Derwīsh Meḥmed Čelebi, known as Lemʿī, a *mudarris* and author of a work on prosody, and a grandson known as Lāmiʿī-zāde, are mentioned. In his private life, Lāmiʿī was described as outspoken, persistent in his opinions, witty and fond of literary jests. He died in 938/1531-2, and was buried in the graveyard of the (no longer extant) mosque built by his grandfather on the Citadel of Bursa.

The fact that Lāmiʿī, who never went to court, owed his livelihood to Ottoman sultans and one Grand Vizier, allows us to surmise that he conformed to the expectations of his patrons. Their declared aim was to blend the refinement of Persian poetry with the vigour of the Turkish style cultivated in Anatolia, while welcoming the best of Eastern Turkish poetry.

Significantly, Lāmiʿī took as his models two great near-contemporary poets of Tīmūrid Herat, the Persian Djāmī [*q.v.*] and his Turkish friend, the minister Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], both Naḳshbandīs like himself.

In a literary age which restricted any poet, Turkish or Persian, to conventional forms (allegory being the prevailing fashion), Lāmiʿī was encouraged by his Ottoman patrons to turn his efforts at originality in the direction of the themes. Passing by such well-worn stories as Laylā and Madjnūn [*q.v.*] or Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, Lāmiʿī concentrated his talent in introducing into Turkish literature fresh themes such as *Shamʿ u parwāna*, *Salamān u Absāl* and *Haft paykar*, incidentally preserving two themes that had virtually sunk into oblivion in Persian literature: *Wīs u Rāmīn*, for which one of the rare Gurgānī [*q.v.*] manuscripts could only be found after a long search, and *Wāmiḳ u ʿAdhrāʾ*, of which the Persian original by ʿUnṣurī [*q.v.*] is now lost.

Lāmiʿī developed the *munāẓara* genre and experimented, as had become customary for poets, with Čaghatay Turkish. It was Lāmiʿī's diversity and originality, and not only his renderings of works by Djāmī, which earned him the honorific epithet "the Djāmī of Rūm".

Lāmiʿī's "reasons for writing", *sabab-i taʾlīf*, and additions to his translations, are worth a special study (cf. Babinger, 264); this would reveal the independent and lively intellect of this writer, whose originality was achieved not by breaking out along new lines but by fusing new themes with the traditional conventions. About thirty of his works are known. He wrote eight *mathnawīs* and a great deal of other poetry, but is better known for his prose works. Viewed chronologically, his major works are as follows: (1) The *Laṭāʾif-nāma*, a collection of facetious and partly scandalous stories in prose, probably written from the time of his youth and continued over the years; the unfinished book, which contains valuable information such as that on the old poet Shayyād Ḥamza (see S. Buluç in *İA*, s.v.), was completed in 988/1580-1 by his son Lemʿī (P. N. Boratav in *Ph T Fundamenta*, ii, 55); — (2) *Sharḥ-i dībādja-yi Gulistān* (according to the *Farhād-nāma*, Lāmiʿī commented on the whole *Gulistān*, A. S. Levend, *op. cit.*), a commentary on the preface to Saʿdī's [*q.v.*] "Rose garden", completed in 910/1504; — (3) *Ḥusn u dil*, ("Beauty and the heart"), a translation in prose of Fattāḥī's [*q.v.*] allegorical work, dedicated to Sultan Selīm I, studied by R. Dvořák, *Ḥusn u dil, persische Allegorie von Fattâḥi aus Nîšâpûr*, Vienna 1889; — (4) *Shawāhid al-nubuwwa* ("Distinctive signs of prophecy"), an expanded and commented prose translation of the treatise of Djāmī, completed in 915/1509-10, printed 1293/1876 Istanbul, ed. 1958 Muzaffer Özak; — (5) *Gūy u čawghān*, ("Ball and bat"), Lāmiʿī's first *mathnawī*, for which, inspired by a religious dream, he made use of ʿĀrifī's (d. 853/1449) allegorical poem, studied by N. Tezcan, *Lâmiʿî'nin Gûy u Çevgân mesnevisi*, in *Ömer Asım Aksoy armağanı*, Ankara 1978, 201-25; — (6) *Farhād-nāma* or *Farhād u Shīrīn*: interestingly enough, Lāmiʿī used for his second *mathnawī*, written in honour of Selīm I, the Eastern Turkish version by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, who had introduced radical changes in the old theme, especially by replacing Khusraw as hero by Farhād [see FARHĀD WA-SHĪRĪN]. Lāmiʿī, who undertook the work on the request of Fenārī [*q.v.*] Djamāl al-Dīn Meḥmed Shāh, who had just acquired a *Khamsa* by Nawāʾī, claimed only to have altered the style (*uslūb*), but he made also alterations in the story (A. S. Levend, *op. cit.*, 88, 110 f.), tr. von Hammer, Stuttgart 1812; — (7) *Absāl u Salamān*, his third *mathnawī*, dedicated to Selīm I, is the first Turkish treatment of Djāmī's allegorical work with considerable additions; — (8) *Futūḥ al-mudjāhidīn li-tarwīḥ ḳulūb al-mushāhidīn* ("Conquests of the champions of Islam giving rest to the hearts of the spectators"), better known as *Tardjama-yi Nafaḥāt al-uns* ("Translation of the Breath of divine intimacy"), a translation of Djāmī's Ṣūfī biographies with important additions on more than thirty Anatolian Ṣūfīs, in prose, begun in 917/1512 and finished in Radjab 927/April 1521, on the eve of Süleymān's Belgrade campaign; the book was printed in Istanbul 1270/1853-4 and 1289/1872; — (9) *Shamʿ u parwāna* ("The taper and the moth"), his fourth *mathnawī*, written in honour of Süleymān after the conquest of Rhodes 929/1522, but sent to him later; it seems that Lāmiʿī used for this allegorical poem not the accepted Persian version of Ahlī-yi Shīrāzī, composed in 894/1488-9, but that of a certain Niyāzī (ʿAbd Allāh Shabustarī; G. K. Alpay, *Lāmiʿī Chelebi and his works*, [see *Bibl.*], 88 ff.), a second-rate author whom he need not mention in his preface; — (10) *Wāmiḳ u ʿAdhrāʾ*, his fifth *mathnawī*, translated at the request of Sultan Süleymān from the no-longer-extant Persian version of ʿUnṣurī; parts were very freely tr. by J. von Hammer, *Wamik und Asra, das ist der Glühende und die Blühende*, Vienna 1833; — (11)

Maḳtel-i Imām Ḥusayn ("Martyrdom of the Imām Ḥusayn"), his sixth *mathnawī*, for which no specific source is named; Lāmiʿī reacted here against the warnings of some *ʿulamāʾ* concerning the recital of these martyrdom narratives in public; illustrated copies have survived; — (12) *Shahrangīz*, a poem in praise of Bursa in expectation of a visit of Sultan Süleymān, published at Bursa 1288/1871-2, tr. A. Pfizmaier, *Die Verherrlichung der Stadt Bursa*, Vienna 1839; — (13) *Munāẓara-yi bahār u shitāʾ* ("Controversy between spring and winter"), an extensive poem using Bursa and the Keshish Daghī as a stage-setting, Istanbul 1290/1873; — (14) *Munshaʾāt-i makātib* or *Niṣāb al-balāgha*, Lāmiʿī's letters; — (15) *Manāḳib-i Ḥaḍrat-i Uways al-Ḳaranī*, a prose legend; on the few mss., see G. K. Alpay, *op. cit.*, 82 no. 9; — (16) *ʿIbrat-nümā* or *ʿIbrat-nāma* ("The exemplar") written after the battle of Mohácz (932/1526), a prose work in two parts, legendary accounts of holy persons, and stories with moral significance; their agreeable literary style procured a wide popularity for this work, printed twice in 1273/1856-7 and 1327/1909; — (17) *Sharaf al-insān*, ("The nobility of man"), perhaps Lāmiʿī's best-known prose work, written in 933/1526-7. The theme, the contest of man with the animals, is taken from the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*; — (18) *Wīs u Rāmīn*, his seventh *mathnawī*, in honour of Süleymān, appeared in the same year; Lāmiʿī uses Gurgānī critically and changes the tone drastically; "instead of expressing the intensity of human passions, Lāmiʿī tries to amuse and edify. The end of this poem is tinged with mystic reflections . . ." (V. Minorsky, who had not seen Lāmiʿī's work, in *Vīs u Rāmīn, a Parthian romance*, in *BSOAS*, xii [1947], 31-2); — (19) his *Dīwān* of about 10,000 verses, compiled in 936/1529; — (20) A work on the *mathnawī Haft paykar* ("The seven effigies") based on Hātifī's [*q.v.*] *Haft manẓar*, was interrupted by Lāmiʿī's death and completed by his son-in-law, Rūshenī-zāde.

Bibliography: On Lāmiʿī's life, Sehī, *Hasht bihisht*, Istanbul 1325/1907-8, 50; Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 290-4; ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, facs. Meredith-Owens, London 1971, 108b-109a; Tashköprüzāde-Medjdī, Istanbul 1269/1852-3, 431-3; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, ii, Pesth 1837, 20 ff.; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 86; *ʿOthmanlı müʾellifleri*, ii, 492; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman poetry*, iii; Th. Menzel, *EI*[1] art. *Lāmiʿī*, A. Karahan, art. *Lâmi'î* in *İA*, vii, both with bibliography; A. S. Levend, *Türk edebiyati tarihi*, i, Ankara 1973, 84, 87. Specimens of texts are in Wickerhauser, *Chrestomathie*, Vienna 1853; A. S. Levend, *Türk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme evreleri*[3], Ankara 1972; F. İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nesir*, Istanbul 1964; idem, *Nazım*. i, Istanbul 1966-7; E. Birnbaum, *The Ottomans and Chagatay literature*, in *CAJ*, xx (1977), 157-90. A comprehensive description of Lāmiʿī's works, with reference to the manuscripts, is contained in G. K. Alpay, *Lāmiʿī Chelebi and his works*, in *JNES*, xxxv (1976), 73-93, to which should be added N. Tezcan's article *Lāmiʿī'nin Gūy u Çevgān mesnevisi* (see above). (B. Flemming)

LAMLAM, a generic name given by mediaeval Arabic authors to the animistic African peoples, considered to be cannibals, living to the south of the Muslim sultanates of the Sudanese zone; other versions are Dahdam, Damdam, Iamiam, Limiyyia, Namnam and Temiam.

Al-Masʿūdī (before 356/957) places the Dahdam upstream from Gao and says of them "They fight amongst themselves. They eat people. They have a paramount king who has other kings under his authority. In his land there is an important fortress in which there is an image in the shape of a woman which they venerate and to whom they make pilgrimages" (tr. in Cuoq, *Recueil*, 61). This passage is repeated by al-Bakrī (460/1068), who speaks of the Damdam, and by al-Idrīsī (548/1154), who speaks of the Lamlam who are raided by the slave merchants of Takrūr and Ghāna. Ibn Saʿīd (before 685/1286) speaks of, as well as the Lamlam of the west, the Damdam to the south of Ethiopia and Nubia, and his information is repeated by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (721/1321). Al-Dimashḳī (before 727/1327) mentions the lakes of the Tamīm and the Damdam, a name also borne by a river emptying into the Indian Ocean, and equally speaks of the Lamlam to the south of Ghāna. According to al-ʿUmarī (before 749/1349), the Damdam are a people employing horses and hostile to Mansa Mūsā (Mossi?). Ibn Khaldūn (784/1382) and al-Maḳrīzī (846/1442) repeat the information of Ibn Saʿīd about the Damdam invading Ethiopia and Nubia. Leo Africanus takes over from al-Maḳrīzī the name of Tamīm in order to make up a kingdom of Temiam, and it is under this form that knowledge of it came to European writers of the 16th century, such as Marmol 1573, Belleforest 1575 and Anania 1582 (Iamiam).

The 19th century explorers speak of them mainly in the form Yemyem or Niamniam (see Cooley, *loc. cit.*, below).

Bibliography: W. D. Cooley, *The Negroland of the Arabs . . .*, London 1841, repr. 1966, 111-16; J. Cuoq, *Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique occidentale du VIII*e *au XVI*e *s.*, Paris 1975 (R. Mauny)

LAMṬ, a word of obscure origin which denotes the oryx of the Sahara [see MAHĀT]. Now the word is obsolete and occurs only in a proverbial expression inspired by the speed with which it runs: "he runs like a *lamṭ*" (see M. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghreb et de l'Europe au III*e*-IX*e *siècle* Algiers 1949, 103, n. 159). It is also used in northern Algeria, where Beaussier (*Dict.*, s.v.) found it applied to a mythical animal which, even though it had only one foot, was very swift.

Arab geographers of the Middle Ages referred to the *lamṭ* in association with the tribe of the Lamṭa [*q.v.*], who were particularly famous for the shields they made from the skin of this animal (*daraḳa lamṭiyya*). In this expression, the adjective could just as well have been derived from *Lamṭa* as from *lamṭ*, so the two terms may only be apparently related and the connection may be an arbitrary one.

The earliest mention of these shields (*daraḳ*) may be found in al-Yaʿḳūbī (*K. al-Buldān*, 345, tr. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 206, n. 1), who says simply that they were white in colour, or in Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (*Mukhtaṣar K. al-Buldān*, 81, tr. H. Massé, Damascus 1973, 99; ed-tr. Hadj-Sadok, *op. laud.*, 33, 35), who is more explicit. He describes how the inhabitants of Anbiya and the Lamṭa soak them in milk for a whole year with the result that "a sabre rebounds off them, and if it does manage to penetrate, it sticks so hard that no-one can pull it out". Curing leather in milk makes shields (not only those made by the Lamṭa) better than those from India, where elephant hide is used. That was the opinion of al-Masʿūdī, (*Murūdj*, iii, 18 = § 859). Al-Zuhrī (*K. al-Djaʿrāfiyya*, ed. Hadj-Sadok in *BEO*, Damascus (1968), §§ 314-15, in his description of the *lamṭ*,

records that *lamṭiyya* shields were offered to the kings of the Maghrib and al-Andalus. It is in this last country that E. Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 95) says that "the most desirable shields were those made from *lamṭ* leather". The name of the animal was certainly well-known, especially in Portuguese; it was called *lant*, *dant*, etc. Another point is made by al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed.-tr. de Slane, 1965², 171-231), who says that the best (and most expensive) shields were made from the hides of old females. The place where they were made is said by al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome iii, 224, ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 37) to have been at Nūl (see Yāḳūt, *s.v.*), a centre for the Lamṭa near Joulimini; he says that "the Maghribīs use them in battle because they are light yet solid". More information is provided by the Egyptian Ibn Zunbul al-Maḥallī (10th/16th century), who also describes the *lamṭ* (*Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, tr. E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, 179-80) and says that these shields "are special, because holes made by arrows or spears close up again by themselves and so they never lose their value as defensive weapons". Leo Africanus (*Desc. de l'Afrique*, tr. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 559, see also 452-3) has a paragraph devoted to the *lamṭ*, and says that in the summer it is easier to catch the animal because the heat of the sand affects its hooves. As far as the targes (*lamṭiyya*) are concerned, he provides more up-to-date information additional to the earlier accounts and says: "Nothing except bullets from fire-arms can pierce them, but they are very costly."

These defensive arms are probably no longer made except for tourists, but until recently the Touareg (at least, the Touareg nobility who had the sole right to carry them) still used them and they were "escutcheon-like in shape and significance; the decorative motifs have magical qualities associated with them." (H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs de Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 325-6, with illustrations; see also H. Bissnel, *Les Touaregs de l'Ouest*, Algiers 1888, 95). When P. de Foucauld was writing, the targes of Ahaggar had the same name as the animal, the hide of which was used to make them, *ihəm*, pl. *ihəmmən* (*Dict.*, ii, 602-3).

Bibliography: in addition to the sources already cited, see P. de Cénival and Th. Monod, *Description de la côte d'Afrique de Ceuta au Sénégal par Valentin Fernandes (1506-7)*, Paris 1938, 159-61, n. 90; G. Ferrand, *Tuḥfat al-albāb*, in *JA* (1925), 43-4, 248-9; H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951, 75-82; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique*, etc., Dakar 1959, 256. (F. Viré)

LAMṬA, a large Berber tribe of the Barānis family. Its exact origin does not seem to have been known to the Arab and Berber genealogists, who simply make them brethren of the Ṣanhādja, Haskūra and Gazūla; others give them a Ḥimyarite origin like the Hawwāra and the Lawāta [*q.vv.*].

The Lamṭa were one of the nomadic tribes who wore a veil (*mulaththamūn*). One section lived on the south of the Mzāb, between the Massūfa on the west and the Tārga (Tuareg) on the east; they even seem to have extended as far as the Niger. In the south of Morocco, in al-Sūs, where there were Lamṭa who led a nomadic life, in company with the Gazūla, the Lamṭa occupied the territory nearest to the Atlas. On the coming of the nomadic Arabs of the Maʿḳil family, the two sections of the Lamṭa were absorbed by the Dhawī Ḥassān; the remaining sections then joined the Shabānāt, another Maʿḳil tribe, to oppose the Gazūla who joined the Dhawī Ḥassān.

In the territory of the Lamṭa of al-Sūs at the mouth of the Wādī Nāl (now Wād Nūn) lay the commercial town of Nūl or Nūl of the Lamṭa, the first inhabited place one reaches on coming from the Sahara. Several Moroccan dynasties have struck coins there.

The jurist Uggʷag b. Zallū of Sidjilmāsa, a pupil of Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], was a member of the tribe of Lamṭa; one of his pupils was ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn al-Gazūlī, founder of the Almoravid empire [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

The country of the Lamṭa was noted for the shields made at Nūl with the skin of the *lamṭ* antelope [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Yaʿḳūbī, Bakrī, Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, indices, s.vv. Lamṭa and Nūl; Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome, fasc. iii, 221-5; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, index (esp. 452-3, where H. Llote's long note should be regarded with care).

(G. S. Colin*)

LAMTŪNA (in Leo Africanus: Luntuna or Lumtuna), a great Berber tribe belonging to the branch of the Ṣanhādja who led a nomadic life, and like other tribes of this branch forming part of the *Mulaththamūn* or "wearers of the veil" [see LITHĀM].

The Lamtūna nomadised over the western Sahara, where between the 2nd/8th and 5th/11th centuries they played a considerable political role. According to al-Bakrī (459/1067), the region covered by them stretched from the lands of Islam (i.e. the Maghrib) to those of the blacks. This is what this geographer says of the Lamtūna's way of life: "They are strangers to any manual work, to agriculture and even to bread. Their riches consist wholly of their herds. They live entirely off meat and milk". According to Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), the Lamtūna already formed a considerable kingdom at the time of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil, founder of the amīrate of Cordova (138-72/756-88). This author plus Ibn Abī Zarʿ (d. between 710-20/1310-20) give the names of several kings of the Lamtūna from that time onwards. The first of these was a certain Talākākīn; the period of his power is unknown, but it is very probable that he lived towards the middle of the 3rd/8th century. His successor was Tīlūtān or Taywalūtān b. Tiklān b. Talākākīn, who died aged 80 in 222/836-7. He was a great ruler, and if Ibn Abī Zarʿ is to be believed, he reigned over all the desert (i.e. all the western Sahara), and the territory under his control stretched for three month's journey in both length and breadth, as far as the borders of the land of the blacks, of whom more than twenty of their kings were subject to him. Tīlūtān's successor was his nephew al-Athīr b. Bāṭin (also called Yalattān) who died aged 65 in 237/851-2, or according to another source, in 287/900. The fourth king of the Lamtūna was Tamīm (or Ramīm) b. al-Athīr who reigned over the tribe until 300/912-13; he was killed by the Ṣanhādja notables in a rebellion. His death heralded a time of troubles which lasted 120 years, i.e. until *ca.* 420/1029.

It seems that the state (or rather, the confederation of Berber tribes) created by the Lamtūna and which endured down to 306/918-19, was actually the state or rather confederation called Anbiya by the mediaeval Arabic writers. This existed already in the time of the astronomer al-Fazārī (*ca.* 172/788), who locates it as between the kingdom of Sildjilmāssa (in the western

Maghrib) and that of Ghāna in the western Sudan. We also owe a few details about the Anbiya to Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (*ca.* 290/903), whose information on Africa goes back to the middle of the 2nd/8th century. He relates that "the land of Anbiya is part of the Sūs al-Aḳṣā (in the extreme south of present-day Morocco) and extends over seventy nights' march across the plains and deserts". One may further add that the historian and geographer al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 278/891) says as follows about the people of Anbiya: "It is by setting off from Sidjilmāssa southwards that one arrives in the land of the blacks ... It is reached via empty regions and deserts stretching for about fifty days' march. En route one meets a people called Anbiya, a part of the Ṣanhādja [who live] in the desert; they have no fixed abodes. They veil their faces, according to one of their customs. They do not wear a tunic, but cover themselves with pieces of cloth. Their food comes from camels, and they have no cereals or corn". On al-Yaʿḳūbī's evidence, the Anbiya confederation was not, in the 3rd/9th century, the only great Berber power in the western Sahara. Indeed, he mentions also as existing in this desert and on the fringes of the land of the blacks a land (or a town) called Ghasṭ, identical with the Awdaghast of the geographers of the 4th-5th/10-11th centuries and situated in south-eastern Mauritania. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī again, there was in this country a king who had no religion, who raided into the land of the blacks and who possessed numerous kingdoms.

It seems that the king of Awdaghast contributed to the fall of the confederation of the Lamtūna (or of Anbiya), and it may be in reference to him that Ibn Abī Zarʿ speaks when he mentions the revolt of the Ṣanhādja notables against the fourth king of the Lamtūna in 306/918-19. Hence the king Tīnazwā b. Wānshiḳ b. Bīzār or Barūyān b. Wānshiḳ b. Izār, who ruled, according to Ibn Khaldūn, over the Lamtūna and all the Sahara in the 4th/10th century, in the times of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir (300-50/912-61) and his son al-Ḥakam II (350-66/961-76), belonged to the dynasty of Awdaghast and not to that of the Lamtūna. This name Barūyān b. Wānshiḳ b. Izār appears merely to be a deformation of that of Tīn Yarūtān b. Wasīnū b. Nizār attributed to the king of Awdaghast (who reigned between 340/951 and 350/961) by the geographer al-Bakrī. It is the same person who is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawḳal (d. *ca.* 378/988) under the name of Tanbarūtān b. Isfīshar and who was his contemporary; he says of him "Tanbarūtān b. Isfīshar ... was at that time king of all the Ṣanhādja ... He governed these last for twenty years ... Power belonged to this man's family in that tribe from time immemorial".

It appears that towards the end of the 4th/10th century or at the beginning of the next one, the kingdom of Awdaghast was destroyed by the king of Ghāna, who incorporated its capital (now the ruins of Tegdaoust) in his own kingdom, whilst leaving the tribe of Lamtūna their freedom. It was at this time, at the end of a period of 120 years during which "power was divided up amongst the Lamtūna", as Ibn Abī Zarʿ says, that there appeared amongst the Lamtūna a new king called ʿAbd Allāh (or Abū ʿUbayd Allāh) b. Tīfāwt, who brought about a union of all the Lamtūna. According to Ibn Abī Zarʿ, he was a man of religion and piety who made the Pilgrimage. He was killed, at the end of three years' reign, during a raid; al-Bakrī calls him Muḥammad Tāreshna and says that he carried on the holy war, in the course of which he was killed at a place called Ḳanḳāra (Gangara, the Mandingos) in the land of the blacks. Tāreshna (or Nāresht) al-Lamtūnī seems to have reigned between 426 and 429/1034-8, at the head of a confederation of Ṣanhādja tribes whose members included, as well as the Lamtūna, the Djudāla and perhaps the Massūfa too.

At the outset, the Lamtūna were pagans, and according to Ibn Khaldūn, only became Muslim during the 3rd/9th century. But most of the tribe's members were only nominally Muslim, apart from the *amīrs* and probably a section of the notables. Because of this fact, Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Djudālī, the successor of Nāresht (Tāreshna) as head of the Lamtūna confederation, decided in the course of his Pilgrimage to Mecca, to bring from the Maghrib into the Sahara a pious and learned Muslim *shaykh* called ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, who was to work at the conversion of the Djudāla and Lamtūna to a genuine form of Islam. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn soon discovered that most of the people he was working amongst lived in ignorance; hence he quickly surrounded himself with true believers and declared holy war against the infidels of the two tribes, which he managed to convert to Islam after several raids. In this way came about the origin of the kingdom of the Murābiṭūn or Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

After the death of Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Djudālī (*ca.* 434/1042-3), ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, by now the spiritual head of the new community, appointed as his successor the *amīr* Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar b. Talākākīn, who reigned until 449/1056-7. Then the latter's brother, Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar, also appointed by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, reigned over the western Sahara. Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar was content to rule over the desert and to leave Morocco, whose conquest he undertook, to his nephew Ibn Tāshfīn. However, he kept the title of *amīr* of the Almoravids till his death. Apparently, after Abū Bakr's death (he was killed in 480/1087 during one of his raids against the blacks in the western Sudan) the Lamtūna still retained for some time their supremacy over the people of the western Sahara. Towards the middle of the 6th/12th century al-Zuhrī speaks of a Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr, *amīr* of the Massūfa (*Lamtūna) who lived towards the year 496/1102-3 and who seems to have been the son of the *amīr* Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Lamtūnī. During this time there took place the conquest of Ghāna by the Lamtūna and the conversion of that city to Islam. Later, the power of the Lamtūna grew feebler, but nevertheless, we know, thanks to the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* (*ca.* 588/1192), that the Lamtūna always possessed, at this period, an independent king as well as their own *shaykhs*. Subsequently, like the Massūfa and other Berber tribes of the southwestern Sahara, the Lamtūna were compelled to recognise the supremacy of the Sudanese kings of Mālī. If al-ʿUmarī (743-50/1342-9) is to be believed, the Lamtūna came under their control in the first half of the 8th/14th century; however, they still had their own *shaykh*. The later Arabic sources are silent about this people, whose importance became at that time almost nil.

A word should finally be said about the boundaries of the Lamtūna territories in the period from the 2nd/8th to the 8th/14th centuries. Originally, they extended, according to al-Bakrī, to the south of the mountain of Ayzal (Kedyet Ej Jell or Fort Gouraud on our maps), occupying all the eastern part of what is now Mauritania, as far as the fringes of the Sudan. They were separated from the Atlantic by the lands nomadised over by the Djudāla, who occupied western Mauritania and the south-western part of

that country (al-Bakrī, Ibn Saʿīd) to the north of the lower Senegal and as far as the fringes of the Djabal al-Lammāʿ (modern Cap Blanc). Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Lamtūna occupied the Mauritanian Adrar previously inhabited by a non-Muslim Berber tribe. They built there a fortress called Āzukkī or Azukkī (Azougui near Atar on modern maps), which then became their capital and a very important stage along the commercial route connecting Sidjilmāssa with Ghāna. From the Mauritanian Adrar, the lands traversed by the Lamtūna stretched as far as the Sudan, more exactly to Tagant. In the second half of the 5th/11th century, the Lamtūna occupied the district of Nūl al-Aķṣā in the south-west of modern Morocco and that of Tāzuggāght (Saguiet El Hamra on modern maps = al-Sāķiya al-ḥamrā'), both of which belonged to the tribe in al-Idrīsī's time.

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(T. Lewicki)

AL-LAMTŪNĪ, Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar b. Tāglāgīn al-Ṣanhādjī, war leader of the Almoravids [see al-murābiṭūn] and above all, the real founder of one of the historic capitals of Morocco, Marrakesh (Murrākish [*q.v.*]). He was the brother of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar who became, at the death of the pious *ḥādjdj* Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gazūlī, *amīr* of the Berber confederation of Ṣanhādja nomads of the parts of the Sahara bordering on the Atlantic (Lamtūna, Gudāla and Massūfa). The two brothers were the first to rejoin, after his *hidjra*, the Mālikī reformer ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn in his *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] of Nā (?), situated on an island or a peninsula of the Atlantic coast of modern Mauritania. It was from this *ribāṭ* that the powerful movement which culminated in the establishment of the Berber Almoravid dynasty was launched.

In 448/1056 Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar was killed fighting the infidels in the western Sudan, and the *imām* ʿAbd Allāh immediately replaced him, as head of the armed forces, by his brother Abū Bakr, who was celebrated for his courage, religious enthusiasm and experience. The new *amīr* had his position legitimised by the people of Sidjilmāssa and struck coins of his own, and was then charged with the task of conquering, by word and by sword, the region of the Moroccan Atlas. In 449/1057-8 his successful campaign ended in the capture of the town of Aghmāt [*q.v.*], the Maṣmūda capital. With the support behind him of this urban centre, at the time one enjoying considerable prestige, the *imām* ʿAbd Allāh directed his troops against the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*], the heretics of the central Moroccan Atlantic coast region; but having injudiciously rushed into the battle, he was killed in 451/1059. Abū Bakr now became the sole head of the Almoravids; he buried ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn on the spot, went on to crush the Barghawāṭa and returned, laden with booty, to Aghmāt. There he established his centre of power and married the rich widow of the former governor of the town, the Tunisian lady Zaynab bint Isḥāķ al-Nafzāwiyya, whose beauty was only equalled by her political astuteness.

Being probably now largely occupied with the administering of his native land and of his conquests, Abū Bakr at this point gave command of the army to his nephew and cousin, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn [*q.v.*], who had come to prominence through his outstanding qualities, confirming him in this office and directing him to the conquest of northern Morocco.

However, life in Aghmāt became more and more difficult for everyone. Both the persons and the possessions of the local people suffered from the presence of their unpolished conquerors, and these latter, as Saharan nomads, felt little at ease within the walls which they had conquered but which were suffocating them. In the end, Abū Bakr was persuaded to found a new town, one better situated in all regards than the double city of Aghmāt. Following the advice of his expert counsellors, he decided to establish the new centre on the actual site of Marrakesh. The process of transfer took place, according to the Moroccan historian Ibn al-ʿIdhārī in his *Bayān*, on 23 Radjab 462/7 May 1070 and not in 1062 as indicated by Ibn Abī Zarʿ [*q.v.*] in his rather undependable *Rawḍ al-ķirṭās*. The initial works, directed by the amīr personally, were concentrated on the construction of a *ķaṣaba* [*q.v.*], the renowned Ķaṣr al-ḥadjar "stone fortress", where the ruler's harem, treasury and armoury were deposited in safety over the following three months.

Soon afterwards, on a date which the *Bayān* fixes within Rabīʿ II 462/January 1071, Abū Bakr received some alarming news from the desert. In order to fly to the aid of his tribe, he left to Yūsuf b. Tashfīn the administration of the Almoravid conquests, the town in course of construction, a large part of the army and even his wife, who had herself urged him to divorce her so that she might, at the end of the waiting period required by Muslim law, legally marry Yūsuf and give him the benefit of her great experience of the Moroccan situation. The great role played by women in Almoravid society is of course well-known.

After having restored order within the desert, Abū Bakr did not return to Morocco till 464/1072-3. Well aware of what was happening at Marrakesh, he prudently installed himself at Aghmāt. He had

quickly learnt and realised that Yūsuf, strongly backed by Zaynab, would not give back to him the command entrusted to him earlier nor the town of Marrakesh, now expanding rapidly. After a pathetic interview between the two men, seated together on a burnoose in the open countryside, Abū Bakr had the sense to accept the very impressive presents offered to him, and with his face thus saved, returned to the land of his people in order to resume the holy war against the infidel blacks. This doughty hero of the faith, and founder of one of the great capitals of the Islamic world, was killed in 468/1075-6 in the massif of Tagant to the north of the Senegal River, where his gravestone and epitaph have been found.

His son Ibrāhīm then went to Morocco to reclaim his father's heritage of leadership, but wise counsels of prudence and substantial presents discouraged these ambitions and led to his definitive disappearance from Almoravid history.

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(G. Deverdun)

LAMU, a town, island and archipelago, in lat. 2° S. off the Kenya coast, together with Pate and Manda islands [*q.vv.*] and some smaller islands, probably to be identified with the Pyralaae Islands mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of *ca.* A.D. 106 as an established resort of Arab and Egyptian sea traders. Nevertheless, the first archaeological evidence found on Manda does not antedate the 8th or 9th century A.D., nor on Lamu before the 13th century. The first reliable literary evidence is that of Ibn Taghrībirdī (later 9th/15th century), but the Swahili traditional history *Khabar Lamu*, and likewise the Swahili traditional histories of Pate, assert that it was founded in 77/695 by Syrians sent thither by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and reinforced by a further contingent sent by Hārūn al-Rashīd in 170/786. Although not in themselves impossible, there is no contemporary literary or archaeological evidence to sustain these 19th century traditions. Syrian traders are not known to have penetrated farther south than the Ethiopian ports, and such late traditions are to be regarded with the greatest caution, if not scepticism. At the end of the 9th/15th century the island and the adjoining landfall are mentioned briefly by the celebrated pilot, Aḥmad b. Mādjid.

Ibn Taghrībirdī, quoting al-Makrīzī, makes only the curtest mention. The king is entitled to ambergris found on the beach. There are large banana trees, from which a kind of honey is made, and various preserves. The town is almost buried under the sands. This suggests that in the later 9th/15th century the town was in decline. Its fortunes seem to be aptly illustrated by a sequence of dedicatory inscriptions, all but one in the mosques. The earliest is dated 1370-1 A.D.; the next, with a remarkable wooden *minbar* unique in eastern Africa, where stone alone is used for this purpose, was not built until 1511-12. The 18th century saw the construction of four mosques, in 1733, 1753, 1760 and 1797. In this interval, from *ca.* 1506 to 1698, the town was under nominal Portuguese control, and the first tribute of 600 *mithḳāls* of gold was paid in Venetian *mocenigos*. In 1585 the town acknowledged Turkish suzerainty in the person of the Amīr ʿAlī Bey, for which the Portuguese deposed the sultan in 1587, hanging him in Goa on Christmas Day, 1589. Lamu supported the Mombasa rising of 1631 [see MOMBASA], for which the town was punished in 1634. Following another rising in 1678, the sultan of Lamu and four other neighbouring sultans lost their heads.

Lamu came under the nominal control of ʿUmān after the ʿUmānī capture of Mombasa in 1698, but this was not effectively exercised until 1812-13, in which year an inscription dates the building of the fort as a residence for the Bū Saʿīdī governor, always a member of the royal family until about 1901 [see ĀL BŪ SAʿĪD]. Under them the town grew considerably because of the expansionist trading policy of Sayyid Saʿīd of ʿUmān and Zanzibar and his successors. Lamu was an important centre for trade in ivory, mangrove wood (used universally at this epoch throughout southern Arabia for roofing) and, for a period, slaves. New mosques were dedicated in 1823, 1824 (two), 1845, 1849, 1865, 1876, 1877 and 1880-1. To the same period we may ascribe the pleasant two- and occasionally three-storeyed houses with their verandahs (Swa. *baraza*), which form the greatest part of the older town, so reminiscent of southern Arabia, but with a distinctive architecture which may be called "Zanzibari". Particularly attractive are their doors of carved teak. These and the so-called Lamu chests (Swa. *sanduku*), camphorwood clothes chests, used because that wood is resistant to the omnipresent white ant, were important local manufactures. Elaborate beds and chairs, of ebony inlaid with ivory, give some indication of the luxury of the merchant notables. This is echoed in poetry, and especially during the 19th century Lamu was celebrated for its numerous Swahili poets and literary men [see SWAHILI, Literature]. These included poetesses, of whom Mwana Kupona was the most famous. The poetry is written in the local dialect of Swahili, Ki-Amu. During the 1960s J. W. T. Allen identified no less than 30,000 pages of Swahili poetry in private hands in Lamu town, all in manuscript. Of these 10,000 pages have been photographed and the record deposited in the University Library, Dar es Salaam. It is estimated that as many pages were found of Arabic manuscripts, but at the present these have neither been photographed nor catalogued: they remain a challenge to the present generation of scholars.

With the growth of Mombasa as a deep-water port, the diminution in importance of the mangrove and ivory trades, and the disappearance of the slave trade, Lamu receded in importance, although recently it has achieved a certain popularity as a tourist centre. But more than anything it has been saved by emerging as the most important Islamic religious centre in eastern Africa. The Ribāṭ al-Riyāḍa, or Madrasat al-Riyāḍa, also commonly called the Mosque College of Lamu, was founded in 1319/1901-2 by Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥabīb ʿAlawī b. Ḥabīb ʿAbd Allāh Djamāl al-Layl, the word *Ḥabīb* being used as an alternative to *Sayyid*. Of a well-known Ḥaḍramī family of *sayyids*, an ancestor had settled at Siu town on the neighbouring Pate island: from there another ancestor migrated to the Comoro Islands [see ḲUMR and PATE]. There Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ was

born and brought up as a Swahili speaker: although his was a learned family, Arabic was not spoken in the home. There and from family connections he became learned in the religious sciences and in traditional Arab medicine, although he never left eastern Africa. Migrating from the Comoros to Lamu, he began to teach, and soon acquired a band of followers. Following quarrels with the more conservative Muslims in the town, and especially because of the use of the tambourine to accompany the reading of the Barzanji *maulidi* to celebrate the birth of the Prophet, Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ first built a hut for use as a *muṣallā*, and subsequently the present mosque. This became a centre for the dissemination of the ʿAlawiyya *ṭarīḳa*, which soon attracted students from neighbouring African peoples, mainly the Pokomo, the Galla and the Bajun. By the 1950s the influence of the mosque had made itself felt throughout the eastern littoral of Kenya and the present Tanzania, and its pupils could be found teaching in numerous small Ḳurʾānic schools. In eastern Africa, all Sunnī mosques hold *maulidi* in honour of the Prophet during the month of his birth, the authorities in each neighbourhood arranging not to clash with each other's celebrations. The most important *maulidi* is that of the Ribāṭ al-Riyāda, attracting visitors from throughout Kenya and Tanzania, even as far as the border with Mozambique. Apart from the strictly religious ceremonies and the solemn procession to Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ's tomb, Africans of different tribes also celebrate it with dances that are generally frowned upon as impious, if not heretical, by those of Arab descent. The tomb itself is in a flimsy wooden hut. If this is surprising, such simplicity in a holy tomb has its parallels not only in Tanzania but also in al-Shiḥr, the port through which the potent influence of the Ḥaḍramawt has chiefly percolated into eastern Africa.

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(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

LANBASAR (thus in Rashīd al-Dīn and Mustawfī), popular pronunciation with assimilation Lam(m)asar < Lambasar, the name of one of the Ismāʿīlī fortresses in northwestern Iran taken over from a local chief by Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ's lieutenant and eventual successor Kiyā Buzurg-Ummīd, according to Djuwaynī in 495/1102 [see ALAMŪT, ISMĀʿĪLIYYA]. Its still-extensive ruins lie on a site sloping at 30°, whose surface resembles in shape a truncated cone and which measures some 1,500 ft./480 m. by 600 ft./190 m., with easily defensible slopes, in the Rūdbār district of the upper Shāh-Rūd, tributary of the Safīd-Rūd [*q.v.*] in what was the mediaeval region of Daylam [*q.v.*], now in the central *ustān* of modern Iran. Its precise location is 30 miles/43 km. north-east of Ḳazwīn and 2 miles/3 km. north of the village Shahristān-i Bālā, on the Nāyīn-Rūd stream, in lat. 36° 33′ N. and long. 50° 13′ 30″ E. The fortress's position guarded the approaches to Alamūt from the Shāh-Rūd valley, and it was accordingly an important unit in the network of Ismāʿīlī castles in Daylam. In recent times, the site and ruins have been visited and described by Freya Stark (1931), W. Ivanow (1958) and P. J. E. Willey (1960).

Lanbasar was besieged in vain in 511/1117 by the forces of the Saldjūḳ sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*]. At the time when the Il-Khān Hülegü overran northern Persia, the last Ismāʿīlī Grand Master Rukn al-Dīn Khūr-Shāh submitted to the Mongols, and some forty Ismāʿīlī strongholds passed into the invaders' hands. Lanbasar, however, held out against Hülegü's general Dayir-Buḳa for a year after the beginning of 655/1257, and another fortress, Girdkūh, for considerably later; it was presumably after its capture that Lanbasar was abandoned as a military centre.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

LANGA [see LAS BELA, 2 Ethnography].

LANKORAN (Lenkoran), the chief town of the district of the same name in the region of Bākū. Lenkoran is the Russian pronunciation of the name, which was at one time written Langarkunān ("anchorage"), or perhaps Langar-kanān ("place which pulls out the anchors"), which is pronounced Länkärän in Persian and Lankon in Tālishī. The ships of the Bākū-Enzelī [*q.v.*] line used formerly to call at Lankoran, which has an open roadstead, but at 8 miles north-east of the town is the island of Sarā, which has an excellent roadstead which shelters the ships in bad weather.

In the district of Lankoran, de Morgan found monuments of very great antiquity (dolmens, tombs, cases of exposure of bodies in the Mazdaean (?) fashion), but it is not known at what period the town of Lankoran was founded. Certain statements (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā* under the year 940/1533 in Dorn, *Auszüge*, iv, 283; and Shaykh ʿAlī Ḥazīn [about 1725 A.D.], *Taʾrīkh-i Aḥwāl*, ed. Balfour, 157) suggest that the capital of Tālish was originally at Astārā; towards the end of the 18th century, Lankoran be-

came the capital of this khânate. The whole district was annexed by the Russians under Peter the Great (treaties of 1723 with Ṭahmāsp II, and 1729 with the Afghān Ashraf), but returned to Persia by the treaty of 1732. Retaken by Count Zubov in 1796, Lankoran was retaken in 1812 by the Persians who fortified it. On 9 Muḥarram (*ʿāshūrā*) 1228/1 January 1813, Lankoran was taken by storm by General Kotliarevski after a brave resistance of the Persians. This event hastened the conclusion of the Treaty of Gulistān (1813), by which Persia ceded to Russia part of Tālish to the north of the river Astārā. From 1846 Lankoran was the capital of the district. The fortress was dismantled in 1865. Since 1921 Lankoran has formed part of the Adharbāydjān S.S.R. in Soviet Transcaucasia.

The population of the town, which was 3,970 in 1867, had reached 11,100 in 1897. The district of Lankoran has an area of 5,000 sq. miles and in 1840 had 30,200 inhabitants and in 1861 99,082. Later, the district was reduced to 2,000 sq. miles; in spite of this, its population in 1897 was 125,895, of whom 46.5% were Azeri Turks, Iranian Tālish 46.2%, Russians 6.9% (in the north) and Armenians (0.2%). The district is composed of three zones: to the north, an eastern continuation of the steppes of Mūghān; to the east, a marshy littoral intersected by lagoons and covered with a rich subtropical vegetation; whilst to the west are wooded mountains running from 5,500 to 7,500 feet above sea-level which rise from the Russian frontier, forming the boundary with the Persian province of Ardabīl. The district is rich in forests and had good fishing.

The figures for the 1926 and 1931 censuses showed little change from the above figures, but by 1973 the town alone had a population of 42,300. The town has a number of schools and colleges, libraries and clubs, as well as a museum of local lore. During the 1930s, a newspaper was published in Ādharbāydjānī and Tālishī. The majority of the population of the province are Shīʿī, though there are substantial Sunnī communities in the south. The tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zāhid, teacher of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, eponymous ancestor of the Ṣafawī dynasty, is situated a few miles to the south of the town of Lankoran.

The chief local industries are associated with the processing of agricultural products (tea, fish, vegetables, wine).

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(V. MINORSKY-[L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON).

LĀR and **LĀRĪDJĀN**. Broadly attested outside southern Iran, the toponym Lār is applied to a characteristic region of northern Iran known by the name of Lārīdjān. Lār itself is the name of a watercourse, of its valley and of the pasture-lands which surround it. In different forms and local variants, it also refers to other sites or urban settlements of the Iranian lands.

1. *The high valley of the Lār*.

On the barren slope of the Elburz, not far from the conurbation of Tehran, the valley of the Lār constitutes one of the high points of nomadism. Situated at the foot of Mt. Damāvand—at 5,678 m (de Planhol), the highest peak of the Elburz and Iranian range—between the valleys of Nūr, Karadj, Djādj-i Rūd and Harāz, populated by Gīlakī peasants, today it supports no permanent settlement. Highly appreciated over a long period, not only by the nomads but also by the neighbouring village communities and by members of the royal household, its summer pastures have been the object of complex apportionments between these three contenders. Since the decade of the 1950s, the balance has been largely upset in favour of the nomads or semi-nomads, threatened in their turn by the process of modernisation.

Between its source in the vicinity of Kulūm/Kulūn-i Bastak and the elbow of Pulūr where it changes its name to that of Harāz, the Lār takes in the waters of numerous tributaries (names supplied by Rabino, 41-2; Karīmān, *Ḳaṣrān*, 120-1). It flows between mountains which, in the north as in the south, rise beyond the 3,000 m. mark; to the south, the peak of the Lār-kūh is at an altitude of 3,901 m. (12,797 feet according to an American map printed in 1957; *ibid.*, 116). On either side of the banks of the Lār, the pasture-lands extend over some 60 km. and over a breadth of 6 to 7 km. (*ibid.*, 122). The winters are long and extremely cold. The altitude does not fall below a level of 2,500 m.; even in summer, the temperature seldom rises above 24°C. At the eastern extremity of the valley, at Pulūr (see Lārīdjān, below), situated at 2,130 m., average temperature over the year is 5.8° C., rainfall is 547,7 mm. (Adle, chart; 569 mm. according to de Planhol, 23, n. 52, after Péguy).

Near the confluence of the Sefīd Āb and the Lār, a wall of dry rock blocks the entire valley. Situated, close by the so-called caravanserai of Shāh ʿAbbās, at a crossroads of caravan routes between Tehran and the north, in a locality dominated by the ruins of Ḳalʿa-yi Dukhtar, according to oral tradition this wall separates two villages (Hourcade, 42 and map). Indications of the existence of permanent settlement in the valley of the Lār are quite numerous; besides the remains observed by certain travellers (Wells, 2; Von Call-Rosenburg, 121; Stahl, 10), there is the oral tradition current among the Hedāvand nomads (Brugsch, i, 285, quoted by de Planhol, 21-2) among the Gīlakī villagers of the valley of Īrā (Hourcade, 42, n. 6) and most notably the tradition attested at Lāristān as in the villages close to the valley of the Lār, according to which, under a king of ancient Iran, the villagers of the Lār, unable to endure the rigours of the winter, are supposed to have emigrated to Lār of the Fārs (Fasāʾī, ii, 281 ff.; Kotschy, 51). This popular tradition should not be regarded as "quite fantastic" (de Planhol, 21) since numerous toponyms (Lār, Lārak, Elburz, Bastak etc.), are current in the north as in the south

Although it is impossible to follow the evolution of relations between nomads and settlers until after the beginning of the 19th century, it seems that the settled territory covered a greater area then than it does today. According to de Planhol, the "wall" across the valley separated nomads from

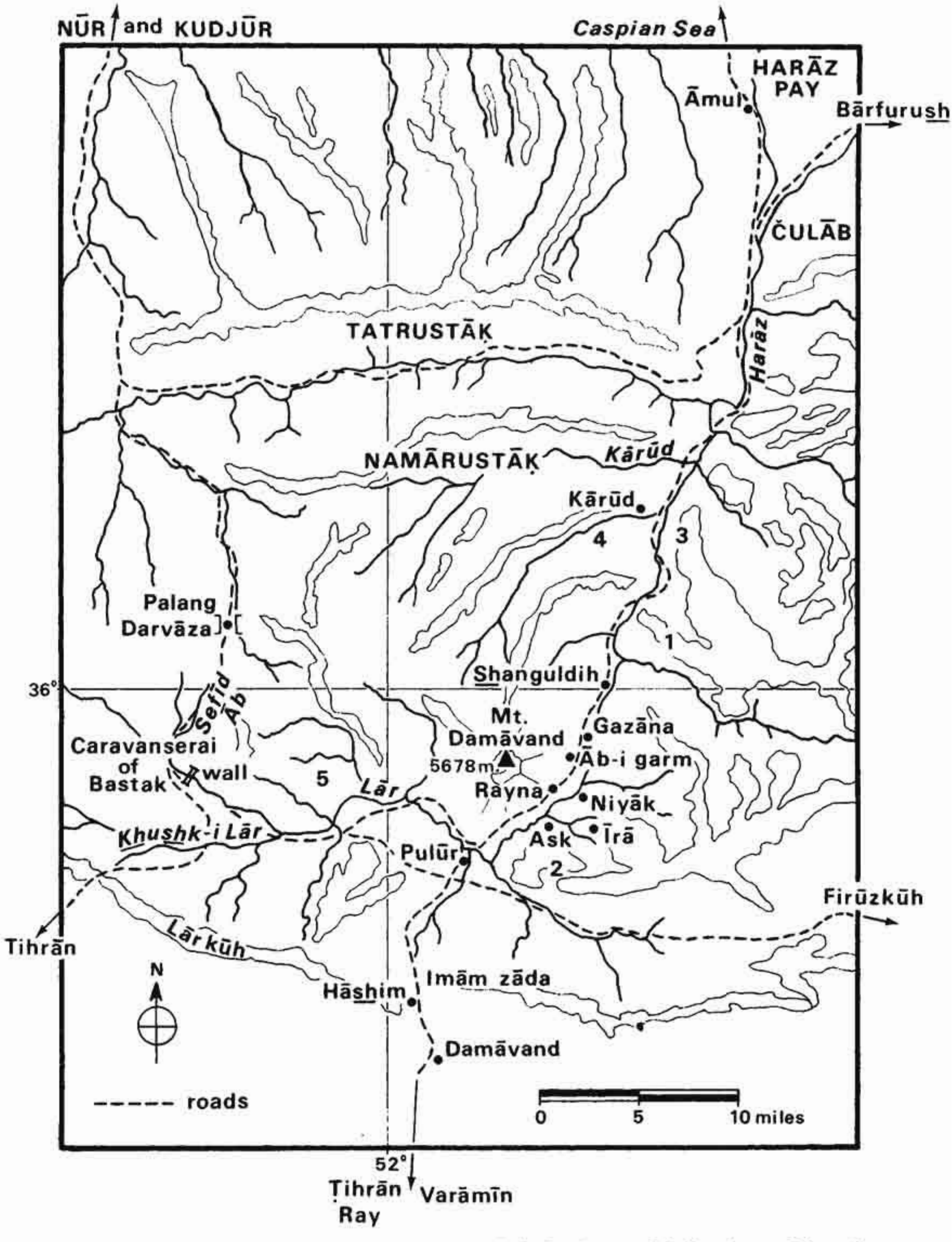

Lārīdjān (after Rabino) *Sub-districts:** 1 Amirī or Pāʾīn Lārīdjān, 2 Bālā Lārīdjān, 3 Bihrustāḳ, 4 Dilārustāḳ, 5 Valley of the Lār. * on 4 and 5, see our reserves and remarks in the article.

settlers. Since the decade of the 1830s, the encampments of the nomads and semi-nomads of the Lār have been amply described by travellers, diplomats, soldiers etc. These accounts describe to us the stability of these tribes (itineraries of migration, places of summer pasturing, etc.) of which the majority were transferred to the region of Tehran from the 18th century onward, for political reasons (Hourcade, 39). For at least a century, and until quite recently (1976), approximately 200,000 head of small livestock (sheep and goats) belonging to the nomads of the south slope of the Elburz have summered at the Lār. But the terms "tribes" and "nomads" are quite inappropriate to designate populations whose origins

remain obscure. Briefly, one encounters Hedāwand who speak the Lori language (having arrived in the 18th century); Kotī Arabic speakers (originally from Khuzistān?); the ʿAraba, poor and Persian speaking; the Kalmur or Kalhur, Gīlakī speakers, whose chiefs lived in Tehran (descended from the Kalmuk Mongols?); the Persian speaking Pāzukī ("Turks of Khurāsān", Kurds?); other small tribes or diverse groups: Turks (Sayl Sepur, ʿAlī Manṣūr, Kalʿaʾī, shepherds of the Turkish villages of Rūdahan); Kurds; "great nomads" (ʿAlī Kāʾī, Gīlakī speakers; Ḥasanlu, Turkish speakers; Sangsarī, who speak an Iranian dialect from the North-West): numerous details on these tribes (number of tents, migrations, summer pasturing etc.) in Hourcade, 40 ff.; de Planhol, 33 ff.; Hourcade and Tual, 23.

The use of Turco-Mongol terminology in nomadism reflects the acceleration of the process of bedouinisation in the region following the Mongol invasion. The term *yūrt* refers to the tent as well as to encampments (Stack, i, 98) or pastures and summer settlements (Rabino, 115). The summer pasturing (*yaylāḳ*) of the Lār was frequented by the Il-Khānids, the Tīmūrids, the Ṣafawids and the Ḳādjārs. Under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1848-96), the pastures were grazed in summer by horses from the Shāh's stables (de Planhol, 21). He often set up his summer camp there, to be followed by all the dignitaries and their families, military men, ambassadors (numerous references to the camp of Lār in the diplomatic archives in London, Paris etc., in the stories told by travellers, soldiers, sportsmen, etc.). Under the Pahlavīs (1925-79), the pastures to the west and south of Damāwand remained for the most part the property of the crown or of public services (national education, army, agriculture, etc.), who leased them to the nomads.

While profiting from the decline of sedentary mountain life, nomadism has recently suffered the impact of the expansion of the Tehran conurbation. Semi-nomadic groups adapted with varying degrees of success to the re-organisation of the milk and meat markets, becoming the salaried shepherds of large societies, "city-dwelling" nomads or villagers. But the trend towards sedentary living, utilisation of the motor-car, etc. have modified migratory practices. In some cases, nomadism has been replaced by pastoral migrations of the Alpine type (Hourcade, 44-5). Other factors have contributed to the decline of nomadism. The development of tourism and of sporting activities (mountaineering, trout fishing, also practised by the nomads, spa facilities and ski-ing activities in neighbouring areas) has led to the creation of cottage-industries and of construction projects; inevitable measures for the protection of the environment have brought about the extension of natural reserves to the detriment of the pasture-lands. But it is the construction of the dam of the Lār, designed to improve the water-resources of Tehran, which has had the profoundest impact on nomadism. With its foundations laid in 1975, this huge dam (105 m. in height; 1,000 m. long; reservoir of 30 square km. containing 960 million cubic m. of water) was due to become operational in 1980. Ecological constraints—particularly the erosion of the banks and terraces as a result of over-grazing—brought about the expulsion of the nomads from 1976 onward (*ibid.*, 45 f.). The abandonment of major industrialisation projects should in principle favour the renewal of the traditional economy and of nomadism which had been tending towards modernisation and self-destruction (*ibid.*, 47f.)

Rivalries between the nomads, the villagers and the state over the appropriation of pasture-lands are reflected on the administrative level. Originally belonging to the Ustān-i Markazī (*bakhsh* of Afdje, *shahristān* of Ṭihrān: *DG*, i, 196), the Lār has seen its southern area attached to the villages of the southern slope (Ustān-i Markazī) and the rest shared between the *dihistān* of Nūr and Lārīdjān (Ustān-i Māzandarān), the properties of the crown and the state lying between these two spheres of ownership (Hourcade, 38). Until the 19th century, its history is intermingled with that of Lārīdjān (see below), of which it often forms an integral part.

2. *Lārīdjān*

Geographical setting. Lārīdjān takes its name from the Lār (see above), a perennial river which flows down the southern flank of the Damāwand and constitutes the principal branch of the headwaters of the Harāz. The change of name takes place towards the elbow of Pulūr where the Harāz is swollen by the addition of the Delīčāy; in places where it crosses inhabited territory, the river is called Ghāzān-čāy (from the Turkish "river which bores", according to de Planhol, 17, n. 13; perhaps also in memory of the Il-Khān Ghāzān; see below).

Constituted of volcanic rocks thrown up in the Pliocene and Quaternary periods (clear trachytes and coloured andesites), the cone of Mt. Damāwand (400 km².) offers on its eastern slope—dissected by the Harāz and its tributaries and a multiplicity of deep valleys—conditions more favourable to human settlement than exist on its western slope, which is made up of a compact and inhospitable mass of andesites. The high valley of the Lār does not fall below a level of 2,500 m., although the more deeply excavated valleys descend towards a level of 1,300 m., the furthest limit of permanent settlement currently being in the region of 2,300-2,400 m. On the eastern periphery, the soil produced by the decomposition of volcanic deposits engenders a stretch of fertile and well-watered ground. These natural conditions explain the human dissymmetry of this volcanic massif, which gives to Lārīdjān its physical shape and its individuality (de Planhol, 17 ff.; on the morphology and physical geography of the Damāvand, see P. Bout, M. Derruau, J. Dresch and Ch. P. Péguy, in *Mémoires et Documents*, viii, CNRS, Paris 1961, 39-83; see also *CHI*, i, 44 ff., 189, 415).

Socio-economic outline. A remnant of one of the most ancient provincial nuclei of northern Iran, Lārīdjān is characterised by an exceptional density of villages, in contrast to the remarkable void existing upstream of the Lār towards Pulūr as well as in the down-stream valley, on the Caspian side. Life in the settled areas, in the main valley, is closely linked to that of the high pasturages of the Lār and of Lārīdjān. The traditional equilibrium is based on a minute system of balance between intensive agricultural exploitation of tiny plots, the pastoral life and complementary resources supplied by the winter emigration (on land use and irrigated and pluvial cultivation—corn, barley, lucerne, vegetables etc.—the agrarian structure and rustic landscape, the pastoral life and exploitation of the mountain—raising of small and large live-stock—see de Planhol, 22-8; also Hourcade and Tual, 34 ff.). The rigours of the climate and the lack of winter resources are the cause of the significant migrations. In winter, only the peasantry and the stock-breeders remain on the mountain. Some farmers possess arable land on the Caspian plains. Traders and artisans (manufacturers of felt) traditionally

emigrated towards the Caspian. Conversely, the people of the plain of Āmul used to spend the winter on the Lār. Some important resources were drawn from the transit of merchandise and from mule-traffic along the traditional highway axes: the Harāz valley route (Tehran-Āmul by way of the col of Imām-zāda Hāshim): the route of Nūr and Kudjūr through Afdje, via the valley of the Lār (Hourcade and Tual, 25 f.).

Having witnessed an expansion at the beginning of the century, sedentary rustic life has experienced a constant decline as a result of this migration towards the Caspian and towards Tehran, a new focus of attraction. In the decade of the 1930s, new migratory patterns are seen to emerge; in ever increasing numbers, the nomads establish themselves in the high altitude cultivated lands abandoned by the villagers (de Planhol, 32 f.). The improvement of roads, the reorganisation of the production and marketing of dairy and meat products, have transformed the pastoral life and nomadism (see above). The tourist excursions undertaken by a great many city-dwellers are capable of "rendering marginal" the migrations of villagers. Centres of seasonal commerce have been established along the major routes (Hourcade and Tual, 29 f.).

The uneven settlement of the land and the social contrasts are reflected in the appearance of dwellings (large houses belonging to farmers/stock-breeders; the small houses of the emigrants; more recently, summer resort chalets). Cave-dwelling is an ancient practice; caverns excavated in the calcareous rock are currently used for sheltering live-stock and fodder (de Planhol, 26, nn. 55, 56). Study of the system of ownership reveals a predominance of small properties. Quite complex contrasts exist between small-holders and exploitative farmers/stockbreeders. Although the standard of living is fairly low, it is possible to regard Lārīdjān as "a rural democracy, with a hierarchy, but without glaring inequalities" (de Planhol, 29 f.).

Lārīdjān is the point of departure for the ascent of Damāwand [*q.v.*] (Dumāwand/Dunbāwand/Dubāwand, etc.), a mountain which plays a significant role in the myths and legends of Iran (Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. Browne, index; Schwarz, 785 ff.), and in local folklore (Minorsky, *Lār*, in *EI*[1]). Nāṣir-i Khusraw (5th/11th century) relates that sulphur extracted from the crater was wrapped in the skins of cattle which were then rolled down the slopes (*Ṣafar-nāma*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1344/1965, 7). Ibn Isfandiyār (writing in 613/1216) describes—following the *Firdaws al-ḥikmat*—how the ascent could be made in two days, starting from the village of Ask (i, 82-3; tr. 35-6). In the 19th century, two scientific ascents were made within a few days of each other in September 1837 (W. Taylour Thomson and E. d'Arcy Todd); subsequently, it became fashionable for Europeans (travellers, diplomats, explorers, mountaineers, etc.) to make expeditions to Mt. Damāwand (de Planhol, 19 ff.). Ascent by the north face being something of an exercise for experienced climbers, it is more easily accomplished by the south face starting from the village of Rayna/Reine (to the south-east, 2,200 m. in altitude) with the aid of mule-drivers well acquainted with the mountain (see de Planhol, in *Iran*, Nagel's Guide, Geneva 1973, 128-9).

As warriors of repute, the Lārīdjānīs have had occasion to defend their territory or to support the claims of local chieftains. After having fought against the Ḳādjārs, they supplied them with appreciable help in the maintenance of order in the north as well as in the south of Iran (see below).

Administrative framework and demography. Although Lārīdjān has been able to extend its influence over the neighbouring regions, its borders have changed little in the course of time. They have probably not gone beyond those that it had in the Ḳādjār period. This is how Rabino defines them (114-15, with the names of villages and pasturages; names given here in parentheses are those of the main places of permanent settlement):

(a) Amīrī or Pā'īn Lārīdjān (Shāhāndasht, Shanguldih)

(b) Bālā Lārīdjān (Ask, Āb-i garm, Gaynā, Gaznā, Gazānak, Īrā, Malār, Lāssim, Navā, Niyāk, Pulūr, Rayna)

(c) Bihrustāḳ (Bāydjān, Nawsar/Nāssar)

(d) Dilārustāḳ (Fīra, Ḥādjdjī Dilā, Kahr-rūd/Kuhrūd/Kārū, Kurf, Nāndal/Nunnal, Tihna/Tīna

(e) The valley of the Lār; besides the caravanserais of Surkhak, Bastak and Sefīd Āb on the road from Tehran to the Nūr via Lashkarak, there are no pasturages (see Hourcade, chart of the summering-sites of the Lār).

Although Dilārustāḳ, on the northern slope of the Damāwand, has been capable of definition as "a separate regional subdivision" (de Planhol, 17), it is historically a part of Lārīdjān. With the exception of the valley of the Lār—which now depends to a large extent on the Ustān-i Markazī (see above)—Lārīdjān has preserved its other administrative divisions (see below).

The demographic evolution of the region is hard to trace. Having apparently benefited from the development of Māzandarān in the Ṣafawid era, the population of the region seems to have declined in the 18th century. The improvement and then the decline of the 19th century is reflected in the population of the regional centre, Ask: 1,000 to 1,500 houses in 1837 (d'Arcy Todd); 2,000 in 1860 (Brugsch); 500 in 1874 (Napier). Recent information indicates a decline at Ask (approximately 700 inhabitants in 1950, 424 in 1956) and a relative expansion at Rayna (200 houses in 1874 (Napier), 400 in 1958 (de Planhol)).

Attached to the Ustān-i Māzandarān, Lārīdjān constitutes a *bakhsh* of the *shahristān* of Āmul. It is divided into four *dihistāns*, as follows (*DG*, iii, 266; data from about the year 1950):

dihistān	*inhabited places*	*inhabitants*
Bālā Lārīdjān	18	7500
Bihrustāḳ	7	900
Amīrī	10	2000
Dilārustāḳ	10	1500

The censuses of 1956, 1966 and 1976 indicate a demographic decline, the inhabitants being progressively less numerous than the migrants (see Hourcade and Tual, 16 ff.).

Historical evolution. The toponym Lārīdjān is quite widely attested in Islamic sources. It derives from Lārīg: *Lār* + *īg* (a suffix which, in Pahlavī, serves to form adjectives of relation; however, its use in proper names in Pahlavī remains problematical: see Ph. Gignoux, in *Pad nām-i yazdān*, 63 f.). It should therefore be written with a long *ī* although, as in the case of Lāhīdjān, both ancient and modern authors most frequently write it with a short *i*. The use of Pahlavī, especially in coinage, epigraphy, seals, etc. was maintained for a long period in the Caspian region (on the Arabo-Sāsānid coinages of Ṭabaristān, see R. Curiel in *Pad nām-i yazdān*, 151-8).

The precise localisation of the urban settlement or the district known in ancient times by this name

remains uncertain. Its origin is lost in the myths and legends of ancient Iran which cannot easily be exploited from a historical point of view. Briefly, "Lārīdjān is the most ancient region of Ṭabaristān. Firīdūn (i.e. Thraetona/Frēton) was born in the 'village' (*dīha*, which can have a broader sense) of War which is the principal town (*ḳaṣaba*) of this region (*nāḥiyat*) and where the cathedral mosque (*djāmiʿ*) and the oratory (*muṣallā*) are situated" (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 57). Waraka for War is an incorrect reading by Browne (tr. of Ibn Isfandiyār, 15), followed by Rabino, 40; Minorsky, art. *Lār* in *EI*[1] (who identifies Waraka/Warak/Varena with the village of Wāna in Lārīdjān); de Planhol, 20, etc. According to Āmulī (33), the birth-place of Firīdūn is Lārīdjān, *ḳaṣaba* of the region of the same name. According to Marʿashī (*TT*, 4), Gurgīn Mīlād, the "founder" of Gurgān, possessed the region of Ray: "in winter, his *ḳishlāḳ* [*q.v.*] was at Karadj Rūd, in summer his *yaylāḳ* was at Lār (*TT*, 4; on Lār-i Ḳaṣrān, see below). More easily identifiable is Shalab/Čalab/Čalāw, at Dilārustāḳ, at the northern foot of the Dunbāvand/Damāwand, an area of rich pasturages where Firīdūn was brought up, went hunting mounted on a cow and devoted himself to training oxen as saddle-animals, and whence he set out to conquer ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 57 ff.; according to de Planhol (20, n. 34), there is in this myth an echo of the ancient mountain practice of riding oxen.

The fact that Lārīdjān designates sometimes an urban settlement, sometimes a district, does nothing to faciliatate the toponymic study of the region. Lārīdjān is the mountainous frontier zone where the Harhaz flows (*Ḥudūd*, 77). Probably because of the fairly late Islamisation of the region (by the ʿAlids), Lārīdjān is rarely mentioned by geographers who wrote in Arabic. In addition, their works contain ambiguities. Thus Lāriz (supposedly the ancient form of Lāridj), named as a village or a district of Ṭabaristān (Marquart, 127, 135) is not the present day Lāridjan (on Lāriz and Marquart's interpretation, cf. below, 3).

According to Yāḳūt (iv, 340-1) "Lārīdjān is a small town (*bulayda*) between Ray and Āmul in Ṭabaristān; it lies at a distance of 18 *farsakhs* from each of these two towns; it is protected by a fortress often mentioned in the chronicles of the Buwayhids and of Daylam". Villages, fortified points, places allegedly situated in Lārīdjān are mentioned by various sources. The village of Īrā is mentioned under the name of Bāra/Yāra (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 210; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 271, quoted by Schwarz, 789; does this refer to Īrā near Ask, or to an ancient permanent village to the south of the valley of the Lār (see above); Ask (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 83); Fulūl, Fulūl-i Lārīdjān, Ḳalʿa-yi Fulūl (Marʿashī, *TT*, 116; *TG*, 284); Ḳalʿa-i Lawandar (near Rayna) (Marʿashī, *TT*, 213-14); the *ḳalʿa* or the urban settlement of Kuhrūd/Kahrūd/Karū/Karūd (Āmulī, 135; Ibn Isfandiyār, ii, 78, 99; Marʿashī, *TT*, 54, 213). This or the *ḳalʿa*s of Lār, without further definition, are also mentioned (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 297-9; Āmulī, 109; Marʿashī, *TT*, 212). In the Sāsānid period, Lārīdjān must have formed part of the Padashkhʷargar, of which the sovereign was Māh gushnasp (or Djushnasfshah) at the end of the Arsacid period. Subsequently, this region belonged to the Sāsānid Kawād, then to his son Kāwūs. Later it came under the control of the Sāsānid family of the Ḳārinids [*q.v.*] (Marquart, 130 ff.; Karīmān, *Ḳaṣrān*, ii, 632). In a broad sense, Kūh-i Ḳārin or Djibāl-i Ḳārin designated the eastern Elburz. According to Rabino (2), it included present-day Lārīdjān, the Sawād Kūh and the Hazār-djarīb. But according to the *Djahān numā*, the Djibāl-i Ḳārin is also called Djibāl-i Rūnandj/Rūna (Rūyān) and the Dunbāwand/Damāwand does not form a part of this mountain (Muḥammad b. Nadjīb Bakrān, *Djahān-numā*, ed. Tehran 1342/1963, 58). At the time of the Arab invasion, the situation in the region is unclear, especially as regards the Lār (valley of the Lār), the southern limit of Lārīdjān, where ancient occupation is attested most notably by the presence of remains of sanctuaries dedicated, it is said, to Nāhīd/Anahita (Karīmān, *op. cit.*, 189, 632). The mountainous region to the north of the Ray was called Ḳaṣrān (Kūhsarān), and was divided into Ḳaṣrān-i dākhil (or Ḳaṣrān-i darūnī) and Ḳaṣrān-i bīrūnī (Karīmān, *op. cit.*, 3 ff., with reference to al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī, Zakariyā al-Ḳazwīnī, Yāḳūt, etc.). The Lār presumably belonged to the Ḳaṣrān-i dākhil. Lār-i Ḳaṣrān is found in various sources (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 56; Marʿashī, *TT*, 112, 124; Āmulī, 182 f., etc.). But reference to Lār ū Ḳaṣrān (e.g. Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 223) is also found, which gives grounds for supposing that one part of the Lār belonged to Ḳaṣrān and the other part to Lārīdjān. Furthermore, the mountains to the north-west of the Lār whose waterways flow towards the north, form part of the Rūd-bār-i Ḳaṣrān (Karīmān, *op. cit.*, 20 f.). It also appears that the Lār, endowed with at least one fortress, at times exercised a certain independence between Lārīdjān, Lawāsān and Ḳaṣrān. It may also be noted that—at least on the geographical level—the mountains of Rūyān formed a frontier with the mountains of Ray (Ibn al-Faḳih, 304, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 320, quoted by Karīmān, *op. cit.*, 18).

At the time of the conquest of Ray (which al-Ṭabarī locates in 22/643), the Maṣmughān (Mas-i Mughān, Grand Master of the Magi) who exercised jurisdiction over Dunbāwand, Khuwār, Lāriz and Shirriz, agreed conditionally to the payment of the *djizya* and *kharadj* (Karīmān, *RB*, ii, 487, after al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr). According to H. Karīmān (*Ḳaṣrān*, i, 71 ff.), the north of Ḳaṣrān and a part of Lārīdjān were in the hands of the Maṣmughān, but this is not stated clearly in the sources. The possessions of the Maṣmughān were conquered by Abū Muslim in 131/748 (Marquart, 127, after Ibn al-Athīr).

In the absence of indications in the sources which would permit an appraisal of the economic worth of the region, it may be said that, in mediaeval Iran, Lārīdjān exercised—as a result of its geographical position—control over a military, commercial and pastoral route, i.e. the Ray-Āmul axis towards the Caspian Sea and the transversal routes towards Ḳūmis and Khurāsān via Fīrūz-kūh to the east, towards Ḳazwīn and Ādharbāydjān to the west. A highway also connects Ārim, in the Hazār-djarīb, to Lārīdjān (Rabino, 115). Other transversal routes were added later (see below). This function would pre-suppose the existence of a stable local power. The latter was exercised by governors usually bearing the title of *marzbān* (the term Lārīdjān seems also to have had a patronymic connotation). Ibn Isfandiyār supplies us with a list of these *marzbān*s beginning with Faḍl b. al-Marzubān in 252/866 (the list has been partially reconstructed by Rabino, 147, up to the 7th/13th century). In the final third of the 3rd/9th century, Sahl b. al-Marzubān constructed across Lārīdjān the route which, in earlier times, had been impracticable both in winter and in summer, and he took steps to ensure its security (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 122).

Like other chieftains of Ṭabaristān, the governors of Lārīdjān accorded a warm welcome to the ʿAlids. The chieftains of Lārīdjān and of Ḳaṣrān rallied to the support of the brother of Ḥasan b. Zayd known as al-Dāʿī al-Ṣaghīr (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 233; Marʿashī, *TT*, 132). In 272/885-6, the *dāʿī* Muḥammad b. Zayd, brother of Ḥasan b. Zayd, attempted to take possession of Ray; on being defeated, he sought refuge in Lārīdjān (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 252; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 59). In the Saldjūḳ period, the phase of disorder which followed the deaths of Niẓām al-Mulk and of Malik Shāh (485/1092) had an effect on Lārīdjān. Having ordered his governors of Lārīdjān, of Rūyān and of Āmul to help him in the fight against the Ismāʿīlīs, Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh nominated as governor of Ray and of a vast area, including Lārīdjān, his young son Malik Aḥmad, whom he entrusted to the care of an *amīr* named Sunghūr-i Kučik. This Saldjūḳ policy, aimed at maintaining control of pro-Shīʿī regions, spread consternation among the Bāwandid Iṣpahbads (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 38). Nevertheless, Lārīdjān benefited—as did other regions of Iran before the Mongol ravages—from the decline of Saldjūḳ power. After a period of conflict with the Iṣpahbad Shāh Ghāzī Rustam I Bāwandī (534-58/1140-63) (see Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 77; Āmulī, 126), Manūčihr, *marzbān* of Lārīdjān, turned Ḳalʿa Kuhrūd (in the down-stream area, later known by various names, including Kārū/Kārūd) into a place so prosperous that people of all professions, natives of India, of Egypt and of Syria, came and settled there (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 77 ff., 99); this *ḳalʿa* was destroyed in 783/1381-2 and later rebuilt (Marʿashī, *TT*, 213 ff.). Other fortified points are mentioned. The *ḳalʿa* of Lārīdjān (without further definition) is named in connection with various events (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 297, 299; Āmulī, 109); Marʿashī mentions the *ḳalʿa* of Fulūl (*TT*, 19). Manūčihr allied himself, with other chieftains of Ṭabaristān, to Shāh Ghāzī Rustam Bāwandī; his troops formed a part of the army which conquered Bisṭām/Basṭām and Dāmghān (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 94; Marʿashī, *TT*, 19; Āmulī, 131).

Abū Ḥarb, the eldest son of Manūčihr, was a violent and irreligious man. He killed his father and his brothers (through trickery), renewed the alliance with Shāh Ghāzī Rustam, and fought alongside him against the *ustundār* Kay Kāwūs; after having been defeated, the latter went to war against the rebel Garshāsf. At the last military parade conducted by Shāh Ghāzī Rustam, Abū Ḥarb was among his army commanders (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 99 ff.; Marʿashī, *TT*, 22-3). Eventually, the people of Lārīdjān lost patience with Abū Ḥarb and his misdeeds, and killed him. His one-year-old son, Kīnkhwār or Kīna-khwār (i.e. "Avenger") was put into power by ʿAlī Lārīdjānī, the commander of Abū Ḥarb's army and of that of his father Manūčihr. ʿAlī Lārīdjānī appointed himself *atābeg* and towards the end of his career he collaborated at Ray with the Saldjūḳ *atābeg* Ildegiz [see ILDEÑIZ] in carrying off "the treasures" of Lārīdjān (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 110-11; Marʿashī, *TT*, 107). The Lārīdjānīs rallied to the cause of the *iṣpahbad* ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Ḥasan (surnamed "al-Malik al-Shahīd", 558-67/1163-71), maternal uncle of Kīnkhwār. Shāh Ghāzī Rustam I and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla controlled Ḳaṣrān, and, especially after the misconduct of Abū Ḥarb, Lārīdjān had practically lost its independence. Furthermore, "Amīr Lārīdjānī" incited the Saldjūḳ *atābeg* to recapture from ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla the *wilāyat-i Lārīdjān* "which had always been a part of ʿIrāḳ" (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 112). Under the *iṣpahbad* Ḥusām al-Dawla Shāh Ardashīr, a sizable portion of Lārīdjān formed part of the "darūn Tamīsha" (*ibid.*, 124). Ḥusām al-Dawla entrusted the government (*sardārī*) of Lārīdjān to the *iṣpahbad* Abū Djaʿfar Āsarb (Marʿashī, *TT*, 110).

At the turn of the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, the history of the region is poorly attested; the chronicles mention numerous journeys that passed through Lārīdjān, of which the *ḳalʿa* also constituted a refuge (for example for the mother, the wives and the children of Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh when he fled before the armies of Čingiz Khān: see Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, *GMS*, xvi, ii, London 1916, 199). The relations between the Lārīdjānīs and the Ismāʿīlīs (energetically fought by Shāh Ghāzī Rustam I) and, in general, the politico-religious situation in the region on the eve of the Mongol invasion, remain obscure. It may also be noted that, according to Mustawfī, the *ḳalʿa* of Lār was included among the Ismāʿīlī fortresses conquered by Hūlāgū Khān in 654/1256 (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Nawāʾī, Tehran 1339/1960, 527).

Following the Mongol invasion, the weakening of local powers resulted in the loss to Lārīdjān of part of its strategic importance (later Saldjūḳ, Mongol and Tīmūrid sources refer to the region by the name *wilāyat-i Lār*). It is, however, unknown to what extent the presence of the Mongols, experienced in operating in high-altitude areas, and the extension of nomadism which ruined the neighbouring districts, affected Lārīdjān (on these problems, see J. Aubin, *Réseau pastoral et réseau caravanier*, in *Le Monde iranien et l'Islam*, i, Paris-Geneva 1971, 105-30, at 116 ff.). It seems that the pasturages of the Lār were appreciated by the Il-Khāns. Arghūn Khān "had caused a fine palace (*kūshk-i ʿālī*) to be built at the summer resort of Lār, at the foot of Mount Damāwand; this place is now known by the name of Kūshk-i Arghūn" (Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 229). This was no doubt the place where Ghāzān Khān solemnly adopted the Muslim faith in Shaʿbān 694/June 1295 (at least, this is the version given by some authors: d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Amsterdam 1852, iv, 131-2; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Taʾrīkh-i Mughul*, Tehran 2536/1977, 256; J. A. Boyle, in *CHI*, v, 378). But details as to the site, the date, the number of Mongols converted on this occasion, etc., remain poorly defined in the sources. According to the leading chroniclers, it was at Fīrūz Kūh that, following the advice of his *amīr* Nawrūz, Ghāzān Khān was converted to Islam at the beginning of Shaʿbān 694/mid-June 1295 in the presence of the *shaykh* Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Alizade, Baku 1957, iii, 294 ff.; Waṣṣaf, *Taʾrīkh*, Tehran 1338/1959, 316-17; Khwānd-Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1333/1954, iii, 144; Mīr-Khwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, Tehran 1339/1960, v, 380). According to local tradition, it was in the valley of the Lār, at Kūshk-i Arghūn, that this conversion took place (Feuvrier, 239). It may also be noted that on numerous occasions Ghāzān Khān frequented the "Yāylāḳ-i Damāwand" (see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. K. Jahn, GMS, London 1940, index).

The Tīmūrids also thought highly of the pasturelands of the Lār. It was in the valley of the Lār that the Spanish ambassador Clavijo came, in June-July 1404, to visit the son-in-law of Tīmūr, Sulaymān Mīrzā, whom he found in the middle of his encampment of some three thousand tents (tr. Le Strange, London 1928, 169). Some days previously, on his way from Ardabīl, Tīmūr had broken his journey at the *wilāyat-i Lār*, in Kūshk-i Arghūn, which he

left for Fīrūz-kūh on 29 June (Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Calcutta, ii, 591, ed. Tehran 1336/1957, ii, 417).

As elsewhere in Iran, and especially in Māzandarān, Lārīdjān was affected in the 8th-9th/14th-15th century by the increasing power of socio-religious movements and of the *sayyids*. In 734/1333-4, Amīr Masʿūd Sarbadār forced the Il-Khān Tughā Tīmūr, governor of the Ḳaṣrān-i dākhil, to take refuge in the summer resort of Lār-i Ḳaṣrān (Āmulī, 182-3). In this period, the Marʿashī *sayyids* [*q.v.*] were all-powerful in Māzandarān. In the years 783-4/1381-3, Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn, brother of Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn, took possession of Ḳalʿa-yi Nūr; in two years, he took all the *ḳalʿas* from Ṭāliḳān to Lawāsān, including the *ḳalʿa* of the Lār and of Lārīdjān (Lawandar, near Rayna; Kārūd). Lārīdjān was then in the hands of Kiyā Ḥasan Kiyāʾī Ḍamāndar; Namārusṭāḳ, Daylārustāḳ, Tarīta Rustāḳ and Kārūd were under the control of Māzandarān (Marʿashī, *TT*, 213-14). In 795, Tīmūr exiled Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn to Transoxania with his brothers and his sons. After his death, Shāhrukh allowed them to return to Māzandarān (Khwānd-Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 22). In 821/1418, Sayyid Murtaḍā b. ʿAlī seized power in Māzandarān. He entrusted Namārustāḳ, Daylārustāḳ and Tarīta Ruṣtāḳ to his son Malik Kāwūs and gave him authority to wrest Lārīdjān from the hands of Kiyā-i Damāndar (Marʿashī, *TT*, 268). But other local potentates disputed control of the region with the *sayyids*, notably the Pādusbānids or Rustamdāriyya (who bore successively the titles of Iṣpahbad, Ustundār and Malik) and the Kiyā of Čulaw/Čalāb (see Rabino, 141 ff.). After the death of the Pādusbānid Malik Gayūmarth (857/1453), Rustamdār was shared between his sons Kāwūs and Iskandar, founders of the Banī Kāwūs (Nūr branch) and of the Banī Iskandar (Kudjūr branch). Under Malik Gayūmarth, Iskandar had been in control of Lārīdjān, Namārusṭāḳ and Kārūd. Conflicts between Kāwūs and Iskandar were numerous and prolonged; Djahān Shāh Ḳarā Koyūnlū intervened on a number of occasions, calling upon Amīr Kiyā Sayyid Muḥammad Gīlānī to settle the dispute between the adversaries (Mahdjūrī, ii, 75 ff.; Karīmān, *Ḳaṣrān*, 397-8).

In the 10th-16th century, the region remained under the control of the Pādusbānids. Under the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, it was shared between three cousins: Malik Bahman held Lārīdjān (formerly a dependency of Kudjūr), Malik ʿAzīz held Nūr and Malik Sulṭān Muḥammad held Kudjūr. At the beginning of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, Rustamdār was divided into three *nāḥiyas*: Malik Bahman holding Lārīdjān, Malik Djahāngīr b. Malik ʿAzīz holding Nūr, and Malik Djahāngīr b. Malik Sulṭān Muḥammad holding Kudjūr (*AAA*, ii, 399, tr. 696; 534, tr. 713). Malik Bahman was constantly at war with his neighbours, whom he endeavoured to dominate by force or by trickery. These internecine struggles inevitably gave encouragement to Shāh ʿAbbās I in his scheme to assert his power over the whole of Māzandarān. In 1000/1592, Malik Bahman welcomed to the summer resort of Lār a Ṣafawid expedition on its way to Khurāsān (Yazdī, fol. 58a). In 1001/1593, he laid siege to the *ḳalʿa* of Lawāsān, captured and then put to death the brother of Malik Sulṭān Ḥusayn Lawāsānī who was a favourite of Shāh ʿAbbās, and led away his wives and children to captivity in Lārīdjān (*AAA*, ii, 520-1, tr. 697, 714-15; Yazdī, fol. 65a). In the course of the second campaign in Māzandarān which Farhād Khān undertook on the orders of Shāh ʿAbbās I, he succeeded in capturing Malik Bahman (in 1005/1596-7), who was put to death (by Malik Sulṭān Ḥusayn Lawāsānī to avenge the blood of his brother, according to *AAA*, ii 522, tr. 698; by ʿAbd al-Ḳahhār Beg, son of Malik Sulṭān Ḥusayn, according to Yazdī fol. 73b; on Malik Bahman, see also Mīr Tīmūr Marʿashī, 273 ff.). Realising the futility of resistance, Malik Kay Khusraw, eldest son of Malik Bahman, surrendered. Shah ʿAbbās had commanded Muḥammad Beg Begdīlū Shāmlū to take possession of the *ḳalʿa* the brothers and the children of Malik Bahman, who were subsequently delivered to Malik Ḥusayn Lawāsānī; then he entrusted Lārīdjān as a *tiyūl* to a Ḳizilbāsh *ḥākim* (*AAA*, ii, 534-5 tr. 713-14). But the two Djahāngīrs of Rustamdār who had capitulated to Shāh ʿAbbās at the summer resort of Lār retained important functions: the Malik of Nūr was appointed governor of Sāwa; the Malik of Kudjūr at first retained his possessions as suzerain and became one of the trusted officers of Shāh ʿAbbās. Later, he rebelled as did other *maliks* of Rustamdār; their conspiracies were foiled and all were put to death. Thus was extinguished the power of the Pādusbānids (*ibid.*, 535-4, tr. 715 ff.).

The Ḳaṣrān-i dākhil and the summer resort (*yāylāḳ*) of the Lār were favourite haunts of the Ṣafawids. At the time when the Ḳizilbāsh *amīrs* enthroned Shah Ṭahmāsp I (931/1524-5), the *wakīl* Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū established his summer quarters at Lār, before marching on Khurāsān which had been invaded by the Uzbeks (*AAA*, i, 46, tr. 78). On many occasions, Shāh ʿAbbās visited the *yāylāḳ-i Lār* (*ibid.*, ii, 399, 452, 854).

Although the history of Māzandarān and of Ḳaṣrān is relatively well-documented from the time of the Ṣafawids to the present day, points of reference concerning the Lār and Lārīdjān do not become plentiful until the Ḳādjār period. Ṭahmāsp II lived for two years in Māzandarān (1137-9/1724-6), in particular in Lārīdjān where he was joined by Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Ḳādjār, who became his *sipah-sālār* (Mahdjūrī, 110 ff.; Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Mirʾāt al-buldān-i nāṣirī*, i 521). The chieftains of Lārīdjān and the potentates of Māzandarān took the side of the Zands against Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār Ḳoyūnlū. Sabz ʿAlī Khān, leader of the dignitaries of Lārīdjān, prevented him from going to Āmul; the misconduct of Walī Khān, the envoy of the Ḳādjār chief, led to the revolt of "the people of the mountain and of the plain", under the command of Muḳīm Khān Sārawī, Afshārid governor of Māzandarān (Mahdjūrī, 123-4). After the death of Karīm Khān Zand (1193-1779), numerous Lārīdjānīs and Māzandarānīs allied themselves to Muṣṭafā Ḳulī Khān Ḳādjār, estranged brother of Āghā Muḥammad Khān (*ibid.*, 131). After defeating ʿAlī Murād Khān Zand and his coalition of Lārīdjānīs, Afghans and men from the Lur, Āghā Muḥammad Khān controlled the whole of Māzandarān and of Astarābād (end of 1194/1780). But in the conflicts in which he was continually at odds with his brothers, the Lārīdjānīs fought on the side of his enemies (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, Mihdī Ḳulī Khān: *ibid.*, 132-3). Captured and then set free by Āghā Muḥammad Khān, Riḍā Ḳulī Khān again rebelled. With his Lārīdjānī *tufangčīs* (musketeers), he captured Āghā Muḥammad Khān, who was set free on the intervention of Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān (*ibid.*, 133, Fasāʾī, i, 222; according to Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, i, 20-1, it was Djaʿfar Ḳulī Khān who liberated Āghā Muḥammad Khān). Beaten once more by the army of Astarābād, Riḍā Ḳulī Khān rallied to the cause of Ṣādiḳ Khān Zand. But

in 1196/1781-2, the Lārīdjānīs remained in the camp of the Zands. They joined forces with Amīr Gūna Khān, sent by ʿAlī Murād Khān to Māzandarān, on whom Āghā Muḥammad Khān inflicted a crushing defeat at Sabze Maydān: the cruelty of the Ḳādjār *khān* towards the Lārīdjānīs has remained proverbial in the region (Fasāʾī, i, 223; Mahdjūrī, 134). But in 1198/1783-4, Shaykh Ways Khān Zand, son of ʿAlī Murād, asserted his control over the whole of Māzandarān, Fīrūz-kūh, Lārīdjān and Rustamdar (i.e. Nūr u Kudjūr), Fasāʾī, i 224-5. The following year, Āghā Muḥammad Khān was obliged to recapture Māzandarān before proceeding to take possession of Tehran.

Under Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48), the *khān* of Lārīdjān enjoyed a quasi-independence. This semi-autonomy was founded upon control of the principal economic thoroughfare between Māzandarān and Tehran "in a fairly subtle equilibrium of forces and of services rendered with the sovereign who ruled not far from there" (de Planhol, 19, with reference to Aucher-Eloy, Thompson, d'Arcy Todd). Ask was at that time the local capital of the province. ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān Lārīdjānī Sartīp (later Sardār) possessed a fine palace there (Buhse 229-30). This prince of Lārīdjān set about maintaining order in the region. He made himself a valuable ally of the Ḳādjār authority and of the *ʿulamāʾ* by quelling the Bābī insurrection [see BĀBĪS] of Mullā Ḥusayn Djināb-i Bāb al-Bāb at Shaykh Ṭabarsī/Ṭabrisī in 1265/1849 (see Mīrzā Ḥusayn Hamadānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djadīd*, tr. E.G. Browne, London 1893, 52-3, 67 ff., and index; Mahdjūrī, 165 ff.). ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān at that time occupied the highest rank among the officers of Māzandarān (Mahdjūrī, 176). The following year, he helped to re-establish order in Fārs with his Lārīdjānī horsemen; he entrusted the government of Kuhgīlūya and of Bihbahān to his Lārīdjānī officers and acted himself in the role of administrator (*ʿāmil*): Fasāʾī, i, 306-7. The prosperity of Lārīdjān is again indicated in 1860 (Brugsch, i, 295) and in 1862 (de Philippi, 256-9). At the start of the journey of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh to Māzandarān, in 1283/1866, ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān presented himself to the *istiḳbāl* with all the officers of Māzandarān (Mahdjūrī, 177). Although the decline of the town of Ask became a constant process, at the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's second visit to Māzandarān (1292/1875-6), Lārīdjān retained a degree of prosperity and still had its dignitaries (including *ʿulamāʾ* and *sayyids*): Mahdjūrī, 181 ff. But in 1875 an Italian general had under his command in Tehran a regiment recruited in Lārīdjān (von Call-Rosenburg, 142, quoted by de Planhol, 19, n. 23).

The last important figure of Lārīdjān in the Ḳādjār period was Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān, son of ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān. Surnamed Amīr-i Mukarram, he was a senior functionary at the court of the Ḳādjārs. Outside Lārīdjān, he exercised jurisdiction over numerous villages of Āmul. During the upheavals of the Constitutional Revolution (1905-11), he was appointed governor of Astarābād and encountered hostility from members of the local *andjuman* (Mahdjūrī, 249). At the time of the dismissal of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (1327/1909), he was obliged to confront his kinsman Amīr-i Aʿẓam Sangsarī and his coalition of religious activists and of Bakhtiyārīs. Amir-i Aʿẓam plundered the treasures of Amīr Mukarram at Ask and carried them off to Tehran. In the course of a second expedition of Āmīr-i Aʿẓam to Lārīdjān, a large number of Bakhtiyārīs were killed (including their leader Imām Ḳulī Khān), *ibid.*, 258 ff. Although succeeding in retaining some of his influence, Amīr Mukar Lārīdjānī was exiled to Kirmānshāh by Wu al-Dawla in 1337/1918-9 (*ibid.*, 295). Under Shāh Pahlavī, his possessions as well as nume villages of Kasrān and Māzandarān became property of the crown (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa*), pl under the jurisdiction of officers who, in their t oppressed the villagers (*ibid.*, 326-7).

The predilection of the Ḳādjārs for the sum resort of the Lār led to the development of ro especially transversal routes linking the wi and summer palaces of the Tehran region. modernisation of arterial routes towards Lār Lārīdjān was pursued by the Pahlavīs (Karīr *Ḳaṣrān*, 165 ff.).

3. *Other Lārs.*

Besides Lār in Fārs (Lāristān) and Lārīdjān, toponym Lār and its variants are widely atteste the Iranian lands. Within the present-day front the following are to be noted (after *DG*):

village	*shahristān*	*DG*
Lār	Sāwa	i, 196
Laridjān	Maḥallāt	i, 197
Lār	Zandjān	ii, 268
Lār-i Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān	Zandjān	ii, 269
Lār-sar	Fūmīn	ii, 268
(Lārmā)	Sārī	iii, 266
(Lārīm)	Shāhī	iii, 267
Lār	Bihbahān	vi, 325
Lār	Čāh Bahār	viii, 38
(Lār-hang)	Sabzawār	ix, 374

Lārak is alleged to be the name of a localit Hazārdjarīb (Rabino, 124).

The gorge (*tanga*) of Lārīdj on the northern s of the Elburz in Māzandarān is known for its depo of iron ore (*Lughat-nāma-i Dihkhudā*, after Kayh *Djughrāfiyā-yi iḳtiṣādī*, 259-60). A Larān ex in Badakhshān (Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, n. 1). A gorge called Lār is mentioned in Kash [*q.v.*] (Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Taʾri Rashīdī*, tr. Elias and Ross, London 1895, repr. 1 423, n. 3).

According to Minorsky, Lāf(i)djān/Lāhidjān, hīdjān are variants of Lār (*Lāhīdjān*, in *EI*[1]; *Ḥu* 407 ff.) Lāhīdjān and its variants are widely presented in Gīlān and elsewhere, (in Ādharbāyd in Fārs, in Dāghistān, etc.: Minorsky, *ibid.*; also W. Eilers in *Ar O*, xiii [1954], n. 174).

Variants of Lār have led to some confusions. T although Yāḳūt (iv, 340-1) has established a tinction between "Lārdjān" and "Lāriz", atten have been made to discern in the latter topo the arabised form of Lārīdjān (Marquart, 127, 1 Lāriz is presented sometimes as a district of Ṭa ristān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 3 sometimes as a village provided with a fortres two days' distance from Āmul, on which it is pendent (Yāḳūt, iv, 341); its prominent citi are known by the *nisba* of al-Lārizī (Yāḳūt, Samʿ According to Rabino (130), Lāriz is probably La a village in the district of Āmul, better known the name of Ḳalʿa Lāriz.

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LĀR, LĀRISTĀN, a Persian toponym which, in various forms (Lār, Lād, Lādh, Lāz, Alār, etc.) denotes an important town of Fārs and its surrounding region (Lār and Lāristān), an island and an islet in the Persian Gulf, and various villages and a region of pastures in southern Persia (Lār and Laridjān).

1. The town of Lār (lat. 27° 42′ N., long. 54° 20′ E.) is the chef-lieu of a *shahristān* (which has become a *farmāndārī*; see *Lāristān*, below) of the province of Fārs (*ustān-i Fārs*). It is situated on one of the roads connecting Shīrāz [*q.v.*] with the Persian Gulf ports and the Sea of ʿUmān (Daryā-yi ʿUmān), 366 km. from Shīrāz, 306 km. from Bandar Linga [*q.v.*] and 259 km. from Bandar ʿAbbās [*q.v.*]. Lār is an old station on the caravan route (9th-12th/15th-18th centuries), and lies at a height of 909 m. in a moderately mountainous region (*ca.* 1,000 to 2,000 m. high). Because of the region's aridity, the town's drinking water comes from wells and from cisterns for collecting rain-water (*birkas*). For irrigation, a network of *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] is used. Unlike other towns in Fārs, and despite earthquakes, Lār has retained relatively well its former appearance, e.g. in its wind-towers (*bād-gīrs* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), its labyrinths of streets, alleys, etc. Only a single new avenue, the Khiyābān-i Himmat, crosses the town from north to south. The most interesting monuments comprise:

(1) The stone-built fortress Azhdahā Paykar ("having a dragon's body") which dominates the town from a rocky spur. According to legend, its well contains an army and treasures belonging to the Ḳā'im-i Āl-i Muḥammad (see the extracts from the *Tuḥfat al-gharā'ib*, ms. of the B.L., Or. 10999, ed. J. Aubin in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, vi/2-3 [1337/1958], 177). The ancient castle of the kingdom of Lār is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake in 1593 (the ruins are mentioned by 17th century European travellers; see Calmard, 150). The region is full of fortified places, in particular, at Girāsh, most of them in ruins (on the *ḳalʿas* of Lār, see the *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd*, ed. Aubin, in *ibid.*, 174).

(2) The Bāzār-i Ḳayṣariyya ("imperial market") which forms, with the caravanserais surrounding it, a remarkable architectural ensemble. This is a covered bazaar of the *čahār sūḳ* type (i.e. cruciform, with four streets for merchants and artisans, or four sides), with an almost-square plan (117 m. E.-W., 124 m. N.-S.). It is built out of dressed masonry covered with stucco. Its dome (*ṭāḳ*, *gunbad*) is 18 m. high, and has a *bād-gīr* providing fresh air and ventilation. Inscriptions indicate various dates of building or reconstruction: under Shāh ʿAbbās in 1014/1605-6, by Ḥādjdjī Ḳanbar ʿAlī Beg Dhu 'l-Ḳadr (see Fasā'ī, ii, 283), and under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1300/1882-3, by Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, governor of Fārs. This *bāzār* was allegedly the model of the Bāzār-i Ḳayṣariyya of Iṣfahān (built 1029/1620) and of the Bāzār-i Wakīl of Shīrāz (see Allāh Ḳulī Islāmī, *Bāzār-i Ḳayṣariyya-yi Lār*, in *Hunar wa Mardum*, no. 139 [1353/1974], 70-3; this article makes no mention of the evidence from European travellers of the Ṣafawid period, for which see Calmard, 154, and below).

(3) The Masdjid-i Djumʿa, for which we have no exact, historical description. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions a dervish convent (*zāwiya*, i.e. *khānaḳāh*) of the famous Shaykh Abū Dulaf Muḥammad. At the opening of the 17th century, there was situated near the Ḳayṣariyya bazaar "a very great mosque, the only one of the town"; it contained the marble tomb of a saint constructed "in a fine court outside the mosque" (Rebelo, 109). A marble *miḥrāb* of Gudjrātī style, allegedly dating from the 8th/14th century

Map 1. The routes from Shīrāz to the Gulf via Lār (1638-1706). (After Jacqueline Calmard, *Les routes de Chiraz au Golfe Persique.*)

1. *Shīrāz-Lār-Bandar ʿAbbāsī*

Mandelslo	1638, February
Basting de Oude	1645, March
La Boullaye-Le-Gouz	1649, March
De Bourges	1661, October
Tavernier	1665, March
Thévenot	1665, March
Struys	1672, March
Chardin	1674, March
Melton	1675, September
Fryer	1677, January
Fryer	1678, October
Van Leenen	1701, April
De Bruijn	1705, August-September

2. *Bandar ʿAbbāsī-Lār-Shīrāz*

De Bourges	1661, May
Tavernier	1665, September
Thévenot	1665, September
Pétis de la Croix	1674, July
Fryer	1676, June
Fryer	1678, May
De Bruijn	1706, October

3. *Shīrāz-Lār-Bandar Kung*

Gemelli Carreri	1694, September
Morelli	1694, October
Pereira Fidalgo	1697, June
F. M. di San Siro	1697, June

4. *Bandar Kung-Lār-Shīrāz*

P. de la S. Trinité	1640, March.
Hedges	1685, July
Pereira Fidalgo	1696, July-August

and coming from Lār, is preserved in the Fārs Museum at Shīrāz. This *miḥrāb* poses an historical problem; was it brought to Persia in its present state? And were the inscriptions on it added in Persia? (see R. Howard, *The Lar mihrab*, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, ix [April 1976], 24-5, with a photograph which does not permit the decipherment of the inscriptions).

Lār is divided into 14 quarters (*kuy*). Like most modern Persian towns, it now takes in several suburban areas. It has all the organs of civil administration, a military garrison, schools (a *dabīristān* and four *dabistāns*) and an airport (to the south-east of the town). Although the climate of Lār is relatively more tolerable than that of the Gulf coasts, various illnesses are rife there, in particular trachoma and filiarosis, both for long endemic in the region. The demography of the town has followed the evolving of the natural conditions and the historical and economic vicissitudes of the region (see below).

2. Lāristān. *Geographical sketch.* As a province of southern Persia on the Shīrāz—Bandar ʿAbbās axis, Lāristān is generally reckoned as part of the *garmsīrāt* or warm regions of Fārs, with which it was integrated at the opening of the 11th/17th century. Since its influence spread over the neighbouring regions (see Map 2), its natural borders have fluctuated. In general, they may be fixed as follows. In the north-east and north, the old regions of Sabʿa (centred on Furg) and of the Shabānkāra (centred on Īdj, now Iṣṭahbānāt; Lāristān takes in Djūyum, to the south of the Dārāb). In the east, along a line passing half-way between Djahrum and Djūyum and connecting with the Gulf littoral in the region of Gawbandī (embracing the lands of Bīd Shahr, Khundj, ʿAlāmarwdasht and Galladār). In the south, the Gulf littoral (ports and islands of the Gulf of ʿUmān, embracing Lashtān, from Cape

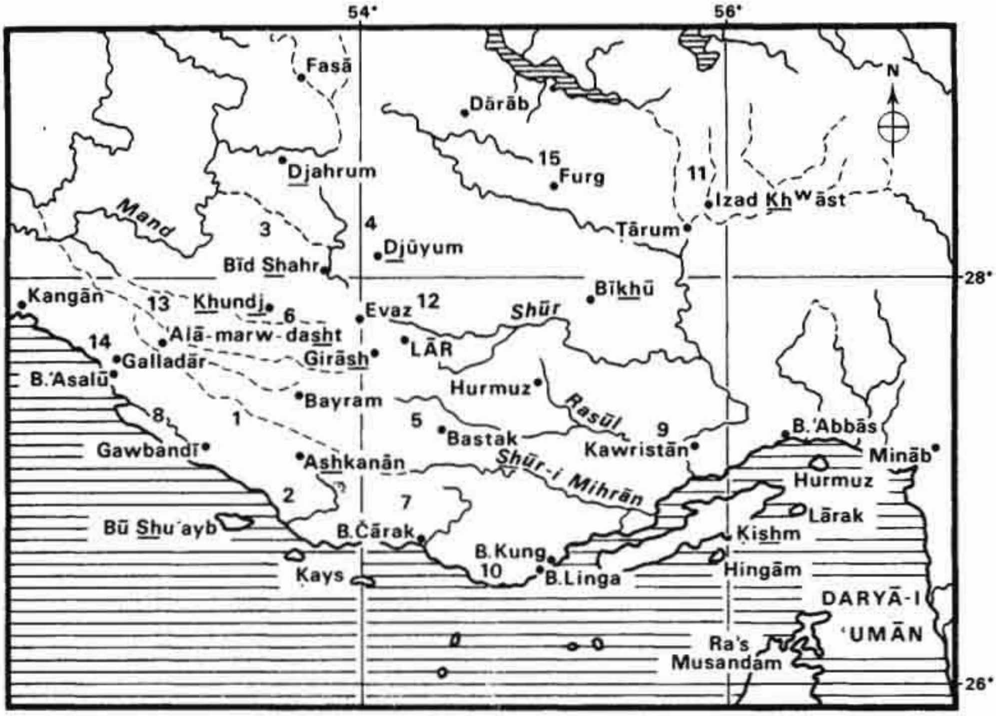

Map 2. Lāristān and its dependencies in the 19th century, after the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*.

number	*nāḥiya*	*ḳaṣaba*	number of villages	position in relationship to Lār
1	Bīkha-yi Aḥshām*	Bayram	10	west
2	Bīkha-yi Fāl*	Ashkanān	10	south-west
3	Bīd Shahr	(Bīd Shahr)	23	north-west
4	Djūyum	(Djūyum)	15	north-west
5	Djahāngīriyya/Djuhūngīra	Bastak	30	south
6	Khundj	(Khundj)	29	north-west
7	Shīb-Kūh-i Lāristān	Bandar Čārak	41	south
8	Fūmistān-i Lāristān**	Gawbandī	13	south-west
9	Kawristān/Kaūristān	(Kashshī)	4	east
10	Linga	Bandar Linga	12	south-east
11	Mazāʾidjān	(Izad-khʷāst)	6	north-east
12	Muḍāfāt-i Shahr-i Lār	Lār	34	central
13	ʿAlā-marw-dasht	(ʿAlā-marw-dasht)	?	west
14	Fāl-u-Galladār	(Galladār)	43	west
15	Sabʿa-u-Furg	(Furg)	(7 *bulūks*)	north-east

* Bīkha, meaning a steep-sided valley, derived from *bikh*, "river-bed", in Lāristānī (Iḳtidārī, *Farhang*).
** Fūmistān, from *fūm*, meaning "corn" in vernacular Persian.

Nāband to Bandar ʿAbbās. In the east, Kawristān. In former times, certain adjoining regions (such as Furg, Ṭārum and Hurmuz) have been on occasion attached to Fārs, on others to Kirmān; Kawristān/Kawuristān was taken over by the Shabānkāra in the 7th/13th century (see below, on history).

As noted by numerous travellers, this region has distinct geographical features. Nevertheless, it has never formed the object of detailed geological studies; as in regard to archaeology (see below), only the peripheral zones have been studied. The region is situated to the south of the main spine of the Zagros (the "Main Zagros thrust line", according to A. Ruttner and J. Stöcklin, in *Bull. Amer. Assoc. of Petroleum Geologists* [1968]), i.e. on the edge of the Arabian formation-level which juts forth a salient into the region of Bandar ʿAbbās. In certain marginal zones belonging to the Cretaceous period there are included some Eocene period formations, such as the "Ginau series" (at Kūh-i Ginaw; see Pilgrim [1924], 59 ff.). The autochthonous, marginal folds which make up the mountainous terrain which is characteristic of Lāristān are clearly marked out. With their east-west orientation, they are made up from a basis of an epicontinental sedimentation; their composition (calcareous rocks, marls and gypsums) suggests the existence of fairly shallow seas. In their immediate vicinity are often found domes of salt, generally considered as being of Cambrian origin. The main concentration of these domes of salt is located in one part and another of a line connecting Lār and Bandar ʿAbbās (see J. V. Harri-

son, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, i, 179 with map). These marginal folds are closed on the south by the Kūh-i Khamīr (opposite the island of Ḳishm [*q.v.*]), which is made up of calcareous rocks described as "foetid or putrid" (hippuritic limestone) belonging to the structure bearing the special name of the "Khamīr series" (see Pilgrim [1924], 15, 60). The "Hurmuz series", conglomerates of rock found on the peripheries of most of these salt domes, stretch as far east as Ṭārum and Kirmān and possibly further in to Lāristān (Pilgrim classes them as Jurassic, *ibid.*, 16, and Harrison as Cambrian, *ibid.*, 115).

The orography of the region is characterised by a relief which is lower than elsewhere in Fārs (especially along the axes Shīrāz-Bushire and Shīrāz-Bandar Ṭāhirī) or further to the east in Makrān. Along the Djahrum-Lār road, the highest point is 2,100 m., and only along the edges of Lāristān is the 3,000 m. mark passed (Kūh-i Furgūn, 3,280 m.). Elsewhere, heights are more usually between, 1,000 and 2,000 m. Lāristān suffers from frequent earthquakes, some of which have been described or noted by chroniclers and travellers; six have been counted between 1953 and 1960. In 1960, one of them caused much destruction and numerous casualties at Lār and Girāsh (see photographs in the *National Geographic Magazine* [Jan. 1961], 68-9). The hydrography of Lāristān is very clearly marked by aridity. Except along the margins, snow does not remain long in winter, and the rainfall is feeble (at the most, 100-200 mm. per annum). The water intended for consumption or for irrigation is frequently brackish (see below). The rivers with a regular flow are very erratic; rainstorms gouge out ravines across crossing-routes, and floods are often the cause of catastrophes. The most important river—known, with local variants, as the Rūd-Khāna-yi Shūr Mihrān runs from west to east, from the *dihistān* of Farāmarzān to Bandar Khamīr. It is totally useless for agriculture; its flow is very feeble, and it can be forded at all seasons (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, vii, 208).

The region has a sub-tropical climate, hot and humid along the coasts, arrid and torrid in the interior (see A. H. Adle, *Regions climatiques et végétation en Iran*, Tehran 1960, Persian text 40-1, Fr. text 8-9). Although certain traces of a continental climate may be felt at Lār (untouched by the monsoons), the variations of daytime and nocturnal temperature are small, and towards the Gulf, the temperatures become torrid (Calmard, 94 ff.). Winter cold is only met with along the Lār-Djahrum route. In Lār, the houses are cooled by *bād-gīrs* (*ibid.*, 95), and beyond Kawristān, a drying wind called *bād-i samūm* ("poisonous") blows (*ibid.*, 97). There is a great contrast between the plains of the littoral affected by the monsoons (with a hot and humid climate) and the upland regions (mountains, elevated plains and desolate plateaux) of the interior which have a dry climate, with mild winters and very hot summers. The palm-groves of the interior offer, however, shelter for the coastal peoples at the period of greatest heat.

Socio-religious aspects. The story of the population of Lāristān is an extremely complex one. Heterogeneous groups have been subsequently added to an ancient Iranian stratum of agriculturists and pastoralists. Elements described as Mongol were still in course of sedentarisation in the Kurbāl district at the end of the 7th/13th century (Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, n. 24). The presence of Turkmens, who intervened in the affairs of Lār at the beginning of the 14th century, presents an historical problem (*ibid.*, 496, and below). From the 10th/16th century onwards, travellers mention the presence of numerous nomads. Ḳashḳā'ī groups spent the winter in the Khundj district (*Le Fars*, 17, 21). Some Bahārlū had become sedentarised and lived in tents on the plain of Yazd-i Khʷāst (*ibid.*, 27). Some Bāṣirī spent the winter in the districts of Sarwistān and Kurbāl, and some Nafar occasionally passed the winter in Lāristān (*ibid.*, 31-2). Some nomadic or semi-nomadic families (*tīra*) of Turkish origin have been recorded at Durz, Sāyibān, Karmūsta(dj), Ṣaḥrā-yi Bāgh, Ashkanān, Bīd Shahr and Djūyum; and some Arabs and Bāṣirī at Djūyum, Harm, Kāriyān and Bīd Shahr (see the names in Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 209; Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 15). There are sedentary Arab elements along the coasts, at Bandar ʿAbbās, at Bandar Linga (Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*] known locally as Djawāsim) and in the interior (notably the Djahāngīriyya/Djuhūngīra, cf. the *shaykhs* of Bastak). The Banyans, Hindu merchants also called Multānīs (numerous at Bandar ʿAbbās and at Bandar Kung in the Ṣafawid period), used to play an outstanding commercial role, and there are still residual groups of Hindus in Lāristān. There used to exist an important Jewish community at Lār, Gilār, Djahrum and Hurmuz, and Lār was a centre of Hebraic learning. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, a Jew from Lār became a convert to Islam, assumed the name of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Lārī and secured from the Shīʿī *ʿulamā'* the putting-into-force of discriminatory measures against the Jews. These measures were incorporated in a code to be applied to all the Jews of Persia, who had to wear special, distinctive clothing (a hat or piece of coloured cloth), and they underwent various persecutions under ʿAbbās I and his successors. In the 19th century, there were massacres, forcible conversions, expulsions, etc., and the Jews of Lār, Djahrum, Fasā, etc. emigrated to Shīrāz (the main items of bibliography about the Jews of Lār are to be found in L. Loeb, *The Jews of Southwest Iran, a study of cultural persistence*, diss. Columbia University 1970, 31 ff., with translations of the "restrictionary codes", Appx. I, and chronological lists of intimidatory measures, Appx. II; on Abu 'l-Ḥasan Lārī, see also Ḥabīb Liwī (Levy), *Ta'rīkh-i Yahūd-i Īrān*, Tehran 1339/1960, iii, 224 ff.).

Islam in Lāristān was notable for the preponderant influence of the Sunnī *ṭarīḳas* or dervish orders: the Isḥāḳiyya/Murshidiyya, the Dānyāliyya (at Khundj and Lār), the Banī ʿAbbāsī (at Bastak), etc. The Twelver Shīʿism imposed by the Ṣafawids only succeeded in implanting itself in Lāristān to a partial extent, and numerous troubles broke out in the post-Ṣafawid period, in the 18th and 19th centuries (see Aubin, *Les sunnites du Lārestān*, and below). The dichotomy thus created remains very apparent today, since the greater part of the urban and village communities are in majority Shāfiʿī Sunnīs. The sedentary Arabs of southern Lāristān are Sunnīs. Amongst the tribal groups, it appears that today, only the Turkish tribes are both nomadic and Shīʿīs (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 157 n. 8). Non-Islamic practices have been noted among the peoples of African origin along the coasts and in the islands (see below, on Lārak).

The population structure has been heavily affected by natural factors: earthquakes, floods, droughts, polluted water sources, locust-plagues, etc. These last have been the cause of dearths and illnesses: ophthalmia (from the sand storms), malaria, dysentery,

and above all the filiarosis peculiar to Lāristān, caused by a parasite present in particular in the stagnant water of cisterns, the guinea-worm or *Filaria medinensis*, *payaw*/*piyūk* in Persian and *peve* in Lāristān (see Iḳtidārī, *Farhang*, 67). Accidents of history have also been the cause of depopulation (destructions, sackings, massacres, exoduses, deportations, etc.). Despite the relative economic florescence of the region during the 14th-18th centuries, the Lārīs have continued to emigrate, above all towards Muslim India, where they have served in the army and in the administration.

Taking into account the lack of preciseness in the evidence, the demography of the region as a whole is difficult to delineate. The only data which are even a little sure concern the town of Lār itself, and these are given below (unless there is an indication to the contrary, these items of information pertain to the town or the urban agglomeration of Lār; one should reckon 6 persons per family or household): 4,000 heads of families in 1523 (Tenreiro); 4,000 households in 1638 (Mandelslo); 50,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 18th century (English estimate); 15,000 inhabitants in 1808 (a figure given to Dupré, who found it exaggerated); 1,200 households in 1881 (information given to Stack, who estimated the population at 6,000 inhabitants); 2,500 families (1913); 11,656 inhabitants (*ca.* 1950); 14,188 inhabitants (1956); 17,000 inhabitants (1960 estimate). In 1966, the *shahristān* comprised 137,303 inhabitants and the town of Lār 37,198. The preliminary results of the 1976 census (the only information so far published) deal only with the *shahristān* of Lār, and give a population of 183,369, 52,465 being urban and 130,904 rural dwellers.

Language and literatures. In addition to Persian, Arabic (spoken on the coasts) and Turkish, Lāristān has its own particular dialect, which has been used by popular poets of the region; their verses have been partly gathered together in written form and studied (see the references in Minorsky's *EI*[1] article). Some proverbs in *lāristānī* have been published (Iḳtidārī, in *FIZ*, xi/2-3 [1333/1954], 233-53), as well as vocabularies: K. Kamioka and M. Yamada, *Larestani studies. i. Lari basic vocabulary*, Tokyo 1979 (not seen). Some works in Judaeo-Persian have been written at Lār, which must have been the centre for a school of scribes, translators, copyists, etc. (see Loeb, *op. cit.*, 49 ff.). The fate of the Jews of Lār has been put into Persian verses (mixed with dialectal terms) by the Jewish poets (on whom see Ḥabīb Liwī, *op. cit.*, 270-1), notably by Bābāʾī Luṭf Kāshānī and Bābāʾī Farhād Kāshānī (cited at length by Liwī, 224 ff.).

Numerous littérateurs originally from Lāristān have written in Persian in all the literary genres: poetry, grammar, philosophy, mysticism, *fiḳh*, historiography, etc. (see the lists cited by Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ms. India Off. Libr., cat. Ethé, i, 397, fol. 111a-b; Fasāʾī, ii, 284 ff.; Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 135-203. To these one should add Nīmdihī, a writer of the 9th/15th century, on whom see Aubin, in *REI* [1967], 61-81; Karāmatī [idem, *Les sunnites du Lārestān*, 155]; Shaykh Aḥmad Faḳīhī [*ibid.*, 170 n. 1]; etc.).

Economic aspects. Though generally considered as one of the poorest regions of Persia, Lāristān is not without natural resources. Sulphur is found in many places, and is fairly easily exploitable: in the coastal regions, at Bustāna (to the west of Bandar Linga) and at Khamīr (to the east of Bandar Linga); in the interior, at Karmūsta(dj), to the south-east of Lār, etc. In the 19th century, the sulphur mines of Lāristān were quite productive (see Pilgrim [1908], 155 ff., [1921], 343 ff.). Gypsum (*gač*) is frequent everywhere, and is easily exploitable along the littoral (Pilgrim [1908], 157-8). The iron ore and the salt of the "Hurmuz series" are more difficult to exploit. There is also some copper, unexploited, at "Karmoussah" = Karmūsta(dj), see Dupré, i, 431. Saltpetre, taken from nitrous lands and abundant in the region of Lār, yields material for gunpowder (at Girāsh, to the east of Lār; Dupré, *loc. cit.*). On the minerals of Lāristān, see also Fasāʾī, ii, 338-9. After having been famous for its bows (see below), Lār was also famed for its firearms (Calmard, 157). Various manufactories existed at Evaz (*ca.* 30 km. north-east of Lār; see Dupré, *loc. cit.*; Karāmatī, 48-9).

The natural vegetation covering is fairly meagre. However, Lāristān is relatively well-wooded. There are to be found varieties of tamarisk, acacias, conifers (Adle, *op. cit.*, 10), and the jujube tree (*kunār*) is also to be found. The *gaz* wood, which is very hard and solid, is used for cabinet-making and for timber framing. Various spiny shrubs, such as the *kahūr*, are enjoyed by camels. The region falls completely within the date-palm zone, which is cultivated in the oases of the interior. The date harvest occupies a seasonal work-force, and as well as dates, cotton, tobacco (of good quality) and mustard are grown and exported (*Le Fars*, 163). In some places, opium poppies, sesame, etc. are cultivated. On the stony plains between Lār and Bandar ʿAbbās, asafoetida, the exudation from the roots of certain varieties of *Ferula foetida*, used in the pharmacopeia as far as in Europe, is gathered (Calmard, 115-16). Amongst products of an animal origin, the "bezoar" has been noted (see below). One should also note the raising of and trafficking in camels (Dupré, i, 441; *Le Fars*, 163); a similar trade in horses, exported to India (see below); and one in sheep, whose skins were the subject of an extensive trade throughout all of Lāristān (Dupré, i, 453).

The basic problem remains that of water-supply. The water from wells and watercourses is most often brackish. Cisterns for rain water (*birkas*), in various patterns (hexagonal, circular, etc.), are to be found in all the inhabited spots and at road stages. Except in certain regions of the north, in particular at those of Djūyum and Khundj, where irrigation by *ḳanāts*, wells (*gāvčāhs*) and springs is found, dry farming is generally done (*daymī*, see Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 209). In the date-palm oases of the interior, these are often consumed on the spot. In addition to dates, the food supply comes, according to local possibilities, from cereals, products of market-gardening, citrous fruits, specimens of the gourd family, milk products (cows, goats, sheep), poultry, etc. Travellers have noticed the abundance of game (ibexes, mouflons, partridges, quails) and the excellent truffles of Lār. On occasion, grasshoppers are also appreciated (Calmard, 120-1). Along the coasts and elsewhere in Lāristān, fish is fed to animals, including to camels, asses and even to bovines and sheep (*ibid.*, 124). There is a condiment, peculiar to the region, made from a fish base and spices (*māhiāba* or *māyāba*, called *mahva* in Lāristānī; see Iḳtidārī, *Farhang*, 203-4, and Fasāʾī, ii, 283, where its making is described).

As well as the making of arms, local products include cotton cloths and carpets (*gilīms*, *ḳālīs*). Except in period of disturbance, the agro-pastoral sedentary and the nomadic economies complement

each other (i.e. exchange of agricultural products and manufactured goods for the products of stock-rearing, carpets, etc.).

The economy of Lāristān was relatively prosperous in the 9th/15th to the 12th/18th centuries, but suffered in the post-Ṣafawid disturbances and the interruption and ending of international trade (see below). The profession of caravaneer (coupled with the rearing of camels, mules, asses, etc.) used to occupy an important proportion of both the town and rural population. From this economic activity in the past, the people of Lāristān have retained an interest in the commerical life; one meets, above all along the Gulf shores, numerous peddlers (*pīlawars*). Also, the profession of arms (cf. the famous *tufangčis*) has continued to attract a good number of Lārīs.

Historical evolution. Lāristān or the land of Lār does not emerge clearly in Persian history till the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. Until then—apart from a few sparse items of information about the neighbouring regions or about certain small places (Yāḳūt speaks of "Djuwaym Abī Aḥmad", i.e. Djūyum)—its past belongs almost exclusively to the little-known history of the kingdom of Lār. There are doubts concerning the localisation of this last according to mythical or legendary history. Minorsky (*EI*[1] art. *Lār*) proposed to equate it with the land of the dragon Haftān Bokht (or the *Haftvād* of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*) which Ardashīr Pāpakān killed. This dragon is said to have lived in the village of Alār in the *rustāḳ* of Kodjārān, one of the *rustāḳs* bordering on the Gulf of the province of Ardashīr Khurra (al-Ṭabarī, i, 820). The variants Gulār (*Kārnāmak*, tr. Nöldeke, 50), Kočārān (*ibid.*) or Kudjārān (*Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v, 308) do not help in identifying it. Alār is the name of an island (see below); Kudjār, in the *bulūk* of Galladār (Fasā'ī, *Fihrist*), borders on Lāristān (of which it forms part, in the large sense). At the present day, one finds several villages in Lāristān whose names might well be variants of Gulār (Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 46 n. 2; Gilār belongs to the *bakhsh* of Djūyum, Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 202). But there is also a Kulār in the *shahristān* of Bū-shahr (*ibid.*, 187), a Kūlār in the *bulūk* of Čahār nāḥiya (Fasā'ī, *Fihrist*), etc.

Thus the localisation of the land of the dragon Haftvād within the imprecise borders of Ardashīr Khurra (also called Īrāhistān) remains problematical. Moreover, a legend which could have some basis of genuineness places the home of Haftvād in the region of Bam (Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, n. 3). The place-name Marak-i Lārān appears in the *Bundahishn* (D. Monchizadeh, *Topographische-historische Studien zum iranischen Nationalepos*, Wiesbaden 1975, 141). A village called Lār exists in the *shahristān* of Čāh Bahār (in the old *ustān* of Kirmān wa Makrān), populated by Sunnī Balūčīs (pop. 220 in *ca.* 1950, see Razmārā, *Farhang*, viii, 383).

According to a *bayt* attributed to Firdawsī (lacking in the known editions of the *Shāh-nāma*, but cited in the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, whence Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Lād*; Fasā'ī, ii, 283, etc.), the town or region of "Lād" was allegedly "given" to Gurgīn Mīlād by the Kayānid Kay-Khusraw when he renounced the world and distributed the Persian lands to his dignitaries. The passage from *d* to *r* is found in Armenian, in Tātī (Minorsky, *EI*[1] art. *Lār*; J. Darmesteter, *Etudes iraniennes*, i, 73) and in various Iranian dialects (see G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 156). Previously, Lād seems to have had another name (*AAA*, tr. Savory, ii, 807).

According to a legend as generally current in southern Persia as in Lāristān, the people of Lār in Fārs are said to have come from Lār at Damāwand (see Lār and Lāridjān), whose cold climate in winter they were unable to endure (Fasā'ī, ii, 281 ff.). Although one can hardly use this legend as historical material, there are toponymical resemblances between the two places: Kūh-i Alburz in both places (to the south-east of Djahrum in Lāristān); a defile (*gardana*) Kulūn-i Bastak of Lār at Damāwand (Lāridjān) and the settlement of Bastak in Lāristān (Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 47, n. 4; Muwaḥḥid, *Bastak*, 6).

According to another tradition, the foundation of Lār came from one Balash (Valakhsh), son of Fīrūz (Pērōz), see Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 209, and Dihkhudā, *LN*, s.v. Lār.

Archaeological information gives us only very imprecise material on the past of Lāristān. Investigations have revealed numerous "Sāsānid" traces, above all in the western border district. On Galladār (formerly Khundjūfāl), see Sir Aurel Stein, *Archaeological reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran*, London 1937, 213-25; on the *čahār-ṭāḳs* of Kāriyān and of Maḥallča, near Fishvar, see L. Vanden Berghe, in *Iranica Antiqua*, i (1961), drawing, 196, and maps; Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, n. 3; idem, *Survie de Shilāu*; and for an archaeological survey in southern Lāristān, see Stein, in *GJ*, lxxxiii/2 (1934), 130 ff.

The list of princes of Lār, from Gurgīn Mīlād up to the 16th century, has been partially reconstructed by J. Aubin from the Ṣafawid sources (above all, from Ghaffārī, *Djahān-ārā*, ms. B.L. Or. 141, Add. 7649/1; Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ms. I.O.L. (cat. Ethé, i, 397) and ms. B.N. Paris, Suppl. persan, 357; Ḥasan Beg, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ms. B.L. Or. 1649; Münedjdjim-Bashī's *Ṣaḥā'if al-akhbar* (cf. Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 69-71) add nothing to this list, which replaces that of Minorsky in *EI*[1] art., based on a single ms. of the *Djahān-ārā*). Information on this princely family only becomes reliable after 594/1198. Between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries fifteen *amīrs* followed each other, son succeeding father. But the list has some vague points; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's evidence (according to him, the sultan of Lār was a Turkmen and not a descendant of Mīlād) and that of other sources does not tally. Also, the chronology becomes uncertain for the last five reigns, in the 10/16th century, *Lar médiévale*, 496 ff.).

As Aubin has pointed out, the problem of the "rise" of Lār in the 13th and 14th centuries can only be approached indirectly, as a reflex of the establishment of a new route Hurmuz-Lār-Shīrāz (*op. cit.*, 491). This particular problem is connected with the more general one of the evolution of the maritime outlets of Fārs and Kirmān. The ruin of Sīrāf (5th/11th century) and its problematical survival linked to the development of the island of Ḳays/Kīsh [see Ḳays] (6th-8th/12th-14th centuries) caused an eastwards displacement of the ports and routes of the Persian Gulf. New towns grew up in the *garmsīrāt* of Fārs: first of all Fāl/Bāl, a place to which the Sīrāfīs, menaced by the Gulf pirates and the tribes of the interior, could fall back, and then Khundj, situated at the crossroads of the *garm-sīrāt* routes, on the Ḳays-Shīrāz axis and the transversal axis towards Lār and Hurmuz. In the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, a complicated play of interests brought the various socio-economic small groups and local powers into conflict. Around 700/1300, the dervishes of Khundj secured from the Ṭībī merchants the cession of the isle of Djarūn to the princes of Hurmuz,

and these last acknowledged them till the time of the Portuguese domination (Aubin, *Princes d'Ormuz*, 94-5; *Survie de Shilāu*, 26). Around 700/1300 also Ḳays was occupied by the Ormuzis, and henceforth, the international transit trade via Hurmuz and the Ḳays-Shīrāz route was abandonned.

Although Lār is described in the 8th/14th century as a prosperous town (by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, see below), it does not seem to have played any important political role nor to have excited the envy of its neighbours in mediaeval Persia. The sole exception to this state of affairs seems to have been the annexation in the 7th/13th century of Lār by the Shabānkāra, its northern neighbours who controlled eastern Fārs and who had spread into Kirmān. According to Aubin (*Lar médiévale*, 499-500), this involved an episode in the fight between the Shabānkāra and Salghurid Fārs. From the beginning of his reign, the Salghurid Abū Bakr b. Saʿd (628-58/1231-60) began a policy of dominating the Gulf. In this kind of race to the sea, he clashed with other local powers: Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shabānkāraʾī and, over control of the island of Ḳays, the prince of Hurmuz. It was probably in 628/1230-1 that Muẓaffar al-Dīn seized Lār; the territories annexed extended to the Gulf shores (not precisely delimited in the west, but to Kawristān, the frontier with the kingdom of Hurmuz, in the east, see Aubin, *op. cit.*, 500). Lār's orientation towards the Gulf and its prosperity in the 8th/14th century are confirmed by various sources. Mustawfī —who does not use the term Lāristān but that of *wilāyat-i kinār-i daryā* "region along the sea-coast"— says that most of its inhabitants are merchants who travel by sea and land, and corn, dates and cotton are grown there (*Nuzha*, 139, tr. 138). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's words, who visited Lāristān (probably in 748/1347), pose certain problems, especially in regard to dating (see I. Hrbek, in *ArO*, xxx [1962], 446 ff., and Aubin's remarks, *Survie de Shilāu*, 23, n. 20, 29, n. 68, 31, n. 92). He describes Lār to us as "a large town with springs, considerable streams and gardens". It had large, well-built bazaars. He lodged in a *zāwiya* of Shāfiʿī dervishes, who welcomed travellers. Not only the dervishes but also the brigands of Lāristān were organised for trading (Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, 500; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 240-1, tr. Gibb, ii, 405-6).

We know from other sources, complementing Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's information, that the hereditary *shaykhs* of the *zāwiya* of Lār came originally from Khundj (Aubin, *Survie de Shilāu*, 32, n. 98). The religious situation at Khundj in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries is unclear. In the 7th/13th century, this little town became the seat of a *khānaḳāh* [*q.v.*] whose *murshid* was Shaykh Dāniyāl, affiliated to the Isḥāḳiyya or Murshidiyya order. In addition to the rich *zāwiya* of Shaykh Abū Dulaf Muḥammad (Sh. Dāniyāl's successor), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw at Khundj another Shāfiʿī *zāwiya* of an imprecise nature. It seems that in the 9th/15th century the *khānaḳāh* of Sh. Dāniyāl fell into decline, whilst that of Abū Nadjmī (that visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa? In 1347?) was more flourishing (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 30 ff.). According to Muwaḥḥid, *Bastak*, 29-30, the one visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was that of the *shaykh* of the Banī ʿAbbāsī, Ḥādidjī Shaykh ʿAbd al-Salam Khundjī, known under the *laḳab* of Ḳuṭb al-Awliyāʾ (d. aged 85 in 746/1345-6).

According to various sources, two Indian princes are said to have invited the poet Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] to their court. At the invitation of the Deccani sultan Maḥmūd Shāh of the Bahmanids, Ḥāfiẓ proceeded to Hurmuz via Lār with the intention of setting sail for India by ship; but since a storm blew up at the time of his departure, he is said to have abandoned the plan (see Browne, *LHP*, iii, 285-7). Some coins struck in Lār (a gold piece of the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ, and some Tīmūrid (and Čaghatayid?) coins) testify to the interest of certain princes in the town during the 8th/9th/14th-15th centuries (references given by Minorsky in his *EI*¹ art.).

In the 8th/14th century, the *garmsīrāt* of Fārs were divided into two antagonistic politico-administrative groupings, the *bilād Lār* and the *bilād Khundj-ū-Bāl* (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) "de structure interne différente et de visées extérieures opposées" (Aubin, *Survie de Shilāu*, 23). Khundj-ū-Fāl had amicable relations with the principality of Hurmuz, whilst the principality of Lār employed an aggressive policy towards this last and even tried to annex it (see below). Although Khundj-ū-Fāl possessed—in the same manner as Shīrāz or Hurmuz—a class of numerous, experienced notables, one only finds there, at a late date, a powerful family (that of the *raʾīs Fālīs*) who, well after the decline of Khundj-ū-Fāl, became viziers at Hurmuz at the end of the 9th/15th century and remained there till the end of the period of Portuguese domination (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 36). As for the principality of Lār, despite its feeble resources, its lack of an intellectual élite and the emigration of its traders and its soldiers to India, it had a family of *maliks* who assured to the town a continuity of princely power during the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries. Gradually, in the course of the second half of this latter century, a class of educated notables took shape there (*ibid.*, 32).

The causes of the decline and then of the deflection of the Khundj-ū-Fāl route remain little known (political upheavals, the loss of influence by a certain or group or family and natural catastrophes have been suggested, *ibid.*, 35). The ruin of Kārzīn (on the Khundj-Shīrāz axis, earthquakes and floods *ca.* 1440), the development of Djahrum as an intellectual and religious centre in the second half of the 9th/15th century and the founding nearby of a community of dervishes (by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥyī al-Dīn Kushknārī, called Ḳuṭb-i Muḥyī, at Ikhwānābād or Ḳuṭbābād, at the crossroads of the routes from Shīrāz, Fasā and Lār, favoured the use of the Hurmuz-Lār-Djahrum-Shīrāz axis (see Map 1). At the end of the 8th/14th century, Djahrum was a stage on the Shīrāz-Lār road (Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, 501). Whilst the Hurmuz-Shīrāz route via Ṭārum, Furg and Fasā continued to be used, that via Djahrum was regularly employed from the second half of the 9th/15th century onwards (Aubin, *ibid.*, and *Survie de Shilāu*, 33-4).

In the *garmsīrāt*, only the family of the *raʾīs Fālīs*—who held Shīlāw and retained some influence in the Gulf—succeeded in maintaining Fāl as a petty urban centre, despite the growing pressure of the princes of Lār. The latter in fact drew benefit from the new position of their town-staging post on the Hurmuz-Shīrāz axis by extending their power towards the coast and the intervening high valleys (*ibid.*, 35-6). The inevitable conflict between Lār and Hurmuz—which had become economically complementary through their dependence on the Indian trade—broke out in 904/1598-9, when the prince of Lār tried to exploit an outbreak of discontent amongst the Bedouins of Djulfār. The naval expedition against the island of Djarūn led by Abū Bakr Lārī was checked by Khʷādja ʿAṭāʾ, a *ghulām* of Salghur Shāh (Aubin, in *Mare*, i, 102-3). The intrusion of the Lārīs in the affairs of Hurmuz revived

after the death of Salghur Shāh (1505) with a further attack on Djarūn. But the new lord of Hurmuz, Khwādja ʿAṭāʾ, put an end to this, at the same time removing the young ruler issued from a union between Salghur Shāh and a princess of Lār (*ibid.*, 104-5). Nevertheless, the princes of Lār continued to expand towards the shores. Their vassals, the *amīrs* of Ilūd, brought pressure to bear on the Lashtān region (the land behind the island of Ḳishm at Nāband); one of them seized the district of Lashtān in 1546 (Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 142-3; on Ilūd, see *ibid.*, n. 367 and *Lar médiévale*, n. 22). Yet despite the decline of Fāl, Lārīs and Fālīs followed parallel paths in their relations with Hurmuz even after the advent of the Ṣafawids.

At the end of the 9th/15th century, commercial traffic was enough to stimulate Lār's prosperity. The prince levied no taxes on goods in transit. At the beginning of the next century, at the time when the Portuguese appeared, Lārī merchants and mercenary soldiers took an active part in affairs of the Deccan. The famous silver coin of Lār, the *lārī* or *larin* [*q.v.*], circulated through all the markets of the Indian Ocean shores (Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 142; Steensgaard, 420-1). Like Lārī warriors, the bows of Lār were celebrated, and were exported to ʿIrāḳ and India (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 177-8). After Fāl (*Dār al-Ṣafāʾ* "abode of purity") and its twin Khundj (*Dār al-Awliyāʾ* "abode of saints", Lār could boast the *laḳab* of *Dār al-Maʿdala* "abode of equity".

In 914/1508 envoys from Hurmuz and Lār came to give allegiance to Shāh Ismāʿīl at Shīrāz (*AAA*, tr. Savory, i, 57-8). The prince-governors of Lār became tributary to the Ṣafawids with the title of *Amīr-i Dīwān* (*ibid.*, ii, 806). Around the turn of the 15th-16th century, pieces of information on Lār become more numerous. The travellers who passed through it in the 15th century did not give any details on their itinerary (Afanasiy Nikitin, *Khozhenye za tri morya*, Moscow 1958, 89; Girolamo S. Stefano, see Aubin, *Survie de Shīlāu*, 33, nn. 106-7). Gil Simões, secretary of the Portuguese embassy to Shāh Ismāʿīl who, in 1515, returned from Shīrāz to Hurmuz via Lār, tells us nothing further. Other Portuguese, however, were more informative. The embassy of 1523-4 passed through Lār. Though sometimes difficult to trace, the itinerary of this embassy is described in detail by António Tenreiro (*Itinerário*, Lisbon 1971, 16 ff.; for a critical study of this text and of the parallel account of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, see Aubin, in *Arquivos*, iii (1971), 238-52, with 245-6 on Lār itself. Tenreiro gives us some important information about Lāristān, especially on Kawristān/Kawuristān, the frontier region between Lār and Hurmuz (cf. Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 104), on the caravanserais and cisterns constructed along the road by pious donors, on the town of Lār (its protective wall built from stone and with plaster decorated with tiled squares; the Lārīs' clothing; the Lārī bows; the agricultural products (dates and barley); the local Jews; the money there (the *larin*); the muleteers-caravaneers; etc.), on the date-palm groves, the rearing of mares and the export of horses to India via Hurmuz, and on the mountain goats which produced the *bazar* (bezoar, i.e. *bāzahr* [*q.v.*]; this famous antidote to poisons of which there existed spurious imitations, was produced in Persia in Khurāsān and in the land of the Shabānkāra, see C. Elgood, *A medical history of Persia*, Cambridge 1951 369 ff.). Tenreiro also describes the road from Khundj to Kārzīn at a time when it had become a secondary track (Aubin, *Survie de Shīlāu*, 33-4).

In 1540, under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, the Venetian Michele Membré travelled from Shīrāz to Hurmuz via Lār, giving a description of the latter (*Relazione di Persia (1542)*, IUON Naples 1969, 53-4). According to him, the town was surrounded in two halves by stone walls. It had a higher part, that with the citadel, and a lower part, and "outside the town there are other houses which are not walled". Membré and his retinue lodged in a caravanserai outside the town walls. He noted the numerous cisterns for collecting rain water built by pious Lārīs both in the town and at two-league intervals along the Lār-Hurmuz route. At Lār, there were even some fountains for the prostitutes. The gold and silver smiths were "gentiles from India", "all gathered together in one street". At Lār, both Turkish and Persian were spoken. The king, a vassal of the "Sofi", was called "Soprassi" (?), and wore the "cap" of the Sofi (the external sign of adhesion to Twelver Shīʿism, according to the Ḳizilbash. The shops, piled high with merchandise, hardly needed protection at nights against thieves "because the said king of Lār exercises great justice".

Soon after Membré's passage through Lār, the prince [Anūshirwān] b. Abī Saʿīd b. ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk, called Shāh ʿĀdil, was assassinated (29 Ṣafar 948/24 June 1541; see Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, 495). Under his successor Ibrāhīm Khān, the relations of Lār with the Ṣafawid authority deteriorated. He omitted to go and give allegiance to Shāh ʿAbbās I when he went to Shīrāz, ill-treated the Shāh's tribute-collectors and levied extraordinary taxes on merchants and travellers. The Shāh's anger was aroused, and he sent two punitive expeditions against Lār in 1010-11/1601-2 under the command of Allāh-Verdī Khān, the *beglar-begi* of Fārs. In the course of the second one, the latter seized Lār, carried off Ibrāhīm Khān and his entourage back to Shīrāz and confiscated their possessions. Ibrāhīm Khān and the "treasures of Lār", including the famous crown of Kay Khusraw, were then taken off by Allāh-Verdī Khān to Shāh ʿAbbās's court, then engaged on a campaign in Bādghīs near Harāt. In the course of the expedition against Balkh, Ibrāhīm Khān died of an epidemic which affected a large number of the troops. The administration of Lār was entrusted to Ḳāḍī Abū 'l-Ḳāsim Lārī, a devoted Shīʿī (*AAA*, tr. Savory, 807-8; cf. Yazdī, fol. 99a ff.).

During the whole of the 11th/17th century, until the decline of the Ṣafawids, the Persian Gulf routes via Lār were followed by numerous traders, diplomats, travellers, men of religion, etc., who have left us lively first-hand accounts. A few months after Allāh-Verdī Khān's seizure of Lār, the Augustinian friar António de Gouvea passed through the town, where he mentions the recent destructions (on Gouvea's mission as mediator in the conflict between the Portuguese and Shāh ʿAbbās, see Steensgaard, 230-1; on Lār, 231). In a parallel version to the *Itinerário* of Gaspar de S. Bernardino, Nicolau da Orta Rebelo gives us a long description of Lār and Lāristān dated August-September 1606 (on S. Bernardino's narrative, see Aubin, in *Arquivos*, i [1969], 208-15; on Lār, ed. Lisbon 1842, 136-47). Rebelo noted the numerous charitable works (cisterns and caravenserais), the security of the roads (the Hurmuz-Lār road and above all the entry into Lār was very well policed "because of the war between the Sofi and the king of Ormuz") and the freedoms and the liberalities which the Persians and the travellers enjoyed (see below). He further noted the

abundance and low price of the *bāzār* products (fruits, textiles, poultry such as partridges, and sheep) and the rebuilding works undertaken after the Ṣafawid conquest, in particular, the fortress dominating the town and the bazar (i.e. the Bāzār-i Ḳayṣariyya, see above) rebuilt at that time by Ḳanbar ʿAlī Beg, who also erected a sumptuous caravanserai on the Lār-Shīrāz road (Rebelo, ed. Serrao, 101-12).

After the Ṣafawids achieved direct control of Lār, its affairs were continuously affected by the question of Hurmuz, which brought into play the colonial rivalries (essentially those of Spain and Portugal, now united under one crown, against the English), the Persians' own interests, those of the Arab merchants and the Gulf pirates, etc. (Steensgaard, 253 ff.). After the conquest of Lār, the Persians had —at least temporarily—taken off the protection payments ("mocarrerias", i.e. *muḳarrarī*) made by the ruler of Hurmuz to that of Lār (*ibid.*, 249). Ḳanbar ʿAlī Beg tried to reimpose these levies on Hurmuz and occupied the island of Ḳishm (*ibid.*, 250 ff.). The khān of Shīrāz, the *beglar-begi* of Fārs Imām Ḳulī Khan, seized the port of Gombron/Gombroon (Portuguese Comorão) in December 1614 (*ibid.*, 291 ff.), and in spring 1622 Persian troops commanded by Imām Khān were helped by an English naval force (*AAA*, tr. 1200-4; Steensgaard, 305 ff.). The negotiations begun by the second "Spanish" embassy of Sherley (1617-22) and the presence of a Spanish ambassador at the Persian court and a Persian one at the Spanish court since 1617 were unable to prevent the Portuguese from losing "the key to the Land of India". Much held back in his mission (cf. Steensgaard, 312 ff.), the Castilian ambassador Figueroa has left behind for us an itinerary (lacking details) of his journey through Lāristān in 1618.

After the fall of Hurmuz, the English, and then the Dutch, and then later the French, were authorised by the Ṣafawid government to set up their factories at Gombrun, now renamed Bandar ʿAbbāsī. In 1630, the Portuguese gained the same permission to use Bandar Kung (8 km. to the east of the modern Bandar Linga), which began to fill up with Arabs and Persians (and then with Banyans and Portuguese) and became an important town in the years 1630-40 (Steensgaard, 357-8). Despite the difficulties of the routes into the interior, Djāsk/Djāsak and Bandar Kung became significant rivals of Bandar ʿAbbāsī (on the rivalry of Bandar Kung and Bandar ʿAbbāsī, see Calmard, 86-7).

From this time onwards, the routes through Lāristān are described in detail by the travellers. We have important items of information from Sir Thomas Herbert about the embassy of Sir Dodmore Cotton to Persia in 1628-9 (tr. Paris 1663, 205 ff.; Calmard, illustration 1), and the parallel account of Robert Stodart (ed. Denison Ross, London 1935; on Shīrāz-Lār-Gombroon, see 78-85). Mandelslo, a member of the Duke of Holstein's embassy, passed through Lār in February 1638, and he gives us a fairly detailed description of his route from Shīrāz to "Gamron" (tr. Wicquefort, Paris 1659, Book i, 91 ff.). With the development of the commerce of the trading Companies, journeys and accounts of them abound. Putting together a synthesis of all the items of information from 1638 to 1706, a map is here given showing the chronological divisions of the routes from the Gulf to Shīrāz via Lār (Map 1; the travellers who only describe Bandar ʿAbbāsī, Bandar Kung, etc., have not been included here). As this chronology shows, the dates of movements across Lāristān were a function of the movements of ships, hence of the monsoons, and the climatic conditions in the interior of the country: there were few journeys in mid-summer, because of the extreme heat and the "poisonous winds" (*bād-i samūm*), or in winter, because of the snow along the route Lār-Shīrāz (Calmard, 23 ff.). The travellers give us first-hand information on the routes followed (which varied little from the 17th to the 19th centuries, except on the Lār-Shīrāz section), on travelling conditions (state of the roads, bridges and fords; the security provided by the *rāh-dārs*, "road-guards"; tolls, customs-dues; etc.), on the natural habitat and the populations (climate, plants, animals, local inhabitants, habitats, illnesses and urban communities), on the political rivalries in the Gulf and in Persia between the central and local powers (including the topic of pirate activity) and between the different European Companies, etc. (see the *Bibl.* for travellers of the 17th-18th centuries).

Although the Dutch remained the most firmly-implanted group along the Hurmuz-Lār-Shīrāz-Iṣfahān axis (they had factories or "houses" in each of these towns) and derived great profits (above all, from the illegal trade in gold which weakened the Persian economy), the Portuguese continued to strengthen their presence at Bandar Kung (used by the Portuguese, Italians and other travellers). At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, an attempted Portuguese-Persian alliance against the "Arabs" (i.e. Muscat or ʿUmān) was cut short because of the internal situation in Persia (see Aubin, *L'ambassade de Gregório Pereira Fidalgo*, Introd.). This did not prevent the taking shape of threats from the ʿUmānīs (aided by the Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*] and Arabs from Ḳaṭar) against the islands and the ports along the Lāristān coast (see L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavid dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 115-16, and below, on Lārak). During this period of troubles, the Lāristān government was a kind of family enterprise: the *shāhbandar* of Bandar Kung was the brother of the Bandar ʿAbbāsī one and the Khān of Lār's one (Calmard, 187). According to Pereira Fidalgo, the Khān of Lār had under his jurisdiction Bandar Gombron, Bandar Kung and Bandar Rīg (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 36-7).

Despite the repeated attacks of Arab pirates and of the Balūčīs (who seem to have allied with the ʿUmānīs in their threats to the ports and to Lār; see Aubin, *op. cit.*, 79), Lāristān resisted longer than the Iṣfahān-Shīrāz axis against the Afghān invasion. In practice, when Shīʿism became implanted along the Shīrāz-Lār-Bandar ʿAbbāsī commercial route, the south and part of the north of Lāristān (except for the town of Lār) had remained Shāfiʿī. Certain lines of *shaykhs*, in particular at Evaz and Bastak, occupied the dominant places of Sunnī Lāristān. Despite the support of the *tufangčīs* or musketeers of the Sunnī *garmsīrāt*, the Afghāns were unable to establish an effective control over Lār, which was held in turn by a Balūčī chief, a local notable, a Ṣafawid general and the *sardār* of Fārs Muḥammad Khān Balūč (see Aubin, *Les sunnites du Lārestān*, 159 ff.). In the latter's rebellion against Nādir (the later Nādir Shāh), Muḥammad Khān Balūč was supported by the Sunnīs of Lāristān. Nādir's revenge there was merciless: the executions of Muḥammad Khān and Shaykh Aḥmad Madanī, fines, extensive deportations, etc. (*ibid.*, 168 ff.).

Taking advantage of this period of troubles and its aftermath, the brigand chief Naṣīr Khān Lārī was able to establish—in the first place with the

help of his brother Ḥādjdjī Khān—control over the Bulūk-i Sabʿa (i.e. the region between Lāristān and Kirmān), and then over Lār. After an abortive expedition against Shīrāz in 1163/1750, in which Ḥādjdjī Khān died en route, Naṣīr Khān extended his jurisdiction over the Gulf littoral (i.e. over the Arab *shaykhs*) and his expensive protection over the East India Company at Bandar ʿAbbāsī. Nevertheless, he had difficulties in controlling this latter port, and moreover, fell inevitably into conflict with Karīm Khān Zand. During the years 1754-66, he fought on two fronts, against the governor of Kirmān on the north-east and against the penetration of the Zands on the west. He even planned joint attacks against Karīm Khān in Shīrāz in concert with the Ḳādjār chief, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān (in 1756 and 1758). It was Ṣādiḳ Khān Zand who in the end captured the town of Lār and reduced Naṣīr Khān's fortress there in 1179/1766 (on these events, see Perry, 117-22, based on the English and Dutch archives and on the main Persian sources; add to these Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, *Rustam al-tawārīkh*, Tehran 1348/1969, 373-4; Muwaḥḥid, *Bastak*, 38-9).

It seems that, contrary to what Fasāʾī asserts (followed by Minorsky, *EI*[1] art, and Perry, 122), the administration of Lāristān did not remain in a more or less autonomous fashion in the hands of Naṣīr Khān's family (till 1845, according to Minorsky, till 1858 according to Perry). This same family adopted towards the Zands and then towards Agha Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār an at least rebellious attitude (Fasāʾī, i, 229; Dupré, i, 369). Furthermore, Karīm Khān Zand and Luṭf ʿAlī Zand handed over the government of Lāristān and the ports of the Gulf to the *shaykhs* of Bastak (now promoted to *khāns*). Under Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the government of Lāristān and the Bulūk-i Sabʿa reverted to this same family; it was given to three sons of ʿAbd Allāh Khān (at Furg, Ṭārum and Lār respectively), with ʿAbd Allāh himself residing at Shīrāz at the side of the Ḳādjār prince-governor (Dupré, i, 361 ff.). Having become *beglar-begi* of Lāristān, one of his sons, Naṣīr Khān Lārī, was in 1247/1831-2 deposed from office and the governorship of Lāristān entrusted to Aḥmad Khān Bastakī (Fasāʾī, i, 280). In the next year, Naṣīr Khān was re-appointed *beglar-begi* of Lāristān and the Sabʿa (*ibid.*, i, 281). In 1262/1845, after dissensions had arisen amongst the *khāns* of Lār, the *wālī* of Fārs put an end to this and appointed at Lār a mere *kalāntar* [*q.v.*], Karbalāʾī ʿAlī Riḍā Girāshī, and then his son (Fasāʾī, ii, 284). Naṣr Allāh Khān Lārī, jailed in Shīrāz for his misappropriations, managed to escape and to stir up a revolt in the region of Sabʿa. He could not be suppressed by force, but hid in the mountains; in the end, he went to Shīrāz and was in 1275/1858 granted a pension (Fasāʾī, i, 318-19). In 1276/1859-60 the governorship of Lāristān was given to the Ḳādjār prince Mahdī Ḳulī Mīrzā, who put down the revolt of Muṣṭafā Khān-i Bastakī (*ibid.*, i, 321).

In view of the extreme difficulties of the Ḳādjārs in keeping control of Fārs and the Gulf ports (in particular, Bandar ʿAbbāsī, the governorship of which had to be handed over to the Imām of Masḳaṭ (Muscat) until 1284/1868), the governorship of Lāristān kept its considerable importance. In 1284/1868 and in 1293/1877, it included the regions of Sabʿa and Bandar ʿAbbāsī, to which were joined (in 1297/1880 and 1299/1881-2) jurisdiction over the Five Tribes (Khamsa [see WILĀYAT-I KHAMSE]) and over Dārāb (*ibid.*, i, 326, 336, 340, 345). Towards the end of the Ḳādjār period, Lāristān found itself more and more under the control of the Ḳawāmī, a powerful vizieral family of Fārs stemming from the descendants of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Khān Iʿtimād al-Dawla Shīrāzī. In 1294/1877-8, Iḥtishām al-Dawla and Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān Ḳawām al-Mulk restored order in the coastal districts of Lāristān (*ibid.*, i, 337-8). In 1299/1882, the governorship of Lāristān, Sabʿa, Dārāb, Khamsa and Fasā was entrusted to Ḳawām al-Mulk, who in fact died the next year. The plan for the administrative reorganisation of Fārs in 1913 proposed no longer to attach "Lāristān and ʿAbbāsī" to the Ḳawāmī sphere of influence nor to the *wilāyat* of the Khamsa tribes (*Le Fars*, 161). Under the Pahlavīs, Lār became a *shahristān* comprising five *bakhsh*s: Markazī, Bastak, Linga, Gawbandī, and Djūyum and Bunārūya (the result of the administrative reform of 1317/1938-9, see Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 209). With the reform of 1334/1955-6, the Farmāndārī-yi Lāristān comprised the following *bakhsh*s: Evaz, Lāmard, Djūyum and Ḥumā. The coastal districts and their hinterlands now form part of the Ports and Islands of the Persian Gulf. Bastak, shorn of two *dihistāns*, is one of the five *bakhsh*s of Bandar Linga (Muwaḥḥid, 8-9).

The fighting between Karīm Khān Zand and Naṣīr Khān Lārī for control of the ports and the routes through Lāristān accelerated the economic ruin of the region (Perry, 152 ff.). Already rather little-used in the Ṣafawid period (over and above the Gulf routes via Lār), the Shīrāz-Bandar Rīg route (facing the island of Khārg) was envisaged by the East India Company as an alternative to the Shīrāz-Bandar ʿAbbāsī one (*ibid.*, 259). The troubles in Lāristān amongst the local powers led to the Companies moving further north up the Gulf: the English to Bushire (Bū-Shahr) and the Dutch to Khārg (*ibid.*, 154 ff.; Stiffe, in *GJ*, xvi [1900], 211-15). Hence Lār retained henceforth only a regional importance.

Lāristān once again suffered from brigandage (the pillaging expedition of the Balūčī Mihrāb Khān, *sardār* of Bampūr, at the opening of the 19th century, see Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan*, London 1816, 163, Fr. tr. Paris 1818, i, 325 ff. (on the Balūčī raids of 1810, see Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 105). Around 1256/1840, Lār seems to have been occupied by Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī, head of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in revolt against the Shāh (Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1897, 94; on Āḳā Khān's revolt, see H. Algar, in *SI*, xxix [1969], 55-18). Despite its comparative isolation, Lār continued to trade with the Gulf ports (in particular, with Bandar ʿAbbāsī, Bandar Linga and Bandar Ṭāhirī (the former Sārīf), see Stiffe, in *GJ*, vi (1895), 166-73.

In 1881, Stack found Lār in a fairly wretched condition (i, 133-45). But the action of its governor Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān (a person whom he describes at length) and his son allowed the town's buildings to be restored (see above, on the Ḳayṣariyya *bāzār*), noted as being in excellent condition in 1907. Bandar Linga was at that time the main port of Lār (via Bastak; see A. T. Wilson, in *GJ* [February 1908], 152-70). The comparative development of Bandar Linga under the Ḳawāsim/Djawāsim Arabs favoured the hinterland, and notably Bastak. At the end of the Ḳādjār period (*ca.* 1900-15), the Gulf ports, including Bandar ʿAbbās and Bandar Linga, were increasingly controlled by Belgian officials (Lorimer, iiA, 14). In 1335/1916-17, Bandar ʿAbbās was considered to be wholly under British influence (Kabābī, 541).

3. **The island of Lār** (see Map 2). This Gulf island is generally considered as being that called

Abū Shuʿayb (Bū Shuʿayb, Shaykh Shuʿayb or Djazīrat al-Shaykh, situated to the south-east of Bandar Nakhīlū and belonging to the Shīb-i Kūh-i Lāristān (at 3 *farsakhs*' distance from the coast, according to Fasāʾī, ii, 315). Since the identification of this island is not made easy by utilising the classical and early Islamic sources, one finds numerous errors in both old and modern writers, and some of them have mixed up the island and the kingdom of Lār (Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 128-9). Nearchus must have touched on it in the course of his periplus. It could possibly be the island of pearls (Nesos Margaritis) of Orthagoras (see Tomaschek, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxi [1890], 55, and Minorsky, *EI*¹ art. s.v.). The geographers writing in Arabic give it various names: Lāwān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Iṣṭakhrī); Lār (Yāḳūt, Abu 'l-Fidā); whilst the variants Alār, Lān, Allān (Lārān) are given by Schwarz, 87, Le Strange, 261, and Minorsky, *loc. cit.* Ibn al-Balkhī (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 241) connects the island with Ardashīr Khurra (Īrāhistān). Muḥammad b. Nadjīb Bakrān calls this island Lādh (*Djahān-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī, Tehran 1342/1963, 43). The toponym Lādh (cf. Lād, the ancient name of the town or the kingdom of Lār) could be applicable to the place called Laz/Laza or to Lāz/Lāza/Lazā, the most important settlement in the eastern part of the island. The Portuguese called it Ilhe de Lazão or Laracoar (Lār-Shatwār, from the name of the islet Shatwār/Shitwār/Čitwār at its eastern extremity; see Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 97, n. 115).

According to Yāḳūt (iv, 341), Lār is a large island situated between Sīrāf and Ḳays, lacking any settlement or village; there were pearl fishers, i.e. divers; its circumference was said to be 12 *farsakhs* round. Because of the insecurity from Gulf piracy, the island was thinly peopled. According to Duarte Barbosa, it formed part of the dependencies of Hurmuz (Aubin, in *ibid.*). It is situated, in relationship to the coast, which makes an outward salient at Raʾs Nakhīlū, 14 to 15 miles from the coast; from east to west it is about 15 miles long, and about 3 miles wide. It is 120 feet high at the centre, and low plains of one to two miles extend towards each extremity. It has virtually no vegetation, but the water from its well is of good quality (Lorimer, iiB, 1813). Its geological formation is identical with that of the island of Ḳays and Hindarābī (Pilgrim [1908], 142).

Shaykh Shuʿayb is attached to the *dihistān* of Badawī in the *shahristān* of Bandar Linga (Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 61, which places it 23 km. to the south-east of Bandar Maḳām and gives its dimensions as 24 x 5 km., with its highest point *ca.* 37 m.). Drinking water comes from wells and from cisterns to catch rain-water. There is cultivation of dates, cereals and some market-garden produce. Fishing, for fish and for pearls, is carried on. At the beginning of the 20th century, it had 10 villages or hamlets, the most important being Laz (70 houses). It had a total of *ca.* 300 houses for 1,500 inhabitants, Shāfiʿī and Sunnī Arabs of various tribes (Lorimer, iiB, 1814-15). In *ca.* 1950, it had 7 small settlements and 730 inhabitants, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, speaking Arabic and Persian (Razmārā, *Farhang*, *loc. cit.*, which mentions its liability to malaria). The population seems to have varied little (800 in *ca.* 1976, according to the *Farhang-i Muʿīn*, v, 948).

4. **The island of Lārak** (see Map 2). This is an island of the Gulf 20 miles south of Bandar ʿAbbās and partially closing the approach to this port between Ḳishm and Hurmuz. The channel between Lārak and Ḳishm, to the north-east, is 6 miles wide; between Lārak and Hurmuz, to the north-north-east, it is 11 miles. Slightly smaller than Hurmuz, Lārak is oval in shape, measuring 6 miles (from east-north to west-south-west) by 4 miles. It is surrounded by deep water except at the western side. The interior is a mass of sharp, sandstone hills mixed with salt domes and domes of red iron oxide (a typical formation of the "Hurmuz series", see Pilgrim [1908], 141, [1924], 16). Except for a few date-palms, it is almost bare of vegetation. The highest point reaches 510 feet. Except for the well of Salmī (in the west), water comes from cisterns (Lorimer, iiB, 1086; see also Fasāʾī, ii, 317). There are many gazelles and rabbits, the former living off a spiny plant called the *kittaw* which stays green in winter as well as summer (Kabābī, 98, who states that the island is 13 miles in circumference, 18 miles from Bandar ʿAbbās, 28 miles from Kūh-i Musandam, 8 miles from Shahr-i Ḳishm, and 16 to 17 miles from Hurmuz).

The sparsity and the vagueness of the older sources has given rise to many hypotheses. Lārak, literally "little Lār", has been take—by Kabābī, 291—for the ancient island of Lār (wrongly, because the depths do not allow pearl-fishing). The island seems to have occupied, made useful and cultivated by a fairly important (to judge by the remains of buildings and irrigation works) non-Muslim population (according to the orientation of numerous tombs, see Lorimer, iiB, 1087, and Kabābī, 698). Amongst the ruins, the latter author mentions those of a rectangular fortress like the one of the island of Ḳishm. Lorimer records two ancient forts: a ruinous one at the place called Kharābistān, in the interior of the island (i.e. Lārak-i kūhī), and the other, in a better condition, at Labṭiyāb on the northern coast. According to this same authority, the fort is said to be Portuguese, but according to Curzon, ii, 413, Dutch. According to Iḳtidārī, the *ḳalʿa*s of Lārak and Ḳishm are Portuguese, whilst that of Khamīr is possibly Dutch. The Lārak *ḳalʿa* is made from dressed stone covered with mortar, with three floors, four towers and a look-out walkway (*Āthār*, 740 ff., with photographs). Only the foundations remain of the East India Company's telegraph house. Among the remains of the cemetery have been found lamps for the dead from baked earth (*ibid.*, with photograph at 742).

The anchorage of Lārak was much appreciated by sailors, especially the Portuguese, who called it Lareka/Lareca. They sheltered there in February 1625 when making an attempt to recover Hurmuz (see Steensgaard, 352). The ambassador Pereira Fidalgo stopped there in 1696 (ed. Aubin, 29). In 1717, Lārak was captured by the Imām of Masḳaṭ aided by the Ḳawāsim and Arabs from Ḳaṭar (Perry, 158).

According to the *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd* (17th century), Lārak was inhabited by Arab fishermen. The boat from Bandar Rīg called there sometimes (ed. Aubin, in *FIZ*, vi/2-3 [1337/1958], 175). At the beginning of the 20th century, the population of *ca.* 200 was made up of Dhahūriyyīn linked by marriage with the Banū Shatayr Shihūh of Kumzār (the region of the Ruʾūs al-Djibāl in ʿUmān) who spoke *kumzārī* (Lorimer, iiB, 1086). In addition to the Kumzārīs, Kabābī notes 30 heads of families, five of them from Bustānū-yi ʿAbbasī, and he states that the soil of the island is good for agriculture. The people live by extracting salt (exported to the ʿUmānāt and Ḳishm), fishing and a little bit of stock-rearing (sheep and goats). In summer, most of them migrate to the oasis-palm-groves of Mīnāb (Kabābī, 96). Formerly, the island depended administratively on

the *kalāntar* of Ḳis̲h̲m. Persian authority was only established after 1905-6 with the building of a customs-post (Lorimer, iiB, 1087; Kabābī, 97). One of the interesting peculiarities of Lārak is that it possesses—in company with other places of the coasts and islands of Lāristān—*zār* [*q.v.*] adepts and practitioners. Called locally the *ahl-i hawā* "people of the wind", they have as the officiating persons men (the *bābās*), women (the *māmās*) and some *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*, most of them of African origin (see G̲h̲ulām Ḥusayn Sāʿidī, *Ahl-i hawā*, Tehran 1345/1966, index *s.v.* Lārak).

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LARACHE [see AL-ʿARĀʾIS̲H̲].

LĀRANDA, Larende or Karaman in modern Turkish usage, earlier Turkish Ḳaramān or Dārende, a provincial town in Anatolia, is the seat of one of the thirteen districts of Ḳonya [*q.v.*]. The district of Karaman is the largest (4,647 km²) *ilçe* in Turkey. The town lies outside the earthquake zone at lat. 37° N, long. 33° 10′ E, at an elevation of 1,038 m., on the plateau at the northern end of the pass leading through the Taurus Mts. to the Göksü (ancient Kalykadnos, or Saleph) river valley. The main road from Ḳonya (at 110 km.) to Silifke (at 148 km.) passes through the district. The town has a station on the railway line from Ḳonya to Eregli, a stretch of the former Istanbul-Bag̲h̲dād railway. The population grew from 8,182 in 1927 to 28,113 in 1965 and to 51,208 in 1980, when the *ilçe* counted 113,408 inhabitants.

1. HISTORY

Excavations at prehistoric sites in the Ḳonya-Lāranda area, especially at Čatal Hüyük and Čan Hasan, have revealed an advanced Neolithic culture and substantial towns dating from *ca.* 7000 B.C. (See J. Mellaart *et alii*, in *Cambridge ancient history*; idem and D. French, in *Anatolian Studies*, x (1960); U. B. Alkım, in *Anatolia* i (1968); D. Magie, *Roman rule*; W. Ramsay, *Hist. geogr.*, 45; F. Taeschner, *Wegenetz*).

The Byzantine Laranda (τά Λάρανδα, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, xii, col. 793) fell to the Sald̲j̲ūḳs after the battle of Manzikert (463/1071), and islamisation must have taken place early. After having been under Dānis̲h̲mendid [*q.v.*] rule, it was retaken around 560/1165 by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan Ḳılıd̲j̲ Arslān II [*q.v.*]. Taken briefly in 586/1190 by emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and in 1210 by Leo II of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia, it was regained by the Sald̲j̲ūḳs in 1216 and used as a frontier fortress against the Armenian kingdom. In 623/1226 the area was organised as the *wilāyat-i Arman* (*Histoire des Croisades, Doc. Arm*, i, 360; *Cambridge history of Islam*, i, Cambridge 1970, 234 ff.). Around 625/1228, the family of Mawlānā D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] settled in the town. D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn was married there and extols its delights in his poetry (A. Göl-

pınarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin*, Istanbul 1959, 4, 41 ff.). It is claimed locally that the great folk poet Yūnus Emre [*q.v.*] is also buried there (idem, *Yunus Emre, hayatı...*, Istanbul 1963; M. C. S. Tekindağ, in *Belleten* xxx (1966), 117, 59-90; *Procs. of the 1971 Istanbul Symposium on Yunus Emre*). Lāranda also claims as its native sons the chronicler Neshrī [*q.v.*], the Grand Vizier Ḳaramānī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], the medical writer Lārendeli Siyāḥīzāde Dervīsh, and others (Gibb, *Ottoman poetry*, index; Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, index; V. L. Ménage, *Neshrī's History of the Ottomans*, London 1964; A. A. Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943). In 626/1228 the Türkmen dynasty of the Ḳaramān-oghullarī [*q.v.*] emerged in the Ermenek-Lāranda region, and in 628/1231 the town was given as a temporary *iḳṭāʿ* to Ḳushlu Sankum, a Khwārazmian chief. In 654/1256 Lāranda became the capital of the Ḳaramānids under Ḳaramān-oghlu Güneri Beg and was able to maintain itself against the combined forces of the Saldjūḳs and their supporters, the Īl-Khānid Mongols. In 687/1288 Lāranda was burned by the Īl-Khānids, and lost temporarily again to them in 691/1292, but heavy destruction and loss of population did not stop the Ḳaramānids from rising to great political power. The town grew in importance and was enriched with many buildings. (See section 2, below). After 1300, the name Lāranda was replaced by the new name Ḳaramān. Even when the Ḳaramānid princes expanded their dominions and were able to make the prestigious royal city of Ḳonya their capital in 712/1312, the old residence remained important as a seat of lesser members of the dynasty. The town remained somewhat distant from the battle front during the Ḳaramānids' struggle with the competing powers in Anatolia, including the Mongols and later the Ottomans, the heirs of the Saldjūḳ sultans. According to F. Sümer (art. ḲARĀMĀN-OGHULLARĪ, Vol. IV, 622a), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of his visit to Ḳonya and Lāranda, and of his meeting the Ḳaramānid begs, is based on hearsay. In 799/1397 the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I Yīldīrīm [*q.v.*] occupied Lāranda and conquered nearly all the dominions of the Ḳaramān-oghlu *amīr* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who was himself killed. The *amīr*'s widow, the Ottoman princess Nefīse (Melek Khātūn), and her two sons Meḥmed Beg and ʿAlī Beg, were deported to Bursa in 800/1398. This was seemingly the end of the principality. Tīmūr, however, restored the Ḳaramānids to power after the battle of Anḳara (804/1402), and they maintained themselves in the face of the Ottoman restoration in 817/1414 and 818/1415. Next to Ḳonya, Lāranda remained the main centre of the Ḳaramānid state and flourished greatly. At this time, however, the Mamlūks invaded the country and occupied Lāranda in 822/1418-19 for a short time, the region becoming tributary to them. The town's lords then changed several times because of civil warfare. In 826/1423, Meḥmed Beg was killed at the siege of Anṭālya and buried in Lāranda. The town saw its last decades of glory as a capital under Ḳaramān-oghlu Ibrāhīm Beg (827-69/1424-64). When de la Brocquière traversed the lands of "the Grand Karman" in 836/1432, he attended an audience with sultan Ibrāhīm in his court at Ḳonya after having visited Lāranda. He remarked on the great extent of the Ḳaramānid domains, the dignity and wealth of the court and flourishing trade of both towns. Another conflict brought the Mamlūk army to Lāranda again, and it was set on fire (861/1456-7). After Ḳonya was lost to the Ottomans, the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pasha took Lāranda in 873/1468, the last Ḳaramānid chiefs continuing their resistance against the forces of Sultan Meḥemmed the Conqueror. Part of the inhabitants, especially the craftsmen, were deported in 1471 to be settled in Istanbul in the so-called Büyük Ḳaramān quarter (the present Çarşamba). In Lāranda a number of monumental buildings, sacred and profane, were destroyed by the new Ottoman rulers (including by Gedik Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]). The castle was repaired with the architectural débris. In 881/1476 the first Ottoman registration of land, property and pious foundations took place, and the town's tithe tax (*ʿöshr*) was made into a *waḳf* for the benefit of al-Madīna. By this time, the rule of the Ḳaramān-oghullarī in Lāranda had virtually come to an end (Tekingdağ, 1963, 61; Konyalı, 100-2, 405). The town became the first Ottoman *shehzāde* (prince's) *sandjaḳ*, governed from Ḳonya under princes Muṣṭafā and Djem [*q.vv.*]. In 888/1483 Bāyazīd II had the Ḳaramānid territory organised as a regular Ottoman province as the *eyālet* of Ḳaramān, with Ḳonya as capital and seat of the *beglerbegi*.

From now onwards, Lāranda was of only secondary importance. With its castle, it must have played a role in the Ottoman campaigns to suppress revolts fomented by Ḳaramānid chiefs and Ṣafawid agents till *ca.* 1501. The rebel Ḳulī Shāh seized the town briefly in 916/1510, while in 917/1511 the area was taken by prince Aḥmad in his fruitless effort to succeed Bāyazīd II. Turmoil was caused in 933-5/1526-8 by the Kalandar [*q.v.*]. Until 923/1517, the town was part of the fortified frontier with the Mamlūk dominions, and it became a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳonya. During a short period in the 11/17th century, it probably held the rank of *sandjaḳ* itself. The name of Ḳaramān came now more and more in use. The importance of the trade route passing through Lāranda was probably reduced by the extension of the Ottoman empire to the east. The tax registers dated *ca.* 929/1523 show that the population of Lāranda counted 664 *khānes* = 464 *nefers* or tax payers (Konyalı), or 493 *khānes* = 693 *nefers* (Jennings), or 576 *khānes* = 693 *nefers* (Faroqhi). The registers of 992/1584 and 995/1587 show 2,027 *nüfus* (Konyalı), 2,048 *nefers* (Jennings), and 1,423 *khānes* = 2,048 *nefers* plus 625 *müdjerreds* (Faroqhi). The number of *mahalles* had increased in 1587 from 34 (Konyalī: 33) to 39. Thirteen of those quarters still exist at the present. The growth of population seems to point to secure living conditions. From other sources it is known, however, that Lāranda was one of the centres of the well-known *softa* or student revolts against the central government's financial policy in the years 985-1002/1577-94. In 1596 the Djelāli [see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.] revolts ravaged the province of Ḳaramān. Lāranda's population seems to have remained loyal to the government during the following years, at least till 1011/1603. The presence of the Janissary garrison must have had an influence here (cf. M. Akdağ, *Celâlî isyanları (1559-1603)*, Ankara 1963, index s.v. Karaman (Lârende)). Ḳara Yazīdjī [*q.v.*], one of the Djelālīs, was bought off by the office of *muḥāfiẓ* of Ḳaramān.

From the taxation data of the 10th/16th century, Lāranda appears as a flourishing interregional market town in an important agricultural region. The building activity during the same century seems to bear this out. The town contained, around 929/1523, 1 *ʿimāret*, 4 *djāmiʿ*s, 25 *mesdjids*, 7 *medreses*, 1 *dār al-ḥadīth*, 10 *tekkes*, 7 *ḥammāms*, 264 *dükkāns*

and 65 *ṣandīḳs* ("trading booths"). The castle was manned by a garrison of 39 men under a commander (*dizdār*) and a *kāhyā*. Its armament must have included some pieces of artillery (Konyalı, 176, 178). Tenth/seventeenth century Lāranda is described by Ewliya Čelebi (*Seyāḥāt-nāme*, ix, 311-15) and Kātib Čelebi (*Djihān-nümā*, 1145/1732, 614 f.). In 1867, Lāranda/Ḳaramān was incorporated in the new *wilāyet* of Ḳonya as a *ḳaḍā*ʾ in the central *sandjaḳ*.

Traditional economy, based mainly on dry farming, live-stock, textiles and the production of the well-known *Ḳaramān-bulguru* (wheat), has been diversified and enlarged. Lead, zinc and chrome are in limited production and there are minor iron ore deposits in the area. In the early 1960s, 400 workers from Karaman went to Germany in the first group of Turkish labourers. For further details, see Ibrahim Rıfkı Boynukalın, *Karaman'ın iktisadi ve sosyal gelişimi*, Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Istanbul 1968.

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(A. H. DE GROOT - H. A. REED)

2. MONUMENTS

The archival sources for the monuments of Lāranda/Ḳaramān—the *waḳf* review of Khwādja Muṣliḥ al-Dīn dated Muḥarram 881/January 1477 (= Ankara, Kuyud-i kadime 665; facsimile and commentary, Feridun Nafız Uzluk, *Fatih devrinde Karaman eyâleti vakıflar fihristi*, Ankara 1958); and *waḳf* reviews of Bāyazīd II, dated 906/1500-1 (= Ankara, Kuyud-i kadime 565, old number 255) and Süleymān I, dated 929/1522-3 (= Başvekâlet Arşivi 387)—give a more varied picture of the 14th-16th century monuments of Ḳaramān and can be used to supplement the data of those still extant, though the unusually diverse nomenclature of the monuments makes some identifications subject to caution. The present review is, therefore, concerned primarily with standing buildings. In one respect, however, the sources are significant: they provide singularly little evidence for the 13th century architecture of the town.

Sherd finds from the Citadel or Içkale are evidence for 13th century habitation, though the existence of a Saldjūḳ palace remains to be demonstrated. Saldjūḳ blue and white tiles were also reused in the Hatuniye Medrese (see below), and two fragments in the Victoria and Albert Museum (355-6. 1906) have been shown (M. Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*, i-ii [= Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 13], Tübingen 1976, ii, 483-4) to have Ḳaramān as their likely provenance. But there is no architectural evidence for major buildings in the 13th century, and the only surviving 13th century monument is a small *masdjid* * (Monuments marked with an asterisk bear dated inscriptions), much restored in 645/1247-8 by Saʿd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abū (*sic*) Bakr (Meinecke, *op. cit.*, ii, 483-4; İ. H. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Karaman tarihi*, Istanbul 1967, 347-50), a domed square with an adjacent flat-roofed *īwān*. It contains multiple burials, but the only dated tombstone is that of Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Madjd al-Dīn ʿAlī, dated Djumādā II 700/March 1301. The area was evidently a cemetery at the time it was built.

Fortifications. Of the original triple enceinte, little remains. The outermost walls have disappeared entirely. The middle enceinte, to which Ewliyā Čelebi attributed nine gates and from which Christian and pre-Christian spoliae have been retrieved, is now reduced to a single gate and a few fragments of rubble walls. The Citadel or Içkale (Fig. 1) which, doubtless by mistake, he describes as surrounded by a deep moat, is rectangular, with eight round, faceted or rectangular towers. The walls contain many heterogeneous re-used Islamic blocks (Fig. 2), perhaps from the monuments which, Shikārī states (M. Koman, *Şikârı'nın Karaman oğulları tarihi* [= Konya Halkevi Tarih ve Müze Komitesi Yayınları, I.2], 1946, 112), were destroyed by Gedik Aḥmad Pasha [see AḤMAD PASHA GEDIK] on the Ottoman occupation of Ḳaramān (*inter alia* the Djāmiʿ-i Sulṭān, the Djāmiʿ-i Kāshī and the Djāmiʿ-i Niẓāmshāhī); and from the Great Mosque, the mosque of the Ḳaramānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg and the mosque of Ḳaramān Shāh. None of the reused fragments bears a foundation inscription, so that Shikārī's assertion is difficult to evaluate. However, since all are fairly near ground level, the Citadel was evidently rebuilt shortly after the Ottoman conquest. It was radically restored in 1965.

The pre-Ottoman fortifications cannot be identified, though the Citadel mound is evidently man-made and the fortress played an important role as late as the end of the 15th century. Nor can the water supply be traced; in the absence of wells or aqueducts, the Citadel must have been supplied by cisterns. However, their presence remains to be established.

Mosques. The Great Mosque, now restored out of all recognition, was a flat-roofed aisled construc-

tion with wooden columns and stalactite capitals (Konyalı, *op. cit.*, 359-63). No Great Mosque is mentioned in the *waḳf* register of Muḥarram 881/January 1477, which thus indirectly corroborates Shikārī's assertion that it was destroyed in or after the Ottoman capture of Ḳaramān. The only evidence, moreover, for the existence of a Great Mosque in the 16th century is the foundation inscription of a *maktab* * associated with it dated 940/1533-4. The façade of the Hacıbeyler Camii (Konyalı, 294-8), a rectangular building now with a pyramidal gabled roof, has also evidently been substantially rebuilt, save for the entrance in a projecting rectangular moulded frame bearing a foundation inscription dated 902/1496-7 (cf. the anonymous foundation inscription of the heavily restored Arapzade or Araboğlu Mosque dated 899/1493-4). However, a block built into the wall to the left of the porch bears the foundation inscription of a mosque dated 757/1356. This is evidently a re-use, and it is unclear whether the present building occupies the site of an earlier mosque.

The Dikbasan Mosque in the bazar (Meinecke, ii, 175-7), identified by Konyalı, (281-8) with the Fasih Camii of the *waḳf* registers of the reigns of Bāyazīd II (906/1500-1) and Süleymān I (929/1522-3), is a flat-roofed, four-aisled construction with a carved stone *miḥrāb* in the central bay. The brick minaret is rebuilt. The interior contains a two-line chronogram, read variously as 899/1493-4 (Konyalı, *loc. cit.*) and 920/1514-15 (E. Diez, O. Aslanapa and Mahmut Mesut Koman, *Karaman devri sanatı*, Istanbul 1950, 40), and a re-used fragment of relief tile on a cobalt ground with traces of gilt dated Djumādā II 840/January 1437, perhaps from an earlier building on the site which was then rebuilt about 1500. The most imposing Ottoman mosque, however, is that of Nūḥ Pasha, a native of Ḳaramān, built while he was governor of Konya and dated 1005/1596-7. Against the inside wall of the three-domed narthex is a wooden gallery, the soffits of which have an applied revetment of gilt and painted wooden strapwork, probably contemporary.

Madrasas. The *madrasa* of the Amīr Mūsā (Konyalı, 455-60; Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 50-4; Meinecke, ii, 158-64) was destroyed in 1927 (Fig. 3). The building was, however, photographed by both Sarre and Van Berchem, and Sarre was able to draw a plan of the building (F. Sarre, *Konya. Seldschukische Denkmäler* [= *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst*, IV], Berlin 1910, Plate 30, misidentified as that of the Hatuniye Medrese). This shows a central dome on pendentives, lateral ranges of four cells fronted by arcades or re-used marble columns, and an axial *īwān* flanked by domed chambers with a *miḥrāb* housed in its side wall. To either side of the shallow recessed entrance and inner porch were rectangular corner rooms and annexes, that to the right housing the stair-well of the minaret. This was cylindrical on a square base, with a shaft, divided, like that of the *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (see below), by projecting mouldings into registers, and a single stone balcony on a corbelled stalactite base. The porch was a barely-decorated moulded frame with a shallow stalactite canopy on corner pilasters with doubled polyhedral capitals. The foundation inscription, which has now disappeared, occupied the course above the doorway and was flanked by further pilasters and capitals. The *waḳf* review of Muḥarram 881/January 1477 gives the *madrasa* of the Amīr Mūsā in seventh place. Its precise designation is problematic. Mūsā Beg (d. 758/1356-7) is buried in the Tol Medrese * (740/1339-40) which he built at Ermenak [*q.v.*]. The present foundation was also funerary, however, and Konyalı (*loc. cit.*) has identified the tombstones of Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad Beg b. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd b. Ḳarāmān (*sic*) (d. 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 750/17 January 1350) and his brother Shams al-Dīn Beg (d. 753/1352-3) from it. These give a terminus for its construction; and a third burial, of Durkhwānd Khātūn bint Badr al-Dīn Beg (d. 12 Djumādā I 813/13 September 1410), testifies to its later frequentation by the Ḳaramānids.

The Hatuniye Medrese * (783/1381-2) (Fig. 4), the finest decorated building of Ḳaramān, was founded by Sulṭān Khātūn, daughter of Murād I Khudāwandigār and wife of the Ḳaramānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg (Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 55-66); Konyalı, 461-82; Meinecke, ii, 165-70). The building is symmetrically planned, with small domed rooms to either side of the entrance block, side ranges of three domed cells and a rectangular vaulted *dars-khāne*, and an axial *īwān* flanked by domed chambers, one a mausoleum. The entrances to these have high relief-carved limestone frames (Fig. 5). The projecting entrance block has been heavily restored several times: the entrance is recessed in an elaborately-carved and profiled bi-coloured marble frame, continuing a tradition of Saldjūḳ porch decoration—the Çifte minare Medrese, Erzurum (*ca.* 1242), the Gök Medrese, Sivas * (670/1271-2) and the Eşrefoğulları Camii, Beyşehir * (699/1300)— and although on a smaller scale than these, is particularly close in conception and execution to the Gök Medrese at Sivas (cf. S. Ögel, *Bir Selçuk portelleri* (sic) *grubu ve Karaman'daki Hatuniye Medresesi portalı*, in *Ilahiyât Fakültesi Dergisi. Yıllık Araştırmaları Dergisi 1957* [Ankara 1958], 115-9 and Figs. 6-7). It bears a craftman's signature, Khwādja Aḥmad b. Nuʿmān b. Aḥmad (Meinecke, *op. cit.*, ii, 166, correcting the "Muḥammad" in Mayer, *Architects*, 112), which also continues the Saldjūḳ tradition of signed façades. The remarkably exact copying on a smaller scale of both profiles and decoration suggests strongly that forms of projection were known to the builders of 14th century Anatolia, though there are no literary attestations for the popularity of the prototype, and the other cases of parallelism have not been established beyond the Saldjūḳ period (cf. K. Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ii-iii, Berlin 1976, 148). The marble revetment of the façade, like the columns inside, is entirely re-used.

There is no trace of any tile mosaic *miḥrāb*, but Meinecke, *loc. cit.*, has established that the *īwān* and the mausoleum both had dadoes of dark turquoise-green hexagonal tiles. The cenotaphs have disappeared but these also may well have been tiled. The Hatuniye has also yielded a re-use Saldjūḳ tile inscription, evidently from a pious foundation, in white relief *naskhī* on a cobalt ground, in the name of Abu'l-Fatḥ Kaykhusraw ... b. al-Saʿīd Ḳılıdj Arslān (= *RCEA*, 4817), now in the Islamic Museum in East Berlin (No. I. 563). The inscription is defective and the ruler, therefore, indeterminate, but Meinecke, *loc. cit.*, has argued for Kaykhusraw I (second reign 601-7/1205-11) or for Kaykhusraw II (634-44/1237-46) [*q.vv.*]. Kaykhusraw III (663-81/1266-84) [*q.v.*] may be eliminated, since from 1261 the amīrate of Ḳaramān was independent, and the titulature of a Saldjūḳ Sulṭān would not have appeared unmodified in foundations at Ḳaramān of the later 13th century.

The foundress has been identified with Malak Khātūn, whose *waḳfiyya*, appointing herself as

mutawallī with her descendants after her, dated Rabīʿ I 787/May 1385, is resumed by Konyalı, 475-82, and appears in précis above the entrance to the mausoleum. This designates the foundation as a Ḥanafī *madrasa*, to which the family mausoleum was to be attached, with the provision that a Shāfiʿī *mudarris* might be appointed if no-one better was available. On the foundation were two *muʿīds*, five *faķīhs*, a *nāẓir*, a *muʾadhdhin*, a sweeper and a porter. The endowments are almost exclusively agricultural property and the national income therefore fairly small. No students on the foundation are mentioned; and the *madrasa* is so small that some of the staff, anyway, must have lived out.

Khānkāhs. The *tekke* of Siyahser or Karabaş Veli, otherwise known as the *khānķāh* of Shaykh or Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (Konyalı, 316-22; Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 85-7) consists of a flat-roofed, three-aisled covered mosque with transverse arcades and a minaret of Ottoman type, possibly a later construction, at its north-east corner (Fig. 8). On its north-west side is a symmetrically-planned building, following Anatolian custom in not being *ķibla*-oriented, with a central sunken area with a large fountain and roofed by a dome on pendentives. Of the three *īwāns*, each has lateral annexes, while on the south-east side an arcade or loggia serves as a narthex to the mosque. The masonry and plan suggest a foundation date of about 1460. Both *tekke* and mosque have entrances on the east. Outside is a cemetery with late burials and a ruined undated octagonal canopy tomb (Fig. 9).

The complex no longer bears a foundation inscription, but has been associated with a Khalwatī *shaykh*, known variously as Mawlānā or Shaykh or Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Rūmī or Aswad, whose tombstone (Konyalı, 316), dated Shawwāl 870/June 1466, was recorded in the canopy mausoleum in 1943. The confusion of names suggests that the monument was colonised by later *shaykhs*. The mosque was evidently ruined by the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II, since it does not appear in the *waķf*-register of Muḥarram 881/January 1477; and in the register of the reign of Bāyazīd II dated 906/1500-1, the *waķfs* are stated to be at the disposal (*dar taṣarruf*) of another, unidentified *zāwiya*, that of Shaykh Pīrī Khalīfa.

A building, known variously as the Aktekke, Mevlevī *tekke*, *tekke* and tomb of "Mader-i Mevlânâ" and the Valide Sultan Camii, seems to be an adaptation of a 14th century Ottoman mosque plan, consisting of a large, partially-domed rectangular area containing twenty-one undated cenotaphs, with an exterior portico preceded by a narrow courtyard with ranges of cells to either side (Konyalı, 229-53; Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 44-9). The foundation inscription records the foundation by the Ķaramānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg of a *zāwiya* for a *shaykh*, whose *laķabs* are given as Djalāl al-Milla wa 'l-Ḥaķķ wa 'l-Dīn, in Rabīʿ I 772/October 1370. The foundation was evidently associated with another *zāwiya*, the *waķfiyya* of which in the name of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg and dated 769/1367-8 (Konya, Yusuf Ağa Kütübhanesi No. 10389) has been resumed by Konyalı, 252-3. This was in favour of the descendants of a *shaykh*, Djalāl al-Ḥaķķ wa'l-Sharīʿa wa 'l-Milla wa '-Dīn, whose *nisba* is not given. The conclusion that the *shaykh* in question was Djalāl al-Dīn *Rūmī* is unwarranted; there is no evidence in either foundation inscription or *waķfiyya* that a Mevlevī foundation was envisaged; and the popular association of the *tekke* with the Mevlevī order must, therefore, be based on a late colonisation of the *tekke* by Mevlevī dervishes.

Though the details of its organisation are obscure, the so-called *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (Konyalı, 405-52; Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 67-84; Meinecke, ii, 170-5) belongs architecturally among the *tekkes* of Ķaramān. It was a multiple foundation, enclosed by a wall of which there is now no trace, consisting of the *ʿimāret*, a mausoleum attached and a fountain opposite (Fig. 10). The *ʿimāret* has a domed, central courtyard surrounded on three sides by two storeys of rooms, with a *ķibla*-oriented axial *īwān* flanked by domed chambers. The minaret salient and traces of the springing of arches on the façade show that originally the building was intended to have an arcaded exo-narthex. The *ʿimāret* plan has several remarkable features, including the fan-pendentives below the dome which derive from the brick architecture of 13th century Konya, though with the exception of re-used marble blocks for the lintel and consoles of the main entrances and the tympana of the outside windows the building is entirely of local stone. The upper storey consists of long galleries, evidently store-rooms or places of assembly. The central area is poorly lit and barely decorated in a style deriving from the internal stone carving of the Çifte Minare Medrese at Erzurum (*ca.* 1242) and the Hospital at Divriği (626/1228 onwards), and the decoration is concentrated on the exterior-grilled windows and their tympana, soffits, door frames and a cylindrical minaret shaft divided by projecting mouldings into registers sparingly decorated with bi-coloured stone (*ablaķ*). The main entrance is framed by mouldings of Anatolian Saldjūķ origin, but without concern for their canonical disposition, and their carved decoration, particularly the markedly chinoiserie foliate elements in the spandrels of the porch, is more indebted to the decorative renaissance of the 1420s at Bursa than the Saldjūķ tradition. The Bursa style is also apparent in the carved marble hood of an exterior window, a single carved block with an arabesque-palmette design, deriving from the marble hoods of the Green Mosque at Bursa.

The tomb, at the southern corner, is also *ķibla*-oriented, a domed square surmounted by an eight-sided pyramidal canopy on an octagonal drum (Fig. 11). Inside there are two floors: a crypt or burial chamber just below ground level and an upper chamber with a carved porch reached by a double staircase. The porch has a shallow stalactite canopy and carved frame with marble jambs, and a lintel with voussoirs set as a flattened broken arch of Bursa type. The upper chamber contains three damaged moulded plaster cenotaphs (Fig. 12), of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ķaramān (d. 868/1463-4), ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm (d. 870/1465-6) and Shāh Ķāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 888/1483-4). Meinecke, *loc. cit.*, remarks that the first two are evidently from the same mould and that the third may well be contemporary. The plaster shows traces of gilding and may also have been painted.

The interior of the *ʿimāret* still contains traces of hexagonal turquoise tiles alternating with cobalt triangles set directly on the rubble walls. The most important decorative feature, however, was a monumental tile *miḥrāb*, now in the Çinili Köşk in Istanbul, old number 136 (E. Kühnel, *Die Sammlung Türkischer und Islamischer Kunst im Tschinili Köschk* [= Meisterwerke der Archäologischen Museen in Istanbul III], Berlin-Leipzig 1938, Fig. 24). It is of polychrome tiles, partially gilt after

firing, with black or red contours of earth colours to prevent the glazes from running. Though not identical to the tile-work of the Green Mosque and Tomb at Bursa (822/1419-20) or the Muradiye at Edirne (*ca.* 1433), it is markedly similar. Meinecke, *loc. cit.*, considers the *miḥrāb* to have been a special order, while assigning comparable fragments in Konya, Berlin and the Victoria and Albert Museum to a refection of the tomb of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Konya in 783/1381-2. Also from the *ʿimāret*, doubtless from the main entrance, is a wooden door, now in the Türk ve Islâm Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul (Çinili Köşk, old number 16; *not* No. 238 as in Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, *loc. cit.*), carved by a craftsman, ʿUmar b. Ilyās al-Karamānī (Mayer, *Woodcarvers*, 66), combining high-relief foliate motifs and silhouette carved lions and gryphons, in a style much closer to stone carving than was Anatolian woodwork of the Saldjūḳ period.

The *ʿimāret* and mausoleum are rich in inscriptions. That over the main entrance is dated Muḥarram 836/August-September 1432. Over the entrances to the domed chambers flanking the axial *īwān* are two undated extracts from the *waḳfiyya*. The basic *waḳfiyya* text, dated Shawwāl 835/July 1432, bears two addenda of the same year and further addenda of 843/1439-40, 849/1445-6, 851/1447-8 and 870/1465-6 (facsimile and commentary by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Karamanoğulları devri vesikalarından Ibrahim Beyin Karaman imareti vakfiyesi*, in *Belleten*, i [1937], 65-164). The richest foundation of Ḳaramān, was it endowed as *waḳf ahlī* according to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, with a staff of twelve Ḳurʾān readers, from among whom the officials of the foundation were to be appointed with appropriate supplements to their basic stipends of 225 silver *dirhams*, and servants to work in the kitchens to provide three days' free food and lodging for reputable visitors. Its designation is slightly ambiguous. Uzunçarşılı describes the foundation as *dār ḳurrāʾ*, *maṭbakh* and *masdjid*. However, the foundation inscription and the first of the two extracts from the *waḳfiyya* inscribed inside describe it merely as *hādhihi 'l-ʿimāra al-mubāraka* (non-descript "foundation"); while the *waḳfiyya* also mentions a *dār al-ḥuffāẓ*. None of this is sufficient to characterise the foundation as a novelty in institutional organisation. The *mutawallī* was to be Ibrāhīm Beg during his lifetime, and thereafter his descendants. Nothing is said of the disbursement of surplus revenus; but the express conditions that one-quarter of the income should go to the upkeep of the foundation and that *waḳf* property be kept in good repair look forward to the terms of Ottoman *waḳfiyyas*.

Mausolea. The distinction between attached and unattached mausolea is probably artificial, since the cemeteries have suffered considerably from recent urban expansion. Photographs, for example, taken prior to the restoration of the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Türbe (Fig. 13), close to the no longer extant *madrasa* of Mūsā Beg (see above) show the springing of the arches of an adjoining building on its south-east side; while a tomb, probably early 15th century, popularly associated with the Zaynī *ʿālim* and *faḳih*, Shams al-Dīn Meḥmed Fenārī, who was actually buried at Bursa [see FENĀRĪ-ZĀDE] (d. 834/1430-1), was also attached to a *zāwiya* or *masdjid*. Of the tombs in the cemeteries, only three are now of architectural importance. The ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Türbe (designated as such in the *waḳf* survey of Muḥarram 881/January 1477) is an undated octagonal construction of the 14th century with a fluted pyramidal roof following a brick prototype (cf. the mausoleum * of Sayyid Maḥmūd Khayrānī at Akşehir [621/1224-5], *RCEA*, 3920) with a recessed entrance and diminutive stalactite canopy (Fig. 14). A ruined octagonal tomb with a set-back octagonal transitional zone and a recessed entrance in a shallow, broken-arched niche, known (Konyalı, 499-501) as the Demirgömlek Türbe and identified on the basis of the 881/1477 *waḳf* survey as the mausoleum of a late Ḳaramānid official, Amīn al-Dīn, appears to be a development of a tomb type characterised by the Hüdavend Türbe at Niğde (712/1312-13). Comparable is the Kızlar Türbe, an undated construction of cut stone with bi-chrome (*ablaḳ*) designs on alternate facets and a recessed entrance set in an arched canopy. The evidence (despite Konyalı, 364-77) that the tomb of Yunus Emre—fervently believed by the local population to have died at Ḳaramān—is in the Kirişçi Baba Mosque is inconclusive.

Baths and fountains. Most of the baths of Ḳaramān were seriously damaged in an earthquake in 1299/1881-2. None is dated, but the plan of a bath given by Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 49, which, they suggest, might have been founded by the Ḳaramānid Süleymān Beg, is of recognisably traditional type. There are no recorded double baths, so the buildings must have been used alternately by men and women. Many must occupy the sites of baths mentioned in 16th century Ottoman *waḳfiyyas* and may well be older, since Sauvaget has remarked that waterworks, for obvious reasons, tend to persist even though the superstructure is rebuilt. However, there is a clear relation between the construction of new baths in the outlying quarters of the town and the building of fountains in the 18th—19th centuries.

The numerous fountains of the quarters of Ḳaramān (Konyalí, 625-35) are of uniform type, with the outflow inset in an arched, normally undecorated, recess, with small *maṣṭabas* or seats at the sides. Those in the centre of Ḳaramān have, like the baths, been the object of frequent, mostly unrecorded, repairs and restorations, often re-using stone from other constructions. Thus the foundation inscription of a *dār al-ḥuffāẓ* * dated Rabīʿ II 855/May 1451 built into the Hoca Mahmud fountain (Konyalı, 637-8) is no evidence that the fountain was associated with any *dār al-ḥuffāẓ* founded by Khʷādja Maḥmūd. Likewise with the marble foundation plaque of an *ʿimāra* of the Ḳaramānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg's Supervisor of Waterworks (*mīr-i āb/āv*), dated Rabīʿ II 777/October 1375, built into the so-called Şahruh Çeşmesi (Konyalı, 351). The earliest standing fountain is thus that opposite the main entrance of the *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432), set in a well-decorated, carved frame. The fountains of the Ottoman period, except for the Kadıbudak and Kilçi Çeşmes (both 958/1551), are mostly associated with mosque foundations. To judge from the surviving inscriptions, few were built in the 17th century. However, the large number of construction or restoration inscriptions covering the period 1790-1850 on the fountains of the peripheral quarters is evidence for considerable urban expansion in the late Ottoman period.

Conclusion. Despite the disappearance of important monuments over the past hundred years, the surviving monuments (of which only the most important have been considered) seem a typical sample of the original constructions of the Ḳaramānid

and Ottoman period. To judge from the earliest Ottoman *waḳf* registers, many buildings were already *kharāb* and their *waḳfs* appropriated by other foundations. Calculation of the revenues of the major Ḳaramānid constructions is difficult, since the scale of the endowments is not recorded. However only the largest foundations, the *madrasa* of Mūsā Beg (*ca.* 1340, no longer extant) the Hatuniye Medrese * (783/1381-2) and the *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg * (836/1432), have whole villages specified among their *awḳāf*. Even allowing, therefore, for the decay of Saldjūḳ foundations and their endowments through the 14th century and their tacit absorption by the later Ḳaramānid foundations, the *waḳf* registers tend to show that even at the height of the Ḳaramānids' power, building was no more extensive at Ḳaramān than at other centres of the amīrate—Niğde, Ermenak, Ereğli and Aksaray—and considerably less than at Konya, Akşehir, Beyşehir and Aksaray under the Saldjūḳs.

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(J. M. Rogers)

LĀRĪ [see larin].

al-**LĀRĪ**, Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ b. Djalāl b. Kamāl al-Anṣārī (or al-Nāṣirī), known as Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī, Persian scholar and historian, was born *ca.* 1510 in Lār, to the south of Shīrāz. Following his family's tradition, he entered upon a scholarly career and studied under Mullā Ṣadrā's son Mīr Ghiyāth b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī and Mīr Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, a pupil of Djalāl al-Dīn [see al-dawānī]. It is transmitted that Lārī's father proceeded openly against the Shīʿī heretics (*rawāfiḍ*).

During his later journeys, al-Lārī was at first received honourably by the Mughal emperor Humāyūn (1530-56), who granted him the title *ustād* and became his pupil. Because of the unrest after Humāyūn's death, he left the country to go first on a pilgrimage to Mecca. According to the Persian source quoted below, four hundred of his books were lost at a shipwreck. After the pilgrimage, from 964/1556-7 (rather 1557) onwards, he stayed for a while in Aleppo, where he apparently tried to establish himself as a merchant. His erudition stood out in discussions with learned men, among whom was Aḥmad Ḳazwīnī, who did not dare to answer Lārī's objections against his recently-composed *Ithbāt al-wādjib*. It is not known how long Lārī stayed in Aleppo; he probably lacked there means of subsistence. His next station was Istanbul, where he obtained admittance to the Muftī Abu 'l-Suʿūd [see abu 'l-suʿūd]. But he declined the offer of a professorship, endowed with 50 *aḳčes* daily; he might have thought that such a position was rather unimportant in comparison with his previous situation at the Mughal court. In this connection, the Ottoman historian ʿĀlī speaks of breach of faith of the Muftī *vis-à-vis* Lārī (H. Sohrweide in *Isl.*, xlvi [1970], 286). Disappointed, he left Istanbul and found his final home in Āmid (now Diyarbakır), where Iskender Pasha, the Ottoman governor, appointed him professor at the Khosrew Pasha *madrasa* and teacher of his children. After being accepted among the *mewāli-yi Rūm*, he then also met with recognition by the Porte. He died over 60 years old in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 979/April-May 1572.

He was originally a follower of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, becoming later a Ḥanafī; also, he had a certain inclination towards mysticism. He wrote numerous annotations and commentaries of well-known works on philosophy, astronomy, *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*. His few experiments as a poet met with no approval, but his *Mirʾāt al-adwār wa-mirḳāt al-akhbār*, a universal history in Persian, dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Selīm II (974-82/1566-74) on the occasion of his accession to the throne, became widely known. The work consists of ten chapters, and is a compilation from fifty Arabic, Persian and a few Turkish works, which are mentioned in the preface. Possibly between 974/1566-7 and 978/1570, Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn (d. 1008/1599 [see khōdja efendi]) undertook, at the order of the Grand Vizier, an adaptation in Turkish of the first nine chapters. He left out the tenth chapter, on the Ottomans; as is well-known, they were the subject of his own work, the *Tādj al-tewārīkh*. In the 19th century, the official historiographer Esʿad Efendi [see esʿad efendi, ṣaḥḥāflar-sheykhī-zāde seyyid mehmed] also made a partial translation.

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(H. Sohrweide)

LĀRIDA, name denoting, in Arabic texts, the former Ilerda, an episcopal see, currently Lérida, provincial capital in Spain, to the west of Barcelona, on the Segre.

It was a district (*ʿamal*) centre of the Upper March (*al-Thaghr al-alʿā*) to which other towns and a large number of fortified strongholds were subordinate. Situated on a fertile plain, it is surrounded by numerous gardens and orchards. One of its main sources of wealth was constituted by the plantations of fine quality flax which were farmed commercially throughout the March. There used to be gold in large quantities in the river of Lārida. The district included rich farmlands on the banks of the Cinca (*nahr zaytūn*) with olive-groves and vineyards. There were numerous agricultural estates (*ḍiyāʿ*) comprising cereal and pasture land. Al-Ḥimyarī notes as a special feature the fact that each rural grouping (*ḍayʿa*) had at its disposal a fortified look-out tower (*burdj*), or underground galleries (*sirdāb*) where the farmers could take refuge in the event

Fig. 1. Citadel or İçkale. Late 16th century. General view, prior to restoration (M. Van Berchem, 1899, courtesy Fondation Max Van Berchem, Geneva).

Fig. 2. Citadel. Re-used 14th century stone-carving (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig. 3. *Madrasa* of the Amīr Mūsā (*ca.* 1340). (F. Sarre, courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Islamisches Museum).

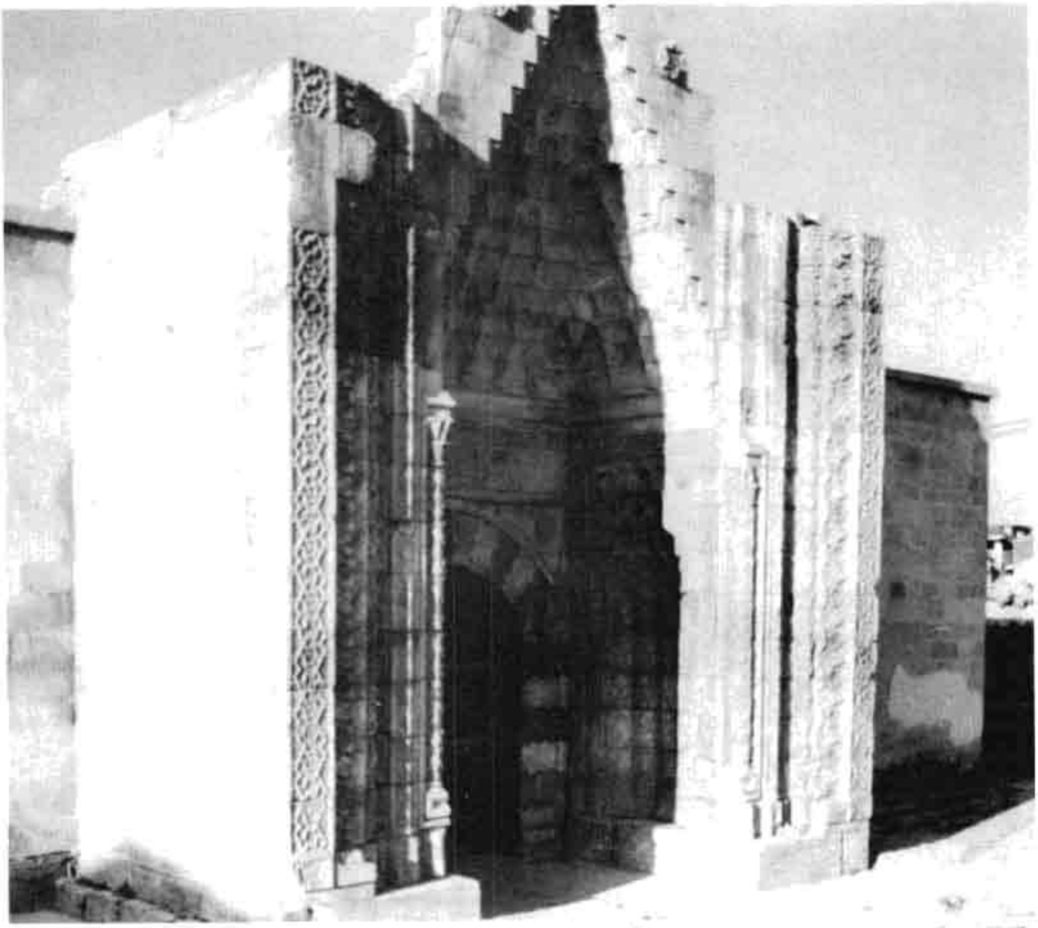

Fig. 4. Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Main entrance. (J. M. Rogers 1978).

Fig. 5. Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Interior. Door frame and *wakfiyya* excerpt, before restoration (M. Van Berchem, 1899, courtesy Fondation Max Van Berchem).

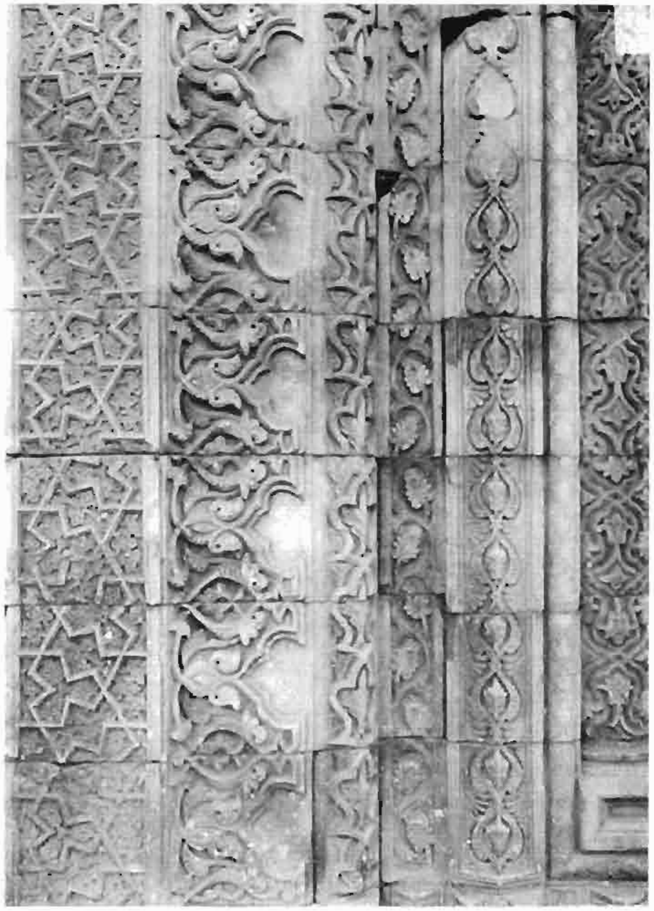

Fig. 6. Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Façade, before restoration. (M. Van Berchem, 1899, courtesy Fondation Max Van Berchem).

Fig. 7. Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Detail of marble carving (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

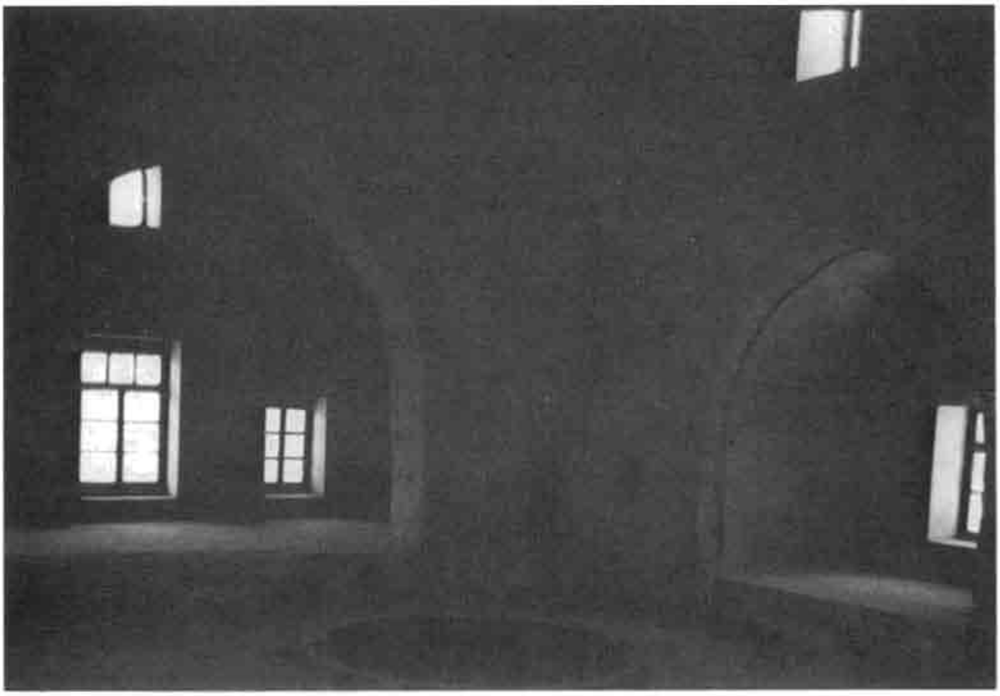

Fig. 8. Siyahser or Karabaş Veli (*ca.* 1460). Interior (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig. 9. Siyahser or Karabaş Veli (*ca.* 1460). Ruined canopy mausoleum (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig. 10. *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432). General view (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig. 11. *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432). Mausoleum. Entrance (F. Sarre courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Islamisches Museum).

Fig. 12. *ʿImâret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432). Mausoleum. Moulded plaster cenotaphs (F. Sarre Museum).

Fig. 13. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Türbe (14th century). General view. (F. Sarre, 9002 Museum).

Fig. 14. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Türbe (14th century). Entrance. (F. Sarre, 9003 Museum).

of attack. Situated on the main strategic route of the Upper March, Lārida was an obligatory transit point of armies and a site of the utmost importance in the defensive system of the Marches. Conquered by the Muslims at some time after the capture of Saragossa and Tarragona (whose inhabitants capitulated without resistance, if al-Rāzī is to be believed), the territory of Lārida underwent pillage and destruction, in the 2nd/8th century, at the hands of Franks—the armies of Louis—and of Cis-Pyrenean Christians and renegades. Governed by *wālīs* granted military prerogatives on account of its distance from Cordova, it succeeded on many occasions in eluding the authority of the *amīrs*. The Banū Ḳasī, the Banū Mūsā or Banū Lubb on the one hand, the Banū ʿAmrūs, and the Banū Shabrīṭ or Banū Ṭawīl, on the other, as well as the Banu 'l-Muhādjir or Tudjībīs [*q.v.*], dominate the entire history of Lārida and its region in the 3rd-4th/9-10th centuries.

The name of Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Ḳāsī who, in 270/883-4, reconstructed and fortified Lārida and its surrounding territory, deserves a special mention. His sons were obliged, in *ca.* 277/890, to fight against Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl of Huesca, who vied with them for possession of the Barbitania (Barbastro and Litera, in the Ribagorza). The *wālīs* of Lārida, with their own troops or with reinforcements from Cordova, fought on more than one occasion with the Christians of Pallars and of the Barcelona region. The superb Grand Mosque built by Lubb b. Muḥammad b. Ḳasī in the upper part of the fortress dates from the beginning of the 4th/10th century. In the final third of the 4th/10th century, the role of *ḳāʾid* appears to have been occupied by Rashīd al-Barghawāṭī, who was instructed to restore to Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. Hāshim al-Tudjībī the district of Lārida, which continued to be controlled by his family for a number of years. In the 5th/11th century, the fate of Lārida and its region was linked to that of the Arab family of the Banū Hūd [see HŪDIDS], who in 431/1039 replaced the Tudjībī family in controlling the valley of the Ebro and in the *ṭāʾifas* of Saragossa and Lārida. Yūsuf b. Sulaymān b. Hūd al-Muẓaffar—like the *ḥādjib* Mundhir at a later stage—governed the town, from a time prior to the death of his father (438/1046) and was in disagreement with his brother Aḥmad al-Muḳtadir of Saragossa, who held him responsible for the loss of Barbastro in 456/1064 [see BARBASHTURU]. Under the control of members of the family of the Banū Hūd, sometimes dependent on Saragossa and in a precarious state in the 6th/12th century in the face of the Christian advance, the town survived under the authority of *wālīs*, It was compelled, when the fortresses of the defensive perimeter were taken, and Armengol VI of Urgel and Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona entered into alliance with other Catalan chieftains, to capitulate on 19 Djumādā II 544/24 October 1149, when it was at that time being governed by the *wālī* al-Muẓaffar b. Sulaymān.

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(J. Bosch Vilá)

LARIN (P., *lārī*), a silver coin current in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean in the 16th and 17th centuries. It takes its name from the town of Lār [*q.v.*], the capital of Lāristān at which it was first struck; cf. Pedro Texeira (*Travels*, Hakluyt Soc., London 1902, 341): "There is also the city of Lar... whence are called laris, a money of the finest silver, very well drawn and current throughout the East", and Sir Thomas Herbert speaking of Lār in 1627 (*Some years' travels*, London 1665, 130): "near this byzar the larnes are coyned, a famous sort of money." The larin weighed about 74 grains (4.9 grammes) and had a high reputation for the purity of its silver. It was worth ten pence in English money (Herbert) or one-fifth of a French crown (Tavernier) or 60 Portuguese reis.

The larin is in shape quite unlike any other coin. It is a thin silver rod about 4 inches long, doubled back and then stamped on either side with inscriptions from dies like any other coin. It is admirably described by William Barret in his account of the moneys of Baṣra in 1594 (Hakluyt, *Principal voyages*, Glasgow 1904, vi, 12): "The sayd larine is a strange piece of money, not being round like all other current money of Christianitie, but is a small rod of silver of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather where with we use to write and in length about one eighth part thereof, which is so wrested that the two ends meet at the juste halfe part and in the head thereof there is a stamp Turkesco and these be the best current money in all the Indices and six of the larines make a ducate".

The kingdom of Lār ceased to issue these coins after its conquest by Shāh ʿAbbās the Great of Persia (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1735, iii, 128), but its popularity led to this type of coin being adopted by other states of the Indian Ocean. The kings of Hormuz of the latter half of the 16th century issued larins, as did the Shāhs of Persia at Shīrāz and the Ottoman Sultans at Baṣra. In India, they

were struck in the 17th century by the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty of Bīdjāpūr and other rulers, and the frequent finds of larins in Western India show how extensive was their circulation there. In the Maldive Islands in the early 17th century, the king struck his own larins, as we know from the *Voyage* of F. Pyrard de Laval (Hakluyt Soc., 1887, i, 232-3). In Ceylon they were also struck, not only by the natives but also by the Portuguese merchants at Colombo; in this island they were twisted roughly into the shape of a fish-hook, whence the term "fish-hook" money. These pieces are either uninscribed or bear rude imitations of the Arabic script. In Ceylon the "fish-hook" money survived into the 18th century. A degenerate descendant of the larin existed till recently (H. St. J. Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, London 1922, ii, 319) on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, in Ḥasā, where it is known as a *ṭawīla*, i.e. the "long" [coin]. It is only an inch long and of very base silver, if not copper, without any trace of inscription. It is described by Palgrave (*Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, ii, 179) who adds that there is a proverb "like a Ḥasā *ṭawīl*", applied to any one who, like the local currency, is of no use away from home. H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1949, still registers in his *Glossary*, 643, the *ṭawīl* as a copper bar coin current in Ḥasā.

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(J. Allan)

LARISSA [see YENISHEHIR]

LAS BĒLA, a former native state of the British Indian empire. It lies in the south-east of Balūčistān, along the coast to the west of Karachi, between lats. 24° 54′ and 26° 39′ N. and longs, 64° 7′ and 67° 29′ E. It is bounded on the west by Makrān [*q.v.*] (of which western Las Bēla forms indeed a part), on the north by the Jhalāwān district of the former Kalāt native state [see KILĀT] and on the east by the former province of Sind; its area, both as a former native state and as a modern District of Pakistan (see below) is 6,441 sq. miles.

1. Geography. The central part of the state is a flat, arid plain (*las* = "plain"), but in the western part of the state there is the Makrān coastal range running parallel to the sea, and ranges like the Mor and Pab ones run north-southwards in the eastern part of the state and separate Las Bēla from the lower Indus plains. The central lowland area is drained by the Porāli, Tītiyān and other streams, and it is here that the main settlements lie. Much of the terrain of Las Bēla is desolate and scrub-covered, and because of the exiguous rainfall (7″/17.5 cm. per annum), agriculture depends essentially on irrigation from floods coming down from the hills after the summer rains; this water is collected by dams across watercourses, and *kārīz*s [see ḲANĀT] are used for conveying water to fields. The coastal population depends on a small amount of coastal navigation, and especially on fishing, the whole Makrān coastland being known in classical times as one inhabited by Ichthyophagoi; with the suppression of piracy in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea during the 19th century, these fisheries expanded considerably, and salted fish was exported from the Makrān coasts as far as Zanzibar, Bombay and the Malabar coast.

2. Ethnography. The main Lasī tribes claim descent from the Sūmrā and Sammā former rulers of Sind, and seem from their names (cf. the frequent element *potra*) to be of Indian Rādjput origin, Las Bēla being the only part of Makrān where an originally Indian ethnic element has apparently maintained itself against the Balūč incomers. There are five principal tribal confederations, of which the Rūndjha held the chieftainship of Bēla before 1742, and the Djāmots after them. A group called the Gadrās, of negroid features, clearly descend from an imported slave population, and another low-caste group is constituted by the Langas, mainly employed as domestic servants. The overwhelming majority of the population is Sunnī Muslim in faith, with some Khōdja Ismāʿīlī traders in the towns. The worship of local *pīrs* or saints is widespread, with especially important shrines, formerly visited by Hindus from quite distant parts of the subcontinent as well as by Muslims, at Hinglādj, Shāh Bilāwal and Lāhūt-i Lāmakān. Three-quarters of the population speak the Djadgālī or Djagdālī (lit. "Djat language") form of Sindhi, but Makrānī Balūčī is spoken generally in the west and Brahūī in the extreme north.

3. History. Las Bēla has virtually no separate history before the 18th century; for the history of the region before then, see in general MAKRĀN. Alexander the Great must, however, have passed through what became Las Bēla when in 326 B.C. he left Pattala on the lower Indus and marched westwards via the land of the Oreitae to Gedrosia or Makrān and then Persia.

Various local tribes exercised power in Las Bēla until in 1742-3 Djām ʿAlī of the Djāmot tribe (see above) established his authority there with the help of a Brahūī force from the ruler of Kalāt Maḥabbat Khān; the chieftainship henceforth remained with this family, who were known by the Rādjput title, formerly used in Sind, of Djām but who came to claim a spurious descent from the Arab tribe of Kuraysh. Las Bēla thus became a dependency of Kalāt, whose Khān at first drew half the revenues of Bēla as his share and later required on occasion a troop contingent in lieu; also, Las Bēla's northern frontier adjoining Jhalāwān remained for long undefined. Henry Pottinger passed through Bēla in 1810 and found that town enjoying considerable prosperity under the benevolent rule of Djām Mīr Khān I (1776-1818); a colony of 250-300 Hindu merchant families carried on trade there (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 14-29). It was during this Djām's reign that conflict arose over the Makrān port of Gwādar [*q.v.* in Suppl.], which had been transferred to the sultans of ʿUmān in 1784 by Mīr Naṣīr Khān of Kalāt, but captured at one point by Mīr Khān I. In the middle decades of the 19th century, Djām Mīr Khān II (1830-69), who was beginning his reign as a child when Charles Masson was in Bēla in the 1830s (*Narrative of various journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 17-18, 25-30), came to covet the territories of his father-in-law Khudādād Khān of Kalāt, and allied on various occasions from 1865 onwards with the Khān of Khārān [*q.v.*] in north-western Balūčistān and the Brahūī *sardārs* or chiefs of Jhalāwān. After 1869 he lost the chieftainship of Las Bēla, however, and was an exile in British India; his son and ultimate successor as Djām ʿAlī Khān III in 1876 recognised the suzerainty of Kalāt

in the general settlement at Mastung arranged by Sir Robert Sandeman (T. H. Thornton, *Col. Sir Robert Sandeman, his life and work on our Indian frontier*, London 1895, 46). Irreconcilable disputes within Las Bēla broke out between father and son, with Djām ʿAlī Khān exiled to Quetta in 1886. When Djām Mīr Khān II died in 1888, Sir Robert Sandeman, then Agent to the Governor-General in Balūčistān, in 1889 installed Djām ʿAlī Khān III in Bēla (*ibid.*, 199-203). After this latter ruler's death in 1896, there were disputes among his sons, but Djām Mīr Kamāl Khān assumed the chieftainship, and in the ensuing decades, events in Las Bēla were less eventful.

After British India was partitioned, Las Bēla, like Kalāt and Khārān, acceeded to Pakistan (1948), and after 1952 became part of the Balūčistān States Union, with the Djām no longer an independent ruler but receiving a privy purse from the central government. In 1955 all the provinces of West Pakistan were merged into one unit, with Las Bēla as a District of Kalāt Division under a Deputy Commissioner; but after 1960 Las Bēla District was transferred to Karachi Division. According to the 1961 census, Las Bēla District had a population of 90,826, excluding non-Pakistanis, and the town of Bēla one of 3,139 (*Population census of Pakistan 1961. District census report*, Las Bela, Karachi n.d.)

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): *Imperial gazeteer of India*², vi, 280, xvi, 144-9; *Baluchistan District gazeteer series*. viii. *Las Bela*, Allahabad 1907; M. Longworth Dames, *EI*¹ art. *Balōčistān*.

(C. E. Bosworth)

LASHKAR, the Persian equivalent of the Arabic *ʿaskar*, *djund* [*q.v.*], or *djaysh* [*q.v.*], and the term normally used by the Indian Muslim rulers for army. Though armies were generally organised according to the Perso-Turkish military traditions of the Ghaznawids and the Saldjūḳids, Mongol traditions were also assimilated later into the subsequent plans for the reorganisation of the *lashkar*.

Composition and organisation. The *lashkar* of the Dihlī Sulṭāns, that of the 9th/15th century provincial dynasties, and that of the Mughals was divided into the cavalry, infantry and the elephant corps, the cavalry forming its backbone. Following the Ghaznawid, Ghūrid and Saldjūḳid traditions, both the Sulṭāns and the Mughal emperors maintained a multi-racial professional cavalry, not neglecting to include even the leaders of the Hindu racial and ethnic groups.

In the 7th/13th century, the Dihlī cavalry, or the standing army at the capital, was variously known as the *ḥashm-i ḳalb*, *afwādj-i ḳalb*, *ḳalb-i sulṭānī*, or simply *ḥashm*. Some Sulṭāns also recruited a slave corps personally loyal to themselves, but they invariably proved disastrous to their successors. The *djāndārs* (king's body-guards) performed both military and police duties and were counted as members of the military force. Apart from the *ḥashm*, the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*]-holders also recruited cavalry from the regions in which they were posted, or from the garrisons under their command. The army of the *iḳṭāʿ*-holders was known as the *ḥashm-i aṭrāf*, or later, as the *ḥashm-i bilād-i mamālik*.

A separate army was kept at strategic points, both in old and newly-built forts along the River Indus in order to stop the Mongol incursions. Sulṭān Balban [*q.v.* in Suppl.] built strong forts even at Djalālī, Patiyālī, and in other predominantly Hindū areas east and north of Dihlī, in order to open up roads and communication with Oudh or Awadh [*q.v.*]. He manned these forts with Afghāns, who were given fertile land to farm. The commanders of the forts remained as *iḳṭāʿ*-holders, but the soldiers were encouraged to develop a personal interest in the land as landowners.

Bughrā Khān, a son of Balban, is said to have informed his own son Kayḳubād, who succeeded his grandfather Balban as the Sulṭān of Dihlī, that a *sar-khayl* should be in control of ten horsemen; a *sipah-sālār* should command ten *sar-khayls*; an *amīr* should be a commander of ten *sipah-sālārs*; a *malik* should have authority over ten *amīrs*, and a *khān*'s forces should control contingents of ten *maliks* (cf. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1860-2, 145). This is not to say, however, that the armies were organised according to a decimal system, but it was an ideal which the Sulṭāns wished to implement, because of their growing awareness of the decimal chain into which the Mongol army was divided. Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, however, did re-organise his army on that basis, and the Tughluḳs are known to have continued the decimal system, for we are told by al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* that, in Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's reign, the *khān* commanded 10,000 horsemen, the *malik* 1,000, the *amīr* 100, and the *sipah-sālār* less than 100.

The head of the military administration was known as the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik*, or the *ṣāḥib-i dīwān-i ʿarḍ* [see ISTIʿRĀḌ, ʿARḌ]. As a minister, he was second only to the *wazīr* or the Prime Minister. In the reign of Balban, the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was known by the title *rāwat-i ʿarḍ*, the first word being of Hindī origin. Amīr Khusraw's maternal grandfather, ʿImād al-Mulk (pillar of the state), was Balban's *rāwat-i ʿarḍ*, and had a very keen sense of his responsibility. Later, in Fīrūz Shāh's reign, the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was given the title ʿImād al-Mulk.

The *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was the principal recruiting officer for the Sulṭān's standing army (*ḥashm-i ḳalb*); he inspected the armaments and horses of the cavalry at least once a year, kept their descriptive rolls (*ḥilyat*), and recommended promotions or punishments accordingly. The *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was also responsible for the internal organisation and the discipline of the *ḥashm-i ḳalb* and the commissariat. The leading *iḳṭāʿ*-holders appointed their own personal *ʿāriḍs*.

Fakhr-i Mudabbir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] tells us how the *ʿāriḍs*' assistants were required to note down the name and *ḥilyat* of both the troopers and the foot-soldiers. As an inspection of the army was invariably held before its march to a campaign, the *ʿāriḍ* on such occasions was not expected to be too harsh, for disheartened troopers, according to Fakhr-i Mudabbir, were not very dependable (Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa 'l-shadjāʿa*, ed. A.S. Khʷānsārī, Tehran 1346/1966, 276-8).

It would seem that the system of *dāgh* (branding of horses) which was known in the reign of the Ghaznawids had been abandoned by Iltutmish. It was reintroduced by Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, but Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluḳ abolished the practice, as well as that of recording *ḥilyats*. The latter was reintroduced once again by Sikandar Lōdī, while Shīr Shāh also made *dāgh* compulsory [see DĀGH U TAṢḤĪḤA in Suppl.].

A remarkable change took place in the military organisation when Akbar introduced his monolithic military and civil service organisation, known as *manṣabdārī*. Although the system became more complex in

the reign of Shāhdjahān, the basic framework of the *manṣabdārī* system as instituted by Akbar endured. According to the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl, the Emperor divided the *manṣab* (rank) of the *manṣabdārs* from the *dah-bāshī* (commander of ten) to *dah-hazārī* (10,000), reserving commands of 5,000 and above for his owns sons. He intended to limit the *manṣabs* to sixty-six, representing the value of letters in the name of Allāh, but in fact there were only ever thirty-three grades. Akbar himself relaxed the rule about higher ranks, promoting Prince Salīm to a *manṣab* of 12,000 and two nobles to the ranks of 7,000. All *manṣabdārs* were required to maintain horsemen, horses, elephants, camels and carts, as fixed by their respective *manṣabs*.By 1010/1602 the *manṣabs* were divided into *dhāt* and *suwār* and the institutions of *yak-aspah, dū-aspah* and *sih-aspah* were also introduced. *Manṣabdārs* of the rank of 500 were called *amīrs* and those holding higher ranks were given other appropriate titles. Later in Shāhdjahān's reign, only those who held the rank of 1,000 were known as *amīrs* (rendered as *Omrahs* by Bernier and other foreign authors).

The personal rank of *manṣabdārs* called *dhāt* was meant for calculating one's salary according to the sanctioned pay scale, and the *suwār* rank indicated the number of troopers and horses the *manṣabdārs* were ordered to maintain; for example, a *manṣabdār* with a *suwār* rank of 5,000 was ordinarily required to produce 1,000 horsemen at muster. Troopers who were required to provide one horse were called *yak-aspah*, while those who undertook to provide two horses were called *dū-aspah*. Those obliged to provide three were known as *sih-aspah*. The *manṣabdārs*' and *amīrs*' contingents contained all three types of troopers proportionate to the salaries they drew. Salaries were not allowed for the full twelve months; some drew them for much shorter periods. For example, a *manṣabdār* with a *suwār* rank of 5,000 drawing his salary for twelve months was required to muster a contingent of 1,000 troopers, of whom 300 were *sih-aspah*, 600 *dū-aspah* and 100 *yak-aspah*, i.e. a contingent containing 2,200 horses. If, on the other hand, he were to draw his salary for only five months in a year, he would need to muster only *yak-aspahs*.

The contingents of the *manṣabdārs* were multiracial, the number of recruits of different martial races being predetermined. Only the Rādjpūts and Mughals were allowed to recruit troopers exclusively from their own racial groups and tribes.

Troopers wishing to enter the army had first to find a patron who generally belonged to the same race as himself, but as the empire expanded, the racial exclusiveness in the *manṣabdār*'s contingents broke down. The candidates had to furnish their own horses of a standard breed, as well as armaments, but the patron *manṣabdārs* also gave them horses for which deductions were made from the troopers' salary. The *manṣabdārs*' troopers were known as their *ṭābīnān* ("followers").

The appointments of the *manṣabdārs* from the lowest to the highest rank were approved by the emperor, and all of them were technically speaking directly subordinate to him. The head of the military administration was called the *mīr bakhshī*, the Mughal name given to the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik*. The *mīr bakhshī* also held the status of a minister, and in that capacity was next to the prime minister. However, even the ministers' contingents were examined by the *mīr-bakhshī*'s department and, the fact that their salary depended on the maintenance of those contingents meant that even the prime minister's salary was dependent on the *mīr-bakhshī*'s approval. The *bakhshī*'s department also recorded the descriptive roll (*čihra*) of the *manṣabdārs*, their troopers and horses. The breeds and the quality of their horses were examined and those that were approved were branded with different marks (*dāgh*). A muster of troopers and horses was held periodically for physical checking and verification (*taṣḥīḥa*). Those who failed to muster their troops forfeited their pay or were heavily fined. The *mīr-bakhshī* was assisted by two other *bakhshīs* who helped to check the evasion of rules, and to prevent fraud. The Mughal government, which depended mainly on the troopers of the *manṣabdārs* for their conquests and for the suppression of rebellions, remained efficient only so long as the monarchs were strong. Unfortunately, under the incompetent Mughal emperors who succeeded Awrangzīb, the government began to disintegrate.

There was a second group of troopers, superior to the *ṭābīnān*, who were known as *aḥadīs* (from *aḥad*, "one"). An *amīr* was commissioned especially to introduce suitable candidates for the *aḥadī*-ship, and a separate *bakhshī* was assigned to examine their horses, brand them, and compile their descriptive rolls. The *aḥadīs*' salaries were some 75% higher than those of the *ṭābīnān*, and their horses and arms were thus of a superior kind. During Akbar's reign, the *aḥadīs* acted as his immediate servants. They were also assigned to non-military duties. The *wālā shāhī* ("belonging to the exalted king"), referred to as the "emperor's slaves" by Manucci, worked as body-guards or defenders of the imperial person, and were also picked from amongst the *aḥadīs*.

Another category of horsemen were known as *bārgīr-suwārs*. They neither owned horses nor were enrolled as *ṭābīnān*. However, as they were fit for cavalry service, in times of emergency they were provided with horses and went into action. They were not, however, part of the regular cavalry.

Abu 'l-Faḍl also makes mention of a large army consisting of 384,558 cavalrymen maintained by the *zamīndārs* [*q.v.*]. Some *zamīndārs* made their contingents available to the emperors for suppressing rebellions; they also kept their localities free from robbers, and performed police duties in the villages, but in no way did this big army form a part of the Mughal regular fighting forces.

The foot-soldiers who were maintained within their infantry contingents by the Dihlī Sulṭāns were known as *pāyaks*, and were mostly Hindūs. They were good archers and were generally arrayed in front of the lines of horses, or around the elephants in order to prevent them from fleeing. As body-guards and palace-guards of the emperors and princes, the *pāyaks* were deeply loyal to their masters and are known to have rendered singular services to Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. Shīr Shāh presented them with matchlocks, and Akbar's infantry contained 12,000 matchlockbearers [see BĀRŪD. vi. India]. They were divided into four grades with different salaries. Akbar also recruited into the infantry a caste of Hindū highway robbers called *māwīs*, and named them *khidmatiyyas* (serving men). Their officer was called the Khidmat Rāy. The *khidmatiyyas* were required to guard the palace and to control highway robbery. Members of many other hill tribes and Hindū martial clans were also induced to join the Mughal infantry. The matchlockmen and the archers formed a formidable corps of the Mughal army. For administrative purposes. Akbar used to assign contingents of foot-soldiers, paid by the imperial treasury, to some high *manṣabdārs*. They were

known as *piyāda-i dākhilī* and were classified as *nīma-suwārān* (half-troopers) in the descriptive rolls. One-fourth of the *dākhilī* foot-soldiers, used matchlocks, and the rest were archers.

Auxiliary tradesmen such as carpenters, blacksmiths, cotton-carders, stonemasons, leather workers, firework-makers, turners, diggers, miners, axemen, farriers, and *kahārs* (bearers of different kinds of litters) were also classed as infantry. Indispensable as they were for constructing defensive works, pontoon bridges and helping in siege operations, they were also included in the infantry and trained in swordsmanship in order to defend themselves in times of need.

Elephants imported from India formed a formidable corps of the Ghaznawid army [see FĪL. As beasts of war, and ḤARB. v. Persia]. The Dihlī Sultans were also highly impressed with the utility of elephants in war. Balban considered each elephant as equal to 500 horsemen, and the Dihlī Sulṭāns lost no opportunity in obtaining the choicest elephants for their *pīlkhāna* (elephant stables). They also strove to keep those areas that supplied the best elephants, such as Bengal and Deccan, in their possession. One hundred and twenty war-elephants arrayed against Tīmūr's army by the feeble Tughluḳ Sulṭān are known to have struck panic even into that world-conqueror's army [see also ḤARB. vi. India].

Elephants were an asset to the army in battering the gates of strongholds. The warriors shot arrows or matchlocks from their positions on the elephants' back; the commanders who were seated on the elephants could be seen from a distance by the rest of the army and were able to instil confidence into their soldiers. However, when panicstricken, or severely wounded, the elephants became uncontrollable and would often trample their own army underfoot.

The Muslim rulers in India did not neglect the artillery [see BĀRŪD. vi. India]. The Deccan Sulṭāns of India, who had close contact with the Ottoman Turks, were pioneers in establishing firearm factories. The Gudjarāt Sulṭāns followed their example, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Bahādur Shāh made good use of the Turkish gunners in their service. Bābur, the founder of the Mughal empire in India, secured a decisive victory over Ibrāhīm Lōdī, mainly due to the efficiency of his artillery. In India, he took a keen interest in having heavy guns cast by those gunners trained under the Ottoman Sulṭāns who were now in his service. Akbar also took a personal interest in casting guns, and recruited even Portuguese to develop his artillery. Many new types of guns were invented by the Persian Fatḥ-Allāh Shīrāzī in Akbar's reign. From the middle of the 11th/17th century, European adventurers drawing exceptionally high salaries began to hold superior positions in the artillery of the Mughals and other rulers. In the 12th/18th century, the British and French gunners made radical improvements in the casting of cannons and heavy guns, but the blacksmiths invariably remained Indians.

All the heavy guns were given pompous names, and some of them were so heavy that it took as many as twenty oxen to haul and several elephants to push them. Naturally, they could not cross boat-bridges and were only with great difficulty transported along the rugged routes. The light artillery consisted of several types of guns, variously known as *gadjnāl* or *hathnāl* (guns transported on elephants), *shuturnāl*, *zambūrak* and *shāhīn* (swivel-gun or wall-piece). A special type of light artillery known as the "artillery of the stirrup", which François Bernier mentions, consisted of "fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each piece mounted on a well-made and hand somely painted carriage, containing two ammunition chests, one behind and one in front, and ornamented with a variety of small red streamers" (*Travels in the Mogul empire*, ed. A. Constable, Oxford 1841, 217-18).

The *Dārūgha-i tūp-khāna*, or *mīr ātash* ("head of the artillery department"), performed duties similar to those of the *bakhshī*, insofar as the recruitment of artillerymen and the supervision of guns were concerned. With the growing importance of artillery, the *mīr ātash* in the 12th/18th century became one of the most influential officers of the empire.

The Indo-Muslim rulers did not, however, take any interest in developing their navy. Maḥmūd of Ghazna is known to have fought against the Djāts in 418/1027 by launching a flotilla of 1,400 boats on the River Indus. The Dihlī Sulṭāns used boats provided by Hindū chieftains only for transporting goods and men. The Gudjarāt Sulṭāns fought naval battles against the Portuguese. Bābur had enormous boats constructed and Akbar also constructed an impressive flotilla of huge boats some being shaped in the forms of different animals. Bengal, Kashmīr, Thatta, Lahore and Allāhābād were the main boatbuilding centres. Akbar also employed seamen, had pilgrim ships built, but was unable to establish a genuine navy. Early in Awrangzīb's reign, Mīr Djumla [*q.v.*] fought successful river battles against the races of Kūč Bihār and Assām, who had complete mastery over their rivers. The only navy that the Muslims possessed belonged to the Ḥabshīs who ruled the rocky island of Djandjīra [*q.v.* in Suppl.], 45 miles south of Bombay. They were most daring seamen, and until 1730 were victorious both against the English and the Marāṭhās [see further ḤABSHĪ].

Numbers. The strength of the army of the Dihlī Sulṭāns can only be roughly estimated and many of the figures in the sources seem to be exaggerated. We are told by Minhādj-i Sirādj-i Djūzdjānī [*q.v.*], that in 658/1260, Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd had collected 50,000 troopers and 200,000 foot-soldiers from Dihlī and its vicinity to demonstrate his strength before Hūlāgū's ambassadors. Balban recruited a considerable number of trained soldiers into the corps of the *suwārān-i ḳalb* and made his standing army very strong. Troopers in ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's army numbered 475,000. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's cavalry is said to have consisted of 900,000 troopers, some being stationed in the capital and the others in the provinces. In 730/1329-30 he is known to have recruited 370,000 troopers for his Khurāsān expedition. The army he sent against Ḳarādjīl consisted of 100,000 troops and a large infantry. On his first Bengal expedition in 754/1353-4, Fīrūz Tughluḳ commanded 90,000 troopers. Again, Fīrūz Shāh marched against Bengal with 80,000 troopers, 470 elephants and an exceedingly large number of foot-soldiers.

According to Bābur, Ibrāhīm Lōdī had resources enough to have brought into the field 500,000 men, but actually took only 100,000 men and 1000 elephants with him. Bābur's army, on the other hand, consisted of only 12,000 men. Humāyūn fought the battle of Ḳanawdj against Shīr Shāh with 100,000 troopers, while Shīr Shāh commanded only half that number.

The total strength of the army of Shīr Shāh consisted of nearly 300,000 horsemen and 100,000 infantry, comprising matchlockmen and archers. Of this army, 150,000 troopers, 25,000 horsemen and 5,000 elephants were commanded by the king himself, the

rest serving at cantonments and in strategic places. The contingents of *iḳṭāʿ*-holders were also requisitioned whenever needed.

The Persian sources do not help us in calculating the number of Akbar's *manṣabdārs*, but their number at the Emperor's death, given by De Laet as 2,941, seems approximately correct. According to Father Monserrate, there were "forty-five thousand cavalry, five thousand elephants and many thousand infantry, paid directly from the royal treasury" (J.S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerji (trs.), *The commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J.*, Oxford 1922, 89).

Bernier says that the total number of cavalry in India was incredible, but he considered that the effective cavalry commonly about Awrangzīb's person, including that of the *rādjā*s and Afghāns, amounted to 35 or 40,000 which, added to those in the provinces, formed a total of more than 200,000 troopers.

In 1057/1647, Shāhdjahān's army consisted of 8,000 *manṣabdārs*, 7,000 *aḥadī* and *barḳ-andāz* troopers, and 185,000 troopers (*tābīnān*) belonging to the princes, important *amīrs* and *manṣabdārs*. This army did not include the troopers under the *parganā* officers. Of the infantry of Shāhdjahān, which included matchlockmen and others who discharged heavy and light artillery, 10,000 were always with the Emperor.

Training and physical exercises, and uniforms. Before their admission into service, both the troopers and foot-soldiers had to pass a severe test of their competence. Fakhr-i Mudabbir gives the rules for training horses and for horsemanship in considerable detail, and works on archery as well as swordsmanship have also survived. This same author further discusses the advantage of different kinds of sports, such as wrestling, boxing, weight-lifting, disc-throwing and fencing for military training, and gives a detailed account of the advantages which the manoeuvering of stick, ball and horse in polo offered to the troopers. After entering into service, the soldiers had to maintain rather than improve their military skills through regular physical exercises, horse-racing [see FURŪSIYYA] and polo [see ČAWGĀN]. Balban took with him 1,000 horsemen and 1,000 foot-soldiers, expert in archery, during his regular hunting expeditions; Fīrūz Tughluḳ used to array his army in battle formation, even on his hunting expeditions. These expeditions and polo were an indispensable part of the life of the Mughal soldiers, officers, princes and emperors. The military parades and proper battle array were not possible without some training in combined movements, but regular drills of the soldiers do not seem to have been common.

The troopers are not known to have worn any uniforms. In the miniatures depicting the reign of the Mughals, they are seen wearing clothes of different colours, but in the 12th/18th century, some nobles seem to have introduced uniforms. The contingents were generally identified by the special marks with which their horses were branded.

Pay. Maḥmūd of Ghazna and his immediate successors paid their army in cash, but in the 7th/13th century the Dihlī Sulṭāns assigned *iḳṭāʿ*s (assignments of revenue of different regions) to their commanders for their personal maintenance and for that of the troops (*ḥashm-i aṭrāf*) under them. Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish assigned the revenue of the villages around the capital and in the Doʾāb to the *ḥashm-i ḳalb*, and the latter were also called *iḳṭāʿ*-holders. By the time of Balban, the surviving troopers of the *ḥashm-i ḳalb* and their descendants had become the hereditary owners of the villages. Balban ordered the resumption of the *iḳṭāʿ*s of old men, widows and orphans into the *khāliṣa* [*q.v.*] (= territory whose revenue was reserved for the Sulṭāns' treasury), but later abandoned the scheme for emotional reasons. However, Balban's own *khāliṣa* had expanded, and he was able to pay his own body-guards and troopers a handsome salary in cash.

The Khaldjīs and the Tughluḳs reorganised their revenue system and determined the salary of the commanders and their troopers in cash. They then assigned its equivalent in the form of the revenue of territories in lieu of the salary. Al-ʿUmarī states that the Syrian and Egyptian *iḳṭāʿ* system differed from that of India in the mode of making payment to the troopers. In Egypt and Syria, commanders assigned land directly to their troops instead of salaries, while in India the troopers were paid in cash. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī resumed all the smaller *iḳṭāʿ*s into the *khāliṣa* and paid cash to his large army, recruited to meet the Mongol threat to his kingdom and to ensure further conquests. Two hundred and thirty-four *tankas* [*q.v.*] were paid annually by the Sulṭān to a well-trained and equipped trooper with one horse, 78 *tanka*s extra being granted to troopers with two horses. To ensure that the troopers lived satisfactorily on their low salaries, he fixed the prices of all commodities, from horses to articles of daily use, making sure that supplies were not withheld.

Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ also paid his large standing army in cash, and issued strict orders to the *iḳṭāʿ*-holders to refrain from reducing the salaries of troopers fixed by him. Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ made his commanders further dependent upon the local treasuries for their salaries, sometimes by appointing his own officers, and sometimes revenue farmers to collect the revenue from the *iḳṭāʿ*s. Fīrūz Tughluḳ made all civil and military posts hereditary and paid them by assigning *iḳṭāʿ*s, the revenue from which was known as *wadjh*.

The Afghāns found Fīrūz's policy highly compatible with their own tribal system, and assigned hereditary *iḳṭāʿ*s to their commanders, who in turn sub-assigned smaller areas to their subordinates, who then paid the troopers by making similar sub-assignments. However, the monthly salary of ordinary troopers was fixed and the *iḳṭāʿ*s were granted to the commanders on the basis of the total number of troopers and their monthly salary. Shīr Shāh, who in his youth had managed his own father's sub-assignment, was fully conversant with the abuses of the system. He reverted to the system of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and paid his standing army in cash, personally supervising the recruitment and the fixation of the soldiers' salaries, which were paid in cash. Fraudulent practices were eradicated by making payment only to those whose horses were branded. The big *iḳṭāʿ*s corresponding to provinces were managed by the Afghān tribal chiefs, but they were also ordered strictly to enforce the central government regulations in their respective administrative charges, including monthly cash payments to the troopers and the branding of horses.

Akbar and his successors paid their *manṣabdārs* mostly by assigning them revenue from territories, called by the Mughals *djāgīr* [*q.v.*], although the term *iḳṭāʿ* was also used. Some *manṣabaārs* were paid in cash, others partly in cash and partly in *djāgīr*. The salary schedules of *manṣabdārs* were carefully prepared on the basis of their *dhāt* and *suwār* ranks

(including *dū-aspah* and *sih-aspah*) [see further MANṢABDĀR]. The available pay certificates of the *manṣabdārs* of Shāhdjahān's reign explicitly mention the amount of salary which they were allowed to draw to maintain themselves, their families and their personal establishments (*khāṣṣ*), and the amount meant to be paid to the *ṭābīnān*. For example, in 1060/1650, Rā'o Karan was allowed to draw 4,700,000 *dāms* for his *dhāt* rank of 2,500 and 16,000 *dāms* for *ṭābīnān* in his *sūwār* rank of 2,000. His fixed salary totalling 20,700,000 *dāms* was to be drawn from the revenue of *parganās* [*q.v.*] mentioned in the certificate (*Selected documents of Shādjahān's reign*, Daftar Dīwānī Haydarābād 1950, 176-7). In Shāhdjahān's reign, the *manṣabdārs* from 5,000 to the lowest rank were subdivided into three grades in their *dhāt* rank, the *manṣabdārs* of the first grade drawing the highest salary.

The salary of the troopers was fixed according to the breed of horses they maintained. According to the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* a *yak-aspah* troopers was paid according to the following rates. If his horse was an ʿIrāḳī, he received 30 rupees *per mensem*: if *mudjannas* (nearly equal to ʿIrāḳī, half-breed), 25 rupees; if Turkī, 20 rupees; if a *yābū* (the Indian-bred offspring of Turki horses), 18 rupees; if a Tāzī (Indian cross-Arab breed inferior to *yābū*), 15 rupees; and if a *djangla* (Indian-bred, inferior to *tāzī*), 12 rupees. According to Bernier, early in the reign of Awrangzīb the troopers with one horse did not draw a salary of less than 25 rupees per month. However, the *manṣabdārs* could pay an even higher salary, and in order to attract efficient troopers into their service, many *manṣabdārs* did so Manucci strongly criticises discrepancies in payments to troopers, some of whom received 20 to 30 rupees, others forty, fifty, or a hundred. This inconsistency can be ascribed partly to the fact that Manucci's comments relate to the last years of Awrangzīb's reign, and partly to the fact that he does not appreciate the fact that troopers maintaining more than one horse naturally received a higher salary.

The *manṣabdārs* were authorised to deduct 5% from the salary of the *ṭābīnān* for miscellaneous administrative charges. A further deduction of one month's salary was made annually for the cost of horse and equipment supplied by the government to the troopers until the amount of the loan was paid off. The price of a trooper's horse charged by the government used to be 50% higher than their cost price, but since the government bought horses at competitive prices, the troopers did not suffer any loss, according to Abu 'l-Faḍl.

The *manṣabdārs*, *ṭābīnān* and other government servants received rewards for their good work in the form of increments in salaries, cash prizes and additions to the *djāgīrs*. Akbar introduced the system of granting loans to officers for their urgent needs. A rate of interest which doubled the original loan in ten years was charged. This usury was known as *musāʿadat* ("assistance"). The *manṣabdārs* who violated the rules and neglected their duties, for example by failing to muster horses of the breed for which they drew salaries, or by omitting to produce the number of horses stipulated for their *sūwār* rank, were fined according to a fixed schedule. Checks and counterchecks were introduced to prevent defalcation of government money through a machinery of rules and regulations requiring close co-ordination between the state departments and the department of the *mīr bakhshī*.

Since the armies of both the Dihlī Sulṭāns and the Mughals were paid by the state, they were not entitled to receive the four-fifths of the *ghanīma* (booty) sanctioned by the *Sharīʿa*. Fīrūz Tughluḳ is known to have distributed this portion of the *ghanīma* taken at Djādjnagar and Akbar took only one-fifth into the imperial treasury, requesting the officers (*fawdjdars* [*q.v.*]) to distribute the rest equitably amongst the army. However, as the booty gained by the *fawdjdārs* in local wars was never very great, the amount received by the troops was minimal.

Horses and elephants. The Indian Muslim rulers maintained the superiority of their cavalry, not only by acquiring superior breeds of horses through sea and land routes, but also by devoting their full attention to improving Indian horse breeds. From the Persian Gulf, Baḥrayn and the ports of the coast of southern Arabia were imported ʿIrāḳī, Persian, Syrian and Arab horses. Overland trade brought in Tātārī or Central Asian horses from the territories lying between the steppelands of southern Russia and the Oxus. The horses from Ghazna to Peshāwar compared favourably with these animals. The territories between the eastern Pandjāb to north-western India, and from north-eastern India to upper Burma, contained the best horse-breeding grounds, although horses from these areas were considered inferior to those imported from foreign lands, and were sold at a lower price. Ibn Baṭṭūta says "The people of India do not buy them [horses] for [their qualities in] running or racing, because they themselves wear coats of mail in battle and they cover their horses with armour, and what they prize in these horses is strength and length of pace. The horses that they want for racing are brought to them from al-Yaman, ʿUmān and Fārs, and each of these horses is sold at from one to four thousand [silver] *dīnārs* (*Riḥla*, ii, 374, tr. Gibb, ii, 479). This same author states here that the price of the cheapest Tātārī horse in Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's reign was 100 silver *dīnārs*, while the exceptional ones were sold for 500. Racehorses were therefore very dear.

Akbar reorganised the purchase of horses of foreign breeds by providing improved living conditions for the merchants and the horses they came to sell. Horses from ʿIrāḳ, Arabia, Persia, Turkey, Turkistān, Badakhshān, Shirwān, the lands of the Ḳirghiz, Tibet and Kashmīr were acquired for the imperial stables. Soon, Indian breeding techniques were so greatly improved that the Indian horses could hardly be distinguished from ʿIrāḳī or Persian breeds. Among the new horse-breeding regions, Kaččh began to produce horses which exceed the Arab imports. Horses from the region between the Indus and the Jhelam were similar to those from ʿIrāḳ. The horses in Akbar's stables numbered 12,000; the imperial stables were classified into several categories and the quantity of the beasts' fodder, the quality of their outfits, and the salaries of officers and servants appointed to look after them were fixed.

Under the Dihlī Sulṭāns, the superintendent of the royal horses was known as the *ākhūrbeg*, there being one for each wing of the army. Under the Mughals, this officer was known as the *ātbēgī* or *ākhtabēgī*. Akbar appointed a noble of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān's [*q.v.*] status as the *ātbēgī*. *Manṣabdārs* from the rank of 5,000 down to the senior *aḥadīs* were appointed as the *darūghas* (superintendents) of different stables. A big staff, which included senior officers on the list of *aḥadīs*, was appointed to carry out miscellaneous duties related

to the maintenance and improvement of the stables [see further, IṢṬABL. v. India].

The Ghūrid conquest of India was achieved by the exploits of the cavalry. The elephants in the *pīlkhāna* (elephant stables) were acquired mainly as booty. However, it was after the Deccan conquests that the *pīlkhāna* of Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī came to consist of *ca.* 1,000 war-elephants. The numbers increased during the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, and the elephants seem to have been bought even from Ceylon. Fīrūz also added to the number of elephants in his stable, but under his successors they were rapidly lost, to the extent that the last Tughluḳ Sulṭān faced Tīmūr with only 120 war-elephants. In Akbar's reign, elephants were hunted in the forests of Āgra and Allāhābād provinces, besides being acquired from Bengal and Orissa. The best elephants were to be found in the forests of Panna, near Būndī in Rādjasthān. Djahāngīr seized 69 elephants from Gudjarāt, but they could be bought from all over India; in Shāhdjahān's reign, the first white elephant was bought from Pegu. Akbar introduced the breeding of elephants, abandoning the ancient superstitious belief that to do so was unlucky, and his successors continued to follow his lead. He also classified elephants into seven categories, and framed rules for their feeding and general improvement.

Under the Dihlī Sulṭāns, the *shaḥna-yi fīl* was the supreme head of the *pīlkhāna*. Again, there was one for each army wing, and the *shaḥnas* were each assisted by a large staff. From the reign of Akbar, the elephants were classified into *ḥalḳas* "circles" or "rings") of tens, twenties and thirties, and placed under the control of superintendents known as *fawdjdārs*, who were also ordered to train them to stand firm at the sight of fire and in the noise of artillery. Several *ḥalḳas* of elephants were placed in the care of some important nobles, and 101 chosen elephants known as *khāṣṣa* elephants were placed in the care of one such person, with the expenses being met from the imperial treasury.

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(S. A. A. Rizvi)

LASHKAR-I BĀZĀR, the name given to a complex of military encampments, settlements and royal palaces in southern Afghānistān which apparently flourished in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. The site (lat. 31° 28′ N. and long 64° 20′ E.) is an extensive one, stretching along the left bank of the Helmand River [see HILMAND] near its confluence with the Arghandāb with the mediaeval Islamic town of Bust [*q.v.*], modern ruins of Ḳalʿa-yi Bist, at its southern end, and the modern, new town (named after the mediaeval complex of buildings) of Lashkar-gāh at its northern one. The western edge of the complex is thus bounded by the river and also protected by a cliff running down to the water.

1. History. The existence of ruins on this site was vaguely known to H.W. Bellew in the mid-19th century, probably from hearsay when he was travelling in the region; but its existence was only made known to the academic world through the discovery in 1948 and the subsequent five seasons of excavations in 1949-51 by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.

The complex is not unmentioned in mediaeval geographical and historical sources. Al-Muḳaddasī, 304-5, says that "half-a-*farsakh* [from Bust], in the direction of Ghazna, there is something like a town, called al-ʿAskar, where the ruler (*al-sulṭān*) resides". Since al-Muḳaddasī completed his *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm* in 375/985, although later additions may have been made to it, it seems that Lashkar-i Bāzār was an early creation of Sebüktigin, built to secure his newly-

acquired province of Zamīn-Dāwar and Bust—the founder of the Ghaznawid line had seized this from the Turkish *ghulām* ruler there, Baytuz, in 367/977-8 (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 37)—but it is not excluded that Baytuz himself had buildings on this site, and a coin of his dated 359/969-70 has been found there, see Gardin, *Lashkari Bazar*, ii, 170-1. Whether Muḳaddasī's *al-ʿAskar* is responsible for the form *al.y.n.* of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 110, § 24.11, "a small district between Bust and Zamīn-Dāwar", as suggested by Minorsky, comm. 345, is uncertain. However, our site must be that mentioned by the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ[1], Tehran 1324/1945, 149, Russian tr. Arends[2], Moscow 1969, 221, when he speaks of the building operations of sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (421-32/1031-41): "At Bust, by the polo-ground of the military encampment (*lashkar-gāh*) of his father the *amīr*, he had several additional constructions made; some of these are still visible today" (sc. in *ca.* 451/1059).

The main, or southern palace, shows signs of two successive burnings; after the first one of these, there was a general restoration, but after the second, the whole palace was definitely abandoned. It seems reasonable to assume, with Schlumberger, that the first conflagration was the work of the vandalistic Ghūrid sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, called Djahān-sūz, in *ca.* 545/1150, when he sacked Ghazna, temporarily expelled the Ghaznawid sultan Bahrām Shāh to India, and then marched back to Ghūr via Zamīn-Dāwar and Bust; Djuzdjānī states that he devastated the palaces and public buildings of the Ghaznawids at Bust (see Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 118-19). When, soon after these events, the last Ghaznawid sultans abandoned their Afghān possessions and retreated to the Pandjāb, the Ghūrids or their governors doubtless restored the buildings at Lashkar-i Bāzār and installed themselves there in the Ghaznawids' stead. Schlumberger dates certain alterations even to the post-Ghūrid period, that of the Khwārazm-Shāhs. The second and fatal burning thus probably dates from the ravages of the Mongols in southern Afghānistān in spring 617-18/1221; Nasawī, *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, 64-5, tr. 109-10, speaks of a siege by the Mongols of Ḳandahār at this time (doubted, however, by Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 438). Yet undeniably, life no longer continued on any discernible scale at Lashkar-i Bāzār.

2. The buildings. Lashkar-i Bāzār includes three palace buildings along the cliffs of the Helmand, the most impressive of which is the southernmost one, constructed of unbaked brick on foundations of fired brick and with wooden bonding; fired brick was also used in the reception hall and for doorways. The palace is built round a vast central rectangular courtyard with four *īwān*s. After the first burning of the palace, modifications and repairs were made to the palace and the fire-blackened remains of the original main entrance were masked by a new entrance with decoration of geometric panels and epigraphic bands, on one of which are the remains of a date, 55x/1155-64, probably indicating a reconstruction by the penultimate Ghaznawid sultan, Khusraw Shāh, the last of his family to reign in Afghānistān, or by his Ghūrid successors.

At the north of the palace, backing on to the Helmand, is the very interesting reception hall of the palace, the most monumental of the rooms in style and the most richly decorated, including with panels of brick ribbon work with stucco insets. But especially important from the viewpoints of cultural and artistic history is the fact that the friezes running round the inner faces of the brick piers in the hall contain mural paintings (these have now been removed, for safety, to the Kabul Museum). The remains of 44 figures are visible, and with those probably to be found on the missing north side, must have numbered some 60 all told. They depict frontal views of the bodies of what must have been the royal guards, the corps d'élite of Turkish military slaves of sultans Maḥmūd and Masʿūd [see GHULĀM. ii. Persia]. These warriors wear rich tunics and boots, and bear the shafts on their left shoulders of what may well have been maces, the mace (*gurz*) being a favourite weapon of Masʿūd himself, according to Bayhaḳī, and a weapon of heroes in the *Shāh-nāma*. The faces are unfortunately badly damaged, but a painted fragment found elsewhere in the palace shows a beardless, smooth-faced youth with what are generally regarded as "Mongolian" (here, of course, "Turkish") features. The appearance of these figures accords remarkably well with the literary descriptions in e.g. Bayhaḳī of the rich uniforms, bejewelled weapons, etc. of the royal *ghulām*s when paraded on ceremonial occasions such as the reception of envoys and ambassadors.

Leading to the southern palace was the street of the army bazaar, 500 yds./half-a-kilometer long and lined with shops; judging from the absence of post-Maḥmūd coins found there, this bazaar may well have been abandoned after that sultan's death. Also to the south of the palace was the great mosque (the southern palace itself contains a small, richly-decorated mosque, obviously for the private use of the sultans and their entourages), constructed originally from good-quality fired brick, but rebuilt, like the southern palace, after the first burning in a less careful manner. Schlumberger places the original mosque within the early Ghaznawid period, and it is of obvious interest as one of the very few pre-Mongol period mosques in Afghānistān.

The placing of all these buildings of the Lashkar-i Bāzār complex in their proper architectural and art historical contexts raises many problems, and a full evaluation can only begin to be made now that we have the long-awaited volume in the DAFA Mémoires series on the architecture of Lashkar-i Bāzār (see *Bibl.* below). Schlumberger was reminded of the plans of Sāmarrā palaces ("l'architecture de Lashkari Bazar apparaît, à plus d'un égard, comme un représentant provincial et tardif de celle de Abbasides"), but noted eastern Iranian features, such as courtyards with four *īwān*s and the ornamental use of brick (*Syria*, xxix [1952], 268-9). J. M. Rogers has noted the early appearance in the southern palace (the early Ghaznawid construction) of the angular, interlacing strapwork in stucco characteristic somewhat of Saldjūḳ decoration (*The 11th century—a turning point in the architecture of the Mashriq?*, in D. S. Richards, ed., *Islamic civilisation 950-1150*, Oxford 1973, 221-3). The mural paintings reminded Schlumberger again of Achaemenid representations, but he observed also that the heritage of the Buddhist art of Gandhara and northern India, much nearer in place and time to 5th/11th century Zamīn-Dāwar, should clearly be taken into account. Finally, it should be noted that the pottery finds at Lashkar-i Bāzār give a valuable conspectus of

local artistic trends in this field for the period *ca.* 1000-1220.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**LĀT**, name of one of the three most venerated deities of the pre-Islamic pantheon, the two others being Manāt and al-ʿUzzā [*q.vv.*].

The deep attachment felt by the Thaḳīf towards al-Lāt, the Aws and the Khazradj towards Manāt and the Ḳuraysh towards al-ʿUzzā, constituted the greatest obstacle in the path of the peaceful implantation of Islam in the regions of the Ḥidjāz. This obstacle was so difficult to overcome that the Prophet seems, for a brief period, to have consented to the continuation of the cult of these three deities, called *al-gharānīḳ al-ʿulā* (see T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 88-90, but cf. AL-ḲUR'ĀN, B, *in fine*).

The cult of al-Lāt, the deity of the Thaḳīf, descendants of the Thamūd (*Aghānī*[1], iv, 74, 76; al-Ṭabarī, i[1], 937), is attested over a vast area of the pre-Islamic Near East. She was at the same time the goddess of shepherds, from the Ḥidjāz to Ṣafā, and that of caravan-travellers, from Mecca to Petra and to Palmyra. Her name is recorded in the most remote antiquity, and it is to be found, in various forms, in the works of Herodotus (cf. *EI*[1] s.v. *Alilat*), also in Akkadian texts (*Al-la-tum*: Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, 259; J. Bottéro, in *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, 56). Safaitic texts (R. Dussaud, *Pénétration*, 56 ff.), Palmyran texts (D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, 63, 71, 73), Nabataean texts (M. de Vogüé, *Palm.*, 119; W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 292 ff.; J. Wellhausen, Reste[2], 32), Aramaic texts (Pognon, in *MFOB*, v [1911], 77-8). The Arabic form of her name dates back, at least, to the time of the Khuzāʿī ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, the reformer of the idolatrous cult in Mecca at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., a period for which there is evidence of the cult of al-Lāt in Nabataea, in Ṣafā and in Palmyra. Now it is known that this reformer spent some time in the land of Moab, whence he would have brought back statues of various divinities, including that of Hubal [*q.v.*].

The precise meaning of the name of al-Lāt remains unclear. Two interpretations deserve consideration.

The first derives it from the root *l-t-t*. Arab lexicographers are unanimous in considering that al-Lāt is derived from the verb *latta*, "to mix, or knead, barley-meal (*sawīḳ*)." It has been shown, in *Panthéon* (112 ff.), that this interpretation emerges from a revealing association with the "idol of jealousy" erected in the temple of Jerusalem (Ezekiel, v, 15), which can be none other than Astarte (cf. II Kings, xxi, 7; xxiii, 6-7, 13-14; see Dussaud, in *Syria*, xxi [1940], 359-60; Ch. Virolleaud, in *JA*, ccxxxiv [1943-5], 418-19). The "oblation of jealousy", offered by the husband who suspected his wife of infidelity, was made with barley-meal. Now Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, 10, speaks of a *lātt al-sawīḳ*, "kneader of barley-meal", who was a Jew and after whom was named the square rock of Ṭā'if, symbol of al-Lāt. From this it may be deduced that a ritual similar to the Hebraic ritual of the "oblation of jealousy" was practised in the vicinity of the sacred stone, symbolising al-Lāt, and that the latter was regarded as one of the multiple incarnations of the Semitic Baʿla of which Astarte was the most eminent. This is further evidence of the Semitic tradition of the anonymity of gods, to whom epithets were given reflecting the sites or the forms of worship dedicated to them.

The second, treating al-Lāt as consort of Allāh or of his prototype Il or El, simplifies the problem, taking al-Lāt to be a feminine form of Allāh or al-Ilāh, unnamed god of the pre-Islamic Arab pantheon (*Panthéon*, 41-4).

Either of these etymologies is possible: the first responds best to Arab traditions, the second is more in line with Semitic tradition in general (cf. details in *Panthéon*, 111-20).

Al-Lāt is seen at Ṭā'if displaying the most primitive attributes of the Semitic Baʿla. Originally, she was represented by a white stone, in contrast to the black stone of Mecca; subsequently, she was associated with a sacred tree; then a sanctuary was erected for her, and this became a place of pilgrimage. But the rivalry between Ṭā'if and Mecca and the commercial and economic predominance of the latter prevented the goddess of the Thaḳīf from making Ṭā'if a centre of assembly for all the Arabs. The Mecca of Ḳuṣayy, the reformer of the pilgrimage and architect of the Ḳuraysh confederation, rapidly eclipsed the other metropolises of the Arabian Peninsula. Thus al-Lāt was unable to preserve anything of her former prestige other than the epithets *rabba* "mother of the gods", in her role as goddess of fertility, after the manner of Baʿla, of whom she is an incarnation, and *ṭāghiya*, "pre-eminent goddess", an epithet still reflecting the important cultic role that she had played among the Arabs of the Nabataean, Safaitic and Palmyran regions, as goddess of war (see refs. in *Panthéon*, 111, n. 2).

In order to consolidate the economic power of Mecca and to reinforce its role as holy city of the Arabs, Ḳuṣayy brought together in the Kaʿba all the divinities of Arabia. The triad which emerged, namely Manāt, goddess of the northern Arabs, al-Lāt, goddess of the Arabs of the Nadjd, and al-ʿUzzā, goddess of the Ḳuraysh confederation, represent the three political forces which co-existed in central and northern Arabia, from the period of Ḳuṣayy (5th century A.D.) to the advent of Islam. These three deities correspond to the theophanies of Venus, morning star and evening star, very often confused with the Semitic Baʿla and worshipped by the Arabs since time immemorial.

Although al-ʿUzzā was the last-born of the triad, she soon became the most important, in her role as tutelary goddess of the sanctuary of Mecca (see details in *Panthéon*, 118 ff.). In a parallel development, the three sacred trees (*samurāt*) which stood before the sanctuary of al-ʿUzzā at Nakhla, on the road leading towards ʿIrāḳ and Syria, were assimilated to the three divinities (*Panthéon*, 164).

The predominance of al-ʿUzzā over Manāt and al-Lāt is expressed by the dual al-ʿUzzatān[1], "the two ʿUzzās", which designated them (*Ḥamāsa*, 190, l. 15; *Panthéon*, 118, n. 3). This predominance is also apparent in the Nabataean region, where al-Lāt had been a favourite goddess, as a result of the

expansion of Meccan commerce inside Nabataea, the birthplace of Ḳuṣayy.

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LAṬĪFĪ, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Čelebi, a Turkish biographer, littérateur and poet who lived in the 10th/16th century. Born in Kastamonu in 895/1491, according to his own statement (*Tadhkira*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 135, 297), he belonged to an old and a noble family called the Khaṭīb-zādeler and his forefather, Ḥamdī Čelebi, was a poet who lived in the time of Meḥemmed II, the Conqueror. He states in his *Tadhkira* (298) that he started writing poetry when he was seven years old. He began to receive his education in Kastamonu, but soon gave it up (ʿĀshïḳ Čelebi, *Mashāʿir al-shuʿarā*ʾ, ms. Istanbul Üniversitesi, TY. 2406, f. 132b), and worked as an accountant and a secretary. But at the same time, he spent much effort to educate and train himself, and acquired a considerable reputation in poetry, and especially in the high culture of his time. He came to Istanbul in his youth, and was at once appointed secretary to the *ʿImāret* (sc. the public kitchen for the poor) in Belgrade. After a long stay in Rumelia, he returned to Istanbul (950/1543), and served again as a secretary for some *ʿimārets*. At that time Sehī had written his *Tadhkira*, which had aroused great interest among the literary circles, and with the encouragement of his friends (*Tadhkira*, 229) and following ʿĀshïḳ Čelebi's ideas, Laṭīfī completed his *Tadhkira*, clearly his most important work. In 953/1546 Laṭīfī presented this work to Süleymān the Magnificient, and as a result was appointed secretary to the *waḳf* of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, the trustee of which was Tashlïdjalï Yaḥyā, the famous Turkish poet, and in 960/1553 he was occupying this post (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, Ist. Universitesi, TY. 9959, f. 416a). Later he worked in similar jobs in Rhodes and Cairo. ʿĀshïḳ Čelebi, who completed his own work in 974/1566-7, relates that Laṭīfī spent his time composing poetry and belles-lettres, and above all in religious duties. Having changed the introduction of his *Risāla-yi awṣāf-i Istanbul*—which in fact had been composed in his youth—he presented it to Murād III in 982/1574, expecting some gifts, but it is not certain whether he was recompensed. Laṭīfī spent his declining years in Istanbul (Ḥasan Čelebi, *Tadhkira*, ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 1737, ff. 265 b, 266a). He must have died on 25 Ramaḍān 990/23 October 1582, probably on his way to Mecca for pilgrimage. He had been in Egypt, and his ship was wrecked on its way to Yemen (Kafawī, *Rāz-nāma*, ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 4098, f. 105a, and a letter written to Masīḥ-zāde, who survived the disaster). Laṭīfī says in his *Risāla-yi awṣāf-i Istanbul* (f. 60b) that he was 35 years old when he finished this book, i.e. this was in 931/1524-5; hence his birth date must have been 896/1490-1, making him 94 lunar years old when he died.

All through his life Laṭīfī complained that he had never been appreciated properly. He did not have a comfortable life, for he had never been pushing and sycophantic; but he expected that others would have realised his literary ability.

Although Laṭīfī mentions in his *Tadhkira* that he composed twelve books, treatises and literary compositions, only the following seem to be extant: (1) the *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarā*ʾ; his most important work, generally considered as the second finest biographical work (after ʿĀshïḳ Čelebi's) in Ottoman literature. He states that ten biographical works were composed in his time, but none of them received attention and fame or were widely read (*Tadhkira*, 301). Probably they were all incomplete, pioneering attempts in this field. The *Tadhkira* consists of an introduction, three chapters and a conclusion. In the first chapter, he mentions poet-*shaykhs* of Anatolia who were brought up in or emigrated to Anatolia. In the second, he speaks about Ottoman sultans who engaged in poetry. In the third, the main part of the work, Laṭīfī mentions, in alphabetical order, the names of 300 poets (*Tadhkira*, 372) who lived from the reign of Murād II (824-55/1421-51) until 950/1543. The book is arranged alphabetically (*muʿdjam*), a method which Laṭīfī initiated in Turkish biographical works, whereas Sehī's and Nawāʾī's had been arranged by *ṭabaḳāt* or generations, so that Laṭīfī's *Tadhkira* became the bridge between the two types. Laṭīfī took this idea from ʿĀshïḳ Čelebi, but applied it in his book before him. Some criticisms were, however, made about his work. One was that Laṭīfī did not include poets of his own time in the *Tadhkira*. From the early copies of the work (e.g. Kayseri, Râşid Efendi Libr. 1160, copied before 957/1550, and another one which stems from the above, Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 2564, copied in 968/1561), it can be deduced that two redactions of the work were in existence and that the early copies did not have Laṭīfī's autobiography. The author later included it, as well as notices of some other poets not previously included. By doing so, he improved the text and also replied to the criticisms of those whom he calls *ikhwān-i ḥiḳd u ḥasad*, "the hateful and the jealous ones". ʿĀshïḳ Čelebi relates that Laṭīfī's work also became nicknamed the *Ḳasṭamonu-nāma* (f. 133a), for the author found ways to connect some poets to Kastamonu, whether or not they had been born in the city; but he adds that Laṭīfī's *Tadhkira* is most valuable and quite different from Sehī's one. Ḥasan Čelebi regarded the style as rather dull (Ḥasan Čelebi, *Tadhkira*, f. 265b); Hence ʿĀlī took it upon himself to answer all unfair criticisms (*op. cit.*, 415b). The work is undoubtedly important, not only because of its form, but also because of the fact that, with this work, for the first time literary criticism and assumptions were dealt with in this Ottoman poetic biographical genre. It accordingly soon became a very popular reference book, considered to be reliable. It was edited by Aḥmed Djewdet under

the title of *Tadhkira-yi Laṭīfī* (Āthār-i aslāf series, no. 9, Istanbul 1314/1896); H. Theodor Chabert summarised it in German (*Laṭīfī oder biographische Nachrichten von vorzügliche Türkischen Dichtern nebst einer Blumenlese aus ihren Werke*, Zürich 1800); another translation into German was done by O. Rescher (*Laṭīfīs Tadhkira*, Tübingen 1950; this last translator referred to 9 old mss. of the work, together with the edited text. (2) *Risāla-yi awṣāf-i İstanbul*. As the title indicates, the work is a brief description of the natural beauties, the historical buildings and monuments, etc. of Istanbul, in short, a physical description of the city and its spiritual life in the 10th/16th century, written in an artistic style. The work is quite valuable in that Laṭīfī's observations reflect the thoughts and the feelings of his youth. As he says in the *khātima* or conclusion, he was then spiritually in confusion; at times acting like a vagabond and at others behaving piously. The text is adorned with poetry, and Laṭīfī claimed that he had invented a new style in prose writing; Istanbul was the most proper topic for such a purpose, in order to display a successful sample of his creative style (*Tadhkira*, 300-1). He later revised the work, and with a new introduction, presented it to Murād III. (3) *Fuṣūl-i arbaʿa* (*Munāẓara*; *Muḥāwara*?), an artistic description of the specialities of the four seasons, written in a mixture of prose and poetry. It was first published in the *ʿAṣīr* newspaper in instalments and then as a book under the title *Munāẓara-yi Laṭīfī* (Istanbul 1287/1870). (4) *Ṣubḥat al-ʿushshāḳ*, a Turkish translation of 100 *ḥadīth*s, composed in verse. (5) A Turkish translation of 40 *ḥadīth*s, also in verse, having much subject-matter in common with the previous one (ms. in Şehid Ali Paşa Libr. 272, f. 99b-105a). (6) *Naẓm al-djawāhir* (*Laʾālī-i manthūra wa-djawāhir-i manẓūma*), a versified Turkish translation of 207 speeches of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi Libr., 341, ff. 40b-66b). (7) *Asmāʾ suwar al-Ḳurʾān*, a poem giving the names of the sūras of the Ḳurʾān in 29 couplets (ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 902, f. 115b-116a). The following works are now known only by name: (8) *Dīwān* (*Tadhkira*, 300). (9) *Rabʿiyya-yi azhār* (ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi, *op. cit.*, f. 133a, ʿĀlī, *op. cit.*, f. 415b), very likely the first chapter of the *Fuṣūl-i arbaʿa*. (10) *Aḥwāl-i Ibrāhim Pasha* (ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi, *loc. cit.*), possibly the same work about the grand vizier Ibrāhim Pasha, *Waṣf-i Āṣaf-nāma*, which ʿĀlī enumerates. (11) *Anīs al-fuṣaḥāʾ* (*Tadhkira*, 301).

From the contents of his works, Laṭīfī was apparently not a first-class poet, but a very good critic who had the power of discernment, wide knowledge in his field and, above all, a fine literary taste. As he states in the *Tadhkira* (300-1), he brought into being a new style in prose by adorning the text with proverbs, parables and phrases, etc., just as Nadjātī had done in verse a century before. His works are in fact good examples of rhymed prose, displaying a mature style, with balanced sentences, ordered thoughts and fluent language, without such defects as *taʿḳīd* or obscurity, *tatābuʿ* or concatenation and *ghayr-i maʾnūs* or unaccustomed words.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see ʿAhdī, *Gulshan-i shuʿarāʾ* (ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, no. TY. 2604, ff. 107b-108a); Bayānī, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* (ms. no. TY. 2568, ff. 75b-76a); Fāʾizī, *Zubdat al-ashʿār* (ms. no. TY. 3289, f. 96b); J. von Hammer, *Dewlet-i ʿOthmānliyye tārīkhi* (Turkish tr. M. ʿAṭā), Istanbul 1329/1911, i, 34; idem, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, Budapest 1837, iii, 28-30; Smirnov. *Očerk istorii tyuretskoy literaturi*, St. Petersburg 1891, 456; Fāʾiḳ Reshād, *Tadhkira-yi Laṭīfī*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 375-81; E. J. W. Gibb, *HOP*; M. Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1316/1898-9, iv, 92; F. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 110 ff.; Meḥmed Khālid, *Laṭīfī we tadhkiresi*, in *Ḥayāt medjmūʿasī*, Istanbul 1927, xvii, xix; *Istanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları (şairler tezkireleri)*, Istanbul 1947, 597 ff.

(Nihad M. Çetin)

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE [see djughrāfiya, ḳubbat al-arḍ]

LAWĀTA, an important Berber ethnic group belonging to the family of Butr and whose eponymous ancestor was Lawā the Young, son of Lawā the Old. They are distant descendants of the Lebu (Lebou) of the Egyptian documents of the 13th century B.C., of the Lubīm or Lehabīm of the Bible, the Libues (Libyans) of the ancient Greeks, of the Laguantan of Corippus and the Leuathae of Procopius (6th century A.D.). It is probable that the Lebu (Lebou) of the Egyptians lived on the Mediterranean coast of Africa, between Egypt and the Gulf of Syrtes. As for the Libues, they were for Pindar (518-438 B.C.) natives of Cyrenaica, but later their name became among the ancients a name for all the indigenous peoples who lived in the littoral zone of North Africa, from Egypt as far as the Atlantic coast inclusive. However, it appears that the real Lebu (Lebou) survived in the tribe of the Liburakhae who lived, according to Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.), in the north of Marmarica, immediately to the east of Cyrenaica. Another section of the Libues properly so-called, apparently Egyptianised, were the Libuaegyptii whom Ptolemy places in Mareotis, i.e. in the region of Lake Mareia in Egypt, Mariut (Maryout) on our maps. It should further be added that some Greek and Latin authors, such as Polybius, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy mention still another branch of the Libues, namely the people of the Libyphoenicians who were probably Libyans mixed with the Punic people, and who lived most probably, if one is to believe Pliny, in the province of Byzacena in present day Tunisia. Later on in the 6th century A.D. the Libues properly so-called appear under the name of Laguantan (*Lawatan), Ilaguas (*Ilawa-s), Hilaguas (*Ilawa-s) or Leuathae (*Lewatae) in Tripolitania and in Tunisia. Procopius speaks of the massacre of the chiefs of the Leuathae at Leptis Magna (Lebda) in 543 by Sergius, Byzantine governor of Tripolitania, and he speaks of the penetration of this people from Tripolitania into Byzacena and of its alliance with the Berber king of this land, Antalas. This time, the Leuathae advanced as far as the town of Lares (Larbous on our maps), which they besieged. Procopius also speaks of a second invasion of this tribe into Byzacena in 548. On this occasion, the Leuathae occupied southern and central Tunisia, as far as the confines of the Proconsulate.

According to the ancient Arabo-Berber traditions, the Lawāta first established themselves after their arrival from Palestine in the Maghrib, in the period of Biblical David (*sic*), in the territory of Barḳa (Cyrenaica). It was this land which they occupied at the time of the invasion of the Arabs (in 21/641-2), at the time when the Islamisation of the Maghrib began. The Arabic sources tell us of the peace treaty that ʿAmr b. al-Āṣ concluded in this year with the Lawāta of Barḳa. However, it is certain that some sections of this people, distant descendants of the ancient Libuarkhae and Libuaegyptii, also lived in

this period in Egypt, and it is very probable that other Lawātan sections, who were descended from these Laguantan or Corippus and the Leuathae of Procopius and were established in the 6th century A.D.; in Byzacena, continued to live, in the 7th century, in the southern part of Tunisia. Later on, from the 8th century A.D., branches of the Lawāta expanded into some regions of Algeria and Morocco.

If we set aside the powerful peoples of Mazāta and Sadrāta, to whom some Berber genealogists attribute a Lawātī origin, but who already constituted, in the 9th century A.D., separate ethnic groups, the Lawāta properly so-called were subdivided in the Middle Ages into several branches of which we know the names, thanks especially to the works of al-Yaʿḳūbī and Ibn Khaldūn. They are as follows: 1. Māṣila or Māṣala ماصلة (al-Bakrī writes this name by error فاضلة Fāḍila); 2. Ḳaṭūfa; 3. Maghāgha; 4. Wāhila; 5. Marāwa (this name might be identifiable with that of the Libyan tribe of the Mareotae living in the south of Lake Mariut in Egypt); 6. مصعوبة Maṣʿūba (to be corrected as Maṣghūna; Ibn Ḥawḳal, Masghūna); 7. Zanāra; 8. زكودة Zakūda (Ibn Ḥawḳal: أكودة Akūda); 9. Maḳarṭa (al-Yaʿḳūbī, Mafraṭa); ʿAtrūza, and 11. Djadāna (this tribe was a branch of the Lawātan group of Ḳaṭūf or Ḳaṭūfa). It is also highly likely that the following Berber tribes of Barḳa belonged to the Lawāta: 12. فطيطة Faṭīṭa (Ibn Ḥawḳal, فرطيطة Farṭīṭa); 13. Siwa (al-Maḳrīzī, Sīwa) and 14. Masūsa. This constitutes the evidence concerning this collection of Lawātī groups and their geographical situation, going from east to west, evidence which the mediaeval Arab authors, of the 2nd to the 9th/8th-15th centuries, have bequeathed to us.

Egypt. The numerous Lawātī groups dwelt in a nomadic fashion near to Alexandria and Cairo, to the west of these cities. Among these groups who paid the *kharādj* to the Egyptian government, Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions, in the 4th/10th century, a branch of the Lawātī group of Māṣila (Māṣala). It was apparently these Lawāta whom al-Idrīsī mentions as a tribe who ravaged the western banks of the Nile to the north of al-Bahnasā. Later on, in the 8th/14th century, the plains extending from Alexandria to Cairo which constituted the province of al-Buḥayra were inhabited by another branch of the Lawāta, the Zanāra, a people who were nomadic, but who stopped in al-Buḥayra to sow their seeds at the approach of winter, as they passed through the environs of Barḳa. The Zanāra themselved paid a tax to the Egyptian government; Ibn Khaldūn says that, in a slightly later period (probably towards the end of the 8th/14th century), the chief of the Zanāra of al-Buḥayra called بذر Badr (or more likely يدر Yedder) b. Salām revolted against the Egyptian government, but after having been beaten by the Mamlūks, he took refuge in Barḳa. According to Ibn Khaldūn, some remnants of the tribe of Lawāta were also to be found, in his own time, i.e. towards the second half of the 8th/14th century, in Upper Egypt, where they pastured their flocks and cultivated the land. One should also note that the present locality of Maghāgha situated on the road leading from Cairo to Asyūṭ, 180 km. south of Cairo, probably owes its name to the Lāwātī tribe of Maghāgha. A numerous Lawātī population occupied, in the 4th/10th century, the oases of Egypt, where the Lawāta created a state. According to al-Masʿūdī, the Lawātan master of the oases in 332/943-4 was called ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān; he had under his command several thousand riders on horses and camels. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, who wrote at a slightly later period than that of al-Masʿūdī, the kings of the oases who belonged to the tribe of Lawāta, mistress of this region, traced their origin to the dynasty of Āl ʿAbdūn (= ʿAbd al-Malik). Al-Bakrī also speaks of the Lawātī tribes established in the Egyptian oases. It appears that these Lawātī tribes of al-Buḥayra and the oases were distant descendants of the Libuaegyptii of the ancients. It is perhaps due to this Lawātī branch that Ibn Ḥazm attributes to the Lawāta a Coptic origin. Moreover, to the west of Alexandria, in Marmarica, al-Bakrī mentions the existence of about a thousand tents belonging to the Māṣila or Māṣala (al-Bakrī writes this name by error Fāḍila) and to the Banū ʿAḳīdān, a Berber tribe who probably belonged to the group of Lawāta. A section of the tribe of Siwa or Sīwa who probably belonged to the group of Lawāta lived, in the 9th/15th century, in the oasis of Sīwa, the oasis of Ammon of the ancients and Santariyya of al-Idrīsī. The oasis of Sīwa owes its name to this people.

Barḳa. This land was inhabited, in the 1st-4th/7th-10th centuries, almost exclusively by Lawātī groups. One of these groups, namely the tribe of Māṣila (Māṣala), was placed by al-Yaʿḳūbī in the eastern part of Barḳa; they lived, in the 4th/9th century, alongside other peoples, probably Berbers. They were also to be found in the coastal region, mixed with other Lawātī groups, such as Zanāra, *Masghūna, Marāwa and Faṭīṭa (Farṭīṭa), in the great *manzil* of Wādī Makhīl, which resembled a town and which may be identified with El-Mechili on our maps. The dwellings of the *Maṣghūna and some other groups of the Lawāta, such as Marāwa, *Maḳarṭa and Zakūda, were also to be found near the road which linked Wādī Makhīl to the town of Barḳa, el-Merdj on our maps. The tribe of Marāwa left its name to present-day Marana, a locality situated about 50 km. to the east of el-Merdj. Further to the south-west, in the Djabal al-Gharbī (probably Dahar al-Ahmar and Dahar al-Abyad on our maps), al-Yaʿḳūbī also places Berber groups of the tribe of Lawāta. In the second of these chains of mountains lived, according to this geographer, the Lawātī tribes of Zakūda, *Maḳarṭa and Zanāra. It is also in this region that there lived a section of the tribe of Ḳaṭūfa which gave its name to Ḳaṣr Ketof, a locality mentioned by H. Barth (*Wanderungen*, 356). Further to the west, in the environs of Bernīḳ (ancient Berenike, Benghazi on our maps) lived three Lawātī tribes, namely Maghāgha, Wāhila and Djadāna, as well as the tribes of Siwa and Masūsa, who themselves traced their origin from Lawāta. The territory of the tribe of Masūsa extended from Benghazi towards the south and south-east. Indeed, the name of this tribe is to be connected with the Wādī Masūs mentioned by Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (d. 337/948-8) and by al-Bakrī who wrote a century later. According to the latter, there are in this valley "several ruined vaults and cisterns, to the number, it is said, of three hundred and sixty." In our opinion, it is to be identified with Msous (Msus) on our maps, a centre of encampments situated near an homonymous *wādī*, about 80 km. east of Solouk. A section of the Masūsa also lived in the town of Adjdābiya (Adjedabia on our maps), alongside Lawātī groups of Zanāra, Wāhila, Siwa and Djadāna. The latter constituted the majority of the inhabitants of this town.

Tripolitania. The inhabitants of Adjdābiya constituted in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, if one can believe al-Yaʿḳūbī, the westernmost group

of the Lawāta of Barḳa. However, it appears that the ethnic situation of this part of Libya was a little different a century earlier, under the domination of the Ibāḍī Imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī who, in 140-4/757-62, was master of the whole of eastern Barbary. Indeed, it is known that an Ibāḍī chief belonging to the tribe of Lawāta, one named ʿUmar b. Imkaten al-Lawātī, lived at first near the great road which led, following the coasts of this country, to the town of Maghmadās (ancient Macomadas Syrtis or Macomades Selorum), i.e. in eastern Tripolitania properly so-called. Then he went to settle in the Djabal Nafūsa, in western Tripolitania. It is also known that he became governor of the province of Surt (Syrtis) in eastern Tripolitania on behalf of the Imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and that he commanded a Lawātī brigade, the only one in the army of this *imām*. It may be supposed that these Lawāta of eastern Tripolitania constituted, in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries, the remnants of the Leuathae, whose chiefs had been massacred at Leptis Magna in 543 A.D., by Sergius, Byzantine governor of Tripolitania, and whole main body then retired towards the south of Tunisia.

Tunisia. Al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions the Lawāta (who are descendants of the Leuathae of Byzacena) in the town of Ḳābis (Gabès). According to al-Bakrī, the Lawāta were also found, in the 5th/11th century, in the environs of this town. Ibn Khaldūn places, in the 8th/14th century, some Lawātī groups in the mountain called Djabal Lawāta situated to the south of Ḳābis. It is to this branch of Lawāta that the family of Banū Makkī, who were rulers of Gabès in the 8th/14th century, traces its origin. Another group of the Lawāta lived in the district of Nafzāwa, whose Ibāḍī population remained, towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century, under the government of Miyāl b. Yūsuf al-Lawātī. We know it thanks to al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century), who also mentions the existence of a section of the tribe of Lawāta in the town of Ṭurra (probably the ancient Turris Tamalleni) in the district of Nafzāwa. Another section of the Ibāḍī Lawāta lived, according to the same author, at Ḳanṭrār in Bilād al-Djarīd. The Lawāta were also found among the Berber tribes who were exterminated, in 224/838-9, by the Aghlabid general ʿĪsā b. Rayʿān al-Azdī. This took place between the towns of Ḳasṭīliya (Tozeur) and Ḳafṣa (Gafsa). Another branch of the Lawāta of Tunisia, probably the descendants of this branch of the Leuathae who appear alongside the Lares (Lorbous) from the 6th century A.D., were found among the Berber-Ibāḍī tribes who followed, in 144/761-2, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, the old Ibāḍī governor of Ifrīḳiya, in his flight from al-Ḳayrawān (Kairouan) to the central Maghrib, before the army of the ʿAbbāsid general Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath.

Algeria. An important section of the Lawāta lived, if Ibn Khaldūn is to be believed, in the vast massif of the Awrās (Aurès on our maps), alongside other semi-nomadic, semi-sedentary populations of shepherds and cultivators. They were already mentioned in the period of the Ibāḍī-Nukkārī chief Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād (d. 335/947), who rebelled against the Fāṭimid dynasty. Hence the Lawāta of the Aurès rallied to this chief. They continued to live in the Aurès until the 8th/14th century at least and, at this period, they kept in subjection the Berber groups of the Hawwāra and Ketāma who lived alongside them. At this time, they were able to put into the field a thousand cavalry and a large number of infantry. The Lawāta of the Aurès preserved their independence, apart from two sections of this branch, namely the Banū Riḥān and Banū Badīs, who for several years paid tribute to the dynasty of the Banū Moznī of the Zāb. Later on, the Banū Badīs seized plains in the environs of the town of Niḳāwus (Ngaous or N'Gaous in the plain of the Hodna, north-west of the Aurès). It is very probable that the Lawāta of the Aurès were simply the remnants of the Lawāta of southern Tunisia who succeeded in retiring to this massif after the extermination of the Berber tribes of this latter region by the Aghlabid general ʿĪsā b. Rayʿān al-Azdī which took place, as mentioned above, between Tozeur and Gafsa in 224/838-9.

Another section of the Algerian Lawāta occupied, according to al-Bakrī, the surroundings of the town of Madjdjāna (Medianae of the ancients) which was situated near Wādī Mallāḳ (Mellegue, south of the ancient town of Madauras (Mdaourouch on our maps), on the road which led from Ḳayrawān to Baghāya. The history of this group is unknown to us; however, it is not impossible that we are concerned here with descendants of these Leuathae who besieged the town of Lares (Lorbous) in 543 A.D.

Ibn Khaldūn mentions a branch of the Lawāta settled in the plain of Tagrert, in the environs of Bougie. This branch cultivated the land and pastured its flocks. In the 8th/14th century, it was subject to the government of Bougie.

There was no lack in the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries, if one can believe al-Shammākhī, of small groups of Lawāta in the oasis of Sūf (Souf) and in that of Rīgh. According to this author, a Lawātī settled in this latter oasis had come from Barḳa. However, it appears that the majority of these Lawāta traced their origin to Nafzāwa and the Bilād al-Djarīd in southern Tunisia.

An important group of Lawāta who accompanied, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the Ibāḍī governor of Ḳayrawān ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam in his flight from Ifrīḳiya to the west in 144/761-2, settled to the south of Tāhert, capital of the Ibāḍī state founded by this emigrant. If Ibn Ṣaghīr is to be believed, the Lawāta already lived there towards the end of the 2nd/8th century and at the beginning of the 3rd/9th, in the reign of his successor, the Imām al-Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. They owned a fortress there and often involved themselves in the affairs of the Rustamid *Imāms*. According to al-Bakrī, the Lawāta inhabited, in the 5th/11th century, the region situated to the south of Tāhert and also the fortress of Izmāma situated on the road which linked this latter town with the town of al-Masīla. Ibn Khaldūn supplies us with several details on this section of the Lawāta. According to this historian, they frequented the valley of Mīnas. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the chief of this Lawātī section was in the service of the Fāṭimid ʿUbayd Allāh, but later these Lawāta revolted against al-Manṣūr, the third Fāṭimid caliph, who defeated them and drove them out into the desert. There were also wars between the Lawāta of Mīnas and a Zanāta tribe who lived on the other side of this valley. Following these wars, the Lawāta of Mīnas went to settle on the mountain called Darrādj, where they extended their settlements towards the interior of the tell and as far as the mountain which dominates the Mitīdja. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this branch of the Lawāta was, in the 5th/14th century, liable for tax.

Morocco. According to the early Arabic sources, there were also some Lawāta in Morocco. It is possible that they may have come from eastern

Barbary towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century, probably with the Ibāḍī and Ṣufrī chiefs who took refuge in the west of the Maghrib before the ʿAbbāsid armies. In any case, when Idrīs I b. ʿAbd Allāh founded the state of the Idrīsids in the Maghrib al-Akṣā, among the Berbers of the north of Morocco who rallied to his cause (in 172/788-9) there was also a section of the Lawāta. This people probably lived to the south and west of Fās. Ibn Saʿīd al-Gharnāṭī notes there, in fact, the territories occupied by this people. These are probably the Lawāta settled on the Sebou River who owned the fortress called Lawāta Madyan. This fortress was situated on the road which linked the town of Sidjilmāsa to Fās. Another group of Lawāta lived in the north-west of Morocco, south of the town of Aṣīla (Arzila), the territory of which also belonged formerly to this people. In the province of Tādlā, south of the Oued Umm al-Rabīʿ, there lived, among the Arabs of the tribe of the Banū Djābir, the Lawātī tribe of Zanāra.

Mauritania. A certain number of people belonging to the tribe of Lawāta, probably merchants, lived in the south of Mauritania, in the town of Awdaghast which was an ancient centre of commerce. It is possible that they may have come from Tāhert, or more likely from southern Tunisia.

Sicily. According to Amari, the Berbers of the tribe of Lawāta appear in the Middle Ages in the diplomas of Palermo as amongst the inhabitants of this town. There was also in Sicily a colony of the Lawātī sub-tribe of Maghāgha. It is, indeed, from the name of this tribe that the name of the town of Magagi is derived (in Arabic al-Maghāghī), mentioned in a Sicilian diploma of 1182.

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AL-LAWĀTĪ, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir b. Miyāl b. Yūsuf, noted Ibāḍī-Wahbī historian, traditionist and biographer. He was descended from Yūsuf al-Lawātī, the vizier of al-Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the third Ibāḍī *imām* of the Rustamid dynasty (208-50/823-71). According to the biographical notices about him given in the works of al-Dardjīnī and al-Shammākhī, he was born in the first half of the 5th/11th century in the province of Barḳa (Cyrenaica). His *nisba* indicates that he was from the Berber tribe of the Lawāta [*q.v.*], of which several sections were adherents of the Ibāḍiyya. In 450/1058-9, when he was 18 years old, he left his natal Barḳa and went to settle at Adjlū, a town situated in the oasis of Arīgh (modern Oued Righ), and he apparently died there in 528/1133-4 at an advanced age. Nothing is known of his life, except that he travelled to the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād and that he had visited two places not very far from the Oued Righ, sc. Waghlāna (modern Ourlana) in the north, on the road from the Oued Righ to Biskra, and Wārdjlān (Ouargla) to the south of the Oued Righ. One may also note that his family had connections with the town of Sadrāta (the modern ruins of Sedrata) in the Ouargla oasis. Indeed, his maternal uncle, the learned *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Sadrātī, was probably a native of that town.

Ibāḍī tradition rightly accords al-Lawātī a place of honour. He was not only an eminent historian and traditionist, but also a remarkable poet. He wrote a work on the history of the North African Ibāḍiyya which was used by the anonymous author of the *Siyar al-mashāyikh*, who used al-Lawātī's autograph. He also taught Ibāḍī history and *siyar* to numerous pupils. One should mention three of these, who are accounted amongst the most celebrated historians and biographers of the 6th/12th century: Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Khalīfa al-Ṣūfī, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Wisyānī and Abū Nūḥ, all of whom took from al-Lawātī many narratives, to be used in their own works or else to be transmitted to the traditionalists of the following generation. Amongst other works, whose authors used al-Lawātī's traditions and stories, may be mentioned, in addition to the *Siyar al-mashāyikh*, the *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh* of al-Dardjīnī and the *K. al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī.

It is interesting to remark that Abū Muḥammad also devoted time to the explanation of collections of Ibāḍī traditions written in Arabic for adherents who were only Berber speaking. Thus for instance, in the course of an academic session at Adjlū in the Oued Righ, he gave an exposition of the Arabic text of the *Āthār* of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb, an Ibāḍī traditionist of the East who flourished in the second half of the 2nd/8th century.

Al-Lawātī was also a poet, and al-Shammākhī speaks of his poetic *dīwān*.

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LAWḤ (a.), board, plank; tablet, table. Both ranges of meaning are found in other Semitic languages such as Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopic, and Jeffery thought that, whilst the sense "board, plank" might be an original Arabism, the second sense was almost certainly from the Judaeo-Christian cultural and religious milieu (see *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 253-4).

The word occurs five times in the Ḳur'ān. The first meaning is found in sūra LIV, 13, where Noah's ark is called *dhāt alwāḥ*. The second meaning is that of *lawḥ* as writing material, e.g. the tablets of the *lawḥ* (sūra VII, 142, 149, 153, where the plural *alwāḥ* is used; see *LA*, iii, 421). *Al-dawāt wa 'l-lawḥ* (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, sūra IV, bāb 18) correspond to our "paper and ink". The expression *mā bayn al-lawḥayn* "what lies between the two boards" is found in *Ḥadīth*, to describe the whole Ḳur'ān (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, sūra IX, bāb 4; *Libās*, bāb 84); cf. *mā bayn al-daffatayn* (Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, bāb 16). In modern Arabic, *al-lawḥ* also means a school-child's slate and a blackboard.

Al-lawḥ thus means the tablet kept in heaven, which in sūra LXXXV, 22 is called *lawḥ maḥfūẓ*, usually translated as the "safely preserved" tablet. But it is not certain whether the words in this passage are really syntactically connected. If we read *maḥfūẓ^un*, the word does not go with *lawḥ^in* but with the preceding *ḳur'ān^un* and the translation is: "Verily it is a Ḳur'ān, famous, preserved on a tablet" (see the commentaries); "safely preserved", i.e. against alteration.

In the commentaries on sūra XCVII, 1, the tablet is again mentioned: "We sent it down (sc. the Ḳur'ān) in the night of the decree"; this refers either to the first revelation made to Muḥammad or to the descent of the Ḳur'ān from that tablet which is above the seventh heaven, to the lowest. The tablet as the original copy of the Ḳur'ān is thus identical with *umm al-kitāb*.

The decisions of the divine will are also written on the *lawḥ* with the pen, *ḳalam* [*q.v.*], and the particulars contained as a whole in God's consciousness are transmitted by this last, so that on the *lawḥ* are inscribed the archetypes of all things, past, present and future. The popular mind represented the *lawḥ*, following an *ḥadīth* of the Prophet given by al-Bayhaḳī, as created from a white pearl, with its upper and lower surfaces of jacynth. We have therefore to distinguish two quite different conceptions:

a. The tablet as the original copy of the Ḳur'ān. This idea is found in the pseudepigraphical literature. In the *Book of Jubilees*, iii, 10, it is said that the laws relating to the purification of women after childbed (Leviticus xii) are written on tablets in heaven. Jub. xii, 28-9, says the same of the law regarding the "feast of booths" (Lev., xxiii, 40-3) and Jub., xxii, 15, of the law of tithes (Lev., xxvii).

b. The tablet as the record of the decisions of the divine will is also found in the *Book of Jubilees*. In Jub., v, 13 it is said that the divine judgement on all that exists on earth is written on the tablets in heaven. Enoch prophesies the future from the contents of these tablets (Book of Enoch, xciii, 2; lxxxi; ciii, 2; cvi, 19). The "scripture of truth" is mentioned as early as Daniel, x, 21, the contents of which Daniel announces in prophetic form. These ideas are connected with the Babylonian conception of "tablets of fate".

From these passages, it is evident that in the pseudo-epigraphic literature also, the tables in heaven are also regarded as the originals of revelation, sometimes as tablets of fate. This is sufficient to explain the double meaning of *lawḥ* in Muslim literature.

For other passages, cf. the index to Charles, *The apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, s.v. "Tablets"; it cannot always be said definitely to which of these two conceptions a statement belongs.

In Ṣūfī mysticism and in esoteric philosophy and cosmology, the *lawḥ* has an important place. The pantheistic mystical writer ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī [*q.v.*] (d. in the first half of the 9th/15th century) explains in his *al-Insān al-kāmil* how God's creation is first given shape occultly in the divine knowledge, and only later given objective individualisation by the pen or divine intelligence, which distinguishes the created from the Creator and imprints its form of existence on the tablet as the mind imprints ideas on the soul (R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 111-12 n.). Esoteric works identified various forms of the tablet with the primal intelligence (as above), the *ʿaḳl al-awwal*; with the expressive, universal soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiḳa al-kulliyya*) = the preserved tablet; with the particularising soul; and with the *lawḥ al-hayūlā* or material tablet, which receives the forms of the supersensory world (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 204). Mystically-inspired persons, it was held, might have glimpses of the entirety of God's decrees inscribed on the tablet and normally hidden from human comprehension, either by dreams or by a sudden flesh of divine revelation (*ilhām*), removing the veil (see D. B. Macdonald, *The religious attitude to life in Islam*, Chicago 1909, 253-4, 264-5). Finally, it may be noted that the 19th century Persian religious leader Bahā' Allāh [*q.v.*] promulgated, at different points in his career, various "tablets" containing homilectic counsels and prophetic instructions for his followers, such as the *lawḥ al-amr* "tablet of command" issued in 1280/1863 and ostensibly from the divine pen, giving an exposition of his mission (a document which contributed to the schism with his rival Mīrzā Yaḥyā Ṣubḥ-i Azal); the *lawḥ-i bashārāt* "tablet of good tidings"; etc. (see E. G. Browne, *Materials for the study of the Bābī religion*, Cambridge 1918, 17, 21-2, 29-31, 187).

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(A. J. Wensinck-[C. E. Bosworth])

AL-LAWḤ AL-MAḤFŪẒ [see al-lawḥ]

LAWN (a.), "colour". One of the distinctive features of the Arabic language is the great richness of its chromatic vocabulary. It is as if the smallest detail, the most minute nuance, was deemed to require a nomenclature *sui generis*.

In the first part of this article, we shall undertake a morphological and semantic analysis of the names of colours. Subsequently we shall see how Muslim thinkers, theologians and philosophers, have analysed perception of colours. The final part will be devoted to the symbolic dimension of colours.

For a proper understanding of the subject, some clarifications and definitions are required, however: the colour of an object is observed, on the purely perceptive level, with its three sensory variants of tonality ("colour" in the strict sense), luminosity (the "quality", the extent to which the object reflects or transmits light) and saturation ("vivacity", "intensity" of the colour). White is an achromatic colour, as is black. Just as, in physics, a white body diffuses equally all the visible radiations that it receives, so a perfectly black body, for its part, absorbs all radiations totally and transmits none. The achromatic colours have a zero saturation. The complementary colours are those which neutralise each other and which when combined produce white: indigo/yellow, blue/orange, violet/yellow-green, red/blue-green. Finally, of the seven colours of the spectrum, only three, blue, yellow and red, are fundamental: they serve to elaborate the other colours.

Morphological study. The morphology of adjectives of colour is characterised by the fact that they are, in the majority of cases, formed on the diptote paradigm *afʿal* in the masculine, *faʿlāʾ* in the feminine. The *afʿal* theme is a theme of intensity, which also supplies the elative; this common formulation of the intensive and of the adjective of colour is apparently not coincidental, and it is asserted that, semantically, the latter may have been regarded, at a certain stage in the evolution of the language, as an intensive: that which we translate as "red" may, originally, have signified "more red than ...". The evolution of the language would have led to the ellipse of the second term of the comparison. (In this context see *LA*, ed. Beirut, ii, 122-3, root *b-y-ḍ*. As M. Guillaumont has commented (*Problèmes de la couleur*, 345), "it is a fact that in Semitic, there is a particularly narrow line separating names of colours and intensive themes. In Aramaic, names of colours are specifically formed on the pattern *fʿʿl*. In Hebrew there also exists a series of names of colours formed on an intensive pattern characterised by the doubling of the last two radicals (*fʿlʿl*) ...".

Alongside this *afʿal/faʿlāʾ* construction, which is not only that of the majority of adjectives of colour, but also that of all the fundamental colours, other forms are encountered, admittedly rare, to which we nevertheless, draw attention, while not forgetting that some of them are doublets of the form *afʿal*, or combine to form doublets of their own. We may mention the following themes: *fāʿil* (*ḥāniṭ*), *mufaʿʿal* (*mudjazzaʿ*), *faʿl* (*djawn*), *faʿīl* (*faḳīʿ*), *faʿal* or *faʿil* (*shahab*, *lahiḳ*) and *mufʿil* (*muḳrif*). Less common are adjectives of the patterns *faʿlūl*, *fuʿāl*, *fuʿālī*, *fuʿayl*, *fiʿāl*, *faʿālī*, *fāʿilī*, *faʿūlī* and *fuʿill*. There exists an undoubted link between certain of these themes and a certain chromatic nuance: *fāʿil* and saturation, *mufaʿʿal* and mixture, *faʿil* and blending. Others of these themes are in fact relative adjectives terminating in *ī*, an indirect manner of denoting colour to which Arabic frequently has recourse. Some adjectives of colour (often borrowed words) are defined by relation to an object which represents this colour and which serves as a support. Thus *wardī* derives from *ward* "rose", *banafsadjī* from *banafsadj* "violet", *kuḥlī* from *kuḥl* [*q.v.*] "collyrium". It is most probable that there exists a connection between the form of the adjective and its meaning. Thus, from the one root *f-ḳ-ʿ*, the following are derived: *faḳʿ* "of a simple yellow", *fuḳāʿ* "very red" (of human complexion), *faḳiʿ* "red or white", and *afḳaʿ* "very white"—so many bright nuances.

Nouns of colour are *maṣdars* which generally have the form *fuʿla*. This is the only abstract element in chromatic terminology. By *ḥumra* or *ṣufra*, Arabic expresses "the state of being red", "the state of being yellow". As with the adjectives of colour, but within a less varied spectrum, the nouns of colour, although being *maṣdars*, are capable of borrowing the following themes: *faʿal*, *faʿl*, *faʿāl* (the last applying, apparently exclusively, to white and black, of which the roots are "hollow"), *fiʿl*, *tafʿīl*, *fiʿla*. For nouns of colour of the theme *fuʿla*, and for these alone, it seems that these *maṣdars* cannot be called "verbal substantives", since, as we shall see, the verbs of colour which correspond to these *maṣdars* are denominative in origin.

Of the derived forms of the Arabic verb there are two—those of the paradigm *ifʿalla* and *ifʿālla*—which have a particular quality: they express states (colour or deformity); they do not derive from the "bare form" *faʿala*, but are denominative in origin, formed from adjectives of the paradigm *afʿal* expressing the states cited above; and they denote an intensive aspect which is illustrated by the doubling of the final radical. The XIth form (*ifʿālla*), less common than the IXth (*ifʿalla*) seems to be a doublet of it, still more intensive. Thus we have, besides *ibyaḍḍa* and *iswadda*, meaning respectively "to become white", "to become black", *ibyāḍḍa* and *iswādda*, for "to become pure white", "to become black as ebony". All verbs of the IXth and XIth forms are verbs of colour or of deformity. It does not, however, follow that all verbs expressing a notion of colour belong to one of these two forms. Besides the latter, which could be described as "essential verbs of colour", we encounter others which borrow all the verbal forms, "bare" or derived, and which in general express colour through derivation of sense.

Finally, attention should be drawn to non-triliteral forms and loan-words. The following paradigms are encountered: *faʿlal*, *fiʿlāl*, *fuʿlul*, *faʿlalī* and *fiʿlil* among the former. As for loan-words, the most used are: *ardjawān* "purple", *ziryāb* "yellow", *zardjūn* "red and gilt", *firfir* "violet", *samānghūnī* "sky-blue", and *nīladj* "indigo"; these are terms derived from Persian or Greek.

Semantic study. To express the concept of "colour", Arabic uses the general term *lawn* which, besides this precise sense, also denotes "shade", "aspect", "type", "dish (of food)", etc. In addition to this general term, we also have the following words: *būṣ* (stressing a notion of brightness, of clear colour), *ṣabīb* (liquid colour or tincture, also applied to the object which it colours) *suḥna* (applied to the colour of the complexion), *layṭ*, *nadjr*, *khuṭba* (applied to a dirty colour, a mixture of two blended colours); *kharadj*, *khaṣaf* and *naṣīf* (all three referring to a mixture, a combination of two colours sometimes regarded as opposites).

It would seem useful, as preliminary to a semantic survey, to discover how the Arabs perceived the colours of the rainbow [see ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ], and how they subsequently transcribed their perceptions. Since this atmospheric phenomenon displays a very wide spectrum of colours, it is of the utmost interest to determine, for each people, the names that they have given to what they have seen. We know that the Greeks and Romans attributed three colours to the rainbow. In his *Meteora* (iii, 4, 373) Aristotle lists red-brown (*alourgon*), green (*prasinon*) and purple (*phoinikon*) in which he sees a progressive weakening of the light. Plato shows, in the *Timaeus*, that it is possible to reconstitute all shades with

four fundamental colours: black, blue, red, and the colour of light. Comparative study of languages belonging to very diverse cultural areas show that the divisions of the spectrum are far from always coinciding. They are arbitrary, and differ according to situations and the existing resources of the language. The great dictionaries and encyclopaedias of classical Arabic present, under the heading *ḳaws ḳuzaḥ*, almost unanimously, the following formula: "the rainbow consists of strips in a circular arc, coloured yellow, red and green". Here too—green replacing blue with which it is often confused—we again find the three fundamental colours.

The primary term used to denote the colour white is the adjective *abyaḍ*. The same root supplies the word for "egg", *bayḍa*. *Al-abyaḍ* also denotes saliva, a sword, money, and, paradoxically, in Africa, coal. In the Ḳurʾān, the terms *abyaḍ* and *aswad* appear consecutively, expressing the contrast between light and dark, rather than that between white and black. Many examples could be quoted where *abyaḍ* refers to a tonality rather than a colour. There exists a host of other terms to denote white: *ādam*, *th̲āgh̲im*, *d̲jawn* (which denotes white as well as a dark tonality), *as̲h̲yab*, *ṣiḳlab*, *ẓalm*, *ag̲h̲arr*, *faḳiʿ* (a bright white as well as a bright red), *aḳmar*, *ḳuhābī*, *ḥaḍḍī*, *aḥamm* (which displays the same peculiarities as *d̲jawn*), *ḥawārī*, *k̲h̲āliṣ*, *azhar*, *lahaḳ*, *amraḥ*, *nāṣiʿ* (brightness of white, yellow, red), *yaḳaḳ*, etc.

The principal term used to denote black is *aswad*, of which the root implies the notion of power, of might. The antonym of *abyaḍ*, sc. *aswad*, has the same characteristics: very often it applies to a dim or dark tonality, rather than to the colour black itself (cf. Ḳurʾān, II, 187, III, 106, XVI, 58, XXXIX, 60, XLIII, 17). The substantive *al-aswad* can refer to such diverse objects and creatures as the snake, the scorpion, dates, etc. The *maṣdar* "*sawād*", referred, quite uniquely, to a region of ʿIrāḳ especially rich in palm-trees and orchards.

The range of terms used in reference to black is also extremely wide. Worthy of mention are *bag̲h̲s*, *mutaḥḥam*, *d̲jawn*, *aḥtam*, *ḥunbūb*, *ḥindas*, *ḥulba*, *ḥālik*, *aḥamm* (white, black, or dark red), *aḥwaz*, *aḥwā* (a perfect example of the concept of darkness: black, red, green; cf. Ḳurʾān, LXXXVII, 5) *adbas* (dark), *add̲j̲an*, *adʿad̲j̲*, *adkan*, *adlam*, *adham* (dark: cf. Ḳurʾān LV, 64), *asḥam*, *asfaʿ*, *muẓlim*, *g̲h̲udāf*, *g̲h̲irbīb* (the association between the crow and the colour black is very wide-spread; we may recall that the root *ʿ-r-b* serves to denote black in Hebrew and in Aramaic), *afḥam*, *ḳātim*, *ḳātin*, *ḳāḥim*, *akḥal*, etc.

Grey, a fusion of black and white, does not have a precise colour. It does not have a primary term in Arabic. We may mention the designations *s̲h̲āhib* and *as̲h̲hab*, *ag̲h̲t̲h̲am*, *aḳhab*, *adsam*, *arbad*, *armad*, *armak*, *ag̲h̲bat̲h̲*, *awraḳ*, *aṭḥal*, *ḳahd*, *aklas*, *anmas*, *amlaḥ*, *amhaḳ*, etc.

The Arabs rarely mention violet. The principal term, borrowed from Persian, is *banafsad̲j̲ī*. Also encountered are *k̲h̲ubbāzī*, *samāng̲h̲ūnī*, *firfīrī*, evidently non-Arabic words, and all of them adjectives of relation. The same applies to indigo, of which the colouring material, a plant, is called *k̲h̲iṭr*, *sadūs*, *mus̲h̲ayṭir*, *ʿiẓlim*, *nuʾūr*, *nīl*, *nīla* or *nīlad̲j̲* and *wasma*. On the rare occasions when the colour indigo is mentioned, it is through paraphrases: as the colour of the indigo, or through adjectives of relation ending in *ī*.

Blue, on the other hand, is one of the essential colours of nature. The usual word denoting it is *azraḳ*, a term which also has the sense of livid, haggard (cf. Ḳurʾān, XX, 102). The plural, *zarāḳim*, designates snakes. The terminology of this colour is relatively limited, and this could be connected with the symbolic nature of blue, which we shall examine in due course. We may cite *samāwī*, *kaḥl*, *as̲h̲hal*, *ʿawhaḳ* and *amḳah* (three terms of a pejorative nature), and *amlaḥ*.

Green is synonymous with nature. It is the basis of life. The usual term is *ak̲h̲ḍar*, an adjective also associated with the notion of darkness, since it sometimes denotes black, dark, grey. We also find *al-k̲h̲aḍrāʾ* as a reference to the sky: a further illustration of the link between blue and green, often confused in antiquity. The Greeks, the Chinese, the Melanesians, the New Caledonians, the Romans, among others, used the same term to denote these two colours. Without having the extreme richness of those of black and of white, the terminology of green is fairly extensive. We shall confine ourselves to mentioning *ḳāniʾ*, *aḥwā*, *ak̲h̲dab*, *ak̲h̲ṭab*, *adlas*, *raḳiḳ*, *ʿas̲h̲raḳ* and *ag̲h̲yan*.

Yellow is denoted, most often, by *aṣfar*, a word whose relationship with the name of the saffron plant (borrowed from Persian) is striking. Arab historians applied the designation *Banu 'l-Aṣfar* [*q.v.*, lit. "the Yellow Ones"] to the Greeks and the Byzantines, while they called themselves "the Blacks" (or "the Masters"?) and applied the designation "the Red ones" to all non-Arabs. The terminology of yellow is extensive. The principal terms are *ḥibr*, *d̲h̲iryab*, *zabraḳ*, *zabrad̲j̲*, *ziryāb*, *zahr*, *aṣham*, *afḳaʿ* (see *faḳiʿ* for bright white and red), *ḳalad̲j̲*, *amlad̲j̲*, *nāṣiʿ* (the same remark as for *afḳaʿ*) and *wāris*.

Orange, like violet and indigo, is indicated by means of the adjective of relation applying to the object which represents the colour: *burtuḳāl* "orange", supplies the adjective *burtuḳālī*.

Red evokes the notions of blood, flesh, fruits, life. The two "opposed" and complementary colours, green and red, are also the colours of all vegetable and animal life. Red has always occupied a position of particular significance, in almost every sector of humanity. It has always enjoyed a privileged status in vocabulary. All its shades are represented, in virtually all languages. Black, red and white form the trilogy of colours that are the best recognised and the richest in terminology and symbolism. The usual word, in Arabic, is *aḥmar*, deriving from a root with the sense of ardour, violence, intensity. Red is the colour for which Arabic terminology is the richest. We shall confine ourselves to citing *ādam* (already encountered as a word for white, and perhaps the term for red in ancient Semitic), *bat̲h̲ag̲h̲*, *abḳam*, *t̲h̲aḳib*, *d̲j̲awn* (already encountered as a word for white), *aḥlas*, *ḥāniṭ*, *adbas*, *madmūm*, *adhas*, *adhan*, *arbad*, *rādinī*, *zabraḳ*, *zāhir*, *azhā*, *aslak̲h̲*, *aslag̲h̲*, *as̲h̲raḳ*, *ṣubāḥī*, *aṣhar*, *ṣayʿarī*, *ṣiḳlāb*, (already mentioned for white), *ṣamʿarī*, *aṣhab*, *adrad̲j̲*, *ʿānik*, *ʿanamī*, *g̲h̲asīḳ*, *g̲h̲adb*, *mag̲h̲lūḳ*, *fadm*, *fadn*, *firās*, *firṣad*, *afḍaḥ*, *faḳiʿ* (already mentioned for yellow), *ḳurrāṣ*, *aḳraf*, *ḳirmizī* ("crimson"), *ḳas̲h̲ar*, *ḳāniʾ* (especially denoting saturation), *akt̲h̲aʿ*, *karik*, *kalf*, *kamit*, *mātiʿ*, *amʿar*, *mamkūr*, *nakaʿ*, *ward* (cf. Ḳurʾān, LV, 37) and *yāniʿ*.

Brown and pink have a limited vocabulary. It is logical, on the other hand that russet-fawn should be precisely observed and distinguished by a people whose origins lie in the desert. We may mention *bahram*, *aḥsab*, *ḥidār*, *as̲h̲kaḥ*, *as̲h̲kar*, *aṣhar*, *aṣhab*, *aʿyas*, *aklaf*, *kumayt* and *ward* (already mentioned for red). Purple is denoted, in the principal Semitic languages, by terms deriving from one single quadriliteral root *r-g-w-n*. Arab lexicographers claim

that the Arabic *arghawān* is a loan-word from Persian. *Firfirī* and *birfirī* obviously derive from the same etymology as the Greek *porphyra* and the Latin *purpura*. For lessened colours other than brown, the terminology often relies on variants of terms designating dust, ashes and earth.

The vocabulary of mixtures and blendings of colours is very extensive. One is struck by the frequency of the consonant *sh* in the formation of terms designating flecked, mottled, striped, spotted colorations. In addition—which is scarcely surprising—the hides of horses and camels are differentiated, down to the slightest nuance, by dozens and dozens of term (see the articles by Hess and Shihābī, cited in the *Bibl.*). The striking fact, in this context, is the large number of terms (*adbas, addjan, adkham, adraʿ, adʿas, adghath, adgham, adlam, adhas, adham*, etc.) with *d* as the first radical.

We close this brief survey of the semantics of colour with the remark that doublets and loan-words are particularly frequent here.

Tonality, luminosity and saturation. The three psycho-sociological components which were cited at the beginning of this study are three unevenly-perceived sensory variants. It does not appear that tonality, in its sense of specific colour, was of fundamental importance to the Arabs when they evoked, in their literature, the colour of a landscape, a garment or any object belonging to their regular lives. It was rather a case of indistinct touches conferring a general impression. On the other hand—and this feature is determined by that mentioned above—luminosity, and saturation even more so, impressed them particularly. This is to be expected of a people living in a sun-drenched environment. These two notions of luminosity and of intensity seem in addition to be confused in the semantic quality of the innumerable adjectives which the Arabic language possesses, and which could be called "intensives of colour". The latter are used to qualify a "classical" adjective of colour, such as *abyaḍ, aswad, akhḍar* and *aḥmar*, and to indicate that this colour has attained its highest degree of luminosity or of intensity. While the substantives, *al-shabʿ, al-tashrīb, al-taḥkīk* and *al-yaḳīʾ*, specifically denote saturation; and while, on the other hand, brightness has the names *al-barīḳ, al-laṣīf* and *al-raʿfīf*; it is nonetheless true that the intensives *fāḳiʿ, nāṣiʿ, khāliṣ, nāḍir* and *ʿātik*, previously encountered in this survey, and all of them active participles: (a) imply, when they govern an adjective of colour, the notions of saturation and luminosity, indicating that the colour is intense and striking; and (b) are capable of being applied—originally at least—to any colour whatsoever. Apparently it was at a later stage that Arab grammarians assigned to each of these intensives a specific adjective of colour to qualify.

Colour in the works of Aristotle and his Arab translators. The Arab philosophers, in their analysis of the problem of colour and of its perception, were, to differing degrees, influenced by Aristotelian theory on the subject. It is important therefore to identify the major themes of the theses expounded by Aristotle, especially in his *De anima* (ii, 418a-419a) and his *De sensu et sensib.* 437b-440b).

The Greek philosophers were struck by the indissoluble link between light and colour on the one hand, and transparency on the other. The eyes, the most transparent part of the human body, are the meeting point of light or of external colour, and of their interior equivalent, a fact which favoured the theory of emanations. What is visible, says Aristotle, is colour; and colour is that which is on the surface of what is visible by itself. The basis of all the phenomena of colour is the transparent. The latter, represented especially by air and water, carries and determines colour, and colour is not visible without the aid of light, since it is only in the light that the colour of any object may be perceived. Where transparency is only potential, there is darkness. Light is like the colour of what is transparent, when the latter is realised in entelechy. The receptacle of colour must be what is colourless. The quiddity of colour is the ability to move the transparent in fact; and the transparent has the property of transmitting, instantaneously, the colour of the visual object to the eye, independently of any notion of time or space. One sees it; it is a qualitative and not a quantitative transmission. Aristotle rejects categorically the theory of emanations, developed by Empedocles, revised by Plato in his *Timaeus* (458 ff.) according to which we see by means of "rays of the nature of fire", which issue from the eye and meet the luminous emanation from the object perceived. Aristotle and all those who followed him, including the *falāsifa* [*q.v.*], insisted on the aqueous and non-igneous nature of the eye. All the same, the Master rejected the idea, propounded by Democritus, Leucippus and Epicurus, that vision is only the reflection of an object, as in a mirror. Every object, even opaque, contains, in varying proportions, air and water; and to the extent to which bodies contain transparency, they are susceptible to being coloured. The colour of a solid body is the limit, the surface, not of the body itself, but of the transparency that is within it. The nature of transparency extends, in addition, throughout the whole of the body. Colours are the defined transparencies which reside in bodies and which approximate, more or less, to white or to black, according to whether they contain more or less fire (luminosity and active transparency), or earth (the opaque in the absolute), the shining element or the obscure element. The essence of colour is the act of determining a qualitative change in the light, which is, itself, active transparency. The intermediate colours—that is, those other than black and white—exist neither through juxtaposition of a white and black particle, nor by superimposition of one colour perceived over another. They result from a total, effective blending, of bodies entailing the blending of their colours. Such is the determinant cause for the existence of a multiplicity of colours. But their number is limited, since it is confined within the two extremes of white and black. Finally, Aristotle distinguishes between darkness and blackness. Darkness is the absence of actualisation of the transparent. It has no existence *per se*.

Some eminent Arab authors and translators, like ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. 240/855) and Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 260/873) were influenced by Greek theories of colour, as they became known to them through the medium of the commentators of the early Middle Ages. According to al-Ṭabarī, white is evidence of the predominance of the dry element over the humid within bodies; the exact converse applies to black. For him, red results from the synthesis of heat with dryness and humidity. Such are the three fundamental colours from which the others derive. Yellow is the intermediary between red and black, green the intermediary between red and white. In the former, humidity is greater than in the latter. Other chromatic nuances are determined by varying quantities of dryness, humidity and heat. Ḥunayn,

for his part, is complimentary towards Aristotelian theories regarding the perception of colours. He insists on the fact that light is neither a form of fire nor a rarified body, as some of Aristotle's predecessors had claimed, but a contingency borne by a body. Colour is the perfection (entelechy) of limpid and diaphanous bodies—namely, water, air and all other similar substances—which receive the real colour of the objects surrounding them. The transparent body has no colour *per se*; but it absorbs the colour of the object which it envelops: it thus has potential colour. Colours transform the transparent: from being potentially coloured, it becomes actually coloured. Light, by its presence in the air, renders it capable of receiving colour.

Colour according to the Muʿtazilīs. In its defence of the articles of faith by means of rational argumentation, the theologico-political school of the Muʿtazilīs was led to take an interest in the problem of physical bodies and of their perception; but they took divergent views on the problem of colour. While al-Naẓẓām (d. *ca.* 230/845), starting with the postulate that accidents cannot be visible, classed colours among the substances, the corruptible bodies, Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. *ca.* 220/835), his contemporary Muʿammar and the majority of the disciples of the school, considered colours as accidents due to the action of men alone, or produced by the very nature of the things that they affect. Thus they are not subject to divine creation, but God remains the determinant cause of the accidental determination of substances. God created substances (bodies, atoms), capable of producing, by their own nature, well-determined accidents, and colour is one of these. Directly following this reasoning, Hishām al-Fuwaṭī (beginning of the 3rd/9th century) declared that colour does not constitute proof of the existence of God, but is a simple form of physical bodies. Muʿammar, the theoretician of *maʿnā* ("entity", "nature"), according to which "God creates a thing by virtue of a cause which, itself, derives from another cause, which is the fruit of another cause . . .", postulated that it is through the effect of a *maʿnā* that blackness differs from whiteness, and through another *maʿnā* that a certain body is black and another white. In fact, according to him, every "accident" (movement, colour, taste), requires the existence of an infinite chain of determining *maʿnās*, of which the initial cause is the Creator. "If God colours a body, it is because this body is by nature susceptible to colour. The same applies for other accidents" (Nader, *Système*, 161). Abū Hāshim al-Djubbāʾī (d. 321/933) classed colouration (*al-lawniyya*), like substantiality, corporality, and accidentality, among the real things which do not actually exist. He considered that substance is not coloured necessarily, but that any substance endowed with colour is incapable of losing it. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī (d. *ca.* 319/931) declared, for his part, that substance has always been endowed with colour. But the two masters agreed in stressing the fact that substance and colour are two distinct things: the first depends on divine action, while the second is engendered by the substance which bears it.

In fact, the *Maḳālāt* of al-Ashʿarī (392-3) echo the controversy which developed within the school concerning these questions. From the perception of a coloured object, can one abstract the colour, knowing that the latter cannot be perceived, but only known? Or indeed, can one at the same time perceive whiteness and white, blackness and black? Or again, does one see only the colour and not the object, as al-Naẓẓām suggested? Opinions differed on the above points. As regards sensible awareness of the exterior world, al-Naẓẓam borrowed from the pre-Aristotelian philosophers their sensualist thesis, and their theory of "pores" and "emanations". According to him, colour, form, flavour, taste etc., are each perceived only through the medium of an opening of a certain kind, by which the senses are affected. Each of these sensations is a rarified body: it emanates from a sensible object, penetrates through the specific apertures of the sensory organs, and thus reaches the consciousness of the being that senses it. Al-ʿAllāf (d. after 226/840) spoke of a divine intervention in the operation of man's awareness of sensible objects; but other Muʿtazilī theoreticians, like Muʿammar, regarded the perception of sensible objects as a natural act of the sensory organs, as an engendered act (*muwallad*), free from any divine initiative.

Colour according to the *falāsifa*. At the meeting-point of Muʿtazilism and of *falsafa*, of which he was one of the major initiators, al-Kindī (d. *ca.* 259/873) was greatly interested in the "physical sciences" and, consequently, in the theory of light, of colour, and of their articulation. In his work, as in that of his most eminent successors, the influence of Aristotelian theories, as they had been transmitted to the Arabs through the contemporary Neo-Platonism, is manifest. For "the philosopher of the Arabs", colour is a "general accident, since it affects numerous things". An accident perceived by the first of "the two noble sensory perceptions" (*al-ḥassayn al-sharīfayn*), sight and hearing. Just as the active intellect has the function of actualising potential intelligibles, the light which strikes opaque objects transforms potential colours into actual colours. The truly diaphanous body has no colour of its own, since it is the vehicle of the colour of the objects situated behind it. Of the four elements of the universe, only earth is not transparent: it is thus the only bearer of colour in this sublunar world. For an object to be affected by light and thus, a bearer of colour, it must be circumscribed, not fluid, compact, and it must form an obstacle (*yaʿtariḍ*) to visual rays. The colours which we believe that we perceive in fire are in fact the colours of terrestrial particles which are mixed with the fire. The latter—like air and water—is totally colourless. At the same time, our senses give us the illusion that the sky is azure (*lāzawardī*) in colour, although it is not so at all. In fact, the colour that we believe we see in the sky is an artificiality: it is the colour of the vaporous and terrestrial particles of which the air is full. The stars, on the other hand, are circumscribed and compact bodies, as is proved by the fact that they eclipse one another. That is why they may be coloured.

Al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) was also interested in colours. The latter, he tells us, occur on the surface of bodies, under the effect of a luminous source, since they do not exist in themselves. They are thus accidents provoked by this source of light. The chromatic differences are provided by the different dispositions of the lighted bodies. Colours only affect the sublunar world, the world of generation and of corruption. The heavenly bodies, the primary elements (*usṭuḳussāt*), the simple bodies, have no colour. The colour of terrestrial bodies derives from the fusion of the elements composing each one of them. The presence of the fire element brings a tendency towards white, that of the earth element a tendency towards black. The intermediary colours result from the proportions in which these two primary elements are blended.

Repeating an Aristotelian formula, al-Fārābī defines colour as "the surface of the diaphanous body, in the measure of its transparency". White is not the negation of black, nor black that of white: these opposite do not annihilate each other.

The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' [*q.v.*] (2nd half of the 4th/10th century) authors of a collective encyclopaedia clearly influenced by Neo-Platonian emanationism, considered colour one of the complementary attributes of the body. It is a "spiritual accident", a "form which the soul puts into the body". Light is bound up with the souls and spirits that circulate within it. While traversing diaphanous bodies ("the purest bodies are diaphanous") in the same way in which the soul circulates in the human body, light carries colours up to the pupil, preserving their purity intact. At the level of the pupil, the visual faculty perceives the colours, then transmits them to the imaginative faculty. Light and darkness are "spiritual colours". On contacts with bodies, they transform themselves, respectively, into white and black, which are "corporeal colours". Colours, defined as "the brightness of the rays of bodies" appear only on the surface of the latter. There exist seven simple colours: white, black, red, yellow, green, blue and "the dull colour" (*al-kudra*, violet?). Black derives from an earthy humidity which prevents light from reaching vision. Black is the absence of light. It causes convergence of the visual cluster. At the opposite extreme, white is the manifestation of light in its full purity. For its part, it entails a divergence of the visual cluster. The other colours are intermediaries between these two extremes; each one being characterised by the respective part played by the quantity of white and of black which it contains. An object appears yellow when an obstacle prevents light from appearing pure. Red can derive from "putrefactive causes" (through excess of humidity) or from "liquefactive causes" (through excess of heat). Green draws near to black, in the sense that, here too, an earthy humidity is dominant, constricting the passage of light and of the visual rays. Blue belongs to the chromatic family of green. God made the air blue and the plant green to accommodate the interest of His creatures. In fact, these two colours possess the virtue of being salutary for the vision. The colours of the rainbow are four in number: red, yellow, green and blue: each of these colours corresponds to one of the four primary qualities, namely, heat, dryness, humidity and cold; and to one of the four elements, namely, fire, air, earth and water. Finally, these authors reject the theory of emanations. Such a thesis, they declare, could only be supported by people having no "experience of the things of the spirit and of nature".

Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), like Aristotle, classed the psychology of the sensory apparatus among the physical sciences. He devoted an entire chapter of his *Shifā'* to the problems of vision and of colour. Light is a quality affecting diaphanous bodies; and colour, opaque bodies. The latter are coloured potentially. Colour can exist without being visible; but actual colour occurs only by virtue of its clarity. Colours do not exist, in fact, in bodies. A black, dark body, is potentially coloured. An object that is coloured when it is lit up, will be colourless in the dark: it is deprived of actualised colour. The actively transparent (air, water, the celestial sphere) is a diaphanous medium, and at the same time a vehicle. The illuminating body approaches the coloured body, without any change, any alteration, affecting the diaphanous medium. The existence of light makes the potential transparent an actualised transparent. As light increases, so the manifestation of colour increases also. Ibn Sīnā followed the views of Aristotle in regarding as absurd the theory of emanations, in rejecting the theory that assimilated vision to a reflection similar to that transmitted by a mirror, and in distinguishing between darkness and blackness. He rejected the theory according to which only whiteness is a colour, and blackness is darkness, since, he tells us, black is illuminated, and it gives light to things other than itself. Consequently, colour is not whiteness alone. Absolute, generic colour, is not light; but the latter is the cause for the apparition of the former, and the cause of its transmission. Light is thus a constituent part of the visible entity which we call "colour". Effective colour results from the encounter of light with potential colour. The intermediary colours result from the blending of black and white. White can turn into black in three different ways: (a) through grey of increasing darkness; (b) through red tending increasingly towards brown; and (c) through green and indigo. These diverse processes are the reflection of the diversity of composition of the intermediary colours.

Ibn al-Haytham (d. 430/1039), in his *Optics*, took issue with those scholars who denied the real existence of colour, and declared that it was only an apparition situated between the eye and the source of light. According to him, if it is true that the appearance of colour is affected by the quality of the light which carries it, and that the same colour can be transformed according to the degree of light which it is given, it nonetheless remains a fact that colour has an existence of its own. His commentator Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (d. 720/1320) explored the fundamental connection between light and colour. In darkness, colours are presented, potentially, in coloured bodies. They are transformed into actual colours when light affects these bodies.

Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) devoted a paragraph of his *Fiṣal* to colour. Here we read that the air is invisible, because it has no colour; whereas water is visible, because it is white. Similarly, fire also is colourless in its sphere; the colour that we see in burning wood, in the wick of a lamp or in any other body that is consumed by fire, derives from the measure of humidity contained in these bodies. In burning, the latter is transformed into igneous air; and the colour which each of these burning bodies adopts is determined by the materials of which it is composed. It is also particles of humidity which give rise to the rainbow. The scholar of Cordova subsequently sets out to refute the theses of the "Ancients", according to whom white results from a divergence of the visual cluster, and black from a convergence of this cluster. According to him, black is invisible, because perception exists only through an extension of vision. Since the eye sees only that which is coloured, black is not a colour. It is, in fact, only darkness, the non-being, privation of colour and eye sight. When we believe that we "see" black, we are subject to an optical illusion. It is purely a matter of convention and metaphor when we describe a person, a crow or a garment, as black. In fact, each of these bodies has its own colour, which is not black. As for the difference between a matt black and a shiny, bright black body, this derives not from the black itself, but from the lustre, the brightness and the scintillation, which are distinct and constitute a colour in its own right, which affects all the chromatic nuances. We may recall that Plato counted

"the colour of light" among the four fundamental colours. One could, says Ibn Ḥazm, just as well say that the dull is a specific colour, since the vision perceives it. Such is also the case with brightness, with luminosity. It is evident that the Ẓāhirī master was particularly aware of the sensory variants of colour. He goes on to establish a hierarchy in the vividness of perception of colours, whose order is as follows: white, yellow, red and green. It is to be noted that he shows a great deal of circumspection in the declaration of his statements, since he is careful to follow them, invariably, with the formula "God alone knows!", or even "May God assist us!"

Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a (d. 533/1139), elaborated a whole doctrine of colour in his *Treatise on the soul*. The influence of Aristotle, in particular of his *De sensu et sensib.* is evident; a fact which the author makes no attempt to conceal, as he quotes from the latter work on more than one occasion. The postulate is that the primary sensory element of vision is colour. The seeing soul (*al-nafs al-bāṣira*) is the faculty which exists in the eye and which enables it to perceive colour. It is localised in the vitreous humour, which the Arab philosophers called the glacial humour (*al-ruṭūba al-d̲j̲alīdiyya*). Colour is, in substance, a form. It is perceptible only through the intermediary of the air; and when a coloured object is placed directly before the eye, the latter is incapable of perceiving it. The air only discharges its function as a vehicle for colour when it is lit by a luminous source. Two hypotheses could thus be formulated: (a) colours, in darkness, are potential only, and have no effective existence; (b) the air absorbs colours only through the influence of the optical image in which these colours reside. For Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a, the potential existence of colour in darkness is in no doubt. Proof of this existence lies in the different tonalities of the same colour, depending on the quality of the surrounding light, which includes penumbra. He adds that this was demonstrated well by Aristotle (see *De sensu et sensib.*, iii, 440a, 7-13). As for the phosphorescence and the sheen of certain objects and animals, these are determined not by colour but by impressions affecting the eye. The property of colour, endowed by the fact that it derives from the blending of the lighted with the coloured body, is that of being, itself, a dispenser of light, and of moving the air. Colour therefore contains light. It promotes a movement in the lighted body, in that it is lighted; for this body is, itself, a vehicle for colour. In addition, colour puts the diaphanous into effect, by reason of the fact that the latter only accepts colour because it is lighted. Democritus was mistaken in declaring that vision in a vacuum would be purer than through the diaphanous. Just as colour cannot be perceived in the absence of light, so the latter is only perceptible when associated with colour.

The eminent commentator on Aristotle, Ibn Rus̲h̲d (d. 595/1198), also undertook to expound a theory of light and of colour, as far as possible consistent with the spirit of the Peripatetic science, as transmitted through the intermediary of Alexander of Aphrodisium, Themistius and Jean Philiponus. He sets out his theory in his Great Commentary on *De anima* and his *Epitome* on *Parva naturalia*. Colour exists on the surface of a certain body. It is the entelechy (actualisation) of a limited transparency, in that it is a limited transparency, while light is the entelechy of an unlimited transparency. Resulting from a blending of fire with diaphanous body, colours find in the light, not the cause of their transmission of the visual organ, but a genuine essence and existence. We have seen that Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a supported the theory according to which colours exist, *in potentia*, in bodies, whether the latter are lighted or not. Unlike his compatriot from Saragossa, the master of Cordova claims that they can exist effectively, even when they are not perceived. They only become visible under the effect of light. "It is evident that light is necessary for colours to be visible; whether because it gives to colours the form and the manner of being (*malaka/habitus*) by which they impinge upon the transparent; or because it gives the transparent the form by which it receives the action of the colours; or else both can be achieved" (*apud* L. Gauthier, *Ibn Rochd*, 133).

For his part, Averroes maintains the following connection: light gives to the transparent the manner of being which enables it to be influenced by colour. Light and colour coexist in the diaphanous milieu. They derive, the former from a body which is luminous in itself; the latter from a body which is coloured in itself. Light brings about the actualisation of potential colour, in such a way that it is capable of moving the diaphanous; which is transformed from the potentially diaphanous to the effectively diaphanous; and can, as a result, absorb colour and transmit it to the eye. Thus the objective existence of colours, and their effect on the eye, depends on light. But visibility is not a condition for the existence of colour. It follows that, contrary to the view of Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a, colour as such does not contain light. When light acts upon the diaphanous, then, according to the intensity of this light, and its degree of transparency, different colours are produced. White derives from a blending of pure fire, that is, solar light (in its capacity as a luminous element) with air (in its capacity as the most diaphanous element). Black derives from a blending of turbid fire (that which is located above the elements and below the spheres) and earth (in its capacity as the most opaque element). The two absolute colours are thus "the primary elements" (*usṭuḳussān*ʾ) of the colours. All the other colours are situated between these two extremes. They result from an infinity of proportioning of the chromatic pair white/black. To the extent to which an intermediate colour (green, red, yellow, etc.) tends towards white, it loses, in proportion, the ingredient of black which it contains, and *vice versa*. In common with Aristotle, his Arab commentator believes that the blending of colours consists, not in a juxtaposition or a superimposition, but in a total union of constituent elements, in the event, of fire and diaphanous bodies.

It is evident that, while the Arab theologians and philosophers did not neglect the subject of colour, they were concerned essentially with the manipulation of theories inherited from the Greeks and translated, since the 3rd/9th century, by men like Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn or Bis̲h̲r b. Mattā. There was, strictly speaking, no Arab-Muslim doctrine of colour, and, as far as we know, no monograph devoted to this question.

A mystical vision of colour. It is hardly necessary to stress the universal nature of the spiritual experience of colours. In this context, the works of H. Corbin enable us to appreciate the interest which certain Muslim mystics, like Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1226) and al-Simnānī (d. 737/1336) took in the phenomenon of colours, and in the synchronism between them and the interior vision. Taking up the theory of "physiological colours" dear to Goethe, which the German master espoused in his *Farbenlehre* (1808), to refute the hitherto un-

challenged theses of Newton, the Iranian theosophist al-Kirmānī (d. 1870) laid stress on the difference to be established between the existence (*wudjūd*) and the manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) of colour; a difference which has nothing to do with the classic distinction drawn by the *falāsifa* between potential and actual existence. His hermeneutic of colours "sets in motion . . . a symbolism based on an integral spiritual realism" (Corbin). Colour is the language of souls. The eye—the meeting point between exterior light and interior light—does not reflect passively the world which is presented to it; it participates in the perception of things, and produces its own colour. Deriving support from certain verses of the Ḳur'ān which, like XIII, 16 and XXXV, 20, make forceful statements such as "Are the blind man and he who sees equal; are darkness and light equal . . .?", al-Kirmānī considers that the colours perceived by our eye are those of bodies, not those of rays of light, and that they exist in the supra-sensible worlds. "Light is the abstract of colour, or colour in the abstract state . . . Light is the spirituality of colour; and colour is the corporality of light . . . It is through the medium one of the other that they enter our field of vision" (Corbin). Without light, colour is still present, but is similar to a body deprived of its spirit. Every compound, whether it belongs to the sensible or to the supra-sensible world, therefore has a colour. The colour of the world of Intelligence is white; that of the world of Spirit is yellow; that of the world of the Soul is green; that of the world of Nature is red; that of the world of Matter is an ashen colour; that of the Imaginary world is deep green; that of the material body is black. In the same spiritual context, we may recall the famous formula of Novalis: "Colour is an attempt by matter to become light"; and this comment by Rudolph Steiner: "Colour is not only a quality applied to the surface of objects, but a light flashing from the soul of things to reveal itself to our soul".

These reflections lead us on to the symbolism of colour.

The symbolism of colour. Colours are capable of acting, on the human being, independently of the optical system; and the sensation of colour, essentially, is an individual thing before it is a collective thing. The link between human perception, power of evocation and psychism, does not need to be proved. Also, since time immemorial, peoples have used colours as a system for the communication of thought, and as "signs" and symbols of abstract ideas. Although each colour does not denote, incontrovertibly, a universal quality, a number of invariants have been isolated by comparative study. Colours have played a role of considerable importance in ritual, in magic and in superstition. Nor are the psychological, physiological and physical effects of colour to be ignored: this "language of colour" in which is expressed, in art, the ineffable role of the chromatic nuances, whose faculty of interaction is essential for painting.

One quotation from the Ḳur'ān will suffice to prove that this was also the case with the Arabs. In XVI, 13 we read: ". . . in that He has disseminated various colours upon the Earth, here, truly, is a certain sign for a people that is edified . . ." (see also XVI, 6; XXX, 22; XXXV, 27, 28; XXXIX, 21).

One of the most striking manifestations of the symbolic connotations of colours among the Arabs, is the phenomenon of opposites (*al-aḍdād* [*q.v.*]). We have seen, in studying the semantic value of certain adjectives of colour, that they were sometimes capable of embracing two diametrically opposite meanings. This phenomenon is particularly to be noted in the case of white and black, which have common adjectives. To signify wine, the Arabs used a number of euphemisms, of the type "the fair drink", "the golden one", etc. It seems to have been the same reasoning that led them, superstitiously, to avoid the use of certain terms, and to evoke them either by sufficiently eloquent imagery, or by antiphrasis, in cases where the context rendered the sense unequivocal. Even today, in certain parts of the Orient and the Maghrib, in order to avoid pronouncing the word "black" (the accursed colour, the colour of Hell), opposites are used. In Morocco, *al-abyaḍ* sometimes denotes tar or coal. It has been observed, in addition, that some adjectives occasionally qualify two colours which, while being different, nonetheless present certain affinities. In the collective unconscious where humanity's roots are laid, it does not seem that our ancestors felt the need to establish a tight partition between colours which may be regarded as being close, as they offer similar attributes of luminosity or of intensity, such as blue and green in the former instance, yellow and red in the latter. The same conclusion holds good for the Arabs. For them, the symbolic value of white, does not seem to have been much different from that which it was for the majority of peoples, for certain latent associations are universal. The colour of brightness, of loyalty, of royalty, sc. white, most often symbolises purity, joy, chastity and virginity in popular psychology. White, the confusion of all the colours, is unity, the very image of divinity. The body of the archangel Gabriel is snow-white. The white bird is the emissary sent from Heaven to tell good news. The white cock is held to be the incarnation of an angel. It was a white cock that Allah sent to indicate to Adam the times of prayer (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, 13, 66-7, 126, 200). By reference to the white hand of Moses, when he accomplished the miracles recounted in the Ḳur'ān, the expression *yad bayḍā'* symbolises potency, power, authority. In the colloquial speech of Syria, "a white heart" designates a person of good companionship, of noble nature; "a white standard", a good reputation; "white tidings", a joyful message. In Egypt, a fine day is compared to milk or to a white flower. But, as in the Far East, and as in Europe for a long time, white can also be the colour of grief and of mourning. Death is livid and white in contrast to the redness of life. The shroud is white. White hair is the forerunner of death. In Spain, in Morocco, in eastern Persia, white was also the colour of mourning (cf. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 298-9). The popular subconscious has, furthermore, also been aware of this affinity between white and death, and the end of life is characterised by rhetorical figures such as "white death", sudden and natural death, death in which human knowledge is powerless towards the unknowable.

Aswad and *sayyid* present an etymological relationship that is loaded with meaning. The Arabs sensed that black was a dominant colour, exercising over them a fascination that was mingled with fear. Black, darkness, the night, mystery—all of these demand respect. The Black Stone of the Ka'ba is a pillar of spiritual influence. Black is the coat of "the unknown journey", of mourning and of all sadness. It is also the joint symbol of vengeance and revolt (cf. the black flag of the 'Abbāsids). In the history of superstition in the lands of Islam, black occupies a privileged position. By a kind of homeopathic magic, it is used as a charm against "the evil eye". The black

cat is endowed with enormous magic power: it is a creation of Satan, and anyone who eats its flesh is immunised against illness; its spleen, when applied to a woman, stops menstruation. For the Muslims, as for so many other peoples, the black crow exercises a baleful influence; meeting the bird is an unfavourable omen, since the bird is the herald of separation; is it not assumed that the Prophet said that the crow must be killed, since it is wicked and perverse? The chains of Hell are black. A black cloud is a sign of divine wrath. Cain killed Abel with a black rock (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, 8, 108, 121, 186-7, 193-4, 298). *Al-sawdāʾ* is the black bile, source of sorrow and fear. "Black liver" is a term applied to a sworn enemy; "black heart" is a degenerate and vulgar personality; "black news" denotes a calamity; "black life" is unfortunate; a "black face" belongs to a discredited person; "black death" is reserved for that caused by strangulation.

Blue, at the opposite extreme from red, is a cold, fleeting, profound, immaterial colour. The sky and the sea are blue; anyone who plunges into them is lost to infinity, since their depth is immeasurable. Metaphysical fear is a "blue fear". The Arabs considered this colour magical, inauspicious and disturbing. Blue eyes are a source of bad luck; and miscreants are depicted with them in the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (117, 121, 123). In Egypt, as a defence against the "evil eye", blue-coloured grains of alum (*s̲h̲abba*) are hung at the neck of children and adults. Blue stone possesses a share of the sacred force, by virtue of its celestial colour. The magical power of blue is at the same time the dispenser of ill fortune and a defence against it. The "blue enemy" is an inveterate and mortal enemy. In Syrian parlance, when it is said of a person that "his bones are blue", this means that he is of cunning, vindictive nature. Blue is the colour of haggard, livid, frightened people. In the only Ḳurʾānic passage where the root *z-r-ḳ* occurs (XX, 102), it is used to describe the guilty ones on the Day of Last Judgment. This is why, as with black, the Arabs took pains to avoid mentioning this colour. In certain regions of Egypt, one says "green" rather than "blue". A disagreeable or fretful day is also described as "a black day" or "a blue day". We may note that in Sanskrit, the term *nila* serves to denote both blue and black, two colours regarded as maleficent. In Egypt, *nīla* (indigo) is a sign of misfortune, of failure.

Equidistant between infernal red and celestial blue, green has a medium role, a form of equilibrium dear to Islam. For the Arabs, as for many other peoples, it is the symbol of good luck, of natural fertility, of vegetation, of youth. For Islam, the green standard of the Messenger of Allah and the green cloak of ʿAlī have become the very emblems of the Religion. As a beneficent colour, green belongs so naturally to the popular spirit of the Arabs that their colloquial language is full of expressions where this colour symbolises joy, gaiety or success. In Syria, a "green hand" is used in describing a lucky person. To wish somebody a good year, one uses the expression "green year", and when one takes up residence in a new dwelling, green leaves of beet are hung there as a token of good luck. In Morocco, the expression "my stirrups are green" means "I bring the rain when I travel into an area where it is awaited". Muḥammad himself declared: "The sight of green is as agreeable to the eyes as the sight of a beautiful woman (cf. al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, 137). The archangel Gabriel has two green wings. The Heavenly Throne is carved from a jewel green in colour. Abraham is clothed, in Paradise, in green garments. The Preserved Tablet [see LAWḤ] is made of emerald (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, 7, 13, 139, 220). The title "Green Bird" is the name given to a number of saints. One should not ignore the special place reserved by the doctrine of *d̲j̲ihād* to the *s̲h̲ahīd*, "the martyr in the Way of Allah"; while the corpses of these martyrs remain in their tombs, their souls, on the other hand, are entitled to privileged treatment: "Allah puts their souls into the bodies of green birds, which quench their thirst in the rivers of Eden, and eat of its fruits", says a famous *ḥadīt̲h̲*. In symbolism and the occult sciences, the emerald, a beautiful green stone, is seen as endowed with an esoteric significance and a regenerative power. The *Emerald table* is the title of a work, which appeared in the Middle Ages, containing all the laws of occultism and the Kabbala, and attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. "The colour green", said al-Simnānī, "is the most appropriate to the secret of the Mystery of Mysteries". In Islamic cosmology, *Ḳāf* [*q.v.*] the mountain encircling the terrestrial world, is made of green emerald, whose colour is reflected by the celestial vault. The image "green death" refers to the action of clothing oneself in rags or patched garments, as do the dervishes and the Ṣūfīs. It is thus the most gentle of deaths, accepted willingly and endowed with spiritual worth.

The colour of gold and of the sun, of butter and honey, but also that of sulphur and the flame that consumes, yellow presents a wide ambivalence on the symbolic level, and not only for the Arabs. It can, according to the nuances applied to it, refer just as easily to cowardice or treason as to royal power and glory. The sight of the Angel of Death gives to Adam sweat "the colour of saffron". At the time of the "descent of Jesus" and the Last Judgment, the guests of Paradise will have white faces, those of Hell black; as for the people condemned to undergo "the ordeals of the tomb" their faces will be "the colour of saffron" (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, 75, 308). The link between bright yellow and youth, love, waiting, separation, is widespread in human psychology. For the Andalusian poets, the yellow of the narcissus is the symbol of the lover who pines away for unrequited love. The colour yellow symbolises the pain of separation. *Al-ṣafrāʾ* denotes bile. In the parlance of the Levant, "a yellow smile" denotes a smile full of envy. On the other hand, we may note that in the ʿAbbāsid period, the Muslim East displayed a definite predilection for yellow. Even food was coloured yellow through the use of saffron.

Red is the colour of fire and of blood, of passion, of impulse and of danger. It is fundamentally linked to the vital force, and to the warlike qualities. It is a gushing colour, hot and male, unlike blue and green The name of the first man, Adam, signifies "red" in Hebrew. As with yellow, its symbolism is ambivalent, both divine and infernal. The Burning Bush has its equivalent in the Furnace. The red sulphur (*kibrīt aḥmar*) of Islamic esotericism denotes Universal Man, the product of the action of hermetic red. It is said that at the battles of Badr and Ḥunayn, the angels who assisted the faithful against the infidels wore red turbans or belts. But, on the other hand, when the Eternal decreed the destruction of Sabaʾ and of its dam, He sent red rats to undermine the edifice (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, 280, 286). The Arabs qualified with "red" the form of death caused by the emission of blood. In popular speech, an unlucky year is called "a red year". In Syria, the expression "his eye is red" applies to a cruel person; and "his wool is red" means that he is accursed.

We see that the problem of colours, of their transmission and their perception, is quite complex. There has been a definite evolution in chromatic perception since the origins of humanity. In early antiquity, man was, apparently, above all sensitive to the light, and very little to colour as strictly defined. Gradually, psychism—and, consequently, semantics—learned to distinguish the nuances and to designate them. The infinite richness of the colours emerged slowly in the course of the centuries. The apprenticeship of colour took place in the milieu surrounding each people. Language and perception have interfered, without ever totally covering all aspects of the question. Symbolism has entered into the element of subjectivity and ambivalence inherent in every perception of colour, while the human brain has extended its field of reflection, the range of its thought, and rendered its transsion more flexible, by learning how to nuance it.

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(A. Morabia)

LAWSHA, Spanish Loja, a small town of al-Andalus, 35 miles to the south-west of Granada, on the left bank of the Gemil at the foot of an imposing limestone mountain, the Periquestes. It has now rather less than 30,300 inhabitants, but was probably more important during the Arab period. It was the birthplace of the famous Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], who wrote an enthusiastic description of it. The walls of the *ḥiṣn* which commanded the town during the Arab period can still be seen. It was repopulated in 280/893 during the reign of the *āmīr* ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad. This "key of Granada" was besieged in 1486 by the Catholic kings, who captured it on 25 Djumādā I 891/29 May 1486.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

LAYL and NAHĀR (Ar.), two antithetical terms which designate respectively night and day, but do not have exactly the same status and are not parallel.

Layl is treated as a collective noun without dual (except in poetry where the use of this incorrect form is justified by the requirements of metre), or plural; it possesses, as would be expected, a noun of unity, *laylat*^{un} "one night", of which the plural *layālī*^{in} and the seldom used diminutive *luyayliyat*^{un}, are something of an embarrassment to philologists, who are inclined to consider them as formed either on **layliyat*^{un} or on **laylāt*^{un}. *Nahār*, for its part, applies to the "day" which extends from sunrise to sunset; like *layl*, it has neither dual, nor plural (since the forms *anhur*, *nuhur* and, in dialect, *nahārāt*, are secondary and judged inadmissible by the grammarians, who can only account for them as an aberrant transfer from the generic to the particular, from *djins* to *nawʿ*); but it is not a collective and, for this reason, it has no noun of unity and cannot itself supply this function. Thus the correlative of opposition to *layl*, *nahār*, cannot be opposed to *laylat*^{un}, of which the antonym is *yawm* (pl. *ayyām*), signifying "day" (of twenty-four hours). So one says *layl*^{an} *wa-nahār*^{un} "night and day, by night and day" (e.g. Ḳurʾān, LXXI, 5), but *yawm wa-layla*, "a day and a night" is twenty-four hours and not thirty-six; the famous battles of the pre-Islamic Arabs, which did not take place at night, are known by the expression *ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*], generally translated as "the days of the Arabs". On the other hand, *nahār* is sometimes a substitute for *yawm*, as in Moroccan dialect where, in stories, "one day" is always *wāḥd ən-nhāṛ* and one even encounters *wāḥd ən-nhāṛ . . . f-əl-līl* (e.g. G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 87). On the other hand, *ayyām* and *layālī* are, in certain cases, interchangeable. While the "borrowed days", each one of which effectively lasts twenty-four hours, are known in Arabic as *ayyām al-ʿadjūz* [*q.v.*], the very cold period which begins in December and ends

forty days later is always called *al-layālī al-sūd* "the black nights", while the forty "mottled" days which, in two series of twenty, immediately precede and follow it and during which the cold is less severe, are sometimes called *al-ayyām al-bulḳ* (e.g. in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, sometimes *al-layālī al-bulḳ* (especially by al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 384).

Similarly, the distances which we express in "a days' journey" are measured by the Arabs in stages (*marḥala*, pl. *marāḥil*), translated either as "days" (*ayyām*) or as "nights" (*layālī*, even in reference to a country where day-time travel is practicable). While the day of the month can be expressed by means of *yawm* followed by an ordinal number up to 19, an ordinal and a cardinal from 20 upwards (*al-yawma 'l-t͟hālit͟ha wa 'l-ʿis͟hrīna min Ṣafar* = 23 Ṣafar), a calculation based on nights is used in preference, most often with elision of the word *layla* or *layālī*, but with the feminine form of the numerical noun (whereas *yawm* or *ayyām* would demand the masculine), for example: *li-arbaʿa ʿas͟hrata k͟halat/k͟halawna min Muḥarram* = "fourteen (nights) having elapsed of Muḥarram = the 14th of the month (not the 15th, since the official day begins at sunset), or: *li-ʿas͟hr baḳiyat/baḳīna min Muḥarram* = "ten (nights) remaining of Muḥarram" the 20th of the month. (In this context, in calculating correspondence with the Julian or Gregorian calendars, it is important to know if an event dated on a certain day happened before midnight, in which case the corresponding date indicated by the tables should be put back one unit.)

Being accustomed to look to the sky for guidance while travelling at night, and to use the stars [see ANWĀʾ] and the phases of the moon [see ḲAMAR] for the measurement of time, the ancient Arabs divided the lunar month into ten periods of three nights bearing names chosen for the most part as references to the different shapes of the moon or to the degree of its brightness: 1-3: *g͟hurar* (or *g͟hurr*, *ḳurḥ*); 4-6: *nufal* (or *d͟juhar*, *s͟huhb*); 7-9: *tusaʿ* (or *zuhr*, *buhr*); 10-12: *ʿus͟har*; 13-15: *bīḍ*; 16-18: *duraʿ* (or *durʿ*); 19-21: *ẓulam*; 22-24: *ḥanādis* (or *nuḥs*, *duhm*); 25-27: *daʾādiʾ* (or *ḳuḥam*); 28-30: *maḥāḳ*. These three last nights were qualified with, respectively, *daʿd͟jāʾ*, *dahmāʾ* and *laylāʾ*, but the 30th also bore the names *sarār*, *sarar*, *naḥīra*, *daʾdaʾ*, *falta*. The first and the last days of the month, in historical works and correspondence, are also designated by terms connected with the moon: *g͟hurra* for the first and *munsalak͟h* or *sarār* for the last. There also exists a different nomenclature in which nights from the 13th to the 21st bear the same names as those detailed in the scheme above, but the others are: 1-3: *hilāl*; 4-6: *ḳamar*; 7-12: *nufal*; 22-27: *ḥanādis*; 28-29: *daʾādiʾatān*ⁱ; 30: *maḥāḳ* (for all these names, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *Anwāʾ*, § 159; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, iii, 429-31 = §§ 1316-18; *Calendrier de Cordoue*, 18; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronologie*, 63-4; Ibn Sīduh, *Muk͟haṣṣaṣ*, ix, 30-1; Ibn al-Ad͟jdābī, *al-Azmina wa 'l-anwāʾ*, 85-7; M. Rodinson, *La lune chez les Arabes et dans l'Islam* in *Sources orientales. La lune, mythes et rites*, Paris 1962 163-4).

The ancient Arabs possessed a host of epithets to describe a dark night but it is scarcely possible to establish a gradation between them. The majority of these terms, some of which are quite expressive (e.g. *mus͟hankik*, *muṭlak͟himm*), have fallen into disuse; we shall mention only the following: *layla ẓalmāʾ muẓlima*, *mudlahimma*, *dayd͟jur*, "very dark"; *muʿlankisa*, *bahīm*, "where one can see nothing"; *ṭak͟hyāʾ*, *dād͟jiya*, "overcast and moonless"; *sadaf*, *g͟haṭas͟h* "penumbral"; *layl musd͟jahirr* or *mud͟jrahidd*, "long night" (see Ibn Sīduh, *op. laud.*, ix, 37-41).

From the whole of this rich vocabulary, attested in ancient poetry or compiled by *ruwāt* and reproduced scrupulously, though without much enthusiasm, by lexicographers, only the most current elements (in particular those derived from the root *ẓ-l-m*) figure in the Ḳurʾān, where day and night are items of considerable importance; we may in fact count a total of 57 occurrences of *nahār*, 79 of *layl*, 7 of *layla* and 4 of *layālī* (compared with 36 of *yawm*, 27 of *ayyām* and 69 of *yawmaʾid͟h*ⁱⁿ). The day and the night, naturally created by God and put at the disposal of mankind (XIV, 37/33) are signs (XVII, 13/12, XLI, 37) of divine power; they are mutually concurrent (XXXI, 28/29, XXXIX, 7/5, LVII, 6), and God brings forth the day from the night (XXXVI 37; see also VII, 52/54); complementary (VI, 13, 60, XXV, 49/47, XXVII, 88/86, XXX, 22/23, XXXIV, 32/33, XXXVI, 40, XL, 63/61), they succeed one another regularly, with emphasis placed on this succession (*ik͟htilāf al-layl wa 'l-nahār*, II, 159/164, IV, 187/190, X, 6, XXIII, 92/80, XLV, 4/5), which is sometimes treated by translators as a contrast between two creations which renew themselves constantly (hence the term *al-d͟jadīdān*ⁱ, "the two new ones"). The two words appear together in a total of 24 verses.

The word *sāʿa*, which occurs 47 times in the Ḳurʾān (in 33 cases to designate the [Last] Hour) meant nothing more than "a moment, a brief lapse of time", for the ancient Arabs apparently did not divide the day in 24 hours; this usage, a perfectly understandable one, is retained in the classical language, where expressions are encountered such as *summ*ᵘⁿ *sāʿat*ⁱⁿ "instantly fatal poison". The concept of the hour was, however, introduced into Arab culture at an early stage, for it was indispensable to astronomers, who distinguished between equal or average hours (*sāʿāt muʿtadilāt*) and unequal or true hours (*zamāniyyāt* or *muʿwad͟jd͟jāt*, and Islamic civilisation was at quite an early stage familiar with various types of clock [see ḤIYAL, in Suppl.] which were evidently not at the disposal of the majority of peoples. However, references in historical texts to events which took place, for example, at the third hour of the day or of the night, lead one to suspect that this notion was more widespread than is generally thought; it is thus possible that in a period which cannot be precisely identified, the day and the night were divided into twelve hours, the relative proximity of the equator making fluctuations in their duration according to the seasons a matter of small account. This method of reckoning is still in use in Arabia, where, now that the possession of watches is widespread, it causes a certain amount of confusion.

The night begins immediately after sunset, which marks the start of the official day; this is why, when one talks of the previous night, the Arabic expression is *al-laylata* "this night", if the time is before midday (but *al-bāriḥata* "[the night] that has passed" if the time is after midday). The divisions of the night were not precisely defined, in spite of the rich vocabulary which is to be found, for example, in the *Muk͟haṣṣaṣ* (ix, 44-8) of Ibn Sīduh who mentions, following Ḳuṭrub (ix, 37) five parts (*ad͟jzāʾ*) named respectively: *k͟hudra*, *mudḳa*, *sudfa*, *had͟jma* and *yaʿfūr*; these expressions do not seem to have been in widespread use and, in any case, they are not defined in a satisfactory manner. However, the need to fix the hours of the three canonical prayers which take place during the night obliged the Muslims to interpret precisely

the meanings of certain ancient terms and to establish with accuracy the times to which they apply. Among the many words denoting the beginning of the night, *shafaḳ* has been sanctioned by usage; in the Ḳur'ān (LXXXIV, 16), Allāh swears by the *shafaḳ*, interpreted as meaning either "twilight" or "day", as opposed to the night which figures in the oath contained in the following verse, but it is agreed that this term designated "the evening twilight", the time at which the *maghrib* prayer should be performed [see MĪḲĀT]. Some authors distinguish two twilights, of which the first is characterised by the redness of the sky and the second by its pallor (e.g. Ibn al-Adjābī, *op. laud.*, 118), but this distinction is secondary. The astronomic twilight lasts for as long as it takes the sun to descend 18° below the horizon (or 1 hour, 12 minutes, since 15° = 1 hour), and Muslim scholars adopt the average figure of 17°; it is however quite certain that the real duration of the *shafaḳ* varies according to lattitude, season and meteorological conditions; this is why the calendars indicate it regularly to enable the faithful to perform the prayer within the required time; one might naturally ask on what observations are based the figures supplied for example by the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, where this duration (and that of the morning twilight, the *fadjr*, which is reckoned to be identical) varies from 1 hour 1/7 on the 1st of January to 2 hours 1/8 on the 21st of June. As regards the *maghrib* prayer, it is said in the Ḳur'ān (XVII, 80/77): *aḳimi 'l-ṣalāta li-dulūki 'l-shamsi ilā ghasaḳi 'l-layl*, and the end of the *shafaḳ* effectively marks the start of the *ghasaḳ* (which was also known by other names: *ẓalām*, even if the moon was shining, *iḳtiḥām al-layl*, etc.); the beginning of the latter period is the time for the prayer of *ʿishā'*, which some call incorrectly *al-ʿishā' al-akhira*, as opposed to a *ʿishā' ūlā* = *ṣalāt al-maghrib*, and which the Bedouins were reproached for calling *ṣalāt al-ʿatama*, after the first third of the night during which they customarily performed the milking (*istiʿtām*) of their camels. Although we know of a considerable number of terms designating any part of the night (see *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 45), only a few words seem to be at all precise, in spite of differences in interpretation; thus, *ʿashwa, siʿw, had'* and variants = 1/4 of the night; *ḳiṭʿa* and variants = 1/3; *dhuhl* and variants = 1/3 or 1/2; *hitā', haziʿ, thabadj, mawhin* and variants = 1/2 approximately. The middle of the night was called *djawz, usṭumm, djarsh*, but astronomers rendered "midnight" simply by *niṣf al-layl* (in the same way they called "midday" *niṣf al-nahār*) and the modern language uses the expression *muntaṣaf al-layl*. The *ʿasʿasa* precedes the third third, the *saḥar* or *saḥr*, which matches the *ghasaḳ* and is immediately followed by the morning twilight, the *fadjr*; for the Muslim astronomers, this twilight begins at the moment that the sun is 19° below the horizon, but the real duration of it is indicated, as has been seen above, in the calendars. It is during this final part of the night that the morning prayer (*fadjr* or *ṣubḥ*) is performed. Since their territory did not extend as far as latitude 48°, the Arabs did not know that at the summer solstice there is no complete night (the *layl alyal* of the astronomers) at this latitude.

Night travellers experienced a certain relief when they observed the first lights of dawn, and they tended to include the *fadjr* in the *nahār*; a reflection of this conception is also found in the works of lexicographers who normally place the *ṣubḥ* (or *ṣabīḥa* or *ṣabāḥ*) at the end of the night and are furthermore inclined to make it the beginning of the day, calling *ghudwa* or *bukra* the time which elapses between the *fadjr* prayer and the sunrise (see *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 48-52). Although the prayers which punctuate the Muslim's life obliged the *fuḳahā'* to fix with a degree of exactitude the time of the *ẓuhr* and of the *ʿaṣr* (let alone the *ḍuḥā*), the divisions of the day lack precision. The *nahār* begins at the moment that the upper edge of the sun appears on the horizon, just as the night and the official day begin when the opposite edge, now uppermost, disappears. The first part of the day, up to the moment when the sun has traversed a quarter of the diurnal arc, is called *ḍuḥā*; the period corresponding to the sun's progress over the second quarter of the arc is known as *ḍaḥā'*; it comes to an end at midday (*zawāl*), which is marked, for the astronomers, by the sun crossing the meridian and, for the simple faithful, by the displacement of the shade which moves from the west (where it is called the *ẓill*) to the east (where it takes the name *fay'*). It is at this moment that there begins the period, varying according to the judicial schools [see MĪḲĀT], during which the midday prayer (*ẓuhr*) must be performed. A number of terms referring to the heat which then reigns are employed (*ẓāhira, hādjira, ḳā'ila, ghā'ira*), without designating a precise lapse of time. Some calendars indicate, at the beginning and the end of each month of the solar year, the altitude (*irtifāʿ*) in degrees of the sun at midday (e.g. the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, or, to enable the faithful to calculate for themselves the hour of the *ẓuhr*, the length of the shadow either in feet, as in the *Risāla* of Ibn al-Bannā', or in height (*ḳāma*), once again as in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, where the shade varies from a quarter of the height of an object on the 16th of June and the 1st of July, to one and five-sixths on the 16th of December. The period which follows that of the *ẓuhr* and also extends between limits determined by the length of the shadow, but variable according to the *fuḳahā'*, is that of the *ʿaṣr* (see I. Goldziher, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ix 293 ff.; transl. in *Arabica* vii/1 [1960], 26 ff.); this term is thus precisely defined in Islam, although diverse and much less definite interpretations are retained. *Aṣīl* was used in reference to the time which elapses between the *ʿaṣr* and sunset, but this word tends to be employed, in the contemporary language, for the evening twilight; *masā'*, which had the same meaning, is today applied to the evening, as opposed to *ṣabāḥ*, "morning", and also comes to designate the period which begins at noon and encroaches upon the night; the word *ʿashiyya* (and variants) is also taken in the sense of "evening", although it used to be as precise as *maṣā'* and *aṣīl*, designated the end of the *nahār* and was the opposite of *ḍuḥā* (e.g. Ḳur'ān, LXXIX, 46: *illā ʿashiyyatan wa-ḍuḥāhā*).

The calendars to which reference has been made often attach importance to the length of the day and of the night, which some of them indicate twice a month, either in degrees of the sun's arc, or in hours. Since the authors who supply these figures are not usually astronomers, they give the impression of borrowing these numerical data from their predecessors, without perhaps taking account of differences in latitude, especially in view of the fact that, when addressing themselves to their fellow-citizens, they do not take the trouble to establish the name, and the position relative to the Equator, of the place concerned. It would nevertheless be possible to calculate the latitude of this place if one could rely on the accuracy of the data relating to the length of the longest and shortest days and nights of the year, but in this

respect great uncertainty remains. It is furthermore to be noted that the geographers, heirs to the Ptolemaic tradition, divide the zone reckoned to be inhabited in the northern hemisphere, as far as approximately latitude 50°, into seven climates [see IKLĪM], of which the lower and upper limits are constituted by parallels separated one from the other by a distance corresponding to a difference in half-an-hour in the length of the longest day of the year.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(CH. PELLAT)

LAYLĀ AL-AKHYALIYYA, Arab poetess of the 1st/7th century of the tribe of the ʿUkayl (ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa group) whose *nisba* came to her from an ancestor, Akhyal, or from several of the Akhāʾil. Literary tradition attributes to her an elegy on the murder of ʿUthmān and speaks of her as having been familiar, late in life, with the caliphs Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Malik, and the redoutable governor al-Ḥadjdjādj: it follows that the pinnacle of her career should be placed at around 650-60 A.D. She is well-known for her romantic saga, of ʿUdhrite type, concerning h:r relationship with the bandit-warrior Tawba b. Ḥumayyir, also of the ʿUkayl tribe. He loved her, and although he was prevented from marrying her, he always maintained a chivalrous devotion to her. When he was killed in the course of one of his raids, Layla mourned him in a number of touching elegies, fragments of which are available to us from literary sources (as far as is known, they were never collected in a *dīwān*) which show Laylā resembling a Muslim al-Khansāʾ [*q.v.*]. In fact, these funereal elegies, like those of the most famous poetess of the Djāhiliyya, are still imbued with a purely pagan spirit, lauding the warlike and beneficent virtues of their heroes (for al-Khansāʾ, her two brothers; for Laylā, her sweetheart Tawba), without any hint of faith or Muslim piety. The genre of the *rithāʾ* [see MARTHIYA], was henceforth perpetuated in an established form in the new milieu of Islam. As with the poetess of Sulaym, the sincerity of Laylā's sorrow and her fidelity to a long and unrequited love come through the conventional *topoi* of the elegy, as in the accounts of her conversations with the caliphs.

Besides these *marāthī*, there is attributed to Laylā a poetic exchange in *hidjāʾ* form, fairly coarse as is typical of this genre, with the poet al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī. This is all that is known of her life (she was married to a certain Sawwār b. Awfā al-Kushayrī). On the date and place of her death, there is conflicting evidence. According to a highly romantic tradition, she died very close to the tomb of Tawba, in circumstances which would corroborate certain well-known verses of her friend in this respect; more plausible perhaps are other traditions which put her death in Iran (at Sāwa or Rayy), in the course of a journey which she had undertaken in her old age through the *barīd* of al-Ḥadjdjādj, to visit her cousin Kutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*], who was then campaigning in Khurāsān. In any case, the date would be in the early years of the 8th century A.D. (end of the 1st century of the Muslim era). Her historical authenticity is not in any doubt, unlike that of her more famous namesake, Laylā of Madjnūn.

Bibliography: Ibn Kutayba, *Shiʿr*, 416-20; *Ḥamāsa* of Buḥturī, 269-71; *Aghānī*³, xi, 204-49; R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 292; I. Filshtinskiy, *Arabskaya literatura v srednie veka*, Moscow 1977, 226-8.

(F. GABRIELI)

LAYLĀ KHĀNİM (? - 1847), Turkish poetess of the first half of the 19th century. Very little is known about her life. Born in Istanbul the daughter of the *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* Moralī-zāde Ḥāmid Efendi, she was educated by private tutors, particularly by her maternal uncle ʿIzzet Mollā [*q.v.*], whom she eulogised in an elegy. Her short-lived marriage and her gay and unscrupulous way of life gave rise to gossip about her being a lesbian. Her poems, not particularly original, are written in a comparatively simple and unadorned style avoiding the articialities and affectation of many of her contemporaries. She excelled in *münādjāt* and *merthiyes*. Her *dīwān* was printed at Būlāḳ in 1844, with second and third editions made in Istanbul in 1851 and 1883 respectively. Laylā Khānım was a Mewlewī adherent, and is buried in the garden of the Galata Mewlewī convent.

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(FAHIR İZ)

LAYLĀ KHĀNİM (Modern Turkish LEYLA SAZ 1850-1936), Turkish poetess and composer. She was born in Istanbul, the daughter of Dr. Ismāʿīl Pasha (1812-71), originally a Greek from Chios, who served as imperial surgeon under Maḥmūd II and as governor, minister and Palace physician under ʿAbd al-Medjīd and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. From early childhood, Laylā Khānım frequently lived in the imperial harem or in close association with it. She was privately educated and was married to a civil servant from Crete, Sirrī Efendi (later Pasha, 1844-95), who served as a governor in various parts of the empire. Laylā Khānım, who accompanied him, included interesting travel notes in her famous memoirs (see below). She died in Istanbul on 6 December 1936.

As a composer, she followed the classical Turkish tradition, although the influence of Western music which had entered the Ottoman Palace in the mid-1800s is noticeable in her works. She is the composer of over 200 works to which she wrote the words, including some famous and very popular *sharḳ* and marches.

Her early poems published in the *Khazīne-yi ewrāḳ* in the 1880s are in the *dīwān* tradition. Later, she wrote in the manner of the *Tanẓīmāt* modernists, particularly of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥamīd. She occasionally used syllabic metre and a simple language for her *türküs*. Only a small portion of her compositions and poems survived the fire which destroyed her villa in Bostāndjī near Istanbul (see Mustafa Rona, *Yirminci yüzyıl Türk musikisi*², Istanbul 1970, 25-31, where 45 of her compositions are given). Her scattered poems were collected and edited by her son Yūsuf Rāḍī in 1928 as *Solmush čičekler* ("Faded flowers"). They seldom rise above the average.

Laylā Khānım's most important contribution is her invaluable memoirs, which mainly cover her experiences in the harem. This is a unique first-hand report of Palace life from the inside. The memoirs describe in great detail everyday life in the Palace, its décor and furnishings, and particularly the harem, its customs, fashions, ceremonies, special occasions, training and life of princes, princesses and slave girls, etc., together with character studies and sketches of interesting types. She began to write her memoirs in 1897 and completed them in 1920 at the age of 70; and she published the first part, on the harem, in the daily *Waḳt* (beginning 20 January 1921) and the second part, on women's life, in the 19th century, in the daily *Ileri* (from 25 April 1921). As Istanbul

was under Allied occupation at the time and the press under strict control, some passages were omitted by the censor. The memoirs were translated by her son and published under a pseudonym, that of Mme. Adriana Piazzi (Delcambre), *Le Harem impérial et les sultanes au XIXᵉ siècle: souvenirs*, adaptés au français par son fils Youssouf Razi. Préface de Claude Farrère, Paris 1925. Both parts of the memoirs have now been edited in one volume by Sadi Borak as Leyla Saz, *Harem'in içyüzü*, Istanbul 1974.

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LAYLĀ Ū MADJNŪN [see MADJNŪN WA-LAYLĀ]

LAYLAT AL-BARĀʾA [see RAMAḌĀN]

LAYLAT AL-ḲADR [see RAMAḌĀN]

AL-LAYTH B. AL-MUẒAFFAR, Arab philologist and jurisprudent, grandson of the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Kinānī al-Laythī (d. 131/748, 85 years old [*q.v.*]). Sometimes he is identified as the son of the latter or even as the son of an alleged third son of his grandfather, Rāfiʿ, who might be confused with the well-known Rāfiʿ b. Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār [see HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD].

The biographical information about al-Layth (or Layth) is meagre. He studied grammar and lexicography under the versatile scholar and *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa, Ḳāsim b. Maʿn (d. 175/791?), and was held in high repute as a secretary with the Barmakids. It seems that his relationship with the master of the *ʿarabiyya*, al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791? [*q.v.*]), who was not much older than himself, was trustful and close. We learn that from traditions, some of which are embellished by anecdotes, and we furthermore learn that he revised and completed the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl, according to some sources after the latter's death. Al-Layth may have finished this work at the beginning of the eighties of the 2nd century A.H. (about 800 A.D.) and died soon afterwards, in other words, just before the fall of the Barmakids in 187/803. Later philologists consider him as the actual author—and recent investigations confirm this view, especially in regard to the bulk of the material—or else they leave this question undecided, speaking of the *ṣāḥib Kitāb al-ʿAyn*; whereas others attribute the misunderstandings and the mistakes which they thought to have discovered in the first Arabic dictionary mainly to that revision. (Concerning the works which have been written before the background of such criticism, cf. J. Kraemer, in *Oriens*, vi [1953], 208 f.)

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the article KHALĪL B. AḤMAD, see G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862 (repr. Nendeln 1966), 39-42; E. Bräunlich, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 69 f., 85 ff.; P. Anastase (al-Karmalī), in *Isl.*, xv (1926), 296; S. Wild, *Das Kitāb al-ʿAin und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden 1965, 14, 16; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, i, index; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1375/1956, 97 f.; Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1375/1955, 31; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muḳtabas*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1964, 59, 279 f.; al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lugha* (Introduction), in *MO*, xiv (1920), 27 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1382/1962, 183 f. (cf. D. Möller, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen arabischen Falknereiliteratur*, Berlin 1965, 55 f.); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 222-227; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1374/1955, iii, 42 f.; al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Bulgha fī taʾrīkh aʾimmat al-lugha*, Damascus 1392/1972, 194 f.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 383 (Cairo 1384/1965, ii, 270); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha*, Cairo 1378/1958, i, 77. (R. SELLHEIM)

AL-LAYTH B. SAʿD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-FAHMĪ, ABU 'L ḤĀRITH, traditionist and jurisconsult, belonging to the class of the great *tābiʿūn*. He was born and died in Egypt (Ḳarḳashanda, Shaʿbān 94/May 713—Miṣr, 14 Shaʿbān 175/16 December 791. At the cemetery in Cairo, may be seen the tomb of "El Imam El Leis"). This "scholar of Egypt" (of Persian origin) is ranked unanimously among the leading authorities (*fuḳahāʾ al-amṣār*) on questions of religious knowledge in the early years of the Islamic empire, these being: Abū Ḥanīfa, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Ibn Abī Laylā (Kūfa), Ibn Djurayḥ (Mecca) Mālik and Ibn al-Mādjishūn (Medina), al-Awzāʿī (Syria), and finally, al-Layth b. Saʿd (Egypt). With his vividly critical attitude towards the law schools (the Mālikī one in particular), the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm regards all these individuals as the worthy successors of Mālik in respect of erudition, intelligence and moral severity (*al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, ii, 138). Al-Layth is also held in high esteem by the *imām* al-Shāfiʿī, in whose opinion the study of tradition rests, essentially, on the authority of these three masters Mālik, Sufyān al-Thawrī and al-Layth b. Saʿd.

Only fragmentary information is available concerning the career of al-Layth (cf. the article devoted to him in *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 3-14). His training in the discipline of *ḥadīth* was both Meccan (with Ibn Shihāb, Nāfiʿ and ʿAṭāʾ b. Rabāḥ among others) and Medinan (Mālik). He travelled to Baghdād in Shawwāl 161/July 778, where his teaching of *ḥadīth* was an outstanding success and earned him the patronage of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His humility is said to have prevented him from soliciting honours and appointments of state. On returning to Egypt, he devoted himself to teaching and also to the management of what seems to have been a considerable fortune. He was credited with an annual income of the order of 25,000 *dīnārs*, which he utilised with such generosity that he was left with practically nothing which could justify the payment of *zakāt*. Al-Layth was, throughout his life, a much-courted and honoured man (no doubt because of his fortune). According to a man familiar with him over a period of twenty years, he was never seen lunching or dining unaccompanied by numerous associates. He lived in a grand scale and knew how to enjoy his wealth. If such a life-style allowed him a certain amount of leisure for participation in public life, or for daily sessions of *ḥadīth*, it was hardly compatible with long and exacting periods of work. In addition, the written work of al-Layth seems to be less than prolific (see *Bibl.*) in comparison with that of Mālik (93-179/711-95) who was able, in the rustic setting of Medina, to lead a much more productive scholastic life.

The biographers of al-Layth often compare him with Mālik, with the object of attributing superiority in numerous areas to the former. Without doubt, subjectivity plays a major part in these judgments, when dealing with an individual whose special success and munificence inspired much respect. In the doctrinal sphere as such, the personal contribution of al-Layth is far from comparable with that of the *imām* Mālik. It is significant in this context that classical authors discussed the legitimacy of whether al-Layth should be accorded the title of *imām*, taking into account not only his piety and his virtues, but also the importance and impact of his doctrine as measured on the scale of the *umma* (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*,

xiii, 13). The verdict of posterity is negative on this point; all that need be quoted here by way of a tribute is the opinion recorded by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071): "If Mālik had not existed, the superiority of al-Layth would have been universally recognised" (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 7). Having been a pupil of Mālik, al-Layth was in a position to assert his independence with regard to his eminent contemporary, while maintaining a relationship with him marked by courtesy and a willingness for intellectual co-operation (cf. his *Risāla ilā Mālik b. Anas*, in Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Iʿlām al-muwaḳḳiʿīn*, iii², 94-100). If in the sphere of religious law (*fiḳh*), the influence of al-Layth is decidedly slight, his name nevertheless remains connected with the discipline of *ḥadīth*, where the classical authorities unanimously attribute to him a well-proven competence and integrity.

Bibliography: Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 520, no. 7, where the work of al-Layth (1. *Ḥadīth*; 2. *Madjlis min fawāʾid al-Layth*; 3. the above-mentioned *Risāla*) is to be supplemented by *Kitāb masāʾil fi 'l-fiḳh*, cited in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (199); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Cairo-Baghdād 1349/1931, xiii, 3-14 (article no. 6960); Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī al-Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*, Damascus 1380-2/1961-2, iii, 745; R. G. Khoury, *al-Layth ibn Saʿd (94/713-175/791), grand maître et mécène de l'Égypte, vu à travers quelques documents islamiques anciens*, in *Festschrift Nabia Abbott*, *JNES*, xl/3 (1981), 189-202. (A. Merad)

LAZ, a people of South Caucasian stock (Iberic, "Georgian") now dwelling in the southeastern corner of the shores of the Black Sea, in the region called in Ottoman times Lazistān.

1. History and geography. The ancient history of the Laz is complicated by the uncertainty which reigns in the ethnical nomenclature of the Caucasus generally; the same names in the course of centuries are applied to different units (or groups). The fact that the name Phasis was applied to the Rion, to the Čorokh (the ancient Akampsis), and even to the sources of the Araxes, also creates difficulties.

The earliest Greek writers do not mention the Laz The name Λαζοί, Λᾶζοι is only found after the Christian era (Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, iv, 4; *Periplus* of Arrian, xi, 2; Ptolemy, v, 9, 5). The oldest known settlement of the Lazoi is the town of Lazos or "old Lazik" which Arrian puts 680 stadia (about 80 miles) south of the Sacred Port (Novorossiisk) and 1,020 stadia (100 miles) north of Pityus, i.e. somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tuapse. Kiessling sees in the Lazoi a section of the Kerketai, who in the first centuries of the Christian era had to migrate southwards under pressure from the Zygoi (i.e. the Čerkes [*q.v.*]) who call themselves Adighe (Adzighe); the same author regards the Kerketai as a "Georgian" tribe. The fact is that at the time of Arrian (2nd century A.D.), the Lazoi were already living to the south of Sukhum. The order of the peoples living along the coast to the east of Trebizond was as follows: Colchi (and Sanni); Machelones; Heniochi; Zydritae; Lazai (Λᾶζαι), subjects of King Malassus, who owned the suzerainty of Rome; Apsilae; Abacsi [cf. ABKHAZ]; Sanigae near Sebastopolis (= Sukhum).

During the centuries following, the Laz gained so much in importance that the whole of the ancient Colchis had been renamed Lazica (Anonymous Periplus, *Fragm. hist. graec.*, v, 180). According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ch. 53, in the time of Diocletian (284-303), the king of the Bosporus, Sauromatus, invaded the land of the Lazoi and reached Halys (N. Marr explained this last name by the Laz word meaning "river"). Among the peoples subject to the Laz, Procopius (*Bell. Got.*, iv, 2, 3) mentions the Abasgoi and the people of Suania and Skymnia (= Lečkhum). It is probable that the name Lazica referred to the most powerful element and covered a confederation of several tribes. The Laz were converted to Christianity about the beginning of the 6th century. "In the desert of Jerusalem" Justinian (527-65) restored a Laz temple (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, v, 9), which must have been in existence for some time before this. The Laz also sent bishops to their neighbours (Procopius, *Bell. Got.*, iv, 2). In Colchis the Laz were under the suzerainty of the Roman emperors, who gave investiture to their kings, and the latter had to guard the western passes of the Caucasus against invasions by the nomads from the north. On the other hand, the monopolistic tendencies of the commerce of Rome provoked discontent among the people of Colchis. In 458 King Gobazes sought the help of the Sāsānid Yazdagird II against the Romans. Between 539 and 562 Lazica was the scene of the celebrated struggle between Byzantium under Justinian and Persia under Khusraw I Anūshirwān.

According to Procopius, who accompanied Belisarius on his expeditions, the Laz occupied both banks of the Phasis, but their towns (Archaeopolis, Sebastopolis, Pitius, Skanda, Sarapanis, Rhodopolis, Mochoresis) all lay to the north of the river, while on the left bank, which was desert land, the lands of the Laz only stretched for a day's march to the south. Nearer to Trebizond were the "Roman Pontics", which only means that the inhabitants were direct subjects of the Roman emperor and not of the Laz kings; from the ethnic point of view, the "Roman Pontics" could not have been different from the Laz. This strip of shore continued longest to shelter the remnants of the Laz.

In 1204 with the aid of troops lent by queen Thamar of Georgia, Alexis Comnenus founded the empire of Trebizond, the history of which is very closely connected with that of the southern Caucasus. Nicephoros (v. 7) says that the founder of the dynasty had seized "the lands of Colchis and of the Lazes". In 1282 John Comnenus received the title of "Emperor of the East, of Ivoria and of the lands beyond the sea". In 1341 the princess Anna Anakhutlu ascended the throne with the help of the Laz. The lands directly under the authority of the emperors of Trebizond seem to have extended as far as Makriali, while Gonia was under a local dynasty (cf. the *Chronicle of Panaretes*, under the year 1376).

In 865/1461 the Ottoman Sulṭān Meḥemmed II conquered Trebizond, and as a result the Laz came into contact with Islam, which became their religion in the form of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. The stages of their conversion are still unknown. The fact is that, even in the central regions of Georgia (Akhaltsikhe), Islam seems to have gained ground gradually from the 13th century onwards (N. Marr, in *Bull. of the Acad. of St. Petersburg* [1917], 415-46, 478-506).

In 926/1519 Trebizond, with Batum, was made a separate *eyālet*. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, who went through this region in 1050/1640, the five *sandjaḳ*s of the *eyālet* were: Djanikha (Djanīk = Samsun?), Trebizond, Güniya (Gonia) and Lower and Upper Batum. The modern Lazistān was governed from Gonia, for among the *ḳaḍā*ʾs of this fortress we find Atina, Sumla, Witče/Biče (= Witse) and Arkhawi

(Ewliyā and the version of the *Djihān-nümā* in Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente*, in *Abh. d. Bayer. Akad.* [1846]). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and Ewliyā Čelebi, deceived by the similarity in sound of Caucasian names (as also was Vivien de St. Martin), proposed a theory of the identity of the name Lezgi and Laz. Ewliyā calls Trebizond the "former Lezgi *wilāyet*". Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, after enumerating the peoples of the district of Lezgi as Mingrelians (Megril), Georgians, Abkhaz (Abaza), Čerkes and Laz, adds that the latter are those who live nearest to Trebizond. To the south-east of Trebizond in the Čepni mountains he mentions the Turks who "worship as their God (*maʿbūd*) the Shāh of Persia (i.e. are extreme Shīʿīs) and are associated (*mushtarik*) with the Laz". Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and Ewliyā do not agree on the number of the fiefs of Trebizond; Ewliyā only says that the value of the *eyālet* has depreciated through the unruliness of many of its 41 *nāḥiyes* (*Djihān-nümā*, 429; Ewliyā, ii, 81, 83-5).

The first serious blow to the feudal independence of the *derebey* of Lazistān was only struck at the beginning of the 19th century by the Ottoman Pasha of Trebizond; but Koch, who visited the country after his expedition, still found most of the hereditary *derebeys* in power, although shorn of some of their liberties. He counted fifteen of them: Atina (two), Bulep, Artashin, Witse, Kapiste, Arkhawe, Kisse, Khopa, Makria (Makriali), Gonia, Batum, Maradit (Maradidi?), Perlewan and Čat. The lands of the three latter lay, however, on the Čorokh behind the mountains separating this valley from the river of Lazistān in the strict sense. On the other hand, among the *derebeys* of Lazistān was the lord of Hamshin, i.e. of the upper valleys of Kalopotamos and of Fortuna, inhabited by Muslim Armenians. According to the Armenian historian Levond, tr. Chahnazarian, Paris 1826, 162, the latter with their chief Hamam of the Amatuni family had settled in the district in the time of Constantine VI (780-97) (the old Tambur was given the name Hamshin < Hamamshen, "built by Hamam"). It is evidently this region that Clavijo (1403-6), ed. Sreznewski, St. Petersburg 1881, 383, calls "tierra de Arraquiel". He adds that the people, dissatisfied with their king Arraquiel (Arakel?), submitted to the Muslim ruler of Ispir. The Hamshin are now Muslims, and only those of Khopa have not forgotten Armenian. A Hamshin lexicon was published by Kipshidze.

With the institution of the *wilāyets*, the *sandjaḳ* of Lazistān became part of the *wilāyet* of Trebizond. Its capital was at first Batum but, after the Russian occupation of Batum in 1878, the administration of the *sandjaḳ* was transferred to Rize (Rhizaion), detached for this purpose from the old central *sandjaḳ* of Trebizond. That part of Lazistān lying to the west of the Ottoman-Russian frontier occupied a strip of coast 100 miles long and 15 to 20 miles broad. The *ḳaḍā*'s of the *sandjaḳ* were: Khopa, Atina and Rize, subdivided again into 6 *nāḥiyes* (Sāmī-Bey, *Ḳamūs al-aʿlam*, v, 3966). Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 118-21, mentions Of as a fourth *ḳaḍā*ʾ and gives 8 (7) *nāḥiyes* (Hamshin, Ḳaradere, Mapawri, Waḳf, Kurā-yi sabʿa, Witse, Arkhawi). In 1880 there were in the *sandjaḳ* 364 inhabited places with 138,467 inhabitants, of whom 689 were Orthodox Greeks and the rest Muslims (Laz, Turkicised Laz, Turks and "Hamshin"). The number of true Laz cannot be more than half the total population.

The term Laz is used in the west of Turkey to designate generally the people of the country round the south-east of the Black Sea, but in reality the people calling themselves by this name and speaking the Laz language now live in the two *ḳaḍā*'s, modern *ilçes*: Khopa (between Kopmush and Gurup) and Atina (between Gurup and Kemer). Laz is spoken in 64 of the 69 villages of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ or *ilçe* of Atina. To these should be added the very few Laz who used to live in Russian territory to the south of Batum. These Laz were incorporated in Turkey by virtue of the Turco-Soviet treaty of 16 March 1921, which moved the Turkish frontier to Sarp (to the south of the mouth of the Čorokh). Rize and Batum are now outside the Laz country proper.

Due to its remoteness and to its proximity to the Russian frontier, Lazistān has only been marginally affected by the modernisation of Turkey in recent years. Communications are poor, and roads largely unmade. The ancient port of Hopa, which is the end of the line for passenger and mail steamers from Istanbul, has been equipped with a modern harbour which includes two massive artificial moles. At Sarp, which is only about 10 miles from the important Soviet port of Batum, there is a flourishing tea factory surrounded by the highly-productive plantations of this bush.

The Laz have traditionally been regarded as very conservative in their Islamic religion, and the old Turkish shadow theatre (Karagöz [*q.v.*]) and popular theatre (Orta oyunu [*q.v.*]) often portrayed the Laz as slow-witted rustics; a Turkish proverb stated that "a Muslim does not eat Laz jelly", *Lazların termonu müsülman yemez onu* (*termoni* < Greek θέρμος). In fact, despite a long-established reputation for brigandage and for smuggling goods across the Turco-Russian frontier, the modern Laz are highly intelligent. They are skilled tillers of the soil, and were in the past often to be found in the towns of eastern Turkey as gardiners. Today they are to be found in towns all over Turkey in their traditional calling of bakers and pastrycooks; before the First World War many Laz went to Russia to work as bakers, and often returned with Russian wives who became converts to Islam. They are shrewd and enterprising businessmen, and have secured a large portion of the real estate market in Istanbul. When modern educational opportunities are available to them, they readily respond to this stimulus. They are also excellent sailors, and form a large proportion of the crews of many Turkish vessels.

2. Language. The Laz language is closely connected with Mingrelian (which is a sister language of Georgian), but N. Y. Marr found in it sufficient peculiarities to consider it a Mingrelian language rather than a dialect. In the Lazo-Mingrelian group he believed that he could find resemblances to the more Indo-European elements in old Armenian (Grabar). There are two Laz languages, eastern, and western with smaller subdivisions (the language of the Čkhala). Laz is very full of Turkish words. It has no written literature, but there are local poets (Rashīd Ḥilmī, Pehliwān-oghlu, etc.). The Laz are forgetting their own language, which is being replaced by the Turkish patois of Trebizond (cf. Pisarev in *Zapiski VOIRAO* [1901], xiii, 173-201), in which the harmony of the vowels is much neglected (cf. a specimen in Marr, *Teksti i razïskaniya*, St. Petersburg, vii, 55).

The Georgians call the Laz Čʿan, but the Laz do not know this name. "Čʿan" is evidently the original of the Greek name Sannoi/Tzannoi, and it survives in the official name of the *sandjaḳ* of Samsun (Djanīk). From the historical point of view, the separation of the Laz and Čʿan seems to have taken place, in spite

of the close relationship between the two of them. In the time of Arrian, the Sannoi were the immediate neighbours of Trebizond. In an obscure passage in this author (cf. the perplexed commentary of C. Müller, in *Geogr. graeci minores*, ad *Arriani Peripl.*, 8), he places on the river of the frontier between the Colchians (Laz?) and the θυαννιαη (?). Koch mentions the interesting fact that the people of Of speak a "language of their own", and according to Marr, the people of Khoshnishin (near Atina) speak an incomprehensible language. Procopius places the "Sannoi who are now called the Tzannoi" on the area adjoining the mountains separating Čorokh from the sea (the Parayadres range, the name of which survives in the modern Parkhar/Balkhar). Marr's researches showed that the Č'an (Tzannoi) had at first occupied a larger area, including the basin of the Čorokh and its tributaries on the right bank, from which they were temporarily displaced by the Armenians and finally by the Georgians (K'art'li). The chronicles of Trebizond continue to distinguish the Laz from the Tzianids (Ζιανίδες). The latter in alliance with the Muslims attacked the possessions of Trebizond in 1348, and in 1377 were punished by the Emperor. At this period the Tzianids must have been in the southwest of Trebizond (besides, the *sandjak* of Djanīk is to the west of this port). Thus the Georgian application of the name Č'an to the Laz may be explained by the confusion of the two tribes one of whom (the true Č'an living to the south and west of the Laz) was ultimately thrust to the west of Trebizond.

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(V. Minorsky-[D. M. Lang])

LAZARUS, the name in the Gospels of (1) the poor man who finds compensation in Abraham's bosom for the misery of this world (Luke, xvi, 19-31); and (2) the dead man whom Jesus raises to life (John, xi). The Ḳur'ān mentions neither the one nor the other, but among the miracles with which it credits Jesus is included the raising from the dead (III, 43/49). Muslim legend with its fondness for the miracle of resurrection is fond of telling of the dead whom Jesus revives, but rarely mentions Lazarus. Al-Ṭabarī in his *Ta'rīkh* talks of these miracles in general. According to him, Hām b. Nūḥ is revived by Jesus (i, 187). Al-Kisā'ī only mentions Sām son of Nūḥ amongst those restored to life by Jesus. Al-Tha'labī relates, closely following St. John's Gospel: "al-'Āzir died, his sister sent to inform Jesus, Jesus came three (in the Gospel, four) days after his death, went with his sister to the tomb in the rock and caused al-'Āzir to arise; children were born to him". In Ibn al-Athīr the resurrected man is called "'Āzir", the *el* of Ela'zar was taken for the article, as in al-Yāsa' (Elisha) and Alexander (al-Iskandar) or in Āzar, the father of Abraham in the Ḳur'ān, whose name Fraenkel derives from Eliezer. In Ibn al-Athīr we find Muslim legend endeavouring to increase the miracle; Jesus raises not only 'Āzir (Lazarus) but also his wife (children are born to them), and Sām (son of Nūḥ), the prophet 'Uzayr and Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā (John the Baptist).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 187, 731, 739; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 122, 123; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325/1907-8, ii, 307. On the name El'azar, Eliezer, 'Āzar, see S. Fraenkel, in *ZDMG*, lvi (1902) 71-3; J. Horovitz, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii (1925), 157, 161; idem, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1926, 12, 85, 86. (B. Heller)

LEBANON [see LUBNĀN]

LĔBARAN, the name generally used in Indonesia for the 'Īd al-Fiṭr [*q.v.*], originally means "end" or "close", in this case specifically the end of the fast (Indonesian *puasa*). Combining it with the Javanese word *garĕbĕg* ("procession"), people in Java also use the term *garĕbĕg puasa*, the court festival at the end of the fast. Ignoring the original meaning of the word *lĕbaran*, the expression *lĕbaran haji* is sometimes used for the 'Īd al-Aḍḥā [*q.v.*], the "major festival' according to Islamic law.

Just as in other Islamic countries, the festival after the month of fasting is also celebrated in Indo-

nesia as the greatest festival of the year. The way of celebrating it does not differ greatly from other countries [see ʿĪD and ʿĪD AL-FIṬR]. An exception must be made for the principalities of Central Java, where this festival has a special character because of its connection with the court and the influence of elements from pre-Islamic Hindu culture. For a description of the background and meaning of the ceremonials and practices surrounding the *garèbèg puasa* in Yogyakarta, the reader is referred to the literature mentioned below.

As a result of Islamic reformism, as well as the independence of Indonesia (with the Ministry of Religious Affairs trying to influence religious developments), Muslims have been encouraged to participate in Islamic observances in conformity with Islamic law, whereas ceremonials and practices such as those connected with the *garèbègs* in Yogyakarta are relegated to the sphere of custom and folklore.

Bibliography: Besides the passages on *Lĕbaran* in the books by Juynboll and Snouck Hurgonje mentioned in the bibliography to ʿĪD, mention must be made of two monographs on the festivals in Yogyakarta, namely J. Groneman, *De garèbèg's te Ngajogydkartâ*, The Hague 1895, and R. Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo, *De Garebegs in het Sultanaat Jogjakarta*, Jogjakarta 1931.

(B. J. BOLAND)

LEFF, an Arabic term used in the Berber-speaking regions of central and southern Morocco (a different term is used in a similar way in Berberophone regions of northern Morocco, and the term *ṣoff* appears to be its equivalent in Kabylia) to denote a kind of political alliance or party.

The term or the notion acquires its importance, however, from its prominence in the literature on the social and political organisation of the Berbers, notably in the work of R. Montagne, who extended it to the totality of North African, and eventually also to Middle Eastern societies, including even urban and minority ones; thus he later claimed to find similar institutions amongst urban Jewish communities in Morocco, and also in Arabia.

In Montagne's hands, the word in effect became a technical term of political analysis, though with the definite suggestion that the theory formulated by means of the *leff* (*lleff* in Berber) or by an equivalent was already present in the minds of, and above all put in practice by, the indigenous users of that word. According to this theory, and to the associated explication of the indigenous significance of the term, *leffs* were alliances with the following properties. They were very stable over generations. The units which entered into them were themselves communities, whether genealogically or territorially defined. They were binary; in a given region there would be two and only two such *leffs*. They were invoked, like military alliances, when violent conflict occurred: members of the same *leff* were expected to give support to each other, when any one of them became involved in conflict with opponents from the other *leff*. These alliances were hereditary, and transitive, in the sense that membership of the same *leff* by A and B, and by B and C, implied that A and C were likewise of the same alliance. Finally, these *lfuf* were supposed to be arranged in a kind of chessboard pattern on the map; a community (say a village or valley) would belong to an alliance other than that of its immediate neighbours but the same as that of its neighbours-but-one.

The significance of the notion of *leff* arises above all from the great importance of the theory based on it. The problem which this theory attempts to solve is that of the nature of the maintenance of order in areas in which central government is absent or ineffective, notably in the *blād es-siba*, the dissident regions of pre-colonial Morocco [see MAKHZEN], though also in other similar areas. The *leff* theory maintains that the crucial institution for furthering the maintenance of order in such conditions was, precisely, the balanced opposition of two moieties, deployed chequerwise over the countryside. This theory has a certain affinity to that of "segmentary opposition" as developed by E. Evans-Pritchard (and foreshadowed by E. Durkheim, partly on the basis of Algerian material), but differs from it in various important respects. Segmentation, as understood by Evans-Pritchard, was not necessarily binary, but it was of its essence that it operated at a number of levels of size: the "opposition" of "balanced" segments operated simultaneously between, say, intra-village lineages, entire villages, and clusters of villages grouped as "clans", etc. Conflict at one level did not preclude co-operation at another. By contrast, the *leffs* of Montagne were, in any one region, articulated at one level of size only. In Montagne's hands, the theory was combined with another important thesis: that this balance-of-moieties mechanism occasionally broke down, and was replaced by ephemeral tyrannies such as those of the "great caïds" of the Moroccan South, but that these temporary crystallisations of personal power in turn gave way to a re-establishment of the original system, in a kind of cyclical pattern.

The theory of the *leffs* has been subjected to various criticisms, both empirical and theoretical. Subsequent researchers have not always found them even in areas where Montagne claimed they were most at home (e.g. J. Berque), or have doubted whether they in fact contribute to the maintenance of peace (e.g. A. Adam); or they have pointed out that the problem posed, that of order-in-anarchy, is only solved by the theory for those units which are of the size at which these leagues are articulated, whereas in fact the problem also arises at all other levels of size at which conflict is liable to occur (and at those other levels, the theory offers no solution). There is also reason to suppose that in regions where groups were less stable, and territorial units less well-defined than in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas which inspired Montagne, *leffs* were more fluid and opportunistic than his work would suggest. Nevertheless, his work, which is heavily centred on the notion of *leff*, remains one of the high points of the political sociology of North Africa.

Bibliography: R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930; idem, *La vie sociale et la vie politique des Berbères*, Paris 1931; idem, *La civilisation du Désert*, Paris 1947; A. Adam, *La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas*, Paris 1951; J. Berque, *Structures sociales du Haut-Atlas*, Paris 1955, expanded edition, Paris 1978; E. Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas*, Chicago 1969; Montagne, *The Berbers. Their social and political organisation*, tr. David Seddon, London 1973 (= a tr. of Montagne's 1947 work, which is an expanded version of his 1931 volume); Abdallah Hammoudi, *La vallée de l'Azzaden*, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, doctoral thesis 1977, unpubl.; R. Jamous, *Honneur et baraka*, Cambridge 1980; Gellner, *Muslim society*, Cambridge 1981 (esp. ch. on Montagne).

(E. GELLNER)

LEFKOSHA, Grk. Leukosia, the town of Nicosia in Cyprus [see KUBRUS].

The town was under joint Arab-Byzantine rule from 688 A.D. to 965 when Nicephorus Phocas seized it (R. J. H. Jenkins, *Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 688-965*, in *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson* ..., St. Louis 1953, ii, 1006-14). The Venetians occupied it in 1489, the Ottomans in 1571, the British in 1878, annexing it in 1914. The town was sacked by Mamlūk forces of Sultan Barsbay in 1426. The Ottomans captured the town after a fifty-day siege in 1570, after much suffering on both sides and thousands of casualties. There is a good account of this conquest in *Türk silahlı kurretleri tarihi*. iii. *Kıbrıs seferi (1570-1571)*, T. C. Genelkurmay Harp Tarihi Başkanlığı Resmi Yayınları. Seri no. 2, Ankara 1971.

Western visitors to Lefkosha during the Ottoman period report the town as being severely underpopulated and devoid of evidence of its former wealth and luxury. They attributed that plight to the tyranny and extortions of Ottoman officials whom the Porte would not or could not control, to plague, virulent fevers, and hordes of locusts, and to the fatalism and lethargy of Muslim and eastern Christians. Few knew that the town had reached the peak of its wealth and population late in the Lusignan period. Never under the Venetians or the Ottomans did it regain that fame and splendour, though both made sporadic efforts to revitalise and repopulate it.

By 1211 the Lusignan capital had become a first-class town. W. von Oldenburg said "It has inhabitants without number, all very rich, whose houses in their interior adornment and paintings closely resemble the houses of Antioch" (C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 14). By the end of the 13th century the town had fallen behind Maghōsha [*q.v.*] or Famagusta in wealth and trade, although the simple Westphalian priest Ludolf (1350) saw Lefkosha as "another great city ... in a fine open plain with an excellent climate", where lived the king, bishops and prelates, princes and nobles, barons and knights who in Cyprus "are the richest in the world" (Cobham, 20; *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii, 336. Cf. Jacobus de Verona [1335] in Cobham, 17; *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, iii [1895], 176 f.). The pilgrim Martoni (1394) judged the town larger than Aversa, with many gardens and orchards, some six acres in size (Cobham, 26; *ROL*, iii [1895], 634).

In 1435 the astute Pero Tafur attested that Lefkōsha again surpassed Maghōsha: "This is the greatest and most healthy city of the kingdom where the kings and all the lords of the realm always live" (Cobham, 31; *Andanças é Viajes* ..., Pt. 1, 67, in *Coleccion de Libros Espanoles raros o curiosos*, viii, Madrid 1874). Lefkōsha had become the trading emporium of the eastern Mediterranean; the Dominican monk Felix Faber (1483) admired the "... great city ... surrounded by fertile and pleasant hills ... Here are merchants from every part of the world, Christians and infidels. There are stores, great and precious, for the aromatic herbs of the East are brought here raw, and are prepared by the perfurmer's art" (Cobham, 41f.; *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae*, ed. C. D. Hassler, in *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, iv [1849], 230).

The Venetian patrician Fra Francesco Suriano (1484) saw the town, "twice as large as Perugia", with palaces, houses, and churches, destroyed by a disastrous earthquake of 1480 (Cobham, 48; *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. P. G. Golubovich, Milan 1900, 219 n.), but by then it had passed its economic and demographic peak; to Peter Mésenge (1507) only a quarter of the town appeared occupied (C. Enlart, *L'art gothique*, ii, 523).

Savorgman (1562) found empty tracts and dusty disordered streets with no good houses (Sir George Hill, *A history of Cyprus*, iii, 811, 844 ff., 851 f.). However, the nobles had not given up their prerogatives, as the pilgrim Fureri (1566) perceived: in that town, "of some size and beauty", lived the French nobles who "... keep their vassals, who are called *Parici*, in the state of slaves ... The nobles are greatly given to amusements, especially hunting and hawking ... [with] solemn games and banquets with great cost and splendour" (Cobham, 78-9; C. Fürer von Haimendorf, in Cobham, 78-9; *Reis-Beschreibung*, Nuremburg 1646, 302).

The Lusignans had fortified their capital expertly. Early in the 13th century, walls 4, 7 or 9 miles in circuit were built high to resist attacks in the style of Crusader warfare. In 1567, to resist the heavy pounding of Ottoman cannon, the Venetians had large sections of the walls dismantled and rebuilt them thicker and lower, with a circumference of only three miles, yet apparently still large enough to accommodate the existing population. A deep moat was excavated around the circular walls; all structures outside the new walls were methodically levelled, the rubble being used as fill for the new walls. Writing in 1572 just after the Turkish conquest, the priest Étienne de Lusignan celebrated a town he remembered with 250 to 300 churches, 80 of which had been destroyed completely when two-thirds of the town was levelled. "In this city lived all the nobility of Cyprus, Barons, Knights and Feudatories, nearly all of whom died in this affair [i.e. its fall], with townsfolk to the number of twenty thousand: all men devoted to the service of God most High, and of their sovereign. The remnant of the souls ... were all made slaves." (Cobham, 120-1; *Description*, 32, 262).

Local agriculture and commerce, as well as local and international trade, boosted the economy of the town. In good times it produced a marketable surplus of cotton, wool, and silk, which were sold raw or processed or manufactured into a variety of cloths. As long as Cyprus remained close to the terminals of the silk and spice trades as the easternmost outpost of the western Christian world in the Mediterranean, Lefkōsha would remain a centre of trade. Nevertheless, the town could not escape the changes in the international socio-economic order which saw the Mediterranean world gradually lose its commercial and cultural pre-eminence to northwestern Europe.

Porcacchi (1576) reported that great quantities of camlet and cotton cloth were made in that "very pleasantly and beautifully situated" town "healthfully and pleasantly" supplied with running water. The camlets were good and the "cotton wolles" "the best of the Orient", according to Sandys (1610) (Cobham, 164-5; *L'isole* ..., Venice 1572, 22 f.; Padua 1620. Cobham, 208; *A relation of a journey*, London 1615, 220).

Pococke (1738), a careful observer of Cyprus, found the trade of Lefkōsha still substantial: "There is a great manufacture of cotton stuffs, particularly of very fine dimities, and also half sattins of a very coarse sort: they have here the best water in Cyprus ...". Cottons were sold to Holland, England, Venice and Livorno and "a great quantity of yellow, red, and black Turkey leather" to Istanbul (Cobham, 260, 268-9; Pinkerton, ed., *A general collection of ... voyages*, London 1811, x, 582-3). According to

Mariti, the covered market (*bedestān*), the former church of St. George next to Aya Sofya, was the gathering place of the chief Turkish, Greek and Armenian merchants, of whom the last were the richest. At large bazaars and *khāns* local villagers as well as townspeople sold the cotton that they had spun; dyeing skins and stamping cloth were other major industries (*Travels in the Island of Cyprus*, tr. C. D. Cobham, 42-5). W. M. Leake (1800) was completely negative: "The flat roofs, trellised windows, and light balconies of the better order of houses, situated as they are in the midst of gardens of oranges and lemons, give together with the fortifications, a respectable and picturesque appearance . . . at a little distance, but, upon entering it, the narrow dirty streets, and miserable habitations of the lower classes, make a very different impression upon the traveller; and the sickly countenances of the inhabitants sufficiently show the unhealthiness of the climate"; but W. Turner (1815) reported that every house had a well-cultivated garden with fig, olive, mulberry, orange, lemon and pomegranate trees; all the houses were of mud and the streets, though clean, were unpaved (Cobham, 339, 436-7).

Since the Lusignan period, Aya Sofya, as cathedral and mosque, had been the centre of the city, with the main bazaars adjacent. In the 19th century the entire road from Tahta Kale and Baf gate to Baghōsha gate was lined with merchants' booths; the Friday bazaar of women has existed at least since then. In the 1870s there were 25 quarters inside the walls, 14 Muslim, 7 Greek Orthodox, 1 Armenian, 1 Latin and 2 mixed (Bazar and Phaneromene) (Jeffery, *Cyprus monuments*, 32-3, with map).

Lefkōsha, located near the centre of the island, lies on the Pediyas, the longest and largest seasonal "river" in Cyprus, only 12 miles from the perennial springs of Deghirmenlik, the largest on the island, from where water is easily brought by aqueduct. The immediate hinterland is fertile grainland; its villages produced grain adequate for the town's needs except when drought or, more frequently, hordes of locusts appeared. The Lusignan rulers built summer palaces in the northern mountains for relief from the intense summer heat; many Latin nobles took refuge in the Trodos mountains, just as the British colonial government did later. Spring and fall are long and pleasant, while winter is short and mild. Lefkōsha was by no means free of the malaria and plague which long decimated the island's population, but those diseases were less severe there than along the marshy littoral. Stochove (1631) said the town had the best air in Cyprus, although Turner (1815) observed that even there "fevers" occurred constantly in the summer (Cobham, 216, 430, 436). According to J. Bramsen (1814), the fever season was June to October (*Letters of a Prussian traveller . . .*, London 1818, 304).

In 1571 Lefkōsha, with a *kādī* of the third class, was made the capital of a large *beglerbegilik* which included all of Cyprus and the Anatolian *sandjaks* of ʿAlāʾiyye, Ičel, Silifke, Ṭarsūs, and Sīs on the south side of the Taurus. Originally, Ṭarābulus al-Shām was included too. Despite several changes in administrative organisation which greatly reduced the importance of the province, Lefkōsha always remained the administrative centre. Foreign consuls lived at Larnaka or its port Tuzla, where they served foreign merchants at a comfortable distance from the *pasha*.

A study of the Lefkōsha judicial records (*sidjill*) surviving from the period 1580-1640 reveals some urban activities. Lists of official prices (*narkh*) indicate a busy market in comestibles. The rich and varied agricultural produce of Cyprus found its way to the bazaars of Lefkōsha, including yoghurt, cheese, meats, grapes and other fruits, and olives. Cotton cloth and raw cotton were the leading goods in commercial transactions, but wool and woollen cloth were important too. Lending and credit were an integral part of the town's economic life, both for Muslims and for the *dhimmīs* (i.e. Greek Orthodox). In intercommunal credit, the Muslims were disproportionately the lenders. Interest was openly charged (*karḍ-i ḥasan*, or *karḍ-i sherʿ*), although bankruptcy (*iflās*) seems to have been uncommon. Muslims and *dhimmīs* interacted frequently. They worked in the same quarters, bought and sold land and even houses from one another, and made business partnerships. About one-third of the judicial cases involved *dhimmīs*, and 20% of the cases were intercommunal. Conversion to Islam was very common, probably increasing in frequency between 1580 and 1600 but then falling off considerably; there is no evidence of wholesale conversion. Converts had to declare their conversion publicly in court. Besides the Greek Orthodox majority, a handful of Armenian Gregorians and of Maronites had churches, and there was a very small community of Jews. Women used the court very frequently (almost a quarter of all cases), where their property, inheritance, and domestic claims were apparently handled like those of men. More than 20% of the property mentioned belonged to women.

Although Lefkōsha has been the residence of the autocephalous archbishops of Cyprus since the Lusignan period, the office has never been associated with a particular town. Ottoman rule relieved the Orthodox clergy from their long subordination to the Latin hierarchy (cf. R. Janin, art. *Chypre*, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, xii, 791-819; J. Hackett, *A history of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, London 1901.

Most estimates of the town's population between 1510 and 1560 range between 15,000 and 20,000 people (Hill, iii, 875). Visitors to Lefkōsha during the Ottoman period often remarked about the population of the town. According to A. M. Graziani, 20,000 people were put to death in eight days of plundering when the town fell to the Ottomans; Porcacchi reported that all the people were "cut to pieces" and Sandys wrote of "an incredible slaughter" (Cobham, 170, 207). Dandini, who visited there in summer 1596 and spring 1597, estimated that the large, well-built town had at least 30,000 inhabitants, of whom only 4,000 or 5,000 were Turks (Cobham, 182), J. Cotovicus (1597-8) reported the town full of ruins, Sandys (1610) "defaced by the Turks"; for the latter, the town, once equal in beauty to the chief towns of Italy, is now half-destroyed (Cobham, 195, 207). In 1683 de Bruyn observed that the population was almost half-Greek (Cobham, 239; *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, Delft 1698, 371). Cyprianos gives a fairly official estimate of 755 Christian families for 1777 (Cobham, 366). In 1806 ʿAlī Bey estimated the town's population at less than 1,000 Turkish and 1,000 Greek families, although Lefkōsha could easily hold 100,000 people within its walls (Cobham 393; *Voyages*, Paris 1814, ii, 82 ff.). J. M. Kinneir (1814) reported on the authority of the archbishop 2,000 Muslim families, 1,000 Greek Orthodox families, 40 Armenian, and 12 Maronite (Cobham, 417; *Journey*, London 1818, 190 ff.). An estimate of 12,000, including 8,000 Turks, 3,700 Greek Orthodox and 50 Armenians was attributed to the governor

Ṭalʿat Efendi in 1841 (L. Lacroix, *L'Univers. Histoire et description des tous les peuples. Îles de la Grèce*, Paris 1853, 88). A census just before the island was handed over to the British in 1878 reportedly found 10,879 people, of whom 5,628 (52%) were Muslims (*Correspondence respecting the Island of Cyprus*. No. 3. Sir G. Wolseley to Marquess of Salisbury, 1879).

A census held in the third year of British rule (4 April 1881) showed the population of Lefḳōs̲h̲a at 11,513, of whom 5,653 were Greek Orthodox (49%), 5,397 Muslims (47%), 181 Roman Catholics, 78 Maronites, 88 Armenian Gregorians, 94 Church of England and Protestants, and 22 Jews. Although the population of the town had increased 9% to 12,515 in 1891, the number of Muslims declined slightly to 5,351, 43% of the population (*Cyprus Gazette*, 16 October 1891). A census of 1901 shows a population of 14,752, a 28% increase over 1881. The Muslims numbered 6,013, up only 11% in two decades, while the Greek Orthodox had increased 41% to 8,739 (*Cyprus Gazette*, 26 April 1901; 30 August 1901). Almost 40% of the population of the six leading towns lived in Lefḳōs̲h̲a. The town contained only 6% of the population of the island, although 12% of the Muslims lived there.

Initially, British policy in Cyprus was to preserve the existing Ottoman political, social and economic systems, except in a few specific areas of public health; extensive official English translations of recent Ottoman *waḳfiyye*s and cadastral records were prepared. In 1893, £662 of the £1,510 in municipal revenues from Lefḳōs̲h̲a were from slaughter house fees, £351 from market tolls and rents, and £246 from weighing and measuring taxes. The municipality established in 1884 even had a "censor of markets". *Awḳāf* still provided the water supply: 300 measures from the Arab Ahmet and 170 measures from the Siliktar aqueduct were sold annually, while another 100 measures were donated to mosques, churches and schools (*Cyprus Blue Book*, 4 January 1895. See also *Statute laws of Cyprus, 1878-1923*, 633-41, "Nicosia water supply"). Eleven Muslim schools, supported by *awḳāf*, mosque funds and grants from the Porte, had 574 students in 1889-90 and 633 students in 1892-3, about 23% of them girls (*Cyprus Blue Book*, year 1889-90). Cotton and silk remained the major industries. Nearly every village in the district had cotton looms, and many houses in the larger villages had hand looms for manufacturing cotton and silk stuffs. In 1889 the town also had a tannery, 3 tobacco factories, 3 steam-powered flour and cotton mills, calico printers, copper, silver, and goldsmiths, and 5 distilleries (*Cyprus Blue Book*, 1889-90, 1892-3). The proposed railway between Lefḳōs̲h̲a and Larnaka was never attempted, but in 1906 a railway connected Lefḳōs̲h̲a and the new harbour of Mag̲h̲ōs̲h̲a.

In 1946, 10,330 of the 34,485 inhabitants were Mulsims, including 9,314 of 24,967 within the walls and 1,016 of 9,518 outside them. Besides 20,768 Greek Orthodox, there were 2,252 Armenians, 160 Maronites and 30 Jews; each of the 24 quarters was mixed.

Monuments. The Venetians levelled much of the Lusignan town in rebuilding the walls. Although the town walls are essentially the creation of the Venetians, the Ottomans repaired them extensively in the 1570s. Virtually all the monumental buildings date from the brilliant Lusignan period; neither the Venetians nor the Ottomans added religious or other public buildings, for many already stood empty after the population began to decline (these are discussed with illustrations by C. Enlart, 67-187, and pls. 1-12). Cf. G. Jeffery, *Description*, 18-100, and *Cyprus monuments. No. 7. Historical and architectural buildings. The mosques of Nicosia*, Nicosia 1935; F. Çuhadaroğlu and F. Oğuz, *Turkish historical monuments in Cyprus*, in *Rölöve ve Restorasyon Dergisi*, ii (1975), 1-76; Oktay Aslanapa, *Kıbrıs'da türk eserleri*; Cevdet Çağdaş, *Kıbrısta türk devri eserleri*, Lefkoşa 1965. The finest Ottoman constructions are the Mawlawī *tekke* inside Girne gate (pre-1600), the Büyük K̲h̲ān (pre-1600), and the small ʿArab Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a mosque. Many aspects of the Ottoman town are preserved within the walls of the Turkish quarter: narrow streets, overhanging balconies, stone-walled houses and gardens, and bazaars. A very few stone-cut houses, or their foundations, survive from the Venetian period, as do several fine houses from the Ottoman period. Sadly, there is little appreciation of this cultural heritage, and they are gradually being eliminated.

Until this century, the town has been confined within the walls. The main buildings of the Ottoman period, like the Büyük K̲h̲ān and the so-called Ḳumārd̲j̲ïlar K̲h̲ān, date from early in the Ottoman occupation. Occupance of the town has been a conservative one, with few changes in the main centres and a preservation of old quarter names and locations from earliest times.

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LEGACY [see MĪRĀTH]

LEGEND [see ḤIKĀYA, ĶIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀʾ, ĶIṢṢA]

LEGISLATION [see TASHRĪʿ]

LEH (له or ليه), the ancient Ottoman Turkish term for the Poles and Poland (from *Lęch*, Polish tribal name later extended to comprise all the nation, with the original nasal *ę* ousted by *e*, as in Byz. Λεχοι "the Poles" and Λεχία "Poland". In Turkish, Poland was also called *Leh wilāyeti* (*memleketi*), the Poles *Lehlü* and the Polish language *lèhdje*. From the 12th/18th century, the Turks also called the country *Lehistān* (Pers. *Lahistān*, from which is derived Pers. *ahl-i Lahistān* "Poles" and *zabān-i Lahistānī* "the Polish language"). In the hitherto unpublished Crimean Tatar documents from the late 10th/16th century, the word for Poland is *Lakh* (the Ukrainian-Russian form of the Polish *Lech*) or *i-Lakh* (لاخ and ايلاخ; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawynch, Warsaw, Arch. Koronne, Dz. tatarski, kartony 60, 65). The term *Köräl*, which is attested in the same sources (كورال or كورل; from the Ukr.-Rus. *korol* "king"), means "the kingdom"—Poland, including her southeastern provinces, i.e. Ruthenia and the Ukraine (قرول *Ķorol* as it occurs in Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, vi, 366, 368 *et passim*, wherever the lands, the Ruthenians-Ukrainians and their language are mentioned). (On *Köräl*, see also E. Schütz, *Eine armenische Chronik von Kaffa aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in *AOrH*, xxix [1975], 164-5; this term is not so clear there as in the said documents.) The mediaeval Islamic authors called Poland by names derived from Lat. *Polonia*: Ar. *Bulūniya* (T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle "Księgi Rogera" geografa arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrisiego*, i, Cracow 1945, 125 and 1); Pers. *Polōniya* (M. D'Ohsson, *Les peuples du Caucase ou voyage d'Abou el-Cassim*, Paris 1828, 269). The latter name was equally used by the Ottoman author Remmāl Khōdja (d. 975/1567-8) in his *Taʾrikh-i Ṣāḥib Girey khān* (A. Muchliński, *Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich* ..., Vilna 1858, 9). Since the 13th/19th century, the terms *Polonya* (Ital. *Polonia*), *Polonyalī* and *Polonya dili* are in use in Turkey. In modern Arabic, Poland is called *Būlanda*, *Būlāndā* (Eng. *Poland*) and *Būlūniyā* (Ital. *Polonia*), the Poles *Būlūnī* and Polish *al-lugha al-būlandiyya* (*al-būlāndiyya, al-būlūniyya*).

Poland was known to Islamic peoples from the account written by Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿķūb (if not earlier) about the Slavonic lands (354/965-6), which, however, contained no reference to the name of the country, mentioning only the Polish ruler MSHKH (from Pol. *Mieszko*). Poland has been long since connected with Islamic countries by animated trade relations, the numerous early Islamic coins found now on her territory bearing an undeniable witness to the fact.

With regard to political relations between the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy and the world of Islam, they appear to have been established first with the break-up of the Golden Horde and the khānates which arose from their downfall (see BATUʾIDS). After a period of peaceful and friendly contacts with the Crimean khān Ḥādjdjī Girey I and his successor Nūr Dewlet, the long years under Mengli Girey I were a period of unrest and strife. The khān vacillated between support for Poland-Lithuania and for Muscovy, which challenged the Jagellons in disputes over the regions of western Russia, Bēlorussia and the Ukraine. Poland-Lithuania emerged successfully from this period, but it was under an obligation to the khānate to pay specified sums in return for military aid against Muscovy (see K. Pułaski, *Stosunki z Mendli Girejem chanem Tatarów perekopskich. 1469-1515*, Warsaw 1881; L. Kolankowski, *Problem Krymu w dziejach jagiellońskich*, in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, xlix [1953], 279-300). But the Tatar attacks into the Polish region were endless. Invasions by the Tatar Cossacks (*Tatar ķazaķlarī, bizim ķazaķlar* of the Crimean sources) drew revenge from the Zaporozhians (*Özi/Özü ķazaķlarī*). The Crimea, which since 1475 had been a vassal state of the Porte, was often used in the political battles of the Porte against the Poles; the Tatars took part in Turkish invasions of Poland in 1498, 1521-4, 1620, etc. In 1628 khān Meḥmed Girey III and ķalgha Shāhīn Girey Sulṭān took an oath of allegiance to Poland for her help in their struggle against the Porte and khān Djānībek Girey. The next year, however, Poland's striving to gain sway over the Crimea finally failed. The refusal of king Władysław IV to give the "presents" to the Crimea because of the Tatar violations of the peace led Islām Girey III into an alliance with the Zaporozhians and to the Crimean-Tatar-Ukrainian united war against Poland, 1648-54 (Hażży Mehmed Senai z Krymu, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, ed. Z. Abrahamowicz, Warsaw 1971). The treaty between B. Chmielnicki and Moscow in 1654 made the Tatars change their standpoint radically. With renewed Tatar support for Poland in her war in the Ukraine, Meḥmed Girey IV was to undertake diplomatic intervention in Denmark in her favour after the Swedish invasion into Poland in 1655 (J. Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen* ..., Freiburg 1976), and in 1656 his troops fought successfully in Poland against the Swedes. Pursuing them, the Tatars advanced as far as Eastern Prussia. These events are the historical roots of the "journey" narrated by Ewliyā Čelebi, *op. cit.*, vi, 364-78, to Denmark, Sweden, etc., with 40,000 Crimean Tatars after the Turkish conquest of Ūjvar-Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky, in Slovakia) in 1663; there, he must have met some of the Tatar expedition against the Swedes fighting in Poland (see *Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego. Wybór*, Warsaw 1973, 193-208, 423-7—a collective work by several authors, foreword by J. Reychman, translation of the relevant text and commentary by Z. Abrahamowicz). The Tatars took a part in the Turkish war against Poland in 1672, sometimes acting as mediators between Poland and Turkey. The plans of King John III Sobieski for a Polish-Russian war against the Crimea and for a joint division of the khānate proved impracticable. The danger presented by the Tsarist empire to Poland and the Crimea in the 12th/18th century reconciled the two countries once again.

Witold (*ca.* 1352-1430), Archduke of Lithuania, who played a prominent part in the domestic struggle which was going on within the Horde, then undergoing a process of disintegration, on his return in 1397 from an expedition to the banks of the Don brought a large number of Tatar families and settled them in his land. This gave rise to a strong Tatar colonisation in Lithuania, since 1385 united with Poland, and on Polish territory as well [see LIPKA].

The diplomatic ties between Poland and the Ottoman Empire extend back to 1410. When King Ladislas III of Poland (I of Hungary) disregarded the warnings of his Polish advisers, the tragedy of the Battle of Varna (1444) ensued; it was to be a terrible event for Poland to remember, and a pointer to her future association with the Turks. By this time, she was no longer disposed to engage in elaborate plans for a papal-imperial attack on Islam; she was at peace with the Turks and had a good defence against the territorial ambitions of the hostile Hapsburgs. After the Turkish attack on Kaffa [see KEFE] and the k͟hānate of the Crimea (1475) and the Turko-Tatar conquest of the Black Sea ports of Kilia and Aḳkerman (1484), which were so vital to Poland, a ceasefire was arranged between King Casimir IV Jagello and Sulṭān Bāyezīd II (22 March 1489). The Moldavian campaign of King John Albert (1497) and the subsequent Turko-Tatar attacks on Poland (1498) had shown that there was a military equilibrium between the two powers, and peace was again restored between them in 1499. Following the armistice of 1525 and that of 1528, Süleymān the Magnificent made in January 1533 a life-long peace treaty and alliance with King Sigismund I and his son Sigismund Augustus who, in 1529, was crowned as his father's successor. This treaty, which Sigismund Augustus had renewed in 1553 with the old sultan, in 1564 with Sulṭān Selīm as the heir to the throne, and in 1568 had renewed with the Pādis͟hāh Selīm II, was the basis of relations between Poland and Turkey in the 10th/16th century. During this period, these relations were on the whole favourable, but not without certain difficulties (C. Backvis, *La difficile coexistence pacifique entre Polonais et Turcs au XVIe siècle*, in *Mélanges d'islamologie dédiés à la mémoire de A. Abel*, ii, Brussels 1975, 13-51). Poland did not concur with the insinuations made by Süleymān and his Ruthenian wife K͟hurrem Sulṭān [*q.v.*] against the Hapsburgs, and in 1569 Sigismund Augustus also rejected the Turkish plan for a Polish-Turkish alliance against Moscow. During the first two elections of kings after the death of the last Jagellon king, the Porte intervented vigorously to prevent the choice of a Hapsburg. Moreover, Süleymān already appeared to be favourably disposed to Poland when he heard the false news of the death of both Polish kings in 1535 (Z. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, Warsaw 1959, no. 39; K. Beydilli, *Die polnischen Königswahlen und Interregnen von 1572 und 1576 im Lichte osmanischer Archivalien*, Munich 1975). The Polish-Turkish War of 1620 (Poland was defeated at Cecora) and 1621 (the victory for Poland at Chocim [see K͟HOTIN]) was not only caused by Poland's attempt to force the Ottomans out of Moldavia but also by the strife stirred up by the excesses of the Tatars and Zaporozhians (R. Majewski, *Cecora. Rok 1620*, Warsaw 1970). It ended with the peace of 1623. The self-willed assault on Kamieniec undertaken in 1633 by Abāza Meḥmed Pas͟ha [see ABĀZA] did not lead to a deterioration of mutual relations. However, the borderland skirmishes steadily grew in number. This even led King Ladislas IV to construe, beginning from 1645, plans for joint Polish and Venetian attack against Turkey, with the support of the Zaporozhians (W. Czermak, *Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV*, Cracow 1895). These plans did not come to be fulfilled, as Ladislas IV died in 1648, and the war of the Cossacks and Tatars against Poland broke out the same year. The Porte very much valued Poland's role in maintaining the balance of power in their struggle against the Hapsburgs, and in 1648, when Poland was defeated in the war with Islam Girey III and the Zaporozhians, it intervened on Poland's side, thus provoking the anger of the Tatars (Abrahamowicz, *Katalog* ..., nos. 339-41; Senai, *op. cit.*, fol. 25-26). In view of her agreements with Poland, the Porte was also rather reluctant to adopt the plan suggested by B. Chmielnicki of placing the Ukraine under the sultan's patronage, even though this plan seemed to promise the liberation of Turkish lands from the threat of Cossack attacks. The theory of an alliance of the Porte with the Hetman in 1648 (O. Pritsak, *Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)*, in *Oriens*, vi [1953]) cannot be supported, considering the carefully-guarded attitude of the Turks towards him in 1651 (J. Rypka, *Weitere Beiträge zur Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmel'nyćkyj*, in *ArO*, ii, and Abrahamowicz, *Katalog* ..., no. 344). Even when in 1065/1655 Sulṭān Meḥmed IV had taken the Cossacks formally under his patronage, he hastened to declare to King John Casimir that he nevertheless wished to maintain his good relations with Poland (A. N. Kurat and K. V. Zettersteen, *Türkische Urkunden*, Leipzig 1938, no. 1). In the years that followed, the period of the "Flood", Turkey lent Poland also considerable support against the threat to her by Carl X Gustavus of Sweden (1656) and George II Rákoczi (1657).

The balance of power was first destroyed by the Grand Vizier Köprülüzāde Fāḍil Aḥmed Pas͟ha [see KÖPRÜLÜ II] when, in 1669, he granted the Cossack Hetman P. Doroszenko, who since 1666 was in revolt against Poland, the supreme authority of the Pādis͟hāh; as a result, the Grand Vizier directly attacked Poland in 1672. The splendour of his success included the capture of Podolia, compelling Poland to pay tribute, etc. But this faded quickly with the defeat of the Turks at Chocim in 1673 (J. Sobieski was still only Royal Chief Hetman) and then again at Żòrawno in 1676 (Sobieski was then King; the attack was repelled, the tribute imposed in 1672 was repealed and it was never paid by Poland).

The Porte was now involved in a difficult war with Russia over the Ukraine. The successor of the Grand Vizier, Merzifonlu Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], adopted an inflexible attitude to his next treaty with Poland (1678), and an additional threat to Poland came from the south in consequence of his 1682 alliance with E. Thököly. He had occasion to deplore his rash step when, at the battle for the relief of Vienna on 12 September 1683 and in the subsequent war in Hungary, the Polish king "was the first one to drive his horse against the Muslims and then to draw his sword" and "caused so much harm that it was he who gave the greatest help and support [for the Emperor Leopold I] and had many Muslims taken prisoner" (D͟jebed͟ji Ḥasan Esīrī, and eyewitness of the events of 1683, in *TOEM*, iii, 1016; in general, see Z. Wòjcik, *King John III of Poland and the Turkish aspect of his foreign policy*, in *Belleten*, xliv, no. 176 [1980]). The fruits of the victory of John

III, the commander-in-chief of the allied Christian armies in this battle, fell to Austria alone, and the territory taken from Poland in 1672 was only restored by the Porte in 1699.

The turning point in the relations between the two neighbours was the Treaty of Carlowitz [see KARLOVČA]. Poland, who had once been so proud of her epithet *antemurale christianitatis*—against Islam—was now, in the face of the common threat of Russia, drawing nearer to Turkey, particularly after the partitioning of the country by Catherine II with the help of Austria and Prussia (W. Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja. 1683-1792*, Warsaw 1936). A manifestation of the Turkish sympathies towards the Poles in this time can be found in the *Sefāret-nāme-yi Fransa* by Meḥmed Emīn Weḥīd Pas̲h̲a, the Porte's envoy to Napoleon I in 1807. Turkey never recognised the division of Poland, but offered Polish patriots continuing protection after the failure of their national uprising in 1831, and they supported Polish efforts to attack the empire of the Tsar from the south. The greatest Polish poet, A. Mickiewicz, had gone to Constantinople to organise the Polish Legion, and he died there in 1855. Countless Polish refugees performed all kinds of work there to further the modernisation and europeanisation of the country and of Ottoman society and the army. K. Borzcęki-Muṣṭafā D̲j̲elāl al-Dīn Pas̲h̲a was the first to rouse a spirit of national identity within the Ottomans (B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, Oxford 1961, 28, 339). S. Chlebowski, court painter to Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, painted a series of scenes from Ottoman history for the new Dolmabag̲h̲če Palace (A. Lewak, *Dzieje emigracji polskiej w Turcji (1831-1878)*, Warsaw 1935). Polish specialists and advisers even penetrated the intimate society of Kemāl Pas̲h̲a Atatürk. This resulted in friendly relations between the new Poland and the Turkish republic from its inception. In spite of its complicated political situation, Turkey gave Poland vital help during the Second World War. After the war, both countries developed their co-operation in economic and cultural fields. An active link between the two is Polonezköyü, founded in 1835 by Prince Adam J. Czartoryski, and thereafter called *Adampol* in Polish. It is a colony of Polish immigrants on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorous near Istanbul, who still maintain their national character.

Venetian-Persian attempts to win over Poland to the idea of an anti-Turkish coalition in 1474 and 1475 faded under the careful direction of King Casimir IV (J. Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, v, Cracow 1878, 601, 602, 626). Sigismund III Vasa (1536-1632) also remained deaf to similar suggestions from S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I; the dispute with Sweden and later with Muscovy was more important to him. The first delegation from the S̲h̲āh led by Sir Anthony Sherley had not been, incidentally, allowed by the Tsar Boris Godunov to enter Poland because of his hostile attitude to the king. Afterwards, in 1601, Sefer Muratowicz, an Armenian merchant from Warsaw, travelled to Kās̲h̲ān to buy carpets for the king (T. Mańkowski, *Wyprawa po kobierce do Persji w roku 1601*, in *RO*, xviii [1951]). In doing so, he came into personal contact with ʿAbbās I (see his travel narrative in A. Walaszek (ed.,), *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański w pierwszej poowie XVII wieku*, Cracow 1980, 35-47), and then other Polish envoys travelled to Persia, though sometimes for the purpose of trade. Serious plans for an anti-Turkish alliance with Persia were cherished by the Polish Kings Ladislas IV and John III, but proved impossible (St. Chowaniec, *Z dziejow polityki Jana III na Bliskim Wschodzie*, in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, xi [1926]). In the 11th/17th century the kings of Poland supported the Catholic Mission to Iran, vainly hoping to convert her to Christianity. In the 13th/19th century, Poles also came to Persia, some as refugees from the army of the Tsar in Central Asia and some as political agents from Paris t owork among them, and some came as merchants and industrialists from the Russian-occupied regions of Poland. Friendly alli ances between Poland and Persia after 1918 won the help of the S̲h̲āh, Muḥammad Riḍā, who favourably received numerous Polish military and civilian personnel in Persia during the Second World War. This also led to active agreements between the two states after the war.

In May 1551 a legation from Buk̲h̲ārā was staying in Cracow. The business discussed there probably included the provision of experts in the production of gunpowder and also artillery advisers for these Sunnī allies of the Ottoman Empire which was peacefully co-existing with Poland. This was a difficult time for Poland, because the king was mourning the death of his beloved wife. The fact that there is no mention of any later similar delegation suggests that there was no favourable outcome for this mission (AGAD, AK, Rachunki poselskie, and information obtained from Professor B. Baranowski; the documents referring to this episode were partly destroyed in Warsaw during the last war).

At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, there was Polish intervention in Moscow concerning the impostor Dmitri, and on this occasion a temporary rapprochement between the Poles and the Ḳāsimov [*q.v.*] Tatars took place. During the 13th/19th century, there was contact between those Poles who had been deprived of their state and the Islamic peoples of the Russian Empire; on the one hand, there were scientists and technologists, etc., employed by the Russians, and on the other hand the political outcasts, victims of Tsarist administration. Polish patriots from Paris had contacts, through Constantinople, with the anti-Tsarist insurgents in Dāg̲h̲istān under the leadership of S̲h̲amīl (L. Widerszal, *Sprawy kaukaskie w polityce europejskiej w latach 1831-1864*, Warsaw 1934).

Polish relations with Arabic countries had begun with pilgrimages to the Holy Land. In 1645 King Władysław IV made an endeavour to reach an agreement with Morocco. The reply by Sulṭān Muḥammad II, extant in an Italian translation only, the unique piece of evidence for these contacts, is too scanty a record to establish their purport. In any case, Poland's attempts, if there had been any, to gain Moroccan support in the struggle against Turkey, proved fruitless (B. Baranowski, *Próby nawiązania stosunków polsko-marokańskich w połowie XVII wieku*, in *RO*, xvii [1953], 212-19). It was not until the 13th/19th century that the contacts with the Arab nations grew closer. After 1918, those contacts had attained the status of diplomatic ties which again, after the Second World War, developed into a lively co-operation in economic, technical and cultural spheres with different states of that region.

Under the strong influence of Islamic culture, Poland was shown to be a borderland between the Christian West and the Islamic East. This was particularly evident in material culture, for the products of these Islamic craftsmen (Turkish, Persian and to some extent Crimean Tatar) reached Poland either by trade or as the spoils of war. They shed an oriental

influence on Polish national costume, domestic furniture, the conduct of war, and arms and equipment. These artifacts spread beyond Poland to other countries (e.g. Persian carpets were known in the West as "tapis polonais"), and they were later imitated in Poland (T. Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Cracow 1935; idem, *Le tapis persan dit cracovien-parisien de la cathédrale de Cracovie*, in *RO*, xvi [1953]). This attracted a number of Oriental words and terms into Polish (A. Zajączkowski, *Studia orientalistyczne z dziejów słownictwa polskiego*, Wrocław 1953). Polish museums contain authentic art treasures from Islamic countries, especially weapons, Ottoman standards and tents. There are Persian carpets bearing the Polish eagle which S. Muratowicz brought from Kās͟hān for the Royal Castle in Warsaw in 1602 and which are now in the Residenzmuseum, Munich. The activities of the art-loving Stanislav Augustus, the last Polish king (1765-95), of many Polish magnates in the 18th century as well as various Polish emigrants to the East in the 19th century, led to the formation of rich collections of Islamic art in Poland.

Moreover, Poland was not averse to the intellectual culture of the Islamic East. The most important work in this connection is the translation by Samuel Otwinowski of the *Gulistān* by Saʿdī in the mid-17th century (following an Ottoman version; it appeared in print only in 1879). The 18th and 19th centuries, the Romantic Period, brought new oriental influences to bear on Polish literature. These traditions are maintained by modern Polish orientalists of the post-war period, who translate into Polish the literature and historiography of the Islamic world.

The travel descriptions by many a Pole journeying to the Islamic East of the 10th/16th century have contributed much to the knowledge of that world in Europe (A. Broniovius, J. Łaski, Michalo Litvanus, A. Taranowski, M. Radziwiłł). Similarly, the career of Fr. Mesgnien-Meninski as an Ottoman scholar in part stemmed from his stay in Poland where, for some years, he was engaged as court-interpreter.

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LEMNOS [see LIMNĪ]

LEO AFRICANUS, the name by which the author of the *Descrittione dell' Africa* is generally known, who was in fact originally called al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyātī (or al-Fāsī). He was born in Granada between 894 and 901/1489 and 1495 into a family which had to emigrate to Morocco after that city's fall [see GHARNĀṬA], and was brought up in Fās, where he received a good education and very soon entered the service of the administration there. Whilst still a student, he was employed for two years in the mental hospital, which he describes in detail (*Description*, tr. Epaulard, i, 188 [see BĪMĀRISTĀN. ii]). He then accompanied to Timbuctu one of his uncles, who had been sent there as an ambassador (*Descr.*, i, 136), travelled across Morocco on various diplomatic and commercial missions on behalf of the sultan of Fās, Muḥammad al-Burtuḳālī [see WAṬṬĀSIDS], and already displayed a precocious intellectual curiosity by collecting, in the course of his travels, funerary inscriptions, of which he made a collection (*Descr.*, i, 231). He later returned to Timbuctu, and from there, crossed by the land route to Egypt, whence he returned home by sea. In 921/1515 he undertook a last mission, which took him to the East, via Debdū, Tlemcen, Algiers, Bougie, Masīla, Tunis (where he gathered information on economic and social life there, see R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafsides*, p. xxxv) and Tripolitania. From Cairo, where he found himself in 1517, he travelled up to Aswān, made the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and even claimed to have gone to Constantinople. During his voyage homewards by sea, he was captured at Djarba by Sicilian corsairs, who took him to Naples and then Rome, where they presented him to Pope Leo X, Giovanni de' Medici. By the end of the year, the Pope had persuaded him to become a Christian; he baptised him on 6 January 1520 and gave him his own name, Johannis Leo de Medicis (the latter rendered his name in Arabic as Yuḥanna al-Asad al-Gharnāṭī; the editor of the *Descrittione* calls him Giovanni Leone Africano, and current usage generally refers to him by the second of these Christian names).

Apart from the autobiographical details which can be gleaned from the *Description*, we know little of his life; all that is known is that, before 1550, he went to Tunis, and probably spent the last years of his life in his ancestral faith.

During his stay in Italy, he learnt Italian, taught Arabic at Bologna and, in addition to his *Description of Africa*, conceived the further plan of describing similarly the part of Asia which he claimed to have visited, and also Europe (see *Descr.*, ii, 537-8). He certainly put together in 930/1524, for the physician Jacob ben Simon, an Arabic-Hebrew-Latin vocabulary, of which the Arabic part is preserved in the Escorial (no. 598; see H. Derenbourg, *Cat. des manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, Paris 1884, i, 410). He also left behind a treatise on prosody (see A. Codazzi, *Il trattato dell' arte metrica di Giovanni Leone Africano*, in *Studi orientalistici in onore de Giorgo Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, i, 180-98), and there is attributed to him a biographical work completed in 1527 and translated into Latin under the title *Libellus de viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes* (ed. J. H. Hottinger, 1664, and then by J. A. Fabricius, 1817). Nevertheless, his main fame rests on his *Descrittione dell'Africa*, completed on 10 March 1526; written in poor Italian on the basis of notes in Arabic, it was edited and published by G. B. Ramusio, in *Navigationi e viaggi*, Venice 1550, i, 1-130a (and several later editions). It was translated, as early as 1556, into French by Temporal (ed. Schefer, Paris 1896-8) and into Latin by Florian(us), as *J. Leonis Africani de totius Africae descriptione* (Antwerp 1556). On this latter translation were based an English version by John Pory (*Historie of Africa*, 1600; ed. Browne, London 1896), a Dutch one by Leers and a German one by Lorsbach. The original ms. of the *Descrittione* was rediscovered in 1931 and placed in the National Library at Rome (no. 953); it was to have been edited by Sra. A. Codazzi, put publication of this hardly seems worthwhile now that A. Épaulard has been able to compare it with the Ramusio edition and has brought to the *textus receptus* some improvements and corrections, utilised in his French translation, *Description de l'Afrique*, Paris 1956, which has been edited by H. Lhote, with a copious commentary by A. Épaulard, Th. Monod, H. Lhote and R. Mauny. It has been possible to identify the majority of the place-names, deformed in the Italian text, and the notes, which are generally accurate, throw useful light on the work's information.

The *Description* contains nine sections: (1) generalities about Africa; (2) south-western Morocco (in particular, Marrakesh, with errors—see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech*, Rabat 1959, p. xiv and index); (3) the kingdom of Fās (a very extended treatment, one more accurate and confident); (4) the kingdom of Tlemcen; (5) Bougie and Tunis; (6) southern Morocco, and the southern parts of Algeria and Tunisia, followed by Libya; (7) the land of the blacks; (8) Egypt; and (9) the rivers, animals, plants and minerals of Africa. This work remained for centuries a major source on the Islamic world, and is still cited by historians and geographers of Africa. Although it is not free from errors—certainly exusable if one takes into account the conditions in which it was put together—it provides first-hand items of information on the situation at the beginning of the 10th/16th century in the lands visited, on the ethnog-

raphy and the institutions of their various inhabitants, and in particular, on political, economic and social life in North Africa.

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LEON [see LIYŪN]

LEPANTO [see AYNABAKHTĪ]

LEPROSY [see DJUDHĀM, in Suppl.]

LERIDA [see LĀRIDA]

LESH (Ottoman لش, from the Albanian, Italian Alessio), a minor port, military stronghold and administrative centre in northern Albania, 30 km. to the south of Shkodër/Scutari, which was part of the Ottoman empire between 1478 and 1912.

Lesh, the classical Lissus, is one of the oldest urban centres of the country. It is built on the banks of the river Drin not far from its estuary, and is overlooked by two isolated hills, each carrying the ruins of ancient fortifications. This setting largely determined the history and the function of Lesh; it was a military strongpoint in periods of danger and a harbour in more peaceful times. During antiquity, both hilltops and the lower town on the river were surrounded by an enormous wall, parts of which still survive. This large city was destroyed during the invasions of the Barbarians (592 A.D.), and never recovered again. Anna Comnena mentions Lissus in her *Alexiade* as a strong Byzantine fortress and as fairly well-inhabited. In the 13th century, Lesh was included in the Serbian state, together with Shkodër. During the dismemberment of the Serbian empire, after the mid-4th century, Lesh became a part of the minor Albanian principality of Dukagin, but its lord ceded Lesh to the Republic of Venice in 1393. The citadel on the lower of the two hills (the old Acropolis on the higher hill had been left in ruins since classical times) was in ruins in the Venetian period. The Signoria decided only to rebuild the walls of the lower town on the river, which was done between 1404 and 1430. An enormous conflagration destroyed most of the settlement in 1440. In 1451 the new city wall was ready, partly paid for by Venice, partly by the local inhabitants.

In 1468 the famous rebel against the Ottomans and national hero of the Albanians, George Kastriotes Skanderbeg, died in Lesh and was buried in the Gothic cathedral of St. Nicolas in the lower town, an event described in detail by the chronicler Marin Barletius. Ten years later, during Sultan Meḥemmed Fātiḥ's campaign against Shkodër (known to the Ottomans as Iskenderiyye), Lesh was captured and incorporated in the Ottoman realm. Before they fled with wives, children and property to the ships that were waiting in the river, the inhabitants of Lesh set fire to the city. The conquest is related by Ṭursun Beg in his *Taʾrīkh-i Abu 'l-Fatḥ* and by Saʿd al-Dīn in his *Tādj al-tawārīkh*.

It was long before the ruined town recovered. At first, Lesh seems to have been included in the *sandjaḳ* of Elbasan, but later (after 1485 and perhaps after the Venetian interlude) it was added to that of Iskenderiyye. In 1501, during Bāyezīd II's short war with Venice, Lesh was taken by Venetian forces, who kept it for a short period. When they retreated, they had the town walls destroyed. The Ottomans recaptured a totally wrecked town. They decided to rebuild the citadel on the hill, a site which offered better chances for defence than the place along the river. The work was finished in 928/1522, as is attested by a monumental Ottoman inscription—now preserved in the Lesh Historical Museum—which mentions the name of Sulṭān Süleymān, the date in numbers and in the form of a chronogram, and the name of the architect as Derwish Meḥmed, the son of Skura. The latter must have been a member of the well-known Albanian noble family of that name.

In the first half of the 16th century, Lesh remained a small place. The Īdjmāl defter no. 367 of 1530-6, preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul, mentions it as a village in the *liwāʾ* of Iskenderiyye, having 144 households. The Mufaṣṣal defter T.K. 63 of the *liwāʾ* of Duḳagīn, preserved in the Tapu ve Kadastro Gen. Müd. in Ankara (fols. 5a-6b), from 999/1590-1 (dated by internal evidence), mentions Lesh as an urban settlement (*varosh*) in the *sandjaḳ* of Duḳagīn. The latter was set up in the thirties or forties of the 16th century and had Peć (Ipek) as its chef-lieu, although the *sandjaḳ-begi* resided sometimes in Lesh. Western sources mention in 1553 a figure of 80 houses of Turks in the castle on the hill (which is called "Castel Nova"). The lower town (il-Borgo) is described as a predominantly Christian place. The latter developed slowly into a centre of trade.

In the thirties of the 16th century, a strong impetus to this function of the town was given by the Ottoman governor of Shkodër (later also in Thessaloniki and Prizren), Ḳuḳli Meḥmed Beg of Prizren. At his expense, the caravan road through the mountains from Lesh to Prizren in the interior was safeguarded by a chain of caravanserais. Two of them were built in Lesh itself, together with 50 shops, which were part of the *waḳf* property of Ḳuḳli Beg's foundations in Prizren and its surroundings.

The Mufaṣṣal defter T.K. 63 mentions that a part of the inhabitants of Lesh were "outside the old register", which means that they had moved in from elsewhere. They gained their living as workers in the harbour and had the Filuri status as concerned taxes and paid only a lump sum of 52 *aḳčes* yearly. The register mentions 141 Christian households of them and six of Muslims, all living in the newly-founded suburb of "Ishula" (Ishull Leshë) which was formerly a *mezraʿa*.

In or around 1580, the old cathedral of St. Nicolas was confiscated by the Ottomans and turned into a mosque, this being reported in the visitation report of the bishop of Bar (Antivari) Marino Bizzi in 1610. In 1614 the open town is said to have numbered 500 Turkish (read: Muslim) households. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa mentions Lesh as a part of the *sandjaḳ* of Duḳagīn and situated near the district of Zadrima, whose inhabitants were rebellious Albanians. Ewliyā Čelebi visited Lesh in 1072/1661-2 on his way to Shkodër. At that time, Lesh was a *voyvodelik* in the *sandjaḳ* of Duḳagīn and the seat of the provincial administration of the area. In the castle, built on a steep rock, was a garrison under command of a *dizdār* and only a few houses of civilians. An Ottoman budget of the year 1079/1669-70 has 126 men as garrison for the "Castle of Lesh in the *liwāʾ* of Duḳagīn". The 17th century Lesh cannot have been very prosperous. Ewliyā mentions that its houses were rather poor. The church-mosque was deserted in the

thirties or forties of the century, and left in ruins for more than a hundred years.

In the last decades of the 18th century, Sulṭān Selīm III concerned himself for the reconstruction of the building. At that time, it received the form it stil had in our time (1978). The Armenian geographer Inciciyan describes Lesh in the last decades of the 18th century as a place with a thousand houses.

During the administrative reforms of the 19th century (1862), the old *sandjak* of Dukagln was dissolved and added to the *wilāyet* of Shkodër. The *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 3991, describes it towards the end of the last century as a *ḳaḍā*ʾ in the above-mentioned *wilāyet*, with 5,300 inhabitants, 80 shops and four mosques. The *Ishkodra wilāyeti sālnāmesi* of 1310/1892-3, mentions Lesh as being the chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍā*ʾ with 32 villages with a total of 5,510 (male) inhabitants, of whom 1,500 were Muslims and 4,000 (Roman Catholic) Christians. The district contained 31 churches, and eight mosques but had only three schools, two for Muslims and one for Christians.

In the seventies of the 20th century, Lesh was still a minor town. Its centre was modernised, the old cathedral of St. Nicolas—Mosque of Sulṭān Selīm III, was restored. In the spring of 1978, the tomb of the legendary Skanderbeg was discovered by Albanian archeologists, as being situated in the middle of the old church, just as Barletius wrote. Shortly afterwards, the town and the church suffered badly during an earthquake. What remained of the church was consolidated into a huge, concrete-built memorial to Skanderbeg. The remains of the castle of Sulṭān Süleyman still overlook the little town.

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LETTER [see BARĪD, ḤARF, RISĀLA]

LEVANTE [see SHARḲ AL-ANDALUS]

LEVKAS, Greek Leukas, Santa Maura, Aya Mavra, Turkish Levkada, the name of a mountainous (up to 1,158 m. above sea level) island on the coast of western Greece with a total surface of 304 km². It is also the name of the only town on the island. The name means "White Island" in Greek, and goes back to antiquity. The fortified part of the town, an Ottoman naval base which was since about 1550 [see ḲARLĪ-ILI] a part of the province of the Ḳapudan Pasha and a much-feared pirates' nest, was situated on a small, flat island in a shallow lagoon between the mainland of Acarnania and the island. It is connected with both of these through causeways and bridges across the lagoon. Today the old walled town is an empty shell; the entire civil population of Levkas town (in 1961, 6,552) has been since the end of the Ottoman period (1684) concentrated on a sandy spit on the north-eastern tip of the island. The Ottoman geographers (Pīrī Reʾīs, Menemenli Meḥmed Reʾīs, Kātib Čelebi, Ewliyā Čelebi, etc.) called the island Levkada (لفكاده or) لفقاده, and the town Aya Mavra (ايامورة). The history of the town and the island are inseparably connected with each other. In Ottoman times, the town of Levkas (Aya Mavra) was the largest urban settlement in the *sandjak* of Ḳarlī-Īli. In the second half of the 16th and most of the 17th century it was an Islamic centre of some importance, and possessed two of the largest works of Ottoman civil and military architecture in the Western Balkans, viz. the aqueduct of Sultan Süleymān and Prince Djihāngīr and the castle, rebuilt by Ḳilīč ʿAlī Pasha under Selīm II.

The history of the town of Levkas goes back to the 8th century B.C., when it was founded as a colony of Corinth. The town of antiquity lay a few miles to the south of the present site. It disappeared during the migration of nations through the Balkans into Greece. The island was a possession of the Despotate of Epirus until the extinction of the native house, after which it became a possession of the Frankish house of the Orsini. Around 1300, John I Orsini built a small castle on a small sandy island in the mud bay between the island of Levkada and the mainland of Acarnania in order to protect the settlement there, until that time an open one. In 1362 island and town were included in the possessions of the Italian ducal house of Tocco. Duke Carlo Tocco (1381-1403) made the town the capital of his dominions (which since around 1400 also included a part of the mainland). Carlo greatly enlarged the walled town. Open settlements are reported to have existed on both sides of the walled town. The open town of Levkas of today is of later origin. In 1430 the Ottomans placed most of Epirus under their direct rule. In 1449 they drove away the Toccos from the large city of Arta, only 50 km. from Levkas. The last Tocco, Leonardo, was maintained as a vassal of the Sultan and was connected

to him by family ties because of his marriage with Milica Branković, a niece of the much-respected step-mother of Meḥemmed II, Carica Mara (widow of Murâd II). Milica died in 1464. In 1477 Leonardo remarried, this time with Francesca Marzano, a princess of the Aragonese house of Southern Italy, the bitter opponents of the Ottomans. Two years later an Ottoman fleet under Gedik Aḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a, then Bey of Avlonya (Valona), occupied the islands of Zakynthos (Zante), Cephalonia and Levkas (Cephalonia and Zante were lost to Venice in 1481; in 1485 the Ottomans re-acquired Cephalonia by treaty, but lost it definitively to Venice in 1500). Leonardo and Francesca, bitterly hated by their Greek subjects because of their ruthless exploitation, fled to Italy, where King Ferrante of Aragon gave them new possessions. Gedik Aḥmed is said to have deported the population of the islands, or at least a part of them, to Istanbul as part of Sultan Meḥemmed's policy of repopulating his capital Istanbul. Very likely there were also strategic grounds.

During the Ottoman-Venetian war over the last bases of the Signoria on the Greek shores [see ḳoron, modon, aynabakhtī], the Venetians under Bernadetto Pesaro captured Levkas in August 1502. It was returned to the Ottomans as a result of the treaty with Venice, in which the Sultan recognised the Venetian occupation of Cephalonia. Levkas was to remain Ottoman for almost two centuries.

Ottoman Levkas (i.e. the town) became the seat of one of the two *ḳaḍā*'s into which the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳarlï-Ili was divided during the greater part of the 16th century. The town was the largest of the *sandjaḳ*, and possessed by far the most important castle, containing a strong garrison. The *ḳaḍā*' of Aya Mavra was relatively thinly populated. An Ottoman census register (Tapu defter 367 in the BBA) from the years between 1523-36 shows that the town of Levkas/Aya Mavra numbered 194 households, 28 bachelors and 20 widows, perhaps giving a total civil population of a thousand souls. The *ḳaḍā*' had at that time two towns (the second town was Vonitsa, with 90 households, 27 bachelors and 15 widows), and comprised 43 villages, five monasteries and a total population of 2,234 households, 309 bachelors, 199 widows (or a total population of about 12,000 souls). These notes from the census register make clear that the *ḳaḍā*' of Aya Mavra not only comprised the island of Levkas but also a considerable part of the mainland of Acarnania. The bulk of the population of the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳarlï-Ili lived in the *ḳaḍā*' of Engili-ḳaṣrï (= Angelokastro, Ottoman between 1460 and 1832), further inland. Engili-ḳaṣrï itself, which was officially the seat of the *sandjaḳ begi*, numbered according to the same register 144 households, but the *ḳaḍā*' contained no less than 253 villages with 9,009 households, 290 bachelors and 954 widows (perhaps 46,000-47,000 souls). The register mentions that the garrison of Levkas town contained 111 soldiers and nine gunners. The castle of Angeli-ḳaṣrï, safely inland, had only 25 soldiers (*merdān-i ḳalʿe*), Vonitsa, more exposed than Engili-ḳaṣrï but less dangerously situated than Levkas town, had 25 soldiers and two gunners. Not a single Muslim household or individual is mentioned in the entire *sandjaḳ* of Ḳarlï-Ili. There were only three mosques in this province, those in the three castles, serving the needs of the garrisons. The register of 1523-36 mentions in the entire *sandjaḳ* only three *imāms*, two *khaṭībs* and two *mü'edhdhins*. Thus Islam in Levkas was in the first half-century of Ottoman rule only represented by the military and administrative machinery. This was to change notably in the subsequent years.

Because of the constant lack of fresh water in the fortified town, due to its setting on saltings surrounded on all sides by the waters of the lagoon, the Ottomans were forced to carry out important hydraulic works. Good drinking water was brought from the interior of the island to the fortified town by an aqueduct of 3 kms. long, which was carried over the lagoon for almost a mile on an aqueduct with several hundreds of arches (Ewliya Čelebi, viii, 636, gives 366 arches, Coronelli, *Mémoires, etc. de la Morée*, Amsterdam 1686, 146, has 360 arches; Henry Holland [in 1812], *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, London 1815, 61, has 366 arches). Over the aqueduct ran a narrow path offering a much shorter way to the island than that over the saltings. A note in Mühimme defter no. 6 in the BBA in Istanbul contains the extract of an order of the *ḳāḍīs* of Engili-ḳaṣrï and Aya Mavra that the aqueduct currently under construction in Aya Mavra had to bring the water firstly to the walled town and then to the open town on the island, and not to the walled town alone, as had previously been ordered. The inhabitants of the town had pointed out to the Porte that the open town (*varosh*) did not contain 200 houses, as was thought in Istanbul, but 700 to 800 houses. Hence the need for more water. The order states that the aqueduct was built by "His Majesty". It is dated 17 Rebīʿ al-Evvel 972/24 October 1564, thus in the reign of Süleymân the Magnificent. Mühimme defter no. 5, containing a part of the orders of the year 973 (*sic*), has an imperial order from 6 Redjeb to the Beg of Ḳarlï-Ili and the *ḳāḍī* of Aya Mavra requesting the repair of the fortress works and ordering the subject people from the nearby villages to assist the garrison in the work. An order of some months later (11 Ramaḍān 973) urges the *ḳāḍī* to begin the work and to finish it as soon as possible.

During the crisis of Lepanto (1571), the fortress of Aya Mavra was besieged but held out. After the siege the Ottoman government ordered the total reconstruction of the old fortress works. This work was carried out under supervision of Ḳapudan Ḳïlïč ʿAlī Pa<u>sh</u>a between the years 980-1/1572-4. The Mühimme defters 19, and 21 contain some dozen of orders demanding carpenters and masons from Tirhala, Aynabakhtï and Yanya to go to Aya Mavra, and Yürüks and Tatars from Selânïk and Tirhala and timariots from Üsküb (Skopje) to assist with the work. This new fortress has the form of an irregular hexagon which is at its longest 220 m and 150 m wide. It is strengthened by nine round bastions of various sizes, all equipped with domed and vaulted casemates for guns and an open artillery platform on top. The mediaeval castle of the Orsinis was maintained at the north-eastern corner, as a kind of Ič Ḳalʿe.

The works of the Ottoman geographers contain little information about this outpost of Islam in the far west of the Balkans. Pīrī Re'īs in his *Baḥriyye* describes in a few lines the setting of the fortified town, as being situated on an island in a shallow lagoon and accessible only by two drawbridges that only opened to let ships pass through. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Rumeli und Bosna geographisch beschrieben*, Vienna 1812, 128) merely copies this information. Meḥmed ʿĀshïḳ in his *Menāẓir al-ʿawālim* does not discuss this section of the Balkans. A wealth of information, on the other hand, is found in the *Seyāḥat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi (viii, 631-7). Ewliyā visited Levkas in 1081/1670-1, at a time when Islam

had made considerable progress. After a detailed and fairly correct description of the works of fortification, he tells us that there were five Friday Mosques in the town, among which was the Khünkār Djāmiʿi, a converted old church (this church-mosque was seen in 1863 by D. T. Ansted, *The Ionian Islands*, London 1863, 139-40, but has since disappeared). Besides these mosques there was a fine newly-built *mesdjid*. Other Muslim buildings were a *medrese*, two *mektebs*, a *ḥammām* and six *česhmes*, of which one was erected by a certain Aḥmed Agha in 1028/1619, with an inscription in Turkish giving the date in numbers in the form of a chronogram. In the walled town were 200 stone-built houses remaining from the times of the unbelievers. These houses were exclusively inhabited by Muslims. Due east of the walled town as an open suburb called "Shehīdlik Varoshī", with forty or fifty wooden houses inhabited by Muslims and Christians. Just outside the west gate of the walled town, on the sandy flats stretching towards the island, was a larger suburb, called "Ṭashra Varosh". It contained 300 houses built of wood (for strategic reasons). In this suburb was a wooden mosque with a stone-built minaret, a *mesdjid*, a *tekke*, a *mekteb* and two *khāns*. The Christian inhabitants of this suburb possessed seven tiny churches. This part of town was full of winehouses, frequented by the irregulars of the garrison and the fleet.

At a distance of two miles across a shallow sea was the island of Lefkada, whose fertility was praised by Ewliyā. It had innumerable gardens and orchards and twenty prosperous villages, all inhabited by unbelievers. The island was reached by a path on top of the aqueduct which Ewliyā attributes to "the brother of Sultan Selīm II, prince Djihāngīr" (1531-53). It is possible that there is a confusion with the son of Selīm II, also called Djihāngīr, who must have reached manhood at the time when the order in the Mühimme defter 6 was written. This Djihāngīr died in 983/1575 (cf. *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 29).

The fourth part of the "agglomeration" of Levkas was the "Varosh-ī Lefḳada" containing no less than 700 prosperous houses, all inhabited by Greeks, and having 20 churches. This information is in blatant contradiction to what we find in the *Megale Ellinike Enkyklopeideia*, xvi, 28, art. "Leukas", where a pitiful story of decay and stagnation is told and the great suburb on the island is said to have been "a few fisherman's huts." This part of town was long known as Amaxiki, a name that slowly fell into disuse in the 19th century.

The whole urban settlement of Levkas thus had 1,250 houses, or about 6,250 inhabitants. Six years after Ewliyā, Jacob Spon and George Wheler (*Italienische, Dalmatische, Griechische und Orientalische Reise-Beschreibungen*, Nürnberg 1681, i, 29 [also tr. into English and French]) noted that in the citadel and the suburbs together lived 5,000 or 6,000 inhabitants, mostly Greeks and Turks.

The strength of the garrison of Aya Mavra as given by Ewliyā (633), is perhaps exaggerated. He mentions 1,085 *ḳalʿe neferān*, but an official Ottoman budget of the same year as his visit (published by Ö. L. Barkan in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii [1955-6], 278) has only 285 *ṭopčīyān ve rüʾesā ve ʿazabān ve suvāriyān-ī ḳalʿe-yi Ayamavra* ("gunners, captains, soldiers and cavalry of the castle of A.") on the pay list.

The halcyon days of Muslim Levkas ended during the war of 1683-99 against the Christian coalition. In the summer of 1684 the Venetian fleet under Morosini captured the town after a bombardment of 16 days. The garrison and the Muslim civil population got a safe conduct to the Ottoman mainland. Morosini turned the walled town, denuded of its inhabitants, into a citadel and removed its houses. He also evacuated and demolished the two suburbs just outside the castle and turned them into a glacis for the fortress. The deported inhabitants were helped building new houses on the island. Since that time the town was solely confined to the former Varosh (= Amaxiki) on the island itself. All the Muslim buildings except the fortress works and the aqueduct were removed by the Venetians.

The Treaty of Karlowitz (Ḳarlofča [*q.v.*]) assigned the town and the island definitely to Venice, which in the first years of the 18th century modernised the Ottoman castle. On that occasion, the Ič Ḳalʿe of 1300 disappeared and the east front of the castle, facing the mainland that had remained Ottoman, the ramparts and bulwarks, were replaced by modern works, including two bastions, a ravelin and a couvre-face in the wet moat and an enveloppe all around. Two separate works came to cover the flanks. Some Latin inscriptions mention the name of the commander under whom the work was carried out and the date of completion, viz. Augostino Sagredo, 1713.

During the Corfu compaign of the Ottomans against Venice (1716), the modernised fortress was strongly defended. It was captured by the Ottoman army but was to return to the Venetians a year later. The Venetian rule lasted until 1797 (Treaty of Campo Formio) and was only interrupted by a revolt of the Greeks in 1769, after which date the fortress was again repaired (long Latin inscription.). In 1797 the island was occupied by the French, who kept it till 1800, when after a brief action of the combined Ottoman-Russian forces the island became part of the so-called Republic of the Seven Islands. The French returned in 1807, but were driven away from these islands by the British in 1809-10. In the first decade of the 19th century, the mainland of Acarnania was controlled by Tepedilenli ʿAlī Pasha, the able but treacherous Vizier of Yanina (Yanya), who in 1807 invested Lefkas unsuccessfully. On a rocky foreland commanding the only road from the mainland to the island he erected in the year a strong fortress. This was the site of the Khalwetiyye *tekke* of Dizdār Ḥasan, extensively described by Ewliyā in 1670. Hence the name of that new work, *Kastro tis Tekkes*. Six km. further south, on a cape commanding the southern entrance to the lagoon of Levkas, ʿAlī Pasha constructed another, large, castle, now called "Castle of St. George". Both forts still exist today.

The mainland of Acarnania was included in the new Greek kingdom in 1832. In 1864 the British ceded Levkas and the other Ionian islands to Greece. The repeated changes of master did not stimulate the expansion of the town. When Henry Holland visited it in 1812, the town numbered but 5,000 inhabitants. Until the sixties of the present century, the populations of island and town have remained stationary (the island in 1863, 24,000; in 1961, 26,000). The great Ottoman aqueduct was wrecked during an earthquake in 1825, together with most of the town (Ansted, *Ionian Islands*, 144). It was not rebuilt, but served further as road until in this century it disappeared completely under the modern causeway. The town was rebuilt with wooden houses to minimise the damage of the very frequent earthquakes (list

of dates in *M. E. Enkykl.*, xvi, art. "Leukas"). The now decayed and deserted three Ottoman castles remain the only visible link with the Islamic past.

Bibliography: The Ottoman sources mentioned in the article are unpublished. A comprehensive history of Ottoman Levkas, based on Ottoman and Western sources, is still a task for the future. Fragments of information can be pieced together from *inter alia*, E. Kirsten and W. Kraiker, *Griechenlandkunde. Ein Führer zu Klassischen Stätten*, Heidelberg 1962; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Orient*, London 1908 (repr. 1964); idem, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, London 1921; idem, *The Ionian Islands under Venice*, in *EHR*, xliii (1928); F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, Munich 1953, 421-3; idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Qarly-eli vornehmlich aus osmanischen Quellen* (most accessible in *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, Munich 1962, 370-7); D. N. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epirus*, Oxford 1957. For the confused accounts in the Ottoman chroniclers, see KARLÎ-ILI above. It should be added that the chronicler Oruč Beg (German tr. R. F. Kreutel, *Der fromme Bayezid*, Graz 1978, 152), has little-known details on the Ottoman capture of 1502. A Western travel account contemporary with Ewliyā Čelebi (1675-6) is J. Spon-G. Wheler, *Italienische, Dalmatische, Griechische und Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, Nuremburg 1681 (also in English, *A journey into Greece*, Amsterdam, 1686); cf. also H. Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly and Macedonia*, London 1815 (repr. New York 1971), 58-64; W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835, i, 10 ff.; Leake has also accounts of the actions of ʿAlī Pas͟ha on the mainland and his endeavour to capture Levkas fortress (with a good topographical sketch-map of the various parts of town, the forts and the aqueduct); D. T. Ansted, *The Ionian Islands in the year 1863*, London 1863 (Santa Maura on 125-228, with much on history, economy, topography, etc.). See also K. G. Machairas, *I Levkas epi Enetokratias (1684-1797)*, Athens 1951, and idem, *I Levkas, 1700-1864*, Athens 1958; P. Rontogiannis, *Istoria tis nisou Lefkados*, i, Athens 1980.

The first detailed plan of the Ottoman castle of Selīm II and Ḳîlîč ʿAlī is given in the work of Vincenzo Coronelli. For an old drawing of the aqueduct, see A. Grasset St. Sauveur, *Voyages dans les îles et possessions ci-devant vénétiennes du Levant*, Paris 1800, 337 ff. For details on the fortress, see Machairas, *To en Levkádi frourion tis Aghias Mavras*, Athens 1956 (100 pages, but nothing serious on the Ottoman actions. Very good plans of the walled town before and after the Venetian reconstruction and large-size map of the area). For the Ottoman aspects of the castle, see for the time being, M. Kiel, *Leukas/Santa Maura, een Turks-Venetiaanse grensvesting*, in *Jaarboek Stichting Menno van Coehoorn*, 1976, 58-64 (with photographs and plan of the castle).

For a modern survey of the history of the entire Ionian archipelago, see M. Pratt, *Britain's Greek empire*, London 1978. (M. KIEL)

LEWEND, the name given to two kinds of Ottoman daily-wage irregular militia, one sea-going (*deñiz*), the other land-based (*ḳarā*), both existing from early times.

The word may derive in its maritime sense from the Italian *levantino* (S͟h. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i Türkī*), used originally by Venetians for soldiers recruited from their Levantine possessions, and then passing into Ottoman Turkish as a term for mercenaries recruited from the Mediterranean regions, especially the eastern lands and islands of Greece, Dalmatia and western Anatolia. Some claim its more common use as "a rough-and-ready cavalryman" came from Persia (cf. Redhouse, *Turkish and English lexicon*, s.v., and Uzunçarşılı, 46). By 966/1558 the Ottoman government clearly distinguished mounted *lewends* from corsairs (*Mühimme defteri*, iii, 163, and *Silāḥdār taʾrīk͟hi*, i, 152).

1. *Deñiz lewend*. In the hey-day of Ottoman maritime expansion, demands for unskilled labour could be met by hiring Muslim or Christian (Rūm) *lewends* for a period of the campaign, paid in early times by booty, in later times a daily wage through the admiralty. These *lewends* acted as rowers, guardsmen, marines for shore invasion, but above all as seagoing musketbearers. Muslim *deñiz lewends* wore distinctive blue baggy trousers with a yellow sash; *Rūm lewends* a cloak with cowl, a blue-and-white sash, and white baggy trousers. For those whose labour the Admiralty needed during the winter in the Bosphorus arsenal, special quarters (*k͟hān*) were built on the Rūmeli side in the early 12th/18th century, known to this day as *Lewend čiftligi*. By the mid-12th/18th century, Muslim *lewends* took over many of the specialised naval duties previously pursued by *Rūm lewends* (who no longer enjoyed absolute trust), to serve permanently as *ḳālyond̲j̲u* or galleon sailors. Their apparently exciting life as semi-official pirates, corsairs, and adventurers on the sea lived on into the modern Turkish language, in which *levend* still means a bold, good-looking, dashing young man.

2. *Ḳarā lewend*. Trained musketmen, discharged from Ottoman armies or the fleet, acting in concert with other jobless and homeless personnel (such as *sekbān*, *gönüllü*, and *ʿazab* [*q.vv*]), created mischief in Ottoman lands. Those who acted as cavalry were called *ḳarā lewend*. Any man with a horse might join one of the many official or outlaw bands which swarmed in Anatolia, particularly after the 10th/16th century. *Ḳarā lewends* fell into three categories: (a) *ḳapîlî lewend*: irregular cavalry attached and paid by a *beglerbegi* or a provincial *wālī*, for special services in peace or war, such as guarding fortresses, civil police duty, and honour guards. *Ḳapîlî lewends* generally followed Ottoman military rank-order, led by a *bölükbas͟hî*, and included Anatolians, sc. Arabs, Kurds (Rafeq, 37) and Turks, together with Rumelians, sc. Albanians (Turan, 168), Hungarians (Orhonlu, 100) and probably many others. *Ḳapîlî lewends* wore colourful but not particularly uniform apparel, their respective employers supplying clothing suitable to their particular affectation (Cezar, 294-6); (b) *ḳapîsîz lewend* (sometimes *bas͟hî-bos͟h*, "independent"): any *lewend* discharged from the service of his *beglerbegi* or *wālī*, who in theory returned to civilian pursuits. Anatolian social and economic conditions being in serious dislocation after the 10th/16th century, most *ḳapîsîz lewends* moved quickly into wandering groups of brutal marauders, many of whom took part in the D̲j̲alālī revolts [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; and (c) *mīrī lewend*: those hired by the government as musketmen or cavalry for a specific campaign and paid for by the central treasury.

To the end of the 12th/18th century, *lewends* found employment in Anatolia and Rūmeli, often terrorising rather than protecting those officially in their charge. In Dubrovnik in 1000/1592 they were "brigands" (*ehl-i fesād ve lewendāt*) (Biegman, 82); in Cairo in 1008/1599 a visitor called them "unscrupulous scum"

(Tietze, 40); an observer in Ankara in 1029/1619 saw them as tyrants over the citizens (Andreasyan, 162); in 1069/1658 they supported Abāza Ḥasan Pasha's [*q.v.*] massive rebellion, crushed by Köprülü Meḥmed Pāshā (Naʿīmā, vi, 347-9). By 1131/1719 a *fetwā* had abolished the *lewends* from the empire, but a new war with Persia demanded an extension of their enrolment by eastern frontier governors until 1136/1726 (Uzunçarşılı, 47). Two decades later, 10,000 *lewends* deserted Yegen Meḥmed Pasha in his ill-fated battle against Nādir Shāh (*ibid.*); the Ottomans reacted angrily and those caught were executed, but many continued the sale of their services to any provincial officer or man of wealth (*aʿyān* [*q.v.*]) who could pay. By 1190/1776 the government again ordered the *ḳarā lewends* to be abolished; most were absorbed into acceptable military units by the turn of the century. Others fled to Syria, where they found employment with Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha of Sidon, Muḥammad Pasha al-ʿAẓm of Damascus, acceptance among the local Kurdish *lewends* (*lewend al-akrād*, Rafeq, 37), and work in Palestine as mercenaries (Cohen, 282). By the beginning of the 13th/19th century, most *ḳarā lewends* had been eliminated from the empire or had been absorbed into the modernised armies of Selīm III and Maḥmūd II.

Bibliography: References to *lewends* may be found in many official documents (*Mühimme defterleri*, the *İbnülemin tasnifi*, the *Cevdet tasnifi: askeri, dahiliye, maliye*, and others) in the Baş Vekâlet Arşivi, Istanbul. Many references occur in standard Ottoman historians like Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1280/1863, and *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1317/1899, as well as the other chroniclers of the period, both published and manuscript. The emphasis on *lewends* as seagoing irregulars may be studied in Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 234 ff.; Zinkeisen, iii, 307 f.; and M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, iii, Paris 1825, which includes pictures, 416, 432. Several encyclopaedias and dictionaries give pertinent information, the best being İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, art. "Levend", in *İA*; also M. Pakalın, art. "Levend", in ii, 358-9; and Midhat Sertoğlu, art. "Levend", in *Resimli Osmanli tarihi ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1958, 188-9. The only major work devoted to the subject is Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı tarihinde levendler*, Istanbul 1965, which follows Uzunçarsılı's general outline and includes many useful photographed archival materials and their transliteration into modern Turkish. The major work explaining the social conditions of Anatolia (990-1020/1582-1611) in which *lewends* flourished is Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâlî isyanları*, Ankara 1963. Translations of contemporary observations of *lewends* as well as documents include H. D. Andreasyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un seyahatnâmesi, 1608-1619*, Istanbul 1964; N. H. Biegman, *The Turko-Ragusan relationship, according to the firmāns of Murād III (1575-1595) extant in the State Archive of Dubrovnik*, The Hague 1967; Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine âid belgeler telhisler, 1597-1607*, Istanbul 1970; A. Tietze, *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's description of Cairo of 1599, text, translation, notes*, Vienna 1975. Münir Aktepe, *Patrona isyanı, 1730*, Istanbul 1958, related the history of a *lewend* who precipitated the downfall of an Ottoman sultan and his government. General works referring to the activities of *lewends* include Şerafettin Turan, *Kanunî'nin oğlu Şehzade Bayezid vak'ası*, Ankara 1961; Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The province of Damascus, 1723-1783*, Beirut 1966; A. Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century, patterns of government and administration*, Jerusalem 1973; V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp, eds., *War, technology, and society in the Middle East*, London 1975, esp. chs. by H. İnalcık, 195-7 and by A.-K. Rafeq, 285, 291; and S. J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey. i. Empire of the Gazis: the rise and decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808*, Cambridge and New York 1976, index.

(J. H. Kramers-[W. J. Griswold])

LEXICOGRAPHY [see ḲĀMŪS]

LEZGH (self-designation: Lezghi, pl. Lezghiar; Russian variants: Lezgintsy, Kyurintsy; others: Lezg, Lezgin, Kürin), a Muslim people of the Caucasus.

The Lezgh language belongs with Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Khinalug, Ḳrîz, Dhzek, Khaput and Udi to the Samurian group of the Northeast-Caucasian (Čečeno-Lezgian) language family. The Lezgh language is comprised of three closely-related dialects, all of which have been strongly influenced by the Azeri Turkish language, sc. Kürin (Günei) and Akhtî, spoken in southeastern Dāghistān, and Ḳuba, spoken in northeastern Ādharbāydjān. The Kürin dialect forms the basis of the Lezgh literary language, since it is the most widespread of the three, and since it is the dialect spoken in Ḳurakh (the most important cultural and economic centre in the Lezgh territory, and former seat of the Khānate of Kürin.

Lezgh became a written language in the late 19th century (using the Arabic script), although it did not replace Arabic as the common literary language among the Lezghs until after the Russian Revolution (in the late 1920s). Early attempts at using the Cyrillic script (1904-5) for writing the Lezgh language met with utter failure. In 1928 the use of the Arabic script was abolished, and writing in Lezgh was changed to the Latin, and in 1938, to the Cyrillic script. Lezgh is at present one of the nine official languages of the Dāghistān ASSR, although it is no longer used as a medium of instruction in the schools. Formerly (between the late 1920s and 1960s) Lezgh served as a language of instruction among the Lezghs of Dāghistān (and between the late 1920s and 1939 among the Lezghs of Adharbāydjān) up to the 5th grade. Lezgh was also the official language used among the Aguls between the late 1920s and 1950s. Since that time, all education among the Lezghs has been in Russian in Dāghistān, and in Azeri in Ādharbāydjān. The term "Lezgin" had been used by Russian authors to refer not only to the Lezghs proper, but also at times to all mountaineer Dāghistānîs, or only the southern Dāghistānîs (including all the peoples in the Samurian group).

The Lezghs inhabit for the most part the southeastern portion of Dāghistān (Akhtî, Doḳuzpara, Ḳasumkent, Ḳurakh, Magaramkent and Rutul *rayons*) and contiguous northeastern Ādharbāydjān (Ḳuba, Nukha and Shemākha *rayons*). The 1970 Soviet census listed 323,829 Lezghs residing in the USSR. Of them, 50.2% lived in the Dāghistān ASSR and 42.4% in the Ādharbāydjān SSR. Of the Lezghs, 93.9% considered Lezgh their native language, while 3.7% considered it to be Russian and 2.4% other languages (mainly Azeri).

According to legend, the Islamic religion was originally introduced among the Lezghs by Arab conquerors in the 7th and 8th centuries. The final conversion of the Lezghs to Islam came in the middle of the 15th century with the conquest of the Lezgh territory by the Shāh of Shirvān-Khalîl Ulloi.

Although the bulk of Lezghs are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī school, there is a sizable minority of Shīʿīs in Ādharbāydjān.

As a result of the long influence of the Turkish Khānates of Ādharbāydjān on the Lezghs, a Lezgh feudal principality—the Khānate of Kürin—was formed in 1775 with its centre in Kurakh. This Khānate, however, included only a relatively small part of the Lezgh territory and exerted only a minor influence on the Lezghs. The majority of Lezghs continued to live in free societies, while others lived at different times under the Khanates of Ḳuba, Derbend and Ḳaziḳumukh. In 1812 the Kürin Khānate became a Russian protectorate, and in 1864, with its abolition, the Lezgh territory became an integral part of the Russian Empire. In the mid-19th century, under the leadership of Shamīl and his Murīds, the Lezghs took part in the Caucasian wars against the Russians.

Although a weak feudal structure had developed in the region of Ḳurakh, the majority of the Lezghs lived in free societies made up of patriarchal clans and extended families. These free societies were ruled by the village *ʿādat*. Within the clan or extended family there was mutual help in work and family affairs, as well as group responsibility in vendettas, which were under the jurisdiction of the *ʿādat*. The Lezghs maintained a strict clan endogamic marriage system.

The traditional economy of the Lezghs was based primarily on home industries (weaving, rug making, leather working, pottery, smithing, etc.) and transhumance sheep and goat raising. These activities still play a major role in the village economy. In the foothill and lowland areas, cereal crops, gardening and horticulture are important. Winter pastures of the Lezghs were found primarily in Ādharbāydjān, and there was a long tradition of seasonal (winter) migratory labour among the Lezgh men to the cities of Bākū, Shemākha and Ḳuba (all in Ādharbāydjān). As a result of this migration, as well as the long cultural and political ties with Ādharbāydjān, the Lezgh culture and language have been profoundly influenced by the Ādharbāydjānīs; but this strong assimilatory force exerted on them has been sharply weakened during the Soviet period.

The Lezghs have a relatively long literary tradition though little pre-Revolutionary literature was written in the Lezgh language, since the dominant tongues here were Arabic or Azeri or Persian. Among the more renowned writers of Lezgh origin are the theologian Saʿīd of Ḳočkhur, the mystical poet Etim Emīn, the Azeri historian Ḥasan Alkadari and the poets Sayfullāh Čobānzāde, Emīr Arslān and Ḥādjdjī of Akhtī. Soviet literature began with Sulaymān Stal'skii (the "national poet of Dāghistān"), and he has been followed by Ṭāhir Alimov of Khurug, ʿAlībek Fatahov, Shāh Emīr Maradov, etc.

Bibliography: A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Une république musulmane: le Daghestan, aperçu démographique*, in *REI*, xxiii (1955), 1-55; *Mladopis'mennie yazīki narodov SSSR*, Akademiya Nauk, Moscow 1955; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; Bennigsen, *The problem of bilingualism and assimilation in the North Caucasus*, in *Central Asian Review*, xv/3 (1967), 205-11.

(R. Wixman)

LIʿĀN (a.), in Islamic law, an oath which gives a husband the possibility of accusing his wife of adultery without legal proof and without his becoming liable to the punishment prescribed for this, and the possibility also of denying the paternity of a child borne by the wife. "In the language of the *Sharīʿa*, evidence given by the husband, strengthened by oaths, by which the husband invokes the curse (*laʿna*: from this the whole process is *a potiori* named) and the wife the wrath of Allāh upon themselves, if they should lie; it frees the husband from *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] (the legal punishment) for *ḳadhf* [*q.v.*] (accusation without proof of infidelity by persons "of irreproachable character") and the wife of *ḥadd* for incontinence" al-Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musulmans*, ed. Sprenger and Lees, Bibl. Indica, Old Series, ii, 1309). On the technical use of the related verbal forms, cf. the Arabic lexica and Dozy, *Suppl. aux dict. arabes*, s.v.; al-Ḳasṭallānī, commentary on al-Bukhārī, *Ṭalāḳ*, 25, at the beginning; al-Zurḳānī, commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Bāb mā djāʾa fi 'l-liʿān*, at the beginning.

1. The following Ḳurʾānic passage is the basis for the regulations regarding the *liʿān* (XXIV, 6-10): "As to those who accuse their wives [of adultery] without having other witnesses than themselves, the man concerned shall swear four times by Allāh that he is speaking the truth and the fifth time that the curse of Allāh may fall upon him if he is lying, but the woman may avert the punishment from herself if she swears four times by Allāh that he is lying and the fifth time that the wrath of Allāh may fall upon her if he is speaking the truth. If Allāh were not gracious and merciful towards you and wise and turning lovingly towards you . . .".

These verses belong to a part of the Ḳurʾān, apparently composed at one time, containing various regulations about adultery and consisting of XXIV, 1-10, 21-6; verses 11-20, which certainly belong to the year 5, were inserted later, so that our verses must therefore be older (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, i, 210-11; H. Grimme, *Moḥammed*, ii, 27, puts the sūra between the battles of Badr (2 A.H.) and Uḥud (3 A.H.)).

They form a regulation in favour of the husband, an exception to the punishment strictly laid down in Ḳurʾān XXIV, 4 (cf. also verses 23-5) for *ḳadhf* and are therefore, like this penalty, primarily Muslim and have no affinities in Arab paganism, in which an institution like the *liʿān* had no place at all (contrary to D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, i, 221 below). The word *liʿān*, which comes from the Ḳurʾān, is unknown to pre-Islamic poetry.

The *ḥadīths* concerning *liʿān* are almost entirely (the oldest probably exclusively) exegetical, and profess to give the occasion of the revelation of the Ḳurʾānic verses in question; they are to some extent contradictory (attempts to harmonise them are found in al-Zurḳānī, commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Bāb mā djāʾa fi 'l-liʿān*), systematised and unreliable (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, etc., where further references are given, to which may now be added those in A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, 5[?]-7 [to 56 ult. may be added, Tir. 44, sūra 24]). Four types may be distinguished among them: (1) the husband (unnamed) laments his sad case to the Prophet in covert language, whereupon the verses are revealed (oldest form); (2) ʿUwaymir b. Ḥārith asks in the same way, first through the intermediary of a friend and then directly of the Prophet (a development of the first type); (3) Hilāl b. Umayya accuses his wife of adultery and is to be punished with *ḥadd* for this, when Allāh saves him at some point by the revelation of the verses (this type, probably a development of the first, in which Saʿd b. ʿUbāda also

is often involved, who had previously with scornful criticism called attention to the possibility of the dilemma which has now actually happened, has of the three the most schematic and unoriginal appearance); and (4) someone marries a young woman and finds her not a virgin, while she disputes his assertion; the Prophet therefore orders *liʿān* (not exegetic). There are of course other transitional and mixed forms. In so far as the *ḥadīth*s yield nothing new about *liʿān*, this brief outline is sufficient; they are only of importance when they afford evidence for the oldest juristic adaptation of this Ḳurʾānic institution.

2. The first subject of the earliest legal speculation was the question, not touched upon the Ḳurʾān, whether *liʿān* makes separation between the husband and wife necessary. In many *ḥadīth*s this question is so expressly (sometimes polemically) affirmed that there must have been a school which approved the continuity of the marriage after the *liʿān*. The statement that al-Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr is said to have held this view (Muslim, Nasāʾī) is, however, based only on an inadmissible interpretation of another *ḥadīth*, in which he appears as a contemporary; on the other hand, that ʿUthmān al-Battī held it may be considered sufficiently proved (al-Zurḳānī on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*). Among the oldest representatives of the other view, which later became predominant, that a continuance of the marriage was impossible after *liʿān*, may be included with some probability ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and with certainty al-Zuhrī, in whose time it was already *sunna*, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (*Kitāb al-Āthār*); the tracing of this opinion back to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, which we find in the *ḥadīth*s, must however be regarded as unhistorical.

Next arises the question how this annulment of the marriage as a result of *liʿān* is to be carried through, whether by a triple *ṭalāḳ*, which the husband has to pronounce against his wife, or by the decision of the judge before whom the *liʿān* is taken, or by the *liʿān* itself. The first view is undoubtedly based on a large number of traditions, while no trace of its use in law has survived; these traditions are rather interpreted in favour of the second view (cf. the *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* and al-Bukhārī, *Ṭalāḳ*, *bāb* 30 and *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 43; the tradition in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 330-1, forms in its abbreviated form only an apparent exception; a polemic against the first view in al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2667). The second opinion survives in the later legal *ikhtilāf*; apart from the ample testimony to it in *ḥadīth*, its oldest representatives known with probability or certainty are ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar; al-Zuhrī, in whose time it appears as *sunna*; and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (*Kitāb al-Āthār*); its ascription to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās is again not historical. For the third there is no evidence in tradition; it is only found after the rise of the *madhāhib*. We seem therefore to have a tendency to development in a particular direction.

Other prescriptions about *liʿān* in tradition going beyond what is laid down in the Ḳurʾān, are of less importance. Thus when the question is raised at all, it is unanimously laid down that the husband can never marry the wife again at a later date, that a *liʿān* may take place during pregnancy (legal *ikhtilāf* is later attached to their interpretation of this *ḥadīth*), that the child has only relationship with its mother as regards kinship or inheritance, i.e. is considered illegitimate. Other *ḥadīth*s say that the *liʿān* must be taken in a mosque and attribute the formula to be spoken there by the *ḳāḍī* to the Prophet. We are also brought into contact with questions of detail, which play a part in the latter *ikhtilāf* by a tradition according to which the Prophet did not allow *liʿān* unless the husband and wife were on equal terms as regards Islam and freedom; a series of older authorities who held the contrary view is quoted in the *Mudawwana*.

Details of the further teaching of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī on *liʿān* are given in the *Kitāb al-Āthār*. Two more general pronouncements in Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī bring us to the period of the rise of the *madhāhib*. Mālik states definitely that it was the *sunna* of Medina, about which there is no doubt and no *ikhtilāf*, that the husband and wife after the *liʿān* has taken place could never marry one another again, and al-Shāfiʿī says that with *liʿān*, divorce of the pair and denial of the paternity of the child was *sunna* of the Prophet.

3. The teachings of the separate *madhāhib* develop the views of their earliest representatives, not entirely on the same lines (e.g. from the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*; it is to be assumed with probability that Mālik followed the second view regarding the element in *liʿān* which annulled the marriage (cf. above), while his school later held the third opinion entirely). The most important regulations of *fiḳh* regarding *liʿān* that go beyond what has been so far discussed are as follows; if the husband accuses the wife of adultery or denies the paternity of his child without being able to prove it in the legally-prescribed fashion and she denies his charge, recourse is had to the process of *liʿān*. If the husband refuses to pronounce the formulae prescribed to him, he is punished with the *ḥadd* for *ḳadhf*; according to Abū Ḥanīfa, however, he is imprisoned until he pronounces the formulae, whereby he is set free or is declared to have lied, whereupon he is liable to *ḥadd*. If the wife refuses to pronounce the corresponding formulae, she is punished with the *ḥadd* for adultery; but according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, however, she is imprisoned until she pronounces the formulae, whereupon she is set free or confesses her transgression and is then liable to *ḥadd*. On the question whether *liʿān* is possible if one partner is or both are not Muslims or not free or not *ʿadl*, there is a wealth of *ikhtilāf*, which cannot be detailed here; the same applies to the possibility of *liʿān* during the pregnancy of the woman, with the object of denying the paternity of the child. On this point, the strength of the principle that the marriage decides the descent of the child, is remarkable, as is the distinction between two objets of *liʿān* (accusation of the wife of adultery and denial of paternity), which is only a result of later developments. In the whole of the earlier period these two objects coincide from the juristic point of view. The divorcing element in *liʿān* is, according to the Mālikīs (on their presumed divergence from Mālik himself on this question, cf. above), and a tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, the *liʿān* of the wife, according to al-Shāfiʿī that of the husband; but according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, however, it is the verdict of the judges pronounced after the *liʿān* of both. Opinions also differ regarding the legal consequences of a later withdrawal of the *liʿān* by the husband; according to Abū Ḥanīfa and one tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, a new marriage of the two people is possible in this case, but according to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and the better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, it is not; among older authorities, only Saʿīd b. Djubayr is in favour of the first view, while ʿUmar, ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, ʿAṭāʾ and al-Zuhrī are quoted as in favour of the second (not all have historical

confirmation), which was also held by al-Awzāʿī and Sufyān al-Thawrī. Finally, it is a disputed question whether the *liʿān* can only be performed orally or (in the case of a dumb person) by gestures; al-Bukhārī devotes ch. 25 of his *Kitāb al-Ṭalāḳ* to the discussion of this question and the reasons for his attitude to it.

4. It is easy to understand that the resort was only had to the *liʿān* in extreme cases. Thus we find a scholar of Cordova in the 4th/10th century pronouncing the *liʿān* against his wife simply in order to revive this *sunna* of the Prophet, which had fallen into oblivion (I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 21, Eng. tr. ii, 33). But it has only begun to fall into disuse with the introduction of modern legal codes into the Islamic countries and the creation of legal mechanisms for the adjudication of disputes over paternity. Thus the natural substitute for it, proof of non-access at the time of the child's conception, was introduced into Egypt in 1929 by the device of restricting the competence of the Sharīʿa courts in questions of maintenance and paternity; hence the courts were forbidden to entertain disputed paternity suits where either non-consummation of the marriage, or the birth of the child more than one year after the last physical access between wife and husband, could be established. In some countries, e.g. Tunisia or Morocco, procedures have been introduced whereby a husband can repudiate a child with which his wife is pregnant, or has already given birth to it, without recourse to the *liʿān* procedure. In the Arabian peninsula, however, it remains in force, whilst in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent it still provides a way by means of which a wife who claims to have been falsely accused of infidelity by her husband can go to court and claim dissolution of the marriage.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted, the *fiḳh*-books and works on tradition; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, 73 ff.; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, 192; idem, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*, 216-17; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, 219 ff.; T. P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, 293-4, s.v. *Liʿān*; Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Eng. tr. C. Hamilton, repr. Lahore 1957, 103, 123, 136; Sayyid Ḳuṭb, *Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳurʾān*[7], Beirut 1971, vi, 64-8; *Muʿdjam al-fiḳh al-Ḥanbalī*, Kuwayt 1973, ii, 848-56; S. Vesey-Fitzgerald, *Muhammadan law, an abridgement according to the various schools*, Oxford 1931, 82-3; N. J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, 176-7; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 165, 179; A. al-Kubaysī, *al-Aḥkām al-shakhṣiyya*, Baghdad 1971, 272-80; J. N. D. Anderson, *Law reform in the Muslim world*, London 1976, 136-7, 141.

(J. Schacht*)

LIBĀS (a., pls. *lubus, albisa*) like its cognate counterpart in most Semitic languages (cf. Akk. *lubūshu*; Heb. and Aram. לבוש; Syr. ܠܒܘܫܐ), is the general Arabic term for clothing or apparel. The dictionaries define it as "that which conceals or covers the pudenda", for which the Ḳurʾānic verse is cited, "O Children of Adam! We have revealed unto you clothing to conceal your shame, and finery, but the garment of piety, that is best" (VII, 26). In addition, "it is for self-beautification and adornment and for protection against heat and cold" (*Ḳāmūs TA*, s.v.). In addition to the form *libās*, one finds *libs, malbas, milbas, malbūs, labūs* and *labūsa* also signifying clothing.

A detailed history of Islamic costume has yet to be written. There have been of late ever-increasing studies of modern and late pre-modern attire for various Islamic countries (cf. *Bibliography*), but with the exception of R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam 1845) no comprehensive work covering all Arab —much less Islamic—lands in all periods has been produced. Dozy's pioneer work was based solely on literary references which were mostly in manuscript at that time. His literary references were somewhat supplemented by R. Levy, *Notes on costumes from Arabic sources*, in *JRAS* (1935), 318-38. R. B. Serjeant's monograph *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest* (Beirut 1972), although not dealing specifically with costume, has brought forth a great deal of important ancillary material. Recent attempts to coordinate literary, sources with representations of costume in Islamic art and with actual relics of garments preserved for specific periods are those of L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Geneva 1952, and Y. K. Stillman, *Female attire of medieval Egypt, according to the trousseau lists and cognate material from the Cairo Geniza*, unpubl. diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1972.

We shall limit ourselves here to a general survey of costume history in the Arab world during the classical period, with some brief notes on pre-Islamic and modern times.

i. — In the Central and Eastern Arab Lands

1. Clothing of the pre-Islamic Arabs Despite numerous references to the Arabs in classical geographical and historical literature, there is only scattered and scanty information concerning their attire. Herodotus mentions that the Arabs wore the *zeira*, a sort of long flowing garment caught in with a belt (*Hist.* vii, 66). This most certainly is the *izār* (also found in the forms *azr, miʾzar*, and in Middle Arabic texts and vernaculars *izār*), a large sheet-like wrap worn both as a mantle and a long loin cloth or waist cloth (comp. late bibl. Heb. אזור). This is corroborated by Strabo, who says of the Arab Nabataeans that "they go without tunics, with girdles about their loins, and with slippers on their feet" (*Geog.* xvi, 4, 26). The mode of wearing the *izār* by the Muslim pilgrim in a state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] reflects this ancient fashion.

The earliest evidence for the clothing worn in ancient Arabia is the rupestrean art of prehistoric Arabia (second and first millennia B.C.). These show men wearing relatively little clothing aside from a *cache-sexe* and a variety of headdresses (see E. Anati, *Rock-art in Central Arabia*, i, Louvain 1968, 159, 163, and *passim*). Already at this very early time some women are depicted in enveloping wraps (*ibid.*, 195). Some sort of slippers or sandals were also worn by both sexes (*ibid.*).

Those Arabs who lived within the cultural sphere of one or another of the great empires could not help but be influenced by the fashions of the higher civilisations, clothing being a manifestation of culture, no less than art, architecture, literature, etc. Thus we find statues of the Arab rulers of Hatra in Mesopotamia which depict them wearing Parthian-style dress. Some wear a sleeved mantle and chiton, and others Persian trousers and military festoons (see F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt* ii, Berlin 1965, 227). Those Arabs who inhabited the oasis towns of the Syrian desert apparently dressed in the fashion of the eastern Hellenistic world (see

R. Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Paris 1955, figs. 20-3, *et passim*).

Because of their conservative existence beyond the pale of sedentary civilisation, the Bedouin have maintained a fairly constant style of dress from pre-Islamic times down to the present. Throughout the Muslim world loose wraps have always been an extremely common feature of dress for both men and women. Ibn Khaldūn noted that wraps, as opposed to tailored or fitted clothing, were the mark of non-urban dwellers (*Muḳaddima*, repr. Beirut 1900, 411). Ibn Khaldūn's observation, of course, needs some modification. City-dwellers wore wraps also. To be sure, these were of finer quality, often ornate, and were worn over fitted clothing. The Bedouin have always shown a preference for dark garments. The Babylonian Talmud cites the dark garments of an Arab as an example of a blue-black colour it is trying to define with precision (*Niddah*, 20a). Clothing is frequently mentioned in Djāhilī poetry, especially the many kinds of outer mantles such as *burd*, *izār*, *ridā'*, and *shamla* (apparently similar to the bibl. Heb. שמלה). Tertullian mentions that Arabian women appeared in public totally enveloped in their mantle in such a way so that only one eye is left free (*De virg. vel.*, 17). This fashion continues in places as far apart as Iran and southern Algeria and Morocco.

The use of footwear in Arabia goes back to prehistoric times and was certainly necessitated by the harsh landscape. Many of the figures in the ancient rupestrean engravings wear some sort of distinctive shoe or sandal (Anati, *Rock-art*, *passim*). The Talmud specifically mentions that the sandals worn by the Arabs are "close-fitting" (*Yevamot*, 102a) and that they "are knotted tightly by the shoemakers" (*Shabbat*, 112a).

2. The time of the Prophet and early Islam. The fashion of dress of the earliest Muslim community was on the whole an extension of the preceding period, with certain modifications for the new moral sensibilities. It is interesting to observe that many of the garments worn by the Prophet and his contemporaries continued through the centuries as the basic clothing of villagers and Bedouin, being simple, functional, and suitable to the ecology. The urban dweller, though perhaps far more conscious of *sunna* [*q.v.*] than his rural or nomadic cousins, has since Umayyad times been constantly modifying his wardrobe. Nevertheless, the basic outlines of the Islamic vestimentary system have remained remarkably constant even in the city.

The basic articles of clothing at the time of the Prophet for both sexes consisted of an undergarment, a body shirt, a long dress, gown, or tunic, and an overgarment such as a mantle coat, or wrap, footgear consisting of shoes or sandals, and a head covering. A person might wear many garments or only one depending upon a variety of factors including weather, occasion, economic means, etc. Many of the items of clothing worn by men and women were identical. Indeed, many of the articles were simply large pieces of fabric in which the wearer wrapped himself. What must have set off male from female fashion in many instances was the manner of draping, the accessories (jewelry, head- and footgear, and veils), as well as colours, fabrics and decoration.

The basic undergarment was the *izār* (sometimes referred to as *ḥaḳw*), the loincloth which goes back to prehistoric times. It may well be—although there is dispute over this point in the Muslim traditions as well as in Western scholarship—that *sirwāl* (from old P. *zārawāro*; modern P. *shalwār*) or underdrawers were already in use by this time before the conquest of Iran. Persian cultural influenced had filtered down into Arabia through the Lakhmid kingdom of Ḥīra and perhaps up through the Yemen. There are *ḥadīths* both claiming and denying that the Prophet wore them. From many *ḥadīths*, however, it would seem that there were women who were certainly *mutasarwilāt*, i.e. wearing the *sirwāl*, at this early period. In one well-known story the Prophet averted his glance out of modesty from a woman who had fallen from her mount until he was assured that she was wearing a *sirwāl*. How these early *sirwāl* looked cannot be ascertained. In later Islamic times they differed greatly from country to country and included all sorts of pantaloons, kneebreeches, long trousers, and close-fitting drawers. It is reported that the men who bore ʿĀ'isha's litter on the pilgrimage wore *tubbān*, small *sirwāl* or briefs (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb* xxv, *bāb* 18). Not everyone could afford a separate undergarment, and there are numerous *ḥadīths* in which men without underwear are forbidden to sit or squat publicly, truss up their garments while working, or to drape themselves in the fashion known as *al-ṣammā'* whereby one end of the mantle is pulled up on the shoulder leaving the other side of the body exposed—apparently in the style of the Greek chiton (cf. e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, viii, 8; viii, 10, 1; lxxvii, 20, 2; and most of the other canonical collections).

The basic body shirt was the *ḳamīṣ* (from late Latin *camisia*; cf. Jerome, *Ep. vest. mul.*, 64, no. 11). Like so many items of Islamic attire, it was worn by both sexes. Just as in the Arab world today, the *ḳamīṣ* was frequently worn by children. The Prophet supposedly covered his uncle al-ʿAbbās with a *ḳamīṣ* when the latter was taken prisoner naked at Badr. Any variety of robes or tunics might be worn over the *ḳamīṣ*. These include the *thawb* which in addition to being a gown was also a general word for garment (the pls. *thiyāb* and *athwāb* designate clothes) and fabric, since many garments were no more than a piece of cloth (*shiḳḳa*). Also worn over the *ḳamīṣ* were the *djubba*, a woollen tunic with rather narrow sleeves which was imported in the Prophet's time from Syria (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lvi, 90 and lxxvii, 10), and perhaps elsewhere in the Byzantine empire (Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, xxxii, 4); the *ḥulla*, a long, flowing coat which the Prophet wore tucked up when he went out (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 3) and of which he is reported to have worn on occasion a red one of great beauty (*ibid.*, lxi, 23, 11); the *ḳabā'*, a luxurious, sleeved robe, slit in front, with buttons (*muzarrar*), made of fabrics such as brocade (*dībādj*), and apparently of Persian provenance; the *farrūdj*, a robe similar to the *ḳabā'*, but slit in the back. The Prophet is reported to have received a silk *farrūdj* (*farrūdj ḥarīr*) as a gift, to have worn it, prayed in it, and finally to have thrown it off as if it were suddenly loathsome, saying that it was not fitting for the God-fearing (Bukhārī, Muslim, Nasā'ī, and elsewhere). The custom of wearing several layers of tunics and robes continued through the Middle Ages and still persists in traditional areas today. In Morocco, for example, one frequently sees a man wearing two and even three *djallābas* (hooded outer robe) over two or more tunics.

The principal form of armour was the coat of mail known as *dirʿ* or *dirʿa* which Nöldeke thought to be of Ethiopic origin (*Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasbourg 1910, 53), but as Bosworth has shown, was borrowed from Persia (ch. *Iran and the Arabs*, in *Cambr. hist. of Iran*, iii, ed. E. Yarshater,

Cambridge 1983). Also mentioned in the early sources is a *djubba min ḥadīd* or tunic of mail.

Arabian fashion required both men and women to wear a mantle of some sort over everything else when appearing in public. In the case of the less well-to-do, the mantle or outer wrap might be the only garment over the underwear, and there are numerous *ḥadīth*s dealing with questions of public modesty which arose because of the common presence of men dressed in a single wrap at prayer. Once again, it is the ubiquitous *izār* which was the fundamental garment in this category for both sexes. Another basic one was the *shamla*, which like *izār* simply means "wrap". These were usually white or some other light colour. The *khamīṣa*, on the other hand, was black with ornamental borders (*aʿlām*). In a frequently repeated *ḥadīth*, the Prophet found himself distracted by the decoration on a *khamīṣa* he was wearing at prayer and called for a simple woollen cloak known as an *anbidjāniyya* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, viii, 14, 1, *et passim*; Ibn Mādja, *Sunan* xxxii, 1). Like many wraps, the *khamīṣa* also served as a sleeping garment. Some wraps and mantles at this time seem to have been associated with one sex or other, although these were in the minority. The *ridāʾ* was a man's mantle par excellence, and for the man of honour, in the words of the Djāhilī poet al-Samawʾal, "every *ridāʾ* he wears is becoming". The *djilbāb*, *khimār*, and *mirṭ* were primarily for women. Tirmidhī, Muslim and Abū Dāwūd all repeat a *ḥadīth* about Muḥammad wearing a black *mirṭ*, but all other references to this garment are solely in a feminine context (e.g. Imruʾ al-Ḳays, *Muʿallaḳa*, 28; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lii, 15). Then, as now, there were many names for wraps and mantles, and these were often synonymous, perhaps reflecting earlier usages of regional dialects. That the terms were frequently interchangeable is clear from a *ḥadīth* where a woman brings the Prophet as a gift a woven *burda* with a border (*burda mansūdja fīhā ḥāshiyyatuhā*) which she herself had made and asks the people assembled if they know what a *burda* is. They answer "a *shamla*". The story continues that Muḥammad wore it as his *izār* [*sic*] and gave it upon request to a man who wanted it for a shroud (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, xxiii, 29; Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, xxxii, 1; and with variations elsewhere). Many wraps and mantles were known by their fabrics. Thus the *namira* was a man's wrap with stripes of varying colours which gave it the appearance of a tiger's skin, whence its name. The *mulabbada* was simply a felted *kisāʾ* (the generic word for wrap; cf. Assyr. *kusītu*, bibl. Heb. כסות, both general terms for garment or covering). The *burda* or *burd* [*q.v.*] was a wrap of striped woollen cloth produced in the Yemen. The Prophet wore a Nadjrānī *burd* with a wide border. He gave one such mantle of his to the poet Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] which became legendary. The distinction between fabric and garment is often not clear. The *ḥibara* was a striped garment similar to the *burd*, and according to Anas, it was the favourite garment of the Prophet. Yet we also read of *ḥibara* garments, and thus, in a tradition to ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet was wrapped in a *burd* of *ḥibara* fabric when he died (*sudjdjiya bi-burd ḥibara*). The *siyarāʾ* was both a mantle of Seres (Gk. Σηρες; Aram. שירא and ܣܝܪܐ) or Chinese silk and the fabric. Thus we find *ḥulla siyarāʾ*, *burd siyarāʾ*, and *ḳamīṣ ḥarīr siyarāʾ*.

Precisely how these mantles and the many others mentioned in the traditions were draped we cannot know, but it is quite clear from the sources that there was a wide variety of styles. This is further corroborated by the fact that in those parts of the Islamic world where traditional wraps and mantles are still worn today there is considerable variation from one locale to the other in draping style. The canonical *ḥadīth* collections are almost unanimous in citing condemnations of the practice of ostentatiously trailing one's garment along the ground (*djarr min al-khayulāʾ*). Ankle-length garments were considered proper in the early *umma*. Shorter garments became the mark of an ascetic, longer ones the mark of a libertine.

Already in the Prophet's time the ancient Near Eastern practice of covering the head out of modesty and respect was the norm for both men and women. It is for this reason the Muslims and Jews customarily cover their heads when praying, rather than baring them as in the West. The Ḳurʾān warns that the wicked man will be dragged down to hell by his exposed "lying, sinful forelock" (XCVI, 15-16). Of course, a man or woman could draw his or her long mantle or ample wrap over the head, and in the case of women this was and still is the most common fashion even when some sort of hat or veil is worn under it. The Prophet is reported to have visited Abū Bakr while wearing the border of his *burd* over his head with a black headband (*ʿiṣāba dasmāʾ*) (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 16). In his last public appearance before his death, Muḥammad supposedly wore his *milḥafa* (a wrap similar to the *izār*) over his head, again held in place with a black headband (*ibid.*, lxi, 25, 51).

The *ʿimāma* or turban has been worn by the Arabs since pre-Islamic times. The word turban which is used in one form or another in all western languages derives from Persian *dūlband* via vulgar Turkish *tulbant* or *tolibant*. The *ʿimāma* of Djāhilī and early Islamic times was probably not the composite headgear of the mediaeval and modern periods consisting of one or two caps (*ṭaḳiyya* or *ʿaraḳiyya* and/or *ḳalansuwa*, *kulāh*, or *ṭarbūsh*) and a winding cloth, but merely any strip of fabric wound around the head. G. Jacob has suggested that the later turban is a synthesis of Arab and Persian styles (*Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 237). In the early *umma*, the *ʿimāma* certainly did not have any of the significance it was later to have as a "badge of Islam" (*sīmā al-Islām*) and a "divider between unbelief and belief" (*ḥādjiza bayn al-kufr wa 'l-īmān*). Nor was it yet—in the words of a proverb still heard in Morocco, at least—the "crowns of the Arabs" (*tidjān al-ʿarab*). The many *ḥadīth*s which provide detailed descriptions of the Prophet's *ʿimāma* are clearly anachronistic. For later generations, Muḥammad was "the wearer of the turban" (*ṣāḥib al-ʿimāma*), and like many of the accoutrements associated with a hero of epic proportions, his turban had a name—*al-siḥāb* or "the cloud". According to a Shīʿī tradition, he willed it to ʿAlī. This *ḥadīth* may have been circulated in order to counteract any prestige accruing to the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs by their possession of the Prophet's *burda*. One of the few reliable facts we know about the *ʿimāma* in early Islamic times is that it is one of the garments specifically forbidden to a person in a state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*]. The *ʿimāma* must have consisted of a very long strip of fabric as in later periods, since there are reports of its being used for bandaging (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxiv, 16, 2).

The hats worn in the Prophet's time included the *ṭaylasān*, which though worn by Muslims was considered a typically Khaybarī Jewish hat (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxiv, 38, 13), the *ḳalansuwa* which originally designated a close-fitting cap, and the *burnus*, a

sort of high cap or bonnet. Already at this early time the *burnus* must have also designated by extension a cloak with hood, despite Björkman's view to the contrary (art. "Turban", *EI*[1], iv, 889) since ʿUmar's assassin was prevented from escaping by a Muslim who threw a *burnus* over him (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxii, 8). The word *ḳalansuwa* apparently also could designate a hood or cowl, since it is mentioned along with the *ʿimāma* as one of the garments which a man might spread under him for prayer when the ground was too hot (*ibid.*, viii, 23). The high cap known as *ṭarṭūra* or *ṭurṭūr*, though not mentioned in the early traditional literature, appears already in a 7th-century papyrus (J. von Karabaček, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel*, in *Denkschr. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissen.*, Bd. lxii, Abh. 1, Vienna 1918, 67). The 16th-century traveller Belon suggested a connection between this cap and the ancient Egyptian headcovering called by the Latin writers *turritum capitis ornamentum* or *turritam coronam* (cited in Dozy, *Vêtements*, 263). S. Fraenkel's suggestion that the word is derived from Aramaic טרטן (*Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, repr. Hildesheim 1962, 53) seems more probable, since such hats were worn in the Aramaic-speaking regions in the period just prior to the advent of Islam. They are depicted in several murals from Dura-Europos and elsewhere (see e.g. R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Mayer Memorial Studies iii, Leiden 1972, Pl. xix, no. 65). On military expeditions, men wore a *mighfar* or *ghifāra*, a cap or headcloth of mail over which was worn a *ḳalansuwa* or a helmet known as *bayḍa* (so-called because of its resemblance to an ostrich egg). The Prophet was wearing a *mighfar* on the day Mecca surrendered.

Women in early Islamic times normally covered their head and face with any of a variety of veils when appearing in public. In addition, they were usually entirely enveloped in the large *djilbāb* from head to foot leaving only one eye free. A common head veil was the *mandīl* or *mindīl* (ultimately derived from Lat. *mantellum*; cf. Sp. *mantilla*). The word may also have already been used at this time for "handkerchief" or "hand cloth" (see the detailed discussion on the *mandīl* in F. Rosenthal, *Four essays on art and literature in Islam*, Mayer Memorial Studies ii, Leiden 1971, 63-108, and MANDĪL). The two most common face veils were the *lithām* [*q.v.*], a rectangular cloth covering the nose and the lower half of the face, and the *burḳuʿ*, a harness-like affair consisting of fabric suspended from the centre front of the headband (*ʿiṣāba*) to cover the face. The lower corners of the *burḳuʿ* were attached to the sides of the headband by a string creating a mask-like effect. The *burḳuʿ* is still worn by married women amongst the Sinai Bedouin. ʿĀʾisha wore neither of these veils when she was a *muḥrima* (*lā talaththamu wa-lā tabarkaʿu*). Another veil worn by women at this time was the *niḳāb*. Oddly enough, there is no mention of any sort of hats or head-dresses for women at this early period, despite a veritable plethora of such items from the High Middle Ages to modern times.

Men did veil on occasion, normally by wearing the outer mantle (*izār*, *ridāʾ*, *burd*, *milḥafa*, etc.) in such a way as to cover both head and face). The Prophet is described on more than one occasion as being *mutaḳanniʿ*. This does not necessarily imply that he was wearing the face veil known as *ḳināʿ* or *miḳnaʿa* (cf. for example, Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 16). Very handsome young men sometimes veiled their faces, particularly at feasts and fairs, in order to protect themselves from the evil eye (*Aghānī*, vi, 33; xi, 28; xiii, 137; xv, 157; also J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], repr. Berlin 1961, 196). The free end of the turban cloth frequently served as a face veil to protect the wearer against dust while riding. It was veiled in this fashion that al-Hadjdjādj [*q.v.*] entered into the mosque at Kūfa, mounted the pulpit, and dramatically bared his face as he began his famous sermon with the lines "I am the son of splendour, the scaler of the high places/When I take off my turban you know who I am".

Footwear for both sexes fell into one of two catagories—the *naʿl* or sandal which could be of palm fibre, smooth leather, or leather with animal hair, and the *khuff*, a sort of shoe or boot made of leather. The various kinds of slippers which are popular throughout the modern Islamic world under a variety of names (*bābūdj*, *tāsūma*, *surmūdja*, *bulgha*, etc.) came into vogue after the conquests.

3. Early Islamic laws and customs regarding clothing. The austere nature of the early Medinese *umma* did not encourage luxury of any kind. The Ḳurʾān promises the righteous garments of silk [see ḤARĪR] in Paradise, but the Prophet felt that such clothes were inappropriate in this life for men, although apparently not for women. According to a frequently-repeated *ḥadīth*, Muḥammad forbade seven things: silver vessels, gold rings, garments of *ḥarīr*, *dībādj* (brocade), *ḳassī* (a striped fabric from Egypt containing silk), *istabraḳ* (satin), and *mayāthir ḥumr* (tanned hides). Actually, there are many more fabrics mentioned in the traditional literature which he supposedly proscribed. It would seem that he did make exceptions in the case of individuals suffering from some pruritic skin condition or lice. With the development of the empire and the rise of a leisured class, there came into being a wealth of counter-traditions expressing the permissibility of wearing clothes of silk and other luxury fabrics.

Many of the earliest and most reliable traditions regarding clothing deal with *iḥrām* and questions of ritual impurity caused by menstrual flow or the ejaculation of semen. Each of the Prophet's wives had a special menstrual garment. Garments defiled by menstrual flow need only to be washed to be worn for prayer (e.g., Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, i, 130), and if not stained, a menstrual garment may be worn for prayer without washing. For these and related laws, see DJANĀBA, GHUSL, ḤAYḌ and WUḌŪʾ. It is not certain whether or not women in the early *umma* had special clothes for mourning. During the Djāhiliyya, a woman wore her worst clothes when in mourning (*wa-labisat sharra thiyābihā*—Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxviii, 46, 47). The Prophet forbade women in mourning to wear dyed clothing except for garments of *ʿaṣb*, a Yemenite fabric with threads dyed prior to weaving (*ibid.*, 48, 49). The technical term for "mourning garment" (*thawb al-ḥidād*) only appears in Ibn Ḥanbal (*Musnad* vi, 438) and seems to be a later development. The name implies a garment dyed to a dark iron black.

As already noted, many of the garments worn in early Islamic times were the same for both men and women, especially tunics and wraps. There were, nonetheless, distinct stylistic differences. Islam, like Judaism and Christianity, strictly condemns transvestitism (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 61). However, in Islam this prohibition clearly refers to overall conduct as much as dress.

Clothes have always been considered objects of significant material value in the Middle East. They

are mentioned as valuable gifts, a medium of payment, and items of booty. A man who had worked in the Prophet's baggage train supposedly went to Hell for taking a single *ʿabāʾa* (a sleeveless robe) from the *khums* of the Prophet (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lvi, 190). Garments could also be used for the payment of the *zakāt* (*ibid.*, xxiv, 33). As had been the custom of oriental rulers since ancient times, Muḥammad bestowed valuable garments upon members of his entourage as a mark of favour (cf. e.g. Genesis, xxxvii, 3 and xli, 42).

Many customs were associated with clothes. Then as now, pious wishes and felicitations were appropriate for someone with a new garment. Muḥammad wished Umm Khālid *ablī wa-akhlifī*! ("wear it out and exchange it!"), when he presented her with a small black *khamīṣa* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 22, 1). In more recent times, the wishes have become less eloquent, and one simply says *mabrūk* ("congratulations") or *naʿimman* ("how nice!"). In accordance with an ancient custom going back to pagan times, the Prophet reversed his *ridāʾ* when he went out to make the prayer for rain. He did not reverse his cloak, however, when making the *istisḳāʾ* [*q.v.*] on Friday (*ibid.*, xv, 11). The act of reversing the garment was apparently symbolic of the change in weather sought. It was still practiced in Tunis at the end of the 19th century (Wellhausen, *Reste*, 197). The custom of baring the head in extreme humility during the *istisḳāʾ* ritual also probably goes back to this period, though it is not mentioned in the literary sources until the later Middle Ages (see I. Goldziher, *Entblössung des Hauptes*, in *Isl.* vi [1916], 301-16, esp. 304).

Many customs regarding clothes which most certainly have their roots in ancient Near Eastern superstition and are found also in the Talmud are ascribed to Muḥammad in the Muslim traditions. Thus the believer should always put the right shoe on first. He should not go out with only one shoe on—either both or barefoot (cf. the ill omen for Pelias of anyone shod in only a single sandal, in the Greek myth of Jason). Furthermore, shoes should never be left with the soles facing heavenward.

4. **The Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids and the *ṭirāz* system.** Judging by the rather scattered and scanty literary evidence, most of the Arabian garments of early Islamic times continue into the Umayyad period, although some items become more and more restricted to Bedouin use (e.g. the *mirṭ*). The most significant change that came with the rise of an Islamic empire is the use of clothing made of luxury fabrics by the Umayyad caliphs and their courtiers. ʿAbd al-Malik is reported by al-Maḳrīzī to have worn embroidered garments (tr. E. Blochet in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, viii [1900-1], 175). Sulaymān and his retinue wore only garments of *washy* or variegated silk, including the *djubba*, *ridāʾ*, *sirwāl*, *ʿimāma*, and *ḳalansuwa* (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 400). There is one report specifically mentioning the so-called "caliphal garments" (*thiyāb al-khilāfa*) being worn by al-Walīd II (*Aghānī* vii, 83). Later under the ʿAbbāsids, the caliph wore special robes of office with embroidered borders and which were called by this name. It is only stated of al-Walīd's "caliphal garments" that they were white. The ʿAbbāsid robes of state were normally black. Their custom of wearing black garments on official occasions was established by al-Manṣūr and was only abandoned for a brief period in favour of ʿAlid green under al-Maʾmūn (Ṭabarī, iii, 1012 f.).

Two of the most significant phenomena of Islamic costume history originate in the Umayyad period —the sumptuary laws requiring distinguishing clothing for the non-Muslim subject population, and the production of regal embroidered fabrics for clothing.

The laws of differentiation or *ghiyār* [*q.v.*] most probably do not go back to the time of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, since at that early period the *ahl al-dhimma* [*q.v.*] and the Arabs did not dress alike anyway. Although these laws were to be minutely detailed only in later centuries, they go back in general outline as well as in spirit, at least, to the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. *Dhimmīs* were forbidden to wear Arab-style headgear, including the *ʿimāma*, *ʿaṣb*, and *ṭaylasān*, Arab military dress, and certain robes, as for example, the *ḳabāʾ*. They also had to wear a distinguishing belt called *minṭaḳ* and more frequently *zunnār* (cf. Gk. ζωνάριον). This ordinance may have applied at first only to Christians. By the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, these rules governing *dhimmīs'* dress were well-refined and were ascribed back to ʿUmar I [Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1382, 127 f.). For a detailed discussion of the restrictions on *dhimmī* dress and the sources for Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid times, see A. S. Tritton, *The caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, repr. London 1970, 115-26.

The production of special embroidered fabrics in palace textile factories also began in Umayyad times and became a standard feature of mediaeval Islamic material culture. The fabrics were known as *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*], which in its narrowest sense meant "embroidery", especially embroidered bands with writing in them, and in a wider sense, indicated an elaborately embroidered robe, such as might be worn by a ruler of his entourage. *Ṭirāz* garments were bestowed as tokens of royal favour and were among the standard gifts brought by diplomatic embassies to other rulers as part of foreign policy. In the view of many scholars, the Umayyads most likely took over Byzantine state factory establishments and adapted them to their special needs and tastes (e.g. E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, *Catalogue of dated tiraz fabrics*, Washington: The Textile Museum, 1952, 1). However, most mediaeval Arab historians believed the production of *ṭirāz* garments to be derived from a Persian institution, and there is some evidence that garments with royal insignia were worn in Sasanian times (see S. D. Goitein, *Petitions to Fatimid caliphs from the Cairo Geniza*, in *JQR*, NS, xlv [1954-5], 34 f., where Talmudic evidence is cited). The truth as to the origins of the *ṭirāz* system would seem to combine both views.

The first Umayyad caliph who is specifically mentioned in the Arabic sources as having had *ṭirāz* factories was Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (al-Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1938, 60). In any event, it is clear that by late Umayyad times the *ṭirāz* system extended across the caliphate, and continued to flourish under the ʿAbbāsids, Būyids and Saldjūḳs. The production of such luxurious fabrics was a highly profitable business, and there was considerable government control. The state was also responsible for the prices in Ashtor's view (E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 75). This is perhaps an oversimplification.

To the mediaeval Middle Eastern bourgeoisie, *ṭirāz* garments were status symbols as well as valuable pieces of real property. Clothing formed part—sometimes a considerable part—of a family's investment, being transmitted from parents to children, to be converted into cash in case of emergency. Clothes also

formed an important element of the state's assets. Thousands of garments are listed among the annual treasury receipts under Hārūn al-Rashīd (al-Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarā'*, 179-182). In addition to their socio-economic importance, garments of *ṭirāz* fabrics were of great socio-political significance. The ʿAbbāsid caliphs and, at a later date, other Muslim rulers, were wont to bestow robes of honour (*khilaʿ*, sing. *khilʿa* [*q.v.*]) upon those of their subjects—Muslim and non-Muslim, male and female—whom they wished to reward or for some reason mark for distinction. The *khilʿa* was often not a single robe, but an entire outfit. This suit consisting of two or more garments was known as a *ḥulla*. (The word today means a "western suit of clothes".) The vizier Ḥamīd b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 311/923), for example, received two such outfits each consisting of a lined coat (*mubaṭṭana*), a sleeved robe (*durrāʿa*), a body shirt (*ḳamīṣ*), drawers (*sarāwīl*), and turban (*ʿimāma*) (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 176).

With the rise of the bourgeoisie during the ʿAbbāsid period and the dissemination of the polite educational ideal of *adab* [*q.v.*] by the Persian secretarial class, many new garments and fabrics came into use, and people became ever more fashion-minded. The early aversion from silks and satins was forgotten or ignored by all but a pious few, and only the most ascetic and the poor wore the rough woollen robe known as the *khirḳa* [*q.v.*] (the latter use of this word to designate "rag" or "dishcloth" is instructive). Another wool garment worn only by the very poor was the sleeved tunic known as *midraʿa*. Cultured gentlemen and ladies, on the other hand, were very much concerned with their appearance. The *adīb* al-Washshāʾ [*q.v.*] (d. 325/936) devoted several chapters of his book *On elegance and elegant people* (*K. al-Muwashshā aw al-ẓarf wa 'l-ẓurafāʾ*, ed. Brünnow, Leiden 1886; ed. cited here is that of Cairo 1362/1953) to describing the types of clothing worn by his contemporaries, as well as the acceptable canons of taste. The fashionable man, according to al-Washshāʾ, outfitted himself in several layers of clothing, beginning with a fine undershirt (*ghilāla*), over which was worn the heavier, lined (*mubaṭṭan*) *ḳamīṣ*. Both of these ought to be of fine linen, such as Dabīḳī or Djannābī (produced in Egypt and Fārs, respectively). Over these tunics was worn a lined robe (*durrāʿa*) or *djubba* of linen, silk, or *mulḥam* (a fabric with a silk warp and a woof of some other stuff). Finally, when going out, the fashion plate would drape over these his *ridāʾ* or another cloak known as *miṭraf* (also *muṭraf*) which had decorative borders at each end (*ṭaraf*) and cover his head, or turban rather, with a *ṭaylasān*, which at this time was probably a cowl (*K. al-Muwashshā*, 160 f.). Making a good appearance also meant not wearing unpleasant or clashing colours, dirty clothes, or clothes perfumed like those of slave girls. Shoes and sandals could be of any of a number of leathers, colours, and designs; and it was permissible to wear shoes in such colour combinations as black and red and yellow and black (*ibid.*, 161). The wearing of stockings (*djawrab*, from Pers. *gūrab*), a fashion adopted from the Persians, was by now well-established.

Al-Washshāʾ does not provide as much detail in his chapter on female attire which is devoted specifically to "those clothes which differ from those of fashionable men". The elegant woman's lingerie consisted of a smoky-grey coloured *ghilāla* and *sirwāl*. White garments of any kind—except for the *sirwāl*—were considered masculine and were to be avoided. Exactly what kind of dress was worn over the undergarments at this time is not specified. Al-Washshāʾ does mention, however, that it should be wide-sleeved (*akmām maftūḥa*) and that the collar should have a drawstring (*wa 'l-djurrubānāt al-mukhānikiyya*). For her wraps, the woman was to wear a Rashīdī or a Ṭabarī *ridāʾ* (from Rosetta and Ṭabaristān, respectively). She might then totally envelop herself in a Khurasānī *izār* or *mulḥam*. On her head she wore a black *miʿdjar*, which seems to have been the female equivalent of the *ʿimāma* both in form and use. Black was particularly stylish at this time. The *miʿdjar* was worn together with a face veil (*miḳnaʿa* or *miḳnaʿ*). The Nīshāpūr *miḳnaʿa* was held in particular esteem (*ibid.*, 163 f.).

Persian cultural influences became more pronounced under the ʿAbbāsids. In addition to those garments of Persian provenance already mentioned (*sirwāl* and *djawrab*), there was introduced at this time the distinctive, tall, conical Persian hat called the *ḳalansuwa ṭawīla* or simply *ṭawīla* (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ* vi, 59). This hat was also called *danniyya* because of its resemblance to a long amphora-like wine jar known as a *dann* (*ibid.*, i, 373, and *Aghānī*¹ x, 123). The top of the *ṭawīla* was pointed (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 377 = § 3537, where it is described as *maḥdūda*). This hat consisted of a wicker or wooden frame covered with fabric such as silk. R. Levy has suggested that it may also have been shaped like "a truncated cone worn base upwards after the fashion of the cumbrous headgear of the modern Lurs" (*Notes on costume from Arabic sources*, in *JRAS* [1935], 324); however, this suggestion is not borne out by the evidence of illuminated manuscripts. Abū Zayd of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt* is frequently depicted wearing a pointed *ṭawīla* (e.g. Bibl. Nat., Paris, ms. arabe 3929, f. 69). Hārūn al-Rashīd is supposed to have worn such a hat inscribed on one side with the word *ḥādjdj* and on the other with *ghāzin* for the duties which he undertook on alternating years of leading the pilgrimage and the war against Byzantium (Ṭabarī, iii, 709). Another Persian garment which was introduced at this and which became extremely popular throughout the Arab world is the *khafṭān*, a fine robe with sleeves that buttons down the front (the original Persian word designates a cuirass). The caliph al-Muḳtadir wore a *khafṭān* of Tustarī silk brocaded with silver when he set out on his fatal march against the rebel Muʾnis in 320/932 (Dozy, *Vêtements*, 162 f.; Levy, *JRAS* [1935], 331-2, and the sources cited by both). Since the later Middle Ages, the form *ḳafṭān* (variant *ḳufṭān*) has been used exclusively throughout the Arabic-speaking world, due to the influence of Turkish.

Fine garments were brought to Baghdād from all over the Muslim world, as well as being imported from abroad. From India came the *fūṭa*, a long piece of sari-like cloth which served a variety of functions: as a loincloth, apron, and a variety of headgear (Stillman, *Female attire*, 214 ff.). From China during this period there came oilcloth raincloaks (*mimṭara*) (Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, Cairo 1960, 221; Eng. tr. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1968, 141; Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 390). Fine garments for men in 3rd/9th century ʿIrāḳ ranged in price from 5-30 *dīnārs*, and even more (Ashtor, *Prix et salaires*, 53). However, some of the prices cited by Arab writers for fabulous garments and fabrics are clearly anecdotal, as for example, the 50,000 *dīnārs* that al-Khayzurān [*q.v.*] is reported to have paid for a piece of *washī* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* viii, 298). Still, it is quite apparent both from the literary and documentary sources that throughout

the Middle Ages clothing was very costly in comparison with the other necessities of life.

5. The Fāṭimids. Perhaps no period in the history of the Arab East was more clothes-conscious than that of the Fāṭimids. Fāṭimid pomp and ceremony exceeded anything known in Bāghdād, and clothing played a major part in creating the splendid effect.

The first Fāṭimid caliph in Egypt, al-Muʿizz (d. 365/975), founded a special government costume supply house known as the *dār al-kiswa* or *khizānat al-kiswa* with an outlay of 600,000 *dīnārs*. An official bureau (*dīwān*) oversaw the production, storage, and distribution of costumes. Every official and functionary from the caliph down to government clerks was supplied with a ceremonial costume (*badla mawkibiyya*) for public occasions. According to al-Maḳrīzī, who is the almost exclusive source of information for Fāṭimid ceremonial costume, each person was provided with an entire wardrobe "from the turban to the underdrawers" (*Khiṭaṭ* ii, 409). The *khizāna* provided different weight clothes for summer and winter. A complete costume (*badla mukmala*) could consist of as many as a dozen articles, most of which have been mentioned in the preceding sections.

Naturally, these ceremonial costumes were made of the most costly fabrics. The most popular were *ḥarīr* (fine silk), *sūsī, dabīḳī, sharāb, dimyāṭī* (all linens), *khusrawānī* (kingly brocade), and *siḳlāṭūn* (siglaton). Most of the ceremonial costumes were white and embroidered with gold and silver threads in accordance with the official Fāṭimid imagery of luminous splendour and divine light. The selection of the caliphal costume was itself a ritualised event before every holiday.

Each rank and office was distinguished by its costume. The most outstanding item of the caliph's attire was his enormous turban which consisted of a cap (*shāshiyya*) around which was wound a *mandīl* in a fashion unique for the ruler in the shape of a myrobalan. This special manner of winding the caliphal turban was called "the winding of majesty" (*shaddat al-waḳār*). The entire turban was ornamented with jewels. An enormous solitaire (*yatīma*) mounted on a silk band was centred on the caliph's forehead (*Khiṭaṭ* i, 449). The entire headgear was called "the noble crown" (*al-tādj al-sharīf*).

The rest of the imperial retinue wore a variety of less splendid headdresses. The chief eunuchs of the court who were the *amīrs* of the palace, all wore turbans which were distinctively wound under the chin —the so-called *taḥnīk al-ʿimāma* or simply *al-ḥanak*. Thus, they were known as *al-ustādhūn al-muḥannakūn*. The caliph al-ʿAzīz became the first ruler to appear with the *ḥanak* (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 285) and eventually so did the vizier and the *amīrs* (*ibid.*, i, 440, 449). This fashion was introduced into the east by the Fāṭimids from the Maghrib, where it still may be seen, especially in southern Algeria and Morocco.

Another head covering which is first mentioned during this period is the *kalawta* or *kalūta* (cf. Lat. *calautica*, Fr. *calotte*, Pers. *galūta*) which was a kind of cap (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 413). It was to become a standard item in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times (see e.g. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iv, 39, 52-3; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 98).

The various modern studies dealing with Fāṭimid ceremonies draw mainly upon al-Maḳrīzī and to a lesser extent, on al-Ḳalḳashandī and on Ibn Taghrī-Birdī, all three of whom depended upon the lost work of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. See K. A. Inostrantsev, *Toryestvenii viezd Fatimidiskikh khalifov* ("The solemn entry of the Fāṭimid caliphs"), in *Zapiski Vost. Otdyel. Imp. Russ. Arkheol. Obshčestva*, xvii (St. Petersburg 1904); M. Ḥ. Zakī, *Kunūz al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Cairo 1937; M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin: essai de comparison*, in *Byzantion*, xxi/2 (1951), 355-420; idem, *La procession du nouvel an chez les Fatimides*, in *AIEO*, x (1952), 364-98; ʿA. M. Mādjid, *Nuẓum al-Fāṭimiyyīn wa-rusūmuhum fī Miṣr*, ii, Cairo 1955.

6. The Geniza as a source for mediaeval Islamic attire. The Cairo Geniza [*q.v.*] manuscripts are an important and till recently, untapped source for the costume history of the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid, and—to a lesser extent—the Mamlūk periods. In particular, the some 750 trousseau lists from the Geniza, in combination with ancillary Geniza records, offer a wealth of information on the attire of Jewish women in mediaeval Egypt, and by extension, the attire of Muslim women as well. Information for male costume comes from commercial documents, but is by no means as extensive or as detailed.

One fact stands out clearly—that Jewish and Muslim women dressed alike during the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. The Geniza trousseau lists give every indication that the restrictive laws of *ghiyār* were not enforced. The same garments are mentioned as in the Islamic sources. There is no limitation in the Geniza as to colour and textile, rather there is the greatest variety of hues and diversity of fabrics. Jewish women, like their Muslim counterparts (and most likely Copts as well) went veiled.

The Geniza documents show that the bourgeoisie consciously or unconsciously tried to imitate the modes and mores of the ruling class. Merchants, for example, bestowed *khilaʿ* and *ṭirāz* garments upon relatives and friends. People of means wore all the precious fabrics known to us from the descriptions of the Fāṭimid ceremonies. Over sixty fabrics are mentioned in the Geniza. Of these, forty-six are known from the literary sources collected by Serjeant. Under the Fāṭimids and Ayyūbids, the mercantile class indulged itself in many types of garments. The Geniza trousseaux mention almost seventy items for women alone.

The Geniza has revealed the names and considerable data for more than two dozen garments which were hitherto unknown or only mentioned in isolated literary sources without any explanation or description. Among these are the *djūkāniyya* and *makhtūma*, both fine dresses; the *ḳadjīdja*, a dress which first appears in late Ayyūbid trousseaux and became popular in Mamlūk times, after which it seems to have disappeared; the *ʿaḳabiyya, ʿarḍī, mukallaf*, and *radda*, all head scarves or shawls; and the *wasaṭ* and *khaṣī*, both belts or cummerbunds.

In addition to new names of garments and textiles, the Geniza has provided an entirely new vocabulary of patterns and adornments. Many of these designs can be correlated with those in manuscript illustrations (see Stillman, *The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of mediaeval female attire*, in *IJMES* vii/4 [1976], 579-89).

There is also considerable new information on garments already known. For example, the *safsārī* and the *barrakān*, both mantles, which have been in attested use in the Maghrib from mediaeval to modern times (al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, Leiden 1866, 59; al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, 125) are shown to have been worn in Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid Egypt as well. No doubt they were brought

into the east after the Fāṭimid conquest in 358/969. The *badan*, a short, sleeveless tunic, worn by both sexes and usually associated with the Arabian Peninsula (Dozy, *Vêtements* 56-8), is shown to have been a fairly common article of feminine attire in mediaeval Egypt.

For the information provided by the Geniza on costume, see Y. K. Stillman, *Female attire of Mediaeval Egypt*; idem, *The wardrobe of a Jewish bride in mediaeval Egypt*, in *Studies in Marriage Customs*, ed. Ben-Ami and Noy, Folklore Research Center Studies, iv (Jerusalem 1974), 297-304; eadem, *The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of mediaeval female attire*; eadem, *Ketūbbot ha-Genīzā ke-Māḳōr liLvūs͟h hā-Is͟hs͟hā bīmē ha-Bēnayim*, in *Ḥikrē Genīzat Ḳāhir*, ed. M. Friedman, Tel Aviv 1980, 149-60.

7. The early Turkish dynasties: Sald͟jūḳs, Ayyūbids, Mamlūks. The Turkish military dynasties that controlled one part or another of the Middle East from the late 5th/11th to the early 10th/16th centuries brought with them many Central Asian styles, particularly in military and ceremonial attire. These, however, were the distinguishing costumes of the military élite. The fashion of dress of the native Arab population was little affected at first. M. V. Gorelik (*Biliz͟hnevostočnaya miniatyura XII-XIII vv. kak etnografičesky istočnik*, in *Sovetskaya Etnografya*, clxxii/2 [1972], 37-50) has attempted to distinguish between two broad complexes of dress throughout the Arab east at this time—the western, based on the fusion of Arabian styles with those derived from Hellenistic Mediterranean prototypes, and the eastern, derived from Iranian, Turkish, and Inner Asian styles. Syria and ʿIrāḳ during this period fell generally into the latter category, while Egypt, with the exception of the military, fell into the former.

Throughout much of this period, the typical outer garment for a member of the ruling class was any one of a variety of coats (*aḳbiya*). These were worn over the usual layers of undershirts, the most common of which was the *ḳamd͟jūn*. The undershirt was normally hidden by the outer garments, except in southern ʿIrāḳ where it was cut long to extend below the coat above it.

The Sald͟jūḳs and Ayyūbids preferred the so-called Turkish coats (*al-aḳbiya al-turkiyya*), the hem of which crossed the chest in a diagonal from right to left. The Mamlūk *amīrs* wore the Tartar coats (*al-aḳbiya al-tatariyya*) with the hem crossing the opposite way. Over the coat was worn a belt of metal plaquettes (*ḥiyāṣa*) or a sash (*band*). Al-Maḳrīzī (*K͟hiṭaṭ* ii, 99) identifies the *ḥiyāṣa* with the ancient *minṭaḳa*, and states that there was a special market in Cairo (*sūḳ al-ḥawāʾiṣiyyīn*) devoted to the sale and manufacture of these belts. (For a finely preserved specimen of the *ḥiyāṣa*, see Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Pl. IX.)

For members of the upper classes, the sleeves of their coat were frequently indicative of rank and social status. The longer and more ample the sleeves, the higher the standing of the wearer.

The illustrations from *Maḳāmāt*, *K. al-Ag͟hānī*, and *K. al-Diryāḳ* manuscripts from this period attest a wide variety of caps and turban styles. The normal headgear of the military class was a stiff cap with a triangular front. It was sometimes trimmed with fur (*s͟harbūs͟h*), and sometimes had a small kerchief bound around it to form a sort of turban (*takhfīfa*). The other most common cap was the *kalawta* which was usually yellow under the Ayyubids, yellow and red under the early Mamlūks, and later red only (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 29).

The *ḳabāʾ* and the *s͟harbūs͟h* were so much the distinctive mark of a Muslim knight that even a Crusader was prepared to wear them as a gesture of friendship to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 51-2).

Under the Mamlūks, two popular short sleeved coats were the *bug͟hluṭāḳ* (also *bug͟hlūṭāḳ*) and the *sallāriyya*. These were made of a variety of fabrics and frequently were lined with fur. Such a coat was sometimes worn under an ample outer robe (*farad͟jiyya*).

Eventually, some of the garments which were at first the mark of the military aristocracy were imitated by the middle classes. The *bug͟hluṭāḳ*, for example, appears in several Geniza documents.

The only comprehensive study of the attire of any of the dynasties of this period is L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, where there is an extensive bibliography. Shorter, general studies include: Mayer, *al-Azyāʾ fi 'l-ayyām al-wusṭā*, in *al-Kulliyya* (1932), 438-49; idem, *Saracenic arms and armor*, in *AI*, x (1943), 1-12; M. V. Gorelik, *op. cit.* (men's dress only). ʿA. M. Mād͟jid, *Nuẓum dawlat salāṭīn al-Mamālīk wa-rusūmuhum fī Miṣr*, ii, Cairo 1967, 64-87, has a chapter on Mamlūk attire which, however, adds little to Mayer's work.

8. The Ottoman period (to early modern times). As far as the costume history of the region is concerned, the Ottoman conquest of the Arab East in the early 10th/16th century marked a continuation of the preceding period, rather than an abrupt change. Ceremonial and military dress remained Turkish (see below, section iv). Some Ottoman fashions were adopted by members of the urban élite, as for example, the Turkish-style *ḳafṭān* for men and the long, tightly-fitted coat known as the *yelek* for women. Turkish synonyms came into common use for certain items of clothing alongside, but not necessarily replacing, the native Arabic equivalents (e.g. *čaks͟hīr* for *sirwāl* and *yas͟hmaḳ* for *burḳuʿ*). But on the whole, Arab styles and Arabic terminology prevailed. The vestimentary system remained essentially the same.

Outside of the principal, metropolitan seats of administration, distinct regional styles predominated. These regional distinctions were of minor differences in cut (e.g. sleeves, opening for the neck, ampleness, and length) and not-so-minor differences in decorative details such as embroidery, colour, fabric pattern, fastenings, trimming, etc., rather than in the basic garments themselves. The extent of the fine details in variation in basic costumes throughout the Ottoman East in the last century is apparent from the important photograph album of Hamdy Bey and M. de Launay, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople 1873.

Regional distinctions were—and this remains true today in those places where traditional costumes are still worn—most striking in female attire. Men's clothing was more or less uniform throughout much of the Middle East during the Ottoman period. This was due in part to the fact that men were physically and socially more mobile than women and came to have a more pan-Middle Eastern style of dress. Thus when a plate from E. W. Lane's *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* (London 1836) appeared in a book on Syria with the added caption "A Syrian gentleman with pipe and inkwell, *ca.* 1860", the inaccuracy was only minor.

9. The last one hundred years: the impact of the West on traditional Middle Eastern

dress. The ever-increasing Western economic, political, and cultural penetration into the Middle East in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century had a marked impact on the costume history of the region. Over the past hundred years a gradual abandoning of traditional, loose-flowing garments has been taking place in favour of Western tailored clothes. The transition was slow at first and did not take place in every place and among all groups at the same time.

The first group in the Arab East who began in large numbers to abandon traditional attire were the westernised Christian and Jewish protégés of the foreign powers. The civil emancipation of non-Muslims during the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period and the expansion of missionary schools and European businesses accelerated the process.

Most Christian and Jewish women abandoned the veil a full generation or more before their Muslim counterparts. One factor which facilitated their abandoning the veil so much earlier was that the segregation of women in the non-Muslim communities was never as strict as it was among Muslims, nor was the non-Muslims' style of veiling quite as total even in the preceding centuries (see e.g. Y. K. Stillman, *The costume of the Jewish woman in Morocco*, in *Aspects of Jewish folklore*, ed. D. Noy, Cambridge, Mass. 1979).

By the end of the 19th century, the "to veil or not to veil" question had become one of the burning issues for modernist reformers such as Ḳāsim Amīn (see his *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, Cairo 1901). It also became a burning issue for the small but growing Egyptian feminist movement. Hudā Shaʿrāwī, the famous Egyptian feminist, is supposed to have solemnly cast her veil into the Mediterranean as she returned home in 1923 from a women's congress in Rome (A. H. Hourani, *The vanishing veil: a challenge to the old order*, in *UNESCO Courier* [January 1956], 37). Her symbolic action was soon followed by many upper and upper-middle class women, but not by women of the lower-middle class, which remained the last stronghold of tradition (see Y. K. Stillman, *Attitudes toward women in traditional Near Eastern societies*, in *S. D. Goitein Festschrift*, i, ed. S. Morag, I. Ben-Ami and N. A. Stillman, English-language volume, Jerusalem 1981, 345-60).

Muslim men abandoned traditional attire more rapidly than Muslim women. This is due to the male's greater physical and social mobility, as noted above. The first Muslim men to adopt the European mode of dress were members of the bureaucracy and the upper class who were in direct contact with westerners and who, in many cases, had visited Europe. Such individuals were referred to as "westernisers" (Ar. *mutafarnadjūn*) and "westernised gentry" (Turk. *alafranga čelebiler*). Throughout the 19th century they remained a small minority. However, after the First World War the change became rapid (see e.g. R. Tresse, *L'évolution du costume des citadins syrolibanais depuis un siècle*, in *La Géographie*, lxx [1938], 1-16, 76-82; idem, *L'évolution du costume des citadines en Syrie depuis le XIXe siècle*, in *La Géographie*, lxxi-lxxii [1939], 257-71, 29-40).

One aspect of the male wardrobe that has resisted change even where the transition to Western attire has been more or less complete is the headgear. It is still common to see men dressed in a Western suit, wearing a *ṭāḳiyya*, a *tarbūsh*, or a *kāfiyya*. This is due to the traditional importance of covering the head and to the fact that the headcovering (originally the turban) was considered a badge of Islam. The *kāfiyya*, which was in the last century most commonly worn by Bedouin and peasants in many parts of the Middle East, has in recent years taken on a nationalist connotation comparable to that of the fez in Ottoman Turkey under the Young Turks. The chequered *kāfiyya* is today the badge of the Palestinian commandoes (see Y. K. Stillman, *Palestinian costume and jewelry*, Albuquerque 1979, 16). The traditional *ʿimāma* is now worn almost exclusively by members of the *ʿulamāʾ* in the Middle East (although in the Maghrib, and in particular in Morocco, it is still commonly worn even by men who have adopted Western dress. See below, section ii.

Outside the major cities, traditional costumes are still commonly worn, but they are loosing ground rapidly in many places. Even among some Bedouin, European garments are gradually displacing traditional clothing (see L. Stein, *Beduinen*, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* [1962], 41-2). The one area which has successfully maintained its traditional style of dress in all levels of society is the Arabian Peninsula.

Any sort of country-by-country survey of the traditional garments still worn—or worn until recently—in the Arab East would be outside the scope of this article. Western travellers to the Middle East over the past two-and-a-half centuries have provided lengthy and detailed descriptions of native costumes. In addition to these, there have appeared in recent years a number of scholarly monographs on various aspects of Middle Eastern costume (see *Bibl.*).

What follows is the alphabetical glossary of some of the more common articles of clothing still worn in the Arab East in the 20th century:

GLOSSARY

ʿabāʾ, *ʿabāʾa*: coat, shoulder mantle, worn by both sexes (Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Syria-Palestine)

ʿaḳāl: ringed cord or rope to go over the head scarf, worn by men (Ar. Pen., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ʿantarī: a lined vest ranging from short to knee length, worn by women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ʿaraḳiyya: skull cap, often embroidered, worn by both sexes by itself or under the head-dress (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.); called *ʿaraḳčīn* in ʿIrāḳ

ʿaṣba: folded scarf worn by women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

bābūdj, *bābūsh*: oriental slippers of soft leather (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

badan: cotton or silk man's gown (Ar. Pen.)

banish, *banīsh*: a wide-sleeved man's coat (Ar. Pen., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

bisht: mantle, jacket, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

brīm: ringed cord or rope to go over the head scarf, syn. with *ʿaḳāl* (Syr.-Pal.); binding for loin cloth, syn. with *ḥakw* (Ar. Pen.)

burd, *burda*: heavy woollen wrap usually worn by men (Ar. Pen., Eg.)

burnus: woollen hooded cloak worn by men, imported from the Maghrib (Eg.)

burḳuʿ: woman's face veil (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

būsh: variety of *ʿabāʾ* made in N. Syria (Syr.-Pal.)

būshī, *pūshī*: black face veil worn by women (Ir.)

čakshīr, *shakshīr*: Turkish-style pantaloons, underdrawers, worn by both sexes (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

dāmir: a woman's jacket with short sleeves, syn. with *taḳṣīra* (Syr.-Pal.)

diffiyya: a heavy winter cloak for men (Eg.)

dilḳ: the patched garment of Ṣūfīs, also worn by clowns (Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

djallābiyya: the loose body shirt still commonly worn by men in Egypt.
djillāya: embroidered *djubba*, a wedding costume may be a dress or a coat depending upon the region, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.); a man's marriage *ḳaftān* (Yemen)
djubba: a coat-like outer garment worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
djūkh, *djūkha*: a wide-sleeved coat worn by men (Syr.-Pal.)
durrāʿa: a woman's outer coat, open in front, sometimes syn. with *djubba* (Syr.-Pal.)
faradjiyya: a long-sleeved man's robe (Eg.)
farmaliyya: a woman's dress (Syr.-Pal.)
farūdiyya: a square kerchief bound around the cap by women (Eg.)
fās: the Turkish fez, synonym for the red *ṭarbūsh* (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
fustān: a woman's dress (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
fūṭa: embroidered kerchief hung from the waist sash by men (Ir.)
ghabānī, *ghabāniyya*: head scarf with an embroidered pattern of lozenges, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
ghudfa: large head shawl for women, worn in the Hebron area (Syr.-Pal.)
ḥabara: dark, silky enveloping outer wrap for women (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
ḥakw: binding for waist wrapper worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen.)
ḥiyāṣa: cloth belt with silver plaque in the centre, worn by men (Syr.-Pal.)
ḥizām: a belt or sash worn about the waist by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
ḥulalliyya: a large dark wrap wound around the body with the upper parts pulled down over the shoulders and secured with pins (Eg.)
iḥdāda: a white *kāfiyya* worn in summer (Syr.-Pal.)
ʿiṣāba: headband worn by women (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
ishdād: woven, woollen belt, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
itb: a loose gown worn by women (Ar. Pen.)
izār: a large, enveloping body wrap for women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
kāfiyya, *kūfiyya*: head scarf worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
ḳaftān, *ḳuftān*: ample, full-length robe, buttoned down the front, with long sleeves, worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
kamar: a broad belt often red in colour, worn by men (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
ḳamīṣ, *ḳamīṣa*: shirt-like dress worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
khalaḳa: a woman's dress (Ar. Pen., Syr.-Pal.)
khalwātiyya: a variety of *ʿabāʾ* made in Ḥasbaya (Syr.-Pal.)
khirḳa: veil, head scarf, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.); also syn. with *dilḳ* of Ṣūfīs
khuff: short boots or leather outer socks (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
khumr: a man's belt (Ir.)
kibr: a variety of *thawb* (Syr.-Pal.)
kubrān: a jacket with long, wide sleeves, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
ḳumbāz: overgarment, gown, made of striped silk, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
ḳurṣ, *ḳirṣ*: a metallic cap or crown, often studded with jewels, worn on top of a woman's headdress (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
laffa: man's turban cloth (Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
lafāʾif: long bands of cloth attached to a hat and in which woman's hair is wrapped (Syr.-Pal.)
lāsa: a woman's head scarf of white silk or cotton net into which flat metal strips have been decoratively hammered (Syr.-Pal.)
libās: pants, underpants, worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
libda, *labbāda*: a felt cap worn by men (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
madraḳa: a variety of *thawb* worn by Jordanian women (Syr.-Pal.)
makrūna: head scarf worn by Bedouin women (Ar. Pen.)
mandīl: a woman's head scarf, veil (Syr.-Pal.); an embroidered kerchief hung from the waist sash by men (Ir.)
maʿraḳa: syn. with *ʿaraḳiyya* (Ar. Pen.)
markūb: pointed men's shoes of thick red morocco (Eg.)
mashla: a variety of *ʿabāʾ* made in Baghdad (Ir.)
mast: long stocking of soft, yellow leather, inner shoe worn by both sexes (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
masūmī: a fine *ʿabāʾ* of white wool for men, produced in Baghdad (Ir.)
mazz, *mazd*, *mizz*: syn. with *mast* (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
milḥafa: a large, enveloping outer wrap worn by women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
minshafa: a large, white head veil for women (Syr.-Pal.)
mintiyān: a jacket worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
mudarrabiyya: a peasant woman's jacket (Syr.-Pal.)
muḳla: a very wide turban worn by *ʿulamāʾ* (Eg.)
mulāʾa: a large, enveloping outer wrap worn by women (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
musayyaḥa: a silk *kāfiyya* (Syr.-Pal.)
naʿl: a general word for shoe used throughout the Middle East
sabla: a loose gown worn by women, synonymous with *thawb* (Eg.)
ṣaffa: a small embroidered bonnet trimmed with coins, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.)
sākw: a woollen or velvet coat for women (Syr.-Pal.)
salṭa: a jacket worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
shabāblikiyya: a variety of *ʿabāʾ* made in Ḥasbaya (Syr.-Pal.)
shadda: a man's leather belt (Syr.-Pal.)
shāl: a woman's shawl, usually of wool (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
shalwār: synonymous with *sirwāl* (Ir.)
shambar: a large veil common to the Hebron area and southern Palestine
shaʿriyya: a black face veil of goat's wool or horse hair, worn by women (Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
shāsh: the winding cloth of a turban (Syr.-Pal.)
shāshiyya: a variety of *ṭarbūsh* (Eg.); a skull cap worn beneath the *ṭarbūsh* (Syr.-Pal.)
shaṭwa: Bethlehem married woman's hat
shawdar, *shawdhar*: a black, enveloping outer wrap for women (Ar. Pen., Ir.)
shintiyān: woman's pants or pantaloons (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
shutfa: a head scarf of Bedouin women (Ar. Pen., Syr.-Pal.)
shuwayhī, *shuwayhiyya*: woman's belt, usually woven of goat's hair, quite ornate, worn mainly in Southern Palestine
ṣidriyya: sleeveless vest worn by both sexes (Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
ṣimāda: bonnet-like hat trimmed with coins most common to women of Ramallah (Syr.-Pal.); a man's headcloth (Ir.)
ṣudayra: a short, sleeveless vest, worn by men (Eg.)
ṭāḳyya: the common skull cap worn by both sexes alone or under the head dress (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

taḳṣira: short-sleeved jacket worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

ṭanṭūr, ṭarṭūr: a high conical cap resembling a mitre, worn by Ṣūfīs (Eg., Syr.-Pal.); a high pointed woman's headdress of wood, horn, or metal, once very common among the Druze (Syr.-Pal.)

tarbiʿa: a woman's head scarf or veil (Syr.-Pal.)

ṭarḥa: a large, dark head veil that hangs all the way down the back, worn by women (Eg.)

thawb: basic tunic worn by both sexes throughout the Middle East; a woman's dress (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

tikka: draw-string for *sirwāl*, used throughout the Middle East

wuḳā, wuḳāya, awḳā: terms designating a variety of women's bonnets, usually decorated with coins (Syr.-Pal.)

yashmaḳ: Turkish-style veil, frequently syn. with *burḳuʿ* (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

yelek: a woman's long coat, tightly fitting (Eg., Syr.-Pal.); a long vest worn by both sexes (Ir.)

zunnār: a belt, usually made of a folded scarf, worn by both men and women (Syr.-Pal.)

Bibliography: For a detailed bibliography on Middle Eastern costume that includes both travel and scholarly literature, see Y. K. Stillman, *Palestinian costume and jewelry*, Albuquerque 1979, 130-8; in addition: R. Arié, *Notes sur le costume en Égypte dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle*, in *REI*, xi (1968), 201-13; J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827; idem, *Egypt and Palestine*, New York 1838; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822; idem, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, London 1830; idem, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829; M. Chehab, *Le costume au Liban*, in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, vi, no. 6 (1942-3), 47-79 (useful historical survey); G. Cyr, *Lebanese and Syrian costume*, Beirut, n.d.; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 7 vols., repr. Hildesheim 1964 (vol. v is a basic source for information on costume); W. al-Djādir, *al-Malābis al-shaʿbiyya fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ*, Silsilat al-Funūn, i, Baghdād n.d. (valuable study, with good sketches); W. A. Fairservis, *Costumes of the East*, Riverside, Conn. 1971 (a popular introduction, but still useful for the scholar); M. C. Keatinge, *Costumes of the Levant*, Beirut 1955; E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, (contains some of the most detailed descriptions of traditional costumes to be found anywhere, fine engravings); J. Lecerf, *La crise vestimentaire d'après-guerre en Syrie d'après la littérature populaire*, in *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française, Renseignements coloniaux*, xlviii (1938), 45-7; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Kais. Akad. der Wiss., Ethnol. Reise, iii (Vienna 1908); L. Stein, *Abdallah bei den Beduinen*, Leipzig 1964; R. Stein, *Frauen im Irak*, in *Mitteil. aus dem Mus. für Völkerkunde*, Leipzig 1962 (superficial); M. Tilke, *Oriental costumes*, London 1922 (a fundamental study); idem, *Kostümschnitte und Gewandformen*, Tübingen 1948. (Y. K. Stillman)

ii. — The Muslim West

The Muslim West, which in the Middle Ages included Spain and Sicily as well as North Africa, belongs generally to the Arabo-Mediterranean vestimentary system, whose common unifying factors are rectangular tunics and loose outer wraps. Within this system, however, there has always been a great deal of regional, ethnic, and socio-economic variation. The Maghrib has been noted since the time of the Arab conquest in the second half of the 1st/7th century for its own particular styles in dress, as in other aspects of material culture. The reasons for this can be conveniently summarised as follows: (1) the physical distance of the Maghrib from the Muslim-Arab heartlands; (2) the indigenous Berber element, which always remained strong; (3) in the case of Spain, the large native Iberian population and the propinquity of Christian territory; (4) the absence of the Persian *kātib* class; and (5) the very late arrival of the Turks in Tunisia and Algeria (and their total absence from Morocco).

Since much of the information concerning mediaeval Arab costume—nomenclature, style, customs and institutions—applies to the Maghribī centres of urban culture in the Middle Ages, this article will deal only briefly with this period, concentrating on the uniquely Maghribī aspects of its costume history. Most of the article will deal with the period extending from the later Middle Ages to modern times, or approximately the last 700 years, which, it should be pointed out, has been the subject of more study than that devoted to Middle Eastern costume history for all periods combined. A glossary and an extensive bibliography by country follow at the end.

1. Pre-Islamic foundations of Maghribī costume. When the Arabs conquered North Africa, Punic and Byzantine influences were still alive in the cities and towns. The countryside may also have had some Punic elements, but was overwhelmingly—if not exclusively—Berber. Even in Classical times, North Africa was noted for its distinctive style of dress. Greek and Roman authors considered the natives to be barbarians because they wore only an animal skin draped over the left shoulder covering the front and back. Garments of soft leather reminiscent of *filālī*, the soft leather from goatskin (which in European languages is called morocco, maroquin, etc.) were also mentioned as being worn, and indeed, some archaeological remnants have been found (see S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1927, 22-38, where numerous sources are cited). Both this simple style of draping and the use of leather garments continued among the Berbers well into modern times.

The most striking feature of North African clothing in Roman eyes was the flowing, unbelted tunic. Roman and Byzantine sources mention the uncinched tunic frequently and in the same attributive way that they note the trousers of the European and Asiatic barbarians. Thus, for example, Virgil speaks of *hic nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros* (*Aeneid*, viii, 724), and Corippus, the 6th-century poet of the Byzantine reconquest, says even more explicitly: *Nec tunicae manicis ornant sua brachia Mauri/Insita non ullis stringuntur cingula bullis/ Distinctique* ... (*Johannidos*, ii, 130-2). The basic Maghribī tunics such as the Tunisian *ḳmadjdja*, the Algerian *ʿabāya*, and the Moroccan *gandūra* all fit this type. Though ample and uncinched, the tunics of the pre-Islamic period seemed to have been short, not falling below the thigh. Similar short, simple garments were common in Berber areas such as the Moroccan Rif and the Algerian Mzāb into the early 20th century.

Another distinctive feature of North African attire which continued to be a hallmark of Maghribī style in the Islamic period is the hooded cloak, called *burnus* (*bərnūs*) in Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and *səlham* and *akhnīf* and less commonly *bərnūs* in Morocco. Gsell (*op. cit.*, p. vi, 24-6) sees the origin of the *burnus* in the *sagum*, the simple wool cloak worn by the

Roman legionnaire. E. F. Gauthier (*Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs*, repr. Paris 1952, 148 f.) point to an even more similar garment, the *paenula*, a travelling cloak to which a hood (*cucullus*) was generally attached. Philologically, the word *burnus* is probably derived from Greek and Latin *birrus* (S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, repr. Hildesheim 1962, 50 f., where an interesting connection is made with *sagum* on p. 51, n. 2). The term *burnus* existed in early Islamic Arabia, where it usually designated a bonnet [see LIBĀS. 1]. The North African *burnus*-cloak was palpably different. When the Arabs invaded the Maghrib, they distinguished between two great Berber groups, whom they called the Barānis and the Butr (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 89 f.). W. Marçais (*Articles et conférences*, Paris 1961, 74) has suggested very plausibly—albeit with caution—that these names might reflect not genealogical or ethnic groups, but rather physical appearance; i.e., those Berbers who wore hooded garments (*barānis*), and those who wore short garments (*butr*), most likely without hoods. The ubiquity of *burnus* in the Maghrib may originally have been due to the fact that the Berbers in Antiquity and for the first few centuries under Islam wore no caps or headcloths (e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 89; *wa-ruʾūsuhum fi 'l-ghālib ḥāsira*). Furthermore, some Berbers shaved all or part of the head (Gsell, *op. cit.*, 16-18, for classical sources; cf. also Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 89; *wa-rubbamā yataʿāhadūnahā bi 'l-ḥalḳ*).

One last distinctive feature that may be traced back to pre-Islamic times is the large wrapping cloth used as an outer garment by both men and women (albeit in quite different ways) from Libya to Morocco. This wrap which is known by various names, the most common in Arabic being *ḥāʾik*, *ksāʾ*, and *barrakān*, and in Berber *aʿaban*, *akhuṣi*, *afaggu*, *taḥaykt*, and many others. Gsell suggests that this primitive garment has its origins in two wraps commonly worn in Roman North Africa, the *lodix* and the *stragula* (*op. cit.*, 29, n. 6). The poet Corippus speaks of the rough wrap which the natives of North Africa wore thrown over the shoulder and enveloping the arms (*Johannidos*, ii, 134 f.: *Horrida substrictus dependens stragula membris/Ex umeris demissa iacet* ...). Ibn Khaldūn also says that most Berbers wrap themselves with a *kisāʾ* that is thrown over the shoulder (*ʿIbar*, vi, 89: *yashtamilūna 'l-ṣammāʾ bi 'l-aksiya*). Later European travellers also took note of this rather incommodious fashion (see G. Marçais, *Costume d'Alger*, 25-30, where numerous sources are cited). In Islamic times, the ancient Berber wrap came to be associated with its Arabian counterparts, the *izār*, *milḥafa*, etc. Insofar as it was used as a veil for women, it overlapped with eastern fashions. However, it seems clear from the sources and from the modern witness that the Maghribī man's was, and remained, quite different in the way it was draped.

2. Maghribī costume during the early and high Middle Ages. The Arabs looked upon the Maghrib as a colonial territory even more than they did the conquered lands of the Middle East. There was almost nothing in the cultures of North Africa or Spain to command even their grudging respect or to stimulate a desire for emulation. They therefore adopted little or nothing from the native costume during the first century or so of their rule. The fashion of the urban élite was Arab. A child's tunic dating back to the earliest Islamic period which is now in the possession of the Bardo Museum in Tunis is very similar to garments from the same time in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (see M. Fendri, *Un vêtement islamique ancien au Musée du Bardo*, in *Africa*, ii [1967-8], 241-71). The 4th/10th-century geographer al-Muḳaddasī (239) observed that Maghribīs dressed in the Egyptian fashion (*wa-bi 'l-Maghrib rusūmuhum miṣriyya*—that *rusūm* here refers to custom in dress is clear from the continuation of the text). The many references to clothing in Ifrīḳiya collected by H. R. Idris for the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries correlate fairly well with what is known of Middle Eastern attire during that period (Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, ii, 594-600). The only items that were distinctly Maghribī were the *kisāʾ*, the *kurziyya* (from Berb. *takerzit*; see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 380-2) which was a simple winding cloth for the head, and *aḳrāḳ* (sing. *ḳurḳ*), native cork-soled sandals (Dozy, *Vêtements*, 362 f.; idem, *Suppl.*, ii, 334; Idris, *op. cit.*, 597; cf. Sp. *alcorque*). According to al-Muḳaddasī (*op. cit.*, 239), even the traditional Arab *ridāʾ* was worn draped like a *kisāʾ* or *burnus*.

The early Umayyad *amīrs* in Spain tried as best they could to maintain the material culture of Syria, and it may be safely assumed that the dress of the small Arab élite and their epigones (*mustaʿribūn*) remained generally faithful to the styles of the Damascus caliphate. The newer Islamic styles with their oriental influences became the fashion of the upper classes when the ʿIrāḳī singer Ziryāb [*q.v.*] arrived at the court of Cordova in 207/822, where he established himself as the Andalusian Petronius. He was not only the *arbiter elegantiarum* in regard to the cut, colour, and fabric of clothes, but established the proper season for each outfit (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 88, citing Ibn Ḥayyān). It was he who established the *djubba* as the standard robe for both sexes. One eastern fashion which only took limited root in Spain was the wearing of the turban (*ʿimāma*), which was reserved mainly for the *fuḳahāʾ*. Bare heads or heads crowned with a red or green wool cap (*ghifāra*) were commonplace for much of the Spanish population of all classes. Most of the figures that appear in the genre scenes on carved ivory pyxes from Umayyad Spain appear to be bareheaded (see e.g. E. Kühnel, *Islamic art and architecture*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1966, Pl. 12a; W. M. Watt and P. Cachia, *A history of Islamic Spain*, Edinburgh 1965, Pls. 5 and 7). The *ḳalansuwa* and the *ṭaylasān* were also in vogue after the arrival of Ziryāb (for details on both, see LIBĀS, section 1). The last ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo increased his already great unpopularity in 399/1009 by ordering courtiers to wear turbans in the style worn by the Berber military (Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 48). The style was soon abandoned when two months later his rule came to its violent end.

There was with the passage of time considerable intermingling of styles between the Christian North and the Muslim South. The Spanish peasant's frock, *sayo*, in Ar. *shāya* (from Lat. *sagum*) was commonly worn in the countryside (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 425; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 212 f.). Soldiers wore a scarlet cape (*ḳabāʾ*) similar to that worn in Christian territory (Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, iii, 429; Dozy, *op. cit.*, 360; obviously derived from Sp. *capo* or *capa* and not from Pers. *ḳabā*, concerning which see LIBĀS, sections 1 and 3). Oriental fashion progesssively gave way—perhaps as a partial corollary to the Reconquista—to a uniquely Andalusian style or cut (*tafṣīl*). By the 7th/13th century, an Easterner in the turban and robes of the Levant was regarded as a curiosity (Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, iii, 492).

It is interesting to note that although Muslim

women in Spain wore the various veils used in the Middle East, such as the *khimār*, *burku*ᶜ, *mikna*ᶜ*a*, and *izār* (see e.g. H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse, en Arabe classique au XIᵉ siècle*², Paris 1953, 179, 180, 329), they were not always too strict about it. The poet al-Ramādī saw the beautiful Khalwa at the Bāb al-ᶜAṭṭārīn, a popular gathering place for women in Cordova, and fell in love with her at first sight. Although she was unveiled, he did not know whether she was slave or free (Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. Ḥ.K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo n.d., 22 f.). The roguish Ibn Ḳuzmān [*q.v.*] tells of a married Berber woman he met and with whom he had an affair. She is described as wearing only a garland on her head (J. T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974, 265). Jurists complain of the heretical innovation among the common people whereby a man allows his wife or fiancée to unveil in front of someone other than an immediate male relative (Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Risāla fī ādāb al-ḥisba wa 'l-muḥtasib*, tr. R. Arié, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i [1960], 32). This laxity may have been due to the influence of the large non-Muslim population or of the considerable Berber element, or both. Even women who were normally veiled would bare their faces when in mourning (see e.g. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 103; also Ibn ᶜAbdūn, *Risāla fi 'l-ḳaḍā' wa 'l-ḥisba*, tr. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane au début du XIIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1947, 59, para. 53).

3. The Berber Empires and their successor states. Middle Eastern influences in Maghribī dress — as in other aspects of material culture—declined greatly from the late 5th/11th century onward. Indigenous Berber and Spanish influences became stronger than ever. The major factors in the increasing "Berberisation" and "Andalusianisation" were the rise of extensive Berber empires that united the Maghrib with what remained of Muslim Spain. This occurred at a time of growing isolation, when the Arab East was coming under the rule of Turkish military régimes with their own language, customs, and style of dress [see LIBĀS, section 1] and when the arteries of communication between Maghrib and Mashriḳ, though by no means cut, were not as smooth as in preceding centuries, because of the war, instability, and the overall decline of Muslim sea power, Lastly, the urban centres of high culture in Ifrīḳiya which had set the fashion for much of North Africa were in ruins after the invasion of the Banū Hilāl Bedouin. Further west, Morocco was a centre of power and Spain a centre of culture. Once united, they would become the focal point of style for the rest of the Maghrib.

The rise of the Almoravids paralleled in a sense a contemporary phenomenon in the East. They were a non-Arab ruling élite who wore their own distinguishing uniform. They dressed in Saharan Berber fashion, and are described as being untouched by Mediterranean civilisation (al-Bakrī, *K. al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, 164 f.; also Ibn Khaldūn, *ᶜIbar*, vi, 181). The main feature setting the Almoravids apart from their subjects was their face veil (*lithām* [*q.v.*], which masked the lower half of their face), hence their nickname of *al-mulaththamūn*. Ibn Khaldūn (*ᶜIbar*, vi, 197 f.) notes that many Saharan people were *mulaththamūn* even in his own day. The style was essentially the same as that of the modern Tuaregs. Almoravid dress was not for the subject population. In fact, Ibn ᶜAbdūn (*op. cit.*, 61 ff., para. 56) warns against permitting even the other Berbers in the service of the Almoravids to wear the *lithām* in the streets of Seville because of the fear it struck in the population. The Almoravids also wore the *ᶜimāma* and *bərnūs*. There were some Andalusians who donned these items in order to ingratiate themselves with their new masters, even though their own compatriots laughed at them (Ibn Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarā'*, in Dozy, *Recherches*³, i, p. li).

The Andalusians found little to copy from the Almoravids. However, the latter found a great deal worthy of emulation in Spanish civilisation. Under Almoravid rule, Andalusian culture spread into Morocco together with, certainly, Andalusian fashions. This movement of styles across the Straits of Gibraltar mainly from north to south would continue under the Almohads and in varying degrees under their successors.

The rise of the Almohads had a more direct and lasting influence on Maghribī costume history. The Mahdī Ibn Tūmart's [*q.v.*] puritanism extended to matters of dress. His biographer al-Baydhaḳ relates that on his return home from the East, the Mahdī upbraided the people of Bidjāya for wearing sandals with gilded laces (*al-aḳrāḳ al-zarrāriyya*) and turbans not in the Muslim fashion (*ᶜamā'im al-djāhiliyya*), and for men wearing *futūḥiyyāt*, which was apparently a tunic normally for women (*Ta'rīkh al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, ed. in Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, 52, Ar. text). The prudish Mahdī had to cover his face when passing adorned and unveiled female *laban* vendors in the streets of Tlemcen (*ibid.*, 61). His full wrath was heaped upon the Almohad rulers themselves. In the Friday mosque of Marrakesh, he called the veiled *amīr* and his retinue "veiled slavegirls" (*ibid.*, 68; *djawārī munaḳḳabāt*). When he encountered the princess al-Ṣūra unveiled as was customary among Almoravid women, he reprimanded her so severely that she went crying to her brother the *amīr* (Ibn Khaldūn, *ᶜIbar*, vi, 227).

Like all Berbers, the Almohads wore the *burnus* (also *burnūs*) and the *kisā'* (al-Baydhaḳ, *op. cit.*, 72 f.). They normally wore the form of turban known as *kurziyya* (*ibid.*, 81). Under the Ḥafṣids, the descendants of the great Almohad families wore the *ṭaylasān* with the ends criss-crossed in front like the Arabic letters *lām-alif* (R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1947, ii, 278. It was not long before the early Almohad simplicity in dress gave way to the luxuries of al-Andalus. They bestowed magnificent robes of honour (*khilaᶜ saniyya*) upon their favourites (al-Marrākushī, *K. al-Muᶜdjib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1881, 175, 184, 230).

From the Almohad period onwards, veiling for women was more strictly observed throughout North Africa and Muslim Spain. The Almohads also instituted one of the most unusual applications of the laws of *ghiyār* [*q.v.*]. Suspecting the sincerity of the large number of Jews who had converted to Islam under duress, the caliph Abū Yūsuf ordered that all these neophytes should wear distinguishing clothing consisting of blue-black garments (*thiyāb kuḥliyya*) with exaggeratedly wide sleeves (*akmām mufriṭat al-saᶜa*) which reached to the ground, and ludicrous caps (*kalawtāt ᶜalā ashnaᶜ ṣūra*) that resembled pack saddles (*ka-annahā 'l-barādīᶜ*) which extended below the ears (al-Marrākushī, *op. cit.*, 223). His son and successor Abū ᶜAbd Allāh changed the uniform to yellow garments and yellow turbans (*ibid.*). It may be considered part of the Almohad heritage that in Morocco throughout the later Middle Ages and until modern times, the dress code for Jews was one of the most strictly applied in the Muslim world (see N. A.

Stillman, *The Jews of Arab lands*, Philadelphia 1979, 83, 304, 312, 367).

There were no great changes in Maghribī fashion with the passing of the Almohads. The Ḥafṣids in Tunisia, the Zayyānids in Algeria, and the Marīnids in Morocco were all in a sense successors rather than supplanters of the Almohads. The information on Tunisian dress culled by Brunschvig (*Ḥafṣides*, ii, 276-82) correlates well with what is known from the preceding period. Local names for special varieties of garments appear more frequently now, as for example, ***barrakān***, the heavy wrap for men and the ***safsāri***, the light wrap for women. Both are mentioned as being commonly worn in Tunisia (*ibid.*, 276, 280), and both are known from earlier centuries as well (see Y. K. Stillman, *Female attire of medieval Egypt*, 42 f., 62 f.). Leo Africanus's [*q.v.*] description of clothing worn in Marīnid Fez also shows considerable continuity in the general outlines (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, i, 207 f.). He does note that the learned doctors and gentlemen wore jackets with large sleeves like upper-class Venetians. He also mentions that women's trousers for outdoor covered the entire leg. He further notes that the latter are always veiled with a large wrap covering the head and the entire body (*ḥā'ik*) as well as with a face veil (*lithām*) covering all but the eyes (*ibid.*, 208).

Clothes are mentioned by the Marīnid historian Ibn Aḥmar (*Rawḍat al-nisrīn fī dawlat Banī Marīn*, Rabat 1382/1962, 15) in connection with the popular Moroccan belief in ***baraka***, the blessedness of a charismatic individual. The Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Maḥyū was considered by the Zanāta to be a possessor of ***baraka*** and a ***mudjāb al-duʿā'*** (one whose prayers are answered). His ***ḳalansuwa*** and ***sarāwīl*** would be sent to women in difficult labour to ease the birth.

With the passing of the Almohads, the Muslims of Spain abandoned the turbans they had briefly worn (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, 234). Multi-coloured garments were popular. The wealthy wore garments of the fine gilded silk (*al-washy al-mudhahhab*) produced in Almeria, Murcia, and Malaga or special silken clothes (*al-libās al-muḥarrar*) called ***mulabbad mukhaṭṭam*** ("felted, checked") made in Granada and Basta (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 123). R. Arié has noted that fashions of the neighbouring Christian kingdoms already influenced the mode of Andalusian dress in the early days of the Naṣrids (*L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, 382). The *sayo* (Ar. *shāya*) mentioned above was worn not only by peasants, but even by the Naṣrid monarch when out riding (*ibid.*). The ***marlota*** (Ar. *mallūṭa*), a sleeved outer garment whose precise details are vague, and the ***capellar*** (Ar. *ḳābillār*), a hooded cloak shorter than the *burnus*, were among the new fashions (*ibid.*, 386).

4. From the end of the Middle Ages to modern times. The basic outlines of Maghribī costume remained quite constant from the end of the Middle Ages up to and well into the period of colonial domination. Certain new fashion elements were brought into the region by the Turks in Ṭunisia and Algeria and by the Moriscos and Jewish refugees from Spain in these countries and Morocco as well. Most of the clothing innovations which they introduced remained particular to their own ethnic group. Thus, for example, the *djalṭīṭa* (Sp. *giraldetta*), a whirling skirt, was worn in Morocco only by Jewish and Andalusian women (see Y. K. Stillman, *The costume of the Jewish woman in Morocco*, in *Studies in Jewish Folklore*, ed. Talmage, Cambridge, Mass. 1980, 350, 355, n. 30). The high, brimless hats known as *ṭarṭūr* and *ṭarṭūra* in Algeria were part of the uniform of the Turkish military élite (Marçais, *Costume d'Alger*, 53-8), and as late as the 18th century, the Turkish-style ***dulband*** was not permitted to native North Africans (*ibid.*, 53). Nevertheless, Ottoman modes of dress did make themselves felt in the urban centres of Algeria and Tunisia. The ***jaleco*** (Turk. *yelek*) was very popular in Algeria, and the high, split cone, metal head piece, known as the ***ṣārma***, became a general fashion for women in Algeria and Tunisia (*ibid.*, 116-119, and Pls. xxix, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv). Likewise, the ***djabadūlī***, or ***djabadōr***, a short coat brought by Jews and Andalusians became widespread in the cities of Morocco and Algeria, and in Morocco was manufactured exclusively by Jewish tailors (see Brunot, *Noms de vêtements masculins à Rabat*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, i, 97 f.).

Most remarkable is the conservative nature of draping patterns in men's clothing, which as we have seen goes back to the world of Antiquity. Also interesting to note is the widespread use of fibulae to fasten garments. The Maghribī fibula, called *bzīma*, *khellāla*, *kitfiyya*, and in Berber ***tabzimt***, ***tizerzay***, and ***tazerzit***, has been shown to go back to Antique prototypes (H. Camps-Fabrier, *L'origine des fibules berbères d'Afrique du Nord*, in *Mélanges Le Tourneau* = *ROMM*, nos. 13-14 [1973], 217-30). However, traditional attire is—as in the case of the Middle East—losing ground rapidly to Western dress, particularly in the major cities and towns where more than half the population now resides.

GLOSSARY

aʿaban: large outer wrap for Berber men (Mor.)

ʿabāya: a sleeveless, long overblouse for men; a sleeveless, flowing dress for women (Alg.)

ʿabrūḳ: bandana for women (S. Mor.)

akhnīf, khnīf: Berber cape, hooded for men, unhooded for women (S. Mor.)

ʿarrāḳiyya: skull-cap for men (Mor., Alg., Tun.)

bābūshāt: flat slippers for both sexes (entire Maghr.)

bakhnūḳ: embroidered head shawl for women (Tun.)

barrakān: large enveloping outer wrap for both sexes (Lib.)

bədʿiyya: sleeveless vest for men (entire Maghr); a sleeveless *ḳafṭān* for women (Mor.)

bəlgha: flat slippers, usually pointed at the toe, but sometimes rounded, worn by both sexes (entire Maghr.)

bərnūs: large hooded cape for men (entire Maghr.)

bhīḳa: woman's hat (entire Maghr., but different in each country)

čāmir: body shirt for both sexes (Mor.)

dāmī: jacket for men (Alg.)

dərbāla: a vest (Lib., Tun.); an old threadbare garment (Mor.)

djābādūlī, djābādōr: a full-length, caftan-like garment with either no buttons, or a single button in front (Mor., Alg.)

djarā'id: a pair of men's leather leggings (Tun.)

djellāba, djəllābiyya, djəllāb: Hooded outer robe with long sleeves, originally worn by men only, now by both sexes (mainly Mor., also W. Alg.)

djubba: full-length, sack-like chemise without sleeves (Tun.)

djūkha: a long, woollen outer robe without sleeves or collar which is closed by a single button at the neck; worn by men (Mor., Alg., Tun.)

dūka: a pointed bonnet for women (Tun.)

durrāʿa, dərʿa, dirra: long robe with sleeves for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
falṭīṭa, djalṭīta, djanṭīṭa: a skirt of Spanish origin worn mainly by Jewish and Andalusian women (Mor.)
faražiyya (Berb. *tafaražit*): a very light gown with a deep slit at the breast which may or may not have sleeves and is worn under the *ḳafṭān* or garment by both sexes (Mor.). It also comes in a half-length version called *nuṣṣ faražiyya*
fərdja, fradja: garment similar to the *faradjiyya* for men only (Alg., Tun.)
fərmla: vest for elderly men (Alg.)
fishtūl: shawl and headscarf for women (Mor.)
frīmla, furmayla: corselet for women (Alg.); embroidered bolero (Lib.)
fūṭa: outer wrap; loin cloth for women (entire Maghr.)
fūḳiyya: a body shirt for men worn under the *djallāba* (Mor.)
gandūra: full-length tunic with short sleeves for men (S. Mor.) and for both sexes (Alg.)
ghlāla: sleeveless outer robe for women (Mor.)
ghlīla: vest for both sexes (Alg.)
gnidra: a light, lacy chemisette for women (Alg.)
ḥaddūn, aḥaddūn: a variety of heavy *burnus* (Mor.)
ḥāʾik, ḥāyk, taḥaykt: large outer wrap, usually white, worn by both sexes (entire Maghr.)
ḥzām: general designation for belt, especially a sash (entire Maghr.)
iburegsen, idūshsha, iherkas: all names for a simple Berber sandal (Mor.)
ikerzī: a Berber turban consisting of a white cloth wound about the head leaving the crown uncovered (Mor.)
ʿimāma: standard turban (entire Maghr.)
ʿīsāwiyya: a simple, wide tunic consisting of a hole in the centre for the head and one at each side for the arms, made of striped wool and worn by men; also a very ample blouse of strong cotton worn over other clothing (Mor.)
izār: large outer wrap for both sexes (entire Maghr.); fringed shawl worn by Jewish women (Mor.)
ḳabbūṭ: a coat for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
ḳabḳāb: wooden clogs for women (Alg. Tun.)
ḳafṭān: caftan, originally worn by men and women, now only by women (Mor., Alg.)
ḳalansuwa: pointed bonnet for men (Alg., Tun.)
ḳamīṣ, ḳamidjdja, ḳamidja: long body shirt for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
ḳashshāba: long sleeveless outer gown for men; long-sleeved flowing tunic with a deep slit down the breast for women (Mor.)
kbāya: sleeveless vest for men (Alg.)
khlālī: a red wrap for women (Mor.)
kəswa kbīra: elegant wedding and festivity dress of Jewish women consisting of several parts, derived from 15th century Spanish dress style (Mor.)
ḳmādjdja: fine embroidered tunic for both sexes (Tun., Lib.)
ksā: large outer wrap for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
ḳṭīb: headscarf for women (Mor.)
kurziyya: belt for both sexes (Mor.)
lithām: veil for lower half of the face, worn by married women (Mor., Alg.)
malūsa: large Turkish style turban worn by religious dignitaries (Tun.)
maryūl: short, embroidered shift for women (Lib.)
mḍamma: leather belt worn by men, women and children (Mor.)
milḥafa, mlaḥfa, taməlḥaft: large outer wrap worn by both sexes (entire Maghr.)
məntān, məntāl: man's waistcoat with long, straight sleeves (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
naʿl, nʿāla, nʿāyl: sandals (entire Maghr.)
nḳāb: face veil for married women, often synonymous with *lithām* (Mor., Alg.)
riḥiyyāt: flat leather slippers worn by both sexes (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
rezza, rrəzt: small, rather flat turban (Mor.)
safsāri: large outer wrap for women (Tun., Lib.)
sāya: a skirt (N. Mor.); a dress (S. Mor.)
səbbāṭ: closed shoes for either sex (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
sərbīl, sherbīl: flat slippers for both sexes (Mor.)
shədd, shədda: turban (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
shāl, shān: head scarf for both sexes (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
shāshiyya, shāsh: brimless soft hat worn by both sexes (entire Maghr.)
shḳūfiyya, ḳūfiyya: woman's bonnet (Tun.)
səbniyya: woman's headscarf (Mor., Alg.)
sədriyya (= *ṣadriyya*): a man's waistcoat (entire Maghr.)
səlhām (Berb. *āsəlhām*): man's hooded cape (Mor.)
sərwāl: trousers for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
taʿdjīra: large embroidered shawl for women (Tun.)
takayda: pointed woman's bonnet (Tun.)
ṭāḳiyya: skull cap for men (entire Maghr.)
ṭarbūsh: hats of various types for men (entire Maghr.)
taraza, tarazala, tarazal: wide-brimmed straw hat for both sexes (Mor., Alg.)
təstmal: fringed head scarf for women (Lib.)
tḳāshər: stockings for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
tmāḳ: riding boots (entire Maghr.)
ṭrābaḳ: leather leggings worn by women (Mor.)
wiḳāya: woman's head scarf (Mor., Alg.)
žəllāba: see *djellāba*
zərgūta: a simple, sleeveless, square-cut man's tunic (S. Alg.)
zibbūn: a man's jacket with long sleeves (Lib.)
zzīr: a Berber scarf for both sexes (Mor.)

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et Tech. d'Afr. du Nord, vi (1960-1), 57-72; J. Jouin, *Le costume de la femme israélite au Maroc*, in *JSA*, vi (1936), 167-85; E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 123-37; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911 (contains much linguistic and historical material on costume); B. Meakin, *The Moors*, London 1902, 51-67; A. Muller-Lancet, *Markīvīm meyuḥadīm li-levūshām velā-ʿadēhem shel Yehūdē Mārōḳō*, in *Ḥadashōt Mūzēʾōn*, xi (1976), 46-50; E. Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm*, Wiesbaden 1958, 44-48 and Pls. ix-xlvii; idem, *El traje musulman femenino en Africa del Norte*, Madrid 1953; G. Rousseau, *Les costumes au Maroc*, Paris 1938 (primarily an album of Pls.); Y. K. Stillman, *The costume of the Jewish woman in Morocco*, in *Studies in Jewish folklore*, ed. F. Talmage, Cambridge, Mass., 343-75; eadem, *ha-Hashpaʿa ha-Sefaradīt ba-tarbūt ha-ḥomrīt shel Yehūdē Marōḳō*, in *Procs. of the First Int. Congr. on Sefardic and Oriental Jewry*, Hebr. vol., ed. I. Ben-Ami, Jerusalem 1981; H. Uplegger, *Djellaba und Litham: zur Verschleierung der arabischen Frau im Marokko*, in *Bustān*, ix/1 (1968), 22-27; E. Westermarck, *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914, passim. The most extensive and detailed pictorial survey of Moroccan costume and jewelry is J. Besancenot, *Types et costumes du Maroc*, Paris 1942; and idem, *Bijoux arabes et berbères du Maroc*, Paris 1953. The texts of Besancenot's ethnographic notes remain in manuscript. (4) For Tunisia: L. Ginestous, *La tunique brodée de Rafraf*, in *Bull. des agents de l'Office des Arts tunisiens*, n.v. (1955), 12-21; idem, *Le vêtement féminin usuel à Bizerte*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, no. 28 (1959), 519-35; J. Jouin, *Le taref des Kerkeniennes*, in *REI*, x (1948), 51-3; N. Mahjoub, *Le costume des hommes de religion et de justice à Tunis*, in *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions populaires*, i/2 (Tunis 1968), 79-92; D. Paphilet, *Le vêtement masculin en Tunisie*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, no. 2 (1954), 108-11; M. Poncet, *Les bijoux d'argent de Tunisie*, Tunis 1977; S. Sethom, *La confection du costume féminin d'Hammamet*, in *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions Populaires*, i/1 (1968), 101-11; idem, *La tunique de mariage en Tunisie*, in *ibid.*, i/2 (1968), 61-78. (5) For mediaeval Spain: R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides (1232-1492)*, Paris 382-7; eadem, *Miniatures hispano-musulmanes*, Leiden 1969; eadem, *Quelques remarques sur le costume des Musulmans d'Espagne au temps de Naṣrides*, in *Arabica*, xii/3 (1965), 244-61; J. Jouin, *Documents sur le costume des Musulmans d'Espagne*, in *RA*, lxxv (1934), 43-6; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 422-33; J. Olivier Asin, *«Quercus» en la España musulmana*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxiv/1 (1959), 125-81; R. Ricard, *Espagnol et Portugais «marlota». Recherches sur le vocabulaire du vêtement hispano-mauresque*, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, liii/2 (1951), 131-56. (6) For mediaeval North Africa: R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, 276-82; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zīrides*, ii, 594-600; M. Talbi, *Les courtiers en vêtements en Ifriqiya au IXe-Xe siècle*, in *JESHO*, v (1962), 160-94.

(Y. K. Stillman)

iii. — Iran

Iranian costume belongs to a completely different vestimentary system than does Arab costume. The most salient features have shown remarkable consistency from pre-Achaemenid to modern times. Whereas Arab costume (see i. above) is marked by rectangular tunics and loose wraps, Iranian clothing has traditionally featured tailored garments that include a sleeved coat of varying length and ampleness (*ḳabā*), long, straight trousers (*shalwār*) or leggings (*pāy-tāba* or *rān*), close-fitting boots (*mūza*, *kafsh*, *khifāf*, or *čaḳma*), and a high or medium high soft cap (*kulāh* or *ḳalansuwa*, the latter perhaps a descendant of the ancient *kyrbasia*). This type of attire is typical of other equestrian peoples from the steppes of Inner Asia, such as the Scythians, and also of the Phrygians, and is consistent both with the harsh and highly variable climate and their pastoral way of life. It also shows strong affinities with the clothing of other Indo-Aryan peoples who moved further west, such as the Germans. This sort of clothing was also convenient to the calvary warfare practised by these peoples. Flowing robes were also worn, but mainly as royal or priestly dress for ceremonial occasions. Women, like men, wore coats or jackets (*ḳabāča* or *nīm tana*) and trousers or a skirt (*dāman*), with however, a chemise (*pīrāhan*) or tunic (*djāma*, a word which like Ar. *thawb* also designates an unspecified garment and cloth in general).

For convenient surveys of pre-Islamic Iranian costume, see H. Goetz, *History of Persian costume*, in *Survey of Persian art*, ed. A. Pope, London-New York 1938, 2227-36; Georgina Thompson, *Iranian dress in the Achaemenian period*, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, iii (1965), 121-6; Dj. Ḍiyāʾ Pūr, *Pūshāḳ-i zanān-i Īrān*, Tehran 1347/1968, 4-125.

1. The Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods. During the Umayyad period ʿIrāḳ, which had for centuries been part of the Persian cultural sphere, became arabised. Traditional Iranian modes of dress remained in the Iranian heartlands and in Transoxania. Despite the fact that Umayyad rulers adopted elements of Iranian costume for themselves and their court (see e.g. R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Leiden 1972, 21, 30-3), they did not permit the Arab fighting men on duty in the Persian territories to don Iranian clothing. Soldiers who put on the Persian-style cuirass (*khaftān*) and leggings (*rān*) were punished (B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 515). However, by late Umayyad times the Arabs settled in Khurāsān were becoming increasingly assimilated into the local culture, and, it may be assumed, had adopted many elements of native attire.

The rise of the ʿAbbāsids, the founding of Baghdād, and the increasing importance of Persian *mawālī* in the civil service, made ʿIrāḳ a zone of osmosis where Iranian and Arabo-Hellenistic styles fused, with Iranian elements passing westward and Arab styles and terminology eastward. There is a frequent overlap in the New Persian vestimentary vocabulary of Arabic and Iranian terms (e.g. Ar. *libās* becomes a common synonym for Pers. *pūshāk*). Nevertheless, native Iranian styles remained distinctive well into the ʿAbbāsid period, as noted by the Arab geographers (e.g. al-Muḳaddasī, 326-7. For other sources, see P. Schwartz, *Iran in Mittelalter*, repr. Hildesheim 1969, 140-2, 404-5, 424-6, and 834-5). Among the more particular Iranian fashions in Arab eyes were the wearing of boots (*khifāf*) in summer as well as in winter (al-Muḳaddasī, 327), the unique cold weather clothing (*ibid.*, 328), and the extensive use of the *ṭaylasān*, or headshawl worn over the turban, by religious scholars and notables in the northern and eastern parts of Iran and even by the common folk in Fārs (*ibid.*, 327, 440).

Throughout the ʿAbbāsid period—as in earlier and later times as well—Iran was noted for its fine textiles. For a thorough survey of Persian textile production in this period, see R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, *passim*. Iran was also noted for the special garments produced there. Āmul and Ḳūmis were famous for their wool *ṭayālisa* (ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra*, ed. Ḥ. H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Cairo 1935, 30-1), Gurgān and Rayy for their excellent variety of soft wool cloaks known as *narmaḳ* (from Pers. *narm* "soft", *ibid.*, 29-30), and Bam for its fine kerchiefs and turban cloths (*dastār-i bamī*, anon., *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, rev. ed. V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth, London 1970, 125). Ādharbāydjān, Armenia, and Arrān produced the best quality trouser cords (*shalwār band*, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 142-3). Kāth, the capital of Khʷārazm, was noted for its quilted jackets (*ḳazhāgand*, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 121).

Artistic representations from the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries invariably show both men and women in a full-length sleeved coat (*ḳabā*) with arm bands (*bāzū band*) either with or without *ṭirāz* inscriptions. In a 6th/12th century stucco relief from Rayy, each of the women in the courtly scene is depicted in a brocade coat (*ḳabā-yi dībā*) with a bordered edge (*ḥāshiya-dār*). Each woman wears a fillet (*pishānī band*) in the centre of which is an aigrette (*djiḳa*). Most of the women wear a necklace (*gardan band*) and earrings (*gūshwārahā*) (the relief is included in Pope, *Survey*, v, Pl. 517 and Ḍiyāʾ Pūr, *Pūshāk-i zanān-i Īrān*, Pls. 106 and 107. For a survey of Persian jewelry during this period, see Dj. Ḍiyāʾ Pūr, *Ziwarhā-yi zanān-i Īrān*, Tehran 1347/1968, 331-62).

The Saldjūḳ period did not mark for Iran the introduction of totally new styles of dress as it did in the Arab East (see section i, above, 8) since the Saldjūḳs were themselves under the influence of Persian culture. There were, however, some new fashions that were introduced at this time, particularly in head coverings. At least three distinctive caps were introduced at this time, all of Inner Asian, Turkish origin (for examples of Saldjūḳ caps, see ill. no. 7; also Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 643B, 652, 655, 686, 687, 688A, 692, 694, 706, 708, 714A, 813). Men of high rank wore a crown-like hat with a pointed rim on either side (*dūshākh*, Spuler, *Iran*, 365). The so-called Saldjūḳ crown (*tādj*, *tādj kulāh*, or *afsar*), which shows affinities both to one of the Mongol caps and to the ancient Sāsānid crown, remained for centuries the headdress of rulers and princes depicted in Persian paintings. It is perhaps to this sort of "crown" that the poet Saʿdī refers in the expression *kulāh khudāwandī*, or "cap of lordship" (*Būstān*, Introd., 1. 212, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, ed. M. ʿA. Farūghī, Tehran 1964, 12). These various hats were apparently known by regional and ethnic names, such as *kulāh-i khʷārizmī* (al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, Tehran 1333, 385) or *kulāh-i tatarī* (Saʿdī, *Gulistān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, 62). The Saldjūḳs also introduced new military garments.

2. The Īlkhānid and Tīmūrid Periods. The Mongol conquests brought with them many totally new fashions from the Far East. Court styles were those of China: mandarin robes with elbow-length sleeves are most commonly depicted. These were decorated with heraldic designs on the breasts and back—usually Chinese clouds, scrolls, and vegetal motifs. Beneath the robe was worn a long-sleeved tunic. Men wore a variety of hats with brims turned up or down, and even with double brims (for examples of these different hats, see Goetz, *Persian costume*, in Pope, *Survey*, iii, 2239, Fig. 746a-h; and D. T. Rice, *The illustrations of the "World history" of Rashid al-Din*, Edinburgh 1976, 21, Fig. 10a-f).

Military attire was also of the Far Eastern variety, consisting of long coats of link mail arranged in horizontal bands (*djawshan-i ḳabā*) or cuirasses (*zira*) of mail (Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, ii, 186, 176. For examples of the Mongol long mail coat, see Rice, *Illustrations ... of Rashid al-Din*, Pls. 38, 44, 48, 49, 53. For the mail cuirass, see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 834B, 839, and 842A). The latter could be worn under a robe (*zira dar zīr-i djāma*, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. E. Quatremère, repr. Amsterdam, 1968, 122).

Also typical of Mongol armour were their close-fitting helmets with ear-flaps and a small spike at the top (for examples, see Rice, *Illustrations ... of Rashid al-Din*, Pls. 22, 38, 39, 40, 43).

During the Īlkhānid period, women's clothing seems not to have undergone any major change, except with respect to the head gear. The head scarf (*sar band*) was worn for the most part as a wimple (see e.g. Pope, *Survey*, v, Pl. 836B) by non-Mongol women. The Mongol princesses, however, wore a special bonnet consisting of a light wood frame covered with silk and from the top of which protrudes a long feather (see Goetz, *Persian costume*, in Pope, *Survey*, iii, 2241, Fig. 747a-b). This bonnet is frequently mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn (*Histoire des Mongols*, ed. Quatremère, 102, 106, 107), and is called *bughtāḳ*. The *bughtāḳ* could be ornamented with gold and precious stones and sometimes had a long train (*dhayl-i bughtāḳ*) which hung down behind. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the girls who attended the Mongol ladies wore "a *kulāh* that looked like an *aḳrūf* (fez) with a gold band encrusted with jewels around the upper part, topped with peacock feathers" (Ibn *Baṭṭūṭa*, ii, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, Cambridge 1958, 485).

Despite Tīmūr Lang's partiality to Mongol ways, there is a noticeable decrease in Mongol influence as far as Persian costume is concerned under the Tīmūrids. The bulky mandarin robes give way to close-fitting garments which follow the body's own lines. The outer *ḳabā* was often left entirely open or was left partially-open at the neck and below the waist revealing another coat below, beneath which a long body shirt (*ḳamīṣ* or *pīrāhan*) was worn. The *kamar band* which, except for a military belt over the armour, had all but gone out of style in the Īlkhānid period, became once again a regular part of male attire, worn on either the inner or the outer coat. The distinctive caps and hats of the Saldjūḳ and Mongol periods were gradually replaced during the Tīmūrid period by turbans, which at first were small, but became progressively larger throughout the 9th/15th century (for examples of the caps and turbans of the period, see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 851, 860, 865, 878, 880, 882). The reason for the gradual disappearance of the Mongol caps is that they came to be considered as symbols of paganism, in contradiction to the *dastār* which was symbolic of Islam (see e.g. Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, tr. E. D. Ross, repr. New York 1970, 58). One new head-covering that appears at this period is the *ḳalpāḳ*, a fur-trimmed cap of Turkoman origin. As in earlier periods, both men and women wore fur cloaks (*pūstīn*, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Dhayl-i Kitāb-i Ẓafar-nāma*, Tehran n.d., 25) and fur-trimmed robes (*ḳabā pūstīnī*, Saʿdī, *Gulistān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, 119; and idem, *Būstān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*,

213). For illustrations of fur-trimmed coats, see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 842B, 878; also Ḍiyā' Pūr, *Pūshāk-i zanān-i Īrān*, Pls. 129, 132.

Female attire during the Tīmūrid period also consisted of several layers of long, close-fitting robes. The *pīrāhan* covered the entire body down to the feet and was long-sleeved. A wide variety of outer coats were worn by women at this time. Although some had long, narrow sleeves, most were short-sleeved (*āstīn-i kūtāh*), and some were sleeveless. The woman's *ḳabā* depicted in Tīmūrid paintings came in both long and three-quarter length versions (For the feminine *ḳabā* in all its variety, see Ḍiyā' Pūr, *op. cit.*, 143-65, Pls. 113-32.) The short coat is perhaps the *ḳabāča*, mentioned in earlier literary sources (e.g. al-Kātib al-Arradjānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, Tehran n.d., i, 50), but does not appear in artistic representation until this time.

Most of the women's head-dresses depicted in Tīmūrid paintings are simple, consisting in the main of a white *sar band* worn in the simple fashion of the preceding periods or allowed to flow down behind. Some women are depicted wearing a close-fitting bonnet-like cap which is usually dark in colour. The bonnet has wide flaps that come down in front of the ears, and is held in place with a chin strap. On the top of the bonnet is a small flat plaque to which the face veil is attached (see Ḍiyā' Pūr, *op. cit.*, Pls. 119-20; also J. M. Scarce, *The development of women's veils in Persia and Afghanistan*, in *Costume*, v [1975], 6, Pl. 4, where, however, this headdress is interpreted somewhat differently).

European travellers report that women appeared in public at this time in an all-enveloping white wrap (*čadār-i safīd*), their faces hidden behind a black net of woven horsehair (*pīča*) (e.g. Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy . . . to the court of Timour*, London 1859, 89). Another sort of face veil worn at this period was a small, white mask covering only the mouth and chin (*dahān band*, Ḍiyā' Pūr, *op. cit.*, 155, Pl. 212).

3. The Ṣafawid period. The establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty marks not only a watershed in Iranian political and religious history, but a turning point in its costume history as well. During this period, Far Eastern influences in Persian costume cease to be important, and there is a reassertion of native Iranian styles.

The most immediate change came in the man's turban (*dūl band*), which was wrapped around a cap with a high, spiked protrusion that extended straight up through the middle of the headdress (see e.g. Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 893A, 895, 896, 898, 900, 901B). The cap which forms the centre of the turban was known as the *tādj Ṣafawī*. It was normally red, although occasionally blue. Because of the red caps which distinguished the Shīʿī Ṣafawids and their followers, they were referred to by the Sunnīs as *kulāh-i surkh*, or "red caps" (see Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares*, ed. and tr. P.I. Desmaisons, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 209, n. 1), which was the Persian equivalent of Tk. *ḳizil bāsh* [*q.v.*]. The symbolic importance of the Ṣafawi *tādj* was such that in an allegorical painting showing the religions of the world, the Shīʿīs, as well as Muḥammad, ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn are all depicted wearing it (the illustration is in the Houghton *Shāh-nāma*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and is reproduced in B. Lewis (ed.), *The World of Islam*, London 1976, 257).

Ṣafawid costume became extremely sumptuous with the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76). Clothes were more closely-fitted than ever before. The *ḳabā* for both sexes became somewhat shorter. It was now fastened in front by a row of shiny buttons or golden frogs. The waist was cinched with a narrow belt decorated with large bejewelled gold discs spaced at equal intervals (for surviving examples of such belts, see Ḍiyā' Pūr, *Zīwarhā-yi zanān-i Īrān*, 365, Pl. 274, and Pope, *Survey*, vi, Pls. 1394B-C; for detailed depictions in miniatures, see *ibid.*, v, Pl. 901). The most outstanding feature of the Persian wardrobe for the next century-and-a-half is the great richness of the fabrics in both colour and pattern (see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 896, 898-900, for illustrations; and *ibid.*, vi, Pls. 1006, 1011, 1012, 1015, 1028, 1034, 1041, 1042, 1046, for actual textiles and garments).

Ṣafawid costume reached its most distinctive development in the 11th/17th century. The *ḳabā* remained close-fitted about the trunk, but was now often flared below the waist. Over the *ḳabā* was worn an overcoat (*bālāpūsh*) which could be short and sleeveless (*kurdī*) or long and with sleeves (*kadabī*). The turban (*mandīl* or *dūl band*) became even larger than before, but no longer had the long stick protruding from the top. A large scarf or sash replaced the belt with roundels. It was usually tied with a large knot in front (for surviving examples of such silk sashes, see Pope, *Survey*, vi, Pls. 1074A-E). Ṣafawid clothing has been described in detail by the European travellers Herbert for the first half of the 17th century (T. Herbert, *Travels in Persia, 1627-1629*, London 1928, 79-80, 230-3) and Chardin for the second half (Sir J. Chardin, *Travels in Persia*, London 1927, 211-15, and the engravings between 212 and 213).

Female attire during this period was very sensuous. The dress (*ḳamīṣ*) was buttoned or tied below the neck, but slit open down to the navel to expose the bare flesh (Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, v, Pl. 918A). The items of underwear (*tunbān*) were straighter than male drawers and were often decorated with flower motifs. Over these were worn embroidered leggings (*zangār*) that went from several inches above the ankle to slightly above the knee (see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pl. 918, where a reclining female is shown with her dress rolled up to expose her underwear). A loose shawl (*čārḳad*) which was held on the head by a tiara, an embroidered band, or a pointed *kulāh*, fell down on to the back and shoulders (see e.g. J. M. Upton, *Notes on Persian costumes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, ii [1929-30], 206, Fig. 2; 214, Fig. 13; and 219, Fig. 21). As in the previous period, the favoured *čādur* for outdoor was white. One new innovation that came into use at this time was the *rū band*, a rectangular white veil that was fastened over the *čādur* and fell down over the face. The *rū band* had a small slit covered with netting over the eyes to permit vision (Scarce, *Women's veils*, in *Costume*, v, 7, Pl. 7).

Two major trends can be detected in Persian costume during the 17th century. One is a bohemianism that appears in the increasingly casual and suggestive style of dressing, at least in the court circles depicted in paintings (see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 917B, 918A-B, 921B, 924B; and Upton, *Notes on Persian costumes*, 217, Fig. 18). The other is a noticeable, albeit still minor, Western influence in clothing styles. At first this influence was more Georgian than truly European (Chardin, *Travels*, 212), but later the influence of the clothing of European traders and diplomats become stronger (Upton, *Notes on Persian costume*, 217).

4. **The Ḳādjār period.** There was little discernible change or development in Iranian costume during the half-century of instability between the end of Ṣafawid rule and the establishment of the Ḳādjār dynasty, except for a decrease in the elegance of upper-class attire and an increase in words of Turkic origin in the vestimentary vocabulary.

The second ruler of the Ḳādjār House, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1212-50/1797/1834), attempted to recreate the glories of the Iranian past with a revival of ancient artistic traditions and styles, including in court dress. He adopted for himself a modified version of one of the Sāsānid winged crowns (see Lewis, *World of Islam*, 270, Pl. 27, and 272, Pl. 32). Wide shoulder capes and diadems in imitation of Tīmūrid prototypes were also revived for a short while (Goetz, *Persian costume*, in Pope, *Survey*, iii, 2254). However, under his successors this artificial renaissance came to an end.

There was growing European influence in Persia already during the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. During the 19th century these influences became increasingly dominant in court and military dress. Popular costume came under foreign influence more slowly. The many European travellers, missionaries, and diplomats who visited Persia in the 19th and early 20th centuries have left detailed descriptions of clothing of the period. Male costume was composed of loose drawers (*zīr djāma* or *shalwār*) of white, blue, or red cotton, a collarless shirt (*alkalūk* or *ḳamīṣ*), a tunic (*kamarčīn*), a vest (*kulīdja* or *kurdī*), one of a variety of outer coats (*bālāpūsh*, *bīrūna*, *ḳabā*, *djubba*—the latter favoured by government secretaries), or jackets (*nīm tana*). The principal hat for all classes was the high *kulāh* of felt (*namad*) or lambskin (*pūstī*) which was dented in on one side. Footwear consisted of boots (*sarmūza*) of Russian leather (*bulghār*) for the upper classes, and leather sandals (*čārūḳ*) or cotton shoes (*gīva*) for the common people. The belt for all classes was most commonly a large shawl tied round the waist (*shāl kamar*). The mullas commonly wore the *ʿabā* (see section i, above), and *sayyids* the green *ʿimāma* (among the numerous descriptions of male attire, see J. B. Fraser, *A winter's journey: Constantinople to Teheran*, ii, London 1838, 77-103, 151-7, and C. J. Wills, *In the land of the Lion and the Sun, or modern Persia (1866 to 1881)*, London 1893, 317-22).

Female attire for the upper and middle classes consisted of a transparent *pīrāhan* of gauze and pantaloons (*čāḳčūr*). Over these were worn a short frocked coat or jacket and a pleated skirt (*shalīta*). The head was normally covered with an embroidered scarf of cotton, silk, or cashmere (*čargāt*). Upper-class women are depicted in contemporary paintings wearing a jewelled tiara (*nīm tādj*). Out of doors, women wore a white or black *čādur* and one of a variety of face veils (*rū band*, *pīča*, *burḳuʿ*, *niḳāb*) (see Fraser, 322-5; E. C. Sykes, *Persia and its people*, London 1910, 196-203.)

5. **Recent years.** Urban dress is overwhelmingly that of the modern West. Recently however, there has been a return to the *čādur* even among educated women for political as well as religious reasons. Outside the major cities, and especially in tribel regions, traditional costumes are still worn (for a comprehensive survey, see Dj. Ḍiyāʾ Pūr, *Pūshāk-i ilhā, čādurnishīnān wa-rustāʾiyān ba-rūzigār-i Shāhanshāh-yi Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh-i Pahlawī*, Tehran 1346/1967).

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the text, see: Capt. L. W. Hart, *Character and costumes of Afghanistan*, London 1843; Lt. J. Rattray, *The costumes of the various tribes, portraits of ladies of rank, celebrated princes and chiefs ...*, London 1848; A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia past and present: a book of travel and research*, New York 1906; H. Goetz, *Persians and Persian costumes in Dutch painting of the seventeenth century*, in *The Art Bulletin*, xx/1 (March 1938), 280-90; C. G. Feilberg, *Les Papis: Tribu persane de nomades montagnards du sud-ouest de l'Iran*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Etnografisk Roekke, iv, Copenhagen 1952; H. E. Wulff, *Traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966; A. Tual, *Variations et usages du voile dans deux villes d'Iran*, in *Objets et Mondes*, xi/1 (Spring 1971), 95-116; J.-P. Digard, *La parure chez les Baxtyari*, in *ibid.*, 117-32.

(Y. K. Stillman and N. A. Stillman)

iv. — Turkey

1. **Old Turkish costume of the 6th/12th to the 13th/19th centuries.** After having settled in Anatolia, the Turks remained faithful to their customs and cultural traditions and preserved their traditional costume. The latter, tracing its origin to Central Asia, was enriched from the 5th/11th century, in Iranian territory, by a certain number of new elements. To judge by the iconographic documents of the 12th to 15th centuries, Turkish costume was inspired to a great extent by Persian costume. But Persian costume evolves, new designs and types of clothing appear in it, whereas Turkish costume, whose style remains almost unchanged for several centuries, retains its specificity and its national character.

Synthesised studies of an historical and comparative character are not always to be found on this subject. The only materials which we have at our disposal, apart from illustrations, are the articles which have come to light and which relate to certain types of clothing in the different periods that Turkish costume has evolved in its history. The question which invariably arouses the largest number of problems and controversies is that of terminology, especially concerning the clothing and the small clothing items of which nothing more has remained. In order to reconstitute the cut of an old costume, its original parts, those which have been preserved, have in the first place to be positioned. Turkish costumes are to be found at present in vary large numbers in the collections of Turkish museums, especially in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi of Istanbul. They are also to be found, although in a smaller quantity, in European and American museums, notably in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Islamisches Museum, Berlin, and some others. The oldest pieces of these collections date back to the 15th century, but it is impossible and risky in many cases to establish the exact date of their fabrication. The costume of the 16th century possesses, on the other hand, a documentation which seems credible. This comprises especially the Turkish miniatures and, notably, the special albums with the miniatures of costumes (*ḳlyāfet-nāme*) which constitute in this respect a very rich source of information. Failing originals, we can also derive help in our comparative studies from various iconographic materials originating from Europe, such as prints, engravings, paintings or further representations of Turkish costume on objects in ceramic, metal and other materials.

Another source of information on old Turkish costume is constituted by the writings of travellers,

explorers; the descriptions left by European ambassadors; as well as the documents of Turkish archives speaking of the organisation of corporations of tailors, of sewing workshops and of registers of costumes.

The classification of costumes can be established according to the use for which they were destined. We may distinguish: (1) the civilian costumes, (2) the military ones, and (3) the religious ones (of *ʿulamāʾ* and dervishes). The civilian costumes are divided into (i) costumes of the court (costumes of ceremony, state, household) and (ii) costumes of the bourgeoisie, each having its masculine and freminine variants.

A complete costume is composed of some basic elements (whose number varies in accordance with needs and whose importance is not always the same): (a) head-gear, (b) outer garments, (c) inner garments, (d) belt, (e) shoes and (f) accessories.

In Ottoman Turkey, there were registers of laws which also contained the precepts of etiquette. These laws regulated notably dress, i.e. head-gear, clothing, the kind and colour of the material, the shoes, all in accordance with the rank occupied in the social and administrative hierarchy, of the religion or race of the person in question. The most important regulations of this kind date back to the period of Süleymān I (1520-66), Aḥmed III (1703-30) and ʿUthmān III (1754-7).

Head-gear. It was the head-gear, masculine as well as feminine, which, in Turkish costume, was characterised by the greatest diversity and mobility of forms.

a) Masculine turbans. The Turkish *ḳavuḳ* was a head-dress of felt or woollen cloth of different thickness around which was wrapped a turban (a long band of material) called in Turkish *sarïḳ* or *dülbend* (current pronunciation *tülbent*). It is from the form of the *ḳavuḳ* and the way in which the turban was tied that there derive different types and names of head-gear known in Europe as turbans. The *ḳavuḳ*s, whose height varied, normally had the form of a contracted or enlarged cylinder, flat or bulging; but there were also those which resembled a truncated cone or a cupola. The highest *ḳavuḳ*s (40 to 60 cm.) were kept rigid by means of a construction of metal bars or a kind of basket. They had a smooth or quilted (*terk*) surface and were trimmed with cotton to give the effect of relief or a dome shape with the quilting (*dilim*). To make the turban, lengths of material (*sarïḳ*) were used which were folded or made into rolls (*burma*). Fine materials such as cotton, gauze, muslin, fine wool, silk or brocade were chosen for this. Under the *ḳavuḳ* was placed a skull-cap (*takke*) which could also be worn alone. Sometimes small braids (*zülüf*) or pendants (*püskül*) were attached to the *ḳavuḳ*s, allowing the end of the *sarïḳ* to fall on the back or the shoulders (*ṭaylasān*). To give protection from the rain, a kind of small umbrella or covering (*yaghmurluḳ*) was carried.

*Ḳavuḳ*s included: *khorāsānī*—of cylindrical shape, growing broader at the top, worn with a white turban rolled slantwise on two sides; *selīmī*—of cylindrical shape, introduced by Selīm I (918-26/1512-20), some 65 cm. high, flat on top, worn with a white turban rolled around and bulging at the sides; *kātibī*—also called *pashalï ḳavuḳ*, is the most widespread type of turban, worn from the 18th century by functionaries and civilians. It is a *ḳavuḳ* of cylindrical shape, quilted, worn with a white turban not too long, rolled at the base and tied in front; *müdjewweze*—a head-dress reserved for the Sultan and the highest dignitaries, a *ḳavuḳ* of cylindrical shape, growing slightly broader towards the top, about 45 cm. high, flat on top, worn with a white turban rolled around; the end of the turban was fastened with a small roll of red felt; *ḳallāvī*, a head-dress reserved for dignitaries with the rank of *pasha* which, from the 18th century, became official head-gear, a *ḳavuḳ* with the body of a cone, worn with a white turban rolled around, draped and bulging in flour places, decorated with a gold band; *ʿörf* (*ʿörfī*), worn from the 18th century by the religious classes, a large, dome-shaped *ḳavuḳ*, worn with a white turban rolled around and which, draped, forms harmonious folds; *ḳafesi* (*ḳubbeli ḳalāfat*), worn from the 17th century by the functionaries of the Defter, a dome-shaped *ḳavuḳ*, worn with a long turban forming folds fastened towards the base with a fine thread or pin; and *khartāwī*—worn from the 17th century, a high, pointed *ḳavuḳ*, worn with a turban rolled around whose end was often left free.

Another quite widespread head-dress was the turban worn on a small skull-cap (*takke*), often folded in large rolls (*burmalï*) or particularly the *ḳavuḳ* worn with a small turban (*muʿaḳḳad*) rolled around; the *ḳavuḳ* without a turban was called *dal ḳavuḳ* or *dal ḳalāfat*.

b) *Külāh* (cap, hat). *Külāh*s were a very widespread masculine and feminine head-gear, worn by soldiers, dervishes, functionaries and civilians. This head-gear, of which several dozen variants existed, could be made from felt or woollen cloth combined with other materials such as cotton cloth, fur, small turbans, scarves and trimmings. As to their shape, the most common were caps, head-dresses in the shape of a dome, cone, cylinder broadening towards the top, tube, helmet, brimmed hats with flaps and straps. Among the *külāh*s most frequently worn by servants of the court and soldiers there were: the *zerrin tas*, worn by the pages; a high, cylindrical *külāh* trimmed with brocade and decorated with *zülüf*; the *börk*, which was the most widespread head-gear, in a cone or helmet shape, raised in front, decorated at the base with gold braid; officers wore it decorated in addition with a plume; the *üsküf* (*kečeli külāh*) of the Janissaries, a high *külāh* whose rear part fell in the form of a covering (*yatïrma*) on the back, a ribbon ornamenting it at the base where a metal case for the officer's spoon or plume was also fixed; and the *barata* of the palace domestics, a *külāh* of woollen cloth in the shape of a sleeve whose rear part fell on the back.

The *külāh*s worn by the dervishes most frequently had the form of a cone, a helmet or a cylinder widening towards the top and they were normally quilted (each order or *ṭarīḳa* had the right to a defined number of *terk*). There were also *külāh*s bordered with fur (*müzhgānlï*). Only *shaykh*s had the right to put a turban on the *külāh*. The *külāh*s worn by dervishes also had other names: *sikke*, *tādj* and *elifli tādj*.

In the 19th century, the *fez* became a current head-dress, as did the *shubara* in the army.

c) *Ḳalpaḳ* (busby), a kind of bonnet of lamb's fleece or woollen cloth decorated with lamb's fleece, worn by men and women.

d) Feminine headgear: *külāh*s of various shapes, scarves with a flap or a peak (*siper*); a veil (*čarshaf*); a scarf called a *yashmaḳ*, and the *khotoz*, the most popular head-gear, in the form of a conical *külāh* or hood decorated with a fine scarf or shawl

and trimmed with feathers, precious stones and ribbons.

Outer garments. The most characteristic and widespread outer garment in Turkey (known since antiquity in Central Asia and the Near East) was the *ḳaftān* (caftan), a long, full robe with sleeves. Its cut varied according to the period and area. The Turkish caftan had several variants which were distinguished from one another by the length and width of the skirts and sleeves, the buttoning, the use of slit or supplementary sleeves of a decorative character. It was these elements and the cut which decided the type of caftan. The *khilʿat*, for example, was a ceremonial caftan, made with sumptuous materials, quite full, with skirts side by side or crossed over. Caftans had skirts descending as far as the ankle, covering the knee, descending as far as the ground or even trailing on the ground. They were slightly-fitting, flared or close-fitting, most often with a collar or bottom of a collar buttoned up to the neck and with a rounded or pointed scooped neckline, with crossed over, buckled or buttonless skirts; fitted or more or less flared sleeves, descending as far as the wrist or short, elongated slit or falling on the back, double sleeves. Caftans were made in brocade, velvet, *kemkhā*, satin, cotton, silk, cotton satin and wool. They were often embroidered, laced with frogs and loops, edged with fur and with the lining.

Outer garments. These included the *dolama*, a caftan worn by the least important palace servants, which has a long robe, fastened in front, with narrow sleeves; *entārī*, a kind of caftan, the most widespread of all the garments, worn under the real caftan and fur, descending as far as the ankle or covering the knee; *ferādje* (a man's garment), a long, full robe, with rather wide, short sleeves, sometimes edged with sable, sometimes with a collar; *djübbe*, a full caftan; *kerāke*, a kind of *djübbe* in fine wool; *khirḳa*, a full, short caftan with sleeves; *ʿabā* (really the name of a thick material), a garment of thick woollen cloth, stopping at the knee; *setre*, a military garment covering the knee and fastened at the front; *čepken* (or *čebken*), a short caftan with sleeves, buckled and bordered; *salta*, a kind of *čepken* worn by the working classes; *yelek*, a waistcoat without sleeves formerly worn as an outer garment; *djāmedān*, a short, trimmed waistcoat without sleeves; *mintān*, a short caftan without sleeves, stopping at the waist; *binish*, a kind of very full caftan with wide sleeves, worn most frequently as a travelling or riding garment. Dervishes' garments: *tennūre*, a long robe without sleeves; *ḥayderī*, a kind of short garment, without sleeves, stopping at the waist; *khirḳa*, a short caftan with flared sleeves; *etek*, a skirt; and *mintān*.

To go out, particularly in the rain, a kind of cape was put on, called a *ḥarmāniyye*, *barānī*, *ḳāpūt* or *yaghmurluḳ*. Furs were an important element in the costume worn at court. Fox, squirrel, ermine, sable, lynx and marten furs were covered with the most varied materials (brocade, wool, velvet, silk, cotton satin and satin). They were characterised by a great diversity of styles, but the caftan was also dominant there. The most sumptuous fur was the *ḳapanidja* of the sultan, with a large fur collar, narrow or short sleeves, decorated with fur below the shoulders, with straight supplementary sleeves, laced with frogs and loops in front; *ferve-i beyḍā*, a fur of white sable covered with green cotton satin; and *kontosh*, a fur (or caftan) with straight sleeves, with a collar. Full furs edged with fur in front and in general with a collar were worn during ceremonies, gala receptions, etc. These were the *üst kürk*, the *dīvānī kürk*, or the *dört ḳollu kürk* (when they had supplementary sleeves), or further the *bol yeñli kürk* (when it was a fur with wide sleeves).

The outer garments most often worn by women were: the *ferādje*, the *entārī*, the *yelek* and capes (*ḥarmāniyye*); *ferādje*, a kind of full cloak with sleeves and a collar, sometimes with cuffs; *entārī*, a long robe whose cut varied, normally with a low neckline, fitting at the waist and flaring from the hips, buttoned in front as far as the waist, trimmed, laced with frogs and loops, with narrow sleeves, sometimes long or turned up. Women also wore short caftans or short *entārīs* stopping at the hips with wide skirts. Their furs had long sleeves or short ones or were without sleeves. They put a long robe under the *entārī* or over baggy trousers.

Inner garments. Among these are counted shirts (*gömlek*, *pīrāhen*); a long robe worn under the *entārī* or caftan, *dolama* or *ičlik*; baggy trousers (*shalwār*) of varying fullness, fuller and in finer materials for women; men's trousers (*čaḳshīr*), reaching down to the ankle or below the knee; the *potur*, full trousers as far as the knee and straight from the knee to the ankle; the *tozluḳ*, breeches worn by men as an outer garment; pants (*don*). All the parts of the trousers were held with a special belt called *učḳur*.

Belts were an indispensable element of old Turkish costume. They were of two kinds: material belts (*ḳushaḳ*), supple, knotted, with the ends hidden under the trousers; and leather belts (*kemer*), fastened with a buckle, often decorated, gilded, in hammered leather, embellished and encrusted with precious stones.

Shoes were divided into indoor shoes with a supple sole and town shoes with a thicker sole: *čizme*, the most widespread shoes for several centuries, with a high leg reaching up as far as the knee and a supple sole; women's boots bore the name *pashmaḳ*; *čedik* (an older form *içedik*), with a low leg, most often made in yellow Moroccan leather, with a supple sole; *mest*, a kind of *čedik*; *shipship*, a mule without heels with the end slightly raised and a supple sole; *terlik*, the most popular shoes, worn by men and women, without heels or quarters slightly raised at the end, in leather or material, often decorated; shoes for women had a low heel, To go out in the town the *pabuč* was slipped on over the supple shoes (*čedik*, *mest*). Sandals with a compensatory sole called *nalïn* were also worn. The shoes of the sultan, dignitaries and women were often richly decorated, in accordance with various techniques, with plant motifs (appliqués, embroidered, hammered leather).

Accessories decorating the head-gear: plume (*sorguč*, *süpürge*), crest (*čelenk*), feathers, ornaments, scarves, shawls, ribbons, tassels, small braids and plumes. Accessories decorating outer garments: shawls, trimmings, buckles, small buckles and metal badges. Jewels and side arms completed the costume.

2. The modern period. In the 19th century, in the period of the army reforms, a new military uniform was introduced, combining modified forms of old Turkish costume with some elements of European uniform. This new uniform became common during the second half of the 19th century. Later on, modern European uniform was introduced.

Regional costume is not made the object of this study: there only exist a few studies in depth on this subject (see Hamdy Bey and Marie de Launay,

Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873, Constantinople 1873).

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(T. Majda)

LIBERIA, an African republic in which, according to the sources, Muslims account for no more than 15 to 20% of the population. They are concentrated mainly between Monrovia and Robertsport on the frontier of Sierra Leone as well as on the frontier of Guinea. Their number is estimated at 300,000, but because the censuses take no account of religious allegiance, there exists no precise figure for a Muslim population whose Islamic culture was until recently extremely primitive.

Islam was a late manifestation in Liberia. Certain groups related to the Mandingo peoples and arriving, in the 16th century, from the region of Kankan were probably the first Muslims to penetrate what was to become Liberia. After the Vaï, other Mandingo groups like the predominantly merchant tribe of the Gbande were totally Islamised, while the Loma (or Bouzi) the Kpelle, the Mano and the Sumba were only partially converted. These peoples, impelled by military and commercial forces, included in their ranks Islamised elements. But the expansion of Islam could only begin to take shape from the 19th century onwards when the Afro-American emplorers had crossed the forest zone.

Since Liberia was governed until the coup d'état of 12 April 1980 by Liberians of Negro American origin, mostly of the Protestant faith, Muslims enjoyed no political representation. Moreover, the Liberian constitution of 1847 had a significant preamble: "Our People recognises with pious gratitude the goodness of God who has accorded us the blessings of the Christian religion and granted us political and religious liberties ..."; but the first clause declared that all religions would be tolerated and that no religious conditions would be attached to the holding of public office.

In 1953, President Tubman enacted a law pledging to the Muslims of Liberia full recognition of their rights. In 1965, the same president attended the mosque for the beginning of Ramaḍān and delivered the address. It was his government which, after consultation, gave to the leading *Imām* the title of *Muslim Bishop*.

Since 1974, the National Muslim Council of Liberia has united the principal groups. It comprises the following organisations: *The Council of the Muslim Community*, founded in 1949 by Alhaji Varmunych Shariff who, in 1953, built the capital's first mosque (inaugurated by President Tubman); *The Muslim Congress of Liberia*, founded in 1965 for cultural and scholastic objectives; *The Muslim League of Salefiya*; and *The Liberia Muslim Union*, established in the north, in the province of Nimba, and providing bursaries for academic students to be educated abroad.

The majority of the Muslims are orthodox Sunnīs of the Mālikī rite. Since 1957, the "Caliph" Mīrzā Nāṣir Aḥmad, who came in 1970 from Pakistan, has established himself and gathered around him a group of about a thousand disciples belonging to the Aḥmadiyya sect. In addition, an autonomous and syncretist Bahā'ī sect, which arrived in the country in 1957, has founded at Bomi Hilla a school capable of accommodating between 25 and 30 pupils.

In a land where the level of literacy is low (15 to 20%), the contribution made by the Muslim schools is feeble. The National Muslim Council sponsors one primary school in Monrovia and three high schools of which one, at Kakota, comprises 300 pupils. There is one elementary school at Robertsport (province of Cape Mount) and a secondary school in the province of Bong (40 pupils). Instruction is given partly in Arabic, partly in English.

Some rare Arabic books feature in the libraries of the capital, including some that have no religious content. There are certain Lebanese newspapers, of no interest other than to nationals of that country. The Aḥmadiyya broadcast a five-minute television programme every Friday.

Each year, between 100 and 200 Liberian pilgrims make the journey to Mecca. Only *al-ʿĪd al-kabīr* at the end of Ramaḍān is celebrated with any kind of vigour. Despite these modest activities, the role of the Muslims seems to be steadily growing.

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LĪBIYĀ, an Arabic form based on the Italian Libia, which in turn derives from the ancient Greek Λιβύη/Λυβύα.

1. The name. The name first appears in ancient Egyptian writings in the form RBW or LBW, perhaps representing Lebu or Libu. It was also known to the ancient Israelites and occurs several times in the later books of the Old Testament in the form Lubim.

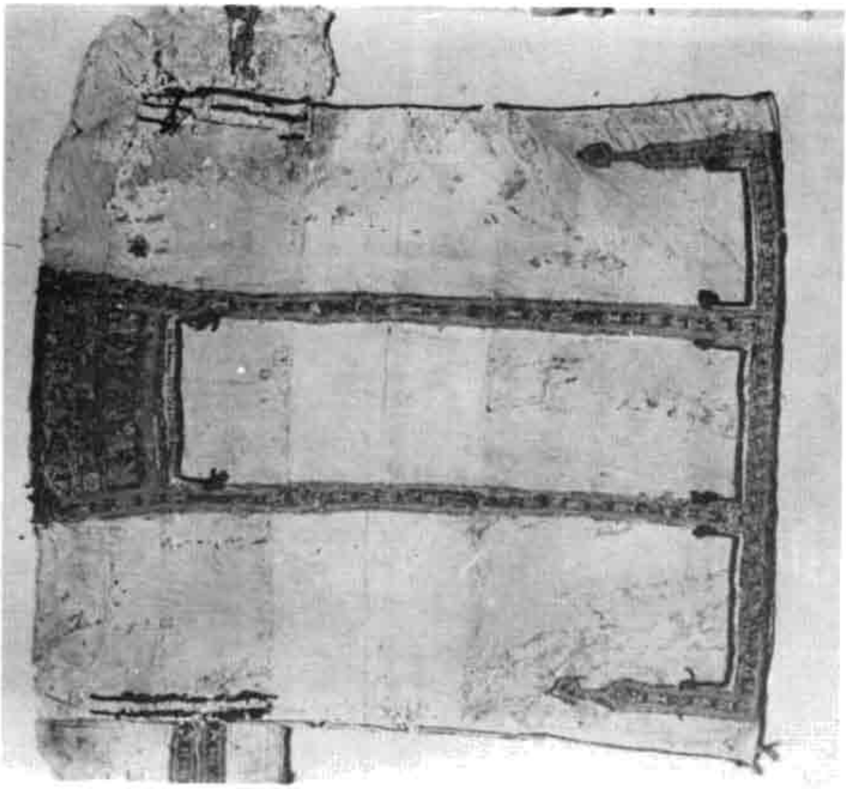

1. Egypt, Fāṭimid period. *Thawb* with decorative bands and border. (Courtesy of the Coptic Museum, Cairo).

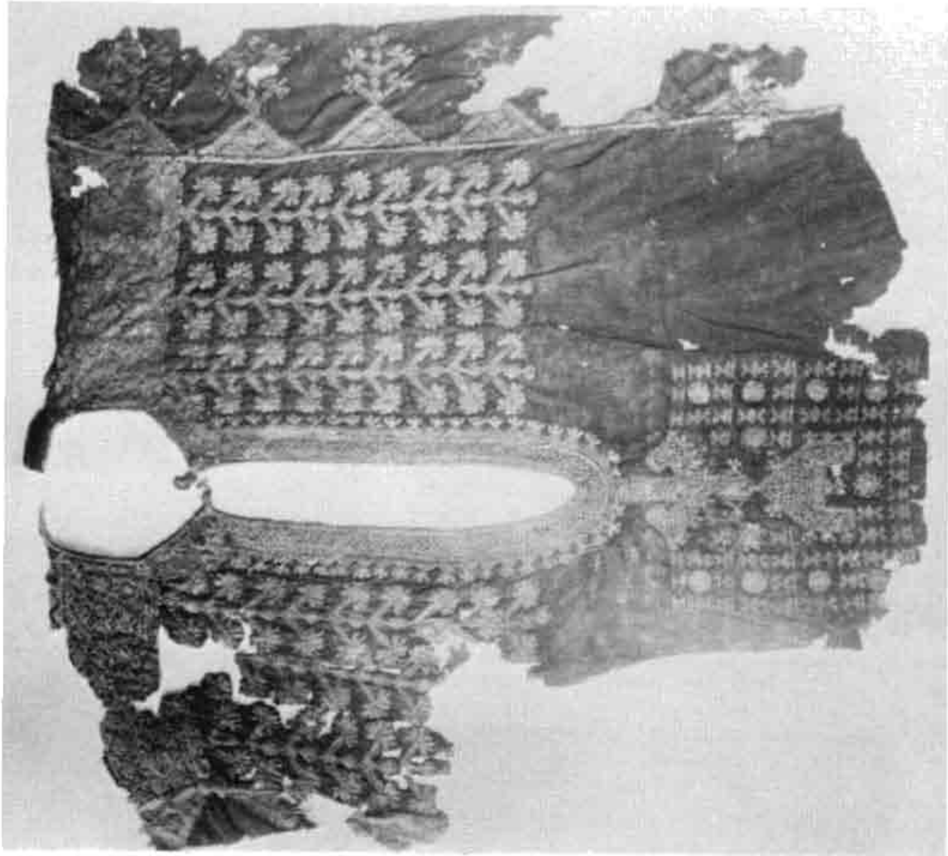

2. Egypt. Fāṭimid period. Fragment of an embroidered garment. (Courtesy of the Coptic Museum, Cairo).

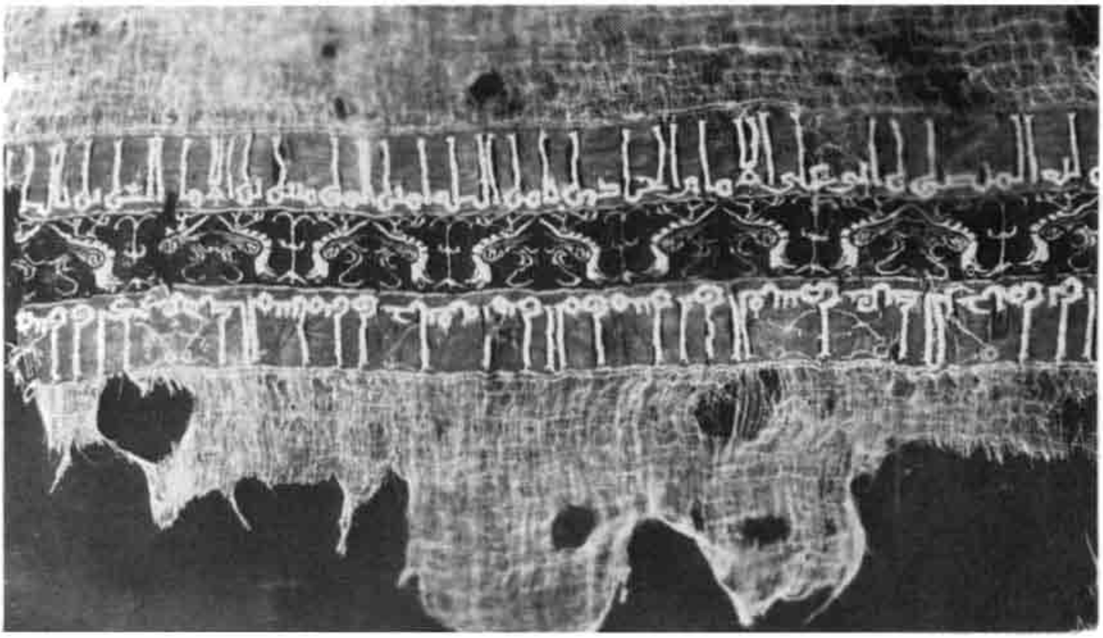

3. Egypt, 1007-21. *Ṭirāz* silk fragment inscribed with the name of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim and decorated with birds (*muṭayyar*). (Courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo).

4. Egypt. Fāṭimid period. Dancing girl in what appears to be a *sirwāl*. She holds a *mandīl kumm* in each hand. (Courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo).

5. N. ʿIrāḳ (?), second quarter of the 13th century. Woman wearing a *ṭirāz faradjiyya*. On her head is an *ʿiṣāba māʾila*. From the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. (Bibl. Nat. Paris, ms. Arabe 3939, fol. 151r).

6. Syria (?), *ca.* 1300. Group scene: The seated figure on the right is wearing a *ṭaylasān* or *ṭarḥa* over his turban. The fourth figure is wearing a printed robe (*makhtūma*), the woman standing below him is veiled by an *izār*, and the man on the left wears a turban wrapped around a *ḳalansuwa*. From the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. (Brit. Mus. Add. 22.114, fol. 15).

7. N. ʿIrāḳ, *ca.* 1218-19. Ruler wearing a *ḳabā' turkī* with *ṭirāz* bands. On his head is a *sharbūsh*. His attendants also wear Turkish costs. Most wear the cap known as *kalawta*. From the frontispiece of the *K. al-Aghānī* (Feyzullah Efendi 1566, fol. 1b, Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul).

8. Syria. Two women of Lattakia: The standing figure is veiled with a *burḳuʿ* and *ḥabara*, the reclining figure with a *yas̲h̲maḳ* and *mulāʾa*. From Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1884, plate facing p. 48.

9. Tripolitanian merchant. From Hamdy Bey and Launay, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople 1873, Fig. XLII.

10. Egypt. Men of the bourgeoisie in *d̲j̲ubba* and *banīs̲h̲*. From Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London 1898, 47

11. Transjordanian villager wearing a *thawb*, *kibr*, and *ʿabāʾa*. On his head a *kāfiyya* and a *ʿaḳāl*. From Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1908, fig. 29.

13. Palestine. *Shaṭwa* worn by married women. Bethlehem, late 19th century. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

12. Palestine. *Taḳṣīra* for a woman. Bethlehem, late 19th-early 20th century (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

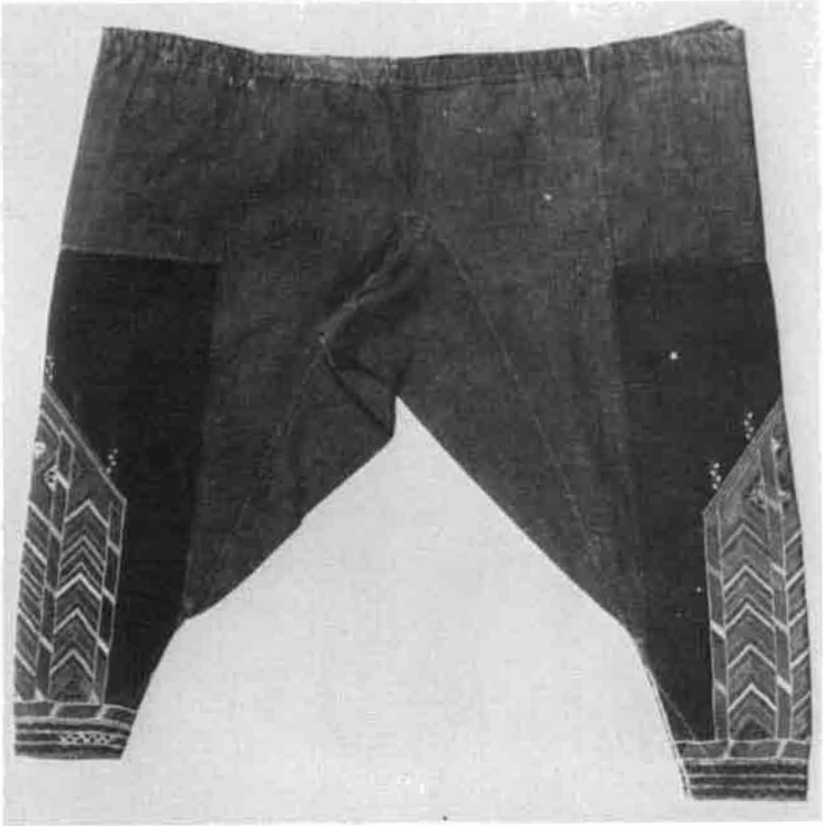

14. Syria, early 20th century. *Libās* or *sirwāl* for a woman. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

15. Syria. *Yelek* for a woman. Aleppo, *ca.* 1850. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

17. Morocco. A boy's striped woollen *djallāba*.
(Courtesy: Moroccan Ministry of Tourism).

16. Morocco. Draping of the man's *kisā'* or *ḥā'ik* in the national fashion.
(From E. Doutté, *Merrâkech*, Paris 1905, 254).

18. Morocco. High Atlas Berbers wearing the heavy black woollen *akhnīf*. (From G. Rousseau, *Le costume au Maroc*, Paris 1938, fig. 1).

19. Algerian *mufti* wearing long Andalusian *sərwāl* and a *ḳaftān* over which is a *ḳabā'a* and a white *səlhām*. On his head is a Turkish-style turban called *ʿimāma mboṛṛdja* over which is the scarf known as a *muḥannaka*, similar to the ancient *ṭaylasān*. (From G. Marçais, *Le costume musulman d'Alger*, Paris 1930, Pl. XIII-Bibl. Nat. Estampes O f 2 a)

20. Tunisia. Woman's wedding dress known as *ḳmādjdja kabīra* from Nabeul. (From S. Sethom, *La tunique de mariage en Tunisie*, in *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions populaires*, no. 3 [Tunis 1969], fig. 9).

21. Southern Morocco. Guedra dancer wearing an indigo *izār* pinned at either side of the bosom with silver fibulae called *khallāla, kitfiyya* or *bazīma*. (Courtesy: Moroccan Ministry of Tourism).

22. Iran. Men and women in Tīmūrid attire (from the *Shāh-nāma* of Bāysunḳur, Gulistān Palace, Tehran, dated 833/1429-30).

23. Iran. Scene from the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī depicting Alexander meeting the *Khāḳān* of China. All are dressed in Ṣafawid attire and wear the distinctive turban with the protruding spike known as the *tādj Ṣafawī* (from a ms. in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, painted in Tabrīz, 931/1524-5).

24. Iran. Ḳādjār court scene showing Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh receiving tribute. Figures in the foreground wear frocked coats and *kulāh*s, while the enthroned Shah wears a modified version of the ancient Sāsānid crown (from Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms. Elliott 327, f. 265b, *ca.* 1810).

25. Iran. Women in black *čādur* and white *rū band* (from E. C. Sykes, *Persia and its people*, London 1910).

26. — Turkey. *Ič oghlanî (page)*. (Library of the University of Warsaw).

27. — Turkey. *Čawush bashî* (chief of the Janissaries). (Library of the University of Warsaw).

28. — Turkey. *Eski Sarāy aghasî* (chief of the Old Palace). (National Library, Warsaw).

29. — Turkey. *Anakhtar oghlanî* (key bearer). (National Library, Warsaw).

The Lehabim of Genesis, x, 13 may possibly represent the same name. The term passed into later and modern usage through the Greeks and subsequently the Romans. In Greek geographical writings, it was most commonly used—along with Africa, which later replaced it in this sense—as the name of one of the three continents or, occasionally, as the name of the region in North Africa west of Egypt. Transmitted by the Greeks to the Romans in both senses, it was first made the name of a specific political entity by the Emperor Diocletian, who established the adjoining provinces of upper and lower Libya west of Egypt. The authenticity of a *ḥadīth* quoted by al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*[2], ed.—French tr. M. G. de Slane, Paris 1965; Ar. 8, tr. 23) according to which the Prophet is supposed to have said "He whose sins are numerous must place Libya (Lūbiyā) behind him", i.e. go to fight the infidels in Ifrīḳiya, is doubtful; moreover, the same author (Ar. 21, tr. 49) states that Ifrīḳiya is really called Lībiya, from the name of the founder of Memphis, who reigned over the land.

The term passed, along with much other Greek geographical knowledge and terminology to the Arabs, who normally wrote it in the form Lūbiya (لوبية or لوبيا). The earliest Arabic geographical writers name Lūbiya as one of the four quadrants into which the world is divided, the others being Europe, Ethiopia and Scythia (al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, text iii, Rome 1899, 27, tr. 19; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 155, cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 6-7, 197; Agapius of Manbidj, *K. al-ʿUnwān*, ed. A. Vasiliev in *Patrologia Orientalis*, v, Paris 1910-12, 612; al-Ḥamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, i, Leiden 1884, 32; Yāḳūt, s.v., citing al-Bīrūnī who ascribes this classification explicitly to the Greeks). Lūbiya consisted of "Egypt, Ḳulzum, Ḥabash, the lands of the Berbers and adjoining countries, and the southern seas." In addition to this vague use as the name of a quarter, Lūbiya also occurs, more specifically, as a place-name in northern Africa. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. and partial French tr. A. Gateau, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, Algiers[2] 1947, 35, 77), probably copied by Ibn Khurradādhbih (ed. and partial French tr. M. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghrib et de l'Europe au iii*e*/ix*e *siècle*, Algiers 1949, 13 and n. 172) makes Lūbiya a province of western Egypt. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 242 = § 1106), copying in his turn Ibn Khurradādhbih, speaks of a place (*mawḍiʿ*) named Lūbiya wa-Marāḳsiya (Marmarica) and cites in the *Tanbīh* (20) the region (*nāḥiya*) of al-Iskandariyya, Lūbiya and al-Marāḳiya. Ibn al-Faḳīh (*Buldān*, 74, French tr. Massé, 90) makes Libya a locality of Egypt. Al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 339, 342, tr. Wiet, 197, 201) speaks of Lūbiya as one of the districts (*kūra* or *ʿamal*) dependent on Alexandria, while Yāḳūt (iv, 368) places Lūbiya between Alexandria and Barḳa. Most of the mediaeval Arab geographers see North African Libya as administratively part of Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 56, 309, 311; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v, 43; al-Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 386-7, 390-1, citing the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* and al-Ḳuḍāʿī; see further J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égpyte*, Mém. IFAO, xxxvi, Cairo 1919, 163; A. Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung der frühmittelalterlichen Agypten*, Vienna 1959, 8-9). The name also occurs as that of a mountain vaguely situated west of the Nile Valley. The passage in al-Bīrūnī, (*K. al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir*, Hyderabad 1355, 100) naming Lūbiya as a source of precious stones south of Egypt, is certainly a misreading for Nubia. The form Lībiya is used, exceptionally, by al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 52), citing the Arabic version of Orosius, and therefore following the Latin form of the name. By late mediaeval times, the name Lūbiya seems to have passed out of use in Arabic. It reappears in the 19th century when it is clearly derived from European sources. A late Ottoman work of reference, the historical and geographical dictionary of Aḥmed Rifʿat (*Lughāt-i taʾrīkhiyye ve djughrāfiyye*, vi, Istanbul 1300, 151) lists Libya in the form Lībī, obviously transcribed from the French, and defines it as "the Greek name of Africa". The entry goes on to explain the different senses in which the word was subsequently used ends by noting that, in the writer's own day, the term was confined to the regions "beyond Tripoli, Tunisia and Egypt and northeast of the Great Sahara Desert." ʿAlī Mubārak (*Khiṭaṭ*, xv, 41), no doubt following European practice, also uses the form Lībiya for the region west of Egypt.

The name Libya continued in occasional use in Europe, mainly in the context of ancient history. It was given greater precision and popularity by the Italian geographer F. Minutilli, whose *Bibliografia della Libia* was published in Turin in 1903, and who applies the term specifically to the two Turkish *sandjaḳs* of Cyrenaica (Barḳa [*q.v.*]) and Tripolitania (Ṭarābulus al-Gharb [*q.v.*]), the only parts of the North Africa littoral that had not yet fallen under European control. Libya remained a geographical expression until the Italian invasion and the Italian decree of 5 November 1911, proclaiming Italian sovereignty over the two Turkish *sandjaḳs*. It was made the official name of a country—for the first time since Diocletian—by the Italian royal decree of 1 January 1934, which created a new colony, formed by the union of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, and called Libya (Arabic Lībiya). This form was retained by the independent state established after the ending of Italian rule.

Bibliography: For the earlier history, the reader is referred to the articles BARḲA, FAZZĀN and ṬARĀBULUS. Languages: On the Arabic spoken in Libya, see ʿARABIYYA iii, 3. The Western dialects. On Berber, see BERBERS, v, as well as A. Basset, *La langue berbère*, in *Handbook of African Languages*, i, London-New York-Toronto 1952, 69-70. (ED.)

2. Libyco-Berber inscriptions. The Maghrib and the Sahara possess a large number of inscriptions using a script peculiar to the North-West of Africa, which was given the name Numidian and later Libyan. The first name, which has fallen out of use, was, however, to be preserved to designate one of the forms of this script, known as Eastern, which is widespread in Tunisia and Eastern Algeria.

The Libyan inscriptions published up to now and regarded as ancient, let us say pre-Islamic, can be estimated at some 1,200, but the Sahara possesses thousands of more recent graffiti and inscriptions carved on weathered rocks in the same script, still used by the Touareg, who call it *Tifinagh* [See BERBERS. VI].

These inscriptions, whether the monumental texts of Dougga from the 2nd century B.C. or the simple Touareg graffiti, use only signs of a strictly geometrical form, based for preference on the straight line. Also, the alphabet of Dougga which contains 23 or 24 signs only uses the circle for two letters: ⨀:

B and ○: R and the curve exceptionally) for M, more often written ⊐, and (for S, more often rendered by ⧗.

The other Libyan alphabets make more use of the curve, which appears for example in five or six *Tifinagh* signs. The dots, only present in the composition of two Eastern Libyan signs, are more frequent in *Tifinagh* (seven signs) where they sometimes replace the straight portions of the Eastern signs, also = in Eastern is rendered by: W in *Tifinagh*. The Libyan scripts seem to have failed to appreciate any cursive form; the signs are clearly separated in the ancient scripts, which know nothing of connections and ligatures, which are not so rare in *Tifinagh*, where the initial *n* and final *t* are joined in about twenty cases according to K. Prasse.

Another characteristic is that the Libyan script, like the *Tifinagh*, remains essentially consonantal. The vowels are not transcribed graphically except at times with a dot in *Tifinagh*, at the end of certain words. The sign ☰ seems to have had a separate function in the Eastern script, and the dot to have been the equivalent of *alif*.

The Libyan script, moreover, has no doubling of consonants and does not indicate stress; also, the alphabet is limited. In fact, 24 signs are known in the so-called Eastern form, of which one is doubtful, which agrees with the information given by an African writer of the 5th century, Fulgentius, according to whom the Libyan alphabet contained 23 signs.

The Libyan inscriptions, the ancient Libyco-Berber or *Tifinagh* and the modern *Tifinagh* inscriptions, occupy a vast area which seems to correspond to the ancient domain of the Berber language. Roughly, the signs of this script are to be found in use from the Mediterranean as far south as the Niger and from the Canary Islands to Libya. It is towards the east that the limit of this script's use is least known.

In Libya it was in common use in the Fezzān and Tripolitania. Recently, at the time of his excavation of Bu Ngem, R. Rebuffat noted that the Libyan inscriptions and graffiti there were influenced by Latin writing. Beyond there the evidence is less certain; nevertheless, a rock inscription found at Khor Kilobersa in Nubia was published recently. The signs of this inscription are sufficiently close to ancient *Tifinagh* for Alvarez Delgado to suggest a transcription and translation. Another author, Zawodowsky, even considered recognising in it a contamination of Meroitic script by Libyan, but this hypothesis was rejected by the majority of specialists. In this vast area, the density of inscriptions is highly variable and they are, furthermore, of different periods.

The zone with the highest concentration of Libyan inscriptions, their *locus classicus*, is undoubtedly North-West Tunisia and the part of Algeria adjacent to it; of the 1,124 published by J.-B. Chabot in his *Recueil des inscriptions libyques*, 1,073 come from this region. It is in fact the land of the Numides Massyles, cradle of the Numidian kingdom, where the Libyan language and script remained alive for a long time. In this district a large number of inscriptions are, moreover, from the Roman period. The rest of Algeria, as well as Northern Morocco, contains a low density of inscriptions. Despite the discoveries made since the *Recueil* of J.-B. Chabot appeared in 1940-1, the number of these inscriptions has only risen to 27 in Northern Morocco (L. Galand), and those in Algeria to the west of Sétif can be estimated at around fifty, of which about ten are in Kabylia alone.

Things are less clear on approaching the Saharan regions. Exploration is incomplete and above all very unevenly conducted. Furthermore, geological and topographical conditions are very influential factors in distribution. It is quite understandable that the flat regions, such as the Hamada or the basins occupied by dunes like the Western Great Erg, the Edeyen of Marzouk, contain very few inscriptions, while the rocky regions are infinitely richer. In the present state of our knowledge, which does not necessarily reflect the reality, the richest Saharan regions are the Hoggar and Tassili n'Ajjer, as well as its Libyan extension formed by the Acacus, the Air, the Adrar of the Iforas and the southern edge of the Atlas chain, particularly the south of the High Atlas, the Anti-Atlas and the Rio de Oro.

Inscriptions whose signs are close to the Saharan alphabet are not exceptional in the Canary Islands.

Periodically, "Libyan" inscriptions are mentioned outside the Berber domain, such as those of the Grotto Regina at Palermo, which, if their relationship to Libyan is confirmed, can be explained by the presence of Numidian mercenaries in the Punic contingents of Sicily. Others have been shown to be bad readings of Latin inscriptions (an inscription of La Garde Freinet, Var, attributed to the "Saracens") or the most fantastic interpretations, such as inscriptions found in Mexico or even Chile.

Traditionally, there are several distinguishable "alphabets" in the Libyan script. Some are contemporaneous with each other, such as the so-called Eastern and Western alphabets. The Libyco-Berber scripts of the Northern Sahara and the ancient *Tifinagh* preceded the *Tifinagh* used at the present day by the Touaregs, who are unable to read the ancient *Tifinagh*. Modern *Tifinagh* can undergo regional variations which are still little known.

The Eastern alphabet covers the north of Tripolitania, Tunisia and Eastern Algeria; the western limit of its use is to the east of Sétif, although two western-type inscriptions may be seen at Guelma and some eastern-type inscriptions may exceptionally be found in Kabylia: such is the case of the decorated stele featuring a person standing found at Lakhdaria (ex-Palestro), which bears on its main face, on either side of the person, an inscription with eastern signs. This inscription mentions offices and titles similar to those in use in Dougga in the 2nd century B.C. This detail allows us to put forward the hypothesis that it may well be an official inscription of the Numidian Massylian kingdom and somewhat "foreign" in a land that was in ancient times Masaesylian and the later Mauritania. This hypothesis may be strengthened by the existence on the reverse of the stele of graffiti using the Western script, which is that of the other inscriptions of the region. In the present state of our knowledge, the stele of Lakhdaria is the westernmost evidence of the Numidian or Eastern alphabet which seems to us to be more precisely Massylian.

The Western Libyan alphabet covers the lands peopled by the Masaesylians and Moors. It contains a greater number of signs than the Eastern, but also presents more variations; some signs known in Algeria are unknown in Morocco, and vice-versa. This script thus occupies a vast region, for all the Libyco-Berber inscriptions of the Northern Sahara and the Atlas belong to it to a greater or lesser extent. A great many of the Canary Islands inscriptions have the same signs, whose value is unfortunately not known with any certainty; besides, it is hardly likely that the Western script and that of

the Libyco-Berber inscriptions can be transcribed in the same way everywhere. This does not prevent three signs +ⵎV (read from right to left) being found throughout the western area, from Guelma to the Atlantic, and is evidence of a certain unity.

Modern *Tifinagh* signs, current or sub-current, whose use goes back at least to the 5th century A.D. (tomb of Tni Hinan in Hoggar), are known throughout the Touareg world and go beyond it on the north-west, to Touat and Gourara, where they were even in use among the Judaised Berbers.

In some regions such as the Anti-Atlas, particularly in the Tinzouline, the signs of the Western script are sometimes mixed with small animal figures (horse, dog, oryx) which appear to act as pictograms; they are so closely linked that it makes it hard to believe that they do not have the same semantic content. The presence of dromedary figures in the same scenes prevents these inscriptions from being regarded as very ancient. These pictograms, if they really play this role, cannot serve to support the hypothesis of the Libyan alphabet coming into being through transformations of ancient marks of ownership and other traditional drawings, such as those which still figures in tattoos.

However, it should be noted that *Tifinagh* has two signs: ⴶ, a sign which has the value DJ, and ⵣ, which has the value Z, the two of which seem to be derived from signs of a figurative, more or less anthropomorphic, character. More frequently, Libyan *Tifinagh* is written in horizontal lines, but the meaning of the reading is highly variable; sometimes it is from right to left, sometimes from left to right, from top to bottom and in boustrophedon. K. Prasse noted that the use of a movable support, such as a sheet of paper, actually favoured this tendency. There are even some inscriptions known which describe almost closed curves.

Only the current form of *Tifinagh* and the Eastern Libyan alphabet can be transcribed, the former because the script and language are still in use among the Touareg, the latter because we have at our disposal several Libyco-Punic inscriptions, in particular that of Dougga, where we know that the Libyan text corresponds quite closely to the Punic text. This last has also transcribed, without translation, some Libyan titles or municipal offices, such as LOGMIL or GZB, which, it seems, had no equivalent in the Punic towns. Unfortunately, while the value of the signs is basically known and only requires some verification or points of detail, the language of the Libyan inscriptions is still unknown to us.The little that is known of Libyan,some elements of vocabulary and some presumed grammatical functions, show clearly that this language belongs to Berber; an ancient Berber, certainly, and imperfectly transcribed by a strictly consonantal alphabet, but which cannot be fundamentally different from the numerous current Berber dialects.

However, since the composition of the famous *Recueil* of Chabot, the very few specialists in this field have in general refused to suggest any translation of the texts, which are indeed very short, of the majority of the Libyan inscriptions; some even go so far as to pose the question of whether Libyan belongs to Berber. This carefulness contrasts with the adventurous attempts of G. Marcy, who, relying on Berber, particularly Moroccan *Tamazight* and Touareg *Tamaḥaḳ*, suggested a translation for most of the Libyan inscriptions known in his time. This attempt was followed by M. Alvarez Delgado, who extends it to some Canary Islands inscriptions.

Between the possibly exaggerated carefulness of the former, and the certainly dangerous enthusiasm of the latter, there has to be a middle position which accepts at the same time both the most serious checking and control and the minimum of hypothesis indispensable for the progress of all-knowledge.

The Western alphabet contains some supplementary signs which are absent in the Eastern and whose originality has been demonstrated by L. Galand in his ***Inscriptions antiques du Maroc***. The use of these two ancient alphabets was certainly contemporaneous, and it would be a mistake to believe, following a historicising logic, that the Eastern alphabet is the older because the script came from the East. Personally, adopting a hypothesis of J. Février, the author of the present article would carry it so far as to think that the Eastern form of the Libyan script (Numidian or Massylian alphabet) is a recast and simplified form of the original script due to contact with Punic, whereas outside the Massylian territory the old forms continued to be employed and to evolve until they became modern *Tifinagh*, which itself affords variations. His only disagreement with the hypothesis presented by J. Février is over the age of this adaptation, which Février placed in the 3rd century or the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., whereas it seems to be much earlier.

Among others, the hypothesis has for long been prevalent that the Libyan alphabet derived directly from the Punic alphabet, as the name *Tifinagh* given to the present form of this script implies. But it is widely recognised that an origin derived from etymology can be fallacious. Nevertheless, the Libyan alphabet has several signs in common with the Punic script where they have the same value (G, T, SH). S. Gsell, however, raised considerable objections to this opinion. The writing of the Punic characters, as they are transmitted by numerous steles from Carthage, Utica, Hadrumeta and Cirta, is radically different from those of all the Libyan alphabets. Not only do nearly all the Punic signs have a cursive form, while the Libyan signs are angular and geometrical, but even the meaning of the script differs. All the Punic inscriptions, like every Semitic text, are written in horizontal lines from right to left, while the Libyan inscriptions are generally written from bottom to top in vertical columns, particularly those which we have every reason to believe the most ancient. It is only at Dougga for several decades, during the reigns of Massinissa and Micipsa, that some inscriptions of an official character were written in horizontal lines. These inscriptions number eleven, which represent a hundredth of the texts gathered by J.-B. Chabot. This proportion would be even smaller if we were to take account of the inscriptions discovered since. The case of the texts inscribed at Dougga is thus highly original and denotes a very powerful Punic influence, but this appears to be only a factor of modernisation and not as an especially determining original element.

If we are to look, as is most likely, among the Near Eastern scripts for the forms from which the Libyan alphabet derives, it is not to the Phoenician of Africa as it is known at Carthage, but to a more archaic script that we should turn, which would explain the similarities remarked with the South Arabian scripts (Ḥimyarite, Sabaean), but also with the Turdetan alphabet of Southern Spain.

The script did not necessarily penetrate Africa by sea, and it is actually more likely that it crossed the continent and that the Numidian Massylian form (the most recent of the ancient Libyan alphabets) may have arisen out of a transformation of the archaic forms in contact with the Punic world.

As far as this alphabet itself is concerned, two old hypotheses may definitely be rejected. The first is that of Meltzer, according to whom the Eastern alphabet was wholly invented by Massinissa, for we know today that some Libyan inscriptions are earlier than this king and, further, that the Numidian royal administration employed Punic exclusively in its official inscriptions, as it did in the legends on its coins. The other hypothesis, that of Lidzbarski, who wanted to link Libyan with Neo-Punic, is even more improbable, for it is based on a totally outdated chronology of the Neo-Punic script.

If the origin of the Libyan alphabet poses some insoluble problems, it is even more difficult to date its invention or introduction.

Contrary to the views of several authors (D. Blanchet, S. Gsell), the Libyan inscriptions or signs which are found on some rock carvings as at Kef Mektouba, Chaba Naïma and Khanguet el Hadjar, cannot be contemporaneous with these latter. It is now known that these carvings are for the most part Neolithic and thus very much earlier than every script. Careful examination reveals in every case that the inscriptions are superimposed on the carvings.

However, this is not the case with the inscription from the Azib n'Ikkis (High Atlas, Morocco). This inscription occupies a vertical cartouche delimited in an anthropomorphic figure of which it forms an indisputable part. It is certain that this inscription, which contains fifteen or sixteen signs not belonging to the Saharan alphabet, is contemporaneous with the carving. The technique of the lines, the patina, style and details such as the representation of the sex and the lateral fringes, which accompany the figure, are identical with other carvings which are usually attributed to the Old Bronze Age (El Argar civilisation in Spain). Even assigning it as late as possible within the archaeological context, this inscription seems to us clearly earlier than the 6th-5th century B.C.

In Morocco, we also have the inscription of Sidi Slimane of the Gharb which refers to the tumulus that it adjoins and with which it is consequently contemporaneous; the funerary furniture of this monument belongs to the 4th-3th century B.C.

In Eastern Algeria the bazina (Palaeo-Berber dry-stone burial chamber) at Tiddis contained pottery, a piece of which has three Libyan letters painted on its belly. The bones contained in the pottery of this tomb have been dated from 2200 ± 100 years to 250 ± 100 B.C. So this inscription is quite likely to be older than the bilingual dedication of the Temple of Massinissa at Dougga, dating from the tenth year of the reign of Micipsa, i.e. 138 B.C. This inscription was for a long time the only Libyan text reliably dated, and there was also an unconscious tendency to regard it as the oldest. A study by J. G. Février of the inscriptions of Dougga, mentioning municipal offices, allows us to reconstruct the genealogy of an important person, Sefot, who was twice (during one year?) prince of the city. Taking account of this genealogy, it is possible to date back two other inscriptions (*RIL*, 10, 11) to a generation preceding the dedications of 139; these inscriptions would date from the decade 170-180 B.C.

In the Sahara, the datable documents are rarer, but a preliminary investigation has shown that *Tifinagh* is very much older than the historians, who believed that the Berbers only conquered the Sahara in the 3rd century of our era following the pressure exerted by Rome on the land routes of the north, formerly thought. In Fazzān, some *Tifinagh* scripts are carved on amphora found at Germa which date from the 1st century of our era. Among these graffiti figures sign ⵤ, which exists only in the Saharan alphabet. The Fazzān necropolis thus proves that in the 1st century of our era, *Tifinagh* was in use in the heart of the Sahara.

In the massif of the Hoggar, the stele of Assekrem, whose inscriptions and carvings appear very ancient (H. Camps-Fabrer), is worth citing, and especially the carved blocks of the funerary monument of Ti n Hinan at Abalessa. These blocks which bear *Tifinagh* script have been cut so as to form part of the construction of the monument, of which they constitute the lower courses. The cutting has mutilated or interrupted some carved texts. This *Tifinagh*, which belongs, however, to the modern alphabet, is thus at least contemporaneous with the monument and probably older; the funerary furniture and the isotopic date calculated from the wood of the bed or stretcher on which Ti n Hinan reposed, date the construction of the monument back to the 5th century of our era.

Such are the chronological pointers which allow us to assert the great antiquity of the Libyan script in the Maghrib, where it is clearly earlier than the reign of Massinissa, i.e. at the emergence of the Numidians and Moors into history. As for the Sahara, the use of *Tifinagh* goes back to at least the beginning of our era and probably much earlier.

Bibliography: It is not possible to present a complete bibliography of the Libyan inscriptions. The various histories of the alphabet and of writing should be consulted, particularly that of J. G. Février, Paris 1948, and M. Cohen, *La grande invention de l'écriture et son évolution. Documentation et index*, Paris 1958, 90-1. A very complete bibliography, for the period, is given by J.-B. Chabot in the *Recueil des inscriptions libyques*, Paris 1940-1. See also C. Meinhof, *Die Libyschen Inschriften. Eine Untersuchung*, Leipzig 1932-5; L. Galand, *Inscriptions libyques*, in *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc*, Paris 1966; J. Alvarez Delgado, *Inscripciones libicas de Canarias, ensayo de interpretacion libica*, La Laguna, Tenerife 1964. The greatest caution should be exercised in using G. Marcy, *Les inscriptions bilingues de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1936, and the numerous articles of this author which appeared in *Hespéris* (1934-7), *AIEO Alger* (1936) and *R. Afr.* (1937).

L. Galand provides annually a report entitled "Les Études de linguistique berbère" in the *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*. In these chronicles the discoveries and analyses of Libyan inscriptions are mentioned regularly. These reports have been collected in a volume entitled *Langue et littérature berbères. Vingt-cinq ans d'études*, Paris 1979. For the chronology of the inscriptions, see G. Camps, *Recherches sur les plus anciennes inscriptions libyques de l'Afrique du Nord et du Sahara*, in *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques*, N.S., x-xi (1974-5), 146-66.

(G. Camps)

3. Modern history. — On 29 September 1911, Italy declared war on Turkey and started its long-planned invasion of the Libyan littoral. Italian troops did not succeed in penetrating beyond the coastal strip due to stiff resistance by combined Turkish-Libyan Forces. Negotiations between Italy and Turkey resulted in the Peace Treaty of Ouchy (17 October 1912). On the battlefield, however, Libyan resistance did not subside. During World War I the Italians were virtually besieged in their coastal strongholds. In Cyrenaica, Fazzān and the Sirtica, resistance was led by Aḥmad al-Sharīf (1873-1933), head of the Sanūsī order, with support from Turkey and Germany. It was under their influence that he decided to attack British Forces in Western Egypt in November 1915. Defeated, he transferred all political and military control of Cyrenaica to his cousin Muḥammad Idrīs al-Sanūsī (born 1882). In April 1917 agreements were reached between Idrīs and the British and Italians (the Accords of ʿAkrama). The Sanūsī-Italian accord was superseded in October 1920 by the Accord of al-Radjma, in which Idrīs was recognised as the independent ruler (*Amīr*) of the interior oases.

In Tripolitania, leadership was divided. Though a number of tribal leaders (*inter alios* Ramaḍān al-Shtaywī (or Suwayḥilī) and the Ibāḍī Berber Sulaymān al-Bārūnī) agreed on establishing a Tripolitanian Republic (*Djumhūriyya Ṭarābulsiyya*) in 1919, fighting soon broke out between tribal factions. To overcome dissensions and to strengthen their position vis-à-vis the Italians, they decided to offer Idrīs al-Sanūsī the amīrate of all Libya. This put him in a predicament, for he was bound to the accords with the Italians. On the other hand, refusal of the offer would undermine his position with his adherents. Finally, he decided to accept the offer, but subsequently fled the country to Cairo (1922).

Full-scale war in Libya was resumed after Mussolini's take-over in Rome in 1922. Due to its internal divisions, resistance in Tripolitania was soon crushed, but in Cyrenaica the charismatic leadership of the Sanūsī representative ʿUmar al-Mukhtār inspired Bedouin resistance for almost ten years until at last he was injured in battle, imprisoned and publicly hanged on 16 September 1931. Pacification of Libya being completed, the Italians started extensive agricultural colonisation schemes in the fertile coastal plains. In 1935 they completed the strategic coastal road connecting Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The onset of World War II impeded further Italian development plans. After severe fighting between Germany and the Allied Forces, in January 1943 all of Libya was occupied by British and Free French Forces. Idrīs al-Sanūsī had assisted the British war effort from Cairo, and an army of Libyan exiles under the Sanūsī flag had participated in the liberation of Cyrenaica.

After World War II the future fate of Libya was put before the General Assembly of the United Nations. On 21 November 1949 it was decided that Libya should become an independent state before 1 January 1952. A UN Commissioner, the Dutchman Adriaan Pelt, was appointed to supervise the power-transfer from British and French military governments. The UN decision stimulated political debate on the future form of an independent Libya. Two opposing groups emerged. The older tribal and religious leaders, mainly concentrated in Cyrenaica and Fazzān, supported a federation under the Sanūsī crown. The younger generation, influenced by Arab nationalism, advocated a unitary republic. This no doubt would lead to the preponderance of Tripolitania, with its larger population and its better-developed economy and thus reduce the influence of Idrīs's supporters. They were wary of Idrīs's close bonds with Britain. The outcome of the debate, however, was anticipated by the proclamation of Idrīs al-Sanūsī as head of an independent amīrate of Cyrenaica, while control of foreign affairs and defence remained with Britain (1949). After this, Idrīs would not support the independence of a united Libya unless under his own crown.

Libyan independence was declared on 24 December 1951. (Due to peculiar international circumstances it was only in 1955 admitted to the UN.) The constitution provided for a hereditary monarchy under a Sanūsī King and a representative federal government consisting of two houses (a Senate and a House of Representatives). The King was endowed with extensive powers, including the right to select and dismiss the Prime Minister, to appoint half the Senate and to dissolve the elected parliament. The political system never matured. The first elections to be held on 19 February 1952 resulted in a victory for government candidates, but voting results were contested by the opposition parties. Demonstrations ended in violent clashes with police forces. As a result, all political parties and programmes were suppressed. From that moment, Libyan politics gradually degraded into the assertion of family, tribal and parochial interests.

The next two decades witnessed increasing pressure on Libyan society. An unprecedented oil boom was the main cause. Libya's first oil was struck in 1955; in 1962 it joined OPEC; and in 1969 Libya had already become the world's fourth largest oil producer. Oil revenues ended Libya's dependency on foreign financial aid and allowed a more assertive policy. In order better to cope with the exigencies of oil exploration, in 1963 the cumbersome federal system was abolished. Social changes set in with developing oil industry. Urbanisation and industrialisation gave birth to a new stratum of traders, service-men and technicians; petroleum and dock workers started to organise in trade unions. The new social groupings were denied political expression. Subsequent tensions were heightened by foreign politics. During the Suez crisis (1956) and again in 1967 there were violent outbursts of Arab nationalist feelings. But Libya, a member of the Arab League since 1953, was tied to the West in its foreign policy by the presence of British and US military bases. The government, though briefly joining the Arab oil embargo of 1967, had no means adequately to meet widespread popular support for a Nasserist policy. This undermined the King's authority.

On 1 September 1969, Idrīs was deposed. In spite of an initial wave of popular enthusiasm, the revolution remained entirely an army affair. It had been planned and implemented by a movement of "Free Officers" modelling itself on the Nasserist revolution. A Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) took control of affairs. It consisted of twelve officers under the general leadership of Colonel Muʿammar al-Ḳadhdhāfī (Gaddafi). Political parties remained suppressed. An attempt at broadening the RCC's political base was made by creating the Arab Socialist Union (1972). Lack of cadre, apathy and hostility from traditional leadership caused its failure. Another attempt was made in 1973 by the proclamation of the popular revolution. Its ideology was set forth by Muʿammar al-Ḳadhdhāfī in his *Green books* (see *Bibl.*). In these, he propagated his Third World

theory which refuted parliamentary democracy as well as class domination. Libya was to be governed by Popular Congresses (*mu'tamarāt sha'biyya*) and Popular Committees (*lidjān sha'biyya*) in every section of society. On 2 March 1977, power was officially transferred to the people and the country renamed the *Djamāhiriyya* (Masses' Republic).

In oil policies, republican Libya took a nationalistic stand, leading to a sharp price increase and a major share in production. On the international scene, the theme of Arab unity was paramount, though al-Ḳadhdhāfī's Third World theory has universalist aspirations.

Bibliographical: Indispensable bibliographical materials are to be found in H. Schlüter, *Index Libycus. Bibliography of Libya 1957-1969 with supplementary material 1915-1956*, Boston Mass. 1972, and *Index Libycus. Bibliography of Libya 1970-1975 with supplementary material. Vol. I. Titles.* (*al-Fihris al-Lībī 1390 ilā 1395-1970 ilā 1975*), Tripoli n.d. On the colonial period, a lot of material is available, especially in Italian. A good short account is to be found in E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1949. For the period 1943-1960: Ismail Raghib Khalidi, *Constitutional Development in Libya*, Beirut 1956; Majid Khadduri, *Modern Libya. A study in political development*, Baltimore 1963; and the account of UN-Commissioner Adriaan Pelt, *Libyan independence and the United Nations. A case of planned decolonization*, New Haven and London 1970. On revolutionary Libya: Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Zaydān, *Īdiyūlūdjiyyat al-thawra al-Lībiyya*, Benghazi 1973; Ruth First, *Libya. The elusive revolution*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1974; *La Libye nouvelle. Rupture et continuité*, Paris 1975; Henri Pierre Habib, *Politics and government of revolutionary Libya*, Ottawa 1975; Omar I. El-Fathaly, M. Palmer and R. Chackerian, *Political development and bureaucracy in Libya*, Lexington Mass. 1977; Omar I. El-Fathaly and M. Palmer, *Political development and social change in Libya*, Lexington, Mass. 1980; C. Kooij, *Islam in Qadhafi's Libya: religion and politics in a developing country*, Amsterdam 1980; Ḥabīb Wadā'a al-Ḥusnāwī, *Min al-Djumhūriyya ilā 'l-Djamāhiriyya. Dirāsāt fī thawrat al-Fātiḥ min Sibtimbir fī Lībiyā*, Tripolis 1982. On oil: F. C. Waddams, *The Libyan Oil industry*, London 1980. Yearly economic, political, social and cultural surveys, besides documents and studies, in: *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris. A good general history is J. Wright, *Libya*, London 1969, and also idem, *Libya. A modern history*, London n.d. Mu'ammar al-Ḳadhdhāfī's ideology is to be found in his *al-Kitāb al-Akhḍar al-Faṣl al-awwal: Ḥall mushkilat al-dīmūḳrāṭiyya "Sulṭat al-sha'b". al-Faṣl al-thānī: Ḥall al-mushkil al-iḳtiṣādī "al-Ishtirākiyya". al-Faṣl al-thālith: al-Rukn al-idjtimā'ī li 'l-naẓariyya al-'ālamiyya al-thālitha*, in many editions and translations.

(R. J. I. TER LAAN)

4. Ethnography and demography. Since the early 1860s, when Libya began to export oil on an international scale, the social and economic structure of its population has been undergoing a continuous process of accelerated and extensive change. Nonetheless, studies of Libyan culture and society and its institutionalised forms—the family, kinship systems, political organisation, legal procedures, religious beliefs and practices, etc.—must still take into account geographical and historical diversities within the country and among its inhabitants. The three regions of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica (Barḳa), and the Fazzān have had different economies, varying external connections, and experienced specific historical and cultural influences; and internally, each of these regions has been diversified in particular ways.

Along the Mediterranean coastline of 1,200 miles lies a fertile coastal strip nowhere broader than 50 miles. The barren Gulf of Sirte, an arc of some 300 miles where the desert comes right down to the sea, separates the settled coastal areas of Tripolitania from those of Cyrenaica. These areas are well-watered, enjoy a Mediterranean climate and contain the principal cities, towns and villages inhabited by the overwhelming majority of the country's population. The western coastal zone includes the capital city of Tripoli; the inland hills of Djabal Nafūsa, with sufficient rainfall for habitation, and ancient olive groves surrounding small Berber-speaking towns and troglodytic settlements formerly inhabited by Libyan Jews; and, between the fertile coast and the hills, the arid plain of Djafāra. The eastern zone contains the country's second largest city, Benghazi, and the Djabal Akhḍar mountain range which runs in an arc parallel to the coast from Derna to south of Benghazi and whose uplands, rising to 2,000 feet, receive plentiful rainfall.

To the south of this strip lies a second zone which in the past has been too arid for permanent settlement, but which is sufficiently watered to provide grazing and crops of barley for nomadic herders. Although rains were uncertain and the hot wind from the south (*gibli*) could "shrivel plants like a flame", this was the country's main barley-producing area.

Beyond this zone was an absolute desert with the exception of four oasis groups in Cyrenaica—Djaghbūb [*q.v.*], Djala, Marada and Kufra [*q.v.*], and the spare half-dozen oases of the Fazzān [*q.v.*]. Only about one-twentieth of the country's total population lived in this area of extreme desert climate.

The divisive geographical features of Libya were mitigated by trade, religion and, finally, by the political unity created by Italian colonisation, beginning in 1911 and furthered by the Second World War. Before the opening of West African ports in the 19th century, a good proportion of the wealth of tropical Africa had reached Europe by way of Libya. From the Fazzān and Cyrenaica, gold, ivory, ebony, ostrich feathers and slaves transported to the emporia of Tripoli and Benghazi had sustained oasis-dwellers, camel-herders and merchant townsmen. The Fazzān had been a wealthy community of slave-owning merchants, Berber-speaking Tuaregs with trading networks as far as Timbuctu, in parts of the Sahara and into the Western Sudan; while Cyrenaica had controlled the caravan route through Kufra to Wadai. When this commerce ceased, the Tuareg moved further west while the former Tebu-speaking slaves remained in the oases, subsisting as crop-sharing peasants until the oil boom of the 1960s. Most of these areas, as well as the Djabal Akhḍar and the tribes in the plain of Djafāra, were more or less autonomous and maintained their own locally-based social structures.

Until the 1950s, at least four-fifths of the population of Tripolitania lived from agriculture and animal-rearing. In the Djafāra, a number of tribes, integrated in a complex social and economic pattern that included sedentary peasants, transhumants, and oasis cultivators, were linked by *ṣuff* [*q.v.*] relations of alliance which transcended other loyalties.

In Cyrenaica, as well, the combination of nomadism, pastoralism, and some cultivation, along with the significant seasonal variations in climate, assumed a characteristic form of social organisation, viz., the segmentary tribal system. Throughout Libya (and elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East), the disposition of non-urban groups reflected the distribution and exploitation of natural resources, and the usage of common concepts, especially that of the segmentary tribal system, was widespread and of central importance. Nonetheless, these shared concepts often glossed over diverse adaptations to different types of ecologies. Thus, for example, in Cyrenaica the virtually sedentary cow and goat herders of the Djabal Akhḍar and the camel and sheep pastoralists of the semi-desert area differed significantly in the pattern of their social relationships. The idiom of "tribe" also nominally existed in the cities of the coastal area, but the urban élites with their cosmopolitian values and social structure had more resemblances and affinities with their urban counterparts in the Arab and Muslim world than they did with the tribesmen of their hinterlands.

Libya, like the rest of predominantly Berber North Africa, had been invaded in the 5th/11th century by the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] and Banū Sulaym [*q.v.*], some of the former settling in Tripolitania, and the latter in Cyrenaica. These tribal movements from the east accelerated the process of Arabisation and the spread of Islam and produced a fusion of cultures and races. Only small pockets of Berber-speakers have resisted. In Tripolitania there are communities of sedentary agriculturalists along the northern fringes of Djabal Nafūsa between Yefren and Nalut, and on the coast at Zuara; these Berber-speakers, who are further distinguished by their adherence to the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] sect, constitute an estimated 4% of the population of Tripolitania; in addition, there are in the oases of Ghadamès and Ghat Berber-speaking Tuareg. To complete the linguistic description, mention should again be made of the Tebu of Fazzān and southern Cyrenaica who speak their own language, a Sudanic dialect. Finally, amongst the Arabic-speaking population, the Libyan Jewish communities deserve inclusion: before emigrating *en masse* during the decade following the Second World War, the Jews numbered some 30,000, most of them in Tripolitania. Their communities had their own internal social structures and values, and they played an important role in economic life, particularly trade.

In regard to religion, the overwhelming majority of Libyans have long adhered to the Sunnī creed and followed the Mālikī school of law. Yet neither their beliefs, nor the history of the country, may be understood without taking into account the revivalist movement of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*], a neo-Ṣūfī order established by Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (1787-1859). The order, founded on a network of lodges, spread along the desert oases from Tripolitania to the Sudan. With his headquarters in the interior at Djaghbūb, a strategic centre for consolidating power and spreading the creed among tribes along the caravan routes, the head of the order created a political-religious organisation that was to lead the opposition to Italian penetration and eventually become transformed into the Libyan Kingdom under the rule of a descendant of the founder, King Idrīs. The Sanūsī order, as an Islamic revivalist movement, gave the population of the country a religious zeal and, aroused by Italy's attack, a sense of unity that developed into Libyan nationalism.

During the period of Italy's colonisation of Libya, a large number of agricultural estates belonging to Italian individuals and development companies were established: a programme of state and land-grant colonisation in the 1920s was followed by large-scale agricultural settlement by Italian peasant families in the 1930s. The invasion and the colonial occupation disrupted and influenced the economic and social life of the indigenous population in a myriad of ways: e.g. there was an increase in sedentarisation among nomads, the breakdown of corporate groups, the spread of education, and a massive exodus of poor rural pastoralists and agriculturalists to take up wage labour in the cities and towns of the coastal region, especially after the Second World War.

Since independence in 1951, the government has created a new group of Libyan farmers by transferring to them former Italian lands (and eventually nationalising those lands in 1971) and establishing a National Agricultural Settlement Agency. Moreover, it has instituted policies for land use, irrigation, rural settlement (and, since the revolution of 1969, a state policy for rural development with projects planned for the Djafāra plain, Djabal Akhḍar, Kufra, Serir and Fazzān), and has generally sought to raise the contribution of agriculture to the national economy. But because of the phenomenal development of oil and the growth of industry and services, agriculture has declined significantly since the pre-1961 period when it involved 70% of the labour force.

In 1964 oil in Libya began to flow on an international level. Since then it has transformed the country from a poor agricultural and desert backland to a land of affluence and one of the biggest oil exporters in the world. With an estimated annual average income of $ 8 billion per year (1978) and a per capita Gross National Product of $ 6,310, Libya has become the richest country in Africa and the fifteenth richest country in the world (1977 World Bank Report). The national economy now depends on the oil sector, which accounted for about 62% of Gross Domestic Product in 1980. The government (renamed since 1973 the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to replace the Libyan Arab Republic established following the *coup d'état* led by Colonel Muʿammar al-Ḳadhdhāfī (Gaddafi) in 1969) has concentrated in its latest Development Plan (1976-80) on the needs of electricity, water supplies, sewage and housing, and the creation of three major industrial complexes. It is the urban sector, where one-third of the labour force are foreigners and less than 3% women, which now receives governmental priorities.

Libya is on the way to becoming a highly-urbanised society. About half of its population in 1978 of 3,014,100 (of whom 2,597,600 are Libyans) live in towns of 20,000 or larger. Its accelerated urban growth results from migration, natural increase and immigration of foreign labour. Between 1966 and 1973, towns of 25,000 or more population grew by 20% annually, one of the highest rates in the world. (Natural increase for the same period was 4.2%.) The urban regions of Tripoli and Benghazi (10% of the country's total area) contain 92% of the total population, include fourteen of the fifteen towns with a population of at least 10,000, and are responsible for 86% of Libya's agricultural production. The city of Tripoli has grown from a population of some 30,000 at the beginning of the century, to 110,000 (1931), to 240,000 (1954) and to an estimated 820,000 in 1980; while Benghazi, according to the 1980 estimate, has some 400,000 inhabitants. By the end of this century, it is expected that of Libya's

population of 5.5 to 7 million, 67% to 74% will live in cities of 20,000 or more, i.e., that the number of city-dwellers will triple or quadruple. The study of social and cultural changes consequent to these processes greatly increases the challenges to Libyan ethnography.

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LIḤYA-YI SHERĪF, the hairs of the Prophet. In imitation of the Prophet's practice shaving of the hair and beard later became a *sunna*. According to al-Bukhārī, during his penultimate and last pilgrimages, Muḥammad permitted people who wanted to get his hair when he was being shaved (Ahmet Zebidi Zeynüddin, *Sahih-i Buhari muhtasarı tecridi sarih tercemesi*, tr. Ahmed Naim-Kâmil Miras, Istanbul 1926-46, vi, 193-8, x, 442). The hairs of his head and beard, thus obtained, were preserved and later circulated in all Islamic countries. People kept this hair in a bottle, wrapped in layers of green cloth, in mosques, palaces, etc., opening this on public festivals such as during the days of Ḳandīl, Bayram, and in the second half of Ramaḍān. In the houses of the rich, the Liḥya-yi Sherīf was regarded with respect and placed in an honoured, elevated position. In the mosques it stood on a high stool on the landing above the last stair of the pulpit (Osman Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, Istanbul 1939-43, i, 172; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1971, ii, 366).

Although it means properly a hair from the head of beard of the Prophet, it is called Saḳal-ï Sherīf incorrectly by the public in the Turkish-speaking countries, meaning the Prophet's beard only.

The Liḥya-yi Sherīf is today kept in a silver box at the Topkapı Palace, together with the other relics of Islam, in the Imperial Chamber (*Khāṣṣ Oda*), in the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle (*Khirḳa-yi Saʿādat Dā'iresi*) (Kemal Çığ, *Relics of Islam*, Istanbul 1966, 7). Two other examples which belong to the Yıldız Palace, now transferred with other objects to Istanbul University Library, are however in boxes encrusted with mother-of-pearl on which verses from the Ḳur'ān are written. As well as green cloths, these are wrapped in a kind of gauze with inscriptions printed on it, called *destimal* ("napkin"), specially made (İsmail H. Baykal, *Enderun mektebi tarihi*, Istanbul 1953, 148) for the visits to the Holy Mantle organised by the Sultan-Caliph on 15 Ramaḍān and then distributed to the courtiers and other people invited to the ceremony [see KHIRḲA-YI SHERĪF].

The ceremony of visiting the Holy Mantle is explained at length in many Ottoman writers. Although the Liḥya-yi Sherīf is kept with the other relics there, it is never mentioned, and the Mantle of the Prophet occupied the most important place in these ceremonies (H. Z. Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve ötesi*, Istanbul 1966, 223; Leylâ Saz, *Haremin içyüzü*, Istanbul 1974, 125). It is interesting to note that in histories such as those of Silāḥdār or Selānīkī, we find much information about the Holy Standard and the Holy Mantle's being removed from their places and sent away in times of crisis, and about help being expected from them when the sultans or the Ottoman army were in trouble; butn one of these authors writes anything about the Liḥya-yi Sherīf (İ. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı devleti'nin saray teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, 250-60).

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LIḤYĀN, people and State of early Arabia.

1. Liḥyān and Liḥyānite in epigraphy. Inscriptions discovered in the north of the Ḥidjāz and speedily identified as "Liḥyānite" have preserved the names of at least six kings of Liḥyān, a kingdom which must have existed for several centuries in pre-Islamic times. The great majority of the Liḥyānite inscriptions are found in the valley of al-ʿUlā and its immediate surroundings, especially in the neighbourhood of al-Khurayba, the site of ancient Dedān, not far to the south of the great Nabataean centre of al-Hidjr [*q.v.*], i.e. modern Madā'in Ṣāliḥ. Not only Liḥyānite, but also other inscriptions are found in more or less considerable numbers in the same area: Dedānite, Minaean, Thamudic,

Nabataean, Hebrew and Arabic. C. M. Doughty, Ch. Huber and J. Euting were the first travellers to copy Liḥyānite inscriptions and to report on the archaeological remains in their vicinity.On the basis of Euting's documents in particular, D. H. Müller presented a first interpretation of the texts. Close to 400 Liḥyānite inscriptions and graffiti were subsequently published by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac in their monumental *Mission archéologique en Arabie*. In recent years, many more have come to light, for instance those included in some of A. Jamme's publications, particularly in various volumes of his *Miscellanées*. Most important was the discovery, in a mountain gorge near Bi'r al-ʿU̲dh̲ayb, to the west of al-K̲h̲urayba, of a group of texts connected with a place of worship of D̲h̲ū-G̲h̲ābat, the principal deity of Liḥyān at the time.

The Liḥyānite inscriptions are written in a South Semitic alphabet, related to but distinct from the South Arabian, Dedānite, Thamudic and Safaïtic scripts. Although the evolution of the South Semitic letter forms is not yet sufficiently clear in all its details, it has become generally accepted, since H. Grimme (1930, 1932), that the Dedānite inscriptions are older than the Liḥyānite ones. On both historical and palaeographic grounds, these Dedānite inscriptions are usually dated, with F. V. Winnett (1937, p. 50), to the sixth century B.C., or slightly later; cf. Winnett, in Winnett and W. L. Reed (1970, pp. 114 ff.). It is not known when the Dedānite supremacy in the region was replaced by the Liḥyānite one and after how long an interval, if any. It seems certain, however, that the kingdom of Liḥyān flourished at least throughout the 3rd century B.C.; the Minaean inscription found in Dedān and now dated to approximately this period points to the presence of a colony of Minaean traders without implying, contrary to what was previously believed, Minaean political domination, cf. A. van den Branden (1957, p. 16) and J. Ryckmans (1957-8, p. 243; 1961, pp. 54 ff.). The name of certain kings of Liḥyān, *TLMY*, may be another indication that the Liḥyānite rulers were to some extent contemporaries of the Ptolemies of Egypt, if the identification of that name with Ptolemy, suggested by E. Littmann, in J. Euting, *Tagbuch*, ii, 225, and W. W. Tarn is correct. But the name could be Semitic, and it has been compared, most recently again by al-Ansary (1970), with that of Talmay, king of Geshur (II Sam. iii, 3 and xiii, 37; I Chron. iii, 2). The southward advance of the Nabataeans probably caused the downfall of the Liḥyānite kingdom. In this connection, three short Nabataean inscriptions, found south of Taymā and written by a certain Masʿūdū, who calls himself king of Liḥyān, are often quoted. Various dates have been ascribed to these inscription: the 2nd century B.C. by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac (*Mission*, ii, 221), the middle of the 1st century B.C., "but before the final Nabataean conquest of Dedan", by W. F. Albright (1953, p. 7) and, less likely, the 1st century A.D. by W. Caskel (1954, p. 42). Among the deities worshipped by the Liḥyānites, the inscriptions mention, in addition to D̲h̲ū-G̲h̲ābat, Hallāh, Lāt, Han-ʿUzzay, Han-'Aktab, Ha-Kūtbay, Baʿalsamēn, Ḥumām, Ha-Mahr, K̲h̲ard̲j̲, Salmān and Wadd (the vocalisation is purely conventional). These and other deities are also encountered in composite proper names such as Zēd-d̲h̲ū-G̲h̲ābat, Wahb-Allāh, 'Amat-ʿUzzā, D̲j̲aram-han-'Aktab, D̲j̲aram-Kutbā ʿAbd-Manāt, etc. The site of a temple was discovered in al-K̲h̲urayba by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac (*Mission*, ii, 56 ff.). Its walls were probably ornamented on the inside with large statues; parts of several of these statues were found lying in the débris. In the central court of the temple, there was a stone basin, circular in form and more than four metres in diameter.

The language of the Liḥyānite inscriptions is an early form of Arabic. Some differences with Classical Arabic are easily observed. The defective spelling of words like *bt* (cf. Classical Arabic *bayt*) and *'s* (cf. Classical Arabic 'Aws) shows that the Liḥyānite phonemic system comprised the vowels ē and ō. After nasals, *t* may have been realised as *t̲h̲* and is occasionally spelled conformingly, e.g. *bnt̲h̲* instead of *bnt*—daughter. The article has the form *h-*; *hn-* before ', ʿ and, optionally, *ḥ*; *hl-* occurs in one inscription. The dual pronominal suffix *-hmy* (cf. Classical Arabic *-humā*) did not end in *-ā* because, in Liḥyānite orthography, final long *-ā* is written with the letter *-h*. The nominative dual *status constructus* is also spelled with final *-y* and, for that reason, cannot have ended in *-ā*. The perfect, third person m. sg. of the causative stem of verbs with identical second and third radicals is frequently not contracted, *'ḥll* or *ḥll*; but contracted forms are also found on occasion. A systematic analysis of the inscriptions will undoubtedly reveal other peculiarities of Liḥyānite Arabic.

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(A. J. Drewes)

2. In Islamic sources. The Islamic historical and genealogical sources consider the Arab tribe of Liḥyān to be a branch of the Hu<u>dh</u>ayl [*q.v.*], and ascribe to it the genealogy Liḥyān b. Hu<u>dh</u>ayl b. Mudrika b. al-Yās b. Muḍar, i.e. Liḥyān was attached to the North Arab stock. When and how the Liḥyān came to the position in which we find them in the 6th century A.D., forming part of the Hu<u>dh</u>ayl and established in a territory considerably to the south of their original home, sc. now in the country to the north-east of Mecca, we cannot tell, on account of the complete absence of documents. Muslim tradition has lost all memory of them and confounds them apparently under the general designation of <u>Th</u>amūd [*q.v.*] with the <u>Th</u>amūd proper and the Nabataeans of al-Ḥi<u>dj</u>r: a memory, but a very vague one, of the old kingdom of Liḥyān may perhaps have survived in the isolated mention in a tradition that the Liḥyān were "remnants of the <u>Dj</u>urhum", who later became part of the Hu<u>dh</u>ayl (Ṭabarī, i, 749, 11-12 [see <u>DJ</u>URHUM], following Ibn al-Kalbī; *Tād<u>j</u> al-ʿarūs*, x, 324, 1-2, following al-Hamdānī, probably in *al-Iklīl*, since the passage is not found in the text of the *<u>Dj</u>azīrat al-ʿArab*).

In the period just before and after Islam, the Liḥyān do not seem to have had a history independent of their brethren of Hu<u>dh</u>ayl; it is only rarely that they are mentioned apart from them, e.g. in *Ḥamāsa*, 34, à propos of their battles with the warrior-poet Taʾabbaṭa <u>Sh</u>arr^{an}; Yāḳūt, Buldān, ii, 272, iv, 104 (cf. the *Ḥamasā* of al-Buḥturī, 80-1; Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>arrāḥ, ed. H. H. Bräu, no. 86 = *SBWAW*, cciii, no. 4, 1927, 31), ii, 614, of a battle with the <u>Kh</u>uzāʿa. The poets of this tribe are as a rule reckoned among those of the Hu<u>dh</u>ayl—e.g. Mālik b. <u>Kh</u>ālid al-<u>Kh</u>unnāʿī, al-Mutanak<u>hkh</u>il al-<u>Kh</u>unāʿī, etc. At the time of the preaching of Islam we find them, like the rest of the Hu<u>dh</u>ayl, under the political influence of the Ḳuray<u>sh</u>. This explains their hostile attitude to Muḥammad, which resulted in the murder of their chief Sufyān b. <u>Kh</u>ālid b. Nubayh by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmays at the instigation of Muḥammad. This murder was cruelly avenged by the Liḥyān, who slew several Muslims in their turn (the *yawm al-Radjīʿ*, 4 A.H.). As there is no further mention of hostile relations between the Muslims and the Liḥyān, it is probable that the latter were included in the submission which the Hu<u>dh</u>ayl made to Islam [see HU<u>DH</u>AYL].

After the triumph of Muḥammad, and in the periods following, there is an almost complete lack of information about the Liḥyān, and there are very few persons of note belonging to this tribe: the grammarian al-Liḥyānī, whose full name was ʿAlī b. Ḥāzim (<u>Kh</u>āzim) or b. al-Mubārak, d. in 222/837 or 223/838 (cf. al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt*, ed. Krenkow, in *RSO*, viii, 145, no. 125, with bibliography; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, 51) perhaps belonged to it, but other sources (Yāḳūt, *Ir<u>sh</u>ād*, v, 229; *Tād<u>j</u> al-ʿarūs*, x, 324, 19) trace his *nisba* "al-Liḥyānī" to the unusual length of his beard (*liḥya*).

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(G. Levi Della Vida *)

LĪM, LĪMŪN [see MUḤAMMADĀT]

LIMASSOL [see ḲUBRUŞ]

LIMNI (Turkish form of the Greek Λῆμνος, in older Ottoman historical works Limoz and Ilimli, in older Greek sources also Λῆμος, Stalimene in mediaeval western sources, Lemnos in modern usage) an island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea, 80 km. west of the entrance of the Dardanelles (*Čanaḳḳalʿe Bog<u>h</u>azi* [*q.v.*]) halfway between Mount Athos and Tenedos (*Boz<u>dj</u>a-Ada* [*q.v.*]). The island, of *ca.* 470 km², has been virtually treeless since long before Ottoman times. Agriculture is of local importance only. Its famous export product since antiquity is a sort of volcanic earth which had reputedly medicinal power, *terra limnia, ṭīn-i ma<u>kh</u>tūm*, which used to be dug once yearly with some ceremony. Lemnos today has a Greek population of about 25,000 which is constantly decreasing. Myrina (formerly Kastro, Turkish Limni) on the western coast is the capital of the island that forms a part of the province of Lesbos of the Republic of Greece. There is a military air base at Mudros. The large harbours of Purnia in the north and Port Mudros in the south, almost cutting Lemnos in two halves, are not much used any more.

Lemnos in the Middle Ages was part of the Byzantine Empire. It suffered the depredations of corsairs, Arabs from Crete (*Iḳrīṭi<u>sh</u>* [*q.v.*]) in the 10th century, and those of Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs from Anatolia in the 11th century. With the partition of the Empire after the Latin conquest (1204), Stalimene became an imperial fief granted to Filocalo Navigajoso and to his descendants in 1207. Byzantine rule was restored by the Emperor Michael Paleologus between 1276-8. Prisoners of state were held in the island, e.g. the Ottoman pretender Düzme Muṣṭafā in 823-5/1419-20. Shortly before 1453, Dorino I Gattilusi (1426-55), Lord of Lesbos (Turkish Midilli [*q.v.*]), acquired the whole of Lemnos as a fief. After the fall of Constannople (29 May 1453), the Byzantine authorities fled. Thanks to the diplomatic activities of Critobulus, the Byzantine-Ottoman historian, who was a judge in nearby Imbros (Imroz [*q.v.*]), the Gattilusi dynasty of Lesbos was granted Lemnos and Thasos (Ṭa<u>sh</u>öz [*q.v.*]) as fiefs by Sulṭān Meḥemmed II, subject to a tribute of 2,325 gold pieces a year. Domenico Gattilusi, son and successor of Dorino I, was in 1455 granted Lemnos only. In 1456, however, the inhabitants appealed to the sultan to be directly governed by him. From this time, the first *ḳānūnnāme* of Imbros, Lemnos and Thasos must be dated, and this was revised by Selīm I in 1519 (cf. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 237-40).

A papal war fleet commanded by Ludovico, Cardinal Scarampi, captured the island in 1457, but in 1459 the Ottoman admiral <u>Kh</u>ādim Ismāʿīl Bey retook it. Critobulus intervened once more to maintain its special status, which led to the grant of Lemnos (plus Imbros and Enos on the mainland

(Turkish Enez)) in 1460 to the ex-despot of the Morea Demetrius Paleologus in return for a tribute of 3,000 gold pieces a year. A Venetian force conquered the island in 1464, and held it till the peace was concluded in 1479. Gedik Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], *ḳapudān pas̲h̲a*, had the fortresses repaired and Anatolian subjects were settled there. A regular administration was now set up with a *voyvoda*, a *ḳāḍī* and *ḳod̲j̲abas̲h̲ī*s in charge of the native Greek population. Limni became later a part of the province of the *sand̲j̲aḳ begi* of Gelibolu (i.e. of the Ottoman admiral). Towards the end of the 16th century, Lemnos, together with Chios (Saḳïẓ [*q.v.*]), was the only prosperous island of the Archipelago, with 74 villages, including 3 Turkish Muslim ones.

Its strategic position led to repeated Venetian attacks and its conquest in 1656, undone a year later by Topal Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a after a 63 days' siege of Kastro. Following the destruction of the Ottoman fleet near Čes̲h̲me on 5 July 1770 by the Russian fleet of Count Alexis Orlov, Lemnos suffered a Russian attack. An Ottoman squadron defeated the Russians in Mudros Bay, and this success brought D̲j̲azāʾirli Ḥasan Bey [*q.v.*] the titles of *g̲h̲āzī* and *pas̲h̲a*. After 1774, Ottoman authority in the Archipelago had to be reinstated, which led to a harsh régime and subsequent popular unrest.

During the Russo-Ottoman war of 1806-12, a division of Admiral D. Senyavin's fleet occupied Lemnos in 1807. In the same year the *ḳapudān-pas̲h̲a* Seydī ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a confronted the enemy in the battle of Athos, west of Limni (30 June 1807). Lemnos did not play an active role in the Greek War of Independence. When the Ottoman administration underwent the reforms of the *tanẓīmāt*, Lemnos in 1283/1866 became one of the 4 *sand̲j̲aḳ*s of the *vilāyet* of the *D̲j̲azāʾir-i baḥr-i sefīd* [*q.v.*], with the *ḳaḍā*'s of *Bozd̲j̲a-Ada*, Imroz and "*merkez*", the latter subdivided into the *nāḥiye*s of Bozbaba (Strati or Aghios Eustratios Island) and Mudros. An Orthodox bishop resided at Kastro. There was a small garrison, and a government steamship had its station there. In 1312/1894 the population consisted of 23,499 Ottoman subjects and 192 foreigners (in the 1310/1892 statistics, there were 34,451).

During the Macedonian crisis, the Powers sent a naval force to occupy Lemnos's castle, customs house and telegraph office (5 December 1905) in order to press the Porte to introduce reforms. At the outbreak of the Balkan War, the main division of the Greek fleet under the flag of Admiral Paul Koundouriotis steamed straight to the island (19 May 1912). The next day, 1,500 troops were landed and these occupied Lemnos after a short fight with the 30-man-strong Ottoman garrison. The *muteṣarrif* and leading Muslim civilians were deported. A Greek naval base was established at Port Mudros.

The Treaty of London (that of St. James) of 30 May 1913 confirmed the Greek annexation. During World War I, the Venizelos government lent Lemnos to the Allied Powers. An Anglo-French naval base and army camp were established at Port Mudros, from where the Gallipoli campaign was directed. It was here, aboard the British battleship HMS *Agamemnon*, that an Ottoman delegation led by the Minister of Marine Hüseyn Raʾūf [Orbay] negotiated with the British plenipotentiary Admiral Arthur Calthorpe and concluded the armistice of 30 October 1918 ending hostilities between the Allied Powers and Turkey.

At the Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923) the new Republic of Turkey recognised formally the loss of Lemnos and other islands. With Samothrace (Turkish Semadirek), Imroz (Gökče-Ada) and Tenedos (Bozd̲j̲a-Ada), the last two having been restored to Turkey, Lemnos formed part of a demilitarised zone. The 2,500 Muslim-Turkish inhabitants of Limni had already left their island in 1920, and Greek refugees from Anatolia took their places in 1923.

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(A. H. de Groot)

LINEN [see ḳaṭṭān]

LINGA, a minor seaport, modern Bandar-i Linga, on the northern shore of the Persian or Arab Gulf, in lat. 26° 34′ N. and long. 54° 53′ E., to the south of Lāristān [see LĀR, LĀRISTĀN] and facing the islands of Ḳis͟hm [*q.v.*] and the Ṭūnbs. Linga has a harbour of some depth, allowing traffic by dhows and coastal craft; behind the town lies a salt marsh, and then the Band-i Linga mountains, which rise to 3,900 ft./1,190 m. The population, formerly largely Arab, is now predominantly Persian, but with strong admixtures of Arabs, Baluchis, Indians and the descendants of black African slaves, these comprising both Sunnīs and S͟hīʿīs.

The old port was at Kung, 8 miles/13 km. to the east, where the Portuguese retained a footing till 1711, long after they had lost Hurmuz [*q.v.*]. In 1760, the Ḳawāsim Arabs [*q.v.*] under S͟hayk͟h Ṣāliḥ came from Raʾs al-K͟hayma and established footholds at Linga, which they seized from the *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] of the D̲j̲ahāngīrī district, at S͟hināṣ and on Ḳis͟hm island, till they were in 1765 expelled by Karīm K͟hān Zand [*q.v.*]. In 1809-10 the British naval expedition from Bombay which attacked the Ḳāsimī pirates at Raʾs al-K͟hayma went on to take Linga and other Ḳāsimī-held ports on both the Arab and the Persian shores of the Gulf. In 1887 the Persian imperial government extended its control over Linga and deposed the last hereditary *s͟hayk͟h* of Ḳadīb, carrying him off in chains to Tehran.

Linga was at this time still a flourishing port, a centre for pearl-fishing, with Indian merchants residing there; an import centre for textiles coming into Persia; and an export centre for Persian tobacco. There was still some slave-running of Persians and Baluchis into the Arabian peninsula and of Somalis and black Ḥabas͟hīs into Persia which the Persian authorities in S͟hīrāz were unable or unwilling to stop. Curzon in 1890 estimated the population of Linga at 10,000. After the assertion of Persian central government control, and the inclusion of Linga within the reformed government customs administration, many of the old-established merchant families moved to the Arab shores, e.g. to Dubayy, Baḥrayn and ʿUman, and in recent times, Linga has been only a shadow of its former self, completely overshadowed by such ports as Bushire and Bandar ʿAbbās. The population in the 1970s was 9,404. Linga is also administratively one of the five *bakhs͟hs* in the *s͟hahristān* of Lār in the *ustān* of Fārs, the population of the *bakhs͟h* being *ca.* 41,000.

Bibliography: L. Pelly, *A visit to Lingah, Kishm and Bunder Abbass*, in *JRGS*, xxxiv (1864), 251-8; idem, *Remarks on the port of Lingah, the island of Kishm and the port of Bunder Abbas and its neighbourhood*, in *Trans. Bombay Geogr. Soc.*, xvii (1864), 32-112; the Hon. G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 407-10; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, i, 184, 2063-5, ii, 1088-1100; S. B. Miles, *The countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, repr. London 1966, 415; Sir A. T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf, an historical sketch*, London 1928, 201, 205-6, 223; *Admiralty handbook. Persia*, London 1945, 130-1, 506-7; Hydrographic Office, London, *Persian Gulf pilot*, 10th edn., London 1955; H. Moyse-Bartlett, *The pirates of Trucial Oman*, London 1966, index; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968, 119, 161-2; *Farhang-i d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 2535 *s͟hāhans͟hāhī*, vii, 211-12; M. Izzard, *The Gulf, Arabia's eastern approaches*, London 1979, 242-3.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

LION [see AL-ASAD; MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪD̲J̲]

LIPḲA or LUBḲA, LUPḲA, the name given to the Tatars who since the 14th century inhabited Lithuania, and later the eastern and south-eastern lands (Belorussia, Volhynia) of old Poland up to Podolia, and after 1672 also partly Moldavia and Dobrud̲j̲a. Derived from the old Crimean Tatar name of Lithuania, the record of the name in Oriental sources (ليبقا in 926/1520, later لبقه: V. Véliaminof-Zernof, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du khanat de Crimée*, St. Petersburg 1864, 3, 4, 720; also ليبقه and لبقه *Silāḥdār taʾrik͟hi*, i, Istanbul 1928, 615, 638, and C. Orhonlu, *Lipkalar*, in *TM*, xvi [1971], tables I, VI) permits to infer an original *Libḳa* > *Lipḳa*, from which Pol. *Lipka* was formed (contamination with Pol. *lipka* "small lime-tree"; this etymology was suggested by the Tatar author S. Tuhan-Baranowski, *Skąd powstała nazwa Lipków*, in *Wschód*, iii [1932], 96-8). A less frequent Polish form, *Łubka*, is corroborated in (*Lubḳa* >) *Lupḳa*, the Crimean Tatar name of the Lipkas up to the end of the 19th century (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Kniga putes͟hestviya*, ed. by A. S.Tveritinova, i, Moscow 1961, 254, n. 3).

The Tatar settlements in Lithuania date back to the first quarter of the 14th century. Lithuania was also to provide a refuge for various exiles from the Golden Horde in later years. However, Tatar colonisation on a mass scale in Lithuania is commonly associated with the person of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Witold (*ca.* 1352-1430), a supporter of the K͟hān Tok͟htamis͟h and his sons in their struggle for power within the Horde. Witold's expedition to the banks of the Don in 1397 gave a rise to a voluntary and long-lasting immigration of large masses of Tatar population from the steppes to Lithuania. The newcomers, who were brought to settle at the very centres of power (Vilna, Troki and others), while maintaining their tribal organisation and freedom of the Islamic cult, were enlisted to do military service in separate units, and were endowed for this with land and exemption from the taxes. The nobility came in time to be put on a par with the Lithuanian and Polish nobility, whereas the former *tamg͟has* performed the function of coats-of-arms (S. Dziadulewicz, *Herbarz rodzin tatarskich w Polsce*, Vilna 1929). The poorer part of the Tatar population engaged in various activities such as waggon-driving, trade with the East and tanning, a craft traditional with Turkic peoples. Certain of the Lipkas also provided some dispatch-riders sent to the Crimea, and official interpreters for mutual contacts with Turkish and Crimean embassies. The privileges granted to the Lipkas by Witold were to be later re-affirmed by the successive Grand Dukes of Lithuania and Kings of Poland. Nevertheless, they were exposed to the envy of the magnates and nobility and of the Roman Catholic clergy as well, which in turn provoked the first manifestations of ill-will among these Muslims towards their adopted land. Their complex situation was adequately depicted in the anonymous *Risāle-yi Tatar-i Leh* by one of the Lipkas who, during a stay in Istanbul in 965/1557-8 on his way to Mecca, wrote his account for Süleymān the Magnificent (from a 18th century copy thereof, no longer extant, the Turkish text with Polish translation and commentary was published by A. Muchliński, *Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich . . .*, Vilna 1858). The rule of the fervent Catholic Sigismund III (1587-1632) and the Counter-Reformation movement brought a number of restrictions to the liberties granted to non-Catholics in Poland, the Lipkas

among others. To this can be attributed the intervention by Sultan Murād III with the King in the matter of liberty of religious cult for the Lipkas, undertaken in 1000/1591 upon the request of two Muslims who had accompanied the King's envoy to Istanbul (Z. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, Warsaw 1959, no. 236). In 1609 the mosque at Troki was destroyed and some Tatar women were accused of witchcraft and burnt. P. Czyżewski, in retaliation for his father's death at the hands of a Lipka, published a pamphlet, *Alfurkan tatarski prawdziwy* ... (1616), abusive towards the Muslim creed and its believers. It gained wide popularity (republished 1640, 1643) despite the *Apologia Tatarów* by Azulewicz (1630). The Lipkas who had defended their new land in the wars against the Teutonic Order and Muscovy, and even the borderland territory of Poland against the attacks of Crimean Tatars, on the other hand, as early as in 965/1557-6, having the author of the *Risāle* for their mouthpiece, had expressed their wish to be reintegrated with the world of Islam and even of having their land subjugated by the Pādishāh. Now, ostracised as they were and in view of the material difficulties in the Polish army, they partly joined the Turks when the latter invaded Poland in 1672. Köprülüzāde Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pasha made Poland, by the Buczacz treaty of 1083/1672, refrain from putting any obstacles to their emigrating to Islamic lands; however, their pro-Turkish enthusiasm was soon to abate. A. Kryczyński, who had once served in the Polish army, and later was made commander (*muḥāfiẓ*) at Bar, the centre of one of the four *sandjaḳs* within the new *wilāyet* of Podolia, and a fervent promoter of the idea of serving the Ottomans, perished at the hands of other exiles in October 1673 (*Silāḥdār ta'rīkhi*, i, 638; S. Kryczyński, *Bej barski*, in *RT*, ii, 229-301). Some of the Lipkas availed themselves of the Amnesty Act and returned to Poland (K. Grygajtis and J. Janczak, *Powrót Lipów pod sztandary Rzeczypospolitej*, in *Sobótka*, 1980/2, 181-9). They also took part in the battle of Chocim on the Polish side under the command of John Sobieski (1673). The reign of John III, a protector and patron of the Lipkas, was also noted in their history by a wave of conversions to Roman Catholicism, a fact which roused the displeasure of Khān Selīm Girey I in 1095/1683 (Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *op. cit.*, 720). The Lipkas fought in 1683 under King John III at Vienna, and their merits were recognised and rewarded at the 1684 Diet. Nevertheless, there were as many of them as 472 at Kamieniec Podolski, and lesser numbers were stationed at other Podolian castles occupied by the Turks (Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 71; Lipḳas are also to be found in the *Defter-i rūznāmče-yi zu'amā we erbāb-i tīmār-i eyālet-i Ḳamaniče ber mūdjib-i taṣḥīḥ fī sene 1098* [= 1682] at the Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe, Poznań).

The next considerable emigration of the Lipkas to Turkey took place early in the 18th century, in connection with the victory won by King Augustus II over the Polish-born King Stanislas Leszczyński, whom the Lipkas had supported in his war against the Saxon King. Those of the Lipkas who stayed on in Turkey after 1673, as well as the new emigrants, were settled in Moldavia (the "Puste Pola Tatarow Lipkow Libka Tatarlerinugn (*sic!*) Topraghi ابقه تاتارلرینک طپراغی in J. A. B. Rizzi Zannoni, *Carte de la Pologne divisée par provinces et palatinats* ..., Paris 1772, no. 23), Dobrudja, and even Anatolia (in the *sandjaḳ* of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*] and on the Ḳîzîl Irmaḳ [*q.v.*]). Formerly a constant threat to Polish borderland areas, after 1699 they served the borderland *pashas* as interpreters in the peaceful relations with Poland. In Poland they enjoyed the favour of the last King Stanislas Augustus (1765-95), and later had their shares in the national Polish uprisings against the Tsarist government; they also served with the Poles in the Napoleonic army. On the other hand, the Russian Empire opened to them a way to a lawful career and education; what was more, the Lipkas owed to it a stimulating contact with the other Turkic Islamic peoples (those of the Crimea and of Ādharbāydjān). This atmosphere of religious and national revival, of animated contacts with Turkey and the other Muslim lands, as well as with the centres of Muslim learning (Sarajevo, Cairo), distinguished also the activities of the Lipkas in restored Poland (after 1918). An important part was performed by the Cultural and Educational Association of the Tatars in the Republic of Poland (established 1926) and personally by Dr. J. Szynkiewicz, *muftī* since 1926, an orientalist who was in close contact with the Polish Islamist T. Kowalski (Cracow) and two Karaim Turcologists, S. Szapszał (Vilna) and A. Zajączkowski (Warsaw). In Vilna, where the *muftī* had his seat, a Tatar National Museum was founded in 1929, and the Tatar National Archives in 1931. Several journals were published: *Przegląd islamski* (1930-34), *Zycie tatarskie* (from 1934), and the *Rocznik Tatarski* (= *RT*) dealing with scientific research (i-iii: Vilna 1932, Zamość 1935, Warsaw 1938; vol. iv, destroyed by the Nazis, was never published). In 1936 a Tatar cavalry unit was founded within the Polish Army; they wore the traditional horse-tails (*tugh*). The forms of Muslim religious activities in Poland were finally established by the relevant Act passed on 24 April 1936. The outbreak of the Second World War did not permit completion of the building of the mosque in Warsaw. Tatars participated in the Polish resistance movement and fell victims to the Nazis during the occupation. The westward shift of Poland's frontiers after the war, and the emigration of the *Muftī* Szynkiewicz, who had not left any followers of his stature, were detrimental to the general situation of the Lipkas. Some of the Tatar intellectuals, however, supported by the Polish state, have focused their attention on religion, contacts with the Muslim world, history, mosques, burial grounds and other monuments of the Tatar past in Poland (M. Konopacki, *Les musulmans en Pologne*, in *REI*, 1968/1; A. Miśkiewicz, *Tatarzy polscy w latach 1918-1980*, in *Novum*, 1980/8, 83-109).

The author of the *Risāle* reckoned that there were a hundred settlements of the Lipkas, with a corresponding number of mosques, in Poland, and numbered their population at 200,000, which seems greatly exagerated. Ibrāhīm Pečewī, quoting the statement made by a messenger of the Lipkas to the *muftī* at Aḳkerman, mentions sixty villages with mosques (*Ta'rīkh*, i, Istanbul 1283, 472, quoted by A. Muchliński, *Izsledovanie o proiskhozhdenii i sostoyanii litovskikh tatar*, St. Petersburg 1857, 60-1, and Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 63). In 1932 there were about 6,000 Muslims in Poland, with 16 mosques and one under construction, and two prayer-houses (*RT*, i, 323). At present, their approximate number in Poland exceeds 2,000. There are only two mosques, in the villages of Bohoniki and Kruszyniany (*Boghonuḳ*, *Ḳurshun* among the Tatars), of which the former, devastated by the Nazi troops, has been rebuilt on a government grant. Since the 19th century there has also been a Muslim community in Warsaw

with an old burial ground; two new ones were established after the last war in Gdańsk and Szczecin, where the Tatar repatriates from the East had come to settle.

The author of the *Risāle* reports that the *imāms* were brought by the Lipkas partly from the Crimea and the Horde. Pečewī relates that litigious matters of religious and legal nature were submitted by them to, e.g., the *muftī* at Aḳkerman (*loc. cit.*). Their contacts with the Muslim clergy in Turkey (also attested by the references in contemporary Turkish authors; Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 66) are recorded still in the 18th century (Czartoryski Library, Cracow, no. XVII/1080). The author of the *Risāle*, a fervent Muslim himself, had deplored the fact that some of the Lipkas assumed the Christian creed, that the knowledge of Arabic was dying out among them and that, still worse, they tended to forget their own language, so that *yerlüler lisānī ile söylemeye bas͟hladïlar* and nobody but the newcomers knew the "Ottoman" language. Pečewī's informant had equally stressed that the Lipkas on copying the Ḳurʾān *ʿarabī k͟haṭṭ ile* commented upon it *Leh keferesi lisānī ile* (*loc. cit.*). Ewliyā Čelebi had at first called them soberly *Leh ḳrallïna tābiʿ ümmet-i Muhammed'den Libḳa ḳawmī*, and numbering them into the "Tatar" nations, justly regarded their language as belonging to the Slavonic family (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 99; v, 138, 146). Later, however, when the name of the Lipkas was cited to him at Ūjvár-Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky, in Slovakia) by the Crimean Tatar adversaries of the Swedes in Poland in 1656 [cf. LEH], he wrote how in that "Sweden" which he had allegedly visited along with the Tatars in 1663, he found 800,000 (vi, 368) or 1,000,000 (x, 77) *göčer ewli* Tatar, adding to this that they did not know Tatar at all and spoke among themselves only *iṭālyān lisānī üzere* (vi, 368). In fact, the Lipkas, as a result of their intermarriage with the Poles and Belorussians, abandoned completely their native language; however, though Polish and Belorussian became their predominant languages, even in religious writings, they were spelt in Arabic alphabet (such texts in both languages are quoted by Muchliński, *Izsledovanie* ..., 62-70; in general, A. K. Antonovich, *Belorusskie teksti, pisannye arabskim pis̆mom, i ik͟h grafiko-ortografičeskaya sistema*, Vilna 1968, with detailed bibliography). Furthermore, the Polish and Belorussian as spoken and written by these Muslims were enriched with many loan-words taken from the Muslim creed, community life, and everyday activities, of Arabic, Persian and Turkic origin (A. Woronicz, *Szczątki językowe Tatarów litewskich*, in *RT*, ii, 351-67, with a vocabulary listing similar words and phrases). This cultural ambiguity can be also observed on the tombstones of the Lipkas, where the half-moon and the *s͟hehādeteyn* formula in Arabic are usually followed by the text proper written in Polish or, formerly, sometimes in Russian. In recent times, however, even the knowledge of the Arabic alphabet has been dying out among the young generation. Hence when J. Sobolewski wrote his *Wykład wiary mahometańskiej czyli islamskiej* ("Exposition of the Muhammedan or Islamic creed", Vilna 1830), with an explanation of the religious rites and prayers, he did it in Polish only; the book was destined for his many co-religionists who were unable to read the traditional *kitāb*s in the Arabic alphabet. The Polish translation of the Ḳurʾān by Jan Mirza Tarak Buczacki (Warsaw 1858) was founded not upon the original only, and was provided with commentaries derived from the French translation of the Ḳurʾān by Kazimirski, which, to cite J. Szynkiewicz, "were often offensive to the religious feelings of a Muslim" (*Literatura religijna Tatarów litewskich i jej pochodzenie*, in *RT*, ii, 140).

The Tatar national and cultural revival in inter-war Poland was, however, largely due also to some of the Roman Catholic Lipkas (S. Dziadulewicz, S. Kryczyński and others). Lipkas converted to Christianity were also among the ancestors of the celebrated Polish writer H. Sienkiewicz (1846-1916; Nobel Prize for Literature 1905). The Tatars, who since the 14th century had been settled on Polish territories as war prisoners, were soon converted, with just a vague memory left of their origin (the names "Tatar" or "czabany", pl. derived from Turkic *čoban* "shepherd", as in the surroundings of Chrzanów near Cracow) and their traditional occupations (tanning and horse-breeding).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see in general S. L. Kryczyński, *Bibliografičeskie materiall o tatarak͟h Pols͟hi, Litvī, Belorussii i Ukrainī*, Petrograd 1917, with new addenda of idem, in *RT*, i, 295, 311; the most fundamental publication is S. Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej*, Warsaw 1938 (= *RT*, iii); V. D. Smirnov, *Krïmskoe k͟hanstvo pod verk͟hovenstvom Otomanskoy Portï do načala XVIII veka*, St. Petersburg 1887, 156-7; idem, *Sbornik nekotorïk͟h vaz͟hnïk͟h izvestiy i ofitsial'nïk͟h dokumentov kasatel'no Turcii, Rossii i Krïma*, St. Petersburg 1881 (18th-century Turkish documents on the Lipkas); S. Sienicki, *Quelques notes pour servir à l'histoire des musulmans à Varsovie et leur cimetière*, in *L'Echo de Varsovie*, 22 December 1934; J. Reychman, *Zabytki orientalne w Polsce*, in *Ochrona Zabytków*, 1957/1; idem, *al-Āt͟hār al-islāmī fī Būlanda*, Warsaw 1958.

(Z. ABRAHAMOWICZ and J. REYCHMAN)

LISĀN AL-**ʿARAB** [see IBN MANẒŪR]

LISĀN AL-**DĪN** [see IBN AL-K͟HAṬĪB]

LISBON [see BURTUḲĀL; AL-US͟HBŪNA]

LIṢṢ (A., also *laṣṣ*, *luṣṣ*, pl. *luṣūṣ*, with *maṣdars luṣūṣiyya*, *talaṣṣuṣ* (see *LA*[1], viii, 355-6, and Lane, s.v.), one of the two main words in Arabic for thief robber (the other being *sāriḳ*); in Persian we have *duzd* "thief", *duzdī* "theft", and in old Turkish *og͟hrï*, Ottoman *k͟hayrsïz*, modern *hırsız*. Arabic *liṣṣ* and the unassimilated variants *li/a/uṣt* must have appeared in the language during the Byzantine period, presumably via Syriac *leṣṭā*, whilst there exists the form *listīs*, closer to the Greek original ληστής, in Mishnaic Hebrew and Palestine Jewish Aramaic (see S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, Berlin 1898-9, ii, 315; Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 284; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 9). *Liṣṣ*, etc. do not appear in the Ḳurʾān, where we have *sāriḳ* and *sāriḳa* (V, 42/38, XII, 70, 73), but nevertheless they are found occasionally in pre-Islamic poetry (Imruʾ al-Ḳays, Labīd), and then quite frequently in the Umayyad period (for full documentation, see the forthcoming entry *s.v.* in *WKA*).

In general, the pre-Islamic Arabs did not recognise theft as a highly reprehensible crime, and it was not condemned unless the victim was a member of the kin-group or a *d͟jār* within it (hence D͟jamīl al-ʿUd͟hrī could satirise a man's father as "the one who stole a guest's cloak", *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, 155); the injured party was normally left to secure redress himself and recover his property (see G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben nach den Quellen ge-*

*schildert*², Berlin 1897, 217-18). Only with the coming of Islam did theft and brigandage become crimes punishable under the *Sharīʿa*, and *ḥudūd* were laid down both for simple theft (now called in legal parlance *al-sirḳa al-ṣughrā*) and for brigandage and highway robbery (*al-sirḳa al-kubrā* or *ḳaṭʿ al-ṭarīḳ*); for the legal aspects of these crimes, see SĀRIḲ. And of course, the carrying-off of camels and other beasts in the course of *ghazw* [*q.v.*], the raiding of a hostile tribe, was always regarded as perfectly legitimate.

Bedouin society up to the present day has preserved much of the ancient ethos in regard to thieving, with the Ḳurʾānic penalty of amputation only sporadically applied, even in the towns. In eastern Arabia, H. R. P. Dickson noted that amongst the local Bedouin, stealing from friend or foe was regarded as something shameful and dishonourable, *ʿayb*, but not treated as a crime (*The Arab of the desert, a glimpse into Badawin life in Kuwait and Sau'di Arabia*, London 1949, 531-2). Where penalties for stealing are applied, they often involve the infliction of indignities rather than mutilation and suchlike severities. Doughty, whilst journeying with a pilgrim caravan, observed the beating of a servant who had stolen from his master, although the leader of the caravan did in fact have the power of life and death in regard to crimes considered as really serious. In the town of ʿAnayza in al-Ḳasīm, he noted that common thieves were beaten with green palm rods (because dry ones would have broken their bones) by the *muṭṭawwiʿa* or elders responsible for order and decency, but amputation was not practised, and petty theft, if not openly paraded, was disregarded (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1926, i, 14, 69, ii, 368-9). In Jordan, Jaussen registered humilliating punishments amongst the Bedouins there for stealing, such as tearing out the offender's beard hair by hair (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1948, 229-30), forcibly shaving or plucking out the beard being an ancient Near Eastern way of showing contempt for someone, cf. Hamun King of the Ammonites' shaving off half the beards of David's servants (II Sam. x, 4-5). Only when a man showed himself as an habitual thief, thereby bringing dishonour on his kin, was he likely to be outlawed by them, becoming an outcast in respect of that particular offence (A. Kennett, *Bedouin justice, laws and customs among the Egyptian Bedouin*, Cambridge 1925, 21).

Within the Bedouin life of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, the *liṣṣ* was in many ways hardly distinguishable from the outcasts and desperadoes of the desert known as *ṣaʿālīk* and *futtāk* [see ṢUʿLŪK], who lived outside the tribal system with every man's hand against them; the poetry of these *ṣaʿālīk* and *futtāk* attracted the attention of philologists of the ʿAbbāsid period, and more recently, has attracted that of modern western and oriental scholars (see e.g. Yūsuf Khalīf, *al-Shuʿarāʾ al-ṣaʿālīk fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1959; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 133-45; and arts. AL-SHANFARĀ, TAʾABBAṬA SHARRAN, ʿURWA B. AL-WARD). But the activities of those described as *luṣūṣ* proper seem also to have been isolated for study by the philologists and compilers of *adab* works. Thus we have mention in the literary sources of an *Akhbār al-luṣūṣ*, containing poetry of well-known thieves and brigands amongst the Arabs, by the pupil of al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkarī (212-75/827-88 [*q.v.*]); see Brockelmann, I², 108-9; Sezgin, ii, 63, 133), and of a *Kitāb al-Sall wa 'l-sirḳa* of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Aʿrābī, called al-Aswad al-Ghandadjānī (d. *ca.* 428/1036-7, see Sezgin, ii, 68, 88). The contemporary Syrian scholar ʿAbd al-Muʿīn al-Mallūḥī has collected the names together of some 30 *liṣṣ* poets of the Islamic period, together with their surviving verses, see his *Ashʿār al-luṣūṣ wa-akhbāruhum*, in *RAAD*, xlix (1974), 362-76.

With the awakening, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, of a distinct interest among Arabic authors in low life and in the criminal and semi-criminal underworlds of the burgeoning Islamic towns, we find a certain amount of information on the activities of those thieves and brigands in the urban environment, although there are enough continuing references to criminal activities in the countryside and deserts (e.g. the rustlers of thoroughbred horses and camels, the thieves of the latter being known as *khurrāb*, sing. *khārib*, see C. E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld. i. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic life and lore*, Leiden 1976, 118) to show that rural crime and brigandage never disappeared.

A writer of such varied interests as al-Djāḥiẓ shows a special interest in the tricks and stratagems of the sophisticated criminals of his time, and he seems to have written a special work on the *ḥiyal al-luṣūṣ*, partially extant and cited in subsequent *adab* works (e.g. possibly in al-Bayhaḳī's *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, 521-3, without explicit mention of the title here; cf. Ch. Pellat, *Ǧāḥiẓiana. III. Essai d'inventaire de l'œuvre ǧāḥiẓienne*, in *Arabica*, iii [1956], 164, no. 95). The compilers of collections of anecdotes were eager to include tales about clever thieves, and in the opening of his *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* al-Tanūkhī lists among the interesting tales which he had heard in the course of his career those of fanatically-inspired assassins using knives (*aṣḥāb al-ʿaṣabiyya wa 'l-sakākīn*), of brigands and thieves, and of profligates and rowdies (*ahl al-khasāra wa 'l-ʿayyārūn*) (ed. ʿA. Shāldjī, Beirut 1391-3/1971-3, i, 4). Several of the succeeding anecdotes do in fact deal with the ruses of crafty evildoers, see e.g. i, 156-8, nos. 79-80, vii, 96-102, 250-1, nos. 57-9, 144, viii, 218-28, nos. 96-8. One of these tales actually deals with a body of thieves and bandits in India called the Bānuwāniyya, whom al-Tanūkhī equates with the Arab *mustaḳfī*, the cut-purse who follows and steals up behind a person to rob him, and from whose activities Muslim traders in India suffered (cf. also the Bānuwānī of al-Djāḥiẓ, cited in Bosworth, *op. cit.*, i, 37); Muslim authors seem to have been aware of the existence of organised groups or castes of dacoits and thugs in India, grouping these criminal bodies with the Bedouins of Arabia and predatory Iranian peoples like the Kurds, the Balūč and the Kūfičīs [see ḲUFṢ] as examples par excellence of violent and uncontrollable brigands. One should note also the connection in certain sources of gambling [see ḲIMĀR] and thieving, seen in the not-infrequent phrase *liṣṣ muḳāmir* "thief and gambler" (see F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, 114, 153).

The authors of *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*] and other works of the picaresque genre likewise found here material around which they could weave incidents involving their respective heroes. Thus Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī wove several of the adventures of Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī around the activities of impudent thieves, such as those who stole surreptitiously from the ranks of prostrate worshippers during the *ṣalāt*, those who ascended house walls and used grapnels for purloining articles inside the rooms, and those who burrowed into cellars and vaults from the outside or from adjacent houses (the *naḳḳābūn* or *aṣḥāb al-*

naḳb) see further, Bosworth, *op. cit.*, i, 100-3). Especially valuable evidence on this type of activities is to be found in the chapter on *talaṣṣuṣ* and associated malfeasances in al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* (ed. Cairo 1287/1870, ii, 108-12, ed. Beirut 1961, iii, 189-99). Al-Iṣfahānī cites as an outstanding figure amongst successful criminals one ʿUthmān al-Khayyāṭ, who as a skilful practitioner himself (called al-Khayyāṭ, not because his original profession was that of tailor, but because he "sewed up", *khāṭa*, the holes bored into houses for felonious purposes so neatly that they were almost undetectable) had apparently become something of a semi-legendary figure by al-Rāghib's time (the Dāwūd al-Čalabi Library in Mosul—whose contents are now dispersed and their location largely unknown—contained a *Ḥikāyat ʿUthmān al-Khayyāṭ fi 'l-luṣūṣ wa-waṣāyāhu*, see Pellat, *loc. cit.*; and one wonders whether there is some connection with the hero of two anecdotes given by al-Tanūkhī, named as ʿAbbās b. Khayyāṭa and described as a supremely clever thief of Baṣra, see *Nishwār*, vii, 97-102, nos. 58-9).

According to this ʿUthmān, there were five main categories of thieves and brigands: (1) the *muḥtāl* or "trickster", who worked by stratagems and who did not kill in the course of his crimes and was therefore looked down on his more desperate and violent confrères; (2) the *ṣāḥib al-layl* or "worker by night", the nocturnal housebreaker, who got in either by boring or by scaling walls (the *mutasalliḳ*), and the robber with violence (*mukābir*); (3) the *ṣāḥib al-ṭariḳ* or "gentleman of the road", the highwayman or brigand; (4) the *nabbāsh* or "burrower, excavator", said to be well-known and presumably a man who dug up a people's buried treasure hoards; and (5) the *khannāḳ* or "strangler, assassin", who may work by suffocating his victim, but may also be a disemboweller (*bāʿidj*) or one who pounds his victim's head with a stone (*rāḍikh*). He then goes on to detail the types of confederates and auxiliaries (*ʿawna*) whom criminals employed, e.g. to "case" likely premises for a future break-in or to create diversions whilst a raid could be made (for further details, see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, i, 101-6).

Bibliography: Given essentially in the article. On the legal status of highway robbers and thieves, see Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic law of nations, Shaybānī's Siyar*, Baltimore 1966, 247-50.

(C. E. Bosworth)

LITERATURE [see ADAB; ʿARABIYYA; GHAZAL; MADĪḤ; MAḲĀMA; MARTHIYA; SHIʿR; TA'RĪKH, etc.]

LITHĀM (A.) (sometimes also pronounced *lifām*), the mouth-veil, is a piece of material with which the Bedouins concealed the lower part of the face, the mouth and sometimes also part of the nose (see the commentary on al-Ḥarīrī, ed. de Sacy, Paris 1821, 374, 2). According to the *LA*, *lifām* is a mouth-veil which also covers the nose top (*arnabat al-anf*) and is worn by women. It served the practical purpose of protecting the organs of respiration from heat and cold as well as against the penetration of dust (cf. Dhu 'l-Rumma, no. 5, 43, also no. 39, 24 and 73, 16; and the commentaries on al-Mutanabbī, 464, 27, and al-Ḥarīrī, 374, 2). It also made the face more or less unrecognisable, and thus formed a protection against the avenger of blood (Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xli [1887], 101). The *lithām* was therefore also sometimes worn as a deliberate disguise by people who did not usually wear it; thus in the *1001 Nights* (ed. Macnaghten, i, 878) it is worn by a princess, who disguises herself as a man, and (*ibid.*, ii, 59) by a woman for similar reasons. A denominative verb has been formed from *lithām*, the fifth form of which in particular means "to put on the *lithām*" (e.g. *Aghānī*, viii, 102, 20; xxi, 55, 19; *Aghānī*, ed. Kosegarten, 121, 13; Wright, *Opuscula arabica*, iii, 2; al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*², ii, 433, 2), while the eighth form in the meaning "to put on something as a *lithām*" is generally used only metaphorically (see below). *Talthīma* usually means a woman's veil (Cherbonneau, in *JA* [1849], i, 64), but *talthīmat al-bayāḍ* is also found as the distinctive dress of a particular office under the Fāṭimids: their chief *ḳādīs* wore it along with the *turban* and *ṭaylasān* (de Sacy, *Chrest.*, ii, 92). In general, however, the *lithām* does not seem to have been worn by town-dwellers.

The *lithām* has no considerable importance for Islam from the purely religious point of view; it is forbidden along with certain other garments for the *muḥrim* (al-Bukhārī, i, 390, below).

The custom of wearing a *lithām* was generally disseminated among the Ṣanhādja tribes [*q.v.*] in north-west Africa, who are therefore described as *lithām* wearers, *mulaththimūn* or *awlād al-mutalaththima*; as the Almoravids originated in one of their clans, the Lamtūna [*q.v.*], the *lithām* thus came to have a certain political significance. The custom of wearing a *lithām* (below the *niḳāb*, see al-Bakrī, 170; the *lithām* is also mentioned by al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ibn Khaldūn, etc., cf. Corso, 151) was found in other parts of Africa also, e.g. in Kānem (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 193, 33 f.) and still prevails among the Tuareg. The Tuareg veil has been the object of several special studies (see *Bibl.*). Amongst the Tuaregs, it is not called *lithām*, but *tegulmust* or *shāsh* ("muslin"). Its origin seems to be pre-Islamic and perhaps even prehistoric. Among the ancient paintings and rock engravings found by Leo Frobenius there are human figures without mouth and nose, but with only two eyes. The primary motive for a veil seems to be magical, to protect the ways of life from evil forces. These Africans retained their veils even on journeys into the eastern lands of Islam, where it was not the fashion, while their women went unveiled. A tradition of late invention explains these remarkable customs by a story that on one occasion during an attack on a village, where there were many women but only a few men, the men put on veils and the women took up arms to deceive the enemy as to their real numbers (Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xli, 101); another story has it that after the fall of the Umayyads, 200 members of the Umayyad family and their clients escaped to Africa disguised as women and that the wearers of the *lithām* are descended from them (Wüstenfeld, *Der Tod des Husejn*, p. viii). According to al-Bakrī (text, 170, tr. 321), they never took off the *lithām*, and if one of them fell in a battle and lost the *lithām*, not even his friends could recognise him till the *lithām* was put on him again; they also called other men who did not wear the *lithām* "fly-mouthed". The Almohads, particularly Ibn Tūmart, opposed the veiling practised by the Almoravids. They continuously insisted that it was forbidden for men to imitate the dress of women, but they did not succeed in abolishing the custom of wearing the *lithām* (Goldziher, in *op. cit.*, 102). Among further passages where the term *mulaththim* occurs in this sense may be mentioned ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, ed. de Sacy, 483, 48 (with other references); Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, ii, 243 (discusses several passages); Marquart, *Die Benin-sammlung*, Index, s.v. *Liṯāmträger*.

The word *lithām* and its derivatives was very much used in figurative language, especially by poets.

From expressions like "to kiss the lips of the beloved one, which are under her *li<u>th</u>ām*" (Dozy, *Vêtements*, 400; cf. *mā taḥt al-li<u>th</u>āmayn* = "the face" in al-Mutanabbī, 464, 27) develops the meaning of *l-<u>th</u>-m* "to kiss" (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, ed. Schwarz, 6, 207; Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Dīwān*, Marseilles 1853, 125, l. 5 from below) and especially *talā<u>th</u>ama* = "to kiss one another"; *mal<u>th</u>am*, the place which is kissed (al-Farazdaḳ in Dozy, *Supplément*). A girl is given a *li<u>th</u>ām* woven out of her own hair (*1001 Nights*, Breslau edition, ii, 52, 2); the camel has a *li<u>th</u>ām* of foam around its mouth (<u>Dh</u>u 'l-Rumma, 76, 17); the wolf is *aḥamm al-li<u>th</u>ām* = "black in the region of the muzzle" (al-Ṭirimmāḥ, 4, 35; of the wolf, we find it said in *Ḥamāsa*, i, 762, 17, *lam yatalath<u>th</u>am*); the wine-jar has a *li<u>th</u>ām*, i.e. a piece of cloth over its mouth (*mal<u>th</u>ūm*; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, no. 125, 7; also al-A<u>kh</u>ṭal, ed. Ṣālḥānī, 85, 2 and ʿAlḳama, ed. Socin, ii, 43, on jars); the sun is darkened by clouds of dust and is thus given, as it were, a mouth-veil (*iltat<u>h</u>ama*, al-Mutanabbī, 601, 15); "as the day (*nahār*) doffed its *li<u>th</u>ām*" = a description of dawn in Ibn ʿArab<u>sh</u>āh, ed. Golius, 64, 3, from below; cf. the commentary on al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, 240, 10: *ka<u>sh</u>afa* [*al-ṣubḥ*] *al-li<u>th</u>āma*; many titles of books also begin with *Ka<u>sh</u>f al-li<u>th</u>ām*, cf. Brockelmann, S III, 915, 937 (eight titles with *ka<u>sh</u>f al-li<u>th</u>ām* and one with *imāṭat al-li<u>th</u>ām*); the *li<u>th</u>ām* is to be taken from the walls of buildings, i.e. they are to be exposed (ʿImād al-Dīn, ed. Landberg, 65, 12); to doff the *li<u>th</u>ām* of one's origin = to confess it freely (al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*², ii, 426, 3); the archangel Isrāfīl has one of his four wings veiled like a vast mouth-veil (*iltat<u>h</u>ama*) from heaven down to the seventh earth (al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 56, below); a voice may be hidden, *mal<u>th</u>ūm* (Ṭarafa, ed. Ahlwardt, no. 5, 26 = ed. Beirut 1886, 10); a further metaphor is found in Ibn al-Fāriḍ, in de Sacy, *Chrest.*, iii, 55, verse 25.

Bibliography: in general, cf. Dozy, *Vêtements*, 399-400 and *Supplément*, ii, 516; and for the veils of Muslim women, in general, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Twee populaire dwalingen verbeterd*, in *Verspr. Geschr.*, i, 295 ff. and LIBĀS. On the Tuareg veil specifically, see H. R. Palmer, *The Touareg veil*, in *Geogr. J.*, lxviii (1920), 412-18; D. Campbell, *The Touaregs or veiled men of the Sahara*, in *MW*, xviii (1928), 256-62; Raffaele Corso, *Il velo dei Tuaregh*, in *AIUON*, nuova serie (1949), 151-66; J. H. Keenan, *The Tuareg veil*, in *Revue de l'occident musulman*, no. 17 (1974), 107-18; L. Frobenius and H. Obermaier, *Hadschra mektuba*, 1925, pls. 32, 80, 158.

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LITHOGRAPHY [see MAṬBAʿA]

LITHOMANCY [see ṬARḲ]

LIU CHIH (*Matthew' Chinese-English dictionary*, Revised American edition 1969, characters nos. 4093, 933), also known as LIU CHIAI-LIEN (*Matthews'*, nos. 4093, 629, 4003), 12th/18th century Chinese Muslim scholar (translator, theologian, philosopher and biographer of the Prophet Muḥammad), the most prolific Chinese Muslim author and probably the best-known literary figure yet produced by the Chinese Muslim community.

A *Hui* (Chinese-speaking) Muslim, Liu Chih was born in Nanking *ca.* 1081/1670. Little is known of his class background or early childhood, but it is safe to assume that he was from a well-to-do family. His father Liu Han-ying (*Matthews'*, nos. 4093, 2039, 7489) is said to have "ceaselessly regretted" (Pelliot, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 415, n. 1) the paucity of Islamic works available in Chinese, and indeed, some sources have credited Liu Han-ying (under the pseudonym Liu San-chieh, *Matthews'*, nos. 4093, 5415, 774) with the authorship of two short Islamic tracts (Pelliot, *ibid.*); certainly, Liu Chih seems to have manifested an early interest in the study and translation of Islamic works. Liu tells us that he prepared himself for his life's work—the propagation of Islam through the medium of the Chinese language—by undertaking prolonged linguistic and philosophical studies. At the age of 15 he began a study of the traditional Chinese classics and histories which lasted for eight years. This was followed by a six-year study of Arabic and Islamic religious literature, a further three years study of Buddhism, and finally, one year studying the Taoist classics. Liu completed his universal education by reading 137 *Hsi-yang* (Western) books of which Ford, 150 (see *Bibl.*), writes: "this may seem a large number for that period, but it was over a century since Matteo Ricci had arrived in Peking (1601) and he and his successors, together with the Chinese scholars associated with them, had produced a whole series of works on geography, astronomy, mathematics, mechanics and religion, including some touching on Confucianism. It is therefore quite possible that there was a collection of that number at Nanking and that Liu had seen it".

From the age of 33, Liu was to concentrate on making Arabic and Islamic works available to his Chinese co-religionists. It is clear that he also wished to make Islam philosophically acceptable to the Confucian Chinese establishment. As Ford (*ibid.*) points out: "his leaning towards Confucianism was more marked than that of any other Muslim and it has sometimes been questioned whether he did not compromise his Muslim principles. After ten years of study, he writes, it came on him like a flash that the guiding purpose of the *Qurʾān* was similar to that of Confucius and Mencius. 'The Sacred Book', he wrote, 'is the Sacred Book of Islam, but *li* (the Confucian concept of moral propriety) is the same *li* which exists everywhere under heaven' ". In Liu's attempt to reconcile Confucianism and Islam, the traditional dilemma of Chinese Muslims—geographically and culturally isolated from the rest of *dār al-Islām*—can clearly be seen. The same may be said of Liu Chih's personal dilemma—the almost instinctive desire of a Muslim member of the Chinese *literati* in ethnocentric 12th/18th century China to make his "barbarian" religion culturally and politically acceptable in his native land (Liu lived at a time of rapidly-deteriorating Han Chinese—Hui Muslim relations), whilst at the same time strengthening the Islamic affiliations of the Chinese Muslim community.

Liu Chih tells us that after completing his preparatory studies, he wrote several hundred manuscripts, of which only about one-tenth were published. His first major work, *T'ien-fang hsing-li* ("The philosophy of Arabia"—preface dated 1116/1704) deals in some depth with questions of cosmology, creation, the nature of man and the unity of God. In the preface to this book, a contemporary non-Muslim mandarin, the Vice-Minister of the Board of Ritual, wrote: "the ancient Confucian doctrine has been undermined at different times by Buddhists and Taoists . . . now, however, in this book of Liu Chih we see once more the way of the ancient sages, Yao and Shun, King Wen and King Wu, and Confucius. Thus although his book explains Islam, in truth it illuminates our Confucianism". Similarly in the preface of Liu's *T'ien-fang tien-li che-yao-chiai* ("A selection of important Arabian [i.e. Islamic] rules and cere-

monies"—preface dated 1122/1710), the Vice-Minister of the Board of War was to write that after discussing the Muslim religion with Liu he had found that it upheld the traditional Confucian values of loyalty to the sovereign, filial piety and brotherly love—in short, that Islam was not to be equated with "heretical and vicious sects" which were opposed to the established (Confucian) order (Ford, *ibid.*). This early Ch'ing attitude to Chinese Islam was to change radically by the latter half of the 12th/18th century when North-West China was shaken by the rebellion of Ma Ming-hsin [*q.v.*], and still more so after the mid-13th/19th century risings of Ma Hua-lung and Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.vv.*]. Liu's *Arabian rules and ceremonies* was less kindly reviewed in the 1197/1782 Catalogue of the Imperial Library, which states: "The style of this book is extremely elegant, but if the base is wrong to start with, fine words avail nothing". In 1710, the same year as the publication of *Arabian rules and ceremonies*, Liu also produced a short handbook entitled *T'ien-fang tzu-mu chiai-i* ("An explanation of the Arabic alphabet"), essentially a guide to the Arabic script intended for the use of Chinese Muslims.

Undoubtedly Liu Chih's greatest work—he himself saw it as both the zenith and climax of his life's work—was his biography of Muḥammad, *T'ien-fang chih-sheng shih-lu nien-p'u* ("An accurate biography of the Arabian Prophet", Nanking 1137/1724, first published 1193/1779). This book has been wholly or partially translated into Russian, French, English and Japanese, and is certainly the most widely-known of all Chinese Muslim books. Liu's biography of Muḥammad was based on a number of Arabic and Persian language works, the chief of which has been transliterated by Pelliot as *Tard͟juma Muṣṭafā*, a work which remains unidentified. A list of 67 reference works in Arabic and Persian used by Liu in his researches has been studied by the Japanese scholar Kuwata Rokuro (see *Bibl.*, also Ford, *op. cit.*, 151).

Liu Chih tells us little of his personal life. We know that he was a bookworm, and that because of his studiousness he was considered rather dull by his relatives and friends. Liu travelled widely, primarily in search of Arabic and Persian texts. Whilst *en route* "he pursued his reading among the dust of the carts by which he travelled, and even when riding on his beast" (Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. xii).

Before the Communist conquest of China in 1949, Liu Chih's tomb, which could still be seen outside the southern gate of the city of Nanking, was regularly visited by Chinese Muslim pilgrims. It is not known whether the tomb still exists today, but it should be noted that in 1973 the tomb of Sayyid Waḳḳās, by tradition the father of Chinese Islam, was restored by the Chinese government.

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

LIVADYA (Λεβάδεια), a town in central Greece on the slopes of Mount Helicon, bordering the vast fertile plain of Boeotia. Nearby is Lake Kopais, reclaimed between 1883-92. The local centre of agriculture and the seat of a bishopric, Livadya was in the Frankish Middle Ages one of the important castles of the Duchy of Athens. In Ottoman times (1460-1829) it developed into a prosperous urban centre and grew into the largest city of central Greece, after Athens, with the highest number of Muslim citizens to the south of Thessaly.

The origins of Livadya go back to the remote antiquity. Since the 8th century B.C., it was one of the minor Boeotian towns, living in the shade of the mighty Thebes. As is the case with many Greek cities, little is known about the town in the early Middle Ages. As an urban centre it appears to be the successor of the ancient city of Orchomenos/Skripou, the seat of the Byzantine administration since the 8th century, which declined during the 11th and 12th centuries. The castle of Livadya, situated on a steep conical hill overlooking the city on the south-west, must have been founded by the Franks after 1204, when it was included in the Duchy of Athens. The Catalans of the Grand Company occupied Livadya after the battle of Skripou in 1311 and held it till 1379-80, reconstructing the castle to the form it largely has today. At an unknown date, the Navarrese, who had captured the town in 1378-80, ceded Livadya to the Florentine Nerio I Acciaiuoli, but almost immediately afterwards it was taken by the Ottomans under G͟hāzī Ewrenos, who kept it for almost a year (1392-3). Yïldïrïm Bāyezīd's armies, marching to the Morea in 1397, seem to have passed by Livadya, reconquered by the Franks under Bertranet Mota. The unceasing warfare of the second half of the 14th century, and at least four epidemics of plague (1348, 1372, 1374, 1388) depopulated the land to a large extent. The Acciaiuolis tried to remedy this by settling ten thousand Albanian families who had been ousted from Epirus by Carlo Tocco. The reign of Antonio Acciaiuoli (1403-35), an Ottoman vassal, was more or less peaceful. There must have been some recovery, interrupted only by the plague of 1423. During the "Varna crisis" of 1443-4, the Livadya area was plundered and occupied twice, first by the Ottomans under Ṭurk͟hān-og͟hlu ʿÖmer Beg in 1460, as retaliation for the treason of Nerio II, who had forsaken the Ottomans, and then by the troops of Despot Constantin of the Morea. The last Florentine Duke of Boeotia, Antonio II, also an Ottoman vassal, was removed in 1460 when the duchy became an Ottoman *sand͟jaḳ* without much upheaval. This is perhaps the reason why the Ottoman chroniclers pass over the acquisition of Boeotia in silence. After Chalkis had been wrested from the Venetians (1470), this large walled city and important harbour became the capital of the *sand͟jaḳ*, called Eg͟hriboz (from Euripos), and Livadya the seat of a *ḳāḍīlïḳ*.

The Ottomans seem to have settled mainly in the Catalan castle and in a cluster of houses below it, on the banks of a torrent. There Turk͟hān-og͟hlu ʿÖmer, the Ottoman governor of Thessaly, constructed an *ḥammām* and a domed mosque with some guestrooms that was to become the centre of Islamic life for the next three-and-a-half centuries. The castle was guarded by a garrison of a few dozen soldiers. The mosque is mentioned in the *Waḳf-nāme* of ʿÖmer Beg, its staff being paid from the vast urban property of the Turk͟hān-og͟hlu clan in Thessaly.

The *Icmal defter* M.M. 66 from 871/1466-7, is apparently the oldest preserved Ottoman register containing information on Livadya. In the mentioned year, the town was a *nāḥiye* of the *sand͟jaḳ* of Tïrk͟hāla (Trikkala) containing 164 Christian households and 24 bachelors as well as a Muslim community of 57 households and 25 bachelors. The Christian group should be regarded as the autochtonous population of Livadya, the relatively large Muslim group as the product of a deliberate policy of colonisation after the town had been annexed.

In this same year the administrative district of Livadya contained 47 Greek ("Rûm") villages and 30 *ḳaṭuns* inhabited by Albanians ("Arnavud") A year after the conquest of Eg͟hriboz (Chalkis), in 875/1471, the town and the district were detached from Tïrk͟hāla and added to the newly-formed *sand͟jaḳ* of Eg͟hriboz, as is mentioned *der kenār* in the 871 register. Another *der kenār* note in the same register mentions that in D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja of 876/May-June 1472, Livadya was entrusted to 22 soldiers of the garrison of Eg͟hriboz, soldiers bearing Muslim Turkish names and coming from a number of places in the Balkans (Pirlepe, Fanarī (Thessaly), Nig͟hbolu, Izdin (Lamia), Yanbol Serfid͟je, Serres, Berat in Albania, etc.) thus giving an indication of where the first Muslim settlers of Livadya came from.

During the 16th century, Livadya shared in the general expansion of the cities of the Ottoman empire. The census registers of the *sand͟jaḳ* of Eg͟hriboz, preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul, give exact information on the fast-growing number of inhabitants as well as on the number and scope of the Islamic institutions founded in the city in that period. The *Mufaṣṣal defter* of 1506 (T.D. 35), which records some of the *waḳf*s of the *sand͟jaḳ* of Eg͟hriboz (but no data on the population of Livadya), mentions a *muʿallim-k͟hāne* of Ḥasan Beg b. Mūsā in the city and a *zāwiye* of Ayas Dede, which provided lodging for travellers. Both foundations were maintained from the rents of some shops, watermills and gardens in or near the town. According to the *Icmal defter* (no. 367) of 1526-28, Livadya numbered 427 households, 295 of which were Christian, divided in four *maḥalle*s under their priests (49 of the Christian families were registered as cultivators of rice, *čeltükd͟jiyān*). The Muslim community, consisting of 96 households, was apparently not yet crystallised in *maḥalle*s. The *Defter* also mentions a community (*d͟jemāʿat*) of 36 Jewish families. Thus the population of Livadya was then 70% Orthodox Christian, 22% Muslim and 8% Jewish. According to the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of the city and the district of Livadya, contained in the same register, the Muslim citizens paid only the tithes and nothing else. This source also states that the Jews had come from the West and that among the Christian inhabitants there were Albanians and Vlach nomads. The Albanians enjoyed some minor tax facilities. The city was by then a *k͟hāṣṣ-i hümāyūn*. T.D. no. 196 from 1539-40 mentions a garrison of 36 men in the castle of Livadya. This number could be so low because the city was safely situated in the interior of the country and had little to fear from an enemy attack (Chalkis and Athens, both on the coast, had then 357 and 114 men respectively, including *dizdār*s, gunners, etc.).

A further witness of the vast expansion of Livadya in the 16th century is the *Mufaṣṣal defter* of 1569-70 (T.D. 484). It mentions 552 Christian, 317 Muslim, and 32 Jewish households. The Christians still lived in four *maḥalle*s, but the Muslims had by now formed five *maḥalle*s, grouped around their mosques: the D͟jāmiʿ-i ʿAtīḳ-i ʿÖmer Beg, the D͟jāmiʿ-

i Bālī Beg, the Mesdjid-i Muṣṭafā Voyvode, the Mesdjid-i Muṣliḥ al-Dīn and the Mesdjid-i Maḥmūd Čelebi. The rapid augmentation of Muslim inhabitants did not primarily result from conversion of local Christians, for the 1570 register, written when the peak of conversions to Islam was over, gives but 15% converts among the Muslims. In the 16th century, the cultivation of rice in the fertile and well-irrigated plain east of the city expanded likewise. The 1526 register mentions 51 Christian *čeltükdjis* living in Livadya; that of 1570, recapitulating the registrations of the intervening years (not known to us) gives 53 "old" Christian *čeltükdjis* and 16 "new" ones besides 16 "old" Muslim *čeltükdjis* and no less than 43 "new" ones. Only 3% of these 59 Muslim cultivators of rice were converts, which means that they must have come from elsewhere, most probably from Thessaly with its massive population of Muslim Turkish colonists. The *čeltükdjis* of Livadya had a privileged fiscal position, since they were exonerated from the *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye* and the *tekālīf-i ʿörfiyye*, a status given to them by "previous Sulṭāns" and renewed ever since. The cultivation of rice in the marshy Kopais area thus goes back at least to Bāyezīd II or even Meḥemmed II. The Muslim population of Livadya as a whole had a specific status. It was exonerated from the *ʿawāriḍ* and the *tekālīf* taxes and the duty of oarsmen of the fleet, but was expected to form a military reserve in case of attack. This status, based on "orders of the previous Sulṭāns", probably goes back to the time of Meḥemmed II.

The 1570 register shows a major shift in the ethnic-religious composition of the Livadya population: 62% was Christian, 35% Muslim and only 3% Jewish. It had the highest number of Muslim citizens of the entire *sandjaḳ* of Eghriboz (in that year, Eghriboz numbered 199 Muslim households, Thebes (Istifa) 121 households and Athens 56 households). This expansion of Islam as well as the further growth of the town continued throughout the last quarter of the 16th and first half of the 17th century, although exact numbers are lacking.

The most detailed description of Islamic Livadya in the 17th century is given by Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii), who visited the city in 1078/1667-8. By then it appears to have reached its widest expansion. There were 2,020 houses, six Christian *maḥalles*, inhabited by Greeks, Latins and Armenians, and seven Muslim *maḥalles*. The latter were principally the same as those mentioned in the 1570 register, but the *mesdjids* had now became mosques. Ewliyā Čelebi does not mention the *mesdjid* of Maḥmūd Čelebi, but adds as a new building the Mosque of the Tanneries, commonly known as Süleymāniyye, and notes three *maḥalle mesdjids*. According to Ewliyā, the mosque of ʿÖmer Beg was a small building in ancient style, with a plentiful congregation. The mosque of Bālī Beg, also in old style, had an inscription in Arabic, dated 931/1524-5, which Ewliyā quotes *in extenso*. There were, furthermore, three dervish *tekkes*, three *mektebs* and two *medreses*. The existence of the latter is not attested elsewhere. Ewliyā gives a very accurate description of the castle, then guarded by fifty men who had their houses inside the walls. Like the European travellers after him, Ewliyā extols the beauty of the town, situated on seven hills and dales, and its spacious and prosperous houses, fountains and coffeeshops. Among its population were many rich and notable persons. According to Ewliyā, part of the *waḳf* property of the Holy City of Medina and was governed by a Voyvode of the Ḳïzlar Aghasï [*q.v.*], who had jurisdiction over this *waḳf*. Commanding 200 men, he administered justice and had the right of capital punishment. Ewliyā's information suggests that he paraphrased stipulations from state documents. Greek sources attest that Livadya was part of the domain of the Wālide Sulṭān, thus reflecting the situation in the last part of the Ottoman period. On an Ottoman list of *ḳāḍīlïḳs* of 1667-8, Livadya ranked sixth in the hierarchy of twelve states.

Spon and Wheler, who travelled in 1675-6, relate that the town was inhabited by "Turks and Greeks" and a few Jews, living from the production of woollen cloth and trade in corn and rice, which was exported to all of Greece. The Turks possessed "five or six" mosques, the Greeks as many churches. They also mention a caravanserai and say that the mosque of ʿÖmer Beg was originally a church, dedicated to St. George. According to Richard Pococke, who visited Livadya in 1745, the town was inhabited by an almost equal number of Greeks and Turks. His information about the number of houses seems unreliable. Pouqueville, who visited the town shortly before 1800, gives a "cadastre du Vaivodilik de Lebadée" with the names and numbers of the inhabitants of all the villages of the district, Livadya itself counting 2,000 households. In the same period, Col. Leake found Livadya singularly beautiful, possessing an air of opulence not found elsewhere in Ottoman Greece. According to him there were 1,500 houses, only 130 of which were Turkish. Henry Holland, travelling in 1815, noted that Livadya was "still retaining the reputation as one of the principal towns in modern Greece" with nearly 2,000 houses, "many of them very large and inhabited by wealthy and respectable Greeks." There were still five mosques with minarets, but the Turkish population was very small. Economy was still based on agriculture, exports consisting of wheat, barley, maize, cotton, wool, cheese, honey, etc., and estimated in 1805 at 250,000 *kiles* (bushels). The reason why the Muslim-Turkish part of the inhabitants of Livadya declined so markedly in the 18th century is not known in detail.

In the first decade of the 19th century, the powerful Tepedilenli ʿAlī Pasha tried to extend his direct control over Livadya. He was unsuccessful in attempting to lease the taxes of the area, but succeeded in enlarging his influence, acting as inspector of the Passes.

In the second half of the Ottoman period, especially in the 18th century, the type of land tenure and the administrative system favoured the development of a powerful Christian bourgeoisie that took control of production and commerce. The main representative of this class was Giannákis Stamou Logothetis, a progressive and cultured man who was in touch with the liberal movements of Western Europe. The general prosperity of the Livadya area was attributed to men like him.

During the Greek War of Independence, the town was several times plundered and burnt and at the end nothing but ruins remained. After 1829, Livadya was rebuilt gradually. In 1889 there were 4,990 inhabitants; in 1907, 7,089; and in 1928, 12,585, more than during the last century of Ottoman rule (approx. 10,000). In 1928 the expansion virtually stopped (in 1961 there were 12,609 inhabitants), but in recent years there is again some growth. No traces of Islamic buildings are preserved except for a fine vaulted stone bridge and an 18th century clock tower. The Catalan castle, wrecked through an earthquake in 1894, still exists in ruined condition.

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(M. Kiel)

LIVNO (in pre-modern Slavonic texts, often written as Hlivno; in older Ottoman texts variously written as Hlevne, Ihlivne, etc.), a town in Bosnia situated at the spur of a mountain at the eastern edge of the homonymous *polje* or plain in a very dry and stony karst landscape on the approaches to Dalmatia. Today, it is a small local centre far off the main thoroughfares and little-visited, but in the 16th and 17th centuries it was a centre of Ottoman power, seat of the *sandjaķ begs* of Klis, and bulwark of Islam on the western frontiers of the empire. Until World War II, Livno boasted five domed and lead-covered mosques from the classical period of Ottoman architecture, thus ranking second in Bosnia, immediately after Sarajevo, in this aspect, demonstrating the importance which the place once had as a centre of Islam.

The town of Livno is an Ottoman foundation from the early 16th century, whose expansion was greatly promoted by various members of the *sandjaķ* administration residing there. The castle of Livno, now a ruin overlooking the town, is much older. It is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th century A.D.) as Hlediana, one of the eleven *župas* of the kingdom of Croatia, situated on the border between the Serbian and the Croatian lands. In the later Middle Ages, Livno belonged to the kings of Bosnia. It is mentioned as "Grad Hlivanjski" in 1400 (Miklošić, *Monumenta*, 248-9). In the first half of the 15th century, it was ruled by the family of Vukčić. King Tomas resided in Livno in 1444 (H. Šabanović, tr., *Evlija Čelebija putopis*, i, Sarajevo 1957, 154). The castle is again mentioned in 1466 as being guarded against the Turks by Vladislav Hercegović, a son of Duke (Herceg → Hercegovina) Stjepan (one of Vladislav's brothers became the later famous Grand Vizier of Bāyezīd II and Selīm I, Hersekoghlu Aḥmed Pasha). The Ottomans captured the castle of Livno between 1466 and 1485. The exact date is not known, and is an object of controversy. The *Taḥrīr defter* no. 18 of 890/1485 mentions Livno as centre of a *nāḥiye*; it possessed then a civil population of 27 families and 26 temporary residents.

In the first decades of the Ottoman period, there was only one mosque in Livno, the Khünkār Djāmiʿ, or Starogradsko Džamija, in the castle, serving the needs of the garrison. In the first decades of the 16th century, a Muslim suburb grew up around the Balagina Mosque (Balaguša), built according to its Arabic inscription in 920/1514. This building, still preserved, is the first of the domed mosques of Livno. Soon afterwards, the Džumanuša Mosque of Sinān Čāwūsh from 935/1528-9 was erected, also a domed structure (destroyed in World War II). The open town of Livno sprang up below the castle on sloping ground, with the older quarters at the foot of the castle and the newer ones further down the hill.

Livno remained a *nāḥiye* of the *ķāḍīlıķ* of Neretva until some time in the first quarter of the 16th century. After the conquest of Skradin in 928/1522 (*Pečewī taʾrīkhi*, i, 72), Livno was included in a newly-founded *ķāḍīlıķ*, which had the Dalmatian town as its centre. In 1537, Murād Beg Tardić (a Dalmatian convert from Šibenik) captured the fortress of Klis facing the Venetian base of Split (Spalato) and became *sandjaķ begi* of the newly-formed *sandjaķ* of Klis (Pečewī, i). As Split was too vulnerably-situated to suit the requirements of an administrative centre, the residence of the beg was set up in Livno. They resided there especially in the latter part of the 16th century, which induced Italian and German sources to speak of "the *sandjaķ* of Livno". In 1648, during the Cretan War, Klis was lost for the Ottomans, but the *sandjaķ* kept the name of its former titulary capital.

The second half of the 16th century and first half of the 17th century was the time of the greatest expansion of the town. According to the *Tapu defter* no. 285, 1-7 and no. 284, 67-73, both from 960/1553, the "*ķaṣaba* of Hlivne", part of the *khāṣṣ* of the *Mīr-i Liwā* of Klis, Aḥmed Beg, numbered five *maḥalle*s with 262 households (*khānes*) and 170 bachelors (*müdjerred*), thus totalling *ca.* 1,340 inhabitants. Only nine households were Christian, and all others were Muslims. Four of the town quarters were called after the mosque around which they had sprung up: Maḥalle-yi Djāmiʿ-i Sinān Čāwūsh, with 50 *khānes*, 43 *müdjerreds*; Maḥalle-yi Djāmiʿ-i Ḥamza, with 35 *khānes* and 28 *müdjerreds*; Maḥalle-yi Mesdjid-i

Pehliwān Hüseyn, with 73 *khānes* and 46 *müdjerreds*; Maḥalle-yi Mesdjid-i Hüseyn Etmekci-zāde, with 48 *khānes* and 53 *müdjerreds*; and Varosh of Hlivne, with 19 Muslim *khānes* and nine Christian *khānes*. Other Ottoman registers, from 22 years later, testify to the rapid development of the town in those years. The *Tapu defter* no. 533, 320-30, and the *T.d.* 546, 298-307, both from 982/1573-4, mention seven *maḥalles* in Livno. Added to those mentioned in 1553 are the following new wards: Maḥalle-yi Djāmiʿ-i sherīf-i Meḥmed Agha, Maḥalle-yi Djāmiʿ-i sherīf-i Meḥmed and Maḥalle-yi Ferhād Beg. The number of inhabitants is given as *nefers* (single individuals, persons), 653 men and a separate group of 40 tanners, an indication of the function of the town as a centre of handicrafts besides being an administrative centre. If three-quarters of the number given were family heads, this would make a total population of little less than 3,000 souls, which is indeed a spectacular growth. The second mosque mentioned in the *T.d.* of 982 is the so-called Perkuša Džamija, built according to its Arabic inscription in 971/1563-4 by Sipāhī Meḥmed. It was the third domed mosque of Livno, and existed till World War II. The above-mentioned Ferhād Beg was a Ṣoḳollu-zāde (Sokollović), a nephew of the Grand Vizier Meḥmed Ṣoḳollu. Ferhād was *sandjaḳ begi* of Klis between 1566 and 1574, and is known to have erected a large caravanserai in the lower town of Livno. The last quarter of the 16th century saw the erection of two more domed mosques: the Begluk Džamija of Ṣoḳollu-zāde Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha in 985/1577-8, built during his term as *sandjaḳ begi* of Klis (1574-7), and the Glavica Džamija, built by a Dūḳatar-oghlu Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed in 996/1587-8). Both buildings are preserved at the present time and still have their *Bauinschrift* in Turkish. Four more mosques and a Clock Tower (1659) were built in the course of the 17th century: the Tepet Džamija, Borusa Džamija, Piragic Džamija (demolished in 1918), and the Pasina or Atlagić Džamija. The latter was most probably built by Meḥmed Pasha Atlagic, the most important member of the Livanjsker family of Atlibegović, or Atli-agi. Meḥmed Pasha Atlagić was *sandjaḳ begi* of Klis in 1685-7 and vizier of Bosnia in 1687-8 (H. Kreševljaković, in *Hrvatskoj Enciklopediji*, art. *Atlagići*). With the erection of these buildings, the architectural outlook of Livno acquired its definitive form. The only known important group of buildings of the 19th century is the mosque, *mekteb*, *tekke* and water-supply system of the brothers Maḥmūd Beg and Derwīsh Beg Bushatlī. The mosque, the Milosnik Džamija, built in 1291/1874-5, was restored in 1978.

When Ewliyā Čelebi visited Livno in 1070/1659-60, he found a fully-developed Muslim town, the seat of a *ḳāḍī* (the Ottoman list of *ḳāḍīliḳ*s of Rumeli of 1078/1667-8 also mentions "Ihlivne" as seat of a *ḳāḍī*), a number of officials of the provincial administration as well as a *dizdār* who commanded a garrison of 600 men. The open town below the castle was composed of nine *maḥalles* and had 1,100 stone-built houses, covered with shingles, 13 mosques, of which seven were Friday mosques (for three of them, he gives extracts from the inscriptions), three *medreses* (attached to the mosques of Dūḳat[ar]oghlu Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed, Sipāhī Meḥmed and Lala [Muṣṭafā] Pasha), five *mektebs*, six *tekkes*, one *ḥammām* and 300 shops. With 5,000-6,000 inhabitants, the town clearly reached the limits of self-sufficiency for a poor karst land like the Livno district. The "golden age" of Islamic Livno ended in 1686 when, during the great war against the Christian coalition, Stojan Janković captured the town and burnt it down. The Starogradsko Džamija in the castle and the Borusa Džamija were destroyed and not rebuilt. Since that time and throughout the 18th century, Livno was the seat of the *Livanjsker kapetanat*, a function which was in the hands of the Atlagić family till 1711. The most famous captain of Livno was Firdūs in the first half of the 19th century. Parts of his fortified house (*kula*) still exist.

At the beginning of the 18th century, with the border areas lost to Venice, the *sandjāḳ* of Klis comprised four *ḳāḍīliḳ*s: Aḳḥiṣār (Prusac), Gölḥiṣār (Jezero), Novosel and Livno, the latter with the *nāḥiyes* of Livno, Glamoč, Grahovo and Satomiševo. Livno recovered slowly from the destruction of 1686. The castle was maintained throughout the 18th and the greater part of the 19th centuries. In 1833 it still had 34 guns. The Ottoman period ended in 1878, when the Austrian-Hungarian army captured Livno after an obstinate defence. The town continued to flourish until the beginning of the present century as a small centre of grain and live-stock trade and silver filigree-work, until a great conflagration in 1904 swept away more than 500 houses. Before that date it had, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911 edn. (xvi, 816), about 5,000 inhabitants, thus maintaining the level of the 17th century. According to the *Baedeker, Österreich-Ungarn* of 1913, 422, Livno had still 4,700 inhabitants, but this recovery was temporary. After 1918, when it was incorporated in the kingdom of Jugoslavia, a large part of its Muslim population departed. When René Pelletier visited it in the early thirties, Livno had but 2,200 inhabitants (Pelletier, *Sarajevo et sa région*, Paris 1934). During World War II, Livno was three times occupied by German and Croatian Fascist forces and as many times liberated, lastly in October 1944. During these events, all the hitherto-preserved mosques but one (Balaguša Dž.) were deliberately destroyed or heavily damaged, together with the entire town. The ruins of the Glavica Džamija and the adjacent Clock Tower, together constituting the landmark of Livno, were restored in 1963-4. The Begluk Džamija of Ṣoḳollu-zāde Muṣṭafā was restored in 1971-2, and the Zavra Džamija and Čurčinca Džamija, both wood-covered halls, in the seventies.

In 1953 Livno numbered 3,672 inhabitants, among whom is a small Muslim minority. The centre of gravity of the post-war town has shifted to the flat grounds of the plain below the totally-ruined Ottoman town. In the old parts, now under the protection of the Service of Ancient Monuments of Bosnia, only construction in local style is allowed, thus creating a harmony with the preserved Islamic monuments.

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LIWĀʾ (a.), in Ottoman *liwā*.

1. For the meaning banner, flag, standard see ʿALAM.

2. In the Ottoman empire the word indicated a province, several of which were at a certain moment joined into an *eyālet*, later *wilāyet* [see WILĀYA]. The term *liwāʾ*, synonymous with Turkish *sand̲j̲aḳ* [see SAND̲J̲AḲ], was mainly used in official documents. Accordingly, *mīr liwā* (from Arabic *amīr al-liwāʾ*) stood for *sand̲j̲aḳ begi* [see BEG], the governor and military commander of a *liwāʾ* or *sand̲j̲aḳ*. From the middle of the 19th century onwards there was also used the term *müteṣarriflīḳ*, derived from the title *müteṣarrif*. Of all the states issued from the Ottoman Empire, only ʿIrāḳ kept the term *liwāʾ* (up till 1974) to indicate a province. In the army of ʿIrāḳ, *liwāʾ* indicates a brigade, *amīr al-liwāʾ* brigadier (as in Egypt until 1939).

Bibliography: Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the west*, London 1950, i/1, 137-73; A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976. For further literature, see SAND̲J̲AḲ. (A. Birken)

LĪWĀN [see IWĀN].

LIWĀṬ (a.), sodomy. There does exist in Arabic a verb *lāṭa* meaning "to attach oneself, to join oneself to", but *liwāṭ* appears to be rather a *maṣdar* of *lāṭa* or *lāwaṭa*, denominative of Lūṭ [*q.v.*], i.e. Lot; in modern Arabic there are also the terms *liwāṭa*, *mulāwaṭa*, *talawwuṭ*, etc., as well as a large number of euphemisms and of dialectical and slang terms. The homosexual is called *lūṭī* or *lāʾiṭ* (pl. *lāṭa*), or *mulāwiṭ*, when he is the active partner, although the distinction is often difficult to establish; the passive is *maʾbūn*, and his perversion, *ubna*; among the synonyms, the most common is *muk̲h̲annat̲h̲*, generally translated as "effeminate", although in normal usage it refers to the genuine hermaphrodite (see A. Bouhdiba, *La sexualité en Islam*, Paris 1975, 55-7). In the Muslim West in the Middle Ages, a special term, *ḥāwī* (pl. *ḥiwā*) was used in reference to professional male prostitutes (see below).

In a number of verses of the Ḳurʾān relating to Lot and his people, the word *fāḥis̲h̲a*, which may be rendered as "depravity", is clearly an allusion to the vice in question, but this is even more strongly indicated by the pejorative nature of the remarks and questions attributed to this prophet: *inna-kum la-taʾtūna l-rid̲j̲āla s̲h̲ahwatan min dūni'l-nisāʾ, bal antum ḳawmun musrifūn* "You commit the carnal act, in lust, with men and not with women, you are indeed an impious people" (VII, 79/81), *a-inna-kum la-taʾtūna'l-rid̲j̲āla*? (XXVII, 55/54) and *a-taʾtūna 'l-d̲h̲ukrāna*? (XXVI, 165). The punishment inflicted upon the people of Lot, in the Ḳurʾān as in the Bible (Gen., xix, 1-23) leaves no doubt as to the way in which sodomy should be regarded by Islam, even though it is not explicitly condemned by the Holy Book, which indeed allows a certain ambiguity in passages where the believers are promised that in paradise they will be attended by menservants (*g̲h̲ilmān*, LII, 24; *wildān*, LVI, 17, LXXVI, 19).

The statements of *ḥadīt̲h̲* are, on the other hand, perfectly clear and particularly harsh, as is noted by al-Nuwayrī who, in his *Nihāya* (ii, 204-10), has conveniently collected them together, with the addition of the opinions of the Companions and the *fuḳahāʾ* on the subject. The Prophet is alleged to have said that what he feared most for his community were the practices of the people of Lot (although he seems to have expressed the same idea in regard to wine and to female seduction: *Nihāya*, ii, 198). According to him, both the active and the passive agent must be killed (*yuḳtal/uḳtulū 'l-fāʿil wa 'l-mafʿūl bihi*, terms which were subsequently to be applied, in grammar, to the subject and the direct object) or, more precisely, subjected to the punishment prescribed for the man guilty of *zinā* [*q.v.*], the fornicator, that is, death by stoning (*fa-rd̲j̲umū 'l-aʿlā wa 'l-asfal*). The man who sodomises another or inflicts the same treatment on a woman, will on the Day of Resurrection be regarded as more reprehensible than carrion; needless to say, he will suffer eternal damnation, unless he obtains pardon through repentance. The lustful kissing of an adolescent is enough to earn a thousand years in Hell.

By the very fact of their existence, these *ḥadīt̲h̲s* show that, while probably not very common in Bedouin society, homosexuality was not totally unknown in Arabia of the pre-Islamic period. For proof of this, one need look no further than the story of D̲h̲ū Nuwās [*q.v.*], who was compelled to kill D̲h̲ū S̲h̲anātir in order to escape his advances. Proverbs of the form *alwaṭ min* ... (al-Maydānī, ii, 205) testify to the antiquity of the term and of the idea which it expresses; al-Maydānī cites the ex-

pression *alwaṭ min Dubb*, making the last word ("bear") into a proper name; similarly al-Djāḥiẓ (*Mufākharat al-djawārī wa 'l-ghilmān*, in *Rasā'il al-Djāḥiẓ*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 136-7) quotes a Ḥidjāzī proverb, *alwaṭ min Dīk*, in which *Dīk* ("cock") would also be the name of a person; these coincidences are curious, to say the least. Whatever the case may be, animals are not exempt from this vice: al-Djāḥiẓ himself (*Ḥayawān*, iii, 204) cites the example of a *ma'būn* horse, perhaps castrated at an early age, which pursued male horses, mules and donkeys. The same author seems to have been the first to speak (*ibid.*, vii, 178) of a fabulous animal, the *ʿudār*, which was in the habit of assaulting the men whom it encountered; its victims suffered a worm-infected anus and died as a result (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 319-20 = § 1203). In his *Mufākhara*, he also mentions a *mawlā* of Khuzāʿa, Maymūn b. Zayd b. Tharwān, who was a *lā'iṭ* in Kūfa and who became proverbial under the nickname of Siyāh, but was apparently viewed with an indulgence that spared him any punishment.

However, in the course of the 1st/7th century, a number of precise cases of *lāṭa* subjected to exemplary penalties are reported, especially by al-Djāḥiẓ and al-Nuwayrī. Abū Bakr condemned a homosexual to be buried beneath the débris of a wall, and prescribed burning alive as the penalty for all those guilty of such practices; in this respect he was followed by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. For his part, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib ordered the stoning of a *lūṭī* and had another thrown head-first from the top of a minaret; according to Ibn ʿAbbās, this last punishment must be followed by stoning. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar went a step beyond the condemnation predicted by the Prophet, reckoning that these people would be resurrected in the form of monkeys and pigs. The famous letter from an Umayyad caliph [see KHAṢĪ, IV, 1087b] ordering the governor of Mecca or of Medina to "hold a census" of the *mukhannathūn* of the town corresponds to a real situation, even if the tradition itself is contrived.

In fact, the increase in prosperity brought about by the rich flow of spoils from the conquered lands was accompanied, paradoxically, by the corruption of morals in the two holy cities. As regards the subject which concerns us here, information relating to the development of music and song reveals the presence of *mukhannathūn*, who were apparently for the most part of foreign origin. It may thus be assumed that from this time homosexuality became less of a rarity as the result of a rapid process of acculturation. A defender of paedophiles, of lovers of *ghilmān*, depicted in the *Mufākhara* (ii, 116) of al-Djāḥiẓ, observes in effect that natural love is a feature of Bedouin culture and of simple morality and that if the ancient Arabs glorified woman, this was because they knew nothing of the refined pleasures of this world, which are only to be encountered in a highly civilised society.

All the same, it is not impossible that the decisive impulse came with the arrival of the ʿAbbāsid army from Khurāsān (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr., 358) and that homosexuality subsequently spread more widely under the new dynasty. In fact, tradition attributes to al-Amīn tastes so depraved that his mother, Umm Djaʿfar, was obliged to procure for him slave women with the physical characteristics sought after by *lāṭa* among boys and to dress them in masculine clothing, in the hope of inducing him to adopt more conventional morals (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 299-300 = §§ 3451-2). It was no doubt such episodes that gave rise to the fashion for "masculine girls", *ghulāmiyyāt*, a trend widely reflected in literature (see Ḥ. Zayyāt, *al-Mar'a al-ghulāmiyya fi 'l-Islām*, in *Machriq* [1956]). In Ifrīḳiya, the Aghlabid Ibrāhīm II was surrounded by some sixty catamites, whom he treated in a most horrific manner (see M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, 306, 317). At Cordova, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III had executed a young lad from Léon who was held as a hostage, the future St. Pelagius (Pelayo), because he had refused his advances (Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, 542; see also Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *La vie quotidienne dans l'Europe médiévale sous la domination arabe*, Paris 1978, 117-18). Homosexual tendencies are attributed to al-Muʿtaṣim and to some of his successors, and it is probable that this is not a case of slander designed to justify a vice vigorously opposed by the *fuḳahā'*.

In general, the *ḥadīth* relating to the punishment of the *lūṭī* (see above) provides the base for the opinions of jurists, but a distinction tends to be made, in the application of the legal sanction (*ḥadd*), according to whether the culprit is *muḥṣan* or not, that is, in practice, whether he is married or celibate. Ibn Ḥanbal and his followers appear to be the most severe, since they insist that in all cases the culprit must be put to death by stoning, while the other schools are in general content with flagellation, with or without banishment, if the man is not *muḥṣan*; it should be noted in addition that it is sometimes recommended that the prescribed penalty (one hundred strokes) should not be applied in full, and Ibn Ḥazm goes so far as to reduce the number of strokes to ten. These variations correspond to the uncertainties surrounding the definition of the penalty to be imposed for fornication [see ZINĀ for details], but also betray a tendency towards indulgence; moreover, since proof is always difficult to establish, there is little likelihood of the punishment actually being applied. These circumstances do not prevent moral pundits from considering illegal a lustful glance in the direction of a beardless youth (*amrad*), and the Ḥanbalīs forbid men to walk in the street with women or with adolescents (Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr., 362).

The legal provisions set out above are thus to a large extent theoretical, since homosexual relations have always been tolerated. They were common in religious brotherhoods and in educational institutions (see A. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 146), and schoolmasters had an unenviable reputation in this respect, as is shown by many anecdotes. The nudity of the public baths did nothing to discourage such practices, and the paragraph devoted by H. Pérès (*Poésie andalouse*, 341-3) to homosexuality in al-Andalus refers specifically to the *ḥammām*.

As regards women, the *Aghānī* (ed. Beirut, ii, 110) mentions a love affair between a certain Hind (named, incorrectly, as the daughter of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir by Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *al-Ḥayāt al-djinsiyya ʿind al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1958, 14; see Masʿūdī-Pellat, index, under Ḥurāqa) and Zarḳā' al-Yamāma, which would be the oldest example of Sapphism among the Arabs, but in this particular case we have a work of imagination, called moreover *Kitāb Hind wa-bint al-Nuʿmān* by Ibn al-Nadīm (ed. Cairo, 427), who cites a dozen love romances with female names in their titles (e.g. *K. Ruḳayya wa-Khadīdja*, *K. Salmā wa-Suʿad*, etc.). Although information is scarce, it is likely that *saḥḳ/siḥāḳ/musāḥaḳa*, while not widespread, existed no less than male homosexuality, since according to the relevant *ḥadīth* it is also identified with *zinā* (*siḥāḳ al-nisā' zinā beyna-hunna*). These practices, which al-

Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 29) knew well, spread in parallel with sodomy, at least in the leisured classes of Arab-Islamic society, if we are to believe the rather late works of eroticism which will be mentioned in due course; in any case, at the end of the 3rd/9th century, Abu 'l-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] wrote a *Kitāb al-Saḥḥāḳāt*, of which apparently no traces remain. In addition, the sodomisation of women, although formally forbidden by the Prophet (see above and the *ḥadīth*: *lā ta'tū l-nisā' min maḥāshshi-hinna / adbārihinna*) would seem to have been a fairly common practice (see A. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 246-7).

Besides female prostitution (*bighā'* [*q.v.* in *Suppl.*]), there is abundant evidence of male prostitution. It is not known how much credence should be attached to an allegation by Ibn Ḥawḳal (93, 95, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 91, 93), reiterated in part by al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, ed. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 70; ed. Naples-Rome, iii, 269-70), according to which the Kutāma Berbers "offer themselves to their guests as a token of hospitality, without any sense of shame", while at Sétif, they are content to offer their male children. Inconsistencies in these passages are such as to cast doubt on the author's claims.

In any case, the presence of professional deviants (*mu'ādjirūn*) in the larger towns has been frequently attested by travellers (see G. H. Bousquet, *L'éthique sexuelle de l'Islam*, Paris 1953, 59). Mention has been made of transvestites, for example in Bougie (Idris, *Zirides*, 329, 591), in Tunis (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 173) where Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 385) saw young boys prostituting themselves, in Fez, where the same author encounters what he calls *cheua* (= *ḥiwā*, a term of particularly common usage in Spain; see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.) living with men in hostelries. Such statements cover such a broad expanse of time that they cannot but be a reflection of a permanent situation which has, moreover, persisted into the present day (see, e.g. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 233). It need hardly be said that the authors of works of *ḥisba* utterly deplore these deviants and the moral corruption for which they are responsible, but not one of them is so severe as to demand for them the capital penalty ordained by the afore-mentioned *ḥadīth*. According to Ibn ʿAbdūn (Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947, § 170), the *ḥiwā* are to be expelled from the town and severely punished if they return, since they are accursed of Allah and of the whole people; al-Saḳaṭī (*Manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931, 68, and gloss., 26; Spanish translation by Chalmeta, in *al-Andalus*, 1968 ff., § 161) speaks only of *mukhannathūn* (singers disguised as women), whom he forbids to wear their hair long over the temples or to attend banquets and funerals (see also Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispanique de ḥisba*, Cairo 1955, 123). Although the repression of *liwāṭ*, in the strict sense of the word, forms a part of the general censorship of morals, these works contain few specific references to it.

It should be said that this phenomenon, while provoking the disapproval of a number of moralists loyal to the tradition of the Prophet, has for the most part been viewed with indulgence—if not actively condoned—even in circles which would appear to be furthest from it.

Firstly, homosexuality was a theme favoured by libertine poets who, especially from the 1st/7th century onwards, glorified homosexual love quite shamelessly, often in terms of intolerable obscenity; in the interminable list of these poets, the first place belongs without doubt to Abū Nuwās who, even without the dedication of the *1001 Nights* (see N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs*, 150) plays a role of unassailable eminence in this regard. His master Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb, who is thought to have debauched him, Ḥusayn b. al-Daḥḥāk, Muṭīʿ b. Iyās and a great number of others, were imitated and sometimes overtaken by exponents of *mudjūn* [*q.v.*] and of *sukhf*, which Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj made his speciality, as well as by Ibn Ḳuzmān in his celebrated *zadjals*.

On the other hand, there are a great many poets who have not hesitated, at some point or other in their career, to sing the praises of a youth, in many cases no doubt, less from personal taste than from the desire to conform artificially with a general trend. In fact care should be taken not to accuse all such writers of libertinism, for it was conventional practice to glorify wine, women and favourites, without becoming personally involved in debauchery or violating the rules of Islamic ethics. We may cite, as a simple example, the theme of *dabīb*, of "crawling", appropriate perhaps for an Imru' al-Ḳays who lived in a society where it was possible to crawl under the tent in order to approach a woman, but purely conventional in the case of a city-dweller like Ibn Shuhayd who, unlike the pre-Islamic poet, uses (*apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 244), in poetry of a high standard of sophistication, the masculine form to designate the person in question, whose sex thus remains undefined. Leaving aside the mystics, who frequently adopt an equivocal posture, the use, by poets whose morality is not suspect, of the masculine form in their love poems, derives less from a desire to shock than from a sense of modesty and from respect for a tradition that was reckoned to be harmless, a tradition maintaining an ambiguity universally accepted and appreciated.

In the sphere of prose, the most significant, if not the oldest writing, is certainly the *Mufākharat al-djawārī wa 'l-ghilmān* of al-Djāḥiẓ who, always prone to cultivate the genre of *munāẓara*, debate, of which he is one of the pioneers in Arabic literature, presents in the form of a stylised dialogue arguments exchanged between homosexuals and men of normal sexuality. So as to leave no doubt as to his own tastes, this author saw fit to publish a *Risāla fī tafḍīl al-baṭn ʿalā 'l-ẓahr* (ed. Pellat, in the *Ḥawliyyāt* of the University of Tunis, xiii [1976], 183-92) in which he plays on the different meanings of *baṭn*—"stomach" and *ẓahr*—"back" in order to demonstrate, with a great deal of humour, the superiority of the former; he goes so far as to attribute to sodomy the destruction of the people of Thamūd [*q.v.*], which is thus accorded the same status as the people of Lot.

In the *Mufākhara*, there are a number of anecdotes which testify to the popularity of stories of *lāṭa* from the 3rd/9th century; these were to find a place in collections compiled in later times for the entertainment of what were, in appearance at least, the most puritanical sections of society. A characteristic manifestation of this somewhat perverse taste is encountered in the work of al-Tawḥīdī, who devotes a chapter of his *Imtāʿ*, the 18th night (ii, 50-60) to *mudjūn* and naturally tells the story of a *lāṭi* (tr. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 158).

The example set by al-Djāḥiẓ in his *Mufākhara* has been followed by quite serious authors who have left analogous writings, among which we may mention *al-Wasāṭa bayn al-zunāt wa 'l-lāṭa* by Ibn Hindū (see Brockelmann, S I, 426) and the *Kitāb al-Ḥikāyāt* by Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (see Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, in *RIMA*,

iii [1957], 335). In addition, the vice in question inspired a specialised literature all its own, notably consisting of advice on techniques of seducing young men (see Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *al-Ḥayāt al-djinsiyya*, 52-4). The writers of works of eroticism (see DJINS and add to *Bibliography*, A. Boudhiba, *op. laud.*, 171 ff.) mostly devote some space to sodomy; on this point, the most characteristic works are without doubt the *Nuzhat al-albāb fī-mā lā yūdjad fī kitāb* (Brockelmann, I, 495, S I, 904) of al-Tīfāshī and the *Nashwat al-sakrān* of Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Ḥasan Khān (Istanbul 1296/1878; see Bouhdiba, 178).

In the *Mufākhara* of al-Djāḥiẓ, which has nothing in common with the preceding works, the advocate for the *djawārī* claims (ii, 104) that there has never been a case recorded in which love for a youth has proved fatal, while tradition is full of examples of heterosexuals who have pined away, lost their reason or died for love. However, there are apparently authentic accounts which contradict this assertion. Al-Ḍabbī (*Bughya*, no. 462; tr. Lévi-Provençal, *En relisant "le Collier de la colombe"*, in *al-Andalus*, xv/2 [1950], 363-8) relates, after Ibn Ḥazm (although the text of the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. and tr. L. Bercher, 301, is quite perceptibly different): "the incredible adventure ... of a certain Aḥmad b. Kulayb, poet and grammarian of Cordova who, in 426/1035, died of grief because one of his fellow-citizens, a member of the Andalusian patrician class, persisted in rejecting his advances" (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 445); the same story is told by Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, ii, 19 ff. = *Udabā'*, iv, 109 ff.; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr., 359-60) who also relates (ii, 23 ff. = iv, 115 ff.; cf. Mez, 360-1), after al-Ṣanawbarī, the story of a bookseller of Edessa (al-Ruhā) named Saʿd, whose shop was a literary salon frequented by poets and in particular by a young Christian called ʿĪsā; Saʿd developed a violent passion for the latter, and did not cease pursuing him and dedicating poems to him; ʿĪsā became a monk, and, finally denied access to the monastery, Saʿd set fire to all his possessions and became a vagrant. He died eventually of consumption, but the governor of the town accused the monks of having killed him and condemned the young man to death; the punishment was averted following the payment of a large sum of money, but when ʿĪsā went to visit his parents, the local children pelted him with stones and called him an assassin. A third story (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 25 ff. = *Udabā'*, iv, 122 ff.) tells of a poet in love with a young monk who pines away with grief and dies the very moment that he meets the object of his infatuation.

From anecdotes such as these one gains the impression, on the one hand, that the authorities and the people did not regard the inclinations of these homosexuals as immoral, and on the other, that monasteries and monks played an inauspicious role. It is quite clear that poetry and works such as the *Diyārāt* of al-Shābushtī regard monasteries [see DAYR] as places of debauchery frequented by lovers of forbidden delights. One must, however, proceed with caution, because once again we are faced with a poetic theme whose treatment is analogous to that of the glorification of unnatural love by poets who are influenced more by respect for a tradition than by any desire to become personally involved in the acts to which they refer. In this context, the adventure of the Andalusian poet al-Ramādī, the account of which is borrowed by H. Pérès (*Poésie andalouse*, 278-9) from a work of dubious authenticity, the *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus* of Ibn Khāḳān, seem to us no more authentic than the braggings of Ibn Shuhayd, in a poem composed in imitation of Abū Nuwās (H. Pérès, *op. laud.*, 277-8).

The fact remains that in the Middle Ages, many attacks on Islam by Christians were based on the frequency of homosexual relations which, in their view, were permitted by the Ḳur'ān and which characterised the behaviour of Muslims; they based this opinion on verse 20/16 of Sūra IV which they misinterpreted as referring to sodomy, without taking account of the condemnation of "depravity" which it contains (see N. Daniel, *Islam and the West, the making of an image*, Edinburgh 1960, 141-5).

It is indeed difficult to measure precisely the extent of the phenomenon, but it should be recognised that the separation of the sexes, which is a particular feature of Islam, has played a significant role in promoting it (cf. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 173), among women as much as among men, and the precautions taken against such behaviour (al-Nuwayrī, for example, entitles the chapter cited above *al-taḥdhīr min al-liwāṭ*) did not succeed in preventing it. It is now known that homosexuality, once regarded as a punishable offence, is caused as much by genetic as by social and psychological factors, but it seems that in the event the latter have played the leading role in the proliferation of what remains, to a large extent, a vice.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

LIYĀḲAT ʿALĪ KHĀN, honorary secretary of the All-India Muslim League from 1936 to 1947 and prime minister of Pakistan from 1947 to 1951, was born in the Karnāl district of east Pandjāb on 1 October 1895. He was the second son of a well-to-do landlord, Nawwāb Rustam ʿAlī Khān of the Mandal family, which claimed to have migrated 500 years previously from Iran and to descend from the Sāsānid king Anūshirwān (Khusraw I, 531-79 A.D.); British officials on the other hand considered the Mandals to be of Paṭhān origin, or perhaps Djāṭs hailing from Samānā in Paṭiālā. Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān's grandfather, Nawwāb Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān, gave powerful support to the British in the Mutiny uprising of 1857-8, for which he was handsomely rewarded in the bestowal of honours and the remission of rent.

From 1909 to 1919 Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān attended the Muḥammadan Anglo-Oriental College at ʿAlīgaṛh, where he was notably successful both on the games field and in the classroom. After graduating, he read law at Exeter College, Oxford, getting his degree in 1921, and was called to the Bar in 1922. At Oxford he began to display political promise as a prominent member of the Indian Madjlis. On returning to India he settled down on the family estate in the Muẓaffarnagar district of the western United Provinces and, despite family pressure to enter government service and his own training as a lawyer, aimed at politics. In 1923 he joined the All-India Muslim League, the organisation of Muslim separatist politics, and when in 1927 the League split over its response to the Simon Commission to inquire into India's constitutional progress, he supported the Djinnah group which boycotted the Commission. In 1928 he joined those representing the League at the Indian National Convention which discussed the Nehru Report. From 1926 to 1940 he was a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council, in which he quickly came to play a prominent part, organising and leading the small but influential Democratic Party and acting as deputy president of the Council from 1931 to 1936.

In the 1930s and 1940s Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān played the leading role, after Muḥammad ʿAlī Djinnah, in generating the revival of the All-India Muslim League. In the early 1930s the League was crumbling, meeting only once in full session between 1931 and 1936. In 1933, while visiting London on his second honeymoon, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān helped to persuade, and according to some was decisive in persuading, Djinnah to return to India to revitalise the organisation. In April 1936 he became honorary secretary, a position he held till 1947, even though from July 1936 to early 1938 he was associated with the landlord party in the United Provinces, the National Agriculturalist Party led by the Nawwāb of Čattārī; the Muslim League leadership in the province, he declared by way of explanation, was too close to the Indian National Congress. In the early 1940s Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān prepared the League's organisation, and Muslims more generally, for the overwhelming victory of the 1945-6 elections. He sat on the League's major committees, he was chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board, he toured India to spread the League's message, he directed the *Dawn* newspaper which was founded in 1942 as the League's mouthpiece, and from 1940 he led the League's party in the Central Legislative Assembly in Djinnah's absences, which were quite frequent. So highly did Djinnah value Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān that in supporting his re-election as honorary secretary in 1943 he described him as his "right hand".

In the two crucial years before the partition of India, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khan was at the heart of events. In late 1944 and early 1945 he attempted to come to an agreement with Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Congress in the Central Legislative Assembly, which would identify common ground and enable the Congress and the League to participate in forming an interim government, although he may have gone too far on his own initiative, as Djinnah disavowed the project. He was also closely involved in two further attempts to solve the constitutional deadlock, the Simla conference of 1945 and the Cabinet Mission discussions of 1946. When towards the end of 1946 the interim government was eventually formed, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān led the Muslim league bloc, defending Muslim interests with vigour. When that government's quasi-Cabinet offices were distributed, the Congress apparently trusting in the north Indian belief that Muslims were unskilled in financial matters, encouraged him to take the Finance portfolio, which gave him a say in all the activities of the interim government and enabled him through a masterly budget to impose his will on the political situation. Indeed, it is said that he used his powers to such effect that leading Congressmen, among them Sardar Patel, came to see partition as the only solution to their difficulties. After partition was finally agreed on 2 June 1947, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān was marked out to be the first prime minister of the new state of Pakistan.

When Djinnah, governor-general and presiding genius of Pakistan, died on 11 September 1948, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān came forward as the unchallenged ruler. He faced enormous problems: the state was divided into two parts separated by 1,200 miles of hostile territory; there were six million refugees; there were divisions of language, race and religion (15% of the population was Hindu); there was no administrative centre, efficient bureaucracy, political tradition or economic focus. That Pakistan survived these problems, in addition to the premature death of Djinnah, owed much to the wise leadership of Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān.

He responded firmly to the threats levelled by an India still not entirely reconciled to the dismemberment of the subcontinent, and through his statesmanlike approach to international affairs did much to establish Pakistan in the eyes of the world. When in September 1949 India imposed a total trade boycott because Pakistan refused to devalue her rupee alongside the Indian rupee, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān was unmoved, and eighteen months later India relented. When in both 1950 and 1951 India massed her forces on Pakistan's borders, he combined a staunch reply with a readiness to seek an immediate resolution of differences by negotiation. It is sometimes thought that he need not have accepted India's offer of a ceasefire in Kashmīr in 1949, but it is difficult to see, in view of the condition of Pakistan and her resources at the time, what choice he had. In the world at large he maintained a determined policy of non-alignment: he attended the conferences of British Commonwealth prime ministers but quickly made it clear that Pakistan should not be "taken for granted", he made a personally successful official visit to North America in May and June 1950 but made no foreign policy commitment. He did, however, make commitments in the Muslim world and embarked on that search for a leading role amongst Muslim states which in the succeeding decades characterised his country's foreign policy. International Islamic conferences were held, and by mid-1951 Pakistan had signed formal treaties of friendship with Syria, Turkey, Iran and Indonesia.

Within Pakistān, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān's first concern was nation-building. He strove to make the fragments of the armed forces inherited from the British a truly national force, encouraging them to recruit as many of the under-represented East Pakistanis as possible and removing the remaining foreign officers. Brushing aside suggestions that, now Pakistan was won, the Muslim League had performed its task, he tried to mould it into a party of national construction. "Pakistan is the child of the Muslim League", he declared, "it is the duty of the mother to look after the child till it grows up", and to emphasise his point he became president of the League on 8 October 1950 and urged others to follow suit in drawing together party and government. Most important, he endeavoured to create a framework for politics in which all Pakistanis would be happy to work. There were great problems: autonomous provinces had to agree to surrender powers to the centre, a fair place had to be found for non-Muslim minorities, while the *ʿulamāʾ*, who knew that all sovereignty flowed from God and that they alone were equipped to interpret His law, had to be reconciled with those who believed that the people were sovereign and that power in politics should rest with their representatives. Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān's first step towards creating a constitutional framework was the Objectives Resolution brought before the Constituent Assembly on 7 March 1949. Although no more than a statement of intent, it marked out enough apparently common ground, particularly on the questions of sovereignty and minorities, for Pakistanis to be able to proceed with constitution making. There followed the publication of the interim report of the Basic Principles Committee in September 1950 which created great, and it seems unexpected, opposition; the East Pakistanis were the most vociferous, fearing that their majority in the Constituent Assembly would be reduced to a minority, although they were more numerous than the West Pakistanis. Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān responded by

postponing consideration of the report and deciding to hold general elections before grappling again with the constitutional issue. He has been criticised for this move, indeed for mishandling the issue altogether. On the other hand, his aim in holding elections was to create elected bodies which would be more firmly under central control. To this end, he used his powers as Muslim League president to vet all applications for candidacies. He had just completed the task in the Pandjāb, and was about to proceed to the North-West Frontier Province, when on 16 October 1951 he was assassinated by an Afghān while addressing a meeting in Rawalpindī.

As a person, Liyāķat ʿAlī Khān was noted for charm, manners, simple tastes and an egalitarian outlook which led him of his own accord to drop his hereditary title of Nawwāb-zāda. As a public figure he was noted as a practical administrator, as a witty speaker, and as a calm, shrewd and selfless politician, qualities which no doubt helped him to outstrip more experienced politicians in Djinnah's esteem. The full measure of his achievement will not properly be assessed until the Muslim League papers are fully open for consultation and the context of his last ten years is better understood. Nevertheless, he did much to bring Pakistan into existence and more than anyone else to nurture it through the first four very difficult years. Had he been spared, he may well have given his country a workable constitution, the lack of which came to be much felt. Rightly his countrymen bestowed upon him the title Ķāʾid-i-Millat, leader of the nation.

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LIYŪN, capital of the ancient kingdom of Léon and, at the present time, of the province of that name, to the south of the Asturias. The name comes from the *Legio Septima Gemina Asturica*, which established its *castrum* there in the reign of the Emperor Trajan. J. M. Blazquez (*Estructura económica y social de España*) includes it among the towns which were provided with walls during the Later Empire, and its role was very slight for the whole of the Visigothic period.

The Arab geographers mention Liyūn only rarely. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ says that "Ibn Saʿīd places it in 10°5′ longitude and 46°55′ latitude. It is a town in the seventh climate, in the land of the Djalāliķa. According to Ibn Saʿīd, it is situated to the north-east of Zamora. It is the town of which al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] destroyed the main rampart. It lies on a river which flows into the Zamora river. It is the finest and most important of the towns of the Djalāliķa". Al-Ḥimyarī (*K. al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, no. 164) makes it "one of the capitals of Castile/Ķashtāla. It is a populous town, where business, commerce and stock-raising are carried on. The people there are bellicose and touchy". Al-Maķķarī (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, 143, 346) mentions the existence of tin mines in the region of Frandja and Liyūn.

The geographers and historians knew perfectly well that there existed a kingdom, with a capital (*ķāʿida*) of this name, but generally preferred to utilise for this state the ancient term Djilliķiyya or Djalliķiyya [*q.v.*]. The information which one can glean from the chronicles is very sparse, a laconic attitude probably due in part to the fact that political and military activity there passed at an early date, and thenceforth almost exclusively, into the hands of the people of Ķashtāla [*q.v.*].

At the time of the Muslim conquest, the occupation of Liyūn is mentioned neither by the *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* nor the *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Ķūṭiyya. It is a reasonable assumption that the town was included in the capitulation of Petrus, *Dux Cantabriae*, which opened up all the Galicia-Asturias-Léon region. It was at that time probably a small, unimportant place with no Muslim governor. The Arab texts are indeed silent about it, and agree with the *Chronica de Alfonso III* in making Astorga and Oviedo the seat of "Munnuza", the Muslim governor of the region at the time of Pelayo's revolt.

The town must have been more or less officially abandoned at the time of the great rising of Berbers who emigrated from northern Spain in the years after 123/741. According to the *Chronica Albeldense* (602), "Fruela, brother of Alfonso I, entered Léon", and the *Chronica de Alfonso III* (615-16) specifically says that "Abela, Astorica, Legionem, Septemmancas . . . Omnes quoque Arabes gladio interficiens xristianos autem secum ad patriam ducens", events whose veracity seems to be confirmed by the parallel version of the *Akhbār madjmūʿa*. It is essentially these texts which Cl. Sanchez Albornoz depends on for his theory of the *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, Buenos Aires 1966. A partial return, spontaneous and unorganised, by small cultivators and herdsmen must have taken place under the shelter of the ramparts of the town, since, according to Ibn ʿIdhārī (*al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, ii, 346), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II in 231/945-6 sent "his son Muḥammad, who besieged, bombarded, pillaged and burnt Léon, without however being able to destroy the 17-cubits' high walls". The *Chronica Albeldense* mentions under the reign of Alfonso "a campaign by al-Mundhir which is said to have reached as far as the town and which had to retreat with heavy losses", but one cannot tell from this whether it is the attack mentioned by the *Bayān* or not. The town remained uninhabited until 860, when Ordoño II "repeopled the deserted towns from which Alfonso I had expelled the Chaldaeans: Tuy, Astorga, Léon and Amaya" (*Chronica Alfonso III*, 619).

Ibn Ḥayyān (*Muķtabas*, v, 120, 325, 344) makes Léon the capital (*ķāʿida, ḥaḍra, dār mamlaka*) of Djalliķiyya. The town was the objective of two raids by al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir, one in 372/982 and the other in 376/986, leading to the sacking and burning of the town (ʿUdhrī, *Masālik*, ed. al-Ahwānī, 80).

Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, iv, 80), as well as ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (*al-Muʿdjib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, 235, 268) consider Liyūn solely as an urban centre since they make Alfonso VII "the Slobberer" lord of Ciudad Rodrigo, Avila, Léon and Zamore, information also reproduced by Ibn Khaldūn in his *K. al-ʿIbar*.

As opposed to this view, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*K. Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. Beirut 1956, 74, 241) speaks of it as a kingdom and not as a town ("the Christians of Ḳashtāla and Liyūn"). He has preserved for us an additional piece of information by including in the curious *Dhikr al-taʿrīf bimā amkana min mulūk al-naṣārā bi 'l-Andalus*, which comes at the end of his *Aʿmāl*, material which the Christian chronicles mention about the physician-ambassador Yūsuf b. Waḳḳār al-Isrāʾīlī al-Ṭulayṭulī. This chapter uses phonetic transcriptions of Christian names and titles, giving also the Christian equivalent for *hidjrī* dates; it is interesting to compare with this Ibn Khaldūn, who, in his *K. al-ʿIbar*, also changes at approximately this time *ḳūmis* [*q.v.*] into *ḳumṭ*. Ibn al-Khaṭīb reports thus that "in 148/766 [error for 768], Aurelio, brother of Froila, governed the territory of the Asturias, Galicia, Portugal and part of Léon"; "in 248/863 [error for, at the earliest, 866] Alfonso the Great transferred the *dār al-mulk* of his father to Léon and styled himself King of Léon"; and "Castilian separatism began under the reign of Garcia in 297/909 [correctly 911-14]", a period corresponding in fact to one of the phases of Castilian expansionism [see ḲASHTĀLA]. Ibn al-Khaṭīb then mentions the birth of the kingdom of Castile under Fernan Sanchez, and his struggle against the Léonese state before its merging into the kingdom of Castile and Léon, as well as the origin and the succession of Portugal. The information given by Ibn Khaldūn in the chapter of the *K. al-ʿIbar* called "Notice on the *Djalāliḳa* Banū Idhfūnsh, kings of al-Andalus after the Goths . . .", although very similar to that of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, is not a mere piece of plagiarism but seems rather to come from a parallel source of information.

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(P. CHALMETA)

LIZARD [see ḌABB].

LŌDĪS, a North Indian Afghān tribe and dynasty, 855-932/1451-1526.

1. History. Afghān tribes from the mountainous Sulaymān regions regularly migrated to the plain of the Indus; they joined the invading armies as auxiliaries in war, and came as traders or herdsmen during peace. They moved to the hills in summer and to the plains at the onset of winter. Among these emigrants were the ancestors of the Lōdī sultans of India. For the Afghāns in India generally, see PATHĀN and ROHILA.

The Lōdīs are related to a clan of the Ghilzay tribe of Afghānistān [see GHALZAY] and ruled over parts of north India for 77 years. Afghāns came to the Indus plains from Rōh [*q.v.*] as early as 934/711-12 with the army of Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, the conqueror of Sind, and allied themselves politically with the Hindū-Shāhī [*q.v.*] rulers of Lahore, and receiving part of Lāmghān [see LĀMGHĀNĀT] for settlement, built a fort in the mountains of Peshāwar to protect the Pandjāb from raids. During Alptigin's government at Ghazna, when his commander-in-chief Sebüktigin raided Lāmghān and Multān, the Afghāns sought help from Rādjā Djaypāl who appointed their chief, Shaykh Ḥamīd Lōdī, viceroy of the *wilāyat*s of Lamghān and Multān. Shaykh Ḥamīd appointed his own men as governors of those districts, and thereby the Afghāns gained political importance; their settlements stretched southwards from Lāmghān to Multān, incorporating the tracts of Bannū and Dērā Ismāʿīl Khān.

Later, a family of the Lōdī tribe settled at Multān, which was ruled in 396/1005 by Abu 'l-Fatḥ Dāwūd, a grandson of Shaykh Ḥamīd. There was also a strong Afghān element in the forces of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna and Shihāb al-Dīn of Ghūr. The latter on his third campaign to India [see GHŪRIDS] had 12,000 experienced Afghān horsemen in his army, and he defeated the Rādjpūts under Rādjā Pithawrā of Dihlī. On his return journey, he settled in the hills of Rōh, the Sulaymān mountains, Ashnaghar and Badjawr—a tract extending from Kābul to the Indus—and appointed Malik Muʿizz al-Dīn Ghūrī at the head of 20,000 men to transplant the Afghāns from Ghūr to the new settlements, thereby paving his way for the conquest of Hindūstān. Each clan was granted an *iḳṭāʿ* in the environs of Nīlāb and the Indus.

Serving thus in the army of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī, the Afghāns rose to power and settled over a large tract of land. Their leader ʿAlī Kirmākh was appointed governor of Multān in 582/1186-7. Sultan Balban of the "slave kings" posted them as garrisons in Bhodjpur, Kampila and Paṭiālī against the Hindū rebels in the Dōʾāb. During the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, they rebelled under their leader, Malik Shāhū Lōdī, in Multān at some time in 741/1341, and killed its governor. Since the time of seizure of the Pandjāb by the Ghaznawids, the movements of Afghān merchants increased considerably. They started participating actively in the politics of northern India from the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ and particularly after Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ's death (790/1388), during the decline of the Tughluḳ dynasty and the weak rule of the Sayyids.

During the invasions of India by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] in 801/1398, Afghāns fought on both sides. Malik Khiḍr Lōdī, Malik Bahāʾ al-Dīn Djilwānī, Malik Yūsuf Sarwānī and Malik Ḥabīb Niyāzī joined the army of Tīmūr at the head of 12,000 Afghān mercenaries. About this time, Sulṭān Shāh's father Malik Bahrām had come as a warrior-trader to Multān from Balōt, a *pargana* in the Bīrūn-i Pandjnād *sarkār* on the border of Balūčistān, according to the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*. He quarreled with his two brothers Malik Maḥmūd and Malik Mawdjī, and took service under Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ's governor at Multān, namely Malik Mardān Dawlat, entitled Malik al-Sharḳ Nāṣir al-Mulk (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* and *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*). Malik Bahrām organised a tribal militia. After his death his sons Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī, Malik Fīrūz, Malik Muḥammad, Malik Khʷādja and Malik Kālā stayed on in Multān while the city passed, during political confusion and unrest, into several hands. After the death of Malik Mardān Dawlat, his son Malik Shaykh and his adopted son Malik Sulaymān were appointed after his death governors of Multān in succession by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ. Malik Sulaymān was succeeded in the governorship by his son Khiḍr Khān, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty at Dihlī [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE], who had been appointed governor of Multān and the Pandjāb

by the Tughlukids in recognition of his military service, but later betrayed the Tughlukids and joined the invading Mongol force under Tīmūr.

Sultān Shāh Lōdī, who succeeded his father Malik Bahrām as chief of the Afghān mercenaries, distinguished himself in the service of Khiḍr Khān and helped him in overpowering the Tughlukids. He succeeded in killing Mallū Iķbāl Khān, the *de facto* ruler of Dihlī and the staunch supporter of Maḥmūd Tughluķ, in the battle of Adjodhan fought on the banks of the Satladj (18 Djumādā I 808/11 November 1405). Thus Multān, together with the Pandjāb, seceded from Dihlī, and Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī was put in charge of Sirhind with the title of Islām Khān. During the time of the Sayyid Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh, son of Khiḍr Khān, the Afghān chief Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī obtained power and held Sirhind with the neighbouring districts in *djāgīr* [*q.v.*]. He settled there with his four brothers and gathered a strong contingent of 12,000 horse, mostly of his own tribe. Malik Kālā married his uncle's daughter, received Dawrāla (Sirhind *sarkār*) in *djāgīr* and served under Nāṣir Khān, who held Multān as governor on behalf of the Sayyid Sulṭān Khiḍr Khān. His child was named Bahlūl, the subsequent founder of the Lōdī dynasty at Dihlī. He died in a struggle against the Niyāzī emigrants in the Indus valley, and the child was brought up by his uncle Malik Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī at Sirhind. Finding him a soldier of promising character, Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī gave him his daughter, Shams Khātūn, in marriage. Once in Sāmāna he visited a local holy man, Sayyid Abban, with two companions, (*Ta'rīkh-i Shāhī*, 3; *Ta'rīkh-i Dāwūdī*, Sarkar ms., 4); the Shaykh demanded 2,000 *lankas* in exchange for the throne of Dihlī if any one of them was willing so to hazard for it. Bahlūl Lōdī had with him only 1,300 *lankas* which he instantly offered, and was congratulated as the future ruler of India. Although he was taunted by his companions for this transaction, he drew inspiration from the Shaykh's proposal and had no cause to regret either the throne of Dihlī or his gift.

Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī nominated Bahlūl as his heir-apparent in preference to his adult son Kuṭb Khān. On his father-in-law's death in Radjab 824/March 1431, the Afghān militia became divided into three camps under Kuṭb Khān, Malik Fīrūz, (son and brother of Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī [= Islām Khān] respectively) and Bahlūl Lōdī; the latter won over his uncle Malik Fīrūz to his side against the confederation of his rivals Kuṭb Khān and Muḥammad Shāh, the Sayyid ruler of Dihlī. The latter sent a force under his *wazīr* Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa and Djasrath Khokar to drive the Afghāns out of Sirhind and to deprive Bahlūl Lodī of his *djāgīr*. The Afghāns, defeated, fled to the hills. Malik Fīrūz was made captive and his son Malik Shāhīn Khān was killed. Bahlūl escaped, and, on Djasrath's return to the Pandjāb, he managed to re-gather his scattered army. Malik Fīrūz escaped from Dihlī and joined Bahlūl. The contrite Kuṭb Khān Lōdī also joined Bahlūl's camp. Thus remustering his forces, Bahlūl Lōdī recaptured Sirhind in 840/1436. The Sayyid Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh sent a large force under one of his chiefs, Ḥādjdjī Shudanī, better known as Ḥusām Khān, which was defeated at Karā (Kharār in Anbāla district?) near Khiḍrābād Sadhūra, and Ḥusām Khān escaped to Dihlī while Bahlūl established himself firmly in the Pandjāb.

In 844/1440, when Dihlī was threatened by Maḥmūd Khaldjī I [*q.v.*] of Mālwā, the feeble Sayyid Sulṭān of Dihlī appealed to Bahlūl, who agreed to help him on condition that Ḥusām Khān the prime minister was to be replaced by his nominee Ḥamīd Khān. The Sulṭān acted accordingly, without taking into account the implications, and Ḥusām Khān was killed. Bahlūl Lōdī took the field with his contingent of 8,000 Afghān and Mughal militia and 20,000 of the royal army against Maḥmūd, who after a day's desultory fighting sued for peace, and retreated to deal with a serious riot in his own capital, Māndū [*q.v.*], and an invasion by Sulṭān Aḥmad of Gudjarāt. This retreating Mālwā army was waylaid by Bahlūl. Dihlī was saved from annexation to Mālwā, and Bahlūl was awarded the title of Khān-i Khānān, and confirmed in his *djāgīr* at Sirhind, with Lahore and Dībālpūr added to his fief. He then rebelled against Muḥammad Shāh and annexed Sunām, Ḥiṣār Fīrūza and other districts of the Pandjāb. Twice he made unsuccessful attempts to capture Dihlī, once during the time of Muḥammad Shāh (d. 849/1445) and again during that of his son and successor Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh (849-83/1445-78). Circumstances were in his favour. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh was a weak ruler. His authority hardly extended beyond twenty miles from Dihlī: hence the epigrams *az Dihlī tā Pālam/bādshāhī Shāh ʿĀlam* ("ʿĀlam Shāh's rule extends from Dihlī to Pālam"). The ill-advised Sulṭān planned to kill his prime minister Ḥamīd Khān, who escaped from Badāʾūn, occupied the palace of Dihlī and invited Bahlūl to take over. The latter came, but cleverly declined the offer as the time was not ripe. Subsequently seizing an opportunity, he had Ḥamīd Khān arrested by Kuṭb Khān Lōdī and occupied Dihlī. He offered the throne to Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam, who however abdicated in favour of Bahlūl, preferring himself to live a life of ease and seclusion at Badāʾūn. Bahlūl, thereupon, ascended the throne of Dihlī with the title of Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Bahlūl Shāh on 17 Rabīʿ I 855/19 April 1451.

After the capture of Dihlī, Bahlūl extended his territory over north India up to Djawnpur [*q.v.*]. The last decades of the 9th/15th century witnessed a fluctuating struggle between the Sharkī dynasty of Djawnpur and the Husayn-Shāhī dynasty of Bengal, and then between the Lōdīs and both of them. Bihār remained throughout a bone of contention. At first, Bahlūl succeeded in driving out Ḥusayn Shāh from his capital (Djawnpur) to his eastern possessions of Čunār, Čawnd and Bihār. The Lodī Sulṭān proposed to maintain the *status quo*, provided that Ḥusayn Shāh did not harbour his enemies, but the latter was bent on recovering his lost territory. (An inscription confirms the control of Ḥusayn Shāh over Bihār in 892/1486-7, but it was annexed by Sikandar Lōdī and put in the charge of Daryā Khān in 901/1495-6, as is evident from another inscription.) Ḥusayn Shāh Sharkī was driven to Kahalgāon, 23 miles east of Bhāgalpūr. The Dihlī army crossed the Ganges from Paṫnā, while another contingent marched from Darwīshpur via Kutlughpur near Manēr Sharf, against the Bengal Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. To oust the Lōdī troops, Prince Dāniyāl was sent by his father at the head of Bengal army towards Mungēr (Monghyr). The two armies stood facing each other for some time and ultimately a non-aggression pact was signed at Bāṙh to the west of Monghyr. Even after this, the boundary remained fluctuating. Bhāgalpur was perhaps, the western extent of the Bengal sultanate during the height of Lōdī power; Sikandar Lōdī's bounds definitely extended up to Bāṙh in the east (cf. *JBRS* [1955], 358-63).

Bahlūl considered himself a chief of chiefs rather

than an absolute autocrat. The Afghān chroniclers speak highly of his simplicity, sense of social equality, bravery and generosity. He followed strictly the *Sharī'a*, and spent much time in the company of learned and pious men. He died in Sha'bān 891/July 1488 at Malāwalī near Saket, a short distance from 'Alīgaṛh [*q.v.*]. His body was brought to Dihlī and buried in the Bāgh-i Djūd.

Before his death, he ensured Lōdī dominance in north India by placing his second son Bārbak on the Djawnpur throne and assigning Mānikpur to 'Ālam Khān Lōdī, Bahrayč to his nephew Kālā Pahār, Lakhna'ū and Kālpī to A'ẓam Humāyūn Lōdī, and Badā'ūn to Khān Djahān Lōdī, while Niẓām Khān held the Pandjāb, Dihlī and most of the Dō'āb.

He was succeeded by Niẓām Khān as Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī, who reigned until 923/1517-18. Bahlūl was a chief of chiefs; Sikandar Lōdī considered himself a fully-fledged Sulṭān. He was a good administrator, a just ruler and a good poet. He was able to control the unruly Afghāns by introducing the system of inspection, auditing accounts and registering a *ḥilya* (descriptive roll) [see DĀGH U TAṢḤĪḤA in Suppl.].

Sikandar Lōdī was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm Lōdī at Āgrā on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 923/22 November 1517. To establish himself, he had to fight against his rival brother Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn of Kālpī and other rebels. After nine years, he had to fight a defensive battle at Pānīpat [*q.v.*] against the Mughal invader Muḥammad Bābur of Farghāna. The Afghān Sulṭān, who had been betrayed by Dawlat Khān Lōdī, lost the battle, was killed on Friday, 8 Radjab 932/20 April 1526, and was buried by the roadside. Although the Afghān sultanate passed into the hands of the Mughals after about 77 years' rule, the Afghāns continued to fight against the suzerainty of the Mughals under the Karrānīs and Nūhānīs in Bengal until they were finally subjugated by the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr at Nekudjyāla about 30 miles from Dacca in 1021/1612.

Ibrāhīm Lōdī possessed military skill, but lacked tact and moderation. His idea of monarchy in which kin relationship was not counted was in accordance with the traditional idea of monarchy in India, but his repression of the powerful nobles of the Nūḥānī, Farmūlī and Lodī tribes caused his fall and death. He took drastic steps for establishing his suzerainty, but failed miserably in crushing the nobility which had reduced the Sulṭān to a mere figure-head from the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ onwards, which had been granted too much license by his grandfather, but which had been largely controlled by his father, with his benevolent and tactful methods, methods which Ibrāhīm Lōdī himself lacked. He did not know how to win over and conciliate an aggrieved noble and was opposed to the equality which was a tradition of his own Afghān race. He hardly tried to patch up his differences with his nobles and to set up a joint defence against the invading Mughal force under Bābur. A correct use of the wealth which he had amassed in great quantities, and conciliation of his nobles, would have earned the loyalty of the nobility to him and helped him in bringing a still larger and stronger army to the battle field of Pānīpat than he could in fact assemble there, thus presenting a united resistance to the Mughals.

2. Administration. After years of insecurity, a stable government was established by the Lōdīs, essentially a military oligarchy; for, with the exception of a few Rādjpūts, all officials and *djāgīrdārs* were Afghāns, mostly of the Lōdī, Nūḥānī, Farmūlī and Sarwānī tribes. Bahlūl had considered himself as *primus inter pares*; Sikandar Lōdī insisted on the dignity of a sultan, thereby going against Afghān tradition. For the civil administration under the Lōdīs, see ḌARĪBA. 6. India (a) The Sultanate of Dihlī, and WIZĀRA.

3. Social and cultural life. Tīmūr's invasion caused considerable damage to Indian culture in the Sultanate period, which shifted from Dihlī to provincial capitals until the establishment of the Lōdī dynasty. Sikandar Lōdī's reign witnessed a renaissance of learning and culture in Dihlī. Hindūs began to take interest in Muslim learning and Dungar, a Hindū poet, taught in a Muslim college. Sikandar patronised music, and gathered poets and musicians in his court. The Sulṭān's cultivation of music led to the compilation of a rare work, the *Lahdjat Sikandar Shāhī wa-laṭā'if-i lā-mutanāhī*, a ms. of which is preserved in the Tagor library of Lakhna'ū University.

There was some rapprochement between Muslim Ṣūfīs and Hindū *yōgīs*; the Bhakti poets Čaitanya, Kabīr, Nānak and others compelled some popular attention in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, under Sikandar Lōdī and his successors. There are some contemporary instances of social intercourse between Muslim saints and Hindū *yogīs*, and of Muslim followers of Hindū saints, and vice-versa. See further HINDŪ, and also KABĪR; MALIK MUḤAMMAD DJĀYASĪ; DJAMĀLĪ, in Suppl.

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(S. M. Imamuddin)

4. Architecture. Lōdī architecture is described in the articles DIHLĪ SULTANATE, ART, and HIND, vii. Architecture. There are many sites not mentioned in those articles where monumental tombs of the Lōdī period are found, especially in the neighbourhood of Sirhind [*q.v.*], Sohnā and other towns in the Māwāt, and in the environs of Āgrā. There is still no adequate study published on Lōdī architecture as a coherent whole, and a competent survey is badly needed. Recent research suggests that later Dihlī Sultanate architecture in the regions of eastern Uttar Pradēsh and Bihār has many features of a regional style not described in the classification of styles in HIND, vii.

5. Coinage. Gold and silver coins, already very scarce under the Sayyids, were not continued by Bahlūl. His standard coin (= *ṭanka*), a billon issue of 9.2 to 9.4 gms., was of a traditional north Indian (80-*ratī*) standard, but issued in sufficient quantity for the sobriquet of *bahlūlī* to be applied to it. Sikandar's standard *ṭanka* was a 32-*ratī* piece, hence of less than half the value of the *bahlūlī*. The issues of Ibrāhīm are confined to copper small change. There are a few issues of autonomous Lōdī governors from e.g. Kalpī [*q.v.*]. See further DĀR AL-ḌARB and SIKKA.

(J. Burton-Page)

LOGIC [see MANṬIḲ].

LOJA [see LAWSHA].

LOMBOK, an island belonging to the Indonesian province of the Western Smaller Sunda Islands (*Nusa Tenggara Barat*). In the west it is separated from Bali by the Bali Strait, in the east by the Alas Strait from Sumbawa. It is some 4,670 sq. km. in area, and has approximately 1,850,000 inhabitants. There are extreme differences of climate between the humid western and the more arid southern and eastern parts of the island. Mount Rinjani (3,730 m.) is one of the highest mountains in South-East Asia. Mataram, situated close to Lombok's west-coast, is the provincial capital. The Island is divided into three *kabupaten* (regencies): West, Central and East Lombok.

The main population group, comprising *ca.* 95%, are the Sasaks who are nominally adherents of Islam. Approximately 3% are of Balinese origin, in addition to some "*orang Buda*" who keep to old animistic beliefs, some Chinese, and few Arabs (about 140 in West Lombok).

Influence of Mahayana Buddhism in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. is suggested by some recently-discovered Buddhist statues in the eastern part of the island. After the conquest of Bali by the *patih* Gajah Mada from the Hindu-Javanese empire of Majapahit in 1343, Lombok met with the same fate. On the initiative of Trenggana (1521-46), the third ruler of the first Islamic kingdom on Java, Demak, Islam was introduced in Lombok among the Sasaks. Tensions between the Sasak rulers and the kings of Sumbawa during the 17th century finally led to the intervention of the Balinese kingdom of Karangasem, which established its supremacy on Lombok at the beginning of the 18th century. Mataram, close to the western shore and thus in neighbourhood to eastern Bali, developed as the most influential centre on Lombok. Its king was counselled by Balinese nobles, and the districts, too, were governed by Balinese, whereas their decisions were executed by Sasak officials who were often descendants from the old indigenous nobility.

In 1849, Karangasem lost its supremacy over Mataram, which maintained closer relations with the Dutch at Batavia. But the Balinese nobility still tried to develop western Lombok into a second Bali, and by court decisions Sasaks were eventually made slaves and had to serve in that rôle. Finally, the Sasaks asked the help of the Dutch Indies government, which organised in 1894 an expedition against Lombok "to protect the Muslims", to abolish the dynasty, and to turn Lombok into a Dutch colony. Besides its political consequences, this expedition resulted in the discovery of the manuscript of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, a chronicle of the kingdom of Majapahit from the 14th century.

Although the Sasaks are usually considered to be Muslims, old customs, beliefs, and rules (*adat*) are still dominant. Especially during the 19th century, two parallel movements brought some change into the traditional social structures: the attempts of certain circles of the nobility to exert a greater degree of power, which they justified with *adat* convictions, and which was based on the eventual support of the Dutch; and, on the other side, the attempts of mainly commoners to gain some influence too. For them, Islam with its more democratic concept of society, provided sufficient motivation, and at the same time was consonant with the anti-Balinese feelings among the people.

It was the latter group, however, who in the course of time proved to be more influential than the former one. The features of this development are similar to those in other rural areas in Indonesia. The traditional nobility, which as descendants of the original semi-divine hero has a strong attachment to *adat*, disqualified itself by its affiliation to the foreign powers who ruled the area, whereas for the Muslim preachers, lacking those affiliations and usually themselves originating from the lower strata of society, it was much easier to convince the commoners that they were defending their interests. Externally, they were opposed to the habits and convictions of traditional Sasak culture. But as they were usually oriented towards Islamic traditionalism, a number of Sasak cultural and ceremonial notions were in effect absorbed into their understanding and practising of Islam. Besides the questions of leadership and social control, it was especially in regard to the matrimonial customs and kinship relations where a discrepancy between *adat* and Islam was felt, and this caused internal tensions in Sasak society, which on the whole is moving towards a gradual acceptance of the custom and habits of traditionalist Muslims. This happens mainly through intermarriage between *adat*-obeying and Muslim partners, where the former one adapts himself to the Muslim partner. But the transition from *adat* to Islam is much less a matter of changing doctrines than of changing practical behaviours, and it is mainly obedience to certain demands of the *Sharīʿa* which serve as the criterion for considering someone as a Muslim or not.

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LORCA [see LURḲA].

LOS PEDROCHES [see FAḤṢ AL-BALLŪṬ].

LOT [see LŪṬ].

LUBĀN (*lūbān*, *lawbān*) is frankincense, the dried-up sap produced by notching some kinds of Boswellia, obtained in Somalia and South Arabia in the form of yellow resin-grains. As is well-known, the term is Old Semitic: Assyr. *lubānu*, old South Arabian *l-b-n*, Hebr. *lbonā*, Aram. *lebontā* (*lebottā*), Eth. *lābān*, from which have been derived the loanword λίβανος, λιβανωτός, Latin *olibanum*, with derivations in the Romance languages. The name can be traced back to the original meaning "white" (Hebr. *lābān*), after the colour of the fresh, milk-white gum-resin, exuded abundantly from the notched trunks and after some time solidified into yellow grains, which are then detached from the trunks or gathered from the soil. At least as often as *lubān*, there appears in Arabic the synonym *kundur*, according to most authors of Persian origin, but perhaps to be derived from χόνδρος "grain"; this term may have become an independent form, derived from the combination χόνδρος λιβάνου "frankincense-grain".

The frankincense trade is extremely old and has been treated repeatedly—but at times inadequately—in comprehensive descriptions. In the first place, frankincense—together with myrrh—formed the richness of the old South-Arabian states of the Minaeans and Sabaeans; the loss of the frankincense monopoly was one of the main causes of the collapse of this commerce fundamental for their existence, and consequently of cause of their downfall around the middle of the 6th century A.D. (see the good survey by W. W. Müller, *Alt-Südarabien als Weihrauchland*, in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, cxlix [1969], 350-68). The Arabic sources point in the same direction. According to al-Aṣmaʿī, three items were found only in the Yemen, and indeed abundantly there: *al-wars* (*curcuma*, a dye-plant), *al-lubān* and *al-ʿaṣb* (Poterium) (cited in al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, no. 627). According to a Bedouin from ʿUmān (in al-Dīnawarī, *Le dictionnaire botanique*, ed. Hamidullah, Cairo 1973, nos. 971, 979), frankincense is only found in al-Shiḥr, in Shiḥr ʿUmān in fact, as a small briar which reaches up to two cubits high and which grows only in the mountains; its leaves resemble those of the myrtle [see Ās in Suppl.], as do its fruits, which have a bitter (read *marāra* instead of *ḥarāra*) taste; its resin, also used for chewing and called *kundur*, wells up in some places struck with the hatchet and stays there until harvest. According to al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhba*, ed. Mehren, St. Petersburg 1866, 87, frankincense is obtained on Suḳuṭrā (Socotra) and in some regions of the Yemen. After Matt. ii, 11, al-Ṭabarī, i, 729, 1, reports verbatim that the Magi brought gold, frankincense and myrrh. Lice infestation is caused by two different things: by taking excessive delight in dried figs and by burning frankincense (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, Cairo 1930, 294).

The best frankincense comes from the male plant (*lubān dhakar* = the λιβανωτὸς ἄρρην of Dioscorides); it is white and firm and has round grains which are gummy when broken open. The white frankincense (*lubān abyaḍ* = λιβανωτὸς λεύκός) is also named as a noble variety; finally are to be mentioned the Javanese (in fact, Sumatran) frankincense (*lubān djāwī*), i.e. benzoin, obtained from various kinds of styrax-trees whose fumes are said to remove a cold in the head, and the reddish, Indian frankincense. When, however, the geographers speak continuously of the frankincense of Arabia, this statement is based more on a literary topos than on knowledge of things on the spot. The critical Marco Polo remarks explicitly that he does not want simply to repeat these literary accounts, but to report the personal information of the frankincense-traders. According to these last, frankincense was particularly cultivated in two regions of South Arabia in "Escier"—apparently al-Shiḥr—and "Dufar", the ancient Ẓafār. In al-Shiḥr, he further reports, the lord confiscates the entire harvest, pays the cultivator a low price, and sells it to the traders at a sixfold price (for this report, see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, Leipzig 1886, 614-16). Some other places named by the geographers which produced frankincense lie close to each other and belong to the region of Mahra [*q.v.*]. The fact that at times scanty production of frankincense could not always satisfy the sustained and high demand in East and West, led to numerous adulterations (S. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1965, 334). Nahray ben Nissīm, a Jewish scholar, merchant and banker, called *al-tādjir al-maghribī* and well-known from the Geniza documents, carried on a widespread trade in frankincense in the Mediterranean area in the 5th/11th century (S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 154).

The medicinal use of frankincense, described extensively by Ibn al-Bayṭār, goes back for the greater part to Dioscorides, from whom was also borrowed without examination the enumeration of several kinds, together with their Greek names. According to him, frankincense has a heating, drying and astringent power, expels darkening of the pupils, causes wounds to scar over and checks haemorrhage. It softens virulent abscesses and, applied in combination with vinegar and pitch, removes warts and eruptions. It is good for earaches and, combined with other medicines, for illnesses of the trachea and of the intestines. For healthy people, it can be dangerous, for it may cause madness and, if drunk with wine, even death. Frankincense is burned by putting it in a mussel-shell and setting fire to it. Shortly before it is fully consumed it must be covered up so that the fire is smothered completely in order that the frankincense is charred and not reduced to ashes; it can then more easily be pulverised. Various supplementary observations were made by the Arab physicians, such as the following: frankincense "burns" pathological phlegms, dries up excessive humours in the breast, strengthens the stomach and warms up a cold liver. Dissolved in water and taken daily, it increases the reasoning power and eliminates loss of memory. It checks diarrhoea and vomiting, calms palpitation of the heart but can also lead to mental disturbances. When chewed, it strengthens the gums. Its bark is good for haemorrhages and intestinal ulcers. The bark of the frankin-

cense-tree was often adulterated with that of the stone-pine, but the fraud could easily be detected; when burned, pine-resin smokes while frankincense burns with a flame. Apart from genuine medical science, frankincense is until now still of great importance in popular medicine and magic, cf. e.g. for Egypt, M. Meyerhof, *Der Bazar der Drogen und Wohlgerüche in Kairo*, in *Archiv für Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient*, iii, 3/4, Berlin 1918, 202, and for North-West Africa, Helga Venzlaff, *Der marokkanische Drogenhändler und seine Ware*, Wiesbaden 1977, 67 ff.

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(A. Dietrich)

LUBNĀN, Arabic name of the Lebanon. The Lebanon belongs to the sphere of Arab culture and of Islamic civilisation. It is also one of the components of the Christian world and of the French-speaking community. Created a state in 1920, it seeks its justification, as do all the countries of the contemporary Near East, through the quest for a very ancient identity. With the prosperity of their merchants, with the Biblical symbol of the cedar on their flag, or with the violence of the civil war which broke out in 1975, the Lebanese are a part of the myths and realities of the peoples who, from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia, have based their civilisations on the patriarchal family, agriculture, the city, commerce and God.

The modern State of the Lebanon was proclaimed of September 1920 by General Gouraud, High Commissioner of the French Republic to the Levant. Within the frontiers allotted to it, and which then earned it the title of "Greater Lebanon", it occupied an area estimated today as close to 10,450 km², meassuring no more than 210 km from north to south, and with a breadth of 40 to 75 km from east to west. It is bordered to the north and east by the Syrian Arab Republic, to the south by the State of Israel, and to the west it has an open coastline on the Mediterranean. Like the *mutaṣarrifiyya* of Mount Lebanon, the Ottoman *sandjaḳ* which preceded it, dating from 1861, it took the name which had come to be attributed, progressively, to the whole of the mountain range which stretches from the Nahr al-Kabīr, in the north, to the Nahr Līṭānī, in the south; it contains, furthermore, part of Upper Galilee to the south, the central plain of the Biḳāʿ (the Coelesyria of Antiquity), and the western foothills of the Anti-Lebanon and of Mount Hermon.

In implementation of Article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles which created the system of mandates, and of the Treaties of San Remo (25 April 1920) and of Lausanne (24 June 1923) which officially brought about the end and the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the Council of the League of Nations, with its decisions of 24 July and 29 September 1923, placed the Lebanon under a mandate entrusted to France. On 26 November 1941, General Catroux, on behalf of the leadership of Free France, recognised the Lebanon as "a sovereign and independent State". In October 1943, following the election to the Presidency of the Republic of the Maronite Christian Bishāra al-Khūrī and the appointment of the Sunnī Muslim Riyāḍ al-Ṣulḥ as President of the Council of Ministers, the ministerial declaration of the new government affirmed, with all the ambiguity necessary to a compromise, that "the Lebanon is a homeland whose countenance is Arab, which will benefit richly from the civilisation of the Arabs." It became a member of the Arab League on the foundation of the latter in March 1945.

Greater Lebanon had taken the name of the Lebanese Republic when it was endowed, in 1926, with a constitution establishing a parliamentary and liberal régime. In 1943, when the Lebanese Government, with the support of public opinion, took its own destiny properly in hand, it set the seal on these institutions by means of the National Pact (*al-Mīthāḳ al-waṭanī*), a verbal accord which, in particular, defined the division of the responsibilities of power between the different religious communities; it thus entrusted the Presidency of the Republic to a Maronite Christian, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers to a Sunni Muslim, and the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies to a Shīʿī Muslim. Herein lies the heart of the problem. Under the cover of a constitutional régime inspired by the French Third Republic, Lebanese political and social life was to be regulated by a sectarian division of responsibilities, conforming to the development which it has experienced since the beginnings of Islam [see DHIMMĪ] and the changes that it had undergone in the Ottoman Empire in the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. If the declaration of 1943 stated that the Lebanon is a "homeland" (*waṭan*) of Arab countenance, the Constitution made it a "nation" (*umma*). To which structure was the action of the state therefore to respond?

Social culture imposes its norms here, digging its root into a very distant past; there is more of history in this than in all the "Phoenician" justifications put forward today by the Christians, or in the unicity of civilisation to which the Muslims lay claim.

Populated from the very dawn of history, the coast accommodated active ports, the memory of which has been perpetuated by the Biblical texts, and of which contemporary archaeology has revealed

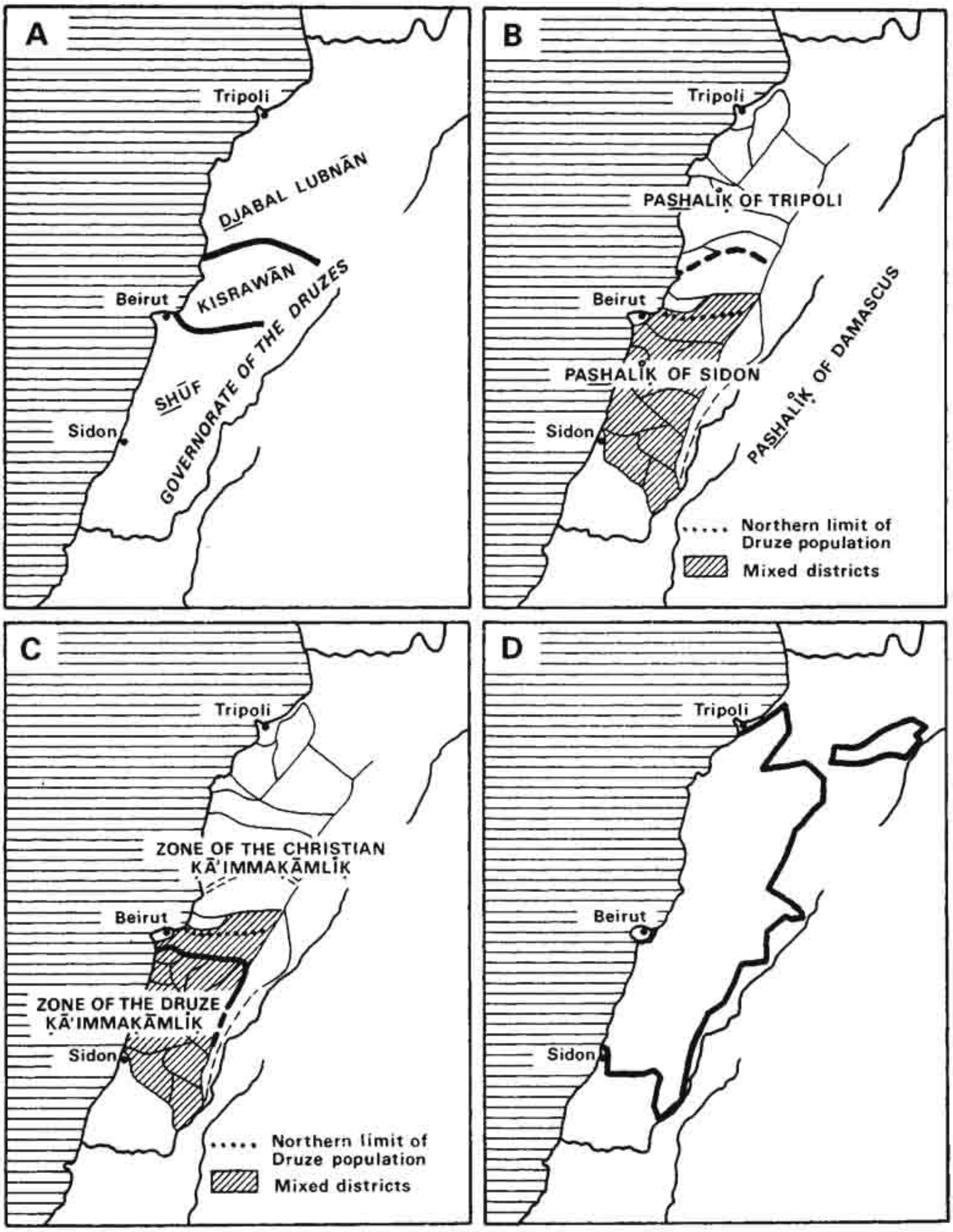

Fig. 1. Stages in administrative unification (after D. Chevallier, *La société du Mont Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe*, Paris 1971).
A. The historic regions; B. The Mountain inder the Shihāb family; C. Lebanon and the two *ḳā'immaḳāmlīḳ*s, 1843-61; D. The Province of Mount Lebanon in 1861.

the stages and the levels of habitation, such as those superimposed on more than three millenia of glories and disasters in the remarkable site of Byblos (Djubayl). Under the Roman domination and the rise of Mediterranean traffic which accompanied it, 30,000 spectators could be accommodated in the immense hippodrome constructed in Tyre (Ṣūr) and recently brought to light, excavations having begun in the 1960s.

Shrouded by its forests and its rocks above the narrow coastal strip, the mountain was also penetrated by man at a very early stage, as is shown by its Canaanite and Aramaic toponyms; its inhabitants, probably fairly dispersed until the end of the ancient period, made a living through the exploitation of timber, transporting it on the first stage of the long route which led from Tyre and Sidon (Ṣaydā) to Asia, and through brigandage. The haunt of the gods worshipped by the cities of the coast, it also attracted pilgrims to shrines adjoining the ruins of temples built in the Roman period.

After the mission of Muḥammad, the Arab conquest, by modifying the horizons and the nature of power, gave rise to a different exploitation of resources. While the narrow coastal plains, open to the sea and giving access to all ventures coming from

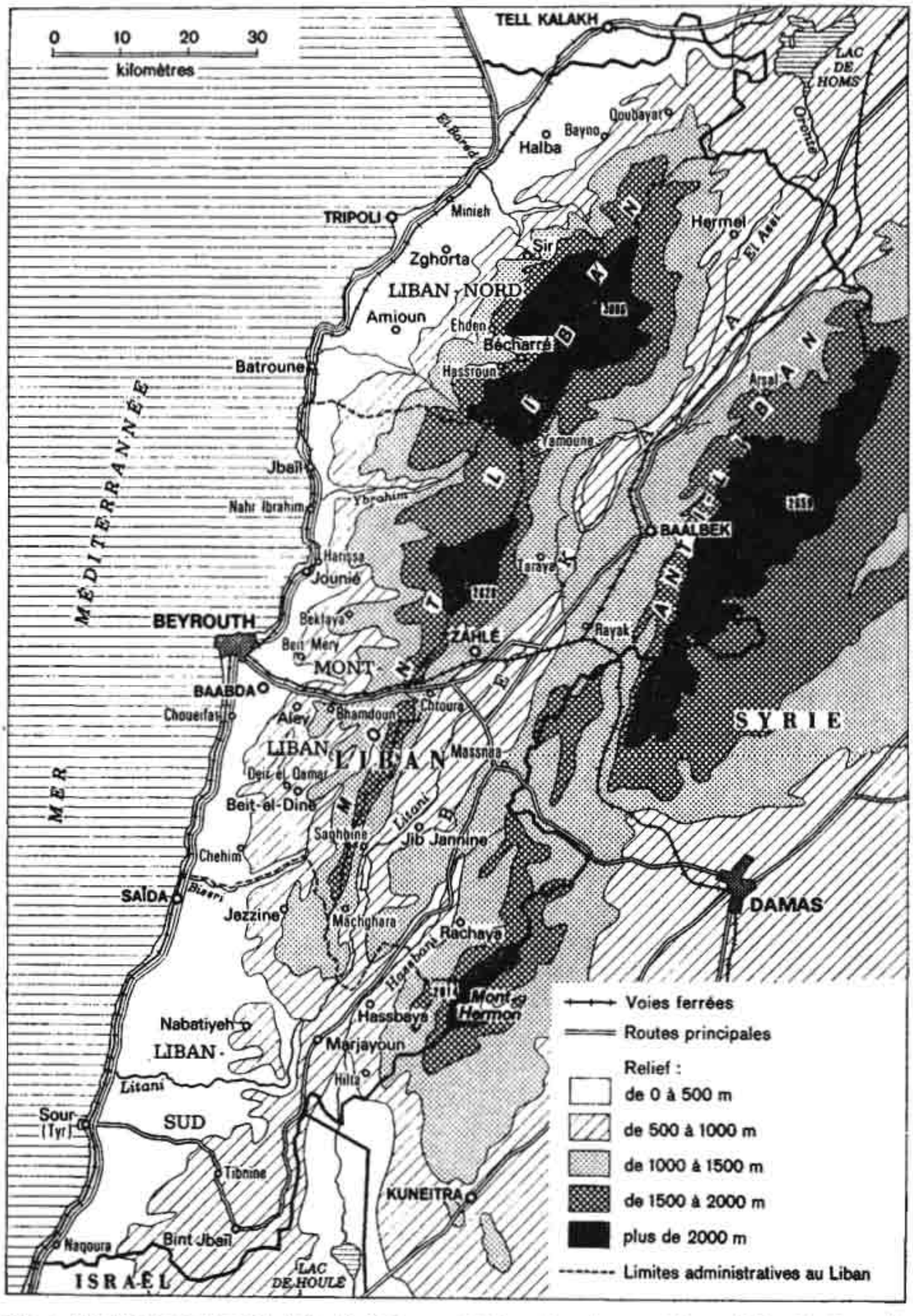

Fig. 2. The Lebanese Republic (after C. Dubar and S. Nasr, *Les classes sociales au Liban*, Paris 1976).

the West, formed a passage hardly favourable to the prosperity of a sedentary life in the absence of security, the Lebanon range became one of the marches of western Syria where Muslim and Byzantine adversaries confronted one another, perhaps through the intermediary action of unruly local inhabitants with an aptitude for warfare. Furthermore, the virtual autonomy enjoyed by those who had established themselves there was favourable to the maintenance and development of heterodox and minority religious tendencies.

On the western slope of a mountain already largely deforested, between its first escarpment dissected by deep gorges and its high calcareous plateaus of the north or its ridges to the south, conditions for agriculture and human settlement were particularly favourable at altitudes between 900 and 1,500 metres, since here erosion had uncovered soft and fertile strata of chalk. Sandstone, marl, clay and basalt rock provide a more open relief in this area, where the climate is temperate, the air salubrious and water plentiful. Annual rainfall at this altitude in fact reaches levels of between 1,000 and 1,500 mm; most of the rainfall occurs from November to March, but, during the summer season, the high calcareous surfaces retain the water which they have absorbed over the winter in the form of snow. The Lebanese mountain range is well-irrigated at a latitude where water is rare, because it stops the humid air currents coming in from the west; it forms a barriage between the sea and the steppe. Behind the sheer eastern face, the inland depression of the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*] becomes much more dry; climatic contrasts are accentuated; the Mediterranean littoral is replaced by the Syrian plains which stretch beyond Anti-Lebanon. The Biḳāʿ was the wheat-growing region to which the mountain people came in search of part of their cereal requirements; as a result, it became a disputed territory because, as an enclave also penetrated by nomads, it became a prey to the rival and destructive aspirations of distinguished families who sought to impose their control on the mountain region, and of those who governed in Damascus.

Over the centuries, the mountain people constructed and maintained walls of dry stone to retain the arable soil on the slopes, thereby establishing narrow fields which were arranged in successive and horizontal layers; these were put to full use when the farmers became capable of developing the cultivation of the vine, the olive and the mulberry. This remarkable and intricate system of terracing was an eloquent testimony to the need for regulating work communally in order to guarantee that of each participant, not only because they were subject—not without legal disputes—to the easements of rights of way, of distribution of water and of crop rotation, but also because the security of each element depended on the maintenance of the whole.

The men who constructed and cultivated these terraces were organised according to the two modes of grouping fundamental throughout this historical milieu: the patriarchal family and the religious community. Social life was at first determined by a system which sanctioned marriages within the framework of paternal parentage to form a patriarchal family which was turned in upon itself and of which the identity was established through a patrilineal genealogy and through references to a more or less legendary ancestor. Within this context, the family group found expression for its defensive reflexes ("my brother and I against the son of my paternal uncle, my paternal uncle's son and I against the stranger"), its obligations towards neighbouring family groups and its dependent relationships with more powerful families. In fact, the nature of its internal constitution did nothing to prevent, in the field of exterior contacts, the forging of links of solidarity and the establishment of hierarchies; the role of the latter was still significant in the 19th century among the families of the mountain region. This system, largely pre-Islamic in its origins, was adapted to different types of economic and political organisation, arriving progressively at its fullest expression during the Islamic period, in this mountainous milieu—it should be stressed—just as among the Arab tribes, nomadic, sedentary or sedentarised, of which the conquest did nothing more than establish norms within the general cultural ambience. Thus it was not confined to one religious community, but common to all, even though it underwent evolutions and variations in the course of the centuries; furthermore, the identifying marks of social culture which it entailed, and the experience of which was vigorously maintained through the everyday vocabulary of the Arabic language, were shared by the mountain people with their entire human environment, with the inhabitants of the interior as with those of the coast, and with those of the towns as with those of the plain.

However, the higher collective consciousness relied for its support on something beyond this organisation, which could only engender unstable coalitions between separate and rival agnate groups; it became crystallised at the level of a religious community which ascribed itself to a universalism of divine essence and thereby corresponded to a unitary aspiration where the social body ideally expressed its instinct for survival in its cultural identity and through its willingness to transcend personal interest. Islam was the perfect response to this need, while allowing the survival under its protection of other revealed religions which had proved satisfactory. While each religious community transcended the divisions of the family groups which composed it by uniting the latter in a common faith, the different communities became juxtaposed in their turn in a hierarchy imposed by Islamic law, analogous, in fact, to that which proceeded from the structure of society. The effects of this situation were to a great extent accentuated by the schisms and heresies provoked by the fragmentation of each of the great monotheistic religions into tendencies, different interpretations, communions, liturgies, doctrinal and judicial schools, themselves forming *ṭawāʾif* (sing. *ṭāʾifa*), possessing their own distinctive characteristics in the service of the one God, and even exacerbating them in the course of continual confrontations between the communities. The historical ambiguity of the Lebanon, as compared with other groupings of the region, consists in the fact that it was constructed on the banding together of minorities to form a majority.

How did the distribution of those who fostered their idiosyncracies in this mountain refuge develop? The reply to this question is one of the keys to the progressive definition of "the Lebanon" by its own inhabitants. It is not to be easily answered, however, first because our information on the population during the mediaeval period is still fragmentary and uncertain, furthermore because hypotheses on this subject have been exploited to develop fallacious or emotional claims which have served to justify community and political choices in contemporary Lebanon, with consequences that have not been

solely doctrinal. Passions are aroused and polemic erupts as soon as it becomes necessary to determine the appellation, past or present, of this mountain chain overhanging the Mediterranean, with the vindication or negation of claims of affiliation with the populations settled there, whose origins, in fact, are so often lost in the obscurity of time and in successive human migrations. The controversy continues when the effort is made to define the society and personality of this region in the Ottoman period, with incantatory references to the Occident or to the Orient, the whole being a splendid mental and verbal confusion of all the ideological and academic models. Genuine scientific endeavour has suffered from these practices; on the other hand, their analysis makes for a better understanding of the mentalities involved and of their significance in the Lebanese context.

In the context of each religious group, the collective imagination and, consequently, the emotional outlook of the community are nourished by accounts of the origins of the group. In the case of the Maronite Christians, they have appeared to be all the more important in the Ottoman and contemporary periods because they have explained, or justified, their geographical and human association with the ancient and Biblical designation of "Lebanon", and the extension of the latter over the whole of the country. The stages in the mental realisation of this territorial appropriation are instructive. In the 16th and 17th centuries, following the epic and liturgical work of the bishop Djibrāʾīl b. Ḳilāʿī, one of the preoccupations of the Maronite chroniclers, in particular of the patriarch Isṭifān al-Duwayḥī, had been to arrange and give shape to stories of monks who had lived as recluses in the canyons of the Ḳādishā under the patronage of the saint Mārūn—or as successors to the patriarch Yūḥannā Mārūn—and had exercised a ministry among the peasantry of the neighbourhood. These authors also insisted on the cohesion of the community around their patriarch and on their obedience to the orthodoxy of the Roman Church, which consolidated relations with Catholic Europe at a time when the Maronites were extending their territorial base in central Lebanon, coming into conflict with authority and encountering various spiritual and economic trends. To hagiography and to annals perpetuating the consciousness of the Maronite community, there may be added, especially since the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the exploitation of scholarly works with a view to laying claim to a very distant past. Thus the Jesuit priest Henri Lammens had taken up again the study of the "Mardaïtes" (cf. *EI*[1], *s.v.*), a rather mysterious people which he believed could have established roots in northern Lebanon after Byzantium had diverted its religious turbulence into opposition to the Muslims, and Maronite authors recognised once more some of their ancestors there, even though these last were tarnished by heterodoxy. However, a question then had to be answered: in relation to Islam and to the "Arabs", was this population to be regarded as allogenous or indigenous? The construction of a national past, conceived as an uninterrupted chain of events, also led Christian authors to claim kinship with the Phoenicians, as they saw in this approach the best interpretation of implantation in time and space.

The monuments which the Crusaders left behind at Tripoli, Beirut and Sidon and on the foothills of the mountain, constitute for their part evidence for those passions which appropriate this past or reject it. Leaving aside sentimental and political reactions, it is nevertheless legitimate to wonder with what populations the "Franks" really came into contact. In the central and northern parts of the mountain, it seems very probable that the dominant tonality was then provided by a population that was either Shīʿī or influenced by Shīʿism. Thus when the Mamlūks, operating from Damascus in the name of orthodox Sunnism, sought, in 704/1305, to recall where the power of the state was situated and to which community it belonged, it was against these *rawāfiḍ* (sing. *rāfiḍa*), "people of dissent" or "recusants", as Ibn Taymiyya condemned them, that they launched in the direction of Kisrawān their victorious and devastating campaigns. This dispersion of the Shīʿīs was favourable to an influx of Maronite population, moving in from the north, and to an extension of the authority of distinguished Druze families [see DURŪZ] around the Gharb and the Shūf. The chronicle of Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, written in the 15th century, clearly shows how the hierarchy of the family groups became established on the mountain by means of the fiscal and military organisation of the Muslim states (the system of *iḳṭāʿ* under the Mamlūks, to be replaced by the *muḳāṭaʿa* under the Ottomans). It was in this encounter between a population of settlers and an authority which derived its administrative legality from the centre of Sunnī power and its structure from social culture that there was established the "Government of the Druzes" which European travellers discovered in the Ottoman period, and where one of the axes of the modern Lebanon progressively took shape.

With the dangers posed by the Franks and Mongols removed, the Ottoman conquest of Syria in 1516 was, in fact, a decisive moment for this mountain region. It had ceased to be a disputed frontier; it became a centre for access which, for all its undoubted difficulty, was situated at the meeting-point of the great land and maritime communications routes of the vast imperial Ottoman federation. Its inhabitants found in this the opportunity to develop their own activities, and thereby, also the means of affirming their own originality. The Ottoman régime favoured the expansion of regional networks for the relaying of long distance trade; the mountain people were thus able to obtain improved profit from their cultivated terraces, producing grapes and oil, and especially silk in the central regions, cotton and tobacco in the south. Their outlets were initially the local centres of manufacture and consumption, Damascus and Aleppo being the leading customers. Major commerce radiated from these inland terminals, both on interior routes and towards the coastal ports, Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, which put them in contact with cabotage traffic plying between Palestine and Anatolia and with Egypt, the Maghrib and the ports of Christian Europe, Marseilles in particular, whose merchants, consuls and agents joined together in conducting their business under the system of capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT].

As a mainstay of the power of the sultanate which was maintained through control of the towns and the plains, Sunnī society first put down its roots in the centres for the radiation of religion, justice and authority. In the zone studied here, the Sunnīs were located principally in the ports, the coastal plains and the Biḳāʿ; the dignitaries of Sidon undertook with those of Damascus rich exchanges in the form of merchandise, marriages and spiritual brotherhood, while Moroccans were to be recorded in the genealogies of Beiruti families. The old communities

of the Melkite Church of Antioch also shared in the revival of the cities and the development of the plains; in 1724, their fragmentation into two hierarchies, one of them "orthodox" and remaining under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, the other "catholic" and bowing, amid controversy, to that of Rome, bore witness to the effects of the milieu in which they reasserted their vitality. Between the "Greek Orthodox" monastery of Balamand (formerly the Cistercian Belmont) and the olive plantations of the Kūra, to the south of Tripoli, and, on the other hand, the agricultural development which grew up around the "Greek Catholic" monastery of Saint Saviour, Dayr al-Mukhallaṣ, on land dominated by the Djunbulāṭ Druze family, these two rites also maintained monasteries such as that of Shuwayr, where a printing press was installed during the first half of the 18th century, in this centre of Christianity which the Kisrawān and the Matn were to become.

Between the Djabal Lubnān to the north and the Djabal al-Shūf to the south, the movement of Maronite population towards the south of the mountain effectively turned this region into a religious focal point, an agricultural zone accessible to commerce, and formed *muḳāṭaʿāt* administered by families of Maronite *shaykhs* within the context of the "Government of the Druzes", the *ḥukm Djabal al-Shūf wa-Kisrawān* of the local chroniclers. Forces which came into contact here also clashed. The Jesuits had sent their first missionaries to the Levant two decades after the Council of Trent, and they had assumed direction of the seminary founded in Rome, in 1584, for the training of young Maronites. It was therefore no paradox that the communities of oriental rite attached to Rome were among the first to feel the impact caused by the renewal of religious activity in Europe and contributed to its repercussions. Under the influence of the Holy See, the Maronite Church underwent a movement of reconstruction which affected monasticism and the hierarchy, and a number of synods, including that of Luwayza in 1736, had to be convened for the new rules to be discussed, accepted and imposed. Better organised, it acquired material strength through the donations and *waḳf*s of which it was the beneficiary; monasteries became institutions of education where, alongside liturgical Syriac, the Arabic language was cultivated as a means of instructing the faithful and of better understanding the sacred texts. The milieu regained its rights through the use of Arabic and the social structure; thereby, the Maronite Church "naturalised" its western elements. By virtue of the authority of its patriarch and the work of its monks on the popular level, its influence in the community grew in comparison to that wielded by the *muḳāṭaʿadjīs*, the title born by members of families responsible for the levying of a contractual tax on a district, *muḳāṭaʿa*.

Among the dignitaries (*aʿyān*) of old Maronite stock, some advanced in the echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, whilst others acquired the title of honorary consul in dealings with the representatives of the king of France; but the maintenance of their power derived from their role in the Ottoman fiscal system. After their conquest of Syria in 1516, the Ottomans had retained the administrative divisions of the mountain region, following the example of their predecessors and on the basis of the ethnic distribution; the north belonged to the *wilāyet* of Tripoli, the centre and the south, where the "Government of the Druzes" held sway, to that of Damascus. In 1660, in the wake of campaigns which the Porte had been obliged to conduct in order to suppress the rebellious ambitions of the Druze *amīr*s of the leading family of the Maʿn, a new *pashalıḳ*, whose governor resided at Sidon, was created to ensure better control of the Druzes and the Maronites. Detached from that of Damascus, its territory included the central and southern part of the Lebanese range and northern Palestine; however, the pasha of Damascus retained seniority over those of Tripoli and Sidon. The latter made no attempt to exercise direct authority over a mountain range that was difficult of access and inhabited by well-organised groups; in common with the usual practice of the Ottoman administration, they relied on local leaders for the levying and submission of the tribute, the most tangible sign of the sultan's power. In doing so, they were obliged, on the regional level, to adapt themselves to the structure and hierarchy of this society so as to utilise it in a manner favourable to the maintenance of their control, expression and assurance of the sovereignty of the Porte, even though the latter was far away and incapable of applying consistent coercion.

The principal tax, the *mīrī*, was linked to the primacy of agricultural production; it was therefore levied on produce. It was farmed out and the leaseholder was subject to annual confirmation; the *amīr*—or sometimes two or three *amīr*s simultaneously—entrusted with this role belonged to the family of the Maʿn from the time of the Ottoman conquest to the last quarter of the 17th century, then to that of the Shihāb. The delegation of this authority consequently led to the pre-eminence of one family over the others, and of one *amīr* over his kinsmen; the latter was obliged to lead a life of constant duplicity in order to reconcile the rules imposed on him by his social milieu with the obligation to hand over revenue to the imperial financial chest and thus retain his post. According to the total sums determined by the Porte and demanded by the pasha, each year it was his duty to divide the amounts to be levied between the *muḳāṭaʿadjīs* responsible for collecting the tax from the *muḳāṭaʿāt* under his jurisdiction. The "Great Prince", the translation adopted by European travellers for the title of *al-amīr al-kabīr*, also took the title of *al-ḥākim* to assert his authority in the *ḥukm Djabal al-Shūf wa-Kisrawān*. Following the example of the controlling family, those senior families which exercised authority over others, and whose members were the most important landowners, took responsibility for the collection of rents in the *muḳāṭaʿāt*, where their social and proprietorial power was thus guaranteed; but in the effort to exert and retain their authority, the *muḳāṭaʿadjīs* wore themselves out in internal rivalries, which were the visible results of the division of society into juxtaposed and opposing groups, and which were revived by the ambitions and intrigues of the sultan's representatives. Thus in 1711, near the village of ʿAyn Dārā, the Ḳaysī faction of the *amīr* Ḥaydār Shihāb crushed the Yemenī faction; in order to establish more firmly the supremacy of the Shihāb, *amīr* Ḥaydār then proceeded to make a new division of the *muḳāṭaʿāt* among powerful families, strengthening some of them and weakening others. But the Porte was also capable of dismissing *amīr*s [see ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN]. Ḳays and Yaman in the Ottoman period].

School text-books appeal to the consciousness of present-day Lebanese through the history of two "heroes", the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn II Maʿn [*q.v.*] and the *amīr* Bashīr II Shihāb [*q.v.*], who contributed to the vision of independence for their country in

a unitary fashion that transcended divisions and sectional interests. Both of them, one at the beginning of the 17th century, the other at the beginning of the 19th, exercised authority of a power and extent that had hitherto been unknown in the region; while exploiting the weakness and rivalries of the Turkish governors, they also looked for support to those states which, in the Mediterranean basin, testified to the regenerated power of Europe. But on each occasion, the Porte succeeded in frustrating their ambitions. When the Druze Fak͟hr al-Dīn, with this son ʿAlī, took steps to expand his amīrate and to render it autonomous, the Ottomans resisted him with the same determination that they had shown in suppressing S͟hīʿism in the interior of their empire and in combatting Ṣafawid Persia on their eastern frontiers. Fak͟hr al-Dīn, forced to take refuge at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1612, returned in 1618, but was finally captured near Dj̲azzīn and sent to Istanbul where he was executed in 1635. In a totally different historical context, the *amīr* Bas͟hīr II S͟hihāb also died in Istanbul, in 1850, but of old age, after he had been forced to abdicate his power in 1840, when the Ottoman government, undertaking a programme of political reform and driving the Egyptian troops of Muḥammad ʿAlī out of Syria, refused to renew his appointment. However, for more than a half-century, from 1788 to 1840, he had thrown all the force of his strong personality into giving the people of the Lebanese range a unity of purpose. To this end, he followed the policy of his predecessors which consisted in adding to the territory of the "Government of the Druzes", belonging to the *pas͟halīḳ* of Sidon, that of the land of Dj̲ubayl, north of the river Muʿamaltayn, which was a dependency of the *pas͟halīḳ* of Tripoli; he demoted the leading *muḳāṭaʿadj̲īs*, like the Druze s͟hayk͟h Bas͟hīr Dj̲unbalāṭ [see Dj̲ānbulāṭ], and made use of the support of the Maronites, who had become the largest community in the mountain region. But as the intermediary of a fiscal system which became more and more oppressive, and subjected to the coercions of Muḥammad ʿAlī during the presence in Syria from 1832 to 1840 of Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha's Egyptian army, he left his country in a state of full-scale revolt on the part of the mountain people. This led to the elimination of the greatest of the "old style" dignitaries, since the central Ottoman power, in seeking to reassert its control, struck at the leadership first; his departure spelt the dissolution of a system.

What situation was discovered by the Porte, when it re-established its authority with the support of a British military expedition and reformed it through its policy of *Tanẓīmāt*? Since the beginning of Ottoman domination, the active centre of Syria had shifted from the east towards the west; Lebanese overtures towards Mediterranean Europe and the demographic growth which had enabled the Maronites to spread from the north to the south of the mountain had worked in favour of this orientation and had benefited from it. However, in this material, human and religious context, arboriculture, producing timber in commercial quantities, had been considerably developed to the detriment of edible crops; at the beginning of the 19th century, the cereals which the mountain people harvested from their soil were sufficient to feed them for only three or four months of the year, the remainder having to be bought. The need to guarantee their subsistence thus put them into still further dependence on the Turkish governors who controlled the fertile plains; although the *amīrs* attempted to remedy this necessity by a permanent extension of their influence over the Biḳāʿ, their efforts were in vain. On the other hand, commercial exchanges turned the mountain range into a zone of monetary circulation, and its economic development affected favourably its population growth; but, at the end of the 18th century and during the first four decades of the 19th, increasing pressure of taxation, linked to the effects of Ottoman monetary manipulations, had caused a massive depletion of financial resources and led to an impoverishment which was all the more powerfully-felt because the cultivable areas of the mountain had reached a point of demographic saturation in terms of the development possibilities of the period. This in turn led to social tensions between, on the one hand, the *muḳāṭaʿadj̲īs*, themselves impoverished and weakened by the policies of *amīr* Bas͟hīr II and by their own numbers and rivalries, and on the other, the tenant farmers who found it increasingly difficult to cope with increasing taxes and rents on contracting land space. On the Maronite side, the enfeeblement of the nobility (*aʿyān*) led to a regrouping in the framework of the community under the leadership of the clergy, with resulting profit to the latter's role. On the side of the Druzes, who had not experienced the same demographic increase, and who therefore were subjected to the continuing influx of Christian population simultaneously with the renewal of economic and political activity in Europe, there was a contrary regrouping behind the major traditional families, the social backbone of the community; a migratory movement also took place towards the Syrian interior, towards the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*]. Social tension thus also led to community confrontations in the "mixed areas" which were inhabited by Druzes and Christians; the clashes which ensued were a part of the general unrest which affected Syria in this period.

With the regulations of 1842 and 1845, the Porte imposed a new administrative system which gave preferential terms to the Christian population but retained the division of the mountain, the northern part being entrusted to a Christian *ḳāʾimaḳām* and the southern to a Druze *ḳāʾimaḳām*; both were functionaries placed under the authority of the Turkish governor who was now resident in Beirut, and were assisted by a council "like those which already exist at all points of the empire". It was the renewal imposed by changes in Europe that was manifested behind these modifications, behind new forms of intervention by representatives of European powers in Lebanon, especially behind the activities of the consuls of France and Great Britain posted to Beirut. This port was regularly visited by steamships after 1835; although the major cities of the interior underwent a crisis in their activities, it was the major regional beneficiary of the expansion in trade, especially after 1850, when its commercial affairs followed the rhythm of western economic trends, and the changes in the laws of property ownership introduced into the Ottoman empire (confirmed by the *K͟haṭṭ-i Hümāyūn* of 18 February 1856) stimulated the development of new commercial and financial enterprises. Its population grew and diversified, especially in its Christian components (6,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 19th century, 60,000 in 1860, 130,000 in 1914). In the mountain region, industrial initiative was introduced by the French, who installed new systems for the spinning of silk: they diverted deliveries of cocoons for the benefit of their establishments, thus breaking the links between the small-holders and the influential families and

thereby contributing further to the decline of the latter. These economic changes, while favouring the prosperity of those who were the intermediaries, chief among whom were the Christians, had an adverse effect on the disadvantaged communities and led to aggravation of social and religious tensions. In 1859, an agrarian revolt saw peasants in conflict with shaykhs in Maronite Kisrawān. However, the Christians benefited overall from these transformations, while Muslims and Druzes were, overall, prevented from playing any part; claiming the "equality" promised by the reforms, reinforcing the status of the community with the support of France and of the Roman Church, profiting from a European expansion which both rivalled and dominated the traditional economy of the Near East —all these activities on the part of the Christians were in the eyes of the Muslims crimes committed by a people whom they had never ceased to despise, in opposition to their past supremacy and to their present existence. An incident in May 1860 touched off conflict between Druzes and Christians, and was followed by massacres of Christians in the "mixed areas" and in Damascus. To limit intervention by the European powers, the Turks restored order in the most brutal fashion; however, this did not prevent the arrival in Beirut of a French expeditionary force, which Napoleon III had also sent for the purpose of furthering the Mediterranean and Arab aspects of his policy.

The result of these events, of the presence of French troops until June 1861, and of the negotiations held between the Porte, France, Great Britian, Austria, Prussia and Russia, was the creation of a province of Mount Lebanon. Administrative unity was thus confirmed by law. Although it was nothing more than a *sandjak* or *mutaṣarrifiyya*, the agreement signed at Pera on 9 June 1861 made it clear that: "The Lebanon will be administered by a Christian governor appointed by the Sublime Porte and responsible directly to it." The Porte laid down the condition that this Christian governor be chosen from among the non-Lebanese subjects of the Sultan. The majority of the population of the new province was Christian; order was maintained by its own police force and it was the beneficiary of a special fiscal system; it included neither Beirut, nor Tripoli, nor Sidon, but its links with Beirut developed continuously to their mutual enrichment in economic and human terms. Although its relatively autonomous status was guaranteed by the signature of five European powers, Mount Lebanon was none the less included in the general administrative modernisation of the Ottoman empire; the abolition of the ancient privileges of the *muḳāṭaʿadjīs*, the judicial equality of the Muslim and Christian communities, the representation of these communities on the *madjlis* which advised the governor, all these corresponded to the general conditions applied to the administration of provinces as laid down by the law of 1864.

Beirut and Mount Lebanon were the centres of important movements in terms of products, people and ideas. The economic expansion introduced from the West was most clearly marked by the development of sericulture under the control of the city of Lyons, the capital of the industry; French participation in companies formed for the construction from Beirut to Damascus of a carriageable highway (1863), later of a railway line (1895); the extension of the port of Beirut; the architectural improvement of this town; and the founding of banks and trading houses. The increase in population and social pressures led to waves of emigration towards Egypt and the Americas. The Arab literary renaissance, the *nahḍa* [*q.v.*], expressed awareness of these encounters; besides the education provided by the Syrian Protestant College, founded in 1866 under the auspices of the American Presbyterian Mission, and by the Jesuit University of St. Joseph (1881), the pedagogic and literary activities of the *muʿallim* Buṭrus al-Bustānī [see AL-BUSTĀNĪ in Suppl.] and of numerous other writers, journalists and scholars led to a crystallisation of consciousness in the confrontation with all the human, spiritual and geographical dimensions which had been brought into play, and in posing the problem of the affirmation of the personality amid all these transformations. But although for many of the initiators of this intellectual revival the fact of belonging to a common civilisation was something that must transcend religious differences, ambiguities none the less survived at all levels of cultural awareness, since the idea of nationhood proposed by Europe was balanced, on the one hand, by a "Lebanonist" conception, especially among the Maronites, an Arab ideal for a uniting of energies going beyond community distinctions, and on the other, by an Ottomanist faction for whom the Ottoman State was the quarantee of Islamic civilisation in the face of western domination. In 1911, Shakīb Arslān fought the Italians in Libya alongside the Turks; in June 1913, the Arab Congress, convened in Paris, proposed a decentralisation for the benefit of the different Arab provinces.

The war and the defeat of the Ottomans in 1918 gave an impetus to Lebanese development. Three Lebanese delegations, including one led by the Maronite patriarch, attended the Peace Conference to claim from it the maintenance and even the expansion of their territories. In 1920, the French military intervention against the Arab Kingdom of *amīr* Fayṣal permitted the creation of the State of Greater Lebanon which was placed under a mandate entrusted to France. This state was established around a Christian, mainly Maronite, nucleus, which constituted a majority, although all the other lands of Arab culture were populated predominantly by Muslims. But the former province of Mount Lebanon was expanded with the addition of Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli, ʿAkkār, the Biḳāʿ, the Wādī al-Taym and the Djabal ʿĀmil where Sunnī and Shīʿī Muslims were present in large numbers. This situation aroused two principal attitudes: on the one hand, the Christians had no intention of accepting a position of inferiority in a Republic of which they considered themselves the architects; on the other, the Muslims speculated as to what their status was to be within a political entity which had not been founded according to their aspirations. Numerous factors came into play in this context, in particular: the nature of groupings and relationships in the community frameworks or the political parties; demography, increasingly favourable to the Muslims; the question of ability to cope with all the necessities of the modern world; and the economic role and the place of manual labour, not only in terms of the different social levels but also in terms of the communities. While some Shīʿī leaders were quite prepared to throw in their lot with the system, the ruling circles and the populace of the Sunnī community expressed strong reservations and they took the opportunity of showing where their feelings lay at the time of the 1925 revolt. However, a compromise was devised, one of its principal Sunnī initiators being Riyāḍ al-Ṣulḥ; in 1936 it was agreed, following Franco-Syrian

and Franco-Lebanese negotiations, that the Lebanon would continue to exist within its present frontiers and would retain the representation of the communities which had been confirmed by its parliamentary constitution. In 1943, the National Pact, already mentioned, was a decisive factor in the Muslim adhesion to the Lebanese identity. In March 1945, the Lebanon was among the founders of the League of Arab States.

Under all the presidents of the Republic who have succeeded one another since independence (Bis͟hāra al-K͟hūrī 1943-52, Kamīl S͟ham῾ūn 1952-8, Fu᾿ād S͟hihāb 1958-64, Charles Hilū 1964-70, Sulaymān Farandjiyya 1970-6, Ilyās Sarkīs 1976-82), each serious crisis has renewed the fragmentation of the communities, but has also revealed the growth of a Lebanese consciousness among the majority of a population which has become accustomed to living in the framework of the Lebanese State. In February 1958, many Muslims greeted with enthusiasm news of the foundation of the United Arab Republic; but while bloody civil unrest engulfed the country between May and September of the same year and provoked, in the international and Arab context, the landing of American troops on 17 July in application of the Eisenhower Doctrine, the programme of reforms instituted under the presidency of General Fu᾿ād S͟hihāb was accompanied by the emergence of a genuine Muslim Lebanonism. At the same time, Kamāl Djunbalāṭ, as much in his capacity as an aristocratic Druze of the S͟hūf as in his role as leader of a socialist movement, appealed to a fundamentally Lebanese patriotism in his effort to bring the country into the bosom of Arab solidarity. The Sunnī leaders and the Muslims as a whole were placed in the reality of the Lebanese state as a cadre for the future, but they demanded institutional reforms which would give greater recognition to their numbers and to their talents in the control of the Lebanon. In a state where all civil life is defined by the fact of belonging to a religious community, this claim was supported on the basis of modifications arising from the demographic separation. It is, in fact, the Muslim populations that have increased most rapidly; this development is most clearly marked within the S͟hī῾ī Muslim community, the most disadvantaged in the country, which has become the most numerous. The S͟hī῾ī labour force has therefore tended to leave the impoverished rural zones of eastern and southern Lebanon, the precise areas where Israeli raids have contributed to the acceleration of the migration, to seek work in the expanding industrial zones of the Beirut region. A social problem has thus prolonged the process of political demand and demographic change; this has been reflected in the actions of the political parties of the Left, who have also sought, in a similar manner, to channel the discontent of the peasants of the north whose agitation, since 1970, has been directed against the major landowners and has called into question the authority of the state. They have also acquired, through their new militancy, a stronger "Muslim aspect".

This evolution has come about in a period of economic growth whose profits have been most unevenly distributed. Since 1967, the ascending curve of the Lebanese economy has followed that of the increased wealth of the Near East as a whole; petro-dollars, "Arab" assets which are essentially the property of Muslims, have been invested in Lebanese banks, of which the majority are controlled by Christians. At the same time, the Lebanon has not only counted on the resources deriving from its "services", but also on those produced by its industry, which has undergone a vigorous expansion in the suburbs of Beirut and Tripoli, exporting 80% of its production to Arab markets. While Lebanese technicians and businessmen, including Christians at the higher echelons, have taken the opportunity of practising their skills in the developing Arab countries, the contracted labour force in the construction industry of Beirut is of Syrian origin; thus, through its recent economic development, the Lebanon has become still more integrated into the life and destiny of the Arab world.

Paradoxically, this situation has been cruelly underlined since 1973 by the internal consequences of the recession of the western economy, for the Lebanon has also remained closely linked to the latter; the extension of social malaise has rendered political demands more bitter and has accentuated the impact of the Palestinian presence. This dates from 1948 (the foundation of the State of Israel), but it has only begun to pose a real problem to the authority of the Lebanese State since 1967, when the Palestinians consolidated their political orientation and took on the role of an armed organisation. Now, while the Palestinians exist alongside other Lebanese groups in a structure consistent with the norms of Arab society, and while they have exploited the liberal Lebanese régime to act, as independently as is possible, towards invoking the solidarity of the Arab nation, they have none the less remained very distinct from the remainder of the population, since they lay claim to a land which is not the Lebanon. The sovereignty of the Lebanese state has suffered as a result of their military activities in the frontier regions of the south and, consequently, as a result of repeated Israeli incursions; but, besides the members of the front of progressive parties, all Muslims have felt sympathetic to their cause and have often offered them support in internal political action.

The resentment at this situation felt by the Christians, and especially by their Maronite majority, has been channelled by the Lebanese Phalanges. Although of Arabic language and culture, the Christian population has developed and rediscovered an isolationist complex in an Arab world where the movement towards secularisation tends to work to the advantage of the institutions of the majority, i.e. the Muslims and where, equally, politically active movements have been mobilised in the name of Islamic ideals. This sense of insecurity has also been shared by those business circles which, while reaping the benefits of trading with the Arab countries, participated in the workings of the western economy. On the other hand, the movements of the Left have integrated their denunciation of the injustices of the system with revolutionary Arab perspectives. As a result of the origins of modern Lebanon as well as of present-day circumstances, the internal crisis has taken on Arab, Islamic and international dimensions, and is nourished by them.

After February 1975, the repression of political and social unrest at Sidon illustrated the limited capabilities of the Lebanese army, itself a multi-religious organisation. On 13 April 1975, a coach carrying Palestinians was machine-gunned by Phalangists near Beirut; twenty-seven passengers were killed. Since then, the authority of the government has progressively disintegrated. At the beginning of the 1970s, a whole generation of students had dreamed of a fraternal future for the Lebanon, to be achieved by the erosion of community divisions; this dream has been shattered. While the sovereignty of the state has been called into question, and the ancient

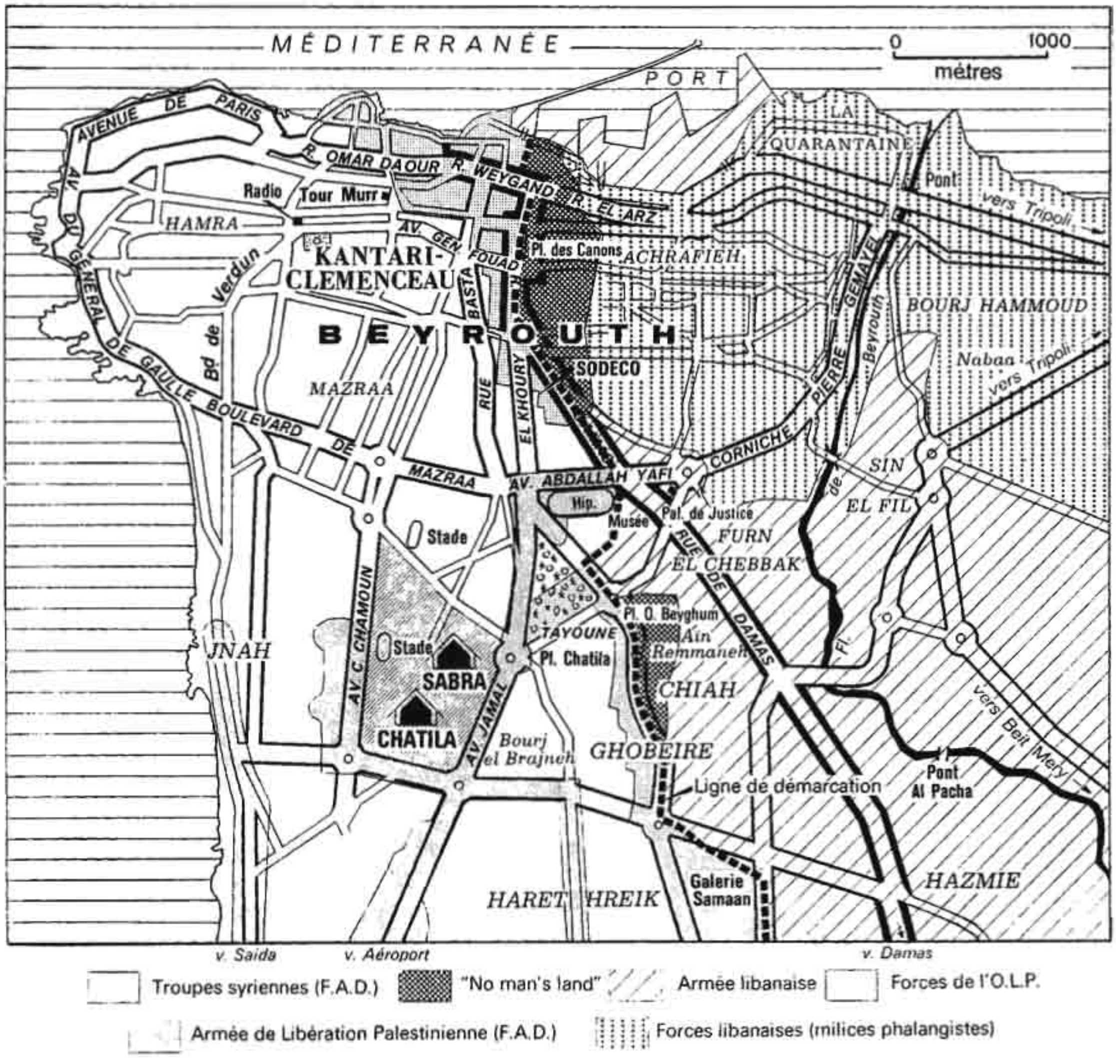

Fig. 3. Beirut in 1981 (after *Le Monde*, 19 May 1981).

structures of the familial group have been damaged by modern urbanisation and industrialisation, religious segregations have shown themselves to be all the more active at the level of collective consciousness, since they have remained the principal touchstone of identity and therefore the principal framework for community solidarity. In the agony of the civil war, political and social conflicts have been kept alive by the most ancient segregational structures of Near Eastern society; the polarisation of passions according to religious allegiances has been the most symptomatic expression of this at the conscious level. How is one to contemplate the idea of the partitioning of the Lebanon as envisaged by the minorities, the constitution of semi-autonomous fraternities of combatants, principally within the popular Muslim milieu, the conflicting claims of fragmentation and unitary ideologies, or the unequalled violence of the fighting since September 1975, without reference to this conglomeration of sociological and historical data?

The Lebanese crisis which began in 1975 owed its seriousness to internal causes which in their turn reflected the changes in the Arab world and the social, cultural and political tensions which had become acute throughout the Near East. At the beginning of the war, two powers with an interest in the existence of the modern Lebanon made official approaches to the different Lebanese parties: Syria, with repeated missions on the part of its Minister of Foreign Affairs, France with the fact-finding missions of Maurice Couve de Murville and Georges Gorse. In June 1976, Syria sent a massive force into the Lebanon under the cover of the Arab Peace-Keeping Force in order to restore calm. In spite of truces, the sound of gunfire is still to be heard, across alliances and the reversal of alliances (especially after the Camp David Accords), across struggles for hegemony within each politico-religious faction. The continuing prosperity of the banking sector has no doubt compensated for the massive destruction of property and the aggravation of social disparities. From 1840 to 1958, civil disorders in Lebanon had been resolved only by the intervention of western armies. Since 1976, the presence of the Arab Peace-Keeping Force has shown that a

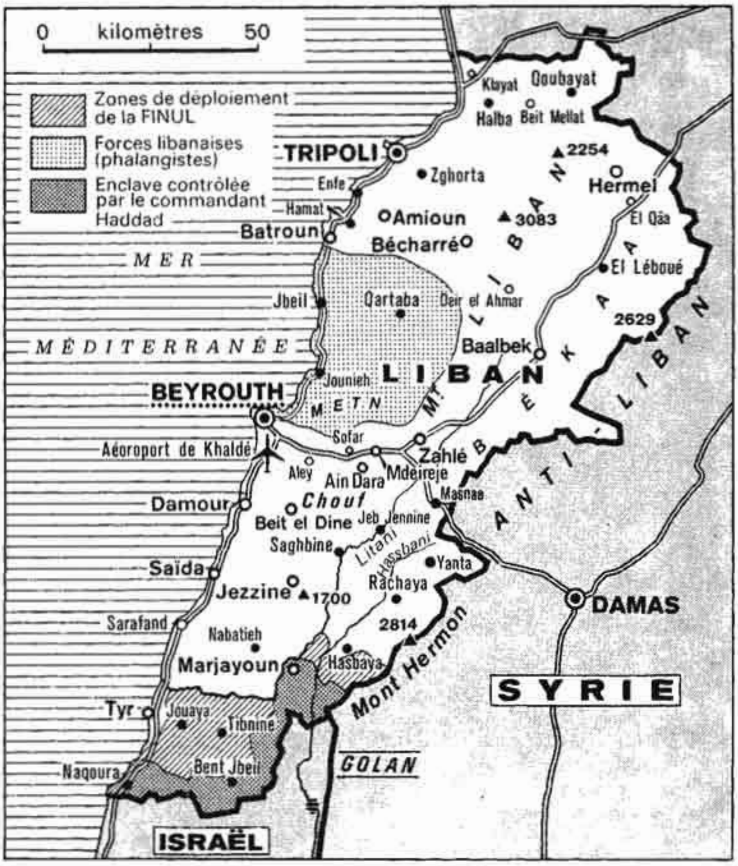

Fig. 4. Lebanon in 1981 (after *Le Monde*, 20 May 1981).

solution should be found through Arab negotiation, but having regard to international repercussions and to the conflict with Israel which led, in 1978, to the despatch of a United Nations Interim Force in the Lebanon (U.N.I.F.L.).

It is estimated that the Lebanon has close to three million inhabitants. It is they, residents or temporary emigrants, who ensure the existence of their country. Though each continues to feel part of a minority in relation to his compatriots, the adhesion of the majority of the Lebanese to the Lebanon is symbolically represented by the celebration of the Day of the Flag; but, while they are aware of belonging to the same entity and are determined to maintain it, they do not share the same national vision.

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(D. Chevallier))

LUBŪD (pl. of *libd, labad*), felt. The production and craftsmanship of wool [see ṢŪF] was very prosperous in the mediaeval Muslim world, and supplied a variety of articles not only for refined and wealthy customers but also for the popular market in the form of relatively inexpensive clothing. In more recent times, local woollens have not managed to compete with European products (E. Ashtor, *Les lainages dans l'Orient médiéval*, in *Atti Inst. F. Dattini*, Florence 1976, 657-86). Felt was one of the less expensive products among the woollen articles manufactured locally (and probably not threatened by imports from Europe), but there were also felts of high quality which were dyed (see for their colours, below) or embellished (Ibn al-Zubayr, *al-Dhakhā'ir*, 87: a royal cloak of Byzantine origin).

As elsewhere, felt was manufactured in the Muslim world at that time by pressing wool between pieces of wood, etc., a process often combined with moistening and binding by means of *ṣamgh* (i.e. gum; for the Middle Ages, a description is supplied by Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim*, 231, and for the beginning of the modern period, by al-Ḳāsimī, *Dict. des métiers*, ii, 399-400).

The maker of felt was called the *labbād, lubūdī*, and *labābīdī* (Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *loc. cit.*; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Beirut ed., i, 194; al-Ḳāsimī, *loc. cit.*). The names of a number of articles are derived from that of "felt": cap (*libda*), cloak, or piece of felt worn over the outer garment (*lubbāda*), moquette (*libd, labad*), saddle, or a piece of felt put under the saddle, especially among the nomadic Arabs, etc. (al-Nabigha and Imruʾ al-Ḳays, ed. Ahlwardt, 7, 149; *Dīwān al-Hudhaliyyīn*, ed. Wellhausen, 86; Djarīr, ed. Sāwī, 139; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿānī*, 944 [but it is not known if this *libd* of the Arabs of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods, was manufactured like the felt known in sedentary civilisation]; al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1966, 199; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Akhlāḳ al-nabī*, Cairo 1959, 161; al-Raghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Beirut 1962, iv, 377-8; Ibn al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, 60, 145-6; al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās*, Cairo 1960, 432; idem, *Muḳaddimāt*, Leipzig 1850, 63; al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 99, 156, 338; *LA*, Beirut 1955, iii, 386, 387; Lane, i, 2646; S. Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, 103; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 395; idem, *Suppl.*, *s.v.*).

In fact, felt was also used for the manufacture of items whose names are not derived from it, such as clothing and hats (see some of the above sources and al-Djāḥiẓ, according to Ch. Pellat, in *Arabica*, i, 103 (*musūḥ* of felt); Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 113; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 114, 251, 267, 366; *ḳalansuwa*, *ṭarbūsh*, for example), linings of jackets (A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, ii, 499—the case here in point is the equipping of a Muslim expedition, outside the Islamic world, with clothing manufactured in ʿIrāḳ), blankets and mattresses (al-Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, Cairo 1955, 139: mattresses of less affluent people), ropes (possibly; see below). Felts were available in several colours, apart from the natural colour (red.: al-Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, 158-9; al-Shābushtī, *loc. cit.*;—black: Ibn al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, 145-6).

The felts came from various regions and countries: from China (refined and rare felts, in the Muslim world, al-Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.*; al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, tr. C. E. Bosworth, 142), from North Africa (al-Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.*; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 15; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, 113; al-Thaʿālibī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, 47), from Armenia and Khurāsān (al-Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, 60; al-Hamadānī, *Takmila*, 22). The Turks, in common with other peoples of Central Asia (A. Miquel, *op. cit.*, ii, 156, 159, 234), used large quantities of felt, for clothing as well as for the making of tents, but there is no evidence to show that felt was exported from these regions to the centre of the Muslim world. Felt from Ṭālaḳān (in Khurāsān), strong and resilient, was used possibly for the weaving of a kind of rope rescue-ladder (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 117 = § 2799). In Samarḳand (Transoxania) and Damascus (Syria) there were specialised quarters in the suburbs or in the town, for the manufacture and sale of felt (Yāḳūt, iv, 345).

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(J. Sadan)

LUCKNOW [see LAKHNAW].

LUDD, the Arabic name of Lydda, the ancient Hebrew Lodd, a town in Palestine to the south-east of Jaffa (Yāfā, Yāfo) and 17 km. in direct line from the Mediterranean shore.

Ancient history. Ludd is extremely ancient, and its name is believed to appear in the list of towns conquered by the Egyptian King Thutmos III (*ca.* 1468-1436 B.C.) (cf. Alt, *Essays*, 138; Aharoni, 149). The name of Lodd appears four times in the later books of the Bible (I Chron. viii, 12, the building of the city by several families belonging to the tribe of Benjamin; Ezra, ii, 33; Neh. vii, 37, xi, 32-5). The Hebrew name was preserved in the New Testament (Λύδδα, Acts, ix, 32), and through it has entered, in the Latin form of Lydda, into the European languages. After the British occupation in 1917, the name of the city was given to the whole district, which was called "the District of Lydda". Early in the 3rd century A.D., the Greek name Diospolis must have been given to the town by Emperor Septimus Severus, who visited the place in 200-1, when the town was given Roman city rights and coins were struck there (cf. Smith, 121 n. 3). Although the name Diospolis survived until the Islamic conquest, the local Jewish and Samaritan population continued to use the original name of Lodd, which appears frequently in Talmudic literature (e.g. *Pal. Talmud*, Sheviʿit, 9; *Babylonian Talmud*, Megilla, 3b-4a; *Sanhedrin*, 32b, 74a; *Sukka*, 2b; *Hullin*, 56b; *The minor tractates of the Talmud*, London 1965, 127, 331, 341).

During the whole of the Second Temple period, the city was one of the major Jewish centres, although in the Hellenistic and Roman periods it occasionally remained outside Jewish domination. The Seleucids ceded it to Jonathan Maccabaeus in 145 B.C. and 83 years later, Pompey detached it from the Jewish state. In 48 B.C. Julius Caesar restored it to Jewish rule. In 44 B.C. after the murder of Caesar, Cassius, who appeared in the country with a large Roman army, sold its population as slaves when the town failed to pay the high tribute imposed on it (Josephus, *Wars*, I, ch. xi, 2). The city revived and even flourished as a centre of Jewish learning and a home for Jewish spiritual leadership after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. (Smith, 121 and n. 2).

Once Christianity was proclaimed the state religion by Constantine, Ludd instantly assumed an important place in Christian thought, mainly because of the healing miracle which St. Peter performed on the paralytic Aeneas (Acts, ix, 32-5. Cf. Hieronimus, in Reland, *Palaestina*, 877), which is said to have been the cause of numerous converts to Christianity in the city and its environs. However, the real sanctity of Ludd and its major fame in the Christian world are due to the belief that it is the birthplace of St. George, who is probably the most venerated hero in Eastern Christianity and who rose from obscure origins to become "not only the virtual patron of Syrian Christendom and an object of Muslim reverence, but patron, as well, of the most Western of Christian peoples. St. George of Lydda is St. George of England . . ." (Smith, 122). His fame must have been due to his martyrdom, on the eve of the triumph of Christianity, under Diocletian in Nicomedia in A.D. 303, after which his relics (or his head only) were brought to Ludd and buried there.

Early Christian travelers refer, therefore, to Ludd as the place where the saint is buried. At some time during the Byzantine period, probably under Justinian, a church was built over the burial place, the altar of which must have stood over the tomb itself, and a monastery which was also established in the city was dedicated to him. The church, however, appears not to have been dedicated to him, since travellers mention only the tomb and the monastery (Smith, *loc. cit.*). The archaeological survey in which the traces of the Byzantine church were discovered was carried out by Clermont-Ganneau (*Archaeological researches*, ii, 98-103, 341-6; cf. *SWP, Memoires*, ii, 267-8). The town became, already in the 4th century an episcopal see (despite partial destruction after an anti-Roman revolt in 351) and retained this position until modern times, even after its cathedral was destroyed and its Christian population reduced to a negligible number; there was even a Synod of Diospolis early in the 5th century. The signatures of several Bishops from Ludd appear on conciliar documents; Aetius Lydensis at the Council of Nicaea (325), Dionysius Diospolitanum at the Council of Constantinople (381); Photinus Diospolitanus (as well as Photinus episcopus Lydae) at the Council of Chalcedon (451) (Reland, *op. cit.*, 878-9. For more references concerning Ludd in classical literature, cf., Avi-Yonah, *Gazeteer*, 75).

Topography. The town is located on the border between the coastal plain and the Shephela, in an extensive area of flat land, some 40-50 m. above sea level, which came to be known after it as "the Valley of Lod" (cf. *Pal. Talmud, loc. cit.*). The area enjoys a very good amount of winter rain (annual average of above 500 mm.), and its alluvial soil stores large quantities of excellent water which have rendered the environs of the city extremely fertile in all times; this, in addition to the rich soil and generally warm climate, made the town famous for its agriculture. It was always described by travellers as being encircled by olive groves and vineyards (and in modern times, citrus plantations). Cotton grows very well in the area, and in the later Ottoman period it was cultivated extensively as a major cash crop. The cultivation of cotton ceased during the British Mandate, but was renewed in a most extensive form in Israel. Plants used in the dyeing industry, for which the town had also been very famous (until the building of Ramla), must have also been grown around the city. The virtually unlimited possibilities offered by the natural conditions explains the place's attraction for settlers, who repeatedly restored it after the frequent calamities, whether of human or natural making, which befell it throughout its extremely long history.

Its position made Ludd from ancient times an important station on the eastern and more frequented branch of the *Via Maris* which runs from Gaza via Yavneh (Ar. Yubnā) and Ludd to Antipatris (Ra'➀s al-ʿAyn) and thence via Wādī ʿĀra (ancient ʿIron) to the Valley of Jezreel. This route running along the eastern slopes of the hills of Samaria, though longer than the one running parallel to the coast, was deemed easier and safer. It attained especial importance in the post-Crusader period (mainly under the Mamlūks), and has since served as one of the major traffic routes in the country. The road connecting Jerusalem to Jaffa also passed via Ludd, thus making it into an important crossroads, a position which the city regained in modern times after the construction of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad at the end of the last century (see below).

Early Islamic history. According to al-Balādhurī's tradition, Ludd was conquered by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ after the conquest of Nābulus and Samaria (*Futūḥ*, 138/13). Al-Ṭabarī relates that the city capitulated in 15 A.H. and quotes the agreement made with its inhabitants. It is the standard formula of capitulation treaty known from other places in Syria which were reportedly taken without war (*ṣulḥ*ᵃⁿ), and stipulates *amān* (protection) for the conquered inhabitants' life and property, guaranteeing the safety of the religious institutions in return for a payment of an unfixed sum of *djizya* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2406-7). Very soon after the Islamic conquest the town underwent a process of rapid deterioration, mainly due to the growth of Ramla as a major administrative, economic and cultural centre in the *Djund Filasṭīn* (the Byzantine *Palaestina Prima*).

Ramla was built by Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik with the intention of serving as the capital of the province, after a long period in which the *Djund Filasṭīn* had been devoid of a proper administrative centre. Having discarded, for obvious reasons Caesarea, the Roman-Byzantine capital of Palaestina Prima, the Muslims made Ludd into the permanent seat of the administration. The city was, however, too Christian in ethos for the taste of the Umayyad rulers, especially after the inauguration of ʿAbd al-Malik's Arab-Islamic reforms. When Sulaymān was nominated by his brother al-Walīd I as governor of Palestine, he took up residence in Ludd, but immediately embarked upon the grand scheme of the building of Ramla (*Futūḥ*, 143; Yāḳūt, s.v. "Ramla"). Once the new capital was established, Ludd almost instantly fell into oblivion. The Islamic traditions

unanimously confirm this by saying that the building of Ramla was the reason for the destruction of Ludd (*wa-kāna dhālika sabab kharāb Ludd*, Yāķūt, *loc. cit.*). Some traditions even say that Sulaymān destroyed the homes of the inhabitants of Ludd in order to force them to move to his new capital. Al-Yaʿķūbī, who specifically mentions Sulaymān's destruction of Ludd, emphasises that in his own time it was already in ruins (*Buldān*, 328). The traditions relating to its deterioration are all intensified by the Islamic accounts of its past glory. Thus Ibn al-Faķih speaks about the splendid buildings of Ludd, which impressed the Muslim beholders so much that they believed that they were built for Solomon by the djinn (*Mukhtaṣar*, 117). This tradition must refer to the Byzantine basilica of Ludd, which had been built over the tomb of St. George. It is believed to have been destroyed by al-Ḥākim in 398/1008 and rebuilt by King Stephen I (St. Stephen) of Hungary (997-1038). However, by then the church of Ludd had already been celebrated in the Islamic eschatological traditions. Al-Muķaddasī, in the second half of the 4th/10th century, mentions the church as the most prominent feature of the city and adds that ʿĪsā will kill the Antichrist or Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*] at its gate. In his time, the place had already undergone a process of Islamisation, for he refers to a large Friday mosque which served as a prayer place not only for the Muslims of Ludd but also for the inhabitants of its environs, including even those of the provincial capital Ramla (al-Muķaddasī, 176; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 493).

The place which Ludd occupies in the Islamic eschatological tradition must have been born out of the popular mixture of legends connected with the image of St. George and the Jewish traditions about the false Messiah (or in Aramaic, *Meshīḥa daggala*, hence Arabic Dadjdjāl). Some of the Islamic traditions about the death of Dadjdjāl at the gate of the church of Ludd, or at the gate of the city, identify their Jewish origin. According to these accounts, ʿUmar used to show great interest in the subject, and persistently searched for information about it. After the battle of Adjnādayn [*q.v.*], when Ludd was captured, a Jew told ʿUmar that the Muslims would kill Dadjdjāl "a little more than ten cubits from the gate of Ludd" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2403, Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 388, 390; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taķwīm*, 227). In a tradition attributed to al-Zuhrī, Jesus, at the head of the Muslims, would follow Dadjdjāl and kill him at the gate of Ludd (Ibn Kathīr, ii, 99; al-Bakrī, 490). Similar eschatological traditions are numerous, and the whole theme has been elaborated upon in great detail by Ibn ʿAsākir (ed. Munadjdjid, i, 149-52, 184, 215-17, 228-9, 232, 256-7, 260, 294-5, 606-19; *Tahdhīb*, i, 48, 195).

It is very possible that the tradition grew somehow out of the idea connecting St. George and the dragon, which can be traced to the 6th century, when the legend of Perseus and Andromeda was transferred to St. George. There is no doubt that the magnificence of the Byzantine church and later the Crusaders' cathedral of Ludd, as well as those local legends woven around the image of St. George, furnished the proper background for the development of the Islamic traditions concerning the church in particular and the city of Ludd in general. The core of the traditions in which the false Messiah dies in Ludd is Jewish. From this point of view, those Islamic accounts emphasising the Jewish connection with the tradition are correct. Clermont-Ganneau suggests, however, that the Dadjdjāl in this case represents the dragon, while St. George, who was transformed by the Islamic popular tradition, into al-Khiḍr [see AL-KHAḌIR], kills it (Smith, 123).

The feast of St. George on 23 April continued to be celebrated under Islam, and its ceremonies at the church were also attended by Muslims. Three verses by al-Muʿallā b. Ṭarīf, the caliph al-Mahdī's poet-singer freedman, in which he talks about his "coming intentionally to Ludd on the feast of *mārī sirdjis*" (*sic*), where he saw "ladies like gazelles in their covert", attest to the popularity of the feast, at least in the pre-Crusader period (Yāķūt, s.v. "Ludd"; *Aghānī*, vi, 46-7).

The Byzantine church is described by all the early Christian travellers. On the eve of the invasion of the Crusaders in 1099, the Muslims destroyed it again. The Crusaders found Ludd and Ramla deserted, and thus were easily able to establish a corridor from Jaffa to Jerusalem, whence they could mount their attack on the Holy City as well as widen their hold on central and southern Palestine. In Ludd they built in 1150 a new cathedral with much splendour and magnificence, over the remains of the previous Byzantine church and the Saint's tomb. They dedicated it to the Saint, because of its location as well as because of the then prevalent belief in his intervention in their favour during the siege of Antioch. The new cathedral "was a great pile, capable of use as a fortress" (Smith, 122). Toward the end of the 12th century, the cathedral attained even greater attention and significance when St. George was adopted by Richard Cœur-de-Lion as the patron saint of England, in addition to the veneration he already enjoyed as the patron saint of Eastern Christianity (it was, however, only under King Edward III that St. George actually became the patron saint of England, *ibid.*, 122 n. 3). Moreover, under the Crusaders, the name of St. George replaced the name of the town, so that during the whole of their period it came to be known as St. George, and pilgrims call it by this name until the 16th century (*ZDPV*, x, 215; xi, 195). Even the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela speaks about his visit to St. George, erroneously identifying it with the Biblical Luz (*Early travels*, 81, 88).

In 583/1187, following the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*], Saladin conquered Ludd (Abū Shāma, ii, 89), but the effect on the town of this conquest was felt only three years later. In the framework of Saladin's policy of dismantling the main coastal fortresses, he demolished Ascalon (ʿAsķalān) and proceeded to dismantle on 3 Ramaḍān 587/24 September 1911 the fortress of Ramla. On this occasion he also demolished the Cathedral of Ludd (Abū Shāma, ii, 192; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 47, Zettersţéen, 235). Al-Yāfiʿī, iii, 461, erroneously speaks about the demolition of the whole town. Mudjīr al-Dīn, ii, 419, remarks that with the destruction of the church the town became "a village like the other villages" (cf. Robinson, *Bibl. res.*, iii, 54-5; De Vogüé, *Églises*, 363). When peace negotiations began between Saladin and the Franks in 588/1192, the former suggested that the King of Jerusalem should receive Ludd to compensate him for his losses in the dismantled Ascalon (Abū Shāma, ii, 200). The strategic importance of Ludd as an inland station on the main route from Egypt to Syria (cf. Mudjīr al-Dīn, *loc. cit.*), which had, in the previous period, been lost to Ramla, must have been at least partly resumed during the Crusader-Ayyūbid period. In 601/1204-5, during the negotiations between the Franks and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, they demanded and received Jaffa as well as what amounted to the lease of Ludd, Ramla and their environs (al-Maķrīzī,

Sulūk, ii, 164). The name of Ludd appears in the sources again in connection with the peace treaty of 626/1229 between al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt and the Emperor Frederick II. In this treaty, which provided for the cession of Jerusalem to the Franks, Ludd was also handed over to the Crusaders' sovereignty, together with some other villages which were part of the territorial corridor between Jaffa and Jerusalem, which came under Frankish domination (*Sulūk*, i/1, 230; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 429). In 666/1267-8, Ludd was conquered by Baybars, who must have dismantled whatever remained of the church (*Sulūk*, i/2, 565), the stones of which were later used to build the bridge to the north of the city in 671/1273.

The development of the inland branch of the Cairo-Damascus route (or the eastern branch of the *Via Maris*), in the course of which the great engineering enterprise of building the monumental bridge of Ludd was undertaken, was part of Baybar's policy to demolish completely the coast of Syria and Palestine. This policy began in fact, with Saladin and was later used by the subsequent Muslim rulers. In view of the Mamlūk weakness on the sea and their inability to prevent the free naval activity in the Mediterranean, Baybars and his successors followed the strategy of abandoning the demolished shore and creating a strong line of inland fortresses. The unprecedented attention paid to the inland route to Damascus passing via Ludd was part of this overall Mamlūk strategy (cf. Ayalon, BAḤRIYYA, ii, and idem, *The Mamlūks and naval power*, 7-10).

Clermont-Ganneau, who studied the bridge as well as the church of Ludd, remarked that whole parts of the Crusaders' cathedral were used for building of the bridge (*RAO*, i, 270-1; cf. Prawer, ii, 424); modern Islamic art historians, however, doubt this theory. The bridge is known as Djisr Djindās, after the name of a neighbouring village, and has been in constant usage since the time of its building until this very day. Two almost identical inscriptions on both its façades commemorate its building; it was ordered by Baybars and executed by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sawwāḳ b. ʿUmar in Ramaḍān 671/April 1237 (Clermont-Ganneau, *loc. cit.*). On both sides of the inscriptions Baybars' famous heraldic symbol, the leopard, is carved in relief with its paw raised to strike a miserable animal resembling a mouse, believed to represent the king of Jerusalem or the Crusaders in general (cf. Prawer, ii, 461-2).

Ludd revived as a consequence of the development of this major traffic route, especially since the early Mamlūk sultans paid great attention to the orderly and secure movement of the royal postal services or *barīd* [*q.v.*] between the imperial capital of Cairo and the major provincial capital of Damascus. In the Mamlūk administrative division, Ludd was made into a centre of a subdistrict, *ʿamal Ludd* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 100). Ibn al-Furāt (vii, 225) speaks in 680/1281 about *wilāyat al-Ludd wa 'l-Ramla*. After then, Ludd is mentioned as an important station on the road between Cairo and Damascus (e.g. in *Sulūk*, i/3, 824-5; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, i, 512). Nevertheless, it did not regain its former splendour, for during the Mamlūk period also, it was overshadowed by Ramla. Mudjīr al-Dīn describes the place in this time, namely the very end of the Mamlūk period, as a pleasant village with an active Friday mosque. The singling-out of the mosque of Ludd is understandable in view of the fact that its monumental structure was far beyond the needs of the little village and served the population of the neighbouring villages as well. Mudjīr al-Dīn adds that to the east of the city there was a *mashhad* venerated as the tomb of the famous companion ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. There is no question that the *mashhad* and the local traditions around it were a post-Crusader invention; (in actual fact, Ibn ʿAwf died in Medina and was buried in the cemetery there of al-Baḳīʿ [*q.v.*], Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, ii, 850; Mudjīr al-Dīn, 419).

The Grand Mosque was also built at the order of Baybars, in part over the sites of the Byzantine basilica and the Crusaders' cathedral, with the building material taken from the ruins of both. On one of the columns of the mosque a 6th century Greek inscription which had belonged to the Byzantine church can still be seen. The mosque built by Baybars is called al-Djāmiʿ al-ʿUmarī. The long inscription in early Mamlūk *naskhī* script over its entrance is the only detailed source concerning its building. It runs as follows:

"... ordered the building of this blessed Friday Mosque our lord the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī, the associate of the Commander of the Faithful, may God make his victories glorious and forgive him. This was done under the direction of the servant, yearning for the mercy of his [divine] Master, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sawwāḳ al-Ṣāliḥī, may God forgive him, in the month of Ramaḍān 666 (began 15 May 1268)." (L. A. Mayer, *Muslim religious buildings*, 31).

This means that the mosque was built shortly after the conquest of the city. The work was executed by the same ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Sawwāḳ who was later charged also with the building of the bridge but of whom nothing else is known (Mayer, *loc. cit.*). Another inscription on the grand mosque, hitherto unpublished, bearing the name of Ḳāʾitbāy and dated 13 Ramaḍān 892/2 September 1487, commemorates the abolition of certain unjust taxes upon the inhabitants of Ludd. Of special interest is the fact that the name of the powerful local leader of Djabal Nābulus, Khalīl b. Ismāʿīl, hitherto known from literary sources only, appears in this inscription as officially participating in the affairs of Ludd. This may be explained by the fact that a few months earlier in 891/1486, the *amīr* Aḳbirdī, the great *dawādār*, arrived in the environs of Ludd and Ramla, whence he set off to recruit warriors for the war against the Ottoman Bāyezīd II. Khalīl b. Ismāʿīl was officially nominated to the *mashyakha* of Djabal Nābulus and took an active part in this recruiting activity, through which he must have widened his scope of influence (but clashing with the *nāʾib* of Jerusalem, Mudjīr al-Dīn, 666, 669).

The Bedouin element, which during the Fāṭimid period was predominant in the coastal plains of Palestine, and particularly around Ramla and Ludd, reappeared as a major factor in the history of the country in the post-Crusader period, again easily establishing itself around Gaza (Ghazza) on the one hand and around Ludd and Ramla on the other These areas have always been within easy reach of the nomads, who took advantage of the weakness of the Mamlūk and later also Ottoman military and administrative hold on the country. The environs of Ludd in both periods were completely at the mercy of Bedouin tribes, mainly of the Sawālma, the Kushūk and the Sawtariyya, who replaced the Banū Djarrāḥ of Ṭayyiʾ—the predominant tribe of the Fāṭimid period in Palestine.

According to Oppenheim, the Sawālma and the Kushūk arrived in the Ramla-Ludd region from Lower Egypt at the beginning of the 11th/17th century; but the Sawālma, the leading tribe of the area,

definitely arrived earlier, for in 1622 they took part in a coalition (with Bedouins from the Nābulus area and others) which aided Aḥmad b. Ṭurābāy, the Bedouin *amīr* of Ladjdjūn [*q.v.*], in his war against Fakhr al-Dīn II (Sharon, *The political role of the Bedouins in Palestine* ..., 28-9).

The Ottoman period and modern times. Throughout most of the Ottoman period, Ludd was completely overshadowed by Ramla. It was a small village, which in judicial matters fell under the jurisdiction of the deputy *ḳāḍī* of Ramla (Heyd, 55-6). In spite of its small size, it retained some of its importance as being situated on the central postal route of the empire. When in 1552, Roxelana (Khurrem Sulṭān [*q.v.*]), the favourite and later wife of Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificient, established her famous endowment (*ʿimāret*) in Jerusalem, Ludd was one of the many villages which were made *waḳf* for it (*ibid.*, 143, n. 1, doc. 90, and n. 7; *QDAP* [1944], 170-94).

The European travellers who visited the town in the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods are of little value for the history of Ludd until the 19th century, when the systematic research of the Holy Land began. They all repeat the same description of a small village in the midst of a fertile environment, emphasising the impressive ruins of the Crusader cathedral. At some time during these periods, an altar was built by the small Greek Orthodox community, who used to assemble at the place for regular prayers. In spite of Ludd's fertility and favourable location on a major commercial route, it was not until the second half of the 19th century that it began to revive. In the middle of the century the number of its population, according to the 1851 census, was only 1,345 (the number for the neighbouring villages being 4,400, *SWP*, ii, 279). The increased attention paid by the Ottomans to Syria and Palestine in the second half of the century, which entailed improvement in the internal security, mainly in the central parts of the country, and the keeping of the Bedouin in closer check, had an immediate influence on the fortunes of the town. The systematic European scholarly investigation of Ludd, which began with Edward Robinson in 1838 and continued particularly in 1852, and was followed by the Palestine Exploration Fund (Conder, Kitchener and others), drew European attention to Ludd and its past. In 1871 and again in 1873-4 Clermont-Ganneau prepared a most detailed study of the town and its environs, which included a detailed study of the Byzantine basilica and the Crusaders' cathedral. At this time work began on the rebuilding of the present church of St. George, partly on the ancient foundations not included in the mosque. Once completed (on a far smaller scale than the former edifices), the church became the focus of popular celebrations twice a year, on 24 April, the birthday of the Saint, and 16 November, the day in which his relics were brought to Ludd (*SWP*, *Memoires*, ii, 268).

In spite of this steady growth of the town, its real development came with the building of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, which began in 1890 in accordance with a *firmān* granted by the Ottoman sultan to Joseph Navon Efendi. On 26 September 1892, the railway was inaugurated and Ludd was transformed almost overnight and began to overshadow Ramla.

When the First World War broke out it regained its significant strategic value, serving the logistic efforts of the Turks and Germans. On 15 November 1917 General Allenby's army entered Ramla, and dispersing a retreating Turkish column, took Ludd two days later.

Under the British administration, Ludd (now officially called Lydda) flourished very rapidly, mainly because of the wide-gauge railway (143.5 cm.) with which the British replaced the old narrow (105 cm.) Ottoman one, connecting Jaffa via Ludd not only to Jerusalem but also via Rafah and Ḳanṭara to Cairo. Hence towards the end of the thirties of the present century, Ludd became one of the most important rail junctions in the Middle East. In 1934, the first airstrip was built near the city which was developed into an international airport, inaugurated in 1937, and today the major international airport of Israel, Ben Gurion Airport. All this contributed to the population growth of Ludd. By 1922 it numbered 8,103 inhabitants, exceeding for the first time the population of Ramla (Barron, *Report ... census of 1922*), and by 1947 it was about 19,000 (2,000 Greek Orthodox and the rest Muslims).

An earthquake on 11 July 1927 damaged the town very badly, destroying 500 homes and killing 40 people. Severe earthquakes had occurred formerly in 1033 and 1546 (*PEF*, *QS* [1927], 171).

On 11 July 1948, in the course of the Arab-Israeli War, Ludd was conquered by Israel. Out of its former Arab population, only 1,056 remained in the town. Very soon modern outskirts grew up around it, and by 1958 its population reached again the figure of 19,000, most of them Jews from the Arab countries. The rapid growth of the airport and the Israeli air industry have in the subsequent 20 years doubled its size and population (the latter standing at 40,000 in 1980).

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(M. Sharon)

LŪDHIĀNA, a district and town in the D͟jālandhar division of the Pand͟jāb state of the Indian Union. The tract is an alluvial plain, covering 3,614 km.² and bounded on the north by the river Sutlej. Generally, it has been a frontier area. On the high road from Central Asia, it has been crossed by successive waves of conquest or immigration, while over the last 250 years it has seen struggles for supremacy between the Durrānī Afg͟hāns and the Mug͟hals, between the Sikhs and the British, and recently between India and Pakistan. In 1809 Lūdhiāna town became a British frontier cantonment, and the district gained most of its present form after the Anglo-Sikh war of 1846. Since the partition of India in 1947 it has been close to the Pakistan frontier. Before partition, nearly 38% of the district's population were Muslims; now they form less than 1%, 300,000 Muslims having migrated to Pakistan.

The town of Lūdhiāna stands on the Grand Trunk Road and is an important junction on the Northern Railway. It appears to have been founded in the 9th/15th century by the Lōdī rulers of Dihlī, from whom it took its name. In the 19th century it was an important Wahhābī centre, and in the great uprising of 1857, S͟hāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, a prominent Wahhābī and friend of Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlwī, took the lead against the British. In the 20th century ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's family remained prominent in the resistance to the British, a great-grandson, Mawlānā Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān, leading the K͟hilāfat agitation of 1919-23 and, as President of the District Congress Committee, the civil disobedience movement of 1930. In the 1930s, the town was the centre of the Aḥrārs, religious idealists, Indian nationalists, and for a time the leading Muslim party in north-west India Consequently, Lūdhiāna returned the only Muslim Congressman from the whole Pand͟jāb in the 1937 elections, although by the next elections of 1946 the Muslim League was able to capture the seat with ease. Since 1947 the area has seen striking industrial and agricultural growth; it is one of the most prosperous regions in India.

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(F. Robinson)

LUGHA (A.), "speech", "language" in current usage.

The term does not appear with this sense in the more ancient texts. In the Ḳurʾān it is exclusively *lisān* which is used to express the concept of "language" and not *lug͟ha*, which is completely absent from the Ḳurʾānic text: *bi-lisānin ʿarabiyyin mubīn* ("in clear Arabic language"), XXVI, 195; and *wa-mā arsalnā min rasūlin illā bi-lisāni ḳawmihi* ("all the messengers whom We have sent [to Mankind], We have made them speak in the language of their own people"), XIV, 4. According to J. Fück and Nöldeke, it seems that this term is non-existent in the "ancient poetry of the Bedouin" (see Fück, *ʿArabīya*, French tr., 195) but this cannot be asserted because there is not yet available an exhaustive inventory of the vocabulary of those ancient poetic works which have survived. *Lug͟ha* cannot have acquired the sense of "language" or "speech" until the end of the 2nd/8th century. Before this date, the term always appears with the very specialised sense of "manner of realising an element of language" particular to an ethnic group, a tribe or a locality; whence the meaning of regional or tribal "variant of realisation" which it possesses in the works of the grammarian Sībawayh (d. 180/795). It is appropriate to stress the fact that, in the writings of this author, and of his contemporaries, *lug͟ha* does not denote the full range of linguistic particularities associated with an ethnic group, in other words a local patois or a dialect, but only a local variant. Thus in the common expression *lug͟hat ahl al-Ḥid͟jāz* (*Kitāb*, i, 28, 36, 187, etc.), *lug͟hat Hud͟hayl* (*ibid.*, ii, 191), it concerns the special "manner" of the Ḥid͟jāzians of treating the particle *mā* like the verb *laysa* ("not to be") and the "manner" of the Hud͟haylites of forming the plural of words of the type *d͟jawza* in *d͟jawazāt*. This sense of "variant" or of "regional variety of realisation" is clearly illustrated in the use, by Arab grammarians and lexicographers, of the dual or plural form of the word *lug͟ha* in expressions such as *ammā Maʿdikarib fa-fīhi lug͟hāt* ("as for the name of Maʿdikarib, there exist several variants", *Kitāb*, ii, 50) and the lexicographical phrases *fīhi lug͟hatāni* and *fīhi t͟halāt͟hu lug͟hāt*. In view of the fact that a "regional or tribal variant" is always regarded, by those whose own speech does not include this variant, as a deviation and often also as an incorrect expression in terms of their speech, it comes as no surprise to find that the word *lug͟ha* is derived from a root *l-g͟h-w* of which the essential meaning is precisely the idea of digression from a certain norm of expression, whence the very strong sense of a co-derivative of *lug͟ha*, *lag͟hw*, "inconsistent", "incomplete construction, *lapsus*"; whence also, by transposition to the content alone—even if the form is "correct" "subject without point or interest" (see *LA*, art. *l-g͟h-w*). This is confirmed, furthermore, by the eminent scholar and lexicographer Ibn al-Aʿrābī: "the sense of *lug͟ha* is derived from this idea (of deviation): in fact, [it is stated that] certain speakers produce locutions by which they *depart from* the manner of speaking (*lug͟ha*) of certain others" (*ibid.*). Another word, *laḥn*, which already has in the works of the most ancient grammarians the very strong sense of "incorrectness" and of "solecism" (cf. *Kitāb*, i, 304), alternates with *lug͟ha* in the texts collated by researchers into Bedouin culture [see Laḥn al-ʿĀmma]. For example, this remark reported by the disciples of the eminent Abū ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿAlāʾ, as made by one of his informants, Abū Mahdiyya: *laysa hād͟hā min laḥnī wa-lā min laḥni ḳawmī* "this is not my manner of speaking nor that of my tribe", al-Ḳālī, iii, 39, repeated by al-Zad͟jād͟jī in his *Mad͟jālis al-ʿulamāʾ*, 3). In his *Amālī*, al-Ḳālī is quite explicit: "*Laḥn* also signifies *lug͟ha* according to al-Aṣmaʿī and Abū Zayd, and it is in this sense that it is to be understood in the saying of the caliph ʿUmar "Study . . . the *laḥn* in the same fashion that you study the Ḳurʾān

(*ibid.*, i, 5). Ibn Abī Dāwūd, author of the *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* (d. 316/429), uses *laḥn* in this sense in his article *Ikhtilāf alḥān al-ʿArab fi 'l-maṣāḥif* "the divergences of *laḥn* specific to Arabs in texts of the Ḳurʾān," and at the very beginning of this article he asserts that "*al-alḥān* (pl. of *laḥn*) are the *lughāt*" (*ibid.*; see in this context the excellent studies devoted to the word *laḥn* by J. Fück in *ʿArabiya*, appendix). There is, however, the general sense of "manner of speaking" without reference to a particular element in the following passage: *kullimū bi-kalāmihim wa-djāʾa 'l-Ḳurʾānu bi-lughatihim* "they are addressed in their own language and the Ḳurʾān has used their *lugha*" (*Kitāb*, i, 166-7). This general sense is also to be inferred from these expressions in the *Kitāb*: *fī djamīʿ lughāt al-ʿArab* "in all the manners of speaking (or linguistic usages) of the Arabs" (i, 110); *man kān al-nasb min lughatihī* "those whose habitual linguistic usage is to employ the accusative in this case" (*ibid.*, ii, 263); and *illā man lā yuʾkhadh bi-lughatihī*—"except those whose manner of speaking is not acceptable" (*ibid.*, ii, 264).

These variants and the different manners of realising the elements of *ʿArabiyya* constituted, in the period of the major "field-studies" made by Arab researchers (*al-lughawiyyūn*), especially in the 2nd and 3rd/8th and 9th centuries, the essential material towards which the analyses of the grammarians (*al-naḥwiyyūn*) were directed. The term *naḥw* which came ultimately to denote "grammar" and which is to be opposed to *lugha* taken in this sense of "linguistic material" (compiled from the mouths of Arabic speakers) itself signified, initially, "a type of expression" (cf. *hādhā 'l-naḥw min al-kalām*; *Kitāb*, i, 491). Thus the *naḥwiyyūn* ("grammarians") were the individuals who studied the *anḥāʾ* (or *nuḥuww*, pl. of *naḥw*; see *Kitāb*, ii, 381: "types of expression heard from the mouths of Arabic speakers") with the purpose of making an exhaustive examination and of formulating rules. It is nevertheless clear that the sense of *naḥw* in these usages does not contain the idea of deviation, which is the specific nature of the word *lugha* and of *laḥn*, the latter having a much stronger sense and ultimately taking on, in the 3rd/9th century, the meaning of "incorrectness".

When applied to pronunciation, the *lughāt al-ʿArab*, insofar as they constitute optional variants, are contrasted with variants conditioned and dictated by the physiological laws of articulation: there is talk in this case of *badal* (= variant) due to the *ḍarūra* (constraint imposed by these factors; cf. Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr al-ṣināʿa*, i, 78) or to the system of the language; it is then a matter of *ṣanʿa*, that is, of a formal process effected on an element of the language (cf. Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 371). In the context of the oral reproduction of an existing and memorised text (in effect, the Ḳurʾān and poetry) these variants—both *lughāt* and conditioned variants —are called *wudjūh al-ḳirāʾāt/al-ʾadāʾ* by grammarians and by specialists in Ḳurʾānic diction alike (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Taʾwīl*, 33). *Lugha* was also contrasted with *luthgha*; in the period of the early grammarians, this latter term denoted a deviation in the pronunciation of a number of phonemes (not exclusively *ghayn*, as is often believed; cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 34), but this was a case of individual and not collective deviation. It was sometimes difficult at the first attempt to distinguish between a regional variety and a purely individual variety, as is shown by this statement from the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*: *samiʿnāhū fa-lā nadrī a-lugha am luthgha*—"we have heard it well, but we do not know if it is a regional variant or a [simple] individual pronunciation" (*ibid.*, i, 128).

The attitude of Arab lexicographers and grammarians towards linguistic data—the *lughāt*—has not always been properly understood by contemporary authors. The norm (the "norm" of the linguist E. Coseriu and the "idiom" of the linguist J. Gagnepain) is for them the result of a choice, but this involves the choice of the native locutors themselves (*fuṣaḥāʾ al-ʿArab*, the "native speakers of *ʿArabiyya*"). When this choice emanates from the greater part of these speakers, Sībawayh refers to *ḳawl al-ʿāmma* "the way of speech of the majority (*Kitāb*, i, 228, ii, 263; variants: *ḳawl ʿāmmat al-nās*, *ibid.*, i, 263, 293; *ḳawl ʿāmmat al-ʿArab*, *ḳawl al-ʿArab kullihim* "the manner of all Arabic speakers", *ibid.*, i, 477, ii, 303). Ibn Djinnī, for his part, was to use the expression *lughāt al-kāffa*—"the manners of speaking of the majority" (*Khaṣāʾiṣ* ii, 13). It could also be the case that this convergence of usages was lacking; each *lugha* was then considered a norm in itself. "All the *lughāt*", declares Ibn Djinnī, "may be regarded as probative references (*ḥudjdja*—with regard to the norm), and when two different *lughāt* have the same range of usage and are equally accepted by the *ḳiyās* (Ibn Djinnī speaks in this context of two *ḳiyās*, i.e. two different systems), it is not permitted to prefer one of them at the expense of the other" (*ibid.*, ii, 10). Attention should also be drawn to the remarkable insistence with which Sībawayh (in common with his masters and disciples) urges the reader to rely upon *samāʿ*, upon attested facts only and above all "to accept among these [types of expression which Sībawayh cites] only those which Arabic speakers have themselves accepted and to treat them in the same fashion (*istaḥsin min hādhā mā istaḥsana al-ʿArab wa-adjrihi kamā adjrawhū*, *Kitāb*, i, 252). Ibn Djinnī also asserts (*Munṣif*, ii, 240), "*Samāʿ* can annul the action of *ḳiyās*". This assumes, as this author explicitly states, that "everything which *ḳiyās* permits is not necessarily actualised in reality" (*Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 117).

In fact, the only criterion of normalisation which has been retained by the Arab scholars is that of the maximum extension of usage with the domain of *ʿArabiyya* (the *ḳawl ʿāmmat al-ʿArab* cited above) and of the most widespread inter-comprehension. Whence the degrees of "clarity" applied to *lughāt*: *faṣīḥ/afṣaḥ*. The *Kitāb* of Sībawayh is also full of these appraisals: *hādhā ʿarabī kathīr* "this is Arabic of widespread usage"; *hādhā akthar* "this is more widespread"; and *akthar wa-aʿraf*—"more widespread and better known" (see *Kitab*, i, 27, 43, 74, 78, 258, etc.). When two *lughas*, or more, were in competition, some were described as being "Arabic" and *ḥasana* or *djayyida* ("good"), others as *aḥsan* or *adjwad* ("better") or *ḳabīḥa* or *radīʾa* ("bad"); here it is no longer a question of value judgments, but of acceptability applied solely to the subjects of speech and on the basis of the most widespread usage (cf. the expression *ʿarabī djayyid kathīr*, *al-aṣl al-akthar*, *ibid.*, i, 27, 60). The geographical recurrence of a *lugha* was assessed with the aid of the following scale: *muṭṭarid* = perfectly uniform, recurrent or general (100%); *ghālib* = predominant (86%); *kathīr* = widespread or frequent (65%); *ḳalīl* = less widespread or less frequent (13%), and *nādir* = rare or isolated (4%) (see *Muzhir*, i, 234). It may be noted that this scale is applied equally to the frequency of an element or linguistic form within one grouping; see in this context the contrast between *muṭṭarid fi 'l-istiʿmāl* "general in usage" and

muttarid fi 'l-ḳiyās "general in terms of *ḳiyās*", in Khaṣā'iṣ, i, 96 ff. and Hadj-Salah, *Linguistique arabe et linguistique générale*.

As opposed to *naḥw*, *lugha* is the very essence of language, in other words that part which is not constructed (by induction), inconsistent with the rules of grammar or non-predictable or non-deducible by means of these rules. It is primarily a matter of *samā*ᶜ, that is of crude identifications. Thus the entire range of data recorded from the mouths of speakers of *ᶜArabiyya* constituted the *lugha* (taken as a collective: the ensemble of all the *lughāt* duly identified). Analysed in groups of items, it is vocabulary opposed to grammar; included in it, necessarily so, were not only the lexical unities effectively in use—along with their regional variants—but also colloquial expressions, in the form of idioms or *amthāl* (pl. of *mathal* in the very broad sense of "stereotyped figure of speech" or "cliché of widespread diffusion". Cf. the first compilations of *amthāl* which have survived to the present, comprising collections of idiomatic figures, and not only of maxims and proverbs; see e.g. *al-Fākhir* by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, Cairo 1960).

The non-predictable character of *lugha* (as crude fact and/or as vocabulary of a formal system, that of *naḥw*) has been well described by Ibn Djinnī: "the language of the Arabs comprises two sorts of elements: those elements that one is obliged to accept as such, with their configuration, for example, and not on the basis of a rule; such elements are: *ḥadjar* (stone), *dār* (house) . . . and another type that may be apprehended through *ḳiyās*". (Khaṣā'iṣ, ii, 42). "*Ḥadjar* may be analysed in a root (ḥ-dj-r) and a system (C¹a C²a C³), but the fact that these unities combined in *ḥadjar* arrive at the meaning of "stone" is a fact of *samā*ᶜ; all that can be done is to memorise it (*yuḥfaẓ*). It is also in this sense that this remark of the lexicographer Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) is to be interpreted: *al-lugha lā ta'khadhu ḳiyāsᵃⁿ naḳīsuhū naḥnu al-ᶜān*—"the data of the language cannot be obtained, in our era, as far as we are concerned, through *ḳiyās*" (*Ṣāḥibī*, 33).

Lugha, initially "regional variant of realisation" or "datum of the language", comes to designate the entire speech of an ethnic group and even to be identified with the word *lisān* which signifies "tongue" and "language". This identification is however absolutely unknown to the first generations of grammarians (up to and including Sībawayh). It appears sporadically at the end of the 2nd/8th century (see the use of it made by the jurist and leader of the law-school al-Shāfiᶜī in his *Risāla*, where he employs the word *lugha* with the sense of *lisān* only once (p. 564) and *lisān* in all other cases). It was probably in the period of the great controversies of the *ᶜilm al-kalām* that such a usage came into being; al-Djāḥiẓ in fact uses *lugha*, still as a manner of speaking, but enlarged to cover the entire language of an ethnic group (regional speech types, *ᶜArabiyya*, languages other than Arabic; see *Bayān*, i, 161-2 and *Ḥayawān*, v, 299). The sense of regional variant applied to a single linguistic element or item is, however, retained until a very late period.

The science of *lughāt*, which became the science of *lugha* or the data of the language, underwent a prodigious development following the major researches initiated by the very founder of this branch of science, Abū ᶜAmr Ibn al-ᶜAlā' (154/770), that is, in the period when his immediate disciples such as al-Aṣmaᶜī (d. 213/828), Abū ᶜUbayda (d. 209/826), Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/831) and the Kūfans al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, Ibn al-Aᶜrābī, Abū ᶜAmr al-Shaybānī, etc., made immense journeys of investigation across the Arabian peninsula. This gigantic effort of collection and codification of data (which continued until the total disappearance of the spontaneous mastery of *ᶜArabiyya* = *al-faṣāḥa*, at the end of the 4th/10th century) resulted initially in the composition of innumerable monographs on the *lughāt al-ḳabā'il* "the variants of realisation specific to the Arab tribes", on *amthāl* or "clichés", *nawādir* or "hapax legomena", toponymy, the vocabulary of flora and fauna, onomastic, types of verbs, *maṣdars*, the extension of use of schemes, etc. (on this subject, see H. Naṣṣār, *al-Muᶜdjam al-ᶜarabī*, Cairo 1956). To this, there is added the collection and codification of variants in reproduction of the Ḳur'ānic text which were drawn from those who had belonged to the school of the *Tābiᶜūn* or from their disciples. All Arabic lexicography of later centuries is based on these monographs.

Lugha as a datum constitutes, for early grammarians as well as for philosophers, the product of a *waḍ*ᶜ, that is of an *institution*. The same furthermore applies to the rules of grammar themselves because they are different from one language to another (cf. *Muzhir*, i, 48) and, above all, because they do not result from the application of more primitive rules, but by induction from the acts of discourse of Arabic speakers (*maḳāyīs mustanbaṭa min istiḳrā' kalām al-ᶜArab*; Abū ᶜAlī al-Fārisī, *al-Takmila*, fol. 1). The difference, as has just been observed, resides in the fact that *lugha* is the *non-inductive* ensemble of linguistic items. "By the *waḍ*ᶜ of an articulated sound" declares al-Rāḍī, "is meant the primitive assignation of an articulated sound (*lafẓ*) to a certain significance (*maᶜnā*) with the intention of seeing this significance become the object of conventional usage within a community" (*Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 3). Thus everything which is not imposed by institution (*mawḍū*ᶜ) as the symbol of something is outside the scope of *lugha*, outside *waḍ*ᶜ. Among other examples of this are the following: *saṣ*, *kaḳ*, *ḥadj*, etc., which have not been retained by the founder of the language for reasons of phonetic incompatibility (*tanāfur al-ḥurūf*; see Khaṣā'iṣ, i, 54). *Lugha* is, from this point of view, an *iṣṭilāḥ* or social institution tacitly accepted by its users; but a distinction is also drawn between these two terms, because it is considered that *lugha* is always a primitive institution, while *iṣṭilāḥ* can be an innovation, a technical neologism (cf. *Bayān*, i, 139-40), whence the pairs *aṣl al-waḍ*ᶜ or *aṣl al-lugha/iṣṭilāḥ* language/metalanguage and *waḍ*ᶜ *al-lugha/waḍ*ᶜ *thānī* primary institution/secondary institution (cf. al-Rāḍī, *ibid.*, ii, 126; al-Djurdjānī, *Dalā'il*, 24, 193, 308; and al-Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*, 148). It is also in this context that a distinction is drawn between *waḍ*ᶜ *al-lugha* as an organisation and code established by social institution and *waḍ*ᶜ *al-kalām*, which is the arrangements of discourse and the choice of its elements by the individual speaker (al-Djurdjānī, *op. cit.*, 64, 69, 79, 81).

*Waḍ*ᶜ constituted for the majority of the Muᶜtazilīs a purely human convention (*muwāḍaᶜa* = code), and for other thinkers, an institution which is divine, or at least inspired in men by God (*tawḳīf*, *ilhām*; see in this context *Muzhir*, i, 8-28 and Loucel, *L'origine du language d'après les grammairiens arabes*, in *Arabica*, x-xi). It does not seem, however, that these two positions were so clearly stated in the works of the major Arab linguists and philosophers. In fact, al-Ashᶜarī (d. 324/935-6), to whom is attri-

buted the idea of the divine institution of the language, has a rather inconclusive attitude to the subject, judging by the lukewarm opinions of his disciples. The same applies to the Imām al-Ḥaramayn and to al-Ghazālī (see *Muzhir*, i, 20). A similar position is adopted by the Muʿtazilī grammarians Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī and Ibn Djinnī (who attributes to Sībawayh's pupil, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash, the same cautious attitude; see *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 41).

Considerably more interesting is the problem which the Muʿtazilīs raised towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century, that is, the absolute arbitrariness of the linguistic symbol compared with the no less absolute immutability of the *lugha*. These two extreme positions were represented, the first by Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī and the second by ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān al-Ṣaymarī (*ca.* 250/854; see the *Maḳālāt* of al-Ashʿarī, ii, 186, and i, 250). The argument of ʿAbbād was as follows: "if there existed no particular relationship between articulated sounds and the objects they signify, the assignation of each of these signifiers to a signified object would be tantamount to choosing a possibility of assignation without any motive (*tardjīḥ bi-dūn muradjdjiḥ*), which is absurd" (quoted by al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, i, 22). The other Muʿtazilīs did not follow ʿAbbād: "There is no necessary relationship", the *ḳaḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār (415/1025) was to say, "between the expression (*al-ʿibāra*) and the content, such that one cannot exist without the other" (*Mughnī*, v, 20). For al-Ṣāliḥī, such arbitrariness has no limits since it is possible, he claimed, "to change today the names [of things] and the *lugha* as it presents itself to us at the present time" (*ḳalb al-lugha*; *Maḳālāt*, ii, 186). Later, these two opinions came to be reconciled: "As for those things which have become the object of a convention", the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār was to assert, "it is certain that they could have been established according to an entirely different system with the same validity. But the moment that these objects are fixed by a conventional system, they are assimilated, for the user, to that which could not be otherwise than it is" (*Mughnī*, xvi, 191). In the same period, Ibn Sīdā reproduces this dichotomic formula which summarises well the reconciliation of the two extremes: "Language is constraint (*iḍṭirāriyya*), although the conventional expressions of which it is composed have been (at the moment of *waḍʿ*) freely chosen (*ikhtiyāriyya*) (*Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, i, 3).

The expression *ʿilm al-lugha* (or *ʿulūm al-lugha*), has always denoted, as opposed to *ʿilm al-naḥw* (or *ʿilm al-ʿArabiyya*), lexicology or more exactly the science of the datum of the language (cf. al-Zadjdjādjī, *Īḍāḥ*, 79; Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāhibī*, 31; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ*, i, 4; al-Rāḍī, *Sharḥ*, i, 4; *Muzhir*, *passim*, etc.). Ibn Khaldūn defines *ʿilm al-lugha* as "the science of the *instituted* elements of the language" (*hādhā 'l-ʿilm huwa bayān al-mawḍūʿāt al-lughawiyya*; *Muḳaddima*, 1059), a science which he includes along with *ʿilm al-naḥw* and *ʿilm al-bayān* (style) among the *al-ʿulūm al-lisāniyya* (*ibid.*). Besides this expression, there was also another: *fiḳh al-lugha* which functioned as a synonym of *ʿilm al-lugha*, but it seems likely that this was a more specialised branch of the same discipline, that is, the study of the semiological distinctions and affinities which exist between the elements of vocabulary (cf. the work of Ibn Fāris cited above, the *Fiḳh al-lugha* of al-Thaʿālibī and the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīdā, as well as the definitions of Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, 1060-1). The very frequent modern usage of *lugha* with the sense of "language" has led certain of our contemporaries to attempt to employ the expression *ʿilm al-lugha* to represent the modern concept of "linguistics", which is not entirely appropriate because this signification has had, and still has, the sense of lexicology. A different term exists to denote this concept: *ʿilm al-lisān* (often abridged into *lisāniyyāt*), which al-Fārābī employs in his works and in particular in his *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, where he envisages in a very distinct fashion the possibility of constructing a general linguistics extending to all languages and no longer to one particular language (8-13, 21).

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(A. Hadj-Salah)

LUGHA, ʿIlm al- [see lugha].

LUGHAT-NĀMA [see dehkhudā, in Supplement].

LUGHZ (A., pl. *alghāz*) "enigma", muʿammā (pl. *muʿammayāt*) "word puzzle, verbal charade", uḥdjiyya (pl. *aḥādjī*[n]) "riddle, conundrum", three Arabic terms often used in a figurative sense, but basically referring to three kinds of literary plays upon words which are fairly close in type to each other.

The enigma is generally in verse, and characteristically is in an interrogative form. Thus for *falak* "heavenly firmament": *mā ʿadam*[un] *fī 'l-ḥaḳḳi, lākin tarā || min-hū wudjūd*[an] *ḥaythumā staḳbalak || [...] fa-in ḳaṭaʿnā raʾsahū fahwa lak* "What is the thing which in reality has no existence, but nevertheless you see it in existence wherever you confront it [...] and if we cut off its head (= *fa*), it will be yours (= *lak*)?".

The *muʿammā* is to be distinguished from the *lughz* by the absence of the interrogatory element and by the fact that the sense of the passage, also in verse, had been made "blind" by various procedures. Thus it may be formed by designating one or more words by various clues to the letters forming it or them or by allusions relating to the pronunciation: the alphabetic value, the numeral value of the letters, misreading or inversion (*ḳalb*). Mostly, no account is taken of the vowels or of letters without phonetic value. Good taste is the rule.

The invention of the *muʿammā* is attributed to Khalīl b. Aḥmad, the inventor of prosody, while the Persians of course attribute it to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The following is an example of *muʿammā* on the name Aḥmad: *awwaluhu thālithu tuffāhatin || wa-rābiʿu 'l-tuffāḥi thānīhi || Wa-awwalu 'l-miski lahū thālithun || wa-ākhiru 'l-wardi li-bāḳīhi* "Its first is the third of [the word] *tuffāḥa* (apple) = A; and the fourth of [the word] *tuffāḥ* (apples) is its second = Ḥ; and the first of [the word] *misk* (musk) is its third = M; and the last of [the word] *ward* (roses) is the remainder of it = D".

The *muʿammā* was used by many poets (in particular by Abū Nuwās; see E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 380-3).

As for the *uḥdjiyya*, this term denotes a simple guessing game (e.g. "Guess what I have in my hand"), but can also mean a type of enigma fairly close to the *lughz*. Thus for *salsabīl* "wine": *mā ridfu ḳawli 'l-muḥādjī || in ḳāla: uṭlub ṭarīḳā* "What is the alternative sense meant by the person setting forth a riddle when he says: ask (= *sal*) the way (= *sabīl*)?".

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(M. BENCHENEB *)

AL-LUḤAYYA (Ar. "small beard", Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat*, ii, 569 n. 3), a small port on the Red Sea coast in the Yemen Arab Republic (lat. 15° 42′ N., long. 42° 41′ E.), *ca.* 110 km. north of al-Ḥudayda [*q.v.*; see the map accompanying ʿASĪR], and situated at the northern end of a narrow and shallow bay formed between the mainland and a coral reef. The bay is continued northwards past the town by a narrow boat-channel, at the entrance of which small craft may moor. Larger vessels lie about 6 km. south-west of the town in an open roadstead between the mainland and the offshore island of al-Urmak. At very low tide, not even small boats can reach the town when loaded.

A. Sprenger's identification of al-Luḥayya with Ptolemy's Μαμάλαη κώμη is not proved, nor is it certain that the port is identical with Ναπηγοῦς κώμη, Sambrachate or Leupas (Pliny), as proposed by E. Glaser.

When Affonso d'Albuquerque entered the Red Sea in 1513, he called at al-Luḥayya (Luya in the Portuguese sources). The port then belonged to the territory of the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ, to whom tribute was paid. Previous to the 10th/16th century, al-Luḥayya, like other ports on the Arabian coast such as al-Ḥudayda, Kamarān Island, al-Mukhā (Mocha) and Zabīd, had been in the power of the Rasūlids [*q.v.*], and their heirs the Banū Ṭāhir, whose last monarch, ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, was defeated in 1515 by the firearms of the Mamlūk forces under Salmān al-Rūmī and Ḥusayn Turkī (Serjeant, *The Portuguese*, 29), sent by the sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*]. The ruler of al-Luḥayya, Faḳīh Abū Bakr b. al-Maḳbūl al-Zaylaʿī (of Zaylaʿ [*q.v.*]), supported the Egyptians, made the *khuṭba* for al-Ghawrī and, after the Mamlūk forces had damaged the port of al-Ḥudayda, opened up the road leading inland. With one hundred men armed with muskets (*banādiḳ*), he then advanced against Mawr. Abū Makhrama (Schumann, *Political history*, 19) and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (*Ghāyat*, ii, 644) remark that this was the first time fire-arms were used in the Yemen; see however Schumann, *op. cit.*, nn. 18, 92. After Sulṭān Selīm I had conquered Egypt, Ottoman suzerainty was quickly recognised by the Egyptian forces in the coastal towns. According to the *Taʾrīkh al-Shiḥrī* (Serjeant, *op. cit.*, 51, 170), the Portuguese, after an unsuccessful attack on Djudda (see, however, *EI*², ii, 572a) in 923/1517, turned back to Yemen, pursued by Salmān "or one of his men" who took a Portuguese *grab* (Ar. *ghurāb* "brigantine") near al-Luḥayya. This story, confirmed by João de Barros (*Decadas*, iii, I, 6), refers to Lopo Soares de Albergaria's expedition in the Red Sea.

In 1635 the *Imām* al-Manṣūr bi'llāh al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] succeeded in expelling the Turks, and al-Luḥayya again came into the possession of the *Imāms* of Ṣanʿāʾ. Around 1650, ships sailing between Massawa and al-Mukhā on behalf of Banyans settled in the latter port apparently used to anchor at the port of al-Luḥayya (Van Donzel, *Foreign relations*, 134-6, 139). On his return from Ethiopia to Yemen, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥaymī, the envoy of Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā ʾllāh (1054-87/1644-76) to the Ethiopian king Fāsiladas (1632-67), disembarked at al-Luḥayya.

During his stay at al-Luḥayya between 29 December 1762 and 20 February 1763, C. Niebuhr was amicably received by *amīr* Farḥān, a black African, appointed as governor (*dola*) by the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ. He was told that the town was not older than three hundred years and that its foundation, as is the case with Bayt al-Faḳīh and al-Mukhā [*q.vv*], was connected with a local Muslim saint, *shaykh* Salei (Ṣāliḥ), around whose cell and later tomb the original settlement grew. The descendants of the *shaykh* were still revered in al-Luḥayya in Niebuhr's days. The town had no circular wall then, but on the landward side there were some twelve towers, armed with a few cannon and lying at a distance of 120 double steps from each other. The highly-placed entrances were accessible only by a ladder. The towers, however, were not worth much as defence works: the Ḥāshid and Bakīl tribes [see ḤĀSHID WA-BAKĪL] (see also Niebuhr, *Beschreibung*, 258-61, and Robin, *Les hautes terres*) marched across them and burned the town, and on a rumour of another attack, the inhabitants fled to al-Urmak. Since the water was brackish, it had to be fetched at some distance. The people, among whom were some forty Banyans, lived off commerce and fish. Although the coffee was of inferior quality compared with that of Bayt

al-Faḳīh, it was cheaper, since transport to the more important port of al-Djudda was inexpensive. In al-Luḥayya merchants bought it for customers in al-Djudda, Egypt and Turkey, and some Cairenes used to come over in order to acquire it in person. Lime was made by burning coral in the open air, and rock-salt was cut in the neighbourhood. Although Niebuhr describes the town as rather poor, al-Luḥayya had to pay monthly 2,000 thalers to the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ, and during the *mawsim* (April-June) when Indian vessels were calling, 3,000 thalers, more than al-Ḥudayda had to bring in. The arrival of Indian vessels at al-Luḥayya around 1770 is confirmed by Bruce (*Travels*, i, 323). Niebuhr also relates that one of the rich merchants of al-Luḥayya had obtained several kinds of aphrodisiacs from "engländischen Wundärtzen" (*Reisebeschreibung*, i, 304, not "Wunderärzten" as in Th. Hansen, *Reise*, 246, or "miracle doctors", idem, *Arabia Felix*, 221), so English ships must have called at al-Luḥayya around 1760, at least occasionally.

In the 12th/18th century, the power of the *Imāms* of Ṣanʿāʾ declined sharply, and many towns declared themselves independent, while the Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh [*q.v.*] grew more powerful. In 1730 only the coastal land between al-Luḥayya and al-Mukhā remained in the *Imām*'s possession, and by 1790 the coastline between al-Kunfudha [*q.v.*] and Bayt al-Faḳīh, including al-Luḥayya, was under the authority of the Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh (Baldry, *Al-Yaman*, 158). At that time, the monthly revenue of al-Luḥayya was roughly computed at £600 (Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, 119).

The rise of Wahhābī power at the beginning of the 19th century forced Sharīf Ḥamūd Abū Mismār of Abū ʿArīsh to give allegiance to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Abū Nuḳta, whom Saʿūd II had appointed governor of the Tihāma (Philby, *Saʿudi Arabia*, 13). When in 1809 he revoked his allegiance and restored the revenues of the coastal towns to Aḥmad b. Manṣūr ʿAlī, the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ (Salt, *A voyage*, 125; Playfair, *A history*, 129), the Wahhābīs despatched an army by sea to Djayzān [*q.v.*], from where it advanced southwards, looting and burning al-Luḥayya and al-Ḥudayda. Under Wahhābī rule, an attempt was made to develop the port of al-Luḥayya, and negotiations were opened with the English East India Company to start a factory (Lord Valentia, *Voyages*, ii, 385, quoted by Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 884). When Ehrenberg visited the port in 1825 (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 192 n. 485) a Persian ship was blockading the harbour in order to force the *dola* Fatḥ Allāh to pay a debt. By then the walled town had been deserted. Abū Mismār was forced to give allegiance again to the Wahhābīs, but shortly afterwards he associated himself with Muḥammad ʿAlī, the viceroy of Egypt, and in an agreement, authority in the Tihāma was surrendered to Muḥammad ʿAlī, who restored that territory to the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ in return for a payment of 20,000 bahars of coffee (El Batrik, *Egyptian-Yemeni relations*, 282). When in 1832 the Ottomans rewarded the Albanian Meḥmed Agha Türkče Bilmez with the governorship of Ḥidjāz for having mutinied in al-Djudda against Muḥammad ʿAlī, he occupied several coastal towns, but by 1837 the whole of the eastern shore of the Red Sea was in Egyptian hands (El Batrik, *op. cit.*, 286), although Ḥusayn Efendi from Belgrade was governor of al-Luḥayya when the French botanist Botta visited the port in 1836 (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 756). When the Egyptian troops moved southwards, Great Britain, having occupied Aden in 1837, exerted pressure on Muḥammad ʿAlī to evacuate the Arabian peninsula. The Egyptian forces accordingly left the coastal towns in 1840 and the territory was surrendered to Ḥusayn, the Sharīf of Abū ʿArīsh. In 1842 the latter admitted his dependence on the Ottoman Sultan and was created a Pasha and governor of the sea coast (el-Khazrají, *History of the Resúliyy dynasty of Yemen*, ed. Redhouse, i, Introd., 35). In 1844 the *Imām* Manṣūr ʿAlī tried to recover the territory, and after his deposition in 1848 his successor occupied several coastal towns and imprisoned Sharīf Ḥusayn. But the latter escaped and re-established his authority over the Tihāma (Redhouse, *op. cit.*, i, 36). In 1849 Ottoman troops under Tewfīḳ Pasha occupied the Yemen, and after the latter's untimely death, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad ʿAwn of Mecca was appointed governor of the whole of the Tihāma. Opposition to Turkish rule continued, however, among successive Zaydī *Imāms*, Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh, tribal *shaykhs* and occasionally the Sharīfs of Mecca. After subduing the Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh, the Idrīsī family in Ṣabyā [see ʿASĪR, i, 709b] became fierce opponents to Turkish rule, so that the Ottoman forces were compelled to withdraw to the principal garrison towns. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 enabled the Ottomans to despatch troops rapidly to Yemen, and in 1871 they subdued ʿAsīr. In 1872 Ṣanʿāʾ became the centre of the Ottoman government in the *wilāyet* of Yaman, which was divided into four *sandjaḳs*, each headed by a *mutaṣarrif*: Markaz, ʿAsīr, Taʿizz and al-Ḥudayda, al-Luḥayya being a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the latter (Wenner, *Modern Yemen*, 62, n. 5). Its population was estimated in 1881 at 2,000. In 1882 Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾiḍ of the ʿĀʾiḍ family of the Banū Mughayd, who had been granted the hereditary chieftainship of the highland tribes of ʿAsīr by Fayṣal b. Saʿūd [*q.v.*], cut off the Turks in Abhā [*q.v.*] from the coast, and the Banū Marwān, who inhabit the region between Maydī (Mīdī) and Ḥaraḍ, attacked al-Luḥayya. The coastal towns were the only Turkish strongholds amidst the "state of almost chronic rebellion" (Baldry, *op. cit.*, 169) in ʿAsīr and Ḥidjāz, and served as bases for expeditions against the rebellious inland tribes. In 1899 even the garrison of al-Luḥayya came under attack. When a telegraph line was constructed between al-Luḥayya and al-Maydī, Turkish soldiers guarding the workmen were attacked. Al-Maydī, north of al-Luḥayya, was captured by tribesmen loyal to the *Imām* and became a centre for the illegal import of arms. In 1906 the Turkish troops were withdrawn from al-Luḥayya and al-Maydī, but not for long, because in the same year they marched from al-Luḥayya to Ḥādjdja, accompanied by Bonī Pasha, a *shaykh* of the pro-Turkish Banū Ḳays who inhabit the region east of al-Luḥayya. Shortly afterwards, Turkish soldiers of the al-Luḥayya garrison joined others from Djayzān, Zabīd and al-Mukhā in their march on al-Ḥudayda in order to demand their discharge papers: many had served seven years in Yemen but had received less than one year's pay (Baldry, *op. cit.*, 178-9). In 1909 Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī of Sabyā came to the assistance of tribes living to the east of al-Luḥayya who had been forced to pay illegal taxes levied by Bonī Pasha. He occupied the port, but it was soon recaptured by the Turks, for in the same year two gunboats, two transports and nine battalions were sent from Istanbul to al-Ḥudayda and al-Luḥayya. The latter port became Rifʿat Pasha's base for launching attacks against the Idrīsī tribesmen. In 1911 the *Kāʾim-maḳām* of al-Luḥayya set out with 200 troops against the inhabitants of al-

Zuhra who had captured a caravan of eighty camels. He was, however, defeated and besieged in al-Zuhra. Later that year, the Banū ʿAbs seized the wells outside al-Luḥayya, but due to dissension among the Arabs, Ḥamdī Bey, arriving from Kamarān, was able to regain them. Shortly afterwards, however, Ḥamdī Bey suffered a severe reverse in al-Luḥayya itself. A new Turkish expedition was prepared against Sayyid Muḥammad, Ḥamdī Bey having 2,500 troops ready in the port. But the advance was postponed because of the outbreak of the Turkish-Italian war in 1911 (see Green, *Italian relations*). In 1912 the Italian navy bombarded al-Luḥayya and extended the blockade of the coast to a point 15 km. north of the port, while 6,000 followers of Sayyid Muḥammad moved against al-Luḥayya. The whole coast between al-Ḳunfudha and al-Luḥayya was now under the effective control of Sayyid Muḥammad.

On the eve of the First World War, the Ottoman government desired to settle the difficulties in Yemen. *Imām* Yaḥyā of Ṣanʿāʾ and Sayyid Muḥammad (see al-Kibsī, *Imām Yaḥyā*) agreed to observe a truce. Most of the Turkish troops were withdrawn from Yemen, only small garrisons remained in the main towns of the Tihāma. During the War, Sayyid Muḥammad signed a treaty with the British Resident at Aden (May 1915) and overran much of the northern Tihāma. He did not, however, succeed in taking al-Luḥayya because of the Turkish artillery (*Handbook*, i, 141-2; Philby, *Arabia*, 239; Rihani, *Around the coasts*, 166-7). After the War, the Turks evacuated Arabia. In 1339/1920 Sayyid Muḥammad concluded a treaty with Ibn Saʿūd [*q.v.*], but after his death *Imām* Yaḥyā in 1925 annexed the entire Tihāma and its ports as far north as al-Maydī. During the war with *Imām* Yaḥyā, Saʿūdī forces occupied the coast as far south as Bayt al-Faḳīh, including al-Luḥayya. The treaty of al-Ṭāʾif in 1353/1934, defining the frontier between Saʿūdī Arabia and the Yemen, led to the attachment of al-Luḥayya to Yemen.

In 1970 the population of al-Luḥayya was estimated at 5,000. At present, the port has no commercial significance and is only a small base for fishing boats (*sunbuk*), traffic being limited to coastal shipping. The seaborne trade is now centred at the modern facilities of Aḥmadī, the new harbour of al-Ḥudayda.

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LUḲAṬA (A.), an article found (more precisely: "picked up"). The leading principle in the Muslim law regarding articles lost and found may be said to be the protection of the owner from the finder, sometimes mingled with social considerations. The picking up of articles found is generally permitted, although it is sometimes also said to be more meritorious to leave them. The finder is bound to advertise the article which he has found (or taken) for a whole year unless it is of quite insignificant value or perishable. The particulars of this advertising are minutely regulated by special rules. After the termination of the period, the finder, according to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, has the right to take possession of the article and do what he pleases with it, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa, only if he is "poor"; but the use of the articles as religious alms (*ṣadaḳa*) even before the expiry of a year is permitted in a preferential clause by Abū Ḥanifa and Mālik. If the owner appears before the expiry of the period, he receives the object back, as he does after the expiry of the period if it is still with the finder; but if the finder has disposed of it in keeping with the law, he is liable to the owner for its value; Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī alone recognised no further claim by the loser in this case. The establishment of ownership is facilitated, compared with the ordinary process in Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (in al-Bukhārī also; cf. his superscription to *Luḳaṭa*, *bāb* 1). As regards the finding of domestic animals in the desert, there are special regulations which are less onerous for the finder in the case of in-

jured animals and more onerous when they are not injured. Al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal have similarly some special regulations for articles found in the *Ḥaram*, the sacred territory in Mecca, which at bottom go back to the old idea of a special right of ownership by Allāh in the *Ḥaram* and articles found in it.

These prescriptions of the *fiḳh* are based on certain *ḥadīth*s which have been handed down with several variants (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Luḳaṭa*; Muslim, Constantinople 1329 ff., v, 133) which need not be quoted in detail here as they agree with the principles in all essentials. But it may be mentioned that in a very old stratum, later worked over, there is mention of a two- or three-year period. In the conception of the primitive jurists, the article found is sometimes described as deposited (*wadīʿa*); further, out of special religious scruples, one is careful not to pick up found dates and eat them, as they might belong to the *zakāt*; finally, there is a *ḥadīth* which forbids the Mecca pilgrim (*ḥādjdj*) to pick up articles found at all. From the superscription by Bukhārī to *Luḳaṭa*, *bāb* 11, it is evident that found articles might be handed over, or used to be handed over, to a government office; but their retention in the finder's care is justified by quoting a special tradition.

None of these traditions can be considered historical; at most, the prohibition by the Prophet in his oration after the occupation of Mecca from keeping articles found in the *Ḥaram* without advertising them (cf. above) may be genuine on account of its antiquated terminology. *Luḳaṭa* is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān.

Bibliography: In addition to the pertinent sections in the *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* collections, cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaansche wet*³, 386; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, 639 ff.; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, i, 328-9.

(J. SCHACHT)

AL-LUKKĀM, DJABAL, the name which the mediaeval Arabic geographers give to the mountain chain which is situated in the northern part of Syria and for long formed the frontier between the Islamic and the Byzantine lands. In classical times it was known as the Amanos/Amanus (Khamanu in the cuneiform inscriptions), but by the Turks as Alma Daghī (Elma Dağı in modern Turkish); since it has not been treated under ELMA DAGHĪ, it has seemed useful to consider it here, even though the Djabal al-Lukkām does not correspond exactly to these ramifications of the Taurus Mountains, which detaches itself from the dolomite massif of the Ḳaradede Dagh in the region of Marʿash, to the south of the Pyramus (Djayḥān), running parallel to the chains of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus, surrounding with its eastern ridge the Gulf of Alexandretta, and falling steeply into the sea to the south of Raʾs al-Khinzīr (5,100 ft.), together with the Djabal Mūsā or Djabal Aḥmar (5,750 ft.).

The deep transverse valley of the Orontes and the morasses of al-ʿAmḳ [*q.v.*] separate the Alma Dagh from the Lebanon chains, which differ also in their geological formation (mostly limestone) from that of the Taurus system. With its off shoots, the Alma Dagh cuts off Cilicia entirely from Syria and the Mesopotamian hinterland; apart from a few passes that are mere mule-tracks, the pass of Baylān [*q.v.*] is the only connection between Asia Minor and Syria and has always been much frequented. The heights of the several mountains are not yet accurately known; the average height is said to be 3,650 ft., and some peaks reach 7,300 ft. or more; as the highest point, Dormeyer gives the Menhör, 7,450 ft. In the northern part, jagged and steep peaks prevail; in the south, more rounded outlines. The Alma Dagh with its fresh verdure is an attractive sight, for its sides are thickly overgrown with trees, out of which the bare dolomite peaks project. The ridge of the Alma Dagh north of Iskandarūn formed in Ottoman times, together with the sides sloping to east and west, an administrative unit, the Sandjaḳ Djabal Barakat; cf. Sachau in *SBPr. Ak. W.* (1892), 314.

Locally, no one common name is used for the whole of the Amanus; in the reports of European travellers and in the maps based on these, this fact has caused considerable confusion as to the nomenclature, because the same name is sometimes used for a part, sometimes for the whole. For the northern part of the Amanus we find the name Gʸawr Dagh or Djawur Dagh, i.e. the mountains of the infidels; H. Kiepert in his *Carte générale de l'empire Ottoman* (Berlin 1892) makes the Alma Dagh reach about as far as Iṣlāḥiyye (Nicopolis, lat. 37° N.); the continuation of this mountain-chain as far as the neighbourhood of Marʿash he takes as Gʸawr Dagh; cf. also H. Kiepert's map for Sachau's *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig 1883). In R. Kiepert's map for von Oppenheim's *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* (Berlin 1900), Alma Dagh only appears as the name of one single mountain massif to the north of Baylān; the name Gʸawr Dagh does not appear at all on it, in its stead we find Sur Dagh, Adje Dagh and Göydje Dagh as names of single peaks between Marʿash and Iṣlāḥiyye. The northern Gʸawr Dagh is connected, according to E. Reclus, with the southern mountains by a mountain plateau in the depth of which is situated the Gʸawr Göl (i.e. lake of the infidels). The name of Gʸawr Dagh is occasionally extended to the whole of the Amanus (e.g. on the map of Favre and Mandrot). Reclus does not call the southern Amanus Alma Dagh, but, in accordance with a number of travellers, Aḳma Dagh. Benzinger is evidently mistaken in calling the southern part of the Amanus Gʸawr Dagh and the northern part Aḳma Dagh. Czernik seems to stand quite alone in calling the Amanus Ḳara Dagh; this name is evidently the Turkish translation of Djabal al-Lukkām (also al-Ukkām), the "black mountains" (*ukkām*, Arabicised from the Syriac *ukkāmā* = "black") of the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages, the μαῦρου ὄρος of the Byzantines; for the name al-Lukkām designating nearly the same as Amanus, cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, 325. By a misnomer, the Alma or Aḳma Dagh in its more limited sense (north of Baylān) is also often called Nawlu Dagh by travellers, which name according to Kotschy (cf. also the map by R. Kiepert, mentioned above) belongs only to the northeastern part of the Djabal Arzūs (south of Baylān).

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98-100 (bibliography); Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 347; A. Janke, *Auf Alexanders des Grossen Pfaden*, Berlin 1904, 31-2, 157-8 (Anm. 89-98); G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 81-2; idem, *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, 22, 129, 132; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 22, 77; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 440 ff.; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935, 41, 116, 127; Muḳaddasī, tr. Miquel, 238; Iṣṭakhrī, 14, 56; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 168/165 and index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 264, ii, 71, viii, 68 = §§ 282, 503, 3194.

(M. Streck *)

LUḲMĀN, a legendary hero and sage of pre-Islamic Arabia. He appears in the Ḳurʾān as a monotheist and a wise father giving pious admonitions to his son. In later Islamic lore, he became the creator of fables par excellence and a striking parallel of Aesop.

1. Luḳmān in Old Arab tradition. The Arabs of the Djāhiliyya knew of a certain Luḳmān b. ʿĀd. The connection with the long-lost tribe of ʿĀd [*q.v.*] places him in the dimmest recesses of the Arab past. The two attributes upon which his fame apparently rested were his wisdom and his longevity. Many early poets, including Imruʾ al-Ḳays, al-Nābigha, al-Aʿshā and Ṭarafa, celebrate his wisdom (Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 133-5). To be "as wise as" or even "wiser than Luḳmān" are standard compliments in panegyrics. Because of his proverbial wisdom, Luḳmān was credited with being the architect, or one of the architects, of the famous Maʾrib [*q.v.*] dam (e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 366).

In ancient Arabian legend, Luḳmān was *al-Muʿammar* ("the Long-lived"). He is granted a long life. (According to later Muslim tradition, this was a reward for his piety, in contradistinction to the wickedness of his people.) From among several choices offered him, he chooses the duration of the lives of seven vultures, the vulture (*nasr*) being the most popular symbol of longevity among the Arabs (Goldziher, *Abh. zur arabisch. Phil.*, Leiden 1899, ii, pp. li-lii; cf. Ps. ciii, 5, where the Hebr. cognate *nesher*, meaning "eagle", has the same significance). Luḳmān nurtures and protects each of his seven vultures in turn. The last one is named Lubad which means "enduring" or "remaining" (*LA* and *TA*, s.v.). He finally dies, however, and with him Luḳmān. This story is cited in explanation of the old Arab proverb "eternity (*al-abad*) outlasts Lubad" (al-Maydānī, *Amthāl al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1310/1892-3, i, 290-1). According to the different versions of the tale, Luḳmān lived 560, 1,000, 3,000, or 3,500 years. In Islamic times, he is considered second in longevity only to al-Khiḍr (al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, ed. Goldziher, in *Abh. zur arabisch. Phil.*, ii, 2).

It is difficult to know what details beyond this essential nucleus are of pre-Islamic origin and what are the creations of later Muslim narrators. It is possible, for example, that the tradition that includes Luḳmān among the ambassadors sent by the drought-stricken ʿĀdites to pray for rain at the Kaʿba may have its roots in pagan Meccan lore (al-Ṭabarī, i, 235). Already in its pre-Islamic form, the Luḳmān legend exhibits motifs found elsewhere. R. Basset (*Loqmân Berbère*, pp. xxvii-xxix) finds a remarkable parallel in the interpretation given by Sidonius Apollinarius of Romulus's watching for twelve birds. The birds turn out to be twelve vultures, signifying hat Rome will endure for twelve centuries.

2. Luḳmān in the Ḳurʾān and the Islamic tradition. Ṣūra XXXI, which belongs to the Third Meccan period, bears the name of Luḳmān. No allusion is made to either his ʿĀdite origin or his longevity. Likewise, there is no mention of Luḳmān in connection with the various references to ʿĀd and its prophet Hūd throughout the Ḳurʾān.

The Ḳurʾānic Luḳmān is a sage who is found only in the sūra that bears his name. He first appears in v. 12, where it is stated that God gave him wisdom or, perhaps as has been recently suggested, a book of maxims (see D. Gutas, *Arabic wisdom literature: nature and scope*, in *JAOS*, ci [1981], 50-4, 57-8). In vv. 13 and 16-19, Luḳmān offers pious counsel to his son. The admonitions bear the unmistakable stamp of ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature. Three times, he begins with the formula "O my dear son" (*yā bunayya*) that prefaces so many of the aphorisms of Aḥiḳar (Ar. Ḥayḳār). R. Harris has pointed out the parallel between v. 18: "Be modest in thy gait and lower thy voice, for the most hateful of voices is that of the ass", and Aḥiḳar's maxim: "Incline thy head downward, soften thy voice, and be courteous ... For if a house could be built by a loud voice, the ass would build many houses each day" (Harris *et alii*, *The story of Aḥiḳar*, p. lxxvi; cf. Ar. text in *ibid.*, 4, 11). Even though vv. 20-34 no longer cite Luḳmān, they partially reflect the same genre. Thus v. 27: "if all the trees on the earth were pens and the sea were replenished after it with seven seas [of ink], the words of God would not be exhausted" can be traced back to Jewish wisdom literature, where it is found in numerous variations (R. Köhler, *Und wenn der Himmel wär' Papier*, in *Orient. u. Occident*, ii, 546-59; idem, in *Ethnolog. Mitteil. aus Ungarn*, i, 311-23, 441-53; H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Munich 1956, ii, 587). However, this verse is later than the rest of the sūra and was revealed in Medina during a dispute with the Jews. Its inclusion indicates that it was considered appropriate to the general tone of the sura.

Once the Ḳurʾān had consecrated Luḳmān as the wise utterer of proverbs, everything that was thought pious or sensible could be attributed to him. Wahb b. Munabbih is credited with saying that he had read 10,000 chapters (*bāb*) of Luḳmān's wisdom (Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1850, 27). The Arabic collections of proverbs (notably that of al-Maydānī) attribute much to Luḳmān (see Basset, *op. cit.*, pp. xliv-liv). Al-Thaʿlabī devotes a chapter of his *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (Būlāḳ 1286/1869, 275-7) to the wisdom of Luḳmān. Many sayings seems to link up with the Sūra of Luḳmān. v. 14 advises reverence for parents, but warns against being led astray by them to worship false gods. Al-Thaʿlabī's authority makes Luḳmān say: "Be amenable to your friends, but never so far as to act against God's laws". There is much that is reminiscent of Aḥiḳar. For example, Luḳmān teaches: "A father's beating his son is like water for a crop." The parallel maxim in Aḥiḳar states: "Spare not thy son, for strokes of the rod are to a boy like dung to the garden." Luḳmān says: "When thou seest people who remember God, join them; if thou hast knowledge, it will be useful to you with them, and they will increase it; if thou hast none, they will teach thee; and when thou seest people who do not remember God, do not join them; for if thou hast knowledge, it will not avail thee with them, and if thou art ignorant they will increase your ignorance".

Aḥiḳar says: "Join the wise man, then thou wilt become as wise as he, but join not the brawler and babbler, lest thou become associated with him". Luḳmān gives excellent advice for one going on a journey, and also adds that he should be armed. So too does Aḥiḳar. Al-Maydānī (*Amthāl*, i, 97) attributes to Luḳmān the dictum: "Consult the physician before thou fallest ill!" This corresponds to the advice of Ben Sīra: "Honour the physician before thou hast need of him" (*Ecclesiasticus*, xxxiii, 1).

It may be that many of these proverbs that belong to the general treasury of Near Eastern wisdom literature had already begun to penetrate into the Arabian Peninsula in the Djāhilī period. The Christian Arab poet ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*] of al-Ḥīra knew of Aḥiḳar, whom he calls al-Ḥayḳār (see Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zum Achiqar-Roman*, 25; also Goitein, *The present-day Arabic proverb*, in idem, *Studies*, 371, 376 ff.). Already at this early time, the dicta of foreign sages may have begun to accrue to the indigenous Luḳmān al-Ḥakīm.

Muslim legend is fond of making the sages and wise men of the past into prophets. But since the Ḳurʾān merely says that Luḳmān received wisdom from God, all of the traditional scholars with the sole exception of ʿIkrima agree that he was not a prophet (al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 275). Nevertheless, he receives mention in most of books of the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* genre [*q.v.*]. Most accounts tell that God offered Luḳmān the choice between becoming a prophet or a sage, and that he chose the latter. He even becomes vizier to King David, who tells him: "Blessed art thou, O Luḳmān. You have been given wisdom and spared tribulation, while David has been given authority and has suffered trials and rebellion" (*ibid.*). Most of the traditions give him a biblical genealogy connected variously with Abraham, Job and even Balaam (see 4. below). He is said to have lived down to the time of the prophet Jonah. He is also called judge of the Jews (*ibid.*, 275, citing al-Wāḳidī). Some accounts make Luḳmān the author of a book. Supposedly, Muḥammad was shown the scroll (*madjalla*) of Luḳmān and asked if the book in his possession was comparable to it, to which the Prophet replies: "These are indeed fine words, but what I have is better, namely the Ḳurʾān revealed by God" (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo 1375/1955, i, 427; also al-Ṭabarī, i, 1208).

3. Luḳmān the writer of fables. At some time during the Middle Ages, Luḳmān came to be regarded as the author of fables as well. This is perhaps due in part to the fact that *amthāl* means both proverbs and fables in Arabic. Luḳmān thus became the Aesop of the Arabs. Much was transferred to Luḳmān that was told in Europe of Aesop. The tendencies to this can be traced quite early. The Ḳurʾānic commentators already relate traditions that he was a "thick-lipped, flat-footed black slave" of Ethiopian or Nubian origin (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1328/1910, xxi, 43). He is also said to have been an Egyptian, a carpenter, a shepherd, and to have had deformed legs. These features are obviously modelled on the story of Aesop. So too are several of the anecdotes about Luḳmān. For example, Luḳmān's master orders him to butcher a sheep and set the choicest parts before him. Luḳmān gives him the tongue and the heart. His master then orders him to slaughter another sheep and bring him the worst parts. Once again Luḳmān sets a heart and a tongue before him, for there is nothing better than a good tongue and a good heart and nothing worse than evil ones (in Maximus Planudes, *Vita Aesopi*, only the tongue is mentioned and not the heart; see Eberhardt, *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*, Leipzig 1872, 259). On another occasion, Luḳmān's fellow-slaves eat their master's figs and accuse Luḳmān. At Luḳmān's suggestion the master makes them all drink warm water. Luḳmān vomits only water, the other slaves figs and water. Once, Luḳmān's master in his cups had wagered he would drink up the sea. Sobered, he asks Luḳmān's advice. The latter demands of those who had taken up the wager that they should first dam up all the rivers flowing into the sea, as his master had promised to drink up the sea only but not its tributaries. This last motif is widely disseminated in folk tales of the type of the Emperor and the Abbot (Aarne-Thomson Type no. 922; the folktale and its parallels are discussed at length in W. Anderson, *Kaiser und Abt*, FCC no. 42, Helsinki 1923, especially p. 139, where reference is made to Luḳmān; also Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, viii, 60-2). These anecdotes are also found in the biography of Aesop by the 14th century monk Planudes, who drew upon older material. The story of the wager to drink the sea is known as early as Plutarch's *Dinner of the seven wise men* (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 151B-E) and the Midrash (*Leviticus Rabba*, 33).

The older Arabic literature does not know fables of Luḳmān. They first appear in the later Middle Ages. The Paris manuscript published by J. Derenbourg is dated 1299 and is from Christian circles. It contains 41 fables. These fables have been published frequently and discussed in detail, especially by Derenbourg, Basset and Chauvin. Out of the 41 fables, only no. 22 has no clear parallels: the thorn bush begs the gardener to tend it so that kings may delight in its flowers and fruits; the gardener waters it twice a day, and the thorn bush overruns the whole garden. Basset (*Loqmân Berbère*, 98, n. 1) posits a possible connection with Jotham's parable in Judges, ix, 8-15, while H. Schwartzbaum has suggested a link with the talmudic proverb-fable about the thorn and the cabbage (*The Mishle Shuʿalim of Rabbi Berechiah ha-Nakdan*, Kiron 1979, p. xlvii, n. 80, citing BT *Baba Qama*, 92a-b). All the other Luḳmān fables with the exception of the thirteenth (the gnat and the bull) are found in the Syriac fables of Sophos (= Aesopus) published by J. Landsberger (*Die Fabeln des Sophos*, Posen 1859). The only fables of Luḳmān not found in the Greek Aesop are no. 9 (the gazelle in the well), no. 22 (the thornbush), no. 24 (the wasp and the bee) and No. 40 (the man and the snakes). It has further been observed that in these fables, a number of important animals that were indigenous among the Arabs, such as the ostrich, the hyena, the jackal and the camel, play no part. As these fables first appear in the later Middle Ages, and on the basis of other evidence, there can be no doubt that we have here a translation and adaptation of the Syriac version of Aesop originating in Christian circles in Mamlûk Syria.

4. Luḳmān and related legendary figures. Luḳmān is a composite, and hence a many-sided figure: he is a *muʿammar*, hero, sage, maker of proverbs and author of fables. It is no wonder then that he has often been compared and identified with other legendary heroes, such as Prometheus, Alkmaion, Lucian and Solomon. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Zawzanī makes Luḳmān the teacher of Empedocles (*Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, in M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, Leipzig 1857, 614). Three of these equations deserve closer examination: (1) with Balaam, (2) with Aḥiḳar

and (3) with Aesop. The identification with Balaam is old. Al-Thaʿalabī and al-Bayḍāwī (although not al-Ṭabarī apparently) give the following genealogy: Luḳmān b. Baʿūr b. Nāḥūr b. Tāriḵh. It would seem that some Muslim exegetes sought for something corresponding to Luḳmān in the Bible. They found this in Balaam, as the roots *b-l-ʿ* and *l-ḳ-m* both mean "to swallow". This identification may have been reinforced by the talmudic tradition that Balaam (and also Job) was one of the seven gentile prophets who preached to the nations of the world (BT *Baba Batra*, 15b). This became a Muslim tradition which entered the Hebrew *Mishlē Sendebar*, where Luḳmān is one of the seven wise teachers of the king's son (ed. and tr. M. Epstein, Philadelphia 1967, 54-5), and also the *Disciplina clericalis* of the Spanish Jewish apostate Petrus Alfonsi (ed. A. Hilka and W. Söderhjelm, Heidelberg 1911, 3), where it specifically states: "Balaam qui lingua arabica vocatur Lucaman". It is clear that for Muḥammad and his contemporaries, there was no confusion between Luḳmān and Balaam. Neither is there any confusion in al-Ṭabarī, who does not make Luḳmān the son of Beor and who relates the story of Balʿam b. Bāʿūr in its proper place and with the correct details (al-Ṭabarī, i, 508-10). On the other hand, al-Thaʿlabī makes Luḳmān Beor's son, while at the same time devoting a full narrative to Bilʿām b. Bāʿūrā (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 186-9). Al-Thaʿlabī and others like him were probably aware of the inconsistency, but wished to connect Luḳmān with the Bible at any cost. Horovitz has suggested that perhaps early Muslim traditionalists' Jewish informants connected Luḳmān with the Edomite king Bela son of Beor in Gen. xxxvi, 32 (*Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran*, in *HUCA*, ii [1925], 173 f.), and that this was the source of the confusion.

Luḳmān's similarity to Aḥiḳar was also noticed long ago, but it was only in the early 20th century that the identification found a vigorous champion in Rendel Harris, who devotes ch. vii of his *Story of Aḥiḳar* to it. He bases his identification on the agreement of Sūra XXXI, 18, with Aḥiḳar's warning about the voice of the ass, the formulaic "O my son" in both, and the Arab hypotheses which compare Luḳmān with other figures in legend and history, notably to the relationship of Luḳmān, Aḥiḳar and Aesop. The arguments, however, are not convincing. The Aḥiḳar legend was known in the Arab world, and a considerable number of Arabic and Karshūnī manuscripts have survived. Many of the aphorisms attributed to Aḥiḳar, like those attributed to Luḳmān, were part of the common stock of Near Eastern lore and may be found in the Bible, the Apocrypha and elsewhere. The use of the introductory formula "O my son" was standard in admonitory literature of this sort, and is found in *Proverbs* and *Ben Sira*, to mention only the most outstanding examples.

Any real relation between the personalities of Luḳmān and Aḥiḳar comes through Aesop. The story of Aesop shows originally a close relationship to that of Aḥiḳar. The later legend of Luḳmān has borrowed much of the story of Aesop and thus become obliquely like the Aḥiḳar story, but in reality Luḳmān is not directly connected with Aḥiḳar but with Aesop.

5. **Luḳmān in Persian and Turkish literature and lore.** Luḳmān was a fairly popular figure in Persian literature. A lengthy chapter is devoted to him in the 5th/11th-century Persian *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* of al-Nīsābūrī (ed. Ḥ. Yaghmāʾī, Tehran 1340/1961, 333-8), which contains anecdotes found in the Arabic *ḳiṣaṣ* as well as some new material. Rūmī devotes several stories to Luḳmān in the *Mathnawī*. In addition to the well-known anecdote of Luḳmān's innocence proven by drinking warm water (*Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, GMS iv/1, London 1925, 220-1), Luḳmān appears as an idealised ascetic who is a pure slave (*banda-yi pāk*) to his earthly and heavenly masters and thus is master of himself and free from sensual passion (*khʷādja būd wa az hawā āzād būd*). In this story, Luḳmān is the true master and his master the slave. He exchanges clothes and roles with Luḳmān when they travel. He would gladly set him free, but knows that Luḳmān has found true freedom in servitude (*ibid.*, 326-9). In another anecdote, Luḳmān's master will only eat food from which Luḳmān has partaken and is enraptured even with the scraps. One day upon receiving a gift of a melon, he gives Luḳmān slice after slice. The latter eats it as if it were honey. When the master himself tastes the final slice his mouth is blistered by the sourness. He asks Luḳmān how he could eat such poison. Luḳmān replies that he had received such bounty from him that he could not do otherwise. The love of the giver makes the bitter sweet (*ibid.*, 329-32). Saʿdī relates a story in which Luḳmān is once again an idealised ascetic in the Persian mould. By mistake, he is placed into cruel slavery for a year, bearing all in silence. When the mistake is realised, he harbours no grudge and says that he has learned compassion from the experience (*Būstān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, ed. M. ʿA. Farūghī, Teheran 1964, 328).

Luḳmān was known to the Turks from both Arabic and Persian literature. In addition to his standard roles, he also appears in Turkish folklore as an Arab physician by extension of his title *ḥakīm* (see W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, 346). In one tale, Luḳmān teaches the adventurer Meḥmed the Mad how to cure the wife and daughter of the king and the wife of the grand vizier, all three of whom had grown horns (W. S. Walker and A. E. Uysal, *Tales alive in Turkey*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 33).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the text, see C. H. Toy, *The Lokman-legend*, in *JAOS*, xiii (1889), pp. clxxii-clxxvi; L. Leroy, *Vie, préceptes et testament de Lokman*, in *ROC*, xiv (1909), 225-55, where some very important texts are given; H. Schwartzbaum, *Jewish and World folklore*, Berlin 1968, contains many references and parallels to Lukman; H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīlīya*, Wiesbaden 1978, 34 ff., for Luḳmān's place in the esoteric doctrines of the Seveners. Still very useful for the fables of Luḳmān and their many relationships is V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège 1892-1922, iii, 1-82. For Aḥiḳar, see T. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zum Achiqar-Roman*, in *AGW Gott.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., N.F. xiv/4, Berlin 1913; F. C. Conybeare, J. R. Harris and A. S. Lewis, *The Story of Aḥiḳar*², Cambridge 1913; R. H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1913, 715-84.

(B. HELLER - [N. A. STILLMAN])

LUḲMĀN B. SAYYID ḤUSAYN AL-ʿĀSHŪRĪ AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-URMAWĪ originated from Urmiya in western Persia. It is not known when he, or perhaps already his family before him, migrated to the Ottoman empire. Nor do we know much about his studies and career. He was apparently a protégé of the Grand Vizier Meḥmed Sokullu (d. 987/1579) and of the influential Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] whom he

praised as his benefactor in one of his works (Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum*, 53b, and H. Sohrweide in *Der Islam*, xlvi [1970], 292). In 1569 Selīm II appointed him as *Sh̲āhnāmed̲j̲i* (official historian-panegyrist; for this office, see Babinger, 163-4); as such he was the successor of Eflāṭūn Sh̲īrwānī and Feth̲ullāh ʿĀrif. In his works, Luḳmān gives two different dates for this appointment: Sh̲awwāl 976/March 1569 (N. ʿĀṣim, in *TOEM*, 430) and the end of Muḥarram 977/middle of July 1569 (A. Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, 107, and Rieu, *Catalogue*, 53b; see also Babinger, 164-5). To this office was attached a *ziʿāmet* which yielded yearly between 30,000 and 34,000 *aḳčes* (*TOEM*, 430-1). As *Sh̲āhnāmed̲j̲i*, Luḳmān was mainly active during the reign of Murād III (982-1003/1574-95); he is said to have been deposed soon after the latter's death and appointed as *Defterdār* [*q.v.*]. He died in 1010/1601-2 (*ʿOth̲manlī müʾellifleri*, iii, 136) or later (*TOEM*, 432; Babinger, 165).

As was the case with his predecessors, Luḳmān's literary gifts were under discussion. It is noteworthy that contemporary biographers of poets and learned men do not consecrate a section to him in their works. The well-known historian ʿĀlī (d. 1007/1599), on the other hand, criticises him caustically (*TOEM*, 431 and Sohrweide, *op. cit.*, 290-2; but see Rieu, *Catalogue*, 53b). Until now, Luḳmān's extensive literary production taken has been into account mainly by art historians because of the costly presentation of several manuscripts and because of the miniatures by well-known painters which they contain. The pictures are a culminating point of historical Ottoman miniature-painting (I. Stchoukine, *La peinture turque*, I, Paris 1966, and N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974). From a literary and historical point of view, Luḳmān's works have hardly been evaluated; because of his office as court poet, whose task was to extol the ruling dynasty, the choice of his themes was limited. Inevitably, many themes had to be repeated and were partly treated in the various works almost at the same time.

Luḳmān's works, written in Persian and Turkish, in both poetry and prose, are the following: 1. *Ẓafar-nāma*, known as the *History of Sulṭān Sulaymān*, deals with the final years of the sultan (1561-6). Brought to an end in 986/1578-9, it is an epic Persian poem, written in the same metre (*mutaḳārib*) as Firdawsī's famous work. It was described by V. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library. A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Dublin 1958, no. 413. 2. *Ḳiyāfat al-insāniyya fī sh̲amāʾil al-ʿoth̲māniyya*, also known as *Sh̲amāʾil-i ʿothmāniyya* or *Sh̲amāʾil-nāma-yi Āl-i ʿOth̲mān*, describes the first twelve Ottoman sultans and gives, besides their portraits, short pieces of information on their reigns. It was probably finished in 987/1579-80 (Atasoy and Çağman, *op. cit.*, 39). Rieu, *Catalogue*, 54a, gives the year 997, but this is likely to be an error since the Munich manuscript, which he quotes as evidence, contains another of Luḳmān's works. 3. *Sh̲āh-nāma-yi Salīm Kh̲ān*, an epic Persian poem on the reign of Selīm II (974-82/1566-74). According to the colophon of the illuminated manuscript in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, which was prepared for the benefit of the sultan, the poem was finished in Dh̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 988/January 1581 (Atasoy and Çağman, *op. cit.*, 34). The signature of the manuscript must read: A. 3595, Table 16 and p. 80, 27, see also Karatay, *Farsça yazmalar kataloğu*, no. 788, where no date of the work or of the manuscript is indicated. 4. *Hunar-nāma*, a Turkish work in prose in two volumes. The first volume, composed between 987/1579 and 992/1584, describes the appearance, the qualities and the virtues of the Ottoman sultans as far as Selīm I (918-26/1512-20), together with the most important events of their reign. The second volume was finished in 996/1587-8 and deals with the reign of Sultan Süleymān (926-74/1520-66). The work is written in simple Turkish. Originally, two other volumes were planned on Selīm II and Murād III, see TOEM, 103-11, and further, Karatay, *Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, no. 688-9; Atasoy and Çağman, *op. cit.*, 44-6. 5. *Sh̲āhansh̲āh-nāma*, an epic poem in Persian on the reign of Murād III in two volumes. The first volume comprises the period until 985/1577 or 989/1581. In the *Hunar-nāma*, Luḳmān says that he presented the work, consequently this first volume, to the sultan in the middle of Ramaḍān 985/ end of November 1577 (*TOEM*, 107-8), probably for it to be checked beforehand, as was usual in such cases. Atasoy and Çağman, *op. cit.*, 36, 50, take the year 989/1581 from the colophon of the manuscript. Karatay, *Farsça yazm.*, no. 792, attributes the first volume not to Luḳmān, but to an unknown predecessor in the office named ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Manṣūr Sh̲īrāzī. However, only the above-mentioned Eflāṭūn and ʿĀrif are known as Luḳmān's predecessors. Volume ii deals with the period 990/1582 to 996/1588. The text was finished in 1001/1592-3, but since the making and the finishing off of the manuscript stretched out until 1006/1597-8, the finished work could only be presented to Meḥemmed III (1003-12/1595-1603). 6. *Zubdat al-tawārikh̲*, a universal history in Turkish prose, arranged genealogically, in four sections: 1. The creation of the world. 2. the Prophets. 3. the life of Muḥammad, the caliphs and the Islamic dynasties. 4. the principalities in Anatolia and the Ottomans until the year 991/1583. The work was possibly finished after the death of Murād III (1003/1595), whom the Dublin manuscript mentions as having died. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, no. 414, suggested *Nasab-nāma* as another possible title. Karatay, *Türkçe yazm.*, no. 678, calls it *Silsila-nāma*; the *Zubdat* which he ascribes to Luḳmān in no. 733 seems to be another work. 7. *Mud̲j̲mal al-ṭūmār*, a history of the Ottoman dynasty until 992/1584, in Turkish prose. Only the sultans Süleymān, Selīm II and Murād III are dealt with in detail, and the two last mentioned in a purely annalistic way; see Rieu, *op. cit.*, 54-5. 8. *Sh̲āh-nāma-yi Āl-i ʿOth̲mān*, a rhymed chronicle in Turkish of the Ottoman sultans, covering the beginning of the dynasty until 999/1590-1, and written in the same year; see Rieu, *op. cit.*, 186-7.

Besides these principal works, Luḳmān is said to have left some other writings or translations (*TOEM*, 107; Babinger, 165). The *Sūr-nāma*, famous for its illustrations and composed by an unknown *Dīwān* secretary, was erroneously ascribed to Luḳmān by R. Ettinghausen (*Türkische Miniaturen vom 13. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, UNESCO Taschenbücher der Kunst, Tafel-Verzeichnis 18-21), see Karatay, *Türkçe yazm.*, no. 703; Atasoy and Çağman 39-42.

Bibliography: given in the text.

(H. Sohrweide)

LUḲMĀND̲J̲I b. Ḥabīb Allāh b. Mullā Ḳāḍīkh̲ān Rāmpūrī, was a great Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī savant of India and was given the title *bāb al ʿilm* ("the gate of knowledge") by the thirty-ninth *dāʿī*, Ibrāhīm Wad̲j̲īh al-Dīn. He was the teacher of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Mad̲j̲dūʿ, the author of the *Fihrist*. He died on 8

Djumādā II 1173/27 January 1760. His works, very few of which seem to have been preserved, deal with the history of the *daʿwa* in India, biographies of *daʿwa* dignitaries, Ismāʿīlī doctrine, and the refutation of dissident groups.

His son Walībhāʾī (or Walī Muḥammad) was also a distinguished scholar, while his grandson Hibat Allāh, the mentor of the forty-third *dāʿī*, ʿAbd-i ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn, was considered one of two learned men of his time, the other being ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Hamdānī. For a while, Hibat Allāh supported the son of al-Madjdūʿ, who had claimed to be *al-ḥudjdja al-layli* of the hidden *imām* with whom he was in contact. In 1201/1786-7 he was honoured in the *daʿwa* by the forty-second *dāʿī*, Yūsuf Nadjm al-Dīn. He died probably after 1214/1799-1800.

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LÜLEBURGAZ (in old texts variously written as Bīrghos, Būrghūs, Borghūs, Čatal Burghaz, etc.; the form "Lüleburgaz" is of recent date and related to the industry of pipe-making), a town of more than 25,000 inhabitants in Turkish Thrace and a minor administrative and agricultural centre on the highway from Edirne to Istanbul, 75 km. south-east of Edirne. It is situated on level ground in a wide valley on the southern bank of a tributary of the Ergene River. In the past it was one of the largest caravan halting-places on the Belgrade-Edirne-Istanbul highway, the chief artery of Ottoman Europe. In addition, it was an administrative centre; in the 15th century, a *nāḥiye*, and from the 16th century, the seat of a *ḳāḍī* in the *liwā* of the Pasha. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 20) mentions it as a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjaḳ* of Vize, Ewliyā Čelebi as belonging to Kïrḳ kilise. In the 18th century, it belonged (once again?) to Vize. In the second half of the last century, it belonged at first to the *sandjaḳ* of Tekfūrdaghï (Tekirdağ), in which Vize was incorporated (*Sāl-nāmes* of the Edirne *wilāyet* of 1281-3/1864-76). Later, it was incorporated in the *sandjaḳ* of Kïrḳ kilise (cf. *Sāl-nāme* for Edirne 1310/1892-3). Today it is a part of the *il* (*vilâyet*) of Kırklareli.

Lüleburgaz goes back to a Byzantine stronghold, Arkadiopolis (Tomaschek, *Hämus-Halbinsel*, 324; Jireček, *Heerstrasse*, 133). The name Burgaz is a corruption of the Greek Pyrgos "tower", thus giving a hint of the size of this castle.

The Ottoman chroniclers (Oruč, ʿĀshïḳ-pasha-zāde, Anonymus-Giese, Neshrī, Saʿd al-Dīn) unanimously place its conquest between 759/1358 and 761/1360, and all of them noted that the castle was deserted when the Ottoman *ghāzīs* took it. They burnt it down, according to the first three sources, demolished it from one side to the other according to Saʿd al-Dīn, and levelled it according to Neshrī. When Bertrandon de la Broquière passed through it in 1433, he noted "a town which they call Pirgasi which has also torn-down walls and where no others reside but Turks". The accounts of 16th century Western and Ottoman travellers, as well as the extant monuments, allow us to reconstruct the resurrection of Lüleburgaz. Arnold van Harff, passing through it in 1499, is still silent about it. De Schepper called it in 1533 already "la ville de Bosgais", but had to pass the night in a local school. By then it must have been a small borough with a Friday mosque and a *ḥammām*. The latter is mentioned by Meḥmed-i ʿĀshïḳ. The mosque, the Eski Djāmiʿ, or Ḳāḍī Djāmiʿi, is still extant and situated near the bridge. It is a work of the early classical phase of Ottoman architecture, from the time of Bāyezīd II or from a few years later. When Hans Dernschwam (ed. Babinger, 242) passed through "Borgas" in 1555, he still saw the gate and walls of the old castle and noted a stone bridge over the river; but he still had to spend the night in Ḳarïshtïran, a settlement 10 km. to the south-east of Lüleburgaz, which possessed three caravanserais. A few years after Dernschwam's visit, the Beglerbegi of Rumeli and later Grand Vizier, Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha, laid the foundations for the total reconstruction of the town and its transformation into a caravan halting-place of the first order. A new stop between Ḳarïshtïran and Baba eski was a necessity because the distance between the two was far too great (43 km.) to cover in one day. In 967/1559-60 he completed his exquisite domed mosque and vast *medrese* with 24 student cells. A long inscription, still preserved, gives the date in the form of a chronogram. Seven years later he completed the erection of two spacious caravanserais, with separate stables for camels and horses, separate rooms for female travellers and state officials, an *ʿimāret*, a double *ḥammām*, a school and street lined with 65 stone-vaulted shops between the *medrese* and the caravanserais. The whole complex covers an area of 170 × 150 metres and is one of the most harmonious civic centres ever erected by the Ottomans. The works were designed by the famous architect Sinān and appear in various places on the lists of his works drawn up by his friends and contemporaries. The date of completion of the two caravanserais is given in the extant inscription in the form of a chronogram, whose numerical value gives 973/1565-6, the first year of Ṣoḳollu's Grand Vizierate. The chronogram also found its way to the work of Ewliyā Čelebī (iii, 301, of the printed edition). This date is further corroborated by the notes of the Italian traveller Marc Antonio Pigafetta, who saw the workmen still active in 1567. Since that time a host of travellers have mentioned the buildings, either with a few words or with a detailed description.

Melchior Besolt called "Pregasch" or "Burgasch" in 1584 a "stättlin" and described the buildings in detail. He mentions the "fine new stone bridge", also built by "Mechemed Basscha", who likewise laid out a stone paved road half-a-mile long. Meḥmed-i ʿĀshïḳ remained some time in "Bïrghos" in 986/1578-9 and 998/90, and called it "a small town without walls". He mentions a ruined and uninhabited castle and noted that the Grand Vizier Meḥmed Pasha "constructed in Bïrghus a pleasant mosque, having within the circuit of its enclosure a lofty *medrese* and for the overnight stay of the sons of the road a large *ribāṭ* and a public kitchen. It was ordained that for all guests a plate of food from the kitchen was placed before every fireplace of this *ribāṭ*. A *ḥammām* and a small market street were built next to the mosque. In Bïrghos is further an unpretentious old *ḥammām*. The environs of Bïrghos comprise well-cultivated land which yields excellent grain". The account of Meḥmed-i ʿĀshïk passed in a shortened form into the work of Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, see *Rumeli und Bosna*. Reinhold Lubenau, travelling in 1587-8, called Lüleburgaz a "feiner Marckt", and adds the detail that the buildings were partly situated in "schoner, groser Gartten". All buildings were covered with lead. Lubenau found the mosque especially beautiful,

and adds that all travellers, Turk, Jew or Christian, received three times a day a dish of rice and mutton, this for three days in succession. The most detailed description of this Turkish "Grand Hotel" is from Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited the town in 1061/1651. It was then a *ḳāḍīliḳ* in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳirḳ kilise; a township of 700 houses, divided into six *maḥalles*. It had five places of prayer, of which three were Friday mosques, 300 shops and seven *mektebs*. All travellers, regardless of their religion, received twice daily a dish of soup, a loaf of bread, a candle and fodder for their horses. On Fridays they got stewed rice with meat and onions and sweetened saffron rice (*zerde*). A number of other travellers mention the buildings and the free distribution of food, but add hardly any new details.

Lüleburgaz continued to function as a caravan halt throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, but it seems to have remained a relatively small place. This period of prosperity ended abruptly in 1214/1799-1800 when a gang of *Krdžalis* under the robber baron Ḳara Feyḍ captured it and burnt it down, together with the two caravanserais. When, under Maḥmūd II, order was restored in Thrace, the caravanserais had to be rebuilt from their foundations. An inscription with a long eulogy on the good works of Maḥmūd, placed above the old inscription of 967/1559-60, still reminds us of this work. The vaulted shopping street and the two caravanserais, as they appeared just before the fire, are depicted in two very accurate drawings by Luigi Mayer. Lüleburgaz remained a small place throughout the 19th century. The *Sāl-nāme* of the Edirne *wilāyet* of 1287/1870-1 calls it the centre of a *ḳaḍā'* with 33 villages, and with 2,056 male Muslim inhabitants and 3,429 male non-Muslim inhabitants. The town itself numbered according to the *Sāl-nāme* of 1291/1874-5, 984 houses with 834 male Muslim inhabitants and 1,528 male non-Muslim inhabitants. There were three Friday mosques, two *mesdjids*, one church, one synagogue, 282 shops and one *ḥammām*. The size and shape of the town had thus remained basically the same as in the time of Ewliyā Čelebi.

With the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, all territories beyond Edirne were lost and the caravan road suffered an eclipse. The two caravanserais of Lüleburgaz and the *ʿimāret* were taken by the army and transformed into a barracks for the cavalry and the fourth battery of gunners. The old Ḳāḍī Djāmiʿi was turned into an ammunition store. The *Sāl-nāme* of 1310/1892-3 gives the same number of buildings in the town, but adds the name of two *tekkes*, one of the Gülshaniyya [see GULSHANĪ, IBRĀHĪM] and one of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] order. This source also gives detailed information about the composition of the population of the district of Lüleburgaz. The total number of inhabitants had augmented considerably, from about 10,000 in 1870 to 15,313 in 1893. The Muslim population had grown faster than the non-Muslim element. The Muslims now numbered 7,079 males and females altogether, and there were 6,450 Greeks (Rūm), 720 Bulgars, 220 Jews, 662 Gypsies (largely Muslim), and 38 Armenians, besides some non-permanent residents, also largely Muslim.

During the First Balkan War, Lüleburgaz was occupied by the Bulgarian army, but the Turks took it back in 1913. From 1918 till 1923 the town and all of Thrace were occupied by the Greeks. After Thrace had returned to Turkey and the Greek population had been exchanged for Turks from the now Greek Macedonia by the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, Lüleburgaz recovered slowly from the blows which it had received. The town was to profit greatly from the decay of Edirne in the forties and fifties, and did not cease to develop when Edirne recovered. In 1958 Lüleburgaz numbered 13,000 inhabitants; today this has passed the 25,000 mark. It is at present a prosperous and relatively well-built town, almost entirely Muslim Turkish. The two caravanserais and the *ʿimāret* of Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha disappeared in the troubled times around World War I; but the mosque, *medrese*, *ḥammām*, shopping street and *mekteb* are still standing, and rank among the best of all extant monuments of Muslim architecture in European Turkey outside Edirne.

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LŪLĪ, one of the names for gipsies in Persia; parallel forms are: in Persian, *lūrī*, *lōrī* (*Farhang-i Djahāngīrī*); in Balūčī, *lōṛī* (Denys Bray, *Census of Baluchistan*, 1911, iv, 143, gives the popular etymology from *lōṛ* = "lot, share").

The name *lūlī* is first found in a legend relating to the reign of Bahrām Gūr (420-38 A.D.). At the request of this Sāsānid King, who wished to amuse his subjects, the Indian king Shangal (?) sent to Persia 4,000 (12,000) Indian musicians. Ḥamza (350/961), ed. Berlin-Kaviani, 38, calls them al-Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], Firdawsī (Mohl, vi, 76-7), Lūriyān; Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar al-siyar* (*ca.* 429/1037), ed. Zotenberg, 567, says that from them are descended the black Lūrī (*al-Lūriyūn al-sūdān*), skilful players of the flute: the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh* (*ca.* 520/1126), tr. Mohl, in *JA*, xii (1841),

515, 534, confirms this origin of the Lūrī. The Lūlī (plur. *Lūliyān*) are often mentioned by Persian poets. Manūčihrī (Dāmghān-Djurdjān-Ghaznī, 5th/11th century), Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (d. 588/1192, Iṣfāhān), Kamāl Ismāʿīl (d. 635/1237, Iṣfāhān), Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791/1389, Shīrāz) say that the *lūlīs* are "black" (like night), petulant (*shūkh*) and elegant (*shangūl*), that they play the flute, that their way of living (*bunagāh* "baggage") is irregular. The Persian dictionaries explain *lūrī/lūlī* as "shameless, gay, sweet, musician, woman of light morals", etc.; cf. Vullers (the quotation from Amīr Khusraw (d. in 725/1325 in India), s.v. Lur, refers rather to the inhabitants of Luristān).

The origin of the name *lūlī* has not yet been investigated. The term seems to be applied to the inhabitants of the town of Sind which the Arab authors call Arūr or al-Rūr (cf. Aras > al-Rās; Alān > al-Lān). This town has been conquered by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim before 95/714 (al-Balādhurī, 439, 440, 445). According to al-Bīrūnī, *India*, ed. Sachau, 100, 130, the town of Arūr (Aror) lay 30 *farsakhs* south-west of Multān and 20 *farsakhs* above al-Manṣūra. In Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, London 1867, i, 61, 363, the town is called Alor. This town, the old capital of the Hindu *rādjās* of Sind, is now in ruins (on the Indus, in the *tāluka* of Rohri in the district of Sukkur; cf. *Imperial gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi, 4 and xxi, 308: Aror and Rohri). The change of *Arōrī/Rūrī into Lōrī/Lūlī is readily explained by the phonetic law of dissimilation of the two *r* s especially after the change from Aror (Indian) to al-Rūr (Arabic). The descendants of the Indian musicians of Bahrām Gūr (i.e. the gipsies) seem to have been called after the most important town that the Arab invaders had known, and perhaps before them, the Sāsānids. This explanation would locate quite precisely the original home of the *lūlī/lūrī*, without in any way prejudicing the ethnic relationship of this tribe.

The term *lūlī-lūrī* (unknown in Khurāsān, Ivanow 1914) is particularly found in the south-east of Persia, in Kirmān and in Balūčistān. *Lūlī* or *lūlī* is also found in Turkestan: Bābur, ed. Ilminsky, 358, 457, uses "Lūlī" in the sense of "player"; Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 241, 258, 276, 282, mentions in the 9th/15th century a Shaybānid prince of Marw and Ābīward, son of a Lūlī woman. Mayev, *Izvêstiya Ross. Geogr. Obshč.*, xii/4, 349, and *Geogr. Magazine* (1876), 326-30: Lūlī in Eastern Bukhārā; Grenard in Dutreuil de Rhins, *Miss. scient. dans la Haute Asie*, Paris 1898, ii, 308: Lūlī and Āghā in Chinese Turkestan; Valikhanov, *Sočineniya*, in *Zapiski Ross. Geogr. Obshč. po Etnografii*, xxix (St. Petersburg 1904), 43: Lulu (sic) and Multānī in Kāshghar. Lastly, it has been suggested that the name of the gipsy tribe in Syria, Nūrī, pl. Nawara, is derived from Lūlī (cf. Père Anastase, in *Machriq*, v [1902], tr. in *Jnal. of the Gipsy Lore Soc.* [1913-14], 298-319).

The Lorī/Lūlī gipsies (cf. the reference above to their dark skin) must be clearly distinguished from the Lur [*q.v.*] highlanders who live in the southwest of Persia, have a fair skin and speak an Iranian dialect with no trace of Indian elements. The situation is, however, slightly complicated by certain minor points. In the first place, the use of the terms Lūlī, Lurī, Lur, etc., is not always quite clear. In the confederation of Arab tribes of Fārs there is a Lur clan; Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, 330; Rittich, *Poyêzdka v Belučistān*, in *Izv. Ross. Geogr. Obshč.* xxxiii/1 (1902), 69, speaks of a Lorī section (Persian pronunciation of Lūrī?) among the Lūlī of Kirmān. Edmonds notes the existence of a Lurī (?) clan in Luristān in the Dashēnān division of the Bayrānwand group. In Kurdistān there is a clan Lurr-i Kulāhgar [see SENNA].

Still more confusing is the fact that some Lurs follow the profession of acrobats, bear-leaders, rope-dancers (cf. Čirikov, 277). As early as the 8th/14th century, Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī mentions the talent of the Lurs in these directions, and in our own day we find wandering troops of Lurs as far north as Tabrīz, where there is a permanent colony of Ḳarači gipsies, professional actors and singers. It is possible that the special qualifications of the Lur and gipsy players differ somewhat; the Sūzmānī of Kurdistān (cf. SARPUL-I ZOHĀB and SENNA), who excel in singing and dancing, are not acrobats. But we must first of all wait till a special investigation settles to what precise section the wandering Lur artistes belong.

There is nothing impossible in a gipsy infiltration into Luristān. Whatever was the ethnic entity covered by the name Zuṭṭ (on the confusion of the Zuṭṭ with the Lūrī, see above: Ḥamza, Thaʿālibī) the existence of Zuṭṭ colonies in Khūzistān is known as early as the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] (cf. Hawmat al-Zuṭṭ between Arradjān and Rām-Hurmūz; the modern town of Hindiyān ["the Indians"] may have a similar origin). According to al-Balādhurī, 382, when in the second quarter of the 1st century A.H. the Zuṭṭ had apostasised from Islam, they were joined by the local Kurds, which provoked the punitive expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [*q.v.*] to Īdhadj [*q.v.*] (= Mālamīr, the future capital of Lur-i Buzurg). The alliance of the Zuṭṭ and Kurds (= Lurs [*q.v.*]) at so early a date is curious. Under al-Rūr, Yāḳūt, ii, 833, mentions two places in Sind and a small district (*nāḥiya*) under Ahwāz in Khūzistān. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, v, 665, identifies this Rūr with the district of al-Lūr [cf. LURISTĀN]. In the light of what has been said above one might suppose the existence in al-Lūr of a very ancient Indian colony. But as our sources contain no positive confirmation of this hypothesis (according to Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 176, the "Kurds" were predominant in al-Lūr), the questions of the origin of the name al-Rūr in Khūzistān, of the identity of this al-Rūr with al-Lūr and of the remoter origin of the name Lur must for the present be left open. In any case, even if the name Lur came from the town of al-Lūr, the origin of the name would not necessarily settle the question of the ethnic origin of this people.

As to the general question of the gipsies in Persia, their names in the provinces other than Kirmān and Balūčistān were in the early years of this century:

in Khurāsān: Ḳirshmāl (in which a fantastic popular etymology sees *ghayr-i shumār*, interpreted as "innumerable"; in Transcaucasian Turkish dialects *ḳirishmal* means "rascal"; cf. the comedies of Fatḥ ʿAlī Akhundov [see AKHUND-ZĀDA];

in Astarābād and Māzandarān: Djūgī and Gāodārī;

in Ādharbāydjān: Ḳarači (which in Čaghatay Turkish means "faithful servant, person near the *khān*", Abu 'l-Ghāzī, 145, and Bugadov, ii, 45);

in Fārs (and elsewhere): Kāoli (= Kābulī).

The names mentioned may have corresponded to slight local distinctions not yet fully known. Gobineau collected the following names of particular tribes leading a nomadic life in the north of Persia: Sanād (?), Kāsa-tarāsh, "cup-makers", Budāghī, Adenesīr [Adharnarsē?], Zargar-i Kirmānī, "goldsmiths of Kirmān", Shahriyārī (winter at Hamadān, summer

near Damāwand), Karzī, To'ār-ṭabīb (*dawar* + *ṭabīb* "sheep-doctor"?), Gāobāz, Bāsh-kāpān (in Turkish *bash* "head" + *ḳapan* "he who seizes"?), Gāodārī (bold hunters in Māzandarān; cf. de Morgan), Kāshī and Badjumbūn. According to Newbold, the Persian gipsies fall into two classes: Kāoli (or Ghurbatī) and Gāobāz.

As names applied to Persian gipsies in general, de Gobineau gives Beshāwān/Peshāwān (cf. the name of the Armenian and Transcaucasian gipsies, the Bosho) and Odjūlī (?). The following names have a general and neutral character: Ghurbatī, "living in a foreign land" (according to Ivanow, the Persians, who confuse *gh* and *ḳ*, see in *ḳurbati* an offensive allusion to the promiscuity (*ḳurbat*, "relationship, consanguinity") of which isolated communities in all ages have been accused; the name is sometimes transcribed *kurbatī* and *kurbātī*), Fiyūdj (from the Arabic, *fuyūdj*, "couriers"), Ustākār, Āghā, Gharbāl-band "sieve-makers".

The number of gipsies in Persia was in the early years of this century estimated at 20,000 families, or 100,000 souls, of whom 5,000 families were in Ādharbādjān and 300-500 families in Kirmān (Sykes). The gipsies had an organisation of their own, at the head of which was the chief of the Shāh's runners (*shāṭir-bāshī*) under whom were the provincial deputies (*kalāntar*). In eastern Persia, the gipsies were very little different from the Persian peasantry (Sykes, Ivanow). In Khurāsān they played a considerable part in the life of the rural community as artisans, making and repairing sieves, chains, combs etc. In Astarābād, the Gāodārī were coppersmiths, carders of wool and cotton (de Morgan). Throughout Persia one sees the black tents of the nameless *īlāt* who must be gipsies. It remains to be seen also whether the Kurd tribes bearing names like Kharrāṭ ("turners"), Lurr-i Kulāhgar ("hatters") are not of gipsy origin [see SENNA]. In the towns, such as Sabzawār, Nīshāpūr and Tabrīz, the gipsies had quarters of their own. There were troops of gipsy dancers and musicians in Persia, but they did not seem to be very popular. Ouseley gives a description of the comic performances and of the marionette theatres of the Ḳaračī (Tabrīz). The dancing and singing girls of the Sūzmānī tribe in Kurdistān were often described by travellers; cf. notably: T. M. Chevalier Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie, au Caucase et en Perse ... pendant les années 1866, 1867 et 1868*, Paris 1872-4, iv, 30-70; Čirikov, *Putevoi zhurnal*, 282, 299, 330; Khurshīd Efendi, *Siyāḥet-nāme-yi ḥudūd*, Russian tr., 119; cf. T. Thomson, *The Soozmanee: are they Gypsies?* in *Jnal. Gipsy Lore Soc.*, ii (1909), 275-6.

The language of the gipsies of Persia (Sykes, de Morgan, Ivanow) has taken its morphology from modern Persian; its vocabulary also is full of Persian words (cf. the lists in de Morgan); Indian elements seem to be rarer than in the Romanī of Europe; the language of Kirmān and Khurāsān (Sykes, Ivanow) contains a large number of unrecognisable elements. Longworth Dames out of 96 words in Sykes's vocabulary found 12 Indian, 4 Arabic, 28 Persian and 52 of unknown origin. He preferred to regard this dialect rather as an artificial secret jargon. Denys Bray (quoted by Ivanow) in any case confirmed the fact that the Lōrī of Balūčistān is learned by the children as a separate language ("is at any rate acquired naturally by Lōrī children, as a language for the home circle").

The Sūzmānī used Kurdish mainly. According to Čirikov, they were called Dummī, which must correspond to Dūmān (= Dōm, the name of a low caste in India, from which comes the well-known name for gipsies *Rom*). The vocabulary of the Dūmān (Baghdād, Aleppo?) as collected by Newbold, *JRAS* (1856), 303, from an informant from Altun-köprü, is full of Kurdish words: *kāwar*, "stone", *khoi*, "salt", *lāwak*, "boy". A Kurd tribe in the east of Bohtān bears the suggestive name of Sindī/Sindiyān (the "Sindīs"). According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, the chief of the Kurdikān clan (of the Zrāḳī) had married a gipsy woman. In discussing the relationship of gipsies and Kurds, it should be remembered that in 220/835 a section of the Zuṭṭ settled in Khāniḳīn, i.e. at the gates of Kurdish territory; cf. de Goeje, *Mémoire*, 30; Ṭabarī, iii, 1168.

According to Sampson, two categories of gipsy speech may be distinguished, according to the fate of the primitive Indian aspirated *mediae*: the one changes them into aspirated *tenues*, i.e. Prākrit, *bhāini* > *phen* (Armenia, Europe), the other deprives them of aspiration, *bhāinī* < *ben* (Persia, Syria, Egypt). The interest of the Persian dialects lies in the fact that Persia was the first country in which the gipsies sojourned after leaving India (probably in the Sāsānid period). In the gipsy dialects of Persia, as yet very insufficiently studied, we may expect to find traces of a rather archaic phonetic system. Ouseley, for example, found among the Ḳaračī of Tabrīz the word *behn* "sister" which must be older than *phen* or *ben* (cf. also *ghorá* in Gobineau).

Literary references to the Lūlīyān or Lūrīyān are to be found in many classical Persian authors, including Badīʿī, Muṣʿabī, Firdawsī, Manūčihrī, Ḥāfiẓ and ʿUbayd Zākānī, who variously describe them as musicians and dancers, vagabonds, thieves and prostitutes.

In modern times, the general term for the gipsies in Iran is *kawlī*, but a wide variety of names are used locally. Apart from those listed earlier, the following may be mentioned: *alwāṭ*, *ghurbatū*, *gīlānī*, *ḥarāmī*, *kulīlānī* (Zandjān), *lawand*, *tūshmāl*, *yūt* and *zangana*. No up-to-date population statistics are available, but such information as there is suggests that the figures quoted by Sykes must by now be considerably reduced. The main centres are still Fārs, Arāk and Ādharbāydjān. Dhukā' quotes some notes by Fīrūz Bāḳirzāda on a group of *kawlī*s settled in Kūt ʿAbd Allāh (10 km. south of Ahwāz) since the turn of the century. According to Mughdam, the *ghurbat*s of the Wafs area (between Hamadān and Arāk) spend five months on the land and seven travelling (*dawra-gardī*). They do not give their daughters in marriage outside the tribe, but apparently may take non-*kawlī* wives. The main present-day occupations of the gipsies of Iran, as elsewhere, include basket-making, tinkering, singing and dancing, magic, fortune-telling and making of spells and charms.

Bibliography: Don Juan of Persia, *Relaciones*, Valladolid 1604, 17 (on the looseness of gipsy morals), Eng. tr. G. Le Strange, London 1926, 57; Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East*, London 1819-23, i, 309; iii, 400, 405 (the Ḳaračī of Tabrīz); Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, etc.*, London 1822, ii, 528-32 (the Ḳaračī near Marāgha); *Die Zigeuner in Persien und Indien*, in *Das Ausland*, Munich 1833, 163-4; Bataillard, *Nouvelles recherches sur l'apparition et la dispersion des Bohémiens ... avec un appendice sur l'immigration en Perse entre les années 420 et 440 de dix à douze mille Louri, Zutt et Djatt de l'Inde*, Paris 1849, 1-48 (first publ. in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 3rd series, i, 14-55); Newbold, *The gipsies of Egypt*,

in *JRAS*, xvi (1856), 285-312 (309-11: *gipsies of Persia*); Comte de Gobineau, *Die Wanderstämme Persiens*, in *ZDMG*, xi (1857), 689-99 (cf. the correspondence of Mérimée in the *Revue des deux mondes* of 15 October 1902, 733); Sir George Grierson, *Arabic and Persian references to gipsies*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xvi (Bombay 1887), 257-8 (reprinted in *Jnal. of the Gipsy Lore Soc.*, i [Edinburgh 1889], 71-6, with the title *Ḍoms, Jats and the origin of the gipsies*); R. Burton, *The Jew, the Gipsy and El-Islam*, London 1898, 215-17: *The Jats of Belochistan*; 217-19: *The Gipsies of Persia*; P. M. Sykes, *Anthropological notes on Southern Persia*, in *J. Anthrop. Inst. of Gr. Britain*, xxxii (1902), 339-49 (345-9: "Gurbati" vocabulary; 350-2: notes by M. Longworth Dames); P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 436-9 with a photograph; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, Leiden 1903, 40, 48, 63; J. de Morgan, *Miss. scient. en Perse*. v. *Études linguistiques*, Paris 1903, 304-7: 233 words of the Djūgī (= Khoshnishīn) tribe; 91 words of the Gāodari tribe, collected in the province of Astarābād; Sykes, *The gipsies of Persia, a second vocabulary*, in *JAIGB*, xxxvi (1906), 302-11: 96 words from Djiruft and Sirdjān; idem, *Notes on musical instruments in Khorasan with special reference to the Gipsies*, in *Man*, ix (London 1909), 161-4; W. Ivanow, *On the language of the gipsies of Qaināt* (*Khorāsān*), in *JSAB*, x (1913), nos. 10-11, 439-55; idem, *Further notes on gipsies in Persia*, in *JASB*, xvi (1920), no. 7, 281-91 (corrections to the preceding article, 95 words collected in Nīshāpūr, Sabzawār, etc.); idem, in *JASB*, xviii (1922), 376-83; idem, *Notes on the ethnology of Khurasan*, in *Geogr. Journal* (February 1926), 156-7; J. Sampson, *On the origin and early migrations of the gipsies*, in *JGLS* (1923), 156-70. Cf. also in ibid. the following articles: de Goeje and Sampson, *The gipsies of Persia*, 1907, 181-3 (à propos of Sykes, 1906); Groome, *Persian and Syrian gipsies*, 1909, 21-7 (Ḳaračí vocabulary from Ouseley); W. T. Thomson, *The Soozmanee: are they gipsies?* 1909, 275-6; Sykes, *Persian Jats*, 1910, 320; Sinclair and Ranking, 1911, 69-70, 235 (à propos of Sykes, 1909); Sykes, *The Shah's runners*; Sinclair, *Gipsy tattooing in Persia, etc.*; H. Field, *Contributions to the anthropology of Iran*, Chicago 1939, *passim*; M. H., *Sūzmānī yaʿnī čih?*, in *Dānish*, i/5 (1949), 299; Mahmid Mughdam, *Gūyish-hā-yi Wafs wa Āshtiyān wa Tafrish*, in *Īrān Kūda*, xi (1949), 23-4; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, in *Indo-Iranica*, vi/1 (1952), 11-21; Yaḥyā Dhukāʾ, *Kawlī wa zandagī-yi u*, Tehran 1958; *Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā*, fasc. *lām*, s.v. *Lūlī*, *Lūliyān*.

(V. Minorsky — [L. P. Elwell-Sutton])

LUʾLUʾ (pls. *laʾāliʾ*, *laʾālī*, the pearl. The word is often used as a synonym of al-durr [*q.v.*], and the difference in meaning between the two cannot be defined with precision. With coral and amber, the pearl belongs to the organic products associated, however—as is still the case in our days—with the precious stones (*djawāhir*), and thus with the minerals (*maʿādin*). Yet the difference between the pearl and the real minerals was well-known: the former changes quickly because it is of animal origin (al-Akfānī, in Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 845). In the same way, the Jews in antiquity had considered the pearl as belonging to the minerals, but since the Tannaitic period to animal products (I. Löw, *Fauna und Mineralien der Juden*, ed. A. Scheiber, Hildesheim 1969, 227). Ibn Māsawayh, *Djawāhir*, 24 f., enumerates 27 varieties of precious stones, among which come the *luʾluʾ* as the first, the *yāḳūt* (ruby), the *zumurrud* (emerald), the *mās* (diamond), etc. Al-Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 81, declares that there were "originally" (*fi 'l-aṣl*) only three precious stones, namely the *yāḳūt*, *zumurrud* and *luʾluʾ*. Elsewhere (105) he says that the *luʾluʾ* consists of two kinds of pearls, a bigger one (*durr*) and a smaller one (*murdjān*). Likewise al-Tīfāshī, *Azhār*, 242, who adds that *djawhar*, *djumān* and *shadhr* are synonyms of the pearl in general, while *durr*, *ḥabb* and *kharīda* indicate the unpierced pearl and *luʾluʾ* the pierced one. Terminology is, however, fluctuating; for further details, see the *Bibl.*

The authors mentioned above also describe in fair detail the various kinds of *luʾluʾ* according to colour (white, yellow, lead- or ivory-coloured), form (globular, oblong, olive- or turnip-shaped, conical, flattened, almond-shaped, notched), size, structure (various shells), compactness, consistency, weight and value, its changes by means of external influences (oils, all acid reagents, in particular still lemonade, and further, the heat of fire and friction against coarse objects), and finally, the places of its discovery, pearl-fishing and trade. Al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 134-7, moreover, has an interesting chapter on causes and elimination of worthlessness or faultiness of pearls. On the innermost layer of the pearl-oyster's shell, the so-called mother-of-pearl, see ṣadaf. All those qualities of the pearl have their own very specific nomenclature, based on close observation. The calculation of the specific gravity of the pearl was amazingly accurate (according to al-Khāzinī in Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 123). Even the formation of the pearl is explained correctly, namely by the infiltration of parasitic foreign bodies, bringing about growths which then solidify into pearls. At the same time, however, the curious fable held currency according to which pearls originate in the pearl-oyster from rain: every year the Southern Sea—the Indian Ocean—is agitated by heavy storms which force the pearl-oyster to emerge at the surface, where its two valves open and take in the rain. After that, the oyster snaps the two halves closed and dives to the bottom of the sea; from the rain-water, a precious stone grows like an embryo in the womb (al-Tamīmī, *Murshid*, 35-8; *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des . . . al-Ḳazwīnī*, tr. J. Ruska, *Beilage zum Jahresbericht 1895/96 der prov. Oberrealschule Heidelberg*, 21 f., s.v. *durr*), or, according to the majority of the scientists, like the egg in oviparous animals (al-Akfānī, *Nukhab al-dhakhāʾir fī aḥwāl al-djawāhir*, in Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 843).

For the finding-places of pearls and their recovery, see al-durr. Plentiful material is also to be found in the extensive lemma *luʾluʾ* in *WKAS*, ii, 45-50, containing a well-arranged synopsis of pieces of evidence for the metaphorical use of the word: the pearl is compared with teeth, tears, dew- and rain-drops, small bubbles, with the goblet, with words and poems, letters, wisdom, boys, girls or women, with a face, with gazelles, flowers or blossoms, stars, currants, etc. The word appears also extraordinarily often in book-titles with an ornamental, metaphorical or metonymic meaning, mostly as "head title" before the real title, which is introduced with *fī*, see *GAL* S III, 919 (*ʿiḳd al-laʾālī*), 944 (*laʾālī*), 949 (*luʾluʾ*), 1083 f. (*simṭ*); the indexes to the separate volumes of Sezgin, *GAS*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Yaltkaya, ii, 1534 f., 1570 f.; Ismāʿīl Bāshā, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, 396 f., 416 f.

Apparently a word for pearl-trader cannot be derived from *durr*, but only from *lu'lu'*: *la''āl* or *la''ā'* (*WKAS*, ii, 50).

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LU'LU' ("pearl"), a noun often given as proper name to a person of servile origin, a guard or an officer or a leader of a special body of *ghulāms* [*q.v.*] in the service of a prince. Thus a Lu'lu' was the *ghulām* of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 69 = § 3196); a Lu'lu' was chief of police in Baghdād in 324/935-6 (Miskawayh, i, 351); another was governor of Ḥimṣ for the Ikhshīd, and it was he who was to capture al-Mutanabbī when the latter proclaimed himself a prophet and attracted a numerous following of partisans in the Syrian desert (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Būlāḳ, 1299, i, 44).

LU'LU' AL-KABĪR ("the elder" or "the senior") AL-DJARRĀḤĪ AL-SAYFĪ played an important role at the court of the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo. The *nisba* al-Sayfī indicates that he was in the service of Sayf al-Dawla, and in fact he is seen, during the reign of the latter, in 355/965, participating with the *ghāzīs* [*q.v.*] of Khurāsān in an expedition mounted from Antioch against the town of Miṣṣīṣa (Mopsuestia); the *nisba* al-Djarrāḥī suggests that he also served, before the Ḥamdānid prince, one of the members of the family of Djarrāḥids [*q.v.*], but the historians give us no information on this point.

As chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) of the Ḥamdānid Abu 'l-Maʿālī Saʿd al-Dawla, who on his death-bed (381/991) committed his son Abu 'l-Faḍā'il to his care (cf. Bar Hebraeus, ed. Ṣālḥānī, Beirut 1890, 309, and *Chronography*, 179), Lu'lu' played his part, with other *ghulāms*, in having Abu 'l-Faḍā'il recognised as successor to the emirate of Abu 'l-Maʿālī. He subsequently acquired a position of even greater importance through his daughter's marriage to Abu 'l-Faḍā'il.

In the difficult situation facing the *amīr* of Aleppo, threatened by the commander of the Fāṭimid troops, Bandjūtekīn (Mandjūtekīn) and by Fāṭimid ambitions, Lu'lu' followed a policy of caution, recalling the troops which Abu 'l-Faḍā'il had sent to the south and avoiding further conflict with the Fāṭimids. When Bandjūtekīn came, in Rabīʿ II 383/May-June 993 and laid siege to Aleppo, Saʿīd al-Dawla and Lu'lu' appealed for help to Byzantium, which, since the treaty of 359/996, had exercised a kind of protectorate over the emirate of Aleppo. As Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī expressed it (*PO*, xxiii/3, 442) they "threw themselves at the feet" of the Byzantines. The emperor sent the governor of Antioch, Bourtzes (Burdjī) with troops, but Bandjūtekīn drove them away and continued the siege which lasted until the beginning of 995. Lu'lu' sent another appeal for help to the emperor Basil II, who arrived in person with 13,000 men and forced Bandjūtekīn to raise the siege. Generously, the emperor excused Abu 'l-Faḍā'il from the payment of the tribute which the emirate had been giving to the Byzantines since the treaty of 359/969. In confrontation with Bandjūtekīn, to whom Abu 'l-Faḍā'il was prepared to surrender Aleppo, Lu'lu' showed himself more resolute than his master. He played an increasingly influential role in the conduct of affairs.

In 386/996, he persuaded Abu 'l-Faḍā'il to deal severely with the rebel governor of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, who subsequently went over to the Fāṭimid camp. In 388/998-9, Lu'lu' and Abu 'l-Faḍā'il made an attempt at capturing Apameia, which was relieved by the Duke of Antioch Damien Dalassenos (Yaḥyā, *PO*, xxiii, 455-6). In Ṣafar 392/December-January 1002, Saʿīd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Faḍā'il died, and Lu'lu' assumed full power, not hesitating to rid himself of the two sons of Saʿīd al-Dawla, whom he banished to Egypt, and destroying some fortresses in the territory of Aleppo to prevent his enemies from installing themselves there. Furthermore, in order to maintain good relations with Byzantium, he ordered the imprisonment in the citadel of Aleppo of an adventurer named al-Aṣfar who dreamed of renewing the holy war against Byzantium, which was a prospect deeply worrying the emperor. Al-Aṣfar had been a fugitive in Djazīra, but the governor of this province, al-Waththāb, handed him over to Lu'lu', thus putting an end to his activities (see Yaḥyā, *PO*, xxiii/3, 466-7). Lu'lu' continued to pay tribute to Byzantium and died in 399/1009-9. His son al-Manṣūr exercised power in Aleppo, but he was little more than a governor under the Fāṭimids.

The character of Lu'lu' presents some favourable aspects, some which are less so. Loyal and courageous, he saved the life of Saʿīd al-Dawla in the battle which the latter was obliged to fight against Bakdjūr, his rebellious *ḥādjib* who had ambitions to take over control of Aleppo. Taking the place of Saʿīd al-Dawla next to the standard, and accepting the blows intended for the prince, he assured his victory. But according to a tradition related by Kamāl al-Dīn, Saʿīd al-Dawla was poisoned by one of his concubines at the instigation of Lu'lu'. Lu'lu' presents the image of a slave (*ghulām*) who, by his energy and ability, and favoured by external events, succeeds in hoisting himself up to a position of supremacy over an emirate, admittedly an emirate of secondary importance. It could be said that he prefigures in the 5th/11th century what various of the Mamlūks of Egypt were later to become on a larger scale.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Ibn al-Athīr, under the years indicated; Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Histoire d'Alep*, ed. Sami Dahan, Damascus 1953, i, 185, 189-92, 195-8, 209; Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, iii, 210, 212-13, 216, 221; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *loc. cit.* See further Rosen, *Basile le Bulgaroctone* (based on Yaḥyā and Kamāl al-Dīn), 32, 39, 44, 50, 238, 242-7, 251-3, 258-62, 264, 307, 310, 342, 357; Canard, *H'amdânides*, 688-92, 694-9, 703-13, 855, 859 (index in *Arabica*, xvii/3 [1971]). (M. CANARD)

LU'LU', Badr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍā'il al-Malik al-Raḥīm, a freedman, possibly black, of the last Zangids of Mosul, whose régime he prolonged. Designated by Arslān Shāh I on his death in 607/1210-1 as regent of the principality for his young son al-Ḳāhir, then by the latter (d. 615/1218) for his infant son, Arslān Shāh II, he was officially designated, with a caliphal diploma, as lord in 629/1232. The chronicles mention him especially for his interminable minor clashes with the lesser surviving Zangids and their Muẓaffarid allies from Irbil; he had, on the other hand, the support of the Ayyūbid al-Ashraf, all this interfering with the intrigues of the Khwārazm-Shāhs and first Mongol detachments. Later, he fought with al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb in Djazīra and then with al-Nāṣir of Aleppo. In all these clashes, he appears far less as a successful military leader than as an astute diplomat. This ability and his longevity resulted in his being regarded as a power; it is for having wanted to marry his daughter that the first Mamlūk Sultan, al-Muʿizz, was assassinated by his wife, Shadjar al-Durr. The last days of Lu'lu' were clouded, however, by the Mongol invasion; after the fall of Baghdād and the caliphate, he succeeded in keeping Mosul as a vassal of Hūlāgū. He died in 657/1259, aged about 80. His sons soon had to renounce the succession and flee to Baybars in Egypt.

The chronicles tell us nothing of Lu'lu''s internal administration. We know, however, that Mosul attained in this period a notable role as a craft (copperwork), commercial and cultural centre. The people from Mosul who are several times mentioned in Acre under Latin domination are possibly Christians, a large number of whom survived in Upper Mesopotamia. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (*q.v.*) may have written his history of the Atabeks with the encouragement of Lu'lu'.

Bibliography: All the chronicles of the Ayyūbid period: Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī and his continuator Yūnīnī, Ibn Wāṣil (4 vols. published), al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd, Ibn Shaddād (*al-Aʿlāḳ*), section on al-Djazīra published Damascus 1979), the Christian Abu 'l-Faradj Bar Hebraeus (all editions provided with an index). Inscriptions: *RCEA*, 4180 (?), 4229, 4289-95, according to M. van Berchem, *Monuments et inscriptions de l'atabek Lu'lu' de Mossoul*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, i, Giessen 1906, 197-210, repr. in *Opera minora*, ed. A. Louca, Geneva 1978, ii, 660-72. Coins: Zambaur, *Nouvelles contributions à la numismatique orientale*, in *Wiener Numism. Zeitung*, xlvii (1914); M. Mitchiner, *Oriental coins*, in *The World of Islam*, nos. 1130-1. (Cl. Cahen)

LUR (in Persian *Lor* with *o* short), an Iranian people living in the mountains in south-western Persia. As in the case of the Kurds, the principal link among the four branches of the Lurs (Mamāsanī, Kūhgīlū'ī, Bakhtiyārī and Lurs proper) is that of language. The special character of the Lur dialects suggests that the country was Iranicised from Persia and not from Media. On the ancient peoples, who have disappeared, become Iranicised or absorbed in different parts of Luristān, see luristān.

The name. Local tradition (*Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*) connects the name of the Lurs with the place Lur in the defile of Mān-rūd. This tradition is perhaps based on a memory of the town al-Lūr mentioned by the early Arab geographers (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 195, etc.), the name of which survives in Ṣaḥrā-yi Lur (to the north of Dizfūl). There are several other place-names resembling Lur, namely Līr, a district of Djunday-Sābūr (Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 666; cf. the Kūhgīlū'ī tribe: Līrāwī), which may be to Lur what *pīl* in Lurī is to *pūl* "money" in Persian; Lurdjān (Yāḳūt: Lurdadjān, now Lurdagān) according to Iṣṭakhrī, capital of the canton of Sardan (between Kūh-Gīlū and the Bakhtiyārīs) and lastly there is a place called Lurt (Lort) near Ṣaymara.

Al-Masʿūdī alone, in his list of "Kurd" tribes speaks of the Lurriyya tribe (which may mean the Lurs connected with the district of al-Lur). In the 7th/13th century Yāḳūt uses the names Lūr, Lurr, to mean the "Kurd tribe living in the mountains between Khūzistān and Iṣfahān"; he calls the country inhabited by it *bilād al-Lur*, or Luristān.

These facts show the stages of evolution of the geographical term (perhaps pre-Iranian) into an ethnic name. If however we seek an Iranian etymology for the name Lūr, its connection with the first element in Luhr-asp (already proposed by von Bode) at once suggests itself. According to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 183, Luhr is explained by **rudhra* "red". The place-name Rūr in Yāḳūt may supply an intermediary form. The *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda* gives a popular etymology *Lur* = *lir* "wooded hill" in Lurī.

Ethnology. If the linguistic data connect the Lurs with Fārs, local tradition only regards as true Lurs the tribes who came from the defile of Mān-rūd. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, 539, 547, there is in the *wilāyet* of Mān-rūd a village called Kurd, near which there is a defile. The place called Lur is situated in this *kūl* (the word means in Lurī a "little ravine", cf. O. Mann). The name Mān-rūd much resembles that of Mādiyān-rūd (the word *mādiyān* is found as *mān*/*mūn* in Lurī; Zhukovski, iii, 158) but certain historical considerations make us look for it near Māngarra-Mūngarra (cf. *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, 548, on the place lying between Mān-rūd, Samhā and Māngarra). The clans (*gurūh*) of the natives of Kūl-i Mān-rūd were later called after the places where they had settled, like the Djangrū'ī (Čangrū'ī, Djangardī) and the Ūtarī (Aztarī). The governing family of the Atābegs of Little Lur belonged to the Djangrawī (the name of their clan is Salbūrī, Salghūrī; the names Salwīzī in *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 369, Sallwarzī in ʿAlī Ḥazīn, *Tadhkira*, 135, and Salawarzī in Houtum-Schindler are to be corrected). The *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda* concludes by enumerating the 8 clans (*shuʿab*) of the two principal *gurūh* and the 18 other tribes (*aḳwām*) of the Lurs.

A few names (Māngarra, Anārakī, Djūdakī) correspond to modern names. Finally, four clans are mentioned: Sāhī (Sāmī), Arsān (Asbān, Asān), Arkī and Bīhī, who, although speaking Lurī, are not Lurs; the people of the other villages of Mānrūd were peasants (*rūstā'ī*).

In *ca.* 500/1106, a hundred (or 400) Faḍlawī Kurd families arrived from Syria. They came by the north (Shuturān-Kūh) and settled at first on the lands of the Khūrshīdī *wazīrs* (see lur-i kūčik; and cf. *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 70, under the word *girdlākh*). At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, new tribes flocked to the standards of Hazārasp of the Great Lur. Among them were two Arab tribes: ʿUkaylī (ʿAkīlī; cf. the place of this name below Shūshtar), a Hāshimī one, and 28 different tribes (*mutafarriḳa*), among whom we find the Bakhtiyārī (Mukhtārī), the Djawānikī (Marāsilī), the Gōtwand (cf. the village near Shūshtar), the Djākī, the Līrāwī, the Mamāsatī (Mamāsanī ?), etc. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i, 26), all these tribes also came from Syria. These waves of immigration must have had a considerable effect on the ethnic composition of the Great Lur.

It is probable that the immigrants were Kurds and that traces of them still survived among the Kurds whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 21-30) found at the beginning of the 8th/14th century near Bahbahān and Rām Hurmūz when on his way to the capital of the Grand Lur. There has long been a village of Kurdistān on the Djarrāhī and it had even given its name to this river. Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 330-2) mentions the existence of Lurs in Syria and Egypt and tells how Saladin (564-89/1169-93), alarmed by their dangerous ability to climb the steepest ramparts, had them massacred en masse. This anecdote throws a light on the causes which produced the arrival in (? return to) Luristān about 600 A.H. of numerous Iranian tribes.

The southern part of Little Lur was exposed to infiltration by Kurds, especially through the valley of Karkha (cf. LAK; just to the north of Susa is a tree *dār-i Bābū*, bearing the name of a clan of the Kurd tribe of Djuzkān, celebrated in the history of the Ḥasanwayhids [*q.v.*]; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 146, 219) and exposed to Turkish and Mongol invasions (cf. the desperate fighting of the Atābegs of the Lur-i Kūčik against the Bayāt and Aywa [= Bahārlu?] Turks).

In the Ṣafawid period, Turkish tribes were introduced into Luristān from the direction of the Kūh-Gīlū (where traces of them still exist), and Georgian and Armenian colonies to the north of the Bakhtiyārī country. On the movements of the population under Nādir, the Zands and Ḳādjārs, see below. The ethnic situation gradually stabilised at the beginning of the 19th century.

The names of the Lur tribes and groups are now quite well-known, and as we have lists going from 1836 to 1922, a comparison enables us to note the changes that have taken place meanwhile. Regroupings seem to be taking place more rapidly among the Lurs than among the Kurds, but the general framework of the tribal grouping remains essentially the same.

In 1881 (Curzon, ii, 274), there were 421,000 Lurs, of whom 170,000 were Bakhtiyārī, 41,000 Kūh-Gīlū, and 210,000 Faylī. According to Rabino, this last section numbered in 1904 31,650 tents (or 130,000 individuals) in Pīsh-Kuh, and 10,000 tents (or 50,000 individuals) in Pusht-i Kuh (this last figure seems too low).

The Mamāsanī (Mamassanī) group includes 4 main tribes: the Bakash, Djāwīdī (Djāwī), Dushmanziyārī and Rustamī [see SHŪLISTĀN in *EI*[1]]. The Kūh-Gīlū group (Kūh-Gālū) includes three large tribes (Aḳādjarī, Bawī and Djāki). The first of these tribes (cf. the name of the old Turkish tribe of Aghadjārī) is of a composite character, for of its nine clans four (Afshar, Begdālī, Čaghatay and Ḳara-Bāghlī) are Turkish (evidently the remains of the Shāh-Sewen, to whom the government of Kūh-Gīlū had been given under the Ṣafawīs) and a fifth clan (Tilakūhī) bears the name of a district in Kurdistān of Senna [*q.v.*]. Concerning the second tribe, Bawī, O. Mann notes that it bears the name of an Arab tribe of the neighbourhood of Ahwāz; but there is also a mountain called Bawī to the south of Khurramābād. The third tribe, Djākī, is purely Lur and is composed of two main sections: Čārbunīča and Līrāwī with very many subdivisions. This threefold composition of the Kūh-Gīlū group is typical of many of the Lur tribes.

As to the Bakhtiyārī, Sawyer as long ago as 1894 said that their territory was "thoroughly surveyed on a scale of 8 miles to the inch, nearly every tribe visited in their own encampment, everything appertaining to the Bakhtiaris may now be said to be known". But Curzon's tables (1890) are still the last word available to the student. Of the two Bakhtiyārī groups, Čahār-lang and Haft-lang, the latter is the more important at the present day. The Čahār-lang, who used to be in the south, are now mainly on the outskirts in the district north of the northern barrier (between Burūdjird and Gulpāyagān).

The main groups of Lur are: Tarhān, Dilfān, Silsila (cf. LAK) and Bālā-girīwa. The tribes of the last group are the Lurs par excellence and have important subdivisions: Dirīgwand, Sagwand etc. It is possible that the Dirīgwand are the real nucleus of the Lur race. Their chiefs are called *mīr*.

In contrast to what we find among the Kurds, where the individual members of the tribe are usually much attached to their hereditary chiefs, the Lurs proper (Bālā-girīwa) are distinguished by a more democratic feeling. The power of the hereditary families of *khāns* is based on their "guard" (*ḳaytul*), but this power is considerably reduced by the authority of the chiefs of the clans (*tushmāl*). The *khāns* are forced to court the favours of these wild, petty chiefs (Edmonds: "uncouth headmen"); the latter are amenable to the solicitations of their neighbours, and in this way the tribes are broken up and new groupings take place.

Little is known of the ethnology of the Lurs. The notes of Duhousset (who commanded a Lur regiment in 1859), *Études sur la population de la Perse*, 23, of Khanikoff, *Mém. sur l'ethnographie de la Perse*, Paris 1866, 15, 110, 138, and of Danilov, only touch the surface of the subject. Duhousset particularly notes the peculiar (compressed) form of the skull of the Lurs. Edmonds emphasises the difference between the Lurs and the Laks; the latter are taller, have purer features and aquiline noses. Their women are more beautiful than those of the Lurs. The hair of the Lurs is often chestnut-coloured; very heavily bearded men are found among the Lurs (the Persians call Luristān *maʿdān-i rish*, "mine of beards"). The women do not seem to have such liberty among the Lurs as among the Kurds. According to Edmonds, there are no cases among the Kurds of women acting as chiefs of tribes. But von Hammer (ii, 239) mentions under the year 1725 the warlike exploits of the two daughters of the Walī ʿAlī Mardān Khān.

The domestic life and manners of the Bakhtiyāris have found enthusiastic panegyrists in Layard, Mrs. Bishop and Cooper in his *Grass*, New York 1925. On the other hand, the Lurs have been very severely judged by most travellers, cf. Edmonds, in *Geogr. Jnal.* (1922) (*ibid.*, the speech of General Douglas, who was wounded by the Lurs in 1904).

Bibliography: for the Mamāsanī (cf. SHŪLISTĀN in *EI*[1]) and the Kūh-Gīlū, cf. especially Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, on which are based Demorgny, *Les tribus du Fars*, in *RMM*, xxii (1913), and B. Miller, *Kočevlye plemena Farsa*, in *Vost. Sbornik*, St. Petersburg, ii (1916), 213-18. Cf. also the lists in Bode, Layard, Sheil, Baring etc. (summed up in Curzon, *Persia*, ii, 317) and those of O. Mann, *Die Mundarten d. Lur-Stämme*, pp. xv-xxi. For the Bakhtiyārī: H. Rawlinson, *A march from Zohab*, 102-6 (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 210-15); A. H. Layard, *Description of Khuzistan*, and especially *Early adventures*; Curzon, *Persia*, ii, 286-8. For the Lurs: the lists of Rawlinson (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, iv, 215-19), Bode, Layard, Čirikov, Houtum-Schindler, O. Mann, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii, and especially the articles by Rabino, in

RMM (1916), and C. J. Edmonds, in *Geogr. Jnal.* (1922).

Religion. The Christian and Jewish colonies (cf. the evidence of Benjamin of Tudela) settled in the village of Karkhā since the Sāsānid period may have left some traces in the country. A very curious tradition is the story of the conversion of the Bakhtiyārīs to Christianity in the time of Constantine the Great (?) (Hanway, ii, 168). A mention in the *Ta'rīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, GMS, xvi/2, 216, shows that in 650/1252 the *mulḥids* (Ismāʿīlīs) had gained a footing around Gird-Kūh. The Ḥurūfī heresy had probably also a following in Luristān, for the *murīd* of its founder Faḍl Allāh, who attempted the life of Sulṭān Shāhrukh in 830/1427, was called Aḥmad Lur (Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, iii, 366). In the Ṣafawid period, the *wālīs* of the Little Lur claimed descent from ʿAbbās, son of the caliph ʿAlī, whose tomb is shown near Sīrwān (Māsabadhān); cf. Rawlinson, in Ritter, ix, 402. The esoteric doctrines of the extremist Shīʿa are widespread in Luristān. The great majority of the Lak are Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] (ʿAlī-Ilāhī). The Sagwand, Pāpī and Badrā'ī tribes are also followers of this secret religion. In the belief of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, Luristān is the scene of the activities of the third avatar of the divine manifestation who is called Bābā Khōshīn and numbers among his "angels" Bābā Ṭāhir [*q.v.*]. An important sanctuary of the sect, the tomb of Shāh-zāda Aḥmad (the alleged son of the *imām* Mūsā Kāẓim), is in the district of Kūs near Bī-āw (territory of Ḳalawand) and is kept by Sayyids of the Pāpī tribe; these Sayyids wear red turbans which recalls the predilection for red of the old Muḥammira = Khurramiyya [*q.v.*], whose flags were of this colour.

The religion of the Lurs was so little orthodox, even from the Shīʿa point of view, that at the beginning of the 19th century prince Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā had to send for a *mudjtahid* to convert the tribes to Islam (Rabino, 24). All the Lur and Lak tribes are officially Shīʿīs (contrast the attachment of the true Kurds to Sunnī orthodoxy).

Language. Down to the beginning of the 20th century, our knowledge of the Lur dialects was confined to 88 words collected by Rich, to four Bakhtiyārī verses in Layard and to some thirty words collected by Houtum-Schindler. As late as the *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, i/2, 1898-1901, 249, we find the thesis stated that Lurī is closely related to Kurdish and may even be described as one of its dialects. The materials of Zhukovski (collected in 1883-6) were finally published the day after the death of the author (d. 4 December 1918). The merit therefore of having first established the important fact that Kurdish and Lurī are quite separate ("eine tiefgehende Scheidung des Kurdischen vom Lurī") is due to O. Mann. This scholar has shown that although there are Kurd tribes in Luristān [see LAK], the true Lurs speak dialects which belong undoubtedly to the south-western Iranian group (like Persian and the dialects of Fārs) and not to the north-western group (like Kurdish and the "central" dialects).

The Lurī dialects which have none of the asperities of Kurdish [see KURDS] fall into two categories. To the first belong the dialects of the Great Lur: Mamāsanī, Kūhgīlū and Bakhtiyārī (the latter has a few insignificant peculiarities of its own); to the second belong the dialects of the Little Lur, i.e. of the Faylī Lurs.

Even the first group possesses very few special features compared with modern Persian. From the point of view of phonetics: *-am* at the end of a word becomes *-om*, *-um* (*mikunām*/*īkunom*; *ādām*/*ādhom*); *ū* changes into *ī*: *pūl*/*pīl*; intervocalic *d* gives *dh* (*y*): *midihām*/*īdhim*; the combination *-kht* *-ft* give *-hdh* and *-ht* (*t*): *dukhtār*/*duhdhār*, *rāft*/*rāht*; initial *kh* becomes *h*: *khānā*/*honā*, etc. Peculiar to Bakhtiyārī are the change of intervocalic *m* to *v*: *djūwā* > *djāmā* and the occasional change of *sh* to *s*: *isā* > *ishān*. It is remarkable that some of these phonetical peculiarities were long ago noted by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, 537-8). He says that Lurī (although full of Arabic words) does not have the peculiarly Arabic sounds, like *kh*, *sh*, *gh*, *f* and *ḳ*. Inflection: Plural in *-gāl*, *-yāl*, *-āl*, e.g. *ānhā*, *āngāl*; accusative in *-ā*, *-nā* instead of *rā*: *yūnā got* = *īnrā-guft*; formation of the present: *ī-* instead of Persian *mī-*; first Persian plural ending in *-īmū(n)*: *ikhārīmū(n)* = *mikhārim*. Lurī usually forms the preterite of active verbs as in Persian with the help of personal endings (active construction) and not like Kurdish and the majority of Persian dialects (including those of Fārs) which give the preterite a passive construction. Vocabulary. In the present and preterite stems, Lurī usually follows Persian, but we find stems and words unknown in Persian: *īwānum*, *wāndum*, "to throw"; *tār-*, *itārom*, "to be able"; *tīa*, "eye", etc. From the Mongol period, Lurī has kept several expressions like: *tushmāl*, "chief of a clan", in Mongol, *tüshümel*, "official"; *ḳaytul*, "guard of the khān", in Eastern Turkī "camp, laager", cf. Budagov, ii, 102; *kūrān*, "encampment", in Mongol, *küren*, "camp, tent".

As to the Faylī group, their dialect differs very little from ordinary Persian (Mann: "weiter nichts als ein stark abgeschliffenes Persisch").

There are in Luristān a few islands of Kurds of some importance. Such are in the north the Lak tribes [*q.v.*]. Among the Faylī, the Mahkī group (on the frontier of Kirmānshāh, at Hulaylān, and farther south) speaks a southern Kurdish dialect like that of the Kalhur. The Kurdishūhān group (to the south of Pusht-i Kūh) speaks a "Kurmandjī" Kurdish. Linguistic conditions in the Pusht-i Kūh still require further study.

Bibliography: P. Lerch, *Izslědovaniya*, iii, pp. xi-xiv (German tr., *Forschungen*, ii); O. Mann, *Kurze Skizze der Lurdialecte*, in *SB Pr. AW* (1904), 1173-93; O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme im süd-west. Persien*, in *Kurd.-Persische Forschungen*, Berlin 1910, ii (bibliography, list of tribes, Mamāsanī, Kūh-gālū'ī, Bakhtiyārī and Faylī texts); D. L. R. Lorimer, *The phonology of the Bakhtiari*, London 1922; V. A. Zhukovski, *Materiall dl'a izuč. pers. narečii*, iii: dialects of the Bakhtiyārī Čarlang and Haftlang, Petrograd 1922 (texts collected in 1883-6, vocabularies Bakhtiyārī-Russian and Russian-Bakhtiyārī); K. Hadank, in the preface to O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, Berlin 1926, ii/1. On the Mamāsanī and Kūh-gālū'ī materials of Romaskevič, cf. *Bull. Acad. de Russie* (1919), 452.

Literature. The Lur tribes and especially the Bakhtiyārīs have a rich popular literature, fairy tales, epic fragments, celebrating the exploits of their heroes (like Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Čar-Lang and Ḥādjdjī Ilkhānī Haft-Lang), lyrics, songs sung at marriages (*wāsīnak*) and cradle-songs (*lālā'ī*). These pieces are often pretty and full of sentiment; cf. the collections by O. Mann and Zhukovski (the latter published an article on Persian and Bakhtiyārī lullabies in the *Zhurn. Min. Narodn. Prosveshč* [Jan. 1889]); D. L. R. Lorimer and E. O. Lorimer, *Persian*

tales, London 1919, 197-351; eidem, *Bakhtiari tales* (translations only).

There are also Lurī poets writing in the established literary forms: Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān Haft-Lang (killed in 1882), Nadjmā Mamāsanī, Daftarī, Fāyiḍ (still alive in 1902), Īzadī (d. 1905), ʿAlī Aṣghar Khān Nihāwandī (cf. O. Mann). A *Miʿradj-nāma-yi Bakhtiyārī* by Shaykh ʿAlī Akbar Muʿammam was lithographed at Tehran in 1314. A *ghazal* by Mullā Zulf ʿAlī Kurrānī was published by N. Y. Marr in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. de l'U.R.S.S.* (1922), 55-8; according to Marr, a *tadhkira* of Bakhtiyārī poets compiled by ʿUmmān-i Sāmānī is in the library of Sālār-i Fātiḥ. Another similar *tadhkira* comes from the pen of Aḥmadī-yi Bakhtiyārī.

History. On the participation of the tribes of Khūzistān and Fārs in the fighting between Arabs and Persians in the early centuries of the Hidjra, see KURDS. The caliphs interfered directly in the affairs of the country, especially in Lur-i Kūčik [*q.v.*]. The fortunes of the Lurs were more closely associated with the Iranian dynasties ruling in Khūzistān, at Shīrāz, Iṣfahān, Hamadān and in the Zagros, sc. the Ṣaffarids, Būyids, Kākwayhids, Ḥasanwayhids and their successors of the family of Abu 'l-Shawk [see ʿANNĀZIDS].

We have coins of the Būyids struck at Īdhadj (Codrington). In 323/935 the Būyid army marched through Luristān (Sūs-Shāpūr-Khʷāst-Karadj). The Ḥasanwayhid Kurds, whose capital was at Sarmādj (south of Bīsutūn), extended their dominions into the valley of the Karkhā. Shāpūr-Khʷāst (= Khurramābād) formed part of their possessions about 400/1009 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 89; *Tadjārib al-umam*, ed. Amedroz, ii, 291, iii, 451). The Kākwayhid Garshāsp sustained a siege by the Saldjūḳs in Shāpūr-Khʷāst (434/1042). The *amīrs* of this last dynasty later settled in northern Luristān: the family of Zangī b. Bursuḳ in Shāpūr-Khʷāst before 499/1105. Ḥusām al-Dīn Alp-Ḳush at Dizh-i Māhkī on the Karkhā before 549/1154 (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Iqbál, 285). A Turk Ḥusām al-Dīn Shūhla or Aḳsarī is mentioned as lord of Luristān and of a part of Khūzistān between 547/1152 and 570/1174-5. A long inscription (Kūfic?) on a stele near Khurramābād is still undeciphered (cf. a copy in von Bode, ii, 298; Rawlinson thought he recognised in it the name of the Atābeg Shudjāʿ al-Dīn, but according to Curzon it has an earlier date (517/1123).

In any case, all attempts from outside to subdue Luristān or to take parts of its territory affected the tribal system very little, the development of which came to a head at the coming of the Atābegs.

The principal source for the domestic history of the country is the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* (730/1330) based in turn on the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshānī (of which the Preussische Staatsbibliothek only has the first volume, no. 368 of Pertsch's *Catalogue*). The *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* (*ca.* 743/1342-3) is based on independent oral tradition, but is less accurate. The *Djahān-ārā*, although late (its author, Ḳāḍī Aḥmad, died in 975/1567-8), uses unpublished data. The *Sharaf-nāma* (1105/1596) is based on the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* or perhaps a good copy of the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*. According to these sources, which supplement the statements of the Arab geographers, the situation in Luristān about 300/912 was as follows:

The Shūl [see SHŪLISTĀN]—who are not mentioned by the Arabs before the Mongol epoch—occupied a part ("half") of Luristān. The *wilāyet* of Shūlistān proper (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 537, 539, 13) had a governor named Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar (according to the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb*, the title Nadjm al-Dīn was hereditary among the Shūl), while the Lur territory under the Shūl (probably Kūh-Gīlu) had a *pīshwā* Sayf al-Dīn Mākām whose family had been prominent in the country since the Sāsānid period; he was of the Rūzbihānī tribe, which the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* mentions among the Lur tribes. The rest of Luristān was ruled by a family of Lur princes (independent of the Shūl), of whom Badr ruled in the Great Lur and his brother Manṣūr in the Little Lur. Their dates are uncertain. Badr's successor was his grandson Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khalīl b. Badr (according to the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb*, Naṣīr al-Dīn was a nephew of Awrang [Rang] b. Muḥammad b. Hilāl). Naṣīr al-Dīn was deposed by the Faḍlawī Kurds, who founded the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Great Lur and relied for support on tribes who came from outside Luristān (cf. above, under Ethnology). The same Faḍlawī drove the Shūl out of their settlements.

We know nothing of Manṣūr, brother of the above-mentioned Badr. The tribes of Little Lur were directly under the caliphs, and in the north were subjected to the invaders. The founder (in *ca.* 580/1184) of the native dynasty of the Atābegs of Lur-i Kūčik [*q.v.*] had to dispose of a rival Surkhāb b. ʿAyyār (probably a scion of the dynasty of Abu 'l-Shawk which was called ʿAyyār/ʿAnnāz; see ʿANNĀZIDS).

The history of the two dynasties of the Atābegs is filled with feuds, murders and executions, but in domestic affairs the state of the country was fairly prosperous. The Atābegs built bridges and *madrasas* (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) and secured a peaceful existence for the inhabitants (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 550). The revenues of each of the two Atābegs were estimated at a million *dīnārs*, while each of them paid to the Mongol treasury a tribute of 91,000 *dīnārs* only (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 70).

In the interval between the Mongols and the rise of Tīmūr, the two Atābegs were vassals of the Muẓaffarids. In 788/1386 and 795/1393 Tīmūr ravaged Little Lur, but treated the Lord of Great Lur more kindly. In 795/1393 Tīmūr passed through Kūh-Gīlū and Shūlistān. The Tīmūrids consolidated their power in Luristān, and in 837/1433-4 the last Atābeg of the Great Lur disappeared.

Ṣafawid period. The lords of the Little Lur maintained their position, and by intrigue even succeeded in extending their power over the plain to the west of the mountains of Pusht-i Kūh. After the execution of Shāh-wardī Khān, Shāh ʿAbbās installed in his place a *wālī* descended from a lateral line of the old family. The possessions of this *wālī*, Ḥusayn Khān, were, however, somewhat reduced.

After the disappearance of the dynasty of the Great Lur, the power had passed to the chiefs of the tribes composing this federation. Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp we find the title of *Sardār* of the local *ulūs* conferred on Tādj-Mīr, chief of the principal clan, the Astarakī. Tādj-Mīr, having neglected his duties, was executed and replaced by Mīr Djahāngīr Bakhtiyārī (the Astarakī and Bakhtiyārī had come to Luristān after 600/1203-4; cf. *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*). Djahāngīr, under the guarantee of Shāh Rustam of the Little Lur, pledged himself to supply annually to the Ṣafawid treasury 10,000 mules. In 974/1566-7 the governor of Hamadān was sent to remind him of his obligation (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 48). Henceforth, the Bakhtiyārī tribe becomes of the first rank and, as usual, gives its name to the whole confederation.

As to the Kūh-Gīlū territory, it was governed by

Khāns of the Turkoman tribe (Shāh-Sewen) of Afshār settled among the Lurs. In 988/1580 a dervish impostor claiming to be Shāh Ismāʿīl II had a considerable success among the Djākī, Djawānikī and Bandānī tribes, who killed several Afshār governors. In 1005/1596-7, as a result of the excesses committed by the Afshār as well as by the Lurs, the governor of Fārs, Allāh-wardī Khān, established the direct centre of his government in Kūh-Gīlū (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, 198, 358).

We do not know under what circumstances at the end of the Ṣafawid dynasty (*Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*) the group of Mamāsanī tribes, who had migrated into the Great Lur (after 600/1203-4) occupied the ancient Shūlistān [*q.v.*].

After the Ṣafawids: During the troubles provoked by the appearance of the Afghāns before Iṣfahān, the *wālī* of Luristān, ʿAlī Mardān Khān Faylī (a descendant of the Ḥusayn Khān appointed by Shāh ʿAbbās), played a considerable part. With 5,000 of his men he took part in 1135/1722-3 in the defence of the capital. He was even appointed commander-in-chief of the Persian troops, but the other Khāns refused to take orders from him. When the Turks invaded Persia in 1137/1725, ʿAlī Mardān Khān abandoned Khurramābād (which was occupied by Aḥmad Pasha) and retired to Khūzistān, from which he undertook a diversion against Baghdād. The Turks who had gone through the Bakhtiyārī country and reached Fīrūzān had to retire. Cf. ʿAlī Ḥazīn, *Taʾrīkh-i aḥwāl*, ed. Balfour, London 1831, 115, 134, 137, 148, who was an eye-witness of the events; Hanway, *The revolutions of Persia*, ii 135, 159, 168, 238; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 60-1; von Bode, *Travels*, ii, 281-3; Von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 227.

About the same time, several Bakhtiyārī *khāns* (Ḳāsim Khān, Ṣafī Khān) are mentioned as resisting the Afghān and Ottoman invaders, but they did not agree well with ʿAlī Mardān Faylī. In 1137/1724 ʿAlī Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Bakhtiyārī recognised as his suzerain a certain pretender who claimed to be prince Ṣafī Mīrzā. The latter's headquarters were in Kūh-Gīlū; he was not taken till 1140/1727-8 (Hanway, ii, 168, 238; Mahdī-Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i djahāngushā-yi Nādirī*, Tabrīz 1284, French tr. Jones, London 1770, p. xxvii). The Afghāns do not seem to have penetrated into the Bakhtiyārī country, and their expedition in 1136/1724 against Kūh-Gīlū was a fiasco (Von Hammer, ii, 210; Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 449). By the treaty of 1140/1727-8, the Afghān Ashraf ceded Luristān to Turkey with other western provinces. The Turks kept it (nominally) till 1149/1736, when Nādir re-established the status quo (Hanway, ii, 254, 347; Von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 235, 317).

Under Nādir, a certain Turkoman chief named Bābā Khān Čapushlu (Čawushlu) was appointed *beglerbeg* of Luristān-i Faylī. On the other hand, ʿAlī Mardān II Faylī was entrusted by Nādir with diplomatic negotiations in Istanbul. Nādir in 1145/1732 passed through Kūh-Gīlū with his troops, where Muḥammad Khān Balūč (the claimant to Shīrāz) was defeated. The local Afshārs had to support Nādir, who was one of their tribe. Several expeditions were sent against the Bakhtiyārī, among whom a new chief ʿAlī Murād Mamīwand (Čahār-Lang) had collected together the malcontents. In 1145/1732 Bābā-Khān Čapushlu was sent against him for the first time. In 1149/1736-7 Nādir Shāh took the field against him in person, going via Djāpalaḳ and Burburūd. The Bakhtiyārī country was several times invaded, but the main blow was directed against the little-explored country south of Shuturān-kūh. ʿAlī Murād was captured and executed. The Bakhtiyārī were decimated and deported to Djām and Langar (in Khurāsān). A little later, a Bakhtiyārī detachment distinguished itself in the assault on Ḳandahār (Mahdī Khān, *op. cit.*, 116, 134, contains interesting geographical details; tr. Jones, i, 185, ii, 18; ʿAlī Ḥazīn, 231, 253; Malcolm, ii, 21).

The deported Bakhtiyārī returned from Khurāsān immediately after the death of Nādir (*Taʾrīkh-i baʿd Nādiriyya*, ed. Mann, 26), and when the dynasty of the latter was extinguished, the Bakhtiyārī chief ʿAlī Mardān Khān (who is not to be confused with the two *wālīs* of Luristān-i Faylī) attempted to play a big part. In 1163/1750, along with Karīm Khān Zand, he set up at Iṣfahān a scion of the lateral line of the Ṣafawids (Āl-i Dāwūd, under the name of Ismāʿīl III). The career of "guardian of the sovereign" acted by Nādir seemed to be certain for him also, but Karīm Khān gained the upper hand; the troops of ʿAlī Mardān, who included Lak of the tribes of Kalhur and Zangana, were defeated in 1165/1752; he escaped to Baghdād, but died there by the hand of an assassin; cf. Mīrzā Ṣādiḳ, *Taʾrīkh-i gītī-gushā*, quoted by Malcolm, ii, 61 and note *r*; Von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 475, 477; R. S. Poole, *The coins of the Shahs of Persia*, London 1887, p. xxxv; Curzon, ii, 289.

Karīm Khān [*q.v.*], who had disposed of his Bakhtiyārī rival, was himself a Lak of the tribe of Zand, settled in the immediate neighbourhood of Luristān-i Faylī. On the movements of population in his time, see KURDS and LAK. In 1200/1785, when Djaʿfar Khān Zand had to fall back on Shīrāz, a number of Lurs and of Turks assembled at Iṣfahān under former partisans of ʿAlī Murād Khān, but the town was soon occupied by Āḳā Muḥammad Ḳādjār, who had nothing better to do than attack the Bakhtiyārīs (ʿAbd al-Karīm Shīrāzī, *Taʾrīkh-i Zandiyya*, ed. Beer, 29; Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 179 ff.), which injured his popularity among the tribes.

The Lur Bakhtiyārī country was never completely assimilated during the century-and-a-half which the Ḳādjārs reigned. A résumé of the history of the Bakhtiyārīs in the 19th century has been given by Curzon in ch. xxiv of his *Persia and the Persian question*. At first the Kunurzī family, descended from the brother of ʿAlī Mardān Khān (see above), came to the front, but the expedition of the governor of Iṣfahān Manučihr Khān Muʿtamid al-Dawla (whose real name was Yenikolopov; he was an Armenian from Tiflis) in 1841 put an end to the career of the Īlkhānī Muḥammad Taḳī Khān of the Čahār Lang group, and the family did not recover. In *ca.* 1846 the Bakhtiyārwand (or Baydarwand, a family which claimed to be descended from a shepherd named Pāpī) rose to prominence in the Haft-lang group, and in spite of the assassination in 1882 of its chief Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān (Ḥādjdjī Īlkhānī) by order of the governor of Iṣfahān, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's eldest son Masʿūd Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān, under whose jurisdiction the Bakhtiyārī country fell, the family held on to its wealth and importance. The tribal khāns did, however, now fall into a period of prolonged dispute over the leadership, with two factions of the Ilkhānīs and Ḥādjdjī Ilkhānīs on one side versus the Ilbegī family on the other. Eventually, a basic principle of power-sharing between the two families was established which was to endure until 1936, when Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī placed the Bakhtiyārī country under standard Persian civil jurisdiction; until this time, the country enjoyed virtual autonomy under the

rule of the Ilkhānī and the Ilbegī. The Ilkhānī-Hādjdjī Ilkhānī group in fact enjoyed a superior financial and political position, in part because from 1899 onwards they drew an investment income from Messrs. Lynch Bros, when the Bakhtiyārī Road, connecting Ahwāz, Shushtar and Iṣfahān, was opened, and then after 1905 from oil concessions, whilst both families received subsidies from the British government during the First World War in return for Bakhtiyārī support. The Bakhtiyārīs also played a considerable role in the Persian Constitutional period, in alliance with the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* and the urban-based constitutionalist reformers, achieving prominence in national as well as local affairs; by 1912 Bakhtiyārī khāns held the governorship of seven cities in Persia, including Kirmān, Iṣfahān and Kāshān, and one was Prime Minister (Ṣamṣām al-Salṭana) and another Minister of War (Sardār Asad).

The centralising efforts of the Ḳādjārs had more effect in Luristān-i Faylī (formerly Lur-i Kūčik) in as much as, as a result of the governorship in Kirmānshāh of the energetic prince Muḥammad ʿAlī at the beginning of the 19th century, the old family of the *wālī*s of Luristān found its rights reduced simply to the possession of Pusht-i Kūh (see Čirikov, 227). The Pīsh-Kūh formed the Persian province of Luristān. Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā with troops and artillery marched through this province. In 1836 Rawlinson followed him at the head of his Gūrānī regiment. After the famous expedition of Manučihr Khān (1841), his nephew Sulaymān Khān Sahām al-Dawla, governor of Khūzistān, maintained order in Luristān, but for the second part of the 19th century Luristān was plunged more or less into a state of anarchy. It was not till 1900 that prince ʿAyn al-Dawla was able to restore order in Luristān, and at this time several explorers travelled freely in the disturbed province. But in November 1904 two British officers (Col. Douglas and Capt. Lorimer) on their way to Khurramābād were attacked and wounded by Lurs. A considerable agitation was stirred up among the Lurs (and in western Persia generally) by the appearance among them of the rebel prince Sālār al-Dawla (several times after 1905). In spite of the efforts of the Persian government, Luristān remained closed till 1917, when with the help of foreign representatives several caravans went from Dizful to Burūdjird. About the same time, the Persian government conferred the rank of *wālī* of Pīsh-Kūh on Naẓar ʿAlī Khān Amrāʾī [see LAK]; cf. Edmonds in *Geogr. Jnal.* (1922).

The advent of Riḍā Khān, later (1925) Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī, meant a declared policy by the central government of bringing the Bakhtiyārī country into the normal framework of administration in Persia, part of which involved the forcible sedentarisation of semi-nomadic tribesmen; but with Riḍā Shāh's deposition in 1941 and the period of weaker rule during the earlier years of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh's reign, many Bakhtiyārīs and Lurs reverted to the semi-nomadic way of life they had been accustomed to, and this last still prevails amongst an appreciable section of the estimated 500,000 Lurs and Bakhtiyārīs.

Bibliography: A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*[2], London 1953, 291-2; P. Avery, *Modern Iran*, London 1965, 164 ff.; G. R. Garthwaite, *The Bakhtiyârî Khans, the government of Iran, and the British, 1846-1915*, in *IJMES*, iii (1972), 24-44. (V. MINORSKY*)

LUR-I BUZURG, a dynasty of Atābegs [see ATABAK] which flourished in eastern and southern Luristān between 550/1155 and 827/1423, the capital of which was Īdhadj [*q.v.*] or Mālamīr.

The eponymous founder of the dynasty, also known as Faḍlawī, was a Kurd chief of Syria named Faḍlūya. His descendants (the *Djihān-ārā* mentions 9 predecessors of Abū Ṭāhir) migrated from Syria, and passing through Mayyafāriḳīn and Ādharbāydjān (where they made an alliance with the Amīra Dībādj [?] of Gīlān), they arrived about 500/1006 in the plains north of Ushturān-Kūh (Luristān).

Their (1) chief Abū Ṭāhir (b. ʿAlī) b. Muḥammad distinguished himself in the service of the Salghurid Sunḳur (543-56/1148-61) in an expedition against the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*]. As a reward, Sunḳur gave him Kūh-Gīlūya and agreed to send him to conquer Luristān. He succeeded in this. Abū Ṭāhir assumed the title of Atābeg, and later quarrelled with Sunḳur and made himself independent (*ca.* 550/1155). (The *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* seems to confuse several individuals under the name Ḳāʾid ʿAlī, to whom it attributes the following successes: the defeat of the Shūl [*q.v.*], the deposition of Nāṣir al-Dīn, last descendant of Badr, ruler of Luristān, and the defeat of the Khūzistān troops commanded by the Turk Eshek.)

Under the son of Abū Ṭāhir, (2) Malik (*sic*) Hazārasp (600-26 or 650/1204-29 or 1252?), Luristān prospered, and new Arab and Iranian tribes flocked into it. Hazārasp drove out of Luristān the last remnants of the Shūl and invaded Luristān proper. The Shūl migrated to Fārs. Hazārasp disputed with the Salghurids the possession of the fortress of Māndjasht (Mungasht, south-west of Mālamīr). The possessions of Hazārasp were extended up to a distance of 4 *farsakh*s from Iṣfahān. The caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225) confirmed to Hazārasp the title of Atābeg. On the other side, Hazārasp maintained friendly relations with the Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 382-3, 471). (The *Djihān-ārā* mentions two sons of Hazārasp: ʿImād al-Dīn (d. 646/1248-9) and Nuṣrat al-Dīn Kalḥa (d. in 649/1251?); the former bought Zarda-Kūh, where several members of the family were afterwards interred.)

(3) Tikla (*ca.* 655-6/1257-8), son of Hazārasp and his Salghurid wife, successfully withstood four attacks on him by the Salghurid Atābeg of Fārs, who was indignant among other things at the expulsion of the Shūl from Luristān. Tikla took from Ḥusām al-Dīn Khalīl (d. 640/1242-3?) certain districts of Lur-i Kūčik. He defeated the generals sent against him from Khūzistān by the caliph. During the Baghdād campaign of Hūlāgū Khān (655-6/1257-8), Tikla accompanied him in Kitbuḳa Noyan's division (*tūmān*). He did not, however, conceal his feelings about the treatment inflicted on the caliph and Muslims. Hūlāgū took umbrage at this, and Tikla fled to Luristān and shut himself up in Māndjasht. Hūlāgū pardoned him, but later changed his mind and had him executed in Tabrīz. Tikla was buried at Zarda-Kūh.

(4) Shams al-Dīn Alp Arghūn succeeded to his executed brother and ruled for 15 years. He led a nomadic life. His winter residence was at Īdhadj and at Sūs (probably Sūsan on the Kārūn above Shūshtar) and his summer one at Djūy-i sard (on the upper waters of the Zanda-rūd) and at Bāzuft (source of the Kārūn).

His son (5) Yūsuf Shāh had spent his youth with

Abaḳa Khān (663-80/1265-82) and even after being appointed in his father's stead, remained at the Mongol court with 200 horsemen. He took part in the war against Burāḳ Khān [*q.v.*], and distinguished himself in a skirmish with the Daylamīs. To the possessions of Yūsuf Shāh, Abaḳa added Khūzistān, the region of Kūh-Gīlūya and the towns of Fīrūzān (7 *farsakhs* above Iṣfahān) and Djurbādhaḳān (Gulpāyagān). Yūsuf Shāh went to Kūh-Gīlūya and attacked the Shūl settled in the modern Mamāsanī country east of Kūh-Gīlūya. After the death of Abaḳa, Yūsuf Shāh was forced against his will to go with 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 foot to the help of Aḥmad Takūdar. The latter was defeated (683/1284), and the Lurs retreated from Ṭabas to Natanz across the desert, where the majority died of thirst. After the accession of Arghūn, Yūsuf Shāh went to pay him homage and interceded on behalf of the former vizier Khʷādja Shams al-Dīn, who had taken refuge in Luristān (cf. d'Ohsson, iv, 5).

His son (6) Afrāsiyāb sent his brother Aḥmad to the court of Arghūn while he himself remained in Luristān, where he put to death the members of the former vizier's family. Their relatives having taken refuge in Iṣfahān, Afrāsiyāb sent his kinsmen in pursuit of them. At this moment arrived the news of the death of Arghūn (690/1291). The Lurs killed the Mongol governor of Iṣfahān. Afrāsiyāb appointed members of his family to govern in Hamadān, Fārs and in the territories reaching to the Persian Gulf, and even began to march on the capital. The Mongol general Amīr Turak was defeated at Kūhrūd or Ḳuhrūd [*q.v.*] near Kāshān. Gaykhatu Khān sent Mongol troops against Afrāsiyāb and troops from Lur-i Kūčik. Afrāsiyāb shut himself in Māndjasht, but after some time went to Gaykhatu who pardoned him. Returning to Luristān, Afrāsiyāb massacred his own relatives and a number of the notables. Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304) at first showed himself favourable to Afrāsiyāb, but in 696/1297, on the complaint of the Amīr Hurḳudaḳ of Fārs, Afrāsiyāb was tried and executed at Mahāwand (?) of Farāhān.

The rank of Atābeg was next conferred on his brother (7) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad (695-730/1296-1330 or 733/1333), who had spent most of his life at the court of the Īlkhāns. According to the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* he introduced Mongol institutions (*āyīn-i mughūl*) into Luristān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī praises his able and prudent administration, which repaired the damage done by Afrāsiyāb. He was a friend of men of religion and several books were dedicated to him, like the *Taʾrīkh Muʿdjam fī aḥwāl-i mulūk al-ʿAdjam* of Faḍl Allāh Ḳazwīnī. The *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* gives him the title of *pīr*. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, ii, 29-30, tr. Gibb, ii, 287-8), he built 160 *madrasas* (here = "hermitages"), of which 44 were at Īdhadj, and he had roads cut through the mountains.

His son and successor (8) Rukn al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh II (733-40/1333-40) was also a just ruler. His lands, according to the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb*, extended from Baṣra and Khūzistān to Lālamūstān (?) and Fīrūzān. He was buried in the *madrasa* of Ruknābād.

His successor was his son (according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, his brother) (9) Muẓaffar al-Dīn Afrāsiyāb II (Aḥmad). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, travelling via Mādjūl-Rāmuz-Tustar, visited the capital Īdhadj [*q.v.*] or Mālamīr. He found the prince addicted to wine. The Arab traveller describes the peculiar customs of the Lurs, which he witnessed at the burial of the son of the "sulṭān". The latter's possessions included Tustar (Shūshtar) and extended to Garīwāʾ al-Rukh (the modern Kahyarukh in Čarmaḥāll west of Fīrūzān). During the ten days the Arab traveller took to cover this distance, he found shelter every night in a *madrasa*. At the same time (740) Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions among the possessions of the Great Lur Djābalaḳ (apparently the district to the north-east of Luristān and west of Gulpāyagān).

Next follows an obscure period. According to the anonymous historian of Mīrzā Iskandar, the successor of Afrāsiyāb was his son (10) Nawr al-Ward ("rose-bud"), who ruled from 736/1335-6 (?) to 756/1355 and dissipated the treasures of his ancestors. According to the *Djihān-ārā*, Muḥammad Muẓaffar of Fārs (713-60/1313-59), learning of his dealings with Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū, had him blinded at Sūs in 756/1355. His cousin (the *Djihān-ārā* has "nephew") (11) Shams al-Dīn Pashang b. Yūsuf Shāh II (?) succeeded him and ruled from 756/1355 to 780/1378. At this time, Luristān became involved in the civil wars of the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*]. When Shāh Manṣūr, making Shūshtar his headquarters, began a series of raids on the lands of Pashang, Shāh Shudjāʿ (elder brother and rival of Manṣūr, d. 786/1384) came to the help of Pashang. We have coins of 762/1361 and 764/1362-3 struck at Īdhadj in the name of Shudjāʿ (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of oriental coins in the Brit Mus.*, vi [London 1881], 235, 237). After the death of Pashang, a struggle began between his two sons, (12) Malik Pīr Aḥmad and his younger brother (12bis) Malik Hūshang, in which the latter was killed. (According to the anonymous historian of Iskandar, if he has been rightly understood by Howorth, Aḥmad and Hūshang were sons of Nawr al-Ward and the former was the immediate successor of his father.) Shāh Manṣūr drove out Pīr Aḥmad and appointed in his stead a notable named Malik Uways. When Tīmūr passed through Luristān in 795, Pīr Aḥmad came to meet him at Rām-Hurmuz. Tīmūr later received him graciously at Shīrāz, confirmed him by a decree (*āl tamgha*) in his hereditary possessions, and allowed him to repatriate 2,000 families of Lurs deported by Shāh Manṣūr. In spite of this, in 798/1395-6 Tīmūr took as hostages to Samarḳand the brothers of Pīr Aḥmad and Afrāsiyāb. After the death of Tīmūr, Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad imprisoned Pīr Aḥmad in Ḳuhandiz. He was restored in 811/1408-9, but met his end in a popular rising. The son of Pīr Aḥmad (13) Abū Saʿīd, kept for two years a hostage at the court of Mīrzā Iskandar at Shīrāz, succeeded his father and died in 820/1417. His son (14) Shāh Ḥusayn died in 827/1424 by the hand of his relative (15) Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Kāwūs b. Hūshang (12bis). The latter seized power, but the Tīmūrid Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh sent troops to expel him and thus ended the rule of the Faḍlawī family. Later, the power passed into the hands of local notables of the Bakhtiyārī tribes (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 48).

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère; Waṣṣāf, *Tadjziyat al-amṣār*, ii, history of Yūsuf-Shāh and Afrāsiyāb; Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, with the history of the Muẓaffarids in appendix, GMS facs. text, Leiden-London 1910, 537-47, 723, 725, 745, based on Rashīd al-Dīn and the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* of Djamāl al-Dīn Kāshānī; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Shabānkārī, *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* (in 743/1342-3), appendix, cf. Royal Asiatic Society ms. Cat. Morley, no. xv, which contains the appendix on the Lur-i Buzurg, fols. 142-5 (the author's statements are somewhat confused); *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 438, 599, 619, 811; Mīrkhʷānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, iv; Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī,

Djihān-ārā (in 972/1564-5), British Museum, Or. 141, fols. 137-140 contains some useful information; *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 23-32, based at the beginning on a good text of the *Ta'rikh-i guzida*; Khusraw Abarkūhī, *Firdaws al-tawārikh*, passage on the Great Lur in the tr. of the *Sharaf-nāma* of Charmoy, i/2, 328-37; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 286 (cf. Charmoy, ibid., i/1, 100-16); Münedjdjim-bashī, ii, 597-8; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 24, 28, 230, 259, 400, 455, 589; iv, 5, 12, 62, 94, 114, 169-70, 580; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, 140, 407, 751-4, which uses the statements of the anonymous history of the grandson of Tīmūr Mīrzā Iskandar, written in 815, ms. British Museum, Or. 1566; ms. Asiatic Museum of Leningrad, 566 b, c. (V. Minorsky)

LUR-I KÜČIK, a dynasty of Atābegs [see ATABAK] which ruled in northern and western Luristān between 580/1184 and 1006/1597 with Khurramābād as their capital. The Atābegs were descended from the Lur tribe of Djangrū'ī (Djangardī?). The dynasty is also known by the name of Khurshīdī from the name of the first Atābeg. (It remains to be seen if this name is connected with that of Muḥammad Khurshīd, vizier of the former rulers of Luristān before the rise of the Atābegs of Lur-i Buzurg.) After 730/1330, the power passed to another line which later claimed to be of ʿAlid descent; at this time also, the title *malik* succeeded that of *atābeg*.

The ancestors of the Khurshīdīs had entered the service of Ḥusām al-Dīn (of the Turk tribe of Shūhli or Shūhla), who ruled Luristān and Khūzistān about the end of the Saldjūḳ period (*ca.* 550-80/1155-84?).

(1) Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Khurshīd b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Khurshīd was at first *Shiḥna* of a part of Luristān on behalf of Ḥusām al-Dīn, but after the death of the latter (in 570/1174-5 or 580/1184-5) became independent lord of the whole of Lur-i Kūčik. He waged war on the Djangrawī (the tribe in which he had originated, but which was then being ruled by his rival Surkhāb b. ʿAyyār) and besieged their stronghold Diz-i Siyāh (in the district of Mānrūd and in the *wilāyat* of Samhā?). The inhabitants handed all Mānrūd over to him, but the caliph ordered Shudjāʿ al-Dīn to deliver up to himself the stronghold of Māngarra (Mūngerre north of Ḳilāb). In compensation, Shudjāʿ received the district of Ṭarāzak in Khūzistān. Shudjāʿ al-Dīn drove back the Bayāt Turks who were ravaging Luristān. He led a nomadic life and spent the summer at Kirīt (in Bālā-Girīwa) and the winter at Dulur (Fīh-i Lurān in Pusht-i Kūh?) and at Malāḥ (?). He died a centenarian in 621/1224 and his tomb was venerated by the Lurs. His son Badr was killed by his nephew (2) Sayf al-Dīn Rustam b. Nūr al-Dīn, who became Atābeg and was a good ruler. Rustam was succeeded by his brothers first (3) Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Bakr and next (4) ʿIzz al-Dīn Garshasp. The latter married the widow of Abū Bakr, Malika Khātūn, who was the sister of Sulaymān Shāh Aywa, later commander-in-chief of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim (*Abūh* should be altered to *Aywa*, name of a tribe or a district in the time of the last Saldjūḳs; cf. *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Iḳbāl, 346; Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 421-2; *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 107; Defrémery, *Recherches sur quatre princes d'Hamadan*, in *JA* [1847], 177). When (5) Ḥusām al-Dīn Khalīl b. Badr b. Shudjāʿ killed Garshāsp, a struggle ensued between him and Sulaymān Shāh (Shihāb al-Dīn?). The Lurs took Bahār (near Hamadān), but finally Khalīl was defeated and killed near Shāpūr-Khwāst in 640/1242.

His brother (6) Badr al-Dīn Masʿūd went to the court of Mangū and returned in the train of Hūlāgū. This devout man, an authority on Shāfiʿī law, ruled till 658/1260. He showed great kindness to the family of Sulaymān Shāh when the latter was executed at the taking of Baghdād. The sons of Masʿūd were executed by Abaḳa, who appointed as Atabeg (7) Tādj al-Dīn b. Ḥusām al-Dīn Khalīl, also executed by Abaḳa in 677/1278-9.

He had two immediate successors, the two sons of Masʿūd of whom (8) Falak al-Dīn Ḥasan ruled a part of Luristān (*dilār*, *wilāy*) and (8 *bis*) ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn ruled the crown domains (*indjū*). The number of their troops was 17,000. They chastised the Bayāt and reunited under their control all the lands between Hamadān and Shūshtar and between Iṣfahān and the Arab lands. Both died in 692/1293.

Gaykhātū appointed as their successor (9) Djamāl al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Tādj al-Dīn, who was killed in 693 near Khurramābād by (10) Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Shams al-Dīn "Darnakī" b. Sharaf al-Dīn b. Tahamtan b. Badr b. Shudjāʿ, who relied for support on the Mongol tribes settled in the lands adjoining Luristān. The other rulers did not recognise this usurper and he had to make way for (11) Ṣamṣām al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Nūr al-Dīn b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Garshāsp, who slew a certain Shihāb al-Dīn Ilyās and in turn was executed by Ghāzān in 695/1296.

(12) ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿIzz al-Dīn (8 *bis*) was a minor, and his cousin Badr al-Dīn Masʿūd (son of 8) obtained from Öldjeytü the title Atābeg and ruled over a part of Luristān (*dilār*), but later ʿIzz al-Dīn fully established his authority. After his death (716/1316 or 720/1320 his widow (13) Dawlat Khātūn retained a semblance of authority while the real power was in the hands of the Mongols. Such was the state of affairs when Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī was writing his *Ta'rikh-i guzida* (*ca.* 730/1329-30). Later, the *malika* (who according to the anonymous historian of Mīrzā Iskandar became the wife of Yūsuf Shāh of the Great Lur) found herself forced to surrender the throne to her brother (14) ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn who received investiture from Abū Saʿīd and ruled for 14 years. His son and successor (15) Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Maḥmud was killed by his subjects in 750/1349-50.

(16) The Malik ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shudjāʿ al-Dīn was only 12 when his father died. The vicissitudes of his life are known from the record of them in the *Ẓafar-nāma*. In 785/1383 the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ with his army visited Khurramābad and married the daughter of ʿIzz al-Dīn. Another of his daughters was married to Aḥmad b. Uways Djalā'ir. When Tīmūr arrived in Persia in 788/1386, he was told of the depredations of the Lurs of ʿIzz al-Dīn. Setting out from Fīrūz-kūh, Tīmūr by forced marches reached Luristān. Burūdjird was laid waste, and the fortress of Khurramābād razed to the ground. The ringleaders were thrown down from the tops of the cliffs. The fate of ʿIzz al-Dīn is unknown and we do not know if he was one of the Atābegs of Luristān to whom in 789/1387 Tīmūr granted an audience at Shīrāz, but according to the anonymous historian of Mīrzā Iskandar, ʿIzz al-Dīn was captured in 790/1388 in the fortress of Rūmiyān (Armiyān, Wāmiyān, situated near Burūdjird) and deported with his son to Turkestān. At the end of three years both father and son were released. In 793/1391 ʿIzz al-Dīn played a part in the aggrandisement of the Muẓaffarid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, son of his old suzerain Shāh-Shudjāʿ. When in 795/1393 Tīmūr returned to Persia, he went

from Burūdjird to Shūshtar. Luristān was overrun piece by piece and laid waste by the troops of Mīrzā ʿUmar, but ʿIzz al-Dīn escaped his pursuers. In 798/1395-6 prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, governor of Fārs, extended his authority over all Luristān and Khūzistān. In 805/1402-3, we find a mention of the restoration of the fortress of Armiyān (?) near Burūdjird ordered by Tīmūr, and under 806/1403-4 the *Ẓafar-nāma* mentions the arrival in Baylakān from Nihāwand of a courier bearing the head of ʿIzz al-Dīn, whose skin had been stuffed with straw and publicly exposed. His son (17) Sīdī Aḥmad, whose irregularity in the payment of tribute seems to have provoked the punishment of his father, regained his possessions, after the death of Tīmūr in 807/1405 and ruled till 815/1412-13 (or 825/1422). (18) Shāh Ḥusayn ("Abbāsī", i.e. descendant of ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib), another son of ʿIzz al-Dīn, took advantage of the decline of the Tīmūrids to extend his territory. He plundered Hamadān, Gulpāyagān, Iṣfahān and even undertook an expedition to Shahrazūr, where the Bahārlu Turks slew him in 871/1466-7 (or 873/1468-9). His son (19) Shāh Rustam supported Ismāʿīl I; at this period, the lords of the Little Lur had already adopted the theory that they were of ʿAlid descent. The son of Rustam (20) Oghur (or Oghuz) accompanied Shāh Ṭahmāsp on his campaign of 940/1533-4 against ʿUbayd Allāh Khān, and during his absence his brother (21) Djahāngīr seized power. He was executed in 949/1542-3. The governor (*lala*) of his son (22) Rustam Shāh handed over the latter to Ṭahmāsp Shāh, who imprisoned him in Alamūt while Muḥammadī, another son of Djahāngīr, was hidden by the Lurs at Čangula. An impostor in Luristān gave himself out to be Shāh Rustam Ṭahmāsp, then released the true Rustam, who recovered his fief but had to hand over a third of it (*do dāng*) to his brother (22 *bis*) Muḥammadī. At the instigation of the wife of Shāh Rustam, the governor of Hamadān seized Muḥammadī, who was shut up in Alamūt. The sons of Muḥammadī plunged Luristān and the adjoining provinces into great disorder. Ten years later Muḥammadī escaped, and conquered Luristān while Shāh Rustam took refuge at the court of the Shāh. Muḥammadī established good relations with Ṭahmāsp and Ismāʿīl II, but after their death submitted to the Ottoman Sulṭān Murād III (982-1003/1574-95), which earned him an extension of his territory by the cantons west of Pusht-i Kūh: Mandalī, Djesān, Badrāʾī and Tursaḳ. But relations with the Ottomans soon became strained, and Muḥammadī became reconciled with the Ṣafawīds.

(24) Shāhwardī b. Muḥammadī, who had escaped from Baghdād where he was living as a hostage, received investiture from Shāh Muḥammad Khudābanda after his father's death. At the time of the occupation of Nihāwand by the Turks, Shāhwardī showed some signs of independence. In 1000/1591-2 good relations with Shāh ʿAbbās were re-established, with whom Shāhwardī made the most of his alleged descent from ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī and his Shīʿism (*tashayyuʿ wa ʿAbbāsgirī*). Shāh ʿAbbās married his sister and gave him a Ṣafawīd princess in marriage. In 1002/1593-4 Shāhwardī in a pitched battle killed the governor of Hamadān, Oghurlu Sulṭān Bayāt, who was trying to levy taxes in Burūdjird. Shāh ʿAbbās, filled with wrath, left the Khurāsān front and hastened to Khurramābād. Shāhwardī crossed the Ṣaymara (Karkhā) and escaped to Baghdād. Luristān was given to Sulṭān Ḥusayn b. Shāh Rustam. In 1003/1594-5 Shāhwardī was pardoned and restored, but he was not long in relapsing. In 1006/1597-8 Shāh ʿAbbās took the field against him a second time. Shāhwardī was besieged and slain in the fortress of Čangula (in Pusht-i Kūh). Ḥusayn Khān b. Manṣūr Beg Salwīzī (?) was given Luristān, except Ṣaymara, Hindmas (?) and Pushti-Kūh, which were given to Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī Inānlū. This may be regarded as the end of the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Little Lur, although the dynasty of *wālī*s of Luristān (later of Pusht-i Kūh) claims descent from Ḥusayn Khān, who was a cousin of Shahwardī.

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(V. MINORSKY)

LURISTĀN, "land of the Lurs", a region in the south-west of Persia. In the Mongol period the terms "Great Lur" and "Little Lur" roughly covered all the lands inhabited by Lur tribes. Since the Ṣafawid period, the lands of the Great Lur have been distinguished by the names of Kūh-Gīlū and Bakhtiyārī. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Mamāsanī confederation occupied the old Shūlistān [*q.v.*] and thus created a third Lur territory between Kūh-Gīlū and Shīrāz.

It is however only since the 16th century that Lur-i Kūčik [*q.v.*] has been known as Luristān (for greater precision it was called Luristān-i Faylī). In the 19th century, Luristān was divided into two parts: 1. Pīsh-Kūh, "country on this side of the mountains" (i.e. east of Kabīr-Kūh) and 2. Pusht-i Kūh (country beyond the mountains), *i.e.* west of Kabīr-kūh. At the present day, the term Luristān usually means Pīsh-kūh, while Pusht-i kūh means the Faylī country.

The Mamāsanī territory and the Kūh-Gīlū form part of the province of Fārs. The capital of the Mamāsanī is at Fahliyān. Kūh-Gīlū (Kūh-Djilūya, Kūh-Gālū) stretches from Bāsht (west of Fahliyān) to Bihbahān; this last town is the main centre for the tribes of Kūh-Gīlū. To the south, the Kūh-Gīlūʾī tribes descend as far as the Persian Gulf. The mountains of Kūh-Gīlū and the frontier between its tribes and the Bakhtiyārī are not yet well-known. The chief rivers of Kūh-Gīlū are the Āb-i Shīrīn which is formed by the junction of the Khayrābād and the Zohra, and in its lower course runs via Zaydān and Hindiyān, and the Āb-i Kurdistān or Djarrāhī, one branch of which later runs into the Kārūn [*q.v.*] and the other towards Dawraḳ. On Kūh-Gīlū, see the valuable *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī* of Ḥasan Fasāʾī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the itineraries of Stocqueler, Haussknecht (*Routen im Orient*, Map iv), Wells and Herzfeld, and the general account in Bode, i, 251-89; ii, 327-98; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 132-44, is now very much out of date.

The Bakhtiyārī lands stretch from Čahārmaḥāll (west of Iṣfahān) to Shūshtar; to the south, the Bakhtiyārī march with the Kūh-Gīlū, and to the north they go beyond the northern barrier of Luristān (Shuturān-kūh, etc.). They are found at Faraydan, Burburūd, Djālapagh, and in the cantons around Burūdjird (even before 1840 many villages had been purchased here by Muḥammad Taḳī Khān

Čahār-Lang). Roughly speaking, the Bakhtiyārī occupy the upper basin of the Zanda-rūd and of the Kārūn above Shūshtar. The works of Layard, Sawyer, Mrs. Bishop, Curzon etc. give a very accurate picture of this mountainous country, in the centre of which rises the Kūh-i Rang (12,800 feet high) which forms the watershed between the Persian Gulf and the central Persian plateau. (It may be asked if the name Kūh-i Rang is not the Mongol *küren*, "encampment, laager", found in Luristān?)

The frontier between the Bakhtiyārī and the Lurs proper follows the western branch of the Āb-i Diz, an important tributary of the Kārūn. Luristān (Pīsh-kūh) is bounded on the east and west by the convergent streams of the Āb-i Diz and the Kakhrā, while in the north the range of the Čihil-nā-bālighān, Garrū, etc. separates Luristān from Nihāwand and Sīlākhor (district of Burūdjird). To the west of Karkhā, Pūsht-i Kūh begins. In the northwest, the frontier of Luristān runs to the southwest of the districts of Hulaylān and Harsīn, which belongs to the province of Kirmānshāh.

The chief left bank tributary of the Karkhā is the Kashgān (Rawlinson: Kashaghan) which is formed by two arms. The northern arm with its tributaries drains the beautiful plains of Hūr-rūd, Alīshtar and Khāwa. The southern arm, separated from the northern one by the Yāfta-kūh range, takes the name of the town of Khurramābād [*q.v.*] near which it passes. After the confluence of the two arms, the Kashgān, running south-westwards, receives on the left bank the combined waters of the Kāwgūn and Tāyin, which flow from Kūh-i Haftād Pahlū (south of Khurramābād) and the northern slopes of the Kūh-i Gird. These two ranges are at right angles to the mountains which follow the right bank of the Āb-i Diz, which they separate from the valley of the Karkhā. On the right bank the Kashgān receives the Mādiyān-rūd, "river of the mare". Above Kashgān, the Karkhā receives on its left bank several tributaries of less importance still little known (Rūbār, etc.). Below Kāshgān and also on the left bank, the Karkhā receives the Fānī, Laylum (Lehlum) and Āb-i Zāl. This last river with its tributaries, Anārak, etc., rises in the southern slopes of the Kūh-i Gird. The topography of the right bank of the Ab-i Diz is not well-known. The sources of the Baladrūd and its right-bank tributary the Ḳir-āb lie a considerable distance to the north. The Balad-rūd flows into the Āb-i Diz between Dizfūl and Susa. The Ḳir-āb receives on its right bank the waters of the Kūl-i-āb which come down from the high valley of Mūngarra, which with the peaks that surround it form a kind of natural bastion and separate the basin of the Balad-rūd from that of the Āb-i Zāl. The Ṣaḥrā-yi Lur plain, formerly well-irrigated, lies north of Dizfūl and south of Ḳir-āb ("pitch-water"), whose naphta spring has been known since ancient times. It was probably here that Darius settled a colony of Greeks (Ritter, ix, 201).

The interior of Luristān presents a series of mountain ranges, which stretch north-westwards to south-eastwards, the direction usual in Persia, and rise one behind the other between the plain of Susiana and the northern barrier (height about 9,000 feet).

Ancient history. The lands now occupied by the Lur tribes have been inhabited since the period before the arrival of Iranians in them. This region, being at a considerable distance from Assyria, was mainly under the influence of Elam; Susa, where there have been found traces of occupation going back to the third millenium B.C., lies just at the entrance to the mountains of the Little Lur. The purest traces of the local culture and of this alone are found more to the south-east. Just as the Atābegs of the Great Lur had for their capital Īdhadj [*q.v.*] or Mālamīr, so in very early times, the lords of this district, the kings of Aiapir (Hapirti?), whatever were their relations with the rulers of Susa, had control at least of the Kārūn valley. The site of Mālamīr (cf. de Bode, Layard, Jéquier in de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, 1902, iii, 133-43, and Hüsing, *Der Zagros und seine Volker*, Leipzig 1908, 49-50), with its purely indigenous (Elamite, non-Semitic) inscriptions and bas-reliefs, is an important point. The discovery by E. Herzfeld (*Reisebericht*, in *ZDMG* [1926], 259) in the Mamāsanī region of a bas-relief and bricks bearing Elamite characters (1,500-1,000 B.C.) is valuable as indicating the extent of Elamite penetration into the Lur mountains. Kūh-Gīlū lying between Susiana and Persis may correspond to the still-unknown region of Anshan (Anzan), out of which came the ancestors of Cyrus the Great. On the survival of this name near Shushtar, cf. *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, ii, 418 (according to Rawlinson: Assān).

The antiquities of the valley of the Upper Kārūn (the two Sūsan, Lurdagān, the mounds of Salm, Tūr and Īradj) are insufficiently known (Layard, Sawyer). According to Sawyer, the higher Bakhtiyārī lands are "singularly devoid of any ancient landmarks".

Mention should be made of the great importance of Luristān, from at least the later fourth millenium B.C., as a centre for metal-working, with an industry distinguished from other local ones by its greatly-varied and richly decorated range of bronzework, made by the cire-perdue process. This bronzework has some sub-human decoration, but is especially notable for animal motifs. This zoomorphic decoration probably stemmed originally from Elam, which much influenced Luristān till the destruction of Elamite political power by Nebuchadnezzar I (*ca.* 1124-1103 B.C.) of Babylon, after Babylonian influence is visible in Luristān art. The bronze industry continued until the 7th century B.C., in association with equally fine ironwork; see P. R. S. Moorey, *Prehistoric copper and bronze metallurgy in Western Iran (with special reference to Luristān)*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the BIPS*, vii (1969), 131-53.

The western part of Luristān in the strict sense of the word is known as Māsabadhān and Pusht-i Kūh. No monuments of very great antiquity have yet been discovered in Pīsh-kūh except the caves (Median?) of Se-darān between Mūngarra and Khurramābād, see Čirikov, 129. The early inhabitants of Luristān were the Kashshu = Κοσσαῖοι, who imposed their rule on Babylon between 1760 and 1650 B.C. The Achaemenids paid the Kossaioi for the right of passage by the Babylon-Ecbatane route. These highlanders were temporarily subdued by Alexander the Great. Antigonus, pursued by Eumenes, traversed the heart of the Kossaian country, according to Rawlinson on the route Pul-i-tang-Kaylūn pass-Khurramābād (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 335). The Kossaians (who should perhaps be distinguished from the Κίσσιοι = Οὔξιοι = Uwadja = Khūz) spoke a language different from that of their neighbours, but in it we already find proper nouns borrowed from Indo-European. Cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. der Altertums*, i/2, Berlin 1913, § 455; Hüsing, *Der Zagros*, 24, and Autran in *Les langues du monde*, Paris 1925, 283. (The name Kashshu has perhaps survived in that of the river Kashgān.)

It is also probable that northern Luristān was more or less dependent on the land of Ellipi, often

mentioned by the Assyrians. This region, which was considerably influenced by Media, is now located in the province of Kirmān̲s̲h̲āh. Cf. Andreas, *Alinza*, in Pauly-Wissowa[2]; Streck, in *ZA*, xv, 379; *Cambridge ancient history*, 1924, ii, cf. map.

We know very little about the Ματιηνοί, a people who (Herodotos, v, 49) were bounded on one side by the Armenians and on the other by the Susians (Reinach, *Un peuple oublié: les Matiènes*, in *Revue des Études Grecques*, vii [1894], 313-18).

Here we can only call attention to these various ethnic elements buried in the later strata of Iranian invasions. In the name of Faraydan, a canton in the northeast of Bak̲h̲tiyārī, we have a reminiscence of the Median tribe of Paraitakenoi (Herodotus, i, 110) and of the province of Παραιτακηνή (Strabo, i, 80), which lay between Media and Persia (in Assyrian: Partakka, Partukka; cf. Streck, in *ZA*, xv, 363). The Iranicisation must have been accelerated by the formation of the great empires, Achaemenid, Macedonian, Parthian and lastly Sāsānid. There are many Sāsānid towns in the valley of the Kark̲h̲ā. Many Sāsānid buildings are attributed by the natives to the Atabegs of Luristān, who were certainly nothing more than the restorers. The complicated system of bridges is very remarkable (cf. the photographs in de Morgan, *Études géogr.*, ii, and *Études archéol.*, Paris 1896-7, 360-74), and the roads which may still be traced on the upper courses of the rivers of Susiana. The remains of roads, paved or hewn out of the rock, may be seen at Tang-i Sawlak (between Bihbahān and Mālamīr) near the Sāsānian bas-reliefs (de Bode, i, 353, 364), to the east and west of Mālamīr (de Bode, i, 390, ii, 820: *d̲j̲ādda-yi atābakān*), between Dizfūl and Ḳirāb (Rawlinson, *A march from Zohab*, 93), to the south of K̲h̲āwa (*d̲j̲ādda-yi K̲h̲usraw*, Čirikov, 216-21). All these works are evidence of a systematic and continuous penetration. But since at the end of the 4th/10th century the inhabitants of the plain of K̲h̲ūzistān had not yet forgotten the Hūz language (al-Muḳaddasī, 418), colonies of the ancient stocks may have survived in isolated corners of the mountains. The Lur highlands only assumed their present ethnic character under the Atābegs.

The knowledge of the Arab geographers about the Lur country is very summary, although they describe the routes between K̲h̲ūzistān and Fārs (cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 173-80; Arrad̲j̲ān-S̲h̲īrāz, 190; Arrad̲j̲ān-Sumayram), between K̲h̲ūzistān and Iṣfahān (the road started from Īd̲h̲ad̲j̲; Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 57; al-Muḳaddasī, 401) and lastly, between K̲h̲ūzistān and D̲j̲ibāl. As to these last routes, al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 196, reckons from al-Lur to S̲h̲āpūr-K̲h̲ʷāst 30 *farsak̲h̲s*, from there to Lās̲h̲tar (= Alīs̲h̲tar) 12 *farsak̲h̲s*, from there to Nihāwand 10 *farsak̲h̲s* (the road must be that which follows the upper waters of the Baladrūd). A few details of this route are cleared up by al-Muḳaddasī, 401, who gives the following eight stages: Karad̲j̲ [*q.v.*]—Wafrawand—Dārḳān—K̲h̲urūd̲h̲ (certainly = Hūrūd, Hūr-rūd, north of K̲h̲urramābād)—Sābur-K̲h̲uwās (= S̲h̲āpūr-K̲h̲ʷāst = K̲h̲urramābād)—Krkūysh (?)—al-K̲h̲ān—Razmānān—al-Lur. Al-Muḳaddasī, 418, also makes one suspect the existence of a road along the Āb-i Diz: from al-Lur to al-Diz, two stages, from there to Rāyagān one stage, from there to Gūlpāyagān 40 *farsak̲h̲s* through uninhabited country (*mafāza*).

Among the inhabited places in modern Luristān may be noted the following: the town of al-Lūr, 2 *farsak̲h̲s* north of Dizfūl (Ḳanṭarat Andamis̲h̲), the site of which should be sought in the plain of Ṣaḥrā-yi Lur near Ṣāliḥābād; the town of Lās̲h̲tar, now disappeared, was certainly in the plain of Alīs̲h̲tar; and the town of S̲h̲āpūr-K̲h̲ʷāst. The exact location of the latter is important for the comprehension of certain events in the 5th/11th century (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 89, 146, 211; x, 166; *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i guzīda*, 557). Rawlinson had identified K̲h̲urramābād with S̲h̲āpūr-K̲h̲ʷāst (cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 202). The combined evidence of al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 196, 201, of the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 70, 176, and particularly of the itinerary of al-Muḳaddasī, 401, fully justify Rawlinson's identification (against Le Strange). The change of name, or moving of the site (cf. Schwarz) must have taken place in the 7th/13th century. The *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (740/1340), which does not include S̲h̲āpūr-K̲h̲ʷāst in its enumeration of the towns of the Little Lur, is the first source to mention K̲h̲urramābād (a town in ruins). It is, on the other hand, not at all probable that the *wilāyat* of Mān-rūd, the alleged ancestral home of the Lurs, is near K̲h̲urramābād. It should be sought to the north of the town of al-Lur near Mān-garra (= Mūngarra). Samhā, mentioned in the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i guzīda*, 548, was in Mānrūd; its fortress Diz-i Siyāh must correspond to the fort of Diz which defends the entrance to Mūngarra and was destroyed by the *wālī* of Pus̲h̲t-i Kūh in 1895 (Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lurstämme*, 117). Finally, the stronghold of Girīt (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i guzīda*, 549, 552) is mentioned by Čirikov, 133, among the encampments of the tribe of Pāpī (to the south of K̲h̲urramābād).

Economic conditions. Apart from the Bak̲h̲tiyārī districts near Iṣfahān, where there are flourishing villages, the Lur territories inhabited by nomads or semi-nomads only export the products of their cattle-rearing. But the fortunes of the part of Luristān lying along the northern rim of the Ahwāz plain have been transformed by the development of the oilfields of Lālī, Masd̲j̲id-i Sulaymān, Nafṭ Safīd and Haft Kel from the time of William Knox D'Arcy's oil discoveries at Masd̲j̲id-i Sulayman in 1908 and the subsequent development of these oilfields by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (see *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, 518 ff.). Also, Luristān is now crossed by the Trans-Iranian Railway, which follows the Āb-i Diz valley northwards to Arak (Sulṭānābād), Ḳum and Tehran. Already before 1914, surveys were begun by the Persian Railways Syndicate for the Muḥammara (later Bandar S̲h̲āpūr)—Dizfūl—Khurramābād section of what was to be a Trans-Persian Railway, and by the end of 1929 the southern section from Bandar S̲h̲āpūr to Andīmishk had been completed, that one through Luristān being completed in the 1930s. Luristān has thus continued to play a significant role, as it did in ancient times, as a region crossed by routes connecting the main urban centres of western Persia.

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Cooper, *Grass*, New York 1925 (an admirably illustrated book studying the seasonal migrations of the Bakhtiyārī tribe Bābā Aḥmadī: Shūshtar-Shimbār-Zarda-kūh-tribe Bābā Aḥmadī: Shūshtar-Shimbār-Zarda-kūh-Čahār-Mahāll, subsequently made into a film). (V. MINORSKY *)

LŪRKA, Lorca, a town of Eastern Spain lying between Granada and Murcia and having a population at present of 58,600. It is the ancient *Iluro* or *Heliocroca* of the Romans. In the Islamic period, it formed part of the *kūra* of Tudmīr [*q.v.*], and was famous both for the richness of its soil and subsoil and for its strategic position. Its *ḥiṣn* was one of the most substantial in Andalusia. It is situated at 1,200 feet above sea-level on the southern slope of the Sierra del Cáno, and dominates the course of the river Guadalentín. Under Arab rule it usually shared the fortunes of Murcia, and reverted to Christian rule in 1266.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, text 196, tr. 239; Yāḳūt, iv, 369-70; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1927, index; E. Tormo, *Levante*, Guias-Calpe, Madrid, 387 ff. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

LŪRĪ [see LŪLĪ].

LŪṬ, the Biblical Lot (*Genesis*, xiii, 5-13, xvii-xix). The Ḳurʾān, where his story is told in passages belonging to the second and third Meccan periods, places Lūṭ among the "envoys" whose career prefigures that of Muḥammad as a man in conflict with his compatriots, those at whom his message is directly aimed; the crimes of the "people of Lūṭ" were, besides the refusal to believe, their persistence in vices such as lack of hospitality and homosexual practices, a misconduct punished, in spite of intercession by Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], by the dispatch of angels of destruction who utterly devastated the sinful city, which is not identified by name, simply described as *al-muʾtafika* (pl. *al-muʾtafikāt*), a transposition of the Hebrew word *mahpeka* ("overturning"), used in the Bible in reference to the

destruction of Sodom and of its three sister cities. The city was buried under a shower of marked stones (*sidjill*); Lūṭ and his family were saved, with the exception of his wife, who disobeyed the prohibition and turned round during the flight. The relevant Ḳurʾānic data have been collected by H. Speyer. *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Gräfenhainichen 1931, repr. Hildesheim 1961, 151-8; and by R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, major edition, iii, Paris 1951; index, 1203, single-vol. edition, Paris 1957, index, 721; see also R. Paret, *Der Koran. i. Übersetzung*, Stuttgart 1966, 130, *ii. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart 1970, 165; W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qurʾān*, Edinburgh 1970, 130 ff. and index, 227; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran*, Paris 1933, 46-8; presentation in apologetic form by the Muslim scholar ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Nadjdjār (*ca.* 1278-1350/1862-1941; see Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 333), *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1386/1966, 95, 112-18.

The "traditions" passed on by Ḳurʾānic commentators, historians and compilers of cautionary tales, rely for the most part on Biblical details which are not found in the Revealed Book, on elements borrowed from the Jewish *Aggada* or freely invented; the iniquitous judgments of the people of Usdūm (Sodom), the theme of the bed of Procrustes, emphasis on the wickedness of Lūṭ's wife, names attributed to anonymous characters in the Scriptural account; for details, see the article by B. Heller in *EI*[1]; summary of Jewish legends, with sources, in Ginzberg's *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1909-38 (and re-impression) i, 245-7, v. 241, n. 175, not forgetting M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 132-41. We set forth here only a few references: al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, original edn., viii, 164-6, new edn. Dār al-Maʿārif, Cairo 1957, xii, 547-53; idem, *Annales*, i, 266 ff., 321, 325-43; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Houtsma, 22-4, Nadjaf 1384/1964, 17-19, see Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, Leiden 1907, 30-2; a later version which (like al-Yaʿḳūbī) follows the Biblical text quite closely, by Rashīd al-Dīn, tr. K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels*, Vienna 1973, 35, 36, 38. Popular and cautionary versions: al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325/1907, 65-7, Cairo 1371/1951, 64-6; al-Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. I. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922-3, i, 145-9. In *ḥadīth* as properly defined, Lūṭ appears in reference to Ḳurʾān, XI, 82/80, in a context giving evidence of the modesty of Muḥammad; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Anbiyāʾ*, 11 (ed. Krehl, ii, 347; *sulṭānī* edition, repr. Cairo 1378/1958, iv, 179); Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, *K. al-Fitan*, 23, ed. M. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1373/1953, no. 4962, 1335 ff.; see Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, 165 ff.

On the basis of the proper noun Lūṭ, and by association with the authentic Arabic root *l-w-ṭ* (with the sense of "sticking", "adhering"), a group of words was formed to indicate unnatural vice [see LIWĀṬ].

In common with other "prophets" of the Ḳurʾān, the figure of Lūṭ was invested with a mystical significance by Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*], who considered him the symbol of the spiritual force that subdues the passions of the concupiscent soul. (*Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, 13, ed. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ ʿAfīfī, Beirut 1365/1946, 126-31 and editor's commentary, 155-62). In the same spirit are the reflections of the Indian Ṣūfī Shāh Walī Allāh (1703-62) in his *Taʾwīl al-aḥādīth fī rumūz ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, abridged tr. J. M. S. Baljon, *A mystical interpretation of Prophetic tales by an Indian Muslim*, Leiden 1973, 20-2.

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(B. HELLER — [G. VAJDA])

LŪṬ B. YAḤYĀ [see ABŪ MIKHNAF].

LUTE [see AL-ʿŪD].

LUṬF (A.), the opposite of *khidhlān* [*q.v.*]. Derivatives of the root *l-ṭ-f* are used in the Ḳurʾān in two senses, as (a) kind (*e.g.*, XLII, 18) and (b) subtle (XXXI, 15; VI, 103; XXXIII, 34; LXVII, 14; XXII, 62). Senses (a) and (b) are linked by the idea of God organising matters in such a way as to bring about a beneficial state of affairs. It is this religious notion which is applied in the Arabic translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *Fī mabādiʾ al-kull* to refer to teleological direction in nature (265), and by Mūsā b. Maymūn to refer to God's stratagem in the hardships which he obliges his creatures to endure (iii. 32. 528). The term is applied theologically to the notion of divine grace, favour or help, being developed by the Muʿtazila to deal with an aspect of human freedom and its relation to divine omnipotence. Divine favour makes it possible for man to act well and avoid evil (ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ*, 519). It is not granted to the sinner, whom God neither prevents from acting well nor directs to commit evil. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who provides the most systematic treatment of *luṭf* in the volume of his encyclopaedia of that name (*Mughnī*, xiii), says that for the Muʿtazila, divine grace is all that is capable of helping the agent carry out the duties set for him without interfering with his freedom. If a person believes only because he has received a *luṭf*, he is not as deserving as if he did not require it. A person who will do the right thing does not require a *luṭf*, which is then not necessary. It cannot be true that God necessarily helps all men, since otherwise it would not be possible to sin (*Sharḥ*, 520) and there would be no free will. But if man acts well, he is rewarded and helped by God as a consequence; if he sins, he is deprived of God's help (*Sharḥ*, 520).

Taken more broadly, the description *luṭf* may be applied to many aspects of human well-being, *e.g.* health (*Mughnī*, xiii, 11), wisdom, the use of reason, prophecy and the provision of holy books (*Nihāya*, 411). These all help to direct man in the right direction without compelling him (*Mutashābih*, ii, 734). Hence a rationale is provided also for punishment. God could turn unbelievers into believers, but His favours do not interfere with voluntary belief and so God does not grant favours which directly convert unbelievers into believers (*Maḳālāt*, 247, 575; a list of *alṭāf* is provided in Shahrastānī, 55).

Another sense in which *luṭf* is obligatory (*wādjib*) is that where God is "obliged" to provide as much *luṭf* as possible to whomever is reponsible for his actions. This doctrine was of course strenuously opposed by the Ashʿariyya, who apply the term *luṭf* to all God's acts, bad as well as good (*Irshād*, 173-4, 265). But for the Muʿtazila, God is morally obliged to send to earth prophets and to arrange for the laws which man ought to follow to be communicated to them. Similarly for the Shīʿī al-Ḥillī, the institution of the *imām*, like prophecy, is a "necessary grace" which is imposed on God. Since God has created the world only in the interests of man, he is obliged by a *luṭf wādjib* to guide his creatures by sending them on occasion mediators to make plain His will. The Muʿtazila thought that man would be capable of social existence without the gift of a prophet or *imām*—nevertheless, they hold that God is obliged to

organise the world well, hence due to a *luṭf wādjib*, has to provide mankind with guidance.

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LUṬF ʿALĪ BEG b. Āḳā Khān, **Persian anthologist and poet**, who is also known by his pen-name Ādhar which he adopted after having used the names Wālih and Nakhat previously. He was descended from a prominent Turcoman family belonging to the Begdilī tribe of Syria (Begdilī-i Shāmlū) which had joined the Ḳizilbāsh movement [*q.v.*] in the 9th/15th century. Afterwards, the family settled down in Iṣfahān. Many of his relatives served the later Ṣafawids and Nādir Shāh as administrators and diplomats. Luṭf ʿAlī Beg was born on Saturday 20 Rabīʿ II 1134/7 February 1722 (the date mentioned in the two Bombay lithographs of the *Ātashkada* is erroneous). The invasion of the Afghāns occurring in the same year forced his parents to flee to Ḳum, where they lived till his father was appointed to the post of governor of Lār and the coast of Fārs in *ca.* 1148/1735-6, and they moved on to Shīrāz. When his father died at Bandar ʿAbbās two years later, Luṭf ʿAlī Beg undertook the pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz and to the holy shrines in ʿIrāḳ. During a subsequent journey to Mashhad he entered the service of Nādir Shāh, whom he accompanied on a campaign in northern Iran. He continued to work for Nādir's successors, but retired in the early years of the Zand period to a life of study and literary pursuits, subsisting on the revenue of a small estate near Ḳum and living at Iṣfahān, where peace had been restored by Karīm Khān Zand. However, in 1188/1774-5, he and some of his fellow-poets had to leave the city on account of the oppressive rule of the Zand governor Muḥammad Runānī. Luṭf ʿAlī Beg died in 1195/1781 according to the chronograms which his friends Hātif and Ṣabāḥī wrote for him (see *al-Dharīʿa*, ix, Tehran 1332/1953, 3).

Luṭf ʿAlī Beg's fame rests in particular on the anthology *Ātashkada*, on which he continued to work from about 1174/1760-1 almost till the time of his death. The work is divided into two parts, styled "censers" (*midjmara*). The first part, on the poets of previous times, opens with a section (*shuʿla*) devoted to royal poets. Three further chapters (called *akhgar* and subdivided into *sharāras*) deal with the poets of Īrān, Tūrān and Hindūstān according to the districts and towns of their provenance. An appendix on female poets (*furūgh*) has been added to it. The main source for this part of the *Ātashkada* was the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār wa-zubdat al-afkār* of Taḳī al-Dīn Kāshānī. The second *midjmara*, divided into two *partaws*, contains the lives of contemporary poets, many of whom were personal friends of the author. It is preceded by a dedication to Karīm Khān Zand and a sketch of the troubled history of Iran from the time of the Afghān invasion onwards. A short autobiography followed by a selection from Ādhar's own poetry concludes the work.

The *Ātashkada* was often copied in the early 13th/19th century. Lithographs appeared at Calcutta 1249/1833-4, and at Bombay 1277/1860-1 (reprinted Tehran 1337/1958) and 1299/1881-2. An annotated edition by Ḥasan Sādāt Nāṣirī, of which three volumes were published at Tehran (1336/1957, 1338/1959 and 1340/1961), has remained unfinished. N. Bland edited the opening section, the *shuʿla* on royal poets (London 1841), and gave an account of the entire work in *JRAS*, xiv (1843), 345-92. An abridged version, the *Tadhkira-yi Isḥāḳ*, containing the poems only in the alphabetical order of the rhymes, was made by a brother of the author, Isḥāḳ Beg ʿUdhrī (cf. A. Gulčīn-i maʿānī, *Ta'rīkh-i tadhkirahā*, i, 182 f.). The existence of a Turkish translation, mentioned by J. H. Kramers (*EI*[1], s.v. *Luṭf ʿAlī Beg*), has been questioned by Tahsin Yazıcı. For a complete inventory of the biographies occurring in the *Ātashkada*, see E. Sachau - H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1889, cols. 262-93.

As a poet, Luṭf ʿAlī Beg was also held in high esteem by his contemporaries. Much of his early work was lost when the Bakhtiyārī chief ʿAlī Mardān sacked Iṣfahān in 1164/1750. He became a pupil of Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Mushtāḳ (d. 1171/1757-8), who was one of the initiators of the "literary return" (*bāzgasht-i adabī*) to the stylistic standards of early Persian poetry which manifested itself among the poets of Iṣfahān and Shīrāz during the Zand period (cf. M. T. Bahār, in *Armaghān*, xiii [1331/1932-3], 713 ff.). Apart from a *Dīwān* (cf. *Bankipore catalogue*, iii, Calcutta 1912, 219-21; Storey, i/2, 870; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahāyi khaṭṭi-yi fārsī*, iii, 2206 f.), four *mathnawīs* are known: 1. *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā*, fragments of which are contained in the *Ātashkada* (for separate manuscripts, see Munzawī, iv, 3331); 2. a short poem, known as *mathnawī-i Ādhar*, which he wrote in imitation of a *mathnawī* entitled *Ātashkada*, or *Sūz-u gudāz*, by Āḳā Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Tafrishī, which seems to have inspired him also in the choice of a title for his anthology (cf. A. Gulčīn-i maʿānī, in *Madjalla-i dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Mashhad*, iii [1346/1967-8], 23-51; Munzawī, iv, 3117); 3. a *Sāḳī-nāma* (cf. Munzawī, iv, 2857); 4. a *Mughannī-nāma* (cf. *ibid.*, 3225). Less certain is the attribution to this author of two other works: a prose-work, *Gandjīnat al-ḥaḳḳ*, composed in the manner of Saʿdī's *Gulistān* (mentioned in the *tadhkira Andjuman-i Khāḳān*, cf. Ibn-i Yūsuf Shīrāzī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi madrasa-yi ʿAlī-yi Sipahsālār*, ii, Tehran 1318/1939, 453) and a *tadhkira* on contemporary poets entitled *Daftar-i nuh āsmān* (mentioned by Āḳā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa*, vii, Nadjaf-Tehran 1329/1950, 226; cf., however, Gulčīn-i maʿānī, *Ta'rīkh-i tadhkirahā*, i, 48 note). As it seems, Luṭf ʿAlī Beg wrote some poems in Turkish as well (cf. M. F. Köprülü, *İA*, s.v. *Âzerî*, 139b).

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Taʾrīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi fārsī, Tehran 1348/1969, 3-17 (J. H. Kramers - [J. T. P. de Bruijn])

LUṬF ʿALĪ KHĀN, the last ruler of the Zand dynasty of Iran. He was born in 1183/1769, the son of Djaʿfar Khān son of Ṣādiḳ, younger brother of the founder of the dynasty, Karīm Khān [*q.v.*]. During his father's reign, when the Ḳādjār armies had overrun most of northern Iran, Luṭf ʿAlī subjugated Lār and Kirmān and for the last time retook Iṣfahān, but was soon forced back to Shīrāz. When his father was killed in 1204/1789 in a coup led by Ṣayd Murād Khān Zand, Luṭf ʿAlī fled to Bushire (Būshahr), where he was assisted by the governor Shaykh Nāṣir, long a loyal vassal of the Zands. Thus reinforced he marched on Shīrāz, where a fifth column led by the *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] (mayor), Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, aided him to overthrow the rebels.

A brave and likeable youth, in contrast to his cruel and treacherous father, Luṭf ʿAlī was genuinely welcomed by the populace. Though defeated in the field, he held Shīrāz against a Ḳādjār assault; the following year he unsuccessfully besieged Kirmān, then in 1205/1791 set out to recapture Iṣfahān. However, since his accession he had become openly suspicious of the influential Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, and was induced by whispers of his disloyalty to take with him the *kalāntar*'s young son as a hostage. Acting perhaps in self-preservation, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm arrested the Zand officers left in Shīrāz and took over the garrison; his brother, who was with Luṭf ʿAlī's army, fomented a mutiny from which the young Zand leader and three hundred men fled to Shīrāz. Here he found the gates closed against him and was deserted by all but four of his followers. Fleeing again to Bushire, he found that Shaykh Nāṣir's son and successor had elected to support the *kalāntar*. Nevertheless, he recruited some local support and successively defeated both Zand and Ḳādjār forces sent against him. Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm's appeal to the Ḳādjār leader to occupy Shīrāz was answered by Āghā Muḥammad Khān in person with an army of 40,000. Luṭf ʿAlī's small cavalry force defeated the Ḳādjār vanguard and that night came within a hair's breadth of capturing the main camp. In 1207/1792 Āghā Muḥammad entered Shīrāz, and Luṭf ʿAlī was henceforth a fugitive, still mounting guerrilla attacks from temporary bases all over south-eastern Iran. Supported successively by chiefs of Ṭabas and Narmāshīr, he twice held the city of Kirmān; in 1209/1794, after a four-month siege, the Ḳādjār army was admitted to the town by treachery and Luṭf ʿAlī barely escaped to Bam. For their support of his rival, Āghā Muḥammad wrought a terrible revenge on the people of Kirmān [*q.v.*]. The governor of Bam, fearing a similar fate, betrayed Luṭf ʿAlī to the Ḳādjār leader, who blinded and tortured him before taking him to Tehran for execution in Rabīʿ II 1209/November 1794.

As the gallant underdog, Luṭf ʿAlī inspired admiration in contemporaries both Iranian and European, though the Persian chronicles, written under Ḳādjār patronage, are of necessity more circumspect. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, who accompanied him during part of his time as a fugitive, and Sir John Malcolm, to whom Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm later tried to justify his tergiversation, praise the youth's daring and resilience, which indeed imparted a certain nobility to the largely self-inflicted death throes of the Zand dynasty. His alienation of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, however, was symptomatic of the dynasty's failure to live up to its early promise. Karīm Khān had been careful to cultivate the trust of the rural and urban classes in addition to that of his tribal army, whereas his successors, including Luṭf ʿAlī, were too intent on feuding among themselves and fending off the Ḳādjārs to promote or even protect the benefits which the bureaucracy, merchants, artisans and peasantry had obtained from Karīm Khan. Having lost the support of the towns, Luṭf ʿAlī's nomad force disintegrated in the face of a Ḳādjār army which was, if not militarily, certainly politically and logistically stronger.

Bibliography: *Das Târîkh-i Zandîje*, ed. Beer, Leiden 1888; *Dhayl-i Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm*, 324 ff. and *Dhayl-i Āḳā Muḥammad Riḍā*, 374 ff., in Nāmī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gītīgushā*, ed. Nafīsī, Tehran 1317; J. Malcolm, *The history of Persia*, London 1815, ii, 174 ff., London 1829, ii, 106 ff.; H. J. Brydges, *The dynasty of the Kadjars*, London 1833, pp. cxx ff. of the introduction (translated into Persian as *Ākharīn rūzhā-yi Luṭf ʿAlī Khān-i Zand* by H. Nāṭiḳ and J. Gurney, Tehran 1353/1974); ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, *ʿĀḳibat-i Luṭf ʿAlī Khān-i Zand*, in *Yādgār*, iii, no. 5, 26-37.
(J. R. Perry)

LUṬFĪ, 14th and 15th century poet in Čaghatay Turkish, and the greatest master of the *ghazal* before ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī (845-906/1441-1501). The little that is known about his life comes mainly from 15th and 16th century works, especially those of Nawāʾī. Luṭfī was born in Harāt, and died and was buried at his home in the nearby suburb of Dih-i Kanār at the age of 99 (Muslim) years. Modern scholarly conjecture suggests *ca.* 768-867/1367-1463 (J. Eckmann); or d. 870/1465-6 or even later (H. F. Hofman). He lived quietly, but some contact with the Tīmūrid court is indicated by his dedications of a few poems to princes from Shāh Rukh to Ḥusayn Bayḳara. Nawāʾī, who knew him personally, reports that after studying the secular sciences, Luṭfī was initiated into Ṣūfī mysticism by Shihāb al-Dīn Khiyābānī, that the poet was a saintly person and was a close friend of Djāmī, the great Persian poet and mystic of Harāt.

Luṭfī's poetry has been highly esteemed since his own lifetime. There has been general agreement with the judgement of Nawāʾī who said he was "the Master and King of Speech of his people" (*Ḥālāt-i Pahlawān*), "the King of Speech of his time", peerless in Persian and Turkish, but better known for his Turkish poetry (*Madjālis al-nafāʾis*), and the single Turkish poet comparable to the greatest Persian poets (*Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*). Nawāʾī even incorporated five complete *ghazal*s of Luṭfī into his own poems (*mukhammas* and *musaddas*).

While Luṭfī wrote some *ḳaṣīda*s and two major *mathnawī*s, his poetic gifts and originality were best displayed in the *ghazal* and *tuyugh*. In combining the classical Persian lyric tradition with elements of Turkish popular poetry, he produced *ghazal*s of graceful simplicity which concealed a subtle sophistication, while yet retaining some flavour of Turkish folksong. This results in part from his preference for those *ʿarūḍ* metres which corresponded approximately with Turkish syllabic metres, but also from his use of specifically Turkish features, such as proverbs and folk sayings reflecting ancient Turkish customs and beliefs, and of imagery which was often more realistic than that of classical Persian poetry. His verse seems to contain proportionately more words of Turkish origin and less Arabic and Persian loan words than any of his contemporaries or successors in classical Čaghatay. The musicality he achieved is due not only to his exquisite word choice

and sequence, but also to his technical skill in developing such features as the extended *radīf* [*q.v.*]. The wit and humour displayed in new uses of old images, the enjoyable puns and wordplays in both *ghazal* and *tuyugh*, were also not negligible factors in ensuring his continuous popularity for five centuries. His influence is visible in the works of such contemporaries as Sakkākī, Atāyī and Gadā'ī and of later poets directly, and even more, indirectly, by way of his influence on Nawā'ī's poetry, which was universally admired. Echoes of Luṭfī are heard even in poets from other linguistic areas, such as the Azeri and Ottoman ones, particularly Fuḍūlī (d. 1556) and the Turkmen ones, especially Makhdūm-Ḳulī (18th century). Verses by Luṭfī are frequently cited in Čaghatay-Ottoman and Čaghatay-Persian dictionaries from the 16th century onwards, and are plentiful in anthologies of the same period.

Literary Works. All Luṭfī's known works are in Čaghatay Turkish, except no. 4 (1) *Dīwān*. At least 20 mss. are extant, belonging to five major recensions, but each group contains some material lacking in the others. The total number of poems is not less than 548, of which 378 are *ghazal*s and 112 are *tuyugh*s. (Further research may yield more poems.) Of the recensions, the most reliable is group (a), consisting of 2 mss.: ms. Birnbaum (Toronto) TC1 iii (late 15th–early 16th century) and British Library, Add. 7914 vi (Harāt 914/1509). The former contains 361 poems (1 *munādjāt*, 1 *naʿt*, 297 *ghazals*, 62 *tuyughs*) and is the longest *Dīwān* of all Luṭfī mss. The latter lacks the last 107 *ghazals*. The other groups are (b) Paris, Suppl. Turc 981 and (c) Gotha T211 (both 16th century, with some similarities); (d) Bursa, Müze 113/156 (16th-17th century). Group (e) comprises all other known mss.: (i) all the mss. in the USSR: Tashkent, Uzbek Academy of Sciences (6 mss.), Navoi Museum (1 ms.), Dushanbe, Tajik Academy of Sciences (4 mss.), Leningrad (2 mss., nos. A109, C1922—the one numbered B1181 is an Ottoman poet Luṭfī); (ii) Istanbul, University Library, T5452; (iii) Tehran, Sipahsālār 174. Group (e) mss. (which may be further subdivided) were all copied in the 18th-20th centuries and show many Uzbek and other local influences. The state of their text is markedly inferior to groups (a)-(d). Hundreds of verses attributed to Luṭfī appear in ms. anthologies in major libraries, especially in the Uzbek and Tajik academies. Most are quotations from *ghazal*s known from his *Dīwān*. Uyghur script copies of 13 *ghazals* are found in 3 mss. from the 9th/15th century. A number of verses from Luṭfī's *Dīwān* appear with minor differences in Sakkākī's *Dīwān*. (2) *Gul u Nawrūz*. An allegorical romantic epic in 2,400 *mathnawī* verses. Composed in 814/1411, it is a free version in simple Čaghatay, based on the Persian work of this name by Djalāl Ṭabīb (composed 734/1334). Seven mss. extant (see Hofman, *TL*). (3) *Ẓafar-nāma* (not extant). Described by Nawā'ī as being a *mathnawī* "translation" of more than 10,000 verses, which never got beyond the draft stage. It was presumably about the exploits of Tīmūr, whose son Shāh Rukh commissioned its writing; it was probably based on Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī's Persian *Ẓafar-nāma*. (4) *Dīwān* in Persian, including *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals*. Apparently not extant, but citations appear in biographical *tadhkiras* and ms. anthologies.

Editions. (1) Facsimile edition of Bursa ms., *Lutfi Divanı* [with introd. by] İsmail H. Ertaylan, Istanbul 1960 (incomplete, unfoliated); (2) the *Dīvān of Luṭfī*, including facsimile of Birnbaum ms. TC1 iii, ed. E. Birnbaum (in preparation); (3) Lutfiy, *Devon; Gul va Navruz* (selections, in Cyrillic script, by S. Erkinov), Tashkent 1965.

Bibliography: General description and major references in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (= *PTF*) ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 307-14 and index (J. Eckmann); xxxix, xli, xlii, l, liv, lxii (A. Bombaci); A. Bombaci, *Histoire de la littérature turque*, tr. I. Mélikoff, Paris 1968, 110-16, 402 and index; H. F. Hofman, *Turkish literature* (= *TL*) Section 3, Pt. 1, Utrecht 1969, vol. iv, 63-74; vol. ii, 126, 220; vol. iii, 211; vol. v, 154. Corrections to this, and further details and references in review of Hofman's *TL* by E. Birnbaum, in *JAOS*, xciii/2 (1973), 240-1. The two best detailed studies of Luṭfī's literary work are in E. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannïe trudï: Navoi i Dzhami*, Moscow 1965, esp. 49-59; and with more examples, É. R. Rustamov, *Uzbekskaya poeziya v pervoy polovine XV veka* (Üzbek poetry in the first half of the 15th century), Moscow 1963. Referencs to literature later than *PTF* and *TL*: *Vostočnikh Rukopïsey Akad. Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, Tashkent 1952- (indexes to individual volumes s.v. Luṭfī, because general indexes to vols. i-viii, appended to vol. x (1975), are incomplete); *Katalog Vostočnikh Rukopïsey Akad. Nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR*, tom ii, iv, v, Dushanbe, 1968-74, (indexes). References by Nawā'ī to Luṭfī in: Alisher Navoiy, *Asarlar*. Onbesh tomlik (in Cyrillic characters), 15 vols., Tashkent 1963-8 (tom 12, *Madjālis*, 61-2; tom 14, *Ḥālāt-i ... Ḥasan*, 78, *Ḥālāt-i Pahlawān*, 98, *Mīzān*, 179; tom 15, *Nasā'im*, 181-2); and *Ali Şir Nevaî*, [ed.] Agâh Sırrı Levend, Istanbul 1965-68, cilt i, 69-70 (*Dīwān*, *Dībādja*), iv, 73-4 (*Madjālis*); 122 (*Ḥālāt-i Pahlawān*), 213 (*Muḥākamat*); Navā'ī, *Divān* (facsimile ed. L. V. Dmitrieva), Moscow 1964, fol. 6b; O. F. Sertkaya, *Uygur harfleri ile yazılmış bazı manzum parçalar*, i-ii, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi* (= *TDED*), xx (1972), 157-84 and *TDED*, xxi (1973), 175-95; idem, *Some new documents written in the Uigur script in Anatolia*, in *CAJ*, xxviii/3 (1974), 180-92; E. Birnbaum, *The Ottomans and Chagatay literature*, in *CAJ*, xx/3 (1976), 164, 174. (E. Birnbaum)

LUṬFĪ EFENDI, Aḥmad, Ottoman court historiographer (*waḳʿa-nüwīs*). 1. Life. He was born the son of Meḥmed Agha, a master sandal-maker, in 1232/1816-17 in the Aladja Ḥammām quarter of Istanbul. He attended the local Ḳur'ān school and became a *ḥāfiẓ*, and also practised music regularly at the house of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Efendi, Sultan Maḥmūd II's chief *imām*. In 1244/1828-9 he was enrolled in the Mathematical College (*Hendese-khāne-yi berrī*), but left it after a year for the *madrasa* of ʿAmūdja-zāde Hüseyin Pasha, where he studied Arabic, Persian, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*. In 1247/1831-2 he embarked on a scholarly career, and in 1252/1836-7 he became head of the body of religious teachers or *müderrisīn* in Istanbul. The following year, he was charged with collating documents for the official records office (*Taḳwīm-khāne*) and with lecturing before the sultan on selected days in Ramaḍān. He translated al-Ghazālī's *Taʿlīm al-mutaʿallim* into Turkish, with some additions of his own, as the *Tafhīm al-muʿallim* and presented it to the sultan, now ʿAbd al-Medjīd. He then took up a job in the secretarial office of the Grand Vizier (1258/1842), where he worked as a Persian translator, until Rabīʿ II 1266/February 1850, when he was appointed to the itinerant clerkship of the Buildings Council (*ʿImāre medjlisi*) in the districts of Vidin and Nish in Rumelia. He returned to Istanbul after a

year and was appointed first to the head clerkship of the Police Council (*Ḍabṭiyye medjlisi*) and then to the *Taḳwīm-khāne* once more, and was charged with the regular and weekly preparation and publication of the official gazette, the *Taḳwīm-i waḳāyiʿ*.

In 1265/1849 he was sent temporarily to Philipopolis (Filibe) in Bulgaria for a period of nine months, in order to collect arrears (*baḳāyā*) of taxation. Meanwhile, he also held the clerkship of the Investigation Committee (*Teftīsh hayʾati*) of Anatolia for two years. When this latter post was abolished, he again returned to the *Taḳwīm-khāne* (1269/1852-3). Eventually, in 1278/1861-2, he became a member of the Medical Council (*Ṭibbiyye medjlisi*) and taught official composition in Turkish (*inshāʾ* [*q.v.*]) at the Medical School. Soon afterwards, in addition to becoming a member of the Education Council (*Maʿārif medjlisi*) and continuing to edit the *Taḳwīm-i waḳāyiʿ*, he was entrusted with the supervision of government printing. At the end of 1281/beginning of 1865 he became *Wāḳiʿa-nüwīs* and remained in this job, in which he achieved fame, for many years. However, in 1293/1876 he again returned to the scholarly field, and his *mülkiyye* rank was changed to the status of the *ḳāḍīlīḳ* of Istanbul. The following year he was appointed a member of the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi devlet*; in Muḥarram 1297/December 1879-January 1880 he was promoted to the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskerlik* of Anatolia; and on 11 Muḥarram 1299/3 December 1881 to that of Rumelia. In 1304/1887, despite his occupying this latter post, one of the highest ranks in the learned institution, he returned to his previous post in the Council of State.

Luṭfī Efendi died at his *yalī* at Boyadjīköy near Istanbul on 2 Ṣafar 1325/17 March 1907 and was buried in the Sofular Mosque cemetery in the vicinity of Aḳsarāy. Highly literate in Arabic and Persian and skilled in poetry and composition, he had also been an adherent of the Mevlevī dervish order.

2. Works. His most famous work was the continuation of the history of Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*], known accordingly as the *Luṭfī Taʾrīkhi*, written in a straightforward style, and utilising information from the *Taḳwīm-i waḳāyiʿ* and some official documents. It is in 15 volumes covering the events from the beginning of Muḥarram 1241/16 August 1825 to the middle of 1293/middle of 1876; the first seven volumes were published between 1290/1873 and 1306/1889 at the Government Press and the Maḥmūd Bey Press during his own lifetime, and volume viii was published posthumously in 1328/1910 at the Ṣabāḥ Press by the court historiographer ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref Efendi with some additions. The manuscripts of vols. ix-xv, which were presented to the Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, were transferred from the Yīldīz Library to the Türk Taʾrīkh Endjümeni Library, and thence placed in the Türk Tarih Kurumu Library in Ankara; they remain unpublished. The original manuscripts of the first volumes of the *Taʾrīkh*, together with some other rough drafts of the author's, are in the former Imperial Museum (now Archaeological Museum) Library in Istanbul.

His book *Dīwānče-yi Wāḳiʿa-nüwīs Aḥmad Luṭfī* contains some of his poetry and some history in poetic form; it was printed at Istanbul in 1302/1884-5 and comprises 100 pages. The original manuscript of his *Lughat-ī ḳāmūs*, a dictionary of 53,000 words, arranged by him alphabetically from a Turkish translation of the Arabic *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ* made by the court historiographer ʿĀṣim [see ʿĀṢIM, AḤMAD, and ḲĀMŪS 3, Turkish lexicography], is in the Archaeological Museum Library; only the first two parts of it, covering the letters *alif* and *bāʾ*, have been published (in 1282/1865-6 and 1286/1869-70 respectively).

Bibliography: Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1-8, viii, 2-6, xv (= TTK Ankara, ms. no. y 531-7), f. 65a; idem, *Dīwānče*, 33, 40; İ.M.K. İnal, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1969, 896-99; Djemāl al-Dīn Efendi, *ʿOthmānlī taʾrīkh we müwerrikhleri*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 120-5; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, Istanbul 1342/1923-4, iii, 136-7, ed. İsmail Özen, Istanbul 1975, iii, 96; İ. A. Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, 230; idem, *Meşhur adamlar*, Istanbul 1933-5, iii, 976; *Meydan-Larousse*, i, 176. (M. MÜNIR AKTEPE)

LUṬFĪ PASHA B. ʿABD AL-MUʿĪN, Ottoman statesman and Grand Vizier, probably an Albanian by origin, born *ca.* 893/1488 (see M. T. Gökbilgin, *İA*, art. *Lutfi Paşa*).

As a *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] youth, he entered Bāyezīd II's [*q.v.*] *ḥarem-i khāṣṣ*, where he received a thorough education in the Islamic sciences. He held the post of *čuḳadār* before the accession of Selīm I [*q.v.*], when he graduated (*ṭashra čīḳmaḳ*) as a *müteferriḳa* with 50 *aḳčes* [*q.v.*] daily, and then held in turn the posts of *čashnigīr bashī* [*q.v.*], *ḳapudjī bashī* and *mīr-i ʿalem*. His first appointment to service outside the Palace was as *sandjaḳ begi* [*q.v.*] of Ḳasṭamuni, and he subsequently became *beglerbegi* of Ḳaramān. Luṭfī Pasha himself gives these details of his life in the introduction to his *Āṣaf-nāme* (ed. with translation and introduction by R. Tschudi, *Das Aṣafnâme des Luṭfî Pascha*, Berlin 1910; ed. Shükrī Bey, with introduction by ʿAlī Emīrī, Istanbul 1326/1908). However, he does not give the dates of his appointments and omits all details of his life before entering the Palace. He may also have served as *sandjaḳ begi* first of Aydīn and then of Yanya (Ioánnina), since Ferīdūn Beg [*q.v.*] mentions a Luṭfī Beg who served at the siege of Rhodes (Rodos [*q.v.*]) in 928-9/1522 as *sandjaḳ begi* of Aydīn (Ferīdūn Beg, *Münsheʾāt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274/1857, i, 539), and a Luṭfī Beg who served at the siege of Vienna in 936/1529 as *sandjaḳ begi* of Yanya (*ibid.*, i, 573). These references may well be to Luṭfī Pasha, the future Grand Vizier, since he himself claimed to have participated in both these campaigns (Luṭfī Pasha, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1341/1922-3, 3). In 941/1534-5 he became Third Vizier. By this time he had, by his own account, served in Selīm I's wars against the Ṣafawids in eastern Anatolia, and against the Mamlūks in Syria and Egypt. Under Süleymān I [*q.v.*], he took part in the campaigns of Belgrade in 927/1521, Rhodes in 928-9/1522, Mohács in 932/1526, Buda and Vienna in 935-6/1529, Güns in 939/1532 and against the Ṣafāwids in 940-2/1533-6. In the latter campaign he served probably as *beglerbegi* of Ḳaramān, commanding the rearguard of the Ottoman army at Tabrīz in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 941/September-October 1534 (Ferīdūn Beg, *op. cit.*, i, 587). During the same campaign he was active in operations around Lake Van, when he commanded the architect Sinān [*q.v.*] to construct a fleet at Tatvan (Sāʿī, *Tadhkirat al-bunyān*, Istanbul 1315/1897-8; quoted in M. Fuad Köprülü, *Luṭfī Pasha*, in *Türkiyyāt Medjmūʿasī*, i [1925], 119-50).

As Third Vizier, Luṭfī Pasha commanded the fleet which left Istanbul on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 943/11 May 1537 to join forces at Avlonya (Valona, Vlorë) with the army under the Sultan, which had travelled overland. While the *Ḳapudan Pasha* Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] sailed to Egypt to collect provisions, forces under Luṭfī Pasha raided the coasts of Apulia. On

the return of Khayr al-Dīn, Andrea Doria's attack on two galleys in the command of the *ketkhüdā* of Gallipoli (Gelibolu [*q.v.*]), and a second attack on a galley which Luṭfī Pasha had sent with messages to Corfu (Körfüz [*q.v.*]), furnished a pretext to attack this island. On 18 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 944/25 August 1537, Ottoman forces under Luṭfī Pasha landed and overran the island, but were unable to take the fortress. On the command of the Sultan, and despite Luṭfī and Khayr al-Dīn Pashas' objections, Ottoman troops began to withdraw on 1 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 944/7 September 1537. Luṭfī Pasha returned to Istanbul with a section of the fleet (see Kâtib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, Istanbul 1329/1911, 48-50).

On the death of Muṣṭafā Pasha on 1 Muḥarram 945/30 May 1538, Luṭfī Pasha replaced him as Second Vizier. In this capacity, he accompanied the army on the campaign to Moldavia (Ḳara Boghdan [see BOGHDĀN]). The army left Istanbul on 11 Ṣafar 945/9 July 1538, and crossed the River Prut on a bridge which Sinān had constructed on Luṭfī Pasha's orders (Sāʿī, *loc. cit.*).

When Ayās Pasha [*q.v.*] died on 20 Ṣafar 946/7 July 1539, Luṭfī Pasha succeeded to the Grand Vizierate. In this position he led the negotiations which ended the war with Venice. By the terms of the peace concluded on 20 Radjab 947/20 November 1540, Venice ceded Monemvasía and Návplion, in addition to all places lost in the war, and paid an indemnity of 300,000 ducats (200,000 according to Luṭfī Pasha, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, 384). Luṭfī Pasha himself received a payment of 10,000 ducats from the Venetians (E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, i, Paris 1848, 471). He also headed negotiations with the Habsburgs over Ferdinand's claim to territory in Hungary which Janós Zapolyai had ruled as an Ottoman vassal. The issue eventually led to war, and an Ottoman army left for Hungary in Muḥarram 948/May 1541. At this moment, however, the Sultan dismissed his Grand Vizier. Although Luṭfī Pasha himself represents his removal from office as voluntary retirement to be "secure from the wiles of women" (R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, Turkish text, 5), it appears to have followed a violent quarrel with his wife, Dewlet Shāhī Sulṭān, the Sultan's sister, whom he had married in 945/1538-9. According to ʿĀlī (*Künh al-akhbār*, quoted by Köprülü, in *op. cit.*), the quarrel followed his wife's objection to his grisly punishment of a prostitute. After his dismissal, Luṭfī Pasha retired to his *čiftlik* [*q.v.*] in Dimetoḳa.

Luṭfī Pasha obviously regarded his administrative activities as the greatest achievement of his vizierate. His *Āṣaf-nāme* summarises his views on the principles of sound administration, at the same time mentioning his own reforms. The greatest of these he regarded as the abolition, except in cases of extreme urgency, of the *ulaḳ ḥükmü*, whereby state couriers (*ulaḳ*) could arbitrarily expropriate horses from the populace for their own and their retinues' use. Instead, he established a system of regular staging posts with their own horses (R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, Turkish text, 10-11; Luṭfī Pasha, *op. cit.*, 371-82; see also C. J. Heywood, *Some Turkish archival sources for the history of the menzilhane network in Rumeli during the eighteenth century*, in *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi*, iv-v [1976-7], 50 n. 9). In the financial sphere, he claimed to have reduced state expenditure by, among other things, limiting the number of *ḳapīkulu* troops to 15,000, so that income exceeded expenditure. This had not been the case at the time of his appointment (R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, Turkish text, 35-40). Evidently to prevent oppressive taxation, he advised against the regular levy of *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, 41-2), and recommended that tax-farms (*muḳāṭaʿa*) be exploited by salaried officials (*emīn* [*q.v.*]) rather than by tax-farmers (*mültezim*) (*ibid.*, 39). Further to protect individuals against the claims of the state, he ensured that the Treasury did not appropriate inheritances until seven years had elapsed without an heir appearing (*ibid.*, 11-12). In strategic matters he rightly stressed the importance of the Ottoman fleet since the time of Selīm I, and claimed responsibility for establishing a number of squadrons outside Istanbul and an *emīn* to supervise naval expenditure (*ibid.*, 33; see also C. H. Imber, *The navy of Süleyman the Magnificent*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi [1974], 211-83).

An independent witness to Luṭfī Pasha's reforms is Moses Almosnino of Salonica (*ca.* 1515-*ca.* 1580), who reported that he had protected miners against the exploitation of mining concessionaires, and cattle-raisers against drovers and butchers (Moses ben Baruch Almosnino, *Extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla*, Madrid 1638, 130-3). Luṭfī Pasha's vizierate may also have seen the promulgation of the *ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*] of Süleymān I (U. Heyd, ed. V. L. Ménage, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973, 26-7).

Shortly after his retirement, Luṭfī Pasha returned to Istanbul to request the Sultan's permission to go on the Pilgrimage, which he performed eventually in 949/1547, before returning again to Dimetoḳa, where he spent the rest of his life. In retirement, he devoted himself to writing works on morals, *fiḳh* and theology. He also wrote verse (Sehī, *Hesht behisht*, Istanbul 1325/1907, 25; quoted by M. Fuad Köprülü, *op. cit.*). He himself lists thirteen works in Arabic and six in Turkish (Luṭfī Pasha, *op. cit.*, 3-4; R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, pp. XV-XVIII). He does not include the *Āṣaf-nāme*, which he may therefore have completed after his *History*, which dates from after 961/1554. He died probably in 970/1562-3 in Dimetoḳa (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*; quoted by M. Fuad Köprülü, *op. cit.*).

In Istanbul he endowed a fountain; in the village of Müslim near Edirne, he endowed a mosque and a *muʿallim-khāne* with 100,000 *aḳčes* and the income from twenty shops in Edirne (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve pâşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 506-7).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the text, see J. H. Mordtmann's valuable review of R. Tschudi's edition of the *Āṣaf-nāme* in *ZDMG*, lvi (1911), 599-603. (C. H. IMBER)

LUṬFĪ AL-SAYYID, AḤMAD, Egyptian scholar, statesman and writer, born in the village of Barḳayn, Daḳahliyya Province, on 15 January 1872 and died in Cairo on 5 March 1963. His family were rural gentry (*aʿyān*), and both his father, al-Sayyid Abū ʿAlī, and his grandfather were *ʿumdas*. He was educated in the traditional *kuttāb*, the government school in al-Manṣūra, the Khedivial Secondary School in Cairo and the School of Law in Cairo. The most significant intellectual contacts which he made at the School of Law were with Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Ḥassūna al-Nawāwī. Having graduated in 1894, he entered the legal department of the government service, where he worked until 1905. In 1907, he became editor-in-chief of a new newspaper, *al-Djarīda*, which voiced the views of a number of enlightened and liberal *aʿyān* and the party which they founded later in 1907, the Ḥizb al-Umma ("National Party"). Luṭfī's writings in *al-Djarīda* from 1907-14 comprise his most important and influential body of work. From 1915-18 he was director of the National

Library, but resigned to act as secretary to the original *Wafd* of 1918-19 headed by Saʿd Zaghlūl. He soon returned to the National Library, where he began his second substantial series of works, his translations from Aristotle via the French versions of Jules Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire. From 1925-41 he was Chancellor of the Egyptian (later Cairo) University, with intermissions as Minister of Education (1928-9) and Minister of the Interior (1929). In his later years, he was a member of the Senate, and on retiring from politics, was president of the Academy of Arabic Language until his death. His liberal philosophy was largely the product of his readings in Western philosophers and sociologists from Aristotle to Locke and Bentham, Mill, Spencer, Rousseau, Comte and Le Bon. He saw Egyptian nationality as the result of historical and environmental factors which Egyptianised all who resided permanently in Egypt and committed their destinies to her. Hence he campaigned tirelessly against Pan-Islamic, Pan-Arab and Pan-Ottoman ideologies in *al-Djarīda*, but granted equal worth to Egypt's Pharaonic and Islamic heritages. Rejecting religion as a basis for nationhood, he insisted that utility was the foundation of all political and social unity. He proclaimed freedom as the right of both the individual and the nation, and followed Muḥammad ʿAbduh's advocacy of a gradualist approach towards a constitutional régime through universal education. By his middle years, he was already called *ustādh al-djīl* ("teacher of the generation"), and his writings are considered a notable contribution in the formation of modern literary Arabic. His autobiography appeared first in *al-Muṣawwar*, Cairo, September-December 1950, and in book form as *Ḳiṣṣat ḥayātī*, Cairo 1962. Selected editorials from *al-Djarīda* have been published in the following collections edited by Ismāʿīl Maẓhar: *al-Muntakhabāt*, 2 vols., Cairo 1945; *Ṣafaḥāt maṭwiyya*, Cairo 1946; and *Taʾammulāt fī 'l-falsafa wa 'l-adab wa 'l-siyāsa wa 'l-idjtimāʿ*, Cairo 1946. His translations from Aristotle comprise: *ʿIlm al-akhlāḳ ilā Nikūmākhūs* (*Nicomachean ethics*), Cairo 1924; *al-Kawn wa 'l-fasād* (*Generation and corruption*), Cairo 1932; *ʿIlm al-ṭabīʿa li-Arisṭūṭālīs* (*Physics*), Cairo 1935; *al-Siyāsa li-Arisṭūṭālīs* (*Politics*), Cairo 1948.

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(C. Wendell)

LUṬFIYYA [see SHĀDHILIYYA].

LŪṬĪ (also Lāṭī, Lawāṭa-kār), in current Persian strictly speaking an itinerant entertainer accompanied by a monkey, bear or goat, which dances to the sound of a drum and coarse songs. This however appears to have been a late restriction of the meaning of the term, deriving perhaps from its earlier use to describe a jester attached to a royal or princely court. In other contexts, it is equivalent to a loose liver, gambler, wine-bibber, and more especially, a pederast. The last meaning lends colour to the generally accepted derivation, through Arabic *lūṭī*, *lawwāṭ*, from the Prophet Lot, though this has been questioned by some scholars. Another less likely source is the Persian word *lūt*, meaning "victuals", whence *lūtī* = "greedy".

One of the earliest recorded uses of the term in Persian is by the 4th/10th century poet Kisāʾī, who associates it with the words *tāz* and *makyāz*, both meaning "catamite". Nāṣir-i Khusraw, writing in the 5th/11th century, uses the term as equivalent to "wine-drinker, thief, whoremonger", while Sūzanī (6th/12th century) warns against commercial dealings with *lūṭīs*, which suggests that the word was by then acquiring its later meaning of "vagabond, wastrel". Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (7th/13th century) and ʿUbayd Zākānī (8th/14th century), however, use it primarily in the sense of "pederast".

Probably as a result of the association in certain aspects of Ṣūfī thought between loose living and the following of the Ṣūfī path [see MALĀMATIYYA], expressions such as *lūṭī-yi Allāhī*, *lūṭī-yi Khudāʾī*, are found with the significance of "generous, manly". In current parlance, *lūṭī* also means "rascal, vagabond", *lūṭī-bāzār* or *lūṭī-bāzī* "cheating", particularly in financial matters, *lūṭī-khʷur kardan* "improvidence, wastefulness". On the other hand, *lūṭī-garī* implies "generosity".

Bibliography: Amīr Ḳulī Amīnī, *Dāstānhā-yi amthāl*³, Iṣfahān 1972, 301-3; idem, *Farhang-i ʿawwām*², Iṣfahan 1974, 690-1; ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā *et alii*, *Lughat-nāma*, vol. *lām*, 334; A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Menoutchehri, poète persan du onzième siècle de notre ère*, Paris 1886, 309; W. M. Floor, *The Lūṭīs—a social phenomenon in Qājār Persia*, in *WI*, xiii (1971), 103-21; idem, *The political role of the lūṭīs in Qājār Iran*, in *Interdisziplinäre Iran-Forschung*, Wiesbaden 1979, 179-89.

(L. P. Elwell-Sutton)

LUWĀTA [see LAWĀTA].

LUXOR [see AL-UḲṢUR].

LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM, "observing rules that are not prescribed", term commonly used for the adoption of a second, or even a third or fourth, invariable consonant preceding the rhyme consonant (*rawī*) which, at least in classical poetry, remains itself invariable [see ḲĀFIYA, iv, 412a, middle]. The term is also used in dealing with rhymed prose (*sadj*) [*q.v.*]. In later Arabic and Persian literary theory the term covers not only the classical *luzūm*, but also a variety of other devices which have nothing to do with the end rhyme. Common synonyms of *luzūm* are *iʿnāt* and *iltizām*, and several authors insist that one finds the terms *taḍmīn*, *tashdīd*, and *taḍyīḳ* in the sense of *luzūm*.

Scholars occupied with rhyme theory point out that the introduction of a second invariable rhyme consonant is rare among the ancient poets; they justify the practice by arguing that some poets chose to regard the suffix *-at* of the third person feminine of the verb in the perfect, the prominal suffixes, *-ka*, *-ki*, *-kum*, *-kumā* (implicitly, see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd*, v, 501), *-hum*, and *-humā* as *waṣl* [see ḲĀFIYA, iv, 412a, middle] which meant that the preceding consonant became *rawī* and as such had to be invariable in addition to these suffixes themselves (cf. the explicit statement by the poet Kuthayyir quoted by Akhfash, *Ḳawāfī*, 18-19); it also meant that a line ending in the demonstrative *dhālika* should prefer-

ably be followed by lines ending in *-lika*, *e.g.*, *hunālika*, and not, for instance, in *bika*. They mention that adoption of a second invariable consonant was sometimes achieved by reduplication of the rhyme consonant, and that sometimes the second invariable consonant (or the reduplication) was maintained in part of the poem only. They do not offer an explanation for this last phenomenon and seem to be unaware of the fact that *rā*ʾ, *lām*, and *nūn* (less often *mīm*) appear at times to be interchangeable, *e.g.*, *djamāliki/bāriki* (Ṭarafa, *Dīwān*, ed. D. al-Khaṭīb and L. al-Ṣaḳḳal [Damascus 1395/1975], 86-8), *ḥallatī/fa-ḍannati* (Kuthayyir, *Dīwān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās [Beirut 1391/1971], 95-6, and the lines on p. 107; see also A. Bloch, in *AO*, xxi [1953], 230 and n. 31). Poems or fragments of poems ending on *-llat*(*i*), *-nnat*(*i*), and *-rrat*(*i*) are quoted with special frequency. The question of the origin of the figure thus appears complex. The literary theorists beginning with Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), *Badīʿ*, 74-5, who lists the *iʿnāt* (= *luzūm*) as one of the ornaments of style (*maḥāsin*, see BADĪʿ and IBN AL-MUʿTAZZ and cf. *Israel Oriental Studies*, ii [1972], 89-90), made no serious attempt to clarify the history of the figure or to explain to what extent the *luzūm* as practised by the poets of their own time was related to the technique of the ancient poets as recorded by the rhyme theorists. This is true also of Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1058), even though in the introduction to his *Luzūmiyyāt* (a work intended to demonstrate the possibilities of the figure and a curious exposition of the author's views on religion and ethics, see AL-MAʿARRĪ) he offers a thorough review of rhyme theory: Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ seems to suggest that the *luzūm* of later poets was largely independent of these earlier examples (37, ll. 1-3) and implicitly denies that the suffix *-hum* can be taken as *waṣl* (51, ll. 2-7). Ibn 'l-Iṣbaʿ (d. 654/1256), *Taḥrīr*, 519, goes so far as to claim that the *luzūm* in the works of the ancients was unintentional.

At a later stage, the literary theorists discovered examples of *luzūm* in the Ḳurʾān, but these do not involve doubling of consonants or the repetition of suffixes, except in one case (VII, 86, see Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr*, 518; idem, *Badīʿ al-Ḳurʾān*, 229) which is not valid, since it does not appear at the end of the verse and cannot be considered a rhyme. However, the examples from the *ḥadīth* and the sayings of ʿAlī quoted by Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. 747/1346 or 749/1348), *Ṭirāz*, ii, 400-1, contain some instances of *sadjʿ* with identical consonants preceding pronominal suffixes.

For a while after its first appearance in Ibn al-Muʿtazz's *Badīʿ* as *iʿnāt al-shāʿir nafsah* the figure received little attention from the literary theorists. Ḳurʾānic examples and one example from poetry appear in Bāḳillānī's (d. 403/1013) *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. A. Ṣaḳr [Cairo 1374/1954], 145-6) in a chapter on *al-tarṣīʿ maʿ al-tadjnīs*, but Bāḳillānī does not mention the term *iʿnāt* which one would expect in this context. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwārazmī (*flor.* second half of the 4th/10th century) in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (ed. G. van Vloten [Leiden 1895]), defines *iʿnāt* as the poet's following self-imposed rules and does not offer any examples. The term seems even to have been forgotten for some time, as appears from the unpublished *Mawādd al-bayān* of ʿAlī b. Khalaf (5th/11th century) (see *AIUON*, xxxvii [1977], 301 and note, and also I. Kratchkovsky in *AIEO*, xx [1962], 34, 108-9): The definition which ʿAlī b. Khalaf offers is correct, but as a result of a graphic error *iʿtāb* had by this time been substituted for *iʿnāt*; this resulted later in the introduction of a new figure, *ʿitāb al-marʾ nafsahu* which found its way into several handbooks (see, for instance, Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr*, 166-7).

The *Khaṣāʾiṣ* of Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) has a chapter on the *taṭawwuʿ bimā lā yalzam* which stands apart from the treatment of the *luzūm* in other grammatical and rhetorical studies: It offers a wide variety of examples, mostly from older poets and mostly in the *radjaz* metre. Ibn Djinnī disregards (or does not recognise) some of the rules adopted by others. He accepts the *nūn* of the second energetic form of the verb as *rawī* (see ḲĀFIYA, iv, 413a second half) and ignores the tendency of ancient poets to consider the *kāf* of *-kumā* as part of the *waṣl* (ii, 249); he points to unique instances of the *luzūm* in a poem by ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ where all first hemistichs but one end with the article and in a *radjaz* poem by a certain Ghaylān [b. Ḥurayth] al-Rabaʿī (M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie* [Wiesbaden 1966], index), where all lines but one end on a word in the genitive case which cannot be recognised as such because the *ḳāfiya* is not a *ḳāfiya muṭlaḳa* (see ḲĀFIYA, iv, 412a first half; with a view to the case ending being pronounced in singing (?), cf. H. Birkeland, *Altarabische Pausalformen* [Oslo 1940], 12-3). Ibn Djinnī also notes (ii, 262-3) that Ibn al-Rūmī (d. *ca.* 280/893) distinguished himself as a *luzūm* poet (see also Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿImrān al-Marzubānī [d. 384/993], *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. F. Krenkow [Cairo 1354/1935], 289, ll. 9-10), even though he sometimes did no more than maintain the same vowel before the *rawī* when this was not necessary, or not strictly necessary. In this context he makes a case, though not a well-documented one, for seeing in the *luzūm* of *muwallad* poets (the term generally refers to early ʿAbbāsid poets, but is also used specifically for 4th/10th century poets) a continuation of tendencies which existed in ancient poetry. He is perhaps the first to accept as a form of *luzūm* the use of diminutives in the rhyme. Ibn Djinnī's views may not have been widely known; his observations on Ibn al-Rūmī and on the use of the diminutive are also found in later authors, but are worded differently.

In several works inspired by al-Ḳazwīnī's (d. 739/1338) *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* [see AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ (KHAṬĪB DIMASHḲ)] and in didactic poems on the *badīʿ* (*badīʿiyyāt*) composed between the 8th/14th and 12th/18th centuries, the term is applied in a wider sense than before: one speaks of *luzūm* even if only two lines of a poem show an additional invariable consonant (some of the examples quoted by earlier rhyme theorists are from poems that do not show the *luzūm* throughout). The same is true, of course, of the *sadjʿ*, where often there are no more than two rhyming clauses. There is also question of *luzūm* in internal rhyme, *e.g.*, *wa-mā 'shtāra 'l-ʿasala mani 'khtāra 'l-kasala*. ʿAbbāsī (d. 963/1556), *Maʿāhid*, iii, 306, mentions a collection of *maḳāmāt luzūmiyya*, apparently based on the figure, by al-Ashtarkuwī [see MAḲĀMA, and H. Nemah, in *JAL*, v, 88-92], who died in 538/1143 and quotes some poetry from this author. Moreover, the figure is no longer limited to the rhyme, but involves different kinds of rhetorical games and artifices, such as the avoidance of pointed or unpointed letters or alternating such letters from word to word, the avoidance of labials, the inclusion of a certain letter in every word of the line, the use of all letters of the alphabet in one line, and even graphic devices, such as the omission of connected letters. Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) credits himself with having

invented the term *tadyīḳ* for such devices. The first example he mentions, however, is a device which involves the rhyme: The rhyme consonant may be, for instance, the *hāʾ*, but the poet imposes upon himself to avoid using the pronominal suffixes of the third person singular (presumably even in cases where this would be permissible, see ḲĀFIYA, iv, 413a middle). Others do not seem to be aware of Suyūṭī's definition and use *tadyīḳ* as a simple synonym of the other terms listed at the beginning of this article.

In Persian rhetoric and prosody, the terms *iʿnāt* and *luzūm mā lā yalzam* are used, as in Arabic, for the adoption of a second invariable consonant in prose and in poetry, and the reduplication of the rhyme consonant. In addition, however, the two terms are used for the repetition of two or more words in each hemistich or line of poetry, and for the use of internal rhyme. Rādūyānī (middle of the 5th/11th century) denotes the latter use specifically as *iʿnāt al-ḳarīna*. Rāzī (beginning of the 7th/13th century), *al-Muʿdjam*, 386, also applies the term *iʿnāt* to the use of double *ḳāfiyas* (*e.g.*, *djahān khabar/ās*ᵉ*mān sipar*) and points out that most Persian poets adopt an invariable consonant before the *tāʾ* of the feminine ending of Arabic words without considering this convention as *iʿnāt* or *luzūm* (216-17). Some later poets however disregard this rule, especially in cases where the *ḳāfiya* proper is followed by a *radīf*, *i.e.*, a word or particle recurring at the end of each line (see *EI*¹, s.v. REDĪF for a more accurate description which includes the *redif* in Turkish poetry; see also L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres* [Cambridge 1976], 225-6, 230). Another case of *luzūm*, according to Rāzī (262-3), occurs when the poet maintains the *taʾsīs*, i.e., a long *ā* separated from the *rawī* by a variable vowelled letter, throughout his poem (see Elwell-Sutton, 229-30, 233). Djādjarmī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (*flor.* early 8th/14th century) has collected a number of poems to which forms of *luzūm* have been applied under the heading *malzūmāt* in the 10th chapter of his anthology *Muʾnis al-aḥrār wa-daḳāʾiḳ al-ashʿār* (ed. Mīr Ṣāliḥ Ṭabībī, i, Tehran 1337/1958, *nūn-fāʾ*).

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LYDDA [see LUDD].

M

MĀ BAʿD AL-ṬABĪʿA, or MĀ BAʿD AL-ṬABĪʿIYYĀT, a translation of the Greek τα μετὰ τα φυσικά "the things which come after physical things", i.e. metaphysics, an expression which can have two meanings, each of which envisages a particular conception of that science (*ʿilm* or *ṣināʿa*). It can either be a discipline which one embarks upon after physics, utilising the results of the natural sciences, or else it can be one whose goal lies beyond the apprehendable objects which are the concern of physics. The two meanings are not mutually self-exclusive, but the first tends to put the accent on the role of experience and of knowledge of physical things in the search for metaphysical realities, whilst the second invites one to enter immediately into the domain of suprasensible principles in order to deduce from them the nature and laws governing beings of the material world.

One should note at the outset the two synonyms of this expression which denote metaphysics in

Arabic: on one side *al-ilāhiyyāt*, "the divine things", and on the other *al-falsafa al-ūlā*, "the first philosophy", a title which al-Kindī gave to one of his *Rasāʾil* (cf. *Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1953, i). These two terms were borrowed from the Greeks. In Plato, the word θεολογία normally denotes metaphysics; in his view, there exists a sphere of the divine (τὸ θεῖον), a term taken up by Aristotle, who identifies theology, the first philosophy and what we call metaphysics (*Metaphysics*, 1026, a 17-18). The translation uses the curious turn of phrase *ʿilm al-as͟hyāʾ al-ilāhiyyāt al-ḳawl* "science of divine things in regard to definition", in which *ḳawl* seems to correspond to the element λογική in θεολογική (*ḳawl* normally translating λόγος in its sense of definition). Ibn Rus͟hd comments in these terms: "Just as the things of nature are those in the definition of which nature is involved, so are the divine things those in the definition of which God is involved" (*Tafsīr Mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*, ed. Bouyges, ii, 712). Nevertheless, there does not follow from this that God is the object of metaphysics, neither for Ibn Rus͟hd, who connects this science not with God but with the existence of an incorporeal and immobile substance, this substance being for him *al-mawd͟jūd fi 'l-ḥaḳīḳa huwa 'l-d͟jawhar* "the being in reality" (*ibid.*, 750), nor for Ibn Sīnā, who thinks that God is not a datum, but can be demonstrated starting from the Necessary Being. Ibn Rus͟hd further follows Aristotle, who brought forward the possibility of a first philosophy (ἡ πρώτη φιλοσοφία) in 1026 a 23, saying that if there exists no other substance except those constituted by nature, then it is physics which should be the first philosophy, concerning which Ibn Rus͟hd comments thus: "It is equally clear that if there is there a certain substance distinct from the moving substance, this substance which has existence will be the first, and the science which one builds upon it will be the primordial science (*al-ʿilm al-aḳdam*); it will be the universal science and the first philosophy (*Tafsīr*, ii, 714). Moreover, for Aristotle, beyond the general idea of the divine there are only the gods of the ancient poets (Hesiod) who come into mythological cosmologies remote from demonstrative philosophy. Commenting on the term θεολόγοι (*Met.*, 1000 a 9), Ibn Rus͟hd writes (*Tafsīr*, i, 251), "Those who speak of divine things (*al-umūr al-ilāhiyya*) are those who hold forth upon a discourse beyond what man can intelligibly understand (*kalām^an^ k͟hārid͟j^an^ ʿammā yaʿḳiluhu al-insān*)". In other words, before speaking philosophically of God, one must make an intelligible conception, and this is the role of metaphysics.

But how should one understand the expression "primordial science" which Ibn Rus͟hd uses? All the question is included there. Indeed, metaphysics comes *before* the other sciences because it is universal and is concerned with the cause of everything which exists; should one therefore place it in front of the others in research and teaching, or on the contrary keep it back till the end? One may see here merely a difference of method, that of an expository procedure starting from principles and causes, and of a process of discovery starting from concrete and apprehensible experiences. This is al-Fārābī's approach, who tries by this means to reduce the divergencies separating Plato and Aristotle. He accordingly remarks in his *Kitāb al-D͟jamʿ bayn raʾay al-ḥakīmayn* (ed. A. Nader, Beirut 1968, 86) that for Plato, the most noble primordial substances are those which are near to the intellect and the soul, whilst for Aristotle, the most worthy substances of this name, by anteriorness and by their value (*bi 'l-tafḍīl wa 'l-taḳdīm*) are the first substances, i.e. the individual substances (*al-d͟jawāhir al-uwal allatī hiya al-as͟hk͟hāṣ*). But the difference arises from what Aristotle then says from the point of view of the logical and physical sciences, whilst Plato speaks from the point of view of metaphysics (*fī-mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*) and theological doctrines (*wa-aḳāwīlihi al-ilāhiyya*). Consequently, one can set oneself within a certain science or within another, or start from one or start from another, as a matter of indifference, according to one's intention. In his *Falsafat Arisṭūṭālīs* (ed. Muḥsin Mahdī, Beirut 1961), al-Fārābī sets forth the Stagirite's thought, following the progressive order of his enquiry as he sees it. After the questions of logic, and with the intention of discovering what makes for perfection in man, Aristotle studies the various questions which concern nature (*ṭabīʿa*), the soul (*nafs*) and the intellect (*ʿaḳl*). "He must also examine profoundly the substances of the heavenly bodies; are they nature, soul or intellect, or are they indeed some other, more perfect (*akmal*) thing; also, are these substances things which are outside physical speculation? The point is that physical speculation only includes what the categories include. Now it is clear that there are other beings outside the categories: the Intellect acting as Agent and the Thing (*s͟hayʾ*), which give to the heavenly bodies a perpetual circular movement.This being so, one has to make speculations about the beings which have a more universal (*aʿamm*) field than those about physics" (*ibid.*, 130). "This is why Aristotle explains in the book called *Mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿiyyāt* that he is making speculations and conducting a deep enquiry into beings in a way which differs from physical speculation" (*ibid.*, 132). One notes that al-Fārābī admits that one can begin by physics, which does not however prevent him from thinking (in fact, wrongly) that Aristotle recognises the existence of a domain of the being which is external and superior to the categories which, according to him, only concern the physical domain. Elsewhere he speaks clearly (131) of a penetrating enquiry into the beings which are above the natural things in the hierarchy of being (*fī 'l-mawd͟jūdāt allatī fawḳ al-ṭabīʿiyyāt fī rutbat al-mawd͟jūd*).

Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rus͟hd take up the Aristotelian definition of metaphysics as being the science of the being as such (*al-mawd͟jūd bi-mā huwa mawd͟jūd*). But what is meant to be understood by this?

1. Ibn Sīnā's viewpoint. The basic principle is that "the object (*mawḍūʿ*) of all science is something whose existence is admitted (or conceded: *amr musallam al-mawd͟jūd*) in that science" (*S͟hifāʾ, al-Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo 1960, i, 5). It is drawn from the *Posterior analytics* of Aristotle (72 a 20): "If I say that a thing exists or does not exist, it is a hypothesis". Hence if one says that the object of metaphysics is God or the Prime cause (*Musabbib al-asbāb*), this is only an hypothesis which must be verified by means of another science. Now there is no other science, necessarily more particular than metaphysics, which is able to guarantee the existence of such-and-such an object. The *mawḍūʿ* of a science is the object concerning which this science conducts an enquiry (*al-mabḥūth ʿanhu*). But since God or the Prime cause are not data, they are on the contrary the goal of a metaphysical enquiry (*maṭlūb*). Ibn Sīnā concludes that the object of metaphysics is the being as such which is implied by every science, by every

question, by every thought and by every speech utterance (*ibid.*, 30): it is the *quid* (*mā*), the "that which" (*alladhī*) and the thing (*shayʾ*). It does not have to be vouched for, since it is the thing itself which vouches for everything, or it is by means of it that one vouches for what one vouches for. This being as such can be divided, without one needing recourse to any category, in several ways: these divisions of it are like intrinsic accidents (*ka 'l-ʿawāriḍ al-khāṣṣa*), whilst divisions according to categories are *like* kinds (*ka 'l-anwāʿ*). It can thus be divided in one and in multiples (*al-waḥīd - al-kathīr*), in force and in action (*ḳuwwa - fiʿl*), in universal and particular (*kullī - djuzʿī*), in what is eternal and what arises from a temporal origin (*ḳadīm - muḥdath*), in what is completed and what is incomplete (*tāmm - nāḳiṣ*), in cause and effect (*ʿilla-maʿlūl*) and in possible and necessary (*mumkin - wādjib*). This list has been made up from the metaphysics of the *Shifāʾ* (i, 13) and from the *Kitāb al-Nadjāt* (ed. Ṣabrī al-Kurdī, 1938, 199). The last pair of oppositions in this division will mark out the Avicennan ontology through the distinction of the Being necessary by itself (*wādjib al-wudjūd bi-dhātihi*), which is to be identified with God, and the being possible by itself (*mumkin al-wudjūd bi-dhātihi*), necessary by something outside of itself, i.e. the being of the universe. Consequently, starting from this general ontology, Ibn Sīnā explains the origins of various beings, first of all the heavenly ones (intellects, spheres, souls of the spheres) by a process of emanation (*fayḍ*), as far as the Intellect acting as Agent, the intellect of the sphere of the moon; and then of the sublunary world, which is made out of material elements by a progression from minerals to man, thanks to the shapes received from the Intellect acting as Agent which is *Wāhib al-ṣuwar* (*Dator formarum*). Thanks to reason, man is capable of returning to God, to such a point that God is, as the Ḳurʾān says (LVII, 3), the First and the Last. From the domain of metaphysics, one passes on to that of connection with the heavens, then with physics, by a descending movement; then, beginning with connection with minerals, one passes on to that with plants, and from animals to that with the soul, as far as the rational soul, by means of an upward movement which ends up by a mysticism of the mind which corresponds in its point of arrival with that which was metaphysics at its departure point. For Ibn Sīnā, as for Plato, all reality is legitimately deducible from metaphysical principles, even though the imperfect nature of the human understanding does not in fact allow an integral deduction of the universe.

2. **Ibn Rushd's viewpoint.** This is a case of recovering the pure Aristotelianism, stripped of all Platonic or Neoplatonic influence. Since being is not a generic concept, it cannot be defined and apprehended in itself, but only by means of categories. Thus for Ibn Rushd, the problem is to know what one can say about it and how one can speak of it. "Aristotle's aim in this book (Δ) is to distinguish the details of the significations to which the names (*al-asmāʾ*) refer, significations which one thinks about in that science (metaphysics) and which hold there the position of the subject of an art (*manzilat mawḍūʿ ṣināʿa*) in relationship to that art. These names are those which are uttered in regard to a single thing according to different points of view (*bi-djihāt mukhtalifa*). This is why he makes out of speculation on the meaning of these names one section of that science (*Tafsīr*, ii, 475). It is thus that one calls everything connected with health "healthy": balanced temperament, exercise, remedial measures, "the same thing is valid for the name of the being (*mawdjūd*) in relationship to substance and other categories" (*ibid.*, i, 303-4). It is possible therefore to have a single science of all the diverse beings, on condition that one understands the names designating them analogically. This is what has been called the analogy of proportionality; being in regard to substance is what being is in regard to substance is what being is in regard to quantity, etc. "Just as the things which are connected (*tansubu*) with the curative arts fall, on examinations, into one and the same science, i.e. medicine, likewise all the things which are connected with being are the object of speculation in a single science (*ibid.*, i, 307). But metaphysics can also be justified by relying on the analogy of attribution, substance being the first analogue of being: "Thus the name of being (*huwiyya*), a synonym of *mawdjūd*, although it is used of different species of being, is only used for each of them through the fact of the connection which it enjoys with the prime being (*al-huwiyya al-ūlā*) which is substance". To be first accordingly means here to be the first analogue. "The categories are connected with the substance, not in that they are considered to be their agentive cause any more than their ultimate one, but in the sense that they subsist in it (*ḳāʾima bihi*) and that the substance is for them a subject (*mawḍūʿ*)" (*ibid.*, 305). Now substance is a basic concept and in the measure that one accordingly brings together the study of being with the study of substance, "since it has been posited that for every unique concept there is a unique science . . . there results necessarily that there is a unique science of being" (*ibid.*, 309). Metaphysics, being the study of being as such (Ibn Rushd, who prefers *huwiyya* to *mawdjūd*, often remarks that its object is *al-huwiyya bi-mā hiya huwiyya*), ought probably to contain within itself all the aspects of being. Nevertheless, being in the shape of the accident (*bi-'l-ʿaraḍ*) and being in thought (*fi 'l-fikr*) are two defective entities (*nāḳiṣatānʾ*). The aim of metaphysics is to examine "the real being which exists outside the soul" and it is "the substance which is the basic principle of this being" (*al-djawhar huwa mabdaʾ hādhihi 'l-huwiyya*). This conforms to the importance which the substance assumes basically in metaphysical speculation (cf. *ibid.*, iii, 1402). Beginning by the study of substances which are apprehendable by the sense and are mobile and corruptible, and then of substances which have these same characteristics except that they are incorruptible (the heavens), Ibn Rushd hopes to arrive, with Aristotle, at a substance which is not apprehendable by the senses, is incorruptible and is immobile, the Prime Mover, the cause of all the movements of the universe.

Ibn Rushd thus carries beyond the apprehendable world an idea of substance which he has drawn from physics and which seems to him to be the basis of all existence: all that exists is substance, an exact correspondence here below. Ibn Sīnā, on the contrary, thinks that substance, like all other categories, must receive the quality of existence in order to exist, and that it can only receive existence by acquiring quantity, quality and all the other categories, for a substance which had neither quantity, quality and so forth, would be nothing. So it cannot in itself be taken as the first analogue or the representative of being conceived as existence. For Ibn Sīnā, the Necessary being is not a substance since it exists by itself, the *Ḳayyūm* of the Ḳurʾān

(II, 255, III, 2). On the other side, we have seen that the problem for the metaphysician is to know who established the existence of its object. Ibn Sīnā believes that this object, being implied in all sciences, does not need be to vouched for by one of them. Moreover, it is for metaphysics to provide the role of supplying the other sciences with the basis of their object. Ibn Rushd criticises this viewpoint, but by relying on his own one, namely that the first philosophy poses the question to itself about substance as the first analogue of being. "Ibn Sīnā, believing in the truth of the doctrine which does not want any of the sciences to set forth its own principles, and taking that *simpliciter*, believes that it is the task of the person who concerns himself with the first philosophy to give a clear exposition of the existence of substance apprehendable by the senses, eternal or not. He say that the natural scientist posits by hypothesis that nature exists (*yaḍaʿu waḍʿan anna 'l-ṭabīʿa mawdjūda*) and that the scholar of divine science is the one who gives the demonstrable proof of its existence" (*Tafsīr*, iii, 1423-4). Ibn Rushd then replies: "Yes, the specialist in the first philosophy seeks for the principles of substance as substance and sets forth clearly that the separateness of substances is the principle of the physical substance. But in making clear this search, he constantly calls for (*yuṣādiru*) what physics clearly sets forth, whether in regard to the substance which can be generated and is corruptible, in the first book of the *Physics* (189 B 30-191 b 34), where it is demonstrated that it is made up of matter and form, or whether in regard to the eternal substance, in Book viii (260 a 20 ff.), where it is set forth that the driving force of that substance is stripped of all matter. Then he clearly lays down that the principles of the substance which are neither the Universal ideas (*al-kulliyyāt*) nor the Numbers (*al-aʿdād*) [of Plato]" (*ibid.*, 1424-5). One should mention a final divergence between the two philosophers. Ibn Rushd notes that Aristotle, in the tenth book of the *Metaphysics*, has an enquiry into the unit, the multiple, the identical (*huwa huwa*), the similar, the opposite and into still further notions "which bring out the general concomitants (*al-lawāḥiḳ al-ʿāmma*) of the being as such" (*Tafsīr*, iii, 1403). In effect, metaphysics is a speculation about the being as such and about the "things" which are concomitant with it" (*al-umūr al-lāḥiḳa lahu*) (*ibid.*, iii, 1395). Now we have seen that what is concomitant with being for Ibn Rushd is the division of being for Ibn Sīnā. It seems that this fundamental divergence holds good for all the other oppositions.

Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics is consequently open to a region beyond the world, the earth and the heavens; it makes a mystical system possible. For Ibn Rushd, on the contrary, although metaphysics studies the principles of beings which are objects of other sciences, it is not the foundation of those sciences, but their completion. He writes in his *Tafsīr*, ii, 701, "Since ... each science only concerns itself with studying a certain being which is its special object, it is clear that there must necessarily exist a science which studies the absolute being (*al-huwiyya al-muṭlaḳa*); if there were not, our knowledge of things would not be completely exhaustive (*lam tustawfa maʿrifat al-ashyāʾ*)" (*Tafsīr*, ii, 701). Furthermore, whilst Ibn Rushd seeks for the first cause of the movements of substances apprehendable by the senses, corruptible or incorruptible, and finds it in the immobile Prime Mover, Ibn Sīnā sets himself the task of "making an enquiry into the first cause from which every being is brought about by causality (*kullu mawdjūd maʿlūl*) in as much as it has been the result of causality, and not simply in as much as it is a mobile being (*mawdjūd mutaḥarrik*) or a quantifiable being (*mawdjūd mutakammim*) (*Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, i, 14). But there is a problem there; it is not possible for metaphysics to speculate on causes in as much as they are causes *simpliciter* (*al-asbāb bi-mā hiya asbāb muṭlaḳa*), in the first place because this science treats of notions" "which do not raise the question of proper accidents owed to these causes as such, such as the notions of universal and particular, of act and capability, of possibility and necessity" (*ibid.*, 7); and then because the science of causes taken *simpliciter* presupposes that the existence of causes has been established for the things which have a cause (*ithbāt al-asbāb li 'l-umūr dhawāt al-asbāb*). Ibn Sīnā adopts here a very clear view of the problem of causality: it is not sufficient for the existence of a cause to be demonstrated in the eyes of reason. The existence of causes and effects is not proved by an intuition of causality; it comes from the division of being into the necessary and the possible. The first cause is thus the being necessary by itself. This is why there exists a being necessary so that all other beings have causes, since these exist even at the time when they are only possibilities. Now if one adopts as the point of departure experience of things apprehendable by the senses, all the causes that one will find are at the same time effects. One would not therefore be able, by tracing back the series of cause-effects, to reach the first cause, whether one went back infinitely or whether one came to a stop, as did Aristotle in his search for the Prime Mover, by an arbitrary decision: ἀναγκη στηναι! On this point, Ibn Sīnā has set forth a highly original idea in his *Ishārāt* (ed. Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo 1958, iii, 454-5). It concerns the position of the cause which is not an effect, in relation to the series of cause-effects. If it forms part of their ensemble (*djumla*), it is necessarily an extreme limit (*ṭaraf*). But if one takes a series made into a hierarchical chain (*silsila murattiba*) of causes and effects which is made up only of cause-effects, "there is a need for an external cause for this ensemble, but undoubtedly in continuity with it in regard to limit (*iḥtādjat ilā ʿilla khāridja ʿanhā, lākinnahā tattaṣilu bihā ... ṭarafan*)". Ibn Sīnā envisages the case where this succession is infinite, and then the cause-effects would form an infinitely limited ensemble. This ensemble is the universe; God is its "limit", but He is exterior to it. On the contrary, Ibn Rushd's Prime Mover is probably at the peak of the hierarchy of substance, but it is a substance and forms part of the world of substances. Just as metaphysics finishes off the sciences, likewise God supports the universe like the keystone of an arch.

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(R. ARNALDEZ)

MA CHUNG-YING (*Matthews' Chinese-English Dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters nos. 4310, 1505, 7489), also known as ǦA SSU-LING, or "Little Commander" (*Ǧa* is an affectionate diminutive used in colloquial Kansu Chinese—see the *Hsin-Hua tzu-tien*, Peking 1971, 124; Ssu-ling: see *Matthews'*, nos. 5585, 4043), the youngest and best-known of the five Chinese Muslim warlords comprising the "Wu Ma" clique [*q.v.*] which controlled much of Northwest China during the latter half of the Republican Period (1911-49).

Little is known of Ma Chung-ying's early years.

He was born at Linhsia (formerly Hochow) in south-eastern Kansu, *ca.* 1910 (there is a contradiction in the *Biographical dictionary of Republican China*, which holds that Ma was born in 1911, but that he became a junior officer in 1926 "at the age of seventeen"; *op. cit.*, 463, col. 1). Little is known of Ma's immediate family, but it is clear that he shared the same paternal grandfather as the Kansu-Chinghai warlords Ma Pu-ch'ing (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 5363, 1168) and Ma Pu-fang (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 5363, 1815), and that he was thus a scion of the powerful Ma family of Pieh-tsang, a small village some 30 km. west of Linhsia (Mei, *op. cit.* in Bibl., 660). Ma Chung-ying was also distantly related to the Kansu-Ninghsia warlords Ma Hung-k'uei (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 2386, 3651) and Ma Hung-pin (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 2386, 5259), the most powerful representatives of the Ma family of Han-chia-chi, a large village some 25 km. south-west of Linhsia. Together these five Hui warlords were to become famous—or infamous—as the "Wu Ma" Northwestern Muslim clique.

Ma Chung-ying first entered military service during 1924 when, at about the age of fourteen, he joined the local Muslim militia. One year later, in August 1925, troops of the "Christan General", Feng Yü-hsiang, invaded Kansu. The invading forces, under the command of Feng's subordinate Liu Yü-fen, formed a part of the Northwest Army, more commonly known as the First *Kuominchün* ("National People's Army"), a vast rabble which is estimated to have numbered in excess of 100,000 men during the late summer of 1925. Feng intended, through his subordinate Liu, to colonise large tracts of Kansu with Kuominchün soldiers; he also intended to finance his struggle against the Northeastern warlord Chang Tso-lin with taxes raised and opium cultivated in the Northwest. Not unnaturally, these aims found little favour with the people of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai; nor were the local warlords much inclined to support Feng Yü-hsiang.

In 1926, one year after the Kuominchün invasion of Kansu, Ma Chung-ying received his first commission as an officer in the forces commanded by one of his uncles, Ma Ku-chung (Boorman and Howard, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 463). During the same year, Liu Yü-fen, who was in occupation of the provincial capital at Lanchow, was attacked by a combination of local warlords from eastern Kansu (Sheridan, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 195-6). Fighting was prolonged and severe, but the Muslim warlords of western Kansu seem to have remained aloof from the struggle, and Liu eventually succeeded in reimposing Kuominchün rule on the province. During his conflict, Ma Chung-ying, still only sixteen or seventeen years of age, is said to have "laid siege to and captured Linhsia on his own initiative" (Boorman and Howard, *ibid.*). Liu Yü-fen ordered troops under the command of Ma Lin (a great-uncle of Ma Chung-ying) to recapture Linhsia, but the young soldier easily defeated them, winning for himself a reputation as a military strategist and the nickname "Little Commander". Ma Chung-ying's triumph was short-lived, however, for his uncle and commanding officer Ma Ku-chung had not ordered the occupation of Linhsia, and he dismissed his nephew for insubordination. The "Little Commander" learned this lesson well; he withdrew to the Sining area of Chinghai and began to build up his own forces.

The Kuominchün "pacification" of Kansu left large areas of the province devastated, but failed to break the rebellious spirit of its people. In 1927 north-western Kansu was racked by a violent earthquake; this, combined with the increased use of good arable land for the cultivation of the opium poppy and arbitrary tax increases imposed by Liu Yü-fen, caused widespread famine. Early in the spring of 1928 the patience of the Northwestern Muslims ran out, and the standard of revolt was raised against the Kuominchün by the Muslim leader Ma T'ing-hsiang (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 6404, 3076; see Sheridan, 250). Ma Chung-ying (who according to one source had fled to Sining, together with a group of his followers, because of an illicit affair with a young Mnslim girl from a strictly orthodox family; see Ekvall, *op cit.* in *Bibl.*, 946) rapidly became involved in this revolt against the Kuominchün. The city of Linhsia, which remained in Kuominchün hands, was besieged three times by Muslim forces. Robert Ekvall, an American who travelled through south-eastern Kansu at this time, records that "The revolt had by this time assumed all the aspects of a holy war. Chanting prayers, forty or fifty thousand fighters went into battle with fanatical zeal ... the young rebel leader Ma Chong-ing (*sic*) seemed to bear a charmed life and by his reckless courage gained the utmost in obedience and devotion from his ruffian troops. The Chinese (i.e. the Kuominchün) were panic-stricken at the desparate courage of the Moslems, but eventually, by machine-gun fire and light artillery, proved superior" (Ekvall, 946-7). The Kuominchün was unable, however, to crush the Muslim revolt entirely; no sooner had the rebellion been suppressed in one area, than it broke out afresh in another. By September 1928 over 100,000 people had died (Sheridan, *loc. cit.*). Anti-Kuominchün feeling amongst the Muslims gradually gave way to racial hostility against all Han Chinese. On 14 February 1929, about 20,000 Muslims forced their way into Tangar, a city of some 5,000 families in western Kansu. An American eyewitness described the scene as follows: "[The Muslims] forced an entrance by ladder over the north wall. Immediately by they began to murder the Chinese in the most brutal way, cutting over the head with swords ... The Muslims were in the city only about two hours, but during that time the official figures show more than 2,000 killed, 700 wounded, and $ 2,000,000 damage" (Sheridan, 251). Kuominchün reprisals against the Muslims were equally bloody. According to American diplomatic reports (see Sheridan, *ibid.*), the ravages of war and famine reduced people to cannibalism; between 1926 and 1929 as many a 2,000,000 people may have died. One casualty was Ma Chung-ying's father, who was executed on the orders of Liu Yü-fen in the winter of 1929 (Boorman and Howard, *ibid.*).

In 1929 Ma Chung-ying, his position strengthened by several victories over the forces of the Kuominchün, approached the Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek with a request that his private army should be recognised as a Kuomintang frontier unit. At about this time, Feng Yü-hsiang declared himself independent of the National Government at Nanking; as a result of this, Ma Chung-ying's distant relative Ma Hung-k'uei, the strongest of the "Wu Ma" clique, declared in favour of the nationalist cause. Ma Chung-ying went to Nanking, where he enrolled briefly at the military academy. In 1930 he returned to Kansu where he was appointed garrison commander at Kanchow (Changyeh) in the far north-west, near the frontier of Sinkiang [*q.v.*]; from here he controlled a small fief, including the towns of Suchow and An-hsi, which "freed him from any financial

worry and allowed him to prepare his army for an expedition to Sinkiang" (Nyman, *op. cit.* in Bibl., 101). Before striking out into Singkiang, however, Ma seems to have made another bid to extend his personal power base in Kansu. Once again he met with failure, this time at the hands of his uncle Ma Pu-fang (Norins, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 41).

In 1930 Sinkiang, China's largest province, was under the control of Chin Shu-jen, an avaricious and incompetent warlord from Kansu; over 90% of Chin's subjects were Muslims, but the Han Chinese warlord seems to have nurtured a fierce hatred for all Muslims, whether of Hui or Turkic ethnic origin. Chin's anti-Muslim sentiment may well have derived from the various Hui risings in Kansu; certainly, when a combination of famine and war drove starving Han Chinese refugees to flee from his native Kansu to Sinkiang in the late 1920s, Chin welcomed them with open arms. Less than 200 km from the north-western frontier of Ma Chung-ying's fief in Kansu lay the ancient oasis city of Ḳomul (Ḳomul [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). When Chin Shu-jen seized power in Sinkiang during 1928, Ḳomul (Chinese name Hami) was still a semi-independent state, ruled by the aged monarch Maḳsūd S̲h̲āh, the last autonomous K̲h̲ānate in Central Asia. When Maḳsūd died of old age in 1930, Chin Shu-jen, who held the heir-apparent hostage in Urumchi, the provincial capital, announced the abolition of the K̲h̲ānate and its full absorption within China. Chinese officials took over the administration of Ḳomul, and Chin began to settle Han Chinese refugees from his native Kansu on arable land expropriated from the indigenous Uyg̲h̲ur [*q.v.*] farmers. Local unrest grew rapidly, and in 1931, following the abduction of a local Muslim girl by a Han Chinese tax collector, open rebellion broke out.

One of the leaders of the Ḳomul revolt, a Uyg̲h̲ur called Yulbars K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] travelled to Suchow in north-eastern Kansu where he met Ma Chung-ying (now officially Commander of the 36th Division of the Kuomintang, though Yulbars comments that there were so many Mas in this force that it was commonly called the *Ma-chia-chün*, or "Ma Household Army"; see Yulbars, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 87-8). Ma agreed to enter the fray, ostensibly to help his Uyg̲h̲ur co-religionists and in 1931 he led his troops into Sinkiang in an open challenge to Chin Shu-jen. Ma was wounded during the autumn, and withdrew temporarily to Kansu to recuperate. In August 1932 Ma's troops again entered Sinkiang. Initially, they cooperated with the Uyg̲h̲urs in their struggle against Chin Shu-jen. Ma's crack cavalry units, generally considered to have been amongst the best troops in China, fought their way to the outskirts of Urumchi before being repulsed by White Russian mercenaries under the command of Chin Shu-jen (see Wu, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 73-100); meanwhile, Uyg̲h̲ur forces under Yulbars K̲h̲ān and K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a Niyāz Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī took control of the greater part of southern Sinkiang, and an "East Turkestan Republic" was proclaimed at Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar [*q.v.*].

In April 1933 the incompetent Chin Shu-jen was ousted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai, his Chief-of-Staff. The new warlord, whose home province was Liaoning in the far Northeast, enjoyed the support of a group of some 3,000 battle-hardened Manchurian troops who had been driven into Siberia by the invading Japanese and repatriated to Sinkiang by the Soviet authorities. During the remainder of 1933, Ma Chung-ying's forces made two further attempts to take Urumchi, and despite judicious use of his White Russian and Manchurian troops, Sheng was forced to appeal to the Soviet Union for aid. In January 1934, Soviet military units entered Sinkiang and attacked Ma Chung-ying's cavalry with aeroplanes and, apparently, poison gas. The Muslim warlord was forced to fall back on Turfan, but instead of withdrawing to his old base in north-eastern Kansu he took the decision to try and hold southern Sinkiang.

This decision brought the Kansu Muslims into direct conflict with the Uyg̲h̲ur Muslims of Sinkiang, their erstwhile allies. There had been indications of such a split for some time; as soon as fighting on the northern front had become bogged down before Urumchi, units of Ma's forces had advanced into the Tarim Basin where his troops "aroused the antagonism of the Turki natives by looting and plundering" (Boorman and Howard, 464). It rapidly became clear to most of the Uyg̲h̲ur population (though notably not to Yulbars) that Ma was just another Kansu warlord, and not the saviour of the Muslims of Sinkiang they had hoped for. (There was never any question of Ma being viewed as a *mahdī*, and there seems to be no reason for assuming that he considered himself as such. Nyman, 101-3, is certainly mistaken in suggesting this.) The retreating Ma Chung-ying fell back on Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar, where he destroyed the nascent Islamic "East Turkestan Republic"; he then transferred command of his forces to his brother-in-law, Ma Hu-shan (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 2161, 5630), and, in a move which still remains shrouded in mystery, crossed the frontier into the Soviet Union during July 1934. His brother-in-law, Ma Hu-shan, went on to occupy the whole of the southern rim of the Tarim Basin; here, as the "Commander-in-Chief of the 36th Division of the Kuomintang", Ma established a strange Hui-ruled fief on the borders of Tibet. Ma Hu-shan's statelet, "Tunganistan" [*q.v.*] was to endure until 1937, when his forces melted away and he took refuge in British India.

It is not clear why Ma Chung-ying should have deliberately chosen to enter the Soviet Union when his military position was far from hopeless—after all, he had been driven back from Urumchi by Soviet forces. Ma's eventual fate is uncertain; an article published anonymously in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* during 1935 states that he "died on arrival at Moscow", however, it is more likely that he was held by Stalin as a weapon in reserve against Sheng Shih-ts'ai, the Soviet puppet in Sinkiang. Ma may have been executed by Stalin at Sheng's request when the latter visited Moscow in 1938; certainly, he was never seen again, though for many years stories of his imminent return circulated amongst both the Uyg̲h̲urs of Sinkiang and the Hui of Kansu.

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MA HUA-LUNG (*Matthews' Chinese-English dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters nos. 4310, 2211, 4258), also known MA CH'AO-CHING (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 233, 1171), a Chinese Muslim leader and exponent of the "New Teaching" who played an important part in the great mid-13th/19th century Muslim risings against the Ch'ing dynasty.

Ma Hua-lung was born at an unknown date during the first half of the 13th/19th century, probably at Ch'in-chi-p'u (Hartmann, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 14), a walled city in Ninghsia [*q.v.*] province situated on the right bank of the Yellow River some 80 km. south of Ninghsia city (the modern Yinchwan). We know little of Ma's personal background. Po Ching-wei, a member of the Shensi gentry who participated in the struggle against Ma (and therefore a hostile source), states that "Ma Hua-lung's family lived at Chin-chi-p'u for generations"; seemingly, Ma came from a well-to-do family background, for he was "the leading rich man in the area, as well as a person with a military title which he earned by substantial contributions to the government". Furthermore, he was a man of considerable political and religious significance, for Po tells us that he was "very much respected and trusted by the Moslems in Ninghsia ... [and] ... he was a sweeping influence over the Moslems of the other provinces too" (Po Ching-wei, *Feng-hsi-ts'ao-t'ang-chi*, iii, 7-11; cited in Chu, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 346-7).

In Ma Hua-lung's time, Chin-chi-p'u, said to have been a Muslim centre "for more than a thousand years" (Bales, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 218), and described as the "Medina of Chinese Islam" (Wright, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 111), indicating a significance secondary only to that of Hochow (often described as the "Mecca of Chinese Islam"), was a prosperous trading centre which thrived on the tea and salt trade with Mongolia. Bales, 243, notes that "it was a purely Muslim city and no Chinese official was resident there. The officials lived at Lingchow" (a small city some 30 km. to the north).

Ma Hua-lung's lineage is unclear. He does not appear to have been directly related by blood to Ma Ming-hsin [*q.v.*] of An-ting, but he was certainly a spiritual descendant of the latter. Muḥammad Tawāḍuʿ (*op. cit*, in *Bibl.*, 117) states that he was the sixth shaykh of the Naḳshbandī ṭarīḳa founded by Ma Ming-hsin *ca.* 1175/1761 near Lanchow. Ma Hua-lung's father, Ma Erh (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 1751), the fifth shaykh in Ma Ming-hsin's *silsila*, is said to have died "a lingering death" (Wright, 109) at the hands of the Chinese; Ma Hua-lung was thus both a spiritual and a direct blood descendant of Ma Erh, the fifth head of the Naḳshbandiyya-Djahriyya order in Northwest China (see, however, Israeli's 1974 thesis, 273-324, for an alternative analysis).

It seems that, after the harsh suppression of "New Teaching" adherents in the Kansu-Chinghai borderlands resulting from the defeat of the 1196/1781 and 1198/1783 Muslim risings, the surviving "New Teaching" leaders moved eastwards towards Ninghsia. According to Fletcher (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 77), it was Ma Hua-lung who made Chin-chi-p'u into the foremost "New Teaching" centre in all of China. From this bastion he was able to exercise an influence on the Chinese *umma* far in excess of that wielded by Ma Ming-hsin during his prime, for during the three-quarters of a century following the death of the latter, the "New Teaching" had spread from the Kansu-Chinghai border area across much of China. Seemingly, Ma Hua-lung played an important part in this process of proselytisation, for in a memorial addressed to the Imperial authorities at Peking requesting the prohibition of the "New Teaching", Tso Tsung-t'ang, the Ch'ing commander who eventually crushed the 1862-78 Muslim rebellion in Northwest China, complained that Ma, who styled himself the *Tsung-ta A-hung* ("General Grand *Mullā*", *Matthews'*, nos. 6912, 5943, 1, 2931), had "sent out people to spread this evil religion everywhere". According to Tso, these missionaries, known as *hai-li-fei* (*Matthews'*, nos. 2014, 3865, 1850, possibly a corruption of the Arabic Ṣūfī term *khalīfa*, see Israeli, *op. cit.*, 1974, 298), were "disguised as businessmen" (Tso Tsung-t'ang, *Memorials*, cited in Chu, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 1966, 156-8). In fact, Muslim merchants dominated the North China caravan trade, and it is more than probable that many of the "New Teaching" *hai-li-fei* were also legitimate merchants. Tso continued: "According to the testimony of lately captured Muslim rebels, there are missionaries of the New Teaching in Peking, Tientsin, Heilungkiang, Kirin, Shansi and Hupeh" (Tso, *Memorials*, *ibid.*); it is also probable that the "New Teaching" had spread across Szechwan (where it was definitely established) to Yunnan [*q.v.*] where it may have played some part in the "Panthay" [*q.v.*] Muslim rebellion of Tu Wen-hsiu [*q.v.*].

During the great Muslim rebellion of 1862-78 [see AL-ṢĪN], four main centres of Muslim power were to emerge in Northwest China (excluding only the Turkic areas of Sinkiang which were either to pass under the rule of Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*] of Kāshghar [*q.v.*], or to maintain a precarious independence under incompetent local leadership in Dzungaria

(see Bales, 224, "Sketch map of main Muslim centres"). These were: (1) Ma Hua-lung's base at Chin-chi-p'u, the chief centre of the "New Teaching"; (2) Hochow and the surrounding area, a predominantly "Old Teaching" centre under the leadership of Ma Chan-so (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 125, 59); (3) Hsining and the surrounding area, a region of mixed "Old" and "New Teaching" allegiances under the leadership of Ma Kuei-yüan (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 3610, 7728); and (4) a region centering upon Suchow, described by Bales, 224, as "non-sectarian", under the leadership of Ma Wen-yu (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 7129, 4196). (Note, however, that elsewhere [227], Bales describes both the Hsining and Suchow Muslims as being "mostly inclined to the New Sect".) In marked contrast to these Kansu and Chinghai Muslim leaders, Pai Yen-hu [*q.v.*], the most important of the Shensi Muslim leaders, was a guerilla fighter with no permanent base. Of this plethora of Muslim leaders, however, it is interesting to note that in the opinion of Tso Tsung-t'ang: "only one man ... could command followers from Heilungkiang to Sinkiang, and he was Ma Hua-lung" (Tso, *Memorials*, cited in Chu, 1955, 343).

The initial Northwestern Muslim challenge to the Ch'ing Empire came in Shensi, where between 1862 and 1864 Pai Yen-hu and other local Muslim leaders conducted a fast-moving cavalry campaign against the Manchu general To-lung-a. The Ch'ing forces scored some early successes in southern Shensi, but in 1864 To-lung-a was killed, and during the following months the Muslim revolt spread with great rapidity across the whole of Northwest China.

During the early years of the revolt, Ma Hua-lung, whose base at Chin-chi-p'u was situated well behind the main battle front in southern Shensi, succeeded in maintaining a precarious neutrality (at least in the eyes of some local Ch'ing officials, see Chu, 1955, 345), whilst simultaneously increasing the fortifications around Chin-chi-p'u and building up the armed forces at his command. It was widely rumoured that Ma Hua-lung had masterminded the capture of Ninghsia city by rebel forces in 1863, but some Ch'ing officials still remained unconvinced of Ma's complicity. Tso Tsung-t'ang, the military veteran who was appointed Governor-General of Shensi and Kansu in 1868, with specific orders to crush the Muslim revolt, had no such doubts. Tso "regarded the Chin-chi-p'u centre as one of first importance and determined to concentrate upon the reduction of the Muslims in that area. He had no illusions whatever about Ma Hua-lung, but was certain that he was the ringleader among all the Kansu Muslims, and he determined to proceed on that basis" (Chu, 1955, 346).

Tso estimated that he would require five years to reconquer Shensi and Kansu; he launched his attack in November 1868, aiming primarily to capture Chin-chi-p'u, with Hochow as a secondary target. It was a savage campaign, with little quarter given or asked. Tso played upon the traditional rivalries between adherents of the "Old" and "New" teachings by giving amnesty to followers of the "Old Teaching" who surrendered (a policy which paid off, for in 1872 Ma Chan-so, commander of the "Old Teaching" centre based on Hochow, surrendered to Tso shortly after inflicting a crushing defeat on the Imperial forces; for his pains he was made a general in Tso's army and went on to play an important part in the "pacification" of Kansu); in marked contrast Tso "never treated with a single 'New Sect' leader, but executed every one that fell into his hands" (Bales, 280).

Throughout 1869, Tso's armies advanced slowly across Shensi and into eastern Kansu, driving the highly-mobile Muslim cavalry of Shensi before them. In early 1870 the Imperial forces arrived before Chin-chi-p'u; the assault was to be long and hard, for "over the whole plain was a network of canals, all the villages were fortified, and the Moslems had erected numberless stockades covering every approach to Chinchipu" (Bales, 243; for details of the campaign, see 231-65). Tso built a huge moat and accompanying rampart around Chin-ch'i-p'u, and set about reducing the Muslims through a combination of bombardment and starvation. Ma Hua-lung's position was made critical by his earlier decision to send a large force of his followers into Shensi in a bid to draw off Tso's armies from Chin-chi-p'u, an action which caused Bales, Tso's biographer, to comment: "Had Ma Hua-lung enjoyed a reasonable talent for generalship along with his many other endowments, he could have driven Tso Tsung-t'ang out of Kansu, perhaps from Shensi as well, and delivered an irreparable blow to the Imperial cause" (247).

By January 1871 the population of Chin-chi-p'u was starving; the defenders had been reduced to eating human flesh. On 6 January Ma Hua-lung left his stronghold behind the city walls and presented himself, accompanied by a single servant, at the headquarters of Liu Chin-t'ang, the Imperial commander. Ma asked that all blame for the resistance at Chin-chi-p'u be laid on him, and that his followers should be spared. After prolonged interrogation by the victorious Ch'ing commanders, Ma was executed, together with twelve members of his immediate family, by the "slicing process"; some eighty of the lesser Muslim leaders were beheaded. Chin-chi-p'u was depopulated, and the surviving Muslims were sent, *en masse*, into exile or slavery. Tso Tsung-t'ang went on to reconquer western Kansu, and by 1878, ten years after the commencement of his offensive in Shensi, he succeeded in reconquering Kāshghar, the last major town of Northwest China.

After his execution on 2 March 1871, Ma Hua-lung became a martyr for followers of the "New Teaching". The victorious Ch'ing forces made strenous attempts to stamp out Ma's adherents (it has been estimated that between 1862 and 1878 the Muslim revolt and the Ch'ing reconquest resulted in over 10 million deaths; see Chu, 1966, p. vii), but to no avail. According to W. A. Saunders, a Christian missionary who was active in Kansu during the Republican period, Ma's body was buried at Chen-chi-p'u, but his head was taken, presumably in secret, to Hsüan-hua-kang, near Chang-chia-ch'uan in south-eastern Kansu. When Saunders visited Hsüan-hua-kang in 1934 he found Ma's tomb to be "quite an imposing affair of carved brick with a kind of 'Li Pai Sz' (temple) as an entrance" (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 70). Saunders records that "worship" was made at the tomb every year on Ma Hua-lung's birthday, a practice strongly denounced by local Muslims belonging to the "Old Teaching". It is not known whether Ma's tomb at Hsüan-hua-kang still exists.

Bibliography: The most important contemporaneous Chinese sources for the Muslim rebellion of 1862-78 are the complete works of Tso Tsung-t'ang, *Tso Wen-hsiang-kung Ch'üan-chi*, 1888-97, published together with a biography of Tso written by Lo Cheng-chün, *Tso Wen hsiang-kung Nien-p'u*; details of these works are to be found in Chu Wen-djang's 1966 study of the Muslim rebellion in Northwest China at p. 211. A collection of anecdotes taken from the oral recollections of a Muslim

mullā who lived through the great rebellion as a child is to be found in Shan Hua-p'u's *Shen-Kan Chieh-yü-lu*, in Pai Shou-i's 1952 collection, iv, 303 ff.; this source, based partially on personal experience and partially on hearsay, is indicative of the paucity of Muslim sources for this period. A further useful contemporaneous Chinese source is Po Ching-wei's *Feng-hsi-ts'ao-t'ang-chi*, Nanking 1924, the collected works of a member of the Shensi gentry who served with the imperial forces and was present during the siege of Chin-chi-p'u. An interesting, but not always reliable, contemporaneous western source is F. von Richthofen's *Baron Richthofen's letters (1870-1872)*, Peking 1941. See also: H. M. d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, Paris 1911, esp. 273-4; Wu Tseng-ch'i, *Ch'ing-shih kang-yao* ("A summary of Ch'ing history"), Shanghai 1913, esp. *chüan* 12; M. Hartmann, *Zur Geschichte des Islam in China*, Leipzig 1921; W. A. Saunders, *Hsüan Hua Kang*, in *Friends of Moslems in China* (Hankow), viii/4 (1 October 1934), 69-71; W. L. Bales, *Tso Tsung-t'ang: soldier and statesman of Old China*, Shanghai 1937, esp. 231-65; Muḥammad Tawāḍuʿ, *al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Islām*, Cairo 1945; Ma Hsiao-shih, *Hsi-pei Hui-tsu ko-ming chien-shih* ("A short history of the revolutions of the Northwestern Muslim people"), Shanghai 1951, esp. 1-15 (Ma Hsiao-shih, a Hui Muslim, emphasises links between the Muslim rebellion in Shensi and the Taiping rebels); Pai Shou-i, *Hui-hui min-tsu ti hsin-sheng* ("The rebirth of the Muslim people"), Shanghai 1951, esp. 65-70; Pai Shou-i, *Hui-min ch'i-i* ("The righteous uprisings of the Muslim people"), 4 vols, Shanghai 1952, see vols. iii and iv for the Northwest China rebellions; Chu Wen-djang, *The Policy of the Manchu government in the suppression of the Moslem Rebellion in Shensi, Kansu and Sinkiang from 1862 to 1878*, Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of Washington 1955 (the greater part of this thesis was later published [see Chu, 1966], but several important appendices were omitted from the published version, most notably supplement IV, "Ma Hua-lung and the New Sect", which may be found at 343-60 of the unpublished thesis); Mary C. Wright, *The last stand of Chinese conservatism: the T'ung-Chih restoration, 1862-1874*, Stanford 1957, repr. New York 1969, see esp. 107-113 of the 1969 edition; Saguchi Tōru, *Jūhachi-jūkyū seiki Higashi Torukisutan shakaishi kenkyū* ("The social history of Eastern Turkestan in the 18th/19th centuries"), Tokyo 1963; Chu Wen-djang, *The Moslem rebellion in Northwest China, 1862-1878*, The Hague-Paris 1966; R. Israeli, *Chinese versus Muslims: a study of cultural confrontation*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of California, Berkeley 1974; J. Fletcher, *Central Asian Sufism and Ma Ming-hsin's New Teaching*, publication unknown, 1976 (?), 75-96; A. Forbes, *The Muslim national minorities of China*, in *Religion*, vi/2 (1976), 67-87; R. Israeli, *Established Islam and marginal Islam in China: from eclecticism to syncretism*, in *JESHO*, xxxi (1978), 99-109. (A. D. W. Forbes)

MA HUAN (*Matthews' Chinese-English dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters no. 4310, 2266), Chinese Muslim interpreter and traveller who flourished during the 9th/15th century and who was the author of *Ying-yai sheng-lan* ("The overall survey of the ocean's shores"), the best-known account of the early and mid-9th/15th century Ming Chinese maritime expeditions to South-east Asia, South Asia, the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa.

Ma Huan was born *ca.* 782/1380 in Kuei-chi, a district of Shao-hsing city, Chekiang Province. His home was about 24 miles south-east of Hang-chou, and a mere 7 miles from the southern shore of Hang-chou bay, one of the principal centres of navigation in 9th/15th century China (Mills, *Ma Huan* [see *Bibl.*], 34). Ma Huan probably came from a poor background, though "his derogatory description of himself as a 'mountain-woodcutter' need not be taken literally" (Mills, *loc. cit.*). Seemingly, Ma Huan did not belong to a Muslim family, but chose to adopt Islam when a young man—thus his surname "Ma", so common amongst Chinese Muslims, must have been purely coincidental. He must have received a good education in Chinese, for "there are classicisms in his book, and he was acquainted with the contents of Wang Ta-yüan's *Tao-i chih-lüeh* ("A synoptical account of the Islands and their Barbarians", 751/1350), of certain Chinese classics, and of 'Buddhist books'" (Mills). (On the other hand Duyvendak, in his *Ma Huan re-examined*, 9, describes *Ying-yai sheng-lan* as being "written in an almost colloquial style by an unlearned Mohammedan".)

During his youth Ma Huan seems to have adopted Islam, and to have assumed the *tzu* (courtesy-name) of Tsung-tao (*Matthews'*, nos. 6896, 6136); possibly as a result of becoming a Muslim he began a study of Arabic and/or Persian, enabling him to become proficient as a translator and interpreter. As a result of the acquisition of these skills, he was appointed to the staff of the great Chinese Muslim admiral Cheng Ho in 815/1412. It is interesting to note that Ma Huan's appointment came one year before the fourth of Cheng Ho's voyages (816-18/1413-15), the first to sail beyond South Asia to the Persian Gulf.

Ma Huan accompanied Cheng Ho on this fourth voyage—as with the latter's three previous voyages a "maritime expedition" in every sense of the word; the Chinese Muslim admiral had under his command a fleet of 63 ships bearing 28,560 men. The expedition visited various parts of the Malay Archipelago, Sri Lanka, Bengal, South India, the Maldive Islands and Hormuz in Persia. The young Ma Huan must have been greatly interested in the various lands he saw, for together with his colleague and life-long collaborator Kuo Ch'ung-li (*Matthews'*, nos. 3746, 1528, 3886), he made local journeys in the various countries he visited, and recorded details of his impressions.

On his return to China in 818/1415, Ma began work on a book based on the notes made by Kuo Ch'ung-li and himself. In 819/1416 he completed the first version of his book (he was to make numerous additions and corrections over the years), and wrote a foreword and a commemorative poem. In his 819/1416 foreword he notes that:

"I collected [notes about] the appearance of the people in each country, the variations of the local customs, the differences in the natural products and the boundary limits. I arranged (my notes) in order so as to make a book, which I have entitled *The overall survey of the Ocean's shores*" (Mills, *op. cit.*, 70).

Ma Huan did not accompany Cheng Ho on his fifth expedition of 820-2/1417-19; he does not explain why. In 824/1421, however, he once again voyaged with Cheng Ho on his sixth expedition, returning in 825/1422. In addition to returning to most of those countries visited during the fourth expedition, Cheng Ho's sixth expedition took Ma Huan to Ẓufār and Aden; a part of the great Chinese fleet (which comprised 41 ships and an unknown number of men) visited Mogadishu and Brava in Somalia, but Ma Huan does not seem to have accompanied

this branch expedition. Mills notes that Ma Huan probably added sections on Ẓufār and Aden to his book after his return to China in 825/1422 (*op. cit.*, 35).

Ma Huan, although still a relatively young man, probably accepted that his journeys to the Indian Ocean were over when the emperor Jen Tsung forbade further expeditions to that remote region in 828/1424; however, when the Hsüan-te emperor revoked this edict in 834/1430 and ordered the ageing Cheng Ho to undertake his seventh and final expedition to the "Western regions", Ma Huan was once again employed as an interpreter.

Cheng Ho's seventh expedition is better documented than any of the preceding six. We know that more than 100 large ships took part in the voyage, and that a total of 27,550 men sailed with him. The fleet left Nanking in 835/1431, and returned to China in 837/1433. Once again, Cheng Ho and/or his emissaries visited Southeast Asia, Bengal, Southern India, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa. On this voyage we know that Ma Huan sailed with a branch of the main fleet to Bengal, and thence to Kozhikode (Calicut) in South India. It seems very likely that from Kozhikode Ma Huan was sent, with six other Muslim emissaries, to Mecca. Mills has calculated that Ma Huan left Kozhikode about mid-836/1432, and arrived in Mecca about three months later; he then spent a further three months in Mecca before rejoining Cheng Ho's main fleet at Kozhikode in 837/1433.

On his return to China, Ma Huan added a lengthy and accurate account of Mecca to his *Ying-yai sheng-lan*. He notes that the inhabitants of *T'ien fang* ("the Heavenly Square", a clear reference to the Kaʿba) are "stalwart and fine looking"; they "bind up their hands", whilst their womenfolk "wear a covering over their hands, and you cannot see their faces". He describes the *Ḥaram* and the Kaʿba in detail, noting that the pilgrims tear pieces from the *kiswa* (sc. the mantle used to cover the Kaʿba) as souvenirs, just as occurs today. He also mentions the Prophet's tomb at Medina, though his error in situating the well Zamzam near the latter rather than at Mecca causes Duyvendak to question whether Ma Huan did, in fact, ever visit the Ḥijāz (*Ma Huan re-examined*, 73). An excellent translation of Ma Huan's account of Mecca may be found in Mills, 173-8.

To the best of our knowledge, Ma Huan never again left China. He continued working on the *Ying-yai sheng-lan*, in collaboration with Kuo Ch'ung-li, and the completed work was eventually published *ca.* 855/1451. Ma Huan is thought to have died some nine years later. Unfortunately, the 1451 edition of Ma Huan's book has long been lost, and our present knowledge of the *Ying-yai sheng-lan* rests on three later editions, all dating from the latter half of the Ming dynasty (Mills, 37-41).

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

MA MING-HSIN (*Matthews' Chinese-English Dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters nos. 4310, 4534, 2735), also known as Muḥammad Amīn, a Chinese Muslim leader of the mid-12th/18th century who was instrumental in the development and spread of the "New Teaching", a neo-orthodox reformist movement in Chinese Islam which swept Northwest China in the latter half of the 12th/18th century, and which played an important part in the great mid-13th/19th century Muslim revolt of Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*].

Ma Ming-hsin was born at an unknown date during the first half of the 12th/18th century at An-ting, a small town some 90 km. south-east of Lanchow, the capital of the Chinese province of Kansu [*q.v.*]. The site of Ma's birthplace makes it probable that he was a Hui (Chinese-speaking) Muslim, though his travels in Turkestan led Hartmann (*op. cit.* in Bibl., 28, n.) to describe him as a native of that region, whilst his rôle as a religious reformer amongst the Salar Turks [*q.v.*] of southwestern Kansu and eastern Chinghai has also led to his identification as a Salar (see Mary C. Wright, *op. cit.*, in Bibl., 108). Confusion over Ma's ethnic origins may have been further compounded by his adoption of an Arabic soubriquet, a practice common amongst the Hui.

Ma Ming-hsin seems to have first come to the attention of the Chinese authorities in 1175/1761, when he returned to Kansu after a prolonged period of travel and study in Central Asia and Arabia. During the course of these travels Ma made the pilgrimage to Mecca and visited the Yemen, where he was initiated into the Naḳshbandī ṭarīḳa (Tawāḍuʿ, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 115). It seems probable that he returned to Kansu via the major Naḳshbandī centre of Bukhārā, as well as through the lesser Naḳshbandī centres of Kāshghar [*q.v.*] and Yarkand. On his return, Ma proclaimed himself the "Possessor of the True Teaching" (Hartmann, in *Bibl.*, 123, n. 128), and armed with a "magnetic personality" (Ford, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 154) and the prestige naturally accruing to *ḥādjdjī* on this distant periphery of the Muslim World, he began to expound a heterodox form of Islam with the avowed aim of reforming the Chinese *umma*.

Within a short period of time, Ma was expelled from his native An-ting for "causing trouble" (Ford, *ibid.*). He went next to preach amongst the Salars, a Turkic people with a reputation for fierceness and independence who inhabit the hills to the south of the Yellow River in the Chinghai-Kansu borderlands. In the Salar hills, Ma gained the support of two local *mullās* Su-ssu-shih-san and Hu-ma-liu-hu. His teaching, which rapidly gained widespread popular support, became known as the "New Teaching" (*hsin chiao, Matthews*, nos. 2737, 719) to differentiate it from the various forms of established Islamic practice in Kansu, which in turn became known as the "Old Teaching" (*lao chiao, Matthews*, nos. 3833, 719, or *chiu chiao*, nos. 1205, 719). According to Hsü (in *Bibl.*, 23), Ma Ming-hsin's "New Teaching" was distinguished by the following characteristics: (1) loud chanting of the scriptures, as opposed to the soft chanting of the old sect (i.e. followers of the "Old Teaching"); (2) prayers with head-shaking and body movement in dance-like manner, sc. foot-stamping, hand-waving, and face turning up towards heaven; (3) belief in miracles, visions, apparition of spirits, and prediction of good or bad omens; and (4) the worship of saints or their tombs.

Until recently, the identity of the "New Teaching", though obviously Ṣūfī in inspiration, remained unclear (see Wright, 108, together with relevant footnotes). Recent research undertaken by Saguchi and Fletcher, however, indicates that Ma Ming-hsin introduced to Kansu a sub-group of the Naḳshbandī *ṭariḳa* which practiced *dhikr djahrī* (vocal recollection) as opposed to the *dhikr khafī* more usually associated with the Naḳshbandiyya. This sub-group, which is generally known as the Naḳshbandiyya-Djahriyya, can be traced back to Khōdja Maḥmūd Andjīr Faghnawī, who introduced the "*dhikr* of those who act publicly" (*dhikr ʿalāniyya*) to the Naḳshbandī *ṭariḳa* in *ca.* 715/1315 (Fletcher, *Central Asian Sufism*, 79-80). The "New Teaching", or Kansu form of Naḳshbandiyya-Djahriyya, seems to have laid great emphasis on *karāmāt* (thaumaturgic and charismatic gifts [see KARĀMĀT); thus Ma Ming-hsin came to be regarded as a saint by his followers.

The followers of the "New Teaching" seem to have adopted an agressively militant attitude towards other Muslims. An anonymous government official who participated in the defense of Lanchow during the Muslim rebellion of 1196/1781 notes of the adherents of the "New Teaching" that "When anyone hesitated to join them, they would all rise to attack him, threatening him with sword and spear until he gave way. Even if the rejector were the father and the believers were the sons, the sons would kill the father". (*P'ing-Hui chi-lüeh, Hui-min ch'i-i*, iii, 9-10). As a result of this militancy, relations between the "Old" and "New" factions grew to be extremely bitter.

The Chinese authorities first seem to have become aware of these sectarian tensions during 1176/1762, when leaders of the rival factions in the Salar region laid charges against each other before the Chinese magistrate. The leaders of both groups were found guilty and banished from the area. In 1183/1769 the charges were renewed, and this time the penalties incurred were heavier against the "New Teaching" (Wright, 108). It is not clear whether Ma Ming-hsin was personally involved in either of these incidents.

During this period, the town of Hsün-hua, located in the Salar hills on the right bank of the Yellow River some 95 km. upstream from Hochow, (the modern Linsia), emerged as the centre of the "New Teaching". In 1196/1781 sectarian tension in Hsün-hua boiled over, and followers of the "New Teaching" leader Su-ssu-shi-san attacked and killed at least forty adherents of the "Old Teaching" (Schram, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 64). Government troops despatched from Lanchow to quell the disturbances were defeated by Su-ssu-shi-san's followers, and the successful rebels occupied the city of Hochow.

The provincial authorities in Lanchow responded by sending a force of five hundred men to occupy Ti-tao, a small town on the right bank of the Tao River some 85 km. south-east of Hochow. In this action, the provincial forces scored their first real success by capturing Ma Ming-hsin, the founder and spiritual leader of the "New Teaching". Ma was taken to Lanchow, where he was incarcerated; shortly thereafter rebel forces from Hochow, believed to number upwards of 2,000 men, crossed the Tao River and besieged Lanchow. They succeeded in cutting the floating bridge across the Yellow River, thus isolating relief forces from Northern Kansu, and demanded the release of Ma Ming-hsin. The Chinese commandant refused to hand Ma over, but took him to the city walls whence he might address the besieging forces (de Groot, *op. cit.* in Bibl., 312-13). The anonymous government official who witnessed this scene records that "When Ma Ming-hsin was taken to appear on top of the city walls, all the Muslims who saw him from below rolled down from their horses and prostrated themselves on the ground. They called him a saint and wept" (*P'ing-Hui chi-lüeh, ibid.*). This display seems to have made an adverse impression on the Chinese commandant, who "had him killed at once, in order to keep down sedition within the walls" (de Groot, 314). Ma's son was seemingly killed with him (Schram, *ibid.*).

Ma's death did not bring about the end of the rebellion, but served only to increase the bitterness of his followers. The Chinese troops stationed in Kansu proved incapable of suppressing the rebels, a task which fell initially to Salar followers of the "Old Teaching", later assisted by Mongol troops from Alashan and Chinese troops from Szechwan. Some three months after the murder of Ma Ming-hsin, Ch'ing troops surrounded the foremost of the surviving "New Teaching" leaders, the Salar *mullā* Su-ssu-shi-san, at his stronghold in the Hua-lin mountains. Su was captured and executed, and with his death the rebellion came to an end. The Chinese authorities banned the "New Teaching" and instituted a series of bloody reprisals against its surviving adherents. An edict issued by Ch'ien-lung after the imperial victory in the Hua-lin mountains exhorts his officials as follows: "Of these rebels not a trace, however slight, must remain. All insurgents yet at liberty shall be hunted out . . . and their wives, daughters and babies now incarcerated in the provincial capital, in Hochow, in Hsün-hua and other places, shall be thoroughly examined for the better realisation of this object; and finally, the transports to the pestilential places of banishment shall start with all possible speed" (de Groot, 315). The Ch'ing authorities massacred whole families and clans with "New Teaching" affiliations, but to no avail. The "New Teaching" leaders went underground, and within three years a still bloodier *hsin-chiao* rising, under the leadership of T'ien Wu [*q.v.*] broke out in the Kansu-Chinghai region. The "New Teaching" or Ma Ming-hsin was also to prove instrumental in the great mid-13th/19th century rebellion of Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*].

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Chinese sources may be found in C. L. Pickens, *Chinese annals*, pp. 30-3 of his *Annotated bibliography of literature on Islam in China*, Hankow 1950; this source is especially useful for details of the 1196-9/1781-4 Muslim risings contained in the *Ta-Ch'ing Kao-tsung Shun-huang-ti shih-lu* (i.e. the official edicts of the Ch'ien-lung period). See also Wei Yüan, *Sheng-wu chi* ("History of the Imperial wars"), 1842, *chüan* 7 (cited in Ford, *op. cit.* below). For further details, see D. D. Leslie, *Islam in China to 1800: a bibliographical guide*, in *Abr-Nahrain*, xvi (1976), 25 (Section H, "Imperial Edicts"). Further primary sources, including the *P'ing-Hui chi-lüeh* ("Brief record of the pacification of the Muslims", Kansu, *ca.* 1196/1781) may be found in Pai Shou-i, ed. *Hui-min ch'i-i* ("The righteous uprisings of the Muslim people"), published in 4 vols., Shanghai 1952, of which vols. iii and iv refer to events in the Chinese northwest during the 18th and 19th centuries.

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MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR (A.) "the land which lies beyond the river", i.e. beyond the Oxus or Āmū-Daryā [*q.v.*], the classical Transoxiana or Transoxania, so-called by the conquering Arabs of the 1st/7th century and after in contrast to Mā dūn al-Nahr, the lands of Khurāsān [*q.v.*] this side of the Oxus, although the term Khurāsān was not infrequently used vaguely to designate all the eastern Islamic lands beyond western Persia.

1. The name

The frontiers of Mā warāʾ al-nahr on the north and east were where the power of Islam ceased and depended on political conditions; cf. the statements of the Arab geographers on Mā warāʾ al-nahr in G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 433-4; W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, London 1928, 64 ff. The phrase Mā warāʾ al-nahr passed from Arabic literature into Persian. As late as the 9th/15th century, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū [*q.v.*] devotes a special chapter (the last) to Mā warāʾ al-nahr in his geographical work. Under the influence of literary tradition, the phrase Mā warāʾ al-nahr was used down to quite recent times in Central Asia itself (e.g. by Bābur, in his *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, see index; by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt later in the 10th/16th century in his Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī, tr. Elias and Ross, *A history of the Moghuls*, London 1895, 79, 95 ff., 150, etc.; and by the Uzbek Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, cf. *Sprav. knizhka Samarkandskii oblasti*, v, 240 and *passim*), although to the people of Central Asia the lands in question were on their side of and not across the river. (W. Barthold)

2. History

Pre-Islamic Transoxania comprised, in the widest sense, Soghdia (Arabic *Ṣughd* [*q.v.*], essentially the basin of the Zarafshān river) and the lands as far as the Sīr Daryā basin, northwestwards to Khʷārazm [*q.v.*] and eastwards to Farghāna [*q.v.*] and across the Tien Shan Mountains into Eastern or Chinese Turkestan (on the general concept of "Turkestan", Eastern and Western, see TURKISTĀN). For these regions in classical times, see W. Tomaschek, in *PW*, ii, cols. 2804-13 (Baktra, Baktriane, Baktrianoi), iii, cols. 2406-8 (Chorasmia). All this was still largely an Iranian region, with such Middle Iranian languages flourishing there as Khʷārazmian and Soghdian, both written in scripts going back to the Aramaic alphabet; Bactrian in the upper Oxus provinces of Ṭukhāristān, Čaghāniyān, Khuttal(ān) and Wakhsh [*q.vv.*], written in a modified Greek alphabet; and Khotanese and Tokharian dialects in the Tarim basin of Eastern Turkestan, written in scripts of Indian origin. In Soghdia, however, the strong cultural influence of Sāsānid Persia may have given Persian a foothold in the main cities at least. Narshakhī states that just after the time of the conquest of Bukhārā by Ḳutayba b. Muslim (sc. in *ca.* 94/712-13), the people there used Persian (*pārsī*) for reciting the Ḳurʾān, though no doubt Soghdian remained for some time to come the main language of daily intercourse (*Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran 1939, 57, tr. R. N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 48). Just over two-and-a-half centuries later, al-Muḳaddasī, 335, calls the speech of Bukhārā *darī*, i.e. Persian; this must nevertheless still refer to urban speech patterns only, for Soghdian lasted much longer in the countryside.

In regard to religion, no single faith was dominant. Buddhism was still in full bloom in Eastern Turkestan and still strong in the upper Oxus provinces, where it was the faith of the northern branch of the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA] who put up such a strenuous resistance to the Arabs in the later 1st/7th and early 2nd/8th centuries, and where Balk͟h [*q.v.*] was still a major Buddhist centre; but it had, for some time, been waning in Soghdia. When the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang arrived in Samarḳand in *ca.* 630, he found the Zoroastrians completely in the ascendant there and the Buddhist monasteries deserted; the restorative measures which he took can only have arrested this decline temporarily. For as in the linguistic field, cultural pressures from Sāsānid Persia must have given Zoroastrianism an access of prestige and power in Transoxania, even though direct Sāsānid military authority did not extend beyond Marw (cf. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 33-5). Manicheism and other dualist faiths were tolerated, and their adherents found an especially sympathetic haven in Eastern Turkestan and among the Uyg͟hur Turks, as numerous surviving religious texts from the Tarim basin attest; as late as *ca.* 372/982 the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, London 1937, 113, § 25.13, records the presence in Samarḳand of a conventual house of the Manichaeans, *k͟hānagāh-i Mānawiyān*, with *auditores* or *nig͟hūs͟hāk*. Mazdakites are mentioned also in Samarḳand, and if the followers of the late 2nd/8th century heretic al-Muḳannaʿ, the "wearers of white" (see below) were Mazdakites (or Manichaeans?), their adherents still persisted at Kis͟h and Nak͟hs͟hab in the time of the continuator of Nars͟hak͟hī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr (*Taʾrīk͟h-i Buk͟hārā*, 88-9, tr. 75). The Christian presence was strong. A bishop is mentioned at Marw in 334 A.D. and there was probably one in Samarḳand by the 6th century. Nestorians, Jacobites and Melkites were all represented in Transoxania. When the Sāmānid *amīr* Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] conquered Talas in 280/893, a "great church" was transformed into a mosque (*ibid.*, 102, tr. 86-7). The absence of any one preponderant faith meant that there did not exist in Transoxania a dominant priesthood as there was in Sāsānid Persia, though religious scholars (*aḥbār*: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1237) are mentioned in K͟hʷārazm at the time of Ḳutayba's incursions of 93/712, perhaps Zoroastrian priests; but resistance there to the Arabs was on grounds of local patriotism rather than on a religious basis.

Socially, there was an influential class of merchants in such Soghdian towns as Buk͟hārā, Paykand and Samarḳand, which was involved in long-distance trade operations with the Turkish peoples of the Siberian steppes and with the Chinese. The Arab invasions would not seriously hamper these trade movements, and indeed, the Soghdian merchants eventually found new markets within the Islamic caliphate for the goods which they imported from Inner Asia. The landed aristocracy of *dihḳān*s was dominant in the countryside and smaller towns, and the pattern of large estates in K͟hʷārazm, along the Oxus channels and their canals, revealed by Soviet archaeology, was probably repeated in the irrigated lands of the Zarafs͟hān valley and the upper Oxus ones. The local Iranian princes of Transoxania mentioned in the sources, such as those in rural Īlāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], S͟hās͟h [*q.v.*] and Farg͟hāna, and in cities like Samarḳand and Buk͟hārā, comprised the more powerful members of the *dihḳān* class and bore Iranian regnal titles such as *ik͟hs͟hīd* [*q.v.*] from Old Persian *k͟hs͟hāyat͟hiya-* "king, ruler"), e.g. in Soghdia and Farg͟hāna. Such a land-owning class (which may be called, not anachronistically, one of feudal magnates) of *dihḳāns* was the backbone of resistance to the Arabs, and continued to play a leading social role—eventually as an Islamised caste—in Transoxania till the end of the Sāmānid period, during which political authority was still to a considerably extent decentralised; its decline only came with the influx of Turkish steppe peoples in the 5th/11th century and after.

The Arabs who had invaded Persia and overthrown the Sāsānid empire penetrated to Ṭuk͟hāristān in ʿUt͟hmān's caliphate, during the governorship in K͟hurāsān of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], and al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 408, records, on the authority of Abū ʿUbayda, a plunder raid across the Oxus to Māymurg͟h near Samarḳand in 33/653-4. It would have been obviously unwise to commit major Arab forces across the river until some progress had been made against the resistance of the Hephthalites in Cisoxania and until a key point like Balk͟h had been captured (first raided in 32/653, but not fully secured till the time of Ḳutayba, see BALK͟H) and the Oxus crossing-points of Āmul-i S͟haṭṭ [*q.v.*] and Zamm taken.

In the spring of 54/674 Muʿāwiya's general ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] crossed the Oxus, attacked Paykand and defeated the army of the local Soghdian ruler of Buk͟hārā, the Buk͟hār-K͟hudā. Yazīd I's governor, Salm b. Ziyād (61-4/681-3) was the first Arab commander actually to winter across the river. Any hopes of Arab progress in Transoxania were dashed by the civil wars which broke out in the heart of the caliphate on Yazīd's death and the protracted resistance to the Umayyad government in Damascus of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, even though the Soghdian cities remained disunited and their nominal suzerain the Chinese emperor was unable, despite embassies despatched to Peking and appeals for help, to supply any assistance.

It was the great Ḳutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhilī [*q.v.*] who was the first Arab general to establish a firmer Arab hold over Transoxania. Appointed governor of the east by al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j in 86/705, he was to enjoy a ten years' tenure of power, spanning the caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a reign particularly significant for the extension of Muslim power in both east and west. Ḳutayba first campaigned successfully in the Upper Oxus provinces at the invitation of the ruler of Čag͟hāniyān, who sought aid against local rivals (86/705). Between 87/706 and 90/709 he conquered Paykand and Buk͟hārā, installing in the latter city a local prince Tug͟hs͟hāda as his vassal, and received the submission of Tark͟hān of Samarḳand and his successor G͟hūrak. Mosques were now built in Buk͟hārā, Samarḳand, etc., in order to encourage the implantation of Islam and the inhabitants of Buk͟hārā were forced to give up half the houses of the *madīna* or *s͟hahrastān* as billets for the incoming Arab garrison; but according to Nars͟hak͟hī, 57, tr. 48, Ḳutayba had to pay the local inhabitants two *dirhams* a time to attend the Friday prayers. It was first in 88/707 that Ḳutayba had to repel Turkish forces which appeared in Transoxania when the people of Buk͟hārā appealed to the powerful Ḳag͟han of the Eastern Turks, whose name is known only in the Chinese transcription of Mo-čʾo; and a further Turkish invasion into Soghdia in 93/712, at the invitation of the people of Samarḳand, repulsed by Ḳutayba in the following year, may be that mentioned in the early Turkish Orkhon inscriptions (Khočo-Tsaidam, Kültigin I E 39) as the one undertaken by

the prince Kültigin which penetrated as far as *Tāmir Ḳapïgh*, the "Iron Gate" (sc. the present Buzgala defile between Kish and Tirmidh), "in order to organise the Soghdian people" (the connection of these seems fairly certain, as proponed by Marquart and Barthold; cf. R. Giraud, *L'empire des Turcs célestes, les règnes d'Elterich, Qapghan et Bilgä (680-734)*, Paris 1960, 44, 182-3, who also notes that this same inscription (Kültigin I, E 31) mentions an earlier expedition to the Iron Gate under Tonyuḳuḳ in 701). Ḳutayba further sent two expeditions against Khwārazm in 93/712, when the Khwārazm-Shāh was killed, although it was long before Islam became firmly implanted there [see KHWĀRAZM]. His forces also campaigned in the Sīr Daryā valley in Ushrūsana [*q.v.*] and Shāsh, meeting no resistance from the Turks, although the brief report in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1276, of a raid by one of his commanders as far as Kāshghar, on the other side of the Tien Shan, seems improbable (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab invasion of Kashghar in A.D. 715*, in *BSOS*, ii [1923], 467-74).

The Turks' ability to intervene once more in Transoxanian affairs was for a while hampered by internal disputes between the Eastern and Western Turks, but after 716, a forceful ruler, Su-lu, made himself leader of the Western Turks or Türgesh. In 106/724 he inflicted a sharp defeat, the so-called "Day of thirst", on the Arab commander Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī who had invaded Farghāna, in the Sīr Daryā basin, and this reduced aggressive activity on the part of the Arabs for a decade or two. It is from these years, immediately after the fall of Ḳutayba, that there dates the important cache of documents in Soghdian, the archives of Dīvāstič, prince of Pandjkent on the upper reaches of the Zarafshān, kept at his stronghold on Mount Mugh, sacked in 104/722-3 by the Arabs (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1447-8; cf. A. L. Mongait, *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1959, 289-95). In the ensuing years, the Arabs, now on the defensive, were pushed back by the joint efforts of the Soghdian princes and the Turks, so that by 110/728 the Arabs only held Samarḳand and Dabūsiyya. The Arabs themselves were divided after 116/734, when the rebellion of al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj al-Mudjāshiʿī [*q.v.*] broke out, first in Ṭukhāristān and then in Transoxania (where al-Ḥārith allied with the Ḳaghan of the Türgesh, Su-lu), lasting for several years. There was also much discontent amongst that part of the indigenous Transoxanian population which had been converted to Islam but which nevertheless found itself still liable to pay the poll-tax for the benefit of the Arab treasury.

Arab fortunes only revived under the energetic and experienced—he had fought under Ḳutayba—governor Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Kinānī [*q.v.*] (120-30/738-48), who made a generous financial settlement for the new converts and for those inhabitants who had apostasised from Islam when Arab military control had been relaxed and looked like disappearing altogether, and who brought al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj to terms in 126/744. He carried Arab arms into Farghāna again, but spent most of his efforts in pacifying Soghdia and in conciliating its people. Arab embassies to the Chinese court were resumed by Naṣr after an hiatus in the period 115-23/733-41, and the regulation of commercial contacts may have been one of the motives involved (see Gibb, *Chinese records of the embassies of the Arabs in Central Asia*, in *BSOS*, ii [1923], 619-22).

Naṣr was forced to abandon both Transoxania and Khurāsān by the growing menace of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* under Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], and pro-ʿAbbāsid governors were installed in the East from 130/748 onwards. This internal revolution amongst the Arabs must have been welcomed by the *dihḳāns* of Transoxania, disturbed at the waning of their political and social influence through the increased momentum of conversions to Islam. In 133/750-1 there was, moreover, a pro-ʿAlid rising among the Arab garrison of Bukhārā, bloodily suppressed by the new ʿAbbāsid governor Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ al-Khuzāʿī [*q.v.*]. Although the Bukhār-Khudā had co-operated with the Arab authorities against the insurgents, he was afterwards executed on Abū Muslim's orders.

Meanwhile, the dissensions into which the Türgesh steppe confederation had fallen in 738 with Su-lu's defeat in battle at the hands of the Chinese and his assassination by a rival Turkish chief, permitted a recrudescence, now on a scale much more threatening than ever before to the Arabs, of Chinese activity in Central Asia. In 748 Chinese forces captured the Türgesh capital of Sūyāb, in the Ču river valley to the north-east of Farghāna, and in 749 executed the local ruler of Shāsh for "the non-fulfilment of his duties as a vassal". For several decades, virtually since the first coming of the Arabs, the Soghdian rulers and the princes of Ṭukhāristān (including among the latter the Yabghu, Arabic Djabbūya) had been sending embassies to China appealing for help against the invaders. Now in 750-1 the Korean general Kao-hsien-chih was sent by the Chinese governor of Ḳuča in Eastern Turkestan, firstly against rebels in the Pamirs region of Gilgit [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and then into Farghāna. Here the Chinese army, assisted by the Turkish Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*], met an Arab force under Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ at Athlakh or Aṭlakh near Talas in 133/751, and was soundly defeated, with heavy losses of killed and captured (see D. M. Dunlop, *A new source of information on the Battle of Talas or Aṭlakh*, in *Ural-altäischer Jahrbücher*, xxxvi [1965], 326-30). Amongst the prisoners-of-war were Chinese artisans who are supposed to have taught the people of Samarḳand the art of paper-making (al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 140, and KĀGHAD). This marked the end of Chinese attempts to assert their hegemony west of the Tien-Shan; to the subsequent entreaties of the Iranian princes of Transoxania and Khwārazm for help against the Arabs, the T'ang emperors, pre-occupied by succession quarrels 755-63, were compelled to return non-committal answers. Arab authority was thus made reasonable firm in Transoxania for the first time, since the local potentates no longer had any strong allies either in the Turkish steppes (the Eastern Turkish confederation had collapsed with the death of the Ḳaghan Mo-ki-lien in 744, to be replaced by that of the Uyghurs, who were essentially concerned with Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan) or in the Far East. That the masses of population in Transoxania were as yet far from wholly reconciled to Arab political and social domination was to be demonstrated by various outbreaks of religio-political protest in the early ʿAbbāsid period (see further on these, below), but Arab authority was by that time never seriously jeopardised.

For the detailed history of this first century or so of Arab domination in Transoxania, see F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates from the earliest times*, London 1899, 34-89; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 47 ff.;

idem, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], London 1968, 180-96; R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*[4], Paris 1952, 150-72; A. D. H. Bivar, in G. Hambly *et alii, Central Asia*, London 1969, 63-8.

Under the first ʿAbbāsids, Transoxania gradually became integrated politically as a province of the caliphate as a whole. The first governors appointed there by the victorious Abū Muslim speedily began intriguing against their patron at the instigation of the caliph Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, who became deeply suspicious of his over-mighty subject. Abū Muslim accordingly executed Sibāʿ b. al-Nuʿmān al-Azdī in 135/752-3 at Āmul, whilst the fugitive Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ was executed, to Abū Muslim's satisfaction, by the Iranian *dihḳān* of Bārkat͟h, on the route from Samarḳand to Us͟hrūsana. Discontent among Abū Muslim's own followers after his death at the caliph al-Manṣūr's hands in 137/755, discontent which came to regard the murdered leader as a semi-divine, messianic figure who would return and establish a reign of justice (cf. G.-H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au II*e *et au III*e *siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, 134 ff.), united sectarian Islamic and non-Islamic religious dissent with politico-social resentment at Arab domination; these combined strands made Transoxania a much-troubled region in the ensuing decades. The rapidly-changing series of Arab governors sent out to govern K͟hurāsān and Transoxania (see the list in Zambaur, *Manuel*, 48) were mostly intent on lining their own pockets during their expectedly brief tenure of power there rather than on trying to bring about a community of interest between the Arab central government representatives and the local populations. Several governors debased the local silver currency, although it is favourably recorded by Nars͟hak͟hī that the governor G͟hiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], appointed to K͟hurāsān in 175/791 by his own nephew Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd, introduced the useful reform of alloy *dirhams*, called *G͟hiṭrīfī*, to replace the old, largely-vanished coinage of the Buk͟hār-K͟hudās (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 203-6).

Most of what we know about Transoxania's specific history in this period from the advent of the ʿAbbāsids to the rise of the Sāmānids is concerned with various rebellious there. In the caliphate of al-Mahdī, *ca.* 159-60/776-7 and during the governorships of Ḥumayd b. Ḳaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʾī and Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd, there occurred the outbreak of the K͟hāridjī *mawlā* Yūsuf al-Barm al-T͟haḳafī at Buk͟hārā and in the countryside of Bādg͟hīs, and later, in the time of al-Maʾmūn, Yūsuf's grandson Manṣūr b. ʿAbd Allāh also rebelled; such K͟hāridjī activity was an aspect of the general vitality of K͟hāridjī doctrines in K͟hūrāsān and Sīstān at this period. More serious at the time and with a protracted aftermath was the movement of the "wearers of white garments" (*al-mubayyiḍa, ispīd͟h-djāmagān*), followers of the "veiled prophet" al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*], whose real name was Hās͟him b. Ḥakīm or ʿAṭāʾ, a former partisan of Abū Muslim's. The revolt, erupting during Ḥumayd's governorship, is treated at length by Nars͟hak͟hī (77-89, tr. 65-76; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 198-200; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 163-86; B. S. Amoretti, *Sects and heresies*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran. iv. From the Arab invasion to the Saljuqs*, ed. R. N. Frye, Cambridge 1975, 498-503). It attracted widespread support in Soghdia, at Kis͟h and at Nak͟hs͟hab or Nasaf, whilst in Buk͟hārā, the son of the Buk͟hār-K͟hudā Tug͟hs͟hāda, Bunyāt, renounced official Islam and joined the movement. It is not easy to discern from the sources the exact nature of al-Muḳannaʿ's religious doctrines. He himself may have been originally a Zoroastrian, but his ideas may have come to include neo-Mazdakite elements and perhaps even Manichaean ones; and certainly, Abū Muslim, whose avatar al-Muḳannaʿ claimed to be, was accorded an exalted, almost divine position. The outbreak was suppressed during the governorship of al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī (163-6/780-3), but the "wearers of white garments" persisted in the rural areas of Transoxania and K͟hurāsān for at least two centuries after this. The years 191-4/806-9 were characterised by the revolt centred on Transoxania, but with partisans joining his standard from the upper Oxus provinces of Čag͟hāniyān and K͟huttal and from K͟hʷārazm, of Rāfiʿ b. Layt͟h, the grandson of Naṣr b. Sayyār. The motive behind this seems to have been purely personal, without any religious or ideological impulse, and doubtless the prestige of Rāfiʿ's descent from the popular Naṣr b. Sayyār brought him support. The Arab governor of Samarḳand was killed, and Rāfiʿ secured help from the Iranian prince of S͟hās͟h, from the Ḳarluḳ and the Tog͟huz-Og͟huz Turks of the steppes and from Tibet before he submitted voluntarily to al-Maʾmūn and secured pardon (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 200-1).

Thus intervention by the Turks in Transoxanian affairs continued during the early ʿAbbāsid period, but not on the same scale as during the Umayyad one. The disintegration of Türges͟h power in the Western Turkestan steppes was followed by the ascendancy of the Tog͟huz-Og͟huz, precursors of the Og͟huz or G͟huzz [*q.v.*] who are mentioned in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th century Islamic sources as harrying the borders of Sāmānid Transoxania and then emerging to form the tribal backing of the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] when they overthrew G͟haznawid power in K͟hurāsān and entered northern Persia and the central lands of the Middle East. In the early ʿAbbāsid period, the Tog͟huz-Og͟huz had their pasture grounds on the confines of K͟hʷārazm and also along the lower Sīr Daryā. The Ḳarluḳ, possibly the ancestors of the later Ilek K͟hāns [*q.v.*] or Ḳarak͟hānids, took over the eastern Sīr Daryā basin and Semirečye (Turkish Yeti Su, "the land of the seven rivers"), acquiring in 766 Sūyāb, the former capital of the Türges͟h. Islamic Transoxania suffered sporadically from their incursions, and these Turks continued also to give help on occasion to insurgent local Iranian princes and to rebels like Rāfiʿ b. Layt͟h. To protect the settled agricultural lands, walls were built to the north of Buk͟hārā and in S͟hās͟h; in Īlāḳ, in the great southern bend of the Sīr Daryā, the construction of a wall from the mountains to the river is ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd b. Ḳaḥṭaba, governor of K͟hurāsān in 159/776 after his father's death. As shows of strength, the Arabs periodically sent expeditions into Farg͟hāna; G͟hiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ sent thither an army to drive out the forces of the Yabg͟hu of the Ḳarluḳ, and Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī (177-9/793-5) exacted the submission of the Afs͟hīn or prince of Us͟hrūsana, who according to Gardīzī, had never before acknowledged the suzerainty of any outside ruler. The caliph al-Mahdī received at one point the homage of various Central Asian rulers, amongst whom are mentioned the Ik͟hs͟hīd of Soghdia, the Afs͟hīn of Us͟hrūsana, the prince of Farg͟hāna, the Yabg͟hu of the Ḳarluḳ, the Ḳag͟han of the Tog͟huz-Og͟huz, etc., but this cannot have meant much in practice. This was also a period when, because of the early ʿAbbāsids' dependence on their K͟hurāsānian guards, Transoxanian fighting men entered the caliphal army in considerable numbers; in the reign

of al-Muʿtaṣim, the Afshīn of Ushrūsana, Ḥaydar, was to play a leading role in suppressing the revolt of Bābak al-Khurramī [*q.v.*] in northwestern Persia until his own spectacular fall in 226/841 [see AFSHĪN].

Of special concern to us here is the contemporary rise to power, under the overlordship of the Ṭāhirids, of the Sāmānids, who laid the foundations for what became a powerful amīrate, at first in Transoxania and then also, in the 4th/10th century, in Khurāsān (204-395/819-1005). Whether the semi-mythical ancestor of the Sāmānids, the person given the title of Sāmān-Khudā, was really a scion of the Sāsānids or not (see Bosworth, *The heritage of rulership in early Islamic Iran and the search for dynastic connections with the past*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xi [1973], 59-9) is impossible to decide, but the family was clearly a typical Iranian *dihḳān* one hailing from Ṭukhāristān. A Sāmān-Khudā of the late Umayyad period is said to have accepted Islam at the hands of the governor Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (105-9/723-7), and in the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, his four grandsons, Nūḥ, Aḥmad, Yaḥyā and Ilyās received, as rewards for their fidelity to al-Maʾmūn's interests, the governorships of Samarḳand, Farghāna, Shāsh and Harāt respectively. The Harāt branch was unable to maintain power south of the Oxus, and the Sāmānids developed essentially as the dominant power in Transoxania, being designated governors, in effect independent rulers there, by the caliph in 261/875 after the downfall of the Ṭāhirids at the hands of the Ṣaffārids Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr b. Layth [*q.vv.*]. For a detailed consideration of the Sāmānid dynasty and its history, see SĀMĀNIDS, and for the present, a useful general survey by Frye, *The Sāmānids*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 136-61.

Here it may merely be noted that it was a cardinal feature of Sāmānid policy, from the time of the real founder of the dynasty's fortunes, Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (279-95/892-907) [*q.v.*], onwards, to maintain those frontiers of Transoxania which faced the steppes against the pagan Turks and thereby to provide a bastion against nomadic pressure from Inner Asia. Ismāʿīl in 280/893 led a punitive expedition against the Ḳarluḳ, taking an immense plunder (presumably of beasts and slaves) from them at Talas (modern Dzhambul), and he also brought to heel the prince of Ushrūsana. Other outlying Iranian principalities were however normally allowed to subsist as vassals, sending tribute and/or presents to the *amīrs*, of the Sāmānids. This was the case with the Afrīghid Khwārazm-Shāhs, the Ṣaffārids in Sīstān, the Farīghūnids in Gūzgān, the Abū Dāwūdids in Balkh, the Muḥtādjids in Čaghāniyān, etc., and whilst the *amīrs* remained vigorous and incisive, this was no source of weakness. Contemporary geographers describe the fringes of Transoxania as dotted with *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*] against the pagan Ḳarluḳ, Oghuz and Kimāk [*q.v.*], where *ghāzīs* or enthusiasts for the faith, from the Transoxanian towns, could work off their energies in the defence of Islam. In Isfīdjāb [*q.v.* in Suppl.], on the northernmost frontier of Islam, as many as 1,700 *ribāṭs* are mentioned, partly manned by volunteers from Nakhshab, Bukhārā and Samarḳand. Even when some of these Turks had been nominally converted to Islam, *ribāṭs* as centres for offensive and defensive operations were still necessary; al-Muḳaddasī, 274, tells how two places on the middle Sīr Daryā, in the district of Isfīdjāb, were frontier points (*thaghrān*) against the Türkmens (*al-Turkmāniyyūn*) who had only become Muslims "out of fear". It was also from these frontier-posts that Ṣūfīs and other zealots set off into the *terra incognita* of the steppes as evangelists, such as the missionary from Nīshāpūr, one Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Kalimātī, who worked amongst the Ḳarluḳ in the middle years of the 4th/10th century and who played some part in the conversion of the founder of the Ḳarakhānid line, Satuḳ Bughrā Khān, the Islamic ʿAbd al-Karīm (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 175-8, 254-6).

Transoxania flourished under the Sāmānids, and there was a dying-down of sectarian religious and socio-political protest movements during their time, compared with the previous period, although these did not entirely disappear. The geographers and travellers praise the ease of life there, the plentifulness of provisions, the comparatively light hand of government and incidence of taxation and tolls. There was quite a complex central administration in the capital Bukhārā, known to us from the accounts of Narshakhī and of the encyclopaedist of the sciences Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*], with a cluster of *dīwāns* or government departments adjacent to the palace built in Bukhārā by Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/913-43); the model for these was doubtless the ʿAbbāsid bureaucracy in Baghdād (see Narshakhī, 31-2, tr. 25-7; Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art* . . ., in *JESHO*, xii [1969], 113-64). Because of the province's frontier position, the people of Transoxania are described as tough, bellicose and self-reliant; also, perhaps because of the continued social influence of the *dihḳān* class, the ancient Iranian virtues of hospitality and liberality were kept up (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 949-1040* Edinburgh 1963, 27-34). Culturally, both the Samanids themselves and the local, petty courts of the empire encouraged the persistance of Iranian oral and literary traditions, seen in the birth and florescence of New Persian lyrical and heroic poetry (by Shahīd Balkhī, Rūdakī, Daḳīḳī, etc.) which characterised the 4th/10th century and prepared the way in the early part of the following century for such figures as Firdawsī and the Ghaznawid lyric poets (see G. Lazard, *The rise of the New Persian language*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 595-632). At the same time, Transoxania shared to the full in the Arab-Islamic heritage of the caliphate as a whole. Several of the compilers of the canonical collections of *ḥadīths*, the *sunan*, were from Transoxania and Khurāsān, and their scholars played a large role in the consolidation and elaboration of orthodox Sunnī theology (*kalām*) and law (*fiḳh*). Similarly, the fourth section of al-Thaʿālibī's literary anthology, the *Yatīmat al-dahr*, shows how brilliantly Arabic poetry and artistic prose were cultivated in Khurāsān, Transoxania and Khwārazm (see V. Danner, *Arabic literature in Iran*, in *Cambr. hist. of Iran*, iv, 566-94; Bosworth, *The interaction of Arabic and Persian culture in the 10th and early 11th centuries*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxvii [1978-9], 60, 68 ff.).

As in other fields, during the period 750-1000 Transoxania acquired strong economic and commercial links with the heartlands of the caliphate, including with the supreme centre of consumption, ʿIrāḳ and its capital Baghdād. Instead of the old military systems of the Arab *muḳātila* and then of the early ʿAbbāsids' Khurāsānian guards, the caliphs began in the 3rd/9th century to surround themselves with Turkish slave troops [see DJAYSH. i and GHULĀM. i]. Hence the trade in Turkish slaves, who passed from the Inner Asian steppes through Transoxania to the slave markets there, became highly important, Turkish slaves were an integral part of the annual

tribute which the Ṭāhirids, whose governorate involved responsibility for Transoxania, forwarded to Baghdād; according to Ibn Khurradādhbih, 28, 20,000 were sent each year, their value amounting to 600,000 *dirhams*. In the Sāmānid period, a century or so later, al-Muḳaddasī, 340, states that the Sāmānid government issued special licenses (*adjwiza*) for the transit across their lands of Turkish slave boys and collected dues for them at the Oxus crossings. The detailed list of the products of the Inner Asian steppes, the Siberian forest zone and the Volga basin given by idem, 323-6, has been conveniently translated by Barthold, *Turkestan*, 235-6. Transoxania and Khwārazm processed and sewed together the furs of the forest lands, these being highly-prized, luxury articles in Islam [see FARW], and were important centres for the manufacture of cotton and other textiles. Particularly mentioned are the silks and satin brocades of Samarḳand; the towels of Karmīniya; the cloth of the village of Zandana, near Bukhārā used for the livery of the Sāmānids' palace guards; the cottons of Ṭawāwīs, also near Bukhārā; and the cotton garments of Wadhār near Samarḳand. Narshakhī, 24, tr. 19-20, mentions a *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] factory (*kārgāh*) in Bukhārā, where carpets, cloth, etc. were woven for the caliphs and which were also exported as far as Syria, Egypt and Byzantium; it may have been founded when al-Maʾmūn was governor in Marw, but by Narshakhī's time (or by that of his continuator?) was no longer in use (see R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 92-106). Another luxury item which came into the caliphate, certainly by sea but also probably overland through Central Asia and Transoxania, was Chinese porcelain, including the "imperial" variety, *čīnī faghfūrī* as the Ghaznawid historian Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī calls it, imported in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (see P. Kahle, *Chinese porcelain in the lands of Islam*, in *Opera minora*, Leiden 1956, 354); whilst from Khwārazm, the local *bārandī* melons were so coveted as to be exported for al-Maʾmūn and al-Wāthiḳ in leaden containers packed with snow (al-Thaʿālibī, tr., *The book of curious and interesting information*, 142). The direct interest of the caliphs and their ministers in Central Asia, as well as being seen in the *bayt al-ṭirāz* at Bukhārā, to which the caliphs' tax-collectors came each year to collect the stipulated taxation of the city in textiles, is paralleled by the fact, mentioned by Ibn Faḍlān, that in the opening years of the 4th/10th century, the caliph al-Muḳtadir's vizier Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] had an extensive estate at Artakhushmīthan in Khwārazm, administered by a local Christian steward or *wakīl* (*Reisebericht*, ed. A. Z. V. Togan, Leipzig 1939, § 1, text 3-4, tr. 2-3, and Excursus 5a, 110-11).

The increasingly acute internal dissensions within the Sāmānid amīrate of the later 4th/10th century, when powerful Turkish commanders like the Sīmdjūrīs, Fāʾiḳ and Begtuzun secured an ascendancy in the state, making and unmaking *amīrs* at will, and when an internal financial crisis, bringing sharp increases in taxation, manifested itself, heralded the fall of the dynasty. The decisive factor here was the appearance on the northern frontiers of Transoxania, now unguarded, of the Ḳarluḳ. The Ḳarluḳ were converted to Islam in *ca.* 349/960, and from their centres at Kāshghar and Balāsāghūn [*q.vv.*] (the latter in the Ču valley, perhaps near modern Frunze) began to take advantage of the amīrate's weakness. Apparently with some encouragement—as, in former times, against the Arab governors—from the local Iranian *dihḳāns*, the Ḳarluḳ temporarily occupied the capital Bukhārā in 382/992. Further incursions followed, and in the end, the Ḳarakhānids or Ilek/Ilig Khāns, as the ruling family of the Ḳarluḳ begins to be called, divided up the Sāmānid dominions with Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], the Ḳarakhānids taking Transoxania and the Ghaznawids Khurāsān (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 246-71; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 59 ff.; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 198-203).

For a detailed account of the political and dynastic changes in Transoxania over the next two centuries or so before the coming of the Mongols, see ILEK-KHĀNS and for the next wave of Inner Asian peoples to enter Semirečye and Transoxania, the Kitai (Chinese Kiʾ-tan or Liao) from the Mongolian fringes of northern China, see ḲARĀ KHIṬĀY; and since the history of the Great Saldjūḳs, suzerains of Transoxania in the sultanates of Malik-Shāh and Sandjar [*q.vv.*], impinges on that of Transoxania, see further SALDJŪḲS.

The long-term political, social and ethnic effects of the installation of Turkish and Mongol peoples like these in Transoxania were profound The pastoralisation of the land outside the oases and irrigated river valleys may have begun in the Ḳarakhānid period, since we know about royal hunting-grounds (*ghuruḳs*) being set up. The process certainly took effect under the Mongol Čaghatayids and the Tīmūrids, when urban life declined in the province after the savage sackings of towns by the Mongols in the 7th/13th century. Political authority was now decentralised, with tribally-organised nomadic confederations, often without firmly-fixed capitals, directing affairs, instead of the centralising states and autocratic rulers of the Perso-Islamic tradition. This is, indeed, one aspect of the fact that, with the fall of the Sāmānids, the ancient bastion which had for centuries protected the Iranian and Middle Eastern heartlands from the incursions of steppe people was now removed. Transoxania became a corridor of entry for these hordes—Ḳarakhānids, Saldjūḳs, Mongols, etc.—until the advent of the Ṣafawids in Persia, who, though themselves of Türkmen stock, constituted a powerful and resolute barrier state which increasingly had the advantages of better firearms and military techniques [see BĀRŪD, v] and could accordingly withstand the assaults of the Shaybānid Uzbeks or Özbegs and others from across the Oxus and the Atrek.

But by this time, sc. the 10th/16th century, the passing of the previous five or six centuries had almost completely accomplished the process of ethnic and linguistic Turkicisation in Transoxania and Khwārazm, the old "Iran extérieur". The continued influx of Turks gradually swamped the Iranians or Tādjīks [*q.v.*], as the Turks called them in distinction from themselves, and the population became mixed, with the Turkish element emerging uppermost, as it also did eventually at the other end of the modern Turkish world, i.e. in Ādharbāydjān and Anatolia. It was the same in regard to language. It is unclear exactly when Soghdian died out, but this must have been roughly contemporaneous with the fall of the Sāmānids; and the New Persian which had been replacing Soghdian during the Sāmānid period subsequently vanished also from most of Transoxania. In Khwārazm, Turkicisation began in Saldjūḳ times, although the indigenous Iranian languages persisted until the 8th/14th century (see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 109-10). Only in the upper Oxus regions of what were the

mediaeval provinces of Čaghāniyān, Khuttal and Wakhsh did an Iranian-speaking population persist now speaking the form of New Persian known as Tādjīk/Tadzhik [see IRAN. iii. Languages, in Suppl.], and living in what is now the Tadzhik SSR, their numbers amounting to under 1 3/4 millions (1970 census). It is also during these centuries of the Turkicisation of Transoxania that the region becomes known, at least in popular parlance, as Turkistān [*q.v.*].

Transoxania and Eastern Turkestan or Kāshgharia were of course the first Islamic lands which Čingiz Khān encountered when he came westwards with the Mongol hordes. Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*], the main urban centre of Semirečye, was occupied after it had already suffered a severe plundering by the Ḳarā Khiṭāy. Bukhārā was ravaged in 616/1220, and soon afterwards, Otrār or Utrār [*q.v.*], the former Fārāb [*q.v.*], in the Sīr Daryā basin, and Samarḳand were attacked before Čingiz pushed on into Khurāsān in pursuit of the Khʷārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [see KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS]. Gurgāndj [*q.v.*] in Khʷārazm was bravely defended, but fell to the Mongols (618/1221) and was later named Urgenč. The Great Khān Ögedey (1227-41) appointed governors in Transoxania for Nakhshab, Bukhārā and Samarḳand, and the sedentary indigenous population was at the beginning of his reign ruled by his representative Maḥmūd Yalawač Khʷārazmī [*q.v.*], appointed to collect the taxation there. Djuwaynī praises Maḥmud Yalawač's just rule and that also of his son Masʿūd Beg [*q.v.*], stating that Bukhārā reached its former level of prosperity (the latter governor was, for instance, the founder of the Masʿūdiyya *madrasa* in Bukhārā), though in fact there was a popular, anti-Mongol rebellion there led by one Maḥmūd Tārābī, only ended by the appearance of a large Mongol army (636/1238-9) (see Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 381-519; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 293 ff., 324-8; Hambly, *The career of Chingiz Khan* and *The Mongol empire at its zenith*, in *Central Asia*, 86-113).

Transoxania, together with those steppe lands to the north henceforth to be known as Mogholistān [*q.v.*] or Mughulistān, came within the *ulus* or patrimony of Čingiz's second son Čaghatay, together with Eastern Turkestan (Khʷārazm came within the *ulus* of Djoči, the eldest son, together with western Siberia and South Russia); but the Čaghatay khānate was not properly constituted till some time after Čaghatay's own death in *ca.* 1241. Čaghatay and his descendants took little interest in the sedentary and urban life of Transoxania. Pre-Mongol Turkish landowners and chiefs, the successors of the Iranian *dihḳāns*, remained influential in the countryside; the descendants of the Ḳarakhānids remained in power in Farghāna, it seems (Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 118-19). In Mogholistān, to the north of the Ili river, there was a distinct decline of urban life in favour of pastoralisation (see *ibid.*, 149-53). Urban traditions in Transoxania were much stronger, and especially notable in the towns there is the prominent role, from Ḳarakhānid times onwards, of local Ḥanafī religious leaders functioning as headmen (*ruʾasāʾ*, sing. *raʾīs*), usually with the title of *ṣadr* or *ṣadr-i djahān*. Leaders with this title are found in Bukhārā, Samarḳand, Khudjand, Uzgend, Shāsh and Almalīgh; the best-known of these were the Āl-i Burhān in Bukhārā (till the revolt of Maḥmūd Tārābī in 636/1238) and their successors, the Āl-i Maḥbūbī (till the mid-8th/14th century) (see O. Pritsak, *Āl-i Burhān*, in *Isl.*, xxx [1952], 81-96, and ṢADR). Because of this lack of interest in the settled lands on the part of the Čaghatayid khāns, the nomadic traditions of the Mongols lasted longer amongst them, as also amongst the Golden Horde in South Russia and the Ḳïpčaḳ steppes [see DASHT-I ḲÏPČAḲ in Suppl.], than in the Persia of the Il-Khānids or the northern China of the Great Khāns. The Čaghatayid khāns' favoured encampments were in Semirečye, in the Ili basin, with the town of Almalīgh [*q.v.*], between the Tien-Shan and Lake Balkash, as their administrative centre; this town flourished and is favourably described by western travellers to the Great Khāns' court until it was destroyed in the civil strife amongst the Mongols in the 8th/14th century. Kebek (*ca.* 1318-26), though still, like the previous khāns, resistant to Islam, moved his capital to Transoxania proper and built a palace near Nakhshab in the Kashka Daryā valley, although this did not entail renunciation of the nomadic life; from the Mongol term for "palace", *ḳarshī*, the nearby town of Nakhshab came to receive the name which it still bears today, that of Ḳarshī/Karshi [see ḲARSHI]. Kebek's move must nevertheless have favoured the eventual conversion of the Čaghatay khāns to Islam, from the time of Tarmashīrīn onwards (1326-34). Čaghatayid rule lasted in Transoxania till the rise of Tīmūr (see below), and in other parts of Central Asia till after then, but Tīmūr's successes were facilitated by increased disunity amongst the Čaghatayid family, with Čaghatayid puppet rulers placed on the throne by Turkish *amīrs*. For an account of the khānate, see ČAGHATAY KHĀN and ČAGHATAY KHĀNATE;; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 153 ff., 169-72; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 397-420; Hambly, *The Chaghatai khanate*, in *Central Asia*, 127 ff.

Tīmūr, a Barlas Turk from Kish in Transoxania, succeeded by force of arms to the Čaghatayid heritage there. In 771/1370 he became *de facto* ruler of Transoxania, ruling in the name of fainéant descendants of Ögedey, sc. Soyurghatmïsh (771-90/1370-88) and then his son Maḥmūd (770-?816/1388-?1413). He linked himself by marriage to the Čaghatayid royal house, including to a daughter of Khiḍr Khōdja (d. 801/1399) of Mogholistān, who was reputedly a son of the last significant Čaghatayid khān Tughluḳ Tīmūr (760-71/1359-70). Under the rule of Tīmūr's descendants, above all, that of Shāhrukh (807-50/1405-47), Transoxania enjoyed much material prosperity, with Samarḳand and Bukhārā becoming lively centres of artistic and literary life, of painting and book-production, and of poetry in both Persian and in Eastern Turkish or Čaghatay. Samarḳand was the city which Tīmūr preferred to all others as his main capital. European travellers like the Spanish envoy Clavijo (1403) describe the splendour of his court, and fine buildings in Samarḳand, of which the Gūr Amīr mausoleum and the Bībī Khānum mosque survive, attest the high aesthetic level of early Tīmūrid architecture. The reign of Tīmūr's grandson Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] (ruler in Transoxania from 814/1411, at first as Shāhrukh's deputy, to 853/1449) is associated with his foundation of a short-lived observatory in Samarḳand and the compilation of astronomical tables (see Barthold, *Ulugh-Beg*, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 129-34). As his second capital, Tīmūr developed Shahr-i Sabz in the Kashka Daryā valley, in the heart of the area of the Barlas Turks and near his own birthplace, starting there the construction of impressive buildings, including his own tomb (see Barthold, *Shahr-i*

Sabz from Tīmūr to Ulūgh Beg, tr. J. M. Rogers, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xvi [1978], 103-26, xviii [1980], 121-43). Popular Islam, in the form of a cultivation of Ṣūfī mysticism and the growth of a network of dervish orders, especially flourished in Transoxania during Čaghatayid and Tīmūrid times, and the *shaykh*s and their orders enjoyed the patronage of the Tīmūrid rulers. Thus the Naḳshbandī *shaykh* Khʷādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (806-95/1404-90) strengthened the nascent *ṭarīḳa* in Transoxania, benefiting particularly from the favour of Tīmūr's great-grandson Abū Saʿīd and his son Sulṭān Aḥmad; the Naḳshbandiyya were henceforth to play a major role in the history of Islam in Central Asia [see AḤRĀR, KHʷĀDJA,, in Suppl.). Meanwhile, the Čaghatayids managed to survive during these years in the lands beyond Transoxania, and under Esen Buḳa II (833-67/1429-62) flourished in Mogholistān and Eastern Turkestan, being hostile however to the later Tīmūrids. For the detailed history of this period, see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 165-84; Grousset, *op. cit.*, 486-546, 568-80; Mahin Hajianpur, *The Timurid empire*, in *Central Asia*, 150-62; TĪMŪR and TĪMŪRIDS..

In 906/1500, Muḥammad Shaybānī, the scion of a line of Mongol khāns, the descendant of Djoči's youngest son Shībān (one part of whom had remained in Siberia as khāns and another part of whom had moved southwards into Transoxania, forming the horde of the Uzbeks [*q.v.*] or Özbegs), seized power in Transoxania from the last Tīmūrids. Transoxania was, indeed, to become the permanent home of the Shaybānids and the Uzbeks, this last Turkish people giving their name to the modern Uzbek SSR, in which they probably form some 70% of the present population. The Shaybānids brought into Transoxania a Turkish following amongst whom the nomadic steppe traditions remained strong and who were virtually untouched by Iranian cultural and religious influences, as had been most of their predecessors there. It was the strength of popular religion, that of the dervishes and Ṣūfīs, already notable in Tīmūrid times (see above), rather than that of the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ*, which characterised Islam there in the time of the Uzbeks. Like Tīmūr, they exalted the cult of the Ṣūfī saint Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*], whose tomb in the lower Syr Daryā valley at Yasī had long been a popular pilgrimage place for Turks from all over Inner Asia. The Shaybānids in fact made Yasī their capital for a while, and under them it received its new name of Turkistān, indicative of its importance to the Central Asian Turks in general.

Politically and diplomatically, Sunnī Transoxania under the Uzbeks was in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries frequently involved in warfare with the powerful and aggressive Shīʿī monarchy of Ṣafawid Persia. As so many earlier Turco-Mongol dynasties had done, the Shaybānids coveted the rich province of Khurāsān, and invaded it on several occasions. But Muḥammad Shaybānī (905-16/1500-10) and successors of his like Abu 'l-Ghāzī ʿUbayd Allāh (940-6/1534-6) failed to overcome the experienced troops of Shāh Ismāʿīl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who had a greater appreciation of the value of the modern weapon of firearms and who had seasoned troops in their Ḳïzïlbash Türkmens and then in their Georgian, Armenian, etc., slave guards. The long-term result of this warfare was the virtual sealing-off of Transoxania from the rest of the Islamic world through the erection by the Ṣafawids of this bulwark on their northeastern frontier. Although Turks from Central Asia and Afghāns streamed into Muslim India as mercenaries, adventurers, etc., the traffic was largely one-way. Hence Transoxania became culturally introverted and impoverished, since the steppelands of South Russia and western Siberia were by the 17th century beginning to come under Russian, Christian control, and the popular Islam of such orders as the Yasawiyya, the Čishtiyya and the Naḳshbandiyya, though intense in religious fervour and emotion, was weak in intellectual content. Only in the sphere of Eastern Turkish or Čaghatay literature may it be said that Transoxania made a significant contribution to the cultural stock of Eastern Islam at this time. It was a flexible and expressive enough language for Bābur [*q.v.*] to write his memoirs in it; to produce a lively folk-poetry, seen e.g. in the verses of the 18th century Göklen Türkmen bard Makhdūm Ḳulī; and to give rise to a genre of historiography amongst the Shaybānids, the Djānids or Ashtarkhānids and the Mangïts of Bukhārā and the ʿArabshāhids of Khīwa in the former Khʷārazm, although such outstanding figures as the 10th/16th century Shaybānid historian Ḥāfiẓ Tanïsh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] continued to write for preference in Persian. For the detailed history of the Shaybānids, see Hambly, *The Shaybanids*, in *Central Asia*, 163-74; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 185 ff.; and SHAYBĀNIDS.

In the course of the 10th/16th century, Bukhārā and Khīwa formed themselves into separate, often mutually-hostile khānates, and then in the early 18th century, a third Uzbek khānate arose in the Farghāna valley, that of Khoḳand. The three principalities were to have separate existences, punctuated by much squabbling and internecine warfare, till the Russian occupation of Central Asia in the second half of the 19th century, Bukhāra and Khīwa remaining, however, as virtual protectorates of Russia until the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The history of these khānates can be followed under BUKHĀRĀ, KHʷĀRAZM, KHĪWA, KHOḲAND; see further DJĀNIDS, ḲUNGRĀT, MANGÏTS, and also ÎNAḲ in Suppl.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

MĀʾ (A.) "water". The present article covers the religio-magical and the Islamic legal aspects of water, together with irrigation techniques, as follows:

1. Hydromancy
2. Water in classical Islamic law
3. Hydraulic machines
4. Pre-20th century irrigation in Egypt
5. Irrigation in Mesopotamia
6. Irrigation in Persia
7. Irrigation in North Africa and Spain
8. Irrigation in the Ottoman empire
9. Irrigation in pre-20th century Muslim India
10. Irrigation in Transoxania
11. Economic aspects of modern irrigation
12. Ornamental uses in Muslim India

1. HYDROMANCY

As a vehicle for the sacred, water has been employed for various techniques of divination, and in particular, for potamonancy (sc. divination by means of the colour of the waters of a river and their ebbing and flowing; cf. Fr. Cumont, *Études syriennes*, Paris 1917, 250 ff., notably on the purification power of the Euphrates, consulted for divinatory reasons); for pegomancy (sc. omens given by rivers, springs, floods, a feature of Babylonian divination, cf.

A. Boissier, *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination babylonienne*, Geneva 1905-6, i, 235-50; Fr. Nötscher, in *Orientalia*, Serie prior, li-liv [1930], 121 ff., 137 ff., 146 ff., 131 ff., 141); hydromancy (called *istinzāl*, according to Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 389); lecanomancy (sc. divination from the waves set up on any shiny, liquid surface, such as water, blood, milk, honey, oil or petroleum, cf. Nötscher, in *loc. cit.*, 110-11, 118-19); and crystallomancy and cataoptromancy (sc. omens drawn from the features appearing upon any polished, reflecting surface, cf. J. Hunger, *Becherwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern*, in *Leipziger Semitische Studien*, i/1, Leipzig 1903; G. Furlani, in *Aegyptus* [1927], 287-92).

The lack of perennial water courses in Arabia and the infrequency of springs prevented the development of such divinatory techniques as these amongst the Arabs. We have nothing to confirm that the reflective surfaces of waters in oases were ever used for these. Water, like perfume, was used in the rituals over the making of pacts and alliances [see LAʿAḲAT AL-DAM], but these procedures had no divinatory character at all.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 405-6. (T. FAHD)

2. WATER IN CLASSICAL ISLAMIC LAW

In Islamic law there are seven kinds of water which it is lawful to use for drinking or ablution: water from rain, snow, hail, springs, wells, rivers and the sea. These sources may, however, be rendered impure by the presence in them of unclean objects.

Questions of ownership and the right to take water depend on the nature of its source, whether natural or artificial watercourses, wells or springs (freshwater lakes are not generally discussed in the sources owing to their scarcity in the Islamic lands). Ownership of a source of water implies ownership of its *ḥarīm* (reserved area), consisting of that portion of land adjacent to the water source sufficient to enable the source to be used. One *ḥadīth* defines the extent of the *ḥarīm* of a well as 40 cubits on every side, but other measurements are also given.

The *Sharīʿa* distinguishes three types of water source which may be the subject of use or ownership:

1. Water from rivers, which may be (a) great rivers, such as the Tigris and Euphrates, which are of such a size that they can be used by all for drinking and irrigation to any extent; (b) lesser rivers, in which case two possibilities may be distinguished:

(i) where there is generally enough water for all users but where it is possible to cause shortage to other users by e.g. digging a canal to take water from higher up the river than other users (whether this is allowed or not must be decided after inquiry into the consequences); or

(ii) where damming or the allocation of fixed times is necessary to provide enough water for irrigation. In such cases, the river is normally regarded as the joint property of the riparian cultivators, and the question of how much water may be retained by the highest riparian cultivator depends on differing circumstances, such as the season of the year, the type of crop irrigated, etc. (c) canals. These are the property of the landowner or landowners in whose property they are situated; where they are the common property of several landowners, none of them may make unilateral changes in arrangements for sharing the water, or by building a mill or bridge over it, etc.

2. Wells: (a) Wells dug for the public benefit; here the water is freely available to all, the digger merely having the right of first comer. (b) Wells dug by persons for their own use, e.g. wells dug in the desert by tribesmen. Such persons have first right to the water while they are living in the vicinity, but are obliged to give water to persons suffering from thirst. After they move away, the water becomes freely available to all. (c) Wells dug by persons intending them to be their own property. Ownership, however, cannot be claimed until water has actually been found, and if the well needs lining, until it has been lined. The owner of the well has a duty to give water to anyone suffering from thirst. This is illustrated by a tradition which records that ʿUmar made some owners of water pay the *diya* for a man who died of thirst after they had refused his request for water.

3. Springs: (a) Natural springs: these are treated as analogous to permanently flowing rivers. If the water supply is limited, the first person to undertake irrigation in the area has priority; otherwise the water has to be shared equally. (b) Springs opened up by digging: the person who does this becomes the owner, together with the surrounding *ḥarīm*. (c) Springs opened up by persons on their own property. In such cases, the only claim against the owner is that of persons suffering from thirst. If the owner has a surplus of water, he may be obliged to give it gratis to other men's cattle, but not for irrigating crops.

A person who possesses water in a vessel is its sole owner, and he is not obliged to give it to others gratis; he is, however, obliged to relieve someone suffering from thirst in return for a recompense.

Bibliography: A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, i, 71-7; ii, 60-2; Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ch. 15; T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. *Water*; *Lexikon der Islamischen Welt*, 1974, s.v. *Bewässerung* (H. Gaube), and bibl. there cited; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischen Lehre*, Berlin 1897, 589-97; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 416-20; J. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 142-3, and bibl. cited on p. 273; for the exercise of water rights in practice, see Cl. Cahen, in *BÉtO*, xiii (1949-51), 117-43; A. M. A. Maktari, *Water rights and irrigation practices in Laḥj*, Cambridge 1971. See also BIʾR. (M. J. L. YOUNG)

3. HYDRAULIC MACHINES

There is ample evidence from written and archaeological sources for the widespread use in pre-Islamic times of all the main hydraulic machines, described below, in all the areas that were to form part of the Muslim world. The *shādūf* was known in ancient times. The *sāḳiya*, although it did not become fully effective before the introduction of the pawl in the 4th or 5th century A.D., was known in Roman times. Both machines are still in use today. The noria (*nāʿūra*) and the vertical undershot mill-wheel are both described by Vitruvius, without any claim to originality (*On architecture*, Loeb Classics, ed. F. Granger, 1970, ii, 303-7). Vertical mill-wheels were sometimes mounted on boats moored to the banks of rivers (N. Smith, *Man and water*, London 1975, 140). The origins of the horizontal, vaned mill-wheel are still obscure: it may have been referred to by a Greek writer of the 1st century B.C., and it was in use in Ireland in the 7th century A.D. (Smith, *op. cit.*, 142). It is described in a Byzantine treatise, probably of the 7th century A.D., extant only in Arabic versions (Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, ii, 50-6, see

Bibl.). Hand-operated force pumps were used by the Greeks and Romans; these had single vertical cylinders that were placed directly in the water without suction pipes (Vitruvius, 311-12, quoting Ctesibius, who lived *ca.* 200 B.C.). The problem of the origins and diffusion of these machines is largely unresolved, but our chief concern here is that they were all in existence in the 1st/7th century.

The *s͟hādūf* is a simple machine consisting of a wooden beam pivoted on a raised fulcrum. At one end of the beam is a bucket, at the other end a counterweight. The bucket is dipped into the water, then the beam is rotated by means of the counterweight and the contents of the bucket are emptied into a cistern or supply channel. The flume-beam swape is a development of the *s͟hādūf*. Instead of a solid beam, a channel is connected rigidly to the bucket; when this is raised the water runs through it into the outlet.

The *sāḳiya* is more complex, and indeed has over two hundred components parts. It consists essentially of a large vertical wheel erected over the water supply on a horizontal axle. This wheel carries a chain-of-pots or a bucket chain. On the other end of its axle is a gear-wheel that engages a horizontal gear-wheel to which the driving bar is attached. The animal is harnessed to the free end of this bar, and as it walks in a circular path, the gears and the wheel carrying the chain-of-pots rotate. The pots dip in succession into the water and when they reach the top of their travel they empty into a channel. The noria (sometimes confused with the *sāḳiya*) is a large wheel driven by water. It is mounted on a horizontal axle over a flowing stream so that the water strikes the paddles that are set around its perimeter. The water is raised in pots attached to its rim or in bucket-like compartments set into the rim. The large norias at Ḥamāt in Syria can still be seen today; the first known mention of norias at Ḥamāt is by Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib in 271/884-5 (Suter, 33).

The Vitruvian mill-wheel turns a vertical gear-wheel that meshes with a horizontal gear-wheel to which the driving shaft is attached. The horizontal vaned mill-wheel is fixed directly to the driving shaft; there are no gears. It cannot be mounted directly in the stream since the water must be directed on to its vanes from a pipe or channel.

There can be no doubt that all these machines were in continuous use in Islam from the early conquests until the introduction of modern technology. (As mentioned above, the *s͟hādūf* and the *sāḳiya* are still in use; they are cheaper and more easily maintained than motor-driven pumps.) The evidence comes from treatises on machines, references in the works of historians and geographers, and archaeological investigations. For a selection of the available evidence, the reader is referred to the *Bibl.* under Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*; Schiøler; Hill 1 and 2. The remaining discussion will be confined to developments of particular importance in the history of technology.

Mills were used in Islam for other purposes beside the grinding of corn and other seeds, e.g. for crushing sugar cane and for sawing timber (A. Y. Hassan, *Taqī al-Dīn and Arabic mechanical engineering* [in Arabic], Aleppo 1976, 51, quoting al-Nuwayrī and Ibn ʿAsākir). This suggests that rotary motion was converted to reciprocating, probably by means of trip-hammers. More examples of similar applications may be discovered when a systematic study of the historical and geographical works is undertaken. Another area of interest is the use of the overshot mill-wheel, in which the water is conducted through a channel to the top of the wheel, which has bucket-like compartments around its rim. The overshot wheel works mainly by the weight of the water, whereas the Vitruvian one is operated by its force. In many conditions, the former is the more efficient of the two. Its use is recommended by a certain al-Murādī in a treatise composed in Andalusia in the 5th/11th century (D. R. Hill, *A treatise on machines*, in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, i/1 [Aleppo 1977], 33-46. In this paper the treatise was wrongly attributed to the well-known astronomer Ibn Muʿād͟h). S͟hams al-Dīn al-Dimas͟hḳī, d. 727/1327, describes a similar wheel in operation near Tabrīz (ed. M. A. F. Mehren, 188). The overshot wheel did not come into general use in the West until about the 8th/14th century. Al-D̲j̲azarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] often uses small overshot wheels in his devices, but these are usually scoop-wheels, a kind of primitive Pelton wheel, the scoops being fixed to the ends of spokes that radiate from a solid disc.

It is reasonable to infer that the scoop-wheels used by al-D̲j̲azarī were miniature versions of wheels in full-size machines, an inference that is strengthened by the fact that he uses such a wheel in one of his water-raising machines (Category V, Ch. 3). The visible part of this is a *ṣāḳiya*, which is provided with a model cow to give the impression that this is the source of motive power. The actual power, however, is provided in a lower, concealed chamber and consists of a scoop-wheel and two gear-wheels. This system drives the vertical axle that passes up into the main chamber, where two further gear-wheels transmit the power to the chain-of-pots wheel. Such devices (without the model cow) were in everyday use. A similar machine was in continuous use on the River Yazīd above Damascus from the 7th/13th century until about 1960 for water supply and irrigation. It was restored to working order by the staff and students of Aleppo University (Hassan, *op. cit.*, 58-9).

Al-D̲j̲azarī describes four other water-raising machines in Category V. Chs. 1,2 and 4 deal with flume-beam swapes operated by animal power through gear trains. The first two of these incorporate segmental gears. The earliest known occurrence of these gears in Europe is in the astronomical clock completed by Giovanni de' Dondi in 1365. The fifth machine is a slot-rod pump, driven through gears from a paddle wheel. It is remarkable for having two horizontally opposed cylinders and true suction pipes. Taḳī al-Dīn (10th/16th century) describes a similar pump, but equally remarkable is his six-cylinder "Monobloc" pump (Hassan, *op. cit.*, 47-50). The vertical cylinders are fitted into a single wooden block which rests in the water. Delivery pipes lead out from the sides of the cylinders, near their tops, and are brought together into a single outlet. Each cylinder has a clack-valve at the bottom. The pistons are provided with weights at the top and lever arms at the sides. The lever-arms are supported at fulcrums and their free ends extend inside the perimeter of a scoop-wheel. As the water strikes the scoop-wheel it rotates, the scoops bear down in succession on the lever arms and the pistons rise and fall in continuous succession.

It should be apparent from the foregoing brief discussion that Islamic engineers were active in the construction and development of hydraulic machines for water-raising and power supply throughout the mediaeval period and beyond. Similar activity took

place in Europe, India and East Asia. Each region used the machines that were best suited to its needs, to the local hydraulic conditions, and to the available constructional materials.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the text): two treatises are available in annotated English translations by D. R. Hill, *The Book of knowledge of ingenious mechanical devices by al-Jazarī*, Dordrecht 1974, see esp. 32, 95-6, 179-98, 275; and *The Book of ingenious devices by the Banū Mūsà*, (fl. Baghdād mid-3rd/9th century), Dordrecht 1979, see 222, 226, for horizontal water-wheels; there is an Arabic-English glossary that includes many terms used in hydraulic engineering; an Arabic edition of al-Djazarī, also with Arabic-English glossary, is now available, ed. A. Y. Hassan, Aleppo 1979; Abu ʿAbd Allāh al-Khʷarazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 246-55 (this section contains definitions and brief descriptions of parts used in hydraulic and other machines); E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur Arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim-New York 1970, see index under *raḥā*, *nāʿūra*; Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über Vorrichtungen zum Heben von Wasser in der islamischen Welt*, in *Jahrbuch des Vereins Deutscher Ingenieurs*, viii (1918), 121-54; T. Schiøler, *Roman and Islamic water-lifting wheels*, Odense 1973 (deals mainly with the *sāḳiya*); useful discussions on hydraulic machines in various regions, including Islam, occur in J. Needham, *Science and civilisation in China*, iv/2, Cambridge 1965 (see index under "mills", "water-raising devices", "water-wheel", etc.); Lynn White Jr., *Medieval technology and social change*, Oxford 1962, ch. 3; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in ancient technology*, Leiden 1955-64, ii, 79-9; N. Smith. *op. cit.*, ch. 11.

(D. R. Hill)

4. Pre-20th century irrigation in Egypt

Until the 20th century, irrigation in Egypt remained much as it had been in Pharaonic times. The continuity of practice stemmed from the dependence on the annual Nile floods, which provided Egypt not only with water for irrigation but also with the alluvial soil deposits to renew the fertility of the cultivated lands. The great river, however, does not only bestow its gifts, but may also be the cause of misfortune to the country. Up to modern times and before major dams and irrigation projects were undertaken, a high Nile promised the richest increase to the fields, while with a low Nile came the inevitable dread of a year of famine.

ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231) discussed this phenomenon and the rôle of the Nile in the irrigation and the agricultural situation in mediaeval Egypt. He states that after the water of the Nile overflowed and covered the soil for several days, it receded to let the peasants plough and sow the fields. No further irrigation was needed until the crops were ready to be harvested. If the Nile exceeded some fingers beyond 20 cubits (*dhirāʿ*s), some areas became submerged like lakes for a long time and the proper time for sowing passed without calculation being possible. Also, lands could not be cultivated if the Nile did not rise sufficiently to reach the minimum of the necessary flood (16 cubits). In such cases, the amount of land covered with water was insufficient, the size of the crop did not meet the needs of one year and there was a scarcity of food more or less great in direct ratio to the water level above or below sixteen cubits.

No one in pre-20th century Egypt felt secure before the flood reached the height of 16 cubits and when all necessary land had been naturally irrigated by the Nile. Until it reached that level, the news of its height was kept secret from the common people. It seems that this was a custom introduced by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Muʿizz in 362/973, when he prohibited the announcement in the streets of Cairo of the exact rising of the Nile before it had reached 16 *dhirāʿ*s. This was to prevent tension, fear and financial crises among the inhabitants; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, Cairo 1270/1853-4, i, 61, The person who was in charge of the Nilometer (*ṣāḥib al-miḳyās* [see MIḲYAS]) used to call the increasing level of the Nile water in fingers without telling the exact cubit. Only when the water level reached the height of 16 cubits, normally in the Coptic month Misrā (July-August), could the *ṣāḥib al-miḳyās* proclaim it to the people in Cairo, and the sultan then had the right to impose the *kharādj* on the cultivated land, cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿsha*, Cairo 1914, iii, 293-4, 297; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923, i, 264; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 60, 273; H. M. Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, London 1972, 73 and the sources cited therein.

Pre-20th century irrigation in Egypt did not rely only on the floods, but also on the yearly digging and cleaning of the irrigation canals and the maintenance of the irrigation dams. Both al-Nuwayrī (i, 265) and al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 61) state that without such maintenance there would be little benefit from the Nile. Al-Maḳrīzī (i, 74-5) traces the importance of canals and irrigation dams in controlling the Nile in pre- and early Islamic periods. It was one of the most important functions of both the sultans and the holders of the *iḳṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*] under the Ayyūbids and the Māmlūks to dig and clean the canals and to maintain the irrigation dams (the *djusūr*). The sources provide us with ample information about the efforts of the sultans in Egypt in digging and cleaning canals. The irrigation dams (the *djusūr*), which were of paramount importance for the irrigation of the fields, were classified into two types in mediaeval Egypt: the small irrigation dams (*al-djusūr al-baladiyya*) and the great irrigation dams (*al-djusūr al-sulṭāniyya*). The first were important for conveying water from one field to another in the village. Each *muḳṭaʿ* (holder of an *iḳṭāʿ*) with his clerks was responsible for the upkeep of these irrigation dams within the confines of his *iḳṭāʿ*. As for the great irrigation dams which were constructed for the benefit of the provinces, the sultan was responsible for them, at least in theory. In practice, especially under the Mamlūk sultans, the *muḳṭaʿ*s assisted the sultan in the construction of this type of dam by supplying peasants, oxen, harrows and tools, cf. Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiya, Cairo 1943, 232-3, 344; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 449; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 101.

Because of the importance of the great irrigation dams, both the Ayyūbid and the Mamlūk sultans used to select distinguished and able *amīr*s and officials to supervise the work of their maintenance. Al-Nābulusī (d. 660/1261) states in the *Kitāb Lumaʿ al-ḳawānīn al-muḍiyya* (ed. C. H. Becker and C. Cahen in *Bulletin d'études orientales*, xvi [1958-60], 39-40) that every year the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil used to send him with 3 or 4 *amīr*s to the Djīza province during the flood period in order to keep the dams of that province in good condition. It seems that the Ayyūbid sultan sent officials like al-Nābulusī to other Egyptian provinces for the same purpose. Under the Mamlūks there was an office called *kashf al-djusūr*

(office of inspection of irrigation dams) for each province in Egypt. The holder of this office, called *kāshif al-djusūr*, was an *amīr* who was aided by assistants in the construction and maintenance of the irrigation dams in the province under his charge, cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 448-9.

Each year before the advent of the Nile flood, not only had the canals to be dug and the irrigation dams to be constructed and repaired, but also the land to be cultivated had to be prepared. The methods of that preparatory work as well as the tools used were more or less the same traditional ones known to have been used by the Egyptian peasants for thousands of years. As for irrigation, al-Nuwayrī and al-Maḳrīzī state that when the Nile rose during the flood period, the water covered all cultivated lands. One could only reach the villages, which were established on hills and mounds, by boat or on the great irrigation dams. When the soil had had sufficient water, the *khawlī*s (stewards) and the *shaykh*s (village headmen) supervised the cutting off of the irrigation dams from specified places at certain times in order to draw off water from the fields, thus letting it flow benefit other places, cf. al-Nuwayrī, i, 264-5; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 61; see also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, Beirut 1965, i, 375; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. and tr. C. Schefer, 39, tr. 118. al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 692/1283), *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 175, mentions that when the water of the Nile receded gradually after being on soil for forty days, the peasants began sowing.

The crops which were cultivated after the Nile flood season in mediaeval Egypt did not need any more irrigation than their inundation during the flood period, cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 97; al-Iṣṭakhrī[1], 49. This was the most common method of irrigation, called *bi 'l-sayḥ* by al-Nābulusī, *Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm*, ed. B. Moritz, Cairo 1899, 63, and *māʾ al-rāḥa* by al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 102. The last term is still used by the contemporary *fallāḥ* to denote irrigation without artificial implements. Crops watered in this manner were called "winter crops" in order to distinguish them from the summer ones which the peasants began sowing during the Coptic month Baramhāt (February-March) and which relied on irrigation by artificial means such as water-wheel, shadoof, etc., cf. Ibn Mammātī, 248.

Al-Makhzūmī in the *Minhādj* and al-Maḳrīzī in the *Khiṭaṭ* distinguish between the winter and summer crops when discussing the times of sowing and harvesting. al-Makhzūmī states that the winter crops were wheat (*ḳamḥ*), barley (*shaʿīr*), beans (*fūl*), bitter-vetch (*djulbān*), lentils (*ʿadas*) and flax (*kattān*). al-Maḳrīzī adds to al-Makhzūmī's list of winter crops chick peas (*ḥummuṣ*), clover (*ḳurṭ*), onions (*baṣal*), garlic (*thūm*) and lupin (*turmus*). For summer crops al-Makhzūmī mentions unripe melons (*faḳḳūs*), water-melons (*biṭṭīkh*), kidney beans (*lūbiya*), sesame (*simsim* or *samāsim*), cotton (*ḳuṭn* or *akṭān*), sugar-cane (*ḳaṣab al-sukkar*) and colocasia antiquorum (*ḳulḳās*). Although al-Maḳrīzī lists the same for summer crops, he adds aubergines (*bādhindjān*), indigo (*nīla*), radishes (*fudjl*), turnips (*lift*), lettuce (*khaṣṣ*) and cabbage (*kurunb*), and puts both the unripe melon and water-melon under the one name *biṭṭīkh*; cf. al-Makhzūmī, *Kitāb al-Minhādj fī ʿilm kharādj Miṣr*, ms. B.M. London Add. 23483, ff. 30b-33b; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 101-2.

There were many methods known in pre-20th century Egypt to irrigate the soil under the summer crops. They were inherited from older times and continue until today, with the exception of one which was very primitive and arduous. This was the transportation of water to the fields in buckets, jars, etc., hung from the necks of the oxen. This method was mentioned by al-Nābulusī as the means of irrigation for the two villages Dimashḳīn al-Baṣal and Damūh, known as Kūm Darī, in the Fayyūm province, cf. *Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm*, 99, 101. This method, which was a continuation of a Pharaonic technique, seems to have been known in other Egyptian villages.

The other methods of irrigation used by the mediaeval Egyptian peasant employed any one of four artificial irrigation contrivances, namely, the *naṭṭāla*, the *dāliya*, the *sāḳiya* and the *tābūt*. These four contrivances were used in Egypt before the advent of the Arabs and are still in current use.

There is no mention of what was known as the *naṭṭāla* in the available classical sources, but the existence of such a device in Ancient Egypt, as well as its depiction in the *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, Planches, Tome deuxième, Paris 1817, *Arts et métiers*, Pl. vi (4), proves its existence in pre-20th century Egypt. It is still in use in Egypt, as well as in many African countries. Two men stand face to face, each holding two cords of palm-fibre ropes to which is attached a wide, shallow waterproof basket. This basket, made from twisted palm leaves or leather, is known in Egypt by the name *ḳaṭwa*. The two men holding the ropes bend slightly toward the water, dip the basket and fill it. Then they straighten while turning to the field, thus raising the basket which is emptied into the mouth of the irrigation canal, cf. Lane, *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1871, ii, 27.

The *dāliya* or shadoof is a kind of draw-well which was used in Pharaonic Egypt and in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, and is still used in Egypt and other eastern countries for raising water for irrigation. It usually consists of two posts, beams of the acacia tree or shafts of cane, about five feet in height. These posts are coated with mud and clay and then placed less than three feet apart. The two beams are joined at the top by a horizontal piece of wood, in the centre of which a lever is balanced. The shorter arm of the lever is weighted with a heavy rock or dried mud, while at the end of the longer arm hangs a rope carrying a leather pail. The peasant stands on a platform on the river bank and pulls down the balanced pole until the pail dips into the water and is filled. A slight upward push, which is helped by the counterweight, raises the bucket above the irrigation canal, into which it is emptied.

As for water-wheels, al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century) states that there were many *dawālib* (pl. of *dūlāb*, a Persian word which denotes a water-wheel) on the banks of the Nile for irrigating orchards during the low waters. He also says that the *ḳādūs* was the bucket of the *dūlāb*, cf. *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 208. In the next century, Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions in his *Safar-nāma*, 39, French tr. 118, that "up the Nile there are different cities and villages, and they have established so many *dūlāb*s that they are difficult to count."

In mediaeval Egypt, there were two words used to denote wooden water-wheels, i.e. the *sawāḳī* (sing. *sāḳiya*) and the *maḥāl* (sing. *maḥāla*). al-Nābulusī, *Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm*, 11, 27, 31, 48, 52, 54, 63, 94, 126, mentions that some villages in the Fayyūm province had *sawāḳī* to raise irrigation water. In Bādja, for example, he states that there were *sawāḳī* which were running day and night. In the *Kitāb Lumaʿ al-ḳawānīn*, 48-9, al-Nābulusī warns the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of the negligence and dis-

honesty of officials with which his own long experience in the work of offices had made him conversant. Specifically, he reports that acacia trees, which were a state monopoly, have been illegally cut down to construct *sawāḳī*, presses and other instruments.

Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, viii, 253-4, writing in the Mamlūk period, states that wells were dug in the land, apparently supplied by water from the underground bed of the Nile. At the mouth of these wells the *sawāḳī*, made from acacia or other trees, were installed. Al-Nuwayrī also states that these irrigation wheels were called *al-maḥāl* in Egypt, while at Hamā in Syria they were called *al-nawāʿir* (sing. *nāʿūra*). He differentiates, as does al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 80, 140, in a later period, between the two kinds, by stating that the *nawāʿir* were run by water current, while the *maḥāl* by oxen.

The Arabic word *maḥāl* (sing. *maḥāla*) denotes the huge pulley which is used for raising water from wells, cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, Beirut 1956, xi, 620-1. However, al-Maḳrīzī in the Khiṭaṭ, i, 102, uses it to refer to the water-wheel. When discussing the irrigation of sugar-cane when the Nile water is low, al-Maḳrīzī says that each of these *maḥāl* can raise the water to irrigate eight *faddāns* of sugar-cane, providing that the waterwheel is installed close to the Nile and that eight excellent beasts are available to work it. When the wells are established at a distance from the Nile, each of the *maḥāl* cannot irrigate more than 4 to 6 *faddāns*. Al-Maḳrīzī also refers to the *ḳādūs*, which al-Muḳaddasī earlier explained as the bucket of the water-wheel.

It is apparent that the ordinary, contemporary Egyptian water-wheel is more or less the same as the mediaeval one, since it does not differ appreciably from the one depicted in the *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, ii, i, 501-2; *Planches*, Tome deuxième, *Arts et métiers*, Pl. v. The flat horizontal wheel of the *sāḳiya* is turned counter-clockwise by a single beast or pair of oxen. The flat wheel's rough cogs engage a vertical wheel which carries a long chain of earthen pots (*ḳawādīs*). These clay pots are suspended from ropes and are lowered, mouthdownward, into the water. Following the path of the wheel, the pots scoop up water which they spill out into the irrigation channel as they arrive at the top of the wheel on their circular journey. The work of the peasant or his son is to goad the beast, to watch the turning wheel, and to avoid wasting water on the way to the field.

As for the *tābūt* (water-screw), it was apparently invented by the Greek mathematician and inventor Archimedes (*ca.* 287-212 B.C.) while studying in Egypt. Observing the difficulty in raising water from the Nile, he is said to have designed this screw to facilitate the irrigation of the fields.

The water-screw has been continuously in use in Egypt when the level of water is not very low, from the times of the Ptolemys until the present. It consists of a wooden cylinder (about 6-9 feet in length) hooped with iron. While the spiral pipe is fixed between the inside wall of the *tābūt* and an iron axis, its upper extremity is bent into a crank and its lower end turns on a stake set under the water. One or two peasants crouch at the water's edge, endlessly turning the crank handle. The water rises from bend to bend in the spiral pipe until it flows out at the mouth of the canal.

However, using the primitive implements of the *naṭṭāla*, the *dāliya*, the *sāḳiya* and the *tābūt*, the pre-20th century peasant in Egypt irrigated the land and managed to produce the necessary crops to maintain the economy of the country. Many of the techniques and implements that he devised or used have proved to be efficacious to such a degree that they are still extant.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): for Pharaonic implements and techniques, cf. F. Hartmann, *L'agriculture dans l'ancienne Égypte*, Paris 1923; A. Erman, *Life in ancient Egypt*, tr. H. M. Tirard, London 1894. See for later periods, al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Ifāda wa 'l-iʿtibār*, facsimile by. K. H. Zand and others, Cairo-London 1964, 200-2; French tr. Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte, par Abd-Allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad*, Paris 1810, 320-30; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Nukhbat al-fikr fī tadbīr Nīl Miṣr*, Cairo 1297/1879-80, 151-2; T. Sato, *Irrigation in rural Egypt*, in *Orient*, Tokyo 1972. For the maintenance of the irrigation dams in the later Mamlūk period, cf. al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, Paris 1894, 129; for supplying labour for irrigation dams and canals during the Ottoman period and later, cf. G. Baer, *The dissolution of the Egyptian village community*, in *WI*, N.S., vi (1959-61), 60-1, 64. See also Ṭaybughā al-Djarklamish, (8th/14th century), *Kitāb al-Filāḥa al-muntakhaba*, ms. Dār al-Kutub Cairo, no. 219 *zirāʿa*; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318), *Mabāhidj al-fikar wa-manāhidj al-ʿibar* (*al-fann al-rābiʿ*), ms., Dār al-Kutub Cairo, no. 359 *ʿulūm ṭabīʿiyya*; for the *dāliya* or shadoof, cf., al-Shirbīnī, *Hazz al-ḳuḥūf fī sharḥ ḳaṣīd Abī Shādūf*, ed. M. K. Baḳlī, Cairo n.d., introd. dated July 1963, 162; Girard, *Mémoire*, in *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, ii, i, 500-1; *Planches*, Tome deuxième, Pl. vi (1); Lane, *Manners and customs*, ii, 25-6; al-Ḥitta, *Ta᾽rīkh al-Zirāʿa al-Miṣriyya fī ʿahd Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Kabīr*, Cairo 1950, 26; idem, *Ta᾽rīkh Miṣr al-iḳtiṣādī fī 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*, Cairo 1958, 8; H. A. Rivlin, *The agricultural policy of Muhammad ʿAlī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961, 246-8, 336 n. 7; for the *dāliya* in ʿIrāḳ, cf. Cl. Cahen, *Le service de l'irrigation en Iraq au début du XIe siècle*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-51), 118-9, 130-1; for the Egyptian water-wheel, cf. Lane, *Manners and customs*, ii, 26-7; H. H. Ayrouth, *Mœurs et coutumes des fellahs*, Paris 1938, 66, Eng. tr. H. Wayment, *The fellaheen*, Cairo 1946, 57-8, Arabic tr. M. al-Labbān and D. Murḳuṣ, *al-Fallāḥūn*, Cairo 1968, 107-8; al-Ḥitta, *Ta᾽rīkh al-Zirāʿa al-Miṣriyya*, 23-6; for the water-screw, cf. T. L. Heath, *Archimedes*, London 1920, 1-2; idem, *The works of Archimedes*, New York n.d., pp. xx-xxi; Rivlin, *op. cit.*, 169, 235, 247; Ayrout, *op. cit.*, 64, Eng. tr., 56, Arabic tr. 107; the water-screw is known in Egypt now by the names *tābūt* or *ṭanbūr*.

(Hassanein Rabie)

5. Irrigation in ʿIrāḳ

Since it is impossible here to look at the use of water in all its aspects and in regard to all the problems which it raises, the present section merely deals with irrigation in the same way as is done for other regions of the Islamic world.

Taken as a whole, ʿIrāḳ is a flat plain irrigated by two great rivers, whose risings and fallings lack however the comparative regularness of the Nile. Since the Euphrates (al-Furāt [*q.v.*]) flows at a higher level than that of the Tigris (Didjla [*q.v.*]), the canals which, from ancient times, have connected them run at an oblique angle in relationship to them. Aerial photography, together with other sources of information, has allowed Adams to supplement and complete, for the left bank of the Tigris,

the information of the mediaeval authors and, especially, of Ibn Sarafyūn (Serapion). In regard to the zone between the two great rivers, periods of neglect before and after the coming of Islam have transformed part of central ʿIrāḳ into a marshland, the Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*], the drainage of which has not been possible. The rivers and the great canals, constructed and maintained by the state, were important routes for communication, which were not impeded by the bridges of boats across them or by the mills. The upkeep of the smaller canals was the responsibility of local people. An ancient system of customary law regulated the amount and the periods of water used amongst the holders of land along the banks, and specially-appointed officials had the task, through the manipulation of sluices and water-gates, of securing this regulation. The interest shown about irrigation questions by mediaeval authors arises from the fact that, both for the land-tax and for local dues, irrigated land was distinguished from non-irrigated land.

The anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī* (5th/11th century) has provided us, in the shape of mathematical problems, with some interesting details about the administration of the canals and about hydraulic machinery in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ. He describes various kinds of waterwheels, *dawlāb*, *g̲h̲arrāfa*, *s̲h̲ād̲h̲ūf*, giving their capacity for drawing up water and then spreading it for irrigation purposes, according to the season, and the numbers of men and animals required to work them. Then he moves on to the "balancing out of ground" intended to fix the levels of canals which have to be dug out (see E. Wiedemann, *EI*[1], art. MĪZĀN). Finally, he raises the question of the construction and upkeep of the raised canal banks, which he calls *bazand*, a pre-Islamic term not listed in the classical dictionaries, hence often wrongly read. It is necessary to know the volume of earth, reeds and brushwood which has to be transported, which is counted according to a special unit, the *azala* = 100 cubic cubits "of balance", and it is to be understood that an *azala* is procured by 33 "spade loads", handled by two men, one digging and the other transporting the earth, etc. in sacks. The provision of materials and the labour, which seem never to have been done by slaves, are paid according to an official tariff.

Bibliography: In addition to BAṬĪḤA, DID̲J̲LA, al-FURĀT and ʿIRĀḲ see on the *K. al-Ḥāwī*, Cahen, *Le service de l'irrigation en Irak au XI*[e] *siècle*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-51), 117-43; R. McC. Adams, *Land beyond Baghdad*; K. Wittfogel, *Oriental despotism, a comparative study of total power*, New Haven 1957 (based according to the author on the control of water resources; cf. the preface by Vidal-Naquet to the French tr., *Le despotisme oriental*); X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire musulmane*, Paris 1968; T. Fahd, *Matériaux pour une histoire de l'agriculture en Irak* (= based on Ibn Waḥs̲h̲iyya), in *Handbuch der Or.*, Leiden-Cologne 1978; L. Bolens, *Les agronomes andalous du Moyen Âge*, Geneva 1981, ch. iv; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*. iii. *Le milieu naturel*, Paris 1980, chs. ii-iv.

(CL. CAHEN)

6. Irrigation in Persia

The distribution and density of population and the development of agriculture in Persia throughout history have been closely dependent upon the availability of water, and the nature of the irrigation systems has influenced both the siting of settlements and the pattern of society. Precipitation is scanty and seasonal; it is concentrated on the periphery of the country, as also are the major perennial rivers.

As a general rule, rainfall, which occurs between October and May, decreases from the north to the south of the country and from west to east, but in a number of areas the high relief of the Alburz and the Zagros mountains has modified this pattern. Along the Caspian Sea coast and the northern flanks of the Alburz, precipitation reaches more than 1,800 mm. near the mouth of the Safīd Rūd; annual totals fall to less than 500 mm. on the east side of the Caspian near Gunbad-i Ḳābūs. Along the western flanks and summits of the Zagros Mountains, precipitation amounts are thought to exceed 800 mm. on some of the higher peaks, and large areas to the west of S̲h̲īrāz receive more than 400 mm. In the north-western highlands, between the two belts of high precipitation, there is a zone of moderate precipitation of 250-400 mm. In the centre of the country occupied by the Das̲h̲t-i Kawīr and the Das̲h̲t-i Lūṭ, great sterile deserts, precipitation totals almost everywhere less than 100 mm., though a higher precipitation is found on the eastern borders of the *kawīr* in the highlands around Bīrd̲j̲and and Zāhidān. Everywhere, with the exception of the Caspian littoral, low and episodic rainfall is a major constraint on agriculture, hence the importance of artificial irrigation.

Dependable supplies of surface water exist only in isolated districts around the margins of the country, but there is nowhere an annual surplus of water, and seasonal surpluses, except in the north and west, are insignificant. Run-off is episodic, and occurs only because precipitation momentarily exceeds the infiltration capacity of the surface. The flow of water in streams and rivers throughout the country is seasonal and highly variable from year to year. Peak flows are too late for winter crops and the minimum discharge occurs when summer crops are in greatest need of moisture. The control of water by artificial irrigation is therefore immensely important for agricultural production and prosperity. Without artificial irrigation the cultivation of plants native to regions where summer rainfall is normal, such as cotton, millet, rice and sugar would not be possible.

There are few great rivers in Persia—the great hydraulic civilisations have no place there. The largest are the Kārūn and the Kark̲h̲a [*q.vv.*] which flow into the Persian Gulf, draining almost all the area between Ābādān and Kirmāns̲h̲āh. Further south are the basins of the Mand [*q.v.*] and the S̲h̲ūr, which also drain into the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman respectively. The Safīd Rūd flows into the Caspian, as also do the Aras [see AL-RASS] and the Atrek [*q.v.*]. The water of the two last-named, which flow along the modern Russo-Persian border in the north-west and the north-east respectively, is shared with Russia. The central zone of Persia, covering the largest part of the country, is an area of internal drainage. Small rivers flow into the closed basins of Lake Urumiyya (Riḍāʾiyya) in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, into the Hāmūn in Sīstān and into dry lakes and saline marshes in structural basins in the East Zagros, the depression between the Zagros and the volcanic axis extending from Ḳumm to Kirmān, the D̲j̲az Muriyān basin, the southern Lūṭ, Balūčistān, the eastern highlands north of Bīrd̲j̲and and in the frontier zone with modern Afg̲h̲ānistān. South-west of the central desert is the basin of the Zāyanda Rūd, which supports Iṣfahān and to the south of this, the basin of the Kur. The discharge

of most streams in the central zone is small. Many of the larger streams, gathering in high mountains, have steep and irregular profiles. Leaving the mountains, they dwindle quickly as a result of evaporation, seepage and diversion for irrigation, leaving dry channels, the underflow of which now and then supports an exotic agricultural efflorescence. From ancient times, the water of these rivers and streams has been used for irrigation and has formed the basis on which flourishing civilisations have been established in pre-Islamic and Islamic times. The history of the water use of the Kur in the Marwdas͟ht plain illustrates the importance of the role played by irrigation in the establishment of the early Persian empires in that region and the changes in the prosperity of the region and the density of settlement which took place over the centuries as a result of fluctuations in the upkeep of dams and irrigation channels (see further, G. Kortum, *Die Marvdasht-Ebene-Fars*, Kiel 1976). For the most part, the rivers flowing into the southern end of the Caspian Sea, apart from the Oxus [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ] appear to have been less used for irrigation in early and mediaeval times than the rivers in central, southern and eastern Persia. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that little of the water of the D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān River was used for irrigation and most of it ran to waste (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, 214). Similarly, hardly any of the water of the Safīd Rūd was used for irrigation, except for that little which watered the lands lying immediately along its bed; most of it was wasted (*ibid.*, 217); and the same, he alleges, was true of its tributary, the S̲h̲āhrūd (*ibid.*, 218), though this was not so in the case of the rivers of the two Ṭārums, which also flowed into the Safīd Rūd: in summer most of their waters were used for irrigation and little flowed into the Safīd Rūd (*ibid.*, 221).

The smaller basins of the arid centre of Persia and the south-east, together with the fringes of the *kawīr*, receive incoming water mainly by piedmont seepage of many small ephemeral streams. The traditional method of tapping this water is by *ḳanāt* [*q.v.*], which, with its associated network of canals, is characteristic of irrigation on the Persian plateau; hence too the frequent siting of settlements on gentle slopes some distances from the foot of the hills that feed the *ḳanāt*s. From earliest times, the material basis of the population on the Persian plateau has been provided by *ḳanāt* water (H. Goblot, *Essai d'une histoire des techniques de l'eau sur le plateau Iranien*, in *Persica*, viii [1979], 120). The various systems of irrigation—by river, *ḳanāt*, spring or storage dam—are not mutually exclusive; many districts use more than one.

The configuration of settlements has been decided in many cases by the nature of the water supply. Where water is scarce, villages tend to be concentrated; elsewhere they may be more scattered. They frequently flank water-courses and cluster about the outlet of *ḳanāt*s or round springs. The area immediately round a town or village is usually intensively cultivated with irrigation—even in the dry farming regions there is often a small irrigated area in or near a town or village. Beyond the cultivated land there is sometimes a periphery of marginal land which may be cultivated in years when the water supply is extraordinarily plentiful. Similarly, mountain villages in regions where the rainfall is sufficient for cultivation usually have an irrigated area, however small. In mountain valleys, the villages tend to be situated on rocky slopes rising above the intensely cultivated valley floors or to straggle along the mountain streams. Mountain slopes are often skilfully terraced, and much time and labour is expended on the construction and repair of dry stone retaining walls for the cultivated plots (cf. X. de Planhol, *Geography of settlement*, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, i, ed. W. B. Fisher, Cambridge 1968, 419-20. The need for regular attention to the upkeep of irrigation works has, further, been an important factor in making the village, rather than the isolated farmstead, the typical form of settlement throughout most of Persia.

Artificial irrigation may already have existed in late Neolithic times. By the Achaemenid period, there was an extensive network of *ḳanāt*s, and with the extension of irrigation there was an expansion of agriculture. It is probable that drainage schemes were also undertaken in different parts of the empire. Later, the Seleucids brought more land under cultivation by clearance and drainage and applied new techniques to irrigation (R. Ghirshman, *Iran from the earliest times to the Islamic conquest*, Harmondsworth 1954, 239). In Islamic times, control of water for irrigation remained crucial to prosperity and settlement.

Such control is a highly complex matter, and requires for its successful implementation not only technical skill but also political stability. The heavy load of solids carried by streams in spate makes storage and control both difficult and costly. Flash floods often destroy irrigation works, especially those connected with *ḳanāt*s, while spring floods may also cause much damage in lowland districts. On the plateau, the lowering of the stream-beds through normal erosion results in the lowering of the water-table itself and leaves irrigation canal intakes above the new water level. In modern times, the lowering of the water-table by the extraction of water by pump operation connected with the sinking of semi-deep wells has led to many *ḳanāt*s falling into disuse, especially round the central desert but also in other regions. Inadequate drainage, on the other hand, often leads to a rising water-table under irrigated lands, water-logging, salinisation and alkalinisation, which result in considerable loss of output. These processes vary widely in different districts and different years. In some regions, notably K̲h̲ūzistān and Sīstān, deterioration of the soil because of a change in the water-table due to over-lavish irrigation and inadequate drainage, or both, has been a major problem. Another problem is that ground water in some districts may be heavily charged with soluble salts and be too saline for use in irrigation. This is the case in many districts on the borders of the central desert and in the Persian Gulf littoral.

Natural conditions and agricultural practices cannot alone, however, explain the fluctuation in the history of irrigation in Persia. The shifting of centres of political authority which accompanied dynastic changes and demographic changes resulting from invasion and the increase in dead lands because of the slaughter or flight of their inhabitants have also played a part. A breakdown in the control of water, for whatever reason or reasons, was inevitably followed by a decline in prosperity. The decay of K̲h̲ūzistān, which culminated under the ʿAbbāsids, is an illustration of this. Under the Sāsānids, the waters of the Kark̲h̲a, Diz and Kārūn had been utilised by an elaborate system of barrages, tunnels, inverted syphons, lifting devices and canals (see below). Cereals, sugar cane, rice and dates were produced in abundance. In the last fifty years or so

of Sāsānid rule, irrigation was neglected. Under the rule of the Orthodox Caliphs and the Umayyads, adequate attention was not paid to artificial drainage of the irrigated land, and under the ʿAbbāsids the province declined—rising water-tables under irrigated land may have been responsible for the attempts of the ʿAbbāsids to irrigate new lands of poorer quality. Water-logging, alkalinisation and salinisation, and the hazards of flood, all contributed to the decline of the region which occurred in post-ʿAbbāsid times (see further R. McC. Adams, *Agriculture and urban life in early southwestern Iran*, in *Science*, cxxxvi, 3511 [1962], 109-22). Changes in prosperity in other regions brought about by a failure to control irrigation have been, perhaps, less spectacular but none the less important. The decay of irrigation and drainage not only resulted in an increase of waste and unproductive land, but may also have led to the spread of malaria [see MALĀRYĀ], thus contributing to a decline in population and output.

Water utilisation: technical features. Irrigation works, plain take-offs, dams [see BAND], weirs, lifting devices, artificial reservoirs and *ḳanāts*, supplemented by principal and secondary canals, are to be found all over the country; and some are ancient structures.

(i) *Dams*. Several large dams existed in Khūzistān in Sāsānid times, including the bridge dams at Shūshtar and Dizful, built by Shāpūr I and Shāpūr II or Ardashīr II respectively, the dam on the Djarrāḥī near Khalafābād, and the dam on the Mārūn at Arradjān (on the last, see H. Gaube, *Die südpersische Provinz Arraǧān/Kūh Gīlūyeh*, Vienna 1973, 189-90). They continued in use for varying periods after the fall of the Sāsānids. Repairs and reconstructions were numerous, and the Romano-Sāsānid work at Shūshtar and Dizful was partially replaced by pointed-arch bridges. The dam at Shūshtar, known as the Band-i Mīzān, had a length of 1,700 ft. and raised the water to the level of the city of Shūshtar, which was situated on a rocky outcrop on the east bank of the Kārūn. The dam was built partly by Roman prisoners of war taken in Shāpūr I's victory over Valerian in A.D. 260. It had a rubble masonry core set in hydraulic mortar; the facing was of large, cut masonry blocks, held in place by both mortar and iron clamps set in lead. It was pierced by numerous sluices for the purpose of releasing water in time of excessive flow. It took three years to build, during which time the Kārūn River was diverted through two by-pass channels. One of these, the Āb-i Gargar, winds its way south for some twenty-five miles and then rejoins the Kārūn. When the work of the dam was completed, the entrance to the Āb-i Gargar was closed by a second dam, the Ḳayṣar dam. This was made of large stone blocks mortared and clamped together, and six sluices were provided to control the flow of water into the Āb-i Gargar. Part of the bridge at Shūshtar and the Band were swept away by floods several times during the 19th century. Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, when governor of Kirmānshāh, undertook repairs to it in the early 19th century (J. M. Kinneir, *Geographical memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, 98-9). When Curzon visited Shūshtar in 1889, there was a gap of over seventy yards in width in the middle of the bridge, which had been swept away by a flood in 1885. The efforts of Niẓām al-Salṭana, the governor of ʿArabistān, to repair it proved abortive (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 374-5). A further canal, the Miyān Āb canal, was cut, apparently to divert water through a tunnel made in the face of the castle rock in order to irrigate the high-lying lands to the south of the city, the level of the water of which was regulated by dams. As a result of the rupture in the Band-i Mīzān and the bridge, the river bed was lowered at the point where it formerly fed the canal and the land which is was intended to irrigate became derelict (Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 376).

The Dizful dam, a replica of the Shūshtar dam, was 1,250 ft. long. When Curzon visited Dizful, the dam was in a dilapidated condition, two of its arches having recently fallen in (*op. cit.*, ii, 303). After it fell into decay, all local irrigation depended upon rough dams of stone and brush-wood, which were reconstructed after every flood (H. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Chicago 1967, 248; N. Smith, *A history of dams*, London 1971, 59, 81, 82; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, repr. Oxford 1969, 216).

South of Shūshtar, where the Āb-i Diz and the Āb-i Gargar flow into the Āb-i Shutayt, the main channel of the Kārūn, another Sāsānid dam, the Band-i Ḳīr, of which only the name survives, was located. The name is of interest because it suggests that bitumen (*ḳīr*) may have been used to make the dam watertight and solid. Another dam on the Āb-i Gargar, called the Pul-i Bulaytī, was added to the Shūshtar system in Islamic times. This was a power dam; mills were installed in tunnels cut through the rock at each side of the channel, the dam providing the necessary head of water to drive the mill wheels (see Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 372-4). A third bridge dam was built, also in Sāsānid times, over the Karkha at Pā-yi Pul. It fell out of use when it burst in 1837. Its remains were seen by Sir Aurel Stein in 1938 (Sir Aurel Stein, *An archaeological journey to Western Iran*, in *Geogr. J.* [October 1938], 327).

At Ahwāz [*q.v.*], there was another great dam (but not a bridge dam), probably over 3,000 ft. long. and about 25 ft. thick. Its remains were to be seen until recently. Al-Muḳaddasī describes the dam as being wonderfully constructed from blocks of rock behind which the water was held back. He states that the water was divided into three canals, which watered the fields of the estates of the people of the city, and that without the dam Ahwāz would not have been populous and that its canals could not have been used (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 411; see also Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 347-8). The collapse of the dam in the 9th/15th century brought ruin to the city.

Numerous storage dams and their remains are to be found in many parts of Persia. Although their overall contribution to irrigation was not as great as that of *ḳanāts*, or of the dams in Khūzistān, they were of considerable local importance and enabled land which could not otherwise have been cultivated to become productive. One of the most interesting systems is that on the Kur River in Fārs, which has provided irrigation for the Kurbāl district to a greater or lesser extent for some 2,000 years. The most famous dam of this complex is the Band-i Amīr, built about 349/960 by the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], probably on earlier, possibly Achaemenid, foundations. Prior to its reconstruction, the water of the Kur could not be raised to irrigate Upper Kurbāl. Al-Muḳaddasī, who wrote soon after the dam was built, and Ibn al-Balkhī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who wrote rather under 150 years later, describe the dam in similar terms. The latter states that ʿAḍud al-Dawla brought engineers and workmen to the place in order to build the dam and spent much money on its construction. The dam was made of

stone set in mortar, reinforced by iron anchors, which were set in lead. Upstream and downstream the river-bed was paved for several miles, and the supply canals extended for over ten miles, serving 300 villages in the Marwdas͟ht plain. Ten water-mills were built close to the dam, the crest of which was wide enough to allow two horsemen abreast to ride across it (al-Muḳaddasī, 444; Ibn al-Balk͟hī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange, London 1921, 151-2; see also G. Le Strange, *Description of the province of Fars in Persia at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.*, London 1912). Upstream from the Band-i Amīr there were five other major dams for the irrigation of Lower Kurbāl. These included the Rāmd̲j̲ird dam, built on Achaemenid foundations, which was almost as large as the Band-i Amīr, and five downstream, the last of which, the Band-i Ḳaṣṣār, was only a few miles from Lake Bak͟htagān into which the Kur flows (A. Houtum-Schindler, *A note on the Kur River in Fars, its sources and dams and the districts it irrigates*, in *Proc. Royal Geogr. Soc.* [1891], 287-91; see also N. Smith, *op. cit.*, 83-5, and Kortum, *op. cit.*). By the 6th/12th century, the Band-i Amīr, the Band-i Ḳaṣṣār and the Rāmd̲j̲ird dam had fallen into a state of decay and were repaired by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ governor of Fārs, the Atābeg D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Čawlī Saḳāw (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern caliphate*, 277-8). The Rāmd̲j̲ird dam was again rebuilt towards the end of the 6th / beginning of the 13th century, and there were several reconstructions after that date (Smith, *op. cit.*, 85).

In the eastern provinces of Persia there were also a number of dams and irrigation works on the Oxus or Āmū Daryā [*q.v.*] and on other great rivers and lesser streams. Some of these were repaired, and others constructed by the Muslims. Sīstān was dependent almost wholly upon the control of the water of the Hīrmand (Helmund) River [see HILMAND]. Zarand̲j̲, the capital of the province under the ʿAbbāsids, was situated near the original capital of Rām S͟hahristān (Abras͟hahriyār), which according to tradition, had been abandoned when a dam across the Hīrmand had burst and the water had been permanently diverted from the Rām S͟hāhristān canal (Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 339-40). From the works of the Muslim geographers, it would appear that Zarand̲j̲ was irrigated by six dams on the Hīrmand near where it enters Lake Zarab. Some of these may have been of Sāsānid origin. The Muslims added various water-wheels to the system. In 785/1383 Zarand̲j̲ and its irrigation works were destroyed by Tīmūr, as was also the Band-i Rustam on the Hīrmand River near Bust, the water of which had served to irrigate all the western lands of Sīstān. Failure to repair and maintain the elaborate system of canals and dams on the Hīrmand River resulted in much of the land formerly irrigated and drained being converted into reed beds and swamps. The headwaters of the Hīrmand and the main stream are at the present day in Afg͟hānistān. After entering Persian Sīstān, the river divides into two branches, the Pariyān and the Sīstān rivers. The former flows in a northerly direction, and with its tributaries waters northern Sīstān. The latter flows through southern and south-western Sīstān. Near the Afg͟hān frontier, the Kahak dam diverts water into the Pariyān, while another dam lower down, the Band-i Zahāk, diverts more water for irrigation. The use of the water of the Hīrmand and the construction of new dams has been the subject of bitter controversy between Persia and Afg͟hānistān. The first award of the river waters between them was made in 1872. In 1950 the Helmand River Delta Commission was set up (though subsequently disbanded).

The water of the Murg͟hāb River in K͟hurāsān was diverted by numerous dams and canals for irrigation. Al-Iṣṭak͟hrī relates that one march south of Marw, its bed was artificially dyked with embankments faced by wooden works which kept the river-bed from changing. Under the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, the number of dams and dykes on the Murg͟hāb was increased. These were later destroyed by the Mongols and the oasis of Marw converted into a desert swamp, according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 397, 402). He states that after Tīmūr's conquest of K͟hurāsān, various of the *amīr*s and pillars of the state each made a canal leading off from the Murg͟hāb, in order to irrigate the land, and that when he was writing, i.e. at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, twenty of these were in existence. He discribes the city as being in a flourishing condition (*D̲j̲ug͟hrāfiyā-yi Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, ḳismat-i rabʿ-i K͟hurāsān: Harāt*, ed. Māyil Harawī, Tehran A.H.S. 1349/1970-1, 34).

One of the most important periods in mediaeval Persia in the construction of dams appears to have been the Īlk͟hān period, when, in the late 7th/13th century and early 8th/14th centuries, several dams were constructed. The great achievement of this period was the construction of a number of arch dams. One at Kibar (Kivar), some 15 miles south of Ḳumm, is the oldest surviving example of this type of structure so far located. Built in a V-shaped gorge, which narrows about halfway down to a deep gully, the dam is 85 ft. high and 180 ft. long at the crest, the thickness of which is between 15 and 16$^1/_2$ ft. The air-face, the radius of curvature of which is 125 ft., is vertical except near the face where there is a slight slope in the downstream direction. The dam has a core of rubble masonry set in mortar (*sārūd̲j̲*) made from lime crushed with the ash of some desert plant, which makes it hydraulic and results in a strong, hard and highly impervious mortar ideal for dams. The dam has a vertical series of openings on the water-face connected by shafts and galleries to provide passage for the water through the dam walls (though their precise function is uncertain). Two other arch dams, probably also belonging to the Īlk͟hān period are situated near Ṭabas, the S͟hāh ʿAbbāsī, east-north-east of Ṭabas, so called because it was repaired in the Ṣafawid period, presumably by S͟hāh ʿAbbās I or S͟hāh ʿAbbās II, and the Kurīt dam, to the south of Ṭabas. The latter is remarkable for its height of some 120 ft. (H. Goblot, *Du nouveau sur les barrages Iraniens de l'époque mongole*, in *Arts et Manufactures*, no. 239 [April 1973], 15-20; *idem*, *Kébar en Iran sans doute le plus ancien des barrages-voûtes*, in *Science-Progrès*, no. 3358 (February 1965); idem, *Sur quelques barrages anciens et la genèse des barrages-voûtes*, in *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences*, cahier no. 6; Smith, *op. cit.*, 65-8). Another dam, a large gravity dam at Sāwa, was also built in the Īlk͟hān period. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it was constructed on the orders of S͟hams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib-Dīwān [see D̲J̲UWAYNĪ, S͟HAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD] (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 221). It was situated in a valley south-east of Sāwa and east of the point where the Ḳarāčāy (Gāvmāha) joins two streams from Sāwa and Āwa respectively. Although the limestone rock at the side of the valley was sound (as far as is known), the base of the dam was built on river alluvium consisting of sands and gravel, which go down 90 ft, before bed-rock is reached. Consequently, as soon as the reservoir began to fill, the pressure above the foundations drove the

water through the alluvium and the water established a permanent outlet for itself. The dam was abandoned, but the structure survived (Smith, *op. cit.*, 64-5). It is not without interest that a number of dams and irrigation works were constructed about the same time in Yünnan by Saʿīd Adjall, who apparently became governor of Yünnan in A.D. 1274 (J. Needham, *Science and civilisation in China*, iv/3, Cambridge 1971, 297).

The dating of the gravity dams at Ḳuhrūd and Ḳamṣar near Kās̲h̲ān and at Farīmān and Ṭurūḳ in Khurāsān is uncertain. The Ḳuhrūd dam is attributed to S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās and the Ḳamṣar dam to Djalāl al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Kh^w^ārazm-S̲h̲āh (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḍarrābī, *Tārīkh-i Kās̲h̲ān*, ed. Īradj Afs̲h̲ār, Tehran A.H.S. 1335/1956, 8, 40-1, 42, 43). The Gulistān dam in Khurāsān was made by the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā (855-72/1452-67) (*Asnād wa mukātabāt-i tārīkhī-yi Īrān az Tīmūr tā S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran A.H.S. 1341/1962, 313). The Salāmī Dam in Khurāsān was constructed by G̲h̲iyāth al-Dīn Kurt (706-25/1306-24) (N. M. Clevenger, *Dams in Ḫorāsān, some preliminary observations*, in *East and West*, N.S., xix [1969], 393). These dams were still in use in the 1960s, but most of them furnished very little water because their reservoirs were heavily silted up.

Under the Ṣafawids, there was renewed activity in dam-building and other constructions for irrigation. S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76) attempted to divert the water of the Kārūn into the Zāyanda Rūd by a connecting tunnel through the mountain ridge which separates them. The work was abandoned owing, it was said, to the foul atmosphere of the workings. S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I (996-1038/1587-1629) revived the project, but abandoned the idea of a tunnel in favour of an open cutting. It is reported that at times he employed 100,000 men on this undertaking, but the scheme came to naught. S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-67) made another attempt, in which he was advised by a French engineer named Genest. A dam, 300 ft. long and about 100 ft. high was built across the Kārūn to divert the water of the river while the channel was cut. Smith thinks that Genest may have had in mind more than a mere diversion of the river and that he may have hoped to reduce the amount of excavation through the mountains by raising the level of the river. The scheme, however, was also abandoned after 100 ft. of the connecting channel between the two rivers had been cut. The idea was revived during the reign of Riḍā S̲h̲āh Pahlawī. Work was begun on the cutting of a tunnel connecting the two rivers. Known as the Kūhrang tunnel, it was finished in 1953 (Smith, *op. cit.*, 72-3). The increase in the flow of water in the Zāyanda Rūd which resulted has enabled more land to be cultivated in the districts through which the river flows. S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās II also built, on the foundations of an earlier weir, the Kh^w^ādjū Bridge over the Zāyanda Rūd in Iṣfahān. It is a combination of a weir with sluice gates and flood arches above these, with a permanent roadway on the top (Wulff, *op. cit.*, 248; Smith, *op. cit.*, 73-4).

(ii) *Wells and lifting devices.* A variety of lifting devices operated by men and animals to raise water from rivers, streams and wells have been widely used in the past, especially in Khūzistān, the Persian Gulf littoral, Fārs, in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān, in some districts in eastern Persia and on the shores of Lake Urumiyya (Riḍāʾiyya). They are still used, but have been largely superseded by power-operated wells. Man-operated wells consist of a windlass set over the well with a large leather bag attached to it. Those operated by draught animals are worked by one or more draught animals such as oxen, mules and, less frequently, buffaloes, each draught animal having one or more men working with it. The constructing of these devices varies slightly in different regions, but the general principle is the same. Their operation is both laborious and inefficient. A wooden wheel is set in two brick or stone built pillars, or two heavy upright posts, above the well, connected by a wooden scaffold. Two pulleys are run on axles attached to the scaffold, over which a main and an auxiliary rope run into the well; the wheel end of the main rope is attached to a hook and a ring carrying a wooden cross from which a large leather bag is suspended. This runs out into a narrow spout to which the auxiliary rope is attached. The draught animal is harnessed to the ropes and sets the wheel in motion by walking up and down a runway beginning at the well-head and descending at an angle of about 20 degrees. By this action, the bag is let into the well. When it is full, it is lifted to the surface and empties itself in front of the well into a trough which carries the water into the irrigation channel. In some wells, a big wooden horizontal cog-wheel, geared to a vertical wheel which turns a bucket-carrying wheel set on the same axle in the water is set in motion by an ox or mule walking round and round a circular runway made about the well (see further Wulff, *op. cit.*, 256-8, and Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 227-8; and also C. Cahen, *Le service de l'irrigation en Iraq au début du XIe siècle*, in *BEO*, xiii [1949-50], 118-19). Curzon describes how water was lifted for irrigation from the Kārūn above Ahwāz, where the river was confined within banks from 20 to 30 ft. high. Pools were hollowed in the river bank and water was drawn up by means of leather skins and a pulley worked by oxen pacing up and down an inclined plane on the top of the bank (*op. cit.*, ii, 356-7).

(iii) *Cisterns, water tanks and ponds.* These are to be found in regions in which water supplies are scarce and are especially common in districts on the edge of the central desert, though they are also to be found elsewhere, notably in Fūmināt. They are supplied by water from *ḳanāts*, underground springs or rain-water. Some are made with stones or bricks and cement and are often of a considerable size. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḍarrābī states that almost all the villages and hamlets in Kās̲h̲ān had small cisterns (*istakhr*); that of Niyāsar was 100 *dharʿ* by 50 *dharʿ* and 2/2 *dharʿ* deep. He describes the purpose of an *istakhr* as follows: "In some hamlets (*mazāriʿ*) the water is less than [the amount required for] a plot of land (*kardū*) for the first rotation when water is due to be let into sown land or orchards. As a result, it takes a long time for the plot to be inundated, because when the quantity of water is small, as soon as it enters the land it sinks in and the plot will not be inundated. Accordingly, water is held back in a cistern (*istakhr*). When the latter is full, it is emptied, or whatever amount is needed for the land is let into the irrigation channel until the desired result is achieved. Or it may be that the water of a hamlet is sufficient for the first rotation period but it is desired to lead the water to a piece of land (*das̲h̲t*) or fields (*mazāriʿ*) which are distant, and so half or more of the water will be lost in the channel between the mouth of the *ḳanāt* and the land to be irrigated, with the result that the plot will not be inundated (unless a greater head of water is first held back in a cistern). Or it may be that a village

has [sufficient water] in the first rotation period for three or four pieces of land, and it wishes to divide the water into three or four irrigation channels, some giving more water and some less. A cistern is therefore necessary, so that the requisite amount can be let into each irrigation channel, or so that water from two or three sources can be let into different channels and then divided (*saridja-paymāʾī namāyand*)" (*Tārīkh-i Kāshān*, 66-7). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes how small catchpools were made on the edge of the cultivated area round Tūn to catch rain water which was used for grain cultivation (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 143-4).

Irrigation practices and water distribution and measurements. Irrigation practices range from heavy perennial irrigation, land watered less heavily through the year or parts of the year, to land watered once or twice a season through the capture of flash floods or water stored in a cistern. The usual method of irrigation is by inundation; for some crops, trench irrigation is used. In the case of rivers, the water is diverted into canals and sub-canals and cross-canals, whence it is led into the fields to be irrigated. The division is made according to established rights of priority, usually (but not always) starting upstream and ending downstream. The water of other sources, if it is prolific, is also divided into various channels and led to different users simultaneously. The division of the water between several users is assured by a variety of mechanical devices, distributors, or runnels with inlets of a fixed size or by the allocation of fixed periods of time. Where water is divided by a weir between a number of villages or users, the size of the orifices at the rim of the weir varies according to the share of the water permanently allocated to the different users. Water is led into individual fields, plots or gardens by breaching the banks of the canals (usually with a spade) for the appropriate length of time.

The rotation period of the water (*dawr-i āb*) normally begins in early October with the start of the agricultural year and is fixed at so-and-so many days. Within that period, so many shares, defined in days, hours, or minutes, are allocated to the different districts, villages, fields, or plots of land watered by the source in question. A common way of measuring the unit of time is by a kind of hour-glass, the time-unit being the time it takes for a small copper bowl with a hole at the bottom to fill and sink in another large basin (see further al-Māwardī, *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1918, 389-90; E. Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, ii, 264 ff.; Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 212-13, 218-20, 408; Wulff, *op. cit.*, 254-6; Ḍarrābī, *op. cit.*, 53-4; B. Montazami, *Irrigation in Iran: éléments pour une approache matérialiste*, in *Zaman*, i [1979], 38 ff.). Stack mentions that in some of the villages of Firaydan, the water distribution was regulated in the daytime by the length of a man's shadow and at night by the stars (*op. cit.*, ii, 269).

Since the water of rivers is subject to diminution at certain seasons of the year, and in both rivers and *ḳanāt*s may be reduced in a series of dry years, much care is exercised over the division and allocation of the water in order to satisfy cropping needs. In the case of *ḳanāt*s, the rotation period may be lengthened in periods of water shortage and the amount of water per share reduced. In general, the scarcer the water, the more detailed and complicated the distribution of water; and the greater the fragmentation of the ownership of the water, the more meticulous and elaborate the organisation of its distribution.

Water laws and water rights. So far as the *sharīʿa* is concerned, water laws belong to *muʿāmalāt* as opposed to *ʿibādāt* and are based on *ʿurf* or custom enshrined in the traditions and given sanction as the practice, or supposed practice, of the Prophet and his companions and their immediate successors and, in the case of the Shīʿa, of the *imām*s. These practices reflect not only the conditions and needs of Arabia at the time of the Prophet, but also those of other regions into which the Muslims later penetrated. They do not, therefore, present a coherent and uniform basis for a body of water laws, but rather a series of unrelated decisions, sometimes in conflict with each other. In general terms, irrigation was governed in theory by the *sharīʿa*, but in practice and in matters of detail local custom prevailed and was extremely varied. In the law books, there are references to irrigation in the books on *zakāt*, *ʿushr*, *khums* and *kharādj*, *iḥyāʾ al-mawāt* (the revivification of dead lands), *ḥarīm* ("borders"), *mushtarakāt* (things held in common), *bayʿ* (sale), *makāsib* ("earnings"), *ghaṣb* (usurpation), *muzāraʿa* [*q.v.*] (crop-sharing agreements) and *musāḳāt* [*q.v.*] (agreements for the sharing of fruit and other trees). The general principles concerning water laws are accepted by both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, but there are differences in matters of detail between them and between the different law schools which, in view of the fact that water laws are based on custom, is not surprising.

(i) *The right of thirst* (*shafa*). By virtue of the *ḥadīth* which states that Muslims are partners in water, fire, and grass, the use of water is considered as common (*mubāḥ*) to all men, but it may be appropriated by "occupation" (*iḥrāz*), e.g. by collecting rain water in a vessel placed outdoors to that end. It cannot, however, be "occupied" until it has ceased to run, i.e. until it is placed in a vessel or watertight well or basin (Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, Lahore 1961, 515. See also Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-ʿĀmilī al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *Rawḍat al-bahiyya fī sharḥ lumʿat al-Dimashḳiyya*, lith. 1271/1854-5, 267). Water in rivers, *ḳanāt*s, wells and basins which are not water-tight is, therefore, considered to be *mubāḥ*, even if the rivers, *ḳanāt*s, wells and basins should be private property. Everyone is entitled to use such water for drinking purposes for himself and for his animals, provided that the animals do not exhaust the whole supply. The sale of the water of privately-owned rivers, *ḳanāt*s, wells and basins (for drinking purposes) is permitted by some jurists, though all appear to consider it better to give such water than to sell it (Aghnides, *op. cit.*, 516, and see also Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Nihāya fi 'l-fiḳh wa'l-fatāwā*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Sabzawārī, Tehran 1333-41/1954-6, 2 vols., ii, 282). The right of all men to use water is confined to drinking purposes and does not extend to its use for irrigation.

(ii) *The right to use irrigation water*. According to the Sunnī *fuḳahāʾ*, the water of the great rivers belongs to the Muslims in common (Abū Yūsuf, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, tr. E. Fagnan, Paris 1921, 148) and according to the Shīʿī *fuḳahāʾ*, to the *imām*. Their water may be used by anyone for irrigation and power provided its use in this way does not harm the community, and anyone may divert water from the great rivers by means of a canal, unless such diversion is prejudicial to interests already acquired. In the case of the lesser rivers, the water of which is sufficient to irrigate the land along its banks without

the construction of dams, anyone may lead off water in a canal to irrigate other land, provided such action is not prejudicial to existing interests. If the water of a river cannot be used for irrigation without the construction of dams, lands higher up have, according to most authorities, Sunnī and Shīʿī, a prior right to those situated lower down (cf. al-Māwardī, 386 ff. and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Nihāya*, ii, 283). The Ḥanafīs, on the contrary, hold that lands situated lower down the river have a prior right over those situated higher up, while the Mālikīs lay down that land situated higher up has the prior right of irrigation until the water reaches as high as the ankles, but if the land lower down has been developed earlier and there is a danger of its crops being destroyed, it has a prior right over land higher upstream. These various views are reflected in existing practice. As to the amount of water that may be drawn off, the Prophet is said to have allowed a level as high as the ankle, and this tradition is widely followed. Al-Māwardī, whose exposition is concerned with the practice of water management rather than the theory, holds that the amount varies with the nature of the land, the kind crop, the time of sowing, the season and whether the flow of the river is permanent or intermittent (*op. cit.*, 388; see further Aghnides, 517, Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 210-11).

The right to use water flowing in artificial beds, such as the water of a canal dug by the people of a village, belongs exclusively to the owners of the bed of the canal, and others may not use the water for irrigation. The manner of use is established by the agreement of the co-owners. The construction of mills and bridges, etc., requires the consent of all the co-owners. If a mill has been legally built on the stream of a third party, the owner of the stream cannot divert the water except with the permission of the owner of the mill (al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, ed. Muḥammad. Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, Tehran A.H.S. 1343/1964, 306). The use of the water of wells and artificial reservoirs belongs exclusively to those who made them, and others may not use their water for irrigation. The use of the water of springs is also the exclusive right of the owner of the land in which the spring lies. The general view of the Shīʿī *fuḳahāʾ* appears to be that *ḳanāts*, springs and wells situated in private property, or made in dead land with the intention of reclaiming the land, belong to the person or persons who made them and that they can be transmitted by sale and inheritance and can be constituted into *waḳf*. There was not, however, unanimity of opinion on this. Some, including Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, maintain that the water of a well, *ḳanāt* or canal does not become the property of whoever dug the well or made the *ḳanāt* or canal, and that such actions only give a right of priority in the use of the water.

Transmission and sale of water rights and water sources. Most jurists permit the transmission of water rights and water sources, so far as they are private property. From this, it follows that water rights often become highly fragmented. The jurists also permit the constitution of water rights and water sources, so far as they are on private property, into *waḳf*. Many *ḳanāts* and canals and rights to a share of the use of various sources of water have been so constituted. The Yazd region is particularly illustrative of this practice. From the number of shares into which many of the *ḳanāts* of Yazd were divided, it would seem that their ownership was highly fragmented (cf. *Djāmiʿ al-khayrāt*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh and Īradj Afshār, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, ix [1345/1966-7], *passim*). Their constitution into *waḳf* prevented further fragmentation.

Dead lands. The revivification of dead lands (*iḥyāʾ al-mawāt*) normally involves the irrigation of the land. Thus al-Māwardī states that land to be revivified for cultivation must be irrigated if it is dry, and drained if it is marshy (*op. cit.*, 380, 382; Aghnides, 500-1; see further Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-ʿĀmilī al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *op. cit.*, 265-7). Revivification confers ownership, and canals dug to bring water to dead lands belong to those who dug them (al-Māwardī, 389), and wells or *ḳanāts* made in dead lands in order to revivify them belong to those who made them. If irrigated with *ʿushr* water, revivified land paid *ʿushr*, and if reclaimed with *kharādj* water, *kharādj* (al-Māwardī, 382 ff.). Al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, discussing the conditions for the revivification of dead lands, states that there is no *sharʿī* text governing these and that reference is to be had to custom. If the intention is the cultivation of the land, ownership is established either by *taḥdjīr*, or by bringing water to the land by a water-wheel or some similar method (*Sharāʾiʿ al-islām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ʿAlī, Nadjaf 1389/1969, 4 vols., iii, 275-6). New canals and *ḳanāts* to bring irrigation water to dead lands are subject to the laws governing *ḥarīm*.

Ḥarīm. The ownership of landed property involves also a right over the land which borders it, where this is necessary for the full enjoyment of the property. So far as irrigation is concerned, this is of vital importance in respect of springs, streams, *ḳanāts* and water channels. Accordingly, "borders" are laid down for such forms of property, within which a third party may not undertake new irrigation works, though some jurists lay down that "borders" can only exist in land to which no one has a prior right. The extent of the "borders" varies according to the nature of the water source and according to the nature of the soil (al-Māwardī, 390, 392, 395, Abū Yūsuf, 152-3, al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *Sharāʾiʿ*, iii, 272-3). Al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ permits 1,000 cubits (*arsh*) for a *ḳanāt* if the soil is soft and 500 cubits if it is firm (*al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, 306).

Muzāraʿa and musāḳāt [*q.vv.*]. The first is a crop-sharing agreement and the second an agreement for the exploitation of fruit trees and other trees, under which the two parties each have a share in the proceeds. Agreements of this type were known in pre-Islamic Persia. Under the former, water is traditionally regarded as one of the five elements (the other four being land, draught animals, seed and labour) affecting the proportion in which the crop is divided between the two parties to the agreement, the landlord and the peasant. In theory, one share went to each of the five elements, but in practice there was much variation in the shares going to either party, though the ownership or provision of water always played an important part in the division of the crop in the case of irrigated land. *Musāḳāt* was an agreement made between the owner of a garden and another party, who would undertake to irrigate the trees and who would receive in return a specified share of their fruit. It could also be concluded for trees or plants which did not bear fruit, but the produce of which was capable of exploitation, such as the henna or tea plant. It could also be concluded for newly-planted trees which would not bear fruit for some years. The responsibility for cleaning *ḳanāts* and irrigation channels under a *muzāraʿa* or

musāḳāt varied according to local custom. The digging of new wells and canals was normally done at the expense of the landowner. These agreements might be written agreements, but were probably often oral agreements based on local custom. They might be for one or more years. In some quarters there appear to have been a prejudice against long-term agreements. Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Niẓām (d. 732/1331-2), who constituted much property—shares in *ḳanāt*s, real estate and landed estates—into *awḳāf* in Yazd, laid down that no *muzāraʿa* or *musāḳāt* should be concluded for more than one year (*Djāmiʿ al-khayrāt*, 174). A similar stipulation is made in the *waḳfiyya* of the Shaykh al-Islām Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Kadjadjī, dated 782/1380-1 (*Waḳfiyya-yi Kadjadjī*, in *FIZ*, xxi [1354/1976], 8).

Taxation. It is difficult to lay down the connection between the provision of irrigation and taxation, because no general principle prevailed. Probably in most districts, tax was assessed on the land (together with its water), though in the case of land watered by the great rivers and some of the lesser rivers, water dues were paid to the state. Apart from the source from which it comes, water is also divided by the jurists into *ʿushr* water and *kharādj* water, according to whether it is found in *ʿushr* or *kharādj* land. There is, however, some difference of opinion among the jurists over the status of the water of the great rivers and the implications of its status for tax purposes (see further al-Māwardī, 282-3; Aghnides, 359, 366-7). Land reclaimed with *ʿushr* water paid *ʿushr* and with *kharādj* water, *kharādj* (see above, s.v. Dead lands). When in the course of time the distinction between *ʿushr* land and *kharādj* land became blurred, the distinction between *ʿushr* water and *kharādj* water also ceased to be of practical effect. What was crucial in assessing the tax-bearing capacity of the land was not the hypothetical status of the water, but the method by which it was irrigated (cf. al-Māwardī, 315 ff.). Crops irrigated by water carried on the back of a beast or raised by a lifting device paid half-*ʿushr*, while lands watered by river, spring or *ḳanāt* water or rain paid full *ʿushr* (Abū Yūsuf, 82-3, al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *Mukhtasar al-nāfiʿ*, 71). In the later centuries, when tax was often assessed on the crop, not on the area of land, many authorities permitted the deduction of expenses, which included those on irrigation, before the *kharādj* of the government was reckoned. In some districts, notably Yazd, where the ownership of land and water was often in separate hands, the revenue assessment was based on a calculation of the water supply only. In its simplest form, a certain rate was imposed per unit of water (*ṭāḳ*, *tasht*, *djurʿa sabū*, *saridja*). The rate varied from village to village; reassessments were seldom made, but the incidence of taxation might be increased by the imposition of additional quotas. Wells in some districts in southern Persia in the 19th century paid a wheel tax (*sar čarkhī*) (Stack, *op. cit.*, ii, 259). In the case of the reclamation of dead lands, tax concessions related to the nature of the water supply are from time to time recorded. The Īlkhānid Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304), who attempted to bring about a revival of agricultural prosperity, classified dead lands into three groups according to the labour required on irrigation works, and gave them tax concessions for three years (see *Landlord and peasant*, 91).

Water rights and the religious officials: the settlement of disputes. Water, perhaps because it is closely associated with *ʿushr* and *kharādj*, which are among the *ḥuḳūḳ Allāh*, generally speaking came within the purview of the religious officials. The regulation of the water of the Harī Rūd in the 8th/14th century is said to have been carried out by the Shaykh al-Islām Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khwāfī, and that of the Zāyanda Rūd in the 11th/17th century is attributed to Shaykh Bahāʾī (Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī) (see below). So far, however, as the religious officials gave decisions and issued *fatwā*s for the settlement of disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government. Thus when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213-30/828-44) found that there was no body of laws on *ḳanāt*s, he assembled the *fuḳahāʾ* of Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ (not the *ʿummāl-i ʿurf*) to write a book on laws governing *ḳanāt*s [see ḲANĀT]. Similarly, from a letter preserved in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, probably written just before or just after the fall of Sandjar in 552/1157, it would appear that the assessment of water rates (*ḳānūn-i āb*) was the concern of the officials of the religious institution in the person of the local judge (*ḥākim*) (Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ al-Kātib Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1329/1950, 96-7; see also *Landlord and peasant*, 74). An undated letter in the *Dastūr al-kātib* of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī, which is dedicated to Sulṭān Uways b. Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg (757-77/1356-74), mentions the *fatwā*s of the *ʿulamāʾ* concerning the destruction of a dam on the Mihrān Rūd at Tabrīz. This had been built to divert water to a newly-founded village and had resulted in the river-bed becoming silted up so that flooding took place in Tabrīz. The answer to the letter states "Let action be taken in accordance with the *fatwā*s of the *imām*s of religion and let these not be transgressed or altered" (ed. A. A. Alizade, i/2, Moscow 1971, 482-3). Whether the letter actually existed or was composed by Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh, it can be taken as a typical example of contemporary practice (as it should be rather than as it was). In some cases, royal *farmān*s were issued for the settlement of water disputes—and not necessarily always those of a major nature. A short *farmān*, dated Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 952/Jan.-Feb. 1546 issued by Shāh Ṭahmāsp, regulates a dispute over water rights between Kharāniḳ and Sulṭānābād, two villages in Ādharbāydjān. It orders the peasants and crop-sharers of Kharānik to act towards the peasants of Sulṭānābād in accordance with the *sharṭ-nāmača* concerning their water rights as fixed by Djalāl al-Dīn Maʿṣūm Beg Ṣafawī, the *mutawallī* of the holy shrine (? of Ardabīl) (B. G. Martin, *Seven Ṣafawid documents from Azarbayjan*, in S. M. Stern, ed., *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford 1965, 185 ff.). In this case, it would seem likely that one or both of the villages may have been *waḳf*, since Maʿṣūm Beg, the *mutawallī*, had been called in to regulate their shares, and if they were Ṣafawid *awḳāf*, this would explain why a royal *farmān* was issued to decide a dispute between two small and unimportant villages. In the case of the great rivers, the decision of water disputes was in the hands of *mīrāb*, who was an official of the state and those of the *ʿummāl-i ʿurf* (see below).

The upkeep of rivers. The *mīrāb*. The responsibility for the upkeep of the great rivers was vested in the *imām*. Cleaning or dredging and repair of their banks was carried out by the *imām* and paid for by the public treasury. If there were no funds available for such work, he could compel the Muslims to give

their services for the purpose. The cleaning and repair of canals from the great rivers leading water to individual villages was the responsibility of the owners of the canals. If they refused to carry out the necessary work, they could be compelled to undertake it, since neglect of their duty might result in injury to the community and might diminish the supply of water to those who had a right to it (Abū Yūsuf, 144, 148; see also N. B. E. Bailie, *The land tax of India, according to the Moohummudan law, translated from the Futawa Alumgeeree*, London 1873, 49-50). In the provinces, responsibility for the control of the waters of the great rivers was in practice delegated to the provincial governor. With the fragmentation of the caliphate and the rise of local dynasties, this responsibility passed to those who held power locally. There was, therefore, no uniformity of system and information concerning water control and irrigation is patchy. It was presumably the theory that the *imām* had the right to compel the Muslims to give their services for the repair and cleaning of the great rivers which gave sanction to the practice of levying corvées for irrigation works, either of a seasonal nature, as in Sīstān (though it would appear that in the early centuries an allocation was made on the *kharādj* for irrigation works, see *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ Bahār, Tehran A.H.S. 1314/1935-6, 30-1), or of an occasional nature. Thus when ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḳaddam made plans to restore prosperity in Harāt in 653/1237-8 after the depredations of the Mongols, he held a meeting in the Friday mosque and assembled the men of Harāt to work in corvées (*ḥashar*) on the irrigation channels which had silted up (Isfizārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt*, ed. Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, Tehran A.H.S. 1339/1960-1, ii, 110-11; cf. also Sayf b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Harawī, *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Harāt*, Calcutta 1944, 111). Some centuries later, Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī (d. 927/1521), while still taking the view that expenditure on irrigation works came under the heading of *maṣāliḥ al-muslimīn* and was therefore a legitimate charge on *kharādj* revenue, nevertheless sought to legitimise the raising of special taxes (*nawāʾib*) for such expenditure. He writes, "What is taken in Khʷārazm from the generality of men for the repair of dams on the Oxus or for the building of walls round the kingdom or other such matters of public interest is a debt which must be paid and a claim which is rightly due, and refusal to pay is not permissible; such taxes are not unjust" (*Sulūk al-mulūk*, B.L. ms. Or. 253 [microfilm copy], 119).

There are from time to time references to special departments in charge of irrigation, but, on the whole, it would seem that their existence was the exception rather than the rule. In western Persia, there appears to have been a *dīwān-i āb* in the 4th/10th century at the time of the rise of the Būyids. The *Tārīkh-i Ḳumm* states that when the Gīlānīs and Daylamīs conquered Ḳumm they abolished the *dīwān-i āb* (Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḳummī, tr. into Persian by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Ṭihrānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1313/1934, 53). The only Būyid who appears to have been concerned to foster agricultural prosperity and hence to have paid attention to the upkeep of irrigation works was ʿAḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/982), the builder of the Band-i Amīr. Ibn Miskawayh states that he cleaned canals which were silted up, built mills on them, and mended dams (*Tadjārib al-umam*, ed. L. Caetani, Leiden 1909-17, vi, 509 ff.). About the same time, there was in the eastern provinces an extensive water administration for the Murghāb River, which was under the jurisdiction of the rulers of Ghardjistān. A specially appointed *amīr* was in charge of the upkeep of dykes on the river and the regulation of the water supply. He had 10,000 workmen and horse guards under him. Al-Iṣṭakhrī states that he enjoyed greater respect than the *wālī* (*Masālik al-mamālik*, 261-2; Le Strange, *Lands*, 397-8). Under Yaʿḳūb b. Layth in Sīstān, there appears to have been a *mīrāb*, who was a government official. Cases against him, in the event of his abusing his power, were heard in the *dīwān-i maẓālim* (*Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 266). Under later dynasties, such as the Saldjūḳs, Khʷārazm-Shāhs, Īlkhāns and Tīmūrids, control was, no doubt, exercised over the great rivers by the government, though the sources contain very little information on this subject (see *Madjmūʿa-yi munshaʾāt-i ʿahd-i Saldjūḳiyān wa Khʷārazmshāhiyān wa awāʾil-i ʿahd-i Mughul*, ms., photo-copy in the National Library, Tehran, 80b-81b for a diploma from Il Arslān for the *mīrāb* of Bukhārā, and see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung des Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazm-šāhs*, Wiesbaden 1964, 137). So far, however, as agriculture was fostered by individual rulers, this implied some degree of water control.

Information on the division of the Harī Rūd in the 10th/16th century is contained in an essay written by Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf al-Harawī, who wrote the *Irshād al-zirāʿa* in 921/1515-16. He mentions in this essay an earlier division of part of the river made by the Shaykh al-Islām Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khʷāfī, who had been entrusted with this matter after complaints of alleged inequalities and illicit diversions of the water were made to Muʿizz al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Kart (d. 771/1369), the local ruler of Harāt (*Risāla-yi ṭarīḳ-i ḳismat-i āb-i ḳulb*, ed. Māyil Harawī, Tehran A.H.S. 1347/1968-9, 12 ff.). This division was apparently revised about one hundred years later in the reign of the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā, and it seems that it is this revision which was followed by the *mīrāb*s when Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf was writing and which he describes in his essay (*ibid.*, 15). He gives the regulation of the water in each *bulūk* or district, and the water rights of the villages and gardens watered by the canals of the *bulūk* and the dues of the *mīrāb*. He also records the number of men (*nafar*) to be provided by each *bulūk*, presumably for work on the upkeep of the canals.

Thanks to two late Ṣafawid administrative handbooks and a *ṭūmār* on the regulation of the water of the Zāyanda Rūd, attributed to Shaykh Bahāʾī (Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī), who died in 1031/1622, we know something of the irrigation system of the Zāyanda Rūd and the work of the *mīrāb* in Ṣafawid and post-Ṣafawid times. As in the case of other rivers, the division is based on ancient custom. Traditionally, the water of the Zāyanda Rūd is supposed to have been regulated by Ardashīr b. Bābak and there were also, no doubt, various later divisions (cf. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āwī, *Tardjuma-yi Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1328/1949-50, 48). Shaykh Bahāʾī's *ṭūmār* mentions an earlier allocation of the water. The *ṭūmār* was in force until 1936, though it is doubtful whether it was in uninterrupted operation from Ṣafawid times onwards. Under the *ṭūmār*, the water was allocated to the *bulūk*s or districts watered by the river according to a fixed rotation, which varied at different periods of the year, having regard to the cropping needs of each *bulūk*. Within the *bulūk*s, the water was led off in canals to the villages

and lands in the *bulūk*, each portion of the village lands having the right to the water for a fixed period of time (Lambton, *The regulation of the waters of the Zāyanda, Rūd*, in *BSOS*, ix [1939], 663-73) within the rotation period. The *mīrāb* in charge of the water was an important official, ranking among the higher officials of the bureaucracy and the court. That he enjoyed such pre-eminence was due in part to the fact that Iṣfahān was the capital of the empire and the land watered by the Zāyanda Rūd, or most of it, came under the *khāṣṣa* administration, which was in charge of the *maḥāll*, those districts round Iṣfahān which were directly administered by the central government and in which were to be found also land and water resources which had been constituted into *awḳāf* or which were the private property (*khāliṣa*) of the shah. The duty of this *mīrāb* was to order the peasants, on the eve of the Naw Rūz, to clean the *mādīs* (as the major canals in Iṣfahān were called), lesser canals (*anhār*) and channels (*djadāwil*) which belonged to them, according to established custom. He was to see that the water of the Zāyanda Rūd reached all the districts round Iṣfahān which had a water right (*ḥaḳḳ āba*) in turn and according to the share customarily allocated to them from ancient times. The appointment and dismissal of those in charge of the *mādīs* (*mādīsālārs*) was his responsibility. He was also charged with the decision of disputes and claims concerning the water of the river, though certain disputes of a general nature affecting all the landowners and peasants were referred, according to the royal order, to the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān*; in such cases, the *kalāntar*, *mustawfī* and *wazīr* of Iṣfahān would go with the *mīrāb* and the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān* to the districts, examine the *mādīs*, canals, channels and runnels and decide the *ḥaḳḳ āba* of each district on the basis of the *dīwān* registers and settle any claims according to common sense, custom and the practice of former years. In accordance with this practice, many orders and decrees (*arḳām wa aḥkām*) had apparently been issued and had become customary practice. Apart from the customary dues (*rusūm*) which the *mihrāb* received in each district on account of the first water given to wheat (*khāk āb*) and the water given to wheat when it was nearly ripe (*dūn āb*), a small amount (*ḳadrī*) was allocated to him by the *khāṣṣa* administration (*sarkār-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) in cash and kind, which he received annually (Muḥammad Taḳī Dānish-pazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā wa Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Samīʿā*, in *Tehran University, Rev. Fac. des lettres et sciences humaines*, xvi/4 [A.H.S. 1348/1969], 432-3; see also *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, facs. text, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London, Leiden 1943, 81a-b). The accounts of European travellers who visited the Ṣafawid court also show the *mīrāb* to have been an important official. Tavernier states that his office was one of the best offices of the court and much sought after, and he who obtained it was obliged to give large presents (*Voyages en Perse*, Paris 1970, 67, 236). Chardin writes that his emoluments amount to 4,000 *tūmān*s per annum (*Voyages*, iv, 100). Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Taḥwīldār, writing in 1877, states that the office of *mīrāb* and that of bailiff (*mubāshir*) of the royal *ḳanāt*s (*ḳanawāt-i khāliṣa*) existed, but that "at the present time there is no-one (holding these offices). Authority lies with the officials of the *bulūkāt* (i.e. the districts watered by the river) and it is not necessary for there to be someone holding these offices as a special charge" (*Djughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. Manoochihr Sotoodeh, Tehran, A.H.S. 1342/1963-4, 128).

The *mīrāb* in other large cities was also often a person of considerable local importance and influence. In Shīrāz in the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries, there was a hereditary tendency in the office (as there was in many other local offices), the office of *mīrāb* of Shīrāz having been held for many generations in the same family (Fāsāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, lith., 1313/1895-6, 2 vols in one, ii, 74-5).

Apart from the great rivers, water management was carried out by small-scale local efforts. In the case of the lesser rivers, *ḳanāt*s and springs, the administration and control of the water was normally in the hands of the users. They might or might not appoint a *mīrāb*, who might also have assistants whose duty was to supervise the allocation of the water to the users served by the individual canals. In some districts, a *mīrāb* was appointed only when water was abnormally scarce. He and his assistants were paid by dues collected locally or sometimes by a share of the crop (see further Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 222 ff.). In *arbābī* districts (districts in which large landowners predominated) the *mīrāb* was commonly the servant of the *arbāb*.

Modern developments. Land and water were sensitive issues, and under Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī fundamental changes were not, on the whole, introduced. The administration of rivers and the collection of water dues, the basis and rate of which varied on the different rivers, was under the Department of Irrigation of the Ministry of Agriculture. The civil code, various parts of which were promulgated between 1925 and 1935, is largely based, so far as land and water are concerned, upon Shīʿī law. A number of other laws concerning the use of water, some based on *sharʿī* practice and custom, others of a more innovative nature, were passed. Provision for the registration of water rights was made in 1929 and, in 1937, the *ḳānūn-i ʿumrān* of 25 Ābān 1316 (the law for agricultural development) was passed. This defined *ʿumrān* as the greatest possible agricultural development by means of, *inter alia*, the making and repair of *ḳanāt*s, the reclaiming of waste lands, the maintenance of irrigation channels and the drainage of marshes. Although on the statute book, this law was never put into operation because of the opposition some of its provisions were likely to create among those who held land (Lambton, *op. cit.*, 192-3). The law of 29 Urdī Bihisht 1322 (1943) authorised the establishment of an irrigation institute under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture and contained provisions for a widespread control of irrigation by the state. These were put into operation somewhat erratically. A number of dams and barrages were planned, and some constructed by the government and by private enterprise, notably at Simnān, Rawānsar, Shabānkāra, Āhū Dasht and Ḥamīdiyya. Little real progress was made and no hydrographic survey, which was a prerequisite to the efficient management of water by the state, was undertaken (see Lambton, *op. cit.*, 187, 192-3, 196 ff., 225-6). There was also some forcible diversion of water to Tehran from neighbouring villages by Riḍā Shāh (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagī-yi man*, Tehran A.H.S. 1324-5/1945-6, 3 vols., iii, 328 ff.). After the Second World War, there was heavy investment by the government in irrigation under the various development plans, especially dams, mainly for energy but also for irrigation, among them the Diz dam (the Riḍā Shāh Kabīr dam), the Safīd Rūd dam (the Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh dam) and the Karadj dam (see further H. Bobek, *Unterentwickelten Landes alter Kultur*, Frankfurt am Main-

Berlin-Bonn 1964). The land reform of 1962 laid down special provisions for the transfer of water rights and the upkeep of irrigation works. These provisions were also put into operation somewhat erratically, and there were conflicts of interest between the land reform administration and various ministries, especially the Ministry of Water and Power, which was set up in 1964. A water nationalisation law was passed in September 1968, which attempted to alter the system of water control radically (see further Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-66*, Oxford 1969, 275 ff.; C. Salmanzadeh, *Agricultural change and rural society in southern Iran*, Menas Press Ltd. 1980; D. A. Caponera, *Water laws in Moslem countries*, FAO, Rome 1973, 74 ff.).

Irrigation and society. Although it is difficult to generalise on the subject of irrigation in Persia, some few observations can be made on the influence which irrigation has had on society. It was possible through irrigation to introduce new crops and to intensify and diversify agriculture. This agricultural specialisation became the basis of the flourishing civilisations which developed at different periods in the history of Persia. But this process was not uniform over the whole country. Generally speaking, the exploitation of water resources on the plateau would seem to have been more intensive than in the periphery or in regions with a concentration of nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. The early centuries of Islam were marked by the growth of cities and towns, round which there was, in many cases, an expanding area of irrigated land, the agricultural surplus of which provisioned the cities and towns. The list of the crops grown in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries given in the work of the Muslim geographers bears witness to a highly-developed agriculture, which depended on irrigation. In the later centuries also, agriculture flourished from time to time, though seldom over the whole of the country at the same time. Periods of expansion alternated with periods of recession, which were the result of natural calamities or political vicissitudes. With the neglect or destruction of irrigation works, land went out of cultivation and the area under grain crops expanded relative to that under cash crops, as appears to have happened in the early period of Mongol domination. Be that as it may, agriculture up to modern times was the major source of the revenue of the state. It was also the basis of the wealth of the ruling classes and of the livelihood of the majority of the population. The well-being of the state and the people was thus dependent upon a well-maintained irrigation system, and prudence, if nothing else, demanded that attention should be given to the upkeep of irrigation. Sharʿī law recognises this, and permits the expenditure of kharādj on the upkeep of irrigation works (even if, in practice, funds were often not available, or not made available, and the work was done by corvées). Treatises on the theory of government recognise, in general, that the economic foundation of the state was a flourishing agriculture and that the upkeep of irrigation works was therefore incumbent upon the ruler. The sources do, in fact, frequently mention, in general terms, the efforts of individual rulers and their ministers to spread and foster agriculture, to make *ḳanāts* and to repair irrigation channels; and they also mention the decay and destruction of irrigation works in time of war and insecurity.

This dependence of the state and society upon agriculture and of agricultural prosperity upon an irrigation system which was inherently fragile had certain consequences. In the first place, it produced a certain caution towards experiment and change (whether in the political or the economic field) among those whose income and livelihood depended upon agriculture. The maintenance of irrigation works demanded regular care. This could only be given in conditions of political security. Canals, if not cleaned, silted up and dykes, if not repaired, were breached by flood-water. If the destruction brought by flash floods and storms was not immediately made good, irrigation water decreased. Similarly, without some degree of political security there was no investment in *ḳanāts*, the digging of which was a highly-skilled operation and the upkeep of which demanded constant attention. There was thus a general tendency to seek security in stable and orderly government backed by coercive force. Secondly, the rotation system of the water, fixed in advance and determined by rules observed by the users, imposed the acceptance of a common discipline. Usurpation and the illicit diversion of water brought strife into the life of the local community and disaster to those who were deprived of their due turn and share of the water. This, too, led to an appreciation of order, and since the responsibility for the distribution of water, except in the case of the great rivers (which were controlled by the state), rested upon the local community, who appointed their own water officials, it fostered the cohesion of local groups and communities and encouraged local particularism.

Drinking water. The right to use water for drinking purposes according to the Sharīʿa has been set out above under the right of thirst. The drinking water of villages and towns comes mainly from springs, *ḳanāts* and wells. In the villages, springs are the main source, and from them water is fetched by the users in skins and earthenware water-pots. In the towns, as for example Iṣfahān, many houses had their own wells from which drinking water was drawn. Large houses in many towns had a storage tank (*āb-anbār*), built of fired bricks and lined with water-proofed mortar (*sārūdj*), in the basement and an open tank (*ḥawḍ*) in the courtyard. These were filled whenever the householder's turn to water from the *ḳanāt* or other sources came. Their water was used for household purposes but not primarily for drinking. In districts where water was short or brackish, drinking water might be brought from a distance on the backs of animals (cf. Curzon's description of the water supply of Bushire, *op. cit.*, ii, 234). Covered cisterns (*āb-anbārs*) are common in towns and villages where water is short, especially on the borders of the central desert. They are also to be found along the roads, sometimes associated with caravansarais. Some have their own springs, but more usually *ḳanāt* water or rain water is stored in them. Domed circular structures, some 50-70 ft. in diameter, reaching 15-20 ft. or more below the surface of the ground, they are a characteristic feature of local architecture (see Wulff, *op. cit.*, 258-59).

Many, perhaps most, towns on the plateau, especially as they grew in size, were supplied by *ḳanāts*. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī records that the water of Ḳazwīn was originally from wells. The first *ḳanāt* was made, he states, by Ḥamza b. Ilyasaʿ, who became governor of the town under Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin. The water of this *ḳanāt* reached most of the quarters of the town. Subsequently, a number of other *ḳanāts* were made to serve various quarters of the town. Ḥamd Allāh lists eight (all of which

were *waḳf*) and states that according to the conditions laid down by their founders (*wāḳifān*), their water was to be used for drinking purposes and for *ḥammāms* and was not to be let into gardens or cultivated land (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran, A.H.S. 1339/1960, 781). In some places, notably Yazd, *ḳanāts* flow through the houses and the householders have the right to use the water for drinking purposes. Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions that some of the houses in Arradjān also had a *ḳanāt* running through them (*Sefer Nameh. Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, ed. and tr. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, Persian text 81; Gaube, *op. cit.*, 44). This was also the case in Shūshtar (ʿAbd Allāh b. Nūr al-Dīn al-Shūshtarī, ed. Khān Bahādur Mawlābakhsh, *Tadhkira-yi Shūshtar*, Tehran repr. n.d., 10-11).

The provision of drinking water was considered a meritorious action. Many individuals made *ḳanāts* and constituted them into *awḳāf* for the drinking water of a town or one of its quarters. For example, a *waḳfiyya*, dated 941/1534, constitutes part of the water of the river of Astarābād into a *waḳf*. The founder (*wāḳif*) laid down that the water, when it reached the town, should be let into the houses and cisterns (*ḥawḍhā*) and *ḥammāms* and that as soon as one place had taken water, the remainder should be let into the next place, and that in times when water was scarce, no one should use more than was necessary. The founder also stipulated that rice should not be cultivated with the water of the *waḳf*, which was to flow into the town (*Astarābād-nāma*, ed. Masīḥ Dhabīḥī, publications of *Farhang-i Īrānzamīn*, no. 12 [1348/1969], 269). Many *āb-anbārs* were also constituted into *waḳf* by those who built them. There are also many drinking fountains (*saḳḳā-khāna*) in the bazaars and streets of the towns similarly constituted into *waḳf* (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sipintā, *Tārīkhča-yi awḳāf-i Iṣfahān*, A.H.S. 1346/1967, 360).

A shortage of drinking water in many villages and towns, especially in southern Persia, was a common occurrence (cf. Gaube, *op. cit.*, 54, 80). Bihbihān, for example, appears to have been short of water in the middle of the 17th century, the people relying on rain-water for two months in winter and spring (*ibid.*, 100). In Dihdasht, snow was brought from nearby mountains to supplement the drinking water supply (*ibid.*, 105). In modern times, with the increase in urbanisation, water shortages have been a serious problem in many towns. In the middle of the 19th century, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, Muḥammad Shāh's first minister, wished to investigate the possibility of sinking wells with a view to assuring the water supply of Tehran, which was then supplied almost entirely by *ḳanāts*, but nothing came of this (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60:115, Sheil to Aberdeen, no. 106, Tehran, 20 September 1845). In recent years, the water supply of Tehran has been supplemented by water stored in reservoirs behind dams on rivers flowing from the mountains to the north of the city (see further, Planhol, *op. cit.*, 451 ff.).

Drinking water in the towns came under the general supervision of the *muḥtasib*. If water conduits were in a state of disrepair, it was his duty to repair them, or, if there was no money in the public treasury, to order the townspeople to do so. Similarly, if the source of drinking water was fouled, he could order them to rectify the matter (al-Māwardī, *op. cit.*, 524; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 337). In modern times, the regulation of the water supply of the towns has been under the municipalities, and in recent years there has been canalisation in most of the towns.

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(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

7. Irrigation in North Africa and Muslim Spain

Since the purely geographical aspect of the topic of water (amount of rainfall, hydrography, etc.) has been or will be treated in the articles on Muslim Spain or al-Andalus [*q.v.*], Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, the present article is limited to a consideration of the supplying of drinking water to the towns and villages, as it appears from the mediaeval texts, in addition to a consideration of the customary rules concerning the ownership, use and repartition of water used for irrigating gardens. The topic of modern irrigation, one especially involving the construction of large dams begun during the colonial period of North Africa, will not be examined, but a few words will be said about prayers for obtaining rain, since the procedures followed in the Maghrib were neglected in the article ISTISḲĀʾ.

The works of the mediaeval historians and geographers give hardly any information on the system adopted in the rural areas, but for al-Andalus, there exists a rich geoponic literature [see FILĀḤA] which has been recently utilised by Mme. L. Bolens (*Agronomes andalous du Moyen-Âge*, Geneva and Paris 1980, 144-82 in regard to irrigation; see also Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 278-82). Following the latter authority, Mme. Bolens notes that irrigation in Spain bears the stamp of the Islamic period and that, in particular, a large part of the relevant technical vocabulary is Arabic or modelled on Arabic expressions, even if the very characteristic irrigation pattern still remaining in the *huerta* of Velencia does not stem from the Arabs, as J. Ribera showed (*El sistema de riegos en la huerta valenciana no es obra de los árabes*, in *Disertaciones y opúsculos*, Madrid 1928, ii, 309-13).

In regard to the towns and the places of some importance, a geographer like al-Muḳaddasī (ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident musulman au IVe-Xe siècle*, Algiers 1950) rarely neglects to mention the source of the local inhabitants' drinking water (*s̲h̲urb*): springs, wells or cisterns in which rain water was collected, and, less frequently, rivers, streams or simple perennial watercourses. Women who did not have either a tank or a private well (equipped with a water-raising apparatus in a more or less developed form) had to have recourse to one of these sources for drinking water, filling there their pitcher, unless some charitable soul had constructed, as a work of piety, a public fountain (*sabīl*) in form of a *waḳf*.

In general, gardens within the urban boundaries were irrigated by means of canals (*sāḳiya*, pl. *sawāḳī*) led off the watercourses or, when there were only wells, by means of simple channels leading from basins filled with water by means of norias [see NĀʿŪRA] or more simple water-raising contrivances [see BIʾR. iii]. It is surprising that al-Muḳaddasī, usually so meticulous, does not speak about the installations and arrangements at Fās, remarkable as they are. This capital city had indeed not merely a large number of springs (Leo Africanus [*q.v.*], tr. A. Épaulard, i, 204, numbers them at 600, whose water was "distributed for various requirements and led to the houses, places of worship, colleges and hostelries"), but also a river, the Oued (*wādī*) Fās, where "the Fāsīs have taken off water which they need for driving mills, carrying away their rubbish, filling their fountains and basins, and irrigating their gardens. To achieve this end, they undertook considerable construction works, whose ancient date does not allow us to get an exact idea about them" (see R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 232-9). It is a fact that the town has long had a network of water channels, some above ground and some below, which take the water as far as individual houses, as well as drains crossing the various quarters. Inevitably, disputes often took place between the people of Fās and the country-dwellers on the river banks upstream from the town, since the latter had no right theoretically to take off water. There existed a special legal structure to regulate these conflicts, whilst, for the upkeep of these water channels, special workers (the *ḳwādsiyya*, from *ḳādūs* "pipe", pl. *ḳwādes*) were placed under the authority of an *amīn al-māʾ al-ḥulw* for the drinking water and an *amīn al-māʾ al-muḍāf* for the drains (see I. S. Allouche, *Un plan des canalisations de Fès* ..., in *Hespéris*, xviii [1934], 49-73).

Although the town's population had at its disposal an unusual abundance of water, the water brought into the houses was not generally drinkable. Hence at Fās, as in other Moroccan towns, one used to see going around a picturesque class of water-carriers (*gərrāba*, pl. of *gərrāb*, from *əgrba* < *ḳirba* "water skin"), who attracted attention by their eye-catching appearance, the tinkling of their little bells and the copper vessels in which they handed out drinking water from their dripping water skin to thirsty passers-by without asking the slightest return; in order to make a living, they had a regular clientèle to whose homes they delivered drinking water. The installation of a modern water distribution system had reduced the activities of these *gərrāba*, who have now become largely a tourist attraction.

In Spain, Muslim travellers were able to note the Roman aqueducts which brought water from quite considerable distances, but the Arabs in turn did not fail to construct water channels, in particular to bring water from the sierra to the mosque of Cordova. (On underground channels, known in Spain, and especially at Madrid, as well as in certain regions of North Africa, see ḲANĀT. ii.)

However, the most original installations, it seems, are in the region of al-Ḳayrawān, in Byzacena (Tunisia), and are attributable not to the Phoenicians or Romans, as has been thought, but to the Arabs, who developed an earlier-existing system by practising, during the four centuries before the Hilālian invasion (mid-5th/11th century), a real policy for water. We have here in one part water channels open to the sky, and in another, reservoirs meant for "storing up streams of running water and, in some cases, water from certain springs and certain underground water-levels". These reservoirs have as a feature two basins, one for decantation, one as a reserve, and sometimes, a third one for drawing water from it (see A. Solignac, *Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques de Kairouan et des steppes tunisiennes du VIIe au XIe siècle* (*J.-C.*), in *AIEO Alger*, x [1952], 5-273).

Water gathered up in this fashion was used extensively for irrigation, which has always been the great care of peasants in regions where the scarcity of rain and of perennial running streams has compelled them to make do with unwatered cultivated lands [see BAʿL] and to lavish all their attention on gardens and orchards outside the towns and villages, where, thanks to a more or less thick network of canals and channels, they ended up by making a real oasis (see e.g. G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, 10 ff.; A. Bechraoui, *La vie rurale dans les oasis de Gabès* (*Tunisie*), Tunis 1980, 69-86).

In general, water is so important in the eyes of the peasant that ownership of it is sometimes independent of that of the soil. Two main ways of acquisition are in effect possible: (a) personal ownership acquired by purchase or inheritance of the piece of land where there is a spring, well, etc., of which the owner can dispose at his own will, subject to his respecting certain rights of use; and (b) collective ownership, in which one part is appropriated to each patch of land which can be irrigated by water belonging to the community. The sale or lease of the estate implicitly includes the disposal of a corresponding part of the water, but the land's owner can also sell or lease out the land whilst reserving to himself a right of usage which he can then dispose of how he likes, compelling the buyer or lessee to obtain by some other means the water which he needs.

The customary law which governs the utilisation of the water has very precise provisions which often go back to the period before the arrival of Islam; indeed, the provisions regarding, in particular, the rights of usage affecting the land owners and the water supply, are clearly similar to those of classical Islamic law, which in fact only confirmed those of the customary regulations (see e.g. A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*², Paris 1893, ii, 249-53, 278-9).

The division of the individual shares is also subject to strict rules, which nevertheless do not always ensure absolute equality between the participants and which do not sufficiently guard against wastage which might well be avoided. The measuring-out is done in various ways. E.g. a copper vessel with a hole pierced in it may be placed in a tank, etc. filled with water; when the vessel itself is full and sinks to the bottom of the tank, a stipulated fraction of the time-share in the water is finished. When the water comes from a basin with vertical sides, one may use a rule whose length is equal to the basin's depth and which is graduated, i.e. it bears notches whose spacing corresponds to a given volume of water. Other methods are still in use. When the share of water supply, whose duration and periodicity vary according to the differing regions and, of course, according to the amount of water available, comes to an end, the arrival channel is blocked up with a mere clod of earth, or a rudimentary sluice-valve, under the control of a person responsible, who may be a child (see e.g. E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 409-38, for the Berbers, whose customs here hardly differ from those of the Arabs).

Given the fact that periods of persistent drought are far from rare and often take on catastrophic proportions when the wells and springs become totally dried up, the people are driven to perform a certain number of ceremonies of a sympathetic magical character in the hope of getting rain. The most widespread, with variations, comprises the making of a kind of doll out of the wooden scoop normally used for ladling water and the parading of it round the villages suffering from drought, whilst pronouncing incantations and sprinkling the doll with water. In Berber regions, the ceremony ends with a prayer in which the name of Allāh is associated with a personnage who may be an ancient god, one of whose names, *təlghenža* (and vars.) is patently derived from that of the scoop, *aghənža*; the doll is also called *taslit unzar*, "the rain's bride". with *anzar* possibly the name of a male fertility god (see for Morocco, E. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 205-53), where, in addition, are discussed rites meant to drive away rain, hail, etc.). Numerous other studies have been made of these rites in North Africa in general, in which the mannikin or image carried round the villages bears differing names; see A. Bel, *Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie en temps de sécheresse*, in *Actes du XIV*ᵉ *Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, 49-98; E. Doutté, *Marrakech*, Paris 1905, 383-90; idem, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 584-96; E. Westermarck, *Ceremonies and beliefs . . . in Morocco*, 105-26; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, Paris 1925, 197-225.

Bibliography: summary references have been given in the article; the basic work remains that of J. Brunhes, *L'irrigation . . . dans la péninsule Ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1902. See also BIʾR and ḤIYAL in Suppl. (ED.)

8. Irrigation in the Ottoman Empire

The Ottomans followed the detailed provisions of the Islamic law according to the Ḥanafī school, as exemplified mainly in the *Kitāb iḥyāʾ al-mawāt* and the *ḥaḳḳ al-s̲h̲urb* (see *Mawḳūfātī s̲h̲arḥi*, ii, Istanbul 1318, 271-22, and *Mad̲j̲alla*, 1262-9, 1270-91; and 1224-53 also). The basic notion is that water, like wild vegetation and fire, is *mubāḥ*, that is, open to the use of the public at large. Seas, large-size lakes, great rivers, and subterranean waters are considered to belong absolutely to this category. Everyone is free to make use of these waters so long as no harm is entailed for anyone else. In this case, the individuals had to bear all the necessary labour and expense. But usually the state was responsible for large-scale waterworks on the great rivers. For that purpose it was permitted to make use of public revenues except for *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*]. If the state treasury was unable to finance such works, which were considered essential to the public good, the state could appoint a superintendent (*nāẓir*), who was authorised to employ the local population, if necessary by force, to construct them (*Mawḳūfātī*, ii, 220).

Proprietorship was recognised over certain types of waters which were regulated and protected. *Mamlūk* or privately owned waters were distinguished as either *nahr ʿāmm*, in which the waters remaining after use by the owners were free for public use, and *nahr k̲h̲āṣṣ*, where the water was exclusively for the use of the owners. *S̲h̲ufʿa* [*q.v.*], pre-emptive right, is in effect in the second case. The reclamation of waste land was legally recognised for individuals, Muslims or *d̲h̲immīs*, who might dig out water-channels (*k̲h̲arḳ* or *d̲j̲adwal*) or wells, or who might find a spring or drained flooded land. In the Ḥanafī school, such ownership is established only with the permission of the *imām* or sultan, with the condition that the reclamation process be completed within three years. In the Ottoman Empire possession rights were recognised to those who reclaimed waste land without permission. Reclamation projects were given prior approval by the sultan by special diplomas called *temlīk-nāmes* which recognised proprietary rights on waste land as well as on running water and springs within the area delimited by the document. A prescribed amount of land, called *ḥarīm*, and surrounding newly-constructed water conduits, springs, or wells, was recognised as the legal property of the owner of the water.

Water in the *k̲h̲arḳ*s and *ḳanāt*s [*q.v.*] was subject to private ownership, and no one could make use of it without previous permission of the owner. In the case of those waters under joint ownership of a number of partners, none of the partners could open new water channels, construct mills, or change the

sequence or direction of water-use without the consent of the other partners. When given, such permission could be revoked at any time. Water was divided between the partners according to the size of their respective land holdings. Partners on the upper reaches of the river were not allowed to dam up the water and thereby cause shortage on the lower reaches. If a dam had to be constructed, water rights were distributed starting at the lower reaches and working upstream from there. The owner of a body of running water had certain rights when it flowed through somebody else's land. The owner of the land was forbidden to obstruct the flow of the water and had to permit the owner of the water to carry out necessary repair work on his land. *Ḥaḳḳ-i shurb*, the right to make use of water at a given interval, could be the subject of inheritance or devise, but could not be either sold, bequeathed, rented, or given away as charity. However, in Ottoman practice we find examples of owners of water, of individuals or of a *waḳf* foundation, where the water might be sold for use in irrigation. What the state was concerned about was to prevent speculation in the price of water and to prevent the depriving of those who had *ḥaḳḳ-ī shurb* in favour of those paying higher prices (*Erzerum ḳānūn-nāmesi*, dated 1540, in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 70).

In addition to the prescription on water use in Islamic law, the Ottomans continued practices and regulations which they found in the conquered lands and enacted new legislation. These concerned the water supply for cities, water distribution, especially in areas with water shortages, and rice growing, which became a major state enterprise involving water use on a large scale. General Ottoman policy regarding water use and water works was determined to a great extent by the Ottoman land tenure system, which left the direct exploitation of agricultural land primarily to the *reʿāyā* farming small units. The state did not participate directly in large-scale water or land reclamation projects or in agricultural production, except for the water supply in the cities and for rice growing. Such projects were usually initiated and carried out in the form of *waḳf* endowments by members of the Ottoman house or of the upper echelons of the ruling class. There was no government agency responsible for water projects or regulations for water use. The construction of aqueducts and maintenance of water ways was under the supervision of the *ser-miʿmārān-i khāṣṣa*, head architect in charge of public works. Under his authority, and directly under a *nāẓir* or superintendent, were the *su yoldjularī*, technicians in charge of the maintenance of water pipe system in Istanbul.

Rice cultivation as a major irrigation activity. Here one can see how the Ottomans realised large-scale irrigation projects. In rice growing, abundant water supply and maintenance of water courses for constant watering of the rice paddies were crucial, so that the real object of possession or assignment was not so much the land but rather the use of the water. In the surveys, the possession or assignment of the *khark* > *ark* or *nahr*, the channel for irrigation, was granted by the government to individuals as *mulk* or *tīmār* [*q.v.*]. Often the possession of a *khark* determined who would possess a certain land (cf. *Kanunlar*, ed. Barkan, 12). Since the water was distributed in limited quantities, the government strictly regulated the amount of rice seed to be planted, and it recorded in the survey books the amount for each *khark*. Many channels for the irrigation of rice paddies, *anhār-i čeltük* (*čeltik*), were named either after the person responsible for their opening or after their possessors. Because of the unusually large consumption of rice, the Ottomans encouraged from the beginning the extension of rice growing, either by establishing direct government control over water-courses, or by granting possession or proprietorship of waste (*mawāt*) lands, particularly in the flooded areas. Official sources conclusively show that rice was widely cultivated in the Maritsa, Mesta (Karasu) and Vardar valleys in the 9th/15th century. The growth of government revenues from rice growing in various regions in the Balkans is shown in Table 1 based on the *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] registers from this period (see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, Istanbul 1952, 125-53).

The principal rice growing areas in Anatolia and their respective revenues in 1045/1636 are shown in Table 2 (see R. Murphey, *The functioning of the Ottoman army under Murad IV*, unpubl. dissertation, Univ. of Chicago 1979).

An Italian source of 880/1475(F. Babinger, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacapo de Promontorio-de Campis* . . ., Munich 1957, 65) estimated at 15,000 gold ducats the revenues from rice production. Idrīs-i Bidlīsī (*Hasht bihisht*, the conquest of Filibe, Murād I's reign) states that the sultan's share of the rice production in the Maritsa valley amounted to *ca.* 80,000 gold ducats in the time of Bāyezīd II. Besides those mentioned above, there were other important rice-growing areas in the Sakarya river valley and its tributaries in the provinces of Khudāwendigār, Sulṭān-önü, Bolu, Ankara and Kütahya. Archival

TABLE 1

Estimated revenue for three-year period in Ottoman *aḳčas* (50 *aḳčas* = approx. 1 Venetian ducat)

	866/1461-2	885/1480-1	895/1490	903/1497-8
Maritsa valley and its tributaries (Filibe, Tavuslu, Yanbolu, Aḳča-Ḳīzanlīk, Burgaz, Čorlu, Ergene, etc.)	1,679,920	2,650,000	2,750,000	
The Struma (Serres, Drama, etc.) and the Vardar (Veria with the Trikkala plain added by 887/1482) district	8,000,000	9,000,000 (in 887/1477-8)		1,040,000
Menlik and Temir-ḥiṣār in the Vardar valley		220,000 (in 882/1477-8)		
The village of Aḳshani on the Struma river		105,000 (in 889/1484)		

TABLE 2

Estimated annual revenue in *aḳčas* (240 *aḳčas* = approx. 1 ducat)

Upper Cilicia (Sīs, and its environs)	69,650
The Kelkit river valley (Niksar)	180,000
The Sonisa area	140,000
The Ḳlzllrmaḳ delta (Boyabat)	1,333,547
The Devres river valley (Tosya)	233,333
The upper Gediz river valley	283,333
The Menderes river valley and its tributaries (Aydln, Čine, etc.)	198,332
The Baḳlr river valley (Bergama)	133,333
The Gediz river valley (Demird̲j̲i, Adala, etc.)	160,000

sources (*k̲h̲udāwendigār waḳf defteri*, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müd., Ankara no. 585) prove that already under Ork̲h̲an (726-63/1326-62) the Ottoman state was concerned in extending rice-growing in the conquered areas, and either a part or all of the inhabitants of many villages were made *čeltükd̲j̲i*, those of rice growers endowed with a special status. From the earliest surviving survey of Albania dated 835/1431-2 (*Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, ed. H. İnalcık, Ankara 1954, 3a, 8b, 75, 145), we know that some water *arḳ*s designed for rice-growing were by that time assigned as *tīmār* to the *sand̲j̲aḳ-beg* and to *su-bas̲h̲ī*s. Rice-growing was introduced or extended in the lands conquered by subsequent Ottoman sultans. In his efforts to expand state revenues, Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] greatly extended rice cultivation in the Balkans and took under the direct control of the central treasury most of the rice-growing lands in Rumeli as well as in Anatolia (see his order about rice-growing areas made *beylik*, i.e. state-owned, in İnalcık, *Fâtih Mehmed'in fermanları*, in *Belleten*, xliv, 697, doc. no. 1 dated S̲h̲aʿbān 883/October-November 1478, and also the regulation in *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, ed. R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık, Ankara 1954, 81-2). Despite his general policy of returning lands seized under his father, Bāyazīd II did not completely relinquish state control over such rice-growing lands.

In extending the area of rice cultivation, which involved primarily the construction of irrigation works, there were two main methods: state enterprise and private initiative. In order to create state rice fields, the government assigned a group of ordinary *reʿāyā* to a permanent status as *k̲h̲āṣṣa čeltükd̲j̲i* (*čeltikd̲j̲i*), labourers of the sultan on the state's rice fields. In the surveys, they are listed also under the names of *kürekd̲j̲i* or *ortaḳd̲j̲ī*. Once recorded as *čeltükd̲j̲i* in the surveys, neither these labourers nor their offspring could change their status (see the *Ič-Il Ḳānūn-nāme*, ed. Barkan, 54; *Ḳānūn-nāme*, Süleymaniye Library Reisülküttab no. 1004, 24). They are also included under similar groups which served in tne mines, in the salt-beds or as guardians of the mountain passes in return for exemption from certain taxes, principally the *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyya* or extraordinary impositions. In other words, they constituted a labour force under the direct control of the state. In the province of Anatolia alone, one-seventh of the population was included in this tax-exempt category. The condition of a *čeltükd̲j̲i* was quite onerous, since apart from the hardships borne by him in irrigating and cultivating the rice, he had to surrender half of his production to the state treasury. The seed was supplied by the state and taken back at the time of harvest. State proprietorship of water channels was considered to be the justification for the exploitation of their labour. This organisation seems to have reached its final form in a later period in the Ottoman empire, since in the early records labourers in rice cultivation were often state-owned slaves, the *k̲h̲āṣṣa ortaḳd̲j̲ī*. In the eastern provinces, forced labour was imposed upon the *reʿāyā* household to work in the rice fields and repair canals for a fixed number of days every year (usually three or four days, see the *ḳānūn-nāme*s of Diyārbekir and Malaṭya, ed. Barkan 113, 147). This practice, apparently retained from pre-Ottoman times, caused widespread discontent among the *reʿāyā*, free peasants. Upon the complaint of the Christian *reʿāyā* in the province of Trebizond and in other places against such corvées (*salg̲h̲un*), the Ottomans introduced the system of registered *čeltükd̲j̲i* or *kürekd̲j̲i* as described above. In need of labour forces for extended rice fields in the marginal lands, as in Cicilia or in the lowlands of the Aegean or Pamphylian plains, the state also tried to use the labour of tribal groups by settling them in the vicinity. In any event, some nomadic groups had already been occupied for some time in growing rice in the flooded lands, and sought to retain this profitable source of income for themselves (see the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Sīs, ed. Barkan, 202; *ḳānūn-nāme*, Istanbul University Library no. T.Y. 6941, 78). In Rumeli, some nomadic groups were simply registered as *čeltükd̲j̲i* (ed. Barkan, 263). Thus the concern of the state in converting flooded lands into rice-growing fields by preparing irrigation canals gave rise to groups whose status was quite different from that of the rural population of the Ottoman Empire in general.

When the conduits or *k̲h̲arḳ*s of harnessed waters were assigned as *tīmār* to members of the military class, they were entitled to get a tithe of the rice production. But in addition, many of them, imitating the state system, took half of the rice production when they supplied the seed and other expenses for irrigation. Since this widespread practice often caused abuse of the peasant's labour, and shortages in the limited water supply, the state tried to regulate and control this kind of cultivation.

Also, rice cultivation and connected irrigation works were extensively applied in the *mawāt* lands reclaimed by members of the ruling class and *waḳf* founders, both large and small. The state, granting absolute proprietary rights, encouraged such land reclamation projects, which mostly involved the discovery and harnessing of water sources. In such cases, the *k̲h̲arḳ*s were made the property of the individual. But all such projects had to be submitted and approved by the sultan, not only in order to comply with the *s̲h̲arʿī* law, but also for such practical considerations as the protection of the *reʿāyā* against exploitation of their labour and of their water sources. The large-scale irrigation projects initiated by the members of the ruling class in the abandoned flooded areas in the Sakarya river valley are particularly interesting in this respect (the main source for this is the above-mentioned *waḳf*-register of K̲h̲udāwendigār). In one such project (see the same register published in part by Barkan in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii [1942], 364-5), the promoters proposed and asked the approval of the sultan for constructing a dam on the Sakarya river, and to excavate canals 17,000 *d̲h̲irāʿ*s (11.65 km) in length, and estimated that the irrigated land would take 75 *mud* (approx. 38.5 tons) of seed to plant. The labour was expected to be supplied by the free peasants of the area in exchange for a half-share in the harvest, excluding the tithe

due to the *tīmār* holders. Cotton and other crops were also expected to be cultivated on the reclaimed land. Apart from the tithe to be paid to the *tīmār* holders, and the profit accruing to the *reʿāyā*, the promoters promised to undertake the expenses of repairing the caravan highway passing through this flooded area and to construct a caravanserai and five fountains. The sultan gave his approval to this project, subject to the willingness of the *reʿāyā* of the area to work on the reclaimed land.

We find numerous examples of such irrigation and land reclamation projects in the Ottoman empire, always made subject to the approval of the sultan, and made conditional on the consent of the local population and *tīmār* holders to co-operate. Such projects, with large potential yields, were almost always proposed and realised as *waḳf* endowments. This method was the predominant form of land reclamation and irrigation in the Ottoman Empire. Except for rice cultivation, the state seldom took a direct part in organising such irrigation projects. Such irrigation projects were undertaken more extensively in the period of the rise of the *aʿyān* and the local dynasties in the 18th century. Under the impact of European commercial expansion during the period, they made efforts to put into cultivation previously unused swampy lands. It was during the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period that, under the influence of current ideas from Europe, the state became systematically interested in land improvement and in the extension of agriculture. A Council for Agricultural and Industrial Affairs, the Zirāʿat wa Ṣanāʾiʿ Medjlisi, had already been created in 1254/1838. In a questionnaire distributed in 1259/1843, the state attempted to find out the amount of land left out of cultivation due to flooding, and European experts were sent to the Dobrudja, Cyprus, and other parts of the empire, and reports were submitted with suggestions for the improvement of agriculture. The increased European demand for cotton from the Levant during the American Civil War spurred the Ottoman government to introduce broad measures to increase cotton production in the watery plains in Cilicia, the Aegean coasts, and in Macedonia. This development caused shrinkage in rice cultivation in these areas. Apart from the extensive irrigation works in the Konya plain which were open for use in 1331/1913, no substantial drainage or irrigation project was accomplished by the state until the Republican period. As late as 1945, the area of irrigated land in Turkey was limited to 20,000 hectares.

Regulations on water distribution. In Anatolia and Rumeli, where water supply was generally adequate for agriculture for 9-10 months out of the year, fixed regulations for water distribution as in Iran and in the Fertile Crescent were not-common. In the dry regions of the central and eastern Anatolian plateau, and during the summer months starting from July, certain regulations were worked out for the distribution of available water sources among individuals. Such arrangements, stemming from pre-Ottoman times, were particularly common in the neighbourhood of large towns where numerous orchards and gardens were to be found. According to the observations of modern geographers, in certain parts of Anatolia where traditional methods survived, the organisation of water distribution was dictated by shortages of water both regionally and seasonally, by the extension of irrigated agriculture, or by aggregation of population (X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens*, Paris 1958, 146, 323-8). As to sharing of spring water between several villages, there was usually no formal regulation, unless recurrent disputes forced the government to intervene as an arbiter and to work out regulations. Such disputes usually appeared as arguments over the use of pasture lands, and it was the *ḳāḍī*'s court which was responsible for settling them in accordance with the *sharʿī* rules, as was the case with all matters involving water distribution. This explains the lack of universally-applied regulations enacted by the government.

As a general policy, the Ottomans avoided imposing regulations on water use, and abolished pre-existing taxes and dues on water (see the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Malaṭya, Barkan, 113). In some districts, the Ottomans retained older regulations for distribution of water, for irrigating gardens and fields, and for water supply to the city. In the province of Ḳaramān, where the Ottomans found the most developed system of water distribution for urban areas, a *mīr-āb* or superintendent of water was chosen to supervise the application of these regulations. To distribute water according to the provisions of the *sharīʿa* regarding the *ḥaḳḳ-i shurb*, right in the use of water, and *shufʿa*, or pre-emptive right, was the *mīr-āb*'s responsibility. To ensure complete equity, the *mīr-āb* appointed, with the approval of the community, several *mutawallīs* who oversaw the distribution of the shares. He was also assisted by *shāgirds* who performed the work during the actual irrigation process. The regulations tried to prevent various abuses, such as taking water out of turn by bribing the *mīr-āb* and others, which reflect the acute competition between the users of water during the summer months. Each user of distributed water paid a fixed fee to the *mīr-āb* (for the rates see the *ḳānūn-nāme* published in *JESHO*, xi/1, 116), who acted as tax-farmer for the government. The revenue deriving from *mīr-ābiyye*, together with certain connected dues for Konya, amounted to 90,000 *aḳčas* in 907/1501 (see Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu no. 40) and to 150,000 *aḳčas* in 1046/1636 (see R. Murphey, *op. cit.*). The function of *mīr-āb*, apparently originally a Persian institution (see Iṣṭakhrī, Persian tr. ed. I. Afshar, Tehran 1347, 206-7; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, London 1943, 84), was performed in other parts of Anatolia sometimes under the name of *su aghasī* (see Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 397, iii, 29). Ewliyā Čelebi made the remark that, if it were not for the *su aghasī*, the populace would have murdered one another. (For the organisation of water use within the village, see X. de Planhol, *op. cit.*, 325-6.)

As to the techniques used in harnessing water, the Anatolian peasant usually used the simple method of channelling water from the rivers through *kharḳs* or *arḳs*, but the methods of drawing up water by means of animal-powered wheels or *dōlābs* and small dams were used. (For an interesting example of building dams for irrigation in the Ḳaramān province, see *JESHO*, xi/1, 123.)

City water systems. The supply of water to the towns was the second main area of concern for the Ottomans. The Ottoman water system in the towns before 857/1453 has not been studied. However, it is known that after the conquest of Istanbul the Ottomans developed quite a sophisticated water system for the city, and applied this system too in other cities in the empire, notably in Jerusalem and Mecca. In Istanbul, the most complex and best-studied example, we see that the system consisted of collecting in reservoirs or *bends* (Pers. *band*) the waters from the two hilly areas in the outskirts

of the city, namely the Khalkalī valley and the Belgrad forest, and then bringing this water underground in huge pipes and over aqueducts to high points in the city. Water towers or *su terāzī*s were constructed to keep the water at a high level and water depots, *maṣlaḳ*s and *maḳsam*s, distributed the water in different directions. In order to construct and maintain the system, an extensive organisation grew up under the chief architect or *khāṣṣa mi'mār-bashî* and the superintendent of the water conduit workers or the *su yoldjularî nāẓîrî*. The construction and maintenance of the water works was financed and organised by *awḳāf*, either of individuals or of sultans. The main water conduits and aqueducts came into being to bring water to the complexes surrounding the great mosques which, as we know, served as the nuclei for the development of the city [see ISTANBUL]. The mainstay of this water system was created through efforts under two sultans, Meḥemmed II and Süleymān I. In the winter of 861/1456 Meḥemmed II gave orders "to bring into the city from the countryside an abundance of water through aqueducts" (Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, tr. Riggs, Princeton 1954, 105). The Byzantine water works, pipes and aqueducts which had been left to fall into ruin during the last centuries of the empire, were re-discovered and used by the Conqueror to create the first Ottoman water system (see Tursun Beg, *The History of Mehemmed the Conqueror*, ed. İnalcık and Murphey, Chicago 1978, 55-6). Dalman and Wittek (*Der Valens-Aquadukt*, 11) maintain that these works were concentrated on those areas of the Khalkalī valley closest to the city. The Ḳîrḳ-Česhme or forty fountains constructed by the Conqueror at the Valens acqueduct or Bozdoghan-Kemeri received its water from this conduit. The rapid increase in the city's population, first under Bāyezīd II and then under Süleymān I [see ISTANBUL], together with the construction of major mosques under these sultans, led to a search for water sources at a greater distance. It was under Süleymān I that the second major water project was carried out, this time collecting mainly the waters of the Kāghîdkhāne valley which also had been used for the water supply of Byzantium up until 1204 (Dalman and Wittek, 1-9). Dalman and Wittek (14-15) show that the main aqueducts or *su-kemeri*s on this line were the work of the architect Sinān, who built them first in 961/1554 and then a second time in 971/1564 after heavy rains had destroyed them. In constructing their water works, the Ottomans made use of the remains of the Byzantine water conduits and aqueducts as well as employing native Greek experts (a certain master called Kiriz Nicola is mentioned by Selānikī, *Ta'rīkh*, 5) among the *su yoldjularî*. It may be suggested at this point that the Ottomans borrowed from the Roman-Byzantine system some hydrological techniques and, combining them with their own traditions evolved quite a complex organisation to supply water for their huge capital city. Sultan Süleymān's extensive water pipeline brought to the city and to his newly-constructed mosque abundant water, which was distributed to a number of new fountains. A report by Sinān himself of Ṣafar 976/August 1568 (Âtif Efendi Library, ms. 1734, fols. 256b-261b) gives the following details about the situation at that date. The water newly supplied by both the Kāghîdkhāne and Ḳîrḳ-Česhme water pipelines amounted to 81 *lüle* (one *lüle* is traditionally defined as the amount of water passing through a pipe of given dimensions in 24 hours, or approximately 60 m³, see Dalman and Wittek, 20-1). At the time of low water level, out of 95 private and public fountains existing at this date, 64 had been recently constructed. The 95 fountains took up 38 *lüle* of the total water supply (in 1945, İ. Tanışık found in Istanbul alone 219 public fountains of Ottoman times). In addition, Istanbul had 15 *maṣlaḳ* using 5 *lüle* and 1 *ḳamish* (one-fourth of a *lüle*), 18 wells using 5 *lüle* and 1 *masura* (one-eighth of a *lüle*). The remainder of the water went to the Palaces and gardens of the Sultan and grandees in the city, as well as to the public bath houses. The basic system was expanded upon by suceeding sultans, particularly in connection with newly-constructed mosques (see for an example, *Ta'rīkh-i djāmi'-i sharīf-i Nūr-i 'Othmānī*, in *TOEM* Suppl., Istanbul 1335-7/1917-19, 26-31). They constructed new reservoirs and water lines, extending those already in existence in the two main areas of Kāghîdkhāne and Khalkalī.

Water sources found and brought to the city through government initiative belonged to the *mīrī waḳf* or state-controlled endowments and were placed under the control of the relevant *waḳf*'s administration, which was also responsible for meeting repair expenses. Fearing lest the water supply specified for the use of imperial mosques, palaces and public fountains be cut short, *mīrī waḳf* waters were not allowed to be used for any other purpose. Constant inspection to ensure their proper use was carried out by the *su yoldjularî*, who even had the authority to enter houses for investigation. When a new charitable institution, a mosque, bath or fountain was to be built, its founder was first required to find a water source outside the city. This water was brought to the city by means of a device called *ḳatma*, that is, the adding of newly-discovered water to the main water conduits of the *mīrī waḳf*. This *ḳatma* water could be taken from the main conduits only at certain specified points. Upon application, the sultan gave his formal permission for the use of *ḳatma* and recognised ownership rights over this water in a special *firmān*. The *shar'ī* principles required that such a procedure be followed. Many wells were dug in order to exploit underground water as a further addition to the city's water supply. Such waters became the property of the individuals who discovered them. Despite the close watch kept over the *mīrī waḳf* waters, there were many instances of diverting of water by individuals for private use. The government therefore closed a strip of land adjacent to the water line to new construction and assigned the populace of twelve villages as guardians and repairers of the water lines outside the city. To meet the water needs of the city population, water from the public fountains was distributed in waterbags by *saḳa*s or *saḳḳā*s. The *saḳḳā*s were organised in two corporations, the *arḳa saḳalarî* or human water-carriers, and the *at saḳalarî* or horse water-carriers, who were in competition with one another.

In repairing and enlarging the water system of Mecca dating from 'Abbāsid times, the Ottomans made use of the organisation which they evolved in Istanbul. They sent a team of experts to carry out the construction, and using black slaves and others organised a maintenance crew along the lines of the *su yoldjularî* organisation of Istanbul.

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9. Irrigation in pre-20th century Muslim India

Lakes, tanks, wells and artificial canals have supplemented rain water in the subcontinent since ancient times. With the establishment of the Dihlī Sultanate in the beginning of the 7th/13th century, traditional irrigation technology began to undergo a change, owing to the arrival of skilled architects from Central Asia; in particular, the construction of wells with Persian wheels and of large canals provides a clue to the introduction of certain mechanical devices and the progress of civil engineering in India during the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. This section of the article is divided into three parts: the first on lakes and tanks, the second on wells, and the third on artificial canals.

The Turkish conquerors were the first dividers of the water from the land in the districts of innumerable rivers and boundless swamps in Bengal. They built dykes, roads and tanks and, consequent upon it, the reclamation of vast tracts of land was possible in Deltaic Bengal. According to Djūzdjānī, the dykes made the movement of people and cattle possible during the rainy season, while the water flowing through the channels could be diverted to the paddy fields, in case failure of the monsoon caused scarcity.

The first lake built by Sultan Shāms al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36 [*q.v.*]) outside the capital city of Dihlī was called the *Ḥawḍ-i Sulṭānī* (also *Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī*). The mediaeval Indo-Persian writers mention it as a reservoir constructed for supplying drinking water to the city of Dihlī, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭā's reference to the cultivation of the seasonal fruits and vegetables at its sides during the summer shows that the water was used for irrigation also. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also informs us that it was two miles long by half that breadth. ʿIṣāmī alludes to the *Čashmā-yi āftāb* ("sun spring", i.e. the famous Sūradj Kūnd near Dihlī) as its source of water. The details furnished by Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh and the compiler of the *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* about its repair contain reference to the original channels that were led off from the river Djamunā to the lake. These channels supplemented the rain water which sufficed for the whole year.

Like Iltutmish, his nobles also evinced keen interest in public utility works. Evidence from contemporary epigraphic sources shows that, during his and his successors' reigns, a number of lakes and tanks were constructed in the provinces. In Palwal (in Haryānā State) a tank was excavated in 608/1211. Another inscription found at Bārī Khātū (in the District of Nāgawr in Radjasthān) mentions the construction of a lake by the officer Masʿūd, son of Aḥmad Khaldjī, in 629/1232. It must have provided relief both to the cultivators and travellers in the torrid climate of the desert.

Little information is available about the excavation of lakes and tanks in Dihlī as well as in provinces during the Khaldjī and the Tughluḳid periods. Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī is credited with having taken an interest in developing irrigation in his empire for the progress of agriculture. By the time he occupied the throne of Dihlī (695/1296), the *Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī* had silted up and the city had expanded considerably. Therefore, he had the *Ḥawḍ*

cleared of silt and its embankments repaired. Moreover, he ordered the construction of a new lake, larger in area than the *Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī*, outside the wall of his new capital of Sīrī (near Dihlī), and this came to be known as the *Ḥawḍ-i khāṣṣ*. Baranī's reference to the *bālā-band-i Sīrī*, contained in his account of the construction of the beautiful buildings by Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh (752-90/1351-88) thereon, tends to suggest that the dam was built with lofty embankments for the storage of rain water in the nearby area. The construction of these royal lakes considerably raised the water level in the area, and thus reduced the depth of the irrigation wells in the area around.

The Tughlukid period is marked by much improvement in irrigation facilities in the empire. The number of lakes and tanks increased, not only in Dihlī but in the provincial towns also. The contemporary Persian epigraphs mention the construction of lakes in Bihār Sharīf (Bihār State), Gaṙh Mukhtaṣar (Distr. Ghāzīābād, U.P.) and Manglore (Distr. Sahāranpūr, U.P.). An inscription at Nāgawr informs us that the *muḳṭaʿ* (governor), Malik Fīrūz b. Muḥammad, constructed a large lake in Nāgawr and named it *Fīrūz Sāghar* (Hindi *sagar* "sea").

The lakes constructed in Dihlī are important as reflecting the progress being made in civil engineering on the one hand, and the concern of the succeeding sultans in causing to be constructed more beautiful lakes and tanks than those built earlier on the other hand. For instance, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluk constructed aqueducts over the lake in Tughlukābād, whose traces can still be seen. References are also found to the lakes built during the reigns of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluk and Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh. The anonymous author of the official history, *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, and hagiographies, mention the famous lakes of Dihlī, such as the *Ḥawḍ-i Tughluk-Shāh, Ḥawḍ-i Ḳutlugh Khān, Ḥawḍ-i Shahzāda Fatḥ Khān* and *Ḥawḍ-i Shahzāda Mubārak Khān*. In the provinces, the lakes constructed in Dawlatābād and Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā are worth mentioning. Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluk's *Ḥawḍ*, built on a considerable height in the fort of Dawlatābād, can be seen today. In Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā, Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh also had a cistern built in 754/1353 on a raised platform. It was originally constructed for supplying water to the ditch excavated around the fort, but after water from the newly-constructed canals became available, its water was used in the gardens and flower beds inside the fort.

In the 9th/15th century, cisterns appear to have been constructed by the rulers of the regional kingdoms that arose in the wake of Tīmūr's invasion of India (800/1398). The construction of fountains in Djawnpūr, Gudjarāt and other cities in the plains led to the construction of cisterns, as their water, flowing through narrow channels from a height, could make the fountains work. Bābur's description of lakes in the Pandjāb also testifies to the fact that old lakes were kept under repair, while new ones were excavated in the new towns. As the *iḳṭāʿ*s assigned by the king to nobles in lieu of cash salary and allowances were hereditary, at least in practice during the pre-Mughal times, the assignees constructed tanks in their lands for the extension of cultivation and horticulture. For instance, Yūsuf b. Mullā Djhakan, the *munṣif* or judge of the *parganā* of Čawnd, in 952/1545 constructed a beautifully-patterned tank in his administrative charge during the reign of Shīr Shāh Sūr.

Later on, the Mughal emperors, and the Dakanī sultans of Bīdar, Golkondā, Bidjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar, established reservoirs. Allusions to these reservoirs in contemporary inscriptions provide insights into the skill employed in their construction. The Muḥammad-Nād, a reservoir built at Bidjāpūr in 1165/1751-2 by Afḍal Khān, is a great feat of engineering. Similarly, the huge tank-like well with rooms was built with the money of Tādj Sulṭān, the wife of Sulṭān ʿĀdil Shāh in Bidjāpūr. The Pānī-Maḥall (water-palace) at Nādrūg and the tank of Mā-Ṣāḥibā at Ḥaydarābād are notable exemples.

In the 12th/18th century, the *amīr*s of Sind and the two rulers Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.vv.*] of Mysore maintained the traditions of the early rulers. Tīpū Sulṭān took special interest in irrigation questions, building new tanks and repairing old ones. The huge tank built by him in Doradji possesses a huge embankment about $2^1/_2$ miles long, and at places is 45 feet high. He also rewarded other people who constructed tanks. The *ʿāmil*s (revenue collectors) were entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining the tanks in the kingdom. All these lakes and tanks from mediaeval times existed till the beginning of the 20th century, but with the modern expansion of the towns and cities many of them have been filled in and the land used for residential purposes. In South India, however, they still survive and are used as picnic spots.

As for the construction of wells, they are mentioned in our sources either as *čāh* or *baʾīn* or *bāʾolī*. The *baʾīn* and *bāʾolī* [*q.v.*] are step-wells, meant for the use of men and animals. Evidence available about the *čāh* is interesting in so far as it reflects on the use of the Persian wheel to lift water from the deep wells in areas around Dihlī during the early Sultanate period, indicating, from its comparative costliness, considerable local prosperity. Only fairly opulent farmers could afford the installation of this water-lifting machine.

Sources from the 8th/14th century refer to the *sāḳiya* and the *čarkh* set up on the wells that were owned both by the state and by the cultivators. Al-ʿUmarī in his *Maṣālik l-abṣār* was informed by an Indian traveller in Arabia, Shaykh Mubārak of Cambay (Gudjarāt), at some time in the beginning of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluk's reign (725-52/1325-51), that people in and around Dihlī set up Persian wheels on the wells to water their fields and gardens. The writer refers to the Persian wheels as *sawāḳī*, whereas the contemporary Indo-Persian writers use rather the term *čarkh*. An interesting anecdote related in the *Djawāmiʿ al-kalim* about Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ suggests the presence of the Persian wheel in Dihlī in the preceding century. It tells us that Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn once came across a *čarkh* set up on a well. The cultivator who was driving the bullocks for lifting water, exhorted the animals, saying *āge barh, āge barh* ("speed up, speed up") in a melodious tone. The sound produced by the motion of the wheels and the voice of the peasant had such an effect on the Shaykh that he immediately passed into a state of ecstasy.

The anonymous author of the *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* states that *čarkh*s were set on wells around the newly-constructed *Ḥawḍ-i Shahzāda-yi Mubārak-Shāh* outside the capital Fīrūzābād. The *Ḥawḍ* was filled with the water lifted from the wells in the summer when the rain water was exhausted. He further informs us that the income from the lake was endowed by Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh for the benefit of the poor. The work also contains references to the buckets (*dalw*s) made of metal (iron) instead of *kūza*

(pitchers or pottery vessels), hanging down the wheel by means of chain of ropes. The Persian term *dūlāb* also occurs in the same passage, signifying the surface wheel which was used to lift water from the *ḥawḍ*. The *dūlāb* was used to lift water from the open surface of tanks or rivers, the pitchers or buckets being fixed on the rim of the wheel, which was revolved by the hand.

Later sources reveal that the use of the Persian wheel was quite widespread in North India. Kabīr, who flourished during the 9th/15th and the first decades of the 10th/16th century, refers to it in his verses when he likens the rosary used by the externalists to the garland of vessels attached to a *rahaṭ* (Hindi equivalent of the Persian wheel). As Kabīr lived most of his life in Benares, we may assume that he found the Persian wheel being used in the region of modern eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Like Indo-Persian writers, Shaykh Zayn, the *ṣadr* or minister of Bābur, mentions, the *čarkh*. In 925/1519 when Bābur crossed the Djhelum river and occupied Bherā (Sargodhā District in Pakistan), he found Persian wheels as a common means of irrigation there. The orchards and the sugar-cane and paddy-fields were irrigated with the water of wells lifted thus. Later on, when he occupied the territories of Lāhawr, Dipālpūr and Sirhind (932/1525-6), he found everywhere the peasants irrigating their fields by means of the Persian wheel, and he describes its structure thus: "They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one end of the wheel axle, a second wheel is fixed, and close to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, so that the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set up where the water empties from the pitchers, and from this the water is conveyed everywhere". Shaykh Zayn says however that in India, other methods of irrigation are used, including the leather bucket (*čaras*) lifted out of water by yoked oxen, whilst *dhekli*, based on the lever system, which is still in use, was most common.

Gradually, use of the Persian wheel seems to have spread everywhere during the Mughal period, but they were especially numerous in the Pandjāb, the most prosperous region. Even an average cultivator there could afford to set up a Persian wheel on his well, which had been built of bricks and plastered with lime, despite the expenditure. Mughal historians like Abu 'l-Faḍl, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Lāhōrī, Yūsuf Mīrak and Sudjan Rāʾī Bhandārī, mention it as one of the commonest means of irrigation in North India, but since the turn of the 19th century, it have been generally replaced by tube-wells.

As for the harnessing of rivers for irrigation purposes, the construction of large artificial canals began in the reign of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1315) towards the close of the 8th/13th century. Amīr Khusraw refers to a deep and wide canal built by Ghāzī Malik in the territory of Multān when he describes the revolt of the army and people of Multān against the governor Mughaltay. Besides this, Ghāzī Malik seems to have constructed canals in Multān and Dipālpūr units. Baranī adds that in every territory where Ghāzī Malik served as governor, he constructed canals for the progress of agriculture there. The *Inshāʾ-i Māhrū* contains a *nishān* (official document) issued by the governor of Multān, Māhrū, in the reign of Fīrūz-Shāh, to an official, Kamāl Tādj, asking the latter to carry on the repair work of the old canals. Three canals, *Djū-yi Nāṣirwāh*, *Djū-yi Kuṭbwāh* and *Djū-yi Khiḍrwāh*, are mentioned, and must have been constructed by Ghāzī Malik before his accession to the throne in 720/1320.

The credit for constructing a number of canals in the region between the river Sutledj and Dihlī goes to Fīrūz-Shāh. First, the vast arid tract of Haryānā, where only one crop was raised during the rainy season in a year, attracted the royal attention. In 755/1354, he laid down the foundations of the city of Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā (modern Ḥiṣār) and then constructed a double system of canals, the headwaters of which were drawn both from the Sutledj and the Djamunā rivers. The Sutledj canal, named Ūlūgh-Khānī, flowing through Rupar and Sirhind town, met the Djamunā canal called Rādjīwāh near the new city of Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā. Both of them passed via Karnal. At Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā, they discharged their water through a single channel into the ditch around the city. Yaḥyā Sirhindī supplements Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf when he informs us that the construction of canals started in 756/1355. Besides the Djamunā and Sutledj canals, he mentions another canal cut from the Sutledj, the waters of which were conducted up to Djhadjhar (a town in Rohtak Distr.), irrigating a vast arid tract of 96 sq. miles. In 757/1356, another canal was excavated from the Ghaggar river. This flowed past the fort of Sirsuli (town) and reached Harni Kherā. The most important canal was the Djamunā canal (later called western Djamunā canal) that was also cut from the Djamunā and conducted to the capital city of Fīrūzābād. Besides, the Salīmā canal (later *Khānpūr ka nālā*) was dug in the Siwālik hills and the waters of Sirsūlī and Salīmā were diverted into it. It flowed past Shāhābād town (to the south of Ambālā). Like their master, some of Fīrūz Shāh's nobles also appear to have excavated irrigation channels in their *iḳṭāʿ*s, e.g. the *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* informs us that Khān-i Djahān Maḳbūl planted gardens and constructed canals, serais and bazars in his *iḳṭāʿ*.

All these canals were kept under repair by the later Sultans of Dihlī. Though Bābur complains that there were no artificial canals in India, although they could easily be constructed at a number of places even in the plains, Shaykh Zayn refers to the canal of Fīrūz-Shāh flowing via Djhadjhar, as well as the canal in the *iḳṭāʿ* held by Dilāwar Khān Lōdī's maternal uncle in the foothills of the Pandjāb (Djayswal *parganā*). Bābur's description of the territorial unit of Čandarī also contradicts him, for he found there much running water through channels. We find allusions in the *Afsānā-yi Shāhān* to the dams and canals in Orissa, and these appear to have existed there before the Afghān conquest of the region in 980/1572.

Likewise, the Mughal historians furnish information about the repair of the old and the construction of new canals. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl, first Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Khān repaired the Fīrūz-Shāh's Djamunā canal, as it had silted during the early years of Akbar's reign. Later, another officer of Akbar, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Tarkhān, had the same canal repaired a second time. The reign of Shāh Djahān witnessed the digging of new canals in different territories. Shāh Djahān also increased the length of Fīrūz-Shāh's Djamunā canal by reopening it in the hills at Khiḍrābād, and brought its water up to Shāh-Djahānābād (Dihlī). This came to be known both as *Nahr-i bihisht* and the *Nahr-i fayḍ*.

Shāh Djahān's noble, Aṣālat Khān, built a dam on the Karnāl stream and made its water flow into a channel so that the land around might be irrigated.

During the same reign, a number of small canals were built in the upper Bārī Dōʾāb (Pandjāb), the best-known of which was the *Shāh-nāhr*. It was brought from the Ravi in the hills near Radjpur. It flowed as far as Lāhawr, covering 84 miles. Two other canals were led off from the same point, one to Paṭhānkot and the other to Batālā. ʿAlī Mardān Khān is also credited with the construction of a canal from the Tavī river for watering his gardens at Sodhrā near Wazīrābād in the upper Račna Dōʾāb which was 30 miles long. The canals were constructed in the regions of Multān and Sind also during the same reign.

In South India as well, the canals seem to have been a common means of irrigation since ancient times. Evidence available suggests that brick embankments were built to protect them from inundation. But the general practice in the South was that of water-storage. For instance, there were thousands of canals in Baglana cut from the river, and they supplied water to every village and town during the 11th/17th century. Tīpū Sulṭān, however, built a large canal in the tradition of the Muslim rulers of North India. In 1797 he constructed a dam across the Kavari, a few miles west of Sringapatam, with an embankment 70 feet high.

This irrigation system survived till the close of the 19th century, when the modern canal system began. The Persian wheel also became obsolete, owing to the introduction of tube-well technology, so that in the Pandjāb and western Uttar Pradesh they have almost disappeared.

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(I. H. Siddiqui)

10. Irrigation in Transoxiana. [see Supplement].

11. Economic aspects of modern irrigation

The use of water for irrigation in agricultural production is widely practised in the cultivated areas of the Muslim world where constraints of low and episodic natural precipitation limit yields on existing new crops or inhibit the introduction of a wider range of crops. Such areas include the desert lands of north Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Central Asia and the Indian sub-continent, the semi-arid zones generally lying adjacent to the deserts, the Mediterranean zone and, in South Asia and Asia proper, the dry tropical climatic regions. The greater part of the Muslim world is encompassed by this definition. It should be added that there is scientific evidence that a process of desertification is affecting the semi-desert margins over wide areas. In consequence, it is possible that the surface area where irrigation is essential to agriculture is gradually extending, not least in the Sahel of Africa. In all except the dry tropical zones, the use of irrigation permits stabilisation of output of staple winter grain crops by offsetting fluctuations in annual rainfall and allows cultivations of summer vegetable and other cash cropping which would otherwise be difficult or impossible. In the dry tropics, where hot and wet summers alternate with hot but dry winters, irrigation mainly functions as an aid to cultivation in the winter months.

Irrigation has taken on a special significance in recent decades as population growth has tended to accelerate and as the need has increased for states to provide reliable and augmenting food supplies from domestic sources. While some success has been achieved in encouraging greater use of dryland areas under mechanised systems and with new improved seed varieties, most governments have attempted to reduce the growing and adverse imbalance between domestic supply and consumption of foodstuffs through expansion of the area under irrigated cultivation and better use of existing water supplies in traditional areas. Governments have played the major role in a drive common throughout the Muslim territories to increase the volume of irrigation water at the disposal of their agricultural sectors. Irrigation budgets have often dominated financial allocations to agricultural development, especially in countries such as ʿIrāḳ, Iran and Egypt. In the latter country, the continued engineering of the River Nile, culminating with the completion of the Aswan High Dam in 1970, was the main economic preoccupation of the state for much of the modern period. For ʿIrāḳ, too, hydraulic works on the Tigris and Euphrates for flood control, water storage and generation of hydro-electric power made a large and important claim on national resources, beginning with the first financial allocations of the Iraq Development Board in the 1951-2 fiscal year. The second Iranian development plan (1334/1955-6 to 1341/1962)

was above all concerned with the construction of storage dams on the main river systems of the country, including the Diz, Safīd Rūd and Karadj structures.

Rapid and expensive adoption of irrigation projects has not always been accomplished with regional co-operation or with a critical appreciation of the appropriateness of irrigation technology borrowed from the industrialised states of the world. Exploitation of the irrigation potential of the Euphrates in the period since the Second World War has brought conflicts between riparian states on the division of waters, as storage facilities in Turkey, Syria and ʿIrāḳ have been constructed without co-ordination. In 1974 and 1975 the flow of the Euphrates at Hīt in ʿIrāḳ fell to unprecedented levels (9.02 milliard cubic metres in 1974 and 9.42 milliard cubic metres in 1975) as a result of new water storage reservoirs built in the states upstream. In contrast, close liaison was maintained between Egypt and Sudan during the course of the creation of Lake Nasser behind the Aswan High Dam, both to ensure agreement on the division of waters and to provide for the settlement of communities displaced from the lands submerged beneath water level.

A slow response by traditional agricultural areas to the demands of a larger and often higher consuming population led to increasing state intervention in irrigation affairs with perceptible effect from 1952, though particularly from 1958 in Arab countries and from 1962 in Iran. With few exceptions, governments favoured centrally financed and controlled irrigation projects, which demanded imported technology and sophisticated management of land, water and farmers by the national bureaucracy. Irrigation developments in the Muslim world have witnessed damaging failures in selecting techniques of an appropriate type by scale and technology. In Iran, the Diz irrigation scheme foundered in part, since large farming units created to work the area proved unmanageable. The Libyan government-controlled Kufra irrigation scheme in the south of the country, a show-piece designed to demonstrate Libya's ability to utilise oil revenues to set up permanent non-oil assets, is one of the many high-technology irrigation projects established in the oil-exporting states of the Middle East and north Africa which have out-stripped indigenous economic and technical resources and have added little to the sum of domestic food production.

Sources of irrigation water have changed only insignificantly in recent years. Surface and ground water are the mainstays for irrigation water provision, though a number of richer states, notably Saʿūdī Arabia and Kuwayt, have made use of desalinised sea water on a very small scale at extremely high cost. Pumping of irrigation water from deep aquifers, of which the Kufra scheme is an example, has increased in importance, though in many cases water extraction is faster than replenishment rates or comes from fossil water reservoirs, with clear implications for the longevity of these sources. Considerable scope remains in the area for more efficient use of existing water resources, rather than the expensive creation of new ones.

The total area of irrigated land in the Muslim world has grown very slowly, despite large allocations of resources for the construction of reservoirs and irrigation schemes. In the Middle Eastern heartland of the Muslim world, the proportion of agricultural land under irrigation has remained more or less unchanged at a quarter of the total. Individual states have improved their positions somewhat, above all Egypt, where the Aswan dam has increased both the total area under irrigation and the area under perennial cropping. Estimates of relative reliance on irrigation for the main Muslim states are shown in Table 1, including both traditional and modern systems.

The strength of traditional systems has been much eroded in recent years. Underground water channels, *ḳanāt*, *falladj* or *kārīz*, have been generally neglected and many have fallen into disuse. The diesel pump has widely replaced other manual and animal-powered water lifting systems. Meanwhile, the addition of new irrigated areas served by modern systems of water storage has been offset by losses of irrigated land rendered infertile through growing alkalinity and salinity as a result of bad water management, inadequate provision of drainage facilities and inappropriate cropping patterns. Most countries of the arid and semi-arid zone are affected by this problem, though none worse than ʿIrāḳ, where it is estimated that more land is lost annually through the effects of soil salinity than is reclaimed by developments projects.

Despite the expenditure of considerable funds on, and the economic dedication of governments to the expansion of the irrigated area in the recent past, results expressed in real gains in land under cultivation and crop production have been disappointing in most areas of the Muslim world.

Table 1

Percentage of cultivated land under irrigation in the Middle East

Baḥrayn	8
Cyprus	16
Egypt	100
Iran	20
ʿIrāḳ	50
Jordan	7
Ḳaṭar (Qatar)	100
Kuwayt	100
Lebanon	20
Libya	8
Saudi Arabia	80
Syria	10
Turkey	7
United Arab Emirates	100
Yemen (North)	10
Yemen (South)	80

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(K. S. McLachlan)

12. Ornamental uses of water in Muslim India

In a land so dependent generally on the summer monsoon, where there are few permanent sources of water away from the great rivers and their surrounding terrain where the water-table is high, human settlement depends on artificial means of conserving water from one rainy season to the next. These means, which apply to the domestic water supply as well as to agriculture, have been described in filāḥa, v; for canals see also Nahr. Many of these utilitarian works, however, are frequently ornamented and decorated beyond the call of functionalism, and are consequently described here.

Many water monuments were constructed before the coming of the Muslims, who continued not only their function and form (except for the elimination of figural ornament and the introduction of the arch) but also their maintenance through civil or *waḳf* funds. The simplest examples are large open reservoirs in and around towns (commonly called "tanks" in India; see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., for etymologies; also *tāl*, *tālā'ō*, and in the case of Muslim constructions also *ḥawḍ*), of all shapes but commonly rectangular, sometimes with masonry surrounds and steps leading well below the average water-level; as the water was used or dried up more steps would be exposed, the shelves being convenient for personal ablutions or for washing clothes; pavilions (*kūshk*, *čhatrī*) may be added mainly for ornament [see further on these, above, 9]. Similar masonry surrounds (*ghāṭ*) may be provided on river banks or on artificial lakes caused by damming a valley (e.g. the Anāsāgar at Adjmēr, the Pičholā at Udaypur [*q.v.*]). Since open expanses of water cause a perceptible change in the microclimate, buildings might be sited to take advantage of the cooling effects of evaporation (e.g. Fīrūz Shāh's *madrasa* and other structures on two sides of the Ḥawẓ Khāṣṣ at Dihlī [*q.v.*], Maḥmūd Shāh's palace, the tombs and the mosque at Sarkēdj [see gudjarāt and hind, vii. Indo-Muslim architecture]; and many pleasances may be sited in the middle of an artificial tank (e.g. Djahāngīr's Hiran Mīnār complex at Shaykhupūra, the tombs of Shēr Shāh and Salīm Shāh at Sasarām [*q.v.*], Mughal kiosks at Nārnawl [*q.v.*], the Ẓafar Maḥall in the Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden in the Dihlī fort [see plan, Vol. ii, 266 above]; the tombs would have been used as pleasant retreats during the owners' lifetime.

Tanks and artificial lakes fed from constant sources naturally need provision to be made for the escape of surplus water; overflow tunnels and sluices may occasionally be sumptuously decorated, as at Sarkhēdj in Gudjarāt, but the simpler structures in the local quartzite at Dihlī have a monumental beauty of their own, e.g. that on a water-channel off the Nadjafgaṛh canal at Wazīrābād, with an included silt (and fish?) trap; those on the *band* connecting Tughluḳābād with ʿĀdilābād (see plan, Vol. ii, 257 above), whereby the low-lying fields to the south of Tughluḳābād could be flooded to a depth of some 2 m. to create an artificial lake for the defence of the citadel and leaving Ghiyāth al-Dīn's tomb as an isolated outpost; and, more complex, a two-storeyed sluiced dam, called Sāt pula, built into the south wall of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's Djahānpanāh to regulate the storage of water within the city; analyses, photographs and measured drawing of all these in Yamamoto *et alii*, *Delhi*, iii.

The simple well does not much lend itself to ornamentation, but may form part of a complex, such as Djahāngīr caused to be constructed at day's-march intervals along the road to Kashmīr, of *sarā'ī* + mosque + well, water from the latter being taken up by *čaras* [see filāḥa, v] to irrigate a small flower-garden. The step-well (*bā'ōlī* [*q.v.*]), however, is most frequently decorative as well as functional, providing chambers at various levels close to the water's edge to provide cool retreats in summer; e.g. in Dihlī the Gandhak kī bā'ōlī, *ca.* 630/1233; the circular *bā'ōlī* in Fīrūz Shāh's *kōṭlā*, *ca.* 753/1352; and the superb Rājōn kī bā'īn, inscr. 912/1506; all analysed in Yamamoto *et alii*, *Delhi*, iii, with photographs and measured drawings. Analogous structures in Gudjarāt, called *vāv*, have the entire well covered at surface level; comprehensive study, including other water monuments, in Yasmin Amirali Shariff, *Water monuments of Gujarat*..., University of London M. A. Archaeology thesis 1981 (unpublished).

Water was a necessary adjunct to palaces and gardens, and might be provided, when either of these two was beside or close to a river or lake, by a Persian wheel (*rahaṭ*); a further Persian wheel, or series of wheels, housed in a tower, might be used to raise the water to a greater height when it was necessary to provide a sufficient head of water to operate fountains. The water was led through palace courtyards and gardens by stone channels, often with intermediate cisterns which could be highly ornamental, as that in the Laʿl bāgh at Bīdar (plan in Yazdani, *Bidar*, 53); in Bīdjāpur, where all the centre of the city was supplied by underground channels from the Čānd and Tādj *bā'orī*s, a special water-pavilion, *djal-mandir*, in the elaborate later ʿĀdil Shāhī style, discharged water from jets into a large stone surrounding tank to make a visual focal point in the city scheme. Under the Mughals, however, the garden was developed more than ever before as a new art form [see būstān, ii]. The ideal garden shape was a fourfold plan, *čahār-bāgh* (the name *čār-bāgh* persists in many Indian towns as the name of a locality even where no traces of gardens remain), as in e.g. the garden surrounding Humāyūn's tomb in Dihlī (see plan, Vol. ii, 265, above), where the divisions are marked by water-channels with cisterns at or seats over the intersections; the pattern was followed and augmented in later tomb complexes: notably Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, the tomb of Iʿtimād al-Dawla and the Tādj Maḥall [*q.v.*] at Āgrā, the tomb of Awrangzīb's queen ("Bībī kā maḳbara") at Awrangābād, and that of Ṣafdar Djang at Dihlī, where the principal channels are often expanded into stone—often marble—basins 3 or 4 m. wide with a central rank of fountains, terminating on the cross axes in *bāradārī*s. Similar gardens exist apart from tombs and palaces, e.g. Rām bāgh, Zahrā bāgh, Wazīr Khān kā bāgh, Mihtar Khān kā bāgh, Ačānak bāgh, all at Āgra (*ASI*, iv [1871-2], 104 ff.); in his suggestive (but sometimes naïve) *Early garden-palaces of the great Mughals*, in *Oriental Art*, NS, iv/2 (1958), 3-10, R. A. Jairazbhoy proposes the latter as the site of Bābur's original *čahār-bāgh* in India.

Mughal gardens reached their peak of perfection in Kashmīr, where at Shrīnagar, Akbār's Nasīm Bāgh, Āṣaf Khān's Nishāṭ Bāgh and Djahāngīr's Shālīmār took advantage of the copious natural water supply; ʿAlī Mardān Khān's canal from the

Rāwī made possible Shāhdjahān's Shālimār at Lāhawr. These make use of *ābshār*, water-chute, an oblique bed of flat or scalloped marble, and *djharnā*, cascade, with water flowing in a sheet over a straight edge to fall over a vertical bank of small niches, each intended to hold a small lamp with a shade of coloured glass. Other Mughal gardens are mentioned above s.v. BŪSTĀN. A curious late Mughal water monument is the Pān čakkī, water-mill, in the shrine of Bābā Shāh Muẓaffar Čishtī, a spiritual preceptor of Awrangzīb, outside the city walls of Awrangābād: water brought from a distance falls through some 7 m. to operate a small mill, and the water then flows through two large tanks. Mughal water monuments and gardens were much imitated by Hindū rulers in Rādjāsthān. The Sahēliyon kā bāgh in Udaypur offers a number of fountains of different designs fed by water under high pressure from one of the city lakes, in a more extravagant taste than any Mughal conception. The small palace at Dīg, near Mathurā, is more refined in its elegant tanks and channels, and water is led in copper pipes over the openings of the buildings in order to flow over screens of *khas* grass, to cool and perfume the air passing through.

The devices of water decoration embodied in the gardens are found also in Mughal forts and palaces [see especially MUGHAL, v, a]. These sometimes involved bringing water from considerable distances (e.g. ʿAlī Mardān Khān's canal which supplied the Red Fort at Shāhdjahānābād, Dihlī, tapped the Djamunā over 100 km. away; see W. E. Baker, *Memoranda on the western Jumna canal* . . ., London 1849. Some of the aqueducts involved are themselves works of art). In the Red fort of Shāhdjahānābād, the water is further raised in the Shāh burdj, from an open pavilion in front of which, with *ābshār* and *djarnā*, water flows through a marble channel, the Nahr-i bihisht, which not only supplies the Ḥayāt Bakhsh and other gardens but also flows through all the palaces on the east wall [buildings marked c, e, f, g, h in the plan in Vol. II, 266 above] at a depth of some 15 cm., whose supreme achievement is a shallow basin 3 m. square in the Rang maḥall, carved into the shape of an open lotus flower; this was of one piece of the finest Makrāna marble and inlaid with semi-precious stones. When the water flows over it the petals of the flower appear to move and ripple (the channels are now normally dry, but the author of this article had the privilege of seeing them in operation at the end of 1942). The Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden has additionally two marble pavilions with *djarnās*, called Sāwan and Bhādon after the first two months of the rainy season in the Hindū calendar, with a fine central tank with scalloped red sandstone borders which again are intended to be barely covered with water to produce a ripple effect. Comparable works in the Āgra fort, of the time of Shāhdjahān's additions, include a very deep *ābshār* outside the Maḥall-i khāṣṣ and an elegant fountain in the Muthamman Burdj.

Bridges may be included in ornamental works. One near the tomb of Sikandar Lōdī in Dihlī, but of Mughal date, is rather a pleasant spot for strollers to catch the water-cooled breeze than a work of strict necessity for transport, although the Mughals brought an elegance to bridges of greater functional necessity. Outstanding is the bridge at Djawnpur [*q.v.*], whose two parts are provided with kiosks with carved marble screens to take advantage of the breezes along the river.

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(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MĀʾ AL-ʿAYNAYN AL-ḲALḲAMĪ is the name consistently given in Mauritania and Morocco to the greatest scholar and religious and political leader of the Western Sahara during the latter half of the 19th century. Uncertainty remains as to the significance of his sobriquet Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, "water of both eyes", but it is not unlike *ḳurrat al-ʿayn*, "coolness of the eye". Māʾ al-ʿAynayn was born on the day of the death of his brother, Abu 'l-Fatḥ, and of his paternal grandmother Khadīdja. His father Muḥammad Fāḍil regarded his birth as a blessed consolation at a time of family distress. His mother, Manna bint al-Maʿlūm al-Idjaydjbiyya, cherished his name because the infant was her only son at that time; if she were to lose him it would be as grievous to her as the loss of her sight.

1. Life. Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā was the twelfth son of Muḥammad Fāḍil b. Māmīn al-Ḳalḳamī, the founder of the Fāḍiliyya *ṭarīḳa*. This was an offshoot of the Kunta Bakkāʾiyya branch of the Ḳādiriyya order [see KUNTA]. Muḥammad Fāḍil came from the family of the Ahl al-Ṭālib al-Mukhtār who were centred at Dār al-Salām north of Goumbou on the border between Mali and the Mauritanian Ḥawḍ. He was born about 1780, and his Fāḍiliyya order was pan-Ṣūfī in its aspirations. His ideal envisaged the unification of all other Ṣūfī orders by a recognition of equal worth and by acceptance of his independent counsel. His *wird* and *dhikr* encouraged a high-pitched, shrieked and ecstatic repetition of the *shahāda*, and his religious acts were accompanied by charms, spells, magic numbers and thaumaturgy. The family claimed Sharīfian descent from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib through Yaḥyā b. Idrīs al-Ṣaghīr. It also claimed lineal relationship to the Lamtūna [*q.v.*] who were the aristocracy of the Almoravid Ṣanhādja.

Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Māʾ al-ʿAynayn was born on 27th Shaʿbān 1246/10th February 1831. He was taught by his father, and as a gifted pupil, he later became a devoted adherent of the doctrines of the Fāḍiliyya. He was to found his own order, the ʿAyniyya, but it differed little from the Fāḍiliyya on basic principles. His outlook was conservative and eclectic. His book, *Ifādat al-rāwī fī anni mukhāwī*, argues the case for a pan-Islamic rapprochement, theological and political, and within and beyond the Ṣūfī orders. He followed this path from his earliest years, and it became a political obsession towards the end of his life.

When still young he left home. When he was

16 years old he visited Marrākush in order to study, and for some time he lived with the Aghlāl on the border of the Ḥawḍ. In 1858 he performed his first pilgrimage to Mecca. On his way he paid his respects and requested support from the Moroccan sultan, Mawlay ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and from the heir to the throne, Sīdī Muḥammad. He returned to Morocco in 1859, and on his route to the Ḥawḍ he stayed at the caravan town of Tindūf. It was then a centre for slave traffic, and was dominated by the Īdaw Bilāl and the Tādjakānt. Māʾ al-ʿAynayn acquired a reputation for miracles, and he enjoyed the favour of a noted scholar, Sīdī Muḥammad al-Mukhtār b. Aʿmash al-Djakānī. He had access to his library and taught and wrote, but he declined an offer to remain as a teacher in Tindūf. In 1861 he returned to the Ḥawḍ. In 1865 or 1867 he left the Ḥawḍ definitively on a journey to the Adrār town of Shinḳīṭ and to Tīris.

In 1869 his father, Shaykh Muḥammad Fāḍil, died in the Ḥawḍ. His legacy was divided between his four principal sons. Māʾ al-ʿAynayn was held in the highest esteem and wielded most political power. After 1873 he chose the barren regions of the Rio de Oro and the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ as a permanent headquarters for his growing company of novices (*talāmīdh*) whose life style owed much to the example of the Kunta *shaykhs* [*q.v.*], and their successors. These northern districts of the Western Sahara facilitated closer contact with the Morrocan sultans, who were regularly visited by Māʾ al-ʿAynayn and who supplied them with slaves. Meanwhile, he combatted European encroachment on the Atlantic coast of the Sahara. He married into the principal tribal groups of the region and enjoyed wide support from the Awlād Dulay, the ʿArūsiyyīn, Tādjakānt, Awlād Bū Sbāʿ and Ahl Bārikalla. He dominated the Western Sahara caravan routes, and his power grew so great that, according to his son, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Murabbīh Rabbuh, Mawlay al-Ḥasan (1873-94) entrusted Māʾ al-ʿAynayn with the guarding of the frontier between al-Dākhila (Villa Cisneros) and al-Ṭarfāya (Cape Juby), sc. almost the entire coast of the former Spanish Sahara. During this period, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn had neither village nor town. He lived in his tents in the Tīris, al-Karihi, Aswam, al-Djakūba and Tawrik, but, as the pull towards the north increased, he commenced the construction of a *zāwiya* at Dār Ḥamrāʾ in the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ, a fortress, and a small settlement at Maltga in the same region.

After 1896, ties with the Sultanate were particularly close. The growing influence of France to the north and the south strengthened the unity and coordination of political and religious policies. In 1897 Māʾ al-ʿAynayn was received in triumph by the stripling sultan, Mawlay ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who had ascended the throne in 1894. The sultan received the *wird* of the ʿAyniyya and religious instruction from Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. *Zāwiya*s were founded in Marrākush, Fās and Salā, and lands and estates were bestowed on the Shaykh and his family. He became an *éminence grise* at court, and he was feared at court on account of his magic power and his fanatical followers. The *ʿulamāʾ* of Fās gave him the title of *ḳuṭb* [see ḲUṬB. 2. In mysticism]. With financial aid from the sultan, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn commenced his most ambitious project in 1898. This was the building of a *ḳaṣaba*, *zāwiya*, mosque, library, political and commercial headquarters at the reed beds of Ṣmāra on the banks of the Wayn Silwān in the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ. The site was close to a route which linked the Wād Nūn to the Adrār and Tīris. It was not far from the port of al-Ṭarfāya, and the terrain was suitable for pasturage, some agriculture and the planting of date palms.

Ṣmāra was, and still is, a complex of low buildings designed in a style which blends the brown dry-stone walling of the Adrār and Tīshīt with the decadent urban Hispano-Moresque of Morocco. Building stone was locally quarried or brought by steamer from Mogador and the Canary Islands. Moroccan stone masons and architects were employed in the task of constructing a compound to which buildings were annexed. Some were private dwellings for the four wives and many concubines of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. Others belonged to his sons or accommodated guests, artisans and *talāmīdh*. Work commenced on a large mosque and a *khalwa*. Space was allowed to house Māʾ al-ʿAynayn's library of 300 books and his collection of at least 500 manuscripts. Other buildings were store-houses, granaries and arsenals. The design was a compromise between the desert and the sown. Certain private quarters were hardly more than walled enclosures inside which tents were pitched and animals were penned.

The work was never completed. In 1903 the French declared the Trārza district of south-west Mauritania a French protectorate. In 1905 the *Commissaire général français*, Xavier Coppolani, was assassinated at Tidjikdja by anti-European Saharans who had the backing of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. In 1906, France occupied the Tagant. As Ṣmāra was indefensible, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn withdrew to his *ḳaṣaba* at Tīznīt in the Sūs. In 1907 he made it the base for his *djihād* [*q.v.*], and he appealed to the sultan for maximum assistance. Events worked against his interests, however. The ineffective Mawlay ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz relinquished the throne to his brother, Mawlay al-Ḥafīẓ, to whom Māʿ al-ʿAynayn swore allegiance (*bayʿa*) in 1907. The latter sultan was anxious to achieve an accommodation with the French, so that Māʾ al-ʿAynayn quickly lost faith in him. In 1910 he arrived in Marrākush with an army of tribesmen of the Anti-Atlas and the Sūs. Accompanied by this show of strength, it was alleged that he announced his claim to the throne of Morocco as *Mahdī* [*q.v.*] of the hour, but some authorities doubt the historicity of this reported claim. The religious influence of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn in Morocco was formidable, but it should be remembered that he was 79 years old and was approaching senility. His son, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Imām, and a brother of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, Shaykh Saʿd Abīhi (Saad Būh)—who cooperated with the French—both discount such reports as unfounded. Evidence suggests that Māʾ al-ʿAynayn's eldest son, his successor (*khalīfa*), Aḥmad al-Hība or Hayba [*q.v.* in Suppl.], directed the policy of his father. A major reverse took place at Ḳaṣbat Tadla on the 23rd June 1910. In September Māʾ al-ʿAynayn retired to Tīznīt, and he died there on 29 Shawwāl 1328/28 October 1910. His tomb in Tīznīt has remained a family shrine. Ṣmāra had been abandoned and was occupied by a French force under Colonel Mouret in 1913. The dome of its *ḳaṣaba*, the symbol of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn's authority, was severely damaged, and the library of several hundred books on mysticism, astronomy and theology was burnt.

According to Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Sūsī, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn married 116 wives. He fathered at least 21 sons and 30 daughters, and some sources give the total number of his offspring as 68. His most noted descendants, among them his *khulafāʾ*, were seven sons by his wife, Maymūna bint Aḥmad ʿAliyyūn, who was born into a lettered household

among the Barābīsh of the Ḥawḍ. She was the mother of Aḥmad al-Hība (d. 1919), Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Murabbīh Rabbuh (d. 1924), al-Ṭālib Khiyār, Muḥammad al-Imām and Muḥammad al-Aghdaf (d. 1972-3). These noted sons, together with brothers from other marriages, continued the family tradition of scholarship and sanctity in the Maghrib and the Sahara. Several of them were poets and authors of weighty works on theological and legal subjects and on the ideas of their father. Some of them co-operated with the Spaniards in the then Spanish Sahara; others became exiles in Morocco and Mauritania or lived a pastoral life in the Ḥawḍ. They strove to maintain the influence and status of the family and to combat European domination of the Western Sahara. In the main, they showed solidarity with the Moroccan royal house and followed the example set by Māʾ al-ʿAynayn himself. The extended family represented, and represents, a conservative force in the radically-changing Western Sahara.

2. Character and achievements. The closing years of the life of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, his activities in Morocco and the building of Ṣmāra have disproportionately overshadowed the life he led between 1870 and 1890 when he ruled from his palatial tent in the Rio de Oro and the Sāķiya al-Ḥamrāʾ and set down the bulk of his writings. In 1887 the captive explorer, Camille Douls, was brought to Māʾ al-ʿAynayn who subsequently released him. Douls was impressed by the physical stamina and awesome appearance of his captor. Due to his miracles, his many marriages and formidable learning he acquired a semi-divine power over the Saharans. He combined the roles of doctor, teacher, arbitrator and avenger with fire. In organising a desert community he put into effect his dream of unifying Islamic sects in pan-Islamic loyalities, as outlined in several of his books. These total some 300 titles. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Murabbīh Rabbuh in his own *Ķurrat al-ʿaynayn* lists 140 titles. He adds, however, that his list is incomplete and that sundry opuscules were not included. Several of these were written as early as 1861 when his father was in Tinduf. Forty of his most important works were lithographed in Fās at his own expense. Here is the list of these as it was compiled by E. Lévi-Provençal in his *EI*[1] article: 1. *Adab al-mukhālaṭa maʿa 'l-yatīm*, on the margin of *Mufīd al-samīʿ*, no. 20, 1321; 2. *al-Aķdas ʿala 'l-anfas*, commentary on the *Waraķāt* of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn, 1320; 3. *Dalīl al-rifāķ ʿalā shams al-ittifāķ*, 1321, 3 vols; 4. *Dīwān* of mystical poetry, 1316; 5. *Djawāb al-muḥaķķiķa fī akhbār al-khirķa*, 1302; 6. *Kitāb Fātiķ al-ratķ ʿalā rātiķ al-fatķ*, 1296, 2nd ed. in 1939; 7. *Hidāyat al-mubtadiʾīn wa-nafʿat al-muntahīn*, *urdjūza* on *naḥw*, 1322; 8. *Ḥudjdjat al-murīd fī 'l-djahr bi 'l-dhikr ʿala 'l-marīd*, 1321; 9. *Ibrāz al-laʾālī 'l-maknūna fī 'l-asāmī 'l-ẓāhira wa 'l-muḍmara*, 1322; 10. *Iẓhār al-ṭarīķ al-mushtahir ʿalā "ismaʿ wa-lā taghtarir"*, 1321; 11. *al-Khalāṣ fī ḥaķīķat al-ikhlāṣ*, 1320, 12. *al-Kibrīt al-aḥmar*, also printed at Fās in 1324; 13. *Ķurrat al-ʿaynayn fi 'l-kalām ʿala 'l-ruʾya fī 'l-dārayn*, 1321, on the margin of no. 10; 14. *Mā yataʿallaķ bi 'l-ḥasad*, on the margin of no. 36, 1320; 15. *Madjmaʿ al-durar fī 'l-tawaṣṣul bi 'l-asmāʾ wa 'l-āyāt wa 'l-suwar*, 1309; 16. *al-Maķāṣid al-nūrāniyya*, 1306, on the margin of no. 29, 2nd ed. in 1320; 17. *Mubṣir al-mutashawwif ʿalā muntakhab al-taṣawwuf*, 1314, 2 vols; 18. *Mufīd al-ḥāḍira wa 'l-bādiya bi-sharḥ hādhih al-abyāt al-thamāniya*, 1316; 19. *Mufīd al-rāwī ʿalā annī mukhāwī*, 1309; 20. *Mufīd al-samīʿ wa 'l-mutakallim fī aḥkām al-twyammum wa 'l-mutayammim*, 1321; 21. *Mughrī 'l-nāẓir wa 'l-sāmiʿ ʿala taʿallum al-ʿilm al-nāfiʿ*, 1294; 22. *Munīl al-bashsh fī man yuẓilluhum Allāh bi-ẓill al-ʿarsh*, 1309; 23. *Munīl al-maʿārib ʿala 'l-ḥamdu li'llāh kifāʾ al-wādjib*, 1309; 24. *Muntakhab al-taṣawwuf*, printed 1325; 25. *Muẓhir al-dilālāt al-maķṣūda fī alfāẓ al-taḥiyyāt*, 1321; 26. *Muzīlat al-nakad ʿamman lā yuḥibb al-ḥasad*, on margin of no. 11; 27 *Naṣīḥat al-nisāʾ*, 1321; 28. *Naʿt al-bidāyāt wa-tawṣīf al-nihāyāt*, 1311, also published in Cairo in 1324; 29. *Sahl al-murtaķā fī 'l-ḥadīth ʿala 'l-tuķā*, 1306; 30. *al-Sayf wa 'l-mūsā fī ķaḍiyyat al-Khiḍr wa Mūsā*, 1320; 31. *Sayf al mudjādil li 'l ķuṭb al-kāmil*, n.d.; 32. *Sayf al-sakt li 'l-mutaʿarriḍ lanā fī awwal al-waķt*, n.d.; 33. *al-Ṣilāt fī faḍāʾil baʿḍ al-ṣalawāt*, 1321; 34. *Ṣilat al-mutaraḥḥim ʿalā ṣilat al-raḥim*, 1323; 35. *Tabyīn al-ghumūḍ ʿalā naʿt al-ʿarūḍ*, 1320; 36. *Taķyīd yataʿallaķ bi-ḥadīth "innamā 'l-aʿmāl bi 'l-niyyāt"*, 1320; 37. *Tanbīh maʿāshir al-murīdīn ʿalā kawnihim li-aṣnāf al-ṣaḥāba tābiʿīn*, 1321; 38. *Tanwīr al-saʿīd fī 'l-ʿāmm wa 'l-khaṣṣ*, 1320; 39. *Thimār al-muzhar*, collection of poems, printed 1324; 40. *Tibyān al-ḥaķķ alladhī bi 'l-bāṭil saḥķ*, 1321.

According to the *Ķurrat al-ʿaynayn* (fol. 72), Māʾ al-ʿAynayn mastered all the disciplines, language, grammar, syntax, elocution, logic, mathematics, the dating of seasons and feasts, the system of ʿAdjamī Saharan cryptology, jurisprudence, prosody and medicine (Arabian and Saharan Ḥassāniyya). Alongside these studies he gained experience in several branches of the occult.

Supernatural power was accepted as part of his personality. Its manifestation could not be separated from his involvement in mundane matters which concerned the day-to-day life of his *talāmīdh* or Saharawis. They sometimes found contradictions between their *ʿurf* and the *Sharīʿa*. Similar problems had been faced by earlier Kunta *shaykhs* and by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī (d. 1865) of the Tīris Ahl Bārikalla. The Ahl Bārikalla of Imirikli were devoted followers of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. They were familiar with attempts by Saharan teachers to resolve these question. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī's book on tribal law and custom, *Kitāb al-Bādiya*, can be matched, though not surpassed, by opuscules of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, and likewise his mathematical and astrological theories. Pamphlets by the latter on *tayammum*, prayer, fasting, hospitality, divorce and sexology were widely quoted, and several of these were appended to other works and lithographed. A major work, *Fātiķ al-ratķ ʿalā rātiķ al-fatķ*, forcefully argues the case for humane treatment of women, slaves, beggars and orphans, and for respect and deference towards kings and sultans.

Supernatural revelation accompanied the study of Arabic grammar, phonetics, and prosody. The *Ķurrat al-ʿaynayn* (fol. 74) records that "when he composed a book about prosody one day he left with his mind preoccupied by certain obscurities. He sat facing a tree, and he began to beat the rhythm of the metres on the ground using a stick which he held in his hand. While thus engaged a burnt brick appeared before him. He raised it with his stick and discovered a treasure beneath it. He shunned it. He returned the brick to its former position and said, 'I do not want it.' Then he arose and sat opposite another tree, and God enlightened him in the matter he sought."

At least 30 of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn's major works are about Ṣūfism. *Naʿt al-bidāyāt wa-tawṣīf al-nihāyāt*, lithographed in Fās and twice published in Cairo, is still widely read in the Sahara and is possibly his

masterpiece. In its pages, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn argued that all Ṣūfī brotherhoods display only trivial divergencies. All brotherhoods were of equal merit and ought to combine. His arguments were carried a stage further in his book *Mubṣir al-mutashawwif ʿalā muntakhab al-taṣawwuf*, which is outspokenly pro-Ottoman in its sentiments. To the author, the Ottoman state exhibited pan-Islamic eclecticism and was the last to precede the appearance of the *Mahdī* who would unite Jews, Christians and Muslims after cataclysmic events.

Mention has been made of the license allowed by the Fāḍiliyya and the ʿAyniyya for the use of spells and secret scripts for religious purposes. Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, an avowed thaumaturge, displayed an interest in the occult and paranormal. Those unsympathetic to Māʾ al-ʿAynayn have dismissed him as a sorcerer posing as a scholar and have argued that his mysticism was an example of Ṣūfism in decadence. It is clear from the works which he wrote, for example *Madhhab al-makhūf ʿalā daʿwat al-ḥurūf*, where prayers are computed by letters of the alphabet, magic squares and numbers worn as amulets, that the system he used was highly complex and derived from mediaeval systems invented in the Maghrib. The Ḥawḍ is adjacent to Black Africa and has its own tradition of secret scripts. Eleven secret alphabets have been recorded in the Ḥawḍ. Some characters in these scripts represent the numerological value, or a graphic deformation of corresponding Arabic letters, or are based on the skeletal forms of complete Arabic words. Other characters are non-Arabic, possibly Lybico-Berber, and are lunette in shape. One Ḥawḍ script which is particularly rich in Non-Arabic characters is the al-Yāsīnī alphabet, which relates either to Yāsīn, its inventor (ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn the Almoravid?), or to the letters Yāsīn which open Sūra XXXVI in the Ķurʾān. Characters from these Ḥawḍ scripts appear in several lithographical works of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, especially lunette letters. In the Río de Oro, two of these scripts, the *suryāniyya* and the *ʿibrāniyya*, are known among the Ahl Bārikalla. Like Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn found it natural to employ such scripts and alphabets for religious purposes.

Over one hundred miracles are attributed to Māʾ al-ʿAynayn in the *Ķurrat al-ʿaynayn*. They range from the rescue of his books and novices from the flooding of the Sāķiya al-Ḥamrāʾ in 1890 to the exorcism of one of his wives; punishment of robbers by fire; and the illumination of a room by his clothing. Certain of these happenings are patterned on miracles attributed to the Prophet. Nonetheless, they are far too varied to be unconnected with the psychic powers of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, which were acknowledged even by his most bitter opponents. His powers of psychological persuasion were employed to dominate the minds of the Saharawis and to instil a fanatical zeal in the ʿAyniyya and its allies.

3. Al-Shinķīṭī's portrayal. One of the most objective portraits of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn towards the end of his life is offered by Aḥmad b. ʿAmīn al-Shinķīṭī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Wasīṭ* who passed through Ṣmāra on his way to Mecca and wrote his description, first published in 1911, a year after the death of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. This author confirms that the Sāķiya al-Ḥamrāʾ owed its habitations and date groves to Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. He remarks (pp. 365-6 of the 1958 edition) that the latter was learned in the *Sharīʿa*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and *fiķh*, and that he was the only worthy successor to Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr (1780-1869). He thought highly of the moral qualities and character of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, and speaks glowingly of him.

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(H. T. Norris)

MAʿĀD (A.), place of return, a technical term in religious and philosophical vocabulary.

The verb *ʿadā*, *ʿawdan* signifies "to return to a place". Al-Djawharī treats it as a synonym of *radjaʿa*. The action of *ʿawd* is the movement whereby one returns to the point of departure: *radjaʿa ʿalā badʾihi*, or *ilā ḥāfiratihi*, either through a continuous progress, in describing a circle for example, or stopping at a certain point and retracing one's steps (cf. Sībawayh, cited by *LA*), whence the idea of a return to the origin, to the source. The verb *radjaʿa* is used in many Ķurʾānic verses to indicate return to God: "Then He will make you die; then He will make you live; then you will be brought back to Him" (*ilayhi turdjaʿūn*, II, 28). This return takes places after the Resurrection. In the 4th verbal form, *aʿāda* denotes "to recommence, reiterate". This is the sense which it has in the verses where this root is associated with that of *radjaʿa*, for example (XXX, 11): "God begins (*yabdaʾu*) creation; then He repeats it (*yuʿīduhu*); then you will be brought back to Him". Subsequently, God is qualified by the titles *al-Mubdiʾ* and *al-Muʿīd*. These terms are not reserved for God. The Prophet said: "God loves

the *nakal* mounted on a *nakal*". He was asked the meaning of *nakal*. He replies "It is a strong and skilled man who is *mubdiʾ* and *muʿīd*, mounted on a strong and reliable horse which is *mubdiʾ* and *muʿīd*". Abū ʿUbayda explains that the reference is to a man who volunteers for successive military expeditions and returns ceaselessly to the attack. The well-trained and obedient horse earns the same distinctions. It is the notion of this 4th form which is dominant in the Ḳurʾān: resurrection is a recommencement. Theologians in fact mainly speak of *iʿāda* in the sense of a second creation. The idea of return is only implied, to the extent that there must be a return to the point of departure before there can be a recommencement. Thus al-Djuwaynī (*Irshād*, Arabic text, 317, ed. J. D. Luciani, Paris 1938) quotes Ḳurʾān, XXXVI, 78-81, from which he concludes: "That which has been brought back into existence (*al-muʿād*), is the same as that which has been created for the first time". We leave aside the question as to whether substances only, or both substances and accidents are the objects of *iʿāda*. In the *Kitāb Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Istanbul 1928, 232-3, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī shows that the return to existence of something which has been annihilated is possible, and he expresses himself in the same terms as those used by al-Djuwaynī. Consequently, if *iʿāda* is a second creation following death and annihilation, *maʿād* is the place reached by resurrected persons.

But the word *maʿād* is used only once in the Ḳurʾān (*XXVIIII*, 85): "Yes, He who endows you with the gift of Prophecy, it is He who brings you back to a place of return". The term is variously interpreted: some treat it as a synonym of *maṣīr* (place at which one arrives), as in III, 28: "And towards God is the place of arrival"; for others, it is the equivalent of *mardjiʿ* (place to which one returns), as in V, 18: "Towards God is your place of return for all"; or it is identified purely and simply as the Next Life (*al-ākhira*). It should however be noted that the term has been understood in a much more concrete sense: it could denote, according to some, Mecca, whither the Prophet was to return, having conquered the town according to God's promise; in a more general sense, it could be the country where he was born (al-Farrāʾ) or his homeland (Thaʿlab). Finally, the word *muʿād* has been interpreted in terms of the verse II, 125: "And when We made the House (sc. the Kaʿba) a place where one returns (*mathāba*)"; consequently, *mathāba* = *maʿād* = place of Pilgrimage = *ḥadjdj*. In fact, al-Ḳurṭubī explains, a large number of pilgrims and visitors make their way each year to the holy places, and moreover, each one, having left them, desires to return there. Ibn Sīdah retains the two meanings of Pilgrimage and the Last Life. It may be noted that they conform perfectly, since *ḥadjdj* is a departure from the home, involving the leaving of country, goods, family, in order to go to the House of God, which, as al-Ghazālī explains it, prefigures the departure from this earth in order to go to Paradise to see God Himself: seeing the House of God inspires the wish to see the Master of the House. Thus, *maʿād*, etymologically linked to *iʿāda*, taken in the symbolic connection *ḥadjdj-ākhira*, came to refer primarily to the place of return of resurrected persons in the presence of God. It is in this sense that al-Tahānawī associates it with *ḥashr* and *baʿth*, the Assembly for the Last Judgment and the Resurrection. He distinguishes between a physical *maʿād* (*djismānī*), which is the return to life of bodies leaving their tombs, and a spiritual *maʿād* (*rūḥānī*), which consists of the return of spirits restored to their bodies (*iʿādat al-arwāḥ ilā abdānihā*). There can be as many as five doctrines on this subject. The first affirms only the reality of the physical *maʿād*; this, says al-Tahānawī is the approach of the theologians who deny the existence of a rational soul. He is no doubt referring to certain Ḥanbalīs, of whom Ibn Baṭṭa is an example, for whom the words *nafs* and *rūḥ* retained their ancient Semitic sense of vital principle, breath, even blood. Ibn Baṭṭa writes "We must believe in the call which Isrāfīl will utter to make the dead rise from their tombs". H. Laoust mentions in a note a passage of Ibn Taymiyya: "Men will rise from their tombs and appear before their Master, without shoes, all naked and uncircumcised. The sun will approach them and they will bathe in their sweat". (*La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, 94). In regard to the angel of death, Laoust quotes a passage from the *ʿAḳīda*, vi, attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal, where it is said "He catches the souls (*arwāḥ*), which are then restored to the bodies in their tombs". This point of view may be related to that of al-Naẓẓām, as revealed by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī in the *Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, 145: "The twentieth of these disgraceful doctrines is that which concerns *maʿād*, whereby scorpions, snakes, beetles, flies, ravens, dung-beetles, dogs, pigs, wild beasts, insects will be gathered (*tuḥsharu*) on the way to Paradise". In fact, these animals do not have a rational soul, but this does not prevent al-Naẓẓam believing in their *maʿād*.

The second doctrine listed by al-Tahānawī is that which asserts exclusively the spiritual *maʿād*; it is that of the philosophers. It is known that al-Ghazālī was opposed to the idea of survival of the rational soul only. Nevertheless, Ibn Sīnā did attempt to understand in what sense the presence of a sensible human reality in the other life could be philosophically admitted. On this subject, we refer to the thesis of Jean Michot, presented at Louvain-la-Neuve in 1981 (still in manuscript) on *maʿād* in Avicennan thought, where there are to be found minute analyses of the metaphysics and psychology of Ibn Sīnā, based on numerous texts. But it was not only the philosophers who maintained that man is a spirit of which the body is only a "mould" (*ḳālab*). The Muʿtazilī al-Muʿammar, although he is counted al-Tahānawī among the adherents of the third doctrine, thought, according to al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 154, that "man is something other than this sensible body, something living, something knowing, something powerful, which is neither at rest, nor in motion, which is not localised anywhere ..." When asked if he meant that man is in this body, or in Paradise, or in Hell, he replied "I say that he is in the body insofar as he controls it; in Paradise insofar as he enjoys heavenly gifts; in Hell, insofar as he is punished". Al-Naẓẓam also reckoned that man is spirit (*rūḥ*), but by spirit he meant "a rarified body which penetrates (*mutadākhil*) this compact body, the life (*ḥayāt*) entangled in this body" (*Farḳ*, 135). He is therefore closer to the preceding doctrine.

The third doctrine is that which affirms both the resurrection of the body and of the soul when man is restored to life. It is that which is taught by the Ashʿarīs as well as al-Ghazālī, numerous Ṣūfīs and certain Imāmīs for whom man is "two things", the body which is inanimate (*mawāt*) and the spirit which is active, endowed with sensibility and with perception; this is the thesis of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (*Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, i, 125; *Farḳ*, 68). Al-Tahānawī places among the adherents of this doctrine

those who consider that man is "in reality" (*bi 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*) the rational soul, for it is the latter which bears the responsibility of prescribed acts, which obeys or disobeys, which is rewarded or punished. But this soul is linked to a body; also, "when God wills the gathering together of His creatures, He creates for each of the spirits a body (*badan*) to which it is linked and in which it acts freely, as was the case here below. But this is not a question of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*), since it is a case of return (*ʿawd*) to the fundamental parts of the body (*ilā adjzāʾ aṣliyya li 'l-badan*), although this is not in itself the first body, as is made clear in the Word of God (IV, 56): "As often as their skins are burned, We shall give them other skins in exchange".

The last two doctrines are that which denies *maʿād* and that which remains in doubt on the subject. Those who deny it are the "physical philosophers" (*al-falāsifa al-ṭabʿiyyūn*). Galen is mentioned as a representative of the last doctrine. It is clear that the question of *maʿād* is linked to the problem of the nature of man and of the relationship between the soul and the body.

Among the mystics, the idea of *maʿād* is connected to that of ascension and return towards God rather than to that of resurrection and re-creation. Al-Tahānawī quotes the *Kashf al-lugha*: "For the Ṣūfīs, the *maʿād*, they say, are the universal divine names (*asmāʾ-i kullī-yi ilāhī*), like the beginning (*mabdaʾ*), they are the universal names relating to beings in development (*asmāʾ-i kullī-yi kawnī*)".

The arrival in this world of *homo viator* (*sālik*) is accomplished by the route of these second names; his return (*rudjūʿ*) by the route of the first. This definition relates to the concepts of Ibn ʿArabī, for whom the names have two faces, one turned towards God (*ism al-tanzīh*), the other towards the creatures of which they are the "patrons" (*ism al-tashbīh*). Similarly, the arrival and the return evoke the journey from God (*safar ʿan Allāh*) and the journey towards God (*ilā 'llāh*) which concludes, in the view of Ibn ʿArabī, with the journey into God (*fi 'llāh*). Here we have the most profound conception of *maʿād*.

Ismāʿīlī thought also considered *maʿād* an ascension and an elevation (*ṣuʿūd, irtiḳāʾ*). A detailed treatment of this subject is to be found in the book by Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī, entitled *Kanz al-walad* (ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Wiesbaden 1971, ch. 10, 163-205). The concept of *maʿād* is here linked to that of the hierarchies which characterise this type of thought. It involves an ascent towards the spheres of the religious path, (*al-aflāk al-dīniyya*), sphere after sphere and from hierarchical degree to hierarchical degree (*ḥadd*) as far as the final stage, where the government of the world resides. The conditions for salvation are, along with the affirmation of the divine unity, the recognition of the *ḥudūd* and of the service (*khidma*) which is owed to them, obedience to the *Imām*. Al-Ḥāmidī quotes al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī: "Every *ḥadd* is a paradise for the man whose *ḥadd* it is (*li-maḥdūdihi*), if the latter obeys it; it is his punishment, if he disobeys it". *Maʿād* is primarily a cosmic process in which the individual *maʿād* of the Believers is included. "Thus proceeds the progression (*tadarrudj*) in the *maʿād* until the end of time and of moons" (172). (For more details, see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, iv, 203 b, 204 b.) We limit ourselves to pointing out a curious passage (174), where the different degrees of ascension are compared with the successive stages of gestation, as enumerated in the Ḳurʾān (XXII, 5; XXIII, 14).

The notion of *maʿād* is very important in the view of Ibn Sīnā, not only in terms of the destiny of man after death, but also in terms of his life on earth. In fact, God teaches that He "has prepared for those who obey Him a place of return which gives them good fortune (*al-maʿād al-musʿid*, *Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo 1960, ii, 442), which poses the problem of eternal beatitude (*ibid.*, 445). But in this world men are in need of regulation: "It is therefore inevitable that the Prophet took important measures which have remained in the form of usages and laws which he established concerning good things useful to them. On this point there is no doubt, the foundation on which everything rests is that men persist in the knowledge of the Creator and of the *maʿād*; the suppression of this knowledge was the cause which led to forgetfulness of these matters at the expiration of the century following the [life of the] Prophet". For this reason, it is necessary that the acts prescribed by the Law are repeated and follow one another in time and that "they be, when recourse is made to them, linked with certainty to God and the *maʿād*".

It may be recalled finally that the root *ʿāda* is only used, in religious language, to express a return to a place from which one does not come again. This is how it differs from the root *radjaʿa*. In a mystical perspective, Ibn ʿArabī writes most elegantly: "Such is the attainment of lasting beatitude ... And he who has attained it does not come back (*lam yardjiʿ*), for a return (*rudjuʿ*) to the place of the beginning of the voyage would be impossible once the sails have been unfurled" (*Futūḥāt*, iii, 556). This is the doctrine of all Sunnīs, in contrast to that of the Rāfiḍī extremists, such as the disciples of Abū Kāmil or Djābir b. Yazīd al-Djuʿfī, who held belief in the return (*radjʿa*) of the dead to this world before the Resurrection (*Farḳ*, 54, 59). To conclude, it may be noted that the idea of cyclical return, as is found expressed by, for example, al-Bīrūnī in the *Āthār* (ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1923, 177) in connection with the cycle of the Jubilee (*dawr Yūbīl*) which recommences every fifty years following seven sabbatical years, is rendered by the word *radjʿa*. To summarise, the term *maʿād* brings together the two senses of return and recommencement: return to the source of being which is God, and a second creation which is the Resurrection.

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(R. ARNALDEZ)

MAʿADD is a collective name for the northern Arab tribes (see Djazīrat al-ʿARAB (vi) = i, 544b). According to the standard genealogy, Maʿadd was a son of ʿAdnān [*q.v.*]. His son Nizār [*q.v.*] had three sons, Muḍar, Iyād and Rabīʿa, from the first and third of whom most of the northern Arabs claimed descent.

Maʿadd and his descendants are said to have lived for a time in the neighbourhood of Mecca and to have intermarried with Djurhum [*q.v.*]. The name Maʿadd is found in pre-Islamic poets, e.g. in verses of Imruʾ al-Ḳays (ed. Ahlwardt, no. 41, l. 5) and al-Nābigha (ed. Ahlwardt, no. 18, l. 1, 2); but according to Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, i, 90 n., Eng. tr. i, 89 n.), in such verses this may not always be the original reading. The name is also used of some of the tribesmen who had come to settle in Medina towards the end of Muḥammad's life (who are also referred to as Nizār and Muḍar); and in several verses of Ḥassān b. Thābit, Maʿadd is contrasted with the Anṣār (e.g. in Ibn Hishām, 829, 17; further references in Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i, 94 n. Eng. tr. i, 92 n.). Variant

genealogies of ancestors of Maʿadd are given in Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (18/34; 30 f./63 f.), Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* (5-7), and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 115-18). Muḥammad is said to have forbidden the tracing of genealogies beyond Maʿadd (*ibid.*, iv, 112, 118 f.). In a *ḥadīth* Muḥammad commended *al-Maʿaddiyya*, which is said to be the rough clothing (or the way of life) of Maʿadd (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 43; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ʿ-d-d*, *al-libsa al-Maʿaddiyya*).

Bibliography: given in the article, but see also Ṭabarī, i, 671 ff.; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Caskel; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, index (evidence of genealogical disputes).

(W. Montgomery Watt)

MAʿĀFIR (or al-Maʿāfir), the name of a South Arabian tribe, the genealogy of which is given as Yaʿfur b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Humaysaʿ b. ʿAmr b. Yashdjib b. ʿArīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ; they are included among the Ḥimyar.

The name was also given to the territory which the tribe inhabited and this corresponded roughly with the Turkish *ḳaḍāʾ* of Taʿizziyya and the present Yemen Arab Republic province (*ḳaḍāʾ*) of al-Ḥudjariyya (pronounced locally al-Ḥugariyya), itself part of the administrative area (*liwāʾ*) of Taʿizz. In early and mediaeval times it is described as a *mikhlāf*. The Yemeni geographer al-Hamdānī has a great deal of information on the area of al-Maʿāfir and lists the following places in it:

(1) al-Djuwwa (the modern Sūḳ al-Djuʾa between Djabal Ṣalw and Djabal Badw) which was ruled by the family of Dhu 'l-Mughallis belonging to the tribe of Hamdān, who had control of the citadel of the town which had to be ascended by a ladder. At a later date it was under the Marrānids, descendants of ʿUmayr Dhū Marrān, a *ḳayl* of Hamdān, with whom the Prophet was in communication by letter; (2) Djabaʾ in the plain of the same name between Djabal Ṣabir and Djabal Dhakhir. In ancient times, Djabaʾ was the capital of the Maʿāfir territory and the residence of the reigning dynasty of the Āl al-Karandā; (3) Ḥarāza; (4) Ṣuḥāra. Here according to Maslama b. Yūsuf al-Khaywānī were the palaces of the Maʿāfir, the ruins of which are mentioned by al-Hamdānī in Book 8 of the *Iklīl*; (5) ʿAzāza; (6) al-Dumama; (7) Birdād, which belongs to Bilād Ṣabir and lies between Djabal Ṣabir and Djabal Ḥabash, which corresponds to Djabal Dhakhir in al-Hamdānī; (8) Djizla; (9) al-ʿAnsiyayn; (10) Djabal Ṣabir; and (11) Djabal Dhakhir (the modern Ḥabash).

The lands of the Maʿāfir therefore lay between the Wādī Nakhla and the Wādī Ḥarāza and included a considerable part of the Taʿizziyya. The Maʿāfir, however, did not form a compact body, but, especially in the Djabal Ṣabir and Dhakhir, were much mixed with members of other tribes. From the earliest times the Maʿāfir enjoyed a certain reputation as weavers. The Tubbaʿ Asʿad Kāmil, who according to legend was the first to cover the Kaʿba, is said to have hung it with Maʿāfirī cloth. Muḥammad's body is also said to have been wrapped in Maʿāfirī cloth. The tribe has a reputation too for saddle-making.

The history of al-Maʿāfir can be traced far back into the pre-Islamic period. A Sabaean inscription from Ṣirwāḥ dated about 500 B.C., which records the founding of the great Sabaean kingdom, mentions the tribe of Maʿāfir. We know too that an embassy was sent from the town of Sawwā to the Sabaean king at a later date to make submission to him and to beg for peace. Sawwā must at this time have been on the side of Maʿāfir and its prince Shamir Dhū Daydān on the side of the Ḥabashāt, the enemies of Sabaʾ. In 96/630 the Maʿāfir with Dhū Ruʿayn and Hamdān adopted Islam and received a letter from the Prophet Muḥammad with detailed instructions regarding their obligations. At quite an early date in their Islamic history, many of the Maʿāfir migrated to Egypt, where with other South Arabians they played an important part in the building-up of the country. A Maʿāfirī was, for example, put in charge of the planning of al-Fusṭāṭ by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. This migration probably explains the infrequent mention of both the tribe and the area in mediaeval Yemeni historiography. Certainly, the area was controlled by the Ziyādids, the dynasty of Muḥammad b. Ziyād centred on Zabīd, in the 3rd/9th century. The Zurayʿids too in the 6th/12th century reckoned al-Maʿāfir as part of their territory, but it was wrested from them by the Mahdids. It must have fallen to the Ayyūbid conqueror of the Yemen, Tūrān-Shāh, the brother of Saladin, who won over Tihāma and the south of the country in the years 569-71/1173-6. The Ayyūbids' successors, the Rasūlids, built military establishments in al-Maʿāfir in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, and we hear of a rebellion led by the Maʿāfirī tribal leader against the Turkish occupation forces of the Yemen in 1028/1618.

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(A. Grohmann - [G. R. Smith])

AL-MAʿĀFIRĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Djamīl b. Saʿd al-Dīn, an Andalusian Mālikī scholar who settled in Jerusalem and died there in 605/1208. Born and educated in Mālaḳa, al-Maʿāfirī left his native town early in his life and, like many of his compatriots at the time, travelled east for the dual purpose of performing the pilgrimage and acquiring knowledge. Though the sources mention that al-Maʿāfirī did some writing, they do not name any of his works. We know of only one extant work, a unique untitled manuscript in his own handwriting, found at present in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, and listed in the catalogue (ms. 3016) under the title *Biographies of famous women*. The manuscript has eleven chapters, of which the first two and the last two deal with biblical figures· The rest of the chapters (now published in Libya-Tunis 1978, ed. ʿĀʾida al-Ṭībī, under the title *al-Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ghannāʾ fī akhbār al-nisāʾ*), which form the main body of the manuscript, deal with post-Islamic women, mainly from the Umayyad period.

Bearing in mind the general paucity of biographical material about women in mediaeval Arabic literature and, in particular, the limited number of works devoted exclusively to them, this manuscript, with its diverse information, colourful anecdotes and copious verse quotations is, without doubt, especially significant. The overall picture it presents

of the character and status of women in early Islam is unexpectedly refreshing: it is an image of a proud, courageous woman with a keen sense of moral values and a high evaluation of her own worth, a woman who had not as yet succumbed to the disastrous consequences of being segregated from the world of men.

In his manuscript, al-Maʿāfirī mentions that he spent the year 581/1185-6 in Damascus collecting material for this work, his main source being Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāsim (d. 600/1203), son of the illustrious Damascene historian Ibn ʿAsākir. In 583/1187, when Jerusalem was regained from the Crusaders, al-Maʿāfirī must have been among the numerous Muslims who then flocked to the city, for we are told that he was appointed resident preacher of the Aḳṣā Mosque by Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī (*al-Uns al-d̲j̲alīl bi-ta'rīk̲h̲ al-Ḳuds wa 'l-K̲h̲alīl*, Nad̲j̲af 1968, ii, 135) puts him second on the list of those who preached in the Aḳṣā Mosque after the *fatḥ*. Al-Maʿāfirī spent the rest of his life in Jerusalem, where he became known as al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ al-Mālaḳī. There he achieved fame as a scholar and lecturer, and attained a position of wealth and power, but remained none the less devout and given to charitable works. He certainly made a strong impression on the inhabitants of his adopted city, for when he died large numbers followed his cortège. Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākus̲h̲ī (*al-D̲h̲ayl wa 'l-takmila*, Beirut 1965, v/1, 316) relates that "no worthy person was absent from his funeral and even the Christians who were in the church there joined the procession: they threw some of their garments on his coffin and then began to pass them to each other and to hold them to their faces in the hope of being blessed."

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, Madrid 1886, ii, 675; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-ṣila*, Rabat 1937, 104; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *al-ʿIbar fī k̲h̲abar man g̲h̲abar*, Kuwait 1960-6, v, 13; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *al-Nud̲j̲ūm al-zāhira*, Cairo 1929-72, vi, 197; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt al-d̲h̲ahab*, Cairo 1350-1, v, 17. (AIDA TIBI)

MAʿALTHĀYĀ, MAʿALTHĀ (Syriac "gate, entrance", Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, col. 2881), modern Malthai, the name given to two villages in the former *ḳaḍā'* of Dehōk (Duhūk) in the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil in Ottoman times, now in the Autonomous Region of Dehōk in Republican ʿIrāḳ. The second of these two villages was formerly distinguished as Maʿalthā al-Naṣārā "M. of the Christians", but has recently become largely Kurdish and Muslim, like its fellow-village. Maʿalthāyā lies on a small affluent of the Tigris, the Nahr Dehōk, 60 km. northwards along the road from Mawṣil to Zāk̲h̲ō and at the southern end of the D̲j̲abal Abyaḍ. It owes its historic fame to its strategic position as the "entrance" from the plains of northern ʿIrāḳ into the mountains of Kurdistan and the lands south of Lake Van, the modern Turkish *vilayet* of Hakkâri.

Its importance in ancient times is signalled by ts famous rock-reliefs, carved at 300 m. above the valley a short distance from Maʿalthāyā. These comprise four similar panels, each showing twice an Assyrian emperor, in an attitude of worship and on either side of a procession of gods mounted on beasts. There are no inscriptions, but the reliefs are evidently connected with similar reliefs at Bāwiyān some 45 km. to the north-east of Mawṣil and to the east of Maʿalthāyā, and it is now generally accepted that the ruler responsible was the Sargonid Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.), the reliefs probably dating from the early 680s; the basic publications on them are F. Thureau-Dangin, *Les sculptures rupestres de Maltaï*, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxi (1924), 185-97, and W. Bachmann, *Felsenreliefs in Assyrien (Bawian, Malthai und Gundük)*, Wiss. Veröff. der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, lii, Berlin 1927, repr. 1969, 23-7, Pls. 25-31. It has recently been suggested by J. Reade (following a previous suggestion by R. M. Boehmer), *Studies in Assyrian Geography. Part I: Sennacherib and the waters of Nineveh*, in *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, lxxii (1978), 165-6, that the Maʿalthāyā carvings, with their depicted deities, obviously relate to some important event or project, and are possibly to be connected with the construction of watercourses and canals conveying perennial water to the plain of Nineveh.

Maʿalthāyā early became an important centre of Eastern Christianity, and the birthplace of Narses or Narsai (399-?502), founder of the Nestorian school of Nisibis, was in the village of ʿAyn Dulbē near Maʿalthāyā (E. Tisserant, art. *Narsai*, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, xi, cols. 26-30). It was the seat of an episcopal diocese known as either Maʿalthāyā or as Bēth/Bā-Nūhadrā. The line of Nestorian bishops begins in 410 with Isaac and continues till 1265 with Malkīs̲h̲oʿ, apparently the last, whilst the Jacobite line begins with Zakai at the end of the 6th century and continues until Yūḥanna Yob in 1284 (J. B. Chabot, ed. and tr., *Synodicon orientale*, in *Notices et extraits*, xxxvii, Paris 1902, index s.v.; J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, Beirut 1965-8, ii, 342-53). The Assyrian Christian community and its church in Maʿalthāyā of Mār Zīʿā must have suffered during the massacres by the Kurds of Christians and Yezīdīs [*q.v.*] towards the end of the 19th century, and the village seems to have been abandoned by its Christian community *ca.* 1906-7, and the service books and manuscripts of the church transferred to Dehōk (Fiey, *op. cit.*, ii, 675-81).

It had nevertheless been a flourishing place in early Islamic and pre-Mongol times. Al-Balād̲h̲urī, 331, records that al-Mʿla (? Maʿalla) was one of the places, together with Bā Had̲h̲rā, etc., overrun by ʿUmar's general ʿUtba b. Farḳad al-Sulamī in 20/641. The Arabic geographers expatiate on the fertility and agricultural richness of the district of Maʿalthāyā and Fays̲h̲ābūr (= originally, Fīrūzs̲h̲ābūr of Bā Nūhadrā, see Fiey, *op. cit.*, ii, 696 ff.). According to al-Muḳaddasī, it was small but rich in gardens, and it had a Friday mosque (hence already a Muslim community) on a tell; its specialities included dairy products, coal, grapes and fruit, hemp seed and flax, and dried, salted meat (al-Muḳaddasī, 139, 145; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 217-18, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 211-12; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 93, 124). For Yāḳūt, iv, 578, Maʿalthāyā was a "little town" (*bulayd*), but it is possible that this information was already anachronistic by the 7th/13th century.

Maʿalthāyā's position on the route into Kurdistan gave it a certain rôle in mediaeval Islamic history, and it is mentioned several times by e.g. Ibn al-At̲h̲īr. It was a centre for local chiefs and for the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī leader Hārūn in 266-7/879-81 in their squabbles with the Turkish caliphal governors of Mawṣil (ed. Beirut 1385-7/1965-7, vii, 353, 359). In 369/979-80 the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] launched an expedition via this route against the Hakkārī Kurds, and crucified their chiefs along the road from Mawṣil to Maʿalthāyā (viii, 709). In 441/1049-50, during the warfare between the ʿUḳaylid ruler of Mawṣil Muʿtamid al-Dawla Ḳirwās̲h̲ b. al-Muḳallid and his brother Zaʿīm al-Dawla Abū Kāmil Baraka, the former's Kurdish allies marched on Maʿalthāyā and sacked it (ix, 553).

Thereafter, Maʿalthāyā sinks into obscurity on the wider stage of history, until it was visited in the 19th century by G. P. Badger (1842-4), the French Consul in Mawṣil G. Rouet (1845) and A. H. Layard (1846); Badger found there only 20 Assyrian Christian families.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Layard, *Niniveh and its remains*[2], London 1849, i, 231; Badger, *The Nestorians and their rituals*, London 1852, i, 174; V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, Paris 1867, ii, 153, iii, Pl. 45; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 208 and index; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890-5, ii, 835; Gertrude Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, 284; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt, Reisen und Forschungen*, Berlin 1910-31, 369-75; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 115.

(C. E. Bosworth)

MAʿĀN, Muʿān, a town of the south of Jordan, lying in lat. 30° 12' N. and long. 35° 44' E. at an altitude of 3,523 ft./1,074 m., and the chef-lieu of the governorate which is to the south of the Karak [*q.v.*] one and to the east of the Wādī ʿAraba. The name is said to come from Maʿān, son of Lot.

The town is surrounded by gardens which form an oasis of the western fringe of the desert plain; to its east are the slopes of the al-Sharāt mountain chain of granite and porphyry, which rise to 5,665 ft./1,727 m. In Maʿan itself and the neighbourhood are many springs, the nearest of these being ʿAyn al-Dawāwī, whose water reaches Maʿān through an underground conduit, whilst a second conduit carries water from ʿAyn al-Djiṭṭa as far al-Ḥammām to the north of Maʿān.

In the prehistoric period there were people in the region, as Palaeolithic remains attest. When nomadism and international trade developed, Maʿān became an important meeting-place for communications, through which the leading natural route from southwestern Arabia to Damascus and the ports of Phoenicia passed, i.e. the route for Sabaean trade. A track connected the Gulf of ʿAḳaba with Maʿān, whence routes went northwards to Moab. The caravan route of al-Nawala went to the west in the direction of Ghazza and northern Egypt, and another track went southeastwards via the Dūmat al-Djandal oasis to Babylonia and the Persian Gulf.

The Syrian route of the Islamic Pilgrimage followed towards Mecca the old Tabūkiyya track, hence twice a year, on the outward and the return journeys, Maʿān was a privileged halt for pilgrims, who could stock up there with provisions. In the 19th century, it became a station on the Ḥidjāz railway. Its place as a crossroads and its abundant water supply have meant that Maʿān has always remained a vigorous centre of human settlement despite innumerable attacks from nomads. It was, as Jaussen noted "le rendez-vous des caravanes sortant de l'Arabie". During the 1st millennium B.C., the oasis apparently, according to Musil, 244, was controlled by the powers dominating the great trade routes, and had a South Arabian colony, Sabaean or Minaean, with a South Arabian governor who watched lest the local chiefs adopt measures hostile to the Sabaean or Minaean ruler; Musil further notes that in the second half of the 8th century B.C., an Assyrian army penetrated beyond the Maʿān oasis.

Classical sources hardly mention Maʿān, probably because the great international trade was concentrated on the emporium of Petra. In the Byzantine period, Maʿān formed part of the territory of the South Arabian tribe of Djudhām [*q.v.*]. Al-Bakrī, cited by Musil, 247, narrates that Farwa b. ʿAmr of Djudhām governed Maʿān on behalf of the Byzantine Emperor, but became a Muslim, rallying to the Prophet and presenting him with a white mule; in retaliation, the Byzantines threw him into prison and then killed him by crucifixion.

At the time of the expansion of Islam, Maʿān acquired a certain importance as a strong point of the al-Sharāt district in the *djund* of al-Urdunn, at the eastern end of the road which linked it to the sea via Petra, the massifs of al-Sharāt, Ṣughār, Arīḥā, al-Ḳuds and Ramla in a six days' journey. At this time it was inhabited by the Banū Umayya and their freedmen, from whom travellers could obtain provisions. In Mamlūk times, it became the chef-lieu of a *niyāba* and was a lively market for slaves; according to various authors, it formed a *manzil* (Ibn Khurradādhbih), a *manhal* (al-Muḳaddasī) or a *markaz* along the Pilgrimage route. In the 18th century, at the time of the return of the Pilgrimage, the *kātib al-ḥadjdj* was sent from Maʿān to Damascus to reassure the inhabitants about the safety of the pilgrims.

The modern town of Maʿān is still made up of two distinct, adjacent entities. To the north, Maʿān al-Ṣaghīra or al-Shāmiyya, sometimes called al-Maghāra, had in 1910 110 families. To the south, Maʿān al-Kabīra or al-Miṣriyya, also called al-Ḥidjāziyya, had, according to Musil, 180 families. It was also called Maʿān al-Mudīriyya when it became the seat of a governor, who resided in a palace allegedly built by Sultan Sulaymān; there is there a residence for the *ḳaymaḳām*, who in Ottoman times depended on the governor of Bilād al-Shām.

A certain amount of agricultural production has long been a feature of Maʿān, thanks to the oasis's permanent irrigation system; grown there are vegetables and fruit, amongst which are most prized apricots, pomegranates and peaches; date palms and poplars also grow there. To the southeast of Maʿān, in the sparse wadis of the uncultivated steppe lands, strewn with blocks of lava and basalt, a few acacias (*ṭalḥ*) grow, these being known as *umm ʿayyāsh*, with their wood used for making various household utensils. This species of tree is not found north of Maʿān.

At present, the town forms the chef-lieu of the governorate of Maʿān, 688 km.^{2} in extent, whose population in 1961 was 47,000, in 1967 58,000, and in 1973 62,000. The town itself with its fired and mud-brick houses, its narrow streets with infrequent and low doorways, its decayed railway station and its airport meant for tourists travelling to Petra, is of no archaeological interest. Its population was estimated in 1912 at 3,000 (Baedeker); in 1932 at 3,000 still (*Guide Bleu*). It was 4,500 in 1956, and in 1973 reached 9,500.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, s.v.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, London 1929, 72; A. Sprenger, *Der Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, 118-19; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 39, 508; R. Brunnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, Strasbourg 1905, i, 470, ii, 1-3, 281; iii, 216-17; Baedeker, *Palestina und Syria*, 1912, 147; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 9-10, 130, 237; A. Musil, *The northern Heǵâz, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1926, 326-30; G. Lankester Harding, *The*

antiquities of Jordan, revised ed., London 1967, 21, 35, 52, 138-40; A. K. Rafeq, *The province of Damascus 1723-1783*, Beirut 1966, 64, 213.

(N. Elisséeff)

AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA 'L-BAYĀN, two of the three categories into which, since the time of al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), the study of rhetoric has often been divided.

1. In Arabic. The *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* by al-Sakkākī [*q.v.*], where the two terms appear for the first time, was too confusing in its arrangement, and too obscure and at times self-contradictory to be of practical use to most students of rhetoric. It consisted of a section on grammar, a section on syntax, a section on the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān*, and two supplements to its *maʿānī* section, one on demonstration (*istidlāl*), and one on the definition of the formal aspects of poetry and on metre and rhyme. The section on grammar included a chapter on phonetics and the supplement on the *istidlāl* ended with a discussion of the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān. Probably for this reason, the digest of the third section of the *Miftāḥ* by al-Ḳazwīnī (also known as the Khaṭīb Dimashḳ, d. 739/1338), entitled *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* and, to a lesser extent, its companion volume, the *Īḍāḥ fī ʿulūm al-balāgha* by the same scholar, became the standard works on the subject. These two books, both compendia on rhetoric only, received wide circulation and it is through them that the study of the *maʿānī* and the *bayān* can be most profitably approached. The main differences between al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Sakkākī have been explained in the article AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ; here it should be pointed out that the addition of a section on the *badīʿ* to replace al-Sakkākī's remarks on the "special methods frequently used for the purpose of embellishing a literary composition" does not go back to al-Ḳazwīnī, but to Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik (d. 686/1287) (see Maṭlūb, al-*Ḳazwīnī*, 205), whose books were earlier, apparently less successful attempts to present al-Sakkākī's theories in a more readable form (see below). Whereas these "embellishments" received no more than a brief and superficial treatment in al-Sakkākī, they soon became in the hands of his followers a separate branch of rhetoric which was raised to the same level as the *maʿānī* and the *bayān*.

The present article aims at providing a few practical hints by way of introduction to the vast and little-known literature on the *maʿānī* and the *bayān* which is represented chiefly by commentaries and supra-commentaries on al-Ḳazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ*. The *badīʿ* section cannot be discussed here. This section continues the older tradition of rhetorical studies initiated by Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Ḳudāma [*q.vv.*], but does not include those figures of speech, tropes, and stylistic devices which al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī had already discussed under *maʿānī* or *bayān*, e.g. simile, metaphor, analogy, metonymy, epiphrasis (*īghāl*) and apostrophe (*iltifāt*) (the last of which is listed by al-Sakkākī both as an "embellishment" and as one of the subjects that come under the *maʿānī*, see *Miftāḥ*, 95, 202; see also Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 242-7, 259, 263, for the possible relation between this "embellishment" section and the *Kitāb Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr fī daḳāʾiḳ al-shiʿr* by the Persian scholar, Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, d. 578/1182-3). Nor does it include the *ibtidāʾ* [*q.v.*], the *takhalluṣ* [*q.v.*], the *intihāʾ* [*q.v.*], and the *sariḳāt* [*q.v.*] which al-Ḳazwīnī discusses in two supplements (see Mehren, 142-54), though many authors belonging to the older school would have classified them as *badīʿ*. It should be noted, however, that the practice of separating some of these figures from the corpus of the *badīʿ* dates back at least till the 5th/11th century (see S. A. Bonebakker, *A Fatimid manual for secretaries*, in *AIUON*, xxxvii [1977], 310-12) and may have been initiated by al-Rummānī (d. 384/994), though the latter when he speaks of metaphor and simile as part of the *balāgha* [*q.v.*] does not state explicitly that these are not to be considered *badīʿ* figures (see al-Rummānī, *al-Nukat fī iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, in *Thalāth rasāʾil*, ed. M. Khalaf Allāh and M. Z. Salām, Cairo n.d., 70, ll. 3-4, and the quotation in Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1353/1934, i, 214). It should also be noted that it is not correct to think of the history of rhetorical studies since the time of al-Ḳazwīnī as being completely dominated by the system he had introduced; works continuing the older tradition which brought all figures of speech under the heading of *badīʿ* and devoted a separate chapter to each figure [see BADĪʿ] continued to be written (they were especially popular in North Africa and Spain, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 292-3 = Ibn Khaldūn-Rosenthal, 2nd ed. 1967, iii, 336-8), even though their authors were aware of, and probably influenced by, the new trend represented by the *Talkhīṣ* (Ibn Khaldūn suggests that the *Miftāḥ* was the basic text). In many respects, the later history of Arabic rhetoric presents essential, but still unanswered, questions.

Finding adequate translations of the terms *maʿānī* and *bayān* is made complicated by the fact that the relation between grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and between literary theory and literary criticism, is not apparent at first sight. Moreover, the borderline separating the disciplines dealing with these two categories, the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān*, is not always clear. In the *Miftāḥ*, the definitions overlap, and al-Sakkakī himself seems to regard the *ʿilm al-bayān* as a branch of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (see *Miftāḥ*, 77, 156-7, and cf. 77, lines 4-3 from bottom; see also Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī in *Shurūḥ*, iii, 261-2 and Maṭlūb, al-*Sakkākī*, 131-5). It is not surprising that al-Ḳazwīnī felt the need to criticise and reword these definitions and rearrange some of the material. Considering the etymology of the term *bayān* and the definition which al-Ḳazwīnī gives of the *ʿilm al-bayān* as "the science through which one knows how to express one and the same concept in ways which differ as to the degree of clarity achieved in indicating this concept" ([*huwa*] *ʿilm*^un^ *yuʿrafu bihi īrādu 'l-maʿnā 'l-wāḥidi bi-ṭuruḳ*^in^ *mukhtalifat*^in^ *fī wuḍūḥi 'l-dalālati ʿalayhi*, *Talkhīṣ*, 66 = *Shurūḥ*, iii, 257 ff.; see Mehren, 18-20, 53-4 and BAYĀN, i, 1116a bottom) and its association with the *faṣāḥa* [*q.v.*] which involves, among other things, avoiding obscurity (*taʿḳīd*) in sentence structure (*naẓm*) and in the relation between statement and theme (*intiḳāl*, *Talkhīṣ*, 5, 7 = *Shurūḥ*, i, 103 ff., 150; see Mehren, 15-18), the translation "Science of exposition" (Mehren, 20: "Darstellungslehre") seems justified; but if one keeps in mind that the *ʿilm al-bayān* deals only with the simile (*tashbīh*) (as an introduction to the discussion of the metaphor), the metaphor (*istiʿāra*) [*q.v.*], the analogy (*tamthīl*), the metonymy (*kināya*) [*q.v.*] and the allusion, statement by implication (*taʿrīḍ*), the translation "Science of figurative expression" seems more appropriate.

Even more confusing is the term *maʿānī*, since what is meant is not the study of subjects and themes in poetry (as found in such works as the *Kitāb al-*

Maʿānī al-kabīr of Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*] or the *Dīwān al-Maʿānī* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī [d. *ca.* 400/1009]), nor a study of lexicography, but essentially a study of those rules of syntax which have a bearing on the theory of functional, appropriate style, or as al-Ḳazwīnī puts it, "finding the proper expression to meet what is required in a given situation" (the full definition of the *ʿilm al maʿānī* is "the science through which one knows the various existing patterns of Arabic speech by means of which it meets the requirements of each situation", [*huwa*] *ʿilmᵘⁿ yuʿrafu bihi aḥwālu 'l-lafẓi 'l-ʿarabiyyi 'llatī bihā yuṭābiḳu muḳtaḍā 'l-ḥāli*); the translation "Semantics of syntax" suggests itself (cf. BAYĀN, i, 1116a: "the different kinds of sentence and their use").

The awkwardness of the terms *maʿānī* and *bayān* and the difficulty of finding proper definitions for the two disciplines, *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and *ʿilm al-bayān*, particularly in their relationship to lexicography and grammar, has not escaped the mediaeval critics (see the interesting observations in Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza's *Ṭirāz*, i, 8-18), and one wonders what determined the choice of these terms. The *maʿānī* and *bayān* sections in the *Miftāḥ* were based respectively on the *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz* and the *Asrār al-balāgha* by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [see AL-DJURDJĀNĪ in Suppl.], and it is in these two works that one would first try to find an answer to this question. On p. 64 of the *Dalāʾil*, al-Djurdjānī makes clear that composition (*naẓm*) depends on obeying the rules of syntax (which he briefly enumerates), and on p. 65 he declares that determining a correct or faulty *naẓm* always involves a principle of syntax (*maʿnan min maʿānī 'l-naḥw*). On p. 222, ll. 4-5 of the *Asrār* (Ritter's tr., 261 bottom) he qualifies the simile as *maʿnan min al-maʿānī*, apparently meaning a way of formulating a common syntactic construction. It is possible that al-Sakkākī derived the term from al-Djurdjānī's definition of the *naẓm* as essentially a matter of correct syntax, the more so since the chapter on the *maʿānī* in the *Miftāḥ* immediately follows the section on syntax, so that the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* could be seen as an extension of syntax into the realm of rhetoric. It is also possible that he based himself on an earlier model: The term *maʿānī al-naḥw* appears in the famous discussion between Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī and Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus al-Ḳunnāʾī which took place in 320/932 (see Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Muḳābasāt*, ed. Ḥ. al-Sandūbī, Cairo 1347/1929, 80; idem, *al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, ed. A. Amīn and A. al-Zayn, Cairo 1373/1953, i, 121; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii, 117; D. S. Margoliouth in *JRAS* [1905], 122), but seems to be used there for grammar in its widest sense. Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) in his *al-Ṣāḥibī* (ed. M. el-Chouémi, Beirut 1383/1964, 179) uses the term *maʿānī al-kalām* for the following categories: *khabar*, *istikhbār*, *amr*, *nahy*, *duʿāʾ*, *ṭalab*, *ʿarḍ*, *taḥḍīḍ*, *tamannī*, and *taʿadjdjub*, nearly all of which appear also in the *maʿānī* chapters of al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī. The term *naẓm* may have been abandoned because it was too general and had to be associated, as al-Djurdjānī states clearly on pp. 300-1 of the *Dalāʾil*, with the use of the *istiʿāra*, the *kināya*, and the *tamthīl* as well as other tropes (*sāʾir ḍurūb al-madjāz*). It should be noted, however, that al-Ḳazwīnī (*Īḍāḥ*, i, 57-8) and al-Taftāzānī (*al-Sharḥ al-muṭawwal*, 27) quote a definition which gives the term a narrow sense and which was based on al-Djurdjānī (cf. *Dalāʾil*, 67-9). However that may be, one cannot deny that there is a certain logic in the new arrangement introduced by al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī as long as one sees the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* as a set of rather strict rules governing the art of correct sentence structure, the purpose of which was to demonstrate that changes in word order almost invariably lead to changes in meaning; the *ʿilm al-bayān* as an analysis of figurative expressions which, one might argue, the writer is free to use but which, since they are the product of his creativity and often lend clarity and distinction to his style, are by necessity part of any theory of style; and the *ʿilm al-badīʿ* as a list of "embellishments" which are not essential criteria of a good style, but which are nevertheless applied quite frequently. It is conceivable that al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī tried to programme the study of rhetoric in such a way that the reader would become familiar first with the elementary skills of composition, then with the characteristics of literature as a form of art, and finally with some stylistic devices used by accomplished poets and writers. It is true that much of what comes under the heading of *ʿilm al-maʿānī* is syntax or formal logic; but very often one finds that these statements of rules and principles explain how the speaker ought to convey a certain mood which requires him to emphasise, exaggerate, play on the hearer's imagination, or conform to a given situation by making tacit assumptions about what is known or acceptable to his audience, etc. This unquestionably draws the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* into the sphere of rhetoric and oratory. The use of the term *bayān* may reflect the view that metaphors should be used since they are sometimes more effective than terms used in their proper sense. Or the term may have been chosen simply because it was often associated with this aspect of *balāgha* (see BAYĀN, i, 1114a; see also al-Rummānī, *al-Nukat*, 79, l. 12 and cf. *A Fatimid manual*, 313-19: al-Rummānī speaks of the metaphor as leading to a *balāghat bayān* not possible if the proper term were used). One could suggest that al-Sakkākī had in mind the formulation of a concept in an unconventional, artful manner (and as such different from the common methods described in the *maʿānī* chapter) (cf. BAYĀN, i, 1116a bottom; cf. also *al-Nukat*, 98, ll. 2-15, and *A Fatimid manual*, 317, l. 12—318, l. 11), but no other examples of *bayān* being used specifically as a term for figurative expressions are known to exist: The terms *maʿānī* and *bayān* appear in al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]) *al-Kashshāf* and in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]) *Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz*. Al-Zamakhsharī made frequent use of al-Djurdjānī, and al-Rāzī's *Nihāya* is actually a digest of al-Djurdjānī. But both authors use the terms in too vague a way to justify any conclusions, and, consequently, al-Sakkākī, who knew both the *Kashshāf* and the *Nihāya*, cannot have derived his definitions from these two books. He speaks however of "scholars" or "leaders" in the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* without specifying who they are (*Miftāḥ*, 95, 119, 121; see Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 119-20), and this could of course be taken as an indication that he was not the first to introduce *maʿānī* as a term for a more or less clearly defined category of rhetorical studies.

How difficult it is to keep the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān* completely separated appears from the treatment of the *madjāz* as part of the chapter on attribution (*isnād*) in the *maʿānī* section of the *Talkhīṣ* (10-13 = *Shurūḥ*, i, 224-72; cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Asrār*, 342-5 = 399-402 of the translation): al-Ḳazwīnī discusses sentences such as "The springtime made the herbage come forth" for "God made the herbage come forth" where there is a "trope of the intellect"

(*madjāz ʿaklī*), i.e. the hearer's realisation that it is the Creator who makes the herbage come forth, while the terms "springtime" and "made [the herbage] come forth" are used in their original sense; and "The springtime made the earth come to life" where there is not only a trope of the intellect in the relation between subject and predicate, but also a tropical use of "made [the earth] come to life" for "covered [the earth] with herbage". Al-Ḳazwīnī points out that the hearer cannot do without a "frame of reference" (*ḳarīna*) supplied by an element in the context or the result of logical reflection which enables him to understand that the sentences are not to be taken in their literal meaning (see Maṭlūb, *al-Ḳazwīnī*, 355-71, for views on this point by al-Ḳazwīnī's predecessors and followers; see also Mehren, 30-1, 75-6). However, al-Ḳazwīnī gives no further attention in this section to the association that makes it possible to use "come to life" in the sense of "come forth", since this is a question that belongs to the *ʿilm al-bayān*. It would be wrong, however, to see the *ʿilm al-bayān* as a science that is exclusively concerned with individual words used metaphorically in a certain context (involving, of course, once more a discussion of the *ḳarīna*) and of the associations which make such metaphors acceptable (cf. *Miftāḥ*, 157, ll. 3-5): in phrases such as "I see you advancing one foot while at the same time moving backwards with the other", which are intended as analogies (*tamthīl*), the words are used in their original, proper meaning, though the sentence as a whole is used metaphorically to describe somebody who is reluctant to commit himself (*Talkhīṣ*, 86 = *Shurūḥ*, iv, 143 ff.; see Mehren, 38-9); and in the metonymy "He has many ashes [around his hearth]" there is no need to attribute a tropical sense to any term in the sentence in order to conclude that what the speaker wants to say is that the man often prepares meals and therefore must be a generous person who entertains many guests (*Talkhīṣ*, 92 = *Shurūḥ*, iv, 256 ff.; see Mehren, 41-2). Moreover, al-Ḳazwīnī considers the *istiʿāra* as essentially a form of simile (*tashbīh*) (67 = *Shurūḥ*, iii, 287 ff.; see Mehren, 53-4; this theory may go back to al-Rummānī, *al-Nukat*, 79, ll. 5-10, see Heinrichs, *The hand*, 14, 41, and Bonebakker, *A Fatimid manual*, 313-14, and was adopted by al-Sakkākī's contemporary, al-Muṭarrizī [d. 610/1213], see Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza, *Ṭirāz*, i, 260-1 and Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 175, as well as by al-Sakkākī himself, *Miftāḥ*, 157, ll. 22 ff.), and therefore introduces a detailed chapter on the *tashbīh* in the *bayān* section before dealing with the *istiʿāra*. The *maʿānī* chapter, however, also deals briefly with the simile when it analyses the inversion (*ḳalb*) which, if applied to the simile, results in a hyperbole (*Talkhīṣ*, 27 = *Shurūḥ*, i, 488-9, and the *tashbīh maḳlūb* chapter in *Talkhīṣ*, 74 = *Shurūḥ*, iii, 407 ff.; see Mehren, 24-5, 68-9). Finally, as mentioned earlier, the *maʿānī* chapter includes figures (e.g. *iltifāt*, *tawshīʿ*, *ighāl*, *tadhyīl*, *takmīl* or *iḥtirās*, *tatmīm* and *iʿtirāḍ*) which scholars following the older schools would have identified as *badīʿ*. In making these figures part of the *maʿānī* chapter, al-Ḳazwīnī may have been the first to separate them from the corpus of the *badīʿ* (see Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 138; idem, *al-Ḳazwīnī*, 316).

The works by al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī and their school cannot stand comparison with the two books by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī on which they were based. On the surface, the chapters on the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān* appear as nothing more than digests of al-Djurdjānī, the *maʿānī* sections, generally speaking, corresponding to the *Dalāʾil* and the *bayān* sections to the *Asrār*. Whereas in al-Djurdjānī the relation of his theories to the practice of literary criticism is always clear, his followers seem to be interested only in presenting a skeleton of these theories and in finding convenient means of recognising and classifying patterns of syntax and figurative expressions, and in offering concise definitions. It is easy to see that al-Djurdjānī's attention to detail, and his method of discussing the same problem in different contexts and handling it from different angles, should have invited attempts to offer his arguments and conclusions in a more convenient form. Still, the foundations laid by al-Djurdjānī and his psychological and logical analysis of literature as a work of art were not entirely obscured, and this is no doubt the reason why al-Sakkākī's unsuccessful attempt to subject the two works to a rigid system of classification and al-Ḳazwīnī's subsequent effort to make an intelligible, though extremely concise, revision and digest of al-Sakkākī gave rise to an extensive literature of commentaries and supra-commentaries (al-Ḳazwīnī's *Īḍāḥ* did not go far enough to clarify his *Talkhīṣ*). One admires the critical acumen and profound learning that characterise this literature and its concern to do full justice to every point of view, in spite of much casuistry in the classification of categories and the choice of technical terms. Outstanding examples are the two commentaries on the *Talkhīṣ* by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390), the *Sharḥ muṭawwal* and the *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar* (see *EI*¹, art. AL-TAFTĀZĀNĪ for other titles used for the same works).

In the prefaces to the *Talkhīṣ* and the *Īḍāḥ*, al-Ḳazwīnī informs us that he has changed the arrangement of al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ*, had recourse to al-Djurdjānī's *Dalāʾil* and to his *Asrār* (both quoted in the *Talkhīṣ* and the *Īḍāḥ*), as well as to other texts which he does not specify, and included some of his own ideas. According to Maṭlūb (*al-Ḳazwīnī*, 191-228), he used Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Djurdjānī (d. 392/1001), Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Khafādjī (d. 466/1073) (on al-Khafādjī's *Sirr al-faṣāḥa*, see FAṢĀḤA, ii, 824b-825b), al-Zamakhsharī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) [*q.v.*], Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ (d. 654/1256), Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, and he may have used al-Rummānī. Other digests of the *Miftāḥ* which, if we may believe Ibn Khaldūn (see the passage quoted above), included a digest of the rhetorical section of the *Miftāḥ* by al-Sakkākī himself, apparently did not meet with the same measure of success. The same al-Taftāzānī who composed the *Sharḥ muṭawwal* and the *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar* wrote his own commentary on the *Miftāḥ* which survives in manuscript (Sellheim, 307). Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik wrote a *Miṣbāḥ fi 'khtiṣār al-miftāḥ* which should not be confused with his *Miṣbāḥ fi 'l-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān* (Sellheim, 315, 333, correcting Brockelmann). The latter work has been recognised by Ahlwardt (no. 7249, pp. 394b-396a) and Sellheim (316) as an independent system of rhetoric, though it may have been influenced by the "standardisation" established by al-Sakkākī. Maṭlūb (*al-Sakkākī*, 382) goes farther and finds that the *Miṣbāḥ* is no more than a "reduced size copy" of the *Miftāḥ*, though in his book on al-Ḳazwīnī (90-1, cf. also 160, 229) he points out some important differences between the two texts. In addition, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik wrote a book with the title *Rawḍ al-adhhān fī ʿilm al-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān* which was used by Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 773/1372) [*q.v.*] in his *ʿArūs al-afrāḥ fī*

sharḥ talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ (see *Shurūḥ*, i, 30, 159, 376 and elsewhere) and is preserved in a manuscript in Leiden (see Maṭlūb, *al-Ḳazwīnī*, 92, 684). According to Maṭlūb, it was written before the (second) *Miṣbāḥ* and was like its companion volume essentially a digest of the *Miftāḥ*, the first such text to reach Egypt. The substantial agreement between the *Miṣbāḥ* and the *Miftāḥ* appears clearly from a comparison of the definitions of the *maʿānī* and the *bayān* and, to a lesser extent, from a comparison of the tables of contents. Where the two books show an important difference is in the use of the term *badīʿ* (see above) and in the detailed treatment which the *badīʿ* receives in the *Miṣbāḥ* (which falls outside the scope of this article).

Much more interesting as an independent study of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān* than Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik's *Miṣbāḥ* is another little-known work, the *Ṭirāz al-mutaḍammin li-asrār al-balāgha wa-ʿulūm ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-iʿdjāz* of al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī (d. 747/1346; see Brockelmann II, 186, S II, 242). A curious aspect of this book is that the author apparently knew neither the two books by al-Djurdjānī nor al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ* and that it cannot be precisely determined where he found the quotations from the *Miftāḥ* which so much influenced his thinking (see Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 359-60). In the preface (i, 3-4), he acknowledges that he used the *Mathal al-sāʾir* by [Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn] Ibn al-Athīr, "the *Tibyān* by the *shaykh* ʿAbd al Karīm", the *Nihāyat [al-idjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz]* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (which, as mentioned earlier, was a compendium of the *Dalāʾil* and the *Asrār*), and the *Miṣbāḥ* of Ibn Sirādj (*sic*) al-Mālikī. Maṭlūb (*al-Sakkākī*, 358-9) does not seem to be in any doubt that this last work is identical with the *Miṣbāḥ fi 'khtiṣār al-miftāḥ* of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, and believes that it was from this abridged version of the *Miftāḥ* that Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza derived his knowledge of al-Sakkākī. He apparently also feels certain that the work by ʿAbd al-Karīm is the *Tibyān* of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. al-Zamlakānī (d. 651/1253; see also Maṭlūb's ed. of this work [Baghdād 1383/1964], 17). Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza quotes several other important authors, such as Abu 'l-Ḥasan (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim?) al-Āmidī (d. 370/980-1), al-Rummānī, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, al-Muṭarrizī, and al-Khafādjī, of whose works, however, he may not have had direct knowledge. He must also have been thoroughly familiar with al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* (a work that gives much attention to the stylistic excellence of the Ḳurʾān and made use of al-Djurdjānī), since the *Ṭirāz* was intended as an introduction to the author's lectures on the *Kashshāf* (i, 5). The work has a much wider scope than the works by al-Sakkākī, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, and al-Ḳazwīnī: Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza explains his views in great detail and offers copious examples. That the *Ṭirāz* was not an imitation of any of these earlier texts is clear also from its arrangement: Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza divides his work into three lengthy "subjects" or chapters (*funūn*), a series of introductory remarks (i, 8), a chapter dealing with the *bayān*, the *maʿānī*, and the *badīʿ* (i, 183), and a third chapter dealing with the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān (iii, 213). The second chapter, which interests us here, deals first with the *istiʿāra*, the *tashbīh* (which Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza considers a subject far more complicated than the *istiʿāra*), the *kināya*, the *taʿrīḍ*, and the *tamthīl*. Next come two sections qualified as belonging to the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (cf. i, 196), the first of which deals with the semantics (*dalālāt*) of individual words and sentences (ii, 9), and the second with matters of style (ii, 221) as far as these two can be kept apart (cf. ii, 221-2). The chapter ends with a discussion of the *badīʿ* (ii, 353).

As noted earlier, there are numerous commentaries on the *Talkhīṣ*, as well as supra-commentaries and glosses. An authoritative and informative list of many of these, with valuable information on manuscripts, appears in Sellheim, 310-15. A collection of commentaries which comprises not only al-Ḳazwīnī's *Īḍāḥ* and al-Taftāzānī's *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar*, but also the *Mawāhib al-fattāḥ* of Ibn Yaʿḳūb al-Maghribī (wrote 1108/1696; see Brockelmann, S I, 518, m), the *ʿArūs al-afrāḥ* of Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī (see above), and the *Ḥāshiya* of the *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ʿArafa al-Dasūḳī (d. 1230/1815; see Brockelmann, II, 84, S II, 98 and Maṭlūb, *al-Ḳazwīnī*, 592-7) was published in Cairo in 1937 (and earlier in Būlāḳ in 1318/1900-1, according to Brockelmann, S I, 516, 3a) in four volumes. Mention should also be made of the *Sharḥ ʿuḳūd al-djumān fī ʿilm al-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) [*q.v.*], a versification of the *Talkhīṣ* to which the author himself wrote a commentary, and the well-known commentary on the verses quoted in the *Talkhīṣ* known as the *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ ʿalā* (or: *fī sharḥ*) *shawāhid al-talkhīṣ* by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 963/1556), both of which were printed in several editions (see Brockelmann, I, 296, S I, 519).

The popularity which the system of al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī has enjoyed to this day is shown by such works as the edition by M. ʿA. Khafādjī of al-Ḳazwīnī's *Īḍāḥ*, Cairo 1368-70/1949-51, which contains extensive notes on the interpretation of the text and the history of the genre, and by modern works on the *maʿānī* and the *bayān* such as the *Bughyat al-īḍāḥ li-talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* of ʿA. al-Ṣaʿīdī, Cairo 1380/1960?, in four volumes and the *Djawāhir al-balāgha fi 'l-maʿānī wa'l-bayān wa 'l-badīʿ* by A. al-Hāshimī, Cairo 1379/1960, a work intended for school use. Other works are listed by Maṭlūb in his book on al-Ḳazwīnī (613-17). A complete survey of literature based directly or indirectly on al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī remains to be written; it should include such interesting works as the unpublished *Badīʿiyyat al-ʿumyān* by Ibn Djābir (d. 780/1378), a didactic poem based on the *badīʿ* section of the *Īḍāḥ* with a commentary by Ibn Djābir's friend, al-Ruʿaynī (d. 779/1377; see Brockelmann, II, 13, 111, S II, 6, 138), the *Badīʿiyya* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. around 750/1349; see Brockelmann, II, 159, S II, 199) which lists, among the works consulted by the author, the *Miftāḥ* and works based on the *Miftāḥ*, and *badīʿiyyas* by other authors that might contain elements of the same tradition.

An excellent summary of the *ʿilm al-bayān* and the *ʿilm al-badīʿ* is found in Mehren's *Rhetorik*. Mehren based himself on the *Talkhīṣ*, the two commentaries by al-Taftāzānī, and the *ʿUḳūd* by al-Suyūṭī. Other texts were known to the author and occasionally used by him (see pp. iv-v and 3-13). Mehren also dealt briefly with the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (18-19), but apparently gave up his plans to deal with this discipline in a separate publication (p. v). However, the technical terms in the *maʿānī* chapters, as far as they pertain to rhetoric, are sometimes the same as those of the *bayān* which are adequately explained in Mehren; or they are common *badīʿ* terms which can be identified in handbooks composed by authors who followed the "older" school, such as the *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr* of Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, ed. Ḥ. M. Sharaf, Cairo 1383/1963.

Another useful introduction is the article by M. Weisweiler, *ʿAbdalqāhir al-Curcānī's Werk über die Unnachahmlichkeit des Korans und seine syntaktisch-stilistischen Lehren*, in *Oriens*, xi/1-2 (1958), 77-121, which, though intended as a summary of the *Dalāʾil*, can be used as a study of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and thus makes up in a large measure for the omission of this section from Mehren's book.

Bibliography (for more detailed information on existing editions of Arabic texts listed in the article or in this bibliography, see Brockelmann and the relevant articles in *EI*[1] and *EI*[2]): ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1367/1947-8; idem, *Asrār al-balāgha*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954; idem, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst des ʿAbdalqāhir al-Curcānī*, übersetzt von H. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1959; al-Sakkākī, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, Cairo 1356/1937; Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Miṣbāḥ fī ʿilm al-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān wa 'l-badīʿ*, Cairo 1341/1923; al-Ḳazwīnī, Djalāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khaṭīb Dimashḳ, *Matn al-talkhīṣ fī ʿilm al-balāgha*, Cairo n.d. (Maṭbaʿat ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī); Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, ed. K. K. Bakrī and ʿA. Abu 'l-Nūr, Cairo 1968, i, 200-14; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 473-9, 1762-8 (= Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 402-13, vi, 15-26); A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen-Vienna 1853 (repr. Hildesheim-New York 1970); J. Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1873 (repr. Amsterdam 1970); W. Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, XVIII. Bd.: *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, VI. Bd., Berlin 1894, 363-412 (tables of contents of texts mentioned in this article and of other texts belonging to the same tradition); Brockelmann, I, 294-6, II, 22, S I, 515-19, 965, S II, 15-16; A. Maṭlūb, *al-Balāgha ʿind al-Sakkākī*, Baghdād 1384/1964; idem *al-Ḳazwīnī wa-shurūḥ al-talkhīṣ*, Baghdād 1387/1967; idem, *Muṣṭalaḥāt balāghiyya*, Baghdād 1392/1972 (useful summary of the two preceding works); R. Sellheim, *Materialen zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Teil I (= *Verzeichniss der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Bd. xvii, Reihe A: *Arabische Handschriften*), Wiesbaden 1976; W. Heinrichs, *The hand of the Northwind: opinions on metaphor and the early meaning of Istiʿāra in Arabic poetics*, in *Abh. K.M.*, Bd. xliv/2, Wiesbaden 1977 (the term *istiʿāra* with observations on al-Sakkākī's use of this term). (S. A. Bonebakker)

2. In **Persian**. The rhetorical system innovated by al-Sakkākī and his school did not meet with particular attention in the field of Persian rhetoric. One of the few books written in Persian and following his system of devices is contained in the ms. Madjlis 4866 (cf. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Shūrā-yi millī*, xiii, Tehran 1968, 303-4). It seems, however, that no attempt has been undertaken, so far, to look for a creative adaptation of the above-mentioned system to the exigencies of Persian language and literature. Even one of the latest treatments of this scheme of ideas, the *Maʿālim al-balāgha dar ʿilm-i maʿānī wa-bayān wa-badīʿ*, by M. Kh. Radjāʾī, Shīrāz 1962 and [2]1975, contents itself with illustrating the two rhetorical categories by means of the well-known Arabic quotations, just complementing them by some Persian examples for clearer reference.

Persian scholars of rhetoric, at all times, were mainly interested in rhetorical figures and the rhetorical art (*ṣanāʾiʿ*). These are assigned by al-Sakkākī to the third rhetorical category (*badīʿ*), as far as they are not simile, metaphor, metonymy, analogy, etc. The basic work dealing with this subject is, however, not the *Miftāḥ* written by him, but the *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr* by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (see also the foreword by A. Iḳbāl to his edition of this work, Tehran 1308 h sh.).

To understand this phenomenon, we have to bear in mind that al-Sakkākī based himself on the study of Ḳurʾānic modes of expression, whereas in Persian literature such a sacrosanct linguistic monument was non-existent, and with it the motive for analogous considerations. Al-Sakkākī himself was a Persian, as was his famous predecessor al-Djurdjānī and as were some of his commentators, for instance al-Taftāzānī. They all wrote in Arabic about an essentially Arabic subject, so that whoever wanted to deal with the material, had to have a good knowledge of Arabic. Persian elaborations of the above theory, therefore became quite superfluous. Not surprisingly, a number of manuscripts of the Arabic commentaries and supra-commentaries are at present to be found in Persian libraries. (B. Reinert)

MAʿĀRIF (a.), education, public instruction. The word is the pl. of *maʿrifa* "knowledge". The term was already used in mediaeval times to denote the secular subjects of knowledge or culture in general (e.g. in the title of Ibn Ḳutayba's *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*), in opposition to the religious sciences (*ʿulūm*, pl. of *ʿilm*).

1. In the Ottoman empire and the central and eastern Arab lands

It seems that the official use of the term appears for the first time in the Ottoman Empire in 1838, when a school for educating government officials was established in Istanbul and was named *Mekteb-i Maʿārif-i ʿAdliyye*. After that, the term was frequently used in Turkish to indicate education. Thus the first governmental body charged with the administration and supervision of the budding system of state schools which was created in 1845 was called *Muwaḳḳatī Maʿārif Medjlisi*, Provisional Council of Education. This was the forerunner of the Ministry of Public Instruction, *Maʿārif-i ʿUmūmiyye-i Neẓāreti*, established in 1857. It is noteworthy that the first directorate of the new state schools, which had been created in 1839, was called *Mekātib-i Rüshdiyye Neẓāreti* and did not include the new term *maʿārif*, perhaps because it was a department within the Ministry of Pious Foundations under the *Shaykh al-Islām*. The Ministry of Education was renamed in 1920 by the Kemalists *Maʿārif Vekāleti*. In 1933, with the language reform in Turkey, the former Arabic-Ottoman Turkish-sounding term was replaced by a purely Turkish one, and the Ministry was renamed *Millī Eğitim Bakanlığı*, Ministry of National Education, which has remained the official term, although *maarif* is still a common word in Turkish for education, along with the neologism *eğitim*.

The use of the word *maʿārif* for public education became current in Egypt and Iran in the 19th century, almost certainly under the influence of the Ottoman term. Both in Egypt and in Iran the official use of the term to designate the system of education was avoided for about half a century. When the first Ministry of Education was formed in Egypt in 1837, it was simply called *Dīwān al-Madāris* (*Medāris Dīwānī* in Turkish), the Department of Schools. Only since the Khedive Ismāʿīl's rule (1863-79) was the Ministry of Public Instruction

called *naẓārat* (later, in 1915, *wizārat*) *al-maʿārif al-ʿumūmiyya*. The term *maʿārif* was universally used for "education" in the Ministries of Education of the Arab successor-states of the Ottoman Empire, and until the mid-1930s, also in Iran. Only after the Egyptian Revolution, at the beginning of the school year 1954-5, was the Ministry of Public Instruction renamed *Wizārat al-tarbiya wa 'l-taʿlīm*, literally "Ministry of Education and Instruction". The Minister of Education explained that the change aimed to emphasise the shift from the static and passive "knowledge" to the dynamic process of education and the teaching of various skills. It may be suggested that additional reasons were behind the decision to do away with the term *maʿārif*. Although the word is of an Arabic origin, Arabic was less comfortable with it in the sense of education than Ottoman, and even modern Turkish. The expression *dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, for example, has the double meaning of "Department of Education" and "encyclopaedia". The dropping of the old and, from the Arabic point of view, the somewhat clumsy term *maʿārif* should be also viewed against the background of the Arabisation after the Egyptian revolution of 1952 of the official nomenclature, which had still retained many Turkish terms in the civil administration and in the Army. Following the Egyptian example, the other Arab countries replaced in the fifties the term *maʿārif* with *tarbiya* or *tarbiya wa-taʿlīm* for their Ministries of Education. It further seems that the word *maʿārif* in the sense of education is dying out in Arabic in the non-official usage also.

i. The Ottoman Empire and Turkey

The beginning of modern education in the Ottoman Empire. — Islamic society had traditionally the highest regard for the pursuit of knowledge, *ʿilm*, but education was considered as a religious or communal matter of no concern to the state. Muslim children were taught the Ḳurʾān and the basics of religion in the Ḳurʾān schools, the *mekteb* (Arabic *maktab* or *kuttāb* [*q.v.*]). Higher religious studies were given in the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] (Turkish pronunciation, *medrese*). The traditional educational institutions were financed by private donations, but mainly by the *waḳfs*, pious foundations. The religious educational system was entirely within the jurisdiction of the *ʿulamāʾ*. The traditional religious education had not changed substantially for centuries and was quite uniform, some local variations notwithstanding. The modernised, state-directed, and at least partially secularised education which was called *maʿārif* emerged only in the 19th century, although there were some hesitant beginnings in the 18th century. These had been prompted by the Ottoman defeats at the hands of the European powers. The Ottoman government realised that it had to improve the training of its officers and that this could be accomplished only by borrowing European training methods and techniques.

As early as 1734 a school of engineering, *Hendese-k͟hāne*, was established in Üsküdar. This first institution was to be shortlived, but in the last quarter of the 18th century more successful efforts to found military schools were made. After the Ottoman navy was burned by the Russians, the Ottomans established in 1776 a new Imperial Naval Engineerng School, *Mühendis-k͟hāne-yi Baḥrī-yi Hümayūn*. In order to train army artillery officers, an Imperial Land Engineering School, *Mühendis-k͟hāne-yi Berrī-yi Hümayūn* was founded in 1794 (or in 1796). These military schools were staffed largely by French officers, and European textbooks, especially translated for the cadets, were used there.

Maḥmūd II. — Yet the first real educational beginning in the Ottoman Empire belongs to the reign of Maḥmūd II (1801-39), who was following the example of Muḥammad ʿAlī, Egypt's modernising Pas͟ha. Maḥmūd's first significant step in the field of education was issuing an edict which stated that "the majority of people lately avoid sending their children to school and prefer to give them to a trade as novices to artisans when they reach the age of five or six because of their ambition to earn money immediately. This condition is the cause not only of widespread illiteracy but also of ignorance of religion ... No man henceforth shall prevent his children from attending school until they have reached the age of adulthood ...". This edict cannot be considered as a compulsory education law, and it contained nothing to change the traditional aims and structure of elementary education, but it did mark a departure from the past by declaring the direct involvement of the state as such in the education of children. Maḥmūd realised that in order to reform the army, the reactionary forces should be eliminated. Therefore he destroyed the Janissaries in 1826, as Muḥammad ʿAlī had massacred the *mamlūk*s in 1811. It is no coincidence that the greater part of Maḥmūd's educational activity took place after that date. It was to be typical of educational development in the Middle East that reform in the school system started from the top, by establishing modern specialised schools to train officers, doctors, engineers and administrators for the army and the civil bureaucracy. The higher, specialised schools were unrelated to the traditional educational system; the elementary schools especially saw very little change until the 1908 revolution. Because of this, students of engineering and medicine in the first higher schools had to study such elementary subjects as arithmetic, Turkish grammar and French. Eventually, the higher institutions of learning had to form their own preparatory sections, until the state gradually developed the higher-elementary and secondary stages of the educational system. An impressive number of higher schools were founded during the reign of Maḥmūd II. In 1827 Maḥmūd opened a medical school in Istanbul to train doctors for the army, less than a month after the opening of Muḥammad ʿAlī's medical school in Cairo. The Imperial Music School was inaugurated in 1831. In 1832 the *D̲j̲errāḥ-k͟hāne*, another medical school for the training of surgeons, was founded. In 1834 the *Ḥarbiyye*, the Military Academy was opened. It was modelled on St. Cyr, and indeed the French influence was dominant at this school. In 1838 a Law School was opened. Among the educational achievements of Maḥmūd's reign should be mentioned the first students' mission to European capitals, which started in 1834 (according to one source, in 1827), also by following Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, who was the first Middle Eastern ruler to adopt his method of training specialists for his army and administration. Another method to raise the educational standards of his army was to establish training units within the military corps (1832).

Toward the end of the reign of Maḥmūd II, two schools of a new kind were created, the *Mekteb-i Maʿārif-i ʿAdliyye*, the so-called *ʿAdlī* (after a title of Maḥmūd II) School of Science, a school designed specifically to train employees for government offices (1838), and the *Mekteb-i ʿUlūm-i Edebiyye*,

School of Literary Sciences, to train translators and interpreters (1839). These schools taught, among other things, modern subjects such as French, geography and mathematics. Maḥmūd's educational system created a new type of school, the *rüs̲h̲diyye*, higher elementary school (from *rüs̲h̲d*, meaning "adolescence"), which was to serve throughout the 19th century as an important link between the elementary schools and the higher stages, which were somewhat modernised and secularised, although lip-service to religion was always paid. As has already been mentioned, Maḥmūd's reign also initiated the first government offices which were charged with administering and supervising the new schools, the forerunners of the Ministry of Education. One of them was the *Med̲j̲lis-i Umūr-i Nāfiʿa*, the Board of Useful Affairs, established in 1838, which among other things constructed schools. Another body was the Department of the *rüs̲h̲diyye*s, *Mekātib-i Rüs̲h̲diyye Neẓāreti* (1839). Despite the impressive record of Maḥmūd's period, one must remember that the number of students exposed to the new education was severely hampered by lack of teachers and by difficulties of language and terminology.

The Tanẓīmāt. — The period of the Ottoman Reforms, the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] (1839-76), brought about a real breakthrough in all the spheres of education: organisation, legislation and development. In 1845 the *Muwakkat-i Maʿārif Med̲j̲lisi*, Provisional Board of Education was formed, in the next year it became *Mekātib-i ʿUmūmiyye Neẓāreti*, Ministry of Public Schools, and was replaced in 1857 by the Ministry of Public Instruction. In 1851 the Society of the Learned, *End̲j̲ümen-i Dānis̲h̲*, was formed with the purpose of sponsoring Ottoman culture and contributing to education. It was active only for a few years and did not accomplish much. In 1868 a Council of State was set up. The Council had five sections, after the French model, one of which was in charge of agriculture and public instruction. A Higher Council for general education was formed in 1869 within the Ministry of Education, on which representatives of the non-Muslim communities (*millets* [*q.v.*]) also served. Subordinate to this central council, provincial councils were established in each province as part of the local government. During the *Tanẓīmāt* era, important innovations were introduced. For the first time programmes and regulations were issued to all the elementary schools of the empire (1847). In 1870 a similar set of regulations concerning the *rüs̲h̲diyye* schools was circulated. In 1846 ʿAlī and Fuʾād, two of the chief reformers, prepared an ambitious but unrealistic scheme to reorganise the entire educational ladder from the *ṣibyān* elementary schools up to the university. With the foundation of the Ministry of Education in 1857, another scheme for the organisation of the school system was prepared, which provided for an elementary school (*mekteb-i ṣibyān*) of 4 grades (ages 7-10), secondary school (*rüs̲h̲diyye*) of 6 grades (ages 11-16), from which the graduate could continue in various higher institutions of learning, including the *Mülkiyye*, a school which was actually founded only in 1859 to prepare civil servants.

In 1286/1869 a comprehensive law or reorganisation of the state school system was issued. This time the scheme was more thorough than previous attempts aiming at the rationalisation of the school system and integrating all that which had been achieved till that date. The Ottoman Education Law was inspired by the European legislation of the day, and perhaps also followed the Egyptian Education Law of 1867. The Ottoman law classified schools in the empire into public (*ʿumūmiyye*) and private (*k̲h̲uṣūṣiyye*). The former were graded as elementary (*ṣibyāniyye*) higher elementary (*rüs̲h̲diyye*), lower secondary (*iʿdādiyye*) and higher secondary (*sulṭāniyye*). At the top there were higher institutions of learning, technical, agricultural, and teacher training, and the state university (*Dār al-Fünūn*). Already in 1868 a compulsory education law had been issued, according to which all boys aged 7-11 and all girls aged 6-10 had to go to school. The 1869 law provided for a *ṣibyān* school in every village or town quarter, a *rüs̲h̲diyye* in towns with 500 or more families, and an *iʿdādiyye* in communities with 1,000 families or more. A *sulṭāniyye* secondary school was to be established in every provincial capital. The actual development of Ottoman education, however, lagged behind this scheme, for lack of funds, teachers and facilities. By 1876 there were only 362 *rüs̲h̲diyye*s, and only one *sulṭāniyye* school was opened for a long time to come. As for the University, the first public lectures were held in 1863, but it was soon closed down. In 1870 another attempt to open the *Dār al-Fünūn* was short-lived. Only in 1900 was the university finally organised.

The *Tanẓīmāt* period began with the promulgation of the famous *K̲h̲aṭṭ-i S̲h̲erīf* ("Noble Rescript") of 1839 which proclaimed, at least implicitly, the principles of the equally of all Ottoman subjects, regardless of creed, and which opened the new state schools to non-Muslim children. The *K̲h̲aṭṭ-i Hümayūn* of 1856 made these promises explicit. Generally, the *Tanẓīmāt* period witnessed some genuine attempts to integrate the non-Muslim elements in Ottoman society, and it was realised that this could best be achieved through education. Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], the famous reformer and administrator, established integrated schools while he was the governor of the *wilāyet* of the Danube. The first major breach in religious barriers against mixed education occurred in September 1868 with the establishment of the *Lycée* of G̲h̲alaṭa-sarāy, which was to be a conscious copy of the French *lycée*. The school offered a European-style curriculum in a five-year course and religious education for students of the main Ottoman millets; the Muslim children constituted about one-half of the student body. In its first years, the administration and the staff were mainly French. But in the seventies the French influence decreased and the school became increasingly Turkish in character. Robert College, the Protestant counterpart of G̲h̲alaṭā-sarāy, had already been in existence since 1863.

The *Tanẓīmāt* period is also to be c edited with the first institutes of teachers' training. The idea of state supervision of the teachers belongs to the time of Maḥmūd II, but nothing had been done before the *Tanẓīmāt* to train teachers formally; *medrese* graduates were considered as qualified teachers. The first college of teacher training (*dār al-muʿallimīn*) for the *rüs̲h̲diyye*s was opened in 1848 in Istanbul. The first normal school for girls (*dār al-muʿallimāt*) was founded in 1870, and by 1908 there were 33 teachers' training institutes throughout the empire.

The *Tanẓīmāt* period saw a determined effort to spread education to the provinces. The *wilāyet* Law of 1871 made provisions for provincial educational administration. In 1872 a decree for reform in the elementary schools in the provinces was issued.

Perhaps most important, the organised under-

taking of female education was original to the *Tanẓīmāt*. Coeducation was practised in the elementary *mekteb*, but was impossible in the *rüshdiyye*. Around 1862, separate schools for girls were established. The educational scheme of 1869 provided for the first time for education for girls, where such subjects as sewing and cooking were taught, and the first female teachers for girls' trade schools were appointed in 1873.

To sum up, the educational efforts of the *Tanẓīmāt* meant that new forms emerged; a network of military and civilian schools developed; pioneer work in the fields of education of girls and teacher training was started; contacts with Europe continued, including consultations with European education experts; student missions were sent; and the Ottoman School in Paris (1857-74) became a centre for the Ottoman students in that city. During the *Tanẓīmāt*, the gap between the secular and the religious in Ottoman society widened considerably.

The Constitutional, Ḥamidian and Young Turk periods. — The Constitution of 1876 reiterated the principles of compulsory and free primary education and the concept of a centralised and somewhat secularised school system. The state did not interfere with religious education in the elementary schools and in the *medreses*, which remained the province of the *ʿulamāʾ*.

Although the long reign of sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909) was a time of despotism and political reaction, the sultan carried on his predecessors' educational activities. He imposed strict censorship on curricula and textbooks and his spies bedevilled the lives of teachers, students and intellectuals. Yet during his rule the literacy rate tripled, many schools were opened, new types of higher institutions of learning were established and the first modern university in the Muslim world was finally founded (1900). During the period 1879-99 the number of the *rüshdiyyes* rose from 253 to 389. The network of military schools was developed; there were 29 military *rüshdiyyes* in 1897. In accordance with his overall Islamic and Arab policy, ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II paid more attention to education in the Arab and other Muslim non-Turkish provinces than had been done previously. A typical example of this policy was the *ʿAshīret Mektebi*, School of the Tribes, which was opened in Beshiktāsh in 1894 and lasted until 1907. This school trained teachers, officers and administrators from the Arab, Kurdish and Albanian provinces. In 1883 the sultan decreed that every provincial capital should have its own teacher training college. In the same year he imposed an "assistance tax", a share of which was set apart for education. A medical school was opened in Damascus in 1903; it was then transferred to Beirut in 1916, and finally closed down in 1918. The network of military schools was extended, and in 1904 military schools were opened in Damascus, Baghdād, Erzincan, Edirne, and Monastir. Law schools were established in 1907 in Konya, Salonika and Baghdād.

ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd sponsored the opening of schools of finance (1878), fine arts (1879), commerce (1882), engineering (1884), a school for the blind and deaf (1889), veterinary services (1889), police (1891) and customs (1892). Generally, vocational and technical education was emphasised, and courses to train telegraphic operators and steamboat mechanics were given. The institutions of higher learning developed vigorously under ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd's rule, although the sultan realised that these could endanger his régime. Indeed, the first revolutionary group was organised in the military medical school in 1889. Similar circles were eventually successful in bringing about the 1908 revolution, which ushered in the period of the Young Turks, or the "Second Constitution", which lasted until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

The turbulent last ten years of the empire witnessed some basic changes in the approach to education. It can be stated that in this short period the educational system was transformed through modernisation and secularisation, preparing the road for the future Kemalist reforms. Besides the institutional and legal reforms in Turkish education, which will be presently discussed, new concepts about education came to the fore. As N. Berkes has aptly put it: "If the word *maarif* symbolises the era opened by Mahmud II, the term *terbiye* well represents the Meşrutiyet era, and signifies an important improvement over the first." Thus, to the concept of knowledge, the idea of education was now added. This era saw the emergence of the first professional Ottoman pedagogues, such as Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī (who would be later better known as an Arab educator and nationalist), Riḍā Tewfīḳ, Selīm Sirrī and Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, who promoted the publication of psychological and pedagogical literature. While the educational model during the *Tanẓīmāt* was the French system, the educators of the *Meshrūṭiyyet* turned to the Anglo-Saxon education system for inspiration.

There were significant beginnings of secularisation. The first teachers' organisations appeared. The struggle between the *khōdja* (clerical teacher) and the *muʿallim* (secular teacher) became more pronounced in the Young Turk period. The ideologues of the ruling Union and Progress Committee (*Ittiḥād ve Teraḳḳi Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*], headed by Diyaʾ (Ziya) Gökalp, demanded that the state, not the *ʿulamāʾ*, should control and supervise public instruction. As a result of a resolution adopted at its 1916 convention, the Union and Progress Committee transferred the elementary schools, which had been previously under the Ministry of *Ewḳāf*, to the Ministry of Education. The *medreses* were merely transferred from the Ministry of *Ewḳāf* to another religious authority, the *Bāb-i Meshīkhat*, the Department of the *Shaykh al-Islām*.

In the legislative field, the 1329/1913 Provisional Law of Elementary Education, the most important law since the Ottoman Education Law of 1286/1869, was promulgated. The law created education committees at the level of districts and sub-districts, thus delegating administrative, financial and pedagogical responsibility to local authorities. The law placed all the financial burden of maintaining the schools, namely establishing a school, acquiring the land, constructing the building, paying the teachers' salaries and all current expenses, on the people of the countries and districts. This meant in practice that universal elementary education could not be achieved for a long time to come.

In the "Second Constitutional" period, progress was achieved in the sphere of women's education. Educational opportunities for women were extended to the secondary school. In 1911 the first *iʿdādiyye* and in 1913 the first *lycée* for girls were opened in Istanbul. Trade schools for girls were established, not only for cooking and sewing, but to train nurses and secretaries. In 1915, women were admitted to the University, although in separate classes, to be trained as secondary school teachers. After 1918, women were allowed to work as elementary school teachers.

After the 1908 Revolution, the University was reorganised and the curriculum now included history, philosophy and sociology, which had been banned under ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd.

Education in the Turkish Republic. — The educational developments in the Turkish Republic in the twenties and thirties are closely linked with the reforms of Muṣṭafā Kemāl, the future Kemal Atatürk [*q.v.*], the first president of the Republic. The Kemalists, committed as they were to drastic cultural change, rightly understood the utmost importance of education for their objects. The revolutionary government in Ankara established its own Ministry of Education in May 1920, while still fighting against the Allied-supported Ottoman government in Istanbul.

The Law of Unification of Instruction (*Tawḥid-Tedrīsāt*) of 1924 ended the century-long dichotomy between secular and religious education in Turkey and created a fully secular and integrated school system. All educational institutions were placed under the control of the Ministry of Education. The *medreses*, 479 in all, with a total enrollment of 18,000 (only a third of whom were genuine students) were closed down. To provide alternative higher Islamic education, the Faculty of Theology was opened at the University of Istanbul and 26 secondary schools for training *imāms* and *khaṭīb*s were established. The anti-clerical atmosphere of the period did not encourage the development of these institutions. The Theological Faculty was closed in 1934 and the last *imam-hatip mektepleri* were closed down in 1932-3, after their enrolment had been continuously dwindling. As for the religious education in regular schools, this too was adversely affected by the secularising ethos of the Atatürk era. In 1928 Islam ceased to be the state religion, and the principle of laicism was accepted. In the same year, the Latin script was adopted for the Turkish language. Atatürk himself went out to the people to teach the new script. In the next year, Arabic and Persian were eliminated from the curriculum. In 1932 religious instruction in the secondary schools was finally stopped. There is no agreement as to when religious instruction in the elementary schools was discontinued; some sources date it as early as 1924, others mention 1928, a date which seems more accurate. It seems that religious instruction was simply phased out, although it continued in many village schools. Toward the end of the forties, the public mood became definitely favourable to the reintroduction of religious instruction in schools. The issue came up in the National Assembly at the end of 1947. In January 1949 the Ministry of Education issued a circular, according to which two hours of religious instruction would be given in the fourth and fifth grades of elementary schools to pupils whose parents might ask for it. The coming to power of the Democratic Party in 1950 was a turning-point in the attitude of the government toward religion generally and religious instruction in particular. After 1950, religious education became compulsory for all; parents were required to opt out instead of in as before. At the beginning of the school year of 1956-7, religious instruction was introduced to the middle schools, or junior high schools (*orta okullar*), as well. In 1951 new *imam-hatip okullarī* were established. In contradistinction from the early version, these institutions have been successful. Higher religious instruction have been offered in institutes in Istanbul and Konya, but the most important faculty which teaches Islam at the university level is the Faculty of Theology (*Ilâhiyat Fakültesi*) at Ankara University which was founded in 1949-50.

It is not surprising that, due to the administrative traditions of the Ottoman Empire, which had been influenced by the French model, the Ministry of Education of the Turkish Republic was centralistic from the start. This was also justified in part by the determination of the government to create a unified, modernised and secularised education in a country which was fragmented into numerous regions and tribes and which was far from enjoying linguistic and cultural homogeneity. Centralistic educational administration was also needed to overcome the indifference or even hostility of the conservative elements, particularly in the countryside, towards the Kemalist Revolution and its educational goals. In 1926 the Ministry of Education was reorganised. The country was divided into twelve regional directorates of education, each being headed by a superintendent of education (*maʿārif emīni*), directly responsible to the Ministry in Ankara. Since 1949, the organisation of the educational system has been somewhat more flexible, each governor being responsible for the education in his district. He is assisted by an educational council and a director of education, who is more responsive to local needs. In spite of these reforms, the educational system of Turkey, like most countries in the Middle East, is quite centralised, and the state controls the whole educational system pedagogically, administratively and financially. The Ministry of Education is helped by a National Educational Council (*Milli Eğitim Şurası*) which consists of educators and administrators and has wide powers in drawing up educational policies concerning curricula, textbooks and school regulations. The Council meets once every few years. The Tenth Educational Council convened in 1981. The Ministry of Education has a virtual monopoly of textbooks. The government controls higher education as well, and inspects private and minority schools closely. Private institutions have been declining in comparison with state schools. Scores of higher institutes which train students in such fields as economy, commerce, engineering and architecture were nationalised at the beginning of the school year 1971-2 after the important education law no. 1472 had been promulgated. Education in all state schools at all levels is free of charge.

The most difficult task which the education authorities had to face was to raise educational standards and to combat illiteracy in the nation generally and in the countryside in particular. The formal school system was complemented by the Turkish Hearths (*Türk Odjaghī*), a network of a kind of clubs founded in 1912 to promote Turkish culture and economic welfare through lectures, publishing books and opening schools. The Turkish Hearths were closed down in 1931 and replaced by a network of People's Houses and People's Rooms (*Halkevi* and *Halkodası* [see KHALḲEVI]), community centres established to diffuse Turkish culture and closely associated with the ruling Republican People's Party. Teachers were encouraged by their Ministry to participate in the activities of these centres.

The Ministry of Education devised several programmes to train teachers for the village schools. One of them was to send soldiers of rural origin and having some education on short pedagogical courses. Since 1936, young villagers who had finished primary school were sent on courses of six months to prepare them to teach in their villages. According to the Village Educators' Law of 1937, special centres to

train teachers were initiated. In 1940 the law of 1937 was supplemented by the Village Institute Law. Subsequently, the two programmes were united. In addition to his regular teaching assignments, the village educator was expected to teach adults and to help in the social and economic development of the village. The Village Institutes were merged with the regular teacher training colleges in 1954.

All these efforts have produced positive results, and the gap between school attendance rates in villages and in the cities is not nearly as wide as is the case in most Middle Eastern countries. This applies even to education of girls. In the school year 1973-4, for instance, the proportion of girls in state elementary schools in the cities was 46%, while in the villages the percentage was only 3.7% lower. National schooling rates for children between the ages of seven and twelve, who are obliged to go to school according to the compulsory education law, were 90% already in 1672-3, again a much higher rate than in most countries of the region. The school attendance rates have been on the rise in all educational levels. Consequently, literacy rates rose from 19.2% in 1935 (29.3% for men and 9.8% for women) up to 54.67% in 1970 (69% for men and 40% for women). The progress in the education of women is especially impressive. Coeducation has been a principle in Turkish education since 1927; only when there are special circumstances or professional needs are separate schools for girls established.

The basic structure of the Turkish educational ladder is 5-3-3, i.e. primary school (*ilkokul*) of five grades (ages 7-11) followed by a junior high school or "middle school" (*ortaokul*) of three grades (ages 12-14) and leading to the secondary or high school, *lycée* (*lise*) of three grades (ages 15-17) or a vocational or a trade school. The *ilkokul* and the *ortaokul* comprise the two stages of the "basic education" (*temel eğitim*). At the *orta* level, the student may already start at a teacher training school, which continues four more years at the secondary level. Other courses which last four years after the *ortaokul*, that is up to the twelfth grade, are the *imam-hatip okulları* and technicians' schools. In addition to regular schools, there are evening schools for working youth. Special mention should be made of the state schools which teach in foreign languages. These institutions teach the "national" subjects in Turkish, but the language of instruction of all other subjects is English, French or German, according to the particular school.

Despite the impressive achievements, education in Turkey has yet to overcome many serious difficulties. Teachers' status and salaries are quite low. There is considerable shortage of teachers, since the teacher training schools at the secondary and university level do not keep up with the rapid growth of the student population. In 1972-3 the teacher: student ratio was 1:33 in the state primary schools, in the state *ortaokul* 1:43 and in the *lise* 1:39.7. Another structural weakness of the educational system is the small proportion of students in vocational and trade schools at the secondary level, which is well beneath 20% of the secondary school student population. One result of this is that each year, increasing numbers of the *lise* graduates cannot be admitted to the universities and other higher institutes of learning for lack of space, although the higher educational system is also expanding very quickly.

ii. Egypt

Educational development under Muḥammad ʿAlī. — The foundations of modern education in Egypt were laid by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas͟ha, the virtually independent viceroy of Egypt from 1805 until 1848. His ambitions were personal and dynastic, yet he was aware that if he was to establish a powerful state, he had to build a modern, European-style army and an efficient administration and economy. This he could accomplish only with Western methods and advice, since education and learning in Egypt, even more than in the centre of the Ottoman Empire, were wholly traditional and were confined to religious instruction at the *kuttāb*s and the *madrasas*, the most important one being al-Azhar [*q.v.*]. So it happened that although Muḥammad ʿAlī had little interest in raising the educational standards of the Egyptian people, his dynamic reign made Egypt the forerunner of modern education in the Arab-speaking world, and a model for the Ottoman Empire, of which Egypt was nominally only an outlying province.

After having destroyed the Mamlūks [*q.v.*] in 1811, Muḥammad ʿAlī set out to establish the *Niẓām d̲j̲adīd*, his new army. For this purpose he started to send student missions to Europe to study various technical subjects, and on the other hand began to found new state schools, bypassing the traditional system of education. France and Frenchmen enjoyed a predominant influence in the modernisation of Egyptian education, at least until the British occupation in 1882. Therefore it is of interest to note that the first student missions, in 1809 and 1819, were sent to Italy (to Leghorn, Milan, Florence and Rome) in order to study military science, shipbuilding, printing and engineering. The foreign language which was taught in the first state school established by Muḥammad ʿAlī was Italian. Since about 1820, however, Italian influence was replaced by the French, and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muḥammad ʿAlī's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Sève, who as a convert to Islam became known as Sulaymān Pas͟ha. Sève organised the new army and the military schools. Indeed, the next missions were sent, mainly though not exclusively, to France. Thus the first large mission went to Paris in 1826, with the famous educator and writer S͟hayk͟h Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] as its *imām* and preacher. This mission included other members who later rose to prominence in the educational and administrative service of the Pas͟ha. By the mid-1830s the first Egyptian graduates of the student missions were teaching in Egypt at the professional school and replacing the European teachers and instructors.

In 1816 Muḥammad ʿAlī opened a school in the Citadel of Cairo where some 80 students began to study military subjects, arithmetic and Italian. Four years later the school was moved to Aswān. It is significant that the students were sons of *Mamlūks* and other boys of Circassian, Turkish, Albanian and Armenian origin, who were believed to be superior in martial qualities to the native, Arabic-speaking Egyptians. Turkish was the language of instruction.

The beginning of secondary education was also connected with the army. Since the *kuttāb* schools could not prepare students for the higher schools, a preparatory (*tad̲j̲hīzī*) school was established in 1825 at Ḳaṣr al-ʿAynī with 500 students between 6 and 12 years of age. By 1833 the school had 1,200 students. The discipline and organisation at the prepar-

atory school, as indeed in the whole of Muḥammad ʿAlī's educational system, were military. The students were trained to join the naval, infantry, cavalry and engineering schools which were opened in the 1820s and the 1830s.

The first important institute of higher learning in Egypt was the Medical School, opened in 1827 at the hospital of Abū Zaʿbal, its director for the next 22 years was Clot Bey, another Frenchman, who was in charge of public health and medicine in Egypt. It was again typical that although the Medical School was mainly intended to serve the army, its students were native Egyptians, who had studied at al-Azhar, unlike the students of the military schools properly speaking. Other schools of civilian character were opened in 1829—the School of Agriculture, the School of Pharmaceutics and the Veterinary School. All these schools fell within the jurisdiction of the Department of the Army, *dīwān al-d̲j̲ihādiyya*, but already in 1826 a *Commission d'Instruction*, a consultative body for the new schools was set up within the *dīwān al-d̲j̲ihādiyya*.

The 1830s were the zenith of Muḥammad ʿAlī's career. His army became a huge fighting force which won victories and successfully challenged and threatened the Ottoman Empire itself. The growth and development of the army further stimulated the development of the school system. In that decade, the most important schools were founded and patterns for educational organisation and supervision were laid down. An impressive number of specialised, technical and industrial schools were founded. Among them were the short-lived School of Government Administration (1834), the Staff College (1836), the School of Chemistry (1831), School of Minerals (1834) and an industrial workshop (1839). The most important ones were undoubtedly the School of Engineering, *Muhandis-k̲h̲āne* (1834), and the School of Languages and Translation, *Madrasat al-alsun wa 'l-tard̲j̲ama* (1835). After a modest and apparently unsuccessful attempt to open a school of engineering in 1820, the *Muhandis-k̲h̲āne* at Būlāḳ was opened. The engineering school, modelled after the École Polytechnique of Paris, trained engineers and supplied mathematics and science teachers to the secondary and higher schools. The School of Languages was founded by al-Ṭahṭāwī and directed by him for many years. The students spent there five or six years studying French, Islamic jurisprudence and mathematics, among other subjects. This institute became an important translation centre, where many textbooks were prepared or translated from European languages.

The 1830s were also the period of laying the foundations for the modernised primary education. Muḥammad ʿAlī ignored the *kuttāb* schools; he actually weakened the traditional system by confiscating the *waḳf* foundations which financed it. From 1833 state primary schools (*mubtadiyān*) were opened in the capital and the provinces, and within three years were over 50 of them. The pupils, who were from 7 to 12 years of age, learned besides the usual religious instruction secular subjects also such as geography and arithmetic. The people were reluctant to send their sons into these schools, which they rightly regarded as an integral part of Muḥammad ʿAlī's system of recruitment into the army.

The administration of the schools was separated from the army, but it took some time to reach that decision. Colonel Sève was appointed in 1834 as an inspector general of the schools within the *dīwān al-d̲j̲ihādiyya*, but later he had to devote all his time to his military duties. In 1830 the *Conseil supérieur de l'instruction publique*, which in Arabic was inaccurately known as *mad̲j̲lis s̲h̲ūrā 'l-makātib*, was established. It was a pedagogical body which was expected to coordinate the schools and the *dīwān al-d̲j̲ihādiyya*. A committee was formed, and it prepared a comprehensive scheme for education in Egypt, providing for primary schools, two preparatory schools (one in Cairo and the other in Alexandria) and special schools. Finally, in February 1837, a separate department, independent of the *dīwān al-d̲j̲ihādiyya*, and in charge of the schools, was founded. It was called the *dīwān al-madāris*, the Council of Schools, a term which was more correct than the bombastic French term by which the department became known, *Ministère de l'instruction publique*. It is true, however, that the *dīwān al-madāris* was the core of the future Ministry of Education. At first, the *dīwān al-madāris* suffered from mismanagement, inefficiency and intrigues. In addition to its pedagogical functions, it was charged with construction (for a time it was called the Council of Schools and Construction) and with the publication of the Official Gazette (*al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*). Initially, the *dīwān al-madāris* was divided into three sections: Arabic, Turkish and engineering. The Delta Barrage and the engineering services were also attached to the *dīwān* on account of their dependence on the *Muhandis-k̲h̲āne*.

The setback to Muḥammad ʿAlī's imperialistic ambitions by the Treaty of London in 1840 drastically curtailed the extent of the Egyptian army and caused the breakdown of the school system in the 1840s. In 1841, only 5 state primary schools remained. The special schools were affected too. The student missions abroad continued, however, and in 1844 a large mission which included several princes (and was called thereafter *baʿt̲h̲at al-and̲j̲āl*) was sent to France. In 1847, toward the end of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign, a programme to establish popular elementary schools, or reformed *kuttābs*, called *makātib al-milla* (in contradiction from the government primary schools, the *mubtadiyān*), was brought forward. It is probable that Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, Muḥammad ʿAlī's son and successor, took an interest in the project, but his reign was too short to accomplish much and the reforms in the elementary education had to wait until the accession of Ismāʿīl.

Education under ʿAbbās I (1849-54) and Saʿīd (1854-63) — Educational development suffered a serious slowdown during the reigns of ʿAbbās I and Saʿīd. Although ʿAbbās was no more interested than Muḥammad ʿAlī in educating the Egyptian people, the training of army officers and bureaucrats continued on a modest scale. ʿAbbās sent some 40 students abroad, this time mainly to central Europe. ʿAbbās exiled al-Ṭahṭāwī to K̲h̲arṭūm to organise an Egyptian school there. On the other hand, he favoured and promoted ʿAlī Mubārak [*q.v.*], an able administrator, reformer, and writer, who was to become a key figure in the development of education in the next three decades. ʿAbbās weakened the Council of Schools and the educational system in general, but he was interested in the army and founded in 1849 the élite military school, *al-Madrasa al-ḥarbiyya al-mafrūza*. Of the special schools, only the medical school and the school of engineering remained.

It is generally agreed that Saʿīd's educational policy was erratic, and that he aimed at reversing his predecessor's decisions. Upon his ascession to the vice-regal throne, he abolished the *dīwān al-*

madāris and closed down all the schools within its jurisdiction. Shaykh al-Ṭahṭāwī was recalled from the Sudan, whereas ʿAlī Mubārak was sent by the ruler to the Crimean War. Egyptian students were sent to France again. Saʿīd's short reign was favourable to the development of foreign and missionary schools; by the end of his reign their number reached approximately 60.

The period of Ismāʿīl (1863-79) — During Ismāʿīl's reign, educational activity was vigorously renewed under the able direction of the European-educated administrators Ibrāhīm Adham and ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak. For the first time, education in Egypt was becoming "public" in the true sense of the word, not limited to the task of training experts and technicians for the army and the state machinery. Unlike Muḥammad ʿAlī, Ismāʿīl made the *kuttāb*s the basis of the elementary education, and the *waḳf* funds were used to finance them. Immediately after assumming power in 1863, Ismāʿīl reactivated the Council of Schools (*dīwān al-madāris*) which became in 1875 the Ministry of Public Instruction (*Naẓārat al-maʿārif al-ʿumūmiyya*), with ʿAlī Mubārak as Minister. Ismāʿīl gave full support throughout his reign to the initiative of Mubārak and other progressive educators. In November 1867 ʿAlī Mubārak presented a document which he had prepared with a committee of administrators and notables. This was the Radjab Regulation of 1284, *lāʾiḥat Radjab*, which aimed at promoting elementary education by establishing provincial primary schools, which would be under government inspection and would be financed by *waḳf* and private contributions. The new regulations provided for the first time for a sort of pedagogical supervision of teachers. The curriculum of the elementary schools was to be somewhat modernised. Of course, many reforms remained on paper only for a long time to come, but scores of elementary schools were nevertheless opened and the principle of state control over all elementary schools was established. Mubārak also put an end to the confusion between civil and military schools and confined the authority of the *dīwān al-madāris* to civilian schools, freeing them from their military character. The provisions of the *lāʾiḥat Radjab* were complemented by the regulations set down in 1880 by a committee, known as the *ḳōmisyōn*, which provided for three types of schools depending on the size of the community: villages, provincial towns and cities. Provincial authorities were empowered to collect contributions and fees from well-to-do parents and to use *waḳf*s to finance schools.

Ismāʿīl's reign should be credited with introducing education of girls and teacher training. The only kind of female education before Ismāʿīl was the School of Midwifery which was founded in 1832. This school recruited its first students from among Sudanese and Ethiopian Negro girls, Egyptian girls being considered too delicate for that kind of work. The first school for girls, *al-Madrasa al-Suyūfiyya*, was opened in 1873. In the following year it had 400 students, who studied general subjects as well as sewing and weaving.

The first teacher training school, called *Dār al-ʿUlūm*, the House of Sciences, was founded in 1872. It had already started in 1871 as a programme of public lectures for students recruited from al-Azhar to prepare them to become teachers. In the next year, it was organised as a regular teacher training college, where students studied religious and secular subjects.

The period witnessed the reopening of several higher institutions of learning which had been closed down by ʿAbbās or Saʿīd and the foundation of new ones. Thus the School of Languages founded in 1835 but closed down in 1850 was reopened in 1868 under the name the School of Administration and Languages and later became the first secular law school in Egypt.

In the 1860s, a number of trade and vocational schools were opened. Schools of land surveying, accounting, archaeology and hieroglyphics were opened in the 1870s, together with preparatory schools. In 1872 the first reforms were introduced at al-Azhar. The missions continued and 175 students were sent, mainly to France. In Ismāʿīl's time there was a tenfold increase in budget expenditure for schools. Owing to Ismāʿīl's "open door" policy toward Europeans, his period was also one of unprecedented boom for the schools of foreigners, missionaries and local religious minorities. About 130 new schools were opened with 9,000 students.

Beside the activities of the government, there were private societies and groups which worked for the promotion of education, such as the Society of Knowledge (*djamʿiyyat al-maʿārif*) formed in 1868, and the Islamic Philanthropic Society (*al-djamʿiyya al-khayriyya al-islāmiyya*) which was founded in 1878 by the journalist-orator ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm for opening community schools, in order to counterbalance the influence of the missionary schools. Al-Nadīm accomplished little, however, because of his involvement in the ʿUrābī revolt.

Education under the British occupation — After the military occupation of Egypt in 1882, the British controlled the entire state machinery, including the Ministry of Education. Educational policy was perhaps the most criticised aspect of the British rule, since it was highly restrictive and conservative, due to financial and political considerations. Lord Cromer, who ruled Egypt from 1883 to 1907, considered the financial recovery of the country as his most urgent goal and spent less than 1% of the budget on education. Previously, almost all the schools were free; now students had to pay tuition fees. This made even the primary education, and certainly the secondary and higher education, élitist in nature. The British made some efforts to improve the *kuttāb*s, turning them in 1916 into elementary (*awwaliyya*) schools, where nothing but religion and the three Rs were taught. The British intentionally hampered the development of secondary and higher education. They regarded the educational system as a means of training a limited number of Egyptian clerks who were to serve in the lower and middle levels of the bureaucracy, and were expected to carry out the instructions of the British policy-makers. Cromer conceived higher education as undesirable, since it might lead to political agitation. Therefore the University was opened only in 1908 as a private institution and did not become a state university until 1925, three years after Egypt's formal independence.

Douglas Dunlop, a Scotsman who administered Egyptian education under Cromer, did it in a rigid, centralistic and unimaginative manner. Strict discipline was imposed both on teachers and pupils. All studies continued to be geared to passing examinations. English was made the language of instruction in history, geography and the natural sciences. Learning by rote continued to be the main method of study. During the British occupation, Egyptian students were sent to study in England only. Whereas before the occupation students travelled to Europe to study mainly technical and industrial subjects, they

now studied humanities and the law. This was in accord with the British policy to keep Egypt an agricultural, not an industrial country.

Many of the higher institutes of learning were closed down, but a few new ones were opened, such as the School of Police and Administration in 1896, a Veterinary School in 1901, a teacher training college for women in 1900, another one for men in 1904 and a College of Commerce in 1911.

As a gesture to ease nationalist resentments, Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*], the future nationalist leader and founder of the Wafd party, was appointed Minister of Education in 1906. He enhanced the status of the Arabic language in the school system and exempted many poor children from paying tuition fees.

It is not surprising that the balance-sheet of British educational policy was poor. The illiteracy rate barely changed from 1882 (91.7 per cent) to 1917 (91.3 per cent). In 1914, 230,000 students were enrolled in the *kuttāb*s and only 14,000 in the primary schools. High schools of various kinds enrolled some 10,000 students. The number of students in foreign and private schools exceeded by far those enrolled in government schools. There was progress in the education of girls, but the majority of them were in private schools.

Education under the Monarchy 1922-52 — Although Egypt did not gain full sovereignty in 1922, control of internal affairs, including education, passed into Egyptian hands. During the next three decades, the educational system improved but did not free itself as yet from negative aspects of the pre-British and British inheritance, and further suffered from newly-acquired weakness. The Egyptian school system under the monarchy did not reduce illiteracy substantially, and in 1952 it stood at about 80 per cent, and was particularly high in rural areas and among women.

Article 19 of the 1923 constitution guaranteed compulsory and free elementary education; the compulsory education law, passed in 1925, provided for elementary schools of six years, later reduced to five. In 1925 the Ministry of Education planned to universalise elementary education within 23 years. Although quantitative progress was achieved, with student enrolment rising from 809,000 in 1930 to 1,310,000 in 1950, the goal of bringing all children aged six to twelve to school has not yet been reached even by 1981, when only about three-quarters of the children of compulsory education age were in school.

The Egyptian elementary school system was fragmented into several types of schools, a fact which was detrimental to the function of nation-building, and it did not provide equality of opportunity. In the school year 1925-6, elementary schools (*madāris awwaliyya*) were opened to offer free education according to the 1925 law. These schools gave a six-year course (shortened to five years in 1930) and worked usually on a half-day, two-shift basis. The primary schools (*madāris ibtidāʾiyya*) charged fees. They had better physical facilities than the elementary schools and their teachers were better trained. Perhaps the most important difference between the two types of schools was that the curriculum of the primary schools alone included a foreign language (usually English), thus making it possible for the pupils to continue their studies to secondary and higher education, while the elementary schools were terminal. In 1943 another kind of school was added—the rural elementary school (*madrasa awwaliyya rīfiyya*), and special teacher training colleges were opened for them. Beside the public schools, al-Azhar provided religious education at the elementary, secondary and higher level. Finally, there were the private and foreign schools, both religious and lay. In 1942-3 more than 25% of the elementary school pupils and more than 50% of secondary school pupils were in private and foreign schools. Their role was particularly important in the education of girls. The foreign schools were accused of educating their students in languages and cultures alien to Egypt. Private schools were sometimes accused of being more interested in financial profits than in the education of their students. In 1933 and in 1940 laws were passed which imposed stricter supervision of the state over the foreign schools. These schools were instructed to teach Arabic language and the religion of Islam to their Muslim pupils. After the 1956 Suez crisis, all foreign schools were either closed down or nationalised. The relative importance of the private schools had been declining since tuition fees were abolished in the primary schools in 1943 and in the secondary schools in 1951.

It should be noted that the fragmented and deficient nature of the Egyptian school system was criticised by leading educators and administrators such as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Ismāʿīl al-Ḳabbānī in Egypt and Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī in ʿIrāḳ, and some steps were taken to make the system more just and less divisive and to make educational opportunities more accessible to all social classes. The abolition of tuition fees has been mentioned. In 1938 the teaching of English was postponed from the first to the second grade in primary schools to enable more children to transfer from elementary to primary schools. Again in 1944, English lessons began only in the third grade. In 1951 a law was passed which aimed at creating a unified elementary school system of six grades. This was given effect, however, only after the 1952 revolution.

The secondary and higher levels of education developed more quickly than the elementary schools. The number of students in the secondary schools increased from 2,500 in 1913 to 15,000 in 1933 to 122,000 in 1951. This growth created pressures on the university and also created the problem of many unemployed graduates. The familiar weaknesses of the secondary education, such as rote learning and overemphasis on examinations, were not cured. Secondary and higher education were regarded mainly as a means to enter government service. It is not therefore surprising that vocational and technical education were neglected and that their prestige was low.

Higher education also developed and was modernised to some extent. In 1942 the Fārūḳ I University (renamed in 1952 the University of Alexandria) was constituted. The *Dār al-ʿUlūm*, the old institute which trained Arabic language teachers, became in 1945-6 a part of the Fuʾād I University (since 1952 Cairo University). After earlier efforts to reform al-Azhar (1911), further steps were taken in 1936 in the same direction.

Educational administration in Egypt, as indeed in all the Middle Eastern states, was highly centralised, despite some efforts at decentralisation, especially after 1938, when the country was divided into educational zones. The Ministry of the Interior conducted the elementary schools of the provinces. As in Turkey, a Supreme Education Council meets periodically to discuss broad educational policy.

Developments since the 1952 Revolution — Even the most critical review of the educational policies of the post-1952 régime would admit that the main

weaknesses of the school system have been approached correctly and positively, although the good intentions have not always been realised in the desired time and manner.

The new régime succeeded in establishing a national, united and integrative school system. The basic laws concerning school reform were promulgated in the 1950s. Law no. 210 of 1953 provided for a unified elementary school of six years and a preparatory school of four years, later reduced to three years. Law no. 213 of 1956 established free tuition in all public education below the university level (tuition fees in the universities were abolished in 1963), and also abolished the examinations as a means for proceeding from one grade to another. Law no. 55 of 1957 established the preparatory school as an independent element of the cycle. Law no. 160 of 1958 abolished all foreign schools as such and turned them into private Egyptian schools.

After some experimenting and changes in the 1950s, an educational ladder of 6-3-3 emerged: An elementary school (*madrasa ibtidāʾiyya*) of six years, for the ages six to twelve, followed by a preparatory school (*madrasa iʿdādiyya*) of three years, and a secondary school (*madrasa t͟hānawiyya*) of three years. According to the new curriculum, the teaching of a foreign language was postponed to the preparatory school.

The quantitative development has been fairly rapid. In the school year 1973-4 there were about 4 million pupils in the elementary schools, 2.6 times more than in 1952. The preparatory schools had a million students, three times more than in 1952; the secondary schools had 670,000, an increase of three times; and 334,000 students were enrolled in higher education, an increase of six times for the same period. Owing to the improvement in the implementation of the compulsory education law, illiteracy rate in Egypt has been declining, though not dramatically, from 80% in 1952, to 70.5% in 1960 and 56.5% in 1976. A decision to extend compulsory education to the preparatory school age group has been reached, but has not yet been put into practice.

The most important change in Egypt's school system has been the structural transformation of secondary education from an overwhelming general or academic education towards technical and vocational training. While all the Middle Eastern states are aware of the need to slow down the growth of general secondary education and to train technically skilled manpower, only Egypt has been able actually to realise that ideal. In 1952 only 15% of the secondary school students were enrolled in technical and vocational training. By 1971 the rate reached 52% and has risen to 55% in the early 1980s. Still, technical and vocational education in Egypt has serious problems of quality and status. In the general secondary education, about two-thirds of the students are in the science stream and only one-third in the literary stream, reversing the situation in the pre-revolutionary period.

Egypt has a well-developed system of teacher training for all levels, and all schools will be supplied with qualified teachers in the forseeable future. In some subjects (such as the social sciences) there is already a surplus of teachers, while in others there is a deficit, mainly in modern languages and technical training. Nevertheless, tens of thousands of Egyptian teachers work temporarily or permanently in Arab and African countries.

Despite the fact that the majority of the secondary school students are channelled to the vocational streams for boys and girls, the pressures on the universities are growing rapidly. The universities are becoming increasingly overcrowded and understuffed, and suffer from insufficient space, libraries and teachers. In order to administer the admittance of secondary school graduates to higher education, all applications are processed centrally through a "coordination bureau", which distributes students into the various faculties according to their grades and their preferences. The figures of the academic year 1979-80 are typical: 227,500 students sat for the final secondary school examinations and 133,000 passed. From these, some 80,000 were admitted to the universities, and the other 53,000 proceeded their studies in the various institutes for higher learning.

During the 1970s, considerable efforts at the decentralisation of higher education were made. The universities were granted a measure of independence. Many regional universities were established, some of them new, others as branches of existing universities.

Between 1961 and 1976 Egypt had, in addition to the Ministry of Education, a Ministry of Higher Education in charge of the universities, higher institutes, student missions and the like. In 1976 it was announced that the Ministry of Higher Education would be abolished and its responsibilities would return to the Ministry of Education. It should be pointed out that the Higher Council for the Universities, a body which lays down the national policy concerning the universities, has wide powers, and many have rendered the Ministry of Higher Education redundant.

iii. The Arab States of the Middle East

There are marked similarities in the development and the problems of the educational systems of the successor states of the Ottoman Empire, despite local differences. The most important common features are the Ottoman heritage, the Arabic language and Islam, which is the religion of the overwhelming majority of the people in the region. The traditional Islamic education of the *kuttāb* was still widespread towards the end of the Ottoman period. The reforms of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century had their impact on the Arab provinces as well. A few modern government schools were opened there, and a small number of their graduates continued their studies in the civil and military institutes of learning in Istanbul. The government schools, however, did not offer education to the Arab population at large, but admitted mainly children of Turkish army officers and officials, as well as children of provincial notables. After the Young Turk Revolution, the pace of educational reform accelerated in the Arab provinces as well as in Turkey. Many new schools were opened in ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Palestine and Libya. The policy of the new Ottoman government of making Turkish the medium of instruction in the state schools in the Arab provinces clashed with the aspirations of the Arab nationalists, who insisted on the right to teach in Arabic. The Arab nationalists' struggle bore some fruit, especially in ʿIrāḳ and Palestine. The Ottoman authorities agreed, as a concession to Arab sentiment, to open some new schools (such as the Arab College in Jerusalem) where Arabic was to be the language of instruction and to allow the use of Arabic in the lower secondary schools, except in history and geography lessons. The higher secondary schools, the *sulṭāniyyes*, retained their Turkish character in most cases. Yet the period of reforming the schools in the

Arab provinces in agreement with the Ottoman government was short and was stopped by the First World War.

In the interwar period, most of the Arab successor states of the Ottoman Empire were subject to European domination in varying degrees.

Libya was occupied by Italy from 1911 until 1943. During that period, the educational system was controlled by the Italians, and Italian became the medium of instruction in state schools after the third grade. From 1943 until 1951, when Libya became independent, the British administered the educational system in the Libyan provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica and the French controlled the province of Fezzan.

In Palestine, which became a British mandate, the Arab school system was controlled by the Department of Education whose director was always British. There were in the system some Arab inspectors and administrators, but they did not make the educational policy. The British influence on Arab education in Palestine was very strong; the standard of English required for the Palestine Matriculation examination was high, but as a result led to the emergence of an élite of Palestinians with a high level of education and culture.

Transjordan was also placed under a British mandate until 1946, when the state became independent. Unlike other Arab states, Transjordan did not experience political struggles, and the transition from British control to purely Arab administration was smooth. Thus the Jordanian educational system had all the benefits from British assistance and advice without the tensions of other Middle Eastern countries. This was possible because of the rudimentary and primitive conditions of the Transjordanian school system at that time.

ʿIrāḳ also was placed under British mandate until 1932, and the school system was administered by the British after 1925. However, the country enjoyed a large extent of independence and developed her education in a national spirit, although the school system was influenced by British teaching methods. In the days of the mandate, a British adviser was attached to the Ministry of Education but the office was abolished prior to the termination of the mandate. Leading ʿIrāḳī educators were influenced by British, American and French methods of education.

Under the French mandate following the First World War, education in Syria and especially in Lebanon underwent an extremely strong French influence, both in organisation and curriculum. The Ministry of Education in Lebanon was established in 1928 and replaced the High Commissioner's *Service de l'Instruction publique*, but the French advisers could still interfere in the policy of the Ministry of Education. Only after Syria and Lebanon attained their independence, and especially after the withdrawal of the French troops in 1946, were they able to assume full control over their educational systems. In Lebanon, the French character of the educational system was retained; the French educational ladder was not changed with the termination of the mandate, and the Lebanese system is still outstanding in the area in its close resemblance to the French model. Upon the attainment of independence, important decrees on education were issued, the foremost among them being that Arabic became a compulsory language; that the teaching of national subjects, such as the history of Lebanon and the geography of the Middle East, was made compulsory; and that schools could choose English as a first foreign language instead of French.

On the other hand, Syria changed the nature of her education as soon as the French left. Under the mandate, French advisers had been attached to the Ministry of Education, and in Syria too French influence was spread by the teaching of French in schools and through French private schools. Now all traces of French influence were removed from the educational system, and the teaching of a foreign language was postponed to the intermediary school.

Upon the establishment of the Arab states after the First World War, their governments showed that they were aware of the importance of education as a factor in nation-building and as a tool for progress. It was in the interwar period that illiteracy was first faced as a national problem. The first reliable educational statistics in the Arab world date from that period.

Whereas the traditional educational system was considered a religious and communal matter of no concern to the state, now, on the contrary, the new nationalist government education was regarded as another agency of the state rather than as an integral part of community life. This feeling was partly justified by the highly centralised nature of the Ministries of Education in all the Arab countries. The Ministry exercises almost unlimited powers over the school system. It determines curricula, acts as a publisher of textbooks, administers public examinations, constructs or supervises the construction of schools, trains, appoints, transfers, promotes and dismisses teachers, and finances all educational activities. According to Ottoman education laws, village communities were responsible for the construction of the school buildings. Nevertheless, the idea of municipal initiative, control, or financing of education has not yet taken root in the Arab world.

There is a marked uniformity in the structure and organisation of the Ministries of Education in the Arab states. The Minister of Education, who is a cabinet member, is assisted by a Director-General. The Ministry functions through departments for elementary education, secondary education, vocational and technical training, teacher training, curricula and textbooks, personnel, statistics, etc. The country is divided into education districts, which are identical with the administrative division of the state. In each district there is a bureau of education, which is a miniature copy of the central Ministry in the capital. Generally, the regional directors of education have little independence; they are charged with implementing the decrees issued by the Ministry and have to report local problems to the capital.

Most of the school systems in the area are administered by the government. After attaining independence, the Arab states started to impose much stricter control over the numerous private and foreign schools which had been established and flourished under the protection of the European powers. Now the Ministries of Education demanded that the national subjects be taught at the private schools in Arabic and by citizens of the host country. The closer inspection of the private schools and progress in the implementation of the free and compulsory education caused the proportion of pupils in private and foreign institutions to decline, especially in the primary stage. Even in Lebanon, the only country in the Middle East where private education is more important than state education, the weight of state education has been growing. Under the French mandate, a state elementary school system emerged;

it served mainly the Muslim population, which was less attracted to the private Christian institutions. A state system of public secondary schools started to develop after 1949. Total arabisation of the school system was emphasised as an expression of national sovereignty. Nevertheless, minorities were allowed to use their language in their schools, as demonstrated by the ʿIrāḳī Local Languages Law of 1931 which provided for the use of Kurdish and Turkish as the medium of instruction, with Arabic as a second language, in the regions where these minorities constitute a majority.

The need to train teachers was one of the most urgent tasks facing the Ministries of Education. The teachers in the state schools are government employees. Since they are chronically underpaid and their opportunities of promotion are limited, the teaching profession below the university level does not attract the best men and women, and the social status of the teachers is lower than it was in past generations. Until the 1950s there were multiple ways and levels in which teachers were trained in the Arab world, ranging from courses lower than the secondary school up to two years above the secondary school. In recent years, with the tendency to standardise the educational levels and methods in the Arab world, the most common teacher training college begins after graduation from the preparatory or intermediate school and lasts four or five years. In recent years, with the rapid growth of higher education, the training of teachers for secondary schools is entrusted to the university schools and faculties of education. In the interwar period, all the Arab countries suffered from shortage of trained teachers; only Egypt and ʿIrāḳ came near to self-sufficiency. Recently, this situation has improved considerably, but there is still a shortage of teachers for certain subjects (mostly foreign languages, the sciences and technical training). Generally, the teacher shortage worsens as one goes higher up the educational ladder.

The most formidable problem with which the education authorities have had to cope has been the widespread illiteracy, which reached 80-90% of the population in most countries of the region in the interwar period. Since adult literacy campaigns have not been efficient in the middle East, the main burden was placed on the elementary schools. Generally speaking, the principle of free elementary education was accepted throughout the Arab world at an early stage. Yet the idea of legislating for compulsory school attendance has been put forward only in the last three decades and has by no means been universally accepted. Lebanon, which is one of the most advanced countries in the region educationally, has no compulsory education law. In several educational laws, references to compulsory education are qualified. Compulsion has applied to those areas where facilities existed (for example, the Transjordanian education regulation of 1939 and the ʿIrāḳī Education Law of 1940).

In the mid-1940s, the proportion of children who were in school from the elementary school age group was still limited. Lebanon had the highest attendance rate of 72.7%, followed by Palestine (Arab education only) 51.6%, Egypt 47.4%, Syria 39.4%, Transjordan 28.0% and ʿIrāḳ 20.0%. Since that time, the primary school attendance rates have been improving constantly, in spite of the rapid population growth in the Middle East, which ranges between 2.5% to over 3% annually. According to a survey of all the Arab states (including North Africa) conducted in 1969-70, 60% of the children in primary school age (between six to twelve years of age in most countries) were in school. That rate increased to 69% in 1974-5. By 1981, 100% attendance rates at the elementary stage (or, in fact, more than 100% in some countries, due to numerous over-age students) have been reached in Jordan, Lebanon and some of the Gulf states, and the rates are rising everywhere.

Jordan and Kuwayt have already extended by legislation the compulsory education stage to apply also to the intermediate school. Other countries, including Egypt, are contemplating doing the same, but will probably do it officially only after reaching full or nearly full attendance rates at the elementary stage.

Again, the difficulties in bringing all children to school are similar in the Arab countries, although their severity varies from one country to another. It is difficult to provide education for bedouin tribes or for small and remote villages. The realisation of the importance of education was not universal a few decades ago. Parents have been reluctant to send their daughters to school, especially after puberty, as they regarded this as contrary to traditional morality. Until today, the illiteracy rate among women is higher than among men and the percentage of girls who attend school is lower than that among boys; this is particularly true in the countryside. Many parents refrain from letting their children go to school because they need their help in the field, the workshop or at home. This tendency has been strengthened by a widespread feeling that the curricula taught at school are unsatisfactory and irrelevant to the needs of the community. Besides, there are not enough qualified teachers. Another problem is a severe shortage of classrooms, and many classes are lodged in rented rooms. Schools often operate in two or even three daily shifts because of scarcity of space. Many children do not enter school at all, and many pupils fail to graduate. Children who leave school after a few years relapse into functional illiteracy. Of course, some of the shortcomings were in the past caused by lack of funds. This factor has been fundamentally changed in those countries of the region which have large incomes from oil, although it has made its notable impact on education only recently. Yet, generally, some of the above-mentioned difficulties have been alleviated recently, and education in the Arab world has been making a qualitative as well as a quantitative progress. The beginnings of systematic planning of national education by the Arab states, including five-year-plans, belong to the 1960s, and have helped to clarify the problems and to approach them more efficiently.

Although demand for secondary education has been growing rapidly, the elementary school is still terminal for some 70-75% of the pupils in the Arab world. The promotion from the elementary to the secondary (or intermediate) stage is determined by passing external examinations, except in the few countries which have made the intermediate stage compulsory. In the interwar period, access to secondary education was extremely limited. Usually, there were no secondary schools outside the towns, and although there were dormitories attached to a few schools in the cities, the vast majority of the population which was rural was deprived of post-primary education. Besides, tuition fees were a serious barrier for poor students, although there were some exemptions on the basis of good grades or financial need. By 1950, tuition fees in the state secondary schools had been abolished throughout the Middle East, and in the 1960s the universities, too, became free

of charge. The popularity of secondary education should be partly ascribed to the fact that it is considered a gateway to higher education and then to a government post. Another motivation for study in a secondary school was exemption from military service or the possibility of service under favourable conditions in some countries.

The weaknesses of the secondary education are well-known, and are in fact an inheritance from the pre-modern period: the overemphasis on rote learning, discipline, examinations, the heavy load of subjects to be taught and frontal lessons. Most of the secondary schools in the region are not equipped with sufficient libraries, laboratories and playgrounds. Secondary education has been overwhelmingly academic; vocational and technical education have been neglected or even looked upon with disdain. In the recent two decades, official attitudes toward vocational and technical education have been changing, but among the Arab states of the Middle East, only Egypt has accomplished a structural change in secondary education by channelling over half of the students into technical and vocational schools.

In the first decades of their independence, the educational ladders in the Middle East differed widely from one Arab state to another. The school system was influenced both by the elements inherited from the Ottoman Empire, which on their part had been shaped by the French model, and by the example of the European mandatory powers. Since the end of the Second World War, the Arab educational systems have been drawing closer to each other, and efforts have been made to coordinate the curricula, the organisation, and the terminology of the educational systems. Egypt has been the object of emulation and has set the example for many reforms, owing to her central position in the Arab world and culture. Thus today the educational ladder of 6-3-3 is the most common pattern in the Arab world, although there have been other variations, such as the Lebanese pattern, Kuwayt (4-4-4), and ʿIrāḳ (6-3-2). There are also differences in the curricula, mainly in the teaching of foreign languages and religious instruction. There is a tendency to postpone the teaching of the foreign language to the intermediate school. Yet in Lebanon, Jordan, ʿIrāḳ and South Yemen, it is taught in the primary school. Saʿūdī Arabia and Sudan devote more hours to the teaching of Islam than other Arab states.

Occasionally, conferences are held to discuss and coordinate educational and cultural policies of the Arab countries. Thus in 1947 a convention was held in Lebanon to coordinate methods of teaching Arabic. In 1957 the important Agreement of Arab Cultural Unity was signed by Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and was joined a year later by ʿIrāḳ. The agreement called for coordination of the school systems from all the cultural, pedagogical and organisational aspects. Over the years, various inter-Arab conferences and conventions have been held which have dealt with the teaching of civics, textbooks, examination, educational planning, the teaching of the sciences, illiteracy, etc.

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2. In North Africa

A. Tunisia. Since 1840, with the foundation of the École Polytechnique of the Bardo, a trilingual instruction (in Arabic, French and Italian) was provided, shaping the scientific and technical education of the armies of the Bey, ruler of the Regency of Tunis. But it was above all after 1875 that a bilingual and bi-cultural instruction in Arabic and French was available through the founding of the Ṣādiḳī College [*q.v.*].

With the establishment of the French Protectorate (12 May 1881), public education took shape with the following features: (1) diversity (at primary level, French schools, Franco-Arab ones, modern Ḳurʾānic schools and traditional-type ones; at secondary level, purely French-type lycées and colleges, institutions or classes giving a bilingual "Ṣādiḳī" education, and traditional Zaytūna education); (2) French influence (Arabic was treated as a foreign language, except at the Ṣādiḳī and some other institutions, and all references to the Arab-Islamic national heritage excluded, or largely excluded, from courses given); and (3) a disequilibrium between the schooling of European and Tunisian children (in 1949, 94% of French children in primary education and 12% of Tunisian Muslim ones; admittance of Tunisians to primary education only (in 1953, secondary education comprised 5,661 French children out of a French resident population of 14,500 and 6,682 Tunisian Muslim ones out of a population of *ca.* 3 millions, the theoretical plan for education of Lucien Paye, the last Director of Public Education under the Protectorate, not having been put into practice).

After independence (20 March 1956) and the proclamation of the Republic of Tunisia (25 July 1957), from 1958 onwards President Habib Bourguiba has tried: (1) to replace the legal chaos and the instructional diversity with a unified system which has its own Tunisian character, Tunisia being a "Republic whose language is Arabic and whose faith is Islam"; and (2) to give public instruction (*al-taʿlīm al-ʿumūmī*) the character of a national education (*al-tarbiya al-ḳawmiyya*) adapted to the variety and the evolution of economic, social, technical and cultural needs of the nation, taking into account demographic increase, and aiming ultimately at education for all, opening out on to the external world, and responsive to scientific and technical changes and developments. This was the reform of 1958 ("A new conception of teaching in Tunisia"). After this first period of reform (1958-68), and after a series of interventions, primary teaching has been completely arabised—French being studied as a foreign language from the 4th year onwards—whilst in secondary teaching, the humanities, including philosophy, are taught in Arabic. At the level of higher education, a step towards the arabisation of the humanities has already been made, and there are even lectures at the Medical Faculty of Tunis in Arabic.

With a percentage devoted to it in 1968 of 9% of the GNP and in 1980 of at least 8%, and with a third of the state budget, expenditure on education in Tunisia surpasses all that recorded for other countries (1968-9, in the USA and Netherlands, 6.5% of the GNP, and in the Communist countries, between 4 and 6.5%). The goal of universal education is in view. In primary education, there were in 1955-6 209,438 pupils (out of a population of *ca.* 3.5 million); in 1965-6, 717,093; in 1975-6, 920,924; and in 1981-2, 1,071,000 out of a population of 6.5 million). If secondary education students (over 300,000) and those in higher education (more than 30,000) are added, a total of 1,400,000 is reached (about 1 Tunisian in 5 is at school).

However, the problem of quality remains outstanding in the framework of Arab-French bilingualism: in the first place, the process of apprenticeship of the French speaker gives him a privileged place at the outset in acquiring competence in communication through language expression (aptitude at varying the message according to psycho-social-cultural conditions) in connection with purely linguistic communication (skill in transmitting a message orally or by means of writing in accordance with the rules of the languages). Hence the option of keeping up Arab-French bilingualism, 25 years after independence, forms part of a project concerning with general culture: (1) primacy for Arabic ("the language which expresses the Tunisian cultural identity and authenticity"); and (2) the opening-up of the educational system on the problems of development defined by the Fifth Plan (1977-81), the aims of educational policy being to favour the development of education, alter the orientation of primary teaching, improve its quality and its impact by developing the child's personality, thereby ensuring for him at one and the same time an intellectual and a manual training (this latter orientated towards the industrial and agricultural techniques built into the teaching), reduce losses of pupils and the inequalities of fortune and fate, and thus facilitate the integration of young people into the economic life of their home districts and regions.

Yet this attachment to French language and culture has always provoked debate between the supporters and opponents of bilingualism since independence. The problem of arabisation (*taʿrīb*) has always stirred up controversy, sometimes violently, and has released religious, political and philosophical passions, as it endeavours to make some people realise their "linguistic, and even cultural, mutilated state". A process of acculturation is felt to be at work here: (1) the French language—considered as one which is widely-spread through the world and one which gives access to a culture with a universal, scientific and technological character—presents itself as a strong rival to Arabic, the bearer of deeply-rooted values, and seen as the language of communication and of liberation; and (2) the two cultures, Arabic and French, express a class antagonism between the comfortably-off classes and the rest and a confrontation between modernism and traditionalism.

Tunisia, an Arab and Muslim country, is nevertheless trying to realise its authentic genius in the midst of modernity by means of a system of unified and general education (a "national" system for the masses and not one of "public education" for

the élite, since "primary education is a right for everyone, secondary education is a necessity, and higher education meritorious"). Lengths of the stages of education: primary, 6 years; secondary, 7 years (3 years of a common core and then three branches leading to baccalaureates in letters, mathematics and sciences or mathematics and technology); and higher (decentralised: sectors for the basic sciences, the medical and biological sciences and the human and social sciences, totalling in 1981 53 units, sc. Faculties, Schools and Institutes).

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B. **Algeria.** On the morn of independence (5 July 1962), the educational system inherited from the colonial period (sc. the French system as it existed before 1968) was kept in being, like all the other institutions which were not contrary to national sovereignty. Under the stimulus of a Ministry of National Education, this system slowly evolved and then changed radically after 1970. The slow period of evolution consisted mainly of an adaptation of the content of syllabuses (concentration of studies on Algeria), the gradual algerianisation of the teaching personnel (accompanied however by a massive appeal for co-operation from other Arab countries) and the arabisation of a certain number of sectors: the first two primary education years in 1966 and then the higher classes, with the preservation of the teaching of a foreign language from the third year onwards, immediate arabisation in secondary and higher education and the opening-up of official channels in the Arabic language.

In 1970 a fairly important change took place. The Ministry of National Education was split up into a Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education and one for Higher Education and Scientific Research. At the side of these two there was set up a Ministry of Basic Education which started to put into effect a parallel system of education, but one completely arabised.

In 1971-2 higher education was completely reorganised. The essential preoccupations of the Algerian government which lay behind this reform were the following: "to form the type of cadres *of which the country has need*, a cadre engaged in the work of socialist reconstruction and filled with the Algerian national personality and the socio-economic realities of the country. From this follows the new shaping of the subjects of teaching and educational qualifications and their integration within educational frameworks based on job needs defined by the sectors requiring these skills. A student must accordingly be directly operational". The organisation of these subjects of teaching was inspired by what existed in certain western countries and those of the East: the substitution in place of an annual curriculum structure of a system of semesters, units of teaching (modules) and the consequent institution of continuous control of courses. The application of these reforms got under way only with great difficulty. Moreover, it required the recruiting of a considerable number of assistants, often at the expense of quality. The establishment of courses of instruction in Arabic parallel to and not instead of those already being carried on in French developed extensively in this period. This distinct monolingualism has not been without serious consequences for the cultural unity of the country.

In regard to primary and secondary education, the system was extensively remodelled in 1977 (by the application of law no. 7635 of 16 April 1976). Henceforth it was to be made up of three levels: preparatory, basic and secondary. The basic school, a fairly original concept, had as its aim the providing of a basic education for all, compulsory and lasting nine years (up to the third grade class of the old system). In order to get the system into operation as quickly as possible, the ministry in charge of this sector of education was in 1981 divided up into a Ministry of Basic Education and Instruction and a Secretaryship of State for Secondary Education.

The lack of personnel at the teaching level has led to the extensive establishing of a grade of elementary (Brevet élémentaire) teachers (instructors) or of a grade a little below this (monitors). This last group made up 41% of teaching personnel in 1965. By 1976 it was only 14.8% and had disappeared totally in 1977. On the other hand, because of the drive towards homogeneity in education, non-state education (secular and confessional) was integrated with public education (Ḳurʾān schools, *madrasas* and *zāwiyas* in 1963, private education in 1977). In the same year, all the institutions within the

jurisdiction of the original educational system, which was dissolved, were integrated in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education.

Other forms of education have also been made possible b· other Ministries, who have started "institutes for technology" or institutes for higher studies in order to provide trained personnel for their own needs. A Ministry for Professional Education has been in being since 1981.

The growth of those undergoing education has been rapid and great since 1962, at all levels, as the following table shows:

	Oct. 1962	1971	1977	1981
Elementary	777,636	2,018,091	2,782,044	3,118,827
Middle and secondary (general and technical)	82,937	236,882	612,229	1,029,884
Higher	2,725	24,334	54,547	78,027

In 13 years (1963-76) the number of schools has almost tripled; in October 1962 there were 2,759 and in 1976 7,798 (classes in practice: 46,529 in 1976 with the introduction of the double vacation). Teachers in primary and secondary schools rose from 19,908 in October 1962 to 129,618 in 1981. The same picture obtains in higher education: from 282 teachers, of whom 82 were Algerians, in 1981 there were 9,778, of whom 7,018 were Algerians.

Like most the Third World countries who have recently achieved independence, Algeria had a fairly large number of illiterates (5,941,000 according to the 1966 census, i.e. about 80%). The number of Algerian children not at school was considerable, and the Algerian students registered at the University of Algiers was not more than 500.

After 20 years, Algeria has certainly accomplished a work which, though still unfinished and full of flaws, is nevertheless positive in its results. More than one-third of the state budget goes annually on education and training. All children are in the process of being placed in schools despite an unprecedented demographic rise (the population has doubled in 20 years). Twenty-one towns either have or are on the point of getting a university or university centre. Two thousand medical doctors are trained each year, together with a good number of engineers and higher technicians.

Bibliography: I. Khenniche, *Description du systeme d'enseignement*, in *Cahiers du CREA Alger*, no. 4, 1-73; *La refonte de l'enseignement supérieur*, Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, Algiers, Imprimerie officielle, 1977; *Informations statistiques*, Ministry of Education, Years 1976-81; *Bulletin statistique*, no. 11 (1981-2), Ministry of Education and Scientific Research; *L'Enseignement supérieur et de la recherche scientifique*, Problèmes actuels et perspectives d'avenir, Algiers, OPU 1978; *al-Taʿrīb fi 'l-Djazāʾir* (*L'arabisation en Algerie*), Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Algiers 1975; *L'Ecole fondamentale*, Algiers, ENET. (A. Hadj-Salah)

C. Morocco. In its modern form, public education in Morocco dates from the colonial period. During the 44 years of the Protectorate (1912-56), the French authorities progressively installed, at the side of the traditional network of Ḳurʾānic schools and *medersas*, an assemblage of educational institutions intended to further the "mission civilisatrice" of the metropolitan power whilst at the same time respecting the particular genius of Moroccan society, following Marshal Lyautey's intentions. But the concrete results of the colonial educational policy were far removed from this noble ideal. The system of modern education introduced by France into Morocco was essentially élitist and brought into the local context a completely alien culture. This explains why the right to education for all was one of the main demands of the nationalist movement.

The attainment of independence in 1956 was marked by a great popular movement in favour of education. Literacy campaigns sprang up spontaneously all over the country, and the new Minister of Education succeeded in getting into school in October 1956 five times as many children as the Protectorate authorities had accepted in the preceding year. This date accordingly marks the real birth of modern education in Morocco.

Efforts to develop the public education system found their justification in a double conception of education's rôle, seen from one aspect as a fundamental right enshrined in the constitution, and from another as a powerful factor making for economic and social progress. This is why education and the training of cadres always had priority in the development plans successively introduced after 1960.

These long-term development objectives were given effect through the choice of four principles for

Table of Children in Education

Year	Primary	Ratio of increase	Secondary	Ratio of increase	Higher	Ratio of increase
1956	318,995	100	10,490	100	3,792	100
1960	766,183	240	86,051	820	4,665	123
1965	1,115,745	350	210,931	2,011	8,996	237
1970	1,175,277	368	298,880	2,849	16,097	424
1975	1,547,647	485	478,000	4,557	40,000	1,055
1980	2,104,050	660	797,110	7,599	93,851	2,475
average annual rate of increase		8,17%		19.77%		14.30%

Source: Annual statistics of the Ministry of National Education.
Annual statistics of Morocco, State Secretariat for Planning and Regional Development.

action which guided the Moroccan government's educational policy after independence: making attendance at school available for all children of appropriate age; unifying the different types of schools left behind by the colonial power; the arabisation of curricula and the language of instruction; and the moroccanisation of the body of teachers.

The results obtained after a quarter of a century of massive investment in the educational sector are impressive, as the following table of the school enrolments shows:

These figures demonstrate the size of the financial resources devoted by the state to public education —almost 25% of the annual budget—which have enabled the transformation of the embryonic educational network inherited from the Protectorate into a vast and complex system.

The present educational system, whose structure is to a considerable extent modelled on the French one, comprises three levels. Primary school lasts for five years and accepts children from the age of seven. This first level is completed by a nationally-organised examination (the certificate of primary education) which gives access to the following level.

Secondary education is itself divided into two stages. The first four years, forming the first cycle, are common to all pupils. Then at the end of this, specialist educational advisers divide the children, according to their aptitudes and wishes, into differing channels of the second cycle. The fifth year of secondary education offers two options of general education (scientific and literary) and two technical ones (commercial and industrial studies). In the sixth and seventh years, the choice is even more varied, with a spread of six channels, each one leading to a distinct type of baccalaureate.

Higher education comprises two groups of institutions. In the universities, which are controlled by the Ministry of Education, students can follow the usual groups of studies, such as arts, law, economics, science and medicine. At the side of this channel of classic university education, which 90% of students of higher education follow, there exists a complete network of specialised schools and institutes of higher education functioning under the control of different technical government departments and aiming at training engineers and the middle management grades which will work in the public and semi-public sectors. Among the most important of these are the Mohammedia (Muḥammadiyya) School of Engineers, the National School of Public Administration, the National Agricultural and Veterinary Institute, the National Institute for Statistics and Applied Economics, the National Institute of Posts and Telecommunications, the Higher Institute of Commerce and Business Administration, etc. There further exists a certain number of pedagogical institutions (regional schools for primary teachers, regional pedagogical centres and teacher training colleges) intended to prepare Moroccan teachers in order to replace foreign instructors, especially in the scientific disciplines.

Considerable progress had been made towards arabisation. All literary topics are taught in the official language. The arabisation of scientific courses is on the way to completion at the primary level, and will be progressively extended to the secondary and higher levels.

From the legal aspect, it should be stressed that school attendance is compulsory till the age of 13 and that education is free at all levels. Moreover, over the last 12 years or so, the government has adopted a policy of granting very generous scholarships for the large majority of students of higher education.

Nevertheless, despite these very positive results, the Moroccan education system has for several years gone through a severe crisis of development whose main components can be set out in the form of three paradoxes with interconnected effects. In the first place, despite a great increase in public expenditure on education and in the number of children enrolled in the schools, making primary education general remains a distant ideal because of the population growth (3% per annum). In the second place, a significant share of the resources devoted to the educational system is wasted because of the high rate of those having to repeat courses or abandoning them altogether. Finally, educational planners find themselves faced by a lack of correspondence between the "products" of the educational system and the employment needs of the labour market, above all in the scientific and technological fields.

The sum total of these difficulties which the Moroccan educational system has come up against, like those of many other young countries of Africa and Asia, has led the authorities in the Ministry of Education to prepare at the present time a long-term reform programme which will allow the Moroccan educational institutions to be better adapted to the needs of a changing society and to enable them to play a more positive rôle in the country's development process.

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The main research works on Moroccan public education since independence are those of A. Motassime, *Tendances actuelles de l'enseignement au Maroc et problèmes d'orientation scolaire. Contribution à l'étude des problèmes actuels de l'éducation au Maroc, pays du Tiers-Monde*, thèse de 3e cycle, Paris 1970; A. Mezouar, *Enseignement supérieur au Maroc et développement*, Mémoire de DES, Casablanca 1977; J. Salmi, *Educational crisis and social reproduction: the political economy of schooling in Morocco*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Sussex 1981. Various more descriptive articles and studies should also be mentioned, including Moatassime, *La politique de l'enseignement au Maroc de 1957 à 1977*, in *Maghreb-Machrek*, no. 79 (Jan.-March 1978), 29-54; C. Tibi, *Politique éducative et financement de l'éducation au Maroc*, Institut International de Planification de l'Éducation, Unesco, Paris 1976; A. Baina, *Le système d'enseignement au Maroc*, Casablanca 1982; M. Merrouni and M. Souali, *Question de l'enseignement au Maroc*, in *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, quadruple no. 143-6 (1982), which has a very complete bibliography. The most useful of the regular publications are *Le mouvement éducatif au Maroc* prepared each year by the Ministry of National Education; *Attadriss*, a twice-yearly educational review published by the École-Normale Supérieure, Rabat; and the cultural chronicle on Morocco which appears each year in the *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Aix-en-Provence.

(J. Salmi)

3. In Iran.

Before the appearance of secular education in Iran, what primary education there was was essentially that of the *maktabs* or *kuttābs* [*q.v.*], where children from the age of six or so learned the rudiments of reading and writing, Islamic religion and some arithmetic. These *maktabs*, as small-scale, informal, locally-organised institutions, continued to exist in the small towns and villages of Iran till after the Second World War, although after 1925 they had to use Ministry of Education textbooks.

Organised higher education may be said to go back to the pre-Islamic medical school and hospital at Djundīshāpūr in Ahwāz [see Gondeshāpūr], but under Islam, the *madrasas* [*q.v.*] took over the function of higher religious education, tending, however, in the Ṣafawid period to become exclusively centres for the training of the Shīʿī clergy, so that by the end of the 19th century, there was virtually no awareness in Iran of the modern intellectual and scientific progress of the West, and little attention was paid also to the rich heritage of classical Islamic scientific and secular literary production.

The impetus for the acquisition of modern Western science and technology began to be felt by the leaders of Iran under the Russian threat to the northwestern provinces of Iran early in the 19th century. ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*] the enlightened Ḳādjār crown prince directly concerned with Iran's defence against Russia, and his able minister Mīrzā Buzurg Ḳāʾim-i Maḳām [see Ḳāʾim-i Maḳām-i Farāhānī], tried to modernise the Iranian army; he told the British envoy James Morier in 1809 that "No pains have been spared to acquire a knowledge of military tactics and theory of fortification which they had gleaned from French and Russian books translated by ʿAbbās Mīrzā's order" (see A. K. S. Lambton, *Persian society under the Qājārs*, in *JRCAS*, xlviii [1961], 123-39).

Negotiations with the embassy sent by Napoleon under General Gardane in 1807-9 (see R. M. Savory, *British and French diplomacy in Persia, 1800-1810*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, x [1972], 31-44) for training the Iranian army included the project of sending 200 Iranian students to study in France, but this project never materialised. In 1811 and 1815, seven students were sent to London for training, and this was the first attempt by the state to acquire an element of modern science and learning through sending students abroad.

Modern Western-type of education dates from the establishment of the *Dār al-Funūn*, the term being a rendering of "école polytechnique", in 1851 [see djāmiʿa]. In 1848, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh began his reign and immediately appointed Mīrzā Taḳī Khān, later called Amīr Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.] as his minister. Amīr Kabīr ushered in many reforms, and prepared a project for the establishment of a modern-type university, mainly to train experts for the army and the higher echelons of the civil service. He started on the necessary building and engaged a number of professors from Austria for it. The university was inaugurated by the Shāh in 1851, only a few days after its initiator, Amīr Kabīr, had fallen from power. The *Dār al-Funūn* was a combination of a military college and a secular university. Branches of study comprised infantry, cavalry and artillery sciences; medicine, physical sciences, mathematics, pharmacology, cartography, history, geography, and the Persian, Arabic, French and Russian languages. In addition to the Austrian professors who were engaged for six years, a number of European experts already in the service of the Iranian government were assigned to teaching posts, as well as a number of native Iranian scholars.

For the first year, 150 students were enrolled. Studies were free, and students were given a free mid-day meal and two uniforms per year. It had a theatre and a model factory attached to it, and was well-equipped with laboratories. Although the Amīr Kabīr was executed soon after the opening of the *Dār al-Funūn*, it continued its work. Amīr Kabīr's reforms, and particularly his founding the *Dār al-Funūn*, were not applauded by the powerful Muslim clergy, but as he had linked it with the needs of national defence, it was difficult for them to oppose it (see F. Ādamiyyāt, *Amīr Kabīr wa Īrān*,[3] Tehran 1348/1969).

The Austrian professors wrote many textbooks in their respective fields, and these were translated into Persian; thus not only was modern science introduced into Iran, but also, the foundations for modern Persian scientific terminology were laid.

The *Dār al-Funūn* was a landmark in the history of Iranian education, both as the first organised attempt to introduce modern science and technology and also as the first attempt by the state to assume responsibility for public education. For over forty years its work was responsible for the education of an élite class of intellectuals who were in no small measure responsible for the establishment of constitutional monarchy in 1906 (see F. Ādamiyyāt, *Fikr-i āzādī*, Tehran 1340/1961).

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh became increasingly suspicious of the new learning, and education stagnated in the later part of his long reign. In 1855, the Ministry of Science (*Wizārat-i ʿUlūm*) was created. In 1858, 42 students were sent to France to study in various scientific fields. In 1871 a modern school with European teachers was established in Tabrīz.

In the last decade of the 19th century, two colleges of higher education were established which later became faculties of Tehran University. One was the College of Political Sciences, primarily intended for the education of future diplomats, and the other was the College of Agriculture, with training at secondary school and university level. With the creation of the Society for Promotion of National Education, many philanthropically-inclined citizens were encouraged to endow and start their own private schools on modern lines.

The reformist movement which had started early in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was fully conscious of the inadequacy of the traditional *maktab-madrasa* type of education, and worked towards the adoption of a modern Western-type of education. Mīrzā Malkam Khān [*q.v.*] was the first to propose a national system of education, similar to the French one of primary, secondary and university stages (see Ādamiyyāt, *op. cit.*). Others, more nationalist and anti-clerical, like Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhund-zāda [*q.v.*], Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī [*q.v.*] and Ṭālibov, demanded a secular system of education.

The constitutional period, beginning in 1906, inaugurated a period of upheaval for Iran, with the re-imposition of despotic Ḳādjār rule, pressures from outside powers during the First World War years and finally the downfall of the Ḳādjārs [see mashrūṭiyya and ḳādjār], yet a great deal was done for education between 1908 and 1925.

In 1910 the *Madjlis* passed the administrative Law of Education which established the Ministry of Education (*Wizārat-i Maʿārif wa Awḳāf wa Ṣanāʾiʿ-i Mustaẓrafa*), whose responsibilities included also, as its name implied, pious endowments and the fine arts.

Responsibility for public education was assigned to this Ministry. In 1911 the Fundamental Law of Education made the Ministry responsible for the provision of basic education for all children aged from 7 to 13 years of age. This law also recognised three stages of education: primary, secondary and higher stages. Private schools were recognised, but they all had to carry out the curriculum ratified by the Ministry of Education. Corporal punishment was banned in all types of school (see further on the provisions of these laws, Issa Sadiq, *Modern Persia and her educational system*, New York 1931).

In 1918 the Central Teachers' College was established for training secondary school teachers. A number of French teachers were engaged to teach modern sciences, and eminent Iranian scholars came to be associated with this college, later called the Higher National Teachers' College. When the University of Tehran was established in 1935, this College was incorporated into the University to form its faculties of Arts and Sciences. In 1921 the School of Law was established and a number of European teachers engaged to teach modern jurisprudence. In 1922 a law was ratified by the *Madjlis* establishing the Supreme Council of Education, which was the legislative and supervisory body with regard to all matters pertaining to education. Thus with the education acts of 1910, 1911 and 1922, the foundations were laid for a national system of education.

With the advent of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī [*q.v.*], Minister of War in 1921, prime minister in 1923 and voted as Shāh by the Constitutional Assembly which deposed the Ḳādjār dynasty in 1925, a new era began in the history of Iran, one marked by unification of the country under a strong central government, economic progress, the first steps towards emancipation of women, a resurgence of Iranian nationalism and further progress in education.

The need for trained people in higher education prompted the new Shāh to introduce a law into the *Madjlis* authorising the Ministry of Education to send at least 100 students abroad every year for higher education; the first group left for France in 1928. Scholars sent abroad under this law provided the future universities with the bulk of their teachers and also manned important posts of state. At the same time, the government engaged a number of foreign professors to teach at centres of higher education.

In 1934 an important step was taken to provide teachers for primary schools. A law was ratified by the *Madjlis* establishing teachers' colleges, and also making provisions for the employment, promotion and retirement of teachers and civil servants. By 1939 there were thirty such colleges in operation.

The University of Tehran was established by law in 1934 and inaugurated in 1935 [see DJĀMIʿA]. Almost all the faculties were already in existence; the new law brought them under a unified administration. The law also approved the budget for extensive new buildings.

In 1936, Riḍā Shāh decreed the emancipation of women, and a consequence of this was that, hitherto barred from higher education, they found access to educational facilities at all levels.

In 1939, secondary school organisation was changed. Until then, the secondary school was divided into two stages or "cycles" of three years each. The first cycle was general in nature, and the second one provided more education in the arts and sciences. As there was a terminal examination at the end of the first cycle (at the age of 16) and a certificate was issued at that point, more than 50% of students terminated their studies then or went into a trade or vocational school. With the new system, the secondary school was divided into a structure of 5 + 1 years, with specialisation at the sixth year. This had an adverse effect on the subsequent development of education, however, in that it turned students away from vocational schools towards a university education, and consequently produced a surfeit of applicants for university education.

Technical and vocational education had all along been the responsibility of various departments of state who trained the experts whom they needed. The Ministry of Education—called since the early 1930s the *Wizārat-i Farhang* (*farhang* = both education and culture)—did have its own vocational schools which students could enter at the age of 16 after the first cycle of secondary school, but the number of these schools was inadequate.

The whole system of education was highly centralised, with all important decisions taken in Tehran. However, when Riḍā Shāh abdicated in 1941, a national system of education had been firmly established. The most remarkable achievement was perhaps the fact that, under him, girls came to enjoy the same right to education as boys.

Under Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī [*q.v.*] there was an enormous growth in all fields of education. Whereas there were 285,000 students in primary schools in 1941, the figure rose to 4,708,000 in 1976. Secondary school enrolment rose from 25,000 to 2,357,000, and university enrolment from 3,367 to 154,000 in the same period. The increase in educational expenditure was from 154 million rials in 1941 to 260 billion rials in 1976. In addition, in 1976 there were some 50,000 Iranian students studying at foreign universities, mainly in the United States and in Western Europe.

In 1943 a law ratified by the *Madjlis* made the University of Tehran autonomous. Between 1949 and 1950, new universities were established in Tabrīz Shīrāz, Ahwāz, Iṣfahān and Mashhad. In 1956, Pahlavī University was established in Shīrāz, in 1957 the National University opened in Tehran, and in 1962 the Āryāmihr Technological University was inaugurated in Tehran. By 1964, eleven new institutions of higher education had been established.

In 1963, the law establishing the Literacy Corps or "Army of Knowledge" (*Sipāh-i Dānish*) was ratified. According to this law, young men of military age, with secondary school certificate, could choose to undergo four months of training as primary school teachers and afterwards teach for 20 months in remote rural areas, this being regarded as in lieu of military service. Between 1963 and 1969, some 1.3 million children and adults had been taught by the Literacy Corps in 22,000 villages.

In 1964 the whole system of primary and secondary schools was reorganised. The primary school was allotted 5 years, the "guidance" school 3 years after the primary school and the last four years of secondary school could be devoted to specialised studies relevant to the university course which the student planned to follow. Alternative vocational and technical schools were provided after the primary school and after the three years of "guidance" school, this system marking a considerable improvement over the previous one.

In 1968 a new Ministry of Science and Higher

Education was created to deal with ever expanding higher education. The new Ministry authorised the establishment of private colleges of higher education, but the experiment was not a successful one, and all the private colleges were nationalised in 1974. Also in 1974, education at all levels was declared free by the Shāh.

The abnormal growth of secondary education had created a large number of applicants for university places. Notwithstanding the fast expansion of higher educational facilities, only a fraction of the applicants could find places. The accumulating number of young people whose levels of aspiration had been thereby raised, but could not be satisfied, was another factor responsible for the discontent that led to the 1979 Revolution in Iran, but the consequent closure in effect of the universities as potential centres of resistance, and the relegation once again of woman to an inferior status under the Khumaynī régime have diminished rather than enhanced educational opportunities.

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(MAHMUD SANA'I)

MAʿARRAT MAṢRĪN or **MIṢRĪN**, a small town in North Syria (lat. 36° 01′ N., long. 36° 40′ E.). It is 40 km. to the north of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], 50 km. south-west of Aleppo or Ḥalab [*q.v.*] and 12 km. north-west of Sarmīn. It owes its importance to its position between the districts of the Rūdj, the Djazr and the Djabal al-Summāḳ and formerly served as the market for this region which the road from Ḥalab to Armanāz traverses, a route used in the Middle Ages by the Turkomans. Its role has devolved today on Idlib. The land, although poorly watered, has never lacked agricultural resources; in the Middle Ages there were already fig, olive and pistachio trees as well as *summāḳ*, which was exported to the tanneries; lentils were also cultivated there. In former times, the town was protected by a wall which today has disappeared, and there were five mosques.

As the chef-lieu of a *nāḥiya* of the *muḥāfaẓa* of Ḥalab, situated in the district of the Djazr, Maʿarrat Maṣrīn had 3,000 inhabitants in 1930 and 5,000 in 1945, and came under the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Idlib.

The name of the town is often given in the form Maʿarrat Miṣrīn, but it is also called Maʿarrat Naṣrīn, which some authorities, such as al-Muḳaddasī and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, connect with the name of Ḳinnaṣrīn [*q.v.*], the *djund* of which the town formed part, just as Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] was sometimes designated Maʿarrat Ḥimṣ by an allusion to the *djund* to which it belonged. In the Syriac manuscripts of the 8th century, this town, situated in the *kūra* of Anṭākiya [*q.v.*], is called Maʿarrat Meṣrēn; the monastery of Bēth Mari Ḳānūn was there. In the chroniclers of the Crusades, one encounters the form Megaret Basrin or Meguaret Mesrin. In Isambert's *Guide* (714), one reads Maarrat Moucerim.

History. In the year 16/637, after having defeated a large Byzantine army drawn up between Ḥalab and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] conquered this town, which surrended on the same conditions as Ḥalab [*q.v.*]. In the ʿAbbāsid period, under the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861), ʿAmr b. Ḥawbar, originally from Maʿrāthā al-Buraydiyya, a locality near Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, held the office of governor of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn. A century later, in 357/968, profiting from the unstable situation in Ḥalab after the death of Sayf al-Dawla, Nicephorus Phocas conquered the town and had more than 1,000 inhabitants deported to the *bilād al-Rūm*. After the Arabo-Byzantine truce of Ṣafar 359/end of 969-beginning of 970, the town was part of the territory governed by Ḳarghuwayh. At the time of his expedition against Ḥalab, in 415/1024, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, chief of the Banū Kilāb, sent one of his *amīrs*, Abū Manṣūr Sulaymān b. Ṭawḳ, to attack Maʿarrat Maṣrīn; the place was captured and its commander taken prisoner. In 454/1062, a short time before the death of Muʿizz al-Dawla Thimāl, the Byzantines succeeded in making themselves masters of the town by trickery. Asad al-Dawla ʿAṭiyya succeeded his brother in Ḥalab but, in 457/1065, his nephew Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, with the help of the Kilābīs, was successful in turning out his uncle and setting himself up in his place. However, some discontented Kilābīs helped ʿAṭiyya to attack Maʿarrat Maṣrīn in 458/1066 and recapture it from his nephew. In 490/end of 1097 the Franks besieged Anṭākiya, where the Saldjūḳid governor Yaghī-Siyān resisted them. During the siege, the Franks went in Ṣafar 491/January 1098 to pillage some of the towns of the Djazr and notably Maʿarrat Maṣrīn. In Djumādā II 491/June 1098, Anṭākiya was taken; Yaghī Siyān escaped, but he fell from his horse at Armanāz, not far from Maʿarrat Maṣrīn and, mortally wounded, he is said to have been killed by some Armenian woodcutters who carried his head to Bohemond.

After having taken Ḥārim [*q.v.*] in Shaʿbān 492/July 1098, Raimond Pilet, with a detachment of the army of the Comte de Saint-Gilles, crossed the Rūdj and captured the town, which was integrated into the Frankish defences to the east of the Orontes. When Baldwin of Edessa had been taken prisoner, the Frankish garrisons were attacked in 497/1104 in the district of al-Djazr by the inhabitants of al-Fuʿa, Sarmīn and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, who inflicted heavy losses on them and drove them out of the region. Riḍwān of Ḥalab received a good reception and occupied the town, which came to play the role of frontier-post (*thaghr*) for the Muslims. In 505/1111-12 the population of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn came into conflict with the Shīʿī Ismāʿīlīs, who were numerous in the district; two years later, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 507/April 1114, a group of Ismāʿīlīs recruited in Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, Afāmiya [*q.v.*] and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, tried to attack Shayzar during Easter, but were repulsed by the Banū Munḳidh.

In 514/1120 Ṭughtakīn and Ilghāzī, lords of Ḥalab, arrived to besiege the Franks who had withdrawn to Maʿarrat Maṣrīn; when Baldwin proceeded to the rescue of the Crusaders, the antagonists reached a peace agreement granting the Westerners a certain number of places, including Kafarṭāb, al-Bāra [*q.v.*] and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, whence the Franks could keep a watch on the Turkomans. The Frankish fief of al-Athārib extended as far as Maʿarrat Maṣrīn at that time. In Radjab 520/August 1126, when Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī [*q.v.*], governor of Mawṣil, invaded the territory of Sarmīn, he found the Franks camping in front of him near the cisterns (*ḥawḍ*) of Maʿarrat

Maṣrīn; they retreated several days later to their territory because of their lack of provisions.

For several years, the region of the Djazr was to witness the constant passage of Crusaders and Muslims. In 524/1130, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, having become *atabeg* of Mawṣil after the assassination of Aḳ Sunḳur, profited from the conflict which broke out between Alice of Antākiya, widow of Bohemond, and her own father Baldwin II, to attack the outlying parts of Athārib and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, which he captured for a while from the Franks. In 527/1134, the *amīr* Sawār, lieutenant of Zangī in Ḥalab, undertook a plundering expedition against the Djazr and the citadel of Zardanā; he surprised the Franks near Ḥārim, invaded the territories of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, and returned to Ḥalab loaded with booty.

In 571/1175, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, in order to bring the Ismāʿīlī Ḥashīshiyyīn to reason, mounted a punitive expedition against their territories of Sarmīn, Maʿarrat Maṣrīn and the Djabal al-Summāḳ whose inhabitants he massacred; he then entrusted to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥārimī, his maternal uncle, the district of Ḥamāt [*q.v.*], which was rich in fortresses.

In the Ayyūbid period, Maʿarrat Masrīn often changed masters; in Djumādā I 619/July 1222, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, son of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, acquired the territories of Shughr and Bakas, Rūdj and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, which he was to exchange later, around 624/1227, for some places situated to the north-west of Ḥalab, such as ʿAyntāb [*q.v.*] and Rāwandān. In 637-8/1240, the region was devastated by the Khʷārazmians (see KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS).

In the modern period, the town seems only rarely to have been visited by travellers. The consul J.-B. Rousseau speaks of it in 1814 in his description of the *pashalīk* of Ḥalab. At the end of the 19th century, Jullien says of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn that it was a large village situated in the midst of fields of sesame and olive-trees in a rich plain, whose great fertility, before 1914, was praised by Garrett.

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(N. ELISSÉEFF)

MAʿARRAT AL-NUʿMĀN, chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of North Syria comprising the southern half of the Djabal Zāwiya, which consists of the southern part of the Belus massif with numerous villages. Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, famous as the birthplace of the blind poet al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*], is situated at about 500 m. altitude, in lat. 35° 38′ N. and long. 36° 40′ E. Falling within northern Phoenicia, two days' journey to the south of Ḥalab or Aleppo (70 km.), it is situated on the eastern fringe of a massif rich in archaeological remains. From west to east, we have Eocene limestones which provide cut stone, cretaceous marl, and, about 12 km. to the east, Pliocene basalts which, to the south, take the form of a flow which traverses the Djabal Zāwiya as far as the Orontes.

There is no running water in the vicinity, and the inhabitants have to collect rain water in cisterns. The contributions of rainfall and wells have allowed a rich agriculture without irrigation since antiquity. According to Ibn Djubayr, it used to take two days to cross the area covered by gardens which stretched all around the town. This land was, in the Ayyūbid period, one of the most fertile and rich in the world. To the west of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, since classical times there has been cultivation of olive trees and vineyards; near the town, in the gardens, grow pistachio and almond trees, while to the east, stretch fields of cereals (corn and barley). The region produces three essential commodities: corn, olives and raisins for immediate export, which leads to "recurring concentrations in great masses of these specialised products" (Tchalenko, *Villages*, i, 98).

If one accepts the identification of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān with Ara, the existence of a human settlement on the site of the present town very near to Tell Mannas dates back to the first millenium B.C. In fact, Ara is mentioned in the Assyrian texts among the conquests of the empire in 738 B.C. There is no doubt that it is the same town which appears under the name Arra as one of the Graeco-Roman cities of the Antonine itinerary which is identifiable with the Megara of Strabo and which becomes Marra in the Latin chroniclers of the Middle Ages, while the Western historians of the Crusades call it La Marre or La Maire. According to the Arab authors, the form Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān designated in the Umayyad period a town and a district situated in the fourth climate and belonging to the *djund* of Ḥimṣ; then, from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, it was incorporated in that of Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*]. This is why the geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. before 272/885) considers this region as one of the *ʿAwāṣim* [*q.v.*]. According to al-Balādhurī (d. *ca.* 279/892) and al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. *ca.* 278/891) and repeated by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (756/1355) and Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (872/1468) (*Zubda*), the town was at one time called Dhāt al-Ḳuṣūr "the town of palaces", al-Dimashḳī speaks of Dhāt Ḳaṣrayn, "the one with two palaces".

The second part of the name of the town, according to al-Balādhurī, repeated by al-Harawī, is taken from a Companion of the Prophet, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*], who, in the caliphate of Muʿāwiya, was governor of Kūfa and the region of Ḥimṣ and whose son died in Maʿarra; on the death of Yazīd, the governor of Maʿarra is said to have been Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, who himself died in 65/684. There is another tradition according to which this second name is taken from al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAdī al-Sāṭiʿ, of the Banū Tanūkh family who lived in the town and the region.

Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, since its establishment, has been an important crossroads and active economic centre. The town is situated on the north-south axis, which, from Ḳurus at the foot of the Taurus, goes as far as Palestine passing via Ḥalab, Ḥamāt, Ḥimṣ

and Dimashk. This route passes along the foot of the eastern slope of the Djabal Zāwiya and skirts the plain which stretches to the east. A road also passes it which links Ḥamāt with Anṭākiya, and halfway between the latter and Maʿarra is Rūdjiyya (Chastel Ruge) in the Rūdj district which screens Antioch to the south. An important road goes westwards from Maʿarra via al-Ḥass and al-Bāra, goes over the Djabal Zāwiya, then crosses the Orontes at Djisr al-Shughr before reaching Lādhikiyya [*q.v.*].

To the south, one goes by Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān to Kafar Ṭāb, from where one can reach Afāmiya or Shayzar. It should be noted that the old Ḥalab-Ḥimṣ route that al-Yaʿkūbī followed in the 3rd/9th century did not pass by Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān but via Tell Mannas, several kilometres to the east of the present road, and yet the Antonine itinerary gives the Arra-Epiphania (Ḥamāt) route. A well-articulated road network linked the agricultural villages of the east with Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. This town was not only a resting stage, but also a centre of exchange between the mountain and the plain, and it served as a great collecting centre of agricultural products; in 340/951 it was already a prosperous town. As the key to Ḥamāt, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was to be, under the Middle Ages, the first objective to be attained by any adversary, coming from the north-west, north or north-east, while to any master of Ḥamāt it constituted an advance defence. In the Ottoman period, the economic importance of the town was emphasised by the fact that the *sandjak* of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān had its own fiscal regulation; taxes were paid on merchandise in transit, animals and produce transported from the villages to the town, the *bādj* fee [*q.v.*]. In 1913, there was a French school in this town. At the present time, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān preserves its role as a craft and commercial centre which is emphasised by the coming-and-going of trucks, agricultural machines, buses and taxis as well as the appearance of its main street, which is dominated by garages, workshops for mechanical repairs, cafés and restaurants.

Demographic growth in the 20th century has followed that of the country as a whole. From 5,250 inhabitants in 1932, the population rose to 9,140 in 1945, to reach 20,000 in 1970.

History. In 16/637, the army of Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] occupied Maʿarra-Ḥimṣ; those of the inhabitants who were not converted were forced to pay the *djizya* and *kharādj* [*q.vv.*]. In Radjab 101/February 720, the pious caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was buried in Dayr Samʿān in al-Naḳīra to the south-west of Maʿarra. It is in this village that there lived the Ṣūfī Yaḥyā al-Maghribī whom Saladin visited. This was a place of pilgrimage frequented in the 7th/13th century.

In 207/822, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, nominated by the caliph al-Maʾmūn as governor of Syria where he succeeded his father, fought the rebel Naṣr b. Shabath and, on this occasion, destroyed the fortifications of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and other fortresses such as those of al-Kafr and Ḥunāḳ.

In 290/903, the Ḳarāmiṭa [*q.v.*], under the command of the Ṣāḥib al-Khāl, devastated the region of Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt, Salāmiyya and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. They killed many people there and took captive women and children. In 325/936-7, some Banū Kilāb nomads penetrated into Syria from Nadjd; when they drew near to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Muʿādh b. Saʿīd, commander of this place, went to meet them, but was taken prisoner at al-Burāghithī (whose location is unknown) with a part of his army; he was only released later by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, a Kilābī commander of Ḥalab.

In 332/943-4 al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, uncle of Sayf al-Dawla, drove out of Ḥalab Abu 'l-ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd and the Kilābī Yānis al-Muʾnisī, and passed by Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān on his way to Ḥimṣ, while Yānis fled to Egypt. In Shawwāl 333/May-June 945, the Ikhshīdid governor of Egypt left Damascus and marched against Sayf al-Dawla; he seized Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and appointed Muʿādh b. Saʿīd as governor for the second time, but he was killed shortly after by Sayf al-Dawla at the Battle of Ḳinnasrīn. In 348/959 the Ḳarāmiṭa were numerous in the region of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, and the ʿUḳaylid governor Shabīb b. Djarīr headed a band of these insurgents and marched on Dimashḳ. At the end of 357/end of 968, Nicephorus Phocas conquered Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, destroyed the Great Mosque and damaged a large part of its ramparts. At the beginning of 358/969, a peace treaty was signed and the town was one of those which had to pay tribute to the Byzantines, but the latter did not have sufficient troops to enforce the agreement. Abu 'l-Maʿālī, son of Sayf al-Dawla, recaptured Maʿarra.

In 358/969, at the time when the Byzantines withdrew from the Ḥalab region, Abu 'l-Maʿālī came to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, whose governor delivered the *khuṭba* in his name. In October of the same year, on the return of the Byzantines, Abu 'l-Maʿālī fell back on Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, where he received reinforcements, provisions and fodder. He appointed as his lieutenant there Zuhayr, a *ghulām* of his father, and went on to Ḥimṣ. On his return, Zuhayr refused to open the gates of the town to the Ḥamdānid prince, who decided to use force; finally, his lieutenant secured *amān*.

When in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 358/October 969, Karghawayh seized power in Ḥalab, Zuhayr, the governor of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, allied himself with the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla and took part in the campaign against Ḥalab. But as soon as the Byzantine Peter Stratopedarcus, whom Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr calls al-Turbāzī, came to help Karghawayh, Abu 'l-Maʿālī abandoned the siege of Ḥalab and withdrew with Zuhayr to al-Khunāṣira and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. In 364/975 Saʿd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Maʿālī came, with the aid of the Banū Kilāb, to besiege Zuhayr in his town, and broke in by the Ḥunāḳ gate; driven back from the town, Abu 'l-Maʿālī burned the Ḥimṣ gate, and finally, Zuhayr gave himself up and was executed. In Shawwāl 366/May-June 977, the castle of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was pillaged.

An expedition of the Fāṭimids against Ḥalab in 386/996 was held in check, but the Egyptians succeeded in extending their authority as far as Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. In fact, Rummāḥ, a *mamlūk* of Sayf al-Dawla who governed the place, had revolted against his master Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil Saʿīd al-Dawla, prince of Ḥalab, and had appealed to Mangūtakīn, a Turkish leader in the service of the Fāṭimids, to relieve him from the pressure exerted by the Aleppine forces. It seems that following an agreement with the Fāṭimids, Luʾluʾ, the *atabeg* of Ḥalab, had recovered Maʿarra. In 393/1003 the district of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was attacked by Luʾluʾ, who had seized power in Ḥalab in the preceding year; he dismantled the fortresses situated in this territory and in that of Rūdj in order to prevent his adversaries from using them against him.

In the middle of the 5th/11th century, after the appearance of the Mirdāsids on the political scene with the capture of Ḥalab in 1024, Maʿarrat al-

Nuʿmān was to change hands several times. In 434/1042-3 the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla confronted the Mirdāsid Thimāl, master of Ḥalab, and took possession of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. In 452/1060 Thimāl, in the course of an expedition against his nephew Maḥmūd, stayed in the town whose inhabitants had to suffer the enemy occupation. Five years later, after entering Ḥalab, Maḥmūd the Mirdāsid, sent Hārūn, a Turkish leader, to capture Maʿarra. On 17 Shawwāl 458/10 September 1066, Hārūn penetrated into the town with more than 1,000 men comprising Turks, Daylamī, Kurds and men from the al-Awdj tribe. They had established their camp outside the walls in front of the gate where public prayer was performed. These troops were disciplined, and respected the olive groves and vineyards, only taking water for their beasts without paying. They left the town to help Maḥmūd in his struggle against the Kilābīs.

Some Turks from the Byzantine territory advanced in 462/1070, under the command of Ṣundaḳ, against Ḥalab; they went as far as the Djazr and devastated the territories of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Kafar Ṭāb, Ḥamāt, Ḥimṣ and Rafaniyya. Shortly after, the Saldjūḳids made their appearance in North Syria. In 472/1079-80, Tutush, brother of the sultan Malik Shāh, made the inhabitants of Sarmīn and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, whose eastern villages he plundered, pay large sums.

In 478/1085, Maʿarra belonged to the ʿUḳaylids; at the beginning of Rabīʿ II/August, Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumush who, the preceding year had seized Anṭākiya, took it from them. In 485/1092 Yaghī Siyān received from Tutush a certain number of places in *iḳṭāʿ*, including Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. Three years later, Riḍwān, the Saldjūḳid prince of Ḥalab, gave the town and its territory to Sukmān b. Artuḳ; in the following year, Djarrāḥ al-Dawla, Riḍwān's *atabeg*, having quarrelled with the latter, seized Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān.

The strategic position of this place was also to interest the Crusaders. In the vicinity of the town, to the west, troops could be concentrated, under the protection of the forts of Tell Mannas and Kafr Ruma to the east and Kafar Ṭāb which, on the south, also served to defend the approach from Afāmiya and to attack Shayzar on the Orontes. In 491/1098 Raymond of Saint Gilles decided to attack Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān on leaving Anṭākiya, supported by the Christians of the region, but he was driven back. At the end of November a fresh attack was led by Robert of Flanders. In order to capture Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, the Crusaders used a wooden castle on wheels surpassing the height of the town walls so as better to attack the enemy who, to break the force of the missiles, covered the walls with bags of hay and cotton. Raimond Pilet's sappers succeeded in making a breach in the wall. Not having a very large army, Bohemond negotiated an honourable surrender, proposing to save lives. The town surrendered on 14 Muḥarram 492/11 December 1098. At Christmas 1098, Raymond of Saint Gilles left Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān to establish himself at Chastel Ruge, and Bohemond also went there after appointing the bishop of al-Bāra in authority over this place. At the beginning of January 1099, while the princes were organising the expedition against Jerusalem from Chastel Ruge, the more impoverished elements of the Frankish army, who wanted to to go Jerusalem without delay, rebelled, and, despite the protestations of the bishop of al-Bāra, set about sacking the town and demolishing the ramparts. Raymond of Saint Gilles returned, gathered his men and abandoned Maʿarra, which he evacuated on 17 Ṣafar 492/13 January 1099, barefoot, as leader of the Pilgrimage. In 496/1103, Riḍwān of Ḥalab reconquered the lost fortresses and, the following year, he occupied Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, which the Franks were forced to abandon temporarily. In 505/1111, Mawdūd, *atabeg* of Mawṣil, and Ṭughtakīn, *atabeg* of Dimashḳ, allied against Ḥalab, and marched to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, whose region was at that time peopled by numbers of the Assassins [see AL-ḤASHĪSHIYYA]. On 23 Rabīʿ II 509/15 September 1115, Bursuḳ of Mawṣil was defeated by Roger of Antioch at the Battle of Tall Dānith, to the north of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, on the road from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. Two years later, after the assassination of Luʾluʾ at Ḥalab, the Franks controlled the roads linking this town with Dimashḳ. In 513/1119 Baldwin II marched on Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, and in the following year, Riḍwān concluded a treaty with the Franks of Antioch according to which Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, the Djazr situated to the north of the town, Kafar Ṭāb, al-Bāra and part of the Djabal al-Summāḳ reverted to the Franks. Several years later (519/1125) there is mentioned the escape of an important group of Muslim prisoners from the citadel of Maʿarra.

At the beginning of Djumādā I 529/end of April 1135, Zangī captured Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and drove the Franks out of the citadel; he re-established on their lands the Muslims who could show their title deeds, and for those who had lost them he checked the payment of *kharādj* in the land registers before restoring their lands. The following year, at the beginning of Shaʿbān/mid-April, the Basileus John II Comnenus traversed the territory of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, without attacking it, and proceeded swiftly towards Shayzar which he besieged in vain.

During the great earthquake of 552/1157, of which Ḥamāt was the epicentre, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was seriously damaged; Nūr al-Dīn visited it in Ramaḍān 552/October 1157. In this prince's time, this town was situated on the southern border of the Ḥalab region and the customs dues (*mukūs*) on merchandise were paid there. Nūr al-Dīn founded a dovecot there, a resting-stage for the pigeon post between Ḥamāt and Ḥalab, which was to be integrated into the system of the Mamlūk air-borne post before being suppressed at the beginning of the 15th century.

In 574/1178, certain villages of the *kūra* of Maʿarra were given in *iḳṭāʿ* by Saladin to the *amīr* Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Muḳaddam. In the Ayyūbid period, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, due to its position on the border of the territories of Ḥalab and Ḥamāt, changed hands more than ten times in less than a century.

In 548/1188 Saladin went from Ḥalab to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān in order to go on pilgrimage to the Shaykh Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Maghribī, who lived near the tomb of the Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. In 587/1191, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar seized Maʿarra to the detriment of Muẓaffar al-Dīn, and died shortly afterwards. Two years later it was given by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī to al-Manṣūr Muḥammad. In 596/1200, Ibn al-Muḳaddam was in possession of Afāmiya, Kafar Ṭāb and 25 places in the district of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. The following year, during a campaign against Ḥamāt, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī sacked the surrounding area and plundered the town, which sporadically formed part of his domains. In 598/1202 an agreement was reached between al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir of Ḥalab and al-

Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, who received Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. This town is situated to the north of Shayzar, Afāmiya and Kafar Ṭāb, three possessions of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, the *amīr* of Ḥalab, whose forces, together with some Bedouin allies, pillaged the territory of Maʿarra from time to time.

In 604/1207-8, the governor of the town was Murshid b. Sālim b. al-Muhadhdhib, vassal of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir. In 617/1220, this town belonged, with the agreement of the Sultan al-Afḍal, to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḳilīdj Arslan [*q.v.*], lord of Ḥamāt. In 620/1223, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā, prince of Dimashḳ, attacked Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, whose governor fled, leaving the task of negotiating to the notables, who included the father of the historian Ibn Wāṣil. Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam nominated an administrator.

In the decade which followed, the town was disputed between al-Ashraf Mūsā of Damascus and al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd of Ḥamāt. The latter reconstructed the citadel of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān in 631/1233. In 635/1238, on the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil in Cairo, Maʿarra and its citadel were seized by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf of Ḥalab after a short siege assisted by mangonels. Expelled by Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*], the Khwārazmians crossed the Euphrates in 638/1240 and entered Syria, passed to the south of Ḥalab via Djabbūl and Sarmīn, and plundered the region as far as Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, governed at that time by al-Malik al-Manṣūr. After Baybars' victory at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*], the sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḳuṭuz [*q.v.*] in 658/1259 handed over to al-Malik al-Manṣūr the towns of Baʿrīn and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, which had been taken from him by the *amīr* of Ḥalab. From this time onwards except for short periods, the town and its region was to remain in the hands of the princes of Ḥamāt; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, an Ayyūbid prince, geographer and historian, also received them in *iḳṭāʿ* from the sultan Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn in 710/1310; but three years later he was forced to cede them to the ruler of Ḥalab. This is why, in 716/1316, he gave up to the sultan as a donation in the proper official style, the town and castle, which did not prevent him from ceding the town to Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā at the end of the year.

Under the Mamlūks, at the beginning of 742/1341, the principality of Ḥamāt was suppressed; the province belonged from then onwards to the ruler of Egypt, and the district of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān constituted a *wilāya* of this province. After the Battle of Mardj Dābiḳ (922/1516) the town became Ottoman; in 924/1518 it was on the northern border of the province of Dimashḳ. A century later, the traveller Pietro della Valle (ii, 136) passed by Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, where he found a prince of the Ottoman dynasty.

In the 17th century, Maʿarra was situated on the southern border of the *pashalīḳ* of Ḥalab and the northern border of that of Dimashḳ, where the road from Bālis passes to the Mediterranean, crossing the Orontes at Djisr al-Shughr.

Thévenot describes Maʿarra in 1658 as a "poor town commanded by a 'sangiac' ", and says that it is surrounded by walls (*Voyage*, vi, 703; *Suite du Voyage*, iii, 97-8). Franz Ferdinand von Troilo, a German traveller in the middle of the 17th century, found in the town "two fine inns, one dilapidated, the other in quite a good state" (*Reise Beschreibung*, Dresden 1676, 458). It is in this period that an Arab family settled there coming from the region of Konya, sc. the al-ʿAẓm family who, in the second half of the 17th century, were to set out on a political career which was to be prolonged into modern times. About 1650, two of its members, Ḳāsim and Ibrāhīm, reached Dimashḳ, then went on to Ḥamāt and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. Ibrāhīm, a *djundī*, served in the Ottoman army, settled in Maʿarra and was put in charge of organising the defence of the town against the attacks of the Turkomans. His son, Ismāʿīl Pasha b. al-ʿAẓm al-Nuʿmānī, was born in Maʿarra in 1070/1659-60, where he occupied himself with agriculture, and in the town of his birth became a sufficiently important figure to be nominated governor of Dimashḳ, on 23 Djumādā II 1137/9 March 1725 (being removed at the end of Djumādā I 1143/December 1730). In this period, Pococke, who visited Maʿarra, describes it as a poor town with an independent *agha* who was paying a tribute to the Porte and levying taxes on travellers (*A description*..., ii, 145-6). Ismāʿīl had two sons, Asʿad Pasha and Saʿd al-Dīn. The first was born in 1117/1706, and was first *mutasallim* in Ḥamāt and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and then governor of Dimashḳ in 1156/1743. In the 18th century the city, like Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt, was one of the lifetime grants (*mālikāne*) of the *pasha* of Damascus, who held it from the sultan and who himself sub-let it to an *agha*. In Radjab 1135/October 1771, ʿUthmān Pasha al-Kurdjī, governor of Damascus from 1760, was removed, and lost the *mālikāne* of Maʿarra, which Muḥammad Pasha al-ʿAẓm then received.

In the middle of the 19th century, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was the most northerly locality of the *pashalīk* of Dimashḳ; it was a *sandjaḳ* governed by a *mutaṣarrif*, then it became a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *liwāʾ* of Ḥalab and, in 1873, the residence of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. According to Sachau, who visited it in 1879, the town had about 400 houses, and led an easy life in the midst of a well-cultivated region. On the other hand, Max van Berchem, a few years later, saw only "a large, miserable-looking village ... in a well-cultivated plain." In 1913, one of the rare telegraphic offices of Syria made Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān the link between Ḥamāt and Ḥalab.

From the time of the establishment of the French mandate in the Levant, this town became an active centre of resistance by the Syrian nationalists. In 1930, the Mawālī shepherd tribes held much of the lands through which one had to pass between Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and Ḥalab. Since 1965 the town has benefited from the economic, industrial and agricultural development of the Ḥamāt-Ḥimṣ zone.

Monuments. The town of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān has protected by a wall which was often attacked and damaged, and then repaired; it had seven gates like many cities of the East: Bāb Ḥalāb, al-Bāb al-Kabīr, Bāb Shīth, Bāb al-Djinān, Bāb Ḥunāḳ, Bāb Ḥimṣ and Bāb Kadhāʾ. Defence was also assured by a mediaeval fortress of circular plan called al-Ḳalʿa, built on a mound serving as its foundation and dominating the countryside to the north-west of Maʿarra. It was situated at the entrance of "the great ravine which, from al-Bāra, traverses the eastern side of the mountain, followed by the road which linked the inland plains of the east with the valley of the Orontes" (Tchalenko, iii, 123). After the Crusaders' attacks, it was restored by Zangi in the 6th/12th century. A dovecote (*burdj al-ḥamām*) set up by Nūr al-Dīn in the 6th/12th century linked Ḥamāt and Ḥalab by means of travelling pigeons until the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

The Great Mosque of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān occupies the site of an ancient temple which had given way to a church which was turned into a mosque after the arrival of the Muslims. Built on a height in the middle of the city, it was reached by 13 steps; ex-

tensive re-use of ancient remains bears witness to the antiquity of the sanctuary, whose roof is flat. In the courtyard, two kiosks are supported by shafts of ancient columns; the cupola which protects the ablutions basin and its fountain rests on ten ancient columns, and the drum which provides a passage between the decagon of the ground plan and the circle of the cupola, is pierced by semi-circular bays. The square minaret of the Great Mosque, one of the most beautiful in Syria, bears on its west face the signature of the architect Ḳāhir b. ʿAlī b. Ḳānit al-Sarmānī, who in 595/1199 built the town's Shāfiʿī *madrasa*. Creswell attributed this date to the construction of this monument. Herzfeld, stressing the strict relation which exists between the decoration and construction of this five-storeyed minaret and that of Ḥalab, built between 483/1090 and 487/1094, dated it from 550/1155 at the latest. There is every reason to believe that Nūr al-Dīn had it repaired after the great earthquake of 552/1157. Later, this minaret, after the quake of 565/1170, was to undergo other damage and to be repaired in 595/1199 by the architect of the Shāfiʿī *madrasa*.

Some *sūḳs* of very ancient origin surround the Great Mosque, and in the city there are still some remains of covered, vaulted streets like Jerusalem. At the time of his visit to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw saw an ancient column 10 cubits high with an inscription in non-Arabic characters which was regarded as a talisman, as at Ḥimṣ and Anṭākiya, protecting the town from scorpions.

According to Albert of Aix, quoted by Cl. Cahen (*La Syrie du Nord*, 162, n. 5) there was in the period of the Crusades, in the southern part of the town, a church of St. Andrew, of which some foundations still survive. According to Syriac texts, there was also a Monophysite monastery, whose location is uncertain. There are in the town and its environs a large number of sculpted arch-stones in basalt originating from ancient Christian tombs.

To the south of the Great Mosque is situated a Shāfiʿī *madrasa*, whose foundation is sometimes attributed to Nūr al-Dīn. Following a sculpted inscription on the lowest course of the arch of the doorway, it was built in 595/1119 in the reign of the Ayyūbid prince of Ḥamāt al-Malik al-Manṣūr Abu 'l-Maʿālī Muḥammad by Abu'l-Fawāris Nadjā. The building also bears the signature of the architect Ḳāhir b. ʿAlī b. Ḳānit. This *madrasa* is entered on the east side by a doorway with a trefoiled arch opening on the vestibule covered by a pyramidal cupola on pendentives. In its axis, facing an oblong court, there is a very large *īwān*, at present encroached upon by dwellings. On the south, the prayer hall opens on the courtyard by three doors; the *miḥrāb*, a large niche, is preceded by a cupola on pendentives creating a zone passing from the hexadecagon to the circle of the cupola. On the north side, some rooms are laid out and, at a north-east angle, is placed the tomb of the founder surmounted by a cupola.

Also at Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān should be noted a *khān* of the Ottoman period which lies to the south of the Great Mosque in the eastern part of the town. It is a great, square *khān* in cut stone with huge stables and a small mosque in the middle of the courtyard. An inscription above the fine southern doorway, dated 974/1566-7, informs us that this building is due to the generosity of Murād Čelebi, *defterdār* of Anatolia (d. 981/1573-4). A second inscription at the vaulted north entrance is a poetic text giving in a chronogram the date 1166/1752-3, presumably the time of Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm.

There are many places of pilgrimage or oratories in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān: the *Maḳām Nabī Allāh Yūshaʿ b. Nūn*, often cited as a *djāmiʿ* or *mashhad*, is situated outside the south walls of the town. The tomb of Yūshaʿ (Joshua) is probably on the site of an ancient pre-Islamic sanctuary. Yāḳūt says that this is not the tomb of Yūshaʿ, which is actually in the vicinity of Nābulus. An inscription of 10 lines dated 604/1207 recalls, in the bay above the door, that this place of prayer was reconstructed on the order of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir al-Ghāzī while Murshid b. Sālim b. al-Muhadhdhib governed Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. The ground plan of this small-scale *maḳām* is little different from that of a *madrasa* with its rectangular court, its deep *īwān* facing the entrance and the north and south faces occupied by the funerary chamber and prayer hall. Above the entrance arch rises an octagonal minaret with a small cupola supported at the top by four columns. The modern mausoleum of the illustrious blind poet, Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*], where there is a part of his epitaph on a stele fragment in stone, is situated in the town.

In the vicinity of Bāb Shīth, there is the tomb of Seth, third son of Adam, who spent part of his life in Syria. The tomb of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, grandson of a Companion of the Prophet, is mentioned in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān by al-Balādhurī, and again by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Yāḳūt. There was also a *mashhad* of Yūsuf which was restored by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī.

A short distance to the east of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, at Dayr Naḳīra, identified with the Dayr Samʿān of this district, is the tomb of the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in a small enclosure. The earliest author, according to J. and D. Sourdel, to mention this site is Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn went there on pilgrimage in 584/1188 and visited there the Shaykh Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr al-Maghribī, who lived in this place and was buried behind the sepulchre of the Umayyad sovereign. This was a place of pilgrimage frequented from the Ayyūbid period.

In 1953, Tchalenko remarked on the subject of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān: "Due to its situation as much as to its urban character and the importance of its mediaeval monuments, this site demands a special study, like several other small towns situated on the edge of the massif."

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(N. Elisséeff)

AL-MAʿARRĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān, famous Arabic poet and prose author of the late ʿAbbāsid period, was born in 363/973 in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], a town between Aleppo and Ḥimṣ in the northern part of Syria, where he also was to die in 449/1058. The Banū Sulaymān, his forefathers, belonged to the notable families of Maʿarra. As Shāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, they held the office of *ḳāḍī*, which post was for the first time successfully claimed by a grandfather of Abu 'l-Alāʾ's grandfather. In addition, some of the Banū Sulaymān are mentioned as rather good poets (further information in ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr wa-djarīdat al-ʿaṣr*, ii (part on Syria), ed. Shukrī Fayṣal, Damascus 1959, where a genealogical table may be found in the editor's *Muḳaddima*, based on al-Iṣfahānī, *op.cit.*, ii, 49 and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 483-511).

Having been afflicted by smallpox at an early age, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ lost his eyesight: "When I was four years old, there was a decree of fate about me, so that I could not discern a full-grown camel from a tender young camel, recently born" (see his correspondence with Abū Naṣr b. Abī ʿImrān, the *Dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*, in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 198, cf. D. S. Margoliouth, *Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī's correspondence on vegetarianism*, in *JRAS* [1902], 317). This defect was, however, more than compensated by his extraordinarily retentive memory, which in later biographical collections was to reach fabulous dimensions. Ibn al-ʿAdīm [*q.v.*], who is otherwise very reliable, inserted in his monograph concerning Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ a "Chapter about deep understanding, natural ability, quick and brilliant memory, shining thought and penetrating insight in connection with Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ" (*al-Inṣāf*, 551-64). That Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ started his career as a poet at the early age of 11 or 12 years need not surprise us in view of, for instance, similar statements which concern youthful poetry by al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], cf. R. Blachère, *Abou 'ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî, un poète arabe*, Paris 1935, 27. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ completed his religious, linguistic and literary education, in that he read the text materials required, under supervision of different *shaykhs*, in the first instance those at Maʿarra and Aleppo. Among his teachers were, according to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʿrīf al-ḳudamāʾ*, 30, "companions from the circle of Ibn Khālawayh [*q.v.*]", known as one of the participants in the literary reunions at Sayf al-Dawla's court in Aleppo. This grammarian and expert on Ḳurʾān readings died in 370/980-1, when Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ was still very young. None the less, we find Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ regretting Ibn Khālawayh's loss to Aleppo in rather strong terms: "Would that God might protect Aleppo, because that town, after Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālawayh's death, ceased to wear any ornament, neither spangle nor bracelet; thus it was found to be far removed from *adab*" (*Risālat al-Ghufrān*, 518, cf. 548-9). Among his teachers should further be mentioned Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd, who was a *rāwiya* of al-Mutanabbī's poetry. Ibn al-ʿAdīm mentions (*al-Inṣāf*, 515) how Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, at one time reading al-Mutanabbī's *Dīwān* under his supervision, corrected Ibn Saʿd's *riwāya*. By comparing the passage concerned with that found in a manuscript from ʿIrāḳ, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's correction was proved to be justified. From this incident we may conclude that Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ had already at an early age some acquaintance with the poetry of al-Mutanabbī, for whom he was to entertain great admiration at a more advanced age.

Regarding the next phase of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's life, up till his journey to Baghdād, Arabic historians express two different opinions. Some historians suppose the poet to have travelled to some other cities apart from his Baghdād journey. They would have him visit Antioch and Syrian Tripoli so that he might profit from the local libraries. According to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʿrīf*, 30, and other historians following him, the poet on his way to Tripoli made a halt not far from al-Lādhiḳiyya (Latakia), at Dayr al-Fārūs, a monastery so called in memory of Jesus's shroud (Greek: φαρος, see Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *loc. cit.*, n. 1). There he listened to a monk discussing Hellenic philosophy, producing in his mind certain doubts which could afterwards be recognised in his poetry. Some other historians however, are of a different opinion. For example, Ibn al-ʿAdīm is one of those who deny the poet was under the influence of any religion but Islam. As far as Antioch is concerned, Ibn al-ʿAdīm bases his argument on the political situation in Syria: during all Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's life-time Antioch lay inside the Byzantine frontiers. From the ex-

pulsion of the Muslims by Byzantine authorities from that town, Ibn al-ʿAdīm infers that "it is neither conceivable that a library should have existed there nor a librarian, as much as that town is inconceivable for somebody to travel to in order there to pursue knowledge" (*al-Inṣāf*, 555). Concerning the supposed existence of a library at Tripoli, also an alleged motive for Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's travelling, Ibn al-ʿAdīm points out that such a library was only founded in 472/1079-80, many years after the poet's death (*op. cit.*, 557). Despite Ibn al-ʿAdīm's strong arguments, recent researches after all tend to accept the possibility of an actual visit to the towns mentioned, as may be deduced from certain allusions in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's poetry (see H. Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie d'Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, in *BEO*, x [1943-4], 123-4).

The poems of the first half of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's life were collected in his *Dīwān*, which was called *Saḳṭ al-zand* ("The first spark of the tinder"). Here and there in this collection, the poet's reactions to contemporaneous political developments in Syria may be found. About that time, the dynasty of the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*], with Aleppo for their centre of authority, began to lose much of its power, which having attained its utmost degree in Sayf al-Dawla's days, under his successors gradually was to vanish, finally making place for another line of *amīrs*, the Mirdāsids (see S. Zakkar, *The emirate of Aleppo 1004-1094*, Beirut 1971). Meanwhile, the relative independence of the northern Syrian territory was increasingly threatened from the north by a renewed access of Byzantine military power and from the south by the appearance for the first time of the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*]. At the same time, there was hardly any support to be expected from the Būyid *amīrs* and their nominal overlords, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Baghdād. During the reign of the successors of Sayf al-Dawla, in particular Saʿd al-Dawla and Saʿīd al-Dawla, the Fāṭimid *imāms* began trying to extend their influence from Egypt into northern Syria. Especially at the time Saʿīd al-Dawla started his rule, Aleppo came to be the object of several prolonged but futile sieges (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, Damascus 1951, i, 185-92). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ took a keen interest in these developments, as is apparent from at least four laudatory poems found in his collection, the *Saḳṭ al-zand*. In these poems, important personalities from either party at war are the subjects of his praise. Thus he eulogises one Bandjūtakīn, who was a Fāṭimid general, in his poem with rhyme-word *dhimāmu* (*Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, ii, 602), while in two other poems of his (the one with rhyme *ḥimyaru*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, iii, 1087, and the other with rhyme *wiṣālu*, *op. cit.*, iii, 1046) a certain Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, one of the Banu 'l-Maghribī [*q.v.*] is lauded. The latter had originally acted as a *kātib* and *wazīr* in the Ḥamdānids' service, but having betrayed his masters he filled the Fāṭimid post of financial and administrative superintendent of the army (*mudabbir al-djaysh*), trying to conquer Aleppo for the Fāṭimid cause. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that Saʿīd al-Dawla, too, who only with great difficulty stood his ground in Aleppo, can be found as a *mamdūḥ* in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's poetry. In the *raḥīl* of a *ḳaṣīda*, even his name is mentioned, though in a rather allusive way, "[10] The camels kept asking me, upon which I answered, saying, Our destination will be Saʿīd [however, the name excepted, *saʿīd* also means "fortunate"]. Thereupon the *amīr*'s name came to be their good omen" (from the poem with rhyme *mālā*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, i, 25). All these laudatory passages are, however, rather curious, because they do not fit the image given by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ himself in the Preface to his *Dīwān* (*Shurūḥ Saḳṭ* i, 10), where he says, "I have not knocked so as to be heard at the doors of great lords, whilst reciting my poetry, no more did I praise with a view to acquiring a reward". This contrast between explicit intention and real practice may be explained by the assumption that the poet in such cases had been pressed to compose this sort of poetry against his will (cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, f. 215a).

It was in 395/1004-5 that Abu 'l-ʿAlaʾ had to sustain the painful blow of the death of his father, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān, who had been the first one to teach him. This date given by ʿImād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, ii, 5 and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 493, should be preferred to the one indicated by Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 163, who erroneously mentions 377/987-8, which year is correspondingly given by the majority of Western biographers (about the chronology, see ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ", in *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Cairo 1965, 66-75). Reacting to his father's decease, the poet composed an elaborate elegy (rhyme *'l-dadjni*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, ii, 907), in which we find him praising his father's poetical talents in glowing terms: "[26] O master of rhymes! How much did their obedience to your wishes contrive, that in your view eloquent Arabs hardly surpass the level of stammering barbarians!" Three years after this event Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is reported to have left Maʿarra in order to settle at Baghdād, where, however, he was to stay for merely one-and-a-half years. The poet himself pointed out what motive was prompting him to travel to Baghdād, for in his letters it is explicitly mentioned that nothing more than the libraries in that place excited his interest (Margoliouth, *Letters* 40 and 44, cf. *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, 147, 287). From his *Saḳṭ al-zand* we may know the poet to have been in touch with several personalities employed in Baghdād libraries. One of these was Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who was a custodian in the *Dār al-ʿilm* [*q.v.*], and for whom Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ composed a long *ḳaṣīda* (rhyme *'l-khaṭṭu*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 1646). Another librarian and scholar was Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Salām al-Baṣrī, "who had been entrusted with the supervision of *Dār al-kutub* at Baghdād" (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 57-8), and to whom Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ having returned to Maʿarra was to address a poem (rhyme *arbuʿi*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 1527) in which he ventilates his melancholy remembrance of Baghdād and mentions their weekly conversations on Fridays. About both these librarians, see Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie* ..., 129. Despite the benefit he might have reaped from a prolonged stay at Baghdād, it was not long before the poet again took his departure. It seems that he got into trouble financially, which need not suprise us in view of his unwillingness to compose laudatory poems for the Baghdād nobility, in which aspect he shows himself quite different from, for instance, al-Mutanabbī. Another reason why he did not stay any longer in Baghdād is given by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ himself, in addition to the one already mentioned. In a *ḳaṣīda* (rhyme *bi-Takrīta*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 1634) addressed to Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī, son of the well-known author of *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 301-9, vi, 251-67, cf. Brockelmann, S I, 252), the poet later on explains his uneasy position in one poetical line, "[36] There were two reasons which caused me to leave you: a mother whom I have not been able to meet after all, and money reduced to the amount of uselessness."

Apart from these explanations explicitly given for his premature departure, some other events are mentioned by the Arabic historians, which also might have induced him to leave Baghdād. Thus an incident is reported to have happened in the literary salon of an important ʿAlawī *sharīf*, al-Murtaḍā, brother of the Shīʿī poet al-Raḍī (Brockelmann, I, 404, S I, 704, and I, 82, S I, 132). Having expressed some strong criticisms of al-Mutanabbī's poetry, al-Murtaḍā had been the target of a concealed but none the less a very severe attack from Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, who was a fanatical admirer of al-Mutanabbī. As a result, al-Murtaḍā had him dragged by his feet out of the salon (for details, see Margoliouth, *Letters*, p. XXVII, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, 108). On the other hand, some late authors, among whom Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*] in *al-Bidāya*, xii, 73 (*sub anno* 449), report him to have been expelled from Baghdād by the local *fuḳahāʾ*. The poet is said to have aroused their anger by asking some critical questions concerning the application of certain rules of *fiḳh*. For an evaluation of this, as it seems, rather anecdotal report, see Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie* ..., 128, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, 115-16.

In Ramaḍān 400/1010, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ began his return journey, but having come home he found his mother already dead. His *Dīwān* contains two elegies (rhyme *iblālu*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 1725, and rhyme *hamāmi*, iv, 1453), in which he gives expression to his feelings of sorrow: the announcement of her death was a terrible blow; he would have preferred to precede her into death, but now the only consolation left is for him finally to be buried near her tomb. He is hoping to meet her again on the final day of resurrection, which is, however, yet far away. Then, in his *Risālas* written just after his leaving Baghdād he declares his intention to seclude himself completely from association with other human beings and to stay in his house for ever: "to remain in the city even though the inhabitants fled through fear of the Greeks" (Margoliouth, *Letters*, 42 (= VII) and 43 (= VIII)). From that moment he was to acquire the sobriquet *Rahn al-maḥbisayn*, "the twofold prisoner" (sc. of his blindness and his house).

This self-imposed confinement was only once to be broken in the period after Baghdād, because of a chance event which in 417/1026-7 occurred in his native town. At that time, Aleppo and its districts were ruled by Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, who as a leader of the tribe of Kilāb became the founder of the Mirdāsid dynasty. Ṣāliḥ's *wazīr al-sayf wa 'l-ḳalam*, the Christian Tādhurus b. al-Ḥasan, by his strong policy produced tensions between the Christian and Muslim factions of the population in Aleppo and the surrounding region, and these tensions provoked in Maʿarra the following outburst of violence. On a Friday a woman entered the town's congregational mosque complaining about a molestation suffered at the hands of the Christian owner of a winehouse, where in addition to wine the enjoyment of fair ladies used to be offered. Thereupon all those present in the mosque, the *ḳāḍī* and notables excepted, ran out so as to pillage and destroy the house concerned. At the instigation of his *wazīr*, Ṣāliḥ had a number of the notables imprisoned, among whom was Abu 'l-Madjd, a brother of the poet. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ allowed himself to be persuaded to intercede for his fellow-townsmen with Ṣāliḥ, not without success. We find this chain of events recalled in several poems not contained in *Saḳṭ al-zand*, this collection being finished and closed, but in the second collection of poems, the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*. When recalling this incident, it is evident that the poet strongly endorses the action of his fellow-townsmen,

"[1] On Friday, a woman who was already with child (*djāmiʿ*) came to the congregational mosque (*djāmiʿ*) to recount her case to the witnesses in town.

[2] Supposing they had not risen to help her upon her outcry, I would rather imagine that God's heaven might pour down fiery coals"
(*Luzūm*, ed. Zand, i, 335/Bombay, 138, rhyme *amra-hā*).

As regards his successful mediation, the poet remains so humble, that he is heard giving God all the credit,

"[3] I did not even make my contribution as big as a mosquito's wing, but God did cover them with a wing of His grace" (*Luzūm*, ed. Zand, ii, 234, ed. Bombay, 220, rhyme *ḥanḍali*).

A detailed historic report of these events can be found in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i, 232-4, and idem, *al-Inṣāf*, 566-8. What happened in Maʿarra and the poet's reaction to it make it already evident that Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ did not totally seclude himself. On the contrary, his house became the goal of frequent visits by *wazīrs*, scholars and pupils, whilst at the same time he kept up an extensive correspondence in prose by way of his *Risālas*. However, his poetical correspondence such as is found in his first collection of the *Saḳṭ al-zand* probably belongs to the pre-Baghdād period. From those with whom the poet was in contact, the following personalities may be mentioned:

(1) The governor of Aleppo, appointed by the Fāṭimids, Abū Shudjāʿ Fātik b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūmī ʿAzīz al-Dawla (reigned from 407/1016-7 till 413/1022-3, see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i, 215 ff.). He paid a visit to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ in order to discuss with the poet an invitation from the Fāṭimid *imām* al-Ḥākim for Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ to go to Cairo, but the poet finally decided against the suggested stay in Egypt (see *al-Inṣāf*, 570-4, 577-8).

(2) Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Maghribī, who was a son of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Maghribī, the Ḥamdānid *kātib* mentioned above. In 400/1009-10, at the time when al-Ḥākim had almost all members of the al-Maghribī family executed, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim succeeded in escaping the massacre. After many peregrinations he was finally appointed a *wazīr* in Mayyāfāriḳīn. He was the addressee of several *Risālas* (i.e. Margoliouth, *Letters*, numbers I, II and XXI) written by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, who finally dedicated an elegiac poem to him on the occasion of his death (see *Luzūm*, ed. Zand, ii, 434/Bombay, 346, rhyme *'l-dirḥāyah*).

(3) Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Munāzī, both a poet and a *wazīr* appointed by the ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn (cf. Ibn Khallikān, 58, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, i, 143-5, no. 59). When visiting Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, this *wazīr* is reported to have asked him some rather critical questions regarding his ascetic way of life (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʿrīf*, 63).

(4) Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Baghdādī, who as a *wazīr* and ambassador sent by the ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh [*q.v.*] to the Zīrid prince al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] in Tunis passed al-Maʿarra on his westward journey. Having visited Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ there, he continued his journey by stages, so as to settle finally in al-Andalus (Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, iv, Wiesbaden 1959, 70-1; cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 563 and H. R. Idris, *La berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, i, 191-3).

Among Abu 'l-Faḍl's school of pupils should be reckoned Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī, who in the Muslim West was to write an excellent commentary on Abu

'l-ʿAlāʾ's *Saḳṭ al-zand* (for al-Baṭalyawsī, see Brockelmann, I, 427, S I, 758).

(5) Abū Zakariyāʾ Yaḥyā b. al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī (Brockelmann, I, 279, S I, 492), who was for some years Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's pupil and is reported to have been a professor at the *madrasa Niẓāmiyya* in his after years. He also composed a commentary on the *Saḳṭ al-zand*. It is interesting to note that in this commentary of his, another, lost commentary by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ himself, called *Ḍawʾ al-Saḳṭ*, has been incorporated.

(6) Abu 'l-Makārim ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Muḥammad al-Abharī is reported to have read as a pupil under the supervision of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ in the works of the master for a period of four years (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 520). To the tradition of this scholar a third commentary existing to this day can be traced. This commentary called *Ḍirām al-Saḳṭ*, was written in the Muslim East, at Samarḳand, by Ṣadr al-Afāḍil al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khʷārazmī (see *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, i, 18, for al-Khʷārazmī's chain of tradition, and in general, Brockelmann, I, 255, S I, 452-3, for all the different commentaries preserved).

For further names of those who came into contact with Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, see the two different chapters by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, the one "Treating of those who read under Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's supervision and transmitted on his authority, i.e. *ʿulamāʾ*, *udabāʾ* and traditionists from Maʿarra and from outside" and the other "About the great respect he is held in by kings, caliphs, *amīrs* and *wazīrs*" (*al-Inṣāf*, 517, 565).

Finally, in his old age the poet came into touch with a few scholars with Ismāʿīlī sympathies. Thus in 438/1047 the well-known Persian poet and prose-author Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through Maʿarra on his journey which would eventually lead him to the Fāṭimid *imām* al-Mustanṣir. In the account of his travels (*Sefer Nameh*, ed. Ch. Schefer, text 10, tr. 35-6), he gives a rather curious impression of what he heard about Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ: that he was very rich, and that all the inhabitants of Maʿarra were his servants, whilst he himself led a thoroughly ascetic life in keeping a constant fast and practising vigils. Thus it appears that the poet had imposed upon himself a life of ascetic poverty, although he was the owner of at least some sort of property in or near Maʿarra. This and the esteem he was held in by the local population—the more so because of the importance of the Banū Sulaymān as one of the distinguished families in town—may explain the position of influence ascribed to him by Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Some ten years later Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ had a much more serious, though indirect, intellectual contact in his fairly extensive correspondence with an important Ismāʿīlī propagandist, the *Dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* Abū Naṣr b. Abī ʿImrān al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn. About 448/1057, by order of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir, al-Muʾayyad undertook a mission to North Syria in order to rally its local rulers against the Saldjūḳ Turks recently come to power in Baghdād (see *Dīwān al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn, dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*, ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949, editor's *muḳaddima*, 40, 64). Whilst carrying out his appointed mission, the *Dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* started a correspondence with Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ by pretending to seek guidance in pursuance of a poetically-defined way of life given by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ. In *Luzūm*, ed. Zand, i, 232, ed. Bombay, 84, rhyme *'l-ṣaḥāʾiḥi*, the poet advises a practical ascetic way of life. There Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ rejects the eating of fish, meat, milk, eggs and honey, at the same time declaring himself to possess some esoteric knowledge which should remain concealed. The resulting exchange of letters was finally stopped as a senseless business by al-Muʾayyad. The latter in his last *Risāla* made it clear that indeed, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ at no time whatsoever might be expected to give any details concerning the esoteric knowledge he claimed (see Margoliouth, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī's correspondence on vegetarianism*). It so happened that Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ died in 449/1058 just after this correspondence, and therefore it need not surprise us that some Arabic historians try to find evidence for a connection between the correspondence just mentioned and the poet's decease. For instance, Ibn al-Habbāriyya [*q.v.*] in his (lost) book *Fulk al-maʿānī* (*apud* Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 194) says that he committed suicide in order thereby to avoid being deported by command of the *Dāʿī*, who intended, the author suggests, to punish the poet for his heretical ideas. Most historians, however, agree that the poet died from natural causes, and this opinion finds strong corroboration in a report which mentions that the physician Ibn Buṭlān [*q.v.*] was in attendance at Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's death-bed. In his very last moments, the poet asked a member of his family present to get pen and writing-paper, so that he could dictate to him something. But in doing this, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ committed, as against normal expectation, some errors in his dictation. Thereupon Ibn Buṭlān declared the end to be at hand, "Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is dead already" (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʿrīf*, 65). In many passages of his poetry, the poet had shown that he regarded procreation as a sin, and that he preferred universal annihilation as the best hope for humanity. He therefore never married, and is said to have desired that the following verse should be inscribed on his grave: "This wrong was by my father done to me, but never by me to anyone". A great deal of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's work is supposed to have been lost as a result of the Crusades, which caused much devastation in Syria, at Maʿarra included (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʿrīf*, 49). A list of all his works, either lost or still remaining, can be found in Moustapha Saleh, *Liste des œuvres d'Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, in *BEO*, xxiii (1970), 275. From those still existing, the following works may be mentioned in chronological order, as far as possible.

1. The *Saḳṭ al-zand* contains *inter alia* laudatory poems, some of which have been mentioned above. In this *Dīwān* the poet often follows the tripartite division of the classical *ḳaṣīda* into *nasīb*, *raḥīl* and *madīḥ*, but occasionally he rejects the *nasīb* or eliminates it completely. In this respect, however, he cannot be compared with the poet Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], whose rejection of it is at the same time a turning towards the description of wine. In the case of the ascetic Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, the drinking of wine and its description is disapproved of, water being preferred.

When the poet does accept the *nasīb*, he often stresses its elegiac character by a description of cooing turtle doves. The murmuring note of these doves, who seem to regret a chick once lost long ago, is often compared with the poet's yearning after an unattainable and far-off loved one. In describing all this, the poet ruminates on the way in which the sound of cooing moves him to profound thoughts. In a few other *nasībs*, the poet (being blind) is asking his travelling-companions to trace a distant flash of lightning in the land of the beloved, but when sleeping he himself can discern her deceitful phantom visiting him. The *raḥīl* in his *ḳaṣīdas* is usually most elaborate: one may find all sorts of descriptions, like emaciated camels tired by long travelling, the mirage; among the animals found in the desert, are mentioned the antelope, sand-grouse, ostrich and chameleon. His

preference for description of the night is so conspicuous that some commentaries try to connect this with the poet's blindness. For some further thoughts on the *raḥīl* and the development in his description of the journey in general, see also P. Smoor, *The theme of travel in Maʿarrī's early poems*, in *The challenge of the Middle East*, Amsterdam 1982. Regarding the independent form of the *ghazal* [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ had little interest in it. Further, whenever he does practise it, he appears to feel himself obliged to do so as technical exercise in a certain genre only (cf. Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Tadjdīd dhikrā Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Cairo 1963, 201, as against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, 49 ff., who sees it as a compensation for the poet being deprived of the enjoyments of life). The *madīḥ* [*q.v.*] as final part of the *ḳaṣīda* often shows extravagant eulogy of the *mamdūḥ*, so that the poet later regretted this in the Preface to his *Dīwān*, "All sorts of hyperbolic description found with me as being related at first sight to a human being, while at the same time in accordance with the attributes of God, He is exalted, should essentially be applied to Him alone" (*Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, i, 10). In the *Saḳṭ al-zand* Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ collected together examples of what might also be conceived as another form of the *ḳaṣīda*, sc. the elegy composed in praise of a dead person (*rithāʾ*, *marthiya*), as mentioned above. In certain very sententious lines in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's *rithāʾ*s we may discern the origins of that pessimistic tone later so often to be encountered in the *Luzūm*. (For the influence of al-Mutanabbī's *rithāʾ*s on those composed by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, see Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Maʿa 'l-Mutanabbī*, Cairo 1962, 203-14). The poetry in *Saḳṭ al-zand* is characterised by its rich ornamentation, and many special figures of style can be discerned; besides quite frequent forms of paronomasia (*djinās*, *tadjnīs*) we find also the figure of "double entendre" (*tawriya*). In applying the latter figure of style the poet shows a superior virtuosity, of which examples can be found in S. A. Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the Tawrīya*, The Hague 1966, 32-3, 56.

A group of 31 poems in *Saḳṭ al-zand* has been put together under the collective title *Dirʿiyyāt* ("Armour poems"). These poems are marked by the description of one or more coats of mail, the usual themes in the *ḳaṣīda* like *raḥīl* and *madīḥ* being eliminated, while only the *nasīb* may be found in a merely subordinate position in few cases (see P. Smoor, *Armour description as an independent theme in the work of al-Maʿarrī*, in *Actes du 8me Congrès de l'Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Aix-en-Provence 1978, 289-303).

Next to the peculiarity of their content, these poems are also interesting for their form. A major part of them has been composed in the form of a dialogue put in the mouth of somebody who is in some way related to a suit of armour. For discussion of this aspect, see P. J. Cachia, *The dramatic monologues of al-Maʿarrī*, in *JAL*, i (1970), 129-36. From among the great number of editions of the *Saḳṭ al-zand*, only two may be mentioned here. *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ al-zand*, 5 vols. Cairo 1945, is a critical edition of the *Dīwān*, each verse being provided with the previously-mentioned commentaries by al-Tibrīzī, al-Baṭalyawsī and al-Khʷārazmī. Further, there exist several editions of the *Dīwān*'s text together with a commentary by Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf al-Khuwayyī (lived in the 6th/12th century, Brockelmann, I, 289 S I, 507), called *Tanwīr Saḳṭ al-zand*, of which the best edition is Būlāḳ 1286/1868-9.

2. The *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* is a second collection of poetry composed in the period after the poet's stay at Baghdād. This collection was much less popular in the Muslim world than *Saḳṭ al-zand*, both because of its unconventional form and contents. The title means "Committing one's self to what is not obligatory" or "The self-imposed compulsion", relating to a peculiarity of rhyme [see LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM]. For his poetry in the *Luzūm*, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ was using a much more difficult form, a double-rhyme instead of the normally prescribed monorhyme. The poet thus created an innovation in the existing rules of rhyme [see ḲĀFIYA], and his method of rhyming was in later books of Arabic theorists to be treated under the generic name of *iltizām*. The contents of the *Luzūm* were described by the poet himself in his Preface as a glorification of God, an admonition for the forgetful and an awakening of the negligent, a warning against the World's derision of God. The poet further declares that he does not want to follow the normally-prescribed themes, stating that "poets aim at embellishing their words by means of lies". In saying this, he has in view the poets' descriptions of their beloved ones in the *ghazal* and *nasīb*, their horses and camels in the *raḥīl*, and of wine, for instance in the *khamriyya* [*q.v.*]. He points out the utterly false pretensions of poets who, leading a quite comfortable life, none the less pretend to have to make exhausting expeditions through the desert. In contrast, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ states his poetry to be a searching for veracity and piety, and he therefore thinks himself unable to comply with the accepted conventions in the existing "normal" poetry. On these grounds he finally concludes his poetry in *Luzūm* to be weak (*Luzūm*, Cairo 1959, 3, 47-8). From Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's words we may infer that he wishes to consider his work in *Luzūm* in the first instance as a collection of poetry, though it be "weak"; at any rate he does not explicitly state his poetry to be a more or less systematic arrangement of philosophical ideas, nor is it so. Notwithstanding the evident absence of such a system, there can in various places in the *Luzūm* certainly be found many opinions which do not always or do not at all fit into the orthodox Islamic system [see ʿILM AL-KALĀM]. We see the poet sometimes professing a certain dogma, then doubting it elsewhere in the *Luzūm*. Though he is a monotheist, he does not show a strong belief in God's Word as revealed through prophecy. About resurrection and retribution he seems full of doubts. At the same time, he often appears to attach great value to the use of reason as an unfailing guide in human life (on such opinions of his, see the translation and analyses of quite a number of relevant poems and fragments of poems in R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic poetry*, Cambridge 1921, ch. ii, "The meditations of Maʿarri"). In view of this, some Arabic historians have pronounced unfavourably on the poet's orthodoxy. Thus Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī each quote with more or less approval a report from an historian contemporary with Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, Ghars al-Niʿma Muḥammad (Brockelmann, S I, 217), son of the well-known *kātib* Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ [*q.v.*]. This says that the poet just after his death had been seen in a dream being tormented by two vipers, whilst the following interpretation was given: "This is al-Maʿarrī, the heretic" (given in *Taʿrīf al-ḳudamāʾ*, 26, 56, 152). On the other hand, some Arabic biographers and historians endeavoured to clear him from charges of unorthodoxy, such as Ibn al-ʿAdīm in his monograph on Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, *al-Inṣāf wa 'l-taḥarrī fi dafʿ al-ẓulm wa 'l-tadjarrī ʿan Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*

("Fair treatment and selection of the best in defending Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ against unjustified attacks"). Ibn al-ʿAdīm, as a historian, is distinguished for his exactness in making inquiries about Abu 'l-ʿAlā, which he did two centuries after the poet's death by contacting descendants of those in Maʿarra who had been in touch with him, and also by availing himself of local historical sources, all this not without frequently giving *isnāds* and titles.

In the West the *Luzūmiyyāt*, i.e. the poems contained in *Luzūm*, became more widely known as a result of A. von Kremer's now rather obsolete study, *Ueber die philosophischen Gedichte des Abul ʿalâ Maʿarry*, in *SB Ak. Wien, Phil.-hist. Classe*, cxvii, 6, 1889). A more recent treatment of the poet's philosophy as it appears from a number of passages in *Luzūm* is found in Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie d'Abu-l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, in *BEO*, x (1943-4), 119-56. In the lines cited, Laoust supposes an influence of certain ideas eclectically elaborated and found at the outset of the philosophical and religious school of thought of the Bāṭiniyya [*q.v.*], which was to be adhered to by both the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*], and the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*]. In the second half of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's lifetime, the Fāṭimids had finally extended their authority over northern Syria. That there was some discontent about their rule, however, would appear from certain lines in the *Luzūmiyyāt*. A study published in the East is Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Dhikrā Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Cairo 1914 and later edns., where in the last part another interesting analysis is given of the poet's philosophical ideas as reflected in the *Luzūm*. Many quotations from the *Luzūm* have been made use of in a psychologically-based biography, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, by ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ".

Editions of the *Luzūm*: a partial ed. by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*, Cairo 1378/1959; vol. i has appeared so far (i.e. 100 *Luzūmiyyāt* as far as the rhyme in *bāʾ*). Among the complete editions of *Luzūm*, the best ones are the lithograph Bombay 1303/1885-6, which contains a faithful reflection of a manuscript text accompanied by some elucidating notes in its margin, and that of ʿAzīz Zand, Cairo 1891-5, 2 vols. A very restricted number of *Luzūmiyyāt* supplied with a commentary by Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī have been edited: *Sharḥ al-mukhtār min Luzūmiyyāt Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, critical ed. Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Cairo 1970; vol. i has appeared so far.

3. *Zadjr al-nābiḥ* ("Driving away the barker"), is found in the survey of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's works as given by various Arabic biographers. In this book the poet apparently defended himself against orthodox attacks on some lines in his *Luzūm*. Extracts from this lost book have been published, in *Zadjr al-nābiḥ, muḳtaṭafāt*, critical ed. Amdjad al-Ṭarābulsī, Damascus 1385/1965. See for the harmonising method used in explaining certain controversial verses, S. M. Stern, *Some noteworthy manuscripts of the poems of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 342 ff.

4. *Al-fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt fī tamdjīd Allāh wa 'l-mawāʿiẓ* ("Chapters and endings about glorification of God, and admonitions). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ began composing this work in rhymed prose before his journey to Baghdād, only completing it after his return to Maʿarra (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 180). This work contains a great number of short strophes, which the poet has in each case concluded with an ending or end-rhyme (*ghāya*), so that the book in its totality is found to contain a number of chapters (*fuṣūl*), every one of which contains strophes with their endings always in one particular letter.

Thus one gets *Faṣl ghāyātuh hamza, faṣl ghāyātuh bāʾ* and so on, following the order of the Arabic alphabet. A major part of this work is lost, only its first *djuzʾ* having been discovered in 1918-19 in a not quite complete version, to be edited much later by Maḥmūd Ḥasan Zanātī, Cairo 1356/1938, in a critical edition. The book holds among various other subjects thoughts about God: His omnipotence, justice, goodness and eternity, in addition to and contrasting with a sharp observation of the inescapable changes of fate which dominate man in his ordinary daily life. The idea of God is frequently seen as connected with unavoidable predestination and eternal retribution, which in its turn exhorts man to practise asceticism. The use of rhymed prose, the warnings against impending judgement and the oaths applied now and again by way of confirmation, may all be considered a reason why later historians supposed this book to be an emulation of the Ḳurʾān: the author allegedly aimed, in writing it, at excelling the Ḳurʾān in its *iʿdjāz* [*q.v.*]. In this context, some late historians who apparently never saw the *Fuṣūl* with their own eyes are even found altering its title to *al-Fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt wa-* (or *fī*) *muḥādhāt* (or *muʿāraḍat*) *al-suwar wa 'l-āyāt* (i.e. "Chapters and endings and/about the emulation of sūras and verses"); thus al-Bākharzī, al-Badīʿī, al-Dhahabī and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa. For an exhaustive study of the work itself, the opinions of Arabic historians and more recent studies in East and West, see A. Fischer, "*Der Koran" des Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, in *Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Ak. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, xciv (Leipzig 1942), 2. For a supposed coherence between the internal rhyme in a strophe and its contents, see R. Hartmann, *Zu dem kitāb al-fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt des Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W., Phil.-hist. Klasse* (Berlin 1944), 2. Some philosophical thoughts in the *Fuṣūl* have been discussed and associated with Epicurean philosophy by Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Maʿa Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ fī sidjnih*, Cairo 1963, ch. ix.

5. *Rasāʾil Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, the brief letters written by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ on several occasions and addressed to various members of his family and acquaintances (see the biography above). The letters have been composed in a very flowery style, overdone with proverbs, rhymed prose and illustrative verses. There exist two editions of the *Rasāʾil*, the first by Shāhīn ʿAṭiya, Beyrouth 1894, and a second one, with English translation preceded by a Preface containing the biography and a discussion of part of the works, by D. S. Margoliouth, *The Letters of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Oxford 1898. Further, a critical edition of Letter XXX (Margoliouth's numbering) has been prepared by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Risāla fī taʿziyat Abī ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ridjāl fī waladih Abi 'l-Azhar*, Cairo n.d., but later than 1945.

6. *Risālat al-Ṣāhil wa 'l-shāḥidj* ("Letter of a horse and a mule"), which among other works now lost was addressed to Abū Shudjāʿ Fātik ʿAzīz al-Dawla, the governor of Aleppo, on behalf of the Fāṭimid *imāms* (see above). This supposedly lost *Risāla* has recently been discovered in Morocco and subsequently edited with a critical apparatus and introduction, by ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ" (Cairo 1975). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ completed this voluminous *Risāla* in about 411/1021, i.e. the year of al-Ḥākim's disappearance, when the *imām* al-Ẓāhir acceded to the throne in Egypt (cf. *op. cit.*, 553 where the author qualifies the latter as *amīr al-muʾminīn*).

Another important development, reported upon in the *Risāla*, occurred in 408/1017-18, when ʿAzīz al-Dawla ordered Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, a Bedouin leader and afterwards founder of the Mirdāsid dynasty, that he should bring his (i.e. Ṣāliḥ's) mother inside the walls of Aleppo (*Risālat al-Ṣāhil*, 520, cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i, 218). This move was meant to reassure the inhabitants of Aleppo, in view of rumours about a threatening Byzantine attack. The tension caused among the population in North Syria is a theme in the *Risāla*, in which Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ gradually introduces a number of animals who, being gifted with speech, give among other things their opinion on the political situation in Syria under ʿAzīz al-Dawla's reign. A direct reason for the composition of the *Risāla* was a problem of taxation. There was a question of land owned by members of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's family, for the use of which they would owe a certain amount as taxation due to the *bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*] in Aleppo. At their request, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is writing his letter in order to ask for the annulment of the amount imposed, considering that the land concerned is a waterless tract, giving only a small yield. Then Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ describes a mule, al-S̲h̲āḥid̲j̲, which, blindfolded, is drawing water in order to continually fill a cistern, without, however, profiting from its own labour so as to quench its thirst. Such being its condition, the mule is described as grumbling at first, but then it starts talking. While thus introducing the first of his speaking animals, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ explicitly bases himself on quotations from the Ḳurʾān (XXVII, 18, 23), where an ant in the valley of ants and a hoopoe are described as talking, with Sulaymān understanding their utterance. On the other hand, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ elsewhere in his *Risāla* compares favourably ʿAzīz al-Dawla with Sulaymān, both of them adhering to the same qualities of wisdom and understanding. Next to the mule, a number of different animals appear on the scene of action, among these a horse, a camel and a fox. The mule wants the horse to convey a complaint to ʿAzīz al-Dawla about the mule's hard life, but the horse, referring to its noble forefathers, haughtily refuses this mission. In the second instance, the camel declares himself prepared to convey the mule's complaint. The mule being erudite, at first intended to cast its complaint in a poetical form, but with respect to the camel it drops its original plan for a reason which reflects Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's own attitude towards poetry, "I do not like being described with the image of human beings bringing poetry with them, in order to aim at some profit. . ." (*R. al-Ṣāhil*, 219). Instead of this, the mule then wants the camel to convey strange tidings, which have one meaning directly evident in hearing them, although in reality they have a second esoteric meaning" (*loc. cit.*). The message appears to consist of sorts of riddles involving words with two different meanings (cf. the *tawriya* in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's poetry). When finally the fox arrives on the scene, the situation alters; a vague clamour is suddenly heard from the nearby town, and at the mule's request the fox undertakes to make a reconnaissance. Then the clamour heard is explained by a suddenly-developing panic among the population of Syria in view of an impending Byzantine military expedition. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ now begins to make frequent allusions to various political developments of the contemporary period. He mentions, for example, the joint-rule of Basil II Bulgaroctonus and his brother Constantine VIII. He further speculates on the settlement of the succession within the line of the Macedonian dynasty. In view of this, and being aware of the fact that the elder brother remained without children, whereas Constantine had only three daughters, the author wonders whether the Byzantines will deem it suitable to appoint a woman as their Empress (*R. al-Ṣāhil*, 578-80, 606-7). In his *Risāla*, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ seems somewhat to ridicule the governor of Aleppo, who is continually designated with honorific formulae after his name, such as "May God prolong him for ever" or "May God give him a great victory". With some humorous feeling, the author mentions a group of slightly more than 30 slaves (*g̲h̲ilmān*), who either had been bought at some time by ʿAzīz al-Dawla from the Byzantine emperor or had been granted by the latter. The exact number of these slaves, and then their circumcision as enjoined by the Fāṭimid governor, are respectively compared with the number of *ʿarūḍ*s (*ʿarūḍ* here meaning "last metrical foot of the first half-verse") formally given by Arabic prosodists, and with the reduction (*ḥad̲h̲f*) of metrical feet (*R. al-Ṣāhil*, 691-2).

Finally in his *Risāla*, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ has somebody make a remark on the exceptional dexterity of ʿAzīz al-Dawla, who is able, whilst horseriding, to handle two swords at a time; but then it is remarked upon as much more wonderful that this prince was once seen reading in the *Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ* by al-K̲h̲alīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], see *R. al-Ṣāhil*, 706. It is on behalf of this particular interest shown by ʿAzīz al-Dawla that Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ pretends to introduce many sayings relating to the principles of metrics. Besides a great display of erudite learning in technical terms for various phenomena in metrics and rhyme, one also finds in the *Risāla* many quotations of poetry which in some way frequently contain descriptions of animals. Such a display of learning and the poetical lines quoted, though originally composed via association, often tend to interfere with the smooth and logical development of events in the *Risāla*. The same phenomenon can be found in the *Risālat al-G̲h̲ufrān* which was composed at a later date. On the other hand, the *R. al-G̲h̲ufrān* is distinguished from its predecessor, the *R. al-Ṣāhil*, by a much greater amount of irony and derision at its protagonist, who is Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ—as compared with ʿAzīz al-Dawla in the first *Risāla*—and also by its greater interest shown in religious questions. For further details, see P. Smoor, *Enigmatic allusion and double meaning in Maʿarrī's newly-discovered* Letter of a Horse and Mule, in *JAL*, xii (1981), xiii (1982).

7. *Risālat al-G̲h̲ufrān* was composed about 424/1033 during the reign of the second Mirdāsid prince Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ S̲h̲ibl al-Dawla (*R. al-G̲h̲ufrān* 450, cf. 256). The *Risāla* is a reply to a much smaller *Risāla* addressed to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ by a certain ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Ṭālib al-Ḥalabī Dawk̲h̲ala, also known as Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ, who was a traditionist and grammarian. In his *Risāla*, Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ is complaining of his old age and its concomitant infirmities, at the same time suggesting to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ that some sort of support is always welcome. Apart from this, Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ gives a show of his knowledge and orthodoxy in mentioning a number of poets and scholars whom he accuses of being *zindīḳ*s [*q.v.*]. In his reply Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ ironically imagines his aged correspondent as having died in the meantime. Then he supposes him, after a rather uneasy reckoning at the Day of Resurrection, to have passed the entrance to the Gardens of Paradise. In those Gardens Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ is described as meeting many a poet or scholar whose previous sins when least expected have been for-

given (cf. the meaning of the *Risāla*'s title "Letter of Forgiveness"). While travelling in the Hereafter, Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ is able to pay a visit to Hell, where he is described having discussions with the devil, Iblīs [*q.v.*] and the poet Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*], marked out as a heretic. Among the general aspects of the *R. al-Ghufrān* some may be mentioned here. First, the delights of Paradise are based upon a realistic and literal interpretation of the pronouncements given in Ḳurʾān and Tradition. For example, where it says in the Ḳurʾān (LVI, 35 ff.), "We have made them grow up new and made them virgins, loving and of equal age, for those on the right . . .", Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is found having them grow like fruits of the trees in Paradise (*R. al-Ghufrān*, 287-8).

Another remarkable aspect of the *Risāla* is the idea of compensation granted for any harm suffered previous in earthly life, this compensation being extended to both human beings and animals. To the latter belongs for example a wild ass, killed and skinned by a hunter during its existence on earth. Thereafter its hide was used for the fabrication of a well-bucket, of which in their turn pious men took advantage for their *ṭahāra* (198). Thus there appear to exist in Paradise two completely different categories: first the material of Paradise, represented by the virgins promised in the Ḳurʾān, and by animals for the purpose of hunting, both of these destined to increase the joys of the blessed; and in the second place there exist human beings and animals destined to enjoy themselves in all eternity on account of their earthly sufferings. As concerns Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ, the ironical attitude of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is very evident, where he is describing the formal act of Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ's *tawba* being testified by official witnesses in a mosque at Aleppo and the subsequent rejoicing in Heaven (517-22). For a comparison between the *R. al-Ghufrān* and Dante's *La Divina Commedia*, see the now rather obsolete study by Miguel A. Palacios, *La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid 1919; further, ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ghufrān*, Cairo 1954, which also discusses the comparison of the *Risāla* with Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*] and his *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa'l-zawābiʿ*, and is of general importance as an excellent study of the *R. al-Ghufrān*. Among the European studies there should be mentioned I. Kratschkovsky, *Zur Entstehung und Komposition von Abū 'l-ʿAlāʾ's Risālat al-ghufrān*, in *Islamica*, i (1925), 344-56; M.-S. Meïssa, *Le Message du Pardon*, Paris 1932; and R. Blachère, *Ibn al-Qarih et la genèse de l'Epître du pardon d'Al-Maʿarrī*, in *REI* (1941-6), 1-15.

Editions: R. A. Nicholson prepared an incomplete edition and translation in several articles: *JRAS* (1900), 637-720; (1902), 75-101, 337-62, 813-47. The best edition is *Risālat al-Ghufrān li-Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī wa-maʿa-hā Risālat Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ miftāḥ fahmi-hā*, 3rd ed. Cairo 1963 and later ones, by ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ".

8. *Risālat al-Malāʾika* is especially concerned with questions on the morphology and etymology of certain Arabic words. Thus in the *Muḳaddima* of this *Risāla* (ed. I. Kračkovskiy, Leningrad 1932), a reply is indirectly given to questions regarding the morphological reduction of certain words and names found in the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*. In this manner, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, who is himself the protagonist in this *Risāla*, is heard propounding several questions to the Angel of Death relating to all possible morphological schemes to which can be reduced words like *malak* and ʿAzrāʾīl. By this method Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ describes himself as successful in his attempt at postponing the moment of his own death for one hour, the angel being bewildered by such complicated problems. Further questions are concerned with the reduction of words relating to the grave and the Hereafter: its recompense and retribution and the pleasures of Paradise, the latter inducing the protagonist to deal with words like *kummathrā*, *sundus* and *istabraḳ* thereby following the same playful method. The succeeding part has only partially been edited by Salīm al-Djundī, *Risālat al-Malāʾika*, Damascus 1944, 55 ff., the remainder of this ms. being lost. In this additional part, as far as it is at present known from the edition, thirteen more problems are dealt with in a more serious and direct way. In general, the *Risāla*'s *Muḳaddima* reminds one of the *R. al-Ghufrān*, though the latter is much more extensive. It should further be noticed that Paradise in the *R. al-Malāʾika* appears to be very quiet and in conformity with the rules of orthodoxy, while in the *R. al-Ghufrān* it is less orthodox, with ironical passages and the tranquillity of Paradise disturbed by revelling, discussing and even violently quarrelling poets and scholars.

9. *Mulḳā 'l-sabīl* ("What is scattered on the road") is a very short work which was always to remain well-known after Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's poetry. Especially in the Muslim West, it has frequently been the object of attempts at emulation (*muʿāraḍa*). The titles of, and some short quotations from, such emulations are given in Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Muʿāraḍāt al-maghāriba li-Mulḳā 'l-sabīl*, in *Taʿrīf*, 455-7. For the edition of a complete *muʿāraḍa* of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's *Mulḳā 'l-sabīl*, see the one composed by Ibn al-Abbār, in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *Rasāʾil wa-nuṣūṣ*.-3-, Beirut 1963, 33-79. The *Mulḳā 'l-sabīl* consists of tiny paragraphs containing rhymed prose, which alternate with other paragraphs containing some poetical lines, with, however, the restriction that each paragraph of rhymed prose is more or less identical with the subsequent paragraph of poetry as far as its contents are concerned. These contents are of a very orthodox nature and no break can as yet be discerned with traditional morality and literary tradition. The editor Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Mulḳā 'l-sabīl*, Damascus 1330/1912, 3, observes some similarity to the pre-Islamic orators, such as Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, Kračkovskiy in *Abu-l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī. Mulḳā-s-sabīl*, Petrograd 1915, repr. in *Izbrannye sočineniya* ("Collected works"), Moscow 1956, ii, 183 ff., has pointed out that some influence of the poetry of Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*q.v.*] might be traced. Because of the simplicity of the language used, *Mulḳā 'l-sabīl* might have been composed by the author in his youth. In contrast to this opinion, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb suggests it may be a work of the poet's old age, in which he is shown to revert to the original religious principles (cf. Kračkovskiy, *Izbrannye sočineniya*, ii, 186).

Finally, let us consider the author's surviving commentaries existing up till now on the *Dīwāns* of other poets.

1. *Muʿdjiz Aḥmad* is a commentary on the complete *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī, which Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ probably wrote in the prime of his life. This rather simple commentary, of which so far no edition is available, has been discussed by Kračkovskiy, who also gives some examples from the Arabic text of this commentary, in *Al-Mutanabbī i Abū-l-ʿAlā*, Petrograd 1910 = *Izbrannye sočineniya*, ii, 63-115.

2. *al-Lāmiʿ al-ʿAzīzī* or *al-Thābitī al-ʿAzīzī* is a very extensive and as yet unedited commentary on a great number of verses selected from al-Mutanab-

bī's *Dīwān*, and therefore quite different from the one mentioned above. It was written by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ in his old age, for on the basis of its title it was dedicated to the one who had commissioned it, the Mirdāsid *amīr* ʿAzīz al-Dawla Abu 'l-Dawām Thābit b. Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās. The name of this *amīr* is further explicitly mentioned in the short Preface of the manuscript of this work (ms. [Süleymaniye] Hamidiye 1148) and in a passage of the monograph on Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ by Ibn al-ʿAdīm (*al-Inṣāf*, 540). In view of all this, the name erroneously given by F. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 493, should be corrected accordingly.

3. *ʿAbath al-walīd*, a commentary on verses selected from the *Dīwān* of the poet al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*], owes its existence to the fact that a manuscript containing al-Buḥturī's poetry was sent from Aleppo to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ in Maʿarra, in order that he should correct and criticise its text if necessary (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 541). It is available in the critical edition of Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Madanī, Medina 1355/1936. However, a far better edition is the one recently prepared by Nādiyā ʿAlī al-Dawla, *ʿAbath al-walīd fī 'l-kalām ʿalā shiʿr Abī ʿUbāda al-Walīd b. ʿUbayd al-Buḥturī*, Damascus 1978.

4. *Dhikrā Ḥabīb*, was a commentary on verses selected from the *Dīwān* of Ḥabīb b. Aws Abū Tammām [see ABŪ TAMMĀM]. Though it is lost as an independent work, it has in essence survived because Tibrīzī incorporated it in his own commentary on Abu Tammām's poetry; see *Dīwān Abī Tammām bi-sharḥ al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī*, critical ed. by M. ʿAbduh ʿAzzām, Cairo 1964, 25-6 of the editor's *muḳaddima*.

Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ made a commentary on the poetry of a contemporary of his, the *amīr* and eulogist of the Mirdāsids, Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayna, who also chanced to be an inhabitant of Maʿarra. This commentary was to remain partial only, for the *amīr* survived Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ and only died in 457/1065 (on him see further IBN ABĪ ḤAṢĪNA). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's commentary is incorporated in the *Dīwān Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayna*, critical ed. by Asʿad Ṭalas, Damascus 1375/1956, where incidentally on p. 373 can be found the elegy which was recited at Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's grave by Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayna, one among many other poets who are all reported to have recited their respective *marthiya*s on this occasion.

Bibliography: A compilation of biographical source materials taken from historical sources is *Taʿrīf al-ḳudamāʾ bi-Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Cairo 1384/1965, *taṣwīr* of the edn. Cairo 1944. Monographs: Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf wa 'l-taḥarrī fī dafʿ al-ẓulm wa 'l-tadjarrī ʿan Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, in *Taʿrīf*, 483-578; idem, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ms. Topkapu Saray 2925 *cilt* 1, ff. 195a-225b; al-Badīʿī, *Awdj al-taḥarrī ʿan ḥaythiyyat Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Damascus 1944, is a compilation of works by previous historians, but none the less interesting for its quotations from works by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ which are now lost. Other historical sources: some of the sources incorporated in the *Taʿrīf* may here be mentioned separately: Thaʿālibī, *Tatimmat al-yatīma*, Tehran 1353/1934, i, 9 (= *Taʿrīf*, 3-4); *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 240-1 (= *Taʿrīf*, 5-7); Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr*, Aleppo 1349/1930, 50-2 (= *Taʿrīf*, 8-11); Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, viii, 184-8 (= *Taʿrīf*, 18-26); Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1950-5, i, 46-83 (= *Taʿrīf*, 27-66); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 162-216 (= *Taʿrīf*, 67-141); Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, in *Taʿrīf*, 143-81; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, in *Taʿrīf*, 189-205; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Beirut 1966, xii, 72-6 (= *Taʿrīf*, 301-8). For further reference, see the survey by Moustapha Saleh, *Abū 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, bibliographie critique*, in *BEO*, xxii (1969), 141-204 ("Première partie: sources"). Modern studies, in addition to those already mentioned in the text of the article: C. Rieu, *De Abul-Alae poetae arabici vita et carminibus*, Bonn 1843; G. Salmon, *Un précurseur d'Omar Khayyam: le poète aveugle*, Paris 1904 ("Introduction et traduction"); ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī al-Rādjakūtī, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ wa-mā ilayh*, Cairo 1344/1925; a collection of articles in *al-Hilāl*, xlvi/8 (Cairo 1357/1938), "*ʿAdad khāṣṣ*"; Aḥmad Taymūr, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Cairo 1940; Brockelmann, I, 254, S I, 449; ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ", *al-Ḥayāt al-insāniyya ʿinda Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Cairo 1944; a collection of articles in *al-Adīb*, iii/6 (Beirut 1944), "*ʿAdad khāṣṣ*"; a collection of articles in *al-Mihradjān al-alfī li-Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Damascus 1364/1945; ʿUmar Farrūkh, *Ḥakīm al-Maʿarra*, Beirut 1944, ²1948; Amīn al-Khawlī, *Raʾyī fī Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Cairo 1945; Amdjad al-Ṭarābulusī, *al-Naḳd wa 'l-lugha fī Risālat al-Ghufrān*, Damascus 1370/1951; Muḥammad Salīm al-Djundī, *al-Djāmiʿ fī akhbār Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī wa-āthārih*, Damascus 1382-4/1962-4; Muḥammad Yaḥyā al-Hāshimī, *Lughz Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Aleppo 1968; ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ", *Maʿa Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ fī riḥlat ḥayātih*, Beirut 1392/1972, which is a slightly revised version of her previous study, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, see above; Ilyās Saʿd Ghālī, *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥayawān fī Luzūmiyyāt Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Damascus 1978; Y. Friedmann, *Literary and cultural aspects of the* Luzūmiyyāt, in *Studia orientalia . . . D. H. Baneth*, Jerusalem 1979, 347-65. For further reference, see Moustapha Saleh, *Abū 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī, bibliographie critique*, in *BEO*, xxiii (1970), 197-309 ("Deuxième parti: études critiques modernes").

(P. SMOOR)

MAʾĀTHIR AL-UMARĀʾ, the name of a celebrated Persian collection of biographies of Muslim Indian commanders from the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) till the time of its author, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Mīr ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Shāh-Nawāz Khān Awrangābādī (1111-71/1700-58). Born at Lahore, he soon settled in the Deccan in the service of the first Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf-Djāh, and filled offices in Berār [*q.v.*] and then as *Dīwān* or chief minister of the Deccan. His policy in the latter post aimed at checking the growing influences in that state of the French Marquis de Bussy, but army discontent led to his fall in 1170/1757 and his murder in the following year.

The *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ* was conceived on an extended scale and was unfinished at the author's death, hence completed by his son Mīr ʿAbd al-Ḥayy from notes and fragments left by Shāh-Nawāz Khān. The text of ʿAbd al-Ḥayy's recension was published in the Bibliotheca Indica series, ed. Maulavi ʾAbdur-Rahīm and Maulavi Ashraf ʾAli, 3 vols. Calcutta 1888-91, and an English tr. made by H. Beveridge and Baini Prasad, Calcutta 1911- . The whole work has been much used for the many studies which have recently appeared on the Mughal nobility and landholding class.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 1094-1100.

(ED.)

MAʿBAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿUKAYM AL-**DJUHANĪ**, early representative of Ḳadarī ideas,

executed after the insurrection of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*], in 83/703.

He was probably born about 20/640 or even earlier. He had contacts with Muʿāwiya (41-60/661-80), and ʿAbd al-Malik appreciated him to such an extent that he sent him as an ambassador to Byzantium and entrusted him with the education of his son Saʿīd al-Khayr. According to a rather detailed, but perhaps fictitious report he played a certain political role as early as 38/658, during the negotiations between Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ at Dūmat al-Djandal after the Battle of Ṣiffīn. His reputation was based on his juridical competence. Traces of his *fatwās* can still be found in our sources. In his use of precedents he obviously did not differentiate between prophetic tradition and the *sunna* of the caliphs; he referred to decisions of Muʿāwiya (an attitude which later jurists were completely unable to understand), and some of his *ḥadīths* go back to ʿUthmān (reigned 23-44/635-56) whom he may still have met personally. Although probably born in Kūfa, he did not appreciate the juridical tradition connected with ʿAlī (if it existed already at his time); his father, a companion of the Prophet, had already attracted the attention of his Kūfan neighbours by his ʿUthmānī leanings. We do not know why and when, in spite of his favoured position at the court of ʿAbd al-Malik, he joined the ranks of Ibn al-Ashʿath. He was captured at Mecca, together with his brother Saʿīd, and evidently executed by order of the caliph himself, at Damascus.

Later tradition tended to explain his fate by his Ḳadarī convictions. But this must not have been his primary motive. We do not have any detailed information about his thinking; he was not a theoretician like his younger contemporary al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*]. Much of our material results from a *damnatio memoriae* which was initiated by predestinarian circles. But this was a slow process which did not begin before 110/729, when al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī had died, and was only finished in the second half of the second century when the Ḳadariyya [*q.v.*] as a whole was boycotted by the majority of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*. A decisive moment for the development was apparently the Ḳadarī take-over under Yazīd III in 126/744; anti-Ḳadarī groups in Syria as well as in Baṣra then discovered Maʿbad as a bad example of a doctrinarian who had tried to push through his ideas by means of a revolution. According to them, he had been "the first who talked about *ḳadar* in Baṣra". Later on, not earlier than 130/748, this statement was modified by the assertion that he had taken over his ideas from a Christian or a Magian convert among the *Asāwira* by the name of Sūsan or Susnōya (also other forms are given). The persons responsible for this campaign are to be found in the predestinarian wing of the school of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (e.g. Yūnus b. ʿUbayd, died 139/756 or 140/757; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn, died 151/768). They wanted to detract the attention from the fact that their master himself had been close to Ḳadarī theories. For them, the decisive point was that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, in contract to Maʿbad al-Djuhanī, had not drawn any political consequences out of them.

Bibliography: A detailed "biography" is given by Ibn ʿAsākir in the unedited part of his *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, but there are lots of other (normally short and biassed) reports. The material available up to now has been used in J. van Ess, *Maʿbad al-Ǧuhanī*, in *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen Fritz Meier zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1974, 49 ff. Cf. also W. M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973 index s.n.; Redwan Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Ašʿaṯ und die Koranleser*, Freiburg 1977, 360 and *passim*. (J. van Ess)

MAʿBAD b. WAHB, Abū ʿAbbād, one of the great singers and composers in Umayyad times, was born in Medina and died at Damascus in 125/743 or 126/744. Being the son of a negro, he was an *ʿabd* and later on became *mawlā* of one of the Makhzūm families, serving them as overseer of their cattle. Like many other oriental musicians, he is said to have been led to music by a dream, and he took music lessons from Sāʾib Khāthir and Nashīṭ. He soon made a name for himself in Medina and followed invitations to sing at Mecca, where Ibn Suraydj set the fashion. Here he carried off the prize at a tournament of song organised by Ibn Ṣafwān al-Akbar (d. 73/692). Maʿbad sang at the courts of the caliphs al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. After the death of Ibn Suraydj (*ca.* 108/726), he reached the zenith of his career as a number of the literary and artistic circle of the prince al-Walīd b. Yazīd. When the latter became caliph in 125/743, he invited the old singer to Damascus. Maʿbad, already weakened in health, fell ill and died in the palace after having suffered from partial paralysis. The caliph himself accompanied the bier to the palace boundaries.

Maʿbad, one of the "four great singers" in early Islam, was the leading musician of the Medinan school of music. As to his way of composing songs, his own description has been handed down: "I back my mount, beat the rhythm with the wand (*ḳaḍīb*) on the saddle and chant the verse until the melody comes right (*Aghānī*[3], i, 40). He preferred "heavy" (*thaḳīl*) rhythms, abounding in fioriture. Several of his songs became known under specific names, like *al-mudun* or *al-ḥuṣūn* ("cities, fortresses") alluding to places conquered by Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*], or *Ḳutaylāt*, three songs on verses by al-Aʿshā on a girl called Ḳutayla. His songs (*viz.* song texts) were collected by his pupil Yūnus al-Kātib in his *K. fi 'l-Aghānī* and, later on, now with indications on melody (*ṭarīḳa*) and rhythm (*īḳāʿ*), by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī in his books *K. Aghānī Maʿbad* and *K. Akhbār Maʿbad wa-Ibn Suraydj wa-aghānīhimā*. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī made use of these sources in his *K. al-Aghānī*, together with other monographical collections of Maʿbad's songs (*ibid.*[3], iii, 305), including a *Djāmiʿ ghināʾ Maʿbad* transmitted by al-Hishāmī.

He seems to have educated numerous singing girls and singers. Among his best-known pupils figure Ibn ʿĀʾisha, Mālik b. Abi 'l-Samḥ and the songstresses Sallāma and Ḥabāba. Through his pupils Ḥakam al-Wādī, Daḥmān, Ashʿab and Siyāṭ he influenced the early Baghdād musical style. Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850) considered him to be "a consummate singer" having "a talent superior to all his rivals", and he took Maʿbad's songs as models of "pure Arab" music. Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kātib (early 5th/11th century) counted them among the perfect melodies and therefore, contrary to normal practice, not any more allowed to be altered by embellishments. From his lifetime onwards, Maʿbad figures in Arabic poetry (al-Buḥturī, Abū Tammām and others) as the musician par excellence.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[3], i, 36-59 (main source, see also indices); Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1952, 538-40; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 447-9; Ṭabarī, iii, 417, 541-2; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, vi, Cairo 1949, 25, 30; Fārābī, *K. al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr*, Cairo 1967, 56, 60; al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kātib, *Kamāl*

adab al-ghināʾ, in *al-Mawrid*, ii/2 (1973), 132, 138, 143, 148, 150, French tr. A. Shiloah, *La perfection des connaissances musicales*, Paris 1972 (see index); Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, ii, 373, 374-5; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iv, 262-7; Ibn Wāṣil, *Tadjrīd al-Aghānī*, ms. Ayasofya 3114, ff. 5a-7a; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtār al-Aghānī*, vi, 336-45; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-abṣar*, part x, ms. Ayasofya 3423, ff. 29b-32a; Ibn al-Naḳīb, *Ḳaṣīda* on Arab musical history, in *MMIA*, xxxi (1956), 11; A. Caussin de Perceval, *Notices anecdotiques ...*, in *JA*, sér. 7, vol. ii (1873), 477-94; O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte*, i, Istanbul 1925, 229-31, 233; H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, 81-2 and *passim*; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 177-8; Sh. Ḍayf, *al-Shiʿr wa 'l-ghināʾ fi 'l-Madīna wa-Makka li-ʿaṣr Banī Umayya*, Beirut 1967, 79-81 and *passim*.

(H. G. Farmer - [E. Neubauer])

MAʿBAR, the name given by the Arabs in mediaeval times to the eastern shores of the Indian Deccan, an area corresponding closely, but not exactly, to the Coromandel coast (the latter name from the Tamil *Čolamaṇḍalam*, "the realm of the Cholas", indicating the area formerly ruled by the Tamil Chola *rādjās* from their capital at Tāndjāvūr (Tanjore); hence the alternative Arabo-Persian name, *Barr al-Ṣūliyān* or *Shūliyān* (Tibbetts, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 466), "the coast of the Cholas").

In Arabic, the term *maʿbar* signifies a passage or crossing point. In its application to Coromandel this has been widely interpreted as being a reference to the part played by the coast in the crossing between India and Ceylon or Sri Lanka; thus the *Madras glossary* (439) states that Maʿbar "means the crossing over, that is from Madura to Ceylon". An alternative explanation is offered by Yule who was of the opinion that Maʿbar derived its name from being "in that age the coast most frequented by travellers from Arabia and the Gulf" (*Marco Polo*, ii, 332, n. 1). If, as is generally accepted, the region of Maʿbar lay to the east of Cape Comorin (Ar. *Kumharā*), then Yule's explanation must be considered less satisfactory than that offered by the *Madras glossary*. Coromandel was, in fact, somewhat off the main routes followed by mediaeval Arab shipping. Research into contemporaneous Arab navigational texts indicates that ocean-going vessels generally touched at Malabar [*q.v.*] rather than Maʿbar (Tibbetts, *op. cit.*, *Detailed chart of India and the Bay of Bengal*); in any crossing from Malabar to Southeast Asia, these vessels would have passed around Dondra Head (Ar. *Raʾs Dannūr*), the southernmost point of Sri Lanka, thus avoiding Maʿbar altogether unless specifically destined for that area or for Bengal (see, however, Waṣṣāf's definition of Maʿbar [below], which includes a substantial part of the southern Malabar coast). The compilers of *Hobson Jobson* (526) suggest as an alternative that "Maʿbar" may simply be an attempt to give meaning in Arabic to a local South Indian name; however, no suggestion is made as to a possible Dravidian etymology. A fourth possible explanation is that the "crossing" referred to was that from the well-known Arabian Sea to the less familiar *Taḥt al-Rīḥ* (i.e. "beneath the wind", the Bay of Bengal and the seas of Southeast Asia), a region where Arab mercantile power, supreme to the west of Cape Comorin, met with serious competition from Indian and Chinese vessels (in this context, note the descriptions of Maʿbar offered by Yāḳūt and Waṣṣāf, see below).

According to Yule, the earliest application of the term Maʿbar to the Coromandel coast occurs in ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's short description of Egypt (*al-Ifāda wa'l-iʿtibār fi 'l-umūr al-mushāhada wa'l-ḥawādith al-muʿāyana bi-arḍ Miṣr*; see De Sacy, in *Bibl.*, 31), a study written *ca.* 600/1203, when the Chola *rādjā* Kulottunga III still ruled over the eastern Deccan, see *Hobson-Jobson*, 526 (Coromandel is still renowned for its mat-weaving industry, mentioned in this passage, see P. K. Nambiar, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, *passim*).

Mediaeval Arab scholarship in unclear as to the exact extent of Maʿbar. According to the geographer Yāḳūt, "Maʿbar is the extremity of the land of Hind, then come the cities of China, the first of these is Java" quoted in Nainar, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 53. In his *Tazdjiyat al-amṣār wa-tadjriyat al-āthār* (700/1300), the historian ʿAbd Allāh Waṣṣāf states that Maʿbar extends in length from Kūlam [*q.v.*] (Quilon) to Nilāwar (Nellore), nearly 300 *parasangs* (i.e. 1,800 km.) along the sea-coast (in fact, the distance is nearer 1,200 km. (tr. in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 32)

In his *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (710/1310), Rashīd al-Dīn repeats Waṣṣāf's description of Maʿbar almost word-for-word, but elaborates somewhat on the products of the region, mentioning silken stuffs, aromatic roots and large pearls (tr. in *ibid.*, i, 69). According to Abu 'l-Fidā, *Kitāb Taḳwīm al-buldān* (*ca.* 731/1330), Maʿbar is the third *iḳlīm* of Hind, beginning at about three or four days journey to the east of Kawlam (Quilon), the first locality in Maʿbar being Rās Kumhūrī (Cape Comorin) (tr. in Nainar, *op. cit.*, 55).

Abu 'l-Fidā's description of the geographical extent of Maʿbar corresponds more closely to the Coromandel coast than that offered by Waṣṣāf and Rashīd al-Dīn, and indeed, after Abu 'l Fidā's time the term Maʿbar seems to have become increasingly associated with the coast of South India east of Cape Comorin rather than east of Quilon; nevertheless, Maʿbar, even in this truncated form, may not be considered synonymous with Coromandel. The latter is defined by *Hobson-Jobson* (256-8) as "the Northern Tamil Country, or . . . the eastern coast of the Peninsula of India from Point Calimere northwards to the mouth of the Kistna, sometimes to Orissa"; thus Maʿbar extended south of Coromandel to include the shoreline of the Palk Straits and the Gulf of Mannar.

The term Maʿbar, although originally an exclusively Arab designation, gained considerable currency beyond the confines of the Muslim world; thus Marco Polo (*ca.* 692/1292) writes at some length concerning "the great province of Maabar which is styled India the Greater; it is best of all the Indies and is on the mainland" (Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii, 331-59). In a letter also dating from 692/1292, or possibly one year later, John of Monte Corvino describes in some depth "Upper India, which is called Maebar, in the territory of St. Thomas" (Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, iii, 58-70). Maʿbar is mentioned in the Chinese Annals as one of the foreign kingdoms which sent tribute to Ḳubilay Khān [*q.v.*] in 667/1268 (Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii, 337). Although no mention of Maʿbar occurs in the *Ying-yai sheng-lan* of Ma Huan [*q.v.*], *Ma-pa-erh* was certainly well-known to the Chinese during Ming times, and is listed in Feng Ch'eng-chün's *Hsi-yü ti-ming* (see *Bibl.*).

Until the beginning of the 8th/14th century, relations between Maʿbar and the Muslim world were generally limited to peaceful Arab trading contacts. The historian and poet Amīr Khusraw, who was attached to the court of the Khaldjī Sultans at Dihlī, celebrates the advances of the Muslim armies in the northern Deccan (*ca.* 710/1310) and adds that "there

the arrow of any holy warrior had not yet reached" (tr. in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 85-6).

During the first half of the 7th/13th century, however, the powerful Chola Kingdom which had dominated the south-eastern Deccan for over four centuries, entered a period of final decline. In *ca.* 678/1279, Rā**dj**endra IV, the last Chola monarch, fell from power; his territories were divided between two rival Hindu kingdoms based on Madurai and Mysore (Basham, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 76). In 708/1308 the third Khaldjī sultan, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, having defeated the invading Mongols, felt able to turn to the military conquest of the Deccan. Under the capable generalship of Mālik Kāfūr, the Muslim armies subjugated the Yādava rulers of Devagiri and the Kākatīya rulers of Warangal; in 710/1310 Kāfūr broke through to the southern Deccan, and for the first time Muslim armies were able to despoil the great Hindu temples of Maʿbar. It was as a direct consequence of this victory that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the Deccan in or about 739/1338, found the Dravidians of Maʿbar under the rule of a Muslim sultanate with its capital at Madurai (Gibb, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 261-5).

The success of Muslim arms in the southern Deccan was nevertheless to be shortlived. Within a few years of Mālik Kāfūr's invasion, the independent Hindu kingdom of Vidjayanagar was established in 731/1336. Maʿbar passed under the control of the *rādjās* of Vidjayanagar in 772/1370 (Thapar, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, i, 325); under a succession of Hindu rulers, the region was to maintain its independence from the Muslim north until the equally short-lived conquest of the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] in the late 11th/16th century.

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

AL-MAʿBARĪ, Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, the author of *Tuḥfat al-mudjāhidīn fī baʿḍ aḥwāl al-Purtukāliyyīn*, is said to have lived in Ponani, Malabar District (Kerala, India) during the rule of the ʿĀdil Shāh ʿAlī (965-88/1558-80), his patron, to whom he dedicated the book. The date of his birth or death is not known, but he wrote the work *ca.* 985/1577. The *Tuḥfat al-mudjāhidīn* deals with the geography of Southern India, and gives an account of Islam in Malabar and the Portuguese campaigns in India. It has an introduction and four chapters. The first chapter deals with the merits and necessity of *djihād* [*q.v.*]; the second gives an account of the first appearance of Islam in Malabar [*q.v.*]; the third with the strange usages and customs of the Hindu inhabitants of Malabar, and the fourth is an historical account of the Portuguese campaigns from the time of their first arrival in Malabar in 1498 A.D. up to 1583. This work, in the opinion of S. M. Ḥ. Nainār, might be different from the work of the same name from which Firishta took extracts, but this needs further careful investigation (See *Tuḥfat al-mudjāhidīn*, tr., Introd., 7).

The author was inspired to write the book for reasons given by him in his Preface: after the spread of Islam in Malabar the Muslims had "disregarded the favours of Allāh" and had "sinned and set up feuds among themselves." So Allāh "empowered over them the people of Purtukāl from among the *Afrandj*", who oppressed them for eighty years until the condition of the Muslims reached "the worst consequences of decay, poverty and humiliation." But neither they nor the resourceful rulers and the rich Muslims of Malabar cared to "repel the misfortune" or "declare a holy war" against the Portuguese. Hence, the author says, he "compiled this narrative with a view to inspire in the faithful the desire of fighting the worshippers of the Cross; for a holy war with them is an obligatory duty, because they invaded the territories inhabited by the Muslims ..." (Nainār, tr., 12-13). Obviously, the author wrote the book from a religio-political point of view to exhort the Muslims of Malabar to a holy war against the Portuguese. His style is "very simple and direct without rhetorical ornament, yet he is not free from the affection of ornate style so common with most theologians who had steeped their minds in the Qurʾan and *Traditions*" (Nainar, Introd., 7-8).

Bibliography: In addition to Brockelmann's *EI*¹ article al-Maʿbarī, see *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn, an historical work in the Arabic language*, Eng. tr. S. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nainār, University of Madras 1942; edition by Ḥakīm Shams Allāh Ḳādrī, Hyderabad, Deccan 1931 (without the first chapter; Nainar, Introd., 4); an abridgement of the work (in Arabic) is included in a collection of some accounts on Islam in Malabar entitled *Djawāhir al-ashʿār wa-gharāʾib al-ḥikāyāt wa 'l-akhbār*, etc. by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. al-Shaykh Yūsuf b. Sayfī b. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn, Edava, Travancore 1358/1939, 205-34.

(S. Maqbul Ahmad)

MĀBEYN (A. *mā bayn* "what is between"), in the organisation of the Ottoman palace, the intermediate appartments lying between the inner courts of the Sarāy and the Ḥarem, a place where only the sultan, the eunuchs and the womenfolk could penetrate and where the corps of select pages known as *mābeyndjis*, an élite group from amongst the forty *khāṣṣ odalis*, waited on the monarch for such intimate services as dressing and shaving him [see khāṣṣ oda].

Till the end of the 11th/17th century, the *Mābeyndjis* were headed by the *Silaḥdār Agha* or Sword-bearer, as chief page. But under Aḥmed III (1115-43/1703-30) there was a re-organisation of the palace service, involving the decline of the white eunuchs' influence, elevation of the Silaḥdār Agha's position

and depression to some extent of the *Mābeyndjis*, henceforth regarded as inferior to the principal pages of the *Khāṣṣ Oda* or Privy Chamber. Hence there were now three grades of pages there: (1) the *Bïčaklï Eski*s or Superior *Aghas* (so-called because they wore a gilded or silverplated dagger, *bïčak*, in their belts); (2) the *Mābeyndjis*; and (3) the Inferior *Aghas*, with no special designation. Writers from the later 18th and 19th centuries, such as the Ottoman historian ʿAṭāʾ and the European D'Ohsson, mention several specific offices held by the principal ones of twelve *Mābeyndjis* (thus numbered by D'Ohsson), headed by the *Bash Čukadār* or Head Valet, the *Sirr Kātibi* or Confidential Secretary (both still highly influential because of their close contacts with the sultan), the *Ṣarïkčï Bashï* or Chief Turban-folder, the *Kahwedji Bashï* or Chief Coffee-maker, etc.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

MADAGASCAR, with its 627,000 km² the third largest island in the world, after New Guinea (785,000 km²) and Borneo (733,000 km²). Its area is slightly greater than that of France 550,880 km²), of Belgium (30,000 km²) and of Holland (33,000 km²) combined. The large African island is oriented from north-north-east to south-south-west, measuring 1,600 km at its greatest length and 580 km at its greatest width, with a coastal perimeter of 5,000 km. It has a population in excess of 8 million inhabitants which is increasing at a fairly rapid rate (3.2 %).

Although the Comoros (see KUMR) are entirely Muslim, Madagascar's Muslim population is confined to the north-west coastal region and the south-east, where the descendants of the first Muslims to arrive on the island remain. However, archaeological studies have shown that the Muslims of the Indian Ocean were the transporters of the initial African population, and were responsible for trade between the Great Island and the rest of the world from the 10th to the 18th century. In the 19th century, Indian Muslims engaging in commerce settled in their turn.

In the religious sphere, Malagasy Islam has always tended to be absorbed by the traditional religion, to such an extent that continual contributions are necessary for the maintenance of Muslim establishments. Most curiously, in the south-east of the island a tradition of Arabic-Malagasy manuscript writing is perpetuated.

The island has been known by the names of *al-Ḳumr* by the Arabs; *Bukini* (literally, the place where there are (*ni*) Buki) by the Bantus of neighbouring East Africa; *Isle of St. Lawrence* by the Portuguese who discovered it in 1506 on the feast-day of this saint, 10 August; and finally *Madagascar*, according to the narrative of Marco Polo. The unvocalised spelling جزيرة القمر has given rise to the play on words *djazīrat al-ḳamar* "Island of the Moon" which was employed by Portuguese historians in the 16th and 17th centuries and which apparently survived until the end of the 19th century among the seafarers of Southern Arabia.

The name of Ḳumr seems to figure for the first time in the *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī (d. 220/835 or 230/845), in the context of the famous "mountain of Ḳumr" (*djabal al-Ḳumr*) which was believed to be the source of the Nile. But the interpretation as *Djabal al-Ḳamar* "mountain of the moon" was ancient as early as the 9th century, since it is encountered in the ὄρησεληναῖα of Ptolemy, whom the majority of Arab geographers and al-Khwārazmī in particular took as their model. The mountain known as that of Ḳumr or the Moon is mentioned by all the Muslim geographers who have described East Africa. It is totally different from the homographic term Ḳumr, which in the 17th century, as Trimingham has shown, signifies the Great Island, but also the neighbouring archipelage of the Comoros, which alone has retained this name to the present day.

In his study on the *K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les Mers du Sud* (in *JA*, xiii-xiv [1919]), Ferrand suggested an association with the name of the Kmers and that of the 崑崙 K'un-lun of the Chinese texts, a daring association, even though these Chinese texts are by no means ignorant of Africa. More interesting for our purposes would seem to be the comparison, by the same Ferrand, of Wāḳ-wāḳ [*q.v.*] with *vahoaka*.

The term *Buki*, which denotes Malagasy in Swahili, and *Bukini*, Madagascar, have been audaciously linked with *Bugi* (people of the Celebes) by J. C. Hébert. In Madagascar, the term appears in literature for the first time in 1613, in the writing of the Portuguese Father Luis Mariano.

The current name of Madagascar is revealed to us in the account of Marco Polo under the form *Madeigascar* (cf. *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. H. Yule, revised and corrected H. Cordier, ii, 411 ff.). As was demonstrated by Yule a long time ago, Marco Polo did not visit Madagascar, spoke of it only through hearsay and presented under this heading certain information relating to the neighbouring East African coast. In this sense, the question may be regarded as settled. As Ferrand already indicated in studying afresh this chapter of Marco Polo, *Madeigascar* is without doubt a slightly incorrect compound of the *Zangbār* type, to be amended to *Madeigascar-bār*, denoting "land of the Malagasy", in the same way that the former has the sense of "land of Zang or the Zangs" (cf. *Trois étymologies malgaches*, in *Mémoires Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, xiii [1905-6]). This reconstruction is based on the following facts: in the previously mentioned account, Father Luis Mariano tells of a kingdom in the south-east of Madagascar which he calls *Mitacassi*, *Matacaci*, *Matacasi* (or Matakasi). Three years later, in 1616, Father Almeida, travelling in the same region, also mentions a kingdom of *Matacassi*. In his *Relation* published in 1651 by Morisot (*Relations véritables et curieuses de l'isle de Madagascar et du Brésil*, 10, 49, 99, 124, 127, 134), Cauche refers to a province called *Madegache* and known by others as *Madegasse*, whose inhabitants he calls *Malegasses* and *Mallegasses*. He also employs the term *Madagascarois*, but in the broader sense of the inhabitants of the entire island. Flacourt (*Histoire de la grande isle Madagascar*, 1661, 1) says: "The Island of Sainct-Laurens is called Madagascar by the geographers, *Madecase* by the inhabitants of the land, Menuthias by Ptolemy, Cerne by Pliny ..., but its true name is *Madecase*". Later writers have all been inspired to a greater or lesser extent by the work of Flacourt; therefore, there is no purpose in employing their testimony. These variant readings may be reduced to two: *Madagasi* and *Malagasi*

which correspond exactly to the two major categories of dialect: dialects with voiced dental (*d*) and dialects with liquid dental (*l*). It is the latter form that has prevailed throughout the island, sometimes with the sibilant *Malagási*, sometimes with the fricative *Malagáci*. Both are paroxytones. In addition, the modern colloquial language frequently employs the abbreviated form *gasy* and even *gasa*. These observations seem to justify the interpretation proposed above for the name of Madagascar which we owe to Marco Polo.

The doublet *Malagási-Madagási*, *Malagási-Madagási* remains obscure. According to the morphology of the language, it may represent a compound *mala* or *mada gási* which resembles nothing known, since it consists of the voiced form *mada-gási*, or of the unvoiced form noted by the Portuguese *mata-kási*. Furthermore, it is not known whether this is a western Indonesian construction or a Bantu construction. Whatever the case may be, it is likely that here we have a foreign tribal name, the origin of which, eastern or western, cannot currently be explained by reference to the ancient and modern language.

The account of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, probably written by a Greek of Alexandria in the 3rd century A.D., describes a voyage along the eastern coast of Africa as far as the port of Rapta. Madagascar seems to be unknown to the author of the *Periplus*, and it is probable that it was still uninhabited. Indonesian and African migrations seem to have populated the island only in the 2nd or 3rd centuries of the Hidjra, at the earliest.

In about the year 945, the island of Ḳanbalū, probably situated in the archipelago of the Comoros, was the object of invasions by marine pirates possibly based on Madagascar. The book of *The marvels of India* by Buzurg b. Shahriyār, a Persian of Rāmhurmuz, states in fact: "Ibn Lakis tells me that he has seen the people of the Wāḳ-wāḳ perform amazing things. It is thus that in 334/945-6, they came upon them in a thousand ships and fought them with the utmost vigour, without however achieving their end, since Ḳanbalū is surrounded by a strong defensive wall around which stretches the water-filled estuary of the sea, so that Ḳanbalū is at the centre of this estuary like a fortified citadel. When people of the Wāḳ-Wāḳ subsequently came ashore there, they asked them why they had come specifically there and not elsewhere. They replied that this was because among them there were to be found products sought after in their country and in China, such as ivory, tortoise shell, panther hides and ambergris, and because they were seeking out the Zandj, on account of the ease with which they endured slavery and on account of their physical strength. They said that they had come from a distance of one year's sailing, that they had pillaged islands situated six days' journey time from Ḳanbalū and had taken possession of a certain number of villages and towns of Sofāla of the Zandj, to say nothing of others which they did not know. If these people spoke the truth and if their account was accurate, this would confirm what Ibn Lakis said of the islands of the Wāḳ-wāḳ: that they are situated opposite China". Today there is a consensus that these pirates were Indonesians based in Madagascar who pillaged the Comoros and the coast of the Zandj.

Among the Arab geographers, the first detailed mention of the island of Komr-Madagascar is supplied by the *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fi 'khtirāḳ al-āfāḳ* (1154) of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, who sometimes includes the large African island in the land of the Zandj. "The inhabitants of the islands of Zabag = Sumatra," he says in the seventh section of the first chapter, "come to the land of the Zandj in large and small ships, and they use it for the sale of their merchandise, seeing that they understand one another's language" (B.N. ms. 2221, fol. 29 a, I, 15; the editor of the *Book of Roger*, Naples-Rome, i, 1970, 61, reads al-Rānadj in place of al-Zābadj; cf. index of the *Murūdj*, s.v. *Zābadj*). This passage is very important, because it shows that in the 12th century contacts were maintained between the east and the west of the Indian Ocean and that mutual comprehension was practised by the Indonesians settled in Madagascar on the one hand, and those natives of Indonesia on the other.

In his *Muʿdjam*, completed in 1224, Yāḳūt merely says (iv, 174): "al-Ḳumr is an island in the middle of the sea of the Zandj which contains no island larger than it. It comprises a large number of towns and kingdoms. Each king makes war on the other. On the shores are found amber and the leaf *al-ḳumārī* (*sic*). This is a perfume; it is also called betel leaf. Wax is also obtained from it." The *Kitāb al-Mushtarik* of the same author contains identical information borrowed from the *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld, 358); but the latter text has, more correctly, "the leaf *al-ḳumrī*".

Ibn Saʿīd (7th/13th century [*q.v.*]) wrote a geographical treatise, of which the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris possesses, under no. 2234, a copy once belonging to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ and dating from 714/1314-15. This treatise contains an interesting association between the Asiatic peoples and the people of Ḳumr, which Ferrand summarises thus: "The Ḳumr, who have given their name to the mountain of this name situated in eastern Africa, are brothers of the Chinese. They dwelt originally with the Chinese in the eastern regions of the world, that is to say, in the interior of the continent of Asia. Discord having broken out between them, the latter drove the Ḳumr towards the islands. After a certain period of time, with dissension erupting among the Ḳumr who had emigrated to the islands, the king and his family emigrated again, made their way to the large island of Ḳumr = Madagascar and the king established himself in a town of this large island called Ḳumriyya. These Ḳumr, having arrived on the large island, grew in number and proliferated in the various capitals of the island in question; but new dissensions provoked a new exodus and a large number of them departed to settle in the south, at the commencement of the inhabited territory, along the mountain range which bears their name." (Ferrand, *Relation de voyages*, ii, 316 ff.).

A contemporary of Ibn Saʿīd, Ibn al-Mudjāwir al-Shaybānī of Damascus, wrote his *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* in *ca.* 1230 (B.N. ms. 6021). In the 25 folios which the author devotes to the history of Aden, there is mention in folio 72 a-b of voyages by the Ḳumr from their country of origin to Aden and, in particular, in 626/1228, from Madagascar to the coast of Africa and to Aden (cf. *JA*, xiii [1919], 469-83).

The following authors al-Dimashḳī (*ca.* 725/1325), al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332), Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (1273-1331), Ibn Khaldūn (*ca.* 1375) and al-Maḳrīzī (1365-1442) tell us nothing of substance about the island of Ḳumr. The towns which some of them place on the great African island are in fact situated in Ceylon or further east, or are unidentifiable (cf. Ferrand,

Relations de voyages, ii, index, *s.vv. Ḳomor* and *Ḳomr*).

Besides mentioning numerous towns, al-Dimashḳī tells of the presence on Ḳumr of the famous *rukh* bird. This bird, which has haunted the legends of the Arabs of the Indian Ocean, is probably the aepyornis, a giant flightless bird which was exterminated by the Madagascans *ca.* 1500.

In the 9th/15th century, the information supplied by Arab geographers is more reliable. This no longer consists of learned treatises or compilations, but of "route-maps" written by navigators, the most eminent being Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī [*q.vv.*]. Ferrand was the first to draw attention to the importance of these documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and he published them in facsimile without French translation; before him, this nautical data was known only from a second-hand Turkish text, the *Muḥīṭ* of Sayyid ʿAlī. Today, for Ibn Mādjid, we are fortunate in having at our disposal the interpretation by Shumovski relating to another manuscript, that of Leningrad, and the cartographical analysis of the navigators' documentation made by Grosset-Grange.

While admitting the interest of the nautical instructions of Ibn Mādjid, Ferrand recognised that the information given by Sulaymān al-Mahrī was more precise. In fact, in his *Umda Mahriyya*, in chapter iv, which deals with the topography of the islands and the maritime routes along their coasts (cf. *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, ii, fol. 22 a), the following is stated: "We begin with the island of Ḳumr because it is a large island which stretches along the coast of the Zandj and of Sufāla. Its northern extremity is called Rās al-Milḥ (= Cape of Amber); it is situated at 11 *iṣbaʿ*s from Naʿsh (αβγδ of the Great Bear = 8° 37′ south approximately; true latitude approximately 11° 57′). Its southern extremity which is called Hūfā (= Cape Sainte-Marie?) is at 3 *iṣbaʿ*s from Naʿsh (= 21° 37′ south, true latitude approx. 25° 38′), according to some, at 1 *iṣbaʿ* from Naʿsh (= 24° 51′ south), according to others. This last latitude is the more exact. There is a difference of opinion [on the direction] of maritime routes along its coasts, because this island is far removed from inhabited land. As regards the direction of route on its eastern coasts, there are two opinions: according to some, a course should be set to south-west-one-quarter west, according to others, to south-west. There is a third opinion which recommends a course set to west, from one extremity of the island to the other. This last opinion is that of the ancient [masters of navigation]. In my view, adds Sulaymān al-Mahrī, it is possible that the route could be to west-south-west, to south-west-one-quarter west, to south-west, and in yet another direction, for two reasons: the first is that this is a large island, it has a long coastline and the route is equally long. The second reason is that the above-mentioned routes have not been verified, on account of the small number of journeys which have been made to this island and the insufficient nautical data provided by those who have travelled there. Masters of navigation (*muʿallim*) of the Zandj have told me that the course on the eastern coast, from Rās al-Milḥ as far as the place where Naʿsh is at 8 *iṣbaʿ*s (= 13° 30′ south), is to the south, and from this place to the southern extremity of the islands, to south-one-quarter-south-west. On the western coast, from Rās al-Milḥ to the place where Naʿsh is at 6 *iṣbaʿ*s (= 16° 44′), the coast is entirely safe; from 6 *iṣbaʿ*s to its southern extremity, there is a *rikk* ("bank" or „shoal") of a length of some 2 *zāms* (6 hours) sailing-time or more, as far as the coastal area. Between the island of Ḳumr and the coast [of East Africa] there are four large inhabited islands, close together, which are frequented by the peoples of the Zandj. The first of these islands is Angazidya (= Grand Comoro). It is at 11 *iṣbaʿ*s and one-quarter from Naʿsh (= approx. 9° south: Mroni, the capital of Grand Comoro is at exactly 11° 40′ south). Between it and the coast [of East Africa], there are 16 *zāms* (= 48 hours) of travelling. The second, Mulālī (known to us as the island of Moheli), is at 11 *iṣbaʿ*s from Naʿsh (= 8° 37′ south, true latitude approx. 12° 20′); the third, Dumūnī (capital of the island of Anjouan), which is at 11 *iṣbaʿ*s from Naʿsh (= 8° 37′ south, true latitude 12° 15′) is to the east of Mulālī; the fourth, Mawutū (currently the island of Mayotte), is at 10 *iṣbaʿ*s and one-half from Naʿsh (= 9° 25′ south, true latitude 12° 46′ 55″). To the east of these islands, lies a large reef of rocks, at about 4 *zāms* (= 12 hours) of travelling, called *ʿAyn al-Baḥr* ("eye" or "source of the sea"). The ports of the western coast of Ḳumr are: Langānī (at 15° 17′ south), Saʿda (true latitude approx. 13° 54′) and Manzalādjī (currently the bay of Mahadzamba, of which the western extremity is at a true latitude of approx. 15° 12′). Those of the eastern coast are: Bandar Banī Ismāʿīl (on the same latitude as Langānī on the western coast) and Bīmārūh (currently Vohemar, at 15° 21′ 15″). All these ports are dangerous [for shipping], with the exception of Langānī. Note that between Rās al-Milḥ and the coast of the Zandj there are 50 *zāms* (= 150 hours) of travelling, and that at 20 *zāms* (= 60 hours) of travelling to the east of Rās al-Milḥ lies an inhabited island called Munawwara (one of the southern Maldives?). To the south-east of Ḳumr, lie numerous islands called Tīrrakhā (the Mascareignes group?); they are at 12 *zāms* (= 36 hours) of travelling from the island of Ḳumr."

In his *Kitāb al-Minhadj al-fākhir* (fol. 73 b of the same manuscript), Sulaymān al-Mahrī provides a second description of the island of Ḳumr which does not differ from the foregoing. Four pages previously, in fol. 71 b, the same author mentions some other ports of the island of Ḳumr with their latitude calculated according to the elevation of the Great Bear: Island of Munawwara at 11 *iṣbaʿ*s; Bandar Ismāʿīl or Banī Ismāʿīl, on the eastern coast and Lulangānī or Langānī, on the western coast, at 10 *iṣbaʿ*s; Bīrmārūh, on the eastern coast, Anāmil, on the western coast, at 9 *iṣbaʿ*s; the island of amber (*djazīrat al-ʿanbar*), on the eastern coast, and Bandar al-Nūb on the western coast, at 8 *iṣbaʿ*s; Noshim (?), on the eastern coast, and Malawīn (?), on the western coast, at 7 *iṣbaʿ*s; Manakāra, on the eastern coast (true latitude 22° 08′ 30″) and Bandar (al-) Shuʿbān (port of the shoals), at 6 *iṣbaʿ*s; Bandar Hadūda, on the eastern coast, and Bandar Kūrī, on the western coast, at 4 *iṣbaʿ*s; Wabaya (?) (according to the Turkish text of Sayyid ʿAlī; this name is illegible in ms. 2559), on the eastern coast, and Bandar Hīt (or Hayt), on the western coast, at 3 *iṣbaʿ*s; Bandar Hadūda (*sic*), on the eastern coast, no name known on the western coast at this latitude, at 2 *iṣbaʿ*s; and Bandar Kūs (or Kaws), on the eastern coast, and the bay of Ḳūrī, on the western coast, at 1 *iṣbaʿ*.

A number of these ports, including Saʿda, Manzalādjī and Bīmārūh have been rediscovered and have been subjected to archeological studies. Those of the north-west were also known through an oral tradition,

assembled in Madagascar itself by Commandant Guillain (Vérin, 1975, 89-91).

In the light of recently discovered data, the settlement of Madagascar may be summarised as follows. Between 700 and 1000, Indonesians and Africans created through biological and cultural cross-breeding the proto-Malagasy civilisation in the north of Madagascar and, no doubt also, in the archipelago of the Comoros (especially at Mayotte).

From this period onward, Muslim seafarers of the Persian Gulf and the Ḥaḍramawt took part in migrations and in commerce. In particular, they taught navigation to the Sawāḥil peoples of the east coast of Africa, as a result of which Bantu migrations were extended to the islands. The Muslims established after the 10th century contacts between Sīrāf and Ṣuḥār on the one hand, and the Malagasy Comoran ports on the other. A green ceramic, called Sasano-Islamic, has been discovered at Irodo, in the far north of Madagascar, a site dated to the 10th century by the RC 14 test.

Between the 12th and 14th centuries, Muslim establishments frequented by the latter proliferated, especially at Bemanevika, Ambariotelo and Mahilaka. The ceramics imported then were of the sgraffiato type, very similar to that of Takh̲t-i Sulaymān. The first stone-built mosques appeared at this time, as well as stone-built houses, fortifications and well-shafts. At the turn of the 14th century, the influence of the Ḥaḍramawt became perceptible, corresponding no doubt to the monopoly control of the gold trade in the region by the Mahdali.

The 14th and 15th centuries constituted a golden age for the Muslim settlements in Madagascar. The towns of Vohemar, Saʿda, Langānī (Manzalad̲j̲ī) and Kingānī were particularly prosperous. They imported fabrics, pearls and Arab and Chinese ceramics. They exported rice, livestock, and chlorite slate.

At the end of the 15th century, the Portuguese invaded the Malagasy coasts. They sacked Kingānī, Saʿda and Langānī. Despite certain vicissitudes, the Muslim settlements of Madagascar were never to be subjected to the Portuguese crown. Progressively, commerce developed with other foreign nationals: French, English, Dutch and even Danish.

In the 16th century, the slave trade became important. Settlements controlled by Malagasy sovereigns, mostly Sakalava, but enlivened by native-born or immigrant Muslims, became intensely prosperous. African slaves were imported to Madagascar to cultivate the crops of Sakalava farmers; but, at the same time, Madagascans taken prisoner in the course of internal wars were exported to the Mascareignes (Filliot). In the 17th century, Langānī declined, but commercial activity continued at Boeny. Vohemar was prosperous at this time, but it too declined in the 18th century. In the second half of the 18th century, Boeny was supplanted by Majungs which, together with Nosy Be, has remained a major commercial centre until the present day. Indian Muslims settled in Madagascar in the 19th century in the course of trade missions to Majunga and Nosi Be.

Malagasy Islam is active among the Antakarana and the new converts (*moridy/murīd*), especially following the conversion of Tsimiaro in 1843.

In the south-east, certain of the Antambahoaka and Antaimoro, possessors of *sorabe* (Arabico-Malagasy manuscripts) still respect the authority of Islam, while also practising Malagasy customs.

Finally, still among the Madagascans of old stock, there should be counted the descendants of the former inhabitants of the Muslim trading-stations of the north-west called Antalaotse. Among them live some Makos, more recent arrivals from Africa and many of them converted. These various Malagasy Muslim groups may be numbered at around 100,000. They live in the coastal towns, but also in the urban settlements of central and western Madagascar, the descendants of Indian Muslim immigrants. 15% of these Indians are Sunnīs; some of these Sunnīs have introduced a ceramic type from Sind which has gradually replaced the local Malagasy pottery of the north.

Among the S̲h̲īʿī Indians, predominant are the Bohorâs [*q.v.*], the most numerous (about 5,000); the K̲h̲ōd̲j̲as [*q.v.*] of whom some 2,500 arrived shortly after 1900 with Amode K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a by way of Majunga, but whose most active centre is at Morondava; and finally, the Ag̲h̲a-K̲h̲ānites [see AG̲H̲A K̲H̲ĀN] (2,500), who arrived *ca.* 1885 and are linked to a remarkably structured international organisation.

Among the foreign Muslims of Madagascar, there are a number of Somalis and Yemenis who have settled since the colonial period, and 25,000 Comorans who live mostly in the north-west, but no longer dwell in Majunga, which they evacuated following the tragic events of December 1976.

The inhabitants of Madagascar all speak an Indonesian language modified by a Bantu substratum. Vérin, Kottak and Gorlin (1968) have acknowledged three groups of dialects, giving a separate place to the group of the north, apparently more isolated in ancient times than the centre-east and west-south groups.

In the article on Madagascar in *EI*[1], Ferrand clearly showed the lexical contribution of African in Malagasy languages. There is an old Bantu stock which could emanate from the language ancestral to Comoran and Swahili, but also from more recent borrowings from Swahili, at the time when, in the 15th century, this language was commonly spoken in the Muslim coastal settlements.

The basic vocabulary of Malagasy is 90% Indonesian, but in addition to Bantu expressions, there exist some words of Sanskrit origin; scholars are divided as to whether this Sanskrit lexical stock was brought to the island by the original Indonesian immigrants, or was absorbed through later contact with Indian civilisations.

Certain words of Arabic origin have made their way into Malagasy through the intermediary of Swahili (e.g. *sokany*, Ar. *sukkān* "rudder"). But others have been introduced directly through borrowing.

Among these borrowings from Arabic are the following:

1. Some commercial terms, e.g. *mizana* (*mīzān*) "scales", but also the names of days of the week, described by Ferrand in the following terms: *alatsinainy*, *talata*, *alarobia*, *alakamisy*, *zoma*, *asabotsy*, *alahady* (Ar. *al-it̲h̲nayni*, *al-t̲h̲alāt̲h̲āʾ*, *al-arbiʿāʾ* *al-k̲h̲amīs*, *al-d̲j̲umʿa*, *al-sabt*, *al-aḥad*). It will be noted that the Arabic definite article has been retained for Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday and omitted for Tuesday and Friday. The names of the days are given here in Merina dialect; the forms of the other dialects show only minor phonetic variations.

2. The names of the twelve months in the dialect of the Merina and that of some other tribes reproduce the Arabic names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac: *alahamady*, *adaoro*, *adizaoaza*, *asorotany*, *alahasaty*,

asambola, *adimizana*, *alakarabo*, *alakasoy*, *adizady*, *adalo* and *alohotsy*, where the following are recognised without difficulty: *al-ḥamal*, *al-t͟hawr*, *al-d͟jawzā'*, *al-saraṭān*, *al-asad*, *al-sunbula*, *al-mīzān*, *al-ʿaḳrab*, *al-ḳaws*, *al-d͟jady*, *al-dalw* and *al-ḥūt*. A fairly large number of tribes are aware of the Merina system, but still use names of months of Sanskrit origin which will be considered below.

3. The names of the 28 days of the month (the south-eastern Madagascars at least formerly had a year of 336 days) which have been preserved for us by Flacourt (*Histoire*, 1661, 174), recall those of the 28 Arab lunar mansions (see ANWĀ' and MANĀZIL). In Madagascar, to avoid the fragmentation of mansions, corresponding to the different signs of the zodiac, 3 mansions have been allotted to the 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th signs, and 2 to each of the 8 others.

Signs of the Zodiac	*Lunar mansions*	
I. Alahamady (al-Ḥamal)	1. Asharatainy	al-S͟haraṭāni
	2. Alabotaini	al-Buṭayn
	3. Azoriza	al-T͟hurayyā
II. Adaoro (al-T͟hawr)	4. Adabara	al-Dabarān
	5. Alahaka	al-Hakʿa
III. Adizaoza (al-D͟jawzā')	6. Alahana	al-Hanʿa
	7. Azira	al-D͟hirāʿ
IV. Asorotany (al-Saraṭān)	8. Anasara	al-Nat͟hra
	9. Atarafy	al-Ṭarf
	10. Alizaba	al-D͟jabha, etc.

The Arabic names of the lunar mansions have thus become the names of the 28 days of the Malagasy month. When mentioned in conjunction with a day of the week, they take the place of the day of the week, which the Arabico-Malagasy texts very rarely indicate by a figure. This method seems already to have fallen into disuse in the current language, and is hardly ever employed except in witchcraft.

4. *Shikili* (dialectal variants *sikily*, *sikidy*: Ar. *s͟hakl* "figure") is the divinatory art. It has as its object the finding of remedies and is practised throughout the island, with minor variations, between one tribe and another; *sikidy*, to use the form generally employed, is a direct derivation from the *ʿilm al-raml* "science of sand", or Arab geomancy (cf. the *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī uṣūl ʿilm al-raml* of the *s͟hayk͟h* Muḥammad al-Zanātī, Cairo lith. n.d.).

Although today it constitutes nothing more than a precious relic, Arabico-Malagasy remains an essential element of the patrimony of the Great Island. The manuscripts which exist emanate from the regions of Vohipeno and Fort-Dauphin. The most ancient are stored in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, but some also exist in various European countries (Norway especially), and naturally enough in the Malagasy Academy, as well as in the region of Vohipeno (south-east).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the king Andrianampoinimerina invited some Antaimoro soothsayers to the court of Tananarive, including the eminent Andriamahazonoro. Arabico-Malagasy was thus held in high regard in Iuerina until the beginning of the reign of Radama I. The latter subsequently had the Latin alphabet adopted for the writing of Malagasy.

The enterprise of adapting the Arabic alphabet to the transcription of Malagasy was both delicate and difficult; it has however been successfully achieved under satisfactory conditions. The Malagasy phonemes *b*, *d*, *f*, *h*, *l*, *m*, *nr*, *r*, *s*, have been transcribed by their Arabic equivalent; *d* is represented by a subpointed د. The other phonemes are rendered thus: Malagasy *g* by غ; *ṅ* guttural by ع and sometimes by غ; the group *ṅg* also by غ; the phonemes *dr* and *tr*, as in the English *drive* and *travel* (they are pronounced further back in the non-Merina dialects), generally by ر, sometimes by ر with a *tanwīn* (for example *antrendry* "date-palm" is rendered by ارْرٌ and only the context indicates whether ر should be read *dr* or *tr*; Malagasy *t*, by sub-pointed ط; the phoneme *ts*, by Arabic ث; Malagasy *v*, by و, but Arabic ض is also pronounced *v*; Arabic رمضان *ramaḍān*, Malagasy *ramava*; Malagasy *z* by ي pronounced *z*: يي *zaza* "small child"; the phoneme *dz*, by ج and in modern Arabico-Malagasy sometimes by ذ. The non-Semitic Islamised peoples who have adopted the Arabic alphabet and have found it necessary to transcribe the occlusive *p*, have resorted to various notations. The Malays have rendered it by ڤ. The Persians, and following their example, certain Muslims of the Comoro archipelago, by پ; the Swahilis of East Africa by ب. The Malagasies adopted an unexpected solution; until the 18th century they rendered *p* by ڢ, meaning ف surmounting by a vertical *tas͟hdīd*, then by ڤ. Unlike in Malay, each letter is vocalised, which facilitates the reading of Arabico-Malagasy texts, in spite of graphical variants which are too numerous to be mentioned here.

The Arabico-Malagasy alphabet was formerly used over a fairly wide geographical area; it is currently employed only on the south-eastern coast, where a great many natives were still using it at the end of the 19th century. The Malagasy Muslims of the north-west and west rather employ the Arabico-Comoran or Arabico-Swahili alphabets. The latter represents by ث a *tr* identical to the Malagasy *tr*, but this form is current only in the island of Anjouan. The dialect of this island possesses a *ẑ*, the transcription by ع of the *č* of Persian and Turkish. The other Arabic letters ث, ح, خ, ذ, ز, ص, ض, ط, ق, are not encountered in Malagasy except in mentions of Arabic words and they are pronounced respectively *s*, *h*, *k*, *dz*, *z*, *s*, *v*, *z*, and *k*.

Ferrand did a great deal of work on the Arabico-Malagasy manuscripts; his researches have been pursued by Gautier, Julien, Mondain, Faublée, Ramiandrasoa, Munthe and especially Dez, who has recently completed a vocabulary with which he intends to decipher and transcribe, with the aid of F. Viré, B.N. ms. 26.

Madagascar, having integrated harmoniously in its civilisation African, Indonesian, Arab and European elements, today practises in the context of its international relations a policy of worldwide contacts. In this manner, the Great Island maintains close relationships with numerous Arab and Muslim countries.

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AL-**MADĀ'IN**, "the cities" (pl. of *al-madīna*), the Arabic translation of the Aramaic Māḥōzē or Medīnāthā referring to the Sāsānid metropolis on the Tigris about 20 miles southeast of Baghdād where several adjacent cities connected by a floating bridge stretched along both banks of the river. This was the imperial administrative capital, the winter residence of the king, the home of the Jewish Exilarch and the seat of the Nestorian Catholikos. Among the mixed population of Aramaeans, Persians, Greeks, and Syrians were Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. The residential, industrial and commercial zones of the metropolis were interspersed with palaces, villas, parks, gardens, ceremonial buildings, monuments, and large open areas.

Although tradition names seven cities, there were really four or five main population centres in the late Sāsānid period. The oldest city on the east bank was Ctesiphon, founded by the Parthians in the 1st century B.C. and called "the old city" (*al-madīna al-ʿatīḳa*) by the Arabs. The old royal residence called "the White Palace" (*Ḳaṣr al-abyaḍ*) was here and this city was a local administrative centre. Next to it, the sprawling, unwalled residential district of Aspānbur grew up in the late Sāsānid period, with its great ceremonial hall (*Īwān Kisrā*), palace complex, bath, treasury, possibly a mint, game preserve and stables. About three miles away, Khusraw I founded the city of Veh Antiokh-i Khusraw in 540 A.D., where he resettled the captives taken from Antioch in Syria. Called al-Rūmiyya by the Arabs, this town had its own hippodrome and bath, was a local administrative centre and had a population of 30,000 in the late 6th century.

On the west bank stood the round, walled city of Veh-Ardashīr founded by Ardashīr I in *ca.* 230 A.D. and called Behrasīr by the Arabs, Maḥozā by Jews and Kōkhē by Christians. This city was mainly commercial and industrial, a local administrative centre west of the Tigris with its own mint, and the location of the cathedral church of the Catholikos. Heavily populated by wealthy Jews, it was also the residence of the Exilarch. Parts of this city had been abandoned by the 6th century. Sābāṭ, about three miles south of Veh-Ardashīr guarding the bridge over the Nahr al-Malik where it met the Tigris, is sometimes included in the metropolitan area.

When al-Madā'in fell to the Arabs in Ṣafar 16/March 637, the Sāsānid royal family, nobles, and army had fled. Some soldiers were captured there, along with huge amounts of booty from the royal treasures. The people in the White Palace made peace with Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ for the payment of tribute (*djizya*), which terms were extended to the rest of the population, while the people of al-Rūmiyya made their own peace terms. Saʿd occupied the White Palace and quartered his army in empty houses. When the soldiers settled in permanent quarters at Kūfa, they took the doors from their houses in al-Mādā'in with them.

The native population of al-Mādā'in was fairly stable immediately after the conquest. There were Persian notables (*dahāḳīn*) there in 37/657. The Exilarch and Catholikos remained there and by the late 1st/early 8th century it was also a Manichaean centre. The main change was the replacement of the Sāsānid upper classes by a small Muslim Arab garrison posted from Kūfa (300 horsemen in 43/663, 1,000 in 76/695) and led by Kūfan notables (*ashrāf*), the tribal leaders of Azd and prominent early Muslims (*buyūtāt al-nās*) who married local women at first and acquired local land. Their Friday mosque was in Madīnat al-ʿAtīḳa.

In the early Islamic period, al-Madā'in was considered the key to the Kūfan territory because it controlled the main road to the east and served as the administrative centre for the Diyāla region (*arḍ Djukhā*) under the governor of Kūfa. Salmān al-Fārisī, who died there in the caliphate of ʿUthmān (23-35/644-56), was an early *amīr*. Ḥudhayfa b. al Yamān, the first fiscal agent there under ʿUmar, established the tax rates for *arḍ Djukhā* and died at al-Madā'in in 36/657. However, early Muslim governors at al-Madā'in often combined the responsibilities for war, worship and finance, and resided in the White Palace. Al-Madīna al-ʿAtīḳa was also a mint for post-reform Umayyad dirhams.

Because of their Kūfan connections, the Muslims of al-Madā'in appear consistently as pro-ʿAlid and anti-Khāridjī. Saʿd b. Masʿūd, ʿAlī's governor 36-40/656-660 secured the city against the Khawāridj in 37/657. In 41/661 al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī retreated there and stayed in the White Palace before coming to terms with Muʿāwiya. In 43/664 the governor, Simāk, prevented the Khawāridj of al-Mustawrad from crossing to the eastern city from Behrasīr. The Muslims of al-Madā'in supported the ʿAlids in the second *fitna* and in 65/684 Saʿd b. Ḥudhayfa, an early *ḳāḍī* there, joined the "Penitents" of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad with 170 Shīʿis from Kūfa who had settled in al-Madā'in. The Shīʿis of al-Madā'in suffered the consequences of their partisanship later when the Azāriḳa Khawāridj sacked the city in 68/687 and massacred the Muslim population. The city was also occupied by Shabīb in 76/696. By the 2nd/8th century, the Shīʿis of al-Madā'in were extremists (*ghulāt*). The Ḥārithiyya sect which believed that whoever knew the *Imām* could do as he liked was founded there and supported the ʿAlid rising of 126/744. The extremist Isḥāḳiyya sect was there in the 4th/10th century.

Although al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) stayed briefly at al-Rūmiyya, where Abū Muslim was in 137/754 killed, al-Madā'in declined in political and commercial importance after the foundation of Baghdād in 145/762. Most of the population, the Catholikos and the Exilarch moved to Baghdād. The White Palace was partially demolished by al-Manṣūr, and although he ordered it to be rebuilt in 158/775, it remained ruined. Its demolition was completed by al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8) in *ca.* 290/903, and the materials used to build the Tādj palace at Baghdād. By the 3rd/9th century, al-Madā'in's importance was more agricultural and the position of *ḳāḍī* there tended to be combined with that of Baghdād and other places, although the tombs of Salmān near the Īwān and of Ḥudhayfa near the river had been built at Aspānbur by then. By the 4th/10th century, al-Rūmiyya was deserted, but the rest of the town on the east bank was a flourishing suburb of Baghdād, with brick buildings, markets and two Friday mosques, while there was a large fire temple on the west bank.

There was still a small town on the east bank in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries. The office of *ḳāḍī* was held by local people and the tomb of Salmān was visited annually on 15 Shaʿbān by Sunnī barbers of Baghdād and on variable dates by Shīʿis. There was a village of Imāmī Shīʿī farmers on the west bank and coins found at Tell Baruda confirm settlement at Behrasīr as late as the 7th/13th century. Behrasīr remained a small Shīʿī town in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries.

The tomb of Salmān was rebuilt by the Ottoman sultan Murād IV (1032-49/1623-40) and restored in 1904-5. The village of Salmān Pāk has grown up around the tomb in the modern period, with *khāns* for Shīʿī pilgrims who often stop there when visiting the other ʿIrāḳī shrines.

On 22-3 November 1915, in the battle of Ctesiphon, the Turks defeated the Anglo-Indian army of General Townshend, stopping its advance towards Baghdād at a line east of the ruins of the Īwān.

Bibliography: The main sources for the topography of al-Madāʾin are Procopius, *Wars*, ii, 14; Yaʿḳūbī, *K. al-Buldān*, 321; Ṭabarī, i, 898, 959-60, 819, ii, 982; Dīnawarī, 70-1, 163, 376; Ḳazwīnī, *Athār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 303; and Yaḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 768, iv, 446-7. Modern historical and topographical studies begin with the review of Arabic sources and European traveler's accounts by Father Anastase the Carmelite, *Sulwān al-asrā fī Īwān Kisrā*, in *al-Mashriḳ*, v (1902), 673-81, 740-6, 780-6, 834-40 and M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen*, Leiden 1900-1, ii, 246-79, followed by his *Seleucia und Ktesiphon*, in *Der Alte Orient*, xvi (1917), then by E. Herzfeld and F. Sarre, *Archäeologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris Gebiet*, ii, Berlin 1920, 47-76, and by E. Meyer, *Seleukia und Ktesiphon*, in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, lxvii (April 1929), 1-27. J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gaonats*, Frankfurt a. M. 1929, 161-77, contributed information on the Jews of the city. The most important recent treatments are those by J. M. Fiey, *Topographie chrétienne de Mahoze*, in *L'Orient Syrien*, xii (1967), 397-420; idem, *Topography of al-Madaʾin*, in *Sumer*, xxiii (1967), 3-38; and by Ṣ. A. al-ʿAlī, *al-Madāʾin fi 'l-maṣādir al-ʿarabiyya*, in *Sumer*, xxiii (1967), 47-65; partially translated into English as *Al-Madāʾin and its surrounding area in Arabic literary sources*, in *Mesopotamia*, iii-iv (1968-9), 417-39.

On the question of mints at al-Madāʾin, see H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies muselmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*: *Khalifes orientaux*, Paris 1887, 102; J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Arab Sasanian coins*, London 1941, xcli; F. D. J. Paruck, *Sāsānian coins*, Bombay 1924, 139, 144, 158-9, 186-7; R. Göbl, *Sasanidische Numismatik*, Brunswick 1968, 80-2, 84; idem, *Der Sāsānidische Münzfund von Seleukia* (*Vēh-Ardašēr*) *1967*, in *Mesopotamia*, viii-ix (1973-4), 246-8, 232-3.

For the conquest of al-Madāʾin by the Muslims, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 262-3, 277; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 165; Dīnawarī, 133; Ṭabarī, i, 2357-8, 2424-35, 2439-42, 2451, 2497; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 396-403; and Yaḳūt, i, 769, iv, 446. On Muslim settlement and early administration, see Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1382, 48; Ibn Saʿd, *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, 8-9, 65, vii/2, 64, 66; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 218; Ṭabarī, i, 2374-5, 2463, 2645, 3259, 3366, 3372, ii, 2, 39, 46, 57, 504, 561, 635, 899, 929, 979-80, 982, 1069; Dīnawarī, 163, 218; and Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Fluegel, 334. For ʿAlid and Shīʿī connections and Khāridjī attacks, see Dīnawarī, 218; Ṭabarī, i, 3259, 3366, ii, 2, 39, 504, 561, 755, 886-7, 892, 949; Nawbakhtī, *K. Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, 29; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 380-1; and L. Massignon, *Salmân Pâk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam Iranien*, Tours 1934. On the period of decline, see Ṭabarī, iii, 320, 385; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 200; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *K. Masālik al-mamālik*, 86; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*[1], 244; Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsim*, 122; Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa*, 186; Yāḳūt, i, 109, 809, ii, 867; and Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār*, 303.

The results of the first real archaeological excavations at this site may be found in O. Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der deutschen Ktesiphon-Expedition im Winter, 1928-9*, Berlin 1930; idem, *The German excavations at Ctesiphon*, in *Antiquity*, iii (1929), 434-51; E. Kühnel and F. Wachtsmuth, *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition* (*Winter 1931/32*), Berlin 1933; J. Upton, *The Expedition to Ctesiphon 1931-32*, in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, xxvii (Aug. 1932), 188-97; and J. H. Schmidt, *L'expédition de Ctésiphon 1931-32*, in *Syria*, xv (1934), 1-23. The recent work of the Italians is published in the journal *Mesopotamia*, starting in 1966, and there is a summary of the work by the ʿIrāḳīs in T. Madhlūm, *al-Madāʾin* (*Ṭisfūn*) *1970-1971*, in *Sumer*, xxvii (1971), 129-46. The results of the Italian expeditions have been summarised by A. Invernizzi, *Ten years' research in the Al-Madaʾin area*: *Seleucia and Ctesiphon*, in *Sumer*, xxxii (1976), 167-75. (M. Streck - [M. Morony])

AL-MADĀʾINĪ, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Sayf, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, early Arabic historian, was born, according to his own information, in 135/752 (*Fihrist*, 100). Little is known about his life. He was a client of Samura b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf, i.e. of the Companion ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura [*q.v.*]; according to *Fihrist*, 101, al-Madāʾinī dedicated a monograph to him. Al-Madāʾinī, who was in Baṣra in 153/770 (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ii, Cairo 1367/1948, 93), later went to al-Madāʾin and Baghdād at an unknown date. It is also unknown whether his *nisba* originated from a stay in al-Madāʾin or whether such a stay was derived from an already-existing *nisba*. The same *nisba* is in any case also carried by ʿUtba b. ʿAbd Allāh, grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura (Yāḳūt, i, 644). Al-Madāʾinī is explicitly said to have been a pupil of the Muʿtazilī Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād al-Sulamī (d. 215/830) of Baṣra, who lived in Baghdād (see Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1961, 54); elsewhere (*ibid.*, 140) he is counted among the people of Kūfa. It is indeed possible that he stayed also in this city, because there are a great number of Kūfan people among his informants. He found a friend and patron in the musician and scholar Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850 [*q.v.*]), in whose house he is said to have died. The data on the year of his death in Baghdād vary; 215/830, 224/839, 225/840, 228/843 (*Fihrist*, 100 al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1330; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 287, = § 2973; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 309 ff.; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 55). Since he is said to have died over 90 years old, as Yāḳūt (iv, 215) still mentions him for the year 226/841, and since his great historical work on the caliphs (see below) is said to have treated of the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42), the year 228/843 seems the most probable (see G. Rotter, *Zur Über-*

lieferung einiger historischer Werke Madāʾinīs in Ṭabarīs Annalen, in *Oriens*, xxiii-xxiv [1970-1], 104).

Al-Madāʾinī, a highly productive scholar with many-sided interests, wrote more than 200 works (see *Fihrist*, 101-4; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 312-8; Y. al-ʿIshsh, *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, muʾarrikh Baghdād wa-muḥaddithuhā*, Damascus 1364/1945, index; P. Sbath, *Choix de livres qui se trouvaient dans les bibliothèques d'Alep (au XIIIe siècle)*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte*, xlix, Cairo 1946, index). An important part of his works deals with historical subjects, reaching from the origins of Islam until his own days. In treating the genealogy of the Ḳuraysh, pre-Islamic items are brought together with Islamic ones. He is concerned not only with the *maghāzī* of the Prophet, but also with his settlements, sermons, peace treaties, envoys and correspondence. The events during the period of the four rightly-guided caliphs have his interest no less than the history of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids, the conquests as well as the marriages of the *ashrāf*. He wrote about the *akhbār* of poets and singers, dealt with geographical items like al-Madīna and mountains and valleys in its neighbourhood, but also with (famous) fools, traitors, with coinage and exchange of money, with miserliness and jealousy, with animals in general and horses in particular. Only two works, the *Kitāb al-Murdifāt min Ḳuraysh* and the *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī* (two *djuz*ʾs) (see below) have come down to us as separate manuscripts.

To Muslim scholars, al-Madāʾinī was a great and extremely reliable specialist in the *akhbār*. On the one hand, this can be deduced from their opinion about him. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith al-Kharrāz (see below) for instance transmitted that scholars considered al-Madāʾinī as the authority on Khurāsān, Hind and Fārs (*Fihrist*, 93, l. 23). According to al-Marzubānī (*Nūr al-ḳabas al-mukhtaṣar min al-Muḳtabas*, Beirut 1384/1964, 182 ff.), "He who aspires to [knowledge of] the *akhbār al-Islām* should keep to al-Madāʾinī's works". Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Azdī (*Taʾrīkh Mawṣil*, Cairo 1967, 25) considered him an authority in the field of the history of the Prophet and the *akhbār* of the Arabs, while al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 55) adds: "... also [in the field of] their genealogy, the *futūḥ*, the *maghāzī* and the transmission of poetry". On the other hand, the high esteem in which al-Madāʾinī's oeuvre was held may be seen from the quotations in the works of many Muslim scholars. Appearing with his *kunya*, *nisba*, *ism* or as Ibn Abī Sayf, al-Madāʾinī's name is in the earlier period mostly mentioned in connection with an *isnād*, later together with the respective book-title. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682) is one of the last authors to quote him in his *Khizānat al-adab*. Muslim scholars were interested not only in al-Madāʾinī's historical works, but also in his books on *adab*, geography, zoology and poetry. For further information, see Badrī Muḥammad Fahd, *Shaykh al-akhbāriyyīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī*, Nadjaf 1975, 141 ff.

While al-Madāʾinī was an historian by interest, his working method was that of a *muḥaddith*: from works or accounts of others he chose those parts which seemed appropriate to him, and with those building-stones of varying size he composed his book. These selected pieces of information are sometimes preceded by *isnāds* which go back to eye-witnesses or contemporaries of the event in question, sometimes by *isnāds* which contain only his immediate source and eventually its authority or transmitter. This procedure is certainly to a high extent postulated already by the working method of his source; in opposition to Abū Mikhnaf for instance, ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] hardly ever gives *isnāds* which go back to the account of an eye-witness. Sometimes *isnāds* even fail altogether, and this again may depend on the nature of the source at our disposal in which al-Madāʾinī is quoted. Even in passages where al-Madāʾinī summarises the accounts of several authorities (see al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1236, 1286, 1308, iii, 38), or in an *adab* work like the *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī*, the style of giving information does not change; there is only the detailed rendering of the events without commentary. Not the subtle saying or the polished turn of speech seems to be important, but the historical framework in which the words quoted were uttered. Al-Masʿūdī pertinently compares al-Madāʾinī with the latter's contemporary al-Djāḥiẓ when mentioning al-Djāḥiẓ's death (*Murūdj*, viii, 33 f. = § 3146): "Among the transmitters (*ruwāt*) and scholars no one has written more books than he (al-Djāḥiẓ). To be sure, al-Madāʾinī too has written very much, but he limits himself to reproducing what he has heard, while the works of al-Djāḥiẓ—notwithstanding their well-known [dogmatic] deviations—illuminate the mind [of the reader]."

The variety of al-Madāʾinī's interests brings about the fact that he refers to a considerably larger group of authorities than Abū Mikhnaf, the historian of the preceding generation with whom he may be compared in that their working methods show resemblances. But when describing events which are interrelated through causality, he apparently relies on a smaller number of authorities. He then depends on works of, among others, ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam, Abū Mikhnaf, Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī (Sulmā b. ʿAbd Allāh d. 159/775 *et var.*, see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7, xii, 45), al-Mubārak b. Faḍāla (d. 164/780, see *ibid.*, x, 28 ff.), Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/783, see *ibid.*, iii, 11-6), Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān (see *GAS*, i, 266 ff.; for the list of his works, see *Fihrist*, 94), al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī and ʿAlī b. Mudjāhid. But, as is shown—among other things—by the descriptions of interrelated events, he also makes use of earlier works by authorities who have not yet become renowned to us as historians.

As direct transmitters of al-Madāʾinī's works are mentioned Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith al-Kharrāz al-Kūfī (who is said to have heard the reading of all the books of al-Madāʾinī, see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 407 ff.), Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythama (who is reported to have learnt from him all about the *ayyām al-nās*, see *ibid.*, 128 ff.), and al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma (*ibid.*). Al-Balādhurī [*q.v.*], ʿUmar b. Shabba [*q.v.*], Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ [see IBN KHAYYĀṬ AL-ʿUṢFURĪ] and Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] also prove to be his direct transmitters.

In the quotations from al-Madāʾinī's works there are parallel passages which are nevertheless divergent from one another. In order to explain this it should be kept in mind that, during his long life as a scholar, al-Madāʾinī certainly revised and completed his earlier works in later years, and that they have been transmitted as such. The material is overlapping, due to the fact that he wrote monographs on individual persons (like for instance the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf*) or on separate subjects (like for instance the *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī*, in which al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf is also taken into account), as well as compendia (like the *Kitāb Akhbār al-khulafāʾ al-kabīr*). It is possible that al-Madāʾinī himself is responsible for the different forms and lengths with which material appears in the various

passages (see also Rotter, *op. cit.*, 127 ff.). Attention should further be paid as to whether the quotations under consideration are introduced with *anna*, for this always indicates that the wording has been revised or summarised (see U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, Leiden 1971, 92).

The two works which have been preserved are: *Kitāb al-Murdifāt min Ḳuraysh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, i, Cairo 1951, 57-80, and *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī*, ed. by Ibtisām Marhūn al-Ṣaffār and Badrī Muḥammad Fahd, Nadjaf 1391/1971. A great number of quotations from the latter work are also found in the *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī* of al-Mubarrad (d. 286/899), ed. Muḥammad Dibādjī, Damascus 1396/1976 (see Index), so that those parts which have not been preserved in the manuscript of al-Madā'inī's work can be reconstructed. In the two *djuz*'s which have come down to us, the author uses *isnād*s and refers to *ca.* 80 authorities (a few transmitters, other scholars and mainly persons who can be traced in al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*), mostly just for one quotation. From a comparison with al-Mubarrad's work, it becomes clear that al-Madā'inī compiled from abundant historical material about the way in which the caliphs, prominent and learned ment sought consolation, for themselves or for others, for the death of a close relative or friend; poems, philosophical or lexicographic explanations are hardly found. One aspect of al-Madā'inī's working method, throwing at the same time some light on the great number of his works, becomes clear. Since he mentions several times people like al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, Iyās b. Muʿāwiya and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, it may rightly be assumed that this material was also to be found in the monographs which he wrote on these men. The description of the epidemics of the plague were certainly also found in the *Akhbār al-ṭāʿūn* (see below) quoted by al-Mubarrad.

Al-Madā'inī's works quoted by later authors, with named titles, include: *K. al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda* (A. Wiener, in *Isl.*, iv [1913], 276); *K. (al-Khatm wa) 'l-rusul* (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 205, 264, 764, iii, 1018); *K. al-Samīr* (al-Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, ii, 174); *K. al-Djawābāt* (*K. al-Aghānī*, Cairo 1927, xvi, 176; al-Hamdānī, *Mukhtaṣar K. al-Buldān*, 39-40); *K. Akhbār Thaḳīf* (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iii, 1258); *K. al-Nisā' al-nāshizāt* (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 479-80, iv, 366-7, = ? *al-Nawākiḥ wa 'l-nawāshiz*, *ibid.*, i, 10, 84, and al-Ḥuṣrī, *Dhayl Zahr al-ādāb*, Cairo 1353, 283-5, = ? *K. al-Nisā' al-fawārik*, in *Khizāna*, i, 408); *K. Ummahāt al-khulafā'* (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1368/1959 ff., xi, 69); *K. al-Aḥdāth* (*ibid.*, xi, 44-6; Ibn Maʿṣūm, *al-Daradjāt al-rafīʿa*, Nadjaf 1381/1962, 6-8); *K. al-Djamal* (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, i, 253, 256, vi, 215, ix, 113, 115, 317; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iv, 318 ff.; al-Ṭabarī, cf. Rotter, *op. cit.*, 115 ff.; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 102 ff.); *K. Ṣiffīn* (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, ii, 246, 268, vi, 134-6); *K. al-Khawāridj* (*ibid.*, ii, 271-2); *K. Akhbār al-ḳilāʿ* (*wa 'l-akrād*) (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 70; Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, Ḥaydarābād 1962 ff., iv, 198); *K. Zakan Iyās* (*b. Muʿāwiya*) (al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, i, 120); *Nawādir al-ḳuḍāt* (al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣā'ir*, ii, 700-1, and 795-6?); *Akhbār Zufar b. al-Ḥārith* (Yāḳūt, iv, 369; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 303-4); *Akhbār al-ṭāʿūn* (al-Mubarrad, in *K. al-Taʿāzī*, 209, and also in *ibid.*, 211, 216, 218, perhaps further 210 [from al-Madā'inī, also in al-Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, i, 187, ch. vi, according to Wiener, *op. cit.*, 278]; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, i, 313; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, Nadjaf 1965, 471; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, ii, Cairo 1368, 383; other citations in al-Mubarrad, *op. cit.*, 209 n.); *al-Makā'id* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Cairo 1358/1939, ii, 197; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 535); *K. al-Mugharribīn* (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 10, ii, 109).

Other quotations refer probably to the following works: *Asmā' man ḳutila min al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil*, often through Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith al-Kharrāz, Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil*, index); *K. Akhbār Ziyād b. Abīhi* (al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Muwaffaḳiyyāt*, 304-6; Ṭabarī, ii, 25-6; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, i, 198); *K. Akhbār al-khulafā' al-kabīr* (Yāḳūt, ii, 319, iii, 499; *Aghānī*, vii, 2 ff.; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, ii, 25); *K. Adab al-sulṭān* (al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, iv, 294-5); *K. Maḳtal ʿUthmān* (see U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 51, 102; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, x, 6-7); *K. al-Ghārāt* (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, ii, 114 f.; cf. al-Thaḳafī, *al-Ghārāt*, Tehran 1395, 418 f.); *K. Banī Nādjiya wa-Khirrīt b. Rāshid wa-Maṣḳala b. Hubayra* (al-Thaḳafī, 332 ff.); *K. Khuṭab ʿAlī* (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vi, 136); *K. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥaḍramī* (al-Thaḳafī, 373-412 = Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, iv, 34-53; see U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 56); *K. Mardj Rāhiṭ* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 131, 137, 144; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, iii, 525); *Akhbār al-Ḥadjdjādj* [*b. Yūsuf*] *wa-wafātihi* (al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Muwaffaḳiyyāt*, 103, 108, 475); *K. Khabar al-Baṣra wa-futūḥihā* (with a subtitle *Wilāyat al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba*, fragment in *Aghānī*, xvi, 91, 95-6; Yāḳūt, iv, 833, 845, 971; see Rotter, *op. cit.*, 124 ff.); *K. Akhbār Abi 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī* (*Aghānī*, xii, 298, 309-10, 311-8, 322, 323-5, 328-9, 330-1, 334; Ibn Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, i, 16; Ḥuṣrī, *Dhayl*, 167-8; al-Azdī, *Ta'rīkh Mawṣil*, 167); *K. al-Awā'il* (al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Awā'il*, index).

Al-Ḳalḳashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* contains many quotations which are referred partly to al-Madā'inī, partly to a certain Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Madā'inī, and to the latter's (?) *K. al-Ḳalam wa 'l-dawāt*. It is, however, probable that in all cases ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī is meant.

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(URSULA SEZGIN)

MADANIYYA, a branch of the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order named after Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥamza Ẓāfir al-Madanī (1194-Djumādā I 1263/1780 - April-May 1847), who was originally a *muḳaddam* [*q.v.*] of Mawlāy Abū Aḥmad al-ʿArbī al-Darḳāwī [see DARḲĀWA]. From 1240/1824-5 al-Madanī presented himself as independent head of a *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] in his own right (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Zakī, *al-Nafḥa al-ʿaliyya fī awrād al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1321/1903-4, 233) while retaining the essentials of Shādhilī teaching and liturgical practice (see Muḥammad Aḥmad Sayyid Aḥmad, *al-Anwār al-dhahabiyya li 'l-ṭarīḳa al-Shādhiliyya*, Alexandria n.d., *passim*). By that time, he had settled in the Tripolitanian town of Miṣrāta, where he died and where his shrine may be visited today.

Under his son and successor Muḥammad (Shaʿbān

1244 - 2 Radjab 1321/February 1829 - 24 September 1903) the order spread in Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, Fazzān, Tunisia, Egypt (Alexandria, Cairo and Suez) and the Ḥidjaz (Zakī, 239). In 1289, Muḥammad went to Istanbul upon the request of Maḥmūd Nadīm Pasha [*q.v.*], the former *wālī* of Tripoli who had then become Grand Vizier. In this city al-Madanī was introduced to the future Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who was initiated by him into his *ṭarīḳa*. Later, from 1293/1876 onwards al-Madanī took up permanent residence in Istanbul. For a period of about thirty years he acted as an adviser to Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, whose accession to the throne he had correctly predicted and who believed strongly in his magical powers and skills ([Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī], *Mā Hunālika*, Cairo 1896, 200). The Sultan built al-Madanī a *tekke* [*q.v.*] in Beshiktāsh where he himself occasionally attended *dhikr* [*q.v.*] sessions. In this *tekke*, al-Madanī was buried following his death in 1903.

On the Sultan's behalf, he communicated with Aḥmad ʿUrābī [*q.v.*] during the events leading up to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 (cf. A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern! Die politische und gesellschaftliche Krise der Jahre 1879-1882 in Ägypten*, Zürich-Freiburg-im-Br. 1973, 214, 350, n. 99). In 1898, he was instrumental in the appointment of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] to the office of Grand Vizier. His closeness to the Sultan seems to have been envied by another advisor of the Sultan, the head of the Rifāʿiyya order, Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī. According to this *shaykh*, who sought to discredit al-Madanī whenever the occasion presented itself, al-Madanī's father had been the son of a renegade Jew from Thessaloniki (al-Muwayliḥī, 203. See also C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii, 158 ff.; Walī al-Dīn Yakan, *al-Maʿlūm wa 'l-madjhūl*, i, Cairo 1911, 100 f.; Rifʿat al-Djawharī, *Djannat al-Ṣaḥrā': Sīwa aw Wāḥat Āmūn*, Cairo 1946, 98).

The Sultan seems to have supported the Madaniyya in the presumption that it would reverse the growth of the Sanūsiyya order [*q.v.*] as well as counter European influence in North Africa (cf. E. de Remzi, *Nozioni sull'Islâm con speciale riguardo alla Tripolitania*, Tripoli 1918, 89). Here, a major role was played by Muḥammad's brother Ḥamza, who, from Tripolitania and with Ottoman support, directed agitation against the French in Tunisia (G. Charmes, *La Tunisie et la Tripolitaine*, Paris 1883, 275-7, 392).

After Muḥammad Ẓāfir's death, a dispute about the succession as head of the order arose between his brother Ḥamza and his son Ibrāhīm, who had already been acting as his father's deputy for several years. The dispute was settled when, following intervention by the Sultan, Ibrāhīm was duly installed as his father's *khalīfa* (Zakī, 244). By then, however, several branches of the Madaniyya had emerged in Egypt (al-Hāshimiyya, al-Marzūḳiyya al-Shādhiliyya, and al-Ḳādiriyya al-Madaniyya) and in the Middle East (al-Yashruṭiyya, and al-Fāsiyya). These had reduced the order's membership, while the *zāwiyas* in Tunisia and Algeria had become completely autonomous (Remzi, 90). In addition, Ibrāhīm lost control over the *zāwiyas* in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in consequence of the Italian occupation of Libya in 1912. In these territories, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ẓāfir (d. 1917), who was Ibrāhīm's brother, was subsequently recognised as the local head of the Madaniyya. This left Ibrāhīm with control over the *tekke* in Istanbul and the Ḥidjāz only (Remzi, 89). From the last decade of the 19th century, the number of Madaniyya *zāwiyas* steadily declined: in Tripolitania, e.g., the number of *zāwiyas* decreased from more than 12 in the 1880s to about 9 in 1918 and to 7, all in the town of Miṣrāta, in 1925 (L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, Paris 1925, 97).

Today, the original Madaniyya seems to be limited to Egypt, where it is under the direction of a grandson of the order's founder. Its followers are encountered mainly in the coastal area between Sīdī al-Barrānī, where this grandson lives, and Alexandria. Active lodges existed (in 1981) in both of these towns, in the towns of Marsā Maṭrūḥ and Burdj al-ʿArab, and in the oasis of Sīwa.

Bibliography: No comprehensive study of the history of the Madaniyya order exists, and the data at present available concerning Muḥammad b. Muḥammad's role at the court in Istanbul are few and imprecise. A study of the order's history based upon the Istanbul archives could remedy this situation. In addition to the references given in the article, see Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Nā'ib al-ʿAwsī al-Anṣārī, *al-Manhal al-ʿadhb fī ta'rīkh Ṭarāblus al-Gharb*, Istanbul 1317/1899-1900; al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Kūhin, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1347/1928-9, 202-3; Maḥmūd b. ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Wafā'ī, *Maʿāhid al-taḥḳīḳ fī radd al-munkirīn ʿalā ahl al-ṭarīḳ*, Cairo 1960, 152-55 (for biographical data concerning the order's founder) and Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, x, 112; xi, 207; Zakī Muḥammad Mudjāhid, *al-Aʿlām al-sharḳiyya fi 'l-mi'a al-rābiʿa ʿashra al-hidjriyya*, iii, Cairo 1955, 125-7; Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Marzūḳī, *al-Fuyūḍāt al-raḥmāniyya, sharḥ al-waẓīfa al-Madaniyya*, Cairo 1940, 171 (for data concerning the founder's son). See also O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses Musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 218 ff., 514 ff., and F. De Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt, 1911-1981* (forthcoming), chs. 2 and 7. For the order's *awrād* [see WIRD] and *aḥzāb* [see ḤIZB] as well as its *waẓīfa* [*q.v.*], see Muḥammad Aḥmad Sayyid Aḥmad, *al-Anwār al-dhahabiyya li 'l-ṭarīḳa al-Shādhiliyya*, Alexandria n.d., *passim*. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥamza Ẓāfir al-Madanī, *al-Nūr al-sāṭiʿ wa 'l-burhān al-ḳāṭiʿ*, Istanbul 1301/1883-4 (also published as an appendix to Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Madanī, *al-Silsila al-dhahabiyya fi 'l-tawassul bi 'l-sāda al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo n.d.) is basically a manual setting out the fundamentals of Shādhilī mystical method and practice. (F. DE JONG)

AL-**MADD** WA 'L-**DJAZR** (A.), literally "the ebb and flow", the name given by the Arabs to the phenomenon of the tide, which they explained by following the various theories inherited from the classical world; the latter assert in the main that the tide possesses a universal character resulting from the moon's having a stronger influence than the sun over the mass of the Ocean's waters. The classical writers reached this conclusion after having studied the accounts of their great navigators such as Pytheas and Nearchus. Also, Theophrastus (327-287 B.C.), relying on the work of Nearchus, says that in the islands of the Indian Ocean one can see from out at sea trees whose branches are under water at high tide, while their roots are dry at low tide; as for the origin of the tides, he seems to attribute it to the action of the winds. Archimedes and Posidonius, for their part, maintained, as did al-Kindī later on, that the surface of the seas was spherical and that the centre of this sphere was the centre of the earth. On the other hand, Eratosthenes, in order to explain

the intensity of the marine currents, especially in straits, asserted that the seas had variable levels which were due, like the tides in the Ocean, to the height of the moon: when it rises and sets, the flow begins, and when it passes by the upper or lower meridian of the observation place, it ends. It was also observed that the height of the tides depended on the position of the sun and moon on the ecliptic (opposition, conjunction, quadratures) and on the position of the observation place (Seleucus, Hipparchus).

However, the classical author who is most interested in these problems is Posidonius of Apamea (135-50 B.C.), who arrived at a series of generally exact conclusions after having studied the authors mentioned above and having listened to the accounts of the sailors of Cadiz. His opinions were adopted by Pliny, Seneca and Cicero. On the other hand, Pomponius Mela (*ca.* 42-5 B.C.), if he clearly accepted the moon's influence, also presented two other hypotheses: for him, the tides were the result of the earth's breathing (which is also asserted by Brunetto Latini, d. 1295) or of the cavities in it (cf. R. Almagià, *La conoscenza del fenomeno delle maree nell'antichità*, in *AIHS*, xxviii [1949], 893, and *La dottrina della marea nell'antichità classica e nel medio evo*, in *Memorie della Reale Accad. dei Lincei* [1904]).

It is hard to know to what extent the Arabs were aware of these theories, for we do not know the chain of possible transmitters. In any case, we find in Arabic texts an echo and development of certain doctrines sketched in antiquity. Also, Ibn Khurradādhbih (230/844) gives quite a fair explanation of the phenomenon, and al-Kindī (d. 256/870) wrote a *Risālat al-Madd wa 'l-djazr* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Al-Kindis Schrift über Ebbe und Flut*, in *Annalen der Physik*, lxxvii [1922], 374-87) which is not the same as that which, bearing the same title, was studied and translated by the author of the present article (in *Mem. de la Real Acad. de Buenas Letras de Barcelone*, xiii [1971-5], 135-212; a résumé of this *Risāla*, Barcelona 1957). The explanations given by Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī (d. 272/886) in his *Kitāb al-Madkhal ilā 'ilm aḥkām al-nudjum* (translated into Latin as *Introductorium in astronomiam*) are interesting as having rapidly become known to Christian authors. Also, for example, the text attributed provisionally by R. C. Dales (see *Isis*, lvii [1966], 455-74) to Robert Grosseteste, is, in the order and arrangement of the ideas and despite the mention of al-Biṭrūdjī which it contains (see 459, 460, etc.), in large part derived from Abū Ma'shar, as can be appreciated by comparing it with the *Introductorium* (see 461, 462, 465, 466, 467 of Dales and the résumés of L. Martínez Martín, art. cited, *passim*).

For Abū Ma'shar, the tides depend on the movement of the stars and are due to the "attraction" of the moon: the waters of the flow come up boiling from the sea bed, which explains why they are warmer than those of the ebb; he analyses the inequality of the ebb and flow in the two hemispheres and establishes eight distinct causes for it, of which some very reasonable ones are of an astronomical or topographical nature.

As for al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), he sometimes follows the *Introductorium* in his *Murūdj al-dhahab* (i, 244-55 = §§ 259-69) and presents all kinds of theories, of which some are purely para-scientific; in the *Tanbīh* (French tr. Carra de Vaux, 104-5), he states that there are some authors for whom the tide is due to an angel who produces the ebb and flow by plunging his foot or his fingers into the sea and withdrawing them. For their part, the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' attribute the tides to the heating of the rocks on the sea bed by the moon's rays. Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198), in the *Expositio media* of the *Meteors* (cf. Aristotle, *Omnia opera*. Averroes' Commentary, vi, Venice 1560, 29-30) seems to have been influenced by the theory of Eratosthenes relating to the straits, for he says that the waters flow into the Ocean from the seas higher than it and it flows into the lower seas; meanwhile, in the latter, the waters are set in motion by the winds which arise in their midst because of the moon's heat, and flow towards the Ocean in an upward movement, while the Ocean sinks.

We know that the establishment of harbours is presented for the first time in a graphic and systematic manner in the *Atlas catalan* of 1375 (see D. Gernez, *Les indications relatives aux marées dans les anciens livres de mer*, in *AIHS*, xxviii [1949], 671-91), but in some earlier Arabic texts, particularly those which concern the Indian Ocean, some passages figure which allow us to state that the phenomenon was known and put to good use by sailors: also, for example, in § 17 and p. 46, n. 2 of the *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde* (851), ed.-French tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948 (in the rest of the world, cf. Bede, *apud* Duhem, in *SM*, iii, 20; Needham, in *Science and civilization in China*, iv/2 [1965], 217, 410). In the Islamic world, A. Mez (*Renaissance*, Spanish tr. esp. 553; Eng. tr., 466) following al-Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 124-5) remarks the existence in Baṣra (in 375/985) of mills operated by the tide, which is not astonishing if one takes account of the height of the town at the head of the Persian Gulf, a thousand years ago when the alluvial deposits had still not made it distant from the coast (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, French tr. Kramers-Wiet, i, 229; al-Dimashḳī, *Cosmographie*, French tr. Mehren, 223; Pellat, *Milieu*, 16-7). Al-Muḳaddasī says, in fact, "The flow constitutes a miracle and an advantage for the inhabitants of Baṣra. The water inundates it twice a day, rises into the canals, waters the gardens and helps the boats reach their anchorage. The ebb is equally useful, for it operates the mills situated at the mouth of the water courses". The tidal mills of this type (which must not be confused with other of a similar name, but functionally very different; cf. Mez, *loc. cit.*; F. M. Feldhaus, *Die Technik*, Munich 1965, 1297, etc. and related terms; Wiedemann, *Über Schiffmühlen*, in *Geschichtsblätter für Technik, Industrie und Gewerbe*, iv [1917], 25; al-Idrīsī, ed. Dozy-de Goeje, 236, 237, 263, etc.) are the precursors of those to be found in the 11th century in Venice, in the 12th in France (cf. H. Goblot, *Premières recherches*, roneoed text *ca.* 1977) and whose origin may go back to the Atlantic littoral of Islamic Spain (coasts of Huelva ?), where harbours were established with a two to three hour tidal cycle, the title reaching a height as acceptable, if not higher, than that which could be achieved at Baṣra in the 4th/10th century. With regard to this, one should take account of the rather confused text in which Abu 'l-Fidā (*Taḳwīm*, ed. Paris 1840, 26-7), copying al-Idrīsī, notes the value of the establishment of harbours similar to that which has been cited.

Tidal mills appear to have been known on the coasts of Islamic Spain, and it is from there that they must have proceeded, following the estuaries, as far as the North Atlantic (cf. Goblot, *op. cit.*; W. E. Minchinton). However, the rare evidence which we have been able to find on this type of mill does

not allow us at present to elucidate this question with certainty. We can nevertheless mention the early presence (well before the 17th century) of these mills in Lequeitio (cf. José A. García Diego, *Don Pedro Bernardo Villareal de Berriz*, in *Revista de obras publicas*, August 1971), and probably in other places on the Basque coast which we know of indirectly, but from information of the same author, at Errotatxiki, Busturia, Baracaldo, Orio and Plencia.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(L. Martínez Martín)

MADDĀḤ (Turkish *meddāḥ*), an Arabic word which means "panegyrist"; the term was used by the Ottoman Turks as a synonym of *ḳiṣṣa-kh*ʷ*ān* (Arabic *ḳāṣṣ*) and *shehnāme-kh*ʷ*ān* to designate the professional story-tellers of the urban milieux; it was used in the same way by the Persians, but more rarely; as for the Arabs, they used it, in a fairly late period, to designate the "begging singers of the streets" (see Köprülüzāde M. Fuʾād, *Meddāḥlar*, in *Türkiyyāt Medjmūʿasi*, i [1925], 11-12). In North Africa, however, the *maddāḥ* is a kind of "religious minstrel who goes to festivals to sing the praises of saints and of God, and holy war, and who is accompanied on the tambourine and flute" (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.); he is also the heir of the *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*], who at a late date tours the country and cities, recounting heroic legends and stories drawn from the répertoire of the story-tellers of the Middle Ages, sometimes aided today by bands, and which are sketched out very often without any connection with the subject of the story. The activity of the *maddāḥ*, his technique and his sources, would merit being made the object of thorough research.

In an early stage of the evolution of their art, the Turkish *meddāḥs* or *ḳiṣṣa-kh*ʷ*āns* derived their themes either from episodes of the Iranian epic, the *Shāhnāma* (whence their name of *shehnāme-kh*ʷ*ān*) and the historico-legendary works relating the acts and deeds of the champions of Islam such as Ḥamza, ʿAlī, Abū Muslim, Baṭṭāl, or the first Turkish conquerors of the land of Rūm, such as Dānishmend Ghāzī. From the 11th/17th century onwards, the term *meddāḥ* begins to take on a more specific meaning to designate the teller of realistic accounts drawn either from old, classic collections such as the *Thousand and one nights*, or from popular stories, or else inspired by scenes from the everyday life of the cities of the empire. The teller of edifying stories on religious and heroic themes, called *ḳiṣṣa-kh*ʷ*ān* or *shehnāme-kh*ʷ*ān* for preference, retains the monopoly of the epic-romantic narration in the urban milieux, sometimes in simple sessions of declaiming. However, Ewliyā Čelebi, when he describes (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 525) the procession of the guilds in Istanbul, mentions the *meddāḥs* and *ḳiṣṣa-kh*ʷ*āns* under the same rubric, as numbering eighty; it can be deduced that in the 11th/17th century, the two terms were still synonymous and the same artist could perform both kinds of narration. It is only from the 18th century onwards that the *meddāḥs* specialise more and more in the narration of entertaining narratives on realistic themes, and these supplant, at least in oral tradition, the heroic themes. The public audition sessions of this latter type survived until the second half of the 19th century; a document of 23 January 1864 informs us that at this date, in an Üsküdar café (on the outskirts of Istanbul) a "reader" of narratives drawn from the *Sheh-nāme* used to find an interested audience (see Metin And, *Geleneksel Türk tiyatrosu*, Ankara 1969, 69-70).

Numerous texts have come down to us of great heroic narratives of the chivalrous romance types of the Western Middle Ages; some, such as the *ʿAntar-nāme* [see ʿANTAR, SĪRAT], or the deeds of Abū Muslim and Baṭṭāl [*q.vv.*], were translated or adapted from Arabo-Persian literature; the others, such as the *Dānishmend-nāme* were composed by Turkish authors; they attest, by their style and subdivision into chapters presented as auditory sessions on successive evenings (see I. Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Dānismend*, ii, Paris 1960, 18 and *passim*) that, from the earliest centuries of Turkish written literature, these works were not written only for the individual reading of the educated, but also constituted the narrative répertoire of the *ḳiṣṣa-kh*ʷ*āns* exercising their art before a collective audience.

As for the collections of realistic narratives, not a large number are extant and they are not of an early date. They are of two kinds: some, abridged texts of oral narration, sometimes written by the story-tellers themselves with a certain pedantry of style, to be offered to the sovereigns or dignitaries, and to be read individually by an élite public; the others appear as outlines to serve as an aid to the memory of the story-tellers themselves. The oldest of the collections of realistic narratives go back to the 10th/16th century, and, for the most part, they remain unpublished.

Of the poet Djenānī (d. Muḥarram 1004/September 1595) there has come down to us a collection entitled *Bedāyiʿ al-āthār*, composed after 998/1589 as an offering for Murād III. Information on the biography and work of this poet, gathered by Köprülüzāde (*op. laud.*, 22 ff.) informs us that his collection of realistic and fabulous stories had been used by a *meddāḥ* of the court nicknamed Eglendje to divert the sovereign during narration sessions. A copy dated 1039/1629-30 has been preserved in Cambridge University Library (Browne, *Supplementary hand-list* . . ., Cambridge 1922, no. 1553/6, Or. 680/8).

The work of Djenānī contains accounts of very varied themes: scenes from everyday life, "true life" adventures of his contemporaries with *djinns* or vampires, accounts of journeys combined with themes of popular stories and legends. The author is, very often, anxious to inform us of the origin of his narratives and to mention his informants; on the whole, he drew largely on oral tradition. One of the narratives (fols. 97a-103a) is the oldest version of a *ḥikāye* [see ḤIKĀYA, iii] of which the author of the present article has collected, under the title of *Yaralı Mahmud*, three versions of the *âşıks* of Eastern Anatolia (see P. N. Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikâyeciliği*, Ankara 1946, 19, 160-1). Two narratives of the collection (fols. 15a-17a and 19a-23a) are variants of stories inventoried in the international catalogue (A. Aarne and S. Thompson, *The types of the folk tale* [= AaTh], Helsinki 1964, nos. 1510 and 938) and in the Turkish catalogue (W. Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen* [= TTV], Wiesbaden 1953, nos. 278 and 136).

In the same manuscript (fols. 191a-218b) is inserted the collection of a certain Naghmī (or Naghamī?) who was a contemporary of Selīm II (1566-74); the compilation of his work would then be earlier than that of Djenānī's collection (cf. fol. 192a-b of the ms.). His narratives present the same characteristics as those of Djenānī; he says, in his introduction, that he has compiled his texts from the stories related in the evenings among friends. He has divided them into three chapters: (1) stories

about sovereigns and viziers; (2) anecdotes about poets; and (3) adventures with beautiful women.

The *Kitāb-ı Kümek* (?) of ʿAzmī of Gediz, dated 995/1586, is of the same period; the copy preserved in the British Museum (Or. 7836) contains 88 leaves. It is composed of realistic stories drawn from oral tradition; some adventures take place in towns such as Istanbul or Samsun; there are also narratives inspired by folk tales (fols. 43a-44b: AaTh 1540, 1600, 1643, 1775; TTV 323, 324, 331, 339) and popular jokes (fol. 86b).

From the 11th/17th century we possess the texts, always in an abridged form, of a whole cycle of narratives, relating the adventures, in turn gallant and fantastic, of the bourgeois of Istanbul: people of various trades, courtiers, men of independent means, slaves, ladies of all categories and morals. At times, the sultan himself intervenes to arrange things to the satisfaction of the listeners—and readers—by chastising the wicked and rewarding the good. The composition of a series of these small novels of manners is attributed to the poet Ṭiflī Aḥmed Čelebi, a courtier of Murād IV (see Köprülüzāde, *op. laud.*, 31 ff.). Four of these texts have come down to us: *Laṭāʾif-nāme*, entitled *Khandjerli Khānım* in a slightly altered version, with the names changed, *Ḳanlı Bektāsh* and *Sansar Muṣṭafā*; there are lithographed editions—and, later on, printed ones—of the first three; a manuscript of the *Sansar Muṣṭafā* is preserved in the Istanbul University Library, no. 1208. It is to be noted that in the texts of these narrative works the story-teller himself is involved in the adventure; he is the principal character of *Ḳanlı Bektāsh*; and in all cases he is invited by the Pādishāh "to relate the adventure by word of mouth". This particular characteristic of this genre is already attested by certain compilers of the 10th/16th century. Two other narratives with the same characteristic, *Djevrī Čelebi* and *Ṭayyārzāde*, of which we possess printed editions, belong themselves to the narrative cycle of the reign of Murād IV (see Boratav, *op. laud.*, 122 ff.; Ö. Nutku, *Meddahler ve meddah hikâyeleri*, Ankara 1976, 99).

Other collections remaining unpublished, which were probably compiled as an aid to the memory for the use of *meddāḥ*s—sometimes by the story-tellers themselves—deserve mention: from the 18th century, *Ḳiṣṣa-yi Djelāl u Djemāl* (cf. the narrative of the same title analysed by Nutku, *op. laud.*, 93, 100, 102, 110, 111, 129-30, 187-90), composed by Sheykh Muṣṭafā Dāʿī, of 194 leaves (Brit. Mus. Or. 11309; copy mutilated at the beginning and end).—*Khānīfe* (or *ʿAfīfe*?) *Khānım sergüzeshti*, of 107 leaves, composed in 1192/1778 (Brit. Mus. Or. 7303).—A collection of 53 leaves (Brit. Mus. Rieu, Add. 10,003), of which a large part is occupied by the adventures of Meḥmed Agha and Feraḥ-Dil; the copy was made at Izmir in 1223/1808; with reference to a session of narration in Cairo at which the hero of the narrative was present, the author mentions the names of two *meddāḥ*s of Istanbul, Kehle Meḥmed and Shekerdji Ṣāliḥ; furthermore, the latter is also known as a famous story-teller of the 18th century (see Nutku, *op. laud.*, 34-5), which leads us to think that the compilation of the work goes back to this period.

A manuscript of the 18th century, preserved in Istanbul University Library (T.Y. no. 6758), and entitled *Medjmūʿa-yi fewāʾid*, a collection of disordered texts (poems, medicinal recipes, a short account of Ottoman history in verse, maxims) is of particular interest for the study of the tradition of the *meddāḥ*s. For the first time, Metin And has briefly analysed the part concerning our subject (*op. laud.*, 74-5); he has reproduced the list of the names of 16 *meddāḥ*s and the titles of 56 narratives in which they figure. A deeper analysis of this document has been carried out by Nutku (*op. laud.*, 101-2). The latter also published in his work (179-223) the 13 narrative texts inserted in the manuscript, the only ones, of the 56 titles constituting the outlines of *meddāḥ* narrations; there are brief notes on the names of people and places, as well as essential facts in the unravelling of the action. These texts too, are, on the whole, conceived and written as an aid to the memory of storytellers. The compiler also indicated, for a certain number of narratives, the names of famous *meddāḥ*s of the period whom he had heard telling the tales in question. There should be added to this list of the 18th century a text which has come down to us in a French version, from the narration of a Turkish *meddāḥ* of the reign of Aḥmed III, reproduced in Joseph-Pierre Agnès Méry's book, *Constantinople et la Mer Noire*, Paris 1855; Nutku (225-33) has provided a Turkish retranslation.

Among the narratives of the 18th century, of the texts reproduced under the numbers 1 to 13 in Nutku's work (179-223), several are adaptations of popular tales with the narrative scenarios of the *meddāḥ*s. Also, no. 1 is a variant of the tale type AaTh 681 (TTV 134); nos. 5, 6, 9. 10 and 12 are, respectively, to be compared with tale types AaTh 910 (TTV 315, motifs 1-3), AaTh 882 (TTV 272 and 272iv; a version of this tale is to be found in M. Nicolas and A. Flamain, *Contes de Turquie*, Paris 1977, 62-7), AaTh 1510 (TTV 278), TTV 299 and TTV 279.

For the two centuries following, we possess texts collected by the orientalists Georg Jacob, Ignaz Kunos, Friedrich Giese and Herman Paulus (see *Bibl.*), and more recently, those recorded on tape by Turkish researchers (see Nutku, 297-391). There also we find examples of the adaptation of popular stories to the narration of *meddāḥ*s; in Nutku's work; no. 17 is a variant of tale type AaTh 881 (TTV 195) and no. 21 is to be compared with AaTh 882 (TTV 272, 272iv). No. 17 is, furthermore, attested in an altered text in *ḥikāye* form by ʿĀshıḳ ʿAlī ʿIzzet Özkan (see Boratav, in *Turcica*, i [1969], 114-20).

The narrative technique of the *meddāḥ*s followed a parallel evolution to that of the themes. Gradually as realistic themes supplanted heroic themes, the narration was enriched by dramatic elements; the actor was substituted for the story-teller; he embodied the deeds, by miming and, by changes in the intonation of his voice, the various people of his narratives; and indirect speech gave way to direct speech animated by dialogues. It is this other aspect of the art of the *meddāḥ*s which has interested specialists in the history of the theatre as much as the researchers on the narrative genre.

According to the testimony of literary and iconographic sources, as well as of direct observers, the *meddāḥ* used to perform his art in a public place (in a café usually), and used to install himself on a platform, at a higher level than his audience; he held in his hand a cane which he used for making a noise; a napkin placed on the shoulder was used to obtain, by its application to the mouth at the desired time, the various effects of vocal intonation of the person imitated. The *meddāḥ* began and ended his narration with dedicatory formulas which contained, essentially, excuses for the situation in which the listeners might be vexed by the fortuitous resemblance of

names of people or places, or by too daring subject matter.

The later *meddāḥ*s of the beginning of our century attempted to enlarge their répertoire by drawing on themes in the popular novels of contemporary authors (see Boratav, *100 soruda Türk halk edebiyatı*, Istanbul 1978, 79). Some modern novelists and journalist chroniclers, for their part, (Ahmed Rasim, Hüseyin Rahmi, Ercümend Ekrem and Burhan Felek, to cite only a few names) owed much to the procedures and narrative style of the *meddāḥ*s (see Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri* ..., Ankara 1946, 81 ff., 121 ff.; idem, *Folklor ve edebiyat*, ii, Ankara 1945, 130 ff., 163).

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited in the article, see Boratav, *Türkische Volkserzählungen und die Erzählerkunst* (German tr. of the *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikâyeciligi*, Ankara 1946), 2 vols., Taipei 1975, 136-46; Güzbin Dino, *La genèse du roman turc*, Paris 1973; Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk temaşası*, Istanbul[2] 1942; F. Giese, *Der übereifrige Xodscha Nedim*, Berlin 1907; G. Jacob, *Vorträge türkischer Meddah's*, Berlin 1904; I. Kunos, in W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, viii, St. Petersburg 1899, 301-10; idem, *Türk khalḳ edebiyyātı*, Istanbul 1925, 108-9; N. N. Martinovitch, *The Turkish theater*, New York 1933, 21-9, 79-99; Th. Menzel, *Meddāḥ, Schattentheater und Ortaojunu*, Prague 1941; Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede roman*, Istanbul 1935; H. Paulus, *Hadschi Vesvese*, Erlangen 1905; E. Saussey, *La littérature populaire turque*, Paris 1936; Helga Uplegger, *Das Volksschauspiel*, in *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 148-52.

(P. N. Boratav)

AL-**MĀDHARĀʾĪ**, name of a family of high officials and revenue officers, originating from ʿIrāḳ, who held important positions in Egypt and Syria between 266/879 and 335/946. The *nisba* is derived from a village Mādharāya, in the neighbourhood of Wāsiṭ (see al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, fol. 499a; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 381).

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mādharāʾī with the nickname al-Aṭrash ("the partially deaf one", see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.), was given the control of finances of Egypt and Syria in 266/879 by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, and so became the founder of his family's influence. He appointed his son ʿAlī—whose *kunya* is unknown—as his representative in Egypt, and sent another son, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn, called Abū Zunbūr ("the hornets' man"), to Syria in the same quality. Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm died in 270/884, the same year as Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.

ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Mādharāʾī became *wazīr* of the Ṭūlūnid Khumārawayh (270-82/884-96), kept this function under Djaysh b. Khumārawayh and was killed on the same day as this Ṭūlūnid in 283/897.

Already during the last years of the Ṭūlūnid régime, Abū Zunbūr al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Mādharāʾī, in his quality of director of finances in Syria, had taken up relations with the ʿAbbāsids. After their victory over the Ṭūlūnids in 292/904, he was nominated director of finances of Egypt, where he replaced his nephew Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Mādharāʾī (d. 303/915). Because of his close relations with Baghdād, Abū Zunbūr, and soon also other members of his family, became involved in the fight for power between the *wazīr* ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] and the Banu 'l-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT], in which the Mādharāʾīs were always on the side of the opponents of the Banu 'l-Furāt. Therefore, during the second vizierate of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (301-4/913-16) Abū Zunbūr became director of finances in Syria and his nephew Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad director in Egypt. The change of the vizierate in Baghdād in 304/916 caused the Mādharāʾīs to be deposed and imprisoned; Abū Zunbūr was brought to Baghdād. Towards the end of 306/May 919 he became again director of finances in Egypt, but in 310/922 he was deposed again by his friend ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā. In the next year, Ibn al-Furāt summoned him to Baghdād and imposed on him and his family a penalty of 5,000,000 *dirhams*. In 313/926 Abū Zunbūr was again in al-Fusṭāṭ as director of finances of Egypt and Syria. In 317/929 he died there.

Abū Zunbūr's nephew Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Mādharāʾī (258-345/871-956) came in 272/885 to Egypt, where his father appointed him deputy director of finances. After the murder of his father in 283/890, Abū Bakr Muḥammad became vizier of the Ṭūlūnid Hārūn b. Khumārawayh, and after the fall of the Ṭūlūnids in 292/905, he and many of his followers were brought to Baghdād. He remained there until 301/913, when in all honour he returned to Egypt as director of finances. The sources available do not indicate any reason why in 304/916 he returned to private life; he remained in al-Fusṭāṭ and apparently devoted himself to the administration and increase of the enormous fortune of the family. In 318/930 Abū Bakr Muḥammad again took charge of finances in Egypt and kept his function until the death of his friend the governor Takīn in 321/933. The Mādharāʾīs remained in the end victorious during the subsequent struggles with Muḥammad b. Takīn. When in 322/934 Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl, a member of the Ibn al-Furāt family, was nominated vizier by the caliph al-Rāḍī, he appointed Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj al-Ikhshīd [see IKHSHĪDIDS] as governor of Egypt. The latter tried to reach a friendly agreement with the Mādharāʾī, but Abū Bakr Muḥammad rejected the proposal and offered resistance. His troops, however, went over to the Ikhshīd, who in Ramaḍān 323/August 936 was able to enter al-Fusṭāṭ without fighting. Abū Bakr Muḥammad went into hiding until Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl b. al-Furāt came to al-Fusṭāṭ and arrested the Mādharāʾī. He was forced to disgorge great parts of his wealth and the Ikhshīd put him in prison until the death of Ibn al-Furāt in 327/939. After his release, Abū Bakr Muḥammad soon attained honour and influence again. Under the young Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Unūdjūr b. al-Ikhshīd he held the *de facto* position of regent, but was overthrown and put into prison in 335/946 during a rebellion plotted by Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. al-Furāt. A year later he was set free by Kāfūr [*q.v.*] and retired into private life. He died in al-Fusṭāṭ on 11 Shawwāl 345/16 January 957, having been a devout Muslim who, between 301/913 and 322/938, performed the pilgrimage yearly and was lavish in distributing favours to the inhabitants of the Holy Cities. With him died the last important representative of the Mādharāʾīs.

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(H. L. Gottschalk)

MADHḤIDJ, a large tribal group, now inhabiting in the main the areas of Dhamār and Radāʿ in the modern Yemen Arab Republic. The traditional genealogy, given by e.g. Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed.

Wüstenfeld, 237 ff., and by Yāḳūt, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, v, 89, is from Mâlik b. Udad b. Zayd b. Ya<u>sh</u>djub b. ʿArīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ b. Ya<u>sh</u>djub b. Yaʿrub b. Ḳaḥṭān. The numerous component *ḳabāʾil* of Ma<u>dh</u>ḥidj are listed in full by al-Malik al-A<u>sh</u>raf ʿUmar, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb*, ed. K. V. Zetterstéen, Damascus 1949, 9; those most frequently encountered in South Arabian history are ʿAns, Balḥāri<u>th</u> b. Kaʿb, Djanb, Ṣudaʾ and Sinḥān, and *buṭūn* of these *ḳabāʾil* include also Namir and ʿAbs.

Ma<u>dh</u>ḥidj appear in pre-Islamic South Arabian inscriptions as *mdḥgm* (see A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs (Mârib)*, Baltimore 1962, 316, 372). In the year 519 contingents of the tribe accompanied the Ḥimyarite king Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur on an expedition into central Arabia, and in 521 they were amongst the tribes nominally influenced by Judaism and sent by <u>Dh</u>ū Nuwās [*q.v.*] against the Christian centre of Nadjrān.

The tribal lands of Ma<u>dh</u>ḥidj in early times are said by al-Bakrī to have been situated near a certain place called Tardj "on the road to Yemen" (see *Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1364-71/1945-51, 309). In the period just before the rise of Islam they participated, together with their sister tribes <u>Kh</u>a<u>th</u>ʿam and Murād [*q.vv.*] in warfare against ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, which included a famous "day", much hymned in old poetry, at Fayf al-Rīḥ (see al-Bakrī, iii, 1038). Towards the end of Muḥammad's mission in Medina, when he was extending his control over the outlying parts of Arabia, the Prophet utilised Mālik b. Murāra of the component group Ruhāʾ of Ma<u>dh</u>ḥidj as an envoy to the south-western tribes; and in *ca.* 10/632 he confirmed Farwa b. Musayk of Murād as Muslim governor over the tribes of Murād, Ma<u>dh</u>ḥidj and Zubayd (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 950-1; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 28 ff.).

The role of Ma<u>dh</u>ḥidj in the early Islamic conquests was considerable. They formed an element of the army which invaded Egypt, setting in Fusṭāṭ, and their leaders were represented in the malcontents who came to Medina and besieged and killed ʿU<u>th</u>mān. In the *miṣr* of Kūfa, they were amongst Yemenī tribes to settle, together with Ḥimyar, Hamdān, Azd and Kinda, and their associated tribe Murād had there a *djabbāna*, perhaps here a large, open-air praying area, used as a tribal rallying-ground [see AL-KŪFA]. Subsequently, they showed themselves in the forefront of pro-ʿAlid and anti-Umayyad movements. At Ṣiffīn, Ma<u>dh</u>ḥidj and Hamdān placed themselves under the leadership of Mālik al-A<u>sh</u>tar [*q.v.*] of the *ḳabīla* Na<u>kh</u>aʿ of Ma<u>dh</u>ḥidj; they fought valiantly as part of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra's "Army of destruction" in Af<u>gh</u>ānistān in 79/698 (see C. E. Bosworth, in *Isl.*, l [1973], 277 ff.); and they took part in the revolt of the old Arab tribal aristocracy shortly afterwards under Ibn al-A<u>sh</u>ʿa<u>th</u> [*q.v.*]. They do not, however, seem to have produced any poets of great significance.

In the post-classical period, those elements of Ma<u>dh</u>ḥidj or their *ḳabāʾil* who had remained behind in south-western Arabia played a part in the tortuous politics and military events of the region. For example, contingents of the tribe rallied to the aid of the Zurayʿid Sabaʾ b. Abi 'l-Suʿūd in his successful struggle against another member of the family, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, in *ca.* 531/1136. In 545/1151 also, Ma<u>dh</u>ḥidj, and particularly Djanb, joined the Zaydī forces of the *Imām* Aḥmad b. Sulaymān against the Ḥātimī family of Yām controlling the Ṣanʿāʾ area. A long series of hostilities ensued, after which the Zaydīs and their Ma<u>dh</u>ḥidj allies were repelled from Ṣanʿāʾ and the latter, after a personal appeal to them in <u>Dh</u>amār by Ḥātim b. Aḥmad, swung round to the Ḥātimī side against the Zaydīs. Djanb were also prominent in relieving the Mahdid siege of Zurayʿid Aden, begun in 561/1165. The Zurayʿid leader, Ḥātim b. ʿAlī, having resisted the siege for seven years, journeyed to Ṣanʿāʾ to enlist the support of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, the son of Ḥātim b. Aḥmad, whose family of Yām, it will be recalled, controlled the area. They too were Ismāʿīlīs, as were the Zurayʿids. ʿAlī b. Ḥātim agreed to help break the siege of Aden, but only, he stipulated, with the assistance of Djanb from Dhamār. The Zurayʿid, Ḥātim b. ʿAlī won over Djanb, so that an alliance of his troops, those of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim from Ṣanʿāʾ and those of Djanb descended on Aden and were able to drive away the Mahdids, killing many. At this stage Djanb returned home, much to the disappointment of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, who appears to have had territorial designs on Mahdid land in Tihāma.

Bibliography (in additions to references given in the text): Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab. i. Tabellen*, 258 ff., ii. *Register*, 381-2; Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, 92, 97 and *passim* (spelling erroneously Madḥidj); Wüstenfeld, *Register zu der genealogische Tabelle* . . ., Göttingen 1853, 279; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, 217; G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London 1974-8, ii, 61-2. (G. R. SMITH - C. E. BOSWORTH)

MĀḌĪ (A.) "preterite", a technical term of Arabic grammar used to denote the verbal form devoted to the expression of past time; its counterpart is *muḍāriʿ* [*q.v.*], the term denoting the author verbal form "resembling" [the noun] and devoted to the expression of the present and future (*ḥāḍir, mustaḳbal*).

The majority of Arab grammarians define the verb as a word which indicates the matching (*iḳtirān*) of a happening (*ḥada<u>th</u>*) with a time (*zamān*). Already Sībawayh considered (*Kitāb*, i, 11-12) that the verb is formed to demonstrate that a happening has taken place (*waḳaʿa*) in time which has gone past (*maḍā*) or that it will take place in time which has not yet gone past (*lam yamḍi*). In regard to the past, one of the earliest definitions is that of al-Zadjdjādjī (*K. al-Īḍāḥ*, 87): "an occurrence in the past is one which has been completed (*taḳaḍḍā*) and which has involved at least two distinct periods of time, one in which it had existence (*wudjida*) and one in which gets information about it (*<u>kh</u>ubbira ʿanhu*)". Ibn Yaʿī<u>sh</u> sets forth the same idea (*<u>Sh</u>arḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, vii, 4): "an occurrence in the past is one that no longer has existence (*ʿudima*) after it did in fact exist, and whose affirmation (*i<u>kh</u>bār*) takes place at a time posterior to its existence".

However, the Arab grammarians very soon saw that the *māḍī* was not used solely to express an occurrence in the past, and al-Astarābā<u>dh</u>ī (*<u>Sh</u>arḥ al-Kāfiya*, ii, 225) enumerates the different cases when this verbal form expresses a time different from the past. First of all, the *māḍī* can express the future, viz. in a request (*ṭalab*) by means of a prayer (*duʿāʾ*) or an order (*amr*), and in the expression of future happenings by determining (*ḳaṭʿ*) their occurrence (*wuḳūʿ*), for in these two cases, the speaker positively desires the taking place of the occurrence, and it is as if it had already taken place and was past; in the reply to an oath (*ḳasam*), unless it is negated by *lā* or *in*; in the expression of a condition (*<u>sh</u>arṭ*), if it is preceded by *in*; and in a circumstantial

clause, if it is preceded by *mā* = "so long as". The *māḍī* can moreover express either the past or the future when it follows the particle *a-* of equivalence (*istiwā'*) in an alternative; the relatives *hay<u>th</u>umā* and *kullamā* in a phrase comprising two parts; a particle of urging (*taḥḍīḍ*) in an incitement; and the relative pronoun *alla<u>dh</u>ī* at the outset of a phrase comprising two parts, because in all these cases, there is a nuance (*rā'iḥa*) of a condition. Finally, in an enunciatory (*in<u>sh</u>ā'ī*) speech utterance or a productive (*īḳā'ī*) one, the *māḍī* has the value of a present; thus, for example, in *bi'tu*, the act of selling is realised (*yaḥṣulu*) in the present (*ḥāl*) by means of this word which brings it into existence (*mū<u>dj</u>id lahu*), whereas with *abī'u*, the act of selling is realised by another word.

From the morphological point of view, the Arab grammarians consider that the form of the *māḍī* is "based" (*mabnī*) according to the vowel *a* or the vowel *u* in the third person, and according to the absence of the vowel in the other persons.

Bibliography: G. Troupeau, *La notion du temps chez Sībawayhi*, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, ix (1962), 44-6; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, ii, 201-6. (G. TROUPEAU)

MADĪḤ, MADḤ (A.), the normal technical terms in Arabic and other Islamic literatures for the genre of panegyric poetry, the individual poem being usually referred to as *umdūḥa* (pl. *amādīḥ*) or *madīḥa* (pl. *madā'iḥ*). The author himself is called *mādiḥ* or, as considered professionally, *maddāḥ*. The root itself is sometimes used without technical connotations, as also are commonly the various other roots signifying "praise": *ḥ-m-d*, *m-<u>dj</u>-d*, *ḳ-r-ẓ*, *<u>th</u>-n-y*, *ṭ-r-w/y*, etc.

1. In Arabic literature.

As both an independent unit and a component of the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], the genre has been so widespread in Arabic literature at all times that only a few poets prided themselves on not writing in it at all, or as rarely as possible, e.g. Abu 'l-'Atāhiya and al-Ma'arrī. Some, like al-Mutanabbī, were panegyrists before all else. The high proportion of panegyric in Arabic poetry has been one of the major obstacles to full appreciation of the latter by the average Western reader, who tends traditionally to be concerned with criteria of "sincerity", "criticism of life" and "seriousness of purpose". Such a lack of sympathy ignores the fact that virtually all pre-modern Arabic poetry had to be written, for socio-economic reasons, under patronage or to commission. "Political" panegyrics are still written in most Arabic-speaking countries.

The somewhat exiguous and sporadic written tradition of Arabic poetic criticism is usually more preoccupied with biography, exegesis, prosody and tropes than with genres in any Western sense. But most discussions of poetry refer to the category of *madīḥ*, and a few attempt to distinguish it from other genres, particularly its counterparts: *fa<u>kh</u>r*/*mufā<u>kh</u>ara*, personal or group boasting; *ri<u>th</u>ā'*/*mar<u>th</u>iya*/*mar<u>th</u>āt*, elegy or lament; and *hi<u>dj</u>ā'*, poetry of insult or abuse (see the relevant articles for each). The last is more or less the converse of *madīḥ*, while the other two may naturally contain elements of panegyric. In the case of the elegy, this is almost invariably so: some (e.g. the celebrated and courageous elegy by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Anbārī on the executed Būyid vizier Abū Ṭāhir) are virtually pure *madīḥ*, though it is usually obvious that the subject is deceased, and a note of sincere regret is often present, as in that particular instance. Special types of *madīḥ* are numerous, two of the most common being poems of excuse or apology, and poems celebrating victories or other happy events (see also below).

Besides individuals, a panegyric might be addressed to a land, a city or a group. By no means all such poems were expected to produce immediate or direct material benefits: some expressed simple gratitude, some were addressed to a recipient with fine poetic taste of his own, and some were produced as an inescapable duty of one of pensioner status. When a panegyric did not produce an expected result, it would sometimes be followed up by an appendix (which some critics, again, would classify as a special type of "reminder panegyric"). According to period and circumstances, the panegyrist might declaim his own poem, or might deputise a talented *rāwī* to do so; or it might simply be received and read by (or to) the subject himself (*al-mamdūḥ*).

The *madīḥ* is usually (and was expected to be) exaggerated in statement and style. However, according to Ḳudāma (see *Bibl.*), only personal and "moral" qualities might be praised; and all these (in men) are subsumed under the categories of intelligence, courage, justice and "modesty" (*'iffa*). (It should be noted that the relatively rare poems in praise of women are classified by Ḳudāma as "erotic"!) Al-'Askarī (see *Bibl.*) is in general agreement with Ḳudāma, but Ibn Ra<u>sh</u>īḳ (see *Bibl.*) would allow praise of physical attributes and of ancestry and "association" as well. Another corrective to excessively gross exaggeration is the generally agreed condition that the primary qualities praised should be appropriate to rank and function—courage in a military man, justice in a judge, and so on. On this basis, Ḳudāma would even regard the *madīḥ* as potentially applicable to vagabonds and bandits for the good qualities necessarily inherent in their styles of life.

With all this, the *madīḥ* tends in practice to a stereotyped homogeneity, so much so that some panegyrists (e.g. al-Buḥturī on several occasions) had no difficulty in offering the same poem to a second or further patron, where the original reception was inadequate or relations had become strained in the meantime. Some panegyrics (as well as elegies) were obviously "prewritten" for general contingencies.

Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (and others: see *Bibl.* under pseudo-Ḳudāma) have argued that the above critical posture towards the *madīḥ* clearly derives from Greek sources, particularly Aristotle. This position, however, must be seen as exaggerated: what influence there was can only have been—as with philosophical and scientific ideas—remote and indirect.

Bibliography: As indicated, most Arabic works of literary criticism do not really discuss genres as such, and the Western studies have tended to follow suit. The following are the essential items: Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad <u>Th</u>a'lab, *Ḳawā'id al-<u>sh</u>i'r*, ed. C. Schiaparelli, in *Procs. of the VIIIth Intern. Congr. of Orientalists*, ii/1 (Semitics), fasc. 1, Leiden 1891, 173-214, also ed. M. 'A. <u>Kh</u>afā<u>dj</u>ī, Cairo 1367/1948, and R. 'Abd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1386/1966; Ḳudāma b. <u>Dj</u>a'far, *Naḳd al-<u>sh</u>i'r*, Constantinople 1302/1885, also ed. S. A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956; (Pseudo-) Ḳudāma, *Naḳd al-na<u>th</u>r*, ed. Ṭ. Ḥusayn, etc., with valuable introduction, Cairo 1352/1933; Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Kitāb al-Ṣinā'atayn*, Constantinople 1320/1902; idem, *Dīwān al-ma'ānī*, Cairo 1352/1933; Ibn

Rashīķ, *al-ʿUmda fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr wa-naķdihi*, Cairo 1344/1925, also ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1383/1963; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muķaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, see General Index under "poetry", *passim*; J. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, Paris 1975; A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955. (G. M. Wickens)

2. In Persian

It appears from the written records that survive—chronicles, official correspondence, and narrative poetry and prose—that formal, conventional praise (*madḥ*, *sitāyish*, *thanā*) of rulers and their chief officials was a pervasive feature of Islamic Iranian court life from its inception. The most-highly-developed vehicle for *madḥ* was the panegyric ode, or *ķaṣīda-yi madīḥa*, a genre that was already fully articulated by the time of Rūdakī. Indeed, Rūdakī's joint panegyric of the Sāmānid ruler Naṣr b. Aḥmad and the Ṣaffārid *amīr* Abū Djaʿfar is both the earliest example we have of a complete *ķaṣīda-yi madīḥa* and a work of considerable stylistic maturity.

The Persian *ķaṣīda-yi madīḥa* shares similarities of theme and sensibility with the Arabic caliphal panegyrics of the ʿAbbāsid period (see S. Sperl, *Islamic kingship and Arabic panegyric poetry in the early 9th century*, in *JAL*, viii [1977], 20-35), but its thematic structure is more predictable and uniformly ordered.

The opening portion of the *ķaṣīda*, called variously the *nasīb*, *tashbīb* or *taghazzul*, presents pleasing images that are usually drawn from a conventional repertory—the arrival of spring (*naw-rūz*) or, less commonly, autumn (*mihrgān*) in the palace garden; the lover's complaint; carousal. Yet many *ķaṣīdas* celebrate particular occasions, such as the departure of the monarch on a hunt or a campaign, or his successful return from one, or the birth of a son or the receipt of a gift, and when they do, the occasion provides the governing metaphor of the *nasīb*. The opening portion concludes with a line or two of transition that shifts the focus of the poem to the person of the patron (*mamdūḥ*), whose name and title are mentioned—either fully or in part—in a line called the *guriz-gāh* or *takhalluṣ* which marks the formal boundary between the opening section and the panegyric proper (*madīḥ*). While the images of the *nasīb* have, in the majority of instances, a narrative or metaphorical unity, those of the *madīḥ* do not. They present the *mamdūḥ* in a series of stereotyped poses drawn from the spheres of activity special to his office. For the monarch (*sulṭān*, *amīr*, *shāh*), the *mamdūḥ* of preference throughout most of Iran's history, these were the court—in both its formal and informal aspects—the hunt, and the battlefield. Thus in any given *ķaṣīda-yi madīḥa*, the monarch will appear, in no particular order, as the chosen of God, a fearsome and heroic warrior, a superb huntsman, the unfailing refuge of the weak and needy, a cheerful reveller, and, of course, a generous patron of poets.

In keeping with the stereotyped and iconic quality of these images, the metaphors employed in the *madīḥ* are richly hyperbolic. As a warrior, the *mamdūḥ* can put Rustam and Isfandiyār, the paramount heroes of the Iranian national epic, to flight, and even terrify the forces of nature. As a monarch, he is served by the rulers of the great empires of the world—the *ķayṣar* of Rūm, the *čipāl* of Hind, the *khāķān* of Turkistān and the *faghfūr* of Čīn. As a patron, his generosity outdoes that of Ḥātim Ṭāʾī, and even that of nature; and so on.

The final section of the poem is the *duʿāʾ*, or prayer, but there is usually a bridge passage between *madīḥ* and *duʿāʾ* in which the poet addresses himself directly to his patron, either to plead for reward or to boast of his skill, or both. The *duʿāʾ* itself is quite brief, no more than two or three *bayts*. As its name suggests, it is a prayer for the enduring, indeed, the perpetual, prosperity and rule of the monarch and his court. This prayer is expressed in language that elevates the monarch above the sphere of the mortal to that of the semi-divine. He is identified with the enduring processes of nature, which undergo change, but not decline. "So long as *naw-rūz* comes every Spring,/May you reign and prosper."

As must be apparent from this summary description, the purpose of the *ķaṣīda-yi madīḥa* is to celebrate the institution of rule, not the ruler. One finds no individualised portraits of the monarch here, nor of any of the other officials who filled the role of *mamdūḥ*. Indeed, the royal *ķaṣīda-yi madīḥa* in all its many exemplars appears as the text of a ritual celebration of monarchy that gave the members of the court an appropriate public occasion on which to affirm their commitment to the myth of the supreme, all-competent monarch as guarantor of the security and well-being of the Islamic state.

For the monarch, the *ķaṣīda-yi madīḥa* provided the means of being publicly celebrated as the living embodiment of the ancient tradition of kingship in Iran. In this, the *ķaṣīda-yi madīḥa* paralleled the common practice of concocting false genealogies that connected the sultan of the moment with the house of Sāsān as a means of asserting symbolic legitimacy.

The first great period of the *ķaṣīda-yi madīḥa* in Persian was that of the early Ghaznawids. Maḥmūd, the founder of that dynasty's great prosperity, expended vast sums to gather around himself a circle of distinguished poets, chief among them being ʿUnṣurī and Farrukhī [*q.vv.*]. Tales of his extraordinary generosity to them became part of the mythology of patronage, and provided the model for subsequent rulers and their poets. Although Iranian courts from that time to this have generated an endless stream of royal patrons and eulogists, and the *ķaṣīda-yi madīḥa* has attracted master poets in virtually every period, no later court has achieved an exemplary status comparable to that of the Ghaznawid.

The Ghaznawid period also saw the appearance of what might be called the spiritual panegyric or anti-court *ķaṣīda*. That is, the Ghaznawid bureaucrat and littérateur-turned Ismāʿīlī propagandist, Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], used the language of court poetry and the genre of the *ķaṣīda* to compose works that revile secular rulers and rebuke court poets for devoting their art to praising them. His argument runs that since Maḥmūd cannot assure the poets' well-being in the next world, they should rather expend their skill in celebrating those rulers of eternal, spiritual power—the Shīʿī *Imāms*—who can.

The example of Nāṣir Khusraw found few imitators in the centuries immediately after his death—although his influence on the great 6th/12th century *ķaṣīda* writer, Khāķānī Sharwānī [*q.v.*], can be seen in that poet's pilgrimage *ķaṣīdas*—but in the Ṣafawid period, the spiritual panegyric virtually replaced the secular. Later dynasties reinstated the secular as the preferred mode. There was a final efflorescence of the *ķaṣīda-yi madīḥa* under the Ķādjārs that was, in large part, stimulated by the rediscovery of the poetry of the Ghaznawid panegyrists.

Unfortunately, the fantastic exaggeration of the panegyric style has proved so unpalatable to

modern students of Persian poetry that they have not given the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* the careful attention that its central position in Persian literary history merits. The prevailing approach to this substantial body of work is to treat the opening portion as the only true poetry, and to ignore the contents of *madīḥ* and *duʿāʾ*—which make up two-thirds or more of any poem—as of negligible interest. The assumption is that court poets wrote panegyrics only out of economic or political constraint, not sincere, personal conviction, and this want of sincerity vitiates the literary interest of their work. The studies by Gh. Yūsufī, *Farrukhī Sīstānī*, Mashhad 1341/1963, and J. W. Clinton, *Manūchihrī Dāmghānī*, Minneapolis 1972, are among the few exceptions to this rule.

Bibliography: General accounts of the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* will be found in the standard literary histories of Iran. Principal among these are: Browne, *LHP*; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Furūzānfar, *Sukhan wa sukhanwarān* (2 vols. in 1), Tehran 1350/1972; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*[2] (3 vols. in 4 parts), Tehran 1353/1975; and, for the 19th century, Y. Āryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, Tehran 1351/1973, i. In addition, recent editions of the *dīwāns* of *ḳaṣīda* writers include in their introductions such biographical details of poets and their patrons as are readily available.

The section on poets in the *Čahār maḳāla* of Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī (*ca.* 550/1155), ed. M. Ḳazwīnī, with notes by M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1333/1955, provides a contemporary, and anecdotal account of the role of the court poet that is of great interest (Eng. tr. E. G. Browne, *The four discourses*, London 1921; Fr. tr. I. de Gastines, *Les quatre discours*, Paris 1968). The most complete and detailed statement of the art of the *ḳaṣīda*, including the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa*, is in the *Muʿjam* of Shams-i Ḳays (*al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳays al-Rāzī, ed. M. Ḳazwīnī, revised M. Raḍawī, Tehran 1338/1960), completed in the early 7th/13th century, and never improved upon. (J. W. Clinton)

3. In Turkish

In accordance with the well-established tradition that regulated the structure and use of the *ḳaṣīda*, *madīḥ* is the technical term used to refer to the section of this type of poem devoted to the praise of God, the Prophet, the sultan, the grand vizier, etc. Among the Muslim Turks, and especially the Ottoman Turks in the 19th century, the collective abstract form —*madḥiyya*—used in exactly the same sense, was preferred. The same term designates any poem composed for the purpose of extolling an individual. The *nefes* or *ilāhī* types of poems written or uttered by members of the mystic orders to eulogise God or leading personalities (*pīrān* and *bābās*) of these religious fraternities, and even more, the secular poems circulated by the literary innovators of the last century, are generally given this designation also (see S. N. Ergun, *On dokuzuncu asırdanberi Bektaşi-Kızılbaş Alevi şairleri ve nefesleri*, Istanbul 1956, 359, and Şinasi, *Müntahabât-ı eş'âr*, in *Külliyat*, i, Ankara 1960, 47-53 respectively).

It was, however, in the *ḳaṣīda*, the paramount verse form of the Muslim panegyrist, that Ottoman Turks such as Bāḳī [*q.v.*] and the premier *ḳaṣīda*-writer Nefʿī [*q.v.*] displayed their most characteristic and enduring *madāʾiḥ*. The presentation of a laudatory poem to those in positions of influence and power was the accepted and almost expected way for the literati to attract the attention of potential patrons for the purpose of securing employment or obtaining rewards and favours from them. The initial introduction of an aspiring poet, for example, to a grandee may have been through the good offices of a friend or teacher, but ultimately it was the persuasive and pleasing *madīḥ* featured in a suitable *ḳaṣīda* that forged the more lasting association with the patron or assured the most urgent favour. One may cite, among many other examples, the case of Meḥmed Ḳara Faḍlī [*q.v.*], who launched a successful career as *dīwān* secretary to several princes thanks to a *ḳaṣīda* he presented to Sultan Süleymān at the suggestion of his mentor Dhātī [*q.v.*] (see Ḥasan Čelebī, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, British Museum, London, ms. Add. 24,957, fol. 281a, and Riyāḍī, *Riyāḍ-i shuʿarāʾ*, Nuruosmaniye, Istanbul, ms. 3724, fol. 116), and the experience of the poet and vizier Aḥmad Pasha [*q.v.*] who, having been incarcerated for an indiscretion, secured his release with a panegyrical *ḳaṣīda* to Sultan Meḥemmed II (see Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira-yi Laṭīfī*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 78, and Ali Nihad Tarlan, *Ahmed Paşa divanı*, Istanbul 1966, 60-3).

In structure and form, the traditional *ḳaṣīdas*, including those composed by the Ottomans, remained fairly constant. Following the exordium (*nasīb* or *tashbīb*) and, sometimes, a short set of lyrical couplets (*taghazzül*), the poet very ingeniously eased the reader or listener into the *madīḥ* by means of the device known as the *gürīzgāh* (see Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman poetry*, i, 84) in which the real purpose (*maḳṣad*) of the poem was revealed, either by openly naming the patron who was to be the subject of the encomium that followed immediately or by a clever allusion that rarely left any doubt as to the identity of the patron (see Fahir İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım*, Istanbul 1966, i/1, 73, 106). The *madīḥ* was then followed by further praise in the *duʿāʾ* soliciting prayers for the patron and mentioning the poet's name.

Frequently, the above format and sequence were disregarded in favour of the more direct approach. Forsaking the exordium and the *gürīzgāh*, the panegyrist began his *ḳaṣīda* with the *madīḥ* (see *Nadīm dīwānī*, ed. Khalīl Nihād, Istanbul 1338-40/1920-2, 34-6, and contrast 21-4, 36-8). This tendency became especially prevalent when indoctrination and instruction replaced gain and advancement as the purpose of the poem. Particularly in the 19th century, when acclamation of new ideas or of a certain political point of view displaced the praise of the individual, the *madīḥ* became the essence and indeed the only section of the *ḳaṣīda* (see Mehmet Kaplan, *Şiir tahlilleri*, Istanbul 1969, 23-5, and Kenan Akyüz, *Batı te'sirinde türk şiiri antolojisi*, Ankara 1970, 61-3).

As a feature of the *ḳaṣīda*, the message, spirit and language of the *madīḥ* was necessarily determined by its particular function and objective. It was made up of a varying number of couplets extolling such attributes or virtues, real, imagined or fabricated, of the individual or concept as courage, wisdom, justice, piety, generosity and benefits. It was mainly characterised by extravagant laudation that was often completely unjustified or misplaced, and by the use of every conceivable rhetorical device, the hyperbole of which was sustained by epithets and allusions that only those familiar with the elevated Islamic literary tradition could comprehend and appreciate. The epic similes and the imagery which were an intrinsic part of the *madīḥ* were considerably removed from the realities of a restricted social milieu

that expected, accepted and even cherished ingenious flattery and procacious insincerity garnished with flowery language. However, the *madīḥ*, as some of the examples given above indicate, had a certain utilitarian function and, incidentally, may very well have met a need in its symbolism and reflections of an aesthetic ideal, as recently suggested by W. G. Andrews in his *Introduction to Ottoman poetry*, 148-50. It must be noted, at the same time, that it, along with many other verse forms, affords one many fine illustrations of the Turkish literary genius, versatility and inventiveness.

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited or summarily mentioned in the text, see Muʿallim Nadjī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt-i adabiyya*, Istanbul 1307/1889-90, 161-6; E. J. W. Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry*, London 1901, i, 83-7; M. F. Köprülü, *Türk adabiyyatī taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1926, 161-4; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1971, ii, 206-8, 435; N. S. Banarlı, *Resimli türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1972, fasc. 3, 186-90; Tâhir-ül Mevlevî, *Edebiyat lügatı*, Istanbul 1973, 84-7; W. G. Andrews Jr., *An introduction to Ottoman poetry*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1976, 146-59.

(J. Stewart-Robinson)

4. In Urdu

Eulogy probably existed in Urdu poetry from the earliest period of literary activity—certainly as far back as the second half of the 16th century A.D., though few early examples have survived. Two broad categories developed, according to the subject of the eulogy, sc. the secular and religious. The first was addressed to rulers, governors, nobles, and other rich or influential lay persons. It was usually termed *madḥ* rather than *madīḥ*, other terms being *taʿrīf* and *sitāʾish*. The religious category had its own distinctive terminology, though usage was not completely uniform, and might depend, to some extent, on the vagaries of copyists and editors. Praise of God was called *ḥamd*, that of the Prophet Muḥammad *naʿt*. That of the fourth caliph, ʿAlī, and of subsequent Shīʿī *Imāms*, was called *manḳabat*, whilst eulogy of other religious figures, living or dead, including the first three Orthodox Caliphs, was generally called *madḥ* or *taʿrīf*.

Like other major poetical genres in Urdu, *madīḥ* was derived from Persian. In some instances, Persian eulogistic odes were translated, or more properly adapted, into Urdu. More often, the *zamīn* (metre and rhyme) of a Persian ode would be imitated in an Urdu ode. The debt to Persian models was no secret; from the 16th century onwards, there are frank admissions or indications by various Urdu poets that they are vying with Persian poets in their mastery of the *madīḥ ḳaṣīda*. The chief poets to whom they were indebted were Anwarī, Khāḳānī and ʿUrfī. Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh (*ca.* 1568-1611) begins a *naʿt* ode: "The name of Muḥammad in the world is to me like a hundred Khāḳānīs". It is worthy of note that ʿUrfī was court poet to the Mughal Emperor Akbar in Dihlī, and died there in 1590-1, when Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh was in his early twenties. Apart from Indian local colour, including Hindu references, it is difficult to distinguish any single major feature in Urdu *madīḥ* which breaks completely new ground. Nevertheless, some poets achieved such mastery in it that they seemed to breathe new life into it, and thus they gained recognition for their originality.

Urdu *madīḥ* has been composed in almost all poetical forms, including *mathnawī*, *mukhammas*, *musaddas*, *tardjīʿ-band*, *tarkīb-band*, and, extremely rarely, even *ghazal*. But the eulogy form par excellence was the *ḳaṣīda* or ode. True, this form was used in other fields, particularly satire. But such has been the predominance of eulogy, that the term *ḳaṣīda* is usually understood to mean "eulogy", as an abbreviation of *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya*. Consequently any account of Urdu *madīḥ* must, of necessity, show how the pre-Islamic Arabic ode, as modified in later Arabic poetry, and brought to India via Persia, was adopted and adapted to the new environment. Unfortunately, it is hard to find an account of the Urdu *ḳaṣīda* form which is full and explicit without being discursive or biassed. In some accounts, the pre-Islamic ode, as exemplified in the *Muʿallaḳāt*, is over-emphasised, and there is too much reliance on Ibn Ḳutayba and Ibn Rashīḳ. What is lacking is a definitive comparison of the Persian and Urdu *ḳaṣīdas*. Though most Urdu eulogists were not unfamiliar with Arabic poetry, its chief influence on them was in vocabulary. Occasional mention of Arabic *ḳaṣīda*-writers, such as Dhawḳ's reference to Labīd, al-Aʿshā, Djarīr and al-Maʿarrī, must be regarded chiefly as "name-dropping" designed to impress the hearer, rather than an indication of indebtedness. It may be that al-Būṣīrī's *Ḳaṣīdat al-burda*, which was translated into Dakkanī Urdu by Muḥammad b. Riḍā, around the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, influenced the religious *ḳaṣīda*; and Kaʿb b. Zuhayr's celebrated ode in praise of the Prophet, *Bānat Suʿād*, was at times mentioned by poets and critics to justify the inclusion of an explicitly erotic prelude in *naʿt* odes. But the *ḳaṣīda* which came into Urdu poetry via Persian is as much akin to that of ʿAbbāsid poets such as al-Mutanabbī, al-Buḥturī and Abū Tammām, as to the pre-Islamic ode.

The form of the Urdu *madīḥ* ode was fully developed by the middle of the 18th century, if not earlier. Like its Arabic and Persian counterparts, it was a monorhyme poem, usually in weighty metre, with elevated and rich diction, of roughly between 30 and 150 verses. The two hemistiches of the first verse, called the *maṭlaʿ*, also rhymed: and if the *ḳaṣīda* were long, there might be one or more subsequent verses with this internal rhyme at irregular intervals in the poem, known as *maṭlaʿ thanī*, *maṭlaʿ thālith* and so on, more than four in all being rare. As is often the case in Persian and Urdu poetry, the rhyme (*ḳāfiya wa-radīf*) was often rich and difficult, and the poet's ability to sustain it was regarded as a proof of his skill.

There were four main sections to the *ḳaṣīda*. The first was the *tamhīd* or prelude, usually called *tashbīb*, a throw-back to the erotic prelude or *nasīb* of the Arabic ode. The opening verse (*maṭlaʿ*) however, was considered so important in attracting the hearer's interest, that it is often discussed as if it were a separate section, not merely the start of the *tashbīb*. The erotic theme was seldom used, and was often frowned on unless it were chaste. A wide range of other topics was substituted, whether singly or in combination. Pride of place was given to the description of spring, an ode with such a *tashbīb* being called a *ḳaṣīda bahāriyya*. This topic was considered particularly suitable, as suggesting youth and vitality, which were regarded as implicit in the term *tashbīb*, and flattering to the *mamdūḥ* or subject of the poem. Moreover, this topic allowed for description of natural scenes, gardens, flowers and birds, which was part of the poet's stock-in-trade.

This theme might be extended by a comparison

between spring and autumn. Further, the two might be depicted as kings or generals marshalling their armies to fight another, spring, of course, being the victor. Like practically all *tashbīb* topics in Urdu, this extension of the spring motif goes back to Sawdā (1717-81), who is generally regarded as both the pioneer and the finest exponent of the full *ḳaṣīda* form in Urdu. Amīr Mīnā'ī (1828-1900) developed this theme further in one ode, by a vivid description of the actual battle. But, according to Saḥar, (*op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 229), this had already been done in Persian.

Again, the *tashbīb* might be devoted to the days of youth, or complaints of the times in which the poet lived, or of his own misfortunes. *Fakhr* ("pride, boasting"), philosophising and moralising were other topics. As the basic form of the *ḳaṣīda* was stereotyped, poets were always searching for fresh ways of composing the *tashbīb*: for it must be borne in mind that the *madīḥ* ode was frequently recited to the patron in public, in the presence of other poets and men of taste and learning. The poet's reputation and his reward were at stake.

One interesting device was to turn the *tashbīb* into a disputation or *munāẓara*. In Persian, Asadī-yi Ṭūsī the Elder is said to have initiated this device, with *munāẓarāt* between night and day, and heaven and earth among others. In Urdu, Sawdā has one between greed and reason, whilst Amīr Mīnā'ī pairs knowledge and imagination, and comb and mirror. Into this category should go the *mukālama* (colloquy) favoured by ʿAzīz Lakhnawī (1882-1935), as, for example, one between beauty and love (*ḥusn wa-ʿishḳ*).

Occasionally the *tashbīb* consisted of an anecdote, possibly with dialogue, and somewhat dramatic. When intimate in tone and straightforward in language, it could form a charming contrast with the high-flown praise section which was to follow. A fine example of this is Sawdā's eulogy of Āṣaf al-Dawla Rustam Djang, chief minister of the Mughal emperor, with the rhyme *-ām* (*Kulliyyāt* 293 f.). The poet begins by relating how, prevented from sleeping or eating by the *djinns*, he consults Doctor ʿAḳl, who prescribes blood-letting and a purgative. The poet objects that the tax-collector had drained all his blood, while purgatives are for the over-eater, whereas he has been fasting for Ramaḍān. Can the Doctor prescribe a more effective treatment? What that is, we shall see, when discussing the second section of the *ḳaṣīda* (see below).

Two devices deserve mention which could be used effectively in the *tashbīb*, without necessarily being independent topics. One was the personification of abstract ideas or inanimate objects. This certainly goes back to Persian poetry, a famous example being Manūčihrī's "Candle ode". It could feature in the *munaẓāra* topic already mentioned. The other was *sar-ā-pā nigārī* ("head to foot description"). A human being might be described—perhaps the poet's beloved in an erotic *tashbīb*. But the most effective examples are descriptions of a houri or peri, often seen by the poet in a dream, or while lying awake in bed. Inshā' (1756-1817) commences an ode to Prince Sulaymān Shikōh (*Kalām*, 206), by describing himself as tossing and turning in bed one morning, unable to sleep because of the spring wind. He sees a beautiful peri by the bed, and gives a detailed description of her. His contemporary Muṣḥafī (1756?-1826) has an ode with the same rhyme, also containing a description of a peri. Amīr Mīnā'ī describes a profligate peri in an ode to Nawwāb Kalb ʿAlī Khān; he not only uses the same rhyme, but also refers back to Inshā' and Muṣḥafī in half-quotations.

The *tashbīb* was regarded as an important pointer to the poet's merit: yet to many critics, the second section was the acid test. It was usually called *gurēz* (Persian "deviation, flight"), but the Arabic terms *makhlaṣ*, *talkhīṣ*, and even *takhalluṣ* are given as alternatives. Though very short—sometimes a single verse, and seldom more than four, it was crucial: for it was the link between two apparently unconnected sections, the *tashbīb* and the actual praise. Unless the *gurēz* were skilfully constructed, the *ḳaṣīda* would lose its unity. Many felicitous examples could be quoted from the leading poets, but one must suffice. We left the ode by Sawdā with the poet asking for an alternative prescription for his illness. In the succeeding *gurēz*, the Doctor, in two verses, suggests that Sawdā take his complaint to the court of him (that is, Āṣaf al-Dawla) under whose protection the weak ant may be revenged on the elephant. Hearing this, and taking his *ḳaṣīda* as a present, the poet attends at court. This *gurēz* of only three verses leads to the praise, which is almost an ode within an ode.

The third section was called *madḥ* or *mamdūḥ*, and it was the most conventional. The qualities described had to be appropriate to the status of the *mamdūḥ*. Thus a ruler or *wazīr* was praised for his justice, manliness, nobility, virtue, fear of God, generosity and clemency. To men of religion, other qualities were appropriate—learning, asceticism, attendance to religious duties. But the distinction tended to be blurred when the *ḳaṣīda* developed in north India. Thus Khāliḳ Andjumān (*op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 261 f.) remarks that Sawdā hardly distinguishes between secular and religious subjects in this respect. In addition to the personal qualities of the *mamdūḥ*, the poet could refer to his environment and associations, and the trappings of power and wealth. In praising a ruler, his sword, horse and elephant might be described. According to Hāshimī (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 107), this was not so in the Deccan—though it must be pointed out that Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh certainly refers to Imām ʿAlī's sword Dhu 'l-Fiḳār, and Walī Dakkanī (1667-1707) to the mule Duldul given to ʿAlī by the Prophet. With Sawdā, sword, horse and elephant were described fairly briefly. But some later poets such as Dāgh of Dihlī (1831-1905) somewhat extended these descriptions, and turned them into separate sections, with headings such as *dar ṣifat-i asp* and *dar taʿrīf-i-pīl*. A lesser 19th century poet, Kalaḳ, of Meerut (1832 or 1833-1879), includes such sections, admittedly shorter than Dāgh's, in odes to fairly undistinguished recipients. To the present writer, this clear division of the *ḳaṣīda* into sections other than the four main ones was a continuing tendency which started before Sawdā. The latter interpolates a *ghazal* in one *ḳaṣīda*, but Walī had already done this. Unlike Sawdā, however, he did not have several *maṭlaʿ*s in one ode.

Thus the content of the *madḥ* section was restricted. Nor could the poet escape by making it brief, as courtesy required that the *tashbīb* must not be longer than the *madḥ*—so if the latter were curtailed, so must the former be. Hence the mode of expression was all-important in the *madḥ* section. This was dependent on a rich and pompous diction, similes, metaphors, and all the apparatus of *ṣanā'iʿ wa-badā'iʿ*, with considerable play on words. Some of this was derived from Persian, but in any case, after Sawdā it rapidly became cliché-ridden. To give but one

example, a ruler or minister was often compared with Solomon. Sawdā expresses this neatly in the eulogy of Āṣaf al-Dawla already mentioned:

> *Kuchh kam nahīn djihān mēn Sulaymān sēn tērādjāh Gū alsina pah Āṣaf-i-Dawla hay tērā nām.* ("Your splendour in the world is no less than Solomon('s), Although on (people's) tongues your name is Āṣaf-i Dawla") (*Kulliyyāt*, 295).

This verse loses part of its effect, unless one knows that, in Muslim lore Āṣaf [b. Barakhyā] [*q.v.*] was Solomon's Grand Vizier. Exaggeration in praise was taken for granted, though some 19th century poets such as Ghālib (1797-1869) disliked it. Shiblī Nu'mānī, in his celebrated study of Persian poetry, *Shi'r al-'Adjam* (1908-18) (v, 21-6) tried to lay down conditions for acceptable panegyric. Firstly, the person praised must be praiseworthy; secondly, the qualities commended in him must be genuine: thirdly, the poet must describe them convincingly. Shiblī admitted that all these three conditions were never fulfilled by any Persian poet, and went on to commend the sincerity of Arabic *madīḥ*, in a way which would strike many Arabists as idealistic, if not naïve. At the same time, Shiblī denied that the *ḳaṣīda* caused subservience in the poet and egotism in his patron, since both realised that what was said was "pure exaggeration and word-play". Shiblī was not speaking of Urdu *madīḥ*, but what he says of Persian could equally apply, and is often quoted by modern Urdu critics. Dhawḳ (1789-1854) is generally regarded as second only to Sawdā as a eulogist, yet he exaggerated like other poets, calling the Mughal Emperor Akbar Shāh II "shadow of God and deputy of the Prophet of God". This poet's biographer, Tanwīr Aḥmad 'Alawī (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 249-51), quoting this and other examples, justifies them by saying: "the person praised seems to be not an individual, but a symbol of his time. In this sense, Dhawḳ's praise is very near to reality and realism."

The final section of the *ḳaṣīda* was called the *khātima*: and the term *maḳṭa'* might be applied to it as a whole, or merely to the last verse or two —since an impressive ending to an ode was considered as important as an impressive beginning. In contrast to Persian practice, except with 'Urfī, the Urdu eulogist usually gave his *takhalluṣ*. This would normally be somewhere in the *khātima*, though there are instances where it is given earlier, alternatively or additionally. Sawdā makes his *takhalluṣ* the first word of his eulogy of Āṣaf al-Dawla already quoted, and gives it again in the *khātima*. Nor is this the only *ḳaṣīda* in which he gives his *takhalluṣ* in the first verse. The secular's ode's *khātima* has two sub-sections, *ḥusn-i ṭalab* and *du'ā'*. The former is the poet's request for recompense, for which critics laid down various conditions. Summarised, they require the poet to steer a middle course between perfunctoriness and importunity—between taking the patron's generosity for granted and implying that he was mean. Some poets disliked begging: Dhawḳ, in his extant odes, avoids it, sometimes substituting the expression of his inability to praise his patron adequately. Sawdā also often avoided begging. *Du'ā'* ("prayer, blessing") was the expression of the poet's wishes for long life and prosperity for his patron. In the religious *ḳaṣīda* the *khātima* was somewhat different. The poet might express his own faith, and ask for a blessing to maintain it: and he might pray for the triumph of Islam, with suitable variations where the *mamdūḥ* was a Shī'ī *imām*. Here Sawdā was often felicitous, a good example being the *manḳabat* to *Imām* 'Alī with the rhyme *-ār* (*Kulliyyāt*, 243-7), which ends with the four requests, the last being that all "friends in both the two worlds may recognise the authenticity of the pure *imāms*".

Some indication of the style expected in the *ḳaṣīda*, has already been given. It was regarded as a linguistic and stylistic *tour de force*, and occupied a position in Urdu literature comparable to that of the *maḳāma* in Arabic. The poet was allowed to go to extreme limits of abstruseness to demonstrate his skill and learning, using in some instances scientific technical terminology. Thus Inshā' used much philosophical vocabulary. *Taḍmīn*—the interpolation of extraneous material—was common. This often took the form of quoting from some other poet, Persian or Urdu. Another type, particularly suitable to the Indian environment, with its numerous languages, was for the poet to introduce hemistiches or verses in several languages. Every poet was expected to know Persian and Arabic, and he would normally know one or more of the other literary languages of the subcontinent. Inshā' was addicted to this sort of virtuosity, and is said to have incorporated material from ten or more languages apart from Urdu. Dhawḳ was rewarded with the title of *Khaḳānī-yi Hind* by the Mughal emperor for a *ḳaṣīda* in seven languages, of which only a few lines have survived.

Thousands of eulogy poems must have been written in India over a period of 400 years, but comparatively few have survived, and of these a disproportionate number are of the religious type. Various reasons may be given for this. Early Urdu poetry, in both the Deccan and North India, seems to show a preference for the *mathnawī*. From the mid-18th century onwards, *ghazal* dominated the poetic scene, and did not have a serious rival apart from the Shī'ī *marthiya* perfected by Anīs and Dabīr in the second and third quarters of the 19th century. Many poets wrote *ḳaṣīdas*, but for an overwhelming number, *ghazal* was their forte. The only absolute exception is Sawdā, whose *ḳaṣīdas* have been almost universally considered superior to his *ghazals*- -though some would argue that his satirical odes surpass even his eulogy. Of later poets, Dhawḳ and Amīr are credited with equal skill in *madīḥ* and *ghazal*. Moreover, when a poet's works were collected, first in manuscript, and later in print, they were largely limited to *ghazals*, and few *ḳaṣīdas*, if any, were included. As was often the case in Persia, *ḳaṣīdas* tended to be copied separately, and were liable to be lost. It was not unusual for a *ḳaṣīda* to be copied in abridged form. This might be understandable where the purpose was to omit *taḍmīn* passages in other languages. But it is difficult to see why two *manḳabat* odes by Ghālib should be thus abridged (see Mihr, *Dīwān-i Ghālib*, 294-6, 296-8). At the same time, it seems clear that the writing of eulogies for gain was often looked down on by poets, critics, and people at large. In any case, the *ḳaṣīda* was very much a poème d'occasion and was liable to lose its appeal with the passage of time. Whatever the cause, the odes of hundreds of minor poets seem to have disappeared, whilst some by acknowledge masters of the form are missing. Dhawḳ was court poet in Dihlī for fifty years, and must have composed 200 odes or more in the course of his official duties: yet only about 30 are extant. Some of Amīr's eulogies are known to have been lost, among them those in his first *dīwān*, which was destroyed in the Indian Mutiny. Only 28 of his *ḳaṣīdas* have survived.

Nevertheless, the ability to write a good *ḳaṣīda* was often said to be a hall-mark of poetic skill.

Ghālib once said: "Whoever cannot write an ode should not be accounted a poet". Thus it has been argued (Tanwīr Aḥmad ʿAlawī, *op. cit.*, 225) that Inshāʾ wrote odes, and gave of his best in them, in order to complete his art.

Only a few brief remarks will be made here on the history of *madīḥ* in Urdu. Further information can be obtained from the works mentioned in the *Bibliography*. It is convenient to speak of three stages based on geography, and obviously overlapping —the Deccan, Dihlī and Lucknow. Very little is known about the Dakkanī *ḳaṣīda*. But in general it was short and simple, as can be seen from the printed odes of Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, Sultan of Golkondā [see ḲUṬB-SHĀHĪ]. They are all religious, and seldom of more than 40 verses, sometimes of under 20. There is little indication of the four sections of the later *ḳaṣīda*. True, of about 50 poems which come under the heading of *madīḥ* (*Kulliyyāt*, i, 1-46, iii, 3-39), one (iii, 38-9) is a fragment of 16 verses entitled *Ek ḳaṣīda-yi manḳabat-kī tashbīb kē čand ashʿār*. It is beautifully written, and begins:

> In the black sea of night the golden skiff sank,
> As it sank, a hundred thousand bubbles rose.

But even if it is by Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, there is nothing to show that it is really the *tashbīb* of a *ḳaṣīda*, and this seems unlikely. From the metrical standpoint, it is interesting to note that in a few of his *ḳaṣīdas*, he divides the hemistiches into two, with internal rhyme, thus producing something like an amalgam of *ḳaṣīda* monorhyme and *rubāʿiyyāt*. Walī Dakkanī is considered the father of Urdu poetry, and he visited Dihlī at least once. He was primarily a Ṣūfī *ghazal* writer, and never composed poetry for gain. However, he wrote eight religious eulogies—six *ḳaṣīdas* and two *tardjīʿ-bands*. All the *ḳaṣīdas* are of modest length, save a composite one of 121 verses which is devoted successively to the praise of God, the Prophet, the *Imāms* ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, followed by exhortation (*mawʿiẓat*), a *ghazal* on the love of God and a *khātima*. Of Walī's *ḳaṣīdas*, only two, to Muslim saints, show clear signs of conformity with the four-section form described earlier. They are addressed to Ḥaḍrat Mīrān Muḥyī 'l-Dīn (*Kulliyyāt*, 367-71) and Shāh Wadjīh al-Dīn (*ibid.*, 371-6). It should be noted that in both he mentions Persian eulogists—Khāḳānī and Anwarī in the former, and ʿUrfī in the latter, as if to put himself on a level with them.

Whether or not Walī was the link between the Dakkanī and Dihlī *ghazal*, there seems no question of any link so far as the *ḳaṣīda* is concerned. For not only does internal evidence suggest that his *madīḥ* poems were composed before he visited Dilhī, but there is a hiatus until the mid-18th century, before the *ḳaṣīda* emerged in Dihlī. Critics explain it in various ways, none fully convincing. Either practically no eulogies were composed, or such as were composed were short, weak and formless—or again, the Urdu language had not developed sufficiently to provide the right poetic diction. Sawdā is variously described as having originated, reformed or perfected the *ḳaṣīda*. At any rate, until examples of the eulogy ode composed by other poets during the period 1700-40 come to light, we must acquiesce with those who state that Sawdā followed Persian, rather than Urdu, models. And there is no denying that he was, and remains, the leading Urdu *madīḥ* poet. His *tamhīd* is varied in theme and manner, his gurēz neat, and his *madḥ* cleverly expressed. Succeeding poets imitated him, but seldom equalled him and never surpassed him. Variety and freshness are the keynote of his odes, and they are rarely of extreme length: of the 38 *ḳaṣīdas* in the Nawal Kashōr edition of his *kulliyyāt*, only seven have more than 70 verses, and of these only five more than a hundred. The language is rich, drawing freely onPersian and Arabic. His contemporary Mīr [Taḳī Mīr] (1722-1810) wrote a good deal of eulogy poetry, mostly religious. There are only seven *ḳaṣīdas*; the rest consists of *mukhammas*, *musaddas*, *tardjīʿ-band*, and *mathnawī*. Mīr was a prolific *ghazal* writer; but his pessimistic temperament was unsuited to eulogy.

In the latter part of the 18th century, Inshāʾ was a leading *ḳaṣīda* writer. As we have seen, he was a virtuoso of languages, but he did not reach the top flight in any poetic form. His longest ode, of 170 verses, is in praise of King George III of England. During the same period, Muṣḥafī wrote over 60 *ḳaṣīdas*. He was definitely influenced by Sawdā, and resembled him in the variety of his *tashbīb* topics. But though he has a persuasive protagonist in Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, he is not favoured by critics in general. He was the first famous eulogist of the Lucknow school. But, owing to political upheavels in Dihlī, due to Afghān and Marāṭhā incursions, many Dihlī poets gravitated to Lucknow, including Sawdā himself at the age of 60.

Still, Dihlī had its distinguished eulogists in the first half of the 19th century. Pride of place goes to Dhawḳ [*q.v.*], considered second only to Sawdā. Much of his *madīḥ* poetry is lost. Of what remains—22 *ḳaṣīdas*, a *mukhammas*, and a few shorter poems and extracts—all is secular save a few fragments. The general scope of his eulogy poetry is narrower than that of Sawdā. For example, it is nearly all addressed to the Emperor Akbar Shāh II and to his son Bahādur Shāh II. While his *tashbīb* does not show Sawdā's range, nor his ability to appeal by directness at times, he is by no means stereotyped. One *tashbīb*, for example, is a delightful description of happiness. Dhawḳ was a learned man, whose hobbies were astrology, music and medicine, and his language is both rich and dignified. His contemporary Ghālib [*q.v.*] (1797-1869), often considered the prince of Urdu poets, is not generally included among the leading eulogists, and he was too proud to indulge in *madīḥ*, except when absolutely necessary. S. F. Mahmud (*Ghalib*, 200-4) quotes and commends the *tashbībs* of two early *manḳabat* odes to *Imām* ʿAlī; and the originality and individuality present in his *ghazal* is found also in his *madīḥ*. Yet another contemporary, Muʾmin (1800-54) excelled in *ghazal*, but also wrote nine *ḳaṣīdas*, only two of them secular. He has been praised by Brēlwī for his originality in the form. Finally, in discussing the Dihlī school, Dāgh [*q.v.*] (1831-1905) deserves mention. His Urdu *dīwān* contains six odes, all secular. Five of them are addressed to the Niẓām of Hyderabad, at whose court he spent the last 19 years of his life. Mention has already been made of his inclusion of sections on horse and elephant.

Madīḥ thrived at the court of the Nawwābs of Oudh [see AWADH] until 1856, when the British exiled Nawwāb Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh to Calcutta and the court of Rāmpūr took its place. Two types, or, more properly, two tendencies, have been mentioned by critics—the more forceful and dignified based on Sawdā and the Dihlī school; and a softer type, influenced by *ghazal*, and by the licentious Lucknow atmosphere. Most of the poets of the Lucknow school of eulogists are now forgotten. Not so, however,

Amīr Mīnā'ī. It is sometimes said that the Urdu *ḳaṣīda* began with Sawdā and ended with Dhawḳ; but it would be truer to say that it ended—or nearly ended—with Amīr. This poet was a man of considerable scholarship, compiler of the first two volumes of an Urdu dictionary which, if completed, would have been on a very large scale. His mastery of words stood him in good stead in his *madīḥ* odes, of which only 28 have survived. Of the two Lucknow types, they are more akin to that based on the Dihlī school. Most of them are secular, and have a dignity bordering on the epic, especially in the varied *tashbībs*. His language is at times heavy; but in general, it is less intricate than Dhawḳ's, and superior in beauty and freshness. He spent 43 years as court poet in Rāmpūr. In 1900, he was invited to join Dāgh in Hyderabad, but died there shortly after his arrival.

By this time, the *madḥiyya ḳaṣīda* was becoming obsolete. After the Indian Mutiny, India came under British control, and those splendid courts which had nurtured eulogy poetry were a thing of the past; though some rulers of the "native states" patronised poetry, it was not on the same scale. Poets increasingly introduced their new poems to the public in *mushā'aras* [*q.v.*], newspapers and magazines, or at meetings of cultural and learned societies. A new attitude to poetry developed, fostered by the 'Alīgaṛh Movement, with the call for "natural poetry". Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī [see ḤĀLĪ] attacked the traditional *ḳaṣīda* in his *Muḳaddima-yi shi'r-ō-shā'irī*, published in 1893. The virtues described in eulogy poetry, he said, were mostly imaginary; in fact, they were often the very opposite of the *mamdūḥ*'s qualities. If he were an ignoramus, he would be praised for his knowledge; if he were a tyrant, for his justice and impartiality; if he were an idiot, for his sagacity (*op. cit.*, 82). Taking the Arabic poet as his ideal, Ḥālī castigated lying and exaggeration in eulogy (*ibid.*, 93 f.). The poet, he said, had an important function to perform: by bringing to light virtues and vices, he should encourage reform. In fact, Ḥālī was proposing a role for the Urdu poet not unlike that played by Aḥmad Shawḳī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm in Egypt not long afterwards.

In the 20th century, a few Urdu poets continued to write *ḳaṣīdas*. For example, Aḥsan Mārahrawī (1876-1940) wrote one in *tarkīb-band* for King George V's coronation in 1911. 'Azīz Lakhnawī gained something of a reputation for his eulogies, all directed to the Prophet and his family. But in India and Pakistan today, the *madīḥ ḳaṣīda*, whether religious, or in praise of public figures, is found chiefly in magazines and newspapers.

Yet the *ḳaṣīda* was not merely a useless and regrettable by-way of Urdu literary history. At its best, it had a sort of Baroque brilliance. Its style, even when the *tashbīb* was devoted to *taghazzul*, differred from that of *ghazal*. It had a strength and dignity which, derived in part from the early narrative *mathnawī*, in its turn influenced the 19th century *marthiya*. Its rich vocabulary and idiom influenced not only other poetry, however, but also prose. Without the *ḳaṣīda*, it could be argued, *Urdū-ē-mu'allā*—high literary Urdu—would have been much the poorer.

Bibliography: General accounts of *ḳaṣīda* form will be found in 'Abd al-Salām Nadwī, *Shi'r al-Hind*, A'ẓamābād n.d., ii, 324-46; Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, *Lakhnāo kā dabistān-i shā'irī*, Lahore 1955, 266-71; Muḥammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*. Karachi-Lahore-Dacca 1964, 30-2, gives a rather oversimplified account. Most of the critical studies of individual poets and editions of their works given below give some information on the form. For a historical account, see Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Dja'frī, *Ta'rīkh-i ḳaṣā'id-i-Urdū*, Allāhābād n.d. For adverse criticism of Urdu *madīḥ*, see Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī, *Muḳaddima-yi-shi'r-ō-shā'iri*, Sartādj Publishing Company, Lahore n.d. 81-3. General criticism of the Persian *ḳaṣīda* often applied to Urdu will be found in Shiblī Nu'mānī, *Shi'r al-'Adjam*, Lahore 1924, v, 1-28, especially 20 ff. The following works are recommended for particular poets: Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, *Kulliyyāt*, ed. Sayyid Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ḳādir Zōr, Hyderabad, Deccan 1359/1940; *Kulliyyāt Walī*, ed. Djanāb 'Alī Aḥsan, Awrangābād 1927, introd. 62-70, text, 338-76; Shaykh Čānd, *Sawdā*, Hyderabad, Deccan n.d., 118-120, 180-215; Khāliḳ Andjumān, *Mirzā Muḥammad Rafī' Sawdā*, 'Alīgaṛh 1966, 241-70; *Kulliyyāt Sawdā*, Nawal Kashōr Press, Lucknow 1932, i, 219-327; *Kulliyyāt Mīr*, ed. 'Ibādat Brēlwī, Karachi-Lahore 1958, 960-1060, 1183-1200, 1344-66, 1387-96, 1432-38; *Kalām-i-Inshā'*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Askarī, Allāhābād 1952, 289-331; Tanwīr Aḥmad 'Alawī, *Dhawḳ—sawāniḥ awr tanḳīd*, Lahore 1963, 214-71; Rāḥat Afzā Bukhārī with Nādira Zaydī, "Shaykh Ibrāhīm Dhawḳ" = Ch. v (b) of *Ta'rīkh-i-Musulmānān-i-Pākistān-ō-Hind*, viii, Lahore 1971, 157-61; *Dīwān-i-Dhawḳ*, ed. K. M. Sardār Khān, Lahore n.d.; for Muṣḥafī, Ṣiddīḳī, *op. cit.*, 266-83; Sayyid Fayyaz Mahmud, *Ghalib—a critical introduction*, Lahore 1972, 121-2, 200-4; *Dīwān-i Ghālib*, ed. Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, Lahore 1967, 294-350; 'Ibādat Brēlwī, *Mu'min awr muṭāla'a-yi-Mu'min*, Lahore-Karachi 1961, 256-64; *Kulliyyāt-i-Mu'min*, ed. Brēlwī, Lahore-Karachi 1955, 179-232; Dāgh, *Urdū Dīwān*, ed. Sibṭ al-Ḥasan, Lahore 1962, 506-57; Abū Muḥammad Saḥar, *Muṭāla'a-yi-Amīr*, Lucknow 1965, 219-59; *Dīwān-i-Amīr ma'rūf ba-ism-i-ta'rīkhī "Mir'āt al-ghayb"*, Lucknow 1922, 2-40, 335-44; Ḳalaḳ, *Kulliyyāt*, ed. Kalb 'Alī Khān Fā'iḳ, Lahore 1966, 458-551. 'Abd al-Waḥīd, *Djadīd shu'arā'-i-Urdū*, Lahore 1954, gives short accounts of Aḥsan Mārahrawī and 'Azīz Lakhnawī, with examples of their *ḳaṣīdas* (330-6, 419-32). Ṣiddīḳī gives further information about the odes of 'Azīz Lakhnawī (*op. cit.*, 796-803). Muḥammad Sadiq (*op. cit.*) and Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allāhābād 1927, refer to various poets mentioned in this article, but neither gives much information about their *madīḥ* poetry. Naṣīr al-Dīn Hāshimī, *Dakkan mēn Urdū*, Lucknow 1963, makes a few brief references to the Dakkanī *ḳaṣīdas*, for example, Ghawwāṣī, 107, and Muḥammad b. Riḍā, 371 f. For further accounts of the poets mentioned above, see the various articles in the *Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam* being published by the University of the Punjab, Lahore.

(J. A. Haywood)

5. In Swahili

Praise poetry is an important category in the literatures of several Bantu peoples, such as the Zulu, Swazi, Tswana, Rwanda, etc. It is a general aspect of African oral traditions which has survived Islamisation in the literatures of the Somali and Hausa. In Swahili, some of the oldest preserved manuscripts contain praise poems, in the first place the famous Ode of Liongo in self-praise. Praising oneself (Swah. *kujigamba, kujivuna*) is a common aspect

of many African oral traditions, and this includes extolling one's ancestors, commemorating their exploits as well as one's own. Liongo's Ode is composed in the *ukawafi* metre of 15 syllables in the line. Cf. v. 6.: "I am a young lion! I have instilled the wish to die in my heart! I fear only the disgrace when the enemy sees my back." The lines are arranged in couplets of two lines, the last line rhyming in *-ma* throughout the poem; this is the oldest-preserved type of metre other than dance songs. It may have been composed before 1600. A later poet added three lines to every couplet, making it a *tahamisa* (*takhmīs* [*q.v.*]). This structure became the model for later poets who were Muslims (unlike Liongo) and who composed hymns to the Prophet Muḥammad in this metre.

In Swahili, the word *kasida* normally refers to a poem praising the Prophet. The oldest *kasida* is dated 1062/1652, the first dated poem in the Swahili language. It is a translation of the *Hamziyya* by al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; without the Arabic text, the Swahili could not be deciphered. The second surviving *kasida* is the famous scroll now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It begins, like Liongo's self-praise, with the word *wajiwaji*, perhaps not originally so pronounced, which has since then become the term for a *kasida* or *waʿaḍ* (Swah. *waadhi*, perhaps owing to the similar shape). A special kind of *kasida* is the *maulidi* [see MAWLID]. Two well-known Arabic *ḳaṣīda*s are the two *Burda* odes, both of which have been translated into Swahili; in particular, the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī and the *Hamziyya* are still recited during Swahili ceremonies.

The Swahili word *madaha* is normally limited in meaning to the praises of God, many of which are nowadays sung in the mosques, for which reason they are simply referred to as *dua*. Numerous are the *dua* that have been composed in Swahili, some in the *ukawafi* metre, many in the easier but equally serious *utenzi* metre. Swahili verbs like *sabihi* and *himidi* refer exclusively to the praises of God.

The verb *sifu* or older *swifu* corresponds with the noun *ṣifa*, which can mean "quality, description" as well as "praise name", as in *Kulla swifa njema ndake Nabiya* "All worthy praise names are for the Prophet", the first line of the *Mawlid* of Barzanji. *Swifa* is used likewise for praising living men and women (for the praises of the dead, see MARTHIYA); these praise poems fall into two categories, those for religious leaders, such as *walī*s and *sharīf*s and those for political leaders. Lamu is the centre for the poetry in praise of religious leaders such as the Egyptian Aḥmad al-Badawī and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.vv.*], as well as the founding *Sharīf*s of the mosque at Lamu. This poetry is published in Lamu and Mambrui in Arabic script.

Inserted in the Swahili epic songs there are many praise poems; one of the oldest is ʿAlī's praise of himself in the *Utenzi wa Herekali* (Heraclius) which is itself traditional: "I am the lion of God. He has given me the sword Dhu 'l-Fiḳār. He made me the Breaker of Cities, His tool to punish the Kāfirs. "The Prophet praises himself in the same epic in the letter to the Emperor Heraclius, and there are several passages in which he is praised by others, as "the first-created seal of the prophets, God's favorites". Other heroes, like ʿUmar and Miḳdād, also praise themselves and are praised in the epic.

The Swahili tradition of composing praise songs was put to good use by the German administrators, who encouraged Swahili poets to write praises on the German governors and even on the Kaiser; one successful poet was even sent to Berlin and received by the Kaiser and "richly rewarded", exactly as a Muslim prince ought to have done. The poet's name was Hamisi Auwi, and the refrain of the poem is "Who has the true authority if not the Kaiser?".

The First World War produced some interesting songs, one in praise of General Smuts, who defeated the Germans south of Mombasa, and a new category of political songs, called the Beni dance songs, in which groups of (originally military) dancers praised their own "regiment", and chided rival dance groups, with political allusions.

Since independence, political verse has seen a new prosperity. The preparations for the elections are not complete without songs of praise for the leading candidates and mockery for their opponents. Some of these poems may appear in the press, but since the poet has to be cautious, he will use cryptic language, comprehensible only to the few insiders of the political arena. After the elections, the winning candidate will, of course, be lavishly praised, since there is nothing more praiseworthy than success. President Nyerere is probably the most poetically-praised political leader of East Africa. Thus gradually the Swahili word *madaha* has acquired the meaning of "flattery, eagerness to please", and even "self-complacency, arrogance, pride".

Bibliography: For praise poetry in Zulu, see T. Cope, *Izibongo*; in Ruanda: A. Coupez and Th. Kamanzi, *La littérature de cour au Rwanda*; in Tswana: I. Schapera, *Praise poems of the Tswana chiefs*, all three in the *Oxford Library of African Literature*. On Somali: B. W. Andrzejewski and I. M. Lewis, *Somali poetry*, in the same series; for Hausa, M. Hiskett, *A history of Hausa Islamic verse*, London 1975, 23. For Liongo's Ode, see Knappert, *Four centuries of Swahili verse*, London 1979, 92-4. For the *Hamziya*, see Knappert, *The* Hamziya *deciphered*, in *African Language Studies*, ix (London 1968), 52-81. For the Dublin ms., see idem, *The discovery of a lost Swahili manuscript from the eighteenth century*, in *African Language Studies*, x (1969), 1-30. On the *Burda*, see idem, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden ii, *The two Burdas*. For the *Mawlid*, see *op. cit.*, iii. For metre, see idem, *Swahili metre*, in *African Language Studies*, xii (1971), 108-29. For the *Maulid* of Barzanji, see *Swahili Islamic poetry*, iii, 339 n. For the *Utenzi wa Herekali* and the Emperor Heraclius, see Knappert, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, ch. 3. For the exploits of Miḳdād in Swahili epic, see J. W. T. Allen, *Tendi*, London 1971. For the poetry of the German period, see C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*, Berlin 1907, 343, and J. Knappert, *The antecedents of World War I in Swahili literature*, giving a translation of the poem on Smuts. For an example of "election poetry", see idem, *A survey of Swahili songs*, Toronto, forthcoming. For the Beni dance songs, see idem, *Four centuries of Swahili verse*, 1979, 37-8. When President Nyerere met President Banda of Malawi at Dar es Salaam Airport in 1964, a special song was sung in praise of President Banda. (J. KNAPPERT)

MAʿDIN (A.), "mine, ore, mineral, metal". In modern Arabic, the word *mandjam* denotes "mine", while *muʿaddin* means "miner" and *djamād* is a mineral.

In the vast Islamic empire, minerals played an important part. There was a great need for gold, silver and copper for the minting of coins and other uses. Iron ore was indispensable for the manufacture

of iron and steel for arms and implements. Other minerals such as mercury, salt and alum, as well as pearls and precious stones, were necessary for everyday life. The empire was richly endowed with the various mineral resources; the mining industry was an extensive one and the metals, whether precious or not, were the object of a certain amount of international trade.

The article is divided in the following sections:
1. Economic aspects
2. Mining technology
3. Mineral exploitation in the Ottoman empire
4. In Islamic art

1. Economic Aspects

In the period of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs, the output of the mines in their dominions was apparently sufficient to meet the demands for some of the most important metals. In later periods when the empire was dismembered into various kingdoms one often warring with the other, many of the Islamic countries needed one or several of the metals and had to import them from non-Islamic regions. This was due to the fact that the metalliferous ores were distributed over the Islamic countries very unevenly. Some of them had rich deposits of several metals, others almost none. Certain regions on the eastern fringes of the Islamic world were relatively rich in metals, especially Īlāḳ, Farghāna, Ushrūsana in Central Asia and the mountains near Bāmiyān (eastern Ghūr). Also, Fārs had many mines which were very productive. The same was true for the country on the western frontier of the *dār al-Islām*, namely Spain. Al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āthār*, i, 338) could write that in this Islamic country there were mines of gold, silver, lead and iron in every district. It seems that mining, which had somehow declined in the Visigothic period, was revived and flourished under the rule of the Spanish Umayyads.

In the times of the caliphs, there were still in Arabia a considerable number of mines, from which significant quantities of gold [see DHAHAB] were derived. Egypt had the famous mines of Wādī al-ʿAllāḳī, on the eastern shore of the Nile [see AL-ʿALLĀḲĪ]. There were also gold mines in Ushrūsana and Ilāḳ, near Shāsh and at Harāt. But altogether, the output of gold in the Islamic countries was not sufficient for the regular coinage of gold *dīnārs*, especially after Spain had slipped away from the ʿAbbāsid empire. This is clearly borne out by the slow spread of gold coinage in the eastern countries of the caliphal empire. In fact, the Islamic countries were always dependent upon the supply of gold from the present countries of Senegal and Mali. When they had established their rule over the whole of North Africa and with this, the northern terminals of the commercial routes which were the outlets for the trade with these gold-producing regions, the mints of ʿIrāḳ and Persia could be supplied with sufficient stocks of gold. *Dīnārs* began to be struck in Marw in 842, in Rayy in 849, in Samarḳand in 861 and in Ādharbāydjān in 885. The success of the Fāṭimids in gaining control over the former ʿAbbāsid province of Egypt was undoubtedly to a very great extent due to their riches in West African gold.

On the other hand, there were in the caliphal empire rich silver [see FIḌḌA] or argentiferous lead mines which made it possible regularly to strike silver *dirhams*. Most of them were in the countries then contained in the extensive province of Khurāsān. The most renowned were those of Pandjhīr, not far from the eastern sources of the Kābul river, and in Djārbyā, in the same district. Others were in Andarāb, to the east of Balkh, in the neighbourhood of Ṭūs, and in Farghāna. The province of Fārs also had silver mines. In the flourishing period of the ʿAbbāsids, in the 9th century, the output of all these mines must have been considerable, as the gold-silver ratio changed, silver becoming cheaper, although the quantities of gold increased. Spain, too, was rich in argentiferous ore. It was exploited in the districts of Murcia, Alhama, Cordova and Beja (in the present Portugal).

Copper (*nuḥās*) was derived from mines in several provinces of the caliphal empire; in Sardan in the province of Fārs, in some places in Gīlān, Ādharbāydjān, Bukhārā, Ushrūsana, Farghāna; and in the Muslim West, in Igli in the Oued Saoura (in Western Algeria) as well as in Spain. The copper mines in Cyprus were always an important source. However, the accounts of the Arabic authors of that period leave no doubt that the copper production of the empire was not sufficient for the manifold employments of the metal. For copper was needed for the striking of locally-circulating small coins (*fulūs*), the roofing of mosques, the covering of gates of towns and public buildings, but above all, for the thriving industry of fabricating copper utensils, e.g. kettles, receptacles and various other vessels. The big cauldrons of Samarḳand and the copper vessels manufactured in Farghāna and in many towns of Persia were renowned all over the Islamic world. So from early times, copper had to be imported from Europe. In the period preceding the Crusades, when trade between Khʷārazm and Persia, on one hand, and Eastern Europe on the other, was intense, apparently great quantities of copper were imported from the Urals. A report of al-Idrīsī obviously refers to that period.

Metalliferous ores which contained lead (*raṣāṣ*, *usrub*) and tin were not lacking altogether in the caliphal empire. Lead was taken from mines in the neighbourhood of Balkh, at several places of Anatolia, Upper Mesopotamia, al-Madjdjāna (in eastern Algeria) and at Cabra in Andalusia. But the demand for this metal was very great. It was used for aqueducts, for the installation of public and private baths and for the roofing of public buildings. So it is doubtful whether the production was sufficient, and whether additional quantities had not therefore to be imported from non-Islamic regions. This was certainly the case as far as tin (*raṣāṣ ḳalʿī*, *ḳaṣdīr*) was concerned. Tin was found in Spain, in the province of Algarve, and Judaeo-Arabic Geniza letters, dating from the last years of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century, testify to the export of copper, lead and tin from Spain to the Near East. But already in that early period, tin had to be imported both from Cornwall and Devon in Britain and from Malaysia. The name given to tin by the Arabs, viz. *ḳalʿī* [*q.v.*] after Kalah, a well-known port on the peninsula of Malacca, bears witness to this fact.

Iron (*ḥadīd* [*q.v.*]) deposits were insignificant in the Near East, but one could procure sufficient quantities from other provinces of the caliphal empire and neighbouring countries which were tributary to the caliphs and their successors or otherwise dependent upon them. Armenia had mines which produced excellent iron, such as that, for instance, used for the Ḳusāsī swords. On the eastern slopes of the Caucasus, near Darband, there were iron mines which supplied a flourishing industry of weapons with raw material.

The province of al-Mawṣil, Fārs, Khurāsān (near Nīshāpur), Farghāna and Shāsh also had rich iron deposits. Even in Kirmān there were some iron mines. In Spain, iron was taken from mines in the Guadalquivir valley, near Cordova, Toledo and Murcia, and elsewhere. In the Maghrib, about ten iron mining areas were exploited, from Morocco to Libya; iron ore was produced and exported from Sicily, and some mines were worked in Nubia and on the Red Sea coast. The supply was sufficient for the production of various utensils, such as knives, needles, scissors, chains and lances. This industry was highly developed in Khʷārazm, in the major towns of Khurāsān such as Harāt, Nīshāpūr and others and also in al-Mawṣil and in Toledo in Spain.

The term *tūtiyā* (calamine or tutty) was used to denote the natural zinc ores, especially zinc carbonate, or the white zinc oxide which was obtained during the treatment of the ores. The major mines for *tūtiyā* were in the province of Kirmān, but it was available also in various mining areas in Spain.

Mercury (*ziʾbaḳ*) came chiefly from Spain [see AL-MAʿDIN]; another source was Farghāna.

Salt (*milḥ*) was produced in numerous localities and, in some areas, on a very large scale, notably in the southern Sahara [see AZALAY]. Other important salt mines or production centres were in Khurāsān, Arabia and Armenia.

The alum (*shabb*) of Yemen was famous for its quality, but according to al-Idrīsī, the major source was in Chad; it was exported to all the countries of North Africa and to Egypt.

Egypt was further a major production centre for both alum and natron (*naṭrūn* [*q.v.*]).

Among the many other minerals that were known and utilised was asbestos (*ṭalḳ*) from Badakhshān, out of which wicks and fire-resistant cloths were made.

Coal (*faḥm*) was also known and was used in some areas such as Farghāna where it was mined and sold. It was used as a fuel for ovens (*tannūr*, pl. *tanānīr*) and its ashes utilised as a cleaning agent.

Petroleum (*naft* [*q.v.*]) deposits were exploited on a large scale.

Precious stones of various kinds were mined. Arabic works on lapidary such as al-Bīrūnī's *K. al-Djamāhir* are celebrated, and deserve detailed study. Rubies were mined in Badakhshān and were also brought from Ceylon. Diamonds came from Hindustān and Ceylon, agates from Yemen, emeralds from Egypt, turquoises from Nīshāpūr, lapis lazuli from Egypt and onyx from Yemen. Corundum came from Nubia and Ceylon. Rock crystal (*billawr* [*q.v.*]) was mined in Arabia and Badakhshān. Diving for pearls was a flourishing industry, and coral was obtained from the coasts of North Africa and Sicily [see further, DJAWHAR, in Suppl.].

When the empire of the caliphs crumbled, the unevenness of the distribution of metal deposits resulted, of course, in some countries suffering a temporary or permanent lack of important raw materials. Although the countries which had belonged to the empire remained to a great extent an economic unity, exchanging their products and keeping their economic structures, the stopping of the supply of metals which served as raw materials for manufactured goods and bullion for the mints was used as a weapon in the political struggle. Mediaeval statesmen were of course aware that cutting off the gold supply of the enemy's country meant weakening its financial resources and that curbing its supply of iron dealt a blow to the production of arms.

Already in the second half of the 10th century, the supply of the mints of ʿIrāḳ with bullion for the coinage of gold *dīnārs* was deficient, as the mines in the provinces which had remained under the sway of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, or were accessible to them, were poor. The *dīnārs* of the later Būyids of ʿIrāḳ and southwestern Persia were of bad alloy. Even the mines of Wādī al-ʿAllāḳī yielded in that period insignificant quantities of gold. Ibn Saʿīd, writing in the 13th century, reports that the gold derived from these mines was worth no more than the expenses paid for the work. Consequently, Egypt was during the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods wholly dependent upon the supply from West Africa, that is, the gold mines of the countries called by the Arabs Ghāna or Takrūr. This supply rendered possible the regular coinage of gold *dīnārs* of full weight and excellent alloy until the 15th century, when the Portuguese diverted to themselves part of the West African gold. In the year 1425, the *dīnār* of the Mamlūks was devalued for various reasons, one of them probably being the reduced supply of bullion. The coinage of ʿIrāḳ and Persia became from the middle of the 13th century essentially monometallic, as the silver money predominated overwhelmingly.

Even the supply of the Islamic countries with silver was in the later Middle Ages very irregular. In the 11th and 12th centuries there was everywhere a silver famine, so that the striking of silver *dirhams* had to be discontinued. The catalogues of recently-found coin hoards of the Saldjūḳs, like that published by T. Khodjaniyazov (Akhshabad 1979), confirm the supposition of a great silver famine (see also M. A. Seyfeddini, *Monetnoe delo i denežnoe obrashčenie v Azerbaydžane XII.-XV. vv.*, i, Baku 1978). There were several possible reasons for this phenomenon. It may be that the campaigns of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in India and the flow of great quantities of gold from the subcontinent to Afghānistān and to Persia brought about as a concomitant the export of silver to the newly-conquered provinces (this being the opinion of Blake). According to another hypothesis, the silver famine resulted from the loss of enormous amounts of *dirhams*, which were used as payment for the commodities purchased by the Muslim merchants in Russia and were finally hoarded there. Against the latter supposition one can adduce the fact that the silver famine in the Islamic countries began when the trade with Russia had already considerably declined. Perhaps the technological shortcomings of mediaeval mining were a major reason for the silver famine; al-Idrīsī recounts in fact that work on the "Silver Mountain", on the way from Harāt to Sarakhs, had to stop because of technical faults and the lack of wood for melting the ore. But it seems that the shortage of silver was in that period a world-wide phenomenon, which was felt in India too (cf. S. Digby in *BSOAS*, xxxvii, 469). Anyhow, at the end of the 12th and at the beginning of the 13th century, silver coinage revived in ʿIrāḳ, in Syria and in Egypt. Apparently this was made possible by Central Asian silver being brought by the Mongol conquerors, or flowing to the Near East in the wake of their campaigns, when trade between Central Asia and the Levant had been intensified after the establishment of Mongol rule over Persia. This supposition would be enhanced by the fact that a new crisis which happened in Syria and in Egypt in the middle of the 13th century was overcome after a new invasion by the Tatars. From that time onwards, Persia and ʿIrāḳ had a

monetary system based on a silver *dīnār* (of 12.9 gr.). In the early days of Īlkhānid rule, the increase of good silver coins in circulation was a striking feature of monetary development. When Ghāzān Khān again struck gold *dīnārs*, the exchange rate was based on the gold-silver ratio of 12:1. That means that great amounts of silver were available and that it was consequently cheap. The bullion was undoubtedly supplied both by mines in the Middle East and in Central Asia. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, writing in the 1330s, has included in his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* a list of silver mines, most of them in Central Asia. But there were also, according to his account and to other sources, rich mines in Gümüshkhāne, between Amasya and Erzindjān, and in Lūlū in Asia Minor. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa recounts that Syrian and ʿIrāḳī merchants came to Gümüshkhāne, of course, to purchase the white metal. But the quantities of silver recovered from these mines were by no means sufficient for the needs of the mints and the silversmiths of the Near East. Egypt and Syria were in the later Middle Ages supplied with silver both from Central Asia and from Europe. The American chemist A. A. Gordus has elaborated a method of neutron activation which renders it feasible to find out the origin of silver by establishing its gold impurity. By this method, he has found that the bullion used by the Mamlūk mints for striking silver *dirhams* was very diverse, coming both from Central Asia and from the European countries. Another silver famine from which the Near East suffered at the end of the 14th century and at the beginning of the 15th century came to its end some years after the campaigns of Tīmūr. So the supposition that this was due to the renewal of trade with Central Asia and the flow of silver therefrom to the Near East is at least a good working hypothesis. However that may be, the supply of silver to the Near Eastern mints was sufficient throughout the 14th and the 15th centuries, though it slowly diminished. The difference between the gold-silver ratio in that region, at most less than 10:1, against 11:1 or more in Europe, brings it home.

Just as the Persian and Turkish countries were in the later Middle Ages richer in silver, so the supply of copper was much more abundant. In these countries and in some neighbouring ones, there were indeed mines which produced good and abundant copper. Some of them were in Ādharbāydjān, others in Armenia, Syria and Egypt, which urgently lacked copper deposits, had to import it from Europe. The abundant issue of copper coins and the manufacturing of manifold copper vessels would have been impossible if the Venetians and the Genoese had not carried to the Near East heavy shipments of the German, Slovakian and Bosnian copper. The countries of the Maghrib, on the other hand, could supply themselves with copper, produced in the mines of Morocco, such as at Dai and elsewhere. But they had recourse to the import of silver coins from Europe. The Near Eastern countries also lacked lead and tin and were reduced to purchasing these metals from southern European traders, who imported them from Serbia, Bosnia, Germany and England. The Persian countries were supplied with lead from mines in Bukhārā, Ushrūsana and Farghāna.

Even as far as iron was concerned, the resources of the Near Eastern countries were utterly deficient, and they were dependent upon a supply from Europe, where this export trade was stigmatised by the Church as treason against Christianity, and transgressors were threatened by ecclesiastical and secular authorities with severe punishment. Nevertheless the Italian merchants supplied the Muslims with this (and other) "forbidden merchandise", and the republic of Pisa, by a treaty concluded in 1173 with Saladin, formally undertook to sell iron to Egypt.

The newly-emergent Ottoman empire included various metalliferous regions, so that it could provide itself with some of the metals at least which it needed. Great quantities of good copper were hauled from the mines of Ḳasṭamūnī, not far from the shorses of the Black Sea. The output of these mines was so abundant that, in the 15th century, Italian merchants exported great quantities of it to Syria and Egypt. When the Ottomans conquered Bosnia and Serbia, the rich deposits of gold, silver, copper and lead of Novo Brdo, Olovo, Srebrenica and other mines fell to them. Much excellent iron was produced in the mines of Samokov (formerly called Samakov) to the south-east of Sofia. Gold, however, was still imported from the Western Sudan, so that in the 16th century the Turkish gold coins were struck in Cairo, where the precious ore first arrived.

The output of the Central Asian mines had great importance for the economy of the Khānates of Bukhārā and Khīva and other Islamic states of that region from the 17th to the 19th centuries. In Farghāna, gold was collected from the sand of the rivers Mukan and Uzun Nahmad and especially from the rivers in the district of Namanghān. Lead was extracted from mines in Namanghān and Marghīlān, and lead mixed with silver in the district of Andidjān. Farghāna was also rich in silver, and in the 17th century the production was considerable. The production of iron and copper, on the other hand, was both in Farghāna and Khoḳand sufficient for local demand only. In Badakhshān, mining flourished especially in the 17th century, and one mine produced both gold and silver. Bukhārā and Khīva produced gold and silver. Gold was found in the sand of the Zarafshān river and Ḥiṣār river. The mining of silver, copper, lead and iron yielded an abundant output in eastern Bukhārā. The export of gold and silver from the Khānates of Central Asia to Russia had in the middle of the 18th century and also in the 19th century a great volume, as is borne out by the registers of the custom offices of Orenburg and Troitsk. In the years 1748-55, 800 kg of gold and 75.5 tonnes of silver passed through Orenburg, and in 1760 3.6 tonnes of silver. Even to Siberia, the Khānates exported considerable quantities of precious metals.

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(E. Ashtor)

2. Mining technology

1. *Islamic mines*

In the vast Islamic empire, minerals played an important part. There was a great need for gold, silver and copper for the minting of coins and for other uses. Iron ore was necessary for the manufacture of iron and steel for arms and implements. Other minerals such as mercury, salt and alum were indispensable for everyday life. The empire was richly endowed with the various mineral resources, and the mining industry was an extensive one. *Maʿdin* (pl. *maʿādin*) denoted "mine" in Arabic sources, and *muʿaddin* means "miner". In modern Arabic, the word *mandjam* denotes "mine", while *maʿdin* or *maʿdan* is now used mostly for "metal" or "mineral".

Information on Islamic mines occurs in geographical works, in alchemical treatises, in books on mineralogy and in various other sources. But these, and archaeological discoveries, have not yet been searched for the purpose of writing a history of mining technology, although some studies have appeared on the distribution of Islamic mines. We shall mention here only some of the minerals and a few of the mining centres, since it is not possible here to list all the mines.

Gold (*dhahab* [*q.v.*]) mines were found in western Arabia, Egypt, Africa and in some eastern Islamic lands. But the first major gold mining area was at Wādī al-ʿAllāķī, which is a right-bank tributary of the upper Nile. It lay in the Budja country, which was between Ethiopia and Nubia [see BEDJA]. The mines were in a desert area between the Nile and the Red Sea. The nearest towns were Aswān [see al-USWĀN] on the Nile and ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*] on the Red Sea. The second major gold mining area was called by al-Bīrūnī the Maghrib Sūdān. This is the area south of the Sahara in Senegal and on the Upper Niger in Mali. According to al-Idrīsī, Wangāra was the most important gold mining centre on the upper Niger. Salt, cloth and other commodities were exchanged for gold.

Silver (*fiḍḍa* [*q.v.*] was either mined individually or in association with lead ores. The major silver mines were in the eastern Islamic provinces. Prominent among these were the mines of the Hindū Kūsh in the towns of Pandjhīr and Djāriyāna, both in the neighbourhood of Balkh. According to one report, there were about 10,000 miners working at Pandjhīr. Other important silver mines were in Spain, the Maghrib, Iran and Central Asia.

Lead (*usrub*, *raṣāṣ*) was obtained mostly from galena (lead sulphide), which was of very common occurrence. This lead ore is often associated with small quantities of silver. Only two other lead ores have any importance as raw materials. One is cerussite (lead carbonate) and the other, which is of minor importance, is anglesite (lead sulphate). Lead ores, especially galena, were exploited in Spain, Sicily, the Maghrib, Egypt, Iran, Upper Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.

Copper (*nuḥās*) ore deposits were exploited in various areas, including the important mines of Spain in the west, and several deposits in the east, such as those in Sidjistān, Kirmān, Marw, Farghāna, Bukhārā, Ṭūs and Harāt. The copper mines in Cyprus were always an important source.

The word calamine or tutia (Arabic *tūtiya*) was used to denote the natural zinc ores (especially zinc carbonate), or the white zinc oxide which was obtained during the treatment of the ores. The major mines for tutia were in the province of Kirmān in the east. Tutia was available also in various mining areas in Spain.

Tin (*raṣāṣ ķalʿī*, *ķaṣdīr*) came from the Malaysian peninsula, which was known as Kala, hence the name *ķalʿī* for the metal.

Iron and steel were in great demand in the Islamic empire. Hence iron ores were utilised whenever it was feasible. These ores were distributed in most Islamic lands. Five major iron mining areas were utilised in Spain. These included the mines near Toledo, and near Murcia. In the Maghrib, about ten iron mining areas were exploited in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. These included mines in Djabal al-Ḥadīd in the Atlas mountains, the Rīf, Gawr al-Ḥadīd in Algeria, and Madjdjanat al-Maʿdan in Tunisia. Iron ores were produced and exported from Sicily. Iron ore was mined in the Libyan desert and in the Fezzān. Egypt exploited those ores that were available, for example in Nubia and on the Red Sea coast. Syria was famous for its iron and steel metallurgy (Damascus steel), and the iron ores were obtained in the south and in the mountain ranges between Damascus and Beirut. The Islamic countries of the east (al-Mashriķ) were better endowed with iron ores than Egypt, Syria and ʿIrāķ. The province of Fārs had at least four important iron mining centres. There were also iron mines in Khurāsān, in Transoxania, in Ādharbāydjān and in Armenia.

Mercury (*ziʾbaķ*) came chiefly from Spain. Al-Idrīsī mentions the mine to the north of Cordoba, where more than one thousand men worked in the various stages of mining the ores and extracting the mercury. Another source was Farghāna in Transoxania.

Salt (*milḥ*) was produced in numerous localities. It was an essential commodity, and production was undertaken in some areas on a very large scale for export purposes, for example in the Maghrib, where the salt mines were on the desert edges in the south. Salt was produced and carried by caravans south of the Sahara to be exchanged for gold. Thousands of men and camels were involved in these operations. Other important salt mines or production centres were in Khurāsān, Arabia and Armenia.

The alum (*shabb*) of Yemen was famous for its quality, but according to al-Idrīsī, the major source was in Chad. It was exported to Egypt and to all the countries of North Africa. Egypt was also a major production centre for both alum and natron. Among the many other minerals that were known and utilised was asbestos from Badakhshān, from which wicks and fire-resistant cloths were made. Coal was also known and used in some areas such as Farghāna

in Transoxania, where it was mined and sold. It was used as a fuel for ovens (*tanānīr*, sing. *tannūr*), and its ashes were utilised as a cleansing agent. Petroleum deposits were exploited on a large scale [see NAFT].

Precious stones of various kinds were mined. Arabic works on lapidary such as al-Bīrūnī's *al-Djamāhir* are celebrated and deserve detailed study. Rubies were mined in Badakhshān, and they were brought from Sarandīb. Diamonds came from Hindustān and Sarandīb, agate from Yemen, emeralds from Egypt, turquoise from Nīshāpūr, lapis lazuli from Egypt and onyx from Yemen. Corundum came from Nubia and Sarandīb. Crystal was mined in Arabia and Badakhshān. Diving for pearls (*luʾlu* [*q.v.*]) was a flourishing industry, and corals were obtained from the coasts of North Africa and Sicily.

2. *Mining technology.*

Although mining operations in Islamic civilisation were very extensive, yet like most aspects of Islamic technology no attempt has yet been made to study the technology of mining. This is another field that requires extensive research. There is therefore a noticeable gap in the history of mining in general, and whereas much information and archaeological research has been published on ancient and Roman mining, research is completely missing for the period between the 1st/7th and 9th/15th centuries. Not only should this gap be filled, but there are academic reasons for re-examining much of the material that has been published on ancient and Roman mining technology.

It is possible to give here an outline of Islamic mining technology by looking into the brief accounts of the geographers and some of the lapidary books. In Europe it was not until A.D. 1556 that the first book on mining, that of Agricola, made its appearance. Before that time, only a few books on lapidary techniques, mainly translated from Arabic, were available.

There was not just a single mining technology in Islamic lands. Methods differed from mineral to mineral, from country to country, and from one method of ownership to another. In any one country could be found a range of technologies, from the primitive to the highly developed.

As with modern mining, there were two major types of operation—the underground and the open-cut. In brief words, al-Biruni says: "The search for *laʿl* (a kind of ruby) is of two types: one is to dig the mine under the mountain, and the other is to search for it among the gravel and earth which result from the collapse of the mountains by earthquakes or their erosion by floods" (*al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir*, Hyderabad 1355/1936-7, 83).

In underground mining, one method was to sink shafts vertically into the soil, and to drive horizontal passages when the veins were reached. In Syria, the shaft of the mines was called the *bir*, i.e. the well, and the horizontal tunnel the *darb*, i.e. the road. In the Lebanese mountains, a typical shaft was only 6-7 metres deep, and the tunnels were "very long". Al-Idrīsī saw the mercury mines to the north of Cordoba in Spain, and he was told that the depth from ground level to the bottom of the mine was 250 fathoms (*ḳāma*) (*Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fī 'khtirāḳ al-āfāḳ*, section on al-Maghrib, Arḍ al-Sūdān, Egypt and al-Andalus, Leiden 1864, 214). Other mines of intermediate depth were reported. Thus in the silver mines in the Maghrib, the depth was 20 cubits (*dhirāʿ*). The technique of drilling vertical shafts and horizontal tunnels was a familiar operation in the Islamic countries if we remember the great tradition of constructing the underground *ḳanāt* systems [*q.v.*], with the exacting technical experience which they require.

More often, however, in underground mining miners preferred to dig horizontal adits into the slopes of a mountain and follow the veins, rather than to sink shafts. This method was easier and less expensive for a miner who was working for himself. It is noticeable that the reports of mines with vertical shafts usually apply to mines owned by the state. A vivid description of the silver mining activities in Pandjhīr in eastern Khurāsān, where 10,000 men were employed in the mining industry, is given by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. He says: "The people of Pandjhīr made the mountain and the market-place like a sieve because of the many pits. They only follow veins leading to silver, and if they find a vein they dig continuously until they reach silver. A man may spend huge sums of money in digging, and he may find silver to such an extent that he and his descendants become rich, or his work may fail because he is overpowered by water or for other reasons. A man may pick a vein, and it is possible that another man picks the same vein in another position. Both start digging. The custom is that the miner who arrives first and intercepts the passage of the other miner wins the vein and its results. Because of this competition, they execute a work that devils cannot achieve. When one arrives first, the expenses of the other are wasted. If they arrive together, they share the vein and then they continue digging as long as the lamps are burning. If the lamps are extinguished and cannot be relit, they stop their progress because anyone who reaches that position would die immediately. [In this business] you will see that a man starts his day owning one million, and by nightfall he owns nothing. Or he may start poor in the morning and by evening he becomes the owner of uncountable wealth (*Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 465).

The main tool of the miner was the pickaxe (*minḳār*, *ṣāḳūr*). It had a sharp end to peck the stone and a flat end to hammer or to drive wedges. There were also various hammers, chisels or wedges, crow-bars, hoes and shovels.

Windlasses were used for hauling ores and materials out of the shafts. An efficient and simple form of windlass was used in the iron mines in Syria, and is still used in constructing the *ḳanāt* system in Iran, in drawing water, and in the building industry. Here an assistant sits on a bench on one side of the mouth of the shaft or well, pulling the horizontal bars of the windlass towards him with his hands and pushing the opposite ones away with his feet at the same time. The ore is loaded into a small bucket about 30-35 cm. in diameter, which has two handles. The rope is attached to the bucket by hooks fastened at its end. More sophisticated capstans were used for haulage also, when loads were heavier.

Oil lamps were used for illumination. The lamps were useful for aligning the direction of the digging, and were also good indicators of the adequacy of fresh air supplies, as was the case in the silver mines of Pandjhīr. In Arabic technical literature, there are different designs of ingenious lamps. One such design, suitable for outdoor use and protected against being extinguished by winds, was described by the Banū Mūsā.

Ventilation was an important problem. In Pandjhīr,

as we have seen, with thousands of small miners working for themselves in a frantic search for silver, capital investment was kept to a minimum, and no provision for ventilation was usually made. The miner simply abandoned the digging if the lamps stopped burning. In the more organised mining work, especially in the state mines, a means of ventilation was always provided. This would be essential, particularly in the very deep mercury mines which we mentioned. Special ventilation shafts were provided. When installing a drainage system, several shafts were needed for this purpose, and these also served as ventilation shafts. Special ventilation shafts have been found in Iran, and some of these go back to pre-Islamic times. The problem of ventilating wells and mining shafts attracted the attention of Muslim engineers. They designed special ventilating machines. The Banū Mūsā describe a design for "a machine for use in wells which kill those who descend in them. If a man uses this machine in any well, it will neither kill nor harm him. This machine is suitable for wells that kill and for dangerous pits. If a man has this machine, which we shall describe, with him, he can descend in any well immediately without fearing it and it will not harm him" (*Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*, Arabic tex ed. A.Y. al-Hassan, Aleppo 1981, 374, Eng. tr. D. R. Hill, Dordrecht 1979, 240).

The other important problem in mining was drainage of the mines. Here also, small miners of silver could not afford to solve the problem, as we have seen in Pandjhīr. On the other hand, in the state silver mines in Zakandar in the Maghrib, drainage was carried out properly, as al-Ḳazwīnī reports: "Here are the silver mines. Anyone who wishes can undertake processing them. There are underground mines in which many people are always working. When they descend 20 *dhirā*ʿs, water appears. The sultan installs water-wheels and water is raised until the mud appears. Workers bring this mud up to the surface of the ground and wash it. He does this in order to take the fifth ... Water is raised in three stages, since it is 20 *dhirā*ʿs from the ground level to the surface of the water. He installs a wheel down in the mine on the water surface. Water is lifted and it is discharged into a large tank. Another wheel is installed on this tank. It lifts the water and pours it into another tank. On this tank a third wheel is installed. It lifts the water and discharges it on to the surface of the ground to irrigate the farms and gardens. This operation cannot be undertaken except by a very rich person possessing thousands. He sits at the mouth of the mine and employs artisans and workers, who bring out the mud and wash it in front of him. When the work is done, the fifth of the sultan is put aside and the rest is given to him. It may come to be smaller than his expenditure, and it may be [more]. This depends on the man's efforts" (Zakariyyā al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, Beirut 1960-1, 199-200).

The technique of water raising by water-wheels was highly developed in Islamic civilisation, and it flourished in North Africa and Spain. The above passage by al-Ḳazwīnī is important, and should prompt a reconsideration of archaeological findings, since it is quite certain that other mines in Spain and North Africa were being drained in a similar manner. The Muslims carried out extensive mining operations in central and southern Spain in the areas of Cordoba, Almáden, Ovejo, Huelva, Murcia, Ilbira and elsewhere. Water-raising devices of various types were used. These included the compartmented wheel, the chain-of-pots wheel, the Archimedean screw, the rag-and-chain pump and the piston pump. Archaeologists have found a screw pump in a mine near Cordoba with an oak screw and a barrel of sheet lead, but R. J. Forbes has expressed doubts as to whether this pump was really of Roman date (*Studies in ancient technology*, vii, Leiden 1966, 219).

We come now to a discussion of the dressing of ores. This includes the crushing, sifting and washing of ores. Such operations were usually conducted at the mines' sites before the transport of the ores to the metallurgical centres. The ores were pounded or reduced in size, and in the case of gold ores they were crushed or milled to a finer degree. The milling operation was more important with the reef gold which occurs in quartz veins. Milling or crushing of these ores was done either by querns or by water driven trip-hammers. Al-Bīrūnī in his *Djamāhir*, 233-4, discusses this operation: "Gold may be united with stone as if it is cast with it, so that it needs pounding. Rotary mills (*ṭawāḥin*) can pulverise it, but pounding it by *mashādjin* is more correct and is a much more refined treatment. It is even said that this pounding makes it more red, which if it is true is rather strange and surprising. The *mashādjin* are stones fitted to axles which are installed on running water for pounding, as is the case in the pounding of flax for paper in Samarḳand". This is an important text since it indicates that water driven trip-hammers (*mashādjin*) were already established for crushing ores before the 4th/10th century.

3. *Pearls and underwater resources.*

The exploitation of corals and pearls involved very extensive activity. Pearls of the Gulf area were highly valued; the Chinese considered them to be the best pearls. The operations were organised by entrepreneurs. One of these would hire divers for two months and pay them regularly; such enterprises were often highly profitable. However, we read detailed descriptions of the great dangers which faced the divers.

Al-Bīrūnī gives in his *Djamāhir* again (149-50) a detailed description of a diving operation, including a description of a new diving gear: "I was told by a man from Baghdād that divers had invented in these days a method for diving by which the difficulty of holding the breath is eliminated. This enables them to frequent the sea from morning to afternoon, as much as they wish and as much as the employer favours them. It is a leather gear which they fit down their chests and they tie it at the [edges ?] very securely and then they dive. They breathe in it from the air inside it. This necessitates a very heavy weight to keep down the diver with this air. A more suitable arrangement would be to attach to the upper end of this gear opposite the forehead a leather tube similar to a sleeve sealed at its seams by wax and bitumen, and its length will be equal to the depth of diving. The upper end of the tube will be fitted to a large dish at a hole in its bottom. To this dish are attached one or more inflated bags to keep it floating. The breath of the diver will flow in and out through the tube as long as he desires to stay in water, even for days".

An ingenious dredging machine was designed by the Banū Mūsā in their *Book of ingenious devices*. They say: "We wish to explain how to make a machine by which a person can bring out jewels from the sea if he lowers it, and by which he can extract things which fall into wells or are submerged

in the rivers and seas". This worked on exactly the same principle as the modern clamshell grab (*Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*, text 376, Eng. tr. 342).

4. *Non-ferrous metallurgy*.

Much information about metallurgy can be gained from the alchemical and chemical treatises. There was a close relationship between the work of the metallurgist and the chemist, and the Arabic sources reflect the experience gained in the laboratory and in the metallurgical furnace.

Gold. Speaking about native gold which is collected from gold mines, al-Bīrūnī says that it is usually not free from impurities and therefore this gold can be refined by smelting only, or by other methods. He gives details of the amalgamation method that was used in the mines on a commercial scale: "After pounding the gold ore or milling it, it is washed out of its stones, and the gold and mercury are combined and then squeezed in a piece of leather until mercury exudes from the pores of the leather. The rest of the mercury is drived off by fire" (*Djamāhir*, 234).

He further describes (236) how gold is mined from the deep waters of the Sind river: "At its sources there are places in which they dig small pits under the water, which flows over them. They fill the pits with mercury and leave it for a while. Then they come back after the mercury has become gold: This is because at its start the water is rapid and it carries with it particles of sand and gold like mosquitoes' wings in thinness and fineness. Water carries these particles over the surface of the mercury which picks up the gold, leaving the sand to pass away".

The cupellation process was used extensively both on the laboratory and the industrial scales. The gold is alloyed with lead in a special crucible and it is then oxidised by means of a strong current of air blown on to the surface of the molten metal. The base metals such as copper are drossed, while the gold and silver remain as a button of silver-gold alloy. The separation of the gold from the silver was done by what is known as the salt and sulphur process. The liquation process was also used in combination with the cupellation process. What is new in these processes—and this was an Islamic innovation—is the use of nitric acid in the separation of gold from silver. Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*] described this process, and it was also mentioned by other later writers. Gold was tested by various methods. These included the touchstone (*al-miḥakk*), measuring the specific gravities, and noting the speed of solidification of gold after it had been removed from the furnace.

Silver and lead. Unlike gold, native silver was not found in alluvial deposits or in the sands and gravels of rivers, but was to be sought in mountainous regions in embedded veins. In general, however, native silver was not abundant, and the main source was from galena (lead sulphide), which was usually associated with small amounts of silver. The first step would be to obtain the lead itself (which usually contains silver) from the earth and stones (i.e. the galena). This was done first by roasting, followed by smelting. The resulting lead could then be treated to extract silver. In Arabic literature, we find the results of some experiments indicating the amount of silver which could be recovered from an ingot of lead. This was usually in *dirhams* in one *maṣla* (one silver *maṣla* = 50 *raṭls*). There were smelters (*sabbākūn*) specialising in gaining silver from lead ingots.

Sometimes silver was associated with gold in what is called electrum. Here also, as we have seen, methods were adopted to separate these two precious metals. Silver was also obtained from its ores, or from lead or copper ores.

These different sources of silver necessitated the application of various techniques which were mastered by Islamic smelters and chemists, such as roasting, smelting, oxidation, liquation, leaching, cupellation and amalgamation. Details cannot be given here, but these methods fascinated the alchemists and were largely responsible, in our opinion, for the vast alchemical literature that resulted from the alchemists' experiments with stones (*aḥdjār*) and metals (*adjsād*).

Tin, zinc, antimony and arsenic. Tin was one of the seven malleable metals or bodies. It was brought mainly to the classical Islamic countries from the Malaysian peninsula and, to some extent, from Spain and the West.

Zinc was not known as a distinct metal by the early Islamic metallurgists and chemists. It was first known, and used extensively, through tutia (zinc oxide) which was one of the stones (*aḥdjār*). Later, as we shall see, zinc (*rūḥ al-tūtiya*) was known as a distinct metal. Tutia is usually the pure zinc oxide which is obtained from natural zinc carbonate. Various authors described the method of producing the pure product from the natural one. The ore is placed in furnaces which contain long ceramic rods. Upon heating the ores, the smoke of tutia ascends and adheres in films to the ceramic rods. Al-Muḳaddasī, 470, saw the "curious tall furnaces in the mountain villages" in Kirmān. They later also attracted the attention of Marco Polo when he visited the same area. Before the 10th/16th century, *rūḥ al-tūtiya* (zinc) as a metal was known and was used with copper to form brass. It replaced *kharṣīnī* as the seventh metal. Abu 'l-Faḍl in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* gives several compositions employing *rūḥ al-tūtiya* (E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur Arabischen Wissenschafts-Geschichte*, i, Hildesheim 1970, 706).

Antimony was obtained from antimony sulphide (Sb_2S_3) and was one of the constituents of copper alloys. Arabic chemical books described this process.

Arsenic was unimportant as a metal. But we read a description of the "preparation of the mercury of arsenic sulphide". This was a preparation of metallic arsenic from its sulphides. We may note that these metals which were not among the original seven were given such names as *rūḥ al-tūtiya* or "mercury of arsenic sulphide". The same remark applies to mineral acids, which were not classified originally, and hence were attributed to their salts.

Copper and its alloys. Copper was usually obtained from the sulphide ores. It seldom occurred as oxides or carbonates. These latter ores required only the simple treatment of heating with charcoal, while the sulphides (*zādjāt*) required roasting, smelting with fluxes and partial oxidation. An interesting discovery took place in Spain. The sulphide ores, on exposure to air in the presence of water, are oxidated to soluble sulphates. "The Moors then found that if water containing copper sulphate is allowed to run over iron, pure copper is deposited and the iron dissolved. As iron was cheap and abundant in Spain, this discovery yielded an efficient method of recovering copper from sulphide ore, and direct mining of copper ore became less necessary" (Singer *et alii*, *A history of technology*, ii, Oxford 1979, 11).

Bronze (*ṣafr*, *isfidrūy*) is an alloy of copper and

tin. It was much used for plain kitchen wares and implements, and was the alloy upon which coppersmiths based most of their work.

Brass (*shabah, birindj*) is an alloy of copper and zinc. Zinc with copper forms an alloy which is stronger, harder and less malleable than pure copper. Various kinds of brasses are obtained by varying the zinc content. A 20% brass simulates the colour of gold. When zinc was not known as a metal, copper was heated in a mixture of powdered zinc ore and charcoal. A proportion of the zinc formed in the vicinity of the copper was diffused into it by cementation. Later we read in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* about three qualities of brass with increasing amount of zinc content: one is ductile in the cold state, the second is ductile when it is heated, and the third is not ductile but can be cast (Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 706-7).

A cheaper quality of alloy was called by al-Bīrūnī *bitrūy* and by some authors *rūy*. This was a kind of bronze alloyed from copper and lead. It was also *shabah mufragh*, and was used for hardware.

Kharṣīnī was a metal (or alloy) which was listed as one of the seven metals of early Islamic alchemy. It was attributed to China. All Muslim writers said that it was not available and was extinct. A time came when it was replaced by zinc in the list of the seven metals. Some historians now think that *kharṣīnī* was zinc. Others believe that it was a cupronickel alloy. *Ṭalīḳūn* was another alloy (or metal) of uncertain composition. This uncertainty existed since al-Bīrūnī's days, but the general opinion is that it was a kind of copper alloy.

5. *Iron and steel.*

The importance of iron (*ḥadīd*) in Islamic civilisation is exemplified in Sūrat al-Ḥadīd, LVII, 25: "God sent iron down to earth, wherein is mighty power and many uses for mankind". Indeed, iron was considered as essential as food and clothing and it was always a source of power. Even after the sword had ceased to be a major military weapon, the manufacturing of iron and steel in our days is a basis for industrial civilisation and hence for economic and military power.

We have seen that iron mines in the Islamic empire were spread from Spain in the west to Transoxania in the east and there were famous steel production centres like Harāt, Bukhārā, Damascus, Yemen and Toledo. Iron and steel technology in the Islamic lands has had a long and flourishing history, associated with the sword until recent times, and the excellence of steel for these swords was represented by Damascus steel. As is the case with other major issues in the history of technology, the history of iron and steel, and the history of Damascus steel in particular, have been a source of controversy. Islamic iron technology was ignored and the important sources were not taken into consideration. At one extreme, some writers have alleged that Damascus steel was alien to Damascus and to Islamic lands.

In this vast subject, we can only give extracts from some of the major Arabic sources, the best authorities on this subject known until now being al-Kindī and al-Bīrūnī, both of whom had critical minds that rejected legends and subjected scientific knowledge to actual observation and testing. The second main group of sources is the alchemical and chemical treatises of Djābir, al-Rāzī, al-Djildakī and others. The third group is the military treatises which discussed the manufacture of steel for swords, its heat treatment and the care for its *firind*; but there are numerous other sources of information, all of which deserve attention.

Types of iron and steel. From studying some of these sources, we conclude that the following main kinds of iron and steel were utilised in Islamic metallurgical centres: (1) Wrought iron (*narmāhin*); (2) Cast iron (*dūṣ*); (3) Meteoric steel (*shabūrḳān*); and (4) Manufactured steel (*fūlādh*).

Wrought iron (*narmāhin*) is soft and it is the "female". It could not be heat treated, but could be used where strength was not important, and it was used as a raw material for manufacturing steel (*fūlādh*).

Cast iron (*dūṣ*). It is very important to know that cast iron was produced, since this was not realised by historians of technology and was totally ignored. al-Bīrūnī says in his *Djamāhir* that *dūṣ* is the water of iron and that it is the liquid which flows during the melting and the extraction of metal from iron stones. Al-Rāzī defined *al-dūṣ* as water of iron. In a commentary by al-Djildakī on the *Kitāb al-Ḥadīd* by Djābir, we read the following description of the production of cast iron: "Chapter. Learn, brother, that it is your comrades who found (*yaskubūn*) iron in foundries [especially] made for that purpose after they have extracted it (i.e. the ore) from its mine as yellow earth intermingled with barely visible veins of iron. They place it in founding furnaces designed for smelting it. They install powerful bellows on all sides of them after having kneaded (*yaluttūn*) a little oil and alkali into the ore. Then fire is applied to it (i.e. the ore) together with cinders and wood. They blow upon it until it is molten, and its entire substance (*djismuhu wa-djasaduhu*) is rid of that earth. Next, they cause it to drop through holes like [those of] strainers, [made in] the furnaces so that the molten iron is separated and is made into bars from that earth. Then they transport it to far lands and countries. People use it for making utilitarian things of which they have need" (ms. 4121, Chester Beatty Library, fols. 1a-2b).

The properties of this cast iron can be summarised from al-Bīrūnī's *Djamāhir* as follows: (1) It is quick to flow like water when smelting iron ores; (2) It is hard and whitish-silvery in colour. Its powder had sometimes a pinkish reflection; (3) It cannot be forged to make swords; (4) It does not resist blows. Its shatters into pieces: "breakage and brittleness are characteristic of it"; and (5) It is mixed with wrought iron in crucibles for making steel. *Dūṣ* was sold as a raw material in the 9th/15th century. We learn that there were at least two commercial brands, one from ʿIrāḳ, the other from Iṣṭakhr.

Meteor steel (*shaburḳān*) is often mentioned in early Arabic literature, with the comment that this was a rare material.

Manufactured steel (*fūlādh*). *Fūlādh* was usually manufactured in the molten state. It was made, in some cases, from wrought iron bars by cementation. The iron bars were packed with charcoal and heated until they absorbed enough carbon. In the molten state, steel was made in Islamic lands by the following methods: (1) By decarbonisation of cast iron; (2) By carbonisation of wrought iron; and (3) By the fusion of a mixture of wrought iron and cast iron; here we obtain two qualities of steel, depending upon the degree of fusion.

We have given above a text from al-Djildakī commenting on Djābir describing the production of cast iron. Let us now give the rest of the text to see

how the rods of cast iron are utilised to produce steel by carbonisation: "As for the steel workers, they take the iron bars and put them into the founding-ovens (*masābik*) which they have, suited to their objectives, in the steel works. They install firing equipment (*akwār*) in them (i.e. the ovens) and blow fire upon it (i.e. the iron) for a long while until it becomes like gurgling water. They nourish it with glass, oil and alkali until light appears from it in the fire and it is purified of much of its blackness by intensive founding, night and day. They keep watching while it whirls for indications until they are sure of its suitability, and its lamps emit light. Thereupon, they pour it out through channels so that it comes out like running water. Then they allow it to solidify in the shape of bars or in holes made of clay fashioned like largely crucibles. They take out of them refined steel in the shape of ostrich eggs, and they make swords from it, and helmets, lanceheads, and all tools". This refining of iron from its blackness is a decarbonisation process; already, the *Lisān al-ʿArab* states that steel (*fūlādh*) is refined iron.

The other method of producing molten steel in crucibles by carbonising wrought iron is described by the following text from al-Bīrūnī in his *Djamāhir*, 256:

"Mazyad b. ʿAlī, the Damascene blacksmith, [wrote] a book describing swords, specifications for which were included in al-Kindī's treatise. He commenced by dealing with the steel composition and the construction of the furnace (*kūr*) as well as with construction and design of crucibles, the description of [the varieties] of clay, and how to distinguish between them. Then he instructed that in each crucible five *raṭl*s of horseshoes should be placed, and their nails, which are made of *narmāhan* (Pers. "soft iron"), as well as a weight of ten *dirhām*s each of *rusukhtadj*, golden marcasite stone, and brittle magnesia. The crucibles are plastered with clay and placed inside the furnace (*kūr*). They are filled with charcoal and they (i.e. the crucibles) are blown upon with *rūmī* bellows, each having two operators, until it (i.e. the iron) melts and whirls. Bundles are added containing *ihlīladj* (myrobalan), pomegranate rinds, salt [used in] dough and oyster shells (*aṣdāf al-luʾluʾ*, lit. "pearl shells"), in equal portions, and crushed, each bundle weighing forty *dirhams*. One [bundle] is thrown into each crucible; then it (i.e. the crucible) is blown upon violently for an hour. Next, they (i.e. the crucibles) are left to cool and the eggs are taken from the crucibles".

The third method of producing molten steel in crucibles from a mixture of cast iron and wrought iron was also described by al-Bīrūnī. This was the method of producing cast steel in Harāt. Two qualities of steel can be obtained. One is obtained if the components are "melted equally so that they become united in the mixing operation and no component can be differentiated or seen independently". Al-Bīrūnī says that "such steel is suitable for files and similar tools". A second quality of steel is obtained if the degree of melting of wrought iron and cast iron is different for each substance "and thus the intermixture between both components is not complete, and their parts are shifted and thus each of their two colours can be seen by the naked eye and it is called *firind*".

Some of the above important texts were confirmed by observers and travellers who described the making of crucible steel in Bukhārā in the last century. In 1820 Anossoff, a Russian expert, was in Bukhārā and found that crucible steel was made by carburising wrought iron with charcoal and other organic matter. Later Massalski, another expert who was also in Bukhārā, wrote in 1841 that Damascus steel was made there from a mixture of wrought iron and cast iron, as al-Bīrūnī had reported 900 years earlier from Harāt. Observers thought that these reports were conflicting, but it is now clear that there is no contradiction; steel was made from different materials, and the quality obtained varied with these materials and with other manufacturing conditions (P. Annossoff, in *Annuaire du Journal des Mines de Russe, 1841*, 192-236; Massalski, in *ibid.*, 297-308).

The Damascus sword and the *firind*. C. S. Smith noted that "In comparison with the relative neglect of structure by the European metallurgist, the enjoyment and utilisation of it in the Orient is impressive. In the Orient, etching to display patterns depending on composition difference was in use contemporaneously with the European pattern-welded blade, and was thereafter continually developed to a high artistic level" (*A history of metallography*, Chicago 1965, 14). The best achievement in this direction is the Damascus sword, which were made in all the Islamic centres and in India. Because of its excellence, its name was given later to all swords with a pattern. Islamic lands exported and imported steel and swords. They imported from India and they exported to it. Al-Bīrūnī mentions that steel eggs were cast in Harāt and then sent to India. Al-Idrīsī says that iron was exported from the Maghrib to India. In general, we may say that Islamic lands and India formed one area of Damascus steel culture.

Patterned swords (with a *firind* or *djawhar*) were in use before Islam. Imruʾ al-Ḳays (d. *ca.* 540 A.D.) describes the *firind* of the sword as resembling the tracks of ants. Another poet, Aws b. Ḥadjar, a contemporary of his, describes the blade of the sword as if it has a water whose wavy streaks are like a pond over whose surface the wind is gliding. In fact, in Arabic poetry the beauty of the sword with the *firind* was always a source of inspiration. Damascus steel was thus a speciality of the Islamic world and India for many centuries; as Smith notes, "The geographical distribution of these swords seems to have been practically coextensive with the Islamic faith, and they continued to be made well into the nineteenth century" (*op. cit.*, 14).

In Europe, steel was produced by hearth-carbonisation of wrought iron rods. To imitate the *firind* or pattern of the Damascus sword, they resorted to placing together strips of iron and steel and welding these together; but these imitations never matched the qualities of the true Damascus steel.

Cast iron was first produced in Europe in the 15th century A.D. and crucible steel in the 18th one. But a steel comparable in quality to Damascus steel was still required. For more than 150 years, a large number of metallurgists in European countries carried out extensive research on Damascus steel, including eminent scientists like Faraday. Smith, in a chapter "European attempts to duplicate Damascus steel", says that these attempts failed to reproduce true Damascus steel; what happened later was that the "interest in the duplication of the blade declined as European steelmakers developed their own techniques and the introduction of Bessemer and Siemens processes gave homogeneous steel more adaptable to large-scale production".

There were, however, some advantages behind

this research, in that we came nearer to an understanding of the structure of Damascus steel. According to Smith, "Damascus blades are made of a very high carbon steel (about 1.5-2.0%) and owe their beauty and their cutting qualities alike to the inherent structure of the cakes of steel from which they were forged". "The light portion contains numerous particles of iron carbide (cementite), while the dark areas are steel of normal carbon content (approximately eutectoid). The structure, of course, is clearly visible only after etching, which was done with a solution of some mineral sulphate". It is amazing how close is this modern interpretation of the *firind* to that of al-Bīrūnī.

Welded "Damascus" gun barrels and swords. Another beautiful technique which flourished in later centuries in Islamic lands and India was the welding technique for gun barrels and swords, which was quite different from that of cast Damascus steel, but which was also called "Damascus". According to Smith, "the technique seems to have originated in the Near East in the sixteenth century, and such guns were a famous product of the Kashmir smiths in the early nineteenth century" (*op. cit.*, 30). The manufacture of barrels of this type in Europe started in the 18th century, and during the 18th and 19th centuries great efforts were exerted in Europe to use this technique for both gun barrels and blades.

In 1798 Nicholson made a Damascus-textured metal by compressing fillings of steel and wrought iron in a die, restriking the compact at a welding heat and forging it into a plate; Smith says that this is an interesting anticipation of modern power metallurgy. But according to al-Bīrūnī, a somewhat similar procedure was practised in the 4th/10th or 5th/11th century: "I was told by somebody who was in the land of Sind that he sat by a smith who was making swords. He looked into them and found that their material was wrought iron (*narmāhin*), on which he was sprinkling a finely pulverised drug (*dawāʾ*) whose colour gave a reddish shade. He sprinkles and welds by driving the powder deep, then he takes it out and elongates it by forging and he sprinkles again and repeats the work several times. He said: Then I asked him what that was. He glanced at me derisively. Then I looked carefully into it and realised that it was cast iron (*dūṣ*) which he mixes with wrought iron (*narmāhin*) by forging to elongate and hammering [to drive in] to obtain a steel similar to that of the eggs that are obtained in Harāt by melting".

6. *Furnaces, crucibles and other equipment.*

We can learn much about Islamic metallurgical equipment from a study of the alchemical equipment. The *istinzāl* operation is mainly the smelting of ores to obtain metals. There was, according to al-Rāzī, "equipment for melting metals (*aḏḏisād*) and stones" and there was "equipment for the further processing of these metals". Iron melting was given special attention in the alchemical apparatus. We can safely assume that the alchemical equipment was the pilot-plant size of the actual metallurgical equipment. Sometimes the details in construction were identical, as we shall presently see. Iron production from ores was achieved by blast furnaces. Further research will reveal how the design of these furnaces had developed in Islamic lands. We know that cast iron was produced before the 4th/10th century. Al-Djildakī (see above) gave a description of the melting process; historians reported experiments on the casting of large field cannon from cast iron at the turn of the 10th/16th century in Egypt; and at the end of the 12th/18th century, a typical blast furnace in the Lebanese mountains was 16 spans (3.84 metres) high by 7 spans (1.68 metres) wide and was constructed from masonry. Twenty men worked on the site. Layers of fresh wood and iron ore were stacked in the furnace; two horizontal bellows gave the necessary blast of air, each being operated by one man. The air from the bellows was combined in one outlet, and iron that accumulated at the bottom was taken out in small amounts. This iron was decarbonished in several hearth furnaces and forges on the same site in order to produce wrought iron for making useful articles. About 450 kg. a day were produced from this furnace; similar furnaces were in use in the Maghrib.

Crucible steel was melted in small crucibles. The text by al-Bīrūnī which was cited above on the making of crucible steel by a smith in Damascus shows that several crucibles were put in the furnace. Several bellows were used, each operated by two men. Such an installation was still used in 1840 in Bukhārā to make Damascus steel, and was of the same design as that described by Djābir ten centuries earlier.

Bibliography: (in addition to works cited in the text): A. Y. Al-Hassan, *Mining and metallurgy*, in idem and D. R. Hill, *Islamic technology*, in press; Al-Hassan, *Iron and steel technology in medieval Arabic sources*, in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, ii/1 (1978), 31-43.

(A. Y. AL-HASSAN and D. R. HILL)

3. MINERAL EXPLOITATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Our treatment of the subject of mining and metallurgy in the Ottoman Empire is based on the assumption that both in terms of the laws enforced and the organisational principles applied, and even the types of minerals exploited, Ottoman mining can be clearly divided into two distinct periods. The first period spans all of Ottoman history up until the mid-19th century, while the second is concentrated in the last few decades of the existence of the Ottoman state as the mining industry developed under the impact of foreign investment. Because of the wide scope of the subject both from the standpoint of periodisation and the profusion of ancillary topics involved, the focus is limited to those time periods whose first-hand archival documentation we have studied most closely (i.e. the 9th-11th/16th-18th centuries) and those subjects which have been least fully studied in the published literature. For the principal publications in the important fields of Ottoman mining law, and Islamic and Ottoman metallurgy, see *Bibl.*, sections II-III, and for developments in Ottoman mining during the 19th century section V.

In what follows, mining law and administration are first discussed under the following headings: A. Administrative modes, and B. Organisation of labour, and then there is a description of the principal mineral types and their geographical distribution. In this second section, the principal subdivisions are as follows: (A) Classification of mineral types and (B) Marketing and distribution:

A/I. Bullion and other smelted ores, i.e. 1. Gold; 2. Silver; 3. Copper; 4. Iron; 5. Steel (including some data on prices of the principal metals).

A/II. Crystaline formations and other minerals mined from pits in their solid state, or extracted through a process of distillation from their liquid state, i.e. 1. Alum; 2. Sulphur and Saltpetre; 3. Salt [see MILḤ]

Finally there is a short summary of major developments in Ottoman mining in the post-*Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period, and brief discussion of mining technology in both the classical and the modern periods.

Introductory remarks on the economic importance of the mines and uses of metals in the Ottoman Empire.

Possession of and control of the sources of mineral wealth was of critical importance to the state. The Ottoman interest in the conquest of Serbia from the early 8th/14th century arose in part from a desire to secure the rich silver production of the Balkan mines, thus providing a vital financial basis for further expansion. In a very real sense, the mines were the ultimate source of prosperity for the emerging Ottoman state and an assured supply of metals of military importance such as lead, iron and tin was essential to state security. Because of the critical importance of their uninterrupted production, mineral resources were carefully protected and closely regulated by the Ottoman government (see section below on market organisation, distribution and supply).

One of the principal uses for precious metals was to supply the imperial mints located throughout the empire, usually in the vicinity of the mines. While during the reign of Süleymān I (926-74/1520-66) the treasury enjoyed an abundant surplus, requiring even the opening of a treasury annex at the Yedi Kule fortress in Istanbul, in the 11th/17th century production levels lagged far behind money in circulation. Information from the state treasury budgets from the time of Murād IV (1032-49/1623-39) indicates that while the mines produced silver for striking some 160 million *aḳçes*, deficit spending at the level of 200 million *aḳçes* a year and more was common (see the Kepeci budgets listed in the *Bibl.*). In order to balance the budget, recourse was commonly made to the practice of debasing the currency. The following list shows the steady drop in the silver content of the *aḳçe* over the 150-year period 1490-1640:

Date	no. of *aḳčes* struck from 100 *dirhams* raw silver
half-century leading up to 1566 *	420
1566-1584	450
1584-1600	800
1600-1611	950
1611-1640	1,000

Source: Barkan (1970), 571-7.

* For an idea of the relative stability of the *aḳče*'s silver content before the 16th century, compare the table in İnalcık (1951), 678.

Despite these measures, the surpluses stored in the Sultan's inner treasury (*khazīne-yi enderūn*) periodically became depleted to dangerously low levels. According to the report of the Venetian *bailo* Contarini, after the large outlays for the Ottoman recapture of Baghdād in 1048/1638, the inner treasury reserve sank to only 15 million gold pieces (Barozzi and Berchet, *Relationi*, i/1, 363). No new sources of silver were either discovered or exploited, and by the 19th century state bankruptcies became an almost chronic problem, leading in the end to the establishment of a foreign-controlled public debt commission (see DUYŪN-I ʿUMŪMIYYE). Parts of the silver-producing areas of Serbia had been ceded to Austria as early as the treaty of Passarowitz in 1130/1718, and from that date the Ottoman mineral resource base in the Rumelian provinces continued to shrink.

According to Islamic law, minerals and hidden treasures made up a special category, *rikāz*, whose product was made subject to the payment of a one-fifth tax, the so-called *khums-i sherʿī* (Ḥalebī, i, 150-1). Building on these principles laid down in the canonical law, the Ottomans introduced some refinements and customary practices in their own administrative law as it applied to mines, taking into account new conditions and changes as they occurred over the course of time. The reign of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512) was perhaps the most important period for the standardisation and codification of Ottoman mining law. Since there already exists a rich literature on this subject (see *Bibl.*, section II), there is no need to enter into the details here except to emphasise the fact that Ottoman practice incorporated applied knowledge from previously existing Saxon mining law. The extent of their indebtness to their predecessors in this field is indicated by the use in the Ottoman *ḳānūn-nāmes* of Saxon and Slavic loan words for many technical terms and specialised skilled professions.

Administrative modes: the factors determining Ottoman mining activity through the ages.

There were three principal ways in which mining activity was organised in the Ottoman Empire and the choice as to which mode was to be employed was determined to a large degree according to the source of the capital invested to bring a mine into active production. The expenses for equipment, fuel to operate the forges and the wages of the mine workers were considerable, and since such large investments were beyond the means of the average individual, most large-scale mining operations tended to be undertaken either directly by the government itself or by means of investment partnerships. The three commonly used administrative modes were: (1) *emāneten*, direct administration of mines or mining districts through state-appointed superintendents; (2) *iltizāmen*, farming out of mining revenues to investors on a short-term contract basis (the usual term for these contracts in the mining context was six years); and (3) *iḥāle*, long-term concessionary leasing of state lands for purposes of mining exploration to licensed individuals or mining companies. These broad generalisations may help to clarify the position of the lands administered under each of these headings, but in actual practice we often find that a mixture of government and private financing, as well as the phenomenon of subcontracting of mining leases, resulted in some hybrid form of two or more of these administrative categories. Nevertheless, generally speaking it may be said that direct state administration tended to be applied in the case of disused mines or those requiring a relatively greater level of investment to render them profitable. In such cases, after careful analysis of ore samples (*čashnī*) and estimation of requisite expenditures for improvements by technical experts, the state agreed to undertake all risks and meet all expenses for operation and development of the mine. When, on the other hand, it was a question of operative mines with a known and regular yearly production which could be auctioned competitively, the usual procedure was to farm out the operation of these mines to private investors. In such cases, the investor gambled that he would make up his original investment consisting of the *bedel-i iltizām* payment on entering the contract

plus costs. The third category, *iḥāle*, seems to have been widely used only beginning with the 13th/19th century when new types of minerals came into demand. This system was used to encourage mineral exploration in abandoned (*mawāt*) lands and lands of low population density. Although usually no previous mining activity would have taken place on such lands, after a determination had been reached on the basis of expert reports that they did possess a potential for development, the investor undertook to make whatever improvements were needed to realise maximum productiveness. According to the terms of the *iḥāle* system, the original investment consisted of the *resm-i berāt* or *fermān kharḏjı* paid to register a claim to work the land, but unlike the *iltizām* system, the government then claimed only a small percentage of the mineral production realised, ranging from between 1-5% for unrefined ore found in scattered deposits, and between 1-5% for unrefined ore found in scattered deposits, and between 10-20% for unrefined ore occurring in concentrated deposits. Although we have no way of estimating the proportion of lands which fell into one category as opposed to another, the following table gives an idea of the extent to which the *iḥāle* method was employed in the 19th century, particularly for the mining of coal and other near-surface minerals:

Statistics on mining concessions in the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the 20th century

type of mineral needed	extent of land exploited (in *ḏjerīb*s) *	% of total
chrome	19,076	7.0
lignite	13,340	5.0
argentiferous leads	12,357	4.6
other (coal, etc.)	225,227	83.4
Total	270.000	100%

Source: *Iḥṣā'iyyāt-i māliyye*, 1325/1907, 100.
* one *ḏjerīb* = 10 *dönüm*s = approx. 1 hectare.

From the above discussion, it may be seen that ability to invest was an important factor in determining the mode of administration selected for a given mining enterprise. A second factor which was critical in determining the intensity of mining activity at a particular time was the price of metals on the international market. The fluctuation in the price of metals in turn was tied to levels of production in the three principal mining centres of America, Europe and the Ottoman Empire, as well as to the relative balance between the three at given time. Thus for instance, while we know that production of silver in the Americas increased five-fold in the century 1520-1620, the impact of this influx of cheap metal was felt more sharply and immediately in Europe than in the Ottoman lands. While European mining suffered an almost immediate collapse, the Ottoman mines continued to find markets for their production, both as a result of long-lasting disruptions in the heartlands of the European mining industry during the Thirty Years' War and because of continued upward pressure on prices based on rising demand for basic metals in the military and industrial sectors of the internal economy of the Ottoman Empire. Until now, it has been generally assumed (particularly among the Balkan historians, see *Bibl.*, works of Dinić, Kovaćević, etc.) that the production of the Balkan mines suffered an irreversible collapse coinciding with the Turkish occupation of Serbia completed in 1460. The issue of mining decline is considerably more complex than that, and depends on a detailed study of price fluctuations of precious metals over the long term. Since this study has not been undertaken for the Ottoman Empire, it is at present very difficult for us to present any conclusive evidence or to chart accurately the course of periods of expansion and decline in the mining industry. A further factor to be considered, linked with the question of price and having a direct bearing on intensity of mineral production, is the application of new technology and mechanisation in mining. Since it was only when demand for a metal was high that investment in technical improvements was economically feasible, such improvements were usually introduced through state planning and initiative (examples in Refik, 45 (doc. dated 1029/1618), in which the government provides 150,000 *akçes* to install four new water-wheels (*čarkh*) to power the lifts and pumps of a silver mine at Inegöl; and Refik, 52 (doc. dated 1128/1716), in which the government approves the transfer of money from a provincial treasury to allow for continuation of work on a drainage channel which has been abandoned by private developers due to insufficient funds).

Dramatic improvements both in the quantity and the quality of mineral production were achieved in the 19th century as the result of the introduction of mechanical aids. While the purity of copper smelted in small forges equipped with hand-operated bellows was uneven at best, with the erection of large, state-built and state-operated smelting houses with mechanically-driven bellows, a consistent level of purity of 85% was achieved (for examples describing the impact on production of the building of state smelting houses at Ergani in 1266/1850 and subsequently at Tokat, see *Iḥṣā'iyyāt-i māliye, 1325/1907*, 263; on the effect of mechanisation on mining yields in the 13th/19th century, see below). Nevertheless, the price was always the final determinant in deciding whether a proposed improvement was cost effective. When, as a result of downward market pressures of foreign competition the price of a metal fell, this could result in the closing of a mine which had been profitable and even worthy of investment for improvement under the earlier pricing structure.

The organization of labour

In order to ensure that an adequate work force was available to operate the mines, workers in the state mining operations (*ma'denḏjis*), like the guardians of the mountain passes (*derbenḏjis*) and keepers of the way-stations on the imperial highways (*menzilḏjis*), were registered in the cadestral surveys under a special category of functionaries exempt from the payment of the extraordinary *'awāriḍ* [*q.v.*] taxes. As an example of how this system operated, a survey of 1082/1672 covering 155 mining villages attached to Srebenica is illustrative (BBA, KK 5175, pp. 60-2). In this survey, each individual village is assigned a specific duty in connection with the mining process. Some were assigned as excavators (*ḳuyuḏjus*), others were charged with preparing charcoal for the forges (*kömürḏjüs*) or as lumbermen and wood-cutters (*domrukḏjular we odunḏjular*). Tasks ranged from the very specialised, as in the case of one village whose people were designated as makers of rope for operating the pulleys in the mine shafts (*urghanḏjis*) to unspecified casual

labour (*aylāḳ*). Those villages were required to provide work crews as long as the mining operations in their region continued, and *maʿdendji* status was even passed on from father to son and from generation to generation. In order to insure against production loss due to absenteeism, the *maʿdendji*s were also required not to leave the mine for any period of time without specific permission from the supervisor of the mine (Refik, 26). On the other hand, they were exempted from being called away for the performance of other kinds of labour, such as road repair and fortress building, which was required as a compulsory service (*mukellef khidmet*) in partial satisfaction of the *ʿawāriḍ* tax obligation of other *reʿāyā* (see orders preventing summoning (*iḥḍār*) of mine workers for other tasks on the part of the provincial governors, Refik, 27-9, 32-3, etc.). As skilled workers, the conditions under which the registered *maʿdendji*s performed their jobs in the mines were carefully specified in special regulations, and care was taken to enforce their application. In the first place, mining activities tended to be seasonal, most intensive work taking place in the $7^1/_2$-month period between *Newrūz* (21 March) and *Rūz-i Ḳāsim* (7 November). In addition, the working week was defined as lasting five days, the remaining two days being designated as idle days (*awāre*) (Anhegger-İnalcık, 7, 12, 14, 15, etc.). Since registered *maʿdendji*s with some experience were usually in short supply, their numbers had to be bolstered by the use of hired labour. Statistics from salt mining operations published by Güçer suggest that the proportion of workers registered as *tuzdju*s and enjoying a share of the mine's production (sometimes $^1/_{12}$, sometimes $^1/_9$) was about equal to those workers taken on seasonally and paid a cash wage (example in Güçer, 106-7, citing the case of the Beçin salt works in Muğla province where of a total of 415 workers 195 (47%) were registered *tuzdju*s and the remaining 220 hired labour). Due to the hard physical nature of work in the mines, crews were normally expected to work only two-hour shifts with rest periods in between. By means of revolving duty, the mines could be kept in continous operation on a 24-hour basis. A document of 1126/1714 (Refik, 50-1) suggests that a work crew of 20 men could be kept working for 20 days at this pace, but every 20 to 30 days a fresh crew would be called in to replace them. During the period in which they were engaged in working at the mines, mine workers were provided with food rations and shelter at government expense. In 1126/1714, in addition to weekly wages amounting to one *ḳurush* for every simple labourer (*irghād*) hired to work in the mines, an allowance of two *para*s each day was paid as a cash equivalent for food rations. Sometimes however the food rations were paid in kind in the following amounts: 141 pounds (50 *wuḳiyye*s) of wheat per month per worker, with a weekly supplement of $5^1/_2$ pounds (2 *wuḳiyye*s) of leavened bread (*khamir*). In an interesting document dealing with the terms of operation of a state salt works in Zwornik province published by Handžić (see *Bibl.*, Handžić [1959]), we learn that working conditions and the share of workers in the profits of a mine could even become a subject for collective arbitration. In this example, the workers' share in the salt works had previously been determined as the product of three days' work, and the treasury share as the product of four days' work each week. However, on consulting with the parties concerned, the workers proposed a more equitable accommodation whereby they agreed to take their share in the proceeds of the mine each day in kind, in an amount defined in detail and guaranteed in the specific wording of their agreement (*muḳāwele*). This latter system of apportioning shares in kind, rather than as the product of a particular day's work, protected both the workers and the treasury, since it was in neither party's interest to slow down or abandon production on the days devoted solely to the other's account. Other examples from different mining operations and forms of organised group labour show that the working conditions, and terms of recompense for workers, even those recruited for compulsory services such as fortress building, were negotiated so as to equal or to better the current rates in effect at the time (see Murphey, *Mosul*, 167).

Apart from the simple labourers who did the hard physical work excavating the mines, there was a whole range of more specialised skilled workers and supervisors. Their positions, like those of the *maʿdendji*s, were confirmed by imperial diploma (*berāt*) and carried with them certain special conditions and privileges. As an example (BBA, Ibn ul-Emin, "Meʿādin", no. 108) a document confirming the inherited position as *maʿdendji-bashi* to a certain Meḥmed in charge of inspecting all the mining shafts and forges at Gümüsh-khāne in order to ensure smooth operation and to guard against concealment or theft of silver ore, states that the holder of this office was to enjoy a customary revenue (*ʿawāʾid*) of one basket of ore for every forge under his inspection. The distribution of the mineral production between these various experts, foremen and inspectors working in a mine followed long-established tradition and was based on a division of the production of each mining shaft into 66 distinct shares (*ḥiṣṣe*) (Beldiceanu 1964, 86). However, further deductions (*kesim*) and fees both in pure metal and as cash assessments were set aside as the share of the money coiners (*ṣarrāfīn*) and other mint officials to whom the refined ore was usually sold.

Because of the risks and expenses involved in mining exploration, and the hard physical nature of the work, we find in some instances that the local populace deliberately falsified prospecting reports and tried to discourage the opening of new mines in their districts or the reopening of abandoned shafts (see Refik, 46-57, doc. dated 1112/1700, in which the populace of Sidrekapsı oppose the reopening of an abandoned mine in order to avoid forced labour requirements). With the intensified production of the 13th/19th century, in particular in the coal mining industry, the labour situation changed completely (on this, see the study by Quataert in *Bibl.*).

One should note as a preliminary that the sites exploited by the Ottomans were to a very large extent centres which had been known and mined since ancient times. In the pre-Ottoman period, the major mining centres were in Serbia (see survey by Jireček based on records preserved in the Ragusan archives) and in northeastern Anatolia (for ancient times, see P. de Jesus; for the Byzantine period, Vryonis). Contrary to what is sometimes claimed (in particular by the Balkan historians, see above), the establishment of the Ottoman state in these lands did not result in a collapse of the indigenous mining industry. In fact, with regard to the Serbian mines, for instance, we know from the observations of Iacopo de Promontorio in 1475 (cited by Vryonis, 15) that the Ottomans were responsible for dis-

covering and exploiting new sites which had previously lain idle, thus opening the way for a new period of expansion in Balkan mining.

Categories and regional distribution of Ottoman mineral resources.

In the fifteenth section of the *Menāẓir al-ʿawālim* (Nuruosmaniye ms. 3426, fols. 349b-351a), Meḥmed ʿĀshıḳ organises his information under three broad headings: precious metals (*filidhāt*), precious stones (*aḥdjār*) and precious oils (*edhān*). In accordance with the traditional classification, the first group (fols. 347b-352b) is subdivided into the seven principal metals (*haft hosh*), i.e. gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, iron and speculum metal (*khār-i ṣīnī* [*q.v.*]).

The sources for gold mentioned by ʿĀshıḳ as most productive in his time (fol. 349b) were the mines in the environs of Sidjilmāssa [*q.v.*]. Another source for fine quality gold used in the Cairo mint was in the same region at Udjle (S. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization ... of Ottoman Egypt*, 128). An indication of the extent of the production of these mines is given when one remembers that the yearly treasury contribution (*irsāliyye* [*q.v.*]) of Egypt was fixed at 500,000 gold pieces (Shaw, *op. cit.*, 284-5). Although a part of the *irsāliyye* was sometimes paid with other coins, it was typically made up of at least one-half gold (see orders to that effect to the governors of Egypt dating from the reign of Murād IV (1032-49/1623-39); University Library, Istanbul, ms. T.Y. 6110, fols. 46b-47b, 80a-80b, 91a-92b, all dealing with *khazine irsālī*).

The principal silver mines of the Ottoman Empire were concentrated in Serbia, with other important centres in Thrace (Sidrekapsı and Pravišta) and Macedonia (Üsküb/Skopje, Kratova, etc.). The value of the annual production of ten of the largest of these mines is summarised in the following table:

Name of mine or mining region	yearly value of lease of tax-farm (*muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*])	*year*
Skopje	4,695,915	1584
Zaplana	4,600,000	1603
Sidrekapsı	3,690,000	1585
Demirhisar	1,710,000	1589
Lofča and Berkofča	1,633,333	?
Pravišta	851,182	1590
Srebrenica	848,105	1858
Trepča	333,333	1585
Rudnik	273,333	1585
Novobrdo	216,666	1585

Source: R. Murphey, *Silver production* ..., 82-5.

Although estimates for overall production levels of the silver mines in Rumelia vary considerably, official statistics from the turn of the 11th/17th century indicate an annual production of silver somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1,600,000 ounces (Murphey, *Silver production*, 79).

As for Anatolia, silver deposits were to be found in the mines at Djandja near present-day Gümüsh-khāne. Register MM 922 in the Istanbul archives gives us an idea of the scale of this mine's production in the year 1010/1601. At this date, during a four-month period, a quantity of 149,949 *dirhems* or 14,802 troy ounces was produced. This indicates a yearly production of silver at Djandja of around the 450,000 *dirhems* level. However, after the 11th/17th century, silver was no longer produced in large quantities at Djandja. This was due partly to a failure to recover from disruptions during the Djalālī rebellions [*q.v.*] period, and partly to natural exhaustion of the surface veins. Peysonnel's report of 1787 indicates a significant decline in the intensity of mining activity in the mines around Gümüsh-khāne by stating that in his day only eighteen forges remained in operation (Peysonnel, 82). Both silver and gold were also produced in the mines at Ergani, in the northwest sector of Diyārbekir province. A document dating from 1155/1742 (BBA, KK 5192) indicates that during a twelve-month period a total of 201,157 *dirhems* of gold (19,885,06 troy ounces) and 1,136,810 *dirhems* of silver (112,208,04 troy ounces) were smelted in 3,982 separate forges, each under the direction of an expert known as the *ifrāzdji*. Each *mithḳāl* of gold (1 *mithḳāl* = 1.5 *dirhems*) was valued at 460 *aḳčes*, while silver was priced at 12.5 *ḳurushs* per *čeki* (1 *čeki* = 100 *dirhems*) or 15 *aḳčes* per *dirhem* at the standard rate of 120 *aḳčes* to the *ḳurush*. A second register compiled five years previously in 1149/1737 (BBA, MM 18,404) records that 3,216 forges were in operation, producing a yearly quantity of 134,521.5 *dirhems* (13,277 troy ounces) of gold and 522,272 *dirhems* (51,548 troy ounces) of silver. Unlike the silver mines at Djandja, at Ergani a high level of production was maintained well into the 19th century.

Apart from gold and silver, with regard to other mineral resources the Ottoman Empire was in a particularly favorable position. Copper was supplied from the mines in the province of Ḳasṭamonu, in particular the mine of Küre in the *sandjaḳ* of Inebolu and the mines in the township of Čankiri [*q.v.*] (*Ḳasṭamonu wilāyeti sālnāmesi, sene 1316 H.*, 533-4). Copper production at the Küre mine is well documented from archival sources. The earliest account dates from 919/1513 (BBA, Ibn ul-Emin Tasnif, "Meʿādin", no. 3) and records the operation of 29 forges producing 28,638 *wuḳiyyes* (36.74 metric tons) for an 8½ month period. The pure copper once extracted was valued at 68 *aḳčas* per *wuḳiyḳe*. Subsequent records for the year 1081/1670 (BBA, MM 15997) give only the lump-sum valuation of the tax-farm lease for the operation of the mine fixed at 3,500 *batmans* or 24.85 metric tons, without specifying actual production. However, a still later register dating from 1200/1785-6 (BBA, KK 2945), while not exclusively concerned with the Küre mine but recording shipments of copper ore from the Black Sea region as a whole, permits us to make some more precise estimations about overall levels of copper production. This register records 23 separate shipments made from the port of Samsun in the early months of 1200/1785-6, including 22,243 pieces constituting a total weight of 71,911 *batmans* or 510.57 metric tons (note: the equivalent of 431,466 *wuḳiyyes*, 150 *dirhems*, given for the shipments totalling 71,911 *batmans*, allows us to fix the true weight of the *batman* in use for metals at this time at 5.5379 *wuḳiyyes* or 7.1 kg). Since, however, these shipments were made directly to the cannon foundry in Istanbul, they cannot be regarded as accurately reflecting the overall output of even the mines of the Black Sea area. D. Urquhart writing in 1833 describes Küre as "perhaps the richest copper mine in the world" and notes that its yearly production reached some three million *oḳḳas* or 3,800 metric tons. One-quarter of this total was supplied directly to the imperial arsenal in Istanbul for gun casting, one-third was consumed by local industry, and the remaining surplus of about 41 %

exported to foreign markets, in particular India. Peysonnel (see summary statistics in *Bibl.*) also provides some information on copper exported from the Black Sea ports. Aside from Küre, we know from Edwards' account of Ottoman mining in 1914 (Edwards, 195) that there were rich copper deposits in the Hendek basin east of Adapazarı, in addition to which Solakian (62-70) speaks of dozens of small mines along the Harshit river valley near Tirebolu. (For further information on copper production, see also the Farley report cited in *Bibl.*, and Issawi, 278-9.) According to Meḥmed ʿĀshıḳ (*Menāẓir al-ʿawālim*, fol. 351b), there existed some copper deposits in the Osogovska mountains near Kratovo and in various locations in the mountains of Bosnia.

Iron ore was excavated in large quantities in the mines of Samakov in present-day Bulgaria, and shipped to Istanbul for various uses in civil and military construction via the Black Sea port of Ahyolu (Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami*, i, 367). There were numerous other smaller mining centres throughout Bosnia which could also be mobilised in time of need (on the smaller iron-producing mines in the vicinity of Novo Brdo, see *Bibl.*, Handžić, 1976). An interesting example of the reopening of a mine at Kamengrad in northern Bosnia is to be found in vol. xxi of the *Mühimme defter*s for the year 980/1572. The document is addressed to the governor of Bosnia and specifies that, in order to meet a pressing need for cannon balls at the front, the responsible authorities in the area are to recruit the necessary workmen from the neighbouring villages without delay and resume production at the mine immediately. A fact which should not be overlooked when analysing the pattern of Ottoman mining activity is that, in addition to the richness of a given deposit, geographical proximity to the place where military need was the greatest could also be a major factor in determining which mines were exploited and also the level of production which was sought in particular locations.

Information about the two largest consumers of iron products, namely the imperial naval yards (*tersāne-yi ʿāmire*) and the imperial arsenal (*djebe-khāne*) allow us to make rough estimates about the levels of production in the major iron-producing regions. In the case of the naval yards, a register dated 1073/1663 (BBA, MM 1800) specifies that 1,328 *ḳanṭar*s or about 75,000 kg. of raw iron were provided from Samakov at a cost of 623,267 *aḳče*s or approximately 470 *aḳče*s per *ḳanṭar*. An *idjmāl* register prepared by the overseeing agent (*nāẓir*) of the Samakov mine covering a two-year period from Muḥarrem 1025 to Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1026/January 1616 to December 1617 (BBA, MM 2067) indicates that the following finished goods were sent to the arsenal in that year: 1,024 shovel blades (*küreks*), 2,552 picks (*ḳazmas*), 2,000 axes (*balṭa*) and 14 crowbars (*küskü*). Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vi, 128) speaks of a yearly quantity of 8,000 wagonloads of raw iron being sent to the central lands of the Empire chiefly via the seaport of Salonica. In Anatolia, one of the principal iron ore deposits exploited by the Ottomans was at Kiği in the mountainous region southwest of Erzerum. (on the production of cannon balls and other finished iron products at Kiği, see Murphey, *The construction of a fortress . . .*, documents in the addenda). Another centre of iron production in Anatolia, at least one that was active in the 19th century, was in the township of Zeytūn north of Marʿash. According to the yearbook for Aleppo province for the year 1321/1906 (446), there were two active mines producing a yearly quantity of 2,500 *wuḳiyye*s of raw iron (on these mines, see also Edwards, 193, and Solakian, 51-2).

The provenance of steel used in the Ottoman Empire was various. From the east, it was brought from India and Caucasia, in particular Derbend, and found its way to Damascus, where it was fashioned into various finished products, such as sword blades, by the celebrated artisans of that city (see *Bibl.*, section iii). Some steel also came from Europe and was known as *frengi*, although there were also indigeneous centres in the Rumelian provinces at Buda and Samakov. Because of its foreign origin and the costly nature of the process by which it was refined, tempered steel, referred to as "Frankish steel" (*čelik-i frengi*), fetched the highest unit price among the baser metals, commonly being sold at 4,000 *aḳče*s per *ḳanṭar* (91 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye*) and in one instance for as much as 4,300 *aḳče*s per *ḳanṭar* or 98 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye* (BBA, MM 6760, register dated 1006/1597-8). The regulated prices as set in 1049/1640 fixed a maximum price of 70 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye* for the *čelik-i frengi* supplied to the rasp-makers' guild (*türpüdjüyān*) in Istanbul (*Esʿār defteri*, Topkapu Sarayı Library ms. Revan 1934, fols. 107a-108b), but clearly there were extensive gradations in quality. The official price regulations of 1049/1640 established the following four categories:

(1) *frengi čelik* - 70 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye*;
(2) *Peshte čelik* - 35 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye*;
(3) *Samakiv čelik* - 25 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye*;
(4) *čelik* of low quality not suitable for use by the file-makers - 20 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye*.

For the prices of various other metals used in the production of ordnance, an account register of the imperial cannon foundry (*top-khāne-yi ʿāmire*) from 1006/1597-8 gives us some precise data (BBA, MM 6760). At this date, *copper* was supplied to the foundry at a price of forty *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye* (1 *wuḳiyye* = 1.2828 kg.). Tin varied in price between 3,800-3,900 *aḳče*s per *ḳanṭar* (1 *ḳanṭar* = 44 *wuḳiyye*s), or 86-89 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye* according to its provenance. In one notation, an item of expense of 1,372 *aḳče*s for the cost of a pack horse to transport tin from Semendire is recorded.

Other minerals

Apart from the seven precious metals (*haft-i hosh*), another class of minerals was made up of ores of low intrinsic, but high practical value. Principal among these ores were alum (*shab*), sulphur (*kükürt*) and saltpeter (*göherčile*).

Alum was used in the textile industry during the dying process, as well as in the paper-making and other industries. Its manufacture in Turkey dated back at least to the 8th/14th century (İnalcık, *Classical age*, 134; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 160-1; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 565-71). Until alternative sources were discovered, Anatolia was the major and almost unchallenged supplier of alum to the European textile industry, principally through the intermediacy of Genoese merchants. A Florentine merchant of the early 14th century lists five fully distinguishable grades and regional varieties of alum from Anatolia, as follows: (1) Kütahya alum; (2) alum from Ḳaraḥiṣār (= Shebin-Ḳaraḥiṣār); (3) alum from Phocea (= Yeñi Foča); (4) alum from around Ulubād on the western shore of Apolyont Gölü; and (5) impure alum from the various islands of the Marmara sea (known as

alum of Cyzicus (= Ḳapudaghî yarîm-adasî) (Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 43, 293, 369). (For the reversal of this state of affairs with regard to the Turkish predominance in the production and supply of alum to the West by the 12th/18th century, see below.) The principal alum pits were found in north-central Anatolia at Shebin-Ḳaraḥiṣār and in western Anatolia in the area around Kütahya. The toponym Shabkhāne still in use today in the vicinity of Gediz, and other variants such as Shabdji near Tavshanlî, attest to the former importance of the alum deposits in this region. Additional deposits were found at Maronea near Gümüldjine [*q.v.*] in Thrace (*Sharʿiyya* court records of Aleppo, *Ewāmir-i sulṭāniyye*, xiv, 70-1) and at Ipsala (Singer, 89-94).

Since sulphur and saltpetre were two of the principal ingredients used in the manufacture of gunpowder [see BĀRŪD], it is not surprising that supply of these essential materials was controlled by means of a special regulatory system. The accounting system applied for securing gunpowder supplies was known as the *odjaḳlîḳ* or special fund allocated for purchases and requisitioning of essential supplies (the same system was used to secure supplies for the imperial kitchens, the imperial navy and other branches of state service). The regions whence the essential minerals for the production of gunpowder could be procured within the Empire were limited. For supplies of sulphur, the government turned to either extreme of the Empire. A document dated 978/1570 indicates that a yearly quantity of 2,000 *ḳanṭār*s was supplied to the government by the governor of Hakkārī province from his own region together with Erdjish (Refik, 7-8). On the other side of the empire, an indication of sulphur being mined in Selānik province is found in a budget for the year 1079-80/1669-70 (Barkan 1955, 249), where an expenditure of 33,000 *aḳčes* is recorded for hiring of pack animals to transport the ore. Since we know from other sources (Refik, 7-8) that the standard rental fee for each draught animal was 200 *aḳčes*, we may interpret these figures as representing 165 animals, each bearing the standard load of 18 *batmans* or about 300 pounds. Saltpetre, too, because it required specially humid climatic conditions, such as those found on the edges of the salt lakes of Ḳaramān province, or in the Nile delta of Egypt, though more abundant than sulphur, could only be produced in certain places. Like sulphur, it too was supplied to the government by means of the yearly fixed contribution in kind. The level of this contribution was supposed to be constant, but additional extraordinary requests could be made in time of need. The yearly level fixed for Ḳaramān province as a whole was 500 *ḳanṭār*s or 28,222 kg. (Konya, *Sharʿiyya* court records for the year 1040/1630, 30). More often than not, the saltpetre was produced in a number of smaller workshops or distilleries called *kennes* (*Derleme*, viii, 2744), to be collected and transported to centrally-located factories for the manufacture of gunpowder. One such centre was at Bor, which annually produced a quantity of 91,000 *wuḳiyye*s (approx. 2,000 *ḳanṭārs* or 112,890 kg.) of finished gunpowder for delivery to the arsenal in Istanbul (Önen, 21). Egypt's regular contribution (*irsāliyye*) was 3,000 *ḳanṭār*s (Ferīdūn, ii, 201-2), but in some years it reached as high as 10,000 *ḳanṭār*s (see the order addressed to Tabānî-Yassî Meḥmed Pasha, governor of Egypt 1038-40/1628-30, in *Ṣuwer*, fols. 43b-44a).

Table. Statistics on Anatolian mining in the 10th-11th/17th-18th centuries

Minerals found	Location*	Yearly value of the *muḳāṭaʿa* in *aḳčes*	Yearly volume of production	Price per unit	Source of information	Date
silver	(Aleppo)	17,346			MM 7075, p. 8	1046/1636
silver	(Tokat)	67,000			MM 7075, p. 26	1046/1636
silver	Djandja (Gümüsh-khāne)	1,500,000			MM 7075, p. 12	1046/1636
silver	Inegöl (Bursa)	80,000			MM 7075, p. 32	1046/1636
silver	(Aleppo)	17,346			MM 7075, p. 8	1046/1636
silver	Djandja (Gümüsh-khāne)		450,000 *dirhems* **	9.5 *aḳčes* for pure silver, 1.5 for ore	MM 922	1010/1601
silver	Ergani		1,136,810 *dirhems*	15 *aḳčes*	MM 5192	1155/1742
gold	Ergani		201,157 *dirhems*	306²/₃ *aḳčes*	MM 5192	1155/1742
copper	Ardanuč (Erzerum)	300,000			MM 7075, p. 15	1046/1636
copper	Küre (Ḳasṭamonu)		28,638 *wuḳiyyes* ***	68 *aḳčes*	Ibn ul-Emin, Meʿādin, no. 3	919/1513
iron	Čankiri (Ḳasṭamonu)	117,879 ****			MM 7075, p. 28	1046/1636
iron	(Muğla)	6,333 *****			MM 7075, p. 38	1046/1636
alum	Ḳaraḥiṣār-i Sharḳî	1,382,650			MM 7075, p. 15	1046/1636
alum	Gediz (Kütahya)	316,666			MM 7075, p. 35	1046/1636

* Place-names given between parentheses designate *sandjaḳ*s. This is used both as an aid to location and in order to differentiate individual figures for specific mines from summation figures for a district as a whole; ** One *dirhem* equals 3.07 g; *** One *wuḳiyye* equals 1.2828 kg; **** This figure of 117,879 also reflects some revenues from the salt works of Čankiri; ***** Tax-farm of the smelting works (*ḳal-khāne*).

Mineralogical map of Anatolia.

1. Iron: Bilediik (Refik, 1-4), Čankiri (MM 7075), Muğla (MM 7075), Divriği (Kātib 624), Kiği (Refik, 15, 21, 46);
2. Copper: Ardanuč (Refik, 54, and MM 7075), Kağizman (Refik, 45-46), Küre/Ḳasṭamonu (ʿĀshıḳ, f. 351b);
3. Lead and Silver: Gümüsh-khāne (Ewliyā II, 405 and MM 7075) Ergani (Refik, 29, 39) Inegöl/Bursa (Refik, 45, and MM 7075), Ispiye/Tirebolu (Refik, 30, 31, 34);
4. Sulphur: Erdjish (Refik, 7-8), Hakkārī (Refik, 7-8);
5. Saltpetre: Erdjish (Refik, 13), Ḳaramān (Refik, 11-12, 18), Bor (Ewliyā, iii, 190);
6. Alum: Shebin Ḳaraḥiṣār (MM 7075), Gediz (MM 7075).

Sources:

ʿĀshıḳ = Meḥmed ʿĀshıḳ, *Menāẓir al-ʿawālim*, Nur-i Osmaniye Library ms. 3426;
Ewliyā = Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, 10 vols., Istanbul 1314/1896, to 1938;
Kātib = Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-numā*, Istanbul 1145/1732;
MM = Başbakanlık Archives, Maliyeden Müdevver series;
Refik = A. Refik, *Osmanlı devrinde Türkiye madenleri* (967-1200), Istanbul 1931.

For the purpose of quick reference, a table follows which shows the scale of various mining enterprises in Anatolia. An accompanying map shows the geographical distribution of the principal minerals.

Market organisation: distribution and supply.

The principal purpose of the state regulation of mines was to ensure self-sufficiency, particularly in materials of strategic significance. It seems moreover that in order to achieve this, the state was even willing to sacrifice a measure of efficiency in production. This is most obvious in those mines administered by *iltizām* (see above and MÜLTEZIM). Under this system, after deducting expenses for materials and payment of the treasury tithe, an investor was left with only some 60% of the production with which to pay his workers and realise a profit for himself. As is indicated in a memorandum on the subject written in about 1600 (see Murphey, *Silver production*, 90), this left little margin for experimentation with new techniques or investment in production-boosting improvements. In point of fact, the Ottoman Empire was independent of outside sources of supply for all significant minerals with the possible exception of tin (on the import of tin from the Cornish mines, see BĀRŪD at i, 1063, and H. İnalcık, *The socio-political effects . . .*, 215 ff. Also, Ewliyā Čelebi mentions that the supply of tin for the Istanbul craft-guilds came from England (*Seyāḥāt-nāme*, i, 579: *Ingiltere diyārından*). Modern geological exploration has determined that the only place in the Middle East where tin occurs in any appreciable deposit is the Lebanon (see de Jesus, i, 53, and ii, 395, map). However, there is no evidence that the Ottomans made use of this site (on the 17th century tin trade between England and Turkey, see Hedges, 84-5).

While mining production itself was also carefully monitored, strict government control was exercised, particularly in the marketing phase. One aspect of state regulation of the market place was the limiting or total prohibition of export of some mineral products at times when local stocks became depleted. Examples of the periodic imposition of trade restrictions in iron and lead, as well as other metals, are recorded in the well-indexed catalogue volumes of the Public Record Office in London (see *Bibl.*). These trading bans were imposed only as an exceptional measure, but with regard to the sale and distribution of certain scarce resources within the empire itself there was a whole range of restrictive regulations, ranging from government price control to the enforcement of artificial market boundaries known as *örü*.

To illustrate the fundamentally protectionist principles of the state with regard to mineral production and distribution, the conditions regulating the state alum mines are particularly revealing. Details on the marketing of alum mined at Shebin-Ḳaraḥiṣār (Ḳaraḥiṣār-ı Sharḳī) for use in the manufacture of gunpowder and other products are provided in the *sharʿiyya* court records from Aleppo. In an order dated 11 Muḥarrem 1194/19 January 1780 to the authorities in Aleppo, one of the restricted areas where the ore could be sold, the government barred the competition of European traders (*efrendjiler*)

who sought to flood the market with cheaper alum. Ship captains were warned that if they persisted in attempting to sell their cargoes at the deflated price of six *kurush*s per *kanṭar* (56.443 kg.), as opposed to the fixed price of forty-three *kurush*s per *kanṭar* set for the produce of the state-operated mines at Ḳaraḥiṣār, their cargoes would be confiscated (Damascus, *Markaz al-wathāʾiḳ al-taʾrīkhiyya: Ewāmir-i sulṭāniyye* (*Ḥalab*), xv, 384-6). Another order dated 25 Muḥarrem 1191/5 March 1777 provided guarantees for the maintenance of treasury revenues deriving from alum sales by blocking access to the market to all suppliers until such time as all the state-produced alum had been sold. The order also provided that any shipments of alum not authentically proven to have originated from the state mines by the issuance of a treasury agent's permit (*tedhkire*) would be made subject to immediate confiscation, as well as to the payment of an indemnity amounting to twice the value of the seized shipment (*Ewāmir al-sulṭāniyye* (*Ḥalab*), xiv, 70-1). Such harsh restrictions and overtly monopolistic marketing practices based on defined areas called *örü* were applied in connection with a limited number of mineral products such as salt and alum. Nevertheless, the government applied similar restrictions on some precious metals as well, both with an eye to protecting treasury revenues, and to assuring the availability of scarce materials which, by their very nature, could easily be made the subject of hoarding and speculation. Thus the sale and circulation of raw silver was strictly controlled by the government. A limit was fixed for the use of the jewellers and related craft-guilds (such as the *ṣirma-keshān*) by the comptroller of the mint (*ḍarb-khāne nāẓiri*), and unauthorised export of silver was also forbidden (on this question, see the references in Murphey, *Silver production* . . ., 89). Furthermore, by periodic regulation of the coinage (*taṣḥīḥ-i sikke*) to account for fluctuations in the market value of silver, official government rates of circulation (*rāʾidj*) for all major currencies, both internally and externally-minted, were determined and were universally applied in all provinces of the empire. Thus all phases of Ottoman mineral production, minting, and circulation followed the same rule of strict government regulation and control aimed at preserving self-sufficiency and at assuring abundance in the supply of precious metals for the home market.

Concerning the distribution for use of mineral resources, it is clear that the greater part of the empire's mineral production was set aside and made directly available to the state for two principal uses:

(1) *military use*

- a. the imperial cannon foundry (*top-khāne-yi ʿāmire*)
- b. naval shipyards (*tersāne-yi ʿāmire*)

(2) *use in civil construction*

- a. buildings serving the public need
  - (1) mosques
  - (2) schools
  - (3) hospitals
  - (4) *ʿimāret*s
- b. buildings reserved for state use
  - (1) royal palaces
  - (2) residences of high government functionaries.

A relatively smaller proportion was distributed to the craft guilds for the production of household utensils and consumer goods. Manufacture of common household items such as copper cooking pots (*ḳazghan*), charcoal burners for household heating (*mangal*) and copper eatingware (*ḳab*) also used up large quantities of metal. According to Ewliyā's list (*Seyāḥāt-nāme*, i, 579) in Istanbul alone there were some 1,000 separate metal founders' shops (*dökmedjis*) employing some 1,300 skilled craftsmen. It was only when these two needs had been fully satisfied, that is to say, the needs of the state and the needs of the internal consumer market, with a substantial surplus kept in reserve in case of emergency need, that the issue of export could even arise. When export did occur, the state also carefully supervised all aspects of these transactions in order to determine the appropriate trading partners, the volume of the trade, and the proper price level.

These peculiarities of the Ottoman marketing system are nowhere more in evidence than with respect to the distribution and sale of salt [see MILḤ]. For purposes of salt sales, each production district or *örü* was further divided into sub-units called *dīwān*s, to which salt was distributed for sale on the basis of carefully calculated population estimates. The purpose of such a system was obviously to guard against the occurrence of shortage caused by price speculation on the part of merchants who knew how to profit from a naturally occurring price differential based on the geographic proximity of their potential markets to the centre of production. Figures for several salt works in Anatolia and Rumelia published by Güçer indicate that the distribution of salt typically followed a repeating pattern: 85% of the salt produced in a given production district (*örü*) was blocked for distribution at fixed prices to local industries (bakeries, etc.), while only 15% made its way outside the confines of the *örü*, either as a contribution to a state organisation such as the imperial kitchen (*maṭbakh-i ʿāmire*) or for distribution in another *örü* experiencing a temporary shortage. Of the total of 85% consumed locally, Güçer was able to determine that 70% was sold directly at the mine or in its immediate environs, and a further 15% was sold in remote rural sales districts (*dīwān*s) with limited access to the mine. Far from being oppressive, these sales restrictions were designed to ensure equitable distribution of commodities which were either naturally scarce or liable to become the object of price speculation.

Nineteenth-century developments in Ottoman mining.

In considering the development of Ottoman mining in the 13th/19th century, one should note the three areas of fundamental change:

(a) Mining law. (For this, see the relevant articles from the *Düstūr* listed in the *Bibl.*, section II. On the law governing capital investment and ownership of land by foreigners, see Engelhardt, i, 211 ff., and Solakian, 5-6. On the concessionary régime, see IMTIYĀZĀT.) (b) New mineral types exploited in the 19th century and the role of foreign capital in the development of Ottoman mining. (c) New technology and the impact of mechanisation. Only the major themes and issues relating to the last two topics, in particular, that of mechanisation in Ottoman mining (see below), will be treated here.

The exploitation of other mineral resources in the Ottoman Empire such as chrome and nickel and the more intensive exploitation of existing fields as in the coal industry, began on a large scale relatively late in Ottoman history. Under the impetus of increased demand sparked off by the Industrial Revolution in Europe, mineral exploitation rights in

Table. Statistics on Anatolian mining in the 19th century

Minerals found	Location	Yearly volume of production	Price per unit	Source of information	Date
copper	Erğani	6,172 metric tons	72 *para*	*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 263	average over 1859-1907
gold	Bulgar Dağı (Adana)	6¼ *oḳḳas* (8.4 kg.)		*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 263	average over 1805-25
silver	Bulgar Dağı	922 *oḳḳas* (1,183 kg.)		*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 263	average over 1805-25
copper	Küre (Ḳasṭamonu)	340 metric tons		Issawi, 279	1851
fuller's earth	Ankara	7,408,720 metric tons		*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 265	average over 1820-5
meerschaum	Eskişehir	5,648 *ṣandīḳ*s (one *ṣandīḳ* = approx. 35 kg.)		*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 264	average over 1820-5

Anatolia became the subject of intense competition between the various capitulatory nations and were often made a specific article of agreement in the bilateral negotiations for the financing of such large-scale projects as the Ḥidjāz railway. In order the better to coordinate the leasing and exploitation of the state mines and to increase their profits, a separate Department of Mines attached to the Ministry of Public Works (*Nafʿiyya*) was established in 1887.

The most significant development in the new period was the intensive exploitation of the empire's coal reserves with the participation of foreign capital. This sector of the mining industry has been thoroughly studied by Quataert (see *Bibl.*), so there is no need to enter into details here. Two points which should be stressed, however, are firstly that the marked rise in mineral output in the late 19th century was almost entirely used for export outside the empire and not to fuel internal industrial activity (according to Owen, 213, 80%-90% of all coal production was exported, according to Quataert somewhat less, whereas Solakian (10) provides statistics from the first decade of the 20th century showing that minerals alone usually accounted for between 60-70% of all exports), and secondly that of all the minerals, coal was far and away the most important, comprising nearly 80% of all mineral output (see statistics in *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 100). The table below excludes coal production (for which, see Quataert and statistics on the Ereğli mine in *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 262-3) so as to give a more balanced picture of developments in the 19th century as compared with the earlier period. With reference to this table, it should be noted that two quarried minerals which were also intensively exploited during the new period, once again primarily for export, were fuller's earth and meerschaum (for statistics on these, see *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, table 27, at pp. 102-3, which gives the mineral output of the empire by province according to two categories, mines (*maʿdin*) and quarries (*ṭash odjaḳlarî*).

Mining technology.

1. The earlier period. Some interesting details of the technological aspects of Ottoman mining are provided through the first hand observations of Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ, who was in residence during a three-year period between 994/1586 and 997/1589 in the mining town of Sidrekapsı. According to his description, the mine shafts were typically dug to a depth of some 150 to 200 *dhirāʿ*s (one *dhirāʿ* = approx. 75 cm). A system of mechanically operated surface pumps linked to the subterranean water channels was installed to facilitate drainage. The process whereby the ore was smelted and purified in small forges is also described by him. As the by-product of the first smelting, the ore was divided into pure silver ingots and a quantity of litharge. The litharge could then either be sold in its raw state or else further refined to produce lead for roofing or ammunition. As described by Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ, the forges at Sidrekapsı were rather small in size, with a central heating chamber connected to an exterior collecting chamber where the smelted ore was left to solidify. The major technical difficulty seems to have been overheating, particularly in the winter months when the water circulation needed for cooling was impeded by freezing temperatures, which gave rise periodically to the explosion and collapse of the small, clay-built forges. A document which further describes the operation of the smelting houses (*ḳal-khānes*) attached to the imperial mint and which specifies the percentage of metal lost during each stage of the assaying process, has been discovered in the Topkapu Sarayı archives (D. 9572) (see further, Beldiceanu 1964, 95-7). Ewliyā Čelebi's 11th/17th century description of the iron works in Samakov gives evidence of the use of hydraulic power to work the iron-stamping presses (*Seyāḥāt-nāme*, vi, 128).

2. The 19th century. We have already referred to the application of improved techniques in order to raise yields, a notable example being the construction of a centralised smelting plant at Tokat to process ore from mines throughout northeastern Anatolia (see above). Alongside improved technology, mechanisation in key areas such as the transport and loading of ore had a dramatic impact on mineral output at the turn of the 20th century. To take an example from the Ereğli coal fields, the building of a rail link and installing of cranes for rapid loading of the ships in the port are singled out by Quataert as the critical factors leading to a three-fold increase in production within a few years of the establishment of the French Company, the *Société d'Heraclée*, in 1896 (see Quataert; Owen, 213, taking a longer time frame, speaks of a better than ten-fold increase in coal output between 1855 and 1913). Proximity to existing railway lines also affected the decision to exploit known deposits in other sectors of the mining industry. The development of chrome mining in the province of Aydîn, and intensified exploitation of the beds of schist at Hendek for extraction of copper, became economically viable only by virtue of the proximity of these areas to existing railway lines. In the case of the Hendek operations, we are told by Edwards (196) that at the time of his report in 1914 there were as many as 26 separate concessionaires working in an area only 80 miles square. As a result of intensified mining activity and mechanisation in the industry, in a single decade at the turn of the 20th century overall mining production in all sectors of the industry doubled from about 600,000 tons to 1.15 million tons (Solakian, 9). This improvement in output was

achieved without a significant increase in the number of mines operated (Solakian, table at p. 9, shows that the number of mines operated fluctuated between 82 and 94 over the period 1901-10), and in the absence of new mineral finds of any significance.

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Below this is inscribed the instruction *987, 990, 991, 992, 1015, 1024, 1025, ve 1043 senerleri dahī görüle*; MM 22, 148 = completed draft of the above survey containing data spanning the years 990-1041/1582-1631; State Treasury budgets from the KK series: KK 1919 = budget for 1036-7/1626-7 KK 1921 = budget for 1037-8/1627-8 KK 1927 = budget for 1039-40/1630-1. Istanbul, Topkapu Sarayı Arşivi, Defter 9572 = a document dealing with the administration of the mint at Sidrekapsı dated 944/1537. For a brief description on archival sources on mining, see M. Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekalet Arşivi*, Ankara 1955, 78-81. In particular, see BBA, KK 5167, KK 5169, KK 5171, KK 5175, KK 5184, KK 5185, KK 5196 = registers dealing with the Rumelian mines, and BBa, KK 5190, KK 5191, KK 5192, KK 5195, KK 5204 = registers dealing with the Anatolian mines. 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4. In Islamic art.

Materials and techniques.

In Muslim civilisation as in classical antiquity, precious metals and alloys of copper, tin, lead and iron were used for artistic purposes. We have only scanty information about the metals, and particularly about the alloys of which metalware was made. Our ignorance in this respect stems from a number of reasons. One is that most of the Islamic metal objects have never been properly analysed, and terms like "bronze" or "brass" are used indiscriminately in catalogues and other scholarly publications. Another reason is that the mediaeval Islamic terminology for metals and their alloys is often ambiguous and therefore difficult to evaluate (Aga Oğlu, *A brief note*, in *JAOS*, lxv [1945], 218-23). It would seem, however, that from the early Islamic period to at least A.D. 1200, materials conform with those used in classical antiquity and with those mentioned by al-Djazarī, namely: gold (*dhahab*); silver (*fiḍḍa*); with bronze (*isfādrūḥ*, from the Persian *sapīd rūy*, a bronze with heavy content of tin, antimony and lead); bronze (*ṣufr*); brass (*shabah*); copper (*nuḥās*), and tin (*raṣāṣ al-ḳalʿī*). In early Islamic times the use of iron (*ḥadīd*) seems to have been negligible. It became important, however, for the production of steel for weapons and tools, and may have also been used instead of bronze for the plating of doors and city gates.

Together with the unbroken tradition in the use of metals and their alloys, there was a technical conservatism in the fashioning of Islamic metal objects. Several methods of casting—one of the oldest arts in the world—were practised in Islam. One was the cire-perdue or lost wax process, applied in cases of closed shapes. An accurate, though somewhat sketchy description by al-Djazarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], active in Diyārbakr in the second half of the 6th/12th century, testifies that in northern Mesopotamia the lost wax technique was well-established. Dated mid-6th/12th century objects indicate its use in Iran too (L. T. Giuzalian, *A bronze qalamdān*, 97). Another method described by al-Djazarī was casting with green sand. This method, which is of obscure origin, is mentioned also in Chinese sources contemporary to al-Djazarī. (For the first description in Europe, see Biringuccio, *De la pirotechnia*, 1540.)

Casting in open or piece moulds was used for works in the round or for more composite shapes, and required soldering. Hollow, primarily circular vessels, were often produced from disks or sheet metal, such as brass or white bronze, by burnishing the shape on a lathe. This technique, discovered by Roman artisans and known today as spinning, presumably passed to Islam from late Roman and Byzantine sources. No written documents on this technique, comparable to al-Djazarī's book on automata [see ḤIYAL in Suppl.] have so far come to light. The same applies to the widely employed method of raising—or sinking—in which comparatively thin metal sheets were transformed by hammering into jointless, hollow vessels of almost any shape. Among the objects fashioned in this technique are jugs, bottles, cups and bowls raised in precious metal or white bronze, covered brass vessels with fluted bodies and lids, and the like.

The most common method employed for decoration were punching, chasing and bossing, tracing, engraving and inlay. None of these techniques was

entirely new. Their originality lies in the application of these conventional methods to create surface decorations of unprecedented Islamic character and artistic feeling.

(1) Punching: This method, known also as ring-matting and executed by stamps which terminate in a small ring or hole, is particularly appropriate for soft metals. It was employed by Chinese and Soghdian gold- and silversmiths primarily as background pattern, while in Islamic metalwork punched circles were also applied to objects made of bronze and its alloys. The most common use of ring-matting was to set off the main decoration or an inscription from the ground. Yet particularly on early metalware, punched circles also formed the principal decoration. On bronzes, ring matting appears to have gone out of fashion by the early 7th/13th century. The latest dated example of ring-matting on bronze known to the writer occurs on an inlaid penbox, which was made in 607/1210-11 by Shādhī for Madjd al-Mulk al-Muẓaffar, one of the viziers of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh.

(2) Chasing and bossing (*tandjīr*): Repoussé, or ornamental relief work, is produced by hammering metal sheet, and like punching it is closely linked to the work of the gold- and silversmith. We still possess a relatively fair number of chased and bossed gold and silver objects. The bulk of the surviving objects comes from Iran and antedates the 7th/13th century. Reports of later Muslim travellers like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa imply, however, that such vessels continued to be manufactured also outside Iran and in larger quantities than the surviving examples suggest. The application of repoussé to bronze in order to create an over-all decoration, which was practised in the Near East since remote antiquity, was relatively rare in Islam. It is known foremost from a group of late 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century candlesticks and some stylistically closely-related rectangular tray-like objects (see also Rice, *A Seljuq lamp from Konya*, *SIMW*. *V*). In modern times, chasing and bossing of brass and copper is practiced all over the Islamic world.

(3) Tracing and engraving (*ḥafr*): The decoration of the majority of Islamic metal objects was done either with chisels to produce grooves, or with gravers in order to remove the metal which once filled these grooves. Both techniques are not related to any specific material, and were employed singly and in conjunction with other techniques. They were used for unpretentious decorations of household utensils; for tracing intricate arabesque patterns; for preparing the grooves for copper and silver inlay, or to enrich repoussé or other decorations. Both tracing and engraving are still practiced in almost any bazaar workshop.

(4) Inlay: Inlay in metal (*takfīt* or *tarṣīʿ*) is a technique by which the artist enriches a metal object by overlaying parts of its surface with patterns formed from wires or sheets of a different metal. Although this craft too is of considerable antiquity, it was not popular before the mid-6th/12th century. On early bronzes, as for instance a pear-shaped ewer in the Victoria and Albert Museum (434-1906), an often-discussed ewer in the Hermitage, or a ewer in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (47.100.90), a thin piece of red copper was hammered into a small cavity in order to mark the eyes or feathers of a bird or to indicate a fruit or floral motif. Silver wire, which in later centuries had become a common medium for inlay, was only rarely used with these early examples. The wider use of inlay with copper and silver is documented only from the mid-6th/12th century onwards. According to al-Djazarī, the inlaying of the doors at Diyārbakr in the last third of the 6th/12th century was done by cutting the pattern for the inlay from metal sheets, casting the grooves in the lost wax technique, and finally fitting both parts together. Although this method was known in ancient times, inlaid Islamic metal objects from the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries point to two different techniques. In the first, the so-called dove-tailing employed for red copper and silver inlay, the design was traced into the bronze or brass with a blunt tracer. The channels, or spaces to receive the copper or silver wire, were roughened and undercut, and the silver hammered into these "dove-tailed" grooves. Where the space to be inlaid was greater than a wire would fill, a piece of sheet metal instead of wire was beaten down into the undercut spaces and subsequently engraved. No undercutting took place in the second method of inlay. In this method, which was employed for gold and is documented since the mid-7th/13th century, shallow grooves following the contours of the design were traced, and the thin gold leaf was secured by hammering it into the grooves. When larger panels were prepared to receive the gold, the bottom of the respective ornament was thoroughly roughened with a punching tool.

On the majority of mediaeval bronze and brass objects, chased lines or background scrolls are filled with a black, bituminous substance the composition of which has so far not been analysed. Similarly, the composition of the niello powder used in Islamic times on gold and silver ware is still unknown.

Types of metalware.

Broadly speaking, Islamic metalwork falls into five categories. The first and largest are objects made for domestic and religious use. They are well represented in museums and private collections and therefore better known than the rest. The second group are doors and windows and their accessories. It includes knockers, locks, keys and window grills. Scientific and medical instruments, astrolabes, globes, knifes and scissors form the third group of metalwork. The interest in these instruments lies primarily in the history of science and technology. Yet in their excellent craftsmanship and beautiful decoration they are often real works of art. The fourth group are arms and armoury. They too are often of excellent craftsmanship, though for evident reasons they differ in design and workmanship from the former categories. The same applies to jewellery, which for technical and other reasons deserves a separate study [see DJAWHAR, ii, in Suppl.]. The last three categories are therefore not included in this section. Artistically-outstanding examples will be mentioned below.

Objects made for domestic and religious use.

(1) Lighting implements. Islamic lampstands basically follow Byzantine, Mediterranean models. Two types, both common in pre-Islamic Iran, Syria and Egypt, had particular influence on the formation of the Islamic stands. The first is characterised by a post made up of baluster-shaped links, and is topped by a pan and a faceted spike to hold the lamp. The second type has a plain shaft which is bordered above and below by either disks, rings or a squat knob. Both kinds rest on three pawed or hoofed animal feet. The base is formed by three curving trefoils with a raised sharp edge along the centre,

or, more rarely, rises in the shape of a shallow dome. The artistic changes brought about by Islam did not so much affect the main elements of the Roman-Byzantine models than their stylistic transformation. This is expressed in the preference for segmental shapes, faceted shafts, or geometric, flattened renderings of the zoomorphic feet or trefoil bases (Barrett, *Islamic metalwork*, Pls. 3, 4a). Another Roman variation, the pricket-type lamp stand, recurs primarily among early Mamlūk specimens (cf. Louvre, no. 6030; Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, no. I 655, repr. H. Glück and E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Berlin 1925, Pl. 441). In later centuries, lampstands of the above-mentioned types became less adequate as lighting utensils and are therefore rare.

Mediaeval Islamic oil lamps also follow the Roman-Byzantine tradition. Their oval, or occasionally bulbous body has one or several nozzles for the wick, a hinged lid to cover the central filling hole, and is often applied with a handle at one end of the longitudinal axis. In contrast to the Roman specimen, the Islamic oil lamps were not made for a pricket stand, and are either footless or rest on a splayed, often faceted foot. This last form is generally regarded as an Iranian, particularly East Iranian feature and associated with 6th/12th to 7th/13th century K͟hurāsānian workshops. Many of them had animal or bird-shaped finials.

Zoomorphic oil lamps, too, were created both by Christian and by Islamic artisans. Yet whereas the shapes of the Byzantine and Coptic lamps were restricted to birds of symbolic content, in mediaeval Islam no clear preference for one or the other animal shape seems to have existed. The species of birds or quadrupeds became more and more differentiated and imaginative, and many are provided with burners attached to the breast or head of a fabulous creature.

In contrast to the lighting implements mentioned so far, the models for the mediaeval types of Islamic candlesticks are as yet obscure. Since about the end of the 6th/12th century the dominant type of these objects consisted of three clearly-marked elements: a truncated base, a socket which on a smaller scale repeated the form of the base, and a tubular neck serving as a link between the two. Aside from different proportions and sizes—candlesticks manufactured for mosques or public institutions may have reached a height of more than 50 cm.—base and socket took on a variety of shapes. There were two basic trends. In the first, the truncated cone of these elements had straight sides. The general appearance of those candlesticks was therefore heavy and somewhat sturdy. In the second, and more elegant variety, the flanks were contracted. In addition, the surface was often faceted, subdivided into straight vertical flanges, into raised ogee-shaped arches or two registers of pentagonal compartments. In a "transitional" type between the faceted and truncated forms, body and socket projected strongly towards their base, and the body rested on a slanting foot. This strong projection is counterbalanced by a protruding, flat shoulder (Ferhérvári, nos. 159-60; A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Le bronze iranien*, 52-3). In a special category of Iranian 10th/16th to 11th/17th century candlesticks, base, neck and socket were unified and turned into a cylindrical, and occasionally faceted stand with a slanting foot (Melikian Chirvani, *op. cit.*, 116-17). In most of these so-called pillar candlesticks, some traces of the basic three sections in the form of low mouldings or rings have been retained.

Mosque lamps, polycandelons and chandeliers belong to a variegated group of suspended float-wick lamps, of which relatively few examples have survived. To judge by the few complete and the numerous fragmentary metal mosque lamps so far known, they closely resembled glass lamps. They were either fashioned of sheet metal or cast in bronze, had a bulbous perforated body, a flaring neck and low foot, and three suspension rings were attached to the middle of their body. Suspension arms, also made of sheet metal, were hooked to these rings. The few specimens which have survived do not allow a closer typological classification. By the late 7th/13th century, their place appears to have gradually been taken by glass or ceramic lamps.

The number of polycandelons—a suspended lamp consisting of several glass containers fitted into a metal frame—is even smaller. This type, which stems from the Roman-Byzantine tradition, was developed in western Islamic countries rather than in the east, and was transformed in Mamlūk Egypt into huge prismatic, many-tiered or pyramidically-shaped chandeliers.

(2) Perfume vessels. The most common type of incense burner (*mibk͟hara* or *mabk͟hara*) had a cylindrical body with an inner shallow bowl for the incense, a domed cover, straight handle soldered horizontally to the body, and three, often zoomorphic feet. The cover, and in many cases also the body, were pierced for the emission of the smoke. The shape of these incense burners stems ultimately from Byzantine of Coptic thurification vessels, and also the feet in the form of animal paws in different degrees of stylisation correspond to the feet of Byzantine and Islamic lampstands mentioned previously. Between the early 7th/13th and the end of the 8th/14th century this traditional Byzantine type dominated in Syria and Egypt, while in Iran it seems to have been less abundant. Another kind of Mamlūk incense burner common in Syria and Egypt consisted of two, partly perforated hemispheres held together by clasps, which had no feet and were either suspended or rolled on the floor. To hold the charcoal they enclosed a small iron bowl which was set in gimbles to move freely when the incense burner was rolled or swung. In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, such vessels were widely exported to Italy and then produced by Mamlūk artists who resided in Venice. Similarly-shaped incense burners occur already among Chinese silver vessels which are generally attributed to the T'ang period. The Chinese specimens are, however, much smaller, and their relation to the Islamic incense burners is so far obscure. Some early 4th/10th to early 7th/13th century East Iranian incense burners with a square or cylindrical body seem to relate to a Buddhist, Central Asian tradition. They rested on low feet of a type also common in other East Iranian bronzes, and certain details in their decoration, such as lotus petals and blossoms are reminiscent of pinnacles on Buddhist stupas or votive vessels. A variant of these East Iranian incense burners, which was also popular in East Iranian households between the late 4th/10th and the 7th/13th centuries, was fashioned in the form of a cylindrical, hooded receptacle. It also rested on three zoomorphic, generally faceted feet; its low body had a niche-like upper aperture with an arch-shaped opening, and the front of the semi-dome was flanked by a pair of flat, projecting bird heads.

Another type of incense burner was fashioned in the form of highly-stylised felines or birds. These

vessels, which are generally assigned to North-East Iranian workshops, seem to have been in vogue throughout the 6th/12th century. Their body was hollow-cast and perforated. In the feline-shaped incense burners, the animal-head was removable to permit placing the incense in the body, while the bird-shaped examples had a drawer for the charcoal in the bird's breast. There is still much uncertainty about zoomorphic incense burners in Fāṭimid Egypt. Although a considerable number of animal-shaped, presumably Fāṭimid objects have been preserved, their function is not always clear, and the group comprises fountain heads and objects which may have served various decorative purposes.

The identification of mediaeval Islamic bottles as perfume flasks (*ḳumḳum*) is often ambiguous. Among the extant flasks and bottles the following types almost certainly served this purpose. One is a group of Persian, 15-21 cm. high silver or parcel gilt bottles attributable to between the late 5th/11th and the mid-6th/12th century. They have a globular body resting on a low, splayed footring and a narrow, tubular neck. A small fluted cover with a ring, which probably once held a chain by which it was attached to the neck, has been preserved in some of these specimens. To prevent the evaporation of the perfume they would have required an additional stopper (*Survey*, Pl. 1350). A second group of Persian 12th century bottles is characterised by a funnel-shaped neck, a bell-shaped, longitudinally-fluted body, and a flat horizontal link between collar and neck (*Survey*, Pl. 1311 B.E.). Other bottles of this type have oblique or softly-rounded shoulders. Their bodies are cylindrical or facetted, and occasionally the mouth of the neck is sealed with a small filter. Similarly-shaped pottery and glass vessels with a pierced filter and a filling hole at the bottom make an interpretation of these bottles as perfume-sprinklers even more likely. Small, 8-9 cm. long bronze perfume flasks with a facetted, slightly flaring neck, a rectangular body and four tooth-shaped feet, which evidently were fashioned after a widely-used type of glass and rock crystal flasks, bear further witness to the affinities between bronze and glass flasks of that kind (C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, Berlin 1929-30, i, 160-2; ii, Pl. 59; cf. idem, *Das Glas von Samarra*, Berlin 1928, Pl. VII).

Mamlūk perfume bottles were particularly appropriate for sprinkling odoriferous oils. Fashioned in an ovoid shape, these bottles had a long tapering neck that terminated in a pointed end and a base that was fitted with a plug, resembling the filling holes of the Persian perfume flasks, (Cairo, *Cat.*, 1969, no. 79, Pl. 15).

(3) Mirrors. Islamic mirrors fall into two categories. The first and larger category consists of mirrors with a central perforated boss for fitting a cord and is based upon Chinese prototypes. They are relatively small—the average diameter varies between 10 to 20 cm.—the face of the mirror is cast in relief decoration, and the reverse is smoothly polished. In the second and smaller group the mirror was furnished with a handle, which was cast either separately or in one piece with it. This second category stems from a Mediterranean tradition, and dates back to classical antiquity. Mirrors of this type appear to have served primarily as toilet accessories, while the originally Chinese type presumably had a magical or talismanic purpose. In spite of the considerable number of extant mirrors, which include inscribed and even dated specimen, these objects have never been properly studied, and both categories need further investigation.

(4) Inkwells and penboxes. The most common type of inkwell (*dawāt* or *miḥbara*) had the shape of a cylindrical pot and was covered with a separate domed lid. It was used in Iran since Sāmānid times, and only the proportions, the profile of the cover and the decoration changed in the course of the centuries. The extant specimens fall chronologically into three groups. The first consists of Persian inkpots from the second half of the 6th/12th century. They are relatively small, 7 to 13 cm high. The base is either flat or has three low, almond-shaped feet cast together with the vessel. The cover has a fluted, dome-shaped centre, and lid and body are furnished with loops or tubular appendages for fastening the pot to the hand of the scribe. In the second group, which appears to have been used also in Syria in the 7th/13th century, the dome is hemispherical and rests directly on the level surface of the lid. In the last group, represented by Persian inkpots of the 10th/16th to 12th/18th centuries, the body is slender, and its width hardly exceeds the width of the domed cover.

Penboxes (*ḳalamdān*) fall into several categories. The most common are rectangular boxes with a separate hinged cover and differently-shaped compartments for the ink and other writing implements. The shorter ends of the Iranian specimens were generally rounded. The rectangular shape was more characteristic for Mamlūk Syria and Egypt and for Ottoman Turkey. Pencases which were placed in the belt were more delicately shaped. The first and earlier type was wedge-shaped. It was made of two parts, and the inner, compartmented box could be entirely removed. Most of the extant specimens of this kind are Iranian in style and attributable to the 7th/13th century. The second type, known from 10th/16th to the 12th/18th centuries, apparently West Persian examples, consisted of a flat, either tubular or rectangular pencase and a cylindrical inkpot attached to it (*Survey*, Pl. 1387 A). A similar type was used by Ottoman officials.

(5) Caskets and boxes. The earliest preserved metal caskets come from 4th/10th century Spain. They are made of silver, mostly gilt and inlaid with niello, and their shape and proportions closely follow contemporary Spanish-Islamic rectangular ivory caskets with gabled lids (Migeon, *Manuel*, ii, 16-17, fig. 220). In the Eastern Islamic lands, silver caskets of this type are rare, and not known before the Salḏjūḳ invasions. Two particularly fine examples are said to come from a Persian hoard and are kept in the L. A. Mayer Memorial Museum in Jerusalem (*Survey*, Pl. 1352 A, B). Brass and bronze caskets made between the late 6th/12th and later 8th/14th centuries are more numerous. The earlier specimen (Rice, *SIMW. VI*, Pl. VI) have a flat base and closely follow in their proportions the silver caskets. Later 7th/13th and 8th/14th century examples become higher, relatively shorter and wider, rest on low feet and generally have slightly slanting sides (Barrett, Pl. 37; *Survey*, Pls. 1359, 1360 B). A derivative of the former caskets has a flat top and a partial lid which is secured to the fixed portion of the roof by hinges. Their form, too, is paralleled in ivory and ceramics (Rice, *SIMW. VI*, Pls. I-III; *Survey*, Pl. 1303, dated 593/1197).

Ḳurʾān boxes are square and of larger dimensions. They are generally plated and not cast. The Mamlūk specimens have a bevelled lid (Berlin, *Cat.* 1971, no. 19, Pl. 69), while Iranian Ḳurʾān boxes

have often flat covers. Along with angular, round and cylindrical boxes occur caskets of less conventional shape or exceptionally small size. To the last category belongs an oblong miniature box of remarkable artistic quality by Ismāʿīl b. Ward al-Mawṣilī, dated 617/1220 (Rice, *SIMW, II*, Pl. IX), or a kidney-shaped box in the British Museum which is attributable to an Egyptian or Syrian workshop of the middle to second half of the 7th/13th century. Similarly unusual in shape are a shallow, but relatively large, hemicircular box in the Harari Collection (*Survey*, Pl. 1305 C) or a "casket" in the Louvre. The last follows the shape of cylindrical, late 7th/13th century candlesticks with narrow, contracted waists, and has a low convex lid which is fastened to the container by hinges.

In the 8th/14th century, Persian metalworkers produced also a variety of polygonal caskets of various sizes. Among the preserved specimens are a small octagonal box (*Survey*, Pl. 1360 A) and four larger dodecagonal caskets, all of which have been assigned to a workshop in Fars (Melikian-Chirvani, *Le bronze iranien*, 80-2). Mamlūk, usually oval-shaped lunch boxes form a category by itself. They consisted of one to three separate units which were placed one on top of the other, and had a lid with a handle that could also be used as a foot. To prevent food poisoning, they were made of tinned bronze (J. Allen, *Later Mamluk metalwork, II*, in *Oriental Art*, N.S. xvii/2 [1971], 156-64; Barrett, Pl. 31).

(6) Ewers and jugs. In spite of the relatively large number of preserved ewers (*ibrīḳ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and their importance as art historical documents, they have not yet been sufficiently studied. The suggested typological evolution, and most of the chronological or geographical attributions, are therefore tentative. Particularly difficult is the classification of ewers from the first four to five centuries A.H., where one finds an exceedingly large number of shapes and combination of forms for which so far no models have been traced. Among these ewers are vessels with slender, oval and heavily bulging-out bodies; with and without shoulders; with elegantly contracted and long tubular necks; with tubular or bird shaped spouts and a large variety of straight, gently curved and zoomorphic handles. Between the end of the 4th/10th and the 6th/12th centuries new forms appear to have been introduced from the Eastern Islamic world, which include types of ewers with an oil-lamp like spout. Signed specimens of that kind have been found in ancient Farghānā and Ushrūsana by Russian scholars who dated them to the mid-5th/11th century. While these early examples were either plain or only little decorated, later 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century Khurāsānian ewers of that type were inlaid with silver and copper, and attest to the new artistic trends of that time (*Survey*, Pl. 1309A). After about the first half of the 7th/13th century, more emphasis was put on decoration, while shapes became more standardised. The Mesopotamian standard type of ewer with a pear-shaped body, a low, splayed foot and a straight, tubular spout was retained as a model for Iranian and Mamlūk ewers, which in Egypt and Syria developed more strongly swelling bodies, high splayed feet and top-heavy necks (for an ewer of Ḳāʾit Bāy, see Rice, *SIMW. IV*, Pl. VI). The development of Ṣafawid and Ottoman ewers is known from a small number of examples only. Among their typical elements one can tentatively single out curving spouts and handles, waisted necks with a bulging ring and boat-shaped openings, which presumably stem from the lamp-shaped openings of the earlier mediaeval tradition.

Jugs and pitchers (*kūz*, pl. *akwāz*), on the other hand, were fashioned in simple conventional shapes —a squat globular body and low foot, a short neck and a curved handle. The earliest extant models of gold and gilt silver date from the second half of the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th centuries (*Survey*, Pl. 1345; 1349, now in Jerusalem, L. A. Mayer Memorial Museum. For a jug made for Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, see Kühnel, *Die Kunst Persiens unter den Buyiden*, in *ZDMG*, cvi [1956], fig. 6). Ṣafawid and Ottoman specimens basically conform to the Būyid prototypes. In addition to the conventional type of jug, there occur zoomophic hollow-cast vessels which resemble the European aquamanile. The purpose of these objects is often ambiguous. Some may have served for pouring water (bird in the Hermitage by Sulaymān, dated 180/796; bird in Berlin, *Cat.* 1971, fig. 37; bird in the Monastery on Mount Sinai). Others were presumably fountain heads. Several specimens of the last category, such as "hares", "lions" or "horses" were either of Fāṭimid or Spanish origin.

(7) Bowls, cups and goblets. Mediaeval Islamic cups and bowls reflect a particularly long-lasting affinity to Iranian and Soghdian gold and silver models. Of particular interest in this respect is the continuity of hemispherical, either plain or fluted bowls, like the early 7th/13th century "Vaso Vescovali" (Rice, *Wade Cup*, Pl. 16), the "Wade Cup" (*ibid.*, Pl. 2) or a parcel gilt silver bowl in the Keir Collection (Fehérvári, Pl. G). In a more restricted sense this also applies to the continued use of ring handles with projecting thumb knobs. Although ultimately such handles appear to derive from Roman drinking cups, they too were introduced into Islamic civilisation via Soghdian silver vessels and persisted in metal cups until at least the early 5th/11th century (Melikian Chirvani, *White bronze* fig. 15), while with ceramic cups this feature lasted even much longer. By the later 7th/13th century, bowls with strongly-projecting walls, similar in profile to contemporary ewers, as well as new types of cups, bowls and goblets, began to appear simultaneously in Syria, Egypt and Western Iran. Among the new shapes were cups with a strongly contracted base and a high, funnel-shaped foot turned upside down (Barrett, Pl. 34); footless bowls with walls that project strongly up to about one-third to one-half of their height, and bowls that have a nearly angular profile (Rice, *Two unusual Mamluk metal works*, Pl. I; VII; Barrett, Pl. 36 for a late 8th/14th century Iranian example). Bowls with strongly curving-out profiles continued to be made in Ṣafawid Iran. However, many of the 10th/16th to 11th/17th century bowls hark back to the more gently-rounded 7th/13th century models, which seem to have more agreed with the taste of the time.

Doors and windows and their accessories.

(1) Doors. Although plating of doors was practiced since early times (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. and tr. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, 81, for door bearing the name of the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn at the Aḳṣā Mosque, and p. 28 for iron-plated door in Diyārbakr; Djazarī-Hill, 191-5, 267-8 for description of later 6th/12th century door), no specimen made before the beginning of the 7th/13th century is as yet known. The earliest preserved door at the mosque of Cizre or Djazīrat ibn ʿUmar (C. Preusser,

Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler, Leipzig 1911, Pl. 36 and p. 25) is inscribed with the name of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd b. Sandjar Shāh (605/1208?). Nearly contemporary are three iron-plated doors from the constructions of the Ayyūbid al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (606-7/1209-10) at the citadel gates of Aleppo. Bronze or iron-faced wooden doors were particularly widespread in Mamlūk Egypt (for elements from door platings of Baybars, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture*, Oxford 1924, fig. 232). Plaques from Mamlūk doors as well as complete door wings are preserved in the Islamic Museum in Cairo). The 8th/14th century doors of the Mosque of Sulṭān Hasan, re-employed at the Mosque of al-Muʾayyad in Cairo, are a very good example of its kind (Migeon, *Manuel*, ii, 82-4, fig. 259). While the majority of extant doors were plated with iron or alloys of bronze, some 10th/16th to 12th/18th century silver, or silver-plated, doors have also remained (Mayer, *Metalworkers*, "Ilyās"; "Yahūda"). It may be safely assumed that earlier silver doors have been melted down and that their material has been re-used for other purposes.

(2) Doorknockers. In contrast to the plating, which was generally made up of flat bronze straps and polygonal lattice work panels, doorknockers were cast in heavy bronze. Aside from polylobed rings which were filled with arabesques in openwork (Sevilla, Puerta de Pardón; Cairo, Sulṭān Ḥasan *madrasa*), numerous zoomorphic doorknockers are known. Earlier specimen, like the doorknockers of the Ulu Cami in Cizre (Djazīrat ibn ʿUmar) are formed by a pair of confronted dragons which are suspended from hinges attached to a lion mask (Ülker Erginsoy, in Gönül Öney, *Anadolu Selçuklu mimarisinde süsleme ve el sanatları*, Ankara 1978, 168, fig. 141; The David Collection, *Islamic art*, Cat. Copenhagen 1975, 69. An identical knocker of unknown provenance is in the Berlin Museum). In later renderings, as for instance in a Mamlūk example with the name of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn in Hebron, the ring is formed by a pair of facing dragon heads (a similar example is in the Louvre. See also knocker on door of the Mosque of Ḳadjmās al-Isḥākī in Cairo, 885-6/1480-1).

(3) Window grills. Aside from a few silver and gold inlaid brass balls from monumental window gratings, no window accessories have been preserved. (The number of wooden accessories preserved *in situ* and in museum collections is however considerable.) Three of these balls bear the name of the Īlkhānid Sulṭān Muḥammad Öldjeytü Khudābanda Shāh (703-16/1304-16). The rest cannot be precisely dated, although their resemblance to the inscribed specimen places them in the same category.

(4) Locks and keys. On the whole, little attention has been devoted by art historians to locks and keys. They are poorly represented in museum and other collections, are seldom signed or dated, and once removed from the area in which they were made are difficult to identify. For stylistic and other reasons, most of the preserved pieces are said to be Iranian, though for lack of information this cannot be verified. Most of these locks are padlocks and were intended for chests, boxes, trunks or similar containers. They are generally very small—the average proportions are 5 cm width and 3.5 cm height—and fashioned in a variety of shapes. Yet a typical Iranian preference for animal shapes, inherited from ancient times, has been retained until today. Judging from the recently- catalogued locks in the P. Tanavoli Collection (Parviz Tanavoli and John T. Wertime, *Locks from Iran*, the Smithsonian Institution and P. Tanavoli, 1976), certain animal forms were in vogue at particular times only, while others were favoured throughout the centuries. A special category of padlocks was used as amulets and bear inscriptions of protective character.

Keys of the Kaʿba form a class by itself (J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Clefs et serrures de la Kaʿba*, Paris 1971). Many carry names and titles of the sultan for whom they were made and are therefore dated or datable. On the whole, they are historical documents rather than works of art.

The decoration.

Although Islamic decoration follows some general, ubiquitous principles by which designs were interchangeable between various media, one can nearly always detect certain strains which characterise any specific form of art. This applies also to metalwork, which seems to have developed certain preferences with regard to ornaments or decorative schemes as well as to iconographic themes.

(1) Geometric patterns. In addition to primary geometric grids by which the surface of every object was subdivided and its decorative elements organised, metal workers employed all the geometric forms used by artisans working in other media. Designs obtained by means of intersecting parallel bands to form an overall surface pattern of squares or lozenges, which could also easily be perforated, were often adopted for incense burners or mosque lamps (Rice, *SIMW. V*). To avoid the monotony of these patterns, artisans used to fill the empty spaces by adding a punching mark or circular cavity at the points of intersection, matting the interior of the lozenges or filling them with a floral design. Small circles were employed also to create continuous lines and geometric patterns. Particularly on early metal objects, artisans succeeded in producing a variety of patterns of tangent or overlapping circles and ring-matted geometric forms set into the interspaces (see for instance, Melikian-Chirvani, *The white bronzes*, 136 ff.). As a rule, the artists omitted certain portions of the circles in order to create new variants of interlacings. Patterns of this kind, which were often imbued with a remarkable inner tension (Barrett, Pl. 2a), were employed up to at least the 8th/14th century for single and repeat patterns alike. Between the second half of the 7th/13th to about the middle of the 8th/14th century, circles inscribing six or eight interlaced roundels became a favourite design of Syrian, Egyptian and Persian metal workers. In these later examples, many of these patterns have lost their former inner tension (Baer, *Nisan tası*; cf. 8th/14th century Persian penbox, *Hayward cat.*, no. 206).

As in architectural decoration, hexagons formed also the base for surface and star patterns. Six-armed clockwise or anti-clockwise wheel patterns (erroneously called swastika), which were common in brick architecture as early as the 5th/11th century, were not employed in metalwork before the first third of the 7th/13th century, and until the second half of the 8th/14th century they remained a favoured design for filling petals or circles. Hexagonal star patterns were particularly popular in East Iranian and Afghanistan workshops, which in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries developed them into intricate designs or into notched or looped motifs interwoven with a variety of geometric forms. By the second half of the 7th/13th century, this type of pattern disappeared from the répertoire of Persian and Meso-

potamian metalworkers, and its place was taken by medallions formed by overlapping circles.

In spite of the common geometric language which metal objects share with other fields of Islamic art, there is a clearly noticeable difference in emphasis. In contrast to architectural ornament, in metal the geometric patterns are confined to close borders; they are generally combined with other designs, and only rarely form the main decorative feature. They either form a grid or a network into which other motifs are set, or function—like "swastika" or basket-weaving—as background pattern. In Ṣafawid and Ottoman metalwork, certain geometric interlacings continue to fill medallions or other inscribed spaces (*Survey*, Pl. 1385). On the whole, these objects bear however floral and epigraphic decorations.

(2) The floral répertoire. As in other artistic media, vegetal ornaments on metalware fall into three main types: motifs derived from Hellenistic Mediterranean and non-Hellenistic Iranian models; infinitely curling scrolls and arabesques; and blossoms and foliations that stem from Far-Eastern prototypes. Motifs of the first type—acanthus leaves, palmettes, vine scrolls or stalks bearing grapes or pomegranates—continue to figure in traditional and new compositions. One some early bronze and silver objects these motifs appear in sophisticated combinations (Dimand, *Some early Islamic bronzes from Iran in American collections*, in *Akten 24. Intern. Orientalisten Kongress*, 1957, Munich 1959, 347-9). On less ambitious objects, undulating stalks and branching-off shoots carrying vine and palmette leaves constitute the only decoration.

Fully-developed arabesques do not appear before the 4th/10th century. From this time onwards, two types of arabesques—a flowing, constantly changing design, and an arabesque based on axial symmetry—recur on metalwork of all periods. Another form of arabesque which gained much popularity on metalwork consists of pairs of knotted, bifurcated palmettes which blossom out from a crescent-shaped loop (Rice, *The brasses of Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ*, fig. 8). Modifications of such floral interlacings, in which a crescent-shaped loop is either substituted by a bar, or transformed into lotus blossoms, or even completely omitted, remain a favourite motif in 7th/13th and 8th/14th century brasses in the east and west alike.

Winding, often hooked stalks, whose foliage is reduced to small buds and split palmettes, serve as background pattern and filling device alike. On Iranian, 7th/13th to 8th/14th century metal objects the background scrolls tend to be light and airy and wind regularly, while the Syrian types are heavily loaded with buds. On early Mamlūk brasses, the heraldically-composed arabesque never reached the popularity it had gained in Iran. Background patterns on Egyptian metalwork of the first half of the 8th/14th century are formed by continuously winding and freely intersecting scrolls. Most delicately drawn arabesques, carrying tiny buds and flowers occur on 10th/16th to 11th/17th century steel helmets, daggers, steel or iron belts, pierced plaques and surgical instruments.

As in other artistic media, varieties of lotus blossoms, peonies and morning glories are encountered on both Mamlūk and Persian metal objects. Persian artists made, however, a somewhat wider use of these motifs than their Mamlūk contemporaries. On later 7th/13th to early 8th/14th century West Iranian metalware, the flowers grow "naturally" from the ground. Sprouting between and behind the figures, they form the background for figurative motifs or cover the entire surface of an object. A tendency towards more symmetric composition can be detected on Mamlūk metal objects (Rice, *Two unusual Mamluk metal works*, Pl. V), while the individual, carefully engraved petals have generally retained a naturalistic flavour.

(3) Animals and imaginary creatures. On mediaeval metalwork, animals and imaginary creatures were one of the most conspicuous themes. The frequency in which these motifs were employed, as well as the species depicted, were determined by different factors. Yet even at times when animal decorations did not constitute a major theme, they did not disappear from the répertoire. Because of their abundance, and often intricate iconographic implications, the present survey includes only the most current animal motifs and compositions.

Many of the animal motifs were carried on in Islamic metalware from Sāsānid and Soghdian silver (Barrett, Pls. 1, 4b). The same is true for compositions, such as a single bird or quadruped inscribed within a round or polylobed medallion. The preference for heraldic compositions, inherent in Near Eastern and Iranian art, applies also to animal designs, even if the prominence given to these compositions varied. Broadly speaking, in earlier metalwork they are more monumental in size and style, while on later objects they are integrated in a larger decorative scheme. In many of these heraldic compositions the central axis is taken by a plant design or a curtailed "tree of life", a knotted motif or other derivative of the "tree of life". Pairs of ducks flanking a crescent-shaped motif are characteristic for North Mesopotamian, Mamlūk and Persian metalware from the mid-7th/13th to the second half of the 8th/14th century. Physically-linked pairs of animals or imaginary creatures do not occur on metalware after the early 8th/14th century, while the motif of heraldic birds or quadrupeds, set into cartouches or pendants, was carried on in Ṣafawid and later metalwork. Other ancient Near Eastern animal motifs employed in metalwork are animal friezes, animals in combat (Baer, *Inkwell*, particularly 206-8), and real and imaginary creatures revolving around a central axis. In 6th/12th and early 7th/13th century examples from Eastern Iran, Afghanistan and Northern Mesopotamia, the ears, wings or necks of the centrifugally-rotating creatures meet—or intersect—in the centre (Rice, *The brasses of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ*, figs. 1-3; Ettinghausen, *Wade Cup*, figs. L, P, 21, 34). In later 7th/13th to 8th/14th century examples, the rotating creatures are no longer physically linked. In the last phase in the development of this pattern, the real or imaginary creatures are substituted by flying birds, and the rotating movement is no longer consistently adhered to (for a typical Mamlūk example, see *Cairo cat.* 1969, no. 58, Pl. 8).

Another motif is that of animal (or *wāḳ-wāḳ*) scrolls, in which animal bodies or busts are attached to, or amalgamated with a vegetal design. Spreading from Syro-Mesopotamian and Persian to Egyptian metalware, it appeared in the first half of the 7th/13th century (*Hayward cat.*, no. 200) as abruptly as it disappeared in the last quarter of the 8th/14th century (for a late example, see E. Combe, *Cinq cuivres musulmans datés des XIII, XIV et XV siècles de la Collection Benaki*, in *BIFAO*, xxx [1931], 56-7. On textiles and carpets, the motif survived, however,

in various related forms. See for instance, *Survey*, Pls. 1172, 1212B).

The animal decoration in later metalwork closely follows the mediaeval répertoire. Conventional themes, such as combatant or chasing animals, friezes, flying birds, peacocks or animals of prey were carried on, and are re-employed in modern metalwork (*Survey*, Pls. 1380, 1383, 1386B. For armoury see also Pls. 1408 D, E, 1418, 1430-31 D).

(4) Epigraphy. Stylistic peculiarities. In metalware, the first epigraphic bands which carry not only a message but have a clear decorative function occur on 3rd/9th to 4th/10th century mosque lamps (Rice, *SIMW*. *V*; for earlier inscriptions, cf. a 2nd/8th century bronze ewer in the Tbilisi Museum, or bird-shaped vessel in the Hermitage, dated 180/796-7, and on 4th/10th to 5th/11th century bronze and silver objects (*Survey*, Pls. 1343, 1345-6). From this time onwards, particularly since the mid-6th/12th century, epigraphy remained a constant factor in the decoration of metalware. The formal integration of the script, being set into continuous or compartmentalised bands, cartouches or medallions, complies with the general stylistic tendencies of the time. On Mamlûk metalware, inscriptions appear not only in continuous and intersecting bands which may occupy a considerable part of an object, but also in a circular arrangement in which the hastae of the letters point towards the centre. Starting from the mid-8th/14th century, such radiant inscriptions are most prominent.

The stylistic development of script on metalware, and the possible divergencies from other artistic media, still remain to be studied. In the present state of our knowledge, there appears to be only one type of script which at least in its later stages of development is unique to metalware. This is a script in which either the whole letter or part of it are made to assume human or animal forms. According to the figural features which dominate in each of its variations, it falls into four types: ornithomorphic, human-headed, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic (Rice, *Wade Cup*; Baer, *Metalwork*). Out of these, only the first is known from objects other than metalware, occurring on Sāmānid ceramics about 150 years prior to the first dated evidence of figural script on metal, the "Bobrinski Bucket", which was made in Harāt in 550/1163 (Ettinghausen, *Wade Cup*). The figural script had disappeared almost completely by the end of the 7th/13th century.

The integration of the script into the overall composition of a decoration, like its artistic development, is however only one aspect of these inscriptions. Aside from their artistic value, these examples are texts which, if properly read and interpreted, may provide valuable information which is not available from other sources. Although the general categories —eulogies, and dedications, religious inscriptions, moral dicta, inscriptions connected with the usage or quality of the object and verses from Persian literature—are known, only a very limited number of inscriptions have actually been read. A proper investigation and evaluation of each of these categories has therefore been postponed until we possess a comprehensive corpus of inscriptions on metalwork (for some ideas, see Baer, *Metalwork*).

(5) The thematic répertoire. The thematic répertoire of mediaeval Islamic metalwork falls into three main groups. The first and by far the largest are representations of pleasure and pastime. They include, aside from banqueting scenes, dancers and musicians, a rich selection of hunting methods, falconry, hunting with the cheetah and phases of the animal's training and fowling. Visual renderings of this last game are rare in other artistic media. Other pastimes, like polo games and travelling in a howdah on camel-back, have parallels in ceramics or miniature paintings. Sailing in a pleasure boat, a princely pastime which could be practiced only in Mesopotamia and Egypt, seems to have no analogues in ceramics, textiles and the like (Baer, *A brass vessel*, 299-325). Representations of outdoor activities in a rural environment appear to be characteristic of a small group of early 7th/13th century Mesopotamian-style metal objects, while tournaments or battle scenes seem to have been a favoured theme in the later 7th/13th to 8th/14th century in Syrian, Egyptian and West Iranian metalwork alike. On the whole, these scenes were less popular on Iranian brasses than on contemporary Mamlûk objects (Rice, *Baptistère*), The second category are cosmic and terrestrial cycles. It comprises representations of the Labours of the Months, the planets and the zodiac, and scenes in which a princely image is shown in a cosmic setting. The first and the third theme are as yet known from metal objects only (for Labours of the Months, see Rice, *The seasons and labors*, 1-40; E. Atil, *Two Il-khanid candlesticks*, 1-33). Astrological signs, on the other hand, are not limited to metalwork. It would seem, however, that on metalwork the iconographic programme of this theme is particularly rich and has no known analogues in other artistic media (Hartner, *The Vaso Vescovali*; Baer, *An Islamic inkwell*. For the princely image in cosmic setting, see Baer, *Metalwork*).

Epics, legends and religious themes serve as an inspiration for the third group. It comprises illustrations of certain episodes of the *Shāh-nāma*, and ornamental designs based upon popular belief and folklore. Both relate to pottery and the art of the book. Their iconographic meaning is allusive (Baer, *Fishpond ornaments*).

In a group of mid-7th/13th century North Syrian and North Mesopotamian metalware, Christian religious themes are combined with traditional Islamic decorations. In addition to saints or high church officials, they depict cycles of the life of Christ. Themes so far identified are "The Entry into Jerusalem", "The Nativity", "Baptism", "The Presentation in the Temple" and "The Virgin and the Child enthroned". However, the problem of Christian subjects on Islamic metalwork needs further research.

Workshop centres.

Our information on centres of manufacture of metalwork stems from two main sources. One is written evidence provided by mediaeval geographers and historians. It is generally reliable, but often exceedingly brief, and even when the author reports on his native town (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, *K. al-Buldān*, 253, ll. 19-20, for Hamadān), the products are often only listed but not described (for an exception see al-Maḳrīzī, below). The second source of information is inscriptions which figure on the objects themselves. Two types are particularly suggestive. One are inscriptions referring to the place of manufacture. So far only a relatively small number of places have been deciphered. Future systematic collection of these inscriptions may provide new evidence (the following place names appear so far on one object only: Baṣra, ewer by Ibn Yazīd, dated 67 or 69/688-7 or 688-9, Mayer, *Metalworkers*, 48; Ḳashan or Ḳasan

(?), bird-shaped vessel by Sulaymān, dated 180/796-7, Melikian-Chirvani, in *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte. Islam*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler, 1973, no. XVI; Mosul, "Blacas Ewer", decorated by Shudjāʿ b. Manʿa in 629/1232, *Hayward cat.*, no. 196; Miṣr, candlestick by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, dated 668/1270, Wiet, *Objets en cuivre*, Pl. 27).

The other type of inscription on metalware is that of signatures giving not only the name of the artist but also his *nisba*. An often-made assumption that intrinsically the *nisba* means that the artisan was active in this centre has to be discarded. It may have been carried by an artist who had left his native town many years ago and was working hundred of miles away. It can therefore be considered significant only if taken in conjunction with other elements. One of the most striking examples for the continuous use of a *nisba* by artists who were active in another centre is the *nisba* al-Mawṣilī, found on at least 30 objects made throughout the 7th/13th and the first quarter of the 8th/14th century, out of which only one single specimen stems unequivocally from Mosul (Rice, *Inlaid brasses*. To Rice's list add a candlestick by ʿAlī b. Kusayrāt, working in Damascus, and a Ḳurʾān box by Aḥmad b. Bāra, *Cairo cat.* 1969, nos. 56, 60).

On the basis of the above mentioned criteria, only three larger centres can so far be singled out. One is Damascus, which at least since the 4th/10th century and throughout Mamlūk times exported metalware to all parts of the Islamic world, including Cairo (al-Muḳaddasī, 181, l. 1; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 52, l. 13; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 112. For metal objects inscribed with this provenance, see Rice, *Inlaid brasses*, 326, no. 16; *Cairo cat.* 1969, no. 56).

The second centre which, like Damascus, had flourishing workshops during the Mamlūk period is Cairo (for a detailed description of the Market of metal Inlayers—*sūḳ al-kuftiyyīn*— in which bronze vessels were inlaid with gold and silver, see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 105. For metal objects inscribed with this provenance, see Rice, *Inlaid brasses*, nos. 23, 24, 26). At the time of al-Maḳrīzī's account, i.e. after 820/1417, this industry had already declined.

The third reasonably-documented centre, famous for its richly-inlaid bronze objects, is Harāt (Ḳazwīnī, *Athār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 322, l. 30-323, l. 1). Two objects, the "Bobrinski Bucket" dated 559/1163, and an ewer in the State Museum of Georgia in Tbilisi, dated 557/1181, carry an inscription stating that they were made in Harāt (the exact text of the Tiflis ewer has, however, never been published. See Mayer, *Metalworkers*, 59, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad; Ettinghausen, *Bobrinski "Kettle"*, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1943, 196). Four other 6th/12th century inlaid pieces of metalworks, worked in similar style and technique, and signed by artists using the *nisba* al-Harawī, suggest that these artists had already left Harāt and were active in another centre. Information on other centres of manufacture is even more scanty. Places put forward by art historians should therefore be used with caution.

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(EVA BAER)

AL-MAʿDIN (A.) "the mine" is, by antonomasia, the name of a certain number of villages in

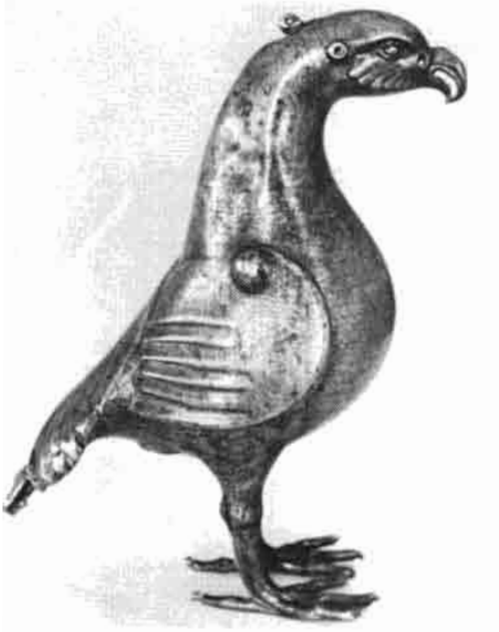

1. Bird-shaped vessel. H. 38 cm. Bronze, hollow cast, engraved, some silver inlay. Made by Sulaymān in 180/796-7. The Hermitage, Leningrad, no. IR 1565. Photograph courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial, Jerusalem.

2. Ewer. H. 36 cm. White bronze, incised, copper inlay on rim. Made by Muḥammad (?). Late 1st/7th to early 2nd/8th century, Iran. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 434—1906. Crown copyright Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph E. Baer.

3. Lantern. H. 30.5 cm. Sheet bronze, perforated. Prob. later 3rd/9th century, Iran. L. A. Mayer Memorial, No. M 73-69. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial. Photograph E. Baer.

4. Oil lamp. H. 14.5 cm. Bronze, cast and pierced. 6th/12th century. Iran. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass. no. 1051.39. Courtesy Fogg Art Museum. Photograph E. Baer.

5. Tray (?). L. 29.5 cm. Sheet bronze, worked in repoussé, punched. 6th/12th century, Iran. Private Collection. Photograph E. Baer.

6. Inkwell. H. 13 cm. Bronze, cast, engraved, inlaid with silver and copper. Late 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century, Iran. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, no. 30.1.45 A and B. Courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased: The Elizabeth Wandell Smith Fund.

7. Cylindrical box. H. 10.2 cm. Brass, engraved, inlaid with silver. Inscribed with name of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ. Made between 631/1233 and 659/1259, prob. in North Mesopotamia. British Museum, London, no. 78.12—30. Photograph D. S. Rice, Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

8. Candlestick. H. 34 cm. Brass, inlaid with silver. Made by Ḥādjdj Ismāʿīl, inlaid by Muḥammad b. Faṭṭūḥ, journeyman to Shudjāʿ al-Mawṣilī. After 629/1232. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 15121. Photograph D. S. Rice. L. A. Mayer Memorial.

9. Ewer. H. 34 cm. Brass, inlaid with silver. Made by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī for al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf. Damascus, 657/1259. Musée de Louvre, Paris, no. 7428. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

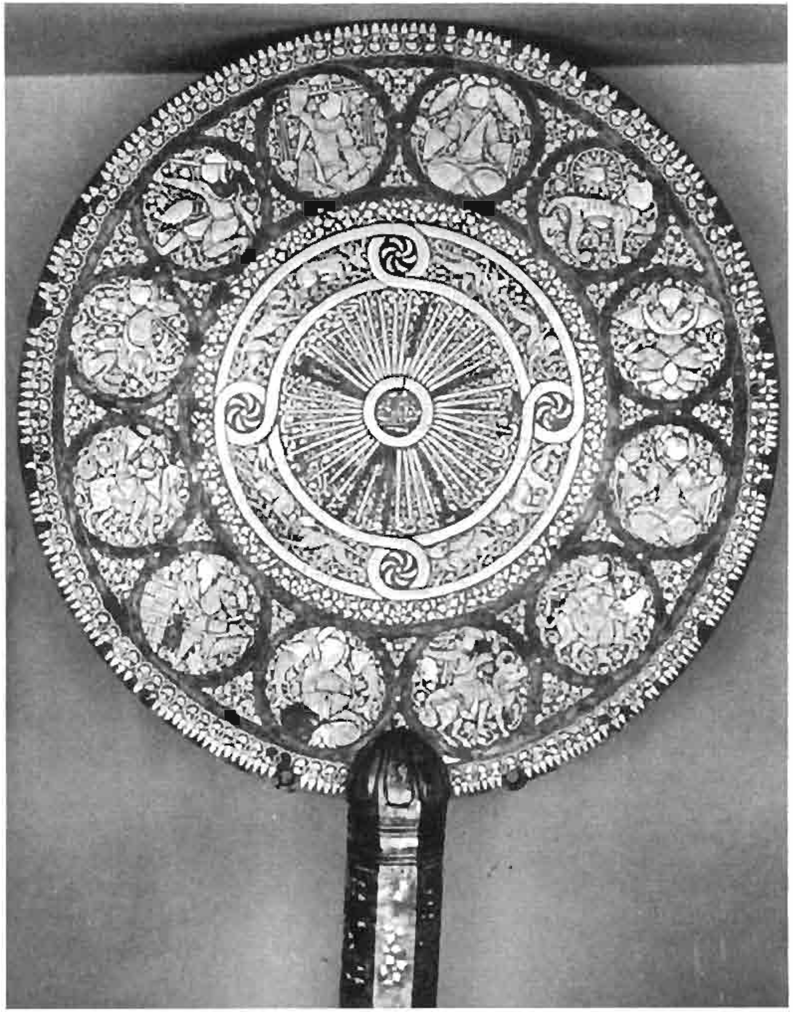

10. Mirror. D. 22 cm. Cast bronze, inlaid with silver and gold. Made by Muḥammad al-Wazīrī. Second quarter of 8th/14th century, Syria (?). Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

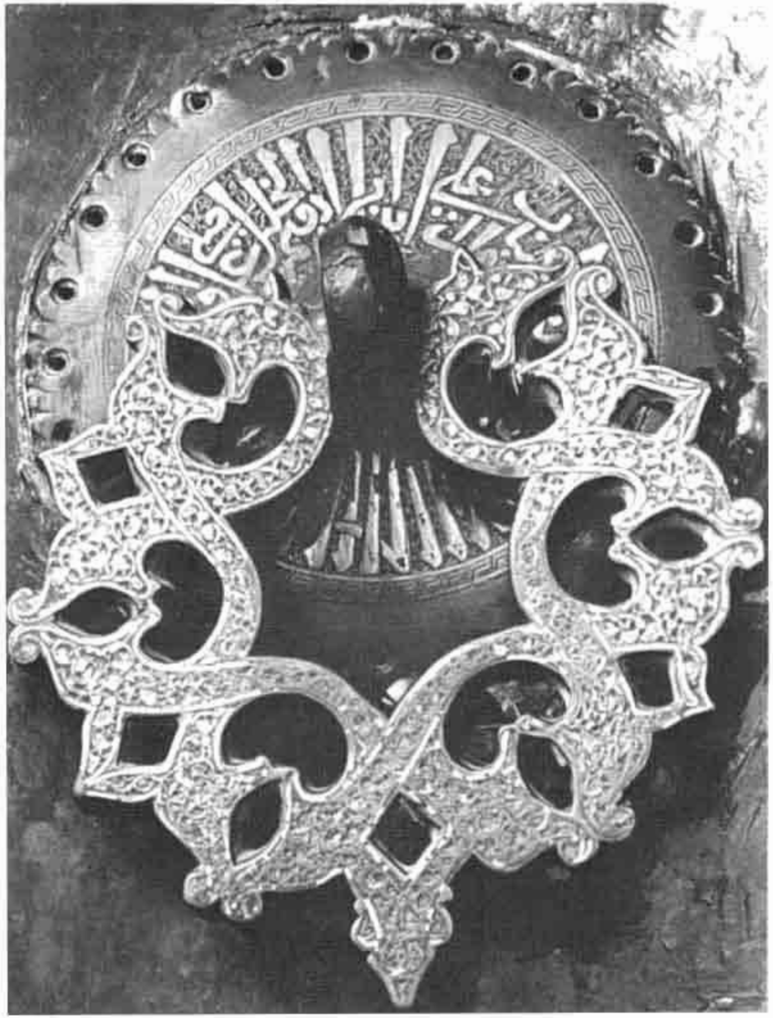

11. Door knocker. Cast bronze, inlaid with silver. Made by order of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, for Shrine of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl, Hebron. Syria or Egypt. First quarter of 8th/14th century. Photograph E. Baer.

12. Stand. H. 25 cm. Mid 7th/13th century. Ex Sambon Coll. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial

13. Jug. H. 30 cm. Brass, inlaid with silver and gold. Made for the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, before 743/1342. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo. no. 15126. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

14. Arabesque decoration. Detail from lampstand by Ibn Maḥmūd, made for Amīr Bek. Early 11th/17th century. Iran. St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis no. 86.23. Photograph E. Baer.

15. "Baptistère of St. Louis". H. 24.4 cm. Brass, inlaid with silver and gold. Made by Muḥammad b. al-Zayn. Syria or Egypt, later 7th/13th to early 8th/14th century. Musée de Louvre, Paris. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

16. Bowl. H. 11.5 cm. Brass, inlaid with silver and gold. Mid-8th/14th century. National Museum, Florence (Bargello) no. 361. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

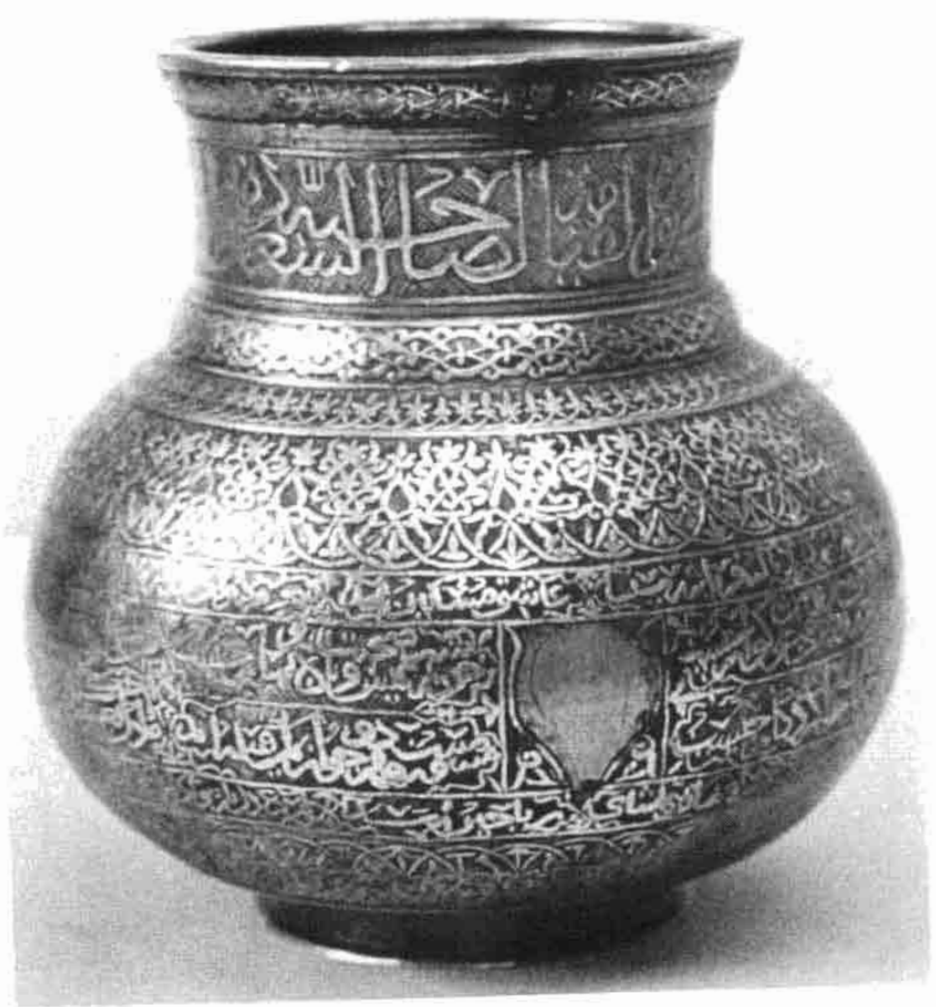

17. Jug. H. 13 cm. Brass, engraved, inlaid with silver. Made by Ḥabīb Allāh b. ʿAlī Bahārdjānī in 866/1461-2. Iran. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 943-1886. Crown copyright Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph E. Baer.

18. Ewer (*Aftābe*). H. 33 cm. Brass, engraved. Dated 1011/1602-3. Iran. Victoria and Albert Museum. London, no. 458-1876. Crown Copyright Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph E. Baer.

Arabia and other parts of the Orient (see Yāḳūt, s.v.), and is also found in the toponomy of the Iberian peninsula. Under the form Almaden, this term refers to the locality in the province of Ciudad Real, 125 km. to the north of Cordova, in the Sierra de Almadén (A. Djibāl al-Maʿdin), which has one of the richest deposits in the world of mercury (A. *ziʾbaḳ* and variants, whence Spanish *azogue* and the fullest form of the place name Almadén de Azogue). According to Garciá Bellido (*España y los españoles hace dos mil años segun la Geografía de Strabón*, Madrid 1945, 79-81), these deposits were already being exploited in the 4th century B.C., since the Greek philosopher Theophrastes (*ca.* 372-287) mentions the cinnabar of Iberia. At the present time, they still produce each year about 1,800 tonnes of mercury.

The Portuguese town of Almada, situated opposite to Lisbon on the southern bank of the Tagus, owes its name (A. Ḥiṣn al-Maʿdin) to the grains of gold dust thrown up by the sea on to this bank (al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text 184, tr. 223 = *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome 1975, v, 547).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 294; see also Ḥusayn Muʾnis, *al-Djughrāfiya wa 'l-djughrāfiyyūn fi 'l-Andalus*, Madrid 1967.

(C. F. Seybold - [M. Ocaña Jiménez])

MADĪNA, urbanism. [See Supplement].

AL-MADĪNA (usually Medina in English, Médine in French), residence of the Prophet Muḥammad after the *hidjra* and one of the sacred cities of Islam.

Medina is situated in the Ḥidjāz province of Saʿūdī Arabia in latitude 24° 28′ N, longitude 39° 36′ E, about 160 km. from the Red Sea and about 350 km. north of Mecca. It has developed from an oasis on relatively level ground between the hill of Uḥud on the north and that of ʿAyr on the south. East and west are lava flows (in Arabic *ḥarra* [*q.v.*] or *lāba*). There are several *wādī*s or watercourses which cross the oasis from south to north. Though these normally contain water only after rain, they maintain a fairly high water table, so that there are many wells and springs. After heavy rains the central area of al-Munākha used to form a lake, and a number of serious floods are recorded which threatened the stability of some of the buildings. On one occasion the caliph ʿUthmān erected a dam as a protection against flood-waters (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 11). Serious floods are also recorded in 660/40, 734/116 and 772/156. The water is in places salt and unpalatable, and in the past various governors of the town built aqueducts to bring good water from wells further south. The soil consists of salty sand, lime and loamy clay, and is everywhere very fertile, especially in the more southerly part. Date-palms were numerous before the time of Muḥammad, and cereals were also grown. At a later date oranges, lemons, pomegranates, bananas, peaches, apricots, figs and grapes were introduced. The winters are cool with a slight rainfall, and the summers hot but rarely sultry. In former times, the air was reckoned pleasant but conducive to fevers (al-Balādhurī, 11 f.; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, 31; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 243). The Umayyads called the town *al-khabitha*, "the dirty", in contrast to the honorific name of *Ṭayba*, "the sweet-smelling", given to it by Muḥammad (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 37; al-Balādhurī, 11).

(i) History to 1926

1. *The pre-Islamic settlements*

In pre-Islamic times the common name was Yathrib, though this is said to have been applied originally to only part of the oasis (al-Samhūdī, i, 8-10). This name occurs once in the Ḳurʾān (XXXIII, 13). Iathrippa is found in Ptolemy and Stephanus Byzantinus, and Ythrb in Minaean inscriptions. *Al-Madīna* is properly "the town" or "the place of jurisdiction", corresponding to Aramaic *medīnta*. The word *madīna* as a common noun occurs ten times in the Ḳurʾān and the plural *madāʾin* three times, all in stories of former prophets. In four relatively late verses (IX, 101/2, 120/1; XXXIII, 60; LXIII, 8) *al-madīna* appears, referring to the oasis now inhabited mainly by Muslims, but it is possible that it has not yet become a proper name. The same holds of its occurrence in the last clause of the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 341-4), since in the preamble and other two clauses of this document the name Yathrib appears by itself. It is often suggested that the name is a shortened form of *madīnat al-nabī*, "the city of the Prophet", but this is unlikely in view of its use in the Ḳurʾān, especially in LXIII, 8, where it is spoken by Hypocrites. Of the poets of the oasis, the pre-Islamic Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm [*q.v.*] speaks only of Yathrib, whereas Muḥammad's contemporaries Ḥassān b. Thābit and Kaʿb b. Mālik [*q.vv.*] use both names.

Medina was at first not a compact town, but a collection of scattered settlements, surrounded by groves of date-palms and cultivated fields. For defence, therefore, a large number of forts or strongholds (*āṭām*, sing. *uṭum*; also *ādjām*, sing. *udjum*) had been constructed, perhaps about 200 in all. In these the local inhabitants took refuge in times of danger. The idea of the *uṭum* probably came from the Yemen (cf. H. Lammens, *Ṭāif*, 72 = *MFOB*, viii [1922], 184).

The later Muslim historians (cf. al-Samhūdī, i, 156-65; *bāb* 3, *faṣl* 1) had no reliable information about the earliest history of Medina, and the views expressed appear to be conjectural; e.g. that the first cultivators were ʿAmālīḳ [*q.v.*]. It seems probable that before the arrival of any Jews there were some Arabs at Medina, doubtless the ancestors of those found subordinate to the Jews at the time of the settlement of al-Aws and al-Khazradj. It was probable because of this close relation to the Jews that certain small Arab clans (Khaṭma, Wāʾil, Wāḳif, Umayya b. Zayd, sections of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf) did not at first accept Muḥammad as prophet.

There is also obscurity about the earlier history of the Jews of Medina. It seems probable that some were refugees from Palestine, perhaps men who left after the defeat of Bar Kokhba; but others may have been Arabs who had adopted Judaism as a religion. Certainly, the Jews of Medina intermarried with Arabs and had many customs similar to those of their Arab neighbours. It is clear from the Ḳurʾān, however (e.g. II, 47/4 ff.), that they claimed to be of Hebrew descent, despite the fact that the names of the clans and most of the names of individuals are Arabic. Early Arabic poems ascribed to Jews are indistinguishable in literary form and in content from those of desert Arabs (Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*, 52 ff.). While there may have been some simple agriculture before the coming of the Jews, they almost certainly developed the cultivation of dates and cereals here as in other oases such as Khaybar (cf. W. Caskel in G. E. von Grunebaum, ed., *Studies in Islamic cultural history*, Menasha 1954, 43; = *American Anthropologist*, lxvi/2, Memoir no. 76).

There were three main Jewish groups in Medina at the Hidjra, the clans or tribes of Ḳurayẓa, al-

Naḍīr and Ḳaynuḳāʿ. Of these, the first two had some of the most fertile land in the oasis, while the third had no land but were armourers and goldsmiths, besides conducting a market. In addition, al-Samhūdī lists about a dozen other purely Jewish groups, of whom the most important was the Banū Hadl, which was closely associated with Ḳurayẓa. He further mentions among the Jewish groups a few which are sometimes given Arab genealogies, such as Unayf and Mar<u>th</u>ad (parts of Balī), Muʿāwiya b. al-Ḥāri<u>th</u> (of Sulaym), and <u>Dj</u>a<u>dh</u>mā᾽ and Nā<u>gh</u>iṣa (of al-Yaman).

The Jewish domination of Medina came to an end some time after the settlement of two large Arab groups, al-Aws and al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u> [*q.vv.*], sometimes called together the Banū Ḳayla, but mostly referred to as the Anṣār or "helpers" of Muḥammad. They are among the Arabs said to have left South Arabia after the breaking of the dam of Ma᾽rib [*q.v.*]. At first these Arabs were under the protection of some Jewish tribes, and a sign of their inferiority was that Fiṭyawn, the leader of the Jewish-Arab group of <u>Th</u>aʿlaba, exercised a *ius primae noctis* over their women. This was resented by Mālik b. al-ʿA<u>dj</u>lān (of the clan of ʿAwf of al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u>), and he revolted successfully and became independent. Subsequently, with help from either a <u>Gh</u>assānid or a South Arabian ruler (according to somewhat legendary accounts), he enabled the other clans of al-Aws and al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u> to become independent of the Jews. It is sometimes said that the Jews now became subject to these Arabs. This is not borne out, however, by the historical accounts of the period up to 5/627. The main Jewish groups, though doubtless now weaker than the Arabs, retained a measure of independence and continued to occupy some of the best lands. They were not politically united by their religion, but different groups were in alliance (*ḥilf*) with different Arab clans, and were sometimes involved on opposite sides in the fighting between Arab clans. Some of the groups of judaised Arabs seem to have gradually become merged with Arab clans (as the Banū Zaʿūrā᾽ with ʿAbd al-A<u>sh</u>hal).

The historical accounts make it clear that the effective political units in the pre-Islamic period were not the tribes of al-Aws and al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u>, but smaller units, which may be called clans. Those mentioned in the Constitution of Medina (see below) were al-Nabīt, ʿAmr b. ʿAwf and Aws Manāt (later Aws Allāh) among al-Aws, and al-Na<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>ār, al-Ḥāri<u>th</u>, ʿAwf, Sāʿida and <u>Dj</u>u<u>sh</u>am among al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u>; but even smaller groupings were also important. From at least fifty years before the Hi<u>dj</u>ra there had been a series of blood-feuds between Arab groups, behind which, at least latterly, there may have been an economic factor, namely, desire for better lands. These feuds led to fighting described as "wars". The earliest recorded was between Mālik b. al-ʿA<u>dj</u>lān of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf and Uḥayḥa b. al-<u>Dj</u>ulāḥ of Sālim (Ḳawāḳila). Four small "wars" occurred between this and the "war of Ḥāṭib", which was the bloodiest and culminated after several fights in the battle of Buʿā<u>th</u> [*q.v.*] in about 617 A.D. Most of the clans of al-Aws took part under the leadership of Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk, and most of the clans of al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u> under ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān of Bayāḍa. The Jewish clans of Ḳurayẓa and al-Naḍīr on this occasion supported Ḥuḍayr because ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān had killed hostages they had given him. One or two Arab clans and some prominent leaders, notably ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, did not take part in the battle. The fighting was severe and both leaders were killed, but neither side had a decisive advantage and no formal peace was made. This unresolved conflict was doubtless one factor leading the Arabs of Medina to invite Muḥammad to go there.

Al-Aws and al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u> were noted for their devotion to the deity Manāt, whose shrine was at al-Mu<u>sh</u>allal between Medina and Mecca (Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 26; T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 123). The Medinan poet Ḳays b. al-<u>Kh</u>aṭīm has references to *Allāh* (*Dīwān*, ed. Kowalski, Leipzig 1914, 5.6; 6.22; 11.8; 13.12), but these may reflect not so much Jewish or Christian influence as the widespread belief in a supreme god or "high god" often called Allāh (cf. J. Teixidor, *The pagan God*, Princeton 1977, 17, 162, etc.). There seems, however, to have been some movement towards monotheism before the contact with Muḥammad; e.g. Asʿad b. Zurāra and Abu 'l-Hay<u>th</u>am (Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 139, 22), and Abū Ḳays Ṣirma b. Abī Anas (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 348). Another man, known as Abū ʿĀmir al-Rāhib, though a monotheist and ascetic previously, became an opponent of Muḥammad (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 411 f., 561; etc.).

2. *From the Hi<u>dj</u>ra to the caliphate of ʿAlī*

There was probably some knowledge in Medina of Muḥammad's mission from an early date. Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, who died before the battle of Buʿā<u>th</u>, is said to have accepted the Ḳur᾽ān (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 283-5). The first definite converts were six men of al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u> who came to Muḥammad probably in 620. At the pilgrimage of 621 they brought a party of twelve men (including two from al-Aws), and the party formally accepted Islam and made certain promises. This was the Pledge of the Women, or first Pledge of al-ʿAḳaba. In 622 seventy-three men and two women from Medina, who had become Muslims, made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and promised to protect Muḥammad and his followers as they would their own nearest kinsmen. This was the second Pledge of al-ʿAḳaba or the Pledge of War (*bayʿat al-ḥarb*). On the basis of this agreement, some seventy of Muḥammad's Meccan followers with their dependants emigrated, or made the *hi<u>dj</u>ra*, to Medina in small groups. Muḥammad and Abū Bakr came last, and reached Ḳubā᾽ in the south of the oasis on 12 Rabīʿ al-Awwal (= 24 September 622). The Emigrants (*muhā<u>dj</u>irūn*) from Mecca were given hospitality by the Muslims of Medina. Muḥammad himself did not accept any of the many offers of hospitality, but ostensibly allowed his camel to make the choice for him. It halted on a piece of land belonging to two orphans, and Muḥammad bought the land and used it for his mosque and for his own house. It was probably because of the same desire not to have a special relationship with any of the rival clans in Medina that none of Muḥammad's marriages was with a woman of either al-Aws or al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u>.

At al-ʿAḳaba in 622 Muḥammad had asked for the appointment of twelve "representatives" (*nuḳabā᾽*). The number twelve was probably suggested by the tribes of Israel and the disciples of Jesus; but the fact that when the first representative of the clan of al-Na<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>ār died Muḥammad took his place (one of his great-grandmothers had been a woman of al-Na<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>ār) suggests that the *nuḳabā᾽* were part of a political structure for Medina which fell into disuse. The effective structure of the community is doubtless that indicated in the document often known as "the Constitution of Medina" (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 341-4; discussed by Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, 65-83; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, 74-81;

Caetani, *Annali*, i, 391-408; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 221-8; R. B. Serjeant, *The "Constitution of Medina"*, in *IQ*, viii (1964), 3-16; idem, *The Sunnah Jāmiʿah, pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the taḥrīm of Yathrib*, in *BSOAS*, xli [1978], 1-42). The document is composite, as is shown by repetitions. In its present form it would seem to belong to a date after the Ḳurayẓa affair in 5/627, but some of its articles may go back to the Pledge of War at al-ʿAḳaba. By this document all the people living in Medina are constituted a single *umma* or community in accordance with traditional Arab ideas of confederacy. There are nine primary members of the confederacy, eight local "clans" (three of al-Aws and five of al-Khazradj) and the group of Emigrants from Mecca. Although the underlying political conceptions were pre-Islamic Arab, the confederacy was one of Muslims, since at least the leading men in each of the eight clans had accepted Muḥammad as prophet. Many of the articles speak of "the believers", and there are several references to God. About ten distinct groups of Jews are mentioned in separate articles, and are confirmed in the practice of their own religion, as well as having certain rights and obligations. Even unbelievers or idolaters in the Arab clans appear to have been accepted as members of the community, though with restricted rights. There are some two dozen general articles dealing with various matters conductive to the smooth running of the community. Muḥammad is given no special powers, but is recognised as prophet and is to have disputes referred to him. At least until 5/627 he could not issue commands but had to consult the clan leaders and get them to agree to what he proposed. After the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, however, his authority was unchallenged as a result of Muslim successes. When Arab tribes accepted Islam and became allies of Muḥammad they were presumably included in the confederacy, and the Muslim community ceased to consist solely of the inhabitants of Medina. Al-Aws and al-Khazradj, as Muḥammad's earliest allies, were called the Anṣār or "helpers".

The period from the Hidjra to Muḥammad's death was characterised by a series of over 70 expeditions or razzias (*maghāzī* [*q.v.*]), in which the number of participants varied from a handful to 30,000. In the first few small expeditions, only Emigrants from Mecca took part, but in the expedition of 2/624 which culminated in the battle of Badr the Muslims of Medina constituted about three-quarters of Muḥammad's force. After the victory at Badr most of the Muslims of Medina were committed to Muḥammad's general policies, though a few, the Hypocrites (*munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*]), opposed them. This opposition within Medina was dangerous for Muḥammad when the Meccans invaded the oasis in 3/625 and the Muslims of Medina suffered many casualties, and again in 5/627 when the Meccans with many allies attempted to besiege Medina. There was also opposition from some of the Jews, and this led to the expulsion of the clans of Ḳaynuḳāʿ and al-Naḍīr (in 2/624 and 3/625) and the execution of the men of Ḳurayẓa and selling into slavery of its women and children (in 5/627). Jewish verbal criticisms of the Ḳurʾān had been felt to threaten the acceptance of Muḥammad as prophet, while Ḳurayẓa had apparently been intriguing with the Meccans during the siege. After 5/627 the remaining Jews of Medina gave no further trouble. In succeeding years, many Arab nomads on accepting Islam came to settle in Medina and were attached to the group of Emigrants; and this further strengthened Muḥammad against the Anṣār. On the whole, he managed to keep the peace between the rival groups in Medina, though at times he was able to use the hostility of al-Aws and al-Khazradj to further his own ends. After the conquest of Mecca and the acceptance of Islam by many of the leading Meccans, both sections of the Anṣār felt threatened by these last (cf. Ibn Hishām, 824, 855 f.), and this division in the Anṣār gradually ceased to be of political importance. The opposition to Muḥammad from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*] and his supporters, known as the *munāfiḳūn*, seems to have faded out at the time of the siege of Medina, for ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy participated in the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiya. About 9/630, however, another group of *munāfiḳūn* appeared. During the expedition to Tabūk an attempt on Muḥammad's life was planned, but was foiled. About the same time a mosque had been completed in the southern part of the oasis, the Masdjid al-Ḍirār or "Mosque of Dissension", but instead of honouring it by his presence Muḥammad sent men to demolish it, having realised that it was designed to be a focus of intrigue against himself. (For the details of all these events, see MUḤAMMAD.)

After the great expedition to Tabūk, Muḥammad did not leave Medina except to make the Pilgrimage of Farewell to Mecca in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 10/March 632. About two months later he fell ill, and asked permission of his wives to remain in ʿĀʾisha's apartment (instead of spending one night with each in turn). He died on 13 Rabīʿ I 11/8 June 632 and was buried in this apartment. He had made no arrangements for succession to his political authority, except that he had appointed Abū Bakr to lead the public prayers. The Anṣār met in the hall (*saḳīfa*) of the clan of Sāʿida and appointed the leading Khazradjī, Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, as their ruler. ʿUmar and Abū Bakr, however, heard of what was happening, hurried to the hall, and persuaded the Anṣār that only a man of Ḳuraysh could be accepted by everyone as head of the community. They then appointed Abū Bakr who took the title of "caliph (*khalīfa*) of the Messenger of God".

Abū Bakr continued to reside in Medina and to follow a policy of expansion by sending expeditions northwards. Most of his brief reign (11-13/632-4), however, was occupied in subduing revolts among various Arab tribes (the wars of the Ridda). His successors ʿUmar (13-23/634-44) and ʿUthmān (23-35/644-56) also resided in Medina, apart from brief visits to recently conquered provinces. Medina was thus briefly the capital of an empire, but had little of the dignity associated with such a role. The caliph lived in his private house, and had no guards. Thus when insurgents from the provinces attacked ʿUthmān in his house, his only support was from the sons of some of the leading men of Medina who had been sent as a token force. When the insurgents attacked seriously, there was virtually no resistance and ʿUthmān was killed. Upon this, the Muslims in Medina accepted ʿAlī as caliph, but they were now only a small proportion of the whole Muslim community, and their choice of caliph was not accepted in all the provinces. The Muslims of Syria favoured their governor Muʿāwiya, while Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr opposed ʿAlī, first from Mecca and then from Baṣra. ʿAlī, feeling constrained to counter the moves of these two, left Medina for ʿIrāḳ in October 656 and never returned. In effect, Medina was replaced as capital by Kūfa, and, after the acknowledgement of Muʿāwiya as caliph in 661, by Damascus.

3. *From 661 to 1926*

After it ceased to be the centre of the caliphate, Medina became something of a backwater politically. For a brief moment in 63/683 it came into the historical limelight. Many of the leading men of Medina disliked Yazīd's succession to his father Muʿāwiya in 60/680. Some may have been moved by the hope of regaining for Medina some of its former influence. Others seem to have sympathised with ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] who was organising opposition to the Umayyads from Mecca. A large body of the Muslims of Medina, led by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanẓala, formally renounced allegiance to Yazīd, and forced a thousand members of the Umayyad family and its supporters to take refuge in the quarter of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], the head of the family in Medina, though of a different branch from Muʿāwiya. Yazīd sent an army of from 4,000 to 12,000 Syrian troops under Muslim b. ʿUḳba, but before they arrived the rebels had allowed the Umayyad party to leave Medina for Syria. Muslim's army encamped on the Ḥarra to the north-east of Medina and invited the rebels to submit. Instead they marched against him and were severely defeated, and Medina is alleged to have been pillaged for three days by the Syrians. There seems to be some anti-Umayyad exaggeration in the accounts of this battle of the Ḥarra [*q.v.*] and its aftermath. These events did not greatly alter the position of Medina, except perhaps to reduce its political importance still further.

In 130/747 a group of Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] who had established themselves in the Yemen sent an army into the Ḥidjāz and, after defeating the governor of Medina and a locally raised force, occupied Medina for three months until defeated by an army from Syria (Wellhausen, *Die Oppositionsparteien*, ch. xii; Eng. tr. *The religio-political factions*). After the establishment of ʿAbbāsid rule, Medina was the centre of two short-lived and unsuccessful Ḥasanid revolts, that of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the "pure soul" (*al-nafs al-zakiyya* [*q.v.*]) in 145/762 and that of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the *ṣāḥib Fakhkh* [*q.v.*], in 169/786. Another incident that has been recorded was the defeat in 230/845 by the Turkish general Bughā al-Kabīr of the nomadic tribes of Sulaym and Hilāl who had been making depredations in the region of Medina. About two years later they escaped from prison, but were put to death by the people of Medina (Ṭabarī, iii, 551 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub annis* 230, 232). For the first three centuries of Islam these are the main events involving Medina.

Even in the reign of Muʿāwiya, Medina was becoming remote from the caliph and his government, and was beginning to attract those who wanted to keep aloof from political turmoil and maintain an attitude of neutrality between the opposing groups. Prominent among the neutrals was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*]. To Medina also came al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] after renouncing his claim to the caliphate in 41/661, and to Medina were brought al-Ḥusayn's wives and son after his death at Karbalāʾ. Another son of ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], also lived quietly in Medina. As already noted, too, an important section of the Umayyad family, not closely involved in the government of Muʿāwiya and Yazīd, resided in Medina. Many others of the Ḳuraysh of Mecca also settled there. Such people were able to enjoy the wealth brought to them by the wars of conquests, and life in Medina became notorious for its luxury. The caliph Marwān II expressed surprised that one of the participants in the rising of 127/745 had not been held back by the wine and singing-girls of Medina (Ṭabarī, ii, 1910).

At the same time, however, Medina became an important centre of Islamic intellectual life. From the beginnings of Islam, it would seem, men had met in mosques to discuss matters of religious interest. In Medina in the Umayyad period such discussions led to criticisms of current legal and administrative practice on the ground that these were not in accordance with Islamic principles. As these discussions and criticisms became more systematic, Islamic jurisprudence began to take shape. The early school of Medina seems to have been important (though J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 223, etc., thinks it was subordinate to the ʿIrāḳī schools). There are many references to "the seven lawyers of Medina", a group of men who died a little before or shortly after 106/718; the lists of the seven vary somewhat [see FUḲAHĀʾ AL-MADĪNA AL-SABʿA in Suppl.]. One of the most prominent was ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], who was also a collector of *ḥadīth* and of historical information about the life of the Prophet. Among his pupils were his son Hishām and (Muḥammad b. Shihāb) al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742 [*q.v.*]), one of the greatest scholars of the time in several fields. The real flowering of the legal school of Medina, however, came through the work of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) [*q.v.*], who was the founder of one of the four Sunnī legal rites. The textual study of the Ḳurʾān was represented in Medina by Nāfiʿ al-Laythī (d. 169/785), the authority for one of the seven canonical sets of readings. Ibn al-Kaʿḳāʿ al-Makhzūmī (d. 130/747) from Medina was also highly thought of for his textual studies. In the exegesis of the Ḳurʾān an important place was held by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam (d. 182/798), whose father had been noted as a lawyer. A pupil of Mālik's, Ibn Zabāla, wrote one of the first histories of Medina (Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 343); it has not survived, but is occasionally quoted by al-Samhūdī.

No wall was built round Medina until it was felt to be threatened by the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt. In 364/974 the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla built a wall enclosing the central part of the town. This was restored in 540/1145 by a Zangid vizier, but a few years later in 557/1162 the Zangid Atābeg of Syria, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, built a second wall of greater extent with towers and gateways. After the Ottoman conquest, Sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī (1520-66) built walls about 12 m. high of basalt and granite, with a trench in front. He also built a covered aqueduct to bring water from the south. These walls were raised to 25 m. by Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-76).

In 601/1203 the people of Medina were involved in a quarrel between the governors of Mecca and Medina, but, though there was some fighting, an agreement was eventually reached. Half-a-century later, in 654/1256, Medina was threatened by a volcanic eruption. After a series of earthquakes, a stream of lava appeared, but fortunately flowed to the east of the town and then northwards. After this, little is recorded of Medina until the 19th century. In 1804 the Wahhābīs [*q.v.*] took the town, plundered the jewels, pearls and other treasures of the Prophet's Mosque and prevented pious "visits" to his tomb there. In 1813 it was recaptured for the Ottomans by Ṭūsūn, a son of Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, and in 1815 the Wahhābī *amīr*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd, recognised Ottoman sovereignty over the holy places in the Ḥidjāz, and there was no change in this respect until the First World War. Shortly before that, in

1908, the Ottoman government built the Ḥidjāz railway from Damascus to Medina. Though primarily intended for pilgrims, this had some military importance, and was the object of attacks after November 1916 when the Grand Sharīf of Mecca, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], revolted against the Ottomans. A contingent of Ottoman troops, under Fakhrī Pasha, however, maintained themselves in Medina until after the peace in 1918, not surrendering until 10 January 1919 with his 9,800 men (see A. L. Tibawi, *The last knight of the last caliphs*, in *IQ*, xv [1971], 159-63). In 1924 after the abolition of the caliphate by the Turkish republic the Grand Sharīf (now King) Ḥusayn assumed the title of caliph, but met with much opposition from Arabs and other Muslims. In particular, Ibn Suʿūd invaded the Ḥidjāz in August 1924; Ḥusayn abdicated in favour of his son ʿAlī, but the latter too had to leave the Ḥidjāz, and in January 1926 Ibn Suʿūd became "King of the Ḥidjāz" as well as of Nadjd. Medina was thus incorporated into the Suʿūdī kingdom.

Bibliography: Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, and *Khulāṣat al-wafāʾ* (Brockelmann, II, 223 f.); Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*; Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, ii, Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ser. i; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. De Goeje,. 2-22; Maḳdisī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, in *BGA*, iii, 80-3; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 23 f. (*Ḳubāʾ*), 458-68; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1929; R. F. Burton, *Personal narration of a pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah*, London 1857, part 2; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv/1, 2 ("Medina vor dem Islam", "Die Gemeindeordnung Muhammeds"), Berlin 1889; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908 (Eng. tr., London 1976); L. Caetani, *Annali*, i, ii; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930; J. Sauvaget, *La mosquée de Médine*, Paris 1947; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956.

(W. M. WATT)

(ii) THE MODERN CITY

As early as 1923, growing hostility between the Hāshimite king, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, and the Suʿūdī sultan, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, led to fears that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's Ikhwān [*q.v.*] might capture al-Madīna. In fact, the redoubtable Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, Ikhwānī leader and chief of al-Muṭayr tribe, had raided into al-Ḥidjāz, where he destroyed track of the already defunct Ḥidjāz Railway and generally frightened the population. By late 1342/June 1924, al-Madīna had been largely cut off from outside supplies; nevertheless, at the time of the Suʿūdī/Ikhwān capture of al-Ṭāʾif (4 Ṣafar 1342/5 September 1924) and the subsequent fall of Makka, an exodus began from the latter which brought a surge of refugees into al-Madīna. During 1343-4/1925, occasional loads of supplies reached the beleaguered city, but by September when the Ḥarb [*q.v.*] tribe defected to the Suʿūdīs, al-Madīna was completely isolated. By the beginning of October, the garrison commander, ʿAbd al-Madjīd al-"Mifa'ie", was down to a 20-day supply of necessities, and the population began to slip away. By November, the citizens who remained approached ʿAbd al-Madjīd and one ʿIzzat Effendi, controller of the railroad, and asked them to negotiate the city's surrender. The terms were to open the gates if a general amnesty were to be declared and if the Ikhwān would guarantee the safety of the defenders and of the populace. From the Suʿūdī point of view, the city could have been captured soon after the capture of al-Ṭāʾif and Makka, but ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz apparently preferred to wait until Muslim opinion had digested the new régime's control of Makka. Indeed, false, but not implausible reports that Suʿūdī artillery had damaged the famous green dome over the Prophet's tomb had already in October 1925 brought an Iranian mission of investigation as well as protests from foreign consuls in Djudda [*q.v.*] and from all over the world. Not long before the city's fall, Philby, en route to Rābigh, reports that he saw a detachment of the Suʿūdī army under the sultan's third son, Muḥammad, marching on al-Madīna. According to Philby, in the last weeks of the siege Medinese fear of the Ikhwān led ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to have food smuggled into the city in order to prevent Fayṣal al-Dawīsh from effecting the capture. In any case, the surrender took place on 19 Djumādā I 1344/5 December 1925 and was accepted by Amīr Nāṣir b. Suʿūd and Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Faḍl. The Ikhwān soon entered the exterior fortress of al-Salaʿ but not the city. Amīr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz entered on 6 December, prayed in the Prophet's mosque, and then ordered his troops to distribute 1,000 bags of rice and 2,000 of flour to the hungry citizenry. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh aspired to the post of governor of al-Madīna (which is a town on the Nadjd plateau unlike Makka, a city of the coastal plain) and its dependent villages. His failure to receive it may have been one cause of his participation in the subsequent Ikhwān revolt. But from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's point of view, since the Muṭayr *dīra* already reached from the confines of al-Aḥsāʾ [*q.v.*] almost to al-Madīna, a further extension of his power would have given him a possibly preponderant influence from the Red Sea to the Gulf. The first governor appointed was Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Subḥān, a relatively liberal-minded native of Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*].

The Wahhābī [*q.v.*] zealots were in the end served following the arrival of ʿAbd Allāh b. Bulayhid, the chief Wahhābī *ḳāḍī*. He soon assembled the local *ʿulamāʾ* and asked them to give him, after due deliberation, an opinion on the legality of the elaborate tombs erected over the years in al-Baḳīʿ cemetery. After some two weeks of discussion, a *fatwā* [*q.v.*], motivated partly by fear, was issued by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī, with reluctant approval from his colleagues, which sanctioned the Wahhābī view that the tombs, cupolas, etc., should be destroyed. Shaykh Muḥammad was for the rest of his days referred to with opprobrium as "the Wahhābī". Ibn Bulayhid now had legal justification to implement the Wahhābī view. He had, however, a problem: there were almost no Wahhābīs in al-Madīna, and the regular population was reluctant to implement the *fatwā*. In the end, he had to hire the Shīʿī pariah class al-Nakhāwila (see below) to perform the task, When Eldon Rutter visited the city just after these events, he found that al-Baḳīʿ looked like a razed town. It was strewn with a rubble of earth, timber, iron bars, bricks, cement, etc., through which paths had been cleared. It was said that 10,000 of the Companions of the Prophet had been buried there, but all graves, from those of the Prophet's family, of ʿUthmān, Mālik b. Anas and other well-known Muslims, to the palm-frond graves of the poor, were systematically destroyed. Some of the Nakhāwila, who had never been allowed to bury their own dead in al-Baḳīʿ cemetery, were still raking over the rubble when Rutter visited the site. Also, outlying religious buildings such as the mosque of the tomb of Ḥamza were destroyed.

Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Subhān was soon replaced, but there was one saving grace amidst the carnage. Full public security throughout the peninsula, unknown for long years, provided the basis for a future of far greater hope.

In 1926 King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, to use his new title, visited the Prophet's city and conducted diplomatic negotiations with the British Agent and Consul, Mr. S. R. Jordan, but little came of them. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who had been absent from Nadjd for two years, had to return to affairs there. The only other high-level meetings which modern al-Madīna has known was in early 1945 when King Farūḳ b. Fuʾād [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of Egypt visited King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and invited him to visit Cairo, which he did in January 1946.

The population of the captured city was much depleted, but there are no exact figures. Estimates with source for the 19th and 20th centuries are as follows:

1814	16-18,000	Burckhardt
1853	16-20,000	Burton
1877	20,000	Keane
1908	30,000	Wavell
1910	60,000	al-Batanūnī
eve of World War I	80,000	Philby
1925	6,000	Rutter
early 1930s	15,000	Philby
early 1940s	20,000	*Western Arabia and the Red Sea*
1950s	40,000	Lipsky
1962	71,998	census
1968	90,000	Sogreah Co.
1970	112,000	Doxiades
1972	137,000	Robert Matthews Co.
1974	198,186	census
1976	150,000	*Area handbook*
2000	250-400,000	Makki

One could assume that by 1983 the population was approaching 200,000. Current estimates for the province of al-Madīna are approximately 500,000, but it should be emphasised that the estimates are only estimates. The compulsory recording of births dates only from 1965. In 1972 it was estimated that average population density was 2332/km^2 with a centre-city density of 30-40,000/km^2. The Robert Matthews Co. survey of 1972 showed that 36% of heads of families were born in al-Madīna; 28%, elsewhere in Suʿūdī Arabia; and 36%, outside the kingdom. As to age distribution, the 1974 estimate was that 50% of the population was below age 15, and in addition that the economically active age group was only 23% of the total. A curious phenomenon in al-Madīna is that the age group over 65 is larger than the 60-64 group which in turn is larger than the 55-59 age group. This is explained by what might be called "religious retirees"—those who wish to retire and spend their last days in the Prophet's city. Oil-stimulated immigration consisted on the one hand of professionals (teachers, doctors, engineers) who came largely from Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, and labourers who were primarily but not exclusively from Yemen. Yemenis constituted some 75% of all foreigners. It should be noted that the economic activity rate of migrants was higher than that of Saudis, whereas family size was smaller.

The population of the somewhat dazed or even partially ruined city that the Suʿūdīs took over in 1925 spoke a Medinese dialect distinct from that of other Ḥidjāz localities. It has affinities both to Syrian and Egyptian Arabic, and Turkish words and phrases are still heard in the last quarter of the 20th century. There were considerable areas of the city that were abandoned and semi-ruined, especially those outside the northern and western walls where wealthy Turks and others had built homes, especially after the coming of the railroad. Traditionally, the population lived in clearly compartmented quarters (*ḥawsh*, pl. *aḥwāsh*) and, in addition to native Medinese, included North Africans (attracted by the tomb of Mālik b. Anas), Indians, black Africans (Takārina), Mauritanians (Shanāḳiṭa) and Central Asians. A newer "immigrant" group are tribesmen: those of Ḥarb are concentrated in the eastern *ḥarra*; those of Djuhayna in the western. In addition, there was Ḥārat al-Āghāwāt, which was the home of the eunuch and other servants of the mosque (*al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī*). These included *imāms*, *muʾadhdhins*, caretakers, etc.

Religiously, the population is mostly Sunnī, of whom the large majority is Ḥanafī with a few Shāfiʿīs. There are also several groups of Shīʿīs. One of the most interesting of these is the Nakhāwila (sing. Nakhwalī). This is a twelver Shīʿī pariah class who formerly had their own *ḥawsh*, which was, however, broken up by the Suʿūdī régime first, apparently, in the 1920s and, definitively, following serious communal disturbances in the mid-1970s when a large highway was run through it. The origin of the Nakhāwila, who are currently roughly estimated to number between five and ten thousand, is obscure. They themselves claim to be descendants of the Anṣār; others believe they are descendants of African slaves, that they came from eastern Arabia or from Iran, etc. Some date their ostracisation from the time of the caliph Yazīd I. The name derives from their specialisation in cultivating palm trees. They also perform other menial services. Rutter reports that they were not allowed to live within the city walls, although they came in during the day to sell vegetables near Bāb al-Salām. In addition, the Nakhāwila were not allowed to pray in the Prophet's mosque, nor do they bury their dead in al-Baḳīʿ, but rather in their own cemetery east of Ḳubāʾ. Popular Sunnī feeling, according to Rutter, was that they would pollute these localities. They practice *mutʿa* [*q.v.*], and it was said they rent their houses to Iranian pilgrims during the *ḥadjdj* season. It may also be noted that the late Ottomans effectively prevented them from participating in elections, and King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, following a general protest against their participation in voting for the *madjlis al-shūrā* in 1937, followed the Ottoman precedent. There are also a few Shīʿīs of the Banū ʿAlī section of Ḥarb and the Banū Ḥusayn of al-Sādāt. It may also be noted that there is a small upper class group of Shīʿīs in al-Madīna. These, originally from ʿIrāḳ, are to a considerable degree integrated with the Sunnī upper class and basically come from two families, ʿUmrān and Mashhadī.

Among the well-known Sunnī families are the Khuraydjīs, of Nadjdī origin but long connected with trade in al-Madīna, who in the mid-1930s had the finest residence in the city; the Saḳḳāfs, whose scion ʿUmar was for some years Suʿūdī Foreign Minister, and newer rich families such as the Asʿads and the Kurdīs who made fortunes in land speculation in the 1970s.

The febrile modernisation of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, has largely destroyed all of the old *aḥwash* and has promoted a considerable homogenisation of the people, but slums remain in certain parts of

the old city, and these continue to have ethnic settlement patterns. On balance, Philby's judgment continues to be sound, that the people of al-Madīna, favoured as they are by location, water supplies, and relatively abundant agriculture, "lead more spacious lives" with something of the patrician and the patriarchal about them, in contrast to their neighbours in Makka.

The physical appearance of al-Madīna has changed dramatically in the six decades since the Wahhābīs first took it over. Rutter was told that the houses in the oldest sections of the city around the mosque, but especially between the *ḥaram* and al-Baḳīʿ, were built so incredibly close together in order to prevent the *samūm* from penetrating them. These houses, which were built of granite or basalt blocks and some of which had pillared halls opening on bathing pools, were typically three or four stories tall. Almost every house had a well with a hole directly above it on each floor. The hole itself had a small room (*bayt al-biʾr*) built around it which served as a bathing and siesta room for the people on that floor. The bucket was on a rope which operated from a pulley in the ceiling, and thus people on each floor could get water as needed. The water, which was not in short supply, was normally about five metres below the surface of the ground. The whole city was enclosed by a substantial wall with various gates, and there was also an outer wall extending from southeast of the old city westward and then north to tie into the main citadel at al-Bāb al-S̲h̲āmī on the northwest of the inner city. Finally, the Hās̲h̲imite King Ḥusayn built another wall from the northeast section of the old city north and then westward, but the Hās̲h̲imite kingdom ceased to exist before the new wall reached the existing outer wall on the west. With the coming of the *pax Suʿūdiana*, the whole system became obsolete, and gradually the walls disappeared before bulldozers. Philby reported in 1957 that they were gone, but some fragments still exist.

Modernisation has brought completely different

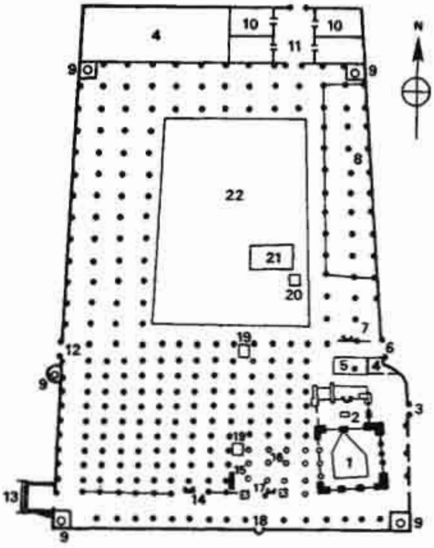

Fig. 1. Al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī before the Suʿūdī reconstruction (after E. Rutter, *The holy cities of Arabia*). 1. The Prophet's tomb (*ḥud̲j̲ra*) — 2. Fāṭima's tomb — 3. Bāb D̲j̲ibrīl — 4. Storeroom — 5. The Ag̲h̲a's platform — 6. Bāb al-Nisāʾ — 7. Miḥrāb — 8. Women's prayer place — 9. Minaret — 10. Madrasa — 11. al-Bāb al-Mad̲j̲īdī — 12. Bāb al-Raḥma — 13. Bāb al-Salām — 14. al-Miḥrāb al-Sulaymāniyya — 15. Minbar — 16. al-Rawḍa — 17. Miḥrāb al-Nabī — 18. Miḥrāb ʿUt̲h̲mān — 19. Platform — 20. Well — 21. Fāṭima's orchard — 22. Open courtyard.

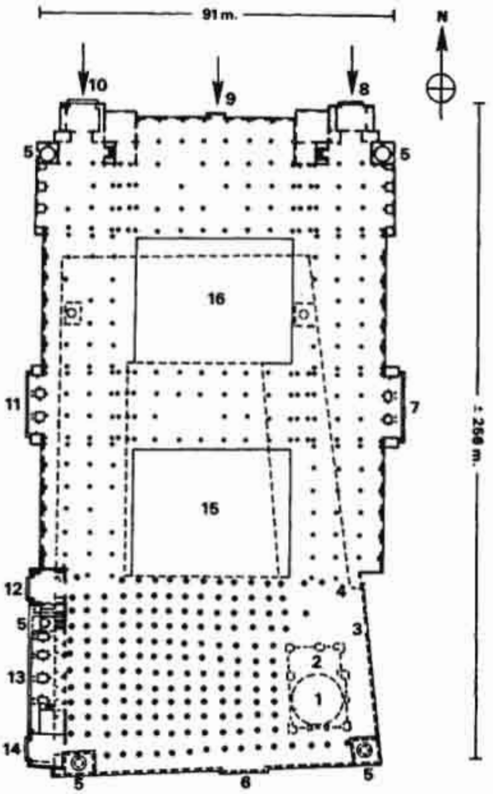

Fig. 2. al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī after the Suʿūdī reconstruction (after ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs al-Anṣārī, *Āt̲h̲ār al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, 2nd. ed.).
1. The Prophet's tomb — 2. Fāṭima's tomb — 3. Bāb D̲j̲ibrīl — 4. Bāb al-Nisāʾ — 5. Minaret — 6. Miḥrāb ʿUt̲h̲mān — 7. Bāb ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz — 8. Bāb ʿUt̲h̲mān b. ʿAffān — 9. Bāb ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd — 10. Bāb ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb — 11. Bāb Suʿūd — 12. Bāb al-Raḥma — 13. Bāb al-Ṣiddīḳ — 14. Bāb al-Salām — 15. Open courtyard (reconstructed) — 16. New courtyard.

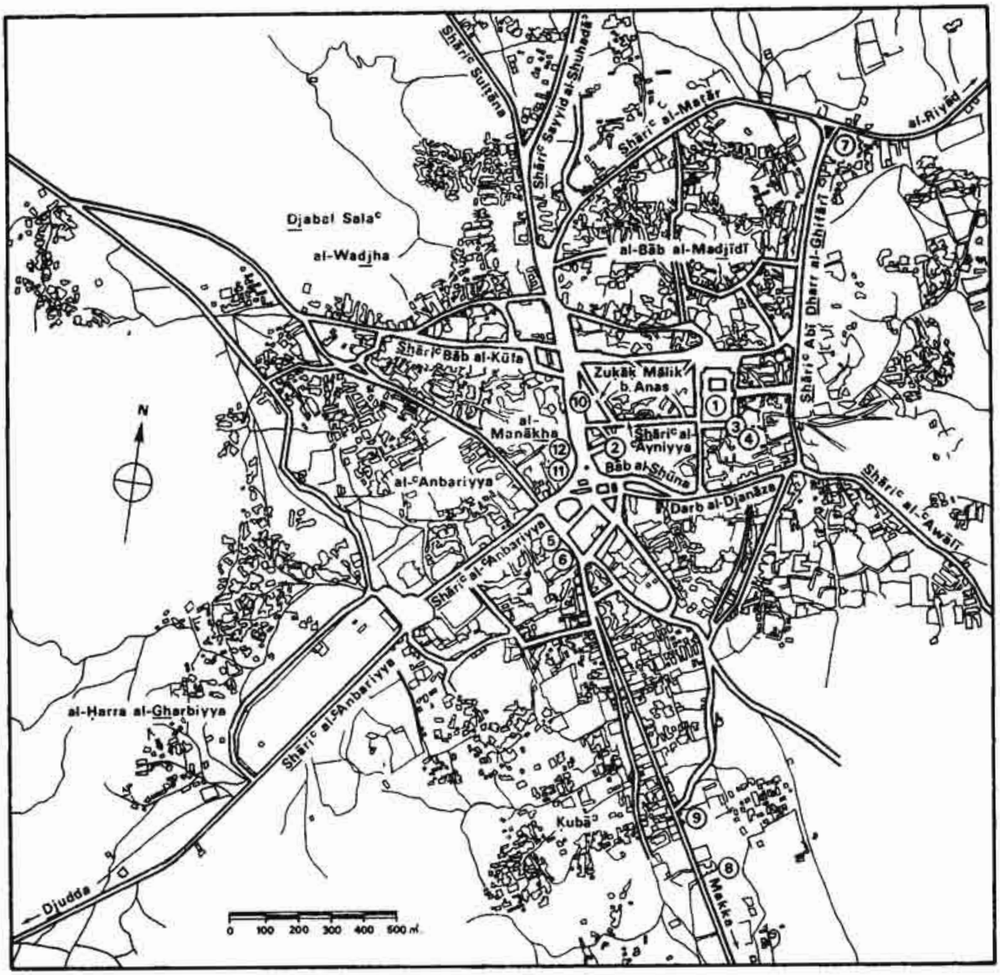

Fig. 3. Map of the modern city of al-Madīna (after H. M. Bindagji, *Atlas of Saudi Arabia*, Oxford 1398/1978, and W. C. Brice (ed.), *An historical atlas of Islam*, Leiden 1981, 23).
1. al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī — 2. al-Bāb al-Miṣrī — 3. ʿUmar's garden — 4. ʿĀrif Hikmet Library — 5. Mosque of al-Ghamāma — 6. Mosque of ʿUmar — 7. Mosque of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī — 8. Mosque of Kubāʾ — 9. Masdjid al-Djumʿa — 10. Mosque of Mālik b. Anas — 11. Mosque ot Abū Bakr — 12. Mosque of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

architectural approaches and materials, and much of the old has been swept away. Courtyards have been replaced by balconies, and cement and bricks are now standard. Sometimes old and new are combined, with traditional materials used on the ground floor and concrete blocks above. The latter, being lighter, allow larger rooms than would stone. The new construction is less insulating than the old, but air conditioning offsets this loss. Much of the growth of the city has been uncontrolled. Immigrants have settled on the eastern and western *ḥarra*s and bidonvilles have emerged. Some of the more prosperous immigrants have replaced their shanties with substantial structures, but growth in these areas has been chaotic. Running water did not exist as late as about 1980; electricity reached the *ḥarrāt* only about 1978.

By the 1960s, a city plan emerged. It features wide streets, street lighting, plantings, pavements for pedestrians and parks. Various new streets were cut, others were widened. The castle at al-Bāb al-Shāmī was demolished and replaced by apartment houses, and certain streets formerly connected by stairs were placed on the same level. The *aḥwāsh* disappeared; buildings were built across the water course that cut through the southern part of the city on a northwest-southeast axis.

In general, the central business district near the Prophet's mosque has not shifted, but there are satellite suburbs which have grown rapidly. These include al-ʿAwālī to the southeast, Kubāʾ to the south (which with its orchards and cafés is a suburb of the affluent), and Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ to the north-east.

The old layout of the city continued to impose itself on some developments. The Ḥidjāz railway station and the Ottoman barracks were both located in the southwest just inside the outer wall. The straight road, Shāriʿ al-ʿAnbariyya, which led to the centre of town at al-Bāb al-Miṣrī, had also by 1925 attracted the public or Egyptian kitchen, the governor's residence, and other private mansions. In the late 60s, the barracks were demolished and replaced by a large government building. Other

multi-story buildings soon followed. The location of the residence of the *amīr* exerted a pull on the location of upper-class housing. As long as the governor's house was in the south, the well-to-do lived there, but when in the 60s the *amīr*'s palace moved to the north of the city, Sulṭāna Street, which led northwest towards the old (Sultana) airport, and the community of al-ʿUyūn (7 km. away) began to attract affluent villas. The new airport located about 14 km. northeast of the city has also been an attraction northwards, and in general the area between Shāriʿ al-Maṭār (airport road) and Sulṭāna Street has filled in. West of Sulṭāna Street, Djabal Salaʿ, a difficult and substantial rocky outcrop, impeded development, but by the 80s villas were appearing north of it as well. To exemplify the overheated inflation in land prices, one can cite a garbage area north of the outer (Ḥusayn's) wall where no one would build. Cleaned up in the 60s, land was selling there for $ 2,500/m² by the mid-70s.

Other points of interest are that industry has generally moved outside the city where land was cheaper and there was room to expand. Public open spaces in al-Madīna are below international standards (totalling, in about 1980, 2,321 m²), but this inadequacy is partially compensated for by recreational use of the green areas, which are themselves diminishing, north and south of the city.

Traffic has always been a problem in al-Madīna. Rutter reports that streets in the old sections in 1926 were so narrow that on occasion a person had to walk sideways to pass. During the restoration of the mosque under Sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd (1848-60), a breach (al-ʿAyniyya) was made in the inner wall, and a straight street driven through to near the southwest gate of the mosque (Bāb al-Salām) so that columns and stone blocks could be brought in from Wādī al-ʿAḳīḳ. As long as camels discharged their loads in the area (al-Manākha) west of the inner wall reserved for that purpose and goods were then taken in by donkey or porter, the narrow streets could also be used by pedestrians, but with the coming of motor vehicles the situation became acute, especially as there was a severe shortage of parking space. One major parking lot does, however, exist in a portion of the old railroad yards.

Streets were added and widened in two stages: (1) 1950-5, when by private contract the *aḥwāsh* and *aziḳḳa* were greatly altered, by building new roads, especially Shāriʿ al-Maṭār and Shāriʿ Abī Ẓār which runs north and south to the east of the old city, by widening others, and by asphalting others; (2) 1961-5, when the municipality itself carried the process a stage further, installing *inter alia* a one-way traffic system in some sections and traffic lights. There continued in the early 1980s to be some unasphalted streets. The increase in vehicles can be gauged by the fact that in the period 1948-72, 6,511 vehicles were licensed, whereas in 1973-4 along 6,158 were licensed. In addition, at *ḥadjdj* time many outside vehicles appear. One may also note Shāriʿ al-Khawādjāt, which links, north of the city, the airport with Abyār ʿAlī some 8 km. southwest of the city, where there are TV and power stations. Designed as a road which non-Muslim technicians would be allowed to use (hence its name), it has become the main truck route because it bypasses the heavy city traffic. The city boasts two bus stations and taxi companies (cabs can be ordered by phone). Traffic, however, apparently remains a serious problem. Makki reports that accidents and ensuing violence between drivers are common, that parking fines are not levied, and that roads are hazardous for pedestrians.

The economy of al-Madīna may be conveniently considered under three headings: agriculture, commerce and industry, and the pilgrimage. Agriculture and agricultural self-sufficiency have constituted one of the glories of Islam's second city. Palms ripened early in June, and the main harvest was about a month later. The grapes, of which the best were a long white variety called Sharīfī, were also well known. Modernisation, however, has come disastrously close to ending the city's agricultural sector for three reasons. One is that urban sprawl in the 1950s overtook those farms which immediately surrounded the city. A second reason is the economic opportunity which the oil-driven economy of the country presented in other economic sectors; and the third cause is the fall in the water table because of unprecedented demands for water. By the 1950s, the formerly planted banks of Wādī al-ʿAḳīḳ had become barren and the desolation of the natural acacia forest, al-Ghāba, the traditional outdoor recreational area of the Medinese, and a source of wood, located some 7.5 km. north of the city, was well under way. This process was accelerated by the successive construction of small dams (ʿAḳūl, 1956; al-ʿAḳīḳ, 1958; and Buṭḥān, 1966) which prevented destructive flash floods in al-Madīna, but also prevented water from reaching al-Ghāba. Makki believes (1982) that the process might still be reversed, but notes no sign of the required effort. The agricultural areas south of the city have held up more successfully, though some decline is noted there as well. The decade 1962-72 showed a total reduction in agricultural land of 16.8% from 8.14 to 6.77 km². Over 40% of the total is in al-ʿAwālī and Ḳubāʾ south of the city. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, crop distribution in 1962 was as follows: 64% palm trees, 21% fruit trees, 14% alfalfa, and 1% garden vegetables, including tomatoes, eggplant, carrots, potatoes, squash, peppers, cucumbers, watermelons, cabbage, and cauliflower. It may be noted that the date trade was especially important as an export (to Syria, Egypt and the Indian subcontinent) crop. The dates in fact had a religious aura as a kind of blessing for the eater. There are many varieties, of which Rutter says the best three are al-ʿAnbarī, al-Shalabī and al-Ḥalwa.

The estimated percentage distribution of the non-agricultural and non-religious work force is, after Makki, as follows:

Activity	1972	1974
delivery services	22.01	24.23
scientific and vocational services	10.84	20.00
governmental services	24.50	12.72
primary industries	1.61	11.20
construction and maintenance	4.90	10.12
transport	6.67	7.73
other	17.75	6.71
education	7.78	4.84
handicrafts	1.20	2.21
electricity and water supply	2.65	.83

Highlights of the local economy are as follows. Industrial activities are principally date packing and vehicle repair. These are located on the periphery of the city on a totally unplanned basis. In 1971 manufacturing firms numbered 107, most of which employed 10 or less workers. Of the total, 35 were in car repair, 17 in building tile manufacture, 15

in bricks, 4 dairies, and 2 large date-packing factories. Estimates are, for 1971 and 1974 respectively, that there were 1,452 and 3,517 industrial workers and 3,105 and 6,207 commercial workers. Hotels and hospices, including a Sheraton, numbered 8 in 1971 and employed some 1,225 workers in 1974. In 1971 there were 2,208 retail and 28 wholesale stores and the *sūḳ* system received its first challenge in that same year with the establishment of two supermarkets, one in the city and one on Ḳubāʾ Street. The social importance of the *sūḳ* has also declined with changing life-styles, because accompanying traditional social activities such as public baths and coffee shops have almost disappeared. According to Makki, men's barbers, often Indian or African, are still conspicuous as they work outside on the sidewalk attending to the needs of, especially, Yemenis and other unurbanised immigrants. At the same time the new life-style has given rise to ladies' coiffeuses who use modern equipment but operate from their private homes. Of the three known to Makki (two in Ḳubāʾ and one in al-Bāb al-Madjīdī), two were run by foreign teachers and one by a Medinese lady.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of the impact of the *ḥadjdj* on the economy of al-Madīna. Rutter estimated in 1926 that the number of those who served the *ḥaram* was about 1,000. This number included, in addition to the *shaykh al-ḥaram*, his deputy, and the treasurer, *imāms*, preachers, lecturers, *muʾadhdhins*, overseers, doorkeepers, sweepers, lamp cleaners, water carriers, etc. Most were supported at least in part by *waḳfs*, many originating in Egypt. He reports that King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz initially reduced the number to 200. The corps of eunuchs numbered about 50. They were popularly believed to be wealthy, and they had *inter alia* black boys in training to enter the mosque service. In more recent times, Long has estimated that the guild of guides alone received some $ 800,000 in fees (gratuities are also important) in 1972 when pilgrims numbered about 480,000. His estimate of gross *ḥadjdj* income, including public sector expenditures, in that year was $ 213 million. Of this, one could guess that al-Madīna might be allocated one-third. Other estimates are higher. Robert Matthew Co. estimated for the same year that *external* pilgrims spent just under $ 100 million, of which two-thirds was for gifts. Makki's fieldwork in the same year indicates that average pilgrim expenditures were 583 Suʿūdī *riyāls* (SR; $ 1.00 = SR 4.15 in 1972) broken down as follows:

gifts	SR 331
other	99
lodging	71
food	52
transport	17
religious donations	13
	SR 583

He estimates total revenue from *external* pilgrims at SR 381.4 million (= $ 91.9 million). Total pilgrims on Makki's projection produced a revenue of SR 558.5 million (= $ 134.5 million).

The *Ḥaram al-Nabawī* of course is the central focus of al-Madīna, although other buildings and localities have high religious significance. The exact area of the sacred territory (*ḥaram*) from which non-Muslims are excluded is unclear. There is indeed a certain ambiguousness about the *ḥaram* quality of al-Madīna. Abū Ḥanīfa said it was not a *ḥaram*. Rutter reports that "common opinion" held that the area is bounded by the lava fields on the east and west, by Djabal ʿAyr on the south and Djabal Thawr ("behind Ohod") on the north, an area about 16 by 3 km. Philby wrote in the early 1930s that the whole district from Ḳubāʾ to Djabal Uḥud was *ḥarām*. Nallino reports that, according to the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate convention, it was defined as a radius of 30 km. around the walls of the city—a significantly smaller area. Non-Muslims now regularly travel the *Shāriʿ al-Khawādjāt* and stay in such hotels as the Sheraton.

When the Wahhābis first arrived, they discouraged the visit (*ziyāra*) to al-Madīna as constituting idolatrous tomb worship, but King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, for whom the revenues had some interest, justified it on the ground that he permitted pilgrims to pray in the mosque but not to visit the Prophet's tomb. For Rutter, the mosque with its green dome and golden apex ornament rising high above the walls to one-half the height of white minarets was "a picture of the most striking beauty and magnificence." Philby opined that it was the "chief architectural feature not only of Medina but of all Arabia." Rutter noted that many of the religious students had fled, but others were still studying at the feet of teachers such as Aḥmad al-Ṭanṭāwī and Ibn Turkī. Philby, who visited the city in 1931, found that all the tombs (other than those in the *Ḥaram*) were in ruinous condition. He also reports that the Shīʿīs of India had offered King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz £ 50,000 to spare the tomb of Fāṭima, but that it, like others in al-Baḳīʿ, was then almost gone. In 1934 when Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Sulaymān visited the city, many of the historic tombs were tidied up, and basalt borders and simple headstones set in place.

As to the Prophet's mosque itself, it has undergone substantial changes under Suʿūdī rule. The first known attention to it took place during 1934-8 when, largely through the generous efforts of Ṭalʿat Ḥarb of Egypt, badly needed repairs were carried out. These included installation of a new marble floor, and a new wooden screen to separate the women's section from the much larger men's part. Major enlargements followed. On 12 Shaʿbān 1368/9 June 1948 King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wrote an open letter to the Muslims of the world (published in *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, no. 301, 5 Ramaḍān 1368[/1 July 1948]) indicating his intention to enlarge the mosque. A committee of notables to assess the value of those properties that were condemned and an office with some 50 officials was established in Shaʿbān 1370/ May-June 1951. For actual building, a team of 14 architects, 200 artisans and 1,500 labourers was assembled. A workshop area was established at Abyār ʿAlī both for the repair of equipment and also for making mosaics. Equipment and supplies were brought in from Yanbuʿ and included cement, iron and 30,000 tons of timber. The foundation stone was laid on 13 Rabīʿ I 1373/20 November 1953 before 2,000 dignitaries, and the inauguration of the new structure took place on 5 Rabīʿ I 1375/ 22 October 1955 with King Suʿūd, who had succeeded to the throne, officiating. The total cost was $ 11 million. The total new area added to the mosque was 6,024 m². Other new features included 474 square and 232 round pillars. The lengthening of the building to the north was 128 m. and the new northern wall is 91 m. long. Essentially, what the builders did was to double the size of the mosque by integrating a whole new building on to the northern end of the original one. The new section has its own courtyard plus minarets at the new northern corners. (The old Ottoman style minarets at the former

northern corners as well as the minaret just north of Bāb al-Raḥma were torn down.) The building itself is in neo-Moorish style; the minarets, neo-Mamlūk. In addition, as the accompanying Figs. 1 and 2 indicate, the Suʿūdī builders straightened out the asymmetrical shape of the exterior of the earlier structure and rebuilt the east, west, and north structures surrounding the original courtyard. West of the reconstructed mosque a large permanently canopied area was built in 1974-8 to provide shade for the vehicles and bodies of the hundreds of thousands who visit annually, although many old residences in the *aḥwā<u>sh</u>* were thereby destroyed. Finally, in Ra<u>dj</u>ab 1403/May 1983 King Fahd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ordered a further expansion of the mosque—basically on the east and west—from the present 16,000 m² to a staggering total of 82,000 m² with 90 m. minarets, the whole to be air conditioned. Little will remain of the old city.

There are of course other religious buildings and sites in al-Madīna, and in 1980 they constituted about 1% of the total city area (down from 6.4% in 1950). The most important is al-Baḳīʿ, the cemetery lying to the east of the mosque. This tract, which has been used by all Medinese except the Na<u>kh</u>āwila since the Prophet's time, was expanded in 1953 to an area of 52,741 m². It cannot in practice be moved because it holds the graves of many famous people. Makki estimates that bodies decompose in al-Baḳīʿ within six months, after which a grave can be re-used. Sometimes at the height of the *ḥa<u>dj</u>dj*, 2 bodies are put in one grave.

Other well-known sites include the mosque of al-Ḳiblatayn, the so-called al-Masā<u>dj</u>id al-<u>Kh</u>amsa and the mosque of Ḳubāʾ. In the city proper are also the al-<u>Gh</u>anāma, Abū Bakr and ʿAlī mosques near al-Manā<u>kh</u>a street. A common characteristic of mosques in al-Madīna is that they have a courtyard surrounded by roofed columns. In addition to the cemetery and mosques, there are a number of so-called *zāwiya*s or chapels in private homes. These often have a door opening directly on the street, but by 1980 many had been abandoned. In Ottoman, <u>Sh</u>arīfī and early Suʿūdī days, the Ramaḍān cannon was fired from the Ottoman fort on <u>Dj</u>abal Salaʿ, but with the modern growth of the city it could not be heard; other cannons were set up in various locations.

The logistics and management of pilgrims in al-Madīna differs from that in Makka, but still constitute an annual event of massive proportions. The differences are that only about three-fourths of the *ḥā<u>dj</u>dj*īs make the visit (*ziyāra*) to al-Madīna and that they may come either before or after the *ḥa<u>dj</u>dj* proper. As in Makka, however, guilds have arisen to service the visitors (*zāʾir*, pl. *zuwwār*): the *muzawwirūn* (sing. *muzawwir* "he who conducts a visit") and the *adillāʾ* (sing. *dalīl* "guide"). The former are those who conduct the visitor through the religious customs, such as reciting the proper formulas; the latter are responsible for the physical needs of the *zuwwār*, such as food, lodging and local transport. This dual system constrasts with that of Makka, where the *muṭawwifūn* (sing. *muṭawwif*, he who conducts the *ṭawāf* [*q.v.*]) are responsible for both spiritual and physical needs. The *adillāʾ*, like the *muṭawwifūn*, are divided into subguilds by nationality, and since the issuance of a decree in 1356-7/1938, there has been a government-appointed *<u>shaykh</u> al-adillāʾ*. Governmental control evolved because by the late 1930s, internal transport had improved to the point where the visit to al-Madīna could be made from Makka or <u>Dj</u>udda in a matter of hours and the number of visitors steeply increased. Usually the *adillāʾ* are also *muzawwirūn*, but not every *muzawwir* is a *dalīl*. Traditionally, almost every native Medinese served at one time or another as a *muzawwir*. As spelled out in the regulations, the responsibility of a *dalīl* is: (a) to receive the *ḥa<u>dj</u>dj*īs on their arrival at the official reception centre; (b) to assist them to find lodgings and to move in; (c) to guide them to the principal shrines and to assist in devotions; and (d) to assist them in arranging onward travel (which is usually to Makka, <u>Dj</u>udda, or Yanbuʿ). The 1972 regulations, as cited by Long, specify the shrines as: *al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī al-<u>Sh</u>arīf*, al-Baḳīʿ cemetery and "other shrines." Offices of the Directorate of Ḥa<u>dj</u>dj Affairs of the Ministry of Ḥa<u>dj</u>dj and Waḳfs are located at the main sites to hear complaints.

Like pilgrims proper to Makka, visitors to al-Madīna have come by every form of transport, certainly not excluding walking and, before World War I, including the railroad. However, since the Suʿūdī takeover, the railroad from Damascus has remained derelict and walking has practically ceased. As early as 1929 the number of visitors who came by camel caravan had declined to about half, while most of the other half came by motorcar. The first visitors to arrive by air came in January 1936 as the result of a contract made by the Suʿūdī government with the Egyptian Misr Airlines (now Egypt Air). In 1937 the aircraft made two flights per day from <u>Dj</u>udda to the old Sulṭāna airport with five passengers per flight. In all, 105 visitors came at a cost of £E 30,500, of which half was tax. In 1939 the aircraft developed engine trouble, and the service was discontinued. By 1950, according to Long, the camel had practically disappeared as a means of transporting pilgrims. Roads to the holy cities received very high priority immediately after World War II, and the <u>Dj</u>udda-al-Madīna sector was paved by 1958. Exact figures for mode of travel to al-Madīna in more recent years are not available, but a rough idea may be obtained from the following. In 1972 there was a total of 1,042,007 pilgrims to Makka, of which 479,339 came from abroad and 562,668 from within Suʿūdī Arabia (of these 178,378 were from Makka itself and presumably did not visit al-Madīna). Of those who came from abroad, 20% came by sea, 30% by land and 50% by air. One could assume by 1980 that motor vehicles and aircraft brought all but the smallest handful of *zuwwār* to al-Madīna.

Some idea of various charges paid by *zuwwār* in modern times can be garnered. In the late 1920s, the round trip automobile fare from Makka to al-Madīna was taxed £ 7.50 ($ 36.00), but this impost was lowered by 1931 to £ 6 ($ 28.80). Transportation fees, round trip (? from <u>Dj</u>udda), were listed in 1948 as follows: first class (car), £ 24; second class (bus), £ 12; third class (truck), £ 8. In 1972 the fees are more exact:

Single person fare	SR	$
Bus from <u>Dj</u>udda or Yanbuʿ to al-Madīna and back to <u>Dj</u>udda or Yanbuʿ	90.	21.69
Car from <u>Dj</u>udda or Yanbuʿ to al-Madīna and back to <u>Dj</u>udda or Yanbuʿ	144.	34.70
Car from <u>Dj</u>udda or Yanbuʿ and thence to Makka	160.	38.55
Bus from Makka al-Madīna and thence to <u>Dj</u>udda or Yanbuʿ	101.25	24.40

By royal decree of 1384-5/1965, the fee for a *dalīl* was fixed at SR 10 (= $ 2.22; from 1378-9/1959 to 1390-1/1971 the exchange rate was $ 1 = SR 4.5). Accommodation is a private sector matter, but there are government-suggested prices. According to the 1391/1972 regulations, SR 20 ($ 4.82) was the suggested daily rent for a "house." The Ḥadjdj Accommodation Control Committee of the Ministry of Ḥadjdj and Waḳfs is charged with regulating abuse. In all, it has been estimated by Long that in 1972 *adillā'* were paid SR 3.6 million ($ 867,470), assuming that 360,000 visited al-Madīna.

Al-Madīna had been famous for libraries and learning from early Islamic times, but Rutter found a mixed situation in regard to both. The library of ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Bey [*q.v.*], a former Ottoman *shaykh al-Islām* who had also served as *mullā* of al-Madīna in 1239/1823 and following, was one of the richest in al-Ḥidjāz, with estimated holdings of 17,000 volumes. Although Fu'ād Ḥamza opines that "in the Ottoman period" a considerable part of the collection had been removed, others do not corroborate his contention. Located just off the southeast corner of the *Ḥaram*, the library was open to the public but non-circulating. Rutter describes it as a building composed of two domed rooms set in a walled garden. Access was through a large ornamental iron gate. Within, Rutter remarks on the cleanliness and high level of upkeep. The principal attendant and his assistant were both highly competent Turks, and several people were reading. Philby indicates that the library contained unique manuscripts. In regard to the very recent siege and Suʿūdī accession to power, the assistant told Rutter that "we do not eat of the hand of the king, neither from the hand of El Husayn, nor from the hand of Ibn Saʿūd. Our provision comes from the waqf bequeathed by the Shaykh [ʿĀrif Ḥikmet]. Therefore, it is of no account to us who is king or who is sultan; we render praise to God, Who is Lord of All." Although it had presumably withstood the siege intact, the Sulṭān Maḥmūd library (4,569 volumes), adjoining Bāb al-Salām, could not be examined by Rutter because the key could not be found. Other libraries (Bashīr Āghā [2,063 volumes], the al-Shifā' school, ʿUmar Effendi and Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [1,659 volumes]) were simply gone. Various explanations were offered: the books had been stolen when the inhabitants fled; they had been sold by their caretakers; the Wahhābīs had burnt them. The *Ḥaram* itself contained approximately 100 large Ḳur'āns.

At the time of the Suʿūdī conquest, Nallino counted public schools as one elementary (*ibtidā'iyya*) and two preparatory (*taḥḍīriyya*). By 1937 this had increased modestly to one elementary, three preparatory and one school for adult illiterates. But there were also some eight private schools, including Dār al-Ḥadīth, which had 49 students, as well as Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya with 394 students. In all, the private schools enrolled 873 students. By 1938 these institutions had been increased by the addition of an Italian orphanage. A different type of educational institution also appeared in 1354-5/1936—namely, the four-page weekly *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, which was owned by ʿAlī and ʿUthmān Ḥāfiẓ and managed by the latter.

Nallino signals six Medinese writers of prominence in the 1930s: (1) Aḥmad al-ʿArabī (b. *ca.* 1327-8/1910), who was sent by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz on a mission to Dar al-ʿUlūm in Cairo and graduated from al-Azhar. On his return, he taught at Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya and became in 1935 the director of the prestigious Madrasat al-Umarā' (school for princes) in al-Riyāḍ. (2) ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs al-Anṣārī (1324-1403/1906-83). A prolific writer, al-Anṣārī received his diploma in 1346/1927-8 from al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya, worked in the *dīwān* of the amīrate of al-Madīna and taught Arabic literature at his *alma mater*. His important prose works include *Āthār al-Madīna al-Munawwara* (Damascus 1935) and *Bayn al-ta'rīkh wa 'l-āthār* (Beirut 1969). (3) ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Naḳshabandī (b. 1322/1904-5), a poet, who after primary studies in al-Madīna, accompanied his father during World War I to Syria. After returning to al-Madīna for further study, he went to India, where he earned a teaching certificate, after which he taught at al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya. (4) ʿAlī Ḥāfiẓ (b. 1321/1903-4), a poet, studied in *al-Ḥaram*, became *kātib ḍabṭ* (secretary) of the higher court in al-Madīna and then head secretary. He was a founder of *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*. (5) ʿAzīz Ḍiyā' al-Dīn b. Zāhid (b. 1332/1913-4), a poet and prose writer, who, following primary studies in al-Madīna, studied in the "health school" of Makka (closed in 1347/1928-9). He became secretary to the Directorate General of Health and then went to the Directorate of Police. (6) ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ʿAnbar (b. 1326/1908-9), a prose writer who both studied and taught at Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya.

In more recent years, the Islamic University of al-Madīna has been the institution of highest learning in al-Madīna. This institution was founded in the early 1960s, with encouragement from members of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn driven into exile by President Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir of Egypt, as an international seminary modelled at least in part on al-Azhar and designed to propagate Islām. It contains both a secondary (*thanawiyya*) curriculum and a university-level programme. The secondary section schedules 34 classes per week for three years, and the total hours per week per subject for the three-year curriculum are as follows: *sharīʿa* 12, *tafsīr*, 12, Arabic language 12, *ḥadīth* 10, *tadjwīd* 9, *tawḥīd* 9, history of Islam 6, *uṣūl al-fiḳh* 4, *furūḍ* 4, semantics 4, principles of *tafsīr* 3, principles of *ḥadīth* 3, speech and composition 3, Arabic reading and literature 3, literary techniques 3, Ḳur'ān 2, handwriting 2, Islamic morals 1.

The university-level programme lasts four years. Students take 25 classes per week in the first two years and 24 in the last two. The total hours per week devoted to each subject are as follows: *sharīʿa* 16, Ḳur'ān 14, *tawḥīd* 12, *ḥadīth* 12, Arabic language and grammar 12, *uṣūl al-fiḳh* 8, vocabulary of *ḥadīth* 4, semantics 4, Islamic morals 3, speech and composition 2, literary techniques 2, and one hour each for each of the following: *sīra*, history of the caliphs, Islamic history, contemporary Islamic world, social doctrines of Islām, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mādja.

The university, led for many years by the well-known ultra-conservative ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Bāz (and more recently by ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ al-ʿUbayd) is academically under a Higher Consultative Council, which in 1974 was almost equally composed of well-known foreign and Suʿūdī educators, *ʿulamā'*, or religious administrators. At that time these included, e.g., Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf, former *muftī al-diyār al-Miṣriyya*; Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥusaynī of Palestine; and ʿAbu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Mawdūdī, former president of al-Djāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya of Pakistan. In 1975 the journal published by the university (*Madjallat al-Djāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya*) indicated that, at the university level, there were three faculties:

Kulliyyat al-Sharīʿa, Kulliyyat al-Daʿwa and Kulliyyat Uṣūl al-Fiḳh, and that these faculties grant the "higher *idjāza*" which bestows on its holder the same rights as equivalent degrees granted by the secular universities of the kingdom.

Despite the great increase in educational facilities illiteracy continues to be a major problem. According to Makki's analysis of the 1974 census, about 74% of the Suʿūdī labour force in al-Madīna was illiterate, and 51% of the foreign labour force was illiterate. A major explanation of continuing high illiteracy rates is the influx of illiterate people from desert and rural areas into the city.

Medical facilities have also burgeoned in al-Madīna since 1925—not least because of the pilgrimage, its medical problems and the public relations aspects thereof. One early milestone in this development was the establishment in 1356/1937 of an Italian-Muslim hospital under the auspices of the king of Italy. The hospital was under local control and was financed by a *waḳf* from Tripoli, Libya. By the mid-1960s, a 50-bed hospital of tropical medicine as well as enlargement of the main general hospital were both under construction, and by 1975 a control station for schistosomiasis (bilharzia) had been opened. Patients treated in Medinese hospitals reached 903,635 in 1969, but declined in the subsequent year. Death rates have also generally declined, and the death rate of *zuwwār* dropped from 1.6% in 1942 to 0.31% in 1974. It might also be noted that the city gave its name to the parasitic Guinea Worm, as in *Dracunculus medinensis*, *Vena medinensis* or *Filaria medinensis*.

Modern communications in al-Madīna cover the following: roads, facilities for air travel, telecommunications and rail service. Revival of the Hidjāz railroad from Damascus to al-Madīna has been discussed by the Syrian, Jordanian and Suʿūdī governments throughout the post-World War II period. Periodical announcement of positive decisions have been made, but nothing has been done up to 1405-6/1985. The evolution of the telephone service has been steady since 1313/1896, when a line connecting the city with al-ʿUlā, Tabūk, ʿAmmān and Damascus was installed. In 1323-4/1906 a second line was put in place, and by 1333-4/1915 there was a 50-line exchange located outside al-Bāb al-Shāmī and reserved for military use. Philby reports that a wireless service to Djudda began under the Ottomans. The Hāshimites spread the telephone service to other government offices. The Suʿūdīs installed, in 1932, new Marconi (British) equipment with 21 exchanges of 100 lines each. In this period there were some 1,890 lines in all, of which 1,458 were private and the remainder official. A new radio telephone was installed in 1395-6/1956, and automatic service arrived in 1391-2/1972, as well as a co-axial cable to Yanbuʿ, Djudda, and al-Ṭāʾif. In that year there were 3,737 telephones in use, with long waiting lists. A local television station arrived in 1388-9/1969. The first airport was located near Sulṭāna, northwest of al-Madīna, and was derelict from World War I until 1936, when Bank Misr opened, briefly, its *ḥadjdj* service, but the modern airport, in use by the mid-1960s, is located 15 km. northeast of the city on the road to al-Ḥanakiyya. By the early 1980s, al-Madīna was linked with neighbouring population centres in all directions by a completely modern highway network. Al-Madīna again benefited from its religious importance and was given early priority in the development of roads for that reason. The Djudda-al-Madīna sector was completed as early as 1392-3/1953. Finally, it may be noted that although the Suʿūdī government joined the International Postal Union in 1345-6/1927, in 1357-8/1939 al-Madīna's post office was one of only four (the others: Makka, Djudda and Yanbuʿ) in the country that could handle all operations specified by the international conventions. In 1357-8/1939, the al-Madīna postal service was twice per week.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of the administration of al-Madīna. The Hāshimite surrender was taken by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and the following is a quite incomplete list of *amīrs* (with known dates of incumbency) compiled from various sources:

Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Subḥān	1926
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm	1932
ʿAbd Allāh al-Sudayrī	1936, 1937
H.R.H. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	1952
H.R.H. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	1981

The main function of the *amīr* is the maintenance of public security. The city was one of five in the Ḥidjāz that had had a municipality in Ottoman and Hāshimite times. The highest body was composed of a president and four members. In Ṣafar 1345/August 1926 "fundamental instructions" on rule were issued by the still juridically separate Kingdom of the Ḥidjāz. According to article 34, an administrative council (*madjlis idārī*) was established for al-Madīna. It was to be composed of the *ḳāʾim maḳām* (head of the amīral secretariat), his assistant, the heads of the various departments and four people nominated by the king. Al-Madīna was one of only three cities in al-Ḥidjāz that had police at the time of the Suʿūdī takeover; overwhelmingly, members of the police force were, all over the Suʿūdī realm, from ʿAsīr and Nadjd. Other administrative aspects may be mentioned. In 1347/1928-9, notaries (sing. *kātib al-ʿadl*) were instituted in al-Madīna as well as in Makka and Djudda. (Elsewhere, *ḳāḍīs* performed this function.) Justice was, in the period till World War II at least, administered by a summary (*mustaʿdjila*) court under a single *ḳāḍī* and had jurisdiction over petty civil cases and criminal cases not involving execution or loss of limb. The higher court (*al-maḥkama al-kubrā*) has a *ḳāḍī* as president and two "substitutes." In cases involving capital punishment or loss of limb, the decision had to be pronounced by the full court. Al-Madīna also had a customs office which was a branch of the Djudda office. Originally, *waḳf* administration in al-Madīna was independent and reported to the local *amīr*; however, by a royal decree 1354/1936 the *waḳf* administration in Makka was upgraded to a directorate-general with the Medinese director to report thereto. Finally, because of the importance of water and its interrelation with various properties in and outside the city, a special authority, Hayʾat ʿAyn al-Zarḳāʾ, composed of five members, was established. It was in part financed by special *waḳf*s, but was also written into the state budget as early as 1926. The name of the authority was changed in 1978 to the Water and Drainage Department. Writing in 1936, Fuʾād Ḥamza (*al-Bilād*, 184, 186, 193, 236) gives the names of most of the then incumbents of the various posts.

By the 1980s, water was for most Medinese piped into houses, offices and apartments from desalinisation plants on the Red Sea coast, but when the Suʿūdīs took the city over the situation was very different. Al-Madīna's not unplentiful natural water

supply came from three main interrelated sources, but basically from the south: (1) south of the city in and around Ḳubāʾ; (2) ground water throughout the area of al-Madīna; and (3) north of the city in and around al-ʿUyūn. In addition, several *wādīs* intersect more or less in al-Madīna and often generated destructive flash floods. These wādīs have gradually been dammed, starting with a dam built in the 1940s to the northeast of the city and including the 1966 dam across the upper course of Wādī Buṭḥān which used to flood the city frequently. However, the dams reduce the water available in the northern agricultural areas and thus lead to a decrease in cultivation. Actual rainfall in al-Madīna fluctuates greatly. From 1957 to 1978 it ranged annually from zero to almost 104 mm. and averaged 38.04 mm. Historically, the most important source of domestic water has been ʿAyn al-Zarḳāʾ, which was actually a series of wells connected by covered conduits in the Ḳubāʾ area, where they joined into a single double-decker aqueduct. The upper channel carried drinking water to ten public watering places (*manhal*, pl. *manāhil*). The lower channel is a drain for the upper channel and for the *manāhil*. North of the city this aqueduct emerged above ground, and the water was used for irrigation. The *manāhil* were about 10 m. below ground and were reached by steps. The aqueduct passed under only two buildings: the former al-Bāb al-S̲h̲āmī and the mosque. There were also ordinary *sabīls* up until the early 1960s. The first pipes and public taps were installed in 1909, and in 1957 there were 49 of these taps (*kabbās*, pl. *kabbāsāt*) from which water was often led to individual houses by hose. By 1965 there were 1,500 *kabbāsāt*, but by 1974 their number had declined to 600 because of the spread of indoor plumbing; those that remained were in outlying areas of the city beyond which water tankers delivered to the poorer population. Water meters began to be used in 1959. In addition, in the earlier period brackish water was readily available at depths of 4-10 m. and most houses had wells to tap this water. Recent use has now lowered the water table significantly, and the supply is inadequate. All have been abandoned, as well as the unusual *bayt al-biʾr* architectural feature (described above) which provided summer cooling for generations.

The situation with agricultural water is parallel. The natural springs in the al-ʿUyūn area which irrigated 500,000 palm trees in 1915 were by 1980 all dried up. Owners have compensated for the decline in the water table by pumping. Philby reported that around 1954 pumping was well established and expanding, and Makki (on whom most of this analysis of water is based) indicates that 672 diesel pumps were in use in 1962. Makki pleads eloquently for the ʿAyn al-Zarḳāʾ Authority to control well-digging and pumping. A further development has been the erection in 1968-71 of a large concrete tank on top of D̲j̲abal Salaʿ, whither water is pumped from the Ḳubāʾ pump station. Other tanks on high ground also ensure adequate water pressure.

There are two additional pressures on the natural water supply. The first is the recent increase in paved and asphalted areas which, with their run-off characteristics, reduce infiltration; and the second is sewage problems. There was no disposal system prior to the 1970s. Rather, each building had its own cesspool (*bayyāra*) which was cleaned (? by the Nak̲h̲āwila) periodically. This practice made for special difficulties in the *ḥarrāt* because it is difficult to dig to depth and impossible without dynamite. Most of the waste was dumped in an area east of the city called "al-Manasie" (Makki's spelling). Water pollution is a growing problem; at least one well has had to be closed. On the other hand, a full sewage treatment plant was initiated in 1970 and located behind D̲j̲abal Uḥud. By 1976 a considerable portion of the city had been tied into the system.

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AL-MADĪNA AL-ZĀHIRA, a city founded in 366/978-9 to constitute a court by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] in a place called Ālas̲h̲, Ballas̲h̲ or Manzil Ibn Badr, on the right bank of the Guadalquivir to the east of and a short distance from Cordova. Al-Zāhira's existence was of short duration, since it was sacked and utterly destroyed in 399/1009, at the time when Muḥammad II al-Mahdī revolted against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, whom he had imprisoned and killed, and usurped the caliphate, dethroning His̲h̲ām II. The ploughshare subsequently caused the last traces of the city to disappear, whose site, some years later, was no longer known.

The Arab chroniclers do not supply as many details on al-Madīna al-Zāhira as on Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ [*q.v.*], but they mention in their texts some very precious evidence for determining the exact site of the dictator's city. They tell us, for example, of the general name of the area where al-Zāhira was built:

Shabulār or Ramla, i.e. "sandy terrain" (in Spanish *arenal*). This terrain is still called "Cortijo del Arenal", an important part of which, the "Pago de Tejavana", is easily identified with the main nucleus of the old city. Today the traces which remain are not very significant, but they show us that the buildings of al-Madīna al-Zāhira were made of materials of mediocre quality—bricks, quarries stones, clay wall etc.—and, consequently, without possible comparison with the riches and majestic edifices of its rival Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. However, the palaces of al-Zāhira were notably endowed with fine, sculpted marble cisterns in the form of Roman sarcophagi and intended as fountains, of which the museums preserve marvellous examples which were executed—as their inscriptions testify—at al-Zāhira for the Banū ʿĀmir.

Finally, it is worth noting that, according to the historian al-Ḍabbī (*Bughya*, biogr. no. 1544), the famous Munyat al-ʿĀmiriyya was one of the palaces of al-Madīna al-Zāhira and, consequently, was not located alongside Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, as some contemporary authors presume, who confuse this *munya* with the Munyat Wādī 'l-Rummān given to the caliph al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir by his great *fatā* Durrī al-Aṣghar in 362/973.

Bibliography: see principally KURṬUBA, and also L. Torres Balbás, *Al-Madīna al-Zāhira, la ciudad de Almanzor*, in *al-Andalus*, xxi (1956), 353-9 (with a very complete account of the historical notices concerning the city supplied by the Arab chroniclers and geographers).

(M. OCAÑA JIMÉNEZ)

MADĪNAT SĀLIM, the Arabic name, which has become MEDINACELI, of a small town in north-eastern Spain, on the railway from Madrid to Saragossa, and almost equidistant from these two cities; it lies at an altitude of more than 3,280 feet/1,000 m., on the left bank of the Jalón. It owes its name to a Berber from the Maṣmūda, Sālim, who repaired a Roman fortress which Ṭāriḳ [*q.v.*], according to Yāḳūt, iii, 13, had found in a ruinous state.

The Arab geographers give brief descriptions of Medinaceli. According to al-Idrīsī, it was a large town built in a hollow with many large buildings, gardens and orchards. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ says that this town was the capital of the Middle March (*al-thaghr al-awsaṭ*).

Through its geographical position, Madīnat Sālim was of considerable strategic importance for the Umayyads from the 4th/10th century onwards. It was on many occasions, as the last stronghold on Muslim territory, the point from which forces assembled at Cordova finally started for expeditions against the Christians of the north-east of the Peninsula and to which they retired. Though somewhat decayed down to the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, it was rebuilt, if we may believe the detailed evidence of a chronicler quoted by Ibn ʿIdhārī, in 335/946: this ruler put the work in charge of his client, the general Ghālib, and all the garrisons of the country lent their aid in the work. This Ghālib remained governor of Medinaceli and all the Middle March until the power was seized by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abi ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]. It was in Medinaceli that this famous *ḥādjib* died on 27 Ramaḍān 392/10 August 1002, on returning from his last expedition against Castile. In the following century, Medinaceli was frequently taken by the Christians and retaken by the Muslims, before being finally incorporated in the Kingdom of Castile.

Madīnat Sālim should not be confused with Madīnal Ibn al-Sālim or Ibn Sālim, which was situated in the region of Seville, probably the modern Grazalema in the province of Cadiz (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 342).

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MADĪNAT AL-ZAHRĀʾ, governmental city of the Umayyad caliphs of Cordova.

According to the texts which recount the construction of this *madīna*, it was the monumental work of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III who had it built to satisfy the whim of a *djāriya* of his *ḥaram*, al-Zahrāʾ. The city was constructed 5 km. as the crow flies to the north-west of Cordova, on the southern flank of the Djabal al-ʿArūs ("the Bride's Mountain") of the mountain chain called today Sierra Morena. The work was begun at the beginning of the year 325/19 November 936, under the direction of the Crown Prince al-Ḥakam. with the technical collaboration of the architect Maslama b. ʿAbd Allāh. During the *fitna* or civil war which was to lead to the fall of the caliphate of Cordoba, the Berbers of Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn occupied Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ by force and it was sacked and destroyed (401/1010). The ruined city later fell prey to pillage and systematic destruction, especially in the Almoravid and Almohad periods.

When Cordova was conquered by Ferdinand III in 1236, the old site of the royal *madīna* was a vast terrain, occupied by ruined walls, which someone called "Castillo de Cordoba la Vieja"; the monarch gave this terrain to the Cordoban Municipal Council, and hewn stones continued to be taken to build palaces, churches, convents and bridges in the capital. In 1408, the Council gave the ruins to the monks of St. Jerome who exploited them intensively to build in a nearby orchard a monastery called "Valparaiso", in which Ambrosio de Morales, the great Cordovan historian, stayed in *ca.* 1532; he sought to identify the neighbouring ruins, but, in his study published in 1575, he asserted that they were of Roman origin and that their site was that of the famous Colonia Patricia. In 1627, another Córdovan historian, Pedro Diaz de Rivas, demonstrated that they were not Roman but Arab and belonged, in a concrete manner, to a great palace erected by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III; and this same thesis was upheld by P. Francisco Ruano in 1760 and Antonio Ponz in 1792. The painter and historian J. A. Ceán Bermùdez was the first researcher to identify "Córdoba la Vieja" with Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ (1832), and this identification was confirmed in later years, when European Arabists began to publish the Arabic sources for the history of Muslim Spain, so that, in 1854, Pedro de Madrazo and Pascual de Gayangos were charged by the Spanish state with carrying out an archaeological exploration at "Córdoba la Vieja", but their work was not crowned with success.

Meanwhile, the architect Ricardo Velázquez was to inaugurate, in 1911, a new period of exploration which he continued until his death in 1923, with excellent results: the discovery of a sector of the

northern part of the city, where the principal drawing-room of the caliph was excavated, richly decorated —which Ricardo Velázquez called the "Salón Occidental"—and, on the other hand, a large *madjlis*—for its discoverer, the "Salón Oriental"—clearly marked by its austere decoration which proclaims a military purpose. The excavations carried out by Ricardo Velázquez were not conducted following a preconceived programme, and it was at his death that a local commission was named in Cordova (Rafael Jiménez, Rafael Castejon, Ezequiel Ruiz, Félix Hernández and Joaquín Ma de Navascués) which had as its aim the delimiting of the extent of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ and the establishing of a plan of work to follow in future excavations. The survey of the ruins which flourished under the covering of vegetation allowed Hernández, the architect of the commission, to draw up, in 1924, the topographical plan on a scale of 1:800 of the terrain where the city was located. Later the same architect drew up, in 1926, a plan on a scale of 1:200 of the part explored by Velázquez, of which the drawing-rooms, courts, vaulted passages, etc., were enumerated following the chronological order of their discovery, and this order has prevailed until the present. Quite soon after, excavations were pursued and the two principal sectors discovered by Velázquez were gradually enlarged until they constituted a good cohesive group. At the beginning of the year 1930, the commission having been reduced to only two members, Castejón and Hernández, the reconstruction was begun, up to a prudent height, of the northern wall encircling the city. The same system was followed during the following years, with all the walls separating the terraces which had been discovered, before the re-establishment of the masonry in its broad outline. The civil war of 1936 paralysed the work until 1941, when it was pursued according to the system presented above. Simultaneously, excavations were undertaken in some then unexplored sectors belonging to the southern part of the Alcazar of the city, where in 1944, a magnificent reception *madjlis* was discovered, whose architectural work was a dreadful ruin, while its revetments of sculpted stone, although very fragmented, remained almost complete. This important discovery proved in an indisputable manner that the plunderers had pillaged everything that could be utilised for future constructions—hewn stones from the walls, capitals, shafts and bases of columns, etc.—and had disdained the surface decoration of the halls, generally composed of thin stone plaques which would be useless to dislodge and place in pieces in another construction. The year 1944 signals, in the excavations of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, the beginning of a new age characterised by the reconstruction of halls by means of the preliminary recomposition of the decorative plaques and the restoring of these plaques on the walls and rebuilt arches. While the structure of the reception *madjlis* was rebuilt, excavations were pursued in the same sector and there was discovered, in the course of the following years, the whole architectonic entirety of which the *madjlis* was the heart: a vast terrace, delimited on the east, south and west by a very thick wall fortified with towers; a small *ḳaṣr* or pavilion placed opposite the *madjlis* and separated from it by a large pool; a *ḥammām* or steam bath, and some drawing-rooms with courts, staircases and public conveniences. According to the epigraphy placed at the time in this sector, the *madjlis* was built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir during the years 342-5/953-6, under the direction of his *fatā* Shunayf, as was the pavilion, but under the direction of the *fatā* Djaʿfar (the Djaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was to be the *ḥādjib* of al-Ḥakam II). In 1964, Basilio Pavón explored, with the assistance of Hernández, the sector corresponding to the site of the *djāmiʿ* of the city, perfectly illustrated in the topographical plan of 1924; this building had been totally destroyed by the plunderers, but all the principal elements of its structure have been identified and they will shortly allow for the reconstruction of the mosque. At the end of 1969 Hernández remained the sole director of excavations, which were then concentrated in a new sector located in the Western wing of the great Alcazar of al-Zahrāʾ and probably belonging to the house of Djaʿfar, the *ḥadjib* mentioned above. Finally, in 1975, on the death of the great master of Hispano-Moorish art Félix Hernández, the direction of the works fell to the architect Rafael Manzano, who has continued the enormous task of restoration begun by his predecessor.

The Arab chroniclers and geographers have supplied us with excellent descriptions of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ and plenty of accounts and pieces of information acquaint us with the motive for its foundation; the choice of its site; the duration of its construction; the number of the workmen there, camels, mules and the materials and large sums spent on it; the palaces, reception halls, outbuildings, baths, pools, gardens, barracks, etc., built in its enclosure; the principal wonders contained in its buildings; the people who lived there; the bureaucratic services of the state which moved from Cordova to the new court; the memorable feasts celebrated in honour of the great dignitaries and ambassadors or to recall the memory of important events; the twilight of the city; and, finally, its destruction and ruin. Furthermore, excavations have confirmed for us that the foundation of al-Nāṣir was a dazzling city built within a rectangular rampart which measured 750 m. from north to south and 1,500 m. from east to west, flanked by towers regularly spaced. This rampart was formed by two walls separated by a corridor, except in the central tier of its northern flank, where a single wall was defended, it seems, by another rampart placed in from of it up to the ridges of the neighbouring hills and attached to the general enclosure. The buildings constituting the Alcazar of the city—Royal Palace, Civil Headquarters, Military Headquarters and prodigious reception halls with their secondary annexes—were laid out on stepped terraces and adapted to the relief of the lower slopes of the mountain and supported by solid reinforcing walls. The area occupied by the Alcazar, the whole northern sector of the city, was approximately 45 hectares, of which only 12 hectares have been explored at present, although corresponding to the central part of this supreme architectural complex. Owing to the fact that the unexplored parts are, for the moment, greater (33 hectares) than those which have been explored, it is still not possible to identify the buildings discovered in terms of the documentation supplied by the texts; consequently, the Arabic names which have been given to these buildings are also gratuitous rather than definitive. For the moment we must be satisfied with contemplating the exceptional spectacle which, following the most recent work, Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ offers to the visitor to the ruins: a reception *madjlis* of the 4th/10th century reconstructed with its origin-

al decoration, whose themes sculpted in stone and marble reveal the high degree of experience and exquisite artistic sensibility of all the artisans who worked for the great Cordovan caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir.

Bibliography: see principally ḲURṬUBA, and also E. García Gómez, *Algunas precisiones sobre la ruina de la Córdoba omeya*, in *al-And.*, xii (1947), 267-93; idem, *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por ʿĪsā ibn Aḥmad al-Rāzī*, Madrid 1967, and H. Terrasse, *Islam d'Espagne*, Paris 1958.

(M. Ocaña Jiménez)

MAḌĪRA (A.), a dish of meat cooked in sour milk, sometimes with fresh milk added, and with spices thrown in to enhance the flavour. This dish, which Abū Hurayra [*q.v.*] is said to have particularly appreciated (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 403 = § 3562, where a piece of poetry in praise of *maḍīra* is cited), must have been quite well sought-after in mediaeval times (al-Djāḥiẓ, however, does not cite it in his *K. al-Bukhalāʾ*; see nevertheless al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 12, tr. C. E. Bosworth, 46). Its principal claim to fame comes from al-Hamadhānī's *al-Maḳāma al-maḍīriyya* (no. 22 in Muḥammad ʿAbduh's edition), in which ʿĪsā b. Hishām records solely at the beginning of the *maḳāma* an occurrence which he witnessed and then tells the story, it goes without saying, in the mouth of Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī, of an adventure which had happened previously to this last. In effect, this story is the satirical portrait of a nouveau riche who invites Abu 'l-Fatḥ to his house in order to try some *maḍīra*, but goes on at such length about his skill in acquiring the house and other objects, whose praises he sings with such a wealth of details that the invited person, overwhelmed, takes to flight. Pursued by street urchins, he hurls a stone which wounds one of these last grievously, and spends two years in prison. Hence he has vowed never more to eat *maḍīra*, thus explaining why, at the beginning of the *maḳāma*, he refused a dish of it.

The *maḳāma* has been translated into German by O. Rescher, in *Beiträge zur Maqāmen-Litteratur*, v, Leonberg 1913; into English, by W. J. Prendergast, *The Maqámát of Badiʿ al-Zamán al-Hamadhání*, Madras 1915 (2nd ed. with Preface by C. E. Bosworth, London-Dublin 1973); into Italian, by F. Gabrieli, *La maqāma maḍīriyya di al-Hamadhani*, in *Rend. Lincei*, 8th Ser., iv/11-12 (1949), 509-15; and into French by R. Blachère and P. Masnou, *Al-Hamadānī, choix de Maqāmāt*, Paris 1957 (with the title: *La séance de la maḍīra ou Le parvenu*) and by R. Dagorn, in *IBLA*, 153 (1984/1), 113-23. (Ed.)

AL-**MADIYYA**, AL-MADYA, LEMDIYA, in French MÉDÉA, a town of Algeria situated about 100 km./60 miles to the south of Algiers (in lat. 36° 15′ 50″ N., long. 2° 45′ E.), at an altitude of 920 m./3,018 ft. and on the northern border of the mountainous massif which divides the high plateau from the Mittīdja. Down to the French occupation, it could only be reached by a bridle-path over the Muzāya pass (979 m./3,270 ft.). The building of a road through the gorges of the Chiffa, alongside of which a railway runs, has made access to it easier. The town itself is built at the foot of slopes covered with vineyards which yield wines of superior quality and orchards in which, as a result of the temperate climate, fruit trees grow very well. In the neighbourhood, a number of villages have grown up in which the cultivation of cereals is combined with that of the vine. There is also a fairly busy market, but it is losing in importance since the railway has been extended to Djelfa at the southern end of the high plateaux. The population, which, in 1926, was 13,816, of whom 2,225 were Europeans, has today increased considerably.

Médéa occupies the site of a Roman settlement, Lambdia, which A. Pellegrin, *Essai sur les noms de lieux d'Algérie et de Tunisie*, Tunis 1949, 98, proposes to connect with the Berber root *b.d.* "to rise, stand up". According to Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 154, tr. ii, 6, this region was inhabited by the Ṣanhādja tribe of the Lamdiyya, whose name survives in the ethnic name Lemdānī which people originally from Médéa bear. In 349/960, Buluggīn b. Zīrī [*q.v.*] restored and enlarged (but did not "found", as the sources say) the urban complex (see Ibn Khaldūn, *loc. cit.*; al-Bakrī, *Description*, 65-6, tr. 136; Yāḳūt, iv, 413, s.v. Mattīdja; H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, 28 and index). We know virtually nothing about the town's history. Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 351-2), who, having stayed there two months, apparently wanted to stay there, and, following him, Marmol, *Africa*, ii, 394, merely tell us that after having belonged to the sultans of Tlemcen who kept a garrison there, it passed into the hands of the sultans of Tenès, and then of the Turks when the Barbarossas [see ʿARŪDJ] established themselves in Algiers. Under Ḥasan Khayr al-Din, Médéa became the capital of one of the three provinces (*beyliks*) of the Regency, the *beylik* of the south or of Titteri, to which at a later date was added the lower valley of the Sébaou in Kabylia. Down to about 1770 we therefore find the bey of this province alternately at Médéa and Bordj-Sébaou. It was not until this date that, the region of Sébaou having been incorporated in the *Dār al-Sulṭān* governed by the dey, the bey of Titteri settled permanently at Médéa, where he was in a better position to control the nomadic tribes of the plateaux. He had, however, no authority over the inhabitants of the town itself, who were under the authority of a *ḥākim* appointed by the *agha* of Algiers. The population, which did not exceed 4,000-5,000, among whom were many Kulughlis [see ḲUL-OGHLU] and Turks retired from the service, became wealthy through its trade with the south. Caravans brought thither the produce of the Sahara and also negro slaves, who were sold to the citizens of Algiers.

During the years which followed the capture of Algiers, the French on several occasions (Nov. 1830, May 1831, April 1836) occupied Médéa, without taking permanent possession. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] however placed a bey in it and had his ownership of it recognised by the treaty of the Tafna. The outbreak of hostilities again between the *amir* and the French led to the final occupation of Médéa by the latter on 17 May 1840. It was in Médéa that, shortly afterwards, the future poet Jean Richepin was to be born.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see F. Pharaon, *Notes sur les tribus de la subdivision de Médéa*, in *R. Afr.* (1857); Federmann and Aucapitaine, *Notice sur l'administration du beylik de Titteri*, in *ibid.* (1869).

(G. Yver)

MADJALLA [see MEDJELLE]

MADJAR, MADJARISTĀN, name given to the Hungarians or Magyars and to Hungary in the Ottoman period.

1. In pre-Ottoman period

(1) The names for the Hungarians and Hungary in the Arabic and Persian authors of the 3rd-8th/9th-14th centuries. The earliest mention of the Hungarians (Magyars) occurs in

the *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa* of Ibn Rusta (Ibn Rosteh), written between the years 290-300/903-12-13 on the basis of the geographical treatise of al-Djayhānī (*ca.* 300 A.H.) who used, in the composition of this work, an anonymous historical account dealing with Central Asia and Eastern Europe and dating from the second half of the 3rd/9th century. In this source the Hungarians appear with the name of *al-Madjghariyya*, i.e. the Magyars. In this period they inhabited the plains adjacent to the Black Sea, between the Don and the Lower Danube, their eastern neighbours being the powerful Turkish tribe of Badjanāk (Pechenegs). It was under pressure from this tribe that they were compelled to withdraw, in *ca.* 889-92 A.D., into the basin of the Carpathians, where they founded a state which survived, within its 9th-10th century frontiers, until the end of the First World War.

It seems that the same *Anonymous account* of the 3rd/9th century is also the basis for the description of the country al-Madjghariyya (Ar. *bilād al-Madjghariyya*) contained in the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa l-mamālik* of al-Bakrī (*ca.* 460/1068). In fact, the Hungarians mentioned in this account led a nomadic existence, and their territories, situated on the Black Sea, bordered on the provinces of the Byzantine Empire (Ar. *bilād al-Rūm*).

A description of the al-Madjghariyya people is also found in the *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān* of Sharaf al-Zaman Ṭāhir al-Marwazī [*q.v.*] composed in *ca.* 514/1120. Analysis of this description reveals that the period in question is prior to the years 889-92, a period during which the Hungarians were still a nomadic people inhabiting the plains of Southern Russia, between the rivers *Dūnā (Danube, erroneously in the Arabic text Rūtā), and Atil or Etul (Don). The description of al-Madjghariyya contained in the work of al-Marwazī is also based on the treatise of al-Djayhānī.

The anonymous Persian geographical treatise entitled *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* written in 982 A.D. mentions the Hungarians with the name of *Madjghari*. According to the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, the country of the *Madjghari* was situated to the west of a range of mountains which corresponds to the Carpathians and to the north of a Christian people called Wanandar. This latter people must be identified as the Bulgar tribe of the Onugundurs who, in the 6th-7th centuries A.D., occupied the north-western Caucasus, in the region of the Kuban. It is known from Byzantine sources that, under the command of Asparukh, part of this tribe left the region of Kuban and travelled towards the Lower Danube which it crossed over in 679 A.D., founding to the south of this river the Turko-Slavic state of the Bulgars. The new arrivals were baptised in 864. The information given by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* concerning the frontiers of the territory of the Hungarians is therefore not derived from the *Anonymous account* of the 3rd/9th century, but from another anonymous source composed later, in the 4th/10th century, after the conquest by the Hungarians of the Carpathian basin in 889-92 A.D.

The name *Madjghari* or rather *Madjghariyān* (the plural in Persian of *Madjgharī*) is also found in the *Zayn al-akhbār*, a Persian historical treatise composed in the years 441-4/1048-52 by Gardīzī (or Gurdēzī). Gardīzī considers this people to be Turkish. In the paragraph of the *Zayn al-akhbār* devoted to the Madjghariyān, Gardīzī has used two different sources, these being the *Anonymous account* of the 3rd/9th century compiled by al-Djayhānī and an anonymous source of the 4th/10th century, the same one that was used by the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*. The Bulgars of the Danube are here called Nandar.

In his *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān* al-Marwazī also calls the Hungarians (whom he knew still in their ancient homeland to the north of the Black Sea, between two rivers which may be identified as the Don and the Danube) *al-Madjghariyya*. He considers this people as being of Turkish origin. Like Ibn Rusta, he too has taken his account concerning the Hungarians from the *Anonymous account*, the work dealing with Central Asia and Eastern Europe compiled by al-Djayhānī.

The name *al-Madjghariyya* is also found in the *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, a geographical work by Abu 'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), in a passage probably derived from the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa l-mamālik* of al-Bakrī. For this reason this author calls the capital of the said people Madjgharī.

In another passage of his *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ also mentions the Magyars under another form of this name, sc. *Mādjār*. According to this passage, the people in question lived, alongside the Serbs (Ar. *al-Sarb*), the Vlachs (Ar. pl. *al-Awlāḳ*) and other "infidel" (Christian) peoples in mountains called Ḳashḳā Ṭāgh (Kashka-Dagh), where the Danube (Ar. Ṭunā) has its source and which may be identified with the Carpathians, linked to the Alps on one side and to the mountains of the Balkan Peninsula on the other.

In his cosmographical treatise entitled *Kitāb Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿadjāʾib al-barr wa 'l-baḥr*, al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327) also mentions the Mādjār or Hungarian people among the tribes inhabiting the territories situated on the tributaries of *Nahr al-Ṣaḳāliba wa 'l-Rūs* (here, the Danube and the Tisza, wrongly considered as tributaries of the Dnieper). Besides the Mādjār, al-Dimashḳī also mentions among these tribes the *Bashkird*, which he takes to be a separate people but which was, as will be demonstrated below, simply another name given to the Hungarians by the mediaeval Arab geographers.

The Arabic and Persian names *al-Madjghariyya*, *Madjghari*, *Madjghariyān* and *Mādjār* produce the Finno-Ugrian ethnonym *Magyar* which is also known from mediaeval European sources. Thus for example, the Byzantine author Constantine Porphyrogenitus (writing in 949-52) mentions among the Hungarians who were settled in the basin of the Middle Danube, a clan called Μεγερη (Hungarian Megyer). The Hungarian chronicler Simon of Kéza (writing in 1282-5) states in his *Gesta Hungarorum* that the ancestor of the Hungarians bore the name of Mogor. It may further be noted that in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of the Hungarian author called Belae regis Notarius (*ca.* 1200), the territory occupied by the Hungarians before their arrival in the Carpathian basin (889-92) bore the name of Dentumogor (Hungarian *Dontö magyar*). The second part of this name, i.e. *-mogor*, corresponds to the name of the ancestor of the Hungarians according to Simon of Kéza, while the first part, i.e. *Dentu-*, seems to be the origin of the name of Dāna, known from the *Kitāb al-Buldān* of Ibn al-Faḳīh (290/902) as being that of the territory situated on the Lower Don, and also the name of Tanat, mentioned in a letter of the Khazar king Joseph in the 10th century A.D. The Italian geographical charts of the 13th-14th centuries call this region Thanatia.

The second name by which the Arab geographers

of the 4th-8th/10th-14th centuries designated the Hungarians was that of Bashkirs. The latter were in fact a Turkish tribe which had lived, since the 3rd/9th century if not earlier, in the territory corresponding to the old Russian provinces of Penza and Orenburg; they had nothing in common with the Hungarians, who spoke and still speak a Finno-Ugrian language. Thus the use of the name Bashkirs to denote the Hungarians (in addition to the correctly-named Turkish Bashkirs) is an enigma which has yet to be solved, despite the efforts of numerous historians and linguists, Hungarian and others. The Turkish Bashkirs were called Bashkird by the mediaeval Arab authors (thus for example in the work of Ibn Faḍlān [*q.v.*], *ca.* 310/922). The same, or analogous, names were also used by the Arab geographers to denote the Hungarians.

The first Arab author to give the Hungarians the name of Bashkirs was al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956). Describing in his *Murūdj al-dhahab* the war fought by the Hungarians and their allies the Pechenegs against the Byzantines in the years 320-32/932 to 43-4, this author denotes the Hungarians by two different but related names, these being *Badjghird* and **Bazkirda*, making of them two different, though kindred, peoples.

In his *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik*, al-Iṣṭakhrī also uses the name *Basdjirt* to denote both the true Bashkirs and the Hungarians. The Basdjirt/[true] Bashkirs lived, according to this geographer, between the Oghuz-Turks (al-Ghuziyya) and the Bulgars of the Kama (Bulghār), under the domination of the latter, while the Basdjirt/Hungarians were based in the vicinity of al-Rūm, i.e. of the Byzantine empire. They were neighbours to the Badjanāk or Pechenegs who lived at this time between the Don and the Lower Danube. The work of al-Iṣṭakhrī was the principal source for the geographical treatise of Ibn Ḥawḳal entitled *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* or *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (first edition prior to 356/967, second edition in *ca.* 367/977, definitive version in *ca.* 378/988), which likewise mentions the Hungarians under the name of Basdjirt.

The name of Bashkirs (written *Bāshghird*) as that of the inhabitants of the country called *Unḳūriyya* (Hungary) is also encountered in the work of the Arab traveller and writer Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 565/1169-70) called *al-Muʿrib ʿan baʿḍ ʿadjaʾib al-Maghrib*. He arrived in Unḳūriyya in 545/1150-1, stayed three years and left the country in 547/1153, leaving behind his eldest son who had married the daughters of local Muslims. This same author provides another description of Hungary in his second work, the *Tuḥfat al-albāb*. In this latter book, the Hungarians bear the name of *Bāshghūrd*.

In his *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) likewise calls the Hungarians and their country *Bashghirdiyya* or Bashkirs. This writer met a group of Bashghirdiyya at Ḥalab (Aleppo) in Syria. Yāḳūt also mentions, in this account, the European name of Hungary as *al-Hunkar* (*al-Hungar*).

Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286) divides the Hungarians into two different nations: *al-Bashḳird* (Bashkirs) who are, according to him, Muslim Turks and who live to the south of the river Dūma (correctly *Dūna*, in Hungarian *Dúna*—Danube) and *al-Hunḳar* who are Christians. He does not appreciate that the Bashghird and al-Hunḳar are one people which is divided only by religion. Ibn Saʿīd's great geographical work in which these ideas are contained was used by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ in his *Taḳwīm al-buldān*.

The Arab cosmographer Abū Shams Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327) also mentions, in his *Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿadjāʾib al-barr wa 'l-baḥr*, the Bashghird people which he locates in south-eastern Europe alongside the Mādjār or Hungarians. He does not appreciate that they are in fact the same people. Possibly al-Dimashḳī intended in this fashion to distinguish the Muslim Hungarians from the Christian Hungarians, as Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī had done.

In his *Āthār al-bilād*, the Arab cosmographer al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 683/1283) also mentions the Muslim Hungarians whom he calls Bāshghirt.

The Persian writers of the Mongol period also use the name of Bashkirs to denote Hungary and the Hungarians. Thus for example, in the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318) these Bashkirs are mentioned, alongside the Ās (Yasī Alans of the Russian chronicles) the Urūs (Russians), the Čerkes, the Ḳīpčaḳ and the Kelar (in other words, Christian Hungarians, see below) among the subjects of these descendants of Čingiz Khān who dominated the western portion of his empire.

It has been stated above that al-Bakrī uses the term *al-Madjghariyya* in his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* to denote the Hungarians at the time when they were still leading a nomadic existence on the shores of the Black Sea (before 889-92). However, to describe the Hungarians as established, after the year 892 A.D., in the Carpathian basin, he employs two other terms which he has taken from the account of the Jewish merchant and traveller from Tortosa in Spain Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb al-Ṭurṭūshī (355/965-6) [*q.v.*], these being *al-Unḳalī* (gen. pl. *al-Unḳaliyyīn*) and *al-Turk* (pl. *al-Atrāk*). Leaving aside, for the moment, this last-mentioned name, which will be discussed below, the ethnonym *al-Unḳalī/al-Unḳaliyyīn* deserves attention. Now, Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb mentions this tribe in a brief list of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, between the **Ṭudushkiyyīn* (Germans) on the one side and the *Badjānākiyya* (Pechenegs), *al-Rūs* (Russians) and Khazars on the other, and stresses that all these peoples speak Slavic, in view of their close connections with the Slavs. Kunik, the first commentator on that part of the geographical work of al-Bakrī which deals with Central Asia and with Eastern and Central Europe, had already identified the *Unḳaliyyīn* with the Hungarians, a conclusion also admitted by F. Westberg and T. Kowalski. The reason for this identification has been confirmed by the information concerning *al-Unḳaliyyīn* found in the chapters of al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-'l-mamālik* which were unknown until edited, very recently, by Abdurrahman Ali El-Hajji (Beirut 1387/1968). One such mention is contained in the paragraph intitled *Dhikr balad al-Unḳaliyyīn* which also seems to belong to the account by Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb. Now, according to the paragraph in question, we are dealing here with a Turkish tribe (*djins*) settled in proximity to the Slavs, between the land of Buwayra (Bavaria) and the kingdom of Būyaṣlāw, i.e. Boleslas I of Bohemia (935-67 A.D.). According to the same passage, the Russians were the neighbours of *al-Unḳaliyyīn* to the north, the Pechenegs to the east and the Bulgars to the south. There is no doubt that this localisation favours the identification of *al-Unḳaliyyīn* with the Hungarians. Al-Bakrī also mentions another ethnonym written in a similar fashion, *al-Inḳilīsh*. It is cited in a paragraph of the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* intitled *Bilād Ifrandja* ("Land of

the Franks"). According to al-Bakrī, these *al-Inkilish* belonged to the *al-Madjūs* [*q.v.*] (in this case Danes and Norwegians) who were neighbours of the Slavs (in fact, the Slavic tribe of the Obodrites who formerly lived in what is now Mecklenburg were neighbours of the Danes on the south-eastern side). Now, these *al-Inkilish* had nothing to do with the Hungarians; it is more likely that they were the English who, shortly before the time of al-Bakrī, lived under Danish domination (1012-42). The name *al-Unkaliyyīn* belongs to the same group of names for the Hungarians as the Old Slavic *Ugri* (*Ųngri*), the Byzantine *Ungroi*, the Latin *Hungari*, *Ungari*, *Ungare*, *Hungaria* and *Ungaria* and the Polish *Węgry* (pronounced *Wengry*). All these names derive from that of *Onogur*, a nomadic Turkish people known from Latin and Byzantine sources of the 6th century A.D. As for the transformation of the phoneme *r* to *l* in the names *Unkalī* < *Ungari*, this is not an isolated phenomenon in the Hungarian language. In fact, the Germano-Latin proper name Gerard became Gellert in Old Hungarian (11th century).

In the *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāk*, al-Idrīsī's geographical treatise composed in Sicily in 548/1154, Hungary bears the name *Unkariyya*, which probably represents the Latin *Ungaria* or even the Italian *Ungheria*.

Belonging to the same groups of names is also *Unkūriyya* (for * *Unguria* or * *Onoguria*), the name for Hungary employed by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī in his *al-Muʿrib*. The name of the inhabitants of Hungary was, in this treatise, as has been observed *above*, *Bāshghird*.

One of the names for the Hungarians employed by Yāḳūt is *al-Hunkar* (for *Hungar*), a name derived from the Latin **Hungar*(*i*). Another orthography of this ethnonym is *al-Hunkar* (* *Hungar*(*i*)); it is employed by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286) in the extract from his great geographical treatise used by Abu 'l-Fidā'.

Besides *al-Unkalī*/*al-Unkaliyyīn*, Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb also uses, to denote the Hungarians, another name, *al-Turk* (pl. *al-Atrāk*) "the Turks". It seems that the term was borrowed by this author from the Byzantines. In fact, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who was writing some fifteen years before Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb, calls the Hungarians *Turkoi* and their country situated in the Carpathian basin *Turkia*.

To be mentioned finally is a wholly isolated nomenclature, this being *Kelar* or *Kilar*, which concludes the list of names for the Hungarians and Hungary used by the Muslim geographers, historians and travellers of the 3rd-8th/9th-14th centuries. This nomenclature is mentioned several times in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* as the name of a people mentioned with the Bashkirs, the Ās (Alans, Russian Yasī), the Urūs (Russians), the Čerkes and the Ḳïpčaḳ among the subjects of the descendants of Čingiz Khān. In all probability, these *Kelar* or *Kilar* are nothing other than the subjects of the *király* (Hungarian, "king") of Hungary. This Hungarian word was already known to al-Gharnāṭī, who had heard it during his stay in Hungary in 1151-3 and who wrote it in his *Muʿrib* as *k.zālī* instead of **k. rālī*. It is possible that by the name *Kelar*/*Kilar*, Rashīd al-Dīn understands the Christian Hungarians, while he denotes the Muslim Hungarians with the term *Bashkirs*.

(2) The Hungarian Muslims in the 3rd-8th/9th-14th centuries. It seems that the most ancient Muslim elements which may be identified among the Hungarians appeared as early as the second half of the 3rd/9th century, thus in the period when the tribes constituting the Hungarian federation were still leading a nomadic existence between the Don and the Lower Danube, as neighbours and allies of the great Turkish state of the Khazars [*q.v.*], whose capital Ātil [*q.v.*] or Itil was situated close to the estuary of the Volga. The population of this state, which was of a heterogeneous nature, included, among others, numerous Muslim groups, among which were pure Khazars, partially Islamised, according to the Arab chronicles, from the 8th century A.D. onwards, Iranian Muslims of the Sarmatian tribe of Arsiyya (ancient Aorsi) who formed the guard of the Khazar Khagans, Khʷārazmians, and finally a great number of Muslim traders, of very diverse origins, who lived in the Khazar capital where there were mosques and Ḳurʾān schools. According to the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān, there was in Ātil a Friday mosque, and the leader of the local Muslims was one of the pages of the king of the Khazars. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, there were in Ātil 10,000 Muslim inhabitants and thirty mosques. Similarly, in the Khazar city of Samandar (situated in what is now Dāghistān) there were Muslims and mosques. The Khazar state and the heterogeneous population of this empire exerted a great social and cultural influence on the tribes of the Hungarian (Magyar) federation, especially at the time when this federation was joined, in the second half of the 9th century A.D., by the great rebel Khazar tribe known as Kabars (or Kavars) which took flight following an abortive revolt against the Khazar Khagan. It is known from the *De administrando imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus that the Kabars played a leading role in the organisation of the Magyar federation and that they were at the head of this federation at the time when the Hungarians decided on the conquest of the Carpathian basin. It is also more than likely that this tribe, which no doubt included both Jewish and Khazar-Muslim elements, was the one joined by groups of Arisiyya and of Muslim Khʷārazmians, as well as more or less numerous groups of Muslim traders from Ātil and Samandar and the neighbouring provinces of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. But it should be stressed that all of this is only a conjecture which requires verification.

The earliest substantiated information concerning the presence of Muslim elements in the midst of the Magyar federation, at least in the context of written sources, does not appear until the first half of the 4th/10th century, some four decades after the Hungarians had conquered the land situated on the Middle Danube and the Tisza which subsequently became historic Hungary.

The first written information telling of Muslims living among the Hungarians in historical Hungary comes from al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj*, in which he refers to the subject in his description of the war waged by the Magyars in alliance with the Pechenegs against Byzantium in 320-32/932 to 943-4. The Pechenegs, who at this period were leading a nomadic existence between the Don, the lower Danube and the Carpathians, are denoted in the *Murūdj al-dhahab* by the twofold name *Badjanāk* and *Badjanā*, and the Hungarians (Magyars) are called here by two different names, *Badjghird* and **Bazkirda*. Among these two tribes there lived, if al-Masʿūdī is to be believed, numerous Muslims divided into two quite different groups. To the first of these groups belonged the Muslim traders who came from

the land of the Khazars, also from Ardabīl, from Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbend) and from other places situated within the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, while the other found its recruits among the Hungarians and Pechenegs proper who had been converted to Islam. In addition, it should not be forgotten that among the Magyars who had come to Hungary from the steppes of southern Russia and among the Pechenegs immigrants to this country there were also Iranian Muslims, including Khwārazmians and probably also Arsiyya, descendants of the ancient Aorsi and kinsmen of the Alans. At all events, the Khwārazmians appeared in Hungary in large numbers at least as early as the 11th century A.D., at which time they are mentioned for the first time in Latin sources emerging from Hungary. As for the Muslim traders who came from the land of the Khazars and the provinces of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and who lived, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, among the Hungarians and Pechenegs, these were so numerous that, according to al-Masʿūdī, they were able to form the entire vaguard of the "Turkish" army, that is, the allied Pechenegs and Hungarians, in the war against the Byzantines.

Furthermore, the Hungarians living in the Carpathian basin during the 4th/10th century maintained political and economic relations with lands situated to the south of the Caucasus and belonging to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate where their kinsmen lived. In fact, after the arrival of the Pechenegs in the steppes of southern Russia, the Hungarians, displaced by them, split into two parts, of which the first withdrew, in 889-92, towards the Midde Danube and the Tisza, while the second, less numerous, made its way towards the south-east in the direction of Transcaucasia. This is known from Constantine Porphyrogenitus who, in his *De administrando imperio* calls this second Hungarian group *Sabartoi asphaloi*; they were settled, according to this author, "in the lands of Persia". These *Sabartoi asphaloi* (the meaning of the second part of the title, *asphaloi*, remains obscure) are known in the Armenian chronicles by the name of *Sevord-ikʿ* (the termination *-ikʿ* is the sign of the plural in Armenian) and among the Arab historians of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries by the name of *al-Sāwardiyya* (al-Balādhurī) or that of al-Siyāwardiyya (al-Masʿūdī). According to the latter author, the tribe in question lived on the banks of the river Kur, on the frontiers of Ādharbādjān and Georgia. Al-Baladhūrī knew them, furthermore, immediately before the year 279/892. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Hungarians established in the Carpathian basin often sent merchants to visit these *Sabartoi asphaloi*, who sometimes returned to Hungary with official messages. Little is known concerning the religion professed by the *Sabartoi asphaloi* but it is most likely that, living under Muslim domination, they were exposed to the influence of Islam.

The second author writing in Arabic who tells of the existence of Muslims in Hungary is Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb. In the course of a visit to the countries of Central Europe, this traveller made his way as far as Prague (Ar. F. rāgha) and he describes, among other things, the commercial life of the city. According to him, among the foreign merchants who came to this city from Hungary, besides the "Turks", i.e. Hungarians proper, there were also Jews and [*ahl*] *al-islām*, i.e. Muslims.

According to a passage in the Hungarian chronicle known as the *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum* composed in 1196-1203, there arrived in Hungary, during the reign of the prince Taksony (?955-972 A.D.), a group of Ishmaelites, i.e. Muslims, originally from *terra Bular* (Bulgaria), led by two semi-legendary figures, these being Billa (Ar. Bi 'llāh ?) and Bocsu(?) . The majority of scholars who have studied this problem are of the opinion that the reference here is to Bulgaria of the Kama, a land which had been islamised several decades before. However, it is not impossible that the source used by the *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum* relates here rather to Bulgaria of the Danube, where there were numerous Muslims from as early as the middle of the 9th century A.D. In fact, a letter exists written by Pope Nicholas in the year 866, in which he orders the extirpation of the Saracens in Bulgaria of the Danube. The Bulgars of the Danube were a Turkish tribe, sister of the Bulgars of the Kama who settled to the south of the Lower Danube in 679 A.D., and soon adopted the Slavic language. It is interesting that the name of a settlement of people from *terra Bular*, according to the *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum*, bears the name of Pest (read Pesht) which is without any doubt of Slavo-Bulgar origin and signifies "furnace"; it is today a quarter of Budapest, capital of Hungary.

It seems that after the conversion of Hungary to Christianity, which took place during the reign of King Stephen I (997-1038), one group of Hungarian Muslims ostensibly adopted the Christian faith while remaining, in reality, crypto-Muslim. Prominent among this group were the Khwārazmians (in Hungarian, Káliz) who will be considered below.

In mediaeval Latin documents and in the ancient Hungarian chronicles written in Latin, the Muslims of Hungary are known by numerous names, which may be divided into four main categories, as follows:

(a) *Saraceni* (in the years 1206, 1221, 1231), *Saracenos sive Ismaëlitas* (1233), also *Sarateni*, in Hung. *Szereczen* "Saracens". This is how the Latin sources emanating from Western Europe denoted the Muslim Arabs. These are also the *Sarakenoi* of the Byzantine sources. It is stated, for example, in the *De administrando imperio* that the *Sarakenoi* were a people who followed "the false prophet Mouameth". The aristocratic Hungarian family *Szereczen* is known from documents dating from as early as the years 1138, *ca.* 1165, 1215 and 1222.

(b) *Ismaëlitae* (year 1233), *Hysmaelitae* (1192), *Hysma-helitae* (1222), "Ishmaelites". These are the descendants of Ismāʿīl, son of Abraham who was, according to Arab sources, the progenitor of the Arabs. According to the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, a **Nizaros* (in the ms. incorrectly written *Zinaros*), Arabic Nizār, descendant of Ismāʿīl, was "father of all the *Sarakenoi*". It is not impossible that by the name of *Ismaëlitae* the ancient Latin sources of Hungary specifically designated not the Muslim Arabs, but the Islamised Pechenegs who had settled in Hungary (to be further considered *below*). If this is the case, the ancient Hungarians followed the view of the ancient Russians who considered (as emerges from the chronicle of Nestor, beginning of the 12th century A.D.), that the Pechenegs, as well as the Oghuz Turks ("Torki"), the Turkōmans and the Comans (Polovtsī) were descended from the Biblical Ismāʿīl. In addition, the term "Ishmaelites" in certain Hungarian documents written in Latin also designated other groups of Muslims. It is known for example that the *Hysmaelitae* mentioned in a document of the Hungarian king Emeric in 1196, written on the occasion of the market at Eszek (the former county of Valkö, currently Osijek on the lower Drava in Yugoslavia)

were not Pechenegs, but rather Káliz or Khwārizmians.

(c) *Bissermini, Bezzermini, Bisirmani, Bezermen, Buzurman.* This is the transcription, in ancient Hungarian documents written in Latin, of the Hungarian word *Böszörmény* "Muslim". This is not the only usage of the word in Central and Eastern Europe. In fact, it is found in Polish, in Old Czech and in Russian, where the words *bisurman* (*busurman*), *besermen* and *basurman* (*busurman*) signify "Muslim". It is interesting to note that John Plano Carpini, the famous envoy of Pope Innocent IV to the Khān of the Mongols (1245-7), also mentions in his work a people which he calls *Bisermini*, correctly identified by I. Hrbek with the Khwārizmians living on the lower reaches of the Āmū-Daryā. Thus it is not impossible that the *Bisermini* of Hungary may also be identified, at least in part, with the Hungarian Khwārazmians. However, in two Hungarian vocabularies composed in *ca.* 1400, the terms *Ysmaelita* and *bezerman* and *ismaeliticus* do not refer to any ethnic group but indicate the Muslims in general. It should further be added that the name Böszörmény is attested in numerous Hungarian toponyms, in four or five administrative districts of Hungary, within its historical limits, and also in certain mediaeval documents. For example, in a document of 1248, *villa Nogbezermen* (in Hungarian, Nagy Böszörmény "the great Böszörmény") is the name of a village situated to the east of the middle Tisza, in the district of Nyir (Nyr).

(d) *Caliz* (year 1111), *Kalez* (1156), *Qualiz* (1156), *Kualez* (1212), modern Hungarian *Káliz*, in the German chronicles *Kotzel*, *Cozlones*, *Koltzens* "Khwārazmians". This name was mentioned for the first time in Hungarian sources in a Latin document of the year 1111, where there is a reference to people called "in Hungarian" *Caliz*. The Byzantine equivalent of this name is *Khalisioi*. According to the Byzantine historian John Kinnamos (writing 1150-65), this people was subject to the King of Hungary and, in the middle of the 12th century, as auxiliaries of the Hungarians, fought alongside the Dalmatians against the army of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus. The opinions of this historian regarding the religion of the *Khalisioi* are very confused; in one place he considers this people as being of Persian (i.e. Islamic) religion, while in another passage he states that they professed the Mosaic faith. The Hungarian name of *Káliz*, as well as the Byzantine denomination of *Khalisioi*, corresponds to that of *Khvalisl* which was the old-Russian term for the Khwārazmians and Khwārazm; it is encountered for example in the Russian chronicle of Nestor composed at about the beginning of the 12th century. The Hungarian name of the Khwārazmians is also found in that of *al-Khazar al-khaliṣ*, "the *Khazar-Khaliṣ*", an ethnic group identical to the Khwārazmians which lived, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, in the western part of Khazar (Ātil), capital of the Khazar realm, with the king of this state and his army. The Khwārazmians-Khaliṣ appeared in the Khazar realm prior to the 8th century A.D. In fact, the bishop of *Khoualēs* is mentioned in a list of bishops composed before the year 787 A.D. These were the bishops subject to the metropolitan of Doros in the Crimea, and the list probably includes all the bishops of the Khazar empire. The bishop of *Khoualēs* is placed here immediately after that of Astel, i.e. the Khazar capital Ātil. According to Kulakovsky and Vasiliev, *Khoualēs* was a town situated in the Khazar realm, near the estuary of the Volga and near the Caspian Sea, which bore, in the chronicle of Nestor, the name of *Khvalinskoč more*, "the sea of *Khvalinsk*" (it was perhaps the eastern part of the Khazar capital, of which the western part was called *Astel* (Ātil). A section of the Khwārazmians of the of the Khazar realm had probably joined, prior to the years 889-92, along with the Khazar tribe of the Kabars or Kavars, the Hungarian (Magyar) federation and settled in historic Hungary after the conquest of this land by the Magyars. It seems furthermore likely that another group of Khazar Khwārazmians joined the Pechenegs. In fact, al-Bakrī says that in his time (1068 A.D.) there were among the Muslim Pechenegs (of which the main bulk was then leading a nomadic existence in the steppes of South Russia) considerable numbers of *al-Khawāliṣ* (*al-Khvalis*), that is to say, of Khwārazmians. This was the name given by the Pechenegs, says al-Bakrī, to [Muslim] foreigners, slaves who had come to them from Constantinople or from other lands. The Pechenegs gave them the choice of staying in their country, where they could marry their daughters, or of leaving for another country of their choice. It may be added furthermore that Anna Comnena mentions, in her *Alexiad*, a Pecheneg chief named *Khalis*. Nor should it be forgotten that the ancestors on the maternal side of the great aristocratic Pecheneg-Hungarian family Aba, which gave Hungary the king Samuel Aba (1041-7) were, according to the Hungarian chronicles, of Khwārazmian origin (*de gente Corosmina, de Corosminis orta*).

It is certain that a number of Hungarian Muslims became Christians at the time of the conversion of Hungary to Christianity which took place during the reign of King Stephen I (997-1038). But subsequently, these converts reverted in part to their former religion. Such was the situation towards the end of the 11th century. This is known from the resolutions of the Hungarian Diet held at Szabolcs in 1092 during the reign of King Ladislas the Holy (*cap.* 9), which decreed that those Muslims who, after being baptised, reverted to Islam and were again performing the rites of this religion, must be removed to other villages. The successor to Ladislas the Holy, King Coloman III (1095-1114), was also the author of an edict containing resolutions directed against the Muslims. This was furthermore the time of the First Crusade, and it is easy to understand the hostility of the Hungarian clergy and Christian aristocracy towards Muslims in general in this period. According to the decree in question, all Ishmaelites caught in the act of performing their religious rites were to be taken before the king's tribunal, and a part of their property was to be forfeited to the one who had denounced them. According to the same decree, the inhabitants of Ishmaelite villages must build, in the middle of each village, a church which was to be maintained by the local Muslims. Besides this, half of these Ishmaelites must leave the village in question and settle in purely Christian villages in order to become assimilated with the local Christians. It was envisaged by the king that this scheme would lead to the conversion of these people to Christianity. Accordingly to another resolution of this decree, the Ishmaelites must give their daughters in marriage to Christians and, if entertaining Christian guests, must eat with them only pork. Obviously, this last requirement constituted a violation of one of the sternest prohibitions of the Muslim faith. Nevertheless, in spite of the decrees of Ladislas the Holy and Coloman III, a large number of the Ishmaelites of Hungary remained faithful

to Islam. It is even the case that in the 12th century there took place a major expansion of this religion in Hungary, especially during the reign of King Géza II (1141-61) who was, according to the account of the Arab traveller al-Gharnāṭī, a good friend of the Hungarian Muslims.

It is to this latter individual, both scholar and traveller, that there is owed an important illustration of the situation and the life of the Muslims in Hungary towards the middle of the 6th/12th century. Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī was born in the neighbourhood of Grenada in 473/1080-81 and left his native country for good in 500/1006-7, travelling to Egypt and subsequently to Syria to study there and to learn *ḥadīth*. In 516/1123-4, he left Syria and made his way to Baghdād, where he stayed for some time as a guest of Ibn Hubayra al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] the eminent statesman, general, scholar and future vizier of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muktafī; this politician became his protector and patron. Later, in 524-5/1130-1, Abū Ḥāmid travelled to Persia, to the Caucasus and subsequently to Khʷārazm, a land which he visited three times. Later, he travelled from this country (which had for many years maintained close relations with the land of the Volga), to Sadjsīn or Saksīn, a large Turkish commercial town situated on the lower reaches of the Volga. It seems that he settled there in 525/1131 and stayed for some twenty years until 545/1150. It is known that he possessed a house there and had concubines and sons. During his stay in Sadjsīn, he made a journey to Bulghār on the Volga, where he was seen in 530/1135-6. In 545/1150-51, Abū Ḥāmid made his way to Bāshghird, in Hungary, passing through the town of Bulghār and subsequently embarking on the *Nahr al-Ṣaḳāliba* or "River of the Slavs" (this name is to be taken as covering a whole system of rivers, including the upper Volga, its tributary the Oka, the Desna, tributary of the upper Dnieper, and finally the Dniepr itself, probably as far up as Kiev). Subsequently, he travelled towards the south-west, passing through South Russia, and arrived, having crossed the Carpathians, in Hungary. Abū Ḥāmid's stay in the latter country lasted three years, until 1153. In this year he left Hungary, making his way to the town of Ghūrkūmān (*Mankermān or Kiev) and later to Sadjsīn. On this occasion, the king of Hungary entrusted to him the mission of recruiting Turkish archers from South Russia and Sadjsīn for his army. In 549/1154-5, Abū Ḥāmid left the town of Sadjsīn for good with the object of making the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and travelled to Baghdād. During his second stay in the capital of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, he composed his *al-Muʿrib ʿan baʿḍ ʿadjāʾib al-Maghrib*, which contains a rich store of information concerning Eastern and Central Europe and, *inter alia*, a long description of Hungary and of South Russia. In 566/1161, he travelled to al-Mawṣil, where he composed, the following year, his second work, the *Tuḥfat al-albāb*, a work which also contains a considerable quantity of information concerning Eastern Europe and Hungary. Later, towards the end of his life, he went to Syria where he stayed for five years (560-5/1165 to 1169-70), in Aleppo and subsequently in Damascus, where he died at the age of eighty.

Abū Ḥāmid's descriptions of Hungary contained in the *Muʿrib* and in the *Tuḥfa* are very important and factual, and they reveal some extremely interesting details. The account here will be limited to the information concerning the Hungarian Muslims. Our author, who lived in Hungary, as stated above, for three years, knew very well the Muslim milieu of this land, one to which he was joined by personal links; in fact, his eldest son Ḥāmid, who had accompanied his father on his journey to Hungary and had settled in the country, married the daughters of two local Muslim dignitaries and stayed in Hungary after his father's departure for the Orient in 1153. According to *al-Muʿrib*, there were in Hungary two distinct types of Muslims, these being the *awlād al-Maghāriba* "descendants of the people of the West" and *awlād al-Khʷārazmiyyīn* "descendants of the Khʷārazmians". In the case of the first of these groups, their name *al-Maghāriba* ("the Maghribīs") remains mysterious. It is true that Abū Ḥāmid speaks of the existence of "sons of the Arabs of the Maghrib" (*awlād al-ʿArab min al-Maghrib*) at Sadjsīn on the Volga, an important East European commercial centre, which could be true, especially as these people professed, according to this author, the Mālikī law school like the true Maghribīs; but in another passage of *al-Muʿrib*, he gives the name of *abnāʾ al-Maghāriba* "sons of *al-Maghariba*" to people with no connection whatsoever with true Maghribīs. In the second case, it is a question of some thousands of people living in the vicinity of *Mankermān "Kiev" who had "the appearance of Turks, spoke the Turkish language and shot their arrows like Turks". According to this passage of *al-Muʿrib*, the Maghāriba of the neighbourhood of Kiev also bore the name of Badjana, meaning Pechenegs (it may be recalled, in fact, that one of the two names given to the Pechenegs by al-Masʿūdī was Badjanā, without final -*k*). Thus it appears that the Maghāriba of Hungary were identical to the al-Maghāriba/Badjana of the Kiev region, and that one is dealing with numerous groups of Pechenegs (Abū Ḥāmid counts these Maghāriba/Pechenegs in thousands) living between the 10th-15th centuries A.D. in the Carpathian basin as a subsidiary people to the Hungarians. These Pechenegs (in the mediaeval Latin sources *Bisseni* or *Bysseni*, from the Hungarian *Besenyö*, read *Beshenyö* - *Badjana*/*Bedjene* or *Pačana*/*Pečene* of the Arabic sources) arrived in historic Hungary from the steppes of South Russia in several waves. The earliest of these waves apparently arrived in Hungary in the time of the prince Arpad, at the beginning of the 10th century A.D. The new arrivals who were, according to the Hungarian chronicles, led by a certain Chaba, received from Arpad land situated in the Matra mountains. As for the second wave, a very important group of Pecheneg immigrants, it arrived in Hungary (if credence is to be given to the chronicle *Anonymi Belae Regis Notarii de gestis Hungarorum*, composed in *ca.* 1200 A.D.) during the reign of the prince Zoltan who lived in the first half of the 10th century A.D. These Pechenegs were settled by Lake Fertö, near the north-western frontier of Hungary to protect the young Hungarian state against attacks by the Germans. Soon afterwards, there arrived in Hungary, during the reign of the prince Taksony (? 955-72), a new and very numerous group of Pechenegs led by Thonuzoba, a person of princely origin. Taksony gave him, as a seat, land situated in the vicinity of Kemey, extending as far as the river Tisza. During the reign of the prince Géza (972-7), there arrived in Hungary a new group of Pecheneg immigrants. This is known from the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Simon of Kéza (13th century), who calls the newcomers *Bessi*. The new wave was linked to the victory of John, *comes* of Sopron, a county situated in the

north-west of Hungary. In 1072, according to the *Chronicle of Thurocz*, the latter routed a large detachment of Pechenegs in the service of the Byzantine governor of Belgrade, taking prisoner several thousand Pechenegs whom he probably settled in his domain. The last wave of Pechenegs arrived in Hungary in 1122-3. These were the remnants of a large Pecheneg group which, in withdrawing from the steppes of South Russia, had attacked the frontiers of the Byzantine empire and had been defeated by the army of that state. These remnants settled in Hungary under the command of their Khān, named Tatar. The newcomers were received very amicably by the Hungarian king Stephen II (1115-31). This wave was the last phase in the long series of Pecheneg immigration into Hungary which had lasted almost two hundred years. The Pechenegs who were settled as guards on all the frontiers of Hungary, as well as those who lived in the interior of the state, were required to supply troops of horsemen, who constituted the light cavalry of the Hungarian army. The first information regarding Pechenegs as forming a part of the Hungarian army comes from the year 1052 A.D., at the time of the Hungarian war against the Germans on the river Leitha. In 1116 Pecheneg warriors are found in the army of Stephen II. Later, in the year 1146, the Pechenegs, who probably made up two detachments of the garrison troops on the Austrian frontier, were included in the formation of the Hungarian army during the war against the Austrian Duke Henry Jasomirgott, in the battle near Moson. They were commanded by two Pecheneg "counts". In the year 1150, the Pechenegs constituted, along with the Khalisians (Khwārazmians) Hungarian auxiliary troops in the war of the Hungarians and the Serbs against Byzantium. The question of the participation of the Pechenegs in the Hungarian army has yet to be studied. However, it should be noted that in the battle between the Hungarians and the King of Bohemia Přemysl Ottokar II near Kressenbrun in 1260, the Pechenegs are not mentioned among the auxiliary troops of the Hungarians.

There were two different types of Pecheneg settlement in Hungary, these being settlements situated close to the frontiers and establishments located in the interior of the country. The colonists settled near the frontiers had the duty of defending the wooden stockades which surrounded the entire territory of Hungary. They were called in the Hungarian documents written in Latin *speculatores* or *confinarum custodes*. Pecheneg guards of this type existed as early as the time of St. Stephen (997-1038) and even before this period. They were settled in groups quite close together, not far from the western frontier of Hungary, notably in the counties of Sopron and Moson. This latter territory was even called, in *ca.* 1230, on account of the large number of Pecheneg military colonists, by the name of *terra Bissenorum* ("the land of the Pechenegs"). The Pecheneg guards settled near the Bohemian frontier were also very numerous, in contrast to the northern, eastern and southern borders, where their numbers were relatively small. As regards the Pecheneg settlements in the interior of Hungary, these may be divided into four groups, these being the group of Fejervár-Tolna (or of Sarvíz), the group of Körös and the group of Csanad or Aranka. The largest of these four groups of villages, and at the time the largest group of Pecheneg settlements in Hungary in general, was the group of Fejervár-Tolna situated between the Danube and Lake Balaton, along the river Sarviz, in the southern half of the county of Fejervár and the northern half of that of Tolna. All these settlements had the duty of defending from the enemy the town of Székes-Fehérvár, the royal capital of Hungary under the Arpads (in the year 1192 Belgrade, 997 Alba Regia; in German Stuhlweissenburg). These Pecheneg villages enjoyed a degree of independence and various privileges. It may be added that besides this last group of villages, in the territory situated between Lake Balaton and the Danube, numerous other villages of the Pechenegs are encountered. Thus it may be stated that the largest number of settlements of Hungarian Pechenegs was situated in western Hungary, to the west of the middle Danube. Besides this, there were more than ten Pecheneg villages situated in western Slovakia, about twenty on the upper Tisza, some fifteen between the Tisza and the middle Danube, another fifteen in the basin of the Maros and a further ten in Transylvania.

The Pechenegs who arrived in Hungary through numerous waves during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, were for the most part pagans professing the primitive religion of the ancient Turks. However, there were considerable numbers of Muslims among the newcomers, as may be judged from al-Masʿūdī's account regarding the war waged by the *Badjanāk/Badjāna* in alliance with the Hungarians against the Byzantines in 320-32/932 to 943-4. This has been mentioned above. Later, however, Islam disappeared without trace among the Pechenegs of the steppes of South Russia, and al-Bakrī (460/1068) states in his geographical treatise that, according to the reports of Muslim slaves returning from Constantinople, this people professed, until the year 400/1009-10, the pagan faith (*dīn al-Madjūsiyya*). However, immediately after this date, there came among them a learned Muslim *faḳīh* who succeeded in converting a number of Pechenegs to Islam. This, according to al-Bakrī, marked the beginning of an active Islamising campaign among the Pechenegs, which ultimately led to war between the new converts and their compatriots who had remained pagans. According to al-Bakrī's informants, the converts to Islam, who numbered only 12,000 warriors, succeeded in defeating the pagans. A large number of the latter were massacred, and the others became Muslims. According to al-Bakrī, this event took place prior to the year 460/1068. At this time there already were among the Pechenegs, if al-Bakrī is to be believed, *faḳīhs*, scholars and Ḳurʾān readers. If the account given by al-Bakrī is true, the conversion to Islam of the vast majority of the Pechenegs cannot have been other than superficial, with the retention of numerous pagan rites. In view of his account, it is not impossible that the Pechenegs taken prisoner by the Hungarians in 1072 A.D., in the Hungarian war against the Byzantines, and subsequently established, probably as guards, close to the frontiers of this kingdom, could have professed, at least in part, the Islamic faith. Similarly, it is quite possible that the last wave of Pechenegs immigrants which was established in Hungary in 1122-3 A.D., consisted of people half-Islamised, among whom there were *faḳīhs* and Ḳurʾān readers. If this is a case of Pechenegs very superficially Islamised, the fact is also confirmed by the image of the *Maghāriba/Badjana* (Pechenegs) presented by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnatī in 1151-3. These people had only the vaguest ideas of the rites and duties of Islam. Thus, for example, they drank

wine, which was forbidden them by Abū Ḥāmid. Before his arrival, they knew neither the Friday prayer nor the *khuṭba*; they learned these only, this traveller boasts, after his arrival in Hungary. Nor did they practise, before the coming of Abū Ḥāmid, polygamy and concubinage as enjoined by Islam. As regards the former crypto-Muslims of Hungary (these were, for the most part, Bulgars and Khʷārazmians converted to Islam and later, during the reign of Stephen I, officially compelled to renounce this religion), their knowledge of the principles of Islam must, no doubt, have been considerably greater. The general situation of Muslims in Hungary in this period was relatively propitious, since King Géza II who reigned at this time, according to Abū Ḥāmid, "loved the Muslims". The *Maghāriba/Badjana* were, like a great many of the Khʷārazmians, warriors, and Abū Ḥāmid speaks of their participation in the war of Hungary against Byzantium. They were very numerous, "thousands of people" according to this author, referring both to the crypto-Muslims and to the Muslims openly professing their faith. As for the number of places inhabited by these two types of Muslims, there were, according to Abū Ḥāmid, "more than ten thousand"; this latter estimate seems much exaggerated.

It is known that the Pechenegs established between the 10th and the 15th century in Hungary possessed their own aristocracy and nobility. In fact, the various groups of Pecheneg immigrants arrived in Hungary led by their khāns (*dux* in the mediaeval Hungarian sources written in Latin) who enjoyed, in the first period of the Pecheneg presence in Hungary, that is in the 10th-13th centuries A.D., considerable respect. Among these khāns belonged, for example, *Zultan, princeps Bissenorum* of the ancient Hungarian chronicles, as well as other Pecheneg khāns named in these sources, for example Aba, Kemey, Botund, and the *dux nomine Tatar* known from the war between the Pechenegs and Byzantium in 1123, who settled in Hungary in the time of King Stephen II. It is known that the prestige of these Pecheneg khāns in Hungary was so great that one of these persons, Samuel Aba, became in 1041-7, king of Hungary. Later, the different groups of Pechenegs settled in various parts of Hungary were placed under the authority of representatives appointed by the Hungarian kings who bore the titles of *comes* or of *judex* and who were, in the majority of cases, of Pecheneg origin. These *comites* and *judices* also commanded the Pechenegs in times of war, as was, for example, the case of the *comes* of the Pechenegs in the Arpas locality in 1222. The descendants of the khāns and the Pecheneg nobility obtained posts in the administration of the Hungarian state and in the royal court. Thus, for example, a certain Pecheneg named *Mag* (*Magh, Moch*) whose name seems to derive from the Arabic Madjūs, was palatine of Hungary and *comes* of the district of Bácska situated between the Danube and the lower reaches of the Tisza. Another Pecheneg, named Benedict, was, in 1329, *comes* of the district of Baranya. In 1404-6 a certain *Paulus Byssenus de Eorghede* was governor (*ban*) of Dalmatia, of Croatia and of Slavonia. As for the Pecheneg aristocrats who made careers in the Hungarian royal court, there was for example a certain *Aba Bissenus* (of the Pecheneg family of Aba of Kemey) who was, in *ca.* 1226, a *homo regius* of King Andrew II. Besides the aristocrats, there were in Hungary a fair number of less exalted Pecheneg nobles. The mediaeval documents mention several of these nobles, who are designated by the title *nobilis* (for example, *nobiles bisseni de Kwzefalu*). It seems that it is from these Pecheneg khāns who came to Hungary as immigrants that Ismāʿīl b. Ḥasan was descended. He was, according to Abū Ḥāmid, "the descendant of valiant Muslim princes" of Hungary, and he accompanied this traveller on his journey from Hungary to "the land of the Slavs", that is, to Kiev. Abū Ḥāmid also states that his eldest son married the daughters of two respected Muslims of Hungary. It seems that the persons in question here were Islamised Pecheneg nobles (*nobiles bisseni*).

To return to the second group of Hungarian Muslims mentioned by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnatī, these are the Khʷārazmians: the Káliz of the Hungarians, *al-Khawāliṣ* or *al-Khaliṣ* of the mediaeval Arab sources, the *Khalisioi* of John Kinnamos and the *Khvalisi* of the Russian Chronicle of Nestor. According to Abū Ḥāmid, there were thousands of them in Hungary (this author even states in one passage that they were "innumerable"); according to him they were in the service of the king of Hungary. Officially, they called themselves Christians and they disguised their Islam, in contrast to the Maghāriba/Pechenegs, who overtly professed the Muslim faith and served the Christians (meaning the king of Hungary) as soldiers. It is also known, from Hungarian documents, that the Káliz sometimes fulfilled the function of administrators of the royal treasury (*institores regii fisci, quos hungarice caliz vocant*). One Caliz (Khʷārizmian) named *Etheius* (from the Arabic ʿAṭiyyat [Allāh]) who occupied this post in the county of Nyitra (Nitra) is known to us from a Hungarian document of the year 1111 A.D. In the same document there is reference to another Káliz who was administrator of the royal treasury and at the same time count (*comes*) of the mint. His name was *Maging* (Ar. Madjūdj). These two individuals must have been, judging by their names, Muslims overtly professing their faith. At about the middle of the 6th/12th century, Khʷārazmians (*Khalisioi*) lived, among other places, in the county of Szerém (in ancient times, Sirmium, currently Mitrovica in Slavonia) in the south of Hungary in its historic frontiers. The memory of this ethnic group is also preserved in some fifteen toponyms in the counties of Fejér, Veszprèm, Zala and Somogy (all four of these being situated to the west of the Middle Danube), in the county of Nyitra (Nitra) in western Slovakia, in the counties of Közép-Szolnok and Zemplén (both situated on the upper Tisza) and in the county of Pest situated immediately to the east of the middle Danube. The mediaeval Hungarian documents written in Latin also mention a road which takes its name from the Khʷārazmians (1212: *in valle Kualuz*), located in the county of Fejér. A colony of these people (*generatio Kalez*) also lived, according to a document of the year 1135, in the village of Budakálasz; it may be noted that the second part of this last name, i.e. *-kálasz*, has also retained the designation of its former Khʷārazmian inhabitants. A document of 1185 also mentions a road called *Kaluzwt* (Kaluz-ut) which in another document dating from the year 1208 bore the name of *Caluzutu*. The road in question was an important highway which led from Szeged, a town situated on the eastern bank of the middle Tisza, to Bátmonostor. In the Middle Ages, this road played an important role in the Hungarian salt trade and its name indicates that, in this case at least, the salt trade was managed by the Káliz or Khʷārazmians.

It is most probable that the Khʷārazmians also

sometimes hid themselves under the name of Böszörmény or "Muslims" (*Bissermini* of the Hungarian documents written in Latin). It is thus very likely that the Böszörmény toponyms which are encountered in four or five counties could also designate villages formerly inhabited by Khwārazmians. In the *Register* of Várad (13th century), concerning the eastern frontiers of Hungary as it then was, there is mention of a *Villa Nogbezermen dicta* (1248). According to the *Register*, this locality was the centre of the Ishmaelites (*Ismaēlitae*) of Nyr, a territory extending to the north of Várad. It is not impossible that the name of this village denotes the Khwārazmians. It is very probable that the terms *bezermen* and *buzermen* (*Bözörmény*) and *Ismaēlitae* do not refer to an ethnic group, in most cases, but quite simply indicate the Muslim religion. It is in this sense, for example, that the name of the *Bezermenkwt* well, situated in the region of Pest and mentioned in a document of the year 1325, refers not to an ethnic group (the population of this area was composed not only of Bulgars but also of Khwārazmians and Pechenegs converted to Islam) but to Muslims (in Hungarian, Böszörmény) in general. Similarly, the name *Saracenus* (Saracen) referred not to a people but only to the Muslim religion. This name is also identified with that of the Ishmaelites (in the mediaeval documents *Ismaēlitae*, *Hyzmaelitae*, etc.). So, for example, a village of the county of Bodrog (between the Danube and the lower Tisza) was called in 1192 *villa Hysmaelitarum*, and in 1206 *villa Saracenorum*. The Muslim soldiers who were sent to the aid of the Emperor's troops, at the time of the siege of Milan in 1161, according to one chronicle bore the name of Saracens (*Saraceni*). The Muslims of Pest, probably of Bulgar, or possibly of Khwārazmian (*káliz*) origin, who in the 12th century bore the name of Ishmaelites, are called Saracens in a document of 1218. On the other hand, the letter sent by the Czech King Přemysl Ottokar II to Pope Gregory IX, in which there is reference to the battle between the Czechs and the Hungarians near Kressenbrun (1260), distinguishes the *Bezzermini* from the *Hysmahelitae*. It is possible that in this case the first of these names denotes the Káliz or Khwārazmians (it will be recalled that the Khwārazmians were called *Bisermini* by John of Plano Carpini), while the second may refer to the Islamised Pechenegs.

The situation of the Muslims of Hungary which was, if al-Gharnāṭī is to be believed, very prosperous in 1141-61, during the reign of King Géza II, and continued to be favourable at the beginning of the 13th century, in the time of King Andrew II (1205-35). At first, this king also was a friend of the Muslims, but later he was forced to change his attitude under pressure from the clergy. The Hungarian Muslims were at this time still very numerous. In fact, in a papal letter of the year 1221 there is a reference to *multitudo Saracenorum Hungariae*. It is from the period of Andrew II that there emerges the description of the Hungarian Muslims supplied by Yāḳūt in his *Muʿdjam al-buldān*. His account is based on information which this author received from a group of these Muslims (Yāḳūt calls them *al-Bashghirdiyya*) whom he met at Ḥalab (Aleppo). The date of this meeting is not known exactly. It is known, however, that Yāḳūt spent some time there in 613/1216-17, in 614/1217-18, in 621/1224 and finally in 626/1229, shortly before his death. According to this author, the *al-Bashghirdiyya* were people with very red (or blonde) hair, and with complexions that were also very rosy (here = white—Yāḳūt uses in both cases the Arabic word *shukr*); they professed the law school of Abū Ḥanīfa. Yāḳūt asked one of the members of this group for information on their country and their way of life, and received the answer that their country was situated beyond Constantinople among a population belonging to the Franks (in other words, Western Christians) who were called *al-Hunkar* or Hungarians. They were subjects (Ar. *raʿiyya*) of the *al-Hunkar* king, and were settled in the most distant parts of his domain, where they inhabited some thirty villages. It seems probable that these were the Muslim Pechenegs of which the most important groups had settled, in the 10th-13th centuries, in the counties of Sofron and Moson and between the middle Danube and Lake Balaton, in the western part of Hungary, on the Austrian frontier and around the ancient capital of the Arpads, Székes-Fehérvár. According to Yāḳūt's informant, each of these villages was large enough to resemble a small town. However, these places were not surrounded by walls. In fact, the king of Hungary did not allow the local Muslims to fortify their villages with walls, for fear lest they rebel against him. According to the remainder of this account, the language of *al-Hunkar*, as of *al-Bashghirdiyya*, was the same as that of the Franks. It is very likely that Yāḳūt's informant was thinking here of Latin, which was the official language of the Hungarian state in the Middle Ages. According to other information from this source, the *al-Bashghirdiyya* dressed like the Hungarians and were liable for military service, as were all the other inhabitants of Hungary. In fighting the enemies of the country, Yāḳūt states, the Hungarian Muslims were also engaged in the Holy War, the *djihād*, in view of the fact that Hungary was surrounded by infidels hostile to Islam. Yāḳūt also asked his informant how the Muslims came to be living in Hungary, among infidel countries. He was told that according to the sayings of the ancestors of *al-Bashghirdiyya*, there came to Hungary, from the land of the Bulgars (*bilād Bulghār*), in ancient times, seven Muslim individuals who settled among the *al-Bashghirdiyya* and converted them to Islam. This tradition corresponds to that of the Hungarian chronicle known as *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum*, composed in 1196-1203, according to which there came to Hungary, during the reign of the prince Taksony a group of Ishmaelites from *terra Bular* (Bulgaria of the Kama or rather, of the Danube). This has been discussed above. Yāḳūt's informant adds that the *Bashghirdiyya* who have performed the *ḥadjdj* are highly respected by the Hungarian Muslims, who entrust to them control of their religious affairs. He also says that the *Bashghirdiyya* who engage in military service in Hungary shave off their beards, as the Franks do, in other words in the Christian fashion. However, this is not the case as regards the others, those not performing military service. In view of the fact that the people met by our geographer at Aleppo had shaven beards, they would have belonged to the military caste. Elsewhere in Yāḳūt's article it is revealed that the road leading from Hungary to Aleppo passed through Constantinople and was four months' travelling time in length. It was already known, from the account of al-Gharnāṭī, that the route used by Hungarian Muslims in their travels in the Orient also passed through Ḳūniya (Konya) in Asia Minor.

It has been stated above that King Andrew II, who was initially well-disposed towards his Muslim subjects, was compelled, in the year 1222, to pro-

claim a charter, also known as the *Golden Bull*, defining the rights of the Hungarian people. The second edition of this *Bull* appeared in 1231, and the document contained numerous restrictions imposed on the Muslims and Jews of Hungary. It emerges from these documents that, until this time, the Muslims (*Hysmaelitae, Saraceni*) and the Jews of the country had the right to take on public functions, in particular, supervision of the mint and of the salt works (year 1222: *Comites camere monetarii, Salinarii et Tributatii Hysmaelitae fieri non possunt*; 1231: *Monetae et Salibus, ac aliis publicis officiis Saraceni non praeficiuntur*; 1232: *Saraceni praeficiuntur camerae et publicis officiis*; etc.), which were forbidden them in the *Golden Bull*. However, all these restrictions, in the period 1222-31, existed only on paper, as is shown by an edict of Archbishop Robert of Esztergom dating from 1232, an edict declaring the excommunication of Hungary. According to this edict Andrew II, after proclaiming the *Golden Bull*, again appointed Muslim dignitaries to public offices; he also tolerated the presence of Muslims in his estates. According to another passage of Archbishop Robert's edict, it was a royal chamberlain named Samuel who was especially favourable towards the Muslims and the "false Christians", i.e. the Patareni. The Archbishop forbade Christians to do business or maintain other relations with Hungarian Muslims, except those who had freed their Christian slaves (or slaves of Christian origin) who were of Hungarian, Bulgar, Cuman or any other race. Following the excommunication by Archbishop Robert, King Andrew II repented and concluded, on 12 August 1232, an agreement with the legate of Pope Gregory IX, in which he promised that in future the Saracens would be forbidden to administer the mint or the revenues of the state, and would be barred from occupying other public posts. He also undertook in this pact that in future the Saracens and Jews would be obliged to carry signs to distinguish them from Christians. They would in future be unable to buy or possess Christian slaves. The king further promised that each year there would be a census of Saracens and Jews carried out by the Palatine, or some other senior state official, who would be authorised, on behalf of the bishops, to take from the Saracens and the Jews any Christian slaves and Christian wives. According to the same undertaking by Andrew II, marriages of Saracens and Jews with Christians were to be dissolved or annulled, and both parties would be punished by the loss of their property and their freedom. Thus it is probably from the year 1232 that there began the most serious oppression of the Hungarian Muslims by the Church, and it is only from this time onward that one can speak of the Christianisation of this part of the Hungarian population. This Christianisation is marked especially by the building of Christian churches and monasteries, which began at about the middle of the 13th century in villages occupied by the Pechenegs who until this time had remained superficially Islamised or even pagan. It is in the documents of this period that phrases appear such as *ecclesia de Besenu* or even *abbatia de Besenu* (from Hungarian *Besenyő* "Pecheneg").

There is no doubt that the invasion of the Mongols (Tatars) in 1241 also contributed, in the highest degree, to the reduction of the Muslim element in Hungary, an element composed for the most part of soldiers in the service of the kings of Hungary. On account of its tenacious resistance, this element suffered particularly severe losses at the hands of the Tatars. This issue will be discussed further, in the context of an analysis of the description of Hungary given by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī.

It is quite possible that there were also Muslims (or at least people superficially Islamised) among the Comans (in Hungarian, *Palocz*), a Ḳïpčaḳ tribe which took refuge in large numbers in Hungary in their flight from the Mongols, who appeared in 1223 in the plains by the Black Sea where the Comans were leading a nomadic existence during the 11th-13th centuries.

Moreover, these were not the first Coman groups to settle in Hungary. In fact, it is known that as early as 1080-7 the Hungarian king Solomon summoned a military detachment of this people into Hungary, and that another Coman group settled in Hungary in 1110-20 probably in the Matra mountains. These newcomers were exposed, in the steppes of South Russia (like other Turkish tribes who led a nomadic existence there and were in general animists and sharmanists), to the influence of Islam. They could thus add to the number of Muslims (or rather of superficially Islamised animists) in Hungary. In this manner, the Muslim presence in this country was maintained in spite of pressure from the Church and in spite of the losses suffered during the Mongol invasion of 1241. It is stated, in fact, in a letter of the king of Bohemia Přemsyl Ottokar II, addressed to the Pope and giving a description of the battle of Kressenbrun between the Czechs and the Hungarian King Béla IV (1260), that among the auxiliary units of the Hungarian army which took part in this battle, there were an *innumerum multitudinem hominum Comonorum et Ungarorum et diversorum Sclavorum, Siculorum quoque et Walachorum, Bezzerminorum et Hysmahelitarum, Scismaticorum etiam ut pote Graecorum, Bulgarorum, Ruscienstum et Bosnensium haereticorum*. It has been demonstrated above that *Bezzermini* is the name not only for Muslims in general, but also for the Khwārazmians (Káliz) and that the word *Hysmahelitae* (Ishmaelites) can also specifically denote the Muslim Pechenegs.

It is from approximately the period of the battle of Kressenbrun that there comes the last Arabic source concerning the Muslims of Hungary. The source in question is a short account of Hungary (*al-Hunkar*) and of the Hungarian Muslims (*al-Bashghirdiyya*) by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī. This account, part of his major geographical work, has been reproduced in the *Taḳwīm al-buldān* of Abu 'l-Fidā'. According to this text, Hungary was divided at this time into two parts, of which one, situated in the east of the country, was inhabited by *al-Hunkar* (the Hungarians), a Christian people, while the western part of the country was inhabited by another people, known as *al-Bāshkird* and professing the Muslim faith. This people lived on the river Dūmā (to be corrected to Duna, "Danube") as neighbours to the Germans. The capital of the *bilād al-Bāshkird*, according to Ibn Saʿīd, bore the name of *Ḳ.rāt* and was situated in the south of the country. In all probability this word is simply an Arabic transcription of the Slavic term *grad* "town" and represents the second part of the name *Belgrad* (the "White town") which was the Slavic name for *Székes Fehérvar*, the capital of Hungary under the dynasty of the Arpads. This name figures, with different forms, in numerous Latin documents of Hungary in the 11th-13th centuries. Its mediaeval Latin equivalent is *Alba civitas regalis*, in German it is *Stuhlweissenburg* and in Hungarian, as has just been stated, *Székes Fehérvar*. Al-Idrīsī calls this town

Bal(a)ghrāta or *Bal(i)ghrāta*. Ibn Saʿīd adds that the *al-Bashkird* people were converted to Islam by a Turkoman *faḳīh* "who taught them the rites of the faith". It seems that the mission of this *faḳīh* (who was not the first Muslim missionary to visit Hungary, a land where, as has been shown above, Islam had been present since the 4th/10th century) cannot have taken place until after the end of the 11th century, a time at which the Turkomans, a Turkish tribe mingled with Iranian elements, was living in a primitive state in Central Asia, as neighbours of the Saldjūḳ Turks. When the latter conquered Asia Minor towards the end of the 11th century, the Turkomans united with them and lived in this land, recognising the authority of the Saldjūḳ rulers of Konya. During his stay in Hungary in 1151-3, al-Gharnāṭī saw Turkoman mercenaries in the service of Byzantium taken prisoner by the Hungarians. Seeing that the route taken by Hungarian Muslims who, according to Abū Ḥāmid, made their way to the East and especially to Mecca, passed through Konya, the arrival in Hungary of a Turkoman missionary, probably a native of Asia Minor, seems entirely probable. It may also be noted that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (757/1356) uses the name Turkomāns to denote the Ottoman Turks.

The *bilād al-Bashkird* was invaded, according to Ibn Saʿīd, by the Tatars (1241) who slaughtered many of the inhabitants. According to another passage in the work of this author, the *Bāshkird*, as allies of (or rather, subjects of) the Hungarians, took part, in the same year of 1241, alongside the Germans and the Hungarians, in a battle near Sebenico (Šibenik in Croatia), in which the Tatar forces were annihilated. The facts given by Ibn Saʿīd are also confirmed by the Latin sources, including the *Rogerii carmen miserabilis* where there is reference to the armed resistance of the Hungarian Muslims against the Tatars. In another Latin document of this period there is mention of the Saracen district called Bew which was entirely devastated during the Tatar invasion of 1231.

Little is known of the later history of the Muslims of Hungary because the Arab or Christian sources concerning this religious group become less and less numerous. However, it is stated in a Latin document that in 1290, at the time when the Hungarian King Ladislas IV left his capital, going to live as a nomad with the Comans (Hungarian Palocz) who lived in the Matra mountains and in some other districts of Hungary, he handed over all responsibilities of state to a Muslim dignitary named Mizse (Ar. Mūsā ?), who had himself baptised immediately after this appointment. As regards the Arabic sources of this period, the one most worthy of mention is the *Āthār al-bilād* of al-Ḳazwīnī who gives an interesting description of Hungary (he calls it "the land of *Bāshghirt*") composed on the basis of the account of a *faḳīh* who was a native of this country. This account was written, as can be seen from its content, some time after the Mongol invasion of 1241 (the *faḳīh* in question calls the invaders *al-Tatar*). According to this account, the *Bāshghirt* are a great people whose king has a large army at his disposal and of whom the majority is Christian; among them there is also a multitude (Ar. *djamʿ*, also "crowd", "mass of people") of Muslims who observe the law school of the *imām* Abū Ḥānifa. These Muslims pay a tax (*djizya*) to the Christians, just as the Christians pay a tax to the Muslims in lands of Islam. Of less value is a passage from the *Nukhbat al-dahr* of al-Dimashḳī. This author also mentions the Bāshghird people, which he locates in south-east Europe, alongside the *Madjar* or Hungarians. He does not take account of the fact that these are two branches of the same people. It is quite likely that he meant by this means to distinguish, as had been done by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, the Hungarian Muslims whom he calls *Bāshghird* from the Hungarian Christians whom he calls *Mādjār*.

It seems that Islam was maintained in pre-Ottoman Hungary until approximately the year 1340, the period in which the Hungarian King Charles-Robert of Anjou (1308-42) compelled all those of his subjects who were not yet Christians to embrace Christianity or to leave the country.

However, the Pechenegs, although converted to Christianity in the 14th century at the latest, retained until the end of the 15th century, even after the loss of their ancestral language (by this time they were speaking the Magyar language), some traces of Muslim culture. This is known from the work of A. Bonfinius, who has provided a vivid description of the Hungarian Pechenegs in his *Rerum Hungaricarum Decadis*, ii. liv, p. 220, Hanover 1606. According to this author, "they wore long beards and long moustaches and ... dressed in the Persian fashion, in tunics of silk that were ruffled by the wind".

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(ii) The Ottoman Period

After the occupation of Belgrade in 1521, Sultan Süleymān I led three campaigns into Hungary in 1526, 1529 and 1532, but by these he did not extend the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire to the north of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube. It was only in 1541, after the death of János Zapolya, that the Sultan occupied the fortress of Buda, in order to prevent the Hapsburg Ferdinand, who laid claim to the whole of Hungary, from taking possession of it. In 1543 Süleymān launched another campaign against Vienna in accordance with his commitment as part of Franco-Turkish co-operation to attack the Hapsburgs from two sides. But the Turkish army suddenly stopped on its way to Vienna at the fortress of Esztergom because the Sultan had not received any reassuring news either about the activities of his fleet in the Mediterranean Sea or of the military operations of his French allies. So he had to content himself with occupying a few of the more significant fortresses in western Hungary, sc. Esztergom, Tata and Székesfehérvár, and then he started back for home with his army. Subsequently, the *beglerbegi* of Buda and later the *beglerbegi* of Rumelia began to enlarge the Turks' base in Hungary in the form of a wedge against the Hapsburgs by occupying several other fortresses and castles, sc. Visegrád, Nógrád, Hatvan, Temesvár, Szolnok, etc. The first phase of Turkish expansion in Hungary ended with Süleymān's last campaign, the occupation of Szigetvár and Gyula in 1566.

Administration in the Hungarian territories that had fallen under Turkish rule was gradually organised in the wake of the expansion, although the establishing of *sandjaks* did not take place immediately after the occupation of even the more significant fortresses. The process of re-organisation in Hungary cannot have been so fast as was suggested by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, who claimed that the Turks annexed the Hungarian territory possessed by János Zapolya to the Ottoman Empire in 1541, converted it into the *beglerbegilik* of Buda, which consisted of twelve *sandjaks*, and appointed the *beglerbegi* of Baghdād, Süleymān Pasha, to be its head (*Osmanlı tarihi*², ii, Ankara 1964, 344). It is true that the Sultan appointed Süleymān Pasha to be *beglerbegi* of Buda. This post, however, could not involve the government of twelve Hungarian *sandjaks* because, besides the territory of the *sandjak* of Buda, which was just being formed under the protection of the strongholds of Buda and Pest, it was only Titel which was in Turkish possession north of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube at that time. Therefore, the *beglerbegilik* of Buda had to be formed from *sandjaks* which were south of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube, i.e. Eszék/Ösek, Semendire, Izvornik/Zvornik, Aladjahisar/Kruševac and Vulčitrin/Vučitrn. If these remote *sandjaks* had not been joined to Buda, it could have been governed only by a *sandjakbegi* in 1541.

Between 1541 and 1566 the Turks established the following *sandjaks* north of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube: Buda (1541); Mohács (1542); Szeged and Istolni Belgrad, i.e. Székesfehérvár (1543); Eger (1544), although the fortress of Eger itself had not yet been occupied, only its vicinities; Esztergom, Hatvan, Nógrád and Simontornya (1545-6); Siklós (1549); Koppány (1550); Becse and Becskerek (1551-2); Görösgál, Szekszárd, Temesvár and Csanád (1552); Lippa, Arad and Szolnok (1552-3); Szécsény (1553-4); Veszprém (1554); Fülek (1555); and Gyula and Szigetvár (1566). In the meantime, they formed the *beglerbegilik* of Temesvár (1552) from the *sandjaks* of Temesvár and Csanád (the latter including Becse and Becskerek), to which they attached the *sandjaks* of Semendire, Aladjahisar and Vidin, and later the *sandjaks* of Lippa, Arad and Gyula, respectively.

The backbone of the Turks' base in the central part of Hungary was the *beglerbegilik* of Buda, but its upkeep against the Hapsburgs was very costly. According to the cash-book of the Treasury of Buda for the years 1559 and 1560, there were 10,300 Turkish troops in the fortresses belonging to the *eyālet* of Buda, for whose pay and equipment an annual sum of 260,000-80,000 gold pieces had to be brought in from Istanbul, because the taxes and duties obtained in Hungary covered but one-third of their expenses. The transport of money from Istanbul to Buda was necessary not only in the decades that followed, but also in the 17th century. According to Pečewī, the annual tax-yield of Egypt, 300,000 gold pieces, was sent directly to Buda (*Taʾrīkh-i Pečewī*, Istanbul 1283/1866, i, 36). The new campaigns also increased the expenses of retaining the Hungarian territories, and the burden which the newly-occupied fortresses imposed on the empire was clearly greater than the advantage they offered. Thus, e.g., when Eger (1596), Kanizsa (1600), or Várad (1660) and Ūjvár (1663) fell into Turkish hands, each of these fortresses had to be made the seat of a new *beglerbegilik*, so that greater forces could be concentrated for their defence in case of emergency. In accordance with their custom, the Turks formed new *begler-*

begiliks by a re-organisation of formerly-occupied territories. However, while earlier they were able to extend the boundaries of the new *beglerbegiliks* by further conquests (see e.g. the *beglerbegiliks* of Buda and Temesvár), they were no longer able to do so in the 17th century.

The decline in the military preponderance of the Ottoman empire is well-characterised by two episodes which happened in two phases of Turkish rule in Hungary, in the 16th and the 17th century respectively. In the first phase, when the Hapsburgs' envoy, Ferenc Jurkovič, appeared in a robe of state and with a sword on his side before Sinān Pasha, *beglerbegi* of Buda, in 1587, the Pasha had the envoy's sword broken to pieces. In the second phase, however, when Gáspár Tassi, a deputy, went to Murtaḍā Pasha of Buda in 1627 to lodge a complaint against the *ḳāḍī* of Hatvan, the Pasha immediately ordered that the *ḳāḍī* be given 500 lashes on the soles without hearing any witnesses. The Turks' attacks in the 17th century were chiefly mere flare-ups of enthusiasm. During one of them, the siege of Vienna in 1683, they displayed such military weakness that it was soon followed by the coalition of western powers and the eventual liberation of Buda in 1686. Within a decade after this, the Turks lost nearly all their conquests in Hungary except the *beglerbegilik* of Temesvár, which they managed to retain until 1718.

The effect of the Turkish rule in Hungary on general European conditions is variously evaluated in the literature of the subject. According to a noteworthy statement by B. H. Slicher van Bath, the rise in meat prices in Europe after 1550, which was partly due to the growth of population, was primarily caused by the fact that the Turks had occupied Hungary and so the import of cattle from South-Eastern Europe had decreased (*The agrarian history of western Europe A.D. 500-1800*, London 1963, 204). It seems likely, however, that the rise in European meat prices was due to other factors, because, according to Turkish customs registers, that part of Hungary which was under Turkish rule exported to the west 60-80,000 head of cattle yearly around the middle of the 16th century.

However prosperous cattle-breeding was in Hungary under Turkish rule, it was a negative phenomenon from the point of view of economic progress since it meant a return to extensive animal-keeping. The fields of a number of Hungarian villages destroyed in the Turkish wars lay uncultivated, deteriorated into pasture and were hardly fit for anything else than animal grazing. This explains how it was possible even after the Fifteen Years' War (1593-1608) for an English merchant to write the following words about the abundant cattle-stock of Hungary: "This Countrey doth much abound in cattle suffiecient to feed all Germany, the store is so great, that they yearly sell to their neighbours 80 or 100 thousand Oxen" (Lewes Roberts, *The merchant mappe of commerce*, London 1637, 177). When evaluating this attractive figure, however, one has also to consider the fact that such significant towns in southern Hungary as Pécs and Tolna lost the greater part of their vineyards, the source of their former wealth. For example in Tolna, a town with 5000 inhabitants, where, according to Turkish financial accounts, a yearly amount of 6,800 hectolitres (about 150,000 gallons) of wine was produced in the 1560s and 70s, wine-growing completely lost its importance in the course of the 17th century. The worsening of the economic situation can be traced on the basis of Turkish sources, not only along the Danube but also in the area of the River Tisza. For example, in the villages of Gyó and Tápé, two imperial *khāṣṣ*-estates near Szeged, both the number of the inhabitants and the amount of their agricultural production had dropped to one-half of the original figure between 1550 and 1670, although these figures could have doubled in 120 years.

The demographic conditions of Hungary in the period of the Turks can be fairly well estimated on the basis of the *taḥrīr defterleri*. After their first conquests, as soon as they had strengthened their posts in Hungary, the Turks started to make written records of the settlements within the *sandjaḳs*, which they established with rather vague boundaries. As was written in one of the Sultan's instructions to the *sandjaḳbegi* of Mohács in March 1545: "The state of the local settlements and the conditions of *reʿāyā* must be examined in the same way as in the other provinces" (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D. 12321, p. 142). The first registers were made in the *sandjaḳs* of Mohács and Istolni Belgrad in 1545-6 by Čandarlîzâde Khalīl Beg, who was specially sent to Hungary with that task. Of these two *taḥrīr defterleri*, only the one of the *sandjaḳ* of Mohács has survived to this day. In the same years, Khalīl Beg prepared the registers of the *sandjaḳs* of Buda, Esztergom, Nógrád, Hatvan, Szeged and Simontornya as well; these *taḥrīr defterleri* and the *tīmār defterleri* compiled on their basis are all extant today. New registers of the *sandjaḳs* were usually made every ten years up to 1590. Later, however, the administrative organisation of the Ottoman empire became so loose that new registers were made only in the newly-occupied territories, while in other parts the old registers were re-copied. This is evident from certain income figures; e.g. a *tīmār*'s income in the *sandjaḳ* of Buda was exactly as many *akčes* in 1676 as in 1590, although the value of money had considerably changed in the meantime.

In the first half of the 16th century, the Turkish *taḥrīr defterleri* still presented a relatively favourable picture of Hungary's demographic conditions. In the town of Szeged, for example, where there were 1,449 families in 1522 before the Turkish occupation, 1,345 heads of family were entered in the first Turkish register of 1546, i.e. the population of Szeged decreased by only about 100 families after the battle of Mohács and the first Turkish occupation. After the subsequent wars and devastations, however, the Turks could levy the *djizye* tax on no more than 315 heads of family in the same area in the last years of the century.

Of course, this does not mean that the greater part of the Hungarian population perished, because, as is well-known, a large number of Hungarians escaped to territories of Hungary which had not passed under Turkish rule. As one can read in a Hungarian letter written as early as 1550: "The people of the land, especially in the country of Pest, left their homes in multitudes, seeking refuge in the counties of Zala and Somogy" (there had already been Turks in the county of Pest, but not in the counties of Zala and Somogy as yet). In spite of all this, there were relatively few Turks who came to settle down in Hungary. It is true that a few towns such as Esztergom, Visegrád and Nógrád, were evacuated after their occupation for strategic reasons and were inhabited almost exclusively by Turks in later times as well. Besides such places, however, it was only in Buda, Pest, Vác,

Tolna and the area of Szeged that a few hundred Turkish families settled down.

Süleymān and his successors made no deliberate efforts to settle large numbers of Turkish families in Hungary as they did in the Balkan peninsula. Neither did Islam gain any ground. Today there are but few architectural remnants to evoke the memory of the Ottoman period, and this is not because subsequent wars destroyed them but because the Turks preferred transforming old buildings to constructing news ones in Hungary. Similarly, present-day Hungarian vocabulary contains very few Ottoman Turkish loan-words; spoken Hungarian has preserved only a faint memory of former Turkish rule.

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(Gy. Káldy-Nagy)

AL-MADJARRA, the Galaxy or Milky Way. This remarkable celestial phenomenon was well-known to the peoples of the Islamic world. Its popular assimilation to the traces of spilt milk seems to be of Greek origin (cf. τὸ γάλα [Aristotle], ὁ τοῦ γάλακτος κύκλος [Euclid, Geminus], ὁ γαλακτίας [κύκλος] [Ptolemy], ὀγαλαξίας [κύκλος] [other authors]; see Liddell and Scott, *s.vv.*), whereas in the Near East the image of traces of lost straw, or chaff, prevails (cf. Pers. *rāh-i kāhkashān*, Turk. *samanyolu*, etc., and already Syriac *shbhīlā d-thebhnā* (A.D. 660), also colloquial Arabic *darb al-tabbāna*, etc.; see Wiedemann [1], 1 f., and [2]; and Eilers [1], 108-11; [2], 15 f.; [3], 4; for the Syriac, Severus Sēbhōkht, ii, 2 [p. 349]; xi, 1.3 [pp. 392-3]).

In Arabic, the indigenous designation is *al-madjarra*, which is derived both by classical Arabic lexicographers and by modern scholars from the root *dj-r-r* "to pull, or draw" and would designate a place, or path where something is drawn (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Anwā'* 123; al-Djawharī, in *LA*, iv, 129a; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, 8; al-Marzūḳī, ii, 9; Ibn Manẓūr [2], 173; Eilers [1], 111). The mediaeval Latin translator of the Arabic *Almagest*, Gerard of Cremona, generally retained the Arabic designation *al-madjarra* as *almaiarati* etc.; but in one instance he added a gloss: *id est arca que mouetur*, in which he understood *al-madjarra* as a drawer that can be pulled (cf. Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, 139). Occasionally there occurs in Arabic texts a confusion between the name of the Milky Way, *al-madjarra*, and the graphically closely-similar word *al-midjmara*, which is the Arabic version for the Greek constellation name τὸ Θυμιατήριον, the Altar, *Ara* (see Kunitzsch, 203); cf., e.g., *al-madjarra* for *al-midjmara* on a celestial globe by Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Sahlī, dated 478/1085, described by J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'història de les idees fisiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*,

i, Barcelona 1931, 55 ff.; the same confusion of *al-madjarra for al-midjmara*, in *Les mansions lunaires des Arabes. Texte arabe en vers de Moh'ammed El-Moqri*, trad. et ann. par A. de C. Motylinski, Algiers 1899, 99 (no. 11) and n. 2, where the translator did not realise and correct the mistake; cf. also ms. d of the Arabic *Almagest* in Kunitzsch, 346, no. 640. A literal Arabic translation from the Greek, in Ptolemy's *Almagest*, was *al-falak al-labanī* (al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar), and *al-dāʾira al-mus̲h̲abbah lawnuhā bi-lawn al-laban*, or shortly, *al-dāʾira al-labaniyya* (Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn) (see Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, 139).

The Milky Way was known to the Arabs in their classical period; cf. a collection of classical and post-classical Arabic verses naming *al-madjarra*, in Wiedemann [1], 673-5 (see also Ibn Manẓūr [2], 118 f.). In lexicographical texts, the positions of several fixed stars are described in relation to the Milky Way. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895) gave a description of the course of the Milky Way in the sky as seen by the Arabs in their "pre-scientific" period (Abū Ḥanīfa, in al-Marzūḳī, ii, 9 f.; tr. Wiedemann [1], 664-6).

Further, it was observed and mentioned by the Arabs that the position of the Milky Way in the sky changed in different seasons according to the annual revolution of the sky (Abū Ḥanīfa, in al-Marzūḳī, ii, 10 f. = tr. Wiedemann [1], 666-8; Ibn Ḳutayba, 123; al-Ḳazwīnī, 21 = tr. Ethé, 44). A late description based on personal experience was given around A.D. 1490 by Aḥmad b. Mādjid, the famous navigator of the Indian Ocean (see Aḥmad b. Mādjid, 149 f.; tr. Tibbetts, 140). It should be noted that some of these non-scientific authors understand the Milky Way as a dense accumulation of faint stars that appears to the observer's eye as a nebulous mass, a theory which seems to have originated from independent observations not influenced by the teachings of Greek philosophy (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, 124; al-Ḳazwīnī, 21 = tr. Ethé, 44; Aḥmad b. Mādjid, 149 = tr. Tibbets, 140).

A scientific astronomical description of the Milky Way was given by Ptolemy in his *Almagest* (book viii, ch. 2), which became known in Arabic through a series of translations from the end of the 2nd/8th to the end of the 3rd/9th centuries. Abū Ḥanīfa's description, however, apparently was not influenced by the *Almagest*, since he uses descriptive elements of pure Arabic origin only. Also, his description of the galactic circle begins and ends in the constellation of Scorpius, near the ecliptic, whereas Ptolemy's description begins and ends in the constellation of Centaurus, in the southernmost region of the sky visible to him in Alexandria.

Cosmological theories of the Milky Way were conveyed to the Arabs by translations and paraphrases of Greek philosophical works, as, e.g., Aristotle's *Meteorology* (for the chapter on the Milky Way, see *al-Āt̲h̲ār al-ʿulwiyya*, ed. Badawi, 12-15; ed. Petraitis, 23-6 [Arabic]; ed. Schoonheim, 66/67-70/71; ed. Daiber, 62 f.), and their commentaries. While Aristotle taught that the Milky Way is a vaporous phenomenon belonging to the sublunar sphere, other philosophers such as Democritus, and younger commentators as Olympiodorus, etc., believed the Milky Way to be far out in space, similar to the fixed stars, and belonging to their sphere (cf. Petraitis, 23 [Arabic], n. 2; Daiber, 93-5). Muslim scholars apparently favoured these latter theories against Aristotle's one (see the texts cited by Wiedemann [1], 669-71, and Daiber, 93-5, and the following quotations from Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am and al-Bīrūnī). Especially interesting are the scientific deductions of Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am (d. *ca.* 432/1041), who arrived at the conclusion that the Milky Way does not form part of the air (the sublunar sphere) but must be far out in the space (see Wiedemann [1], 672, and the literature quoted there). Also, al-Bīrūnī in his *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* (written around A.D. 1030) says that, contrary to the teachings of Aristotle and his followers, *al-madjarra* is of the same height (above the earth) as the fixed stars because the moon and the planets are not influenced by it when crossing in front of it, as should happen if the Milky Way was below them, and because it shares all the peculiarities of the fixed stars as described by Ptolemy, *viz.* that it is found in their sphere and unvariably keeps the same relations in distance and shape just as the fixed stars do (al-Bīrūnī [2], iii, 992, 16-993, 1; nearly identical with this is the quotation from Barhebraeus (d. A.D. 1286) in Wiedemann [1], 671).

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(P. Kunitzsch)

MADJĀZ (A.), a term in rhetoric, means "trope" and, more generally, the use of a word

deviating from its original meaning and use, its opposite being *ḥaḳīḳa* ("veritative expression").

In Arabic literature. — The different modes of expression labelled as *madjāz* by the Arabic theorists were divided into twelve categories by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) without, however, following a consistent system of criteria (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ed. Cairo 1282, i, 171). A more refined and detailed version of this classifying system was put forward by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) (*Itḳān*, ed. Calcutta 1856, 550 ff.). From the structural point of view, the *madjāz* systematology by al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1221), a younger contemporary of al-Rāzī, is more satisfactory.

Al-Sakkākī offers five different binarily-divided categories of *madjāz* (*Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. Cairo 1318, 154 ll.-9 ff.; in detail 155-69). The two main categories are denoted as linguistic and intellectual *madjāz* (*lughawī* and *ʿaḳlī*). The intellectual *madjāz* comprises expressions which attribute the effect of a deed not to its proper author but rather to a piece of imagery or mediate one, as is shown in the instance, "their trade did not make a good bargain" (Ḳurʾān, II, 15). The linguistic *madjāz* is either lexicographically classifiable or relates to the context. The contextual *madjāz* comprehends ellipses which, for the remaining expression, entail a modification of the syntactical status. An instance of this is given in Ḳurʾān, XII, 82 "ask the village (acc.)", whereas it should read "ask the inhabitants of the village (gen.)". The lexical tropes may be divided into those having a proper value of meaning and use and those not having it. The latter group includes the transference of generic names of parts of the body from one genus to another, as is shown in the use of "labium" for the camel's lip. The expressive *madjāz* may be used to mean either a metaphor or some kind of metonymy; it merely depends on whether there exists a comparison or some less precise connection between the actual meaning and the mode chosen to express it. An instance for the latter may be found in the use of "hand" for "benefaction", as the latter is brought about by the former.

The conceptual elements of this system date from a period anterior to al-Sakkākī, one of its most meritorious promoters being ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078). We owe to him the distinction between linguistic and intellectual *madjāz* (*Asrār al-balāgha*, ed. Ritter, 342 ff., 376; see also his statements in *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, ed. Khafādjī, Cairo 1969, 286 ff.). The notion "inexpressive trope" is based on a classification of metaphors that goes back from al-Djurdjānī (*Asrār*, 29, ll. 5 ff., 373 ff.) to al-Ḥātimī (d. 288/998) (*al-Risāla al-mūḍiḥa*, ed. Nadjm, Beirut 1965, 69 ff., 90 ff.; cf. also ISTIʿĀRA). Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) already pointed out that the metaphor constitutes the most important form of *madjāz* (*Taʾwīl mushkil al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Ṣaḳr, 114). First attempts to classify tropical expressions were made by Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825) in his *Kitāb Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Sezgin, Cairo 8 ff., cf. J. Wansbrough, *Majāz al-qurʾān; periphrastic exegesis*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii [1970], 248-54); however, they correspond more with those of al-Rāzī than with those of al-Sakkākī.

The *madjāz* theory received its first impulse from the study of Ḳurʾānic hermeneutics, scholars being guided by the want of a correct philological interpretation of the holy text. In its beginning, *madjāz* did not mean "trope" in the proper sense of the word, but more generally denoted any turns of phrase that, from the semantic, lexicographical or syntactical point of view, were not self-evident and needed explanation. An instance of this stage of the *madjāz* theory is represented by the *Kitāb Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān* by Abū ʿUbayda (see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 35 ff., 48).

Parallel to the purely philological studies, research work on Ḳurʾānic hermeneutics was undertaken by theologians, whose investigations seem to have had a still greater bearing on the development of the *madjāz* theory. All theological groups, in fact, resorted to the Ḳurʾān in order to support their statements, since the text allowed quite contradictory interpretations. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya (d. *ca.* 100/719) had already pointed out in his anti-Ḳadarī discussions that occasionally in the Ḳurʾān an effect proper to God is ascribed in its cause to a created being, and he thus anticipated the notion of *madjāz ʿaḳlī* (cf. Van Ess, *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, Beirut 1977, 105, 108 ff.). An instance of this phenomenon is given in the verses "The spring-time made the herbage come forth", the effect of bringing forth herbage not being ascribed to the Creator but to the spring [see AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA 'L-BAYĀN]. If credence may be given to Ibn Taymiyya, the corresponding pair of expressions *madjāz-ḥaḳīḳa* equally had its origin in theological and not in philological tradition (cf. W. Heinrichs, *Literary theory*, in *Arabic poetry, theory and development*, ed. Von Grunebaum, Wiesbaden 1973, 30, n. 50). The Muʿtazilis, for their part, took refuge in tropical interpretation in order to eliminate the anthropomorphisms of the Ḳurʾānic representation of God (cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, repr. Leiden 1952, 110 ff.). It likewise happened that in discussions with other religions, attempts were made to shift the difference from the mental to the verbal plane, thus making use of the *madjāz* theory. Ibn Ḳutayba actually thought it convenient to deprive the Christian term "Son of God" of its shockingness by taking refuge in a tropical interpretation (*Taʾwīl*, 10e, ll. 5 ff.).

It was, however, due to the theological aspects of the Ḳurʾānic *madjāz* that the question was raised how far tropical expressions might be valuable and useful. One of the major reproaches brought forward against the use of *madjāz* was that tropical language was likely to falsify the image of reality. Already Ibn Ḳutayba drew attention to this fact (*Taʾwīl*, 132 f.; see also Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, 550, 11-10 ff.). It proved more rewarding, however, to tackle the positive aspects of the problem, as tropical expressions used in the Ḳurʾān were liable to express more clearly and more completely the intended meaning than would have been possible by means of a veritative expression. A number of excellent single studies relating to the above subject were brought together by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016) in his *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī madjāzāt al-Ḳurʾān* (see also the statements made by Ṭabāna in *al-Bayān al-ʿarabī*, Cairo[3] 1968, 36 ff.). It thus happened that the discussion on *madjāz* was shifted into the field of interest of the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān (*iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*).

Bibliography: Shorter or longer treatises on *madjāz* are to be found in all manuals and studies relating to rhetoric or the rhetorical art since the 5th/11th century, but especially in the works of the school of al-Sakkākī (see also AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA'L-BAYĀN). The *madjāz* literature equally includes everything written on *istiʿāra*; see particularly W. Heinrichs, *The Hand of the northwind*, Wiesbaden 1977.

(B. REINERT)

In Persian literature. — The use of the term *madjāz* by Persian writers has always been subject to the influence of the Arabic doctrine outlined above. A distinction between more borrowing on the one hand and autonomous development on the other can in each instance only be made on the basis of extensive and chronologically differentiated data which are not yet available. For that reason, no more than a rough sketch of Persian usage can be given here and questions concerning the origin and the history of specific aspects must be left aside.

The first writer who dealt with *madjāz* as a rhetorical term was, to our knowledge, Shams-i Ḳays, a contemporary of al-Sakkākī's. He defined it as an inclusive category of figurative speech being opposed to the category of literal, "true", speech (*ḥaḳīḳat*). His definition also comprises the necessity of a common aspect (*wadjh-i ʿalāḳat*) providing a link between the figurative and the literal meanings of an expression by means of which the real intention of the speaker can be established. The most important type of *madjāz* is the metaphor (*istiʿārat*) which can be used in all kinds of speech. Another type consists of allegorical devices occurring especially in poetic descriptions such as the tenzone (*munāẓara*) in which inanimate objects or animals are introduced as speakers in an exchange of arguments (*al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, ed. Tehran 1338/1959, 365 ff.). A much more complicated terminology is presented in the textbooks of the post-classical period, e.g. in the *Ḥadāyiḳ al-balāgha* of Mīr Shams al-Dīn Faḳīr-i Dihlawī (1141-83/1728-69), a digest of which was made by J. Garcin de Tassy (*Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1873, see esp. 40 ff. and 66 ff.). Recently, a summary of later Persian theory has been given by Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī (*Funūn al-balāghat wa ṣināʿāt-i adabī*, Tehran 1354/1975, 247 ff.). Two technical terms among the many dealt with in these surveys deserve mention here. The presence of a clue or *ḳarīna* (also called *ḳarīna-yi ṣārifa*, as it "leads" the mind the intended meaning) is required to express the relationship (*ʿalāḳat*) between a *madjāz* and the corresponding *ḥaḳīḳat*. Such a clue is either implied in the context or specifically added, e.g. in the example *shīr-i shamshīrzan* in which the adjective points to the actual meaning of "valiant warrior". If the trope is not based on a similarity of form but on abstract relationships (between a condition and the place where it manifests itself, a whole and its parts, a cause and its effects etc.) it is called *madjāz-i mursal* ("free trope", according to the interpretation of Humāʾī).

An especially Persian use, for which the authority of the early lexicographer Fakhr-i Ḳawwās (*fl. ca.* 700/1300 in India) is invoked, restricts the application of *madjāz* to metaphors based on terms which either refer to an accident (*ʿaraḍ*) or to imaginary things (*muṣawwarāt*) (cf. al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1862, ii, 963 f.).

In Persian grammar, a connection of one substantive to another by means of the *kasra-yi iḍāfa* is called 'figurative' (*iḍāfa-yi madjāzī*) if it reflects only an estimation (*iʿtibār*) of the speaker. This includes the *iḍāfa-yi tashbīhī* in which the particle of the *iḍāfa* denotes a comparison (*e.g. čashm-i āhū*, "an eye like that of a gazelle") and the *iḍāfa-i istiʿārī* (*e.g. tīgh-i adjal*, "the sword of death") which implies a metaphorical personification (see further, M. Muʿīn, *Iḍāfa*, Tehran 1341/1962, 140-52).

Outside rhetorics and philology, *ḥaḳīḳat* and *madjāz* have been used frequently for binary expressions in mystical terminology. Real love (*ʿishḳ-i ḥaḳīḳī*), directed towards the Eternal Beloved, has as a counterpart "figurative" love (*ʿishḳ-i madjāzī*), which concentrates on another object but only as a temporary substitute for the true goal of mystical love (see for early instances Sanāʾī, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1341/1962, 879; ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī, *Kitāb Insān al-kāmil*, Tehran-Paris 1962, 115 ff.). Similar terms were coined to indicate the distinction between as well as the interdependence of the sphere of divine existence and the present world. Expressions like *wudjūd-i madjāzī*, *hastī-i madjāzī* or *sarāy-i madjazī* reflect the view that the latter can be predicated to be in existence by way of a trope only.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the article, see in general M. Muʿīn, *Farhang-i fārsī-yi mutawassiṭ*, Tehran 1345/1966, iii, s.v. *madjāz*. (J. T. P. de Bruijn)

In Turkish. — Although several neologisms, such as *addeğişimi* and *değişmede* have been proposed since 1928, this Arabic term continues to be in vogue in the sense of "trope" or "figurative language" as one of thousands of literary terms acquired from the Arabs and Persians by the Turks as they became practitioners within the Islamic literary tradition. In the process of borrowing, they also inherited much of the confusion and ambivalence that characterised the periodic definition and classification of the three divisions of the science of *balāgha* [*q.v.*]. By the end of the Middle Ages, when the Turks began to formulate their tropological utterances according to the Islamic perception of figurative language, they also accepted the assignation of *madjāz* to the "expression" (*bayān* [*q.v.*]) division of the Islamic system of rhetoric.

Until the 19th century, the Ottoman Turks did not produce any literary manuals of their own, preferring instead to refer to the standard Arabic and Persian texts or to their Turkish translations of these. This reliance on the works of their literary mentors was especially marked in the case of rhetorics, the productions of al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078), Shams-i Ḳays (*fl.* 600-27/1204-30), al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1226) and al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1389) [*q.vv.*] apparently amply meeting their need for reference works on this subject until the *Tanẓīmāt* period (1839-76). Thereafter, the new generation of Ottoman writers and teachers, now under strong European influence, began to create original works dealing with all aspects of literature. Reference works by literary innovators like Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] and Ekrem Bey [*q.v.*], who wrote mainly for the new schools, and the efforts of their continuators since the Republic (1923), point to an understanding of the meaning and use of the trope that is more in keeping with the syntax and morphology of the Turkish language. This activity, however, did not entirely eliminate the problems of definition and classification. Nonetheless, there is general agreement on the division of tropes into two major classes of *madjāz-i mursal* (synechdoche and variants) and *istiʿāra* (metaphor and extensions).

(1) *Madjāz-i mursal* (Mod. Tkish. *kapsamlama addeğişi*) in which the objects featured in the figurative expression have a relationship that is not described in terms of direct comparison. This type of trope is itself broken down to several variants of which the most frequently encountered are:

a. *ʿumūmiyya-khuṣūṣiyya*, the particular for the general, genus for species, etc., and vice-versa, "Every *sail* on the Marmara is flying merrily."

b. *awwaliyya*, referring to the projected state of the object, "Light the fire!"

c. *ḥāliyya-maḥalliyya*, position and locale conjuncture, "Emerging from *prayer*, they went to the *promenade area*."

d. *sababiyya-musabbabiyya*, cause and means relationship, "This *shop* has *earned* much money."

(2) *Istiʿāra* (*iğretileme*) in which the comparative elements of the relationship between objects are stressed in various degrees. There is no uniform agreement as to exact relationship and classification of these. The generally accepted two major divisions are:

a. *istiʿāra-i muṣarraḥa* (*açık iğretileme*) or explicit metaphor, in which the comparison is achieved by direct reference to an object, "Our *lions* are off to the battlefield."

b. *istiʿāra-i makniyya* (*kapalı iğretileme*) or implicit metaphor in which the comparison is achieved by reference to an attribute of an object without mentioning the object itself, "A cool stream *sang lullabies*."

Each of the above divisions is subdivided even further on the basis of other pertinent considerations affecting, or affected by, the nature of the attributive relationship between the referrer and the referred objects.

Bibliography: W. G. Andrews, Jr., *An introduction to Ottoman poetry*, Minneapolis 1976; Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha, *Balāghāt-i ʿothmāniyya*, Istanbul 1298/1881; *Edebiyat ve söz sanatı terimleri sözlüğü*, Türk Dil Kurumu, ii, 14, Istanbul 1948; Redjāʾizāde Maḥmūd Ekrem, *Taʿlīm-i edebiyyāt*, Istanbul 1299/1882; Ahmet Kabaklı, *Türk edebiyatı*, i, Istanbul 1967; M. N. Özön, *Edebiyat ve tenkid sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1954; Tâhir-ül Mevlevi, *Edebiyat lügatı*, Istanbul 1973.

(J. Stewart-Robinson)

MADJD AL-DAWLA, Abū Ṭālib Rustam b. Fakhr al-Dawla ʿAlī, Kahf al-Umma, ruler of the northern Būyid amīrate of Ray and Djibāl (387-420/997-1029).

When Fakhr al-Dawla [*q.v.*] died in Shaʿbān 387/August-September 997, his young son Rustam succeeded him at the age of eight (thus according to the anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh wa 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*, ed. Bahār, Tehran 1318/1939, 396, giving Rustam's birth-date as Rabīʿ II 379/July-August 989, and Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 69, but according to al-Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, iii, 297, and Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 132, at the age of four). Actual power was exercised by his mother as regent, the redoubtable Sayyida, who was probably the sister of the Marzbān b. Rustam, ruler of Firrīm [*q.v.* in Suppl. and also bāwandids] and author of the *Marzubān-nāma* (a name apparently inverted by ʿUtbī into Rustam b. Marzbān in his account of the capture of Shahriyārkūh by Shahriyār b. Dārā in 388/998, *Yamīnī*, with comm. of Manīnī, ii, 192); and the Būyid *amīr* of ʿIrāḳ and Fars, Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was acknowledged during the latter's lifetime as supreme Būyid ruler over the confederation, with his name appearing on Madjd al-Dawla's coins.

The death of Fakhr al-Dawla and the accession of a weaker *amīr* allowed the Ziyārid Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr [*q.v.*] to return to his former lands in Gurgān and Ṭabaristān, and he could not henceforth be dislodged by the Būyids. In 397/1006-7 Madjd al-Dawla attempted to break loose from the tutelage of his mother, but was captured by his brother Shams al-Dawla of Hamadhān and the Kurdish chief Badr b. Ḥasanūya [see ḥasanwayh] and imprisoned for a year before his release and return to Ray; and in 405/1014-5 Shams al-Dawla was able temporarily to occupy Ray.

Sayyida died in 419/1028, leaving Madjd al-Dawla totally unfitted for assuming the reins of the government after over 30 years' exclusion from the substance of power; the sources speak of his sensuality, so that his numerous wives and concubines gave him 30 children. According to Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyaḍ[1], 263, the powerful and aggressive Ghaznawid Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin had for long refrained from attacking Ray and Djibāl because he regarded the region as effectively neutralised under a feminine *de facto* ruler. Now, with Madjd al-Dawla unable to control the turbulent Daylamī soldiery in Ray and with mounting public disorder there, the helpless *amīr* unwisely appealed to the Ghaznawid sultan for help. With this ready-made pretext to hand, Maḥmūd sent westwards an army, which deposed and seized Madjd al-Dawla and subjected Ray to a frightful sacking, the grounds for this, according to Maḥmūd's *fatḥ-nāmā* sent to the caliph al-Ḳādir, being the need to extirpate Muʿtazilī, Ismāʿīlī and other extremist Shīʿī heresies which had flourished in Ray under Būyid tolerance. Ray was now used as a base for Ghaznawid military operations in northwestern Persia. Madjd al-Dawla and his son Abū Dulaf were kept in honourable confinement in India and then Ghazna by Sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd, according to Gardīzī, with the ex-*amīr* eventually dying at Ghazna.

Madjd al-Dawla enjoyed some reputation as a patron of culture and learning, probably a reflection of the continuing heritage at Ray from the celebrated vizier the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād's patronage of literature; he himself had had the privilege of having the philologist and grammarian Aḥmad b. Fāris [see ibn fāris] as his tutor.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 192 ff.; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 91, 97; Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse*, iii, 296-300, 311; *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, index; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 38-40; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 132, 140, 203-4, 268-9, 369-72; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Guzīda*, ed. Browne, 390, 426-9. 2. Studies. M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 80-3, 191-2; Spuler, *Iran im frühislamischer Zeit*, 117-18; Bosworth, *The Imperial policy of the early Ghaznawids*, in *Islamic Studies, Jnal. of the Central Inst. of Islamic Research*, i/3 (Karachi 1962), 69-72 = *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London 1977; idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 53, 85, 234; *Cambridge hist. of Iran*, iv, 176-7, 215 ff., 295-6; v, 28, 37. For Madjd al-Dawla's coins, see Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 173-6, 177-86, noting that this *amīr* bore the title *Shāhānshāh*.

(C. E. Bosworth)

MADJD al-Dīn [see hibat allāh b. muḥammad].

MADJD AL-MULK, Abu 'l-Faḍl Asʿad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳummī al-**BALĀSĀNĪ**, *mustawfī* or director of finances under the Saldjūḳ sultan Berk-yaruḳ [see barkyārūḳ] in the early years of his reign and then vizier (490-2/1097-9), but whose death was brought about by the great military commanders in Shawwāl 492/September 1099 on an accusation of Shīʿī sympathies, and even of Ismāʿīlī ones, which he was said to have displayed during the struggle against the rival sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Cambr. hist. of Iran*, index; C. L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vezirate, a study of civil administration 1055-1194*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 42, 46-8, 92, 105-6; C. E. Bosworth, in *Encycl. Iranica*, s.v. *al-Balāsānī*. (CL. CAHEN)

MADJDHŪB ("the attracted one"), in Ṣūfī literature the name for the representative of a type of piety which is chiefly of a passive nature (*munfaʿil*: al-Rundī), in contradistinction to the more active (*fāʿil*) "striding one" (*sālik*), a characteristic which is expressed in numerous other pairs of opposition, like: *mudjāhada-mushāhada, makāsib-mawāhib, maḳām-ḥāl, murīd-murād, muḥibb-maḥbūb, mukhliṣ-mukhlaṣ*. While the *madjdhūb*, on the way to God, may abandon himself to be drawn by divine attraction (*djadhba, djadhb*, Persian *kashish*), the *sālik* depends on his own exertions (*kūshish*), which is, however, in the same way as the attraction, a gift (*bakhshish*) of God. Usually, mixed forms occur, as is clear from the works of Nadjm al-Dīn-i Kubrā [*q.v.*] and Nadjm al-Dīn-i Dāya, for whom the "strider" is the one who, while striding, is attracted gently, and the *madjdhūb* the one who, while striding, is attracted intensely. Others, like ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, Maḥmūd-i Kāshānī and ʿAzīz-i Nasafī, speak of a "strider who is attracted" (*sālik-i madjdhūb*) when the striding came earlier in time, and of an "attracted one who is striding" (*madjdhūb-i sālik*) when the being attracted came earlier in time. The general principle is that neither the one who is merely striding, nor the one who is merely attracted, is qualified to be a *shaykh* and to lead others on the mystical path, since the former has never arrived at his aim, while the second, as being only attracted, has never stridden along the path by himself. With regard to personal progress, it is true, the word of the Prophet holds good: "One single attraction by God is equivalent to the activity of men and *djinn*", but only the one who has personal experience of striding, its labours and dangers, is able to assist others in advancing.

In more recent literature in particular, *madjdhūb* is a frequently used extenuating and exculpating designation of eccentric ecstatics, love-maddened persons, holy fools, and despisers of the law. Occasionally, the term is also used as a nickname, like in Ibrāhīm-i Madjdhūb (7th/13th century).

Bibliography: ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, ch. x, 16-20, German tr. R. Gramlich, Wiesbaden 1978; Nadjm al-Dīn-i Rāzī-i Dāya, *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, ed. M. Amīn-i Riyāḥī, Tehran 1353, 375-6; ʿAzīz-i Nasafī, *Maḳṣad-i aḳṣā*, lith. 1353, 143-4; Maḥmūd-i Kāshānī, *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa-miftāḥ al-kifāya*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn-i Humāʾī, Tehran 1323, 108-10; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān-i Djāmī, *Ashiʿʿat al-lamaʿāt*, 1353, 14; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, i, 686-7; ʿAbd al-Ṣamad-i Hamadānī, *Baḥr al-maʿārif*, Tabrīz 1293, 105, ll. 5 ff.; R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, ii, Wiesbaden 1976, 189-94 (where further literature is given).

(R. GRAMLICH)

AL-**MADJDHŪB**, surname of the Moroccan holy man whose complete name is Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAyyād al-Ṣanhādjī al-Faradjī al-Dukkālī. He came originally from Tīṭ, in the district of Azemmūr, but lived in Fās, where one of his disciples was in particular Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf al-Fāsī, whose great-grandson, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [see AL-FĀSĪ, in Suppl.] left behind a work called *Ibtihādj al-ḳulūb bi-khabar al-shaykh Abi 'l-Maḥāsin wa-shaykhihi al-Madjdhūb* (extracts in ms. Rabat 522/6; see Lévi-Provençal, *Catalogue*, 252). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb died in the Gharb in 976/1569 and was buried in Meknès. He is especially famed for his gnomic poetry which took the form of quatrains in dialectal Arabic [see MALḤŪN] and which, towards the end of the 19th century, attracted the attention of H. de Castries (*Gnomes de Sîdy Abder-Rahman el-medjedoub*, Paris 1896). Basing himself on this publication and on citations in various works, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Nūr al-Dīn has had lithographed in Algiers (at the beginning of the 1950s) *al-Ḳawl al-maʾthūr min kalām al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb*, which contains 127 quatrains with a commentary in classical Arabic; they have been published, translated and commented upon by J. Scelles-Millie, *Les quatrains de Mejdoub le sarcastique* (*poète maghrébin du XVIe siècle*), Paris 1966.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316, ii, 221; Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Mumtiʿ al-asmāʿ*, lith. Fās 1316, 112-20; Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, Cairo 1312, iii, 41; *Archives marocaines*, ii, 169-72, xvii, 376-7; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 142; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 267; see also Ostle (ed.), *Studies in mod. Ar. lit.*, 170. (CH. PELLAT)

AL-**MADJDJĀWĪ**, ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM, Algerian teacher and scholar, born in 1266/1848 in Tlemcen and died in 1331/1913 in Algiers.

Following the example of his father who had lived for a long time in Morocco where he had studied and taught, especially at al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*], before returning to his native city to practise there the duties of *ḳāḍī*, al-Madjdjāwī travelled to this country at a very early age. At Tangier and later at Tetouan he undertook classical studies which he completed at Fās as a pupil of distinguished *ʿulamāʾ*, including Mawlāy Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī, Muḥammad b. al-Madanī Gannūn, Ṣāliḥ al-Shawī, Aḥmad b. Sūda and Djaʿfar b. Idrīs al-Kattānī. Returning to Algeria in 1869, in 1873 he was appointed *mudarris* at the Sīdī al-Kattānī mosque of Constantine, which he left in 1877 for the official *madrasa* of the town, where he spent more than twenty years. His very conscientious teaching was already complemented by personal scholarly work. Transferring to Algiers in 1898, he was in addition entrusted with the duties of *imām* and *khaṭīb* at the Sīdī Ramaḍān mosque. His widespread knowledge and cultured personality attracted to him the affection of numerous disciples, among whom it is appropriate to mention in particular Ḥamdān al-Wanīsī, who was to become the patron of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Bādīs, al-Mawlūd b. al-Mawhūb, a teacher at the *madrasa* and Mālikī *muftī* of Constantine, ʿAbd al-Karīm Bāsh Ṭarzī, Ḥanafī *muftī* of the same town, Ḥammū b. al-Darrādjī, Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* of Algiers, and Muḥammad Saʿīd Ibn Zakrī, a teacher at the *madrasa* and Mālikī *muftī* of Algiers.

A teacher by nature and by profession, al-Madjdjāwī revealed his views on educational issues in three monographs (see below). On the other hand, his tastes as well as the specialised responsibilities of the two chairs that he occupied in Constantine and Algiers led him to take an interest in the traditional disciplines of law and of religion. Deeply committed to orthodoxy, he allied himself with scholars who, in the name of the Ḳurʾān and of the Sunna, denounced superstitious practices, impious innovations (*bidaʿ*) and the popular demon-

strations encouraged by the leaders of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods. He also tackled with equal confidence such varied subjects as morphology, syntax, rhetoric, astronomy, cosmography, mathematics and economics. Through his writings, al-Madjdjāwī aims to present the image of an *ʿālim* of encyclopaedic learning. To this end, he introduces into his texts numerous and lengthy quotations not only from the Ḳurʾān and from *ḥadīth*, but also from the works of jurists, philosophers, historians, poets and even of obscure writers. Faithful in this respect to scholastic method, he demands from the ancient scholars more than simple references or entertaining curiosities. His borrowings have a relevance that goes beyond words and forms; he is indebted to the Arabo-Islamic tradition which provides him with the models for life and thought, and he takes it upon himself to convey this tradition in its entirety to his contemporaries.

The corpus of al-Madjdjāwī's work comprises eighteen titles, of which the list is as follows: 1. *Irshād al-mutaʿallimīn*, Cairo n.d.; 2. *Naṣīḥat al-murīdīn*, Tunis n.d.; 3. *Sharḥ Shawāhid Ibn Hishām*, Constantine n.d.; 4. *Sharḥ manẓūmat Ibn Ghāzī fi 'l-tawḳīt*, Constantine n.d.; 5. *Sharḥ al-Madjdjāwī ʿalā manẓūmat Muḥammad al-Madjrād* (*sic*) *al-Slāwī*, Constantine 1878; 6. *Sharḥ al-Lāmiyya al-mudjradiyya fi 'l-djummal*, ʿAnnāba 1894; 7. *Sharḥ ḳaṣīdat Muḥammad al-Manzilī al-Tūnisī*, Algiers n.d.; 8. *Nuzhat al-ṭarf fi 'l-maʿānī wa 'l-ṣarf*, Algiers n.d.; 9. *Kitāb al-ifāda li-man yaṭlub al-istifāda*, Algiers 1901; 10. *al-Farīda al-saniyya fi 'l-aʿmāl al-djībiyya*, Algiers 1903; 11. *al-Mirṣād fī masāʾil al-iḳtiṣād*, in collaboration with ʿUmar Brihmāt, Algiers 1904; 12. *al-Iḳtiṣād al-siyāsī*, Algiers n.d.; 13. *Sharḥ al-djumal al-naḥwiyya*, Algiers n.d.; 14. *al-Durar al-naḥwiyya ʿalā 'l-manẓūmat al-shabrāwiyya*, Algiers 19(?); 15. *Risāla fī masāʾil al-kasb wa 'l-ikhtiyār*, Algiers n.d.; 16. *Tuḥfat al-akhyār fi 'l-djabr wa 'l-ikhtiyār*, Algiers n.d.; 17. *al-Kawāʿid al-kalāmiyya*, Algiers 1910; 18. *al-Lumaʿ ʿalā naẓm al-bidaʿ*, Algiers 1912.

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(R. Bencheneb)

MĀDJID B. SAʿĪD, Sultan of Zanzibar, 1856-70, was born *ca.* 1835, the sixth of his father's twenty-seven known sons, and of an Ethiopian mother. He married a kinswoman, Asha, and had one child only, Khamfura.

When his father, Sayyid Saʿīd, left Zanzibar for Maskaṭ for the last time on 16 April 1854, he had appointed his second son, Khālid, as governor and successor in the event of his death. Khālid died in November 1854, and shortly afterwards orders came from Maskaṭ appointing Mādjid in his stead, thereby passing over three older brothers, Thuwaynī (later Sulṭān of ʿUmān), Muḥammad (Governor of Sumayl), and Turkī (also later Sulṭān of ʿUmān). At this time Mādjid was about twenty-one years old, and from childhood had suffered from a mild form of epilepsy, which at times handicapped him as *sulṭān*. Shortly after his appointment as governor, he was approached to denounce his father's treaties and edicts against the slave trade, but firmly declined. His sister Salma says that during his regency he "contrived to gain the goodwill of all by his kind and gentle manners". At the beginning of his reign, the real power behind the throne was the British consul, Atkins Hamerton, and his death in July 1857 was a severe blow to Mādjid. Fearing assassination, he took refuge on one of his warships, returning to the palace only after the arrival of Hamerton's successor, Rigby, on 28 July 1858. Very shortly after, Saʿīd's third son, Thuwaynī, who had been designated *sulṭān* in ʿUmān by his father, attempted to gain control of his father's African dominions by sending an armed expedition. It was turned back at sea by a British man-of-war. Next, a plot was uncovered to dethrone Mādjid and to replace him by his brother, Barghash. In October 1859 Mādjid ordered him to leave Zanzibar for Maskaṭ; but, after being placed under house arrest, he managed to escape to a country palace known as Marseilles, where armed slaves and Arabs of the al-Ḥarthī tribe rallied to his support. Mādjid then invoked the assistance of the British Navy. The palace was bombarded, and Barghash fled back to Zanzibar, whence he was deported to Bombay.

In Maskaṭ, Thuwaynī still insisted that his father's eastern African possessions were part of his heritage. He was able with justice to claim that for many years the government of ʿUmān had been sustained by revenues collected from Zanzibar. Mādjid therefore agreed to an annual payment to Thuwaynī of 40,000 Maria Theresa thalers *ex gratia*, but Thuwaynī construed this as tribute. After Thuwaynī's abortive expedition of 1858, Mādjid discontinued payment, denying any question of tribute. Eventually the dispute was submitted to the arbitration of Lord Canning, Viceroy of India. His award stated that Mādjid should be recognised as lawful successor to his father's African possessions; and that the ruler of Zanzibar should pay to the ruler of ʿUmān an annual subsidy of 40,000 Maria Theresa thalers. He further stipulated that this payment should not in any way be construed to imply the dependence of Zanzibar upon ʿUmān. The settlement and the independence of the two sovereigns was recognised by an Anglo-French Declaration on 13 March 1862. Mādjid paid the annual subsidy until 1866, when Thuwaynī was murdered by his son Sālim, declining thereafter to pay the subsidy to a parricide. For two years Mādjid remitted the annual payment to Bombay under protest, but this he refused to do after Sālim's deposition by his kinsman ʿAzzan in 1868.

Weak and procrastinating, Mādjid was greatly under the influence of a certain Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, one of his ministers whom Mādjid's sister Salma describes as a dandy and a libertine. Rigby and his successors had great difficulty in persuading Mādjid to control the so-called "northern" Arabs, Arabs from the small principalities of the Gulf, who were determined to evade the treaties against the slave trade. A trade treaty was signed with the Hanse towns in 1859, and German trade was soon second

only to that with British India. It was through this connection that Mād̲j̲id's sister Salma succeeded in making contact with one of the employees of the German consulate, Heinrich Ruete, whom she subsequently married. In 1861 Mād̲j̲id led an expedition to reassert his authority in Pate, which had rebelled; but he failed in 1866 when there was a similar, but more determined, rebellion in Witu.

Mād̲j̲id's decision that led to the foundation of Dar es Salaam, the present capital of Tanzania on the mainland, taken in 1862, has been obscured by differing claims. The French claim that the idea was initiated by the French consul is surely exaggerated. The British claim, originated by (Sir John) Kirk, is that Mād̲j̲id thought of it as "a place to retire to when consuls trouble him or when he is kicked out of the island". These seem to leave out of account the facts that Arab, Indian and Swahili traders were increasing in number of the mainland, and that the harbour of Dar es Salaam in its landlocked bay was far more convenient than the open roadsteads then in use at Bagamoyo and Mboamaji. Building seems to have begun only in 1865-6, and included a palace for the *sulṭān*, parts of which still stand. Here, in September 1867, Mād̲j̲id gave a "dinner in the European manner" for the American, British, French and German consuls, apparently by way of a formal inauguration.

There are several descriptions of Mād̲j̲id, notably by Richard Burton and Fr. Horner. He had a light complexion and pleasing manners, and generally resembled his distinguished father. He sat to hear causes and complaints three times a day, in a long, bare reception hall paved with black and white marble from Marseilles, and with some dingy chandeliers and "three rows of common wooded-bottomed chairs". There were French clocks and bureaux, cheap prints, gaudy china and shabby artificial flowers. The *sulṭān*, nevertheless, took great interest, as his father had so broadmindedly done, in both explorers and missionaries. A learned ornament of the court who attracted even Burton's respect for his learning was the S̲h̲āfiʿī *ḳāḍī*, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥyī al-Dīn b. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳaḥṭānī.

Mād̲j̲id died in 1870, and was succeeded by his brother Bargha<u>sh</u> [*q.v.*].

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(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

al-**MAD̲J̲ISṬĪ** [see baṭlamiyūs].

MAD̲J̲LIS (a.), a noun of place from the verb *d̲j̲alasa* "to sit down" and, by extension, "to sit", "to hold a session"; starting from the original meaning of "a place where one sits down, where one stays", thence "a seat" (J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche-Orient médiéval*, Leiden 1976, index), the semantic field of *mad̲j̲lis* is of very wide extent (see the dictionaries of Lane, Dozy, Blachère, etc.). Among the principal derivative meanings are "a meeting place", "meeting, assembly" (cf. Ḳurʾān, LXVIII, 12/11), "a reception hall (of a caliph, high dignitary or other personage)" and "a session which is held there", "a hall in which a professor's courses are given or a judge's sentences delivered" (hence "praetorium, tribunal"), or further where the debates of an assembly take place (hence "council").

1. In social and cultural life
2. In Ismāʿīlī usage
3. In Indian S̲h̲īʿī usage
4. In the sense of representative institutions
   A. In the Middle East and North Africa
   B. In Afg̲h̲ānistān
   C. In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent

1. In Social and Cultural Life

From the pre-Islamic period, *mad̲j̲lis* designated an "assembly or council of the tribe's notables" [see badw, III, c] and this institution is still alive (see e.g. J. Chelhod, *Le droit dans la société bédouine*, Paris 1971, 55), sometimes under another name [see d̲j̲amāʿa; below, 4. B. In Afg̲h̲ānistān; d̲j̲irga in Suppl.]. In various states of the Middle Ages, an elaborate governmental structure contained a series of *mad̲j̲ālis*, councils given precise powers (see notably al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ*, index, 421-3). This usage plainly justifies the adoption of this term to designate in the contemporary age any council (*mad̲j̲lis al-baladiyya* "municipal council", *m. al-wuzarāʾ* "council of ministers", etc.), an elected assembly (*m. taʾsīsī* "constituent assembly"), a chamber of deputies (*m. al-nuwwāb*), a senate (*m. al-s̲h̲uyūk̲h̲* or *al-aʿyān*), etc. The historical account of the legislative assemblies and parliaments in the Muslim countries will be the subject of section 4 below, and the present notice will be limited to a brief survey of the *mad̲j̲ālis* which played a rôle in the social, religious and intellectual life of the Muslims of the Middle Ages.

The first to be considered is that of the sovereign who dedicated part of his activity to "public or private meetings (*majlis*, pl. *majālis*), where political and judicial decisions were adopted, plaintiffs, panegyrists and other visitors gathered, and questions of literature or law were debated—for this was also regarded as a normal function of the head of state" (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 37). These sessions followed a ceremonial which varied according to the dynasties and the character of the monarchs.

The etiquette of the court under the Umayyads is not well-known, and it is not known exactly what respective place was occupied by the representatives of the different social classes regularly admitted to the caliph's *mad̲j̲lis*. For the ʿAbbāsid period, we possess a manual falsely attributed to al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, the *Kitāb al-Tād̲j̲* (ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pas̲h̲a, Cairo 1914; French tr. Ch. Pellat, *Le Livre de la couronne*, Paris 1954; cf. F. Gabrieli, *Etichetta di corte e costumi Sasanidi nel* Kitāb aḫlāq al-mulūk *di al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *RSO*, xiii/3 [1932], 197-247), which sets forth, mainly for the people and part of the aristocracy unfamiliar with the customs, the rules of royal protocol of the Sāsānid court which it was proper to adopt, and supplies us with information derived from Islamic history only on the entertainment

sessions. For the Fāṭimids (see M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin*, in *Byzantion*, xxi [1951], 355-420), the information is more detailed. The caliph habitually held a public audience on Mondays and Thursdays each week and sat on a golden throne separated from these attending by a grill (*shubbāk*) and a curtain (*sitr*) which was raised after he was seated. Among the title-bearers with public and private functions who had their places, according to their rank, in the reception hall, there must be noted the presence of a *ṣāḥib al-madjlis*, a high-ranking eunuch entrusted with organising the session and advising the dignitaries as soon as the caliph had taken his place on his throne (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 480-8; cf. B. Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the capture of Constantinople*, New York, etc. 1974, i, 201-8). We also possess some information on the status of the people admitted into the audience chamber: for Muslim Spain, e.g., it consisted of elements constituting the *khāṣṣa* [see AL-KHĀṢṢA WA 'L-ʿĀMMA]; for Tunisia in the time of the Ḥafṣids, see R. Brunschvig, *op. laud.*, ii, 28-9.

In these public audiences, plaintiffs and petitioners were present, but poets and scholars who were admitted to the ruler's presence also participated, and for those who solicited the same honour it was an occasion to be introduced to this privileged circle by the mediation of someone already established at court, to recite a panegyric and receive an immediate reward.

The crowning of this process was well on the way when the ambitious man was retained at the royal table after the public audience or at another time of the day. The majority of caliphs actually were accustomed to surrounding themselves with a group of *nudamā*ʾ (pl. of *nadīm*), companions who had in theory to respect quite strict rules, of which one can gain an idea from the *Kitāb al-Tādj* (11-20, tr. 39-48) and to possess a certain number of qualities and kinds of knowledge that al-Masʿūdī detailed in his *Akhbar al-zamān* (see *Murūdj*, viii, 103-4 = §§ 3229-30).

A long account will not be given here of the entertainment evenings which many of the Muslim rulers organised regularly and in the course of which they gave themselves up to "pleasure" or *ṭarab* provoked by the music, singing and drinking. The *Kitāb al-Tādj* (31-9, tr. 59-66) enumerates those who, surrounded by women slaves and eunuchs, hid themselves behind a screen and those who showed themselves shamelessly to their familiars and to the musicians and singers; among the latter, al-Rashīd is said to have been the first to follow the example of the Sāsānids and establish divisions. This work makes no allusion to the presence of poets and story-tellers in these sessions, which were evidently distinguished from the meals of which al-Masʿūdī speaks and during which a certain dignity surely reigned. As R. Blachère says with reference to Sayf al-Dawla (*Motanabbî*, 130), during intimate meetings known as *madjālis al-uns*, "the cups were passed round, the social barriers fell, giving way to a semi-intimacy where protector and protégés treated one another with simplicity, at times even with familiarity", without too much casualness, it seems. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, viii, 102 = § 3229) supplies some details on the conversations held in the *madjlis* of al-Muʿtamid and mentions that their proceedings were recorded in writing; poetry occupied an important place there, as al-Ṣūlī confirms, who, describing a meeting of this kind around al-Rāḍī (see *Akhbâr ar-Râdî billâh wa'l-Muttaqî billâh*, French tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946, i, 60 ff.), indicates the place of each of the guests designated by name, cites the subjects approached and reproduces the verses recited on this occasion.

This is not the place to dwell on the rôle of poetry considered as an instrument of government and propaganda by some monarchs, always inclined to make use of the eulogies which were presented to them by versifiers of talent. Often skilled in stirring up rivalries, the caliph would put into competition poets, story-tellers, grammarians or *fuḳahā*ʾ, to rejoice in the victory of some and sneer at the discomforture of others. The ruler's *madjlis* also became a circle which J. E. Bencheikh (*Les voies d'une création. Essai sur la poésie arabe à Bagdad dans la première moitié du IIIe/IXe siècle*, thesis Paris 1971, 130; idem, *Poétique arabe*, Paris 1975, 22 ff.; idem, *Le cénacle poétique du Calife al-Mutawakkil* ..., in *BEt.O*, xxix [1977], 33-52) describes as "a court of legitimation", adding that "the creator confronts there a well-informed prince, formidable men of learning, uncharitable colleagues; in short, criticism is made immediately and pronounced without appeal. On the other hand, it plays a basic role in the diffusion of masterpieces: the scholars comment on them, the musicians are inspired by them, the listeners spread their renown". These general considerations inspired by the study of a limited period of the history of poetry in Baghdad are perfectly applicable to the majority of courts of Muslim sovereigns who were friends of letters and the arts to any extent and concerned about their reputation as patrons.

In addition, before even the dismemberment of the ʿAbbāsid empire was accomplished, parallel to the caliph's *madjlis*, there were some literary groups directed by provincial governors and high dignitaries who had it at heart to gather around them, to ensure their prestige, poets and scholars frequently attracted by ethnic or politico-religious affinities, but also for basely material reasons, for the isolated man of letters or scholar could only live sparsely, if he were without fortune; in any case, if he were not particularly ambitious, he had to appeal to a patron, who, in default of the caliph, he could find in the provinces, then at the court of the dynasts who flourished from one end to the other of the Muslim world.

This necessity was undoubtedly prejudicial not only to the quality of the work at least of the poets, but also to their dignity, for they could not help but compromise themselves, to obey the tastes of the patrons and their entourage, and to adopt at times a politico-religious attitude contrary to their own convictions. In any case, the study of patronage in the history of Arabo-Islamic civilisation (which remains to be undertaken, for it has only been so far sketched out, e.g. by R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 544-51) would be really instructive; based on the literary groups and salons in evidence from the Middle Ages to our own days, it would provide a global idea of the influence that the latter exercised on the evolution of literature.

In a society where, as R. Blachère (*Motanabbî*, 130) writes "the life of the salon occupied an important place, no-one could aspire to public admiration, if he were not also a man of the world, an agreable conversationalist with a lively mind and prompt at repartee, skilled in creating situations which he could turn to his advantage". These remarks, valid for the *madjālis* of kings and princes, hold

good for those who, at an inferior social level, stayed simply in the home of well-to-do poets and writers and even in the shops of merchants who practised in their own way a form of patronage. So some *madjālis* were and still are constituted which are real literary salons, where good speech is honoured and extemporisation reigns.

When the person who "held session" was a professor, his *madjlis*, which could possibly be transformed into a côterie, was the place (mosque, *madrasa*, personal home, etc.) where he dispensed his teaching; the same term designated the whole body of his audience, the session during which he dictated his course and, finally, the course itself; his lessons, once recorded by his pupils, were "published" most often under the heading *amālī* "dictations" [see TADRĪS], but also at times *madjālis* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 83-5); one of the most famous works of this category is the *Kitāb al-Madjālis* or *al-Amālī* of Thaʿlab [*q.v.*]. (ED.)

2. IN ISMĀʿĪLĪ USAGE.

Here, *madjlis* referred to a formal session of religious instruction, the place of it, and also to the lecture or sermon read in it by a *dāʿī* [*q.v.*] to the faithful. These lectures were known more properly as wisdom sessions (*madjālis al-ḥikma*). In the Fāṭimid age, their preparation and delivery twice weekly was the official duty of the *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*. Outside the capital Cairo, they were read by his deputies (*nuwwāb*). The sessions were the occasion for the payment of a religious duty known as "the [fee for] confidential discourse (*nadjwā*)". According to al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029), the *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* prepared the lectures, submitted them to the caliph for approval, and then read them separately to various groups of different sex, social and religious rank. Describing later Fāṭimid practice, Ibn al-Ṭuwayr states that they were drafted by the chief assistants (*nuḳabāʾ*) of the *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* employed in the Dār al-Ḥikma and read by him, if possible, to the caliph who would affix his mark of ratification (*ʿalāma*) to the text. Collections of such lectures are extant, like the *Taʾwīl daʿāʾim al-Islām* of Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, the *Madjālis Mustanṣiriyya*, of ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. Wahb al-Mālīdjī (wrongly ascribed to Badr al-Djamālī), and the *Madjālis Muʾayyadiyya*, containing 800 lectures of al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1077; see on this work, Brockelmann, S I, 326). On the other hand, the *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt* of the Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974) is a kind of account of sessions held with the caliph al-Muʿizz (ed. Ḥ. al-Faḳī, I. Shabbūḥ and M. al-Yaʿlāwī, Tunis 1978). In the post-Fāṭimid age, the Ṭayyibī *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* assumed the teaching function of the Fāṭimid *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*, and collections of *madjālis* of some of them have also been preserved.

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3. IN INDIAN SHĪʿĪ USAGE.

This term is especially used in the Indian subcontinent for the Shīʿī mourning assemblies held during Muḥarram to commemorate the tragedy of Karbalāʾ. These assemblies are organised in private homes or, more properly, in the *imām-bāṛās* [*q.v.*], where miniature replicas of al-Ḥusayn's tomb at Karbalāʾ, made out of paper or other material, are kept throughout the year. The *madjlis*, though dating back to earlier times, acquired real prominence in the 12th/18th century with the impetus given to it by the *Nawwābs* of Awadh or Oudh (1722-1856). Under these rulers, Lakhnaw [*q.v.*] or Lucknow, which was the seat of administration, became the undisputed centre of Shīʿī culture in India and a place where the *madjlis* found its full development. Since then, the *madjlis* has retained much of its traditional character. The central theme of the ceremony is the recital, in prose or verse, of the events connected with the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn, followed by lamentations and the beating of the breast, in which the whole assembly takes part. The service ends with the distribution of sherbet, sweets or food to all those present in the *madjlis*. An important outcome of the institution was the emergence of individuals performing distinct functions in the *madjlis* proceedings. As related by ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar, these included the *ḥadīth-khwāns* (*ḥadīth* reciters), recounting the virtues of the Prophet's family; the *wāḳiʿa-khwāns* (narrators of anecdotes), describing the misfortunes of those martyred at Karbalāʾ; the *marthiya-khwāns* (reciters of elegies), whose poetic narration of the events was accompanied by gesticulations and facial expressions; and the *sūz-khwāns* (singers of dirges), who were accomplished musicians. Among these various activities, the singing of dirges, in particular, enjoyed much popular appeal, despite its disapproval by the religious leaders. In its literary role, the *madjlis* contributed to the development of the *marthiya* in Urdu, as illustrated by Anīs (1802-74) and Dabīr (1803-75), the recognised masters of that genre [see MARTHIYA, 4. In Urdu].

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

4. IN THE SENSE OF REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS

A. In the Middle East and North Africa

The terms *Madjlis* (Arabic), and *Medjlis* (Ottoman Turkish), *Meclis* (Modern Turkish) and *Madjles* (Persian), meaning "Parliament", appear in various word-combinations as indicated below. In Arabic, the synonym *Barlamān* (borrowed from the French) has also been in frequent use, as has *Pārlāmentō* in Ottoman Turkish (from the Italian), *Parlâmento* in modern Turkish (mostly used for parliaments outside Turkey) or *Pārlemān* in modern Persian (from French). *Madjlis* (usually in *Madjlis al-nuwwāb*, or *Madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*) assumed this connotation in the 19th century, as the concept of parliamentarism became widespread, thanks to the impact of Western influence on the Middle East, without, at least initially, implying parliamentary government. While it is not certain when the term was first used in this sense, its first official use appears to have been in 1866, with the promulgation of Khedive Ismāʿīl's *Ḥudūd wa-niẓām-nāmat madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb al-miṣriyya* of Radjab 1283 (see below, under (xvi) *Egypt*).

The following article attempts to outline and evaluate the advent and fate of parliamentarism in the Ottoman Empire, Republican Turkey, Iran, Arab states and Middle Eastern countries with Muslim

minorities, such as Israel and Cyprus. In certain countries, parliamentary bodies were convened in response to growing demands for political participation by individuals or groups impressed by Western patterns of democratic government, who hoped to use such bodies as national instruments for obtaining (or preserving) independence, overall progress and especially for curbing absolutism. The above were established by local rulers, usually in response to popular demands. Sometimes, they were established by the local ruler on his own initiative, originally in an advisory capacity only; in this latter case, these bodies eventually showed greater political awareness and demanded more than anticipated. During the colonial period, especially in Arab areas under British and French control after the First World War, parliamentary institutions were set up by the foreign Power. Elsewhere, as in Iran and Turkey, they were established by independent régimes, generally during the first half of the 20th century. On the whole, the latter proved to be more durable than the former. However, when adapted to the social, economic and political realities of the country, all such parliaments did continue to function, even those which were colonial creations, as in Lebanon or the Maghrib.

Parliaments in the Middle East and North Africa, whether dating from the colonial or independent era, in general were modelled on Western patterns and functioned with varying degrees of effectiveness, especially during the first half of the 20th century. Most parliaments in Arab states were considered mainly consultative bodies by the government. In recent years, under the new, revolutionary, highly centralised régimes they have lost much of their effectiveness (after having been challenged by Islamists and right- and left-wing groups). In many cases, party competition has all but disappeared and the role of parliament (if at all extant) in the initiation of legislation and public policy-making has diminished, as have its representational attributes. In reality, parliaments in Iran and most Arab states—eagerly hailed by nationalist movements both as symbols of emancipation and desirable vehicles for political expression—had failed, largely because of their inability to resolve or even regulate the sharp conflicts rooted in socio-economic, ethnic and political differences. Such parliaments had indeed identified with the status quo forces. On the other hand, that of Turkey, with a longer parliamentary tradition, has maintained its importance to date (1978).

In summary, parliamentary institutions in each of the countries discussed below have reflected the local political culture of the time. Their impact on national affairs, however, has been merely marginal in most cases, as parliaments in the Middle East and North Africa (Turkey and Israel excepted) have rarely provided political leadership, except through legislation. Their probable main function has been to *legitimise* the new states, *moderate* internal conflict by allowing argument and *integrate* diverse elements. Most Middle Eastern parliaments have succeeded only partially in carrying out these functions, especially the last one.

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(i) *The Ottoman empire*

The first Ottoman parliament was inaugurated in 1877, although local parliamentary institutions had occasionally convened prior to that time in certain parts of the Empire, such as Egypt (see below). Earlier, in 1845, a General Assembly, or *Medjlis-i ʿumūmī*, was convened in Istanbul by ʿAbd al-Medjīd, seating one Muslim and one Christian from each province. It met for two months, concerning itself with improvement of local matters. However, it could hardly be considered as more than a mere forerunner of a genuine parliament. Ottoman reformists ("The Young Ottomans"), had indeed discussed the principle of representation, especially since the mid-nineteenth century; many thought of it as a cure for the Empire's ills.

The First Ottoman Parliament. Convocation of a parliament was one of the stipulations of the 1876 Constitution, granted by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] at the instance of Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*] and his supporters. The Sultan convened a parliament for two principal reasons: firstly, Ottoman reformists and liberals were firmly convinced that a Western-style parliament, anchored in a written constitution, was essential for curtailing absolutism and propelling the Empire on the road to its salvation; secondly, representatives of the European Powers, then meeting in the Constantinople Conference, would thus be impressed with the Ottoman Government's earnest desire to rule more democratically and guarantee individual freedoms more effectively.

The 1876 Constitution stipulated that parliament, or *Medjlis-i ʿumūmī*, would comprise an elected Chamber of Delegates, *Medjlis-i mebʿūthān* and an appointed Senate, literally a Chamber of Notables, *Medjlis-i aʿyān*. The former Chamber, although intended to play the major role, was nevertheless limited chiefly to debating, since initiation of legislation was to be a prerogative of the Ministers who were not responsible to the *Medjlis*; also, a Member of the Chamber of Delegates could initiate a bill only via the Grand Vizier's office, which then forwarded it for the Sultan's approval, while the Sultan retained the right of veto. Voting on the budget was the sole meaningful task of the Chamber of Delegates, and even this could be circumvented. Consequently, the Chamber's real importance was not in its powers, but rather, in its very establishment as a debating forum rendering it a possible restraint on despotism.

According to an *irāde* dated 28 October 1876 (the draft of the electoral law was promulgated only in 1908), elections for the Chamber of Delegates commenced in December 1876 and continued throughout the Empire for several weeks—with the noteworthy exception of Egypt, Tunisia, Montenegro and Serbia (these had special international status and were consequently excused) and of Mount Lebanon (where the Maronites and Druzes refused to vote, lest it affect their special status). In theory, every 50,000 male Ottoman subjects were to elect one delegate. In practice, members of various administrative councils wrote in the delegates of their choice on the ballots, Muslims and non-Muslims alike (although the latter were subject to a quota). All ballots were checked at the provincial governor's office by a public committee headed by the governor himself; they were then counted and despatched to Istanbul for verification. Elections in the capital itself followed a slightly different procedure.

The *irāde* stipulated that the Chamber of Delegates comprise 130 Members. However, only 119 were elected and attended the first session; in the second, which commenced in December 1877—after new elections had been held—there were 113 delegates, including 55 who had attended the first session as well. All sessions convened in Istanbul, where the Chamber—along with an appointed Senate of 31 (4 others were appointed subsequently)—met from 19 March 1877 until 13 February 1878, when the Sultan dissolved parliament. It appears that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II considered reconvening it, but then changed his mind; Parliament was not to convene again until 1908.

Senate meetings were closed to the public and little is known of them (other than that it debated several bills passed by the Chamber); sessions of the Chamber of Delegates were open, however. These dealt with foreign demands on Ottoman territory and subsequently with the Turco-Russian War—all with patriotic spirit They discussed bills presented by

Ministers, passing a number of them with certain changes. Most significant were the Provincial Administration Law, the Municipalities Law and the Electoral Law for the Chamber. They debated finances (e g. they sharply criticised the Baghdād Railway concession) and made some pertinent observations thereupon to the Ministers. Their most noteworthy contribution, however, was most likely the constant stream of criticism of the Government's handling of the war, bureaucratic mismanagement and administrative corruption. These manifestations of an independent stand received coverage in the local press, which commented approvingly on their lively character.

Many Members of the Chamber of Delegates were former government officials, including several members of the administrative councils supervising the elections. Socially, most seem to have been of the middle and upper middle classes, hence their interest in administrative reform and their conservative approach to most socio-economic issues. On the religious and ethnic levels, they were much more of a mixed gathering. In the first session, there were 71 Muslims, 44 Christians and 4 Jews; in the second 64 Muslims, 43 Christians and 6 Jews. They belonged to various ethnic groups throughout the Empire: a contemporary observer counted ten: Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgars, Albanians, Bosnians, Vlachs and Jews. There was an even greater diversity of languages, though Turkish was the official language of proceedings. Rich and poor, educated and uneducated, they were not unrepresentative of the Empire's overall population. Despite their disparate character, they succeeded in cooperating and in publicising personal, local and national grievances to such an extent that the Sultan was prompted to send them home.

Parliaments in the Second Constitutional Period. The 1876 Constitution was reinstated (it had never been officially abrogated) in August 1908, after the Young Turk Revolution; parliament was thus revived. The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI] and other groups sought to assert themselves—and limit the Sultan's powers—via the Chamber. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II re-inaugurated parliament in Constantinople on 17 December 1908; it functioned until April 1920, when the last Ottoman parliament was dissolved.

Elections were held according to an electoral law which modified the *irāde* of 28 October 1876 but retained the limited franchise and voting through administrative councils. The CUP was in conflict with other groups in the Chamber, which opposed it on either ideological or ethnic grounds (Greek members, for example). Still, it generally held an uneasy majority, useful during the historical meeting of Chamber and Senate, sitting as a single National Assembly (22 April 1909) which decided to depose ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II after his counter-revolution had failed. This was one of the high points in the annals of parliaments of the Second Constitutional Period. A partial result of this decision was the debate and subsequent passage of various amendments to the 1876 Constitution, rendering the Chamber an important component of the state. Concurrently, the once unconditional sovereignty of the Sultans was restricted; their prerogative to appoint Ministers and nominate others to high office became the right of parliament or the cabinet. Even the cabinet itself was made responsible, and to some extent subservient, to parliament.

During its early years, the Chamber debated and passed numerous laws, chiefly of a financial, administrative, or judicial character (list and summaries may be found in Sarrou—see Bibliography); during the First World War, several laws of military significance were considered. However, the CUP itself, in firm executive control, strove to curtail the powers of parliament, achieving only limited results. The CUP enjoyed more success in passing legislation in the Chamber from 1909 onwards. It was generally aimed at centralising the Empire's administration and strengthening their own position at its head. Examples are the Laws of: Vagabondage and Suspected Persons; Public Meetings; the Press and Printing; Associations; and the Prevention of Brigandage and Sedition. These were intended to curb individual as well as public opposition and to limit the freedom of the press. Such measures did not pass without determined opposition; the Chamber included a group which resisted these restrictions, along with the limitation of the Chamber's powers in favour of the Sultan, whom the CUP manipulated. In April 1912, new elections were held with the CUP obtaining strong support, reportedly by pressure and bribery. Yet another Chamber was inaugurated in May 1914, which prolonged its tenure in April 1918 (by amending the Constitution), after its four-year term had ended. However, in December 1918, Meḥemmed VI dissolved parliament. Elections were held a year later; the new Chamber convened on 12 January 1920, adjourned itself in March and was dissolved on 11 April 1920. It convened briefly, again, in March 1921; however, for all practical purposes, the sessions of parliament in Istanbul had come to an end.

The composition of parliament during the Second Constitutional Period was no less heterogeneous than in 1877-8. The nationalism of the Young Turk leaders had a market ethnocentric tenor, bolstered to a degree by their Islamic policy. Consequently, increasing preference was shown to Turks and Arabs in the elections, although the Turks, a minority in the Empire, constantly maintained an absolute majority in the Madjlis. The CUP was suspicious of Arab and Armenian nationalism, on the one hand, and impatient with Greek and Albanian criticism within the Chamber, on the other. The following table (from Feroz Ahmad—see Bibliography) demonstrates this trend.

Bibliography: For the reconstructed records

Ethnic Representation in the Ottoman Chambers during the Second Constitutional Period

Year	Turks	Arabs	Albanians	Greeks	Armenians	Slavs	Jews	Total
1908	147	60	27	26	14	10	4	288
1912	157	68	18	15	13	9	4	284
1914	144	84	—	13	14	—	4	259

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(ii) *Turkey*.

Turkey's Grand National Assembly (GNA), or *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*, forged during Turkey's War of Independence, was soon given a legal basis; attention to legality has, in fact, characterised this body throughout its existence. Mustafa Kemal and his advisers were careful to maintain legal continuity: When the GNA opened as a Constituent Assembly in Ankara, on 23 April 1920, twelve days after the Chamber in Istanbul had been dissolved (see *Ottoman empire*, above), it comprised no fewer than 92 Members of the dissolved Chamber, including its erstwhile president (who now became vice-president of the GNA). Nevertheless, the GNA may be considered as a distinctly new institution. As early as 20 January 1921, the GNA adopted a provisional constitution for Turkey, entitled *The Law of Fundamental Organisations*, which vested all legislative authority and executive power in the GNA and charged it with governing the state.

The amendment of 29 October 1923 declaring Turkey a republic and the 1924 Constitution institutionalised the above in a more detailed manner. All powers were centred in the unicameral GNA which was to be elected by universal male suffrage. The GNA would elect the President of the Republic, who in turn, would appoint the Prime Minister. The GNA reserved the right to approve the latter and his Cabinet, all of whom were responsible to it. The size of

the GNA remained fluid, adjustable to population fluctuations. Until 1945, the GNA housed (with brief exceptions) a single party, the People's Party (later renamed the Republican People's Party [see DJÜMHŪRIYYET KHALḲ FİRḲASİ]; several experiments with including additional parties were short-lived. During the post-1945 era, several parties have vied for power in the GNA.

The 1961 Constitution (passed by a Constituent Assembly convened after the military intervention of 27 May 1960 and subsequently approved by a popular referendum on 9 July 1961) greatly resembled that of 1924, with certain modifications concerning the GNA. It became a bicameral body comprising a National Assembly (*Millet Meclisi*) of 450 members, elected for a maximum term of four years and a Senate (*Senato*) of 150 members elected for six years (with one-third renewed every two years). This Senate included 22 of the ex-officers who had engineered the 1960 intervention (and became Senators for life), another 15 appointed by the State President, as well as all surviving former State Presidents. The National Assembly was the more important body of the two, as Cabinets had to obtain its vote of confidence; in addition, it had the right to initiate and support legislation in the event of a dispute with the Senate. The powers of parliament and the cabinet were considerable; however, a Constitutional Court, established at that time, was able to rule on the constitutionality of parliamentary laws and decisions (among its other powers).

There have been several changes in the laws governing parliamentary elections. Up to 1945, elections were indirect and thus liable to manipulation. Women were enfranchised in 1934. Between 1945 and 1950, with the transition to a multi-party system, the electoral laws were modified. In 1946, direct elections replaced indirect ones (first applied in the 1950 elections) and a secret ballot and public vote-counting were guaranteed. In 1950, supervision of elections passed from the executive to the judiciary. The simple plurality system continued until the 1960 military intervention, when a modified system of proportional representation was instituted for elections to the National Assembly. According to the new electoral laws passed by the Constituent Assembly in April-May 1961, each of Turkey's 67 constituencies (identical to its administrative districts) was assigned its share of the 450 seats, proportional to its population. Each party received a number of seats relative to its vote in each constituency. In the Senate elections of 1961, the party winning the majority in a constituency carried all its seats (Istanbul and Ankara excepted). Since 1964, the Senate elections system was adapted to resemble that of the National Assembly. Since 1961, all Turkish citizens aged twenty-one or over (barring convicted criminals) could vote: candidates for the National Assembly had to be literate and aged 30 or over; for the Senate—university graduates aged 40 or over. Membership in the GNA was considered incompatible with service in the state bureaucracy, the armed forces or the judiciary. Democratisation of the electoral process was bolstered by the requirement that parties hold primary elections six weeks before voting-day and that party representatives participate in the supervision of the balloting.

Parliamentary history in the Republic of Turkey appears to be divided into three major periods: 1923-46, 1946-60, 1961 to date (1978). During the first period, the single-party era, general elections to the GNA were held in 1923, 1927, 1931, 1935, 1939 and 1943. The GNA was not only identified with the cadres of the People's Party but was, to a certain extent, an extension of the party itself, co-operating with it in a single-minded effort towards rapid modernisation. The second period ranges from the beginning of the multi-party era until the first military intervention. General elections to the GNA were held in 1946, 1950, 1954 and 1957. This period witnessed the orderly transfer of power from the ruling party to the Democrat Party [see DEMOKRAT PARTI], which obtained and kept a comfortable majority in the GNA for ten years (1950-60). While opposition within the GNA had been negligible during the first period, it was active indeed during the second. Although several smaller parties had a minor share in electoral competition and parliamentary contests, most of the campaigning was undertaken by the two mass parties, the Republican People's Party and the Democrat Party; their rivalry for power engendered a constant see-saw in parliamentary debates on legislation and general policy. The third period commenced with the establishment of a bicameral system under the new constitution. General elections to the National Assembly were held in 1961, 1965, 1969, 1973 and 1977, general elections to the Senate in 1961 and partial elections in 1964, 1966, 1968, 1973, 1975, 1977 and 1979. The see-saw continued, this time between the Republican People's Party and the Justice Party (heir to the Democrat Party in many respects), although with three principal differences:

(a) The relative liberalisation of political party activities, initiated in 1961, enabled several radical groups to form legal parties, stand for election and enter parliament. Examples were: the socialist Workers' Party of Turkey, active since 1961, in parliament since 1965; the Republican Peasant's Nation Party (renamed Nationalist Action Party), active in its pan-Turk ultra-nationalist character and in parliament since 1965; and the strongly Islam-oriented National Salvation Party, active (under a different name) since 1970 and in parliament since 1973. All this reflected a diminishing of the national consensus and increased the difficulties of passing legislation, especially since some of the other parties broke up as well.

(b) For the first time in Turkey's parliamentary history, coalition cabinets were required in order to obtain votes of confidence in the National Assembly. While the Justice Party obtained an absolute majority in the general elections of 1965 and 1969, in those of 1961, 1973 and 1977 the Republican People's Party obtained only a relative majority (see table of Election Results below) and rather unstable coalition cabinets had to be formed. This hindered meaningful legislation in both Houses and encumbered policy-making in the Cabinet (although the parliament and cabinet still could—and did—move decisively in times of national crisis, as in Cyprus, in July 1974).

(c) Frequent elections were held; scarcely a year went by without an election for the National Assembly, the Senate or local authorities. Thus public excitement never abated; on the contrary, it increased, often to the point of physical violence. Indeed, violence appealed to several extra-parliamentary groups, small but vocal and active, supported by those who had despaired of obtaining speedy socio-economic and other reforms by parliamentary means, especially during the years of coalition government stalemate. Consequently, political processes in contemporary Turkey appear to continue

on two different levels, only one of which is centred in the GNA and follows the parliamentary rules-of-the-game; the other level is extra-parliamentary, radicalised and favours violence.

The GNA has attracted many well-educated persons; approximately 70%-80% of its members, in all sessions combined, had studied at the university. However, the socio-economic and occupational composition of parliament in Turkey reflects more accurately the transition to a multi-party régime and the changes brought about by modernisation. The key-date for this process is 1950, as it was then that a counter-élite was largely substituted for the Kemalists. Analyses conducted separately by Frey and by Tachau (see Bibliography) have established that prior to 1950, the GNA comprised—in descending order—former government officials, retired officers, lawyers, merchants and businessmen, and educators. After 1950, the main groups—again, in descending order—were lawyers, merchants and businessmen (i e., the groups with more experience in a competitive system) followed by former government officials and retired officers. Before 1950, a much larger proportion of the GNA came from the more developed areas in Western Turkey; since then, there has been a much more equitable distribution. In the sessions between 1927 and 1943, 63% or more of the membership had already served in parliament; since then, the proportion has dropped to below 50%, with new members entering not only for natural reasons but also thanks to new ideologies enjoying some popular support. The above indicates a broadening of the Turkish political élite, as expressed in the GNA, as well as a freer élite circulation and greater competition between rival élites, reflecting the growth of pluralism in Turkish society and the increase in its upward mobility during the multi-party era. Electoral participation has been quite a crucial factor, as it has generally been rather large, between 64.3% and 89.3% (56.2%-81.0% for the Senate). Voting has usually been heavier in the rural, less-developed areas in Central and Eastern Anatolia, perhaps because of the influence of local landlords. This status-quo factor has been offset, however, by the considerable internal migration from village to town and city, on the one hand, and to a lesser extent, by the impact of Turkish workers returning from Europe, on the other. In recent years, the Justice Party and the National Salvation Party have been particularly strong in rural, less developed areas and have consequently enjoyed electoral support there. The Republican People's Party, enjoying more electoral support in the cities, has benefitted in recent elections from population migration into the cities. It is not easy to predict how all this will be affected by the military intervention of 12 September 1980, one of whose first measures was to dissolve both Houses of Parliament in Turkey.

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NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN TURKEY 1950-1977 (by parties, percentages and seats)

Date	Voting Participation	Democrat Party		Democratic Party		Freedom Party		Justice Party		Nation Party		National Salvation Party		Nationalist Action Party		New Turkey Party		Republican Nation Party		Republican Peasants Nation Party		Republican People's Party		Republican Reliance Party		Union Party of Turkey		Workers Party of Turkey		Independents		Total Seats
	%	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	
1950	89.3	53.3	408	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39.9	69	—	—	—	—	—	—	4.8	9	487
1954	88.6	56.6	490	—	—	0.6	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4.8	—	—	—	34.8	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.5	10	535
1957	76.6	47.3	419	—	—	3.8	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7.0	4	—	—	40.6	173	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	2	602
1961	81.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	34.8	158	—	—	—	—	—	—	13.7	65	—	—	14.0	54	36.7	173	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.8	—	450
1965	71.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	52.9	240	6.3	31	—	—	—	—	3.7	19	—	—	2.2	11	28.7	134	—	—	—	—	3.0	15	3.2	—	450
1969	64.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	46.5	256	3.2	6	—	—	3.0	1	2.2	6	—	—	—	—	27.4	143	6.6	15	2.8	8	2.7	2	5.6	13	450
1973	66.8	—	—	11.3	45	—	—	29.8	149	0.6	—	11.8	48	3.4	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	33.3	185	5.3	13	1.1	1	—	—	2.8	6	450
1977	72.4	—	—	1.9	1	—	—	36.9	189	—	—	8.6	24	6.4	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	41.4	213	1.9	3	0.4	—	0.1	—	2.5	4	450

Notes: The Democrat Party was forbidden to participate in politics after the 1960 military intervention. The Democratic Party is a new group which seceded from the Justice Party.
The Nation Party and the Republican Nation Party were run by the same leadership-core, essentially.
The Nationalist Action Party was the new name of the Republican Peasants Nation Party since 1969.
The Workers' Party of Turkey, closed down in 1971, re-entered electoral contests in 1977.

SENATE ELECTIONS IN TURKEY, (by parties, percentages and seats)

Date	Voting Participation	Democratic Party		Justice Party		Nation Party		National Salvation Party		Nationalist Action Party		New Turkey Party		Republican Peasants Nation Party		Republican People's Party		Republican Reliance Party		Union Party of Turkey		Workers Party of Turkey		Independents		Total Seats
	%	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	
1961	81.0	—	—	34.5	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	13.0	27	12.5	16	36.1	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.9	—	150
1964	60.2	—	—	50.3	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.5	—	3.0	—	40.8	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.3	1	51
1966	56.2	—	—	56.9	35	5.3	1	—	—	—	—	2.4	1	1.9	1	29.6	13	—	—	—	—	3.9	1	0.0	—	52
1968	66.3	—	—	49.9	38	6.0	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.0	—	27.1	13	8.6	1	—	—	4.7	—	1.7	—	53
1973	65.3	10.4	—	31.0	22	—	—	12.3	3	2.7	—	—	—	—	—	33.6	25	5.9	1	2.1	—	—	—	2.0	1	52
1975	58.4	3.1	—	40.8	27	—	—	8.9	2	3.2	—	—	—	—	—	43.4	25	—	—	0.5	—	—	—	0.1	—	54
1977	73.8	2.2	—	38.3	21	—	—	8.4	1	6.8	—	—	—	—	—	42.5	28	1.9	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	—	50

Notes: In 1961, elections were held for all 150 Senate seats that were earmarked for election (other Senators were appointed).
Since 1964, elections were held in about a third of the constituencies, for a third of those seats and for those that had become vacant.
The Nationalist Action Party was the new name of the Republican Peasants Nation Party since 1969.

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(iii) *Iran*

No significant representative institutions existed in Iran until the 1906 Revolution, when the Iranian Parliament was established, reflecting the basic intention of the Fundamental Law of 30 December 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Law of 8 October 1907 (both principal components of Iran's first Constitution) to curb the absolute monarchy of the Ḳādjārs. These laws, largely patterned after the Belgian Constitution of 1831, provided for a National Consultative Assembly (*Madjlis-i shūrā-yi millī*), to which was added a Senate (*Madjlis-i Sinā*) in 1949 (first meeting in April 1950). The former body was not only much older, but also far more influential in public life than the latter: it was empowered to discuss all national affairs, pass laws, approve the budget, grant concessions and ratify treaties. The all-Muslim Senate, half of whose 60 Members were nominated by the Shah, was largely intended as a check on the Assembly's powers.

Up to the 1978 revolution, the National Assembly was elected by universal suffrage, excluding the armed forces and convicted criminals but since 1963 including women, who might both vote and be elected. Election was by simple plurality in constituencies. A number of seats were earmarked for Armenians, Assyrians, Jews and Zoroastrians (but only a Muslim might be Prime Minister). In 1957, the number of seats was increased from 136 to 200; it was subsequently raised to 219 and currently (1978) stood at 268. The Assembly's term of office was extended from two to four years (the Senate's term was four years as well) in 1956. The last elections under the Shah's régime were those of 20 June 1975 for the 24th Assembly and the 7th Senate. These were held on one day, whereas formerly they had lasted for weeks and even months. Furthermore, these were the first held under the single-party system. In those elections, all Iranians aged twenty and above could vote in the Assembly elections in 173 constituencies; those aged twenty-five and up could vote for the Senate as well. There were 6,805,647 votes cast for the Assembly, about 51% participation; and 5,834,666 votes for the Senate in 30 constituencies, amounting to nearly 50% of eligible voters. Twenty women entered the Assembly and one the Senate.

The 24 Iranian Assemblies from 1906 to 1978 have had an uneasy and sometimes tumultuous history of in-fighting and of struggling with the Shah for power. The First Assembly began as a nationalist and reformist parliament, which improved fiscal controls and dealt with the administration of justice (including anti-bribery measures) and the organisation of municipalities and provincial councils. Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh forcibly dissolved it in June 1908. The Second Assembly, elected in November 1909, moved in the same direction as its predecessor, reorganising the state bureaucracy, but passing laws on education, health and taxation as well. When it rejected an ultimatum from Tsarist Russia, it too was dissolved in December 1911. The Third and Fourth Assemblies which met during and immediately after the First World War were short-lived and achieved but little. Beginning with the Fifth Assembly, elected in November 1921, Iranian parliaments had to contend with the forceful personality of the new ruler Riḍā Khān, who became Prime Minister in 1923 and the new Shah in 1925. Riḍā Shāh banned all political parties and ensured the subservience of the Assemblies by influencing the elections, silencing potential opposition and circumscribing opportunities for reaching national prominence through the Assembly. Turnover decreased and capable, ambitious persons sought other avenues to power during the term of the Sixth until the Thirteenth Assemblies.

The abdication of Riḍā Shāh in August 1941 immediately released suppressed energies and brought about the creation of political parties and groups and a flurry of Assembly activity. Constant bickering also characterised the Fourteenth Assembly, elected during wartime, which introduced many few faces (nearly half the Members). Unruly behaviour and lack of legislation caused the new Shah, Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlavī, to convince parliament to grant him the right to dissolve the Assembly and add a Senate (1949). Meanwhile, nationalist fervour led to the election of a veteran Member of the Assembly, Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ, as Prime Minister (1951). Muṣaddiḳ worked against the Shah, nationalised oil (which worsened Iran's economy for a time, as it brought about an international boycott) and alienated many of the Shah's sympathisers. Muṣaddiḳ, however, enjoyed less certain support in the Assembly than he did amongst Tehran's population. His dissolving of the Assembly was countered by a pro-government coup, supported by pro-Shah forces. Muṣaddiḳ was arrested and political parties were banned.

More than half the membership of the Eighteenth Assembly, elected in 1954, was new. The Shah consolidated his power and Assembly Members were invited to join one of two court-sponsored parties. In 1961, the Shah dissolved parliament indefinitely and began to rule by decree (promulgating more than 600 laws in two-and-a-half years). A popular referendum approved the Shah's impressive new plans for a "White Revolution", calling for the re-distribution of land, improvement of agriculture and industry, and increasing literacy. When a new Assembly was elected in September 1963, the Ḥizb-i Īrān-i Nuvīn party predominated. This party comprised technocrats and former civil servants; it supported the Court (probably having been initiated by it), identifying with the policies of the Shah and his Ministers. Later on, the Rastakhīz Party followed suit. This co-operation, which characterised all subsequent assemblies, was justified by continuous economic growth and an increase in military power.

In Assembly-Shah relations, the Assembly was in ascendance in 1906-25, when it was a partner in the removal of the Ḳādjār dynasty and again in 1941-53, when a nucleus of its leaders even succeeded in temporarily exiling the Shah. The Shah subdued the Assembly in 1926-41 and again since 1954, mostly because of his prestige and central position, his executive control over legislative recruitment and endemic divisiveness within the Assembly. Even then, Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh has consistently praised the positive role and great importance of parliamentary democracy in Iran. In actual practice, the Assembly had had a long (although mixed) record in legislation, as well as in criticism of the Cabinet and administration (although not of the Shah and armed forces).

The character of the *Madjlis* was determined by the electoral laws, by the bargaining which ensued, and sometimes by official manipulation, but even more so by Iran's socio-economic and political

realities. Indeed, at least until the early 1960s, most political parties in the *Madjlis* were recognisable by their affinity to the person of a leader, rather than their being held together by a cogent ideology. Socio-economic ties were, characteristically, more relevant. Originally, the electoral law institutionalised the situation, by stipulating that the Members of the *Madjlis* were to be elected under a system of indirect balloting, which curtailed popular voting, placing it under the supervision of electoral committees representing six social groups (or classes, *ṭabaḳāt*): nobles, landlords, men of religion, businessmen, traders, and farmers. The 1963 Electoral Law substituted workers and peasants for the first two groups; nevertheless, several members of aristocratic families continued to be elected to the *Madjlis*. Other characteristics were, however, no less evident among *Madjlis* Members: in general, Members of the *Madjlis* had to be well-to-do; in 1906, they were required to be property owners and pay a minimum annual tax. Later on, it was still necessary to be a person of means, in order to assume campaign costs. In addition, they had to be somehow identified with the "Establishment" headed by the Shah and his Court—with the exception of the first few Assemblies, which were essentially revolutionary, and of groups in the Assemblies immediately following the Second World War, which included outspoken members identifying with leftist, ultra-nationalist and extreme religious factions.

The average educational level of *Madjlis* Members has risen steadily: university degree holders made up 62% of the total in the 21st Assembly (1963-7). Landlord representation, although still strong, is declining against an increase in the members of the technical and free professions, with clear emphasis on former mid-to high-ranking government employees (69% of the membership in the 21st Assembly). Mullahs have all but disappeared from the *Madjlis* in recent years. Even so, the *Madjlis* remains an élitist institution, although less so than the Senate. J. A. Bill (in his article, in Lenczowski—see Bibliography) has calculated that during the years 1906-67, the "Forty Families" of Iran have held, between them, 66 seats in the Senate and 410 seats in the Assembly. It is this élitism in membership that secured prestigious character for the Iranian *Madjlis* and warranted—no less than the formal constitution—its participation in the conduct of public affairs. After the "Islamic Revolution" of 1979, the new *Madjlis* opened on 28 May 1980.

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(iv) *ʿIrāḳ.*

The parliamentary history of ʿIrāḳ commenced virtually simultaneously with the inception of the British Mandate. Following the signing of the Anglo-ʿIrāḳi Treaty of 10 October 1922, King Fayṣal I, in a Royal Decree dated 21 October, called for elections to a Constituent Assembly. These elections were held in two stages during 1923 and the first Constituent Assembly, numbering 100 members, was inaugurated by Fayṣal on 27 March 1924. The Assembly's main task was to ratify the 1922 Treaty, to draft an Organic Law—approved by Fayṣal on 21 March 1925—and to adopt an Electoral Law. When this was accomplished, the King dissolved the Assembly.

The Organic Law and the 1924 Electoral Law regulated between them the elections to the Chamber (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and the functions of parliament. Elections were to be held by administrative departments, in two degrees, with every 20,000 male citizens, aged 20 or over returning one Elector. Barred were criminals, the insane, those not paying a minimal state or local tax, policement and soldiers—unless on leave. The Electors, aged 25 or over, elected the Members of the Chambers by simple majority vote, one Member for every 250 Electors. Provision was made for the election of minority ethnic groups in three of ʿIrāḳ's constituencies, as follows: one Christian and two Jews in Baghdād; two Christians and one Jew in Mosul; one Christian and one Jew in Baṣra.

The Organic Law—the basic for ʿIrāḳ's first constitution—established a bicameral parliament (*Madjlis al-umma*), partially based on the British model, consisting of a Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and a Senate (*Madjlis al-aʿyān*). The former was elected, as above, for four years; its membership, originally 88, was increased to 108 in 1935, 118 in 1943 and 135 in 1952. The Senate was appointed by the King for eight years, with half the Senators concluding their term of office every four years (they could be reappointed). The number of Senators, 20 at first, was not to exceed a quarter of the Chamber's size. Deputies had to be aged 30 or over, Senators 40 or over. Both Houses were supposedly equal, although only the Chamber had the right to pass the budget and vote on a no-confidence motion in a Minister or the entire Cabinet. Both Houses passed legislation although it was generally initiated in the Chamber, through several standing committees; joint sessions resolved disagreements. Both Deputies and Senators enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The Cabinet was to be made of Deputies and/or Senators; no Minister could serve more than six months without being (or becoming) a Deputy or Senator. Parliament was to convene in Baghdad for four months a year, from November to the end of February (in practice, it frequently sat for longer periods, due to unfinished business).

In July 1925, Fayṣal nominated the first Senate and convened it together with the recently-elected Chamber for an extraordinary session. Since then, parliamentary life has been characterised by a great deal of controversy. One type of conflict was between the Chamber and the King—first Fayṣal and then his son, Ghāzī (since 1933). The two attempted to influence, if not manipulate, the general elections held in 1928, 1930, 1933, 1935 and 1937, in order to ensure a more compliant parliament; they then tried to assert their power, in defiance of the Chamber. The Chamber invested no little effort in asserting itself against both the King and the British, who were suspected of plotting to perpetuate and even enhance their special status as Mandators of ʿIrāḳ.

Later on, another type of conflict envolved on political and socio-economic grounds. In ʿIrāḳ, as in Syria and about the same time, the two-degree electoral system favoured the influential landowners and their urban allies. Furthermore, the constituency system often helped the same families and groups to obtain perennial representation. With the advent of political parties, chiefly after the Second World War, the power of the established, conservative circles within the Chamber was challenged. Heated arguments were carried on concerning the internal socio-economic situation and ʿIrāḳ's foreign policies towards Arab states and international alignments. Most effective decision-making in ʿIrāḳ took place outside parliament—to a greater extent, perhaps, than in certain other Middle Eastern states. This continued even after ʿIrāḳ had formally obtained its independence in 1932. While parliament was characterised by haranguing, the King and the Cabinet of Ministers continued to be the true foci of power, with the British still very influential; since the mid-1930s the military became increasingly involved in politics as well. While the parliament's low status owed more to the then-prevalent political culture in ʿIrāḳ than to anything else, certain corrective steps, principally of a formal nature, were attempted, especially in electoral reform.

During the early 1940s, electoral reform had been increasingly suggested as a palliative; the Chambers elected since 1939 appointed committees to debate the subject. In 1946, a new electoral law for the Chamber was promulgated. Essentially, it was based on the 1924 Electoral Law, although it modified constituency zoning, increased the representation of ethnic minorities (six Christians and six Jews) and imposed legal restrictions on the arbitrariness of local officials supervising the elections. It did not, however, transform the two-degree system into a one-degree system as was vociferously demanded by those desiring democratisation of the popular vote; this was achieved only by a 1952 decree, later

incorporated into the Electoral Law of 1956. The 1952 decree set membership in the Chamber at 135, including eight Christians (but no Jews), re-dividing ʿIrāḳ into 72 constituencies. The decree also insisted upon secret ballots and regulated the ways and means of electoral propaganda.

Considering the electoral reforms of 1946, 1952 and 1956 as a whole, one tends to attribute them, at least in part, to the increasing pressure of ʿIrāḳi political parties on public life. Of moderate consequence before the Second World War and banned during the War itself, parties were permitted to function once again in 1946; old and new ones alike increased their activity, both in and out of parliament. Concomitantly, the Government and its supporters, obviously considering these parties as rivals, took steps to limit their chances of success in the elections and their power within the Chamber. Various parties boycotted the elections of 1947, 1948 and 1952. The January 1953 elections were particularly unsuitable for free voting: several parties were banned, the press severely censored and martial law imposed in Baghdād. The mood was such that only 57 seats were contested; the others were filled without opposition. As a result, Nūrī al-Saʿīd's Constitutional Union Party came within one seat of winning an absolute majority.

Opposition to suppression and repression by the government became pronounced among various political parties and groups: Kurdish strongholds in the north, Shīʿīs in the Lower Euphrates Valley and residents of the main cities and environs of Baghdād, Mosul and Baṣra. Political and socio-economic ideologies within and without parliament concerning ʿIrāḳ's joining a Western pact (later named "The Baghdad Pact"). The Government decided on new elections, which were duly held on 9 June 1954. These were the first direct elections to be held with ʿIrāḳ not under martial law, thus allowing free electioneering by all major political parties. Although the balloting was not secret, the Constitutional Union Party, still the largest parliamentary group, obtained only 50 seats, losing its majority; but all conservative groups together still managed to obtain a majority (counting many independents); however, the Government considered this situation unsatisfactory and dissolved the Chamber after less than two months, holding new elections on 12 September of the same year. With most parties split over the issue of boycotting the elections, only 13 out of 135 seats were contested. Consequently, the Opposition was heavily defeated; only 7 out of the 32 Opposition Members of the Chamber elected in June were returned again in September. Many, perhaps most of the independents elected in September were partial to Nūrī al-Saʿīd's policies. The Cabinet enforced its position by issuing, on 22 September 1954, an Association Ordinance. This effectively banned some political parties and restricted the activity of others.

Holding three general elections within twenty months and eliminating much of the opposition from the Chamber of Deputies, the Government succeeded in making most opposition extra-parliamentary. The above Association Ordinance drove many civilians and soldiers underground. The 1954 Chamber was even less representative than several of the preceding ones, so that in the following general elections, on 5 May 1958, only 27 seats of the then-expanded Chamber of 143 were contested; the press hardly reported the voting, which was very sparse, in any case, even though women were enfranchised for the first time. Consequently it is hardly surprising that when the military revolution occurred soon afterwards, on 14 July 1958, none came to the Government's assistance.

With the end of the monarchy, the ʿIrāḳi parliament passed into history as well. One of its last acts had been to approve the Arab Union of ʿIrāḳ with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, on 13 May 1958 (the Union's constitution provided for a joint parliament with 20 delegates from each component). The Arab Union, too, disappeared with the 14 July revolution. During the following years, succeeding governments and their spokesmen repeatedly mentioned the establishment of some sort of parliament, but no practical steps towards this end have been taken. A National Council of the Revolutionary Command, formed soon after the revolution, has assumed both executive and legislative functions; its title has changed, but its powers have not. The Provisional Constitution of 27 July 1958 mentioned no parliament. The Interim Constitution of 29 April 1964 spoke of vesting legislative power in a National Assembly. However, this has remained a dead issue so far. A law promulgated on 14 December 1964 amended the constitution with the aim of instituting an advisory body for legislation (each member to be elected by 70,000-100,000 inhabitants). In February 1967, the Government issued an electoral law, with the (unfulfilled) intention of holding elections before May of the same year. When it became effective on 16 July 1970, the Provisional Constitution of September 1968 had an amendment which mentioned the eventual convening of a National Assembly. On 15 November 1972, President al-Bakr issued a National Charter—the basis for a permanent constitution—which once again spelled out the intention of having a 100-member National Assembly, to be nominated by the Revolutionary Command Council. The latter did indeed approve a law instituting such an Assembly in July 1973. It was to be elected by the various political, economic and social organizations in ʿIrāḳ and would legislate in all non-military and non-security matters. ʿIrāḳ's 1974 Constitution repeated this intention. Such ʿIrāḳi leaders as ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim in 1962, ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif in 1965, Prime Minister al-Bazzāz in 1965 and others promised to restore parliament—but to no avail. The Revolutionary Command Council retained all executive and legislative powers.

Revolution leaders of republican ʿIrāḳ have hesitated to restore parliament at least partly because of its very modest success during the monarchy. Parliamentary history in ʿIrāḳ may be divided into two principal periods: before and after independence in 1932; however, its character remained essentially the same throughout both periods. Elections appear to have been mismanaged to such an extent that relations between Chamber and Cabinet were anything but productive of healthy criticism. None of the 59 Cabinets serving from 1921 to 14 July 1958 was ever brought down by a no-confidence vote. A principally landed oligarchy, mostly conservative in outlook, generally supported preservation of the status quo. Political parties, to the extent that they were allowed to run in parliamentary elections, were sometimes corrupt and frequently ineffectual within the Chamber. Indeed, many important decisions were made outside the Chamber, with obvious results for the future of parliamentarism in ʿIrāḳ. Only on 20 June 1980 were general elections held in ʿIrāḳ for a National Assembly. For 250 seats, 840 candidates ran. This was, however, intended

to be mainly a deliberative body, with the final decisions remaining with the Revolutionary Command Council staffed by the Baʿth.

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(v) *Syria*.

The history of parliament in Syria is a turbulent one, not uncharacteristic of this country's political culture in recent years. Indeed, the Syrian parliament has been both an agent of and a contributor to the politics of instability. At first, parliament was dependent upon relations with the authorities of the French Mandate; then, after complete independence was achieved at the end of the Second World War, it became subject to political vicissitudes: constitutions have been proclaimed and abolished and parliaments convened and dissolved.

When Fayṣal entered Damascus in October 1918, with the declared intention of setting up an Arab government, a Syrian Congress was convened, holding three sessions between 3 June 1919 and 19 July 1920. This first experiment at parliamentarism in Syria even considered the draft of a constitution (although it did not have the opportunity to approve it) providing for a bicameral legislature (among other stip-

ulations). Its work was cut short, however, by the armed intervention of the French forces, which instituted the Mandate over Syria.

The parliamentary history of Syria under the French Mandate centres around the struggle between Syrian nationalists, who desired a constitutionally-guaranteed parliament endowed with independent powers, and the French authorities, who sought to limit them. At first, the French authorities experimented with Representative Councils in the various "states" of Syria. Elected in two degrees, these Councils were regarded by Syrian nationalists as partial and even subservient to the French. The 1925-7 revolt convinced the French of the need to reach some accommodation with the Syrians. In February 1928, the French High Commissioner Ponsot charged a moderate provisional government with holding general elections for a Constituent Assembly. These were held in April and the Assembly first met on 9 June. It elected a leading nationalist, Hāshim al-Atāsī, as its Speaker and a draft-commission of 27 to prepare a constitution. The nationalists, although not clearly in the majority, were the only group well-organised in a National Bloc (*al-Kutla al-waṭaniyya*). They inscribed their own views into the Constitution, which was approved by the Constituent Assembly in August 1928. The French objected to several paragraphs, but the Assembly stood firm. The High Commissioner therefore adjourned the Assembly, in February 1929, *sine die* and dissolved it in May 1930. He then proceeded on his own to proclaim the same Constitution, with a few minor changes.

Among its other provisions, the 1930 Syrian Constitution established a 60-member unicameral Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis*), elected every four years and meeting in two sessions of two-and-a-half months annually, from mid-March and from mid-October. Voting was in two stages, each adapted to Syria's administrative divisions, resulting in quite an accurate representation of local, religious and socio-economic interest; it also assisted a well-established oligarchy in obtaining and maintaining control of parliament. Every Syrian male aged 20 years or over was able to vote and every literate Syrian male aged 30 years or over could be a candidate. The number of seats in the Chamber increased over the years according to Syria's population growth. The Chamber's duties were: to legislate, elect the President of the State (for a five-year term), approve the budget and vote confidence in the Government.

The first Chamber, elected in March 1932, met on 7 July of that year. The main subject of dispute between nationalists and moderates concerned relations with France on the nature of Syrian statehood. The Chamber was adjourned again in November 1933 and dissolved in 1934. Only in November 1936 were general elections held. The Chamber was to consist of 86 members, of whom 16 were to represent minority religious denominations and another represented Bedouin tribes. The National Bloc had an overwhelming majority in the Chamber, which convened in December. They elected Hāshim al-Atāsī as State President. The Chamber's most important achievement was to approve a treaty with France, signed by both the Syrian Cabinet and the French High Commissioner but never ratified in Paris. Hopes for Syrian independence were dashed once again—and nationalists both within and without the Chamber reacted accordingly. In July 1939, the High Commissioner suspended the Chamber again, as well as the Constitution, in view of the tense international situation.

The Second World War, in particular the fall of France, strengthened the hand of those Syrians striving for independence. After the Free French and British forces had occupied Syria and Lebanon in 1941, General Catroux, representing de Gaulle, proclaimed Syria's independence on 28 September. Early in 1943, the French, surrendering to nationalist demands, restored the Syrian Constitution of 1930 and ordered general elections. These were held in July and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the National Bloc, now led by Shukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī. The new 124-seat Chamber met on 17 August electing al-Ḳuwwatlī State President. One of the main tasks of this Chamber was to bring about a full French retreat spelling total independence.

The vicissitudes of Mandatory Syrian parliaments continued in independent Syria as well. The first Chamber of independent Syria was elected in May 1947 and sat until dismissed by Colonel Ḥusnī Zaʿīm, who seized power at the end of March 1949. The 1947 Chamber, increased in membership to 140, was elected according to the new Electoral Law of 29 April 1947, which provided a seat for every 6,000 voters or fraction thereof exceeding 3,000 (in reality, only 135 members took office). A local journalist, Ḥabīb Kaḥḥāla, reported later (in his *Dhikrayāt nāʾib*) that this very mixed parliament was merely "a bundle of contradictions" in social composition, organisation, literacy and dress. This certainty could have applied to its ethnic make-up also, for representation took into account the mosaic of minorities. Representation of the National Bloc, which had had a majority in the 1947 Chamber, dwindled to a mere 24 out of 135 seats, while the opposition commanded 53 and the independents 58 seats. Distribution of representation by district and religious denomination was as follows (based on George Haddad—see Bibliography):

The Syrian Chamber of 1947, According to District and Religious Denomination

District	*Muslims*	*Christians*	*Druzes*	*Jews*	*Total*
Damascus	24	4	—	1	29
Ḥims	6	2	—	—	8
Ḥamā	5	1	—	—	6
Aleppo	30	7	—	—	37
Ḥawrān	5	—	—	—	5
Djabal al-Durūz	—	1	3	—	4
al-Lādhiḳiyya	16	2	—	—	18
Euphrates	11	—	—	—	11
al-Djazīra	6	1	—	—	7
Bedouin Tribes	10	—	—	—	10
Total	113	18	3	1	135

Further analysis indicates that the Muslim members comprised 100 Sunnīs, 12 ʿAlawīs and one Ismāʿīlī, while the Christians consisted of seven Greek Orthodox, two Greek Catholics, two Syriac Orthodox, one Syriac Catholic, two Armenian Orthodox, one Armenian Catholic, one Maronite and two other Christians.

The electoral decree of 10 September 1949 stipulated a seat in the Chamber for every 30,000 inhabitants, or fraction thereof exceeding 15,000 and lowered the voting age to eighteen. Nevertheless, membership was set at 114—100 Muslims and 14

Christians—thus modifying the overall ratio only insignificantly. This Christian presence in the Chamber (and in Syria in general) most likely prevented the Chamber from proclaiming Islam as state religion in the 1950 Constitution, adopting instead a formula which established Islam as the religion of the Head of State (essentially repeating the text of the 1930 Constitution). No less significantly, in the November 1949 elections Syria proved to be the first Arab state to enfranchise women (albeit only those holding at least an elementary school certificate). In November 1949, elections were held for a Constituent Chamber, rapprochement with ʿIrāḳ being one of the main electoral issues The National Bloc and several other parties boycotted these elections, suspecting the military of mismanaging them. The People's Party thus achieved a plurality of 50 seats, while another 5 seats apiece were won by the Republican and by the Renaissance Party respectively and another 54 (nearly half of the total membership) by independents. The most useful task of this Constituent Chamber was most likely the drafting and subsequent approval of a new constitution on 5 September 1950, following which the Constituent Chamber became the Chamber of Deputies.

The 1950 Constitution did not differ essentially from that of 1930, insofar as the legislature was concerned. The unicameral Chamber of Deputies was to be elected every four years by direct universal suffrage of Syrians aged eighteen and over; candidates, however, had to be male. The Chamber was to sit twice a year for a total of five-and-one-half months in public sessions (unless otherwise decided). Legislation was the Chamber's prerogative (although it could also be initiated by the State President). The Chamber elected the State President for a five-year term; Chamber interpellations and votes of confidence controlled the Cabinet, whose Ministers could be Members of the Chamber. All Members enjoyed parliamentary immunity.

Adīb al-Shīshaklī, the Colonel who had engineered the third coup d'état in 1949, dissolved the Chamber on 29 November 1951, sensing correctly that it could hamper his dictatorship. Under his guidelines, a draft for a new constitution was prepared and approved by a popular referendum on 10 July 1953. The 1953 Constitution strengthened the Executive at the expense of the Legislature. The three principal limitations on the attributes of the Chamber were: (a) The Chamber no longer elected the State President; (b) The Constitution abolished the post of Prime Minister and made the Cabinet responsible to the State President alone; and (c) The Chamber was to convene from October to February only; during the remainder of the year, a token Chamber, composed of 25% of its total membership, would deliberate and legislate.

Under the provisions of this constitution, elections to a new Chamber are held on 9 October 1953. Suffrage was universal: any Syrian citizen aged 18 and over could vote and any Syrian citizen aged 25 and over could stand for election. One member would be elected for every 30,000 inhabitants. Not unexpectedly, Shīshaklī's own party, the Arab Liberation Movement, obtained 72 out of a total of 82 seats; one of the remaining seats went to the Syrian Social National Party and another nine to independents. However, the 1953 Constitution and the 1953 Chamber remained only brief episodes in Syria's parliamentary history. After Shīshaklī's downfall on 25 February 1954, the Chamber of 1949, dissolved in 1951, re-convened. One of its first acts was to re-establish the 1950 Constitution and restore the parliamentary regime in Syria.

General elections were held again, on 24-5 September (with a new round, for undecided seats, on 4-5 October) 1954, for a new Chamber of 142 members: 126 Muslims—including 9 Bedouins—and 16 Christians. This time, however, no special seats were earmarked for any religious or other groups. Apart from dealing with internal issues, this electoral campaign was largely concerned with Syria's joining a Western-inspired defence treaty. The elections themselves were characterised by their free atmosphere; secrecy was enforced for the first time. The results were as follows: People's Party—30, the Baʿth—22, National Party—19, Popular Syrian Party—2, Cooperative Socialist Party—2, Arab Liberation Movement—2, Communists—1, and independents 64 (or 45% of the total membership). The Chamber met in November 1954 and functioned until Syria's union with Egypt in February 1958; it came closer than any preceding Chamber to completing its four-year term and legislated energetically. It ceased to exist with the establishment of the United Arab Republic, when Syrians sent 200 of the joint parliament's 600 members to Cairo (see Egypt, below).

After Syria seceded from the UAR, on 28 September 1961, its separate parliamentary life was soon restored. General elections were held on 1-2 December, with a simultaneous referendum on a new provisional constitution (approved by a 97.6% majority). Voting for the Chamber was secret and free; despite Egyptian appeals to boycott the elections, participation reached 63%—the highest in Syrian parliamentary elections. The outcome was again a sharply-divided Chamber, lacking a comfortable working majority: the People's Party received about 22% of the vote, with 14% for the National Party (heir to the National Bloc), besides 32% independents and several smaller groups. The Cabinet, based on broad right-of-centre support in the Chamber, aimed to rescind the nationalisation decrees and the agrarian reform of the UAR era. Displeased military groups repeatedly intervened in politics, leading to the dissolution of the Chamber, at the end of March 1962 and then to the seizure of power by the Baʿth Movement, in March 1963.

The Baʿth, in power since then (despite factional strife and personal changes), has altered perceptibly the structure and functions of parliament, rendering it subservient to the Executive. At the beginning of the Baʿth régime, a National Council of the Revolutionary Command (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī li-ḳiyādat al-thawra*) was established, comprising military officers. Under a provisional constitution, this council—both executive and legislative— exercised the real power. In 1964, it was renamed The National Revolutionary Council (NRC) and was expanded to 95 members, mostly civilians: 20 ranking Baʿth officials, five members of the former National Council of the Revolutionary Command, five representatives of the military, 14 trade unionists, 13 peasants, seven women representatives, seven representatives of the teachers' union, five selected from the free professions, two university professors and 17 "progressive citizens". NRC, Syria's parliament, could enact laws (its main function), pass the Budget, amend the constitution, supervise referenda and elect a five-man Presidential Council—the principal executive body. In February 1966, NRC was expanded from 95 to 134 members, ousting

30 and adding 69, thus changing the balance of power. Two weeks later, a military coup by Ṣalāḥ al-Djadīd put an end to this experiment and dissolved NRC; legislative authority was henceforth vested in the President's office and in the Cabinet. However, on 1 May 1969, a new constitution was promulgated by the Regional Command of the Baʿth. This stipulated the establishment of a People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-shaʿb*), to be elected for a four-year term, by a method to be determined. Its main attributes were to be the drafting of a permanent constitution, approving laws, debating the budget, ratifying agreements and treaties, electing the State President, and interpellating Ministers. This constitution, however, was never put into practice.

During the rule of Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad, from 1970 to date (1978), the character of the Syrian parliament was changed to suit even more the socialist ideology of Asad's faction within the Baʿth. Under the amended Provisional Constitution of 1971—promulgated as permanent on 31 January 1973—legislative powers are vested in a People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-shaʿb*), comprising 173, then 186 and finally (since 1977) 195 members, elected by popular associations and trade unions, with the proviso that at least half of the members be peasants and workers. The People's Assembly is elected every four years by secret ballot in constituencies, convening for three sessions annually. In theory, the People's Assembly passes all laws; the State President, who may veto its laws, must nevertheless submit to the Assembly's will if it passes the same law again by a two-thirds majority. In addition, the Constitution grants the People's Assembly the following powers: to approve the candidate for Presidency of the Republic, debate government policy, withdraw confidence from Ministers, approve the budget and ratify all foreign agreements and treaties concerning state security. In practice, the Assembly has generally limited itself to discussing matters of internal relevance, displaying little if any independence of the Executive. The Syrians were not unaware of this: in the 1973 and 1977 elections for the People's Assembly, only a small part of the eligible voters participated.

The People's Assembly nominated by Syria's President, Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad, in February 1971, consisted of 87 Baʿthists, or just over half of the total 173; another 36 represented the General Union of Peasants. In the Assembly elected on 25 May 1973, the Baʿthists numbered at least 111 out of a total 186, while another 46 labelled themselves independents; 97 of the total number of seats had been earmarked for peasants and workers. In the Assembly elected on 1-2 August 1977, Baʿthists numbered 125 out

Occupations of Members in the Syrian Chamber, 1919-1954

Chamber of	1919		1928		1932		1936		1943		1947		1949		1953		1954		Totals	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Public service																				
Central Admin.	5	24	6	12	9	16	9	9	6	5	2	2	6	6	6	9	4	3	53	7
Judiciary	1	5	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	6	5	2	2	3	4	5	4	22	3
Local Admin.			2	4	3	5	5	5	4	4	4	3	3	3	1	1	4	3	25	3
Professors											3	2	3	3	1	1	3	2	10	1
School Teachers											2	2	4	4	2	3	4	3	12	2
Gov't. Doctors and Engineers													2	2	1	1	1	1	4	1
Diplomats											2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	8	1
Military			2	2			5	5	3	3	1	1			1	1			12	2
ʿUlamā'	2	10	4	8	2	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	2			2	2	17	2
Total public	8	38	15	29	16	28	23	24	15	14	21	17	24	23	17	25	25	20	164	22
Private																				
Lawyers	2	10	7	13	3	5	10	10	11	10	18	15	15	14	11	16	26	20	103	14
Physicians			3	6	1	2	4	4	3	3	5	4	4	4	8	12	5	4	33	4
Journalists and Writers			1	2	3	5	1	1	4	4	6	5	5	5	1	1	5	4	26	3
Other Free Professions							1	1							3	4	3	2	7	1
Merchants and Bankers	1	5	3	6	3	5	5	5	5	5	6	5	7	7	2	3	5	4	37	5
Industrialists									7	6	3	2	2	2	3	4	1	1	16	2
Rural Landlords	7	33	13	25	23	40	30	31	42	38	40	33	30	29	16	24	33	26	234	31
Tribal-notables	1	5	6	12	7	12	19	20	18	16	20	17	15	14	6	9	21	16	113	15
Professional Politicians	2	10	4	8	2	3	4	4	5	5	3	2	3	3			4	3	27	4
Total private	13	62	37	71	42	72	74	76	94	85	101	83	81	77	50	75	103	80	596	78
Total Known	21	100	52	100	58	100	97	100	110	100	122	100	105	100	67	100	128	100	760	100
Unknown	38		20		12		9		13		14		9		15		15		145	
Total Seats	59		72		70		106		123		136		114		82		143		905	

(Source: Winder, in *MEJ*, xvii (1963), 50)

of a total 195; another 36 labelled themselves independents, and 99 of the total number of seats had been earmarked for peasants and workers.

The history of Syrian parliaments is not easily divided into distinct periods. Nevertheless, it may be divided into three main eras: (a) The French Mandate, during which time the Chambers were distinguished by the struggle for Syrian sovereignty and independence; (b) Independence, when Chambers were marked by even deeper internal strife with determined efforts by the Cabinet and the party (or parties) to gain power, at the Chamber's expense, against equally determined opposition; and (c) Dependence, first on Egypt, during the UAR years, then on the guidelines set for it by the Baʿth-military coalition which governed Syria after the UAR broke apart. One may conclude with some justification that the role of parliament in Syria has diminished, from one era to the other, at least regarding its impact on public decision-making.

Syrian parliamentarians were characterised by factors besides distinct and religious denomination (which were relevant during the first two eras of the Chamber). An investigation of these periods based on Winder—see Bibliography) concludes as follows: (a) Parliamentarians were youthful—the median age (at time of entering each Chamber) was between 39 and 46; this was perhaps chiefly due to a fairly large turnover; (b) The proportion of Members with university education rose consistently, reaching 48% of the Chamber in 1954; there was also a steady rise in the proportion of those exposed to Western culture, particularly with respect to facility in foreign languages; and (c) With regard to occupations of members, rural landlords have continuously comprised the largest single group; the tribal-notable group was regularly second or third in size. Together they dominated the Chamber and generally appeared to form a conservative, pro-status quo force. Lawyers were, no doubt, an important group, gradually increasing in size and becoming second only to the landlords. On the other hand, very few Members were either *ʿulamāʾ* or military officers.

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(vi) *Lebanon.*

The Lebanese parliament was first initiated by the French Mandatory authorities in 1922. It was intended to support the Mandate, but gradually became more independent and attracted various leaders of public opinion, thus enabling it to work for independence during the Second World War. Its weakness, however, became increasingly more apparent since the achievement of Lebanese statehood in 1943 and of complete independence in 1945 —when the French departed and all responsibilities of government passed into Lebanese hands.

Although the Lebanese parliament contributed only modestly to policy-making and was inefficient as a check on both the executive and the bureaucracy, it has been an integral part of the political system nonetheless. Its powers have been hampered constantly by the lack of public consensus on central issues, the personal character of politics, the important role of religious communities and the peculiarities of the electoral system. These constraints have hindered the Lebanese parliament from fulfilling the role of conflict-resolution; rather, it has assumed a role of conflict-accommodation which, in practice, frequently meant conflict-postponement.

Lebanon's Constitution, unwritten guidelines (usually called the "National Pact" of 1943), government structure, parliamentary system and elections, as well as many of the laws, are peculiarly suited to an involved complex of rivalries and based on the desire to maintain an equilibrium between them —with at least a semblance of consensus. The electoral system in particular has harmonised with traditional pluralism. Constantly relying on the need for compromise, the Lebanese parliamentary system has consequently displayed weakness. Checks and balances are considered essentially desirable in democratic regimes. However, distribution of key positions in Lebanon among various religious denominations, although allowing for much-needed compromise, does not necessarily ensure smooth effective functioning either within or without parliament.

The character of the Lebanese parliament was essentially determined early during the French Mandatory period. In March 1922, the Mandatory authority instituted a consultative Representative Council of 30 members, to be elected in two degree-voting by male suffrage. Seventeen of its seats were earmarked for Christians and 13 for Muslims. Thus representation by denominational groups became institutionalised in the legislature; it was soon to be the main organisational feature of the entire public administration. A second Representative Council was elected in 1925. Two days after the promulgation of the 1926 Constitution, it became Lebanon's Chamber of Deputies. A 16-member Senate (seven of them appointed by the State President, the others elected) was established to check this Chamber; the two houses fused in 1927.

In 1926, the Representative Council adopted a constitution which, as amended, has essentially remained in force to date. The main provisions concerning the legislature were as follows: in addition to the Senate, elected for six years, a Chamber would be elected, in two degrees, for four years; its two annual sessions would be of two and two and one-half months duration, respectively. The formal powers of parliament were legislation (which could also be initiated by the executive); approving the budget and taxation; electing the State President, for three years (since 1929—for six years); supervising the Cabinet (by interpellations and no-confidence votes) and amending the constitution.

The unicameral body, the Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) still kept its partly-appointed character for some time, undoubtedly in order to ensure compliance; between one third and two-fifths of the membership was appointed by the Lebanese President and Cabinet. Since the 1943 general election, the entire Chamber is elected. The final denominational ratio in parliament dates from 1943, the year when the Chamber set it at 30 Christians and 25 Muslims and Druzes. This ratio of 6:5 has remained unchanged, although the actual numbers have varied. There were 55 members after the 1947 elections (the first after the evacuation of the French), followed by 77 (1951), 44 (1953) and 66 (1957). The number of members was set at 99 for the 1960 elections and did not change for the 1964, 1968 or 1972 elections (no elections were held in 1976, due to the civil war). The following is the official, pre-determined breakdown by religious denominations.

Denominational makeup of the Lebanese Chamber (1960, 1964, 1968 and 1972 Elections)

Christians		*Muslims and Druzes*		*Grand Total*
Maronites	30	Sunnīs	20	
Greek Orthodox	11	Shīʿīs	19	
Greek Catholic	6	Druzes	6	
Armenian Orthodox	4			
Armenian Catholic	1			
Protestant	1			
Smaller groups	1			
Total	54		45	99

This ratio no longer reflects the demographic breakdown of Lebanon's population (the last census was taken before the Second World War). This has been only partly offset by frequent changes in the number of electoral constituencies and the resultant re-zoning. Since 1960, these have corresponded to the state's administrative districts; a serious attempt has thus been made to represent Lebanon's regions fairly and still keep the religious denominations reasonably happy. Each district now elects from two to eight Members of the Chamber (the only single-Member district is Ṣaydā) according to a pre-determined breakdown by denomination (roughly reflecting the assumed ratio). For example, the district identical with the city of Tripoli elects four Sunnīs and one Greek Orthodox. Similarly-composed slates of candidates (in the above example, of four Sunnīs and one Greek Orthodox) run against each other. Single candidates may also compete, although they have consistently met with little success. Every eligible voter in the district, whatever his denomination, votes for the candidate or slate of his choice, provided he observes the denominational breakdown prescribed by law. An obvious advantage of the system is that, on the one hand, it compels candidates to ally themselves with others from different denominations and on the other, to show moderation and refrain from antagonising any particular denomination in the district. A possible drawback is that many Members of the Chamber are rather tame individuals who have run as compromise candidates. Political parties competing in these elections are under the same constraint in forming slates of candidates by denominations, thus possibly limiting their activities.

Emphasis on a denominational "key system" has

served as an obstacle to structural political change—for better or worse, depending on one's viewpoint. It has also bred antagonism, hardly mitigated in the Chamber by the above electoral arrangements: loyalty to affiliation to a religious denomination is only one variable in parliamentary politics. When Members do not vote by religious denomination, they take sides according to the local interests of their constituencies. There are also ideological differences in the Chamber, of which the longest-standing has been support for Lebanon as a separate political entity versus a union or federation with one or more Arab states. Furthermore, there is competition among the political parties, which frequently, although not always, are identified with the respective denominations; in the 1960s, only one-quarter to one-third of the Members were officially affiliated to parties. Within the wide scope of denominations, one finds smaller, feudal-loyalty groups as well. Personal parties are also often identified with denominations (chiefly Christian) as are several ideological ones, such as the Phalangists or Progressive Socialist Party; the Baʿth and several others, however, are not so, identified.

Under the aggregate pressure of denominational, local, ideological and party competition, as well as personal rivalry, the Lebanese Chamber has been fracile and cautious—and consequently limited in policy-making. It expects that a good share of the decision-making and executive policies be carried out by a Cabinet, whose Ministers are drawn from the Chamber and which works closely with the State President. Even legislation has been a lengthy and sometimes inconclusive process, although its overall record is impressive; during the years 1953-72 the Chamber passed 2,106 bills (or an average of 105 annually). The Chamber has often skirted divisive issues, at least insofar as decision-making is concerned. On the whole, its role appears to have been chiefly deliberative; argumentation in the Chamber displays a high level of competitiveness, within the framework of political and cultural pluralism. However, this has afforded satisfaction only to the participants themselves rather than to those Lebanese who have no access to it and to disenfranchised groups, such as the Palestinian refugees, who have been largely instrumental in using extra-parliamentary, increasingly violent ways to make themselves heard. By 1975 they had succeeded in fracturing the delicate minimum consensus concerning Lebanese polity and shattering the precarious status-quo of which the Chamber had been both an exponent and an advocate. It is symptomatic that two earlier serious national conflicts—in 1952 and 1958—were settled by the Chamber's agreeing on the election of a State President. During the civil war (since 1975), the Chamber has met several times, in order to elect a new State President (in June 1976); it has accomplished little else, however, not really succeeding at resolution of the conflicts which keep violence alive. Its inability to agree on action in urgent issues has prevented the Chamber from taking a stand, also, on an important suggestion of President Farandjiyya (in a speech on 14 February 1976). He then suggested altering the Muslim-Christian ratio in the Chamber from 5:6 to 1:1; the Chamber, however, has not even debated this.

The socio-economic composition of Lebanese Parliaments has had little to do with the rate of voter participation. While countrywide participation has usually been between 50 and 61 per cent (women were enfranchised in 1953), rural turnout has regularly been proportionately higher than the urban, possibly due to recruitment by landowners and local leaders. In addition, rural districts have had a slight relative edge in the seats allocated them in the Chamber. The reason seems to be that the Lebanese Chamber is an exclusive club, reserved in practice for those with better-than-average education who can afford the registration fee and campaign expenditures. Indeed, every slate of candidates includes at least one who finances the campaign; he is generally a prosperous businessman hankering for political power (incidentally, this has provided an avenue for the nouveaux riches to penetrate the power system, avoiding a cleavage between the political and economic élites). The outcome, however, has been that the well-to-do generally represent the poor. Even among the former, however, there are meaningful differences in socio-economic make-up, as the following table (based on Hudson and Harik, see bibliography) indicates:

The shift is most interesting: landlords comprised the largest single group between 1943 and 1953; lawyers predominated in 1957. The business and professional groups made up more than half the membership betweent hem. Otherwise stated, the top political élite in the first decade of the Republic failed to hold its own in parliament; the typical Member of the Chamber nowadays is an educated person of upper or middle income, actively engaged in business, law or some other free profession.

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Socio-economic composition of Lebanese Chambers

	1943		1947		1951		1953		1957		1960		1964		1968		1972	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Landlords	31	53	29	53	36	45	18	41	22	33	26	27	28	28	28	17	20	14
Lawyers	23	39	17	31	29	36	20	45	26	39	27	27	30	30	44	27	38	27
Businessmen	19	32	14	25	28	35	12	27	12	18	27	27	31	31	45	27	48	34
Professionals	15	25	15	27	23	29	13	30	19	29	43	43	42	42	48	29	35	25

(In several cases, the figures may add up to more than the number of Members or to more than 100%, as more than one occupation was listed).

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(vii) *Jordan*.

The Emirate of Transjordan, carved out by ʿAbd Allāh in 1921 and recognised by the British as such in May 1923, has displayed strong British influence in its parliamentary structure and procedure, both during the Emirate itself and in the subsequent independent Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan (further: Jordan).

As early as July 1923, ʿAbd Allāh formed by decree a Committee to prepare an electoral law for a representative assembly. The law was ready in June 1924, although the entire Assembly project was postponed, reportedly due to British discouragement of the idea. In October 1926, a group of notables was convened to prepare another electoral law, meeting with similar results. More tangible progress was achieved, however, after the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty was signed on 20 February 1928. In accordance with

this Treaty, an Organic Law was promulgated on 16 April setting up a Legislative Council (*Madjlis tashrīʿī*), to be elected for three years by two-degree male suffrage. It was to consist of 16 Members, with guaranteed representation for the Christians (3), Circassians (2) and Bedouins (2). There was no Cabinet responsibility towards the Council. Laws passed by the latter required the approval of both the Emir and the British Resident, while the Council could not override the Emir's veto.

Despite repeated protests by nationalists that the Council was in effect merely consultative and unrepresentative of the people, it remained the basic instrument of parliamentary activity until 1946. In actual practice, it demonstrated greater independence than had been anticipated. The first Council demanded and obtained immunity and freedom of debate for its Members and was dissolved by the Emir on 9 February 1931, when it refused to approve the financing of the Desert Patrol. The lesson was not lost and the following four Councils appear to have been considerably less oppositionist towards the Emir.

Following the new Anglo-Jordanian Treaty of 22 March 1946, which recognised Jordan's independence with ʿAbd Allāh as its King, a new constitution and an appropriate electoral law were promulgated. The constitution provided for a bicameral National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*). The Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) was to consist of 20 Members (12 Muslims, 4 Christians, 2 tribal representatives and 2 for the Circassians and Sheshans), elected by all male Jordanian citizens aged 18 or over. Candidates had to be at least 30 years of age; they were required to deposit a sum of money which would be forfeited in case of failure to be elected. The Senate (*Madjlis al-aʿyān*) was to number precisely half the membership of the Chamber and was to be appointed by the King, for eight years, from among more mature persons (at least 40 years of age), with half the Senators completing their terms every four years (as in ʿIrāḳ).

General elections were held on 20 October 1947, over the objections of nationalist circles that the King retained too much power under the 1947 Constitution and the Cabinet was not responsible to the Chamber. The only party running, the government-sponsored *al-Nahḍa* ("Revival"), obtained 4 seats; other seats were won by independents, also identified with the Establishment. In general, this Chamber —dissolved on 1 January 1950—was no different in character and tone from the Legislative Councils it had superseded.

More substantive change occurred after Jordan's annexation of a part of the West Bank in 1950 and the granting of citizenship (including the franchise) to its inhabitants. Since then, the political history of Jordan has been largely the struggle between an embattled monarchy and its Palestinian subjects. One of the fronts of this struggle was the Chamber (a cautious nomination policy prevented clashes in the Senate), practically the sole forum for uninhibited criticism and unhampered propaganda. General elections were held on 11 April 1950, with high voter participation, reportedly about 70 %. With the increased number of eligible voters, the Chamber's membership was increased in 1950 to 40, equally divided between East Jordanians and West Bankers. The latter also obtained 7 seats in the Jordanian Senate, whose membership was expanded to 20. The system favoured East Jordan by minimising representation of the more populous West Bank. Nevertheless, the West Bankers—who were more politically-conscious and less attached to the Royal House than the East Jordanians—ultimately altered much of the Chamber's character. Most of the Chamber's West Bankers introduced an ideological dimension both into electioneering and the Chamber's deliberations through their relations with political parties. This was so even when those parties were not legally permitted to run, which was virtually the general practice (since 1957, all parties have been banned). The following table illustrates the party affiliations of Members of the Chamber during the first twelve years after the enfranchisement of the West Bankers (based on Abu Jaber, see Bibliography).

The first Chamber to comprise West Bankers (Jordan's second since independence) had a nucleus of six or seven oppositionists, all West Bankers who, although a minority in the Chamber, often took the lead in the debates. Briefly stated, this Chamber behaved much as did the first Legislative Council in 1931. It refused to pass the budget and consequently was dissolved by the King in May 1951, with new elections called for 29 August. Although ʿAbd Allāh was assassinated on 20 July 1951, the August 1951 elections were held on time (with a voter participation of about 50%). In the new Chamber, the Opposition was even stronger and numbering about 14 of the 20 West Bankers. It was also more vociferous and passed a new constitution on 8 January 1952, which made the Cabinet (singly and jointly) responsible to parliament: a two-thirds majority no-confidence vote in the Chamber was to result in the dismissal of the Cabinet. Furthermore, the 1952 Constitution provided for legislation in both Houses and a joint session in case of disagreement; the King's veto could be overriden if each House re-adopted the law by a two-thirds majority. Foreign treaties and financial agreements were to be ratified in parliament. Immunity was reaffirmed and interpellation of Ministers introduced.

Parties in the Jordanian Chamber 1950-1961

Party	Second Chamber 20/4/50-3/5/51	Third Chamber 1/9/51-22/6/54	Fourth Chamber 17/10/54-26/6/56	Fifth Chamber 14/10/56-20/10/61
National Socialists	10	11	1	11
Communists	2	2	2	3
Baʿth	2	3	—	2
Arab Constitutional	8	9	17	4
Community (*al-Umma*)	2	1	—	1
Muslim Brethren	—	—	4	4
Liberation (*Taḥrīr*)	—	—	1	1
Independent Candidates	16	14	15	14
Total	40	40	40	40

The increase in the legislature's powers and concomitant curtailment of those of the Executive were noteworthy, even though in practice King Ḥusayn and the Cabinet frequently succeeded in circumventing these constitutional provisions during the turbulent years which followed. Nevertheless these provisions remained a frame of reference for the Opposition, which soon demanded and passed a constitutional amendment that established a simple majority (instead of two-thirds) as sufficient for a vote of no-confidence. Alarmed, the Palace dissolved the Chamber in January 1954, and reportedly rigged the general elections of 16 October 1954 (in which participation was about 57%). This election brought in a more compliant Chamber: (half of the Members of the previous Chamber were defeated and only 3 out of 18 Opposition Members were re-elected). Consequently, about 35 (of the 40) Members were loyal to the Government; much of the opposition became extra-parliamentary, with foreign elements allegedly inciting mob violence.

The general elections of 21 October 1956 almost entirely concerned foreign issues, and brought in the most radically nationalist Chamber until then. Most matters involved a traditional, pro-Western orientation versus a Pan-Arab (i.e., pro-Egyptian) policy. The King, favouring the former trend, won this contest of ideologies and succeeded in replacing some of the more radical Members of the Chamber. Meanwhile, the Chamber's membership had been raised to 50 and that of the Senate to 25. Elections to all subsequent Chambers were reportedly influenced by the Government and the Chambers were considerably more conservative politically. Although not always docile (several had to be dissolved), Chambers generally did find a *modus vivendi* with King and Cabinet.

In the general elections for the Sixth Chamber, held on 22 October 1961, only about a tenth of the electorate participated. Under the new Electoral Law of 22 May 1960, the Chamber's seats had been increased to 60 (with 10 earmarked for Christians and 2 for Circassians) and the Senate's to 30 (in both cases, half of the seats were earmarked for West Bankers). However, only 20 seats were contested in the 1961 elections. The Chamber was dissolved on 1 October 1962; general elections for the Seventh Chamber were held on 24 November. These elections were freer in nature and about 70% of the electorate participated. The Chamber was still politically moderate, perhaps due to the official ban on political parties. Still, it was bold enough to bring down the Cabinet in April 1963 and was consequently dissolved. During this period, the Baʿth had taken over in both ʿIrāḳ and Syria, firing the imagination of Pan-Arab nationalists in Jordan as well. Elections for the Eighth Chamber were held on 8 July 1963 and for the Ninth on 15 April 1967. Both elections yielded fairly conservative Chambers, probably the result of manipulation, with 21 and 7 candidates, respectively, returned unopposed.

Since the Six-Day War of June 1967, there have been no parliamentary elections in the Israeli-held West Bank, although some West Bankers visited ʿAmmān and assumed their seats in both Chamber and Senate several times. Since 1967, the ratio between East Jordanians and West Bankers has been maintained through the tactic of having Members decide how to fill vacant seats. Ḥusayn has continued to appoint Palestinians to the Cabinet, although the key Ministries have gone to East Jordanians. Lately, seeking to broaden its popular East Bank representation, the Jordanian Cabinet—acting on instruction from King Ḥusayn—decided (1 April 1973) to amend the state's electoral law in order to grant women both passive and active voting rights for the Chamber. Keeping Jordan's options open concerning its future relations with the West Bank, the Chamber—on the King's initiative—passed a constitutional amendment which empowered the King to dissolve the Senate as well and to postpone general elections for a period of up to one year. On 5 February 1976, the two Houses were called upon to approve another amendment, empowering the King to postpose the elections *sine die* and, meanwhile, to reconvene parliament as required.

However, the semblance of a king governing in consultation with his people had to be maintained. On 13 April 1978, Ḥusayn requested his government to enact a temporary law, providing for a National Consultative Council to assist the Executive. The new Council, nominated Governorate by Governorate, ought to comprise legal and competent persons, representing various public sectors. On 17 April, a royal decree promulgated the law instituting the National Consultative Council (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī al-istishārī*). It stipulated that the Council would be composed of 60 nominated Members, men and women, Jordanians, aged 30 or over, not simultaneously employed elsewhere, nor Senators. Its duties were to study and discuss all draft laws and advise the Cabinet before it approved them. The Members of the Council had full authority to demand explanations from the Ministers, on any subject, and to speak freely. The Council would be formed every two years. The King had the right to dissolve it at any time, or relieve a Member of his position. The Council was to be dissolved automatically when the suspended parliament was revived, after new elections.

There are apparently three main periods in Jordan's parliamentary history. During the first, when the country was still called Transjordan, the Emirate's Legislative Council was generally compliant with ʿAbd Allāh's wishes. During the second, commencing with independence and the annexation of the West Bank, the Chamber of Deputies (although not the Senate) witnessed the growth of a real Opposition. The Opposition, comprising part of the West Bankers' contingent, was concerned less with socio-economic affairs than with essentially political ones, chiefly relating to foreign policy, such as the non-recognition of Israel, a tougher border policy and the strengthening of Jordan's relations with one or more of the Arab states. The third era begins in 1967, when Jordan rules the West Bank no more and West Bank connexions with the parliament in ʿAmmān, although still extant, become weaker and less frequent.

The character of the Jordanian legislature has been markedly conservative, particularly during the first period, although later on as well, due to the regulation that gave the right-of-vote to tax-payers only. The Legislative Councils elected between 1931 and 1946 always comprised the same people (or their relatives)—all belonging to thirty six leading families. In the Chambers of Deputies elected between 1947 and 1967, despite the addition of the West Bankers and the increase in the number of Members, only 230 individuals, representing 183 prominent famlies, occupied the available 437 seats (details correct only for candidates originally elected, not for replacements).

This explains why the socio-economic character of the Chambers in the second period varied but

little. As to the educational level, West Bankers surprisingly had only a slight edge over the East Jordanians in the Chamber, perhaps because the latter sent some of their best men there (the less educated came from amongst the Bedouin). Even these differences disappeared by the mid-1960s with the overall increase in the educational level of the Chambers, as illustrated in the following table (based on Abu Jaber—see Bibliography).

Comparison of the level of education of members of the Second and Fifth Jordanian Chamber of Deputies

Level	Second Chamber 1950-1951		Fifth Chamber 1956-1961	
Elementary	5	12.5%	3	7.5%
Secondary	10	25.0%	13	32.5%
College	21	52.5%	23	57.5%
Illiterate	1	2.5%	1	2.5%
Unknown	3	7.5%	0	0
Total	40	100%	40	100%

Bibliography: The proceedings of the Legislative Council have appeared as *Mudhākarāt al-madjlis al-tashrīʿī al-Urdunnī*, ʿAmmān 1929-1946. Since 1947, they have appeared, in ʿAmmān, as *Mudhākarāt madjlis al-nuwwāb* and *Mudhākarāt madjlis al-aʿyān*. The laws passed by the Jordanian parliament are published in the official gazette, *al-Djarīda al rasmiyya* or its *Mulḥaḳ* (supplement). An English translation of many of them has been published by C. R. W. Seton, *Legislation of Transjordan 1918-1930*, i ii, London n.d. [1931]. See also Giannini, *Le costituzioni* ..., 385-422; Davis, 303-24; Davis², 235-66; E. Wright, *Abdallah's Jordan: 1947-1951*, in *MEJ*, v/4 (Autumn 1951), 439-60; *Constitution of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, in *ibid.*, vi/2 (Spring 1952), 228-40; King ʿAbdallah of Jordan, *My memoirs completed* (*al Takmilah*), Washington, D.C. 1954, 13-22; Giannini, *Nuove costituzioni* ..., 54-70; R. K. Blandin, *Jordanie*, Givors 1955, 99-102; Levin, 93-128; al-Sayyid Ṣabrī, 279-87; Godchot, 263-87; France—Présidence du Conseil—Direction de la Documentation, *Constitution de la Fédération arabe* (*Iraq et Jordanie*) (*19 Mars 1958*), Paris 1958 (= *Notes et Études Documentaires*, 2413); A. Dearden, *Jordan*, London 1958, 95-109, 125 ff.; G. L. Harris, *Jordan: its people, its society, its culture*, New York 1958, 90-1; R. Patai, *The Kingdom of Jordan*, Princeton, N.J. 1958, 46-7, 92-3; Munīb al-Māḍī and Sulaymān Mūsā, *Taʾrīkh al-Urdunn fi 'l-ḳarn al-ʿishrīn*, n.p. 1959; B. Shawdran, *Jordan: a state of tension*, New York 1959, 171-7, 291-2, 340-2; G. Sparrow, *Hussein of Jordan*, London 1960, 43-4, 108-16, 142-3; idem, *Modern Jordan*, London 1961, 41-55; Ye. Orlov and N. Sashko, *Gosudarstvenniy stroy Yordanii*, Moscow 1961, 37-50; King Hussein, *Uneasy lies the head*, n.p. 1962, 153 ff.; Muhammad Khalil, i, 43-75; *Sovremennaya Yordaniya* (*spravočnik*), Moscow 1964, 135-9; A. H. H. Abidi, *Jordan: a political study 1948-1957*, London 1965, 66 ff., 88 ff., 96 ff., 117 ff., 130-1, 142 ff., 185-7; France—Secrétariat Général du Gouvernement—Direction de la Documentation, *Constitution du Royaume de Jordanie Hachemite* (*texte mis à jour en 1965*). Paris 1966; C. Bailey, *The participation of the Palestinians in the politics of Jordan*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, New York 1966, 101-3, 117-24, 138-9; Peaslee³, ii (1966), 534-57; A. M. Goichon, *Jordanie réelle*, N.P. 1967, i, 358-68; Ḥasan al-Ḥasan, *al-Anẓima* ..., 299-313; P. J. Vatikiotis, *Politics and the military in Jordan*, London 1967, 47-51; al Marayati, *Middle Eastern constitutions* ..., 139-97; K. S. Abu Jaber, *The legislature of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: a study in political development*, in *MW*, lix/3-4 (July-Oct. 1969), 220-50; W. Sands, *The Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, in Ismael, ed., *Governments* ..., 283-303; Abboushi, *Political systems* ..., 267-84; Nasser H. Aruri, *Jordan: a study in political development* (*1921-1957*), The Hague 1972, 100-13, 122-7, 133-8, 148-50, 174-81; Blaustein and Flanz, eds., *Constitutions* ..., vii (1972): *Jordan*; *Madjlis al-umma al-Urdunniyya fī khamsīn ʿāmᵃⁿ*, ʿAmmān 1972; Gholam H. Razi, *Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, in al-Marayati, ed., *The Middle East*..., 230-54; P. Snow, *Hussein: a biography*, London 1972, 98 ff.; R. F. Nyrop *et alii*, *Area handbook for the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, Washington, D.C. 1974, 136-7, 139-40, 155 ff.; M. Haas, *Husseins Königreich: Jordaniens Stellung im Nahen Osten*, Munich 1975, 15-26, 201 ff.; Bailey, *Cabinet formation in Jordan*, in A. Sinai and A. Pollack, eds., *The Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan and the West Bank: a handbook*, New York 1977, 102-13; Huzzāʿ al-Madjālī, *Mudhakkirātī*, Jerusalem n.d.; M. ʿA. B. Shirdān, *al-Urdunn bayn ʿahdayn*, n.p., n.d.

(viii) *Saudi Arabia*.

Saudi Arabia has not yet established anything resembling a parliament, although the matter has been occasionally mentioned among the ruling circles as something to be dealt with in the future. The King has delegated authority to various councils and committees, although no representative institution has been set up to date (1978). The King retains most powers and is a *Madjlis* unto himself (as vividly described in *Time*, 29 May 1978, p. 23). The Ministers, headed by the King, fulfill the function of a legislative as well as executive body. A Ministry of Justice co-ordinates laws and regulations with the injunctions of the *sharīʿa*.

Bibliography: Davis², 371 ff.; Levin, 421 ff.; Godchot, 27 ff.; France—Présidence du Conseil—Direction de la Documentation, *Textes constitutionnels sur l'organisation des pouvoirs publics en Arabie Séoudite* (*règlement du 4 mai 1958*), Paris 1958 (= *Notes et Études Documentaires*, 2465); G. A. Lipski *et alii*, *Saudi Arabia: its people, its society, its culture*, New Haven, Conn. 1959, 106 ff.; Muhammad Khalil, i, 235 ff.; Peaslee³, ii (1966), 1088 ff.; G. J.-L. Soulié and Lucien Champenois, *Le royaume d'Arabie Saoudite face à l'Islam révolutionnaire, 1953-1964*, Paris 1966; Ḥasan al-Ḥasan, *al Anẓima* ..., 335-47; al Marayati, *Middle Eastern constitutions* ..., 293 ff.; Abdul H. Raoof, *The kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, in Ismael, *Governments* ..., 353 ff.; D. E. Long, *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, in al-Marayati, ed., *The Middle East* ..., 255 ff.; Hamad Sadun al-Hamad, *The legislative process and the development of Saudi Arabia*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of Southern California 1973; Muḥammad Ismāʿīl ʿAlam al-Dīn *et alii*, *al-Mabādiʾ al-ʿāmma li 'l-tashrīʿ fī 'l-Mamlaka al-ʿArabiyya al-Suʿūdiyya*, n.p. 1395/1975; Blaustein and Flanz, eds., *Constitutions* ..., xi (1976): *Saudi Arabia*; R. F. Nyrop *et alii*, *Area handbook for Saudi Arabia*³, Washington, D.C. 1977, 172 ff.; D. E. Long, 27-8.

(ix) *Kuwait.*

Independent since June 1961, Kuwayt soon began to introduce some changes in the paternalistic, absolute rule of its Amīr. In 1938, a Consultative Assembly had been established. Although headed by the Crown Prince and mostly nominated, it voiced criticism of foreign concessions in Kuwayt. It was dissolved soon afterwards because of anti-British sentiment expressed by its nationalists. Following a decree of the Amīr on 26 August 1961, an electoral law, decreeing a Constituent Assembly, was issued on 7 October 1961, granting the franchise to all literate male citizens aged 21 or over; candidates were to be literate male citizens, aged 30 or over. Elections were held that December for 20 seats in the Constituent Assembly; Ministers constituted the other members. The Assembly first met on 20 January 1962 and drafted a constitution, promulgated on 11 November.

The constitution provides for a National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*), elected every four years, comprising 50 members. The right to vote is granted to literate male citizens aged 21 or over, with ten constituencies each electing five members. Candidates stand as individuals (as no political parties are allowed); they must be male citizens aged 30 or over. The Assembly is in session eight months per year. The main powers of the National Assembly are legislative (although the Amīr has the right of veto), discussing general policy and ratifying foreign agreements. Members enjoy parliamentary immunity. Ministers are responsible *singly* before the Assembly and *collectively* before the Amīr alone; this means that the Assembly cannot topple the Cabinet by a no-confidence vote. Both this and the right-of-veto reflect the paternalistic attitude of the Amīr towards the National Assembly.

The first elections were held on 23 January 1963, then in January of 1967, 1971 and 1975. The electoral base was very narrow, only about 50,000 Kuwaiti citizens having the right to vote. In every Assembly, several members formed an opposition, noted for its leftist views, to the Amīr and his government; although a minority, they were usually educated, articulate and active, often demanding more powers for the National Assembly. In April 1963, they requested abrogation of the defence arrangements with Great Britain and rapprochement with Egypt or Syria. In December 1965, seven opposition members resigned from the National Assembly, protesting limitations on individual liberties and on the Kuwayti press. Late in 1972, an opposition group succeeded in persuading the Assembly to refuse the ratification of Kuwayt in the Oil Participation Agreement. The Amīr, who had had enough of such activities, suspended the constitution and the National Assembly on 29 August 1976.

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(x) *Al-Baḥrayn.*

The Shaykh of al-Baḥrayn held both executive and legislative powers until independence was declared in August 1971. Soon afterwards, the Amīr announced his intention to draft a written constitution. After some consultation, he promulgated a decree on 20 June 1972, establishing a Constituent Assembly for the drafting of a constitution; a later law, promulgated on 16 July, specified the manner of election to the above Assembly. It was to comprise 22 members, elected in 8 districts by all male citizens aged 20 or over, excepting the military, the police and criminals; candidates had to be aged 30 or over and literate. In addition, the Assembly was to include another ten members nominated by the Amīr and his Ministers. Both the above laws closely followed the Kuwayti model, as did the subsequent constitution.

Elections for the Constituent Assembly were held on 1 December 1972, after a fairly heated campaign in which candidates appeared to consider seriously statements by the Amīr concerning the advantages of democracy. This mood probably helped bring about the very large voter participation of 88.5%. Efforts by leftist groups to influence the electorate failed, while moderate, conservative candidates generally succeeded in these elections. The Shīʿī minority cast bloc-votes for candidates of their own denomination. Consequently, elected members were mostly Shīʿī (14 out of 22), young (11 of the 22 were under 39 years of age) and well-educated (8 of the 22 were university graduates and another 2 had studied at universities for two years or more). The Amīr and his Cabinet, always cautious to maintain the Sunnī-Shīʿī balance, corrected the above ratio by their own nominations (so that the Assembly comprised 21 Sunnīs and 21 Shīʿīs).

The Constituent Assembly, which was first convened on 16 December 1972, approved a constitution in June 1973—essentially the draft submitted by the Cabinet, although several additional safeguards for constitution and Assembly were worked in. This constitution provided for a National Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī*) of 30 elected members (the second legislature was to have 40) and no more than 12 Ministers, to be elected every four years. The Assembly's powers were mainly legislative, although one of its attributes was the authority to grant conces-

sions concerning the natural resources of al-Baḥrayn.

The first election to the National Assembly, held on 7 December 1973, was even livelier than the Constituent Assembly campaign. About 250,000 people had the right to vote. The number of constituencies had been increased from 8 to 20, half of which elected two members each and the other one member each. Not unexpectedly, this gave rise to charges of gerrymandering. The issues ranged from socio-economic (women's suffrage, unemployment, inflation) to religious (Shīʿīs versus Sunnīs) to political (various ideologies competed, although parties were banned). A count of those sympathetic to the nationalists and the socialists indicates radicalisation in the make-up of the National Assembly, as compared to that of the Constituent Assembly. Consequently, the December 1973 Assembly displayed independence towards the Amir and even criticised his policies; therefore, the Amīr dissolved the Assembly on 26 August 1975. By 1978, it had not yet been re-convened.

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(xi) *Ḳaṭar*.

The Shaykh of Ḳaṭar maintained all executive and legislative powers until 2 April 1970, when a provisional constitution was promulgated (even before Ḳaṭar became independent). This provided for a Consultative Assembly (*Madjlis al-shūrā*), comprising 33 members: 30 elected, 3 nominated by the ruler (in practice, from his own family) and ten Ministers. Ḳaṭar was divided into ten constituencies, each electing four members, the ruler himself ultimately selecting three out of each four. Candidates had to be born Ḳaṭar citizens, aged 24 or over, with no criminal record. No political parties were allowed, as elections were meant to be personal. The Consultative Assembly is elected for three years (with the option of another three-year extension). It meets eight months per year (with at least one meeting each month) and is to deliberate and pass laws submitted to it by the Cabinet; to approve the budget; and to discuss overall policy-making in Ḳaṭar.

Ḳaṭar became an independent Amīrate in September 1971; an amended Provisional Constitution was promulgated in April 1972. On 23 April, the Amīr nominated the first Consultative Assembly. In May 1975, its term was renewed by the Amīr for another three years. It appears to have consistently obeyed the Amīr. The only constraints over his powers are Islam and family relations.

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(xii) *United Arab Emirates*.

The United Arab Emirates, a federation of seven former Trucial Coast principalities [see AL-IMĀRĀT AL-ʿARABIYYA AL-MUTTAḤIDA in Suppl.], was established, after protracted negotiations and some initial difficulties, on 2 September 1971. A provisional constitution was agreed upon on 18 July 1971 and extended for another five years in November 1976. This constitution and other agreements declared that although the patternalistic rule of each Amīr was to continue, matters of federal interest were to be settled by the Supreme Council (*al-Madjlis al-aʿlā*) of the seven Amīrs, aided by an appointed federal Cabinet.

Legislative authority was vested in the Federal National Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī al-aʿlā*), comprising 40 members delegated by the seven states according to the following distribution:

Abū Ẓabī	8
Dubayy	8
al-Shāriḳa (Sharja)	6
Raʾs al-Khayma	6
ʿAdjmān	4
Fudjayra	4
Umm al-Ḳaywayn	4
Total	40

The mode of selection was left to each member state (in practice, they are nominated by the respective Amīrs). The Assembly's term is two years; sessions commence each November and last for six months. Its main functions are to debate the federal budget and drafts of laws presented to it by the federal Cabinet. The Cabinet must inform the Assembly about international agreements. Voting is by simple majority and Assembly Members enjoy immunity. The President of the United Arab Emirates—who has continuously been the Amīr of Abū Ẓabī—may dissolve the Assembly.

In actual practice, the Federal National Assembly is merely a consultative body, debating mostly matters of internal interest to the federation. Its character is largely determined by the fact that all members are appointed by the Amīrs, who select males from their own families or from among the community of wealthy merchants and businessmen, interested in preservation of the status quo. In addition, the powers of the Federal National Assembly are limited, in practice, by the fact that each state legislates individually according to the *sharīʿa*. Abū Ẓabī even has an Advisory National Council (*al-Madjlis al-istishārī al-waṭanī*) of its own, comprising 50 nominated members, although with no meaningful power.

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(xiii) *ʿUmān.*

The Ibāḍī Imām of ʿUmān (and Muscat) is its Sultan as well. In these two capacities, he functions as an absolute ruler. The Sultan and his family have not yet considered (1978) the establishment of parliamentary institutions in ʿUmān, nor have they promulgated any sort of constitution.

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(xiv) *Yemen.*

The Yemen Arab Republic (formerly Yemen, sometimes referred to as North Yemen) has had a fairly recent and brief parliamentary history. Under the Imāmate, the Imām was an absolute ruler, subject to the Ḳurʾān and the *s̲h̲arīʿa*. He alone held executive, legislative and judicial powers and there were no representative institutions. Although Yemen joined with Egypt and Syria in a United Arab Republic on 8 March 1958, it did not send any representatives to the National Assembly of the UAR in Cairo. The revolution of 26 September 1962 gave birth to the Republic and touched off a six-year civil war. The republicans promulgated their first constitution on 27 April 1964, which also provided for a Consultative Assembly to be selected from among Yemen's learned men for a three-year term. Its main tasks were to be passing laws and advising the government in public policy. During the civil war, however, this constitution was not put into practice.

Since March 1963, Yemen had a legislature, the 45-member consultative National Council, nominated to afford a fairly wide occupational and geographical representation. It comprised 20 *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* (tribal and rural), 9 *ʿulamāʾ*, 8 more persons with formal education and 8 merchants. The Council's first task was to elect the President of the Republican Council —who was also to be State President, and head of the republican government at Ṣanʿāʾ. In the summer of 1970, its membership was increased to 63, including 12 Royalist representatives.

Several provisional, Islam-oriented constitutions were drafted, beginning with the one promulgated on 3 October 1962. The permanent constitution of 28 December 1970 described Yemen as "an Arab Islamic state", with the *s̲h̲arīʿa* as the source of all legislation. It established a Consultative Assembly (*Mad̲j̲lis s̲h̲ūrā*), as a legislative body to supervise the Executive. The Assembly comprised 159 members, of whom 139 were elected and 20 nominated by the Executive. Voters had to be at least 18 and candidates, 25; the Assembly's term was set at four years.

The first elections to the Consultative Assembly were held in February-March 1971, without the participation of political parties (banned in the Republic). Elections were two-degree: villages and tribes selected their representatives, which then elected 139 Members of the Assembly. After nomination of the remaining 20, the Assembly met to select a three-man Presidential Council—which, in actual practice, was responsible for nearly all major decisions, while the Consultative Assembly offered advice only when asked to do so.

After a bloodless military coup in Ṣanʿāʾ on 13 June 1974, the Military Command Council suspended both the constitution and the Consultative Assembly; a new, provisional constitution was promulgated, granting the Military Command Council both executive and legislative powers. Nevertheless, the Consultative Assembly was re-convened in November 1974, under the pressure of tribal chieftains, then suspended again in September 1975, without much achievement. Its critics argued that it had been a forum for self-interested cliques, with no real understanding of national development. Brief and unstable in its history, parliamentarism in Yemen appears to lack a firm foundation to this very day.

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(xv) *South Yemen.*

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (sometimes called South Yemen) was established on 30 November 1967, upon the departure of the last British troops from Aden. This withdrawal followed the failure of the British to bring about a Federation of South Arabia between the Colony of Aden and the former Protectorates bordering it. The issue had been hotly debated in the Legislative Council, the only apparent representative institution in the Colony of Aden. Inaugurated in 1947 as an entirely nominated body, it was changed in 1955 to include an elected element—largely because of pressure by the Aden Association (a group formed in 1950-1 to promote greater Adenese participation in the government, which consequently advocated independence). In the 1955 elections, 4 of its Members were elected; and in 1959 and 1964, 12 (out of 24).

The Front for the National Liberation of South Yemen has ruled the new state since 30 November 1967. Soon becoming the sole legal party and renamed the National Front, its General Command circulated a draft of a constitution in order to obtain reactions; in November 1970, this constitution was promulgated. It vested legislative powers in the Supreme People's Assembly (*Mad̲j̲lis al-s̲h̲aʿb al-*

a'lā) of 101 members, elected for three years. Of these, 86 were to be elected by all those aged 18 or over, through local councils, under the supervision of the General Command of the National Front, and another 15 by the Trade Union Federation. A quota was reserved for women among the 86 (though they could run independently as well).

The formal powers of the Supreme People's Assembly were fairly wide-ranging: election of the state President and Cabinet; debating and passing of laws, including the budget and development plans; ratification of international agreements and the anouncing of a state of emergency. Members enjoyed parliamentary immunity.

As the local councils required for the elections were not in existence in 1970, a provisional Supreme Peoples' Assembly was nominated by the National Front. It first met between 31 July and 4 August 1971, in order to elect certain state officials, as directed by the National Front. Insofar as can be ascertained, this nominated Supreme People's Assembly has continued to meet regularly, passing laws presented to it by the Cabinet and debating and approving economic plans. However, the Assembly's constant subservience to the National Front has minimised its effectiveness considerably. The first elections in South Yemen to the Supreme People's Assembly were held on 18 December 1978; it is not known whether its powers versus the National Front have changed since.

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(xvi) *Egypt*

Egypt was the first part of the Ottoman Empire to experiment with parliamentary bodies (in 1866). Earlier, in 1829, Muḥammad ʿAlī had instituted a Consultative Council (*Madjlis al-mashwara*), although it was merely an advisory board, meeting only once a year. Ismāʿīl was the first to endow Egypt with a representative assembly modelled on Western European parliaments, even though he undoubtedly intended it to remain solely advisory. This body, the "Assembly of Delegates" (*Madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*) was constituted in November 1866 by Khedivial decree (for the text of this decree, see Bibliography—*Ḥudūd wa-niẓāmnāmat madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb al-miṣriyya*). The 75 members, Egyptians aged at least 25, were to be elected for three years, indirectly, as befitted a partially-illiterate population; in addition, it enabled the Khedive to exercise better control over the results. This intention was also manifested in the paragraphs prohibiting Delegates from receiving petitions, limiting them to debate over purely internal affairs and to proffering advice on projects submitted to them by the Khedive's Council of Ministers (*Madjlis al-wuzarāʾ*). In any event, all decisions had to be ratified by the Khedive, who nominated the Assembly's President and Vice-President and had the exclusive right to convene, adjourn and dissolve it. The Assembly's name was changed to *Madjlis al-nuwwāb* at the end of Ismāʿīl's rule, although its functions underwent no essential changes. These Assemblies were convened for several weeks per year, most likely in order to impress Egypt's creditors—especially the European Powers—with the supposed liberal-constitutional views of its ruler. However, the general ferment in Egypt in the late 1870s and 1880s led to the Assemblies demanding a greater share in decision-making, which they did obtain in February-March 1882. Soon afterwards, however, the Assemblies were adjourned, during the events leading to the British armed intervention; they were never convened subsequently.

Soon after the British Occupation, Lord Dufferin issued a special report suggesting the institution of a Legislative Council (*Madjlis shūrā al-ḳawānīn*) and a General Assembly (*al-Djamʿiyya al-ʿumūmiyya*), both of which functioned from 1883 to 1912. The first was to consist of 30 members of whom 14, including the President, were to be appointed by the Khedive and his Ministers; the other 16 were to be elected for 6 years by indirect balloting. It would debate (but not initiate), legislation and discuss the budget. The second was to consist of eighty-two members, including the Ministers, the Legislative Council and another 46 members elected for 6 years from among candidates over 30 years old, literate and who paid at least £ E. 50 per annum in direct taxes. The first body met 5 times per year and the second—at least once every two years to debate more important matters, including new taxes. While these partly-appointed bodies were less representative than the Assembly of Delegates, they had a greater share in approving government expenses.

These bodies were superseded by a unicameral Legislative Assembly (*al-Djamʿiyya al-tashrīʿiyya*), according to a Fundamental Law, issued on 1 July 1913, initiated by Lord Kitchener, then Great Britain's Consul-General in Egypt. In addition to the Ministers and 66 elected members, this Assembly was to include another 17, nominated in order to guarantee minimal representation for the Copts, Bedouins, merchants, physicians, engineers and teachers. Elections were to be indirect, with candidates aged at least 32, literate and paying a minimum amount of taxes. The mandate of the members was to be for six years, with one-third of the membership renewed every two years. Most important amongst the prerogatives ascribed to the Legislative Assembly were that no new law could be passed before it had been debated and no new tax imposed before it had been duly approved. The Assembly met several times during 1914, although its convocation was postponed again and again following the outbreak of World War I and it never reconvened subsequently.

The Constitution of 19 April 1923, superseded by a less liberal one on 22 October 1930, was reinstated on 12 December 1935. Essentially modelled on the 1830 Belgian Constitution, it provided for a monarchy largely in control of parliament. The latter was to be bicameral, comprising an Assembly of Representatives (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and a Senate (*Madjlis al-shuyūkh*). The former was to be elected for five years by indirect balloting; candidates were to be at least 30 years old and literate. Two-fifths of the latter were appointed and three-fifths elected by indirect balloting. The term of office was ten years, with half of the Senators, appointed and elected alike, leaving every five years. Senators had to be at least 40 years old and enjoy a certain social and economic status. The King and either House had the right to initiate legislation. Every law had to be passed by both Houses; the King had the right of veto, although it could be over-ridden by a two-thirds majority. The Assembly had a slight advantage over the Senate in discussing the budget and voting confidence in the government; however, unlike the Assembly, the Senate could not be dissolved, but merely ajourned.

Attempts by King Fu'ād [see FU'ĀD AL-AWWAL] to increase his prerogatives at the expense of Parliament—despite opposition by the Wafd Party—culminated in his promulgating a new constitution, by Royal Decree, on 22 October 1930. The new constitution raised obstacles to parliamentary censure, increased the proportion of appointed Senators from two to three-fifths (60 out of 100) and empowered the Executive to legislate during the parliamentary recess. In addition, the Assembly of Representatives could not initiate financial laws, while the King could do so. Modifications in the electoral law favoured the King and his supporters; the number of Representatives was reduced from 235 to 150.

The 1923 Constitution was reinstated, on 12 December 1935, with all its former parliamentary attributes; it remained in effect until the Revolution of 23 July 1952. The constitution was formally abolished on 10 December 1952 and political parties disbanded on 13 January 1953. Since April 1954, the new régime had declared repeatedly its intention to return to some form of parliamentary rule. The new constitution of the Republic of Egypt was promulgated on 16 January 1956 and approved by a popular referendum. It provided for a 350-member unicameral National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*), to be elected every five years by general, secret and direct balloting, controlled by the National Union (established in May 1957 and the only political grouping permitted). For the first time, women were granted the passive and active franchise, although voting was compulsory for males only. Voters had to be aged 18 or over, with no criminal record; candidates had to be 30 or over and literate. Some 2,528 candidates filed papers, although only 1,318 were approved after a screening by the National Union, including 5 out of the 16 female candidates (of the 5, two were elected—the first women to serve in any Arab parliament). Elections were held on 3 July 1957.

Most, although not all legislation was vested in the National Assembly; legislation was, in fact, its only significant attribute. It first met from July 1957 to February 1958, when the United Arab Republic (UAR) of Egypt and Syria was established. The 1957 parliament was dissolved and a new provisional constitution for the UAR was promulgated on 5 March 1958, providing for a joint National Assembly, to be convened in Cairo, with 400 Egyptian and 200 Syrian members. The first UAR National Assembly, mostly nominated by Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], duly met on 21 July 1960. Its powers and tasks approximated to those of the 1957 National Assembly, although legislation continued to be promulgated largely by presidental decree.

The joint parliament was dissolved when the UAR broke up on 28 September 1961. The 1962 founding of the Arab Socialist Union (as successor to the National Union) and the Constitution of 25 March 1964—which later was the basis (with a few modifications) for that of 1971—determined anew the prerogatives of parliament. The new National Assembly first met on 26 March 1964; its first act was to ratify the provisional constitution. It met regularly and was renamed The People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-shaʿb*) in May 1971. Its 350 members are elected for five years, by general, secret and direct balloting in 175 constituencies (two members in each). Candidates must be approved by the Arab Socialist Union; at least half of those elected must be peasants (owning no more than 25 acres of land) and workers. Another 10 members are nominated by the State President. Members enjoy parliamentary immunity, although they may be deprived of their seats by a motion of twenty members and a subsequent vote of two-thirds of the Assembly. The President of the Republic, his Ministers and members of the Assembly may initiate legislation. Proposed laws are studied and screened in parliamentary committees and subsequently submitted for voting in the plenary.

The most recent People's Assembly elections to date (1978) were held on 28 October 1976, with a second ballot on 4 November for those candidates who did not obtain 51 % of the vote in their constituencies in the first round. There were about 9,500,000 registered voters; participation was compulsory for men and optional for women. There were 1,531 candidates, of whom more than half were running for the first time. About 56 % of all the candidates were independents, while concerning the others, a novel situation had arisen. The Arab Socialist Union was then, officially, still the only party allowed to contest the elections. In 1976, however, it served more as an organisational framework, within which several parties were competing with one another (a situation legalised, *post facto*, by the June 1977 Party Law). In 1976, these were the Arab Socialist Party of Egypt (centrist) the Socialist Liberals (right-of-centre), and the Patriotic Progressive Unionist Alignment (left-of-centre). In the first round, the first won 280 seats, the second 12, the third 2, and independents 48. After the remaining 8 seats were decided, in the second round, the State President appointed another 10 Members (all of the Arab Socialist Party of Egypt), and several independents and others crossed the lines; the final allegiances were as follows:

The Arab Socialist Party of Egypt	312
The Socialist Liberals	11
The Patriotic Progressive Unionists Alignment	3
Independents	34
Total	360

On 29 June 1977, the People's Assembly adopted the new Party Law, liberalising the situation within limits and legitimising certain groups, which had previously been forced to act clandestinely. The debate within the Assembly became livelier, regarding both legislation and policy-making, and frank criticism was expressed more frequently. The government, however, remained secure in the Assembly's support. On 22 July 1978, President Anwar al-Sādāt

announced the formation of his own party, the National Democratic Party, which 306 of the Arab Socialist Party Members in the People's Assembly joined on 21 September 1978. Following this merger, the National Democratic Party became the ruling party in the state and in the People's Assembly (subsequently winning a handsome majority in the 7 June 1979 general elections to this body).

The history of parliamentary institutions in Egypt may be divided into three principal periods. The first, from 1866 to 1914, is the stage of experimentation with Western parliamentary models, advising the ruler and largely dependent on him (or on the British Occupation, after 1882), with no political parties playing any significant role. The second, from 1924 to 1952, represents the closest approach in Egypt to a multi-party representative body, debating policy, passing legislation and in frequent conflict with the executive, particularly until Fu'ād's death and Fārūḳ's accession in 1936. Even so, during this period, only one parliament completed the five-year term allotted to it (1945-50). The Wafd Party, victorious in the Assembly in the first elections (1924) with 150 out of 211 members, frequently (although not always) repeated its victories, thus compelling the King to dissolve parliament. The third period, from 1957 to date, represents a move towards the single-party parliamentary model (with a reported turnout of over 90% of the voters and nearly 100% support), generally subservient to the executive power of the President of the Republic. This has been particularly evident since 1967, when the Assembly empowered the President of the Republic to issue laws by decree, indefinitely. During the late 1960s, some 6,000 such laws were issued annually. However, the situation has changed somewhat since the Assembly elections of October-November 1971, particularly due to the relative liberalisation of the regime under Anwar al-Sādāt—one sign of which has been the renewal of multi-party activity. Consequently, opposition to the State President is being voiced more freely now (1978) and the standing of the People's Assembly has risen, even though it has to its credit few crucial policy-making decisions.

Due to the limited role of parliament in the decision-making process, Egyptian parliamentarians can hardly be considered a very important component of the country's political élite, except, perhaps, during the multi-party era. Nevertheless, the socio-economic make-up of Egypt's Assemblies may serve as an indication of the shift in the balance of power. To some extent, this has been determined by the electoral system—indirect balloting in the first period, which facilitated the decision of public functionaries. Indirect balloting during the multi-party period, subverted by the power structure and the wealthy (as Egyptians were the first to admit), enabled constant re-election of the politicians and the rich. The single-party controlled election system under the Republic enabled those trusted by the new régime to enter parliament.

While no definite studies of the socio-economic composition of the Assemblies are available, some incomplete data confirm the trends influenced by the electoral system. In the first Assembly, elected in 1866, there were 58 *ʿumda*s out of a total membership of 75; the proportion of *ʿumda*s decreased from one Assembly to the other. Since 1924, parliament has become more broadly representative, although landowners, businessmen and professionals (chiefly lawyers) played an important and possibly decisive role. In the Republic, the Assemblies of the late 1950s and early 1960s comprised a relatively large proportion of lawyers, businessmen, bureaucrats, officers and landowners, but very few workers and peasants. For example, according to the calculations of H. Hopkins, 332 ff. (see Bibliography), the Assembly of 1957-8 comprised one-third lawyers and businessmen, nearly one-third senior civil servants, ex-Ministers, former officers and landowners, and about one-third village *ʿumdas* and s͟hayk͟hs—but very few peasants and even fewer workers. This situation was reversed by legislation in the Assembly elected in 1964, where only 76 members—out of a total of 360—had served in previous Assemblies. Out of the 350 elected members, about 114 had registered as *fallāḥin* and another 75 as workers. Other groups —academics, journalists, lawyers, physicians and Bedouins—numbered considerably fewer. The Christians elected were under-represented (one Copt and one Greek); this was partially corrected by allotting 8 out of the 10 appointed seats to Christians. Since 1964, more than half (actually, 50% to 60%) of the membership has comprised workers and peasants, although few indeed hold important positions (such as Ministers or chairmen of parliamentary committees).

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(xvii) *Sudan.*

Sudan's parliamentary history commenced later than that of Egypt and several Maghrib states; the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, set up in 1899, did not provide for development of any meaningfully representative institutions. It was only in September 1943 that the British authorities, aware of rising nationalist sentiment, announced their intention of setting up an Advisory Council (*Madjlis istishārī*), comprising 18 members elected by all of Sudan's northern districts; another 2 elected by the Chamber of Commerce; and 8 others nominated by the Government General (to secure representation for social and economic groups). The Governor-General himself was to be the Council's president; the civil, financial and legal secretaries were to be full members. The Advisory Council was inaugurated on 15 May 1944, despite the protests of Egypt, which had not been consulted and of some Sudanese, who criticised its partially-nominated character, its being restricted to advisory functions and the exclusion of representatives from southern Sudan. Nevertheless, in retrospect, the creation of the Advisory Council may be seen as the first serious

British attempt to come to terms with Sudanese nationalism.

After the end of the Second World War, Sudanisation proceeded swiftly and comprised representative bodies as well. A joint British-Sudanese administrative conference met for several months during 1946 and 1947, suggesting the foundation of a Legislative Assembly and Executive Council, based largely on the British model. As the Egyptian government was reluctant to commit itself to a project which endangered its future ties with Sudan, the British went ahead alone and on 14 June 1948 authorised the governor-general to promulgate an ordinance establishing the above institutions. According to this ordinance, the Legislative Assembly (*Djamʿiyya tashriʿiyya*), elected for three years, was to represent all of Sudan; the inclusion of the south in the Assembly was a significant step in Sudanese integration. It provided for 52 elected members to represent the north and another 13 to represent the south. The governor-general could nominate up to 10 members; several were to present the executive. Of the 65 elected members, 10 would be elected directly in towns and the others by indirect elections in the rest of the Sudan. Voters must be Sudanese, male and aged 25 or over; candidates must be Sudanese, male and aged 30 or over. An Executive Council (*Madjlis tanfīdhī*), comprising between 12 and 18 members (at least half of them Sudanese), headed by the leader of the Legislative Assembly, was to supersede the governor-general's Council. The governor-general still retained important powers: vetoing decisions of the Executive Council, the right to legislative by ordinance, and excluding certain matters from the Legislative Assembly's competence. Nevertheless, Sudan's parliament had come into its own. The elections held in November 1948 were boycotted by political parties favouring union with Egypt. The first Legislative Assembly met on 15 December 1948, with the Umma party —favouring self-determination for the Sudan and amicable relations with the British—in the majority. Another influential group was that of the north Sudan tribal chieftains—self-styled Socialist Republicans.

The first Legislative Assembly, using both Arabic and English, debated economic matters, such as the Budget, local affairs, labour legislation and the introduction of Arabic in the administration and education of southern Sudan. Its most immediate concern, however, was relations with Britain and Egypt in the context of Sudan's own political future. A "Self-Government Statute" was enacted by the Legislative Assembly on 23 April 1952, providing for an entirely Sudanese Cabinet responsible to a bicameral parliament—a Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and a Senate (*Madjlis al-shuyūkh*); the governor-general would retain some authority on internal affairs—particularly in public services and in southern Sudanese matters—and exclusive powers in foreign relations. After initial strong opposition, Egypt eventually accepted the Statute. In the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1953, however, Egypt made a bid for popularity in the Sudan against the British and suggested several modifications in the Statute, which the British could not reject. An elaborate plan was worked out for a maximum three-year transition period from self-government to self-determination. This provided, among other arrangements, for a specially-elected Constituent Assembly to decide between complete independence for the Sudan and links with Egypt. An internal commission supervised the elections to this Assembly, in November-December 1953. Voting was by constituencies; voters had to be 21 or over and resident in their respective constituencies for a period of not less than six months. The National Unionist Party on a decisive victory in both Houses (51 out of 97 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and 22 out of 30 elected seats in the Senate).

The new Sudanese parliament, meeting as a Constituent Assembly (*Madjlis taʾsīsī*), was convened on 1 January 1954. The majority National Unionist Party, formerly assumed to favour union with Egypt, correctly interpreted the mood of the country and gradually changed direction. On 19 December 1955, the Chamber of Deputies declared Sudan's independence; the Senate declared its support three days later. A transitional constitution, largely based on the 1952 Self-Government Statute, was adopted and the Republic of Sudan was proclaimed on 1 January 1956. The struggle for independence gave way to translating sovereignty into practical terms, which meant parliamentary debates and decisions on numerous issues, including relations between North and South Sudan. Sudan's parliament was rather hampered by a spirit of factionalism, expressing itself through groups leaving the political parties and forming strong new *rapprochements*.

Parliament was dissolved on 30 June 1957. General elections were held between 27 February and 9 March 1958, with the number of Members of the Chamber of Deputies raised from 97 to 173, to be elected by constituencies of 50,000-70,000 inhabitants each. The Senate remained the same: 50 members of whom 30 were elected. The new parliament met on 20 March 1958 with the Umma party holding 63 seats; it formed a Coalition Cabinet with the People's Democratic Party, a group which had broken away from the National Unionist Party. The disparity between these two partners, the constant bickering between the other factions and rumours of corruption in high circles discredited both parliament and government. The military, led by Ibrāhīm ʿAbbūd, thereupon seized power on 17 November 1958. Among its first acts were to suspend the transitional constitution, ban political parties and dissolve parliament. The work of the Legislative Assembly ceased; moderate legislative powers were granted to a Central Council, two-thirds of whose members were elected by provincial councils and one-third nominated by the President of the Republic. The Central Council's term of office was two years; the first Council, which convened on 15 November 1963, served a shorter term, as less than one year later, in October 1964, civilian rule was restored following a popular revolt.

The new elections held in northern Sudan during April-May 1965 were based on the 1958 Electoral Law, with a few modifications, most important of which were: institution of a unicameral legislature (the Senate was done away with), reduction of the voting age from 21 to 18, and enfranchisement of women. Fighting in the south led to postponement of elections to March-April 1967. Now that independence had been achieved, the main issues were the state of the economy, the character of Sudanese society and the question of the south. In 1965, the Umma Party achieved the largest plurality (92 seats) in the north, while the National Unionist Party was second with 73. The other parliamentary groups were much smaller and the Legislative Assembly (meeting again as a Constituent Assembly) included 18 independents as well. A coalition cabinet of the

two largest parties, supported by the People's Democratic Party and the Muslim Brethren—all four forming a so-called United Front—was characterised by friction among the partners and among the various party components. Disagreements were so frequent and serious and parliamentary work was so hampered that the Cabinet decided to dissolve the Assembly in February 1968.

General elections were held in April-May, 1968 for an enlarged Assembly, seating 215. The National Unionist Party and the People's Democratic Party had merged into a Democratic Unionist Party and obtained 101 seats; the Umma Party obtained 73. Other seats went to smaller groups, including 10 independents. Again, the two largest parties formed a coalition cabinet suffering from essentially the same discord as the preceding one. Efforts at approving a permanent constitution failed and bickering prevailed. It was against this background of disillusionment with parliamentary democracy that the "Free Officers", led by Colonel Dja'far al-Numayrī, seized power by a bloodless coup on 25 May 1969. The constitution was suspended, the Legislative Assembly dissolved and all parties banned. The government which had seized power soon vested all executive and legislative powers in a ten-man Revolutionary Command Council, nine of whom were military officers.

It took some time until the new military régime of the Democratic Republic of Sudan felt secure enough to experiment with parliamentary institutions. On 12 August 1972, al-Numayrī announced that a People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-sha'b*) of 207 members would draft a new constitution, after which it would disband and new elections would be held, based on the constitution. In September-October 1972, 175 members were elected and another 32 nominated by al-Numayrī including 13 women. On 12 April 1973, the first permanent constitution was approved by the People's Assembly; it became effective on 8 May 1973, superseding the 1954 provisional constitution. The first People's Assembly, acting as a legislature, was elected—according to the 1973 Constitution—under the supervision of the Sudanese Socialist Union, the only legal party. Candidates for the Assembly were nominated by the Sudanese Socialist Union; they had to be members of the party, Sudanese citizens aged 21 or over, literate and not deprived of their political rights. The Assembly itself is elected for a four-year term and sits for at least six months annually. Constitutionally, it has vast legislative powers, it may approve the budget, confirm the government's action and vote no-confidence (by a two-thirds majority). The Assembly elected in 1974 comprised 250 Members: 125 were directly elected from geographical constituencies, 70 elected by occupational organisations (workers, businessmen) and popular associations (youth and women's unions), 30 by provincial People's Councils, and another 25 (no more than 25% of the total) nominated by the State President. The Sudanese Socialist Union has been very active in the Assembly elected in 1974 and is responsible for legislation and general policy.

The cease-fire agreement of April 1972, ending a 17-year civil war between North and South, granted Southern Sudan its own, separate Assembly. First meeting in April 1974, it enjoys wide autonomous powers; the head of its Executive Council is the Vice-President of the Republic. Southern provinces also send delegates to the People's Assembly in Khartum.

Sudanese parliamentarism has been too brief for any detailed evaluation. Commencing with a stage of preparation and guidance by the British, the bicameral legislature got off to a fair start, although it was rather hampered both by the north-south dichotomy and by factional bickering. Its development has been twice interrupted—first between 1958 and 1964, then since 1969. Both interruptions —the result of military interventions—led to the establishment of unicameral legislatures, subservient to the respective heads of the military régime, although still indicating perhaps that parliamentarism had struck sufficient roots in the Sudan so as not to be wholly eradicated. This is also confirmed by the fact that all parliamentary elections held under civilian rule were generally carried out smoothly and fairly.

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(xviii) *Libya*.

The Kingdom of Libya was established on 24 December 1951, largely as a result of the inability of the Great Powers to agree on the future of this area, which had been vacated by a defeated Italy. Prompted by the United Nations, a 60-member National Constituent Assembly (referred to as *Djamʿiyya waṭaniyya* or *Madjlis taʾsīsī*) of Libya met, beginning 25 November 1950 and resolved, on 3 December, that Libya should be a federal kingdom under the Amīr Muḥammad Idrīs, henceforth called King Idrīs I. By October 1951, it had also adopted a constitution, considering that the new state was made up of three rather disparate components—Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan. Strong rivalry existed between the first two: Tripolitania was the most populous, Cyrenaica the base of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] and of its then leader, Libya's Idrīs I.

The constitution provided for legislative assemblies in each of the three provinces and for a federal National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*). The latter was bicameral and consisted of: (a) The Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*), directly elected on the basis of one member per 20,000 male inhabitants aged 21 or over (candidates had to be 30 years or over and literate). The first Chamber comprised 55 members: 35 from Tripolitania, 15 from Cyrenaica and 5 from Fezzan. (b) The Senate (*Madjlis al-shuyūkh*, comprising 24 members aged 40 or over, equally divided among the three provinces: four Senators were nominated by the legislative assembly of each province and the remaining 12 by the King. The main task of the National Assembly was to enact legislation on issues of national significance, such as foreign affairs (local matters were essentially left to the respective legislatures of the three provinces). The King, or either House, could initiate legislation, although the privilege of initiating financial laws remained with the Chamber alone. The King could vote legislation and dissolve the Chamber at his own discretion. The Chamber's usual term was four years and the Senate's eight, with half the latter leaving every four years. Ministerial responsibility was to the Chamber only, where a two-thirds majority was required for a no-confidence vote.

On 7 April 1962 and 25 April 1963, legislation was passed in both Houses of the National Assembly to alter the 1951 Constitution and change Libya from a federal to a unitary state, based on its ten administrative districts instead of on its three provinces (which thus lost their special privileges). All of the Senate, rather than half of it, was to be nominated by the King. The Chamber was to be elected as formerly, although women were enfranchised and the number of seats was raised from 55 to 103. Some of these changes were a response to nationalist pressures for a unitary rather than federal state and an expression of the government's desire to decrease local and provincial rivalries and conflict between the National Assembly and the King and Cabinet.

The first elections to the Chamber were held on 19 February 1952 (based on the Electoral Law of 6 November 1951). The principal issues were relations with the Arab States and the Western Powers. Candidates opposing the King and the new régime grouped together in a National Congress Party, based on Tripolitania and supported by Egypt; its platform was strongly nationalist and opposed foreign bases in Libya. Elections were held on time in all constituencies, despite rioting. The National Congress Party won in and around the city of Tripoli, but lost elsewhere. Forty-six out of the 55 Members of the Chamber supported the King and government; the National Congress Party obtained only 7 seats. The first duly elected National Assembly convened in Benghazi on 25 March 1952. Subsequently, it met regularly and was concerned with debating and passing legislation. Although Assemblies were generally compliant, not infrequent criticism of government internal and external policies was voiced, particularly in the Chamber—frequently expressed by interpellations.

The successive general elections of January 1956, January 1960 (with secret balloting imposed on the whole state), October 1964 (with women voting for the first time and the number of constituencies increased to 103) and May 1965 (after King Idrīs had dissolved the Chamber on 13 February 1965) were

held on a personal (or family) competition basis (as political parties were not permitted to function legally). In the 1965 elections the number of constituencies was decreased to 91; all successful candidates were apparently pro-government—16 ran unopposed.

One of Libya's main problems during the first two decades of statehood was a lack of personnel trained in the skills required for running the state. Nevertheless, the many skilled Libyans serving in the National Assembly or its administration sufficed to cause Muʿammar al-Ḳadhdhāfī to annul the constitution and dissolve the Assembly after his coup of 1 September 1969 (the Assembly was, obviously, also one of the bases of power of the King he had deposed). All executive and legislative authority was vested in the Revolutionary Command Council. Libya's provisional constitution, promulgated by the new régime in December 1969, reaffirmed that the Revolutionary Command Council of the Libyan Arab Popular Republic (as the state was now called) holds sovereign power and is to promulgate laws and decrees. Al-Ḳadhdhāfī declared, in January 1971 —and has reaffirmed since—his intention of convening a legislative assembly, but has not done so to date (1978). This postponement is compatible with his views, as expressed in his *Green book*, that parliament is not sufficiently representative and that direct participation by the masses is preferable. A National Congress (*al-Muʾtamar al-ḳawmī*) of the only legal party, the Arab Socialist Union, represents trade unions, professional groups and popular associations. Its main task is to debate the ideological premises of the régime and ratify its policy decision. However, this 618-member body, established by decree on 13 November 1975, has to date apparently convened in January 1976 only. Since then, it seems to be in cold storage. Instead, again following the principle of direct participation, al-Ḳadhdhāfī has been convening (once or twice per year) a "General Assembly of the People". First called in March, 1977, this 970-member *Madjlis* is selected in 178 constituencies by popular councils and trade unions. It is officially supposed to discuss all policy-matters, but in effect it approves (and legitimises) the decisions of the Libyan leadership.

Libya's parliamentary history, which came to an end with the abolition of the monarchy in September 1969, was brief, but not necessarily a total failure. The National Assembly's greatest merit was in its assisting King and government in welding together Libya's disparate areas into one unitary state. During its first decade, at the very least, it also curtailed the Monarch's autocratic tendencies. The ban on political parties and, since 1965, the almost complete subservience of the National Assembly to King and Cabinet, minimised whatever significance the Assembly still had in public life and paved the way for those who eliminated it in the military coup.

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(xix) *Tunisia*.

Under French rule, Tunisia had experimented with several French-imposed semi-representative

advisory institutions. The Consultative Conference (*Conférence Consultative*, *Hay'a istishāriyya*), established in 1891 (with defined powers since 1896), comprised only Frenchmen, elected by universal direct suffrage since 1905; from 1907 on, they were joined by 16 Tunisians, nominated by the French Governor General (*Résident général*). At first, the French and Tunisians met together, and later (since 1910) separately. The main task of the Consultative Conference was to advise concerning the budget.

In 1922, the French replaced the Consultative Conference with the Grand Council (*Le Grand Conseil de Tunisie*, *al-Madjlis al-Kabīr li 'l-Iyāla al-Tūnisiyya*). Elected for six years, it comprised two sections possessing equal rights: one of 56 French members, elected by the French in Tunisia and the other of 41 Tunisians, elected by other Tunisians. The task of the Grand Council was to discuss the budget; in case the two sections differed, the decision rested with an Upper Council (*Conseil Supérieur*), comprising the Governor General, several Ministers and ranking secretaries, as well as seven members from each of the Grand Council's two sections. The Grand Council could also raise and discuss any economic or financial matters, but not political or constitutional ones. Although the powers of the Council were limited and minimal, the Vichy Government was still wary and abolished it on 21 November 1940, transferring its authority to a Consultative Committee (*Comité Consultatif*) of 5 Frenchmen and 5 Tunisians.

After the end of the Second World War, the Grand Council was re-established; its make-up and powers were altered on 15 September 1945. After then, it comprised two sections, French and Tunisian, each numbering 53 Members elected for six years. The franchise for the French section was extended to include all Frenchmen and Frenchwomen in Tunisia, aged at least 21 (candidates—at least 25), with direct voting and proportional representation. The franchise was also somewhat extended for the Tunisian section as well, including all Tunisian males aged at least 25 (candidates—at least 30), who either paid direct taxes, were war veterans, or had completed secondary school. Voting was in two stages. Although the Grand Council essentially remained concerned with economy and finance, its powers were increased to cover advising the government on all legislation—although the government could still bypass it in urgent cases. Even so, the Grand Council was not convened from the end of 1951 until 1954, when its powers were slightly extended.

Tunisian nationalists were obviously not happy with the limited powers of the above-mentioned Conference, Council and Committee, nor with their selective representation, which disenfranchised many Tunisians and afforded preferential voting to the French minority. As early as 1921, the Destūr Party demanded the creation of a representative assembly, to which Ministers would be responsible. When the Neo-Destūr was set up in 1934, it demanded the establishment of such an assembly as an instrument of national sovereignty and for limiting the arbitrary government of the Bey or of France. Consequently, the Neo-Destūr rejected the reforms suggested by the French in March 1954. These reforms provided for a legislative assembly, including French representatives, with full powers in social and economic matters, to be elected by universal suffrage. Under the pressure of the Neo-Destūr and more radical nationalists led by Ṣāliḥ ben Yūsuf, the Bey signed a decree, establishing a Constituent Assembly, on 29 December 1955.

The Neo-Destūr, a "dominating party" (in Duverger's sense) has continued since to consider itself as the instrument of "national will". Hence in order to dominate the 98-seat Constituent Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-Ḳawmī al-Ta'sīsī*), it insisted on an electoral law (promulgated on 6 January 1956) which would favour it over smaller parties and groups. All Tunisia was divided into 18 constituencies: and the slate of candidates obtaining a relative majority of the vote in each was considered as "winner take-all".

Complete independence was the main issue in the 25 March 1956 elections to the Constituent Assembly. The National Front, led by the Neo-Destūr Party, won an impressive victory (597, 813, out of a total of 610,989 votes, or 97.84%). Consequently, it induced the Assembly to pass regulations granting considerable parliamentary powers to the Assembly, its Bureau and six committees. Adoption of those regulations enabled the political bureau of the Neo-Destūr to control the proceedings of the Assembly efficiently and to delay the formation of any meaningful opposition within it. The wide and often unanimous support of the Assembly was skilfully exploited by the Neo-Destūr, especially by its leader, Ḥabīb Būrgība, who was also the Assembly's first Speaker; in April 1956, he left this post to become Prime Minister. The party utilised Constituent Assembly support to extend the powers of the Assembly beyond those of the Bey, his government and the French, on the one hand, and to achieve full independence for Tunisia, on the other. The Constituent Assembly increasingly considered itself sovereign; one of its most significant steps was to proclaim the republic on 25 July 1957. No less significantly, it established the norms for future Assemblies, both by its own practice and by adopting the June 1959 Constitution.

This constitution grants the National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*) wide powers, limited, however, by the very essence of Tunisia's presidential regime: the State President is elected by universal suffrage and neither he nor the various Ministers are responsible to the National Assembly. The National Assembly is elected in constituency voting for five-year terms by all Tunisian citizens aged 20 or over (candidates must be 30 years or over). In theory, it is the only legislative body and its members enjoy parliamentary immunity. However, the State President also has the right to initiate legislation—taking priority over the Assembly; he may also enact decrees while the Assembly is in recess (subject to the Assembly's subsequent confirmation). Thus, further restrictions are imposed upon the Assembly's legislative prerogatives.

The National Assembly elections of 8 November were, in many respects, similar to the 1956 Constituent Assembly elections. Once again, a National Front led by the Neo-Destūr ran without serious competition. However, Tunisia was independent in 1959 and women were enfranchised for the first time. Separate polls determined the composition of the Assembly and elected the President of the Republic. The National Front won in the Assembly and Būrgība was elected President. All 90 Members of the National Assembly belonged to the Neo-Destūr Party or were independents sponsored and supported by it. As a result, main policy decisions were initiated and controlled by Būrgība and the party in the 1959-64 Assembly; in this respect, the National Assembly in Tunisia may be considered as an extension of the Neo-Destūr Party, renamed the Socialist Destūr

Party in October 1964. However, as Tunisia achieved full independence and secured its place in international relations, internal affairs increasingly took precedence, and wide divergences of opinion became apparent in the Assembly, both because of the various interests represented in the single party and because the Assembly could not help but be influenced by the extra-parliamentary demands and reactions of those socio-economic and political groups excluded from the official political game.

Much of the above holds true for subsequent National Assemblies as well. In the Assembly elected on 8 November 1964, the Socialist Destûr Party again held all 90 seats (a majority of the outgoing Members of the Assembly including its only woman, were re-elected). The 2 November 1969 National Assembly elections (increased to 101 seats) were essentially a repetition of earlier ones, with heavy voter participation and the election of the party's own candidates, even though the issues debated at this time chiefly concerned the government's economic policies, which had led to considerable controversy. Consequently, economic problems occupied much of the attention of the National Assembly elected in 1969. The results of the elections of 3 November 1974 to the Assembly (increased to 112 seats) were no different from previous ones. The party obtained all seats, although 71 of its Members were elected for the first time, including many representatives of the younger generation. Concurrently, several Members who had opted for a more liberal political and economic régime, thus opposing the line of Būrgība and the party leadership, had been dropped from the candidates' list.

Although there is no detailed statistical breakdown of the Members of all National Assemblies in Tunisia, available material indicates several characteristics. As mentioned above, all Assembly members were selected from within the single party; the top party leadership—identical with Tunisia's political leadership—had occupied the Assembly. The first National Assembly, elected in 1959, comprised 12 members of the party's political bureau, 9 Ministers, the director of Būrgība's Cabinet, 8 former Ministers, 4 former governors, the secretary-general of the Neo-Destûr youth and 7 former and then current party political commissioners. Members of that Assembly were remarkably well educated: 31 had graduated from French universities, and another 25 from modern secondary schools; thus 56 out of the 90 had had a good French education. Most of the others had had traditional education; only one was illiterate. Professionally, the Assembly comprised 15 lawyers, 15 businessmen, 14 manual or clerical workers, 12 professors, 12 farmers, 7 physicians, 6 school teachers, 5 senior civil servants and 4 others While later elections obviously introduced new members, the essential characteristics of the Assembly elected in 1959 have not changed substantially.

The parliamentary history of Tunisia since the 1950s indicates that the Constituent and then the National Assemblies have generally been of secondary importance to the single party. The latter has been the real focus of most important decisions, even in legislative matters. The Assembly's work is scheduled by its Bureau, usually after due consultation with the party. Assembly control is minimal, as nearly all its work is done in committees; on the average, only fifteen plenary meetings take place each year, mostly to approve legislation submitted by Būrgība. On the whole, the Assembly has displayed docile subservience, rarely demonstrating a will of its own or even reflecting differences of opinion within the party itself.

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(xx) *Algeria*

The French, who ruled Algeria from 1830, introduced several moderately-representative institutions on 23 August 1898. The decrees established the Financial Delegations (*Les Délégations financières*) —intended to represent economic interests—which existed until 1945. The franchise changed several times, while candidates consistently had to be French citizens aged 25 or over, residing in Algeria at least three years. All were elected for six-year terms, half of them leaving every three years. Two of the three Delegations comprised 24 European Members each; a third, with 21 (later 24) non-European Members, included six who were nominated. Each Delegation was concerned solely with its own economic interests. Delegations served in an advisory capacity only, concentrating on the budget. United into one body by a decree in 1918, their powers remained unaltered. During 1945-1947 they were transformed into a Financial Assembly (*L'Assemblée financière*) of 37 elected members with broader representation but the same essential capacities.

The Financial Assembly was obviously unsatisfactory to proponents of Algerian nationalism, particularly during the period following the Second World War. All legislation was still passed by the National Assembly in Paris or by the French Governor-General in Algeria. Pressured by Algerian nationalists and by its own Algerian and French Members, the National Assembly in Paris approved a new Statute for Algeria (*Statut Organique de l'Algérie*, or *al-Ḳānūn al-asāsī*), setting up an Algerian Assembly on 20 September 1947.

This Statute provided for an Algerian Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-Djazāʾiri*) of 120 Members, elected for six years—with half renewed every three years —in two separate "colleges" of 60 members each. The franchise was granted to all French citizens of legal age (although participation of Muslim women was deferred) in two-stage constituency voting. Candidates were subject to the same criteria but had to be at least 23 years old. Members of the Assembly enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The Assembly was to convene in Algiers, for three sessions per year, each lasting not longer than six weeks (probably to prevent it from becoming too powerful). Much of its work was to be done in six committees. As legislation for Algeria remained the prerogative of the National Assembly in Paris, the Algerian Assembly's function was chiefly to apply—with some modification— French laws and regulations to Algeria. The Algerian Assembly could also transmit its proposals to the National Assembly in Paris.

The first elections to the new Assembly under the Statute were held in April 1948, with partial elections in February 1951 and January 1954. It soon became evident that the Statute satisfied no one; it was too much for the local French and too little for the Muslims. Nationalism, expressed in moderate to extreme anti-French terms, was the main issue in the elections. Nevertheless, the Nationalists obtained only 16 seats in the 1948 Assembly and even fewer in subsequent elections—perhaps because the two-stage voting, the constituency-system and the enfranchisement of French citizens only favoured upholders of the status quo, supported by the French Administration. The three Assemblies devoted much time to economic and financial matters—particularly Algeria's annual budget; they were also responsible for instituting social security throughout the country. However, debate moved increasingly towards politics, largely as a result of the rise in nationalist, anti-French campaigns, now impelled into extra-parliamentary activity after the total failure of the nationalists in the 1954 elections. This appears to be the main reason for the Assembly's dissolution on 12 April 1956. Algeria's sole parliamentary representation remained in the National Assembly in Paris alone, which (in 1957-8) was concerned with drawing up a new constitution for Algeria, providing for a Federal National Assembly. However, this concept was never put into practice, because of growing unrest and violence in Algeria.

Parliamentary life revived only after the end of the war in Algeria; the Evian Agreements spelled out the necessity for electing a representative assembly. A Constituent National Assembly was elected accordingly on 20 September 1962, first meeting on 25 September. Its powers included legislation, promulgation of a constitution and selection of a provisional government. It comprised 196 Members, about one-third of whom had been guerilla leaders and another 16 European Algerians. The 60-Member Front for National Liberation (known by its French acronym—FLN) dominated the Constituent Assembly, which had elected Aḥmad Ben Bella Prime Minister, and dedicated only part of its time to legislating, as Ben Bella and the government were busy decreeing laws. However, the Constituent Assembly did initiate a fruitful exchange of opinions, with free criticism, meeting increasing disapproval from Ben Bella and his close advisers. Thus there was a marked difference between the level of tolerance for the opposition during the first year of the Assembly, presided over by liberal-minded Farḥat ʿAbbās and during the second, when others presided. In the second year, political debates became increasingly infrequent and most attention was focused on economic matters, in which there were fewer differences of opinion.

Elections to the National Assembly took place in September 1964, in accordance with the August 1963 Constitution, approved by popular referendum on 8 September. This aimed at legitimising personal rule in Algeria, as well as the predominance of the party over the National Assembly. The constitution declared FLN as the only legal party and consequently empowered it to control the National Assembly. It provided for a unicameral National Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī*), seating candidates endorsed by FLN and duly elected by a general, direct vote for five-year terms. The Assembly and the State President were to initiate legislation; the latter exercised direct legislation under certain circumstances. The Assembly was also supposed to control the government's policy-making. Ministers were responsible to the Assembly's committees, whose members could interpellate them. Members of the Assembly enjoyed parliamentary immunity. According to a new electoral law, adopted in the Assembly on 25 August 1964, the number of seats was reduced from 194 to 138, which proved useful to the FLN government in eliminating members who were considered oppositionist. Nevertheless, about 43% of the Members were indeed re-elected. This Assembly, however, was short-lived and its achievements unspectacular, as more and more laws were promulgated by Presidential decree. Būmedyen's coup of 19 June

1965 resulted in the suspension of both the 1963 Constitution and the National Assembly.

In June 1975, Bûmediyen announced his intention to hold elections for a new representative assembly. Algeria's new constitution, approved by a popular referendum on 19 November 1976, provides for a National People's Assembly, to be elected for a five-year term by direct secret and universal suffrage at the proposal of the single Party's leadership. A number of seats is to be reserved for representatives of peasants and workers. Legislation is to be the prerogative of both the Assembly and the State President, although only the latter may introduce bills on national defence. The Assembly is to hold two annual sessions of not more than three months each, while its sub-committees meet regularly. Members are to enjoy parliamentary immunity. A National People's Assembly has not yet been elected to date (1978) and the Council of the Revolution, headed by Bûmedyen, is the state's supreme executive and legislative organ.

There is only meagre data available on members of the various parliamentary bodies in Algeria. During the pre-independence era, most were middle-class and were frequently identified with circles co-operating with the French and interested in preservation of the status quo. More specific data are available for the post-independence Constituent National Assembly, which sat for two years, between 1962 and 1964. Among its 194 members, 15 were of European origin; 10 were women. The average age was 39—fairly young as parliamentary bodies go. Its occupational breakdown was as follows:

Occupational breakdown of 183 of the 194 Members of the Algerian Constituent Assembly, 1962-1964 (%)

Military	18 %	Students	10 %
Free Professions	18	Workers	7.2
Merchants	14	Party cadres	4
Teachers	12	Salaried	3.2
Peasant-farmers	10.6	Officials, clerks	2.6
		Total	99.6 %

(Source: Anisse Salah Bey—see Bibliography).

The "military" component was a direct result of the Algerian war; some had probably had a different background initially. The proportion of merchants and clerks seems high for a revolutionary Assembly. Those representing the free professions, on the other hand, comprised a relatively small group; apparently, however, some of the military had formerly been professionals. In any event, it was a well-educated body: some 25 % of the Members had had university education and many others secondary school training. More than 75 % spoke French, which was consequently the language used in the Assembly.

Algeria's parliamentary history falls into two main periods: the colonial era, until 1956, when the nature of the Assemblies, determined by the French, remained largely consultative, although some autonomy was acquired gradually; and the brief experience in independent Algeria, with the Assembly controlled by and largely subservient to the FLN.

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(xxi) *Morocco*.

Under the French Protectorate, Morocco was an absolute monarchy, in which the Sultan and the French (particularly the latter) ruled without any parliamentary institutions. A first step forwards parliamentarism was taken by the Protectorate in 1919, with the establishment of a Government Council (*Conseil de Gouvernement*), comprising the representatives of the French in Morocco; local Moroccans joined during subsequent years. From 1926 on, the Council comprised three French sections (*collèges*), elected by economic groups (agriculture, commerce, industry) and one, nominated Moroccan section. The Council served only as a debating forum and its decisions were purely advisory.

When independence was achieved, King Muḥammad V considered the issue of parliamentary bodies. Morocco had had no experience with political elections; even its political parties were divided as to the benefits of immediate representative government. Therefore, the King nominated a 76-member Consultative National Assembly (*Assemblée Nationale Consultative, al-Madjlis al-waṭanī al-istishārī*) on 3 August 156, striving to make it as representative as possible of the three major political parties, of the different regions of Morocco and of various socio-economic groups. The King inaugurated the Assembly on 12 Novembre 1956.

The powers of the Consultative National Assembly, amplified by a royal decree on 27 November 1956, were clearly advisory. The Assembly meets twice a year, in spring and autumn. Most of its work is carried out in four (three since 1958) committees comprising between 12 and 24 members each (every member may belong to one committee only). The Assembly's regular term is two years, although the King may prolong it (in 1958 it was prolonged by six months) and Members enjoy immunity. Since the Moroccan Cabinet preceded the convocation of the first Assembly, the Ministers were neither part of the Assembly, nor responsible to it, although the Members of the Assembly could interpellate them. Ministers were responsible to the King alone, who succeeded in imposing his will on the Assembly thanks to both the definition of its powers and to his own standing and prestige. Hence there were large pro-government majorities in practically every vote on all important matters during the Assembly's first two years. Only during its third year were there signs of growing independence—and even increasing criticisms and opposition, probably reflecting the overall political climate outside the Assembly. This seems to have led Muḥammad V to allow the Assembly to die a natural death in May 1959; its term was not renewed, nor did the King convene another Assembly during his reign.

Muḥammad V's son and heir, Ḥasan II (mounted the throne in 1961), contributed to the course of parliamentarism in Morocco. On 2 June 1961, the new king promulgated a Fundamental Law, which was mainly a declaration of principles. This was enhanced by Morocco's first constitution, prepared by a commission and submitted by Ḥasan II to a popular referendum on 7 December 1962. Some 80% of those eligible voted, with a heavy majority in favour (3,706,732 versus 112,879).

The 1962 Constitution provided for a bi-cameral legislature—a Chamber of Representatives (*Chambre des Représentants, Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and a Chamber of Counsellors (*Chambres des Conseillers, Madjlis al-mustashārīn*). The former was to be elected for four years by direct universal suffrage and the latter for six years (with half the membership changing every three years)—by and from colleges consisting of local assemblies (two-thirds of this body) and chambers of agriculture, commerce and industry, artisans and trade-unionists (one-third). Both Chambers debate policy and legislate, although the Chamber of Representatives has greater authority. For example, the latter may bring about the resignation of the Cabinet by a vote of censure (Ministers are nominated by the King, who has also the right to dismiss them). While the Representatives have greater authority, legislation in both Chambers is hampered, in practical terms, by their meeting for only two annual two-months sessions. Furthermore, the King may withhold approval of laws indefinitely and may submit laws for popular referendum without prior consultation with the two Chambers. Members of both Chambers enjoy parliamentary immunity.

Although the 1962 Constitution was criticised by both traditionalists and modernists in Morocco as being too modern or too traditional, respectively, it remained in force for several years; the first two Chambers were elected following its provisions and those of a subsequent Electoral Law.

Elections to the 144-seat first Chamber of Representatives were held on 17 May 1963, following a simple majority system with single-member constituencies, of which 117 were rural. There were 694 candidates running; each was required to deposit 1000 *dirhams* (then about £ 70), to be forfeited if the candidate obtained less than 5% in his constituency. About 73% of the 4,650,000 eligible voted. The Front for the Defence of Constitutional Institutions, a pro-King and pro-Government group, won 69 seats, four short of an absolute majority. Next came two nationalist groupings, the *Istiḳlāl* with 41 seats and the National Union of Popular Forces with 28, together equalling the number of seats obtained by the Front, with Independents holding the remaining 6 seats. Elections to the 120-seat Chamber of Counsellors were held on 13 October 1963; the Front for the Defence of Constitutional Institutions won decisively with 107 seats, the *Istiḳlāl* received 11 seats, and independents another 2. Ḥasan II opened the first Moroccan parliament on 18 November, re-

linquishing the post of Prime Minister which he had filled until then.

The achievements of the 1963 parliament were not particularly remarkable and ended abruptly in June 1965, with the declaration of a state of emergency by Ḥasan II (all within the framework of the constitution). There followed a pause in parliamentary activity, restored by the 1970 constitution published by the King on 8 July. It was reportedly approved by a 98.7% majority in a popular referendum held on 24 July. These official figures are questionable, however, as many have indicated the strong opposition of most parties and many organisations to the new constitution, largely caused by its differing from that of 1962 in that it further strengthened the powers of the King at the expense of the Prime Minister and parliament. According to the 1970 Constitution, the King was empowered to amend the constitution at will, promulgate decrees in almost any matter (even to declare war) and reject parliamentary bills and requests. Conversely, the nature of parliament was altered; it was now to be a unicameral Chamber of Representatives of 240 seats: 90 elected directly, 90 by members of local councils and 60 elected in two-stage voting by chambers of commerce and industry (including professional and workers' groups), all elected for six-year terms.

As most parties boycotted the 21 and 28 August 1970 elections to the Chamber of Representives, the majority of candidates were independents supported by the government. Many candidates were returned unopposed and the government claimed huge participation despite the boycott. The Chamber comprised 158 independents (nearly all pro-government), 60 members of the pro-government *Mouvement Populaire* and 22 belonging to other parties and groups. The Chamber achieved little during its two-year lifespan and was sharply criticised from many quarters, prompting Ḥasan II to promulgate yet another constitution.

Morocco's third constitution was promulgated on 10 March 1972, following a popular referendum which approved it on 1 March. It was slightly more liberal regarding parliamentary powers; two-thirds of the unicameral Chamber of Representatives (of 264 seats) were to be elected by direct, universal suffrage and only one-third by two-stage voting of local councils as well as professional and employees' organisations. The Cabinet was made responsible to both the King and the Chamber. Nevertheless, the King's position remained pre-eminent, particularly as he had postponed the holding of new elections several times, ruling by decrees in the interim.

Under the 1972 Constitution, elections to the Chamber of Representatives were held on 3 June 1977. For the benefit of illiterate voters, each party was allotted a specific colour for its ballot. Some 82.36% of those eligible voted. Independents, mostly pro-Government, held 141 seats and *Istiḳlāl* candidates, 49; the pro-Government *Mouvement Populaire* held 44 seats and other groups 30. The King enjoyed a comfortable majority of his supporters in this Chamber, which he inaugurated on 14 October 1977.

The characteristics of Moroccan parliamentarians have not yet been studied in detail. Both the will of the Sovereign and subsequent electoral laws ensured that all Morocco's regions were represented, with rural areas favoured somewhat. Many of the Members were young: according to official figures, about 40% of the Members of 1963 parliament and 60% of those of the 1970 Chamber, were between 25 and 40 years of age. When nominating the Members, the King and his officials strove to strike some balance among political parties, non-political leaders, economic and social groups and diverse occupations. In November 1956, the occupational distribution was as follows: free professions – 10, agriculture – 19, commerce and industry – 17, workers – 16 and religious personalities – 5. In later Chambers the distribution appears to have been more diversified.

Independent Morocco's hither-and-thither experience with parliamentarism at first continued the tradition of the French Protectorate in nominating the whole institution, then moved towards elections, although the King did preserve his special powers in both the written constitutions and in the practice of imposing a two-stage electoral system (for at least a part of the membership) on parliament, ensuring the election of a largely-compliant body. Legislating by decree, without the benefit of parliamentary participation, completed the circle of the King's powers vis-à-vis the elected Chamber. This is all the more remarkable in light of Morocco's multi-party system.

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(xxii) *Mauritania*

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, independent since 1960, had already experience of a legislative assembly under French rule. Since 1925, the Governor-General of the Afrique Occidentale Française or AOF (of which Mauritania was a part) was assisted by an appointed advisory council, functionally representative of the federation's major interest groups (military and civil servants, businessmen, Africans). Meaningful measures concerning representative bodies in Mauritania were introduced, however, only in 1946, as part of the new French policy in the region. Representation was then provided on three levels: (a) Territorial: a General Council (*Conseil Général*), called the Territorial Assembly (*Assemblée Territoriale*) since 1952, has had extensive control over the budget, although it functioned solely in an advisory capacity on any other issue. In Mauritania, it first comprised 20, then 24 members, divided into two sections (*collèges*)—the first (6, then 8 members) elected by Europeans and the second (14, then 16 members), by Africans. They were reorganised into one *collège* in 1952; (b) Federal: Mauritania sent five delegates, elected from its General Council (Territorial Assembly) to the AOF's General Council; and (c) National (French): Mauritania elected a *député* to the National Assembly in Paris. The winner of the legislative elections of November 1946 was elected by 6,076—or about two-thirds—of all votes cast. Several weeks later, Mauritania's first General Council was elected. In 1947, the General Council's French section duly elected a *Sénateur* to the French Senate in Paris and its African section a representative to the recently established Assembly of the Communauté Française.

The 1946 French Constitution gave the right of vote to but a few: members of certain local associations, trade unions and co-operatives, government officials, wage earners, owners of registered property and war veterans. Consequently, few were eligible to vote in the 1946 Mauritanian elections. In 1947, the literate were added and in 1951, heads of households and mothers of two or more children. The following table indicates the sizable increase in the number of eligible voters.

By 1956, the franchise was universal, so that the population was not unprepared for the new *Loi cadre*.

The *Loi cadre* of June 1956 bestowed a larger measure of autonomy on France's overseas territories, vested in respective elected Territorial Assemblies and in Councils of Government (*Conseils de Gouvernement*), comprising senior French officials and Ministers elected by the Assembly. Each Territorial Assembly could formulate its own policies in such local affairs as agriculture, forestry, trade, health and primary and secondary education. In Mauritania's first elections to the Territorial Assembly, held on 31 March 1957 (the first held under universal suffrage), the Mauritanian Progressive Union (Union Progressiste Mauritanienne) won 33 out of the Assembly's 34 seats, obtaining 252,898 out of the 272,474 votes cast. This party represented both the administration and traditional attitudes, as well as tribal chieftains; it had already participated in the 1952 election to the General Council (Territorial Assembly), winning 22 out of 24 seats. It was led by Mukhtār Ould Dādda, a lawyer-turned-politician who was to lead Mauritania to independence and serve as its first president.

Mauritania's heavy "yes" vote in the De Gaulle referendum of 28 September 1958 signified its approval of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic and its autonomous membership in the new Communauté Française. Mauritania's Territorial Assembly was converted into a Constituent Assembly (*Djamʿiyya taʾsīsiyya*), on 28 November 1958, with the task of drafting a constitution. Prepared by former administrators, the Assembly approved and promulgated a constitution on 22 March 1959, providing for a 40-seat Legislative Assembly (*Assemblée législative, Djamʿiyya tashrīʿiyya*), to be elected for five years by direct, universal and secret voting. The Assembly was to meet for two sessions annually, not exceeding two months each. Its powers were mainly legislative, although it also elected the Prime Minister, who in turn appointed the rest of the

Registered voters, and votes cast in Mauritania in elections for the National Assembly in Paris, 1946 and 1951

Registered voters		*Votes cast, 1946*		*Votes casi, 1951*	
1046	1951	Number	% of registered votes	Number	% of registered votes
16,271	135,586	9,539	58.6	52,181	40.2

(Source: Thompson and Adloff—see Bibliography)

Cabinet. Ministers were responsible to the Assembly, which could bring the Cabinet down by a no-confidence vote. Members enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The first elections to the Legislative Assembly were held on 17 May 1959, with some 326,000 out of about 373,000 participating. This time, the Mauritanian Progressive Union, renamed *Parti du Regroupement Mauritanien* (since 1958), captured all 40 seats.

After negotations with France, the independence of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania was proclaimed on 28 November 1960. A new constitution, required for a sovereign state, was adopted by the Assembly on 20 May 1961 by a vote of 31 to 2, with one abstention. The 1961 Constitution—amended in 1972—was basically a modification of the former one, adapted for a presidential régime. It established the office of a state president, absorbing that of the prime minister, strengthening it at the expense of the Assembly. The 1961 Constitution provided for a 40-seat National Assembly (Assemblée Nationale) (50-seat since 1971 and 70-seat since 1975), elected for five years, legislating only in a limited number of areas, including the budget. The Assembly convenes for one four-month session per year. It cannot pass a vote of no-confidence in the President or the Ministers (although it may impeach them). Ministers are responsible to the President but not to the Assembly. The President has priority in legislation and right of veto, but cannot dissolve the Assembly.

In the early 1960s, the Assembly produced much-needed legislation, such as the establishment of an adequate judicial system for Mauritania (1963). It also discussed policy, sometimes displaying an independence of spirit which caused considerable friction between the National Assembly and President Ould Dādda. The latter succeeded in strengthening his position, however, particularly since a constitutional amendment was passed, institutionalising the Mauritanian Progressive Union as the only legal party. Since this action of his, it is the single party (led by Ould Dādda), rather than the National Assembly, which has served as the main focus of power in Mauritania and dominated its politics. This has been at least partly motivated by Ould Dādda's intention to use the party as Mauritania's main vehicle for modernisation, as traditionalists still have a strong hold in the National Assembly.

Consequently, in the general elections for the National Assembly held on 9 May 1965, the party, whose name had been changed to Mauritanian People's Party (*Parti du Peuple Mauritanien, Ḥizb al-sha'b*), won all 40 seats; it obtained 445,644 votes or 92.1% of the 447,660 valid votes cast (out of a total of 482,305 eligible to vote). Such results were repeated in the general elections for the National Assembly, held on 8 August 1971, when the party won all 50 seats, obtaining 502,547, out of 502,945, valid votes cast (nearly 100%). Again, in the general elections held on 26 October 1975, the party won all 70 seats obtaining 99.9% of all valid votes cast.

In February 1976, Mauritania participated with fourteen other African states, in Agadir, in the establishment of a Union of African Parliaments (*Union des parlements africains*), whose avowed aim was "to strengthen parliamentary institutions by improving the functions of representative democracy". Mauritania was represented in this new body by one of the Union's Vice-Presidents, 'Abd al-'Azīz Sall, President of Mauritania's National Assembly and by Muḥammad Fall, who entered the Union's Executive Committee. Mauritania's own parliament, however, was suspended following the July 1978 military coup.

Not much is known about the socio-economic composition of the National Assembly, although the 1965 Assembly reflected the administrative character of the single party; 39 out of the 40 members were civil servants. There is every reason to believe that this group has continued to predominate.

The parliamentary history of Mauritania falls into two periods: until independence, the Assembly was virtually led by the French, who even had a special collège within it to protect the interests of France and French settlers. Since independence, it has been dominated by President Ould Dādda and his single party, generally (although not invariably) serving in a rather docile manner.

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(xxiii) *Israel.*

Israel is one of the few Middle Eastern states with a sizable Muslim minority sharing in its parliamentary life. Upon the establishment of the State, on 14 May 1948, Israel had a population of about 156,000 Arabs, out of some 750,000 people; on 1 October 1978 there were approximately 590,000 (including those in East Jerusalem) out of a total population of 3,708,300. With some variation, the Arabs generally comprised some 70% Muslims, 20% Christians and 10% Druzes (all the above statistics refer to Israel proper and not to territories held by Israel since 1967. Inhabitants of those territories refuse to opt for Israeli citizenship and consequently may not vote in its parliamentary elections).

All Israeli citizens aged 18 and over may vote in elections for Israel's unicameral, 120-seat parliament, the *Kĕneset*. Elections are universal, direct, equal, and secret; the entire country is considered as one constituency and voting is by proportional representation, so that every vote counts. Israel's Arabs have indeed participated heavily in all nine general elections held in 1949, 1951, 1955, 1959, 1961, 1965, 1969, 1973, and 1977. In all except the first (1949) and ninth (1977) elections, their participation has been relatively greater than that of Jews, reaching a peak of 92.1% of those eligible to vote in elections for the sixth *Kĕneset* (1965). Rural Arab voting has consistently been heavier than urban.

Slates of candidates are usually put forward by the political parties. Arabs, like Jews, vote for the slate of their choice, frequently those comprising Arab, or Jewish and Arab, candidates, generally seating between 6 and 8 Arabs in each *Kĕneset*. Arabs connected with the Establishment through left-of-centre parties such as MAPAI (later the Labour Party) and MAPAM have become Deputy Ministers, like Sayf al-Dīn al-Zuʿbī and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Zuʿbī, or Deputy Speakers of the *Kĕneset*, like Sayf al-Dīn al-Zuʿbī. Those active in the Communist Party have been prominent in the Opposition. During the past twenty years, Arab electoral support for the Communist Party has increased, probably due to the success of the nationalist Arab image created by this party. The following are the percentages of Arab votes for the Communist Party, out of the total Arab vote, in recent *Kĕneset* elections: 1959 - 10%; 1961 - 22%; 1965 - 23%; 1969 - 29%; 1973 - 33% (about 48,000 votes); 1977 48% (about 70,000 votes). This party, formerly strongly principally among Christians, has made considerable inroads among Muslims and Druzes in recent years. As aresult, its representatives in the *Kĕneset* have increasingly claimed to speak for all Israel's Arabs and have frequently insisted upon using the Arabic language there (Israel has two official languages—Hebrew and Arabic).

Most (although not all) of the Arab *Kĕneset* Members connected with the Establishment have been farmers; one was a Bedouin *shaykh*. Those voted in as Communists, however, have generally been townspeople. All have been—or have become—professional politicians. The education level of Arab *Kĕneset* Members, like that of Jewish ones, has risen from one legislature to the next; the Arab contingent has increasingly comprised journalists and writers.

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(xxiv) *Cyprus*

Cyprus is another Middle Eastern state with a large Muslim minority: although estimates vary, the Turkish community there numbers close to 20% of the island's inhabitants—the second largest after the Greek community.

The island was a part of the Ottoman Empire from 1571 to 1878. One of the first measures of the British, after they had taken over Cyprus in 1878, was to institute some form of representation for its inhabitants. Their first experiment, in August 1878, was a nominated Council of 4 to 8 members, with official and unofficial appointees in equal numbers. Soon, however, in the March 1882 Constitution, promulgated by an Order in Council, a more representative Legislation Council was appointed. This could initiate discussion in certain matters, although some financial matters were not within its competence. The Legislative Council comprised 12 elected members (9 Greeks and 3 Turks) and 6 appointed members, generally officials, with the British High Commissioner or another senior official presiding and having a casting vote in case of a tie. The members were elected within their respective communities. On 6 February, 1925, the membership was increased to 24: 12 Greeks, 3 Turks, and 9 officials. The British intention appears to have been to be able to offset a collective vote of the Greek majority against the Turkish community. In practice, however, the British officials voted almost regularly together with the Turkish members. This led to no little frustration on the Greek side and to its increasingly introducing extreme politics into the Council, chiefly in its support for Enosis, which the Turks (with frequent British support) opposed with equal determination. Consequently, the Legislative Council, instead of serving for accommodation, sharpened the inter-communal conflict; instead of being a training-ground for self-government, it promoted inter-communal strife. The fact that three languages were officially used (English, Greek and Turkish) was no help, either. On 12 November 1931, following disturbances on the island, the Legislative Council was dissolved, all legislative authority being vested since in the Governor, aided by a six-man Executive Council. As from 1933, the Governor was assisted by a handpicked Advisory Council of five Cypriots—4 Greeks and 1 Turk, nominated and merely consultative.

After the end of the Second World War, the British appeared to be more inclined towards granting the Cypriots limited self-government. A Constituent Assembly was convoked by the British on 6 November 1947, to discuss a new constitution. Of the 40 invited, only 18 attended, including 7 Turks and 1 Maronite; because of Greek Cypriot opposition, within the Assembly and without (and some Turkish Cypriot reservations, too), the Assembly was dissolved on 12 August 1948, with the matter left pending. In 1954, 1956, and 1958, new British proposals for a constitution for Cyprus were rejected by the Greek Cypriots.

The Zürich Agreement of February 1959 and its ratification in the London Conference of February 1960 provided the legal and constitutional basis for the Republic of Cyprus. The 1960 Constitution has a marked bi-communal character, institutionalising and legitimising Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot interests. It ensures bi-communal participation on all levels of government, at a ratio of 70% for the Greek, and 30% for the Turkish community. The Cabinet has 7 Greek, and 3 Turkish, Cypriots—who may be Members of the House. Legislative authority is vested in a House of Representatives, elected for five years; it is made up of 35 Greek Cypriots and 15 Turkish Cypriots, elected within their communities. The Speaker of the House is a Greek Cypriot, the Deputy Speaker a Turkish Cypriot. While the President of the Republic (a Greek) or the Vice-President (a Turk) alone may initiate financial bills, the House discusses them. The House's powers are limited further by the absolute right of veto of the President and Vice President in foreign affairs, defence and security, as well as by the establishment of separate communal Chambers of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, which have competence in all religious, cultural and educational matters, and by the decisions of the communal courts in matters of personal status. Both Greek and Turkish are official languages.

The first House of Representatives was elected, according to the pre-independence Electoral Law of 31 December 1959, in 6 multi-member constituencies; each community voted only for its own candidates. The first elections to the House of Representatives were held on 31 July 1960. Those to the Communal Chambers were held on 7 August; the Turkish Cypriots elected, to all the 15 seats of their Chamber, the National Front of Fazıl Küçük.

From the start, Turkish Cypriots stood fast for protecting their constitutional rights, while the Greek Cypriots argued that their rivals were taking an unfair advantage of the constitution. Constant friction continued in the House and other levels of government, sometimes reaching crisis dimensions. As with the Legislative Council a generation earlier, the House of Representatives served to emphasise discord rather than accommodate conflict. Without the moderating British presence, however, legislation slowed down frequently and policy debates turned to bickering. Deadlock sometimes ensued, and in November 1963 Makarios, the State President, proposed various constitutional amendments; the main ones were to do away with the separate voting of Greeks and Turks in passing certain laws, and to abolish the privilege of the State President and Vice-President, separately, of vetoing legislation. The amendments were energetically rejected by the Turkish Cypriots, who argued that the amendments would undermine the régime. When disturbances, late in 1963 and early in 1964, prevented the Turkish Cypriots from attending the House, the Greek Cypriots passed the above amendment, anyway, on 23 July 1965, modifying also the 1959 Electoral Law to make voting general, instead of by communities. The Turkish Cypriots rejected all the above —and the joint House of Representatives ceased to exist, becoming a Greek Cypriot body. The Turkish Cypriots reacted by boycotting the House and instituting their own "Turkish Cypriot Transitional Administration" (December 1967).

General elections for the House of Representatives were held on 5 July 1970 (the former House, elected in 1960 for five years, had had its term prolonged, annually, by Presidential decree). The Turkish Cypriots, on the same day, elected their own 15 Representatives to the House, These, however, continued to boycott the House and, together with the 15 Members of the Turkish Cypriot Communal Chamber, formed a joint 30-Member Chamber, part of the Turkish Cypriot Transitional Administration. After Turkey's military intervention in July 1974, an Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration was established, with an Executive Council and a Legislative Assembly. Following the decision, on 13 February 1975, to create a Turkish Cypriot Federated State in the whole area under Turkish control, a 50-Member Constituent Assembly (*Kurucu Meclis*) was elected in the same month, comprising 25 Members of the joint Chamber and another 25 Members selected by various organisations. This body prepared a new, separate constitution for the Turkish Cypriot Federated State, which was approved with a large majority, by a popular referendum, on 8 June. Elections for the President and for the first 40-Member Legislative Assembly (*Yasama Meclisi*) were held on 20 June 1976. The National Unity Party, led by Rauf Denktaş, obtained 30 seats, the Communal Liberation Party 6, the Populist Party and the Republican Turkish Party 2 each.

The parliamentary history of the Turkish community in Cyprus falls into three main parts. Under British rule, the Turkish Cypriots sat—from 1882 until 1931—as a minority group together with the Greek Cypriots and the British, usually voting with the British for what they saw as their special interests. In the independent Republic of Cyprus, from 1960 to 1963, they sat with the Greek Cypriots in a House of Representatives, as a minority group, but with special safeguards for their community. Since 1963, first in their own area in the Republic, later in what they consider the Turkish Cypriot Federated State, they have maintained their own, all-Turk, representative institutions.

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(J. M. Landau)

B. In Afghānistān.

Afghānistān has known two distinct types of representative assembly, the *djirga* and the *madjlis*. Their origins, development and functions are quite different and they are best discussed separately.

The *djirga* is a tribal council operating at all levels from the family upwards and reflecting the collective authority of the group over the individual. At the lowest levels its membership comprises all adult males; at higher levels various units are represented by men chosen primarily on the basis of seniority, but also for skill in negotiation or family reputation. *Djirga* decisions represent a consensus, weighted according to age and reputation. The functions of the *djirga* embrace all matters, but especially the resolution of disputes within the group and the relations of the group with outside organisation. The authority of the *djirga* depends upon the distribution of power within the group concerned. In state affairs, two varieties of *djirga* were employed. One was the permanent council of chiefs, members of the royal family and other notables, which was consulted frequently on all matters of state business and which offered detailed advice. References to such an institution under various names are common from the time of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] Abdālī onwards. The second, usually known as the Loya Djirga, dealt with the most important matters. It was a much larger body, including all men of influence in the region or country, and it was usually summoned to deal with one issue alone and subsequently dismissed. It was called in cases of succession where the legitimacy of the claims of a candidate to the throne were in doubt and where some broad expression of national endorsement was required. In 1747 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī Abdālī was elected ruler by a *djirga* of Abdālī and Ghalzay tribal chiefs and religious figures; in August 1880 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMAN KHAN] was chosen by an assembly of tribal chiefs; and in February 1919 Amān Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was proclaimed *amīr* by a gathering of tribal chiefs and notables at Kābul. Bačča-yi Saḳaw legitimised his claim to the throne through the *ʿulamāʾ* and in March 1929 was challenged by his rival, Nādir Khān, to submit his claim to a national *djirga* of all Afghān tribal chiefs. In September 1930 Nādir Khān himself secured confirmation of his own claim to the throne from a Loya Djirga of 286 notables. The Loya Djirga was also used to obtain national approval or confirmation of major policy decisions. According to Munshī Sulṭān Muḥammad, for ordinary purposes ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (like his predecessor, Shīr ʿAlī) employed an advisory council of *sardārs*, *khāns* and *mullās*, but in time of war, or other national emergency, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān sought the advice and assistance of a murch larger assembly (Loya Djirga) of notables and *mullās*. In 1915 Ḥabīb Allāh [*q.v.*] was reported to have called a Loya Djirga to discuss Afghān foreign policy during the First World War, although when the ruler determined to adopt an unpopular policy of neutrality he changed the meeting into a great *darbār*, summoned to hear his decision, not to discuss it. In 1921 Amān Allāh summoned a Loya Djirga, the decision of which formed the justification for the issue of the 1923 constitution, which in turn was submitted to the approval of another Loya Djirga. As well as setting up other permanent bodies (including the Darbār-i ʿĀlī, an assembly of elders chosen in the manner of the Loya Djirga to review the work of each year), the 1923 constitution provided for the summoning by the ruler at his discretion of a Loya Djirga. Amān Allāh made use of this provision. In July 1924, following the Khōst [*q.v.*] rebellion, a Loya Djirga was called to amend the constitution; and in August 1928 another one, 1,000 strong, was called for a similar purpose and to hear Amān Allāh's plans for reform. In 1941 a Loya Djirga was called to endorse Afghānistān's foreign policy in the Second World War following the Allied demand for the expulsion of German citizens; and in 1949 and 1955 Loya Djirgas (possibly representing only certain tribes) were called in connection with the Pakhtūnistān dispute. The constitutions of 1964 and 1977 were also submitted to Loya Djirgas for approval. In keeping with its inclination towards parliamentary democracy, the 1964 constitution considerably reduced the role and importance of the Loya Djirga. The Loya Djirga of January-February 1977, which considered the new constitution and elected Muḥammad Dāwūd as President of the Republic of Afghānistān, provides good evidence of the development of the Loya Djirga and its continuing importance as a major source of legitimation. In the Presidential proclamation of 28 December 1976, which announced the summoning of the Djirga, it was stated that "in accordance with the conventions of our society Loya Djirgas in the course of the history of Afghānistān have been convened on sensitive and important occasions and have deliberated vital national issues". The Loya Djirga was described as a supra-parliamentary body. Article 65 of the 1977 constitution defined the composition of the Loya Djirga, which was represented as "the supreme manifestation of the power and will of its [Afghānistān's] people". The 1977 Loya Djirga consisted of elected representatives, members of the government, members of the central committee of the only political party, the high judicial council, the constitutional drafting committee, military officers, and other persons appointed by Presidential decree. The Djirga sat for twenty-six sessions and made several amendments to the constitution before finally approving it [see further DJIRGA in Suppl., in particular, for the institution on the Indian side of the Frontier].

The institution of the *madjlis* proper has a much shorter history. Until 1923 Afghānistān knew only consultative councils appointed by the ruler from among the notables. The 1923 constitution provided for three national bodies: a council of ministers; the Darbār-i ʿĀlī; and an advisory state council, half nominated and half elected. The state council was the first Afghān institution which possessed some likeness to a Western parliament, but its role was severely limited, and it seems to have played an insignificant role in Afghān public life. The 1923 constitution also provided for regional advisory councils, an innovation continued under Nādir Shāh. The 1931 constitutions provided for a two-chamber Parliament: the Upper House or *Madjlis-i Aʿyān* consisted of twenty or more (later limited to forty-five) "experienced and far-sighted persons" approved by the king; and the Lower House or *Madjlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī* consisted of 116 (later 173) representatives elected for a three-year period. In form, the Afghān parliament bore a strong resemblance to the European institutions upon which it was, no doubt, modelled, although in his defence of the constitution Nādir Shāh argued (in the manner of

the Islamic modernists from the time of Nāmiḳ Ḳamāl onwards) that the Afghān Parliament was derived from the early Islamic precept of consultation which, he claimed, had survived in Afghānistān in the form of the *djirgas*, which he described as "regular governmental channels of the people of Afghānistān". Between 1931 and 1964 eleven Afghān Parliaments met, being chosen every three years as provided in the constitution. With the exception of the seventh, so-called "Liberal Parliament" (1949-52), all functioned as rubber stamps for government policy. The group of liberals in the seventh parliament did attempt to interrogate ministers and agitated for greater parliamentary power, but the government eventually reacted sharply and imprisoned the liberals. Parliament thereafter reverted to its former docile role. The 1964 constitution also provided for a two-chamber parliament, chosen for a four-year term. The Upper House (Meshrano Djirga) consisted of eighty-four members, partly appointed and partly elected; the Lower House (Wolesi Djirga) consisted of two hundred-and-sixteen elected members. Two Parliaments met during the so-called constitutional period: the first (twelfth) sat from 1965 to 1969 and was notable for the presence of vociferous radicals in it and for its attacks on the government of the period; and the second (thirteenth) which sat from 1969 to 1973 showed a smaller number of radicals (traditional leaders having apparently decided that membership of Parliament conferred more power than formerly and exerted their influence to obtain election themselves) but maintained an appearance of hostility to the governments, although their criticisms were of a conservative rather than a radical character. Throughout the constitutional period, Parliament saw its role as destructive rather than constructive. The 1973 revolution brought the parliamentary period to an end. The constitution of February 1977 (articles 48-64) provided for a single-chamber parliament (the Millī Djirga) elected for four years from men nominated by the single National Revolution Party (*Ḥizb-i Inḳilāb-i Millī*). Half of the parliamentarians were to be peasants or workers. The Millī Djirga was due to meet for the first time in December 1978, but the April 1978 revolution supervened and, for the time being, has brought to an end the experiments of Afghānistān with parliamentary government.

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(M. E. Yapp)

C. In India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Under British rule in India, Muslims were involved in two forms of assembly. There were the sessions of the various Muslim organisations, the most important of which were those of the All-India Muslim League, founded in 1906, in which major matters concerning Indian Muslims were discussed and resolutions passed. But for most of its existence the League was not a particularly representative organisation; support was limited in the main to landlords and professional men from provinces where Muslims were in a minority, *ʿulamāʾ* refused to join, some Muslims preferred to support the Indian National Congress, others supported regional organisations of Hindus and Muslims like the Unionist party in the Pandjāb or the Krishak Proja Samiti in Bengal. The League's fundamentally limited appeal was emphasised in the general elections to the legislative councils in 1937, when it won a mere 104 out of 489 seats reserved for Muslims. Only in the years 1937-47, as the meaning of Congress government was revealed and as the League began to campaign for a Muslim homeland of Pakistan, did the organisation come to win the support of most Muslims and its sessions to embrace their views. The extent of this support was demonstrated in the general elections to the legislative councils in 1945-6, when the League won 439 out of 494 seats reserved for Muslims.

The second form of assembly in which Muslims participated was the system of legislative councils which the British began to introduce in the second half of the 19th century. These operated at two levels, there being a legislative council for the whole of India and a legislative council in each province. When, from the beginning of the 20th century, the British began to make elections the main way of choosing council members, Muslims demanded special measures to protect them against Hindu majorities, which they feared. Each time the franchise was extended and council powers were increased, that is in 1909, 1919 and 1935, Muslims were given separate electorates and, where appropriate, extra seats to take account of their "political importance". Each time the result was to raise the Muslim proportion of seats above their proportion of the population where they were in a minority, to reduce their number of seats where they formed a large majority of the population, and to destroy the possibility of a majority of seats where they formed a small majority of the population, notably in the key provinces of Pandjāb and Bengal. Up to 1937, although quick to defend Muslim interests when they saw them

threatened, whether it was the matter of money-lending in the Pandjāb or local schools in the United Provinces, Muslims did not in general operate in council politics from a specifically Muslim platform, tending to belong to supra-communal groupings of landlords, local interests or nationalists. But all changed after the Indian National Congress formed governments in seven out of eleven provinces following the 1937 elections and the prospect of independence began to loom during World War II. Now Muslims realised that they must either support the Indian nationalist cause or follow the Muslim League. Most chose the latter course. Between September 1942 and March 1947, helped both by the mistakes of the nationalist leadership and the skill of its own, the League was able to form governments in the provinces of Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, Assam, Bengal and the Pandjāb.

After the partition of the subcontinent, 40 million Muslims remained scattered in minorities throughout the provinces (now known as states) of independent India, except in Kashmīr where they formed a large majority. The new Indian constitution, promulgated in 1950, abolished the old Muslim safeguards of separate electorates and reserved seats; the law forbade any political appeals on the basis of religion. Nevertheless, distinctively Muslim political parties persisted; the relics of the pre-independence Muslim League survived in Kerala and spread to the northern states in the 1960s; in 1957 the Madjlis Ittiḥād al-Muslimīn revived in Hyderabad and a decade later was petitioning the Government of India for the foundation of a purely Muslim state on India's eastern coast; in 1964 the Madjlis-i Mushāwarat was formed to press for specifically Muslim concerns through the political system. But, beyond winning a few seats and striking the occasional bargain with other parties at state level, these communal parties had little success in promoting Muslim interests or in winning large-scale Muslim support. Most Muslims have entered both state assemblies and national Parliament as members of the Congress Party, which has come to be seen, among the unsatisfactory alternatives available, as the best protector of Muslim interests. Indeed, so firm has been Muslim support that it has been recognised as one of the main sustainers of Congress dominance in Indian politics since 1947. The weakening of their support is marked down as a major cause of the Congress's defeat in the general elections of 1977; the return of their support as a cause of its victory in the general elections of 1980.

In the Muslim state of Pakistan, we are concerned less with Muslim representation in assemblies than with the fortunes of assemblies themselves. At independence there were the old provincial legislatures inherited from the British period, and these elected a Constituent Assembly whose task was to frame a constitution for the new country and at the same time to act as a national legislature. Framing a constitution proved immensely difficult. Amongst the many problems were those of balancing the claims of East Pakistan, where a majority of the people lived, against those of West Pakistan, and finding an appropriate place for Islam in the country's constitution. The Assembly worked with much rancour and increasing slowness. When in 1954 it moved to curb the powers of the Governor-General, he replied on 24 October of that year by dismissing the Assembly and declaring a state of emergency. In June 1955 the provincial legislature elected a second Constituent Assembly and on 29 February 1956, nearly nine years after independence, the Assembly adopted Pakistan's first constitution which provided for a federal and parliamentary system of government with a strong centre, adult franchise and direct elections. There was to be one house of Parliament and its members were to be divided equally between East and West Pakistan [see DUSTŪR xiv]. General elections were proposed for 1958, but they were not held. Politicians squabbled. Faction, violence and corruption were rife. The public lost all respect for political institutions. On 7 October 1958 President Iskandar Mīrzā, under pressure from General Ayyūb Khān, declared martial law, abrogated the constitution and dissolved all legislatures. Thus democracy lost its first struggle with authoritarianism in Pakistani life. In the first eleven years of its existence, the National Assembly met for a mere 338 days and passed only 160 laws. For the rest of the time, the executive had unrestricted power and issued 376 major ordinances.

On 1 March 1962 President Ayyūb Khān promulgated a new constitution, which provided for two provincial assemblies, one for East and one for West Pakistan, and a National Assembly of 156 members whose seats were equally divided between the two wings of the country. Members were to be elected by a college of 80,000 "Basic Democrats" who had been directly elected by the people. The first meeting of the National Assembly was convened on 8 June 1962, but from the beginning it met with powerful opposition in the country. As political parties were forbidden, and as all executive and much legislative power was in the hands of the President, the Assembly seemed less a forum for democracy than a weapon of dictatorship. Eventually, opposition grew so great that Ayyūb Khān was forced to declare martial law in March 1969 and to dissolve the Assembly. Agitation continued. On 25 March 1969 the Commander-in-Chief, Yaḥyā Khān, took over power from Ayyūb Khān and abrogated the 1962 constitution. On 28 November 1969 he reaffirmed a pledge to restore parliamentary government and announced that general elections would be held on the basis of one man, one vote, in autumn 1970 to elect a National Assembly to draft a constitution. Parity between the East and West wings of the country was now abandoned; on the basis of its population East Pakistan could now control 56% of the seats. On 7 December 1970 Pakistan held its first general elections. The ʿAwāmmī League won 160 out of 162 seats in East Pakistan and therefore had a potential majority in the National Assembly. On 1 March 1971 Yaḥyā Khān, under pressure from the West Pakistani leader, Zulfiqar Ali (Dhu 'l-Fiḳār ʿAlī) Bhutto, decided to postpone the National Assembly, and events were set moving which led to the transformation of East Pakistan into the new state of Bangladesh in December 1971.

In 1972 the National Assembly of the now truncated Pakistan began to meet and agreed that the country should have a federal and parliamentary system of government. There were to be four provincial assemblies and two houses of Parliament, a National Assembly and a Senate. This, the first constitution framed by a directly elected assembly, was adopted on 10 April 1973 and came into force on 14 August. The National Assembly was dominated by the Pakistan People's Party whose leader, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, resigned the presidency of Pakistan to become Prime Minister. In 1977 Mr Bhutto called Pakistan's second general elections for March. His party won 155 of the National Assembly's 200 seats. Soon it became evident that the elections had been

rigged on a huge scale. The nine opposition parties which had coalesced to form the Pakistan National Alliance refused to accept the results, launched a mass movement to press for Mr Bhutto's removal and for fresh elections supervised either by the Judiciary or by the Army. On 5 July the Army took the leaders of both sides into "protective custody", declared martial law and disbanded the national and provincial assemblies. The Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Zia-ul-Haqq (Ḍiyā' al-Ḥaḳḳ) promised elections for 18 October. They were postponed. He promised elections again for 17 October 1979. They did not take place. Now, General Zia-ul-Haqq has promised to establish a government of people's representatives who are to be chosen through the "Islamic mode".

In Bangladesh, a Constituent Assembly met on 23 March 1972 which comprised those members who had been elected from Bangladesh to the Pakistan National Assembly and the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly in the general elections of 1970. On 4 November 1972 the Assembly adopted a constitution which provided for a Parliament (Jatiya Sangsad) of one house. Three hundred members were to be directly elected by universal adult suffrage, and a further fifteen seats were reserved for women who were to be elected by the members of Parliament. General elections were held on 7 March 1973 in which Shaykh Mujeeb-ur-Rahman (Mudjīb al-Raḥmān)'s ʿAwāmmī League won 291 seats. But then, by means of a series of amendments passed between 1973 and 1975, Mujeeb-ur-Rahman changed the constitution, creating a presidential and one-party system in which all the powers of government were concentrated in the President, and the power of the legislature to control the executive was virtually destroyed. On 15 August 1975 an army faction killed Shaykh Mujeeb. Martial law was declared, Parliament was dissolved, Shaykh Mujeeb's subversive constitutional amendments were repealed and elections promised for 28 February 1977. These elections were eventually held on 18 February 1979 and produced a majority in Parliament for the Bangladesh National Party, the party of General Zia-ur-Rahman (Ḍiyā' al-Raḥmān), Chief Martial Law Administrator and President.

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(F. C. R. Robinson)

MADJLIS AL-SHŪRĀ, the name given to extraordinary, *ad hoc* consultative assemblies in the last century-and-a-half or so of the Ottoman empire. While it had long been customary in the Ottoman Empire, and in earlier Islamic states, to hold special consultations about urgent matters [see MASHWARA], such meetings appear to have become especially frequent among the Ottomans between the Russo-Ottoman War of 1182-88/1768-74 and, roughly, the abolition of the Janissaries in 1241/1826. Referred to by a variety of synonymous terms, such as *medjlis-i shūrā*, *dār al-shūrā*, *medjlis-i meshweret* (or *müshāwere*), or *endjümen-i meshweret*, these assemblies were convened *ad hoc* as need arose, and included a variable list of high-level officials: the grand *wezīr*, the *sheykh ül-Islām*, the senior military commanders, top scribal officials, and perhaps others. The place of meeting was also variable: the palace, the Sublime Porte (*Bāb-ī ʿālī* [*q.v.*]), the headquarters of the *sheykh ül-Islām* (*bāb-ī meshīkhat* [*q.v.*]), military headquarters in the field, or even provincial administrative centres. The increased frequency of such consultations clearly reflected the gravity of the crises of the time; it may have been related, too, to the decline of the old system of *dīwāns* [*q.v.*]—meaning, in Ottoman usage, conciliar bodies, rather than government

bureaux. The pattern of convening consultative *medjlises* continued to some degree until the end of the empire (Devereux, 37-8, 45-6, 96-7, 243-4; Davison, *Reform*, 348-9, 354, 356, 363, 368, 393-4; Pakalın, *OTD*, iii, 361; Findley, 245).

Ottoman histories of the late 18th and early 19th centuries provide many accounts of consultative *medjlises* (e.g. Wāṣıf, i, 99-102, 175-7, 316-9; ii, 9-10, 12-4, 18-9, 21-2, 46-7, 85-6, 104-5, 135-6, 175-6, 221-2, 235, 238-9, 294-6; Shānīzāde, i, 61-6, 199-201; ii, 96-102; iii, 198-9; iv, 2-5, 37-8, 155-8, 201-4; Djewdet, ii, 242-3, 276-8; iii, 35-47, 53-6, 74-5; iv, 154-60, 187-95, 289-91; vi, 52, 53; vii, 28-9; ix, 180-1, 300-2; x, 17-20; xi, 95, 186-7, 272-5; xii, 147-51, 158-9; Meḥmed Esʿad, 14-15; Luṭfī, i, 291-2; v, 172; cf. d'Ohsson, vii, 228-32; Shaw, *Old and new*, 73-5). These accounts contain some of the most vivid documentation available for any facet of Ottoman history. Often, they include what purport to be extended quotations from the participants. The remarks may be quite heated, and are sometimes expressed in plain language sharply in contrast with the normal style of the author who quoted them. It is not impossible to find different accounts of the same assembly, in which a given remark will be rendered in "plain Turkish" according to one author, and in highflown Ottoman according to another. In recounting an assembly of 1808, for example, Djewdet Pasha commented on the "reckless" (*lā-ubāliyāne*) way in which ʿAlemdār Muṣṭafā Pasha then grand *wezir*, expressed himself. Djewdet went on to quote the ʿAlemdār as using the plainest of language to say that his earlier action had been mistaken (*gidishimiz yolsuz ve bilishimiz yañlısh*; Djewdet, ix, 5). Shānīzāde's earlier history recounts the same assembly, but there the same remark is "translated" into Ottoman (*sülūkümüz ʿayn-i khaṭāʾ ve fehm-i ʿtiḳādımız wehm-i bī-maʿnā olub*; Shānīzāde, i, 63). At moments like this, one senses that the published accounts of the assemblies have their source in minutes that were taken at the meetings, were full enough to record at least some of what was said verbatim, and were preserved in the archives. Wāṣıf seems to confirm this, albeit laconically, in introducing an account of an assembly of 1182/1768-9 with the statement that he was transcribing the "copy of the assembly" in full (*ṣūret-i medjlis ʿaynı ile bu maḥalle ḳayd olundı*: i, 316-7; here, the "copy" itself is sketchy by later standards).

The issues laid before the councils were characteristically ones that the sultan and grand *wezir* could not decide, or did not wish to take responsibility for deciding, alone. The sessions appear normally to have begun with the reading of instructions from the sultan and other documents relevant to the issue. Discussion would then begin, with the highest-ranking participants speaking first. Lesser figures were typically reluctant to speak their minds following men of such weight as the grand *wezir* or the *sheykh ül-Islām*. Given the insecurity of officials in relation to the sultan and their superiors, and given the traditionally very narrow scope of consultation, there was reason for hesitancy. Still, it was common to urge the participants to speak, with strong reminders about the sultan's commands for consultation and about the seriousness of the matter under discussion, and with promises not to hold anyone's statements against him after the meeting (Djewdet, iii, 37-8, 332; iv, 360; vii, 28-9; ix, 302). Such assurances did not allay all fears. Yet lively debate could ensue, particularly when the issue at stake meant the choice between peace on unfavourable terms and war with almost certain prospect of defeat. At such moments, the proceedings could become highly dramatic. The *sheykh ül-Islām* might become so agitated that he would threaten to take a gun in hand and set out on the *djihād* himself (Shānīzāde, iv, 201; cf. Djewdet, iii, 40). The senior military men would answer such effusions with sober talk of what war really meant for a state in the position of the Ottoman Empire (Djewdet, iii, 38, 42). Certainly, one of the tensest consultative assemblies occurred at Ṭopḳapı Palace in 1241/1826, just prior to the decisive strike against the Janissaries. With the sultan himself hesitating due to uncertainty over the outcome, it was an impassioned speech by one of the participants that incited him to rush into the chamber where the mantle of the Prophet (*khirḳa-yi sherīf* [*q.v.*]) and other relics were kept, bring out the banner of the Prophet, turn it over to the grand *wezir* and *sheykh ül-Islām*, and thus symbolically launch the attack (*ibid.*, xii, 158).

In general, the accounts of the *medjlises* of the late 18th and early 19th centuries convey a number of interesting points about what such assemblies were supposed to be and do. On a comparative note, first, it is worth comment that Shānīzāde ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 1242/1826) already knew enough about parliamentary institutions to compare the Ottoman consultative assemblies with what sound like bicameral parliaments (Shānīzāde, iv, 3). Probably by design, Shānīzāde omitted references to the legislative function of the assemblies of the "well-ordered states" (*düwel-i munta̤ẓama*), but he did give a recognisable account of such features as popular election of members, majority rule (*ḥükm-i aghleb*), and membership in two "classes", described as government servants and agents or representatives of the subjects (*khademe-yi dewlet we wükelāʾ-i raʿiyyet*). This comparison of Ottoman assemblies with those of the West is of particular interest as an early illustration of a theme to which later writers often returned [see SHŪRĀ]. As for Shānīzāde, his point in making the comparison was to argue—with appropriate reference to the authority of the sultan and the *sunna* of the Prophet—that Ottoman assemblies ought not to be as large as those of the states he was describing. He argued that some of those invited to participate in the larger of the Ottoman assemblies had nothing to add to the discussion. In fact, the issue was not so simple. Particularly as the problems at hand grew more threatening, the Ottomans discovered a variety of needs, of which some reinforced, but others conflicted with, the tradition of a narrow scope of consultation.

One of the first concerns to emerge out of the consultative assemblies of the late 18th century was for greater care in maintaining the confidentiality of proceedings. At first, it appears that there had been little care to have the councils meet in closed session (Djewdet, ii, 243) or otherwise maintain secrecy. By the 1780s, however, great concern had developed over this point. Participants were sometimes made to swear secrecy. Threats were invoked upon those who divulged what they had heard or later criticised decisions they had supported in council (*ibid.*, iii, 35, 43, 332; iv, 188, 360; vi, 135; x, 18). Maḥmūd II carried out such a threat on at least one occasion, by exiling Kečedjizāde ʿIzzet Mollā, father of the future grand *wezir* Fuād Pasha, for criticising a measure that he had not opposed in assembly [see ʿIZZET MOLLĀ].

Perhaps the most striking procedural trait of the consultative *medjlises* of this period was the

demand that the participants arrive at their decisions in "unanimity of opinion" (*ittifāḳ-ī ārā'* or equivalent expressions; Wāṣlf, i, 177, 317; ii, 14, 235; Shānīzāde, i, 62, 64; Djewdet, iii, 38, 43, 333; iv, 360; v, 270; vi, 6, 10; ix, 3; x, 18; xi, 201). "Consensus" would perhaps be a more exact rendering of what was really desired. Still, the idea of "unanimity" is a striking sign of desire to maintain unity of decision even while broadening participation in decision-making. This desire, like the need for secrecy, would have suggested keeping the consultative assemblies small in size.

By the time of Maḥmūd II, however, there were clearly situations where it seemed necessary to enlarge the councils, or even use them as means for mobilisation of mass opinion. One example of this occurred in 1223/1808, when the grand *wezīr*, ʿAlemdār Muṣṭafā Pasha, himself one of the provincial *aʿyān*, held a great assembly in Istanbul, to which he invited not only high officials of the central government, but also other provincial notables, to conclude an agreement between the *aʿyān* and the sultan (Shānīzāde, i, 62; Djewdet, ix, 3; Lewis, 75-6; Shaw and Shaw, 1-3). In the 1820s, with the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, there were *medjlises* to which an unusually large range of military officers and even such non-officials as the agents (*ketkhüdā*) of various guilds were summoned (Shānīzāde, iv, 2, 37, 201); these were the assemblies that Shānīzāde criticised as being too large. By this time, however, the concerns of the government had clearly extended beyond secret consultation into mass mobilisation of Muslim opinion. The "crowded" (*djemʿiyyetlü*) assemblies contributed to this purpose by making, or legitimating, decisions that were communicated to the populace through the non-official participants, or by such other means as dispatching circular orders to local officials or sending out public criers (*münādī*; Shānīzāde, iii, 203-6; iv, 201-4; Djewdet, xi, 272-5; xii, 159; al-Shihābī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 102-3).

Appeals to Muslim solidarity are a special illustration, finally, of perhaps the most important feature of the *medjlises*: the emphasis on Islamic ideals and values. Such appeals were a general theme of traditional Ottoman culture; even so, they appear particularly prominent where the consultative assemblies are concerned. It is surely no coincidence that these important assemblies were designated by the term *shūrā* [*q.v.*] or its derivatives, or that Ottomans were quick to cite *ḥadīth* in support of the consultations or the procedures followed in them (Shānīzāde, iv, 3; Djewdet, iii, 35). More important was the role of the *ʿulemāʾ* in the *medjlises*, and the care taken to verify the conformity of decisions to the *sheriʿat* (Wāṣlf, i, 317; ii, 13; Shānīzāde, iii, 199; iv, 37; Djewdet, iii, 41, 43; iv, 158, xii, 149-50, 158, 263-6). That the problems confronting the assemblies could challenge the *ʿulemāʾ* in their capacity as legal scholars became clear on at least one occasion when, in 1227/1812, the *fetwā emini* [*q.v.*] found that since there was no clear traditional response (*naḳl-ī ṣarīḥ*) on an issue, he would have to reason by analogy (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]; Shānīzāde, ii, 100; cf. Djewdet, iii, 43). The statement is a harbinger of a later theme of Islamic reformism (cf. A. Merad, IṢLĀḤ, iv, 152-4). A more conspicuous harbinger of the same phenomenon is the perception, which gradually emerged in the assemblies, that the problems under discussion were threats, not just to the Ottoman state, but to the "heart of Islam" (*beyḍa-yi islāmiyye*) or the entire Muslim community (*djümle-yi ümmet-i Muḥammad*) and would require its combined efforts in response (Shānīzāde, ii, 99-100; iv, 202; Djewdet, x, 19; xi, 273).

During the *Tanẓīmāt*, both this Islamic emphasis and the *medjlis-i shūrā* itself, quickly faded as features of Ottoman decision-making. The reasons for the decline of the Islamic emphasis must include the political consolidation of the new civil-bureaucratic élite, as well as the alienation of the leading *ʿulemāʾ* from policies that it seemed impossible, after the Gülkhāne Decree of 1255/1839, to rationalise in terms of defence of the empire as an Islamic state. It is significant in this regard that Djewdet Pasha, who was trained as an *ʿālim* prior to his transfer into the civil bureaucracy and who was politically quite conservative, was consistently critical of the capacity of the *ʿulemāʾ* to contribute to the *medjlises* that we have been discussing. If Djewdet's opinion is debatable for the period before the 1830s, it points to a problem in relations among governmental élites, and to a feature of policy, that was unmistakable thereafter (Djewdet, iii, 38; iv, 195, 261-2; v, 27-35, 231; xii, 82-3; Heyd, 63-96; Findley, 61-3).

As for the apparent decline of the *medjlis-i shūrā*, on the other hand, there are signs that this signifies, not a loss of interest in consultation, but rather an adaptation and institutionalisation of the deliberative *medjlis* in a variety of settings. The fact that the term *medjlis* from this time on virtually supplanted the term *dīwān* as a designation for conciliar bodies suggests that the frequent *medjlises* of preceding decades indeed form the major link through which the Ottoman *dīwān* tradition evolved into the 19th century.

As early as 1832, then, we find a military council (*shūrā-yī ʿaskerī*; Levy, 479-89). A key moment in the proliferation of councils occurred in 1838, when, as part of an effort to abolish the grand vizierate and redistribute its powers, Maḥmūd II set up two councils, the Consultative Assembly of the Sublime Porte (*dār-ī shūrā-yī bāb-ī ʿālī*) and the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*medjlis-i wālā-yī aḥkām-ī ʿadliyye*). The latter was supposed, like the imperial *dīwān* of earlier times, to meet at the palace (Luṭfī, v, 106-8, 178-9; vi, 92-6; Kaynar, 198 ff.; Shaw, *Legislative councils*, 54-7; Findley, 141). Following Maḥmūd's death in 1255/1839, the grand vizierate was quickly restored; and the various ministers (*nāẓīr*), whom Maḥmūd had begun to appoint on European example in the mid-1830s, were grouped into a "council of ministers" (*medjlis-i wükelāʾ*) or "privy council" (*medjlis-i khāṣṣ*). The *shaykh ül-Islām* also served as a member of the cabinet. Of the two councils created in 1838, only the *medjlis-i wālā-yī aḥkām-ī ʿadliyye* survived. It assumed the function of drafting the new legislation called for under the Gülkhāne decree. It also served as the highest court for trying cases under the new legislation. Thus the *medjlis-i wālā* embarked on a long evolution, in course of which it turned, in 1868, into the Council of State (*shūrā-yī dewlet* [*q.v.*], later the *Danıştay* of the Turkish Republic). In the late Ottoman period, the council of state was the most important civil administrative body after the council of ministers; it also normally retained top-level responsibility for administrative justice (Shaw, *Legislative councils*, 57-84; Findley, 172, 174-6, 247-50, 307-9).

The early history of the *medjlis-i wālā*, as well as that of the military council created in 1832, also included important steps in the development of Ottoman ideas of conciliar procedure. Procedural

regulations for the *medjlis-i wālā*, dating from *ca.* 1255/1839, began by citing problems experienced in earlier deliberative assemblies. The document went on to require changes such as circulating documents on important issues prior to meetings, requiring those who wished to speak to sign up in advance and speak in order of signing (thus without regard to rank), and—most important—taking decisions by majority approval (*ekt̲h̲eriyyet-i ārā*ʾ), rather than by unanimity. At this point, Western ideas of parliamentary procedure, known in some measure at least since S̲h̲ānīzāde, began to be incorporated into Ottoman practice. The fact that a French translation of the new regulations for the *medjlis-i wālā* reached the British embassy almost immediately may be a sign of direct European influence on their formulation (Kaynar, 206-8; Levy, 480-1; Findley, 198-9, 385 n. 129).

As the council of state took shape, the *Tanẓīmāt* also witnessed an unprecedented proliferation of smaller, specialised *medjlis*es, many of which subsequently disappeared. In part, this is because they served as committees to perform new tasks for which, up to that point, there were no permanent administrative agencies to assume responsibility. Some of the specialised *medjlis*es evolved into such agencies. This is clearly how the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture emerged; traits of the pattern also appear in the formation of the Ministry of Justice. In other cases, *medjlis*es continued to supplement the regular bureaucratic apparatus where it remained thinly developed (Findley, 176-7, 179, 181, 245, 253). The clearest example of this is the local administrative councils, first created in 1840 and ultimately known as *medjlis-i idāre*. These administrative councils were originally intended to supplant the *dīwān*s of the *ḳāḍī*s, at least in the roles that these had acquired in local administration, as well as the *dīwān*s of the provincial governors. Emulation of conciliar institutions created under Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt and Syria may also have stimulated the development of the Ottoman local councils (Heidborn, i, 164-6; Maʿoz, 87-107; Russell, i, 159, 322-3, 325-8; Guys, 143-9; Barker, i, 144-8, 316-7; Davison, *Advent*, 98 ff.; İnalcık, *Tanzimat'ın uygulanması*, 623 ff.; idem, *Application of the tanzimat*, 100-1, 107-10; Kornrumpf, 44-57; Ortaylı, 13 ff, 42 ff.). As organised in 1840, the councils included not only the local officials and religious leaders, but also indirectly-elected representatives of the notables. These councils were thus the first Ottoman governmental institutions to include representatives of the people as a matter of system. In 1261/1845, there was even an experiment—clearly following an Egyptian model—with the convening of a consultative assembly in Istanbul, to which each province of the empire was to send two delegates. The Istanbul assembly of 1845 had no sequel in the years immediately following, but the local administrative councils became permanent fixtures. Since they exercised not only administrative functions, but also local responsibility for cases tried under the new legislation of the *Tanẓīmāt*, they also represented the starting-point of an important organisational development of a different kind: the emergence of what eventually became the distinct system of *niẓāmiyye* courts [see MAḤKAMA. 2. The Ottoman Empire excluding Egypt. ii. The Reform era]. Even as the *niẓāmiyye* courts became separate from the local administrative councils, they retained marks of their origins in being known, until the 1860s, as *medjlis* or *dīwān*, rather than *maḥkeme* (*Düstūr*[1], i, 610-12, 615-18; Heidborn, i, 226 n. 57), and in continuing until the end to be collegial bodies.

In terms of elaboration of the underlying organisational form, the most important of the organisational progeny of the Ottoman *medjlis-i s̲h̲ūrā* was the Ottoman parliament. The link to the earlier councils appears both in the Ottoman name for the parliament, *medjlis-i ʿumūmī* [see MADJLIS. 4 A. In the Middle East and North Africa, section i] and in the adoption, which S̲h̲ānīzāde had anticipated, of the concepts of *s̲h̲ūrā* and *mes̲h̲weret* to refer to parliamentary government. The parliament also represented the ultimate extension among the Ottomans of the representative principle first introduced in the local administrative councils. In this sense, whatever the shortcomings of the Ottoman parliaments, their emergence indicates the extent to which the scope of political participation, or at least the demand for it, had continued to broaden since the convocation of the consultative assemblies of the 18th century.

Organisations like the Ottoman *medjlis-i s̲h̲ūrā* and its derivatives appeared in other Islamic political centres as well. In Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a was as attached to conciliar deliberation as he was to the centralisation of ultimate decision-making. Under him, the development of conciliar institutions advanced to the point that the *dīwān*s —a term referring in Egypt to administrative bureaux—were sometimes displaced by councils with corresponding functions (Deny, 33-4, 108). This happened with his civil and military councils (*medjlis-i ʿālī-i mülkiyye*, *medjlis-i djihādiyye*). The former of these was also known by designations including the terms *medjlis-i s̲h̲ūrā* or *medjlis-i mes̲h̲weret* and was in existence from 1240/1824-25 to *ca.* 1254/1838. As with some of the Ottoman councils, the responsibilities of this council included matters of administrative justice (*ibid.*, 108-9; Lane, i, 141-2). Muḥammad ʿAlī also had a "cabinet" referred to as the *s̲h̲ūrā-yi k̲h̲āṣṣa* (Deny, 109, 151). Beginning in 1245/1829, there was an annual "general assembly", including leading officials, together with provincial notables and the leading *ʿulemā*ʾ. This assembly was known by a variety of names, such as *medjlis-i ʿumūmī*, *djemʿiyyet-i ʿumūmiyye*, *medjlis-i mes̲h̲weret* (or *s̲h̲ūrā*), and *endjümen-i mes̲h̲weret* (*ibid.*, 110-1). There was also a "comprehensive and regular system of local councils", at least in Syria and Palestine, while they were under Egyptian control in the 1830s (Maʿoz, 90; al-S̲h̲ihābī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 72; idem, *Lubnān*, iii, 865; Rustum, ii, 358, no. 3204). The local councils of Egyptian-ruled Syria may have provided a model for the Ottoman local administrative councils. Subsequently, under the Khedive Ismāʿīl (1863-79), when Egypt acquired a "parliament", it was known as the *madjlis s̲h̲ūrā al-nuwwāb*. It was in fact an advisory assembly of delegates, most of whom were local notables. This assembly did not attempt to assume any more active role before 1879 (Deny, 515-7; Schölch, 27-30, 77-88, 93-4, 173-85, 188-96, 207-8, 234; see also MADJLIS. 4 A. In the Middle East and North Africa, sections v, Syria, xvi, Egypt.

Ḳādjār Iran also eventually acquired consultative assemblies resembling, and to some degree inspired by, those of the Ottoman Empire. Like Maḥmūd II before him, Naṣr al-Dīn S̲h̲āh decided in 1858 to rule without a prime minister (*ṣadr-i aʿẓam*). Instead, he appointed a six-man council of ministers, as well as—a year later—two advisory councils, a *madjlis-i s̲h̲ūrā-yi dawlatī* and a larger *maṣlaḥat-*

khāna. Both were expressly intended to give larger numbers of people a chance to participate in affairs of state (Bakhash, 4). Of these two assemblies, the *madjlis-i shūrā-yi dawlati* had a membership of higher standing and was expected in some sense to make decisions, while the *maṣlaḥat-khāna* was to do little more than generate ideas and recommendations. Much as in the earlier Ottoman *medjlis-i shūrā*, however, the members of the councils concentrated on figuring out the shah's wishes and expressing their opinions in the same terms (*ibid*., 91-3). It is not clear how long either of these two councils functioned; but by 1871, Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh was moved to reinstate the office of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, assigning it to Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla, ambassador to Istanbul *ca*. 1859-70 and an important conduit for ideas acquired there (*ibid*., 43-9). Just prior to this appointment, the shah also created a new deliberative assembly, known as the *dār al-shūrā-yi kubrā*, appointing to it a number of individuals who had served in the earlier councils. In 1872, Mushīr al-Dawla went on to reorganise the ministries and set up a cabinet, the *darbār-i aʿẓam* (*ibid*., 93-4, 96-7).

Over the years that followed, the "cabinet" and the *dār al-shūrā* went through many changes. The *dār al-shūrā* was at best an approximation of the Ottoman council of state (*shūrā-yi dewlet*). Yet it suffered in that both its membership and the purpose of the consultative processes that were supposed to occur in it remained ill-defined. Ten years after the creation of the *dār al-shūrā*, its members were still unclear as to whether they were empowered to initiate legislation. Not surprisingly, the *dār al-shūrā* faded into oblivion in the early 1890s (*ibid*., 138, 152-65).

In the long run, then, the development of consultative assemblies proved less extensive in Ḳādjār Iran than in the Ottoman Empire. It should be noted, however, that the meaning of the term *medjlis-i shūrā* eventually expanded in Iran, too, to refer to parliamentary institutions. By the 1890s, Mīrzā Malkum Khān [*q.v.*] was expounding the concept of a "great national consultative assembly" (*madjlis-i shūrā-yi kubrā-yi millī*) in his journal *Ḳānūn*. This was to be a representative body with powers of legislation and budgetary review (*ibid*., 337-39; cf. Algar, 236). The Iranian parliament created after the revolution of 1906 was in fact known as the *madjlis-i shūrāyimillī* [see MADJLIS. 4 A. In the Middle East and North Africa, section iii, Iran].

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(C. V. FINDLEY)

MADJLISĪ, MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR, known also as ʿAllāma Madjlisī and Madjlisī-yi Thānī (1037-1110/1627-98), an authoritative jurist, a most prolific *ḥadīth* collector, an unprecedentedly influential author in the world of the Twelver Shīʿa. He was also a distinguished expert in bibliog-

raphy, a well-read man in Islamic philosophy and mysticism, and an active authority in politics, social and judicial matters during the late Ṣafawid period. He belonged to a distinguished clerical family; his father, Muḥammad Taḳī, mostly referred to as Madjlisī-yi Awwal [*q.v.*], his ancestors as well as his descendants, have been mentioned among men of knowledge.

Madjlisī, in line with his family tradition, became "eager for learning various Islamic sciences and noble branches of arts right from ... early youth" (Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, i, Tehran 1887, 3). He successfully studied Islamic subjects such as *fiḳh* (jurisprudence), *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (fundamentals of jurisprudence), commentary of the Ḳur'ān, *kalām* (theology), philosophy, mysticism, etc., under his father and many other professors such as Sayyid Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shūlastānī (d. 1060/1650) and Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Tustarī (d. 1075/1664); the names of eighteen of his teachers and other authorities who granted him certain certificates are given in Ḥusayn Nūrī, *al-Fayḍ al-ḳudsī fī tardjama al-ʿAllāma al-Madjlisī*, Tehran 1887, 12-13 (attached to the first volume of the old edition of the *Biḥār*). At a certain point in life, however, Madjlisī decided to abandon all those fields of knowledge which had then become popular, and to concentrate only on the study of prophetic traditions which were, in his belief, beneficial for him in the hereafter, though they had then a depressed market (*kāsid*) (*Biḥār*, i, 4).

Henceforth, Madjlisī devoted the most part of his life not only to lecturing on the Shīʿī subjects to the students, whose number at times exceeded one thousand (*al-Fayḍ*, 13-8; in this book, only forty-nine of them are introduced with some bibliographical information), but also to collecting the scattered and forgotten Shīʿī *ḥadīths* and to compiling them into various Arabic and Persian books. His main work in this field is the immensely voluminous Arabic book *Biḥār al-anwār* whose outline he sketched out in 1070/1659 and completed its compilation *ca.* 1106/1694. He also wrote books in Persian, a number of these being translations of different sections of the *Biḥār*. His aim in writing in Persian, as he himself repeatedly mentioned, was to make the prophetic traditions easily accessible to "the masses of believers and common Shīʿa" who had "no familiarity with the Arabic language", hoping that his works "may give life to the hearts and spirits of the dead-hearted people" (Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *ʿAyn al-ḥayāt*, Tehran 1952, 4). In his efforts, in fact, Madjlisī was quite successful because his *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* alone reportedly converted 70,000 of the Syrian Sunnīs to Shīʿism (Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Tunakābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamā'*, Tehran n.d., 205).

Madjlisī had very close relations with at least two of the Ṣafawid monarchs, Shāh Sulaymān (d. 1106/1694) and Sulṭān Ḥusayn (d. 1125/1713). In compiling his book, he received effective financial and other types of support from them, and in return he praised those rulers and dedicated several of his books to them. In reference, for instance, to Shāh Sulaymān, he used many phrases of a hyperbolic nature (Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Ḥayāt al-ḳulūb*, i, 1869, 3; the second volume of this book is translated into English by James L. Merrick under the title of *The life and religion of Mohammed as contained in the Sheeʿah tradition of the Hyât-ul-kuloob*, Boston 1850). He used also highly eulogistic expressions for Sulṭān Ḥusayn (see, for instance, Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Zād al-maʿād*, 1903, 2-3).

In 1098/1686, Madjlisī was appointed as the official *Shaykh al-Islām* by Shāh Sulaymān. Madjlisī's title was changed to *Mullābāshī* on Sulṭān Ḥusayn's accession to the throne in 1106/1694. While holding these highest, institutionalised clerical offices, Madjlisī "personally undertook all proceedings of law and legal matters" (Ḥusayn Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il wa-mustanbaṭ al-masā'il*, iii, Tehran 1903, 408). He used his power and influence to suppress anything which appeared to him as heresy and infidelity. He ordered the Indian idols of Iṣfahān to be demolished in 1098/1686 (*al-Fayḍ*, 3) and "suppressed the agressors and transgressors who were adherents of sectarianism and innovation, and were enemies [of the right religion], especially the heretic Ṣūfīs" (Yūsuf Baḥrānī, *Lu'lu'at al-baḥrayn fī 'l-idjāzāt wa-tarādjim ridjāl*, Nadjaf n.d., 55). These "aggressors and transgressors" also included Zoroastrians and the Sunnīs (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, chs. 3-4, 6).

During the last four years of his state position under Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Madjlisī was practically the actual ruler of Iran. With his vast power and influence in the country, he undertook so strict a religious policy against the Sunnīs that, in some authors' opinion, it expedited the Afghān invasion of Iran in 1135/1722 (cf. *inter alia* Hamid Algar, *Shīʿism and Iran in the eighteenth century*, in T. Naff and R. Owen (eds.), *Studies in eighteenth century Islamic history*, London and Amsterdam 1977, 288-302, 400-3). It is interesting to note that Madjlisī wrote his famous *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* when the execution of his anti-Sunnī policy was about to reach its culmination. In this book, written one year before Madjlisī's death (1110/1697), he clearly declared the first three Sunnī caliphs, i.e. Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, to be hypocrites and unbelievers who deserved God's curse (Tehran 1968, 154-278, 519, and *passim*).

There is no doubt that the culture and tradition of Twelver Shīʿism enjoyed an unprecedented florescence through Madjlisī's efforts, and the influence of his teachings and practices on later generations —common believers as well as clerical circles and leaders—is undeniable. One of Madjlisī's fundamental teachings is that the Shīʿa should have full respect for the rulers. He emphatically warns that anyone "who despises the kings" will suffer abasement; he says that "one who does not obey the kings, has not in fact obeyed God". He also reminds his audience that "the hearts of the kings and those of all mankind are in the hands of God; one must have regard for all tyrannical kings and other oppressors, and it is even compulsory to exercise dissimulation before them, to prevent [oneself] from their harms, and not to expose [oneself] to their wrath" (*ʿAyn al-ḥayāt*, 560-7).

Among the distinguished clerical leaders who, following Madjlisī's teachings, had regard for the tyrannical kings by not opposing their oppressive rule and never despising them was Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864) [*q.v.* in Suppl.], whose aloofness from state affairs seems to have been taken as a sign of his asceticism (Ḥasan Khān Shaykh Djānirī Anṣārī, *Ta'rīkh-i Iṣfahān va Ray va hama-yi djahān*, Tehran 1943). One may also mention Shaykh Muḥammad Taḳī Iṣfahānī, known as Āḳa Nadjafī (d. 1332/1913) [*q.v.* in Suppl.) as a good example of those Shīʿī religious leaders who followed Madjlisī's pattern of strict religious policy by putting heavy

pressures upon religious minorities in Iran (cf. *inter alia* Abdul-Hadi Hairi, art. *Āqā Najafī*, to appear in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*). It is not, therefore, unexpected to see that the latter cleric made strenuous efforts to propagate in favour of Madjlisī's ideas by translating into Persian, summarising and publishing several volumes of Madjlisī's books (Khānbābā Mushār, *Mu'allifīn-i kutub-i čāpī-yi fārsī va ʿarabī az aghāz-i čāp tā kunūn*, ii, Tehran 1961, nos. 198-203).

Madjlisī's thoughts, teachings, and practices, however popular and influential, have not been secure from the criticism made by a number of Shīʿī religious thinkers since Madjlisī's time. Mīr Lawḥī [*q.v.*] for instance, accuses him of the distortion of the sense of some *ḥadīth*s, and suggests its reason to have been either ignorance or wordly interests (Muḥammad Mīr Lawḥī, *Kifāyat al-muhtadī fī maʿrifat al-Mahdī*, ms., no. 1121, Faculty of Theology, Mashhad, 21-2). ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, another contemporary of Madjlisī, criticised him particularly over the Friday Prayer which Madjlisī and his father had revived (Muḥammad Bāḳir Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamā' wa al-sādāt*, Tehran 1947, 131) and which ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *inter alios*, believed that in the absence of the Twelfth Shīʿī Imām should not be performed. He also criticised Madjlisī because "he authorised every imbecile and wicked person to transmit *ḥadīth* on Madjlisī's authority" (ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Raḍawī Kāshānī, *Ḥadīḳat al-Shīʿa*, Arabic ms., Madjlis Library, no. 3770, p. 110). A Persian Ṣūfī of the Ḳādjār period believed that Madjlisī was inconsistent in his ideas (Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Shīrāzī Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarā'iḳ al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, i, Tehran 1960, 279 ff.). In reference to some of the *ḥadīth*s, quoted from *Biḥār*, which indicate the Shīʿī Imāms' humiliation at the hands of contemporary caliphs, a Persian author of our time writes that if any person trusting Madjlisī happened to read some of Madjlisī's writings he (or she) would certainly lose his (or her) belief in the Shīʿī Imāmate. This author is deeply disturbed by the fact that the custodians of Shīʿism have been able to tolerate and pass in silence over these types of "terrifying insults" that Madjlisī has reported against the infallible Shīʿī Imāms (ʿAlī Sharīʿatī, *Tashayyuʿ-i ʿAlawī va tashayyuʿ-i Ṣafawī*, Tehran 1971, 189-99).

Since the late 19th century, Iran has experienced a number of anti-government movements, all of which were led by the clerical leaders. The *ʿulamā*'s active participation in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11/1324-9 (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977) and their unquestionable leadership in the Islamic Revolution of 1979 (Ḥamīd Rūḥānī, *Barrasī va taḥlīlī az nahḍat-i Imām Khumaynī dar Īrān*, Ḳum 1979) were certainly in sharp contradiction with Madjlisī's teachings. Although the *ʿulamā'* rose against the political establishments in these revolutions, they seem in reality, one may say, to have revolted against the legitimacy of many of the legacies of Madjlisī.

Bibliography: No comprehensive and critical study of Madjlisī's life and work seems to have been yet undertaken. The most informative available biography of Madjlisī is *al-Fayḍ*, written in 1302/1884 and mainly based on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ʿAlī Bihbahānī's work still in manuscript entitled *Mir'āt al-aḥwāl-i djahān namā*, Persian ms., Madjlis Library, no. 5551; this valuable, original book, written between 1210/1796 and 1225/1810, is skilfully outlined in Abdol Hossein Haeri, *Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-yi madjlis-i shūrā-yi millī*, xvii, Tehran 1969, 6-19. Madjlisī's own books may well be rated as the best sources of information concerning his thought as well as his links with the Ṣafawid monarchs. Over 50 Persian books are ascribed to Madjlisī, and 13 Arabic books are also listed under his name, all in *al-Fayḍ*, 6-9. Madjlisī's major work is the *Biḥār*, which was first published in twenty-five large volumes in Tehran in 1305-15/1887-97, and a new edition of it has recently appeared in 110 volumes (Tehran 1956-72). This edition, however readable, finely printed and handily accessible, is not only devoid of any notably valuable editorial work, but since no pagination of the old edition is given in the new edition, the researcher has to face certain difficulties in collating the references to and quotations from the old edition with the new one. An extremely useful alphabetically-arranged guide to the *Biḥār* is ʿAbbās Ḳummī's *Safīnat al-biḥār wa-madīnat al-ḥikam wa 'l-āthār*, i-ii, 1943, but its abbreviation systems apply only to the old edition. Some of Madjlisī's books have been translated into other Islamic languages; many of his books have also been published, but only forty-five of them are listed in Mushār, *Mu'allifīn*, ii, nos. 23-42.

In addition to the sources introduced above, see also Muḥammad Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, i-ii, Baghdād 1965; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ardabīlī, *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, i-ii, Tehran [?] 1952; E. G. Browne, *LHP*, iv; C. de Bruyn, *Travels into Muscovy, Persia and part of the East Indies*, i-ii, London 1737; Sayyid Niʿmat Allāh Djazā'irī, *al-Anwār al-nuʿmāniyya*, iv, Tabrīz 1962; ʿAbd al-Karīm Djazī, *Ridjāl-i Iṣfahān yā tadhkirat al-ḳubūr*, 1949; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933; Abbé Martin Gaudereau, *Relation de la mort de Schah Soliman roy de Perse et du couronnement de Sultan Ussain son fils, avec plusieurs particularitéz touchant l'état present des affaires de la Perse*, Paris 1965; Muḥammad ʿAlī Kashmīrī, *Nudjūm al-samā' fī tarādjim al-ʿulamā'*, Ḳum 1974; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Khātūnābādī, *Waḳāyiʿ al-sinīn wa 'l-aʿwām*, Tehran 1973; ʿAbbās Ḳummī, *Hadiyyat al-aḥbāb fī dhikr al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunā wa 'l-alḳāb wa 'l-ansāb*, Tehran 1950; idem, *Fawā'id al-raḍawiyya fī aḥwāl ʿulamā' al-madhhab al-djaʿfariyya*, ii, Tehran 1948; Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Mahdī-yi mawʿūd*, tr. ʿAlī Dawwānī, Tehran 1971 (translator's introd.); Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, iii, Tehran 1950; Iʿdjāz Ḥusayn al-Nīsābūrī al-Kantūrī, *Kashf al-ḥudjub wa 'l-astār ʿan asmā' al-kutub wa 'l-asfār*, Calcutta 1912; Karl Heinz Pampus, *Die theologische Enzyklopädie Bihār al-anwār des Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi, ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte der Šiʿa in der Safawidenzeit*, diss., Bonn 1970; Walīḳulī Shāmlū, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Khāḳānī*, photographed ms., Faculty of Theology, Mashhad, no. 69; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, Tehran 1953; Muḥammad Muḥsin Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, Tehran and Nadjaf, 1936- , in over twenty volumes.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

MADJLISĪ-YI AWWAL, MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ (1003-70/1594-1659), a prominent Shīʿī religious leader and author of the Ṣafawid period.

Originally, he was on his mother's side from

Djabal ʿĀmil (southern Lebanon) because, according to his son Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī [*q.v.*], Darwīsh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-ʿĀmilī, a great *mudjtahid* of Djabal ʿĀmil, was his maternal grandfather (Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ardabīlī, *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, ii, Tehran n.d., 551); the latter was also called Naṭanzī from his stay in Naṭanz, north of Iṣfahān, for a certain period of time (Muḥsin al-Amīn al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, xxx, Damascus 1949, 371-3). Muḥammad Bāḳir Khwānsārī [*q.v.*] has held that Madjlisī-yi Awwal's place of origin also on his father's side was Djabal ʿĀmil because Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Djābir, a *mudjtahid* from the same region, was his paternal cousin. This view, however logical and acceptable, seems difficult to combine with the fact that Madjlisī-yi Awwal's son and great grandson claimed descent from Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh of Iṣfahān (d. 430/1038) (*Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-sādāt*, Tehran 1947, 74-5, 130; see also *Nāma-yi dānishwarān-i nāṣirī dar sharḥ-i ḥāl-i shishṣad tan az dānishmandān-i nāmī*, vii, Ḳum n.d., 1-21). At any rate, he himself was born in Ardastān, north-east of Iṣfahān, and brought up and lived in Iṣfahān (Walīḳulī Shāmlū, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Khāḳānī*, photographed ms., no. 69, Faculty of Theology, Mashhad, 370); and owing to the above-mentioned personal and familial background, he sometimes called himself "al-Iṣfahānī al-Naṭanzī al-ʿĀmilī" (Muḥammad Taḳī Madjlisī, *Lawāmiʿ-i ṣāḥibḳirānī*, i, Tehran 1913, 363).

Having been born into such clerically distinguished family, he began his religious education very early in life. He himself writes that at the age of four he knew about God, prayers, paradise and hell, and used to preach to children according to the verses of the Ḳurʾān and passages of the *ḥadīth*s which his father had taught him (Madjlisī-yi Awwal, *Lawāmiʿ*, new edition, Tehran n.d., i, 903). He studied with remarkable steadiness under a number of teachers, including Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn Shūshtarī. He writes, at the age of sixty: "I spent over fifty years of my life in doing research on the traditions of the Prophet [Muḥammad] and on those of the infallible Imāms ... First of all, I read the ordinary books written on theology (*kalām*), fundamentals of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl*), and jurisprudence (*fiḳh*); secondly, I studied whatever [works] our Twelver *ʿulamāʾ* and others had compiled" (Muḥammad ʿAlī Kashmīrī, *Nudjūm al-samāʾ fī tarādjim al-ʿulamāʾ*, Ḳum 1974, 61). Madjlisī-yi Awwal seems to have begun to be exceptionally prolific towards the end of that fifty-year period, because he wrote his voluminous work *Rawḍat al-muttaḳīn* within approximately two years, i.e. from *ca.* 1063/1652 to 1064/1653 (*Nudjūm*, 63; cf. also Muḥammad Taḳī Madjlisī, *Rawḍat al-muttaḳīn fī sharḥ man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faḳīh*, 1973, i, 1-3; this book is being published in many volumes, the twelfth of which appeared in 1979), and translated a substantial portion of it into Persian during the years 1065/1654-1066/1655 (*Lawāmiʿ*, i, 363, and ii, Tehran 1906, 409).

Madjlisī-yi Awwal has been recognised as one of the outstanding Shīʿī *mudjtahids* who, after the accession of the Ṣafawīds to power, began to promulgate the Shīʿī *ḥadīths*, especially in the Persian language. He in fact enjoyed good relations with the Ṣafawīd monarchs. In some of his own writings, Madjlisī-yi Awwal describes a dream he saw while visiting the shrine city of Nadjaf. He tells us that in his dream ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib urged his immediate return to Iṣfahān in order to prevent the confusions which ʿAlī told him would follow the death of Shāh ʿAbbās I (1038/1628). Madjlisī-yi Awwal, therefore, returned to Iṣfahān a few months earlier than originally planned; the dream was told by one of his friends to Shāh ʿAbbās's heir to the throne, Sām Mīrzā (later Shāh Ṣafī) (Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt*, 131) and must have played a role in the strengthening of his ties to Shāh Ṣafī (d. 1052/1642). The extent of Madjlisī-yi Awwal's intimate friendship with another Ṣafawīd monarch, Shāh ʿAbbās II (d. 1077/1666), can be seen by the fact that, upon the latter's request, he translated his Arabic commentary on Ibn Bābuwayh's *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faḳīh* into Persian. The Arabic title of the book is *Rawḍat al-muttaḳīn* ("The garden of the pious") which addresses itself to the people of piety, whereas Madjlisī-yi Awwal not only dedicated the Persian version, with a great deal of highly eulogistic expressions, to the Shāh, but he also changed its title to *Lawāmiʿ-i ṣāḥibḳirānī* ("The shimmerings of the invincible and just king"), a title that does not honestly represent the contents of the book written on the Shīʿī *ḥadīths* (*Lawāmiʿ*, new edition, i, 4-10).

Madjlisī-yi Awwal has been described by many of his biographers as a Ṣūfī, and a number of his books also attest this fact (cf. *inter alia*, his *Tashwīḳ al-sālikīn*, 1893; for a list of his other works, see Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, iii, Tehran 1950, 460-2). However, his famous son, Muḥammad Bāḳir, and many other authors who considered Ṣūfism as heresy, have attempted to exonerate him from any truly mystical ideas or practices, and some of them have questioned the authenticity of Madjlisī-yi Awwal's authorship of those mystical books which have been ascribed to him (*Nudjūm*, 59-64). Muḥammad Bāḳir writes that his father had close associations with the Ṣūfīs during the early part of his life and that he tactically pretended to be a Ṣūfī in order to lead them to the right path. Towards the end of his life, however, he found his efforts to have been useless and henceforth he openly turned against the Ṣūfīs and even declared them unbelievers (Muḥammad Bāḳir Nadjafī Yazdī, *Sharḥ-i kitāb-i iʿtiḳādāt-i Islam bi ḳalam-i ʿAllāma Madjlisī*, Tehran 1975, 393-4). Muḥammad Bāḳir's statement, however important and thought-provoking, may well be questioned by the fact that his father's *Lawāmiʿ*, written as late as 1065-6/1654-5, that is to say four years before his death, contains many favourable references to Ṣūfism (cf. 1-2, 38, 44, and *passim* in the new edition of vol. i; for an interesting discussion on this particular subject, consult Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Shīrāzī Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, i, Tehran 1960, 268 ff.).

Madjlisī-yi Awwal's deep ties to Ṣūfism were also demonstrated by the spiritual stages he was known to have attained and by his asceticism, which became proverbial. He, despite his close friendship with a tyrannical ruler such as Shāh ʿAbbās II, claims to have established certain relations with the Shīʿī Imāms and the Prophet Muḥammad, who gave his sanction to the path Madjlisī-yi Awwal was pursuing (*Lawāmiʿ*, new edition, i, 1-2). With regard to his attitude towards ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Madjlisī-yi Awwal points out that while paying a visit to the shrine of ʿAlī in Nadjaf and "becoming occupied with an earnest spiritual striving (*mudjāhadat*), many things which weak intellects cannot bear were unveiled to me (*mukāshafāt*) through the blessing of that honourable [Imām]" (ʿAbbās Ḳummī,

Fawāʾid al-raḍawiyya fī aḥwāl ʿulamāʾ al-madhhab al-djaʿfariyya, Tehran 1948, ii, 444).

Bibliography: in addition to references given in the text, see MADJLISĪ, MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

MADJMAʿ ʿILMĪ.

(i) ARAB COUNTRIES.

Madjmaʿ, pl. *madjāmiʿ*, lit. "a place of collecting, a place in which people collect, assemble, congregate" (Lane i/2, 459), became in the second half of the 19th century, as *madjmaʿ ʿilmī*, a technical term for Academy of Science, *madjmaʿ al-lugha* being an Academy of [Arabic] language. There is thus a close relationship between both kinds of *madjmaʿ*, since the striving for science takes place in an Arabic language made capable of it.

Whereas *madjlis* [*q.v.*] had been the current term in earlier Arab civilisation for [the place of] an informal literary gathering and developed the meaning of "council", *madjmaʿ* and *nādī* came to be used in the second half of the 19th century for private academies and cenacles or clubs which met to discuss language and literature as well as other problems. The rise of such scientific and literary *madjāmiʿ* and *nawādī* is connected with *al-Nahḍa al-ʿarabiyya*, "the Arabic renaissance". The rise of Arabic as an official language in Egypt under the Khedive Ismāʿīl (over against Turkish); its development in Lebanon, Egypt and elsewhere with a new style of writing, expanded vocabulary and simplified grammar, with translations from western languages; the development of journalism with its needs to write in a clear and easily understandable language; the extension of the reading public and its social background; and of course the progressive modernisation of thought and its direction towards hitherto unknown subjects and problems: all these and other factors were posing a challenge to the classical Arabic language (*al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā*). On the one hand, they gave new impulses for its further development; on the other hand, they meant a crisis for the fixed forms which the classical language had taken. These turned out to be inadequate for modern use, and consequently there was a threat to the language. The crisis had a religious aspect, inasmuch as classical Arabic became desacralised and demystified. This was less critical for the Christian than for the Muslim Arabs, whose religious scholars, seeing Arabic as the language of the Ḳurʾān, opposed such a modernisation of the language. Among Muslims, the call for *iṣlāḥ* or reform in language is consequently parallel to that for *iṣlāḥ* in religion. It was, however, the modernisation of society itself which finally forced such a modernisation of language. The problem of how to develop Arabic without abandoning the *fuṣḥā* as an essential part of Arabic culture may be considered to have been at the basis of the foundation of *madjāmiʿ* and *nawādī*, which in the beginning were of a private nature. This implied a confrontation between what were called "progressive" and "conservative" views of the Arabic language.

Fāris al-Shidyāḳ appears to have been the first person to suggest founding an academy for the Arabic language (in *ca.* 1870). The idea was taken up by others and supported and even promoted by journalists who, for professional reasons, were in need of a "modern" Arabic. This call for an academy of language had, besides its linguistic purposes, political and cultural aspects. It aimed at a rehabilitation of Arabic and the Arabs after three and a half centuries of Turkish domination, and represented the rediscovery of a common cultural heritage and a common language of discourse. In the *nahḍa*, there was a clear parallel between linguistic and political aspirations, which were directed first against the Turks and later against the British and French. Moreover, an openness existed towards modern science and instruments of knowledge and their assimilation in Arab society. These aspirations, together with the religious aspects, gave to all discussions on science and language a particular acuteness.

(1) Private *madjāmiʿ*

Several private *madjāmiʿ* of language and scholarship arose as a consequence, though their existence was short-lived. In Beirut, *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-Sharḳī* was established in 1882 with the co-operation of Fāris Nimr (1856-1952). In Egypt, the Institut d'Égypte founded by Napoleon in Alexandria in 1797 and transferred to Cairo in 1859 stood as the model for different *madjāmiʿ* in Cairo. Thus a *madjmaʿ* existed there in 1892-3 due to the initiative of Shaykh al-Sayyid Tawfīḳ al-Bikrī (1870-1933). An equally short existence was enjoyed by a *Djamʿyyat tarḳiyat al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* founded by Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī (1847-1906), Djurdjī Zaydān (1861-1914) and Shaykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935). Former students of the Dār al-ʿUlūm, like Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1855-1919) and ʿĀṭif Barakāt Bey, founded the *Nādī Dār al-ʿUlūm* in 1907 with the explicit purpose of "Arabising" foreign words. This circle disappeared, as well as a similar *nādī* which was founded by Fatḥī Zaghlūl (1863-1914) around the same time. The same fate overcame the *Ladjnat al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-ʿilmiyya* founded by Aḥmad Ḥishmat Pasha when he was Minister of Education, and of which Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (1860-1934) was a prominent member. A *madjmaʿ* founded by Luṭfī al-Sayyid (1872-1963) [*q.v.*] in 1917 and presided over first by Shaykh Salīm al-Bishrī (1832-1917) and then by Shaykh Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Djizāwī (1847-1927) existed from 1917 until 1919 with 28 members, among whom were a Persian, a Syrian Christian and a Jew. From 1921 to 1925 there existed a *madjmaʿ* in Cairo which was presided over by Idrīs Rāghib Bek. Manṣūr Fahmī (1886-1959) and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889-1973) were counted among its members. It had as its explicit purpose the composition of a modern Arabic dictionary; but this was abandoned in 1925 because of the lack of official support.

(2) Official *madjāmiʿ*

(a) *Syria.* On 8 June 1919, the Arab government of King Fayṣal I in Damascus requested Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī to found and organise an Arab Academy which would replace the *Shuʿbat dīwān al-maʿārif* which had been founded on 2 February 1919. This was an off-shoot of *al-shuʿba al-ūlā li 'l-tardjama wa 'l-taʾlīf* established some two months earlier. The first meeting of *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿArabī*, which had been organised on the model of the Académie Française, took place on 3 July 1919 in Damascus, where it was established in the Madrasa ʿĀdiliyya. Later, a section was established in Ḥalab (Aleppo). The Academy consisted at that time of eight members and a president, and it administered the *Djāmiʿ Sūriyya* (where courses were given in Arabic) from 17 June 1923 until 15 March 1926. Its constitution (*niẓām asāsī*) was recognised officially on 8 May 1928 and published in vol. xii (1932) of the *Madjalla* of the Academy (pp. 765-8); its "house rules" *niẓām dākhilī*) followed on the recognition of the constitution. Constitution and house rules have

subsequently been amended. Administratively, the Academy depends on the Ministry of Education, but it has financial autonomy. In 1960 a fusion took place with the Academy of Arabic Language in Cairo.

Besides the active members (*ʿāmilūn*), whose number is fixed at present at fifteen, there are corresponding members (*murāsilūn*) without a fixed number. All members and the president are elected and then appointed by the head of State. Well-known presidents were Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (1876-1953), ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī (1868-1956) and Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī (1893-1968). The president, vice-president and permanent secretary have the direction of the Academy. The Academy has published the *Madjallat al-madjmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿarabī* since Rabīʿ II 1339/January 1921 at first as a monthly and since 1949 as a quarterly. Besides the journal, which has a wide scope of interests, the Academy publishes separate articles and text editions. In addition, it organises lectures (*muḥāḍarāt*) and sends representatives to congresses, etc. abroad. It does not publish special word lists as the Academy in Cairo does. The Academy also administers the *Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya* (al-Ẓāhiriyya) founded in 1296/1878 in Damascus, the historical Archives and the Museum of Antiquities.

Article One of the constitution of 1928 describes the task of the Academy (*Madjalla*, xii [1932], 765) as being to guard and perfect the Arabic language, and to research into the history of Syria and the Arabic language. The *fuṣḥā* and its principles are to be a starting point and norm, since that is the noble language (*lugha sharīfa*) of the Ḳurʾān and of classical literature, and Arabic is the common patrimony of all Arabs. The aims of the Academy are more specifically:

i. To preserve the language (*al-muḥāfaẓa ʿalā salāmat al-lugha*), in particular from the dialectal language, foreign orthography, archaisms and incoherences;

ii. to protect the purity of the language (*al-muḥāfaẓa ʿalā faṣāḥat al-lugha*) against foreign (*dakhīl*) terms and style figures (*aʿdjāmī*); and

iii. to adapt the language to modern needs.

Bearing these aims in mind, the Academy can be of assistance to authors and translators as far as their use of language is concerned. Unlike the Academy in Cairo, the Academy in Damascus does not consider its decisions with regard to new general scholarly terms to be definite: they are preferences (*tardjīḥāt*) or propositions (*iḳtirāḥāt*) which are submitted to others. The articles in the *Madjalla* are published under the responsibility of their authors, not of the Academy.

Most of the work of the Academy is done in committees (*lidjān*), of which three have been in existence since the beginning: the administrative committee, the linguistic and literary committee (*ladjna lughawiyya adabiyya*), and the scientific and technical committee (*ladjna ʿilmiyya fanniyya*) which has as its task the spreading of science and the arts in Syria. Later, more specialised committees were added: for general principles (*al-uṣūl al-ʿāmma*), for the dictionary (*al-muʿdjam*), for the journal (*al-madjalla*), for the neologisms (*waḍʿ alfāẓ ʿarabiyya djadīda*), and for the dialects (*al-lahadjāt*). The committees work in closed sessions (*djalasāt khāṣṣa*), either according to a plan which is fixed at the annual meeting of the Academy, or in response to a particular problem. As an example of the latter, one could mention the project to enquire about words which are not found in the great Arabic dictionaries (*al-kalimāt ghayr al-ḳāmūsiyya*). Representatives of particular professions and groups can be consulted by the committees. Once a year, there is an annual general meeting, with both closed (*djalasāt ʿamal khāṣṣa*) and plenary (*djalasāt ʿamal ʿāmma*) sessions where all members meet together with notable figures (*al-aʿyān*) and men of letters (*al-udabāʾ*). In 1960 the name of the *Madjalla* became *Madjallat madjmaʿ al-ʿarabiyya—Madjallat al-madjmaʿ al-ʿarabī sābiḳan*.

As to the work which has already been done, Rachad Hamzaoui characterises the attitude of the Academy as trying to maintain the status quo, while introducing reforms where needed. Subjects which have been treated include questions of orthography; (simplification of) grammar; and the banishing of dialectal Arabic. Important work has been performed on modernising the Arabic vocabulary by means of *istinbāṭ* (resurgence of pure ancient Arabic words), *ishtiḳāḳ* (derivation by means of *ḳiyās* or analogy conforming to given *awzān* or schemes), *naḥt* (composition of words) and *taʿrīb* (borrowing from foreign languages), in this order of precedence. No definite solutions have been offered for the problems of orthography, grammar and dialectal Arabic. The fact that the *fuṣḥā* was taken as norm could not but restrict in advance the possibilities and means of the modernisation of language as it was striven after.

(b) *Egypt*. On the initiative of King Fuʾād I and the Senate (*Madjlis al-Shuyūkh*), the Minister of Education in 1928 requested that three reports be submitted by Luṭfī al-Sayyid, Aḥmad Ḥāfiẓ ʿAwaḍ and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bishrī concerning the creation of an official Academy, and this led to its foundation in 1932. This was accelerated by a previous suggestion made by King Fayṣal I of ʿIrāḳ (1883-1933)—who had already established the Academy of Damascus in 1919—presented by Nūrī al-Saʿīd to the Islamic Congress held in Jerusalem in December 1931, to establish an Islamic University in Jerusalem as well as an Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo. The *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya al-malakī* was then founded independently by a royal Decree of 14 Shaʿbān 1351/13 December 1932, when Muḥammad ʿĪsā Pasha was Minister of Education in the cabinet of Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī Pasha, which had been in power since the promulgation of the Constitution of 22 October 1930. The text of the constitution of the *madjmaʿ* which was promulgated was modelled on the Académie Française, dating from 1629. Its specific tasks included guarding the integrity of the Arabic language and adapting it to the needs of present-day life. In order to achieve these aims, the Academy was to compose dictionaries and word lists, compile a historical dictionary of the Arabic language, carry out studies on Arabic semantics and study modern Arabic dialects in Egypt and other Arab countries. The Academy was also to treat all those subjects which the Minister of Education submitted to it with the aim of developing the Arabic language. There would be twenty active members on an international basis. The first active members would be nominated directly by the King. Subsequently new members would be elected and then nominated by royal decree, or by decree of the head of state. In addition to the active members, there would be corresponding members. The president of the Academy was to be selected by the Minister of Education from a list of three names chosen by a majority of the members, and then nominated by decree of the head of state.

A royal decree of 16 Djumādā II/6 October 1933 appointed the first twenty members: ten Egyptians, among them three Azharites, one Christian and one Jewish scholar, five European orientalists and five scholars from other Arab countries. Some opposition came from religious and conservative circles, and in particular, the presence of five orientalists on the list gave rise to fervent discussions. In the press, protests were made against both the methods and the results of the work of the *mustashriḳūn* with regard to the Arab-Muslim world; they were also thought to be collaborating with Christian missionaries against whose activities in Egypt a press campaign was carried out. As a result, A. J. Wensinck (1882-1939) was replaced as a member by E. Littmann (1875-1958). Authors like Muḥammad Farīd Wadjdī (*Nūr al-islām*, iv [1352 A.H.], 599-607) attacked Wensinck because of his articles on Ibrāhīm and the Kaʿba in *EI*[1] (cf. OM, xiii [1933], 594-5). Besides orientalists, Egyptian scholars like Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, who had opposed traditional conceptions of language, culture and religion, were also attacked. Seen in a wider perspective, attacks on orientalists reflect a zeal for total arabisation; though their vast knowledge was recognised, they were not seen as being loyal to the cause of Arabic language and culture and Arab self-affirmation in general during the period concerned. Such attacks notwithstanding, within the Academy the European orientalists—A. Fischer (1865-1949), H.A.R. Gibb (1895-1971), E. Littmann (1875-1958), L. Massignon (1883-1962) and C. A. Nallino (1872-1938)—worked together successfully with the arabophone scholars, although from 1962 onwards non-Arabs could only be corresponding members of the Academy.

The first session of the *Madjmaʿ* took place on 14 Shawwāl 1352/30 January 1934, after which the "house rules" were established and the chief officials were chosen. Presidents were successively Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Rifʿat Pasha from 1934 until 1944, Luṭfī al-Sayyid from 1945 until 1963, and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn as his successor until 1973. Permanent secretaries of the Academy were Manṣūr Fahmī (1886-1959) from 1934 until 1959, and Ibrāhīm Madkūr (b. 1902) from 1960 onwards. The administration is carried out by an administrative director (*al-murāḳib al-idārī*). After 1938, the name of the Academy was *Madjmaʿ Fuʾād al-Awwal li 'l-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*. In 1955, this was changed officially into *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*. As a result of the Egyptian-Syrian union of 1958, the two Academies of Cairo and Damascus were joined together in 1960. Their new constitution gave internal autonomy, a moral personality (*shakhṣiyya iʿtibāriyya*) and an autonomous budget to the Academy; the Minister of Education, however, became then the supreme president (*al-raʾīs al-aʿlā*) of the Academy. Its aims were extended toward unifying scientific terms in Arabic, reviving the Arab heritage of learning and stressing its links with the other cultural heritages of mankind, furthering the development of the language in general and in particular its orthography, and simplifying its grammar. The conclusions reached by the Academy should be applied and brought into practice by the Ministry of Education. Later, the Minister of Culture became Honorary President of the Academy. The number of its members rose to 60: 40 Egyptians and 20 representatives of other Arab countries. Apart from its committee meetings, the *Madjmaʿ* holds a weekly meeting for its Egyptian members and an annual conference which is also attended by corresponding members from elsewhere. Whereas the first generation of Academicians consisted of men of a broad culture in language and literature, following generations tended to be more specialised in particular fields such as the sciences, mathematics, law, medicine, *sharīʿa*, history, geography and psychology. As a result, later decisions taken by the Academy could imply more radical innovations. Besides the great general meetings, a *madjlis al-madjmaʿ* was established to carry out the decisions of the Academy and to divide the work to be done among the committees. The two Academies of Cairo and Damascus received a permanent secretariat in Cairo, *al-maktab al-dāʾim*. Notwithstanding the fact that the Académie Française is the model for the Egyptian Academy, there are some interesting differences: the Egyptian *Madjmāʿ*'s pan-Arab and also international character, its annual meetings, and its functioning as an Academy not only of language but also of arts and sciences make it comparable to the Institut de France. Its stress on the *fuṣḥā* implies that classical Arab humanism, as transmitted by the pure Arabic language, should be conserved.

Most of the actual work is done by special committees: of finances (*ladjnat al-māliyya*), of general principles (*l. al-uṣūl al-ʿāmma*), of mathematics (*l. al-riyāḍiyyāt*), of physical and chemical sciences (*l. al-ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿiyya wa 'l-kīmiyya*), of biology and medicine (*l. ʿulūm al-ḥayāt wa 'l-ṭibb*), of social sciences (*l. al-ʿulūm al-idjtimāʿiyya*), of letters and arts (*l. al-ādāb wa 'l-funūn*), of the dictionary (*l. al-muʿdjam*), of the dialects (*l. al-lahadjāt*), of the journal (*l. al-madjalla*) and of the library (*l. khizānat al-kutub*). In their sessions, specialists in various fields can be invited as experts whenever the Academicians are not sufficiently competent. As the number of specialisations has grown, the number of committees has increased and sub-committees have been founded where needed, as well as technical committees. The committees submit annual reports to the President of the Academy; they should keep moreover records of their meetings (*maḥāḍir al-djalasāt*). The conclusions of the committees are provisional until they have been presented to and adopted by the general meeting of the *Madjmaʿ*. Members can publish their work outside the responsibility of their committee or of the Academy; a special part of the *Madjalla* is reserved for this purpose. The Minister of Education has always been very much alert as to the consequences of the decisions taken by the *Madjmaʿ* for schoolbooks.

Special mention should be made of the precious collection of cards (*djuzāzāt*) which have been prepared for the historical dictionary and for the dictionary of technical and scientific terms. Massignon used to lay great stress on this project and the need for a correct organisation of the cards, but it took some time before the system was introduced. August Fischer, whose project of a historical dictionary of the Arabic language was officially accepted by the Academy in 1938, made some 100,000 cards of his private collection available, which were transported from Leipzig to Cairo, but were neglected after his death in 1949. The cards for the scientific dictionary and for the historical dictionary have been differently organised; they have been placed in rooms not accessible for the public, and apparently they have been filled out only partially. In 1948 an office of registration (*maktab al-tasdjīl*) was established with the task of classifying all terms accepted by the Academy.

The Academy has acted as patron for certain works and book publications, and it has given awards to certain manuscripts of quality which could be published as a consequence. The Academy has an international audience and is represented at international conferences dealing with the Arabic language. It has contributed to the organisation of the Union of Arab Academies and to that of the Arab Scientific Union.

In its efforts to adapt the Arabic language to the demands and needs of modern times, it has paid attention primarily to problems of vocabulary and, in particular, to the creation of neologisms. Studies of grammar and especially of morphology serve in part to facilitate this work and to contribute to the making of modern dictionaries. Compared with this, studies on orthography, phonetics, dialects, syntax and stylistics have been less prominent. Work has concentrated on semantics and the grammar of the *fuṣḥā*; the more conservative members have always tended to defend at all costs the integrity and purity of the language. Members try to avoid an accumulation of synonyms. The rule has been established to prefer whenever possible one term to two or more if a neologism has to be made, or otherwise—if it is not possible to find one Arabic term—to proceed by means of a literal translation of the foreign term. Another rule is to study anything which could simplify Arabic writing as well as the rules of syntax and morphology. In particular, the Ministry of Education stresses the need for simplification of grammar. The interest taken in dialect studies derives from the desire better to know the *fuṣḥā*, so that a decision can be taken about the integration of the dialectal Arabic. Attention has been given to the transliteration of foreign words, starting with geographical names. Throughout the discussions, the history of Arabic grammar, the place of the Ḳurʾān as a norm for the Arabic language, and the role of linguistic norms as such, have come up again and again. Although some attempts have been made to propose a simplification of orthography for the purpose of printing, problems of writing and orthography, like those of phonetics, have hardly been dealt with. Most important has been lexicography (*al-muʿdjamiyyāt*) and the technical procedure of composing dictionaries; this has entailed, besides the creation of neologisms, the evaluation of data of classical lexicography. Through its discussions since 1934 the *Madjmaʿ* has established a sort of linguistic *idjmāʿ* for Arabic, though the discussions themselves have taken place in a non-systematic way.

In the conclusion of his study about the *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*, R. Hamzaoui observes two features by which it distinguishes itself from other academies. In contrast to the Academies of Damascus and Baghdād, it concentrates completely on the Arabic language, and in its decision-making it tries to arrive at a linguistic *idjmaʿ* of its members before giving any authoritative statement. As in the Academy of Damascus, the work of the Academy of Cairo takes its departure from the *fuṣḥā* and aims to ensure a cultural and linguistic continuity from the beginning of Arabic literature until the present day. This often leads to a purist stand, seeking to defend the *ʿarabiyya* against encroachments by foreign languages, in particular modern western ones. This approach to the modernisation of the Arabic language and of Arabic culture in general leads to compromise solutions and the rejection of any radical solutions which may be proposed.

Among the major publications of the *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* are *al-Muʿdjam al-wasīṭ* (2 vols., Cairo 1960-1) and *Muʿdjam alfāẓ al-Ḳurʾān* (3 vols., Cairo 1953) as dictionaries; five volumes of *Maḥāḍir al-djalasāt* (1936-48), four volumes of the subsequent *al-Buḥūth wa 'l-muḥāḍarāt* (1959-62) as reports on the work being done and papers read by Academicians; the *Madjmūʿat al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-ʿilmiyya wa 'l-fanniyya*, of which eight volumes appeared between 1959 and 1968, and specialised listings of neologisms created by the Academy for particular fields; finally, the *Madjallat madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* from 1934 onward as the regular journal of the Academy. One special volume was published of *al-Muʿdjam al-lughawī al-taʾrīkhī* (*Ḥarf al-hamza ilā abad*), the project of the historical dictionary initiated by August Fischer but later abandoned (Cairo 1387/1967, 53 pp.). Two specimen volumes were published of the great *al-Muʿdjam al-lughawī al-kabīr* meant to be an Arabic *Larousse Encyclopédique*: *Ḥarf al-hamza—akhi* (Cairo 1956, 519 pp.), and *Mawādd min ḥarf al-hamza* (Cairo 1381-2/1962-3, 155 pp. in typescript). Several studies on the Cairo Academy have been published, as is shown in the *Bibliography* below.

(c) *ʿIrāḳ*. The history of *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī* goes back to 1945 when a *ladjnat al-taʾlīf wa 'l-tardjama wa 'l-nashr* was established in the Ministry of Education in order to expand the sphere of scientific activities in ʿIrāḳ and to keep up with such activities in the more developed countries. Due to the initiative of Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī and his collaborators, amongst them Fāḍil al-Djamālī, *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī* was founded by the government in 1947 and organised by the Ministry of Education. Its aims were more far-reaching than those of the preceding Committee as mentioned in Article 2 of the Regulations of the Iraq Academy (no. 62, 26 November 1947): *Madjalla*, i [1950], 10):

(i) to maintain the purity of the Arabic Language and seek to adapt it to the demands of the arts and sciences, and of the affairs of modern life;

(ii) to undertake research and writing in the fields of Arabic literature, the history of the Arabs, the history of the peoples of ʿIrāḳ, their languages, sciences, and civilisation;

(iii) to study the part played by the peoples of Islam in the propagation of Arabic culture;

(iv) to maintain in safe-keeping rare Arabic manuscripts and documents, and revive them by publishing them according to the latest scientific methods; and

(v) to undertake research in the modern arts and sciences, encourage original writing and translation in these fields, and promote the spirit of scientific enquiry in the country.

The *Madjmaʿ* clearly wanted to provide an impetus to the scientific *nahḍa* in ʿIrāḳ, as had been the purpose of the *Madjmaʿ* in Damascus, founded after World War I, for the scientific *nahḍa* in Syria. On 25 June 1949 (no. 40), ten Articles were promulgated as an Amendment to the Regulations. The first meeting of the *Madjmaʿ* was held on 12 January 1948 and up to 30 June 1950, 66 sessions were held as well as 150 committee sessions. At this stage, there were ten active members, all ʿIrāḳīs. At the beginning of 1949, the *Madjmaʿ* was considered to be a government body, and since by law the accumulation of ministrial or parliamentary functions with any other state positions was forbidden, several members had to leave the Academy; later that year Fāḍil al-Djamālī and Mattā ʿAḳrāwī left ʿIrāḳ on official duty and had to be replaced by

others, though they remained honorary members of the Academy. At this stage also, 28 corresponding members were elected, both among ʿIrāḳī and among Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese scholars; four western orientalists also became corresponding members, A. Guillaume, H. A. R. Gibb, W. Marçais and L. Massignon.

The activities of the Academy in Baghdād consisted from the beginning both of purely internal activities and of activities directed towards the outside world: giving public lectures, bringing about publications, allocating funds in order to support the publication of books and awarding prizes for essays on particular subjects fixed by the Academy. Since 1950 it has published the *Madjallat al-madjmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿirāḳī* on a yearly basis, to which Academicians and other scholars have contributed on a number of scholarly subjects. The public lectures organised by the Academy may be published in its *Madjalla* or separately. Each issue also contains a number of book reviews. In 1950 the Academy was able to acquire a printing-press. In its internal sessions, the Academy has established a number of new scientific and technical terms which are published in part in the *Madjalla* and in part on separate lists sent to various Ministries at their request. It should be noted that ʿIrāḳ during the early years did not yet possess a university, the University of Baghdād being established only in 1958. Well-known Presidents of the Academy have been Munīr al-Ḳāḍī as from 1949 onwards, Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī from 1958 onwards, and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Muḥyī al-Dīn since the later sixties, Yūsuf ʿIzz al-Dīn being its permanent secretary since that time. The Law no. 49 of 1963 introduced certain changes in the Regulations of the Academy.

The Academy has continued to hold its regular sessions and committee meetings and also to give financial assistance to the publishing of books and to acquire books for its library as well as microfilms of manuscripts. In 1970 the library counted some 25,000 books, more than 300 periodicals and some 400 manuscripts on microfilm. It had developed a card-index system, assigned prizes to winners of poetry festivals and participated in inter-Arab conferences on cultural subjects. The Academy also gave its opinion on cultural treaties which ʿIrāḳ was concluding with other countries. The Academy was liberal in giving its publications to numerous official institutions and personalities in the country and abroad; it gave assistance to students and scholars, photographed manuscripts from public and private libraries. Members participated in Committees for the Protection of Monuments, for a Translation Programme, etc. At present the Academy has active members (not exceeding fifteen ʿIrāḳī scholars), associate members, honorary members and corresponding members, the last two categories including both ʿIrāḳī and other nationalities.

(d) *Morocco.* Although not a *madjmaʿ* in the formal sense of the word, a similar institution in Rabat may be mentioned. After the first International Congress on Arabisation held in Rabat in 1961, a Bureau Permanent de l'Arabisation was established in Rabat and recognised by the League of Arab States in 1968. Subsequently, this became the Bureau de Coordination de l'Arabisation de la Ligue des États Arabes à Rabat, which was integrated in the ALESCO (Arab League, on the pattern of a regional UNESCO) in 1971, its definite regulations being established in 1973. Since 1964 this Bureau has published *al-Lisān al-ʿarabī*, with lists of neologisms and further articles of linguistic interest; it also publishes specialised listings of terms in particular fields with the Arabic, French and English equivalents. The members of the Bureau participate in meetings of the Academies in Damascus, Cairo and Baghdād. In its work on the modernisation of the Arabic language, the Bureau de Coordination de l'Arabisation de la Ligue des États Arabes follows less conservative lines than the established Academies and appears to work more efficiently. Finally it should be noted that by a *ẓahīr* (dahir) of 24 Shawwāl 1397/8 October 1977, the king of Morocco created a royal academy (*al-Akādimiya al-malakiyya*), which consists of 60 members, 30 of which have the Moroccan nationality while 30 are foreign correspondents. The statutes of the academy have been published in *al-Baḥth al-ʿilmī*, xxviii (1398/1978), 125-44.

A Union of Arab Academies was founded in Cairo on 30 March 1957, by Decree no. 1329.

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(ii) Iran

The establishment of the first Iranian language academy (*Farhangistān-i zabān-i Īrān*) resulted from developments representing two separate but related types of concerns, both stemming from the advent of modernisation in the early 19th century, and resulting in the double nature of the activities of the two academies. These two sets of developments were: (a) the desire for purifying Persian from the foreign (mostly

Arabic) words, and (b) the need for new words created by the introduction of new concepts (technical and general). The history of the language academies and related events can be divided into five periods:

(1) Historical background (up to 1921).

(2) The immediate setting (1921-35).

(3) The first *Farhangistān* (1935-41).

(4) Between the two *Farhangistāns* (1941-70).

(5) The second *Farhangistān* (1970-).

(1) *Historical background* (*up to 1921*). Attempts to write in a Persian devoid of Arabic words go as far back as at least the 4th/10th century. In recent times, the opposition to foreign words was triggered by nationalism, and was strengthened by the relative loss of the status of Arabic as part of the educational curriculum. The first manifestation of this opposition in recent times appeared in the 19th century, when a number of writers and poets wrote in *Fārsī-yi sara* "pure Persian", and some of them promoted it through research on the subject. These efforts continued, and became increasingly more extensive as time went on. During the same century, a new factor was introduced by the need for words to designate concepts brought in by modernisation in ever-increasing numbers. When the two factors overlapped, a three-sided debate developed: Should the new concepts be called (1) by their European names; or (2) by Arabic names (already in use in the Arabic-speaking countries or Ottoman Turkey, or to be coined in Iran itself); or (3) by native Persian words (existing or to be coined)? In practice, (1) was used most often, and (3) least often, especially at the earlier stages. In addition, a number of loan translations were introduced.

(2) *The immediate setting* (*1921-1935*). Riḍā Sh̲āh Pahlawī took over the government in 1921, and became king in 1925. Because of the encouragement of nationalism by the new régime, and the emphasis on the glories of ancient Iran, the debate on the foreign elements in Persian gained greater prominence. Opposition to loanwords grew and became more serious as their numbers increased. The debate spread to newspapers and journals. The government, and several of its agencies, also became involved, issuing public orders as well as internal memoranda, forbidding the use of European words and names, and even ordering that Persian writings on store signs should be made more prominent than anything in foreign scripts. Foreign words were considered "worse than a foreign army", their use a "literary disaster". The subject came up in parliamentary debates, and Riḍā Sh̲ah himself took a direct personal interest.

Riḍā Sh̲āh launched a series of reforms, mostly in the outward aspects of life, and practically all conducive to the importation of Western objects and Western institutions. This resulted in a greater need for new words. The need for coining new terms, often in combination with the interest in purification, led to the formation of a number of groups, which differed in longevity, efficiency, and their impact on the language. The first such group seems to have been the *Andjuman-i ʿIlmī* (Scientific Society), formed in the 1920s. In November 1924, the Ministry of War, in consultation with the Ministry of Education, formed a group made up of several high-ranking officers from the *Sh̲ūrā-yi ʿĀlī-yi Niẓām* (Supreme Military Council), as well as civilians from both ministries, charged with coining military terms. The words *hawāpaymā* "airplane", *k̲h̲alabān* "pilot", *furūdgāh* "airport", and others adopted by the group are now well-established in the language. There were other groups. The longest-lived and best-organised was the *Andjuman-i Waḍʿ-i Lug̲h̲āt wa Iṣṭilāḥāt-i ʿIlmī* (The Committee for Coining Scientific Terms), founded by Dr. ʿĪsā Ṣadīḳ at the *Dār al-Muʿallimīn-i ʿĀlī* (National Teachers' College), since renamed as *Dānis̲h̲sarā-yi ʿĀlī*, of which he had just been appointed dean. This student committee, under a faculty sponsor, adopted a constitution, with a set of principles and guidelines. Active from February-March 1933 to September-October 1940, it adopted about 3,000 terms in all, of which some 400 are said to have become fully-accepted. This committee continued its work even after the establishment of the first *Farhangistān*.

In 1935, the Ministry of Education founded the *Ākādimī-yi Ṭibbī* (Medical Academy), whose membership was made up of a number of well-known physicians and scholars. The group passed a constitution which listed 10 types of activities for itself, including the coining of medical terms. It was this group which adopted the word *farhangistān* for "academy". (*Farhang*, originally meaning "politeness, knowledge, education", etc., and also "dictionary". In recent decades, it has come to be used also in the sense of "culture", and in the 1930s it replaced the Arabic *Maʿārif* in the name of the "Ministry of Education". More recently, in the name of the newly-founded "Ministry of Culture", it has been used in the sense of "culture", and the compound *Āmūzis̲h̲ wa Parvaris̲h̲* has replaced it in the name of the "Ministry of Education".)

(3) *The first Farhangistān* (*1935-41*). By 1934, the efforts to purify Persian of its foreign element had acquired the proportions of a movement. Starting mostly in some periodicals, it soon spread to the various government offices, and to a major department of the Madjlis. A widespread hunt was on for "pure" Persian words to replace many common Arabic words. The words were found in dictionaries as well as other sources, including the *S̲h̲āh-nāma*. Articles written in *Fārsī-yi sara* were accompanied by glossaries, without which readers would have been at a loss, but nevertheless correspondence in this style was often unintelligible. Difficulties often arose in intra-governmental communication, since each person felt free to use "pure" Persian words which he had found, and there was little or no common ground among the many enthusiasts.

Riḍā Sh̲āh Pahlawī visited Turkey in 1934, where a movement for purifying Turkish from Arabic and Persian words was afoot, supported by the government of Kemal Atatürk, on whose order the Turkish Linguistic Society had been founded on 12 July 1932 (see section 3. below). Upon Riḍā Sh̲āh's return to Iran, approached by a number of purification supporters, he ordered a committee to be selected in the Ministry of War to adopt Persian equivalents for military terms. The Army Staff had already adopted native Persian equivalents for a large number of military terms, which had been reported to the king and put in use. These included the words *afsar* "officer" and *artis̲h̲* "army", both now established terms (and both objectionable from the etymological point of view).

The Ministry of Education, which was opposed to the movement, tried to subvert the new committee. Within a few hours after the committee's first meeting, Prime Minister Muḥammad ʿAlī Furūg̲h̲ī, an experienced politician and a respected scholar, and unsympathetic to the cause of purification, recruited for the task by the equally unsympathetic Ministry of Education, suggested to the king that

a group of scholars be commissioned to study the matter, and to prepare the way for the establishment of an academy (*farhangistān*).

The idea of establishing a language academy was not entirely new. In 1903, the government decided to establish a *Madjlis-i Ākādimī*, which, however, did not last long. One of its coinages was *rāh-i āhan* "railway", a translation of French *chemin de fer*, now a well-established part of Persian vocabulary. The idea continued to come up from time to time, until Furūghī was permitted by the Shah to found an academy. Furūghī charged ʿĪsā Ṣadīḳ with preparing a plan for an academy. He drafted a constitution, based in part on that of the Académie Française. After some changes, it was approved by the Council of Ministeries on 19 May 1935, and sent to the Ministry of Education on 26 May 1935 for action.

Article II of the constitution specifies the responsibilities of the *Farhangistān* in twelve items. Items 1, 2, 4-7, deal with collecting, adopting, and coining words. Items 8-11 concern literature. Item 12 calls for "inquiry into the reform of the Persian script". References to purification of Persian are mild, and almost casual: Item 2 states that the words to be chosen "in all domains of life" should be Persian "as much as possible". Item 3 states the responsibilities of the *Farhangistān* as "pruning (*pīrāstan*) from the Persian language inappropriate foreign words".

The *Farhangistān* held its first meeting on 2 June 1935, chaired by Furūghī. Other ordinary (*paywasta*) members present included Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār [*q.v.*], ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Abu 'l-Ḥasan Furūghi, Badīʿ al-Zamān (Furūzānfar), Ḥusayn Gulgulāb, ʿAlī Asghar Hikmat, Maḥmūd Ḥisābī, Saʿīd Nafīsī, ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Ḳarīb, Ghulam Riḍā Rashīd-Yāsimī, ʿĪsā Ṣādiḳ, Ṣādiḳ Riḍāzāda Shafaḳ, Ḥusayn Samīʿī, Ḥasan Wuthūḳ, and others. Among members added later were Ibrāhīm Pūr-Dāwūd, ʿAlī Akbar Siyāsī, ʿAbbās Iḳbāl Āshtiyānī, Muḥammad Ḥidjāzī, Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, Aḥmad Bahmanyār and Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī. Among the associate (*wābasta*) members elected at various times were the Iranian novelist Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Djamālzāda, and a number of foreigners, including Professors A. Christensen (Denmark), Henri Massé (France), Jan Rypka (Czechoslovakia) and Muḥammad Ḥasan Haykal (Egypt).

The *Farhangistān* adopted its internal by-laws on 4 August 1935, and later slightly modified them. Other by-laws were adopted later. The internal by-laws called for the establishment of seven committees. Although the designations of these committees, and the description of the tasks of the *Farhangistān* found in its constitution, set down a wide variety of tasks for it, in practice it spent all of its time and energy in adopting Persian words to replace foreign words.

According to its constitution, the officers of the *Farhangistān* consisted of a president, to be appointed by the king, and two vice-presidents and two secretaries elected for two years by a majority of the ordinary members. The first president was Premier Furūghī. He resigned as premier a few months later and after that did not attend its meetings. In March-April 1936, Ḥasan Wuthūḳ succeeded him.

Riḍā Shāh was dissatisfied with the speed with which the *Farhangistān* was progressing, and ordered it to be reorganised. This reorganisation took place on 28 April 1938. Several new members were added; and three members, including Wuthūḳ and Dihkhudā, were removed. The presidency of the *Farhangistān* was henceforth to be given to the Minister of Education. The first president under the new system was ʿAlī Asghar Ḥikmat. He was succeeded by Ismāʿīl Mirʾāt three months later. Mirʾāt's presidency lasted until September 1941. The committee structure also was changed. Of a total of eight committees, five were charged with coining terms. The work of the *Farhangistān* was now practically restricted, both officially and in fact, to the coining of terms.

Not everyone was in sympathy with the aims and the activities of the *Farhangistān*. Indeed, its founder, Furūghī, himself apparently became involved in it more to keep those whom he considered extremists from controlling it than to help the purification movement. In fact, in a public lecture he gave a few months after the *Farhangistān* began work, he tried to correct what he considered mistaken ideas about the organisation's work; e.g. the idea that it was a "word-manufacturing plant", and that its raison d'être was "purging Persian of Arabic words completely". In March-April 1937, the *Farhangistān* published an expanded version of this lecture under the title *Piyām ba-Farhangistān* ["Message to the *Farhangistān*"]. Throughout this message, he stressed the importance of Arabic for Persian, and preached moderation in the attempts to purify Persian, and patience in introducing new Persian words and reviving old ones.

The first *Farhangistān* was active for little more than six years (though it continued to exist on paper until *ca.* 1956). During this time, it invented, revived and adopted over 2,400 words. These words were widely circulated in the press and in book form. The largest number of the words were technical terms in banking, medicine, zoology, arithmetic, geology, physics, botany, geometry, and government. In addition, it adopted Persian equivalents for some 200 Arabic expressions used in Persian; e.g. *nawsāz* for *djadīd al-iḥdāth* "newly built". It also changed some place names, mostly from Arabic or Turkish to Persian; e.g. Muḥammara was changed to Khurramshahr, Anzalī to Pahlawī. In their forms, the words adopted by the *Farhangistān* fall into several categories: (a) simple words; *angal* "parasite"; (b) compounds, e.g. *pāyān-nāma* (from *pāyān* "end" + *nāma* "letter") "thesis, dissertation (for a college or university degree)"; (c) words made with affixes, e.g. *dādgāh* (from *dād* "justice" + *-gāh*, a suffix of place) "court"; *bāzdāsht* (from *bāz-*, a prefix comparable to the English prefix *re-* + *dāsht*, past stem of the verb "to have") "detention". A few of the *Farhangistān* words were European loanwords; e.g. *mīn* "mine" from French *mine*. Most of them, however, were made up of native Persian elements, and can be classified in several categories: (a) old words revived, e.g. *pizishk* "physician"; (b) old words given new or specialised meanings, e.g. *dāwar* (originally "judge") "arbitrator", *arz* ("value") "[foreign] exchange"; (c) assignment of different meanings to members of a doublet (or triplet, etc.), i.e. the different phonological forms of what was historically a single word, e.g. *āgāhī* "secret police": *āgahī* "advertisement"; (d) differentiation of meaning among a set of synonyms or near-synonyms, as in the geological terms *dawr* "epoch"; *dawra* "period"; *dawrān* "era"; *rūzgār* "age"; (e) in a few instances (mostly in place names), a slight change in the form of an existing word making it more Persian in appearance, e.g. from *ḳaranṭīna* to *ḳarantīn* "quarantine", from *ziyārāt* (orig. Arabic "pilgrimage") to *Ziyār* (an obsolete Persian masculine name); (f) in a few cases, Persianising the spelling of a word, mostly in place names,

e.g. from *ṭūfān* to *tūfān* 'storm', from Ṭihrān to Tihrān. Some *Farhangistān* words were loan-translations. There were three types of these: (a) a simple Persian word given a new (additional) meaning on the model of a foreign word, e.g. *čang*, meaning "clutch" given the additional meaning of "clutch" of a car; (b) a compound Persian word formed on the model of a foreign compound and given the meaning of that compound, e.g. *nakhust wazīr* "prime minister", modelled on the English *prime minister*; and the river named Siyāh Āb, from the Turkish Ḳara Sū, literally "Black Water"; (c) a word made with an affix in similar fashion, e.g. *bī-nām* "limited company", modelled on the French *anonyme*.

Many *Farhangistān* words have never been commonly accepted; e.g. *anbāra* "accumulator" (in physics), *bihindjār* "normal", *pūshina* "capsule". Some words, however, have clearly come into common use: terms dealing with governmental administration (including names of the various ministries, departments, etc.); names of cities and towns; and a few scientific terms.

A number of words coined by the *Farhangistān*, presumably from native Persian elements, are questionable, or clearly wrong from the points of view of semantics, grammar or etymological history, as pointed out by several scholars. Thus *ashkūb* "floor (of a building)" is Aramaic; *khāwar* "east" was used by classical writers in the sense of "west" as well as "east"; *dastgīr kardan* was chosen for "to capture, arrest", its derivative *dastgīrī* for "municipal assistance". All in all, some of the words coined by the *Farhangistān* show imprecision, unfamiliarity with, or disregard of, Persian grammatical rules, especially rules of word formation, and an absence of consistent principles and methods.

The *Farhangistān*'s words created problems for the people, partly because of the large numbers of new words introduced at short intervals, partly because they were not always fully explained, partly because of the inherent difficulty of substituting new (and often unfamiliar) words for those well-established in the language through centuries of use. Sometimes the new words were misused.

(4) *Between the two Farhangistāns* (1941-70). During the Second World War, Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī abdicated in September 1941, three weeks after Iran was occupied by the British and Russian forces. With the support of the powerful ruler removed, the *Farhangistān* lost its vigour. Its opponents now became active, denouncing it openly in the press. The *Farhangistān* reconsidered some of those of its adopted words to which objections had been made. The Ministry of Education issued a memorandum authorising the return to traditional mathematical terms which had been replaced with newly-coined words in school books.

After the occupation, Furūghī once again became the President of the *Farhangistān* in December 1941 or January 1942. He died on 26 November 1942, and the presidency went to Ḥusayn Samīʿī, Adīb al-Salṭana. After his death in January-February 1954, no successor was appointed to the presidency. The *Farhangistān* ceased to exist even on paper, despite continued occasional attempts to revive it. In the meantime, the need for new terms grew because of expanding education, increased translation activity, etc. After a time, a number of groups were organised was henceforth to be given to the Minister of Educafor the purpose, but most were short-lived and non-productive.

The inactivity and later disappearance of the *Farhangistān* did not for long weaken the movement for purification. After Riḍā Shāh, the debate on purification was revived, with the opponents once again becoming active and vociferous. They included ʿAbbās Iḳbāl Āshtiyānī and Waḥīd Dastgirdī, whose journals, *Yādgār* and *Armaghān* respectively, published attacks on the *Farhangistān*. The major spokesman for the opposition was Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳīzāda [*q.v.*]. The chief advocate of language *reform*—not the same as *purification*—was Sayyid Aḥmad Kasrawī [*q.v.*], who, however, disagreed with the majority of the proponents of purification. Both of these men became active in this area during Riḍā Shāh's reign. They exerted their greatest influence after his abdication, however, and for this reason it is appropriate and convenient to discuss them at this point. Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳīzāda was a well-known, widely respected, influential politician, diplomat, and scholar. In 1935, he had attacked purification in an article published in the journal of the Ministry of Education. His reference to "the intervention of the sword in the work of the pen" as being "contrary to the taste and dignity of Iranians" was taken as an insult to the Shah, and the article was cut out of the issue and replaced. This paper was reprinted in 1942. On 24 February 1948, he gave a lengthy lecture entitled *Luzūm-i ḥifẓ-i Fārsī-yi faṣīḥ* ("The necessity of preserving eloquent Persian") at the *Dānishsarā-yi ʿĀlī* (National Teachers' College) in Tehran. Almost three-quarters of it is given to the question of Arabic words in Persian. Among the points he made were that many Arabic words in Persian had been "naturalised"; that expulsion of Arabic loanwords was a "malicious attempt on the Persian language and Iranian nationality" and would impoverish the language; that purifying Persian would gradually cut off Iranians from the neighbouring Muslim nations; that Arabic was an extremely rich language; that words for new concepts should preferably be borrowed from "the more familiar, easier Arabic words common in Egypt and Syria or ... those common in old Persian books". Finally, he believed that choice of new words should be left to writers, and that "legal and coercive force must not enter it".

The major proponents of purification since the discussion grew serious in the 1930s included Dhabīḥ Bihrūz (d. 1971); Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Āzād Marāghaʾī (d. 1946); and Aḥmad Kasrawī Tabrīzī (1890-1946). Kasrawī was the most active of the purification advocates, and the most enduring. He was also the most relentless in ignoring the *Farhangistān* and its instructions even in its heyday during Riḍā Shāh's reign.

Kasrawī was a historian, a linguist, and a jurist. In the early 1930s he also became an advocate of far-reaching social change in all areas of culture. It was in close connection with his extensive writings and lectures on Iranian society and its ills that he pursued language reform. Kasrawī believed that, through the centuries, Persian had come to be a language fraught with problems in all its aspects, including grammar and semantics. The foreign element in it was only one problem. On this subject, he disagreed with those who advocated purification on nationalistic grounds, and those who opposed it on religious grounds. He argued that each language should have its independence, and that its borders should not be left open indiscriminately to foreign words, as Persian has for many centuries been left open to Arabic words. He believed that uncontrolled importation of Arabic words into Persian has been more responsible than anything

else for the current decayed state of Persian—both its vocabulary and its grammar; and this decadence has harmful psychological effects on the speakers of Persian. On the Arabic words in Persian, he believed that those Arabic words that were common in Persian, and for which no native Persian equivalents existed any longer should be retained; that, except for scientific terms, no words should be invented, but people's usage should be followed; that needed new words should be coined from Persian materials (by compounding and affixation); that Persian words selected should be correct; that they should be so formed as to make possible the derivation of other words from them; that there is no need to find a Persian equivalent for each and every foreign word, since many of the latter words were superfluous; that each word should have only one meaning; and that each meaning should always be expressed by the same words, thus eliminating synonymy. Furthermore, he repeatedly emphasised that the question of language reform was a scientific matter and that to undertake such a reform was a scientific endeavour, requiring certain qualifications.

Like Taḳīzāda, Kasrawī was opposed to the establishment of an academy. He felt that language reform should come about through the efforts of writers, who should improve their styles, and thus provide models for the people at large. Kasrawī, however, would permit the establishment of an organisation for coining and selecting scientific and technical terms.

(5) *The second Fārhangistān* (*1970-*). Kasrawī was assassinated in March 1946. For the next twenty years or so, there was a virtual lull in the debate on language purification and reform. The first break in the lull was a lecture by Dr. Muḥammad Muḳaddam of the University of Tehran in December 1963, and an interview with him published in 1966. Muḳaddam believed that Persian was poor in technological and scientific terminology, but was fully equipped to meet its needs; that Persians should not, as was frequently suggested, confine themselves to the language of their literary classics; that, contrary to the suggestion made by many, full use of analogy should be made in the coining of words; that Persian's own resources should be used for the purpose; that the otherwise very simple Persian language has become confused by the Arabic forms in it, resulting in numerous mistakes made even by university students; and that, again contrary to the claim of many, coining new words from Persian resources would not cut off Iranians from other speakers of Persian, since no one was advocating the replacing of Arabic words with Persian in the writings of the past—that, in fact, the other Persian-speaking peoples should welcome the new terms which Iranians would be making available to them.

Soon, discussions of language reform began to appear in the daily press (e.g. *Kayhān*), and in journals, such as *Waḥīd*, *Yaghmā* and *Talāsh*. In 1970, the Ministry of Culture and Art sponsored a conference for discussing the Persian language, held on October 28-30, in Tehran. At the opening session, a message was read from Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, in which he announced that he had already approved the constitution of the Imperial Foundation for the *Farhangistān*s of Iran, which was to be established. He said that the constitution provided for a *Farhangistān-i zabān-i Īrān* ("Language Academy of Iran"). On the last day of the conference, the Minister of Culture and Art presented the members of that *Farhangistān* to the Shāh: Dr. Ṣādiḳ Riḍāzāda Shafaḳ, Ḥusayn Gulgulāb, Dr. Maḥmud Ḥisābī, Dr. ʿĪsā Ṣadīḳ, Dhabīḥ Bihrūz, Djamāl Riḍāʾī, Muḥammad Muḳaddam, Yaḥyā Māhyār-Nawwābī, Muṣṭafā Muḳarrabī, Marshal ʿAlī Karīmlū and Ṣādiḳ Kiyā, who was appointed president of the body by imperial order.

In his message, the Shah referred to the old *Farhangistān* and to the new one as an expansion of the old one. Four members of the new one (Gulgulāb, Ṣadīḳ, Ḥisābī and Shafaḳ) had been members of the old one also. Another member, Bihrūz, had served on one of its committees. President Kiyā had for many years been a collaborator with Muḳaddam in language-reform activities.

The new *Farhangistān* differed from the old one in that it was to be one of several such organisations. The *Farhangistān-i Hunar wa Adab* ("Academy of Art and Literature") was founded soon afterward. However, the Language Academy was the main focus, received the greatest financial support, and became very active.

The new body had an elaborate organisation, consisting of a Council, made up of the ordinary members; four *Puzhūhishgāh*s (Research Centres); a library; a phonetic laboratory; and a secretariat. The four *Puzhūhishgāh*s were: (1) *Wāzha-guzīnī* (Adoption of words); (2) *Wāzhahā-yi Fārsī* (Persian words), which was charged with "collecting Persian words and showing the capabilities of this language in making words"; (3) *Zabānhā-yi bāstānī wa miyāna wa guyishhā-yi Īrānī* (Old and Middle [Iranian] languages and Iranian dialects); and (4) *Dastūr-i zabān-i Fārsī* (Persian grammar). The first of these centres has been the most active. It began with 13 groups, each responsible for terms in a specific field or fields. By the end of 1975, they had proposed 30,000 Persian equivalents for some 15,000 foreign words.

One feature of the procedure followed by these groups is the publication of lists of words for which Persian equivalents are being sought, in monographs entitled *Pīshnihad-i shumā čist?* ("What do you propose?"). These monographs are distributed worldwide. The proposals received were to be considered when deciding on new terms, which were to be approved by the Shāh before becoming final.

As far as their forms and etymological histories are concerned, the words adopted by the second *Farhangistān* are by and large similar to those adopted by the first one. Several points are worth mentioning, however: (1) greater and bolder use of affixation and compounding; (2) greater consistency among the various adopted words; (3) greater tendency to revive obsolete or archaic words unknown to the majority of Persian speakers; (4) formation of words from Middle and Old Persian bases; e.g. *pardīz* "park" (cf. Mod. Pers. *firdaws* "paradise", and English paradise, and its cognates in other European languages); *pardīza* "campus" (related to the preceding); and (5) insistence on replacing some quite common words; e.g. *mihrāz* for *miʿmār* "architect"; *dāwkhʷāh* for *dāwṭalab* "candidate"; *farhikhtārī* for *farhang*, *āmuzish-wa-parwarish* for *taʿlīm-wa-tarbiyat* 'education'; *pargīr* for *muḥīṭ* and *pīrāmūn* "environment"; etc.

Conclusion

A brief comparison between the old and the new *Farhangistān* might be useful: (1) The new one is a far more serious undertaking—as evidenced in its elaborate organisation and procedures. (2) Its work is not

confined to word-making but covers the entire language. (3) Its members, as a group, believe in their work, while the old one was organised and at least at first controlled by people (e.g. Furūg̲h̲ī) not in sympathy with language purification. (4) Its members and those outsiders working with them are professionally more highly qualified than their predecessors, in linguistics and other relevant fields. (5) It is a more open operation, in that it consults the public, or at least the scholarly community. (6) Its work is more systematic, and its procedures more elaborate.

As for the future of the academy, and of language purification, it is difficult to predict after the February 1979 overthrow of the monarchy by a revolution with strong religious overtones. The *Farhangistān* is now inactive, if not in fact defunct. If the atmosphere prevailing during the first nine months of the new régime continues, any undertaking of his type would most likely discontinue, or at least be weakened and restricted. Under such conditions, the activities of any language academy would very likely be confined to the coining and adoption of technical terms.

Bibliography: A short history of the two language academies and similar organisations in Iran and of language reform is provided in M. A. Jazayery, *Farhangistān*: *la Academia Irania de la Lengua*, Mexico City (forthcoming), which contains a comprehensive bibliography. A shorter account, from a somewhat different perspective, will be found in his article *The modernisation of Persian vocabulary and language reform in Iran* (forthcoming). For a list of the persons writing in pure Persian from the earliest times, see ʿA. A. Ḥikmat, *Pārsī-yi nag̲h̲z*, Tehran 1951, where examples of such writings are given. See also M. Ishaque, *Modern Persian poetry*, Calcutta 1943. Information on the various terminology and purification groups is found in Muḥammad Muḥīṭ-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Nigahbānī-yi zabān-i Fārsī*, in *Yag̲h̲mā*, xxiii (1971), 569-75; Muḥsin S̲h̲āmlū, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ī az waḍʿ-i lug̲h̲at dar Īrān*, in *Waḥīd*, v (1968), 834-8; and in the Jazayery monograph cited above. On the committee at the *Dānis̲h̲sarā-yi ʿĀlī*, see ʿĪsā Ṣadīḳ, *Yādgār-i ʿumr*, Tehran 1959-75, ii, 105 ff. The constitution and internal by-laws of the *Farhangistān*, lists of its members and committees, and of words adopted up to 21 March 1942, are found in *Wāz̲h̲ahā-yi naw ki tā pāyān-i sāl-i 1939 dar Farhangistān pad̲h̲irufta s̲h̲uda ast*, Tehran 1973 (repr. of the original 1942). A brief analysis of the words approved by the two *Farhangistāns* is given in Jazayery's book and in A. Shakoor Ahsan, *Modern trends in the Persian language*, Islamabad 1976, 111-30. On the developments between the two *Farhangistāns*, see also *Luzūm-i ḥifẓ-i Fārsī-yi faṣīḥ*, in *Yādgār*, vi (1948), 1-40. On Kasrawī, see now (in addition to *Bibl.* in the article, s.v.), *Niwis̲h̲tahā-yi Kasrawī dar zamīna-yi zabān-i Fārsī*, ed. Ḥusayn Yazdāniyān, Tehran 1979. For an analysis of Kasrawī's views on, and methods of, language reform, see Jazayery, *Yāddās̲h̲thā-yi dar pīrāmūn-i kūs̲h̲is̲h̲hā wa andīs̲h̲ahā-yi Kasrawī dar zamīna-yi zabān*, which appears on pp. 11-47 of that book in lieu of an introduction. On the second *Farhangistān*, see Jazayery's monograph and article cited at the beginning of this bibliography, the Ashan book cited, and the publications of the *Farhangistān* itself. The latter include *Farhangistān-i zabān-i Īrān*: *hadaf, sāzman, waẓīfa, rawis̲h̲-i faʿʿāliyyat*, Tehran 1972, and the *Pis̲h̲nihād-i s̲h̲umā čist* monographs of which four were published, Tehran 1972-6. Samples of its adopted words are found in *Barābarhā-yi Fārsī-yi bark̲h̲ī az wāz̲h̲ahā-yi āmūzis̲h̲ī*, Tehran 1974.

(M. A. Jazayery)

(iii) Turkey

There are two academies in Turkey, the Society for Turkish History and the Society for the Turkish Language, both set up on the initiative of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk [*q.v.*], who supervised their work closely until his death in 1938, whereupon nearly all his estate was divided evenly between them. Both during and after his lifetime, these academies closely followed his views on the interpretation of Turkish history and the reform of the Turkish language respectively. In brief, they maintained that the Turks were an ancient people, connected with Anatolia since the oldest times, with a language of their own and responsible for major contributions to world civilisation. The operational results of this approach, which the academies were expected to foster, were to be an increase in pride among Turks regarding their past and their language and the will again to play a role in world civilisation through rapid modernisation.

The Türk Tarih Kurumu (TTK) or the "Society for Turkish History" had as its predecessor the Türk Tarihi Tetkik Heyeti or "Committee for Research into Turkish History", founded in 1930. In 1931, this was succeeded by the Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti or "Society for Research into Turkish History", whose own name was changed to Türk Tarih Kurumu (meaning the same) in 1935.

The scope and goals of the TTK were to study the history of the Turks and of Turkey and to publish and disseminate the results of this research. The following methods were suggested for attaining these objectives: 1. Research and investigation of sources relating to the history of the Turks and of Turkey. 2. Translation (into Turkish) and publishing of these source materials. 3. Convening of congresses for discussion of new findings and other scholarly topics. 4. Despatch of scholars (individuals of groups) for investigation of documents which shed light upon the history of the Turks and of Turkey. 5. Cooperation with local and foreign scholarly institutions regarding the study and publication of relevant material.

The TTK, organised like other academies and learned societies throughout the world, is housed in its own building in Ankara, with an impressive library (including archival materials, 901 manuscripts, 189 microfilms, 172 photocopies of manuscripts, numerous local and foreign journals and 73,166 books and offprints, by late 1979) and its own printing press. It serves as the centre for the TTK's manifold activities, which include research, lectures, exhibitions and international congresses —convened approximately once every five years since 1932—as well as publication of the proceedings of these congresses under the title *Türk tarih kongresi sunulan bildiriler* (later renamed *Türk tarih kongresi bildirileri*), along with numerous other works. The TTK's conception of Turkish history is maximalist; one of its first publications was a four-volume textbook for secondary schools (*lise*), emphasising the overall history of the Turks (and Turkic peoples) throughout Asia and their contributions to world civilisation. The 347 scholarly books—many of which comprise several volumes—published

by the TTK up to late 1979 indicate the Society's wide-ranging interest in the history of the Turks and Turkey (and to a lesser extent, in world history as well). It has published critical editions of historical documents and other archival materials, as well as studies in archaeology and history, with emphasis on the Ottoman and Turkish periods and especially on Atatürk's role, although also considering the history of art and folklore in Turkey. A few of these books were intended for a general readership. In addition to its bibliographies of historical research, the TTK publishes a scholarly quarterly, *Belleten* (*1937*-) and a twice-yearly collection of documents, *Belgeler*: *Türk Tarih Belgeler Dergisi* (1964-).

The Türk Dil Kurumu (TDK) or the "Society for the Turkish Language" was preceded by the Dil Heyeti or "Language Committee", established in 1929 to coordinate and advance—on a more institutionalised level—the language reform which had commended one year earlier upon adoption of the Latin alphabet. In 1932, with the government's blessing, the Committee expanded and became the Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti or "Society for Research into the Turkish Language" whose name was changed in 1934 to Türk Dili Araştırma Kurumu (meaning the same, but very obviously displaying the switch from Arabic to Turkish roots). In 1936, its name was finally abbreviated to Türk Dil Kurumu.

The scope and objectives of the TDK were revised several times. Their clearest expression may perhaps be found in the Society's 1943 statues: 1. To purify the language of foreign accretions and to Turkify it (*türkçeleştirmek*). 2. To collect Turkish words used in Turkey and elsewhere and publish them in dictionaries of the Turkish of Turkey and of Turkish dialects. 3. To prepare and publish relevant linguistic works along with the above dictionaries. 4. To examine ways and means of coining new words and to prepare a basic grammar of Turkish and a comparative grammar of Turkish dialects. 5. To draw up lists of technical terms for schools and universities and to prepare a dictionary of such Turkish terms. 6. To collect and publish popular proverbs. 7. To investigate the Turkish language from its earliest times and to compare it with other languages, in order to prepare etymological dictionaries. 8. To study documents relating to the Turkish language and the development of other languages, with special reference to their vocabularies and the coining of new words. 9. To study modern linguistic works and to translate them into Turkish.

The TDK, likewise organised similarly to other learned societies, has its own building in Ankara which houses its large library (about 25,000 volumes, 150 different periodicals, 600 manuscripts, 33 microfilms and over 100 volumes of photocopies of 48 books, in 1980) and serves as headquarters for its multifaceted activities in linguistic research. The best-known of these activities has most likely been the coining of new words and terms to replace those of Arabic or Persian origin. While many of these neologisms are indeed words of Turkish and Turkic origin, some are wholly original coinages. These new terms were subsequently filtered into the school system and the press. Since the end of World War II, however, this process has become more moderate. Starting with 1932, the TDK has convened scholarly congresses once every two or three years, which are attended by both local and foreign linguists and educators. The results have been published as *Türk Dili Kurultayı* (later known as *Türk Dil Kurultayı*). Other publications consist of 467 books and brochures (by July 1980) dealing with the following: studies and lectures on language "purification", new spellings, Turkish and general linguistics, Turkish dialects and proverbs, lists of new terms for various areas, dictionaries of Turkish (including a historical "Thesaurus") and certain other Turkic languages (Kirghiz, Uyghur, Yakut and Čuvash), several biographies (of Atatürk and others), literary works and sources for the Turkish language, bibliographies and the following periodicals: *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* (annual, 1953-), *Türk Dili*: *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti Bülteni*, renamed *Türk Dili Belleten* (monthly, 1933-50), superseded by *Türk Dili*: *Aylık Dergi* (monthly, 1951-).

By a law passed on 11 August 1983 (published in the *Resmi Gazete*, no. 18138, dated 17 August 1983), the Türk Tarih Kurumu and Türk Dil Kurumu, along with the recently founded Atatürk Kültür Merkezi (the Atatürk Culture Centre), have been united in a new, state-sponsored Academy, entitled Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu (the Atatürk Culture, Language and History Higher Organisation), located in Ankara.

Bibliography: For the TTK see, in addition to its own publications: E. Z. Karal, *Atatürk'ün tarih tezi*, in Afet Inan and E. Z. Karal, eds., *Atatürk hakkında konferanslar*, Ankara 1946, 55-6; Inan, *Türk tarih kurumu'nun kurulusuna dair*, in *Belleten* xi/42 (1947), 173-9; B. Lewis, *History writing and national revival in Turkey*, in *MEA*, iv/6-7 (June-July 1953), esp. 224 ff.: Karal, *Historiography in Turkey today*, in *ibid*., x/10 (Oct. 1959), esp. 320 ff.; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 353-5; Halil İnalcık, *Türk tarihi ve Atatürk'te tarih şuuru*, in *Türk Kültürü* [Ankara], vii (May 1963), 6-11; *Türk tarih kurumu*, Ankara 1970; *Türk tarih kurumu'nun 40. kuruluş yıldönümü*, in *Belleten*, xxxv/138 (1971), 353-8; Âfetinan, *Türk tarih kurumu 40 yaşında*, in *Belleten*, xxxv/140 (1971), 519-29; U. İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin 50. yılında Türk tarih kurumu*, Ankara 1973; Zeynep Korkmaz, *Cumhuriyet döneminde Türk dili*, Ankara, 1974 61-3; İğdemir, *Yılların içinden*; *makeleler, anilar, incelemeler*, Ankara 1976; *Türk tarih kurumu yayınları*, *1979*, Ankara 1980; Karal, *Atatürk ve devrim* (*konferanslar ve makaleler* (*1935-1978*), Ankara 1980, 95-102; Suna Kili, *Türk devrim tarihi*, Istanbul 1980, 172-3.

For the TDK, see, in addition to its own publicitations: Türk Dil Kurumu, *Ana tüzüğü*, *çalişma programı ve iç tüzüğü*, Ankara 1943; Ruşen Eşref Unaydin, *Türk dili tetkik cemiyeti'nin kuruluşundan ilk kurultaya kadar hâtiralar*[2], Ankara 1943; Uriel Heyd, *Language reform in modern Turkey*, Jerusalem 1954, 25 ff.; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 427-30; *Dil devriminin 30 yılı*, Ankara 1962, 79-102; [Tahsin Banguoğlu *et alii*], *Dilde özlesmenin sınırı ne olmalıdır*? Ankara 1962; Ahmet Temir, *Türk dil kurumunda aksiyon ve bilim işi*, in *Türk Kültürü*, viii (June 1963), 11-14; idem, *Türk dil kurumu tüzüğü üzerine düşünceler*, in *ibid*., ix (July 1963), 4-11. C. E. Bosworth, *Language reform and nationalism in modern Turkey*, in *MW* lv/2 (April 1965), esp. 120-4; Emin Ozdemir, *Dil devrimimiz*, Ankara 1969, 43 ff.; *Türk dil kurumunun 40 yılı*, Ankara 1972; *Türk dil kurumu kol çalişmalari* (*1932-1972*), Ankara 1972; Vecihe Hatiboğlu, *Cumhuriyetin ellinci yılında*

ölümsüz Atatürk ve dil devrimi, Ankara 1973, 29 ff.; Zeynep Korkmaz, *Cumhuriyet döneminde Türk dili*, 63 ff.; A. N. Kononov, *Očʾerk istorii izučeniya Turʾetskogo yazïka*, Leningrad 1976, 71 ff.; F. K. Timurtaş, *Türkçemiz ve uydurmacılık*, Istanbul 1977, 173-219; *Türk Dil Kurumu yayınları, 1932-1979*, Ankara 1979; Suna Kili, *Türk devrim tarihi*, Istanbul 1980, 174-5.

(J. M. Landau)

(iv) India.

Under the auspices of the Muslim University, Aligarh, and in imitation of the Academies of Damascus, Cairo and Baghdād, the *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-Hindī* was founded in 1396/1976, aiming mainly at expanding knowledge of Arabic in India; furthering studies on the literature, history, sciences and civilisation of the Arabs; publishing valuable manuscripts; publicising the work of Indian scholars; and stimulating the intellectual spirit of the country.

The Academy comprises twelve active members (*ʿāmilūn*) of Indian nationality, 28 corresponding members (*muzāmilūn*) representing the Arabophone countries (Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine [*sic*], Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco and Kuwayt) and 15 other corresponding members chosen from the Arabists of Iran, Pakistan, USSR, Germany, Great Britain, France, Hungary, Italy and the Netherlands.

It publishes twice-yearly a journal, *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmi al-Hindī*, whose first issue, dated 1396/1976, appeared at the end of 1978 (see the review in *Hamdard Islamicus*, ii/2 [Karachi 1979], 105-12).

(Ed.)

MADJNŪN (a.), pl. *madjānīn*, possessed, mad, madman; the passive participle of *djanna*, "to cover, conceal", passive, *djunna*, "to be possessed, mad, insane".

Its meaning and usage have been closely related to belief in the Djinn [*q.v.*]. In pre-Islamic Arabia, soothsayers were believed to have received messages from the *djinn* during ecstatic experiences, after which they delivered oracles in short, enigmatic verses of rhymed prose called *sadjʿ* [see kāhin], and poets were believed to have been inspired by their individual *djinn*, similar to the Greek idea of Muses [see shāʿir]. Soothsayers and poets were both said to be *madjnūn*, literally "*djinn*-possessed" or "inspired by the *djinn*". The term *madjnūn* occurs eleven times in the Ḳurʾān, where its exact, original meaning is not certain, but its usage is significant for the later history of the term. It refers explicitly to Muḥammad seven times and probably alludes to him in the other contexts, where episodes in his life seem to be projected into stories about Moses (XXVI, 27, LI, 39) and Noah (LIV, 9) and into the general statement that each of God's Messengers was accused of being a sorcerer (*sāḥir*) or *madjnūn* (LI, 52). In four of the seven contexts where *madjnūn* refers explicitly to Muḥammad, it occurs in accusations against the Prophet quoted from his opponents: "O thou upon whom the Reminder has been sent down, thou art *madjnūn*" (XV, 6); "Shall we abandon our gods on account of a poet (*shāʿir*) *madjnūn?*" (XXXVII, 36); "They turned from him [i.e. Muḥammad] and said, 'One who is tutored, *madjnūn*'" (XLIV, 14); "When they hear the Reminder they say, 'Surely he is *madjnūn*'" (LXVIII, 51). In the other three contexts God responds to these accusations, assuring Muḥammad and his companions: "Thou art neither a soothsayer (*kāhin*) nor *madjnūn*" (LII, 29); "Thou, by the bounty of thy Lord, art not *madjnūn*" (LXVIII, 2); and "Your comrade is not *madjnūn*" (LXXXI, 22). In the Ḳurʾān the term *madjnūn*, always in the singular, functions sometimes as an adjective and sometimes as a noun. It occurs only in Meccan passages, only in the context of accusations made against Muḥammad by his opponents (and against earlier Messengers by theirs), and only in contexts involving the question of the source and process of revelation. The primary meaning of *madjnūn* in the Ḳurʾān seems to be "*djinn*-possessed/a *djinn*-possessed person (like the ancient Arabian soothsayer)" or "inspired by the *djinn*/a person inspired by the *djinn* (like the Arabian poet)". Muḥammad's opponents in Mecca, seeing the similarity between the form of his messages and the *sadjʿ* oracles of the soothsayers, argued that his messages were not revealed by God but were inspired by the *djinn*. In response to this charge, the Ḳurʾān develops some interesting counter-arguments. Identifying the alleged *djinn* inspirers as "satans" (*shayāṭīn*), the Ḳurʾān states in LXXXI, 25, that Muḥammad's messages are "not the speech of a pelted satan (*shayṭān radjīm*)", and XXVI, 210-12 adds: "The satans have not brought it down. It would not suit them, nor are they able. Indeed, they have been removed far from [even a chance of] hearing it." These two passages allude to the ancient Near Eastern shooting-star myth, the Ḳurʾānic versions of which deny that *djinn* or satans (both terms occur in these accounts) are able to obtain messages from the Heavenly Council to bring down to man. When they try to eavesdrop at the gates of heaven they are pelted and driven away with flaming stars (see XV, 16-18, XXXVII, 6-10, LXVII, 5 and LXXII, 8-11). On this myth, see Ibn Hishām, 130, tr. Guillaume, 90; P. A. Eichler, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran*, Leipzig 1928, 30-1; and for *ḥadīth* references, Wensinck, *Handbook*, 59. Another Ḳurʾānic argument against the accusation that Muḥammad was *madjnūn* involves two accounts in which it is reported that *djinn* overheard him reciting the Ḳurʾān and became believers (XLVI, 29-32, LXXII, 1 ff.). That is, Muḥammad did not get his messages from the *djinn*; they received the Ḳurʾān from him (see Ibn Hishām, 281, tr. Guillaume, 193 f., and for *ḥadīth* references, Wensinck, *Handbook*, 59 f.).

Whether *madjnūn* had secondary meanings in the Ḳurʾān for Muḥammad and his contemporaries is difficult to say. In his English translation of the *madjnūn* passages, Richard Bell (*The Qurʾān*, Edinburg 1937-9) sometimes renders this term as "mad", "crazy", and "madman" (see, e.g., XXVI, 27 [v. 26 in Bell], XXXVII, 36 [v. 35 in Bell], and LI, 39), thus giving the term some of the various meanings it has in later usage. In the Ḳurʾān, madness is associated with "satans", in accordance with the ancient Semitic concept of demon-possession (see VI, 71), and, since evil or mischievous *djinn* are identified in the Ḳurʾān as satans, it is possible that *madjnūn* had this connotation for Muḥammad and his contemporaries. But the *madjnūn* contexts argue against this interpretation since they never respond to the accusation that Muḥammad was *madjnūn* by defending his sanity, but always by affirming that the revelation came from God and not from the *djinn* or satans. The classical commentators on the Ḳurʾān offer little assistance on this question, usually failing to explain the term altogether. Where al-Bayḍāwī does explain *madjnūn* he interprets it as "inspired by the *djinn*" (e.g. in his comments on LI, 39), or he at least connects it with the process of revelation (e.g. in his com-

ments on XV, 6 and LXVIII, 2). An analysis of cognate expressions in the Ḳurʾān also offers little new understanding of the concept *madjnūn*. In late Meccan and early Medinan contexts, *madjnūn* was replaced by the expression *bihi djinnat*ᵘⁿ (see VII, 184, XXIII, 25, 70, and XXXIV, 8, 46). This change of terms could be interpreted as a change or development of ideas within the Ḳurʾān, but this possibility is unlikely since the two expressions seem to be synonymous (cf., e.g., *mā ṣāḥibukum bi-madjnūn*, in LXXXI, 22, and *mā bi-ṣāḥibikum min djinnat*ⁱⁿ, in XXXIV, 46). In contexts where *madjnūn* functions as a noun (e.g. XLIV, 14, LI, 39, 52, and LIV, 9), its meaning seems to be identical with the expression *radjul*ᵘⁿ *bi-hi djinnat*ᵘⁿ in XXIII, 25, i.e. both seem to mean "a *djinn*-possessed person". Where al-Bayḍāwī explains *bi-hi djinnat*ᵘⁿ (e.g. in XXIII, 25) he simply gives the synonym *djunūn*, which has the same range of meanings (cf. al-Zamakhsharī on the same verse).

One striking fact about the history of the usage of *madjnūn* is that Muslims adopted the concept and gave it widespread currency, assuming it to be Islamic because it occurs in the Ḳurʾān, whereas in fact the term never occurs in the Ḳurʾān as an Islamic concept, but always as an idea of Muḥammad's Meccan opponents that is simply quoted and responded to there. (The frequency of occurrence of this pre-Islamic concept in the Ḳurʾān might be explained by the fact that in all cases except the Noah context it serves as a rhyme-word, and was thus a convenient term to use in contexts involving accusations made against Muḥammad by his Meccan opponents and in contexts involving affinities between Muḥammad's situation and that of earlier prophets.) Meccan parts of the Ḳurʾān frequently reflect pre-Islamic Arabian concepts, such as belief in the existence of *djinn* and deities other than Allāh. When the Islamic world-view developed within the Ḳurʾān, and when required Islamic beliefs and practices were introduced in a series of late Meccan and early Medinan credal statements, some of these pre-Islamic concepts, such as belief in the existence of deities other than Allāh, came to be explicitly rejected, while others, such as *madjnūn* and belief in the existence of the *djinn*, simply ceased to be mentioned in latter parts of the Ḳurʾān (see A. T. Welch, *Allah and other supernatural beings: the emergence of the Qurʾanic doctrine of tawḥīd*, in *Jnal. of the American Academy of Religion*, xlvii/4 [1979], 733-53). Still, the concept *madjnūn*, along with magic, sorcery, soothsaying and other related phenomena that were a vital part of the Arabian world-view of Muḥammad's time, became part of popular Islamic belief and practice, and these have remained so in modern times (see e.g., E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1836, chs. x-xii; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; D. B. Macdonald, *The religious attitude and life in Islam*, Chicago 1912, lectures 1-5; E. A. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, i, chs. iv-xi; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Leiden 1931, 99-103). The concept *madjnūn* occurs occasionally in the classical literature, with the same literal meaning as in the Ḳurʾān. In the *ḥadīth* literature, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Iʿtiṣām*, 16; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Djumʿa*, 46, and *Ḥudūd*, 22; and J. Robson, *Mishkat al-masabih*, Lahore 1965-6, 515, 1260 f. Al-Ṭabarī records an account in which Muḥammad is reported as saying he feared he had become either a poet or a *djinn*-possessed person (*madjnūn*), but then Gabriel appeared to him and informed him that he was a prophet inspired by God (*Taʾrīkh*, i, 1150; tr. A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*, London 1955, 106). For a contemporary defence of belief in the *djinn* and their influence on man by the al-Azhar scholar, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn, see his *al-Djinn fī dhikr djamiʿ aḥwāl al-djinn*, Cairo n.d. The Islamic philosophers and a few scholars such as Ibn Khaldūn rejected the concept *madjnūn* as related to the world of the *djinn* (see Macdonald, *Religious attitude*, 130 ff.). In later usage, the association of *madjnūn* with the *djinn* has sometimes been lost as this term has come to mean simply "mad" or "insane".

Bibliography: Cited mostly in the article; in addition see the Ḳurʾān commentaries on the *madjnūn* verses; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī gharīb al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo n.d., 139; E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English lexicon*, i/2, 462; and, for additional *ḥadīth*s containing the term *madjnūn*, A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition Musulmane*, i, Leiden 1936, 374.

(A. T. Welch)

MADJNŪN LAYLĀ, "the Madman of Laylā", or Madjnūn Banī ʿĀmir, the name given to the hero of a romantic love story, the original form of which could date back as far as the second half of the 1st/7th Century.

1. In Arabic literature

This imaginary character (acknowledged as such even by some Arab critics; see *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, ii, 6, 11) has been furnished by the *ruwāt* with an *ism* and with a complete genealogy; Ḳays b. al-Mulawwaḥ b. Muzāḥim b. Ḳays b. ʿUdas b. Rabīʿa b. Djaʿda b. Kaʿb b. Rābīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, but according to the evidence, although this filiation could be accepted from the starting point of Ḳays b. ʿUdas, the latter does not have a son named Muzāḥim (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 101, 102, 106). Furthermore, various other less common names have been given to him: al-Buḥturī b. al-Djaʿd, Mahdī b. al-Mulawwaḥ, al-Aḳraʿ or Ḳays b. Muʿadh (*Aghānī*, ii, 8). Al-Djāḥiẓ splits the character into two parts by distinguishing between a Madjnūn of the Banū ʿĀmir and a Madjnūn of the Banū Djaʿda (*Bayān*, i, 385, iii, 224, iv, 22), where Djaʿda is a descendant of ʿĀmir. As for his loved one, she is given the following genealogy: Laylā bint Saʿd b. Mahdī b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥarīsh b. Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir.

The content of the romance, insofar as it can be extracted from the ancient versions, is relatively simple and commonplace. However, from the start, two opposing traditions have been current: according to one version, the two young people spent their youth together, tending their flocks in the Djabal al-Tawbād (which belonged, however, to the Muḥārib; al-Iṣfahānī, *Bilād al-ʿArab*, 182; cf. Yāḳūt, s.v.); according to the other, Ḳays meets Laylā by chance at a gathering of women, and the effect on him is devastating; he kills his camel as a contribution to the feast, but when a certain Munāzil arrives, the women turn their attention to him, and only Laylā, who shares his emotion, takes an interest in Ḳays. Subsequently he asks for her hand in marriage, but her father has already given her away in marriage to a certain Ward b. Muḥammad al-ʿUḳaylī. Gripped by the most violent anguish, Ḳays loses his reason and sets out to wander half-naked, refusing nourishment and living among wild animals. His father takes him on a pilgrimage to make him forget Laylā, but his madness only inten-

sifies. He does, however, have moments of lucidity when he talks of his lady-love and composes verses which he recites to those curious people who have come to see him. Until his death, he encounters Laylā on only one further occasion.

It is difficult to establish the origin of the story. According to a remark in the *Aghānī* (ii, 7, 10), the initial author would be a young Umayyad who, under the pseudonym of Madjnūn, circulated some stories designed to introduce verses in which he sang of his ill-starred love for his cousin. This identification is, however, isolated, and in any case, the poet is anonymous. The fact that historical individuals such as Nawfal b. Musāḥiḳ, governor of Medina in 83/702, are mentioned in the traditions relating to the adventures of Ḳays, suggests that the latter came into existence at about this period, but this is all that can be said on the subject. The author, or rather the authors of the verses attributed to this Madjnūn and the introductory or explanatory tales, will always be unknown, and it may simply be supposed that these creations are owed to the desire of the Arabs of the North, represented by the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, to show that unhappy love affairs were not the prerogative of those of the South, the ʿUdhra in this instance, and that they were capable of producing the equal of a Djamīl al-ʿUdhrī [*q.v.*].

From the moment that verses and *akhbār* concerning fictional characters achieved normative status, it is not hard to imagine the role played by inventive narrators and *ruwāt* whom al-Aṣmaʿī (in *Aghānī*, ii, 6) also accuses of having concocted this novel, which is included in a long series of imaginative works and fictionalised biographies of which the *Fihrist* supplies a detailed inventory (ed. Cairo, 425-6; cf. M. F. Ghazi, *La littérature d'imagination*, in *Arabica*, iv/2 [1957], 174-8). The story of Madjnūn and Laylā, like many tales of the Middle Ages, has never obtained a definitive form. It is true that transmitters of tradition like Ibn Daʾb, ʿUmar b. Shabba, Ibn al-Kalbī or al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, must at a quite early stage have set down in writing the more or less numerous and disparate elements, but independent *akhbār* continued to circulate orally and to be enriched according to the taste of the narrators. Evidence of this process is furnished by a study of the sources for the recension of the *Aghānī* (ii, 1-78) which, after that of Ibn Ḳutayba (*al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*, 355-64 = ed. Shākir, ii, 545-56), is the most ancient and the most developed. Abu 'l-Faradj, in order to bring a successful conclusion to his enterprise, which aspires to be a complete, if not coherent history, takes effective precautions to shield himself from the critics by citing opinions for and against the historicity of the character, then combines, without regard for chronological order, a series of oral and written sources which have been inventoried by I. Y. Kračkovskiy, in an article published in Russian in Leningrad in 1946 and translated into German by H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, viii/1 (1955), 1-50 (*Die Frühgeschichte der Erzählung von Macnūn und Lailā in der arabischen Literatur*; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 390).

The story of Madjnūn and Laylā seems to have taken precedence over the majority of others of the same genre towards the end of the 3rd/9th century or the beginning of the 4th/10th; the fact that numerous verses taken from it were set to music, plus the importance attached to it by the *Aghānī*, leave no doubt that the vogue which it subsequently enjoyed was not an entirely new development.

In the Arabic literature subsequent to the *Aghānī*, the *akhbār* of Madjnūn recur in a number of works of *adab*, in particular in those which concern famous romances (like the *Tazyīn al-aswāḳ* of Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, ed. Beirut 1972, i, 97-128), but little is known of independent monographs, apart from the *Dīwān* and two works which have yet to be edited: the *Nuzhat al-musāmir fī dhikr baʿd akhbār Madjnūn Banī ʿĀmir*, by Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Mibradī (d. 909/1503) and *Basṭ al-sāmiʿ al-musāmir fī akhbār Madjnūn Banī ʿĀmir*, by Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546). It is remarkable, but not entirely unexpected, that the story of *Madjnūn wa-Laylā* should have inspired no literary work in Arabic in the Middle Ages; in fact, it is not until the present day that one sees the theme exploited by several dramatists: Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab (J. M. Landau, *Études sur le théâtre et le cinéma arabes*, Paris 1965, no. 39), Salīm al-Bustānī (*ibid.*, no. 161), Abū Khalīl al-Ḳabbānī (*ibid.*, no. 406), whose works do not seem to have been performed, or even printed; the *Riwāyat Madjnūn Laylā* by Muḥammad Mundjī Khayr Allāh, on the other hand, has been performed in Alexandria and published in 1898 (and 1904?; Landau, no. 304); the most celebrated work in this connection is the *Madjnun Laylā* by Aḥmad Shawḳī (Landau, no. 517; tr. Arberry, Cairo 1933; see also R. Rubinacci, in *AIUON*, vii [1957], 9-66; A. Boudot-Lamotte, *Aḥmad Šawqī*, Damascus 1977, 275-82).

It is not known whether it is necessary to place at the end of the 2nd/8th century, since there is no mention of him in the *Fihrist*, a certain Abū Bakr al-Wālibī, to whom is attributed a recension of the *Dīwān* of al-Madjnūn of which a considerable number of manuscripts exists, containing or not containing *akhbār* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 392-3) and which has been the object of some fifteen mediocre publications and of one more scientific edition by Aḥmad Farrādj in Cairo (1958). It is evident that the content of this *Dīwān* cannot be considered as the work of a single poet, especially as there has been a tendency, as al-Djāḥiẓ observes (in *Aghānī*, ii, 10), to attribute to Madjnūn Laylā the verses of any unknown poet where reference is made to a Laylā; furthermore, the homonymy with Ḳays b. Dharīḥ has certainly caused confusion. At all events, R. Blachère, who has analysed this *Dīwān* (*HLA*, iii, 658) considers that it "cannot be regarded as occupying an insignificant place in the study of archaic poetry".

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in the article, see Washshāʾ, *Muwashshāʾ*, index; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 207-8; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 170-2 = ed. Cairo, iv, 170-4; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 274-8; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 207-12; Brockelmann, I, 48, S I, 81; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, i, 171-9, 189-94; M. Kāmil Farīd, *Madjnūn Laylā, taʾrīkhuhu, ʿalāḳatuhu bi-Laylā, ashʿāruhu*, Cairo n.d.; R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 657-60 (with bibl.); J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient*, Paris 1968 368-78; Sezgin *GAS*, ii, 389-94 (extensive bibl.).

(CH. PELLAT)

2. In Persian, Kurdish and Pashto literature

The poems of Madjnūn and the tales of his love Laylā (commonly named Laylī in Persian) also became a part of the Persian literary tradition, where they were used in various ways. Quotations of Arabic lines of poetry ascribed to Madjnūn occur quite frequently in Persian prose works. He was reckoned to be one of the great poets of love (cf.

e.g. Manūčihrī, *Dīwān*, ed. Tehran 1347/1968, v. 1052) and was celebrated for his *ghazals*. References to him and Laylī appear already in the works of many poets before the time when Niẓāmī wrote his epoch-making poem on their love story. Manūčihrī [*q.v.*] (d. ca. 432/1040-1) compared in descriptions of nature the rain-clouds, "weeping meaningfully", to the eyelashes of Madjnūn and the lightning, "laughing without meaning", to Laylī's lips (v. 1727); the eyes of the former and the cheeks of the latter to two constellations (v. 1830). The two names were also associated with items of material culture; according to Anwarī [*q.v.*] (*fl.* middle of the 6th/12th century), a bench (*ṣuffa*) in the hall of one of his patrons had as many mad lovers as Laylī (*Dīwān*, i, Tehran 1347/1968, 345); Khāḳānī [*q.v.*] (d. 595/1199) saw in a harp (*čang*) the she-camel of Laylī uttering the complaints of Madjnūn (*Dīwān*, ed. Sadjdjādī, Tehran 1357/1978, 144, 476).

These examples show that, at least initially, the romance was not specifically related to mysticism, although, as we know, the Ṣūfīs used it as an *exemplum* from the 3rd/9th century onwards (cf. Ritter, in *Oriens*, viii [1955], 49 f.). To a religious poet like Nāṣir-i Khusraw (5th/11th century), the subject matter was reprehensible because it symbolised merely mortal love and frivolous poetry (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. Tehran 1348/1969, 355, 455). Its development into one of the most popular themes of the Ṣūfī tradition, dealt with in innumerable works written in Persian and in many other languages, needs still to be investigated. The growing importance of *ghazal* poetry and the theory of love to the mystics since the 5th/12th century has undoubtedly furthered this process. Yet Madjnūn and Laylī were also to the later poets just one pair of *exempla* out of several others like Maḥmūd and Ayāz, Farhād and Shīrīn (cf. e.g. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḳazwīnī-Ghanī, Tehran 1320/1941, 29, 38), or the Greek lovers Wāmiḳ and ʿAdhrā (cf. e.g. Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1339/1960, 198; Sanāʾī, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1341/1962, 495, 854). According to Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Madjnūn belonged together with Farhād and others to the archetype of "lovers who took to the mountains and the desert because of love" (*Fīhī mā fīh*, Tehran 1348/1969, 30).

The *akhbār* were a rich source of illustrative anecdotes to writers and poets. It was drawn upon by Aḥmad-i Ghazālī (*Sawāniḥ*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1942, 42, 45) and subsequent writers on the theory of love. Among the authors of mystical *mathnawī* poems, Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār deserves special mention (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 730 f.).

In 584/1188 Niẓāmī of Gandja composed at the request of the Shirwān-Shāh Akhsitān the *mathnawī Laylī u Madjnūn* in the metre *hazadj-i musaddas-i akhrab-i maḳbūḍ-i maḥdhūf* with about 5,000 *bayts*. This was the third part of the set of poems known as the *Khamsa* [*q.v.*]. The theme was chosen for the first time as the subject of a Persian narrative poem, but the precedent of the treatment of a similar subject of Arabic origin existed in ʿAyyūḳī's *Warḳa u Gulshāh*.

Niẓāmī states in the introduction to his poem that he accepted the assignment with some hesitation. At first, he doubted whether this tale of madness and wanderings through the wilderness would be suitable for a royal court (ed. Moscow 1965, 41 ff.). He adapted the disconnected stories to fit the requirements of a Persian romance. They were joined together into a coherent narrative which describes the development of a frantic love affair from the scene of the first meeting of the two lovers till the death of Madjnūn at the grave of Laylī. In some respects, the Bedouin setting of the original has been changed under the influence of urban conditions more familiar to the poet and his audience: the young lovers become acquainted at school; the generous Nawfal is a prince in the Iranian style rather than an Arab official. Niẓāmī added a second pair of lovers, Zayn and Zaynab, in whom the love between the main characters is reflected. It is Zayn who in a dream sees Madjnūn and Laylī united in paradise at the end of the romance.

Several other features mark this new adaptation of the romance. Specimens of nature poetry were used to emphasise, symbolically, important points in the development of the plot: a description of a palm bush in spring where Laylī sits in the flower of her youth; of the night at the moment of Madjnūn's deepest despair; of autumn at the time of Laylī's death. Much attention is given to Madjnūn's rôle as a poet. In several places, *ghazals* are quoted in the text, which in metre and rhyme are adjusted to the prosodic characteristics of the *mathnawī*. It is quite evident that, to Niẓāmī, the subject matter was not least interesting because of its emblematic possibilities. His poem is, therefore, a didactic work as well as a narrative. The former quality is noticeable in the frequent asides containing reflections on such themes as ascetism, the vanity of this world, death and, of course, love in its various aspects, including its transformation into mystical love. Didacticism is also the main element of the introduction and the epilogue.

This *Laylī u Madjnūn* was the starting-point of a long series of imitations which were written in almost any language of the area where the cultural influence of Persian literature made itself felt. The poets who tried to emulate the model set by Niẓāmī borrowed most of its contents and its metre but often also elements of its composition, e.g. the advice given to the son of the poet and the address to the cupbearer which both occur in Niẓāmī's introduction. Each of them, however, made an effort to produce an original work by making changes in the episodes of the romances, by the addition of new stories or through a shift of emphasis from one motif to another.

No more than a few of these imitations can be regarded as valuable literary works in their own right and have apparently enjoyed the interest of a wide public over a long period. The *Madjnūn u Laylī* of Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.v.*] written in 698/1299 and the very first among them, belongs to a complete imitation of the *Khamsa*. This poem is much shorter than the model (2,660 *bayts*) and puts less emphasis on didactic aspects. New elements of the narrative are among others the prognosis of Madjnūn's fate at the time of his birth and the wish expressed by both lovers to have their eyes picked out by the ravens who prey on the dead bodies left after the battle of the clans. Amīr Khusraw dedicated his work to his spiritual guide Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ and to the sultan of Dihlī. The much longer poem of Djāmī [*q.v.*] (3,860 *bayts*), completed in 889/1484, almost exhausts the contents of the original *akhbār*. The beginning of the love story (the meeting of the two lovers is not situated at school but at the camp of Laylī's clan) is also closer to the Arabic tradition. The mystical meaning attached to the romance cannot be mistaken, though the narrative as such is given its full due. In the song addressed to the cupbearer of the introduction, Djāmī commemorates

the Naḳshbandiyya shaykhs and the Tīmūrid rulers of the past. Contemporaries of Djāmī's were his nephew Hātifī and Maktabī of Shīrāz. The former's poem was a particular favourite with Ottoman poets and was translated into Turkish. The *Laylī u Madjnūn* of the latter continued to be read till recent times and was printed repeatedly both in Iran and India.

The great majority of the Persian imitators met, however, with little success. Their poems are at the most extant in few or even single copies. Some of them seem to have disappeared altogether. They have been listed in the following works: A. S. Levend, *Leylâ ve Mecnun hikâyesi*, Ankara 1959, 86-96; E. E. Bertel's, *Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 275-300; A. Ateş, *IA*, *s.v.* "Leylâ ile Mecnûn"; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iv, Tehran 1351/1972, 3100-15.

Some poets of the post-classical period wrote, under the title *Čāh-i wiṣāl*, short *mathnawī*s which describe a reunion of Madjnūn and Laylī at the bottom of a pit (cf. Munzawī, *op. cit.*, 2753 f.). In a quatrain by Lisānī (9th/15th century), on a painter of miniatures, the emaciated body of Madjnūn as it is commonly represented in Persian art is used as a literary motif (cf. F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī*, Wiesbaden 1963, 306).

In Kurdish literature, a number of versions of the romance exist which are partly adaptations of Persian or Turkish models and partly original works. To the written tradition belong the works by ʿAlī Bāpir Āghā (ed. Baghdād 1950), ʿAbd al-Djabbār Kānī (ed. Erbil 1969) and Ḥārith Bitlīsī, dated 1172/1758-59 (ed. by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1965). Folklore tales about "Leylî û Mecrûm (or Meclûm)" have been recorded in various regions. They show remarkable variants, e.g. the treatment of the romance as an astral myth (cf. Rudenko, *op. cit.*). Some versions have been written in the Gūrānī dialect of Persian and in a prosodic form characteristic of popular literature (cf. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, London 1881, 733; Kamal Fuad, *Kurdische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1970). In Pashto, Bāy Khān of Bunēr made a version in stanzas which have the form of *ghazal*s (cf. A. Sprenger, *ZDMG*, xvi [1862], 789).

Bibliography: Niẓāmī's poem was edited by W. Dastgirdī in the annotated *Khamsa* edition, Tehran 1313-18/1934-9, and by A. A. Aleskerzade and F. Babaev, Moscow 1965; Amīr Khusraw's poem by T. A. Muharramov, Moscow 1975; Djāmī's poem by M. Mudarris-i Gīlānī in *Haft awrang*, Tehran 1337/1958, and by A. Afsahzoda, Moscow 1974; Hātifī's poem by Sir William Jones, Calcutta 1788; and the poem by Maktabī in a facsimile edition by M. Dj. Muʿīnfar, Wiesbaden 1968. See further ʿA. A. Ḥikmat, *Ruma'ū wa Zhūliyat-i Shakispīr wa muḳāyasa ba-Laylī u Madjnūn-i Niẓāmī*, Tehran 1319/1940; ʿA. Nawā'ī, *Maktabī-i Shīrāzī* in *Yādgār*, ii/5 (1325/1946), 52-60; M. Gh. Hilāl, *Laylā wa-Madjnūn fi 'l-adabayn al-ʿArabī wa 'l-Fārisī*, Cairo 1954; M. Dj. Maḥdjūb, *Laylī u Madjnūn-i Niẓāmī wa Madjnūn u Laylī-i Amīr Khusraw-i Dihlawī*, in *Sukhan*, xiv (1342/1963), 620-37; R. Gelpke, *Liebe und Wahnsinn als Thema eines persischen Dichters*, in *Symbolon*, iv (1964), 105-18; Dh. Ṣafā, *Comparaison des origines et des sources des deux contes persans: Leylî et Madjnoun de Niẓâmî et Varqah et Golchâh de ʿAyouqî*, in *Colloquio sul poeta persiano Niẓāmī*, Rome 1977; Asʿad E. Khairallah, *Love, madness and poetry. An interpretation of the Mağnūn legend*, Beirut 1980, 97-133 (on Djāmī).

(J. T. P. de Bruijn)

3. In Turkish literature

The Turkish poets were fascinated also by the Madjūn Laylā theme, in the first place, and above all, because they were inspired by the classical version of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*]; and then later, when taking up a critical position *vis-à-vis* the versions of other Persian and Turkish poets. Because the theme itself, the combination of the motifs, and, for the greater part, the metre as well, were all fixed, Turkish poets were able either to aim at a more exciting elaboration of the external motivation, or else to try to draw out the "metaphorical" meaning of the story as included in the material. A comparative study of the poetical aims, which, because of the similarity of the theme, should also take into account *Warḳā u Gülshāh*, is still lacking.

Gülshehrī and ʿĀshıḳ Pasha [*q.v.*] had already taken up the theme in the *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* and *Gharīb-nāme*. The line of independent Turkish versions starts with the lengthy *methnewī* [see MATHNAWĪ] written by Shāhidī on behalf of Prince Djem [*q.v.*], and later plagiarised by a certain Ḳādimī. Already in Shāhidī's poem, as well as in *Madjnūn u Laylī* of the eastern Turkish prince of poets Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī [*q.v.*] written shortly afterwards; for the contents, see *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, 1964, 341-3, Madjnūn's unrequited love is interpreted as a metaphorical road to the divine reality. At the end of the 9th/15th century, the Ottoman Aḥmed Sinān Bihishtī [*q.v.*], who lived for a time in Herat, wrote a mystically-inspired version influenced by Djāmī [*q.v.*], to which he added some important alterations in the motifs. At about the same time, Ḥamd Allāh Ḥamdī [*q.v.*] and Tütünsüz Aḥmed Riḍwān composed their arrangements. The 10th/16th century was particularly rich in Laylā-Madjnūn versions. Djelīlī Ḥamīd-zāde Bursalī (d. after 977/1569-70) wrote his version in 918/1512-13, more or less simultaneously with his drastically-shortened version of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, apparently concentrated, like the latter, on the external aspects of the action. Two years later Sawdā'ī's arrangement appeared, in whose copy verses by Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*] have intruded. In 931/1524-5 the Ādharbāydjānī Ḥaḳīrī wrote a version, inspired by Niẓāmī and Hātifī [*q.v.*], which he transplanted to his native country (see *PhTF* ii, 643) and in which "chance plays an important rôle" (Levend, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.* 235-6). Exemplary for Turkish poetry was the way in which Fuḍūlī treated the subject. In his version, finished in 942/1535-6, Madjnūn appears as the symbol of the religious ideology of love, whose task consists of freeing himself from the beloved. With this epic poem, which is strewn with *ghazals* [*q.v.*] and does justice also to the feelings of Laylā, who remains an earthly figure, Fuḍūlī created an impressive Turkish counterpart to the Persian models, which he now came to equal. In 950/1543-4 Ḥamdī of Laranda wrote a little-known version again inspired by Niẓāmī, Djāmī and Nawā'ī. In 962/1554-5 Ṣāliḥ b. Djelāl produced a version which slavishly follows Hātifī. Khalīfe (d. *ca.* 986/1578-9) copied passages from Fuḍūlī's work after having criticised him and Nawā'ī in his preface. An Ādharī poet by the name of ʿAṭāyī (11th/17th century?) transformed the story into a fairy-tale in which he inserted quotations from Dede Korḳut [*q.v.*]. The version of Ḳāfzāde Fā'iḍī (d. 1031/1621-2) remained unfinished. The following

survey shows how popular the theme has remained until present times: ʿÖrfī Maḥmūd Agha (d. after 1186/1772-3) wrote a brief tale; the Turcoman poet ʿAndalīb Nūr Muḥammad Gharīb (d. 1179/1765-6) made a popular adaptation of the theme in prose and verse; the prince of Khokand, Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān (1822-42; see *PhTF*, ii, 392) produced an incomplete Čaghatay version; the Ādharbāydjānī Nākām (d. 1323/1905-6), the Ḳazakh narrator of epic poems Süyümbay (1837-95; see *ibid.*, ii, 749) and Djambul (1846-1945; see *ibid.*, 750) made each their adaptions; and finally, there is the first Ādharbāydjānī opera, based on Fuḍūlī, by the composer ʿÜzeyir Beg Ḥādjībeyli (1885-1948; see *ibid.*, ii, 686), and the opera-libretto of the Turcoman Ḳaradja Burunov, born in 1898 (*ibid.*, ii, 733).

Bibliography: The most comprehensive description, on which the preceding article is based is A.S. Levend, *Arap, fars ve türk edebiyatlarında Leylâ ve Mecnun hikâyesi*, Ankara 1969; *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, 1964; A. Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969; *Leylā and Mejnūn by Fuzulī, Translated from the Turkish by S. Huri, with a history of the poem, notes and bibliography by A. Bombaci*, London 1970.

(B. Flemming)

4. In Urdu literature

The story came into Urdu literature via Persian, not direct from Arabic, and it is most frequently called "Laylā Madjnūn". It is found in three main forms: firstly, in casual reference to the lovers, especially in poetry; secondly, in narrative poems telling the story, generally in *mathnawī*; and thirdly as the plot for early Urdu dramas of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, mostly written for various Parsi theatrical companies in Bombay. However, failing the discovery of some hitherto unknown masterpiece, the theme seems to have inspired no work of major literary importance.

Casual references to the lovers are far too numerous to permit detailed discussion. They date from the earliest period of Urdu in the Deccan and Gudjarāt, and continued into the present century, though with decreasing frequency. Nor were they restricted to *ghazal*, or even to secular poetry. For example, Walī Dakanī [see MADĪḤ. 4. in Urdu], in a *ḳaṣīda* in praise of the Prophet (*dar naʿt Ḥaḍrat Khayr al-bashar*) includes Laylā and Madjnūn among several famous pairs of lovers, as a metaphorical representation of *fanāʾ fī Allāh*; Walī was, of course, a Ṣūfī (see his work cited in *Bibl.*, 361).

The narrative *mathnawī* was a favourite poetical form in Dakanī, the type of Urdu current in South India from the 15th to the 18th centuries. Several examples devoted to Laylā Madjnūn are extant; they were modelled on Persian works, particularly those of Hātifī, Niẓāmī and Djāmī, and perhaps also on that of Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī, composed around 700/1300. In any case, despite the Persian models, the atmosphere in these Urdu works is distinctly Indian, as can be seen, for example, in the *sarāpā* passages describing the heroine from head to foot. Hāshimī, Bāḳir and Djālibī mention *mathnawī*s by Aḥmad Gudjarātī and Muḥammad ʿAzīz, both poets of the Ḳuṭb-Shāhī period in Golconda. These were written in 1046/1636 and 1040/1630 respectively. A late Dakanī *mathnawī* is *Ḳiṣṣa Laylā wa Madjnūn*, composed by ʿUbayd Allāh Wāʿiẓ b. Isḥāḳ in Gudjarāt in 1196/1782. It is included in a collection of 12 early Urdu *mathnawī*s by an unknown editor, under the title of *Bāra ḳiṣṣa*. This collection was very popular, and was published several times both before and after 1857; the later editions, however, tend to modernise the language, bringing it into line with the contemporary Urdu of Northern India.

Dakanī Madjnūn Laylā *mathnawī*s are characterised not only by their Indian flavour, but also by their concentration on the story, which is told in simple, at times naïve, language. The story deviates considerably from the old Arabic versions. Thus Wāʿiẓ makes Madjnūn the son of a Ghaznawid king by an Arab woman whom he marries while on the *ḥadjdj*. The king has to return home before the boy is born, and an astrologer foretells the boy's future, and suggests the *laḳab* of Madjnūn for him. The boy's *murshid* recommends night prayer and Ḳurʾānic reading, and on the basis of the pun between *Laylā* and *layl*, Madjnūn falls in love with an imaginary Laylā and wanders in search of her, his mind affected. He hears of a Laylā who is the daughter of a *ḳāḍī* in Egypt. He goes there, and stays in the *ḳāḍī*'s house as his pupil. He meets Laylā, they fall in love, and then the story continue swiftly to its traditional conclusion with the death of the two lovers. The poem is, however, stretched to over 500 verses by a good deal of lamentation by the various characters; some philosophising in which the poet warns of the danger of love; an anecdote in which the Prophet explains God's inscrutability to ʿĀʾisha; and Madjnūn's refusal to accompany the Angel of Death until the latter, after consulting God, returns assuming the face of Laylā to take him away.

While the chief Urdu poets of Northern India in the 18th and 19th centuries do not appear to have written narrative poems on the story, it obviously remained popular at least into the 1860s, for Blumhardt (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 117, 254, 350) records three *mathnawī*s, one anonymous published in Dihlī in 1864, one by Muḥammad Taḳī Khan Hawas (Lucknow 1862) and a third by Walī Muḥammad Naẓīr (Cawnpore 1886).

It was in the 1860s that theatrical companies proliferated in Bombay. Many of the early plays which they staged took their plots from familiar stories, whether Arab, Persian or Indian. The story of *Madjnūn Laylā* enjoyed a considerable vogue for about thirty years as the subject of verse dramas. It is not known who wrote the first, nor how original those published were, for a playwright employed by one company might be commissioned to revise or adapt an existing play, and there was no law of copyright to prevent the reviser from taking full credit for the play. The following wrote *Laylā Madjnūn* plays which are extant (unfortunately biographical information is almost non-existent): Nusrawān Djī Mihrabān Djī Ārām; Munshī Maḥmūd Miyān Rawnaḳ (1825-66), whose play was written 1857-8; Ḥusaynī Miyān Ẓarīf; and Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd Allāh. Rawnaḳ's play—probably the best of these—was published in Bombay in 1880 in Gudjarātī script, with the double title *Andjām-i-ulfat, ʿurf Laylā Madjnūn*. Like the plays by the other three, it has now been republished in the Urdu script at Lahore.

These four plays are distinguished by a certain stagecraft and popular appeal rather than by literary merit. With this in mind, the famous Lucknow polymath and novelist, Mīrzā Muḥammad Hādī Ruswā (1859-1931) [see ḲIṢṢA. 5. In Urdu] wrote his *Muraḳḳaʿ-i-Laylā Madjnūn* ("the Album of Laylā Madjnūn"), published at Lucknow in 1885 and at Allahabad in 1887. He had seen plays performed by various touring Bombay companies in Lucknow, including doubtless Madjnūn Laylā plays. As he

writes in his introduction, he was dissatisfied with their language, which he found to be not that of Dihlī or Lucknow, but of the Bombay fish-market! (Ruswā, *tamhid*, 5). Encouraged by friends, he wrote this play to demonstrate how dramatic poetry should be. He employed different poetic metres to suit the characters and situations, and envisaged their being set to music, so that the result might be described as an Urdu opera. But no theatrical company would stage it, and critics generally regard it as a failure. ʿIshrat Raḥmān (cited in *Bibl.*, 279) remarks that it was entirely in verse at a time when prose was playing an increasing part in Urdu drama. The plot, he suggests, had been "worked to death" and had lost its appeal. As a poet of Lucknow who had seen the heyday of the *marthiya* [see MARTHIYA. 4. In Urdu], he was well equipped to write effective passages of melancholy and lamentation: in this respect, the play has much to commend it. But Ruswā was no dramatist; and the story does not lend itself easily to dramatic treatment.

At least one modern Urdu writer has brought Madjnūn Laylā up-to-date in a short story. Sayyid Sadjdjād Ḥaydar's collection of short stories *Khayālistān* includes one entitled *Ḥikāyat Laylā wa Madjnūn* (cited in *Bibl.*, 224-61). In it, the two lovers are reborn under modern conditions. Madjnūn follows Laylā about on a bicycle. Laylā is ordered electric shock treatment, and at the time of this treatment, Madjnūn has a fit. He is taken to Mecca to be relieved of his obsession, but prays only that his suffering may never be lessened. Thus ends this "whimsical and delightfully written story" (Suhrawardy, cited in *Bibl.*, 212), which forms a fitting conclusion to an account of Madjnūn Laylā in Urdu literature.

Bibliography: For Dakanī *mathnawis* on the story, see Naṣīr al-Dīn Hāshimī, *Dakan mēn Urdū*[5], Lucknow 1963, 62-3, 108-13 (including extracts); Djamīl Djālibī, *Taʾrīkh-i-adab-i-Urdū*. i. *Ḳadīm dawr*, Lahore 1975, 249-50; for the text of Wāʿiẓ, see *Urdū kē ḳadīm manẓūm dāstānēn*, ed. Khalīl al-Raḥmān Dāwūd, i, Lahore 1967, 1-10, 81-148 (a critical assessment is given by Muḥammad Bāḳir, *Urdū-i-ḳadīm Dakan awr Pandjāb mēn*, Lahore 1972, 77-85); the reference by Walī Dakanī to Madjnūn Laylā will be found in *Kulliyyāt Walī*, ed. ʿAlī Aḥsan Mārahrawī, Awrangābād 1927; J. F. Blumhardt, *Catalogue of Hindustani books in the Library of the British Museum*, London 1889, mentions *mathnawis* published in Northern India in the 19th century. Plays on the story are listed by ʿIshrat Raḥmānī, *Urdū drāmā—tārīkh-o-tanḳīd*, Lahore 1957, 211-23. The *Laylā Madjnūn* dramas of Ārām, Rawnaḳ, Ẓarīf and Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd Allāh are included in the volumes of collected dramatic works of these authors published by the Andjuman-i-taraḳḳī-yi Urdū in Lahore in recent years; the same society has published Mīrzā Muḥammad Ruswā's *Muraḳḳaʿ-i-Laylā Madjnūn*, ed. ʿIshrat Raḥmānī, Lahore 1963. This includes not only Ruswā's own preface, but a useful introduction by the editor which lists previous dramas on the theme. Sadjdjād Ḥaydar's *Khayālistān* was first published at ʿAlīgaṛh in 1932, and there is a Dihlī edition of 1946; Shāyista Akhtar Bānū Suhrawardy's brief account and assessment of his *Ḥikāyat Laylā wa Madjnūn* is in her *A critical survey of the Urdu novel and short story*, London 1945.

(J. A. HAYWOOD)

MADJRĪṬ, mediaeval Arabic name of the city of Madrid (Spain). The Arabic sources seldom mention this place in the Muslim period. According to al-Ḥimyarī, the *ḥiṣn* of Madjrīṭ was built by the Umayyad *amīr* of Cordova, Muḥammad I (238-76/852-86). M. A. Makkī believes that its foundation may be dated between 252/866 and 257/871 in the reign of this *amīr*; the year 252/866 marks the beginning of the reign of Alfonso III of the Asturias, whose military activities had the effect of destabilising the region between Médinacéli and Toledo (*al-thaghr al-adnā*), which would then have been consolidated by the construction of the fortress of Madjrīṭ as an important element in the military disposition of the region, with a governor appointed by Cordova, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sālim, who imprisoned and executed a rebel from Toledo named Ibn Balūsh.

From its foundation until the period of the *fitna* of al-Andalus (399/1009), the few facts supplied by the ancient sources on the subject of Madjrīṭ are indicative of its role as a frontier fortress (*thaghrī*). In 320/932, it was subjected to an attack by King Ramiro II of Léon, according to the Christian historian Sampiro. In 324/936, a party of citizens of Madjrīṭ undertook an expedition into Christian territory and, on their return, they were massacred by the enemy, according to Ibn Ḥayyān. The *ḥādjib* Ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr (Almanzor), in the course of his campaign against the fortress of La Muela in 366/977, met at Madjrīṭ the governor of Médinacéli, Ghālib (Ibn ʿIdhārī). Ibn Ḥazm supplies an interesting item of information concerning Madjrīṭ; the slave of a perfume-seller known by the name of al-Faṣīḥ led an insurrection in this town, pretending to be ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī, but he was attacked and killed. J. Oliver Asín believed that this insurrection was inspired by Fāṭimids; on the other hand, M. A. Makkī reckons that the rebel wished to be recognised as the son of the short-lived Umayyad caliph of Cordova al-Mahdī (399/1009 and 400/1010). Thus the rebellion would have taken place in the time of the Umayyad caliph al-Mustakfī bi'llāh (414-16/1024-5).

In the period of the Taifas (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*), Madjrīṭ must have been attached to the kingdom of the Banū Dhi 'l-Nūn of Toledo. The king of Castile Alfonso VI took possession of Madjrīṭ as well as of other fortresses in the region, shortly before the fall of Toledo, in *ca.* 476/1083. It seems to have remained under Christian domination except for a very short period, at the time of the so-called Talavera campaign of the Almoravid *amīr* ʿAlī b. Tashfīn (Ibn Abī Zarʿ). But the Christian city retained a Muslim community (*mudejares*), concentrated in a particular quarter (Barrio de la Morería). There were also Moriscos in Madrid at the time of their official expulsion from Castile in 1610.

The only descripiton of Madjrīṭ preserved by Arab sources is that of al-Ḥimyarī. It is very short, stating that the place consists of a small town and an impregnable fortress, with a Friday-mosque. Also mentioned is the discovery of the skeleton of a gigantic beast in the moat of the town (large fossils are not rare in the valley of the Manzanares), and the extraordinary nature of the soil of Madrid, ideal for the manufacture of solid and durable cooking-pots.

The topography of Madjrīṭ can therefore only be reconstructed in a hypothetical fashion, by means of the archaeological and toponymic remains of a more recent period. It seems that the Arab *ḥiṣn* was situated on the heights of the Palacio Real, on a raised promontory dominating the Manzanares river. Oliver Asín considered that the entire hill must have been surrounded by walls, with the *ḥiṣn*

and other military constructions forming a citadel whose Arabic name was apparently *al-Mudayna* (*Almudena*), a name preserved by the church of Santa María de la Almudena, to the south-west of the hill, at the extremity of the Calle Mayor. It apparently had two gates, whose existence is known to us from Christian documents: the Puerta de la Vega, to the south-west of the hill, towards the valley of the Manzanares, and the Puerta de la Almudena, to the south-east, linking the citadel with the town or *madīna*. The latter probably had its own surrounding walls, in common with many other towns of al-Andalus. The Arab *madīna* must have extended towards the eastern end of the hill, covering a half of what is currently the Calle Mayor (Platerias), where the gate known as the Puerta de Guadalajara was situated. Its northern extremity was located to the south of the Plaza de Oriente and the theatre of La Opéra. On the other hand, the southern limits of the Arab Madjrīṭ are the object of greater controversy, since to the south the hill of the Palacio Real and the *madīna* overhang a ravine of considerable depth, which today is crossed by means of a viaduct and which opens on a small valley (Calle de Segovia) before climbing again towards other hills (Las Vistillas and San Andrés). Oliver Asín supported the hypothesis that the pre-Arab Madjrīṭ first grew up in this narrow valley and that the walls of the town must have enclosed the valley, on the descent from the hill of *al-Mudayna* and the rise towards those of Las Vistillas and San Andrés, as was the case with the mediaeval and modern surrounding walls (see the engraving of *Códice de Wingaerde*, 1563-70). But the archaeologist Basilio Pavón is not in agreement with this hypothesis about the southern limits of Madjrīṭ; he considers that the wall of the second enclosure skirted the northern ridge of the small valley, running parallel to the Calle Mayor, a hypothesis which had already been propounded by E. Tormo. It would be necessary to attribute an origin in the Christian period to the wall which encloses the valley, Las Vistillas and San Andrés, and which would have formed a third southern tier in the fortifications of Madrid. B. Pavón furthermore maintains that the citadel or first tier did not embrace entirely the hill of the Palacio Real; the southern section, currently occupied by the cathedral of the Almudena, would have formed a part of the second tier, as far as the Puerta de la Vega. Almudena or *al-Mudayna* would thus be a toponym designating not only the citadel, but the *madīna* or town with the sense of "small town", in accordance with the text of al-Ḥimyarī.

The site of the Great Mosque is also the subject of various hypotheses. It may have been on the former site of the church of the Almudena or that of the church of San Salvador, which has likewise disappeared and used to stand opposite the present-day Town Hall; it could also have been on the site where the *mudejar*-style church of San Nicolás now stands, a few metres to the north of the extremity of the Calle Mayor. The *Fuero de Madrid* of 1202 also mentions the existence of *azoches* (markets, bazaars), the most important of which was situated along the Calle Major. There was also an *almuzara* (*al-musārāt*), a promenade and place of recreation, as in other towns of the Muslim West; it was most probably located outside the walls.

But the most remarkable characteristic of Madjrīṭ, as also of mediaeval Christian Madrid, was its system of catchment and distribution of subterranean waters, this being the basis of the legend, documented from the 15th century onward, asserting that Madrid had been built on water. The hydraulic system of Madjrīṭ—and of Madrid until the 15th century—was based on the catchment of water by means of wells linked by large subterranean galleries (*ḳanāt* [*q.v.*], pl. *ḳanawāt*) descending from an elevated place towards the town, where they form new ramifications, on or below the surface, which emerge in public fountains, in gardens or in houses. It is highly probable that this technique was employed in various parts of the Iberian Peninsular in pre-Islamic times; but traces of it have only been preserved in Madrid, a huge complex which has lasted remarkably well over the centuries. This is perhaps a tribute to the quality of the soil of Madrid, noted by al-Ḥimyarī, which is such that even today some public fountains of the town are supplied by this system of water distribution. The *ḳanāt*s of Madjrīṭ have been studied by Oliver Asín: the two most important canals are the Alto Abroñigal and the Bajo Abroñigal, whose respective sources are situated in two hills which are still known as Canillas and Canillejas, toponyms whose Arabic etymology is to be found in *ḳanāt*, of which the plural form *aḳniya* is encountered in the Arabic of al-Andalus. The Alto Abroñigal came to an end by the site of San Nicolás, the church already mentioned, close to the citadel, in the heart of the Arab town. The Bajo Abroñigal terminated at the Puerta Cerrada, on the hypothetical third tier of the town's defences.

It is furthermore quite possible that the name of Madjrīṭ should be associated with this hydraulic system, according to a popular etymology which has it evolving from *madjrā*, canal or water-course. The origin of this name does not seem to have interested the Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but as soon as Madrid became the capital of the Spanish Empire at the end of the 16th century, many scholars tried to find Arabic origins for it, helped perhaps by the Moriscos: *mahdjara*, *madrasa*, *mashriḳ*, etc. Subsequently, an etymology of clerical origin prevailed: *Maioritum* (from the Latin *maior*), of which Madjrīṭ would be the Arabic transcription. In the 18th century, faced with numerous ill-founded theories, the Maronite priest Michel Casiri (al-Gaziri) was obliged to establish a compromise theory; the original name was the Latin *Maioritum*, but Madjrīṭ was a word of African origin signifying canal or conduit (*aquaeductum*).

In the 20th century, and in the light of modern philological studies, R. Menéndez Pidal has constructed a hypothtical Celtic name *Magerito* with the sense of "ford" or "long bridge". M. Gómez Moreno claimed to have discovered in Madjrīṭ a terminal *-īṭ* having its origin in the Latin ending *-etum*, collective of abundance. Oliver Asín proposed a brilliant hypothesis, that Madjrīṭ must be a hybrid formed from the Arabic word *madjrā*, canal, and from the Roman suffix *-it*, of abundance; Madjrīṭ would thus signify "place where canals are abundant". He considered, however, that the present name of the town comes not from the Arabic name Madjrīṭ, but from *Maṭridj*, a Roman toponym having its origin in the Latin *Matricem*, the primitive name of the small valley where the Calle de Segovia is currently situated, on the site of a pre-Arab settlement, according to this author. Finally, Joan Corominas has made some adjustments to this theory while retaining the connection between Madjrīṭ and *madjrā*. He rejects the possibility of the use of the collective *-etum* (*-īṭ*) other than in the sphere of plants, and he believes that Madjrīṭ is a

metathesis of the word of Latin origin *maṭrīdj* (from *matricem*), according to a popular etymology which seeks to link it with *madjrā*. He also considers that the current form of Madrid may derive from the Arabic Madjrīṭ, by means of an intermediary form *mazdrid* with an epenthetic *-d-*.

The best-known native of Madjrīṭ in the Muslim period is the astronomer and mathematician Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maslama al-Madjrīṭī [*q.v.*], but other individuals of secondary importance who have been studied by Oliver Asín were also born there. Ibn Ḥayyān and other historical sources of al-Andalus supply some names of governors of Madjrīṭ in the Umayyad period, in particular numerous members of the family of the Banū Sālim, of Berber origin, firmly implanted in the central marches of al-Andalus and especially in the region of Médinacéli (*Madīnat Sālim*).

Bibliography: The Arabic sources on Madjrīṭ are: al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭar*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1938, and ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1980 (s.v.); Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muḳtabis min anbāʾ ahl al-Andalus*, ed. M. A. Makkī, Beirut 1973; *al-Muḳtabas*, ed. P. Chalmeta, Madrid 1979; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii; Ibn Ḥazm, *Naḳṭ al-ʿarūs*, Cairo 1948; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, Fez 1936. The *Fuero de Madrid* was edited in Madrid in 1932.

A seminal work which is still useful for Madjrīṭ (etymology, topography, canals and history) is that of J. Oliver Asín, *Historia del nombre de Madrid*, Madrid 1959; M. A. Makkī, *Madrid al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo n.d. [1968] basically follows the preceding work, with a few historical novelties. On the topography of Madjrīṭ, reference may be made to E. Tormo's slightly out-dated work, *Las murallas y las torres, los portales y el alcázar del Madrid de la Reconquista creación del Califato*, Madrid 1945, in anticipation of *Madrid árabe* by P. Pavón, as yet unpublished. On the *almuzaras*: Oliver Asín, *Las dos almuzaras*, in *Al-And.*, xxvii (1962), 155-79. On the *ḳanāts*: Cornel Braun, *Teheran, Marrakesh und Madrid. Ihre Wasserversorgung mit Hilfe von Qanaten*, Bonn 1974, and H. Goblot, *Les qanats. Une technique d'acquisition de l'eau*, Paris-The Hague-New York 1979. On the etymology of Madjrīṭ: R. Menéndez Pidal, *La etimología de Madrid y la antigua Carpetania*, in *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museum de Madrid*, xiv (1945); M. Gómez Moreno, *Le desinencia -it a proposito de Madrid*, in *ibid.*, xv (1946); Oliver Asín, *El nombre de Madrid*, in *Arbor*, xxviii (1954), 396-426; J. Corominas, *Etimologiá de Madrid*, in *Revista de Filología Española*, xliii (1960), 447-50.

(M. J. Rubiera de Epalza)

AL-MADJRĪṬĪ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Faraḍī, mathematician and astronomer, born in Madrid in the mid-4th/10th century, died in Cordova in about 398/1007.

The facts which are known do not enable us to trace his biography in detail. He was clearly an important person since Ibn Ḥazm mentions him in his *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* (ch. xiv). He clearly established himself at a very early age in Cordova, and was a pupil of the geometrician ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad. It must be supposed that he maintained contact with the circle of Hellenists which came into being in the period of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Naṣir. In 369/979 he carried out some astronomical observations, and it must have been at this time that he adapted the tables of al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*] to the Cordova meridian. Some time later, he apparently brought the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* to public attention in al-Andalus. It is possible that he performed the duties of a court astrologer, since it is to him that one attributes the horoscope which, according to Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, iii, Paris 1930, 14-15) and Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Aʿmāl*, 127-8, *apud* Hoenerbach, *Islam. Gesch. Spaniens*, 259), predicted and described the unfolding of the *fitna*.

His disciples included: al-Kirmānī (d. 458/1066), who introduced the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* to Saragossa and the frontier regions of the North; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aṣbagh b. al-Samḥ (d. 426/1035, see IBN AL-SAMḤ); Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. al-Ṣaffāz (d. 426/1035, see IBN AL-ṢAFFĀZ); the astrologer Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (d. 447/1055), to whom so many elegies are dedicated in the *Memoirs* of the Zīrid king ʿAbd Allāh; al-Zahrawī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Khaldūn of Seville.

The authenticity and the number of works by Maslama al-Madjrīṭī have given rise to numerous discussions. As a general principle, we can be sure that the books of a magical or alchemical nature which are attributed to him do not belong to him, since the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Ṣāʿid does not mention them in his *Ṭabaḳāt*; they should be attributed to his quasi-temporary and compatriot Abū Maslama Muḥammad . . . al-Madjrīṭī (on whom see Sezgin, *GAS*, iv, 294-8) and to the latter's pupil Ibn Bishrūn al-Madjrīṭī (*GAS*, iv, 298). Among these apocryphal writings, the principal ones are the *Rutbat al-ḥakīm*, the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* (*Picatrix*) and the *Sirr al-kīmiyāʾ*.

Books which may be regarded as authentic works of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maslama al-Madjrīṭī are therefore as follows: (1) A textbook of commercial arithmetic (*Tamām ʿilm al-ʿadad* = *K. Thimār al-ʿadad* = *Muʿāmalāt*) which, according to Ibn Khaldūn dealt with sales, valuation and taxation and in which, apparently, arithmetical, geometrical and algebraic techniques are employed indiscriminately; (2) a very short *Treatise on the astrolabe* (not to be confused with that of Ibn al-Ṣaffār), which deals with the technical construction and use of this instrument (B.N. Arabic ms. 4821, fols. 76a-81b, ed. and tr. J. Vernet and A. Catalá, in *al-And.*, xxx [1965], 15-47); (3) An adaptation of the *Astronomical tables* of al-Khwārazmī to the Cordova meridian and to the Leginian Calendar; (4) An adaptation or emendation of some tables of al-Battānī [*q.v.*]; (5) Notes on the theorem of Menelaus (*shakl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ*), on which see M. V. Villuendas, *La trigonometria europea en el siglo XI . . .*, Barcelona 1979, and A. Björnbo and H. Suter, *Thabits Werk über den Transversalsatz*, Erlangen 1924, 23, 79, 83 and ms. ²Esc. 972, 2; (6) *Tasṭīḥ basīṭ al-kura*, which is an Arabic translation of the *Planisphere* of Ptolemy; the two originals are lost but Maslama's work is preserved (a) in a Latin version made from the Arabic text by Hermann of Dalmatia (1143) and edited in Basle in 1536 and in Venice in 1558, and (b) in a Hebrew version; the Arabic translation can be judged thanks to the Paris manuscript which contains Maslama's own commentary, *Taʿlīḳ ʿalā Baṭlamiyūs fī tasṭīḥ basīṭ al-kura*; and (7) a work of astronomy utilised by Ibn Ṭaybughā b. al-Madjdī (d. 850/1447) in *al-Durr al-yatīm* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, vi, 227, 4).

Bibliography: Ibn Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaḳat*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 69, tr. Blachère, Paris 1935, 129-30; Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, 326; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 39; Brockelmann, I, 243, SI, 431; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 334, vi, 226; G. Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 668-9; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker*, no. 176; J. A. Sánchez

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MĀDJŪDJ [See YĀDJŪDJ WA-MĀDJŪDJ.]

MADJŪS (coll., sing. *Madjūsī*), originally an ancient Iranian priestly caste (OP *magush*, Akk. *magushu*, Syriac *mgōshā*, Greek μάγος) but used in Arabic primarily for Zoroastrians.

This caste was closely identified with the ruling élite in Sāsānid Iran, where their faith was the official religion of the state and where they were organised in a social and religious hierarchy. The priests, called *mōbad*, *hirbad*, *dastūr*, or *rat* depending on context and function, had ritual, judicial and educational responsibilities. The priestly hierarchy with the *mōbadān mōbad* at its apex interlocked with the secular administration, and priests performed notarial duties in the courts, sealing documents and decisions. At the end of the Sāsānid period, *hirbads* appear to have been in control. The public cult with its royal political significance performed in fire temples involved rituals concerned with the fire itself, as well as with animal sacrifices and liturgical recitations. In addition to a hierarchy of village (*ādurān*) and provincial (*varhrān*) fires there were three especially famous temples: that of the Farnbag Fire, probably at Kāriyān in Fārs, for priests; the Gushnasp Fire at Shīz in Ādharbaydjān for soldiers; and the Burzēn-Mihr Fire in the mountains above Nīshāpūr for farmers. Other fires are mentioned on seals and in texts, and although fire temples were usually state property, they could be founded and endowed privately. At the personal level, the cult involved ceremonies at the hearth fire, and emphasised the maintaining of a state of ritual purity by performing ablutions with bull's urine (*gōmēz*) and cold water, by avoiding dead matter, by tying and untying the sacred cord (*kustī*), and by eating in a state of ritual silence (in *bādj*) with only murmuring (*zamzama*). The popular cult included food-offerings at fire temples, the veneration of sacred trees, and public seasonal feasts (*gāhambārs*) and dances. The bodies of the dead were exposed in the open. Elaborate private rituals contributed to social differentiation, with the standard of observance greatest among the upper classes and declining as one moved down the social scale among the majority of nominal Madjūs.

Although the Avesta had been written down in its 21 nasks, the texts were usually memorised and known only by those priests who specialised in specific rituals. Since the Avestan texts were imbedded in their commentary, there was no separate sacred book of scripture or closed canon in terms of authority. Nor was there any doctrinal orthodoxy. Monotheist, dualist, and polytheist expressions coexisted with choice of emphasis and interpretation depending on circumstances. The Zurvanite tendency to assert the ultimate primacy of the god of Time and Destiny appears to have been favoured in the Sāsānid period because of its authoritarian implications, and was associated with the ruling classes. Other monotheist expressions concerning the primacy of Ohrmazd appear in apologetic contexts with Jews and Christians. The most complete dualist expressions are found in the 3rd/9th century Pahlavi literature in a context of polemic with Islam, and these represent Ohrmazd and Ahriman as co-eternal antagonists and creators. Polytheist expressions having to do with the Yazatas as being deserving of worship tended to be reinterpreted by semantic arguments concerning the definition of deity and of worship.

An élitist social ethic honouring establishmentarian virtues provided ideological justification for the hierarchic society of the Madjūs. High values were placed on order, stability, legality and harmony among the functionally-determined divisions of society (priests, soldiers, bureaucrats, and workers, or else priests, soldiers, farmers, and artisans) so each would perform its specific duty towards the others. The justice of rewards and punishments was emphasised at the spiritual, political and social levels, while economic, legal, and religious sanctions were used to ensure the obedience of women and children. Consanguineous marriage (*khvētōdās*) was approved as a means of preserving the social exclusiveness, solidarity, and purity of descent of the upper classes. Material wealth was equated with the virtue and goodness inherent in the upper classes, whose destiny or fortune (*hvarnah*) it was to enjoy the good creation of Ohrmazd. Naturally anti-ascetic, their ethic equated poverty with the sin and evil inherent in the lower classes.

Consequently, the Madjūs were vulnerable to the loss of political support and to the rejection of authority and material success by alienated members of their own society. In the Sāsānid period their position was eroded by the internal ascetic, gnostic sectarian movements of Mani and Mazdak and by conversions to Christianity in the west and to Buddhism in the east. Bad religion (*ahramokīh*) was identified with antinomianism, social disorder, extremist behaviour and dissimulation by the Madjūs, who executed and disinherited unrepentant apostates.

Thus at the end of the Sāsānid period not all Persians were Madjūs, nor were Madjūs confined to Iran proper. They were to be found as administrators, landlords, and soldiers in non-Persian parts of the Sāsānid empire such as al-ʿIrāḳ, Baḥrayn, ʿUmān and Yaman, and there may have been Arab Madjūs in the tribe of Tamīm and in Yaman. Outside the Sāsānid empire, there were Madjūs in western India and China, probably as merchants, and local communities in Central Asia with local differences in cult which were not part of the Sāsānid organisation.

The fall of the Sāsānid state to the conquering Muslims drastically and permanently changed the status of the Madjūs from that of rulers to that of subjects. Fire temples were confiscated in Baḥrayn and al-ʿIrāḳ, while Madjūs were required to pay tribute (*djizya*) wherever they surrendered, at first in Yaman, ʿUmān, Baḥrayn, and al-ʿIrāḳ. At first their treatment was inconsistent, and in 20/641 Djazʾ b. Muʿāwiya began to break up the families of Madjūs and forbade the *zamzama* in the countryside near Baṣra until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf convinced the caliph ʿUmar I that Muḥammad had accepted *djizya* from the Madjūs of Hadjar. This provided a precedent, since there was no Ḳurʾānic basis for treating the Madjūs as *ahl al-kitāb*. Sūra XXII, 17 merely lists them along with *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn*, and it was eventually decided in Muslim theory that the Madjūs were intermediate between the *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn* since they had no real prophet or revealed scripture. Their women and the meat of animals slaughtered by them were forbidden to Muslims, and according to al-Shāfiʿī, their blood price was 1/5 that of Muslims. Nevertheless, Madjūs were employed in the administration at Baṣra and in Khurāsān under the Umayyads.

In Iran the Madjūs kept their fire temples, suffered little interference in their cult at first, and were allowed to pay *djizya*. In some places, such as Rayy, Ḳūmis and Shīz, the peace terms provided for the preservation of their fire temples. However, there was no recognition of the priesthood as the representatives of a religious community by the Muslim state, and since no unitary organisation or hierarchy of priests survived the conquest, leadership devolved on local priests and *dihḳāns*.

The loss of political power and support had several consequences for the Madjūs. First, the loss of members by conversion to Islam was added to continuing conversion to Christianity. The descendants of the Persian soldiers in Yaman (*Abnā'* [*q.v.*]) were converted to Islam in the lifetime of Muḥammad, as were the *marzbān* of Hadjar with some of his followers. A number of *dahāḳīn* and units of the Sāsānid army became converted to Islam in al-ʿIrāḳ, and by the time of ʿUmar II (99-101/717-20), the Madjūs of al-Ḥīra had become Muslim. Generally, members of the Sāsānid establishment became converts in order to avoid paying *djizya*, to keep their property and position, and to join the Muslim army and administration. The Madjūs also lost many members through captivity, since children taken captive were raised as Muslims. Nevertheless, there is no evidence of early mass conversions in Īrān. The governor of Sidjistān in 46/666-7, al-Rabīʿ, is said to have encouraged conversion by a combination of persuasion and force, and he required converts to learn the Ḳur'ān. Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] also encouraged conversion at Bukhāra in 94/712-13, built a Friday mosque on the site of the former fire-temple, and attracted converts among the poor by paying them two *dirhams* to worship there, although afterwards conversion was discouraged in order to preserve the tax base. Conversion was also discouraged by the Madjūs themselves, who treated apostates as legally dead, disinherited them, and required property to remain within their community. Converts were also subject to discrimination by local authorities, such as Bahrām Sīs who, when appointed *marzbān* by the Muslim governor of Khurāsān in 105/725 and charged with collecting taxes from the Madjūs, collaborated with the Christian and Jewish agents to make 30,000 converts to Islam pay the *djizya* and to exempt 80,000 non-Muslims.

Second, the advent of Muslim rule subjected the Madjūs to sporadic persecution. About 50-1/670-1 Ziyād b. Abīhi, the governor of al-ʿIrāḳ and the east for Muʿāwiya, sent his cousin ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra to destroy the fire temples and to confiscate their property in Fārs and Sidjistān. Although ʿUbayd Allāh destroyed the fire temple at Kāriyān near Dārābdjird and killed the *hirbads*, the chief *hirbad* of Sidjistān, Shāpūr, escaped with his fire temple at Karkūya near Zarang because the local *dihḳāns* and Madjūs appealed to the caliph. There were later extinctions in a village at Ḳumm by al-Hadjdjādj and at Īdhadj on the border between Khuzistān and Iṣfāhān in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809). Al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) is said to have had a famous ancient cypress tree reputedly planted by Zoroaster cut down in 247/861. In 282/895, the Turk Barun, who was governor of Ḳumm, destroyed a pre-Islamic fire temple in the village of Fardadjān near Iṣfāhān, and in 288/901 destroyed the last fire temples in the village of Djamkaran at Ḳumm. Sometimes fire temples were converted into mosques in places where Arabs had settled or as the result of conversion, although afterwards the Madjūs often continued to venerate sites where fire temples had been.

Third, the Madjūs gave an apocalyptic meaning to the events at the end of the Sāsānid period, interpreting them as signs of the end of the millenium of Zoroaster and the beginning of the millenium of Oshedar, which calculations based on the *Letter of Tansar* would place about 41/661 but which was later identified with the beginning of the era of Yazdadjird in 10/631. The end of the millenium was signalled by the advent of Arab rule and destruction by them, and by the overturning of social classes and values, when the nobles would be powerless, separated from their families and forced to share their status with people of low origin, and when people would copy foreign customs. Predictions of the arrival of the liberator, Varhrān Vardjāvand, of the destruction of Muslim places of worship, and of a Roman invasion, may belong to the propaganda of Sāsānid restoration attempts. The Mahdist hopes associated with Abū Muslim have also been linked to Zoroastrian eschatology, the restoration of Zoroastrianism and the end of Arab rule in Khurāsān. It was against this background that a series of risings by Zoroastrian peasants provoked by fiscal oppression in eastern Iran in the 2nd/8th century served as the occasion for the emergence of new antinomian, anti-establishment Zoroastrian sects. This began with the peasant revolt near Nīshāpūr led by Bihāfarīd from 129/766-7 to 131/748-9, who claimed to be a new prophet with a book in Persian, abolished *zamzama*, the use of wine and meat, consanguineous marriage, and fire-worship, and limited dowries to 400 *dirhams*. Although the *mōbads* got Abū Muslim to suppress the rebellion, his sect could still be found near Marw in the 4th/10th century awaiting his return, even though *djizya* was not accepted from them. Madjūs also joined the rising of Sinbādh in 138/755, and followers of Bihāfarīd and Madjūs in Sidjistān and at Harāt and Bādghīs followed Ustādhsīs in 150/767; his sect also survived until the 3rd/9th or 4th/10th century. Muslim authors noted four sectarian divisions among the Madjūs. Al-Shāhrastānī lists the Kayūmarthiyya, Zarwāniyya, Zarādushtiyya, and Saysāniyya called Bihāfarīdiyya, while al-Baghdādī gives them as Zarwāniyya, Mashiyya, Khurramdīniyya and Bihāfarīdiyya, and says that *djizya* was only acceptable from the first two.

Fourth, the inability to execute sinners and apostates themselves produced a change in attitude towards nonconforming members of their own community. Persuasion replaced the threat of force lest sinners be tempted to convert. The nobility of the virtuous poor, whose good works cannot be stolen and who will be rewarded in heaven instead of on earth, appears as a theme in *andarz* literature. This was probably the result of the growing impoverishment of the priests and *dihḳāns* as well as an attempt to keep the loyalty of still poorer members of the community, and it reflects a degree of social levelling among Madjūs after the Muslim conquest, although the sincerity of the sentiment was questioned in the apocalyptic *Djāmāsp-nāma*.

Fifth, unavoidable contact with unbelievers and the loss of texts led to changes in cult and custom. The more elaborate aspects of ritual purity went unobserved. Madjūs were allowed to sell animals to non-Zoroastrians when survival depended on it, and they began to expose their dead inside an enclosure (*dakhma*) out of the sight of unbelievers. They did not consider it a sin to steal property from non-

Zoroastrians that had been stolen from them. Although they learned to be content with compromises that could not be avoided, they also exerted themselves to maintain their rituals whenever they could.

In spite of their decline in status and in numbers, the 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries appear to have been a time of relative recovery, stability and consolidation for the Madjūs. Part of the fire at Kāriyān had been taken to Fasā for safe-keeping during the Muslim conquest, and from it the fire temple at Kāriyān, destroyed in the 1st/7th century, was restored. Fire was exported from Kāriyān and Shīz to new temples and al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42) permitted the restoration of fire temples at Iṣṭakhr and in Farghāna. What remained of the old religious literature was collected and preserved by Āturfarnbag-i Farrūkhzātān, *mōbad* of Fārs in the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33). A new didactic, apologetic and polemic literature was produced by Mānushčihr, the leading *mōbad* of Fārs and Kirmān in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, by his brother Zātspram, the *mōbad* of Sirkān, by Mānushčihr's nephew, Emēt-i Ashavihishtān, *mōbad* over much of southern Iran in the first half of the 4th/10th century and by his successor, Āturpāt-i Ēmētān about the middle of the 4th/10th century. The main Pahlavi texts which were produced in this period sought to forestall conversion through intellectual arguments against monotheism and gnosticism, and through using that part of the legal tradition that concerned social behaviour and personal status in order to preserve their distinction from unbelievers and to draw social boundaries more closely around themselves. But authority and solidarity within the community, which depended on the priest's appointment of the heads of households responsible for carrying out family law, was undermined by the facts that the priests themselves were too few and poorly trained, had taken up crafts in order to survive, and had been replaced by those less qualified. In these circumstances, educated laymen were allowed to substitute for them when necessary.

Despite these problems, the testimony of Muslim geographers indicates that Madjūs were still widespread and fairly numerous in Iran and the east as late as the 4th/10th century. There were many villages of Madjūs on the Aras River in Ādharbāydjān and the fire temple at Shīz survived as late as 333/943. Madjūs were numerous in al-ʿIrāḳ and had a large fire temple on the west bank of the Tigris opposite al-Madāʾin. There were still a few Madjūs in Khuzistān, with several fire temples at the sacred village of Hudidjān. They were numerous in al-Djibāl, where they could be found at Rayy and in villages near Ḳumm, while there were still fire temples near Iṣfahān. Madjūs were more numerous in Fārs than anywhere else, with fire temples in nearly every village, town, and district, and they were employed as local governors there by the Būyids. However, pressures for conversion, such as the activities of *Shaykh* Abū Isḥāḳ al-Kāzarūnī (d. 426/1034) and his followers, led to conflict and the outbreak of a Muslim-Madjūs riot at Shīrāz in 369/979. Madjūs could be found in Ḳūhistān, and remained numerous and influential at Kirmān until the late 3rd/9th century. There were Madjūs in the Caspian provinces as late as the 5th/11th century, although in the late 3rd/9th-10th century most of those in Daylām had been converted by Zaydī Shīʿīs and those in Gīlān were converted by Ḥanbalīs. Madjūs still lived in the city of Zarang in Sidjistān in the early 4th/10th century, while the fire temple at Karkūya survived as late as the 5th/11th century. There were several sects of Madjūs in Khurāsān, where there were fire temples at Nīshāpūr, Harāt and near Ṭūs, there was a village of Zoroastrian donkey-drivers near Marw, although the Karrāmiyya sect [*q.v.*] were converting Madjūs to Islam at Nīshāpūr. To the east, there were fire temples at Balkh, Bukhārā, and Farghāna in the 3rd/9th century, and Madjūs in villages in Turkish territory and in China in the 4th/10th century. There were also new groups of Madjūs settled in north-west India and along the west coast, mainly engaged in trade, from the 2nd/8th century on. By the 4th/10th century there was a fire temple and *dakhma* at Broach, while towards the end of the century Zoroastrian merchants at Cambay came into violent conflict with the Hindus and were driven out.

Although outstanding public differences such as the exposure of the dead and the refusal to use heated baths remained between Madjūs and Muslims, a resonance developed between Islam and Zoroastrianism in the form of common features shared by both traditions. In many cases it is impossible to prove that similarities were the result of the influence of one religion on the other or, if so, which way the influence went. Such are the shared belief in creation, the torment of the grave, the weighing of deeds at the judgment of the soul, rewards and punishments in Heaven and Hell, angels and demons, the end of the world, the coming of a messianic hero and resurrection. Such also are the practice of five daily times of worship, the requirement of an intention to worship in order for it to be acceptable, the recitation of scripture for the dead and a common aversion to idolatry. In both traditions, authoritarian appeals to the interdependence of religion and state were challenged by the antinomian extremism of sectarian rebels. There was a shared philosophical vocabulary and use of rational arguments between the Madjūs and the Muʿtazila, who argued the same issues from opposite sides, the Madjūs insisting that if there is only one creator he must also be responsible for evil, and arguing for a dualist solution to preserve God's goodness, mercy, and justice, along with human responsibility, at the expense of God's omnipotence. There is also a similarity between the archetypal religious man (*Zaratōshtrōm*) of the Madjūs and the Muslim concept of the *Insān al-Kāmil*, while the belief of the Madjūs in the need to follow the religious example of a learned *dastūr* who is the mediator for the age resembles the concept of the *Imām* of the age and the function of the *mudjtahid* among Shīʿīs.

Other similarities are more likely to be the result of Islamic influence. Zoroaster came to be described as a prophet whose revelation was the *Dēnkart* and whose miracle was the *Avesta*. Sometime after the 5th/11th century, *khvētōdās* became marriage between maternal or paternal first cousins. Dowry was approximated to Muslim *mahr*. Madjūs began to establish *waḳf*s, but in ways similar to the old endowments for fire-temples. By the 6th/12th century they had adopted the custom of beginning actions such as slaughtering an animal or writing with the phrase "in the name of God" (*pa nām i yazdān*). Shrines to the *yazata*s were preserved and protected by rededicating them to daughters of Yazdadjird, who disappeared into the mountainside like Shīʿī *Imām*s, as early as the 4th/10th century at Rayy, or later by giving them Muslim form as Shīʿī *imām-zāda*s, making pilgrimage to them and slaughtering animals there. Madjūs also began to visit Muslim

shrines on the pretext that they had replaced former fire temples.

Customs of Zoroastrian origin can also be found among Muslims, sometimes in secularised form such as the Iranian solar calendar, the celebration of the festivals Nawrūz and Mihradjān, or astrology. The fires lit at Iṣfāhān about 313/935 to celebrate Muḥammad's birthday seem to have been inspired by Zoroastrian winter fire festivals. Symbols associated with Zoroastrians such as the cup of Djamshīd, wine, the tavern, the old *mōbad*, and the youth came to represent those things forbidden by Islam in Persian poetry with *malāmatī* Ṣūfī connotations. It is sometimes suggested that so many similarities as these may have made conversion from Zoroastrianism to Islam easier, although it might also be suggested that many common features were the result of conversion.

The history of the Madjūs in Iran after the 4th/10th century is little-known. They are presumed to have survived as local minorities suffering general disasters with the rest of the population, while their traditions were preserved in priestly and learned lay families. In particular, they preserved and transmitted their religious texts which have survived in India, and manuscript colophons indicate the presence of *hirbads* at Nīshāpūr and in Sidjistān in the 7th/13th century. A copy of the *Vidēvdād* made in Sidjistān in 601-2/1205 was taken back to India by a Zoroastrian named Māhyār from Uch in the Pandjāb who was instructed in the religion by the *hirbads* of Sidjistān for six years. The copy of this text made at Cambay in 723/1323 is the source of the oldest known manuscript of this work. We are also told that in the early 8th/14th century the *varas* ceremony for making the mouth-masks worn by priests attending the fire was abandoned at Yazd because there was no one left who knew the ritual.

At the same time, Zoroastrians were spreading in Gudjarāt and the Pandjāb, beginning in the 6th/12th century as farmers, weavers, artisans, toddy dealers, and merchants in the coastral trade. By then they had returned to Cambay, and by 537/1142 there were Madjūs at Navsari, at Anklesvar by 666-7/1238, and at Thana about 720/1320. By the 8th/14th century, Gudjarāt was divided into five religious districts (*panthaks*). The sole first-rank fire, the *Ātāsh Bahrām* at Sandjan, was an object of pilgrimage, while daily rituals were carried out at hearth fires in homes. The oldest secondary type of fire temple or *Dār-i Mihr* was at Navsari from about 536-7/1142 onwards, but did not have a permanent fire; the priest attending it brought embers from his own hearth fire every day. There was another *Dār-i Mihr* at Broach in the late 6th/12th century. By the 7th/13th century, vernacular Gudjarātī versions of Avestan and Middle Persian texts began to be made.

Important changes in the Indian community began with new pressures from Muslims and the Portuguese towards the end of the 9th/15th century. The Zoroastrians who joined the Hindus in the unsuccessful defence of Sandjan against Muslim attack in about 895/1490 left, taking the *Ātāsh Bahrām* with them in a metal vessel, and eventually settled at Navsari in 922/1516, where a layman (*behdīn*) called Čanga Shāh, who was the local tax farmer (*desai*), persuaded the Muslim ruler to exempt local *behdīns* from the *djizya*. The 10th/16th century saw the rise of the Bhagaria priesthood at Navsari, based on fees for performing rituals, gifts of endowed property and Mughal patronage. In order to control income from fees, in 987/1579 the chief priest at Navsari, Dastūr Mehrdji Rānā, required his personal permission for other priests to perform rituals. The priests from Sandjan were only allowed to attend the *Ātāsh Bahrām*, and became increasingly impoverished as their numbers grew. The *desai-gir* of Navsari remained in the family of Čanga Shāh until 1003-4/1595, when Kaykobād the son of Mehrdji Rānā combined it with the priesthood. This concentration of priestly authority and control, as well as a greater degree of organisation, signals the formation of the Parsī community. To give it a backbone of uniform and authoritative content, from the time of Čanga Shāh onwards questions on doctrine and ritual were sent to the priests at Yazd and Kirmān. Their answers survive in the form of letters (*Rivāyats*), the earliest in 883/1478 and the latest in 1187/1773, which provide precious evidence for the circumstances of Zoroastrians in Ṣafawid Iran.

By the end of the 9th/15th century, Yazd and Kirmān had become the spiritual if not numerical centres of Iranian Zoroastrianism. The *Rivāyats* reveal the presence in 916/1510 of 500 *behdīns* as Yazd, with 400 more in the villages of Turkabād and Sharīfabād, 700 at Kirmān, 2,700 in Sidjistān and 1,700 in Khurāsān. These figures must represent the minimum adult male population, for we also hear of a group of 3,000 *behdīns* at one place in Khurāsān, while 21 *behdīns* from Khurāsān had their own congregation at Kirmān in 966/1559. There was also a Gushnasp Fire at Kirmān, and Zoroastrians could still be found in Fārs. Local communities appear to have been under the joint leadership of *dastūrs* and *behdīns*. In the late 9th/15th century there were only four or five *hirbads* well-versed in Pahlavi at Yazd, who performed all the rituals. The priests complained of being unable to get *behdīns* to give them the tithe of their income, although the meat offerings at *Dār-i Mihrs* were shared by their owners and the *dastūr* recognised by the offerer. Relations with non-Zoroastrians were rather ambivalent. *Behdīns* were urged to keep their promises and to pay their debts to non-Zoroastrians, and the testimony of a non-Zoroastrian was accepted in a case between two Zoroastrians before a Zoroastrian judge. However, the robbery and murder of unfriendly non-Zoroastrians were condoned and there are references to forced conversions to Islam both in Iran and in India. There was a reliance on the apotropaic function of rituals performed to repel powerful enemies, the tyranny of rulers, the loss of property, conversion and disease, as well as to gain worldly advantages such as wealth, happy marriages or royal favour. Anxious *behdīns* were exhorted to exert themselves and to hope for the best. Although the year 1000 in the era of Yazdadjird fell in 1040/1631, expectations of the arrival of the millenium and of the saviour Bahrām Vardjāvand or of Oshedar were expressed throughout the period, including in 883/1478, 939-40/1533, 957/1550, 982/1574-5, 1036/1627, 1051/1641-2 and 1083/1672.

In the 11th/17th century, the Zoroastrians of Iran are described as farmers, labourers, fullers, manufacturers of carpets and, especially at Kirmān, of woollen cloth, and they used their own dialect of Persian called *Darī* among themselves. Men wore undyed garments and women wore red and green clothing. In *ca.* 1017/1608, Shāh ʿAbbās I (995-1038/1588-1629), who is remembered as a just king, brought 1,500 peasant families from Kirmān to Iṣfahān as labour and settled them across the Zanda Rūd near Djulfa at Gabrābād. In 1027/1618 their district consisted of about 3,000 plain, single-storied

houses along several long, wide, straight, tree-shaded streets, and the people worked as labourers and craftsmen in Iṣfahān and the countryside nearby. There was a *dakhma* outside their settlement where they placed their dead fully clothed. Most of them returned to Kirmān when ʿAbbās I died, and ʿAbbas II (1052-77/1642-66) turned the district into a suburban resort with palaces, mosques, markets, and baths and moved the remaining Zoroastrians to the other side of Djulfa. Tavernier estimated the Zoroastrian population of Kirmān at over 10,000 in 1064/1654, many of whom were involved in the wool industry. In 1054/1644 a new *khāna-yi mihr* was built at Kirmān by a *behdīn*, and there are references to pilgrimage to the shrines of Khātūn Bānū in Fārs in 1036/1625 and to the shrine of Pīr-i Sabz north-west of Yazd at mid-century. Conditions appear to have worsened towards the end of the Ṣafawid period, when their fire temple at Iṣfahān was destroyed and many of them were killed there. Zoroastrians migrated to India to escape persecution and forced conversion.

The attraction of India as well as the possibilities for the religious integration of Zoroastrians had already been demonstrated by the syncretistic mystical movement of Azar Kaywan (939-40 to 1027/1533-1618) and his followers in Patna, Lahore and Kashmir in the first half of the 11th/17th century. Their allegorical interpretation of Zoroastrianism allowed them to combine it with Hindu asceticism and Ṣūfī Neo-Platonism. Half of the group were Zoroastrians, including several *mōbads* and a *dihḳān*. Their nucleus came from Fārs and had been formed in Shīrāz, where other Zoroastrians from Harāt and Iṣfahān had joined them before they went to India; there they attracted a pair of Zoroastrian merchants in northern India and one from Surat. Some of the Persian Muslims who joined the group may have been recent converts from Zoroastrianism.

Meanwhile, increasing numbers of the largely rural Parsī community in 11th/17th century Gudjarat were being drawn to Surat and Bombay, by new opportunities in commerce as artisans, merchants and as brokers for the Portuguese, French, Dutch and English. One of the most important representatives of this new commercial class at Surat was Rustom Manak (1044-5 to 1131/1635-1719), broker for the Portuguese and Dutch, who was instrumental in securing a grant of land from Awrangzīb (1067-1119/1657-1707) for the English factory at Surat in 1070/1660, achieved the abolition of the *djizya* at Surat in 1083/1672 and served as main broker for the East India Company at Surat from 1111-12/1700 until 1128/1716. The rise of wealthy and influential Parsī merchants, whose reputation for honesty generated credit, encouraged the revival and application of the traditional Zoroastrian work ethic that gave religious significance to worldly success. They also allowed the conversion of household slaves to Zoroastrianism in order to be able to eat what they served. The growth of the urban, commercially-oriented part of the community changed its internal power structure. Beginning in the late 11th/17th century, the authority and control of the Bhagaria priests and *desais* resting on Mughal patronage was challenged by the *behdīns*, with their connection with European interests, in a series of religious disputes. In 1084/1673, in order to break the monopoly of the Bhagaria priests on endowments and on the fees foı performing rituals, the *behdīns* of Navsari asserted the right to have family rituals performed by priests of their own choice. This issue led to violence in 1097/1686, but the *behdīns* successfully boycotted the Bhagaria priests by establishing secondary fire temples (*Dār-i Mihrs*, *Agiāris*) accessible to laymen for the second-rank fire (*Ātāsh Ādarān*) encouraged in the *Rivāyats* where they had their rituals performed. In 1102/1691 the Sandjana priests joined the *behdīns*, and *Dār-i Mihrs* spread in the port cities of Surat, Balsar, and Bombay. By the 12th/18th century, *Dār-i Mihrs* were founded in the settlements of Parsī merchants outside Bombay. This quarrel finally ended when the *Ātāsh Bahrām* was removed from Navsari and permanently established at Udvada in 1155/1742.

The internal conflict, however, was continued in the 12th/18th century in a controversy over the ritual calendar at Surat, which was in economic decline in the 1140s/1730s with trade shifting to Bombay, while Marāṭhā control of rural areas deprived the traditional élite of its former sources of income. In 1149/1736 an Iranian *behdīn* encouraged the laymen of Surat to adopt the old-style *Ḳadīmī* calendar used by Zoroastrians in Iran instead of the Parsī calendar which had fallen one month behind it. This issue tended to pit artisans led by merchant brokers for the French and English against the older merchant oligarchy with its ties to the Dutch, and is an early example of the use of religious reform as a way to attack more conservative authority. In the same year that the calendar dispute broke out, the priests of Surat refused henceforth to marry their daughters to laymen in order to avoid losing their wealth through dowries and inheritance. The Parsī community split permantly into two sects: a Shāhānshāhī majority and a Ḳadīmī minority, with separate fire temples and no intermarriage. The process of separation was marked by outbreaks of violence between them in 1158/1745, 1196-7/1782-3, 1824 and 1840. In a related issue, the agitation started in 1191/1777 when laymen in Bombay refused to marry their daughters to priests only subsided after 1823.

In the course of the 12th/18th century, the rising Parsī merchant class reduced the grip of the former élite of priests, *desais*, and *djāgīrdārs* formed in the early Mughal period, secured the right to choose any priest they wished to perform rituals, acquired a share in communal leadership through a series of sporadic, short-lived *pančayats* that held the power of excommunication, and began to establish secular ties of dependence by redistributing their wealth through charities, private endowments, and by building *dakhmas* and rest-houses. At the same time, Parsīs became increasingly involved with the British as other Europeans were forced out by them. By the middle of the 12th/18th century, Parsī merchants supplied British garrisons and field armies. By the early 19th century, Bombay had replaced Surat as the main Parsī centre and the number of Parsīs at Bombay increased from 3,000 in 1194/1780 to 50,000 by 1864. From the late 12th/18th century onwards, Parsī shipping expanded outside India to Burma, Indonesia, China, South Arabia and East Africa. Parsī merchants who made fortunes in the China trade from 1810 to 1842 began to reinvest them in industries such as ship-building and railroads.

The emergence of secular leadership in the Parsī community is reflected in the composition of the *pančayat* appointed at the request of the British by the Parsī Andjoman in 1201/1787 which contained six *behdīns* and six priests, both Ḳadīmī and Shāhānshāhī, while the *pančayat* of 1818-36 had twelve *behdīns* and six priests. In addition to controlling

community charities, the latter *pančayat* issued behavioural codes aimed at increasing conformity and eliminating popular syncretism and participation in non-Zoroastrian customs. The code of 1819 forbade Parsī women to attend Hindu or Muslim places of worship, to wear their charms or to perform their rituals. The code of 1823 forbade child marriage and costly rituals at weddings and funerals, while the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act of 1865 ended polygamy.

In the 19th century, religious reform was an important means by which the new élite of urbanised, educated, westernising laymen, prominent in British and native administration, business and the professions, aimed to control the rest of the community, although they had growing cultural differences with the poor, rural, conservative majority of Parsīs. Reform was also a reaction to the threat of conversion by Christian missionaries, which provided the immediate impulse for the foundation of the Rahnumai Mazdaysnan Sabha by a group of young, wealthy, educated laymen in 1851 for the purpose of encouraging a return to the original ideals of Zoroastrianism. The same interests led to the foundation of a school in Bombay in order to train the sons of priests for the priesthood in 1854. Modernist reformers and apologists were attracted to the theories of Martin Haug, that the original monotheistic religion of Zoroaster had been corrupted afterwards into ritualistic dualism by the priests. Haug's theories were used to counter Christian criticism by intellectuals who were also attracted to the Theosophical Society. Reformers who favoured rational explanations for the cult objected to the use of texts that no one understood in rituals, while conservative priests insisted on the effectiveness of ritual liturgies and on the importance of purification from pollution, preserving a way of life increasingly limited to themselves and ignored by laymen. These issues became involved in the collision between reformers and conservatives over the role and income of priests called the *fravashi* controversy, which mainly involved opposition to expensive, repeated ceremonies for the dead and which is still current and unresolved.

Nevertheless, the Parsī community multiplied in the 19th century. By 1881 they numbered 85,000 in India with 3,000 more abroad, about 10-15,000 of whom were Ḳadīmīs. Although intermarriage between the sects was allowed by the 19th century, objections to accepting non-Zoroastrians into the community as converts increased because of fears that lower caste Hindus would be attracted by Parsī charities. Parsīs also emerged as the leaders of the world's Zoroastrians as the result of changes in both India and Iran.

Although estimates of the Zoroastrian population of Iran in the early 12th/18th century that range from 100,000 to one million seem exaggerated, there can be no doubt that their numbers declined disastrously due to the combined effects of massacre, forced conversion and emigration in that century. Having suffered massacre and forced conversion at the hands of the Ṣafawī army that repelled the first Afghān invasion in 1133/1720, the Zoroastrians of Kirmān and Yazd joined Maḥmūd's Afghān army during the second invasion in 1135/1722 and also served as officers in the army of Nādir Shāh (1149-60/1736-47). The sack of Kirmān by the Afghāns after the death of Nādir Shāh, one repeated by the Ḳādjārs in 1209/1794, left the Zoroastrian district in ruins. By the end of the century, almost none of the 12,000 Zoroastrians at Kirmān survived, and the Zoroastrian population of Iran is estimated to have fallen to about 50,000 and then to about 30,000 in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48); of these, some 8,000 were at Yazd.

The late 12th/18th and early 19th centuries seem to have been a time of unprecedented insecurity, poverty, and discrimination for the Zoroastrians of Iran. The intensity of the oppression they suffered then appears to have been more a reflection of contemporary social problems in Iran, where they served as scapegoats for the frustrations of their Muslim neighbours, than to have been characteristic of centuries-long conditions. However, Zoroastrians were vulnerable to robbery and kidnapping while their murder went unpunished. Although they were required to wear honey-coloured clothing and were officially forbidden to build new or to repair old houses, to wear new clothing, to ride horses, to travel outside of Iran or to engage in skilled crafts or professions that might bring them into contact with Muslims, sumptuary rules were enforced in the usual selective way and exceptions can be found to many of them. Forms of economic discrimination that prevented them from accumulating wealth were probably more effective than social pressures. Zoroastrian merchants were subject to extra taxes, newly-acquired property was taxed up to one-fifth of its value and houses were liable to be looted. The actual total *djizya* on the community usually amounted to about 2,000 *tūmān*s, which by mid-century was paid by 1,000 adult males, for whom the individual tax of two *tūmān*s amounted to ten day's wages for a labourer. The Shīʿī legal provision that favours a Zoroastrian convert to Islam over other Zoroastrian heirs encouraged conversion and resulted in the loss of property. During the 19th century, forced conversions created a population of half-Zoroastrian, half-Muslim *djadīd al-Islām* at Yazd with distinctive clothing and a separate cemetery.

For self-preservation, the Zoroastrian community turned inwards. The style of fire temples and homes provided a maximum of protection and concealment from unfriendly intruders. The exterior of fire temples resembled private houses, while inside was a confusing maze of rooms, passages, and low doors with the fire chamber behind a blank wall and inaccessible even to *behdīn*s. A succession of defensible doorways guarded the entrance to homes, while access over the rooftops was restricted by covering the courtyards to protect the women, children, and valuables. Only property endowed as *waḳf* for the benefit of the benefactor's soul was respected by Muslims. In spite of general illiteracy, religious learning was preserved among priestly families that provided local readership, especially in the villages. From the late 12th/18th century onwards, refugees who escaped to India became objects of Parsī aid and concern and helped to develop trade connections between Yazd and Bombay.

In 1854 the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Society in Bombay sent Manakdjī Limdjī Hataria (1813-90) to Iran, where he found the Zoroastrian community had shrunk to 7,725 people. Yazd was the main surviving centre, with 6,658 Zoroastrians in the city and 24 surrounding villages. Most of them were farmers, but there were also about one dozen merchants at Yazd, while the poorest were artisans, weavers, bricklayers and carpenters. Each spring a group of several hundred Yazdīs went to Tehran to work as gardeners, even in the royal

palace, and returned in the fall, travelling together for protection. In addition to these seasonal workers there were about 50 Zoroastrian merchants in Tehran in 1854. The community at Kirmān amounted to 932 people, while a few Zoroastrians could be found at Būshīr, Shīrāz and Kāshān. With Parsī aid, fire temples and *dakhma*s were built or restored and traditional councils of elders were transformed into elected *andjuman*s of *behdin*s at Kirmān, Yazd and their villages, whilst rest houses were built at shrines and in Tehran. Schools providing a secular education were started by Manakdjī at Yazd and Kirmān in 1857, and some students were sent to Bombay. In 1882 joint Parsī and British pressures finally secured the abolition of the *djizya*. Parsī efforts improved security, freedom of worship, respect and opportunities for the Zoroastrians of Iran, although they were still subject to random violence. Parsī aid also introduced modernising social and religious reforms from Bombay. Manakdjī revived abandoned rituals, forbade animal sacrifice, the eating of beef and camel meat, and he discouraged polygamy, the use of cosmetics and Muslim clothing styles as too immoral. The sons of priestly families took advantage of the opportunity for a secular education in the village schools and left for the cities in order to become physicians, teachers, engineers, bankers and merchants.

While villagers at Yazd remained engaged in the transport of goods from the Gulf across central Iran as camel-drivers and owners until the early 20th century, by the end of the 19th century many Yazdīs were going to work in Bombay and the women they left behind often put themselves under Muslim law to claim a share of their inheritance. Zoroastrians from the provinces were also employed by the Indo-European Telegraph and by Tehran banks in the last two decades of the 19th century. Yazdī merchants grew wealthy through their contacts with India by the end of the century, while their children invested in land and the import-export trade, reinvesting their profits later in industry. Their numbers rose again to about 8,500 in 1879, over 9,000 in 1892 and about 11,000 in 1902, with the largely rural majority still at Yazd and Kirmān. However, modernising changes, new opportunities and wealth had begun to transform the Zoroastrian community by the late 19th century, breaking down village and communal ties and undermining the position of the priests, whose authority began to be challenged by the creation of a new secularly-educated élite of laymen.

The position and even existence of the village-based priesthood has been drastically affected by the increasing urbanisation of Zoroastrians in the 20th century. As a falling water table, rural impoverishment and the lure of employment in cities drew Zoroastrian peasants from the villages south of Kirmān early in this century, Muslims began to move into them. In these newly-mixed villages the remaining Zoroastrians were at a disadvantage in conflicts over water, and moved to Kirmān to escape increasing oppression. By 1962 Zoroastrians had entirely deserted the villages south of Kirmān and lived entirely inside the city, where they numbered 2,385 in 1963 in spite of emigration to Tehran. The villages around Yazd have also become increasingly Muslim as the result of immigration and conversion. The urbanisation of Zoroastrians is still transitional, with the labour force living and working, often seasonally, outside the villages in cities and provincial towns but keeping up some joint family ties and sending part of their income back to support the women, children and old people who remain behind to manage the land. People who have moved to Tehran still keep their houses in Yazd and return for the annual ceremonies for the dead.

Religious usages have been affected by strong Parsī influences, modernisation and changes in social context. Although a bull was sacrificed annually at Yazd until the late 19th century and sheep fat was offered to the fire until the early 20th century, most Zoroastrians in Iran have abandoned animal sacrifices since 1900 and object to calling those animals slaughtered and eaten at seasonal festivals sacrifices. Nor has *gōmēz* been used since the middle of the 19th century, although offerings to water are still made. New Indian-style fire temples open to laymen were built in Tehran in 1908, in Kirmān in 1923 and in Yazd, and the fire now burns in silver vessels, Indian-fashion, instead of on stone altars. Old festivals such as *Sada*, 100 days before Nawrūz, have been revived and new ones such as the birthday and death of Zoroaster on 6 Farvardin and 5 Dey respectively have been created. While rituals that survive have their meaning subject to reinterpretation, the elaborate details of purification have been observed only by priests since the early 20th century. Unable to live on the fees for rituals, the priesthood has declined in number. There are now only 15 Iranian priests left, all of whom are middle aged or older and no young Iranian priests are being trained. Since they are too few to serve all the fire temples, these are now sometimes kept up by laymen, and since the 1940s communal leadership has developed on the *andjuman* in Tehran.

Several issues currently divide younger, educated, modernised Zoroastrians from the older, more conservative generation. The younger generation objects to inbreeding through marriage between cousins, because of the high incidence of hereditary diseases within the community and favours intermarriage with non-Zoroastrians, the acceptance of converts, and the re-admission of recent converts to Islam and the Bahāʾī Faith. Their opponents wish to preserve racial purity, and fear that to encourage apostasy from Islam would provoke Muslim violence against them. Although the influence of the Bahāʾīs is credited with improving their own security, most Zoroastrian families have lost members as converts to the Bahāʾī Faith because of its appeal to young people impatient with priestly authority. The practise of interring the dead on a metal stretcher in a grave with cement walls and cover, instead of exposure in a *dakhma* was started at Tehran and Kirmān in the 1930s and was begun at Yazd in 1965. By 1975 a *dakhma* was used only at the village of Sharīfābād. The sects formed during the calendar dispute still exist. Iranian Zoroastrians adopted, in 1939, a seasonal calendar beginning at the vernal equinox, which is close to the Iranian secular calendar, although the community at Yazd reverted to the Ḳadīmī calendar in 1940.

After receding slightly to about 10,000 in the 1920s, the Zoroastrian population of Iran rose to 16,800 by 1938 and by the 1970s to between 20,000 and 25,000, with 19,000 in Tehran and other cities. The younger generation has taken advantage of the opportunities in management and in the professions provided by the economic growth in Iran in recent decades. In the 1960s and 1970s the five major Zoroastrian firms in Iran were all leaders in their fields and Iranian Zoroastrians were encouraged to

return from India. However, the Iranian revolution of 1979 has created anxiety in the Zoroastrian community and uncertainty about the future.

The relative circumstances of the two communities have been reversed in the 20th century, which has been a period of retrenchement for the Parsīs. The Ilm-i khshnūm movement began at Surat in 1902 as a combination of Theosophical ideas with ritual purity which was justified as being the esoteric meaning of the Avesta. In a victory for the conservatives, membership was restricted to descent from Parsī families in 1909, the only exception being the child of a Zoroastrian man by a non-Zoroastrian woman. The communal welfare system, supported by the benevolence of the members of the few very wealthy families, leaders in Indian commerce and industry, and providing schools, hospitals, and the cost of marriages and funerals, as well as fire temples and *dakhmas*, became increasingly inadequate to care for the growing numbers of the poor created by rural flight to Bombay. Social and economic changes since independence have eroded the economic base of the community still further. Increasing industrialisation has brought more management opportunities for other Indians than for Parsīs: support for communal charities has been reduced by taxation to pay for the state's socialist and welfare programs; and Parsīs have been hurt by the effect of prohibition on the toddy industry, which began in Gudjarat in 1937, and of land tenure acts on Parsi landlords with Dobra labour. The Parsī population has fallen from its peak of nearly 115,000 in 1941 to approximately 87,500 in India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka by 1976 because of the combined effects of emigration, a rising marriage age and declining birth rate. The community was shocked to discover in 1967, that 40% of its members were impoverished and that 2,000 Parsīs in rural Gudjarāt were on the point of starvation. Zoroastrian rituals are still observed in India, although the number of priests in Bombay was declining by the late 1970s. In addition, the quality of priests has been questioned because appointments to fire temples have been controlled by the patronage of the businessmen who endowed them. To deal with this problem, a programme has been started to train priests at the Cama Aethornana school in Bombay, to pay them salaries and to appoint them on merit.

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AL-**MADJŪS**, the term used by Arabic historians and geographers writing about the Maghrib and Muslim Spain with the sense of Northmen, Vikings, denoting the participants in the great Viking raids on Spain. These raids were manned from Scandinavia, sc. from Norway, Denmark and to a certain extent also from Sweden, the raiders leaving Denmark, Norway and Ireland, where Norwegian Vikings from the end of the 830s had gained a firm footing and had founded some minor tributary states towards the beginning of the second millennium A.D. In western Latin and Spanish sources they are called, *inter alia*, *Normanni*, *Nortmanni*, *Lordomani*, *Lormanes*, *Almajuzes*, *Almozudes* and *Almonides*.

1. The first attack by the Vikings on Muslim Spain took place in 230/844. As early as 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 229/20 August 844, 54 Viking long ships (the Norwegian Gokstad ship from the latter half of the 9th century, the biggest ever found, was 23.8 m. long, 5.1 m. broad amidships, had 16 oars and 32 shields on each side, and could take 70 men, *The Viking*, London [1966], 254) appeared, and the same number of smaller ships, in the estuary of the Tagus, anchored there and fought three fierce battles against the defenders. After thirteen days they re-embarked and sailed southwards. The governor Wahb Allāh b. Ḥazm had informed the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, who advised his commanders to be on their guard. Part of the crew disembarked on the coast of the province of Shadhūna (Sidona) and occupied the harbour of Cadiz, but the main part of the fleet sailed up the Guadalquivir and encamped on a large island in the river about 20 km. south of Seville. A few days later, on 1 October 844, the inhabitants of the city caught sight of the fleet with their brown sails on the river. They tried to organise resistance, but as the city had no defences, could do nothing. The few ships they sent against al-Madjūs were attacked with showers of arrows and were set on fire. The pirates went ashore in the city, where the main part of the citizens had fled precipitately. Those left behind were killed, even old and disabled people; women and children were taken prisoner; and they tried to set the mosque on fire, without success. The sack continued for seven days. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān sent troops against the invaders, inflicting on them heavy casualties. In the decisive battle to the south of the city on 11 November 844, more than a thousand of the pirates were killed and four hundred others were taken prisoner; these were killed before the eyes of the others, who in great haste fled to the ships and set sail southward. Thirty abandoned Viking ships were set on fire. The defeat of al-Madjūs was proclaimed all over the country, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān even informed the Berber *amīrs* in Morocco and the Khāridjī *imām* in Tāhart. The Viking fleet steered north towards Aquitania after some attempts at landing at Niebla, on the coast of Algarve and in Lisbon; in the meantime, a few Scandinavian ships had made a brief landing on the coast of Aṣīlā (Arcila [see AṢĪLA]) in northwestern Morocco, about 50 km. below Tangier. On the dating of the descent on Aṣīlā and the foundation of the town, see A. Melvinger, *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes*, Uppsala 1955, 51-5.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II ordered defences and an arsenal to be built in Seville, watch-posts to be set up along the Atlantic coast, and warships to be built in greater numbers, according to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya. Hence when in 244/858 another Viking offensive, comprising 62 ships, was launched, the Muslim squadrons patrolled along the west coast of the peninsula up to the French coast. Two of the Viking ships sailing in advance were captured off the coast of Algarve, with their cargoes of silver and gold, prisoners and supplies. The rest of the ships sailed on towards the Guadalquivir estuary, but on discovering that a Mus-

lim army was advancing along the river valley, they sailed on to Algeciras (al-Djazīra al-khaḍrā᾿ [*q.v.*]), where they disembarked, took the town and burnt down the great mosque. They were soon driven away, but advanced along the coast of Tudmīr (near Murcia) and pushed forward up to the fortress of Uriyūla (Orihuela, 23 km. north-east of Murcia). From Algeciras, some of the ships sailed to the northern coast of Morocco, where they took the town of Nakūr, some 20 km. south of Alhucemas Bay, for eight days sacking and taking prisoners all those who did not flee, among those some members of the princely house, later ransomed by the ruler in Cordova. As to the timing of the attack on Nakūr, there is varying information among the Arab authors, mentioning the occurrence (see the long discussion in Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 151-77), but the exact date cannot be established, since it has not been possible to investigate what Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his still-unpublished part of *A*ʿ*māl al-a*ʿ*lām* relates about Nakūr. After the attack on Uriyūla, the Viking fleet sailed towards the French frontier, invaded the country, took rich spoils and numerous captives and passed the winter in the Camargue. Then they returned to the Spanish coast, but were met and attacked by Muḥammad I's ships, which set fire to two of the unbelievers' ships and took two more as spoils. More than 40 of their ships had now been lost. The rest joined another Viking fleet which had harried the Balearic Islands, and a few smaller ships found their way up the Ebro valley or via the River Bidassoa and its valley from Irun on the Bay of Biscay, so that a contingent arrived at Banbalūna (Pampeluna) [see BANBALŪNA] and in 245/859 captured the *amīr* of the Basques, Gharsiyya b. Wannaḳo (Garcia Iniguez), who had to ransom himself for 70,000 gold coins (E. García Gómez-E. Lévi-Provençal, *Textos inéditos del "Muqtabis" de Ibn Ḥayyān sobre los origenes del reino de Pamplona*, in *Al-And.*, xix [1954], 309). After this Viking raid, which probably lasted till 247/861, it was more than a century before Muslim annals tell us about further attacks from al-Madjūs.

On 1 Radjāb 355/23 June 966, the caliph al-Ḥakam II received from Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis (Alcacer do Sal, 94 km. south of Lisbon) a message that a Viking fleet of 28 ships had been seen in the neighbourhood. The Muslims marched on them when, after ravaging the coast, they reached the plain round Lisbon; many were killed in the battle on both sides. The Seville fleet left and found the enemy ships in the mouth of the River Silves, put several of them out of action, rescued the captured Muslims, whom they found on board, killed a great number of the unbelievers and put the rest to flight. News continued to reach Cordova from the west coast about the movements of al-Madjūs, until they disappeared. During the same year, al-Ḥakam II ordered Ibn Fuṭays to keep the fleet ready in the Cordova River (sc. the Guadalquivir) and to build ships of the same type as those of the Vikings, in the hope that they would come near the ships.

2. At the beginning of Ramaḍān 360/end of June 971, alarming rumours spread abroad about movements at sea by al-Madjūs al-Urdumāniyyūn (on this term, see below). Al-Ḥakam II immediately sent the admiral of the fleet to Almeria to make it ready to leave for Seville and to sail with all the naval forces to the western coastal district, but we hear nothing this time about any landing operation. Ibn Ḥayyān mentions (in A.A. el-Hajji, *Andalusian diplomatic relations with western Europe during the Umayyad period (A. H. 138-366/A.D. 755-976)*, Beirut 1970, 163, also in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, viii [1967], 74 f.) that at the end of 360/971 the Vikings made an attack on the west coast but that the Muslim fleet was able to repel them. The last thing we hear in Arabic sources about Viking raids on Muslim territory is a notice by Ibn Ḥayyān (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 171 n. 2) about a summer campaign by land to Algarve in Ramaḍān 361/June 972; the Muslim army advanced up to the town of Santarém to the north-east of Lisbon and returned to Cordova in the middle of September 972.

In all the previous texts except one, the word *al-Madjūs* is used about the Vikings, but in the text of 971 the phrase *al-Madjūs al-Urdumāniyyūn* is used. The last two texts in Ibn Ḥayyan's *al-Muḳtabis* have only been available to the present writer in *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por* ʿ*Īsā ibn Ahmad al-Rāzī (360-364 H. = 971-975 J.C.)*. Trad. por E. García Gómez, Madrid 1967, 76, 88, 101, 116-7. The translation has on p. 76 *los Mayūs*, on pp. 88 and 101 *los Mayūs Normandos*, and in the events of 17 September 972 on pp. 116-17 first *los Mayūs Normandos* and then only *los Normandos*. So there is a certain doubtfulness here. It is no longer a question about al-Madjūs in its earlier sense. This fits well in with the fact that, in this case, the attackers came from Normandy. The Vikings had, after the treaty of St. Clair in 911, been given the territory in northern France which got its name Normandy from them, and had settled there. They no doubt soon accepted the Christian faith, at least officially, but they sometimes received heathen reinforcements from their original fatherland. In the early 960s, one of these bands of reinforcements arrived from Denmark at the request of Duke Richard I of Normandy, who was in conflict with Count Thibaud de Chartres. When peace was made between them, the Vikings' presence was no longer desired in France. They gradually returned to the northern lands, but encouraged by Duke Richard, they made an expedition against Muslim Spain, in the course of which they also attacked Christian Galicia and in 970 occupied Santiago de Compostela, which they held for some time. It was these troops from Normandy, partly heathen and partly Christian, who are here quite logically described by the double name.

3. Only the term *al-Urdāmāniyyūn* (= Normans) is used by Ibn ʿIdhārī in his account of the capture of the town of Barbastro [see BARBASHTURU] in 456/1064, when the inhabitants were treated in a very barbarous way by the Christian army, in which Normans were included. The later geographer Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī uses in a summary account of this same capture of Barbastro the word *al-Rudhmānūn* for "Normans" instead (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 68 f.).

4. The Spanish-Arabian author Ibn Diḥya (d. 632/1235) relates in his anthology *al-Muṭrib min ash*ʿ*ār ahl al-Maghrib* that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52), after the disembarkation of the Vikings in 844, was said to have had relations with them and sent an ambassador to their country to come to an agreement with them. Ibn Diḥya's report is founded on what this envoy told the vizier Tammām b. ʿAlḳama (d. 283/896) on his return twenty months later. The ambassador Yaḥyā b. Ḥakam al-Bakrī al-Ghazāl (d. 250/864) [see AL-GHAZĀL], who had led a mission to Byzantium in 840, does not give us any details from his journey to the country of al-Madjūs which confirm the authenticity of his report. But even if the journey never in reality took place, it is nevertheless probable

that we have here the contemporary Hispano-Arabic view of al-Madjūs. The Viking king's residence, it is related, was situated on a large island in the ocean. There are Madjūs there in great numbers, and in the neighbourhood of this island there are many other islands, big and small, where all the inhabitants are Madjūs ... They used to be Madjūs, but now they profess Christianity, after having forsaken the worship of fire and the religion they had before and adopted Christianity, except the inhabitants of some isolated islands in the sea. These last have stuck to their old religion, with its worship of fire, and they continue to marry their mothers or sisters [a trait attributed likewise to the Persian Magians] and practise other infamous deeds. They fight them and make them slaves (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 58-61, with refs.; here it must be stressed that —*pace* p. 60 n. 1., the information about marriage with a near relative seems suspicious, and must be due to a misunderstanding on the Arabic side).

The reason why the Vikings and the peoples or groups of peoples living on the northern fringes of civilisation were described by the Arabs as Madjūs was evidently the fact, as appears from the account by Ibn Diḥya, that their religion reminded the Arabs of that of the Persian Magians. According to Islamic sources, Madjūs denotes "die Einwohner des alten Persiens, vor allem in ihrer Eigenschaft als Feuerverehrer" (S. Wikander, ***Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran***, Lund 1946, in ***Skrifter utg. av K. human. vet.-samf. i Lund***, xl, 28). The religion of the Scandinavians and other Germanic peoples was essentially the same. Al-Masʿūdī mentions in his ***Murūdj al-dhahab***, written between 944 and 947 (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 47-8) that in 330/941-2 in Fusṭāṭ in Egypt he had come across a book written by Bishop Ghudmār (Godmar) of Gerona, dedicated to [Prince] al-Ḥakam (II, 350-66/961-76). He states "In that book it is said that the first king of the Franks Ḳulūdwīh (Chlodovech) was first a Madjūsī and that his consort Ghurṭild (Chrodechild) made him a Christian." According to western sources he was baptised in 496. It is not asserted in the text that he embraced the unspecified heathendom *al-djāhiliyya*. The same author relates in another place (*ibid.*, 49): "Before the year 300/912-3, ships with thousands of men arrived at al-Andalus and sacked its coasts, and the inhabitants there thought that it was a people of al-Madjūs, appearing every two hundred years ... But I think ... that it was al-Rūs [see RŪS], whom we have dealt with before in this work." In his *K. al-Buldān* (written 276/889), 354, the historian and geographer al-Yaʿḳūbī names those who in 229/843 invaded and sacked Seville as "al-Madjūs who are called al-Rūs" (*al-Madjūs allādhīna yuḳālu lahum al-Rūs*). Thus even very early Arabic authors linked the Madjūs with the Rūs, and both the above-mentioned authors were widely-travelled and knew from personal experience the conditions not only in the Middle East but also the western parts of the Mediterranean countries (A. A. Vasiliev, ***The Russian attack on Constantinople in 860***, in ***The Mediaeval Acad. of America, Publs.***, xlvi, Cambridge, Mass., 1946, 3-4 with refs.). The author al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318) assigns in his scientific and geographic encyclopaedia (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 63) "to Yāfit's (Japhet's) descendants, al-Rūs ... They believe in the Madjūs religion and burn their dead in fire." The Persian Magians, on the other hand, did not burn their dead. The Spanish-Arabic historian and geographer Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 672/1274) writes in *Basṭ al-arḍ fī ṭūlihā wa 'l-ʿarḍ* (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 62-3) about the great Ṣaḳlab Island, "whose length is about 700 *mīls* (one *mīl* = 4000 *dhirāʿ*) and its extent across the middle about 330 *mīls*. There are mountains, rivers, towns, built-up areas and a numerous population. It is said that they still adhere to the Madjūs religion and worship fire, as they consider nothing more important than this (sc. fire), because the cold is so severe there." (As is well-known, the Muslims in Spain used the term al-Ṣaḳāliba as a general word for slaves, procured to Spain from different parts of Europe; since many of them were of Germanic origin or from Scandinavia, in that way the Germanic tribes became known as al-Ṣaḳāliba; cf. A. A. El-Hajji, *op. cit.*, 207, n. 1, with refs. and ṢAḲĀLIBA). The geographer al-Idrīsī (d. 561/1166) says in his *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 57): "The fourth section of the seventh zone comprises the majority of the provinces in al-Rūsiyya (Russia), the provinces in Finmārk (Finnmarken or Finland), the country of Ṭabast (Tavastland), the country of Astalānda (Estonia) and the country of al-Madjūs." R. Ekblom (***Idrīsī und die Ortsnamen der Ostseeländer***, in *Namn och bygd*, xix [1931], 65-6) writes: "*Mağūs* ... ist in früheren arabischen Quellen die gewöhnliche Bezeichnung der nordischen Wikinger, die ... mit einem gewissen Recht als Feueranbeter bezeichnet werden konnten. Sie verehrten Thor, den Gott des Donners, sie verbrannten vielfach ihre Toten, und das Feuer spielte eine grosse Rolle bei ihnen ... Um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts waren die Skandinavier christlich ... Das einzige Gebiet in Europa, das zu dieser Zeit nicht unter nennenswerten Einfluss des Christentums gekommen war, waren, wenn man vom innern Russland absieht, die Länder östlich der Ostsee. Bei den hier wohnenden finnischen Völkern spielte jedoch das Feuer keine hervorragende Rolle im Kultus. Ganz anders verhielt es sich mit den baltischen Stämmen. Bei diesen war das Feuer heilig, sie verehrten den Donnergott Perkūnas, und Leichenverbrennung war bei ihnen noch im 12. Jahrhundert nicht ungewöhnlich. Was ist natürlicher, als dass die arabischen Geographen die Bezeichnung *Mağūs* auf sie übertrügen. Das Land der *Mağūs* ist bei Idrīsī meiner Ansicht nach das baltische Gebiet, ungefähr das jetzige Lettland und Litauen ..." In al-Marwazī's text it says (22, l. 15, tr. 35) concerning al-Ṣaḳāliba: "The Slavs ... burn their dead, for they worship Fire" (V. Minorsky, ***Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India***, Arabic text (*ca.* A.D. 1120) with an English translation and commentary, London 1942). In his commentary, Minorsky writes (116 f.): "... Eastern Slavs are usually confused with the Rūs, I. Kh., 154 ... The naïve indication that the Slavs burn their dead 'because they are fire-worshippers' may explain why the Arab historians call the Rūs *al-Madjūs*. Yaʿkūbī, ***Buldān***, 354, calls the raiders who plundered Seville in 229/843: *al-Majūs allādhīna yuqālu lahum al-Rūs*. In a famous passage I. Faḍlān as an eye-witness describes the cremation of a Rūs, and the argument may have been reversed: 'the Rūs were fire-worshipping Magians, for they burnt their dead', cf. Minorsky, *Rūs*, in *E.I.* ..." (cf. Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 81-5 and Corr. to p. 81.) In a review of Dunlop's *History of the Jewish Khazars*, in *Oriens*, xi (1958), 136, Minorsky says: "P. 189 ... Nor can the term *majūs* applied to the Northmen of Spain refer to their 'Zoroastrianism', but to the popular explanation of their custom of cremating their dead, see Minorsky, *Rūs* in *E.I.*, Ṭāhir Marvazī. ..."

5. R. Brunschvig put forward the hypothesis, that, as the law school of al-Awzāʿī [*q.v.*] declared as Madjūs all heathen with whom they wanted to become to an agreement, this was the reason why the Vikings harrying in Spain have been called Madjūs in Arabic; "dès leur première apparition sur les côtes d'Espagne en 844, il y a eu entre eux et l'émir de Cordoue des tractations de paix" (*Ibn ʿAbdalḥakam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes. Étude critique*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi [1942-7], 112; reprinted in *Al-Andalus*, xl [1975], 133 f.). But this hypothesis is groundless. There is no certain proof of relations between the Vikings and the Muslim rulers, and in any case, al-Awzāʿī's *madhhab* had been pressed back in Spain by that of Mālik towards the end of the 2nd/8th century (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 74-7).

6. Ibn ʿIdhārī relates (*ibid.*, 116 f. with ref.) that the ruler Hishām I in 177/793 sent ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Mughīth on a summer campaign to the Rūm country. This expedition is famous in history and one of the most important. He came to Ifrandja (Gerona), besieged the town and made a breach in its walls by using catapults. And he got nearer to the land of al-Madjūs, marched through the enemy's land and stayed there several months, burning villages and destroying strongholds. He attacked the town of Arbūna (Narbonne). It was a great victory, where the value of one-fifth of the prisoners amounted to 45,000 in minted coins. In 179/795 Hishām I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, according to the same author (*ibid.*, 14 f.) sent out a commander on a summer campaign against Galicia. The latter was informed that Idhfunsh (Alfonso II el Casto) had asked al-Bashkunish (the Basques) for help and the people in this neighbourhood, viz. al-Madjūs and others. Ibn al-Athīr (*ibid.*, 10 ff.) speaks about his neighbours the Basques and those of al-Madjūs who lived near them and the people round there. In Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-Muḳtabis* (Garcia-Gómez-Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, 296 f.) it is related about a summer campaign in the year 200/816 against the Prince of Pampeluna that in a battle lasting thirteen days many were killed, among others Ṣaltān, the leader (*el mejor caballero*) of al-Madjūs. Ibn Ḥayyān (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i², 204) is the only one to mention a campaign against Alava, commanded by the *ṣāḥib al-ṣawāʾif* ʿUbayd Allāh, who invaded the district in August 825/Rabīʿ II 210, caused devastation and finally met with the Asturian forces. "Une violente bataille se déroula au pied d'une montagne que le chroniqueur appelle Djabal al-Madjūs, 'la montagne des adorateurs du feu', ou peut-être 'des Normands'. Elle se termina par la défaite des Chrétiens, et l'on appela par la suite en Espagne musulmane cette campagne 'l'expédition de la victoire' (*ghazwat al-fatḥ*)." It is probably here a question of the same peoples who were mentioned in 793, 795 and 816; the territories where they are said to have lived, are not too distant from each other. Of course there can never have been genuine Zoroastrians in those regions, but at present we do not know anything about these so-called al-Madjūs in the neighbourhood of the Basques (cf. Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 116-28, 9-22, 86-115). Lévi-Provençal states (*Du nouveau sur le royaume de Pampelune au IXᵉ siècle*, in *Bulletin hispanique*, lv (1953), 8) that some of the Basques were evidently still pagan at the beginning of the 9th century, and Cl. Sánchez-Albornoz (*Invasiones normandas a la España cristiana durante el siglo IX*, in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medievo. XVI. I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto medioevo 18-24 aprile 1968*, Spoleto 1969, 370) considers it certain that these al-Madjūs were Basque idolaters, maintaining that the name *Zaldūn* (thus correctly instead of Ṣaltān) is a purely Basque word.

7. As we have seen, the term al-Madjūs was used for tribes living in the north, even when we know for certain that it does not apply to the Vikings (all the textual *loci probantes* are not recorded here). In such cases, the Arabic authors were thinking about the religion in which fire in some from played a prominent part.

8. Al-Madjūs was used in the West as a name for Vikings, evidently because they did not know of, nor did they use, the correct term al-Rūs, which was used by the Arabic Persian authors. Besides, the latter knew the difference, as far as religion was concerned, between the Rūs on one hand and on the other the Madjūs (= Zoroastrians), who never burnt their dead. The Arabs in the West did not know the crucial difference between Vikings and Zoroastrians in the use of fire for funeral ceremonies, but mostly paid attention to the dominant element of the fire itself. And since the Vikings were neither Christians nor Jews, they were consequently assimilated to the Madjūs because of the role of fire in their religious culture.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: R. Dozy's monograph *Les normands en Espagne*, in his *Recherches*³, ii, 250-371 and Appendix XXXIV, deals with the various attacks by the Madjūs in Spain. At the beginning of this survey, references are given to earlier literature by Werlauff, Mooyer, Kruse and Kunik. Dozy, Melvinger and El-Hajji have abundant references,Dozy and Melvinger also some Arabic texts; see also A. K. Fabricius, *La première invasion des Normands dans l'Espagne musulmane en 844*, in *Actes du Xᵉ Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Lisbon 1892. A. Seippel has mentioned all the texts known to him, also dealing with other peoples than the Madjūs, in *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici. E libris quum typis expressis tum manu scriptis coll. et ed.*, Oslo 1896-1928, Norwegian tr. in *Det Norske Videnskaps-Akad. i Oslo. Skrifter*. II. *Hist.-filos. kl.* 1954, no. 2 by H. Birkeland, *Nordens historie i middelalderen etter arabiske kilder*. Overs. til norsk av de arabiske kilder med innledn., forfatterbiografier, bibliografi og merknader, Oslo [1955]; J. Stefánsson, *The Vikings in Spain. From Arabic (Moorish) and Spanish sources*, in *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, vi (1909), 31-46; F. Lot, *Les invasions barbares et le peuplement de l'Europe*, i, Paris 1937, 159-62; Ḥusayn Muʾnis (Monès), *Contribution à l'étude des invasions des Normands en Espagne musulmane entre 859 et 844* [*sic*] *J.C.*, in *Bull. de la Société royale d'études historiques, Égypte*, ii (1950); D. M. Dunlop, *The British Isles according to medieval Arabic authors*, in *IQ*, iv (1957-8), 11-28; W. E. D. Allen, *The poet and the spae-wife. An attempt to reconstruct al-Ghazal's embassy to the Vikings*, Dublin-London 1960; H. Arbman, *The Vikings*, London 1961, 85-8.

(A. Melvinger)

AL-**MADJŪSĪ**. [See ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī.]

MAḌMŪN (A.), passive participle of *ḍamina* "to be liable"), a legal term meaning the thing for which one is liable or responsible. It occurs in the following connections: *maḍmūn bihi* "thing pawned"; *maḍmūn ʿanhu* "debtor"; *maḍmūn lahu* or *ʿalayhi* "creditor". Liability (*ḍamān* [*q.v.*]) plays an important role in the law of obligations; the rules which

are applied to the parties involved and to the legal institutions are enumerated in the chapters on contracts.

Liability and obligation to restore may arise from the non-performance of a contract, if the object has perished, or from *taʿaddī* "transgression" i.e. from illicit acts, when the object is lost or damaged by the unlawful act. The obligation to restore depends on the division of things (*māl*), which are divided either into fungibles (*mithlī*) i.e. things that can be measured (*makīl*) or weighed (*mawzūn*) or counted (*maʿdūd*), or secondly, are divided into things (*muḳawwamāt*) with a special value (*ḳīma*) and individuality i.e. they are *ʿayn* species.

Bibliography: E. Fagnan, *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*, 101; E. Tyan, *Le système de responsabilité délictuelle en droit musulman*, thesis, Lyons 1926, 149-261; O. Spies, *Die Lehre von der Haftung für Gefahr im islamischen Recht*, in *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, xlviii (1955), 79-95; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 147 f., 292; T. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding*⁴, 384; the chapters in the *fiḳh*-books, and especially E. Sachau, *Muhammed. Recht*, 385 ff., Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, Italian tr. O. Santillana, ii, 249 ff., French tr. G.-H. Bousquet, *Abrégé de la loi musulmane selon le rite de l'imam Mâlek*, Algiers 1956-62; L. W. C. van den Berg, *Principes du droit Musulman selon les rites d'Abou Hanifah et de Chafiʿi*, tr. France de Tersant, Algiers 1896, 101. (O. Spies)

MADRAS, a major port and city on the Coromandel coast of southeastern peninsular India, in lat. 13°4′ N. and 80°15′ E., formerly a governorship of the presidency of the same name (the latter comprising the eastern coast of India from Cape Comorin to Lake Chilka in present-day Orissa, as well as a large part of the interior of the Deccan, and the northern Malabar coast); since independence the capital of the Indian Union State of Tamil Nadu.

1. Nomenclature. The origin of the name "Madras" has been much debated. Perhaps the two most plausible explanations are offered by *Hobson Jobson* and the Madras glossary. The former (532) points out that the "earliest maps" of the region show Madrasapatanam as a Muslim settlement, and "having got so far we need not hesitate to identify it with Madrasa, a college ... That there was such a Madrasa in existence is established by the quotation from Hamilton, who was there about the end of the 17th century. Fryer's map (1698, but illustrating 1672-73) represents the governor's house as a building of Mahomedan architecture, with a dome. This may have been the Madrasa itself. Lockyer (1711) also speaks of a college of which the building was very ancient, formerly a hospital, and then used apparently as a residence for young writers". The *Manual of the administraiton of the Madras Presidency* (ii, 91) dismisses this idea, however ("*Madrissa*, a Mahommedan school, has been suggested, which considering the date at which the name is first found seems fanciful"), and vol. iii of this work, the *Madras glossary* (144), offers the alternative explanation that "Madras", in Sanskrit *Mandarājāpaṭṭana*, is derived from the Telugu *Mandarādzu*, the name of a local ruler.

Until the early 11th/17th century Madras was a small fishing village. It is not mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who landed in Maʿbar [*q.v.*] at the "large and fine city of Fattan" (thought to have been Kaveripattanam, Gibb, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 263-4) in *ca.* 739/1338. Marco Polo, however, writes at some length of the shrine of St. Thomas, built at Malaipūr, "the name of which is still applied to a suburb of Madras about 3½ miles south of Fort St. George" (Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ii, 354-9).

2. History. In March, 1639, Francis Day of the East India Company "obtained a piece of ground five miles long, and one broad" (*Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency*, ii, 279) at the small village of Madras, on which to build a town and fort. The land thus purchased, formerly a part of the waning Vijayanagar Kingdom, was to become the nucleus of the modern city of Madras.

Called originally by its founders Fort St. George, Madras remained subordinate to the Chief of the Settlement of Bantam in Java until 1653, when it was raised to the rank of an independent presidency. In 1702 Dāwūd Khān, a general in the service of the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], blockaded the settlement for a few weeks, but without success. In 1741 the town was again attacked, this time by the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*], once again unsuccessfully. Fort St. George was expanded and strengthened in 1743, but this failed to prevent Labourdonnais from bombarding and capturing it in 1746. The city, by this time the largest in southern India, was restored to the British in 1748 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, although the Government of the Presidency did not return to Madras until 1752. The French made a second, unsuccessful attempt to take the Madras in 1758; the city was occupied, but the French, under Lally, failed to take Fort St. George. After two months the French were forced to withdraw by the arrival of a British fleet in the Madras roads. From this time the city, although threatened in 1769 and again in 1788 by the approach of Ḥaydar ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Mysore's cavalry, was to remain in British hands until independence in 1947.

At the time of the 1971 *Census of India*, Madras, the third most important port and fourth largest city of India, had a population of 2,469,449 (*Census of India*, series 19, part X-B); of this number 210,083 (comprising 116,444 males and 93,639 females) were Muslims (*Census of India*, series 19, part II-C-i). The *Census of India* figures are not divided to show sectarian affiliations, but the great majority of Madrasi Muslims are Tamil-speaking, either Rawther or Labbai [*q.v.*], Sunnī Muslims of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* who do not claim Arab ancestry and who predominate in the interior of Tamil Nadu; or else Marakayar and Kayalar, Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* who claim some Arab ancestry and who predominate along the Coromandel coast.

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Madras City; also Census of India, 1971, series 19, part II-C *Social and Cultural Tables*.

(A. D. W. Forbes)

MADRASA, in modern usage, the name of an institution of learning where the Islamic sciences are taught, i.e. a college for higher studies, as opposed to an elementary school of traditional type (*kuttāb*); in mediaeval usage, essentially a college of law in which the other Islamic sciences, including literary and philosophical ones, were ancillary subjects only.

I. The institution in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish lands

1. Children's schools.

The subject of Islamic education in general is treated under tarbiya. Here it should merely be noted that the earliest, informal institutions of learning in the Islamic world were probably children's schools, such arrangements doubtless going back to the pre-Islamic period. In Medina, the teachers were often Jews (see al-Balādhurī, 473 below; cf. the name *rabbānī* for the teacher: Ḳur'ān, III, 79; V, 44, 63; Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 10; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 243); but ability to write was not so common here as in Mecca. After the battle of Badr, several captured Meccans were released to teach writing in Medina (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 171). A contemporary of ʿUmar's, Djubayr b. Ḥayya, who was later an official and governor, was a teacher (*muʿallim kuttāb*) in a school in Ṭā'if (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, i, 235). Muʿāwiya, who had acted as the Prophet's amanuensis, took a great interest in the education of the young. They learned reading, writing, counting, swimming and a little of the Ḳur'ān and the necessary observances of religion. Famous men like al-Ḥadjdjādj and the poets al-Kumayt and al-Ṭirimmāḥ are said to have been schoolmasters. (Lammens, *Moʿâwia*, 329 ff., 360 ff.). The main subject taught was *adab*, so that the schools of the children were called *madjlis al-adab* (*Aghānī*[2], xviii, 101), and the teacher was called *mu'addib*, also *muʿallim* or *mukattib* (al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, i, 158, l. 8), in modern times *fiḳīh* (see Lane, *Manners and customs*, 61). The teacher was as a rule held in little esteem, perhaps a relic of the times when he was a slave, but we also find distinguished scholars teaching in schools; thus Daḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim, the exegist, traditionist and grammarian, who died in 105/723 or 106/724 had a school in Kūfa, said to have been attended by 3,000 children, where he used to ride up and down among his pupils on an ass (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 272-3). As language was of the utmost importance, we find a Bedouin being appointed and paid as a teacher of the youth in Baṣra (*ibid.*, ii, 239). School spread during the Umayyad period, and instruction was also given at home in the houses (see Haneberg, *Schul- und Lehrwesen*, 4 f.).

For the subsequent development of children's schools, see kuttāb.

2. Islamic studies in the mosque: the early period.

The *madrasa* is the product of three stages in the development of the college in Islam. The mosque or *masdjid*, particularly in its designation as the non-congregational mosque, was the first stage, and it functioned in this as an instructional centre. The second stage was the *masdjid-khān* complex, in which the *khān* or hostelry served as a lodging for out-of-town students. The third stage was the *madrasa* proper, in which the functions of both *masdjid* and *khān* were combined in an institution based on a single *waḳf* [*q.v.*] deed.

The *masdjid* [*q.v.*] appears early in Islam as a centre for instruction, above all for the inculcation of the sacred texts and scriptures. Within the *masdjid*, the focus of learning was the *madjlis* [*q.v.*], from *djalasa* "to sit up" in contradistinction to the near-synonymous verb *ḳaʿada*, which means "to sit down". Learning took place in the *masdjid*, a place of worship, specifically a place of prostration (from *sadjada*, "to prostrate oneself") in prayer before God. From the prostrate position of the prayer, the teacher and his students would then "sit up", and the class, or *madjlis*, would begin. (From the near-synonymous verb *ḳaʿada*, the *ism makān*, sc. *maḳʿad*, is a bench, upon which one sits from a standing position).

In the new studies associated with the mosque, the learning by heart and the understanding of the Ḳur'ān formed the starting-point and next came the study of *ḥadīth*, by which the proper conduct for a Muslim had to be ascertained. The Prophet was often questioned on matters of belief and conduct, in or outside the mosque (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 6, 52; 23, 24, 26, 46). After the death of the Prophet, his Companions were consulted in the same way and scientific study began with the collection and arrangements of *ḥadīth*s. This process is reflected in the *ḥadīth*s themselves. According to them, even the Prophet in his lifetime was asked about *ḥadīth*s (*ibid.*, *bāb* 4, 14, 33, 50, 51, 53); the Prophet sits in a mosque surrounded by a *ḥalḳa* and instructs this hearers; the latter repeat the *ḥadīth*s three times until they have learned them (*ibid.*, *bāb* 8, 30, 35, 42). The Prophet sent teachers of the Ḳur'ān to the tribes, and so did ʿUmar in the year 17 (*ibid.*, *bāb* 25). The necessity of *ʿilm* is strongly emphasised. Jewish influence is perhaps to be recognised when learning is compared with the drinking of water (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 20; cf. *Proverbs*, xviii, 4; *Pirḳē Aboth*, i, 4, 11) and the teachers are called *rabbāniyyūn* (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 10). A special class of students, *ahl al-ʿilm*, was formed who spread the knowledge of traditions throughout Muslim lands (*ibid.*, *bāb* 7, 12). They collected people around them to instruct them in the most necessary principles of the demands of Islam. In this simple form of instruction, which was indistinguishable from edifying admonitions, lay the germ of Islamic studies. The knowledge imparted was *ʿilm* or *ḥikma* (*ibid.*, *bāb* 15).

It was from the study of the Ḳur'ān and of *ḥadīth* that a science of jurisprudence began to develop, since the principles which were to be followed by the faithful did not always come ready-made from the mere reading of scripture. Although the early religious scholars, the *ʿulamā'* [*q.v.*] (sing. *ʿālim*), were usually the experts on the Ḳur'ān and were called *al-ḳurrā'* (sing. *ḳāri'*) [see ḳur'ān. 3 and ḳurrā'], on the *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], and were called *al-muḥaddithūn* (sing. *muḥaddith*), and on Ḳur'ānic exegesis and were called *al-mufassirūn* (sing. *mufassir*) [see tafsīr], yet the 1st century of Islam saw the development of the jurisconsult-doctor of the law, the *muftī-faḳīh*. The turn of the century was later commemorated as "the Year of the Jurisconsults", *sanat al-fuḳahā'*, because of a number, generally considered to be seven, who died in and around that time (J. Schacht, *Origins*, 243, and see al-fuḳahā' al-sabʿa in Suppl.).

We hear of a *madjlis* for studies in the Medina

mosque in the 1st century A.H. (*Aghānī*, i, 48; iv, 162-3). Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, sent by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as *muftī* to Egypt, is said to have been the first to teach in Egypt (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 131); he is mentioned along with another as teacher of al-Layth (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 89) and the latter, upon whose pronouncements *fatwās* were issued, had his *ḥalḳa* in the mosque (*Ḥusn*, i, 134). ʿUmar II had before this sent al-Nāfiʿ, the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿUmar, to Egypt to bring them the *sunan* (*ibid.*, 130). He also sent an able reciter of the Ḳurʾān to the Maghrib as *ḳāḍī* to teach the people *ḳirāʾa* (*ibid.*, 131). Education was arranged for by the government by allowing suitable people to give instruction in addition to their regular office. The first teachers in the mosques were the *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, as a rule *ḳāḍīs*, whose discourses dealt with the interpretation of the Ḳurʾān and the proper conduct of divine service. Their *mawʿiẓa* was the direct continuation of the moral instruction given by the old Companions (cf. al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, *bāb* 12). The instruction started in the mosque of ʿAmr was continued for centuries. In the 2nd/8th century, al-Shāfiʿī taught various subjects here every morning till his death (204/820) (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 134; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 383). It was after this time that the study of *fiḳh* came markedly to the front and the great teachers used at the same time to give *fatwās* (cf. *Ḥusn*, i, 182-3).

Arabic philological studies were ardently prosecuted in the mosques. The interest of the early Arabs in rhetoric survived under Islam; the *faḳīh* Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 95/713-4; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1266) discussed Arabic poetry in his *madjlis* in the mosque in Médina; but it was still thought remarkable that poems should be dealt with in a mosque (*Aghānī*, i, 48; iv, 162-3). In the year 256/870, al-Ṭabarī by request dictated the poems of al-Ṭirimmāḥ beside the *Bayt al-Māl* in the Mosque of ʿAmr (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 432). In the chief mosque of Baṣra, the *aṣḥāb al-ʿarabiyya* sat together (*ibid.*, iv, 135). In Baghdād, al-Kisāʾī gave his lectures in the mosque which bears his name. At quite an early date we read of special appartments (which were certainly also lecture-rooms) for authorities on the Ḳurʾān, for, according to al-Wāḳidī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm lived in Medina in the *dār al-ḳurrāʾ* (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 142).

As is evident from the examples quoted, studies were not only prosecuted in the chief mosques but also in other mosques. In Egypt, not only the Mosque of ʿAmr but also the chief mosques of later date were important centres of study. As soon as the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was founded, a pupil of al-Shāfiʿī began to lecture in it on *ḥadīth* (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 139). During the Fāṭimid period this was continued. In the year 361/972, the Azhar [*q.v.*] Mosque was finished. Soon afterwards, the new Shīʿī *ḳāḍī*, ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān, lectured in it on *fiḳh* according to his school; in 378/988 al-ʿAzīz and his vizier Yaʿḳūb b. Killis founded 35 lectureships, and in addition to their salaries the lecturers were given quarters in a large house built beside the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 49; Sulaymān Raṣad al-Ḥanafī, *Kanz al-djawhar fī taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, 32 ff.).

Thus the *masdjid* continued to be used for the teaching of one or more of the Islamic sciences, or their ancillaries among the literary arts, well into the 3rd/9th century of Islam. The turning-point in its use came after the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] or Great Inquisition. Begun in the last year of al-Maʾmūn's caliphate, 218/833, the *miḥna* extended across the caliphates of al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāthiḳ to the second year of al-Mutawakkil's caliphate, 234/848, a period of fifteen years. The upshot of the *miḥna* was the political bankruptcy of its authors, the rationalist forces represented by the philosophical theologians, and the correlative triumph of the traditionalist forces, its victims, the doctors of the law, a triumph due in great measure to the heroic endurance of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*].

After the *miḥna*, more and more *masdjids* came to be founded for legal studies, i.e. as colleges of law. Since the *masdjid* could not serve as a lodging place for teaching staff and students—the exceptions being the wayfarer (*ibn al-sabīl*) and ascetic, pious men who had given up all wordly goods (*zuhhād*, sing. *zāhid*)—*khāns* were founded next to the *masdjids* to serve as lodging for students from out-of-town. The outstanding example of this type of arrangement was the extensive network of *masdjid-khān* complexes founded in the lands of the eastern caliphate during the 4th/10th century by Badr b. Ḥasanawayh (d. 405/1014), governor of several provinces under the Buwayhids [see ḤASANWAYH]. Such men of power and influence needed the good offices of the *ʿulamāʾ*, their sole sure link with the masses of the faithful. To establish this connection, such men founded for the *ʿulamāʾ* institutions wherein they could teach the Islamic sciences. Besides currying favour with the *ʿulamāʾ*, the powerful founders were performing highly meritorious acts of charity endearing them to the masses and the *ʿulamāʾ* alike.

The terminology for legal studies developed before the flourishing of the *madrasa* in the 5th/11th century. It derived from the radicals *d-r-s*. The second form of the verb, *darrasa*, used without a complement, meant "to teach law"; *tadrīs*, its verbal noun (*maṣdar*), meant "the teaching of law", the function as well as the post of professor of law; the plural, *tadārīs*, or "professorships of law", was of later development, when the holding of several professorships by one doctor of the law became a common practice. The term *dars*, meant "a lesson or lecture on law"; *mudarris*, the active participle, meant "the professor of law". It must be kept in mind that these terms had these significations in reference to law, especially when used in the absolute, without a complement. The verb *faḳḳaha* is of rare occurrence, and was not commonly used to designate the teaching of law. The term *faḳīh* was used in the sense of "doctor of the law", or "student of law", particularly "a graduate student", in contradistinction to *mutafaḳḳih*, used to designate "the undergraduate". The accomplished *faḳīh* was eligible to become a *mudarris* and a *muftī*; for as a *faḳīh* who had successfully defended his theses in disputations (*munāẓara*), he obtained his licence to teach and to issue legal opinions (*idjāza li 'l-tadrīs wa 'l-iftāʾ*).

The college of law therefore began as a *masdjid* and was soon joined by the *khān* or hostel for out-of-town students. The lodging place next to the *masdjid* was especially necessary for the student of law as distinguished, for instance, from the student of the *ḥadīth*. Jurisprudence was by now a science whose rudiments had to be learned in a period of years, usually four, and these usually under the direction of one master. After this basic undergraduate training, if he was successful and chosen by his master as a *ṣāḥib* or fellow, he went on to graduate studies that lasted an indefinite period of time, some follows working as repetitors (*muʿīd*) under their masters for as many as twenty years before

acquiring their own professorial chair. In contrast, the student of *ḥadīth* travelled from one place to another, acquiring rare *ḥadīths*, and collections of *ḥadīths*, from *ḥadīth*-masters who often were the last link in the chain of transmitters, holding alone the authorisation to pass on their collections authoritatively to others. The *ḥadīth* student travelled therefore from place to place and collected as many authorisations, *idjāzas*, as possible from as many masters as he could reach. The law student was interested in an authorisation covering a field of knowledge, that of law, in one *idjāza*; the licence to teach law and issue legal opinions, *idjāzat al-tadrīs wa 'l-fatwā*, which he obtained from one master-jurisconsult. The *khān*, founded near the *masdjid*, was therefore necessary as a lodging-place for law students away from home.

3. The library as an adjunct to the mosque and other institutions of higher learning.

In the descriptions of the larger mosques the libraries are often mentioned. These collections were gradually brought together from gifts and bequests, and it was a common thing for a scholar to give his books for the use of the *muslimūn* or *ahl al-ʿilm* (e.g. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 252; cf. iv, 287). Many other libraries were semi-public. These often supplemented the libraries of the mosques, because they contained books in which the mosques were not much interested, notably on logic, *falsafa*, geometry, astronomy, music, medicine and alchemy; the latter were called *al-ʿulūm al-ḳadīma* or *ʿulūm al-awāʾil* (cf. Goldziher, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.* [1915], phil. hist. Kl. no. 8, Berlin 1916). The academy, *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*], founded by al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) in Baghdād, deserves first mention. It recalls the older academy founded in Gundeshāpūr to which al-Manṣūr had invited Georgios b. Gabrīʾēl as head of the hospital; he also translated works from the Greek (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 123-4). In the new academy there was a large library, and it was extended by the translations which were made by men qualified in the above-mentioned fields; there was also an astronomical observatory attached to the institution, in which there were also apartments for the scholars attached to it (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 243; cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, 98). When the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902) built himself a new palace, he had apartments and lecture-rooms in an adjoining building for men learned in every science, who received salaries to teach others (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 192 ff.; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 142).

Private individuals of wealth continued benefactions on these lines. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, who died in 275/888 and was known as al-Munadjdjim, had a palace with a library, which was visited by those in search of knowledge from all lands; they were able to study all branches of learning in this institution, called *khizānat al-ḥikma*, without fee; astronomy was especially cultivated (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 467). In Mawṣil, Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī (d. 323/935) founded a *dār al-ʿilm* with a library in which students worked daily at all branches of knowledge and were even supplied with free paper. The founder lectured on poetry in it (*ibid.*, ii, 420). In the 4th/10th century, al-Maḳdisī visited in Shīrāz a large library founded by ʿAḍud al-Dawla (367-72/977-83) to which people of standing had access. The books were arranged in cases and listed in catalogues and the library (*khizānat al-kutub*) was administered by a director (*wakīl*), an assistant (*khāzin*) and an inspector (*mushrif* (al-Muḳaddasī, 449). Similar institutions are known in Baṣra, Rām-Hurmuz, Rayy and Karkh (*ibid.*, 413; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 3-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii, 51-2).

In Cairo, they were well-known under the Fāṭimids. In their palace, they had a library which was said to be the largest in Islam. It had about 40 rooms full of books and all branches of knowledge were represented; they had for example 1,200 copies of al-Ṭabarī's *History* and 18,000 books on the "old learning" (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 253-5). The vizier Yaʿḳūb b. Killis founded an academy with stipends for scholars and spent 1,000 *dīnārs* a month on it (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, ed. Tallquist, fol. 108a; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310/1892-3, ii, 334; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 192). It was overshadowed by the "House of Knowledge" (*dār al-ʿilm* or *dār al-ḥikma*) founded by al-Ḥākim in 395/1005. It contained a library and reading-room as well as rooms for meetings and for classes. Librarians and assistants, with their servants, administered it, and scholars were given allowances to study there; all branches of learning were represented—astronomy, medicine, etc., in addition to the specifically Islamic subjects. Al-Ḥākim built similar institutions in al-Fusṭāṭ (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 334 ff.). The whole institution was closely associated with Shīʿa propaganda, which is obvious from the fact that it was administered by the *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*, who held conferences with the learned men there every Monday and Thursday (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 226; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshāʾ*, iii, 487; see also MADJLIS. 2. In Ismāʿīlī usage). A similar missionary institute (*dār al-daʿwa*) was built in Aleppo in 507/1113-14 by the *amīr* Fakhr al-Mulk (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii, 360). We may assume that these buildings were also arranged for the performance of the *ṣalāt*.

With the *dār al-ḥikma*, Islam was undoubtedly continuing Hellenistic traditions. Al-Maḳrīzī mentions a *dār al-ḥikma* of the pre-Islamic period, where the learned men of Egypt used to work (iv, 377); Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa also mentions pre-Islamic seminaries in Egypt where Hellenistic learning was cultivated (*dār al-ʿilm*, i, 104), and the similarity with the Alexandrine *Museion*, which was imitated in Pergamon and Antioch, for example, is apparent (J. W. H. Walden, *The universities of ancient Greece*, New York 1919, 48-50). Al-Ḥākim's institution was finally closed with the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty (567/1171). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had all the treasures of the palace, including the books, sold over a period of ten years. Many were burned, thrown into the Nile, or thrown into a great heap, which was covered with sand so that a regular "hill of books" was formed. The number of books said to have disposed of varies from 120,000 to 2,000,000, but many were saved for new libraries (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 253-5; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287/1870, i, 200, 268).

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4. The origin and spread of the *madrasa* proper.

Although the *madrasa* proper now began to evolve, there was for a long time much overlapping between

the mosque and the *madrasa*, for even after the appearance of *madrasas*, the regular mosques remained school as before.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled in the 8th/14th century, in the period when *madrasas* flourished most, attended lectures on *ḥadīth* in the Djāmiʿ of Shīrāz and in the Djāmiʿ of al-Manṣūr in Baghdād (ii, 83, 110). In Damascus in 580/1184, Ibn Djubayr refers to rooms in the Umayyad Mosque, which were used for Shāfiʿī and Mālikī students, who received considerable stipends (*idjrāʾ*, *maʿlūm*) (*Riḥla*, 272, above). In Egypt in the time of al-Maḳrīzī (9th/15th century), there were 8 rooms for *fiḳh* studies in the Mosque of ʿAmr (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 20, 21). In al-Azhar in the 7th/14th century, and later, after the earthquake of 702, many lecture-rooms with paid teachers were built (*ibid.*, 52), likewise in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim (*ibid.*, 57).

When a particular room was set apart for teaching purposes in a mosque, this was often called a *madrasa*; for example six of the Damascus *madrasas* were in the Umayyad Mosque (*JA*, ser. 9, iii, 410, 432, 437; iv, 262, 270, 481; others: vii, 230). The *madrasas* were often also built close beside the large mosques so that they practically belonged to them. This was the case in Mecca (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 104 ff.; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 324).

Though the *madrasa* was an independent institution, the distinction between the *madrasa* and ordinary mosque was very slight, all the less as sermons were also preached in the *madrasa*. In the Niẓāmiyya in Naysābūr, services were held as soon as it was finished (by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm: Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿí*, iii, 285) and the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdād had a *minbar* (Ibn Djubayr, 219). In Egypt from 569/1174 to 665/1267 there was only one Friday *khuṭba*, but after this time there was usually a *minbar* in the larger *madrasas*.

It was only natural that the *madrasas* should also be called *masdjid* (cf. Ibn Djubayr, 48). Ibn al-Hādjdj in the 8th/14th century still wants to distinguish between *masdjid* and *madrasa* and to give more importance to the former (*Madkhal*, ii, 3, 48). The distinction remained, however, quite an artificial one, and this is also true of the distinction between *madrasa* and *djāmiʿ*. The name *madrasa* was decided by the main object of the institution and the special style of the building. The name *djāmiʿ* was only given if the Friday service was held in it.

The connection between mausoleum and mosque was also found with the *madrasa*. The tomb of the founder was placed in Nūr al-Dīn's *madrasa* in Damascus (Ibn Djubayr, 284-5), and during the Mamlūk period it was the regular custom for the founders of a *madrasa* to be buried under a *ḳubba* [*q.v.*] in it.

On education and the *madrasa* in general, cf. also F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, Göttingen 1837; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, Vienna 1877, ii, 479 ff.; Haneberg, *Abhandlung über das Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhammedaner im Mittelalter*, 1850; van Berchem, *Corpus inscr. arab.*, i, 252-69; G. Gabrieli, *Manuale di bibliografia musulmana*, i, 1916, 109 ff.; Johs. Pedersen, in *IC*, iii (1929), 525-37; A. Talas, *La Madrasa Nizamiyya et son histoire*, Paris 1939.

While the institutions called the *dār al-ʿilm* developed in Fāṭimid countries into centres of Shīʿī propaganda, the *madrasa* grew up in the east out of similar Sunnī institutions. It is interesting to note that in 395/1005 al-Ḥākim built a Sunnī *dār-al-ʿilm* in Cairo (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii, 64, 105, 106). But after these years, this institution was abolished and its two learned teachers executed. With the growing strength of the Sunna, especially in the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī forms, many educational institutions arose in the east which had a pronounced Sunnī character (al-Muḳaddasī, 232, 365, 415). Many teachers built houses of their own, where they dictated *ḥadīths* and held lectures on *fiḳh*, e.g. a teacher who died in Marw in 420/1029 (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿí*, 232). Abū Ḥātim al-Bustī, born in 277/890, founded in his native town a school with a library with apartments and allowances for the maintenance of foreign students (*ibid.*, 163; cf. 204, 245).

In Naysābūr especially, where studies were vigorously prosecuted in the mosque (e.g. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 236), many such institutions arose. Thus a special school was built for the Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*-scholar al-Ṣāʾigh al-Naysābūrī (d. 349/960; *ibid.*, 156; cf. 160). Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 393/1003) himself founded a school in which to teach *ḥadīth*, and it was attended by 1,000 scholars (*ibid.*, 203). Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015-6; *ibid.*, 216) did the same, likewise Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī in 437/1045-6 (*ibid.*, 284); and for Rukn al-Dīn al-Isfarāʾinī (d. 418/1027) a school was built which surpassed all others (*ibid.*, 229). As early as the 4th/10th century, we find al-Muḳaddasī praising the very fine *madāris* of Īrānshahr (*BGA*, iii, 315). In the first half of the 5th/11th century, there were four especially famous *madrasas* in Naysābūr: al-Madrasa al-Bayhaḳiyya, founded by al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066), when he became a teacher in Naysābūr in 441/1049-50 (Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, iii, 270); al-Saʿīdiyya founded by the *amīr* Naṣr b. Sebüktigin (governor of Naysābūr in 389/999); one built by Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl al-Astarābādī; and another built for the teacher Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāʾinī. A Niẓāmiyya was also built here by Niẓām al-Mulk for the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 192; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 141-2). It was an event of great importance when Niẓām al-Mulk (456-85/1064-92 vizier of the Saldjūḳ sulṭāns Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh) founded the celebrated *Madrasa Niẓāmiyya* in Baghdād; the building was begun in 457/1065 and on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 459/22 September 1067 it was consecrated. It was founded for the Shāfiʿī teacher Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī.

The Muslim historians are in some doubt about the history of the *madrasa*. Niẓām al-Mulk is given the credit of having founded it, but al-Maḳrīzī and al-Suyūṭī point out that *madrasas* were already in existence before him and mention the four above-named ones; but, as we have seen, even they were not innovations. Al-Subkī thinks (says al-Suyūṭī) that the new feature was that Niẓām al-Mulk endowed scholarship for the students. This again, however, was nothing new. But the enthusiasm and energy of Niẓām al-Mulk marked the beginning of a new period of brilliance for the *madrasa* (cf. G. Makdisi, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh century Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv [1961], 1-56; A. L. Tibawi, *Origin and character of al-Madrasah*, in *BSOAS*, xxv [1962], 225-38; H. Halm, *Die Anfänge der Madrasa*, in *ZDMG*, Suppl. III, 1, XIX, Deutsche Orientalistentag [1977], 438-48). The sultan and men of high rank were now interested in it, and the type evolved by Niẓām al-Mulk, a school in which the students were boarded, became the prevailing one after his time. We may presume that the older schools also had a place for prayer in them, i.e. they were a kind of mosques. The type of school

known to us is built as a complete mosque. Since even the older mosques contained living-rooms which were frequently used by students, there is no difference in principle between the school and the ordinary mosque; only the schools were especially arranged for study and the maintenance of students. This character is expressed by the name *madrasa*, plural *madāris*; it is a genuine Arabic formation from the word *darasa*, "to read", "to study", taken from Hebrew or Aramaic.

In the time of Niẓām al-Mulk and immediately afterwards, the *madrasa* spread in ʿIrāḳ, Khurāsān, al-Djazīra, etc. He was not content with the two he founded in Naysābūr and Baghdād. There was also a *Madrasa Niẓāmiyya* in Balkh (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, 240); in Mawṣil (*ibid.*, 319); in Harāt, to which al-Shāshī (d. 485/1092) was called from Ghazna (*ibid.*, 310); and in Marw (Yāḳūt, iv, 509). The great vizier's rival Tādj al-Mulk (d. 486/1093) founded a *Madrasa Tādjiyya* in Baghdād (*ibid.*, 311). In Naysābūr, other *madrasas* were founded at the same time, for example one by al-Manīʿī (d. 463/1070-1; *ibid.*, 277) and a Shaṭbiyya (*ibid.*, 327).

The prosperity of the *madrasas* stimulated by Niẓām al-Mulk in the 5th/11th century survived for a long time in the east. In the 6th/12th century Ibn Djubayr (580/1184) mentions some thirty *madrasas* in Baghdād, all in the eastern part of the town, the most notable being the Niẓāmiyya, renovated in 504/1110-11 (*Riḥla*, 229). In 631/1234, the caliph al-Mustanṣir founded the magnificent Mustanṣiriyya as a school for the four rites, each with a teacher and seventy-five students and a teacher for Ḳurʾān and one for *ḥadīth*, as well as a physician. Attached to it were a library, baths, hospital and kitchens; there was a clock at the entrance; beside it was a garden where the caliph had a pavilion (*manẓara*) from which he could survey the whole building (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 266-7; Wüstenfeld, *Akademien der Araber*, p. iv and 29).

The Niẓāmiyya and the Mustanṣiriyya survived the destruction of Baghdād by Hūlāgū; both are mentioned at the beginning of the 8th/14th century by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 108-9), and the building of the latter still exists. Ten others are known of the 8th-9th/14th-15th century, all of which were founded for Shāfiʿīs, Ḥanafīs and for the study of Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth* (L. Massignon, *Les Medresehs de Bagdâd*, in *BIFAO*, vii [1909], 77-86; the inscriptions, idem, in *MIFAO*, xxxi [1912]). Although the Tatars in 699/1300 destroyed many *madrasas* (Quatremère, *Hist. des sult. maml.*, ii/2, 163-4). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa shows that in the 8th/14th century there were still flourishing schools in the east. The Mongols also built *madrasas*; Hūlāgū's mother built two *madrasas* in Bukhārā where 1,000 students studied daily in each (*JA*, ser. 4, xx, 389; Quatremère, *Hist. sult. maml.*, i/1, 56). The period of greatest prosperity of the *madrasas* in Central Asia was under the Tīmūrids, notably in Samarḳand, where Tīmūr built a *djāmiʿ* "in the Indian style", and his wife a *madrasa* (Ibn ʿArabshāh, *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, 1767, 444 ff.; see also Diez, *Kunst der islam. Völker*, 99-100).

In the towns of Mesopotamia and Syria, the movement spread from the 5th/11th century onwards.

In Damascus the two rulers Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (541-69/1146-63) and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (570-89/1174-93) displayed a munificent activity in this direction, as did their *amīrs* and relatives. This activity was continued into the 7th/13th to 9th/15h centuries, so that al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521; *JA*, ser. 9, iii-vii) can give the following totals: seven *dār al-Ḳurʾān*, sixteen *dār al-ḥadīth*, three for both Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, 60 Shāfiʿī, 52 Ḥanafī, four Mālikī and ten Ḥanbalī *madrasas*, also three *madāris al-ṭibb*, all of which belong to the 7th/13th century. The founders were mainly rulers and *amīrs*, but also included merchants and quite a number of men of learning, and a few women also.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn introduced the *madrasa* into Jerusalem. According to Mudjīr al-Dīn (d. 927/1521), there were 31 *madrasas* and monasteries (which were in part used in the same ways as *madrasas*) in direct connection with the Ḥaram area, 29 near it, and 16 at some distance. Of these, some 40 are especially called *madrasa*, one a *dār al-Ḳurʾān* and one a *dār al-ḥadīth* (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébr.*, Paris 1876, 139 ff.; van Berchem, *Corpus*, ii, 1; cf. for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, Cairo 1310/1892-3, 402-3).

Next to Niẓām al-Mulk, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn has the greatest reputation as a builder of *madrasas*. He owes this mainly to the fact that his great activity as a builder lay in countries which became of great importance in the Muslim world, Syria with Palestine, and Egypt. Even before the fall of the Fāṭimids, in the year 566/1171: he had founded in Cairo the Nāṣiriyya for Shāfiʿīs and the Kambiyya for Mālikīs; for Shāfiʿīs also the Sharīfiyya and notably the great Ṣalāḥiyya or Nāṣiriyya (for the identity of the two, cf. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 251, with *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 142-3), beside al-Shāfiʿī's mausoleum (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 141-2; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 192 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 402-3). Those around him emulated this activity.

During the period of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, the number of *madrasas* increased to an extraordinary degree. In the street called Bayn al-Ḳaṣrayn there were two long rows of *madrasas* on the site of the old Fāṭimid palace in Cairo (cf. P. Ravaisse, in *MMAF*, i, 1889, 409 ff., pl. 3). Al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442) mentions 73 *madrasas*, 14 for Shāfiʿīs, four for Mālikīs, ten for Ḥanafīs, three for Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, six for Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs, one for Mālikīs and Ḥanafīs, four for all four rites, two exclusively used as *dār al-ḥadīth*, while the rite of 25 is not mentioned and four remained unfinished. Of these *madrasas*, according to him, about 13 were founded before 600, 20 in the 7th century, 29 in the 8th century and two after 800.

In Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's time, the *madrasa* was also introduced into the Ḥidjāz. In the year 579/1183-4 the governor of Aden built in Mecca a *madrasa* for the Ḥanafīs, and in the following year a Shāfiʿī *madrasa* was also founded there (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 104). Up to the beginning of the 9th/15th century, 11 *madrasas* are mentioned (*ibid.*, 104-7), but others were added (*ibid.*, iii, 177-8, 211-12, 225-6, 351 ff., 417). In the 12th/18th century, they ceased entirely to be used for their original purpose (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 229 ff.). *Madrasas* were also built in Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 58, 98, 112).

In Asia Minor, *madrasas* spread under the Saldjūḳs; the oldest known date from the 7th/13th century (Cl. Huart, *Konia*, 1897, 156, 160, 178; Fr. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 1896, 48-9, 51-2; R. Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, 1928, 106 ff.).

In Tunis, many *madrasas* were erected under the Ḥafṣids (625-941/1228-1534), the oldest being the Madrasat al-Maʿraḍ in about 650/1252. In the *Chronicle of Tunis* (al-Zarkashī, *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafsides*, tr. E. Fagnan, in *Rec. Not. et Mém. Soc. Arch. Const.*, xxi [1895], see index)

11 are mentioned. The first *madrasa* in the Maghrib was, according to Ibn Marzūḳ's *Musnad*, the Madrasat al-Ṣaffārīn built by the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (656-85/1258-86) in Fās in 684/1285 (also called al-Ḥalfāʾiyyīn; see the edition by Lévi-Provençal, in *Hespéris*, v [1925], 34 [Arabic] = 44 [French]). Other Marīnids and their successors continued the building of *madrasas* in Fās, Tilimsān and other cities (cf. Bel, *Inscriptions de Fès*, in *JA*, ser. 11, x [1917], xii [1918]; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, ii, 1927, 465 ff.).

In Spain, according to Ibn Saʿīd (7th/13th century), there were no *madrasas*; instruction was given in the mosques (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 136); in the following century, however, a large *madrasa* was founded in Granada by the Naṣrid Yūsuf Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj in 750/1349 (Almagro Cardenas, in *Boletin de la Real Acad. de la Hist.*, xxvii, 490; Marçais, *op. cit.*, 516-17).

Ibn Khaldūn (808/1406) testifies to the spread of *madrasas* in Tunis and the Maghrib but laments the decline in education. In al-Andalus, Muslim culture was dying out and after the decline of Ḳurṭuba and al-Ḳayrawān, education in the Maghrib was on a low level, while the old schools in ʿIrāḳ were no longer of importance. Cairo was a centre of learning to which all made their way, and studies also flourished in Persia (*Muḳaddima, faṣl* 6, no. 2). This decline in interest in learning soon became general. The learning of the time lacked vitality, and international scholarship was affected by political conditions. In 1517 A.D., Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] says that the lecture-rooms in Cairo were large and pleasant but the numbers who attended them were small. Some still studied *fiḳh*, but very few the arts (*Desc. de l'Afr.*, iii, 372, in *Rec. de Voy. et de Doc.*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1896-8).

5. The constitution of the madrasa.

We have seen that, already in the 4th/10th century, there were a number of *madrasas* outside Baghdād, the cultural centre of the Islamic world, but we have also noted the impetus to *madrasa*-building which took place in the next century and is associated especially with Niẓām al-Mulk. Even so, as further noted, earlier types of educational institution continued to flourish.

The *madrasa*, combining the functions of the *masdjid* and its nearby *khān* in one architectural unit, brought nothing new to legal studies as such. Nor was the student body more numerous in the *madrasa* than it was in its predecessor; the number in either type of college of law was usually twenty. Nor did the new *madrasa* put an end to the *masdjid* as a college; these last continued to be established as charitable foundations. Indeed, many *ʿulamāʾ* deplored the innovation of the *madrasa* which provided for all the needs of the student, including room and board, and encouraged, according to the *ʿulamāʾ*'s complaints, the worthy and unworthy alike to pursue knowledge for the wrong kind of motivation, a parasitic life of ease, instead of learning for the greater glory of God. Thus the *masdjid-khān* type of college continued to be founded, and many professors of law continued to teach there, as for instance, within the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*, whose first *madrasa* was founded only in the first part of the 6th/12th century. This lingering preference for the *masdjid* is not surprising, given the place of the mosque in the Muslim community and the encouragement of the faithful to build mosques: "The Apostle of God ordered ... that *masdjids* be built" (*amara rasūl Allāh ... bi-bināʾ al-masādjid*, Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *ṣalāt*, 13; al-Tirmidhī, *Djāmiʿ*, *djumuʿa*, 65; see also Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *masādjid* 288; al-Tirmidhī, *op. cit.*, *daʿawāt*, 82; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, *ṣalāt*, 60).

One should not attach undue importance to the fact that the *madrasa* developed especially in the eastern lands of the caliphate, in ʿIrāḳ, Persia and Transoxania; this does not imply a cultural swing away from Arab Baghdād towards Persian Khurāsān, especially towards Naysābūr, which would be a misreading of cultural history due to anachronistic nationalist sentiment. Since there was no change in the curriculum, or in the teaching staff or students, and since the final product of the two types of colleges was exactly the same, that is, the *muftī-faḳīh*, the reason for the change in institutional typology must be sought elsewhere and may be found in the legal status of the two institutions concerned, the *masdjid* and the *madrasa*.

Relevant here is the fact that the legal status of the *madrasa* allowed the founder to retain complete control over the administrative and instructional staff of the institution, and therefore the retention of the power of patronage. For government officials, such as a *wazīr*, it permitted him to attract the support of the rank and file through their religious leaders employed by the founder. For these men, as well as for men of lesser power, the law of *waḳf* permitted them to place their wealth where it could be secured against confiscation.

Moreover, the *masdjid* and the *madrasa* were charitable foundations based on *waḳf*. The founder, the *wāḳif*, was free to found the one or the other type of institution. He could, in his deed of foundation, make any stipulations he wished regarding any aspect of his foundation, whether it be a *masdjid* or a *madrasa*, with only one limitation to his freedom of choice: none of his stipulations were to contravene the tenets of Islam. Legally speaking, he could not appoint the *imām* of the *masdjid*. If the *masdjid* had a professor in addition to the *imām*, the founder could appoint the professor. The *imām*, or the professor-*imām*, was appointed by the caliph alone, or by the caliph with the consent of the people of the quarter where the *masdjid* was located. A *madrasa*, as such, had no *imām*, unless the foundation was a complex including a *madrasa* and *masdjid*. The fundamental difference between the two institutions was that the *masdjid*, once the *waḳf* deed was signed, became a *waḳf taḥrīr*; that is to say, a foundation whose legal status is assimilated to the manumission of a slave. As the master, once he freed his slave, had no further rights over him, the founder, once the deed of his *masdjid* was signed, had no further rights over it, other than those legally-valid stipulations in his deed pertaining to the instructional aspects of his foundation.

Thus between the two great patrons of learning mentioned previously, Badr and Niẓām al-Mulk, the difference is that, while the former founded *masdjids* over which he had limited control, the latter founded *madrasas* over which his control was complete. Niẓām al-Mulk retained for himself and his progeny complete control over his network of *madrasas*. In Baghdād, where professorial tenure was usually for life in the *masdjid*-college of law, Niẓām al-Mulk hired and fired professors, some after a tenure of a month or even of a day. The introduction of *madrasas* in Baghdād may therefore be viewed as an encroachment upon the patronage of the caliph, whose control over *masdjid*- and *djāmiʿ*-mosques did not extent to the *madrasa*.

After the *masdjid* and *madrasa*, other institutions came into existence, especially the *dār al-ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], the first of which was, as already noted above, founded by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī in Damascus. In this institution, the *muḥaddith* was raised to the level of the *mudarris* in the *madrasa*. The *madrasa* founded for one *madhhab* tended to be divisive, since only those students who chose to belong to that *madhhab* were admitted for the study of law and the ancillary sciences. The *dār al-ḥadīth* served to bring together students of all *madhhabs*, and may thus be seen as a further manifestation of the triumph of traditionalism over the forces of rationalism represented by the *dār al-ʿilm* [*q.v.*] institutions, which soon disappeared from the scene. The *dār al-ḥadīth* must not be confused with either *dār al-tadrīs* or *dār al-sunna*, occasional terms that referred not to the study of *ḥadīth* but of *fiḳh*, and were used as terms of traditionalism opposing the rationalism of *dār al-ʿilm*.

Education in Islam was religious in nature and an obligation incumbent upon the *ʿulamāʾ*, the men of religious science. The caliph as the successor to the Prophet made it possible for teachers to teach in the Friday mosques where *ḥalḳas* [*q.v.*], study-circles, provided instruction in the various religious sciences and their ancillaries. Private individuals endowed institutions of learning, *masdjids* and *madrasas*, which they specified for one or the other of the *madhhabs* as they chose. Muslim institutions of learning, based on the law of *waḳf*, were endowments made by individual Muslims, of their own free will, without interference from the governing power. Even when the founder was a caliph, a *sulṭān*, a *wazīr*, or other official, he endowed his foundation as a Muslim individual, instituting his own private property as *waḳf* for a public purpose. These institutions were not public in the sense that anyone was entitled to attend them. They were set aside for restricted use in accordance with the *waḳf* stipulations of the founder, restricting admission to one or the other *madhhab*.

Founded at first for only one *madhhab*, *madrasas* were later founded for more than one. In the latter case, the students of each *madhhab* were taught separately. The system was as individualistic as the law itself: one *madrasa*, one *madhhab*. There were double, triple and quadruple *madrasas*, meaning that two, three or four *madhhabs* were involved; but the students of each *madrasa* within the compound were kept separate, each student body following the *madhhab* of its choice.

Madrasas were usually Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī or Ḥanbalī, with very few for the Mālikīs. Spain, predominantly Mālikī, had no *madrasas* as late as the 7th/13th century; as noted above, the earliest *madrasa*, said to be that of Granada, was not founded till the following century. Their sparseness throughout the Islamic world can be explained by the Mālikī law of *waḳf*, which prohibits Mālikī founders to retain control of the trusteeship of their institution. This discouraged founders from endowing *madrasas* as means of sheltering their wealth against confiscation, by retaining control of their institution for themselves and their progeny to the end of their line. Mālikī *madrasas* were founded in North Africa by the sovereigns, whose motives differed from those of private individuals; they were motivated by the prestige brought by their foundations to themselves and to their realms.

Besides the *djāmiʿ* and its study-circles, the *masdjid*, the *madrasa*, the *dār al-ḥadīth*, there were also the *dār al-Ḳurʾān*, the *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] and other conventional establishments (*khānḳāh*, *zāwiya* [*q.vv.*]), in which learning took place in the Islamic sciences. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 629/1231) lectured in a *ribāṭ* in Baghdād on *uṣūl*, *ḥadīth*, etc. (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 203) and a *Ribāṭ al-Khātūnī* is mentioned here, which had a library (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Lippert, 269). There are other references to libraries in monasteries (see for Marw: Yāḳūt, iv, 509). In the *Khānaḳāh Shaykhū* founded in 756/1355, an extensive course of lectures, *fiḳh* according to all four *madhāhib*, *ḥadīth* and *iḳrāʾ* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 283) was given. In the *Ribāṭ al-Āthār* in the 8th/14th century, instruction was given in Shāfiʿī *fiḳh* (*ibid.*, 296); the Ḥanafī *madrasa* al-Djamāliyya (730/1430) was also a *khānaḳāh* (*ibid.*, 238 above); they had a common director. There were also institutions of learning consisting of a combination of two or three of the institutions mentioned; as, for instance, a *madrasa-ribāṭ-dār al-ḥadīth*. In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, this combination of the two institutions became quite frequent, for example in the Niẓāmiyya in Cairo of the year 757/1356 (Van Berchem, *Corpus*, i, 242 ff.) and in the mausoleums of Barsbāy, 835 (*ibid.*, 365-6; cf. Ibn Iyās, ii, 21, 22, 41), of al-Malik al-Ashraf Ināl, 855-60/1451-6 (*ibid.*, no. 271 ff.) and of Ḳāʾit Bāy, 879 (*ibid.*, 431 ff.). In the east, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the same relationship, for example in Shīrāz and in Ḳarbalāʾ (ii, 78-9, 88, 99), and this is what he means when he says the Persians call the *zāwiya* the *madrasa* (ii, 30, 32). In the west, he lauds his own sovereign, who had built a splendid *zāwiya* in Fās (i, 84); here also learning and Ṣūfism were associated (see the quotation in Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *zāwiya*) and the *zāwiya* still plays an important part in North Africa.

Learning further took place in the hospitals (*māristān*, from the Persian *bīmāristān* [*q.v.*]) which were also used as schools of medicine, as well as in the private homes of scholars and elsewhere.

6. Courses of instruction and personnel.

As already explained, in the earliest period the principal subjects studied in the mosque were Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, to which was added the study of the Arabic language. In al-Bukhārī (*Kitāb al-ʿIlm*), *ʿilm* still means *ḥadīth* but, with the development of the systems of law and theology, these were also taught in the mosques. In the mosque of al-Manṣūr in Baṣra, al-Ashʿarī heard al-Djubbāʾī expound the Muʿtazilī *kalām* (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, 131); closely connected with this was methodology (*al-mudhākara wa 'l-naẓar*: cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 383). But many different subjects could also be taught. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who taught in al-Manṣūr's *Djāmiʿ* in Baghdād, lectured on his history of Baghdād (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 246-7). Philosophy proper, however, disappeared from the mosques. In Spain, we are told, *falsafa* and *tandjīm* were only cultivated in secret, as those who studied them were branded as *zindīḳs*, and even stoned or burned (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 236). The *madrasas* were mainly established to teach the systems of *fiḳh*, and originally each school was intended to represent only one *madhhab*. Where the four *madhāhib* are represented in one school, one can speak of four *madrasas*, e.g. *al-Madāris al-ṣāliḥiyya* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 209, 282).

The ordinary *madrasas*, however, included other subjects beside the study of *fiḳh* alone. Special mention is made of *naḥw* (al-Ṣāḥibiyya; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 205). In the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdād and in other

madrasas in the east, philological studies were prosecuted (cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 423-4; vi, 409). The custom, often occurring before Niẓām al-Mulk's time, of founding a *dār al-ḥadīth* was continued after him, e.g. in Cairo and Damascus. In 604/1207 al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam built beside the Ṣakhra mosque a *Madrasa naḥwiyya*, exclusively for Arabic linguistic studies (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jér. et Hébr.*, 86, 140), and schools for special subjects were not rare (cf. al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, ed. Myhrmann, 153). Al-Subkī mentions, in addition to the special *ḥadīth* schools, also *madāris al-tafsīr* and *madāris al-naḥw*.

In his *Muḳaddima* (*faṣl* 6, nos. 4 ff.), Ibn Khaldūn gives a survey of the divisions of Islamic studies. They are divided into *ʿulūm ṭabīʿiyya* and *naḳliyya*. The former are based on observation by the senses and deduction and are therefore also called *falsafiyya* or *ʿaḳliyya*; the latter are dependent on revelation by the lawgiver (*al-wāḍiʿ al-sharʿī*), and are therefore based on special transmission. The *ʿulūm naḳliyya* therefore comprise all branches of knowledge which owe their existence to Islam, namely Ḳur'ān, i.e. *tafsīr* and the seven *ḳirā'āt* (no. 5), *ḥadīth* with the sciences auxiliary to it, including *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* (no. 6), *al-fiḳh* with special emphasis on *al-farā'iḍ*, the law of inheritance (nos. 7-8), *uṣūl al-fiḳh* with the principles of law including methods of deduction and the differences between the *madhhāhib* (no. 9), *al-kalām*, theology, which is *naḳliyya* in as much as it is really a further development of *īmān* which comes under the head of religious duties, but is *ʿaḳliyya* in its nature since it is entirely based on abstract proofs (no. 10), *al-taṣawwuf*, something like practical theology (no. 11) and *taʿbīr al-ru'yā*, interpretations of visions (no. 12).

Linguistic sciences are related to the study of Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth* (cf. nos. 4, 37 beginning), which are divided into 4 parts; *al-naḥw*, *al-lugha*, *al-bayān* and *al-adab* (no. 37), and in the last named category comes the whole study of Arabic literature.

The *ʿulūm ʿaḳliyya* are variously classified, usually into 7 main sections (no. 13), and are *al-manṭiḳ*, logic which is the foundation of all others (no. 17), *al-arithmāṭiḳī*, arithmetic, including *ḥisāb* etc. (no. 14), *al-handasa*, geometry (no. 15), *al-hay'a*, astronomy (no. 16), *al-mūsīḳī*, the theory of tones and their definition by number etc. (see no. 13); then there is *al-ṭabīʿiyyāt*, the theory of bodies at rest and in motion—heavenly, human, animal, plant and mineral; among its subdivisions, special mention is made of *al-ṭibb*, medicine, and *al-falāḥa*, agriculture (nos. 18-20; cf. no. 29). The seventh main head is *ʿilm al-ilāhiyyāt*, metaphysics (no. 21). Magic, talismans, mysterious properties of numbers, etc., also form branches of Muslim learning (nos. 22 ff.).

Medicine was not only taught in special schools but also in the mosques and the *madrasas*; about 600/1203-4, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf lectured in the Azhar Mosque, but it is not quite clear whether his instruction in *ṭibb* was also given there (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 207) and in any case the "philosophical sciences" were cultivated outside the mosques.

The method of teaching was by lecturing and learning by heart (*talḳīn*). The first task was to learn the Ḳur'ān by heart and then to acquire as many traditions as possible. The *ḥadīth* was repeated three times so that the student could remember it (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, *bāb* 30). Lecturing soon became dictation (*imlā'*), when the student wrote down what was said, except in the case of the Ḳur'ān (approved: al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, *bābs* 34, 36). The method was the same for linguistic or literary subjects as for *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, etc. The philologists not only used to dictate their grammatical works, as for example Ibn Durayd (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, 127) or Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (d. 345/957), who dictated from memory 30,000 folios on *lugha* (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vii, 26), but also the text of the poets, like al-Ṭabarī, who lectured on al-Ṭirimmāḥ in the Mosque of ʿAmr in 256/870 (*ibid.*, vi, 432). Dictation was especially important in the case of *ḥadīth*, as the exact establishment of the text was the first necessity. It is therefore always said "he dictated *ḥadīth*" (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 139; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 246). The class of a teacher is therefore *madjlis al-imlā'* (*ibid.*, ii, 243; vii, 74), and his famulus among the students is *al-mustamlī* (cf. *ibid.*, vi, 282; vii, 74). Problems of *fiḳh* were also dictated (so Abū Yūsuf, Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, ed. Flügel, no. 249).

All this meant that reliance on the memory, for the learning above all of the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*, was highly prized, and repetition much cultivated. Jurisconsults were quoted as saying that in their student days they used to repeat each law lecture fifty times or more in order to imbed it in the memory. A school exercise was developed, whereby students quizzed one another as an aid to learning their lesson and as a contest to see who knew more than the other. The term used for the exercise was *mudhākara* ("a calling something to mind with another, conferring with another"). However, the importance of understanding was also recognised, above all as legal studies developed, and this is the lexical meaning of the term *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], which comes to have the technical meaning of "positive law". This shift of emphasis to both memorisation and comprehension is illustrated by the saying that "learning is a city, one of whose gates is memory and the other is understanding" (*al-ʿilm madīna, aḥad bābayhā al-riwāya, wa 'l-ākhar al-dirāya*).

But the most important method developed for legal studies was the method of disputation (*munāẓara*, *ṭariḳat al-naẓar*), the legal school exercise par excellence. It consisted of (1) a thorough knowledge of *khilāf*, that is, the divergent legal opinions of jurisconsults; (2) a thorough knowledge of *djadal*, dialectic; and (3) *munāẓara*, disputation. The disputant had to know by heart as extensive a list as possible of the disputed questions of law (*al-masā'il al-khilāfiyya*) and have ready answers for them. It was his skill at disputation which earned for him the licence to teach law and to issue legal opinions (*idjāzat al-tadrīs wa 'l-fatwā*). The licence he obtained after a long period of study, usually four years of basic studies of law, followed by an indeterminate period of fellowship (*ṣuḥba*), during which he was apprenticed as *muʿīd* or repetitor of his master or otherwise made himself useful to the younger students, sometimes called *mufīd* ("one who imparts useful knowledge") and holding the post of *ifāda*.

During the *ṣuḥba* stage of his learning, the graduate student wrote a *taʿlīḳa*, which was a compilation of notes from the lectures of his master, often including notes taken from the latter's writings. When such a compilation was original in nature, as to its arrangement and the treatment of the subject-matter, it came to be known by the name of its compiler. The term *taʿlīḳa* is also applied to a compilation of the master, a syllabus on law, from which the master taught his disciples. Some of these *taʿlīḳas* consisted of many volumes, as many

as fifty in one case. Masters who had no *taʿlīḳas* used those of others.

The class (*dars*) began with the recitation of the Ḳurʾān by a *ḳāriʾ*, with blessings on the Prophet, and other religious formulae (*Madkhal*, i, 56; cf. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, 172-3). At the present day, the teacher as a rule simply pronounces the *basmala* himself. Dictation alone was not everywhere the custom. In time, there came to be so many copies of the chief texts that the students were able to get copies for themselves. The text was in this case read aloud and the teacher gave his comments and emendations on the text (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 255). It was only natural that the dictation of texts was first abandoned in philology; it is said to have been dropped as early as the 4th/10th century (Mez, *Renaissance*, 171). This does not mean that dictation was completely abandoned, for the teacher still made his pupils write down his comments; for example, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 584/1188) dictated his lessons (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 20) and the method of having a text read aloud, while the lecturer explained only any remarkable phrases, was used as early as by the teacher of *ḥadīth*, Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/912; *ibid.*, vi, 282).

Ibn Khaldūn laments that so few teachers in his time understand the correct methods of teaching (*ṭuruḳ al-taʿlīm*). They put difficult questions at once to the pupil instead of arranging the *talḳīn* so that it is always combined with explanations, and it is a fundamental principle that the pupil should not mix the different subjects. They laid too much stress on learning by heart (*ḥifẓ*) (*Muḳaddima, faṣl* 6, no. 2, 29, 30; cf. al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, 151-2). Mechanical learning by heart is recognised for the Ḳurʾān. When the above-mentioned Ibn Ḳaysān expounded *ḥadīths*, he also asked his hearers about their, meaning. Conversely the class was at liberty to ask questions of the teacher. Al-Shāfiʿī used to sit in his great *ḥalḳa* in Mecca and say: "Ask me what you want, and I will then give you information on the Ḳurʾān and *sunna*" (*ibid.*, vi, 391; cf. al-Muḳaddasī, in *BGA*, iii, 379). The teacher was sometimes overwhelmed with questions (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 272). Ibn Djubayr saw written questions being handed to a teacher in the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdād (219-20). Both practices are still in vogue, and even in large classes the student may interrupt with questions.

7. The scholastic community: the teachers.

The general designation for master was *shaykh*. When used with a complement, the term designated the master of various fields; as, for instance, *shaykh al-ḥadīth*, *shaykh al-ḳirāʾa*, for the professor of *ḥadīth* and the professor of Ḳurʾānic studies respectively. The term *ustādh* was a kind of honorary title (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 113, 209, ii, 271, v, 353, 354, 358, 448); it has continued in use till the present day, and in contemporary Arabic usage is the equivalent of the Western term "professor", "holder of a professorial chair". But in distinction from these more general terms, the professor of law had a designation all his own, a term used without a complement, sc. *mudarris*. He was not referred to as *shaykh al-fiḳh*. The term *mudarris* with a complement was sometimes used to designate other professors. *Shaykh al-ribāṭ* was used to designate the director, or abbot, of a monastery. The *mudarris*, like the *ḳāḍī*, was entitled to have a deputy, a *nāʾib mudarris*, who taught during his absence, The *mudarris* could, in fact, have several *nāʾibs*. This happened when the professor of law held several poets (*tadrīs*, pl. *tadārīs*); he would teach in one or the other of these posts and hire deputies to teach in the others. Thus, as the chair for the professorship of law could be divisible, the professorships could be multiple.

The term *raʾīs* was applied to any scholar who had reached the summit of his field in his locality. It was used especially in the field of law; biographical notices often express it by saying that "leadership in the school of law ended up with him" (*intahat ilayhi riyāsat al-madhhab*). The terminology used in these notices is indicative of the competition that existed among the jurisconsults: *baraʿa fi 'l-fiḳh* ("he excelled in the field of law"; *la yushaḳḳu ghubāruh* ("his dust cannot be penetrated"—comparing the legal scholar to a thoroughbred so swift that other horses in the race fail to keep him in sight, the dust of his hoofs having settled by the time they get to where he was); *kāna ḳāṭiʿ al-nuẓarāʾ* ("he was the annihilator of his peers"); etc. The titulature is also indicative of this competition to gain the heights, not only in learning but also in the military and in government: *amīr al-umarāʾ* ("prince of princes"), *malik al-mulūk* ("king of kings"), *sulṭān al-salāṭīn* ("sultan of sultans"), *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* ("judge of judges"), *ʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* ("scholar of scholars"), and even of the term *raʾīs* itself, *raʾīs al-ruʾasāʾ* ("leader of leaders").

In places where the term *raʾīs* designated a post, as for instance in Naysābūr, where there was also a *nāʾib raʾīs*, a sub-leader, or deputy-leader, the post appears as one requiring, besides the qualification of leadership, that of non-partisanship, someone capable of acting as peace-maker, a moderator between opposing factions among the scholars. This, however, was not the head of a guild of masters. Such an organisation was unlikely in a system highly individualistic in character. The concept of a guild or corporation based on juristic personality was unknown to mediaeval Islam, where juristic personality belonged to the natural physical person alone.

It has often been said that teachers were organised into a guild, and the usual argument advanced for this assertion is an anecdote cited in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 246 ff., according to which al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [q.v.]) had to have the permission of *naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ* in order to teach *ḥadīths* in Baghdād's Mosque of al-Manṣūr. The function of the *naḳīb al-naḳabāʾ* was also confused with the term *raʾīs*, further adding to the concept of a head of a guild of masters. No one has claimed to know how the guild worked, which is no surprise, since there was none. The *naḳīb* was the marshal of the nobility, the *ashrāf*. His function was to investigate all claims to descent from the Prophet's family and to keep rolls of the legitimate descendants of the Prophet, for they were entitled to a lifetime pension. There were two *naḳībs*: one for the Sunnīs, *naḳīb al-hāshimiyyīn*; and one for the Shīʿīs, *naḳīb al-ṭālibiyyin*.

The above-mentioned anecdote has to do with the *naḳīb al-hāshimiyyīn*. The Mosque of al-Manṣūr was located in the quarter of Bāb al-Baṣra, on the west side of the city, the stronghold of the constituency of the *naḳīb*. This constituency was made up of traditionalist *ashrāf* and an overwhelming majority of Ḥanbalīs. Al-Baghdādī had been a Ḥanbalī, had changed over to the Shāfiʿī school of law, but was suspected of Ashʿarism, to which the Ḥanbalīs were highly hostile. Al-Bāghdādī asked the caliph's permission to lecture in the Mosque, for

it was his declared, lifelong ambition to do so, the Mosque being known as the institution with the highest reputation for the science of *ḥadīth*. The caliph, aware of the hostility of the people of the Bāb al-Baṣra to the lecturer, called on the *naḳīb*, as the Marshal of the Sharīfs of the Bāb al-Baṣra quarter, to see to it that the event would not produce a riot. The *naḳīb* agreed to do so, but reluctantly, since he felt that he did not have enough men to control the assembly if it should get out of hand. An incident did occur, bricks were thrown at the speaker, and turbans were snatched, but the *naḳīb* succeeded in limiting the damage.

Thus permission to lecture in the Great Mosque was sought from the caliph, who alone made appointments to the teaching posts, the *ḥalḳas*, of the great mosques (there were, at the time, six of these) in Baghdād. The *naḳīb* was not the head of a guild of masters, such as the *universitas magistrorum* of the Latin West; there was no such guild in mediaeval Islam.

In spite of all flexibility, a certain stability developed in the teaching staff of the mosques. This was connected with the question of pay. It was for long in dispute whether it was permitted to accept payment for giving instruction. In the collections of *ḥadīth* the practice is both supported and condemned, and it is said that the teacher may accept money, but not demand it, and avaricious teachers are strongly condemned. There are continual references to people who gave lecturers without payment (al-Bukhārī, *Idjāza, bāb* 16; Abū Dāwūd, *Buyūʿ, bāb* 36; Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 8). The custom of the older Jewish scholars of exercising a handicraft was not common among the Muslims, but was found occasionally. Among men of learning we find shoemakers, locksmiths and sandal-makers (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿí*, 227, 231, 267; cf. also Mez, *Renaissance des Islam*, 179). It was the rule, however, for the teacher to be paid for his work. This might be a wholly personal donation from a prince or other rich man: for example al-Ṭabarī was given a sum of money when he taught in the Mosque of ʿAmr (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 428; cf. the remarks above on wandering scholars). It was as a rule, however, a regular salary which was paid out of endowment, so that the position was a regular professorial chair; this was especially the case in the *madrasas*. The salaries of the teachers (*maʿlūm*, also *djawāmik*, *djāmakiyya*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.) varied considerably, according to the endowment. According to al-Maḳrīzī, learned men might have 50 *dīnārs* a month in all in addition to allowances in kind (iii, 364). On ceremonial occasions, they often were given special marks of distinction, such as gifts in money and robes of honour.

There were a very large number of teachers in the great mosques. In the *madrasa* at first only one was appointed. A *madrasa* frequently took its name from a distinguished teacher (e.g. the Ghaznawiyya in Cairo; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 235; Sharīfiyya, originally the Nāṣiriyya; *ibid.*, 193; cf. the Masdjid al-Kisāʾī in Baghdād). In the larger *madrasas*, however, several teachers were appointed; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn appointed 4 lecturers to the Ḳamḥiyya in Cairo (*ibid.*, 193); in this case a definite number (20) of students was allotted to each teacher (cf. *Chron. Mekka*, ii, 105-6).

It is easily understood that the conditions in the older mosques, where every one could come and go, were freer than in the *madrasas*, which were built for particular teachers and students. There was probably as a rule no official recognition of the teachers in the earliest period. After textbooks had come into use, the certificate of qualification was the *idjāza*, and so it has remained to modern times. Anyone who had studied with a teacher could get permission from him to teach from the book, which he had copied out and studied from his dictation; the teacher wrote this permission (*idjāza*) in the book (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 253; ii, 272). A teacher could also give an *idjāza ʿāmma*, which permitted the individual concerned to teach from all his works (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 251). It was the usual thing for a travelling scholar to collect numerous *idjāzāt*; thus ʿAbd al-Laṭīf had certificates of this kind from teachers in Baghdād, Khurāsān, Egypt and Syria (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 202). There were special formulae for the *idjāza* for *tadrīs* and *futyā* (al-Ḳalḳashāndī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*ʾ, xiv, 322 ff.). Some scholars only gave occasional lectures, and others only dealt with a very limited subject; thus one was appointed to the Niẓāmiyya to lecture in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* because he had attended lectures on this from a celebrated teacher. There were however many learned men who devoted themselves mainly to teaching and taught several subjects; often they taught many hours every day (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 282, 383; vii, 176), and pious teachers even spent the night in the mosque in prayer (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿí*, 258). Sometimes a young teacher began by dictating *ḥadīth* and later received a post with a wider scope in a mosque (*ibid.*, 239).

The distinction between teacher and taught was not absolute; any one could have an *idjāza* in one subject while he was still a student in others, and even men of ripe scholarship attended the lectures of notable teachers. This led students to travel from one seat of learning to another, just as they used to travel in early days to collect *ḥadīth*s (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 7, 19, 26). All the biographies of learned men give examples of this; the old Hellenistic custom was thus continued (cf. Walden, *The universities of ancient Greece*), and royal courts still played the same part; at them learned guests received donations, which enabled them to appear as teachers in the mosques (e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 75 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, vii, 452; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 205; cf. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vi, 589). Distinguished scholars were of course much visited by lovers of learning; of one of the latter, it is said *ruḥila ilayhi* or *ilayhi kānat al-riḥla* "they used to travel to him" (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 174; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 207; cf. 141).

The blurring of the distinction between the teachers and the taught only really applied to fields were the authoritative transmission of a text was involved. This occurred especially in *ḥadīth*. In this field one remained, in a sense, a student all one's life, collecting authorisations (*idjāza*) from the transmission of one or more *ḥadīth*s. There were many instances where an accomplished scholar of *ḥadīth* would seek the authoritative transmission of a collection of *ḥadīth*s, or even of a single *ḥadīth*, from one many years younger than he but who had the *idjāza* to transmit the *ḥadīth*(s), and was, most likely, the last to receive that authority from its last holder. This situation was due to the oral character of authoritative transmission. The perennial preoccupation of the conscientious *ḥadīth* scholar was to travel in search of those rare *ḥadīth*s, whose rarity was due to the ever-decreasing number of transmitters duly authorised to transmit them. Biographical notices sometimes tell of the authorised transmitter

who had made a collection of such *ḥadīth*s and had waited until he had survived all other authorised transmitters before making them available, at which time he could exact his own price for them. This practice was, of course, condemned. There are well-known *ḥadīth*s not only encouraging the gathering and spreading of knowledge but also condemning those who would gather and conceal it.

On the other hand, the distinction between teacher and taught in the field of law was quite clear. To obtain the licence to teach law, one had to study many years under a professor of law, become proficient in the scholastic method of disputation and build up as vast a répertoire of disputed questions of law as possible, together with solutions to these questions; then one had successfully to defend one's thesis or theses against the adversary, often one's own master. This long process could take place under one master alone; but it sometimes took place under two, one for the basic four years, another for the graduate, apprentice, period. More rarely, a law student could study under as many as five professors, but the process was always the same: the defence of a thesis or theses which learned him the licence to teach and to issue legal opinions, a licence attesting to his competence in the law as a field of knowledge.

Islamic law is individualistic; this may be seen in the function of the *ḳāḍī*, the *muftī* and the *mudarris*, or professor of law, as well as in the *madrasa*, the college of law. The *ḳāḍī* was alone responsible for his legal decision; the *muftī* was alone responsible for his legal opinion, based on *idjtihād*, and individual, personal activity of research in the sources of the law. Likewise, every *madrasa* represented one *madhhab*; a double *madrasa* represented two *madhhab*s where students were kept separate; so also with the triple, and quadruple *madrasa*; and every *madhhab* was represented by one professor of law, who might have under his direction one or several *muʿīd*s and *mufīd*s. Some instances in history illustrate this unicity of the professorial chair in the college of law. In 483/1090, a few months after the appointment of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī to the Niẓāmiyya's chair of law in Baghdād, Abū Muḥammad al-Fāmī arrived with orders to occupy the chair. Both professors were made to share the chair, and taught law according to an alternating schedule, one teaching one day, the other, the next. A variation on this solution later became standard procedure in some colleges of Damascus, where the professorial chair was assigned to two, three and four professors of law, each retaining a half (*niṣf*), a third (*thulth*) or a fourth (*rubʿ*) of the post and being paid accordingly.

The teacher had his particular place in the mosque, often beside a pillar: this was his *madjlis*, which was inherited by his successors (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 135; cf. 181 below, 182; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 5; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 135; Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿī*, 239). The outward appearance of the class did not alter through the centuries. His hearers sat in a circle (*ḥalḳa*: the listeners *taḥallaḳū*; al-Maḳrīzī, IV, 49, ll. 17-50; cf. on the word, Quatremère, *Hist. sult. maml.*, i/2, 197 ff.) on the ground before the lecturer. The teacher sat on a carpet (*sadjdjāda*; cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabaʾ*, i, 254) or skin (*farwa*). This was described as a symbol of his dignity in his *waṣiyya* (al-ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf*, 134). We often find in large audiences that the teacher had a raised seat (for the older period, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 212).

It was not the custom for teachers to live in the mosque. Of course, a teacher, like any other pious individual, could stay in the mosque and even have a room there; al-Ghazālī for example lived in the mosque of the Umayyads, where Ibn Djubayr saw his room. But these were exceptions; al-ʿAzīz built a dwelling-house for the teachers in the Azhar near the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 49). The earlier *madrasa*s founded by Niẓām al-Mulk often had lodgings for the teacher, especially as the teacher sometimes made his lodging his classroom, and this is also found later. Thus in the Salāḥiyya, the head of the college had his home within the buildings (Ibn Djubayr, 48).

Of the teachers, many were also *ḳāḍī*s (as in their day were the *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, who were in a way the predecessors of the teachers). The *ḳāḍī*s frequently were able to accumulate a considerable number of offices. The chief *ḳāḍī* Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz (*ca.* 700/1300-1) had 17 offices (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/1, 137-8). The teacher could also be a *muftī* (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 136).

The professor of law was assisted by the "repetitor", *muʿīd*, as drill-master. The professor of law was also assisted by the *mufīd*, a sort of "scholar in residence" who imparted "useful information", *fāʾida*, pl. *fawāʾid*, to the students of the institution. The post of *mufīd* was also used in the field of *ḥadīth*, for the same general purpose. There were usually two *muʿīd*s for each teacher. The *muʿīd*'s duty was to read over with the students the lecture after the class and explain it to the less gifted students. The celebrated *faḳīh* al-Bulḳīnī began as a repeater with his father-in-law in the Kharrūbiyya (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 202); it was also possible to be an independent teacher in one school and a repeater in another (al-Naṣīr, d. 669/1270-1; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 189). The Ṣalāḥiyya, which ought to have had 4 teachers with 2 repeaters, was run for 30 years by 10 repeaters and no teachers (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 251; cf. also 210; al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, 154-5; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-ʿshāʾ*, v, 464, and Haneberg, *Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhammedaner*, 25; Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, 1837). As noted above, the counterpart of the *muʿīd* in law was the *mustamlī* in *ḥadīth*, whose function it was to repeat the *ḥadīth* dictated by the professor of *ḥadīth* to a class that could often run into the hundreds and thousands. In the case of such large classes, several *mustamlī*s relayed the *ḥadīth* to those who were not within earshot of the professor.

Other posts in the various institutions included the grammarian or *naḥwī*, who taught grammar and the other literary arts generally, and the various preachers. These comprised *al-khaṭīb* [*q.v.*], who preached the Friday sermon in the *djāmiʿ*; *al-wāʿiẓ* [*q.v.*], who preached the academic sermon and taught the art of the sermon; and the popular preachers called *al-ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] and *ḳāriʾ al-kursī*. Other holders of posts included *al-imām*, who led the five daily prayers in the mosques; the elementary school teacher of the *maktab* and *kuttāb*, called variously *al-muʿallim*, *al-muʾaddib* and *al-faḳih* (colloquially, in Egypt, esp., *al-fiḳī*); the monitors, *al-ʿarīf*, *kātib al-ghayba*; the copyists of manuscripts, *al-nāsikh* and *al-warrāḳ* (the latter term was also used for the bookseller; it would seem that the *warrāḳ* copied books for sale and hired the *nāsikh*, pl. *nussākh*, to copy for him); the corrector of copied manuscripts, *al-muṣaḥḥiḥ*; the collator of copied manuscripts, *al-muḳābil* or *al-muʿāriḍ*; and the servitor, *al-khādim*, a manservant who worked for a professor or a rich student while pursuing his own

studies. Most of these functions were performed by students working their way through college.

8. The scholastic community: the students.

Every one was absolutely free to join a *ḥalḳa* in the mosque in order to hear a teacher. Al-Muḳaddasī for example tells us that the learned men of al-Fārs used to sit from early morning till midday and from *ʿaṣr* to *maghrib* for the common people (*li 'l-ʿawāmm*) (*BGA*, iii, 439). But as soon as the teachers developed into a regular class of society, the students (*ṭalaba, tullāb*, sing. *ṭālib*) who were systematically training in the Muslim sciences also became a recognised section of the community. Together with the teachers, they formed the guild of the educated, *aṣḥāb al-ʿimāma* (now *ahl al-ʿimme* in Egypt). They were able to select their teachers as they pleased; the most celebrated teachers had therefore large numbers of students. Many never finished studying, for they could always find new teachers to study under up to their old age, even if they themselves also taught. The ambitious would only study under (*darasa ʿalā*) great teachers and therefore travelled about the Muslim world a great deal (cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 237). This travelling, partly as teacher and partly as student, for the sake of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* was long kept up in Islam.

When the student had completed his teacher's course, the teacher declared his knowledge mature in the particular subject and the student was able to regard himself as perfect in it (*takharradja ʿalayhi*). The relation of student to teacher is patriarchal and the student kisses his hands. This does not prevent quarrels breaking out, and in such cases the teachers might be treated very disrespectfully (cf. Sulaymān Raṣad, *Kanz al-djawhar*, 141 ff., 192 ff.).

The *madrasas* introduced an innovation into the relationship of teacher to student, when a definite number of students (as a rule, twenty) was allotted to a particular teacher. Instruction was thus organised on more systematic lines. But even then irregular students were also admitted. It is only in quite modern times that the instruction has been really properly organised.

We hear exceptionally of women students; one was a member of al-Shāfiʿī's *madjlis* (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 181, below). In the early centuries it cannot have been unusual, for it is several times mentioned in *ḥadīth*s, which reserve special days for women (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 32, 36, 50).

In the *madrasas* and some mosques, students were offered lodging and certain allowances in addition, food, bread (*djarāya*) and money.

A student living in a mosque is called *mudjāwir* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 54), a word which is also applied to Meccan pilgrims (Ibn Djubayr, 122) and to anyone living in a mosque. The students' apartments are divided into *arwiḳa*, usually according to nations, a word which is derived from the fact that they originally lived in the colonnades. Each *riwāḳ* is under a *shaykh*. Many students live in *khānaḳāh*s, other in private houses.

9. Conclusion.

The Muslim system of education in the Middle Ages was based on the *waḳf*, which, as already mentioned, gave the founder a free hand in determining the course of his foundation, as long as his stipulations were in keeping with the tenets of Islam. The historian must be circumspect about generalising for one institution on the basis of the particulars of another. The history of Muslim education must therefore be written on the basis of the deeds of *waḳf*, of which few are extant, and are in any case mostly late in date, as well as on the basis of biographical literature and the chapters on *waḳf* in the *fatwā*-works. These are the main sources to be consulted for the history of institutionalised education; that is, that education which took place in the *djāmiʿ*, the *masdjid*, the *madrasa*, the *dār al-ḥadīth*, the *dār al-Ḳurʾān*, the *ribāṭ*, the *khānḳāh*, the *zāwiya* and the various combinations of these.

For the relation between Muslim institutions of learning and those of the mediaeval Latin West, see the *Bibl.*

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(J. Pedersen - [G. Makdisi])

II. In Muslim India

The *madrasas* in Muslim India were institutions of higher learning similar to those in other parts of the Islamic world. Their principal function was to train personnel for government service, more particularly, for the administration of justice. They were either founded and subsidised by the state or established by private individuals. The education provided in them dealt mainly with religious subjects, and was offered by well-qualified teachers.

The real foundations of Muslim education in India may be traced back to the establishment of the Dihlī Sultanate in 1206 and the emergence of Dihlī as an important seat of Islamic learning. Evidence points to the existence of two major *madrasas* in Dihlī in the early years of Muslim rule. One of them was the Muʿizziyya, an institution probably founded by Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36), and named after Muḥammad Ghūrī's title Muʿizz al-Dīn. The other

madrasa, known as Nāṣiriyya, was built by Balban while he was working as chief minister to Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (644-64/1246-66), from whom the *madrasa* took its name. As the Mongols overran the heartlands of Islam, many refugee scholars from Central Asia and Persia took shelter in Dihlī, and their presence gave further momentum to educational activities in the capital. Early Muslim education found a strong champion in Fīrūz-Shāh Tughluk (752-90/1351-88) who, according to Firishta, built no less than 30 colleges in various parts of his kingdom. The sultan is also noted for having restored a large number of *madrasas* which had fallen into disrepair. Among the institutions founded by him the most outstanding was the Madrasa-yi Fīrūz-Shāhī, constructed in Dihlī in 753/1352-3. It was the biggest *madrasa* in the capital, with residential facilities for both teachers and students. It stood on the southern bank of the Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ, an enormous tank built by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī in 695/1296. It was a double-storeyed building with arched galleries on all sides and projecting windows overlooking the tank, and its façade presented an impressive mixture of Hindū and Muslim architectural elements.

Other important educational centres, besides Dihlī, included Badāʾūn [*q.v.*], a city approximately 150 miles east of the capital. Under the Sayyid dynasty (817-55/1414-51), it rose into prominence as a seat of learning with many schools and colleges. In Āgra [*q.v.*], which acquired importance during Sikandar Lodī's reign (894-923/1489-1517), the latter founded a *madrasa* famous throughout northern India. In addition, he established non-religious schools where Hindūs also could enrol themselves to learn Persian, which now replaced Hindī as the language of lower administration. This, in turn, led to the growth of a parallel school system distinct from the regular *madrasas*.

Education received encouragement in the regional kingdoms which sprang up in different parts of the country during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. Under the rule of Sultan Ibrāhīm Sharkī (804-44/1402-40), Djawnpūr [*q.v.*] acquired distinction as an intellectual centre of considerable importance having many educational institutions. Likewise, the Bahmanī kingdom of Deccan was known for its patronage of learning and learned men. Some of its kings, such as Tādj al-Dīn Fīrūz (800-25/1397-1422) and Muḥammad Shāh III Lashkarī (867-87/1463-82), were great benefactors of education. Maḥmūd Gāwān (d. 886/1481 [*q.v.*]), minister of Muḥammad Shāh, founded in 877/1472 a *madrasa* in Bīdar [*q.v.*] which acquired fame as a great institution. It was a magnificent building equipped with living quarters for students and teachers, and had an attached library containing a large number of books. Though severely damaged during Awrangzīb's campaign against Bīdjāpūr towards the later part of the 11th/17th century, its surviving remains bear sufficient witness to its superb architecture.

Under the Mughals, educational activities continued to find an important place in the policies of the government. Bābur (932-7/1526-30 [*q.v.*]), during his brief reign, founded a *madrasa* in Dihlī where, in addition to traditional subjects, special provision was made for the teaching of mathematics, astronomy and geography. He also charged the Department of Public Affairs (*Shuhrat-i ʿĀmm*) with the task of establishing schools and colleges in the kingdom. The vicissitudes of Humāyūn's (937-47, 962-3/1530-40, 1555-6) fortunes were, no doubt, responsible for the paucity of educational activities seen during his reign. But under his successor, Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605), numerous *madrasas* were founded by the state as well as by private individuals. Akbar built a big college in his new capital Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*], and, in Dihlī, his wet-nurse, Māham Anga, founded a *madrasa* in 969/1561-2, which was noted for its architecture. Akbar also laid down that the curriculum of the *madrasas* should include subjects such as ethics, mathematics, agriculture, geometry, astronomy, physics, logic, natural philosophy, theology and history. In response to Akbar's policy of religious accommodation, non-sectarian institutions increased in number, providing common education to Hindūs and Muslims alike.

During Djahāngīr's reign (1014-37/1605-1627), many *madrasas* which had ceased to function or had fallen into decay were restored and revived. The ruler issued an ordinance which required that if a wealthy person or a traveller died without an heir, his property should revert to the state and be utilised for the building and maintenance of the *madrasas*. Shāhdjahān's (1037-68/1628-57) name is associated with the imperial *madrasa* attached to the congregational mosque built by him at Dihlī in 1060/1650. Under Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1658-1707), special emphasis was placed of the diffusion of Islamic learning. The foundations of the famous seminary in Lucknow, known as Farangī Maḥall [*q.v.* in Suppl.], were laid during this time. The name actually referred to the building granted by Awrangzīb, towards the end of the 11th/17th century, to a a family of scholars who made Farangī Maḥall a leading centre of Islamic learning. Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn, author of *Dars-i Niẓāmī*, the syllabus named after him, used to teach at this place. Another well-known institution, opened in Dihlī during Awrangzīb's reign, was the Madrasa-yi Raḥīmiyya. Founded by the noted divine and father of Shāh Walī Allāh (1115-75/1703-62), Shāh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, this *madrasa* specialised in the teaching of exegesis and traditions, and was the forerunner of the modern seminary of Deoband [*q.v.*].

Little is known about the organisation and working of the *madrasas*. The emphasis on religious subjects in their curriculum seems to have remained consistent throughout their history. An attempt was made during Akbar's time to give importance to the instruction of mediaeval rational sciences such as logic, mathematics, medicine and astronomy, but it is doubtful whether this was followed by every *madrasa*. The *Dars-i Niẓāmī*, after its introduction in the mid-12th/18th century, was adopted by the *madrasas* all over the country, thus standardising the syllabus for traditional education. It included Arabic grammar and syntax, logic, philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric, jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence, scholastics and dialectics, exegesis and traditions.

The cause of traditional Muslim education received a setback in the years following the decline of the Mughal rule. It suffered further reversal with the expansion of English education and spread of Western knowledge and ideas. Nevertheless, many *madrasas* continued to flourish in later times. The oldest among these was the *madrasa* at Farangī Maḥall; another important *madrasa* was that of Deoband, a small town north of Dihlī. It was founded in 1867 by Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḳāsim Nānotawī (d. 1879) in conjunction with other *ʿulamāʾ*. The last of the traditional institutions to be mentioned is the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ of Lucknow established

in 1894. Among its founders was the reputed scholar Shiblī Nuʿmānī (1857-1914), who remained actively associated with it from 1904 to 1913. All the above *madrasas* have survived up to the present time, despite their limited financial resources and meagre enrolments.

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III. ARCHITECTURE

The *madrasa* was a response to the specific needs of the Muslim community; it was a custom-built structure tailored to serve an institution which was itself a deliberate innovation. Moreover, the *madrasa* was the creation of a self-confident, well-established civilisation near the peak of its achievement: the earliest *madrasas* recorded are those of eastern Iran in the early 4th/10th century, and evidence unearthed by modern historians working on the pre-Saldjūḳ period in eastern Iran suggests that the "prehistory" of the *madrasa* can be traced for at least one and a half centuries before the official Saldjūḳ adoption of the institution. It is, however, highly unlikely that these earlier *madrasas* were substantial public buildings. Their very number argues against it. By 416/1025-6 there were twenty *madrasas* in the modest provincial region of Khuttal [*q.v.*], and each was fully endowed with *awḳāf*. The missionary Karrāmiyya movement [*q.v.*] which was so strong in eastern Iran in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries had a strong educational and polemical bias, and both *khānaḳāhs* [*q.v.*] and *madrasas* were built in quantity by the adherents of this sect. The Ghaznavids also used *madrasas* endowed with *awḳāf* in order to establish Islam in the stubbornly pagan territory of Ghūr, possibly through the intermediary of missionaries from the Karrāmiyya.

Above all, such foundations should be seen within the context of a well-established tradition of building *madrasas* in the large cities of the eastern Iranian world. The best documented case is Nīshāpūr, where no less than 38 *madrasas* predating the great Niẓāmiyya of that city (founded *ca.* 450/1058) are recorded, though none of them survive; for further details, see above, section i, 4.

The apparently eastern Iranian origin of the *madrasa* makes that the obvious area in which to seek the architectural origins of the institution. Two major possibilities present themselves, and these are not mutually exclusive. The first, espoused by Bartold over sixty years ago, would link the *madrasa* with the Buddhist *vihāra* as attested in Central Asia and Afghānistān. This area had been saturated in Buddhism in the centuries immediately preceding the Muslim conquest and it seems not surprising that a Buddhist institution combining the functions of worship, education, communal life and burial should have flourished in the almost very area associated with the earliest *madrasas*. Bartold's prescience was confirmed by the discovery of one such site at Adzhina-Tepe just across the Oxus to the north-east of Balkh. This consisted of a monastery and stupa complex, the whole comprising two equal halves joined by a gangway and each measuring some 50 m square. Both elements use a four-*īwān* plan focused on a central courtyard. The monastery element consisted of temple structures, cells for the monks, and a large assembly hall, plus various ancillary rooms. All this was linked by corridors. In its essentials, and even more in its four-*īwān* plan, this 7th-8th century monument comes remarkably close in spirit to a *madrasa*, though the Muslim emphasis on education is somewhat more marked. Numerous other Buddhist sites have been excavated in Soviet Central Asia over the last two decades, among them Ak-Beshim, Airtam, Kalai-Kafirnigan and Kuba, while perhaps the most important Buddhist site in the Iranian world was just south of the Oxus—the Nawbahār of Balkh.

The other architectural source which has been proposed for the Iranian *madrasa* is the typical Khurāsānī house. Godard, the champion of this theory, was forced at the outset to assume an unbroken continuity of tradition between the mediaeval and the modern houses of the area. He then compared this domestic form with that of later *madrasas* and concluded that it was the private structure that had generated the public one. While the literary evidence gives ample warrant for the functions of a *madrasa* being carried out in private houses, no such houses which can be shown to have served this function have survived. Neat as Godard's theory is, it cannot be more than speculative.

The formal, as distinct from the informal, history of the *madrasa* is commonly taken to begin in 460/1067 when the great Niẓāmiyya madrasa was inaugurated in Baghdad. In short succession a whole series of state-sponsored and largely state-financed *madrasas* sprang up throughout the Saldjūḳ empire (see above, section i, 4). Two related factors deserve special emphasis here. One is the whole-hearted state support for these buildings, which is reflected in the name Niẓāmiyya which they bore. They represent, in short, a state investment of the first magnitude. The other is their carefully calculated location in the major cities of the Saldjūḳ realm. From this one may deduce that each was designed to serve as a provincial centre with a wide catchment area embracing the smaller towns and villages of the region. Such a function presupposes buildings of considerable scale and capacity.

The reasons behind this sudden spate of building activity, which significantly enough was confined to the Saldjūḳ empire, are probably to be connected with the resurgence of Sunnī orthodoxy, spearheaded by the Saldjūḳs after their entry into Baghdād in 447/1055, as a counter to the propaganda efforts of militant Ismāʿīlī Shīʿism organised by the Fāṭimids from al-Azhar (founded in 359/970) [*q.v.*] and other

centres (see above, section i, 3). In fact, the Sunnī orthodox *madrasa*-building activity soon stimulated a Twelver Shīʿī counterpart movement, for according to the *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ* the later 6th/12th century saw Shīʿī *madrasas* appear in Ray, Ḳum, Kāshān, Āba, Warāmīn, Sabzawār and elsewhere. One of the *madrasas* at Sāwa had indeed been found as early as the mid-5th/11th century. The form of these *madrasas* is as obscure as that of their Sunnī counterparts, but to judge by the later consonance between Sunnī and Shīʿī *madrasas* in the Iranian world, there was probably no formal distinction between them.

The number of *madrasas* erected within a short space of time throughout the Saldjūḳ empire at the order of Niẓām al-Mulk and by others is itself a clear indication that some kind of blueprint had been developed for this purpose. Unfortunately, none of these early Iranian *madrasas* has survived; in fact, the earliest extant Iranian building of this type is the Madrasa-yi Imāmī of 725/1325 in Iṣfahān. It is a compact structure (some 92 m × 72 m at its widest extent) employing the standard Iranian 4-*īwān* plan, but the modifications to the traditional layout are significant. The *īwāns* no longer rear above their flanking arcades; the roof-line is now unbroken. This simple change entirely reverses the traditional pattern, in which the *īwān* was the dominant feature and dwarfed the flanking arcades. Two stories of continuously niched façades, behind which the cells for student accommodation were located, form the principal accent of the elevation and engulf the central *īwān* on each side. The question is, of course, whether such massy, cliff-like façades also characterised the elevations of the first Niẓāmiyyas. The example of the Madrasa Imāmī, the known Saldjūḳ predilection for the 4-*īwān* plan, and the need to accommodate substantial numbers of students living in the building as distinct from visiting it, all combine to suggest that the first official Iranian *madrasas* were indeed fairly similar to their Ilkhānid descendant.

So far the discussion has assumed that the more important of these early *madrasas* were purpose-built structures intended solely for the students accommodated in them. Other possibilities have, however, been aired. Perhaps the most extreme is that the buildings generally accepted as the major urban mosques of the Saldjūḳ period—those of Ardistān, Qazwīn, Gulpāyagān and so on—were actually *madrasas*. This theory runs counter to common sense, for it does not account for the resultant absence of Friday mosques in these centres. More intrinsically likely is the proposition that the larger mosques contained an inbuilt *madrasa* element in the provision of a second storey around the courtyard. On occasion, the niched façades of these upper storeys could indeed lead to separate chambers, but the extremely diverse functions discharged by a Friday mosque in a large city means that a wide range of other purposes can be suggested for such rooms. Elsewhere in the Islamic world such joint foundations were labelled as such; cases of mosque-*madrasas* (see above, section i, 2) or mosque-mausolea and various other combinations abound in Mamlūk Cairo. A further argument against the *madrasa* function of the upper storeys of large urban mosques in the Iranian world is provided by the well-documented practice of adding self-contained *madrasas* to established mosques (e.g. Iṣfahān and Mashhad). There would have been little need for such new foundations if the mosques in question were already serving *inter alia* as *madrasas*. If one bears in mind the noted imprecision of the Arabic terminology of building types, and also the virtual interchangeability of these types, it will be clear that no firm conclusion as to the form of the pre-Mongol *madrasa* in Iran is warranted. Rather does the evidence suggest that the forms of the *madrasa* were scarcely less varied than those of the mosque itself. But the sad lack of standing buildings hangs like a cloud over any discussion of these early *madrasas*. Their organisation, personnel, curricula and financial arrangements can be followed up in minute detail in the literary sources; but the all-important question for the student of architecture, namely the precise material form which they took, remains obscure.

With such a plethora of literary evidence available, it is ironic that Iran should retain not one pre-Mongol *madrasa* that is universally accepted as such. Two Saldjūḳ buildings have been identified by some as *madrasas*, but others deny this. The more controversial of them is a mud-brick ruin at Khārgird [*q.v.*] whose damaged inscription specifically identifies it as a foundation of Niẓām al-Mulk. Its principal surviving feature is a broad and deep *ḳibla īwān* with at least one room of comparable depth flanking it on either side. Little sense can be made of any other part of the structure, but the dimensions of the courtyard in front of the *īwān* might well be about 22 × 28 m. In favour of the identification as a *madrasa* may be cited the very fact that Niẓām al-Mulk is cited in the inscription as the official founder, although a mere *shaykh* actually carried out the work of supervising construction. Why should this august personage, the pivot of the Saldjūḳ state, take an interest in Khārgird? The family of Niẓām al-Mulk hailed from Sabzawār, and he himself was born in Ṭūs, so there can be no question of explaining his connection with this monument by his desire to erect a public building in his native town. Khārgird was a small town of secondary importance. Moreover, this structure is, as Herzfeld noted, very small for a courtyard mosque of its period, and the row of windows high up in the *ḳibla īwān* would make much better sense in the context of the cells on the first floor of a *madrasa* than as an element of mosque architecture. These various factors suggest that the most natural interpretation of the ruins is to see them as the sole surviving trace of Niẓām al-Mulk's extensive programme of building *madrasas*, though against this it must be admitted that the presence of supplementary *miḥrābs* does suggest a mosque rather than a *madrasa*. The flanking halls have also been cited as evidence that this is a mosque, but this feature occurs consistently in Anatolian Saldjūḳ *madrasas*. To summarise, the evidence seems to incline towards interpreting the Khārgird structure as a *madrasa*, but without fresh evidence there is no clinching the matter.

The other putative *madrasa* is a shoddily-published structure found in excavations at Ray in the late 1930s. Godard himself, the source of all the information available, at first expressed himself with reserve as to its function but eventually shed such caution and treated the identification as a certainty. Nevertheless, he produced no arguments to offset his earlier qualms about the eccentric orientation of the structure and its equally atypical emphasis—by means of the differential size of the *īwāns*—on the east-west rather than the north-south axis. It must also be admitted that the 16 habitable spaces which together parcel out the ground plan do not correspond in their layout to any known *madrasa*. All this being

admitted, it would be still more accurate to say that no mediaeval house of this kind is known either; that 10 of the ground floor spaces could well have functioned as cells accommodating one or several students, to say nothing of the capacity of an upper floor; and that cases of the faulty orientation of religious buildings are legion in mediaeval Islam and that the difficulties of that kind presented by this building disappear if one assumes that the west *īwān* is intended to function as if it faced south-west, the direction of the *ḳibla*. Finally, and most significantly of all, the presence of a *miḥrāb* is not easily explained away. Unfortunately, Godard's plan does not mark it, so that to identify it as a *miḥrāb* is itself somewhat hazardous. Nevertheless, despite the fact that in its present form, on display in the Tehran Museum, it is largely a figment of the restorer's imagination, the published photograph of it *in situ* shows clearly enough the Ḳurʾānic Kūfic inscription which it bore. The presence of a *miḥrāb* with a Ḳurʾānic inscription in a private house takes somewhat more explaining than does the eccentric orientation of a *madrasa*. Even so, it may be felt that the building at Ray presents rather more problems of identification than does its counterpart at Khārgird. Whatever conclusion is reached, it is regrettable that the undoubtedly seminal role of Iran in the early development of the *madrasa* is so unjustly obscured by the lack of early surviving specimens whose claims to be *madrasas* are not disputed.

It is with some relief, therefore, that one turns to an examination of the surviving *madrasas* whose identification as such is incontrovertible. The earliest of these, the *madrasa* of Gümüshtigīn in Boṣrā, bears a disappointingly late date—530/1136—and is located in Syria, an area which has not yet entered the discussion. It is followed in brisk succession by some fourteen surviving *madrasas* in Syria all dated or datable before 700/1300, and the literary evidence confirms that these are only a fraction of what was built in this period and has since vanished—82 *madrasas* are mentioned in the detailed chronicle of mediaeval Damascus, for example, and 46 in the more summary account of mediaeval Aleppo (see above, section i, 4).

These numbers, impressive though they are, need not, however, be interpreted as confirmation of the primacy of Syria in the architectural development of the *madrasa*. Nor, *pace* Creswell, can this honour be claimed by Egypt without further ado. He lists some 29 *madrasas* in Cairo dated before 700/1300, and of these a scant four have remained. From the undoubted fact that the latter group includes the first cruciform four-rite *madrasa* to survive he has built an elaborate edifice of argument designed to establish the innovatory role of the Egyptian *madrasa*.

As will shortly be apparent, however, the area with the largest number of surviving *madrasas* datable before 1300 is Saldjūḳ Anatolia, which boasts no less than 50 examples, 9 of them datable to the 6th/12th century. Egypt and Syria together cannot match the latter tally, and indeed have only a third as many *madrasas* datable before 700/1300. Yet these buildings figure not at all in Creswell's history of this architectural type. Common sense dictates that the Anatolian *madrasas*, built in an area culturally dependent on Iran and geographically close to it by patrons who themselves sprang from Great Saldjūḳ stock would be likely to reflect the Saldjūḳ *madrasas* of Iran, whose decisive role in the formation of the genre has never seriously been questioned. Iranian influence may in any case readily be detected in the plan types, brickwork and tile decoration of much of Rūm Saldjūḳ architecture. The historical background outlined above encourages the assumption that it is precisely in these unfortunately vanished Iranian Saldjūḳ *madrasas* that the essential original lineaments of the official *madrasa* are to be sought. Hence the paramount historical importance of the Anatolian Saldjūḳ *madrasas* as the closest surviving relatives of the Iranian type. Many of their features are duplicated in contemporary Syrian *madrasas*, which may be seen as a parallel and coeval group.

Returning to the Boṣrā *madrasa*, one notes that, like most Syrian *madrasas*, it is diminutive; for all that its patron was a senior *amīr* serving the Atabegs of Damascus, its external dimensions do not exceed 20 × 17 m. On this tiny scale, there is scarcely room for a proper courtyard, and the space which would normally be designated as such is domed, a feature which was to recur a century later in some of the Saldjūḳ *madrasas* in Konya and elsewhere. Two lateral *īwāns* open off this space, while a prayer hall and a kind of narthex to the south, the latter reached by narrow entrance vestibules to east and west, fill up most of the remaining area. In this single-storey building, the only space left over is the area flanking the prayer hall, which yields two rooms per side. Since these each average less than 4 m square, the total number of students accommodated in this *madrasa* can scarcely have exceeded a dozen. Such a building will simply not fit the popular image of officially sponsored *madrasas* located strategically throughout the Saldjūḳ empire and serving, at least in part, significant political ends.

Later Syrian *madrasas* rejected many of the solutions found in the example at Boṣrā. Perhaps the most distinctive local characteristic was to be the laterally developed prayer hall entered by a triple archway and vaulted in a variety of ways (*Dār al-Ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], Damascus, between 549/1154 and 569/1174; Madrasa Khān al-Tutun, Aleppo, 564/1168-9; Madrasa of Nūr al-Dīn, Damascus, 567/1172; and Madrasa of Shādbakht, Aleppo, 589/1193 among others). Sometimes the central bay of the *muṣallā* is domed, with groin vaults covering the flanking bays (Shāfiʿī Madrasa, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, 595/1199) though tunnel vaults for these bays are commoner; but in other examples all three bays are groin-vaulted (ʿĀdiliyya Madrasa, Damascus, completed 619/1222-3) or domed (Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa, Aleppo, 616/1219-20; Djāmiʿ and Madrasa of al-Firdaws, Aleppo 633/1235-6). Recurrent features of these buildings include a *miḥrāb* which projects on the exterior of the *ḳibla* wall, a mausoleum or on occasion even two, occupying an angle of the building, a tank in the centre of the courtyard, and utilitarian accessories like wells and air-shafts. Most of these *madrasas* have one *īwān* but only one—the example at Boṣrā—has a pair of *īwāns* facing each other across an empty space. Altogether exceptional is a joint foundation: the *djāmiʿ-cum-madrasa* of al-Firdaws, Aleppo, which not only has two large *īwāns*—back-to-back but also two small but self-contained courtyard units, each with a pair of *īwāns* facing each other across the court, an intimately domestic arrangement encountered earlier in palaces and caravanserais.

The emphasis on one rather than several *īwāns* may reflect the fact that the great majority of these buildings—all but seven of the 128 *madrasas*

in Damascus and Aleppo which pre-date 700/1300 and are recorded in the literary sources—were erected to serve a single *madhhab* and therefore required only one location for teaching. But this is purely supposition, for the two-*īwān madrasa* at Boṣrā was built to serve the Ḥanafī *madhhab* alone, while the two-rite Sulṭāniyya *madrasa* at Aleppo (620/1223-4) has no *īwān*s at all. It therefore seems equally possible that any causal connection between the number of *īwān*s in a Syrian *madrasa* and the number of *madhhab*s which it served is more apparent than real. This conclusion seems all the more appropriate when it is remembered that neither Anatolian nor Iranian *madrasa*s attest any consistent connection between the number of *īwān*s in a *madrasa* and the number of *madhhab*s which it serves. Against this wider perspective the Egyptian cruciform four-rite *madrasa* is nothing short of freakish, reflecting perhaps a conciliatory religious policy on the part of the founder. Not surprisingly it remained very rare; the overwhelming majority of mediaeval *madrasa*s throughout the Islamic world were built to serve a single *madhhab*.

A cursory examination of the Syrian *madrasa*s is enough to establish that the provision of student accommodation was not a major priority. The information available on this score is unfortunately not very precise, for most of these buildings are long since disaffected and modern houses have encroached on them. But the Boṣrā *madrasa*, as noted above, suggests in the gross disproportion between public and private space that the structure was purpose-built to accommodate no more than a handful of students, and that its catchment area was probably no wider than Boṣrā itself. Nūr al-Dīn's *Dār al-Ḥadīth* in Damascus also seems to have had no more than four rooms, and although the other surviving Syrian *madrasa*s are more generously provided with student cells, not one of them approaches the larger Maghribī *madrasa*s, let alone those of Iran, for capacity. The Khān al-Tutun *madrasa* in Aleppo probably had ten cells, while the Nūr al-Dīn *madrasa* in Damascus, and the Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* in Aleppo, had 16 disposed in two stories. If so, they had the most generous housing capacity to be found in surviving contemporary Syrian *madrasa*s. The most unusual solution of all, however, as noted above, was the introduction of two minute courtyard houses, each one complete with several irregularly shaped cells, on either side of the great double *īwān* of the *djāmiʿ-cum-madrasa* of al-Firdaws, Aleppo. But even this very carefully designed building leaves inexplicably little space in the layout for student cells. One is driven to the conclusion, therefore, that the patronage directed towards the building of *madrasa*s in Syria was deliberately kept on a small scale, possibly because nearly all of them were built to serve (exclusively?) a single *madhhab*, or else, they might have been meant more as oratories for the daily use of the local population than as *madrasas tout court*, a practice recorded in Maghribī *madrasa*s.

Some or all of these factors may well have been operative in Ayyūbid Syria. But they are scarcely enough to account for the phenomenon of such large numbers of small *madrasa*s. The answer seems rather to lie in local circumstances. To begin with, the topography of these *madrasa*s is itself revealing. They are crammed into the nooks and crannies of ancient, densely populated cities, where building space was at a premium. There could be no question here of a state-inspired blueprint imposed regardless of local conditions. Sociologically, too, the picture differs from that presented by Iran, ʿIrāḳ or Anatolia. The patrons are not the sultans themselves but lesser *amīr*s, their wives or mothers, or local notables. Such people were well-to-do but not necessarily rich or with free access to public funds. Thus the buildings had, so to speak, a wider social base than their equivalents elsewhere in the Islamic world. Sometimes the endowment even specified the conditions of use: for example, that the teacher appointed was forbidden to teach anywhere else. This individual approach is reflected in the very varied layout of these *madrasa*s which show the architect grappling with a unique site. For Ayyūbid patrons, it seems, small was beautiful. Small was also functional. Since *madrasa*s were built by the score in the larger cities it would have been wasteful to give them a large capacity, just as it would have been wasteful to decorate them lavishly. What decoration there is, however, maintains a high level of quality and is set off by the consistently fine stereotomy of Syrian tradition. The stone vaulting of the time deserves particular commendation. Thus these *madrasa*s were firmly rooted in a topographical, sociological and artistic context which depended little on external influence.

Perhaps the main distinguishing feature of these Syrian *madrasa*s is the inclusion of a mausoleum (*ḳubba* [*q.v.*] or *turba*). Indeed, it is doubtful whether the connection between the *madrasa* and the mausoleum was ever closer than it was in Ayyūbid Syria. Once again, epigraphy provides a clue for this, for inscriptions in the Sulṭāniyya and Atābakiya *madrasa*s, located in Aleppo and Damascus respectively, refer to the recitation of the Ḳurʾān there. Provision was made for this recitation to be unceasing—an Islamic parallel for the Christian custom of paying for masses to be said for the souls of the dead. Burial in a *madrasa*, then, was —like burial in the neighbourhood of a saint— intended at least in part to confer *baraka* upon the dead. It was in Syria rather than in Egypt that the exaltation of the mausoleum at the expense of the *madrasa* proper can first be traced; time and again it is the mausoleum which has the favoured site of the street façade, with the *madrasa* modestly tucked away virtually out of sight. In sheer surface area, the mausoleum is apt to rival, if not exceed, the *madrasa*. Small wonder, then, that it has even been suggested that the terms *turba* ("mausoleum") and *madrasa* were interchangeable in this period. On the other hand, the notion of ensemble which underlies a modern term like "funerary *madrasa*" is belied by the epigraphic evidence, which suggests that the *turba* element and the *madrasa* element both had their own foundation inscriptions. This practice has often obscured the original intention of the founder, for it has resulted in many now free-standing *turba*s being identified as simple mausolea rather than as part of a funerary *madrasa* (e.g. Farrukh-Shāhiyya and Amdjadiyya *turba*s, Damascus). Conversely, it sometimes happens that the inscription of a *turba* may mention the *madrasa* of which the mausoleum was part, and may indeed be the only surviving evidence that such a *madrasa* ever existed (ʿIzziyya *madrasa*, Damascus).

The intimate symbiosis of *turba* and *madrasa* is epitomised by a curious joint foundation in Damascus. The Farrukh-Shāhiyya *madrasa*, with the mausoleum of ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrukh-Shāh attached, dates from 578 or 579/1182-3. A generation later, in 628/1230, another *madrasa* was built beside it and this

too was provided with a mausoleum, which housed the son of ʿIzz al-Dīn, al-Malik al-Amdjad. Father and son, then, are buried in adjacent *turbas*; the *turba* of the former is, perhaps appropriately, the larger of the two. Similar pairs of tombs survive in Damascus and later in Mamlūk *madrasas*. If the *madrasas* of Ayyūbid Syria were analysed from the purely formal point of view, with no backward glance at their eastern origins, the obvious conclusion would be that a major, if not indeed the primary, purpose of the institution was to contain a monumental mausoleum. Is it fair to assume, then, that the term *madrasa* did not have a consistent meaning throughout the mediaeval Islamic world? Certainly, Ayyūbid Syria provides evidence suggesting that the term did not connote one single type of building. Thus the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* or al-Ashrafiyya in Damascus (634/1237) is called a *madrasa* in its foundation inscription, and in its sequence of entrance vestibule, prayer hall and *turba* conforms to the standard type of contemporary *madrasa* as illustrated by the Murshidiyya *madrasa* in Damascus. Conversely, the Ḳilidjiyya, also in Damascus, is defined in its foundation inscription as an institution for teaching *ḥadīth*, but is identical in form to the Murshidiyya. As in Iran and Egypt, it was common for a private house to be converted into a *madrasa*, but more ambitious conversions are also recorded and it is these that testify yet again to the loose boundaries between mediaeval Islamic building types. Thus the Ḥalāwiyya *madrasa* in Aleppo was successively a church and a mosque before it became a *madrasa*, while the Marīdāniyya served in turn as a *madrasa*, burial ground and mosque. Thus the mere fact that a structure was founded with a given purpose in mind was no guarantee that it would continue to function as such, especially if the value of its endowment fell; it might easily shed some functions or acquire additional ones. The absence of any sign of student cells in many of these admittedly half-ruined Ayyūbid *madrasas* invites speculation that at least some of these foundations were never intended to be residential.

If the Syrian *madrasa* tradition, as it developed during the scant century of its heyday, is analysed as a whole, the sheer variety of types encountered cannot fail to make an impression. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that these differences are not casual or contingent on the local topography, but rather reflect a basic uncertainty about the ideal form such buildings should take. For a long time, Syrian architects were sidetracked by the influence exerted by the mosque. The prestige of that long-established model helps to explain why ideas derived from mosque design permeate these *madrasas*. They were after all religious buildings. The Shādbakhtiyya *madrasa* in Aleppo (589/1193) is essentially a mosque writ small, especially in its laterally developed domed *muṣallā*, and to judge by the plan alone, the teaching function of the building is plainly secondary.

Since Fāṭimid Egypt was officially Shīʿī, it was impossible for the explicitly Sunnī *madrasa* movement to establish itself there, or for that matter anywhere else in the Fāṭimid domains, before the fall of that dynasty in 565/1170. Within five years of that date, however, under the militant orthodoxy of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn there were already as many *madrasas* in Cairo, swiftly to be followed, no doubt at least partly for propaganda reasons, by examples at Mecca and Medina. However, the long start which Syria had enjoyed in building *madrasas* seems to have resulted in a more lavish provision of these buildings in that area than in Egypt, where the total recorded before 700/1300 is only 31, about a third of the comparable figure in Anatolia or in Damascus alone. These figures are enough in themselves to cast doubt on the supposed primacy of Egypt in the architectural development of the *madrasa*.

The building of *madrasas* in Cairo gathered new momentum with the coming of the Mamlūks. The largely vanished Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* (660-2/1262-3) of Sultan Baybars was a gigantic 4-*īwān* structure with a stalactite portal probably of Syrian inspiration, a theme repeated in the deep niches with *muḳarnas* hoods which articulated its façade. This building inaugurates, if indeed it was not preceded by some comparably magnificent earlier *madrasa*, the distinguished tradition of Cairene *madrasas* with splendid façades and interiors to match. Anatolia was about a generation earlier in this development, so far as surviving evidence indicates, while Syria lagged behind.

This notable degree of splendour can be explained on both political and economic grounds. Mamlūk *madrasas* in Cairo are overwhelmingly the product of royal or high official patronage, a fact consistently reflected in the names they bear and in their lavish decoration. Outward splendour would be the natural corollary of such patronage. But it would be inaccurate simply to treat these buildings as instances of conspicuous consumption, even though the lengths to which an *amīr* or sultan would go to secure a fashionable site with ample street frontage do suggest such a conclusion. Many of them were endowed far more generously than their size and therefore the scope of their activities dictated, and while these endowments (*awḳāf*) were inalienable under Islamic law, that same law permitted any surplus from an endowment to be applied to the benefit of the descendants of the original endower. The more lavish the endowment, therefore, the more such a foundation would approximate to an investment. Not surprisingly it was among the first concerns of an *amīr*, upon reaching power, to found some charitable institution, nor was there any bar to his adding piecemeal to its endowment over the years.

Perhaps the most ambitious of these multi-purpose Mamlūk foundations, and the one which seems to have set the fashion for such institutions, is the *māristān* tomb and *madrasa* of Sultan Ḳalāwūn, the whole built in a mere thirteen months (683-4/1284-5). As in the case of the Ṣāliḥiyya (639/1242), its internal arrangements are at odds with its façade, which at nearly 70 m is exceptionally long and to which in a sense the whole building is subordinated. Mausoleum and *madrasa* are sundered by a long corridor which led to the now largely-vanished hospital. It is no doubt significant that the Mausoleum, now enlarged by a functionally dispensable courtyard, occupies a far larger proportion of the combined tomb and *madrasa* portion of the ensemble than it did in the Ṣāliḥiyya. The *madrasa* itself has a generous courtyard with two *īwāns* on the longitudinal axis and cells disposed laterally. Its most notable feature is without doubt the *ḳibla īwān* which is divided into three naves and therefore explicitly associated with the traditional architecture of the mosque. Interestingly enough, Ḳalāwūn's son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, himself built a mausoleum-*cum-madrasa* cheek by jowl with his father's great foundation, and in this later ensemble (695-703/1295-1303), the mausoleum is relegated to a subsidiary role beside a substantial 4-*īwān* *madrasa*.

This latter building has the peculiar distinction of being the first known cruciform *madrasa* intended to serve all four *madhhabs*.

By common consent, the masterpiece among these Mamlūk ensembles, (150 × 68 m.), and certainly the largest of them was the mosque, *madrasa* and mausoleum of Sulṭān Ḥasan (757-64/1356-63). Its lofty portal, originally designed to have flanking minarets, and with a spacious vestibule behind it, bears the unmistakable imprint of Anatolian Saldjūḳ architecture, but most of the detailing within is typically Cairene. At first sight, the layout seems familiar enough, focussed as it is on an ample 4-*īwān* plan. But—and here again foreign influence, this time from Iran, must be taken into account—this cruciform plan is employed, exceptionally in the case of Egypt, for a mosque, while each *madhhab* has its own *madrasa* in one of the corners between the arms of the cross. The sultan's own mausoleum, a gigantic dome chamber, extends the full width of the *ḳibla īwān* and is placed (emphatically not in Iranian fashion) directly behind the *ḳibla* wall. It therefore usurps the position of the domed sanctuary in the classical Iranian mosque. The building thus epitomises the vitality and versatility of the traditional 4-*īwān* formula.

Several prestigious Mamlūk buildings in Cairo, such as the various funerary *madrasas* of Sulṭān Shaʿbān and his family, followed the lead of the Sulṭān Ḥasan ensemble. But its principal impact on later buildings was through its 4-*īwān* schema, which henceforth was to be repeatedly used for mosque architecture until the Ottoman conquest. In other words, the architecture of the *madrasa* had now come to influence that of the mosque; indeed, the unprecedented expansion of the *ḳibla īwān* into a full-scale *muṣallā* in later Mamlūk buildings (e.g. the Ḳāʾit Bay complex) can only be explained by such a process. Presumably the decisive factor was that the mosque thereby gained a large unbroken space for the *muṣallā*, which—unlike mosques with arcaded or columned *muṣallās*—allowed all the congregation to see the *imām*. This inherent advantage of the *īwān* schema had not been seized at the time that the Ḳalāwūn ensemble was built, and thus the *ḳibla īwān* there is treated like a traditional *muṣallā* and parcelled up by arcades, a device continued in the mosque-*madrasa* of Barḳūḳ (786-8/1384-6). Moreover, even as late as the funerary *madrasa* of Barḳūḳ (801-15/1399-1412), a set of domed bays forming miniature compartments take up the areas normally reserved for *īwāns*. The liturgical distinction between the *ḳibla īwān* and the subsidiary ones was expressed in architectural terms too. The former was vaulted, and thereby given the illusion of still greater spaciousness, while the scale of the latter was reduced and their ceilings were now flat.

For the *madrasa* to influence mosque design was indeed a momentous change; it signalled a new relationship between the two buildings. Earlier, the dependent status of the *madrasa* had been vividly expressed by the way it had been tacked on, very much in the manner of an afterthought, to the parent structure. Examples abound; they include the *madrasa* of 507/1113-14 beside the Great Mosque of Urfa and a trio of *madrasas*—those of the *amīrs* Ṭaybars (709/1309-10), Aḳbugha (740/1340) and Djawhar (before 844/1440)—attached to the Azhar mosque in Cairo. Henceforth, however, these two institutions could combine their functions within a single building (which was highly desirable given the chronic shortage of space in Cairo) and with minimum trespass of one upon the other. For it is noticeable that in the Sulṭān Ḥasan complex a novel solution for the *madrasa* has been devised: not only does each *madhhab* occupy a corner of the building, but certain aspects of the traditional full-scale *madrasa* are retained even on this miniature scale. The cells for students are clustered on two sides of a diminutive courtyard, except in the case of the Mālikī *madrasa* situated in the western corner, where the exigencies of the site bisected the space available. Since the Mālikī rite enjoyed relatively less popularity than the other three (though the Mālikī professor was allotted the prestigious *ḳibla īwān* in the funerary *madrasa* of al-Malik al-Nāṣir), this solution was not as unjust to that *madhhab* as might at first appear. Furthermore, the small size of the student cells meant that their numbers and dimensions could be readily adjusted to fill the space available, thereby obviating the need to encroach on the mosque proper. Presumably, however, the four *īwāns* were used for teaching purposes outside the hours of prayer; the association between *īwāns* and teaching had been rooted for a good two centuries in Syria and thence Egypt; thus the Mamlūk historian al-Maḳrīzī, in his description of the mausoleum and *madrasa* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, lists the four lecturers—one from each *madhhab*—who were first appointed to teach there, and specifies the *īwān* allotted to each one. The lack of subsidiary *miḥrābs* in the lateral *īwāns* is sufficient indication that their role as places for prayer was not paramount.

At the mosque-*madrasa* of Barḳūḳ, built a generation later (786-8/1384-6) the emphasis is reversed in favour of the *madrasa* without any fundamental change in plan. Thereafter, while true 4-*īwān* mosques or *madrasas* remained the exception rather than the rule in Egypt (e.g. the foundations of Djamāl al-Dīn of 811/1408 and Sulṭān Ināl of 860/1465), the principle that the same building could serve both functions was unassailable. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover in 7th/13th and 8th/14th century Mamlūk architecture a marked propensity to use *īwāns*, though the combinations varies widely—one, two or three *īwāns* may be used in conjunction with courtyards, halls, mausolea or sets of smaller chambers; acute shortage of space was no doubt a contributory factor in these developments.

The diminutive scale of many Circassian Mamlūk foundations necessarily excluded ample accommodation for students, but to make up for the difficulties inherent in lateral expansion many of these foundations extended upwards instead, comprising two or even—in the case of the 4-*īwān* funerary *madrasa* of Amīr Surghatmish (757/1356)—three stories which, in the latter example, all contain cells for students. The case of the tiny but elegant *madrasa* of the Amīr Mithḳāl, datable to the period between 762/1361 and 776/1374, and measuring a mere 20 m per side, shows that the practice of allocating separate stories to the functions of worship and to those of teaching and/or accommodation had already established itself in pre-Circassian times. Relieved of the requirement to fit student cells into the ground floor of a cramped, awkward site, the architect could create an ordered and even ample layout by expanding the 4-*īwān* plan to take up virtually all the available space, with special emphasis on a laterally placed *muṣallā* which stretches the full width of the building. Without a comparably bold solution such a building would be undesirably cloistered, indeed claustrophobic. An airshaft

(*malkaf*) is another means of countering the unduly inward-looking quality of such buildings. In the Mithkāliyya, store-rooms take up what little area remains on the ground floor, while the two upper floors are reserved for living and lecture rooms and a library. The mezzanine floor is not continuous but is confined to the lateral *īwān*s which have wooden ceilings at their springing and above this are closed by *mashrabiyya* grilles giving into the rooms behind. Thus was created the so-called "hanging *madrasa*", a natural development from earlier "hanging" or "suspended" mosques in the same city. The funerary *madrasa* of Zayn al-Dīn (697/1298) may have been a forerunner of this type. Like many other Mamlūk *madrasas*, the Mithkāliyya was sited close to the private quarters of its patron—indeed, as at Nīshāpūr centuries earlier, a private house (*kāʿa*) was frequently turned into a *madrasa* after its owner's death and named after him (e.g. the still-surviving *Madrasa al-Ghannāmiyya* in Cairo, dated 774/1372-3, and this case can be supplemented by a dozen literary references). In both types of building, the two-*īwān* plan is normal though not mandatory. The interdependence of private house and *madrasa* is highlighted by the absence of staircases between ground and first floor in the original composition. It seems, therefore, that the *madrasa* proper can only have been reached via such private quarters as adjoined it, presumably those of the *amīr* himself. The *madrasa* in turn would have provided access for buildings behind it.

Among the surviving *madrasas* in Cairo one type is clearly predominant—the funerary *madrasa*. So traditional was this kind of building in Cairo that (to judge by surviving structures) it was the *madrasa tout court* that remained exceptional. In the earlier funerary *madrasas*, the mausoleum occupied such a significant portion of the ensemble that it is appropriate to describe such structures as joint foundations. Five such monuments survive dated between 697/1298 and 715/1315 alone, and they were only gradually superseded by foundations of still wider scope. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the *madrasa* was a convenient means of justifying the mausoleum —for the latter building type of course flouted Islamic orthodoxy. An early example of this process is the vanished *madrasa* built in conjunction with a magnificent mausoleum near the grave of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) in 572-5/1176-80. This ensemble conferred an implied legal recognition on the cult of mausolea; after all, if a funerary *madrasa* could be erected in honour of the founder of one of the four major *madhhabs*, the practice could henceforth safely be regarded as unimpeachable. Nevertheless, the mausoleum continued to provide the true *raison d'être* of such monuments, and visually it almost invariably usurps pride of place. This is particularly evident when the ensemble includes two mausolea instead of one (funerary *madrasa* of Sālār and Sandjar al-Djāwulī, 703/1303-4), although later in the century such double mausolea appropriately enough take second place to the *madrasa* itself (*madrasa* of Khwānd al-Baraka, also known as that of Shaʿbān, 770/1368-9). The inclusion of minarets, which by this time were too common in the city for fresh ones to be anything but redundant, may also have been designed to ward off pious disapproval. Even so, it was the minaret and the mausoleum, not the *madrasa* itself, which gave these buildings their distinctive stamp externally. Perhaps the competition of these already well-established building types was one of the factors which prevented the *madrasa* from developing its own instantly recognisable form. A modest edifice in the name of al-Malik al-Djakandār (719/1319), described as a *masdjid* in its inscription, even though the now demolished rooms on the roof, the striking resemblance to the slightly later Mithkāliyya and the historical evidence all point to its being a *madrasa*, epitomises the simplicity and austerity of the *madrasa* once shorn of such parasitic structures. It is the first Cairena *madrasa* to have the *ṣaḥn* roofed in the Anatolian manner. This feature continues in later *madrasas* and results in the courtyard shrinking to the level of a large room (*madrasa* of Ḳāʾit Bay, 880/1475).

These remarks should not be construed to suggest that Cairene *madrasas* served exclusively educational, religious or funerary proposes. A casual reminiscence set down by al-Maḳrīzī indicated that the *madrasa*-mausoleum of the Amīr Ḳarasunḳur was used as a hostel by couriers of the *barīd* service preparing for their return journey to Syria and elsewhere. The same source mentions a *ribāṭ* for women attached to the *madrasa* and mausoleum of the Amīr Sunḳur Saʿdī (715/1315). But above all, the *madrasa* provided a focus both for the relentless emulation of the Mamlūk *amīrs* in architectural projects and for their desire to make financial provision for their descendants.

Just as the *madrasas* of Syria in the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries yield valuable data not available from Egypt as monuments, so reciprocally do Mamlūk Egyptian *madrasas* fill the information gap in Syria. The sudden decline in *madrasa* building in Syria after 648/1250 can safely be associated with the fall of the Ayyūbid dynasty, whose power was centred there.

This decline is not reflected solely in *madrasas*; it is a widespread characteristic of later mediaeval architecture in Syria, and is only to be expected given the henceforth provincial status of the area. After the death of Baybars, whose own early career adequately explains his interest in Syria, it was very rare for a Mamlūk sultan to undertake an important building project in the province. Jerusalem, on the other hand, by virtue of its exalted status in the Islamic world, continued to benefit from the architectural patronage of the Mamlūk sultans right up to the death of Ḳāʾit Bay.

Syrian *madrasas* of the Mamlūk period, then, are significantly below the level of contemporary work in Cairo. Moreover, they were built in significantly smaller numbers than under the Ayyūbids, for under the Mamlūks the emphasis of patronage shifted to mausolea and funerary mosques. Even so, it is well-nigh impossible to draw a clear line of demarcation between either of these categories and the *madrasa*; there is no significant difference in layout between the tomb of Shaykh Nakhlawī (730/1330), the funerary mosque of Sīdī Shuʿayb (*ca.* 800/*ca.* 1400) and the funerary *madrasa* of Shaykh Ḥasan Rāʿī al-Himma, all in the same city (863/1459). Single-tomb structures combined with a much larger laterally developed *muṣallā*, sometimes with a vestibule, continued to be built, and these could equally well bear the name mosque (Turuziyya, Damascus, 825/1423) or *madrasa* (Djaḳmaḳiyya, Damascus, rebuilt and enlarged 822/1419). Thus in Mamlūk as in Ayyūbid times, the term *madrasa* did not connote exclusively one kind of building or one particular function. Other continuities may readily be noted. The Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* in Damascus, for example, dated 767/1277-8 and containing the

mausoleum of Baybars, is essentially still in the Ayyūbid architectural tradition. Its steep narrow portal, focussed on a *muḳarnas* vault ending in a scallop-shaped niche, does however find its natural parallels in other Baḥrī Mamlūk buildings in Cairo. Some *madrasas*, such as the Turūntā'iyya in Aleppo (794/1392) had two such portals, neither in any way integrated with the principal features of the building. This *madrasa*, incidentally, combines in a new way many of the standard features of earlier Syrian *madrasas*: around its spacious central courtyard are disposed a *muṣallā* extending the entire width of the *ḳibla* side, arched colonnades with rooms above on the two long sides and a huge *īwān*, presumably for teaching, occupying all the north side. The role of mosque played by many Mamlūk *madrasas* in Syria is advertised by the addition of a minaret (Madrasa Saffāḥiyya built by the *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-Saffāḥ in 869/1464 and Madrasa Anṣāriyya, both in Aleppo).

Attention so far has been focussed on the Mamlūk *madrasas* of Damascus and Aleppo, and the evidence cited makes it clear enough that these buildings fall substantially below the standards set by contemporary Cairene *madrasas*. Another local school flourished in Tripoli (*madrasas* of al-ʿAdjamiyya (766/1365) and al-Khātūniyya (774/1373-4), but this too could not rival Cairo. As noted above, it is in Jerusalem that most of the best provincial Mamlūk architecture is to be found, and this is as true of *madrasas* as of any other building type. Particularly worthy of note is the sparse but exquisite applied and architectonic decoration of these buildings, including stellar vaulting (Madrasa al-Dawādāriyya, *ca.* 697/1297), niches with radial or *muḳarnas* vaulting (Khātūniyya, 784/1383 and Salamiyya, *ca.* 700/*ca.* 1300 respectively) and entrance recesses with trefoil heads (Tashtīmūriyya, *ca.* 785/*ca.* 1384; Muẓhiriyya, 885/1480-1). These and other Jerusalem *madrasas* (e.g. the Djawhariyya, 844/1440 and even the early Ottoman Risāsiyya, 947/1540) concentrate attention upon the entrance. This feature is easily explained. Streets were very narrow and the buildings bordering them constituted a succession of cliff-like façades. No one building, however, had a street frontage of any substantial length. Thus the custom developed of leaving most of the façade plain and confining applied and architectonic ornament to the entrance and perhaps the windows. The doorway itself tended to be much smaller than the slender, lofty entrance recess into which it was set, and was normally crowned by a *muḳarnas* composition enclosing the inevitable epigraphic panel trumpeting the name and titles of the founder.

The self-same shortage of space which had conditioned the characteristic local exterior façade ensured that in residential *madrasas* the cells were disposed on two or even three stories. There is even a case of a *madrasa* being extended over the roof of an adjoining *ribāṭ* (Djawhariyya *madrasa*, 844/1440). In such cramped conditions it is not surprising to find that the 4-*īwān* plan used on more spacious sites in contemporary Cairo is apt to be reduced, for example by the suppression of lateral *īwāns* as in the Muẓhiriyya *madrasa*. Here the portal gives on to a vestibule which leads into an *īwān* facing a courtyard, probably once covered, with a *ḳibla īwān* opposite.

There can be little question that the most important of these Mamlūk *madrasas* built outside Cairo is the Ashrafiyya erected in Jerusalem by Ḳā'it Bāy in 887/1482. This was the third extension and rebuilding of the monument, which was already a major institution staffed by an indefinite number of shaykhs, *fuḳahā'* and 60 Ṣūfīs, all salaried. Several reasons combine to lend it special distinction. To begin with, it attests the patronage of the sultan himself, a rare occurrence—as already noted—in provincial Mamlūk *madrasas*. Secondly, its location in a favoured site along the inner façade of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf would confer *baraka* on it to an unusual degree. Earlier in the Mamlūk period, several *madrasas* had been erected along the Ḥaram, but the visual impact of the Ashrafiyya is much greater. Ḳā'it Bay's patronage must however be assessed against a wider context than the purely local ambience of the Ḥaram, or indeed of Jerusalem itself. A short time previously, he had erected *madrasas* within the precinct of the Ḥaram in Mecca (882-4/1477-9) and the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina. Like his foundation in Jerusalem, these buildings are so designed that their windows look out upon the sacred enclosures in each case. Thus the Ashrafiyya falls into place as one component in a religio-political master plan expressing imperial Mamlūk involvement in the holy places of Islam. The foundations of al-Walīd I nearly eight centuries before provide an obvious parallel. Finally, the Ashrafiyya possesses intrinsic distinction on account of its architecture alone. Seen as a whole, the inner façade of the Ḥaram emphasises the motif of arcading above all others. The architect of the Ashrafiyya was therefore constrained to reject the model presented by earlier Mamlūk *madrasas* in the city, with their emphasis on high blank façades and block-like design. An open-arcaded façade had no functional justification in a *madrasa*. But this device did permit the Ashrafiyya to blend fairly naturally with its surroundings; not content with the prime site which the *madrasa* already occupied, as close as practicable to the Dome of the Rock, Ḳā'it Bāy took the major step of sanctioning the extension of the *madrasa* façade, which until then had remained flush with the open arcade fronting the inner side of the Ḥaram enclosure, so that it projected well beyond the arcade. It was a brutally simple way of drawing attention to his new foundation. Earlier *madrasas* bordering the Ḥaram enclosure and indeed forming with the Ashrafiyya a continuous band of monuments, such as the Tankiziyya (729/1328), the Baladiyya (782/1380) and the ʿUthmāniyya (840/1437), had by contrast all respected the extant portico. The Ashrafiyya was regarded in its time as one of the three jewels of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, with the Dome of the Rock and the Aḳṣā mosque, a distinction expressed in symbolic fashion in 882/1477 when, like these other two buildings, it was specially illuminated to celebrate the visit of a Mamlūk *amīr* to Jerusalem. Nor is this all. A detailed analysis of the building shows that its silhouette was very carefully designed to make an impact from a few selected viewpoints; it would be interesting to look for comparable evidence of sensitivity to the urban skyline on the part of Islamic architects elsewhere. The immediate source for this unwonted emphasis on the skyline, as for the presence of a minaret which is exceptional in the Syrian context, is likely to be Cairo. Cairo, too, as will be shown below, provides the fullest context for the recast, not to say deformed, cruciform *īwān* schema encountered at the Ashrafiyya.

The ensemble takes an unusual form which is due only in part to the exigencies of the site. At ground floor level it comprises three elements. The most important of these is a large assembly hall (*madjmaʿ*)

whose capacity and spatial extent are much reduced by the architect's decision to retain in his remodelling (the original piers of) the arcade enclosing the Ḥaram. Here congregated the judges, *fuḳahā*ʾ and other notables connected with the *madrasa*. Behind the hall is a series of three adjoining square or rectangular rooms whose western walls abut the Baladiyya *madrasa*; they neatly subdivide an awkward lateral corridor of space. The third component of the ground floor layout is the entrance complex, which comprises a vaulted porch open on all four sides and leading to the entrance itself flanked by stone benches (*maṣṭabas*), which opens into a tripartite vestibule within. The first floor is ingeniously and tightly planned to serve as a self-contained *madrasa*. As such it immediately recalls, for example, the Djawhariyya *madrasa* in Jerusalem itself, which like the Ashrafiyya is intimately dovetailed with a pre-existing structure, or the Mithḳāliyya *madrasa* in Cairo. The first-floor unit divides naturally into two areas, one north of the minaret above the staircase and the other west of it. The latter area consists of an L-shaped open-air terrace (*sāḥa*) with twenty rooms, disposed roughly as uneven pairs, to the south and five identical rooms plus a washroom (*mutawaḍḍa*ʾ) to the west. Even if the larger rooms are excluded and only symmetrically repetitive chambers are identified as student cells, the number of resident students which were catered for here can scarcely have been less than twenty. Its sister foundation in Mecca had (according to one account) forty students attended by four lecturers (*mudarrisūn*) plus a jurisconsult (*faḳīh*), Ḳurʾān reciters (*ḳurrā*ʾ) and, somewhat surprisingly, muezzins. The area north of the minaret comprises another open-air terrace to the west, lavatories with a reservoir, and a remarkably compact cruciform *madrasa* adjoining the terrace to the east and thus placed directly above the *madjma*ʿ, comprising a rectangular hall some 22.7 × 12.1 m. in area. The east *īwān* of this takes pride of place among the others since it is the one which looks out on to the Ḥaram. It has in effect been transformed into an open loggia offering spectacular views over the Ḥaram. This architectural form, known as *maḳʿad* or *ṭārima*, has a wide distribution in domestic architecture throughout the Near East, and may parenthetically be compared with similar forms in contemporary Renaissance architecture; it underlines yet again the deep roots of the *madrasa* in domestic prototypes. But this development, for all its domestic flavour, also had religious implications, for the view from this loggia was over one of the holiest sites in the Islamic world. A note of luxury is struck by a huge stained glass window and is echoed throughout the complex—in the two-tone (*ablaḳ*) masonry, the polychrome marble flooring of the *īwāns* and inner courtyard (a practice frequently encountered in late Mamlūk Cairene *madrasas*), the veneered wooden ceilings of the *īwāns*, the lead sheeting of the roof and in its carpets and lamps, whose beauty, in the words of a contemporary historian, was "unequalled elsewhere". In short, there is ample evidence that the Ashrafiyya was a metropolitan import into the local architecture of Jerusalem.

In the earlier part of this section the discussion focussed on literary references to the earliest *madrasas*. This emphasis was dictated by the lack of surviving structures. It is unlikely that future excavations will substantially illuminate this crucial early period. After all, the written sources indicate clearly enough that the early, pre-Saldjūḳ, *madrasas*, in keeping with their private and non-official character, were of a domestic nature. Frequently a house became a *madrasa* without, it seems, any structural alteration, or served impartially as house and *madrasa* by turns. It follows that excavated ground plans will not be enough in themselves to prove that a given pre-Saldjūḳ structure functioned as a *madrasa*. Even in the Saldjūḳ period itself, the two Iranian buildings identified by some as *madrasas* (the ruined structures at Khargird and Ray) have aroused a controversy still not laid to rest. In this situation it seems sensible to accept that the architectural history of the *madrasa* before 530/1136 (the date of the example at Boṣrā) is irretrievably lost, no matter how rich the documentation of its character as an institution may be.

Such a conclusion inevitably confers particular evidential value on the earliest considerable group of *madrasas* to survive, namely the examples in Saldjūḳ Anatolia, where 50 surviving examples permit a more searching and reliable analysis of trends than do 15 Syrian ones. These Anatolian buildings have been quite unjustifiably neglected in the history of the genre; Creswell's obsession with absolute chronology and his bias towards material from Syria, Palestine and Egypt led him to over-estimate the role of this area in the development of the *madrasa*, and his views have dominated subsequent discussion. However, the Anatolian *madrasas* are the best available guide to the nature of the building in Saldjūḳ Iran; thanks to the work of Kuran and Sozēn, they are much better known as a group than any others in the Islamic world. Some 80 of them datable before 905/1500 survive, and this figure can be supplemented by a further 58 vanished buildings of the same period recorded in the literary sources. In both categories, incidentally, the numerous Ottoman buildings, which form a separate study, are excluded; the grand total of Anatolian *madrasas* surviving or recorded in this period is probably about 200. The preponderance of surviving over vanished buildings is highly unusual in the mediaeval Islamic world and is unlikely to reflect the true state of affairs. But the two sets of figures do complement each other significantly. They confirm what may be deduced from other sources—that building activity was most concentrated in the 7th/13th century, that is, under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm. Forty-one surviving and 27 vanished *madrasas*, that is almost half of the entire recorded output of Anatolia in the period 1100-1500, date from this century. The comparable figures for the 8th/14th century, are 22 and 15, comprising about a quarter of the output of the period as a whole. The Ḳaramānids [*q.v.*] were the principal patrons responsible for new *madrasas* in this period. In the 9th/15th century the rate of construction declined still more sharply by a further 70%. Even the 6th/12th century saw more construction than this, with nine surviving buildings and a further six so far recorded in the literary sources; but of course the decline of Beylik *madrasas* in the 9th/15th century directly mirrors the growth of Ottoman power. Indeed, the earliest Ottoman *madrasa* to survive, that of Sulaymān Pasha at Iznik, predates 759/1358 and was itself preceded by a now vanished *madrasa* at Bursa. With the 9th/15th century, Ottoman *madrasas* began to be erected over much of Anatolia.

The turbulent political history of 6th/12th century Anatolia is perhaps sufficient explanation for the

slow spread of the *madrasa* in this area and period. But with the consolidation of Rûm Saldjūk power, the movement gathered such momentum that it long outlasted the disintegration of the Saldjūk state. Clearly, it had deep roots in the society which it served.

Not surprisingly, therefore, and in contrast to the situation in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and for that matter in the Maghrib, these mediaeval Anatolian *madrasas* were not confined to a few large cities. The surviving examples alone are distributed among 39 cities, towns and villages throughout the length and breadth of the land, while the literary sources add a further dozen localities. In the fullest sense, therefore, this was a popular movement. Naturally this did not exclude a concentration of *madrasas* in a few key centres. Konya, as the Saldjūk capital, obviously took pride of place, though only seven of its 24 *madrasas* have survived. Next comes Mardin, the Artuķid capital, where surprisingly enough 11 of the recorded 13 *madrasas* remain; similarly, Kayseri retains 9 of its 11 recorded *madrasas*. These are without doubt the three major centres of the time. However, quite a number of towns had between four and six *madrasas* erected in this period—Sivas, Sivrihisar, Akşehir, Tire, Aksaray, Erzurum, Diyarbakir and Karaman. Thus there is ample evidence to indicate that the intensive building activity of a few centres was complemented by provision in depth at a good many more. Finally, seven sites are recorded with two or three *madrasas* apiece. Such a remarkably even spread of facilities throughout the land may best be explained by the interaction of two complementary trends: a centralised building programme and—though probably to a lesser degree—a popular fashion for the *madrasa* as an institution, or at any rate as a suitable object of modest architectural patronage.

It is in fact these Anatolian buildings which provide the best evidence of the multi-functional nature of the mediaeval *madrasa*. In so doing, they are a reminder that the form of these buildings is not an infallible guide to their function. Many a building now conventionally termed *madrasa/medrese* (and subsumed in the present discussion) was actually intended to serve as a medical school, a mental hospital, an *ʿimāret* or an observatory, and it frequently allotted substantial space to a mausoleum. The two former functions may be combined in the sense that each is discharged in separate but adjoining premises, as in the Čifte Mināre *madrasa* at Kayseri or the Kaykâwūsiyya at Sivas, though the mental hospital (*bimārkhāne*) of Melike Yıldız Khātūn at Amasya is a single self-contained foundation. Nothing in its layout would exclude its identification as a *madrasa*. In the case of long-disaffected, anepigraphic buildings, therefore, a *madrasa*-type layout should not automatically be taken to signify that the building really was a *madrasa*.

The rich quantity of Anatolian material available prompts a variety of conclusions. The most important of these is perhaps that no single type of arrangement was dominant. This in turn invites speculation that the evolution of the genre was by no means complete. In some *madrasas* (Tokat, Karahisar), a whole cluster of rooms of varying shapes and sizes mirror the uncertainties of the architect. In many of these buildings, too, the notional purpose of a *madrasa* —to house students seeking a theological education as a first step to joining the *ʿulamāʾ*—obviously comes a poor last to such other functions as providing a place of prayer, an elaborate façade, a mausoleum (or even two, as at the Boyalıköy *madrasa*), a minaret, a bath, a fountain or halls for public gatherings. Not surprisingly, the cells are usually tiny, a scant three paces per side. But it is their paucity that is most striking. Even the most splendid of all domed Anatolian Saldjūk *madrasas*, that built in Konya in 611/1215 by the vizier Djalāl al-Dīn Ķaratay and bearing his name, has no more than a dozen cells. The most capacious *madrasa* of the period, on the other hand—the Čifte Mināre in Erzurum, which at 35 × 48 m is the largest Anatolian *madrasa* of the period—still has a mere 19 cells on each of its two stories and therefore lags far behind the larger *madrasas* of the Maghrib or ʿIrāķ. In the 8th/14th century, the capacity of the average Anatolian *madrasa* declined still further. Saldjūķ Anatolia shows just as clearly as do Syria, Egypt or Iran the growth of the multi-purpose foundation, and several Anatolian *madrasas* were built in conjunction with structures serving another purpose altogether. Thus the *madrasa* at Čay bears the same date (677/1278) as the caravansarai which adjoins it. Presumably as in the case of similar though later joint foundations (those of Amīr Mirdjān in Baghdād, 756-9/1356-9 and Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn in Iṣfahān, 1105-35/1694-1722), the revenues of the commercial establishment were intended to finance the running costs of the *madrasa*. It was common enough, too, for a *madrasa* to adjoin a mosque (Zindjiriyya *madrasa*, Diyarbakir, 595/1198; Ḥādjdjī Ķīlīč *madrasa*, Kayseri, 647/1249-50). This fact is not necessarily mirrored in the plan of the *madrasa*, however, for the Khwānd Khātūn *madrasa*, Kayseri (635/1237-8) provides the usual facilities for prayer even though there is a mosque right next door. Perhaps the most diverse group of buildings erected by a single Anatolian patron in one building campaign is the complex of Ibrāhīm Beg at Ķaramān (836/1433) comprising mosque, *ʿimāret*, *dār al-ķurrāʾ*, *madrasa*, *tābkhāne* and mausoleum, though the complex of Ismāʿīl Beg at Kastamonu (*ca.* 880/1475) runs it close comprising as it does a *madrasa*, mosque, tomb, *ʿimāret*, caravansarai and bath. Such buildings make most sense in an Ottoman context.

Any attempt to characterise the mediaeval Anatolian *madrasa* must therefore reckon with this very varied background, but encompassing and overriding all these no doubt individually significant variants are two broad categories into which the entire body of mediaeval Anatolian *madrasas* may be fitted. These are the open type, with a courtyard; and the closed type with a domed area replacing that courtyard. Of the 53 surviving *madrasas* in good repair, 38 are of the open type and 15 are domed. The 28 ruined *madrasas* are deliberately excluded from these calculations because most of them are too fragmentary to be placed with confidence in either category. Even so, here too the predominance of the open plan is unmistakable, for of the ruined *madrasas* whose original layout can indeed be established, eight are open and only two are closed. That the open plan should dominate is only to be expected, given the popularity of this form in non-Anatolian *madrasas* and the fashion for courtyard houses in the mediaeval Iranian world which produced the earliest *madrasas*. The closed, domed *madrasa*—which may have anything from one to four *iwāns*, very occasionally has two stories (Ķaramān, *madrasa* of Ibrāhīm Bey), and may or may not have a portico around the central space—is not so easily explained. Its *raison d'être*, incidentally

a more rewarding subject than its architecture, therefore deserves separate consideration.

The most convenient explanations—that the form is dictated by function or by climate—will obviously not do. After all it is the domed, not the open, *madrasa* that is exceptional in Anatolia. Nor can regional preferences be invoked, for the type occurs with tolerable consistency throughout the country. An important factor in its genesis may well have been that interchangeability of building types so typical of mediaeval Islamic architecture. The association of the *madrasa* with burial and worship would make it natural for the forms of mausoleum and mosque to be integrated into the structure of the *madrasa* —as indeed happens—and eventually to exert influence upon its form. Moreover, it can scarcely be coincidence that it is precisely the *madrasa*s of smaller surface area which attest the domed type. If very few students were to be accommodated in the building, the need for a substantial courtyard would diminish. In such a situation, the building would gain extra dignity and monumentality by the placing of a dome over the central space, while the memory of the courtyard would be retained by means of a skylight and/or a fountain. This ablutions fountain or *s̲h̲ādirwān* readily brings to mind the *impluvium* of the *atrium* in a Roman house, and thus underlines yet again the domestic origins of the *madrasa*. The integrating power of a central dome may also have been a relevant factor in the growing popularity of the domed *madrasa*. Two further considerations, which are perhaps only at first sight mutually exclusive, may be borne in mind. First, the compact *madrasa* with large central dome and smaller domed or vaulted areas surrounding it cannot fail to recall the standard type of mid-Byzantine church which was widespread in Anatolia at the time of the Turkish conquest. Nor is this resemblance simply a matter of external silhouette; the rear *īwān* flanked by dome chambers in the domical *madrasa*s of Konya brings to mind a Byzantine church apse flanked by *diaconicon* and *prothesis*. Secondly, when these domed *madrasa*s are seen not simply in their contemporary context but against the later background of Ottoman architecture, especially mosques, their emphasis on an integrated multi-domed and -vaulted space may be recognised as prophetic. Indeed, some of these domed *madrasa*s, such as the Inče Mīnāreli *madrasa* in Konya or the Ṭās̲h̲ *madrasa* in Akşehir, actually incorporate earlier mosques in their structure. This close link with mosque architecture is incidentally not to be seen in the courtyard *madrasa*, which in Anatolia at least developed quite separately; but whatever the origins of the idea, its development was formidably consistent right up to the Ottoman culmination.

Anatolian courtyard *madrasa*s, like those of domed type, do not readily fall into formal sub-categories, although attempts have been made to analyse the buildings on the basis.

Certain generalisations about these buildings may be made. It is clear, for example, that the typical rectangular *madrasa* kept the façade short in relation to the sides. This had the advantage of concentrating student cells on the long sides and separating them physically from the rooms serving other functions. Most cells had a fireplace and a cupboard, but sanitary facilities were communal and there was usually no provision for meals to be cooked on the premises. Equally characteristic is a tripartite division of the building parallel with the major, that is the longitudinal, axis, as in contemporary caravansarais. At the far end of that axis, marking the *ḳibla* and continuing the major chord first sounded by the portal, is a wide *īwān* or dome chamber serving as the mosque and frequently flanked by a subsidiary vaulted or domed room on either side. Evidently some honorific intent lies behind this placing, though it must be conceded that the mosque was sometimes located elsewhere in the *madrasa* (for example, next to the entrance vestibule at the Čifte Mīnāre *madrasa*, Erzurum). When the *madrasa* form was used for an observatory (Wād̲j̲idiyya *madrasa*, Kütahya, 714/1314), a small opening in each of the lateral dome chambers served for star-gazing. In a true *madrasa*, these two chambers most likely functioned as classrooms and for the library; smaller rooms flanking the entrance perhaps accommodated the professors. In 4-*īwān* plans the *ḳibla īwān* is typically the broadest and the most richly decorated of all, and it has a similar pre-eminence in two-*īwān* *madrasa*s, in which the *īwān*s, as in Iranian Sald̲j̲ūḳ building of that type, are confined to the longitudinal axis. However, the form of the *īwān* within these buildings—as distinct from their exteriors—does not follow Iranian precedent, in that its façade comprises the arch alone without a framing *pis̲h̲ṭāḳ*.

The discussion so far has by implication highlighted the originality of these Anatolian *madrasa*s, but the dearth of contemporary comparative material from elsewhere forbids any very positive statement on this score. Even so, one may set against the occasional echo of Syrian *madrasa*s or of Iranian buildings, a growing sense of confidence in forging a local style. Imported ideas are rapidly given Anatolian garb, as the fate of Persian elements shows. Minarets become stumpier and stockier than in Iran, with tiers of well-articulated balconies; in 4-*īwān* plans, the *īwān*s are diminished and subordinated to the emphasis on continuous arcades surrounding the courtyard, and a pronounced longitudinal axis —at odds with the centralising function of the 4-*īwān* plan—makes itself felt. It should also be pointed out that the first four-rite *madrasa* to survive is in all probability not, as is often thought, the Mustanṣiriyya in Bag̲h̲dād but the Masʿūdiyya in Diyarbakir, founded in 590/1193-4. Such a detail symbolises the central importance of mediaeval Anatolia to an understanding of *madrasa* architecture.

Ottoman *madrasa*s inevitably look somewhat tame when measured against the output of the preceding centuries, but what they lost in unpredictability they amply made up for in symmetry and scale, characteristics hitherto undervalued. Long, uncluttered façades are preferred, and this change is symptomatic of the severity which was to replace the luxuriant idiom of Sald̲j̲ūḳ and Beylik architectural ornament. But it is more than a matter of stylistic preference. The typical Anatolian Sald̲j̲ūḳ and even Beylik *madrasa* was a self-contained foundation, even if its *raison d'être* was as often funerary as educational. Exceptions are not hard to find, but they are distinctly recognisable as such. With the advent of the Ottomans to supreme power, the joint foundation—typically a mosque-*cum*-*madrasa*, but frequently a still larger complex—becomes commonplace, and sometimes several *madrasa*s cluster around a mosque; such an ensemble is conceived as an architectural unity and often executed in a single building campaign.

These changes left their mark on the *madrasa*. Its function as a place of prayer was now positively subordinated to its role as an educational institution, and this change is swiftly mirrored in its architecture.

The *īwān* is demoted and by degrees removed, and in its place appears the dominant dome chamber; the Čelebi Meḥmed *madrasa*, Merzifon (817/1414), illustrates an intermediate stage of this process, with its compact, square layout focussed on a central courtyard, ideally adapted to a cruciform *īwān* plan; but the *īwān*s no longer dominate the arrangement, for behind each of them rises a powerful, foursquare domed unit.

The closer relationship between mosque and *madrasa* in this period was to have still more far-reaching results. There was less need to provide ample facilities for prayer, so the *masdjid* or *muṣallā* occupies a smaller proportion of the surface area. Innovations in mosque design are swiftly reflected in the planning of *madrasa*s—for example, in the provision of a mediating cloister, each bay domed, between courtyard and cells. Above all, the *madrasa* was now readily conceived as a mosque writ small with proportions reserved. Thus the domed *muṣallā* shrinks to a few metres square, although it is symbolically singled out by virtue of its isolation at the far end of the courtyard or even by its projection from the rest of the *madrasa*, as at the *madrasa* of Bāyazīd II at Edirne and, still earlier, the Murādiyya and Yeshil *madrasas* in Bursa. Instead, the courtyard enclosed by cells on three sides takes pride of place. The resultant U (or reversed U) shape soon became standard in the Ottoman *madrasa*

Perhaps the most important change of emphasis in Ottoman *madrasa*s vis-à-vis their predecessors lies in the hugely increased numbers of student cells. The designer had a free hand and did not have to tailor his plan to an awkward and immutable site, so that as a result, perhaps, space is used quite prodigally; the cells are now domed, and often have two windows apiece. The courtyard has not only a central pool or fountain but is also planted with trees, possibly in an attempt to minimise the sense of regimentation which the plan exudes (*madrasa* of Bāyazīd II, Istanbul). In their size, their internal logic, their simple square or rectangular silhouettes, these Ottoman *madrasa*s bear the unmistakeable imprint of imperial patronage; hence their architects had no need to grapple with the intractable sites that had put earlier architects on their mettle.

The recognition that the form of the Ottoman *madrasa*s gradually stagnated should not blind one to their visual impact. It is a truism that an instinctive feeling for space permeates the buildings of the period, and *madrasa*s are no exception. This explains why they are so often sited so that they can be viewed from all sides, and why the domed *masdjid* is set apart from the rest of the building by some device or other. It also explains why in so many *madrasa*s at least half the surface area is wasted —from the narrowly utilitarian point of view—by a vast empty courtyard, why the cells are placed only on the ground floor, and why domed cloisters lead from cells to courtyard. Clearly it was less important to cram the *madrasa* full of students than to ensure that those who lived there had room to breathe. Consequently, when an Ottoman sultan, such as Meḥemmed Fātiḥ, wished to accommodate students on the grand scale, he built no less than 16 *madrasa*s, even though the total number of rooms was only 230. This can fairly claim to be the first Turkish university. Architecturally speaking, the culmination of this trend may be seen in the Sulaymāniyya complex, whose 18 buildings are conceived as a single entity and, perched on one of the city's highest hills, command a matchless view.

The sheer size of these Ottoman *madrasa*s departs decisively from the Arab tradition. It finds its natural counterpart, however, in the later *madrasa*s of the eastern Islamic world. Their origins pose insoluble problems. In the early part of this section, the remarkable dearth of Iranian *madrasa*s datable before 751/1350 was emphasised. Their absence from the tally of surviving monuments is all the more puzzling since representatives of nearly all the other major building types have survived in abundance, and since *madrasa*s are plentiful among the standing monuments of Syria and Anatolia from the 6th/12th century onwards. This situation suggests that Iranian *madrasa*s may indeed have survived—but not under that name. It is well known that throughout the mediaeval period and throughout the Islamic world the function of teaching was frequently discharged within the mosque (see above, section I, 2). This is not to say, of course, that many of the Iranian mosques of this period were *madrasa*s; and even those which might have been centres of religious instruction could clearly never have functioned as residential *madrasa*s because their design did not include cells for that purpose. Perhaps, then, it is a mistake to assume that a *madrasa* must connote a residential as well as an educational function. Indeed, since *madrasa*s were apparently built all over the country in large numbers, the majority of them might be expected to cater for local students who would not require accommodation within the building. Only the largest and most prestigious institutions, whose reputation would attract students from far afield—like the Baghdād Niẓāmiyya or the Mustanṣiriyya—would need to make ample provision for students in residence.

The difficulty, of course, lies in identifying such "hidden" *madrasa*s. Inscriptions might provide the requisite clues; in fact, Sauvaget interpreted the Ardistān *djāmiʿ* as a *madrasa* on the strength of a Ḳurʾānic inscription in the *ḳibla īwān* mentioning the ways (*madhāhib*) of reaching God. But this is to go too fast. Rather would it be justifiable to infer from that inscription that at least the *ḳibla īwān* of this mosque may have been used for teaching purposes in the Saldjūḳ period. Such Iranian mosques as have rooms of various kinds on the first floor might be regarded as *prima facie* candidates for residential *madrasa* status, in addition to their primary role as communal places of worship; but unfortunately, published plans are virtually without exception confined to the ground floor and give no hint as to the disposition of the upper level. The lack of formality which characterised mediaeval Islamic teaching methods enabled virtually any mosque to perform the teaching and religious functions of a *madrasa*; special lecture rooms were not required. This close functional correspondence between mosque and *madrasa* clearly favoured composite foundations, or at any rate the use of one building for several distinct purposes, and such a concept was of course widespread in other categories of Islamic architecture.

Enough has been said to highlight the difficulties of matching the physical and literary evidence about the early history of the *madrasa* in the Iranian world. In this area the earliest *madrasa* identified as such by inscription is the example dated 571/1175-6 at Shāh-i Mashhad in north-western Afghānistān. Ruined as it is, it nevertheless yields much useful information. To begin with, its splendid ornament proclaims it to be a monument of the very first importance, and in size alone, the building is re-

markable for its time, measuring as it does some 44 m. per side. This far exceeds the dimensions of 6th/12th century *madrasas* further west, but it was to find many subsequent parallels in the Iranian world. Nothing on such an ambitious scale survives from the following two centuries, and the obvious question is why this exceptionally large and expensive building was erected in an area which was always remote. The minaret of D̲j̲am [see G̲H̲ŪRIDS] may provide the necessary clue. The role of that tower as a beacon of Islam in a context which until recently had been pagan goes far to explain its site, size and epigraphy; and the *madrasa* of S̲h̲āh-i Mas̲h̲had, with its fifteen inscriptions, may have been intended in similar vein to stamp an Islamic presence on a stubbornly pagan countryside.

Il-k̲h̲ānid *madrasas* are on an altogether smaller scale, but before they are considered, one building from an area hitherto neglected—ʿIrāḳ—deserves notice. Already in the late 6th/12th century, Ibn D̲j̲ubayr [*q.v.*] had recorded some thirty *madrasas* in Bag̲h̲dād alone, all of them in the eastern sector of the city. All of them, however, were eclipsed by the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa* there, widely regarded in its own time and subsequently as the exemplar of the genre and its fullest, finest expression. Its endowments (*awḳāf*), too, exceeded those of other *madrasas*. To a later age, it is the obvious symbol of the rejuvenated late ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and several factors suggest that this symbolism was deliberately intended at the time. The *madrasa* was built in Bag̲h̲dād, which for six centuries had been the spiritual and intermittently the political centre of the Islamic world. It proclaimed the essential unity of orthodox Islam. Its patron was the caliph himself, who lent his name to the building. It was the first *madrasa* specifically designed to serve each of the four major *mad̲h̲habs*, as well as containing facilities for the two fundamental ancillary disciplines taught in a *dār al-ḥadīt̲h̲* and a *dār al-Ḳurʾān*. Each *mad̲h̲hab* had its own place of worship. Thus the building explicitly claimed universal status. The long band of foundation text, inscribed in letters a foot high, that unfolds, in defiance of Islamic custom, across its exterior façade, advertises this claim for all to see. In size alone the building was unprecedented: an oblong of *ca.* 105 × 44 × 49 m. The solemn festivities of its inauguration in 630/1233 after six years of construction set the seal on its pre-eminent status among the *madrasas* of the Islamic world, whilst architecturally speaking, the monument is a triumph of technique. It is built according to a complex system of proportional relationships and modular units. Both the ground plan—a modified four-*īwān* layout—and the elevation were based on a grid of 10 and 30 Byzantine feet respectively. Thus the unit of measurement (one Byzantine foot = 31.23 cm.) used for Hagia Sophia was still employed seven centuries later in the heart of the Islamic world, an astonishing tribute to the tenacity of Hellenistic influence in Muslim science. In addition to providing accommodation on two floors for a large staff and for some 300 students, the *madrasa* included a celebrated library (as did several Sald̲j̲ūḳ *madrasas* in Marw), a kitchen, a *ḥammām* and a hospital.

The original layout of the Mustansiriyya was increasingly obscured in later centuries by numerous modifications, but the study of a closely related building has clarified most of these problems. The building in question, the so-called "ʿAbbāsid palace", is in all probability the Bis̲h̲riyya *madrasa* of 653/1255 and seems—to judge by the manifold improvements of detail which it incorporates—to be the work of the same architect as was responsible for the Mustanṣiriyya. The fragmentary state of this later building is all the more regrettable in view of the ambitious scale of what survives.

The variety of forms attested by the few surviving Il-k̲h̲ānid *madrasas* suggests that no one type predominated in this period. To judge by Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid buildings, it was the Madrasa-yi Imāmī (already discussed) and the custom-built *madrasa* added to the Friday Mosque of Iṣfahān from 768/1366-7 that best expressed the officially approved layout of such buildings, the latter being a two-*īwān* courtyard structure. The *madrasa* of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn in Yazd, otherwise known as the Zindān-i Iskandar and datable to the 8th/14th century, is of substantially lower quality than the two Iṣfahān *madrasas*; indeed, it is constructed of mud brick. Despite subsequent modifications, enough survives of the original layout to suggest that the *īwāns* on two adjoining sides of the courtyard were complemented by another pair opposite. Apart from this, there is little observable regularity in the plan; its rooms are indiscriminately oblong or square, broad or narrow, multi-recessed or with unbroken walls, and are bundled together with outright carelessness. The S̲h̲amsiyya *madrasa* of *ca.* 766/1365, also in Yazd—indeed, the literary sources record the names of about a score of 8th/14th century *madrasas* built in that city—is an incomparably more soigné variation on the same theme. Here the design is tauter and fully integrated, each half a mirror reflection of the other: the portal *īwān* announces the major axis, which continues without interruption until it terminates in the square mausoleum which adjoins the *madrasa* proper but projects well beyond it; and long lateral halls flank the portal *īwān* in a foretaste of Tīmūrid buildings at K̲h̲ārgird and Gāzur Gāh in Harāt.

The Tīmūrid period was unquestionably the golden age of the Iranian *madrasa*. K̲h̲urāsān and Transoxiana were the forcing-ground for new developments, though competently-designed *madrasas* were also built in southern Iran, and features from that area are sometimes incorporated into the monuments of the north-east, like the *bādgīr* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] at K̲h̲ārgird. The four-*īwān* type predominated and was executed on a scale consistently more spacious than had earlier been the norm anywhere in Islam. This ambitious scale often generated comparably ambitious decoration; the finer *madrasas* of the period yield nothing in the quality of their ornament to contemporary mosques, and occasionally even strike out in new directions, as in the murals with trees, streams and birds in the *madrasa* of Tūmān Āg̲h̲ā at Kihsan (844/1440-1). Such was the prestige acquired by this kind of *madrasa* that it became the model for nearly all the notable *madrasas* erected in the Iranian world in subsequent centuries; numerous *madrasas* in Ṣafawid Iṣfahān, S̲h̲aybānid Buk̲h̲ārā and even Mug̲h̲al India, illustrate this dictum.

It was in the Tīmūrid period, then, that the consonance between mosque and *madrasa* became so marked that there is little to distinguish them so far as external and internal façades are concerned. What goes on behind the façades, however, is very different in the two cases. Within the general format of the four-*īwān* plan, there was ample room for experiment in the placing of mosques, mausolea, lecture halls and residential accommodation. A side-

effect of the greatly expanded size of these foundations was that room could now be found for a wide range of ancillary units, such as libraries and *khānaḳāhs* for example, and for differentiated summer and winter chambers. Sometimes—as at Ghudjduwān, Khārgird and in the Ulugh Beg *madrasa* at Bukhārā—the complex contained a mosque, and often a lecture-hall as well. Sometimes both units were mosques (as at Turbat-i Djām) or lecture halls. In other *madrasas*, such as that of Ulugh Beg at Samarḳand, dated 820-3/1417-20, the mosque extended the full length of the *ḳibla* side opposite the portal *īwān*. By contrast, a trio of *madrasas* in the Mashhad shrine (Dū Dar, Parīzād and Bālā Sar) have the mosque situated in one of the courtyard *īwāns*—indeed, the Dū Dar *madrasa* even has a second mosque in a corner of the building. There was no general rule governing the siting of the mausoleum in these royal Tīmūrid *madrasas*, but the examples of the Gawhar Shād and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳarā *madrasas* in Harāt, and that of Fīrūzshāh at Turbat-i Djām, show that they could be the single dominant feature of the entire complex. Indeed, the fashion of the time firmly favoured the incorporation of mausolea into *madrasas*, and free-standing mausolea of high quality are exceptional. As a curiosity, the siting of a diminutive *madrasa* in the entrance complex of the Ziyāratgāh Djāmiʿ is noteworthy. In smaller *madrasas*, such as those of Mashhad, the incorporation of mosques and mausolea seriously overbalanced the ensemble and cut down the space available for student cells. But these cases are somewhat unusual, since the architects had to make do with a site which was already heavily built up and therefore had to sacrifice symmetry to expediency.

The new emphasis on scale implied almost by definition a corresponding emphasis on external façades. Minarets are used to mark the corners—e.g. the Ulugh Beg *madrasa* at Samarḳand and numerous later examples such as the Mīr-i ʿArab *madrasa* at Bukhārā, 942/1535-6; and the portal is now apt to be recessed and thus streamlined with the curtain walls of the façade rather than projecting from it. Sensitivity to the setting of the monument made it natural to group such buildings together, notably in the Rīgistān at Samarḳand (Ulugh Beg, Shīr Dar and Tilla Kari *madrasas*) or the Lab-i Ḥawḍ complex at Bukhārā.

As in Ottoman times, again, there was a tendency for these very large *madrasas*, all endowed by royal patrons or high officials of state, to cluster together in the major cities. Thus the original plan conceived by Niẓām al-Mulk, whereby *madrasas* would be built in large numbers but distributed evenly over a wide geographical area, was reversed. In Iran proper, Ḳum, Mashhad and Iṣfahān account for nearly all the significant post-Ilkhānid *madrasas*, while similar concentrations may be observed in Samarḳand, Bukhārā, Harāt and Khīwa. The latter city, with its quartet of highly traditional *madrasas* erected between 1810 and 1910 (Pahlawān Maḥmūd, Allāh Ḳulī Khān, Amīn Khān and Islām Khʷādja) shows how fossilised the Tīmūrid manner had become.

A more appropriate envoi to the *madrasa*, however, is provided by the buildings of Ṣafawid Iṣfahān. Several *madrasas* of medium size were erected there in the course of the 11th/17th century, such as the Madrasa-yi Nadda Kūčik, built in 1058/1648 by the grandmother of Shāh ʿAbbās II and with accommodation for 67 students, the Madrasa-yi Ṣadr, and those of Mullā ʿAbd Allāh (1088/1677) and Kasangarān (1104/1693). But these are only of secondary interest when set beside the two *madrasas*, which flank the great dome chamber of the Masdjid-i Shāh, let alone the great Madrasa-yi Mādar-i Shāh (1118-26/1706-14). The two *madrasas* in the Masdjid-i Shāh are longitudinally conceived, and with their miniature garden courtyards make a delightfully bijou impression; and they exploit the available space to the full for student cells. The Madrasa-yi Mādar-i Shāh, sited in an originally idyllic environment fronting the Čahār Bāgh, injects a new dynamism into the traditional four-*īwān* layout by means of a large extra dome chamber in each of the diagonals, and the cells, too, are unusual in their tripartite division: a vestibule and a terminal recess bracket the cell itself. The main prayer chamber here is not easily distinguishable from that of the Masdjid-i Shāh, and the continued intermingling of the two forms in Iran is attested by several joint foundations in Ḳādjār times.

Although dependence on Andalusia is a constant of Maghribī architecture, little trace of Spanish influence can be detected in the ground plans of the local *madrasas*. Indeed, since the *madrasa* movement was primarily an eastern Iranian one which by degrees moved westwards, it would be only logical to assume that in this particular genre of building it was atypically the Maghrib that influenced Andalusia. The only surviving physical evidence of the Andalusian *madrasa* confirms this supposition. This is the structure built by the Naṣrid monarch Yūsuf I in 750/1349, sc. in the golden age of the Marīnid *madrasa*. Though largely demolished in the 18th century, the prayer hall was excavated and restored from 1893 onwards; it has nothing to differentiate it from its Marīnid contemporaries in Morocco. Of the *madrasas* built by the Almohad ruler Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) in Spain as elsewhere in his dominions, nothing survives, nor is there any record of further Naṣrid *madrasas*, so the question of reciprocal influences between Andalusia and the Maghrib in this genre cannot be regarded as finally settled. Valuable as this literary evidence is, its very paucity is instructive, for it suggests the virtual absence of one of the major Islamic building types in Muslim Spain. Yet that area was unquestionably the foremost centre of Islamic art west of Egypt. In fact, however, this dearth can easily be explained. By the time that the *madrasa* had established itself in the eastern Islamic world, the great days of the Cordovan caliphate were long over, and the fate of Muslim Spain sealed. The cities of the north, Toledo, and even Cordova itself, had been lost. With the splendid exception of the Alhambra, significantly a secular rather than a religious monument, little architecture of note was erected in the Iberian peninsula in the last three centuries of the Muslim presence there.

Although, as already noted, the *madrasa* genre is first recorded in the eastern Islamic world in the late 3rd/9th century, it was not for another 150 years and more that the full weight of official backing had resulted in *madrasas* being erected in most major towns of the area. Theoretically, the fashion could have spread to the Maghrib around that time. Yet it is doubtful whether the Almoravids had at their disposal the necessary administrative expertise to launch and execute a programme comparable to that of Niẓām al-Mulk. It seems that the Maghrib in any case produced only a tithe of the buildings erected in Iran during the same period, and in the

context of such limited building, *madrasas* would obviously have claimed less priority than mosques. Moreover, the Almoravids—as their name itself indicates—were noted primarily for building *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*]. Not only is there no mention of their building *madrasas*; it seems, rather, that it was precisely in these *ribāṭs* that some of the teaching functions later performed by the *madrasa* were carried out. The consonance of plan between the two institutions leaps to the eye. Moreover, the early and marked association of the *madrasa* with the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, and to an only slighter lesser extent with the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī ones, would perhaps not immediately have struck a chord in the predominantly Mālikī Maghrib. Ironically enough, the first recorded *madrasa* (in late 3rd/9th century Nīshāpūr) was in fact Mālikī, but in subsequent centuries that *madhhab* noticeably lagged behind the others in the number of *madrasas* allotted to it. It is perhaps relevant that the religious message preached by Ibn Tūmart, the ideological founder of the Almohad dynasty, was disseminated in mosques rather than in special educational institutions. Hostile as he was to the prevailing orthodoxy of his time, it is not surprising that he did not use the *madrasa* as an instrument for his preaching, since that institution was itself the very emblem of orthodoxy by his time. Finally, one may perhaps adduce the generally conservatism of Maghribī society as a reason for the late spread of the *madrasa* movement to this area.

Thus the fashion for building *madrasas* probably reached the Maghrib late—too late, for example, to make an impact on Andalusia. The references to the late 6th/12th century *madrasas* built by the Almohad ruler al-Manṣūr are somewhat unspecific—indeed, the statement of Ibn Saʿīd that there was no *madrasa* in 7th/13th century Spain partially contradicts them—and the first securely dated *madrasa* in the Maghrib, the Shammāʿiyya, was built in Tunis by the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyāʾ in 647/1249, and within a decade was followed by the Maʿriḍiyya *madrasa* built by his widow. Neither has survived, and thus the Ṣaffārīn *madrasa* in Fās, founded by the Marīnid sultan Abū Yūsuf in 670/1271, is the earliest Maghribī example to survive. Its location may be seen as prophetic, since for some reason the institution of the *madrasa* took deepest root in Morocco, and specifically in Fās, where most of the round dozen Maghribī *madrasas* predating 1700 are situated. Moreover, the majority of these *madrasas* are the work of the Marīnid sultans and were erected between 670/1271 and 757/1356. Several Algerian *madrasas* belong to the same group. This sudden efflorescence of a building type which had hitherto been virtually unknown in the area demands some explanation. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the Marīnids, unlike their more illustrious predecessors the Almoravids and Almohads, were not swept to power by a wave of religious fervour. Their uncomfortable consciousness of this deficiency may have led them to make restitution of a kind by providing the patronage for religious buildings. *Madrasas* fitted the bill admirably. They were much less expensive than mosques, a very relevant factor since the Marīnid empire was much smaller than that of their predecessors. Marīnid mosques would have suffered by comparison with those of the Almohads; Marīnid *madrasas*, being effectively a new genre, were safer from such unwelcome comparisons. Moreover, they underlined the orthodoxy of their patrons and thus provided a counterweight not only to Shīʿism and to the Almohad movement but also to the increasingly popular Ṣūfism. Indeed, a crucial epigraphic document indicates that the Marīnid sultans were actuated by motives which had much in common with those of Niẓām al-Mulk over two centuries earlier. The very first surviving *madrasa* in Morocco, the Ṣaffārīn *madrasa* in Fās (670/1271) mentions in its foundation inscription the need to resurrect the forgotten religious sciences, a clear attack on Almohad heterodoxy:

"Praise be to God, Master of the Two Worlds! Who exalts the status of men of learning, Who recompenses with a generous hand those who devote themselves to acts of piety; Who by means of *madrasas* revives the vanished traces of *fiḳh* and of religion, using as His instrument those of His good servants whom He has specially singled out for His guidance and ennobled by His solicitude and by His care . . ." Finally, the desire to make Fās an intellectual centre—the sultans Abu 'l-Ḥasan and Abū ʿInān both prided themselves on being men of learning—may help to explain not only the concentration of *madrasas* in that city during the Marīnid period but also the endowment of several *madrasas* with fine libraries in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Ṣaffārīn, Fās; BūʿInāniyya, Fās).

These *madrasas* all obey a well-defined schema. Their dimensions are smaller than those of any other groups of *madrasas* elsewhere in the Islamic world, ranging from 35 × 36 m. (115 × 118 ft.) to 14 × 14.5 m. (46 × 47.5 ft.). Perhaps their exclusive use by a single *madhhab* made larger buildings unnecessary. Around a central courtyard are grouped on the ground floor a mosque, galleries facing each other along the lateral axis and an entrance vestibule which is frequently open onto the courtyard along its entire length. Unlike the universal practice elsewhere in the Islamic world, the courtyard façades of these various halls are not marked by colonnades or *īwāns* but are fenced off by an unbroken surface of wooden panels. On the first floor, a narrow gallery overlooking the courtyard gives on to the cells in which the students lived; sometimes in the earlier *madrasas* these cells are also ranged behind the galleries on the ground floor.

No *madrasas* with facilities for all four *madhhabs* incorporated into their ground plans are known in the Maghrib. One legal school—the Mālikī—maintained a virtually unchallenged dominion over the Maghrib throughout the mediaeval period. Perhaps this exclusiveness, which made it unnecessary for architects to provide separate teaching areas reserved for other *madhhabs*, was the factor which kept the *madrasas* of this area small.

This diminutive size gives such buildings an essentially human scale which well expresses the informality of teaching in the mediaeval Islamic world. They are made even more inward-looking and cloistered by the downward pitch of their roofs as seen from the courtyard. Yet the organisation of space within the building is by turns ingenious and dramatic. On the first floor the needs of circulation and accommodation are admirably dovetailed; the corridor which encircles the courtyard and gives access both to individual cells and to the corner staircases is kept so narrow that two people can barely squeeze past each other in it. This frees extra space for accommodation. At the same time, it is no mere walkway but has some aesthetic distinction. The openings at regular intervals along its shaded length allow the viewer to catch partial glimpes of a courtyard bathed in sunlight. Most Moroccan *madrasas* have a central pool with a

fountain. Given the somewhat cramped dimensions of these courtyards, the presence of rippling water sets space into motion to a degree that would not be possible in larger expanses. This introduction of nature into the ordered, man-made world of architecture is typically Islamic. These fountains serve a further, more directly scenic, function too. For anyone within the halls bordering on the courtyard, the view into that courtyard is firmly directed by the act that the only entrance to these halls is a single arch. On the major axes of the *madrasa* this arch frames the fountain, which thus becomes the centrepiece of a carefully calculated composition.

Most Moroccan *madrasas* were produced either under the Marīnids in the 8th/14th century or under the Saʿdian or Filālī sultans in the 11th/17th century. Since these two periods also saw a much greater production of mosques and mausolea than other periods, it is unlikely that the building campaigns of the two periods in question themselves constitute evidence that a specific penchant for *madrasas* can be attributed to the patrons of the time. But the political background outlined above provides the missing explanation. Given the role of the *madrasa* in training the politically influential Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ* it is not surprising that the patrons of these buildings —when their names are recorded—should include the sultans themselves (e.g. the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasas* in Fās, Salé, Meknès and Algiers) and their high officials, and that they should have been lavishly endowed, as their luxurious decoration indicates.

More often, however, their names reflect their relative size (*al-Kubrā*, "the greater", or *al-Ṣughrā*, "the lesser); their location in a quarter dedicated to a certain trade (*al-ʿAṭṭārīn*, "the perfumers, or as in Fās and Meknès, *al-Ṣaffārīn*, "the metalworkers"), and occasionally even those who taught there (al-Miṣbāḥiyya is named after its first professor, Miṣbāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yalsūtī) or the subjects in which the *madrasa* specialised (thus the Sbāʿiyyīn *madrasa* derives its name from the study of the methods of reading the Ḳurʾān). Like so much religious architecture in Islam, these *madrasas* are often sited in the midst of bazaars—though there seems to be no connection between the presence of a *madrasa* in a particular quarter of the bazaar area and its endowment. Thus, while certain trades or crafts might singly or in concert put up the money for a mosque, the foundation of *madrasas* seems to have been the result of official patronage.

That the teaching function of these *madrasas* was paramount is suggested by the almost total absence of the patron's tomb in them. One may note as exceptions the case of the 18th century Sulaymāniyya *madrasa* in Tunis, founded by one ʿAlī Pasha and containing the tomb of his son Sulaymān and earlier the case of the vizier Ibn Tafragin who was buried in the *madrasa* he had founded in 765/1364. Buth this official had significantly enough spent some time in Egypt, where this practice was widespread.

Such oriental influences, though rare, are of crucial importance. A later Tunisian *madrasa*, the Muntaṣiriyya (837-40/1434-7) again demonstrates Egyptian influence in the unusual feature of a rectangular bastion or salient placed in the middle of each of the courtyard façades. These projections do duty as portals to significant parts of the building and are thus explicable as interpretations—though in a different idiom—of the *īwāns* in cruciform disposition found in *madrasas* further east. The lateral lecture halls of the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* in Fās also seem to be a local interpretation of the *īwān* scheme. Yet another derivation from eastern models may be the use of the *madrasa* as one element in a larger complex. A typical example of this fashion is the *madrasa* built in Tlemcen in *ca.* 754/1354 by Sultan Abū ʿInān in association with the mosque, tomb and *zāwiya* of Sīdī al-Ḥalwī, or the mosque, tomb and *madrasa* of Sīdī Ibrāhīm built in Tlemʿen by the Zayānid Abū Ḥammū II. The Ṣahrīdj *madrasa* in Fās (721-3/1321-3) is situated right next to the mosque of the Andalusians; but as if this juxtaposition were not enough, it was by 750/1350 given dependencies significantly larger than itself. These included a now-vanished guest-house, the Dār Abī Habasa with 21 rooms, a large ablutions hall and—most important of all—another *madrasa*, that of al-Sbāʿiyyīn, which still survives. This latter phenomenon of paired *madrasas* linked by a passage cannot but recall the Ṣāliḥiyya complex in Cairo. Also relevant in this connection was the Ḳadīma *madrasa* built by Abū Ḥammū I in Tlemcen in *ca.* 710/1310 for two pious brothers, for it comprised two halls, each with a house attached. Thus it seems that the principle of separate premises for separate courses was accepted even when there was no question of different *madhhabs* being accommodated within a single building. For all their strong local character, then, these Maghribī *madrasas* attest the strength of eastern Islamic influences in this genre of building.

In many cases, the connection between a mosque and a *madrasa* is so close that the obvious conclusion to draw is that the mosque served *inter alia* as the oratory for the *madrasa* (e.g. the Walad al-Imām mosque, Tlemcen, erected in *ca.* 710/1310 next to the Ḳadīma *madrasa*). Conversely, the oratory of many a Maghribī *madrasa* served as the mosque for the quarter where it was built. Accordingly, many of these *madrasas* have minarets, and one even has a *minbar*, thereby qualifying it to be a *djāmiʿ*. It has even been suggested that the *madrasa*, by dint of becoming the most typical and widespread structure of the later mediaeval Maghrib, began in its turn to influence the layout of the mosque itself, specifically in its preference for square rather than rectangular courtyards, shallow rather than deep prayer halls and monumental portals on the major axis of the building. Something of the same process has been noted in Mamlūk Egypt, where the cruciform plan developed in the *madrasa* was subsequently adopted quite widely for mosques.

Although the casual visitor to these Moroccan *madrasas* is apt to believe, after walking around half a dozen of them, that they follow a standard pattern, such an impression is quickly modified on closer examination. Their layouts suggest that while the architects in question had a firm grasp of the essential constituent elements of a *madrasa*, they were unable to impose a preconceived solution on the sites allotted to them. These *madrasas* are located within an extremely cluttered urban setting, and so they commonly betray the various shifts of their designers to make the most of a difficult site. In these circumstances, it would be idle to expect to find a model which was more or less faithfully copied, or even a consistent, rational development of plan in these *madrasas*. Even so, all the Moroccan buildings of the genre share an emphasis on interior rather than exterior façades in that they focus on a central courtyard; and their decoration is extraordinarily consistent in medium and orna-

mental repertoire alike. In these respects, then, it is justifiable to point to their marked generic similarity, which easily asserts itself over such contingent factors as site and size. Moreover, most of the Moroccan *madrasas* were erected—as noted above—in less than a century, from 670/1271 to 757/1356, a period which also encompasses the surviving work in Algeria and Spain.

Externally, their most striking characteristic is a negative one: they lack a monumental façade. This is no novelty in Islamic architecture, but it is a feature which recurs so consistently in these buildings that it seems justified to regard it as a deliberate principle. The only exception is itself so consistent that it proves the rule: virtually every *madrasa* has an elaborate portal, usually a densely carved overhang or hood on brackets, a kind of awning executed in wood. By its marked projection—sometimes as much as two metres—and its commanding height above the bustle of the street, it signals the entrance of the *madrasa* from a distance. The tortuous alleyways of these Moroccan towns would discourage any more marked emphasis on the façade; there is simply no point of vantage from which a general view of the building could be enjoyed. In addition, one or two *madrasas* have a porch in front of the main entrance (e.g. the Bū ʿInāniyya, Fās, where the vault is crowned by a pyramidal roof). This is more in the nature of the *čahār-sū* of eastern Islamic bazars than a monumental enclosed construction like the porch of mediaeval parish church, for it is simply a vault or dome spanning the street and supported by the walls which define that street. Most of these *madrasas* abutted on to the principal streets of the town, streets that were nonetheless so narrow that even a slightly projecting porch would have created an obstacle to traffic.

In common with contemporary local domestic architecture, these *madrasas* nearly always contain a bent entrance, partly to ensure that the interior of the building is sundered from the outside world—a matter of noise as well as proximity. Corridors leading off the entrance passage from left to right respectively give access to the latrine area and a staircase leading to the upper storey (ʿAṭṭārīn and Miṣbāḥiyya *madrasas*, Fās), though other locations for the latrines do occur. The standard practice is to provide a series of cubicles around a subsidiary courtyard with a central fountain. This latter feature means that the area can serve for ablutions as well, and it is doubly proper therefore that it should be physically separated from the rest of the *madrasa*.

Several *madrasas* have minarets (Ṣaffārīn, Fās; *madrasa* of Fās al-Djadīd; Bū ʿInāniyya, Fās) and this may serve as a reminder that the institution often served as an independent place of prayer. Often enough it was located very close to a mosque so that there was no need for a separate minaret. Indeed, the interplay between mosque and *madrasa* was close and continuous. Just as the *madrasa* functioned as an oratory, so too did the mosque function as a place of teaching. This is especially relevant when it is remembered that most Moroccan *madrasas* are in Fās, which boasted in the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque [*q.v.*] the foremost centre of learning in the western Maghrib. Lectures in the Ḳarawiyyīn would therefore supplement the teaching of the *madrasas*. Indeed, in some sense the *madrasas* acted as an overflow facility for the earlier and more prestiguous institution. This was clearly part of the function of the Miṣbāḥiyya *madrasa*, which was situated very close to the Ḳarawiyyīn and whose students, mostly drawn from southern Morocco until recently, were enrolled in studies in the mosque. The Ṣahrīdj and Sbāʿiyyīn *madrasas* illustrate the same phenomenon. Similarly, most Tunisian *madrasas* are found in Tunis itself, where the students could benefit from the teaching offered in the other great Maghribī university-mosque, the Zaytūna. To concentrate the teaching function in a single urban centre in this way obviously made good sense from the economic point of view, and it meant also—since in both cases the centre in question was also the capital city—that the educational activity of mosque and *madrasa* alike would be directly under the eye of the sovereign. Once again, then, the inherently political nature of the *madrasa* asserts itself.

In view of the diminutive size of these Maghribī *madrasas* vis-à-vis equivalent institutions further east in the Islamic world, the emphasis laid on the prayer hall—which functioned concurrently as a lecture hall, as indeed did many mosques outside the regular hours of prayer—is noticeable, and is especially relevant in the context of the preceding remarks. It seems, in short, that these *madrasas* functioned quite widely as neighbourhood mosques. The case of the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* in Fās, though admittedly exceptional, offers supporting evidence for this theory. It is placed midway between the old city, clustered around the Ḳarawiyyin mosque, and the new foundation of Fās al-Djadīd, which at that time (751/1350) had not yet been given a Friday mosque. Thus the minaret of the Bū ʿInāniyya could pass on the *adhān* given in the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque which was too far away to be audible in Fās al-Djadīd, and the Friday prayer could accordingly begin there at the ordained hour. The foundation inscription of the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* (originally named al-Mutawakkiliyya after one of the titles of its founder) specifically states that the building has the advantage of serving as a *djāmiʿ*. This *madrasa* has many of the appurtenances normally reserved for Friday mosques—a *minbar*, a *maḳṣūra*, a mortuary and a Ḳurʾān school, plus a unique external clock with a set of songs presumably intended to mark the divisions of the daily prayers. It even has a subsidiary entrance to the rear of the building, as well as an unusual division of the main entrance into two sections, one of which is intended for those with bare feet and is accordingly provided with a treshold of running water. The same idea is applied within the building, for a water-channel runs laterally across the façade of the prayer hall and is crossed by a slab of marble at each side. The building is raised above the level of the bazaar and is reached by a staircase provided with benches; but its roots in everyday life are aptly emphasised by the shops which line its main façade. It is precisely in its flexibility and in its multiple functions that the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* approximates most closely not to other *madrasas* but to the classical type of mediaeval Friday mosque, as much a community centre as a place of worship.

Although the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* is unique in the Maghrib in its comprehensive range of functions, it is typical in that it is a royal foundation. In this particular case the ruler bore not only the expense of building but also financed the provision of water and endowed the salaries of the staff, the board and other expenses of the students and the upkeep of the building by making over to the institution a formidable list of properties.

Various methods are employed to emphasise

the role of the prayer hall in the Maghribī *madrasas*. It was the constant concern of the architects to give this hall pride of place in the overall layout, and the majority of them achieved that aim by means of axiality. Sometimes, as in the Ṣahridj and Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasas*, Fās, the entrance, courtyard and mosque were all disposed on the major chord of the building, and in the former case even the elongated rectangular pool played a spatial role. More often, the exigencies of the site and the predilection for a bent entrance meant that this axial emphasis could assert itself only at the entrance to the courtyard (al-ʿUbbād *madrasa*, Tlemcen; Miṣbāḥiyya *madrasa*, Fās). So firmly did this axial arrangement establish itself that it was even maintained when it ran counter to the correct orientation of the prayer chamber, as in the ʿAṭṭārīn *madrasa*, Fās, where in order to mark the *ḳibla* accurately, the *miḥrab* has to be placed to the right of the entrance instead of opposite it as the internal logic of the layout demands.

The placing of the chambers for students varies quite markedly. In the earlier *madrasas*, all the living accommodation was confined to the ground floor (Ṣaffārīn *madrasa*; *madrasa* of Fās al-Djadīd). In the following decades, it continued to be standard practice for the more commodious *madrasas* to provide, in addition to the main accommodation at first-floor level, at least some student accommodation on the ground floor. It is here that the ornate wooden lattice-work screens known as *mashrabiyyas* come into their own. Placed between the arcades or other openings of the court, they close off from the public gaze the sections of the *madrasa* which serve for student accommodation. The bleakness of the latter area is therefore masked by a lavish exterior. Symbolically enough it is only the outer, namely courtyard, face of these *mashrabiyyas* that is richly carved; the inner face is plain as perhaps befits the sparse facilities offered to the students. Between these screens and the cells runs a corridor, for all the world like the cloister of some mediaeval western monastery. These screens continue on the upper storeys where their principal function is obviously to decorate the interior façade rather than to seal off the student cells. Sometimes the corridors or galleries are located only along the lateral walls of the courtyard (ʿAṭṭārīn *madrasa*, Fās; Taza *madrasa*), but they often extend to three sides, especially in the later examples of the genre, and there is even an isolated case of a *madrasa* with student cells arranged unevenly but on all four sides of the ground floor (Sabʿīn *madrasa*, Fās). The extra height required for a suitably imposing prayer hall meant that there was frequently no room for student cells above it, and there is even a case of a prayer and assembly hall located on the first floor (Miṣbāḥiyya, Fās).

Nothing testifies more forcibly to the inadequate publication of these buildings than the widely divergent figures given for the number of student cells which they contain. Often enough these statistics are confused with the number of students which the *madrasa* could accommodate. This figure is in itself wide open to discussion. According to some estimates, a typical cell can hold as many as seven or eight students. However, this is clearly an inaccurate guide for rooms at the smaller end of the scale; indeed, cells measuring no more than 1.50 × 2 m. are quite frequently encountered and it would clearly be difficult to accommodate more than one or at the most two persons in such a room. That many cells were intended to house only a single occupant is clearly indicated by the custom that the student "paid" for his room by buying the key for it from his predecessor. Besides, in many cells the floor space was reserved for living as distinct from sleeping accommodation—a feature which will be discussed in more detail shortly. Within a given *madrasa*, moreover the size and layout of individual cells will often fluctuate quite markedly. This is especially apt to occur when the *madrasa* has walls built at acute angles because of the spatial constraints of the site. While windowless cells are known, it was standard practice to provide tiny windows, often with metalwork grilles, opening on to the corridor, the main courtyard, a subsidiary courtyard (especially in post-Marīnid *madrasas*), or even—though rarely—on to the street.

The spartan fittings of these cells do suggest that the provision of maximum sleeping space was a priority of the designer. There was no bedding to clutter up valuable space. Students slept under a blanket on a mat. Often projecting shelves below the ceiling function as bunk beds; they are reached by wooden bars mortared diagonally across the corners of the rooms so as to form a simple ladder. Sometimes a small table is provided—the students were, after all, issued with paper, pen and ink. A narrow slot beside the door permitted the daily ration of flat bread to be distributed with maximum speed. Since that ration was fixed at one piece per student, the amount of bread set aside per day for the *madrasa* provides the necessary clue in calculating the maximum occupancy for which the building was designed. This quantity of bread was made available daily, according to the requirements of the *waḳf* which financed the institution, irrespective of whether the building was fully occupied or not; in practice, therefore, it often happened that at least some students would have extra rations.

The largest of the mediaeval *madrasas* in Morocco is the Miṣbāḥiyya, for which a tally of 117 rooms has been proposed, with 23 on the ground floor alone and the balance in the two upper storeys. A two-storey design is commoner, however, and therefore the ʿAṭṭārīn *madrasa*, in which Bel counted 34 cells, or the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa*, whose capacity has been estimated at 100 students, are more representative. These are large numbers for buildings designed on such an intimate scale, especially when it is remembered that the prayer hall of such a *madrasa* could serve as the *masdjid* not only for the students and staff but also for the people of the area. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the students lived a hard life—frequently cold, cramped and underfed.

With the fall of the Marīnids, the golden age of the Maghribī *madrasa* was over. Not only are there comparatively few surviving *madrasas* of later date, but the majority of them are either attached to mosques or shrines, and dominated by them, or they are intrinsically of very little interest (Rabat, Ceuta, Tangiers and Ksar el Kebir/Alcazarquivir). Only two deserve closer inspection—the Ben Yūsuf or Yūsufiyya *madrasa* in Marrakesh, dating to 972/1564-5, and the Sharrāṭīn *madrasa* in Fās, dating to 1081/1670, both royal foundations. Their interest lies in their plans rather than in their decoration or structural techniques, for in these latter respects they are disappointingly derivative.

Although the Ben Yūsuf *madrasa* is traditionally believed to have a plan based on that of the Marīnid *madrasa* whose site it occupies, it has a degree of

integration and symmetry foreign to its predecessors. Externally, it forms an almost perfect square but for the projecting polygonal *miḥrāb*. The internal disposition is admirable in its clarity and economy. Broadly speaking, the arrangement is tripartite, with a large porticoed courtyard—containing a substantial pool instead of the usual fountain—acting as the focus of the design and the student cells relegated to the flanking tracts. The oratory, placed as usual along the main axis, is also divided into three parts, a device already encountered in Marīnid *madrasas*. The arrangement of the cells, however, is novel; for instead of lining a long corridor they are clustered symmetrically in sixes or sevens around a series of seven small courtyards or *duwayras*. These are accessible via a cloister-like corridor which encloses the courtyard on three sides and also leads into the patio for ablutions. A similar arrangement is followed on the first floor, so that the *madrasa* contains about a hundred rooms.

A comparable lucidity of planning informs the Sharrāṭīn *madrasa*. Here too the polygonal *miḥrāb* projects forcibly, breaking the even tenor of the perimeter wall. This wall is stepped in three places but is otherwise straight. Exceptionally, three separate entrances give access to the corridors which debouch into the courtyard. Each of the three lesser courtyard façades is broken by three bays, and the whole elevation rises to an unprecedented three stories. Student cells, mostly arranged around somewhat noisome *duwayras* more like pits than courtyards, occupy three of the four sides on the ground floor; traditionally, students from various parts of the country—the Tafilalt, the Rīf and eastern Morocco—congregate around the appropriate *duwayra* so that each courtyard becomes in some sense a local microcosm. The oratory on the fourth side is similar to that of the Ben Yūsuf *madrasa*. Despite the proximity of the building to the Ḳarawiyyīn, the *miḥrāb* is seriously out of true, facing as it does the north-east. The high walls, cramped courtyard and blank spaces of the building give it a somewhat oppressive atmosphere. Its history does not belie this impression, for the *madrasa* was erected on the site of a Marīnid foundation, the Madrasa al-Labbādīn, which Mawlāy al-Rashīd had ordered to be demolished because its students had brought women there and given themselves over to debauch. Despite the radial symmetry of its plan, the building falls far below Marīnid standards so far as its decoration is concerned. The large capacity of these two later *madrasas* and their eminently logical layout put them in a category of their own among Moroccan *madrasas* and make them a worthy coda to a distinguished tradition.

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(R. Hillenbrand)

MADRID. [See MADJRĪṬ].

MADURA, an island north of East Java, separated from Java by a narrow strait in the north of Surabaya; it is 2,113 sq. miles in area, and has 2,385,300 inhabitants, among them 2,378,047 Muslims (1971). It is divided into four *kabupatens* (regencies): Pamekasan, Sampang, Sumenep (Sungenep) and Bangkalan, all of them being districts in the Indonesian province of East Java.

In the course of history, many of the Madurese settled in adjacent areas of East Java, or participated in the government-sponsored transmigration programme to other islands. The Madurese language is spoken as "native" idiom by approximately 9 million people. It knows different styles according to the status of the speaking and the addressed person, but the differences are not so great as in Javanese, Balinese, or Sundanese. The traditional literature is written in a mixture of Madurese and Javanese, due to the strong influence Javanese culture and language have exercised on Madura. The customs of the Madurese, too, are similar to the Javanese, although they seem to be less refined.

Geologically, Madura is related to North Java, consisting of the same limestone rocks as the hill range around Surabaya and Rembang. Fauna and flora, too, are similar to East Java, but the soil is much less fertile. Of great economic importance is the breeding of domestic animals, especially cattle, which at the same time gives provision to the most popular sport, i.e. bull racing, which originally may have been connected with the annual division of the

sawahs, or rice-fields. Another source of income is fishing and trading. As skilled sailors and shipmakers, the Madurese have developed their own type of vessels (*perahu Madura*).

Islam is the religion to which the Madurese generally adhere, but as in other Indonesian societies, *adat* law still exercises its influence. In pre-Islamic times, Madura was divided into two main parts: Western Madura with traditionally close relations to Surabaya, and Eastern Madura with Sumenep as its most important centre. The ruler of Sumenep is said to have played an active role in the transition period between the kingdoms of Singasari and Majapahit which was characterised by the turbulences caused by Ḳubilay Khān's military plans. In both East and West Madura the ruling families are said to have had matrimonial relations with the court of Majapahit. Thus the first (legendary) ruler of Sampang, Lembu Peteng, is described as a son of the Majapahit king Bra Vijaya and the famous "princess of Čampa" who confessed Islam. One of his grandsons, according to tradition, was the later Sunan Giri, one of the "nine *wālīs*" (*wali songo*) who spread Islam in Java. In Sumenep, a certain *adipati* Kangduruhan, presumably a son of the first Muslim ruler of Demak, Raden Patah (d. 1518), played a role during the second and third quarters of the 16th century. These were probably the first Muslim rulers in Madura. After the final fall of Majapahit in 1527, Sumenep participated in fighting the still "heathen" kingdoms in the eastern corner of Java which were supported by the Balinese king of Gelgel (Klungkung). The court of Aros Baya (Bangkalan) embraced Islam in 1528, and the crown prince and later ruler, *panembahan* Lemah Duwur, tried to keep peaceful relations with Demak. Later he married a daughter of Adi Vijaya, the *sulṭān* of Pajang (1548-82), and matrimonial relations with the Javanese *sulṭāns* continued to exist after Pajang was succeeded by Mataram (1589). Descendants of (West-) Madurese nobility were influential in Mataram, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. The relationship between Sumenep and Mataram, however, was less fortunate: after the whole of Madura was conquered by the army of Sulṭān Agung in 1624, the ruling family of Sumenep was extinguished. A Javanese prince, Angga Dipa (from Jepara?) became governor, residing in Sumenep.

After 1670, the situation in Madura became turbulent again. After the defeat of Makassar [*q.v.*] by the Dutch admiral C. Speelman in 1667 and 1669, part of the Makassarese nobility and their soldiers fled to Madura and other areas in North Java to earn their livelihood as pirates. In 1670, *raden* Truna Jaya, a descendant of the last ruler in West Madura, was allowed by the *susuhunan* of Mataram, Amengku Rat I (1646-77), to reside in Madura, which he soon got under his control. For different reasons, not all of them being quite clear, Truna Jaya, who was spiritually supported by the Sunan Giri, joined the Makassarese pirates against the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-indische Compagnie, V.O.C.*) and their ally, the *susuhunan*. After having destroyed most of the North Javanese ports (except Jepara) and appeased the Makassarese in 1676, Truna Jaya turned to the interior of Java with his forces, which included part of the Makassarese nobility. In 1677 he lost Surabaya after it was attacked by Speelman and Mataram troups, and he established new headquarters in the old royal town of Kediri in East Java. In the same year he sacked the *kraton* (palace) of the *susuhunan*. After the old *susuhunan*'s death, his son Amengku Rat II (1677-1703) took stern measures against his former protégé Truna Jaya and attacked Kediri. Truna Jaya escaped, but finally, at the end of 1679, he was taken prisoner and a few days later killed by the *susuhunan*.

After 1683, the V.O.C. virtually ruled over East Madura; this was legalised by Mataram in 1705, and in 1743 the V.O.C. extended its suzerainty over the whole island. Having old grudges against Sulṭān Agung and the house of Mataram, the Madurese were in favour of Mataram's being divided in 1755. In the "Javanese War" of 1825-30, they sided with *pangerang* Dipa Negara. This led to a limitation of the local rulers' power by the Dutch, until in 1885 the island was put under direct Dutch rule. During the revolutionary years after World War II, Madura was part of the republican territory as acknowledged by the Linggajati Agreement in 1947.

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(W. H. RASSERS - [O. SCHUMANN])

MADYAN SHUʿAYB, a town of north-western Arabia, lying inland from the eastern shore of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba; it is mentioned in the mediaeval Islamic geographers as lying on the pilgrimage route between the Ḥidjāz and Syria, which there went inland to avoid the mountainous coast of the Gulf.

The name is connected with that of the tribe of Midianites known from the Old Testament (LXX Μαδιαμ, Μαδιαν; in Josephus Μαδιηνῖται, ἡ Μαδιηνὴ χῶρα) but it can hardly be used without further consideration to identify the original home of this tribe, as the town might be a later Midianite settlement, and besides, it is difficult to fix the real home of such wandering tribes. In the Old Testament, a town of Midian is not mentioned (not even in 1 Kings, xi, 18 where "Maʿon" may conceivably be read). On the other hand, Josephus (*Antiquities*, ii, 2, 1) knows Madiane as a town on the Erythraean

Sea, as does Eusebius (*Onomast.*, ed. Lagarde, 276); in Ptolemy (vi, 7, 2) it is mentioned as a town on the coast and called Modiana or Modouna while in another passage he gives it as an inland town under the name Madiama, a difference which is explained by the actual position of the town. In Muḥammad's time there is only one reference (in Ibn Isḥāḳ) to the town of Madyan, when the Prophet sent an expedition under Zayd b. Ḥāri̲th̲a thither. There are occasional references in the poet Ku̲th̲ayyir (in Yāḳūt), who speaks of the monks there and in the record of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya's journey to Ayla. According to Yāḳūt also, Madyan was occasionally the residence of the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān, and visits to him there by the poet Ibn Harma [*q.v.*] are mentioned. In the geographers we find Madyan only as a town near the coast, six days journey from Tabūk; it was the second station on the pilgrim's road from Ayla to Medina and was a dependency of Medina. In the 3rd/9th century al-Yaʿḳūbī speaks of its position in a district rich in springs and watercourses, gardens and date groves and of its mixed population. Al-Iṣṭa̲kh̲rī says it is larger than Tabūk and describes from his own observations the spring there, from which Moses watered the flocks of S̲h̲uʿayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then began to decline gradually. In the 6th/12th century al-Idrīsī says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty resources: al-Maḳrīzī in his *K̲h̲iṭaṭ* describes Madyan as affording its inhabitants only a modest livelihood, with declining trade, and as having various remarkable ancient buildings and ruins still standing there (ed. Būlāḳ 1270/1854, i, 186-8).

It was only in the 19th century that the district of Madyan began to be visited by western travellers like Rüppell and Burton, and was only described in detail in this present century by Musil and Philby, with a preliminary investigation of its antiquities being undertaken recently by a team led by P. J. Parr. The mediaeval town probably lay in the middle reaches of the Wādī 'l-Abyaḍ (or Wādī 'l-ʿAfāl, as its lower reaches are called), which carried the ancient pilgrimage route southwards. On the western side of the wādī, in lat. 28° 30′ 30″ and 16 miles/25 km. north-east of Maḳnā (Ptolemy's Makna) on the ʿAḳaba Gulf coast, is the archaeological site known locally as Mag̲h̲āʾir S̲h̲uʿayb "the caves of S̲h̲uʿayb", referring to a large necropolis with tombs carved into a very soft and friable limestone, hence much worse-preserved than those at Petra. As Musil and Philby correctly surmised, the tombs are Nabataean; the surface pottery is largely Nabataean and Roman, and a fragment of a monumental inscription in Latin has been found. Parr's expedition also noted extensive areas of ruins nearby on the eastern side of the wādī, and the participants in the expedition prefer to locate the Islamic Madyan at these latter sites of al-Malḳaṭa and al-Māliḥa.

In the Ḳurʾān, following the Old Testament, there are repeated references to Madyan as a people: for example, in the stories of Moses' stay with them (XX, 42; XXVIII, 21 ff., 45), where his father-in-law (Jethro in the O.T.) is still anonymous, or in one of the stereotyped legends of prophets in which the Madyan are punished because they would not believe their prophet S̲h̲uʿayb (VII, 83-91; XI, 85-98; XXIX, 35-6). This S̲h̲uʿayb was later identified with the father-in-law of Moses, for which there is no authority in the Old Testament; but in the early sūras (XV, 78; XXVI, 176-91; XXXVIII, 12/13) it is not the people of Madyan but the *aṣḥāb al-ayka* "men of the thicket" who reject the divine message brought by S̲h̲uʿayb. A. F. L. Beeston has recently suggested that these last were the devotees of the Nabataean deity Dusares or D̲h̲u 'l-S̲h̲arā [*q.v.*] (and Musil noted that the lower part of the Wādī 'l-Abyaḍ was full of dense undergrowth) and that they must nevertheless have been closely connected with Madyan, despite the Muslim exegetes' distinguishing of two separate missions for S̲h̲uʿayb; the version of S̲h̲uʿayb's mission in the Meccan sūras might be considered as that intended for an audience familiar through its trading links with the cult of D̲h̲u 'l-S̲h̲arā in northwestern Arabia, and that of the Medinan sūras for one familiar only with the general existence of Madyan. See *The "Men of the Tanglewood" in the Qurʾān*, in *JSS*, xiii (1968), 253-5, and also C. E. Bosworth, *The Qurʾānic prophet Shuʿaib and Ibn Taimiyya's epistle concerning him*, in *Muséon*, lxxxvii (1974), 425 ff., and S̲H̲UʿAYB.

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(F. BUHL - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

KITĀB **MAFĀK̲H̲IR AL-BARBAR**, the title of an anonymous work written to the greater glory of the Berbers of Morocco and al-Andalus, existing in a ms. of the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat (cote 1020 D). E. Lévi-Provençal published from this, as *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au moyen âge—Nubad̲h̲ taʾrīk̲h̲iyya fī ak̲h̲bār al-Barbar fi 'l-ḳurūn al-wusṭā* (Collection de textes arabes publiée par l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, i, Rabat 1934), the following extracts: a chapter from Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis* on the relations of al-Mansūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] with the Berbers of the Mag̲h̲rib (pp. 3-37), a passage from Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik al-Warrāḳ's *Miḳbās fī ak̲h̲bār al-Mag̲h̲rib wa 'l-Andalus wa-Fās* on Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya and his son al-Muʿizz (37-42); an extended section on the revolts, the Berber chiefs and kings in Spain and the Mag̲h̲rib, stemming in large part from Ibn Ḥammādūh al-Sabtī's *Muḳtabas* (43-60), with the intercalation of passages borrowed from Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Mad̲j̲d al-Mag̲h̲īlī's *Kitāb Ansāb al-Barbar* (48-52, 57-8), from al-Warrāḳ on the Almoravids (53), from Ibn Bassām's *D̲h̲ak̲h̲īra* on the Barg̲h̲awāṭa and the Almoravids (54-7) and from Abū ʿAlī Ibn Ras̲h̲īḳ on the Almohads (59-60); concise biographies of scholars, writers, poets, saints and even false prophets of the Berbers (60-78);

a passage from Ibn Ḥazm's *Djamhara* on the Berber tribes established in Spain (78-80); and finally, a list of the Almoravid governors of al-Andalus according to al-Warrāḳ's chronicle (1-2).

The only indication about the anonymous author comes from the biography of the *shaykh* Abū ʿAlī Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, where it is said that the latter was alive in 712/1312, the very year in which the compilation was put together. But we have here quite clearly the case of a Berber who, although a good Muslim, is especially proud to belong to a people whose entitlement to glory he undertakes to proclaim, since many people consider this people as "the most erring people, the most ignorant, the most lacking in good qualities and the farthest from virtuous deeds". In order to achieve this aim, he eschews retailing all the history of the Berbers since the time, so he says, when they settled in the Maghrib after having fled from Syria in the wake of David's killing of Goliath, and limits himself to recalling their part in al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir's expedition against Algeciras in 368/978-9, but he nevertheless intends to speak of "their kings during the Islamic period, their chiefs, their rebels, their genealogies and some of their famous men". This programme seems then to have been carried out.

Lévi-Provençal thinks that Ibn Khaldūn probably used this *Kitāb Mafākhir al-Barbar*, and his opinion is substantially shared by Maya Shatzmiller, who has recently drawn attention to the existence, in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, of a ms. (cote K 1275), whose contents she has studied in a note *Une source méconnue de l'histoire des Berbères: le* Kitāb al-Ansāb li-Abī Ḥayyān, in *Arabica*, xxx/1 (1983), 73-9. It is quite certain that the fragments published by Lévi-Provençal belong to this ms., so that the problems posed by a compilation of this kind can now be examined with greater sureness. Moreover, Lévi-Provençal had published *Un nouveau récit de la conquetê de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, i/1 (1954), 17-43, based on a text which appears equally in the ms. in question, and he considered that the *Mafākhir al-Barbar* could well be attributed "with likelihood to Ibn ʿIdhārī", but Mme. Shatzmiller comes very near to attributing to Abū Ḥayyān (654-745/1286-1344) the authorship of the compilation which she describes.

(Ed.)

AL-**MĀFARRŪKHĪ**, MUFAḌḌAL B. SAʿD, author of the local history of Iṣfahān in Arabic entitled *Risālat Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*. The work appears to have been written during the reign of Malik Shāh (465-85/1072-92). Nothing is known about al-Māfarrūkhī's life, but it is apparent from the wealth of poetry contained in the work and from the frequent use of rhymed prose that he was an *adib*. He cites his father, Abu 'l-Faḍl Saʿd, as his *shaykh* and quotes several of his poems.

He claims descent (92) from one Māfarrūkh b. Bakhtiyār who in turn was descended from Adhurshāburān b. Ādhurmānān, whom he describes as completing the building of the walls of Djayy, the fortified nucleus of pre-Islamic Iṣfahān, one hundred and seventy years before Islam. Samʿānī claims (*al-Ansāb*, fol. 502b) that the *nisba* al-Māfarrūkhī relates only to *mawālī* of the original Māfarrūkh, but the genealogies of earlier bearers of the *nisba* seem in several instances to go back to Mārarrūkh himself (cf. Abu Nuʿaym, *Akhbār Iṣfahān*, i, 134-5; ii, 142, 272, 325). On his grandmother's side, al-Māfarrūkhī claims descent (25-6) from a poet in the retinue of ʿAḍud al-Dawla named Abū Muslim Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad, himself allegedly descended from Abū Muslim the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary. A final ancestor cited on his maternal grandmother's side was related to a one-time governor (99).

Al-Māfarrūkhī's book reflects his education in *adab* and familiarity with court culture. Unlike other local histories of the period, it pays little attention to religion and contains no biographies of *ʿulamāʾ*. Instead, it contains poetry in praise of Iṣfahān, descriptions of the area's points of interest, tales from the pre-Islamic period, and encomiums of Būyid and Saldjūḳid rulers.

An 8th/14th century Persian translation of the work contains many interpolations that postdate al-Māfarrūkhī's composition. These have been identified by Browne.

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MAFIA, the name of a group of islands off the Tanzanian coast in approximately 8°S and 40° E. They consist of a main island commonly known as Mafia Island, but by its inhabitants as Chole Shamba (Swa. "Plantation Chole"); a very small island known as Chole or Chole Mjini (Swa. "Town Chole"); Juani; Bwejuu; and Jibondo. The only references in Arabic literature are in Aḥmad b. Madjid al-Nadjdī's log books, where it is called Manafiyya, and in the anonymous *History of Kilwa*, where it occurs once as Manfasiya, four times as Manfiyya, and three times as Manfasa. In Portuguese there are further references in a now lost *Chrónica dos Reyes de Quiloa* ("Chronicle of the Kings of Kilwa"), where it is generally spelt Monfia, and in other historians and archives. In Swahili, Freeman-Grenville has published a traditional history of the town of Kua, Juani Island, Mafia; a variant version of this by Amur Omar Saidi, a former *ḳāḍī*, has been published by D. W. I. Piggott, and another version by T. M. Revington. At Kisimani Mafia (Swa. "at the well of Mafia"), H. N. Chittick has excavated the remains of a mosque and other buildings; he has likewise cleared the palace and a number of mosques at Kua, Juani Island.

No consecutive history can be established for the main island. The founder of Kilwa, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, retired to Mafia in his old age, and set up his son Muḥammad as ruler in *ca.* 386/996. He was succeeded by his brother, Basḥat, who ruled for four-and-a-half years. The third ruler of Kilwa, Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, also made Mafia his residence, after abdicating at Kilwa in favour of his son. In the reign of Dāwūd b. Sulaymān of Kilwa (? *ca.* 526-66/1131-70), Mafia is mentioned as a mere appanage of Kilwa. It is not mentioned again until the reign of Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan II (*ca.* 1294-1308), when it revolted. It was recovered *post* 1310 by his son, al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān II (*ca.* 1310-33). When the Portuguese took Kilwa in 1505, Mafia passed quietly into their hands. They bartered goods for local produce, cattle, ghee and gum copal. They had a small blockhouse, but its site has so far not been identified. In 1653 the islands were pillaged by the King of Pemba, who was forthwith punished by Francisco de Seixas Cabreira. When the Portuguese lost Mombasa to the ʿUmānī Arabs in 1698, Mafia again quietly changed hands;

and when, after a brief comeback (1728-9), the ʿUmānīs again expelled the Portuguese from Mombasa, several Portuguese residents in Mafia deemed it wiser to become Muslim. Under the ʿUmānīs, Arabs gradually acquired the southern part of the main island, turning it over to coconut plantations, for which its sandy soil is especially favourable.

The excavations carried out by Chittick show that Kisimani Mafia was important from the 6th/12th to 8th/14th centuries, but that it thereafter declined. According to the diary of Lt. (later Admiral) J. B. Eustace, the last inhabitants departed after the disastrous cyclone of 1872. In Kua it has been shown that most of the buildings belong to the 12th/18th century. The site covered some thirty to forty acres, including the palace, and there were at least seven mosques and two cemeteries. It is now totally deserted. There are also late mediaeval Islamic remains on Chole and Jibondo Islands.

In ʿUmānī times, the islands were ruled from Chole. When the Germans took the islands over when German East Africa was proclaimed in 1885, they built a headquarters there and a street of shops, which still survive. The administrative headquarters were in 1911 transferred, however, to Kilindoni, on the main island, and this is the present seat of government. The greatest number of the inhabitants, in all about 16,000, live in the northern part of the main island. They are almost all Muslims. Some aspects of their society have been described by A. P. Caplan. Regrettably, there is no description of the state of Islamic learning, albeit clearly there is a class of *literati*; at other levels witchcraft practices abound.

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(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

MAFRŪSHĀT (A.), that which is spread out (on the ground or on a bed), bedding.

In mediaeval times, there was no adequate, single term for designating furniture and furnishings; this idea was expressed rather by the term *farsh* (meaning not only "that which is spread out" but also, by extension, the more solid domestic objects which filled the role of "furniture" according to western concepts—whence the adjective *mafrūsh* "furnished, provided with furnishings" [see ATHĀTH in Suppl.]) or else by collocations of words such as *farsh* and *āla* (lit. carpets, mattresses and utensils), *farsh* and *athāth* (carpets, mattresses and domestic articles), etc. Carpets, mats and cushions played an important part in domestic interiors, at this time. Complete furnishing ensembles were often put together through the use of various cushions, set around low oriental tables which were quite unsuitable for the use of chairs and stools (seats of this kind existed, but had restricted functions; they were rarely used at meal times [see ATHĀTH]), and by use of cushions there were formed circles (*ḥalḳa*, with its *ṣadr* or place of honour, often a seat or a throne, *sarīr*, *takht*, in palaces) for gatherings of friends, family celebrations, literary discussions, etc. The use of rigid seats and of sofas and couches was more limited, and that of cushions, for sitting upon, more widespread (but this depended on the circumstances and the social setting). People leading a simpler life made do with sitting on very simple cushions or on a carpet or mat, but rarely on the actual earth. However, in the gatherings of high society, the persons farthest from the *ṣadr* received the lowest seats and had to make do with a single cushion (other persons each got two cushions, one on top of the other, or a cushion folded into two—quite a social hierarchy!) or a carpet. Actually to sit on the earth was considered, in such social groups, to be a sign of mourning.

In many households, the carpets and mats were protected by means of a lining, and it was difficult to distinguish the carpets from the mattresses, but better-off households had clearly-distinguishable mattresses which were placed on beds with frames (a rare and expensive piece of furniture). On the carpets [see BISĀṬ in Suppl.] were placed other domestic articles which served as mattresses, seats and bedding at one and the same time, according to the so-called "oriental" way of life. Mattresses (*bardhaʿa*, *ḍidjāʿ*, *farsh*, *firāsh*, *ḥashiyya*, *iwazz*, *muḍarraba*, *marḳad*, *martaba*, *maṭraḥ*, *mifrāsh*, *ṭarrāḥa* and *ṭinfisa*) were usually placed on the ground. Cushions (*bardhaʿa*, *dāʾira*, *ḥashiyya*, *ḥusbāna*, *ḳiṭʿa*, *mikhadda*, *mirfaḳa*, *miṣdagha*, *misnad* or *misnada*, *mudawwara*, *numruḳ*, *ṭinfisa*, *tukʾa*, *tukiyya* or *wisāda*) varied greatly; they were distinguished by their functions (cushions for the back, for sitting on, for leaning on with the elbow and pillows) and by their shapes (big, small, elongated, round, rectangular, etc.). Often, however, their original function had become changed. Thus *mikhadda*, properly "pillow", might be used for sitting upon, and *wisāda*, properly a much larger cushion often used for supporting the back, might be used for "pillow"; in the spoken language of mediaeval Egypt, *mikhadda* was used for all kinds of cushions and the word *wisāda* had almost disappeared from usage so that, in order to designate a pillow, resort had to be made to a pleonasm, *mikhadda li 'l-khadd* "pillow for the head", lit. "for the cheek". "Offering" a cushion (to someone who had been invited) was literally "throwing down" (*ṭaraḥa*) a cushion, but this verb was also used, by extension, in the meaning of offering someone a chair, stool, etc., and thus symbolises the transition between a purely "oriental" mode of life and the use, in certain circles, of solid furniture.

Sedentary civilisation was always proud of its luxury cushions (see J. Karabacek, *Susandschird*, Leipzig 1881, e.g. 71, 81: cushions covered in embroidered tapestry), and sometimes it accused the ancient Arabs of never having had any of them (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, i, 347-8 and n. 85). But this accusation was far from the truth; the Bedouins had their own kinds of cushion (see al-Thaʿālibī, *Fiḳh al-lugha*, Beirut 1881, 130-1, and

other sources). The arts of weaving, making tapestries and embroidering cushions were widespread amongst Bedouins, country-dwellers and city-dwellers all through the ages. Iconographic evidence of the richness of shapes and functions of mattresses and cushions, as well as the forms and colours of curtains, is given in well-known miniature paintings (e.g. in the series illustrating the works of Dioscorides and al-Ḥarīrī). Curtains and hangings had been known amongst the Arabs since pre-Islamic times; their role in Islam sedentary civilisation was even more important, as much for the daily life of the greater part of the various social classes as for the palaces and their modes of behaviour (see Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Cairo 1316/1898-9, iv, 75; Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tādj*, tr. Pellat, Paris 1954, 56 ff.; al-Washshā', *al-Muwashshā*, Cairo 1953, 230-1; al-Shābushtī, *K. al-Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1966, 42, 43, 45, 110, 170, 188, 424; al-Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, *al-Dhakhā'ir wa 'l-tuḥaf*, Kuwait 1959, passim; W. H. Worrell, in *Ars Islamica*, i [1934], 219-22; M. Canard, in *Byzantion*, xxi [1951], 363; D. Sourdel, in *REI*, xxix [1960], 132; E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 87, 178, 255). The term *mafrūshāt* (modern Tkish. *mefruşat*) still appears today in the labelling and signs of shops which sell curtaining, decorative fabrics, cushions, etc.

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(J. Sadan)

MAFṢŪL (A.), a term used to denote certain juridical categories of landed estates in Syria in the time of the Mamlūks. The word has no connection with the Arabic root *f.-ṣ.-l.*, but is derived, according to al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, viii, 256, "from the Frankish" *vassal*.

Bibliography: Cl. Cahen, in *JESHO*, xviii (1975), 238. (Cl. Cahen)

MAGHĀRIBA (A., pl. noun), denotes the Arabic-speakers of the Muslim West (Maghrib, pl. Maghārib), as opposed to those of the East (Mashriḳ, pl. Mashāriḳ), known as *Mashāriḳa*. This division of Arabic-speakers into *Mashāriḳa* and *Maghāriba*—which is a continuing process, discernible in the contemporary dialects, variously categorised as Oriental and Maghribī—may be traced from its origins. The frontier between the two major groupings—Muslim Spain included, in spite of its special circumstances and its separate destiny—is still located to the east of Tripoli, at Lebda, which accounts for the peculiar situation of Libya, constantly divided between its Maghribī and Oriental associations.

The Arabs who settled on a permanent basis in the West rapidly became sufficiently Maghribised or Hispanised to appear different from their racial compatriots who had remained in the East, as is indicated by a considerable quantity of concordant evidence. From the middle of the 2nd/8th century onward, the Arab colony which established itself in the province of al-Ḳayrawān (the *Ahl Ifrīḳiya*) became aware of its specific local identity (see M. Ṭālibī, *al-Maghrib min al-fatḥ ilā awākhir al-rubʿ al-awwal min al-ḳarn al-thānī wa-budhūr al-shuʿūr bi-kawmiyyāt maḥalliyya*, in no. 4 of *Silsilat al-dirāsāt al-idjtimāʿiyya*, CERES Tunis 1979, 207-30) in violently opposing, at the time of the great Khāridjī upsurge of 122/740, fellow-Muslims who had come from the East to support it, while regarding it, it is true, with all the contempt hitherto reserved for Berbers alone. A similar evolution, with opposition between indigeneous Arabs (*baladiyyūn*) and "foreigners" arriving at a later stage, is also to be observed in Muslim Spain, although the distinction became blurred in the course of time (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, Paris 1950, i, 44-53, 83, 110, 345). In the East, the Maghribī (pl. Maghāriba) in turn created the impression of a poor relation, and this old mediaeval reflex is so tenacious that it continues to the present day, with varying nuances and in varying degrees, to colour Mashriḳ-Maghrib relations at all levels, including that of music. In spite of all the developments that have taken place, the Maghrib still admires the Mashriḳ and imports from it, much more than it exports to it, cultural consumer goods such as books, films and records.

We are concerned here with a very ancient phenomenon which deserves analysis and explanation, and to which no overall study has yet been devoted. The following are examples dating back to the first two centuries of Islam: Abū Muḥammad Ibn ʿImrān al-Tudjībī (d. 125/743 or 745), resident in Tunis, cherished a genuine feeling of exile in this "barren corner", that is the Maghrib (M. Talbi, *L'Emirat aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 43); the Tunisian Ibn Farrūkh, who studied in ʿIrāḳ under Abū Ḥanīfa (80-150/700-68 [*q.v.*]), was humiliated on account of his Maghribi demeanour (*li 'l-maghribiyya*, *ibid.*, 20); Asad b. al-Furāt (d. 212/827 [*q.v.*]), who became one of the most eminent teachers of al-Ḳayrawān, was allowed to attend lectures given by Mālik (d. 179/796 [*q.v.*]) to a group of Egyptians, because he was too intelligent to remain in the class of the Maghāriba (*ibid.*, 20); etc. The Maghrib was thus visibly subject to an inferiority complex *vis-à-vis* the Mashriḳ, a fact which led Ibn Bassām (d. 542/1147) to write indignantly: "The people of our lands are eager to ape the Orientals . . . to such an extent that if a raven were to croak in those distant horizons, or a fly to buzz in the furthermost extremities of Syria or ʿIrāḳ, they would fall on their knees as if before an idol, and recite all this like words of Scripture" (*Dhakhīra*, ed. Cairo 1358/1931, i/1, 2).

This explains why the dominant direction for the movement of élites has above all been established as from the West to East. For purposes of demonstration, it may be noted that al-Maḳḳarī (d. 1041/1641 [*q.v.*]) compiled a list of 307 Andalusians who visited the Orient (*Nafḥ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968, ii, 5-704) as against 148 Orientals who made the reverse journey (*ibid.*, iii, 5-149). An even more significant fact is that no great poet of Damascus, of Baghdād or of Cairo, in fact, no poet at all, ever set out on the road to the Maghrib. The *riḥla*, a journey usually with the combined objectives of pilgrimage, of study and occasionally also of trade, took place, for evident religious cult and cultural reasons, in an eastward direction. The traveller usually returned to his own land endowed with knowledge and prestige.

But it very often happened that a traveller settled permanently in the Orient. Thus Maghribī colonies were formed in the major eastern metropolises which marked the pilgrimage routes, particularly at Alexandria, at Cairo, at Ḳūs, at Damascus, at Medina and at Mecca. In the absence of a systematic general study, their history is still fragmentarily and imper-

fectly understood. It may, however, be assumed that if the Maghribī presence was felt, and at times concentrated, in the East, it never played in history and in society a role equivalent to that of the Persians of the Turks. In particular, there was no Maghribī *shuʿūbiyya*, and no influence on institutions or on the style of life.

Berber women were highly regarded in the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid courts. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) requested some of them from his governor of Ifrīḳiya (M. Talbi, *op. laud.*, 33); Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75), himself the son of a Berber mother, Salāma, married a woman from al-Ḳayrawān, Umm Mūsā, mother of the future caliph Muḥammad al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85); Rāḥ, originating from the Nafza tribe, was the mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil (138-72/756-88), the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain; Ḳatūl was the mother of al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902); and Ḳarāṭīs was the mother of al-Ḳāhir (320-3/932-4; M. Talbi, *op. laud.*, 42-3).

In the armies of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs, the role of the Maghribīs, without ever having the importance of the Khurāsānīs or of the Turks, was far from being negligible. Under the leadership of Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, Berbers played a decisive part in the conquest of Spain. In 98/717 the army of Ifrīḳiya (*djaysh Ifrīḳiya*), led by al-Mughīra b. Abī Burda al-Ḳurashī, participated in a major assault, which ultimately met with failure, on Constantinople (Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Paris 1915, 22; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 49). In Baghdād, it was from the time of the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) that the Maghāriba began to play, in the army and under officers drawn from their own ranks, a considerable role. They received pay equal to that of the Turks (al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1968, ix, 155), and, with the latter, they nominated al-Mustaʿīn (248-52/862-66) as successor to al-Muntaṣir (247-8/861-2; al-Ṭabarī, ix, 256). They abandoned him subsequently, taking an oath of loyalty, again in partnership with the Turks who played the role of a driving force, to al-Muʿtazz (al-Ṭabarī, ix, 287) and participated actively in the civil war which broke out between 251/865 and 252/866 (al-Ṭabarī, ix, 290, 295, 304-39). In 255/869 they took part in the dethronement and assassination of al-Muʿtazz, who was unable to pay their salaries and those of the Turks, and, from this moment onward, they ceased to occupy the forefront of the stage.

It is not until the time of the Fāṭimids that the Maghribīs are seen making a massive influx into the Orient. The Fāṭimids owed their victory to the Kutāma Berbers [*q.v.*], and the latter followed them to Cairo and to Damascus, forming the spearhead of their army and of their Ismāʿīlī propaganda. Djawhar al-Ṣiḳillī, the conqueror of Egypt, gave them positions of authority at all levels of powers. "In all functions, without exception, Djawhar appointed a Maghribī as partner to the official who already held the post", writes al-Maḳrīzī (*Ittiʿāẓ*, 78). Between 361/972 and 363/974, the Kutāma were the instigators of numerous riots in Cairo. In 386/996 they imposed their chieftain, Ibn ʿAmmār, on the caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1020). In Damascus, the presence of the Maghāriba also led to trouble. The most serious riot, in which they clashed with the indigenous population, broke out in 461/1069. The town and the Great Mosque suffered severe damage.

Numerous representatives of the Maghribī élite were not content with visiting the East; they settled there. Obviously, an exhaustive list cannot be presented here. For purposes of illustration, the following are among the most eminent: al-Ṭurṭūshī, born in Tortosa in 451/1059 and died *ca.* 525/1131 in Egypt, where he exercised wide influence as a *faḳīh* and ascetic; Ibn Djubayr, the celebrated author of a *riḥla*, born in Valencia in 540/1145 and died in 614/1217 in Alexandria, where he gathered around him a circle for the study of tradition and of Ṣūfism; Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (560-638/1165-1240 [*q.v.*]), the most famous and most controversial of the Ṣūfīs, born in Murcia and buried in Damascus in the *turba* of the distinguished family of the Ibn al-Zakī, who had welcomed him; the historian ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī who, born in Marrakesh in 581/1185, took the road to the East in 613/1216 and died there some time after 621/1224, having lived successively in Egypt, Baghdād, the Ḥidjāz and Damascus; Ibn Marzūḳ (*ca.* 710-81/1310-79 [*q.v.*]), who, born in Tlemcen, left in 771/1370 for Cairo where he enjoyed high repute and became *ḳāḍī*, preacher and teacher; Ibn Khaldūn who, born in Tunis in 732/1332, settled permanently in Cairo (784-808/1382-1406), without ever relinquishing his Maghribī clothing; al-Maḳḳarī who, born in Tlemcen in 986/1578, left in 1027/1618 for the Orient, where he composed at the request of his students in Damascus his much-praised *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, dying in Cairo in 1041/1641.

Among the contemporaries, the following may be noted: Bayram al-Tūnusī (1840-89), author of the *Ṣafwat al-iʿtibār*, who settled in Cairo; the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (1807-83) who, freed and given a pension by the French authorities, in 1855 chose to live in Damascus where he played an appreciable moderating role; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Wardīghī al-Maghribī (d. 1895), who was one of the most eminent teachers of al-Azhar; and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazāʾirī (1887-1945), a distinguished member of the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Finally, it may be recalled that the founder of a religion—that of the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*]—Yūnus b. Ilyās b. Ṭarīf (227-71/842-84), sought his inspiration in the Orient (M. Talbi, *Hérésie, acculturation et nationalisme des Berbères Barghawāṭa*, in *Actes du premier congrès d'études des cultures méditerranéennes d'influence arabo-berbère*, Algiers 1973, 217-33), and that the founder of a school and of a state, Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] (*ca.* 471-524/1078-1130), there brought together the elements of the doctrine which gave birth to the Almohad movement.

The presence of Maghāriba in the East was not confined exclusively to distinguished individuals. It also comprised populous colonies of merchants, students and various types of émigrés. Information on these colonies is very scanty. Only that of the Ifrīḳiyan Jews who settled in Cairo between the 11th and 13th centuries is fairly well-known today, through the medium of the Geniza documents, edited by S. D. Goitein (*A Mediterranean society*, i, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1967, ii, Berkeley-Los Angeles -London 1971, iii, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1978; and *Letters of medieval Jewish traders*, Princeton 1974). These documents reveal a well-organised and perfectly-structured world, endowed with efficient means of communication and of currency transfer, all of this in the service of important commercial operations covering not only the whole of the Mediterranean basin but extending as far as the Indian Ocean. The recent study by J.-C. Garcin has in addition underlined the decisive role played by

the Maghāriba in the restoration and reinforcement of Sunnism in Egypt after the fall of the Fāṭimids. At Ḳunā [*q.v.*] on the pilgrimage route and a day's march to the north of Ḳūs [*q.v.*], they settled in large numbers. "The town to a large extent owed its new prosperity to the prestige which it acquired when saintly persons, most of them Maghribī, settled there, died there and were buried in its cemetery which became a place of pilgrimage in its own right. These ascetics and mystics were distinguished by their Sunnism, and it was through them rather than through the direct influence of circles in Alexandria or Cairo that the Sunnī 'counter-reformation' spread among the people" (*Un centre musulman ... Qūṣ*, Cairo 1976, 161). This example is not unique. Louis Pouzet, in a well-documented article (*Maghrébins à Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle*, in *BEO*, xxviii [1977], 167-99) stresses how the Maghāriba, installed in large numbers in Syria, "where able to profit from circumstances relatively unfavourable towards them (exile and partially enforced emigration, personal difficulties of a doctrinal kind and otherwise, political agitation and upheavals in the very land of their exile, etc.) to establish a presence of the very highest level for some of them, and quite prestigious for the 'Maghribī colony' of Damascus as a whole" (192). In the 18th century, the presence of Maghāriba in Cairo is seen to be more numerous and varied than ever: students at al-Azhar having at their disposal a *riwāḳ* of their own and constituting a pressure-group which could show itself formidable on certain occasions; traders exercising a monopoly over the marketing of certain products such as oil or *ṭarbūshs*; etc. (A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, Damascus 1974, i, 171, 191, 201, ii, 52, 419, 452, 470-6, 507, 518). Their number is estimated at 15,000 or 20,000 persons, firmly installed in certain quarters such as that of the Ibn Ṭūlūn Mosque. On his arrival in Egypt, Bonaparte clashed with them; unable to dislodge them from Cairo, he contemplated utilising them and decided to raise a "Maghribī battalion" constituted of "energetic scoundrels, as pitiless as their chief" (A. Raymond, *Tunisiens et Maghrébins au Caire au dix-huitième siècle*, in *CT* [1959], nos. 26-7, 364-5). This enterprise failed, since the Maghribīs were among those who responded most enthusiastically to the call for resistance. The establishment of the French in North Africa gave rise to a vast migratory movement, essentially in three phases: 1881-8, 1890-1908 and 1909-14. In general, Algerians settled in Syria, and Tunisians in Constantinople, in Egypt and in Tripolitania (P. Bardin, *Algériens et Tunisiens dans l'Empire Ottoman de 1848 à 1914*, Paris 1978).

Recent history provides further examples of the continuity of the Maghribī presence in the East. The Tunisian nationalist leader, al-Shaykh al-Thaʿālibī, visited Egypt in 1898, met the reformist scholar Muḥammad ʿAbduh, was influenced by him and introduced his ideas in Tunisia (N. A. Ziadeh, *Origins of nationalism in Tunisia*, Beirut 1962, 97 ff.). Later, when the Arab League was created, President Habib Bourguiba, then leader of the Néo-Destour Party, travelled secretly to Cairo in March 1945. With the Moroccan Istiḳlāl and the PPA (*Parti Populaire Algérien*) he established there, in 1947, the "Bureau du Maghreb" before returning to Tunis on 8 September 1949.

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in the body of the article, information may be gleaned from all sources of a historical or geographical nature, in particular from the *Riḥlas* and the *Ṭabaḳāt*. (M. Talbi)

AL-MAGHĀZĪ (also *maghāzī 'l-nabī*, *maghāzī rasūl allāh*), a term which, from the time of the work on the subject ascribed to al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/823), if not earlier, has signified in particular the expeditions and raids organised by the Prophet Muḥammad in the Medinan period.

The first such sortie is reported by al-Waḳidī to have involved a party of thirty men led by Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, which in 1/623 briefly intercepted a Ḳurashī caravan heading for Mecca from Syria on the coastal route (other accounts differ). The last was an expedition in the direction of Syria by an army of 3,000 men under the command of Usāma b. Zayd in 11/632, immediately following the Prophet's death. For al-Wāḳidī (largely followed by Ibn Saʿd), the compass of the term *al-maghāzī* appears to have included important *ghazwas* (such as those of Uḥud, al-Khandaḳ, al-Ḥudaybiyya, Khaybar, Mecca, Ḥunayn and Tabûk; Badr is elsewhere styled a *ghazwa*, but not by al-Wāḳidī), small-scale *sariyyas* (such as that of Ḥamza), acts of assassination of individuals (notably Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf), and such other significant events of the period as the pilgrimage of 9/631, the *ḥidjdjat al-wadāʿ* of 10/632, and the death of the Prophet in 11/632. In this narrower sense of events in the Medinan period, principally expeditions, raids and assassinations numbering in excess of eighty, but also in a broader sense of the Prophet's biography and background, the term *al-maghāzī* came to be rooted in the Islamic reflective tradition at an early stage and was perpetuated in later works both for the more serious purposes of *ʿilm*, e.g. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071), al-Kalāʿī (d. 634/1237) and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334), and on a popular level, particularly with poetic embellishments reminiscent of chansons de geste (see Paret).

It is this broader sense of the term *maghāzī* which appears to have been prevalent in respect of the earliest Muslim transmissions relating to the period of the Prophet (see, for example, the comments by Sezgin, 251, 275). Moreover, while Sachau's suggestion that the term *maghāzī* was a calque on the "struggles" of Christian spiritual athletes (*Das Berliner Fragment*, 448) may be unconvincing, it is nonetheless apparent that it was the term *maghāzī* that characterised the early transmissions and that the term *sīra* emerged only later as signifying a literary genre relating specifically to the Prophet. In 1899, Hartmann (*Die angebliche sīra*, 32) opined that Ibn Isḥāḳ "hat keine *sīra* geschrieben" and it has since been proposed (Hinds, *Maghāzī and Sīra*) (1) that not just Ibn Isḥāḳ but *all* transmitters and compilers before Ibn Hishām (d. 218/834 or 213) who dealt with material about the period of the Prophet in general regarded that material as being about *maghāzī*; (2) that Ibn Hishām, in using the term *sīra*, was simply introducing the bulk of the *Maghāzī* of Ibn Isḥāḳ with a term which was in the idiom of his own time; and (3) that it was probably al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/823) who was the first to view *maghāzī* and *sīra* as fields of study which were related but could somehow be differentiated—a view in which he was evidently followed by Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845). Those scholars who concerned themselves with *maghāzī* and pre-deceased Ibn Isḥāḳ (whose probable date of death was 150/767) included notably ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/714), al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) and Mūsā b. ʿUḳba (d. 141/758) (for further names and details, see Horovitz; al-Dūrī, *Baḥth*, 20-7, 61-113; and

Sezgin, 276-87); in addition, a *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* is ascribed to each of seven compilers who died after Ibn Isḥāḳ, but before al-Wāḳidī (viz. Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 154/770), Abū Maʿshar Nadjīḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 170/786), ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 176/792), ʿAlī b. Mudjāhid (d. 182/798), Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī (d. 194/809), al-Walīd b. Muslim al-Umawī (d. 195/810), and ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812)), while the few works dating from the same period which contain the term *sīra* in their titles bear no relation to the Prophet (see Hinds for references).

Just how broad the scope of these early *maghāzī* works was is difficult to determine, since (apart from a few papyri) they survive only in later recensions (in the case of the work of Ibn Isḥāḳ) or as fragmented citations in later compilations (in the case of the other works). While the existing recensions of Ibn Isḥāḳ's work are restricted in scope to the period and background of the Prophet, it has been proposed by Horovitz (*The earliest biographies*, 166-7) in respect of the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* of Mūsā b. ʿUḳba that that work may have included material relating not only to the period of the first four caliphs but also to the Umayyad period. Although Schacht (*On Mūsā b. ʿUqba's kitāb al-maghāzī*, 296) did not accept this proposal, other evidence has since become available to support the view that, in early Islamic times, the subject matter of *maghāzī* was drawn at least from the period of the first four caliphs in addition to that of the Prophet. This evidence is to be found in the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* contained within the *Muṣannaf* of the Yemeni *muḥaddith* ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī (126-211/744-827), where the majority of the reports bear the *isnād* Maʿmar b. Rāshid from al-Zuhrī and presumably reflect the view of those two authorities about what constituted the proper subject matter of *maghāzī*. The account starts with the digging of the well of Zamzam (as does Yūnus b. Bukayr's recension of Ibn Isḥāḳ's *Maghāzī*), moves on to the background of the Prophet and the main events of his lifetime, and then touches on various events after the Prophet's death; these events include the *bayʿa* of Abū Bakr at the Saḳīfat Banī Sāʿida, Abū Bakr's appointment of ʿUmar as his successor, the conflict between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, the *shūrā*, the *ghazwa* (*sic*) of al-Ḳādisiyya, and the marriage of Fāṭima.

The published papyri shed little light on the general character of early *maghāzī* works. The earliest relevant document so far known is an eight-line papyrus text dated by Grohmann to the early 2nd/8th century, which contains some details about the battle of Badr (*Arabic papyri from Ḫirbet el-Mird*, Louvain 1963, 82-4, 105). Kister (*Notes on the papyrus text*) has pointed out that the last section of the Chicago papyrus (Or. Inst. 17635) dealing with Badr, Biʾr Maʿūna and the B. al-Naḍīr, which is dated by Abbott to the late 2nd/8th century and attributed by her to Maʿmar b. Rāshid (i, document 5), is textually almost identical with a passage in Abū Nuʿaym's *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (Hyderabad 1320, 176), where the *isnād* ends with Ibn Lahīʿa—Abu 'l-Aswad (d. 131/748)—ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr; Kister himself is inclined to ascribe authorship (*sic*) of the papyrus to Ibn Lahīʿa (d. 174/790). The early 3rd/9th century Heidelberg papyrus on the meeting at al-ʿAḳaba, the conference of Ḳuraysh in the *dār al-nadwa*, the *hidjra*, and the expedition against Khathʿam, which has an *isnād* going back to Wahb b. al-Munabbih, is accorded the Arabic title *maghāzī Rasūl Allāh* by Khoury, although this phrase nowhere appears in the text itself.

It is therefore clear that only the eight-line Khirbat al-Mird papyrus can conceivably be regarded as being from the earliest (i.e. pre-ʿAbbāsid) period, and this is obviously too truncated to provide any definitive picture of the shape of the *maghāzī* works which are reported to have existed at that time. Otherwise, we have only citations at one remove or more in later works, and later references to the existence of early *maghāzī* works. One such report, which has been noted in modern studies, is given by al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), with an *isnād* going back to al-Zuhrī, according to which the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, on seeing one of his sons with *ḥadīth al-maghāzī*, gave orders for it to be burned and enjoined him (instead) to recite the *Kitāb Allāh* and know and act according to the *sunna* (*Anonyme arabische Chronik, Band XI*, 172; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 206 (Eng. tr. 191-2); Abbott, i, 17). Goldziher, while remarking that there seems to be "nothing against admitting the existence of such literature in early times", also comments that "the text of this account unmistakeably bears the stamp of those circles who condemned unauthenticated *maghāzī* in favour of authentically recommended traditions", and in this connection he goes on to cite the saying attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal that "three things have no *aṣl*: *tafsīr*, the *malāḥim* and the *maghāzī*" (see also Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 57).

The purpose of, and the climate of opinion about, the study of *al-maghāzī* from the second half of the 2nd/8th century onwards are, however, matters requiring further research and only a few brief additional comments can be made here. Ibn Isḥāḳ is reported to have committed his material on *al-maghāzī* to writing for the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, who instructed his son al-Mahdī to study the subject with that compiler (Abbott, i, 89; Watt, *The materials used by Ibn Isḥaq*, 31); and Hārūn al-Rashīd's chief *ḳāḍī*, Abū Yūsuf, who had been Ibn Isḥāḳ's pupil (Abbott, i, 92), is said to have been interested in *maghāzī*, *tafsīr* and *ayyām al-ʿarab* (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 207). It is apparent that one practical application of the study of *maghāzī* was in that area of *fiḳh* called *siyar*, which was concerned with the rules of war and of dealings with non-Muslims, apostates and rebels. The term *siyar* appears in the *corpus iuris* ascribed to Zayd b. ʿAlī (*kitāb al-siyar, bāb al-ghazw wa 'l-siyar*), is supposed to have been used by Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), was the name by which the work of al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774) was known to Abū Yūsuf and al-Shāfiʿī, and figures in the titles of two works by al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805); it was, moreover, a term which, as the 8th/14th-century lexicographer al-Fayyūmī explains, "took over from [the term] *al-maghāzī* on the tongues of the *fuḳahāʾ*". While this seems in general to be true, the same type of material also appeared elsewhere under other rubrics: the appropriate section in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik is entitled neither *maghāzī* nor *siyar* but *djihād*; in the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī the *kitāb al-djihād* includes the sort of material that the *fuḳahāʾ* were styling *siyar*, but the work also includes a *kitāb al-maghāzī* (as noted above); the later al-Bukhārī has separate books on *djihād* (*bāb* 1; *faḍl al-djihād wa 'l-siyar*) and on *maghāzī*, but he seems to be the exception in this respect among the 3rd/9th century compilers of *ḥadīth* material—the other compilations contain books on *djihād* (and, in some cases, *siyar*) but not

on *maghāzī* (for references, see Hinds, *Maghāzī and Sīra*). This declining interest in *maghāzī* as such was accompanied by the emergent view that Ibn Isḥāḳ had drawn material from Jews and Christians (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vi, 401; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, ix, 45) and that he and [at least some] other *aṣḥāb al-maghāzī* had Shīʿī inclinations (*Udabā'*, vi, 400); in addition, Ibn Ḥanbal is reported as having said that Ibn Isḥāḳ's handling of *isnād*s rendered him unsuitable as an authority for *ḥadīth* (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 43), and the same consideration may have been behind his reported denunciation of al-Wāḳidī as *kadhdhāb* (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 364).

There remains the question of how useful the *maghāzī* material is for the purpose of historical reconstruction of the early Islamic period. Here it may be remarked first that there are considerable chronological and other discrepancies between the accounts available; these have been discussed most recently by Jones (*On the chronology . . .*) and Kister (*The expedition of Bi'r Maʿūna*). In more general terms, however, Watt sees "little ground for doubting the truth of the main events of the *maghāzī*" and is of the opinion that "the *maghāzī*-material (in the special sense of the main outline of events, and omitting all anecdotes) . . . is an essential foundation for the biography of Muḥammad and his times" (*The materials used by Ibn Isḥāq*, 28). On the other hand, Sellheim has attempted to discern the main tendencies of Ibn Isḥāḳ according to "layering" of sources (*Quellenschichtung*), involving an original layer which reflects historical reality, a further layer made up of legendary material about the Prophet, and a top layer reflecting political tendencies of Ibn Isḥāḳ's own time (*Prophet, Chalif und Geschichte*). Such an approach is not wholly incompatible with Schacht's conclusions that an *isnād* cannot alone guarantee the authenticity of a work ascribed to an author of the early 2nd/8th century and that in general "the more perfect the *isnād*, the later the tradition" (*JRAS* [1949], 147). From this standpoint, Schacht has examined the short Mūsā b. ʿUḳba text (an edition of the 4th/9th century) published by Sachau and has challenged Sachau's view that the text contains no elements from the ʿAbbāsid period. Schacht has seen the growth in the 2nd and 3rd centuries of traditions ascribed to Mūsā as typical of the way in which spurious information was put into circulation, and has concluded that "the whole of the standard biography of Mūsā in the later works is without documentary value, particularly the touching picture, taken seriously by Sachau and Horovitz, of his regular lectures to a circle of pupils in the mosque of Medina. This presupposes the concept of Medina as the home of Islamic learning, a concept which was as yet unknown to Shāfiʿī (d. 204)" (*On Mūsā b. ʿUqba's kitāb al-maghāzī*, 299).

More recently, Wansbrough, who also doubts the feasibility of historical reconstruction of the Islamic period up to *ca.* 200 A.H., has viewed the *sīra-maghāzī* literature (as he terms it) as an Islamic adaption of Biblical salvation history. In his opinion "the earliest expression of Islamic soteriology consisted in membership of the *umma*" and it is in the *sīra-maghāzī* literature "that the earliest formulation of Muslim identity is contained" (*The sectarian milieu*, 89), the conceptual motive in this (as in scripture and *sunna*) being polemic (103). Wansbrough sees a transition from the *sīra-maghāzī* literature, where *ecclesia* is the dominant cognitive category and precedent is historically articulated, to the *sunna-ḥadīth* literature, where *nomos* is the dominant cognitive category and precedent is "idealized and hence shorn of its historical dimension" (87); for him, the Ibn Isḥāḳ-Wāḳidī-Bukhārī development from *sīra* to *sunna* marked a passage from loosely structured *narratio* to concise *exemplum* (77-8). In modification of this view, however, it should be remarked that the signification of *sīra* was also close to that of *exemplum* and that the passage was rather from *maghāzī* to *sunna* via *sīra*, the *sīra* material being essentially *maghāzī* material viewed in a new light. It can also be noted that, while the narrowing-down of the scope of the *maghāzī* to the period and background of the Prophet seems to have been conventional from the 3rd/9th century onwards, it is nonetheless difficult to discern a point at which al-Wāḳidī's even narrower definition gained any exclusive currency. It seems rather that the two senses of *maghāzī* co-existed: in the broader of the senses, the term echoed an earlier scope which had been yet broader (note particularly the title of al-Kalāʿī's work) and seems to have been used more or less synonymously with the term *sīra* as a genre label; the narrower sense appears to have been a more technical one, i.e. the *maghāzī* "proper", as distinct from the *mabʿath*, for example. The term *sīra*, while occurring as a genre label more or less synonymous with *maghāzī*, also came to signify pre-eminently the account of the Prophet's life and background as transmitted by Ibn Hishām on the basis of the work of Ibn Isḥāḳ—the *maghāzī* which became *sīra* as *exemplum*, only to be largely superseded by the *sunna-ḥadīth* literature.

Bibliography: For a general survey, see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, Leiden 1967, 237-56, 275-302; Sezgin is incorrect when he suggests (306) that Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahīdib*, i, 167 ascribes a work on *al-maghāzī* to Wahb b. Munabbih (the reference is to *maghāzī* material from [ʿAbd Allāh] b. Wahb)—for further critical comments on Sezgin's remarks about Wahb b. Munabbih and *al-maghāzī*, see R. G. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih: der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23*, Wiesbaden 1972, Teil 1, 12; Sezgin is also incorrect in saying (38) that the *Fihrist* (see 228, 9) attributes a work on *al-maghāzī* to Hushaym b. Bashīr.

The main surviving texts (other than major chronicles) dealing with *al-maghāzī* are: Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*: extant portions (mainly in the recension of Yūnus b. Bukayr) ed. by M. Ḥamīd Allāh under the title *Sīrat Ibn Isḥāḳ* (Rabat 1976) and by S. Zakkār under the title *Kitāb al-Siyar wa 'l-maghāzī* (Beirut 1978); al-Wāḳidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. J. M. B. Jones, London 1966 (for a version in German, see J. Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina. Das ist Vakidi's Kitab al-Maghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe*, Berlin 1882); ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, in vol. v of *al-Muṣannaf*, Beirut 1970-2; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Saḳḳā *et alii*, Cairo 1955 (for a version in English, see A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad: a translation of* [Ibn Hishām's recension of Ibn] *Isḥāq's Sīrat rasūl allāh* (*sic*), London 1955); Ibn Saʿd, ii/1: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Durar fi 'khtiṣār al-maghāzī wa 'l-siyar*, ed. Sh. Ḍayf, Cairo 1966; al-Kalāʿī, *al-Iktifā' fī maghāzī rasūl allāh wa 'l-thalātha al-khulafā'*, i, ed. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Beirut 1968; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa-'l-shamā'il wa'l-siyar*, Cairo 1356; al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn fī sīrat al-amīn al-ma'mūn al-maʿrūfa bi'l-sīra 'l-ḥalabiyya*, Būlāḳ 1875 (with

al-Sīra al-nabawiyya wa'l-āthār al-muḥammadiyya by Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān in the margin).

Other references: M. Hartmann, *Die angebliche sira des Ibn Isḥāq*, in *Der islamische Orient: Berichte und Forschungen*, i, Berlin 1899, 32-34; E. Sachau, *Das Berliner Fragment des Mūsā Ibn ʿUḳba: ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der ältesten arabischen Geschichtslitteratur*, in *SBPr. Ak. W* (1904), 445-60; Caetani, *Annali*, i-ii/1; J. Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq: literar-historische Untersuchungen*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1925; J. Horovitz, *The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors*, in *IC*, i (1927), 537-59; ii (1928), 22-50, 164-82, 495-526; R. Paret, *Die legendäre Maghāzī-Literatur: arabische Dichtungen über die muslimischen Kriegzüge zu Mohammeds Zeit*, Tübingen 1930; J. Schacht, *On Mūsā b. ʿUqba's kitāb al-maghāzī*, in *AO*, xxi (1953), 288-300; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956 (339-43 for list of expeditions and dates); N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, i, *Historical texts*, Chicago 1957 (particularly 14-19, 65-79, 87-90); A. A. Duri, *Al-Zuhrī: a study on the beginnings of history writing in Islam*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 1-12; J. M. B. Jones, *The chronology of the maghāzī —a textual survey*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 245-80; idem, *Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī: the dream of ʿĀtika and the raid to Nakhla in relation to the charge of plagiarism*, in *BSOAS*, xxii (1959), 41-51; al-Dūrī, *Baḥth fī nashʾat ʿilm al-taʾrīkh ʿinda 'l-ʿarab*, Beirut 1960 (particularly 19-33); Watt, *The materials used by Ibn Isḥāq*, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Lewis and Holt, London 1962, 23-34; M. J. Kister, *Notes on the papyrus text about Muḥammad's campaign against the Banū al-Naḍīr*, in *ArO*, xxxii (1964), 233-6; idem, *The expedition of Biʾr Maʿūna*, in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 337-57; R. Sellheim, *Prophet, Chalif und Geschichte—die Muḥammad-Biographie des Ibn Isḥāq*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1965-6), 33-91; Kister, *On the papyrus of Wahb b. Munabbih*, in *BSOAS* xxxvii (1974), 545-71; J. Wansbrough, *The sectarian milieu: content and composition of Islamic salvation history*, Oxford 1978; M. Hinds, *«Maghāzī» and «Sīra» in early Islamic scholarship*, in *La vie du Prophète Mahomet*, colloque de Strasbourg, 23-24 octobre 1980, Paris 1983, 57-66. (M. HINDS)

MAGHĪLA, a Berber tribe belonging to the great branch of the Butr and related, if one is to believe the ancient Berber traditions cited by Ibn Khaldūn, to the tribes of Ḍarīsa, Saṭfūra, Lamāya, Maṭmāṭa, Ṣadīna, Malzūza and Madyūna who lived, in the early Middle Ages, in eastern Barbary.

It is also apparently in the same region that the ancient habitat of Maghīla is to be sought in the period in question. According to the Berber traditions cited by various early Arab historians, the Maghīla, after coming from Palestine into North Africa, reached Lūbiya (Libya), from where they made their way to the Maghrib, establishing themselves, before the Arab conquest, in the mountainous regions of this land, probably in the Djabal Dahar and Djabal Tebaga in south-eastern Tunisia. Vivien de Saint-Martin has suggested seeing in the Maghīla the Libyan tribe of the Mecales or Imacles of Corippus (6th century A.D.). This hypothesis appears very probable, despite the opposition of Stephane Gsell. Similarly, another hypothesis of Vivien de Saint-Martin and J. Desanges appears highly likely, according to which the Mecales of Corippus and the Maghīla of the Arabic sources were none other than the Makhlues of Herodotus, a Libyan tribe who lived, in the 5th century B.C., in south-eastern Tunisia. It is there, to the south-east of the Shott el-Djerid, that J. Desanges places the Makhlues and the Mecales. As for the Maghīla, we lack proof of Arabic sources on their habitat in eastern Barbary in the 1st-3rd/7th-9th century; however, Ibn Khurradādhbih enumerates them, in his geographical work composed *ca.* 232/846-7, among the Berber tribes of the east, counting them alongside well-known eastern tribes such as the Hawwāra, Ḍarīsa, Warfadjdjūma, Mazāta and Nafūsa.

Algeria. The Arab historians and geographers note the existence of two groups of the Maghīla in this country. One of them occupied, in the 8th/14th century, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the countryside from the mouth of the Chélif on the west as far as the town of Mazouna on the east. It seems that formerly the possessions of this group of Maghīla were larger and that they extended towards the east as far as the environs of the town of Ashīr, where al-Bakrī locates, in the 5th/11th century, "at the entrance of the great desert", the town of Tāmaghilt, whose name seems to be strictly linked to that of Maghīla. Further to the west, al-Bakrī places, at two days' journey from Tāhert, a castle which also bore the name of Tāmaghilt. It is again in the environs of Tāhart that there is to be found, according to al-Bakrī, at a distance of five *farsakhs* from the sea, very near Oued el-Khamis, to the north of the town of Mazouna, a locality called Ḳalʿa Maghīla Dalūl, also doubtless named after a section of the Maghīla who lived there. On the west side also, the limits of the territory of the Maghīla exceeded, in the 5th/11th century, those of the 8th/14th century. Indeed, it is in the territory of the tribe of Maghīla that the town of Aslen was situated, which was to be found immediately to the east of the mouth of the Tafna, and to the east of the island of Arashḳūl, Rachgoun on our maps. It is from one of the ports of the Algerian Maghīla that there set sail, in 138/755, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya, in order to disembark at al-Munakkab (Almuñecar) in al-Andalūs. In our opinion, this port is none other than Marsā Maghīla, an anchorage situated a little to the west of Ténès, which is noted in the geographical work of al-Bakrī.

Another Algerian section of the Maghīla lived, in the 2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries, in a region situated in the province of Tlemcen. Ibn Khaldūn says that the Zanāta tribe of Banū Īfran domiciled in this region, supported by Berbers of the tribe of Maghīla, revolted in 148/765 against the ʿAbbāsids, "having chosen as their chief Abū Ḳurra the Īfranid, or rather the Maghīlid". In another passage of his work, Ibn Khaldūn however puts in doubt Abū Ḳurra's belonging to the Maghīla. He says only that the Banū Īfran and the Maghīla lived alongside each other, the Banū Īfran being stronger and more numerous. According to another passage of Ibn Khaldūn's work, the Maghīla professed the Ṣufrī faith. They lived always in the lands which depended on the town of Tlemcen towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, and al-Bakrī cites an Arabic poem which speaks of the losses of this tribe in a war which took place in 338/949-50.

Morocco. In Morocco also, there were, according to al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī, Ibn Khaldūn and other Arab mediaeval authors, two branches of the tribe of Maghīla, of which the remnants lived in the

8th/14th century dispersed in the triangle formed by the towns of Fās, Meknès and Sefrou. One of these branches occupied the region situated to the south-east of Fās, where the mediaeval Arab geographers place, halfway between Fās and Meknès, the fortress called Maghīla. Al-Bakrī also locates there a district called Maghīla, which, in his period, was under the command of a certain Mūsā b. Djalīd. Al-Bakrī places to the south of Fās, on the road leading from this capital to Sidjilmāsa, two localities doubtless inhabited by the Maghīla, of which one was called Maghīlat Ibn Tidjāmān (its population professed the Ṣufrī faith), while the other was Maghīlat al-Ḳāṭ. It seems that these two fortresses belonged to the same branch of the Maghīla as that which was governed Mūsā b. Djalīd. They were also perhaps the same Maghīla as those who, united with the Awraba and Ṣadīna, supported the cause of the Idrīsids from the arrival of Idrīs I b. ʿAbd Allāh in the north of present-day Morocco. Another branch of the Maghīla occupied, in the 5th/11th century, the district of Maghīla which al-Bakrī locates to the south of Oued Ouergha, to the north-west of Fās and which has to be distinguished from the district of Maghīla situated to the south-west of the same town.

It may further be added that it is to the tribe of Maghīla that Ibn Abi 'l-Madjd al-Maghīlī belonged, author of a genealogical work devoted to the Berbers and quite frequently cited in the Maghribī chronicles.

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(T. Lewicki)

AL-**MAGHĪLĪ**, Maḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm, reformist *faḳih* of Tlemcen, chiefly famed for his persecution of the Jewish community of Tuwāt (Touat) in the Algerian Sahara and for the advice he gave to Sudanic rulers. The general outline of his career is fairly well established, but many details remain obscure. He was born in Tlemcen. *ca.* 1440 of Berber stock and studied under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī (d. 875/1470) and Yaḥyā b. Yadīr al-Tadallisī (d. 877/1472). At an uncertain date he took up residence in Tamanṭīṭ, then the principal fortified town (*ḳaṣr*) of the Tuwāt oasis, which was closely linked to Tlemcen and to the towns of the Sudanic belt by the ties of commerce.

The prosperity of the Jewish community there and in the neighbouring oasis of Gurāra, and the connivance of the Arab chiefs in ignoring the letter of the law in regard to these "protected persons", aroused his ire. He wrote a treatise (*R. fi aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*) asserting that the Jews of Tuwāt had broken their pact (*ʿahd*) with the Muslims, and thus forfeited their protection, by not paying *djizya* regularly in a state of "abasement and humiliation" (*al-dhill wa 'l-ṣaghār*) and by "rebelling against Islamic laws" (*al-tamarrud ʿalā 'l-aḥkām*) through too close an association with their Muslim overlords. He also claimed that the existence of the Tuwāt synagogue was contrary to Islamic law and demanded its destruction.

Both he and the *ḳāḍi* of Tamanṭīṭ, ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAṣnūnī, who opposed his views, sought the support of North African scholars. The majority favoured al-ʿAṣnūnī's interpretation, but the support al-Maghīlī received from two Tlemcen scholars, the historian al-Tanasī and the theologian al-Sanūsī (al-Wansharīsī, *al-Miʿyār al-mughrib*, Fās 1315/1897-8, ii, 170-202; tr. in *Archives Marocaines*, xii [1908], 244-65, who adds his own view which supports theirs), was sufficient to encourage him to rouse a mob to destroy the synagogue. He also offered seven *mithḳāls* of gold for every Jew killed.

Not long after these events, which probably took place shortly before 1490, al-Maghīlī left Tuwāt, possible expelled on account of his unwelcome zeal, but this is not clear. It may be at this period that he visited Fās, where he made an unsuccessful attempt to establish his influence with the Waṭṭāsid sultan Muḥammad al-Shaykh (Ibn ʿAskar, *Dawḥa*, 96, is the one source to report this bizarre episode). He then left North Africa for *Bilād al-Sūdān*, stopping first at the important commercial centre of Takidda (Tegidda, identified with Azelik to the west-south-west of the Aïr massif) to teach and preach, and passing on to Katsina and Kano, then burgeoning city-states. He had contact with the ruler of Kano, Seriki (*sulṭān*) Muḥammad Runfā, as early as 879/1491-2, when he addressed him a letter on "deterring people from forbidden acts" (text in Būnār's edn. of *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, misleadingly titled *Miṣbaḥ al-arwāḥ* [a different work by al-Maghīlī], 73-7). He evidently resided several years in Kano, for a family there still claims descent from him (and "Sharifian" status), and it is no doubt while he was there that he wrote his longer treatise of advice for Muḥammad Runfā (published under the invented title (*Tādj al-dīn fī mā yadjib ʿalā 'l-mulūk*, Beirut 1932).

The date and duration of his visit to Katsina are not known, but before the close of the century he was in Gao advising the Songhay ruler Askia Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr after the latter's return from pilgrimage. His replies to that ruler's questions legitimised the Askia's seizure of the goods and chattels of his predecessor, Sunni ʿAlī, and strengthened his claims to sovereignty over a wide area of Muslim territory in the Sudanic belt. On hearing of his son's death in Tuwāt at the hand of a group of Jews, al-Maghīlī called on the Askia to arrest all Tuwātīs in his realm and only the opposition of the *ḳāḍi* of Timbuktu, Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar, prevented persecution. He subsequently returned to Tuwāt and died there under unknown circumstances in 909/1503-4 or 910/1505-6.

His known writings total twenty-six items, mainly on topics of *fiḳh* and *tawḥīd*. He also had an interest in formal logic (*manṭiḳ*). He exchanged verse polemics with al-Suyūṭī, who declared its study forbidden, and wrote a treatise called *Minaḥ al-Wahhāb fī radd al-fikr ʿalā 'l-ṣawāb*, which was widely studied in West Africa. The treatises he wrote during his Sudanic tour were known to the 19th century reformers of

Māsina and Sokoto. ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*] used his arguments concerning the anathematisation (*takfīr*) of Sunni ʿAlī to justify his attacks on the Hausa rulers and other passages of the "Replies" were quoted to show that Bornū was a "land of unbelief".

The Kunta [*q.v.*] revere him as one of the four "regenerators" (*mudjaddidūn*) of the 10th century of the Hidjra. They, and all other Ḳādirīs of West Africa whose affiliations go back through the Kunta *silsila*, consider him an important link in the clain, though this chain can be shown to be ahistorical, and it is doubtful if al-Maghīlī himself had received the *wird* of the order.

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(J. O. Hunwick)

MAGHNĀṬĪS, Maghnatīs, Maghnīṭīs, Arabic rendering of ἡ μαγνῆτις (λίθος), indicating 1. the magnetite and 2. the compass.

1. The Magnetite and Magnetism

The magnetite (lodestone, magnetic iron ore, Fe_3O_4) is a very widely-spread mineral, well-known since antiquity, and found in huge quantities in individual deposits as well as a finely-allotted constituent of almost all kinds of volcanic rock. The Islamic natural scientists, geographers, cosmographers and encyclopaedists transmit much information about its properties. The magnetite is first of all "the stone which attracts iron" (see e.g. al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, ed. Van Vloten, 262 f.). Al-Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, Ḥaydarābād 1355, 212-15, has a circumstantial chapter on it. According to him, *maghnāṭīs* shares with amber (*kahrabāʾ*) the property of attraction, but is more satisfactory than the latter for extracting particles of iron from the human body. The name is correctly explained as being Greek, while *aramitīḳun* (ἀδάμας or ἀδαμάντινον) and *abraḳalītā* (λίθος ἡρακλεία are given as synonyms, although the first, as is well-known, indicates the diamond; for the confusion of the magnet and the diamond in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, see E. O. von Lippmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, i, Berlin 1923 (new impression Wiesbaden 1971), 182, 194, 213 ff. Referring to earlier authors, al-Bīrūnī records that the blue magnetite—which he did not know himself—was considered to be the best; it was burned by many people and sold as *shādhana* (haematite). According to the same author, the black-brown, and further the iron-coloured, were equally appreciated. The richest deposits known to him were those of Zibaṭra in south-east Anatolia. From the fact, however, that ships in the China Sea (*al-Baḥr al-Akhḍar*) were kept together by vegetable fibres, but those in the Mediterranean Sea carpentered with nails, he concludes that the richest deposits of magnetite occur in the submarine mountains of the China sea, since it is exactly there that the nails would be extracted by magnetism and ships would disintegrate. In the mountains of Zābulistān [*q.v.*, in eastern Afghānistān] magnetite is said to occur as solid rock; on their sun-lit outer surfaces the power of attraction would be weak, but in the inside strong, as al-Bīrūnī himself had ascertained by means of a collaborator.

Other denominations of the lodestone, based

on confusion, are: *bāhit* or *ḥadjar al-bahta* (i.e. the haematite, which results from converting magnetite or other minerals), *adāmas al-iḍṭirārī* (i.e. the diamond; ἀδάμας means "indomitable", from which *iḍṭirārī* can possibly be explained), *lāḳiṭ* (see below), *ḳaramiṭ* (possibly through Romance *calamita*, derived from κάλαμος, but cf. for this E. O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte der Magnetnadel bis zur Erfindung des Kompasses [gegen 1300]*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, iii/1 [Berlin 1932], esp. 15-20).

The notion that lodestone and iron are connected as the lover and the beloved, was spread very widely: iron is "obedient" to the stone because of a divine power inherent in the latter, and is attracted to it like the lover to the beloved (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt. Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 239, below); between the two exists a profound inclination: when iron "smells" the magnet, it moves towards it until it clings to it and holds on tight to it, as the lover to the beloved (*op. cit.*, 210; cf. also *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ii, Beirut 1376/1957, 110 f.). This image was expressed poetically by Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawk al-ḥamāma*, ed. Pétrof, 8, 20-9, 9, cf. E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, 149-51. In other comparisons, the *tertium comparationis* is formed by the swiftness of reaction: the "phlegm" (*balgham*) combines with the soul quicker than iron with the magnet (M. Ullmann, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library*, ii, Wiesbaden 1976, 99). This conception is connected with certain theories developed by Djābir b. Ḥayyān in his *Kitāb al-Raḥma*: "The strongest factors existing in this world are the delicate spiritual things which cannot be observed with the senses, but only with the intellect, like the stone which attracts iron through an immaterial power that can neither be felt nor seen. It permeates the solidness of brass (*ṣufr*) which finds itself between it (i.e. the magnetite) and the iron" (Ar. text in M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen Âge*, iii, Paris 1983 [reimpr. 1967], 144-5; French tr., *ibid.*, 175). Thus the Arabs were aware that the magnetite is efficacious through other bodies. A few sentences further on it is said: "We found (?) a magnetite which lifted a weight of 100 *dirhams* (= 312, 5 gr. according to W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden 1955, 3). We left it alone for a while and then tested it with another piece of iron, which however it did not lift. We thought this to be heavier than the 100 *dirhams* which it had lifted earlier. But when we weighed it, it had a weight of less than 80 *dirhams*, so its power had decreased, although its mass (*djirm*) had remained the same." From these observations it was rightly concluded that in course of time the lodestone loses part of its power of attraction. Thus the carrying capacity of the magnet used by "Geber" was quite considerable; for further quantitative indications by al-Ibshīhī and al-Tīfāshī, see Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 33.

Iron filings, put in a pan which one keeps in one hand while with the other a magnetite is moved backward and forward underneath the pan, follow these movements. Also, when the stone is brought near to a needle, it attaches the latter to itself, and likewise other needles which are strung to the first one, so that finally all of them are joined as it were to a string by an "immaterial power"; in the same way rings can be hung to one another (J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1912, Ar. text 108, Ger. text, 154).

Next to its attractive power, the magnet has also a repelling power: when held over an ant-hill, it drives the ants away. When smeared with the saliva of a fasting man, it loses its attractive power. This power disappears also when the magnet is rubbed with garlic or onions, but when cleansed from garlic and put in the warm blood of a freshly-slaughtered billy-goat, the power returns (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, 238; al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, St. Petersburg 1866, Arabic text 73 f., French tr. 85; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, Cairo 1346/1928, 108; (Pseudo-) Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig-Berlin 1933, 399, 15-6, tr. 406). The following observation of Ibn al-Faḳīh (*BGA*, v, 67, 134) is also worth noticing: When a knife or sword is rubbed against the rocks of a mountain near Āmid, they carry iron and attract needles more powerfully than lodestone. The latter itself does not possess attractive power, but when a knife or sword is rubbed against it, it attracts iron. This power is said to be preserved for a very long time, namely a hundred years. As Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, i, 36) remarks, magnetism is preserved in sword and knife because they are made of steel: they are a "permanent" magnet.

The question of the causes of interaction between magnet and iron has apparently also been studied in a more general way. No less a person than al-Rāzī wrote an essay entitled *Kitāb ʿIllati djadhbi ḥadjar al-maghnāṭīs li 'l-ḥadīd wa-fīhi kalāmᵘⁿ kathīrᵘⁿ fi 'l-khalā*, "Book on the cause of the attraction of iron by the magnet, containing an extensive treatise on empty space". For this work, which unfortunately is lost, see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, i, 320, 11-2; and, for a shortened title, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 301, 14-5. The essay probably examines whether and how the magnet is effective through empty space. Al-Tīfāshī recognised the chemical relation between iron and magnet from which the effectiveness is to be deduced. According to him, the attraction is based on reciprocity; deep inside, the lodestone has transformed itself into iron, for both minerals have the same nature which explains the inclination and love to each other "since the beginning of their existence" (Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, i, 34 f.). According to al-Ṭughrāʾī (*apud* Wiedemann, i, 699), the lodestone belongs to the stones which contain spirits.

It was believed that there existed a number of other stones with attractive power, apart from the iron magnet: the gold magnet which attracts gold, and when calcified, possesses the efficacy of the iron magnet; the silver magnet which is extraordinarily powerful (at a distance of five ells it attracts an ounce of silver); the brass and copper magnet, which, among other things, are used as a remedy against epilepsy; the lead magnet, ugly and evil-smelling; the flesh magnet, so-called because, if put on flesh, it sticks fast to it and, if pulled away, rips off pieces of it; the hair magnet which attracts hair and, if moved over the head, tears it off; finally, the nail magnet, which pulls out finger-nails (J. Ruska, *op. cit.*, Ar. text, 109-11, Ger. text 155-9). Other magnets are enumerated by al-Dimashḳī (*Nukhbat al-dahr*, Arabic text 74-7, French text 85-9), who remarks *inter alia* that gold is the magnet of mercury: when they come together, gold attracts the mercury and mixes with it; when filings of gold, lead, copper, iron and tin are mixed and mercury is then added, the latter goes in search of the gold filings and mixes with them, but not with the other filings because a "magnetic friendship" (*ṣadāḳa maghnāṭīsiyya*) exists only between mercury and gold. A number of similar magnets are catalogued by al-Ḳazwīnī (*op.*

cit., 235 f.) under the term *lāḳiṭ* ("gleaning, collecting"), like *lāḳiṭ al-dhahab*, *l. al-raṣāṣ*, *l. al-shaʿar*, etc.

It is hardly to be wondered that, already in early times, all kinds of legends were coupled to the attractive power of the *maghnāṭīs*. Al-Djawbarī, for instance, relates that in the "monastery of the idol" (*dayr al-ṣanam*) an iron idol is floating free in space under a cupola. This statue is said to be the work of Yablūnus (Apollonius of Tyana), who had constructed a cupola from lodestone in such a way that the magnetic power was acting upon the statue so evenly from above and from the sides that it was floating exactly in the middle of the space (*apud* Wiedemann, i, 359). Al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-buldān*. *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 63, relates a similar story from the town of Sūmanāt (Somnath) in Gudjarāt. The secret was only disclosed when Sultan Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin visited the temple and one of his companions took out one stone after the other from the cupola; the floating idol then sank to the floor. Christians in the West believed that Muḥammad's coffin was either made of some naturally magnetic substance and hovered in the air under a dome whose walls were covered with iron, or was made of iron and floated freely thanks to two magnets fixed in the roof and in the floor of the tomb (see Ch. Pellat, *Note sur la légende relative au cercueil de Mahomet*, dans *Bull. des Ét. arabes*, xxiii, Algiers 1945, 112-13; repr. in *Études sur l'histoire socio-culturelle de l'Islam*, London 1976, xii). For other examples—both classical and talmudic—of free-floating idols and other objects, see I. Löw, *Fauna und Mineralien der Juden*, ed. A. Schreiber, Hildesheim 1969, 131. Of ill fame were the magnetic mountains or islands which extracted the nails from the ships and sank them, for instance in the Red Sea (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, 172) or in India (*ibid.*, 239; Ruska, *op. cit.*, Ar. text 108 f., Ger. text 155; Ibn al-Djazzār, *Kitāb al-Iʿtimād fi ʾl-adwiya al-mufrada*, ms. Ayasofya 3564, fol. 85a, 7-10). Magnetic mountains became best known through the stories of Sindbad the Sailor.

The reciprocal relations between electric and magnetic phenomena were not known. However, the Arabs were aware of the parallel, already drawn by Galen, existing between the transmission of the efficacy of the electric fish (i.e. of the electric ray νάρκη, Ar. *raʿʿād*), and that of the magnet (Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, i, 32). The Arabs themselves perceived as highly unsatisfactory the fact that their efforts to explain magnetism in a physical way remained unsuccessful. A regretful observation of Ibn Buṭlān (*apud* Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, 313, 9-11) makes this clear: "Does iron strive for the stone out of longing, or does the stone attract iron by force? How painful (*ḳabīḥ*) is it for us not to understand this without any doubt, although we observe it with our senses."

In medicine, the lodestone does not seem to have been applied widely, although it is found in almost all pharmacopoeias (see D. Goltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus*, Wiesbaden 1972, 174). It is potent for draining away thick mucus and, if held in the hand, for removing spasms and pains in hand and foot. It is administered to those who have swallowed iron filings or rust in order to attract and remove them. Strewn on gaping wounds in pulverised form, it contracts them. In cases of gout caused by heat, it allays the suffering if applied after being rubbed with vinegar. He who wears a lodestone round his neck will have a good memory and does not forget anything. Used in pulverised form as an eye make-up, it stimulates love relations. It helps a pregnant woman to have an easier confinement; worn in a seal-ring, it brings good luck; etc.

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2. The compass

The Arabs of the East became acquainted with the compass through Chinese sailors, without however at first giving it a special name; there was considerable traffic between the Persian, etc. ports and Southern China. Thence it came to Syria and then to the Mediterranean ports of Europe. The compass had very probably, however, already reached the north of Europe by the trade-route of the Russian rivers as early as the 8th or 9th centuries A.D. This explains why the compass was known earlier in the north than in the south of Europe, and perhaps explains also why the Norsemen were able to undertake long

voyages by sea (cf. R. Henning, *Verhandl. der Gesellsch. deutscher Naturforscher etc.*, 84th Versammlung, 11/2 [1912], 95).

In deciding the direction by means of a magnetic needle, the Muslims used the end which pointed to the south; as Mecca lay to the south of most places, in Syria etc. the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] corresponded almost exactly to the south.

The oldest passage in which the word *ḳaramiṭ* perhaps corresponding to "magnet" (*calamita*) occurs is given by Dozy for the year 239/854 in his *Supplément*, ii, 337, who found it in *al-Bayān al-mughrib* (*Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*) edited by him. Serious objections have however been raised to interpreting the word as compass in this passage (*MSOS*, Berlin, x/1-2 [1900], 268). From the fact that in narratives of travels of the 9th century A.D. and that in al-Masʿūdī (923) the directions are given in the same way as on compasses, G. Ferrand concluded that the compass was already in use then. The next oldest absolutely certain reference is in the *Djāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* of ʿAwfī; it is in his *Lubāb al-albāb* (ed. Browne and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī). A captain during a storm in the Red Sea or Persian Gulf finds his true course by means of a fish, of which we are expressly told that it had been rubbed with a *maghnāṭīs*. A similar statement regarding the use of a magnetic fish at sea is made by al-Maḳrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270, i, 240; Cairo 1324, i, 357; *Z. f. Phys.*, xiv [1924], 166).

A very full description of the compass and its use in the Mediterranean was given in 640/1242 by a certain Baylak al-Ḳibdjāḳī in the *Kitāb Kanz al-tudjdjār fī maʿrifat al-aḥdjār*. A needle which has been rubbed with a "female" lodestone is placed diagonally through a rush or piece of straw, etc. Sometimes a cross made of two straws is used. The arrangement is floated on water set to rotate by a lodestone held in the hand and moved in a circular direction; the latter is then quickly withdrawn. The needle places itself pointing to the south, which is the same as the *ḳibla*. The turning is probably regarded as magical, but it has a physical significance. By the turning, the often very tenacious skin of the water is broken and the apparatus bearing the magnet is enabled to move freely. The turning is, however, not always done, but the needle with its support is simply placed on the water.

Al-Zarkhūrī describes several forms of compass in a work on mechanical toys, for example a small, beautifully-painted, wooden fish, in which a magnetic needle is placed. In place of the fish, which might hurt the feelings of pious worshippers, a wooden disk with a *miḥrāb* drawn upon it is also used. Finally, an apparatus just like our compass is described. Two magnetic needles are placed symmetrically in the centre under a circular piece of paper. Under the centre of the paper a funnel is placed which turns on a point; the whole is enclosed in a cylindrical receptacle with a glass top and is called *ḥuḳḳ al-ḳibla* "vessel, box for the *ḳibla*", or *bayt al-ibra*, "house of the needle"; according to Niebuhr, the same name is still given to the compass. At the present day, similar compasses are used along with a simple sundial. Another very full description is given by a certain Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Khayr al-Ḥassānī in his *al-Nudjūm al-shāriḳāt* (cf. E. Wiedemann in the *Z. für Physik*, xiii [1923], 113: there is a manuscript in Beirut in addition to those mentioned here. Whether the Cambridge one was written in 1103 or 1588 cannot be ascertained with certainty). The needle is fastened to a copper plate hollowed out or raised in the centre and placed on a copper stand. One end of the needle, no doubt the south end, has something put on it to mark it.

An important passage in an anonymous work "Preparation of the bowl (*ṭāsa*) to ascertain the *ḳibla* and points of the compass" is in a Berlin manuscript (Ahlwardt, no. 5811). Here the point of the needle points south, the eye to the north (the rubbing [*ḥakk*] of the needle explains the peculiar modern name *ḥikk* for the compass).

It would take us too far to deal here with the box compass proper which is called in Turkish e.g. *pusula* from the Italian. We will only note that on the rhomb-card the south is called *al-ḳibla* and also *al-djanūb* (cf. thereon, for example, K. Foy, *Die Windrose bei den Osmanen und Griechen mit Benutzung der Baḥrīya des Admirals Pir-i Reis vom Jahr 1520*, in *MSOS*, Berlin xi/2 [1908], 234 ff.).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the first part of the *Bibl.* to section I. above, see J. Klaproth, *Lettre à M. Al. de Humboldt sur l'invention de la boussole*, Paris 1834; E. Wiedemann, *Über Geschichte des Kompasses bei den Arabern*, in *Verhandl. der physikalischen Gesellschaft*, ix (1908), 764-73; xi (1909), 262-6; xxi (1919), 665-7; *Z. für Physik*, xiii (1923), 13-16; xiv (1923), 240; xxiv (1924), 166-8; G. Ferrand, *Notes sur l'histoire orientale* (*Contribution à l'histoire de la boussole*), in *Publications de l'Institut des hautes études marocaines*, *Mélanges René Basset*, i, 1923, 1-16; W. C. Brice, *Compasses, compassi and Kanābīṣ*, in *JSS*, xxix (1984), 169-78.

In the *Beiträge*, ii, the earlier literature is collected. This is also done in other works e.g. by Clément Mullet on the compass. Of special importance are the works of A. Schück (*Der Kompass*, etc., Hamburg 1911, 1915 ff.), which also deal with the Bussole in China. (E. WIEDEMANN)

MAGHNISA, modern Turkish form Manisa, classical Magnesia, a town of western Anatolia, in the ancient province of Lydia, lying to the south of the Gediz river on the northeastern slopes of the Manisa Dağı, which separates it from Izmir or Smyrna (lat. 38° 36′ N., long 27° 27′ E.).

In Greek and then Roman times, Magnesia ad Sipylum was a flourishing town, noted amongst other things for the victory won in its vicinity by the two Scipios over Antiochus the Great of Syria in 190 B.C., and continued to flourish under the Byzantines (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, xxvii, 472-3). After the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, the Byzantine emperor John Ducas retired to Magnesia and held out there till 1255; it was also the seat of a bishopric, which seems to have disappeared however by the 14th century.

Out of the ruins of the Saldjūḳ kingdom of Rum, a Turkmen chief Ṣārū-Khān (d. 1345) established himself in the town in 1313 and made Maghnisa the capital of his *beylik*, one which endured for over three-quarters of a century. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ii, 312-14, tr. Gibb, ii, 447-8, visited what he calls Maghnīsiyya during Ṣārū-Khān 's reign, and stayed in a *zāwiya* or hospice of one of the local *fityān* (i.e. of the Akhīs [*q.v.*]); he praises its size and its amenities. The Ulu Djāmiʿ of Maghnisa dates from this period also, and re-uses Byzantine materials. The Ṣārūkhān-oghullarī [*q.v.*] continued to hold the town till 792/1390 or the next year, when the Ottoman Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] conquered it and gave it to one of his sons. After Tīmūr's victory at Ankara in 805/1402, Tīmūr gave Maghnisa to his grandson Muḥammad (see Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed.

Calcutta, ii, 466-7), and the town was then briefly restored to the descendant of Ṣārū-Khān, Khiḍr Shāh Beg; but the latter was deposed and killed by the Ottoman Meḥemmed I in 813/1410.

Under the Ottomans, Maghnisa, from its nearness to the capital Istanbul, was often governed by the sultan's eldest son and regarded as a stepping-stone to further advancement. After his abdication in 848/1444, sultan Murād II retired to Maghnisa, leaving it to combat the Hungarian Crusaders but returning after his victory at Varna later that year (Von Hammer, *GOR*², i, 351, 357); the remains of his palace and garden are still visible.

Concerning the tax-paying population of the town, we possess figures for 937/1530-1 and again for 983/1575-6. Compared to other Anatolian cities, Maghnisa during the 10th/16th century experienced only moderate growth: from 1,356 taxpayers (about 6,000-7,000 inhabitants) at the first date to 1,995 taxpayers (about 7,000-8,000 inhabitants at the second one). This is all the more noteworthy as Maghnisa during this period continued frequently to house the courts of Ottoman princes, so that much public construction took place in the town. The Khātūniyya mosque was built in the name of Prince Shāhinshāh's mother Ḥüsnīshāh, while the Sulṭāniyye mosque, which possessed shops and taxation rights in Urla near Izmir, was founded by Ḳānūnī Süleymān's mother Ḥafṣa Sulṭān. As the last Ottoman prince residing in Maghnisa, sultan Murād III [*q.v.*] had the Murādiyye *ḳülliyye* or complex constructed by his chief architect Ḳodja Sinān (994/1586).

In the second half of the 10th/16th century, the area between the Gediz Çayı and the Büyük Menderes rivers produced grapes and figs for consumption in Istanbul. To assure a regular supply for the Ottoman capital, a large number of official rescripts prohibited both wine-making and the exportation of raisins. Throughout the 10th/16th century, the exportation of cotton was equally forbidden. But for reasons not completely understood, this prohibition was reversed in the 1620s. Export trade in cotton particularly developped in the course of the 12th/18th century, when the area was controlled by a family of *aʿyān* or notables known as the Ḳara ʿOthmān Oghullarï (see below). The French traveller Pitton de Tournefort, who visited Manisa about 1700, stated that the cotton trade was the only major activity visible in the town [see on this trade, ḲUṬN. 2. In the Ottoman empire].

When Ewliyā Čelebi visited Maghnisa in 1082/1671-2, he was much impressed not only by the historical buildings, particularly by the Murādiyye mosque, but also by the opportunities for entertainment. Apparently the coffee houses of Maghnisa could rival with their more famous counterparts in Aleppo, Cairo and Damascus. Ewliyā also mentions the existence of more than 3,000 shops, aside from two covered markets. But he equally reports that one of the covered markets had been partially converted into a mosque. This observation, if correct, may indicate that business life in Maghnisa was in fact stagnating.

From the 11th/17th century onward, Manisa was increasingly eclipsed both politically and commercially by Izmir [*q.v.*]. The latter had been but a minor port in the 10th/16th century, containing less than 500 tax-paying inhabitants. But the transit trade in Persian silk lead to Izmir's rapid growth, and Maghnisa took on the characteristics of a minor regional centre, which specialised in the marketing of agricultural goods. However, a certain amount of textile manufacture survived into the 1890s, and so did the tanning industry, which had already been famous in the 11th/17th century.

In the 12th/18th century, Maghnisa became the capital of a powerful family of *derebey*s [*q.v.*], the Ḳara ʿOthmān-Oghlï family [*q.v.*], whose authority stretched from beyond Ṣārūkhān itself as far as the Sea of Marmara to the north. It was not until 1244/1829 that the central government was able to replace members of the family (whose administration is praised by the English traveller G. T. Keppel, *Narrative of a journey across the Balcan . . . in 1829-30*, London 1831, ii, 294-301) by its own nominees.

Late 19th century population figures reflect the relative decline of Maghnisa, now in the *wilāyet* of Aydïn, compared with Izmir; Cuinet assumed that the former contained 35,000, the latter 200,000 inhabitants, and Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1898, estimated Maghnisa's population at 36,252, of whom 21,000 were Muslims, 10,400 Greeks, 2,000 Armenians, etc. During the Turkish War of Independence, the town suffered heavy destruction, and the first census of the Turkish Republic credits Manisa with only 28,664 inhabitants. By 1950, the late 19th century level of 35,000 had again been reached; by 1975 the town had increased to 78,114 inhabitants.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the text): See in the first place, for greater detail, Besim Darkot and Çağatay Uluçay, art. *Manisa* in *İA*, with extensive bibliography. For Maghnisa in the Ottoman tax registers, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Tapu tahrir 165, pp. 2 ff., and Ankara, Tapu ve kadastro genel müdürlüğü, Kuyudu kadime 115, pp. 4 b ff. On the foundation of Ḥafṣa Sulṭān, see Kuyudu Kadime 571, pp. 15b ff. On the prohibition to export grapes, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Mühimme defterleri 47, p. 147, no. 359 (990/1582), 71, p. 290, no. 560 (1001-2/1592-3). Concerning the 11th/17th century exportation of cotton, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Maliyeden müdevver 6004, *passim*.

Further references include: Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Amsterdam 1718, ii, 195-6; G. Wheeler, *Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant . . .*, The Hague 1723, i, 254-5; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*, Istanbul 1145/1732-3, 535; W. Turner, *Journal of a tour in the Levant*, London 1820, iii, 142; R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, Oxford 1825, i, 330 ff.; C. MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828, a residence of sixteenth months in the Turkish capital and provinces . . .*, London 1829, 180 ff.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure, description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie*, Paris 1882, 263-5; *Aydïn wilāyeti sālnāmesi 1300-1301*, n.p., n.d., 141-2; W. M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 108, 116; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie, géographie administrative, statistique descriptive et raisonée de chaque province de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1894, iii, 535 ff.; *Murray's handbook for travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, London 1895, 80-2; *Baedeker's Konstantinopel, Kleinasien, Balkanstaaten*², Leipzig 1914, 346-8; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyahatnamesi, Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz*, Istanbul 1935, ix, 68 ff.; Çağatay Uluçay and Ibrahim Gökçen, *Manisa tarihine genel bir bakış*, Istanbul 1939; Kâmil Su, *Mimar Sinan'ın eserlerinden Muradiye Camii*, Istanbul 1940; Uluçay, *Manisa'daki Sarây-ï*

Amire ve Şehzadeler türbesi (*849H-1296H*), Istanbul 1941; idem, *XVII. asırda Saruhan'da eşkiyalık ve halk hareketleri*, Istanbul 1944; Gökçen, *XVI ve XVII yüzyılda deri sanatları üzerinde bir araştırma*, Istanbul 1945; idem, *Manisa tarihinde vakıflar ve hayırlar* (*hicrî 954-1060*), Istanbul 1946; idem, *15. ve 17. asır sicillerine göre Saruhan'da Yürük ve Türkmenler*, Istanbul 1946; idem, *Sicillere göre XVI ve XVII asırlarda Saruhan zaviye ve yatırları*, Istanbul 1946; idem, *Manisa tarihinde vakıflar ve hayırlar* (*h. 1060, milâdı 1650'den sonra*), Istanbul 1950; Ibrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın annesi Hafsa Sultan'ın vakfiyesi ve Manisa'daki hayır eserleri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, viii (1969), 47-56; G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 158-9, 317-21.

(V. Minorsky - [Suraiya Faroqhi])

MAGHŌSHA, the town of Famagusta in Cyprus [see ḳubrus].

The Mycenaen town of Alasya was located on or near the delta of the Pediyas, at Enkomi village. Its successor, the port of Salamis, only 1½ miles to the east, became a great metropolis during the Roman empire. Restored by Constantius II on a much smaller scale after the severe earthquakes of 332 and 342, with the new name Constantia, it survived until Arab Muslim raids of the 7th century led to its transferral to Ammochostos (Maghōsha) 6 miles to the south (for Alasya, see Hill, i, 36, 42-9, and P. Dikaios, *Enkomi: excavations 1948-1958*, Mainz 1969-71; for Salamis and Constantia, see Hill, i, *passim*, and V. Karageorges, *Salamis in Cyprus: Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman*, London 1969). The town passed to Guy de Lusignan in 1192. The Genoese occupied it between 1383 and 1464; the Venetians took the town from the Lusignans in 1489. The Ottomans conquered it after a prolonged and extremely costly siege of eleven months in 1572, with tens of thousands of lives lost. After the Turkish conquest much Latin property was turned over to the Orthodox; however, from 1573 the latter were forbidden to live in the walled town, as in Rhodes. In 1607 a Tuscan naval expedition of eight galleys and nine galleons failed in a surprise attack upon the town (Hill, iv, 48 ff.). The Knights of Malta, as well as English, Dutch, and Tuscan pirates, regularly harassed Levantine shipping for more than a century after 1572. A famine in 1640 and plague in 1641 are known, as well as severe earthquakes in 1557, 1569, and 1735 (Hill, iv, 67 f.). No area was more vulnerable to malaria, plague, and locusts.

The Ottomans failed to revitalise their great prize Maghōsha, but it is obvious that by the last quarter of the 15th century the town had already been reduced to a third-rate commercial centre. The harbour remained a prize worth fighting for, but the Ottomans were unable to transform it into a useful naval base. Its growth was further limited by official ambivalence; the Porte sometimes dreamed of using the naval and commercial potential of Maghōsha, but at other times appeared terrified that the prize would fall to enemies who might again use it against them. Although the Ottomans never had the energy to restore Maghōsha, they guarded the fortress too zealously to allow economic development, and the small garrison became the greatest part of the population.

After the fall of Acre or ʿAkkā [*q.v.*] (1291) to the Mamlūks, the ascent of Lusignan Maghōsha was meteoric. Little more than its good harbour was noted by W. von Oldenburg in 1211 (C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 14). An anonymous Englishman (1344) called the town "a paradise of delight" with "plantations and gardens irrigated with water brought into them artificially . . . It has a parish, Cathedral, and Metropolitan Church like unto Amiens. There reside in it merchants of Venice, Genoa, Catalonia and Saracens from the Soldan's dominions, dwelling in palaces, which are called 'Loggias', living in the style of counts and barons, they have abundance of gold and silver. All the precious things of the world may be found in their hands." (Th. Mogabgab, *Supplementary excerpts on Cyprus . . .*, ii, 56 ff.; *Itinerarium ciuisdam Anglici Terram Sanctam*, in P. G. Golubovich (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografia della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano*, iv, Florence 1923, 446-7). Seized by Genoese trickery in 1373, and held by them for a century, the town lost much of its local trade. Then a series of disasters—disease, earthquakes, locusts, and shifting trade routes—left the town crippled. Nicolai de Martoni (1394) observed: "The city of Famagusta is large, as large, I reckon, as the city of Capua, and his fine squares, and houses very much like those of Capua, but a great part, almost a third, is uninhabited, and the houses are destroyed, and this has been done since the date of the Genoese lordship. The said city has finer walls than I have seen in any town . . ." (Cobham, 22 ff.; *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, iii [1895], 627 ff., 637 f.). Long before 1435 when Pero Tafur visited it, the aristocracy had abandoned Maghōsha for Lefḳōsha or Nicosia, and most trade and economic activity had followed thereafter. "This place is depopulated on account of the bad air and bad water", particularly because of the nearby lake Constanza (Cobham, 31; *Andaças é viajes . . .*, in *Coleccion de libros españoles raros o curiosos*, Madrid 1874, viii/1, 139). Venetian rule (1489-1571) did not bring any improvement; despite efforts to rebuild the town, its population probably never rose above 6,000 (Hill, iii, 507, 729 n, 878). As Martin von Baumgarten (1508) found, Maghōsha was "remarkable for its harbour and fortifications" but Lefḳōsha was "famous for its largeness". The silk merchant of Douai J. le Saige (1512) was astonished to see such a strong town with the walls "freshly repaired" and "a grand boulevard"; he found excellent produce along the coast, although only trade with Venica was permitted (Cokham, 55,57; *Peregrinatio*, Noribergae 1594, 139). Pîrî Reʾîs mentions a beautiful castle, and inner and outer harbours at the only large port on the island (*Kitabı Bahriye*, ed. Y. Senemoğlu, Istanbul, ii, 283). Maghōsha's economic distinction lay in its harbour: as various travellers noted, Cyprus had no other. Indeed, few harbours if any in the entire Levant could provide better protection from the elements or could give shelter to more vessels. Since the Mediterranean between the gulfs of Antalya and Iskenderun was reputedly extremely dangerous, vessels which otherwise might have followed the coastline closely all the way to Rhodes preferred rather to strike out from Iskenderun, Tripoli or Alexandria for the south coast of Cyprus, sail round it, and then sail on to Rhodes. According to Jacques de Villamont (1589), the capital of the province was Lefḳōsha, but ". . . on account of its fine harbour and incomparable fortress the Pasha generally lives at Famagusta for the safety of his person and galleys" (Cobham, 176; if the *pasha* did reside there, it was contrary to regulations). After visits in 1598 and 1599 Cotovicus wrote that it "has a remarkable and most safe harbour . . . It is fairly spacious and

populous ... the only defence which Cyprus has" (Cobham, 195; cf. Loredan (1476), who called it "the key and heart of Cyprus", despite its unhealthiness, in Hill, iii, 727 ff.). According to R. Pococke there was very little trade there, but an acqueduct brought very good water from three or four miles away, the surrounding villages had relatively fertile soil, and "all provisions are cheap" (Cobham, 255; in Pinkerton, ed., *A general collection of ... voyages ...*, London 1811, i, 576-7). Those villages produced silk and mulberries, and madder root was another product. By the 18th century silting had made the harbour too shallow for larger vessels, and according to J. M. Kinneir (1814): "This port could once admit vessels of a considerable draft of water; but since the conquest of the Turks, sand and rubbish have been suffered to accumulate in such a degree, that none but small vessels can now enter it with safety" (Cobham, 412; *Journey ...*, London 1818, 176). W. Turner Kinneir: "The port was admirable, being about one quarter of a mile in length, and something less in breadth, sheltered by low rocks; even now that the port is 'mostly choked up', ships which winter in Cyprus always go there to anchor in safety" (Cobham, 435).

The Jew Elias of Pesaro (1563) found that ophthalmia was a common fever from late June to midwinter; but the townspeople were described as clean, and careful to protect themselves from contagion, especially from the plague, quarantine often lasting forty days. The houses were fine and well built, the roads well maintained, and there were fountains of running water at every street corner. The castle reminded him of that of Pesaro. The food was excellent, and the bread the best he had ever eaten. The twenty-five local Jewish families completely controlled all money lending in Cyprus, and anyone wanting to borrow money had to come there. Interest was 20% per annum when gold and silver were pledged, 25% if wool, thread, or silk was pledged, and profits were often higher (Cobham, 73 ff.; translation of Hebrew letter by M. Schwab, in *Revue de Géographie*, v [1879], 221 ff.).

When Jacques de Villamont reached Larnaka in 1589 he was told not to try to go to Maghōsha because plague had long been raging there and the inhabitants of both the town and its surroundings were nearly all dead (Cobham, 175). The Dutchman Jan Somer (1590) compared the town in size to Amsterdam, although not so populous; disease had reduced the place, despite a rich agricultural hinterland (*Beschrijvinge van een Zee ende Landt Reyse ...*, Amsterdam 1649, 11). André Thevet (1590) chided those who wrote that "... the Turks made themselves masters of Famagosta, and slew all the Christians Latin and Greek, with the sword, so that old and young without exception felt the violence of these infidels. And still you see that the Greeks and others live in entire liberty" (Cobham, 178). Ottoman policy neurotically aimed to close off the fortress; foreigners were treated as spies. When de Stochove wanted to see the town in 1631 he was advised "that it was almost impossible to go in without meeting some unpleasantness", for the *pasha* was a malicious man and absolutely no one could enter without his consent, so he examined only the outer walls (Cobham, 217). In 1683 de Bruyn found that the Ottomans "... guard the city so jealously that no stranger is allowed to set foot in it ..."; he was harassed when he simply tried to approach the walls (Cobham, 236, 241-2; *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, Delft 1698, 365 ff., 374 ff., with map). In the 18th century, most of the small population of the town must have been soldiers; some Christians settled in houses with gardens half a mile to the south in a village called Marash (Varosha). R. Pococke (1738) encountered a settlement of Christians who "are not permitted to dwell within the city". To the west was a large fertile plain inhabited mostly by Muslims because it was relatively "secure from the privateers", while Christians, who were not enslaved by them, lived near the sea. Most of the sparsely-inhabited town was destroyed by a severe earthquake in 1735, making both the mosques of S. Sofia and S. George unfit for use so that S. Catherine's church became the principal mosque. The town walls were severely damaged. The Swedish visitor Frederic Hasselquist (1751) estimated the population as 300 inhabitants, "chiefly Turks", who "occupy the miserable ruins .." (Cobham, 254-5; in Pinkerton, ed., *op. cit.*, i, 577-8; Cobham, 307, *Iter Palaestinum*, Stockholm 1757, 178 ff.).

Archimandrite Cyprianos (published in 1788) described the Ottoman occupation of Maghōsha in some detail: the inhabitants "... remained in their houses, and appeared at the time to be the owners, yet afterwards the Turks dispossessed many of them, on the pretext that they were tenants only, not owners"; when the Greeks of Maghōsha petitioned the vizier Meḥmed Pasha they were permitted "... to live as Greek Christians, on condition that no Christian of the Latin Church should be found among them: for to the Latins he would grant neither church nor house, and those who remained in Cyprus were obliged to frequent the Greek churches, and forbidden to hold property in the island". Greeks were allowed to buy, sell, and inherit houses, fields, and property not already occupied by Turks. In 1815 W. Turner reported: "... of its numerous palaces and churches not one remains entire". It had only a hundred people, including three Greek families. They lived in ruins, in low houses, mostly of mud, and no-one cultivated the countryside. Nearby was a village of Christians living surrounded by gardens (Cobham, 347 ff., 434-5). The estimate of 3,000 Muslims, 5,000 Greeks, and 200 Armenians attributed to the governor Ṭalʿat Efendi seems too large (M. Louis Lacroix, *L'Univers. Histoire et description des tous les peuples. Iles de la Grèce*, Paris 1853, 88). The last Ottoman census reportedly showed 500 Muslims in the walled town and 2,200 Greek Orthodox in the suburbs. At this time, Maghōsha was used as a place of banishment for those under political or religious clouds; hence Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] and the Bahāʾī leader Ṣubḥ-i Ezel [see BAHĀʾ ALLĀH] spent time there in exile.

According to the census of 1881, Maghōsha with Marash (Varosha) was the fourth leading town of Cyprus with 2,609 inhabitants, of whom 1,845 were Greek Orthodox (71%), 727 were Muslim (28%), 6 were Roman Catholic, 22 Maronite, 1 Armenian Gregorian and 8 Church of England and Protestant; there were no Jews. There were 666 adult males over 20, one per 3.92 people; of those 184 were Muslim (one per 3.95) and 482 Christian (one per 3.90) (*Cyprus Gazette*, no. 82 [4 April 1881 census], 3 March 1882; 17 June 1882). By 1891 the population had grown 30% to 3,367, but the Muslims had increased only 15% to 835, falling to 25% of the town's population (*Cyprus Gazette*, no. 341, 15 May 1891). By 1900 the population had increased to 3,825, 47% larger than in 1881. The Muslims had grown only 18% to 856, while the Christians had increased 58% to 2,969. Of 1,094 adult males 811 (3.66 per

capita) were Greek Orthodox and 283 (3.02 per capita) were Muslims (*Cyprus Gaz tte*, no. 697, 26 April 1901; 30 August 1901).

In the second half of the 19th century, Maghōsha was filthy and malarial, "in utter absolute ruin", according to Samuel Brown, *Three months in Cyprus during the winter of 1878-9*, London 1879, 19. To Mrs. Scott-Stevenson "... it seemed the most desolate town I had ever been in"; even the dogs seemed "dull, and without energy to bark at us" (*Our home in Cyprus*², London 1880, 278). Although the third busiest harbour on the island, its entire trade came with coasting vessels, for large vessels called only at Larnaka and Limassol. The small suburb of Varosha to the south, equally pestilential, had extensive and luxuriant gardens and was the site of a pottery factory. The district was the leading one for fishing on the island (48 small boats caught 7,198 oke of thirty-four kinds of fish in 1889, the most important being sea bream (*sarpa*), *lifhrina*, *mavromati* and *skaros*; *Cyprus Blue Book*, 1889-90, 519). In that year the single Muslim school had 67 boy students and 13 girls. The municipal budget under the British was disproportionately smaller than the other towns. Initial British interest in making a new harbour flagged until 1895, when the proposal was raised again; and in 1899 a loan of £ 254,000 to dredge and improve the harbour and to construct a narrow gauge railway to Lefkosha was authorised by the British government. After its completion in 1906, interest in the port increased very slowly until after World War I. In 1931 with 8,979 inhabitants it was the fourth largest town of the island, and by 1946 it was the third largest, with 16,194, of whom 13,106 were Greek Orthodox, 2,699 Muslim, and 115 Armenian Gregorian. In the latter year, 2,273 of the 3,048 inhabitants of the walled town were Muslim.

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(R. C. Jennings)

MAGHRĀWA, a major confederation of Berber tribes belonging to the Butr group and forming the most powerful branch of the family of the Zanāta.

The ascendancy, real or imaginary, of this confederation is traced back to Maghrāw, who is said to have been, according to the mediaeval Berber genealogists, the ancestor of the Maghrāwa as such. Following the Arab and Berber sources utilised in the 8th/14th century by Ibn Khaldūn in his *History of the Berbers*, the "cradle" of the Maghrāwa and "the ancient seat of their power" was the territory located on the Chélif in the north-western part of what is now Algeria, probably bounded by the Mediterranean to the north, the mountain of Wansharīs (Wānsharīsh, currently Ouarsenis) to the south and Tlemcen to the west. Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] says in his *Description of Africa* written in about 1525-6 that the "Magraua (Maghrāwa) mountain" stretched over a distance of some 40 miles (approx. 64 km), "close to the town of Mustuganin" (Mostaganem). The Maghrāwa have left a relic of their presence here in the name of Cap Maghraoua situated 104 km to the east of Mostaganem and 56 km. to the west of Ténès. It should be added at this point that, according to Abu 'l-Fidā' (1273-1331), Mostaganem served the Maghrāwa as a port. Leo Africanus extols the dignity and the courage of the inhabitants of the Magraua mountain, who were probably descendants of the Maghrāwa of mediaeval Arab sources. The Maghrāwa lived in this land in a nomadic state, but they also possessed (at least in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries) fixed dwellings and fortresses. In the 4th and 5th/10th-11th centuries, the individual segments of this confederation were spread throughout North Africa, from Morocco in the west to Tripolitania in the east.

Little is known of the origins and earliest history of the Maghrāwa. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1070), they arrived in North Africa in ancient times and established themselves "on the frontier of Ifrīḳiya, alongside the Maghrib" (i.e. in eastern Algeria), while the region which later, in the Middle Ages, became their homeland, in other words the territory located on the Chélif, constituted in ancient times the domain of "Adjdjāna, father of Zanāta". If Ibn Khaldūn and his sources are to be believed, there is no doubt that the confederation of the

Maghrāwa already existed immediately before the Arab conquest of North Africa, probably in the first half of the 1st/7th century, if not much earlier, alongside two other major Zanāta branches (or possibly confederations), these being the Djarāwa, the people of the famous Kāhina, and the Banū Ifran. In all probability, the origins of the Maghrāwa could be traced back still further towards the beginning of the Christian era, through linking their name, in accordance with a hypothesis propounded by J. Desanges, with that of the Moorish peoples known to Pliny as the Macurebi and to Ptolemy as the Makkhourēbi. The latter seems to attribute to the main mass of the Makkhourēbi a very large coastal zone situated between the Zaccar and the Grande Kabylie, in the Roman province of Mauritania. In spite of the quite different localisation of the Maghrāwa and the Makkhourēbi (the latter tribe mostly occupied territory a little to the east of the cradle of the Maghrāwian confederation on the Chélif), the hypothesis of J. Desanges appears wholly acceptable and it seems that the Maghrāwa belong among those exceptional Berber tribes of the Middle Ages whose names are attested in the ancient Greek and Latin texts. It may further be added that another segment of the Makkhourēbi is mentioned by Ptolemy among the peoples of inner Libya (i.e. of southern Barbary). Ptolemy locates it, in fact, on the central reaches of the Draa. It is probably this group of the Maghrāwa which is encountered, in the 4th-5th/10th-11th century, in the neighbourhood of Sidjilmāsa and which succeeded in founding a kingdom with this city as its capital. There will be further mention of this kingdom below.

The Maghrāwa were related, if Ibn Khaldūn is to be believed, not only to the Banū Ifran and the Djarāwa, but also to the large Zanāta tribe of the Banū Irniyān. It seems furthermore that the genealogy of this tribe is linked to that of the Lawāta Berber group, in particular the Lawātian tribe of the Sadrāta. Among the numerous branches and subdivisions of the Maghrāwa confederation mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn and other mediaeval Arab authors, the first that should be mentioned is their royal clan which was called Wanzāmar or Warzamār (variants: Wazmār, Wartazmār, Warzāzmar or Wartazmīr). Also belonging to the Maghrāwa, according to Ibn Khaldūn and the Berber genealogists quoted by this author, were the Banū Sindjas, the Banū Rīgha, the Banū Laghwāṭ and the Banū Warrā (var. Warrāk), although according to Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, the best Zanāta genealogist of the 8th/14th century (a native of the Maghrāwa town of Timzūghat, situated in the region of the Chélif), these four tribes formed part of another branch of the Zanāta family. According to other Berber genealogists quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, there were yet more tribes belonging to the confederation of the Maghrāwa. These were the Banū Zandādj (Zandāk), the Banū Warsifān (or Warsīfān), the Banū Zadjdjāk, the Banū Īzamratan (also Izmartan or Izmartī), the Banū Saʿīd and the Banū Ilīt (var. Ilant). It is interesting however, to note that Ibn Ḥawḳal includes, in his list of Berber tribes compiled after 976-7 A.D., the Banū Sindjāsan (Sindjas), the Banū Zandādj and the Banū Warsifān among the Zanātan tribes unrelated to the Maghrāwa. There are also certain Berber genealogists quoted by Ibn Khaldūn who mention the Banū Sindjāsan (Sindjas) and the Banū Warsifān without indicating their membership of the Maghrāwa confederation.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Franks (in this case, Romans) had imposed the Christian religion on the Maghrāwa, likewise on the Djarāwa and the Banū Ifran. Later, probably towards the end of the 7th or at the beginning of the 8th century A.D., the Maghrāwa tribes became converted without difficulty to Islam. They were governed in this period by an ancient and powerful dynasty, later known as Banū Khazar and owing its name to Khazar b. Ḥafṣ b. Ṣūlāt b. Wanzamār (Wazmār) b. Maghrāw. Ibn Khaldūn gives us a list, in his *History of the Berbers*, otherwise very incomplete, of the princes of this family which ruled the Maghrāwa in the central Maghrib, at Fās, at Sidjilmāsa and in Tripolitania. Another even less complete list of the *amīrs* whose origin dates back to Khazar b. Ḥafṣ is provided by Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn in his history of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. According to these lists, Ṣūlāt b. Wanzamār was the contemporary and client of the caliph ʿUthmān (644-56). In fact, he was apparently taken prisoner in one of the battles that took place between the Arabs and the Berbers at the time of the first Arab invasion of North Africa (26/647-8). Sent to ʿUthmān and pardoned by the caliph, he became a Muslim, and on returning to his country he was proclaimed chief of his tribe (according to a passage in Ibn Khaldūn's *History of the Berbers*, he had previously been chief of the Maghrāwa and of other Zanātian peoples). If this tradition is correct, the Banū Wanzamār must have been a Maghrāwian family which lived, around the middle of the 7th century A.D., in eastern Barbary, bordering on Ifrīḳiya, thus in the land which would have been, as stated by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, the original cradle of the Maghrāwa in ancient times.

After the death of Ṣūlāt who survived, in all probability, into the second half of the 7th century, the government of the Maghrāwa passed to his son Ḥafṣ, who is considered by Berber tradition as one of the greatest princes to rule over the Maghrāwa. He also became, following this tradition, the chief of other Zanāta tribes. The tribes in question were probably the remnants of the great Zanāta confederation of the Djarāwa of Aurès, formerly ruled by Kāhina [*q.v.*], remnants who went to join their Maghrāwa relatives of the central Maghrib. The power of the Maghrāwa also increased during the reign of Khazar, son of Ḥafṣ. He lived in the first half of the 2nd/8th century and gave his name to the historical dynasty of the Banū Khazar. A tradition quoted by Ibn Khaldūn states that this powerful prince took advantage of the Khāridjite revolt of Maysara [*q.v.*] in the Farthest Maghrib (in 122/739-40) and of the weakening of the Umayyad Arab governors of Ḳayrawān which resulted from it, to extend his authority over all the Zanāta nomads of the central Maghrib, with the exception of the powerful tribe of the Banū Ifran, masters of Tlemcen. The Arab sources tell us nothing of Maghrāwa involvement in the Khāridjite movement. However, this would not seem impossible, in view of the fact that a little later a member of the Maghrāwa, Nahdī b. ʿĀṣim al-Zanātī (or Nahd b. ʿĀṣim al-Maghrāwī) was appointed governor (probably of a segment of the Maghrāwa) by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum, Ibāḍī *imām* of Tāhart (168-208/784-823), and that in the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century) and in a list of Zanātan Ibāḍī *shaykhs*, compiled in eastern Barbary in the 7th/13th centuries, there are found numerous Maghrāwa individuals belonging to the Ibāḍī sect. Khazar b. Ḥafṣ died after the fall of the Umayyads of the East (132/750), leaving control of the confederation

of the Maghrāwa to his son Muḥammad b. Khazar. The last-named made war against the Banū Īfran, from whom he captured, in about 172/788-9, the town of Tlemcen. It was during the reign of this prince that there took place the foundation of the kingdom of the Idrīsids in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā by Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] with the support of the powerful Berber tribes of Awraba, Ṣadīha and Maghīla (172/788-9). In 173 or 174/789-91, Idrīs invaded the central Maghrib and accepted the submission of the Maghrāwa, whose *amīr* surrendered to him the territory of the Chélif and the town of Tlemcen; the latter later became the capital of another Idrīsid principality. Muḥammad b. Khazar also assisted Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh to snatch from the ʿAbbāsids all the provinces of the central Maghrib. Later, in 197/812-13, we find him pledging loyalty to Idrīs II. As for the Maghrāwa, in this period they continued in possession of the plains of the central Maghrib, as well as the open country round Tlemcen, which they shared with the Banū Īfran. Throughout the 3rd/9th century they remained vassals of the Idrīsid state. It was probably also in this period that the dynasty of the Banū Khazar founded Madīnat Banī Khazar, "the city of the Banū Khazar" in an arid plain of the central Maghrib. We do not know the exact position of this city, which is mentioned by Ibn Ḥammad in his biography of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, "the man on the donkey". This Khāridjite chief sought refuge there after his defeat in the year 335/946-7.

This situation continued unchanged until the formation of the Fāṭimid empire. When the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh sent to the Maghrib, in 298/910-11, an army which took possession of the Idrīsid dominions and compelled the Idrīsid princes to recognise his authority, the Berber tribes of the central Maghrib, led by the Maghrāwa and other Zanāta tribes, rose in revolt against this sovereign. The rebels were commanded by the Maghrāwa prince Muḥammad b. Khazar, one of the grandsons of that Muḥammad b. Khazar b. Ḥafṣ who was *amīr* of the Maghrāwa towards the end of the 2nd/8th century. Ten years later, in 309/921-2, the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh sent an army against him which was however routed by the Maghrāwa. The following year, ʿUbayd Allāh dispatched against Muḥammad b. Khazar a fresh army commanded by his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. At the approach of this army, the Maghrāwa of the central Maghrib (or the majority of the tribes of this confederation) led by Muḥammad b. Khazar fled into the desert, having traversed the Moulouya. They took refuge in the territory of Sidjilmāsa, thus in the region where Ptolemy had located, in the 2nd century A.D., the homeland of a group of the Makkhourēbi, ancestors, as stated above, of the mediaeval Maghrāwa. Some time later, Muḥammad b. Khazar returned at the head of the Maghrāwa tribes to the central Maghrib, towards the former homeland of these tribes in the region of the Chélif. On this occasion, Muḥammad b. Khazar took possession of the territory of Chélif and of Ténès, expelled the supporters of the Fāṭimids from the Zāb and captured the town of Oran, where he installed, as governor, his son al-Khayr. He also conquered other sites in the central Maghrib, and subjected the whole of this land to the authority of the Umayyads of Spain. However, this success did not last long. In 315 or 316/927-9, the Fāṭimid army commanded by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, son of ʿUbayd Allāh, set out to pacify the central Maghrib. This army routed the Maghrāwa and forced them again to flee into the desert. But in 333/944-5, Muḥammad b. Khazar, who had regained his position as the most powerful chieftain of the central Maghrib, attacked the western provinces of the Fāṭimid empire for the second time. He benefited in fact from the revolt of the Zanāta tribes of the central Maghrib and of Ifrīḳiya, who professed the doctrines of the Khāridjite sect of the Nukkār (Nakkāra) and rebelled against the Fāṭimids. The insurgents were commanded by the famous Zanātian chief, the Nukkārite *imām* Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*]. It seems that at least some of the Maghrāwa, who were predominantly Sunnī, acted in collusion with Abū Yazīd, and that Maʿbad b. Khazar, brother of the *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar, was a loyal supporter of the Nukkāri chief. Maʿbad b. Khazar was taken prisoner, in 340/951-2, by the Fāṭimid sovereign Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr and suffered the death penalty. Another of the brothers of *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar, Fulful, embraced the cause of the Fāṭimids. However, the Maghrāwa who occupied the territory of Chélif collaborated at this time with the army sent to the central Maghrib by the Umayyad caliph of Spain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir. In 333/944-5 two Maghrāwa expeditions took place against the Fāṭimid provinces of the central Maghrib. These expeditions were commanded by the *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar, by his third brother ʿAbd Allāh b. Khazar and by his two sons al-Khayr and Ḥamza. They were directed primarily against the Fāṭimid garrisons of Biskra and of Tāhart (Tiaret). Also participating in the second expedition was the Umayyad army commanded by the Berber general Ḥāmid b. Yasal. These two expeditions had a successful outcome for the Maghrāwa and their allies, the Umayyads of Spain. In fact, Biskra and Tāhart were captured by Muḥammad b. Khazar, by his son al-Khayr and by their allies (*ca.* 333/944-5). However, soon after these victories and the success of Abū Yazīd (whose army even succeeded in conquering Ifrīḳiya, the nucleus of the Fāṭimid empire), the military forces of this empire regrouped under the command of Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr and routed the Berber warriors of Abū Yazīd in a battle near Maḳḳara (Bordj Magra), then turned against the Maghrāwa. Muḥammad b. Khazar surrendered to al-Manṣūr in 335/946-7. According to one source, he subsequently broke faith with the Fāṭimids, and it was only in 342/953-4 that he returned to the Fāṭimid camp and abandoned for ever the cause of the Umayyads. His position towards the latter dynasty was again equivocal in 347/958, at the time of the expedition of the Fāṭimid general Djawhar who set out for the central Maghrib with the object of pacifying this land, but ultimately, intimidated, he took part in this expedition. After this he paid a visit to the caliph al-Muʿizz at Ḳayrawān, where he died in 350/961-2, aged more than a hundred years. According to another source, Muḥammad b. Khazar embraced the cause of the Fāṭimids soon after 340/951-2 and remained loyal to this dynasty until his death. As for al-Khayr, son of Muḥammad b. Khazar and chief of the land of Laghouat, he did not share the pro-Fāṭimid policy of his father and remained a loyal supporter of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III of Cordova, except for a certain period *ca.* 334/945-6, during which he recognised the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph. In fact, in 340/951-2, he sent his son Futūḥ to Spain, to the court of the Umayyad caliph. Futūḥ was accompanied on this journey by the *shaykhs* of Tāhart and of Oran, supporters of the Umayyads. Subsequently, this delegation returned to Africa.

After the death of the *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar,

the supreme command of the Maghrāwa passed to Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, grandson of this *amir* and son of al-Khayr. Even during the lifetime of his grandfather, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr had forged links with the court of Cordova, obtaining from the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, in the year 344/955-6, the governorship of Fās. However, he requested from this caliph, in the same year as his appointment, permission to embark on a holy war in Spain. Having received this permission, he set out for Spain, leaving his cousin Aḥmad b. Bakr at Fās to act as his lieutenant. Later, after his proclamation as chief of the confederation of the Maghrāwa, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr harassed the Fāṭimid possessions in the central Maghrib at the instigation of the caliph al-Ḥakam II (350-66/961-76), successor to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. It should not be forgotten that the Fāṭimid empire had extended its boundaries westward largely by virtue of the victorious expedition of the general Djawhar in 347/958. In fact, at the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad b. al-Khayr over the Maghrāwa, that is *ca.* 351/962, the Fāṭimid influence had already advanced to the Maghrib al-Akṣā, while that of the Umayyads of Spain was confined to the districts of Ceuta and of Tangier. Now Muḥammad b. al-Khayr succeeded in pushing back a considerable distance towards the east the zone of Fāṭimid influence established by Djawhar. In fact, he conquered a large part of the central Maghrib, creating in this land a sizable, albeit ephemeral, dominion of the Maghrāwa under the control of the Umayyads. This dominion lasted some ten years, until the Fāṭimid governor of Ifrīḳiya, Zīrī b. Manād (who belonged to the major Berber family of Ṣanhādja, hostile to the Zanāta in general and to the Maghrāwa in particular) was entrusted by al-Muʿizz with the mission of blocking Maghrāwa expansion in the central Maghrib. Zīrī b. Manād also received from al-Muʿizz authorisation to appropriate all the territories in the Maghrib that he could seize from the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta. In 360/971 Zīrī b. Manād gathered a powerful army (composed mainly of Ṣanhādja warriors) which he put under the command of his son Bulukkīn (Buludjdjīn/Buluggin); this army was ordered to attack the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta. The first clash took place on 15 Rabīʿ II 360/15 February 971, probably near Tlemcen. The battle was keenly contested, and ultimately a terrible defeat was inflicted on the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, who was commander-in-chief of the Maghrāwa army, took his own life rather than face capture, and seventeen of the *amirs* of the Maghrāwa and Zanāta were lost. In spite of this defeat, which contributed considerably to the consolidation of Fāṭimid authority in the Maghrib, the Maghrāwa soon rallied behind al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, son of their prince killed in the battle of Tlemcen. Their forces were rapidly joined by the army of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, former Fāṭimid governor of the Zāb, who allied himself with al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr and thereby recognised the authority of the Umayyads of Spain. Three months later, the two allies inflicted a crushing defeat on the Fāṭimid army which attacked them near Tāhart. Despite this success, the Maghrāwa and the army of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn (who had meanwhile become commander-in-chief of the coalition) were soon forced by another Fāṭimid army to evacuate the central Maghrib, crossing the Moulouya and taking refuge in the Maghrib al-Akṣā. First of all, they reached the littoral of Ceuta and Tangier which remained, as stated above, under the domination of the Umayyads. From there they made contact with the caliph al-Ḥakam II. It was thus that a section of the tribes which had formed the ancient confederation of the Maghrāwa left their homeland in the central Maghrib, not to return until about a century later, after their expulsion from Morocco by the Almoravids. Among the Maghrāwa *amirs* tracing their origin from the princely family of the Banū Khazar who set out to seek new territories in the Maghrib al-Akṣā after their war with Bulukkīn b. Zīrī, Ibn Khaldūn mentions, besides Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, the close kinsmen of the latter, these being Zīrī b. Khazar, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, Muḳātil b. ʿAṭiyya (brother of the last-named), Khazrūn b. Muḥammad and Fulful b. Saʿīd. They are all encountered, in 365/975-6, in the entourage of the general Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, who was appointed by al-Ḥakam II governor of the Maghrib on behalf of Cordova. As for Bulukkīn b. Zīrī, he received from al-Muʿizz in 361/972, the mandate to govern Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib as dependencies of the Fāṭimid caliphs of Egypt.

Thus, after the year 971, the history of the majority of the tribes that had previously constituted the confederation of the Maghrāwa was closely linked with the country that is now Morocco, where the various princes of the Banū Khazar family established three states, those of Fās, of Sidjilmāsa and of Aghmāt. We shall begin with the history of these dominions, subsequently considering other segments of the Maghrāwa who remained, after 361/971, in the central Maghrib and in Ifrīḳiya, or those who returned, after the conquest of Morocco by the Almoravids, to central and eastern Barbary.

A. Morocco. 1. *Fās.* Bulukkīn b. Zīrī was not content with the expulsion of the Maghrāwa and their Zanātian allies from the central Maghrib, from Ṭubna, from Bāghāya, from al-Masīla, from Biskra, from Tāhart, etc., but pursued them, with great success, towards the interior of present-day Morocco. He finally caught up with them near Sidjilmāsa and defeated them in battle. The *amir* al-Khayr b. Muḥammad fell into the hands of the Fāṭimids and was put to death. After this battle, Bulukkīn b. Zīrī retraced his steps and returned to central Morocco where he carried out a massacre among the Zanātian tribes. Al-Khayr b. Muḥammad left a son named Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, whom a group of Moroccan Maghrāwa entrusted with the command. Besides him, the sources mention two other powerful and influential *amirs* who enjoyed, in this period, considerable authority among the Maghrāwa. These were two kinsmen of Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad, namely Zīrī and Muḳātil, sons of ʿAṭiyya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khazar. These three *amirs* led the Maghrāwa after 971. It seems that some years later, the Maghrāwa of the Maghrib al-Akṣā divided into two groups, a northern and a southern, both obedient to the Umayyads of Cordova. The sources provide a list of the Maghrāwa princes belonging to the first of these groups who were to be found, in 365/975-6, in the entourage of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, Umayyad governor of the Maghrib al-Akṣā. This list includes Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad, whose name is followed by those of Bakṣaṣ b. Sayyid al-Nās, Muḳātil b. ʿAṭiyya, Khazrūn b. Muḥammad and Fulful b. Saʿīd. The southern group of the Moroccan Maghrāwa were commanded by another prince of the Banū Khazar family, Khazrūn b. Fulful b. Khazar. This prince set out in 366/976-7 to conquer Sidjilmāsa, a town gov-

erned by the *amīrs* of the Miknāsa family of the Banū Midrār. After the seizure of Sidjilmāsa, Khazrūn received from the *ḥādjib* of Cordova, al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, the mandate to govern this town which remained in his family, as will be noted below, until the arrival of the Almoravids.

Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad seems to have still been the head of the Banū Khazar family in 369/979-80, when Bulukkīn b. Zīrī b. Manād undertook a new expedition to the borders of the Maghrib al-Akṣā. This prince fled to Spain, where he requested the support of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr who governed Spain on behalf of the Umayyad caliph Hishām (366-99/976-1009). The latter responded to his appeals and sent an expedition to the Maghrib under the command of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn. The Andalusian army, which included Maghrāwa and Ifran contingents, advanced to a position near Ceuta; Bulukkīn b. Zīrī declined to give battle and withdrew to take possession of the remainder of Morocco. Later, in 375/985-9, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr is mentioned at the head of a list of Maghrāwa *amīrs* who rallied, according to Ibn Khaldūn, around the flag of Abu 'l-Ḥakam ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī ʿĀmir, Umayyad governor of the Maghrib al-Akṣā. However, it is not he, but his cousin Mukātil b. ʿAṭiyya and the latter's brother Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya who are noted on this occasion as being among the Berber princes most loyal to the Umayyad cause. It seems that Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad lost the leadership of the northern group of the Maghrāwa in 375/985-6 or shortly after this date, to Mukātil b. ʿAṭiyya. After the death of the last-named in 378/988-9, it was his brother Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya who was proclaimed leader of the northern group of the Moroccan Maghrāwa. This *amīr* had in addition been appointed (by the Umayyad *ḥādjib* Ibn Abī ʿĀmir) king of the Maghrib al-Akṣā before this date, in 377/987-8. Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya founded a kingdom in the north of this country and made the town of Fās the capital of this dominion, which remained in the possession of his successors until the arrival of the Almoravids. He settled the Maghrāwa (of the northern group) in the outskirts of the town. It should also be remembered that the family of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya was descended from ʿAbd Allāh who was the brother of the powerful Maghrāwa *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar, king of the central Maghrib who, as stated above, was a supporter of the Fāṭimids and died at Ḳayrawān in 350/961-2.

Some years after his appointment as sovereign of the Maghrib, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya went to war against the Ṣanhādja (acting on the orders of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr) and substantially increased the size of his eastern provinces. In 382/993 he travelled to Cordova at the invitation of al-Manṣūr. It seems that the reign of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya was a period of some instability, with this prince and his Ifranid rival Yaddū b. Yaʿlā changing places on the throne of Fās according to the vicissitudes of war. In fact, on his return to Fās from Cordova, Zīrī saw his place taken by Yaʿlā and it was only at the cost of a murderous struggle that he recovered his throne. Because Zīrī constantly had in mind the reconquest of the territory of Chélif, and perhaps also the restoration of the ancient Zanāta and Maghrāwa kingdom of the Banū Khazar in the central Maghrib, he found the location of Fās too remote for the capital of the future state. Therefore he decided to construct a new capital for himself and for the principal chieftains of the confederation of the Maghrāwa. In 384/994 he founded the city of Wadjda (Oujda) on the borders of Morocco and present-day Algeria and installed himself there, accompanied by his court and his household troops. In the same period, he decided to reject the authority of Cordova, and ultimately the relations between him and al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir were broken. Al-Manṣūr sent an expedition against him commanded by the freedman Wāḍiḥ; an encounter took place on the banks of Wādī Radāt and the Andalusian army was defeated. Al-Manṣūr then organised another expedition and appointed as commander his own son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. This time, Zīrī was defeated on two occasions in 387/997. He tried to take refuge in Fās, but the residents denied him access to his capital, which ʿAbd al-Malik entered shortly after. Zīrī was compelled to withdraw by way of the Sahara, after which he attempted to found a state in the central Maghrib, in the territory belonging to the kingdom of the Zīrid Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr b. Bulukkīn. Thus in 388/998 he mounted an invasion of this part of the Maghrib. After the victory of the Ṣanhādjian army commanded by Ḥammād b. Bulukkīn, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya took possession of Tāhart, Chélif, Ténès and al-Masīla. It is interesting to note that in these towns he ordered that prayers be offered for the Umayyad caliph Hishām and his *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr. He also laid siege to the town of Ashīr, capital of the Ṣanhādja, but he died in 391/1000-1, before taking this town.

On the death of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, the Maghrāwa of northern Morocco proclaimed his son al-Muʿizz chief of this branch of the confederation. This prince, who did not share his father's hostile attitude in regard to the *ḥādjib* Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, had already, in 390/999-1000, been established by the latter at Fās in the role of Umayyad governor. Subsequently, the son of the *ḥādjib* ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, who became after the death of al-Manṣūr his successor at the court of Cordova, appointed al-Muʿizz, in 393/1002-3, to govern Fās and the Maghrib al-Akṣā. In 396/1006, al-Muʿizz received from Cordova letters of investiture for Fās and for the whole of the Maghrib al-Akṣā with the exception of the land of Sidjilmāsa, the preserve of the Maghrāwa dynasty of the Banū Khazrūn who were, like the *amīrs* of Fās, subject to the Umayyads of Spain. Al-Muʿizz died in 417/1026 or, according to another source, in 422/1030; during his reign, the kingdom of Fās enjoyed a period of peace.

His successor was his paternal cousin Ḥamāma b. al-Muʿizz b. ʿAṭiyya who had been appointed governor of Fās by al-Muʿizz in 416/1025, before the death of this *amīr*. Ḥamāma was able to consolidate his power in regard to Spain. However, in 424/1032-3, war broke out between this *amīr* and the rival dynasty of the Banū Ifran, who possessed a kingdom with its capital at Shalla (Salé) on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The Ifranid prince Abu 'l-Kamāl Tamīm b. Zīrī marched against Fās and captured this town. Ḥamāma retreated towards the east and reached the towns of Wadjda and Ténès in the eastern part of the kingdom of Fās, where he stayed for five years. Having mustered powerful contingents, he advanced on Fās in 429/1037-8. Abu 'l-Kamāl was forced to withdraw from Fās and return to Shalla. Later, in 430/1038-9, Ḥamāma continued the anti-Ṣanhādja policy of his predecessors by attacking the Ḥammādid prince al-Ḳāʾid (419-46/1028-54) who came to meet him and secretly paid large sums of money to the Zanāta troops of Ḥamāma. The latter, becoming aware of this and fearing the defection of his troops, returned to Fās, having declared his submission to the Ḥammādids. He died in 431/1039-40 or 433/1041-2.

After his death, power passed to his son Dūnās. Having suppressed a revolt by one of his cousins, this prince subsequently devoted all his efforts to the embellishment of Fās, which was now becoming a large commercial city. He died in 452/1062, leaving the throne to his son al-Futūḥ. But the rights of al-Futūḥ were contested by his brother ʿAdjīsa. The latter took control of part of the capital, while al-Futūḥ established himself in the other part. The two brothers engaged in a war which lasted three years, at the end of which ʿAdjīsa was killed and al-Futūḥ was able to reign effectively in Fās. However, his was not a long reign. In fact, he was driven from Fās in 454/1062 by the Ḥammādid sovereign Bulukkīn b. Muḥammad (447-54/1055-62). After his departure, the Maghrāwa chose one of his kinsmen to succeed him, Muʿannaṣar (or Muʿanṣar) b. Ḥammād b. Muʿanṣar b. al-Muʿizz b. ʿAṭiyya. He was proclaimed chief in 455/1063 and was soon obliged to wage war against the Almoravids, who were beginning to invade Morocco. Defeated by them in a major battle the same year, he took refuge with the Berber tribe of Sadīna, leaving Fās to fall into the hands of the warriors of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn. But some time later he returned, deposing the lieutenant installed by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn and regaining control of his capital. When the Almoravids laid siege to Fās, in 460/1067-8, Muʿanṣar attempted a sortie, but he did not return from the battlefield. The people of Fās then proclaimed as prince his son Tamīm. But the capital was taken by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn two years later (462/1069-70), and the new sovereign was put to death by the Almoravid king, who also ordered the slaughter of more than three thousand Maghrāwa, Banū Ifran, Zanāta and Miknāsa living in Fās. Those who escaped the massacre took refuge in Tlemcen. Another group in Maghrāwa from Fās fled to al-Damna, a town situated in northern Morocco, on the frontiers of the land of Ghomāra. But the Almoravid king laid siege to the place in 465/1072-3 (or according to another source, in 471/1078-9); he captured the town and crushed the Maghrāwa. Al-Bakrī mentions, in 1068, yet another group of northern Maghrāwa living near the highway leading from Ceuta to Tetouan, on the fringe of territory belonging to the Berber tribe of the Madjaksa. There they possessed a market which they called Sūḳ Banī Maghrāwat ("Market of the Banū Maghrāwat"). It is not known whether this group survived the conquest of Fās and al-Damna by the Almoravids. However, it is by no means impossible that this small tribe should have succeeded in crossing the Moulouya and returning to the Chélif, the ancient cradle of the Maghrāwa.

2. *Sidjilmāsa*. At the instigation of the *ḥādjib* of Cordova Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, a Maghrāwa chief named Khazrūn b. Fulful b. Khazar embarked in 366/976-7 on the conquest of Sidjilmāsa, which for two centuries had been governed by *amīrs* of the Miknāsa family of the Banū Midrār [*q.v.*]. This chief, who was one of the most influential members of the princely family of the Banū Khazar, proclaimed in Sidjilmāsa the sovereignty of the Umayyads of Spain and sent to Cordova the head of the last prince of the Midrārid dynasty. After this, Khazrūn received from al-Manṣūr the governship of Sidjilmāsa which he retained until his death. He was then replaced by his son Wānūdīn. The latter was obliged to defend himself against the invasion by the Algerian Ṣanhādja of the Maghrib al-Akṣā. For a certain period of time he was thrown into disgrace by al-Manṣūr, whose son and minister al-Muẓaffar gave the government of Sidjilmāsa to Ḥāmid b. Yaṣal, but later, in 390/999, his authority was confirmed by the Umayyads. At the time of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain, he declared himself independent, conquered the region of Darʿa (Dra in our maps) and in 407/1016-17, took possession of Ṣufrūy (Sefrou), which was one of the dependencies of Fās, and of the valley of the Wādī Malwiya (Moulouya). Al-Muʿizz b. Zīrī, sovereign of Fās and master of Ṣufrūy (and perhaps also of the region of the Moulouya), under attack from Wānūdīn who conquered a large portion of his dominion, attempted not only to recapture these provinces but also to deprive Wānūdīn of his capital. The same year (407/1016-17), he mounted an expedition with a powerful army, but was beaten by the troops of Sidjilmāsa and led back to Fās only the remnants of his force. His son and successor Masʿūd was defeated, stripped of his dominions and killed by the Almoravids, who put to the sword all the Maghrāwa who had taken refuge in the region (445/1053-4). Ten years later (in 455/1063), the sons of Wānūdīn and the remnants of the Maghrāwa residing at Ṣufrūy were dispersed in their turn. Finally, in 463/1070-1, the Almoravids seized by force the settlements of the region of the Moulouya. In this way, the domain of the Banū Khazrūn family was utterly destroyed.

3. *Aghmāt*. Another segment of the ancient confederation of the Maghrāwa which entered Morocco *ca.* 971 founded a small kingdom at Aghmāt on the plain of Marrākush near the foothills of the High Atlas, in the period when the last princes of the family of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya were the rulers of Fās. Nothing is known of the history of the Maghrāwian dynasty which reigned at Aghmāt, but it seems to have been just another branch of the great Maghrāwa princely family of the Banū Khazar. The last of the Maghrāwa *amīrs* of Aghmāt, named Laḳūṭ, (Laḳḳūṭ, Laghūṭ) b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī, was killed by the Almoravids in 451/1059. He was apparently been married to the wise and beautiful Zaynab bint Isḥāḳ of the Berber tribe of Nafza who became, after the death of Lāḳūṭ, the wife of the Almoravid *amīr* Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar. The latter subsequently, in 453/1061, handed over Zaynab to his kinsman Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn.

4. *al-Sūs*. After the arrival of the Maghrāwa in the Maghrib al-Akṣā in *ca.* 971, an *amīr* of the family of the Banū Khazar, named Muḳātil and, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, the brother of the *amīr* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Khazar, set out, probably at the head of a group of Maghrāwa, towards the south where he occupied territories in the province of al-Sūs, According to the list of Berber tribes compiled by the geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal, he was present in this area in the period following 366/976-7. This prince is completely unknown to us. He may in fact be none other than Muḳātil b. ʿAṭiyya, brother of Zīrī (sovereign of Fās), mentioned *ca.* 365/975-6 and residing, in this period, in the north of Morocco, as stated above.

Despite the crushing defeat inflicted on the kingdoms of Fās, of Sidjilmāsa, of Aghmāt and of al-Damna, the Almoravids did not succeed in exterminating all the branches of the Maghrāwa in Morocco. In fact, the remnants of this confederation stayed in this country where they are mentioned again, in the 8th/14th century, by Ibn Khaldūn. Among these remnants attention should be drawn to the Banū Warrā, a substantial branch of the Maghrāwa. In this period, families belonging to this tribe were widely dispersed in Morocco, particularly in the environs of Fās and in the Sūs. According to Ibn

Khaldūn, at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the Marīnid sultan Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb deported to the territory of the Chélif the chiefs and almost all the families of the Banū Warrā who resided in the region of Fās. Another Maghrāwian branch, the Banū Sindjas, also occupied in the 8th/14th century numerous places in Morocco.

B. Algeria 1. *Tlemcen.* According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Maghrāwian sovereign of Fās, al-Muʿizz b. Zīrī, seized from the Ṣanhādja, i.e. from the Zīrid king Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (386-409/996-1016), the town and province of Tlemcen, where he established as governor his kinsman Yaʿlā, son of the *amīr* Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, who had previously (until *ca.* 375/985-6) headed the confederation of the Maghrāwa in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā. Yaʿlā served Muʿizz b. Zīrī faithfully and passed on to his descendants the government of Tlemcen and of all the surrounding country.

His successors lived in peace with the Ṣanhādja dynasty, masters of the central Maghrib, which enabled them to consolidate their authority at Tlemcen, which became an independent state. This situation continued until the arrival in the central Maghrib of the Hilālian tribes of Zughba and Athbadj. In *ca.* 446/1054-5 the invaders turned their weapons against the Zanāta tribes of the area and captured from them all the open country. The Ḥammādids, who found themselves in this period, after many truces, in a state of war with the *amīr* Bakhtī, a descendant of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, obtained the support of the Zughba. The war between Bakhtī and the Zanāta on the one hand and the Ḥammādids and the Zughba on the other, lasted a long time. Bakhtī put at the head of his army a vizier named Abū Suʿda who belonged to the Zanāta tribe of the Banū Īfran. This general rallied beneath his flag all the Zanāta tribes of the central Maghrib, headed by the Maghrāwa and the Banū Īfran. The sources mention numerous battles which took place between the Ḥammādids (and their allies, the Zughba and the Athbadj) and the army of Bakhtī. In one of these conflicts, Abū Suʿda lost his life (450/1058). After the death of Bakhtī, at a date unknown, the throne passed to his son al-ʿAbbās. It was during this period that the Almoravids, having completed the conquest of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, appeared in the central Maghrib. Their chief, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, dispatched an army composed of the Lamtūna against Tlemcen and, in 473/1080-1, he seized this town from al-ʿAbbās. Subsequently, he put this *amīr* to death, along with all the other descendants of the family of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr and exterminated the Maghrāwa who were trapped in the town.

2. *Chélif.* The emigration of the Maghrāwa of the central Maghrib to the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā which took place in 1971 involved only a part of the tribes of the Maghrāwa confederation, who left this country led by al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr and other *amīrs* descended from the ancient princely family of the Banū Khazar. The other Maghrāwa tribes residing in the central Maghrib remained in the territory of Chélif and neighbouring sites, the region which had been, as stated by Ibn Khaldūn, the centre of their settlements. These tribes were obliged, after the collapse of their power in 971, to pay tribute to the major dominions of the central Maghrib as a guarantee against their attacks. Among these Maghrāwa were the powerful tribe of the Banū Warsifān and the tribes of the Banū Wartazmār (Wanzamār), the Banū Īlīt, the Banū Zadjdjdāk and the Banū Sindjas. Later, the Arab sources add to these the Banū Bū Saʿīd and the Banū Warrā. In the 5th/11th century the Banū Warsifān resided in the neighbourhood of Mīlyāna, where they lived under the control of their own *shaykhs*, subject in this period to the authority of the Ḥammādids, and the Banū Sindjas, who had their own *amīr*, possessed the region of Medea, known as Lamdiya in the Arabic sources.

After the collapse of the dominions of Fās, of Sidjilmāsa and of Aghmāt brought about by the Almoravids, a Maghrāwa prince named Muʿanṣar b. Ḥammād, who claimed descent from Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, fled from Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn at the head of a group of Maghrāwa and entered the territory of Chélif, subject at this time to the Ḥammādid king al-Nāṣir (454-81/1062-89). It seems that the Maghrāwa tribes of this region recognised his authority, with the exception of the Banū Warsifān who were unwilling to accept him and who remained loyal to the Ḥammādid governor based at Mīlyāna. Muʿanṣar b. Ḥammād attacked them and killed a number of their *shaykhs*: he also slew the Ḥamādid governor of Mīlyāna. Al-Nāṣir was unable to come to the aid of the Banū Warsifān on account of his struggles with the Hilālian Arabs. So the Banū Warsifān marched alone against Muʿanṣar, killed him in battle and sent his head to al-Nāṣir. This battle seems to have been only one episode in a long war between the Maghrāwa invaders of Morocco, who were joined by numerous Maghrāwa and Zanāta tribes, and the Ḥammādids which took place *ca.* 460-70/1067-78. In this war, which ended with the decisive defeat of the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta, the Maghrāwa and Zanāta chiefs were decimated. Among these chiefs, mention should be made of Abu 'l-Futūḥ b. Ḥabbūs (or Ḥannūsh), *amīr* of the Banū Sindjas and ruler of Lamdiya (Medea).

The history of the Maghrāwa of the region of Chélif under the domination of the Almoravids is entirely unknown. They seem however to have suffered greatly at the hands of the Lamtūna. In fact, when ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, a Maghrāwa *amīr* who belonged to the Banū Khazar family and traced his origin from the royal family of the Banū Khazrūn of Tripoli, arrived in the territory of Chélif at around the middle of the 6th/12th century, he found there only remnants of the Maghrāwa. He established himself among this people and was greeted with honour by the Banū Warsifān, the Banū Wartazmār (Wanzamār), the Banū Bū Saʿīd and other Maghrāwa tribes. These tribes, ever loyal to the family of the Banū Khazar, the ancient kings of the territory of Chélif and of the entire central Maghrib, were all eager to recognise in his person the rights of this dynasty. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad allied himself through marriages to their leading families and left numerous children, who were known in the territory of Chélif by the name of Banū Khazar or Banū Muḥammad, no doubt in memory of Muḥammad b. Khazar, the Maghrāwa king of the central Maghrib in the 4th/10th century. The arrival of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad in the region of Chélif took place shortly before the establishment of the empire of the Almohads, who became masters of the central Maghrib in 547/1152 after a war against a coalition of Zanāta tribes. Also members of this coalition were the Maghrāwa, in particular the tribe of the Banū Warsifān (in *ca.* 539/1145). One of the descendants of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, a certain Abū Nās who was renowned for his piety, received from the Almohads, who treated him with great respect, the government of part of the territory of Chélif and the command of the Maghrāwa in this region.

Such were the origins of a new Maghrāwa state in the central Maghrib. The real founder of this state was Mandīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, grandson of Abū Nās who lived at around the end of the 6th/12th and beginning of the 7th/13th centuries. This prince conquered the neighbouring territories, including the region of Wānsharīs and the town of Lamdiya (Medea) along with the places dependent on them. The dynasty which he founded is known in the mediaeval Arabic sources as Awlād Mandīl [*q.v.*]. As for Mandīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān himself, he took the field against Ibn Ghāniya, but lost the battle and died in 622/1225, prisoner of this chief.

The successors of Mandīl took possession of Miliana, of Ténès, of Cherchel, of Mitīdja and a large part of the region of Wānsharīs, founding a quite substantial kingdom, much of which was subsequently taken from them by their neighbours, in particular by the Banū ʿAṭiyya, chiefs of the Zanāta tribe of Tūdjīn which inhabited the region of the high Chélif. In *ca.* 670/1271-2, the Maghrāwa of Chélif recognised the sovereignty of the dynasty of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād of Tlemcen. However, two years later the ʿAbd al-Wādid sultan Yaghmurasān b. Zayyān ravaged the land of the Maghrāwa and compelled them to cede to him the town of Ténès. Thus began the wars between the ʿAbd al-Wādids and the Maghrāwa *amīr*s which lasted a hundred years. One of the most important episodes of these wars was the expedition of the sultan of Tlemcen Abū Zayyān (703-7/1304-7) and his brother Abū Ḥammū against the tribes of Chélif in 706/1307, in the course of which the ʿAbd al-Wādids subjugated the valley of the lower Chélif and conquered the towns of this region. Nevertheless, the Maghrāwa continued to be the formidable enemies of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. In fact, in 714/1314-5, the *shaykh* of the Maghrāwa tribe of the Banū Bū Saʿīd raised, in the valley of Chélif, the standard of revolt against Abū Ḥammū who had become sultan of Tlemcen after the death of Abū Zayyān. However, he was forced to take flight. Living at about the same time was the *amīr* Rāshid b. Muḥammad, a renowned Maghrāwa warrior who, after the conquest of his land by the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād, offered his services to the princes of Bougie. In 703/1303-4 he reached the territory of Mitīdja (Mitidja), where another celebrated Maghrāwa warrior named Munīf b. Thābit came to join him with his partisans. But the latter, decisively defeated, took refuge with his entire family in Spain, where he remained until the end of his life.

Later, at around the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Maghrāwa of Chélif became once more a tribe of some importance. They were at this time subjects or allies of the sultans of Tlemcen, but they sought at every opportunity to rid themselves of this dependence. In this period, their principal centre was the town of Tīmzūghat or Tīmzūrat. In *ca.* 749/1348-9, a prince of the Awlād Mandīl dynasty named ʿAlī b. Rāshid (possibly the son of the renowned Maghrāwa *amīr* Rāshid b. Muḥammad mentioned above), took possession of the territory of Chélif and subjugated Miliana, Ténès, Brechk and Cherchel. He also possessed the village of Māzūna. But the revival of the state of the Maghrāwa did not last long. In fact they were attacked, in 751 or 752/1350-2, by the sultan Abū Thābit of Tlemcen, who subjugated the Maghrāwa of Chélif and captured Māzūna, Brechk, Cherchel, Miliana and Medea. The Maghrāwa warriors took refuge in the fortress of Adjrū which dominated the towns of Ténès. In *ca.* 772/1370, after the death of ʿAlī b. Rāshid, the Maghrāwa of Chélif proclaimed as chief his son Ḥamza, who was the last prince of the Maghrāwa state of Chélif. His reign was of short duration. In 774/1372, the sultan of Tlemcen sent powerful forces to subdue the Maghrāwa. The latter were defeated, and the ʿAbd al-Wādids took control of the town of Tīmzūghat (Tīmzūrat) situated in the centre of their territory. Ténès and Miliana also surrendered to the sultan of Tlemcen. In the wake of this defeat, the Maghrāwa of Chélif lost all their power and, to avoid the prospect of slavery, they emigrated from the region in large numbers. In 775/1373, the majority of this people took refuge in the district of Mitīdja. However, it is quite possible that some of the Maghrāwa of Chélif remained in their ancient homeland and that the noble and valiant inhabitants of the "Magraua Mountain" located near the village or Mostaganem who are spoken of in 1525 by Leo Africanus belonged to the various segments of the Maghrāwa.

3. *Zāb and its environs.* It has been observed above how the Maghrāwa princes of the Banū Khazar dynasty took advantage of the Khāridjite revolt of Maysara in 122/739-40 and of the enfeeblement of the Umayyad governors of Ḳayrawān to extend their authority over all the nomadic Zanāta of the central Maghrib, of which Zāb formed a part. So it was that from this period onwards, different Berber tribes and clans belonging to the confederation of the Maghrāwa began moving into this region. In 316/928-9 the powerful Maghrāwa prince Muḥammad b. Khazar appeared in Zāb, from which he energetically expelled the supporters of the Fāṭimids. Later, in 379/989-90, a Maghrāwa *amīr* claiming descent from the family of the Banū Khazar and named Saʿīd b. Khazrūn b. Fulful, discontented with the personal policies of the Umayyads of Spain who were lavishing extraordinary honours upon the *amīrs* Muḳātil and Zīrī, sons of ʿAṭiyya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khazar, deserted the Umayyad party and presented himself at Ashīr at the court of the Zīrid prince al-Manṣūr b. Buluḳḳīn (373-86/984-96) who gave to the turncoat the government of the town of Ṭubna in the region of Zāb. After the death of this *amīr* in 381 or 382 (991-2), it was his son Fulful b. Saʿīd b. Khazrūn who succeeded him in this role. In 389/999 this *amīr* rebelled against the Zīrid prince Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (386-406/996-1016), but after defeat at the hands of the Ṣanhādja army he took refuge in the mountains and subsequently, in 391/1000-1, made his way through the desert to Tripoli.

Among other Maghrāwa individuals who were active in Zāb and the surrounding region mention should be made of three chiefs of the Banū Warzamār (Wanzamār), a leading family of the Maghrāwa, these being al-Manṣūr al-Warzamārī and his two sons ʿAbd Allāh and Masʿūd, who made war on Ḥammād b. Buluḳḳīn (405-19/1015-29), probably in the vicinity of the town of Bāghāya. It is also in this period that the Arabic sources mention the place known as Kudyat Maghrāwa, itself situated in the region of Zāb. According to al-Bakrī (1068), two tribes belonging to the ancient confederation of the Maghrāwa, these being the Banū Īzmartī (Īzamratan, Īzmartan) and the Banū Maghrāwa proper, resided in the vicinity of Biskra. The latter tribe was governed by *amīr*s descended from the Banū Khazar family. To the west of the town of Banṭiyūs, which lies to the south-west of Biskra, there existed a place known as Sāḳiyat Ibn Khazar "the irrigation canal of Ibn Khazar", which owed

its name to a prince belonging to the family of the Banū Khazar, possibly the ancient Maghrāwa king Muḥammad b. Khazar who reigned in the central Maghrib in the first half and around the middle of the 10th century. To the west of Banṭiyūs, al-Bakrī notes the presence of the Maghrāwa in an expanse of desert three or four stages long, on the road leading from Oran to the land of Ḳasṭīliya (Bilād al-Djarīd). Maghrāwa are also to be found in this period to the south of Biskra. In fact, it is known that the town of Waghlanat or Wughallān (Ourlel or Ourellal on our maps), situated to the south of Biskra and probably inhabited by Berber Ibāḍī elements, was besieged in 450/1058-9 by the Maghrāwa chief named Abū Zaghīl al-Khazarī, clearly a member of the princely family of the Banū Khazar. Later, in *ca.* 468/1075-6, the Maghrāwa, the Ghumart and other nomadic Zanāta tribes of the Zāb region allied themselves with the Hilālian Arabs and sacked the towns of the Zāb. The leader of these brigands was the Maghrāwa chief al-Muntaṣir b. Khazrūn, master of the Zanāta of Tripoli (of whom further mention will be made below), who made his base at Waghlānat. The inhabitants of Zāb complained to the Ḥammādid prince al-Nāṣir (454-81/1061-89), who dispatched against al-Muntaṣir his son al-Manṣūr at the head of an army. Al-Manṣūr entered Waghlānat and destroyed the town. Some time later, al-Muntaṣir, for whom ʿArūs b. Sindī, chief of Biskra, had laid a trap, was killed by the latter and his head sent to al-Nāṣir.

It may be added that among the Maghrāwa tribes which inhabited Zāb and the neighbouring regions there were also the Banū Zandādj (Zandādja, Zandāk). This was an important tribal group which, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Bakrī, lived in the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries in the environs of Ṭubna, of al-Masīla (Msila) and of Maḳḳara or Maḳra (the ancient Macri, the contemporary Bordj Magra), a town situated midway between Ṭubna and al-Masīla. According to the Ibāḍī historian al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century), the majority of the Zandādja professed the doctrines of the Ibāḍī sect.

Ibn Khaldūn (8th/14th century) mentions three other tribes belonging to the Maghrāwa residing in the region and vicinity of Zāb, these being the Sindjas, the Rīgha and the Laghwāṭ. The first of these tribes occupied the territory currently known as the Ouled Nail and the land extending as far as Djebel Amour and the mountain of Rāshid. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Sindjas resided, before the arrival of the Hilālian Arabs, in the plains of Ifrīḳiya, and the latter forced this people, not without difficulty, to take refuge in the mountains and fortresses of the Ouled Nail and the surrounding regions. In the 8th/14th century, they paid tribute to the Hilālian Arabs who had subjugated them. According to Ibn Khaldūn, in this period they still professed the doctrines of the Khāridjite sect (in this case, Ibāḍī).

The Rīgha, a nomadic branch of the Maghrāwa which comprised a large number of families, was established in Djebel Aiad and in the plain extending from this mountain to the town of Niḳāwus (Ngaous on our maps). In the time of Ibn Khaldūn, the Rīgha of the mountains paid tribute to the *amīrs* of the tribe of ʿAyāḍ, and the families of the Rīgha residing in the plain of Niḳāwus were subject to the local Arabs.

The Laghwāṭ, a branch of the Maghrāwa tribe renowned for its valour and its resistance to Arab domination, inhabited in the 8th/14th century, the desert region separating the district of Zāb from the mountain of Rāshid. There they occupied a large settlement which bore their name, Laghouat on modern maps.

4. *Wādī Rīgh.* A large number of Maghrāwa families settled, probably at about the middle of the 4th/10th century, in the land stretching between Zāb and the territory of Wārdjilān (Ouargla on our maps) where the new arrivals built on the banks of a stream flowing from south to north, numerous towns and villages surrounded by date-palms. In the ancient Arab sources, this territory was called Wādī Arīgha or Wādī Rīgh, from the name of the Maghrāwa tribe of the Rīgha; on modern maps this land bears the name of Oued Righ or Oued Rirh. The majority of the Maghrāwa families who inhabited Wādī Arīgh were Ibāḍī Khāridjites; they principally professed the doctrines of the Wahbīs and the Nukkārīs. Alongside the Rīgha, there were also present in the 8th/14th century some members of the Sindjas clan, who arrived in this territory after leaving their former settlements in Zāb or in Ifrīḳiya. The Ibāḍī historian al-Shammākhī mentions on several occasions the Maghrāwa of Rīgh. The most ancient reference to the Maghrāwa of Oued Righ dates from *ca.* 362/972-3. Other mentions of the Maghrāwa of Rīgh occur in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries.

5. *Eastern Algeria.* A segment of the tribe of the Sindjas resided, in the 8th/14th century, in the region of Constantine. In the same part of Algeria, Arabic sources of this period also mention an offshoot from the Maghrāwa tribe of the Banū Warrā which gave its name to a mountain and a village situated in the vicinity of Bougie. Finally, a Maghrāwa tribe known as the Banū Īkshan which professed the doctrines of the Ibāḍī sect resided, in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries and possibly also in subsequent centuries, in the plain of Bône, Faḥṣ Būna in Arabic sources. Ibāḍī sources from the 7th-10th/13th-16th centuries mention eight or so important Ibāḍī *shaykhs* belonging to this tribe.

C. Tunisia. A segment of the Maghrāwa tribe of the Banū Īzamratan inhabited the canton of Nafzāwa situated in the south of Tunisia. According to the Ḥafṣid historian Ibn Nakhīl, quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, this was the tribe of origin of the Berber chief ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Rand who governed, on behalf of the Zīrids, the town of Ḳafṣa (Gafsa), at the time of the invasion of the Banū Hilāl. In 445/1053-4 he declared himself independent and accepted the submission of Tūzar, Nafṭa, Taḳyūs, al-Ḥāmma and other localities in the province of Ḳasṭīliya; he founded the dynasty of the Banu 'l-Rand. On his death, in 465/1072-3, his son and successor Abū ʿUmar (Abū ʿAmr) al-Muʿtazz succeeded in constituting to the west of southern Ifrīḳiya an important principality comprising Ḳamūda (Gamouda), Ḳafṣa and Ḳasṭīliya, bounded to the north by the regions of Sebiba, Ḳayrawān and Sfax. The capital of this principality was the town of Ḳafṣa, situated in the centre of the territory which it dominated. The domain of the Banu 'l-Rand existed until 554/1159, at which date the Almohads captured Ḳafṣa and deposed the ruling family.

It seems that the Maghrāwa established themselves in the Nafzāwa in a quite ancient period. In any case, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Khazarī, who was probably descended from the princely Maghrāwa family of the Banū Khazar, was appointed governor of the Nafzāwa by the Ibāḍī *imām* of Tāhart, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum (168-208/

784-823). Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ was an Ibāḍī, as were the majority of the inhabitants of the district of Nafzāwa. Princes descended from the Banū Khazar family were still ruling the Nafzāwa at the time of the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (406-54/1016/62).

It may be added that the Maghrāwa chief Warrū b. Saʿīd, descended from the Banū Khazrūn family an offshoot of the Banū Khazar, was appointed governor of Nafzāwa by the Zīrid prince Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (400/1009-10). After him, his brother Khazrūn obtained from Bādīs the government of Nafzāwa (401-4/1010-14).

The Maghrāwa and the Zanāta also resided, in the second half of the 5th/11th century, throughout the region of Ḳasṭīliya. Ibn Khaldūn refers, in fact, to a raid of Hilālian Arabs against these Berber groups. Probably those involved were the same Maghrāwa who took part in a coalition of the Hilālian Arab tribes of Riyāḥ, of Zughba and of Sulayman which campaigned, in 457/1064-5, against the Ḥammādid sovereign al-Nāṣir.

Among the Maghrāwa tribes inhabiting Ifrīḳiya, mention should also be made of the Banū Sindjas, who distinguished themselves by the part that they played in the war of the Zanāta against the Zīrid and Ḥammādid Ṣanhādja. In 514/1120-1 they blockaded Gafsa and ravaged the surrounding area. They also appeared in the Bilād al-Djarīd, where they were attacked by Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-ʿArab, general of the Zīrid sovereign ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā (509-15/1116-21). The Zīrid army expelled them from the Djarīd and destroyed their power.

D. Tripolitania. An offshoot of the Maghrāwa led by *amīrs* descended from the family of the Banū Khazrūn, a branch of the Banū Khazar, established an independent government at Tripoli. The history of this state, which existed for almost a century and a half (391-541/1000-1145), is little known in spite of the information provided by Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Tidjānī and other Arab authors. Nevertheless, some facts are available, in particular concerning the first century of the dominance of the Banū Khazrūn.

It has been observed above that Fulful b. Saʿīd b. Khazrūn, a Maghrāwa *amīr* descended from the family of the Banū Khazar, was, like his father Saʿīd b. Khazrūn, a supporter of the Zīrids, lieutenants of the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya and, like his father govern of the town of Ṭubna in the Zāb on behalf, of this Ṣanhādja dynasty. In 390/1000-1 Fulful b. Saʿīd rebelled against the Zīrid prince Bādīs b. al-Maṣūr. Defeated by Bādīs, he took refuge in the Sahara and subsequently marched on Tripoli, a province dependent on the Zīrids. He took control of this land in 391/1000-1. Becoming master of the town and province of Tripoli, Fulful b. Saʿīd was constrained to fight a prolonged war against Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr, and requiring military support he first of all recognised the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim whose aid was, however, ineffectual. Therefore, he decided to approach the Umayyads of Spain, and in 399/1008-9 he sent a mission to the court of Cordova, whose sovereigns had always been, since the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300-50/912-61), allies and protectors of the Maghrāwa and their kings, the Banū Khazar. However, this approach led to no result, as Fulful b. Saʿīd died in 400/1009-10, before the return of his ambassadors from Cordova.

After the death of Fulful, the Maghrāwa and the other Zanāta tribes proclaimed as *amīr* his brother Warrū b. Saʿīd. This chief was obliged, first of all, to recognise the authority of the Zīrid Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr, who marched on Tripoli and occupied the town, forcing the Zanāta and Maghrāwa warriors to flee. Warrū b. Saʿīd was granted a general amnesty and appointment as governor of Nafzāwa (400/1009-10). But in 401/1010-11 he once more repudiated the authority of Bādīs and inaugurated a lengthy war, during which the Maghrāwa and Zanāta ravaged extensive areas of southern Ifrīḳiya and Tripolitania. However, they were unable to take control of the town of Tripoli which remained in the hands of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the governor appointed by Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr. Ultimately, in 404 or 405/1013-15, Warrū b. Saʿīd again offered his submission to the Zīrids.

After the death of Warrū b. Saʿīd in 405/1014-5, the Maghrāwa and Zanāta of Tripolitania were divided into two parties, one supporting the succession of Khalīfa, son of Warrū, and the other rallying round Khazrūn b. Saʿīd, the latter's brother. It was Khalīfa who emerged victorious over his rival, having taken possession of his camp. Khazrūn b. Saʿīd made his way to Egypt, to the court of the Fāṭimid caliph, where the two sons Saʿīd and al-Muntaṣir spent their youth. In this manner, Khalīfa b. Warrū established his authority over all the Maghrāwa and Zanāta of Tripolitania. This chief pledged loyalty to Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr, but after the death of this sovereign and the accession of his son al-Muʿizz (406-454/1016-1062), he rebelled against the new Zīrid king. Groups of Maghrāwa and Zanāta led by Ḥammād, brother of Khalīfa, made incursions into the territories of Gabès and of Tripoli. These raids lasted until 413/1022-3. Soon after this, the new Zīrid governor of Tripoli, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, ceded the town to Khalīfa, who thus restored the domination of the Banū Khazrūn. Subsequently, in 417/1026, Khalīfa b. Warrū made overtures to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāhir b. al-Ḥākim (411-27/1021-36) and obtained from him confirmation as governor of Tripoli. The same year, Khalīfa also sent a lavish gift to al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs. It is probable that Khalīfa died during the reign of al-Ẓāhir.

It was apparently in the lifetime of Khalīfa b. Warrū that Saʿīd b. Khazrūn and his brother al-Muntaṣir, sons of Khazrūn b. Saʿīd, returned from Cairo and established themselves in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. At one point, it is not known when or how, Saʿīd b. Khazrūn succeeded in taking control of the town of Tripoli, but he was killed in 429/1037-8. After him, his kinsman Khazrūn b. Khalīfa seized Tripoli. But his residence in the town lasted only a year, until December 1038, when he was forced to leave Tripoli in secret to escape from al-Muntaṣir b. Khazrūn, who arrived at the head of a Zanāta army to secure the accession of his brother Saʿīd b. Khazrūn. This chief, proclaimed *amīr* of the Maghrāwa and Zanāta of Tripolitania, governed the town and province of Tripoli for a very long period. It was during his reign, between the years 430 and 440/1038-49, that a lengthy war took place between the Zanāta and Maghrāwa of Tripoli on the one side and the Zīrid king al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs on the other; the latter attacked them at the head of a Ṣanhādja army. The Maghrāwa and Zanāta routed the first Ṣanhādja expedition, and repulsed the second, but were defeated by the third and were compelled to conclude a peace treaty with al-Muʿizz. According to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muntaṣir again recognised the authority of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs in 443/1051-2, during the invasion of the Banū Hilāl. In fact, he came to the aid of Bādīs at the head of a thousand Zanāta horsemen,

but was beaten by the Hilālians and fled along with the entire Zīrid army. Despite the occupation of the plains of Tripoli by the Hilālian Arab tribes, the capital of the province remained in the hands of al-Muntaṣir, who was still in residence there in *ca.* 468/1075-6. It was at about this date that he decided to lead the Arabs of the tribe of the Banū ʿAdī in an assault on the central Maghrib, which was at this time in the possession of the Ṣanhādja dynasty of the Banū Ḥammād. The forces of al-Muntaṣir occupied the towns of al-Masīla and Ashīr, and also the regions of Zāb and Rīgh. Al-Muntaṣir established his headquarters in the small town of Waghlāna, to which reference has been made above; in addition, he remained master of Tripoli. It has also been mentioned above that he was treacherously killed by the chief of Biskra, who recognised the authority of the Banū Ḥammād.

After his death, another member of the Banū Khazrūn family, whose name is not mentioned in the sources, took control of Tripoli. The subsequent history of Tripoli under this dynasty is not known. It is known, however, that the last *amīr* claiming descent from the Banū Khazrūn was expelled from the town of Tripoli by King Roger II of Sicily, who replaced him with Abū Yaḥyā Ibn Maṭrūḥ al-Tamīmī (540/1146). However, according to Ibn Khaldūn, a section of the Banū Khazrūn family was still residing in the plains of Tripoli at the time of the conquest of this land by the Almohads (*ca.* 555/1160).

As for the Maghrāwa of Tripolitania, they subsequently took refuge in the Djabal Nafūsa. They were still present in this area in the 8th/14th century, at the time of Ibn Khaldūn, according to whom the dense population of the district was composed of Nafūsa, of Maghrāwa and of some Sadrāta families. These Maghrāwa seem to have converted to Ibāḍism, the religion of the Berber population of the Djabal Nafūsa.

It has been observed above that the Maghrāwa remained, after their conversion to Islam, supporters of Sunnism, with the exception of some branches of the confederation which embraced Ibāḍism. However, it seems that the conversion of this tribe to Islam was for a long time superficial and that certain Maghrāwa tribes were still, in the 5th/11th century, semi-pagan. In fact, according to al-Bakrī (1068), there existed among the Banū Warsifān the cult of demons known as *al-shamārīkh* (sing. *shumrūkh*), to whom offerings were made.

Bibliography: The main source is Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar, Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, *passim* (see esp. ii, 33 ff.), tr. idem, *passim* (see esp. iii, 227 ff.). See also Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, 63 ff.; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, new ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, i, Leiden 1948, 197, 198, 224, 246, 250-6, 259, 266-7), tr. Fagnan, i *passim*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil = Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1898, index; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab, Histoire d'Afrique*, ed. and tr. M. Gaspar Ramiro, ii, Granada 1917, index; Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-istiḳṣā* (partial tr. in *AM*, xxxi (1925), 81 ff.); Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Beni ʿAbd al-Wād*, Algiers 1903-13, index; *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya. Chronique anonyme des dynasties almoravides et almohade*, ed. I. S. Allouche, Rabat 1936, 12; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, i, 106, 107; Bakrī. *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Arabic text, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, 52, 72, 107, 144, 189; tr. idem, Algiers 1913, 112, 147, 211, 276, 351-2; Ibn Ḥammād, *Histoire des rois ʿobaïdides*, ed. M. Vonderheyden, Algiers, Paris 1927, text 28, 30, tr. 46-7, 49; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, ed. Ḥ. H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1377/1958, 241-267; Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-siyar*, Cairo 1884, 203, 360, 425, 439, 448, 474, 475-6, 503, 534 and Appendix, 592-5; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i, 355; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1875-81, i, 6-8, 95-6, 112-13, 144, 155, 395, 398, 448, 476-7, ii, 205-6 221, 222, 260, 276-7, 290, 291, 292, 296, 299, 303, 308, 355-6, 361; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, Paris 1914, index, s.v. Maṛrâwa); Lévi-Provençal, art. MAGHRĀWA, in *EI*[1]; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962 (index, 838: Banū Ḥazar, Banū Ḥazrūn; 846: Maġrâwa, and *passim*); J. Desanges, *Catalogue des tribus africaines de l'Antiquité classique*, Dakar 1962, 58, 221. (T. LEWICKI)

AL-**MAGHRIB**, the name given by Arab writers to that part of Africa which Europeans have called Barbary or Africa Minor and then North Africa, and which includes Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

The word *maghrib* means the west, the setting sun, in opposition to *mashriḳ*, the east, the rising sun (Levant), but as Ibn Khaldūn remarks, the general denomination was applied to a particular region. The extent of this area, moreover, varies according to different authors. Some oriental writers (e.g. al-Muḳaddasī) include in the Maghrib not only Northern Africa but also Sicily and Spain; the majority, however, reserve the name Maghrib for the first of these countries. But they are not in agreement upon the boundaries to be assigned to it on the east. On the other hand, they are in agreement about the northern, western and southern boundaries. To the north, the Maghrib is bordered by the Mediterranean. To the west, it extends as far as the Atlantic Ocean, which it hugs from Tangier to the desert of the Lamtūna (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ) or only, according to Ibn Khaldūn, as far as Safi and the Deren (Great Atlas). To the south it stretches (Ibn Khaldūn) as far as the barrier of moving sands separating the country of the Berbers from the land of the Negroes, that is to say the Erg [see ṢAḤRĀʾ] and as far as the rocky regions called *ḥammāda* [*q.v.*]. Some districts situated outside this limit, such as Būda, Tamentīt, Gurāra, Ghadamès, Fezzān and Waddān, are sometimes considered as belonging to the Maghrib. As regards the eastern boundary, certain authors made it extend as far as the sea of Ḳulzum (the Red Sea) and thus include in the Maghrib, Egypt and the country of Barḳa [*q.v.*]. Others, whose opinion is adopted by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, make it coincide with the actual frontier of Egypt, from the oases (al-Wāḥāt [*q.v.*]) as far as *al-ʿAḳaba al-kabīra* between Barḳa and Alexandria. Ibn Khaldūn does not accept this delimitation, because, he says, the inhabitants of the Maghrib do not consider Egypt and Barḳa as forming part of their country. The latter commences only at the province of Tripoli and encloses the districts of which the country of the Berbers was composed in former times. Ibn Saʿīd and later Maghribī writers limit themselves to reproducing with a few variations in detail, the information of Ibn Khaldūn. As for Yāḳūt, he confines the Maghrib to the country stretching from Miliana [*q.v.*] to Sūs (ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 583).

Placed, according to al-Idrīsī, in the third clime, but according to al-Zuhrī (§§ 11, 21) in the 6th *iḳlīm* or *djuzʾ*, the Maghrib is divided into several regions more or less clearly defined. Ibn Hawkal (tr. Kramers-

Wiet, 57 ff.) distinguishes two regions: the Eastern Maghrib from the frontier of Egypt as far as Zawīla in Tripolitania, and the Western Maghrib from this point to Sūs al-Akṣā; but the division commonly accepted is that into three regions, Ifrīkiya, Central (*awsaṭ*) Maghrib and Farther Maghrib (Abu 'l-Fidā', Ibn Khaldūn, etc.). Ibn Saʿīd adopts a slightly different division: Ifrīkiya, outer Maghrib, and further Sūs. Ifrīkiya [*q.v.*] had varying limits; central Maghrib was from Bougie to the Moulouya river (Ibn Khaldūn); and the farther Maghrib from the Moulouya to Safi and to the Deren, to which must be added al-Sūs, which forms, as might be said, according to Ibn Khaldūn, an island or country detached from all others and surrounded by seas, deserts and mountains.

At the present time, the term Maghrib is still used in opposition to Mashriḳ in a sense near to that which it had in mediaeval times, but it also denotes simply Morocco when the full expression al-Maghrib al-Akṣā is abbreviated. Furthermore, the political union of the North African countries which certain politicians seek is called al-Maghrib al-Kabīr.

Bibliography: Apart from Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, i, 186 ff., most of the geographers describe the Maghrib: see M. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghrib et de l'Europe au IIIe-IXe siècle* (= texts and trs. from Ibn Khurrādadhbih, Ibn al-Faḳīh and Ibn Rusta), Algiers 1949; Ch. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident musulman au IVe-Xe siècle* (= text and tr. of al-Muḳaddasī's ch.), Algiers 1950; Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*[3], ed. and tr. de Slane, Paris 1965; Zuhrī, *Kitāb al-Djaʿrāfiyya*, ed. and comm. M. Hadj-Sadok, in *BEO* (1968), §§ 274-317 and see 89-90; *al-Istibṣār*, ed. S. Z. Abdelhamid, Alexandria 1958, 109 ff.; Ibn Saʿīd, Abū Ḥamīd al-Andalusī and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Maḥallī, in E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, 6-40, 153-90; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 122, tr. Reinaud, ii, 168 ff.; Muḥammad Abū Ra's, *Voyages extraordinaires et nouvelles agréables*, tr. Arnaud, Algiers 1889, 11, 156 ff.

(G. Yver*)

AL-MAGHRIB, al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya, a kingdom of North Africa whose name in European languages (Fr. Maroc; Eng. Morocco; Span. Marruecos) is a deformation of the name of the southern metropolis of the kingdom, Marrākush [*q.v.*].

1. Geography.

Morocco occupies the western part of Barbary; it corresponds to the Maghrib al-Akṣā of the Arab geographers [see AL-MAGHRIB]. Lying between 5° and 15° W. longitude (Greenwich) on the one hand and between 36° and 28° N. latitude on the other, it covers approximately an area of between 500,000 and 550,000 km². On the north it is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the west by the Atlantic and on the south by the Sahara. On the eastern side it stretches to the Tell and to the plateau of Oran. The boundary which separates it from Algeria is quite conventional and fixed definitely only on the northern side.

Although Morocco forms one with the northern part of Africa, it is chiefly oriented to the west. It is, one might say, the Atlantic slope of Barbary; it is nevertheless a continental country. The coast does not lend itself to a maritime population; the Mediterranean coast is steep and inhospitable, the Atlantic coastline straight and lacking in natural shelters. The estuaries of the rivers are of very little value because of the sandbars which obstruct their entrances. The geological structure is somewhat complicated. Below the folds of the primary age, of which there still exists much eroded evidence covered by secondary deposits, have risen strata contemporary with the Alps. The actual relief which has resulted from these movements of the earth's surface and from these successive modifications consists of folded mountain chains, plateaux and plains. The chains are two in number, the Rīf and the Atlas. The Rīf is the continuation from the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar of the Baetican Cordillera [see RĪF]. The Atlas [*q.v.*] chain forms the backbone of Morocco. It breaks into the High Atlas oriented west-north-east, linked by the volcanic massif of Sīrwā (3,300 m.) to the Anti-Atlas which lies more to the South, and also to the Middle Atlas running in a diagonal line from the south-west to the north-east, as far as the country of the outer foothills of the Rīf, from which it is separated by the corridor of Taza. From these different chains stretch plateaux. Those of the east connect the High Atlas to the Saharan Atlas of Algeria; those of the West gradually descend towards the Atlantic. Amongst the latter some are only the vestiges of the primary layer raised and eroded; others are composed of sedimentary deposits of varying origins.

In consequence of the oblique orientation of the Middle Atlas, which gradually draws away from the coast, the plains, which occupy in Morocco a more important place than in the rest of Barbary, lie mainly on the Atlantic side. They are composed of two series, the one stretching diagonally from the mouth of the Tensīft to that of the Muluya (the sub-Atlantic plains, the plain of Sebou, the corridor of Taza, the plain of the lower Moulouya). The other stretches to the foot of the High Atlas (Ḥawz of Marrākush) and disappears in the heart of the Middle Atlas.

Climate. The climate of Morocco has been defined as "an Atlantic variety of the Mediterranean climate" (Gentil). This however must not be taken to apply to the whole of the country; the different regions differ as much in regard to temperature as in the distribution of rain. On the Atlantic coast the climate is relatively mild in winter and cool in summer (Tangier: 12°-24°; Agadir: 14°-22°); only small differences are recorded between the coldest month and the warmest. In the interior on the other hand, the seasonal variations and even the daily ones increase the farther one goes inland. They become excessive in character in eastern Morocco where the climate is distinctly continental. The rainfall is equally lacking in uniformity. Brought by the west and south-west winds, the rains are abundant in the autumn, the winter and the beginning of spring but they are very rare during the summer. The Atlantic coast has everywhere a copious rainfall although the quantity which falls decreases as one goes from north to south (Tangier: 32 inches, Casablanca: 16 inches). It also enjoys the benefit of an atmosphere which is saturated with moisture even in summer. The interior is not so well served. The rains diminish in quantity from west to east. The mountain massifs always form an exception. They condense the moisure in the form of rain and even snow which, although it is by no means perpetual, nevertheless covers the high summits of the Atlas mountains until the beginning of the

summer. Eastern Morocco on the other hand, isolated by the barrier of the Middle Atlas, is not subject to oceanic influences and only receives, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, rare and irregular downfalls of rain.

The flora reveals in striking fashion these variations of climate. Forests of evergreen oak, of oak and of cedar clothe the peaks of the High and the Middle Atlas and of the Rīf. The cork tree is found in extensive forests in the massifs of the Zaʿāʾir and Zayān and as far as the region of the Atlantic (forest of the Maʿmūra). The thuya and the arganier [see ARGĀN] are already more disseminated. Poplars, willows, elms and tamarisks form a fringe of verdure along the wādīs. The olive tree is met almost everywhere in its wild state. But, as the rainfall decreases, the forest gives place to scrub where the jujube tree and the mastic abound, then to prairie and steppes. The prairie, which hardly goes beyond the limits of the maritime plain, is the home of plants which are used for fodder and of bulbous plants. The steppe is the home of shrubs and bushes (artemisia, drin, alfa) which are adapted to a dry soil and to extreme variations in temperature. The steppes cover a part of the interior plains of western Morocco and practically the whole of eastern Morocco, where they extend to the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean. As regards the desert, it is devoid of vegetation in the *ḥammādas* [*q.v.*], although the oases form spots of verdure in the midst of the general desolation.

Hydrography. The structure of the country and the relative abundance of rainfall affect the hydrography. Morocco is much richer in running streams and in subterranean waters than any other country in Northern Africa. Wādīs (weds) are here more numerous; their courses are longer and their volume larger. A number of them even deserve the name of rivers. The waters flow in three different directions: towards the Atlantic, towards the Mediterranean and towards the basin of the Sahara. The Atlantic rivers are in all respects the most important. They can be divided into three groups: those of the north (Loukkos and Sebou), those of the centre (Bū Ragrag and Umm al-Rabīʿ), and those of the south (Tensift and Sous). The Loukkos drains the districts of the Gharb; the Sebou, those of the Middle Atlas, of the Zarhūn, and the southern slope of the Rīf. On emerging from the mountains it takes numerous turns and windings across the alluvial plain and reaches the ocean after a course of 300 miles. Although subject to considerable variation in volume, according to the season, it never dries up completely. It is even navigable in its lower course [see AL-MAHDIYYA]. The Bū Ragrag and the Umm al-Rabīʿ run for a part of their course through the central plateau, the Moroccan "Meseta".The irregularity of their courses makes them useless for navigation. The Tensīft, to the north of the High Atlas, the Wādī Sūs to the south, which are much less in volume approach more nearly to the classic type of wādī of northern Africa. The watercourses of the Sahara (Wād Gīr, Wād Zīz, Wād Darʿa) diminish in volume as they go farther away from the mountains and end by disappearing in the sand. The Darʿa [*q.v.*] alone reaches the Atlantic, but it only flows intermittently in its lower course. As for the Mediterranean rivers, they are only torrents with violent and rapid floods. The Moulouya (Malwiyya) alone forms an exception. It collects water from the slopes of the Middle Atlas but only reaches the sea in much diminished volume on account of the loss it suffers in crossing the steppes.

Although the common characteristics of all the countries of Barbary are found in Morocco, the greater or less differences in relief, the differences in climate, the peculiarities of vegetation bring in their train a diversity more marked than in Algeria or Tunisia. The combination of these different elements determines the existence of regions which differ the one from the other in their configuration, their resources, the density and manner of existence of their population. We may distinguish six such regions: Northern Morocco, the basin of the Sebou, Central Morocco, the country of the Atlas, Eastern Morocco, and Moroccan Sahara.

Northern Morocco. Northern Morocco comprises a mountainous zone (the mountains of the Rīf properly so-called which are to the north-west continued in the "domes" of the Djebāla (Jbāla) as far as the Strait of Gibraltar) and regions less rugged in character which to the south-east and the west form the transition into the adjoining countries. The mountains, split into deep ravines by the courses of the wādīs, for the most part only leave between their last escarpment and the sea-shore a narrow strip, or a few bays enclosed between the rocky promontories. A few cuttings which run across the ranges afford communication between the two watersheds. The Rīf, therefore, must seem to be a world very little accessible to influences from without. Arab influence has scarcely grazed it. The population has always vigorously opposed the political measures of the sultans as well as the attempts of Europeans to settle themselves there. Crowded into a limited territory, since the highest parts of the mountains are useless, the people of the Rīf find their chief means of subsistence in the cultivation of vegetables and fruits. A number of them gain from temporary emigration an addition to their resources. They are not nomadic but inhabit villages perched on the slopes. Towns are represented only by Shafsāwān (Chechaouen) and Wazzān (Ouezzan), religious and commercial centres, situated the one on the northern side and the other on the southern side of the Djebāla. Towards the south-east, plains interspersed with mountain masses extend as far as the Moulouya. The lack of rain gives to these plains (Salwān, Gāret) the aspect of steppes more fitted to a pastoral life than to agriculture and a settled life. Towards the west the lowlying coastland, still a very narrow border at the strait of Gibraltar, increases gradually from the north to the south between the Atlantic coast and the last slopes of the Djebāla. This district commonly called the Gharb is a corridor. It still keeps in this respect its historical significance, but its economic value is diminished by the stagnation of its waters in the hollows in the flat bottoms of the valleys, and by the insecurity resulting from the proximity of the warlike tribes of the high mountains. A few townships have however succeeded in establishing themselves, either at the crossing of roads such as al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] or in proximity to the coast like Ceuta, Tangier and Larache [see the articles SABTA, ṬANDJA and AL-ʿARĀʾISH].

The valley of the Sebou. The valley of the Sebou lies between the Rīf, the Middle Atlas, the Moroccan Meseta and the Atlantic. The situation of the region, the abundance and variety of its natural resources makes it of exceptional value. The Sebou links up the whole of it. Through its tributary the Innawen, the valley of which leads

to the pass of Taza, it makes communication with the rest of Barbary easy. The mountain massifs there (Zarhûn, Zālagh, mountains of Gerwān) offer no inseparable obstacles to communication. The high plains of Sā'is and Meknès are contrasted with the lower plains of the Shrārda and the alluvial plains of the lower course of the Sebou. The influence of the Atlantic is felt far into the interior and combines with the numerous streams that flow into the Sebou and its tributaries and the subterranean waters to promote the development of all forms of vegetation. Forests cover the higher slopes of the mountains; fruit-trees flourish on the sunny slopes and cereals on the high plains; the *merdjas*, temporary marshes produced by the Sebou in its lower course, are used for grazing until they are sufficiently dry to be of use to agriculture. This combination of circumstances, so auspicious for human habitation, has made the valley of the Sebou a centre of intensive settlement. The most diverse ethnic elements have settled together and mixed there. All types of habitation are found as well as all degrees of attachment to the soil from a nomadic to settled town life. Human activities are displayed in the most varied forms (grazing, agriculture, arboriculture, commerce, industry). The country villages, douars of huts in the plains, villages of houses of clay in the mountains, are numerous, the towns are flourishing. Mawlāy Idrīs [*q.v.*] is the sacred city of Morocco, Sefrou on the borders of the plain of Sā'is and the high limestone plateau lives by trading with the people of the mountains and the industry of its weavers and makers of slippers. Fās and Meknès are among the great cities of Morocco.

The first of these towns has remained to this day the political, religious, intellectual and economic centre of Morocco. It has resisted all the usual causes of decline. From all time the ownership of the high plains of the Sebou has been bitterly contested. Their possession has been the condition for the establishment and survival of the dynasties which have succeeded one another in Morocco. Their political significance and role in history corresponds very exactly to their geographical position and economic value.

Central Morocco. Between the valley of the Sebou, the ranges of the Atlas and the Atlantic, covering about a quarter of habitable Morocco, lies the region called by the geologists the Moroccan Meseta. It concludes districts of very different character, the only feature uniting them being the possession of a common substratum, the Hercynian paenoplain covered almost everywhere by sedimentary horizontal formations. Differences of structure and of climate distinguish clearly the various parts: the Atlantic plain, the plateaux of the centre, and the interior plain of the Ḥawz. The maritime plain lies along the Ocean from Rabat to Mogador [see AL-SUWAYRA]. Very narrow at its northern and southern ends, it broadens near the centre (Dukkāla, Shāwiyya) to a width of 50 miles. To the rains and the constant moisture from the vicinity of the Atlantic, the abundance of running streams and subterranean waters, the natural fertility of the soil further adds to the conditions for prosperity. The *tīrs* or black lands which run in an unbroken line behind the coast from the Bū Ragrag to Tensift are admirably suited for the growth of cereals. The rural population, almost everywhere settled, is therefore considerable. The land of the Dukkāla has 40 people to the square kilometre, a density very much greater than that of the other districts of Morocco. The towns of the coast, Salé, Rabat, Casablanca, al-Djadīda, Azemmour, Safi, Mogador [*q.vv.*], benefit by the richness of the hinterland. The exportation of agricultural produce has at all times been a branch of commerce, and has been much developed since the settlement of Europeans there. While facility for communications and the continental relations with the valley of the Sebou opened the plain to Arab influences, the ports of the coast maintained contact with abroad and permitted the infiltration of European influences.

The interior is much more broken. The ground rises gradually up to a height of 2,000-2,500 feet. The predominant formation is plateaux terminating on the north in the very old massifs of the Zaʿā'ir and Zayān, which are really mountains in character, in the south in the equally old but less elevated massif of the Raḥāmna. These plateaux deeply cut into by the course of the Umm Rabīʿ overlook on the west side the low-lying coastlands from the top of cliffs, and slope gently on the south-east to the plain of Tadla. This is a depression, over 120 miles in length, running to the north into the heart of the Middle Atlas where it terminates in a cul de sac, while it broadens greatly in its southern part. A low pass enables communication to be made between the Tadla and the Ḥawz of Marrākush, a basin shut in by the High Atlas in the south, the Middle Atlas in the east, the Djbīlāt in the north and the hills of the Shiyāḍma in the west. The economic value of this inner region is very unequal. On the mountains of the north, the rains and streams support forests and the local inhabitants devote themselves to cattle-rearing. The plateaux of the centre covered with a surface of limestone have great stretches of bare rock and cultivation is difficult. The Tadla is no better favoured except in the zone adjoining the Atlas, watered by torrents descending from the mountains. The plain of the Ḥawz would also suffer disastrously from drought, if human industry had not averted this danger. An ingenious system of irrigation [see ḲANĀT] has transformed the country round Marrākush into a vast palmgrove and resulted in a particularly dense population. Comparatively large towns (Amīzmīz, Damnāt [*q.v.*] and Tameṣluḥt) and especially Marrākush have been enabled to rise and prosper. Between this region, already half Saharan, and the high lying plains of the Sebou, the plateaux of the centre and the mountains of the north which come down to within a short distance of the shore, interpose a barrier which the attitude of its inhabitants makes still more difficult to cross. The Zayān, the Zaʿā'ir, the Zemmūr, over whom the authority of the *makhzen* has never been very securely exercised, have more than once cut direct communication between Fās and Marrākush. These two cities have been at different periods the capitals of distinct and even hostile kingdoms.

The region of the Atlas. In spite of the marked differences between the different elements of the Atlas, the whole region nevertheless has general characteristics of its own. Between Atlantic Morocco on the one hand and Saharan Morocco on the other, the Atlas lies as an almost continuous barrier. Only the few transverse fractures in the Middle Atlas permit passage between the basin of the Sebou and the Saharan oases, while in the High Atlas valleys running right into the heart of the massif give access to passes opening on the valleys of Sous and the Darʿa. Moister and colder, the

Middle Atlas is covered with forests which are denser and more extensive than those of the High Atlas. Both however are great watersheds. From the Middle Atlas come the great rivers of the Atlantic slope (Sebou, Gigû, Umm Rabīʿ, Wādi 'l-ʿAbīd), from the High Atlas the Tasawt and the Tensift. The lands of the Atlas are nevertheless poor. The high mountains offer little to support mankind. Human activities are found mainly in the zones of contact between the mountains and the plains (*dīr*) of the Middle Atlas and in some specially favoured valleys of the High Atlas. Except in the Middle Atlas, where the nomadic mode of life results in the exodus in the bad season of the inhabitants who lead a pastoral life, and on the plateaux of the High Atlas on the Atlantic side (Ḥāḥa, Shiyāḍma) the inhabitants of which are mainly engaged in cattle-rearing, the natives are settled. They live in villages perched on the slopes and terraces between wādīs or scattered along the valleys. There is nothing approaching a town in size. These regions, defended by the nature of the country, have almost completely escaped outside influence: they are still almost exclusively the domain of Berber tribes (Berāber in the Middle Atlas and Shlūḥ in the High Atlas). The customs and institutions peculiar to this people [see BERBERS] have survived to a greater extent here than in any other region of North Africa. In particular, their political organisation was most rudimentary: municipal republics administered by a *djamāʿa* in the Middle Atlas, feudal lordships ruled in patriarchal and despotic fashion by a few powerful families in the High Atlas. The people of these regions have also always opposed vigorously the central power; the authority of the *makhzen* [*q.v.*] over the Berbers of the High Atlas has never been exerted except through the local chiefs. As to the tribes of the Middle Atlas, they have for long retained an almost complete independence.

Eastern Morocco. Eastern Morocco may be described as the continuation of the central Maghrib, of which it has the distinctive characteristics. In it, as in Orania, we have a *tell* zone and a zone rising by successive stages up to 6,000 feet. The upper valley of the Moulouya separates them from the Middle Atlas. The monotony of these vast spaces is only broken by the outcrops of *gūrs*, flat beds of rocks cut up by erosion and by the depressions of the chotts [see SHAṬṬ]. Beaten by the winds, exposed to the rigours of an extreme climate, these lands are only fit for the pastoral life led by the nomads who raise sheep. The valley of the Moulouya is no better favoured, except in the vicinity of the Atlas, where villages surrounded by vineyards with a settled population are found along the tributaries of the river. As to the Tell, hills of no very great height (the most important being that of the Benī Snāsen which does not exceed 5,000 feet) divide it up into compartments occupied by plains (plains of the Awlād Manṣūr, on the coast, of the Trīfa, of the Angād which in the south reaches the cliffs in which the high plateaux end). The dryness of the climate frequently gives these plains a steppe-like character; only the western part of the plain of the Angād with a fertile and well-watered soil lends itself to cultivation. The nomads come here to procure grain. But this region owes its importance less to its natural resources than to its situation on the natural route between Atlantic Morocco and the rest of Barbary. Oujda [see WADJDA], which commands the passage, has thus been enabled to escape various causes of decay that have threatened it. A border district, eastern Morocco has always been a disputed region, a "march" for which the lords of Tlemcen and Fās have contended. The authority of the latter was never solidly enough established here to impose itself on the settled inhabitants of the mountains and on the nomads of the plateaux and plains.

The Moroccan Sahara. The Moroccan Sahara is the northwestern corner of the Sahara. There we find the general characteristics of this desert region [see ṢAḤRĀʾ]. Only the parts adjoining the Atlantic and the threshold of the mountains offer favourable conditions for man. In the plain of Sūs [*q.v.*], shut in between the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the rivers and the irrigation canals enable shrubs to grow. The Darʿa, Zīz and Gīr are in their upper courses fringed by a thin border of cultivated land, pasturage, vineyards, and in their middle course assure the growth of palmgroves of which the best known, if not the most prosperous, is that of the Tafilalt [*q.v.*]. The richness—only relative it is true—of these oases is in contrast with the desolation of the rocky plateaux (*ḥammādas*) which form the greater part of the Moroccan Sahara. These natural conditions determine the mode of life of the inhabitants. Some lead a nomadic life and drive their flocks up and down the plateaux; others are permanently settled on the Sous, in the high valleys and in the oases. Sūs contains numerous villages and even towns (Agadir, Tiznit, Tarudant); the oases have a settled population in the *ḳṣūr*. Those of Tafilalt, Tamgrut, Bū Dnīb and Figīg carry on a certain amount of commerce between Atlantic Morocco and the Sahara. But this very circumstance has prevented them escaping as completely as the lands of the Atlas from the political and intellectual influence of Western Morocco, especially Tafilalt where considerable groups of Arab *shorfā* [see SHURAFĀʾ] have been long established in the midst of Berber populations. But, although the present dynasty actually came from Tafilalt, the people of this region have frequently escaped Sharīfian authority.

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II. History.

Morocco before Islam. Morocco, like the other parts of North Africa, has probably been inhabited from a very remote period. We know, however, nothing definite about its earliest inhabitants. The traces which they have left, weapons and tools of chipped flint, pottery, rock-paintings, some of which represent animals of the quaternary period, now extinct, megalithic monuments identical with those found all round the Mediterranean basin, give us no information in this respect. At most, we may suppose that the primitive population consisted of emigrants from southern Europe, the Sahara and perhaps from Egypt. The fusion of these diverse elements gave birth to a race, the members of which, frequently different in type and physical features, were united by a community of language. The ancient writers called them Libyans and Moors. They were the ancestors of the present Berbers [*q.v.*].

The first historical fact known, and that only imperfectly, is the appearance in the 12th century B.C. of the Phoenicians on the Moroccan coast. The sailors of Tyre and Sidon built factories there, where they exchanged goods of eastern origin for local products (cattle, wool, hides) and slaves. But Phoenician influence was exercised mainly through the intermediary of Carthage when it in turn had become the metropolis of a great maritime empire. The Carthaginians rebuilt the ruined factories and added new ones. In the middle of the 5th century, Hanno in the course of his celebrated "Periplus" established on the Atlantic coast seven colonies of which one was at the mouth of the Sebou. Rusaddir (Melilla), Septem (Ceuta), Tingis (Tangier), Lixus (Larache), Sala (Salé) were the principal Carthaginian establishments. It does not seem, however, that Carthage sought to extend her power into the interior. She was content no doubt to conclude treaties with the native chiefs and to recruit mercenaries from the country. Morocco remained independent, but the tribes who inhabited it were not organised into states, except perhaps in the east, where ancient writers mention in the period of the Punic Wars the existence of a kingdom of Mauretania of Marusia extending along both banks of the Moulouya.

The destruction of the Carthaginian empire hardly altered this state of affairs. For two centuries Rome administered only the "Province of Africa" directly and left the other regions of Barbary in the hands of native chiefs under a more or less severe protectorate. Northern Morocco shared the fate of Mauretania down to the annexation of this kingdom in 42 A.D. The region to the east of the Moulouya formed part of Caesarean Mauretania. The lands stretching from the Moulouya to the ocean formed Mauretania Tingitana, an imperial province governed by a procurator. When the empire was reorganised by Diocletian, it was attached to Spain.

Roman Morocco never covered more than a small portion of the modern Morocco. On the Atlantic coast, it barely extended beyond the mouth of the Bū Ragrag, and in the interior to the massif of the Zarhūn. The plateaux and sub-Atlantic plains and the mountains of the Rīf, Middle and High Atlas escaped the authority of Rome. It was the same with the Sahara. The expedition of Suetonius Paulinus, who in 41 A.D. advanced as far as the Wādī Gīr, remained an isolated incident.

To defend herself against the rebellions of her own subjects and to protect the country from Berber inroads, Rome had to keep in Tingitana an army of 10,000 men, to build strategic roads and to establish fortified posts on the sides of the triangle: Sala, Zarhūn, Tingis. With the exception of Volubilis [see MAWLĀY IDRĪS], the importance of which has been revealed by its ruins, and which was undoubtedly a centre of influence of Roman culture on the people of the interior as well as a military base, the towns were all on the coast. They were Lixus and Tingis, raised to the rank of *coloniae*, and Ceuta. They owed their prosperity mainly to trade with Spain, to which were exported oil and wheat, the two main products of the country. On the whole, however, Rome's influence on Morocco was superficial and has left little trace.

Without any really firm hold on the country, weakened by native risings and by the quarrels between the Donatists and the orthodox, Roman rule was to collapse suddenly at the beginning of the 5th century. Germanic invaders, the Vandals, came from Spain and in 429 A.D. conquered without opposition Tingitana which they gave back a few years later to the Romans. Soon afterwards the western empire disappeared and the natives seized the opportunity to become independent. The Byzantines, who in the 6th century destroyed the Vandal kingdom, were content to re-occupy the two strongholds of Ceuta and Tangier. The rest of Morocco was in the hands of the Berbers. The latter were divided into a large number of tribes, of whom the principal were the Ghumāra [*q.v.*] on the Mediterranean coast, the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] on the Atlantic coast between the strait of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Sebou, the Miknāsa, in the central district, the Maṣmūda [*q.v.*], on the western slope of the High Atlas and on the coast from the Sebou to the Sūs; the Haskūra between the Sūs and the Darʿa; the Lamṭa and Lamtūna [*q.vv.*] on the left bank of the Darʿa. These Berbers were all of Ṣanhādja stock; some professed Christianity or Judaism, but the majority still followed the old nature worship. The Arab conquest brought them a new religion: Islam.

The Introduction of Islam. The Arabs appeared in the extreme Maghrib at the end of

the 1st/7th century. Tradition relates that Sīdī ʿUḳba, the founder of al-Ḳayrawān, in *ca.* 65/684-5 undertook an expedition which carried him as far as the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. This raid, however, if it ever took place, was too transitory to have any permanent results. But at the beginning of the following century, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] who had just completed the conquest of Ifrīḳiya, took Tangier, installed a governor there and set himself to conquer and convert the local people. He succeeded without much trouble. Attracted by the hopes of gain, the Berbers adopted Islam and enrolled themselves in the armies which were invading Spain. They were not long, however, in rising against the Arabs. Dissatisfied with the share allotted them of lands taken from the Christians in the Peninsula, and exasperated by the exactions of the governors of Tangier, they took up arms in 122/740 on the call of the porter Maysāra [*q.v.*]. The rebellion was both religious and political in character. With the same readiness with which they had adopted Islam, the Berbers adopted Khāridjī doctrines from the east, teachings which also appealed to their equalitarian tendencies and to their spirit of independence. The army sent from Syria to establish order was destroyed on the banks of the Sebou in 124/742 and the extreme Maghrib was lost at one stroke to the caliph and to orthodoxy. Berber principalities were organised in the Rīf; in the west, the Barghawāṭa recognised the authority of a certain Ṣāliḥ, founder of a rival religion to Islam, who had composed a Ḳurʾān, that is a sacred book, in Berber. None of these little states was strong enough to impose its authority on the others and to collect all the Berber tribes under one rule.

It looked for a time as if the Idrīsid dynasty [*q.v.*] were to play this part. Idrīs I and his successor Idrīs II, actually enforced their authority over the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and successful expeditions extended their kingdom from the shores of the Mediterranean to the High Atlas and from the Atlantic to beyond Tlemcen. Ardent champions of Islam, they imposed their religion on those peoples who did not yet practise it or who had abandoned it after once adopting it. The conversion of the extreme Maghrib to Islam is their work much more than that of the Arab conquerors. Zealous defenders of orthodoxy, in spite of their ʿAlid origin, they fought the Khāridjīs with the same vigour but did not, however, succeed in completely extirpating the heresy. It is not without good reason that legend has transformed these rude warriors into saints, the one Idrīs I, patron saint of Morocco, the other Idrīs II, the patron saint of the city of Fās [*q.v.*]. The building of this city had enduring results. It gave northern Morocco a religious, political and economic centre which it had lacked since the disappearance of Roman rule. Favoured by its position, Fās prospered rapidly. It survived all causes of decline, even the collapse of the Idrīsid power.

The Idrīsids indeed rapidly declined. The various groups which had recognised the authority of the founders of the dynasty were not long in casting it off and fighting with one another. These rivalries were taken advantage of by the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya and the Umayyads of Spain, who during the 4th/10th century disputed the possession of the extreme Maghrib. With the assistance of the Miknāsa, the Umayyads in the end remained masters of the country. They were in their turn ousted by the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*], whose chief Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, abandoning the cause of the Umayyads, seized Fās, where his descendants ruled for three-quarters of a century.

The Almoravids and the Almohads. The extreme Maghrib seemed to be condemned to anarchy and to be broken up among small factions when the Almoravid invasion came [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN]. After having first of all subjected all the lands south of the High Atlas, then established themselves solidly on the northern slopes, at the foot of which Yūsuf b. Tashfīn founded Marrākush in 454/1062, these Saharan hordes turned to the centre, east and north of Morocco, sweeping everything before them: Fās, Tangier, the Rīf, Oran and Ténès fell before them. The Berber principalities of the Maghrāwa, the Barghawāṭa and Banū Īfran disappeared. In less than twenty years, Yūsuf b. Tashfīn became sole master of the extreme Maghrib as far as Algiers. To these territories, already vast, was soon to be added half of Spain. Summoned by the Muslim *amīrs* who were threatened by the king of Castile, Yūsuf b. Tashfīn checked the Christian advance at Zallāḳa (479/1086 [*q.v.*]), then dispossessed the petty Muslim rulers to his own advantage. Morocco was thus extended across the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the Ebro and to the Balearic Islands. The fortunes of the Almoravids were, it is true, as ephemeral as they were brilliant. In contact with Andalusian civilization, the Saharans rapidly became decadent. The rigid orthodoxy, which had been their strength, relaxed; they in their turn were regarded as infidels, "anthropomorphists" (*mudjassimūn*), whom it was lawful and even meritorious to fight. It was in the name of orthodoxy that the Maṣmūda and the Hintāta of the High Atlas under the lead.rship of Ibn Tūmart and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.vv.*] entered into the struggle against the Almoravids.

This struggle ended in the displacement of the Almoravids by the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN]. In seven years (533-40/1139-46), ʿAbd al-Muʾmin conquered all Morocco; Sidjilmāsa, Oran, Tlemcen, and Ceuta fell one after the other into his hands. Next came the turn of Salé, Fās, and finally of Marrākush, the gates of which were opened to him by the treachery of the Christian mercenaries. Muslim Spain was also conquered with the exception of the Balearic Islands. Even in Africa, the Ḥammādid kingdom of Bougie was conquered in 545-6/1151-2. A few years later (554-5/1159-60), a new expedition led ʿAbd al-Muʾmin into Ifrīḳiya and secured him possession of the interior and of the coast, which he took from the Normans of Sicily, who had occupied it some time before. Morocco in the strict sense of the word was now merely a province in the vast Berber empire. The unification of these territories under one ruler had important consequences for the Maghrib. It facilitated the diffusion in North Africa of the Hispano-Moorish civilisation, which was to be perpetuated in Morocco after it had disappeared from the Peninsula itself. Further, it brought into the extreme Maghrib a new ethnic element: the Arab one. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, as well as his successors, on several occasions deported Hilālī tribes from the central Maghrib and Ifrīḳiya, where they continually created unrest, to the sub-Atlantic plains where other groups of Arabs joined them of their own free will.

The Almohad empire was too vast, it comprised regions of too different a nature, peoples too foreign

to one another to last long united. The Almohad caliphs were powerless to restrain the separatist tendencies which revealed themselves on all sides. In the first half of the 7th/13th century the Almohad empire broke up. Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib recovered their independence; local dynasties set up in Tunis (Ḥafṣids) and Tlemcen (ʿAbd al-Wādids). The extreme Maghrib ended by slipping away from the descendants of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who were replaced by the Marīnids [*q.v.*].

The Marīnids. Berbers of Zanāta stock, driven by the Hilālī Arabs on to the plateaux of Oran and into the central valley of the Moulouya, the Banū Marīn had at first entered the service of the Almohads, then turned against them, when the power of the dynasty began to decline. By repeated razzias they made themselves masters of almost all northern Morocco. After the death of the caliph al-Saʿīd, who had been able to arrest their progress for a time, their leader Abū Yaḥyā (641-56/1243-58) seized Fās, Meknès, Rabat and Sidjilmāsa. The capture of Marrākush (668/1269) by Abū Yūsuf, successor of Yaḥyā, marked the final triumph of the Marīnids. Heirs of the Almohads, the first Marīnids endeavoured to reconstitute the empire of their predecessors. In Spain, they enforced their authority on the Muslims of Andalusia. In Africa, they endeavoured to take the central Maghrib from the ʿAbd al-Wādids. They were successful when Tlemcen, besieged seven times in sixty years, finally fell into the hands of Sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan (748/1347). Ten years later, the same ruler took Bougie, Constantine and Tunis, but his hold on these was very insecure. At the end of barely a year, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, defeated by the Arabs, found himself forced to abandon Ifrīḳiya, the Ḥafṣids returned to Tunis and the ʿAbd al-Wādids to Tlemcen, while the sultan's own son Abū ʿInān rose against him in Morocco. Attaining to power, Abū ʿInān renewed his father's efforts. He re-occupied Tlemcen and Tunis, it is true, but could not retain them (761/1360). The Ḥafṣids and ʿAbd al-Wādids recovered their kingdoms almost at once.

Separatist tendencies thus triumphed and on this occasion in a most definite fashion. The extreme Maghrib, the history of which had hitherto been so often that of Barbary, began to live its own life. The Marīnid kingdom, while its boundaries in the east were still vague and changing, already corresponded roughly to modern Morocco and the Marīnids may be regarded as the first strictly Moroccan rulers. Lacking the religious prestige of their predecessors, they endeavoured to secure the moral authority which they lacked by taking as their patron saints the apostles of Islam in the Maghrib. The cult of Mawlāy Idrīs in the 8th/14th and particularly the 9th/15th century assumed an importance which it has retained to the present day. No less characteristic is the development of intellectual life and the arts. The Hispano-Moorish civilisation never flourished more brilliantly in Morocco than in the Marīnid period. The rulers attracted to their court the poets, men of letters and lawyers of the Iberian Peninsula and of the Maghrib. The university of al-Ḳarawiyyīn at Fās attracted students from all the lands of the western Muslim world. Fās, which the Marīnids, abandoning Marrākush and Rabat, the capitals of their predecessors, chose as their royal residence, was given splendid buildings by them, palaces, mosques and *madrasas*. It was at the same time a commercial city in which African and Spanish merchants mixed with Christian traders.

This brilliant exterior, however, was quite deceptive. Marīnid Morocco was never able to organise itself on a solid basis. The central power was very weak and did not succeed in imposing its authority everywhere. The accession of each sultan was an occasion for outbreaks. The pretenders who arose always found supporters readily, either among the Arabs or the Berbers. Powerless in the interior, the sultans were no more fortunate in their enterprises against their neighbours of the central Maghrib or against the kings of Granada. Their prestige and their authority could not survive these checks. The Marīnids in the strict sense disappeared from the scene in 869/1465, after the assassination of the sultan by an Idrīsid *sharīf*. The Banū Waṭṭās, descended from a collateral branch, the chief of whom seized the power in 873/1470, had themselves a wretched existence. Their kingdom broke up into a large number of independent little groups, principalities at Fās and Marrākush, Berber republics in the Atlas, Marabout fiefs in the Rīf, the Gharb and in the Darʿa and Sūs. The sultans were quite powerless to prevent this decomposition.

The Christian offensive and the revival of Islam. Of all the causes which combined to enfeeble and discredit these rulers, the principal was undoubtedly their impotence against the offensive of the Christians against the Maghrib. In 818/1415 the Portuguese took Ceuta, in 869/1465 al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr, in 875/1471 Tangier. They thus secured themselves a base of operations in the north while by the occupation of Aṣīla and Anfā (Casablanca) they secured a footing on the Atlantic coast. In the early years of the 10th/16th century, they built fortified posts at Santa Cruz (Agadir) and Mazagan and took by force of arms Safi [see SAFĪ] and Azammūr [*q.v.*]. Holding all places of importance except Larache [see AL-ʿARĀʾISH] they brought under their protectorate all the lands near the coast (Shawiya, Ḥāḥa, Dukkāla), forced the local people to pay them tribute and to hand over to them strategic points up to the environs of Marrākush. Their expeditions had no other aim than plunder, no other result than to exasperate the inhabitants who saw their towns destroyed, their douars burned, their women and children massacred or sold as slaves.

Menaced in the west by the Portuguese, Morocco was threatened in the east by the Spaniards also. The latter completed the *reconquista* by the taking of Granada (1492). Thus free to go further afield, and still fired with the religious enthusiasm of Ximenes, they too went over to fight the Muslims on African soil. The occupation of al-Marsā al-Kabīr (1507) and of Oran (1509) and the establishment of a Spanish protectorate over the kingdom of Tlemcen constituted a serious danger to the Muslims of Morocco.

The threat from the Christians produced an awakening of religious sentiment. This renaissance of Islam in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, the results of which are still to be felt at the present day, is beyond question the great event in the history of Morocco since the Idrīsid period. The way for it had, moreover, been prepared by the Ṣūfī teachings imported from the east and by the development of the brotherhoods [see TARĪḲA] in which the adepts of these doctrines were organised. It also found a favourable soil owing to the persistence of maraboutism among the Berbers. The ascendancy

which the religious leaders exercised, the wealth they accumulated in their *zāwiyas*, made them independent of the sultan. They thus became temporal leaders also, all the more readily as the sovereigns could not fulfil their office of defenders of Islam owing to lack of energy and also of means. The activity of these religious leaders was always of a local nature; it was only effectively exercised within a limited area and did not extend over the country generally. The religious solidarity thus established, the kind of common conscience thus created, did not put a check to the political decline until the time when the Saʿdian *shorfā* took direction of the movement and exploited it for their own benefit.

The Sharīfian dynasties. A. The Saʿdians [*q.v.*]. The Saʿdian *shorfā* benefited by the prestige which the religious awakening had restored to the descendants of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. Coming from Arabia at the end of the 8th/14th century and settling in the valley of the Wādī Darʿa, while another branch of the family settled at Tafilalt (Ḥasanī or ʿAlid *shorfā*), they were not long in acquiring a considerable influence over the tribes of the south. Thus they were naturally led to support the people of the south, who were exposed to the attacks of the Portuguese of Santa Cruz. In 917/1511, the *sharīf* of Tagmaddart, requested by the Muslims to put himself at their head against the Christians, agreed to do so. Supported by the marabouts who gave him valuable assistance, he began hostilities against the Portuguese. The holy war regularly waged secured to his sons, Aḥmad al-Aʿradj and Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the possession of the whole of southern Morocco up to the Umm al-Rabīʿ. The intervention of the Marīnid sultan in the quarrels which broke out between the two brothers only resulted in his own downfall being hastened. Muḥammad al-Mahdī took Fās in 957/1550; the foiling of an attempt to restore the Marīnids in 961/1554, with the help of the Turks of Algiers, secured the definite triumph of the Saʿdians.

The coming of the Saʿdians meant a regular reconstitution of Morocco. Muḥammad al-Mahdī and his successors imposed their authority on the whole country, protected it against foreign foes and increased the extent of their territory by distant conquests. They finally triumphed over the difficulties created by the Turks of Algiers, and at the battle of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr in 986/1578 arrested a counter-offensive of the Portuguese. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (986-1019/1578-1610) occupied Timbuktu and destroyed the Askia empire of Gao. For half a century, the Moroccans were masters of the Western Sūdān, from the banks of the Senegal as for as Bornū. The plunder taken on this campaign of conquest enabled the sultan to keep a splendid court, the hierarchy of which was modelled on the Ottoman court, and to adorn his capital Marrākush with magnificent monuments.

To the same period also belongs the organisation of the *makhzan* [*q.v.*]. The early Saʿdians had relied for support on the Arab tribes of the south. To these al-Mansūr added the Arab tribes of the region of Tlemcen and Oujda driven into Morocco by the Turkish conquest. These *shrāga* or "orientals," as they were called, received lands around Fās in return for the military service they were forced to give. Reinforced by a regular army formed of renegades, Spanish Moors and negroes, trained by Turkish deserters, the *makhzan* provided the sultan with the means of preserving order and levying taxes; it was thus the essential instrument of Sharīfian government and tended to become the government itself.

This instrument proved sufficient in the hands of an energetic ruler, but was inefficacious in weaker hands and in moments of crisis. The Saʿdians very soon found this out. The tendencies to disruption which had been held in check by the energy of al-Manṣūr broke out again on his death. The dispute for the throne set his sons against one another. One of them, Zaydān, ended by triumphing over his rivals but could not prevent the break-up of the empire. Larache was occupied by the Spaniards; Fās cast off Sharīfian authority. The Andalus of Rabat and Salé, enriched by their piracy [see ḲURṢĀN], formed an independent republic. Finally, the Saʿdians, although they had owed their elevation to the religious movement, now found the marabouts rising against them. Delivered from the restraints which the distrust of al-Mahdī and his successors had placed upon them, the latter began to gain more and more hold over the people and contributed to the ruin of the authority of the *shorfā*. Sūs was in the control of one of them, Sīdī ʿAlī; Tafilalt was under the Ḥasanī *shorfā*, the Gharb under al-ʿAyyāshī, leader of the "volunteers of the faith". In the centre, the power of the *zāwiya* of Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] increased. Maḥammad al-Ḥādjdj, their leader, victorious over the Saʿdians and over al-ʿAyyāshī, lord of Salé and Fās, seemed on the point of founding a new Berber empire from the Atlantic to the Moulouya. Incapable, in spite of the support given them by the English and Dutch, of disposing of their adversaries, the Saʿdians now held only Marrākush and its immediate environs. The last representative of the dynasty died in 1070/1660, assassinated by the *shaykh* of the tribe of Shabbānāt.

B. The Ḥasanī *Shorfā*. The disintegration of Morocco was arrested by the coming of the Ḥasanī *shorfā*. The latter had taken advantage of the disorder to assert their authority in the Tafilalt, then by expeditions, which partook of the nature of brigandage as much as of warfare, they had conquered eastern Morocco. One of them, Mawlāy Muḥammad, had even tried, without success, it is true, to take Fās from the Dilāʾīs. His successor Mawlāy al-Rashīd (1076-82/1664-72) was more successful. He took Fās, disposed of Ghaylān, an adventurer who had established himself securely in the Gharb, destroyed the *zāwiya* of Dilāʾ, reconquered Marrākush, thus rebuilding as it were piece by piece the Sharīfian empire. Installed by force of arms, the new dynasty recognised the necessity of securing the moral prestige which their origin could not give them. They therefore sought to attract to their side the Sharīfian families. They heaped favours on the *shorfā* of Wazzān, whose patronage was a guarantee even for the rulers.

The work begun by Mawlāy al-Rashīd was continued and brought to a successful conclusion by his successor Ismāʿīl (1082-1139/1672-1727). During the first fifteen years of his reign, he did not cease to wage war on the rivals who disputed the districts of Marrākush and the Sūs with him. While fighting his enemies, he was engaged in building up an army which would work his will. To the *makhzan* formed by the Shrāga and Udāya, he added a body of black slaves, the ʿAbīd al-Būkhārī (Bwākher), the property of the sultan; their children were specially trained for military service. The number of effectives in this corps by the end of the reign numbered 150,000

men. The sultan was thus able to reduce to obedience the Berbers of the Atlas and the upper Moulouya. Defeated and disarmed, the latter were kept in control by garrisons placed in *ḳaṣbas* built at the exits to the valleys or commanding the lines of communication. The notables whom the sultan had taken into his service or united to himself by matrimonial alliances forced their tribesmen to live in peace. The *bilād al-makhzan*, i.e. the country where tribute was regularly paid, extended over almost the whole of the extreme Maghrib. The pacification of the interior did not cause Mawlāy Ismāʿīl to forget the obligations imposed on every Muslim ruler to fight the infidels. He therefore continued the holy war against the Christians of the coast. He recaptured al-Mahdiyya, Larache, Aṣīla, and Tangier, evacuated by the English in 1684, but could not take Ceuta from the Spaniards in spite of a siege or rather uninterrupted blockade for seventeen years. He was no more successful in his enterprise against the Turks of Algiers, who disputed with the Moroccans the possession of the plains of eastern Morocco and the *ḳṣūr* of southern Oran. The expeditions which he directed against the Algerians ended in failure, and the lower course of the Moulouya continued to be the boundary of the Sharīfian empire. In spite of his lack of success here, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl is nevertheless the great figure of the Ḥasanī dynasty, the model the Moroccan sultans have set themselves to the present day. Morocco, however, remained what it was before, i.e. an aggregation of different groups, the cohesion of which depended on the personal energy of the sovereign, who squeezed his subjects to the utmost to get the money necessary for the building of his capital Meknès, the palaces of which were built by the forced labour of the local people and of Christian slaves.

On the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, a reaction set in. For thirty years his sons fought with one another. The real masters of the situation were the ʿAbīd al-Bukhārī, who made and unmade sultans as they pleased. One of them, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, was proclaimed and deposed six times. He succeeded, however, in triumphing over his competitors by playing the Berbers off against the ʿAbīd, the importance of whom gradually diminished with the wars. The remedy, however, was not much better than the disease. This period was for Morocco one of misery and ruin. The authority of the Sharīfs emerged much weakened from it.

Mawlāy Muḥammad (1170-1206/1757-92) succeeded, however, in restoring it. Inheriting the energy and vigour of his grandfather Ismāʿīl, he brought the rebel Berbers back to their allegiance, and by the taking of Mazagan in 1183/1769 destroyed the last trace of Portuguese power on the Atlantic coast. Convinced, on the other hand, that the weakness of the central power was mainly due to a lack of financial resources, he endeavoured to procure money by encouraging the development of foreign trade. He inaugurated a mercantile policy, concluded treaties of commerce with Denmark, Sweden, England, and France and endeavoured to attract foreign merchants to his kingdom by founding for them the town of Mogador [see AL-SUWAYRA] in 1764. Heavy taxes, however, severely impeded the progress of this policy. Morocco remained a poor country and did not open itself, as had been hoped, to European penetration. It also remained in a perpetual turmoil. Under Mawlāy Yazīd (1206-8/1792-4) the country was once more handed over to anarchy. Mawlāy Sulaymān (1208-39/1794-1822), after at first being able to restore order, had to spend the last ten years of his reign in putting down the continual risings of the Berbers of the Middle Atlas; in the course of one of these expeditions he actually fell into the hands of the rebels. This rebelliousness caused the sultan much misgiving; he also wanted to prevent the infiltration of foreign and anti-Muslim influences which he believed would aggravate it. He forbade his subjects to leave the country and restricted to a minimum their intercourse with Christians. The diplomatic and consular agents were relegated to Tangier, and access to the interior was made almost impossible for Europeans. His successors followed his example. Down to the end of the 19th century, Morocco was more rigorously closed than it had been in the time of the Marīnids and Saʿdians and even in the early days of the Ḥasanī Sharīfs. In spite of this systematic isolation, the sultans had nevertheless to face the same difficulties as Mawlāy Sulaymān and had no more success than he in overcoming them.

For half-a-century the domestic history of Morocco was a series of rebellions which the sovereigns had great difficulty in suppressing. The regions remote from the centre, Rīf, Tafilalt, Figīg, eastern Morocco, escaped the authority of the *makhzan*. In the very heart of the country, the Berbers cut communications between Fās and Marrākush, forcing the sultans when they wanted to move from one capital to the other to make a great detour by Rabat. The empire broke up more and more. Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1290-1311/1873-94) postponed for a few years the inevitable collapse. His reign resembled that of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. At the head of his army, the artillery of which had been reorganised by a French military mission, he was continually in the field raiding the rebels and tearing down *ḳaṣbas*. He re-established order in the region of Oujda, forced the people of the Sūs to recognise his *ḳāʾids*, reduced to obedience the Zaʿāʾir and Zayān, endeavoured to extend the *makhzan* country by expeditions against the independent Berbers, endeavoured to develop his influence in the Saharan regions and to restore his authority in Tuwāt. But he died before completing his task and all had to be begun again.

Morocco and the Christian powers. The situation was the more critical, in that the fate of Morocco could no longer be a matter of indifference to the European powers. It increased the cupidity of some and aroused the cupidity of others. In spite of their desire for isolation, the sultans had not been able to break every link with Europe. They had also to take account of the proximity of Spain, established for three centuries in the "presidios" of the Mediterranean coast, and of the French who had replaced the Turks in Algeria. The conquest of the old Regency, destroying all the Sharīfs' hopes of extension eastwards, had caused great irritation in Morocco. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] found followers among the peoples of this country and support hardly disguised on the part of the *makhzan*. This hostile attitude resulted in the Franco-Moroccan war of 1844. The Sharīfian army was crushed at the battle of Isly, the ports of Tangier and Mogador bombarded. The moderation of France alone enabled the *makhzan* to come fairly well out of of this unfortunate escapade. Henceforth, the relations between France and Morocco remained peace ful, although the impotence of the Moroccan government to guarantee security on its borders forced France to military demonstrations like the Benī Znāsen

campaign (1859) and the Wādī Gīr expedition (1870). Spain in turn being unable to obtain satisfaction from the attacks directed against her garrisons, decided also to resort to arms. The campaign of 1859-60, ended by the victory of O'Donnell, revealed the military weakness of Morocco. The treaty of Tetouan (1860) granted to Spain, along with some trifling territorial aggrandisement, an indemnity of 100,000,000 reals. To pay this debt, the Sharīfian government had to raise a loan in London on the security of the Moroccan customs and to accept the control of European commissioners. For the first time, foreigners intervened in the domestic administration of the empire. The breach thus made was continually enlarged. The exercise of the right of protection, the erection of a lighthouse on Cape Spartel, served as a pretext for diplomatic negotiations and for the extension of international control. European ambitions were not dissimulated. In order to protect itself against them, the *makhzan* tried to play one off against the other and confined itself to granting, as it did at the conference of Madrid (1880), concessions devoid of all practical significance. Mawlāy al-Ḥasan excelled in this difficult game and the vizier Bā Ḥmād [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who directed affairs during the early years of the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Mawlāy al-Ḥasan's successor, displayed no less skill. Morocco was thus the object of a very keen struggle for influence. England wanted to maintain her economic preponderance along with the control of the Strait; France wanted to ensure the security of her Algerian possessions and of the roads leading to the Saharan oases occupied in 1901-2; Spain appealed to her "historic rights"; Germany lastly was preparing to seize the opportunity to acquire openings for her commerce and emigrants.

The Moroccan crisis and the establishment of the French protectorate. Such a position could not last. The imprudences of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz precipitated the crisis. The whims of the sovereign and his immoderate desire for European innovations displeased the stricter Muslims. The modifications in the fiscal policy made by the *tartīb* [*q.v.*] disturbed the people already taxed to the utmost. Rebellion broke out everywhere. A pretender, the *rūgī* Bū Ḥmāra [*q.v.*], rose in the region of Taza and routed an army sent against him. It was in vain that France by the agreements of 1901 and 1902 endeavoured to organise the activities of the *makhzan* against the rebels and to postpone the inevitable catastrophe. On the failure of this effort, France decided to arrange with England and Spain to settle the Moroccan question and prevent the dismemberment of the empire. In return for recognition of the protectorate *de facto* exercised by England in Egypt and the granting to Spain of a sphere of influence in northern Morocco, these two powers recognised the right of France to act as her interests best demanded. France hastened to propose to the sultan a plan for reforming the Moroccan administration. The intervention of Germany prevented its realisation. On 31 March, 1905, the Emperor William II landed at Tangier and in a sensational speech posed as the defender of the independence of the sultan. On the advice of the German representative, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz appealed for the constitution of an international conference to study the reforms to be introduced into the Maghrib. The conference met at Algeciras (15 January-7 April, 1906) and affirmed the three principles of the sovereignty of the sultan, the territorial integrity and the economic freedom of Morocco. It did not, however, settle the Morocco question. The two international bodies which it decided to set up, the police for the ports and the state bank, both capable of being of great service, could not take the place of the general reforms necessary for the salvation of the empire. Disorders continued, acts of hostility against Europeans in Morocco itself and acts of brigandage on the frontiers increased in number. Not being able to obtain satisfaction for outrages on its subjects, the French government ordered the occupation of Oujda and Casablanca in 1907. The country was then pacified around these two centres and order restored in eastern Morocco and in the Shāwiya to the great benefit of the natives themselves. The Spaniards in their turn for similar reasons intervened in 1908 in the adjoining region of Melilla and after a severe campaign in 1909 occupied Salwān and a number of strategic points.

During this period, war broke out between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his brother Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ, proclaimed sultan at Marrākush and then at Fās. Supported by the anti-foreign party, the pretender was victorious. All the powers, including France and Spain, recognised him, after he had promised to respect the agreement of Algeciras, the international treaties and all the engagements entered into by his predecessors. France and Spain announced their intention of not prolonging their occupation of Sharīfian territory. The Franco-Moroccan agreements of 4 March, 1910 and the Hispano-Moroccan one of 19 November of the same year, stipulated that the occupation should cease as soon as the *makhzan* should have a force sufficient to guarantee the security of life and property and peace with its frontiers. This settlement seemed all the more desirable as there had been occasional friction between France and Germany which had only been smoothed over with great difficulty, the most serious being the affair of the deserters from Casablanca in September 1908. A disquieting state of tension remained between these two powers, although France had endeavoured to give satisfaction to Germany in signifying, by the agreement of 8 February, 1909, her willingness not to impede the economic freedom nor hinder the development of German interests.

The aggravation of the situation in the interior hastened the dénouement. The sultan's rule was no more effective than that of his predecessors; the exactions of the Moroccan agents in the spring of 1911 provoked a rising of the Arab and Berber tribes in the region of Fās. Besieged in his capital and on the point of succumbing, the sultan appealed to the French. They decided to send an expeditionary force to the help of the sultan, but ordered its commander to avoid any injury to the independence of the sultan and any occupation of new territory. Vigorously commanded by General Moinier, the military operations had the desired effect. Fās was relieved on 21 May, and after certain police operations necessary to secure the peace of the district, the expeditionary force returned to the coast. But, while the danger was thus banished from the interior, unexpected complications resulted. Spain, taking advantage of the occasion to take possession of the sphere of influence reserved for her by the agreement of 1904, established herself in Larache and al-Ḳaṣr. Germany feeling the moment was decisive, claimed compensation in her turn and in July 1911 sent a warship to

Agadir. This demonstration provoked the greatest alarm in France and in Europe generally. In the end, however, a peaceful settlement was reached. After four months of difficult negotiations, the agreement of 4 November 1911 put an end to the dispute, Germany abandoned all political claims to Morocco and admitted with certain reservations, chiefly of an economic nature, the principle of the French protectorate. There was no longer any obstacle to the establishment of this régime, which the sultan accepted by the treaty of 30 March 1912. This diplomatic document stipulated the maintenance of the sovereignty of the sultan, the representation of and protection by French diplomatic and consular agents of Moroccan subjects and interests abroad, the carrying out, with the collaboration of and under the direction of France, of a number of administrative reforms, judicial, financial and military, intended to "give the Sharīfian empire a new régime, while safeguarding the traditional prestige and honour of the sultan, the practice of the Muslim faith and the institutions of religion".

The French protectorate extended over the whole of Morocco, but the Spanish sphere of influence enjoyed by the agreement of 27 November 1912 complete autonomy from the administrative and military points of view, whilst Tangier and its environs were included in an international zone whose status was not, however, definitely regulated till 1923.

The establishment of the protectorate was to have had as its first result the restoration of the authority of the Sharīf, whose support was essential for the carrying out of the reforms. This could only be attained by a considerable effort. The central power was weaker than it had ever been at the time when the conclusion of the protectorate treaty put an end to the crisis. The *bilād al-makhzan* was almost non-existent. France had to conquer Morocco for the sultan. The name of Maréchal Lyautey, appointed High Commissioner and Resident General, will remain inseparable from the history of the pacification of Morocco. Very difficult in itself, for it brought the French into contact with warlike tribes, some of whom had never recognised the authority of the *makhzan*, the task was further complicated by events abroad. Order had hardly been restored around the chief towns, Fās, Meknès, Marrākush and communication restored between eastern and western Morocco, when the War of 1914 broke out. For a moment it was feared that the French were going to abandon the interior and fall back on the coast, but the progress of the pacification of the country was only slowed down, not interrupted. All the conquered positions were retained and the rebels held on all fronts. The counter-offensives of the rebels in the Taza corridor, along the Middle Atlas and in Sūs were crushed. The War finished, the offensive was resumed to reduce the districts still unsubdued (Middle Atlas, south of the High Atlas, upper valley of the Moulouya). Three years of difficult fighting (1921-4) ended in the occupation of "all Morocco of value", i.e. those regions of economic, political or military importance. The Rīfan offensive in 1925, however, threatened to compromise all the success achieved. A Rīfan chief, ʿAbd al-Karīm, had gathered around him the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and inflicted serious reverses on the Spaniards which forced them to abandon a portion of the territory which they had occupied. Crossing the Spanish zone, he invaded the valley of the Wargha and threatened Fās. The resistance of the posts echelonned along the frontier gave reinforcements time to reach the scene of hostilities. Checked in the autumn, the Rīfan advance was definitely crushed in the spring of 1926 thanks to the combined action of France and Spain. The reduction of the last pockets of resistance in the mountains and the southern regions was completed in 1930.

The administrative reorganisation kept pace with the pacification. The old machinery was retained but submitted to a control which guaranteed the local population against abuse of their power and excesses by the agents of the *makhzan*. Technical services were created to give the country the works necessary for its economic life.

Thus, within the space of some 40 years, Morocco, which was still a mediaeval country, became a modern kingdom equipped with a quite extensive highway network, electrified railways and deep water ports. The remarkable results achieved in all sectors were facilitated by the influx of European immigrants and capital. Approximately 350,000 Europeans in the French zone and about 100,000 in the Spanish zone participated actively in the economic life of the country and contributed in particular to the prosperity of agriculture, while the towns enjoyed rapid development.

At the same time that the pacification of the country was completed, young people educated in metropolitan universities as well as in the modern establishments founded in Morocco itself, began to agitate; the Berber *dahir* [see MAḤKAMA, 5. i] of 16 May 1930 gave the signal for opposition to French policy and for the struggle for independence. During the Spanish Civil War, Moroccan troops served under the victorious General Franco; as a result, the inhabitants of the northern zone were able to benefit from a more liberal régime. Subsequent events during the Second World War, and in particular the defeat and occupation of France in 1940, had no very serious immediate effect, although they induced the nationalists to pursue their activities with greater vigour, not without encouragement from the Allies; in other respects, the increasingly overt manifestation of national sentiment in the Arabic-speaking countries brought latent aspirations for independence out into the open. 1944 saw the establishment of the *Istiklāl* party, to which the sultan Muḥammad V, who had occupied the throne since 1927, showed himself far from hostile; on 10 April 1947, he made a speech at Tangier which disturbed the French authorities. The nomination of General Juin as Resident-General and the reforms immediately effected failed to restore stability; in 1953 France decided to depose the sultan, sending him to exile in Madagascar and replacing him with a less assertive prince, Mawlāy ʿArafa; this decision further exacerbated popular discontent, and acts of terrorism and violent demonstrations followed. As a result, the French government had no option but to recall the sultan and to accept, through the declaration of La Celle Saint Cloud of November 1955, the principle of Moroccan independence, which was officially recognised in the agreement of March 1956. The Spanish government followed the example of France in 1956, but retained the ports of Ceuta and Melilla.

The achievement of independence posed numerous problems to the Moroccan authorities, who were at first obliged, owing to the lack of trained native personnel, to retain the services of thousands of

French and Spanish officials, before appealing to new allies for support. The "Army of liberation" was absorbed into the *Forces Armées Royales* (FAR), and the French and Spanish troops withdrew in 1961, while the American airbases were evacuated.

One of the first concerns of the sultan (who took the title of king in 1957) was to appoint a consultative Assembly, superseded in 1960 by a constitutional Council charged with preparing a Constitution; the latter, which instituted a parliamentary monarchy, was approved by referendum on 7 December 1962 [see DUSTŪR. xvii]. During the same period, the *Parti Démocratique de l'Indépendance* (PDI), recently founded, became quite active, but in 1959 a number of its members, together with some independents, joined the *Union Nationale des Forces Populaires* (UNFP), closely linked to the *Union Marocaine du Travail* (UMT) and the product of a schism within the *Istiḳlāl* provoked by the syndicalist Mehdi Ben Barka.

The first Moroccan government, led by a non-political colonel, was composed of members of the *Istiḳlāl* and the PDI, but after November 1956 the latter were eliminated, and an entirely *Istiḳlāl* cabinet appointed. In 1960, the king took upon himself the functions of prime minister, with the assistance of his son, prince Mawlāy Ḥasan, who was to succeed him after his death in the following year. In the legislative elections held in 1963 after the promulgation of the Constitution, the *Istiḳlāl* and the PDI, now in opposition, obtained respectively 41 and 28 seats, as many between them as the number gained by the *Front pour la Défense des Institutions Constitutionelles* (FDIC) which had recently been established. On 16 July of the same year, several leaders of the UNFP were arrested for "serious infringement of the law" and for being the founders of a "subversive movement". The charges of conspiracy laid against some hundred individuals were not pressed, but since the two parties boycotted the next elections, the Government won a decisive majority in the regional councils and Chamber of Deputies.

Also in 1963, an armed conflict broke out between Morocco and Algeria on account of a frontier post which the latter had seized. Between 1965 and 1967, relations with France were compromised by the abduction and disappearance in Paris of the leader of the UNFP, Mehdi Ben Barka. These events led the French authorities to institute proceedings against Moroccan secret service agents and specifically against the Minister of the Interior, General Oufkir, who was sentenced in his absence. The name of this officer was mentioned again in connection with two unsuccessful attempts on the King's life. The first took place on 10 July 1971, at the palace of Ṣkhīrāt (to the south of Rabat), where guests who had gathered to celebrate the anniversary of the sovereign were attacked by cadets of the Military Academy of Aḥermummu; about a hundred were killed and 132 wounded, but miraculously the King escaped assassination, in spite of the fact that the conspirators announced his death and proclaimed a Republic, having seized a number of public buildings including the radio station. Forces loyal to the King succeeded, however, in restoring order, and a commission of enquiry, in which General Oufkir participated, attributed responsibility to a number of senior army officers who were disgraced and shot.

The following year, on 16 August 1972, the King's private plane was attacked over Tetouan by one of the four F.5 fighter aircraft from the base at Kenitra which had been detailed to escort it; one person was killed and two wounded, but the pilot of the Boeing succeeded in landing his plane at the airport of Rabat-Salé, where renewed strafing caused a further 8 deaths and injured 50. The officer responsible for the attack ejected from his fighter, but was arrested and implicated General Oufkir, who met his death the following night.

The failure of these successive attempts on his life only enhanced the prestige of the Sovereign, who was nevertheless confronted by a new danger. In fact, after the independence granted by Spain to Rio de Oro, a section of the population of the Western Sahara refused to withdraw from territory claimed by Morocco and formed the Polisario Front. Since then, from its bases in Algeria, this organisation has continually harassed Moroccan troops immobilised in the south, behind a "wall" which they have been obliged to construct to defend themselves from attacks by an enemy equipped by various nations with the most modern arms and equipment. The expenses incurred as a result of this interminable and violent war have been a considerable burden on the finances of Morocco, whose economy is also suffering as a result of the world-wide economic crisis.

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III. POPULATION.

a. Total population and density. Before independence, it was difficult to fix with any precision the total population of Morocco. The attempts made at a census during the protectorate enable, it is true, comparatively accurate estimates to be made for the greater part of the country.

The total which was usually given was 5 millions, of whom one-tenth (500,000 inhabitants) was in the zone of the Spanish protectorate, but the censuses of 1950 (Spanish zone) and 1952 (French zone) furnished the following figures: Spanish zone, 1,010,117 plus Ifni, 38,295 plus Ceuta and Melilla, 141,305; Tangier (1956), 175,000; French zone, 8,003,985, of whom 362,814 were Europeans and 199,156 Jews; a total, accordingly, of 9,368,702 souls. Some years later, according to the census of 1960, there was a total population of 11,626,470 (30% of these being town-dwellers); the Jews were still 159,000, the French 195,000 and the Spanish 125,000. In September 1982, the population had passed the 20 millions mark (20,419,555), of whom 57.3% were rural dwellers. This population is very unequally distributed and its density varies with geographical conditions. The most thickly populated part is that of the plains of western Morocco between the massif of the Jbāla in the north and the Great Atlas in the south: Gharb, Shāwiya, Tadla, Dukkāla and ʿAbda. The density of the population also varies with the fertility of the soil. The population of this region is estimated at two-fifths of the total. The mountainous regions, Jbāla, Rīf, Middle Atlas are not thickly populated, as we might have expected from the comparatively dense population of Kabylia. As to the Sahara zone, outside the belts of oases in the Wādī Gīr, the Wādī Zīz and the Wādī Darʿa (Dra), it is very sparsely inhabited.

b. Elements of the population. The population of Morocco consists for the most part of Berbers and Arabs, the former being the older element and the latter invaders. As to the Berbers, who do not seem to be a homogeneous race and whose origin is obscure, see BERBERS. As to the Arabs, they are in a minority, but it is often difficult to attribute an exact ethnic origin to certain tribes or confederations, so much have the Arabs and Berbers become mixed since the Muslim conquest, and intermingled either by peaceful or warlike methods. It will be more prudent and will give a more accurate result if we distinguish in Morocco between those who speak Arabic and those who speak Berber (see below VII. LANGUAGES). The former live entirely in the plains, while with the exception of the massif of the Jbāla, the inhabitants of the mountains speak Berber.

1. Berbers. Three main groups may be distinguished among the Berbers of Morocco: in the north the Rīfans and the Benī Znāsen; in the centre the Znāga (Ṣanhādja and the Brāber (*Barābir*), who form the population of the Middle Atlas; the third group is that of the Shlūḥ [see SHILLUḤ] who occupy the western part of the High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, as well the plain of Sūs. In addition to these main groups, we may mention the Jbāla, arabicised Berbers, to the north-west of Fās, and the Ḥarāṭīn (plur. of the Arabic *ḥarṭānī* [*q.v.*]), who form the basis of the settled population of the zone of the Saharan oases.

2. Arabs. The early invasions at the time of the Muslim conquest do not seem to have appreciably modified the ethnology of the country. Up to the 7th/13th century, the country districts of Morocco were almost completely Berber; it was the great Almohad ruler ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*] who was the first to introduce into Morocco Hilālī Arab tribes hitherto settled in the Central Maghrib or in Ifrīḳiya; these importations, continued by the successors of this prince and by the Marīnid dynasty, soon drove the Berber element into the mountains or absorbed and arabicised it. Evidence of such assimilation is still found in the fact that tribes with clearly Arab names contain sections whose names show their Berber origin.

These Arab tribes, who are all settled in the plain, may be divided into two main ethnic groups: the Banū Hilāl and the Maʿḳil [*q.vv.*]. The latter occupies almost exclusively the valley of the Upper Moulouya as well as the lands south of the Atlas. The Banū Hilāl occupy the sub-Atlantic plains and the steppes of Eastern Morocco.

3. Jews. There were formerly about 200,000 Jews in Morocco, mainly living in the towns. There were

also a considerable number among the tribes of the Great Atlas. They also formed the principal element in the population of the two little towns of Dubdū and Damnāt. The origin of the earliest elements in this Jewish population is obscure: it is difficult to ascertain whether they were Jews who had migrated from Palestine or were judaicised Berbers. The modern element is made up of Jews who fled from Spain to Morocco in the 16th century. The former call themselves *p^elishtīm* (Palestinians) and are called *forasteros* (foreigners) by the Spanish immigrant Jews, who were practically all settled in the towns of the coast and rapidly became europeanised. Since independence, large numbers of them have emigrated, mainly to Israel.

4. Miscellaneous elements. The blacks, of whom there are considerable numbers in Morocco, do not however form a distinct group there. In the north we find many, who are almost all of slave origin. The predilection of the townsmen of Morocco for black concubines, noted for their domestic virtues, has brought into the population, especially in bourgeois circles, a very considerable amount of negro blood. To the south of the Atlas in the oases, the intermarriage of blacks and Berbers has produced the Ḥarāṭīn. Finally the blacks of the Bilād al-Sūdān, since the Middle Ages, have always been esteemed as mercenaries to form the imperial guards, especially since the taking of Timbuktu by the armies of the Saʿdian sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

Large numbers of Muslims from Spain, whether of Arab origin or descendants of Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula, have contributed to form the population of the towns at various times: Cordovans banished by al-Ḥakam I at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century after the "revolt of the suburb" and Muslims expelled from Spain at the Reconquista [see AL-ANDALUS. vi. Appendix].

We must not omit the influence that may have been exercised on the population of Morocco by Europeans (renegades, who had adopted Islam, mercenaries recruited outside Morocco and settled in the country), and finally we may note that frequently the sultans have purchased women for their harems in Constantinople.

IV. Social and Economic Life

a. Country. The population of Morocco, although for the most part rural, nevertheless has a larger proportion of town-dwellers than Central Barbary and, like the rest of North Africa, might be divided into nomadic and settled; this division does not at all coincide with that into Arabs and Berbers; there are still nomadic Berbers, while certain Arab tribes are becoming settled on the lands which they cultivate.

It has been shown that the nomadic or settled life of the country-people in North Africa does not depend, as was long thought, on ethnic factors, but is entirely conditioned by geographical considerations. It is the rule for dwellers in the mountains to be settled while the people of the desert steppes, forced to move about in search of pasture for their flocks, are nomads. There are however means between these two extremes and especially in Morocco, where we find many semi-nomads, who move only short distances, principally on the borders of the various mountains of the centre and south. But generally nomadism is the outcome of pastoral migration and its geographical area is in direct relation to the rainfall and therefore to the nature of the vegetation.

It is in eastern Morocco, in the steppes which lie to the east of the Moulouya, and to the south of the Great Atlas, towards the Sahara, that we find the principal groups of nomads in Morocco. In eastern Morocco, we may mention among the large tribes which lead a nomadic life the confederation of the Benī Gīl, between Berguent and Fīgīg; on the other side of the Atlas, the Ayt Seddrāt, the Ayt Djallāl, the Id-an-Blāl, the Ayt-u-Mrībeṭ; lastly to the south of the Darʿa (Dra) country, the Rgība, the Shkārna and the Awlād Dlīm. As to the semi-nomads, we find them, outside the Middle Atlas, in the great plains of the Gharb, in the north, the Rḥāmna and the Shyāḍma, and in the south, where a pastoral life has not yet completely disappeared before a more settled state of society.

Nevertheless, Morocco is, of the three countries of Barbary, that which has in its rural population the largest proportion of settled people, of fixed habitat and living not only in tents but also in houses. The latter are rarely found isolated in the country, but on the contrary are grouped into villages of more or less importance and more or less near one another, according to the density of the population.

The type of dwelling varies with the district. In the mountains we find houses built of unbaked bricks or stone with a gabled, thatched, pitched or a flat roof. In the plains, the tent predominates, more or less fixed to the spot, and with it we find more and more the hut of branches with a conical roof called *nuwwāla*. In the Saharan oases, the population collects within a walled area of *ḳṣūr* (sg. *ḳṣar*, from the class. *ḳaṣr*); these conglomerations sometimes possess the elements of town-life. The villages are called douar (*duwwār*) in the plains, and *dshar* in the mountains. In some hill regions we find survivals of cave-dwelling.

b. Town. Among the towns of his country, the Moroccan distinguishes a certain number that he definitely regards as cities (*ḥaḍariyya*). These are Fās, Rabat-Salé and Tetouan, which have been more than others subjected to the influence of Spanish culture. It must however be noted that in the majority of the other towns we can still find traces of the existence of colonies formed by Muslims from Spain, especially from the 9th/15th century onwards. The population of the non-*ḥaḍariyya* towns is found to be composed of rustic elements but little urbanised. This is the case with Oujd and al-Djadīda (country Bedouins) and also with Tangier (countrymen from the hills). Marrākush and Meknès owe their special urban character to the fact that as capitals they have contained the courts of two Sharīfian dynasties, both of Bedouin origin; they are *makhzaniyya* towns in which the standard of civilisation does not reach the refinement of the *ḥaḍariyya* Spanish towns. The ports Tangier, Larache, Mazagan, Safi and Mogador were for long the only points of contact between Morocco and European influences, politically as well as commercially. Lastly in the mountains, little towns like Shefshāwen, Wazzān, Sefrou, Dubdū, Damnāt, owe their existence to political reasons. The two first were founded as bulwarks against the Portuguese advance in northern Morocco in the 10th/16th century. Damnāt and Dubdū are mainly Jewish towns. As to Sefrou, it seems probable that it is a survival of an old Berber town. We may also mention as towns of secondary importance, on

the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta, completely europeanised for several centuries, on the Atlantic coast Arzila (Aṣīlā), Casablanca, which owes its origin to the little port of Anfa, Azemmir, Agadīr. In the interior, al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, Taza, Tarudant. Several ancient towns have now disappeared, e.g. Nakūr and Bādis on the Mediterranean, Ṭīt to the south of Mazagan, the two Ag̲h̲māt and Tīnmallal to the south of Marrākus̲h̲, and several others, descriptions of which have been given by the geographers like al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī and Leo Africanus.

As a rule, the Moroccan town is grouped round a citadel or *ḳaṣaba* (pop. *ḳaṣba*) which is the seat of authority. Under the protection of the citadel lies the *mellāḥ* or Jewish quarter [see MALLĀḤ]. All around spreads the town proper or *mdīna* with its great mosque, markets and *ḳayṣariyya* [*q.v.*]. It is surrounded by a rampart (*sūr*) beyond which there are usually the suburbs more or less rural in character. The town itself is divided into quarters (*ḥawma*) with streets (*zanḳa*), alleys (*darb*) and squares (*raḥba*).

c. Economic Life. The country people, whether settled or nomadic, who no longer form more than 70% of the population of Morocco, live on the land, either by agriculture or stock-raising, most often combining the two. Those in the highlands grow cereals (wheat, barley), certain leguminosae (broad beans, chick-peas, vetches) and fruit-trees. They also exploit their forests in a very primitive fashion (thuyas, cedars). The people of the plains devote themselves mainly to cereals and the rearing of cattle, sheep, camels, horses and asses. In the oases of the south, the population cultivates the date-palm and understands the art of irrigating the land.

The rural industries are very primitive. They are limited to supplying the necessary implements of agriculture, and weaving wool into the material for garments, tents and carpets. The Berbers of Sūs show a certain aptitude at metal-working (arms and jewels). The Sūs no longer exports the cane-sugar and copper, which formed considerable articles of trade under the Saʿdians.

Each tribe has a certain number of markets (*ṣūḳ*) which are held in the open country and bear the name of the day on which they are held. It is in the *sūḳ* that the peasant sells his produce and buys the manufactured articles that are brought by the merchants from the towns. Cereals are preserved in siloes (*maṭmūra* [*q.v.*]); in the Great Atlas and to the south of it we find fortified store-houses, which belong to the community and are called *agadir* [*q.v.*].

It is in the towns that we find industrial activity concentrated. Each trade, which originally formed a gild (*ḥanṭa*), is grouped in one street which bears its name. In it the articles are made and sold. The stocks are kept in the fonduks (Ar. *fondaḳ*) which correspond to the *k̲h̲ān* and *wakāla* of the east. Some products, like grain, oil, coal, wool, are sold in special places called *raḥba*. The monopolies of exporting (*sāḳa*) corn and hides established by the sultans at the end of the 19th century have been abolished. Several European products have become of the first necessity in Morocco and form the subjects of an important traffic: cotton goods, tea and sugar and candles. For the history of the weights, measures and coins in use in Morocco before the establishment of the protectorate, see the works by Massignon and Michaux-Bellaire quoted in the *Bibliography*. The very vivid picture drawn by Leo Africanus of the commercial and industrial activity of Fās in the Middle Ages is still very valuable.

The Jews, who devoted themselves specially to certain trades that flourish in larger centres (goldsmiths, embroiderers), played an important part as brokers. The citizens of Fās, who had a large number of converted Jews among their number, had almost a monopoly of the import trade of Morocco, especially from England, and for this reason had little colonies in the sea-ports.

The Berbers of the Sūs like to settle in the towns as grocers (*baḳḳāl*) and having made their fortunes return to the country. Since the war, a large number of them have migrated to France as artisans and labourers and they settle in groups, according to their original tribes, in the suburbs of certain large industrial towns.

V. Political Organisation

It is only at rare intervals and for short periods that Morocco has been entirely under the authority of the sultan: whence the distinction between the territory subjected to the government (*bilād al-mak̲h̲zen*) and the territory unsubjected (*bilād al-sība*). As a rule, the *mak̲h̲zen* territory included the towns, valleys and plains. The mountains, on the other hand, remained more or less independent, according to the degree of power possessed by the sovereign [see MAK̲H̲ZAN].

Outside the towns the population is grouped into tribes (*ḳabīla*). Several are sometimes grouped together under a common name, without however being a confederation in the strict sense of the word; this is the case with the G̲h̲umāra in the north, the Ḥāḥa, the Dukkāla, the S̲h̲āwiyya in the south. The tribe is subdivided into sections (*rubʿ*, *k̲h̲ums*, *fak̲h̲d̲h̲a*), which are subdivided into sub-sections comprising a certain number of villages of tents or houses.

The tribes who own the sultan's sway are governed by a *ḳāʾid* appointed by the *mak̲h̲zen*. His duty is to allot and levy the taxes, to raise contingents of soldiers and keep good order. He has under his command a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* for each section under whom are the *muḳaddams* of the sub-sections.

For the distinction between *mak̲h̲zen*, *d̲j̲ays̲h̲* (vulg. *gīs̲h̲*) and *nāʾiba* tribes, see MAK̲H̲ZAN.

In the tribes not subject to the *mak̲h̲zen*, political activity was confined to the *d̲j̲amāʿa* [*q.v.*], i.e. an assembly of men able to bear arms. The *d̲j̲amāʿa* (*jmāʿa*) dealt with all the business of the tribe, civil, criminal, financial and political. It administered justice following local custom (Arabic *ʿurf*, Berber *izref*). It elected a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* (Berber *amg̲h̲ār*) who was only an agent to carry out its decisions. Alongside of the *d̲j̲amāʿa* of the tribe, there were *d̲j̲amāʿa*s of the sections and sub-sections but their powers were limited.

In the towns, the *mak̲h̲zen* was represented by a governor whose official title was *ḳāʾid*, but in certain large towns he was often called *bās̲h̲ā*. The title of *ʿāmil* was sometimes given to the governor of Oujda. The *ḳāʾid* of the town, generally speaking, had the same powers as the *ḳāʾid* of the tribe and acted as judge in case of any violation of the law. He had an assistant or *k̲h̲alīfa*. Alongside of him, the *muḥtasib* supervised the corporations, fixed their average prices and lookd after public morals.

The *ḳāʾid* had under his orders the *muḳaddams* of the quarter and his police (*mk̲h̲āzniyya*) carrying out his instructions. Among the officials sent by the

makhzen to each town may also be mentioned the *nāḍir* or inspector of endowments (*ḥubūs*), the trustee of vacant inheritances (*wakīl al-ghurabāʾ*, popularly *bū-mwārət* = *abu 'l-mawārith*), the collector of local taxes and market-dues (*amīn al-mustafād*). Lastly in the harbour and frontier towns, the customs were collected by officials called *umanāʾ* (sg. *amīn*).

Justice [see MAḤKAMA. 5. i] is administered by the *ḳāʾid* or by the *ḳāḍī*, as the case may be. The latter deals with questions of personal law; official reports on the cases are drawn up by the *ʿudūl*. In technical cases he appeals to experts: master-masons, agriculturalists, veterinary surgeons (*mwālīn ən-naḍar*: *arbāb əṭ-ṭurḳa*, *fəllāḥ*, *bayṭār*).

Landed property takes a number of different forms. In the first place, there are the state-domains; they were either managed directly by the *makhzen* (crown-lands) or they could be allotted to *gīsh*-tribes in return for the military service for which they could be liable; others of these lands might be granted in temporary or definite ownership to private individuals by imperial edict (*ẓahīr* or *tanfīdha*).

The *ḥubūs* lands are urban or rural. In the towns, they not infrequently cover half the area. They are let out under special conditions which give the tenants special privileges, *məftāḥ* and *gzā* (class. Ar. *djazāʾ*). In the country, the *ḥubūs* lands consist mainly of fields and orchards. In all cases, the revenue from these lands is set aside for the maintenance of buildings of a religious character or of public utility (mosques, colleges, schools, fountains) and for the payment of the officials attached to these establishments.

In Morocco, there are vast tracts of land which are not the property of any one individual, either as a result of the insecurity prevailing or of the sparsity of the population. These lands belong undivided to the whole tribe; they are called common lands (*blād əl-jmāʿa*).

Lastly, lands which have come to belong to private individuals (*mulk*) by inheritance or purchase have their character confirmed by a certificate of ownership (*mulkiyya*).

The old Muslim imposts (*zakāt* and *ʿushr*) have been merged into a single tax, the *tartīb* [*q.v.*]. In addition to this tax, from which the state draws the essential part of its revenues, we may mention the duties levied at the gates of towns and in the markets (*maks*), unpopular with the people and not countenanced by religion, and the urban tax on buildings (*ḍarība*). In addition to these, the main taxes, there was the *hadiyya* or present offered to the sultan on the occasion of the three great Muslim festivals. The *djizya* or poll-tax paid by non-Muslims and the *nāʾiba* or payment for exemption from military service by certain Arab tribes have been abolished.

VI. Religious Life

a. The Berbers before Islam. For lack of documents, it is difficult to get any accurate idea of the religious beliefs and practices of the Berbers of Morocco before their conversion to Islam, and it is only from the survival of animistic cults which can still be observed in the country that we can guess what the primitive religion was. The figures on two carved stones found in Morocco seem to be evidence of the existence of a solar worship. On animistic practices surviving in modern Islam in Morocco, see below.

b. Conversion to Islam. At the time of their invasion, the Arabs found that in the districts around the towns the people were more or less under the influence of Jewish and Christian teachings; but there is little doubt that they did not practise these religions in their true form. It will be more correct to think of them as professing Judaism or Christianity rather than as real Jews or Christians. It seems evident that these influences had prepared the Berber population around the mountains to adopt the new monotheistic religion, which the invaders imposed upon them. The two earliest invasions, that of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ *ca.* 50/670 and that of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in 92/711, could result only in a very partial and superficial islamisation, for very few Arab elements remained in the country. Islam, a town religion, was for long confined to larger centres. The Berbers generally became converted in the hope of escaping the exactions of the conquerors; but when the latter wanted to treat them simply as tributaries, they did not hesitate to apostatise, on seven different occasions, if we may believe the Arab historians. One thing is certain, that while remaining Muslims, they were not long in trying to cast off the authority of the caliphs of Baghdād by adopting the heterodox doctrines of the Khāridjīs [*q.v.*; see also ṢUFRIYYA]. The Berbers of Morocco went even further when new local religions arose among them more or less based on Islam, with their own prophets and Ḳurʾāns. After the attempt at rebellion by the Berber of Tangier, Maysara [*q.v.*], which was quickly suppressed, the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] recognised as their prophet one of their number, Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf, who gave them a religion and a Ḳurʾān in the Berber language. This religion, the progress of which was opposed by the early Moroccan dynasties, seems only to have been finally exterminated by the Almohad rulers of the 7th/13th century. This Barghawāṭa movement was the most lasting; we also note that which was created by Ḥā-Mīm (d. 313/927-8 [*q.v.*]) among the Ghumāra, near Tetouan.

In spite of these reactions, Islam, having become the official religion of increasingly powerful dynasties, gradually gained ground and penetrated slowly into the Berber mountains, but it is only from the death of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who destroyed the religion of the Barghawāṭa and put an end to the rule of the "anthropomorphist" (*mudjassimūn*) Almoravids, that we can date the complete unification of Islam in Morocco. Till then, Islam had had in Morocco champions who were soldiers rather than theologians, and who after forcing the people to adopt Islam at the point of the sword, were little fitted to instruct them in it. It required a Berber of the Great Atlas, Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*], a theologian who had been educated in the east, to come back to his country and to secure the devoted support of a mass of followers in order to found the movement, which was political as well as religious, of the Almohads or "preachers of *tawḥīd*" [*q.v.*].

If the Almohad reformation was only temporary in Morocco, it was nevertheless strong enough while it lasted to obliterate in the country all trace of schism or heresy and to establish thoroughly in it the school of Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] which it still follows.

c. Evolution of Moroccan Islam. From the time of the fall of the Almohad dynasty, Moroccan Islam rapidly acquired features of its own. Islam, defeated in Spain, was gradually driven out of it, then attacked in Morocco itself by the

Christians of the Peninsula. The western frontier of the *Dār al-Islām* was brought back to its own territory and then thrust farther back. Islam in Morocco, attacked by Christianity and forced to *d͟jihād*, became an active principle. It required all the moral forces of the country, even those of which the orthodoxy seemed doubtful; in order to utilise them, it did not hesitate to absorb them by covering them with a more or less superficial veneer of orthodoxy. It was at this period that the cult of dead and living saints, and to a certain point S͟harīfism, which had hitherto only existed alongside of Islam in Morocco, were adopted into it and received a kind of official recognition from the *mak͟hzen*.

Before the Marīnids, Islam had required the constant assistance of the temporal power to maintain itself and advance. From the time of this dynasty, sprung from a Berber nomad tribe, the roles are inverted; it is now the sovereigns who utilise Islam to increase their own power, and try to monopolise it by creating official colleges for religious instruction (*madrasas*); the first of these (*Madrasat al-Ṣaffārīn*) was founded in 679/1280 by the sultan Abū Yūsuf at Fās, the capital of the dynasty, which made it the great centre of Muslim culture in Western Barbary. The immediate successors of the Marīnids, the Banū Waṭṭās, established in the same town the cult of their founder Idrīs II. The mausoleum in which he is said to be buried was henceforth an object of great veneration. He is the earliest in date and the most important of the innumerable canonised Muslims who are the objects of a regular cult in Morocco, even on the part of the religious leaders and the aristocracy. When the cult of Idrīs was established, his descendants—more or less authentic—claimed the title of *s͟harīf* and soon played a preponderating part in Moroccan society, as a political and moral influence. The power of the Idrīsid *s͟horfā* was soon reinforced by that of other *s͟horfā* descended from ʿAlī through al-Ḥasan and this is the origin of the two great groups of *s͟harīf*s in Morocco, the Idrīsid and the ʿAlid. To the latter belong the two S͟harīfan dynasties, the Saʿdian and Filālī, the latter still in power. From the moment of their accession to the throne, the influence of the *s͟horfā* on the destinies of the country became more and more preponderant.

The phenomenon of S͟harīfism is closely connected on the other hand with the development of religious brotherhoods [see ṬARĪḲA]. Although we find evidence of their existence at the end of the Almohad dynasty (Ḥud͟jd͟jād͟j, Māg͟hiriyyūn, Amg͟hāriyyūn), it is only as a result of al-D͟jazūlī's (d. 869/1645 [*q.v.*]) campaign in favour of a *d͟jihād* against the Portuguese that we find the principles of the brotherhoods, as we know them to-day, first coming into existence.

d. Islam in modern Morocco. Here we will only give a survey of the principal points of detail in which the people of Morocco differ from the rest of the Muslim community as regards the practice of their religion. With the exception of a few isolated groups, still little studied, who are credited with heterodox or heretical practices (Zkāra, in the neighbourhood of the Banī Znāsen, in eastern Morocco, Bdādwa, in the G͟harb, not far from al-Ḳṣār al-Kabīr), all the Muslims of Morocco are Sunnīs and since the Almoravid period have followed the Mālikī rite, which prevailed in the west over that of al-Awzāʿī. It is in the towns that the population observes most strictly the duties of religion. The Bedouins of the plains and the Berbers of the mountains are rather lukewarm Muslims. The Jbāla, however, between Fās and Tangier, are very devoted to Islam, show great piety, and Ḳurʾānic studies are very much in favour with them; it is from them that are recruited a great number of schoolmasters who practise their calling in the plains [see S͟HARṬ]. It is also practically only among the hillmen of the north and south that we find a mosque in every village.

In spite of the great distance which they have to traverse, the Moroccans like to accomplish the canonical pilgrimage. A considerable number settle in the east (there are Moroccan colonies in Alexandria and Cairo); the importance of these colonies had even induced the sultan ʿAbd al-Azīz to appoint a Moroccan consul, ***amīn al-Mag͟hāriba***, for Egypt.

In addition to the two canonical festivals of Islam (*ʿīd kabīr* and *ʿīd ṣag͟hīr*), the Moroccans celebrate the festival of the birth of the Prophet (*mūlūd*, class. *mawlid* [*q.v.*]) and that of ʿĀs͟hūrāʾ (10th Muḥarram). The *mūlūd*, established in Morocco by the Marīnids, has become a kind of national festival, since the accession to power of sovereigns claiming descent from the Prophet; this festival in Morocco almost surpasses in importance the two canonical feasts.

The peculiarities just mentioned would not be sufficient to give Moroccan Islam a special character, nor would its religious brotherhoods, if the latter were confined to the practices of religion or exaltation of the faith and to satisfying the need for an elevated mysticism among their adepts. These religious brotherhoods are fairly numerous: Tid͟jāniyya, Darḳāwa, Ṭayyibiyya-Tuhāma, Kattāniyya [*q.vv.*] etc. But alongside of these brotherhoods, whose members are almost exclusively recruited from the literate or well-to-do classes of the towns and country, there are popular brotherhoods in considerable numbers, in which preoccupation with religion gives place to charlatanish practices and sanguinary displays. Such are the Jīlāla, the ʿIsāwa, the Ḥmāds͟ha, the Dg͟hūg͟hiyya. Some of these brotherhoods recruit their members exclusively from a particular class of society; thus the Rmā (class. *rumāt*) is a brotherhood of marksmen, and the Gnāwa a negro brotherhood. All these brotherhoods have this feature in common that their founder has become a famous saint (*walī*).

The cult of saints is highly developed in Morocco and undoubtedly was so before the introduction of Islam, which found itself obliged to tolerate it. There are however very different categories of saints, from the venerated patron saint of a capital or of a district to the local holy man whose name is forgotten, between whom comes the *sayyid* whose tomb is marked by a *ḳubba* [*q.v.*] (chapel surmounted by a dome), more or less elaborate. The more humble saints are recognised by the circular wall (*ḥaws͟h*) which surrounds their tombs.

These venerated individuals, male and female, have attained sanctity by very different ways, some in their lifetime, by their learning, devotion, asceticism, miraculous powers (*baraka*), sometimes even by more or less mystic mania (*mad͟jd͟hūb* [*q.v.*]); the others, after their deaths, have been distinguished by miracles, apparitions etc. The warrior in the holy war (*d͟jihād*, *ribāṭ*), slain fighting against the infidel is frequently beatified—hence his name of *murābiṭ* (pop. *mrābəṭ*—French and English

"marabout"). But the early significance of this term was frequently lost sight of and the term *murābiṭ* came to be generally applied to saints, who never took part in a *djihād* in their lifetime. *Murābiṭ* thus came into general use as a synonym of the other words used for saint in Morocco: *walī*, *sayyid*, *ṣāliḥ*. But it is the only one applied to the descendants of a saint, who possess the *baraka* of their ancestor. Among the Berbers, the saint is called *agurram*. The names of great saints have *mawlāy* prefixed, the others the title *sīdī*, while women saints of Berber origin are called *lālla*.

The saint to whom sanctuaries are most frequently dedicated—modest though they are (*maḳām*, *khalwa*)—was not a native of the country but the famous patron saint of Baghdād, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], popularly called al-Jīlālī, who undoubtedly never visited Morocco. But the saint whose cult is surrounded with the greatest splendour is the famous Mawlāy Idrīs, founder and patron saint of Fās. Among the other great Moroccan saints may be mentioned: Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh, patron of the Jbāla; Mawlāy Abū Salhām, in the Gharb; Mawlāy Abu 'l-Shitāʾ al-Khammār (Mawlāy Būshshtā), in the north of Fās; Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, patron of Meknès and founder of the brotherhood of the ʿĪsāwa; Mawlāy Abū Shuʿayb (Būshʿīb), at Azemmour; Mawlāy Abū Yaʿazzā (Būʿazzā), in the Tadla; Sīdī Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī (Sīdī Bel-ʿAbbès), born at Ceuta and patron of Marrākush. All these saints who, for the most have been or will be the subjects of articles, and others less famous, are the subjects of a hagiographical literature which will be dealt with in the article MANĀḲIB.

Devotion to individuals canonised in their lifetime or after their death is in Morocco not confined to Muslims. The Jews have also their saints, relatively as numerous as the Muslim saints. Some of the Jewish saints have acquired a reputation so great that even Muslims revere their tombs: e.g. those of the Rabbī ʿAmrān in Azjen, near Wazzān and of Rabbī Ben Zmīro at Safi. On the other hand, the Jews of Morocco show a special reverence for certain of the great Muslim saints of the country.

The area, surrounding the tomb of each of the principal saints is sacred (*ḥurm*) and hence regarded as an inviolable asylum; among the best known are the *ḥurm* of Mawlāy Idrīs in Fās and that of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh in the mountains of the north-west. These pieces of ground are the exclusive property of the families who are descended or claim to be descended from the saint. They are exempt from state taxes; more than that, the descendants of the saints have the right to levy for their own benefit certain special dues, by a privilege officially recognised by the sultan. The levying of these dues is not the only way by which the saint's chapel benefits his descendants. The principal source of revenue is the offerings of pilgrims when visiting the tomb; this is the *ziyāra*. In general once a year, there is a kind of patronal festival at the tomb of the saint which is called *mūsəm* (class. Ar. *mawsim*); a vast crowd, some of them from a considerable distance, gather there to pay their devotions to the *sayyid* and to see the display of fireworks given in his honour. On this occasion the offerings flow in and are shared among themselves by the saint's descendants.

In these circumstances, it is usual for every sanctuary of any importance to be regularly organised. The chapel which contains the tomb and the buildings attached to it, an oratory and guest-house, is called the *zāwiya* [*q.v.*]. It is superintended by a *muḳaddam* who collects and distributes the revenues. These do not come entirely from the *ziyāra*. The *zāwiya* often owns lands, sometimes extensive, which are let out and the profits shared with the tenants. They are called *ʿazīb* and the tenants are called *ʿazzāb*. These farms, sometimes acquired by purchase, often come from bequests or donations (*ḥubūs*) from pious private individuals.

We can thus see how certain famous and wealthy *zāwiyas* may exert a moral and political influence in the country round them, independent of their religious influence. The latter is however also very important. The great Moroccan *zāwiyas* are centres of orthodoxy and give life and vigour to Islam in the country. Some are centres of mysticism and they are always centres of religious instruction. This explains the enviable position occupied in Moroccan society by any group of descendants of a famous saint, or of marabouts. If their ancestor had, in addition to the virtues for which he was canonised, the honour to be a descendant of the Prophet, they are at the same time *shorfā*, which further increases their material privileges. The descendants of a saint who was not a *sharīf* try to claim this origin for him by inventing more or less fictitious genealogies. The marabouts who have in this way "infiltrated" into the social category of the *shorfā* are very numerous in Morocco. A Moroccan *zāwiya* is not only a centre of hagiolatry; it is also in the majority of cases a body of *shorfā* and the centre of a religious brotherhood or of a branch of one, or of a secondary order affiliated to a brotherhood. The *zāwiya* itself may have offshoots. Many of the establishments of this name are daughters of a mother *zāwiya* and are sometimes at a considerable distance from it.

Hagiolatry, religious brotherhoods and sharīfism thus form three special aspects of Islam in Morocco, which are profoundly intermingled, and it is difficult to study them separately. For a detailed account of the principal families of *shorfā* in Morocco of genuine sharīf origin or simply marabouts, see SHURAFĀʾ.

e. Survivals of Berber cults. The cult of saints, accepted and even recognised, as we have seen above, by Islam, is in Morocco much earlier than the introduction of this religion. Indeed, alongside of saints of note, there are others who are essentially popular, in the country as well as in the towns. In the large cities like Fās, the great *sayyids* venerated by all classes of society rub shoulders with humble marabouts whose names show clearly their popular origin; these are Sīdī 'l-Makhfī (My lord the Hidden One), Sīdī Amsa 'l-Khayr (My lord Good Evening) or Sīdī Ḳāḍī Ḥādja (the reverend gentleman who procures what is wanted) and notices are given of them by hagiographers like the author of the *Salwat al-anfās* (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, 383 below). The humble, often anonymous *khalwas*, which abound in Morocco, undoubtedly are to be connected with earlier mythical individuals, already worshipped in the same place before the coming of Islam. Besides this devotion to popular saints, there are the animistic cults, which we see everywhere in Morocco observed by the lower classes of the population: worship of high places, of caves, springs, trees and rocks.

It is hardly possible to separate from these animistic cults that of Mawlāy Yaʿḳūb in Morocco, who always has a *ḳubba* beside thermal springs, whose curative virtues are recognised.

Survivals of paganism in every case completely foreign to orthodox Islam may be found everywhere in Morocco; they are hardly distinguishable from what one finds in other parts of Barbary. The rites which accompany birth and the ceremonies connected with it (giving of the name and circumcision), marriage and death are now well known. They constitute practices quite foreign to the prescriptions of the Sunna, but they are not regarded by those who follow them as in any way heterodox.

It is especially in the life of the country people that we see most clearly traces of pre-Islamic practices. Many of them are strangely like agricultural customs of the Romans. The Moroccan peasant has retained the use of the Julian calendar, no doubt introduced into the country by the Romans; it is of course much more suitable for the needs of agriculture than the Muslim lunar calendar. The names of the months are retained in their Latin form with little change: January is *yənnāyr* from the Latin *ianuar(ius)*. The beginning of the solar year in Morocco is the occasion of a festival celebrated, especially in the country, under the name of *ḥāgūza*; the festival of the summer solstice (*ʿanṣra*) is also celebrated and on that day it is usual to have fireworks. Similarly the agrarian rites, which are still scrupulously observed by the peasants of Morocco, are completely foreign to the canonical prescriptions of Islam. They are mainly ceremonies of inauguration (of death and rebirth of the land, first day of labour, first day of harvest); rites to protect the crops from the evil eye, or to preserve the *baraka* which they contain while standing, finally special rites to secure rain and good weather. These various ceremonies, to which ethnographers have already devoted detailed studies to which the reader may be referred, are sometimes closely linked up with ceremonies prescribed by Islam; thus the different pagan rites for producing rain (carnival processions, a large spoon dressed in women's clothes and solemnly carried round) do not exclude the worship of saints specially noted as rain-makers like Mawlāy Būshshtā, nor the celebration of the orthodox ceremony of *istiskā*ʾ [*q.v.*].

It is also in the worship of spirits (*djinn*) that we find ceremonies of a strongly Islamic stamp associated with quite profane rites. This cult is especially practised by the lower classes of society, and in the towns particularly by women. The djinns are regarded as supernatural powers, who have to be conciliated to avert their evil influence or fought when one is attacked by them. The rites which deal with them are either propitiatory or intended to overcome harm done. In spite of the many sacred formulae of Islam, which are found in the celebration of these two kinds of rites, one gets a strong impression of paganism from them; they undoubtedly remain practically what they were before the introduction of Islam into Morocco.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal and G. S. Colin)

VII. Linguistic Survey.

Two languages are spoken in Morocco: Berber and dialects of Arabic. Berber is the oldest attested in Morocco and we have no evidence of an earlier language being used; as to Arabic, it was introduced by the Muslim conquest of the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries. But until the arrival in Morocco of the Banū Hilāl and of the Sulaym (6th/12th century), it seems that Arabic, the language of an essentially urban culture, was spoken mainly in the towns while the country people continued to talk Berber; it was only after the occupation of the plains by the Arab tribes that their language spread there. With the exception of the region of the Jbāla to be mentioned later, the highlands of Morocco alone have remained faithful to the Berber language, while the towns and lowlands are more and more Arabic speaking.

In his *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*[3] (162), L. Massignon gives a proportion of 60% of Berber speakers; he retains this figure in the 1954 edn. (250), but A. Bernard had thought this exaggerated and had reduced it to 40% (cf. *Arabophones et Berbérophones au Maroc*, 1924, 278).

A. Berber.

On the language and literature, see BERBERS. V-VI, and also LĪBIYĀ. 2. Lybico-Berber inscriptions.

B. Arabic.

The Arabic dialects. The Arabic language was introduced into Morocco in at least two stages: first in the 2nd/8th century at the time of the first Muslim conquest, then in the 6th/12th at the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaym. Down to the coming of the latter, who were brought to Morocco by the Almohad ruler Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, Arabic seems to have been spoken almost exclusively in the large towns of the north, where it was used by a considerable Arab population who enjoyed a double prestige, religious and political. It was the language of religion and law. From the towns, Arabic spread among the people of the surrounding country, and al-Idrīsī (*Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text 79, tr. 90) already notes that in the 6th/12th century the Berber tribes of the southern hinterland of Fās (Banū Yūsuf, Fandalāwa, Bahlūl, Zawāwa, Maggāṣa, Ghaiyāt and Salālgūn) spoke Arabic.

It is this linguistic influence exerted by the towns on the country around them that explains the arabicisation of the mountainous country of the Jbāla (plur. of *jəblī*, "highlander") while the rest of the Moroccan highlands remained Berber speaking. The land of the Jbāla, in the wide sense, stretches in the form of a crescent from Tangier to Taza. It was surrounded by a cordon of towns: Nakūr, Bādis, Tīgīsās, Tetouan, Ceuta, al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr, Tangier, Arzila, al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, Baṣra, Azdjen, Banū Tāwudā, Walīlī, Fās, and Taza, which were the only ports or markets available for the tribes of the region; besides, the massif itself was traversed by the most important commercial routes of Northern Morocco: the roads from Fās to Tangier, to Ceuta, to Bādis, to Nakūr and to Ghassāsa; it was therefore natural that being subject to the direct and indirect influences of the towns, the highlands of Jbāla should be the first region of Morocco to be arabicised. The process was further favoured by several other factors: 1. the existence in the mountains of numerous large villages, almost towns, which became secondary centres of Ḳurʾānic culture; 2. the settlement almost everywhere in the 4th/9th century among the Jbāla of Idrīsid *sharīfs* who, driven from Fās by Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya al-Miknāsī, founded independent principalities in the mountains, which became centres of Muslim urban culture; 3. the tribes of the Jbāla furnished a considerable part of the contingents which went to wage the holy war in Spain and returned home after being more or less arabicised by contact with the great Muslim towns of Andalusia; 4. lastly, the rebellions and civil wars which so frequently disturbed Muslim Spain, the emigrations or expulsions caused by the progress of the Christian reconquest, brought to Africa, from the "rising of the suburb" at Cordova (in 202/818) down to the 10th/16th century, an important element which settled in the region of the Jbāla either in the towns around the mountains or in the villages of the highlands (resettlement of Tetouan, foundation of Shafshāwan) bringing there, along with the Arabic language, the prestige of their cultural, intellectual and material superiority.

This rapid sketch of the spread of the Arabic language in Morocco explains why, after studying the question, three categories of Arabic dialects have been distinguished:

a. Urban dialects: *b.* highland dialects; *c.* Bedouin dialects; and we may add: *d.* the Jewish dialects.

a. Urban dialects. In Morocco not all the town dialects are "urban dialects". There are towns like Casablanca, al-Djadīda, Safi and al-Suwayra (and to a certain degree Meknès and Marrākush) the

population of which is entirely or for the most part of rural origin and where the absence of an old nucleus of town-dwellers has not enabled them to become urbanised. The Moroccans however distinguish quite clearly such places from towns with a really urban culture, more or less influenced by Andalusian culture. The principal towns with urban dialects are Fās, Rabat-Salé, Tetouan, Taza, al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr; Tangier, Wazzān and Shafshāwan also have urban dialects but these are much contaminated by the surrounding highland dialects. Meknès and Marrākush have been influenced by the Bedouin elements introduced by the *makhzen* groups into the dialects of these two old capitals. It is interesting to note the case of Azammour where the old town (Azemmūr al-Ḥaḍar) has an urban dialect, while the new town, which has in more recent years grown up beside it around the sanctuary of Mawlāy Abū Shuʿayb (*vulgo* Bū Shʿayb), uses a Berber dialect. The urban dialects of Morocco form one group with those of the western part of the Central Maghrib, notably with those of Tlemcen, Nedroma and Algiers. Their phonetic characteristics are the loss of the interdentals of the classical language, the affricative pronunciation (t^s) of *tā*ʾ, the frequent attenuation of *ḳāf* to *hamza*. In Fās, *b*, *m*, *k*, *g* and *djīm* assimilate the *lām* of the article and are treated as "sun letters"; the simple *djīm* is pronounced like the French *j* (= Persian ژ), but when it is geminated, it gives *jj* in Fās and *dj* in Tangier. The *rā*ʾ is often pronounced very close to the French uvular *r*.

As peculiarities of the dialect of Fās, we may note the construction *kətbətto* "she has written it" for *kətbət* + *o*, and the use of an invariable relative *di* representing the old dialectal *dhū*. Tangier and Tetouan have a preposition *n*-, "to" which is used before nouns (*n-əd-dār* "to the house") but not before suffixed pronouns. To translate "of", Marrākush uses *t*-; the dialect of this town uses certain Berber adverbs: *ashku* "because", *həlli* "only".

All the urban dialects use the characteristic prefix of the present indicative: *ka*- in the north, *ta*- in the south. Fās uses one almost as much as the other.

b. Highland dialects. These are at least as well known as those of the towns. In 1920 G. S. Colin published notes on that of the Tsūl and the Brānes in the north of Taza; in 1922, E. Lévi-Provençal published texts, prefaced by a grammatical sketch, of the dialects of the middle valley of the Wargha; since then Colin had an opportunity of studying those of the Bni Ḥōẓmar (near Tetouan), of the Mesṭāsa (near Bādis) and of the Ghzāwa (near Shafshāwan).

The highland dialects are of course more differentiated than the urban dialects. The tribes which use them belong to two political clans probably originally of different racial origin: the Ghumāra, the old inhabitants, and the Ṣanhādja, the invaders. In the present state of our knowledge it does not seem possible to make the dialects coincide with political or racial boundaries; but we can nevertheless recognise two main groups of highland dialects:

1. The northern dialects, extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the south of Shafshāwan and embracing in the east the confederation of the Ghumāra; 2. the southern dialects, from Wazzān to Taza, used by two great classes of tribes: first, the Ṣanhādja tribes of the valley of the Wargha: Ṣanhādja of the Central Wargha, Ṣanhādja of the Sun and of the Shade, of Moṣbāḥ and of Gheddo; secondly, the Butr tribes, more or less closely related to the Zanāta and occupying the lands north of the region of Taza: Mernīsa, Brānes, Tsūl, Maghrāwa and Meknāsa. It seems to be a historical fact that these Zanāta and Ṣanhādja peoples only settled in their present habitats long after the first Arab conquest; the Ṣanhādja of the Central Wargha certainly now occupy lands which before the Almoravid period were peopled by the Ghumāra. We should therefore regard these southern highland dialects as younger than those of the northern group. The slight differences noted between the two groups may then be due to two main causes: 1. an evolution of the neighbouring urban dialects which would have taken place during the period between the arabicisation of the Ghumāra and that of the Ṣanhādja-Zanāta; 2. the non-identity of the Berber substrata.

To the two main groups: Ghumāra and Ṣanhādja-Zanāta, we may perhaps add two little islands in the south: the highlanders of the region of Ṣefrū to the south of Fās (Bhālīl, Bni Yāzgha etc.), and the Ghiyyāta to the south of Taza; they probably constitute the last vestiges of a continuous Arabic-speaking bloc which stretched to the south of the Fās-Taza corridor, the existence of which in the 6th/12th century we know from al-Idrīsī.

Phonetically, the Moroccan highland dialects are characterised by the profound changes undergone by the Arabic consonantal system as a result of the spirantisation of the dental and post-palatal occlusives. We find the interdentals *th* and *dh*, which do not represent the classical interdentals; *tā*ʾ-*thā*ʾ and *dāl*-*dhāl* have given in these dialects *t* and *d* respectively, which remain occlusive only at the beginning of the word or after a consonant or geminated; but after a vowel we have *th* and *dh*: *bənt* "daughter", plur. *bnāth*; after a vowel also *kāf* is pronounced as a spirant like the χ of modern Greek. The representative of the group ظـضـ of the classical language is usually *ḍ*, sometimes hardened to *ṭ*; but among the Ghumāra we have *dh* (= emphatic *dhāl*). The sound *č* is fairly common. The short vowels are commoner than in the towns; many of the short vowels *i* and *u* of the classical language are preserved; this is how we find a considerable number of imperfects $iR^1\ R^2\ uR^3$ and a few $iR^1\ R^2\ iR^3$.

As to morphology, the fem. personal suffixes *-a* (< *-hā*) and pl. *-em* (< *-hum*) are characteristic: they are the complement of the series begun by the masc. *-u*, *-o* (< *-hu*). Among the northern Jbāla we find the use of a suffix *-əsh* marking the plural: it seems really to be a borrowing from Latin. The dual, reserved for names of parts of the body which occur in pairs and for names of various measurements (of weight, length, volume and time) is in *-āyən*: *shahrāyən* "two months", *yiddāh* "his hands". The relative, pronoun and adjective, is *d*. The classical construct state (*iḍāfa*) is very rare and is only found in a few stereotyped phrases: it is in general replaced by analytical constructions in which the preposition *d* "of" is used, expressing possession as well as the material of a thing.

Almost everywhere the prefixes of the 2nd pers. com. and of the 3rd pers. fem. of the imperfect are *də*- (and not *tə*-): *dəktəb* "thou writest, she writes". The passive participle of hollow verbs is often of the type *məfʿāl*: *məbyāʿ* "sold", *meḥwāz* "filled up". Finally, we may note a few

traces of a passive of the form *fʿāl-yəfʿāl*: *ḳbāṭ* "to be taken". As evidence of conservatism, we may mention that in these dialects we have the word *fā* "mouth" which seems to have disappeared since old Arabic.

In spite of their divergencies, which are due mainly to pronunciation and to the local use of words and phrases corresponding to two very distinct forms of culture, the urban dialects and the highland dialects cannot be either historically or linguistically separated. The fundamental disparity is that which exists between the urban and highland group and the Bedouin group. It is the townsmen who have taught the highlanders to speak Arabic, but the urban dialects, used by individuals whose intellectual activity is greater, have evolved more rapidly. They are also more sensitive to external influence, literary and political. These facts, added to the predominance of Berber blood in the highlands, suffice to explain why the dialects of the Jbāla still seem coarse and quaint to the townsmen. On the other hand, the towns have been frequently repopulated, wholly or in part by people from the neighbouring hills. All this explains the family resemblance which the linguist finds between the dialects of the towns and those of the hills; perhaps the latter, being more conservative, are also the more interesting for the history of the language. W. Marçais regards them as valuable representatives of the Arabic spoken in the country district of the Maghrib before the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaym (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, i, preface, p. XXVIII).

The principal features which are common to the urban-highland group and which distinguish it from the Beduin group are the following:
— loss of the classical interdentals;
— pronunciation of *ḳāf* as *ḳ* or *hamza* (and not *g* as among the Bedouins);
— tendency to the syllabic grouping R^1 R^2 *ə* R^3, when R^2 is not a laryngal nor a sonant;
— rarity of the construct state;
— suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. in *-u*, *-o* (and not *-ah*, as among the Bedouins);
— relative rarity of the addition of personal suffixes, but regular use of the analytical phrase with *dyāl*: *əd-dār dyāl-ī*, "my house";
— diminutive of R^1 R^2 *ə* R^3 or R^1 *ə* R^2 R^3 becomes R^1 R^2 *iyyə* R^3: *kliyyeb*, "little dog";
— diminutive of adjectives of the types R^1 R^2 *ə* R^3 (< class.: *afʿal*) and R^1 R^2 *ī* R^3 becomes R^1 R^2 *ī* R^2 *e* R^3: *ḥmīmər*, "a little red"; *kbībər*, "a little large";
— plural of the adjectives R^1 R^2 *e* R^3 (< class. *afʿal*) becomes R^1 *ū* R^2 *e* R^3: *kōḥəl*, "black" (plur.);
— reductions of the plurals C^1 C^2 *ā* C^3 *ī* C^4 to C^1 C^2 *ā* C^3 *e* C^4: *mfātəḥ*, "keys";
— use of a verbal prefix to mark the indicative present: *ka-* or *tᵉa-* in the towns and *la-*, *ḳa-*, *a-* in the hills;
— in the singular of the perfect, the feminine person is in general used for the masculine: e.g. *ktəbti*, "thou hast written" (m.), whence we find in Rabat for the plural, an analogous form *ktəbtiw*, "you have written".
— in the vocabulary, *shḥāl*, "how much?"; *dāba*, "now"; *lḳā* (*rḳa*, *ḳḳa*), "to do", are characteristic;
— in the imperfect of the defective verbs, the plural is formed on analogy of the singular: *yəbḳāw*, "they remain"; *yəbḳiw*, "they weep".

c. Bedouin dialects. These are in Morocco the dialects of the plains: the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Mogador with its continuations into the interior, the valley of the Moulouya, the plateaux of eastern Morocco and the region of the Moroccan Sahara (Wād Ghīr, Wād Zīz etc.); they are still little known. That of the Dukkāla of the north (Ūlād Bū ʿAzīz, Ūlād Fredj), corresponds in almost all its details to the dialect of the Ūlād Brāhīm of Saïda (Orania) on which W. Marçais has written a monograph. There is no doubt that on examination one can divide the Bedouin dialects into groups characterised by more or less conservatism. Those which have most chance of having preserved their original character are those of the tribes of the Saharan steppes who have remained relatively stable and intact: Bni Gīl, Mhāya, Dhwī Mnīʿ, Ūlād Jrīr, etc. In any case, the following are the main characteristics of these dialects: firstly, the *ḳāf* is pronounced as *g* (= *ḳāf maʿḳūda*), and it is already this pronunciation which for Ibn Khaldūn characterises the Bedouin dialects of his time. The *thāʾ*, *dhāl* and *ḍād-ẓāʾ* are retained with their interdental value. The short vowels are indistinct: the sound *i* is almost completely absent and many short unaccented vowels sound practically like a labial *ə*. Characteristic are the appearance of an extremely short transitional vowel of *u* character, which is developed after *k*, *g*, *kh* and *gh* placed before a consonant or an *ā*; e.g. *kūbār*, "great" (plur.), *igūʿed*, "he sits down", *khūrāfa*, "tale", *ghūzāl*, "gazelle", *shkʷāra*, "saddle-bag", *rūgʷāg*, "thin" (plur.); a similar sound is found after *bb*, *ff*, *mm* and *kk*, *gg*, *ḳḳ*, *kh-kh*; e.g. *lughrubbʷa*, "the crows", *nuffʷākha*, "a blow", *rummʷān*, "pomegranate", *sukkʷār*, "sugar", *shuḳḳʷa*, "piece (of cloth)", *nukhkhʷāl*, "sound"; by analogy the combinations *mw* and *fw* when the *w* corresponds to a classical *wāw*, are reduced to *mm* and *ff*; e.g. *lemmʷiḍaʿ*, "the (little) place", *leffʷād*, "the entrails".

The retention of the accent on the first syllable causes "projected" syllabic forms: *yə́ktəb*, "he writes", plur *yə́kkətbu*; *mə́ghghərbi*, "Moroccan", *mŭkkaḥla*, "musket", *bə́ggərti*, "my cow".

The personal suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. is *-ah*. The dialectal preposition translating "of" is *ntāʿ* or *tāʿ*, from the classical *matāʿ*; according as the word before it is feminine or plural, this preposition becomes *ntāʿt* (*tāʿt*) or *ntāʷʿ* (*tāʷʿ*).

It does not seem that the Bedouin dialects know the use of the verbal prefix indicating the indicative present. In the plural personal forms of the defective verb, there is a reduction of the diphthong: *glū-yə́glū*, from the verb *glā* "to fry"; *nsū-yénsū*, from the verb *nsā* "to forget".

We may also note the use of a preposition *li-*, "to": *gāl-lina*, "he told us".

From the point of view of vocabulary, some words are characteristic of Bedouin dialects: *ba-ibi*, "to wish", *yāməs*, "yesterday", *dharwək*, *dhurk*, "now", from the classical *dhaʾl-waḳt*.

d. Jewish dialects. The Jews who emigrated from Spain have as a rule retained the use of an archaic Spanish; many have also learned Arabic for business reasons. Alongside of the Spanish Jews, we have in the Berber highlands and in the towns of the interior Moroccan Jews of unknown origin whom the former call *forasteros* (Span. "foreigners"); according to the district, they speak Berber or Arabic [see JUDAEO-ARABIC and JUDAEO-BERBER].

e. **Relations of the linguistic groups of Morocco to one another.** Morocco appears to the philologist a wonderful field for the study of the influence of the substratum on an imported language, since the language of the substratum, i.e. Berber, is still alive alongside of the Arabic and quite well known. The results of the examination are very meagre: the phenomena actually ascribable to the action of the substratum alone are infinitesmal; this may, however, be due to the fact that Arabic, a Semitic language, and Berber, a proto-Semitic language, are not sufficiently differentiated.

From the phonetic point of view, there is hardly any sound change found in the highland dialects of the arabicised Berbers, for which a corresponding change cannot be found in the dialectal phenomena of old Arabic; only, perhaps their tendency to spirantisation should be connected with the identical tendency observed in the northern Berber dialects found in the confines of the Jbāla country.

If we consider the morphology, we see that in the highland dialects the verb has lost feminine forms of the plural of the old Arabic, which still survive in some Bedouin dialects and are still found in Berber. A Berber origin has been sought for the use of the verbal prefix indicating the present of the indicative; but similar prefixes are found in Egypt and in Syria where there are very different substrata.

Certainly, Berber has the scheme *ta- — -t* which forms nouns indicating trades (*ta-bennay-t*, "trade of a mason") and names of abstract qualities (*ta-ḥrāmi-t*, "roguery"); it is however curious to note that in modern Berber, this scheme has not this significance and is only used to form the feminine and secondarily the diminutive.

In the syntax of the highland dialects, we find indisputable traces of Berber influence; plural treatment of singulars applied to liquids (water, urine), phrases translated or stereotyped, e.g. *hā-in Ḳaddūr* "Ḳaddūr's brother", with retention of the Berber particle indicating belonging to, *-in*.

But it is in the vocabulary that the Berber substratum makes its influence most felt. Whether surviving in the highland dialects or borrowed in the Bedouin dialects, many of the terms relating to country life are Berber (names of plants, animals, rocks, agricultural implements and tools); they have often retained in Arabic the Berber prefix *a-*, which, still felt to have its original value, makes them unfit to take the Arabic article also; alongside of the singular in *a-*, we usually have a Berber plural in *a—ān* also retained. It is curious, by the way, but intelligible to find in the highland dialects words of Arabic origin with this Berber prefix. These must be Arabic words borrowed and berberised at a time when the Jbāla still spoke Berber and which have been retained just as they were in their Arabic dialect after being arabicised, e.g. *a-ḥfīr*, "ditch", plur. *a-ḥəfrān*; in Tangier the nave of the mosque is called *a-blāṭ*; at Rabat two words imported from Europe have a Berber form: *a-šḳif*, "the sulṭān's boat" and *a-tāy*, "tea".

Some Berber words have survived in the administrative language of the *makhzen*: *afrāg*, "a wall of cloth surrounding the sultan's camp"; *agdāl*, "a pasture reserved for the sultan's animals"; *azfel*, "lash to punish the guilty"; *məzwār*, "syndic (*naḳīb*) of the Sharīfs".

The Bedouin dialects naturally contain much fewer Berber elements than the urban dialects and still less than the highland dialects; their rustic vocabulary nevertheless made numerous borrowings from the technical vocabulary of the previous Berber tillers of the plains. Within the Arabic area, the highland and urban dialects have borrowed from them a certain number of terms relating to the rural activities of the Bedouins; they are as a rule revealed by the pronunciation of *ḳāf* as *g*. The Bedouin dialects in their turn borrow from the towns their words relating to a more advanced culture; but, for economic, political and, to a certain extent, aesthetic reasons, they give more than they borrow.

In addition to the Berber and Arabic elements, the Moroccan vocabulary contains a fairly important number of "European" loanwords. They come from the vocabulary of a higher culture and relate to the flora (in cultivation or its products), to agriculture, to food and dress, to furniture and housing, sometimes even to parts of the body. There are Greek or Latin borrowings of the oldest period, Romance or Spanish for later periods; but neither their meaning nor their phonetic treatment enables us always to be able to date accurately the time of their introduction and their origin.

These "European" loanwords are naturally found in larger numbers in Northern Morocco, which has been more subject to Mediterranean influences which, through refugees from Spain, have been felt as far as the northern part of the Middle Atlas. The Bedouin dialects have escaped these influences (cf. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los Mozarabes*, Madrid 1888; Schuchardt, *Die romanischen Lehnwörter im Berberischen*, Vienna 1918; G. S. Colin, *Etymologies maġribines*, in *Hespéris* (1926-7); A. Fischer, *Zur Lautlehre des Marokkanisch-arabischen* (chs. ii, iii, and *Excurs*), Leipzig 1917).

In spite of the profound differences which separate them, the highland and Bedouin dialects of Morocco (and of the Maghrib) agree in one essential and characteristic morphological feature: the forms sing. *n*—, plur. *n—u* in the first persons of the imperfect. Now this fact is attested in the 6th/12th century for Almoravid Spain and Norman Sicily, i.e. in languages from which Hilālī influence is clearly excluded; it is also found in Maltese; it must then be admitted that the two groups of dialects have independently brought about this innovation, which seems to have remained exceptional in the dialects of the east. The two groups agree also in the loss of short vowels in open syllables; this phonetic peculiarity is also found in many eastern dialects; but it is curious that it has become general in the Maghrib while the dialects of Spain and Egypt do not have it.

It is in the *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* that we find the first information about Moroccan Arabic (use of *bāsh*, "in order that", *mtāʿ*, "of", first persons of the aorist in *n*— (sing.), *n—u* (plur.)); but we have to wait till D. de Torres to find a few phrases transcribed (cf. French tr. Paris 1636, 241, 323, 339). Mouëtte, who was captured at sea by the Moors in 1670 and was for a long time a prisoner, has left us a *Dictionnaire arabesque* in French and Moroccan, in transcription (cf. *Relation de la Captivité* Paris 1683, 330-62). The first grammatical notes were collected by Höst (cf. *Efterretninger* . . ., 1779, ch. 8, p. 202-210), who has also given us a Berber-Danish-Moroccan Arabic vocabulary (*op. cit.*, 128-33). It is to Fr. de Dombay that we owe the first monograph on Moroccan dialects, which is also the first serious contribution to the study of Arabic dialects; the dialect which he deals with is that of

Tangier (*Grammatica linguae mauro-arabicae*, Vienna 1800). Since then, there have been a number of studies: for works before 1911 see the bibliography given by W. Marçais in his *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 207-13; for later works, see the bibliography in *Textes arabes de Rabat* by L. Brunot and the *Bibliographies marocaines* given periodically in *Hespéris*.

2. Literature of the Arabic dialects. Like all popular literatures, the literature of the Arabic dialects of Morocco is essentially poetical. The only texts in prose are those which have been collected recently by European students of dialects.

In the Arabic poetry of Morocco two periods must be distinguished: the first extending down to the beginning of the Saʿdian dynasty; the first known texts are those which Ibn Khaldūn gives at the end of his *Muḳaddima* among the specimens of the poetry of the towns. To these we may add a mass of poems composed in honour of the Prophet (*Mawlidiyyāt*) and collected in numerous collections existing in manuscript. From this group cannot be separated the poems which accompany classical Moroccan music, "Andalusian" music, many of which must have been composed in Morocco; these were collected and classified by al-Ḥāʾik, a musician of Spanish origin who had settled in Tetouan. All these poems belonging to this first period are written in the Spanish Arabic dialect, which after the great success of the Cordovan Ibn Ḳuzmān (6th/12th century [*q.v.*]) became the classical language of the new poetic genre called *zadjal* [*q.v.*], which had this in common with the *muwashshah* [*q.v.*], that, while employing like it new metres, its prosody was based on the quantity of the syllables, but it differed from the *muwashshah* in that it was written in the Spanish dialect and not in the classical language.

The main characteristics of the poetry of the Moroccan dialects of the first period are attention to the quantity of each syllable and the use of the Spanish dialect.

The second period, on the other hand, is distinguished by a system of prosody founded exclusively on the number of syllables in each verse and by the use of a special language called *məlḥūn* [see MALḤŪN].

Alongside of this men's poetry, there are the songs of the women (songs of women working at the mill, songs of gleaners, songs of family fêtes, lullabies), the children's songs which are often strangely conservative, epigrams and proverbs; see S. Biarnay, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines*, Paris 1924 (songs of women and children); L. Brunot, *Proverbes et dictons arabes de Rabat*, in *Hespéris* (1928) (with Moroccan bibliography of the subject).

III. Other Languages. A sketch of the languages of Morocco which only took account of Berber and Arabic dialects would be incomplete, for three other elements of secondary importance have to be considered:

a. Classical Arabic, the official language, is used only in writing, for sermons, lectures and conferences; it is never the language of conversation except on the radio and television. But, thanks to these two methods of communication and to the fact that religious studies which are considerably developed in the towns (especially Fās) and also among the Jbāla (Ḳurʾānic studies and especially *ḳirāʾāt*), many words of classical Arabic have been introduced into the popular dialect. The phonetic peculiarity to notice in borrowed classical words is the retention of the short vowels as a result of the process of elongation; e.g. classical *ḍahir*, plur. *ḍahāʾir*, "decree of the sulṭān", borrowed by the popular dialect in the form *ḍāhēr*, whence a dialect plural *ḍwāhər*. Several Ḳurʾānic expressions or phrases of exegesis hence passed into everyday language as adverbs: *bəllāti* "guilty" (taken from Ḳurʾān vi. 153), *b-ət-tāwīl* "slowly", lit. "in commenting on", *wa-ḳīla* "perhaps".

b. Spanish was the only language spoken by many of the Muslims of Spain, who in the 9th/15th century and especially in the 10th/16th took refuge in Morocco, mainly at Tetouan and Rabat-Salé. Mouëtte, who was taken a prisoner to Morocco in 1670, says that Spanish was as common there as Arabic; his remarks is probably true only of the towns already mentioned. The descendants of these emigrants from Spain later learned Arabic and forgot Spanish, under the influence of Islamic culture. Not having been subject to the latter influence, the Jews of Spanish origin still speak an archaic Spanish, sprinkled with Arabic terms moulded to the flexions of Latin morphology.

c. In the palace of the sultan, many black servants of both sexes still spoke Sudanese dialects, but these seem to have had no influence on the Arabic dialects of Morocco.

No trace has so far been found of the existence in Morocco of secret languages; one could hardly put in this category the argots of certain guilds (butchers) nor those of the students, the originality of which consist simply in transposing certain letters of each word of the ordinary language and in the addition of certain prearranged syllables. One should not, finally, omit to mention that the use of Spanish and, above all, French, which spread during the protectorate, remains as widely spread—if not more so—since independence, and is not without an appreciable effect of dialect vocabulary.

(G. S. COLIN)

VIII. INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

More especially since the end of the Middle Ages, Morocco has occupied a place by itself, often important, in the history of civilisation. From the point of view of intellectual life, it was for long under the tutelage, more or less marked, of neighbouring countries, and it was only from the time it became an independent state that it began to show independence in this respect also. The great activity at the centres of learning in Arab Spain down to the end of the 7th/13th century had undoubtedly an influence in Morocco, but it was after the return of the Iberian Peninsula to Christianity, that, owing to the migration of refugees from Spain to Morocco, where there happened to be ruling princes anxious to further Islamic studies, it was able to preserve the last and only centres of study in the Muslim west. In any case, in spite of the relatively large number of scholars which it has produced in various branches of *ʿilm*, this country is far from having inherited in the eyes of the rest of Islam the reputation and intellectual prestige, which Spain enjoyed when it was a Muslim country. However, it may be said that the towns of Morocco have always held in recent centuries a large proportion of men of letters, much attached to their traditional culture. Lastly, it may be noted that this culture, to the end of the 19th century at least, never allowed the slightest place for modern sciences, the study of which, if it has gradually become more or less established in the Muslim East, has hardly interested the West.

The characteristic feature of this culture, which is essentially founded on religion, is that it has remained unchanging. In this country, where tradition strictly regulated all acts of public and private life, it is not surprising that the intellectual ideal has always remained the same. It has already been remarked that, until recent times, the Moroccan *faḳīh*, whether he were magistrate, teacher, or official of the Sharīfian government, possessed the same stock of knowledge as a *faḳīh* of the periods of the Marīnids or Saʿdians. The same instruction had been given him and by the same methods. He received first of all an elementary education in the Ḳurʾānic school [see KUTTĀB], he learned the Ḳurʾān by heart, often completely, and some of the elements of grammar. Next he became a student (*ṭālib*), and the *ṭalab al-ʿilm*, which he studied, was governed by no rules or programmes other than the traditional ones. He first of all studied the "mother-words" (*ummahāt*), compendia made to be memorised readily, on theology and grammar (usually the *Murshid al-muʿīn* of Ibn ʿĀshir and the *Ādjurrumiyya*). It was only then that he entered upon a more thorough study of more advanced texts, usually commentaries (*sharḥ*) or glosses (*ḥāshiya*) on works (*matn*) of established reputation and exclusively Islamic in character. The whole trend of his studies was toward a better knowledge of theology and law.

The result was that in most cases in Morocco men of learning were almost entirely jurists and that they differentiated between purely Islamic sciences (*ʿulūm*) and profane learning (*funūn*), with some contempt for the latter. One understands also why the part played by Morocco in Arabic literature is primarily in the domain of subjects directly connected with the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna, theology, law and *uṣūl*.

The centres of learning have varied with periods and historical circumstances. The early ones seem to have been the points nearest to Spain, Ceuta and Tangier. The foundation of Fās and the building in this city of the great Mosque of the Ḳayrawānīs (Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*]) facilitated the establishment of a centre of culture in the interior. A little later, Marrākush, the capital of the Almoravids and of the Almohads, became by desire of its rulers the centre of attraction for Maghribī scholars and even for a certain number from Spain. But it is from the Marīnid dynasty, who saw in the development of educational centres in Morocco a means to make themselves popular in the country and to acquire prestige in the eyes of the Muslim world, that the rise of Fās as an intellectual centre dates: it was the metropolis of learning in the country from the 8th/14th century. Not only did the Marīnid princes make it the political capital but by the foundation of a series of colleges or *madrasas* around the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn and mosque of New Fās, they were able to attract to this city a host of students from all parts of the country and to give it the renown for learning, which it still jealously claims to-day. In the Marīnid period, *madrasas* were also multiplied outside Fās: Meknès, Salé and Marrākush had their own, which shows that regular education was given in these towns.

In addition to the part played by the *madrasas*, there was the activity of the *zāwiyas*, directly connected with the development of maraboutism and Sharīfism in the country in the period when the Spaniards and Portuguese were trying to establish themselves in Morocco in the 10th/16th century. The *zāwiyas*, religious centres, headquarters of the *djihād*, naturally became centres of teaching. At the time when Fās could only with difficulty keep its character as the principal centre of learning in the country, the *zāwiyas*, in which teaching was carried on, became more and more numerous; e.g. the *zāwiya* of al-Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the Middle Atlas, the *zāwiya* of Tamgrut in the land of Daʿra and the *zāwiya* of Wazzān [*q.vv.*] in the north. The most famous scholars were frequently either heads of brotherhoods or *shorfā*, who taught in the motherhouse of their order.

We do not intend here to give a detailed sketch of the Arabic literature of Morocco, but will be content with a few general indications and names distinguishing where possible, between Islamic and profane sciences.

It was not till the Muslim West adopted the Mālikī rite that Morocco began to produce work in the domain of *ʿilm* in close accord, as already mentioned, with the school of Spain. In this period of intellectual dependence, the relations between the two countries were continued and the Maghribī students down to the 7th/13th century considered a sojourn in Cordova, Murcia or Valencia necessary to finish their course. The East did not yet seem to exert the attraction that it did later. At this period, besides, the islamisation and arabicisation of the Berber masses was still too recent. Only a few names may be mentioned for this early period, Darrās b. Ismāʿīl, of whom much that is recorded is legendary; the famous reformer Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*], creator of the Almohad movement and author of several *risālas* or *ʿaḳīdas* on his teaching; the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (476-544/1083-1149 [*q.v.*]), author of numerous works on Muslim learning, of which the most famous are the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* and the *Mashāriḳ al-anwār* with a collection of biographies of learned Mālikīs, entitled *al-Madārik*.

During the modern period, on the other hand, the number of learned Moroccans becomes more and more considerable. The best known are for *ḳirāʾāt*: Ibn Barrī (8th/14th century); Ibn Fakhkhār 9th/15th century); the scholar of Meknès Ibn Ghāzī (d. 919/1513); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḳāḍī (d. 1082/1671); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Idrīs Mandjra (d. 1179/1765-6); Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Fāsī (d. 1214/1809 [*q.v.*]): for *ḥadīth*; Yaḥyā al-Sarrādj (d. 808/1405-6); Sukkayn al-ʿAṣimī (d. 956/1549); Riḍwān al-Djinwī (d. 991/1591); Muḥammad b. Ḳasim al-Ḳaṣṣār (d. 1012/1603-4); Idrīs al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 1228/1813); for *fiḳh*: Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ṣughayyir, commentator of the *Mudawwana*; al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*] and Aḥmad Zarrūḳ (9th/15th century) commentators of the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī; al-Wansharīsī (d. 955/1548); al-Mandjūr (d. 995/1587 [*q.v.*]); Ibn ʿĀshir (d. 1040/1630-1); Mayyāra (d. 1072/1661-2); for philology: al-Makkūdī (d. 807/1404-5); Ibn Zakrī (d. 899/1494 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). Their works have for the most part been recorded and will be found detailed either in Brockelmann or in Bencheneb's work on the individuals mentioned in the *Idjāza* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī. Only a small number have found a place in eastern libraries; but on the other hand, they all form the foundations of the collections of manuscripts formed and preserved in the imperial palaces and mosques of Morocco.

Some Moroccan scholars have written works on *adab* or collections of poems, in addition to books of a strictly Muslim character. None of them can

claim any great originality and purely literary *dīwāns* are rare. Poetry, as a rule—when it is not didactic (*urdjūza*)— is religious or mystic. At the courts, there were always a few literary men maintained by the princes, who were the panegyrists, often very extravagantly, of their patrons.

It is at the courts also, especially from the 8th/14th century, that we find the few historians who have given us original chronicles or compilations. Their works, planned on a singularly curious conception of history, have nevertheless the merit of giving us the only detailed information about the political history of the country in the period of the author or immediately preceding it. Those which date from the Middle Ages are, however, much the best. The kind of work not only did not improve later, but became simply dry chronicles in which events are related in a brief and colourless fashion.

The early historians of Morocco—if we except the Berber genealogists about whom we do not know very much—are contemporaries of the Almoravid dynasty. A little later, the Almohads find a historian in the person of a companion of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, al-Baydhaḳ [*q.v.*] al-Ṣanhādjī, the interest of whose memoirs contrasts strikingly with many later chroniclers. Alongside of the work of al-Baydhaḳ may be placed the chronicles of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān and of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī [*q.vv.*] as of high value. But it was in the Marīnid period that the historian found most favour in Morocco. Leaving out Ibn Khaldūn, whom Morocco is not the only one to claim, we may mention Ibn ʿIdhārī [*q.v.*], a scholar of Marrākush, to whom we owe a history of North Africa and Spain, the *Bayān al-mughrib*; that of Ibn Abī Zarʿ [*q.v.*], author of a history of Fās and the Moroccan dynasties, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*; Ibn Marzūḳ [*q.v.*], author of the *Musnad*, a monograph on the sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī; Ibn al-Aḥmar [*q.v.*] of the family of the kings of Granada, author of the *Rawḍat al-nisrīn*. Under the Saʿdians, the principal historians were al-Fishtālī and al-Ifrānī [*q.vv.*], author of the *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*; finally, under the ʿAlawids, al-Zayyānī and Akansūs [*q.vv.*].

Geography is represented in modern Moroccan literature only in the form of *riḥlas* [*q.v.*] or accounts of the travels of pilgrims, in which the description of the country passed through only occupies an insignificant place. Nevertheless, the geographer al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] and the great traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] were of Moroccan origin.

The biographical literature of Morocco is considerable. The collections of *manāḳib* [*q.v.*] of saints, monographs dealing with families of *shorfā* or religious brotherhoods are abundant, especially in the modern period. There are also collections by town or century, some of which are of a certain interest, even from the point of view of history. All these biographies have been surveyed in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*. The most notable biographers down to the middle of the 19th century are Ibn ʿAskar, author of the *Dawḥat al-nāshir*; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, author of the *Durrat al-ḥidjāl* and the *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās*; the historian al-Ifrānī, author of the *Ṣafwāt man intashar*; and al-Ḳādirī, author of the *Nashr al-mathānī* and the *Iltiḳāt al-durar*.

As to medicine and natural science, Morocco down to the 8th/14th century was closely dependent on Spain. The physicians of the Almoravid and Almohad princes were from Spain, like Ibn Bādja (Avenpace), Ibn Ṭufayl and the celebrated Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar). In the modern period, we find at the courts of the sultans several physicians of Moroccan origin who have left works. The chief were, in the Saʿdian period: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāsim al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī, in the ʿAlawid period: Ibn Shuḳrūn, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Adarrāḳ, Aḥmad al-Daraʿī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAzzūz al-Marrākushī, Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥādjdj and ʿAbd al-Salām al-ʿAlamī. Finally, two famous Moroccans studied the exact sciences in the 7th/13th century: Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar al-Marrākushī, author of a treatise on astronomical instruments, part of which has been translated by Sédillot, and Aḥmad Ibn al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*], to whom we owe several works on arithmetic, geometry, algebra, astronomy, astrology and alchemy.

At the end of the 19th century, the reign of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan was marked by a kind of renaissance in Muslim studies in Morocco, particularly characterised by the need which writers felt of getting their works printed to make them more widely known. The lithographic presses of Fās acquired a certain importance at this time and began to publish texts which had hitherto circulated only in manuscript. A little later, there appeared at Fās the three volumes of the *Salwat al-anfās* of Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī [*q.v.*], an excellent biographical dictionary of the celebrities of the northern capital. At the same time, there was published in Cairo the great Moroccan history of Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salawī [*q.v.*] entitled *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

MAGHRIBĪ, Aḥmad Khattū, famous mediaeval Gudjarātī saint. Born *ca.* 737/1336 in Dihlī

and educated there, he migrated to Khattū, near Nāgawr, in Rādjasthān at the instance of his spiritual director, the Maghribī master, Bābā Isḥāḳ. In 776/1375, Bābā Isḥāḳ died, and Aḥmad set out on an extended pilgrimage, visiting Arabia, Iran and ʿIrāḳ before returning to Dihlī, where he survived the wrath of Tīmūr in 800/1398 (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1864-9, i, 270-1; Eng. tr. G. Ranking, i, 357-8). He subsequently proceeded to Sarkhēdj, near Aḥmadābād, and there attained enduring fame. According to Mughal historians (Niẓām ad-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., ii, 97; ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*, suppl., Baroda 1930, 78-9), Sultan Aḥmad Shāh I founded the city of Aḥmadābād in 813/1411 on the advice, and with the blessing, of Aḥmad Khattū.

In addition to being well versed in traditional Islamic sciences and theoretical Ṣūfism, Aḥmad was a poet whose Persian verses are cited in the same extant *malfūẓāt* which provide the primary source material for his biography, viz., the *Tuḥfat al-madjālis* by Maḥmūd Irdjī and another *malfūẓ* by Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim. At his death on 10 Shawwāl 849/9 January 1446, the saint was buried in a towering marble mausoleum which, with adjacent structures built by later Gudjarāt sultans, elicited praise from the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr on a visit to Sarkhēdj in 1027/1618 (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1864, 212).

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AL-MAGHRIBĪ, Banū, a family of Persian origin who performed in the course of two succeeding centuries (the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries) the influential functions of *wazīr*, *kātib* or intendant (*mudabbir*) at several princely courts throughout the Middle East, in Baghdād, Aleppo, Cairo, Mawṣil, and Mayyāfāriḳīn.

In the collections of *akhbār* concerning the vicissitudes of this family, the respective representatives of four succeeding generations are mentioned in particular. The first three of these are described in the *akhbār* concerning the family and also in this article, as seen from the point of view of the representative of the youngest generation, the *wazīr* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. The life of the latter is otherwise better known owing to the historical sources available. Sāmī al-Dahhān, the editor of the *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa* (Damascus 1948) written by the *wazīr* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, has given in his Preface an account of events which affected the family's rather adventurous history, which may be supplemented by the information given by Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, the historian of Aleppo (see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, and *Bibl.*). The four members of the Banu 'l-Maghribī family mentioned above will here be discussed from the point of view of the youngest, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim:

(1) His great-grandfather, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad.
(2) His grandfather, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.
(3) His father, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.
(4) Finally, he himself, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.

1. The great-grandfather, Abu 'l-Ḥasan filled a post in the so-called *Dīwān al-Maghrib*, an administrative division specially established for the collecting of the *kharādj* or landtax of provinces in the regions west of Baghdād. See for this aspect of the ʿAbbāsid administration, D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 591. In spite of its Persian descent, the family acquired the name Banu 'l-Maghribī from its responsibility for the proper functioning of the *Dīwān al-Maghrib*.

2. The grandfather, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, discharged *inter alia* the function of *mudabbir* at Baghdād in the service of Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt, a high dignitary at the ʿAbbāsid court (cf. Sourdel, *op. cit.*, 484-5). At Baghdād, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī became related to a certain Abu ʿAlī Hārūn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Awāridjī by having married his sister. Abū ʿAlī Hārūn is known to us as the subject of two eulogies composed by al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], see R. Blachère, *Abou 't-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî, un poète arabe*, Paris 1935, 90-2, and as the author of a pamphlet against the famous Baghdādī mystic al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], see L. Massignon, *La passion de Ḥusayn ibn Manṣûr Ḥallâj*, Paris 1975, i, 533-4. As a *kātib*, Abū ʿAlī Hārūn was employed in an administrative department under supervision of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*].

In consequence of the overthrow of the latter in 330/942, Abū ʿAlī and also his brother-in-law al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī had to flee from ʿIrāḳ in order to find employment elsewhere. After some time, the grandfather, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, was able to find a new job in the service of the Ikhshīdids [*q.v.*] of Egypt and Syria. The family was to stay in Egypt for some years till there was a change in the Egyptian government; in the words of Ibn al-ʿAdīm (*Bughya*, ms. fol. 16b), "Until the power of the one who made himself master of Egypt was renewed"—probably thereby referring to the decease of the Ikhshīdid prince Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*] in 334/946, and his being succeeded by his two sons, while real power of government was entrusted to his Nubian slave Kāfūr [*q.v.*]. Thus it was probably under the influence of this governmental change that the Banu 'l-Maghribī departed from Egypt in order to settle in Syria. There, they are found holding office at the Ḥamdānid [*q.v.*] court in Aleppo. For most of the rest of his life, the grandfather al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was to remain there as a *kātib*, except that his stay at Aleppo was, at the end of his life, to be interrupted by a sojourn in Byzantine territory as a guarantee or hostage for the Byzantines, who had been requested to release a number of Muslim prisoners of war. Also comprised in this act of redemption (*fidāʾ*) was the deliverance of a second security, a very valuable piece of armour studded with jewels, a *badana* of Sayf al-Dawla himself. This affair of the *fidāʾ* occurred in 354/965 and is an indication of the importance attached to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī as a political personality.

When the last remnants of the ransom had been handed over, the Byzantine authorities gave permission for him to return to his home country. However, soon after his arrival in Aleppo—or, according to some other sources, even before his return—al-Ḥusayn died. In his palmy days, he had been a subject of praise, in the poetry of Abū Naṣr b. Nubāta al-Saʿdī (327-405/939-1015, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 504-5).

3. The father Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn succeeded al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī in his function as a *kātib* in the service of Sayf al-Dawla and his son

Saʿd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Maʿālī Sharīf (reigned 356-81/967-91). Like his father, Abu 'l-Ḥasan also found someone who was prepared to eulogise him, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nāmī, who was al-Mutanabbī's successor at the Ḥamdānid court in Aleppo as soon as the latter had departed to try his luck in Egypt. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nāmī is mentioned in this connection by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya* fols. 16b, 126b (see on this poet, Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 506-4)

It was only after a period of many years in the Ḥamdānids' employment that the position of Abu 'l-Ḥasan at Aleppo was to change rather abruptly; when in 380/989-90, a rebellious general, the *amīr* Abu 'l-Fawāris Bakdjūr al-Ḥādjibī, tried to overthrow the reigning dynasty, Abu 'l-Ḥasan defected to the camp of the rebels. Hence on the failure of this rebellion, the *kātib* had to flee to Egypt, where he soon acquired new important functions in the Fāṭimid state under the caliph al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh [*q.v.*]. For information about these developments in the careers of the Banu 'l-Maghribī, see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i, 170, 178, and al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 157.

After a short while, Abu 'l-Ḥasan re-appeared in northern Syria, this time as intendant of the Fāṭimid army (*mudabbir al-djaysh*), and with much more power than at the preceding time of the unsuccessful rebellion of Bakdjūr. It was his avowed intention to conquer Aleppo on behalf of his Fāṭimid overlord from the Ḥamdānid Saʿīd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Faḍā'il (381-92/991-1002). However, although Aleppo was to suffer a prolonged Fātimid siege, the Hamdānid capital stood its ground successfully, with support from the north by the Byzantines and helped by corruption amongst the attackers; even the *mudabbir al-djaysh* himself is reported to have accepted bribes in exchange for his secretly given advice to the Fāṭimid general about a final retreat.

It is perhaps in this period of Abu 'l-Ḥasan's life that the Syrian poet Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*] addressed to him a *ḳaṣīda*, part of which has survived till our time. In this fragment (*Shurūḥ Saḳt al-zand*, Cairo 1947, iii, 1087-96, rhyme *ḥimyaru*) the poet explicitly mentions the Persian descent of his *mamdūḥ*, together with other praiseworthy qualities, e.g. his description of Abu 'l-Ḥasan as one who, instead of silver, only wishes to grant gold to his favourites—at the same time scattering pearls of material origin, accompanying his much more excellent pearls of spiritual wisdom. Notwithstanding the wisdom ascribed to him, Abu 'l-Ḥasan failed to realise his political aims in Syria, and was recalled to Egypt. There he appears to have escaped the immediate effect of the Fāṭimid caliph's wrath, possibly as a consequence of the sudden death of al-ʿAzīz and the accession to the throne of his successor al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*], in 386/996.

Once more in Egypt, Abu 'l-Ḥasan again succeeded in securing for himself a position of some importance, while his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Maghribī (see 4. below) came to be entrusted with a position of influence in the *Dīwān al-Sawād*. Soon, however, the fortunes of the Banu 'l-Maghribī were to change again, this time because of their increasing involvement in a number of intrigues and political struggles with an important personality at al-Ḥākim's court, who held the high position of *wazīr al-sayf wa 'l-ḳalam* (Minister of the Sword and Pen), the Christian Manṣūr b. ʿAbdūn. Although initially the Banu 'l-Maghribī could boast of some successes in their intrigues, aimed in particular at the Fāṭimid Christian functionaries, Manṣūr b. ʿAbdūn finally got the upper hand. He persuaded the capricious caliph to order the execution en bloc of the members of the Banu 'l-Maghribī, and accordingly, almost all of them died in 400/1009-10, with the sole exception of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, the representative of the fourth generation of this family (for details about the intrigues, see Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ*, 61-2).

4. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, "al-*wazīr* al-Maghribī", also called by another surname "al-Kāmil Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn", was born in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 370/ May 981 at Aleppo, according to Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, fol. 14a-b, whose information should be preferred to al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 158, where instead of Aleppo, Egypt is mentioned as his original home. Having escaped from the massacre in Egypt, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim at first sought refuge with the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ [see DJARRĀḤIDS], leaders of a clan of Bedouins who exercised some political influence in Palestine more or less independent of al-Ḥākim's authority. At his request, the chief of the clan, Ḥassān b. al-Mufarridj b. Daghfal, granted him protection or *idjāra* [*q.v.*], upon which the grateful fugitive composed and recited a fairly long *ḳaṣīda*, which can be found in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl*, 62-3.

Once in Palestine, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim began inflaming the Bedouins against the Fāṭimid caliph, against whom he evidently felt an unquenchable thirst for revenge. At first, his policy proved successful, for even a quite important town like Ramla, which was under Egyptian jurisdiction, had to undergo a siege and subsequent invasion, looting and massacre—all this, as it appears, at the instigation and advice of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. Not yet satisfied, he also planned and executed the erection of a counter-imamate to that of the Fāṭimids. A Meccan *sharīf*, al-Ḥasan b. Djaʿfar, who could from his ʿAlid pedigree claim a descent at least as authentic as that of the Fāṭimid *imām*, claimed for himself, as *amīr al-mu'minīn*, the honorific title al-Rāshid bi'llāh, all this accompanied by the approval and acclamations of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim and his Djarrāḥid protectors. This rebellion was financed by gold and silver taken from the Kaʿba, melted down, and coined into *dīnār*s and *dirhams*, known as "Kaʿbiyya" ones. However well-planned, the action of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim failed to achieve any result; the counter-caliphate proved unstable on account of the readiness of its Bedouin supporters to accept extensive bribes from al-Ḥākim. Just in time, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was able to leave his former allies and to escape to ʿIrāḳ and ʿAbbāsid jurisdiction.

In connection with Abu 'l-Ḳāsim's stay in ʿIrāḳ, we find in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, fol. 15b, a rather curious report about the suspicion fastened on him by reason of his name "al-Maghribī". The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳādir bi'llāh wrongly assumed from this a pro-Fāṭimid inclination, the Egyptians being indicated in the east by the term *Maghāriba*. From Wāsiṭ, where Abu 'l-Ḳāsim had to remain as long as this suspicion circulated, he sent to al-Ḳādir a *risāla*, in which the original meaning of the name "al-Maghribī" was duly explained, as derived from the *Dīwān al-Maghrib*, a Baghdād governmental department. Thus having purged his name and political intentions, he was allowed to reside at Baghdād, and was able to begin a completely new career of *wazīr* or *kātib* at different princely courts in the Muslim East.

After his stay in Baghdād, he is reported to have held several offices, at first in Mawṣil under the ʿUḳaylid prince Ḳirwāsh b. al-Muḳallad, then at Mayyāfāriḳīn under the Marwānid prince Naṣr al-Dawla b. Aḥmad. Thereafter, having returned via

Mawṣil, he held for a short while the office of *wazīr* in Baghdād in the caliph's service. But because of his involvement in pro-ʿAlid riots in Kūfa, he incurred al-Ḳādir's displeasure, and had to retrace his steps, again seeking refuge at the court of his former protector the Marwānid Naṣr al-Dawla.

Finally, at Mayyāfāriḳīn, he died in 418/1027, but before his death his ever-scheming mind had already planned that his mortal remains should be carried to Mashhad ʿAlī near Kūfa, without unduly attracting the attention of his opponents, for burial near the holy shrine. To this end, he is reported to have sent letters containing the request that the body of a beloved female slave of his might pass in her coffin through the intervening territories; only after the funeral were the real nature of the coffin's contents known.

From among the *wazīr*'s works, the following may be mentioned here:

(1) A compilation (known only in manuscript) of Ibn al-Sikkīt's work, *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ*.

(2) *al-Īnās bi-ʿilm al-ansāb* (also in ms.), containing many names for Arab tribes, which by their mutual resemblance or their unusual construction might easily cause misunderstanding or confusion.

(3) *Adab al-khawāṣṣ fi 'l-mukhtār min balāghat ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab wa-akhbārihā wa-ansābihā wa-ayyāmihā* (also in ms.), partial ed. by Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyadh 1980, with 1 vol. so far published. For further information concerning manuscripts and contents, see Brockelmann, G, I, 117, 353, S I, 600 and Sāmī al-Dahhān's Preface in *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa*, 25-7.

(4) *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa*, ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān, Damascus 1948, is a short manual for an unnamed ruler, giving him advice how to attain the ideal form of government. In doing this he should at first understand how to organise his own way of living; and secondly how to behave towards the higher classes of society in his empire, and which qualifications are to be required in order for his subjects to perform certain functions in the ruler's service, for example the ones of chancellor (*kātib*), chamberlain (*ḥādjib* [*q.v.*]), tax-collector, commander-in-chief, police-chief, etc. Thirdly, the ruler should know how to restrain the masses, in view of their inclination to revolt. In conclusion, the author quotes an injunction given by Abū Bakr to Yazid b. Abī Sufyān, when the latter was sent with an army to Syria (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 13 H., where a variant text is given). Although the author of the *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa* never discloses the identity of the prince to whom the work was dedicated, it may be surmised that the Marwānid ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Naṣr al-Dawla Aḥmad, who on several occasions had shown himself such a loyal protector of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, is meant.

Contemporary judgements upon the *wāzir* are known to us from two sources. A negative appreciation is found in the work of ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Ṭālib Dawkhala "Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ" who, for a long time, until shortly before 400/1010, had been a tutor employed for the education of the sons of the Banu 'l-Maghribī. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim had been one of his pupils, but after the massacre of the family, ʿAlī b. Manṣūr detached himself from it and composed a *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] full of abuse and strong criticism against Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. In this poem, he accuses the *wāzir* of *inter alia* having been the indirect instigator of his family's ruination through his own intrigues (see for details, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 424-7).

Later on, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī appears to have criticised this *hidjāʾ* poem. At any rate, ʿAlī b. Manṣūr felt himself obliged to remove the unfavourable impression made, and this among other things [see ABU 'L-ʿALĀʾ AL-MAʿARRĪ] was the aim of a letter which he addressed to al-Maʿarrī. This letter and al-Maʿarrī's reaction to it are now available in the annotated edition of ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Risālat al-Ghufrān wa-maʿahā Risālat Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ miftāḥ fahmihā* (Cairo 1963 and later editions). Al-Maʿarrī's answer to Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ's criticism of the *wazīr* is found in the *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, and is characterised by an inclination to gloss over any possible false steps made by the *wazīr*. In particular, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim's intrigues in Egypt are ascribed to his youthful ambition and lack of experience, and their terrible result as being the ultimate effect of crushing Fate (*R. al-Ghufrān*, 534).

Finally, a dirge (*marthiya*) composed by the poet on the occasion of the *wazīr*'s death has survived, having been included in the poet's second collection the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* (ed. ʿAzīz Zand, Cairo 1891-5, ii, 434; ed. Bombay 1303/1885-6, 346). In one verse of this poem, the poet seems to acknowledge that a certain measure of criticism against the *wazīr*'s way of life could be justified, cf. l. 7: "If the two angels who accompanied you did write down some small sin, how many an excellent characteristic contrasting this can be found, always wiping it out!" Elsewhere in the same poem, al-Maʿarrī makes mention of the *wazīr*'s precious library which survived its owner. Two centuries later, we find Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285 [*q.v.*]) reports its continued existence in his topographical work *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shaʾm wa 'l-Djazīra* (apud *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa*, 109), with the following words: "In Mayyāfāriḳīn there was extant the library which up till the present time is known as "al-Maghribī's Library".

Bibliography: Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ms. Topkapu Saray cilt 4, fols. 14a-26b and 124a-126b, where short biographies are given of, in this order, *al-wazīr* al-Maghribī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and his grandfather of the same name, Ābu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Further information in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, Damascus 1951, i, index; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashk*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, 61-4; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla 'l-wizāra*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ, in *BIFAO*, xxv (1925), 65-6; Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār fī Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira wa 'l-Nīl*, Būlāḳ 1270/1854, ii, 157-8, where in addition some information is given about a few subsequent descendents of the Banu 'l-Maghribī; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 60-4; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 185 = ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ii, 172-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub annis* 411, 414-16 and 418 A.H.; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 687, 695, 699, 700, 823-4, 825.

(P. SMOOR)

MAGIC. [See SIḤR].

MAGNESIA. [See MAGHNISA].

MĀH AL-BAṢRA, "the Media of Basra", the district of Nihāwand [*q.v.*], the taxes of which contributed to the support of the military population at al-Baṣra after the Muslim conquest of al-Djabal. Although Sayf ascribes this arrangement to the time of ʿUmar I (13-23/634-44), according to al-Balādhurī, al-Dīnawar and Nihāwand were occupied by Baṣran and Kūfan forces respectively after the battle of Nihāwand in 21/642. By the caliphate of Muʿāwiya (41-60/661-80), the Muslim population at al-Kūfa had increased and required an increase

in revenues for their support, so al-Dīnawar was reassigned to al-Kūfa and Nihāwand to al-Baṣra. The people of al-Kūfa received the difference between the revenues of these places as an increase in income. Thereafter, Nihāwand was called Māh al-Baṣra and al-Dīnawar Māh al-Kūfa. Nihāwand was also called Māh Dīnār because a local Persian called Dīnār arranged the terms of peace for it with Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān after the battle of Nihāwand.

Māh al-Baṣra was one of the districts (*kuwar*) of al-Djabal in Muslim administration, and is attested as a mint designation on post-reform *dirhams* from 79/698 to 83/702. Arabs had settled in this district by the 2nd/8th century and ʿĪsā and Maʿkil, the sons of Idrīs b. ʿĪsā al-ʿIdjlī, who owned the father of Abū Muslim, lived in Māh al-Baṣra. In the 3rd/9th century the taxes of Māh al-Baṣra were reckoned at a maximum of 4,800,000 *dirhams*. In 235/849-50 Māh al-Baṣra was assigned as *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* by al-Mutawakkil to his son al-Muntaṣir along with many other places. In 314/926, al-Muḳtadir assigned the taxes of Māh al-Baṣra and several other places to Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj for his provisions and to finance his campaign against the Ḳarāmita. In 324/936 Ṭāhir al-Djīlī tried to establish himself in Māh al-Baṣra, but was defeated and killed there by the Būyid *amīr* ʿImād al-Dawla. Māh al-Baṣra is attested as a mint designation for both *dirhams* and *dīnārs* from 262/876 until 372/982-3. In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries Māh al-Baṣra is described as a fertile, lush, well-watered district producing dhurra, saffron, and fruit, with the best black clay for seal impressions, buildings of clay and two mosques.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, 305-6; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Cairo 1960, 337; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 209-10, 259-60, tr. Massé, 253-4, 312-14; Ibn Rustah, 106, tr. Wiet, 118; Ḳudāma, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, 244; Ṭabarī, i, 2632-34, 2647, 2672; Iṣṭakhrī, Leiden 1927, 199; Yāḳūt, iv, 405-6; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 49, viii, 162, 316.

(M. MORONY)

MĀH AL-KŪFA [see DĪNAWAR].

MAHĀBĀD, a town and district (*shahrastān*) in the modern Iranian province (*ustān*) of West Ādharbaydjān, situated in lat. 36° 45′ N. and long. 45° 43′ E. and lying to the south of Lake Urmia or Riḍāʾiyya. The town comes within the Mukrī region of Iranian Kurdistān, and acquired its present name in the time of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī (1925-41). Previously, it was known as Sāwadj or Sāwdj-Bulāḳ; accordingly, for the earlier history of the town, see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ. The present article deals with the post-1945 history of the town.

With a population of 16,000 in 1945, 20,332 in 1956 and 44,000 in 1976, increasing to over 50,000 by 1980, the town of Mahābād has attained importance from its geographical position on a fast-moving stream, but above all from its role in recent Kurdish history as an administrative, military and cultural centre. It boasts a purer Kurdish culture and an intenser Kurdish nationalist feeling than the larger centres of Riḍāʾiyya to the north and Sanandadj or Sinna [*q.vv.*] to the south, both of which have significant non-Kurdish minorities. Nearly all Mahābādis are Sunnī Muslim Kurds. Many speak Fārsī and Ādharī Turkish as well as the dominant Kurdish dialect which, along with that of Sulāymanī Kurdish in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistan, sets a literary standard for the language [see KURDS, Language].

In 1946 Mahābād became the capital of a short-lived autonomous Kurdish Republic under the leadership of Ḳāḍī Muḥammad and the armed protection of an ʿIrāḳī Kurd, Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzānī. This was made possible by Mahābād's position between the wartime British and Soviet occupation zones and beyond the reach of the Iranian army. In 1942 a small group of Mahābādīs formed a secret nationalist party, the *Kōmala* (Kurdish, "party" or "group", which maintained contact with Kurds in ʿIrāḳ and Turkey. Two years later, Mahābād's leading citizen and Islamic judge, Ḳāḍī Muḥammad, joined and thereafter dominated the *Kōmala*, which in 1945 became the Democratic Party of Kurdistān (*Ḥizb-i Dimoḳrāṭ-i Kurdistān*).

Initially, the Soviet Union supported the creation of a Kurdish entity within the Soviet-occupied Ādharbāydjān Republic headed by Djaʿfar Pīshavārī in Tabrīz. Kurdish leaders, however, objected, and finally obtained Soviet acquiescence in the proclamation of a separate Kurdish Republic at Mahābād on 22 January 1946. The Kurdish administration under Ḳāḍī Muḥammad was composed of urban and relatively modernised Kurds of Mahābād town. A small army of about 1,200 was recruited in the immediate area, but the main force of the Republic was provided by some 12,000 tribesmen under their traditional leaders, the most formidable of whom was Mullā Muṣṭafā at the head of 1,200 armed Barzānīs from Iraq.

Although the new Republic included all the Kurdish areas bordering the Turkish and ʿIrāḳī frontiers south of the USSR to the fringes of Saḳiz and Baneh, the Iranian province of "Kurdistān" further south, with Sanandadj as its capital, was still occupied by Iranian forces. An offensive was planned to take Sanandadj in June, but was abandoned on Soviet advice. By that time, the Kurdish experiment had become enmeshed in competing regional and national interests typified by Soviet vacillation between support for Ādharbaydjān and Kurdish autonomies on the one hand and a desire to play a role in the central government in Tehran on the other.

Under international pressures, Soviet troops withdrew from Iranian Ādharbaydjān in May. Thereafter, negotiations between Tehran and Tabrīz failed to produce an acceptable formula for regional autonomy. Iranian forces advanced and entered Tabrīz on 11 December. A few days after, Ḳāḍī Muḥammad and his associates surrendered Mahābād. After trial by a military court, the *Ḳāḍī*, his brother and his cousin were hanged in the main square of Mahābād on 31 March 1947. Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzānī and more than 500 of his followers remained in the Kurdish mountains until June, and then fought their way north to sanctuary in the USSR. There they remained for 11 years until the coup of 1958 in ʿIrāḳ led by ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] led to an amnesty and their return to ʿIrāḳ.

After 1947, the central government regarded the area as potentially subversive and maintained a large military contingent in Mahābād until the early 1970s. Peace in the Kurdish areas was maintained through a mixture of military force and subsidies to selected tribal leaders. The policy of protecting the position of tribal leaders delayed the introduction of land reform, which began in other parts of Iran in 1963, until 1970. When land reform did arrive, it reduced the economic power of the tribal leadership, and consequently their political influence. No active agricultural extension programme existed in the Kurdish areas until the middle 1970s, and economic conditions in Mahābād seem to have declined.

Beginning in 1970, Tehran began to put more emphasis on economic development in the Kurdish

areas. Mahābād's streets were paved, city water and lighting improved, an irrigation project began near the city and a modern road connecting Mahābād with Riḍā'iyya and Sanandadj was completed.

In 1974 a truce between Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzānī and the ʿIrāḳī government ended in renewed fighting. This time the Kurds received strong backing from Iran, and Mahābād became the unofficial rest area behind the front. Its streets were filled with Barzānī's Pēsh Merga fighters driving captured ʿIrāḳī vehicles, and the bazaar resounded to stories of free-spending Kurdish fighters. As the fighting intensified, Kurdish non-combatants from ʿIrāḳ increasingly sought refuge in camps in the Mahābād area.

The 1975 Algiers Agreement put a sudden end to the Kurdish war, and over 100,000 new refugees fled to join the 30-40,000 already in Iran (about 28,000 of these were in the area around Mahābād). Mullā Muṣṭafā, his family and many of his tribesmen settled near Mahābād. By the end of 1975, most of the refugees had returned to ʿIrāḳ and the remainder (about 30,000) had been forced to leave the Kurdish areas of Iran and settle elsewhere in the country. Barzānī was moved to Tehran, and eventually went to the United States where he died in 1979.

Calm returned to Mahābād until the beginning of the Iranian revolution in 1978. Initially, the city united to seek the ousting of the Shah. This unity, however, was quickly followed by strife between Kurds demanding greater autonomy and revolutionary guards supporting Khomeini (Khumaynī). The most bitter fighting occurred in Sanandadj, but Mahābād again became the seat of the nationalist Kurdish movement. The city was captured by government forces in 1979, but was returned to Kurdish control as part of a negotiated truce. The area remained chaotic with various groups manoeuvring for power, including the sons of Mullā Muṣṭafā, Idrīs and Masʿūd, and the 1980 Iran-ʿIrāḳ war added to the complexities as some Iranian troops were moved out to join the fighting in the south.

(W. Eagleton and R. Neumann)

MAHĀBAT KHĀN, military leader in Mughal India. Zamāna Beg (later known as Mahābat Khān) was the son of Ghayyūr Beg Kābulī, a Riḍawī Sayyid, who migrated from Shīrāz to Kābul during the reign of Akbar and settled there. Zamāna Beg entered the service of Akbar's son Salīm as an *aḥadī* (cavalry trooper) and rose to the rank of 500. After Djahāngīr's accession (October 1605) he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 and given the title of Mahābat Khān, becoming a trusted noble of that Emperor. He led a rather unsuccessful campaign against Mewār (1608), but rose nevertheless to the rank of 4,000/3,000 by 1610. In 1615 he was awarded *dū aspa sih aspa* rank and was posted to the Deccan. Apparently unable to get on with Shāh Djahān, he was transferred and made governor of Kābul. When Shāh Djahān rebelled in 1622, Mahābat Khān was called upon by Djahāngīr and the Empress Nūr Djahān to command the imperial troops. He was awarded the highest possible rank for a noble, viz. 7,000/6,000. He pursued Shāh Djahān to the Deccan, with a force under the titular command of Prince Parwīz and then marched across the empire to eastern India in order to expel Shāh Djahān from that region. He then returned with Parwīz to the Deccan. Although his enhanced power and prestige aroused much jealousy at the court, he was now appointed to Bengal. Provoked by certain demands for accounts and by the humiliation of his son-in-law, he suddenly carried out a coup (March 1626), capturing the person of Empero Djahāngīr, who now appointed him *wakīl*. His power, however, came to an end within three months. He fled and was on the run when Djahāngīr died (1627).

Mahābat Khān in the meantime made his peace with Shāh Djahān, who after his accession (January 1628) appointed Mahābat Khān governor of Adjmēr and then in the same year sent him to the Deccan as viceroy. In 1629 he was appointed governor of Dihlī, and in 1632 again viceroy of the Deccan. Mahābat Khān won a signal success when he captured Dawlatābād in 1633, but lost much prestige when he failed before Parenda next year, being censured and recalled. He died in 1634 and was buried in Dihlī at the Ḳadamgāh of Shāh-i Mardān.

Mahābat Khān considered himself an opponent of both the dominant Īrānī and Tūrānī factions in the Mughāl nobility; his troops consisted in a large part of Rādjputs. Though lacking a religious education, he was said to be skilled in astronomy and astrology, and to have embraced Shīʿism in his old age. His eldest son Amān Allāh Ḥusaynī (Khān Zamān) was also an important commander; and another son, Lahrāsp, rose to occupy high office under both Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb, enjoying the title of Mahābat Khān II.

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2. Modern work: Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad 1962, 364-87.

(M. Athar Ali)

MAḤALL (A., lit. "place of alighting, settling, abode"), in the context of Islamic India, widely used in the sense of "palace pavilion" or "hall", and more particularly of private apartments in the palace, the *maḥall-sarā*—hence also a queen or consort. It seems not to have achieved the same currency in Iran. Here it appears as equivalent to Hindī *mandir*, *mandar* or *mandal*, sometimes replacing these in areas under strong Muslim influence such as Rādjasthān. Much palace terminology is Persian, though specialised Hindī terms like *tibāra* for a hall with three adjacent bays or doors, and *bāradarī* for one with twelve (3 each side) are applied to Muslim buildings, the latter figuratively as "summer house". Consideration of their architectural development entails a review of the palace layout in which they were set.

i. Dihlī Sultanate. Though none of the Mamlūk palaces have survived, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] has left a description of the Kushk-i Laʿl in Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā [see DIHLĪ] as used by Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī (689-95/1290-6), comprising two great audience courtyards (*mashwar*) in sequence, with a closed building at the rear. In the first was an immense vestibule (*dihlīz*), and both were overlooked by a domed pavilion (*ḳubba*) near the gate, where the sultan sat to watch games (*Riḥla*, iii, 271). He writes of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's new palace (seen *ca.* 1333-41), the Dār Sarā at Djahān-panāh, in similar terms, noting the platforms (or cells? *dakākīn*) built on either side of the *dihlīz* for the guard, a platform in the second court for the masters of ceremonies, and room for the people to sit, and beyond the third gate a vast hall of private audience, the Hazār

Ustūn, with painted timber colums supporting a finely-carved roof. Each gate had provision for musicians to signal the arrival of dignitaries, and the third was controlled by clerks who registered entry (*ibid.*, iii, 217-21). His use of *mas̲h̲war* for both courts and the hall is ambiguous, but he later shows that the audience was covered by a great tent (*bārga* for P. *bārgāh*) at festivals; at the Kus̲h̲k-i Laʿl both courts could be covered by canopies (*ṣayawān*) (*ibid.*, iii, 232, 235, 273). These successively more private areas, with formal guard posts in the first court, were to be essential features of Mug̲h̲al palaces two centuries later, as were raised pavilions and tentage. Of G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Tug̲h̲luḳ I's palace at Tug̲h̲luḳābād we learn that its tiles (*ḳirmīd*) were gilded so as to shine in the sun (*ibid.*, iii, 214). Reference to the hall flanking his tomb shows that masonry could be extensive, with sculpted *čhad̲j̲d̲j̲ā* eaves above the lintels, sturdy pillars, and cross-bracket capitals reproducing earlier Hindu ones in timber. Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's description shows pictures and portraits to have decorated walls and doors. The remains of the palace of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh (752-90/1351-88) in his *kōtlā* (see DIHLĪ, and J. A. Page's account, in *Memoir ASI*, lii, Delhi 1937) confirm the description by S̲h̲ams-i Sirād̲j̲ ʿAfīf (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Fīrūz-s̲h̲āhī*, *ḳism* iv, *muḳaddama* 4). The Maḥall-i Ṣaḥn-i Gilīn was used for receiving dignitaries, the Maḥall-i Čhad̲j̲d̲j̲ā-yi Čūbīn for court officials, and the Maḥall-i Bār-i ʿĀmm for public audience. The sitting of this fort along the D̲j̲amnā [*q.v.*] allowed the private apartments and the *zanāna* to benefit from the cooler microclimate, the reflection and the view over the water. Its character can be inferred from the severe, utilitarian style typical of the reign, as seen at the Ḥawḍ-i K̲h̲āṣṣ [see DIHLĪ. 2] with plain, battered towers flanking colonnades of double squared piers, vaulted cells, multiple brackets, and a roof line relieved by pyramidally hooded roofs on projecting *d̲j̲harokhā* balconies, or an occasional dome. It was whitewashed for royal visits, presumably on stucco, and decorated with garden scenes (*ibid.*, iv, 5, and v, 2). The royal establishment extended to 36 *kārk̲h̲āna* handling its material needs.

The form thus established followed an international convention, for an axial recession of courts was used both in the Mongol palace at K̲h̲ān Balïḳ (Peking) and in the dominant Muslim models at Bag̲h̲dād (145/762-3) and Sāmarrā (*ca.* 211/836) [*q.vv.*]. The latter had conspicuous *līwān*s and culminated in a domed throne chamber, both notably absent in Hindustān, where they were replaced by trabeated columned halls derived from a long local tradition, through hypostyle palaces such as Čilla (8th-9th century A.D., *ASI*, xxi [1885], 9 ff. and pl. v.) or the open verandahs of the Kōkāʾi Maḥall at Ranod (*ca.* 1000 A.D., *ASI*, ii [1871], 303 ff.), which already show the characteristic squared columns, crossed bracket capitals, lattices (*d̲j̲ālī*), merlons, and the eaves pent designed to shade the interior and throw off monsoon water. Muslim buildings were to combine these elements with the use of arches and vaults (the first cross vault is found at Tug̲h̲luḳābād) and articulate such halls into an ensemble. The elimination of the *dihlīz* as audience hall, perhaps under Fīrūz S̲h̲āh, facilitated the integration, though it was still used in camp. The *maḥall* as a setting for elaborate court ceremony (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 221-42) was distinct at this time from the *kus̲h̲k*, a less formal pavilion, and the *sarāy*, or villa of a *malik* or *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*.

ii. Dakhan. At Bīdar [*q.v.*] the palace buildings enclosed in the south of the Fort represent the infusion of a largely Tug̲h̲luḳid inheritance with direct Iranian influence in a gamut of formal structures that later evoked parallels in the North. Some of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] buildings are now disguised by Barīd S̲h̲āhī [*q.v.*] accretions, but most are attributed to Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Walī (832/1429 for nine years). They are of stone, faced with stucco and tilework, with finely carved jambs and archivolts of hornblende; traces of timber columns show they were once painted and gilded, on square hornblende bases. The great ruined court identified as the Dīwān-i ʿĀmm (Hall of Public Audience) is nearly square, the southern three-quarters paved for privileged access, with entry from east and west, and a hall placed centrally to the south seven bays wide by three deep, the middle bay being wider; this has a range of private rooms along the rear, and access to raised *d̲j̲ahrōkhā*s facing the yard, probably for ministerial interview, at each end. The court was colonnaded, with an octagonal pool, fountains, and cascade; the upper storey of the hall opened through rhythmically spaced arches filled with terracotta *d̲j̲ālī* work. Tilework on the dadoes was mainly blue, with polychrome floral designs of Tīmūrid character, as at Gāzur Gāh (828/1425) on square units [see KĀS̲H̲Ī] (cf. G. Yazdani, *Bidar*, Oxford 1947, 62-6 and pl. xxiii-xxx). An intermediate court, or *pīs̲h̲gāh*, immediately to the north, with a multi-domed annexe, leads west into a third, inscribed as the Ḳaṣr-i Sulṭān, perhaps a hall of private audience, now known as the Tak̲h̲t Maḥall after the turquoise throne really housed in the public hall (*ibid.*, 6, and 66-77, pls. xxxi-xlii). Here too a loggia faced north across the yard above long steps, only three bays wide by two deep, but with wider spans at 5.03 m/16′6″. The broad central bay led to a magnificent octagonal royal hall, once domed 30.50 m/100′ above the floor, on the caliphal model. Painted in vermilion and gold, it had Hindu niches, and fine tiling, some in relief, and a little in mosaic, framed by the massive arches. A varied but symmetrical complex of rooms around the court includes a *masd̲j̲id* [*q.v.*] opening through three bays on the west side, and another octagon north of it behind an arcuate *pis̲h̲tāḳ*. The royal hall opens westward to a private court with a tank, alcoves, a *tibāra* hall (bedroom ?) and an elaborate *ḥammām* [*q.v.*] on two levels. Most of the spaces are linked axially, and long rooms are flanked by service spaces or contrasting, smaller rooms; the surfaces are carefully articulated with recesses.

An east-west axis links these to another series of courtyards, the main halls invariably facing northwards. The largest, the Laʿl Bāg̲h̲, runs north and south, with baths to the north, the D̲j̲āmiʿ Masd̲j̲id along the west, and the three storeys of the Tarkes̲h̲ Maḥall to the south, notable for panels of carved stucco (*ibid.*, 57-9, pls. xix-xxi) and multiple niches. In the Gagan Maḥall, two courts are set side-by-side, and the halls are partially embedded in the masonry of the ramparts, with ranges of plastered vaults (*ibid.*, 60-2, pl. xxii). In a cluster of small but exquisite rooms rebuilt by ʿAlī Barīd (949-87/1542-79) as the Rangīn Maḥall, a loggia of three bays by two is prolonged by two enclosed bays at each end, and the roof is still upheld by squared timber pillars with tiered capitals in Hindu style, and deep brackets with pendant Hindu bosses at each step, but with arabesques carved on the sides and an early cusped arch where they meet. On the central axis, an arch of black stone inlaid with mother-of-pearl leads through a square

tiled anteroom to a star-shaped chamber inscribed as a *shāh-nishīn* (royal seat) or *khalwat-gāh* (cabinet), with a cusped basin, and a semi-octagonal exedra projecting through the bastion. Such placing of retiring rooms behind loggias, the use of octagonal tower rooms, and the integration of water and architecture were to reappear in Shāhdjahān's schemes, perhaps following his successes in the Dakhan of 1039/1629-30. The use of evocative names became a convention among the rival rulers, attested in contemporary records.

The Gagan Maḥall at Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] (968/1561) is an audience hall of a new but related type. An arched *tibāra* hall open to the north, once with two timber columns framing the wide central bay, is flanked by narrower rooms of the same depth, and stairs in the length of the rear wall led to a similar upper storey. In front of these rises a hall of double height opening through three immense arches; the central one spanning the full width of the *tibāra*, 60′9″/18.5 m, provides a dramatic setting for the king in state, while those at the ends, the same height, effectively limit the composition (see Cousens, in *ASI*, *NIS* xxxvii [1916], pl. xvi-xvii). Ibrāhīm II ʿĀdil Shāh adapted the form for his audience hall (1000/1591), now the Āthār Maḥall, doubling the end rooms, adding a long hall with end galleries behind, and substituting four slender octagonal timber columns for the arches, reflected in a pool in markedly Iranian style (*ibid.*, pl. lxxvii-lxxx). This in turn was developed in Mahisur [*q.v.*]. The Sāt Manzil (*ca.* 994/1585-6), an arched tower of five (*sic*) diminishing storeys, houses pools with small service rooms, an attractive environment behind wooden trellises (*ibid.*, pls. xxvi, xxx-xxxiii).

iii. Mālwā. The surviving 9th/15th century buildings at Māndū [*q.v.*], formerly Shādīābād, reflect Tughluḳ influence, but in a distinctly local manner; their dating remains uncertain. The plainness of fine ashlar surfaces, the proportions, and careful placing of openings within the mass, generate a robust and remarkably direct architecture ennobled by its restraint. It thus stands apart from the Hindu tradition, while owing it certain features. The great size of the fort allows the advantage of naturally beautiful sites. The Djahāz Maḥall, extending 122 m down a causeway between two lakes, presents a range of arched openings to the path, overshadowed by a long *čhadjdjā* halfway up the façade, and a register of blind arches above with a tiled parapet; as at Gwāliyār [*q.v.*], this suggests two storeys when in fact it conceals vaulting over the series of spacious halls inside, each with six domes alternately carved as lotus corollae. The pavilions ranged deftly along the skyline are *tibāras*, with pyramidally hipped Indian vaults, read from the lake as crowning massive towers broken forward from the front. Water is tanked at three levels, twice in pools with graciously curved stepped verges. More typically Muslim are the extensive use of pointed arches, the three long, open halls linked by lobbies in between, and their symmetry about a central entry. The grouping of forms on the skyline is Islamic in its aplomb. A local and successful element is the use of long flights of steps to enhance the massing. The building was plastered, and set off with blue and yellow tiles. The effect now is calm, but full of entertaining variety (see G. Yazdani, *Mandu, the City of Joy*, Oxford 1929, 63-8).

The *darbār* hall nearby, the Hindōlā Maḥall, is by contrast serious, but superbly accomplished. The walls of its T-shaped mass are emphasised by a very pronounced batter, and pierced so deeply by a range of recessed arches rising the full height that the masonry between reads as raking buttresses. The single hall is spanned by six arches carrying cross walls; whether the fallen roof was flat or, as Creswell suggested, vaulted like the Khān al-Mardjān at Baghdād (*Indian Antiquary*, xlvii [1918], 169 ff.), the conception of the audience hall as a closed volume is new. The transverse arm in two stories (integral, rather than an addition as Brown proposed) has a three-aisled hall in one wing above, with fine *djharōkhās* (one to the hall below), and an axial entry beneath (Yazdani, *op. cit.*, 70-3). A similar but larger hall, "Gadā Shāh's Shop", ascribed to Maḥmūd II (916-37/1510-31), is also roofless, but bears traces of triple longitudinal vaults. A third example is at Warangal [*q.v.*] in the Dakhan, attributed to Shitāb Khān *ca.* 905/1500 (*Annual Report*, Hyderabad Archaeological Dept. 1925-6, 11-12). The Kūshk Maḥall at Fatḥābād near Čandērī, identified as the seven-storied palace built *ca.* 849/1445 by Maḥmūd I, has comparable transverse arches spanning two tall galleries which cross at right angles, dividing the square plan into four equal halls that open onto the galleries through three tiers of arcades, rather than the outside: a device for procuring shade and cooler air.

The Palace of Nāṣir Shāh (*vulg.* Bāz Bahādur) at Māndū, dated 914/1508-9, is more orthodox with three courtyards, a lateral one for entry and two square ones on axis, their rooms set symmetrically behind arcades with *čhadjdjās* overhead; in the larger, the alternately broad and narrow spans of a gallery are reflected in a pool, while overlooking a garden far below from a polygonal marble *djarōkhā* projecting at the centre (Yazdani, *op. cit.*, 92-7).

iv. Gudjarāt. In this rival kingdom, the palace at Sarkhēdj was also built along the stepped margins of an immense tank by Maḥmūd I Begṙā (861-917/1458-1511). The buildings are essentially trabeate, their colonnades united by the *čhadjdjā* line. In the best preserved, the colonnade at ground level is matched by one below, with a single bay broken forward as a belvedere facing the water towards either end; the upper level, only one bay deep, opens through onto a courtyard flanked by blank walls. The structure is enlivened by subtle details, largely derived from Hindu prototypes, and an evident delight in building. Arches appear in a secondary role, as infilling in the belvederes, where the spandrels were once fretted. Open *bāradarīs* of 16 or 24 pillars and a hemispherical dome over each bay also rely on systems of lintels. At Čāmpānēr [*q.v.*], Maḥmūd built another palace of seven stories (post-889/1484), the Sāt Manzil, in steps on the edge of a cliff; only the lower level remains.

v. The emergence of other forms may be glimpsed in the palace of Čihil Sutūn built at Djawnpur [*q.v.* for illustration] by Fīrūz Shāh's governor, where the square building surrounded by a verandah rises to a terrace carrying a large *čhatrī* whose ridged vault has gently curving hips. A *bāradarī* attributed to Sikandar Lōdī at Sikandra (900/1495) (*ASI*, OS, iv [1871-2], 99; cf. *ARASI* [1910-11], 94-6) may form the basis of the tomb of Maryam al-Zamānī (d. 1032/1623): square in plan, it is ventilated by four corridors crossing at right angles to form nine blocks of rooms, with a central entry on each face, and a flat roof over cross vaults, domes, and barrel vaults.

vi. Mughal. Buildings from Humāyūn's reign

(937-47/1530-40) are described by Kh͟wāndamīr (*Ḳānūn-i Humāyūnī*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta 1940, Bibl. Ind. no. 260, 63-4, 68, 78) as a series of innovations, mostly incorporating astrological symbolism and a preoccupation with polygonal forms no doubt related to the Tīmūrid tradition. A portable timber palace in three stories, the Ḳaṣr-i Rawān, used at Āgra and Gwāliyār in 940/1533, was hexagonal and was elaborately painted in a different colour each side. He constructed a palace inside the Lōdī fort at Āgra [*q.v.*] and a Dawlat-k͟hāna-yi Ṭilism on the bank of the D̲j̲amnā, built around a central octagonal reception hall with a sunken tank, flooded at will, and a central platform (cf. Gulbadan Begam, *The history of Humāyūn*, ed. and tr. A. Beveridge, London 1902, text 31-4, tr. 118-24). A smaller octagon adjoined the north, with alcoves, and the *dīwān-k͟hāna* the west, facing the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*], with a garden to the east. Above these were a further three rooms (*bālā-k͟hāna*); the K͟hāna-yi Dawlat containing the ninefold Čingizid panoply, the K͟hāna-yi Saʿādat for prayer, books and portfolios, and the K͟hāna-yi Murād with a jewelled bedstead. There was also a forecourt, *pīs͟h-gāh*, where a throne could be set. Remarkably, internal stairs assumed no architectural importance until the end of the 18th century.

The one remaining building from the citadel of Purānā Ḳilʿa, [see DIHLĪ. 2] begun by Humāyūn but finished by S͟hēr S͟hāh, is perhaps in the same tradition, as a two-storeyed octagon of sandstone crowned by a kiosk, about 18 m tall, the S͟hēr Manḍal. The space inside rises as one volume, painted with coloured designs, punctuated by a gallery. It was used as a library and observatory.

A Mug͟hal view of indigenous building may be found in Bābur's comment (935/1528) on the Palace of Mān Singh (1486-1516) at Gwāliyār [*q.v.*] Fort, that it was wonderful, but "solidly subdivided and without regularity" compared to Tīmūrid models (*Bābar-nāma*, ed. A. Beveridge, Leiden and London 1905, fol. 340 ff.). Such over-compactness and lack of axial development were to be corrected.

vii. Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605 [*q.v.*]) initiated a prolific programme of palace building when he was twenty-two. The camp, in which the court spent much time [see MANZIL] can be taken as an idealised palace plan, to be modified according to the site, but not achieved in solid form until the reign of S͟hāhd̲j̲ahān. As described by Abu 'l-Faḍl (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, *āʾīn* 16-18), the royal precinct was a rectangle accessible from the western end, where a great forecourt, flanked by stables and a records office (*daftar-k͟hāna*), led up to a rectangle roped off for the court of public audience (*dīwān-k͟hāna-yi ʿāmm*); beyond this was a private audience hall (*dawlat-k͟hāna-yi k͟hāṣṣ*) within its own enclosed court, and then another court (*mahtābī*) where the Emperor received his closest courtiers in the evening. Still further east, beyond a small guard court, lay the women's quarters (*s͟habistān-i iḳbāl*) with private dwellings, a hall, and a two-storied wooden oratory from which he received the acclaim of the people each morning in *dars͟han*. All lay on one axis, with a drum house (*naḳar-k͟hāna*) far on the approach. Both camp and palace were a setting for a strict routine of ceremony and administration observed daily (see *Āʾīn*, i, nos. 72-4; Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal empire*, Oxford 1936, 65 ff.; Sir J. Sarkar, *Mughal administration*, Calcutta 1935, 19-21).

Akbar's first palace at Āgra [*q.v.*], the hunting lodge at Nagar Čayn near Kakralī, was started in 1564. From 972/1564-5 to 980/1572-3 Āgra Fort was rebuilt as Akbarābād, in red sandstone in place of the crumbling Lōdī brickwork; the massive ashlar was to characterise future Mug͟hal work [see BURD̲J̲. iii, 4]. In this case, the optimum position along the eastern parapet overlooking the D̲j̲amnā and the main approach from the Dihlī Gate in the west allowed the favoured axis, modified by extension along the river. There were "more than 500 buildings of masonry, after the beautiful designs of Bengāl and Gud̲j̲arat" (*Āʾīn*, tr. ii, by H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1891, 180), and in 1626 Pelsaert confirms that it was built over like a city with streets and shops, princely buildings and residences, with *maḥalls* for the ladies (ed. W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl as *Jahangir's India*, repr. Delhi 1972, 3-4) leaving little room. This aesthetic eclecticism, consistent with the policy of *ṣulḥ-i kull* ("universal toleration") must have profited from an influx of craftsmen from both regions, then disrupted, and from Gwāliyār, recaptured in 965/1558. The synthesis is evident in the two buildings, known as the D̲j̲ahāngīrī Maḥall and the Akbarī Maḥall (such names in India are unreliable) remaining from Akbar's private apartments, which seem to have extended to the Mut͟hamman Burd̲j̲ corner in a symmetrical group. Pelsaert (*loc. cit.*) mentions the *maḥall* of the Queen Mother, three others, and a Bangālī Maḥall, with which one of these may be identified; if so, it was built before 977/1569 (see R. Froude Tucker, in *ASIAR* [1907-8], 8-22, but cf. Sir J. Marshall in *ASIAR* [1902-3], 62, and Nur Bak͟hs͟h in *ASIAR* [1903-4], 169-71). The trabeated "Akbarī Maḥall" ran in two stories round a square courtyard with flat roofs; a hall was set at the centre of three sides with an axila entry on the west; in the riverside *tibāra*, windows overlooking the water corresponded to doorways onto the courtyard, a scheme much used subsequently. The gridded exterior with blind niches is Bengālī in character, like that of the Dihlī Gate. This closed format is repeated in the "D̲j̲ahāngīrī Maḥall" where many features of scale, construction and decoration show derivation from Gwāliyār, though the vigorous Hindu style is blended with Islamic arches on the upper floor, and lightened by *čhatrīs* and latticed balustrades; the interior is remarkable for dramatic brackets supporting the ceiling. The buildings east of this court are in a markedly more Iranian style, dominated by four-centred arches and alcoves, with slender columns to the portico; this elegance, and that of the entrance façade, resembles work of the early 1560s at Dihlī (the formal grouping of *iwāns* around a waterside terrace was reiterated at Māndū around the Nīl-kanṭh shrine dated 982/1574-5). On the S͟hāh Burd̲j̲ was a small pavilion, uniquely of marble.

Work on the Fort at Lāhawr [*q.v.*], in burnt brick, is recorded in 974/1566, and Akbar's hall of public audience (*dawlat-k͟hāna-yi ʿāmm*) was in use by 996/1587, with an open rectangular courtyard of 114 bays, as confirmed in a plan of the Sikh period. Its raised *d̲j̲harōkhā*, from which the King held audience, survives as a projection from a former bracketed colonnade (cf. scenes in the *Pāds͟hāh-nāma* in the Royal Library, Windsor, set in Āgra, showing a very similar arrangement; see B. Gray (ed.), *The arts of India*, Oxford 1981, fig. 127). The courtyard subsequently built by D̲j̲ahāngīr immediately north of this, probably for private audience, completed this axial scheme up to the river Rāwī; the private apartments were to extend from there westward.

The most extensive palace remaining from Akbar's

reign, at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*], was officially founded in 979/1571, and it seems that most of the work, all in red sandstone, was finished within a year. The trabeation allowed the prefabricated panelled technique essential to such rapid erection, and the stone was, as claimed, "wrought with the ease of turning wood" in traditional Indian techniques apparently derived from Bayānā not far away (fieldwork by M. Shokoohy, 1981). The site on a ridge running northeast and southwest requires a layout in a series of steps to the south, culminating in the great mosque at the western (i.e. *ḳibla*) end near the house, *khānaḳāh*, and *masdjid* of Shaykh Salīm Čishtī. Nearby, the oldest royal building, the Rang Maḥall (976/1568-9) is traditional in its introverted courtyard plan, with colonnades in two storeys, but the fusion of Islamic and Hindu detail is experimental. The saint's own house (971/1563-4?) initiates a pastiche resumed in the main buildings; its stonework is carved in imitation of a framed hut with cabled angle shafts, perhaps as used in camp. The Dīwān-khāna-yi ʿĀmm, placed at the north of the ridge has a trabeate colonnade of 111 bays with a deep *čhadjdjā* all round, and the royal *djharōkhā* is expanded in a pavilion of five bays broken forward into the court on a podium, with a hipped roof and fine *djālī*s. Its surprisingly modest scale is typical of the whole palace, where imaginative massing and exquisite carving achieve delight rather than grandeur. The organisation of the remainder of the palace, now weakened by the absence of the courtyard walls, must have been informal, with frequent lack of symmetry, overlapping masses, and half-closed spaces, and an intentness on individual buildings which suggest that the architects as well as the craftsmen worked in a Hindu tradition (cf. Kumbhā Rānā's palace at Čitawr Fort, taken in 975/1568). The purpose of several buildings is uncertain, and their fanciful names are best used for reference alone. The "Ānkh Mīčawlī" is a *tibāra* flanked by two wings, themselves *tibāra*s turned outwards, offering three aspects with double walls for insulation, and with the central roof strutted as at Āgra. The "Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ", a four-square building, contains a single column supporting a circular estrade on astonishing radial brackets, joined to a peripheral balcony by catwalks: an embodiment of the *axis mundi* carrying the seat of the *čakravartin* or world ruler. A group of buildings around the Anūp Talāʾō, a square tank with a *čabūtrā* platform, may be compared with the camp *mahtābī*; the colonnaded "Khāṣṣ Maḥall" with its mezzanine is broken forward as at Sarkhēdj, and the *shāh-nishīn* above is a *bāradarī* whose verandah is carefully articulated to the mass by alternately wide and narrow bays, under a roof carved to simulate tiles. A room with a raised throne platform has a *djharōkhā-yi darshan* in the rear overlooking the records office courtyard to the south (Rizvi and Flynn, *op. cit.*, 24-40). The Daftar-khāna there is the first surviving statement of the classical Mughal pavilion form. A low podium carries a rectangular *tibāra* surrounded on three sides by broad *čhadjdjā*s over a colonnade of tall paired columns (outer and inner), grouped in fours to turn the corner; a wider bay accents the corner. The front doorways with arched, latticed lunettes are matched by a triad of windows at the back. The usual coved vault carries a flat roof terrace over the whole (*ibid.*, 41-2). The principal Ḥaram Sarāy, larger than those at Āgra, develops the courtyard plan on a single storey, the taller hall on each face rising through it, advanced between walls housing stairs to an upper storey, vaulted in keel form; two are roofed with azure tiles from Multān [*q.v.*]. A "Panč Maḥall" of four diminishing rectangular floors topped by a *čhatrī* forms a set of well ventilated platforms, whose screens were destroyed in 1869-72 (*ibid.*, 46-53). Broad expanses of paving set off these buildings throughout, and stone rings for tent ropes appear on parapets and at ground level. The awnings for festivals were of velvet, gold brocade, and gold embroidery. The sandstone was picked out in colour, the effect of which can still be seen in the "Nadān Maḥall" at Lakhnaw [*q.v.*].

The Fort at Adjmēr [*q.v.*], 978-81/1570-3, displays much stronger Iranian influence in a highly coherent, symmetrical plan. A strictly rectangular enclosure with a great octagonal bastion at each corner, and a single polygonal gateway broken out on the south, contains one building at the centre. This has a tall, three-bayed *īwān* on all four faces, with paired square pillars supporting the *čhadjdjā* and ceiling beams on cross brackets. Four square rooms fill the corners in two stories. The central space, which may have served for audience, is bridged by the upper storey; the lack of division between *mardāna* and *zanāna* is puzzling. The proportions are Persian, enhanced by panelling of the yellow brown Khattu limestone with simple pointed arches, whose archivolts are in the style of Mālwā or Khāndēsh, while the interior had tilework chased into geometric friezes.

At Allāhābād [*q.v.*], in the fort founded in 991/1583, only a *bāradarī*, the "Zanāna Palace", has survived. A peristyle of double columns surrounds a central hall, and the terraced roof is set off by latticed kiosks.

viii. The buildings of Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] at Āgra have been obliterated. His *djharōkhā-yi darshan* is described as near the Shāh Burdj (later Muthamman Burdj), where he had marble halls built on three sides of Akbar's pavilion. The court of public audience was customarily divided by railings into three areas: that nearest the throne for the nobility, the next three steps lower for lesser officials, and the remainder for retainers. In his eighth year he introduced silver casings for the inner rails, the outer remained red. (A description cited by Nūr Bakhsh, in *ASIAR* [1903-4], 171, is based on a spurious ms.) His courtyard at Lāhawr [*q.v.* for plan], completed by Maʿmūr Khān in 1027/1617-18, is defined east and west by two ranges of single-storeyed *tibāra* halls two and three aisles deep, alternating with smaller rooms; their tall porticoes recall those of Adjmēr. A pavilion to the north, perhaps contemporary, is also a three-bayed hall, flanked by two turned outwards as at Fatḥpūr, though with an arched verandah in front. The garden, centred on a square tank with fountains, introduces another element of the classical palace plan. This court was probably the private audience hall, then known as the Ghusl-khāna (bathroom) through an accident of nomenclature explained by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī (*Pādshāh-nāma*, i, 148); there is a bath just to the west.

ix. In the reign of Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*], Akbar's *djharokhā* for public audience and the old private audience hall at Āgra were pulled down: "all abominations escaped into non-existence, and lovely things reached the zenith of perfection" (*ibid.*, i/2, 236). If, as it seems, the replacements were built on the same sites, then the old private hall lay against the riverside wall ranged with the private apartments, with the public one in front,

at a Lāhawr. The latter was approached from the Dihlī Gate down the Mīnā Bāzār with its rows of shops and square *čahār sūḳ*, and entered from the north on the cross axis by the Akbarī Darwāza. The Amar Singh Gate to the south was primarily for access to the private apartments, like the Hāthī Pōl at Lāhawr.

Shāhdjahān adjusted this layout. In his first year (1037/1628), he had ordered halls of forty columns (*čihil sutūn*) at Āgra, Lāhawr and Burhānpur [*q.v.*] to protect his nobles at public audience instead of the tents used previously. As that at Burhānpur is ruined, and that at Lāhawr only roughly reconstructed, the hall (*īwān*) at Āgra, renamed the Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣṣ u ʿĀmm, is the remaining prototype for his court buildings, which thenceforward follow its format as an arched, hypostyle loggia, rectangular in plan and set on a podium, with a flat roof, *čhadjdja*, and *čhatrīs* at the corners. The work, in red sandstone dressed with polished marble stucco, and with details picked out in gold, is strikingly different from its forerunners. It retains such features as doubled peripheral columns, quadrupled at the corners, and dodecagonal shafts with linked *muḳarnaṣ* capitals and pyramidal bases. The innovations are the preference for a marble surface, the "structural" use of cusped arches in tall framed spandrels, the medium height of the columns, and a consonance of curvilinear detail; the construction is actually still trabeate. Here the hall, nine bays by three, is open on three sides, and arcades on both axes intersect to support coved roof panels. A central, raised *djharōkhā* opens through three rounded trefoil arches in the rear wall, its marble intricately inlaid with pietra dura (*parčīn-kārī* [*q.v.*]). The great courtyard is surrounded with an arcade of simpler cusped arches. The silver rail now fenced the loggia, and the red rail was of stone.

The courtyard of the Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣṣ, dated 1045/1635, is confined on three sides by two storeys of cusped arcades serving rooms for the treasury; the upper floor continues as an open riverside terrace to the east, and the audience hall is now turned at right angles to face down this, with its back to the private apartments. It has no internal columns, being smaller, and backs on to an inner hall (*ṭambī-khāna*) through three pointed arches. This has a great alcove (*shāh-nishīn*) at either end. The marble of both spaces is panelled above florally carved dadoes, matched by floral *djālīs* in arched clerestories, and netted coving surrounds ceilings once plated in gilded silver leaf. The terrace was used at night; baths [see HAMMĀM] at its end were set with glass mosaic. Just behind this hall, the Shāh Burdj bastion was rebuilt with an octagonal vaulted chamber in two storeys, the Muthamman Burdj, used for conference with ministers. Below, a balcony surrounds a central apsed cell which opens on the landward side to a matching *tibāra* with a foliate pool facing a terrace screened by exquisite arched *djālīs*; above is a *čhatrī* with a gilded dome. Beneath the audience hall is a *tah-khāna*, the Shīsh Maḥall, of two rooms in glass mosaic with a cascade and running water: a cool and gently lit *sardāb* [*q.v.*].

Immediately south of this complex is an extension of the riverside terrace carrying the Ārāmgāh (bedchamber), built in the same idiom but with piers instead of columns. In front is a pool with boldly sculpted trefoil margins, and on either side, a flawlessly simple screen, behind which is a *tibāra* pavilion with the high arched, ridged roof derived from Bengal, stopped by a hipped dome at each end, and gilded. The northern one, in marble, was the Bangla-yi Darshan, which replaced the earlier *djharōkhā*, followed by a *banglā* tent on the site. These symmetrical but contrasting masses formed a new type of composition; they face a *čār bāgh* below with its original parterres, surrounded by the harem quarters in two stories, served by a balcony, and with a *tibāra* on each axis. The new aesthetic included three mosques of appropriate sizes for the two audience halls and the court.

At Lāhawr Fort [*q.v.* for plan], Shāhdjahān's buildings were coeval with those at Āgra, beginning with a very similar Čihil Sutūn. The suite of private apartments set within the great Shāh Burdj, *ca.* 131'/40 m across internally, was completed in 1041/1631; it is more accomplished in the Iranian linkages of its planning than in elevation, where it is unresolved. The small *ṭambī-khāna* is flanked by domed octagonal rooms leading to semi-octagons with apses filling the angles (plan in E. La Roche, *op. cit.*, v, 202). The *banglā* "Nawlakha" to one side of the court, a *čawčāla* with eaves curved on both axes, is possibly the first of the genre (internal work above the dado is Sikh work). The royal bedchamber (*khʷābgāh*) lay behind a range of shallow rooms facing the Burdj (*Pādshāh-nāma*, i, 223-5). Eastward of this group, along the river front, are three further courts: one opening to the entrance yard, *čowk-i dyōrhī* and the Hāthī Pōl, one marked Khilwat-khāna on the Sikh map (not Khilʿat as cited by Vogel) which may have been harem quarters, with baths, a small mosque, and a small marble *banglā* on the parapet dated 1055/1645, and one with ranges grouped around a *čār bāgh* including the Čhōṭī Khʷābgāh believed to be one of the buildings for *khʷābgāh* and *ghusl-khāna* (see viii. above) ordered in 1043/1633-4 (*ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, cited by Nūr Bakhsh, *op. cit.*, 1902, 223-4). Djahāngīr's court ends the row, thus reversing the Āgra plan. At Adjmēr, the five white marble pavilions along the margin of the Āna Sāgar lake (1047/1637) show the idea of the waterside terrace at its most perfect, as the climax of the Dawlat Bāgh; the new style is at its most precise, though the column groupings recall Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. The prominent Hindu brackets are found too in the black marble pavilion carried out by Ẓafar Khān at Shālamār (formerly Fayḍ-bakhsh) in Kashmīr in 1039/1630 [see BUSTĀN].

The Lāl Ḳilʿa at Dihlī [*q.v.* for plan and details], being founded *de novo* in 1048/1638, allowed free development of a riverside palace within the walled format of a rectangle set along the Djamnā to the east. The main approach axis from the Lāhawr Gate in the west passes through a long, vaulted bazaar street with an open octagonal court, of Iranian pattern, to a great square guard court, with a tank at its centre and a *nawbat-khāna* over a triple gate at the far side. This led to the still larger courtyard, a rectangle set athwart this axis, and surrounded by arcades (*īwān*) of separate cells for the *umarāʾ*, serving the Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣṣ u ʿĀmm opposite. Neither court is extant. The north and south sides of the guard court received the transverse axis of an open arcaded street, with a canal, running from the southern Dihlī Gate. Beyond the audience hall, the main axis ended in a third court in front of the Imtiyāz Maḥall (Rang Maḥall) on a riverside terrace, the first of a line of harem buildings extending south along the cross axis of the Nahr-i Bihisht canal, once fronting garden courts that

provided privacy and accommodation. To the north, however, a group of administrative buildings was inserted on the terrace, offset to the left of the main axis, behind their own courts, an arrangement probably intended to combine the advantages of the microclimate with easier access for the emperor to both halls.

The new building types are elaborated. The public audience hall in red sandstone, once plastered, still has the nominal forty columns, but the detail is more florid; a raised *d̲j̲harōkhā* recess under a round arch has a (later?) *čawčāla* of marble advanced forwards. The Imtiyāz Maḥall has three aisles of intersecting cusped arches on cruciform piers; the canal runs down the centre between vaulted rooms at the corners, which form visual stops. In the S̲h̲āh Maḥall (now Dīwān-i K̲h̲āṣṣ), also piered, the canal is marked by the insertion of narrower and lower bays in the end elevations of the hall and its matching peristyle; the peacock throne was once housed here. The K̲h̲āṣṣ Maḥall (dated 1058/1648), comprising private apartments (K̲h̲ʷābgāh) linked to the Mut̲h̲amman Burd̲j̲, faces each of these with a corresponding elevation. The later Mug̲h̲al style is represented in the S̲h̲āh Burd̲j̲ pavilion, with baluster columns, depressed arches, and an upward arch of the *čhad̲j̲d̲j̲ā* over the centre bay (see plan in Reuther, *op. cit.*, pl. 60).

x. Further elaboration of these elements can be seen in the Rād̲j̲pūt work at Ambēr under the direct influence of Āgra and Dihlī, and in the D̲j̲āṭ palaces of Dīg (*ca.* 1725) near Bharatpūr. The transition to the frivolities of later Mug̲h̲al palaces is marked by the Ḳudsiyya Bāg̲h̲ at Dihlī, built for the mother of Aḥmad S̲h̲āh (1161-7/1748-54), of which fragments remain (cf. a print by T. Daniell, *Oriental scenery*, London 1795, i, 3). It was built rapidly from brick and plaster, with applied stucco ornament; the river elevation is in two storeys of arcading, blind below, and with balustered openings on to her apartments above. Octagonal towers at each corner are fully latticed above, with oriels set on lotus calyces, and capped by bulbous semidomes with vestigial *banglā* eaves; these and other features form the vocabulary of subsequent domestic architecture at Lak̲h̲naw [*q.v.*]. The tradition was to continue with greater vigour in the gradual accretions of Rād̲j̲pūt palaces, and in Sikh buildings, until the present century.

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MAḤALLA (A.), a noun of place from the verb *ḥalla*, which means notably "to untie (a knot, luggage, etc.)", and by extension, "to make a halt", whence the meaning of "a place where one makes a halt, where one settles (for a longer or shorter time)".

This term constitutes the first element of names of towns or villages in Egypt, where a hundred places were designated by an expression formed from Maḥalla followed by an adjective or a proper noun; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak cites more than thirty of them in al-*K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-d̲j̲adīda* (xv, 21 ff.), apart from the city of al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā [*q.v.*].

Maḥalla also took on the meaning of a "quarter of a town" [see MADĪNA], especially in Turkish (see MAḤALLE), Persian and Urdu. Dozy (*Suppl.* s.v.) even sees in the name of the Jewish quarter of the towns of North Africa, the *mallāḥ*, a metathesis of *maḥalla* (but cf. MALLĀḤ).

Furthermore, the original meaning of "a place where one makes a halt" was preserved in the Mag̲h̲rib (with a pl. *amḥāl*) to designate a movable camp, then, by extension, the troops on campaign within the territory at least nominally dependent on the sovereign who commands them or entrusts the command to the heir apparent, another member of the family or, exceptionally, to a confirmed war commander. This change in the meaning appears quite early, since it was attested under the Ḥafṣids (see R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 90) in Tunisia, where, as in Morocco, before the institution of the protectorate, expeditions so-named were organised periodically. In Tunisia, the *maḥalla* (in French, *méhalla*) was principally formed from auxiliaries levied more or less easily among the tribes; it used to leave the capital following a ceremony of which we possess some detailed descriptions (see e.g. V. Serres and M. Lasram, in *RT* [1895], 333; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʾnis*, Tunis 1967, 303), and it was

Fig. 1. Māndū, "Djahāz Maḥall" from southeast. (Photo P. A. Andrews)

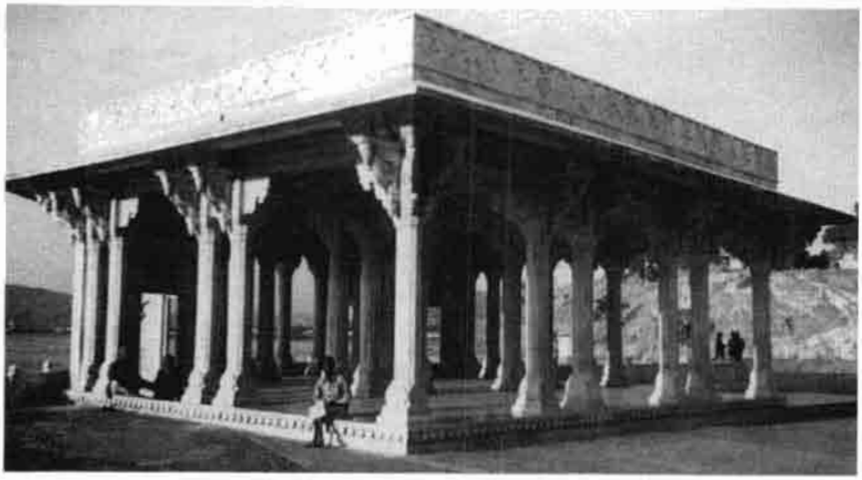

Fig. 2. Adjmēr, Dawlat Bāgh Pavilion on Āna Sāgar Lake. (Photo P. A. Andrews)

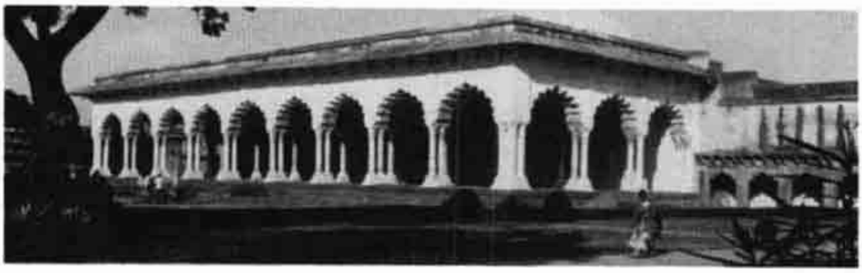

Fig. 3. Āgra Fort, Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣṣ u ʿĀmm, "Dīwān-i ʿĀm" from southwest. (Photo P. A. Andrews)

Fig. 4. Āgra Fort, Ārāmgāh, "Khāṣṣ Maḥall" over Angūrī Bāgh from west. (Photo P. A. Andrews)

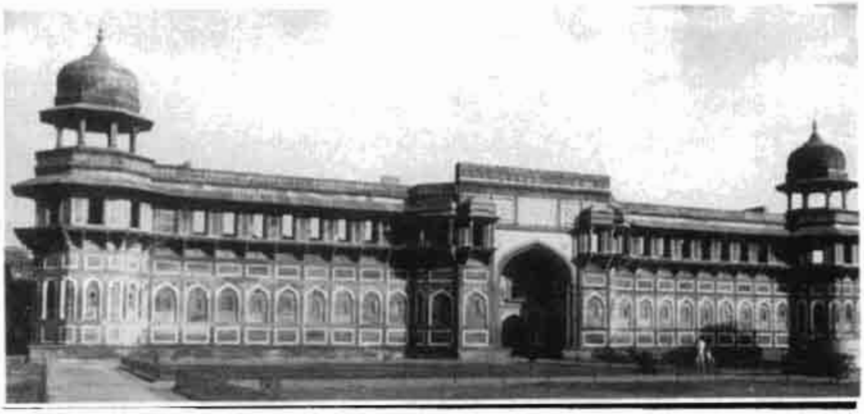

Fig. 5. Āgra Fort, "Djahāngīrī Maḥall", exterior, land front. (Photo P. A. Andrews)

Fig. 6. Āgra Fort, "Djahāngīrī Maḥall", interior, south hall. (Photo P. A. Andrews)

generally received with marks of honour by the subject tribes who, moreover, hated to see it strike camp, for it was they who had to provision the troops on campaign.

The *maḥalla* constituted an instrument of government. It performed in effect a triple function: to consolidate the authority of the sovereign over the provinces, to ensure the levying of taxes and to suppress rebellions or the insubordination of local chiefs. In the ordinary way, it performed a simple route march, but the collection of taxes sometimes proved difficult and necessitated more than a simple demonstration of force; when the launching of a *maḥalla* had been provoked by the agitation of a tribe, it was settled on its territory, from which it put pressure on the population; finally, when serious troubles broke out, real war operations had to be mounted against the rebels, as for example in 1864 (see Kh. Chater, *Insurrection et répression dans la Tunisie du XIX*[e] *siècle: la Méhalla de Zarrouk au Sahel (1864)*, Tunis 1978).

In Morocco, the *maḥalla*s performed almost the same functions as in Tunisia, with this difference, however, that a good part of the territory totally escaped the authority of the sultan, who was furthermore constrained in organising one since, from Fez or Meknès, he used to make his way to his southern capital, Marrakesh, via Rabat.

In a general fashion, the Moroccan *maḥalla* comprised elements of the three corps of the regular army [see DJAYSH], to which were added some contingents designated by the name of *ḥarka* (*ḥaraka*) and supplied by tribes subject to the sultan. The latter formed the vanguard (or the rearguard where an attack on the rear was repulsed) and explored the terrain, spreading out over a wide area; then came the regular troops charged with protecting the sovereign (who rode under a parasol) and his entourage, who preceded the standards and musicians.

At its resting place the camp contained in its centre the tents of the Sultan, his wives and eunuchs, surrounded by a linen screen, which, in Tunisia, bore the Berber name *afrag* (transcribed as *āfrāg* [*q.v.*]). Outside this enclosure were placed the ministers, secretaries, musicians, around whom the troops formed a square; within this apparatus, wandering merchants established a market, where all kinds of articles and foodstuffs were to be found, for provisioning was not ensured by regular supervision; it was the tribes who had to supply what was called the *mūna* (*muʾna*), i.e. the provisioning, and it was not uncommon for this to be insufficient, in spite of the sacrifices of the populations subject to this obligation, which often reduced them to misery. Nevertheless, some of them preferred to remain dissident, at the risk of possibly seeing a *maḥalla* settle on their territory and help itself to their flocks and cereal resources without pity.

Most of the Europeans who visited Morocco before the Protectorate had occasion to describe a *maḥalla*, in particular the one mounted to suppress the rebellion of Bū Ḥmāra [*q.v.*], but the richest source with reference to this is the work of Dr. L. Arnaud, *Au temps des "Mehallas"*, IHEM, Notes et Documents, fasc. no. xii, Cadablanca 1952.

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(CH. PELLAT)

AL-MAḤALLA AL-KUBRĀ or MAḤALLA KABĪR is the modern name of an important town in the Delta of the Nile at some distance to the west of the Damietta arm, north-east of Ṭanṭa. It lies on the Turʿat al-Milāḥ canal, a branch of the Baḥr Shībīn.

In view of the large number of Egyptian geographical names compounded with Maḥalla (see these listed in Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953-68, i, 404-9), the identification of the town with the names mentioned by earlier Arabic writers is a matter of some difficulty. Maspero and Wiet identify it with the Coptic Tishairi (Amélinau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris 1893, 262), but this identification is rendered doubtful by the fact that al-Maḥalla is a purely Arabic name (and it also remains to be proved that it is a rendering of the Coptic name just mentioned), and because the work of Abū Ṣāliḥ on the Christian buildings of Egypt makes no mention of this town. The earliest author who knew a town called al-Maḥalla or al-Maḥalla al-Kabīra is al-Muḳaddasī (55, 194, 196, 200); he tells us that it was a town of al-Rīf built in two parts, one called Sandafā (or Ṣandafā), but the statement that the town was situated on the river by Alexandria (200) seems to be an error. Al-Bakrī seems to know the same town under the name Maḥallat Maḥrūm (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* Brit. Libr. ms.). Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 158, calls the town simply al-Maḥalla and knows a canal called after it. Yāḳūt's statements are confused, for he speaks of a town called Maḥallat Daḳalā and of another Maḥallat Sharḳiyūn (iv, 428), both of which seem to refer to the same place. Maḥallat Sharḳiyān in Yāḳūt—which he also calls al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā—forms one town with Sandafā and on the other hand he says that Maḥalla Daḳalā between al-Ḳāhira and Dimyāṭ is the largest of the Maḥallas that he knows (cf. also Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ii, 160), while the geographer al-Dimishḳī (231) knows Maḥalla Daḳalā as the capital of the *kūra* of Daḳahla; Ibn Duḳmāḳ (v, 82) says that the governorship of this town was regarded as "the little vizierate" (*al-wizāra al-ṣaghīra*). Under the Mamlūk sultan Barḳūḳ's administrative reorganisation at the end of the 8th/14th century, al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā became the centre of the *wilāya* of the Gharb, under an *amīr ṭablkhāna* (see H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern. II. Das Delta*, Wiesbaden 1982, 311, 519).

The name Maḥallat Sharḳiyūn is again found in al-Maḳrīzī (ed. Wiet, iii, 207). It is clear from these writers that the town was an important commercial centre from the 4th/10th century onwards. It does not seem however to have played any considerable part in history, although ʿAlī Pāsha Mubārak quotes some events that took place there, from al-Maḳrīzī and al-Djabartī. In Egypt in the 19th century, the town had to give way to Ṭanṭa, which became the capital of the *mudīriyya* of al-Gharbiyya, while al-Maḥalla became the capital of a smaller administrative area; ʿAlī Mubārak estimates its inhabitants at 50,000, while the 1914 Baedeker gives it only 33,500. It is at present a centre of the cotton trade; raw cotton is there cleaned in the factories. Of the many individuals who bore the *nisba* al-Maḥallī, the most celebrated is Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī [*q.v.*], who was born here.

Bibliography: Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1919, 164 and the bibliography there given; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xv, Būlāḳ 1305, 18-25; Ramzī, *op. cit.*, ii/2, 10, 15-26.

(J. H. KRAMERS*)

MAḤALLĀTĪ, ĀGHĀ KHĀN, Sayyid Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, last of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *imāms*

to reside in Iran and the first of them to bear the title of Āghā (less commonly but more correctly, Āḳā) Khān. Born in 1219/1804 in the village of Kahak near Maḥallāt in central Iran, he succeeded to the imāmate in 1233/1817 when his father, Shāh Khalīl Allāh, was murdered in Yazd. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the Ḳādjār ruler, amply compensated the young *imām*. His lands at Maḥallāt were extended by royal decree; he was given a daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in marriage; and he was made governor of Ḳum, despite his extreme youth. With this appointment came the title Āḳā Khān, subsequently used as a hereditary title by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *imāms*.

Āghā Khān Maḥallātī led an apparently loyal and tranquil existence until the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1250/1834, and the favour with which the court regarded him was confirmed when the new ruler, Muḥammad Shāh, appointed him governor of Kirmān. But when, in 1252/1836, an attempt was made to replace Maḥallātī with Fīrūz Mīrzā, a Ḳādjār prince, he forcefully resisted his dismissal and embarked on a career of rebellion that ended with his fleeing to India by way of Afghānistān. Despite initial success, Āghā Khān Maḥallātī was soon obliged to withdraw to the citadel at Bam, where he surrended after a siege lasting fourteen months. There followed eight months of captivity in Kirmān and a period of retreat at the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm before he was able to plead for mercy at the court. He was pardoned on condition that he retire to Maḥallāt. This he did, but in the space of two years he gathered there an army of Ismāʿīlīs and non-Ismāʿīlī mercenaries that enabled him to resume his rebellion. Claiming that he wished to go to Bandar ʿAbbās in order to embark for the Ḥidjāz, Āghā Khān Maḥallātī left Maḥallāt in Radjab 1256/September 1840, striking out with his force south-east across the desert to Yazd and Kirmān. Again he won a number of preliminary engagements, but in 1258/1842 he was decisively worsted in a large battle outside Kirmān and soon after he crossed into Afghānistān.

Āghā Khān Maḥallātī's motives for rebelling against the Iranian central government are unclear. They may have been connected in part with rivalries surrounding the Niʿmatallāhī Ṣūfī order. Despite the paradox involved in an Ismāʿīlī *imām*'s submission to the guidance of a Ṣūfī *shaykh*, Maḥallātī was the *murīd* of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shirwānī, a claimant to leadership of the Niʿmatallāhī order. When another Niʿmatallāhī affiliate, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, who was Muḥammad Shāh's chief minister, sought to displace Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, Āghā Khān Maḥallātī espoused the cause of his master with vigour. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī is said to have avenged himself by dismissing Maḥallātī from the governorship of Kirmān, and Maḥallātī to have responded by rebelling (see Masʿūd Mīrzā, *Sargudhasht-i Masʿūdī*, Tehran 1325/1907, 197-8). It is also possible that the British encouraged him to rebel, for at the time of his second uprising an Iranian army was advancing on Harāt in defiance of British wishes, and a diversion of Iranian attention to the south was clearly welcome in London (see *Correspondence relating to Persia and Afghanistan*, London 1839, 64).

Maḥallātī's links with the British, whom he calls "the people of God" (*khalḳ Allāh*) in his memoirs (*ʿIbrat-afzā*, ed. Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī, Tehran 1325 sh./1946, 56), become fully evident with his arrival in Afghānistān. He was assigned a daily allowance by the British force occupying Ḳandahār, and his troops aided in the evacuation of the British garrison which took place soon after his arrival.

Accompanying the British to Sind, he continued to supply them with mercenary services, and was instrumental in securing the cession of Karachi to the British by Nāṣir Khān, ruler of Kalāt [see KILĀT] (William Napier, *History of Sir Charles Napier's administration of Scinde*, London 1851, 75).

After a brief stay in Calcutta, during which the British authorities fruitlessly tried to secure him a pardon and safe return to Iran, Āghā Khān Maḥallātī took up residence in Bombay, where he acquired extensive properties and began to accumulate a vast fortune. In this undertaking he was significantly aided by a ruling, handed down by the Bombay High Court in 1866, that placed all the community property of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in the name of their *imām* and under his absolute control. Maḥallātī died in April 1881, and was buried in a lavish shrine at Ḥasanābād in the Mazagon area of Bombay. He was succeeded by the eldest of his four sons, Āḳā ʿAlī Shāh, Āghā Khān II.

Bibliography: Āghā Khān Maḥallātī wrote an autobiography, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿIbrat-afzā*, which was first published in Bombay in 1278/1861, and reprinted in 1325 sh./1946 by Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī in Tehran. A Gudjarātī translation of this work exists. W. Ivanow has cast doubt on the authenticity of the *Taʾrīkh-i ʿIbrat-afzā*, but his arguments are not convincing (Ivanow, *Ismaili literature: a biobibliographical survey*, Tehran 1963, 148-9). Other sources: H. Algar, *The revolt of Āghā Khān Maḥallātī and the transference of the Ismāʿīlī imamate to India*, in *SI*, xxix (1969), 55-81; A. J. Chunara, *Noorum Mubin, or the sacred cord of God: a glorious history of Ismaʿili imams* [in Gudjarātī], Bombay 1951, 401-23; Muṣṭafā Ghālib, *Aʿlām al-Ismāʿīliyya*, Beirut 1964, 214-19; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Daʿwa al-Ismāʿīliyya*, Damascus 1953, 267-9; J. N. Hollister, *The Shiʿa of India*, London 1953, 364-70; B. Lewis, *The Assassins*, New York 1968, 15-17, French tr., Paris 1982, 50-2; Zawahir Noorally, *The first Aga Khan and the British*, 1838-1868, M. A. thesis, University of London 1964; Nasrollah Pourjavady and P. L. Wilson, *Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs*, in *SI*, xli (1975), 114-35. (H. ALGAR)

MAḤALLE, a term commonly used in Ottoman administrative parlance for a ward or quarter of a town. As listed in the Ottoman registers [see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ], the *maḥalle*s are of various kinds. Characteristically, the Ottoman *maḥalle* consisted of a religious community grouped around its mosque (or church or synagogue) and headed by its religious chief.

In addition to its place of worship, the *maḥalle* normally had its own market, school and water fountain, these normally being supported by pious endowments. In many provincial towns, the *maḥalle* also had its own outer wall with a limited number of controlled points of access. Often the *maḥalle* had its own militia and some form of internal police. At times of weakened central authority, rivalries and even armed clashes between *maḥalle*s were not uncommon. The strong sense of corporate identity of the *maḥalle* is also indicated in a number of other ways, as for example in processions and ceremonies, with music, torches and flags. These were frequently linked with the Ṣūfī brotherhood [see ṬARĪḲA] with which the inhabitants of the *maḥalle* were associated.

Often the *maḥalle*s bear ethnic or denominational names, e.g. of Kurds, Turkomans, Christians, Jews; where Christians and Jews are numerous, they may

be subdivided by communities, e.g. Orthodox, Copts, Armenians, or, in the case of Spanish Jews, by their cities or provinces of origin. While many quarters are inhabited by homogenous ethnic, religious, or, sometimes, occupational groups, this is not always so, and the registers list many quarters in which different elements live side-by-side. The quarters inhabited by Sunnī Muslims are normally designated by some topographical name, often that of the main mosque of the quarter. The listing of the adult male inhabitants of the quarter often begins with the *Imām* and other religious functionaries, and ends with an indication of the numbers of religious and other tax-exempt (e.g. blind, mad or maimed) persons. In many dealings with authority, the *Imām* of the mosque, or his equivalent, was the representative head of the *maḥalle*. In some documents, the *maḥalle* appears to be headed by a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, responsible to and appointed by the Ottoman authorities, possibly on the recommendation of the inhabitants of the quarter. In 1242/1826 a new system was introduced, with the election of a *muk̲h̲tār* [*q.v.*] as headman for urban districts as well as villages.

Bibliography: A. Raymond, *Quartiers et mouvements populaires au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, in P. M. Holt, (ed.), *Political and social change in modern Egypt*, London 1968, 105-16; idem, *Essai de géographie des quartiers de résidence aristocratique au Caire au XVIIIème siècle*, in *JESHO*, vi (1963), 58-103; Nawāl al-Messiri Nadim, *The concept of the ḥāra: a historical and sociological study of al-Sukkariyya*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xv (1979), 313-48; A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century*, Princeton, N.J. 1978, 13-14, 34-41. See further MADĪNA, and the articles on individual cities, especially ISTANBUL. (ED).

AL-**MAḤALLĪ**, ABŪ ʿALĪ D̲J̲ALĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-S̲H̲ĀFIʿĪ, Egyptian scholar who was born and died in Cairo (b. 791/1389, d. 1 Muḥarram 864/28 October 1459). He is known above all as co-author of the famous Ḳurʾān commentary called the *Tafsīr al-D̲j̲alālayn* because it was completed by another D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn, the famous al-Suyūṭī (849-911/1445-1505 [*q.v.*]), who had been his pupil for some time. According to the latter, al-Maḥallī had commented on the sūras from XVIII (*al-Kahf*) to CXIV (*al-Nās*), as well as I (*al-Fātiḥa*) and a few verses of II (*al-Baḳara*).

Al-Maḥallī, who earned his living as a trader, is said to have had such an acute intelligence that it could "pierce a diamond" and a strict morality so rigorous that he attacked abuses of all kinds and refused the office of chief *ḳāḍī* when it was offered to him. He taught law in the two Muʾayyadiyya and Barḳūḳiyya *madrasas*, and furthermore utilised his wide and varied knowledge in *kalām*, grammar, logic, *uṣūl*, etc., in a series of works and above all commentaries, none of which, except for the *Tafsīr al-D̲j̲alālayn*, have been published, but of which various mss. are extant, since they had a certain success in scholarly circles. These include *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ fī ḥall D̲j̲amʿ al-d̲j̲awāhir*, comm. on the *D̲j̲amʿ* of al-Subkī [*q.v.*], of which there exist (as also of others of his works) several mss. in the B.N. Paris (see also Brockelmann, II, 89, II², 109; the Bag̲h̲dād journal *al-Mawrid*, i/1-3, 212, iii/1, 229, iii/3, 287, v/2, 214); this *s̲h̲arḥ* was itself made the subject of glosses by al-Wallālī (see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 291) and by al-Laḳānī (see Brockelmann, II², 109). One should further mention a commentary on the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (see Brockelmann, I, 265, I², 309, S I, 69); one on *al-Hudā al-nabawī* by Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya [*q.v.*] (see Brockelmann, II², 138, S II, 127); one on the *Minhād̲j̲ al-ṭālibīn* of *al-Nawawī* [*q.v.*] (see Brockelmann, I², 497); *al-Ḳawl al-mufīd fi 'l-Nīl al-saʿīd* (collection of verses, quotations, etc., in part, after al-Masʿūdī; see Brockelmann, II, 114, II², 138); *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* (see Brockelmann, II, 114, II², 138, S II, 127; cf. M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionnelle dans le Constantinois*, Strasbourg 1966, 40); and a commentary on *al-Waraḳāt fī uṣūl al-dīn* by al-D̲j̲uwaynī [*q.v.*] (see Brockelmann, I 389, I², 487).

Bibliography: The most detailed biography of al-Maḥallī is in Suyūṭī's *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 232, borrowed by Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt*, vii, 303-4; see also Sak̲h̲āwī, *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 39-41; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥid̲j̲āl*, i, 269; M. Ben Cheneb, *Idjâza*, § 190; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-d̲j̲adīda*, xv, 21; Brockelmann, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

MAḤAMMAD AL-**ḤĀD̲J̲D̲J̲**. [see AL-DILĀʾ, in Suppl.].

MAHARI OR **MAKARI** [see KOTOKO].

AL-**MAḤĀSIN** WA-'L-**MASĀWĪ** (A.) "merits and faults", a literary genre which developed in the course of the first centuries of the Islamic period, having originated within the Arabo-Muslim cultural heritage, although some scholars (Inostranzev, *Iranian influence on Moslem literature*, tr. from Russian by G. K. Nariman, Bombay 1918, 79-85; G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte des älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1932, 37-8; H. Massé, *Du genre littéraire débat en arabe et en persan*, in *CCM*, iv (1961), 137; I. Muḥammadī, *al-Adab al-fārisī fī ahamm adwārih wa-as̲h̲har aʿlāmih*, Beirut 1967, 136-7) have concluded, ill-advisedly, that it was inspired by an ancient Iranian model *s̲h̲āyist nā-s̲h̲āyist* ("auspicious/inauspicious"). This period witnessed the proliferation of debate, a genre well-known among the Arabs before the advent of Islam (*munāfarāt* and *mufāk̲h̲arāt*: bragging contest; see al-S̲h̲arīs̲h̲ī, *S̲h̲arḥ Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, Cairo 1952, iii, 33, 55-6; M. S̲h̲ukrī al-Ālūsī, *Bulūg̲h̲ al-arab*, Cairo 1924, i, 278-307; A. al-Hās̲h̲imī, *D̲j̲awāhir al-adab*, Cairo 1969, i, 224-37, 237-54; Massé, *op. laud.*, 137-47; Ṭ. al-Ḥād̲j̲irī, *al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ*, Cairo 1962, 41-56; S̲h̲. Ḍayf, *al-ʿAṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-awwal*, Cairo 1972, 457-64, al-*ʿAṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-t̲h̲ānī*, Cairo 1975, 535-40; I. Gériès, *Un genre littéraire arabe, al-Maḥāsin wa-l-masāwī*, Paris 1977, 6-12). Two categories of debate may be distinguished:

1. Theological debates (*munāẓarāt*), where the Muʿtazilīs were pre-eminent, not only in their combat with other sects and religions, but also in their internal dialectic, prompted, no doubt, by their admiration for plausible reasoning and influenced by the Sophists and by Greek philosophers in general. They made use of dialectic as a very efficacious instrument of analysis, a means of distinguishing absolute truth from relative truths.

2. Secular debates (*mufāk̲h̲arāt, munāẓarāt*) on a broad range of subjects coming to the fore in a new civilisation loaded with contrasting elements, particularly the conflict between the S̲h̲uʿūbīs and the believers in the supremacy of the Arabs, among whom al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (see Gériès, *op. laud.*) is a distinguished example. The antagonists were numerous. Some of them exploited every opportunity for debate, even on trivial questions, a fact which led al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, i, 11-25, vii, 7-8) to

describe them as *aṣḥāb al-khuṣūmāt*, declaring that he had no involvement with them.

This state of affairs inevitably had the effect of throwing doubt on the real worth of every idea and every concept, especially in a milieu where rationalism and Greek influence were the dominating forces. This fact was to influence ideas and literature, both in form and in content, most of all among the rationalists and in the case of al-Djāḥiẓ especially.

In his writings, this author shows an expert knowledge of the milieu, in all its aspects and contradictory tendencies. The characteristics of the milieu become associated with ideas borrowed from Greek philosophy, and it is these which must have led al-Djāḥiẓ to the concept which enable him to reply both to dualists and to determinist Muslims and which was to be one of the fundamentals of his doctrine: the relativity of good and evil in this world and the necessity of their co-existence for the optimum benefit (*al-aṣlaḥ*) of creation and especially for intelligent life.

The desire to illustrate and popularise his relativist conception of good and evil induces him to prepare, on the basis of the controversies of nis time, a fairly long literary text where there is discussion of the merits and faults of the cock and the dog (*maḥāsin al-dīk wa-masāwīh, wa-manāfiʿ al-kalb wa-maḍārruh*). This is presented to the reader in the form of a debate between two highly distinguished Muʿtazilīs. One of them (al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*]) favours and defends the cock (*ṣāḥib al-dīk*), while the other (Maʿbad [*q.v.*]) favours and defends the dog (*ṣāḥib al-kalb*); both are vehemently criticised by a certain accuser (*ʿāʾib*) who also censures the two animals and enumerates their vices.

It is not difficult to prove that this innovative debate is the invention of al-Djāḥiẓ himself, seeking out the merits and faults of the cock and the dog and simultaneously prompting the replies made to the accuser (see Gériès, *op. laud.*, 27, 34). He offers this controversy to the reader in a very amusing and attractive literary form. He is the first to present the opportunity of reading, in a book of *adab*, a text of reasonable length commenting on the *maḥāsin* and the *masāwī* of the subject under discussion. Al-Djāḥiẓ does not confine himself to talking of the cock and the dog: he exposes the merits and faults of many other objects known in his time, such as the pig, the monkey, the eunuch and fire (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 36, i, 106-77, iv, 35, v, 5; Gériès, 44-5, 53-4).

With the aid of these examples he aims to convince his readers that everything is relative. And this, he hopes, will make his task easier when he comes to expounding and explaining theoretically and logically, in the course of literary texts discussing the *maḥāsin* and *masāwī* of the cock and the dog, his thesis on the relativity of good and evil with reference to creatures and the necessity of their co-existence, thus proving that they are intrinsically good, in relation to creation and insofar as they are works of God. This enables him simultaneously to destroy the dualist thesis and to prove two of the fundamental Muʿtazilī principles: *al-tawḥīd* and *al-taʿdīl* (divine unity and divine justice) with everything that proceeds logically therefrom, and most significantly of all, free will (see I. Gériès, *Quelques aspects de la pensée muʿtazilite d'al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *SI*, lii [1980], 73-5). It should be emphasised that this philosophical treatise is presented in the form of a direct response by al-Djāḥiẓ to the attacks mounted by the accuser against the two Muʿtazilīs for having discussed the merits and the faults of the dog and the cock (*Ḥayawān*, i, 203-4; cf. Gériès, 35-54).

The method which consists of praising or censuring a certain object is thus nothing more than a logical and natural evolution from debate, owing to the contribution of al-Djāḥiẓ who sought to use it for a theological purpose. This is why the affirmation of the existence of good and of evil (*maḥāsin* and *masāwī*) in every thing is imbued, in his work, with a philosophical and theological significance: all is relative and all is important, and each creation has its place. It is in this sense that the *K. al-Ḥayawān* is to be understood, as it deals with various despicable elements of creation, the wisdom that they contain and their importance for the optimum state of the world. Similarly, in his books and his letters he deals with different social groups, stressing the important and indispensable role that each plays and concluding that each social group has its place (*Ḥaywān*, i, 43-4, 204-10; *al-Maʿāsh wa 'l-maʿād*, in *Rasāʾil al-Djāḥiẓ*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1964, i, 117; cf. Gériès, 44-54). This realisation comes to be applied in the Djāḥiẓian ethic, which in its principles is reminiscent of the Aristotelian ethic (see Gériès, 54-7).

The composition of literary texts containing praise and censure of the same object is therefore not, in the case of al-Djāḥiẓ, a worthless and insignificant game which seeks only to prove the verbal abilities of a skilful advocate. However, this will not be understood without a detailed study of the corpus of al-Djāḥiẓ's work, especially the *K. al-Ḥayawān*, the readers of which seem to have been attracted or shocked and even scandalised by the form and content of these texts. Al-Djāḥiẓ immediately acquired a renown which finds expression as much in the very violent attacks of certain later writers (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, Fr. tr. G. Lecomte, Damascus 1962, 73) as in the imitation of his method, although his imitators failed to understand the philosophical and theological significance implicit in this method and did not include it.

According to the periods in which works adopting the characteristic structure of certain writings of al-Djāḥiẓ were composed, the content and the form vary subject to the influence of the contemporary milieu and accented by dominant trends.

One of these writers who seems to be the most attracted by the Djāḥiẓian method is Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaḳī (3rd-4th/9th-10th century), author of a sizable book of *adab* entitled *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* (ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902; ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1961). Al-Bayhaḳī is unknown to the ancient Arab biographers; all that can be added to the material contained in the article AL-BAYHAḲĪ in *EI*[1], is that he was a moderate Shīʿī (Zaydī) and that he ascended the social scale to the point where he was a *nadīm* or companion of kings. Ibn al-Rūmī, who allows him this distinction, composed numerous satires (*hidjāʾ*) against him (see Gériès, 74-9; Ibn al-Rūmī, *Dīwān*, ed. M. Sh. Sālim, Beirut n.d., ii, 28-9, ed. M. Kaylānī, Cairo 1924, 202-6, poem no. 233; R. Guest, *Life and works of Ibn Er-Rumi*, London 1944, 29, 133; S. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī, sa vie et son œuvre*, Beirut 1967, index).

The subjects discussed in the *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* and the ideas which it reveals are virtually identical to those of Ibn Ḳutayba in the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, with the exception of the politico-religious tendencies which are to be perceived in the first part (see Gériès, 80-3). The factor which makes this book unique and different from other works of

adab is the precise method with which the writer deals with his subjects and his technique of revealing to the reader his own feelings towards them (*ibid.*, 79-89). Each chapter (*bāb*) is divided into two opposing sections: *maḥāsin* of . . ./ *masāwī* of . . . The contrast concerns either one single object possessing both merits and faults (e.g. *maḥāsin al-faḳr/masāwī al-faḳr*: poverty; see the *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, 98-107, 170-8, 297-307, 364-73, 386-92, 464-9, 599-605, 609-12, 619-22; cf. Gériès, 87-9), or, as is more common, two objects of which one is positive, praiseworthy and full of merit, the other negative, reprehensible and full of fault (*maḥāsin al-rasūl/masāwī man tanabbaʾa, maḥāsin al-s̲h̲idda/masāwī 'l-d̲j̲ubn*: the Prophet/false prophets, courage/cowardice; see 16-34, 111-32, 518-22; Gériès, 85-7).

Thus the terms *maḥāsin/masāwī* are not limited to a single connotation; in the first category, they signify merits/faults, good/bad examples, praise/censure; in the second: good, positive, virtuous, proper, laudable, qualities and merits of that which is *ḥasan* (good)/bad, negative, vicious, improper, despicable, vices and faults of that which is *ḳabīḥ* (bad).

In his introduction (16; cf. Gériès, 91-3), which in general terms is nothing more than a collection of remarks of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ in praise of books and of writing, al-Bayhaḳī explains the motives that have led him to give this title to his book and thus to follow this method of exposition. He says: "We have entitled it *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* because the optimal interest of the world, from the beginning to the end of time, resides in the co-existence of good and bad, of harmful and useful, likable and detestable. For if only bad existed, creatures would annihilate one another. And, if there were nothing but good, affliction would disappear and reasoning would have no value . . .".

This explanation is nothing other than the opening of the philosophical treatise presented by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* as a reply to the accuser. Al-Bayhaḳī, although he reproduces only the first few lines and seems to dissociate himself from its theological purpose, thus proves that it is precisely the *K. al-Ḥayawān* and the justification advanced for the debate by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ that inspire him. His book represents the historic moment at which a logical approach, itself already appearing in a literary form typical of *adab*, became transformed into an independent literary genre (see Gériès, 91-7, 151).

However, as has been seen, al-Bayhaḳī does not in the majority of cases apply the D̲j̲āḥiẓian procedure which consists of praising or censuring an object or a subject of some kind; he distorts it whenever it seems to endanger his ideological interest, using the terms *maḥāsin* and *masāwī* as a means of proclaiming in advance, in chapter-headings, his feelings and attitudes towards the subjects discussed.

The criteria which govern his choice of subjects and dictate the positions that he adopts are: his politico-religious principles, moral principles and the socio-cultural and literary tendencies, already given definitive form by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ and Ibn Ḳutayba in the *adab* of the 3rd/9th century, whose books are also his primary sources (see Gériès, 79-89).

The author of *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* supports his thinking and his judgments, expressed in advance in the titles, with the aid of chosen fragments of *adab* which illustrate them: quotations in prose and verse, anecdotes, lengthy narratives and traditions (*maḥāsin al-ak̲h̲bār wa-ẓarāʾif al-āt̲h̲ār*, as he himself calls them). Except in the titles, which are the only reflection of his thinking, he makes no personal intervention in the text.

The reader of al-Bayhaḳī's book will be confronted with a testament of the practical philosophy of a 3rd/10th century Zaydī connoisseur of *adab*. It is as a result of the method of contrasting good with evil that we are able to arrive at an understanding of this philosophy, although, for others, who do not seem to have studied the work in detail, this method excludes the true position of the author and signifies, in their opinion, praising and censuring (thesis and antithesis) one single object (see A. Ḍayf, *al-ʿAṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-t̲h̲ānī*, 540-7; Gériès, 90, n. 2).

This false interpretation is doubtless based on the fact that in a large number of chapters, the opposition of the two sections is a function of the antonymous terms *maḥāsin* and *masāwī* and not of the subjects under discussion, which gives the impression that this is an example of the D̲j̲āḥiẓian procedure of praising and censuring every thing.

This false interpretation of the *maḥāsin/masāwī* contrast is not new. It appears in as early a work as the pseudo-D̲j̲āḥiẓ's *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-aḍdād* (ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1898, German tr. O. Rescher, ii. *Über guten und schlechten Seiten der Dinge*, Stuttgart 1922, i. *Das K. al-Maḥāsin wa-l-masāwī*, Constantinople 1926; the Arabic text has been reprinted in Cairo in 1324/1906-7 and in Beirut in 1969). This author, who seems to have been well-acquainted with al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, is the first to imitate al-Bayhaḳī, going so far as to reproduce a substantial part of his work. In fact, the first part of *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-aḍdād* is found in al-Bayhaḳī's work, but in a more complete, exact and correct form (see introd. by van Vloten, pp. ix-x, xiv; cf. Gériès, 102-10, 112-15). The anonymous author reproduces none of the chapters dealing with politico-religious subjects which reflect the tendencies of al-Bayhaḳī. The modifications which he introduces into the plagiarised chapters and passages show that he has not properly understood the method followed by this author and that he has been seduced by the D̲j̲āḥiẓian procedure of bestowing praise and censure.

Significantly, he has substituted for *masāwī* the term *ḍidduhu* (its opposite). Thus for him the opposition is: *maḥāsin* of . . ./*ḍidduhu*. This means that he systematically contrasts the sub-chapters *maḥāsin* of . . . with their opposites, without allowing the reader to deduce whether he will find under the title *ḍidduhu* censure of the same subject praised under the heading *maḥāsin* (good/bad sides of the subject) or a subject antithetical to that which has been praised (praise of the good and of the proper/censure of the bad and of the improper). Thus in the example *maḥāsin al-wafāʾ/ḍidduhu* (70-6), it is difficult to decide whether it is a case of: "praise of fidelity/censure of fidelity" or of "praise of fidelity/censure of infidelity", a confusion which arises from the ambiguity of the pronoun *hu* in *ḍidduhu*. Furthermore, there is the fact that the book is attributed to al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, with the object of creating in the reader the impression that he is confronted by the D̲j̲āḥiẓian method, consisting of praising and censuring every notion, and that there is nothing here but a simple literary game. This, it seems, is the anonymous author's conception of this method.

This is why care should be taken to avoid attributing to him the same intentions and the same motives as those of al-Bayhaḳī. The things that interest him, besides the method of contrasting, are entertaining subjects and literary texts. The desire to distract and to entertain is even more evident in

the second part of his book, which is borrowed not from al-Bayhaḳī but from other sources (see introd. by van Vloten, pp. xii-xiv; Gériès, 116-18). Here, with the exception of the last two chapters which deal with Persian feasts and with gifts, the subject most prominently discussed is that of women: women famous for various reasons, their beauty, examples of romantic intrigues, their fidelity and their infidelity, their wiles and their relationships with men, etc.

Nevertheless, the author applies the contrasting method in only five of the twenty-one subjects tackled in this part of the book, and he confines himself, in the others, to presenting the *maḥāsin* (which here signifies the fine examples or beauties) of the subjects under discussion.

Curiously, he uses the method of contrasting in three cases to present that which to him appears good and praiseworthy in opposition to that which seems evil and culpable: fidelity/infidelity of women, reasonable jealousy/excessive jealousy, copulation/impotence. Furthermore, he uses the terms *maḥāsin/masāwī* to reveal, in the title, his judgments and feelings regarding the subjects in question. He does the same in the two other cases, whose titles give the impression that he is conforming to the method which consists of attacking and defending every notion: *maḥāsin/masāwī makr al-nisā'* (intrigues of women) and *maḥāsin/masāwī 'l-dabīb* (stealthy approach of a man seeking to seduce a woman: 263-72, 348-56). In the first case, intrigues performed for a reputable purpose are commended with the term *maḥāsin* (good intrigues), and those of which the objective is vicious and reprehensible are deplored (wicked intrigues). It is not impossible that the author intended, in this way, to expose the ambivalent attitude of *adab* and of the Muslim ethic towards intrigue. However, the terms *maḥāsin/masāwī* cannot here be translated by praise and blame. In the second case, a short tale of a successful *dabīb* is classed under the heading of *maḥāsin*; on the other hand, attempts which end in failure are classified as *masāwī*. Thus favourable/critical judgment depends on the result of the adventure and not on the conduct itself; in other words, there is no place here for praise and censure of the *dabīb*.

These two connotations of opposition characterise the majority of the chapters of al-Bayhaḳī. Thus the anonymous author has brought no innovation to the contrasting method itself; he has however varied the range of themes tackled, placing the accent on amusing, piquant and even erotic subjects, which brings his book closer to the genre of *belles-lettres* than to work of al-Bayhaḳī.

The literary and entertaining aspect which characterises *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-aḍdad*, whose overall title is also that of the majority of its chapters, and the fact that it bears the name of al-Djāḥiẓ, serve to reinforce the impression that one is faced with the method of praising and censuring every notion, and this element has enhanced the renown acquired by it within this genre.

This reputation seems to have been very widespread in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, as is expressed through the attribution to al-Djāḥiẓ of a letter (ed. Pellat, in *Machriq* [1956] 70-8; cf. Gériès, 120-5) bearing the title *Fī dhamm al-ʿulūm wa-madḥihā* ("Censure and praise of the sciences"). Its author systematically applies the original Djāḥiẓian method; one by one he censures and praises various sciences and professions with the aid of phrases of *waṣf* (description and evaluation) in rhymed prose which he has drawn from books of *adab*, including those of al-Djāḥiẓ. Analysis of the letter shows that this author is seduced by the effects of style and form involved in the method and not by its philosophical and theological connotations, an attitude thoroughly typical of his age.

The same pre-occupation comes to light soon after in the work of one of the most prolific of 5th/11th century authors, al-Thaʿālibī. Living in a period where Arabic culture was shaped by rhymed prose and by systematic pursuit of form and virtuosity, and in a milieu whose sole concern was with the invention of harmonious forms and formulas for the expression of every thought, he found that the Djāḥiẓian method was the best formula for supplying the needs of the *kātib* (scribe and functionary) and the *adīb* ("gentleman") of his age in their professional lives and in their encounters: stereotyped expressions finely-composed in prose and poetry, bearing on the main subjects of *adab* and expressing the two contrary views which people might take towards them or, more accurately, which *adab* had already taken towards them.

To this effect, al-Thaʿālibī, in his two identical books *al-Ẓarā'if wa 'l-laṭā'if fi 'l-aḍdād* and *Yawāḳīt fī baʿḍ al-mawāḳīt fī madḥ kull shay' wa-dhammih* (which a certain Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Maḳdisī brought together in a single edition, published several times in Baghdād and Cairo; the Cairo edition of 1324/1906-7 is the one used here), tackles each of the eighty subjects that are discussed in a chapter divided into two: *madḥ* . . ./*dhamm* . . .; in the first part he offers elegant quotations in praise of the subject, and in the second he gives those which censure it (for example: *madḥ/dhamm al-ʿaḳl*, reason; of *al-ghinā*, fortune, etc., 16-18; cf. Gériès, 122, 126-39).

This fundamental pre-occupation of the author excludes the anecdotes and lengthy narrations which characterise al-Bayhaḳī's book and that of pseudo-Djāḥiẓ. For al-Thaʿālibī, passing praise and censure on every subject is a proof of virtuosity and the witness to a great talent (*balāgha*), as well as evidence of a profound knowledge of the Arabic literary heritage (18). It is for this reason that he composes several books following this method, in which he repeats himself, to such an extent that in two of them he even reproduces the same themes and the same quotations, while giving to each of them a different title. Furthermore, he dedicates them to two different persons, adding, in the introduction to each, the pretence that in this book he has invented material that is original and totally unprecedented (2-4; cf. Gériès, 132-3).

In addition, he reproduces a large proportion of the materials presented in these books in a third which he entitles *al-Taḥsīn wa-l-taḳbīḥ* (mss. Istanbul, Rāghib Pasha 1473, Fayḍ Allāh 2133, edition of the text in preparation), and in which the opposition is presented in a new form: he praises that which is generally regarded as bad and passes censure on that which is generally regarded as good, apparently seeking, once again, to present a book which may appear new and unique in its genre.

In these three books of al-Thaʿālibī, there is nothing to confirm the view that the author was acquainted with the work of al-Bayhaḳī or of pseudo-Djāḥiẓ. On the other hand, it is the direct or indirect influence of the Djāḥiẓian corpus that seems to be acting upon him, impelling him to follow the method which involves praising and censuring every notion (see Gériès, 138-41).

One of the books of al-Thaʿālibī has been abridged, in the form of an entertainment, by a certain Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ibshīrī, who presents his work (unpublished; a single manuscript is known, preserved in Leiden Or. 1454) as the abridgement of the *K. al-ʿUmda fī madḥ al-shayʾ wa-ḍiddihi*; the work involved is probably the *Yawāḳīt*, of which one of the copies bears the name retained by al-Ibshīrī (see Gériès, 141-2).

The procedure, which consists of praising and censuring every thing and which has become synonymous with the display of literary talent, is encountered among numerous authors of *adab* subsequent to al-Thaʿālibī, who apply it sporadically in their books. Thus, al-Azdī in the *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim* (ed. Mez, Heidelberg 1902, 21-6, 105-6) and al-Ḥarīrī in his *Maḳāmāt* (*al-maḳāma al-dīnāriyya*, 27-30 of the Cairo 1326/1908-9 edition).

One of these authors, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ (631-718/1234-1318) seems to be the most attracted by al-Thaʿālibī's method in its two forms: praise/censure on the one hand, on the other, praising that which is bad, censuring that which is good (see Gériès, 145-8). He applies this method systematically throughout his work of *adab* (*Ghurar al-khaṣāʾiṣ al-wāḍiḥa, wa-ʿurar al-naḳāʾis al-fāḍiḥa*, Cairo 1318/1900), dealing with sixteen ethical themes: eight virtues (*khiṣāl*) and their opposites (*naḳāʾiṣ*). Each of the first eight chapters is subdivided into three parts: 1. Praise of the virtue with the aid of chosen texts; 2. Anecdotes, stories and poetry concerning individuals who are endowed with this virtue or have become famous for having displayed it; 3. Censure of the virtue. Similarly, each chapter of *naḳāʾiṣ* is subdivided into three parts: 1. Censure of the vice; 2. Anecdotes, stories and poems concerning individuals who are afflicted with this vice or have become famous for having displayed it; 3. Praise of the vice.

Thus, with the aid of chosen extracts, he discusses the major ethical themes, showing evidence of a well-informed acquaintance with the ambivalent attitudes expressed in *adab* towards the virtues and vices in question, an attitude due not only to Aristotelian thought, which characterises the Djāḥiẓian ethic, but also to the contradiction of tendencies and concepts encountered in the bosom of Islamic civilisation and expressed in the writings of authors of *adab* since the time of al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn Ḳutayba, precisely by means of this procedure consisting of exposing the merits and faults of the subject in question (see G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus 1965, 462-5; Gériès, 65-6).

This literary genre has no doubt attracted many other authors, but, at this time, their writings are still unknown to us.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(I. Gériès)

MAHĀT (A., pl. *mahāⁿ*, *mahawāt*, *mahayāt*), a feminine noun denoting the large oryx and the addax antelope. Both these meanings merge in the expression *baḳar waḥshī*, *baḳar al-waḥsh* (coll. *baḳara waḥshiyya* (sing.) "wild cattle" [see BAḲAR]).

The root *m-h-w* suggests sparkling whiteness, and *al-mahā* is applied to rock crystal (*billawr*), pearl (*durr*, *luʾluʾ*) and any bright star (*kawkab*). The almost-immaculate coat of these beautiful, desert antelopes certainly warrants the description *al-mahāt*, the word used to describe *māriyya*/*munriya*, *layāḥ*, *lahaḳ*/*lahāḳ*, *kawkab*.

The oryx and the addax live in small herds which are dominated by one of the males. From time to time they gather to migrate, and can be observed among the dunes by the Bedouin from a distance. They seem to have reminded them of their own flocks, for they call them *niʿādj al-raml* "sand ewes". At first sight, male and female are hardly distinguishable, but they do differ slightly in height and in horn thickness; *mahāt* and the other names are used without gender distinction, as are the poetical descriptions of them like *ʿaynāʾ*, (pl. *ʿīn*) "with big, black eyes" and *khansāʾ* "with a flat muzzle". The desert folk are very acute in their observations, and they use a more precise vocabulary to describe the animals at different stages of their development. The calf at birth is *baḥzadj* or *barghaz*, but if it is completely white, *mārī* is used. As it grows and up to the time of its weaning (*fiṭām*), it is called *fazz*, *farīr*, *farḳad* and *djawdhar*. A male (bull) calf has the name *arkh*/*irkh*/*urkhī*, and the adult male *shāt*; in the rutting season, its restless and skittish manner is aptly described as *nāshiṭ* "lively" and *mikhrāḳ* "pawing the ground". The old bull, *ḳarhab*, is often found living alone.

1. The oryx. In the semi-desert areas of Africa, Syria and Arabia, several species of oryx are found. Even some of the rare white oryx (*Oryx algazel algazel*) have survived on the northern edges of the Sahara, where it is called *waḥsh* in Chad, *warḳ*/*wark*/*ūrgiyya* (pl. *ūrg*) in Mauretania (in the Egyptian Sudan, it is called *abū ḥarāb*, and in Tamahaḳḳ of Ahaggar, *ezam*/*izem*/*texemt*, pl. *izemmen*/*tizemmin* and *ehem*/*tehemt*, pl. *ihemmen*/*tihemmin*). The last specimen in Tunisia was killed south of Douz in 1906, but in ancient times it was said to be common in southern Morocco, the high Algerian plains and southern Tunisia. From murals in ancient Egyptian tombs, there is evidence that it was domesticated under the Pharaohs and used as a draught animal. Pliny says ... *orygem appellat Aegyptus*, which, considering how Latin was pronounced then, suggests that the name should be compared with Moorish *ūrgiyya*.

In the Middle Ages, the animal was known in the Sahara by the name of *lamṭ*, and its skin was used to make the famous shields [see LAMṬ].

Now the white oryx has almost completely disappeared from the Sahara. This has been caused in fairly recent times by the increasing number and better quality of firearms in the area, and also by the ploughing-up of the desert by incessant motorised traffic. The oryx is, after all, a big, heavy creature, short-winded and not very fierce; it used to be that a good mehari camel was all that was needed to catch it quickly. Saharan travellers in the last century found great herds of oryx which, they said, could be numbered in hundreds, but that now seems an age ago.

There are two other species in Africa, with darker coats and clear black stripes, the *oryx gazella* in the south-west and the *beisa* (perhaps derived from *bayḍāʾ* "white") oryx which includes the *oryx beisa beisa* of Abyssinia, *o.b. gallarum* of Mozambique, *o.b. annectens* and *o.b. callotis* in the south-east and Kilimanjaro. None of these brightly-marked antelopes are, however, found in Arabic-speaking countries. There has always been a distinct species in Arabia, the *oryx leucoryx* (formerly *beatrix*) known as the sabre-horned or Arabian oryx, which is found as far as the borders of Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and which was the first species to be called *al-mahāt* by the Arabs. Their tapering black horns are ringed, and curve back majestically like those of their African cousins. They are usually more than a metre long and are perfectly parallel, so that when

seen from the side the animal seems to have just one horn. That is why the oryx was thought, wrongly, to have connections with the unicorn, but that mythical animal is in fact to be connected with the rhinoceros [see KARKADDAN].

Probably no other desert wild animal, except the onager (*ḥimār al-waḥsh*), has been described more than the sabre-horned antelope by the pre-Islamic poets and their later imitators. The animal was not used as a principal theme in their *ḳaṣā'id*, but as a background image of the hard desert life and the difficulties in it that the poet would have experienced himself. There are long descriptions of hunting for the oryx and of its death (*ṭarad*), which, incidentally, show how abundant it must have been. The poet, wishing to emphasise the high moral qualities of the huntsman, by a literary device transfers these qualities to the brave, hunted animal. The scene itself is conventional, but it reflects an idyllic picture of violent hunting in all its details. Sometimes the poet mounts a horse, and then the oryx is soon caught, after a terrifying chase in which as often as not three salukis participate, and is brought down at the point of a lance. Eulogies of the horse like this are common in Imru' al-Ḳays, Zuhayr b. Abī Sulma, ʿAlḳama al-Faḥl and a number of others when they write lamentations. On other occasions, he will mount a she-camel, and then the story of the chase ends differently, for the oryx becomes the symbol of this matchless she-camel and it triumphs over all its adversaries by its speed and endurance; it will stop only to rip open a dog or two with its terrifying horns. Such poems are accordingly panegyrics, and al-Djāḥiẓ has carefully discussed this mechanical literary device in archaic poetry in his *Ḥayawān*, ii, 20, where he says, "when the poem is a lamentation or exhortation, it is usual for poets to let the dogs kill the oryx, but in panegyrics, where the camel is said to be an oryx with certain special qualities, it is the dogs that are killed. That is not to say that such events are poetic fabrications, for oryx bulls have often killed or injured dogs, but it usually happens that the hunted animal is the victim in the end, the dogs emerge safe and well and their master has found his quarry."

A more romantic picture is sometimes drawn to show the effect of the four seasons of the life of the oryx, each with its own particular difficulties, struggles and hardships. Such pictures represent the challenges the pre-Islamic Bedouin faced in their daily life, whether they were real or not.The bull, for example, is shown as wandering far in search of a mate and as confronting many rivals in tests of his prowess; here is a picture of the marriage difficulties of an old desert dweller, who could well have turned to abducting young girls. Then there is the agonising plight of the mother who goes lowing after her young calf which has been devoured (*masbūʿa*) by beasts of prey. Her search is vain, and she strays from her herd (*idjl, rabrab, ṣuwār/ṣiwār, sirb*) and thus puts her own life at risk. Images like this are used frequently by Labīd b. Rabīʿa al-ʿĀmirī and by al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī among others. They evoke the cruel distress of so many mothers who have wept over the loss of a son killed in a raid, or over the loss of a daughter snatched forcefully away by a hostile clan. Clearly, images like this are not devised by town dwellers, but they are an essential feature of the distant experiences of their nomadic ancestors. Such nostalgic reminiscences of desert life are usually found in poetry up to the time of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, and one of the last to use them in his poetry was Dhu 'l-Rumma.

In the Yemen during the Ḥimyaritic period, the ibex (*waʿil*) and the oryx were game animals which were hunted in accordance with ancient cultic rites. Archaeologists have excavated many bas-reliefs on which they are depicted (see in the *Bibl.* the important works here of M. Höfner, R. B. Sergeant and J. Ryckmans). Before the dawn of Islam, in the northerly regions of the peninsula the oryx had a special position as a sacrificial beast (*ʿatīra*) in the ritual, idolatrous offerings performed by the Arabs in the month of general truce, Radjab; the oryx was included with domestic cattle in the list of *radjabiyyāt* (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 511).

There were still about a thousand oryx in Arabia in 1950, but nine years later only about a hundred were left, in the remote regions of the "Empty Quarter" (*al-Rubʿ al-khālī*) to the north-west of Aden. Seventy of these were destroyed by motorised safaris with automatic weapons in 1960-1. Faced with such a serious situation, the World Wild Life Fund organised a rescue mission under Major I. R. Grimwood in 1962 and three animals were captured. To these were added one offered by the Kuwaiti ruler and four from King Ibn Saʿūd. These eight survivors formed the nucleus of a small breeding herd set up in a desert preservation in Phoenix, Arizona. At present there is just one small protected herd in a *shaykh*'s park, but apart from these animals, the white oryx, locally the *wuḍayḥī* or *abū sūlaʿ*, can be considered an extinct species in Arabia and the Near East. Some of the *amīrs* have introduced as a substitute in some areas the oryx-gazelle, which is native to Africa.

2. The addax. In North Africa, *mahāt* also denotes the addax (*Addax nasomaculatus*), a cousin of the oryx. This animal is extremely rare, and is found in a narrow strip of land in the Sahara, from Mauretania to the western edge of the Nile. At the beginning of this century, it could also be found in Palestine and Arabia, and it is recorded in ancient Syria and Mesopotamia. The main distinction between the addax and the oryx is the absence of any brownish-red markings on the neck and breast. Other distinguishing marks are its brown forehead, its white tear-pit, its reddish nose and its noticeably long horns (*ṣīṣa/ṣīṣiyya*, pl. *ṣayāṣī*). These are straight with a slight backward slope and a two-and-a-half turn spiral; they are fully annulated. Both antelopes enjoy the same habitat and display the same behaviour, but the addax seems generally better adapted to its environment than the oryx. It is more resistant to thirst for, like the camel, it carries a special sac containing an aqueous, slightly acidulous liquid in its belly, and this has been the salvation of many a waterless hunter (Pliny refers to it in *Nat. Hist.*, xi, 27); moreover, its wide, spongy hoof is a great help when it comes to long, sustained journeys across the dunes.

Two vernacular Arab names for the animal are in use, *mehā* and *bger el-waḥsh*, and perhaps echoes of an earlier African term, taken into Latin by Pliny as *addax*, are to be found in its Sudanese and Upper Egyptian names *ʿakash/ʿakaṣ, bū ʿakash, bū ʿaddas*; the origin and meaning of these names is still uncertain. The Touareg call it *amellal/tamellatl*, pl. *imellalen/timellalin* (from the verb "to be white"), and thus draw attention to the whiteness of its coat. They regard the addax as a choice game animal, and hunt it as soon as the herds mass together in the spring. Observers in the last century said that there could be as many as 300 animals in such gatherings (see G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, Berlin

1879-89, i, 551). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, travelling five centuries earlier in the spring of 753/1352 from Tāsarahla to Iwālaten (Walata), was amazed at the abundance of the herds and by their evident fearlessness of man. He noted that the people of the region hunted the addax with dogs and shot them down with arrows. He added that they were very fond of the stomach liquid, and that they used to slake their thirst from their victims. For his own part, he did not find the meat enjoyable, saying that it was dry and tasteless (*Riḥla*, ii, 190). Because it was relatively slow-footed, it was easy to capture, and the antelope offered the hunter not just venison as his prize but also leather and the stomach liquid. This liquid was said to possess many virtues, and it commanded a high price in the markets in large centres as far away as Tunis. There was also the attraction of extracting bezoars [see BĀZAHR[known locally as *biḍ el-mehā* "antelopes' eggs", from the viscera. These biliary concentrations occur very frequently in the digestive systems of ruminants, and the preparation was greatly valued in the mediaeval pharmacopoeia for its supposed qualities as an antidote and a aphrodisiac. Jewish pharmacists and druggists from the cities of the Maghrib went about collecting them eagerly from the nomads and then sold them speculatively to sultans and persons of high rank. The addax skin was, by contrast, much less valuable than that of the oryx; it was used only for shoe-making and saddlery. Of course, the trick was not unknown of substituting addax-leather for oryx-leather for making the famous impenetrable shields mentioned above.

Before fire-arms and motor-cars arrived, the addax was hunted with dogs, and it was also caught in traps (the spiked-wheel trap and the crossbow trap). The Tibbu of Tenere would encircle a herd and catch beasts in nets in order to eat the succulent marrow from the large bones. To-day there is no longer any question of hunting the addax, for the species has been so drastically reduced. It has disappeared from the vast Western Erg, but there may be an occasional specimen to be found between Ouargla and Ghadamès, and others to the south of Hamada of Tinghert and to the north of Timbuctu and in the regions of Termit and Agadem to the south of Tenere and in the Nubian Desert.

It is surprising to find that the great Arab naturalists have said very little about these two important antelopes, *mahā'*. Al-Djāḥiẓ makes a few remarks about them, but these last are only hearsay. One feature which he notes is that the bull is very vulnerable under pursuit because prolonged running triggers off urine retention (*ḥuḍr*), which can prove fatal. He goes on to say that the oryx likes to crunch colocynth (*ḥanẓal*) because its bitter taste helps prevent thirst, that genies may ride it at night, and that it will grow tame in captivity (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 118; vi, 23, 46, 316; vii, 187). Al-Ḳazwīnī seems to have ignored them altogether, and under the rubric *baḳar al-waḥsh* (*ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ii, 203-4), he speaks only of the axis deer (*Cervus axis*), the Persian *gāv-i zan*, with its antlers which fall off each year. Al-Damīrī follows him and reproduces the earlier remarks, but seems not to know which animal he is speaking about. Under the rubric *al-baḳar al-waḥshī* (*Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 142-3), he states that this name denotes all four species: *mahā* "oryx-addax"; *ayyil/uyyal* "cervidae"; *yaḥmūr* "roe-deer"; *thaytal/taytal* "bubalis". Under the heading *al-mahā*, he simply describes the ardour (*shabaḳ*) of the male in the rut, and then recounts word-for-word what al-Ḳazwīnī had mentioned about the "particular virtues" ascribed to the organs of the cervidae; he drew particular attention to the antlers, which were supposed to be useful as an aphrodisiac when powdered (ii, 330-1). The poet Kushādjim [*q.v.*] says, in his *Maṣāyid*, 160-2, that the lowing (*khuwār ghamghama*) of the oryx cow is very much louder than that of the bull and that oryx venison has warming qualities; it makes the blood thick and black, and it should always be boiled with plenty of vinegar. The first Arab, he adds, who hunted the oryx on horseback was, according to tradition, Rabīʿa b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān. All this information is repeated in the writings of al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, ii, 44). The Mamlūk Ibn Manglī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a writer on cynegetics and a huntsman himself in the 8th/14th century, give some "helpful advice" (*Uns al-malaʾ*, ms. Paris B.N., Ar. 2832, fols. 11b, 21a) on how to bring the oryx down once it has been stopped: to thrust obliquely with a sabre, cutting at random, and immediately lifting the blade again in order not to wound the horse. He then recommends trying to hamstring the animal: hurl a missile (*ḥadhāfa*), one which has a head bristling with spikes and a long haft, between the legs of the galloping animal. The animal should not be killed outright, for there must be a chance of strangling it ritually so that its meat can be eaten licitly. They may also be hunted with a cheetah [see FAHD]. In his *Djamhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara* (ms. Escurial, Ar. 903, fol. 143a-b) Ibn Manglī repeats the sayings of his esteemed master from the preceding century, ʿĪsā al-Asadī, that good results with cheetahs can be obtained only in Syria, where they are more robust and aggressive.

The Touareg of the Aïr believe that the addax is a good predator on snakes for, according to legend, it is completely immune to vipers' venom. That is why many natives wear a piece of addax skin as a talisman, and they decorate their tents with its horns, skin and fat, which ward off all kinds of reptiles (see H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951, 75-87).

The gleaming bright, black pupil of the oryx and the addax (*ḥadaḳ al-mahā*), in contrast to the white of the eye, was an image dear to poets. It has earned them the title *al-ʿīn*, associated with *aḥwar*, pl. *ḥūr* "very white". It is in fact well-known that the houris (*al-ḥūr al-ʿīn* [*q.v.*]), the wives of the elect in paradise, have languorous antelopes' eyes set in a face with the complexion of pearl or milk. That is the mark of perfect feminine beauty as judged by the Arabs. The Greeks had already expressed their similar aesthetic delight when they gave "great cows' eyes" to their goddess Hera (corresponding to Roman Juno), queen of Olympus, daughter of Kronos, wife of Zeus ("Ηρα Βοῶπις). The Greek adjective could metaphorically apply to any beautiful woman, as could the Arabic *mahāt/mahān*. It is the opinion of philologists that, if the whiteness of the complexion is being described, the comparison suggests the whiteness of pearl or crystal; but if there is a description of beautiful eyes with pupils dark as night set in a milky white complexion, then it is from the oryx and the addax that the image is borrowed (see *LA*, s.v. *m-h-w*).

To conclude, after all this information, it is really frightening to think that the zoological term *mahāt* may soon be no more than a word in the dictionary, reminding us of a species which will have vanished from the lands of Islam, like *naʿām* "ostrich" and *ḥimār al-waḥsh* "onager"; it will have vanished

just because of man's insatiable, thoughtless greed.

In astronomy, the star al-Farkad (= Phercad) "the oryx calf", is γ *Ursae minoris*; this star and the associated β *Ursae minoris* together form *al-farkadayn* (= Elfarcadin) "the two calves", the "guardians" of the North Pole.

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(F. Viré)

MAḤBŪB b. al-**RAḤĪL** al-ʿ**ABDĪ**, Abu Sufyān, Ibāḍī theologian and historian, originally from the Arabic tribe of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ḳays, who lived in the 2nd/8th century and who is cited in the *Kitāb Ṭabakāt al-mashāyikh* of al-Dardjīnī (d. 670/1227 [*q.v.*]) amongst the scholars of the fourth *ṭabaḳa* or class. His family came originally from ʿIrāḳ (his grandfather al-Malīḥ al-ʿAbdī was one of the close friends of the head of the Ibāḍī community in Baṣra, the famous Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma al-Tamīmī [see al-ibāḍiyya]), and he first lived in ʿUmān. Then he settled in Baṣra, where he became a pupil of Abū ʿUbayda. After the death of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī, head of the Ibāḍī community in Baṣra after Abū ʿUbayda, spiritual supremacy in the Ibāḍī world passed to Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl. In effect, he acted as arbiter over the schism of Khalaf b. al-Samḥ in the Maghrib [see al-khalafiyya] during the reign of the Rustamid *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, and wrote a *risāla* (or *ʿahd*) to the Ibāḍī chief ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī, called Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ (d. 129/747), who set up in South Arabia the first Ibāḍī imāmate and who occupied Mecca and Medina. Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl became especially known as a historian, and it is to him that we owe the greater part of the traditions about the oldest Ibāḍī *shaykhs*. His historical work, mentioned in al-Barrādī's catalogue (9th/15th century) under the title of *Kitāb Abī Sufyān*, served as al-Dardjīnī's basis for the putting-together of the first four classes of his *K. Ṭabakāt al-mashāyikh*, where he is cited several times.

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(T. Lewicki)

MAHDAWĪS, a sectarian group in Indian Islam, the followers of Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī (847-910/1443-1505) of Djawnpur [*q.v.*], near Benares, who declared that he was the promised Mahdī [*q.v.*] and by his preaching gained a number of adherents in Aḥmadābād [*q.v.*] and other parts of Gudjarāt. He was compelled to leave India, however, and died at Farāh in what is now western Afghānistān, where he was buried. His followers credited him with the power of working miracles, raising the dead, healing the blind and the dumb, etc. For a time, they were allowed to profess their faith without official harassment; but in the reign of Muẓaffar II, Sultan of Gudjarāt (917-32/1511-26) they were persecuted, and many of them put to death. The Mughal prince Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] also moved against them when in 1055/1645 he became governor of Aḥmadābād. In consequence of these persecutions, most Mahdawīs began to practise *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*] and tried to pass as orthodox Muslims. Their exact number, therefore, remains today uncertain. They are found in small groups in some parts of Gudjarāt, in Bombay, in the Deccan, in Uttar Pradesh and also in Sind, where they are known as Zikrīs [see dhikrīs in Suppl.]. They believe that Sayyid Muḥammad was the last Imām, the promised Mahdī, and in consequence of his having come they are said by their religious opponents neither to repent for their sins nor to pray for the souls of their dead. They observe certain ceremonies peculiar to themselves at marriages and funerals, and are often lax in observing the five canonical pillars of Islam. By their enemies they are styled Ghayr-Mahdīs, i.e. those who do not believe in a Mahdī still to come; but the Mahdawīs themselves apply this designation to other Muslims, charging them with failure to recognise the Mahdī who has already appeared.

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(T. W. Arnold - [B. Lawrence])

al-**MAHDĪ** (a.), "the rightly guided one" is the name of the restorer of religion and justice who, according to a widely held Muslim belief, will

rule before the end of the world. The present article will trace the history of this belief and will deal with the political history of Mahdist movements only in so far as relevant (for the Sudanese movement, see AL-MAHDIYYA).

Origin and early development during the Umayyad age. The term *mahdī* as such does not occur in the Ḳur'ān; but the name is clearly derived from the Arabic root *h-d-y* commonly used in it in the meaning of divine guidance. As an honorific epithet without messianic significance, the term was employed from the beginning of Islam (references gathered by Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 267). Ḥassān b. Thābit thus applied it to the Prophet, and Djarīr to Abraham. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad referred to al-Ḥusayn, after his martyrdom, as "Mahdī son of the Mahdī", and al-Farazdaḳ called al-Walīd in a panegyric the sixth of six caliphs of ʿAbd Shams from ʿUthmān who were *hudāt mahdiyyūn* (*Dīwān al-Farazdaḳ*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, Cairo 1936, 88). During the Second Civil War, after the death of Muʿāwiya, the term came first to be used for an expected ruler who would restore Islam to its original perfection. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr claimed the caliphate as such a restorer. Though he does not seem to have been given the epithet al-Mahdī, his career substantially shaped the later image of the expected Mahdī. In Kūfa, al-Mukhtār proclaimed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya as the Mahdī in this heightened sense. Among his opponents of the Kūfan nobility who fled from him to Baṣra was Mūsā, son of the Companion Ṭalḥa. He was viewed there as the expected Mahdī by many people who hoped that he would claim the caliphate, but he refused to engage himself in the *fitna*, pointing to the example of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar in the First Civil War (Ibn Saʿd, v, 120 f.). Among the Umayyad caliphs, Sulaymān (96-9/715-17) seems to have been the first one to have encouraged the belief that he was the Mahdī who would restore justice after oppression had become widespread under his predecessors. He is often addressed as the Mahdī in this sense in the panegyrics of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ. The latter affirmed specifically that the spine of the religion had been straightened after having become crooked and that all grievances (*maẓālim*) had been removed by the Mahdī, meaning Sulaymān (*Dīwān*, 638, 801). The apocalyptic aspect of al-Farazdaḳ's concept of the Mahdī is revealed by his statement that so many priests (*ḳass*) and rabbis (*ḥibr*) had foretold the caliphate of the Mahdī (*Dīwān*, 327). Sulaymān's successor, ʿUmar II, was also addressed as the Mahdī by Djarīr and, because of his recognised piety, was widely regarded so in religious circles. Of the later Umayyad caliphs, Hishām was called the Mahdī by Djarīr. Less emphatically, al-Farazdaḳ speaks of Yazīd II as a rightly-guided one (*mahdī*) (*Dīwān*, 544) and of his son al-Walīd II as al-Mahdī (*Dīwān*, 7).

Among the religious scholars, discussions about the Mahdī and his identity can be traced back to the time after the Second Civil War. These discussions developed in different directions in the different centres of learning and influenced the later beliefs about the Mahdī to varying degrees. They were in turn influenced by some related beliefs already accepted and supported by *ḥadīth*s attributed to the Prophet. Thus it had been accepted that ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] would descend from Heaven before the end of the world to rule and lead the Muslim community in prayer. A *ḥadīth* on the authority of Djābir al-Anṣārī and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, spread in Medina probably in early Marwānid times, quoted the Prophet as stating that "at the end of my community there will be a caliph who will pour out the money without counting it". According to another early Medinan *ḥadīth*, on the authority of Abū Hurayra, the Prophet had said "The Hour will not come until a man from Ḳaḥṭān will come forth leading the people with his staff". Predictions concerning this Ḳaḥṭānī were evidently known before the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath in 80/699, who according to al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 314) and Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, called himself al-Ḳaḥṭānī and Nāṣir al-Mu'minīn.

In Medina, conservative religious opinion generally accepted ʿUmar II as the Mahdī. This acceptance was facilitated by the fact that ʿUmar II was descended through his mother from ʿUmar I who, together with his son ʿAbd Allāh, enjoyed the highest religious authority among conservative Medinan scholars. Statements attributed to ʿUmar I and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar were circulated to the effect that the former had predicted the advent of a descendant of his who would fill the earth with justice. These statements reflect an earlier expectation that a descendant of ʿUmar I through male lineage would become the restorer of justice, but they were now applied to the Umayyad (Ibn Saʿd, v, 243). Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib (d. 93 or 94/712-13) was alleged to have identified ʿUmar II as the Mahdī while the latter was still in Medina long before his reign. A particular effort was made to counter Kūfan claims that the Mahdī would be an ʿAlid. Thus Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was reported in Medina to have said that if there was to be a Mahdī he would belong to the ʿAbd Shams. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, the *Imām* of the Imāmī Shīʿa, was quoted as stating during the caliphate of ʿUmar II: "The Prophet belongs to us, and the Mahdī belongs to the Banū ʿAbd Shams. We do not know him to be anyone but ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz" (Ibn Saʿd, v, 245).

In Mecca, on the other hand, Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (d. 106/724-5), a respected *mawlā* traditionist residing in the Yemen, was quoted expressing himself more reservedly that ʿUmar II was rightly guided but not the Mahdī (*kāna mahdiyyan wa-laysa bih*); for in the time of the Mahdī, the benefactor would be outdone by the rewards for his good acts and the evildoer would be called to repent. Abū Maʿbad Nāfidh (d. 104/722-3), a *mawlā* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, quoted his master as asserting that the Mahdī would be a young man (*shābb*) of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The report was transmitted by the highly respected Meccan traditionist ʿAmr b. Dīnār (d. 126/744).

In Ḥims, Syrian loyalty to the Umayyad caliphate was expressed in a tradition attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār neutralising the *ḥadīth* of the Ḳaḥṭānī: "The Mahdī will be only of Ḳuraysh and the caliphate will be among them only. He will, however, have a root and a pedigree in the Yemen (*ghayra anna lahū aṣlan wa-nasaban fi 'l-Yaman*)". The tradition, related by Shurayḥ b. ʿAbīda al-Ḥimṣī (d. after 108/726-7), may go back to the time of the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath.

In Baṣra, Abū Ḳilāba (d. *ca.* 107/725-6), a prominent traditionist with ties to Syria, supported the view that ʿUmar II was truly the Mahdī. He was indirectly contradicted by Abū Naḍra (d. 109/727-8) and Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-ʿĀmirī (d. 108/726-7) who, reporting the *ḥadīth* of the generous caliph in Baṣra, stated that they did not think ʿUmar II was meant. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) opposed the belief in a Muslim Messiah, maintaining that ʿĪsā was the Mahdī. He is also quoted as stating that he did not believe in a Mahdī, but if there was one it was ʿUmar

II. His contemporary and rival in the religious leadership in Baṣra, Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110/728) maintained that there would be a Mahdī of the Muslim community (*umma*) and that ʿĪsā, after descending from heaven, would pray behind him. He further affirmed that the Mahdī would be more excellent than Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and would equal a prophet in rank. According to another report, he held that the Ḳaḥṭānī was identical with the Mahdī. Ḳatāda (d. 117 or 118/735-6), prominent disciple of al-Ḥasan, spread the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "There will arise a difference after the death of a caliph, and a man of the people of Medina will go forth fleeing to Mecca. Then some of the people of Mecca will come to him and make him rise in revolt against his will, and they will pledge allegiance to him between the *rukn* and the *maḳām*. An expedition will be sent against him from Syria but will be swallowed up (*yukhsafu bihim*) in the desert between Mecca and Medina. When the people see this, the righteous (*abdāl*) of Syria and the groups of horsemen (*ʿaṣāʾib*) of ʿIrāḳ will come to him and swear allegiance to him. Thereafter a man of Ḳuraysh will arise whose maternal uncles are of Kalb. He will send an expedition against them but they will defeat them. This will be the expedition of Kalb, and disappointment will be for those who will not witness the booty of Kalb. He will then divide the wealth and act among them according to the sunna of their Prophet. Islam will become firmly established (*yulḳī bi-djirānih*). He will remain seven (var. nine) years and then die, and the Muslims will pray over him". This *ḥadīth*, whose first part is patterned upon the revolt of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, may conceivably go back to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥarith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who appears in its *isnād* and claimed to have heard it from Umm Salama, widow of the Prophet. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, called "Babba", was chosen by the people of Baṣra as their governor in 64/684 after the death of the caliph Yazīd and the flight of his governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. But he held aloof from all the violent events in Baṣra at this time (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 268-9); hence it is in fact unlikely that he was responsible for this *ḥadīth*, which aimed at stirring up support for the cause of Ibn al-Zubayr. The latter part of it, including the rise of an Umayyad whose "maternal uncles were of Kalb" and who would send an army of Kalbīs against Ibn al-Zubayr, reflects the expectations at the time which were not fulfilled by history. The element of the swallowing up of a Syrian army, based on Ḳurʾānic warnings of a *khasf*, was incorporated from slightly earlier *ḥadīth*s spread by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr himself and by two prominent supporters of his, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣafwān and al-Ḥarīth b. Abī Rabīʿa al-Makhzūmī, as war propaganda during the campaign of Yazīd's army against Medina and Mecca (see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. al-fitan*, *bāb al-khasf*). Though it does not mention the Mahdī, the *ḥadīth* of Ḳatāda was later generally taken to refer to him, while his Syrian rival became the prototype of the Sufyānī [*q.v.*], the traditional opponent of the Mahdī. Much of later tradition about the career of the Mahdī and the Sufyānī is an elaboration of the various elements of this *ḥadīth*.

In the late Umayyad age, Maṭar b. Ṭahmān al-Warrāḳ (d. 125/743?), a Khurāsānian resident in Baṣra and senior disciple of Ḳatāda, rejected the view that ʿUmar II was the Mahdī, stating that the Mahdī would do something ʿUmar II had not done: he would refuse to accept money returned to the treasury by someone who, after requesting it, found that he had no need of it. Maṭar also transmitted traditions attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār to the effect that the Mahdī was named so because he would be guided (*yuhdā*) to find copies of the original text of the Torah and the Gospel concealed in Antioch. The same Kaʿb tradition seems to have been known also in Kūfa at this time, where ʿAbd Allāh b. Bishr al-Khathʿamī is reported to have transmitted it in the following form: "The Mahdī will send (an army) to fight the Rūm, will be given the knowledge (*fiḳh*) of ten, and will bring forth the Ark of the Divine Presence (*tābūt al-sakīna*) from a cave in Antioch in which are the Torah which God sent down to Moses and the Gospel which he sent down to Jesus, and he will rule among the People of the Torah according to their Torah and among the People of the Gospel according to their Gospel". The following *ḥadīth* was circulated in late Umayyad Baṣra on the authority of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudri: "The Prophet said: There will be in my community the Mahdī, if for a short time, seven (years), otherwise nine. My community will then enjoy prosperity as they have never enjoyed. The earth will bring forth its fruit for them and will not hoard anything away from them. Money will at that time be in heaps, and whenever a man will get up and say 'O Mahdī, give me', he will say 'Take'." This *ḥadīth*, which identifies the Mahdī with the generous ruler predicted earlier, was spread, with variants, by Zayd al-ʿAmmī but may in substance go back to his authority, the Baṣran Abu 'l-Ṣiddīḳ al-Nādjī (d. 108/726-7). Another variant of it was transmitted by Sulaymān b. ʿAbīd al-Sulamī, a Baṣran contemporary of Zayd al-ʿAmmī. Of late Umayyad Baṣran origin is also the topos that the Mahdī would have an aquiline nose and a bald forehead (*aḳnā adjlā*).

Kūfan tradition insisted that the Mahdī would be one of the *Ahl al-Bayt* of the Prophet or a descendant of ʿAlī. ʿĀṣim b. Bahdala (d. 127 or 128/744-6), the famous Kūfan Ḳurʾān reader, disseminated the following *ḥadīth* with a Kūfan *isnād* going back to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd: "The Prophet said: The world will not pass until a man of my family (*ahl baytī*) will rule the Arabs whose name will coincide with my name (*yuwāṭiʾ ismuh ismī*)". The claim that the name of the Mahdī would agree with that of the Prophet was no doubt made in the time of al-Mukhtār's rebellion in favour of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, who is reported, when addressed as the Mahdī, to have referred to his privilege of bearing the name and *kunya* of the Prophet (Ibn Saʿd, v, 68). The *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim thus probably goes back to ʿĀṣim's authority, Zirr b. Ḥubaysh, who was known for his pro-ʿĀlid sentiment. By the time of the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī in Kūfa in 120/738, the thesis of the identity of names was evidently already well-established there, since his supporters did not try to identify him with the Mahdī but with the Manṣūr (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1676), a messianic figure originating in Yemenite beliefs. In Kūfa was also spread the following *ḥadīth* related by Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, on the authority of his father on the authority of ʿAlī: "The Prophet said, 'The Mahdī will be from us, the *Ahl al-Bayt*. God will give him success in a single night (*yuṣliḥuhū fī layla*)'." The descent of the Mahdī from the Prophet was also affirmed in the *ḥadīth*: "The Messenger of God said, 'Even if only a single day of the earth were left, God would send a man from us who will fill it with justice as it had been filled with oppression'." Though the *ḥadīth* was widely spread

among the traditionists only by the Kūfan Fiṭr b. Khalīfa (d. 153/770), it may well go back to the Companion Abu 'l-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila (d. ca. 100/718-19), known for his support of ʿAlī and his Shīʿī sympathies, who claimed to have heard it from ʿAlī. The theme of the generous ruler was taken up in Kūfa by ʿAṭiyya b. Saʿd b. Djunāda al-Ḳaysī (d. 111/729-30 or 127/744-5), considered a Shīʿī, who related the following *ḥadīth* on the authority of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: "The Prophet said, 'A man will come forth from my family after an interval of time (*ʿinda 'nḳiṭāʿin min al-zaman*) and the appearance of civil wars (*fitan*) whose liberality will be in throwing about (*ḥathyan*) [money]. He will be called al-Saffāḥ (= the generous)'."

The early ʿAbbāsid age until the time of the canonical collections of *ḥadīth*. The ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement aroused and was supported by messianic expectations and the hope for a restorer of religion and just rule from among the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The first ʿAbbāsid caliph gave himself the Kūfan messianic name al-Saffāḥ in his inaugural sermon in the mosque of Kūfa in 132/749. He was addressed as the Mahdī of the Hāshimīs by the poet Sudayf (*Aghānī*[1], iv, 93). The second ʿAbbāsid caliph, Abū Djaʿfar, was also called the Mahdī by his court poet, Abū Dulāma. During his reign, the ʿAbbāsid claim to the Mahdīship faced a severe challenge in the rising of the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh in 145/762, who, having long been announced by the propaganda of his supporters as the expected Mahdī, appeared in Medina in accordance with the *ḥadīth* predictions. After the suppression of his revolt, the caliph adopted the messianic name al-Manṣūr and gave his son and crown prince Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh the surname al-Mahdī, presenting him to the public as the promised restorer. The latter after his accession sought to live up to the expectations concerning the Mahdī by releasing political prisoners and handing out liberal gifts, especially in the holy cities.

Traditions about the Mahdī going back to this time reflect these developments. In support of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement in Khurāsān, the Shīʿī Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād (d. 136/753-4) spread the following *ḥadīth* in Kūfa with an *isnād* going back to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd: "While we were with the Messenger of God, there came some youths of the Banū Hāshim. When he saw them his eyes flowed with tears and his colour changed. We said, 'O Messenger of God, we have for some time seen in your face something we dislike'. He said, 'God has chosen for us, the People of the House, the hereafter over this world. The People of My House shall meet misfortune, banishment, and persecution until people will come from the east with black flags. They will ask for charity but will not be given it. Then they will fight and be victorious. Now they will be given what they had asked for, yet they will not accept it but will finally hand it (sc. the earth) over to a man of My Family. He will fill it with justice as they had filled it with injustice. Whoever of you will live to witness that, let him go there even though it be by creeping on snow (*ḥabwan ʿala 'l-thaldj*)'." Even though this tradition, known as the *ḥadīth* of the flags, was recognised by *ḥadīth* experts to have been fabricated by Ibn Abī Ziyād, it greatly influenced the later expectations about the career of the Mahdī and was accepted by Ibn Mādja in his *K. al-Sunan*. A parallel version with a Baṣran *isnād* was disseminated in Baṣra by Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ (d. 141-2/758-60): "The Messenger of God said, 'Three men, each one the son of a caliph, will fight at your treasure (*ʿinda kanzikum*). None of them will obtain it. Then black flags will arise from the east. Two of them will kill you [brutally] as no people has even been killed'. Then he mentioned something I do not remember. He added, 'When you see him, pledge allegiance to him, even though it be by creeping on snow. For he is the vicegerent of God, the Mahdī'."

The ʿAbbāsid claim to the Mahdīship found some marginal support among mostly Kūfan traditionists. The following statement ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās was spread by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī Ghaniyya al-Khuzāʿī, a Kūfan originating from Iṣfahān, presumably towards the end of the caliphate of al-Manṣūr or the beginning of the reign of al-Mahdī: "By God, after that (namely after the twelve caliphs predicted in a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet) there will be from us the Saffāḥ, the Manṣūr, and the Mahdī who will hand it (sc. the caliphate) over to ʿĪsā b. Maryam". Probably also a Kūfan was Ibn Djābir al-Aʿmash, who about the same time transmitted a *ḥadīth* ascribed to Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: "I heard the Messenger of God say, 'The Ḳāʾim is from us, from us is the Manṣūr, from us the Saffāḥ, and from us the Mahdī. As for the Ḳāʾim, the caliphate will come to him without his spilling a cupping glass [of blood]. As for the Manṣūr, no flag of his will be turned back. As for the Saffāḥ, he will pour out money and blood in abundance; and the Mahdī will fill it (the earth) with justice as it had been filled with oppression'." Ibn Djābir added that he thought the Manṣūr was Abū Djaʿfar (al-Manṣūr) and the Saffāḥ the caliph al-Mahdī. The tradition was probably, however, not originally coined for the ʿAbbāsids and may well be late Umayyad Kūfan, going back to Ibn Djābir's authority, the Kūfan Abu 'l-Waddāk al-Hamdānī. A prediction that the Mahdī would be of the descendants of al-ʿAbbās was in the early ʿAbbāsid age attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār by an otherwise unknown Yazīd b. al-Walīd al-Khuzāʿī and transmitted by Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Baghdādī, a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim.

The predominant mood among the traditionists, however, turned quickly against the ʿAbbāsid pretensions to the Mahdīship in favour of ʿAlid hopes. Traditions supporting the view that the Mahdī would be a descendant of Muḥammad and his daughter Fāṭima spread in the early ʿAbbāsid age outside Kūfa also. In Baṣra, ʿImrān al-Ḳaṭṭān, a supporter of the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and of his brother Ibrāhīm, circulated the following *ḥadīth* on the authority of Ḳatāda: "The Messenger of God said, 'The Mahdī will be from me, with a bald forehead and an aquiline nose. He will fill the earth with equity and justice as it was filled with injustice and oppression and will rule seven years'." Similar *ḥadīths* were spread, on the authority of Abu 'l-Ṣiddīḳ al-Nādjī, by the pro-Shīʿī Ḳadarī ʿAwf al-Aʿrābī (d. 146/763-4) and other Baṣrans. In al-Raḳḳa, Ziyād b. Bayān about this time disseminated the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, "The Mahdī will be of my family from the descendants of Fāṭima".

Support for the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh is reflected in the addition of "and his (the Mahdī's) father's name will agree with my father's name" to the *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim by some Kūfan transmitters. Most likely in his favour the following tradition was circulated by Shuʿayb b. Khālid, a Kūfan residing in Rayy: "ʿAlī said while looking at his son al-Ḥasan, 'Verily, this son of mine is a lord as the Prophet called him, and from his spine

will come forth a man who will be called by the name of your Prophet. He will resemble him in character but will not resemble him in shape. He will fill the earth with justice as it was filled with injustice" '.

The Mahdī was, however, identified as a descendant of al-Ḥusayn in a tradition attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and spread at this time by ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa (d. 155/772) in Egypt: "A man of the offspring of al-Ḥusayn will come forth from the east. Even if towering mountains were to confront him, he would raze them and take paths in them". This tradition already reflects the expectation of a second rising, after the ʿAbbāsid revolt, in the east. This expectation was now expressed in predictions about an army in white clothes with small black flags led by a man, or a client, of Tamīm named S͟huʿayb b. Ṣāliḥ, coming from K͟hurāsān or Rayy to prepare the way for the Mahdī. The earliest prophecies of this type seem to have originated in ʿIrāḳ but the bulk of them, often greatly elaborated, came from Egyptian and Syrian sources. In Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa fabricated numerous such traditions providing them with various fictitious *isnād*s. In Syria, similar traditions were related on the authority of Arṭāt b. al-Mund͟hir of Ḥimṣ (d. 162 or 163/778-80), sometimes with an *isnād* going back to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. Others were spread by the Damascene Abū Bakr b. Abī Maryam (d. 156/773). Further traditions of this type, known apparently in both Syria and Egypt, came from a transmission of D̲j̲ābir (al-D̲j̲uʿfī) from Abū D̲j̲aʿfar (Muḥammad al-Bāḳir), perhaps in book form. Since D̲j̲ābir died in 132/750 at the latest, it is evident that this attribution is spurious. Some of these traditions describe in considerable detail the rise and career of the Sufyānī, his conquest and sacking of Kūfa, his defeats at the hands of S͟huʿayb, and the joining of the black flags from the Mas͟hriḳ with the yellow flags from the Mag͟hrib at the navel (*surra*) of Syria, i.e. Damascus. The death of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh is reflected in predictions, contained in the accounts ascribed to D̲j̲ābir and Arṭāt, that the Pure Soul (*al-Nafs al-Zakiyya*), a descendant of the Prophet, would be killed in the strife about Medina on the Aḥd̲j̲ār al-Zayt. The Mahdī will appear in Mecca, receive the allegiance of S͟huʿayb, and after further fighting will defeat the Kalbī army and kill the Sufyānī. According to some Syrian prophecies, he will reside in Jerusalem. His reign will last 24, 30, 39, or 40 years and he will be succeeded by caliphs of his family or by the Ḳaḥṭānī. The Mahdī thus is not closely associated in these traditions with the end of the world, but some of them predict a second Mahdī who would conquer Constantinople and surrender the rule to Jesus upon his descent from heaven.

Despite the rapid spread of traditions about the coming of the Mahdī, opposition to the belief in him as expressed earlier by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī did not entirely disappear among the *ḥadīt͟h* scholars. The Yemenite Muḥammad b. K͟hālid al-D̲j̲anadī clad this opposition into a *ḥadīt͟h* of the Prophet, providing it with an *isnād* through al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to the Companion Anas, "Matters will only grow in hardship, the world will only increase in backward movement, and the people in greed. The Hour will rise only on the worst of people. There will be no Mahdī but ʿĪsā b. Maryam". The *ḥadīt͟h* was given added prestige by the fact that al-S͟hāfiʿī (d. 204/820) transmitted it from al-D̲j̲anadī. Included by Ibn Mād̲j̲a in his *Sunan*, it was later interpreted by supporters of the belief in the Mahdī as meaning that no-one spoke in the cradle (*mahd*) except Jesus or that the Mahdī would rule only in accordance with the instructions of Jesus since only the latter, as a prophet, was infallible (*maʿṣūm*). Many *ḥadīt͟h* experts, among them al-Nasāʾī, and Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya, rejected it as inauthentic. Lingering doubts concerning the Mahdī may partly account for the absence of any traditions about him in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Buk͟hārī and Muslim. The Mahdī traditions contained in the canonical Sunnī *ḥadīt͟h* collections of Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmid͟hī, Ibn Mād̲j̲a, and al-Nasāʾī as well as the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal were, however, numerous enough to provide a solid basis for the popular belief in the Mahdī.

Later developments. Traditions about the Mahdī were gathered also in the post-classical collections of *ḥadīt͟h* like those of al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, and al-Bayhaḳī. The eschatological rôle of the Mahdī became generally more pronounced. The view that the Mahdī would rule the Muslim community at the time of the descent of Jesus was commonly accepted doctrine now that he was identified with the leader of the prayer of the Muslims mentioned anonymously in earlier traditions who would offer to surrender his leadership to Jesus. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Āburī (d. 363/959) in his book on the merits (*manāḳib*) of al-S͟hāfiʿī could claim a broad, successive transmission (*tawātur*) of Mahdī traditions giving certainty that he would be of the Muslim community and that Jesus would pray behind him. Some of the acts which, according to earlier traditions, Jesus was to perform after his descent were now ascribed to the Mahdī, who would also aid him in the killing of the Dad̲j̲d̲j̲āl [*q.v.*]. The Mahdī was more and more associated, too, with the great Muslim conquests predicted in *malāḥim* traditions for the final time of the world, especially those of Constantinople and Rome (Rūmiyya), and was described as the ruler of the whole world. These tendencies are apparent in the traditions quoted by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 458/1066), who composed at least three different collections of *ḥadīt͟h*s on the Mahdī.

A new dimension in the career of the Mahdī appeared in the *K. al-Tad͟hkira* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 671/1272) who quoted some traditions according to which he would first appear in Māssa in the Sūs in the Extreme Mag͟hrib and only later would receive a second oath of allegiance in Mecca. He would, moreover, gather an army of Berber tribes and cross the straits to al-Andalus, whose earlier plight and spoliation at the hands of the infidels is graphically described. The Mahdī would then preach in the mosque of Seville, receive the allegiance of all the Muslims and conquer seventy towns of the Rūm. Finally, he would sack the Church of Gold (*kanīsat al-d͟hahab*), but as his followers would quarrel over the division of the staff of Moses found there, the Rūm would gain the upper hand and pursue the Muslims as far as al-Fayyūm in Egypt before the final victory of the Mahdī. These traditions, according to one of which the Mahdī was to appear in 599/1202-3, are of late origin. They probably reflect the appearance of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130 [*q.v.*]) but express the hope for another Mahdī to reconquer al-Andalus. Ibn Tūmart does not mention or allude to them in his description of the Mahdī. Ibn K͟haldūn, however, describes some similar beliefs propagated by western Ṣūfīs, Ibn Ḳasī (d. 536/1141), Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 623-4/1226-7) and his disciple Ibn Abī Wāṭīl, quoting a work of the latter. These Ṣūfīs,

according to Ibn Khaldūn, predicted that the Mahdī would appear in the Maghrib. He further reports that many people until his own time expected the advent of Mahdī at the fortress (*ribāṭ*) of Māssa and travelled there in the hope of meeting him and pledging allegiance to him. At the beginning of the 8th/14th century, a man pretending to be the Mahdī had gained some support there, but had soon been killed by the chiefs of the Maṣmūda. Belief that the Mahdī would arise in Morocco remained widespread there until modern times.

Eastern and Egyptian tradition largely ignored this development. Treatises dealing specifically with the Mahdī, assembling large numbers of traditions from the earlier collections, were produced by late traditionists like Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Maḳdisī al-Sulamī al-Dimashḳī, author of a *ʿIḳd al-durar fī akhbār al-muntaẓar* composed in 658/1260; al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who in his *al-ʿArf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdī* used Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī's "Forty *ḥadīth*s on the Mahdī" as a base, adding to it extensively from other sources; and Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1565) who, besides writing two treatises on the Mahdī, of which *al-Ḳawl al-mukhtaṣar fī ʿalāmāt al-Mahdī al-muntaẓar* is extant, included a discussion of the subject in his anti-Shīʿī polemic *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-muḥriḳa*. The general tendency of these treatises was to harmonise the divergent traditions. A few questions still aroused controversy. While Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī had clearly favoured belief that the Mahdī would be a descendant of al-Ḥusayn, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, followed by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, held the traditions affirming that the Mahdī would be a Ḥasanid to be better authenticated and argued that God preferred the descendants of al-Ḥasan in this respect since the latter had voluntarily renounced the caliphate out of compassion for the Muslim community while al-Ḥusayn had waged a war coveting it. This argument was refuted by ʿAlī al-Harawī al-Ḳārī (d. 1014/1606) in his *al-Mashrab al-wardī fī madhhab al-Mahdī*, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Aydarūsī (d. 1192/1778), himself a descendant of al-Ḥusayn, supported the view that a Ḥusaynid would become the Mahdī. A theological problem arose about the prediction that Jesus would pray behind the Mahdī. Al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1390) argued in his commentary on the creed of al-Nasafī that, according to the sounder view, the Mahdī would follow Jesus in prayer since the latter, as a prophet, excelled him in religious rank. This view was rejected by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī and others with the argument that the initial prayer of Jesus behind the Mahdī was meant to signify his subjection to the *sharīʿa* of Islam, not the superiority of the Mahdī. The latter might therefore, as some traditions indicated, later pray behind Jesus. On the other hand, al-Suyūṭī, followed by al-Haytamī, objected to the traditions raising the Mahdī in rank above Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as in conflict with the consensus that the two caliphs were the most excellent of mankind after the prophets. The objection was rejected by ʿAlī al-Ḳārī and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Barazandjī in his *al-Ishāʿa fī ashrāṭ al-sāʿa* (finished in 1076/1665-6) with the argument that the consensus in this matter did not extend to the future. Influenced by Ṣūfī ideas, they maintained that the Mahdī, being infallible (*maʿṣūm*) in his judgement, would excel the two caliphs.

A Ṣūfī doctrine on the Mahdī had been expounded by Ibn al-ʿArabī in chapter 366 of his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. He described the expected Mahdī, a descendant of al-Ḥasan, as the Seal of the Saints (*khatm al-awṣiyāʾ*), just as Muḥammad had been the Seal of the Prophets. The Mahdī would impose the law of Islam with the sword and Jesus would be one of his *wazīrs*. He would be infallible in his *idjtihād* without relying on legal analogy (*ḳiyās*), and the *fuḳahāʾ* of the schools would be his opponents while the Ṣūfī saints would be his natural supporters. These views were further elaborated in the Ṣūfī circles dependent on Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought. A different Ṣūfī doctrine, refuted at length by ʿAlī al-Ḳārī, was that of the Indian Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Hindī Makhdūm al-Mulk [see ʿABD ALLĀH SULṬĀNPŪRĪ in Suppl.], who taught that both the Mahdī and Jesus would apply the legal doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa. This view was still propagated by a Ḥanafī *shaykh* in Medina in the time of al-Barazandjī, who succeeded in discrediting him. ʿAlī al-Ḳārī also censured the doctrine of the Mahdiyya who believed that their former *shaykh*, who had died in Khurāsān, had been the Mahdī and considered all Muslims denying this claim as infidels [see MAHDAWIYYA].

In spite of the support of the belief in the Mahdī by some prominent traditionists and Ṣūfīs, it never became an essential part of Sumnī religious doctrine. Sunnī creeds mention it but rarely. Many famous scholars like al-Ghazālī avoided discussing the subject. This attitude was often probably less motivated by doubts concerning the truth of the belief than by fear of encouraging politically disruptive movements in the Muslim community. Open criticism of the belief like that of Ibn Khaldūn who, in his *Muḳaddima*, undertook to refute the authenticity of all *ḥadīth*s concerning the Mahdī, was exceptional.

Shīʿī doctrine. Among the Shīʿa, especially the more radical groups, longing for a restorer of justice and religion has usually been most intense. Belief in the coming of the Mahdī of the Family of the Prophet became a central aspect of the faith in radical Shīʿism in contrast to Sunnism. Distinctively Shīʿī was also the common belief in a temporary absence or occultation (*ghayba*) of the Mahdī and his eventual return in glory. As various members of the *Ahl al-Bayt* were identified as the Mahdī but failed to fulfill the expectations about him in their lifetime, their followers transferred their hopes to a second coming. The pattern was already set in regard to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, whose death was denied by the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*]. They believed that he was hidden in the mountains of Raḍwā and would return to rule the world. Similar beliefs arose around Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya's son Abū Hāshim (d. 98/716), the Djaʿfarid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya (d. *ca.* 130/748), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (d. 145/762), Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765) and numerous other ʿAlids during the next centuries. The Shīʿī Mahdī was commonly given the epithet al-Ḳāʾim, the first one perhaps Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya in his occultation. It has been suggested that the term may be connected with the epithet *ḳāʾem* found in Aramaic Samaritan texts and translated into Greek as ἑστῶς (see G. Widengren, *Muhammad the Apostle of God and his ascension*, Uppsala 1955, 79; P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism*, Cambridge 1977, 165). In Samaritan and gnostic usage, the term appears to have the meaning of "the living one". Whatever the origin of the Arabic term, it is clear that in Shīʿī usage it came to be understood as the one who will rise and rule [see ḲĀʾIM ĀL MUḤAMMAD]. It was in common use before the end of the Umayyad age and largely replaced the term Mahdī in Imāmī tradition.

Doctrine on the *ghayba* of the Mahdī was greatly developed after the death of the seventh *Imām* Mūsā al-Kāẓim (183/799) among the Wāḳifa [*q.v.*], who considered him the last *Imām* and expected his return as the Mahdī. While most of them believed that he had not died and was alive hiding, others held that he had died and would rise from death. They relied on statements attributed to Imām Djaʿfar to the effect that the Mahdī was called the Ḳāʾim because he would rise (*yaḳūm*) after having died. A book on the *ghayba* was written by one of the founders of the Wāḳifa in Kūfa, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥamza al-Baṭāʾinī. Other books on the *ghayba* are known to have been written by the Kūfan Wāḳifīs ʿAbd Allāh b. Djabala (d. 210/834), ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Aʿradj, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī (d. 263/876-7), and al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samāʿa (d. 263/876-7). A Wāḳifī was perhaps also Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ al-Anmāṭī (Kūfan, first half of the 3rd/9th century), author of a *K. al-Ghayba*. Books on the *ghayba* were, however, in the same period also composed by some Imāmī scholars who believed in the continuation of the imāmate after Mūsā, like al-ʿAbbās al-Nāshirī (d. 219 or 220/834-5) and the Kūfan Fatḥī ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl.

The doctrine of the *ghayba* was thus well-documented by traditions of the *Imāms* before the occultation of the Twelfth *Imām* whom the majority of the Imāmiyya came to consider as the Mahdī after the death of the eleventh, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī, in 260/874. Such earlier traditions could now be used and adapted to support the doctrine of the Mahdīship of the Twelfth *Imām*. Of Wāḳifī origin was, for instance, the tradition attributed to *Imām* Muḥammad al-Bāḳir and transmitted by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥamza and now applied to the Twelfth *Imām*: "In the Lord of this Order (*ṣāḥib hādhā al-amr*) there will be a precedent (*sunna*) from Moses, a precedent from Jesus, a precedent from Joseph, and a precedent from Muḥammad. As for the precedent from Moses, he will be afraid and watchful (*khāʾif yataraḳḳab*); as for Jesus, it will be said about him what was said about Jesus; as for Joseph, imprisonment and concealment (*al-sidjn wa 'l-ghayba*); as for Muḥammad, his rising with the sword, following his conduct and explaining his traditions. . ." The tradition clearly refers to the imprisonment of Mūsā al-Kāẓim and to the false claim that he had been killed by his enemies. Also of Wāḳifī origin were traditions attributed to *Imām* Djaʿfar about the two occultations (*ghaybatān*) of the Mahdī like the following: "The Master of this Order will have two occultations. One will be longer so that it will even be said, 'He has died'; and some will say, 'He has been killed'. No one but a few of his followers will remain loyal to him. None of his sons nor anyone else will have knowledge of his place except the client in charge of his affairs". The two absences referred to the two arrests of *Imām* Mūsā who had been briefly imprisoned under the caliph al-Mahdī before his final imprisonment by Hārūn al-Rashīd from which he did not return. Such traditions were now interpreted as referring to the Lesser and the Greater *ghayba* [*q.v.*] of the Twelfth *Imām*. Twelver Shīʿī doctrine on the Ḳāʾim-Mahdī and on his Occultation, based on traditions attributed to the *Imāms*, was authoritatively elaborated by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nuʿmānī (middle of the 4th/10th century) in his *K. al-Ghayba*, by Ibn Bābūya (d. 381/991) in his *Ikmāl al-dīn*, and by Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068) in his *K. al-Ghayba*.

Imāmī traditions about the career of the Mahdī after his advent largely reflect Sunnī traditions. He will be the lord of the sword and rule the world. Jesus will pray behind him after his descent from heaven. This did not raise a theological problem as in Sunnism, since the Mahdī, like all other *Imāms*, according to prevalent Imāmī doctrine, excels all prophets except Muḥammad in religious rank. Specifically Shīʿī is the expectation that the Mahdī will force all Muslims to accept the Shīʿī belief. Imām Djaʿfar is quoted as stating: 'When the Ḳāʾim of us rises, he will offer the faith to every opponent (i.e. of ʿAlī, *nāṣib*). Either he will enter in it truly, or he will cut his neck or force him to pay the *djizya* as the non-Muslims (*ahl al-dhimma*) pay it now. He will gird himself with a travel bag and expel them from the towns to the countryside (*sawād*)". The Ḳāʾim will also enforce the law as laid down by the *Imāms*, and accordingly prevent Muslims from repudiating their wives except by the *ṭalāḳ al-sunna*. The Mahdī thus was expected to restore the *sharīʿa* of Islam integrally, and this has always been orthodox Imāmī doctrine. More radical doctrine was propagated by the Ḳarāmiṭa [see ḲARMAṬĪ], who held that the Mahdī would abrogate the *sharīʿa* and bring a new message. According to al-Nawbakhtī (*Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 62), they interpreted a statement ascribed to *Imām* Djaʿfar, "If our Ḳāʾim were to rise you would learn the Ḳurʾān anew", in that sense. Similar ideas appear to be expressed in another statement ascribed to *Imām* Djaʿfar, "When our Ḳāʾim rises, he will bring a different order than what was before (*djāʾa bi-amrⁱⁿ ghayri 'l-ladhī kāna*)".

Countering Sunnī criticism, Imāmī apologetics endeavoured to prove that the description of the Mahdī contained in Sunnī *ḥadīths* applied to the Twelfth *Imām* and that the longevity of the Mahdī implied in the doctrine of the *ghayba* was not unreasonable in view of revealed data about Khiḍr, Jesus, and the Dadjdjāl, and secular reports about long-lived men (*muʿammarūn*). Such apologetics gained considerable momentum in the middle of the 7th/13th century when several Sunnī scholars supported the Imāmī belief that the Twelfth *Imām* was the Expected Mahdī. In 648/1250-1 the Syrian Shāfiʿī traditionist Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Gandjī al-Ḳurashī, later (658/1260) murdered in Damascus for co-operation with the Mongol conquerors, composed a *K. al-Bayān fī akhbār ṣāḥib al-zamān* in which he proved the Mahdīship of the Twelfth *Imām* relying solely on Sunnī traditions. In 650/1252 Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa al-ʿAdawī al-Niṣībīnī, a Shāfiʿī scholar and former vizier of the Artuḳid al-Malik al-Saʿīd of Mārdīn, completed in Aleppo his *Maṭālib al-suʾūl fī manāḳib āl al-rasūl* in which he supported the imāmate of the Twelve *Imāms* and answered Sunnī objections to the belief that the Twelfth *Imām* was the Mahdī. The Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, shortly before his death in 654/1256 in Damascus, wrote his *Tadhkirat khawāṣṣ al-umma bi-dhikr khaṣāʾiṣ al-aʾimma* assembling reports from Sunnī sources about the virtues of ʿAlī and his descendants, especially the Twelve *Imāms*, and at the end affirmed that the Twelfth *Imām* was the Lord of the Time, the Expected Ḳāʾim and Mahdī. In support, he quoted the following *ḥadīth*, terming it well-known (*mashhūr*), "The Messenger of God said, 'At the end of time, a man of my descendants will come forth whose name is like my name and whose *kunya* is like my *kunya*. He will fill the earth with justice as it was filled with injustice. That is the Mahdī' ". He thus avoided one of the major Sunnī objections

to the Mahdīship of the Twelfth *Imām*, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, viz. that the *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim in its expanded form stipulated the identity of the father's name of the Mahdī with that of the Prophet's father. Al-Gandjī, on the other hand, quoted the testimony of al-Āburī that this stipulation had been added to the *ḥadīth* by the Kūfan transmitter Zāʾida (d. 160-1/777-8). A problem arose also about the Sunnī *ḥadīth*, related by Ibn Ḥanbal and others, "The Prophet said, 'A community will not perish among whom I am the first, Jesus is the last, and the Mahdī is in the middle (*fī wasaṭih*)'". This implied that Jesus would remain after the Mahdī and there would be no *Imām* before the end of the world, as against a cardinal Imāmī dogma. Al-Gandjī therefore interpreted the *ḥadīth* as meaning that Jesus should be the last caller (*dāʿī*) inviting mankind to accept Islam but would not survive the Mahdī.

Testimony in support of the Mahdīship of the Twelfth *Imām* by these Sunnī authors, as also of later ones like the Mālikī scholar Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Isfāḳusī al-Makkī (d. 855/1451), a Maghribī resident in Mecca, and, more recently, the Ḥanafī Naḳshbandī Shaykh Sulaymān b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳundūzī al-Balkhī (d. 1294/1877 in Istanbul), was regularly noted by Imāmī apologists. The works of al-Gandjī and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭalḥa were extensively quoted already by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Irbilī (d. 692/1293) in his *Kashf al-ghumma fī maʿrifat al-aʾimma*, which in turn won positive comment from Sunnī authors because of its extensive reliance on Sunnī sources. Further support for the Mahdīship of the Twelfth *Imām* came from Ṣūfī circles. Already Abū Bakr al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066) had noted that some Ṣūfī gnostics (*djamāʿa min ahl al-kashf*) agreed with the Imāmī doctrine about the identity of the Mahdī and his *ghayba*. The Persian Ṣūfī Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥammūyī (late 7th/13th century) supported Imāmī doctrine on the Mahdī in his *Farāʾid al-simṭayn*. The Egyptian Ṣūfī al-Shaʿrānī, while generally showing no sympathy for Shīʿism, affirmed in his *al-Yawāḳīt wa 'l-djawāhir* (written in 958/1551) that the Mahdī was a son of *Imām* al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī born in the year 255/869 and would remain alive until his meeting with Jesus. His advent could be expected after the year 1030/1621. He based his assertion on the testimony of the Ṣūfī Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿIrāḳī, who claimed to have met the Mahdī, and on a spurious quotation from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* identifying the Expected Mahdī with the Twelfth *Imām*. This quotation of Ibn al-ʿArabī was noted and accepted by both Imāmī and Sunnī scholars. The Egyptian Shaykh al-Ṣabbān (d. 1206/1792), in his *Isʿāf al-rāghibīn fī sīrat al-Muṣṭafā wa-faḍāʾil ahl baytih al-ṭāhirīn*, censured Ibn al-ʿArabī for supporting such a view against the clear evidence of the traditions accepted by Sunnī scholars. Al-Ṣabbān was in turn taken to task for criticising Ibn al-ʿArabī by Ḥasan al-ʿIdwī al-Ḥamzāwī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who in his *Mashāriḳ al-anwār* (first published in 1275/1858-9) maintained that the Ṣūfī gnostics were the most truthful interpreters of the prophetic tradition. In order to blunt the Shīʿī implications of al-Shaʿrānī's statement, al-ʿIdwī quoted it, adding a thousand years to the birthdate of the Mahdī and suppressing both the date for his advent and Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿIrāḳī's claim to have met him. The Mahdī thus was born in 1255/1839 and was merely a descendant of the eleventh *Imām*, not the Twelfth *Imām* of the Shīʿa. Al-ʿIdwī's false quotation of al-Shaʿrānī was copied by the Egyptian Shaykh al-Shablandjī in his *Nūr al-abṣār fī manāḳib al-nabī al-mukhtār* composed in 1290/1873.

In pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism, the terms Mahdī and Ḳāʾim were both used, as in Imāmī Shīʿism, for the expected messianic *Imām*. After the rise of the Fāṭimids, some of the predictions concerning the Mahdī were held to have been realised by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mahdī, the founder of the dynasty, while others would be fulfilled by his successors. This theory was elaborated by the Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974) in his K. *Sharḥ al-akhbār* where he quoted numerous traditions about the Mahdī from Sunnī, Imāmī, and Zaydī sources and applied them to al-Mahdī and his successors, partially by interpreting them figuratively (see W. Ivanov, *Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, London 1942, 97-122, Ar. texts, 1-31). The name al-Mahdī was henceforth reserved to the first Fāṭimid caliph, while the eschatological *Imām* and Seventh Apostle still expected for the future was only called the Ḳāʾim.

Among the Zaydīs, whose doctrine did not raise the nature of the *Imām*s to a superhuman level, Mahdī expectations have generally been weak or marginal. The heresiographer Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ reported that some Zaydī groups (Djārūdiyya) expected the return of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim Ṣāḥib al-Ṭāliḳān (d. 219/834), or Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, who led a popular revolt in Kūfa in 250/864. Their views have, however, left no trace in Zaydī tradition. A more serious Mahdistic movement arose in the Yaman around the Zaydī Imām al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim al-ʿIyānī (401-4/1010-13), who claimed to be the Expected Mahdī. His death was denied by his family and followers, known as the Ḥusayniyya, and his successors did not claim the title of *Imām* in expectation of his return. The sect of the Ḥusayniyya, opposed by the majority of the Zaydīs, survived until the 8th/14th century. It is characteristic for the insignificance of Mahdī expectations among the Zaydīs that the Sayyid Ḥamīdān (7th/13th century), representing Zaydī orthodoxy, could recognise al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim as the Mahdī, who had appeared at the time predicted by the Prophet, while censuring those of his supporters who raised his rank above that of the Zaydī *Imām*s before him and refused to recognise those after him (see W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 198-201).

Bibliography: The richest early collection of *ḥadīth*s on the Mahdī is contained in Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād (d. 227/842), *K. al-Fitan*, ms. Brit. Libr. Or. 9449, from which much material for the present article has been derived. References to traditions in the canonical collections are given by Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Mahdī. Classical Sunnī primary sources: ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Ḥammād, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1970-2, xi, 371-3; Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart, *Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire*, Paris 1899-1919, ii, 180-4; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Cairo 1293/1876, iii, 429 ff.; al-Gandjī, *al-Bayān fī akhbār ṣāḥib al-zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Hādī al-Amīnī, Nadjaf 1970; Ibn Ṭalḥa al-ʿAdawī, *Maṭālib al-suʾūl*, Tehran 1287/1870; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ*, Nadjaf 1964; al-Sulamī, *ʿIḳd al-durar*, ms. Berlin We. 113; al-Ḳurṭubī, *K. al-Tadhkira*, ms. Brit. Libr. Add. 9507 (abridged by al-Shaʿrānī, *Mukhtaṣar tadhkirat al-Ḳurṭubī*, Cairo 1302/1885, 138-43); Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ii, 142-76; Ibn Khaldūn-

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(W. MADELUNG)

AL-**MAHDĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD, the third ʿAbbāsid caliph.

The son of the caliph al-Manṣur, he was born, probably in 126 or 127/743-5 in Īdhadj in Khūzistān when his father was involved in the ill-fated rebellion of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] against the Umayyads in that area. As soon as he was of age, his father began to train him in political affairs. In 141/758-9 he was sent to Rayy as governor of Khurāsān. He did not settle in Marw himself or take an active part in the campaigns against the various rebels in the area, but remained in Rayy acting as an intermediary between the Khurāsānī supporters of the régime and the caliph in ʿIrāḳ. This role enabled him to build up a substantial following among the Khurāsānīs, who were to be his main supporters in his struggle to secure the succession to the caliphate. In 144/762 he visited ʿIrāḳ briefly to marry his first cousin Rayṭa, daughter of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ, before returning to Khurāsān, where he remained until 151/768. He had his own court in Rayy, and a new administrative quarter was added to the city during the period of his residence.

Al-Saffāḥ had laid down that al-Manṣūr should be succeeded as caliph by his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, but after his accession al-Manṣūr worked to secure a position for al-Mahdī; in 141/758-9 he was made ʿĪsā's heir, while in 147/764 pressure from the caliph, and from the Khurasānī soldiers stationed in ʿIrāḳ, forced ʿĪsā to resign his position and accept al-Mahdī as heir-apparent.

On the death of al-Manṣūr, on the Pilgrimage of 158/October 775, al-Mahdī, who was already in Baghdād, succeeded to the throne without opposition. Al-Mahdī's policies were in many ways a continuation of his father's, and like al-Manṣūr he continued to rely on the Khurāsānī army and members of the ʿAbbāsid family as the main supporters of the régime. He seems to have emphasised more strongly than his two predecessors the religious nature of his office and the role of the caliph as the champion of Islam. His regnal title of al-Mahdī, a title previously adopted by ʿAlid pretenders to the caliphate, was an indication of this. He also showed his concern for religion by the enlargement of mosques, at Mecca and Baṣra and the Aḳṣā in Jerusalem, by improving the water supply on the Pilgrimage route from ʿIrāḳ to the Ḥidjāz and by organising expeditions against the Byzantines. The concern for the *ḥadjdj* and the *djihād* was part of a policy to establish the caliph as leader of the Muslim community as a whole. He also sought to maintain the purity of the religion by vigorous suppression of the *zindīḳs* [*q.v.*], dualist or gnostic heretics, some of whom were executed.

He attempted to heal the rift which had developed in the family of the Prophet between the ʿAbbāsids and the ʿAlids and which had led to the rebellion of Muḥammad "the Pure Soul" in 145/762. He invited members of the ʿAlid family to court and granted them pensions, as well as trying to reconcile their traditional supporters among the people of Medina by recruiting a guard of *Anṣār* and by the distribution of largesse. In the main, this policy seems to have been successful and there were no large-scale ʿAlid disturbances during the reign.

Al-Mahdī's main adviser in his relations with the ʿAlid was the *wazīr* Yaʿḳūb b. Dāwūd, who had made contacts with members of the family in prison and who in 160/777 placed his services at the disposal of the caliph. Yaʿḳūb succeeded in reconciling with the caliph some prominent ʿAlid dissidents, and in doing so acquired enormous power, supervising almost the entire administration and most government appointments. He failed however, to win over the most active and militant ʿAlid, ʿĪsā b. Zayd, who continued in hiding as a focus for opposition and this failure, coupled with resentment felt by many others at court against his influence, led to his fall and imprisonment in 166/782-3.

The power attained by Yaʿḳūb points to the general increase in power of the bureaucracy and the secretaries (*kuttāb*, sing. *kātib* [*q.v.*]) during the reign of al-Mahdī. Until this time, the *kuttāb* had acted as individual secretaries to rulers but now, under the leadership of the Barmakid [see AL-BARĀMIKA] family, they came to form an important pressure group at court. From 161/777-8, Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī became tutor and adviser to the young prince Hārūn, later the caliph al-Rashīd, thus becoming one of the most influential figures at court. The rise of the *kuttāb* at this time provoked a reaction among the leaders of the Khurāsānī army, who felt that their position was being threatened, and the caliph was warned that he was in danger of losing the support of his army by his great-uncle ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī. The tension between the bureaucrats and the military which originated at this time was to be a continuing feature of ʿAbbāsid politics.

Al-Mahdī's reign was in the main a period of peace and prosperity. There were disturbances in Khurāsān, notably the prolonged rebellion of al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*] between about 159/775-6 and 163/780,

which was only suppressed by considerable military effort. Elsewhere, Muslim armies expanded the influence of the caliphate; on the eastern frontiers of Khurāsān, Farghāna [q.v.] was attacked, and al-Yaʿḳūbī gives a somewhat fanciful list of eastern monarchs who are said to have acknowledged the caliph's authority, including the Kings of Tibet and China. There was also a maritime expedition against the unbelievers in Sind. As usual, however, the main military effort was concentrated on the Byzantine frontier. In 162/778-9 the Byzantines destroyed the Muslim outpost of al-Ḥadath [q.v.], and the caliph responded by sending his son Hārūn on two expeditions in 163/780 and 165/782, which raided the empire without making any lasting territorial gains.

Al-Mahdī designated as his heirs two of his sons by his favourite wife al-Khayzurān [q.v.], Mūsā, who took the title of al-Hādī, and Hārūn, who took the title of al-Rashīd. Both these were given responsibilities in their father's lifetime, Mūsā in Baghdād, where he developed close links with the Khurāsānī soldiery, and Hārūn in Syria and the Byzantine frontier regions. The arrangement was that Mūsā should succeed and be followed by his brother Hārūn, but there were indications that the caliph, persuaded by al-Khayzurān, was about to change these dispositions at the time of his death. Nothing had been done, however, when he died on 22 Muḥarram 169/4 August 785 at Māsabadhān, probably as the result of a hunting accident.

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(H. Kennedy)

AL-**MAHDĪ** [See IBN TŪMART; AL-MAHDIYYA].

AL-**MAHDĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. HISHĀM B. ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-NĀṢIR, ABU 'L-WALĪD, eleventh Umayyad caliph of Spain. He held power on two occasions, first as successor to Hishām II al-Muʾayyad [q.v.], and again in Sulaymān b. Ḥakam al-Mustaʿīn's [q.v.] place in the period of general rebellion which at the end of the 4th-beginning of the 5th/11th century immediately preceded the establishment throughout Muslim Spain of petty independent rulers, the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* [q.v.].

The third of the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjibs*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Manṣūr, surnamed Sanchol, from the moment he succeeded his brother ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, abandoned himself to all sorts of excesses and was able to take advantage of the weakness of the titular caliph, Hishām II al-Muʾayyad, to get himself designated heir-apparent. This decision at once aroused the indignation of various members of the caliph's family, thus excluded from the throne; they arranged that one of their number, Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, a great-grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, who had many followers among the mob of Cordova, should head a rebellion. Advantage was taken of an expedition, which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchol was to lead in person against the Christians of Galicia, to raise the standard of rebellion. On 16 Djumāda II 399/15 February 1009, Muḥammad b. Hishām attacked the palace of Cordova, where the caliph Hishām was with a small number of followers who had remained faithful to him. He captured the palace and at once took steps to make Hishām sign his abdication and had himself proclaimed caliph. The whole population of Cordova was in arms and plundered the ʿĀmirid town of al-Madīna al-Zāhira [q.v.]. All the treasure accumulated there, including a vast sum in money, was seized and brought to the new caliph who, to destroy ʿĀmirid power for ever, demolished completely and set fire to the town which the great *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr had built only a few years before. At the same time, Muḥammad b. Hishām, who had adopted the honorific *laḳab* of al-Mahdī, took steps to meet the counter-attack expected from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchol. Warned of what had happened in Cordova and of the destruction of al-Madīna al-Zāhira, the *ḥādjib*, full of anxiety, pitched his camp at Calatrava (Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ [q.v.]) and endeavoured to secure the fidelity of his troops, who were mainly Berbers. He was soon forced to witness their defection and went to Cordova in the hope of finding new partisans there. But on the way back he was captured by emissaries of al-Mahdī in a monastery of the Sierra Morena and executed at the end of Djumāda II 399/1 March 1009. His body was crucified in Cordova.

Muḥammad al-Mahdī, once the power was in his hands, soon alienated the principal Berber chiefs of his army as well as his relatives of the Umayyad house. A rebellion against him was planned by his adversaries. The Berbers put at their head an Umayyad pretender, Hishām b. Sulaymān b. al-Nāṣir, whom they proclaimed caliph with the title al-Rashīd, and laid siege to Cordova. Al-Mahdī made a sortie, routed them and the pretender was killed. The Berbers then chose a new Umayyad prince, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, and at the same time appealed for assistance to Sancho Garcez and his Castilians. In spite of all the efforts of al-Mahdī, the blockade of Cordova became more and more strict. He then tried to put on the throne the caliph Hishām II b. al-Muʾayyad whom he had himself deposed and then given out as dead, but this was in vain. On 16 Rabīʿ I 400/2 November 1009 the palace of the caliph was in the hands of the besiegers. Al-Mahdī's only hope was to hide himself. The pretender of the Berbers, Sulaymān, received the oath of alligiance at Cordova and assumed the honorific title of al-Mustaʿīn bi'llāh.

In the following month, al-Mahdī was able to leave Cordova secretly and seek refuge in Toledo, where he was well received by the inhabitants. He then sought and obtained an alliance with the Catalans (*Ifrandj*) who marched with him on Cordova in Shawwāl 400/May-June 1910. The town was taken and the second reign of al-Mahdī began with a bloody persecution of all the Berbers in Cordova. To avenge the wrongs of their fellow-countrymen in the capital, the Berbers in the army of Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn returned to besiege the city. Al-Mahdī, betrayed by his retainers, was slain during the siege

in the palace in Cordova by some ʿĀmirid slaves on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 400/23 July 1010. His first reign had lasted nine months, the second less than two.

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MAHDĪ ʿALĪ KHĀN, the most outstanding vizier of the later Nawwābs of Awadh.

He started his career from the early reign of Nawwāb Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān (1798-1814) as a *čhakladār* (an officer of one of the revenue districts) of *čhakla* Muḥammadī and then of Fayḍābād. His administration made the *čhakla*s under his control exceedingly prosperous. He himself became fabulously rich and was made a minister. Early in the reign of Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān's successor Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar (1814-27), Mahdī ʿAlī lost his position because of his resentments at the interference of the Awadh Resident Colonel Baillie with the Awadh administration. Much of his property was seized and he was imprisoned. After his release from prison, he moved to the British territory at Fatḥgaṛh in 1824 and began to live in a grand style. After the death of Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar in October 1827, his son Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaydar appointed Mahdī ʿAlī as his *nāʾib* (chief minister). The Governor-General Lord William Bentinck was highly impressed by Mahdī ʿAlī's administrative abilities and supported his schemes. Mahdī ʿAlī reduced the salaries of undeserving favourites of the court, slashed the stipend of the ladies of the palace and even curtailed the expenses of the King. After four years of strong rule he was dismissed in 1832 on the pretext of behaving arrogantly towards the Queen Mother and an incompetent minister called Rawshān al-Dawla was appointed in his place. The reforms introduced by Mahdī ʿAlī were speedily reversed and the prosperity of the kingdom declined. Mahdī ʿAlī retired to Farrukhābād and died in obscurity.

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MAHDĪ KHĀN ASTARĀBĀDĪ, Mīrzā (Muḥammad), court secretary and historian of Nādir Shāh of Iran (reigned 1148-60/1736-47), author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī* (also known as *Djahāngushā-yi Nādirī*).

Little is known for certain about the life of Mīrzā Mahdī Khān, not even the dates of his birth and death. The *takhalluṣ* by which he is sometimes called, Kawkabī, is likewise disputed (Shahīdī, pp. *md*). He was presumably born at Astarābād, the son of one Muḥammad Naṣīr, and apparently moved to the capital Iṣfahān during the twilight of the Ṣafawid dynasty or the Afghān occupation of Iran. According to documents in his collected official correspondence (*Munshaʾāt*; see Anwār, pp. *sih*, *pandj*; *Shahīdī*, pp. *mdj*), he wrote a formal congratulation to Nādir on his capture of Iṣfahān in 1142/1729. For the next seventeen years he served Nādir as head of the secretariat (*munshī al-mamālik*), then after his coronations as official historian (*wāḳiʿa niwīs*). In spring of 1160/1747 he was sent together with Muṣṭafā Khān Bīgdilī Shāmlū on an embassy to the Ottoman court in order to ratify the peace treaty recently concluded by Nādir. They had gone no farther than Baghdād when the news of the Shāh's assassination overtook them, and the embassy was discontinued. Mīrza Mahdī returned to Iran and spent the remainder of his life in retirement —whether at Mashhad, Tabrīz or elsewhere is uncertain—completing the historical and philological works which he had begun during his service with Nādir. He died some time between 1162/1749 and 1182/1768.

Mīrzā Mahdī is chiefly remembered for his two histories of Nādir Shāh, the *Djahāngushā-yi Nādirī* and the *Durra-yi nādira*. The former is a detailed year-by-year record of Nādir's career, particularly of his military campaigns, though marred by an expedient eulogy of his patron; it became the inspiration and model for several histories of the subsequent Afshārid and Zand periods, notably the *Taʾrīkh-i Gītī-gushā* of Mīrzā Ṣādiḳ Nāmī. The *Durra-yi nādira* ("Rare pearl") treats the same material in the florid and abstruse style initiated by the Īl-Khānid historian Waṣṣāf, as a tour-de-force of forced metaphors and Arabic quotations. Mīrzā Mahdī also made valuable contributions to Turkish studies with his *Sanglākh*, a Persian dictionary of eastern Turkish (Čaghatāy) based on the poetry of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, and with his Čaghatāy grammar, *Mabānī al-lugha*.

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AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD, a title and name of a number of Zaydī *imām*s of the Yemen.

About 250 years after al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā, the founder of the Zaydiyya in the Yemen, his direct descendant, al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh Aḥmad, had, between 532/1137 and 566/1170, restored Zaydī territory to its extent in al-Hādī's time, with Ṣaʿda, Nadjrān and, for a time, also Zabīd and Ṣanʿāʾ. A generation later (593-614/1197-1217) the mountainous region from Ṣaʿda in the north to Dhamār, south of Ṣanʿāʾ, was again ruled by the Zaydī al-Manṣūr bi'llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza, not a direct descendant of al-Hādī, but of the latter's brother, ʿAbd Allāh. Al-Manṣūr was twice able to enter Ṣanʿāʾ, but his power was severely limited by the last Ayyūbid ruler of the Yemen, al-Malik al-Masʿūd Yūsuf (612-26/1215-29). After the death of al-Manṣūr in

614/1217, the Zaydī house was split, al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Muḥsin, a descendant of al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā, declaring himself *imām* in Ṣaʿda, while al-Manṣūr's sons asserted their right to the imāmate further south. An attempt to heal this long-standing rift within the dynasty was made by

1. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN. His genealogy would appear to have been clearly established by the usually reliable Rasūlid genealogist, al-Malik al-As͟hraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf (*Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb*, 101-2), as follows: Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Abi 'l-Barakāt b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim Tard͟jumān al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

In 646/1248 Aḥmad proclaimed himself *imām* in the fortress of T͟hulā, north-west of Ṣanʿāʾ, with the support of the Banū Ḥamza Zaydīs, his father's family, and with the possible connivance of the Rasūlid fief-holder of Ṣanʿāʾ, the sultan's nephew, Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, whose loyalty to his family was at best only lukewarm. Aḥmad's position was strengthened by the murder in 647/1250 of Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar, the Rasūlid sulṭān, a crime which may have had the support of Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad. The latter continued his fickle behaviour into the sultanate of al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, son of Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar, at times appearing to support his family, the Rasūlids, against the Zaydī *imām* al-Mahdī Aḥmad, at times flirting with the latter and showing open rebellion against the Rasūlids. The mystery is why such an astute leader as al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf put up with such behaviour, for his nephew seems to have been able to patch up his quarrels and disloyalties with his uncle, the sultan, with no difficulty on more than one occasion. The position of al-Mahdī Aḥmad improved for a time, for he was able to take Ṣanʿāʾ in 648/1250; although harrassed by Asad al-Dīn, who held the fortress of Birās͟h close by, he was able to extend his influence south as far as D͟hamār. But within the year al-Mahdī Aḥmad had to abandon Ṣanʿāʾ. Asad al-Dīn sold him Birās͟h, but it was on account of this that the final breach between them occurred. Asad al-Dīn yet again made his peace with his uncle, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf. Al-Mahdī Aḥmad's fate, however, was not to be decided by the Rasūlids but within the Zaydī camp. Quarrels arose and a rival *imām*, S͟hams al-Dīn Aḥmad, was announced in 652/1254 in Ṣaʿda. In the next year a Zaydī assembly pronounced Aḥmad's deposition. He fought on with the remainder of his followers, but was killed in 656/1258 and buried in D͟hu Bīn (invariably written D͟hībīn in the sources).

S͟hams al-Dīn Aḥmad, who adopted the official title of al-Mutawakkil and recognised the Rasūlids as his overlords, was at once challenged by a rival *imām* in the person of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Wahhās. A number of other *imām*s were recognised before

2. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. AL-MURTAḌĀ b. Aḥmad b. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. Manṣūr b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf al-Dāʿī b. Yaḥya al-Manṣūr b. Aḥmad al-Nāṣir. The last named was the son and second successor of al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā. After the death of the *Imām* al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, killed in 793/1391 when thrown from his mule which had been frightened by a bird, a *ḳāḍī*, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Dawwārī, with other Zaydī notables, continued the Zaydī administration for a time on behalf of his sons who were all minors. The Zaydī *ʿulamāʾ*, however, assembled in the D͟jamāl al-Dīn mosque in Ṣanʿāʾ and appointed Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā as *imām*. ʿAbd Allāh al-Dawwārī thereupon had ʿAlī, the son of al-Nāṣir, proclaimed *imām*, and al-Mahdī Aḥmad and those supporting him left for Bayt Baws where they were immediately besieged by the rival *imām*, ʿAlī. For the remainder of that year and into 794/1392 the two claimants to the Zaydī imāmate fought for supremacy. Al-Mahdī Aḥmad was caught in Maʿbar, south of Ṣanʿāʾ, by forces of his rival, ʿAlī, and languished in prison until 801/1399, a period of over seven years. In that year he was freed with the help of his jailers. He lived on, however, until 840/1437, when he died near Ḥad͟jd͟ja of the plague. Ironically, enough, his erstwhile rival the *Imām* ʿAlī died in Ṣanʿāʾ of the plague in that same year.

The choice of Ibn al-Murtaḍā as *Imām* was a mistake, inasmuch as he lacked the necessary military and administrative ability. On the other hand, he had another qualification in perfection. As a result of a careful education and a thirst for learning from his youth upwards, he wrote a great deal, dogmatic, legal and paraenetic; he was also a poet and worked at grammar and logic. The kindness of his warders, who supplied him with ink and paper, enabled him to compose the law book *al-Azhār fī fiḳh al-aʾimma al-athār* (Berlin ms. 4919) on which he wrote a commentary. His most valuable work is still his theological and legal encyclopaedia, *al-Baḥr al-zak͟hk͟hār* (Berlin mss. 4894-4907) on which he likewise wrote a commentary. Although not the work of an original scholar, it is a rich and well-arranged compilation, which deserves attention, if only for the part of the introduction which compares the various religions, as the distinctions between them are seen from quite a different point of view to that of al-As͟hʿarī or al-S͟hahrastānī.

About 80 years after al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, from 922/1516 onwards, the Turks had begun to occupy Yaman and to hold it with varying fortunes (see Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī, *al-Barḳ al-yamānī fi 'l-fatḥ al-ʿUt͟hmānī*, in S. de Sacy, in *Notices et extraits*, iv, 412-504, and A. Rutgers, *Historia Jemanae sub Hasano Pascha*, Leiden 1838). In his struggle with them al-Manṣūr bi'llāh al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, a descendant of al-Hādī in the seventeenth generation, was able in *ca.* 1000/1591 to restore the present imāmate in Ṣanʿāʾ (see A. S. Tritton, *The rise of the Imams of Sana*, Oxford 1925). Of his sons, Muḥammad al-Muʾayyad succeeded him. Even in his reign, but still more after his death in 1054/1644, when his successor Ismāʿīl, another son of al-Ḳāsim, was making his way with difficulty against his many brothers and nephews, one of al-Ḳāsim's grandsons began to come to the front, afterwards the *Imām*

3. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ḲĀSIM. His father was not *Imām*, but distinguished himself in the wars against the Turks and was also a scholar. In 1048/1639 Aḥmad appeared in the hills of Wuṣāb; in 1051/1641 he was in Mecca with many members of his family on the pilgrimage. Just at the accession of Ismāʿīl, he set out with another cousin against Ṣanʿāʾ. At first he came to terms with the *Imām*, but then fought in different places for his own hand, e.g. at T͟hulā and again in the D͟jabal Wuṣāb. In 1070/1659 he won Ḥaḍramawt for Ismāʿīl, to which the Zaydīs had been summoned by the disputes for the throne. When in 1087/1676

on the death of Ismāʿīl he himself assumed the imāmate, a nephew, al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad al-Muʾayyad, proclaimed himself *imām* and was recognised particularly in the remoter territory in the south towards Tihāma. A Zaydī assembly of leading Sharīfs and *ʿulamāʾ* met, at which Aḥmad was with some difficulty recognised as the legitimate *imām*. Although this did not mean that he enjoyed the authority of a sovereign, since his rivals and the other *amīrs* remained as independent as before, yet peace and security reigned in the country. But Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan died soon afterwards in 1092/1681 in al-Ghirās near Shibām, which had been built by the first Turkish conqueror Ḥasan Pasha, possibly from a bullet wound, sustained in action against a recalcitrant tribe. A notable feature of his comparatively uneventful imāmate was his banishment of the Jews from Ṣanʿāʾ, the razing of their synagogue and the building of the Djalā mosque on its site (1090-1/1679-80). After the short and weak reign of his son al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad (to 1097/1686), family feuds broke out again. Among the later *imāms* of this Ḳāsimid dynasty another Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim (from 1221/1806) again bore the official title of al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh.

Bibliography: (apart from the sources and studies cited in the original *EI*¹ article): G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, GMS, XXVI/1-2, London 1974-8, vol. i being the text of Ibn Ḥātim's *al-Simṭ al-ghālī 'l-thaman*, etc., useful for I. only; al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb*, ed. K. V. Zetterstéen, Damascus 1949 (for I. only); Ibn al-Daybaʿ, *Ḳurrat al-ʿuyūn fī akhbār al-Yaman al-maymūn*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, Cairo 1977, is of some value for 1. and 2.; the Zaydī chronicle of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, etc., ed. S A. F. Ashour, Cairo 1968, provides useful information on 1. and 2. and has a relatively impartial approach to internal Zaydī schisms. For 3., an unpublished ms. source is Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Bahdjat al-zaman*, the *dhayl* to his *Anbāʾ al-zaman* chronicling events in Yemen between 1046/1636-7 and 1099/1687-8. Published materials include Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284/1867-8, i, 180-1; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 43-4; ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. al-Karmalī, Cairo 1939, 68; and Djurāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf min taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1951, 167-9.

(R. Strothmann-[G. R. Smith and J. R. Blackburn])

AL-MAHDĪ ʿUBAYD ALLĀH, the first "manifested" (*ẓāhir*) Ismāʿīlī *Imām* and the first caliph of the Fāṭimid dynasty in Ifrīḳiya; while the historicity of this fact is conclusively established, there is doubt as to the Fāṭimid origin of ʿUbayd Allāh and subsequently as to the authenticity of his imāmate in the Ismāʿīlī line.

It would be pointless however, before giving an account of his activity as a sovereign, to digress upon the thorny subject of the *nasab* of the first Fāṭimid monarch, to which the author of the present article has, moreover, elsewhere devoted substantial consideration (see *Bibl.*). This study will be confined therefore to exposing the essential features as a means of bringing to light the political and social conditions in which the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* developed in the Orient even before the imamāte fell to ʿUbayd Allāh, then in the Maghrib, on the eve of the foundation of the Fāṭimid caliphate.

The question is whether ʿUbayd Allāh—ʿAbd Allāh according to the Ismāʿīlīs, who reject the diminutive form of his name on which Sunnī and Khāridjī authors agree—possessed an ʿAlid ascendancy through a family relationship with Ismāʿīl, the seventh hidden *Imām*, or whether he was quite simply the great-grandson of the *dāʿī* Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. MAYMŪN]. The documentation currently available is insufficient to provide a conclusive answer. It may nevertheless be asserted definitely that it was the seventh *Imām*, Ismāʿīl (d. *ca.* 145/762) who laid the foundations of the Ismaʿīlī movement, then his son Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl who elaborated the doctrine and organised the preaching (*daʿwa*) with the valuable assistance of the *dāʿī* Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ. It could be concluded that this *daʿwa* in favour of the ʿAlid descendants of the Ḥusaynid branch was thus initiated in the period of secrecy (*satr*), that is, at the beginning of the second half of the 2nd/9th century, and continued until the end of the 3rd/9th century, to be concluded finally with the "manifestation" (*ẓuhūr*) of the *Imām* al-Mahdī.

No sure light can be thrown upon the order of certain succession in which the imāmate was transmitted during this long period of secret preaching, and how the imāmate effectively passed from the line of Ismāʿīl to that of the family of al-Ḳaddāḥ, because of the variety of contradictory and impassioned opinions which our Sunnī and Khāridjī sources have reproduced with the obvious zeal of their authors. Among the Ismāʿīlī authors themselves, profound disagreements have survived, depending on whether the sources consulted are works of doctrine intended for public consumption (*ẓāhir*) or esoteric texts reserved for the initiates (*bāṭin*).

However, whether al-Mahdī be an authentic ʿAlid or a descendant of al-Ḳaddaḥ, it is appropriate to stress the importance of his role in the considerable development of the *daʿwa* at the moment that he was obliged to make it public, beginning from his home in Salamiyya and promulgating it across Persia, Lower Mesopotamia, Syria, Baḥrayn, Yemen, Egypt and even the distant Maghrib.

Nourished by the political and social unrest fomented among the Nabataean, Aramaean and Zandj masses in the East, Copts in Egypt and Berbers in Ifrīḳiya; strengthened, at the time of the decline of the ʿAbbāsid empire, as a result of the spectacular development of the Ḳarmaṭī or Carmathian movement which extolled the same revolutionary ideal of political reform and egalitarian justice; perfectly organised and covering the various "constituencies" of the Islamic world (*djuzur*), the Ismāʿīlī preaching ultimately entered, just at the time that al-Mahdī acceded to the imāmate in 285/898, a decisive phase, that of its Maghribī diversion.

Two decisive events influenced this movement of the *daʿwa* in the direction of the Maghrib; the Ḳarmaṭī dissidence in the East and the successes of the apostleship of the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh in Lesser Kabylia in the West. As for the schism between the Ḳarmaṭī movement and the centre of the *daʿwa*, it took place at the same time that the imāmate fell to al-Mahdī, whose authority the new Ḳarmaṭī chief, Zikrawayh, refused to recognise. It was thus to fend off the formidable threat posed to Salamiyya that al-Mahdī resigned himself to fleeing this town and setting out towards the far Maghrib at about the end of summer 299/902.

In fact, the apostleship undertaken on behalf of the *Imām* by the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh in this country, among the Kutāma Berbers of Lesser Kabylia,

developed into an open insurrection against the Ifrīḳiyan kingdom of the Aghlabids. Al-Mahdī made his way to Sidjilmāssa, in the furthest Maghrib, there to await the final victory of Abū ʿAbd Allāh and his Kutāmī partisans. His stay in this town was to last five years, until the day that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, having conquered on his behalf the kingdom of the Banu 'l-Aghlab, arrived there solemnly to present him with power and to escort him to Ifrīḳiya, where he took possession of the throne at Raḳḳāda on Thursday 20 Rabīʿ II 297/6 January 910.

On his accession, the first Fāṭimid sovereign was 36 or 37 years old, having been born at ʿAskar Mukram in 259 or 260/873 or 874. Ismāʿīlī and Sunnī authors agree in attributing to him qualities of tenacity and prudent wisdom which proved to be of great benefit to him in the course of various vicissitudes between the time of his flight from Salamiyya and his triumphal entry into Raḳḳāda.

Al-Mahdī was officially proclaimed caliph on the day following his arrival, Friday 21 Rabīʿ II 297/7 January 910. The edicts of enthronement and proclamation emphasised the restoration of the imāmate in the line of descent of the Prophet and of his heir (*waṣī*), through his daughter Fāṭima, and the recovery of the caliphate usurped by the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids.

Immediately upon his enthronement, al-Mahdī took in hand the responsibilities of state, letting it be known that he intended to exercise personally the power gained on his behalf by Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He thus eclipsed the prestige of the latter, his brother Abu 'l-ʿAbbās and certain Kutāma chieftains who, offended, were not slow to foment a conspiracy against him. But, assisted in his role as sovereign by Arab dignitaries who rallied to his cause, having earlier served the Aghlabid *amīrs*, al-Mahdī did not hesitate to rid himself of the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who was executed along with his brother and their Kutāmī accomplices.

With the same determination, al-Mahdī set about consolidating his authority through energetic suppression of the internal agitation provoked by the elimination of Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He quelled in rapid succession an attempted insurrection at al-Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm, a riot at al-Ḳayrawān, a rebellion in Tripoli, a revolt by the clan of the Māwatnaṭ in the land of the Kutāma and an uprising in Sicily. Having thus pacified his territories, taken firm control of his Arab and Berber subjects and contained the threat of Khāridjī tribes (especially the Zanāta) hostile to his régime, he rapidly set about establishing on the foundations of the former Aghlabid kingdom a stable and powerful state which he was careful to endow, at an early stage, with a new capital, al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*]. Built as a fortress, this coastal site was designed to ensure the security of the sovereign and to serve as an instrument for his policy of prestige and hegemony. For, in order to bring to a successful conclusion his two-fold function of *Imām* and caliph, the first Fāṭimid monarch was obliged at once to conduct outside his frontiers a tireless campaign on three fronts simultaneously: against his two Muslim rivals, the ʿAbbāsids in Egypt and the Umayyads of Spain in the western Maghrib, and the Christian enemy, the Emperor of Byzantium, in Sicily and Calabria.

In view of the fact that the proclamation of the Fāṭimid caliphate imposed on him the obligation to overthrow both the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid "usurpers", al-Mahdī no doubt at first contemplated invading Muslim Spain, where the power of his Cordovan rival had been considerably weakened by the revolt of Ibn Ḥafṣūn. Since the latter had been quick to pledge obedience to him, on his entry into Raḳḳāda, the Fāṭimid sovereign sent substantial troops to the western Maghrib to bring the area under his authority and to spread fear on the threshold of the Iberian Peninsula. But internal difficulties and his inability to impose lasting authority on the unruly tribes, especially those of the Zanāta group, beyond Tāhart, seem to have tempered his ambitions towards al-Andalus, the conquest of which represented an unacceptable risk.

Egypt, on the other hand, offered an easier prey and to invade it was indubitably a less perilous enterprise. Also, it was only natural that al-Mahdī's attention should be drawn towards the East, where he felt the equally imperious obligation to combat his other rival, the ʿAbbasīd sovereign.

So al-Mahdī was not slow to launch against Egypt, in 301-2/914-15, a powerful force commanded by his son and heir presumptive, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, the future al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh. Initially, the course of the expedition proceeded in his favour. But after capturing Alexandria, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim failed before al-Fusṭāṭ, and not being capable of confronting the army of the ʿAbbāsid general Muʾnis, he retraced his steps towards Ifrīḳiya.

Despite its lack of success on the military level, this expedition was to prove beneficial to the prestige of the Fāṭimid cause through the dissemination of Ismāʿīlī propaganda on the banks of the Nile and in other provinces of the ʿAbbāsid empire. Al-Mahdī returned to the attack in 307-8/919-21 with a second expedition commanded by the same Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. At first, this project developed as favourably as the preceding, with the capture of Alexandria and the occupation of the Fayyūm. But when the Fāṭimid fleet encountered disaster at Rosetta, and the battles before al-Fusṭāṭ turned to the advantage of the troops of Muʾnis, Abu'l-Ḳāsim was forced for the second time to retreat and return to Ifrīḳiya. However, the heir to the Fāṭimid throne took the opportunity afforded by this incursion to the banks of the Nile to assert afresh his family's claim to the caliphate and to call on the peoples of the East to rebel against the ʿAbbāsid "infidels" and to support the cause of the descendants of Fāṭima.

Al-Mahdī seems to have organised, shortly before his death, a third expedition against Egypt. In fact, this third attempt, attributed to the year 323/935, took place at the very beginning of the reign of his successor, al-Ḳāʾim, who must have held very dear to his heart the sending of troops against the country where he had suffered two consecutive defeats. In any event, this third Fāṭimid raid against Egypt was, on the military level, as fruitless as its predecessors. Before his death, al-Mahdī must have realised how inadequate his forces were compared with those of his two Muslim rivals, being forced to admit that the new Fāṭimid state was not yet sufficiently strong to overturn either of its hereditary enemies.

To satisfy the sacred obligation of *djihād* against the Christian enemy, al-Mahdī displayed the same amount of energy in campaigning against the Rūm in Sicily and in Calabria. The first raid against the south of the Italian peninsula took place during the year 306/918. The Fāṭimid troops captured Reggio and returned with much booty and many captives. The second incursion was launched from al-Mahdiyya in the summer of 310/922. With a fleet

of twenty galleys, the Fāṭimid officer Masʿūd b. Ghālib al-Wāsūlī took possession of the fortress of St. Agatha and made prisoners of its inhabitants.

Two years later, the chamberlain Djaʿfar b. ʿUbayd, known as "Ṣuʿlūk", led the third raid, with Palermo as his starting-point. He captured Bruzzano and Oria and returned to al-Mahdiyya with vast riches. The resounding success of this campaign had the effect of inducing Byzantium to conclude a treaty. But the annual tribute agreed for Calabria was slow to reach al-Mahdiyya, and hostilities resumed in 315/927. Continuing until 318/930 under the command of the slave Ṣābir, the Fāṭimid incursions proceeded victoriously against Tarento, Salerno, Naples and Termoli. Eventually the tribute was paid, hostilities were suspended and the treaty remained in force until the death of al-Mahdī. Preoccupied by Bulgarian imperialism, Byzantium allowed the Fāṭimid sovereign to subjugate Apulia and Calabria and to reinforce the supremacy of Islam in Sicily.

Al-Mahdī died in al-Mahdiyya on 15 Rabīʿ I 323/3 March 934. On the eve of his death, he could congratulate himself on having successfully performed his double task as *Imām* and as first Fāṭimid caliph. Under his aegis, the *daʿwa* emerged from its secular period of "secrecy" (*satr*), and flourished rapidly in the East and in the Maghrib. He had the skill and energy to conduct moderate but firm policies within his provinces, and to wage tireless warfare beyond his frontiers to affirm the right of the descendants of Fāṭima to lead the Muslim world. Thus, under his rule, the Fāṭimid empire embarked successfully on the first phase of its long history.

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(F. Dachraoui)

MAHDIDS, a dynasty of Zabīd in the Yemen claiming descent from the pre-Islamic Tubbaʿs of Ḥimyar.

1. History. The family took its name from the father of its first leader, ʿAlī b. Mahdī, who died in 554/1159. ʿAlī was brought up with a strong traditional Islamic education by his father in Tihāma. Though much given to quiet meditation, ʿAlī also acquired a reputation for eloquence. He travelled widely too, performing the pilgrimage each year and meeting *ʿulamāʾ* from all corners of the Islamic world. The famous historian-poet, ʿUmāra, is our earliest source for the Mahdid period. He tells us that he was much attracted by ʿAlī's early teachings and visited him personally every month (Kay, *Yaman*, 92). During the period 531-6/1136-42, ʿAlī preached openly in Tihāma. So sympathetic to his words was the Nadjāḥid queen in Zabīd, ʿAlam, that he and his followers were exempted from the *kharādj* normally payable on land. In 538/1143 ʿAlī felt sufficiently strong to attack the Nadjāḥid town of al-Kadrāʾ, north of Zabīd, but he and his supporters were driven off. They fled to the mountains where they remained until 541/1146. In that year ʿAlam, the Nadjāḥid queen in Zabīd, against the advice of her advisers, allowed ʿAlī and his supporters to return to Tihāma. ʿAlam died in 545/1150, an event which signalled the opening of a long, ruthless and extremely cruel campaign conducted by the Mahdids against Zabīd and the surrounding area of Tihāma from the mountains above. The town stood firm against appalling acts of terror. ʿAlī was compelled in 549/1154 to journey to the court of the Zurayʿid ruler in Dhū Djibla, Muḥammad b. Sabaʾ. ʿUmāra too was present at the meeting and tells us that ʿAlī left empty-handed. The Zurayʿid refused to assist him against Zabīd (Kay, *Yaman*, 94-5). ʿAlī began to intrigue among the Nadjāḥid *amīrs* and in 551/1156 he engineered the murder of Surūr al-Fātikī, a key figure in the declining Nadjāḥid house. Despite the brave resistance of its inhabitants, Zabīd finally fell to ʿAlī b. Mahdī in 554/1159. The latter had just only established himself in the town, however, when he died.

The events which followed the death of ʿAlī are difficult to unravel and our sources differ in their accounts. He was succeeded either by two sons jointly, Mahdī b. ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Nabī b. ʿAlī, or by the former only. Whatever the truth of the matter, the Mahdids consolidated former Nadjāḥid territory in Tihāma, made peace with the Zurayʿids based in Aden and al-Dumluwa, and raided other areas in the south, notably Laḥdj and al-Djanad. Mahdī died in 559/1163.

ʿAbd al-Nabī assumed full control for the Mahdid house, and the plundering and looting begun under his father, ʿAlī, continued with renewed vigour. Not only the southern areas of Laḥdj and Abyan were attacked, but also raids were made north in Tihāma into the territory of the Sulaymānī *sharīf*s. In such a raid Wahhās b. Ghānim, the Sulaymānī leader, was killed in 560/1164, an act which may well have helped to bring about the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen nine years later by Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb, the brother of Saladin (Smith, *Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids*, ii, 32-3, 41-2, 46). ʿAbd al-Nabī's thirst for territorial gain continued. Taʿizz and Ibb fell in 561/1165 and he moved on to besiege Aden in the same year. The siege dragged on until 568/1172, when the Zurayʿid ruler of Aden, Ḥātim b. ʿAlī, arrived in Ṣanʿāʾ to beg for assistance to raise the siege from a fellow Ismāʿīlī, the ruler of Ṣanʿāʾ, ʿAlī b. Ḥātim of Hamdān. The latter agreed to help, and with strong tribal support, the Zurayʿid-Hamdān alliance put the Mahdids to flight in 569/1173, thus relieving Aden. ʿAbd al-Nabī and his battered forces retired to Zabīd. Soon afterwards Tūrān-Shāh arrived in northern Tihāma with his Ayyūbid forces from Egypt. Joining up with the Sulaymānīs, who were eager to avenge the Mahdid killing of their leader, the Ayyūbids swept southwards through Tihāma, taking Zabīd and arresting ʿAbd al-Nabī and his brother Aḥmad. Both were executed by strangulation by the Ayyūbids in 571/1176, after what appears to have been a Mahdid attempt to regain control of Zabīd.

2. Religious doctrines. ʿUmāra's account of Mahdid doctrines is perhaps an oversympathetic one. He tells us that ʿAbd al-Nabī followed the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, but regarded sin as infidelity (a view which inevitably led to the charge that he was a Khāridjī) and thus punishable by death. Capital punishment was also prescribed for all those who opposed his teachings, as well as for wine drinking, singing and unlawful sexual intercourse. Property was held in common and a communal pool of horses, military equipment etc. was maintained. All other sources took a less charitable view of ʿAbd

al-Nabī's politico-religious leanings. He is painted as a man of great evil, plundering and looting in a mad attempt to conquer the world. Rather than punish wine-drinkers, he was himself a drunkard, they inform us, and a womaniser into the bargain. Certainly, the Khāridjī label stuck and ʿAbd al-Nabī is depicted in Yemeni and non-Yemeni sources alike as a fanatic whose removal from power in the Yemen was of sufficient importance to Saladin in Egypt to bring about the Ayyūbid conquest under his brother, Tūrān-Shāh, in 569/1173. The causes of the Ayyūbid conquest were of course numerous and complex (cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, ii, 31-49), but it is not beyond the realms of possibility that the presence of this "evil Khāridjī" in the Yemen did add weight to the argument in favour of bringing the Yemen under Ayyūbid control.

Bibliography: The earliest source of Mahdid activities is ʿUmāra's *Taʾrīkh*, found in H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaval history*, London 1882, with English translation: a whole section of chapter 3 of the present writer's *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, GMS, XXVI/2, London 1978, 56-62, with full references, is devoted to the Banū Mahdī, and the references to them in a section on the reasons for the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen is given in the text above; other important sources, mainly still in ms. form, for the Mahdid period are as follows: al-Djanadī, *al-Sulūk fī ṭabaḳāt al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-mulūk*, Chester Beatty ms. 3110, i and ii; al-Khazradjī, *al-Kifāya wa 'l-iʿlām, etc.*, Leiden ms. 805, and *al-ʿIḳd al-fākhir al-ḥasan, etc.*, Cambridge U.L., ms. King's 72; ʿImad al-Dīn Idrīs, *Kanz al-akhyār fī maʿrifat al-siyar wa 'l-akhbār*, British Library ms. Or. 4581; Ismāʿīl b. al-ʿAbbās, *Fākihat al-zaman, etc.*, Rylands ms. 253; Ibn al-Daybaʿ, *Ḳurrat al-ʿuyūn fī akhbār al-Yaman al-maymūn*, now published in 2 vols., ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, Cairo 1977; the late Zaydī chronicle of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, etc., ed. S. ʿA. F. Ashour, Cairo 1968, 2 vols., is occasionally of value; the principal non-Yemeni sources which mention the removal of ʿAbd al-Nabī as being a cause of the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen are Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, i, 552; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 261; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, i, 238; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 284, iv, 504; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 37.

(G. R. Smith)

AL-MAHDIYYA, formerly called AL-MAʿMŪRA, a town of Morocco, on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū (Sebou), built on a rocky promontory which dominates the valley of the river. Situated on the southern extremity of the plain of Gharb and 20 miles to the north-east of Salé (Salā), it enjoys a geographical position of the first importance. A port has been created here for ships of heavy tonnage, which cannot sail up the Wādī Sabū as far as the river port of Ḳnīṭra (al-Ḳunayṭira, Kénitra [see ḲANṬARA]) situated 6 miles as the crow flies from the mouth of the river.

It is generally agreed that the site of al-Mahdiyya corresponds to that of one of the earliest Phoenician settlements founded by Hanno in the 5th century B.C. on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, sc. the factory of Thymiateria. Nothing is known of the later history of this foundation and we have to wait till the 4th/10th century to get the first mention in Arab writers of the town at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū under the names al-Maʿmūra ("the populated, the flourishing"), Ḥalḳ ("the mouth") al-Maʿmūra or Ḥalḳ Sabū. According to the chronicler Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zayyanī, the modern town was founded by the short-lived dynasty of the Banū Ifran [*q.v.*] which settled on the Atlantic side of Morocco at the end of the 4th/10th century. In the second half of the 6th/12th, the Almohad sultan ʿAbd al-Muʾmin built there one of his dockyards for his navy (*dār al-ṣināʿa*). Later, down to the 10th/16th century, al-Maʿmūra's history is obscure; it was a small trading centre to which a few European ships came for the products of the country.

Al-Maʿmūra, when the Christians of the Iberian peninsula made their offensive against Morocco, was one of their first objectives; on 24 June 1515 a large Portuguese fleet anchored at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū and a landing force of 8,000 men occupied the town without a blow being struck. The Portuguese made themselves a strong base in al-Maʿmūra, built fortifications there, remains of which still exist, but they were only able to hold it for a short time. The Muslims drove the Christians out of al-Maʿmūra at the end of the same year, inflicting very heavy losses upon them.

Al-Maʿmūra re-enters history when at the end of the 10th/16th century it became a formidable nest of European pirates, who, under the leadership of an English captain, Mainwaring, practised piracy along the whole Atlantic coast and became a terror to the seafaring centres of Europe. This state of things was put an end to when Spain, which in 1610 had occupied the port of Larache (al-ʿArāʾish [*q.v.*]), a little farther north, made a landing at al-Maʿmūra in Radjab 1023/August 1614, after negotiations with the Moroccan ruler, the Saʿdid Mawlāy Zaydān. The town was taken and the Spanish fleet withdrew, leaving a strong garrison of 1,500 men. The captured town was given the name of San Miguel de Ultramar.

The Spanish occupation of al-Maʿmūra was to last 67 years, during which it was several times fiercely attacked by the Muslims, particularly the "volunteers of the faith" (*mudjāhidūn*), who mobilised to drive the Christians from the various points on the coast where they had established themselves under the active leadership of the chief al-ʿAyyāshī of Salé. The principal attacks on San Miguel de Ultramar were delivered in 1628, 1630 and 1647. In 1092/1681, the ʿAlawid sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl laid siege to the town and finally took it by storm. He then gave it the name of al-Mahdiyya; the name of al-Maʿmūra only survived as that of the great forest of cork oaks which lies between Salé and the lower valley of the Wādī Sabū.

It may be noted that, for a few years at an earlier date, the name al-Mahdiyya had been borne in Morocco by the little military station founded by the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin on the site of the future Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ (Rabat), on the south bank at the mouth of the Wādī Salā (the modern Wād Bū-Regreg). Al-Mahdiyya was occupied by French troops in 1911.

Fairly important remains survive at al-Mahdiyya, dating from the brief Portuguese occupation, the Spanish occupation or from the time when it was definitely retaken by the Muslims. Around the citadel (*ḳaṣba*) runs a continuous rampart with a ditch. These defences are entered by two gates; one, very massive and with two Arabic inscriptions, dates from the 11th/17th century. The other, a simple postern, dating from the Spanish occupation, opens on the steep slope which runs down to the sea. Inside are the ruins of the Muslim governor's palace of the 18th century. Between the foot of the citadel and the bank of the Wādī Sabū for a length of 200 m.

and a breadth of about 40 m. might still be seen buildings consisting of a series of square chambers completely isolated from one another and each protected by a double wall. These were probably granaries, which need not be earlier than the end of the 11th/17th century, and are not, as has been suggested, of the Phoenician period.

Bibliography: The Arabic historians of recent times (Zayyānī, Ḳādirī, Nāṣirī Salāwī, etc.), *passim*; H. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, indices, *sub* El-Mamora; *Villes et tribus du Maroc*, Publication de la Mission scientifique du Maroc, *Rabat et sa région. i. Les villes avant la conquête*, Paris 1918, 268-79; R. Montagne, *Note sur la kasbah de Mehdiya*, in *Hespéris*, i (1921), 93-7.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

AL-MAHDIYYA, a town in Tunisia which owes its name to its founder ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī (297-322/909-34 [*q.v.*]); situated on the coast 200 km. to the south of Tunis, it is the regional capital of a province of which the population, 218,000 inhabitants at the time of the 1975 census, is estimated in 1980 at 247,000. The population of the town, numbering 12,000 inhabitants in 1905, has grown steadily to 14,937 (1946 census), 18,494 (1956) and 21,788 (1966).

Foundation.

The creation of al-Mahdiyya by the Fāṭimids responded to a need which had already made itself felt since the end of the previous epoch, that of the Aghlabids. The last *amīrs* of this dynasty had in fact left Kairouan (al-Ḳayrawān) for Tunis. When prospecting along the coast beyond Tunis, which did not attract his choice, in the search for the site to be selected for the creation of his new capital, the Ismāʿīli Shīʿī Mahdī followed the same motivations, with the additional concern of security. A *post eventum* prediction has him prophesying the insurrection of Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī [*q.v.*], the violent thrust of which was broken only by the ramparts of al-Mahdiyya, and thus gives a hagiographical explanation of its foundation. In fact, besides considerations of prestige and the constant concern of founders of dynasties throughout Muslim history to mark the new order through the creation of a new capital, the preoccupations of the Mahdī were more immediate: to build defences, at a good distance and in a secure place, against an eventual assault by Sunnīs implacably hostile to the Shīʿīs, a storm whose epicentre could be nowhere other than Kairouan. The Khāridjī menace was at that time less predictable.

The chosen site offered ideal security safeguards for a dynasty possessing a powerful navy, this being inherited from the Aghlabids. Built on a spur projecting some 1,400 m. into the sea, and approached by "a road narrow as a shoe-lace" (al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsim*, partial ed.-tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 17), the town was impregnable from the land, which explains the choice of ʿUbayd Allāh who, after the failure of his attempted invasions of Egypt, was obliged to secure his bases, for an indefinite duration, in Ifrīḳiya.

Numerous written and archeological sources indicate that ancient settlements, Punic and Roman, preceded the Fāṭimid occupation of the region. Arabic texts preserve the memory of Djumma, usually identified with the ancient Gummi. But there is nothing to suggest that the peninsula itself had been "occupied by an urban settlement before the 4th/10th century" (A. Lézine, *Mahdia*, Paris 1965, 17). ʿUbayd Allāh thus chose to build, in 300/912-13 (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 169), on a virgin site and, the work completed, he inaugurated his new capital on 8 Shawwāl 308/20 February 921 (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 184; al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ*, ed. W. al-Ḳāḍī, Beirut 1970, 275, ed. F. Dachraoui, Tunis 1975, 372-8).

A city of refuge, al-Mahdiyya was surrounded by a defensive wall of unusual thickness (8.30 m.), which followed the coast and of which a long section to the north is still recognisable. A rampart 175 m. in length barred the entrance to the isthmus, and was preceded, at a distance of 40 m., by an outer wall. Access to the town was gained by means of an iron gate decorated with bronze lions, leading through a domed vestibule 35 m. long by 5.10 m. broad. Only this vestibule, known as *al-Saḳīfa al-Kaḥla*, is still today entirely upright. The new capital comprised a palace for the Mahdī and another for his son and successor al-Ḳāʾim, administrative buildings, subterranean storehouses for cereals, wells, cisterns, and one mosque which, eroded by the sea and disfigured by extraneous constructions, fell into ruin; recently—in the 1960s—it has been completely restored to its original state under the direction of A. Lézine. The town was also equipped with an arsenal and, on the southern side, a fortified and sheltered inland port, a port which, although not necessarily a reconstructed ancient installation, as might be supposed, was probably designed on the model of a Carthaginian harbour.

History.

A royal town and a citadel, al-Mahdiyya was never heavily populated, being limited by its narrow intra-mural space. The bulk of the population resided in the suburb of Zawīla, which was also the commercial sector. Al-Ḳāʾim (322-34/934-46) encircled this suburb with a ditch. In 332/943 there broke out the revolt of the Nukkārī Khāridjī Abū Yazīd, nicknamed the "Man on the Donkey." The latter, having stormed Kairouan, laid siege to al-Mahdiyya (Djumādā II 333—Ṣafar 334/January-October 945), its ramparts saving the Fāṭimids from a defeat which seemed certain. After the final suppression of the revolt, Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr (334-41/946-53) nevertheless abandoned the town, which thus lost its capital status, and moved, towards the end of Ṣafar 337/September 948, to his new residence of al-Manṣūriyya, built in the outskirts of Kairouan "on the very site of his victory over the Man on the Donkey" (F. Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide au Maghreb*, Tunis 1981, 217).

Al-Mahdiyya regained its role as capital, for the last time, as a result of the Hilālian invasion which forced the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs to take refuge there (27 Shaʿbān 449/29 October 1057). It became, from this time onward, a capital under threat, and danger also came from the sea. In 480/1087 "Pisans and Genoans conquered Mahdia and Zawila, which they pillaged and burned" (H. R. Idris, *Zirides*, Paris 1962, i, 288). In 517/1123, the town was attacked, unsuccessfully, by the Normans. In 529/1134, it was subjected to a sea and land assault by the Ḥammādids. Finally, with the treaty of 536/1140-1, the Normans of Sicily imposed harsh conditions on the town, a prelude to its seizure by Roger II (2 Ṣafar 543/22 June 1148), which marked the end of the Zīrid dynasty.

Blockaded, from 12 Radjab 554/30 July 1159,

by sea and land by the fleet and army of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī, the Normans were forced to capitulate 10 Muḥarram 555/21 January 1160, and al-Mahdiyya was ruled by an Almohad governor. Four decades later, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Radjrādjī al-Kūmī—of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin—allied himself with the Banū Ghāniya, declared himself independent at the beginning of the caliphate of al-Nāṣir (595-610/1199-1213), and took the title of al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh. In 602/1205, the town was recaptured, along with the whole of Ifrīḳiya, by the caliph, who restored its fortifications.

Under the reign of the Ḥafṣids, during the years 658 and 686/1286 and 1287, numerous towns in the Sahel, including al-Mahdiyya, were sacked by the Admiral Roger of Lauria, acting on behalf of the Aragonese. Then, from 718 to 723/1318-23, Abū Ḍarba, a son of Ibn al-Liḥyānī, ruled the town as an independent possession. In 739/1338-9, al-Mahdiyya was recaptured from the hands of a certain Ibn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār who had taken possession of it, and in *ca.* 761/1360 its fortifications were again restored by the Ḥafṣid minister Ibn Tafrādjīn. In 1390, between 20 July and 20 September, it was subjected to attack by a veritable crusade conducted by the Genoese with support from French and English knights. The town resisted, but was obliged to pay tribute to have the siege raised.

At the end of the reign of the Ḥafṣids, the town was the object of bitter contention between the Turks and the Spanish. The latter besieged it in 1509, then established a garrison there in 1539 after the capture of Tunis by Charles V. But Dragut took possession of it the following year. Temporarily driven from the town, he returned and remained in control until 8 September 1550, on which date the admiral Andrea Doria captured the place on behalf of Charles V, who destroyed the town's defences in 1554 before abandoning it.

In 1689 there was an outbreak of plague in the city, and in 1740 it was deserted by its population, a population severely punished by ʿAlī Pasha for its loyalty to his uncle. In 1848, the Christian population of the city was judged sufficiently important to justify the creation of a parish. In 1856, an outbreak of cholera claimed many victims. In spite of its cautious stance during the uprising of 1864, incited by the doubling of the *mejba* tax, "Mahdia, a city without defences, was pillaged on 25 April by the neighbouring villagers" (J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959, 228), and was ruined, as was the whole of the Sahel, by the combined effects of the expedition of Zarrouk and the depredations of creditors and usurers.

After the establishment of the Protectorate, al-Mahdiyya was endowed with its first French school in 1884, became a judicial seat in 1885, and was not slow to participate actively in the nationalist movement. On 6 August 1920, a demonstration against the cost of living developed into a riot; on 21 March 1925, the city responded to the call for a general strike demanded throughout the country by the Destour in protest against reforms which were judged insufficient; and from 18 to 20 April 1933, again at the behest of the Destour, there were new demonstrations against the burial in Muslim cemeteries of naturalised French Tunisians.

The urban development of al-Mahdiyya naturally corresponded to the fluctuations in its history. The suburb of Zawīla, obliterated by the Hilālian assault, was rebuilt in *ca.* 597/1200, and in the same period, a little further to the north-west, there is the first mention of the village of Hibūn. Then from the 16th century onward, the character of the town was changed completely as a result of the ethnic element introduced by Turkish garrisons, with the additional influx, after 1609, of Moors driven out of Spain. Today, 60% of the urban population of al-Mahdiyya is composed of descendants of Kouloughlis [see Ḳul-oghlu], representing, in this respect, the highest proportion in Tunisia, with perceptible effects on names and customs.

The two principal riches of al-Mahdiyya consist of olive-growing and fisheries. The cotton plantations, mentioned in the 18th and 19th centuries (Lucette Valensi, *Fellahs tunisiens* ..., Lille 1975, 219), have today disappeared. Industries associated with olive-growing and fisheries—the sardine industry in particular—have on the contrary undergone large-scale expansion, and activities such as oil-extraction, refining, soap manufacture and the canning of food, etc., are flourishing.

The city has today overflowed its original isthmus and is developing along two arterial axes: towards Sfax, and especially in the direction of Sousse. Its leading literary figures, dating from the early Ḥafṣid era, are two poets, Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān al-Ḳaysī, known by the name of Ibn ʿUrayba (d. 659/1260), and Ibn al-Simāṭ (d. 690/1291). Also worthy of mention, from the point of view of Ṣūfism, is the *ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*] al-Dahmānī (d. 621/1224), a disciple of Abū Madyan [*q.v.*].

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al-**MAHDIYYA**, a movement in the Egyptian Sudan, launched in 1881 by Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (Muḥammad al-Mahdī) for the reform of Islam. It had from the outset a political and revolutionary character, being directed against the Turco-Egyptian régime (*al-Turkiyya*), which it overthrew, establishing a territorial state. Under the Mahdī's successsor, the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh [see ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Taʿāʾishī, and Khalīfa. iv], this developed essentially into a traditional Islamic monarchy until its existence was

terminated by the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest (1896-8).

1. Mahdist antecedents. Only one previous mahdist claimant seems to have originated in the Nilotic Sudan before the *Turkiyya*, a 17th-century Ṣūfī ascetic, Ḥamad al-Naḥlān alias Wad al-Turābī. His claim was rejected by the Fundj [*q.v.*] king of Sinnār, Bādī II. He is represented as clashing with the tax-gatherers of Bādī III (cf. S. Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic texts*, Cambridge 1935, 174-93). The immediate antecedents of the Sudanese Mahdiyya are to be found in a mood of eschatological expectation, which appears first in Egypt in the late 18th and 19th centuries, reflecting the popular consciousness that traditional Islamic society was threatened both by infidels from without and despots within. Mahdist expectations were thus attached to Djezā'irli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] during his expedition against the duumvirate of Ibrāhīm Bey [*q.v.*] and Murād Bey (Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ii, 114), while an insurrection against the French in 1799 was headed by a mahdist claimant of Maghribī origin (*ʿAdjāʾib*, iii, 58). A revolt in Upper Egypt against Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha in 1822-3 was led by another mahdist claimant (ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xiv, 76). A manifesto against the Sudanese Mahdī mentions a predecessor in Khartoum (al-Khurṭūm [*q.v.*]), Ibrāhīm al-Sūdānī, of whom nothing further is known (Shuḳayr, *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, iii, 379): the name suggests a person of southern Sudanese origin. The Sudanese Mahdiyya was thus the latest and most successful of a cluster of mahdist movements which, while formally presenting themselves in religious terms, had markedly social and political aims.

2. The revolutionary situation in the Egyptian Sudan. During the sixty years preceding the outbreak of the Mahdiyya, profound changes had affected the traditional society and Islam of the Nilotic Sudan, culminating in a revolutionary situation. Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's conquests (1820-1) ended the independence of numerous sedentary and nomadic groups. His establishment of a centralised and autocratic administrative system with its unaccustomed fiscal burdens (undoubtedly aggravated by corruption and extortion) had a traumatic effect. Moreover, the demands of modernisation in Egypt meant that the officials in the Sudan were rarely of high quality or integrity.

One group whose political and social status declined under the *Turkiyya* was that of the indigenous men of religion (sing. *fakī* < *faḳīh*), who during the previous three centuries had fulfilled a range of functions as teachers of the Ḳurʾān and *Sharīʿa*, Ṣūfī leaders, arbitrators, and intercessors with the rulers. The establishment of an orthodox hierarchy of *ʿulamāʾ*, serving in government mosques, and integrated into the judicial system, created a rival group of religious leaders. Although individual members of the old *fakī* families took advantage of the greater opportunities to study at al-Azhar and enter the official hierarchy, there remained a fundamental incompatibility between the *fakī*s and the government-supported *ʿulamaʾ*, whom the Mahdī was to designate *ʿulamāʾ al-sūʾ*.

Developments in the two decades preceding the Mahdiyya heightened the tension between the *Turkiyya* and the inhabitants of the Egyptian Sudan. The vigorous autocracy of Khedive Ismāʿīl (1863-79) [*q.v.*] made the power of government felt once more after the comparative laxity which had begun in Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's last years and continued under his successors. The former sultanate of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] was annexed in 1874. Since the middle of the century, traders seeking ivory and slaves had thrust into unexplored regions far up the White Nile and the Baḥr al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*], outside the Muslim and arabised northern Sudan, and completely beyond the control of the Turco-Egyptian officials. The slave-trade that was fed from these regions was a scandal to Europe. To bring the south and west under his administration, and thereby to suppress the slave-trade, was a principal aim of the khedive.

The implementation of this policy would in any event have antagonised vested interests, particularly the diaspora of northern Sudanese, the Danāḳla and Djaʿaliyyūn [*q.v.*], who were involved in the slave-trade, and who ranged from petty dealers (*djallāba*) to merchant-princes such as al-Zubayr Raḥma Manṣūr, the master of the western Baḥr al-Ghazāl and the conqueror of Dār Fūr. The situation was rendered more critical by the khedive's recruitment of Europeans and Americans to carry out his plans; this employment of Christians in high office shocked the conservative piety of the Sudanese. Chief among these expatriates was the British officer Charles George Gordon (cf. Bernard M. Allen, *Gordon and the Sudan*, London 1931), who as governor of the Equatorial province (1873-6) and governor-general of the Sudan (1877-9) played a leading part in the attempts to establish khedivial administration in the south and to suppress the slave-trade. With their inadequate resources, Gordon and his colleagues attained only limited success. The deposition of Ismāʿīl (June 1879) was followed by Gordon's withdrawal, and the comparative feebleness of their successors in Cairo and Khartoum facilitated the drift towards insurrection in the Sudanese provinces.

3. The early career of Muḥammad al-Mahdī (1844-81). Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh was born in 1844 in the province of Dongola [*q.v.*]. His father was a boat-builder, and when Muḥammad Aḥmad was a child the family moved to Kararī on the Nile, a few miles north of Khartoum, where there was an adequate supply of timber. After their father's death, Muḥammad Aḥmad's brothers followed his trade, but he himself underwent a traditional religious education within the Egyptian Sudan. He early showed a propensity towards asceticism and Ṣūfism, and in 1861 he attached himself to Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīf Nūr al-Dāʾim, the grandson of the founder of the Sammāniyya *ṭarīḳa* in the Sudan. When his brothers moved for timber to Abā island in the White Nile, he accompanied them, and from 1870 made his headquarters there. His pious reputation gained him many followers, a development which was the probable cause of a breach with Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīf, in consequence of which Muḥammad Aḥmad attached himself to a rival leader of the Sammāniyya, Shaykh al-Ḳurashī wad al-Zayn (d. 1878). In 1881 he was joined by the man who was to become his most intimate disciple and his successor as head of the Mahdist state, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], who came from the Taʿāʾisha Baḳḳāra [*q.v.*], cattle-Arabs of Dār Fūr. A mahdist expectation was abroad in the Egyptian Sudan, and was shared by Muḥammad Aḥmad himself. There was evidence of it in Kordofan (Kurdufān) [*q.v.*], which he visited about his time. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad had, some years previously, saluted al-Zubayr Raḥma as *mahdī* —a role which the conqueror of Dār Fūr declined. It is probable that ʿAbd Allāh played a decisive part in the spiritual crisis of which the outcome was Muḥammad Aḥmad's claim to be the Expected

Mahdī. This was first secretly communicated to his disciples at Abā (March 1881), and then to other adherents during a second visit to Kordofan. The public manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) of the Mahdī took place on 29 June 1881. Letters were sent to various notables urging them to rally to him, and he announced his divine mission in a telegram to the governor-general.

While the Mahdiyya had in its origins many characteristics of a movement of social and political protest, these aspects were subsumed in the founder's primary aim: the reform of Islam, encompassing both the cult and the society. Like previous reformers, notably Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*], he envisaged the restoration of the primitive Islamic *umma* governed by the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna. Unlike Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, however, Muḥammad Aḥmad was deeply impregnated by the emotional and imaginative quality of Ṣūfism. He saw his movement not merely as the revival of Islam, but as the recapitulation of the life and order of the primitive *umma*: a divinely ordained correspondence between *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*. He presented himself as appointed to the supreme succession (*al-khilāfa al-kubrā*) as Successor of the Apostle of God (*Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh*), while his leading disciples were the successors of the Rightly-guided Caliphs. Three of these were appointed soon after the Manifestation. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad's status was recognised in his title of *Khalīfat al-Ṣiddīḳ*, i.e. the successor of Abū Bakr. An early follower, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ḥilū (ʿAlī wad Ḥilū) was appointed the successor of ʿUmar (*Khalīfat al-Fārūḳ*), and the Mahdī's young son-in-law, Muḥammad Sharīf b. Ḥāmid, was appropriately named the successor of ʿAlī (*Khalīfat al-Karrār*). The appointment of successor of ʿUthmān was offered to the contemporary head of the Sanūsiyya, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, whose co-operation Muḥammad Aḥmad was anxious to obtain, but the offer, made in May 1883, was ignored. By another parallelism with the Prophet, the Mahdī styled his followers Anṣār.

The official *ʿulamā'* endeavoured to confute the mahdist claims of Muḥammad Aḥmad by stating the orthodox Sunnī doctrine of the *mahdī* and demonstrating Muḥammad Aḥmad's failure to conform to the criteria laid down in *Ḥadīth*. He defended his position by reasserting his divine election, conveyed in a colloquy (*ḥaḍra*) by the Prophet. At the same time, he emphasised where possible points of conformity with *Ḥadīth*. Thus he adapted his name to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, emphasised his descent from the Prophet, and changed the name of his rendez-vous in Kordofan from Djabal Ḳadīr to Māssa.

4. The Mahdī's *hidjra* and *djihād* (1881-5). The authorities at first underestimated the Mahdī's challenge, but when a small military expedition sent to arrest him was routed (August 1881), the matter was taken seriously. The Mahdī and his Anṣār meanwhile made a withdrawal (the *hidjra*) to Djabal Ḳadīr in the Nūba Mountains. The remoteness of this place rendered military operations by the government difficult (two expeditions were defeated in December 1881 and May 1882), while it formed an appropriate base for attacks on government positions in Kordofan. From southern Kordofan and Dār Fūr the Mahdī could draw on a vast reserve of Baḳḳāra tribesmen, whose propensity to raiding found a sanctified outlet in this warfare. Since the Mahdī regarded only those who accepted his mission as true Muslims, such fighting was designated *djihād* [*q.v.*]. The government troops were, however, capable of prolonged resistance in fortified positions, and an attempt to storm the provincial capital El Obeid (al-Ubayyiḍ) on 8 September 1882 was a failure. Henceforward the Mahdī relied upon siege-tactics, and the tribal forces were supplemented with a corps known as the *djihādiyya*, largely recruited from captured government troops of southern Sudanese origin. They were provided with firearms, which the Mahdī was anxious to keep out of the hands of the undisciplined tribal warriors.

The surrender of El Obeid (19 January 1883) gave the Mahdī an administrative centre, and Kordofan formed the nucleus of a territorial Mahdist state. In the meantime, khedivial control had been further weakened by the British occupation of Egypt (September 1882) and the reluctance of the British government to undertake commitments in the Sudan. An Egyptian expeditionary force was, however, organised with Col. William Hicks, a retired Indian Army officer, as chief of staff. Advancing through difficult country from the White Nile into Kordofan, it was annihilated by the Anṣār at Shaykān (5 November 1883). The Mahdī was now the master of the west. Dār Fūr and Baḥr al-Ghazāl were surrendered by their European governors in December 1883 and April 1884 respectively. Meanwhile, ʿUthmān Diḳna (Osman Digna), from a mercantile family of Suakin (Sawākin) had been sent (May 1883) to raise the Bedja [*q.v.*] of the Red Sea hills, a mission in which he was largely successful through the support of an influential *fakī*, Shaykh al-Ṭāhir al-Madjdhūb, so that by the end of February 1884 only Suakin itself remained in Egyptian hands.

Khartoum and the riverain areas to the north were now threatened. At this juncture, Gordon was sent out by the British government, primarily to report on the military situation, but he was also appointed (at his own request) governor-general by the khedive. Arriving at Khartoum (February 1884), he produced a succession of plans for the future of the Sudan while the Anṣār closed in on the city. ʿUthmān Diḳna's successes closed the route from the Red Sea to the Nile, while the fall of Berber [*q.v.*] to an army of Anṣār (May 1884) cut the river line to Egypt. Military pressure on Khartoum itself was increasing, and between April and October 1884 the Mahdī brought up his main forces from El Obeid to Omdurman (Umm Durmān) opposite the capital. Weakened by siege, the city fell on 25 January 1885, Gordon being killed in the fighting.

The fall of Khartoum marked for all practical purposes the end of the Mahdī's *djihād*. He was now the ruler of the chief provinces of the Egyptian Sudan from Dongola to Baḥr al-Ghazāl, and from the Red Sea to Dār Fūr. He ordered the evacuation of Khartoum, and made his own capital at Omdurman, where he died after a short illness (22 June 1885).

5. The rule of the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh (1885-98). The Mahdī's death confronted the Anṣār with two problems, one practical, the other ideological. First, who was to take the Mahdī's place as ruler of the nascent state? Secondly, how was the Mahdī's death to be explained, since he had claimed a universal mission to restore Islam, but had achieved only a conquest within the boundaries of the Egyptian Sudan? The problem of the succession was in appearance quickly solved when a council of notables in the Mahdī's house immediately after his death gave their allegiance (*bayʿa*) to ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad. Already in the critical period of political development following the fall of El Obeid, the Mahdī had conferred plenary powers on ʿAbd Allāh,

so that he was henceforward the deputy of the Mahdī (*khalīfat al-Mahdī*), although he did not use this title until after the Mahdī's death. He was, furthermore, the commander of the largest body of tribal warriors concentrated in Omdurman. His political and military pre-eminence was recognised in his election as the Mahdī's successor. This event suggested how the ideological problem arising from the Mahdī's death could be handled. A proclamation stressed the parallel between the succession of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ to the Prophet and that of *Khalīfat al-Ṣiddīḳ* to the Mahdī, and urged the Anṣār to follow the example of the early Muslims, who had fought for their faith after the Prophet's death. There was other propaganda, much of it of a visionary or mystical nature, to legitimise ʿAbd Allāh's succession.

His position was not, however, uncontested. *Khalīfat al-Karrār* Muḥammad Sharīf was the ostensible leader of the Ashrāf (i.e. the kinsmen of the Mahdī), a group whose overweening pretensions the Mahdī himself had rejected in his last days. The Ashrāf were the élite of the sedentaries from the northern riverain areas and their diaspora, known as *awlād al-balad* [*q.v.*]. This comparatively sophisticated group had little in common with the Baḳḳāra tribal warriors, whose ascendancy was assured by the accession of the Khalīfa. Within twelve months he had defeated a conspiracy hatched by the Ashrāf in Omdurman and their kinsman Muḥammad Khālid, the governor of Dār Fūr. The Khalīfa's fellow-tribesmen or their clients replaced the Mahdī's appointees in the provincial governorships, with the exception of ʿUthmān Diḳna, who was essential to handle the Bedja. In 1888-9 the Khalīfa enforced a mass emigration of the Taʿāʾisha, who were settled in Omdurman and its vicinity. Although *awlād al-balad* continued to be indispensable in the civil service and judiciary of the Mahdist state, they had lost political power, and a dangerous rift opened between them and the ruling Baḳḳāra.

Having established his authority, the Khalīfa sought to fulfil the programme of conquest which had been cut shortly by the Mahdī's death. The *djihād* was actively pursued for several years at heavy cost to a people suffering from the effects of the revolutionary war and population movements. The Christian kingdom of Ethiopia under John IV was a principal theatre of the *djihād*, although the fighting should be seen in the historical context of conflicts going back to the Fundj period. A successful raid by Ḥamdān Abū ʿAndja, one of the Khalīfa's clients, penetrated to Gondar (January 1888), and took booty and slaves, while in the following year (after Abū ʿAndja's death) King John was killed in battle at al-Ḳallābāt (March 1889), a victory which was widely publicised by the Khalīfa. These were however incidents in border-warfare, resulting in no significant territorial gains.

The second main objective of the *djihād* was Egypt, now firmly under British military and political direction. An invasion had been planned before the Mahdī's death, the Djaʿalī general ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nudjūmī being its intended commander. The project hung fire for several years, although al-Nudjūmī made his headquarters at al-ʿUrḍī (New Dongola) in Nov. 1886. The Khalīfa's mistrust of *awlād al-balad* led to encroachments on al-Nudjūmī's command, which he was compelled to share with a Taʿāʾishī. In the summer of 1889 the Mahdist force at last advanced on Egypt, but on 3 August was annihilated at Toski (Ṭūshkī), north of Wādī Ḥalfā, al-Nudjūmī himself being killed in the fighting. There was no further attempt at invasion, although there were raids, sometimes serious, into Egyptian-held territory.

A similar stalemate developed in the west and south. The Fūr had never been reconciled to the recent loss of their independence, and after the withdrawal of Muḥammad Khālid, a member of the old royal clan sought to re-establish the sultanate (1887). He was overthrown by the new governor, ʿUthmān Ādam alias Djānū, a young kinsman of the Khalīfa, who in the following year suppressed a still more dangerous revolt. This was headed by a charismatic leader known as Abū Djummayza, who claimed the vacant position of successor of ʿUthmān. Abū Djummayza's death from smallpox somewhat relieved the position of the Anṣār, who defeated the insurgents outside El Fasher (al-Fāshir [*q.v.*]), the provincial capital (February 1889). Djānū showed himself to be a competent governor, but on his early death (September 1890), the combined provinces of Dār Fūr and Kordofan passed into the less capable management of another of the Khalīfa's kinsmen, Maḥmūd Aḥmad.

The pagan southern regions, so recently brought under the khedivial administration, were never integrated into the Mahdist state. Although (as mentioned above) Baḥr al-Ghazāl had fallen in 1884, its governor Karam Allāh Muḥammad Kurḳusāwī, a Dunḳulāwī trader by origin, withdrew his troops in October 1885 to fight the Rizayḳāt Baḳḳāra of Dār Fūr. Thereafter, Baḥr al-Ghazāl drifted out of Mahdist control. The Equatorial province was even more remote from the centre of the Mahdiyya. Its governor since 1878 had been Emīn Pasha (Eduard Schnitzer, of Silesian Jewish origin, and the last of Khedive Ismāʿīl's expatriate officials), who in spite of mutiny and two Mahdist invasions (1885, 1888) held out until forcibly rescued by H. M. Stanley (1889). The second invading force, however, established a garrison at al-Radjdjāf, which maintained sporadic contact with Omdurman by steamer. The Mahdists held little more than the river line, and their position was challenged by former government troops, who had refused to be evacuated by Stanley, and who were led by Faḍl al-Mawlā Muḥammad, an officer of southern Sudanese origin. Al-Radjdjāf became a place of banishment for political and other prisoners.

The year 1889 marks the end of the militant phase of the Mahdiyya. The following period saw the stabilisation of the Khalīfa's autocracy within a territorial state limited for all practical purposes to the Muslim and arabised regions of the northern Sudan. A factor in the decline of militancy was the great famine of 1888-90, the effects of which were aggravated by the migration of the Taʿāʾisha to Omdurman. For the second time, the Khalīfa's authority was challenged by a revolt of the Ashrāf in Omdurman under the leadership of Muḥammad Sharīf (November 1891). After some desultory firing and a few casualities, a formal reconciliation was effected by *Khalīfat al-Fārūḳ* ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ḥilū on terms advantageous to the Ashrāf. The danger once past, the Khalīfa proceeded to destroy his opponents piecemeal. Muḥammad Sharīf himself was arrested in March 1892, and sentenced to imprisonment by a special tribunal. Thereafter the Khalīfa's autocracy was unchallenged. His only intimates in matters of government were his half-brother Yaʿḳūb, who acted as his *wazīr* (but without the title), and his son ʿUthmān, who about this time received the honorific

of *Shaykh al-Dīn*, and was trained for the eventual succession.

While the Khalīfa thus strengthened his position internally, there was increasing European pressure on the frontiers of the Mahdist state. Suakin, which alone among the garrisons of the Red Sea area had not fallen to ʿUthmān Diḳna, formed the base for a campaign against the local Anṣār after the Anglo-Egyptian victory at Toski. The operations, early in 1891, culminated in the capture of ʿUthmān Diḳna's headquarters at Tokar (Ṭūkar) in Feb. 1891. Although still a nuisance, he was no longer a threat to the Anglo-Egyptian forces in the vicinity. In the previous year Eritrea had been constituted an Italian colony. A Mahdist raid into the territory was routed (December 1893), and in July 1894 the Italians with the prior agreement of the British government occupied Kasala [*q.v.*]. The loss of this important strategic position was even more serious than that of Tokar, but in spite of making a threatening demonstration in Omdurman, the Khalīfa did not take the offensive. The Italian presence in Eritrea was equally threatening to Menelik II, who had emerged as the ruler of Ethiopia after the death of John IV. In 1895 he sought to establish friendly relations with the Khalīfa, but his overtures were repulsed. He repeated them in 1896 after his victory over the Italians at Adowa, and further embassies were received in Omdurman in 1897 and 1898, but no practical military or political co-operation resulted.

A more remote European danger appeared in the far south, when Belgian expeditions from the Congo Free State began to advance towards the Upper Nile and Baḥr al-Ghazāl. In 1892 Faḍl al-Mawlā Muḥammad and his followers entered the service of the Congo Free State, he himself being recognised as the governor of the Equatorial province. In the following year, a Mahdist force was sent to strengthen the garrison at al-Radjdjāf. Its commander, ʿArabī Dafaʿ Allāh defeated and killed Faḍl al-Mawlā (January 1894), and combated the Belgians with some success. His isolated position and precarious communications with Omdurman were, however, insuperable difficulties, and in February 1897 he lost al-Radjdjāf to a Belgian force.

By his time the final assault on the Mahdist state was developing. In March 1896 the British government authorised an advance by the Egyptian army into the Mahdist province of Dongola. While the pretext for the invasion was afforded by the Italian defeat at Adowa, the real reasons lie in British foreign policy and the international situation at the time (see G. N. Sanderson, *England, Europe and the Upper Nile, 1882-1899*, Edinburgh 1965). The Egyptian expeditionary force, commanded by Sir H. H. Kitchener, constructed a railway as it advanced up the Nile from Wādī Ḥalfā. By the end of September 1896 the province was completely occupied. In the following year, Kitchener was authorised to make a further advance. A second railway was constructed across the Nubian desert, reaching the Nile at Abū Ḥamad, and was extended southwards as the Anglo-Egyptian force advanced. Warned by the loss of Dongola, the Khalīfa summoned Maḥmūd Aḥmad with the bulk of his forces from the west to defend the approaches to Omdurman. He proved to be an irresolute commander, lacking in all initiative. His base was al-Matamma [*q.v.*] in Djaʿalī territory. Its inhabitants refused to evacuate their town, which Maḥmūd Aḥmad took by force of arms—an incident which confirmed the hatred of *awlād al-balad* for the Taʿāʾisha. Once established there, Maḥmūd Aḥmad was reluctant to move northwards to confront the invaders, who were steadily advancing along the river-line. Abū Ḥamad fell in August 1897, and the important route-centre of Berber was evacuated in the same month. Maḥmūd Aḥmad, faced with increasing desertions and shortage of supplies, was ultimately goaded to advance. His army (augmented by troops brought in by ʿUthmān Diḳna) was overwhelmed on 8 April 1896 at the battle of the Atbara [*q.v.*], and he himself was taken prisoner. The Anglo-Egyptian advance continued, and the Mahdist state received its death-blow at the battle of Karrarī, often called the battle of Omdurman (2 September 1898). Yaʿḳūb died in the fighting but the Khalīfa escaped, and remained a fugitive for over a year. Finally, he and a handful of Anṣār were defeated by Sir Reginald Wingate in a skirmish (24 November 1899) at Umm Diwaykarāt on the White Nile, in which he was killed. ʿUthmān Shaykh al-Dīn was made prisoner, and died in the following year.

6. Institutions of the Mahdiyya. The rapid development of the Mahdiyya into an armed rebellion, then into a territorial state, necessitated the improvisation first of a command-structure, and secondly of an administrative system. During the lifetime of the Mahdī, the key position in both these respects was occupied by the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh. He commanded the Black Flag (*al-Rāya al-Zarḳāʾ*), the largest of the three divisions of the army, consisting of the western Baḳḳāra tribesmen, and in addition he held the title of *amīr djuyūsh al-Mahdiyya*, implying an oversight of the fighting forces as a whole. His two colleagues commanded smaller divisions, the Khalīfa ʿAlī the Green Flag (*al-Rāya al-Khaḍrāʾ*) composed of Baḳḳāra from Kordofan and the White Nile, and the Khalīfa Muḥammad Sharīf the Red Flag recruited from *awlād al-balad*. As previously mentioned, the Mahdī conferred plenary powers on the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh in January 1883. The title of *amīr* was held by subordinate officers, who in the early stages of the Mahdiyya had commanded virtually autonomous tribal or local contingents. In May 1884 the Mahdī ordered this term to be discontinued, probably because of its overtones of worldly rank, and substituted *ʿāmil*, but *amīr* has remained in popular usage until the present. With the emergence of a territorial state, the chief officers became military governors of provinces (sing. *imāra*, later *ʿimāla*).

The successes won in the *djihād* made the establishment of a financial system urgently necessary, since the Mahdī had constant difficulty in preventing the tribesmen from appropriating the booty. A treasury (*bayt al-māl*) had probably been organised at Ḳadīr, and after the fall of El Obeid, the Mahdī formally appointed his friend Aḥmad Sulaymān as its commissioner (*amīn bayt al-māl*). The sources of revenue at this time were two: booty (*ghanīma*) and a levy of grain and cattle, to which the term *zakāt* was applied. As under the *Turkiyya*, Ottoman, Egyptian, Austrian and Spanish coins were in circulation. After the taking of Khartoum, the Mahdī minted gold pounds and silver dollars. He was the first Sudanese ruler to exercise this prerogative.

Although the Mahdī envisaged a restoration of the primitive Islamic *umma*, he soon found himself obliged to give judicial decisions and to promulgate administrative regulations which were in effect legislative acts. Many of these resulted from the revolutionary war, e.g. rulings concerning broken marriages and irregular unions, and questions of

landownership. Undesirable customs regarded as repugnant to Islam were prohibited. The Mahdī's judicial functions were widely delegated to his officials, and one specifically judicial officer was appointed with the title *ḳāḍī al-Islām*. Aḥmad ʿAlī, who held this post for twelve years (1882-94), had been a judge in Dār Fūr under the *Turkiyya*.

These military and administrative institutions developed further during the reign of the Khalīfa. A detachment of the *djihādiyya*, the regular corps first formed during the siege of El Obeid, was stationed in the Kāra, i.e. Fort Omdurman of the *Turkiyya*. After the revolt of the As͟hrāf in 1891 the Khalīfa felt the need of a reliable bodyguard. This was created by expanding a corps of orderlies, the *mulāzimiyya*. By 1895 it consisted of 9,000 or more troops under the general command of ʿUthmān Shaykh al-Dīn. A civil service, recruited chiefly from *awlād al-balad* and Copts, staffed the departments and treasuries of the capital and the provinces. Many of its members had occupied similar posts under the *Turkiyya*; some went on to serve the Condominium. Already in the Mahdī's time a regular chancery procedure had been established, and the surviving archives of the Mahdiyya as a whole have been estimated at 50,000 pieces. The bulk of them are now in the Central Records Office in Khartoum (see P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist archives and related documents*, in *Archives*, v/28 [1962], 193-200). Despatches were sometimes exchanged almost daily between the ruler and his provincial governors. The provinces fell into two categories; an outer circle under military governors with their own fiscal and judicial establishments and garrison troops, and a core of metropolitan provinces, which were fiscal areas rather than administrative units, and were tributary to the treasury in Omdurman.

The history of the office of *amīn bayt al-māl* illustrates both the institutional elaboration and the increasing autocracy of the Khalīfa's reign. Aḥmad Sulaymān, the first *amīn*, was a partisan of the Ashrāf, and was disgraced in April 1886. His successor, Ibrāhīm Muḥammad ʿAdlān, had been a merchant in El Obeid. His reluctance to extort grain for the soldiery during the great famine led to a clash with the Khalīfa and his execution (February 1890). His successor, al-Nūr Ibrāhīm al-Djirayfāwī, was another former merchant. Tenure of office became increasingly precarious: one commissioner was twice appointed and twice removed, and the last year of the reign saw three treasurers. At the same time special treasuries were established, of which the most important were the treasury of the *mulāzimiyya* and the Khalīfa's privy treasury. The sources of revenue had meanwhile changed. With the ending of the *djihād*, *ghanīma* sank into insignificance. *Zakāt* continued to be levied and also *fiṭr*, a poll-tax paid at the end of Ramaḍān. *Zakāt* was also paid as customs-dues, originally at the rate of 2½%, but al-Djirayfāwī imposed a further 10%, and this might indeed be taken at several points on the route. Fines were imposed on smoking and drinking, and the goods of other offenders were liable to confiscation. In addition, merchants and others might be required to pay "contributions" (*tabarruʿāt*) to the treasury. The minting of dollars at Omdurman continued, but the silver was increasingly debased. The minting of gold had ceased with the Mahdī's pounds, which were soon driven out of circulation by Gresham's Law.

The history of the judiciary is similar. Aḥmad ʿAlī held office as *ḳāḍī al-Islām* until May 1894, when he lost the Khalīfa's confidence, and was thrown into prison. His successor, al-Ḥusayn Ibrāhīm wad al-Zahrāʾ, had been trained at al-Azhar, but his overzealous adherence to the principles of the *Sharīʿa* led to a clash with Yaʿḳūb. He was imprisoned and put to death, probably in the summer of 1895. The title of *ḳāḍī al-Islām* seems to have died with him. Already in the time of Aḥmed ʿAlī there was a deputy-judge (*wakīl al-maḥkama*), and the two seem usually to have acted in concert. By the end of the Khalīfa's reign, the chief judge had six deputies (*nuwwāb*), two of whom had special duties in connection with the *mulāzimiyya*. In addition, there were special courts in Omdurman for the market, the quay and the treasury. Both in the capital and the provinces, the judicial officers were dependent on the Khalīfa and his governors, and were deferential to their wishes.

7. Subsequently developments. Although the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest overthrew the Mahdist state, Mahdism continued to be a powerful force, particularly in the west. The movement was virtually proscribed in the early years of the Condominium by Wingate, who was governor-general from 1899 to 1916. The surviving leaders were held in prison, the use of the Mahdī's devotional manual (*rātib*) was forbidden, and several religious risings were suppressed. The revival of the Mahdiyya in a new form was the achievement of a posthumous son of the Mahdī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1885-1959), whose considerable political talent found opportunity in changing political circumstances during and after the First World War. To many Anṣār he was a charismatic figure, regarded by some as *al-Nabī ʿĪsā*, and hence as having an eschatological role. To his westernised followers, he was rather a nationalist leader, the patron of the Umma Party, which was founded in 1945, and has continued to play a leading part in Sudanese politics. In one modern view, the Mahdī is seen as a *mudjaddid*, and the Mahdiyya as a reformist but essentially orthodox movement.

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AL-MAHDJAR (sometimes in the plural, *al-Mahādjir*), name given in Arabic to places in Northern, Central and Southern America to which Lebanese, Syrians, Palestinians and other Arabs have emigrated (*hādjara*). The towns whose names recur most often in modern Arabic literature are New York, Sao Pãolo, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires; there has developed there, in the first half of the present century, a characteristic literary movement, the vestiges of which have not yet been completely effaced; but these are not the only locations on the American continent where emigrants from the Near East have settled and where they have published, in Arabic or in the national languages (English, Spanish or Portuguese), bulletins, journals, periodicals and books with the object of promoting understanding of the Arabs and their heritage, or in furtherance of their political causes of the moment.

The flow of emigration towards the New World originated in what was then known as Syria (the land currently comprising Lebanon, Syria and Palestine) at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, attaining its highest point in North America in 1913; the tide began to ebb in the period following the First World War as a result of obstacles placed by the United States in the way of immigration, with the limitation on numbers of immigrants and with legislation on nationality, passed in 1924, which almost put an end to it, although the influx of emigrants into South America continued.

The causes of the emigration were primarily economic. Among the Lebanese—who left their country in the greatest number—the inhabitants of the mountain region were deprived of agricultural land after the establishment of the régime of the *mutaṣarrifiyya* [see LUBNĀN], inaugurated in 1861 (and modified in 1864) in the wake of the inter-community religious disturbances of 1860 and following intervention by the European states, and by France in particular. This régime accorded administrative autonomy to the mountain region, which possessed meagre financial resources, having first detached from it its fertile plains and sea ports. A section of the population was thus forced to leave the mountain region and to seek employment in Beirut and other Lebanese towns. This was the first phase; subsequently, some individuals left their homeland and made their way to Egypt and other African countries. When emigration to America became possible, some groups of Lebanese, insignificant in size, travelled there. After 1881 the scale of the movement accelerated, as the first emigrants enticed their compatriots with glowing reports of the financial opportunities that existed in America, while tourists, shipping companies and their agents added further encouragement, to such an extent that at the beginning of the 20th century a virtual epidemic had arisen and almost half the inhabitants of Lebanon left their country. The contagion spread to the cities of the interior (Homs, Damascus and Aleppo) and to the mountains occupied by the ʿAlawites, whence it is estimated that a seventh of the population chose to become exiles. Some Palestinians had preceded the Lebanese, and others accompanied them. By the final phase of the movement, the total number of immigrants from Greater Syria who were settled in the United States and Canada exceeded half a million, attaining close to double this figure in the cities of Central and South America.

At the time, the movement was encouraged among the Christian population of Syria not only by economic factors—including the oppression of the peasants by their feudal lords, the monopoly over lands and goods exercised by the monastic communities, the oppressive burden of taxation, disastrous crop-failures, the slump in the natural silk market caused by the success of artificial Japanese silk sold cheaply and the diversion of international trade-routes following the excavation of the Suez Canal—but also on account of psychological factors aroused by a hated social and political situation; detestation of the foreign authority which governed them and always regarded them with suspicion, religious conflicts which culminated in the events of 1860, persistent sectarianism, corruption of an administration in which bribery was rife, the subjection of the faithful to religious leaders who collaborated with the feudal lords in oppressing and robbing them, the suppression of public liberties, the alienation experienced by the entire population in the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, the posting of young Arabs to distant theatres of war, widespread ignorance and the rule of anarchy in all facets of existence.

On the other hand, there was talk of those advantages of emigration which constituted powerful incentives: the prospect of making a fortune, numerous opportunities for finding work, respect for public liberties, the acceptance by society of personal ambitions, the judgment of people by their actions and their abilities rather than on the basis of their origin and class, concern for the rights and dignity of all citizens without discrimination and the rule of order and of law.

The Syrians in general and the Lebanese in particular had been in contact with the West and its culture since Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt (1798-1801) and the creation of scientific institutions in this country in the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. These contacts had been reinforced by the religious missions which began to arrive in Lebanon in the period when the son of the ruler of Egypt, Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] was governor of Syria (1832-40), and which expanded their activities following the installation of the régime of the *mutaṣarrifiyya* (1861),

founding schools, cultural associations and charitable societies, importing presses, translating and publishing books. These contacts were also encouraged by the presence of tourists and members of the French expedition who stayed on in Lebanon for a full year after the events of 1860. These constant contacts with the West and the learning of the languages spoken there, in addition to the common religion which it shared with the majority of the future emigrants, reinforced their admiration for this part of the world and its principles, in particular those of the French Revolution and its well-known slogan, and strengthened their desire to migrate to it.

When these factors are considered in conjunction with the geographical position of Lebanon and Syria, facing the West from the opposite shore of the Mediterranean, and the hereditary zest for trade and travel characteristic of the Lebanese, descendants of the Phoenicians as they are, and also their eagerness to travel far in search of favourable opportunities, it is possible to understand the deep significance of this quasi-collective migration towards the New World and the dispersal of this race throughout the globe.

In the first instance, the emigrants were attracted to the United States; subsequently, they turned their attention towards the South, still virgin territory and offering greater employment opportunities than the North, on account of sparseness of population, the vast areas of agricultural land requiring manpower, emergent industry and the wide range of opportunities for commerce. Opportunities for emigration to South America were enhanced following the visits to Palestine and Lebanon undertaken in 1877 and 1887 by the Emperor of Brazil Dom Pedro II and the conclusion, in 1892, of an agreement between the Ottoman and Brazilian governments establishing the conditions of immigration. This emperor, who spoke Arabic, favoured the settlement of emigrants in his country as a means of contribution towards its prosperity and furthering the exploitation of agricultural land, and he promised them aid and assistance. Argentina offered similar attractions with its enormous tracts of land requiring cultivation and its untapped material resources. Waves of immigrants therefore made their way towards South America, to such an extent that their number amounted to 300,000 in Argentina alone, and Brazil accepted more than half a million. For their part, the Palestinians preferred the states of Central America or Chile and Mexico.

After disembarkation, these foreigners settled in the poorer quarters of the towns which they had chosen, usually because they had relatives there, and attempted to make a living through street-trading and hawking. Those who succeeded (the minority), would open a small shop, and some found opportunities for expansion, in some cases even becoming industrialists or prosperous merchants [see DJĀLIYA].

The people among whom they lived had little respect for them. They called them Turks, because they came from a land dependent on the Ottoman Turkish state, and in some instances they were treated in the same light as the Mongols, members of the yellow race; the immigrants themselves were aware of the need to correct the image which had formed in the minds of Americans.

Initially, they believed that their exile was temporary and would last no longer than the time needed to amass sufficient money to support themselves and their families at home; this same time-period, it was hoped, would see changes in living conditions in their own country. But once settled and accustomed to their new existence, seeing their businesses prosper and their children growing up in this new milieu, learning its language and becoming attached to it, they contemplated staying there permanently, in spite of the pain involved in the awareness of exile and in spite of the bitter nostalgia that they felt for their country and families.

There can be no doubt that it was in response to the need to communicate among themselves in their exile, and on the other hand to follow events occurring at home, that they were led to produce a number of minor Arabic newspapers; these began to appear with the arrival of the first waves of immigrants in the closing years of the 19th century, but in the South and the North of the continent.

It was in New York in 1892 that the first newspaper, *Kawkab Amirika*, appeared, followed by *al-ʿAṣr* (1894), *al-Ayyām* (1897), *al-Hudā* (1898) and *Mirʾāt al-Gharb* (1899). In Brazil, the oldest one, *al-Fayḥāʾ* (1895), was followed by four others: *al-Raḳīb* (1897), *al-Ṣarāzil* (1898), *al-Manāẓir* (1899) and *al-Ṣawāb* (1900).

Subsequently, the need was felt to form associations and literary societies to serve the interests of the immigrants, unite their energies and support their social institutions. *Al-Djamʿiyya al-sūriyya al-muttaḥida* came into existence in New York in 1907, and other associations followed. In Brazil, numerous clubs were founded, of which the most important was *al-Nādī al-ḥimṣī*, and literary societies subsequently came into being. But literary life prospered at an earlier stage in North America, for the following reasons: immigration there had a longer history, printing-presses had been established there at a relatively early date and writers of talent had been living there since the end of the previous century. Amīn al-Rīḥānī [see AL-RĪḤĀNĪ] arrived in New York in 1888, followed by Djabrān Khalīl Djabrān [*q.v.*] in 1895, the poet Nudra Ḥaddād in 1897, then, at the beginning of the century, the two poets Nasīb ʿArīḍa and Rashīd Ayyūb in 1905, Nudra's brother, the journalist ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād in 1907, Mikhāʾīl Nuʿayma [*q.v.*] and Īliyyā Abū Māḍī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1911. Printing-presses proliferated to such an extent that six were in existence by 1910, producing, besides newspapers, some remarkable literary reviews, such as *al-Funūn* (1913) which was edited by Nasīb ʿArīḍa, and *al-Sāʾiḥ* (1912) edited by ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād.

Amīn al-Rīḥānī began to write in newspapers at the end of the last century; his extremely vivid language had an oratorical nature and displayed a marked penchant for innovation. He had published three of his books before Djabrān's first, *al-Mūsīḳā*, appeared in 1905. The concerns of his people, both in the *mahdjar* and in their homeland, pre-occupied him, and he set himself to preaching liberation in the widest sense of the term, political, social and intellectual, and to attacking in his articles and books (*al-Muḥālafa al-thulāthiyya*, *al-Mukārī wa 'l-kāhin*, *Zanbaḳat al-fawr*, *Khāridj al-ḥarim*) inertia, bigotry and religious sectarianism. It is, moreover, entirely symptomatic that his first work published in the *mahdjar* is intitled *Taʾrīkh al-thawra al-firansiyya*.

For his part, Djabrān began in 1903, while still residing in Boston (which he did not leave for New York until 1912) to publish his articles in the newspapers *al-Muhādjir* (1903), *al-Hudā* and *Mirʾāt al-Gharb*. He appears to have been more forceful than al-

Rīḥānī and more inclined to challenge traditions directly. Because he loved painting, imagery dominated his writing, and his education and experience endowed him with burning zeal and a penchant for idealism. His style reveals a poetic soul close to the sources of an Oriental mysticism inherited in the West by the various romantic movements. He put together in his first books *ʿArāʾis al-murūdj* (1906), *al-Arwāḥ al-mutamarrida* (1908), *al-Adjniḥa al-mutakassira* (1912) and *Damʿa wa-btisāma* (1913), his articles and novels which had been published in the newspapers of the *mahdjar* and in the two reviews *al-Funūn* and *al-Sāʾiḥ*.

Like al-Rīḥānī and Djabrān, Nuʿayma also possessed a pronounced taste for innovation. He retained from his theological studies, undertaken in Russia between 1906 and 1911, a profound religiosity and, like Djabrān, a tendency towards mysticism; he considered it necessary to go beyond the sensory organs in order to arrive at the reality of things, but he did not have the same ardour of feeling and he was sometimes more capable of effecting a synthesis. After theology, he turned to the study of law and literature at an American university. This training enabled him to improve his precision of expression and to attain a better equilibrium between the elements of the work of art; his knowledge of Russian literature also enhanced his aptitude for psychological analysis.

In this way, these men of talent, as well as the writers and poets who joined them later, were able to prove their literary abilities and, almost forty years after the arrival of the first waves of immigration in New York they found the means enabling them to found, after the end of the First World War, an association which had the object of "stimulating the literary spirit" and of establishing the norms of literary work. In 1920 they formed *al-Rābiṭa al-ḳalamiyya*, entrusting the presidency to the "doyen" Djabrān and the post of secretary to the "counsellor" Nuʿayma. Included among its members were the poets Īliyya Abū Māḍī (1890-1957), Nasīb ʿArīḍa (1887-1946), Rashīd Ayyūb (1871-1941), Nudra Ḥaddād (1881-1950) and his brother ʿAbd al-Masīḥ (1890-1963) and a number of less prolific writers, of whom the best known was William Catzeflis (1879-1950), treasurer of the *Rābiṭa*. They decided to make the review *al-Sāʾiḥ* the pulpit from which to address the public.

Literary reviews in Lebanon and South America soon began reprinting specimens of their work in verse and in prose, delighting in the strong innovatory tendency that they revealed, to such an extent that their reputation became wider and their influence on the literary life of the Arabs was accentuated.

But after the formation of the *Rābiṭa*, Djabrān wrote nothing more in Arabic, except for a few articles, and he turned to the English language in which he composed eight books, of which *The Prophet* is considered the most significant work of his entire corpus. He gives his prophet the name *al-Muṣṭafā* and, in a very engaging poetic style, puts into his mouth, in the manner of Nietzsche with Zarathustra, the outcome of his interpretation of existence and of man.

The other members of the *Rābiṭa* continued to write in Arabic. Mīkhāʾīl Nuʿayma collected his articles of criticism and published them in a book intitled *al-Ghirbāl* (1923); from this work it is possible to draw all the rules of criticism representing the most important characteristics of the writing of the *Rābiṭa*: to preach innovation, to uphold the truth, to relate literature to life and always to make it revolve around man and his vital problems. Nuʿayma is also the author of a series of short stories and articles which he subsequently inserted in his narrative collection, *Kān mā kān* (1937), in the *Kitāb al-Marāḥil* (*ca.* 1936) and in the first part of his philosophical novel *Mudhakkirāt al-Arḳash* (1949). Before the formation of the *Rābiṭa*, he had published his only dramatic work, *al-Ābāʾ wa 'l-banūn* (1917), in which he took the part of the younger generation and attempted to reconcile classical and dialectal forms in dialogue.

The majority of the members of the *Rābiṭa* wrote in verse and in prose, but it is the poets among them who still occupy the prominent place. Īliyyā Abū Māḍī, whose collections of verse composed in the *mahdjar* were published before (vol. ii of his *Dīwān*, 1919) and after the formation of the *Rābiṭa* (*al-Djadāwil*, 1927 and *al-Khamāʾil*, 1946) was a poet of such fecundity, such ardour of feeling, such penetrating sensibility and appealling style that he continues to enjoy the widest reputation. He is followed by Nasīb ʿArīḍa, all of whose poetry was published in his single *dīwān*, *al-Arwāḥ al-ḥāʾira* (1946), who displays a very sensitive and troubled soul. For their part, Rashīd Ayyūb, author of *al-Ayyūbiyyāt* (1916), of *Aghānī 'l-darwīsh* (1928) and of *Hiya 'l-dunyā* (1939), and Nudra Ḥaddād, whose single *dīwān* is intitled *Awrāḳ al-kharīf* (1941), their poetry reveals the weight of nostalgia, anguish and love of mankind which essentially characterises the literature of the *mahdjar* and the charm of style which marks its form.

However, the *Rābiṭa* did not monopolise the entire immigrant literary movement in North America, and there remained, outside it, renowned men of letters and journalists including Amīn al-Rīḥānī, pioneer of the literature of the *mahdjar*, the poet Masʿūd Samāḥa (1882-1946), whose poetry was powerful, versatile and rich in metre, the historian Philip Hitti (Ḥittī), who contributed, through his historical works composed in English, to making the Arabs, their history and their civilisation known to the West, the journalist Naʿūm Mukarzal, proprietor of *al-Hudā*, his brother Sallūm who published numerous periodicals, and many other poets and writers.

The *Rābiṭa* lasted more than ten years (1920-31); with the death of its doyen Djabrān (1931) and the return of Nuʿayma to his homeland (1932), it was dispersed, but other members continued their literary production for a certain length of time.

To give due credit to the *Rābiṭa*, it must be recalled that the literary press which made known to the world the best of the production of the *mahdjar* is owed to three of its members, *al-Funūn* to Nasīb ʿArīḍa (1913), *al-Sāʾiḥ* to ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād (1912) and *al-Samīr* to Īliyyā Abū Māḍī (1929); that, through the combined action of all its members, there came into being the first modern literary movement to present to readers of Arabic a kind of literary school, in spite of individual disagreements; that genres such as biography, the short story and the philosophical novel only became known in Arabic literature as a result of the artistic form that these writers gave to them; that one of its members, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād, preserved in his original histories published under the title *Ḥikāyāt al-mahdjar* (1931), documents relating to the first phase of the immigration which contain precise and living details with which history is not normally concerned; that the effects of their reformist move-

ment on Arabic society are almost as important as its consequences in the literary domain, since they aimed to reconstruct the Arabic personality on new social foundations characterised essentially by love, a principle drawn from the Gospel; and that their activity in the cause of renewal gave firm support to that which came into existence in the Near East through the influence of the *Dīwān* of Muṭrān, of the *Apollo* group and its disciples, and that the latter movement perhaps thereby gained a stronger voice, clearer views and greater homogeneity.

With the demise of the *Rābiṭa*, the centre of gravity of literary activity shifted towards Brazil, where the first association had been founded under the name *Riwāḳ al-Maʿarrī* (1900) by Naʿūm Labakī, but had ceased to exist long before the First World War when its founder returned to his homeland in 1908; its members then took to holding in their homes what could be described as literary salons. Subsequently, in 1933 Michel al-Maʿlūf [see AL-MAʿLŪF] succeeded in founding an association which took the name *al-ʿUṣba al-andalusiyya*; this title was chosen by the members of the group because they were conscious of the fact that they lived among a people originally from the Iberian peninsula, in the south of which their Muslim Arab ancestors had been assimilated with the population, and they believed that they were rediscovering al-Andalus in this "New Andalusia". It seems to be an established fact that numerous Muslims of Spain, who had been forced to convert to Christianity after the end of their rule in 1492 and the decision of Philip III in 1609 to expel the Arabs and to try them before the courts of the Inquisition, took part in campaigns of exploration and conquest in the New World. The peoples of South America thus retain in their culture and their blood traces of the civilisation and the blood of the Arabs of al-Andalus; these are visible in their languages, appearance, customs and social traditions, which are familiar to Arab immigrants and encourage them to believe that here they can become attached to their roots.

The *ʿUṣba* fulfilled its linguistic and literary mission with the aid of important societies founded by the immigrants, numerous schools established for teaching the Arabic language (for example, some fifteen thousand pupils were educated at the school of the *Muʿallim* Wadīʿ al-Yāzidjī), various social institutions sponsored by clubs which organised, for their support, festivals in the course of which members of the *ʿUṣba* delivered speeches and recited their poetry, in addition to the festivals which took place on the occasion of various national ceremonies; it was also assisted by journals and reviews of which the most important were *al-Sharḳ*, edited by Mūsā Kurayyim and *al-Andalus al-djadīda*, edited by Shukr Allāh al-Djurr, which published the literary work of its members, sometimes also campaigning on behalf of opposing political opinions and thus supplying other motives for original creation to men of letters whether they belonged to the association or not.

At first, the latter had chosen as its platform *al-Andalus al-djadīda* which one of its members, Shukr Allāh al-Djurr, published in Rio de Janeiro; two years after its foundation, in 1935, it established its own organ to which it gave its name, *al-ʿUṣba*, and of which the editor-in-chief was another of its members, Ḥabīb Masʿūd. The *ʿUṣba* and its review lasted until 1953, by which time it had been considerably enfeebled by death and by the return of the exiles to their homeland. With it, there came to an end the second literary movement of the *mahdjar* and the torch of *mahdjarī* literature was extinguished; all that remains of it today are a few timid flames here and there on the American continent which still resist the assaults of time.

In North America, the *mahdjar* built up the prestige which it enjoys both there and in the Near East on prose rather than poetry, in spite of the influence exercised by the *Mawākib* of Djabrān, the *Hams al-djufūn* of Nuʿayma and the poetical works of Īliyyā Abū Māḍī and Nasīb ʿArīḍa, in turning the modern poetic movement towards the heart and the soul of man and in reforming the linguistic form and the music of verse, in spite also of the debt owed to the pioneers, al-Rīḥānī and Djabrān, for the development of the "poem in prose" which is highly regarded in certain Arab circles. In the domain of Arabic rhetoric, Djabrān created a kind of school of his own, with his style that was harmonious, warm and wrapped in a maze of symbols and colourful images, both pleasing and elusive to the senses. His prose and that of Nuʿayma are applied, on the other hand, to major subjects concerning man, society and criticism, for which versification is inappropriate on account of the concentrated texture of Arabic verse; in addition, they tackled in prose the majority of literary genres. It is by means of this depth and this universality that their prose and with it, the *Rābiṭa ḳalamiyya* and the works of the *mahdjar* as a whole, have acquired the prestige that they enjoy in modern Arabic literature.

In the case of the *ʿUṣba*, it is verse which absolutely dominates the work of its members, under the influence of the inherited taste of the Arabs for poetry, in a milieu constantly looking back towards its Andalusian past. It is by means of this poetry that the activity of the *mahdjar* occupies a place in modern Arabic literature for which the credit belongs to the most prolific and gifted poets of the *ʿUṣba*: al-Shāʿir al-Ḳarawī (Rashīd Salīm al-Khūrī, born in 1887, emigrated to Brazil in 1913), Ilyās Farḥāt (born in 1893, emigrated in 1910), Shafīk al-Maʿlūf (born in 1905, emigrated in 1926) and Shukr Allāh al-Djurr (born in 1905, emigrated in 1919).

It may be noted, in general, that the poets and writers of South America were deeply attached to their literary and general intellectual heritage on account of the admiration that they felt for it; this is why they kept their eyes fixed upon it when seeking inspiration for their poetic works, while Djabrān and Nuʿayma, in the North, showed little interest in this heritage and Abū Māḍī, ʿArīḍa, and the other poets of the *Rābiṭa* ignored it completely, even if they read ancient works. Al-Rīḥānī appreciated the latter and translated some fragments into English, without, however, allowing himself to be bound by literary tradition. In addition, their works were dominated, in a general manner, by the originality and innovation which earned them their reputation and enabled them to exert their influence on modern Arabic literature. It seems in fact that these two tendencies were caused by the influence of the milieu; in the North, American society removed authors from their literary heritage, while those in the South were brought closer to it, as has been shown. This also accounts for the fact that the most eminent writers of the North have displayed linguistic weaknesses, amounting in some cases to misunderstanding of the rules of Arabic (see the article intitled *Naḳīḳ al-ḍafādiʿ*, in *al-Ghirbāl*), while in the South there were poets (Ilyās Farḥāt in

particular) who imitated the glories of the past and celebrated the Bedouin life, camels and tents; and even those who are distinguished by clarity and sensitivity of expression (e.g. al-Shā'ir al-Ḳarawī and Shafīḳ al-Ma'lūf, have never lapsed into the use of excessively affected language, even though the nature of Lebanon and the poetry that emanates from its atmosphere have exerted their influence on their poetic images.

This difference between the North and South is revealed in the content as well as in the form. In North America, men of letters are for the most part interested in general human problems, both in their verse and their prose; they are broadly concerned with the destiny of man whose soul they wish to save from the oppression of material civilisation. Christianity and the ancient oriental religions, western romanticism, the works of which they have read in part and the writers of mystical tendency (Blake, Emerson, Whitman and Thoreau) have left their mark on their literature, while those of South America address themselves to national questions and the interests of their compatriots who had stayed in their homeland, to such an extent that they commemorated some national festivals and honoured past and present rulers and writers of their country. But this did not prevent the poets of the South from writing historical dramas and excelling in long compositions, for example *'Alā bisāṭ al-rīḥ* by Fawzī al-Ma'lūf, *'Abḳar* by his brother Shafīḳ or *Mu'allaḳat al-arz* by Ni'ma Ḳāzān.

In Buenos Aires, the poet Georges Ṣaydaḥ (1893-1978) attempted in 1949 to establish a new literary association to which he gave the name *al-Rābiṭa al-adabiyya*, but it ceased to exist two years later. Literary production in Argentina has remained limited to the personal and prolific efforts of the poet and prose-writer Ilyās Ḳunṣul (1914-81) who has been succeeded in this respect by his younger brother Zakī (emigrated to Argentina in 1928). The work of these two writers and that of George Ṣaydaḥ is dominated, like the literary output of all men of letters of the South, simultaneously by concern for the national problems of their country of origin and by the desire to respect the purity, versatility and correctness of expression.

A few further remarks should be made concerning the efforts still being exercised today by immigrants in South and Central America, but also in the North, to spread through the American continent awareness of numerous aspects of their general literary heritage, ancient as well as modern, with books such as *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, the *Mu'allaḳāt*, the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the *Luzūmiyyat* and the *Risālat al-Ghufrān* of al-Ma'arrī, and the *Iklīl* of al-Hamdānī, as well as certain works of Djabrān, of Nu'ayma, of Abū Māḍī, of al-Shā'ir al-Ḳarawī, of Fawzī al-Ma'lūf and of his brother Shafīḳ and of others. Philip Hitti has also edited Arabic texts (including the *Kitāb al-I'tibār* of Usāma b. Munḳidh, 1930) and has written in English his *History of the Arabs* (8th ed., 1963), *History of Syria* (2nd ed., 1957) and *Lebanon in history* (1957). Certain of his colleagues have applied themselves to making known the heritage of the Arabs, their customs, their legends and their stories. Arabs who emigrated to other states of the continent (Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Chile and the republics of Central America) have left a large number of books and periodicals in Arabic and Spanish which also have the purpose of making known the Arabs and their culture; in addition, they translated English, Spanish and Portuguese texts and in this respect played an important role in the cultural exchanges necessary between peoples.

In a general fashion, the influence of the *mahdjar* on Arabic literary thinking remains alive today, since its poets and its writers are still read; most of all, they have influenced authors of romantic tendency, both in the Maghrib and in the Mashriḳ, Manfalūṭī and Shābbī for example. Their critical thinking, represented in particular in *al-Ghirbāl* by Nu'ayma, has contributed to the moulding of one of the most eminent modern critics, Muḥammad Mandūr (1907-64) [*q.v.*].

It is now possible to summarise the common characteristics of the literature of the *mahdjar* in North and South America in the following fashion: dominance of the sentimental tendency of the authors on account of their expatriation and nostalgia for their native land; love of nature to the extent that it is made an object of worship, through the images of its beauty and serenity that they have brought with them and the consolation that they find therein in their distant exile; a penchant for reflection on the things of this world with poetic insight and lyricism in the manner of treating them.

With these specialities and with the individual and collective differences revealed by their works, the emigrants have conferred on some of them a world-wide renown (especially *The Prophet* by Djabrān, which has been translated into more than fifty languages, and *'Alā bisāṭ al-rīḥ* by Fawzī al-Ma'lūf) and a special place in modern Arabic literature. This particular and singular nature of their literary production is due to the particular and singular violence of their experience.

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('Abd al-Karīm al-Ashtar)

MAHĪM, Maham, a town in the district and

taḥṣīl of Rohtak in India, on the road connecting Dihlī and Hānsī, situated in lat. 28° 58′ N. and long. 76° 18′ E.; it was formerly in the Pandjāb, but since 1947 has fallen within the Indian Union (Hariana State). It was probably founded by Rādjpūt princes, but was allegedly destroyed at the end of the 12th century by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī [see GHŪRIDS]. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid has an inscription from the reign of Humāyūn, recording its construction by Bēgam Sulṭān in 1531, and another from Awrangzīb's time, recording its completion or restoration in 1667. In 1732, Mahīm and its district passed to the Nawwābs of Farrukhnagar, and later in the century it was harried by the Sikhs and Marāṭhās. From 1793 it was the centre of a petty principality carved out by an Irish adventurer George Thomas, but passed into the control of the British East India Company in 1803. The population of the Rohtak District according to the 1971 Census of India was 1,785,534, 98.49% of which was Hindu and 0.62% Muslim.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazeteer of India*², xvi, 430; *Punjab District gazeteers. IIIA. Rohtak District*, Lahore 1910, 24 ff.

(C. E. Bosworth)

MĀHĪM, a port of India, with an island fort and two creeks forming a harbour, about 60 miles/90 km. north of Bombay. The large village of Kēlvē on the opposite bank of one creek is now incorporated with it in one municipality named Kēlvē-Māhīm, which distinguishes it from the suburb of Māhīm on Bombay island. The name is also spelt Mahīm and, in Bahmanī records, Mahāʾim.

It was known to have been included in the possessions of the Dihlī sultanate in the mid-8th/14th century, from which it passed to the Gudjarāt sultanate, of which it became the southernmost port on the north Konkan coast. At the time of Gudjarāt-Bahmanī friction, in 833/1430, the Bahmanī governor of Dawlatābād, Khalaf Ḥasan, Malik al-Tudjdjār, occupied it, on receipt of a report that its Gudjarātī commander had died. At that time, the Bahmanī northern maritime outpost was Thānā; but a counter-attack by the Gudjarātīs was successful, thanks to the first recorded serious clash between Dakhnī and Āfāḳī elements in the Bahmanī armies, and not only was Māhīm regained but Thānā also taken.

In 896/1490 a Bahmanī rebel *amīr*, Bahādur Gīlānī, *kotwāl* of Goa, engaged in piracy and predations on the north Konkan coast up to Cambay, sent a fleet of 200 raiding ships to attack Māhīm, which caused the sultan Maḥmūd I of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] to request the Bahmanī sultan to put an end to Bahādur's depredations (text of letter in ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, 147). (He was eventually defeated in 900/1494 by that Sulṭān-Ḳulī, who thereby received the title of Ḳuṭb al-Mulk and later became the first ruler of the Ḳuṭb-Shāhī sultanate [*q.v.*]).

In 920/1514 the Portuguese, negotiating with the Gudjarāt sultan for permission to establish a base at Diu, were offered instead sites elsewhere, including Māhīm (Afonso d'Albuquerque, *Commentaries*, Eng. tr. W. de G. Birch, Hakluyt Soc. 1875-84, iv, 93-105); these they refused, but by 938/1532 Māhīm was in their possession, and they are recorded as successfully defending it against the Mughals in 1021/1612. It eventually fell to Shivādjī [see MARĀṬHĀS] by 1068/1658, but in 1101/1689 Sīdī Yāḳūt Khān, the Mughal (Ḥabshī) admiral at Djandjīra, engaged against the Marāṭhās, took Māhīm among other coastal forts (J. Grant Duff, *History of the Marhattas*, Bombay 1878, 274-6).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see the bibls. to GUDJARĀT and BAHMANIDS. (J. Burton-Page)

MAHISUR, MAYSŪR, conventional spelling Mysore, a former princely state of British India, now the core of a component state of the Indian Union called Karnataka, with its capital at Bangalore, and also the name of the town which was the dynastic capital of the state.

The native state was a landlocked one of South India, lying between lats. 11° 36′ and 15° 2′ N. and longs. 74° 38′ and 78° 36′ E. and with an area of 29,433 sq. miles. Its population in 1941 was 7,329,140, over 90% of this being Hindu; the Muslim minority was overwhelmingly Sunnī. Mysore city, the seat of the Mahārādjās of Mysore, lies in lat. 12° 18′ N. and long. 76° 39′ E at an altitude of 2,493 feet. The principal language of the princely state and also of the present Karnataka was and is Kanarese or Kannada, spoken by approximately 65% of the population today, but Telugu, Tamil, Hindi and Marathi are also spoken on the fringes.

1. Geography and history. Geographically, the Mysore princely state boundaries comprised what is essentially an undulating table land, with rocky hills and ravines, and with the steep mountain barrier of the Western Ghats forming the western limits and the Nilgiri Hills the southern ones. Mulainagiri rises to 6,317 feet; the mountains are lushly forested, the timber being exploited commercially, and rainfall can be as high as 360 inches per annum at the crest of the Western Ghats. This heavily-wooded hill country of western Mysore has traditionally been known as the Malnād, whereas the more open country of valleys and plains in the east, where rainfall may be as low as 20 inches per annum, is known as the Maydān or Bayalshīme. Drainage here is mainly eastwards to the Bay of Bengal, with the main river systems of the Kaveri or Cauvery in the south and the Kistna or Krishna in the north; none of these rivers or their tributaries is navigable within the boundaries of the princely state, but they have always been used, e.g. by the use of dams, for irrigation purposes and, in the present century, for hydro-electric power generation.

Popular etymology connects the name Mahisur with Skr. *mahiṣa-* "buffalo" (lit. "powerful"); the name of the town is certainly old. The first contacts with the Muslims were in the time of the local Hindu dynasty of the Hoysalas (*ca.* 1022-1342), chieftains from the Western Ghats region with their capital at Dvārasamudra (see on them, J. D. M. Derrett, *The Hoysalas, a mediaeval Indian royal family*, Madras 1957). In 1310-11 the Dihlī Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's general Malik Kāfūr or Malik Nāʾib marched into South India and made the Hoysala ruler Vira Ballāla III tributary to Dihlī [see KHALDJĪS], and Dvārasamudra was sacked and razed by an expedition sent by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] in 1327.

After 1336 there arose in the southern tip of India the last great Hindu dynasty there, that of Vidjayanagara, and the rādjās gradually took over Mysore after the disappearance of the Hoysalas. This involved disputes with the Muslim kingdom to the north of the Bahmanīs [*q.v.*], and after the break-up of the Bahmanī state in the early 16th century, disputes with the successor-state of the ʿĀdil-Shāhīs in Bīdjāpūr [*q.vv.*]. The rādjās of Vidjayanagara were generally successful in keeping the Muslims ou of Mysore till 1565, when a coalition of the sultan

of Bīdjāpūr, of Golkondā (the Ḳuṭb-Shāhīs [*q.vv.*]), of Aḥmadnagar (the Niẓām-Shāhīs [*q.vv.*]) and of Bīdar (the Barīd-Shāhīs [*q.vv.*]) defeated Rāma Rādjā at the battle of Tālikota, leading to the sack of Vidjayanagara itself. Nevertheless, his descendants established the Rāma Rādjā dynasty in Mysore, and it was from one of these that English merchants in 1639 secured the grant of what became Fort St. George at Madras on the Coromandel coast in place of the earlier site at Masulipatam.

Mysore now flourished under the *wodiyar* feudatories, who gradually assumed *de facto* power, acquiring in 1610 Shrīrangapaṭṭanam (Seringapatam). The power of the Muslims in Bīdjāpūr was withstood, until in 1686-7 the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] crushed the independent power of the Bīdjāpūr and Golkondā sultanates. Mysore, was, however, able to establish a *modus vivendi* with Awrangzīb on a basis of common hostility to the rising power of the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*].

The mid-18th century years saw the rise in Mysore of the Muslim general Ḥaydar ʿAlī, who under the commander-in-chief or *dalawāyī* Nandjarādj acquired an access of prestige through his repelling Marāṭhā incursions. Ḥaydar ʿAlī's prestige became such that in 1760 his help against the British was sought by the Comte de Lally in the French possession of Pondicherry, and he became virtual ruler of Mysore under the Rādjā, withstanding the British and the forces of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] till his death in 1782 [see ḤAYDAR ʿALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR for details]. His son and successor in office Tīpū Sulṭān instituted a strongly Muslim policy, including the forcible conversion of Hindus and measures against the production of alcohol and opium. On the death of the Rādjā in 1796, the traditional ruling family was suppressed by Tīpū Sulṭān. His policy against Britain and her ally the Niẓām involved a continuation of his father's alliance with France, and diplomatic approaches were made as far afield as to Bonaparte in Egypt and to the courts of Kābul and Istanbul. His ambitions were, however, ended at the battle of Seringapatam in May 1799 [see TĪPŪ SULṬĀN for details].

The line of the Mysore Rādjās was now restored in the person of the five-year old Krishna Rādjā Wadiyar (June 1799) under British protection and with Col. Arthur Wellesley (subsequently the first Duke of Wellington) as civil and military ruler during his minority (sc. till 1811). The Rādjā's later extravagance and misgovernment brought about an internal revolt in 1830 at Nagar (Ḥaydar ʿAlī's old foundation of Ḥaydarnagar), which led to the Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck, appointing a Mysore Council, with commissioners to exercise the substance of power there. Krishna Rādjā did not die until 1868, when his adopted son was recognised as his valid successor, and in 1881 the local dynasty recovered responsibility for administration, the civil and military station of Bangalore alone remaining in British hands.

Over the next decades, internal growth brought rising prosperity to Mysore state, with expenditure on roads, metre gauge railways and irrigation, together with the first electric power station in the subcontinent at the Cauvery Falls. In 1947 Mysore acceded to the Indian Union, and the Mahārādjā Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar became the new Mysore State's first governor. With the administrative reorganisation of 1953 and 1956, under the pressure of South Indian demands for ethnic and linguistic administrative units, the State (as that comprising essentially Karanese speakers) received additional territories in the west which gave it a coastline on the Arabian Sea and it acquired the name of Karnataka; the much-increased area is now 74,037 sq. miles/ 191,757 km². The total population is 37,043,451 (1981 estimate), and the population of the state capital Bangalore is 1,540,741 and of Mysore city 355,685 (both 1971 census figures). The state is one of the most educationally advanced in the Union, with four universities and 31% of the population literate in 1971.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

2. Monuments. The only significant building to survive from the Bīdjāpūrī incursions, a mosque at Sante Bennūr (*ca.* 1047/1637) in Shimoga District, owes little to ʿĀdil Shāhī influence as it was built from the granite of a temple to Ranganātha on the same site, with a groined roof and pointed arches. It is most remarkable for a stepped square tank surrounded by eight towers, with another at the centre, in the mixture of Hindu and Islamic forms characteristic of Vidjayanagara. The building is said to have been desecrated, and became known as a *musāfir-khāna*. The subsequent, but limited development of Muslim architecture did not begin until the Mughal invasion of 1098/1687, when it can be traced from the Djāmiʿ Masdjids at the new administrative centre of Sira and at Hiribidanur near Gauribidanur, and some tombs at both places. At the latter, where the mosque faces the Dargāh of Niyāmat Bī (properly the tomb of Ḥusayn Shāh) across a pool, the influence of Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] is evident in the careful modulation of the four-square tomb walls with panelled arches, the prominent *guldastas* at the corners, the shape of their finials, and the dome set on a lotus-petal base, with a hemispherical profile above; the mosque dome too is bulbous in the other Bīdjāpūrī fashion, though here given a different, turnip-like profile, and it has a tall minaret shaft engaged at each frontcorner with lesser ones at the back. The merlons are articulated with smaller *guldastas* at intervals, and the front wall by blind arches pierced by openings below. The combination of *masdjid*, tank, and mausoleum is repeated at Kolar, where the *maḳbara* [*q.v.*] or cemetery houses twelve members of Ḥaydar ʿAlī's [*q.v.*] family, but the building, with six internal pillars and a dome placed off-centre over Ḥaydar's father, is of little interest.

Although the Sangīn Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Taramandalpet, Bangalore, follows the earlier pattern, with a prominent fretted parapet around the prayer-hall roof, and minarets at the front corners taller than these at the rear, these may not be original, as the roof was damaged in action and restored in 1836. The substructure is attributed

to the Mughal period. The Masdjid at the hill fort of Midigeśi has its strongly tapered minarets set on massive square towers at the front corners of the hall, with battered angles framing a well-proportioned, three-arched façade. The relatively tall upper works are again crowned with a fretted parapet. Such *minārs*, with domical finials, have become symbolic, like their ʿĀdil Shāhī counterparts, rather than functional. The Masdjid-i ʿĀlī at Shrīrangapaṭṭanam represents the culmination of this type, as built by Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.v.*] (dated 1201/1786-7). The rectangular precinct wall, which houses an internal verandah, encloses a high terrace with a row of rooms at the front, and the prayer hall at the back. Though the flat roof of the hall is raised on multi-cusped arches, and the panelled wall outside is relieved by blind arches to match, its front is trabeated, with slender columns supporting a neat entablature. This runs between the squared bases of two immense minarets which rise in three octagonal stages, with elaborately pinnacled balconies, to prominent bulbous domes. The facets are set off by diagonal and vertical rows of small openings, and the domes are gadrooned. A small room to the west forms the *miḥrāb*. The unusual plan is due, again, to the re-use of a temple site. The interior carries five Ḳurʾānic inscriptions.

Tombs of a square format surmounted by a dome are again found at Čannapaṭṭana. In that of Sayyid Ibrāhīm the small central cell is surrounded by a flat-roofed verandah on simple octagonal stone columns of Hindu derivation; the dome is only slightly bulbous, and its pointed profile is distinctly Iranian. The Sālār Masʿūd Dargāh at Tonnūr is a more ambitious example of the same type, with a flat roof sustained by four pillars, and a peristyle of six fluted and tapering ones each side, surmounted by a latticed parapet that almost conceals the dome. There were baluster-like *minārs* at each corner of the terrace. The Maḳbara of Ibrāhīm Khān Ḳilaʿdār at Kumbarpet in Bangalore, dating from Ḥaydar ʿAlī's rule, has a particularly squat bulbous dome on a square chamber, surrounded by merlons on fretted bases. Baluster columns with matching *guldastas* are engaged at each corner, and two smaller ones at mid-side. In the Mausoleum of Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū at Shrīrangapaṭṭanam, dated 1195/1782 (the year of Ḥaydar's death), the two types of tomb are combined: the cubic mass of the walls rises through a verandah of black serpentine columns to more than twice its height, with a large bulbous dome above. Both the verandah and the central block have *čhadjdjas* surmounted by slotted parapets and the usual panoply of bulging *guldastas*; those below are skilfully reduced in scale. The upper walls of the block carry a single range of seven blind cusped arches on each face. The dome, though rising from a boldly scooped lotus base, and crowned with a *mahāpadma*, is flatter than those at Bīdjāpūr; even so, the tomb is clearly related to such buildings as the mausoleum of Shāh Karīm. The interior is decorated with the tiger-stripe mouchettes typical of Tīpū, and there is a eulogy in Persian inscribed on the west wall; the ebony doors inlaid with ivory are a restoration due to Lord Dalhousie.

Palaces. The Mughal Fort at Sira, with its palace and gardens (Khān Bāgh) is said to have stimulated Ḥaydar ʿAlī, who was made *ṣūbadār* of the province, to create his own retreats at Bangalore and Shrīrangapaṭṭanam; little of it now remains. The *Ḥaydar-nāma* of 1784 confirms his interest in building, naming these in particular (*ARASM* [1930], 101-2). The palace buildings, such as that below the Fort at Čitaldrug, were erected with tall timber columns; in most cases, this has unfortunately led to their destruction. That at Bangalore (built 1192-1203/1778-89, survived until 1868) had four halls on the upper storey, each opening onto two balconies. Tīpū Sulṭān held his *darbār* from a *djharokhā* looking down on his courtiers at ground level. The remaining part has fine tapering columns set on lotus bases. Paintings show that it had a lofty columned hall three bays by five open on one side, with balconies forming a mezzanine on the other, flanked by a solid, two-storied block of the same height either end; the flat roof rested on lines of cusped arches, with heavy brackets for the *čhadjdjā*, and balusters above framing the varied tracery of the parapet. Tīpū's principal palace at Shrīrangapaṭṭanam, dismantled in 1807-9, was in the middle of the north side of the Fort. The main hall was also open on one side. His private apartments, guarded by four tigers chained in a narrow passage, were on one side of a square, the other three being storehouses full of goods. The Lāl Bāgh Palace, once at the eastern end of the island, has also vanished; drawings show it to have been of the same type, though the flanking blocks are columniated with seven narrow bays traversed by balconies, and the parapet is reduced to display a studing of *guldastas*. The format seems to stem from the Bāradarī at Adjmēr via the Shīsh Maḥall at Lāhawr [*q.v.*], and may be compared with the Āthār Maḥall at Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] (1000/1591), as well as 18th-century parallels in the Gopal Bhawan at Dig, Bharatpūr. One fine example remains in the Daryā Dawlat Maḥall built by Tīpū as a summer palace in the Dawlāt Bāgh to the east of the Fort in 1198/1784. It is set on a substantial plinth, and the tapering wooden pillars with their prominently moulded bases and reeded shafts are used to form a verandah all round, with a deep *čhadjdjā* and a fretted parapet in four tiers punctuated by small rounded finials. The three central arches, which though cusped are almost semicircular, open on to a *tibāra* hall through a matching set on paired shafts. The two lateral bays on each side, which are wider, employ a rounded, shouldered arch to articulate the end peristyles, and the two-storeyed flanking blocks within them, here set back behind the verandah and opening onto the *tibāra* through two ranges of cusped arcades, with a flat, diapered ceiling above. The façade to the river on the north, and that to the south, are identical, the building being square. There are three rooms on each side of the upper floor, and a central hall with projecting balconies. The whole interior is panelled with small blind arches and cartouches, richly painted and gilded, and is remarkable for a series of wall paintings depicting military successes and civil ceremonies, where individuals can be identified. Buchanan's description of the gardens at Bangalore (1800) shows that they followed the usual pattern of square plots, each allotted to a different plant, with five cypresses at the sides bordering the walks. In those laid out by Tīpū, the irrigation system of masonry channels was very prominent.

Bibliography: Scattered references can be found in the *Annual reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department* (*ARMAD*), continued as the *Annual reports of the Archaeological survey of Mysore* (*ARASM*) from 1927 to 1943, though unfortunately Muslim buildings receive much

less attention than Hindu ones, and information is cursory. The most useful are, for Shrīrangapaṭṭanam, *ARASM* (1935), 51-65, with plates; for Tīpû's palace and the Fort at Bangalore, *ibid.*, 24-8; for Čannapaṭṭana and its tombs, *ibid.*, 21. For Hiribidanur, see *ARMAD* (1913-14), 20; for Kolar, *ARASM* (1930), 21-2; for Nandi, *ARASM* (1932), 57-63; for Sante Bennûr, *ARASM* (1937), 60-1; for Midigesi, *ARASM* (1938), 10-11; for Tonnûr, *ARASM* (1939), 27; and for Bangalore Fort, *ARASM* (1940), 37-9. The *Mysore gazetteer*, Bangalore 1930, ed. Rao, ii/1, 370-7, provides a little extra material, but no illustrations. Early pictures of Bangalore and Shrīrangapaṭṭanam can be found in Lt. James Hunter's paintings (1804-8) at the Government Museum, Bangalore, reproduced in M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore through the centuries*, Bangalore 1970, in Charles Gold, *Oriental drawings*, London 1806, in Robert Home's *Select views in Mysore*, London 1974, and his *Description of Seringapatam*, London 1796. Further descriptions can be found in Dr. Francis Buchanan's *A journey through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, London 1807 (repr. Madras 1970). The Daryā Dawlat Maḥall is illustrated in O. Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser*, Berlin 1925, pls. 164-5. See also Ziyaud-din Desai, *Mosques of India*, New Delhi 1971, 71-2 and plate. (P. A. ANDREWS)

MĀHIYYA (A.) "quiddity". On the construction of this technical term, al-Tahānawī provides interesting information. There are several explanations. One of them derives this word from the interrogative *mā huwa*? ("what is it?"). In this case, it is to be noted that the *yā'* of the *nisba* has been added, the *wāw* suppressed and the *tā' marbūṭa* termination given in order to change the word from the adjectival to the substantive form. Another explanation derives it from *mā*, with the addition of the *yā'* of the *nisba* and of the *tā' marbūṭa*. The original form would then be *mā'iyya*; the *hamza* has subsequently been transformed into a *hā'* on account of the proximity of the articulation points. This *mā* would therefore not be, as in the previous explanation, the interrogative particle (*quid est*?), but that which introduces the reply to the question *quid*?: "[it is] that which ..." In the same manner, *kayfiyya* is the term for a response to the question *kayf*? ("how?"), and *kamiyya* is the response to the question *kam*? ("how much?").

The first explanation is appropriate in the context of the sense given by logicians to the word *māhiyya*; it is that which replies to the question: what is this? It expresses the genus (*djins*), while the question *ayyu shay' huwa* ("what kind of thing is it?") relates to the species (*naw'*). It is thus a case of τὸ τί ἐστι. But in fact, the *māhiyya* replies to two questions at once. In the *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd* or *Book of definitions*, Ibn Sīnā writes with regard to the *ḥadd*: "It is that which indicates the quiddity of a thing, this being the perfection of its existence in essence (*kamāl wudjūdih al-dhātī*): it is composed of the genus and of the specific difference" (Arabic text, 11). This question will be encountered again with regard to the *inniya*.

The second explanation accords better with the usage of theologians and metaphysicians. The *māhiyya* is that through which a thing is what it is (*mā bih al-shay' huwa huwa*). This is the τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι of Aristotle. In this sense, the term is synonymous with essence (*dhāt* [*q.v.*]) and with reality (*ḥaḳīḳa*, cf. *Shifā'*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, i, 31). This reality, like quiddity and essence, is beyond the universal and the particular, the existent and the non-existent, meaning that it can express not only the genus but also the individual essence, not only that which exists in beings themselves (*fi 'l-a'yān*), but that which does not exist thus, while existing in thought (*fi 'l-dhihn*; cf. *Shifā'*, *ibid.*, 32).

In the expression: "that through which a thing is what it is", the particle *bi-* (through) should be understood in the sense of causality (*al-sababiyya*): that, on account of which a thing is this thing (*al-amr alladhī bi-sababihi al-shay' dhālik al-shay'*). But this cause is not the active cause (*al-fā'il*), which is that through which a thing exists externally (*fi 'l-khāridj*), not that through which a thing is such a thing. It is thus a case of the internal cause which dictates that a thing is what it is. From this point of view, it follows that the action of the active cause (*athar al-fā'il*) is applied not to the quiddity in itself and as such, but to its relation to existence (*wudjūd*). This is the thesis of the Peripatetics and of those who say that it is not quiddity as such which is "placed in the being" (*madj'ūla*): the active cause places it in the being and clothes it with the attribute of external existence (*yadj'al al-māhiyya muttaṣifat^{an} bihi* [= *al-wudjūd*] *fi 'l-khāridj*). On this important notion of *madj'ūl*, cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya*, i, 52. This is another case of the distinction between essence and existence which characterises the thought of Ibn Sīnā. For him, in fact, the active cause and the final cause are concerned with existences, while the material cause and the formal cause are concerned with essences. "A thing may be an effect (*ma'lūl*) in relation to its quiddity and to its reality; it may be an effect in its existence. It is possible to express this through the example of the triangle: its reality depends on the area and on the line which is its side; area and line constitute it as a triangle and it has the reality of triangularity (*ḥaḳīḳat al-muthallathiyya*), the area and the line being as its two material and formal causes. But from the point of view of its existence, it depends on yet another cause. This is neither a cause which constitutes its triangularity, nor a cause which is part of its definition; it is the efficient cause or the final cause which is the efficient cause of the causality of the efficient cause" (*Ishārāt*, iii, 441-2). "Of every thing which is such that existence does not enter into the comprehension of its essence (*dhāt*), it may be said that existence is not for it a constituent which enters into its quiddity" (*ibid.*, 474).

But when it is said that quiddity is that through which a thing is what it is, it may be objected that there is not an alterity between a thing and its quiddity of such a kind that a line of causality can be represented between the two. But what is meant by this is, that the thing, to be what it is, needs nothing other than itself. Nevertheless, if this definition of quiddity is taken literally, there is the possibility of confusion between quiddity and accident, especially particular accident, since the *risibile* (*al-dāḥik*) is that through which man is *risibilis*, capable of laughter. But if this definition is understood in the sense of a thing which, to be what it is, needs nothing other than itself, it applies only to quiddity, since if man is capable of laughter, it is because he is reasonable, not the reverse. Thus quiddity expresses the essence as distinct from accidents, particular or otherwise. This is why, according to al-Tahānawī, philosophers begin their researches by distinguishing clearly between quiddity

and its accidents. Ibn Sīnā writes on this subject (*K. al-Nadjāt*, 6-7): "The essential is that which constitutes quiddity from that to which it is attributed. But to define the essential (*al-dhātī*), it is not sufficient to say that it signifies that which is inseparable, since many inseparables are not essential. Neither is it sufficient to say that it signifies that which is inseparable in existence and which cannot be truly separated in the imagination (*wahm*), in such a way that if it were to be suppressed in the imagination, there would thereby be destroyed its object of attribution in existence. In fact, many inseparables are of this nature: for example, the fact that the sum of the three angles of a triangle is equal to two right-angles. This is an attribute of all triangles; it cannot be separated in existence, nor suppressed in the imagination ... And yet, it is not essential". It is a consequence of the reality of the triangle, but it does not enter into its definition. The same applies to all concomitants (*lawāzim*) "which are attached to a thing when its quiddity has been established". The essential is that which is such "that it is impossible to comprehend the essence of the object of attribution without having first comprehended that the signification of this essential belongs to it." Such is the case for "man" and "animal".

Ibn Sīnā notes that the terms *māhiyya*, *ḥaḳīḳa* and *dhāt* may be taken as synonyms. But *ḥaḳīḳa* and *dhāt* are applied most of the time to quiddity considered in its relation to existence on the exterior of thought, whether this quiddity be universal or particular. But when it is particularised, it is called ipseity (*huwiyya*). In this sense the following passage from the *K. al-Fūṣūṣ* is to be read: "All things have a quiddity and an ipseity. But quiddity is not ipseity and does not enter into it. If the ipseity of man were his quiddity, the representation that we have of the quiddity of man would be his ipseity, and when we described what man is, we would describe him in terms of "this is a man" and would know his existence: every description would imply a judgment. Nor does ipseity enter into the quiddity of these things, unless it is constitutive of it and the representation of the quiddity cannot be perfected without it. It would be impossible to suppress it from quiddity in the imagination and the relationship of ipseity to "man" would be like the relationship which corporality and animality have with him; just as if man is understood as man, it is not doubted that he is a body and an animal, so it would not be doubted that he exists. But it is not so." The *huwiyya* of Zayd is to be distinguished from that of ʿAmr. But, as noted by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Mabāḥith*, i, 49), the humanity of one, in other words his quiddity, does not differ from that of the other. In denying the alterity of the humanity of Zayd in relation to that of ʿAmr, we mean only this: "Humanity as such is humanity and nothing more; where that of Zayd is other than that of ʿAmr, this is something that comes from the exterior". Thus quiddity, in the true sense of the word, must be considered in itself and for itself, as pure representation, separate from any judgment of existence or of attribution. Al-Rāzī (*ibid.*, i, 48) declares explicitly: "Equinity (*farasiyya*) as such is nothing other in itself than equinity. It is in itself neither unique, nor plural, nor existent, nor non-existent ... Unity is an attribute that is attached to it; with it, it becomes unique; and similarly, in that it corresponds to numerous things, a character of generality may be found in it. But in itself, equinity is only equinity".

Another term is related to *māhiyya*; this is *inniya*. Ibn Sīnā speaks of it at length in the *Shifāʾ* (*Madkhal*, 39-46). His thought may be summarised by means of an example which he himself employs. Take the term *ḥassās* ("endowed with sensibility"). Arising from the genus (*djism*) "body", it is interposed as a specific difference (*faṣl*) to define the animal. It is essential for the animal and for the man to be these bodies endowed with sensibility. Nevertheless, this single essential characteristic which is expressed by the term *ḥassās* does not suffice to indicate the quiddity of the animal or of the man. The same may be said of "reasonable" in relation to the definition and the quiddity of man. Now Ibn Sīnā observes that the logicians make man a species of animal, but they do not do likewise with "reasonable". The same statement applies to the terms "body", "animal", and "endowed with sensibility". However, the specific difference is important, for, if the genus and the species say what a thing is insofar as it is this thing, the specific difference is that which enables it to be distinguished (*tamyīz*) from other things and provides for an exact response to the question: what kind of thing is this? This being so, the *māhiyya* represents a notion which may be applied equally to numerous things; the *inniyya* represents the notion by which a thing may be distinguished (*yatamayyaz*) from others. The *māhiyya* expresses the genus of the species, the *inniyya* expresses the specific difference. However, Ibn Sīnā draws attention to the fact that it is by no means impossible that that which indicates the *inniyya* of certain things may indicate the *māhiyya* of certain others. For example, *ḥassās*, in relation to "man", "horse", "bull", does not indicate the quiddity, but only the *inniyya*, whereas *ḥayawān ḥassās* ("living creature endowed with sensibility") expresses it perfectly. But in relation to "endowed with sight (*baṣīr*), with hearing (*samīʿ*), with the sense of touch (*lāmis*)", this same term *ḥassās* denotes a quiddity. In spite of these distinctions, it is apparent that on occasion Ibn Sīnā uses these two words side by side in the same sense. The word *inniyya* may be translated by the Scotist term of "ecceity".

Alongside these concepts of the Peripatetics, attention must be drawn to the point of view of the philosophers who stressed the role of illumination (*al-Ishrāḳiyyūn*). For them, the action of the active agent is applied to the quiddity itself, which "follows" it as light follows the sun. It is reason which, subsequently, separates essence from existence. Thus al-Suhrawardī of Aleppo, in *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ* (186, § 193), explains that "that which is placed in existence (*al-madjʿūl*) is quiddity, not existence; given that existence is only a rational consideration (*iʿtibār ʿaḳlī*). It follows that a thing has its ipseity (*huwiyya*) by means of its emanent cause (*min ʿillatih al-fayyāḍiyya*) ... It can happen that a thing disappears when agents of corruption appear, while its cause in emanation remains; this is because it depends on other causes which are transient. It can happen that a thing has a cause of production (*ḥudūth*) and a cause of internal consistency (*thibāt*) which are different, as in the case of a statue: in effect, the cause of its production, which is the person who makes it, and the cause of its internal consistency, which is the dry nature of the element. But it may be that the cause of internal consistency and the cause of production are one and the same, as in the case of the receptacle which gives to the water [that it contains] its configuration. Now the Light of lights is at the same time the cause of existence of all existing things and the cause of their

internal consistency..." In a word, there is no distinction, according to this point of view, between essence and existence other than one of reason. On the level of the Light of lights, which is the cause whence all things emanate, there is no need to distinguish the four causes of Aristotle in order to attribute to him only an efficient causality which does nothing but give existence. It is in its unity and by the same right the perfect cause of essences and existences. It is total agent which gives to each being its existence, its quiddity, its material and its end. Al-Suhrawardī has another argument besides to show that the effect of the cause through emanation is not existence without essence. We may consider for example the darkness. "If it is non-existent, it is not realised (*laysa bi-ḥāṣil*); so its existence is not an existent, since it is, itself (like the darkness) non-existent (*maʿdūm*). Now if we perceive existence and we judge that it is not an existent, that which we understand by existence is other than what we understand by existent. If we then say: the darkness exists, that which we have taken to be non-existent, of which the existence was not realised, then is realised, it follows that the realisation of existence is something other than realised existence, such that there will be an existence for the existence ..., and so on *ad infinitum*, which is absurd". (*ibid.*, 64-5, § 56). In more simple terms, if it is necessary to give existence in order for it to exist, it will be necessary to give existence to the existence of existence, and so on *ad infinitum*.

The theories of Ibn Rus̲h̲d regarding quiddity are much closer to the thinking of Aristotle. They are also distinguished by his opposition to the Avicennan concept of essence and existence, and by his method which consists in leaving physical realities in order to raise oneself to metaphysical realities. He is interested primarily in the quiddities which belong to bodies and which are "attributes (*ṣifāt*) which exist in them and through which these bodies become active existents" (*Tahāfut*, 359, § 92). He writes further: "Starting with the individuals which are in conformity in species, intelligence grasps a unique signifying intention (*maʿnā*) in which they are associated. It is the quiddity of this species. But this intention is not divided by that whereby individuals as such are divided, that is by place, position, material factors, on account of which they proliferate. It is thus necessary that this intention be neither generable, nor corruptible, and that it not disappear with the disappearance of the individuals in which it exists" (*ibid.*, 573-4, § 38). Thus quiddity is distinguished from accidents: "The fundamental principle in accidents is that they depend on something other than themselves, while the fundamental principle in quiddities is that they depend on themselves, except that which happens to generable and corruptible things owing to the fact that quiddities need a subject (*mawḍūʿ*)." By virtue of the doctrine of Ibn Rus̲h̲d on being, which is fundamentally and essentially by substance, the quiddities will be in the strongest sense quiddities of substances and will follow the hierarchy of substances, from sensible and mobile substances, to intelligible and immobile substances.

As for *inniyya* (which Bouyges vocalises *anniyya* in his writings), it is in beings, in the true sense, "a signifying intention of thought (*maʿnā d̲h̲ihnī*), meaning that the thing on the exterior of the soul is in accordance with that which is in the soul. Consequently, that which it indicates is synonymous with truth (*ṣādiḳ*). *Inniyya* is that which is indicated by the existential copula (*al-rābiṭa al-wud̲j̲ūdiyya*) in judgments of attribution (*fi 'l-ḳaḍāyā al-ḥamaliyya*).

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(R. Arnaldez)

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

P. 56b, ᶜABD AL-ᶜAZĪZ, l. 4, *instead of* 20 June *read* 26 June.

P. 75a, ᶜABD AL-MADJĪD I, l. 39, *instead of* 25 June *read* 26 June.

P. 106a-b, ABU 'L-ᶜARAB, *add*: One of the works of Abu 'l-ᶜArab Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Tamīm b. Tammām b. Tamīm al-Tamīmī (thus the full *nasab*) which has been preserved (in a unique Cambridge ms.) is his *Kitāb al-Miḥan*, a work in the tradition of the *maḳātil* books. It deals with a wide range of deaths in battle, by poisoning, persecution of ᶜAlids, sufferings of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] of the early 3rd/9th century; see for an analysis of its contents, M. J. Kister, *The "Kitab al-Mihan", a book on Muslim martyrology*, in *JSS*, xx (1975), 210-18. The complete work has now been edited by Yaḥyā Wahīb al-Djabbūrī, Beirut 1403/1983.

P. 194b, ADHRUḤm *add to Bibliography* A. G. Killick, *Udhruh and the early Islamic conquests*, in *Procs. of the Second Symposium on the history of Bilād al-Shām during the early Islamic period (English and French papers)*, Amman 1987, 73-8.

P. 279a, AḤMAD v. ṬŪLŪN, end of penultimate paragraph, *instead of* March 884 *read* May 884.

P. 436b, AL-ᶜĀMILĪ, Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Babāʾ al-Dīn, *add* to Bibl.: A. Newman, *Towards a reconsideration of the "Isfahān school of philosophy": Shaykh Bahāʾī and the role of the Safawid 'ulamā*, in *Studia Iranica*, xv (1986), 165-98; C. E. Bosworth, *Bahāʾ al-Dīn ᶜĀmilī and his literary anthologies*, Manchester 1989.

P. 847b, BĀBĪS, *add* to Bibl.: Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and renewal. The making of the Babi movement in Iran, 1844-1850*, Ithaca and London 1989.

P. 940b, BAHRĀM SHĀH, AL-MALIK AL-AMDJAD, l. 2, *instead of* Shāhānshāh read Tūrānshāh.

P. 1007b, BALŪČISTĀN, *add* to Bibl.: J. Elfenbein, *A periplus of the "Brahui problem"*, in *Stud. Iranica*, xvi (1987), 215-33.

P. 1030b, BARĀDŪST, l. 37, *instead of* 395/1005 *read* 1005/1597.

P. 1300a, BULANDSHAHR, l. 30, *instead of* 644/1246-665/1266 *read* 796-815/1394-1412.

P. 1345a, BUST, *add* to Bibl.: T. Allen, *Notes on Bust*, in *Iran JBIPS*, xxvi (1988), 55-68, xxvii (1989), 57-66, xxviii (1990).

VOLUME II

P. 72b, DĀBIḲ, paragraph three, l. 2, *instead of* 15 Radjab 922 *read* 25 Radjab 922.

P. 809a, FARRUKHĀN, l. 5 from bottom, *instead of* seventy years *read* thirteen years (90-103/709-21).

VOLUME III

P. 134a, AL-ḤAMĪDĪ, l. 24 from bottom, *instead of* 364/974-5, *read* 564/1168-9.

P. 293b, ḤAWRĀN, *add to Bibliography* M. Sartre, *Le Hawran byzantin à la veille de la conquête musulmane*, in *Procs. of the Second Symposium on the history of Bilād al-Shām during the early Islamic period (English and French papers)*, Amman 1987, 155-67.

P. 367a, HIDJRA, *add to Bibliography* Z. I. Khan, *The origins and development of the concept of* Hijrah *or migration in Islam*, Ph. D. thesis, Manchester 1987, unpublished.

P. 460b, HINDŪ-SHĀHĪS, *add* to Bibl.: Yogendra Mishra, *The Hindu Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, Patna 1972; Abdur Rahman, *The last two dynasties of the Śāhīs. An analysis of their history, archaeology, coinage and palaeography*, Islamabad 1979.

P. 1007b, ᶜĪD, l. 1, *instead of* sunset *read* sunrise.

P. 1196a, IN SHĀʾ ALLĀH, l. 2 from below, *instead of* James, iv, 19 *read* James, iv, 13-15.

VOLUME IV

P. 754b, ḲAṬĪᶜA, *add to end*: The term *kaṭīᶜa* is also used in the specific sense of "ransom" in the period of the Crusades; cf. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xiii, 505.

P. 759a, KĀTIB, l. 23 from below, *instead of* Amīr Khusraw *read* Amīr Ḥasan.

P. 834a, ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN, *add to Bibliography* Chang-kuan Lin, *The role of internecine strife and political struggle in the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty*, M. Phil. thesis, Manchester 1987, unpublished.

P. 1100a, MADJMAᶜ ᶜILMĪ, l. 32, *instead of* statues *read* statutes.

VOLUME V

P. 39, KHOTAN, *add*:

The language of ancient Khotan was a Middle Iranian language, closely related to Soghdian. It is now commonly called Khotanese, though, since it was the descendant of one of the languages of the numerous, but ill-definable, pre-historic "Saka" tribes of Central Asia, it is sometimes called "Khotan Saka" (see e.g. H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge, etc. 1979). E. Leumann, one of the earliest decipherers of the language, thought that it was a separate branch of Indo-Iranian and therefore called it "Nordarisch", but this theory was shown to be untenable by scholars such as S. Konow and Bailey. See Bailey, *Indo-Scythian studies, being Khotanese texts volume IV. Saka texts from Khotan in the Hedin collection*, Cambridge 1963, introd. 1-18; R. E. Emmerick, *Saka grammatical studies*, London 1968; idem, *A guide to the literature of Khotan*, Studia Philologica Buddhica. Occasional Papers Series III, Tokyo 1979; idem, *Khotanese*, in *Compendium linguarum iranicarum*, ed. R. Schmitt, Wiesbaden 1989.

The following kings of Khotan are known from the Khotanese documents: Viśya Vikrraṃ, Viśaʾ (Viśya) Sī(m)hya, Viśaʾ Dharma, Viśaʾ Kīrtti and Viśaʾ Vāhaṃ (all probably 8th century A.D.); Viśaʾ Saṃgrāma (? 9th century); Viśaʾ Sa(ṃ)bhava/Saṃbhata (regn. 912-66), Viśaʾ Śūra (regn. 967-at least 971), Viśaʾ D(h)arma (regn. 978-at least 988). See for useful surveys, J. Hamilton, *Les règnes khotanais entre 851 et 1001*, in M. Soymié (ed.), *Contributions aux études sur Touen-Houang*, Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie de la IVe section de l'EPHE II, Hautes études orientales 10, Geneva and Paris 1979, 49-54; idem, *Sur la chronologie khotanaise au IXᵉ-Xᵉ siècle*, in Soymié (ed.), *Contributions aus études de Touen-Houang III*, Publs. de L'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, cxxxv, Paris 1984, 47-8; and see further, H. Kumamoto, *Some problems of the Khotanese documents*, in *Studia grammatica iranica*, ed. R. Schmitt and P. O. Skjaervø, Munich 1986, 227-44, and Skjaervø, *Kings of Khotan in the 8th-10th centuries...*, in *Acts of the colloquium on "Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique: sources écrites et documents archéologiques", Paris 22-8 November 1988*, CNRS Paris (forthcoming).

The islamisation of Khotan apparently took place already around 1006, at any rate before 1008, since the Chinese annals for the year 1009 report the arrival of a *huei-hu* (= Turk) sent by the *hei-han* (= Khaghan) of Yu-t'ien (= Khotan) with tribute to the Imperial Chinese court; the envoy had been travelling for a year (see M. Abel-Rémusat, *Histoire de la ville de Khotan tirée des annales de la Chine et traduite du chinois*, Paris 1820, 86-7). The Muslim ruler at this time was the Ḳarakhānid Yūsuf Ḳadîr Khān of Kāshghar (on whom see O. Pritsak, *Die Karachaniden*, in *Isl.*, xxxi [1953-4], 30-3, repr. in *Studies in medieval Eurasian history*, London 1981, xvi, and ILEK-KHĀNS).

The conflict between Khotan and Kāshghar must have started earlier, however, for in a letter written in Khotanese by King Viśaʾ Śūra in 970, the ruler refers to "Our evil enemy the Tazhīk (Khot. Ttaśīʾkā) Tcūṃ-hyai:nä [Ts'ung hsien?], who [is] there among the Tazhīks", and in a letter in Chinese from the ruler of Sha-chou (Tun Huang) to the king of Khotan, in the Pelliot collection, from around 975 we read that "the prince of the west is leading Tadjik (Ta-shih) troops to attack [your] great kingdom" (see Bailey, *Saka documents, text vol.*, Corpus inscr. iranicarum, ii, V, London 1968, 58-61, ll. 50-1; Hamilton, *Sur la chronologie*, 48-9). Hamilton has suggested that the "evil enemy" may be Viśaʾ Śūra's brother, another son of Viśaʾ Saṃbhava (in Chinese, Li Sheng-t'ien), two of whom are known to have borne the name Tcūṃ/Ts'ung. Kumamoto, *op. cit.*, 231, suggests that this mother may have been a Ḳarakhānid. The last known king of Khotan was Viśaʾ D(h)arma (still ruling in 988), whose name shows that he was not a Muslim. The definitive struggle over Khotan must therefore have taken place during the ensuing two decades. See also M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 2. vols., Oxford 1907, repr. New York 1975, i, 180-1; W. Samolin, *East Turkistan to the twelfth century*, The Hague, etc. 1964, 80-2.

P. 375ᵇ, AL-**KUMAYT B. ZAYD** AL-**ASADĪ**, *add* to Bibl.: W. Madelung, *The* Hāshimiyyāt *of al-Kumayt and Hāshimī Shīʿism*, in *SI*, lxx (1989), 5-26.

P. 1029ᵇ, AL-**MADJDJĀWĪ**, l. 4, *instead of* Algiers, *read* Constantine.

P. 1135ᵇ, **MADRASA**, *add. to the Bibl.*: R. Brunschvig, *Quelques remarques sur les médersas de Tunisie*, in *RT*, new ser., vi (1931), 261-85.

P. 1232ᵃ, AL-**MAHDĪ**: ll. 33-48. This passage was modified by the Editors without the author's consent. The author's original should be restored as follows:

This *ḥadīth*, whose first part is patterned upon the revolt of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, probably goes back to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who appears in its *isnād* and claimed to have heard it from Umm Salama, widow of the Prophet. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith was chosen by the people of Baṣra as their governor in 64/684 after the death of the caliph Yazīd and the flight of his governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. He then recognised Ibn al-Zubayr as the caliph and took the pledge of allegiance of the Baṣrans for him. The *ḥadīth* was evidently proclaimed by him in this situation with the aim of stirring up support for the cause of Ibn al-Zubayr.

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P. 115ᵇ, **MAḲĀMA**, *add* to Bibl.: Yūsuf Nūr ʿAwad, *Fann al-maḳāmāt bayn al-mashriḳ wa 'l-maghrib²*, Mecca 1406/1986; Samīr Maḥmūd al-Durūbī, *Sharḥ maḳāmāt Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī al-mutawaffā sanat 911*, 2 vols. Beirut 1409/1989.

P. 125ᵇ, **MAḲBARA,** *add to Bibliography*: J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, H.-P. Laqueur, N. Vatin, *Stelae Turcicae*, I: *Küçük Ayasofya*, in *Istabuler Mitteilungen* xxxiv (1984), 441-539.

P. 262ᵃ, **MALIK**, *at end of Bibliography add* A. Ayalon, *'Malik' in modern Middle Eastern literature*, in *WI* xxiii-xxiv (1984), 306-19.

P. 334ᵃ, **MAʿN**, *at end of Bibliography add* Abu 'l-Wafaʾ al-Urḍī, *Maʿādin al-dhahab fī 'l-ridjāl al-musharrafa bi-him Ḥalab*, MS B.M. Or. 3618.

P. 358ᵃ, AL-**MANĀMA**, l. 3, *instead of* side *read* site.
Add to Bibliography Mahdi Abdalla al-Tajir, *Bahrain 1920-1945, Britain, the Shaikh and the administration*, London 1987.

P. 374ᵇ, AL-**MANĀZIL**, l. 8, *after* Ibn Ḳutayba *insert a comma.*
l. 27, *after* names *insert* became.
No. 5 of the list, *instead of* $\lambda\phi^{12}$. Orionis *read* $\lambda\varphi^{1,\,2}$ Orionis.
No. 9 of the list, *instead* of δ *read* x.

P. 375ᵃ, No. 28 of the list, instead of *al-hūt* read *al-ḥūt*.
l. 23, *instead of* 1800 *read* 180.

P. 453ᵇ, **MANŪČIHRĪ**, *add* to Bibl.: W. L. Hanaway, *Blood and wine: sacrifice in Manūchihrī's wine poetry*, in *Iran JBIPS*, xxvi (1988), 69-80.

P. 459ᵃ,, **MAPPILA**, l. 37, *instead of* 1948 *read* 1498.

P. 460ᵃ, l. 10, *instead of* ist *read* its.
l. 30, *instead of* or *read* of.

P. 461[a], l. 13 from below, *instead of* wiser *read* wider.

P. 462[b], l. 17, *instead of* nor *read* not.

P. 463[b], ll. 29-30 from below, *instead of* remaining *read* remains.

P. 464[a], l. 16 from below, *instead of* wisely *read* widely.

Pp. 511 and 517, **MARʿASHĪS.** Owing to an unfortunate oversight Table A has been included twice.

P. 641[a], **MĀSARDJAWAYH,** l. 10, *instead of* πανέχτης *read* Πανδέκτης.
l. 24-25, *instead of* p. 20, 1. 341 *read* p. 20, l. 341.
l. 26, *instead of* p. 88, 11. 1860-3 *read* p. 88, ll. 1860-3.

P. 736[b], **MASḲAṬ,** *add* to author's signature "shortened by the Editors".

P. 764[b], **MASRAḤ,** *add at the end of the Bibliography: Modern Persian drama. Anthology*, tr. G. Kapuscinski, Lanham 1987; G. Kapuscinski, *Modern Persian drama*, in *Persian literature*, ed. E. Yarshater, Albany 1988, 381-402.

SUPPLEMENT

P. 127[a], **BĀRIZ, DJABAL,** *add*: One should note the present-day settlement of Pārīz, in the northwestern part of the Djabal Bāriz, on the Ragsandjān-Saʿīdābād (Sīrdjān) road, which could possibly be the classical *Parikāne polis*, town of the Parikanioi. See A. D. H. Bivar, *A Persian fairyland*, in *Acta Iranica* 24: *Hommages et opera minora* X: *Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, Leiden 1985, 25-42, who here derives the legends and romances around the peris or fairies of Iran (Av. *pairikā*, MP *parīg*, NP *parī*) from indigenous Persian traditions connecting them with the Parikanioi, whose epigoni were suspect in Sāsānid times by Zoroastrian orthodoxy for their non-Zoroastrian local beliefs and customs, hence equated with demonic and supernatural beings.

P. 163[b], **ČAČ—NĀMA.** The last item in the Bibliography has been published in Y. Friedmann, ed., *Islam in Asia*, i: *South Asia*, Jerusalem 1984, 23-27.

P. 395[a], **IBN NĀẒIR AL-DJAYSH,** *add* to Bibl.: The *Tathkīf* is now available in the edition of R. Veselý, IFAO, Cairo 1987; see also on the author, D. S. Richards, *The Tathqīf of Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaish: the identity of the author and the manuscripts*, in *Cahiers d'onomasticon arabe*, iv (1985-7), 97-101.

M

CONTINUATION

MAḤKAMA (A.), court. The subject-matter of this article is the administration of justice, and the organisation of its administration, in the Muslim countries, the office of the judge being dealt with in the art. ḲĀḌĪ.

The following topics are covered:

1. General
2. The Ottoman empire
   - i. The earlier centuries
   - ii. The reform era (*ca.* 1789-1922)
3. Iran
4. The Arab lands and Israel
   - i. Egypt
   - ii. Syria
   - iii. Lebanon
   - iv. ʿIrāḳ
   - v. Palestine and Israel
   - vi. Jordan
   - vii. Saudi Arabia
   - viii. Yemen and the People's Republic of Southern Yemen
   - ix. The Gulf States
   - x. Morocco
   - xi. Algeria
   - xii. Tunisia
   - xiii. Reforms in the law applying in *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts
5. The Indo-Pakistan subcontinent
6. Indonesia

1. General

The judicial functions of the Prophet, which had been expressly attributed to him in the Ḳurʾān (IV, 65, 105; V, 42, 48-9; XXIV, 48, 51), were taken over after his death by the first caliphs, who administered the law in person in Medina. Already under ʿUmar, the expansion of the Islamic empire necessitated the appointment of judges, originally for the expeditionary forces, then, in the natural course of events, also for the conquered territories; this institution of army judges (*ḳāḍī'l-d̲j̲und*) remained in being down to the Ottoman period as the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskar* [*q.v.*]. The source of jurisdiction in the *S̲h̲arīʿa* is the caliph; the judges act as delegates of the authority by which they have been appointed, and are authorised to delegate their powers in turn to other persons. The appointment of a judge is made by contract consisting of offer and acceptance in the presence of at least two witnesses. The validity of the appointment does not depend upon the legality of the appointing authority: by this open-minded disposition, the *S̲h̲arīʿa* has accommodated itself even in theory to the actual facts. On the other hand, the authorities are free to restrict the competence (*wilāya*) of the judge with regard to place, time and subject matter. In the early period, there used to be judges only in the big towns, and the judicial districts were accordingly large (the whole of Egypt, for instance); under the Ottomans this came to change, perhaps in consequence of the intense practical application of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* in their territory. The restriction with regard to subject-matter was originally intended to divide labour and alleviate the burden of the chief judge, especially by erecting into independent offices some of his functions that were not purely judicial; in modern times, the restriction with regard to time and subject-matter is used in order to modify or eliminate the application of provisions of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* without interfering directly with its material dispositions (see section 4. xiii. Reforms in the law applying in *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts, below). Under the Umayyads, the judges were as a rule appointed by the governors; the ʿAbbāsids made a point of assuming directly the exercise of this function of the sovereign; although they had to delegate it more than once to practically independent princes, they still tried to retain it, at least in form, even when their power was in full decay. The compromise between those tendencies, together with the large size, and even the accumulation in one person, of judicial districts brought about a complicated system of delegation to substitutes. The Fāṭimids, the Umayyads in Spain and the Ottoman sultans likewise appointed their judges directly; the latter continued to exercise this privilege also in ceded territories such as Egypt, of which the chief *ḳāḍī* was nominated in Istanbul until 1914. The *ḳāḍī* could be deposed at any time by the authority which had appointed him; a change of the person in charge of this function very often caused a re-filling of all the judicial posts dependent on it. According to the theory of the *fiḳh*, only a delegate, not an independent *ḳāḍī*, loses his office by the death or dismissal of the person who appointed him. Corresponding to this right of nomination is something like a right of supervision, which manifests itself in receiving complaints as well as in giving official directions. Another kind of higher instance was represented by the unanimous opinion of the learned men whom the judge ought to consult in cases of doubt; these could come to form a sort of unofficial court of appeal. A third kind of higher instance, the most important in practice, was control by the successor, which was often exercised with the utmost severity; every judgment of a *ḳāḍī* could be annulled by any of his successors, a possibility which led to an endless duration of some law-suits. All this affords certain possibilities for the revision of judgments, which in theory is not provided for at all. In theory, the *ḳāḍī* acts as a single judge; this did not prevent several judges, even if belonging to different juridical

schools, from being competent for one judicial district, especially in the capitals. A judgment once pronounced cannot be changed by the same *ḳāḍī*, even if evidence to the contrary is brought in later or if the original evidence is proved to be worthless; another *ḳāḍī* can repeal it only if there was a serious fault in law, i.e. if it is contrary to the Ḳurʾān, to a recognised tradition or to unanimous opinion (*id̲j̲māʿ*). The judgment should be given according to the opinion of the law school (*mad̲h̲hab*) to which the judge belongs; if he diverges from it, the validity of the judgment is controversial. A *ḳāḍī* did not have to belong to the same juridical school als the person who appointed him, nor a substitute to the same school as the judge who delegated his powers to him; but they could always be directed to follow the opinions of a certain school. In general, the authorities preferred *ḳāḍīs* of their own juridical school; under the ʿAbbāsids this was at first the Ḥanafī and later on the S̲h̲āfiʿī one, under the Ottomans, most decidedly, the Ḥanafī, whereas under the Umayyads of Spain the Mālikī school had a jealously-guarded monopoly. The juridical school allegiance of the judge was of greater importance for the populace under his jurisdiction than for the ruler. Many judges, especially in the early period, made allowance for the people's allegiance to a school different from their own, but many difficulties arose, in particular where the people of the country were divided between several schools; to remedy this, recourse was often had (for the first time in Cairo in 525/1131) to the appointment of several *ḳāḍīs*, one of whom usually had official precedence over his colleagues, but among whom the parties could choose freely. The judge of the capital—not yet under the Umayyads but from the very beginning of the ʿAbbāsids—occupied a prominent position and was given the title of Chief Judge (*ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*), the first being Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*] in Bag̲h̲dād (under Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd); in the western lands of Islam he was called *ḳāḍī 'l-d̲j̲amāʿa*. This at first simply meant pre-eminence among his colleagues, but soon imported a right of supervision over them, which became still more pronounced when under the system of delegations the other *ḳāḍīs* were only substitutes of the Chief Judge. The most important auxiliary officials were the secretary (*kātib*) and the witnesses (*s̲h̲āhid* [*q.v.*]), who at the same time fulfilled the function of notaries; their duties were often the first steps in a judicial career. Advocacy, i.e. the representation of the interests of the parties by specialists, was rejected by the theory and discouraged by the practice of the early period; on the contrary, the task of the learned in law was supposed to be to aid the judge, as *muftīs* [see FATWĀ], in the impartial application of the sacred law. Nevertheless, the *fatwā* is often nothing more than a written pleading for one party, and advising parties and representing them in court have become a widely practised occupation of experts (*wakīl*, "representative"), who have developed in modern times into the order of advocates (*muḥāmī*) in the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts. For the procedure, see DAʿWĀ. Besides the administration of justice by *ḳāḍīs*, the *S̲h̲arīʿa* knows the voluntary resort to arbitrators (*ḥakam*).

Along with this religious jurisdiction, we find the administrative jurisdiction of the *naẓar al-maẓālim* ("investigation of complaints") exercised by the caliphs and their political organs: viziers, governors, sultans, etc., or by judges appointed expressly for this purpose, as well as a police-like supervision by the *muḥtasib* [*q.v.*] and the *ṣāḥib al-s̲h̲urṭa* [see S̲H̲URṬA]. Whereas down to the end of the Umayyad period all jurisdiction was concentrated in the hands of the *ḳāḍī* and occasional attempts at interference by the governors were mostly frustrated, the early days of ʿAbbāsid rule saw a need for supplementing *ḳāḍī* jurisdiction, which from now on was tied to the fully-developed system of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* by the settling of complaints through the *maẓālim* procedure. A clear separation of the competences of both spheres in no way existed, notwithstanding the long lists of differences presented by theorists. Those very representatives of political authority who were anxious to assure a good administration of justice by strict supervision were apt to monopolise jurisdiction almost completely, the more so as the *ḳāḍī* possessed no executive organs of his own but had to depend on those which the authorities chose to place at his disposal. So nearly everywhere in Islam, a secular jurisdiction evolved beside the religious one [see *EI*[1], S̲H̲ARĪʿA, section 6]. It retained certain general principles of the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, but based its judgments mainly upon equity and custom and applied an elastic and often summary procedure. This state of things was to some extent sanctioned by the Ḳurʾānic injunction to obey those in authority. In the sphere of secular jurisdiction, the last and the present century brought the creation of courts on the European pattern, controlled by the government, and the introduction of modern codes. The final step was the reorganisation, again on European lines, of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts in a number of Muslim countries, resulting in the introduction of courts of appeal and of benches consisting of more than one judge. All this derives from the power of the authorities to restrict the competence of the *ḳāḍīs*.

In the following, we shall briefly discuss the spheres and organisation of *s̲h̲arʿī* justice in the Muslim countries, its material law and procedure, the reforms in the law applying in *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts and their application by the *ḳāḍīs*.

Bibliography: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, vi, index *s.v.* Kadi and Richter; Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 309 ff.; idem, *Handleiding*[3], 316 ff.; López Ortiz, *Derecho musulmán*, 67 ff.; Schacht, *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, chs. i, x, xi; Amedroz, in *JRAS* (1910), 761 ff.; (1911), 635 ff.; (1916), 287 ff.; Bergsträsser, in *ZDMG*, lxviii (1914), 395 ff.; Gabrieli, in *Rivista Coloniale*, viii/2 (1913); Pröbster, in *Islamica*, v, 545 ff. Much material is to be found in the biographical works on *ḳāḍīs*, e.g. Wakīʿ, *Kitāb Ak̲h̲bār al-ḳuḍāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Muṣṭafā al-Marāg̲h̲ī, i-iii, Cairo 1947-50; al-Kindī, *The governors and judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest; al-K̲h̲us̲h̲anī, *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba*, ed. Ribera; al-Fatḥ b. K̲h̲āḳān, *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān*; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*; and the works mentioned in Schacht, *Aus Kairiner Bibliotheken (II)*, 27 ff. Also the sources for political and administrative history, e.g. Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Muḳaddima*; al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*; further, the works on the history of civilisation, e.g. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 206 ff., Span. tr. *El Renacimiento del Islam*, 267 ff. Eng. tr. Khuda Bakhsh., 216 ff.; Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane*, 79 ff.; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, chs, ii-iv, vi; further, the works of Schacht: *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*[3], Oxford 1959; *An introduction to Islamic law*[2], Oxford 1966, chs. 1-11, with important bibliography; and *Law and justice*, in P. M. Holt, A. K. S. Lambton and B. Lewis (eds.), *The Cambridge history of Islam*, ii, Cambridge 1970, 539-68; E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*[2], Leiden 1960; M. Khadduri and H. J. Liebesny (eds.), *Law in the Middle East*, i, Washington, D.C. 1955; N. J. Coulson, *A history of*

Islamic law, Edinburgh 1964, parts i-ii; Jeanette A. Wakin, *The function of documents in Islamic law*, Albany 1972; H. J. Liebesny, *The law of the Near and Middle East*, Albany 1975, chs. 1-2; Ṣubḥī Maḥmaṣānī, *al-Awḍāʿ al-tas̲h̲rīʿiyya fi 'l-duwal al-ʿarabiyya māḍīhā wa-ḥāḍiruhā*³, Beirut 1965, with bibliography of Arabic works. (J. Schacht*)

2. The Ottoman Empire

i. The earlier centuries

As the official seat of the *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*], the *maḥkama* was a fixed location within the bounds of a *ḳaḍāʾ* or *ḥukūma*, the jurisdiction area assigned to a *ḳāḍī*. The number of *maḥkamas* in a particular jurisdiction area was determined and fixed by the sultan, and their locations could not be changed at the will of the *ḳāḍī* (*Ḳānūn-nāme*, Turkish Hist. Soc. ms. Y4, f. 87b). When the population of a district grew or when new circumstances arose, the sultan could decide to divide the existing *ḳaḍāʾs* in order to create new ones. The location of the *maḥkama* was usually chosen for its easy access to the commercial community, generally in the bazar or somewhere within the precincts or near to the congregational mosque of the town. For instance, one of the *maḥkamas* of Istanbul was in the courtyard of the mosque of Dāwūd Pas̲h̲a.

In the Ottoman Empire, *maḥkamas* usually had their own premises, at least in the 18th century, as appears from the court records. The exact number of the *maḥkamas* within a jurisdiction varied according to the population. In Istanbul, for example, there were five *maḥkamas* scattered in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Istanbul, and in 993/1585 the *ḳāḍī* submitted a request for opening of new *maḥkamas* for the convenience of the population (A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı*, i, 30). In other *ḳaḍāʾs* of greater Istanbul, namely Eyüp (K̲h̲āṣṣlar), Galata (Pera) and Üsküdar, there were other *maḥkamas*. Bursa had seven *maḥkamas* at various parts of the city in the 11th/17th century.

The jurisdiction of a *maḥkama* and abuses of power. Within a *ḳaḍāʾs* boundaries, an individual was free to choose which *maḥkama* to use. Some *maḥkamas* developed a speciality in a certain field; for instance, the *maḥkama* of Eyüp became the court specialising in cases of water rights (ʿO. Nūrī, *Mad̲j̲alla*, i, 1221). In the period before Süleymān's reign, important cities had judges of both the Ḥanafī and S̲h̲āfiʿī law schools. However, Süleymān ordered that all courts in the Ottoman dominions should be administered only according to the Ḥanafī rite (Abu 'l-Suʿūd, *Maʿrūḍāt*, in *MTM*, i, 340-1). Despite this rule, S̲h̲āfiʿī judges continued to function in the courts of Antakya and all the cities in the Arab provinces (see Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 58). By a *ḥukm* of 928/1522 (ms. Veliyuddin 1969), the local begs were authorised to appoint *ḳāḍīs* of the S̲h̲āfiʿī school in the province of Diyārbakr. In Rad̲j̲ab 981/October-November 1573 a *firmān* confirmed that the *ḳāḍīs* in the province of Ṭarābulus al-G̲h̲arb (Libya) could follow the Mālikī school in their decisions (Mühimme defteri, xxiii, 153).

The *ḳāḍī* or *ḥākim al-s̲h̲arʿ* of a court derived his authority directly from the sultan and was responsible only to him. A *ḳāḍī* once dismissed by the sultan had no power to issue any document. In the Ottoman empire, the *ḳāḍī* administered, not only the religious law but also the secular *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*], a practice peculiar to that régime. The *ḥākim* had the power to administer *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*] punishments and to imprison debtors. Local *maḥkamas*, however, had to refer to the Porte all cases concerning the military class, state interests and public security, as well as those involving more than a certain amount of money. Some cases concerning the foreigners covered by the capitulations were also to be referred to the *dīwān-i hümāyūn* [see imtiyāzāt, ii]. The sultan could order a *ḥākim* not to hear certain kinds of cases. The *ḳāḍī's* decision was in principle final, and there was no provision for appeal in the Ottoman judicial system. However, if the interested party complained directly to the sultan of injustice in a decision, the imperial *dīwān*, while not capable of reversing it, could order according to the circumstances either a retrial by the same *ḳāḍī*, a transfer of the case to a nearby *ḥākim's* court, or the dispatch of the parties to the imperial *dīwān* for a new trial. Governors were strictly forbidden to interfere in the courts' activities (for the sultan's strong reaction in such a case of interference, see Tas̲h̲köprü-zāde, *S̲h̲aḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, 216). In a *fatwā*, Abu 'l-Suʿūd equated such governors with infidels. If a governor-general caught a *ḳāḍī* in a flagrantly illegal action, he could put an end to his activities, but he had to notify the sultan immediately, since a *ḳāḍī* could only be tried in the imperial *dīwān* itself. The sultan could at any time decide to remove a *ḳāḍī* from office. At the beginning, the term of a *ḳāḍī's* office was unlimited. Later, in 1001/1598-9, it was limited to three years, and afterwards to two years. From the end of the 11th/17th century onwards, the regular term of office or *muddat-i ʿurfiyya* became one year. Originally an outgrowth of the need to find appointments for the *mulāzims* or qualified candidates awaiting their turn for a post, these frequent changings of office were seen to be the prime factor in the deterioration of the Ottoman judicial system and a cause of widespread corruption (such criticisms made in the political pamphlets are summed up by K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur Osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1973).

Local populations had the right to complain to the sultan about their *ḥākims'* activities and behaviour, this being a fundamental right enjoyed by the *reʿāyā* against any agent of the sultan. General inspections were carried out from time to time to redress wrongs attributed to the *ḳāḍīs* (for punishments meted out after such an inspection, see Topkapı Palace Library, Revan, no. 1506; M. Cezar, *Levendler*, Istanbul 1965, document no. 1 in the appendix). In Ottoman history, popular discontent against abuses at the *maḥkama* was taken seriously by the sultans, and periodic reforms were carried out from the time of Bāyezīd I onwards. The principal subject of complaint was the collection of court fees, considered to be contrary to Islamic principles and actually denounced by the Ottoman *muftīs*. The government tried to regulate the rates at various dates, as can be seen from the following table.

These fees constituted the principal source of income of the *ḥākims*. They were prone to raise the rates or to force people to come to court unnecessarily for cases such as inheritance division or *ḳismet-i mīrāt̲h̲*. Ewliyā Čelebi gives as the normal amount the income for each *ḳaḍāʾ*, including the income from abuses. It was only in the period following the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], when the *ḳāḍīs* were assigned fixed salaries, that such fees were finally abolished. In addition to this basic source of abuse, the *ḥākims* were inclined to increase the number of the *maḥkamas* in their jurisdiction in order to obtain extra revenues and then to farm them out to the *nāʾibs*. This practice, forbidden under Süleymān I in the regulations for Egypt of 931/1524-5, was included among the general abuses in the *ʿadālet-nāme* of 947/1540-1 (H. İnalcık, *Adâletnâmeler*, in *Belgeler*, ii, 76) and in a *firmān* of 958/1551

Table showing fees collected for certain types of cases for each of the agents officiating (in akčas)
(ND = no data)

Type of case	884/1479			928/1522			1054/1644-5		
	Ḳāḍī	*Nā'ib*	*Kātib*	*Ḳāḍī*	*Nā'ib*	*Kātib*	*Ḳāḍī*	*Nā'ib*	*Kātib*
Manumission of slaves (*iʿtāḳ*)	30	1	1	20	6	1	50	10	6
Registration of marriage (*nikāḥ*)	20	together	5	ND	ND	ND	20	together	5
Inheritance (*mīrāth*) (fees for every 1,000 *aḳčas* of the estate's value)	20	ND	ND	14	4	2	15	ND	ND
Notary service (*ḥüdjdjet*)	15	1	1	20	4	2	20	together	5
Signature (*imḍā'*)		ND			ND			together	12
Registration fee (*sidjill-i ḳayd*)		ND			together	7		together	12
Letters to authorities (*murāsala*)		ND			together	7		together	8

the due for inheritance division was dramatically reduced from 2.5% to 1.5% (see *Munsha'āt madjmūʿasi*, British Museum Or. 9503, f. 65b). Another widespread subject of complaint was impositions on the hospitality of the villagers during periodic tours, usually every three months, by the *ḳāḍī* or his *nā'ib* throughout the jurisdiction.

Personnel. The *madjlis al-sharʿ*, or council of experts on the religious law (*sharʿ*), used interchangeably with *maḥkamat al-sharʿ* in the documents, consisted of a body of learned men who assisted the judge in reaching a judgement in complete conformity with the *sharʿ* (for the existence of such a council from early Islamic times, see E. Tyan, *Organisation judiciaire*, 213-36). However, a *muftī* is rarely mentioned as sitting regularly in Ottoman *maḥkamas*, though local *muftīs* were often referred to for the issue of *fatwās* [*q.v.*] on particular cases. In addition, the study of *maḥkama* records reveals that the judge summoned individuals with knowledge and expertise on specific matters to act as witnesses, or *shuhūd al-ḥāl*, in the court, and these were registered as such at the end of the court *sidjills*. The use of *shuhūd*, an old Islamic practice [see SHĀHID], was designed to check the *ḳāḍī* and to ensure that a decision was reached in the presence of an unbiased and expert body. There is no evidence that in the Ottoman Empire a permanent body was appointed by the *ḳāḍī* as professional witnesses, who existed as a kind of corporation in Egypt. For everyday cases, persons in the court or court officials could be employed as witnesses. We find that the *shehir ketkhudāsi* was regularly present at the court and was often included among the witnesses.

The personnel of a given *maḥkama* changed in number according to its importance, with a minimum of a *kātib* and a *muḥḍir*. In large *maḥkamas*, the following additional officials were to be found: a *nā'ib* or *nā'ibs*, *kātibs* under a *bash-kātib*, chief secretary, and a *maḥkama emīni*, acting trustee. The *ḳāḍī*'s staff included in some places a *muḳayyid* or recorder and a *čuḳadār* or messenger (see Ç. Uluçay, *18. asırda Manisa*, document 27). Under a *muḥḍir-bashi* (in other Islamic states, *ṣāḥib al-madjlis* or *djilwāz*), there were *muḥḍirs* and *yasaḳdjis* (Janissaries), who acted as the court police. The *bash-kātib* could also function as *nā'ib* and the *muḥḍir-bashi* as *amīn* or *emīn*. In some large *maḥkamas* were also found *dānishmends*, college graduates training to become *ḳāḍīs*. *Nā'ibs* were agents of the *ḳāḍī* appointed by him and authorised to give legal decisions on his behalf in a certain *maḥkama* or on certain specific issues. Each *maḥkama* was assigned to the control of a *nā'ib*. *Nā'ibs*, sometimes also called simply *ḳāḍīs*, were required to have the same qualifications as *ḳāḍīs* themselves. Although in principle a *nā'ib* was appointed by the *ḳāḍī* and exclusively responsible to him, the government imposed certain restrictions in order to prevent some common abuses. As early as Süleymān I's time (926-74/1520-66), the system of farming out the office of *nā'ib* was officially abolished, and the practice of selecting *nā'ibs* from the local population was also prohibited (see İnalcık, *Adâletnâmeler*, 76-7). Yet despite these measures, the farming-out of the office of *nā'ib* became a well-established practice, since in the 12th/18th century most of the important *ḳāḍī* posts in the provinces were administered by *nā'ibs* appointed by the great *ḳāḍīs* who remained resident in Istanbul, or by those who received their *ḳaḍā'* as *arpalïḳ* [*q.v.*]. Apparently the real concern in this period became how to maximise income deriving to a *ḳāḍī* from a jurisdiction area. Another category was the itinerant *nā'ibs* who carried out inspections within the jurisdiction, handing down decisions on various offences, and determining the *niyābet resmi* or fines. Besides these, there were *nā'ibs* appointed to deal with only a proportion of the cases or with cases involving certain expertises in a busy *maḥkama*. Among these the *ḳassām-i baladī*, in charge of division of inheritances belonging to the non-military classes [see ḲASSĀM], may be mentioned. A separate *nā'ib*, the *gedje nā'ibi*, was appointed to hear cases at night. An *ayaḳ nā'ibi*, or wandering *nā'ib*, was in charge of enforcing prescriptions against religiously-forbidden things such as fraud by shop-keepers, drinking of wine, etc. In the *maḥkama* of Istanbul, the most extensive in the empire (its record books, numbering several thousands, are preserved today in a special archive attached to the *müftülük* of Istanbul), there was a *bāb nā'ibi*, or judge for hearing ordinary cases. *Nā'ibs* were also appointed by the *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul to oversee business at certain locations at the city's principal market places such as the flour, honey, and butter warehouses, the candle works, the vegetable market, and others. They were authorised to hear cases and to issue decisions on disputes arising in these

particular locations. *Nāʾibs* were also appointed to make investigations for a *maḥkama*, the *keshif nāʾibi*, and to decide disputes in connection with payment of *ʿawāriḍ* taxes [*q.v.*], the *ʿawāriḍ nāʾibi*.

In the *ḳānūn-nāmes* of the 10th/16th century, it is repeatedly stressed that, without prior decision by a *ḥākim*, no member of the military class could impose any punishment, even a small fine, on the *reʿāyā*. The enforcement of decisions, however, was left entirely to the military. By accepting a bribe from the guilty party, they quite often omitted to enforce a *ḥākim*'s decision. This amounted in practice to a separate settlement of the case by the military. The *maḥkama* could order detention of the criminal only as a precautionary measure.

The *ḥākim* based his decisions on *sharʿī* texts, *ḳānūn-nāmes*, *daftars* [*q.v.*], imperial *ḥukms* and *fatwās*. In the *ʿadālet-nāme* of 1004/1595-6 (see İnalcık, *Adâletnâmeler*, 105), it is asserted that under Süleymān I "imperial *ḳānūn-nāmes* were codified and deposited in the *maḥkamas* of *ḳāḍīs* in every city". Alongside a great many unofficial copies of the general *ḳānūn-nāmes* used by the *ḳāḍīs* in their *maḥkamas*, one official copy bearing the *tughrā* [*q.v.*] of the sultan has survived to our day (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. mixt. 870). Because regulations were constantly being amended by imperial *ḥukms*, the *ḥākims* were not required to follow a universally-applied official version. As to the *sharʿī* text to be used, the *ḥākim* was free to consult any reference books, on condition that they belonged to the Ḥanafī school. In 1107/1695-6 Muṣṭafā II ordered that only *sharʿī* texts be used in the *maḥkamas* (ʿO. Nūrī, *Medjelle*, i, 568), but this seems to have lasted only a short period.

In principle, the Islamic judicial system does not recognise the institution of attorney (Tyan, *Organisation judiciaire*, 262). The system of legal representation by *wakīls*, widely used in Islamic *maḥkamas*, including those of the Ottoman empire (R. Jennings, *The office of Vekil*, in *SI*, xlii [1975], 147-69), cannot be equated with attorneyship. Nevertheless, it appears already from 10th/16th century documents (see İnalcık, *Adâletnâmeler*, 99) that court suits of individuals were pursued by their private representatives in return for a fee, and these agents, sometimes called *daʿwā wekīli*, formed a semi-professional group in Ottoman cities, although the government tried to eliminate them from the courts, objecting to their use of false witness and other tactics to subvert the course of justice.

Cases concerning public security or injustices inflicted upon the *reʿāyā* by the local authorities, the so-called *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] cases, could be heard by the local *ḳāḍīs*' courts, by *mufattishs* or inspectors, by the *dīwān* courts set up by one of the *wezīrs* while on tour in a province, or in the final resort, by the *dīwan-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*] itself. The *beylerbeyis* or governor-generals held their own *dīwāns* to hear and decide on cases involving *sipāhīs* and other *tīmār*-holders in their provinces, and had the authority to inflict various disciplinary punishments, including dismissal. In their *dīwāns*, the *beylerbeyis* also heard complaints by the *reʿāyā* of their provinces against *tīmār*-holders, but in order to be able to take action, the case and investigation had to be referred to a *toprak ḳāḍīsī*, rural *ḳāḍī*, for a legal decision. In order to save the *reʿāyā* from hardships, a sultanic decree forbade the *tīmār*-holders from taking such cases to an urban *ḳāḍī*. Any non-disciplinary case involving a *tīmār*-holder was to be referred to the *maḥkama* of the local *ḳāḍī* and to be decided according to the *sharīʿa* and the *ḳānūn*. The priority recognised to the *beylerbeyis* for hearing cases involving people under his command was also recognised to all military regiments in the Empire whose commanding officers had the responsibility to hold *dīwāns* and to give disciplinary punishments. The heads of the community organisations, too, such as the guilds and the Dhimmī groups, were authorised to decide cases involving their internal regulations and security. Apart from these cases, the *maḥkama* was the sole place of resort for justice, and preserved this characteristic up until the 12th/18th century, when community courts began to usurp some of its authority (see Pantazopoulos, *Church and law*, 44-112).

The effects of imperial decline on the courts of the *ḳāḍīs*. *Maḥkamas* became the target of strong criticism from the writers of the late 10th/16th century, and it was from this period that the character and functions of the *maḥkama* began to change. Apart from its function as a law court, the *maḥkama* served as a town meeting-place to which the city notables, representatives of the craft guilds, as well as *imāms* representing the people of their respective districts, were invited periodically by the *ḳāḍī*. Such meetings were usually convened by the *ḳāḍī* for the purpose of explaining new orders issued by the sultan of concern to the public at large. Beginning in the 11th/17th century, however, these meetings became more frequent and assumed greater importance. The reason for this was that in that century the *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyya* (extraordinary levies in the form of provisions, services or money) began to be collected on a regular basis, and distribution among the population of such impositions was decided in the town meetings held in the *maḥkama*. Also, at these meetings the city's expenses were discussed and written down in budgets. As a consequence of this development, in their capacity as representatives of the local population, town notables began to assume leadership at such meetings, supplanting the *ḳāḍī*'s authority in various fields concerning community interests. (H. İnalcık)

ii. The reform era (*ca.* 1789-1922)

As the preceding discussion makes clear, the Ottoman Empire traditionally relied mainly on the courts of the *ḳāḍīs* for performances of judicial functions, though it also attributed some measure of judicial responsibility to other persons or organisations, such as the *dīwāns* of the sultans and senior military-administrative officials, the heads of the non-Muslim subject communities, or the guilds. Ottoman authorities recognised law based on custom (*ʿādet*) or on the sultan's decree (*ḳānūn*), as well as the *sharīʿa*, and expected those with judicial responsibilities, *ḳāḍīs*, as well as military-administrative officers (*ehl-i ʿörf*), to apply both *sharʿī* and non-*sharʿī* law. The judicial functions of the *ḳāḍī*'s courts and the *dīwāns* of the military-administrative authorities certainly differed in a variety of respects (Heyd, 252-8), but there was no formal distinction of *sharīʿa* and *maẓālim* jurisdiction. In effect, Ottoman policy was to avoid such distinction. Similarly, the remarkable development among the Ottomans of regulatory acts (*ḳānūn*, *ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.vv*]) ancillary to the *sharīʿa*—a development unmatched in other Islamic states—did not in principle signify neglect of the *sharīʿa*. Rather, the emphasis on the *ḳānūn*, an ideal means for assertion of the sultan's authority, coexisted with a larger pattern of policy aimed at legitimating the state through appeal, in law as in other matters, to Islamic values. As expressed in legal and judicial systems, this larger policy provided the basis for Schacht's opinion that the Ottoman Empire gave the *sharīʿa* "the highest degree of actual efficiency ... it had ever possessed in a society of high material civilization since early ʿAbbāsid

times'' (*An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 84).

Yet the equilibrium between sharīʿa and ḳānūn, and that between tribunals of different types, did not remain constant in every period. For example, the *ḳānūn* went into decline after the 10th/16th century. One consequence of this appears to have been an increase in emphasis on the *sharīʿa* in certain respects (Heyd, 152-57; cf. İnalcık, ḲĀNŪN, in *EI*², iv, 560, 561). Simultaneously, the decay in the provincial military-administrative hierarchy, and the alteration in local power-relationships, seem to have enlarged and altered the functions of the *ḳāḍīs*' courts, as indicated at the end of the preceding section. Later, as the empire moved into its 19th century reform era, the balance between *sharʿī* and non-*sharʿī* legal systems shifted in the opposite direction. The main reason for this was that the regulatory powers of the sultans began, from the time of Selīm III (1789-1807) onward, to find a new use as the chief means for the promulgation of innovative reforms. As this occurred, a new body of law, and eventually a new system of courts, began to emerge. This time, the jurisdictions of the two types of courts did become differentiated, with the result that it now became quite exact, in a sense that had not obtained several centuries before, to refer to the *ḳāḍīs*' courts as *sharīʿa* courts. The new legal and judicial systems continued to grow in scope, however, and the end result was the closing of the *sharīʿa* courts and the creation of an exclusively secular court system under the Turkish Republic. Paradoxically, then, the same empire that had so impressed Schacht through its emphasis on the *sharīʿa* ultimately evolved in such a way as to prepare the legal and judicial foundations for the most secular Islamic state of the 20th century.

For the sake of continuity with the discussion of Ottoman tribunals of earlier periods, it will serve best, in considering the 19th century, to look first at the *sharīʿa* courts. The succeeding discussion of what became known as the *niẓāmiyye* courts will then make clear where the primary emphasis of judicial reform lay.

Reform of the *sharīʿa* courts. After earlier, episodic attempts at reform of the judiciary, a serious effort to restore standards occurred during the reign of Selīm III (Uzunçarşılı, *İlm.*, 255-60). During the 19th century, other such measures followed. Perhaps the first was a penal code applying to the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskers*, *ḳāḍīs*, and *nāʾibs*, issued at the same time as another for civil officials, in 1254/1838 (Hıfzı Veldet, *Kanunlaştırma*, 170-1). Within another three years, the first attempt to substitute salaries for compensation by fees had occurred, and seemingly also failed (İnalcık, *Tanzimat'ın uygulanması*, 626, 686). Subsequently, there were regulations defining conditions of service for *sharʿī* judicial officials, of whom all judges except those in the greatest cities came ultimately to be designated as *nāʾibs*, their judgeships being termed *niyābets* (a change presumably reflecting the increasing tendency to use the term *ḳaḍāʾ* to refer to an administrative district; Heidborn, 260 n. 177). By the 1870s, these regulations covered subjects such as appointment by examination, ranks, duration of terms of service, maintenance of systematic service records, and—once again—salaries. While some of these concepts, such as examinations and ranks, had long been known among the *ʿulemāʾ*, others were new; and all together signify the evolution, here as in other branches of government service, of essentially modern patterns of personnel administration (Aristarchi, ii, 320-4; Young, i, 290-1; Heidborn, 260-6; *Dstr.*¹, i, 315-24; ii, 721; *Dstr.*² v, 352-61). There were also efforts to upgrade *medrese* training; and in the second half of the 19th century, new schools were founded in Istanbul specifically for the training of *nāʾibs* and *ḳāḍīs* (Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, i, 135-42; *Dstr.*², ii, 127-38; ix, 598-600). Regulations were issued to define the functions that could be performed in the various *sharīʿa* courts and the fees that were still to be collected (Aristarchi, ii, 324-38; *Dstr.*¹, 1, 301-14; *dheyl* iii, 95; v, 1). The process of legal reform and codification affected the *sharīʿa* courts, particularly through the *Medjelle* [*q.v.*], published between 1870 and 1876. Chiefly the work of Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] and based on Ḥanafī *fiḳh*, this dealt with civil law and procedure and was intended for application in both the religious and the secular (*niẓāmiyye*) courts (R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman empire*, Princeton 1962, 253-5; Heidborn, 283-6, 387-97). Under the *Medjelle*, for example, the appeal of decisions from provincial *sharīʿa* courts became a matter of system (arts. 1838-40; Young, i, 287-89; *Dstr.*¹, iv, 123; *dheyl* iii, 85-8; v, 728). Other acts regulated the division (*ḳismet*) of estates in certain circumstances (Young, i, 294-302; *Dstr.*¹, 1, 289-97; *dheyl*, iii, 88-95; vi, 394-96). As the secular courts developed, the types of cases that were to go before the *sharīʿa* courts were increasingly delimited (Young, i, 291-3; *Dstr.*¹, iii, 165-6; *EI*², IV, 560, 561).

The Young Turk era produced more radical changes. Under the influence of Ziya Gökalp's Western-inspired concept of religion, a number of major reforms, aimed at restricting the role of the *Shaykh al-Islām* to *iftāʾ*, were carried out in 1917. One of these measure was the placing of the *sharīʿa* courts under the authority of the Minister of Justice (*Dstr.*², ix, 270-1). A new law on *sharīʿa* court procedure appeared in October 1917 (*Dstr.*², ix, 783-94), as did a new code of family law, including provisions for Christians and Jews as well as Muslims (*Dstr.*², ix, 762-81; x, 52-57; Berkes, *Secularism*, 415-19). After World War I, responsibility over the *sharīʿa* courts was briefly returned to the *Shaykh al-Islām* (Pakalın, *Kadı*, 125). But with the complete dismantling of the traditional religious establishment under the Turkish Republic, the *sharīʿa* courts were abolished in 1924 (B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*², Oxford 1968, 265-74).

The *niẓāmiyye* courts, The best way to understand the rise of the *niẓāmiyye* courts is to begin by examining how the reassertion of the sultans' discretional legislative power stimulated a new development in the tradition of the *dīwāns*, which the Ottomans used both as consultative and as judicial bodies.

The decree-power of the sultan provided the essential legislative sanction for all the reformist initiatives, including the *Gül-khāne* Decree of 1839, the Reform Decree of 1856, and the Constitution of 1876 (İnalcık, *Pâdişah*, in *İA*, ix, 495). Concluding with the promise that new laws would be framed to elaborate its egalitarian principles, the *Gül-khāne* Decree (Hurewitz, i, 271; *Dstr.*¹, i, 6) was of particular significance. For it provided the impetus for a flood-tide of new legislation, much of it explicitly borrowed from Western models (Veldet, *Kanunlaştırma*, 175 ff.; Heidborn, 283-4, 320-54, 366-86, 416-41). The fact that the terms *niẓām* or *niẓām-nāme* now often replaced *ḳānūn* or *ḳānūn-nāme* as designations for the new laws, cannot obscure the continuity, at least as far as the underlying legislative authority is concerned, between the reformist legislation and the *ḳānūns* of earlier centuries. Rather, the two sets of terms are nearly synonymous; and the designation of major political

periods of the reform era in terms of *niẓām* or its derivatives (*Niẓām-i Djedīd*, *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.vv.*]) is symbolic of the new shift in the historic balance between *ḳānūn* and *sharīʿa* (Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire*, ch. v). The practice of referring to the new courts created in this period as *niẓāmiyye* courts signifies that they were responsible for trying cases under the new laws.

While some of the conciliar bodies most distinctive of the "classic" Ottoman governmental system—such as the imperial *dīwān* at the palace or the *dīwāns* of the leading military-administrative functionaries in the provinces—had long since declined, the tradition of the *dīwāns* or councils (*medjālis*), as they were more often termed during the reform era, responded to this legislative reassertion in two respects. On one hand, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Medjlis-i Wālā-yi Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*), a body which Maḥmūd II created out of the *dīwān* of the Grand *Wezīr* in 1838 and which evolved into the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi Dewlet*, 1868), assumed the bulk of the work of preparing the new legislation for the sultan's sanction (Shaw, *Central legislative councils*, 51-84). On the other hand, simultaneous efforts to create a new kind of local administrative apparatus led to the creation in 1840 of new local councils, referred to as *Medjlis-i Muḥaṣṣilīn*, *Müdhākere Medjlisi*, or *Memleket Medjlisi*. These were intended in part to supplant the role that the *ḳāḍīs*' courts had acquired in administrative affairs, though not of course their judicial functions in *sharʿī* cases. Both the local councils and the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances in Istanbul also served as judicial bodies in certain types of cases arising under the new legislation (Heidborn, 219). Including various of the local administrative officials, the *ḳāḍī* and *müftī*, the leaders of the local non-Muslim communities, and indirectly elected representatives of the local notables, the local councils were found at various administrative levels: *liwāʾ* or *sandjak*, *ḳaḍāʾ* (a term used increasingly in this period to refer to the administrative subdivision of the *liwāʾ*), and sometimes on a reduced scale in lower-level subdistricts as well (Ortaylı, *Mahalli idareler*, 13 ff.; İnalcık, *Tanzimat'ın uygulanması*, 626, 633-5, 664-5; idem, *Application of the Tanzimat and its social effects*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, v [1973], 100-1, 107-10; Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung*, 44-57 *passim*).

The assignment of judicial functions to the local councils marked the first step toward creation of the *niẓāmiyye* courts, which continued to reflect their origins in being collegial bodies. Decades were to pass before a distinct hierarchy of *niẓāmiyye* courts emerged, and—incidentally—before they were officially referred to by the term *maḥkeme* (in 1868 according to Heidborn, 226, n. 57). Even then, the local administrative councils and—except for a few years during the Young Turk period—the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances, later the Council of State, retained responsibility for administrative justice (Shaw, *Central legislative councils*, *passim*; Findley, *Bureaucratic reform*, 174-6, 248-9, 308-9).

Between the creation of the councils just described (1838, 1840) and the first comprehensive attempt to regulate and systematise the system of *niẓāmiyye* courts (1879), a number of steps had to be taken. The 1840s witnessed the development of a system of commercial courts, beginning with a single one in Istanbul, where cases between Ottoman subjects and non-Ottomans were tried before a panel of judges, also of mixed nationality. A special commercial code was promulgated in 1850 (Heidborn, 216-19; Young, i, 239-43). A system of penal courts to hear cases between parties of mixed nationality also came into existence, starting in 1847. The foreign consuls had the right to intervene in these courts on behalf of their nationals and, by withholding their assent, to prevent execution of judgment against such individuals. At any rate, according to Heidborn (219-20), the jurisdiction of these courts was eventually extended to cover cases to which only Ottoman subjects were parties; in addition, for the first time in Ottoman judicial procedure, the testimony of non-Muslims was accepted before these courts on a basis of equality with that of Muslims.

The reform decree of 1856 pointed toward a further generalisation and elaboration of some of these measures. It provided that commercial, correctional, and civil cases between parties of different religions be referred to mixed courts (that is, the judges were to be of different faiths) and that the parties be allowed to produce witnesses who could testify under oaths taken according to their respective religions. Laws and procedural rules for these courts were to be drafted and codified as soon as possible and published in the various languages of the empire (*Dstr.*[1], i, 11; Hurewitz, i, 317). Changes of these types did gradually occur in succeeding years.

In 1860, for example, there appeared an organic law for the commercial courts. This provided for commercial courts of specified types, which were to have one or more presidents and four or more members (*aʿḍāʾ*), part of the latter being "permanent" and part "temporary". The presidents and permanent members were to be officials, while the "temporary" members were to be merchants, chosen by assemblies including the prominent merchants of the locality, or later, once such bodies had come into existence, by the local chamber of commerce. Until 1879, the commercial courts were subordinate to the Ministry of Commerce, and there was a commercial appeals court at the ministry in Istanbul. A code of commercial procedure was adopted in 1861, and a maritime commercial code in 1863 (Heidborn, 222-3; Aristarchi, ii, 353-400; Young, i, 224-38; *Dstr.*[1], i, 375-536, 780-810).

The beginning of a distinct hierarchy of provincial *niẓāmiyye* courts occurred with the enactment of the Law on Provincial Administration of 1864 (*Dstr.*[1], i, 610-12, 615-18; Heidborn, 223-4). This established courts of first instance and appeal at the top three levels of the local administrative hierarchy: the *ḳaḍāʾ* (i.e. the administrative subdistrict headed by the *ḳāʾim-maḳām*), the *liwāʾ* or *sandjak*, and the *wilāyet* or province. These were to be presided over by judges (*ḥākim*) from the *sharīʿa* courts and were also to include elected members (*mümeyyiz*). The number of these was set first at six, then raised to eight at the *ḳaḍāʾ* level (*Dstr.*[1], iii, 175). Half-Muslim and half-non-Muslim, these were to be elected by the same procedure as the elected members of the local administrative council (*medjlis-i idāre*) that became the successor, under the 1864 law, of the earlier *memleket medjlisi*. Under the provincial administration law of 1864, the provincial commercial courts, created in 1860, were also effectively integrated into the *niẓāmiyye* court system. Numerous features of the system of 1864 reflect its incipient state of development. These include reliance on *sharīʿa* court judges, as well as the fact that the hierarchy of courts thus far had only two echelons. A similar significance no doubt attaches to the fact that these provisions appeared in a law dealing with provincial administration; but this pattern proved short-lived. The new Law on Provincial Administration, promulgated in January 1871, contained virtually nothing on the courts (*Dstr.*[1], i, 625-51; Aristarchi, iii,

7-39; Young, i, 47-69); rather, they were dealt with in a separate law that appeared a year later (*Dstr.*[1], i, 352-6).

This fact reflects a new policy—separation of powers—introduced into Ottoman practice with a reform of the Supreme Council of Judical Ordinances in 1868. The Supreme Council was then separated into two bodies, one intended to perform legislative, the other judicial, functions. The new legislative body was the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi Dewlet*). This continued, aside from the short-lived parliament, to function as the main legislative body. The highest level of *niẓāmiyye* justice became the responsibility of what can probably best be envisaged as a High Court of Justice (actual title, *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*). The organisation and functions of this body underwent redefinition a number of times over the next several years. The various appeals courts already in existence in Istanbul for criminal and commercial cases were gradually brought together under the new agency, and it became the nucleus from which a Ministry of Justice shortly emerged (*Dstr.*[1], i, 325-42, 357-63; iii, 2-3; Aristarchi, ii, 42-55; v, 26-8; Heidborn, 225-6).

This creation of the ministry, like the promulgation of the Constitution of 1876, was essentially a response to the crises of the late 1870s and to the need which the Ottomans felt to demonstrate their ability to manage their own affairs without European interference. The constitution itself contained a few provisions on matters related to the courts, such as the independence of the judiciary, conditions of service in it, and judicial procedure. The constitution also asserted that the organisation and competence of the courts and the duties of the judges must be defined by law (*Dstr.*[1], iv, 14-16; Aristarchi, v, 19-21). A series of acts published in 1879, in the wake of the Congress of Berlin (Heidborn, 228), attempted to meet these demands.

The acts of 1879 in fact established the Ministry of Justice and the *niẓāmiyye* court system essentially as they were to remain until the Young Turk period. These acts included organic regulations for a Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs (*ʿAdliyye ve Medhāhib Neẓāreti*), the double mission of which gave it jurisdiction over judicial and other affairs of the non-Muslim communities, as well as over the *niẓāmiyye* courts (*Dstr.*[1], iv, 125-31; Young, i, 159-66). There was also an organic law for the *niẓāmiyye* courts. This included provisions not only on the organisation and competence of the tribunals, but also on the organisation of the judiciary and on the systems of public prosecutors (*müddeʿī-yi ʿumūmī*) and judicial inspectors (*Dstr.*[1], iv, 235-50; later amendments *ibid.*, vi, 81; vii, 171-2, 1080-1; viii, 136-7, 665-6; cf. Young, i, 166-80; Heidborn, 231-48). Also among the acts of 1879 were laws on the system for execution of the judgments of the courts (*Dstr.*[1], iv, 225-35; vi, 837; viii, 752-3; Young, i, 197-210; Heidborn, 248-9), on notaries (*Dstr.*[1], iv, 338-44; 1065-8; Young, i, 193-7; Heidborn, 249-50), and on judicial fees (*Dstr.*[1], iv, 319-37; v, 582-96; vi, 456; viii, 744-7; Young, i, 210-23). There were also codes of civil and criminal procedure (*Dstr.*[1], iv, 131-224, 257-318; later modifications *ibid.*, vi, 230-1; vii, 16-17, 31-3, 89-90, 114, 151, 1081; viii, 135-6, 751-2; cf. Young, vii, 171-300; Heidborn, 397-441). About the same time, efforts were made to found a law school to train judges and lawyers competent in the new legal system (Ergin, *Maarif tarihi*, ii, 582-92; iii, 890-918; Heidborn, 280-3). Attempts to regulate the legal profession began in 1878 (*Dstr.*[1], iii, 198-209; *dheyl* iv, 35-8; v, 520-21; Young, i, 184-93; Heidborn, 250-1). Two acts of 1888 then elaborated the system for the examination and appointment of judges, who were no longer to be elected, and prescribed the keeping of systematic personnel records on all judicial officials (*Dstr.*[1], v, 1058-64; vi, 1367-8, 1476; Young, i, 182-4).

As defined in the organic regulations of 1879, the *niẓāmiyye* court system was supposed to include courts of arbitration (*ṣulḥ dāʾireleri*) in the villages and *nāḥiyes*, as well as courts of first instance (*bidāyet*), appeal (*istiʾnāf*), and cassation (*temyīz*). Heidborn (229-32) indicated that the courts of arbitration were never really set up, although various acts of the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd make clear that official interest in them did continue (*Dstr.*[1], vi, 1155-68; vii, 27-38; viii, 712-28, 747, 753). The triple-tiered system of regular courts was also not as fully developed as its nomenclature implied. The law of 1879 in fact began by stating that the courts were of two levels, first instance and appeal. There was only one court of cassation, located in Istanbul; and even the functions of the courts of first instance and appeal varied as much with the level of the administrative hierarchy at which they were found as with their ostensible placement in the judicial hierarchy.

As prescribed in 1879, however, there was to be a court of first instance in every *ḳaḍāʾ*. In a normal *ḳaḍāʾ*, the court of the first instance was empowered to hear civil cases of all types. It could decide criminal cases involving minor offences and misdemeanours (*ḳabāḥāt ve djünḥa*) and carry out preliminary investigation of major crimes (*djināyet*). It could also hear commercial cases, if there was no separate commercial court in the *ḳaḍāʾ*. The *ḳaḍāʾ* court was authorised to hear appeals from the courts of arbitration at lower levels. It was also empowered to judge in last resort in cases where the matter in question had a monetary value that fell within stated limits, as well as in minor criminal offences (*ḳabāḥāt*).

In *ḳaḍāʾ*s that coincided with the centre of a higher-level administrative circumscription, the court of first instance took on additional attributes. In the "central" *ḳaḍāʾ* of a *liwāʾ* or *sandjak*, for example, the court of first instance was to have two sections for civil and criminal cases. These functioned separately as courts of first instance for that *ḳaḍāʾ* and jointly to try major crimes (*djināyet*) or hear appeals from the other *ḳaḍāʾ*s of the *liwāʾ*.

There was also provision for a commercial court of the *liwāʾ*, which functioned similarly as a court of first instance for the central *ḳaḍāʾ* and as a court of appeal for the other *ḳaḍāʾ*s of the *liwāʾ*. The law of 1879 does not specifically mention the courts of first instance located in *ḳaḍāʾ*s that coincided with province capitals. By 1908, however, these reportedly existed, serving as courts of first instance for the *ḳaḍāʾ* in which they were located and as an appeals instance for cases coming up from the *liwāʾ* courts. There was also provision for provincial commercial courts. These are reported to have existed in most provinces, though only occasionally in lower-echelon administrative centres (Heidborn, 234).

A tribunal expressly designated as an appeals court (*istiʾnāf maḥkemesi*) was supposed to be located in every province capital. This court was to have separate civil and criminal sections. These were empowered to hear appeals from the courts of first instance located at the centres of the various *liwāʾ*s of the province, as well as from those in the *ḳaḍāʾ*s of the central *liwāʾ*. The criminal section served the central *liwāʾ* of the province as a criminal court for the trial of serious offences (*djināyet*) and as a court of appeal in cases of lesser gravity (*djünḥa*).

For Istanbul, the law of 1879 prescribed an

analogous organisation, allowing that the number of sections and staff members could be increased in case of need, as was in fact done (*Dstr.*[1], iv, 240). In addition, there was an important deviation from the provincial pattern in that the Istanbul commercial court acquired three sections, one hearing only cases between Ottoman subjects and foreigners, one only cases between Ottoman subjects, and one only maritime cases. The capital city also had an appeals court with civil, criminal, and commercial sections (Heidborn, 235-7).

At the apex of the *niẓāmiyye* court system, finally, stood the court of cassation (*maḥkeme-i temyīz*), also in Istanbul. This, too, had three sections, the functions of which were gradually defined in acts of the 1880s and 1890s (*Dstr.*[1], v, 853-4, 992; vii, 89-90; Young, i, 180-1; Heidborn, 237-8). The first section, that of petitions (*istid ʿā ʾ dā ʾiresi*), received all appeals to the court. This section had power to decide directly in certain matters, such as conflicts of jurisdiction, reassignment of cases from one court to another, or the unacceptability of petitions on grounds of technical irregularity or lapse of the period set for cassation. The petitions section referred the cases it accepted to either the civil or the criminal section, which either rejected the appeal or overtuned the lower court ruling on ground of judicial error. In major criminal cases (*djināyet*), judgments from the lower courts went automatically to the criminal section of the court of cassation, without need for appeal.

Under the system of 1879, all the *niẓāmiyye* courts continued to be collegial bodies, including a president, or more than one in courts with several sections, and varying numbers of members (*aʿḍā ʾ*). At least until 1908, *sharīʿa* court judges continued to play a major role in the system, at least as far up as the province level, where the *nā ʾib* of the province normally also functioned as the president of the civil section of the court of appeal. The final article of the 1879 law on the *niẓāmiyye* courts provided, for this reason, that a representative of the Ministry of Justice should be present at the meetings of the council that selected judges for the *sharīʿa* courts, the *Medjlis-i Intikhāb-ī Ḥükkām-i Sharʿ*, when *nüwwāb* were being chosen (*Dstr.*[1], iv, 250). The commercial courts were still to include "temporary" members, chosen among the merchants of the locality.

Under the conditions of the Ḥamīdian era, the system created in 1879 cannot have functioned very effectively. The judicial inspectorate, for example, is reported to have operated only intermittently (Heidborn, 231-2; Young, i, 177 n. 4). At least at the province and *liwā ʾ* levels, for which the government yearbooks record the appropriate information, it nonetheless appears that by 1908 the system of courts had been created and staffed in essentially all parts of the empire, except the provinces of the Ḥidjāz and Yemen and perhaps also the *sandjaḳ* of Nedjd, where the *sharīʿa* courts remained the only ones (*Sāl-nāme-i Dewlet-i ʿAliyye-i ʿOthmāniyye*, 1326/1908, 692-962 passim; Heidborn, 228 n. 70).

The Young Turk Revolution opened the way for efforts at fundamental reorganisation in the Ministry of Justice. New organic regulations for the central offices of the Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs were issued in June 1910 (*Dstr.*[2], iii, 467-79; later modifications *ibid.*, iv, 367-8, 440-1; vi, 228-9; vii, 558-60, 634). The system for appointment of judges and other officials of the ministry underwent revision with regulations of June 1913 (*Dstr.*[2], v, 520-9; vi, 738-43, 1273-4). There were a number of amendments to the civil and penal procedure codes of 1879 (*Dstr.*[2], iii, 261-77; v, 621-23; vi, 309-10, 651-4, 1352). Other acts addressed questions such as the differentiation of the jurisdiction of *sharʿī* and *niẓāmī* courts (*Dstr.*[2], i, 192-4; vi, 1334), the qualifications required for the practice of law (*Dstr.*[2], i, 751; Meyer, *Rechtswesen*, 148), and the reactivation of the system of judicial inspectors (*Dstr.*[2], ii, 33-7).

As concerns the *niẓāmiyye* courts proper, however, the Young Turk reforms changed the pre-existing system only at specific points. If it is correct that the courts of arbitration (*ṣulḥ dā ʾireleri*), provided for in 1879, had not been widely instituted, one of the more significant of these measures may have been the setting up, starting in April 1913, of a system of justices of the peace (*ṣulḥ ḥākimleri*). These were to be a kind of circuit judges, possessing legal qualifications, and holding court as individuals in the *ḳaḍā ʾ*s, *nāḥiyes*, and villages to hear minor cases of various types (*Dstr.*[2], v, 322-48, 619, 775-7, 827, 869-75; vi, 156-7, 294-5, 342-3, 1353; vii, 561-2; Meyer, *Rechtswesen*, 138). The patterns of organisation and staffing created in 1879 for the *niẓāmiyye* courts at the administrative levels of the *ḳaḍā ʾ*, *liwā ʾ*, province (*wilāyet*), and in Istanbul were amended at several points, starting in August 1909 (*Dstr.*[2], i, 665-6; ii, 180-1; v, 217-18, 793-5, 866). The abolition of the capitulations, effective from 1 October 1914, had important implications for the court system, inasmuch as it required the abandonment of all courts and judicial procedures specifically for the benefit of foreigners (*Dstr.*[2], vi, 1273, 1336, 1340; Meyer, *Rechtswesen*, 117-18, 135). The attack on the traditional religious institutions in 1917 was of comparable significance, since it resulted in the placement of the *sharʿī* courts under the Ministry of Justice and the creation of a section for *sharʿī* cases in the Cassation Court in Istanbul (Meyer, *Rechtswesen*, 139-41). Though briefly reversed during the armistice period, these changes in the status of the *sharīʿa* courts brought Ottoman judicial systems to a point very near complete unification, which occurred with the establishment of the secular, national court system under the Ministry of Justice of the Turkish Republic.

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3. IRAN

Under the ʿAbbāsids, as Schacht pointed out, the office of *ḳāḍī* became permanently connected with the sacred law, but, as he went on to say, the *ḳāḍīs* very soon lost control of the administration of criminal justice. Ostensibly to supplement the deficiencies of the tribunals of the *ḳāḍīs*, the *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] courts for the redress of grievances, deriving from the administrative practice of the Sāsānid kings, were set up by the political authority and received theoretical recognition (*The law*, in *Unity and variety in Muslim civilisation*, ed. G. von Grunebaum, Chicago 1955, 74-5).

Al-Māwardī [*q.v.*], recognising that the *maẓālim* court was the dominant court, attempts to bring it within the general framework of the law. In a significant statement he explains that it was charged with the enforcement of decisions made by *ḳāḍīs* not sufficiently strong to see that their judgments were carried out against defendants occupying high rank or powerful positions, and with the suppression of evil-doing and the enforcement of regulations within the jurisdiction of the *muḥtasib* but beyond his power to apply (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1386/1966, 83). In his account of the origins of the *maẓālim* court, he attributes its emergence to the lapse into kingship after the golden age of the Medinan caliphate. It was concerned with cases against officials, suits concerning injustice in the levy of taxation, complaints by those in receipt of stipends from official sources that these had not been paid or had been reduced, and claims for the restoration of property wrongfully seized. It was also charged with the investigation of matters which concerned *awḳāf*, the care of public worship and the due performance of religious practices in general. Whereas the *ḳāḍī*'s court was bound by strict rules of evidence, the *maẓālim* court was subject to no such limits, although al-Māwardī states that in the hearing and decision of disputes in general the rules of procedure which governed cases that came before the *ḳāḍīs* and judges were to prevail (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 77 ff. See also R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 348-9). One of the most important functions of the *maẓālim* court was arbitration. In exercising this the head of the court, the *nāẓir al-maẓālim*, was, according to al-Māwardī, not to go outside the limits of what was demanded by the law and his decrees were to be in keeping with the rules expounded by the *ḳāḍīs* (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 83). Al-Māwardī further lays down that *ḳāḍīs* and jurists, to whom the *nāẓir al-maẓālim* might have recourse in case of difficulty or doubt, were to be present when the *maẓālim* court sat (*ibid.*, 80). It was thus a channel through which sanction was given to *ʿurfī* practices.

The lawbooks lay down the qualities demanded of the *ḳāḍī* and the rules of procedure for his court. They also lay down the method of his appointment; but in this Sunnī theory differs from S̲h̲īʿī. Until the Ṣafawids imposed Imāmī S̲h̲īʿism as the official religion of their empire, Persia was, apart from certain districts, predominantly Sunnī. The dominant rites were the S̲h̲āfiʿī and the Ḥanafī and it was the rules concerning *ḳaḍāʾ* laid down in the lawbooks of these schools which, for the most part, prevailed (for these see especially al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* and idem, *Ādāb al-ḳāḍī*, ed. Muḥyī Hilāl al-Sirḥān, Bag̲h̲dād 1391/1971). According to Sunnī theory, it was essential that there should be a valid delegation of authority to the *ḳāḍī* in order that his decisions should, in turn, have validity. As long as the caliphs held political power they delegated authority to the *ḳāḍīs*. When they ceased to exercise power it was accepted that the *ḳāḍī* should be appointed by the ruler. Al-G̲h̲azālī, concerned for the legality of the life of the community, held that any *ḳāḍī* nominated by one holding power (*ṣāḥib s̲h̲awkat*) could give valid decisions (*Wad̲j̲īz*, ii, 143, quoted by E. Tyan, *Histoire d'organisation judiciaire*, i, 258). Once instituted, the *ḳāḍī* was regarded, not as the personal representative of the one who had delegated authority to him, but as the deputy or *nāʾib* of the caliph or the Prophet. With the weakening of the power of the caliph and his overthrow by the Mongols, it became the normal theory to regard the *ḳāḍīs* as the deputies of the prophet. This reinforced their independent status (see further Tyan, i, 134-5, 147-8). The death of the *imām* (or that person who had delegated authority to the *ḳāḍī*) did not result in the revocation of the *ḳāḍī*'s appointment (thus reinforcing his theoretical independence). On the other hand, the death of the *ḳāḍī* resulted in the revocation of the appointment of his deputies. If the inhabitants of a town which had no *ḳāḍī* appointed one, this designation was null and void if there was an *imām* in existence. If there was no *imām*, the appointment was valid and his judgments were to be executed (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 76). This again emphasises the independent status of the *ḳāḍī*. But his independence was relative: when a new *imām* was appointed, his agreement was required for the *ḳāḍī* to continue to exercise his functions (*ibid.*). The fact that the law administered by the *ḳāḍī* was the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, to which, in theory, the ruler was subject and which was independent of his will, also contributed to the independence of the *ḳāḍīs* (cf. Tyan, i, 149-50)—an independence which they continued to enjoy to a greater or lesser extent over the centuries. Two factors in particular, however, limited their independence. First, the ruler who had nominated them could also dismiss them, and secondly, they had to rely on the officials of the government for the enforcement of their judgments.

The competence of the *ḳāḍī* might be general or restricted. In the former case his functions were to settle disputes either by arbitration within the limits of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* between the parties to the dispute or by enforcing, after proof, liabilities by judgment in favour of those entitled to them upon persons who disputed them; to exercise control over persons who had not charge of their property by reason of madness, infancy or insolvency; to oversee *awḳāf*; to execute wills and testaments; to give widows and divorced women in marriage; to apply the legal penalties; to supervise public utilities in order to prevent encroachment upon roads and public spaces; to make the necessary investigations concerning legal witnesses; to judge between the powerful and the weak; observing equality between them; and to decide with equity cases between the *k̲h̲āṣṣ* and the *ʿāmm*. If he was invested with authority for some specific purpose, i.e. if his authority was restricted (*k̲h̲uṣūṣ*), he exercised his functions within those limits only (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 70 ff.).

Whereas the Sunnīs considered the ultimate source of the *ḳāḍī*'s authority to be the Prophet, the S̲h̲īʿa held this to be the *imāms* (see al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-kāfī*, ch. on *ḳaḍāʾ*). The Imāmī S̲h̲īʿa, perhaps because their *imāms* apart from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib did not hold political power, were not concerned with the valid delegation of authority by the holders of power to their subordinate officials. They regarded all government

in the absence of the *imām* as unjust (*dj̲ā'ir*). In their discussions of *ḳaḍā'* they differentiate between the time when the *imām* is present and the *gh̲ayba*, i.e. the period of occultation. However, they could not entirely escape the problem of cooperation with an unjust government, the validity of whose title to rule they did not recognise. They attempted to solve this problem by permitting a limited degree of cooperation with the adoption of *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], dissimulation of one's belief in the event of danger.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) sets out, in a somewhat equivocal fashion, the Imāmī S̲h̲īʿī doctrine concerning the execution of the legal penalties and the exercise of the office of *ḳāḍī* as follows: "No one has the right to execute the legal penalties except the sultan of the time, who has been appointed by God most High [i.e. the *imām*], or that person whom the *imām* has appointed to apply the legal penalties. It is not permissible for anyone except those two to apply the legal penalties on any occasion. But permission has been given for the people to apply the legal penalties to their children, their own people and their slaves in the time when the true *imāms* are not in control and tyrants have usurped power, provided that they do not fear that any harm will come to them from the tyrants and are safe from harm from them. If this is not the case, it is not permissible to apply the legal penalties. If an unjust sultan makes someone [who is an Imāmī S̲h̲īʿī] his deputy and appoints him to apply the legal penalties, it is for him to do so fully and completely, while believing that what he does he does at the command of the true sultan; and it is incumbent upon believers to cooperate with him and to strengthen him as long as he does not transgress what is right in that over which he is appointed and does not go beyond what is legal according to the *S̲h̲arīʿa* of Islam. If he does, it is not permissible to assist him or for anyone to cooperate with him in that, unless he fears for his own person, in which case it is permissible to do so while practising *taḳiyya*, as long as the killing of anyone is not involved. In no circumstance is *taḳiyya* to be practised in the case of killing anyone (*al-Nihāya fī mudj̲arrad al-fiḳh wa-'l-fatāwā*, Beirut 1970, 300-1, Persian text, ed. Muḥammad Bāḳir Sabzawārī, Tehran 1333/1954-6, 2 vols., i, 200-1).

Similarly, al-Ṭūsī states that it not permissible for anyone to give judgment between the people except that person to whom "the true sultan" has given permission (*ibid.*, 301, Persian text, i, 201). He continues, "The true *imāms*, upon them be peace, have cast [the mantle of] judgment (*ḥukūmat*) on the *fuḳahā'* of the S̲h̲īʿa during such time as they themselves are not in a position to exercise it in person" (*ibid.*, Persian text, i, 201; the Arabic text omits the words *a'imma-i ḥaḳḳ* and reads "They have entrusted this (the function of judging) to the *fuḳahā'* of their *s̲h̲īʿa* during such time as they are not able to exercise it in person", 301). This statement, which would appear to be one of the earliest occasions when it is stated that the *fuḳahā'* are in effect the successors or deputies of the *imāms* in the giving of judgment, does not provide for any immediate source of authority for the *ḳāḍīs*. The ultimate source of their authority is the delegation by Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ related in two traditions recorded by al-Kulaynī. The first, from Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādik, reads "Let not one of you call another to litigation before the *ahl al-dj̲awr*. Rather look to one of your number who knows something of our judgments and set him up (to judge) between you. For I have made him a *ḳāḍī* to seek judgment from him". The second, related from ʿUmar b. Ḥanẓala, reads "I asked Abū ʿAbd Allāh (Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ) concerning two of our companions who are involved in a dispute over debt or inheritance and who seek judgment before a sultan or *ḳāḍīs*. Is this lawful (*ḥalāl*)? Abū ʿAbd Allāh replied, 'He who seeks judgment from *ṭāgh̲ūt* (i.e. tyrants) and obtains judgment receives only abomination, even if his claim is valid, because he has accepted the decision of *ṭāgh̲ūt*. God has commanded that (such a one) be considered an unbeliever (*kāfir*)'. ʿUmar b. Ḥanẓala said, 'What should they do?' Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ replied, 'Look to one of your number who relates our *ḥadīth*, who considers our *ḥalāl* and our *ḥarām* and who knows our *aḥkām*. Accept his judgment for I have made him a *ḥākim* over you. If he gives a decision in accord with our judgment and (the litigant) does not accept it, then it is God's judgment he has scorned and us he has rejected. One who rejects us rejects God and he is subject to the punishment due for polytheism (*ʿalā ḥadd al-s̲h̲irk*)'" (*Furūʿ al-kāfī*, i, 357-9).

The qualities required for the office of *ḳāḍī* were wisdom and maturity, being learned in the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*, and a knowledge of Arabic; it was also a condition that he who undertook this office should be devout and abstinent and much given to good works, and that he should avoid sins and refrain from lust and have an intense concern for piety. Only someone endowed with these qualities was permitted to undertake the office and to judge between the people provided that there was no fear for his life, his people, his possessions or for any believers (*al-Nihāya fī mudj̲arrad al-fiḳh wa'l-fatāwā*, 301, Persian text, i, 226). It was permissible to take wages and subsistence from a just sultan (i.e. the *imām*) for the exercise of the office of *ḳāḍī*, but in the case of an unjust sultan it was only permissible in the event of necessity or fear. It was, however, better, in al-Ṭūsī's opinion, to refrain in all cases from taking wages for the office of *ḳāḍī* (*ibid.*, Arabic text, 367, Persian text, i, 246).

"If," al-Ṭūsī states, "anyone is able to carry out a judgment or a settlement (*ṣulḥ*) between people or to execute a decision between two litigants, as long as he does not fear harm for himself or for anyone of the faith and is safe from harm in so doing, he will receive recompense and reward. But if he fears any of these things, in no circumstances is it permissible for him to undertake these matters. If someone calls upon one of the *fuḳahā'* of the people of the truth (i.e. the Imāmī S̲h̲īʿa) to decide something between them (the S̲h̲īʿa), and that *faḳīh* does not agree to do so, preferring that it should be referred to a person who is charged with the matter on behalf of tyrants, he will have stepped outside the truth and committed sin. It is not permissible for a person who is charged with giving a decision between two litigants, or judgment between the people, to do so except in accordance with the truth; it is not permissible to give judgment according to one of the Sunnī schools. If anyone undertakes judgment on behalf of unjust persons, let him strive to give judgments as demanded of him by the *s̲h̲arīʿa* of the faith; but if he is constrained to give judgment according to the Sunnī schools because he fears for himself, his people or believers or for their property, it is permissible for him to do so [while practising *taḳiyya*], provided it does not involve the killing of anyone, because *taḳiyya* is not to be adopted in the case of killing someone" (*ibid.*, 301-2, Persian text, i, 201).

Concluding his discussion of the application of the legal penalties and the execution of judgment, al-Ṭūsī succinctly explains in what circumstances a *faḳīh* might undertake these functions under an unjust ruler and how the *faḳīh* was to believe while doing so that he was, in fact, acting on behalf of the *imām*. He

states, "If a *faḳīh* exercises authority (*wilāya*) on behalf of a tyrant, let him think that in applying the penalties of the law and in giving judgment he is acting on behalf of the true *imām* and let him undertake (these duties) according to the demands of the *sharīʿa* of the faith; and whenever he is empowered to execute punishment against a transgressor, let him do so, for verily this is one of the greatest (forms) of *djihād*. If, however, someone does not know the conditions in which the penalties should be applied and cannot execute them [properly], it is not permissible, in any circumstances, for him to apply them—if he does he will be a sinner. But if he is compelled to do so, there will be nothing against him. Let him endeavour to keep himself apart from things which are illegitimate (*al-abāṭīl*). It is not permissible for anyone to choose to exercise oversight on behalf of tyrants unless he has (first) determined that he will not transgress what is obligatory and will only execute what is right and that he will allocate such things as *ṣadaḳāt* and *akhmās* and so on to their proper use. If he knows that he will not be able to control these things, it is not permissible for him voluntarily to undertake such work, but if he is compelled to do so, it is permissible. Let him strive (to act) as we have said" (*ibid.*, 302-3, Persian text, i, 201-2).

Al-Ṭūsī's theory thus made it possible for Imāmī Shīʿīs to accept the office of *ḳāḍī* from unjust rulers, whether Sunnīs or Shīʿīs, although he did not provide for any immediate source of their authority. His theory was for the most part accepted by later jurists. Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), writing in the reign of Öldjeytü (703-16/1304-16), who was converted to Shīʿism, is somewhat less equivocal on the desirability of the acceptance of the office of *ḳaḍāʾ* by the *fuḳahāʾ*. When finally Imāmī Shīʿism became the official religion of Persia under the Ṣafawids, although the *fuḳahāʾ*, for the most part, continued to regard the government, in the absence of the *imām*, as unjust, the general body of *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ* accepted office at their hands and from the hands of succeeding dynasties. Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī al-Shāmī al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 786/1384-5), writing for Shams al-Dīn al-Ānī, one of the ministers of ʿAlī b. Muʿayyid, the Shīʿī Sarbadarid ruler of Sabzawār, had stated that it was the duty of the *imām* or his *nāʾib* to judge and that in the *ghayba* the *faḳīh* who was possessed of the necessary qualification to give legal decisions (*al-faḳīh al-djāmiʿ li-sharāʾiṭ al-iftāʾ*) carried out the functions of judgment. Whoever turned aside from such an individual and referred to the *ḳāḍīs* of an unjust government (*ḳuḍāt al-djawr*) was a sinner and it was incumbent upon the people to refer to him in what concerned the ordinances of the *sharīʿa*; whoever failed to do so was a sinner. Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-ʿĀmilī al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d. 966/1559), writing in the Ottoman empire at the beginning of the Ṣafawid period, commenting on this, states "If the *muftī* is endowed with these qualities, it is incumbent upon the people to refer to him and to accept his word and to make his decision incumbent upon themselves because he is appointed by the *imām* for a general purpose (*manṣūb min al-imām ʿalā 'l-ʿumūm*)" (*Rawḍat al-bahiyya fī sharḥ lumʿat al-dimashḳiyya*, lith. Tabrīz 1271/1854-5, 94-5). He also states with reference to the exercise of judicial functions on behalf of or under an unjust ruler that this is incumbent provided that there is safety from the commission of what is forbidden and power to enjoin the good and to forbid evil. He adds that the reason for its not being incumbent (in other circumstances) was perhaps because one who took judicial office under an unjust ruler (*ẓālim*) would in appearance (*bi-ṣūra*) be *nāʾib* to the unjust ruler (*Masālik al-ifhām fī sharḥ sharāyiʿ al-islām*, lith. 1314/1896-7, 2 vols., i, 167-8. See further N. Calder, *The structure of authority in Imāmī Shīʿī jurisprudence*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, London University 1979, 98 ff.).

Although there were changes in the position of the *ḳāḍī* under the Ḳādjārs, his position in theory was substantially the same: the government continued to be regarded as unjust and the authority of the *ḳāḍī* derived from the *imām*, not the government from whom he received his appointment. Shaykh Djaʿfar Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ, the 19th century jurist, discusses the question of *ḳaḍāʾ* in his *Kashf al-ghiṭāʾ* at the end of the book on *djihād*. He follows al-Ṭūsī in the matter of the acceptance of the office of *ḳāḍī*, but he makes a distinction between the exercise of office by a *mudjtahid* and one who was not *mudjtahid*. He permits a *ḳāḍī* to carry out the *taʿzīr* punishments but states that the execution of the *ḥadd* punishments was the *mudjtahid*'s prerogative, and in carrying out a *ḥadd* punishment his inward intention (*niyyat*) must be that he was carrying it out as the deputy, not of the temporal governors (*ḥukkām*), but of the *imām*. He also states that it was not permissible for the leader of the Muslims to appoint a *ḳāḍī* or *shaykh al-islām* except with the permission of a *mudjtahid* (*Kashf al-ghiṭāʾ*, lith., pages unnumbered).

Under the Great Saldjūḳs there was a delicate balance between *sharʿī* and *ʿurfī* jurisdiction. The sultan as judge and guardian of public order sat in the *maẓālim* court. This function was delegated by him in the provinces to the provincial governor or to the *muḳṭaʿ* (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The internal situation of the Saljūq empire*, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, ed. J. A. Boyle, Cambridge 1968, 247 ff.). Niẓām al-Mulk, discussing the *maẓālim* court, holds that it was indispensable for the ruler to hold such a court twice a week to hear personally, without an intermediary, what the subjects had to say (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1891, Persian text, 10). His main concern appears to have been to strengthen the authority of the ruler rather that to ensure that justice was done to the individual. He continues, "A few cases which are of greater importance shall be submitted [to the ruler] and he shall give an order (*mithāl*) concerning each one so that all tyrants will fear and restrain their hands from oppression. When news spreads abroad in the kingdom that the Lord of the World summons to his presence those who have grievances and those who demand redress twice a week and listens to what they have to say, no one will dare to commit tyranny or extortion for fear of punishment" (*ibid.*). Niẓām al-Mulk recommends that the plaints of those who gathered at the court should be dealt with expeditiously to avoid clamour or commotion at the court, such that strangers and envoys should be led to suppose that tyranny was rife in the kingdom (*ibid.*, 207).

A *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* was appointed in the capital and in a number of provincial cities, but there would seem to have been a decline in the importance of the office. The reasons for this—if it was indeed the case—are not clear. It may have been connected with the increased centralisation of the administration in the hands of the *wazīr* during the reign of Malik-Shāh (465-85/1072-92). The influence and prestige of the *ḳāḍīs*, however, was apparently undiminished. The immediate source of their authority was the sultan, but its ultimate source was the Prophet (cf. *Siyāsat-nāma*, 38)—in other words the sultan exercised constitutive authority with regard to the *ḳāḍī*, but the

functional authority of the *ḳāḍī* derived from the *sharīʿa* (see further Lambton, *Quis custodiet custodes*, in *SI*, v [1956], 132-3).

A document issued by Sandjar's *dīwān* appointing Madjd al-Dīn Muḥammad *ḳāḍī* of Gulpāyagān states that the office of *ḳāḍī* and *ḥākim* was the greatest religious office (*shughl*) and the most delicate *sharʿī* charge (*ʿamal*) (Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ al-Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1329/1950, 45). Niẓām al-Mulk also recognises that the office of *ḳāḍī* was a delicate one "because they (the *ḳāḍīs*) were empowered over the lives and properties of the Muslims" (*Siyāsat-nāma*, 38. Cf. also al-Ghazālī's letter to Fakhr al-Mulk b. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Faḍāʾil al-anām*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1333/1954-5, 28). It was no doubt partly on this account that care was urged upon the *ḳāḍīs* in the drawing up of testaments, title deeds and other documents (cf. the document issued by Sandjar's *dīwān* appointing ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāʿid *ḳāḍī* of Nīshāpūr, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 12). It was recognised that the office of *ḳāḍī* concerned both the people and the state (cf. the document issued by Sandjar's *dīwān* for the *ḳāḍī-yi lashkar*, *ibid.*, 58-9).

Niẓām al-Mulk states that the appointment and dismissal of the *ḳāḍī* was the responsibility of the ruler, and that the *ḳāḍīs* were to be allocated a monthly salary (*mushāhara*), sufficient to free them from the need of peculation (*khiyānat*) (*Siyāsat-nāma*, 38). They were, thus, in some measure government servants. Their function as such was probably to watch over the religious institution on behalf of the government in order to prevent the spread of unorthodox opinions (which were in the eyes of the government inevitably linked with sedition). Niẓām al-Mulk also states that the *ḳāḍīs* were to be supported by other officials and their prestige guarded. In keeping with the Sunnī principle, *kull mudjtahid muṣīb*, he states that the judgments of *ḳāḍīs*, even if wrongfully given, were to be executed by other officials. The latter were, however, to report wrong judgments to the ruler so that he might dismiss and punish a *ḳāḍī* guilty of such. Anyone who behaved presumptuously and refused to appear at the *ḳāḍī*'s court when summoned was to be forced to do so, even if he was a great man (*ibid.*). In some cases, the diploma appointing a *ḳāḍī* stipulates that he was to judge according to a particular rite. Cases are, however, recorded of *ḳāḍīs* giving *fatwās* according to more than one rite.

In Niẓām al-Mulk's theory there is a certain ambiguity in the position of the *ḳāḍī*. On the one hand he was appointed by the ruler, but on the other he enjoyed a certain independence because of his relationship to the caliph. "The *ḳāḍīs*", Niẓām al-Mulk states, "are all the deputies (*nāʾibān*) of the king. It is incumbent upon the king to support them. They must be accorded full respect and dignity because they are the deputies of the caliph, whose mantle has devolved upon them" (*ibid.*, 40-1). This statement is to be seen, perhaps, in the light of the theory that the caliph should be a *mudjtahid* and that the ruler, if he was not a *mudjtahid*, required a deputy to act on his behalf in certain matters. Niẓām al-Mulk states that "when the king is a Turk or a Persian or someone who does not know Arabic and has not studied the decrees of the *sharīʿa*, he inevitably requires a deputy to conduct affairs in his place" (*ibid.*, 40). Thus he foreshadows the theory to be put forward in the late 9th/15th century by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī, who states that kings who were *mudjtahids* were few and far between and that if a king was not a *mudjtahid* it was incumbent upon him to appoint a *muftī* (*Sulūk al-mulūk*, B. L., ms. Or. 253, ff. unnumbered).

The documents issued by Sandjar's *dīwān* collected in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba* make clear the separation of *sharʿī* and *ʿurfī* jurisdiction and also the subordination of the provincial *ḳāḍī* to the provincial governor. In a *taḳlīd* issued in favour of Tādj al-Dīn Abu 'l-Makārim Aḥmad b. al-ʿAbbās for the office of governor (*raʾīs*) of Māzandarān, he is charged with the general supervision of the *ḳāḍīs* and is enjoined to appoint a deputy over the *ḳāḍī*'s court and the *madjlis-i-ḥakam* (? the court of arbitration) (*ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 24). He is also enjoined "to inflict upon a thief or highway robber, when caught, punishment and what is demanded by the *Sharīʿa*, with the agreement of the *ḳāḍīs*, *imāms* and notables of the province" (*ibid.*, 25. Cf. also *ibid.*, 28). A diploma in the name of Abu 'l-Fatḥ Marzbān al-Sharḳ. b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abī Bakr b. Ḳumādj for the governorship (*ayālat wa shaḥnagī*) of Balkh instructs him to give judgment and to settle cases after consultation and according to the advice of experienced and reliable persons and leaders (*muḳaddamān*). *Sharʿī* matters were to be referred to the *ḳāḍī*'s court. *Rasmiyyāt* (matters concerning salaries and allowances), *muʿāmalāt* (matters concerning *muḳāṭaʿa* contracts) and *dīwānī* affairs were to be referred to the *dīwān-i riyāsat*. Abu 'l-Fatḥ was given full powers in the preservation of order and the punishment of miscreants, but in the exercise of these powers he was to consult the *ḳāḍīs* (*ibid.*, 79). Another diploma in the name of Abu 'l-Fatḥ Yūsuf b. Khwārazmshāh for the deputy-governorship (*niyābat-i ayālat*) of Ray enjoins him to put down the corrupt, transgressors, thieves and highway robbers and to consider the exaction of the legal penalties (*ḥudūd*), after consultation with the *ḳāḍīs*, *imāms* and reliable persons, as being among those things which are incumbent according to the *sharīʿa* and upon which the well-being and good order of religion and the world depend (*ibid.*, 43).

Among the duties of the *ḳāḍī* was the supervision of the *ḥisba*. A document issued by Sandjar's *dīwān* for the office of *ḳāḍī* and *khaṭīb* of Astarābād entrusts the grantee with the execution of the requirements of the *ḥisba*, such as the putting down of transgressors and the corrupt, the prevention of evil by them, and the adjustment of weights and measures and prices, as far as possible (*ibid.*, 52).

So far as the supervision of *awḳāf* was concerned, in the event of a *mutawallī* having been designated, the *ḳāḍī* exercised general supervision only, otherwise he administered the *waḳf*. There was in practice probably a certain conflict of jurisdiction between the *ḳāḍī* and the *wazīr* in the matter of *awḳāf*. The latter, as head of the financial administration, also exercised general supervision over *awḳāf*, though exactly what form this took is not entirely clear. In some cases the *awḳāf* of a district were placed exclusively under the *ḳāḍī* and expressly removed from the control of the *dīwān* (cf. *ibid.*, 33).

In the period between the disintegration of the Great Saldjūḳ empire and the Mongol invasion, the chief official in charge of *ʿurfī* courts appears to have been known as the *dādbeg* (see further H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselğūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 92-3. See also *ibid.*, on the term *yuluk-i aʿlā*, which appears to have been some sort of *maẓālim* court). Various local officials apparently also exercised jurisdiction. A document probably belonging to the latter half of the 6th/12th century, appointing a certain Shams al-Dīn *miʿmār* of Khwārazm and entrusting him with the agricultural development of the province, enjoins him to chastise and correct anyone who failed to further this or to exert effort in this and if such reproach and censure did not bring the culprit to see the error of his ways,

Shams al-Dīn was to refer the matter to the supreme *dīwān* so that reproof might be administered to him and he might be replaced by someone who would seek to create abundance (Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Muʿayyad, *al-Tawassul ilā 'l-tarassul*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1315/1936-7, 113). That local officials had certain powers of punishment would seem to be confirmed by Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī. He states that bailiffs, village headmen and landlords' representatives should "reprimand the corrupt and enjoin the people to do that which is recommended and to forbid them from doing that which is forbidden. If they saw presumption or corruption on the part of one of the peasants (*raʿiyyat*), they were to punish him and bring him to repentance" (*Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, ed. Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Niʿmat Allāhī, Tehran 1312/1933-4, 296).

The distinction between *ʿurfī* and *sharʿī* jurisdiction was more sharply drawn under the Īlkhāns prior to their conversion to Islam. The Mongols brought with them their own laws and customs, though it seems improbable that the Great Yasa of Čingiz Khān existed as a written code of laws (see further D. O. Morgan, *The Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan and Mongol law in the Il-khanate* in J. M. Rogers (ed.), *The Islamic world after the Mongol conquests* [forthcoming]; but see also D. Ayalon, *The Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan: a re-examination*, in *SI*, xxxiii â1971], 97-144, xxxiv [1971], 151-80, xxxvi [1972], 113-53, and xxxviii [1973], 107-56). There was a court of interrogation known as the *yarghu*, but we have very few details as to its terms of reference and rules of procedure. It appears to have dealt specifically with disputes between Mongols, Mongol state affairs and cases against officials, especially of alleged peculation and conspiracy (see further Morgan, *op. cit.*). With the conversion of the Īlkhāns to Islam, the *yarghu* was probably to some extent assimilated to the *maẓālim* courts and the *ḳāḍīs* associated with their proceedings. A *yarligh* for the appointment of a provincial *ḳāḍī* issued by Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304) reads as follows, "In the case of disputes which occur between two Mongols or between a Mongol and a Muslim or cases, the decision of which is difficult, we have ordered the *shaḥnas*, *maliks*, *bitikčis*, *ḳāḍīs*, ʿAlids and *ʿulamāʾ* to assemble every month for two days in the Friday mosque in the *dīwān-i maẓālim* taking the alternate reading *dīwān-i maẓālim* rather than *dīwān-i muṭālaʿa* as in the printed text to hear cases together, and after thoroughly examining a case to give judgment according to the ruling (*ḥukm*) of the *sharīʿa*.". Their decision was to be given in writing so that it might not later be abrogated (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 219). The *Dastūr al-kātib* of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjiwānī, which belongs to the late Īlkhān period, describes the functions of the *amīr yarghu*. He is instructed to act on the basis of equity (*ʿadl*, *maʿdalat*, *inṣāf*, *niṣfat* and *rāstī*) (ed. A. A. ʿAlīzādeh, Moscow, i/1 [1964], i/2 [1971], ii [1976], ii, 30, and see further Morgan, *op. cit.*).

Somewhat similar procedures appear to have prevailed in some of the succession states. Ibn Baṭṭūta, describing his arrival at the court of the *amīr* of Khʷārazm, Ḳuṭlūdumūr, states "It is one of the regular practices of this *amīr* that the *qāḍī* comes daily to his audience hall and sits in a place assigned to him, accompanied by the jurists and his clerks. Opposite him sits one of the great *amīrs*, accompanied by eight of the great amirs and shaikhs of the Turks, who are called *arghujīs*. The people bring their disputes to them for decision; those that come within the jurisdiction of the religious law are decided by the *qāḍī* and all others are decided by those amirs. Their decisions are well-regulated and just, for they are free from suspicion and partiality and do not accept bribes" (*The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūta A.D. 1325-1354*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, Cambridge 1971, iii, 545).

According to Mongol practice, the *ḳāḍīs* and *ʿulamāʾ* were granted certain tax immunities. Although they were treated with respect, prior to the conversion of the Īlkhāns to Islam, they ceased to enjoy in official circles that pre-eminence which had been theirs when religion and state were, at least in theory, one. If, as was probably the case, the *ḳāḍīs* in the main centres continued to receive their appointment from the ruler, al-Ghazālī's theory that any *ḳāḍī* nominated by anyone holding power could give a valid decision would have been of peculiar relevance. Waṣṣāf records a case in Fārs *ca.* 678/1279-80 of the joint appointment of two eminent divines to the office of *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Fārs. This was made by the *wazīr* of Fārs after consultation with the religious classes and the notables (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, Bombay 1269/1853, 205-6). After the conversion of Ghāzān Khān to Islam, the influence of the *ḳāḍīs* in official circles almost certainly increased. Their tax immunities were confirmed and pensions were allocated to them on the revenue (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, 218).

Under Ghāzān there was a *dīwān-i ḳuḍāt*, the head of which was the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of the empire, who once more became an important official. He was in charge of *sharʿī* officials in general and also of *awḳāf*. These appear to have increased in extent and importance in the 7th/13th century (though for what reason or reasons is not entirely clear) (see further Lambton, *Awqāf in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries in Persia*, in G. Baer, ed., *Social and economic aspects of the Muslim waqf*, forthcoming). An undated document belonging to the late Īlkhān period issued by the *ḳāḍī* (who had been charged with the appointment of all *sharʿī* officials in the empire and was at the same time *mutawallī* of charitable and private *awḳāf*) for his deputy, who was also to hold the office of *ḥākim* of charitable *awḳāf*, states it was impossible for him personally to oversee *sharʿī* affairs in all regions because of his being in the retinue of the ruler. He needed a deputy. Consequently, Ḥusayn al-Asadī was appointed deputy *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* with a general designation and with a special designation over ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab, Ādharbāydjān and various other districts. He was also appointed *mutawallī* of charitable and private *awḳāf* with power to appoint and dismiss those in charge of religious offices and the execution of Islamic decrees (*Dastūr al-kātib*, ii, 191 ff.). Another document in the same collection, delegating the office of *ḥākim* of the *awḳāf* of the empire to the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* Shaykh ʿAlī, gives him full powers in the administration of the *awḳāf* and over the appointment and dismissal of the *mutawallīs* and *mubāshirs* and of deputies to act for him as *ḥākim-i awḳāf* in the provinces (*ibid.*, ii, 207 ff.). To ensure that the *awḳāf* were properly run and their revenues devoted to the purposes laid down by their founders was no small matter. Usurpation was common. Demands for redress came before the *ḳāḍī* and it was his duty to investigate them (cf. *ibid.*, i/1 175-6, 327-9).

Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, Ghāzān Khān's *wazīr*, gives an extremely unfavourable account of the administration of justice by the *ḳāḍīs* in the Īlkhān empire prior to the reign of Ghāzān Khān (as he does of other aspects of the administration). He alleges that corrupt and ignorant persons insinuated themselves into the service of the Mongols and by flattery and bribery secured the office of *ḳāḍī* and other *sharʿī* offices. Corruption was especially prevalent in transac-

tions over landed property. Fraudulent claims based on obsolete property deeds and bonds which had remained in the hands of the original owners or their heirs after the property had changed hands were common, and there was often no means for the *ḳāḍīs* to verify the validity of such deeds. Rashīd al-Dīn states that Malik-Shāh and his *wazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk, faced by a similar situation, had issued a decree (*mithāl*), conformable to the *sharīʿa*, that claims based on title deeds which had not been preferred for thirty years should not be heard and that this decree was given to the *muftīs* of Khurāsān, ʿIrāḳ and Baghdād so that they might issue *fatwās* in accordance with the *sharīʿa*, which were then to be sent to the *dār al-khilāfa* to be signed (*tā imḍāʾ nivishta and*). Rashīd al-Dīn claims that Malik Shāh's decree was extant and that it had been shown (or reported) to Hülegü, who had issued a *yarligh* on similar lines, as had Abaḳa, Arghun and Gaykhatu (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, 236 ff.). Rashīd al-Dīn also asserts that "before this time past sultans and Čingiz Khān in all their *farmāns* and *yarlighs* made mention that thirty-year-old claims should not be heard" (*ibid.*, 221-2). These decrees, however, had, he alleges, been inoperative, because first they had not had *sharʿī*, *ʿaḳlī* or *ʿurfī* confirmation, and secondly those charged with putting them into operation had wished to benefit themselves from the existing situation to buy property. Ghāzān Khān, on the other hand, consulted the *ḳāḍīs* and Fakhr al-Dīn Harātī, the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of the day, drafted a *yarligh* and wrote a decision on the back in accordance with the *sharīʿa* stating that land claims which had not been preferred for thirty years would not be heard (*ibid.*, 236 ff.). The *yarligh* is dated 3 Radjab 699/26 March 1300. Any *ḳāḍīs* who contravened it were to be dismissed and the names of any powerful persons who urged them to act in a contrary fashion were to be sent to the court so that they might be punished (*ibid.*, 221 ff.). Ghāzān also issued a *yarligh* concerning the registration and annulment of title deeds and documents (*ibid.*, 225) and another concerning appointment to the office of *ḳāḍī* and the conduct of *ḳāḍīs* in the matter of land cases (*ibid.*, 218 ff.).

ʿUrfī jurisdiction seems to have encroached upon *sharʿī* jurisdiction again under Tīmūr (d. 807/1405), but under Shāhrukh (d. 850/1446-7) there appears to have been a deliberate reassertion of *sharʿī* jurisdiction, although *ʿurfī* jurisdiction nevertheless continued to be dominant. Clavijo, who visited Tīmūr's camp in Samarḳand in 808/1405 states that all litigants and criminals were dealt with by one of three courts. The first dealt with criminal matters and bloodshed arising from quarrels, the second with money frauds such as might affect the government and the third with cases arising in the provinces. Wherever Tīmūr's camp might be, three great tents were erected, to which were brought all criminals and litigants for cases to be heard and sentences given (*Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1405*, tr. G. le Strange, London 1928, 294-5).

When Ismāʿīl I (907-30/1502-24), the founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty, made Imāmī Shīʿism the official religion of the state, a more flexible attitude towards the acceptance of public office in general and that of *ḳāḍī* in particular developed among the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* that had been the case heretofore, although there were always some who refused office out of religious scruple. The Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* became, like the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* before them, public officers and as such relied upon the machinery of the state for the execution of their judgments. Imāmī Shīʿism superseded the Sunnī schools and the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* replaced the Sunnī as those in charge of *sharʿī* jurisdiction—though this did not, of course, happen overnight. Changes also took place in the religious hierarchy. The *ḳāḍī* lost some of his importance, first to the *ṣadr*, who became the chief official of the religious institution, and then to the *shaykh al-islām*, while the *mudjtahids*, who owed their pre-eminence not to any official appointment but to their own learning and sanctity, exercised a great, though undefined, influence over the religious institution and the *sharʿī* courts. The general tendency, however, was probably for *ʿurfī* jurisdiction to be strengthened, at least prior to the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-35/1694-1722), and for subordinate jurisdictions of a local nature to proliferate. There was a bewildering diversity at different times and in different provinces. The fact that the *shīʿa* did not accept the Sunnī principle, *kull mudjtahid muṣīb*, resulted in the decisions of the *ḳāḍī*'s courts being subject to review and reversal. It was perhaps for this reason that most Persians, according to Chardin, preferred the governments courts to the *ḳāḍī*'s courts, in which their cases were not easily brought to a decision (*Voyages*, ed. Langlès, vi, 91).

Already under Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76) there was growing financial centralisation, and during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I (996-1038/1587-1629) centralisation spread to all aspects of the administration. The empire was divided into *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik*, i.e., regions under the central government and regions alienated from its direct control under provincial governors. The extent of the two categories varied at different times, the *khāṣṣa* reaching its greatest extent about 1071/1660-1 (see further K. Rohrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 113-14, 115, 118 ff.). In the *khāṣṣa*, the provincial *wazīr* had general oversight of all aspects of the administration, including the administration of justice, but probably played little part in its day to day administration (*ibid.*, 125). In some cases the provincial *wazīr* also appears to have exercised judicial functions, but this was probably exceptional (see *ibid.*, 112). Under Shāh ʿAbbās the chief *ʿurfī* judge in the capital was the *dīwānbegī*, who ranked among the great *amīrs*. Power of life and death were usually reserved to the *shāh* (*ibid*, 64-5), though in some cases he would delegate these powers to the provincial governor, especially if he was a member of the royal house.

The tradition of personal access to the ruler had remained strong and was, to some extent, a curb on the extortion and tyranny of officials, which in the absence of any clearly defined rules was widespread. On the occasion of a royal progress, the local people would bring their cases to the royal court for decision or redress. There were, however, attempts to institutionalise this. Ismāʿīl II (984-5/1576-8), shortly after his accession appointed Aḥmad Beg Ustadjlū as the officer in charge of the transmission of demands for redress (*parwānačī-i aʿdjiza wa masākīn*) (Ḳāḍī Aḥmad, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Or. 2202, f. 256 b, quoted by Rohrborn, 66; and see H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 71, on earlier uses of the term *parwānačī*). Shāh ʿAbbās in 1019/1610 issued an order that demands for redress should be referred to the *ṣadr-i mamālik* and the *dīwānbegī* (and not to him personally when he went out into the countryside).Chardin describes the crowds of plaintiffs who would assemble at the court (*Voyages*, v, 280).

Ismāʿīl II also set up, shortly after his accession, a *dīwān-i ʿadālat*. He appointed one of his cousins as *dīwānbegī-bāshī* and ordered him to sit twice a week with the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān* and two *ḳizilbāsh*

amīrs to hear cases (Rohrborn, 67). There were three types of cases: *s̲h̲arʿiyyāt*, which were decided by the *ṣadr*, whose decree was sealed by the *dīwānbegī*; *ʿurfiyyāt*, concerning *dīwān* taxation, which were referred to the *s̲h̲āh*; and cases of tyranny, which were settled by the *dīwānbegī* with the cognisance of the *ṣadr* (Muḥammad-i Munad̲j̲d̲j̲im al-Yazdī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i ʿAbbāsī*, B.L. ms., Add. 27, 241, 319a, ff. quoted by Rohrborn, *loc. cit.*). S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-67), decided in 1064/1654 to hold the *dīwān-i ʿadālat* in person three times a week. On the first day cases concerning military personnel and members of the court were heard, on the second the generality of the subjects presented their cases and on the third matters concerning *pīs̲h̲kas̲h̲* (obligatory "presents") were discussed (Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waḥīd-i Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAbbās-nāma*, ed. Ibrāhīm Dihgān, 1329/1951, 175, 190, quoted by Rohrborn, *loc. cit.*).

Mīrzā Rafīʿā describes the duties of the *dīwānbegī* in the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, a manual describing the administration of the late Ṣafawid empire (*Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānis̲h̲pazhūh, in *University of Tehran, Revue de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines*, xv/5-6, 475-504, xvi/1-2, 62-93, xvi/3, 298-322, xvi/4, 416-40, xvi/5-6, 540-64. The text of this, although substantially the same as that of the *Tad̲h̲kirat al-mulūk* published by V. Minorsky, London 1943, is rather fuller. Dānis̲h̲pazhūh has identified the author of the *Tad̲h̲kirat al-mulūk* as Mīrzā Rafīʿā). He held a court four times a week in the *kas̲h̲īk-k̲h̲āna* of the ʿĀlī Ḳapu in Iṣfahān to try four types of offence (*aḥdāt̲h̲-i arbaʿa*), namely murder, rape, assault (lit. breaking the teeth), and blinding; the *ṣadr-i k̲h̲āṣṣa* and the *ṣadr-i ʿāmma*, the chief officials of the religious institution (see further below) sat with him, the former on Saturdays and Sundays, the latter on Wednesdays and Thursdays. Their function would seem to have been primarily simply to give *s̲h̲arʿī* sanction to the decisions of the *dīwānbegī*. Cases of murder, in accordance with a *taʿlīḳa* issued by the *ṣudūr* (pl. of *ṣadr*), were reported to the *s̲h̲āh* by the *dīwānbegī* after the *g̲h̲assāl-bās̲h̲ī* (the head of the corporation of the washers of the dead) had examined the corpse and decided the cause of death. Cases of rape, assault and blinding were investigated by the *dīwānbegī* without the *ṣudūr* (*ibid.*, xvi/1-2, 64-5, 87-8) but presumably they were associated with his verdict. The *dīwānbegī* also sat twice a week in his own house to hear *ʿurfī* money claims (? *daʿāwī-i ḥisābī-i ʿurfī*). Minor claims were presumably dealt with by local officials, but anything exceeding 4-5 *tūmāns* was investigated by the *dīwānbegī*. Complaints of tyranny and extortion by *dīwānī* officials were heard by him. In the event of anyone complaining to the *dīwānbegī* of tyranny from a distance not further than 12 *farsak̲h̲s* (*ca.* 42 miles) from the capital, the two parties would be summoned to appear before him. In the case of complaints from further afield, a *muḥaṣṣil* would be sent, but Mīrzā Rafīʿā does not give details of the procedure to be followed except to state that in a case of murder, the *dīwānbegī* would take 5 *tūmāns* caution money from the plaintiff and send one of the Ad̲j̲irlū (whose particular function was to act as *muḥaṣṣils* in case of murder) to the place of the crime. Presumably they would investigate the case and if necessary bring the accused to Iṣfahān (*ibid.*, xvi/1-2, 87-8).

In financial cases there was apparently a conflict of jurisdiction between the *dīwānbegī* and the great *wazīrs*. Financial cases concerning the state and cases against the bureaucracy were sent by the *dīwānbegī* (if referred to him) to the great *wazīrs*; and cases against the *ḳurčīs*, *g̲h̲ulāms*, other military personnel and employees of the royal workshops (*buyūtāt*) were referred to the elders (*rīs̲h̲-safīd*) of the relevant department. If, however, persons with a complaint against the provincial governors (the *beglarbegīs* or the *ḥukkām* and *sulṭāns*, i.e. governors of the smaller provinces) brought their case to the *dīwānbegī* instead of to the great *wazīrs*, he would investigate the matter and report to the *s̲h̲āh* (*ibid.*).

In Iṣfahān, disputes between the craft guilds and the inhabitants were decided by the *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, xvi/4, 421-2), presumably on the basis of custom and equity. In the provinces there appears to have been at times a conflict of jurisdiction between the *kalāntar* and the *dārūg̲h̲a* [*q.v.*]. The *mīrāb* of Iṣfahān, who was an important official, also exercised jurisdiction in disputes concerning the water of the Zāyanda-rūd. In cases affecting all the landowners and peasants, he would be ordered by the *s̲h̲āh* to go, with the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān*. the *wazīr* of Iṣfahān, the *kalāntar* and *mustawfī* of Iṣfahān, to the districts watered by the river to decide the water rights of each district on the basis of the *dīwānī* registers and to settle disputes on the basis of common sense (*s̲h̲uʿūr*) and "according to what was customary and the practice of past years" (*ibid.*, xvi/4, 433).

In the provinces, the provincial governor was the chief *ʿurfī* judge. Lesser cases were sometimes tried by the *dārūg̲h̲a*. According to Chardin the *dārūg̲h̲a* was appointed in the second half of the 11th/17th century by the *s̲h̲āh*, not by the provincial governor (*Voyages*, v, 259). The provincial *wazīr*, who was appointed by the central government, or his deputies, also took part in these courts (see further, Rohrborn, 68-9).

Many districts in the provinces were alienated in the form of *tuyūls* and *suyūrg̲h̲āls* from the direct control of the government and its officials. These grants frequently, though not invariably, gave the grantee immunity from the entry of government officials. In such cases the holder exercised local jurisdiction. For example, a diploma issued by S̲h̲āh Muḥammad K̲h̲udābanda, dated 989/1581, granting a *suyūrg̲h̲āl* to a certain Sulṭān Ibrāhīm in Fārs, gives him immunity from a number of taxes and dues and states that "cases which occurred between the peasants (*raʿāyā*) of the districts mentioned [i.e. those granted to him as a *suyūrg̲h̲āl*] should be referred to him so that he might settle them in accordance with the law of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*" (H. Horst, *Ein Immunitätsdiplom Schah Muḥammad Ḫudābandās vom Jahre 989/1581*, in *ZDMG*, cv/2 [1955]. 292). A powerful *tuyūldār*, even if rights of jurisdiction were not specifically granted to him, would in practice exercise such by usurpation. In cases of arbitration the local *ḳāḍī* was probably from time to time associated with the *tuyūldār* as he was with the provincial governor.

The *ṣadr* had already emerged as one of the chief officials of the religious institution under the Tīmūrids (see H. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 143, and also G. Herrmann, *Zur Entstehung des ṣadr-Amtes*, in V. Harmann and P. Bachmann, eds., *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit, Festschrift für H. R. Roemer*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1979, 278-95). He acquired a new importance under the Ṣafawids and was the official through whom they controlled the religious institution. He was responsible for the appointment of *s̲h̲arʿī* officials, though the documents for the appointment of officials such as the provincial *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* continued to be issued in the name of the *s̲h̲āh* (cf. the diploma issued by Ṭahmāsp for the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Fārs, dated 25 Rabīʿ II 955/3 June 1548 (H. Horst, *Zwei Erlasse Šāh*

Ṭahmāsps I in *ZDMG*, cx/2 [1961], 307-8) and the diplomas for the *aḳḍā al-ḳuḍāt* of Gīlān Biyāpīsh dated Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1035/1625 and for the *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Gīlān, dated Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1948/1639, issued by Shāh ʿAbbās, in *Yak ṣad wa pandjāh sanad-i tārīkhī az Djalāʾiriyān tā Pahlawī*, ed. Djahāngīr Ḳāʾim Maḳāmī, Tehran 1348/1969-70, 26-7, 46-7). Once appointed, the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* was empowered, in some cases at least, to appoint and dismiss *ḳāḍīs* in the region under him (cf. the diploma for the *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Gīlān quoted above). The main function of the *ṣadr* at the beginning of the Ṣafawid period was to impose doctrinal uniformity. Once this had been established, the importance of his office declined. The first holder of the office of *ṣadr* in the Ṣafawid state was the *ḳāḍī* Shams al-Dīn Lāhidjī (Gīlānī), who was appointed in 907/1501. The second holder, Muḥammad Kāshānī, appointed in 909/1503-4, was also a *ḳāḍī*. Under Shāh ʿAbbās II, the office was left vacant for eighteen months and by the end of the Ṣafawid period the main function of the *ṣadr* was the supervision of certain classes of *awḳāf*. In the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-35/1694-1722), his importance further declined with the rise of the *mullā-bāshī*. Under the Afshārs, his office disappeared.

As in the case of other offices, the jurisdiction of the *ṣadr* varied at different times. Djalāl al-Dīn Astarābādī, who held the office of *ṣadr* from 920/1514 to 931/1524-5, apparently supervised *sharʿī* affairs throughout the empire. From time to time there were joint appointments to the office, the two *ṣadrs* sometimes holding authority jointly throughout the empire and sometimes their jurisdiction being divided on a territorial basis. In 1077/1667 Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1667-1694) appointed a *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* and a *ṣadr-i ʿāmma* (see R. M. Savory. *The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv/1 [1961], 79-80 and Lambton, *Quis custodiet custodes*, in *SI*, vi, 134 ff.). Practice was far from uniform. According to Mīrzā Rafīʿā, the office of *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* and *ṣadr-i ʿāmma* (also known as *ṣadr-i mamālik*) had sometimes been entrusted to one person (*op. cit.*, xvi/1-2, 66). The *ṣadr* was also in charge of *awḳāf* and the grant of *suyūrghāls* to the religious classes. *Tawfīdī awḳāf*, i.e. *awḳāf* constituted by the Ṣafawid rulers, proliferated during the Ṣafawid period. The *ṣadr*'s supervision of these gave him potentially great influence. Mīrzā Rafīʿā states that the *ṣadr* was not paid a salary (except in the case of the *ṣadr* Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib, who received an allowance of 1,360 *tūmāns*) but received one-tenth or one-twentieth of the value of *suyūrghāls* and something by way of *ḥaḳḳ al-tawliya* and *ḥaḳḳ al-naẓāra* from *awḳāf*, according to the conditions laid down by the *wāḳif* (xvi/1-2, 65-6). It was apparently only in the case of *tawfīdī awḳāf* that the *ṣadr* had the right to appoint officials to the *awḳāf*. Neither the *ṣadr* nor any other *sharʿī* official had any right of interference in the case of *sharʿī awḳāf* (*ibid.*, xvi/1-2, 66). The precise delimitation between the *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* and the *ṣadr-i ʿāmma* in the matter of the supervision of *awḳāf* is not clear. Mīrzā Rafīʿā states that "The intention in the delegation of these two great offices [that of the *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* and that of the *ṣadr-i ʿāmma*] was to order the affairs of all the *mawḳūfāt* of the districts of Iṣfahān, which concerned them severally, and the appointment and designation of *sharʿī* officials (*ḥukkām-i sharʿ*) and overseers (*mubāshirān*) of the *mawḳūfāt-i tawfīdī* (*mawḳūfāt wa tafwīḍī* being probably a scribal error for this) and the leadership (*rīsh-safīdī*) of all the *sādāt*, *ʿulamāʾ*, *mudarrisān*, *ḳāḍīs*, *shaykh al-islāmān*, deputy *ṣadrs*, *mutawallīs* and *nāẓirs* of the *mawḳūfāt*, prayer leaders, *khaṭībs*, *muʿadhdhins*, *ḥuffāẓ*, *muʿarrifān*, washers of the dead and grave-diggers (the last two on the recommendation of the *ghassāl-bāshī*), their dismissal and the payment of their pensions (*waẓīfa*) from the *mawḳūfāt*" (xvi/1-2, 64-5). *Sharʿī* affairs in Iṣfahān and the surrounding district (which was administered by the Fayḍ Āthār department) came under the *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* to the exclusion of the *ṣadr-i ʿāmma* (*ibid.*, xvi/1-2, 65). The *ṣudūr*, although their importance declined in the latter part of the Ṣafawid period, nevertheless retained their pre-eminence over other officials of the religious hierarchy, as witnessed by their association with the *dīwānbegī* (see above). Mīrzā Rafīʿā makes this point by stating that other *sharʿī* officials had no part in the examination of the four offences known as *aḥdāth-i arbaʿa*. The two *ṣadrs* also decided cases concerning title deeds (*ḳabāladjāt*) and *sharʿī* deeds (*ibid.*).

In some periods, the *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa*, according to Mīrzā Rafīʿā, also held the office of *ḳāḍī ʿaskar* (xvi/1-2, 66). Unfortunately, he does not state which of the *ṣudūr* held this office. That the *ṣadr* should also be *ḳāḍī ʿaskar* would seem to be a natural consequence of his succeeding the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*, who also sometimes held the office of *ḳāḍī ʿaskar*, as the most important religious official of the state. However, under Shāh Ismāʿīl and at the beginning of the reign of Ṭahmāsp, the *ḳāḍī ʿaskar* of Tabrīz (or Ādharbāydjān), who also had charge of the *awḳāf* of Tabrīz, was a powerful figure (see Rohrborn, 127-8). Before *ṣudūr* were appointed in Iṣfahān, the *ḳāḍī ʿaskar* used to sit in the *kashīk-khāna* of the *dīwānbegī* and give decisions in *sharʿī* cases for the military, but when it was laid down that the *dīwānbegī* should hear *sharʿī* cases (unfortunately Mīrzā Rafīʿā does not state when this was) the *ḳāḍī ʿaskar* ceased to come to the *kashīk-khāna*; and his functions came to be confined to validating with his seal the payment orders made in favour of the army. He had no salary but received a commission of 1% from the military on their pay (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/1-2, 70).

Although the importance of the office of *ḳāḍī* was reduced by the emergence of the *ṣadr*, the *ḳāḍīs* continued to be influential and in the smaller provincial cities, where they had no rival in the person of the *ṣadr* or the *shaykh al-islām*, they probably continued to play an important part in local affairs. So far as the *shaykh al-islām* was concerned, there appears to have been some conflict of jurisdiction with the *ḳāḍī* in Iṣfahān if not elsewhere. According to Mīrzā Rafīʿā, the *shaykh al-islām* of Iṣfahān heard the cases of the people in his house every day except Friday and enjoined the good and forbade evil. Divorce according to the *sharīʿa* was given in his presence, and for the most part the custody of the property of orphans and those who were absent was his responsibility, though on some occasions these matters were referred to the *ḳāḍīs*. The *shaykh al-islām* also sealed documents and title deeds, which were not confined to transactions between Muslims but might also be documents exchanged between non-Muslims. Chardin mentions that the *shaykh al-islām* of Iṣfahān signed and witnessed a document concerning a financial transaction between him and some Dutch merchants in respect of a sum of money which the *shāh* owed him (*Sir John Chardin's travels in Persia*, London 1927 121-2). The *shaykh al-islām* received annually 200 Tabrīzī *tūmāns* as a pension (*waẓīfa*) from the public treasury (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/1-2, 69).

Under the early Ḳādjārs, *ʿurfī* jurisdiction was administered by the *shāh*, the provincial governors and other local officials. There was little or no differentiation of function: matters concerning security, law and

taxation were, for the most part, referred to the same officials. The lowest court was that of the village headman, who was empowered to inflict slight punishments and to impose small fines. More serious crimes were referred to the district collector (*ḍābiṭ*) and those more serious still, either because of the nature of the crime or the rank of the persons concerned, to the governor of the province. The right to pronounce the death sentence was seldom delegated by the *shāh* except sometimes to the governors of the royal house or when the country was in rebellion.

The *ʿurfī* courts were usually held in public. This, in Sir John Malcolm's opinion, operated "as a salutary check on their proceedings". "These courts", he continues, "are sometimes very tumultuous though the judge is aided by a host of inferior officers, whose duty is to preserve order. The women who attend these courts are often the most vociferous: the servants of the magistrates are not permitted to silence them with those blows, which in the case of disturbance they liberally inflict upon the men" (*History of Persia*, London 1829, 2 vols., ii, 319). According to Malcom, *ʿurfī* officials referred to the *sharʿī* courts all cases which for personal or political reasons they wished to be decided by their authority. In criminal cases the chief judge of the *sharʿī* courts was associated with the *ʿurfī* officials and pronounced sentences according to the decrees of the *sharīʿa* (*ibid.*, 320). Curzon, writing towards the end of the century aptly describes the lack of a clear dividing line between the two jurisdictions. He states, "The functions and the prerogative of the co-ordinate benches vary at different epochs, and appear to be a matter of accident or choice, rather than of necessity; and at the present time, though criminal cases of difficulty may be submitted to the ecclesiastical court, yet it is with civil matters that they are chiefly concerned. Questions of heresy or sacrilege are naturally referred to them; they also take cognisance of adultery and divorce; and intoxication as an offence, not against the common law ... but against the Koran, falls within the scope of their judgment" (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, 2 vols., i, 453). Prior to the attempts at judicial reform in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1848-96), it would seem that governors and others continued to hear cases much after the fashion of the earlier *maẓālim* courts. The decisions given by them were entirely arbitrary: there were no formal rules of procedure. Torture and ill-treatment of offenders was common, and in the middle of the century became the subject of acrimonious exchanges between Nāṣir al-Dīn and the British and Russian missions. In 1844 a decree was issued forbidding torture. Its effect, however, was almost negligible.

The *shaykh al-islām*, whose position had increased in importance since the Ṣafawid period, was the supreme judge of the *sharʿī* courts. A *shaykh al-islām* was appointed by the *shāh* in the capital and the major provincial cities and received a salary. To this extent his position was equivocal, but in his appointment the desire and wishes of the local inhabitants, according to Malcolm, were almost invariably consulted. In the smaller towns there was only a *ḳāḍī* and in the villages seldom more than a *mullā*. The latter was competent only to perform marriage and funeral ceremonies, to draw up common deeds and to decide plain and obvious cases; anything more complicated was referred to the *ḳāḍī* in the neighbouring town and often by him to the *shaykh al-islām* in the provincial capital (Malcolm, ii, 316). A *muftī* was sometimes associated with the *sharʿī* courts. His functions, very different from those of the *muftī* in the Ottoman empire, were simply to prepare an exposition of the case before the court and to aid it with advice. To do this, however, he had to be a man of learning and his opinion often influenced the judgment (*ibid.*, 317). Although the *shāh* nominated the *shaykh al-islām*, he was no more able than preceding rulers to alter the law administered in the *sharʿī* courts. This gave the *shaykh al-islām* and the *sharʿī* courts a certain independence, which was further strengthened by the influence of the *mudjtahids*, to whose superior knowledge cases were constantly referred by the *sharʿī* judges. The sentence of a *mudjtahid* was irrevocable, except by that of a *mudjtahid* of greater learning and sanctity (*ibid.*, 315).

Many cases, including contracts, titles to landed property, disputed wills, intestate succession, disputed land boundaries, disputes over the ownership of landed property, the recovery of debts, and bankruptcies were decided by arbitration. A *madjlis* or informal council of leading persons would be convoked, usually in the house of a *mullā* or notable. Both sides would state their case; the documents would be produced and inspected, and a decision, almost always in the nature of a compromise, would be given and, if reasonably fair, accepted. The verdict would then be signed and registered by the *shaykh al-islām* or the *imām djumʿa* (Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 455-6).

The fact that there was no land registration department—title deeds and documents were not emended or abrogated and often remained in the hands of their original holders or their heirs—gave rise to much litigation, particularly over land claims (as Ghāzān Khān had found many centuries earlier, see above). In the case of disputed tenure, the general tendency was to have recourse to the local religious officials or, if one or both of the parties to the dispute were influential, to the leading religious figures in the provincial capital or Tehran for documents attesting their ownership. Land grants and *tuyūl*s, which were the subject of a *farmān* or *raḳam*, were in theory registered in the royal archives and sometimes in the provincial record offices; but these records were not open to public inspection and irregularities in registration were in any case not uncommon (cf. Lambton, *The case of Ḥājjī Nūr al-Dīn 1823-47*, in *BSOAS*, xxx/1 [1967], 54-72). Bonds concerning financial transactions, loans to the government and its officials and transactions between individuals were commonly sealed and witnessed by religious dignitaries. Transactions with government officials were sometimes registered in the *dīwān-khāna*, but neither practice safeguarded those by whom the documents were concluded from litigation (cf. eadem, *The case of Ḥājjī ʿAbd al-Karīm*, in *Iran and Islam*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 331-60).

Contact with Europe had been joined in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, mainly in the commercial field. This had resulted in the grant of immunities to European merchants by the *shāh*s. In the 19th century this contact took on a new form and was dominated by the strategic and political interests of the great powers. Under the commercial treaty concluded at the same time as the Treaty of Turkomānčāy (1828) extra-territorial privileges were granted to Russian subjects, which were later also claimed by other foreign states for their nationals under most favoured nation treatment [see further IMTIYĀZĀT. iii. Persia]. This treaty regulated the position of foreign merchants. Disputes to which they were a party and claims by them were removed from the control of the *sharʿī* courts. In the provinces they were dealt with by an official known as the *kārgudhār* and in the capital by the *dīwān-khāna* and later by the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs. Disputes between local *dhimmīs* and Muslims were still heard in the *sharʿī* courts, but from about the middle of the century attempts were made to transfer such cases to the *dīwān*. In 1851 when Nāṣir al-Dīn was in Iṣfahān he laid down that inheritance disputes between an Armenian, Jewish or Zoroastrian convert to Islam and an adherent of the community to which he had previously belonged were not to be referred to the *sharʿī* or *ʿurfī* judges in the province but that the two parties were to be sent to the capital and the matter investigated by the *dīwān-khāna* (*Rūznāma-yi waḳāyiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya*, 3 Ṣafar 1268/1851). On the other hand, an order (*taʿlīḳa*) was issued by the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1270/1854 stating that any dispute between a Jew, Christian or Zoroastrian on the one hand and an *Ithnā ʿAsharī* on the other over partnerships in trade or land should go before the Imām Djumʿa of Iṣfahān and be settled according to the *sharīʿa* (*ibid.*, Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1270/1854). In 1863 new procedures to be followed by the *dīwān-i ʿadliyya* in mixed cases were laid down (see *Rūznāma-i dawlat-i ʿāliyya-i Īrān*, 17 Radjab 1279/1863).

From about the middle of the 19th century, there were various attempts by Nāṣir al-Dīn and some of his ministers to centralise the administration of justice through the *dīwān-khāna* and to extend the field of *ʿurfī* jurisdiction, while at the same time regulating its procedure. The first was resisted by the provincial governors and the second by the *ʿulamāʾ*. In 1854 an order was published in the official gazette stating that if anyone refused to attend the *dīwān-khāna* when summoned by the authorities, one-fifth of the claim against him, whether he was of high or low estate, a Ḳādjār prince or not, would be confiscated and he would be forced to appear (*Rūznāma-yi waḳāyiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya*, 4 Djumādī I 1270/1854). In 1855 an attempt was made to abolish the legal force of contradictory juridical opinions. This, like the order concerning the inheritance disputes of converts to Islam, was also an encroachment on the authority of the *sharʿī* courts.

In the same year, Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Nūrī, who had succeeded Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Amīr Kabīr as *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* in 1851, apparently submitted a plan to the *shāh* for the promulgation of a body of laws drawn from various European codes, having as their basis the security of life, property and honour of the subject as in the Ottoman *Khaṭṭ-i sherīf-i Gülkhāna* (Great Britain. Public Record Office. F.O. 60: 201, Taylour Thomson to Clarendon, no. 23, Tehran, 18 February 1855). Nothing came of this and it was not until 1858 that further steps were taken towards legal reforms. A council of ministers was set up and regulations for the procedure of the *dīwān-khāna-yi ʿadliyya-yi aʿẓam*, or ministry of justice, were laid down (see further ḤUKŪMA. ii. Persia, and DUSTŪR. iv. ĪRĀN). It was further announced towards the end of the year that a department of justice (*dīwān-khāna-yi ʿadliyya*) would be set up in each province under a *dīwānbegī*. Its decrees, if they concerned *sharʿī* matters, were to be referred to a *mudjtahid*, and if they concerned *ʿurfī* matters to the provincial governor. *Sharʿī* documents were to be registered with the *dīwānbegī* (*Rūznāma-yi waḳāyiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya*, 11 Rabīʿ II 1275/1858). This attempt to assert the authority of the central *dīwān* over the provincial courts and of the *dīwānbegī* over *sharʿī* as well as *ʿurfī* courts was abortive. In the face of the opposition from both the *ʿulamāʾ* and the provincial officials the decree was suspended. Whether it was because of the failure of these various measures designed to achieve some measure of legal reform or not, in 1860 there was a revival of the *maẓālim* court. An announcement was made on 28 Muḥarram 1277/1860 that the *shāh* would hold a *maẓālim* court every Sunday (*Rūznāma-yi waḳāyiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya*, 28 Muḥarram 1277/1860). A rescript (*dast-khaṭṭ*) was issued for the procedure to be followed. The *īshīkāḳāsī-bāshī* and the *nasaḳčī-bāshī* and their deputies were to be on duty. The first minister and the deputy first minister were to be present and the latter was to record the answers given to the petitions. Petitioners were to be presented by the *nasaḳčī-bāshī* and the *ādjūdān-bāshī*. Petitioners were not to assemble near the guardhouse; in Tehran they were to gather in the Maydān or the Kūča-i Arg and in Shimrān, or elsewhere in summer quarters, in the open country. They were to come forward one by one or two by two. The Ḳarāwul regiment, the *farrāsh-i khalwatān* and the *pīshkhidmatān* were all to be on duty. If the petitioners made a commotion when they assembled they were to be punished. Only petitions for the redress of grievances would be received: petitions for an increase of pay, pensions or *tuyūls* would not be heard. Petitions from the provinces could be submitted in writing through the official provincial post (*čappār*). These instructions suggest that Nāṣir al-Dīn feared both assassination and rioting by the populace; they also recall Niẓām al-Mulk's fears of commotion by petitioners at the *maẓālim* court—though apparently the Ṣafawids had no such fears (see above).

In 1863 there was an attempt to revive the measures of 1858. Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla, who had spent twelve years in Turkey as the Persian representative there, submitted draft regulations for the reorganisation of the Ministry of Justice for the *shāh*'s approval. The purpose of these regulations was to centralise the administration of justice and to limit the authority of the provincial governors. These measures brought Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān into conflict with both the *ʿulamāʾ* and the provincial authorities, and the proposal to set up departments of justice in the provinces under the Ministry of Justice was again shelved (*Rūznāma-yi dawlat-i ʿāliyya-yi Īrān*, 17 Radjab 1279/1863, and Lambton, *The Persian ʿulamā and constitutional reform*, in *Le Shiʿisme imamite*, ed. T. Fahd, Paris 1970, 259-60. See also F. Ādamiyyat, *Fikr-i āzādī*, Tehran 1961, 72 ff.). In 1871 Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla, who had become *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, issued a decree in the *shāh*'s name, setting up six courts or departments of the ministry of justice and regulations for their operation. The settlement of disputes outside the court was, however, permitted, provided both parties consented to this. The decrees of the *sharʿī* courts were to be registered and enforced by the Ministry of Justice. In the same year torture was again forbidden (see further Shaul Bakhash, *Iran: monarchy, bureaucracy and reform under the Qajars, 1858-1896*, London 1978, 83 ff.). Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān's reforms were also abortive. On 22 May 1888, as a result of promptings by Drummond Wolff, the British minister, Nāṣir al-Dīn issued a decree giving security of life and property to all Persian subjects unless publicly condemned by a competent tribunal. The effect of this on the lives of the people was, however, negligible. One last attempt at legal reform was made after the cancellation of the Tobacco Concession in 1891, when Amīn al-Dawla urged upon the *shāh* the establishment of regular tribunals. Muḥsin Khān Mushīr al-Dawla, the minister of justice and commerce, was accordingly ordered to set up a so-called *ʿadālat-khāna*. This plan also proved abortive (Amīn al-Dawla, *Khāṭirāt-i Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān Amīn al-Dawla*, ed. H. Farmānfarmānīān, Tehran 1962, 164 ff.).

By the end of the century there had thus been little

change in the administration of justice. The functions of the minister were theoretically to take general note of the law throughout the country and to enforce the execution of judgments delivered by the *ᶜulamā*ʾ. In practice his power, like that of other ministers, was personal: at times his influence extended to the provinces, at others it barely ran even in the capital. A strong minister had his agents in the provinces, but he seldom had sufficient influence to invest them with real authority. The execution of sentences rested with officials called *farrās͟hhā* (sing. *farrās͟h*). The *farrās͟h-bās͟hī* of the capital, who was their head, was an important official and a servant of the *s͟hāh*. In the provinces the *farrās͟h-bās͟hī* was nominated by the governor or by the *farrās͟h-bās͟hī* of the capital. The religious law continued to take cognisance of many civil matters such as those concerning personal law, transfers of property, and certain criminal offences. The *ᶜulamā*ʾ, as formerly, depended for the execution of their decisions upon the civil authorities. All judgments, whether of the *ᶜulamā*ʾ or the *ᶜurfī* officials, were executed by the *farrās͟hhā* (cf. F.O. 60: 566). Appendix I by Lt. Col. Picot to Sir M. Durand, in *Sir M. Durand's memo. on the situation in Persia*, Tehran, 27 September 1895 (conf. print 6704). See also *Rūznāma-yi waḳāyiᶜ-i ittifāḳiyya*, no. 46, 24 Ṣafar 1268/1851).

In the early years of the 20th century, at the suggestion of a Belgian legal adviser a codification of the law was considered, together with a reorganisation of the courts dealing with mixed cases—the need for legal reform was by this time acutely felt by foreign merchants, whose legal claims were referred in the capital to the *madjlis-i muḥākamāt*, a tribunal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in the provinces to the court of the *kārgudhār*, who frequently bought his office as a commercial speculation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—and the establishment of courts of first instance and appellate tribunals, which would decide mixed cases by the application of a simple commercial code based on that existing in Turkey. The plan was frustrated by the *ᶜulamā*ʾ, who maintained that the temporal authority was not competent to legislate in such matters and that any such legislation must be in accordance with the *s͟harīᶜa*. Russia also opposed the proposal as being contrary to the Treaty of Turkomānčāy (F.O. 416: 26. no. 29, Harding to Grey, London, 23 December 1905).

After the death of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh in 1896, the movement for liberal reform, which had been gathering support during the second half of the 19th century, became more articulate. In 1903 various groups agreed to work for the establishment of a code of laws. In May 1905 an open letter was sent to the *ṣadr-i aᶜẓam* demanding, *inter alia*, a code of justice and the establishment of a Ministry of Justice. In January 1906, after a large number of people had taken asylum (*bast*) in the shrine of S͟hāh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm outside Tehran, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who had succeeded his father Nāṣir al-Dīn, gave orders for the establishment of a Ministry of Justice (*ᶜadālat-k͟hāna-yi dawlatī*) for the purpose of executing the decrees of the *s͟harīᶜa* throughout Persia so that all the subjects of the country should be equal before the law. A code (*kitābča*) in accordance with the *s͟harīᶜa* was to be drawn up and put into operation throughout the country. In fact, no steps were taken to implement the promises given to the *bastīs*. A second *bast* by the religious leaders took place in Ḳumm, while merchants and members of the craft guilds of Tehran and others took refuge in the British Legation. They demanded the dismissal of the *ṣadr-i aᶜẓam*, the promulgation of a code of laws and the recall of the religious leaders from Ḳumm. The *s͟hāh* yielded to their demands and on 5 August 1906 issued a rescript setting up a National Consultative Assembly. The Fundamental Law was signed on 30 December 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Law was ratified by Muḥammad S͟hāh on 7 October 1907 [see DUSTŪR. iv. Īrān]. Article 2 of the latter states that at no time must any legal enactment of the National Consultative Assembly (*madjlis-i s͟hawrā-yi millī*) be at variance with the sacred principles of Islam or the laws established by the prophet Muḥammad. Article 2 also provides for the setting up of a committee composed of not less than five *mudjtahids* and pious *fuḳahā*ʾ, who would consider all matters proposed in the *madjlis* and reject wholly or in part any proposal at variance with the sacred laws of Islam. Article 27 divides the powers of the realm into three categories, legislative, judicial and executive. It states that the judicial power belongs exclusively to the *s͟harᶜī* tribunals in matters pertaining to the *s͟harīᶜa* (*s͟harᶜiyyāt*) and to the civil tribunals (*maḥākim-i ᶜadliyya*) in matters pertaining to *ᶜurf* (*ᶜurfiyyāt*). Article 28 states that the three powers shall always be separate and distinct from one another, and Articles 81 and 82 affirm the irremovability and independence of the judges. (These articles were emended in the reign of Muḥammad Riḍā S͟hāh.) Article 71 states that the Supreme Ministry of Justice (*dīwān-i ᶜadālat-i ᶜuẓmā*) and the judicial courts are the places officially destined for the redress of public grievances, while judgment in *s͟harᶜī* matters is vested in just *mudjtahids* possessed of the necessary qualifications, thus implying that the jurisdiction of the judicial courts was general and that only those matters which were judged to pertain to the *s͟harīᶜa* were to be referred to *s͟harᶜī* judges. The text is, however, ambiguous, perhaps intentionally.

The committee of *mudjtahids* laid down in Article 2 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law was set up by the second *madjlis* in 1911 but later fell into desuetude. The result of its work was the provisional law known as the *ḳānūn-i muwaḳḳatī-yi tas͟hkīlāt wa uṣūl muḥākamāt* of 1329 (the provisional law for the regulations of judicial procedure of 1911). This law, in spite of its provisional nature, was the basis on which the judicial reforms carried out after the grant of the constitution rested. Under its authority a number of provisional laws were passed, a procedure which enabled the government to take "experimental" action and which avoided the question of whether the *madjlis* was contravening Article 2 of the Supplementary Fundamental Laws or not. Article 45 of the provisional law of 1911 defines *s͟harᶜī* matters as "matters which are established in accordance with the law of the illustrious *s͟harᶜ* of Islam". The lack of any more precise definition of *s͟harᶜī* and *ᶜurfī* matters illustrates the difficulty which the legislators experienced in making a separation between the two systems. The law further divides cases into those concerning *s͟harᶜī* matters, *ᶜurfī* matters and "joint" cases, i.e. cases which concerned both *s͟harᶜī* and *ᶜurfī* matters. The last could only be referred to the *ᶜadliyya* (the Ministry of Justice) with the consent of both parties. *S͟harᶜī* cases are defined *inter alia* as cases arising from ignorance of a *s͟harᶜī* judgment or *s͟harᶜī* matters, cases concerning marriage and divorce, debt, inheritance, *awḳāf* and the appointment of *mutawallīs* and legal guardians. The *s͟harᶜī* courts (*maḥāẓir*, sing. *maḥẓar*) were presided over by a *mudjtahid* possessing the necessary qualifications (*djāmiᶜal-s͟harāʾiṭ*) and two deputies (*ḳarīb al-idjtihād*). The effect of the provisional law, although it was perhaps intended to limit the competence of the *s͟harᶜī* courts, was, in fact, to lead to the referral of most cases to the *s͟harᶜī* courts. There were various

reasons for this: a lack of trained personnel to administer a secular law, lack of familiarity on the part of the public with the lengthy formalities involved by the new procedures, the fact that in the provinces cases were for the most part decided by the governors on an *ad hoc* basis and the existence of a separate court in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with branches in the provinces known as *kārgudhārīhā* for cases involving foreign subjects. For these and other reasons, reform proceeded slowly. Courts of first instance and courts of appeal, special commercial and military tribunals and a court of cassation (*dīwān-i tamyīz*) were, however, set up.

Under Riḍā Shāh (1925-42) the government embarked upon an ambitious programme of legal reform, and with the increasing power of the central government, the tendency to ride roughshod over opposition on the part of the religious classes grew. Various parts of the civil code were promulgated between 1925 and 1935, thereby increasingly limiting the competence of the *sharʿī* courts. Negotiations were begun for the abolition of the capitulations, which finally became effective from 10 May 1928, the provincial tribunals presided over by the *kārgudhārs* having already been dissolved by the law of 12 Shahrīvar 1306/3 September 1927 [see IMTIYĀZĀT, iii, Persia]. In 1305/1926-7 the Ministry of Justice was empowered to put into operation a reformed version of the provisional law of 1911, and as a result a number of new provisional laws were passed. The *ʿadliyya* was reorganised and the list of matters which were to be referred to the *sharʿī* courts was revised. By the law for the regulations of judicial procedure of 7 Day 1307/1928-9, the existence of *sharʿī* courts was reaffirmed, but their competence was limited broadly to cases referring to marriage and divorce, matters of succession and guardianship and the administration of wills and *awḳāf*. In the following year, by the law of Khurdād 1308/1929 their competence was further reduced, while the law of 10 Ādhar 1310/1930 abrogated earlier laws concerning *sharʿī* courts and recognised only those courts which were presided over by a *mudjtahid* possessing the necessary qualifications. Finally, in 1937 new Regulations for judicial procedure (*āʾīn-i dādrasī-yi madanī*) in 789 articles were presented to the *madjlis*. They were finally passed on 25 Shahrīvar 1318/1939 and replaced the earlier provisional laws.

In these various ways, which would in mediaeval terminology have been described as *ḥiyal*, an open clash between the modernists and the authorities of the religious law was avoided and a civil law was codified and brought into operation. The sections on marriage, divorce, inheritance, *awḳāf*, irrigation and dead lands were simply a codified version of *sharʿī* law already in operation with minor changes. In matters of divorce, the position was materially altered by the Family Protection Act of 1967. A penal code, based mainly on French law but also influenced by Swiss and Belgian law, was promulgated in 1928 and replaced by a new code in 1939. A provisional law for commercial courts was set up under the provisional law of 1911 and a commercial code promulgated in 1932.

Throughout the period under review down to the early 20th century *sharʿī* and *ʿurfī* jurisdictions continued side by side. The former, administered by the *ḳāḍī* and the *sharʿī* judges, covered in theory all aspects of the believer's life, was a written law, and subject to known procedures. In theory it was supreme and unchallenged, but in practice it was limited in the scope of its operation. The latter, administered by the ruler and his deputies, was unwritten, its judgments were executed by the strong hand of power and it was in practice dominant. At best it was regulated by custom and at worst wholly arbitrary and guided by the whim of the ruler. The distinction between the two jurisdictions was not, and could not be, clearly drawn since the *sharīʿa* could, in theory, have no rival. The operation of the two jurisdictions was personal: now the one, now the other, extended the field of its operation. The relationship between them was uncertain and uneasy. The power of execution in all cases rested with the *ʿurfī* officials, but so far as the *sharʿī* officials were associated with the *ʿurfī* courts, a quasi-*sharʿī* sanction was given to their proceedings.

Bibliography: Sections on *ḳaḍāʾ* are to be found in all major works on *fiḳh*, both Sunnī and Shīʿī. Material on the general principles of taking up government office is also to be found in the sections on *al-amr wa 'l-nahy* and *al-makāsib* and *al-buyūʿ*. Information on the exercise of the office of *ḳāḍī* by individuals is to be found in biographical dictionaries and histories. For the modern period, see Ahmad-Daftary, *La suppression des capitulations en Perse*, Paris 1930; idem, *Āʾīn-i dādrasī-yi madanī wa bāzargānī*, Tehran 2 vols., i, 1324/1956-7, ii, 1334/1966-7; Muṣṭafā ʿAdl Manṣūr al-Salṭana, *Ḥuḳūḳ-i madanī*[2], Tehran 1308/1929; ʿAlī Pāshā Ṣāliḥ, *Ḳuwwa-yi muḳannana wa ḳuwwa-yi ḳaḍāʾiyya*, Tehran 1343/1964-5, Muḥammad Djaʿfar Langarūdī, *Dānishnāma-yi ḥuḳūḳ*, 3 vols., Tehran 1343-52/1964-74; D. Hinchcliffe, *The Iranian family protection act*, in *The international and comparative law quarterly* (April 1968), 516-21; E. Gräf, *Der Brauch (urf/ada) nach islamischen Recht*, in K. Tauchmann, ed., *Festschrift für H. Petri*, Vienna 1973, 122-44.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

4. THE ARAB LANDS AND ISRAEL IN THE MODERN PERIOD

i. Egypt

In the period of direct Ottoman rule in Egypt, the *Sharīʿa* courts had a very wide jurisdiction, which comprised civil law, including personal status and *waḳf*, and also criminal and administrative matters. Their personal jurisdiction applied also to disputes between non-Muslims and Muslims, between non-Muslims of different denominations, and even between non-Muslims of the same denomination who agreed to litigate before a *Sharīʿa* court.

Muḥammad ʿAlī established many judicial authorities which took away important powers from the *Sharīʿa* courts: *madjlis aḥlām al-daʿwā* and *madjlis daʿāwā al-balad*, which dealt with claims for specific amounts and with agricultural matters; and *al-madjālis al-markaziyya*, which heard appeals against decisions of the latter courts and had original jurisdiction in claims for greater amounts. The courts of first instance (*al-madjālis al-ibtidāʾiyya*) in the provincial capitals heard criminal matters and civil claims up to substantial amounts. Their judgments were appealable to the courts of appeal (*madjālis al-istiʾnāf*). The highest appellate court was the *madjlis al-aḥkām*, which sat in Cairo. Other judicial authorities were *madjlis al-tidjāra* (a commercial court) and *madjlis mashyakhat al-balad*. Jurisdiction in criminal cases and the "investigation of complaints" in the old sense were exercised by the chief administrative office, *al-dīwān al-khidīwī*, headed by the *Kikhya* as representative of the Pasha; the chief of police (*ḍābiṭ*) and the *muḥtasib* also had considerable powers of punishment.

A major reform in the judicial system was carried

out in the days of Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a. The *Ḥasbiyya* Courts Law of 1873 was a first, moderate step in restricting the powers of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts. The *ḥasbiyya* courts (reorganised under a law of 1896 and renamed *maḥākim ḥasbiyya* rather than *mad̲j̲ālis ḥasbiyya* in 1947) were competent to look after the financial interests of local absent persons and minors, both Muslims and non-Muslims. Certain matters of personal status were also transferred to these new courts; the Public Treasury (*bayt al-māl*) was abolished. A national system of civil jurisdiction, comprising a number of *mad̲j̲ālis*, was established in 1874. In 1876, mixed tribunals were set up in which both foreign and local judges served. They heard disputes between foreigners of different nationalities and between foreigners and Egyptians. The local judges of these courts were exposed to the influence of Western legal principles and judicial norms.

The Code of Procedure of *S̲h̲arīʿa* Courts of 1880 limited the jurisdiction of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts to matters of personal status, succession, *waḳf* and gifts, and cases of homicide. They had concurrent jurisdiction, by the side of the provincial councils, in matters of blood-money.

The British occupation of Egypt in 1882 did not, in theory, change the juridical status of the country, which nominally continued to be part of the Ottoman Empire, though enjoying a large measure of autonomy. As a result of reorganisation, the jurisdiction of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts was restricted to personal status, succession and part of the law of landed property, including *waḳf* of Muslims; the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts in the major towns had jurisdiction also in cases of homicide referred to them by the *mad̲j̲ālis niẓāmiyya*.

Until 1883, the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts had general and residuary jurisdiction with regard to all residents of Egypt. They also had jurisdiction in matters of personal status of non-Muslims, both local and foreign, if the parties had no communal court of their own or did not signify their acceptance of *milla* (communal) jurisdiction, or if they belonged to different denominations, or if a non-Muslim husband had converted to Islam after marriage. The sphere of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts was restricted, either by direct limitation or by definition of the spheres of the other courts. In 1883, the judicial system was reorganised: the civil courts (*mad̲j̲ālis niẓāmiyya*) were replaced by national courts (*maḥākim ahliyya*) based on European models (the reform was only completed in 1889). Mixed and national courts took over many of the powers of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts. They were competent to hear criminal matters (homicide) and many matters of personal status and *waḳf*. The law of 1896 further restricted the jurisdiction of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts, viz. to matrimony, dower, divorce, the custody of children, maintenance (including maintenance between relatives), paternity, succession, *waḳf* and gifts; homicide was removed from their jurisdiction to that of criminal courts.

The dichotomy between the *s̲h̲arʿī* judicial system, in which the non-codified *S̲h̲arīʿa* applied, and the variegated system of the national and mixed courts, in which judges with a modern legal training applied Western-inspired codes, increasingly sharpened. In 1899, Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] suggested the amalgation of all judicial authorities within the framework of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts or, more concretely, the vesting of the *S̲h̲arīa* courts with jurisdiction in criminal matters and incidental jurisdiction in other matters (along with the hearing of matrimonial and *waḳf* cases). He also suggested integrating the *muftīs* in the higher echelons of the judicial system. His suggestions were not accepted.

Another law, of 1909-10, defined the jurisdiction of the different *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts in greater detail, but brought nothing substantively new. The law of 1931, which was in force until the abolition of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts, dealt more intensively with the jurisdiction of the latter. Matters relating to gifts, which had been under the jurisdiction of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts, were transferred to the national courts a few years before the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts were abolished.

The establishment of the *ḥasbiyya* courts in 1947 was only the first step towards the unification of the judicial system in Egypt. In 1949, the mixed courts were abolished, and their powers were transferred to the national courts. Law no. 462 of 1955 abolished the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts and the courts of the religious communities (*al-maḥākim al-milliyya*) with effect from 1 January 1956, and transferred their powers to the national courts, thereby closing the circle. The abolition of the religious courts was prompted by considerations of administrative efficiency—the need to prevent conflict of jurisdiction and miscarriages of justice—but above all, it was intended to demonstrate national sovereignty by removing the remnants of the judicial autonomy of foreigners. The action taken against the non-Muslim courts was more significant because in a Muslim country the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts are identified with the state. Moreover, only the *s̲h̲arīʿī ḳāḍīs* have been absorbed into the national courts, so that matters of personal status of non-Muslims can now be heard before Muslim judges, although the latter are supposed to apply the religious law of the parties.

Following the Ottoman conquest, the dominant doctrine in the Egyptian *s̲h̲arʿī* system was the Ḥanafī one, although the population was mainly S̲h̲āfiʿī (in the north) and Mālikī (in the south). The *ḳānūn* of the sultan, ostensibly designed to supplement the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, superseded it in many matters, especially criminal, in which difficulties arose in its application in the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts. Egypt was not affected by the *Tanẓīmāt* legislation of the Ottoman Empire, and neither was the *Med̲j̲elle* introduced there.

After an endeavour had been made in 1855, under Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a, to codify the criminal law, one which only resulted in a "confused compilation" based mainly on the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, there came the greater juridical reform under Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a in connection with the creation of the mixed tribunals (1876). At the time of the creation of the national courts (*maḥākim ahliyya*) (1883), new civil, criminal and commercial codes were proclaimed which were based on French models.

In the late 19th century, Muḥammad Ḳadrī Pas̲h̲a prepared codes, all based on the Ḥanafī doctrine, of several departments of law: (1) *Kitāb Murs̲h̲id al-ḥayrān ilā maʿrifat aḥwāl al-insān*, which dealt with civil law; it was not officially recognised; (2) *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-s̲h̲arʿiyya fī 'l-aḥwāl al-s̲h̲ak̲h̲ṣiyya*, which dealt with personal status, succession, incompetence, gifts etc.; though not adopted by act of parliament, it was published by the Egyptian government in 1875 and enjoyed semi-official status; it was only intended to meet the increased need, caused by the creation of the mixed and national tribunals, for a convenient summary of the law administered by the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts and had no authority of its own with the latter; there are official translations into French and Italian and a commentary by Muḥammad Zayd al-Ibyānī; and (3) *Ḳānūn al-ʿadl wa'l-inṣāf li'l-ḳaḍāʾ ʿalā mus̲h̲kilat al-aw-ḳāf* (Būlāḳ 1893, 1894, and later editions), which deals with pious foundations.

A law of 1880 provided that the judgments of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts should be based exclusively on the most approved opinion of the Ḥanafī school, except for

cases of homicide, in which the *ḳāḍīs*, to avoid corruption and the spilling of innocent blood, were permitted to follow the two disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī, or, in cases of deliberate homicide, the three other schools. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, within the framework of reforms in the *sharʿī* judicial system, suggested appointing a commission of *ʿulamāʾ* to prepare comprehensive codes, especially as to personal status and *waḳf*, culled from all the Sunnī doctrines according to considerations of public welfare; they were meant to be applied in the *Sharīʿa* courts by order of the ruler; but ʿAbduh's suggestion was not adopted. The *Sharīʿa* Courts Organisation Law of 1910 again required the *ḳāḍīs*, in principle, to follow the most approved opinion of the Ḥanafī school.

From 1920, Parliament engaged in extensive reformist legislation on matters of personal status, succession and *waḳf*; it deviated from the Ḥanafī doctrine and adopted elements of other Sunnī doctrines and of the Shīʿa. This legislation comprised Law no. 25 of 1920 and Law no. 25 of 1929 on maintenance, divorce and other matters; Law no. 78 of 1931 on the organisation of the *Sharīʿa* courts, introducing also reforms in family law; the Succession Law, no. 77 of 1943; the Testamentary Disposition Law, no. 71 of 1946, the *Waḳf* Laws, no. 48 of 1946 and no. 180 of 1952, and Law no. 118 of 1952 concerning the denial of guardianship over a person.

The Civil Code of 1948, prepared by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī, which served as model for the civil codes of several Arab countries, draws inspiration from the *Sharīʿa* as one source among many, and not the most important. It is based on the codes of 1875 and 1883, which in turn go back to the Code Napoléon. Part of the reforms were at first carried out in the Sudan, through the Grand *Ḳāḍī*, who was an Egyptian jurist.

The *Sharīʿa* Courts Abolition Law, no. 462 of 1955, provides that the national courts shall decide matters of personal status and *waḳf* in accordance with section 280 of the *Sharīʿa* Courts Organisation Law of 1931, that is to say, in accordance with the most approved opinion of the Ḥanafī school, except for matters specially provided for in that law and in statutes of the nineteen-twenties and subsequent years supplementing it. In the national courts, Islamic law applies also to non-Muslims in matters of succession and wills and where the parties do not belong to the same denomination, or one of them has converted to Islam in the course of the proceedings.

After the unification of the judiciary, there were several attempts to codify the law of personal status. There was a growing realisation that the national courts should apply a uniform material law, valid for members of all religions and for foreigners as well as for local residents. But reformist legislation was only resumed in the second half of the nineteen-seventies, and even then not to the extent planned: Law no. 26 of 1976 introduced amendment in matters of maintenance and Law no. 44 of 1979 brought important reforms in matters of maintenance, divorce, maintenance of divorced women and custody of children.

In recent years, the efforts of Islamic orthodoxy have centred on an attempt to disprove the legitimacy of statutes inconsistent with the *Sharīʿa*. The prime objective was establishing the position of the *Sharīʿa* in the constitution of the state. The provisional constitution of 1964 (i.e. of the time of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir) did not mention the *Sharīʿa* at all. The 1971 constitution (art. 2) says that Islam is the state religion and that the principles of the *Sharīʿa* are *a* chief source of legislation, i.e. one of several. On 22 May 1980, following a referendum, it was laid down that the *Sharīʿa* was the chief source of legislation. There have been several attempts by superior courts, in reliance on article 2 of the constitution, to disprove the legality of laws contrary to the *Sharīʿa* (see, e.g. *al-Daʿwa*, February 1980). The Muslim Brothers [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] demand that the judicature, even at its lowest levels, should be enabled to pronounce on the legality of statutes. Alternatively, they suggest including the *sharʿī* laws, especially the penal ones, among the statutes (see e.g. *al-Daʿwa*, July 1980).

Since 1972, legislation has been proposed, by both private and governmental agencies, to introduce Ḳurʾānic punishments (*ḥudūd*) for theft and embezzlement, the consumption of alcoholic beverages, armed robbery, unchastity (*zinā*), false accusation of unchastity (*ḳadhf*), and apostasy from Islam (*ridda*). In 1975, a supreme committee for the initiation of laws conforming to the *Sharīʿa* (*al-Ladjna al-ʿulyā li-taṭwīr al-ḳawānīn wafḳ al-sharīʿa*) was set up. Up till now, these efforts have had scanty results. The legislative proposals were not adopted, except for a bill concerning the consumption and sale of alcoholic beverages, which became law in 1976 (*al-Iʿtiṣām*, August 1980).

In the period prior to the occupation of Egypt by the British, procedure and the rules of evidence in *Sharīʿa* courts were based on the *Sharīʿa*. Upon the reorganisation of the courts under the law of 1880, procedure was also revised. In 1883, immediately upon the British occupation, new regulations for civil and criminal procedure, based on French models, were proclaimed (the criminal code was brought up to date in 1904); but they were only applied by civil courts. As to the *Sharīʿa* courts, in the *Règlements* since 1897, there has been an increasing tendency to do away with oral evidence of witnesses and acknowledgment (*iḳrār*) as means of proof and to prefer documentary evidence. Muḥammad ʿAbduh suggested making the use of written documents a condition of the jurisdiction of the *Sharīʿa* courts. Reformist legislation from the nineteen-twenties onwards concerning personal status and succession included also procedural provisions which served as means to circumvent substantive *sharʿī* legislation.

The *Sharīʿa* Courts Abolition Law, no. 462 of 1955, provides that the Civil Procedure Law shall apply to matters of personal status and *waḳf* in national courts, except for matters to which special provisions apply according to the *Sharīʿa* Courts Law or laws supplementing it. In addition, Law no. 57 of 1959 (amended by Law no. 106 of 1962) is to be applied to proceedings before the Court of Cassation (*maḥkamat al-naḳḍ*).

In the days of Muḥammad ʿAlī, there was in Cairo a chief *ḳāḍī*, sent every year from Istanbul, who delegated the bulk of the business to the deputy he brought with him from Istanbul. The plaintiff had, as a rule, to produce a *fatwā* from the local Ḥanafī *muftī*, who held permanent office; the *muftī*, for his part, investigated the legal dispute and the *ḳāḍī* was usually satisfied with confirming the *fatwā*. Simple cases were decided at once by the *ḳāḍī*'s deputy or by one of the official witnesses, to whom application had first of all to be made. Cases of a more complicated nature were brought before the chief *ḳāḍī*, his deputy and the *muftī* together.

In addition to this chief court of justice, there were subsidiary courts in Cairo and the suburbs at which official witnesses of the chief court administered justice as deputies and under the supervision of the

chief *ḳāḍī*. In the country towns there were also *ḳāḍīs*, who were usually aided by *muftīs*. The *ḳāḍīs* were paid by the litigants and not by the state. Saʿīd obtained the right to nominate *ḳāḍīs* (but not the chief *ḳāḍī*) and Ismāʿīl received permission to nominate, temporarily at least, the deputy of the chief *ḳāḍī*, who himself remained in Turkey.

By a law of 1880, the benches of the *Sharīʿa* courts in Cairo and Alexandria were made to consist of three judges, the court in Cairo became a court of appeal from the decisions of single judges, and the judgments of the two courts were made appealable to the Ḥanafī (chief) *muftī*; in cases of doubt, the courts were referred to the competent *muftīs*, but for the rest they were made independent of them.

A further step forward was marked by the *Règlement de Réorganisation des Mehkémehs* of 1897, modified in 1909-10; between the two versions came the *fatwā* of Muḥammad ʿAbduh on the reform of *Sharīʿa* jurisdiction of 1899. Both versions provided for an organisation of the *Sharīʿa* courts in three stages: *sommaire* (*djuzʾiyya*), *de première instance* (*ibtidāʾiyya*) and *suprême* (*ʿulyā*), according to the terminology finally adopted; single judges sat in the first stage, colleges of judges in the other stages (always three according to the earlier version, three in the intermediate instance and five in the highest court in Cairo according to the later version). The court of appeal was the next highest court; the more important cases were at once brought before the court *de première instance*. The earlier version gave the *muftīs* definite places on the bench of the collegiate courts; in the later version, the vice-president acted as *muftī*, except in Cairo. The *Règlement* of 1931 brought the number of judges in the highest court down to three.

The *Sharīʿa* Courts Abolition Law of 1955 provides that matters of personal status shall be dealt with by national courts of three grades, to be specially established for this purpose. Those of the lowest grade, called the summary courts (*al-maḥākim al-djuzʾiyya*), are to hear all matters of personal status, as defined in the *Sharīʿa* Courts Law no. 78 of 1931, except paternity, repudiation and judicial dissolution on the wife's initiative, which are within the jurisdiction of the courts of first instance (*al-maḥākim al-ibtidāʾiyya*). In addition, the courts of first instance hear matters of *waḳf* and appeals from judgments of the summary courts as far as these are appealable. Non-final judgments of the courts of first instance sitting as courts of original jurisdiction are appealable to the Personal Status Appeals Department of the Court of Cassation.

A summary court has a bench of one; a court of first instance has a bench of three and may include *sharʿī ḳāḍīs*. The president of the court of first instance is a senior judge of the Court of Appeal. Courts of first instance exist in every provincial capital. The Personal Status Appeals Department has a bench of three, one of whom may be a *sharʿī ḳāḍī* of the rank of *nāʾib* or a member of the Supreme *Sharīʿa* Court of Appeal. The president of the Supreme *Sharīʿa* Court is made a member of the Court of Cassation, of which the Personal Status Appeals Department forms a part and which sits in Cairo.

The law of 1955 provides that the *ḳāḍīs* of the *Sharīʿa* courts of all grades shall be integrated into the national courts system, the public prosecutor's department and the Ministry of Justice as far as matters of personal status are concerned. Actually, most *sharʿī ḳāḍīs* have been integrated into the summary courts, in which judicial proceedings in matters of personal status are mainly conducted. At the same time, a not inconsiderable number of civil lawyers deal with matters of personal status of Muslims.

The *Sharīʿa* Courts Law of 1931 provided that only advocates might represent parties in court, A *ḳāḍīs*' school established in 1907 trained also *sharʿī* advocates. They set up a bar association similar to the bar association of civil advocates. Since the abolition of the *Sharīʿa* courts, *sharʿī* advocates have been permitted to appear, in matters that had formerly been within the jurisdiction of the *sharīʿa* courts, before national courts of the corresponding grade.

In the mid-seventies a tendency emerged—tolerated by the authorities for reasons of domestic policy—to apply *sharʿī* laws, even if not anchored in statutory legislation, in the jurisprudence of the national courts and to refuse to apply statutes considered inconsistent with the *Sharīʿa* (*Rose al-Yūsuf*, 18 February 1980; *al-Daʿwa*, February 1980, February 1981).

Bibliography: Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. iv; *EI*¹ art. KHEDĪW, sect. 2; Schacht, *Sarīʿa und Qānūn im modernen Ägypten*, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 209-36; the texts of the laws and decrees in the *Journal Officiel du Gouvernement Égyptien* and separately, e.g. *Lāʾiḥat al-maḥākim al-sharʿiyya*, Būlāḳ 1297/1880; *Règlement de Réorganisation des Mehkémehs*, Cairo 1910; *Madjmūʿat ḳawānīn al-maḥākim al-sharʿiyya wa 'l-madjālis al-ḥasbiyya*, Cairo 1926; Sammarco, *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, iv, 265 ff.; Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Taḳrīr fī iṣlāḥ al-maḥākim al-sharʿiyya*, Cairo 1900; J. Brugman, *De betekenis van het Mohammedaanse recht in het hedendaagse Egypte* ("The place of Islamic law in contemporary Egypt"), The Hague 1960, with important bibliography; J. N. D. Anderson, *Law reform in Egypt, 1850-1950*, in P. M. Holt (ed.), *Political and social change in modern Egypt*, London 1968, 209-30; Ch. Chehata, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1970; Maḥmaṣānī, *al-Awḍāʿ al-tashrīʿiyya*, 220-40; F. J. Ziadeh, *Lawyers, the rule of law and liberalism in modern Egypt*, Stanford, Calif. 1968; E. Hill, *Mahkama. Studies in the Egyptian legal system*, London 1979; *Ḳawānīn al-aḥwāl al-shakhṣiyya baʿd al-taʿdīlāt al-djadīda, Ḳānūn Ḳabḍ al-Nafaḳa min Bank Nāṣir al-Idjtimāʿī wa-Ḳānūn Salb al-Wilāya ʿalā al-Nafs*, Maktab al-Maṭbūʿāt al-Islāmiyya wa'l-Ḳānūniyya, Cario [1980]; I. Altman, *Islamic legislation in Egypt in the 1970s*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xiii/3 (1979), 199-219; further see Schacht, *Introduction*, 252, 254 f.

(J. SCHACHT - [A. LAYISH])

ii. Syria

In the Ottoman era, the *sharʿī* judicial system of Syria was integrated in the Ottoman legal system. The powers of the *Sharīʿa* courts were re-determined by Law no. 261 of 1926; they comprise matters of personal status, succession and *waḳf*. However, in contrast to the position in Lebanon, the *Sharīʿa* courts are regarded as the ordinary judicial authorities in matters of personal status of non-Muslims, except for matters left to the jurisdiction of the communal courts. In matters of guardianship, succession, wills, interdiction (*ḥadjr*), legal majority (*rushd*), maintenance of relatives within the wider family, *waḳf khayrī* and the like, non-Muslims are amenable to the *Sharīʿa* courts. Matters of personal status of foreign Muslims who in their countries of origin are subject to civil law are amenable to the civil courts. The *Sharīʿa* court consists of a single *ḳāḍī*, whose judgment may be appealed to the *sharʿī* department of the Court of Cassation (*maḥkamat al-tamyīz*). The judicial authority Law, no. 12 of 1961, provides for 25

Muslim courts throughout Syria, each consisting of a single *ḳāḍī*, except for those in Damascus and Aleppo, which have three *ḳāḍīs* each.

The Shīʿīs of Syria, unlike those of Lebanon, have no courts of their own, and are theoretically subject to the Sunnī *Sharīʿa* courts. But it seems that they settle matters of personal status through unofficial arbitration by their leaders.

By virtue of the law of 1926, the non-Muslim communities have religious courts of their own, with jurisdiction limited to some matters not within the competence of the *Sharīʿa* courts: betrothal, marriage, the various kinds of divorce, matrimonial maintenance and children's maintenance.

The Syrian Law of Personal Status of 1953 replaced the Ottoman Family Rights Law of 1917. It is based on the Ḥanafī doctrine and on reformist legislation anchored in other Sunnī doctrines. In the absence of an express provision in it as to a particular matter, the ruling opinion of the Ḥanafī school is to be followed. The Syrian constitutions from 1950 onwards provide that the *Sharīʿa* shall be the principal source of legislation. The said law applies also to the Shīʿīs, as well as to non-Muslims (Christians and Druzes), except for those matters within the competence of the religious courts of the latter to which their religious law applies (art. 308). In other words, this law represents an attempt to frame a code of personal status applying to all citizens of Syria without distinction of school or religion.

Procedure was unified by the Law of Procedure of 1947. Under the Jurisdiction Law of 1961, *Sharīʿa*, Christian and Druze courts apply the rules of procedure of the civil courts; the special rules of the different communities, including the Ottoman *Sharʿī* Procedure Law, were abolished.

In the Ottoman era, the Druzes of Syria were not recognised as a religious community and were theoretically amenable to the jurisdiction of the *Sharīʿa* courts. In practice, they settled matters of marriage, divorce, wills, *waḳf*, etc., before Druze *ḳāḍīs* lacking statutory status. Like their Lebanese brethren, the Syrian Druzes were recognised as a religious community by the Mandatory authorities in 1936 and thereby given the right to exercise communal jurisdiction in matters of personal status; but there were differences of opinion as to this with regard to the Druzes residing outside the Djabal al-Durūz and especially in Damascus.

Law no. 134 of 1945 made it possible to set up an independent judicial system for the Druzes in accordance with *madhhabī* principles and customs. The powers of the courts comprise matters of marriage, divorce, maintenance and the like, as well as matters of succession and wills. Law no. 294 of 1946 and the General Judicial Powers Law, no. 56 of 1959, confirmed the powers of the Druze courts under the 1945 law.

Until 1953, the Druze courts applied Druze religious law and custom. Matters concerning Druzes heard before the *Sharīʿa* courts were determined in accordance with the Ottoman Family Rights Law. The Syrian Personal Status Law of 1953 extends also to the Druzes, except for matters peculiar to Druze law, viz. the ban on polygamy and on the reinstatement of a divorced woman, the right of succession of an orphaned grandchild (the principle of representation) and the absolute freedom of testation (art. 307). Law no. 134 of 1945 provides that the Druze courts shall function in accordance with their own rules of procedure. Appeal proceedings before the civil Court of Cassation in Damascus, to which the Druzes resort since 1959, are conducted under the civil law of procedure.

The 1945 law established a two-grade judicial system for the Druzes: courts of first instance consisting of a single *ḳāḍī* and a court of appeal—the Principal Council (*al-hayʾa al-raʾīsiyya*)—which is the supreme *madhhabī* authority and whose seat is in the province of Djabal al-Durūz. The latter's judgments were to be final. Law no. 294 of 1946 provides that the Principal Council shall consist of three *madhhabi* leaders. The *ḳāḍīs* were to be appointed by the Minister of Justice upon the recommendation of the Religious Council (*al-hayʾa al-dīniyya*), on which the spiritual heads of the Druze community were represented. The judgments were to be enforced by the authorities of the state. Law no. 56 of 1959 restricted the judicial autonomy of the Druzes. It provided that a Druze *ḳāḍī* should be appointed, by order, on the recommendation of the Minister of Justice of the Syrian province of the United Arab Republic. Appeals against his judgments were to be heard before the civil Court of Cassation in Damascus (in which the Druzes were not represented) under the rules of procedure obtaining in respect of Muslim *sharʿī ḳāḍīs*. The Druze court of appeal was abolished and, by way of compensation, a "Druze Department of Legal Opinions" (*dāʾirat al-iftāʾ li 'l-madhhab al-durzī*) was set up, consisting of the *ḳāḍīs* of the former court of appeal. This body is unconnected with the judicial system. Law no. 56 of 1959 was amended by Law no. 98 of 1961, which provides that the election of a Druze *ḳāḍī* requires not only the recommendation of the Minister of Justice but also the consent of the High Judicial Council (*madjlis al-ḳaḍāʾ al-aʿlā*).

The Bedouin of Syria used to settle their disputes before an arbitral board (*ladjna taḥkīmiyya*) consisting of two arbitrators and an umpire, elected by the parties, which followed tribal custom (*ʿurf*). The Tribes Law, no. 124 of 1953 (amended in 1956), forbade Bedouin, by means of penal provisions, to carry out raids (*ghazw*). In 1956, matters of personal status of Bedouin were assigned to the *Sharīʿa* courts, and in 1958 the Tribes Law was repealed and the Bedouin became amenable to the ordinary legal system of the state and to the laws applying therein.

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iii. Lebanon

The Lebanese legal system is mainly based on the *Règlement Organique* of 1861, which granted the Province of Mount Lebanon administrative and judicial autonomy guaranteed by the great powers. The system remained unchanged until World War I, when Turkey again ruled Lebanon directly for a short period. The *Règlement* makes no mention of the religious-legal system, but laid the foundation for the organisation of the judicial system on a communal basis. At the end of Ottoman rule, the *Sharīʿa* courts had jurisdiction in matters of personal status, succession and *waḳf* of Muslims and some matters of Christians, such as succession, if one of the heirs requested it.

Upon the severance of Lebanon from the Ottoman Empire, the status of the Muslims was assimilated to that of the other communities. The French administration made the Muftī of Beirut a "Grand Muftī" (*al-muftī al-akbar*) heading the Sunnī Muslim community and representing it before the authorities, similar in status to the spiritual heads of the Christian communities. In 1955, he became the "Muftī of the Republic". Beside him functions the "Supreme *Sharʿī* Council" (*al-madjlis al-sharʿī al-aʿlā*), designed to assist him in running the religious affairs of the community and administering the *wakfs*. It consists of six *kādīs* and the President of the Supreme *Sharīʿa* Court.

The Lebanese Shīʿīs, unlike their brethren in Syria, were recognised as a religious community entitled to their own judicial autonomy. The powers of the Sunnī and Djaʿfarī Shīʿī *Sharīʿa* courts were defined by Law no. 241 of 1942 (amended in 1946) and by the Law Concerning the Organisation of Sunnī and Djaʿfarī *Sharʿī* Jurisdiction of 1962, which superseded the former. They comprised personal status, succession and wills and matters such as legal majority (*bulūgh, rushd*), interdiction (*hadjr*), missing persons (*mafkūd*), control of moneys of orphans, *wakf dhurrī* and *mustathnā*. *Wakf madbūt* and *wakf mulhak* of Sunnīs are within the jurisdiction of their *wakf* administrative council, while those of Djaʿfarīs are within that of the Djaʿfarī courts.

The Ottoman Family Rights Law of 1917 is still in force in Lebanon. In the absence of an express provision in this law as to a particular matter, the Sunnī *Sharīʿa* court must follow the dominant opinion of the Ḥanafī school. The court also uses the codification of the laws of personal status of the Egyptian, Ḳadrī Pasha (see Section i above). In matters of interdiction and legal incompetence and of management of moneys of minors, the *Sharīʿa* court applies the *Medjelle* as amended by Lebanese legislation, which sometimes deviates from the Ḥanafī doctrine.

The Djaʿfarī court applies the laws of the Djaʿfarī doctrine and the provisions of the Ottoman Family Rights Law compatible with it. Where the parties do not belong to the same school (Sunnī or Djaʿfarī), the doctrine is determined by the court in accordance with the matter under consideration. In matters of succession and wills, e.g., the courts follow the school of the deceased. For reasons of convenience, a certain mobility exists among Shīʿīs and Sunnīs in matters of personal status and succession. The Ḥanafī doctrine applies to many matters of non-Muslims, such as succession (until 1959), *wakf*, interdiction and legal incompetence. The laws of 1942 and 1946 laid down also rules of court deviating in some respects from the Ottoman ones; there are certain differences in procedure between Sunnī and Djaʿfarī courts.

There are two separate systems of courts, a Sunnī one and a Djaʿfarī one. Each consists of courts of first instance, manned by a single *kādī*, in major centres and a supreme court, manned by three *kādīs*, in Beirut, which acts as a court of cassation (*mahkamat al-tamyīz*) in some matters and as a court of appeal (*mahkama istiʾnāfiyya*) in others. The judgments of both courts are enforced by the execution offices of the state. The state appoints and dismisses the *kādīs* and pays their salaries.

The wide autonomy of the courts of the Christian communities (*mahākim rūhiyya*) is another carry-over from the special status of the Province of Mount Lebanon in the second half of the 19th century. Article 156 of the Ottoman Family Rights Law of 1917 abrogated the judicial powers of the spiritual heads of the Christian communities in matters of personal status, but the French administration ignored that article; in fact, it was repealed by order of the governor of December 1921 and the Christian courts remained in existence. The powers of the courts of ten Christian communities (and of the Jewish community) were defined by laws of 1930 and 1951. These powers are wider than those courts had in the past but still narrower than those of the *Sharīʿa* courts. The widening of the powers of the Christian courts met with strong public opposition for national reasons (subjection to foreign law) and legal-professional ones. The laws of wills and succession of non-Muslims, of 1929 and 1959, respectively, freed the Christian communities from the sway of Islamic law.

The Druzes of the Province of Mount Lebanon were not recognised as a religious community under Ottoman rule. At the same time, there is evidence that they enjoyed a certain autonomy, by administrative arrangement, in matters of marriage, divorce and wills in which Druze religious law takes a special position; the Spiritual Head of the Druze community dealt with these matters "in accordance with ancient custom". That autonomy was abolished by order of the *Shaykh al-Islām* during World War I, together with the judicial autonomy of the Province of Mount Lebanon, and Druze matters of personal status were assigned to the Sunnī *Sharīʿa* courts; but the order was not implemented, and the autonomy remained in force.

In 1930, the Druze courts were granted jurisdiction in matters of personal status of the members of the community, similar to that exercised by the Sunnī and Djaʿfarī *Sharīʿa* courts. In 1936, the Mandate authorities formally recognised the Druzes as a religious community. The powers of the courts were re-defined by a law enacted in 1948 and especially by the Druze Administration of Justice Law, no. 3473 of 1960. The courts are competent to hear all matters to which Druze religious law, Druze custom and the Law of the Personal Status of the Druze Community apply.

Until 1948, the Druze courts applied non-codified religious law, Druze custom and the Ḥanafī doctrine as far as what was not inconsistent with Druze tradition and custom. The Law of the Personal Status of the Druze Community in Lebanon, of 1948—the most impressive modern family law at the time—is a synthesis of many sources of law, religious and secular, local and foreign, but its most important source of inspiration is ancient Druze religious law. In the absence of an express provision in the 1948 law as to a particular matter, the Ḥanafī doctrine is to be followed.

Order no. 3294 of 1938 requires Druze courts to apply the rules of procedure applicable in Sunnī and Djaʿfarī courts. The Druze Administration of Justice Law of 1960 provides that, in the absence of an express provision in that law as to a particular matter, the Druze courts shall apply the rules of procedure applicable in Muslim *Sharīʿa* courts, and that in the absence of an express provision also in the latter, they shall apply the general principles of civil procedure as far as they are not repugnant to Druze religious law and Druze tradition.

Before the establishment of statutory Druze courts, the two *shaykh al-ʿakls* served as an appellate authority acting, in a traditional manner, in accordance with customary law. The statutory status of the *shaykh al-ʿakls* as spiritual heads of the Druze community was regulated in 1962. In 1947, it was prescribed that the court of appeal, known as the Supreme Council (*al-*

hayʾa al-ʿulyā), should consist of the two shaykh al-ʿaḳls and a Druze civil judge. If it was not possible to man the Council, the Minister of Justice might appoint one or several judges of the court of first instance (other than those whose judgment was appealed against) to complete the bench. In 1958, it was ordained that if it was not possible to appoint a second shaykh al-ʿaḳl, the Minister of Justice should appoint a second Druze civil judge and that judgments relating to minors or legally incompetent persons, the Public Treasury (*bayt al-māl*), *waḳf*, and dissolution of a marriage on the ground of absence of the husband, might only be executed after confirmation by the appellate authority.

The Druze Administration of Justice Law of 1960 (amended in 1967) establishes a two-grade judicial system integrated in the general Lebanese legal system: courts of first instance, manned by a single *ḳāḍī madhhab*, in Beirut, ʿĀliya, Bʿaḳlīn, Rāshayyā and Ḥāṣbayyā and a court of appeal (Supreme Court), manned by a presiding judge and two assessors, in Beirut. The court of appeal performs the functions of a disciplinary committee for *ḳāḍīs* of the first instance. The status of the Druze *ḳāḍīs* is the same as that of the Muslim *sharʿī ḳāḍīs*, with certain modifications. In the absence of an express provision in that law as to a particular matter, the provisions of the Sunnī and Djaʿfarī *Sharīʿa* Justice Law are to be followed.

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iv. ʿIrāḳ

In the final period of Ottoman rule, a dual, *sharʿī* and civil, judicial system, integrated in the Ottoman legal system, was functioning in ʿIrāḳ. The *Sharīʿa* courts had jurisdiction in matters of personal status, succession and *waḳf*. Such courts, each consisting of a single Sunnī *ḳāḍī*, sat in towns. A judgment of the *Sharīʿa* court was appealable to the *Shaykh al-Islām* in Istanbul.

Djaʿfarī (Ithnā ʿAsharī) Shīʿī law was never officially recognised in the Ottoman Empire. Though theoretically amenable to the *Sharīʿa* courts, the Shīʿīs of ʿIrāḳ, who form over half of its population, did not in fact resort to them but settled their personal status matters, on a voluntary basis, before their *mudjtahidūn*, who had no statutory status.

Pari passu with the advance of the British forces in ʿIrāḳ in World War I, the Anglo-Indian legal system superseded the Turkish. During a short transitional period, the *Sharīʿa* courts were bereft of their status. *Ḳāḍīs* were elected *ad hoc* by the parties. They dealt with matters of personal status and succession, and their judgments were subject to confirmation by a British court. The Shīʿīs continued to resort to the *mudjtahidūn*, whose judgments were now, for the first time, recognised by the official authorities.

In July 1916, after the capture of Baghdād by the British, the *Sharīʿa* courts were reconstituted in Baghdād and other cities. Early in 1918, the *sharʿī* judicial system was reorganised with a view to adapting it to the new political situation. Personal jurisdiction was limited to Sunnīs, and matters of personal status of Shīʿīs, Christians and Jews were assigned to civil courts of first instance, which followed the personal status law of the parties or any custom applicable to them, provided it was not contrary to justice, equity or good conscience. These courts were authorised to refer such matters to the Shīʿī *mudjtahid* or to the Christian or Jewish religious authority, as the case might be. The judgments of these were subject to confirmation by the civil court. In 1921, Djaʿfarī courts were set up in Baghdād that were authorised to hear matters of personal status. Their judgments, too, were subject to confirmation by a civil court. Appeals against judgments of the Sunnī courts were heard before the *Sharīʿa* Council of Cassation (*madjlis al-tamyīz al-sharʿī*) under the *Sharīʿa* Courts Regulations of 1918.

After independence, the judicial system was reorganised. In 1923, a dual system of *Sharīʿa* courts, Sunnī and Djaʿfarī, with equal status, was set up. Their jurisdiction comprises personal status in a wide sense, succession and wills, *waḳf*, orphans' moneys, etc. A Basic Law of 1925 confirmed the dual system of courts. It provided that separate courts for the two schools should be set up in Baghdād and Baṣra, but only one court in other places, where the school of the *ḳāḍī* was to be the same as that of the majority of the inhabitants. The Establishment of Courts Law of 1945 provided that the *Sharīʿa* courts should be set up in localities where there were civil courts and that in the absence of a *ḳāḍī*, his place should be taken by a judge of the civil system.

Until 1963, appeals against judgments of *Sharīʿa* courts were heard before the *Sharīʿa* Council of Cassation, which had separate departments for Sunnīs and Djaʿfarīs. It could only confirm or set aside the judgment or direct the court to re-hear the case. The Minister of Justice had power to amend the decisions of the Council. In 1963, the Council was abolished, and appeals were henceforth heard before the State Court of Cassation (*maḥkamat tamyīz al-ʿIrāḳ*), which combined the functions of the Sunnī and Djaʿfarī Departments in the Personal Status Committee (*hayʾat al-mawādd al-shakhṣiyya*).

In the Ottoman era, the *Sharīʿa* courts followed the non-codified official Ḥanafī doctrine. The two Ottoman *irādas* of 1915 relating to personal status, and the *Medjelle*, the land law, with certain modifications, applied in ʿIrāḳ, but not the Ottoman Family Rights Law of 1917. The Ḥanafī doctrine applied also to matters of succession of Christians and Jews until special laws were enacted for them by the Civil Courts Regulations of 1918.

After World War I, the Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī*, if the parties belonged to another Sunnī school and demanded that the Ḥanafī doctrine be not applied, might either deal with the matter himself according to the school of the parties or refer it to an *ʿālim* of that school. If the parties belonged to different schools, the court, under the *Sharīʿa* Courts Law of 1923, had to follow the school of the deceased in matters of wills and intestate succession, the school of the husband in matters of marriage, divorce, dower, guardianship and the like, the school of the founder in matters of *waḳf* and the school of the defendant in matters of maintenance of relatives. In Djaʿfarī courts, the Djaʿfarī doctrine was applied. If, in a place where there were no separate courts for the

two schools, a Sunnī ḳāḍī dealt with matters of Shīʿīs, he had to rely on a *fatwā* of a Shīʿī ʿālim, and *vice versa.*

After several abortive attempts (in the nineteen-forties) to codify the ʿIrāḳī law of personal status and succession, a Personal Status Law, applying equally to all ʿIrāḳī Muslims, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, was promulgated in 1959 following ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim's *coup d'état* the year before. A succession law was taken over from a European source. Other important reforms concerned marriage and divorce. The 1959 law presents a blend of Sunnī and Shīʿī principles in some sections, while other sections preserve separate norms for the two branches of Islam. In 1963, after ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif's *coup*, under pressure from the *ʿulamāʾ*, a retreat occurred from reforms which did not seem compatible with the *Sharīʿa*. The foreign succession law was repealed, and in its stead the system of succession of the Twelver Shīʿa was made applicable to all ʿIrāḳī Muslims. In 1978, further important amendments were made in the Personal Status Law of 1959 in matters of marriage, divorce, custody of children and succession. In 1922, the Ottoman *Sharʿī* Procedure Law was adopted which, with amendments of the years 1922, 1929 and 1931, is still in force.

The courts of the non-Muslim communities (Christians and Jews) were vested, by the constitution, with jurisdiction in matters of marriage, divorce, alimony and probate. The other matters of personal status and succession are within the jurisdiction of the civil courts.

In the Ottoman era, tribal courts (*maḥākim al-ʿashāʾir*) applying customary law operated among the Bedouin. These courts were reorganised by the British in 1916 on a pattern borrowed from Indian legislation. A "political officer" appointed special tribal councils (*madjālis*) authorised to hear civil and criminal cases if at least one of the parties was a Bedouin. The relevant law was replaced by the Tribal Actions Regulation (*niẓām daʿāwī 'l-ʿashāʾir*) of 1918, which was amended several times (in 1924, 1933 and 1951). Some of the tribal customs were abrogated by statutory legislation. The judgments of the tribal courts were made subject to scrutiny by the *mutaṣarrif.* The tribal courts were abolished in 1958, after the *coup d'état*, with a view to integrating the Bedouin into the general legal system, which included also the *Sharīʿa* courts.

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v. Palestine and Israel

Upon the severance of Palestine from the Ottoman Empire in World War I, the country ceased to be a part of a sovereign Muslim state. The status of the Muslims was assimilated in practice, though not in theory, to that of the recognised communities of the Ottoman era. In the absence of a representative Muslim body, the Mandate authorities, by order of December 1921, set up the Supreme Muslim Council (*al-madjlis al-islāmī al-aʿlā*) and appointed the Muftī of Jerusalem its chairman. This body was designed to fill the vacuum which, in the absence of a Muslim sovereign, had been created in all matters relating to the Muslim religious establishment.

Article 52 of the Palestine Order in Council, 1922, which is the principal enactment determining the powers of the *Sharīʿa* courts to this day, granted them sole jurisdiction in all matters of personal status, succession and *waḳf*, as they had had at the end of the Ottoman era, with some modifications arising out of the new political situation: their jurisdiction was limited to matters relating to the establishment and internal administration of *waḳfs* of the *mulḥaḳ* category, i.e. those administered by private *mutawallīs*. The order of 1921 gave the Muslim Council control of the *waḳfs* of the *maḍbūṭ* category, i.e. those administered by a *maʾmūr al-awḳāf* in the Ottoman era. In 1937, these powers of the Council passed to a government commission appointed under the Defence Regulations (Muslim *Waḳf*).

The personal jurisdiction of the *Sharīʿa* courts was limited to Muslim litigants. The residuary jurisdiction they had had in respect of non-Muslims in the Ottoman era was transferred to civil courts, and their jurisdiction in matters relating to the establishment or validity of *waḳfs* of non-Muslims established before *Sharīʿa* courts up to 1922 was changed from exclusive to concurrent.

The material law applying to matters of personal status in *Sharīʿa* courts was mainly the Ottoman Family Rights Law of 1917, and the Ottoman Succession Law of 1913 was made applicable to property of the *mīrī* category. The *ḳāḍīs* frequently relied on Ḳadrī Pasha's codification of the laws of personal status and *waḳf* (see section 4. i above), although it had no statutory status in Palestine. The doctrine dominant in the courts was the Ḥanafī—this, too, a legacy of Ottoman rule— although most of the population belongs to the Shāfiʿī school. The Mandatory legislator carefully maintained the *status quo* as to the material law of Muslims. The courts were regulated by the Muslim Courts Procedure Law of 1333 (1917), which is still in force with certain modifications. In the years 1918 and 1919, regulations were enacted concerning the composition and powers of the *Sharīʿa* Court of Appeal, its procedure and the execution of its judgments.

The Supreme Muslim Council was empowered to appoint, with the approval of the government, and to dismiss *sharʿī ḳāḍīs*. Fifteen courts, each consisting of a single *ḳāḍī*, sat in the major towns and there was a three-man court of appeal in Jerusalem. The *muftīs*, too, were appointed by the Muslim Council. The senior status of the Muftī of Jerusalem (the "Grand Muftī" of the "Muftī of Palestine") resulted from the special status Jerusalem had had under the Ottoman administration and from the personal union between his offices and that of President of the Supreme Muslim Council. There was also a Shāfiʿī *muftī* in Jerusalem.

Advocates with a *sharʿī* training were authorised to appear before the *Sharīʿa* courts. Also attached to the judicial system were marriage solemnisers (*maʾdhūn*) and "managers of orphans' money". The government paid the salaries of the *ḳāḍīs* and of the court officials.

A system of tribal courts (*maḥākim al-ʿashāʾir*)

operated among the Bedouin. In the years 1919 to 1922, the government maintained a "Blood Council" (*madjlis al-dumūm*) which tried homicide cases, and in 1922 permanent tribal courts with specified powers were appointed; each court consisted of three representatives of the clans of the major Negev tribes, with the District Officer of Beersheba as chairman. In 1928, these courts were given power to hear criminal cases and impose light prison sentences and fines. From 1933 there was also a tribal court of appeal; it consisted of two members, with the District Officer as chairman.

The Government of Israel has reconstituted the *Sharīʿa* courts with the same powers as they had under the Mandate, except for a few modifications: the Age of Marriage Law, 1950, vests exclusive power to permit the marriage of a girl under seventeen in the District Court, and the Succession Law, 1965, reduces the jurisdiction of the *Sharīʿa* courts—like that of the other religious courts—from exclusive to concurrent in matters of succession and wills, but not in matters of personal status, in which it is still exclusive. The revocation of the Supreme Muslim Council Order of 1921 by the *Ḳāḍīs* Law, 1961, implicitly revoked the Defence (Muslim *Waḳf*) Regulations, and it seems that the powers of the *Sharīʿa* courts are thereby restored to their original extent, so as to include *waḳfs* of the *maḍbūṭ* category.

The Knesset intervened in many matrimonial matters with a view to equalising the legal status of women with that of men. Nevertheless, it abstained from impinging on any religious-legal prohibition or permission relating to marriage or divorce and resorted to procedural provisions and penal sanctions rather than substantive provisions as means of deterrence, and in matters for which substantive provisions were enacted, the parties were usually left an option to litigate in accordance with their religious law. It is only in matters of succession that there is—since 1965—a clear separation between religious justice, in which religious law applies, and civil justice, in which secular law is followed.

The *sharʿī* judicial system is integrated in the general legal system. The *Sharīʿa* Courts (Validation of Appointments) Law, 1953, validated the appointment of courts of first instance and of a court of appeal, made by administrative action immediately after the establishment of the state. The *Ḳāḍīs* Law, 1961, regulates the appointment and tenure of the *ḳāḍīs*. They are appointed by the President of the State upon the recommendation of an appointments committee, most of the members of which are Muslims. Their salaries are paid by the Government. *Sharīʿa* courts of first instance, consisting of a single *ḳāḍī*, exist in Nazareth, Acre (with an extension in Haifa), Jaffa (with jurisdiction—since 1967—including also East Jerusalem (see Section 4. vi below)) and the village of Ṭayyia in the "Little Triangle".

The tribal courts have been abolished in Israel (though not their juridical basis), and the Bedouin are now amenable to the *Sharīʿa* courts in matters of personal status and succession. The Negev Bedouin were under the jurisdiction of the *Sharīʿa* Court of Jaffa till 1976. In that year, a separate court of first instance was established for them in Beersheba.

A court of appeal of two or three *ḳāḍīs* exists in Jerusalem. Until 1975, this court consisted of the *ḳāḍīs* of the courts of first instance, except the *ḳāḍī* whose judgment was appealed against. In that year, it was administratively ordained that the court of appeal should consist of permanent members not serving in courts of first instance.

In Palestine, the Druzes were not recognised as a religious community. In the Ottoman era, the *Sharīʿa* court had residuary jurisdiction over them. They in fact resorted to it, especially in matters of succession. At the same time, they enjoyed a certain autonomy, within the framework of their religious and customary law, in matters of personal status and wills. The Mandatory authorities refused to recognise them as a religious community, in the interest of maintaining the *status quo* in matters of religion. They continued to recognise a certain Druze autonomy with regard to the performance of marriages, while residuary jurisdiction was transferred from the *Sharīʿa* courts to the civil courts, though in fact the Druzes continued to resort to the *Sharīʿa* courts.

In Israel, the Druzes were recognised as a religious community in 1957. Pending the establishment of their own religious courts in 1963, they continued to resort to *Sharīʿa* courts, although this practice has no foundation in law. But in matters in which the Druze religious-legal norm is utterly different from the Islamic, such as polygamy, divorce and wills, the Druzes turned to religious functionaries who acted by voluntary agreement of the parties; their decisions had not the effect of judgments enforceable in execution proceedings but of arbitral awards anchored in their personal authority and supported by religious and social sanctions. The arbitrators decided in accordance with custom and tradition (*ʿādāt wa-taḳālīd*); there were no strict rules of procedure.

The institutionalisation of arbitration and its transformation into a judicial proceeding began in the Ottoman era with the appointment of the first "*ḳāḍī*" in Palestine in 1909. He acted as an arbitrator, and his existence did not do away with the residuary jurisdiction, in respect of the Druzes, of the *Sharīʿa* court in the Ottoman era or of the District Court under the Mandate. The office of "*ḳāḍī*"-arbitrator was hereditary in the Ṭarīf family. In 1954, a "Committee of Religious-Legal Supervision" (*ladjnat al-murāḳaba al-madhhabiyya*) was set up to supervise marriage solemnisers (*maʾdhūn*) appointed under an Ordinance of 1919. In 1959, a "Committee for Druze *Waḳf* Affairs" (*al-ladjna li-shuʾūn al-awḳāf al-durziyya*) was established. The two committees in fact also dealt with the settlement of disputes in matters of marriage and divorce. They did not act as statutory judicial authorities; their decisions were valid only with the consent of the parties and could not be enforced in execution proceedings. At the same time, they showed many characteristics of institutionalised judicial authorities. The awards of "judgments" of the committees were recognised, though with some hesitation by the various state authorities. The committees were a kind of unofficial courts of law, and most of their members later became *ḳāḍīs* of the Druze courts.

The Druze Religious Courts Law, 1962, vests the courts with exclusive jurisdiction in matters of marriage and divorce of the Druzes in Israel and with concurrent jurisdiction in all their other matters of personal status. They also have exclusive jurisdiction in matters relating to the creation or internal administration of a religious endowment established before a Druze court or in accordance with Druze custom, i.e. by will and not before any judicial authority.

In its original version, the law provides that the Court of First Instance shall consist of three *ḳāḍī madhhabs* and the Court of Appeal of not less than three. In 1967, it was laid down that if it was not possible to form such courts the court might consist of two *ḳāḍīs*, and in 1972 it was provided that the Court

of First Instance might consist of one *ḳāḍī*. The *ḳāḍīs* are appointed by the President of the State on the recommendation of an appointments committee, most of the members of which are Druzes. A transitional provision prescribes that the first Court of Appeal shall consist of the members of the "Religious Council", i.e. the Spiritual Leadership of the Druze community. The Druze courts are integrated in the general legal system of the State, which enforces their judgments. Since the establishment of Druze courts, the Druzes have ceased to resort to the Muslim *Sharīʿa* courts.

The Druzes of the Golan Heights formerly settled most of their matrimonial affairs, without resort to any judicial authority, by means of religious functionaries acting as arbitrators, and in so far as they did go to a court, it was, in the Ottoman era, the Druze *madhhab* court in Djabal al-Durūz or in Ḥāṣbayyā in Lebanon, and under Syrian rule, the Muslim *Sharīʿa* court in Ḳunayṭra. In 1967, after the Six-Day War, the latter court ceased to function. In 1970, by order of the military commander of the region, a court of first instance and a court of appeal were set up with powers similar to those of the Druze courts in Israel. From 1972 onwards, the *ḳāḍīs* of the Israeli Court of First Instance and Court of Appeal acted as members of the corresponding Golan Heights courts by virtue of the above mentioned order. In 1974, a court of first instance consisting of local *ḳāḍīs* was set up in the Golan Heights.

Before being recognised as a religious community in Israel, the Druze had no codified law of personal status and succession. They dealt with these matters in accordance with their esoteric law and with custom, and in so far as they restored to a judicial authority, it was the *Sharīʿa* court, which applied the Ottoman Family Rights Law or, in the absence of an express provision in the latter, *sharʿī* law according to the Ḥanafī school. In 1961, the Spiritual Leadership of the Druze community in Israel, in its statutory capacity as the "Religious Council", adopted the Personal Status Law of the Druze Community in Lebanon of 1948 (see Section 4. iii above) with the following modifications: (a) the Ḥanafī doctrine, which served as a source of law in matters of intestate succession and in the absence of an express provision of law in a particular matter of personal status, was replaced by custom and "the law accepted by the members of the Druze community in Israel"; (b) Lebanese legislation designed to supplement the Druze Personal Status Law was replaced by Israeli legislation. The "Religious Council" sanctioned the Druze Courts Procedure Regulations of 1964, which incorporate norms of Israeli law.

The law applying to matters of personal status in the Golan Heights was until the introduction of Israeli law there on 14 December 1981 the Syrian Personal Status Law of 1953 (see Section 4. ii above). The Israeli Succession Law of 1965 was extended to the Golan Heights by the above-mentioned order of the military commander of 1970. In practice, the *ḳāḍīs*, in matters of personal status, apply the Lebanese Druze Personal Status Law, as adopted by the Religious Council. Since the introduction of Israeli law in the Golan Heights, this practice has been validated. All Israeli legislation in matters of personal status expressly referred to religious courts is likewise applicable in Druze religious courts there.

Under Egyptian military rule in the Gaza Strip, there were three *Sharīʿa* courts of first instance at Gaza, Khān Yūnis and Dayr al-Balaḥ, respectively. They had jurisdiction in matters of personal status and *waḳf* within the meaning of the Palestine Order in Council, 1922. Under Israeli military rule (since 1967), two additional courts have been set up in Djabaliyya and Rafaḥ. A *Sharīʿa* court of appeal operates in Gaza in accordance with the Egyptian Law of Procedure of Muslim Religious Courts no. 12 of 1965. The Ottoman Family Rights Law of 1917 applies in these courts. The salaries of the *ḳaḍīs* are paid by the Military Government.

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vi. Jordan

The *sharʿī* legal system in Jordan is based on a medley of legal traditions. Both banks of the Jordan River were under Ottoman rule until World War I and under British Mandate thereafter. Ottoman legal tradition was preserved to a greater extent in the East Bank owing to the autonomy enjoyed by the emirate which eventually became an independent kingdom, while the influence of English law was felt more strongly in the West Bank.

After the inclusion of the West Bank in the Kingdom of Jordan, steps were taken to integrate the two legal systems, including *sharʿī* jurisdiction, which in Transjordan was regulated by *Sharīʿa* Courts Law, 1931, and to unify the organisation of the religious establishment. The law which regulated the reorganisation of the *Sharīʿa* courts in the united Hashemite Kingdom repealed the provisions of Mandated Palestine's Supreme Muslim Council Order of 1921 relating to the *sharʿī* legal system (see Section 4. v above). Closely connected therewith was the appointment of a staunch supporter of the *Amīr* ʿAbd Allāh as *Muftī* of Jerusalem in place of Amīn al-Ḥusaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] already in December 1948, and the transfer of the primacy from the *Muftī* of Jerusalem to the *Muftī* of the Kingdom of Jordan, whose seat is in ʿAmmān. Since unification, the Jordanian *ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt* takes the place of the President of the Supreme Muslim Council in the West Bank. He appoints the *ḳāḍīs* and *muftīs* and supervises the *waḳf* administration and the religious and educational institutions supported by it, the *ʿUlamāʾ* Council (*hayʾa*), the Council for Preaching and Guidance (*madjlis al-waʿẓ wa ʾl-irshād*) and the Committee for the Rehabilitation of the al-Aḳṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. He has the status of a government

minister and is directly subordinate to the Prime Minister.

The jurisdiction of the *Sharīʿa* courts in the West Bank has been assimilated to that of their counterparts in the East Bank. The Jordanian constitution of 1952 and other enactments of the early nineteen-fifties vest the *Sharīʿa* courts with jurisdiction in all matters of personal status and succession as defined in Islamic law, which definition is wider than that of the Palestine Order in Council, as well as in matters of *waḳf* and blood-money (*diya*) of Muslims. Their jurisdiction in matters of personal status is limited to Muslims. Residuary jurisdiction in matters of personal status of non-Muslims has been transferred to a civil court of first instance, except where the parties agree to the jurisdiction of the *Sharīʿa* court. In matters of blood-money and of *waḳfs* established before a *Sharīʿa* court, the *Sharīʿa* courts have jurisdiction also with regard to consenting non-Muslims.

The law applying to matters of personal status on both banks of the Jordan was until 1951 the Ottoman Family Rights Law of 1917. In 1951, it was replaced by a liberal family law. Previously, in 1927, a new personal status law was adopted in Transjordan, but it was repealed in 1943 in favour of the traditional doctrine of family law. A provisional Jordanian family Rights Law, no. 26, was enacted in 1947, to be superseded by the law of 1951. The Law of Personal Status, no. 61 of 1976, replaced the law of 1951. The new law is more extensive and detailed than the earlier one and includes important amendments. The *Sharīʿa* Courts Establishment Law and the Personal Status Law of 1951 provide that the courts shall hear matters within their jurisdiction in accordance with the most approved opinion of the Ḥanafī school, save where a provision of law to the contrary exists. A similar provision exists also in the laws of personal status of 1951 and 1976. An overwhelming majority of the Kingdom's population belongs to the Shāfiʿī school. The *Sharīʿa* courts on both banks of the Jordan apply the *Sharʿī* Procedure Law, no. 31 of 1959, which replaced the Procedure Law no. 10 of 1952.

The *Sharīʿa* Courts Establishment Law of 1951 established a unitary judicial system on both banks. Twenty-four courts of first instance, each consisting of a *ḳāḍī* sitting alone, were set up at district and sub-district centres, eight thereof in the West Bank. The Court of Appeal consists of a president and two members. It passes decisions by a majority of votes and its judgments are final. The law enables the establishment of an additional court of appeal, and in fact two courts of appeal, one in ʿAmmān for the East Bank and one in Jerusalem for the West Bank, were at first set up; however, after a short time, in August 1951, it was decided that there should be only one *Sharīʿa* court of appeal, which was to have its permanent seat in ʿAmmān but might be convened in Jerusalem when necessary. The *Sharʿī* Law Council, headed by the Director of the *Sharīʿa* Office, is responsible for the appointment and dismissal of *ḳāḍīs*. Its decisions require the approval of the king.

The powers of the courts of the Christian communities in Jordan have been greatly widened compared with the Ottoman period and assimilated to those of the *Sharīʿa* courts. According to the Religious Councils Law, no. 2 of 1938, which was extended to the West Bank in 1958, and the Consitution of 1952, they have jurisdiction in all matters of personal status and succession, as well as in matters of the establishment and internal administration of *waḳfs* founded for the benefit of the community. They apply the law of the community except in matters of succession and wills, which are governed by Islamic law.

The Bedouin in Jordan are not amenable to *sharʿī* jurisdiction. They have tribal courts (*maḥākīm al-ʿashāʾir*) regulated by a law of 1966, which replaced a law of 1924. Every *mutaṣarrif* is responsible for the activities of the court in his district, and the army commander is responsible for the court in the Desert District. A law of 1949 provides that these courts shall have jurisdiction in all disputes of Bedouin, except matters of ownership and possession of immovable property and written partnership agreements concerning thoroughbred horses. The *mutaṣarrif* enforces the judgments, but the penalty for offences must not exceed one year's imprisonment and a fine of a specific amount. The *mutaṣarrif* or the army commander, as the case may be, may transfer cases from the tribal court to a civil court.

A judgment of a tribal court is appealable to a tribal court of appeal. This court may consult experts in tribal law. It may increase or reduce the penalty or return the matter to the court of first instance for a rehearing. The tribal courts apply customary law. However, state law forbids certain customs, such as giving girls as *diya*. Procedure in tribal courts is also customary.

As a result of the Six-Day War in 1967, the West Bank was separated from the Kingdom of Jordan, but Jordanian law still applies there, except in East Jerusalem, where Israeli law has been introduced. This situation affects the functioning of the religious establishment. The *Sharīʿa* courts of first instance have been left without their court of appeal, the permanent seat of which, as stated, is in ʿAmmān.

On 24 July 1967, Muslim political leaders and religious functionaries in East Jerusalem set up a "Muslim Council" (*al-hayʾa al-islāmiyya*), which assumed authority for the conduct of Muslim affairs in East Jerusalem and the West Bank. The sole purpose of this body, which has no statutory status in either Jordanian or Israeli law, is to fill the place of the absent Muslim sovereign. The Council appointed its president to be *ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt* of the West Bank with powers as defined by Jordanian law.

The Israeli *Sharīʿa* Court of Jaffa, the area of jurisdiction of which has been extended to include East Jerusalem (see Section 4. v above), is not recognised by most East Jerusalem Muslims, while the local *Sharīʿa* court, which is subject to the Muslim Council, is not recognised by the Israeli authorities. East Jerusalem Muslims do not resort to the Israeli court unless they are interested in the execution of a judgment or in the performance of some act in a government office on the strength of a certificate from the court. In the West Bank, the Israeli Military Government has inherited the powers of the Jordanian Government in its various spheres of activity and is consequently charged with the operation of the courts, the appointment and dismissal of the *ḳāḍīs* and the payment of their salaries, and the collection of court fees. In fact, however, it is the Jerusalem *ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt* who appoints the *ḳāḍīs* and the Jordanian Government which pays their salaries. The Military Government recognises their appointments *ex post facto* and the executive offices subject to it enforce their judgments. As the *Sharīʿa* Court of Appeal of the West Bank is in Jerusalem, its judgments are not valid in the West Bank, but in day-to-day reality they are enforced there. The *Sharīʿa* courts of the West Bank and of East Jerusalem apply the Jordanian law of personal status and rules of procedure.

Along with their judicial tasks, several East Jerusalem *ḳāḍīs* carry out various other functions—exegetic (the *Muftī* of Jerusalem), administrative and public—connected with the religious establishment.

The Muslim Council has conferred on the *Sharīʿa* Court of Appeal the powers of the Council of Endowments and Islamic Affairs, the General Administration of Endowments and the Committee for the Rehabilitation of the al-Akṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, bodies anchored in Jordanian legislation.

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(A. Layish)

vii. Saudi Arabia

The Arabian Peninsula was under the nominal sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, but the 19th century legal reforms of the Empire were not applied there except in the major urban centres of the Ḥidjāz, and even there with only limited success. At the time of his conquest of the Ḥidjāz in the early 20th century, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd found there a legal system progressive by the standards of other regions of the peninsula. In the small towns of Nadjd, disputes were settled by the local *amīr* or a *ḳāḍī* appointed by him. Among the Bedouin, customary law, applied by arbitrators, reigned absolute.

The "constitution" of the Ḥidjāz of 1926 makes no express reference to the judicial system, but says that the King is limited by the *Sharīʿa* and that the legislation of the kingdom shall be based on the Ḳurʾān, the *Sunna* of the Prophet and the *idjmāʿ* of his Companions. A *fatwā* of the *ʿulamāʾ*, of 1927, demanded *inter alia* that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz forthwith repeal the Ottoman laws in force in the Ḥidjāz and restore the position of the *Sharīʿa*.

A royal decree of 1927 established three grades of courts in the Ḥidjāz:

(1) Expeditious Courts (*maḥkama mustaʿdjila*), competent to try misdemeanours (*dhunaḥ*) punishable by a fine not exceeding a specific amount, offences the penalty for which was left to the discretion of the *ḳāḍī* (*taʿzīrāt*) and felonies (*djināyāt*) entailing Ḳurʾānic punishments (*ḥudūd*), except mutilation (*ḳaṭʿ*) or death; they consist of a single *ḳāḍī*. Such courts were set up in Mecca and Medina and later in Riyāḍ and other major cities. Mecca had a further Expeditious Court, hearing claims by Bedouin. In small administrative units, and especially among the numerous tribes of desert Bedouin, the local *amīr* acts as *ḳāḍī*; he generally applies the *Sharīʿa* but sometimes resorts to tribal custom.

(2) Greater *Sharīʿa* Courts (*maḥkama sharʿiyya kubrā*), competent to deal with serious criminal (*djazaʾī*) matters and civil (*ḥuḳūḳī*) claims, except those under the jurisdiction of the Expeditious Courts, and with matters of personal status, probate and land. One such court exists in Mecca and one in Medina. The one in Mecca consists of three *ḳāḍīs*. Ordinary cases are heard by a single *ḳāḍī*, but the judgment is given by the full court. Cases in which the punishment may be death or mutilation are heard by the full court. The court in Medina consists of a single *ḳāḍī* (with a *nāʾib*) and so does the one in Djidda, but after the recent abolition of the Expeditious Court in Djidda the Greater *Sharīʿa* Court there hears all cases, except those under the jurisdiction of *al-madjlis al-tidjārī* (see below). In all the other towns of the Ḥidjāz and Nadjd, the court, consisting of a single *ḳāḍī*, hears all cases.

The penalties of death and mutilation in all the towns of the Ḥidjāz, all Ḳurʾānic punishments, and discretionary punishments in Mecca, require confirmation by *raʾīs al-ḳaḍāʾ* and *hayʾat al-tamyīz* (see below) before being carried out. In Medina and other localities where the court consists of several members, a penalty for a misdemeanour, a discretionary punishment and a Ḳurʾānic punishment other than death require confirmation by the Grand *Ḳāḍī* of the town before being carried out. In towns where the court consists of a single *ḳāḍī*, judgments are only carried out if confirmed by the most senior administrative official in the town in question.

An opportunity is provided—this is an innovation which has no basis in the classical texts—to appeal from the judgment of a *Sharīʿa* court to a Greater *Sharīʿa* Court, which, as stated, is competent to try felonies as a court of first instance. In 1954, it was ordained that every judgment of a *ḳāḍī* should be carried out forthwith, except judgments against which a complaint has been lodged on the ground of injustice and judgments imposing the death penalty, mutilation or confiscation (*muṣādara*); the latter ones require confirmation by the supreme authorities, even if they are not appealed against.

By the side of every Greater *Sharīʿa* Court, there acts an official of the Public Treasury (*maʾmūr bayt al-māl*), whose task is the distribution of inheritances and the protection of the interest of minors.

(3) The Commission on Judicial Supervision (*hayʾat al-murāḳaba al-ḳaḍāʾiyya*), the seat of which is in Mecca. It comprises a Board of Judicial Review (*hayʾat al-tadḳīḳāt*) consisting of four members and headed by a *raʾīs al-ḳaḍāʾ*. This body acts as a court of cassation (*maḥkamat al-tamyīz*). It examines judgments and confirms them or returns them to the lower court for a re-hearing in order to clarify a point or to rectify a procedural error. It may reverse judgments incompatible with the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna* and direct the lower court to retry the case. If the *ḳāḍī* abides by his original decision, the case must be referred to another *ḳāḍī*. The Board also examines sentences of mutilation, death and confiscation. The Commission on Judicial Supervision gives legal opinions on matters not within the competence of the *Sharīʿa* courts.

The *raʾīs al-ḳaḍāʾ* performs the functions of President of the Supreme Court and Minister of Justice. He also supervises the Public Treasury (*bayt al-māl*),

the mechanism of religious-legal opinions (*iftāʾ*) and disciplinary proceedings against *ḳāḍīs*, and handles complaints about the functioning of any part of the *sharʿī* system. Moreover, he supervises all the Public Morality Committees (*hayʾat al-amr bi ʾl-maʿrūf wa ʾl-nahy ʿan al-munkar*) in the Ḥidjāz and Nadjd, the religious functionaries, education and *sharʿī* institutions, including the Islamic University of Medina, and religious instruction at state educational institutions.

This *sharʿī* judicial system remained in existence until the mid-seventies. Minor amendments were made by orders of the years 1931, 1936, 1938 and 1952. The name of the Commission on Judicial Supervision was changed in 1938 to Office of the Chief Justice (*riʾāsat al-ḳaḍāʾ*), but its functions remained the same. In 1967, amendments were introduced in the organisation of the judiciary and in the powers of the *ḳāḍīs*, and in 1970, a Ministry of Justice was set up. In 1974, the *sharʿī* judicial system was thoroughly reorganised. Three grades of courts were established on the Western pattern: magistrates' courts (*maḥākim djuzʾiyya*), district courts (*maḥākim ʿāmma*) and a court of cassation (*maḥkamat al-tamyīz*). Moreover, a High Judicial Council (*madjlis al-ḳaḍāʾ al-aʿlā*) was formed whose functions were to supervise the *ḳāḍīs* and to try disciplinary offences. The law ensures the independence of the *ḳāḍīs* (they cannot be removed from office); their appointment and promotion are effected by the king on the recommendation of the Judicial Council.

Sharʿī law applies to all matters within the competence of the *Sharīʿa* courts. In 1927, the *ḳāḍīs* were ordered to decide in accordance with the teachings of the Ḥanbalī school. Six books of that school, in a specific order, were recognised as authoritative sources that must be adhered to. This, in a way, introduced an element of codification and unification of the material law into the nation's judicial system. In 1927, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd, inspired by Ibn Taymiyya, suggested the preparation of a code of Islamic law based not only on the Ḥanbalī doctrine but also on any other doctrine which, with regard to the matter in hand, was close to the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna*. But he abandoned the idea under pressure from Ḥanbalī *ʿulamāʾ*. In the Ottoman era, the Ḥanbalī doctrine prevailed only in Nadjd and the Shāfiʿī doctrine in the Ḥidjāz, except for the courts in the major towns, where the Ḥanafī doctrine enjoyed official status. An order of 1930 provided that where an express provision existed in those authoritative sources as to a case being heard by a *Sharīʿa* court consisting of several *ḳāḍīs*, a decision might be given without convening the members of the court; in the absence of such a provision, they were to be convened in order to exercise their collective discretion. The *ḳāḍīs* were permitted to resort to other orthodox doctrines where the opinion of the Ḥanbalī school was likely to cause damage and was not compatible with the public interest (*maṣlaḥat al-ʿumūm*). An order of 1934 required the court, in deference to local custom, to decide matters relating to contracts of lease of agricultural land (*ʿuḳūd al-musāḳāt*) or palm plantations (*idjārāt al-nakhīl*) in accordance with the doctrine prevailing in the locality where the action was brought. In matters containing religious observances (*ʿibādāt*), the individual is free to follow the doctrine of the school to which he belongs. The *Sharīʿa* courts are subject to the *sharʿī* rules of procedure. Enactments relating to these rules were made in 1931, 1936 and 1952.

Professional lawyers have recently been authorised to appear before *Sharīʿa* courts. In 1928, a Notarial Office (*kitābat al-ʿadl*) was established for the registration of *sharʿī* documents (*ṣukūk*), powers of attorney, sales and pledges, but not of *waḳfs*, which are within the competence of the *Sharīʿa* courts. There are notaries in Mecca, Djidda and Medina. In provincial towns, the functions of the notary are performed by the *ḳāḍī*. A programmatic statement by Crown Prince Fayṣal's government in 1962 promised the creation of the post of State Public Prosecutor at the Ministry of Justice.

From time to time, the King confers quasi-judicial powers on various bodies with a view to solving problems cropping up in the economic, social or administrative sphere. Some of these bodies in fact enjoy extremely wide powers. They function concurrently with the *sharʿī* judicial system and are ostensibly designed to supplement it, but in reality restrict it.

The most important of these bodies is the Grievances Board (*dīwān al-maẓālim*), established in 1954, whose seat is in al-Riyāḍ, with an extension in Djidda. Anyone who believes that an injustice has been done to him by a decision of a judicial authority or by an administrative authority may complain to it. Its functions are to investigate the complaint and to suggest to the Royal Chancellery and to the government ministry concerned the adoption of measures against the authority in question; to investigate, together with other bodies, corruption offences, disciplinary offences in the army, and offences against economic boycott regulations (if the recommendations of the Board are rejected, the matter is to be brought before the King); to hear appeals against decisions of the Minister of Commerce in matters relating to foreign capital investments; to supervise the application of the *Sharīʿa* by the government in day-to-day life (the Board includes experts on *Sharīʿa* matters and sometimes refers complaints to the *Sharīʿa* court) and—at the special request of the King—to deal with serious matters relating to Bedouin and matters in which foreigners are involved; and to execute foreign judgments.

The chairman of the Board is appointed by the King and has the status of a government minister; since 1964, he has been responsible to the King for the work of the Board (all the decisions of the Board require the approval of the King). The Grievances Board is a permanent institution. Its simple procedure and the fact that most of its members are lawyers with a modern background ensure greater flexibility in the conduct of proceedings than prevails in *sharʿī* justice.

Other administrative-judicial bodies are the Commission on Cases of Forgery (*tazwīr*), established in 1960, headed by the Minister of Justice and including representatives of the Grievances Board; the Commission on Cases of Bribery, established in 1962 and headed by the chairman of the Grievances Board; and the Commission on the Impeachment of Ministers, competent to try various offences, ranging from interference by Ministers in the working of the judicial system to high treason (punishable with death); it is an *ad hoc* body appointed by the Prime Minister and consists of ministers and senior *ḳāḍīs*; death sentences must be passed unanimously; the judgments of the Commission are appealable to the King.

Several judicial bodies deal with commercial matters: the Central Committee on Cases of Adulteration (*ghishsh tidjārī*), which tries offences connected with food and drugs; and Chambers of Commerce (*ghurfat al-tidjāra*), established in 1963 and consisting of representatives of the economic ministries, which they act as arbitral boards in commercial disputes. The most important of these bodies was the Commercial

Tribunal (*maḥkama tid̲j̲āriyya*), first established in D̲j̲idda in 1926 for the handling of commercial disputes. Its composition and powers were laid down by a commercial regulation in 1931. It consisted of a presiding judge and seven members, one of them from the *s̲h̲arʿī* legal system, who were appointed by the king. Its decisions might be appealed to the Consultative Council (*mad̲j̲lis al-s̲h̲ūrā*). Its rules of procedure were similar to those of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts. Smaller commercial tribunals were established in Yanbuʿ and Ḍammān. Their judgments were appealable to the Commercial Tribunal in D̲j̲idda.

The commercial tribunals in D̲j̲idda, Yanbuʿ and Ḍammān were abolished and their functions taken over by the Ministry of Commerce in 1954. They were restored in 1965, when Commercial Disputes Arbitration Boards were set up, one in each city, each Board consisting of three officials of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. A Commercial Disputes Appeals Board was established in 1967, consisting of three officials of the same ministry, one of them, its head, the Deputy Minister. These Boards are not bound by the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, but they can draw upon it as well as upon Western law and international law and agreements. The Saudi authorities have recently directed that agreements of commercial companies shall contain an express clause forbidding the settlement of disputes by arbitration contrary to the principles of the *S̲h̲arīʿa*.

A Supreme Board on Labour Disputes was set up in 1963; it consists of the legal advisers of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals. Disciplinary Councils for Civil Servants try offenders—by virtue of regulations of 1958—only after they have been convicted by a *S̲h̲arīʿa* court. Disciplinary Councils for Military Personnel act as military tribunals by virtue of regulations of 1947. Their judgments may be set aside or commuted by the Chief of the General Staff or the Minister of Defence. Disciplinary Councils for Internal Security Personnel try police officers, members of the coast guard, frontier patrolmen, members of the fire brigade and criminal investigators. The King supervises the judicial system by virtue of his being the supreme *ḳāḍī* and sometimes sits on the bench himself, advised by *ʿulamāʾ*.

Saudi Arabia was not subject to the influence of foreign systems of law other than the Ottoman, the impact of which was limited to the Ḥid̲j̲āz. The *S̲h̲arīʿa* functioned here in a sovereign Muslim state which had grown out of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*], a puritanical Muslim renaissance movement which sought to apply religious law strictly and uncompromisingly in all spheres of life and in relations with the outside world. Saudi Arabia is perhaps the most theocratic state in the Sunnī Muslim world. Religion has a monopoly of the judicial system, education, public morals and the fiscal system; the *ʿulamāʾ* are integrated in the political establishment; there is no constitution and no legislative authority; and the Ḥanbalī doctrine is enforced upon the entire kingdom.

At the same time, there are significant manifestations of a decline of the status of religion and religious law in the state, although they are minimal compared with the secularisation processes in other Middle Eastern Arab countries. Important, though somewhat vague, elements of a constitution were adopted by various enactments and declarations under external pressure; an increasing number of administrative regulations made by the government and the King (*niẓām*, *marsūm*), which have the force of law, are ostensibly designed to supplement the *S̲h̲arīʿa* but in fact impair its substantive validity; important reforms have been made in commercial law: regulations based on the Ottoman Commercial Code of 1850, in turn based on a purely French model, have been enacted with the omission of all references to interest (that Code is applied in the tribunals of the chambers of commerce); banks have begun to operate on the basis of interest, although it is called commission; marine and other property insurance is permitted, though not, for the time being, life insurance; extensive fiscal legislation (customs duties, income and alms (*zakāt*) tax, etc.) has been enacted; contracts regulating oil concessions to foreign companies have been entered into, although the terminology is *s̲h̲arʿī* as far as possible; social laws and laws regulating labour relations and transport have been enacted; slavery was abolished in 1962 in deference to international public opinion, although there are indications that reality is still stronger than the law; *s̲h̲arʿī* criminal law, including the harsh Ḳurʾānic penalties (decapitation and mutilation for theft), is still mainly applied, although a tendency to replace corporal punishment by imprisonment or fines is discernible; new penalties, not strictly conforming to the provisions of the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, have been introduced (e.g. the drinking of wine (*s̲h̲urb al-k̲h̲amr*) entails a discretionary punishment (*taʿzīr*), not a Ḳurʾānic one (*ḥadd*); blood-money (*diya*) has been limited; penalties have been prescribed for forgery, strikes, causing death or injury in road accidents and military offences); there are deviations from the *S̲h̲arīʿa* as to the status of non-Muslims (e.g. their testimony in criminal proceedings has the same weight as that of Muslims and their oath is accepted; the same blood-money is exacted for them as for Muslims).

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viii. Yemen and the People's Republic of Southern Yemen

Towards the end of their rule in Yemen, the Ottomans tried to apply their laws there and firmly to establish there the S̲h̲āfiʿī school, whose main foothold was in the Tihāma region and in the south of the country. The *Imām* resisted this attempt successfully. A sultanic *firmān* of 1913 confirmed the Treaty of Daʿʿān of 1911, by which the Ottomans agreed to the demands of the Imām, the most important of them being the reinstatement of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* as the only system of law in Yemen. The *Imām* was

authorised to appoint ḳāḍīs to the courts in regions populated by Zaydī Shīʿis (the Ṣanʿāʾ region and the northern mountainous province). The power of the Ottoman *Wālī* was confined to the enforcement of their judgments.

After World War I, when Yemen obtained full independence, it became a theocracy. Zaydī Shīʿī law, which is nearest to Sunnī law, held unlimited sway in the imāmate. The *Imām* was the spiritual head, the head of the executive branch and the Supreme Judge (*al-ḳāḍī al-aʿlā*).

The powers of the *Sharīʿa* courts are very wide. They comprise personal status and criminal law. Severe Ḳurʾānic punishments, such as death and mutilation, are still applied, though not frequently. The *Imām* has directed that Zaydī Shīʿī law shall be applied in the courts. The *Sharīʿa* courts system consists of several grades. The court of first instance is manned by a single judge (*ḥākim*). His judgement is appealable, with the consent of the local governor (*ʿāmil*), to a higher judge and finally to the High Court of Appeal (*raʾīs al-istiʾnāf*), which has its seat in Ṣanʿāʾ. The *Imām* is the supreme appellate authority, but appeals to him are infrequent. The *Imām* appoints the judges in all the districts and sub-districts from among the graduates of al-Madrasa al-ʿIlmiyya in Ṣanʿāʾ. The *amīr al-liwāʾ* enforces their judgments, but the supervision of the *sharʿī* system is the prerogative of the *Imām*.

Concurrently with the *Sharīʿa* judicial system, a judicial system of the provincial governor (*ʿāmil*) functions which handles civil matters. Its judgments are appealable to the prince as ruler of the principality (*liwāʾ*) or, in certain cases, to the Imām. This system is governed by the *Sharīʿa* as far as commercial transactions and tax matters are concerned.

The *Sharīʿa* courts operate in the towns. Outside the towns, among the tribes, an arbitral (*manḳad*) system exists, and tribal councils adjudicate disputes concerning water, boundaries and criminal offences in accordance with tribal custom (*ʿurf*) and tradition (*taḳālīd*). Appeals against judgments of tribal courts are heard by the *ʿāmil*, whose judgments are in turn appealable to the provincial *amīr*. Here, too, the *Imām* is the supreme appellate authority. The *Imām* has sought to eliminate customary justice and to subject the Bedouin to the *Sharīʿa*. For this purpose, he has appointed persons with a religious training as judges in the customary judicial system, hoping that they will gradually substitute the *sharīʿa* for traditional customary law, but he has had only partial success. He has had to recognise *ʿurfī* justice officially by the side of *sharʿī* justice.

When Aden was a British protectorate, it had a dual judicial system, part *sharʿī* (with wide powers in matters of personal status and criminal law) and part customary. The *Imām* of Yemen accepted the situation on condition that the *Sharīʿa* was applied. Most *ḳāḍīs* were ordered to adhere to the Shāfiʿī doctrine and even more to that of Ibn Ḥadjar. There is evidence of the application of Ḳurʾānic punishments, including the death penalty. Only minor reforms were introduced during that period.

In the period preceding the British conquest of Aden in 1839, the *ḳāḍīs* of Laḥdj [*q.v.*] were appointed by the *Imām* of Yemen; their judgments were only enforced with the consent of the parties. After the British conquest, a central administration was established in the sultanate of Laḥdj and, *inter alia*, *Sharīʿa* courts equipped with wide powers, including the imposition of sanctions, were set up there by the sultan. Customary courts functioned side by side with them; their procedure and rules of evidence differed only slightly from those of the *Sharīʿa* courts. In 1950, a law establishing an Agricultural Court (*al-maḥkama al-zirāʿiyya*) was enacted in the sultanate of Laḥdj; this court applies the provisions of that law as well as custom and agricultural practice. The purpose of that law was to exclude agricultural matters from the jurisdiction of the *Sharīʿa* courts and the application of the *Sharīʿa*.

Since the achievement in 1967 of the independence of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, of which the Aden Colony and the Western and Eastern Protectorates form part, the judicial system has, in the main, continued unchanged. On the other hand, in 1974, a family law was enacted of a radicalism unparalleled in the Muslim Middle East. Under Marxist influence, it aims at complete equality between the sexes. Some of the reforms contained in it have no basis whatsoever in Islamic law (see Section 4. x below). The courts apply a combination of customary and *sharʿī* procedure. A procedural law was under consideration at the beginning of 1972.

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(A. Layish)

ix. The Gulf states

Under the Bitish protectorate, most of the Persian Gulf Shaykhdoms and Trucial States had no courts of law in the accepted sense of the term. Justice was administered "under the palm tree" by the rulers themselves, who applied the *Sharīʿa* loosely and arbitrarily or were assisted by *ḳāḍīs*. Some of the Shaykhdoms had a dual judicial system: part *sharʿī*, dealing with matters of personal status, and part civil, dealing with all other, including criminal and commercial, matters and strongly influenced by English law.

After independence, the judicial system was reorganised. The Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Emirates of 1971, confirmed for another five years in 1976, provides that Islam shall be the religion of the Union and that the *Sharīʿa* shall be a principal source of the Union's legislation. But in fact, even the *sharʿī* judicial system is not, in most of the countries, based on pure *sharʿī* law. *Sharʿī* law is here attenuated or superseded by customary law or modern legislation. The civil courts apply several sources of law, of which the *Sharīʿa* is only one and not the most important. In some of the countries, a civil code modelled on the Egyptian Civil Code of 1948 has been introduced, of which the *Sharīʿa* is supposed to be one source of inspiration; but the role of the *Sharīʿa* is this context should not be exaggerated. The new graded civil system comprises many lawyers from other Arab countries.

In Kuwayt, a dual judicial system, part *sharʿī* and part civil, was functioning under the British protectorate. The jurisdiction of the *sharʿī ḳāḍīs* was confined to matters of personal status. The ruler set up two new courts, for criminal and civil matters, respectively. He had jurisdiction not only over his own subjects but

also over resident nationals of some other Arab countries. Those courts applied the *Sharīʿa* and the ordinances of the ruler. The harsh Ḳurʾānic punishments were abolished. In 1959, an Organisation of Justice Law was enacted. In 1960, the *Sharīʿa* courts were abolished and their powers transferred to modern civil courts supervised by the Ministry of Justice. Domestic Courts were set up, with separate chambers for Shīʿs, Sunnīs and non-Muslims, to deal with matters of marriage, divorce, succession and wills. Criminal, civil and commercial courts were also set up. The Court of Appeal comprises departments for criminal and other matters, including personal status and succession. The legal system remained unchanged after independence (1961).

The courts apply the products of some very intensive modern law-making: codes of procedure, of criminal law and of commercial law have been enacted. Matters of personal status and blood-money (*diya*) of Muslims are still dealt with in accordance with the *Sharīʿa*, as taught by the respective schools. The Kuwaytī constitution provides that the *Sharīʿa* shall be the principal basis of legislation, but in point of fact the main source of inspiration is reformist Egyptian legislation, especially the Civil Code prepared by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī. In 1977, a commission was appointed "to amend and develop Kuwaytī legislation in accordance with the provisions of the *Sharīʿa*," but it is too early to assess the real significance of these terms of reference.

Under the British protectorate, a dual judicial system, part *sharʿī* and part civil, was set up in Baḥrayn. The *Sharīʿa* courts, subdivided into Sunnī and Djaʿfarī sections, dealt with matters of personal status and applied the *Sharīʿa* in accordance with the relevant doctrine. The Shaykh and members of his family acted as judges in the "civil" courts. These courts applied the ordinances of the Shaykh and customary law, which was largely based on Sudanese law; in any case, the *Sharīʿa* was not applied in these courts. The ruler also had jurisdiction over resident nationals of some other Arab states.

The dual, *sharʿī* and civil, system remained in existence after independence (1971) and so did the subdivision of the *Sharīʿa* courts (including the appeal stage) into Sunnī and Djaʿfarī sections. The powers of the *Sharīʿa* courts are confined to matters of personal status of Muslims, while the civil courts have jurisdiction in civil, commercial and criminal matters and in matters of personal status of non-Muslims. The Constitution of Baḥrayn of 1973 provides that the *Sharīʿa* shall be a principal source of legislation, and the Judicature Law of 1971 lays down that in the absence of a suitable provision in legislation, the judge shall base his decision on the principles of the *Sharīʿa* or, if the latter, too, fails to offer a solution, on custom. Local custom is to be given priority over general custom, and where no guidance is found in custom, the tenets of natural law or the principles of equity and good conscience shall be applied.

In Ḳaṭar, too, a dual, *sharʿī* and civil, judicial system was established under the British protectorate. The *Sharīʿa* courts decided matters of marriage, divorce and succession in accordance with the *Sharīʿa* as taught by the Ḥanbalī school. The ruler set up a civil court, which heard also criminal cases. It applied customary law and the decrees of the ruler. The ruler had advisers from among the religious leadership, whose task was to see that the decrees did not deviate from the *Sharīʿa*. The ban on the import, sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages was also strictly enforced. Through the activity of the ruler's British adviser, who served in the civil judiciary, English law, as applied in India and the Sudan, greatly influenced the criminal law of Ḳaṭar. The harsh Ḳurʾānic punishments, such as mutilation, had long been abolished and been replaced by imprisonment. Law no. 13 of 1971, regulating the courts of justice, left the *Sharīʿa* courts with residuary jurisdiction in matters of personal status of Muslims. It established courts with civil and criminal jurisdiction over both Muslims and non-Muslims, and a labour court.

The Amended Provisional Constitution of Ḳaṭar, of 1972, says that the *Sharīʿa* is a principal source of law. The last few years have seen a considerable output of civil and criminal legislation, which is applied in the civil courts. In 1971, a Civil and Commercial Law was enacted, based on the Egyptian Civil Code of 1948. It designates the *Sharīʿa* as a source of law only to be applied in the absence of a suitable norm in either statute or custom. There has also been legislation in specific spheres of commerce, such as the Share Companies Law, 1961, for the settlement of disputes with foreign oil companies by arbitration.

Sharʿī justice in Abū Ḍhabī (Ẓabī) is regulated by legislation of the years 1968 and 1970. A distinction is made between matters of personal status and succession, dealt with by *sharʿī ḳāḍīs*, and other civil matters, dealth with by civil judges. However, there is no formal distinction between a *sharʿī* and a civil judicial system. Every District Court has a *sharʿī ḳāḍī*. A civil matter other than of personal status or succession may be referred to the *sharʿī ḳāḍī* with the consent of the parties. Both the civil judges and the *sharʿī ḳāḍīs* are to act in accordance with justice or conscience or with the general principles of justice, provided that they are guided by Islamic law. The ruler appoints all the judges, including the *ḳāḍīs*.

The basic judicial system in Dubayy is still the *sharʿī* one. The entire legal system is regulated by the Courts Law of 1970. The civil courts are competent only for a few specific matters, leaving the *Sharīʿa* courts with residuary jurisdiction. Still, under the same law, the ruler may transfer any matter or action from the *Sharīʿa* court to the civil court. Most commercial matters have recently been so transferred. There are also criminal courts. The *Sharīʿa* courts are to apply the *Sharīʿa* with the modifications required by the laws of the emirate. Except for a few matters regulated by local custom and tradition, legal disputes are settled in the *Sharīʿa* court in accordance with the principles of the *Sharīʿa*. The civil courts are to apply usage and custom, the principles of natural justice, the law of equity, and the laws and legal practices of neighbouring countries, in addition to the laws of the emirate and the *Sharīʿa*. The Law of Procedure of 1971, which relates to civil and commercial matters, allows significant deviations from *sharʿī* procedure, such as written testimony. The ruler appoints the *ḳāḍīs*, including the Chief *Sharīʿa* Judge.

Until 1968, Sharjah (al-Shāriḳa) had only *Sharīʿa* courts. Sunnīs and Shīʿīs had separate courts (and *wakf* administrations). These courts had jurisdiction in all matters. In 1968, the judicial system was reorganised: civil courts were established by the side of the *Sharīʿa* courts, whose jurisdiction was from then on confined to matters of personal status, succession and wills of Muslims, and *wakf* and blood-money (*diya*) where at least one of the parties was a Muslim. The civil court has jurisdiction, in civil and criminal matters, also over non-Muslim foreigners. A law of 1971 reconfirmed the dual judicial system and empowered the ruler to establish *ad hoc* judicial bodies for all matters. The law applying in the *Sharīʿa* courts is

Islamic law, Sunnī or Shīʿī, as the case may be. The civil courts are to apply the statutes of the Shaykhdom, the principles of Islamic law, the decisions of Muslim jurists, common law and local custom, and the general principles of English law: right, justice and equity. There has been intensive legislative activity in the fields of criminal law, contracts, commercial law etc., as a result of which the Sharjah legal system is the most developed of any of the United Arab Emirates.

The *Sharīʿa* is the principal system of law also in ʿAdjmān, Umm al-Ḳaywayn, Raʾs al-Khayma and Fujayra. ʿAdjmān and Raʾs al-Khayma have also civil courts. In Raʾa al-Khayma, a Courts Law patterned on the corresponding law of Dubayy was enacted in 1971; it confers wide powers on the *Sharīʿa* courts, also in civil matters other than personal status and in criminal matters. A law of 1972 regulates the functioning of the *Sharīʿa* Court of Appeal. In the case of death sentences, appeal is automatic.

In the sultanate of Muscat and Oman (Masḳat and ʿUmān) (Oman since 1970), the *Sharīʿa* is about as firmly established as in Saʿūdī Arabia. There is no written constitution. The *Sharīʿa* courts have wide jurisdiction, including criminal matters involving Ḳurʾānic punishments, although there is a tendency to mitigate the latter. There are still public executions, but decapitation and mutilation are banned. The *Sharīʿa* courts apply the non-codified law of the Ibāḍī sect [see IBĀḌIYYA], to which most of the population of the sultanate belongs, with such modifications as arise out of legislation enacted by the Sultan in civil and commercial matters to meet present-day requirements, viz. legislation relating to investments by foreigners, commercial companies and baking. The judgment of the *ḳāḍī* is appealable to a bench of *ḳāḍīs* and to a Chief Court, the seat of which is in Oman. A final appeal lies to the Sultan.

There is a separate court for matters in which foreigners are involved; its seat is in Muscat. When the sultanate was a British protectorate, the Consular Court had jurisdiction in certain matters concerning British subjects, but in cases involving both British subjects and local nationals, the Sultan had jurisdiction. The Commercial Companies Law of 1974 established a Committee for the Settlement of Commercial Disputes, vested with judicial powers. In large areas of the sultanate outside the urban centres, tribal justice and custom reign almost absolute.

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(A. LAYISH)

x. Morocco

Before the establishment of the French and Spanish Protectorates, the peoples under the sultan's authority had recourse, more or less, for matters of personal status, property and contracts or religious endowments (*aḥbās*), to the *ḳāḍīs* who were to be found in centres of some importance. Till the middle of the 19th century, the ḳāḍī of Fās had the title of *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* and filled all religious offices. Later, the Moroccan government reserved for itself the right to proceed, on the proposal of this judge, to nominate all the other *ḳāḍīs*, the staff of mosques and the professors of the University of al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*]. The *ḳāḍīs* were aided by witnesses to deeds (*ʿadl* [*q.v.*], pl. *ʿudūl*; in French, *adel*, pl. *adoul*), who received and registered the acts of witness and drew up the judicial deeds; whilst the judges received payment on the issuing of these deeds, the *ʿudūl* had to rely on the generosity of those receiving justice. These last had the right to seek recourse to the *muftīs*, who would deliver *fatwās* to support their pleas.

On the other hand, the sultan was represented too in the towns by *pashas* and in the rural areas by *ḳāʾids* [*q.v.*] who, in the judicial field, put the *ḳāḍīs*' judgements into force and themselves gave judgement in regard to certain crimes and misdemeanours without going by any written code but basing themselves on good sense, tradition and local custom, and who held certain powers in civil and commercial cases.

Their judgements, like those of the *ḳāḍīs*, were put into practice immediately and there was no court of appeal. However, in the government itself, where the "ministerial departments" were made up of a series of little rooms (*banīḳa*, pl. *banīḳāt*) which gave out on to a courtyard and in each of which there was a "minister" (*wazīr*) seated on mats and carpets before a little desk with an inkwell, pens and paper, there was one *banīḳa* occupied by a *wazīr al-shikāyāt*, a "minister for complaints", who received all the petitions of those seeking justice and transmitted them to the sultan, who decided personally or who delegated his power here to the prime minister (*al-ṣadr al-aʿẓam*).

Out in the provinces, which were mainly peopled by Berber speakers and over which the central government had not control, local customary law was applied by the *djamāʿa* [*q.v.*] of the section or tribe, both in civil and criminal cases.

One of the first cares of the Protectorate authorities was to seek a better system of administering justice and to end abuses of power. A few days after the constituting of a commission which was aimed at combatting breaches of duty—which were common—and which was given the responsibility of revising judgements tainted by illegality, there was created, in particular by a *firmān* of 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1330/31 October 1912, a Ministry of Justice (*wizārat al-ʿadliyya*), with responsibility for everything connected with the *sharīʿa*, together with the recruitment and supervision of the personnel of the *maḥkamas*, religious education in the Ḳurʾānic schools and *zāwiyas* [*q.v.*] and the higher education given at the Ḳarawiyyīn in which the *ḳāḍīs* were to be trained. This *firmān* was confirmed and amended by a dahir (*ẓahīr*) of 2 Shaʿbān 1366/21 June 1947, which added to the Ḳarawiyyīn the *madrasa* of Ibn Yūsuf founded at Marrakech by the dahir of 8 Shawwāl 1357/1 December 1938.

The *sharʿī* courts were only slightly modified under the Protectorate, but several dahirs fixed the rules of how they functioned. At the head of the *maḥkama* was a single *ḳāḍī*, who held session every day except for Thursday and Friday. He was usually accompanied by a deputy (*nāʾib*) who could act for him if the *ḳāḍī* was unable to function (dahir of 24 Rabīʿ II 1357/23 June 1938), and should need arise, by *nuwwāb* in the quarters and suburbs of the towns, as also in small places which were distant from the seat of the court. The *ḳāḍīs*, chosen from the graduates of the two colleges cited above, were recruited, after the dahir of 1 Ramaḍān 1356/5 November, from a competition organised by the Ministry of Justice, which subse-

quently controlled them; they were nominated, transferred on their own demand (because they were immovable) and on occasion penalised, by dahir. At the time of their nomination they received a silver seal with their own name and that of the seat of their jurisdiction. They received a fixed salary increased by 15% of the due levied by the *maḥkama*. They had jurisdiction over personal status, succession, property and contracts, and gave their judgement on the basis of the standard manuals of Mālikī *fiḳh*. Their decisions could be appealed, for a council of *ʿulamāʾ* set up by the dahir of 29 Muḥarram 1332/20 December was followed by the establishment of three appeal courts at Rabat (4 S̲h̲aʿbān 1345/7 February 1927), Tetouan and Tangiers.

In his *maḥkama*, the *ḳāḍī* is assisted by a number, fixed for each centre, of notaries which he proposes himself but who have to pass an examination unless they have certain qualifications. These *ʿudūl*, whose status was established by a decree of 24 Rabiʿ II 1357/23 June 1938, are paid, according to complicated calculations, on the issuing of the judicial deeds which they have the task of drawing up. Furthermore, the *maḥkama* has in certain cases an executive official (*ʿawn*) and a matron (*ʿarīfa*) to take care of women. After the *dahir* of 16 S̲h̲aʿbān 1342/23 March 1924, litigants could be represented by an oukil (*wakīl*, pl. *wukalāʾ*) or legal pleader whose functions were laid down in a very detailed dahir of 18 Ṣafar/7 September 1925. Advocates, for their part, could only intervene, and then only on a written basis, before an appeal court. In each *s̲h̲arʿī* court, six registers had to be kept: for landed property, miscellaneous deeds, successions, lawsuits, appeals and the careers of the *ʿudūl*: after the dahir of 12 Ṣafar 1363/7 February 1944, acts of witness were entered in a separate register.

As for the *mak̲h̲zan* [*q.v.*] courts (*al-maḥākim al-mak̲h̲zaniyya*), that is, those of the *pas̲h̲as* in the towns and of the *ḳāʾids* among the tribes, these were regulated by several dahirs, the most important of which was that of 26 S̲h̲awwāl 1336/4 August 1918. These officials had limited competence up to a certain sum of money in civil and commercial cases; they could refer complicated cases to the *ḳāḍīs* or have recourse to experts. In criminal law, they could judge misdemeanours involving theft, blows, woundings, etc., but did not have the right to inflict a prison sentence than a fixed period or a fine longer above a fixed limit. The government commissioner (who was an official of the Protectorate power) watched that the rules were kept and, in the case of any breach or shortcoming, could require an appeal to the superior Sharifian court (*al-maḥkama al-ʿulyā al-s̲h̲arīfa*) set up by the above-mentioned dahir. This last jurisdiction was made up of two chambers: the first acted as an appeal court against the judgements of *pas̲h̲as* and *ḳāʾids*, whilst the second was a criminal court for dealing with cases of murder, rape, procurement of abortion and other crimes falling outside the jurisdiction of the officials with judicial powers, but investigated by them, who sent along the relevant files to the criminal section of the superior court. The *pas̲h̲a* had a government-paid secretariat, according to the provisions of the dahir of 29 Rabīʿ II/2 April 1946, although the *ḳāʾid* had to pay himself his secretary (*fḳīh*). In the big towns, the *pas̲h̲as* had in the quarters and suburbs subordinates who had the same powers (dahir of 5 D̲j̲umādā II 1368/4 April 1949).

All these authorities made their judgements on a basis of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* when it gave a solution, but more often on the *sensus communis* or unwritten custom. Among the Berber tribes, it was the *d̲j̲amāʿa* which continued to decide cases between members of the group according to local customs, also unwritten. As the French forces advanced into the dissident areas, some *ḳāḍīs* were progressively installed there, but experience showed that those seeking justice continued in general to address themselves to the *d̲j̲amāʿa*, which charged no fees. In any case, a dahir of 20 S̲h̲awwāl 1332/11 September 1914 already envisaged the retention of customary law (which some Berberists strove to collect and record in written form), but it was the dahir of 16 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1348/15 May 1930 (confirmed again on 23 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1352/8 April 1934) which had the greatest repercussions in the Islamic world and even in lands like the Netherlands East Indies where custom was indeed a fundamental source of law [see ʿĀDA]. France was accused of having wanted to de-Islamise Morocco, when it was simply trying to institutionalise the already existing Berber system of justice by setting up customary law courts of first instance (to which there was attached a public attorney charged with ensuring regularity in the court's functioning), and customary law appeal courts. The composition and jurisdiction of these courts were determined by a vizieral decree of 5 D̲j̲umādā II 1353/15 September 1934; another decree (7 Jafar 1357/8 April 1938) fixed there powers, procedure, structure and functioning.

For its part, the Jewish community in Morroco had, in respect of personal legal status, courts which were controlled by dahir, in 1918 in the French zone, in 1914 at Tangiers and in 1914 in the Spanish zone, as well as a rabbinical high court. Finally, foreigners and a certain number of Moroccans who had the protection, as individuals, of a foreign power benefited from the capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT] and thus received justice from the consular courts; these last were replaced in the French zone on 9 Ramaḍān 1331/13 August 1913 and in the Spanish one on 1 June 1914 by courts with exclusive competence in all cases where non-Moroccans were involved, whilst at Tangiers mixed courts were set up by dahir of 16 February 1924.

After independence, the Moroccan government legitimately envisaged bringing about three main objectives: first, a separation of powers by ending the intervention of the administrative authorities in the exercise of justice; second, to unify and arabise the latter by "Moroccanising" it; and third, to introduce modern codes of law based at least in part on the *s̲h̲arīʿa*.

As early as 17 Muḥarram 1376/25 August 1956, the customary law courts were suppressed and replaced by *s̲h̲arʿī* courts. A few months later, two dahirs promulgated simultaneously on 23 Rad̲j̲ab 1376/23 February 1957 created two types of Jewish courts, rabbinical and regional, together with a higher court. As for the French or Spanish courts and the international court at Tangiers, these changed their name to become the modern (*ʿaṣriyya*) courts.

Nevertheless, the authorities gave greatest attention to bringing about the objectives outlined above. By a dahir of 24 Rad̲j̲ab 1375/7 March 1956, there were suppressed first of all the judicial functions of the deputies (*nuwwāb*) of the *pas̲h̲as*, and, on 6 S̲h̲aʿbān/19 March of the same year a dahir put an end to the interference of the executive power in the administration of justice, whose independence was asserted. The dahir of 22 S̲h̲aʿbān 1375/2 April 1956 aimed at replacing the courts of the *pas̲h̲as* and *ḳāʾids* (the *maḥākim mak̲h̲zaniyya*) by ordinary courts (*maḥākim ʿādiyya*) covering the kinds of courts of first instance

called *sadadiyya*, regional (*iḳlīmiyya*) courts and the high Sharifian court and fixing their spheres of competence in both civil and criminal affairs. A dahir of 14 Radjab 1348/16 December 1929 had created conciliation boards with the task of settling conflicts in labour matters; these were replaced on 28 Ramaḍān 1376/29 April 1957 by labour courts (*maḥākim al-shughl*).

As for *sharʿī* justice, it had been reorganised by a dahir of 5 Djumādā I 1376/8 December 1956, which had created several new courts, apart from those which were to replace the customary law courts, and had instituted in the various regional courts boards with the task of examining appeals directed against judgements of the *ḳāḍīs*' courts. In the following year, on 23 Djumādā I 1377/16 December 1957, the procedure to be followed by the *sharʿī* courts was fixed by a law less detailed than the code of civil procedure promulgated in 1913. In the same year, on 22 Muḥarram/16 August, there was set up a commission with the task of codifying *fiḳh*. It began immediately on the law of personal status, which was naturally to remain in the sphere reserved to the *ḳāḍīs*, and it speedily brought its activities to an end. On 20 November 1962 a criminal code, in large measure based on French legislation, was promulgated.

Regarding appeal courts, the dahir of 25 Ṣafar 1377/21 September 1957 ended that of Tetouan, reorganised the one at Tangiers and created one at Rabat to replace the high Sharifian court; a third appeal court has been set up at Fās on 29 Shawwāl 1380/15 April 1961. From 2 Rabīʿ 1377/27 September 1957 onwards, control over the Moroccan legal system was vested in the Superior Council (*al-madjlis al-aʿlā*).

The law of 23 Ramaḍān 1384/26 January 1965 made the Moroccanisation, Arabisation and unification of the administration obligatory, and this was followed by the formal unification of the judicial system and by a decree of the Minister of Justice requiring use of the Arabic language in all documents laid before the courts.

Despite the progress achieved, in particular in the sphere of criminal law, which is no longer in the hands of administrators, there still exists a certain vacillation arising from the divergent tendencies of the personnel involved, some wishing to preserve at least part of the system bequeathed by the Protectorate whilst others want to create a totally new and original system.

Bibliography: For the pre-independence period, see H. Bruno, *La justice indigène*, in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, Casablanca 1942, 413-30; A. Coudino, *Fonctionnement de la justice berbère*, in *ibid.*, 431-46; and the ch. on the legal system in the treatise of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Benashenhū, *al-Bayān al-muṭrib li-niẓām ḥukūmat al-Maghrib*², Rabat 1370/1957. For the following period, an unpublished account by Idrīs al-Ḍaḥḥāk, *al-ʿAdāla al-maghribiyya min khilāl rubuʿ ḳarn*, has been used. (ED.)

xi. Algeria. [See Supplement]

xii. Tunisia. [See Supplement]

xiii. Reforms in the law applying in Sharīʿa courts

In the 20th century, many reforms, some of them very far-reaching, have been effected in matters of personal status, succession and *waḳf*, which are under the jurisdiction of the *Sharīʿa* courts. The most important of them are the raising of the age of competence for marriage and the imposition of restrictions on the marriage of minors; the prohibition of forced marriages; the prohibition of opposition to the marriage of persons having reached the age of competence for marriage; the prevention of great differences in age between spouses; the restriction of the institution of equality in marriage (*kafāʾa*) to the point of complete abolition and the limitation of the functions of the marriage-guardian; the limitation of the amount of the dower (Southern Yemen, 1974); the refinement of the use of stipulations in the marriage contract to improve the position of women; the performance of marriages in courts of law (ʿIrāḳ, 1978); and the prohibition of polygamy, leaving discretion to the *ḳāḍī* to permit it under special circumstances (in Southern Yemen, the consent of the District Court is required for polygamy, 1974).

The amount of maintenance of the wife is fixed in accordance with the economic position of the husband; both spouses are responsible for their own support and that of their children, each according to his or her ability (Southern Yemen, 1974); maintenance awarded by the court is paid by a government authority, which in turn recoups itself from the judgment debtor (Egypt, 1976; Israel 1972).

Wrongs resulting from the husband's right of arbitrary divorce have been redressed: repudiation pronounced under compulsion or in a state of drunkness or a fit of anger and divorce by way of an oath or a threat (provided there is no intent to divorce) are invalid; the effect of a double or triple repudiation pronounced on a single occasion has been reduced to that of one revocable divorce; divorce against the wife's will is prohibited (Israel 1951, 1959); the husband must seek judicial approval or registration of the divorce or dissolution of the marriage by the court (Southern Yemen, 1974); compensation to the amount of one or two years' maintenance, in addition to waiting-period maintenance, is due to a wife divorced without justification (Syria, 1953; Jordan, 1976; Egypt, 1979); the respective economic resources of the spouses must be equalised upon divorce (Israel, 1973). Additional grounds have been provided for dissolution on the initiative of the wife or of both spouses: a physical or mental defect of the husband, sterility of the husband; non-payment of prompt dowry (before consummation of marriage) or of maintenance to the wife; cruelty; the taking of a second wife; prolonged separation from or abandonment of the wife without legal cause (even if maintenance is provided), prevention of the wife from entering the conjugal dwelling after marriage; imprisonment of the husband for several years, together with non-supply of maintenance; and adultery of the spouse (ʿIrāḳ, 1978).

The period of the mother's custody of minors has been extended in the interest of their well-being; both parents have been declared the natural guardians of their children (Israel, 1951, 1962). The rights of heirs within the nuclear family have been strengthened, with daughters, in the absence of sons, being given preference over other Ḳurʾānic heirs; the spouse enjoys the *radd*, the residue of the estate, in the absence of Ḳurʾānic heirs and *dhawū 'l-arḥām*; germane brothers—contrary to the position of the Ḥanafī school—share the uterine brothers' portion of the estate in cases where the Ḳurʾānic portions exhaust the estate (Jordan, 1976); the Shīʿī system of succession, which is not based on the agnatic principle, has been adopted (ʿIrāḳ, 1963); the rights of heirs have been determined on the basis of equality of the sexes (ʿIrāḳ, 1959 to 1963; Palestine, 1923; Israel, 1951,

1965); bequests in favour of legal heirs have been permitted to the extent of one-third of the estate; the absence of the principle of representation has been remedied by the device of an "obligatory bequest" in favour of an orphaned grandson.

In Egypt (1946) and in Lebanon (1947), the founder of a *waḳf* has been given an option to revoke it; to stipulate whether a *khayrī waḳf* shall be perpetual or temporary (but a family *waḳf* must be temporary) and to spend the income of the *waḳf* for purposes not indicated in the *waḳf* deed; a stipulation by the founder as to the conduct of the beneficiary is no longer valid; the disinheritance of legal heirs by means of a *waḳf* exceeding one-third of the estate has been prohibited; *waḳf* property is to be administered by the beneficiaries; *waḳf* property damaged beyond repair through neglect is to be liquidated. Most of these reforms relate to *waḳfs* to be established in the future. The military régimes in Syria (1949) and Egypt (1952) abolished the family *waḳf* completely. In 1957, Egypt nationalised the property of that *waḳf* for the purposes of agrarian reform. In Israel (1965), the family and *khayrī waḳfs* as far as they comprised absentee property, were abolished; the property is to pass into the full ownership of the beneficiaries and of Muslim boards of trustees, respectively.

Important reforms have also been effected in the rules of evidence and procedure of the *Sharīʿa* courts; written evidence is now admissible and is accorded the same weight as oral testimony—in fact, with regard to some matters, documentary evidence is eligible but not oral testimony; witnesses may be cross-examined; the court is given discretion to assess the credibility of the witness and the testimony; the defendant may bring witnesses to refute the testimony of the plaintiff's witnesses; the defendant may return the oath to the plaintiff; circumstancial evidence is admissible; periods of prescription of actions have been introduced.

Rulers and parliaments have used a wide gamut of methods to introduce reforms in the law applied by the courts: (1) The procedural expedient: refusal of legal relief to parties who disregard a particular reformist norm, such as the age of competence for marriage. This method is based on the ruler's right to restrict the powers of the court (*takhṣīṣ al-ḳaḍāʾ*). (2) The *takhayyur* expedient: the selection of elements within or outside the heritage of the ruling school which suit the purpose the legislator seeks to achieve; sometimes such elements, patched together into a statute, contradict one another (*talfīḳ*). The theoretical justification of this expedient lies in the power of the ruler to direct the *ḳāḍī*, his agent, to apply a particular doctrine, and disregard others, in the public interest (*maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*]). In the Sudan, the direction was given by means of a "judicial circular" issued by the Grand *Ḳāḍī* with the consent of the British Governor-General. (3) Administrative orders, provided that they do not conflict with the *Sharīʿa*; they rely on the duty of Muslims to obey their rulers. In Saudi Arabia, the reforms are carried out by means of royal orders based on the utility principle: *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala* or *maṣlaḥat al-ʿumūm* or *siyāsa sharʿiyya*. (4) Criminal legislation which, while its sanctions are supposed to deter potential violators of reformist norms, such as the age of competence for marriage and the prohibition of polygamy, does not derogate from the substantive validity of the *Sharīʿa*. (5) A "modernistic" interpretation of the textual sources (Ḳurʾān and Sunna), e.g. in matters of polygamy and divorce, with a view to adapting them to the requirements of present-day society. In Saudi Arabia, the plenum of the Greater *Sharīʿa* Court may practise legal reasoning (*idjtihād*) collectively. (6) The abolition of the *Sharīʿa* courts and the application of Islamic substantive law by civil judicial authorities in accordance with civil rules of evidence and procedure. The process which took place in British India (Anglo-Muhammadan law) may now be expected to occur in Egypt and Kuwayt. It occurs to a limited extent in countries where the civil courts have incidental and other jurisdiction in matters to which Islamic law applies.

The direct approach of the reformers to the sources of religious law bears a certain, but purely technical, resemblance to the classical *idjtihād* [*q.v.*]. There are material differences as to the mode of using those sources (replacement of the deductive *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*] by the *maṣlaḥa* or utility principle) and as to the sources of inspiration and motivation of the reforms (Western ideas, and pressures arising from a disturbance of balances in Muslim society as a result of modernisation and Westernisation). The reforms rely on state-imposed, not religious, sanctions, and their somewhat forced link with Islamic sources has been severed in the process of legislation. They have an autonomous existence, independent of the sources, and should only be interpreted within the framework of the statutes in which they are embodied. In some cases, they have no basis at all in religious law. They are, first and foremost, legislative acts of secular parliaments. It is true that even in the past the secular legislation of caliphs and temporal rulers was outside the *Sharīʿa*, but there was then the pious fiction that this legislation was intended to supplement the *Sharīʿa* and that everybody, including the ruler, was subject to the latter, whereas today the parliaments are the declared sources of sovereignty and set bounds to the *Sharīʿa*. Most Arab countries are today at an advanced stage of transition from jurists' law to statute law, and the question of *idjtihād* has thus ceased to be relevant.

The purpose of resort to traditional mechanisms in legislation is a national and tactical one: the creation of the impression that the reforms are a kind of internal renovation of the *Sharīʿa*. Islamic law is conceived as part of the Arab national-cultural heritage; this prevents the creation of an ideological debt and subjection to the West. Reference to the modernists of the school of Muḥammad ʿAbduh is intended to facilitate acceptance of the reforms by the *ʿulamāʾ* and conservative circles and by the *sharʿī* judiciary.

The success of the reforms depends, to a decisive extent, on the *ḳāḍīs* charged with the application of the legislation designed for the *Sharīʿa* courts. The *ḳāḍīs*, including those integrated into the national courts in Egypt, have in their vast majority had a traditional *sharʿī* training. It seems that, contrary to the expectations of the legislator, they do not exercise the wide discretion given to them and that in many cases, out of devotion to *taḳlīd*, they ignore reformist legislation.

At the same time there have been cases (in Israel) in which that legislation impressed the *ḳāḍīs* and they explicitly relied on it in their judgments. Here the *ḳāḍīs* were not opposed to legislation in so far as it did not supersede the *Sharīʿa*. Some *ḳāḍīs* would even welcome additional legislation, procedural or penal, with a view to using the statutory sanction to buttress the *sharʿī* norm, which is sustained by a toothless ethical sanction. Druze *ḳāḍīs* still use religious and social sanctions of court. Some *ḳāḍīs* do not shrink from calling for legislation of a definitely substantive character.

The increasing ascendancy in the *Sharīʿa* courts of lawyers with a secular training and a modern social outlook will eventually, in judicial practice, lead to a

kind of synthesis between the *Sharīʿa* and national law. There are *ḳāḍīs* who, in their liberal interpretation of religious law, do not hesitate to deviate from *taḳlīd* and who, by means of the techniques of *takhayyur* and *talfīḳ*, have scored achievements not inferior to those of parliamentary legislation. In Saudi Arabia, the *ḳāḍīs*, in the absence of an express provision as to a particular matter in authoritative Ḥanbalī literature—as designated by decree—are permitted to rely on elements from other doctrines as far as it is in the public interest to do so, and there have in fact been cases in which they applied the *maṣlaḥa* mechanism in their decisions.

The *ḳāḍīs* make use of their personal authority, sometimes with the assistance of mediators, to bring about a peaceful settlement of disputes and to give the effect of judgments to compromises that have been reached. They thereby continue a tradition of tribal arbitration. This method also prevents a confrontation with religious law. The proceedings are simple, quick and matter-of-fact. Druze *ḳāḍīs* are sometimes called upon to act as arbitrators in criminal cases heard before civil courts.

The *ḳāḍīs* react in different ways to the encounter of *Sharīʿa* and custom (*ʿurf*, *ʿāda* [*q.v.*]), according to their degree of orthodoxy, education and professional training, their social philosophy and the measure of their understanding of the Islamisation processes of a society not yet wont to regard Islam as an obligatory way of life. Some reject custom absolutely; others acquiesce in its sovereign existence by the side of the *Sharīʿa*, but there are also attempts to absorb custom, whilst compromising with it, into the *Sharīʿa*. Custom is an extremely important source of law in the jurisprudence of the Druze courts, owing to the absence of a tradition of institutionalised communal justice and the esoteric character of Druze religious law.

Following the introduction of a uniform and binding material law (secular statutes), and a hierarchy of collegial courts and appeal stages, in the *sharʿī* judicial system, there are significant indications of the development of a case law, a phenomenon alien to the *Sharīʿa*.

For the time being, there are no significant effects of the abolition of the *Sharīʿa* courts in Egypt. The *ḳāḍīs*, who have been integrated into the national courts, continue, out of loyalty to *taḳlīd*, to apply not only Islamic substantive law but also the Islamic rules of evidence and procedure, as they used to do in the *Sharīʿa* courts. But there can be no doubt that in the long run, as their place is taken by civil judges with a secular legal training and no traditional *sharʿī* education, the reform will make itself felt and Islamic law will be exposed to the influence of secular—national and Western—legal principles.

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(A. LAYISH)

5. THE INDO-PAKISTAN SUBCONTINENT.
[See Supplement]

6. INDONESIA

The complex history of Islamic courts in Indonesia is evident in the many names by which they have been known over the last century in various parts of the country: among them *Pengadilan Surambi*, *Priesterraad*, *Raad Agama*, *Penghulu Gerecht*, *Rapat Kadi*, *Pengadilan Agama*, *Mahkamah Syariah*, and at the appeals level *Mahkamah Islam Tinggi*, *Kerapatan Kadi Besar*, *Mahkamah Syariah Propinsi*, and *Pengadilan Tinggi Agama*. The mixed roots of these terms reflect the subtle interplay of Islamic, pre-Islamic, and Dutch colonial influences in the evolution of the courts. When in 1980 the Ministry of Religion finally imposed a uniform religious-judicial nomenclature throughout Indonesia, *Pengadilan Agama* (*pengadilan* = court, *agama* = religion), combining Arabic and Indic roots, rather than the Arabic and Islamically derived *Mahkamah Syariah*, became the name of choice for first instance religious courts. Appellate religious courts are now called *Pengadilan Tinggi Agama* (*tinggi* = high).

Unlike many other Islamic countries, where religious courts have been progressively restricted, in Indonesia they have actually grown in number and influence. Despite continual efforts to confine or eliminate them, since the late 19th century the politics of their development has led, at every stage, to some institutional accretion. Legally, they are subordinate to civil courts, on which they depend for enforcement decrees, but socially they enjoy a measure of autonomy and authority guaranteed by Islamic commitment and political power.

The modern history of these courts began in 1882 under the colonial administration of the Netherlands East Indies. Earlier they existed in various forms throughout Java and only here and there in the other major islands, always under the control of local aristocratic authorities whose Islamic credentials were often dubious. In Java, where Islamic courts were paid most attention in the colony, they were known as *surambi* courts, from the forecourt of the mosque in which they convened, serving in part as general courts of the land and in part as Islamic courts proper. In the colony these *surambi* courts were related to the first instance colonial civil courts for Indonesians (*landraden*) in two ways: religious judges served as advisers to the *landraden*, and Islamic court decisions were required to obtain enforcement decrees (*executoire verklaring*) from the *landraden*. The first rule has long since faded, but the second still survives.

In 1882 the colonial administration reorganised the Islamic courts, which were now called *Priesterraden* (priest's courts)—though popularly *raad agama*, or *landraad agama*, after the style of the Dutch courts—on an erroneous understanding of the mosque administrators, *penghulu*, who staffed the courts. The new courts were collegial, with three judges, following from European rather than Islamic judicial traditions. The most important effect of the reform, however, was to make the courts formally more autonomous, and potentially independent of the local Javanese aristocracy that had traditionally appointed and controlled Islamic officials.

The reform of 1882 was roundly criticised by the famous Dutch Islamologist C. Snouck Hurgronje, whose arguments helped to inspire a second round of reforms, resulting in a new regulation of 1931 whose implementation, for economic and political reasons, was delayed until 1937. Applying only to Java and the nearby island of Madura, the new law responded superficially to Snouck's earlier criticism by renaming the courts *Penghulu Gerecht* (*penghulu* court) and reconstituting them, following Islamic tradition, as a single *kadi* (*ḳāḍī*) accompanied by two assessors and a clerk. Originally, the reform had called for payment of regular salaries to the religious judges and their staffs, who had acquired a reputation for venality, but this measure was put off because of budgetary shortages during the depression. Only later, during the revolution, did the Islamic courts begin to receive financial support from the state. But the heart of the 1930s reform, promoted by Dutch and Indonesian *adat* (customary) law scholars who opposed recognition of Islamic law except insofar as it was "received" by indigenous customary law, had to do with issues of substantive jurisdiction. Matters of *wakf* (*waḳf*) and, crucially, inheritance, were removed from the competence of the Islamic courts and given over to the civil *landraden*. When this provision was implemented, it caused an uproar among Islamic groups, who have tried unsuccessfully ever since to restore the inheritance jurisdiction to Islamic courts in Java. It was a major symbolic as well as practical loss for Islam, which at about the same time was able to ward off a challenge to polygamy. In compensation, the reform established a new Islamic appellate instance, the *Mahkamah Islam Tinggi* (Islamic High Court) to hear appeals from all the religious courts of Java. Although suspect at first among Islamic officials, the *Mahkamah Islam Tinggi* was eventually opened in the central Javanese city of Surakarta, where it remains today. Outside of Java, only in Kalimantan (Borneo) were similar reforms begun, also in 1937, mainly by way of reorganisation of local religious courts (*Rapat Kadi*) and the creation of appellate courts (*Kerapatan Kadi Besar*), before Japanese forces occupied the country during the second World War.

During the occupation and early in the revolution (1945-50) against the returning Dutch administration, efforts to eliminate Islamic courts failed utterly in the face of Islamic determination to preserve and develop Islamic public institutions. A political compromise led in 1946 to the establishment of a new Ministry of Religion, which soon absorbed various elements of Islamic administration, including the existing courts, and later became a driving force behind their consolidation and expansion throughout independent Indonesia. Islamic judicial affairs were organised in the Ministry under a Directorate of Religious Justice.

With the revolution, the primary issues of the Islamic judiciary shifted to the islands outside of Java, particularly Sumatra, where religious courts were few and poorly developed. In 1946, during a period of violent local conflict, Islamic groups in Aceh (northern Sumatra) established new *Mahkamah Syariah* (*S̲h̲arīʿa* councils). These courts ambitiously assumed a wide jurisdiction, which the national government later whittled away gradually by creating competitive civil courts and subjecting the *Mahkamah Syariah* to legal limits as a condition of their incorporation into the national religious bureaucracy. In response to what had happened in Aceh, however, in 1947 the republican governor of Sumatra issued an instruction to establish Islamic courts, also fashioned as *Mahkamah Syariah*, elsewhere in Sumatra. The temporary resurrection of Dutch rule prevented it from going into effect, though local Dutch administrations in Sumatra themselves set up Islamic courts here and there.

When the Dutch had finally departed, by 1950, a serious contest quickly developed within the new state over the creation of Islamic courts outside of Java. Opposition came from secular parties and the national Ministry of the Interior, which administered the provinces in close association with local élites that had long resisted the expansion of Islamic authority. On the other side, the Ministry of Religion, supported by Islamic parties, pressed the case for new religious courts assiduously. Religious Affairs Offices (*Kantor Urusan Agama*), responsible *inter alia* for registering marriages and divorces (*nikah*, *talak*, *rujuk*), established the local presence of the national Ministry and helped to generate local pressures in favor of Islamic courts. At length, in early 1957 the Achehnese courts were finally validated, and later in the same year a new regulation provided for *Mahkamah Syariah* and appellate *Mahkamah Syariah Propinsi*, modelled on the *Mahkamah Islam Tinggi* in Java, for those provinces outside of Java which did not yet have Islamic courts.

The end result was two disparate Islamic judicial régimes: one in Java and Madura based on the reforms of 1882 and 1931-7, which influenced regulations of 1937 for the Kalimantan courts, and a second, based on the regulation of 1957, for all other areas. The essential differences had to do with substantive jurisdiction. While the religious courts of Java-Madura were confined to matrimonial issues—essentially divorce—the younger courts elsewhere had also acquired jurisdiction over issues of child custody and support (*hadhanah*), *waḳf*, public religious funds (*baitulmal*), charity (*sedakah*), pre-testamentary gifts (*hibbah*), and, above all, inheritance (*waris*), which however they shared uneasily and uncertainly with civil courts. National uniformity in the competence of religious courts was very difficult to achieve because of the political sensitivity of the inheritance issue, jurisdiction over which the Islamic courts in Java wished to retrieve and those outside of Java would not relinquish.

While Islamic courts spread after 1957, problems of internal organisation and development were much harder to deal with. The courts suffered persistently from inadequate funds, poorly trained personnel, low prestige and institutional isolation. From a sociological point of view, they served their communities well enough, but beyond routine they often fell into disorder, and from a legal point of view, whether Islamic or secular, they were an easy target for critics. During the 1970s, however, some movement began on these problems, though it was inspired largely from outside the religious courts themselves.

In the 1960s, the Directorate of Religious Justice had begun to move gently towards serving as a national review instance of sorts, despite objections from local religious judges, in response to protests over procedural errors and related problems in the first instance and appellate Islamic courts. This development was cut short by a new statute of 1970 on national judicial organisation. In addition to confirming the Islamic judiciary as one line of national judicial institutions (along with civil, military, and administrative courts), the new law also provided for appeals in cassation from Islamic appellate courts to the civil Supreme Court (*Mahkamah Agung*). Although there were qualms about this among both civil and Islamic judges, for different reasons, it did finally establish a national institutional apex for the Islamic

judiciary. But only a few such appeals have been heard, by late 1982, and it is too early to predict the influence of the Supreme Court on the religious courts.

The next major stage in the evolution of Islamic courts was unexpected and rather surprising in its effects. In 1973 Parliament considered a new unified marriage law for all religious groups which incensed many Muslims by its challenge to polygamy and other Ḳurʾānic legal symbols. Islamic groups protested vehemently, and after a great deal of political tension the Government revised the original drafts of the law to meet Islamic objections. One result of the new law in its final form was to place more authority and functional responsibility squarely on the Islamic courts.

Until the passage of the 1974 marriage law, the overwhelming daily fare of Islamic courts everywhere in the country was made up of divorce issues. Despite the additional jurisdiction over inheritance of the courts outside of Java, not many cases of the sort actually came to them. (Ironically, the Javanese religious courts continued informally even after 1937 to hear many inheritance cases, often deciding them in the form of *fatwa*s, advisory opinions, as people continued to bring them; sometimes because they were ignorant of the legal change, sometimes because the Islamic courts were much speedier than the civil courts, and sometimes because devout Muslims simply regarded the Islamic courts as the proper authority to take care of their inheritance problems.) The vast majority of the Islamic courts' clients were women, as only women had to go to court for a decree invoking their husband's divorce (*talak*) on prescribed grounds. Husbands bent on divorce need only pronounce the *talak* and register it at a local religious office.

The law of 1974 changed all this, however, making divorce more difficult for men by requiring them also to go to court, an equalising measure intended to promote family stability. The traffic in Islamic courts naturally increased, though less than expected because the new legal procedures themselves had the effect of discouraging divorce. In addition, all Islamic courts now have jurisdiction over a wide range of family law issues, including, among others, permission for a husband to take an additional wife, permission to marry in the absence of or disagreement among appropriate kin, dispensation from marriageable age rules, prevention of marriages, annulments, charges of neglect, determination of child custody, support of divorced wives, child support, legitimacy of children, withdrawal of parental authority, appointment of a *wali*, and review of administrative refusal to allow mixed marriages. Several of these questions require only administrative action, while others constitute litigation, but all together impress on the courts a more variegated responsibility than they have been used to. As before, decisions of the religious courts are legally enforceable only by writ of the civil courts, a requirement that the new law appears to render perfunctory, indeed mainly symbolic.

A a consequence of this burgeoning significance of the religious courts, the Ministry of Religion moved enthusiastically to demand more courts, more funds and more facilities. By ministerial regulation, two new appellate courts were provided for West and East Java, confining the old *Mahkamah Islam Tinggi* to the territorial jurisdiction of Central Java. Increasing attention has begun to be paid matters of recruitment and training of religious judges. The national standardisation of the names of the courts in 1980 implies a further commitment to uniform policies in their development.

Indonesia's Islamic courts have survived as one critical symbol of the Islamic community, but they have been progressively integrated into state administration. The law of 1974 has transformed them into rather full-blown domestic relations tribunals, responsible for profoundly important matters of social life and state policy.

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MAḤLŪL (a.), a term used in Ottoman administrative parlance to mean vacant. It is used in the registers of a grant or office which has been vacated by the previous holder, by death, dismissal, or transfer, and not yet re-allocated. The term is also used more generally for land and other assets left without heir (see also MUKHALLAFĀT). (Ed.)

MAḤMAL (modern pronunciation of the word vocalised by the lexicographers *maḥmil* or *miḥmal*), a type of richly decorated palanquin, perched on a camel and serving in the past to transport people, especially noble ladies, to Mecca (cf. al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, under the word *al-maḥāmilī*). The famous al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf is said to have been the first to use them.

In a more restricted and precise sense, the word designates palanquins of this same type which became political symbols and were sent from the 7th/13th century by sovereigns with their caravans of pilgrims to Mecca (or the principal caravan when it was split up) in order to bolster their prestige. In the modern period in Egypt, the head-rope of the camel which carried it was solemnly presented to the *Amīr al-Ḥadjdj*, the leader of the pilgrimage, in the course of a ceremony during which the camel, followed by some musicians, performed seven circuits on the ground in front of the officials' platform. In time, the crowds accorded these palanquins, encompassed by the glory of the Holy Places, a veneration which was excessive and at times condemned (e.g. the kissing of the head-rope, the seven circuits, the participation of the religious brotherhoods in the ceremonies, allowing the belief that it was actually a religious emblem). Forming the centre of picturesque demonstrations in Cairo, Damascus (and Istanbul) at the time of the departures and returns of the caravans of pilgrims, they were mentioned by European travellers. At the end of

1952, the Egyptian *maḥmal*, the last still in service, was suppressed by a governmental decision. The camel which carried it, a splendid and well-nourished animal, stayed resting all the year at the *dār al-kiswa*, at Khoronfish Street in Cairo, waiting for the ceremonies in default of journeys.

There exists little precise evidence, in the Middle Ages, on the form of these political *maḥmals*. On the other hand, those of the modern period have been described, photographed and displayed in museums. In Egypt, the last ones were built of wood and approximately cubic, broader (1 m 75) than they were long (1m 35), surmounted by a four-faced pyramid, with, in the upper angles of the cube, four gilded balls and on top of the pyramid, a much larger ball surmounted by a stem, a star and a crescent: the whole was covered in an embroidered material. There existed two types of coverings: the first, for towns and the parade, was in a very rich brocade, enhanced by pompoms and fringes. The name of the sovereign and a verse of the Ḳurʾān (e.g. the "throne verse", II, 255, on that of King Fuʾād I) was embroidered respectively on the face in front of the pyramid and on a band encircling the top of the cube. The second covering of simpler material (green in recent times) was put on for the journey or minor halts. The oldest covering which has been preserved is that of the *maḥmal* of Sultan Ḳānṣawh al-G̲h̲ūrī (d. 922/1516) at present in Istanbul, in the Topkapı Museum (Turkish embroideries section, no. 263, Mehmel). A good photo of it is supplied in the magazine *La Turquie Kémaliste*, Istanbul, August 1941. The embroidered text expresses pious wishes but is not Ḳurʾānic. It is reproduced in J. Jomier, *Le Mahmal du sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī*, in *Annales Islamologiques* (1972), 183-8. The richness of certain coverings has been mentioned by chroniclers: such as that of the *maḥmal* of the ʿIrāḳīs in 721/1321, encrusted with gold, pearls and precious stones (*Die Chroniken des Stadt Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, Göttingen 1859, 278).

Various legends concerning these *maḥmals* are to be dismissed at the outset. The legend according to which the Egyptian *maḥmal* goes back to the reign of Queen S̲h̲ad̲j̲arat al-Durr is not found in any presently-known ancient source. Those according to which the palanquin contained Ḳurʾāns or served to transport the hangings (*kiswa*) of the Kaʿba have no firm basis. The *maḥmal* was normally empty. The word "sacred cloth" used by Westerners to designate it is pure fantasy. In Arabic it is called the noble *maḥmal*, *al-maḥmal al-s̲h̲arīf*, an adjective very often applied to that which is in contact with the Holy Places.

The (political) *maḥmal* seems to be a creation of the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars, who sent it for the first time in 664/1266. It is recorded in the context of the transfer to Cairo of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate after the capture of Bag̲h̲dād by the Mongols (656/1258). Yemen and Egypt were then rivals to offer the hangings of the Kaʿba (a gift which had always remained the caliphs' privilege of honour) until the S̲h̲arīf of Mecca promised Ḳalāwūn that only the Egyptian hangings would be hung (681/1282). The sending of the *maḥmal* coincided with the reopening of the pilgrimage route via Suez, Aqaba and the east coast of the Red Sea, closed since the Crusades (reopening in 660 A.H. plus, the manuscripts having a blank for the units' figure). Briefly, Baybars showed by his policy towards the Holy Places that he was the protector of the caliph, some of whose privileges of honour he took over. At Mecca, and then at ʿArafāt, the *maḥmal* was placed in a position where it could easily be seen, also reinforcing by its presence the symbolism of the hangings.

Very quickly other countries wanted to rival Egypt: Yemen also (from 969/1297), ʿIrāḳ, (from 718/1319) had their *maḥmals*, doubling their hangings. Hence there were conflicts of precedence, at times violent, in the course of which Egypt always insisted on the first place. Syria (from 692/1293) sent its *maḥmal*, but this was the responsibility *ipso facto* of the Mamlūk sultans of Cairo. The presence or absence of one or the other depended on the vicissitudes of politics. With the Ottoman seizure of Egypt and Syria, Istanbul took on itself this policy of prestige, and the *maḥmals* came on its behalf. In the *ḥarīm* of the Top Kapı Palace in Istanbul, the group of three *maḥmals* (Egypt, Syria and Yemen) appears three times running on the faience panels (17th century) representing the Holy Places. It is in this period that the Yemeni *maḥmal* ceased to be sent. Toward the end of the same century, M. d'Ohsson (*Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, iii, Paris 1790, 263-6) mentions as customary a symbolic departure of the *maḥmal* at Istanbul, with the official delegation of the pilgrimage, this palanquin then being dismantled and returned to its store.

When the Wahhābīs seized the Holy Places in 1807, the Egyptian *maḥmal* fell into their hands and was burnt by them. Its sending was only resumed after their defeat. The war of 1914 put an end to the sending of the Syrian *maḥmal*; the Egyptian one continued to be sent until 1926, the date on which a clash between the soldiers of the escort and the Wahhābī Ik̲h̲wān caused its despatch to be definitively suppressed. The Egyptian Government and King Ḥusayn of the Ḥid̲j̲āz (1915-21) had already confronted each other on the subject of this palanquin and especially the ceremonial which was to preside over its reception. Despite exchanges of points of view, the conflict twice led to the suspension of its sending. After Ibn Saʿūd had become King of the Ḥid̲j̲āz, negotiations took place on the same subject, the Wahhābīs refusing to allow the music which accompanied the procession and various superstitious practices. Symbol of a political protection over the Holy Places, the *maḥmal* no longer had its *raison d'être* after the suppression of the caliphate and the Wahhābīs' desire for independence.

The popular festival aspect was manifest in Egypt in the course of three annual ceremonies (in the Middle Ages), in the course of which the *maḥmal* was solemnly led across the city with a large escort and parts of the caravan, accompanied by troops armed with lances and sometimes even clowns. Ladies were accustomed to go out to see the processions. The first procession announced the approach of the season of pilgrimage, the second was that of the departure and the third that of the return.

In the desert, the *maḥmal* was the centre of the principal caravan. When in 1882, and then in 1884 and after, the Egyptian caravan ceased to take the desert route and left by train (for Suez) and then by boat, the *maḥmal* was hoisted into a train (it had its own special carriage) and then embarked. From 1328 to 1331/1910-13, it went via Alexandria, the sea, Haifa and the Medina railway. In the Ḥid̲j̲āz itself, the small caravan re-formed and it was always the centre of it. The goings and comings of this caravan have been described in the valuable reports, full of realistic details, composed by the physicians who accompanied it and published *pro-manuscripto* from the beginning of the century by care of the Quarantine Service. Information and photos are also to be found in al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥid̲j̲āziyya*, Cairo 1329 A.H. and Rifʿat, *Mirʾat al-ḥaramayn*, 2 vols., Cairo 1925. Two of the old processions (departure and return) lasted until 1926 in Cairo. Suppressed after the incident with the

Saʿūdī Ikhwān, they were re-established in 1937, the year in which the hangings (*kiswa*) of the Kaʿba were once again sent and accepted, although the *maḥmal* was formally refused. These processions inside Cairo lasted until 1952, the date of their definitive abolition. The custom in Egypt was for the façade of the pilgrims' houses, in the popular quarters, to be decorated around the door with naïve frescos recalling their journey. These frescos painted at the time of their return might stay in place for several years before being worn away by time. Until 1952 the *maḥmal* was almost always represented. At present it appears only rarely: the new generations no longer know what it is. See Giovanni Canova, *Nota sulle raffigurazioni popolari del pellegrinaggio in Egitto*, in *Annali della Facolta di lingue e letterature straniere di ca' Foscari*, xiv/3 (1975), 83-94, with 8 plates (University of Venice).

Finally, how can one explain the choice by Baybars of this type of symbol? Did he merely want a royal tent? Did he dream of the leather *ḳubbas*, carried on chariots in the steppes of Asia, familiar to some Mamlūks, and which had a religious meaning or at least one of honour? Or should we not look in the direction of the known symbolic palanquins of the Arabs, such as the one among the Rwāla at the beginning of this century which was the emblem of the tribe (Musil, *Die Kultur*, 1910, 8 ff., described under the name Abū Zhūr al-Markab), or that which bore ʿĀʾisha at the Battle of the Camel? The question remains open.

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MAHMAND. [see mohmand]

MAḤMŪD. The following articles on a large number of personages called Maḥmūd are arranged as follows:

M., rulers of Bengal, p. 46-7.
M., sultans of Dihlī, p. 47-50.
M., rulers of Gudjarāt, p. 50-52.
M., rulers of Mālwā, p. 52-55.
M., Ottoman sultans, p. 55-61.
M. Khān, ruler in Kālpī, p. 61.
M. Shāh Sharḳī, ruler in Djawnpūr, p. 61.
M. Shihāb al-Dīn, ruler in the Deccan, p. 62.
M. b. Ismāʿīl, p. 63.
M. b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh, Saldjūḳ sultan, p. 63.
M. b. Sebüktigin, Ghaznawid sultan, p. 65.
M. Ekrem Bey, p. 66.
M. Gāwān, p. 66.
M. Kemāl, p. 68.
M. Nedīm Pasha, p. 68.
M. Pasha, Ottoman Grand Vizier, p. 69.
M. Pasha, *beylerbeyi* of Yemen and of Egypt, p. 72.
M. Shabistarī, p. 72.
M. Shewḳat Pasha, p. 73.
M. Tardjumān, p. 74.
M. Taymūr, p. 75.
M. Yalawač, p. 77.

MAḤMUD, the name of several mediaeval rulers of Bengal.

1. Maḥmūd i, Nāṣir al-Dīn (846-64/1442-59), was a descendant of Ilyās Shāhī dynasty of Bengal. On the assassination of the tyrant, Shams al-Dīn (*ca.* 846/1442), the grandson of the usurper, Rādjā Ganesh (817-21/1414-18), a scramble for power began among the nobles, which led one of them, named Nāṣir Khān, to seize power by killing his rival, Shādī Khān. But within a week, Nāṣir Khān himself was put to death. Thereupon, the nobles chose Maḥmūd, who was a descendant of Sulṭān Ilyās Shāh and was living in obscurity, carrying on agriculture. He ascended the throne as Nāṣir al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd was just and liberal and an able administrator. Since the Sharḳī rulers of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*], who were a constant threat to the kingdom of Bengal, were involved in conflicts with the Lodīs, Maḥmūd was able to enjoy peace, and this he utilised in promoting the prosperity of his people, in constructing mosques and *khānḳāhs*, bridges and tombs. In Gawr, his capital, he built a fort and a palace and other buildings. Unfortunately, only the five-arched bridge, the Kōtwālī Darwāza and a part of the walls of the fort have survived.

These were not the only achievements of Maḥmūd. He also strengthened his military power and extended the boundaries of his kingdom by annexing parts of the districts of Djassawr and Khulnā and a portion of the twenty-four *parganas*. He died after a successful reign of approximately seventeen years and was succeeded by his son, Rukn al-Dīn Barbek.

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2. Maḥmud II, Nāṣir al-Dīn, was the third Ḥabashī (Abyssinian) Sultan. Some modern historians consider him to be the son of Djalāl al-Dīn Fatḥ Shāh (886-92/1481-87), the last ruler of the Ilyās Shahī dynasty; but Firishta, ii, 300-1, and Niẓām al-Dīn, iii, 269, regard him as the son of Ṣayf al-Dīn Firūz (892-95/1487-90), a Ḥabashī Sulṭān of Bengal. This view seems to be correct, because it was Fīrūz who appointed a tutor for Maḥmūd's education and,

when he died, Maḥmūd succeeded him. However, since Maḥmūd was very young, the government was carried on by his tutor, Ḥabas͟h K͟hān. Meanwhile, another Ḥabas͟hī, Sīdī Badr, nicknamed Dīwāna ("the Mad"), killed Ḥabas͟h K͟hān and declared himself Regent. He then put to death the young king by winning over the palace guards, and himself ascended the throne of Bengal. Maḥmūd had reigned only for about a year.

Bibliography: See that for MAḤMŪD I.

3. MAḤMŪD III, G͟HIYĀT͟H AL-DĪN (940-5/1533-8), *ruler of Bengal*. He was one of the eighteen sons of ʿAlā al-Dīn Ḥusayn S͟hāh (899-925/1493-1519) of Bengal, and had been nominated by his elder brother, Nuṣrat S͟hāh (925-39/1519-32) as his heir-apparent. But Mak͟hdūm-i ʿĀlam, his brother-in-law and governor of North Bihār, raised to the throne Nuṣrat's son, Abu 'l-Badr, with the title of ʿĀlāʾ al-Dīn Fīrūz. He ruled only for a few months because, in 940/1533, he was put to death by his uncle, Maḥmūd, who declared himself Sulṭān and ascended the throne as G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Maḥmūd III. Mak͟hdūm, however, refused to recognise him and allied himself with S͟hīr K͟hān (later S͟hīr S͟hāh), whose power was steadily growing. Maḥmūd, on the other hand, made the mistake of entering into an alliance with the Nūhānīs of Bihār, who were weak and without an able leader. The result was that, when in 940/1533 Maḥmūd sent the Nūhānīs with Ḳuṭb K͟hān, governor of Monghyr, against S͟hīr K͟hān, Ḳutb was defeated and killed.

Maḥmūd next sent an army against Mak͟hdūm, who was defeated and slain, as the Nūhānīs were able to prevent S͟hīr K͟hān from coming to his assistance. However, the victory did not benefit Maḥmūd because before setting out to fight, Mak͟hdūm had entrusted all his treasure to S͟hīr K͟hān's envoy.

Meanwhile, D̲j̲alāl K͟hān, the Nūhānī ruler of Bihār, plotted the assassination of S͟hīr K͟hān, but his attempt having failed, he was affected with panic, and crossed over to Bengal with his supporters and sought the protection of Maḥmūd, which was given. Maḥmūd succeeded in occupying Bihār and, in Ramaḍān 940/March 1534, a strong force under Ibrāhīm K͟hān moved out of Monghyr and met S͟hīr K͟hān on the plain of Surad̲j̲gaṙh, near the town of Barh. But Ibrāhīm was defeated and killed, while D̲j̲alāl K͟hān again fled to Maḥmūd.

Now it was S͟hīr K͟hān's turn to retaliate and, taking advantage of Humāyūn's pre-occupation in Gud̲j̲arāt, he opened a campaign in 942/1536. Since Maḥmūd had strongly fortified the Teliyāgaṙhī Pass with Portuguese help, S͟hīr left behind a detachment under his son, D̲j̲alāl K͟hān, and having made a detour, marched through the Jharkand country and appeared before Gawr, Bengal's capital. Maḥmūd was taken by surprise. The Portuguese advised him to hold out until the outbreak of the monsoon, when S͟hīr's retreat could be cut off by their navy. But Maḥmūd was so demoralised that he did not follow their advice and, instead, came to a settlement with S͟hīr K͟hān, by agreeing to pay him an annual tribute of ten lacs of tankas and to cede the territory from the river Kosi to Ḥād̲j̲īpūr and from Gaṙhī to Monghyr, which was of considerable importance to the security of Bengal.

S͟hīr S͟hāh (who had by now assumed the title of S͟hāh) was too ambitious to remain satisfied with these gains and, on the pretext of non-payment of tribute by Maḥmūd, invaded Bengal. He entered the Teliyāgaṙhī Pass, which the Bengalis failed to defend, and laid siege to Gawr. But hearing that Humāyūn had invested Čunār, he at once set out to relieve it, leaving behind his son D̲j̲alāl to continue the siege. Maḥmūd despairing of any outside help, for the Portuguese refused immediate assistance, and being faced with dwindling supplies, sallied out of the fort to give battle. But he was wounded and fled to north Bihār. meanwhile, on 6 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 944/6 April 1538, the Afg͟hāns captured the fort by an assault. Maḥmūd, now a fugitive, appealed to Humāyūn, who immediately marched towards Gawr. But before he could reach the city, S͟hīr S͟hāh had carried away all its treasure. It was on his way to Gawr with Humāyūn that Maḥmūd heard of the murder of his two sons by the Afg͟hāns. This effected him so much that he died soon afterwards.

Maḥmūd was a voluptuary, but the Portuguese account that he had 10,000 women in his harem is an exaggeration. He was incompetent, and inept in the art of diplomacy, lacking courage, tact and imagination. His mistake in antagonising S͟hīr S͟hāh and his failure to make an alliance with the Mug͟hals and the Sulṭān of Gud̲j̲arāt led not only to his own overthrow but also to the loss of Bengal's independence.

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MAḤMŪD, the name of two of the Dihlī sultans of mediaeval India.

1. MAḤMŪD I, NĀṢIR AL-DIN was the son of Iltutmis͟h (Firis͟hta, i, 70-1; Minhād̲j̲-i Sirād̲j̲ D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ānī, i, 471-2) and not his grandson, as some modern historians have asserted. He ascended the throne on 23 Muḥarram 644/10 June 1246 through the joint efforts of Balban [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and Maḥmūd's mother. Since Maḥmūd was weak and of a retiring disposition, devoting himself "to prayers and religious observances", and he owed his throne to Balban, the latter became very powerful. He further strengthened his position by marrying his daughter to the young Sulṭān and securing the important office of *nāʾib-i mamlakat* and the title of Ulug͟h K͟hān (Premier K͟hān). His younger brother, Sayf al-Dīn Aybak, was given the title of Kas͟hlī K͟hān and made *amīr-i ḥād̲j̲ib*, while one of his cousins, S͟hīr K͟hān, was appointed governor of Lahore and Bhatinda.

In 651/1253, however, a eunuch named ʿImād al-Dīn Rayḥān, who was jealous of Balban, organised a group of discontented Indian Muslims and some Turks and succeeded in persuading the Sulṭān to dismiss Balban and his relations. They were accordingly ordered to leave for their respective *iḳṭāʿ*s. Balban was replaced by Rayḥān, who now became *wakīl-i dar* and virtual ruler. S͟hīr K͟hān was replaced by Arslān K͟hān as governor of Lahore and Bhatinda.

Deprived of power and position as a result of these changes, the Turkish element became discontented and organised itself under Balban's leadership to overthrow Rayḥān and, in Ramaḍān 652/October 1254, marched towards Dihlī. Maḥmūd, under the influence of Rayḥān and his followers, moved out against the rebels and encamped near Samana. Rayḥān wanted an armed conflict, but Maḥmūd refused, because most of his nobles favoured Balban, and agreed on a compromise. Rayhān was dismissed and transferred first to Bahrāʾič and then to Badāʾūn. Balban was reappointed *nāʾib* and his

kinsmen and followers were reinstated. In consequence, the Turkish nobility, and with it Balban, became even more powerful and strongly entrenched than before.

But the problems which Balban had to confront were great, because Iltutmis̲h̲ had not been able to consolidate the Sultanate; nor had his immediate successors done anything to strengthen it. In fact, it was threatened with dissolution by refractory Hindū *zamīndārs*, ambitious provincial governors and Mongol pressure.

Already in 645/1247-8, a year after Maḥmūd's accession to the throne, Balban had led a campaign against a *zamīndār* in the Dōʾāb and captured a fort called Talsindah in the Ḳannawd̲j̲ district. He had then attacked a Rād̲j̲pūt chief "Dulka va Mulka", who ruled over the area between the D̲j̲umnā and Kalind̲j̲ar, and defeated and expelled him. It took Balban two campaigns to secure control over the "Katahriyā infidels", who ruled Badāʾūn and Sambhal. Balban also reduced the refractory tribes of "D̲j̲aralī and Datolī". But these successes were temporary, and he had to undertake annual campaigns in the Ganges-D̲j̲umnā area to maintain peace. In 646/1248-9 he attacked Ranthambor and Mēwāt, but the campaign was abortive. In fact, Balban's efforts to subdue the Rād̲j̲pūts during Maḥmūd's reign proved a failure; and although he led two expeditions against the Meʾōs [*q.v.*], who were led by the Rād̲j̲pūts, and massacred a large number of them, he failed to crush them.

Owing to the preoccupation of Maḥmūd's government with the Mongols, who had become a great threat by 635/1237, the provincial governors raised the banner of revolt. Ḳutlug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān, Maḥmūd's stepfather, who held the province of Awadh [*q.v.*] and was anti-Balban, allied himself with Rayḥān and defied royal authority. Balban therefore sent Sand̲j̲ar Sihwastānī to take over Bahrāʾič from Rayḥān. But Ḳutlug̲h̲ came to Rayḥān's aid, intercepted and seized Sand̲j̲ar. Sand̲j̲ar managed to escape and, having collected a small force, attacked Rayḥān and killed him. Balban thereupon ordered Ḳutlug̲h̲ to leave Awadh and take over Bahrāʾič, but the latter refused and rebelled. Balban attacked him, but he escaped to the Himalayan foothills. In 654/1256 he came out of his retreat, reoccupied Awadh and even made an attempt to occupy Karra and Mānikpūr; but Arslān K̲h̲ān, who held the province, expelled him.

In 655/1257, Yuzbek-i Tug̲h̲rïl, a Ḳïpčaḳ Turk, who was governor of Lakhnawti [*q.v.*] defied the Dihlī government. He led a successful expedition into D̲j̲ad̲j̲nagar (Orissa), occupied Awad̲h̲ and had the *k̲h̲uṭba* recited in his name. But in a campaign in Kāmrūp, he was taken prisoner by the forces of its Rād̲j̲a and executed.

Yuzbek was succeeded by ʿIzz al-Dīn Balban-i Yuzbekī. But the latter did not rule long, for in 657-8/1259-60, Arslān K̲h̲ān, governor of Karrā, without Dihlī's permission, advanced on Lakhnawti and seized it. Yuzbekī was defeated and slain. Owing to the central government's preoccupations with other problems, it could do nothing. Fortunately however, Arslān K̲h̲ān died on 18 D̲j̲umādā I 663/27 February 1265.

The authority of Dihlī over the Pand̲j̲āb and Sind was weak partly because of the Mongol pressure and partly due to their distance from the centre. In 639/1241, Lahore had been occupied by the Mongols. About the same time Kabīr K̲h̲ān, governor of Multān had declared his independence and occupied Uččh. Shortly afterwards, Ḥasan Ḳarlig̲h̲, a lieutenant of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn K̲h̲ʷārazm-S̲h̲āh, succeeded in occupying Multān, but on the approach of the Mongols fled to Lower Sind. Kabīr's descendants, who held Uččh, appealed to Dihlī for help. Balban at once marched with a strong army, whereupon the Mongols withdrew. Balban placed Multān under Kis̲h̲lū K̲h̲ān, while Uččh was left with Kabīr's family. Kis̲h̲lū was, however, allowed to annex Uččh as well on condition that he relinquished Nagawr. But Kis̲h̲lū refused to give up Nagawr and did so only when he was compelled. In 647/1249-50 Ḥasan Karlig̲h̲ returned from Lower Sind and seized Multān from Kis̲h̲lū. Yet he was not able to retain Multān long, for it was occupied by S̲h̲īr K̲h̲ān, governor of Lahore and Bhatinda, who not only refused to restore it to Kis̲h̲lū, but dispossessed him of Uččh as well. It is more than probable that S̲h̲īr K̲h̲ān's action was inspired by Balban.

Although Kis̲h̲lū was compensated by the governorship of Badāʾūn, he was not reconciled to the loss of Multān and joined the anti-Balban faction led by Rayḥān. In spite of this, Kis̲h̲lū was, on Rayḥān's dismissal, given back his former possessions of Multān and Uččh according to the settlement of 652/1254. But after establishing himself firmly, Kis̲h̲lū threw off the authority of Dihlī and transferred his loyalty to Hülegü, and Maḥmūd's government was not strong enough to take any action.

Not satisfied with this, Kis̲h̲lū, early in 655/1257, joined his father-in-law, Ḳutlug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān, and together they marched on Dihlī. Balban moved out to meet them near Samana. While the two forces were preparing for a conflict, some religious leaders of Dihlī sent word to Kis̲h̲lū that they would surrender the town to them. This leaked out and the conspirators were banished. So when the rebel army reached Dihlī on 21 June 1257, after eluding Balban's forces and Kis̲h̲lū found that no support was forthcoming, he returned to Uččh. Nothing is known as to what happened to Ḳutlug̲h̲. But Kis̲h̲lū paid a visit to Hülegü in ʿIrāḳ seeking help to attack Dihlī and, at the end of 655/1257, a Mongol army under Sali Bahādur arrived in Sind; but, deterred by Balban's military preparations, it did not attack Dihlī. Balban succeeded in occupying both Multān and the Pand̲j̲āb. Twice Kis̲h̲lū tried to occupy Multān with Mongol help, but failed. Early in 656/1258, Hülegü's envoys arrived in Dihlī. Balban organised outside the city a spectacle, consisting of soldiers and common people, human heads and corpses, to express the might and invincibility of the Sultanate. It seems that Balban was able to arrive at some understanding with Hülegü, by which he was able to occupy Sind.

Maḥmūd died in 665/1266-7. No contemporary evidence exists to reveal the manner of his death. But Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and ʿIṣāmī say that he was poisoned by the ambitious Balban, and this is not improbable. On Maḥmūd's death, Balban ascended the throne as G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Balban.

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2. MAḤMŪD II, NĀṢIR AL-DĪN B. SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH B. FĪRŪZ SHĀH TUGHLUḲ; ascended the throne of Dihlī on 20 Djumādā 796/23 March 1394, on the death of his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sikandar Shāh, after two weeks of discussion between the Fīrūz Shāhī slaves and the Afghān Lodī *amīrs*. Maḥmūd tried to reconcile the nobles belonging to the two groups. He appointed Malik Sarwar, a eunuch, as *wazīr* with the title of Khʷādja Djahān and Dawlat Khān Lodī as *kōtwāl* of Dihlī. ʿAbd al-Rashīd Khān Sulṭānī was given the title of Saʿādat Khān and appointed *barbek*. Sarang Khān Lodī, a cousin of Dawlat Khān was assigned Dīpalpūr, while Sārang's younger brother Mallū Iḳbāl Khan [*q.v.*] was made deputy *wazīr*.

The sultanate was in the process of disintegration. Provinces had declared their independence; even the territory around Dihlī was in a state of turmoil. In Radjab 796/May 1394, Maḥmūd sent Malik Sarwar to suppress the rebellion of a *zamīndār* in Djawnpūr and gave him the title of *Sulṭān al-Sharḳ*. Malik Sarwar suppressed the rebellion, annexed considerable territory and founded the kingdom of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*].

Meanwhile, Bīr Singh Deva, the Tomārā *zamīndār* of Danarolī, attacked Gwāliyār [*q.v.*] and occupied it. Maḥmūd marched towards Gwāliyār with Saʿādat Khān in Shaʿbān 796/June 1394, leaving behind Muḳarrab Khān, the heir-designate, in charge of Dihlī. On approaching Gwāliyār, Mallū Iḳbāl and other *amīrs*, who were jealous of Saʿādat, conspired to assassinate him. But news of this leaked out and Saʿādat put to death two of the conspirators. Mallū Iḳbāl, however, escaped to Dihlī to the protection of Muḳarrab Khān. Maḥmūd and Saʿādat therefore returned to Dihlī, but finding its gates closed to them, besieged it. In the course of the siege, which lasted for three months, Maḥmūd became dissatisfied with Saʿādat and went over to Muḳarrab. Thereupon Saʿādat withdrew to Fīrūzābād, which he seized, and, in Rabī I 797/January 1395, set up Nuṣrat Khān, another grandson of Fīrūz Shāh, as Sulṭān. But not long after, Saʿādat's fellow-slaves turned against him and he fled to Dihlī, where Muḳarrab put him to death. However, the rebel slaves remained loyal to Nuṣrat Shāh and recognised him as king. The result was that there were two rulers: Maḥmūd, who was supported by the Lodīs [*q.v.*] and held the forts of Dihlī and Sīrī and their suburbs, and Nuṣrat, who was supported by the slaves, and was in possession of Fīrūzābād, including some parts of the Dōʾāb, Sambhal, Pānīpat and Rohtak. For three years skirmishes continued between the partisans of Maḥmūd and those of Nuṣrat, until suddenly Mallū Iḳbāl, the most unscrupulous of the Dihlī nobles of the period, brought Nuṣrat to Djahānpanāh and professed loyalty to him, but then attacked him. Nuṣrat fled to Fīrūzābād and then to his *wazīr*, Tatār Khān, in Pānīpat. Mallū Iḳbāl occupied Fīrūzābād and fought against Muḳarrab for two months, and then killed him. But he did not hurt Maḥmūd, whom he now acknowledged as Sulṭān and whom he dominated.

Owing to these internecine conflicts, the Dihlī government was absolutely ineffective and, as Badāʾūnī was to observe later: "the rule of the Sulṭān of Dihlī is from Dihlī to Pālam" (*ḥukm-i khudāwand-i ʿālam az Dihlīst tā Pālam*). Gudjarāt, Rādjasthān, Bengal and Bihār no longer acknowledged the authority of Dihlī: Ḳannawdj, Dalmāw, Awadh and Bahrāʾič were annexed to the new kingdom of Djawnpūr. The Hindū *zamīndārs* to the east and west of Dihlī were in a state of rebellion. In the north-west, Khiḍr Khān held Multān; but in 798/1395-6 Sārang Khān, who had been assigned Dīpalpūr, attacked Khiḍr Khān and seized Multān with the help of his brother, Mallū Iḳbāl. He then defeated Shaykhā Khokar and appointed his younger brother, ʿĀdil Khān, as governor of Lahore. But on 15 Muḥarram 800/8 October 1397, Sārang was defeated by Tatār Khān at the battle of Kotlā.

Such was the condition of Dihlī and its provinces when the storm of Tīmūr's invasion burst on Hindustān. Already Pīr Muḥammad, Tīmūr's grandson and commander of the vanguard of his army, had occupied Uččh and Multān and killed Sārang Khān Lodī. Tīmūr crossed the Indus in the second week of Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 799/September 1399 and marched towards Dihlī, leaving behind a trail of death and destruction. On hearing of Tīmūr's approach, Maḥmūd and Iḳbāl improvised a force of 4,000 horse, 5,000 foot and 27 elephants and offered resistance near the Djahānpanāh palace, where Tīmūr had taken residence. But Mallū Iḳbāl fled after the first encounter. On 18 December, however, he and Maḥmūd confronted Tīmūr with 10,000 horse and 40,000 foot, but were completely routed, Iḳbāl fleeing to Baran and Maḥmūd to Gudjarāt and then to Mālwā. After staying in Dihlī for fifteen days, during which the city was plundered and its inhabitants ruthlessly massacred or enslaved, Tīmūr left.

Onn Tīmūr's departure, Nuṣrat occupied Dihlī, but he was driven out by Mallū Iḳbāl into Mēwāt, where he shortly after died. Iḳbāl thereupon invited Maḥmūd from Mālwā and restored him his throne on 6 Rabīʿ I 804/14 October 1401. In the same year, Maḥmūd, accompanied by Iḳbāl, marched against Ibrāhīm Sharḳī but, weary of his minister's domination, he went over to Ibrāhīm. However, as he was not treated with the respect due to him by the Djawnpūr ruler, he escaped to Ḳannawdj [see ḲANAWDJ], where he established himself. Mallū Iḳbāl made an attempt on Ḳannawdj, but was unsuccessful; he then attacked Khiḍr Khān, but was defeated and slain by him on 19 Djumādā I 808/14 November 1405 on the banks of the river Dhāndā in the Adjudhan district. Maḥmūd returned to Dihlī at the invitation of Dawlat Khān Lōdī and Ikhtiyār Khān, two leading nobles. But he was faced with serious problems: in the first place, his kingdom had considerably shrunk, because the provinces had become independent; secondly, he was confronted by two formidable enemies, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharḳī in the east and Khiḍr Khān in the west. In Shaʿbān 809/December 1406, Ibrāhīm Sharḳī besieged Ḳannawdj and took it after a siege of four months. Then in Djumādā I 810/October 1407 he marched towards Dihlī, but on

hearing that Muẓaffar Shāh I of Gudjarāt was advancing towards Djawnpūr, withdrew to save his capital. Maḥmūd took advantage of Ibrāhīm Sharḳī's retreat to occupy Baran (Bulandshahr) and Sambhal.

It was, however, Khiḍr Khān who proved to be Maḥmūd's most dangerous enemy. He had consolidated himself in the *wilāyat* of Multān and the *shiḳḳ* of Dīpalpūr and, on the plea that Tīmūr had appointed him his viceroy, he directed his attention towards Dihlī. In Shaʿbān 809/January 1407, he occupied Ḥiṣār-Fīrūza, Samāna and Sirhind; and although the next year Maḥmūd reoccupied Ḥiṣār, it was a temporary success, for in Ramaḍān 811/January 1409, Khiḍr Khān sent Malik Ṭuḥfa, one of his lieutenants, to plunder the Dōʾāb, while he himself set out towards Dihlī and besieged Maḥmūd in Sirī and Ikhtiyār Khān in Fīrūzābād. Lack of provisions due to famine compelled Khiḍr to withdraw. But in 813/1410-11 he conquered Rohtak, and the next year he again invested Dihlī. Ikhtiyār, who held Fīrūzābād, submitted, but Maḥmūd held out in Sirī, and Khiḍr was once again compelled to withdraw on account of the lack of provisions. Maḥmūd died in Radjab 815/November 1412, and Dawlat Khān Lodī became the ruler of Dihlī. In Ramaḍān 816/November-December 1413, Khiḍr for the third time advanced on Dihlī and besieged Sirī. After holding out for four months, Dawlat Khān surrendered. He was imprisoned in Ḥiṣār-Firūza, and Khiḍr obtained possession of Dihlī on 17 Rabī I 817/6 June 1414, thus laying the foundations of the short-lived Sayyid dynasty.

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MAḤMŪD, the name of three mediaeval rulers of Gudjarāt, [*q.v.*] in India.

1. MAḤMŪD I, SAYF AL-DĪN, BEGAṚHĀ or BEGṚĀ, a younger brother of Sulṭān Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and son of Muḥammad Shāh, ascended the throne on 1 Shaʿbān 863/3 June 1459, at the age of thirteen, with the title of Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Shāh, after the nobles had dethroned his uncle Dāwūd. He is known as Maḥmūd Begaṛhā because of the two forts (*gaṛhs*) of Girnār and Čāmpāner which he conquered.

Four months after his accession, Maḥmūd was faced with a conspiracy of some leading nobles aimed at overthrowing his able minister, Malik Shaʿbān. They told him that the minister was plotting to depose him and thereby secured his imprisonment. But on discovering that the charges were false, Maḥmūd secured his release. Realising that the Sulṭān had come to know of their designs, the conspirators decided to attack him; however, as their followers deserted to the Sulṭān, they fled. Maḥmūd had thus crushed the plot by his courage and presence of mind. Malik Shaʿbān, though restored to his office, soon retired and Maḥmūd took the reins of government in his own hands.

In 866/1462, Maḥmūd marched to the help of Niẓām Shāh Bahmanī, whose kingdom had been invaded by Maḥmūd Khaldjī I [*q.v.*] of Mālwā. But learning that Niẓām Shāh had been defeated, he entered Khāndesh [*q.v.*] and thereby cut off the retreat of Maḥmūd Khaldjī who had to make his way back through Gondwāna after much hardship. Next year again Maḥmūd Khaldjī invaded the Dakhan, but withdrew on hearing that Maḥmūd Begaṛhā was coming to Niẓām Shāh's assistance. Henceforth, the Khaldjī ruler never again committed aggression against Niẓām Shāh.

In 867/1463, Maḥmūd invaded Dūn, situated between Gudjarāt and Konkan, because of its Rādjā's acts of piracy. The Rādjā was defeated and his fortress occupied; but it was restored to him on condition of an annual tribute.

In 871/1466, Maḥmūd attacked Girnār (Djūnāgaṛh), and compelled its chief, Rao Mandalik Čudāsama, to pay tribute. But although Maḥmūd received the tribute regularly, he decided to annex Girnār and led an invasion. The Rao retreated to his citadel of Uparkot, situated north-west of the town, but as supplies ran short, surrendered on 10 Djumādā II 875/4 December 1470. Maḥmūd had to undertake three campaigns in four years to subdue the Rao. Girnār was annexed and its chief, having entered the service of the Sulṭān, embraced Islam and was given the title of Khān-i Djahān. At the foot of the Girnār hills the Sulṭān founded the city of Muṣṭafābād, which became one of his capitals.

Maḥmūd next marched against the frontier tribes of the Sumrās, Sodhās and Kahlās who lived on the Kaččh border and who, although claiming to be Muslims, were in fact ignorant of the *Sharīʿa*. They surrendered without offering any resistance and agreed to send their leaders to Aḥmadābād to be taught the tenets of Islām.

In 877/1473, the Djāt and Balūč tribes rebelled against Maḥmūd's maternal grandfather, Djām Niẓām al-Dīn. Maḥmūd crossed the Rann of Kaččh in order to suppress the rising, but the rebels dispersed without offering any resistance. It was suggested to Maḥmūd that he should annex Sind but he refused, saying that his mother belonged to its ruling family.

On his return from Sind, Maḥmūd heard that Mawlānā Maḥmūd Samarḳandī, a poet and philosopher, who had long been in the service of the Bahmanī rulers, while sailing in a ship bound for Hormuz, had been driven to Dwārkā, situated in the north-western corner of Kathiāwār, where pirates had robbed him of all his belongings, including his womenfolk. After many hardships, the Mawlānā arrived in Muṣṭafābād. Angry at his plight, the Sulṭān marched towards Dwārkā. Its Radjput chief, Bhīm, took refuge in the island-fortress of Bet or Sankhodhar. Maḥmūd marched through dense forests, full of wild animals, and invested it. Bhīm was defeated in a sea fight and taken prisoner. The Mawlānā's goods were now restored to him.

Tired of the Sulṭān's constant wars and his plans of invading Čāmpāner, which would be a prolonged affair, the Gudjarāt nobles plotted to overthrow him and set up his son on the throne. But Ray Rayān, an important Hindū noble, revealed the plot to the *wazīr* Bahāʾ al-Dīn, who, in turn, reported it to Maḥmūd. To test the reaction of the conspirators, the Sulṭān announced that he had decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Realising that Maḥmūd had been informed of the conspiracy, and that they would not succeed in their aims, they requested him to undertake the campaign for the conquest of Čāmpāner, and then proceed to Mecca.

Accordingly, on Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 887/12 December 1482, he marched towards Čāmpāner on the pretext that its Rādjā, Rāwal Djay Singh, had raided his kingdom. The Rādjā was defeated and took refuge in the hill fortress of Pavagaṛh, above Čāmpāner. Maḥmūd thereupon besieged it. But learning that Maḥmūd Khaldjī I, to whom the Rādjā had appealed for aid, was marching towards Gudjarāt, Maḥmūd left his officers to continue the siege, and he himself set out to intercept the Mālwa army. But as Maḥmūd Khaldjī withdrew to Mālwa, the Sulṭān returned to prosecute the siege. Supplies in the fort ran short and, after a breach was affected by a cannonball, it was captured. Of the 700 Radjpūts, who performed the *djawhar*, all were slain except the Rādjā and his minister, who were seized and executed. But the Rādjā's son accepted Islam and was given the title of Niẓām al-Mulk and made the ruler of Idār. Čāmpāner was renamed Muḥammadabād.

Maḥmūd now turned his attention to Rādjā ʿĀdil Khān II of Khāndesh (861-907/1457-1501), who had not only not paid his annual tribute, but had asserted his independence. In 904/1498, Maḥmūd invaded Khāndesh and compelled its ruler to pay tribute and recognise his suzerainty. Later, on the death of Rādjā ʿĀdil Khān's son, Ghaznī Khān (914/1508), who left no male heir, Maḥmūd took part in the dispute over succession. Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar, ʿImād Shāh of Berār, and Ḥusām al-Dīn, a powerful noble, all favoured ʿĀlam Khān, who belonged to the Fārūḳī dynasty. But Maḥmūd supported his maternal grandson, also called ʿĀlam Khān, and marched with him to Thalner, the capital of the Fārūḳī rulers. Thereupon, the rulers of Aḥmadnagar and Berār, who had arrived in Burhānpūr, withdrew, and on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 914/10 April 1509, Maḥmūd installed ʿĀlam Khān as ʿĀdil Khān III on the throne of Khāndesh; and when, subsequently, a rebellion supported by Niẓām Shāh broke out, he sent troops to the aid of his grandson, so that the rebels fled.

The Portuguese had diverted the trade between Europe and the East from the ancient route via Egypt and the Red Sea to the new route via the Cape of Good Hope, discovered by Vasco da Gama in 1498. So, when in 913/1507 the Mamlūk Sulṭān of Egypt sent an expedition to the Gudjarāt coast to destroy the Portuguese power, Maḥmūd readily sent his naval ship under Ayāz, a Turk in his service, to his help. In a naval battle off Chaul in Ramaḍān 913/January 1508, the Portuguese were defeated and their commander, Dom Lourenço, son of the Portuguese viceroy Almeida, was killed. To avenge the defeat and the death of his son, Almeida attacked the combined Egyptian and Gudjarātī navy near Diu and scored a victory. Impressed by this victory, the Sultan sent an ambassador to the Portuguese Viceroy, Albuquerque (1505-15), and a treaty was concluded. It was agreed that the Portuguese would not hinder Gudjarāt trade and would respect the right of Gudjarātī vessels to ply in the Indian waters. In return, the Portuguese prisoners would be released and the Portuguese vessels would be permitted to visit the Gudjarāt ports. Maḥmūd released the prisoners of war and offered the Portuguese a site for a factory at Diu.

Maḥmūd died on 2 Ramaḍān 917/23 November 1511, at the age of sixty-seven, and was buried in the mausoleum which he had built for himself at Sarkhedj, about six miles south-west of Aḥmadābād. He was by far the greatest of the Sulṭāns of Gudjarāt, and his reign was the most glorious period of mediaeval Gudjarāt. Brave, just and liberal, possessing great energy and a strong will, he was not only a military genius but also an able administrator. He appointed able officers like Malik Gopī, his Hindu chief minister, to carry on the government. He advanced money to repair old houses, he dug wells, built inns, planted trees on both sides of the road, made roads safe for travellers and merchants, freed the country from internal strife and tried to exterminate piracy. Owing to these measures, trade increased, agriculture flourished and the people became prosperous.

Maḥmūd was a cultured ruler and enjoyed the society of learned men. He had the famous biographical dictionary of Ibn Khallikān translated into Persian, under the name of *Manẓar al-Islām*. He also patronised Sanskrit, and his court poet Udayarādj wrote a poem in his praise. He was also a great builder, and his contribution to Gudjarāt architecture is considerable. He laid out two beautiful gardens, Bāgh-i Firdaws and Bāgh-i Shaʿbān near Aḥmadābād. He founded the towns of Muṣṭafābād, Maḥmūdābād and Muḥammadābād-Čāmpāner and embellished them with palaces and mosques. He beautified Aḥmadābād with broad streets and a number of fine buildings. At Čāmpāner he constructed a magnificent Djāmʿ Masdjid, and at Sarkhedj he built for himself on the banks of a reservoir a grand palace. The fame of Maḥmūd's achievements spread far and wide; in Ṣafar 914/June 1508, an embassy came from Sikandar Lodī of Dihlī, and an embassy also arrived from Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī of Persia, but as the Sulṭān was lying seriously ill he could not receive the Persian envoy.

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2. Maḥmūd II, was the sixth son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh (917-32/1511-26), on whose death his eldest son and heir-designate, Sikandar, succeeded as Sulṭān with the support of ʿImād al-Mulk Khushḳadam and Khudāwand Khān, two powerful nobles. His third son, Laṭīf, contested the throne, but was defeated and slain. Sikandar was extremely handsome, but he surrounded himself by low favourites, gave himself up to pleasure and took no interest in affairs of state. This made him unpopular with both the nobles and Sayyids of Gudjarāt. Taking advantage of this, Khushḳadam, who was angry with Sikandar for ignoring him and not making him *wazīr*, caused him to

be assassinated on the night of 14 Shaᶜbān 932/27 May 1526, and raised to the throne Muẓaffar Shāh's six-year old son Naṣīr Khān as Maḥmūd II. However, jealous of Khushkadam, who was the *de facto* ruler, the nobles, led by Tādj Khān Narpalī, offered the throne to Muẓaffar Shāh's second son, Bahādur Khān; Khushkadam appealed to the neighbouring princes and to Bābur, but received no help. On receiving the nobles' invitation, Bahādur, who was on his way to Djawnpūr to try his fortune there, rushed back to Aḥmadabād and ascended the throne on 26 Ramaḍān 932/July 1526. From Aḥmadabād he marched to Čāmpāner, and having occupied the fort without meeting much resistance, executed Khushkadam and later Maḥmūd II, whose reign of about forty days thus came to an end.

Bibliography: See that for MAḤMŪD I; also Mīr Abū Turāb Wālī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gudjarāt*, ed. E. D. Ross, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1909.

3. MAḤMŪD III, ABU 'L-FUTŪḤĀT SAᶜD AL-DĪN, was the third son of Laṭīf Khān, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh II. On the death of Bahādur Shāh on 3 Ramaḍān 943/13 February 1537, who left no son, Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, the Emperor Humāyūn's brother-in-law, claimed the throne on the ground that Bahādur Shāh's mother had adopted him as his heir, and he had the *khuṭba* recited in his name in the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid at Diu. But the Gudjarāt nobles refused to acknowledge him as Sulṭān and offered the throne to Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh Fārūkī, son of Bahādur Shāh's sister. Mīrān set out from Burhānpūr, but died on the way (926/1527). Thereupon, the nobles decided to set up on the throne Laṭīf's younger son Maḥmūd Khān, who, during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, had been in the custody of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh of Khāndesh. But Mubārak Shāh, Mīrān's successor, refused to release him, he himself being a claimant to the throne of Gudjarāt. So Ikhtiyār Khān Ṣiddīkī invaded Khāndesh and brought Maḥmūd to Aḥmadābād, where he was enthroned as Abu 'l-Futūḥāt, Saᶜd al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh III. But as Maḥmūd was only eleven years of age, Ikhtiyār Khān became the Regent. He was an able man, but jealous of his power, and Muḥāfiẓ Khān and Daryā Khān had him assassinated. But these two last soon fell out and fought with each other to dominate Maḥmūd. Daryā Khān emerged victorious; but not long after he was replaced by ᶜĀlam Khān, another noble, who now dominated the young Sulṭān. In 856/1545 Maḥmūd, weary of being a puppet king, decided to assert himself and shifted his capital to Maḥmūdābād, which had been founded by Maḥmūd I.

On 4 September 1538, Sulaymān Pāsha, the Ottoman governor of Egypt, arrived off the coast of Diu with a large fleet in order to overthrow the Portuguese power in the Indian waters. Maḥmūd helped him when, in Djumādā I 945/October 1538, he attacked Diu abortively. In 453/1546, Maḥmūd himself made an attempt to seize Diu. The Portuguese governor, Dom João de Castro, retaliated by committing great atrocities on the Gudjarāt coast. Realising the invicibility of the Portuguese, Maḥmūd made peace with them and granted them favourable terms.

In 1551 Maḥmūd thought of invading Mālwā, but instead directed his attention to the suppression of Rādjpūt landlords, who had rebelled because of the resumption of the large land grants which they held. The rebellion was crushed with great severity and their lands were seized; but the Rādjpūt peasant was not interfered with. Maḥmūd was planning to march towards Māndū to the help of the Emperor Humāyūn when, on the night of 12 Rabīᶜ I 961/15 February 1554, he was assassinated by his attendant Burhān al-Dīn, in revenge for the punishment which he had once inflicted on him.

Maḥmūd was weak and incompetent, but capable of committing acts of cruelty and of displaying occasional outbursts of energy. He was nevertheless generous and distributed food and clothes to the poor, and in winter gave them firewood and even bedding. He was a cultured prince and fond of the society of the learned and the pious. In Maḥmūdābād he erected an enclosure, six miles in area, which he named the Deer Park (*Āhū-khāna)*, and in which various kinds of wild animals roamed freely. He built in it splendid buildings and laid out nice gardens and spent his time there in the company of beautiful women, with whom he hunted and played polo.

Maḥmūd left no male heir because, dreading that he would have a rival, he used to procure the abortion of any of his women who happened to become pregnant. So after Maḥmūd's death, the nobles asserted their independence in their *djāgīrs* and fought with each other for power. They first set up a boy, who was related to him as Sulṭān with the title of Aḥmad III, who ruled nominally until Shaᶜbān 968/April 1561, and then Muẓaffar III who reigned until 980/1572, when the Emperor Akbar invaded Gudjarāt and put an end to the prevailing chaos by annexing it.

Bibliography: See those for MAḤMŪD I and MAḤMŪD II of Gudjarāt. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

MAḤMŪD, the name of two mediaeval rulers of Mālwā [*q.v.*] in India.

1. MAḤMŪD KHALDJĪ I, the son of Malik Mughīth, whose mother was the sister of Dilāwar Khān, the founder of the Ghūrī dynasty of Mālwā. On the death of Sulṭān Hushang Shāh on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 838/5 July 1435, his son Ghaznī Shāh succeeded with the support of Maḥmūd Khān and assumed the title of Muḥammad Shāh Ghūrī. He was weak and cruel and, thinking that Maḥmūd Khān wanted to usurp the throne, tried to have him assassinated. But Maḥmūd Khān came to know of this and caused Maḥmūd Ghūrī to be poisoned. He then offered the throne to his father, but since the latter refused, he himself ascended the throne on 29 Shawwāl 839/16 May 1436. He, however, conferred on his father the title of A ᶜẓam Humāyūn, and permitted him the use of all the symbols of royalty. He also consulted him on all affairs of state and acted on his advice.

At the very outset of his reign, Maḥmūd was faced by the rebellion of the nobles of Muḥammad Ghūrī, who refused to recognise him as Sulṭān. This he suppressed, executing some nobles and forgiving others on the advice of his father, who suggested a policy of appeasement. However, this policy was not successful, because a rising on a much larger scale now broke out. A ᶜẓam Humāyūn first had Prince Aḥmad Khān, son of Hūshang Shāh, poisoned, and then eliminated the rebels one by one, so that by Radjab 841/January 1438 he had succeeded in crushing the rising.

Meanwhile, Maḥmūd was faced with a serious threat from Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh of Gudjarāt, who championed the cause of Masᶜūd Khān, son of Muḥammad Ghūrī, and having entered Mālwā, laid siege to Māndū [*q.v.*], its capital. While the siege was in progress, Maḥmūd heard that ᶜUmar Khān, youngest son of Aḥmad Shāh, had attacked Čanderī and killed its governor, Ḥādjdjī Kamāl, and that Prince Muḥammad Khān, another son of Aḥmad Shāh, was marching to ᶜUmar Khān's aid. In order to intercept Prince Muḥammad, Maḥmūd marched

out of Māndū towards Sārangpūr. This led to the recall of Prince Muḥammad by his father. Maḥmūd, having prevented any help reaching ʿUmar Khān, defeated and killed him and then, on hearing that Aḥmad Shāh had withdrawn to Gudjarāt because plague had broken out in his army, he returned to Māndū. But after seventeen days, he set out towards Čanderī and captured it after a siege of four months. Here he received a request of help from Bahār Khān, *muḳtaʿ* of Shahr-i Naw, which was being invested by Dungar Sen of Gwāliyār [*q.v.*]. Maḥmūd, instead of marching towards Shahr-i Naw, advanced towards Gwāliyār. This strategy was successful, because Dungar Sen, realising the danger to his capital, retired from Shahr-i Naw. Maḥmūd, having achieved his object, withdrew from Gwāliyār and proceeded to Shahr-i Naw, where Bahār Khān acknowledged his suzerainty.

After consolidating his position, Maḥmūd in 844/1440-1 turned his attention towards the border chiefs. He first advanced on Khandwa, situated between Mālwā and Khāndesh and of great strategic importance. Ray Narhar Dās, its chief, finding himself unable to resist, fled, so that Maḥmūd was able to annex it, along with Khorā and Khirkī, and secured the submission of Khērlā's chief, Narsingh Deva. From Khērlā [*q.v.*], Maḥmūd marched towards Sargūdjā. On the way, the petty *zamīndārs* sent elephants as tribute and begged him spare their territories. Rādjā Bhodjā of Sargūdjā submitted and promised to supply elephants to the Sulṭān. Similarly, the *muḳaddams* of Raypūr and Ratanpūr came forward with elephants as tribute. Maḥmūd returned from Sargūdjā to Māndū in 845/1441-2.

Maḥmūd's reputation having spread far and wide, some of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Dihlī invited him to overthrow its Sayyid ruler, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (837-47/1434-43). Maḥmūd accepted the invitation and set out towards Dihlī at the end of 845/1442. But in an engagement near Dihlī he was unable to defeat Prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh's son, and, finding no hope of future success, he returned to Māndū on 1 Muḥarram 846/12 May 1442.

Maḥmūd now turned his attention to Rānā Kumbha of Mēwār, against whom he nursed a grievance. The Rānā had helped Prince ʿUmar Khān of Gudjarāt to seize the throne of Mālwā, and had reduced the Rādjpūt chiefs on the borders of Mālwā, which had accepted the suzerainty of Sulṭān Hushang Shah. Maḥmūd took advantage of the rivalry between the Sisodiās and the Rāthors and of the struggle for power between Rānā Kumbha and his brother, Khem Karan. Since the latter was expelled by the Rānā, Maḥmūd used it as a pretext for its invasion. On 26 Radjab 846/30 November 1442, he advanced towards Mēwār. On reaching Kumbhalgaṙh, he attacked the Banmata temple, situated at its base, occupied it after seven days and razed it to the ground because it contained arms for the defence of the main fort and, although outwardly a temple, formed part of the defences of the main fort. Maḥmūd then marched towards Čitor, but before he could attack it, he heard the news of his father's death in Mandasor. He therefore proceeded to Mandasor and, after the period of mourning was over, returned to Čitor, but finding its capture difficult, returned to Māndū and decided to reduce Mēwār gradually. So on 13 Shawwāl 847/3 February 1444 he occupied Gagrawn and named it Muṣṭafābād. Two years later he reduced Ranthambhor. He then attempted to seize Mandalgaṙh, but failed. In 851/1447-8, he marched on Gwāliyār and defeated Dungar Sen, who was compelled to retreat into his fort. Maḥmūd proceeded to Āgra and thence to Bayana, whose chief, Muḥammad Khān, submitted to him. In 859/1455, Maḥmūd occupied Adjmer and, early in 861/January 1457, he besieged the strong fort of Mandalgaṙh. He took it on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 861/20 October 1457, by first breaking the dams of the fort's reservoir, which caused the water to flow out, and then affecting a breach in the fort's walls. He destroyed an old temple and built a mosque in its place, and returned to Māndū after arranging for its administration. Until the end of his life Maḥmūd made several attempts to reduce Čitor, but failed; and although he defeated Rānā Kumbha, he failed to crush him and occupy any large part of Mēwār.

In Shaʿbān 848/January 1444, Maḥmūd came into conflict with the Sharḳī ruler of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*], who had occupied Kālpī and refused to restore it to Nāṣir Khān, his vassal. This led to an armed conflict. However, through the mediation of the Shaykh al-Islām, Shaykh Djaʾilda, who enjoyed the respect of both the Sulṭāns, a settlement was arrived at and Kālpī was given back to Nāṣir Khān [see MAḤMŪD SHĀH SHARḲĪ].

Maḥmūd, taking advantage of the incompetence of Muḥammad Shāh of Gudjarāt, tried to interfere in the affairs of his kingdom. Accordingly, in 854/1450 he set out to the assistance of Gangā Dās of Čāmpāner, which had been attacked by Muḥammad Shāh. But instead of marching to Čāmpāner, he directed his attack on Aḥmadābād, capital of Gudjarāt. Alarmed for the safety of his capital, Muḥammad Shāh raised the siege of Čāmpāner and returned to Aḥmadābād. Meanwhile, having received an invitation for the invasion of Gudjarāt, Maḥmūd marched at the end of 854/January 1451 and entered Gudjarāt. But since Muḥammad Shāh had died, Maḥmūd found himself confronted by his successor, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, at Kāparbandj. On the last night of Ṣafar 855/2 April 1451, he made a night attack on the Gudjarāt army, but it proved abortive. In an engagement the next day, Maḥmūd suffered a defeat and had to retreat with the loss of eighty elephants and his baggage. On his return to Māndū, Maḥmūd, to avenge his defeat, sent Prince Ghiyāth to raid the Gudjarāt ports of Surat and Rainder. Accordingly, the prince plundered the suburbs and countryside of Surat and returned to Māndū with the booty. However, realising that his chances of success against the Gudjarāt army were remote, Maḥmūd decided to compel Ḳuṭb al-Dīn to make peace by a show of his military power. This device worked, for when, on 6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 855/30 December 1451, he sent an army to invade Gudjarāt, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn agreed upon a treaty by which they were to respect each other's territories and Mēwār was to be divided into two parts for the military activities of the two rulers.

In Muḥarram 857/January-February 1453, Maḥmūd invaded the Deccan under the impression that the Bahmanī Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II, had died. But on reaching the borders of Māhur, he discovered that the Bahmanī ruler was not only alive, but had personally come to attack him; hence he returned to Mālwā.

In 866/1461 Maḥmūd again invaded the Deccan, defeated the Bahmanī forces at Maheskar on the Mandjar river and invested Bīdar. The Dowager Queen, mother of the boy-king, Niẓām Shāh, sent an army under Maḥmūd Gāwān and at the same time appealed to Maḥmūd I of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] for aid. Realising that he was not strong enough to fight the two armies simultaneously, Maḥmūd withdrew to

Mālwā. He for the third time invaded the Deccan on 26 Rabīʿ I 867/19 December 1462, and occupied Dawlatābād, but on hearing of the approach of Maḥmūd Begaṙhā [*q.v.*], he again withdrew. But since the route via Khāndesh was blocked by the Gudjarātī forces, Maḥmūd had to make his way back through the forests of Gondwāna and suffer great hardship. Convinced that he would not be able to conquer the Deccan, Maḥmūd came to a settlement with the Bahmanids. It was agreed that Eličpur [*q.v.* in Suppl.] would be the boundary between the kingdoms of Mālwā and the Bahmanids, and that Maḥmūd would not in future invade the Deccan.

Maḥmūd died on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 873/31 May 1469 at the age of sixty-eight and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Shah. He had been a precocious child and, impressed by his intelligence, Sulṭān Hushang Shāh used to keep him by his side, and gave him the title of Khān when he was only sixteen. So it was no surprise that Maḥmūd proved to be the greatest ruler of mediaeval Mālwā, which reached the height of glory under him. He was wise, brave and benevolent, and a man of great energy and determination. Although religious, he was tolerant towards Hindus and associated them in his government; Sangrāma Singh was his treasurer and Rāy Rayān Siva was one of his most important and respected nobles. It is true he destroyed some temples, but this was done in the territory of his enemies in the course of his campaigns; in his own kingdom he respected the sanctity of Hindu places of worship.

Maḥmūd tried to promote the welfare of his subjects. When the crops were damaged by the marches and counter-marches of his troops, he compensated the peasants for their losses. He encouraged trade by patronising the Jains and encouraging them to settle in Mālwā, and he made the roads safe for the movements of goods. He established a big hospital in Māndū which he richly endowed. He also opened a college with a hostel, where board and lodging was provided for both teachers and students.

The fame of Maḥmūd's achievements reached as far as distant Egypt and Transoxiana. In 867/1462 al-Mustandjid bi'llāh, the puppet ʿAbbāsid caliph of Egypt, sent an envoy to Māndū with a *khilʿa* [*q.v.*] and a diploma of investiture, conferring on Maḥmūd sovereign powers. Some years later, in 867/1462, an envoy came from Tīmūr's great-grandson, Abū Saʿīd of Transoxiana and Khurāsān, with presents for Maḥmūd. In return, when the envoy left, he was accompanied by Prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and his father's envoy and carried rich presents for Abū Saʿīd. Unfortunately, no details of Maḥmūd's mission to Harāt are available.

Maḥmūd was an enthusiastic builder. He completed the mosque and tomb of Hūshang Shāh, whose foundations had been laid by the latter. He also erected a number of buildings to commemorate his victory over Rānā Kunbha of Mēwār.

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2. Maḥmūd Khaldjī I, whose real name was Aʿẓam Humāyūn, the third son of Sulṭān Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh (906-16/1501-10). The latter had designated his eldest son, Shihāb al-Dīn, as his successor, but as Shihāb al-Dīn had rebelled, he nominated Aʿẓam Humāyūn to succeed him, and gave him the title of Maḥmūd Shāh. Accordingly, on the death of his father, Maḥmūd declared himself Sulṭān. But his two elder brothers, Shihāb al-Dīn and Ṣāḥib Khān, refused to recognise him. The former set out towards Māndū, but his advance was checked by Muḥāfiẓ Khān and Khawāṣṣ Khān, who were in favour of Maḥmūd. In consequence, he retired to Khāndesh [*q.v.*]. Maḥmūd, who had been following him, succeeded in entering Māṅdū and ascended the throne on 6 Rabīʿ I 917/3 June 1511.

Maḥmūd was weak, incompetent, fickle-minded and a puppet in the hands of his nobles, who struggled with each other to dominate him. He first came under the influence of Iḳbāl Khān and Mukhtaṣṣ Khān, who were so powerful as to assassinate the *wazīr*, Basant Rāy, in the audience hall, and secure the banishment of Sangrān Sonī, the treasurer. But Maḥmūd soon turned against them and allowed himself to be dominated by Muḥāfiẓ Khān. Iḳbāl and Mukhtaṣṣ thereupon recalled Shihāb al-Dīn, and finding their life in danger, left Māṅdū to join the pretender. Shihāb al-Dīn advanced from Khāndesh by quick marches, but died on the way due to heat and exhaustion. Meanwhile, Maḥmūd, weary of Muḥāfiẓ Khān's domination, tried to overthrow him. But before he could take any action, the minister himself struck and raised to the throne his elder brother, Ṣāḥib Khān, as Muḥammad Shāh II. Maḥmūd, finding himself helpless, escaped from Māndū and went first to Udjdjayn and then to Čanderī, where its governor refused to help him. However, he secured the help of Ray Čand Pūrbiya, upon whom he conferred the title of Mednī Rāy, and attacked Ṣāḥib Khān. He defeated him and then besieged him in Māndū. Ṣāḥib Khān, unable to hold out, fled to Gudjarāt with Muḥāfiẓ Khān and was given protection by its ruler. Muẓaffar II.

Maḥmūd, in recognition of Mednī Rāy's services, made him his *wazīr*. But this aroused the hostility of the nobles like Sikandar Khān of Satwas and Bahdjat Khān of Čanderī, who rebelled and took up the cause of Ṣāḥib Khān, who had returned to Mālwā. Mednī Rāy succeeded in reducing Sikandar Khān to obedience, but operations against the other rebels had to be postponed because Muẓaffar II invaded Mālwā and besieged Māndū. Fortunately, however, finding Māndū too strong to be reduced, Muẓaffar withdrew and Maḥmūd, with Mednī Rāy's help, was able to occupy Čanderī and expel Ṣāḥib Khān in Djumādā I 920/July 1514.

The victories achieved by Mednī Rāy made him very powerful, and he began to fill all the important posts by his own Rādjpūt followers, dismissing old Muslim officers. Maḥmūd resented these changes, and chafing under Mednī Rāy's domination, demanded that the dismissed Muslim officers be reinstated, and that the Rādjpūts should not keep Muslim women as mistresses. Mednī Rāy accepted these conditions, but his assistant Salivahan refused. Maḥmūd therefore decided to get rid of both of them by assassination. Mednī Rāy escaped with minor in-

juries, but Salivahan was killed. This led to the revolt of the Rādjpūts. Mednī Rāy, however, pacified them and continued as *wazīr*. But Maḥmūd, having failed to overthrow him, escaped from Māndū at the end of 923/1517 to Gudjarāt and sought the aid of Muẓaffar II. The latter, thereupon, invaded Mālwā in order to restore Maḥmūd's authority. On hearing of the invasion, Mednī Rāy proceeded to Čitor to seek the aid of Rānā Sàngarāmā Sengh, leaving his son, Rāy Pithora, in charge of Mańdū. Meanwhile, Muẓaffar II invested Māndū and having taken it by an escalade on 4 Ṣafar 924/15 February 1518, ordered the massacre of the Rādjpūts who had defended the fort. He reinstated Maḥmūd and returned to Gudjarāt, leaving behind 10,000 troops for his protection.

These events completely alienated Mednī Rāy and his Rādjpūt followers from Maḥmūd. Mednī Rāy occupied Gagrawn and, when Maḥmūd besieged him, he appealed to Rānā Sāngarāmā for help. The Rānā marched to his relief. Maḥmūd raised the siege and set out to intercept the Rānā, but was defeated, wounded and taken prisoner. He was taken to Čitor, and allowed to return to Mālwā after his wounds were healed, but had to surrender his crown and leave behind his son as a hostage.

On his return to Māndū, he found his position extremely weak; and it was further weakened by the withdrawal of the Gudjaratī forces by Muẓaffar II at his request. The result was that Rānā Sanga occupied Mandasor; Mednī Rāy seized Čanderi; Silhadi occupied Bhilsa and Raisin; and Sikandar Khān declared his independence in Satwaʾ. The disintegration of Maḥmūd's power was almost complete, and he was left with only a small territory around Māndū. But instead of consolidating his position and trying to recover his territories, Maḥmūd committed the mistake of giving asylum and support to Čānd Khān against his brother, Bahādur Khān, who had ascended the throne of Gudjarāt. Bahādur Khān was greatly offended and invaded Mālwa. He besieged Māńdū, captured it by assault on 9 Shaʿbān 937/2 April 1531, and caused the *khuṭba* to be recited in his name. Mālwā thus passed into his possession. Maḥmūd and his sons were sent as prisoners to Čampāner. On the way, he made an attempt to escape, but was seized and killed along with his sons on the night of 14 Shaʿbān 837/2 April 1531; with his death the Khaldjī dynasty of Mālwā came to an end.

Bibliography: See that for MAḤMŪD KHALDJĪ I.

(MOHIBBUL HASAN)

MAḤMŪD, the name of two Ottoman sultans.

1. MAḤMŪD I (1143-68/1730-54), (with the title of Ghāzī and the literary nom-de-plume of Sabḳatī). The eldest son of Sultan Muṣṭafā II, he was born on the night of 3 Muḥarram 1108/2 August 1696 in the Palace at Edirne. His mother was Wālide Ṣāliḥa Sulṭān. He undertook his first studies on Wednesday, 20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1113/18 May 1702 with a grand ceremony at the Edirne Palace which his father Muṣṭafā II attended in person, and was given his first lesson by the *Shaykh al-Islām* Sayyid Fayḍ Allāh Efendi. In due course, the latter's son Rūmeli Pāyeli Ibrāhīm Efendi was appointed to act as his tutor. Following the deposition of his father Muṣṭafā II as a result of the "Edirne Incident" and the accession of his uncle Aḥmad III on 10 Rabīʿ II 1115/23 August 1703, Prince Maḥmūd, together with his mother and her other children, was taken into custody by the insurgents at the Palace in Edirne and was subsequently taken to Istanbul along with the Ottoman palace staff and shut up in a private apartment in the Imperial Palace (the Sarāy-i djedīd). His circumcision was effected with a simple ceremony on Thursday, 22 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1116/17 April 1705.

Prince Maḥmūd's life of seclusion in the Palace continued for 27 years up to 1730. It was only when Aḥmad III was forced to abdicate the Ottoman throne as a result of the Patrona Khalīl revolt that he was set free, becoming sultan on Monday, 19 Rabīʿ I 1143/2 October 1730. Having ordered his release from the apartment in the Palace where he had been shut up, his uncle invited Maḥmūd to spend the night of 1-2 October with him so that he could advise him on the administration of the Empire. He then joined his two sons in swearing allegiance to Maḥmūd and was thus the first ro recognise him officially as sultan. The formalities necessary for his accession were completed at Eyyūb on Friday, 23 Rabīʿ I 1143/6 October 1730, when he girded on the sword and the *khuṭba* was read in his name for the first time.

During the first days of Maḥmūd's reign, the rebels had complete control over the affairs of the state. In particular, their leader Patrona Khalīl forced the sultan to carry out his wishes with regard to new appointments, while Maḥmūd I also complied with the rebels' demands by agreeing to the abolition of one category of taxes and to changes in the way some others were collected, and he had to sit idly by as the buildings at pleasure-grounds such as Kāghītkhāne and Fenerbāghčesi were demolished by the insurgents. However, disorderly conduct of this kind was not permitted for much longer. Under the leadership of Maḥmūd's mother Ṣāliḥa Sulṭān, some of the Empire's most experienced statesmen—the *Ḳīzlar aghasī* Beshīr Agha, Ḳaplan Girāy, a former *Khān* of the Crimea, and the *Ḳapudan-i deryā* Djānīm-Khōdja Meḥmed Pasha—cooperated with Ḳabakulaḳ Ibrāhīm Agha and others in arranging for the leading rebels to be put to death in the Imperial Palace—inside the Rewān Ḳaṣrʿand the Sünnet Odasī—on 25 November 1730, and Maḥmūd was thus assured of the freedom to rule without such interventions.

Despite the outbreak of a second uprising on 25 March 1731, which seems to have been a continuation of the first revolt and may even have been organised by Fāṭima Sulṭān, the daughter of Aḥmad III and widow of the executed Grand Vizier Newshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha, in order to revenge herself on the new Sultan, the people's manifest support for Maḥmūd and the strong measures taken by the Grand Vizier Ḳabakulaḳ Ibrāhīm Pasha and the *Ḳapudan-i deryā* Djānīm Khōdja Meḥmed Pasha meant that this disturbance was confined to the neighbourhoods of Bāyezīd and Aḳsaray and was suppressed before it could gain strength.

After achieving a strong position in the internal affairs of the Empire, Maḥmūd I turned his attention to the problems facing it abroad. His first moves were against Nādir Shāh, who was causing the Ottoman Empire difficulties in the East. The forces which he sent against Iran under the command of the governor of Baghdād, Eyyūbī Aḥmad Pasha, won the first success of his reign at the battle of Korīdjan on 13 Rabīʿ I 1144/15 September 1731, and by the treaty signed on 10 January 1732 the Ṣafawid ruler Shāh Ṭahmāsp II agreed to cede the districts of Gandja, Tiflīs, Rewān, Shīrwān and Dāghistān to Maḥmūd. Nevertheless, the war between the Ottomans and Iran could not be concluded because of Maḥmūd's objections over the question of Tabrīz, and it continued to rage with full force through the districts of al-Mawṣil, Kirkūk, Baghdād, Tabrīz, Gandja, Tiflīs and Ḳars until the end of 1735, during the period when Nādir

Shāh was acting as guardian to ʿAbbās Mīrzā (III). It was on account of the successes of the Ottoman forces during the early years of this war that Maḥmūd I adopted the title of Ghāzī. Later on, however, the Ottoman army suffered defeat after defeat and eventually, as a result of negotiations which were initially conducted by the representatives of Nādir Shāh and a Turkish delegation under the commander of Gandja, Genč ʿAlī Pasha, in the Mūghān steppe in Ādharbāydjān and later by an Iranian delegation led by ʿAbd al-Bāķī Khān and Maḥmūd I himself in Istanbul, an agreement was reached between the two powers in 1736 which dealt with the border question but left the *madhhab* dispute unsettled.

At this point, Nādir Shāh wished to turn his attention to Iran's eastern borders, while Maḥmūd I was intent on dealing with the Russian threat from the north. Relations between Maḥmūd I and the Russian Empress Anna Ivanovna had been soured by the Polish question and a number of other border disputes, and because, in the course of the struggle with Nādir for control of Ķars and the surrounding area in 1735, a contingent of Crimean troops had crossed Kabartay territory on their way to reinforce the Ottoman army in northeastern Anatolia. Finally, after the Russian attack on the fortress of Azak on 31 March 1736, Maḥmūd I held a great *dīwān* in Istanbul on 2 May and personally took the decision to declare war on Russia. However, as Talman, the Habsburg Emperor's representative in Istanbul, who later joined the Ottoman army in the field, followed a policy of distracting the Ottoman government with plans for peace, this campaign was not given the necessary degree of importance and the Ottoman commanders were therefore unable to gain any success during the first year. Furthermore, from June 1737 onwards, when the Habsburg Emperor Charles VI took Russia's side in this war, Maḥmūd was forced to defend the borders of the Empire along a very broad front. There were engagements on the banks of the Sava in northern Bosnia, in the Nish and Vidin areas south of Belgrade as well as in Little Wallachia, along the Aksu (Bug) and Turla (Dnestr) rivers near Özü and Bender, in the Crimea, and around Azak. In his attempts to gain the upper hand against both these states, Maḥmūd I frequently changed his Grand Vizier. Eventually, the victories which the Ottoman forces won against the Austrians on the western front, which was considered the more important, forced both states to come to terms with Maḥmūd through the good offices of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, and led to the signing of the treaty of Belgrade on 18 September 1737.

Maḥmūd I thereby regained from the Habsburg Empire a number of towns, Belgrade being the most important, which had been lost by the treaty of Passarowitz in 1718. For their part, the Russians had to evacuate several areas they had occupied in northern Moldavia. In return for the Marquis de Villeneuve's services, France's commercial advantages were increased by the capitulation dated 30 May 1740. At the same time, in order to improve his political relations with Russia, Maḥmūd I sent the *Defteremīni* Meḥmed Emnī Beyefendi on an embassy to St Petersburg, while the *Birindji rūznāmčedji* Djānib ʿAlī Efendi was dispatched as ambassador to the Habsburg Empire. Meanwhile, a commercial treaty had been signed with the kingdom of Sweden in 1737 and a defence pact in 1740, in which same year a purely commercial agreement was reached between the Empire and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

However, while Maḥmūd I was still putting his political relations with the European states in good order, his relations with Nādir Shāh reached another crisis point. Nādir Shāh, who had returned from his campaign in India, again marched to Iran's western borders and laid siege to the Ottoman cities of Baghdād and Kirkūk in the spring of 1743 under the pretext that, during the truce, Maḥmūd I had not accepted the Djaʿfarī school as the fifth *madhhab*, as Nādir had proposed. Because the Turkish mission which Maḥmūd I had previously sent to Iran under Münīf Muṣṭafā Efendi in July 1741 had been unable to prolong the good relations with Nādir Shāh, the second phase of the war between the Ottomans and Iran had begun before the gates of Baghdād, Kirkūk and al-Mawṣil. However, Maḥmūd I, with the assistance of Aḥmad Pasha, the *Ser ʿasker* of Ķars, had Ṣafī Mīrzā, a member of the Ṣafawī dynasty who was living in the Ottoman Empire, sent to the Iranian frontier and turned a number of *khāns* in the Dāghistān and Shīrwān areas south of the Caucasus against Nādir Shāh by granting them their independence. Nādir Shāh was therefore unable to remain in the Baghdād and al-Mawṣil areas and had to lift the sièges of these two cities and abandon Kirkūk, which he had already taken, in order to move to the area around Ķars. The fighting in this area and around Rewān continued until the end of 1745. In the end, in the face of the determination and perseverance shown by Maḥmūd I and despite the fact that he had gained a number of victories, Nādir Shāh, who was also influenced by events at home, abandoned the struggle for the Ķars region and made a serious peace proposal to Maḥmūd. The peace negotiations between the Ottomans and Iran began at a great *dīwān* on 1 February 1746, after the delegation which Nādir had sent under the leadership of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān had arrived in Istanbul.

Maḥmūd I reacted favourably to the proposals put forward by Nādir Shāh on this occasion and, having decided upon a new border settlement which was based on the Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn treaty of 1639, but leaving aside the problem of the Djaʿfarī school, he dispatched a Turkish delegation to Iran under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Naẓīf Efendi on 9 March 1746 with authority to negotiate with Nādir Shāh. This delegation met Nādir Shāh in the Kardan steppe between Ķazwīn and Tehran and, as a result of their negotiations, peace was declared between the two states on 17 Shaʿbān 1159/4 September 1746. Maḥmūd I, who signed the instruments of this settlement in December 1746, sent the text of the treaty back to Nādir Shāh in the care of the ambassador Kesriyeli Aḥmed Pasha.

After Nādir's death, Maḥmūd I followed a conciliatory policy towards his neighbours such as Iran, Russia and Austria up until his own death. Meanwhile, however, the internal problems of the Empire, such as the agitation among the Palace Aghas after the death of the *Ķīzlar aghasī* Beshīr Agha, the suppression of the Lewend bandits [*q.v.*]. who were bringing destruction to Anatolia, the murder of Sayyid Fatḥī in Syria, the revolt of the Janissary garrison at Nish, the Wahhābī movement in Nadjd, the uprising in Istanbul on 2 July 1748, and many other similar incidents, occupied his attention. Maḥmūd died at the Demirķapī in the Imperial Palace while on his way back from the Friday prayers on 27 Ṣafar 1168/13 December 1754. He was not interred in the mausoleum which he had built beside the Nūr-i ʿOthmāniyye mosque, but was buried beside his grandfather Meḥemmed IV and his father Muṣṭafā II in the mausoleum of Wālide Turkhan Khadīdje Sulṭān in the Yeñi Djāmiʿ complex by order of his brother and successor ʿOthmān III.

He was a thin, short, well-tempered man, who gave priority to the maintenance of public order inside Istanbul and would go to meetings of the *dīwān* in order to hear the people's complaints. He was keen on the sports of *djerīd* [*q.v.*], horse-racing and swimming and was knowledgeable about poetry and music. We know that he used the *makhlaṣ* Sabḳatī and that he wrote poetry in Arabic (Shehrīzāde Saʿīd Efendi, *Makhzan al-ṣafāʾ*, Belediye Kütüphanesi, ms. Muallim Cevdet 0.74, f. 53b; Tayyār-zāde Aḥmad ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAṭāʾ*, iv, Istanbul 1293, 67; ʿAlī Emīrī, *Djawāhir al-mulūk*, Istanbul 1319, 30). He knew enough about music to be a composer in his own right, but he is more often spoken of as an instrumentalist and as a patron of other musicians (Yılmez Öztuna, *Türk mûsikîsi lûgatı*, 120, 407; Subhi Ezgi, *Nazarî, amelî Türk mûsikîsi*, Istanbul 1940, iv, 93). This Sultan, who was interested in chess and had a passion for flowers, is also known to have lavished a good deal of attention on the cultivation of tulips. In his free time and when the weather permitted, he would make trips to the pleasure-grounds along the Bosphorus, at Kāghītkhāne and at Fenerbāghčesi, and would spend his time in the summer houses there. Although the Nūr-i ʿOthmāniyye complex, with its mosque, *madrasa*, *maktab*, library, mausoleum, *ʿimāret* and *sebīl*, was built at his orders, it was given its present name because it was completed in the reign of his brother ʿOthmān III. Similarly, the Yîldîz-Dede and Defterdār Ḳapîsî mosques and the mosque of the Ṭulumbadjîlar Odasî near the Yalî Köshkü, the landing-stage at Rumeli Ḥiṣārî, the ʿArab Iskelesi at Beshiktash, the Friday mosques at Üsküdar which were named after him and at Kandilli on the Bosphorus were also built by this Sultan. In addition, he had the Opuzlu reservoir built to collect the water from the streams passing between Bāghčeköy and Balabanköy near Kāghîtkhāne in order to supply the famous Meydān Česhmesi fountain which he had had constructed in Ṭopkhāne via the cistern at Taḳsīm, while water from the same cistern was used to supply water for around 40 fountains in Ḳāsîmpasha, Tepebashî, Ghalaṭa and in the Beshiktash area. He also had three libraries built, one in the Ayasofya Mosque in 1740, the second beside the Fātiḥ Mosque, in 1742 and the third in the Ghalaṭa Sarāyî in 1754. The Beshiktash Sāḥil Sarāyî, the Bayîldîm Ḳaṣrî at Dolmabāghče, and the Toḳat Köshkü near Yüshā were all repaired in his reign. Furthermore, in his time the Kandilli quarter on the Bosphorus was also called Newābād, as he had had it built up from scratch and had had the Mihrābād summer palace constructed there.

As Ottoman sultan, his political and social activities were numerous. Because neither he nor his brother ʿOthmān had any children, the Ottoman dynasty was continued by the children of his uncle Aḥmad III.

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(Münir Aktepe)

2. Maḥmūd II (reigned 1223-55/1808-39). Born at Topkapı palace on 13 Ramaḍān 1199/20 July 1785, he was the youngest of twelve sons of sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I. He succeeded to Muṣṭafā IV on 28 July 1808. An armed coup led by the provincial governor Muṣṭafā Bayraḳdār [*q.v.*] aimed at restoring to the throne the formerly deposed sultan Selīm III. In the course of the action, however, Selīm was assassinated, the reigning Muṣṭafā deposed, and Maḥmūd, as the only remaining legitimate candidate, was declared sultan. Until his ascendance to the throne, Maḥmūd had spent his entire life in seclusion, according to Ottoman practice.

At this point the Ottoman empire appeared to be on the verge of final disintegration. The central government wielded minimal authority over the provinces, administered largely by self appointed local rulers [see aʿyān, derebey]. A temporarily inactive state of war with Russia and Britain imposed further strains on the political fabric. In Istanbul itself political power was exercised by extra-legitimate forces, composed mainly of *ʿulamāʾ* and soldiers. The sultan's office was reduced to political impotency (Djewdet, ix, 16).

During the first months of Maḥmūd's reign real power was wielded by Bayraḳdār, who had himself appointed grand vizier. He convened an assembly of provincial rulers in Istanbul which adopted the Deed of Agreement [see dustūr. ii. turkey]. This document sought to change the constitutional framework of the empire by limiting the sultan's sovereignty and establishing a quasi-feudal political system. In addition, it aimed at reviving Selīm III's military reforms. In mid-November 1808, Bayraḳdār's government was brought down by a popular uprising led by the Janissaries of Istanbul. It was the culmination of a movement opposed to reform as well as to the seizure of the central government by provincial elements.

Following their victory, the Janissaries set up in Istanbul a reign of terror and once again began to interfere in state affairs. The anarchy which prevailed at the capital since the fall of Selīm III in May 1807 left the political élite hopelessly divided and demoralised. Meanwhile, Maḥmūd exhibited characteristics of strong leadership and dedication to traditional values. The religious and bureaucratic élites desiring the re-establishment of orderly government began to turn to the court for guidance (Djewdet, ix, 59-61). Thus were laid the foundations for the restoration of the court as an active centre of government. Maḥmūd seized this opportunity to curb the Janissaries. Throughout his reign he consistently endeavoured to strengthen the court's position by subordinating all other political forces. Gradually, he formed a network of advisers and assistants who helped him carry out his policies. Some of these at various times attained positions of great influence [see ḥālet efendi], but throughout, Maḥmūd remained the supreme autocrat.

In January 1809 a peace treaty was concluded with Britain, in spite of strong protests by Napoleonic France. But negotiations with the Russians, who had in 1806 occupied Bessarabia, Moldavia and Wallachia, failed. In April 1809 the war was resumed with the Russians attacking south of the Danube. The Ottomans suffered defeat in several battles, but succeeded in foiling a Russian attempt to take Shumla and to storm across the Balkan mountains. Faced with the mounting threat of war with France, the Russians were prepared to compromise. The war was terminated with the Treaty of Bucharest (May 28, 1812) which ceded Bessarabia to Russia, while the Ottomans regained Moldavia and Wallachia.

Meanwhile, Maḥmūd initiated a policy designed to restore central authority over the provinces, and when the war ended this became his primary concern. By 1820 Istanbul succeeded in re-asserting its power over most of the provincial centres in Anatolia, as well as over Thrace, Macedonia and the Danube districts. The local ruling notables were replaced by governors appointed from Istanbul. In the view of the government, all local notables were usurpers of legitimate authority (*müteghallibe*). Consequently, their suppression was often ruthless and indiscriminate. This tended to destroy the local administrative infrastructure, weakening thereby the very bases of Ottoman power (cf. Shānīzāde, ii, 230-1, 246-7; Djewdet², x, 146-8, 181-7, 217-19). This was a factor which facilitated the emergence of the national movements of the Serbs and Greeks.

During the same period, the sultan intervened occasionally in the affairs of his Syrian and Mesopotamian provinces, but achieved ephemeral results only. In Arabia the power of the Wahhābīs was curbed by enlisting the military services of Muḥammad ʿAlī, the governor of Egypt. While still maintaining his allegiance to the sultan, Muḥammad ʿAlī gradually transformed Egypt into a formidable state. The sultan had no means with which to reassert his authority over the distant African provinces of Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers, but he still claimed suzerainty over them.

The Serbs had taken advantage of the weakening of Ottoman provincial administration to rise in 1804-13 and again in 1815. Under Russian pressure the sultan agreed to grant the Serbs complete autonomy. The process was gradual, and was completed in 1829. The drawn-out conflict between the sultan and Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pasha [see ʿalī pasha tepedelenli], the most powerful notable in Albania and Greece, aided the Greek cause. The sultan initiated the conflict with ʿAlī in July 1820 and the Peloponnesus was up in arms in March 1821. Although Maḥmūd was profoundly shaken by the outbreak of the Greek uprising, for almost another year he continued to direct the main military efforts against ʿAlī, whom he considered the greater threat to the realm (A. Levy, *Ottoman attitudes to... Balkan nationalism*). ʿAlī was finally defeated and executed in February 1822. Meanwhile, a series of border skirmishes with Iran in 1820 escalated into a full-scale war. After several years of desultory fighting, peace was restored in July 1823. The sultan now concentrated all his efforts to subdue Greece. Uprisings in Macedonia and Thessaly were suppressed, but the Ottoman forces proved incapable of advancing into the Peloponnesus and a stalemate ensued. The sultan once again appealed to Muḥammad ʿAlī for assistance, promising to cede to him the governorship of Crete and the Peloponnesus in return

for his services. In February 1825 the modernised Egyptian army landed in Greece, drastically altering the military balance. The Ottomans renewed their attacks and by April 1826, with the fall of the key fortress of Missolonghi, the Greek position became desperate.

The Greek uprising made a great impact not only on the Ottoman political élite but also on wide segments of the Muslim population at the centre of the empire. The proximity of the fighting and the destruction of long-established Turkish communities in Greece and the islands were among the main reasons which caused Muslim society to view this conflict as a threat to its very survival. In addition, the poor performance of the largely untrained Ottoman troops could be compared with the effectiveness of the modernised Egyptian army. This created a perceptible change in the mood of Ottoman society favouring military reform (Djewdet, xii, 139-46, 159). Since early in his reign Maḥmūd had been cautiously introducing significant improvements in several military branches, especially in the artillery and navy. But in the spring of 1826, with his authority restored at the capital and in many provinces, and with the Greek rising appearing close to extinction, it seemed to Maḥmūd that the time had come to carry out more comprehensive reforms. But he adopted a gradual approach. The first project called for reorganising part of the Janissary corps as an élite unit of active soldiers called *Eshkindjiyān*. The sultan took precautions to enlist the support of the religious and bureaucratic élites as well as the Janissary officers themselves. Nevertheless, on the night of 14 June the Janissaries rose up in arms. The sultan reacted with speed and determination. He mustered loyal troops and on 15 June, within hours, the rebellion was crushed with considerable bloodshed. Two days later an imperial order declared the Janissary corps abolished.

It is difficult to exaggerate the impact which the suppression of the Janissaries made on contemporary Ottoman society as well as on Europe. It was considered the end of one era and the beginning of another. In an effort to gain for it universal approval, the régime termed the incident the "Beneficial Affair" (*waḳʿa-yi khayriyye*) and the court historian Esʿad Efendi was charged with recording the official version for future generations. Esʿad's detailed account entitled *The foundation of victory* (*Üss-i ẓafer*) was printed in 1828. Indeed, the ease with which the suppression of the Janissaries was carried out and its general acceptance by the public were indications of the changing times.

Now the *Eshkindjiyān* project was abandoned in favour of a more ambitious plan calling for the formation of an entirely new army organised and trained on western models. The new force was named the "Trained Victorious Troops of Muḥammad" (*Muʿallem ʿasākir-i manṣūre-yi muḥammadiyye*), or *Manṣūre*, for short. But the project encountered great difficulties from its very inception and its progress was much slower than had been expected. By spring 1828 the new army had some 30,000 men only, poorly organised, trained and equipped.

Meanwhile, the plight of the Greeks elicited European intervention. Britain, Russia and France offered mediation. The Ottomans rejected the proposals, arguing that the conflict was an internal matter. The European powers countered by sending their fleets to Greece where on 20 October 1827, inside the harbour of Navarino, they destroyed an Ottoman-Egyptian fleet. Ottoman losses alone amounted to 37 ships with over 3,000 sailors, comprising more than two-thirds of the entire seaworthy navy. In May 1828 the Russians launched an offensive against the Ottoman dominions in Europe and Asia. In 1829 they achieved complete victory. A Russian army under the leadership of General Diebitsch bypassed Shumla, stormed through the passes of the Balkan Mountains, captured Edirne (August 20) and threatened to march on Istanbul. The sultan was forced to sue for peace. By the Treaty of Edirne/Adrianople (14 September 1829) the Ottomans ceded to Russia the Danube delta in Europa and the province of Akhaltsikhe (Akhīskha) in Asia. In addition, they were required to pay to Russia a heavy war indemnity as well as to recognise the autonomy of Serbia, Moldavia, Wallachia and Greece under Russian protection. Later, in negotiations between the European powers, it was determined that Greece should become an independent monarchy. In July 1832 the sultan accepted these terms.

Military defeat and the apparent failure of the government's reform policies rekindled unrest and rebellion in widely flung provinces, especially in Bosnia, Albania, eastern Anatolia and Baghdād. These movements, sometimes led by former Janissaries and their sympathisers, were partly a delayed conservative reaction against the government's reforms. More commonly, they represented protest against increased taxes, forced conscription and, in general, the sultan's heavy-handed centralising policies. The government was generally successful in putting down these movements by employing the new disciplined troops, which proved sufficiently effective as an instrument of suppression and centralisation. Nevertheless, throughout the remaining years of Maḥmūd's reign, unrest and rebellion continued to flare up in various districts.

In 1830 the sultan tried unsuccessfully to prevent the French occupation of Algiers. Meanwhile, Muḥammad ʿAlī became determined to seek compensation for his losses in Greece. His perception of the sultan's military weakness encouraged him to demand the governorship of Syria. When this was refused, in October 1831 the Egyptian army invaded Syria, defeated two Ottoman armies and completed the conquest by July 1832. When the sultan countered by preparing yet another army, the Egyptians marched into Anatolia, defeated the Ottomans again at Ḳonya (21 December), occupied Kütahya (2 February 1833) and were in a position to march on Istanbul. The sultan sought help from the great powers, but only the Russians dispatched a naval force to defend Istanbul (February 1833). This induced Britain and France to offer mediation, resulting in the Convention of Kütahya (April 8). It conferred on Muḥammad ʿAlī the government of Syria and the province of Adana. Meanwhile, Russian paramountcy in Istanbul was underscored by the Treaty of Hünkâr (Khūnkār) Iskelesi (8 July), a Russian-Ottoman defensive alliance. But the treaty alarmed other European powers, especially Britain, who became determined to help the Ottomans liberate themselves of Russian dependence. The Ottoman empire now came under the protection of the European Concert, and its foreign relations with Britain, Austria and Prussia were increasingly improving.

In spite of military disasters and political setbacks, during the 1830s Sultan Maḥmūd relentlessly proceeded with his reformatory measures. His main objectives continued to focus on centralisation of government and the attainment of greater efficiency in its work. In 1835 the entire administration was reconstituted into three independent branches: the civil bureaucracy (*ḳalemiyye*), the religious-judicial

hierarchy (*ʿilmiyye*) and the military (*seyfiyye*). Their respective heads—the grand vizier, the *sheykh ül-Islām* and the *ser-ʿasker*—were now considered equals, and therefore, responsible directly to the sultan (*BBA*, *HH* 24031; Luṭfī, v, 25-6). Throughout most of Maḥmūd's reign the court had been the most important centre of power. Now it was officially recognised as such. The aggrandisement of the court was mainly at the expense of the grand vizier's office. Traditionally, the grand vizier was considered the sultan's absolute deputy (*wekīl-i muṭlak*) and as such the head of the entire government, civilian and military. To underscore the reduction of his authority, in March 1838 the grand vizier's title was officially changed to that of chief deputy, or prime minister (*bash wekīl*). At the same time, the grand vizier's chief assistants were given the title of minister (*nāẓir* and later *wekīl*). These changes were combined with attempts to attain a better definition of administrative responsibilities. Consequently, from 1836 government departments were being regrouped into ministries (*neẓāret*) for internal, foreign and financial affairs. A further distinction was made between the executive and the legislative. Consultative councils were established to supervise military and civil matters and to propose new legislation. The highest of these, the Supreme Council for Judicial Ordinances (*Medjlis-i wālā-yi aḥkām-i ʿadliyye*), established in 1838, acted as an advisory council to the sultan. New regulations granted the civil servants increased security, but also required higher standards of performance. But all these were mere beginnings. The difficulties were due mainly to the lack of trained personnel. In most cases the staffs of new departments were drawn from old ones, and the administrative reforms often amounted to a mere reshuffle of offices. Nevertheless, the groundwork was prepared for the emergence of a new generation of administrators with a more modern outlook.

The military, which during Maḥmūd's last years was allocated about 70% of the state's revenues, continued to be the focal point of reform. Most significant was the gradual extension of the authority of the commander-in-chief (*ser-ʿasker*) of the *Manṣūre* over other services and branches. Thus the headquarters of the *ser-ʿasker* (*Bāb-i Ser-ʿAsker* [*q.v.*]) gradually came to combine the roles of a ministry of war and a general staff and was in charge of all land forces. The navy continued to operate as a separate organisation under the grand admiral, whose administration comprised a separate ministry. In the different branches of the army, larger permanent units were formed with their regular commanding officers and staffs. Segments of the old feudal (*tīmārlu*) cavalry were reformed. In 1834 a provincial militia (*redīf*) was established. The last two measures were intended to provide the regular army with reserve forces as well as to co-opt the provincial notability into the new system by conferring on them commissions and honours. After 1833 the strength of the regular armed forces was considerably increased, and by the end of Maḥmūd's reign there were some 90,000 men in all the services, exclusive of the militia and other semi-regular organisations. Several European governments began extending modest military assistance. The Russians and British each sent a few military instructors. The British also helped establish the beginnings of a modern arms industry and sent teams of engineers and workmen. Most useful services were rendered by the Prussian military mission which increased from one officer (Helmuth von Moltke) in 1835 to twelve by 1837. This was the beginning of a continuing pattern of military cooperation which was to last until the 20th century. At the same time, the sultan rejuvenated the military engineering schools which had been founded in the 18th century and had subsequently fallen into decay. He also established a military medical school (1827) and an officer school (1834). The sultan enlisted the support and cooperation of the *ʿulamāʾ* in many of his military reforms (A. Levy, *Ulema*). But the paucity of adequately trained personnel and limited financial resources made progress difficult. The commissary system could not support the rapid increase of the military establishment as demanded by the sultan. Epidemics were rife and over a quarter of all recruits succumbed to disease. Desertion was also very high, and it was necessary to replenish the ranks continuously with new, untrained conscripts (*BBA*, *Kepeci* 6799; Moltke, *Briefe*, 349-50).

In May 1835 the international community was taken by surprise when an Ottoman expeditionary force occupied Tripoli in Africa, claiming it back to the sultan. In the following years Ottoman fleets appeared several times before Tunis, but were turned back by the French navy (*BBA*, *MMD*, ix, 99-110). The continued occupation of Syria by Muḥammad ʿAlī could not be tolerated by an autocratic ruler like Maḥmūd. In the spring of 1839, believing that his army had sufficiently recovered and that a general uprising in Syria against Egyptian rule was imminent, Maḥmūd precipitated another crisis. On June 24 the Egyptians, once again, decisively routed the Ottoman army at Nizīb. On July 1 Maḥmūd died, probably without learning of his army's last defeat.

During Maḥmūd's reign, due to the inertia effects of long historical processes, the Ottoman empire continued to decline in relation to the West. Its dependence on Europe increased and it continued to suffer military humiliation and territorial losses. Yet, within the reduced confines of his realm Maḥmūd's achievements were considerable. He resurrected the sultan's office, and with that he reformed and rejuvenated the central government. He arrested the disintegration of the state and even initiated a process of consolidation. In spite of his intensive reformatory activity, Maḥmūd was inherently dedicated to traditional values. He did not attempt to alter the basic fabric of Ottoman society, but rather to strengthen it through modern means. He generally succeeded in integrating the old élites into the new institutions. This was in keeping with his strong attachment to the ideal of justice in the traditional Ottoman sense. The sobriquet he selected for himself, *ʿAdlī*, "the Just," is an indication of the cast of his mind. It may be said, therefore, that the principles which guided him throughout his reign were Islam, autocracy and justice. Nevertheless, though he may not have intended it, the reforms which Maḥmūd introduced were to produce basic change and to launch Ottoman society on the course of modernisation in a final and irrevocable manner.

Bibliography: The Ottoman archives contain a vast number of relevant documents dispersed in numerous collections. All the documents cited above are from Başbakanlık Arşivi (abbreviated as *BBA*). For a description of the holdings of this archive see M. Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi*, Ankara 1955. Especially valuable concentration of documents are located in the following collections: *Kanunnâme-i askerî defterleri* (abbreviated as *KAD*), vols. i, ii, vi (military legislation, organisation, history); *Mühimme-i mektum defterleri* (abbreviated as *MMD*), vols. v-ix (mainly internal political matters); *Maliyeden müdevver defterleri*, vol. 9002 (financial and administrative matters); *Tev-*

cihat ve redif ve mevad ve mühimme-i asâkir defterleri (abbreviated as *TRD*), vol. xxvi (military reform and financial administration); *Tevziat, zehayir, esnaf ve ihitisab defterleri*, vols. xxiv - xxxii (taxation, provisions and various matters); *Kamil Kepeci tasnifi* (numerous documents dealing with the financial administration of the government and armed forces). The *Cevdet tasnifi* and *Hatt-ı hümâyunlar* (abbreviated as *HH*) collections are very useful, but more disparate.

European archives contain extensive information in the correspondence and reports of envoys stationed in the Ottoman empire. At the Archives de la Guerre, Paris, carton no. MR1619 contains an especially valuable collection of detailed and informed reports on political and military conditions.

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Other important Ottoman historical works are: Aḥmed Djewād, *Taʾrīkh-i ᶜaskerī-yi ᶜOthmānī* (5 books in 3 vols.), vol. i—*Yeñičeriler*, Istanbul 1297/1880 (tr. G. Macridès, *État militaire...*; tome i, livre I—*Le corps des janissaires*, Constantinople 1882); vols. ii, iii, unpublished ms. (vol. ii, book IV discusses Maḥmūd's military reforms). Ḥāfiẓ Khiḍr (Khiżr) Ilyās, *Weḳāʾiᶜ-i leṭāʾif-i enderūn*, Istanbul 1276/1859 (life and politics at Maḥmūd's court). Meḥmed Esᶜad, *Üss-i ẓafer*, Istanbul 1243/1828 (the destruction of the Janissaries; tr. Caussin de Perceval, *Précis historique de la destruction du corps des janissaires...*, Paris 1833); Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾidj al-wuḳūᶜāt*, 4 vols., Istanbul 1294-1327/1877-1909 (vol. iv discusses political, military and economic developments).

Of the extensive western travel accounts, memoirs and other contemporary works, the following have special value: A. F. Andreossy, *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace*³, Paris 1841; A. Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe...*, Paris 1840; J. E. Dekay, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832*, New York 1833; V. Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient...*, Paris 1829; A. Juchereau de St. Denys, *Les révolutions de Constantinople en 1807-1808*, Paris 1819; idem, *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman depuis 1792 jusqu'en 1844*, Paris 1844; C. MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, London 1829; idem, *Turkey and its destiny...*, London 1850; Helmuth von Moltke, *Briefe...*, Berlin 1841; R. Wagner, *Moltke und Mühlbach zusammen unter den Halbmonde*, Berlin 1893 (very useful; based on private and public documents).

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MAḤMUD KHAN, Naṣīr al-Dīn, the founder of a short-lived dynasty ruling in Kālpī [*q.v.*] in the first half of the 9th/15th century. He was the son of Malikzāda Fīrūz b. Tādj al-Dīn Turk, the *wazīr* of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ II, who was killed with his sovereign in Dihlī in 791/1389; after that event he fled to Kālpī, his *iḳṭāᶜ*, gave it the honorific name of Muḥammadābād, and "aspired to independence" (*dam az istiḳlāl mīzad*). This was not difficult to attain in the disrupted conditions of the Dihlī sultanate after Tīmūr's sack and withdrawal, and Maḥmūd consolidated his position at the expense of his Hindū neighbours. His status was never really secure against the growing power of the neighbouring sultanates of Mālwā and Djawnpur [*q.vv.*], and the historians of those regions indicate that the arrogated titles of *shāh* and *sulṭān* were resented by the rulers of the larger and more powerful regions. Maḥmūd died in 813/1410-11 and was succeeded by his son (Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Abu 'l-Mudjāhid) Ḳādir Khān, referred to by Firishta as ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir *al-mawsūm ba-*Ḳādir Shāh (Lucknow lith., ii, 306, 307), d. *ca.* 835/1432; in a war of succession between his three sons, Mālwā and Djawnpur again intervened, resulting in a son called Djalāl Khān being installed under the suzerainty of Mālwā; he managed to assert his independence more firmly than his father or grandfather, for he issued coins as Fatḥ al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Djalāl Shāh Sulṭānī in 841/1437-8. The length of his reign is not known, but his brother Naṣīr Khān, ruling in 847/1443, was chastised by the Djawnpur forces and temporarily deprived of Kālpī after being suspected of apostasising from Islam; thereafter, this semi-independent dynasty does not appear in the historians.

Bibliography: The prime text is Muḥammad Bihāmad Khānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī*, B.M. ms. Or. 137 (Rieu, *Cat. Pers. mss.*, i, 84 ff.), completed in 842/1438-9; the author was brought up in the house of Maḥmūd Khān's father, and later served under Maḥmūd's brother and *wazīr* Djunayd Khān, receiving the *iḳṭāᶜ* of Irič for military services. His information is corroborated by Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, and Firishta, and he is cited as an authority by Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (whence also the later information on Naṣīr Khān); S. H. Hodivālā, *The unassigned coins of Jalāl Shāh Sulṭānī*, in *JASB*, NS xxv (1929), Numismatic Supplement N. 41-6.

(J. Burton-Page)

MAḤMŪD SHĀH SHARḲĪ, ruler in Djawnpūr [*q.v.*], the eldest son of Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharḳī, ascended the throne in 844/1440. In 846/1442, he decided to invade Bengal, but owing to reasons not clear he refrained from carrying out his plans. The account in the *Maṭlaᶜ al-saᶜdayn* that he did so because of a warning from the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh, seems to be apocryphal.

In 847/1443, hearing that Nāṣir Shāh, ruler of Kālpī (Maḥmūdābād), had plundered the town of

S͟hāhpūr and harassed its Muslim population, Maḥmūd decided to punish him, and with the permission of Maḥmūd K͟haldjī [*q.v.*] of Mālwā, whose feudatory Nāṣir S͟hāh's father, Ḳādir K͟hān, had been, Maḥmūd S͟harḳī marched on Kālpī. Nāṣir fled to Čanderi and appealed to Maḥmūd K͟haldjī for help. The latter wrote to the S͟harḳī Sulṭān to restore Kālpī to Nāṣir, but since the S͟harḳī ruler ignored this, Maḥmūd K͟haldjī advanced towards Erač̣h on 2 S͟haʿbān 848/14 November 1444 and attacked him. Although both sides suffered losses, the result of the conflict was indecisive, and hostilities ended through the mediation of the S͟hayk͟h al-Islām, S͟hayk͟h Djaʾilda, a holy man much respected by both the rulers; Maḥmūd S͟harḳī agreed to restore Kālpī to Nāṣir S͟hāh.

Soon afterwards, Maḥmūd crushed a rebellion in Čunār and annexed a greater portion of it. He then invaded Orissa which he plundered and, after laying the foundations of two mosques at Pahārpūr, returned to Djawnpūr.

Maḥmūd now put forward a claim to the throne of Dihlī on the ground that its ruler Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam S͟hāh (847-83/1443-76) was his wife's brother. The Sulṭān was a puppet in the hands of his *wazīr*, Ḥamīd K͟hān, who was the *de facto* ruler. But weary of his minister's domination, he had gone away to Badāʾūn. Ḥamīd K͟hān, finding his position insecure on account of the machinations of the Sulṭān and the hostility of some Dihlī nobles, invited Bahlūl from Sirhind. Bahlūl immediately set out towards Dihlī and occupied it on 17 Rabīʿ I 855/19 April 1451. He then imprisoned Ḥamīd K͟hān and declared himself king.

At the beginning of 856/1452, Maḥmūd S͟hāh, instigated by his queen, Bībī Rādjī, and invited by the nobles who detested the uncouth Afg͟hāns, advanced towards Dihlī with 170,000 cavalry and 1,400 war elephants and invested it. Meanwhile, Bahlūl Lodī hastened from Dīpalpūr to the help of his son, K͟hʷādja Bāyazīd, whom he had left in charge of Dihlī. On hearing of Bahlūl's approach, Maḥmūd S͟hāh despatched an army of 30,000 cavalry and 30 elephants under Daryā K͟hān Lodī and Fatḥ K͟hān Harāwi, who met Bahlūl at Narela, 17 miles north of Dihlī. Before the battle Sayyid S͟hams al-Dīn, a loyal follower of Bahlūl, won over Daryā K͟hān by appealing to his racial feelings. The result of Daryā K͟hān's defection was that the S͟harḳī army became demoralised and, although numerically superior, it was defeated by Bahlūl's 7,000 troops. Fatḥ K͟hān was taken prisoner and beheaded. Maḥmūd S͟harḳī had no alternative except to return to Djawnpūr.

In 858/1454 Maḥmūd sent a force to occupy Udjdjayn, whose chief, Īs͟hwar Singh, Djawnpūr's feudatory, had declared his independence. Īs͟hwar Singh fled, but was pursued and captured and then put to death (859/1455). Udjdjayn was then annexed.

Emboldened by his victory at Narela, Bahlūl Lodī decided to extend his territories. He occupied Raprī and expelled the S͟harḳī governor of Etāwah. Maḥmūd marched against the Afg͟han army, which he met at Etāwah (856/1452-3). The battle was indecisive, and peace was brought about through the mediation of Ḳuṭb K͟hān, cousin and brother-in-law of Bahlūl, and Ray Pratāp, ruler of Bhongāon and Kampil. It was agreed that Bahlūl would return the seven elephants he had captured at Narela; that each would retain possession of the territories which had belonged to Ibrāhīm S͟harḳī and Mubārak S͟hāh Sayyid of Dihlī; and lastly, that S͟hamsābād would be ceded to Bahlūl.

But hostilities again broke out in 861/1456-7 because Djawna K͟hān, the S͟harḳī governor of S͟hamsābād, refused to surrender it. Bahlūl therefore attacked him and after expelling him, handed over S͟hamsābad to Ray Karan. Maḥmūd hastened to the aid of Djawna K͟han. Ḳuṭb K͟hān and Daryā K͟hān made a night attack on him, but this proved abortive and Ḳuṭb K͟hān was taken prisoner. Greatly distressed on hearing of Ḳuṭb K͟hān's imprisonment, Bahlūl set out to attack Maḥmūd. But the latter fell ill and died in 862/1458. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Bhīkam K͟hān, who ascended the throne of Djawnpūr as Sulṭān Muḥammad S͟harḳī.

Maḥmūd was an able ruler and his subjects were happy and prosperous during his reign. He is said to have spent his time in the society of the *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfīs. He was interested in architecture and built the famous Lāl Darwāza Mosque in Djawnpūr, and adjacent to it a magnificent palace for his queen, Bībī Rādjī. He also built a bridge and *madrasas*, and laid the foundations of another palace outside Djawnpūr.

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MAḤMŪD S͟HIHĀB AL-DĪN, the fourteenth ruler of the Bahmanī dynasty [*q.v.*] in the Dakhan (Deccan). He ascended the throne at Muḥammadābād-Bīdar at the age of twelve on the death of his father, S͟hams al-Dīn Muḥammad III, on 5 Ṣafar 887/26 March 1482. During Maḥmūd's long reign of twenty-six years, the kingdom continued on its downward course on account of his own incompetence and the greed and intrigues of his nobles. The bitter rivalry between the Dakhanīs, consisting of the natives and old settlers, and the Newcomers called Āfāḳīs or G͟harībīs, comprising Turks, Persians and Arabs, continued in all its intensity. Malik Ḥasan Niẓām al-Mulk, a Hindū convert to Islām and governor (*ṭarafdār*) of Telingānā, became the leader of the Dakhanīs and planned to destroy the Āfāḳīs, already weakened since the death of Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] on 5 Ṣafar 886/5 April 1481. He succeeded in persuading the boy-king to order the massacre of the Turkish population of the town. Accordingly, the gates of the town were shut and about 4,000 Turks were massacred in cold blood. Fortunately, Yūsuf ʿĀdil, *ṭarafdār* of Bīdjāpūr and leader of the Āfāḳīs, who had come to attend the king's coronation ceremony, was saved because he had encamped outside the town wall, and after the massacre left for Bidjapūr.

The government was carried on by a Regency with the Queen-Mother as President of the Council of Regency; Malik Ḥasan Niẓām al-Mulk as Mīr Nāʾib; Fatḥ Allāh ʿImād al-Mulk, also a Hindū convert to

Islām, as *wazīr* and Mīr Djumla as finance minister. Ḳāsim Barīd, a Turk who had watched the massacre of the people of his own race with indifference, was appointed *kōtwāl* [*q.v.*].

In 891/1486, four years after his accession, Maḥmūd, anxious to assert his power, conspired with Ḳāsim Barīd and Dastūr Dīnār, the leader of the Abyssinians (Ḥabashīs), to get rid of both Niẓām al-Mulk and ʿImād al-Mulk. But the plot leaked out and the Sulṭān apologised to them. However, ʿImād al-Mulk, realising his life to be in danger, left for his own province of Berār, never to return again. Niẓām al-Mulk, who took no precaution, was strangled to death by his friend, Dilpasand Khān, at the instigation of Maḥmūd.

Niẓām al-Mulk's removal from the scene led to the victory of the Āfāḳīs. But the Dakhanīs, alarmed and angry by the murder of their leader, plotted to assassinate the king with the support of the Ḥabashīs; and on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 892/8 November 1487, they entered the palace, locking the gate behind them so that no one else could enter. They killed the Turkish guards, but Ḳāsim Barīd, with a detachment of 12,000 men, scaled the walls of the palace and rescued the king. The next morning, Maḥmūd ordered the massacre of the Dakhanīs, and for three days this continued until it was stopped by the intercession of Shāh Muḥibb Allāh, son of the saint Khalīl Allāh.

Taking advantage of these events, Ḳāsim Barīd raised the banner of revolt, and compelled Maḥmūd to make him *wakīl* or prime minister (897/1492). Meanwhile, Malik Aḥmad, Niẓām al-Mulk's son, who was at his *djāgīr* [*q.v.*] of Djunayr, on hearing of his father's death, adopted the title of Niẓām al-Mulk and without seeking the permission of the king, conquered all the forts in Mahārāshtra, including the whole of Konkon and the territory up to the river Godāvarī. He then came to Bīdar, where he was received by Maḥmūd and confirmed in his new possessions; but at the same time Maḥmūd sent troops against Malik Aḥmad and also ordered Yūsuf ʿĀdil to march against him. The royal troops were defeated, while Yūsuf ʿĀdil, in defiance of the king's order, congratulated Malik Aḥmad on his success. It was in 895/1490 that Malik Aḥmad, on achieving his victory over the king's army, had founded the town of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*], which became the capital of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty [*q.v.*].

Encouraged by the incompetence of the ruler, the governors in the provinces began to assert their independence. Bahādur Khān Gīlānī, *kōtwāl* of Goa, took possession of the whole west coast from Goa up to Dābul as well as the greater portion of southern Mahārāshtra. But on 5 Ṣafar 900/5 November 1494, he was defeated and killed by Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk, *ṭarafdār* of Telingāna. Dastūr Dīnār, the Ḥabashī, who held the *djāgīrs* of Culbarga, Aland and Gangāwatī, also declared his independence in 901/1496. But although he was defeated by Yūsuf ʿĀdil, he was forgiven by Maḥmūd and his *djāgīrs* restored to him.

Yūsuf ʿĀdil's position became strong due to the betrothal of his daughter to the crown prince, Aḥmad, early in 903/1497, which enabled him to secure the *djāgīrs* of Gulbarga, Aland and Gangāwatī which had been assigned to Dastūr Dinār. Previously to this, Ḳāsim Barīd, being jealous of Yūsuf ʿĀdil, had contrived his overthrow. He had suggested to Narasa Nāyak, the prime minister of Vidjayānagar, to occupy Rayčūr and Mudgal which were in Yūsuf ʿĀdil's possession, and had also tried to win over Malik Aḥmad against Yūsuf by offering him Panhāla, Konkon and Goa, which were at the time in Bahādur Gīlānī's possession. But Yūsuf ʿĀdil had succeeded in foiling Malik Aḥmad's plans. He had first marched towards Bīdar and defeated Ḳāsim Barīd, who was accompanied by Maḥmūd, near the capital. He had then directed his attention towards the Vijayānagar army, which he had defeated on 1 Radjab 899/18 April 1493 and had reoccupied Rayčūr and Mudgal, thus upsetting Ḳāsim Barīd's plans.

Disenchanted with Ḳāsim Barid, Maḥmūd now invited Yūsuf ʿĀdil and Ḳuṭb al-Mulk to his rescue at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 903/August 1497. They came and besieged Ḳāsim in his *djāgīr* of Ausa, but gained no success, for the minister was soon reconciled to the king. However, in 909/1503-4, Ḳāsim Barīd was replaced by Khān-i Djahān, also a Turk, until Ḳāsim Barid contrived his death. Thereupon, Yūsuf ʿĀdil, Ḳuṭb al-Mulk and Dastūr Dīnār marched on Bīdar to wrest power from Ḳāsim. The latter was defeated and fled, but this did not improve things, because he once again won over Maḥmūd. Frustrated in their attempts to rescue the king, the *ṭarafdārs* in disgust returned to their respective *djāgīrs*, leaving Ḳāsim Barīd as powerful as before. When he died in 910/1504-5 he was succeeded by his son Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, whose domination was even more effective than that of his father.

Taking advantage of these internecine conflicts, Krishnādevarāya compelled Yūsuf ʿĀdil to evacuate the Dōʾāb. The Gandjpatīs of Orissa, on the other hand, occupied the whole east coast which had belonged to the Bahmanids. In 923/1517, Maḥmūd tried to recover the Dōʾāb from the Rādja of Vidjayānagar, but he was defeated and wounded and compelled to retreat.

Maḥmūd's last days were unhappy. In addition to these territorial losses, there were risings of his *ṭarafdārs*, who were engaged in carving out independent kingdoms for themselves, which he was helpless to prevent; soon his writ did not run beyond the walls of Bīdār, and even there he was subject to the will of Amīr ʿAlī Barīd.

Maḥmūd died on 4 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 924/7 December 1518. He was succeeded by four kings, one after another, set up or set aside according to ʿAlī Barīd's pleasure. Kalīm Allāh, Maḥmūd's son, was the last king. He wrote to Bābur for help against ʿAlī Barīd, but as the latter found this out, Kalīm Allāh fled to Bīdjāpūr and thence to Aḥmadnagar, where he is supposed to have died in 945/1538.

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MAḤMŪD B. ISMĀʿĪL. [See LUʾLUʾ, BADR AL-DĪN].

MAḤMŪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MALIK-SHĀH, MUGHĪTH AL-DUNYĀ WA 'L-DĪN ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM, Great Saldjūḳ sultan in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ 511-25/1118-31.

The weakening of the Great Saldjūḳ central power in the west, begun after Malik-Shāh's death in the

period of the disputed succession between Berk-yaruḳ and Muḥammad [*q.vv.*], but arrested somewhat once Muḥammad had established his undisputed authority, proceeded apace during Maḥmūd's fourteen-year reign. This arose in part from the latter's initial youthfulness (he came to the throne, at the age of 13 and as the eldest of his father's five sons, on 24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 511/18 April 1118, through the support of Kamāl al-Mulk Simīrumī, subsequently his vizier), but stemmed mainly from the continued vitality among the Saldjūḳs of a patrimonial concept of rule which made clear-cut father-eldest son succession difficult to enforce. Maḥmūd's uncle Sandjar [*q.v.*] remained as undisputed ruler of the eastern Persian lands, and from his seniority and experience became regarded as head of the Saldjūḳ family, even though since the time of Ṭoghril Beg the holder of the seat of power in the western half of the sultanate had normally been regarded as supreme sultan. But what made Maḥmūd's reign so full of strife were the pretensions of his four brothers, Masʿūd, Ṭoghril, Sulaymān Shāh and Saldjūḳ Shāh. All of them held some degree of power in various parts of the western sultanate at different times, and the first three of them eventually achieved the title of sultan itself, though their reigns followed after the brief one of Maḥmūd's son Dāwūd (525-6/1131-2) and were interspersed with those of two other sons, Malik-Shāh III (547-8/1152-3) and Muḥammad II (548-55/1153-60).

The claims of these fraternal rivals for power during Maḥmūd's reign could not have been sustained without military support from their own Atabegs or guardians [see ATABAK] and other Turkish commanders, through whose control large sections of the sultanate were frequently abstracted from Maḥmūd's direct rule, with deleterious effects on his finances, his ability to pay his troops and therefore his enforcing his authority. As lamented by Anūshīrwān b. Khālid [*q.v.*], who acted as Maḥmūd's vizier 521-2/1127-8, "they [sc. Maḥmūd's rivals] split up the kingdom's unity and destroyed its cohesion; they claimed a share with him in the power, and left him with only a bare subsistence" (Bundārī, 134). Maḥmūd's sultanate also witnessed further steps in the process of the revival of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Baghdād's temporal power, and the growing confidence of Maḥmūd's contemporary al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-35) was only held in check by the caliph's enemies in central ʿIrāḳ, the Shīʿī Arab dynasty of the Mazyadids [*q.v.*] under Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa.

The ascendancy over the young sultan Maḥmūd immediately established by the Chief *Ḥādjib* ʿAlī Bār soon led to an invasion by Sandjar, who came westwards with a powerful army, defeated Maḥmūd at Sāwa and dictated peace to him, but on a fairly amicable basis (513/1119); Sandjar secured control of the Caspian provinces and Ray, but gave Maḥmūd one of his daughters in marriage and made him his heir. Meanwhile, Maḥmūd was losing control of the northern parts of his dominions, for his brother Ṭoghril's cause was espoused in northern Djibāl by the Atabeg Küntoghdï, and from a base at Ḳazwīn, Ṭoghril defied Maḥmūd for the whole of his reign. Also, Ādharbāydjān and al-Djazīra had been granted to Masʿūd b. Muḥammad, with Ay-Aba Djuyūsh Beg as his Atabeg. The separatist tendencies of local Turkish and Kurdish chiefs, including ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, encouraged Masʿūd, and in 514/1120 he and Ay-Aba rebelled openly, but were defeated by Maḥmūd's general Aḳ Sunḳur Bursuḳī at Asadābād near Hamadhān, and Masʿūd's vizier al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṭughrāʾī [*q.v.*], the famous poet and stylist, was executed. Ay-Aba had hoped to incite Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa against Maḥmūd, and over the next few years the *amīr* of Ḥilla's hopes of reducing Saldjūḳ influence in ʿIrāḳ were raised. Fortunately for Maḥmūd, fear of the Shīʿī threat had the effect of forcing the caliph al-Mustarshid into close co-operation with Maḥmūd's own vizier Shams al-Mulk ʿUthmān b. Niẓām al-Mulk, and in 520/1126 Maḥmūd came with an army to Baghdād to enforce his rights and reinforce the authority of his *shiḥna* or military governor there.

On the extreme northern fringes of the sultanate, a threat had arisen from the resurgent Georgians [see AL-KURDJ] under David IV the Restorer (1089-1125), who had stopped paying tribute to the Saldjūḳs (see W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*, London 1932, 96-100). An army sent by Maḥmūd in 515/1121, and including Ṭoghril, Dubays and the Artuḳid Il-Ghāzī, failed to halt the Georgians, who captured Tiflis and Ānī and dislodged the latter's Shaddādid prince, and a further expedition to Shīrwān led personally by the sultan (517/1123) achieved nothing either. Ṭoghril and Dubays tried soon after this to stir up ʿIrāḳ against Maḥmūd and al-Mustarshid, but failed and had to flee to Khurāsān. They persuaded Sandjar to move westwards to Ray in 522/1128, but Maḥmūd became reconciled to his uncle; Dubays had eventually to move to Syria, and in 524/1130 Maḥmūd and Masʿūd made peace, the latter being confirmed in his appanage centred on Gandja in Ādharbāydjān.

Maḥmūd died in Djibāl on 15 Shawwāl 525/10 September 1131 at the age of only 27, and his death was to plunge the western sultanate into sharp succession disputes. Despite an alleged love of luxury, Maḥmūd achieved a favourable mention from historians for his justice and reasonableness and for his Arabic scholarship, rare among the Saldjūḳ rulers. He patronised many of the leading poets of his time, and both he and the caliph al-Mustarshid were the *mamdūḥs* of Ḥayṣa Bayṣa [*q.v.*] (see ʿAlī Djawād al-Ṭāhir, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa-bilād al-ʿAdjam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-Saldjūḳī*, Baghdād 1958-61, index s.v. *Maḥmūd*). The ten grave accusations levelled against Maḥmūd by Anūshīrwān b. Khālid (listed in Bundārī, 120-4), including those of breaking up the unity of the Saldjūḳ house and of causing disharmony in ʿIrāḳ, of squandering his father's treasury, of splitting up the royal *ghulāms*, of raising the siege of Alamūt because of Ismāʿīlī sympathies, of encouraging an atmosphere of immorality at court, etc., and the further accusations laid at the door of the vizier Ḳiwām al-Dīn Darguzīnī or Ansabādhī (Anūshīrwān's predecessor and then successor in office), contain palpable exaggerations, and do not take sufficient account of the parlous financial state of the sultanate, because of which Maḥmūd was compelled to grant out to his commanders more and more land as *iḳṭāʿ*s and thus reduce his own income.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. See the general chronicles, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Djawzī and Sibṭ al-Djawzī; and of the Saldjūḳ, sources, Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, 119-56; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 203-6; Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, 88-9, 96-9; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 198 ff. There is a biography in Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, v, 182-3, no. 174, tr. de Slane, iii, 337-8.

2. Studies. See M. A. Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu tarihi. ii. İkinci imparatorluk devri*, Ankara 1954, 5-148, 164-73; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge hist. of Iran*, v, 119-24.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

MAḤMŪD B. SEBÜKTIGIN, sultan of the Ghaznawid dynasty [*q.v.*], reigned 388-421/998-1030 in the eastern Islamic lands.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd was the eldest son of the Turkish commander Sebüktigin, who had risen from being one of the slave personal guards of the *Ḥādjib-i buzurg* or commander-in-chief Alptigin [see ALP TAKĪN] under the Sāmānids to becoming the virtually independent *amīr* of a principality centred on Ghazna [*q.v.*], at that time on the far eastern fringe of the Sāmānid empire. Maḥmūd was born in 361/971, his mother being from the local Iranian (?) gentry stock of Zābulistān [*q.v.*], the district around Ghazna in what is now eastern Afghānistān; hence in the eulogies of his court poets, Maḥmūd is sometimes called "Maḥmūd-i Zābulī".

Maḥmūd was involved at his father's side in the confused, internecine warfare which marked the last years of the Sāmānid amīrate. In 384/994 the two of them fought on behalf of the *amīr* Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr against the rebels Abū ʿAlī Sīmdjūrī and Fāʾiḳ Khāṣṣa, and Maḥmūd was rewarded with the honorific title Sayf al-Dawla and command of the army of Khurāsān in place of Abū ʿAlī. Control of this powerful military force was of prime value to Maḥmūd when, in Shaʿbān 387/August 997, Sebüktigin died and Maḥmūd had to establish by force of arms his own claim to the amīrate in Ghazna against that of Ismāʿīl, his younger brother, whom Sebüktigin had by a somewhat puzzling decision appointed his successor (388/998) but who had no military experience or reputation comparable to that of Maḥmūd.

Once securely in power, the latter's first step was to re-establish the position in Khurāsān by ejecting the general Begtuzun, who had taken over the province whilst Maḥmūd was involved in civil war with Ismāʿīl. By securing a decisive victory over all his opponents in Khurāsān, Maḥmūd was able to turn against his old masters the Sāmānids on pretext of seeking vengeance for the deposed *amīr* Manṣūr b. Nūḥ II; he then secured from the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] direct investiture of the governorships of Khurāsān and Ghazna and the *laḳab*s of Yamīn al-Dawla and Amīn al-Milla (the former honorific being that by which Maḥmūd became most widely-known, to the point that the whole Ghaznawid dynasty was often referred to later as the Yamīniyān). With the final disintegration of the Sāmānid state in the face of a fresh invasion from the north by the Ḳarakhānids or Ilek Khāns [*q.v.*], it was a question for Maḥmūd of moving quickly to consolidate his hold over his own share of the former Sāmānid dominions, those south of the Oxus, for the Ilig Khān Naṣr b. ʿAlī coveted Khurāsān also. Whilst Maḥmūd was pre-occupied in India in 396/1005-6, a Ḳarakhānid army invaded Khurāsān, and the united forces of the Ilig and his kinsman Yūsuf Ḳadïr Khān of Kāshghar were not finally driven out till 398/1008, after which Maḥmūd's grip on Khurāsān was never again threatened from that quarter.

Maḥmūd's 32 years of rule were filled with almost ceaseless campaigning over a vast expanse of southern Asia, so that by his death he had assembled an empire greater than any known in eastern Islam since the decline of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. Continuance of his father's policy of raids into the Indian subcontinent enabled Maḥmūd to build up a great contemporary reputation as hammer of the heretical Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs in Multān and other centres of Sind, but above all, of the pagan Hindus. In retrospect, it appears to us that the prime motivation for Maḥmūd's raids was financial greed rather than religious zeal. The temple treasures of India were thereby tapped, and the proceeds used to beautify mosques and palaces in Ghazna and at places like Lashkar-i Bāzār [*q.v.*], but above all, to maintain the central bureaucracy and the highly expensive, multi-national professional army which could not be stood down between campaigns. For the army, indeed, the manpower of India, in the form of infantrymen and elephant-drivers, was pressed into service, and it does not seem that Maḥmūd baulked at employing these men whilst they were still pagan. The details of Maḥmūd's Indian campaigns, usually enumerated at 17 in all, can conveniently be read in Nāẓim's *Sulṭān Maḥmūd* (see *Bibl.*), 86-122. Briefly, the Hindūshāhī [*q.v.*] dynasty of Wayhind, which had stood as a bulwark in northwestern India against Muslim expansion down the Indus valley and across to the Gangetic plains, was assaulted in several campaigns, and successive Rādjās, Djaypāl (d. 393/1002-3), Anandpāl, Triločanpāl (d. 412/1021-2) and Bhimpāl (d. 417/1026, the last of his line) humbled, despite their attempts at alliance with other threatened potentates such as the Rādjās of Kālindjār, Ḳanawdj, Gwāliyōr, Dihlī and Udjdjayn. Expeditions against these latter rulers led Maḥmūd well into the Dōʾāb and into Central India, whilst a spectacular march across the Thar Desert in 416/1026 gained him fabulous plunder from the idol-temple at Sōmnāth in Kāṭhīāwāṛ, ancient Sawrāshṭra, an enhanced reputation throughout the Muslim world, and the fresh *laḳab* of Kahf al-Dawla wa 'l-Islām. Nor were Muslim dissidents spared, and the Ismāʿīlī ruler of Multān, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Dāwūd b. Naṣr, one of the local Arab rulers in Sind who had acknowledged the distant suzerainty of the Fāṭimids, was subdued and finally deposed in two campaigns (396/1006 and 401/1010).

The raiding of India was thus a financial necessity for maintaining the momentum of the Ghaznawid military machine. A political annexation and the mass conversion of the Hindus were probably never envisaged, and could not have been maintained in face of the strenous opposition offered by the Hindu princes except by an enormous army of occupation and the settlement of myriads of Muslim colonists. By the end of Maḥmūd's reign, Islam must have had a good hold in the lower and middle Indus valley regions, but Lahore remained for nearly two centuries essentially a frontier bastion for Muslim *ghāzī* activity against Hindu-held territory which lay not far to the east; it was to be the task of Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī and his commanders really to establish Islamic political control over northern India in the 7th/13th century [see GHŪRIDS and DIHLĪ SULTANATE].

The other aspect of Maḥmūd's imperialist policies concerned the Iranian world, where, as successor-state to the Sāmānids, the sultan employed a mixture of direct conquest and the extension of tributary states over outlying regions. Thus the local Ṣaffārid rulers of Sīstān were reduced to vassalage (393/1003), as had been already at Maḥmūd's accession the Farīghūnids [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Gūzgān [*q.v.*] and the Shērs or princes of Gharčistān [*q.v.*]; whilst the rulers of Ḳuṣdār and Makrān [*q.vv.*] in modern Balūčistān had to acknowledge Maḥmūd in 402/1011 and at the sultan's accession respectively. His forcible annexation of the ancient kingdom of Khwārazm [*q.v.*] on the lower Oxus and the extinguishing of the native Maʾmūnid dynasty of Khwārazm-Shāhs [*q.v.*] in Gurgāndj in 408/1017, an isolated outpost of conquest which Maḥmūd's son Masʿūd had to relinquish only five or six years after his father's death, nevertheless enabled the Ghaznawids to turn the flank of the

western branch of the Ḳarakhānids, who under ᶜAlītigin had never ceased to show hostility to the sultan, and to achieve a position of dominant influence in Central Asia.

Maḥmūd inherited from the Sāmānids a tradition of rivalry with the Daylamī Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS] concerning possession of Ray and northern Persia and concerning the exercise of suzerainty over the petty rulers of the Caspian region. The death of Fakhr al-Dawla [*q.v.*] of Ray and Djibāl in 387/997 inaugurated a period of weaker rule for the northern Būyid amīrate under his youthful son Madjd al-Dawla Rustam [*q.v.*] and his imperious mother and regent Sayyida. Maḥmūd made the Ziyārid ruler of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān Manūčihr b. Ḳābūs [see ZIYĀRIDS] his vassal, but only towards the end of his life did he feel freed from his many other commitments to lead a full-scale expedition against the Būyids (an expedition into the Būyid province of Kirmān in 407/1016-17 in support of a Būyid claimant to the governorship there had achieved no lasting result). Madjd al-Dawla was dethroned and his amīrate annexed, and the Ghaznawid troops pushed into northwestern Persia, temporarily subduing local Daylamī and Kurdish princes like the Kākuyids and Musāfirids [*q.vv.*] (420/1029). The whole campaign was retrospectively justified by propaganda denouncing the Būyids for their Shīᶜism, their encouragement of heretics and their tutelage of the caliphs in Baghdād, and grandiose plans for advancing on ᶜIrāḳ and confronting the Fāṭimids on the Syrian Desert fringes envisaged. All these plans were cut short by the sultan's death at the age of 59 on 23 Rabīᶜ II 421/30 April 1030 and rendered impossible of execution for his son Masᶜūd because of the growing menace from the Turkmen incursions, which were to lead eventually to the triumph of the Saldjūḳs at Dandānqān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and the Ghaznawids' loss of Khurāsān.

The contemporary image of Maḥmūd was that of a Sunnī hero, sedulous in sending presents to the caliph in return for honorifics and investiture patents, and zealous to maintain orthodoxy within his dominions against all religious dissent and against odd pockets of paganism in regions of Afghānistān like Ghūr and Kāfiristān [*q.vv.*]. The centralised, despotic machinery of state with the sultan at its head, as created by Maḥmūd and his Persian officials, typifies the Perso-Islamic "power-state" in which the ruling institution of officials and soldiers was clearly set apart from the masses of tax-paying subjects, the *raᶜāyā*. It was not for nothing that within half-a-century of Maḥmūd's death, the great vizier Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] could hold the sultan up in his *Siyāsat-nāma* as an exemplar for his own Saldjūḳ, masters, and the military state typified by that of the Ghaznawids became the model for many later Islamic powers, a large proportion of them likewise directed by Turkish military castes. However, the figure of Maḥmūd also exemplifies how speedily and successfully the Islamic cultural milieu could attract and mould in its own image an outsider whose father had been a barbarian from the pagan Turkish steppes; for amongst other things, the literary and intellectual circles at Maḥmūd's court, which nurtured several leading poets like ᶜUnṣurī, Farrukhī and, for a short time, Firdawsī [*q.vv.*] and provided a congenial centre of work for the scientist al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*], show that the sultan conceived of himself as a full member of the comity of Islamic prince-patrons.

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2. Secondary sources. M. Nāẓim's *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, is a detailed, somewhat eulogistic, full-scale study; briefer, but more critical, is M. Habib's *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*², Dihli 1951. Other studies containing important information include Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², London 1928; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963; idem, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, ch. 5, v, ch. 1; and idem, *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London 1977 (contains several reprinted relevant articles). For a survey of later historiography about Maḥmūd, see P. Hardy, *Mahmud of Ghazna and the historians*, in *Jnal. of the Panjab Univ. Historical Soc.*, xiv (Dec. 1962), 1-36.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

MAḤMŪD EKREM BEY. [See EKREM BEY].

MAḤMŪD GĀWĀN, KHʷĀDJĀ ᶜIMĀD AL-DĪN, Bahmanī minister in South India during the years 862-87/1458-82.

He was born in 813/1411 (al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiᶜ*, x), and arrived at Bīdar [*q.v.*] the capital of the Bahmanī kingdom [*q.v.*] at the age of 43. His family had held high office in Gīlān in the Caspian coastlands, but it had fallen into disgrace and Maḥmūd had been compelled to leave the land of his birth. After wandering from place to place, he at last reached the Bahmanī port of Dābul with the intention of entering the profession of merchant. From Dābul he wended his way to the metropolis of the Deccan in order to sit at the feet of Shāh Muḥibb. Allāh, son of the famous saint Shāh Niᶜmat Allāh of Kirmān, who had made the Deccan his home. It was not long after this that he caught the attention of the sulṭān, Aḥmad II (839-62/1435-58), who appointed him *manṣabdār* of 1,000 and ordered him to go and suppress the rebellion of the royal kinsman Djalāl Khān at Nalgunda. After desultory fighting, the rebels soon surrendered to Maḥmūd on his promise to intercede with the sultan for their lives and safety, and this was the beginning of the policy of conciliation and compromise which Maḥmūd tried to pursue during the whole of his life.

Aḥmad II was succeeded by Ḥumāyūn Shāh (862-5/1458-61). Maḥmūd had already secured a considerable position in the kingdom, and the new king appointed him as his prime minister, later bestowing on him the highly-esteemed title of *Malik al-Tudjdjār*, "Prince of Merchants". On Humāyūn's death his eldest son, who was barely eight years old, succeeded him as Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad III (865-7/1461-3). The late king had willed that the country should be governed during the minority of the new sulṭān by a council of regency consisting of Maḥmūd Gāwān, Khʷādja Djahān Turk and the dowager queen, Makhdūma Djahān Nargis Bēgam, who was to act as the president of the council with a casting vote on all matters of

policy. The regency lasted throughout the reign of Aḥmad III and during the minority of the next sultan, Muḥammad III (867-87/1463-82). The short reign of Aḥmad III saw two major military operations, namely, a war with Kapilēs͟hwar of Uṛīsā (Orissa), who took advantage of the sultan's youth to invade the Deccan from the north-east, and the struggle with Maḥmūd K͟hald͟jī of Mālwā, who invaded it from the north; in both of these, Maḥmūd Gāwān's policy and strategy were successful. While Kapilēs͟hwar had to retreat and pay a large indemnity, Maḥmūd K͟hald͟jī, who menaced the very existence of the Deccan as an independent state, was defeated with the help of the sulṭān of Gud͟jarāt [*q.v.*]. This alliance of Gud͟jarāt with the Deccan was initiated at the instance of Maḥmūd Gāwān and became the corner-stone of the foreign policy of the Bahmanī kingdom for many years to come.

Three years after the accession of Muḥammad III in 867/1463, a palace intrigue caused the murder of one of the members of the council of regency, K͟hʷād͟ja D͟jahān Turk, followed later by the retirement of the dowager queen from the day-to-day affairs of state. Maḥmūd Gāwān was now invested with the insignia of premiership and the title of K͟hʷād͟jā D͟jahān [*q.v.*] conferred on him. Maḥmūd K͟hald͟jī was again repulsed with the help of Gud͟jarāt, and following the policy of conciliation already exercised effectively, the Deccan now entered into a treaty of friendship with Mālwā. Soon an opportunity arose for interference in the affairs of Uṛīsā when in 875/1470-1 two factions came to grips at D͟jād͟jnagar, the capital of the Gad͟japatis, and one of them sought the help of the Bahmanī sultan (*JASB* [1893], and *Burhān-i maʾāt͟hir*). Maḥmūd Gāwān thereupon sent Malik Ḥasan Baḥrī (later Niẓām al-Mulk and ancestor of the Niẓām-S͟hāhī dynasty of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*]) to Uṛīsā. Malik Ḥasan not only succeeded in putting the rightful claimant on the Uṛīsā throne, but also in annexing Rād͟jāmandṛī and Koṇḍavidu to the Bahmanī Kingdom.

It was now the turn of the lands beyond the Western Ghāṭs to be pacified. Goa had already been reduced by the founder of the dynasty, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahman S͟hāh (748-59/1347-58), but it seems that it had subsequently passed into Vid͟jayanagar's orbit. Moreover, certain local chieftains were in the habit of waylaying Bahmanī ships plying in the Arabian Sea. By a series of brilliant campaigns which lasted three years from 873/1469 to 876/1472, Maḥmūd Gāwān successfully negotiated the difficult terrain, captured the great fort of Sangamēs͟hwar and boldly marched to Goa, which he entered on 20 S͟haʿbān 876/1 February 1472.

The frontiers of the kingdom had now reached the Bay of Bengal in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west, and Maḥmūd Gāwān rightly felt that it was time to reform the administration which had remained more or less static since the reign of Muḥammad I (759-76/1358-75). He ordered that the whole land should be measured and a record of rights kept, thus forestalling the reforms of Akbar the Great and Rād͟jā Tōḍar Mal by about a century. He re-divided the kingdom into eight instead of four *aṭrāf* (sing. *ṭaraf*) or provinces, brought certain tracts in each province under the direct rule of the sultan as royal domain, made *ḳilʿadārs* or commanders of fortresses in each province directly responsible to the centre, and demanded accounts from military *d͟jāgīrdārs* or fiefholders. He thus curbed the power of the fiefholders and provincial magnates, who had exercised absolute power for several decades. Although himself an *Āfāḳī* or "Newcomer", he tried to keep the balance between the native *Dakhnīs* and the *Āfāḳīs* in the matter of the distribution of high posts, and thus strove to solve a problem which had adversely affected the body-politic. Two significant events vastly increased the prestige of the kingdom, and with it that of the K͟hʷād͟jā. One was the complete rout of Purus͟hottam of Uṛīsā, who had advanced to the banks of the Godāvarī to make common cause with the rebels of Koṇḍavidu, and the other was the state visit of ʿĀdil K͟hān Fārūḳī of K͟hāndēs͟h to Bīdar. ʿĀdil K͟hān's visit is remarkable in that it resulted in the circulation of Bahmanī coins in K͟hāndēs͟h as well as the mention of the Bahmanī sultan's name in the *k͟huṭba* at Burhānpur, the capital of the principality. Thus K͟hāndēs͟h, which was once at daggers drawn with the Deccan, became virtually a protectorate of the Bahmanīs at this time.

It was when Muḥammad III was away on an expedition to Nellur and Kānčī (Conjiverum) in S͟hawwāl 885/December 1481 that a conspiracy was formed in the royal camp at Koṇḍāpallī (Muṣṭafānagar, now in the Kris͟hna district of Āndhra Prades͟h) against Maḥmūd Gāwān. The old feudal lords resented the loss of their power at the hands of the K͟hʷād͟jā, while the *Dakhnīs* had never reconciled themselves to the rise of a mere "Newcomer" to such heights. Niẓām al-Mulk Baḥrī, who was the leader of the conspirators, persuaded Maḥmūd Gāwān's Ḥabs͟hī private secretary, under the influence of strong drink, to affix the K͟hʷād͟jā's seal to a piece of paper. The conspirators then forged a letter purporting to be from the K͟hʷād͟jā to the Rād͟jā of Uṛīsā and suggesting that the time was opportune for an invasion of the Deccan. This letter was shown to the sultan on his return from the south. He at once summoned the K͟hʷād͟jā to his presence, and as his ears had been poisoned against him from time to time ever since he had been leading the western campaigns, he did not even enquire how the letter had come in the possession of Niẓām al-Mulk. The old man was decapitated forthwith as a traitor, on the sultan's orders, on 5 Ṣafar 886/5 April 1481 when he was 73 lunar years old.

The K͟hʷād͟jā was not merely the political and military leader of the Deccan, but was its cultural leader as well. He no doubt re-built a number of forts such as the one at Parendā, but it is the noble edifice of the great *madrasa* at Bīdar which was to remain a permanent symbol of his concern for the public welfare. The college is a three-storeyed building, covering a site of 205 ft by 180 ft., and is surrounded by a large courtyard which was once fringed by a thousand cubicles where students lived and were provided not only with free education but with food and clothes as well. The library was the central feature of the institution, and it is related that no one could give the K͟hʷād͟jā a more acceptable present than a rare manuscript. This and other works of utility such as water-works and numerous public buildings must have made Bīdar known far and wide. The Russian traveller, Afanasy Nikitin, who was in the Deccan from 1469 to 1474, says that this city was "the chief town of Hindustan" and was the centre of trade in horses, cloth, silk, pepper and many other species of merchandise.

Maḥmūd Gāwān continued the policy of making the kingdom the resort of the learned which had been initiated by Fīrūz S͟hāh (800-25/1397-1422). He was himself a scholar of renown and was recognised as one of the most learned exponents of the Persian language. He has left us two important works, namely

the *Manāẓir al-ins͟hā'* and the *Riyāḍ al-ins͟hā'*. The former, which was compiled in 880/1475, is a handbook of Persian diction of the ornate type in fashion in those days, treating of the subject in a prolegomenon, two discourses and an epilogue. The *Riyāḍ al-ins͟hā'* is a collection of his letters written to kings, ministers, princes and divines in practically all the states in India and the Middle East. It contains historical material of almost unsurpassed value, as it is the only contemporary record of many important events in which the K͟hwād͟jā was the chief actor.

Maḥmūd Gāwān's real character may be gleaned from the contrast between the image of the public minister and the real, private man. Nikitin says that 500 men belonging to all walks of life sat down to dine with the minister every day and that his stables contained 2,000 horses of the best breed, while his mansion was guarded by a hundred armed men night and day. But as transpired after his death, he was personally a man of extremely simple habits. His treasurer swore to the sultan that the late minister's personal expenses did not exceed twelve silver pieces per day, and even this amount came out of the forty thousand *lārīs* which he had brought from Gīlān. The sultan realised too late the worth of the servant who had been so summarily done to death by his orders, and his remorse was so great that he himself died just one lunar year after the deed (5 Ṣafar 887/26 March 1482). Maḥmūd Gāwān's death was one of the causes of the downfall of the dynasty which he had served so well, and hastened the day when the provincial governors (sc. the ʿĀdils͟hāhīs at Bīd͟jāpur, the Barīds͟hāhīs at Bīdar, the ʿImāds͟hāhīs in Berār and the Ḳuṭbs͟hāhīs in Tilangāna [*q.vv.*]) became virtually autonomous and ultimately independent of the central authority.

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MAḤMŪD KEMĀL. [See ÏNAL].

MAḤMŪD NEDĪM PAS͟HA, Ottoman bureaucrat and twice Grand Vizier under Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, was born in Istanbul in 1233/1817-18. He was the younger son of Gürd͟jü Meḥmed Ned͟jīb Pas͟ha (d. 1267/1850-1), who had a distinguished governmental career and became *wālī* of Syria and of Bag͟hdād. After the traditional elementary education, Maḥmūd Nedīm at age 14 entered the scribal bureaucracy, in the *ṣadāret mektūbi*. He rose fairly rapidly, perhaps in part owing to his father's position, but also because he was intelligent and attracted the favourable notice of Muṣṭafā Res͟hīd Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] and, later, of Meḥmed Emīn ʿĀlī Pas͟ha [*q.v.*].

In 1256/1840-1 he entered the *āmedī ḳalemleri*. In Rabīʿ I 1263/February-March 1847 he was promoted to the first rank, second class, in the correspondence office of the grand vizier Res͟hīd Pas͟ha. In Rad͟jab 1265/May-June 1849, again under Res͟hīd's auspices, he became the deputy *āmedd͟ji* [*q.v.*] of the *dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*], and by Muḥarram 1266/November-December 1849 attained the full position. In 1270/1853 he became *beylikd͟ji* of the *dīwān-i hümāyūn*.

Maḥmūd Nedīm's career then shifted into near-ministerial levels. Under Muṣṭafā Nā'ilī Pas͟ha he was *ṣadāret müstes͟hārī* for three months from 23 D͟jumāda II 1270/24 March 1854, and then *müstes͟hār* of the Foreign Ministry from 29 Ramaḍān 1270/25 June 1854. For 16 days he was detached to carry orders to the commander-in-chief Ekrem ʿÖmer Pas͟ha, in Bulgaria, during the war with Russia. On 7 D͟jumāda II 1271/25 February 1855 Maḥmūd Nedīm attained the rank of *wezīr* with appointment as *wālī* of Sidon. He was transferred as *wālī* to Damascus in Rabīʿ II 1272/December 1855 and to Izmir in Muḥarram 1274/August-September 1857. He managed to return to the capital in Rad͟jab 1274/February-March 1858 as a member of the *Tanẓīmāt* Council. Two months later he was acting Foreign Minister for a time while the minister, Fu'ād Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], was at the Paris conference on the Danubian Principalities. He became a minister, finally, on 20 Muḥarram 1275/30 August 1858 with the portfolio of commerce, from which he was dismissed in D͟jumādā I 1276/November-December 1859. For half a year he was unemployed.

Till this point, Maḥmūd Nedīm had a mixed reputation. He was thought to be able, but some considered him a sycophant and untrustworthy. Res͟hīd Pas͟ha once compared him to mushy soap, suitable neither for washing hands nor for doing laundry. He knew the bureaucratic forms and language, but no foreign tongue save Arabic.

On 19 D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 1276/8 July 1860 Maḥmūd Nedīm was named *wālī* of Ṭarābulus-i G͟harb, a post not much sought-after, at his own request, and remained there for seven years. Toward the end of this period occurred the original conspiracy of the small group of New Ottomans [see YEÑI ʿOT͟HMĀNLÏLAR], of which Maḥmūd Nedīm's nephew Sag͟hīr Aḥmed-zāde Meḥmed Bey was a member. Meḥmed Bey proposed that the grand vizier ʿĀlī Pas͟ha, whom the conspirators detested, be replaced by his uncle Maḥmūd Nedīm. The plan was leaked to the authorities and known to ʿĀlī Pas͟ha. Therefore in D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 1283/April-May 1867 Maḥmūd Nedīm returned to Istanbul to clear his name with the Grand Vizier. Although ʿĀlī at first refused to see him, Maḥmūd Nedīm eventually talked his way back into ʿĀlī's good graces. By 15 Ṣafar 1284/18 June 1867 Maḥmūd Nedīm was a member of the *Med͟jlis-i wālā-i aḥkām-i ʿadliyye*, on 23 Rabīʿ II 1284/24 August 1867 he was *daʿāwī nāẓiri*, and on 11 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1284/5 March 1868 was briefly *ṣadāret müstes͟hārī* for the second time. Eight days later he became Minister of Marine, a post which he held for more than three years, during ʿĀlī Pas͟ha's last grand vizierate. Maḥmūd Nedīm cultivated relations with the Palace, catered to Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's interests, and emerged as the sultan's choice to succeed ʿĀlī Pas͟ha after ʿĀlī's death.

On 22 D͟jumāda II 1288/8 September 1871 Maḥmūd Nedīm entered on his first grand vizierate, which lasted eleven months. His administration was chaotic, marked by a constant shifting of officials both in provincial posts and in the capital (in 11 months: five *serʿaskers*, four navy ministers, four justice ministers, five finance ministers, six arsenal commanders, etc.). He cut salaries in the name of economy, exiled important rivals, among them Ḥusayn ʿAwnī [*q.v.*], to the provinces, hobbled the *wilāyet* system and in general created new enemies for himself. He evidently took bribes from the Khedive Ismāʿīl of Egypt. Although the New Ottomans at first welcomed his appointment as an improvement over the "tyrant" ʿĀlī, they were soon disenchanted. Nāmïḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] in his newspaper *ʿIbret* began to criticise Maḥmūd Nedīm, who then suspended the

paper and ordered Nāmiḳ Kemāl out of Istanbul to the post of *mutaṣarrif* of Gelibolu. The Russian ambassador, Ignatyev, however, thought well of Maḥmūd Nedīm's anti-*Tanẓīmāt* activities. The public began to use the nickname "Nedimoff" for the grand vizier. Eventually Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz seems to have become disillusioned, too; he later called Maḥmūd Nedīm duplicitous and corrupt, and spoke of him to the British ambassador. "in terms so disparaging that I have some hesitation in recording them in a despatch" (PRO. FO 78/2220, Elliot, 2 Nov. 1872). Maḥmūd Nedīm was dismissed suddenly on 25 Djumādā I 1289/31 July 1872 as the result of Midḥat Pasha's [*q.v.*] energetic representations to the sultan about the harm the Grand Vizier was causing. Midḥat, already and for ever after an opponent of Maḥmūd Nedīm, replaced him. Public rejoicing ensued.

For nearly three years Maḥmūd Nedīm was under a cloud. He was investigated and condemned for irregular financial dealings, but pardoned by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. In Rabīʿ II 1290/June 1873 he was sent into provincial exile as *wālī* of Kastamonu, after a month or two was transferred to forced residence in Trabzon, then on 22 Shaʿbān 1290/15 October 1873 was sent on to be *wālī* of Adana, from which post he was finally allowed to return to Istanbul on 23 Ṣafar 1292/31 March 1875. Somehow he had retained or regained the sultan's favour. He apparently persuaded ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz that he could deal with the revolt that broke out in July in Herzegovina, and spread to Bosnia. On 19 Radjab 1292/21 August 1875 Maḥmūd Nedīm was made president of the *Shūrā-yi dewlet* [*q.v.*], and four days later replaced Esʿad Pasha as Grand Vizier.

Maḥmūd Nedīm's second grand vizierate was, if anything, less successful than his first. He was confronted with a treasury crisis. Without funds for payment of the October coupons of Ottoman bonds, his ministry defaulted on half the amount on 6 October 1875, arousing much enmity from domestic and foreign bondholders. The revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina grew, attracting support from Montenegro. Bulgarian revolutionaries rose in revolt early in May 1876; they were put down with much bloodshed. The French and German consuls in Salonika were killed by a mob as a by-product of a religious controversy. These events brought ineffectual reform palliatives from Maḥmūd Nedīm's government and provoked pressures and diplomatic intervention by the great powers. Russian backing for "a Grand Vizier devoted to Russia" (Nelidow, "Souvenirs...," *Revue des deux mondes*, 6th per., 27 [1915], 308) brought no solutions. Public sentiment rose against Maḥmūd Nedīm. On 8 May 1876, theological students in Istanbul began to strike; on 10 May, encouraged by Midḥat Pasha, they demonstrated to demand dismissal of Maḥmūd Nedīm. The sultan bowed and let him go on 11 May. The next day Müterdjim Meḥmed Rüshdī was appointed Grand Vizier, and allowed Maḥmūd Nedīm to go to Česhme rather than suffer more distant exile; actually, he took up residence on Sakïz Ada.

In 1879, when Tunuslu Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] was Grand Vizier, Maḥmūd Nedīm was offered and declined the governorship of Mawṣil *wilayet*. He then lived on Midilli until 3 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1296/19 October 1879, in Meḥmed Saʿīad Pasha's grand vizierate, when he was appointed Minister of the Interior. On 20 Rabīʿ II 1300/26 February 1883, owing to a lengthy illness, he was dismissed and put on unemployment pay. He died on 7 Radjab 1300/14 May 1883 and was buried in Djaghaloghlu in Istanbul.

Maḥmūd Nedīm's reputation has generally been unsavoury. His opponents have stressed his Russophile views, his alleged venality, a character that included fickleness and deceitfulness, and his chaotic administrations. Yūsuf Kemāl Pasha thought him qualified only to be a chief secretary to a vizier. In each session of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies, 1877 and 1878, there were votes to try him for crimes and incompetence. This was not done. Among Maḥmūd Nedīm's writings are some unpublished poems, a published one (*Ḥasb-i ḥāl*) on his career, and an unpublished *apologia pro vita sua*, *Mudāfaʿa-nāme* or *Reddiyye*, much quoted in Pakalın and İnal.

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(R. H. DAVISON)

MAḤMŪD PASHA (? - 879/1474), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Contemporary Ottoman historians tell us nothing of his origins. Authors of *tadhkira*s from the 10th/16th century down to ʿOthmānzāde Tāʾib (*Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271/1854-5, 9; facs. repr., Freiburg 1969) state that he was a native of Aladja Ḥiṣār (Kruševac) in Serbia, but this seems unlikely. According to Phrantzes, he was born of a Serbian mother and a Greek father. Chalcocondylas makes his mother Bulgarian, while Kritovoulos (Turkish tr., *Taʾrīkh-i Meḥemmed Khān-i thānī*, in *TOEM*, Suppl. 1328/1910, 192) makes him the descendant of a noble Greek family, whose father, Michael, was a descendant of Alexios III Philathropenos. According to Martinus Crusius (*Turcograecia*, Basel 1584, 21), Maḥmūd Pasha was, on his mother's side, the Serbian-born grandson of the Byzantine nobleman Marko Yagari. He also tells us that Maḥmūd Pasha's cousin, George Amirutzes, the *protovestiarius* of the Comnene Emperor of Trebizond, David, was a grandson of the same Yagari. According to F. Babinger (*Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, Eng. tr. R. Manheim, ed. W. Hickman, Princeton 1978, 115), based on Chalcocondylas (*L'Histoire de la décadence de l'Empire Grec*, Paris 1620, i, 229, 246), he was the son of Michael Angelus of Novo Brdo. He was in all probability a scion of the Angeli, i.e. the Thessalian branch of the Serbian despotate.

It is uncertain when the Ottomans captured Maḥmūd Pasha. The accounts in Chalcocondylas (*op. cit.*, i, 246), Tashköprüzāde (*al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, tr. Medjdī, Istanbul 1269/1852-3, 176) and ʿĀshïḳ Čelebi (*Tadhkira*, University Library, Istanbul, Turkish ms. 2406, f. 215a) are identical in all but a few minor details. They each relate how the commander Meḥmed Agha took Maḥmūd Pasha and his

mother prisoner on the road between Novo Brdo and Smederovo and, since Ta<u>sh</u>köprüzāde (*loc. cit.*) tells us of Meḥmed A<u>gh</u>a's taking Maḥmūd from the "lands of infidelity" to Edirne, together with Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Karīm and Mawlānā Ayās (cf. ʿĀ<u>sh</u>ıḳ Čelebi, *loc. cit.*), it seems likely that Meḥmed A<u>gh</u>a patronised all three, and it is undoubtedly through him that he was presented to Murād II. Ta<u>sh</u>köprüzāde's claim that Murād II attached him to the suite of Prince Meḥemmed, later Meḥemmed II, is probably false (cf. ʿĀ<u>sh</u>ıḳ Čelebi, *op. cit.*, f. 214a).

He underwent a period of education in the Palace at Edirne and, after the accession of Meḥemmed II in 855/1451, began to receive royal favours. He attained the rank of *od<u>j</u>aḳ a<u>gh</u>asî*, and was in the sultan's company at the siege of Constantinople. According to some accounts, the sultan sent him to Constantinople at the beginning of the siege at the end of Rabīʿ I 857/beginning of April 1543 to demand the surrender of the city. During the siege, Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a and the *beglerbegi* of Anadolu, Isḥāḳ Pa<u>sh</u>a, received the command to attack the city wall between modern Edirne Kapı and Yedi Kule, and a section of the sea-walls in this area (Kritovoulos, *op. cit.*, 48, 76). Those *ta<u>dh</u>kiras* which include a biography of Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a and certain histories claim that Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a participated in the siege as a vizier and *beglerbegi*, but this information is almost certainly false. The most reliable sources agree that his promotion to the vizierate followed not the fall of <u>Kh</u>alīl Pa<u>sh</u>a <u>D</u>jandarlî [*q.v.*], but the dismissal of Zaganos Pa<u>sh</u>a in 858/1454 (Ibn Kemāl, *Tevârih-i âl-i Osmân, VII. defter*, ed. Şerafeddin Turan, Ankara 1954, 147; Ne<u>sh</u>rī, *Kitâb-i cihân-nümâ*, ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen, Ankara 1957, ii, 717; Enwerī, *Dustūr-nāme*, ed. Mükrimin Halil Yınanç, Istanbul 1928, 103; Idrīs-i Bitlīsī, *He<u>sh</u>t behi<u>sh</u>t*, Ali Emiri Library, Istanbul, Persian ms. 806, f. 83a). Since his uncle Ḳara<u>dj</u>a Beg was *beglerbegi* until his death at the siege of Belgrade in 860/1456 (Tewḳīʿī Meḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a, *Tewārī<u>kh</u> al-salāṭīn al-ʿO<u>th</u>māniyya*, ed. Mükrimin Halil Yınanç, in *Türk taʾrī<u>kh</u>i en<u>dj</u>ümeni me<u>dj</u>mūʿasi* [1340/1921-2], 147), Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a must have become *beglerbegi* after his siege, as Oru<u>dj</u> Beg (*Tewārī<u>kh</u>-i āl-i ʿO<u>th</u>mān*, ed. F. Babinger, Hanover 1925, 72) and Chalcocondylas (*op. cit.*, i, 252) confirm (cf. also Ibn Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 147; ʿĀ<u>sh</u>ıḳ Čelebi, *op. cit.*, f. 214b). The statement by Küčük Ni<u>sh</u>ān<u>dj</u>î Ramaḍānzāde Meḥmed (*Taʾrī<u>kh</u>*, Istanbul 1279/1862-3, 162), that he was at the same time *ḳāḍī ʿasker*, is probably based on a reference in the *Menāḳib-nāme (Menāḳib-i Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a-yi Welī*, Ali Emiri Library, Istanbul, Turkish ms. 43, f. 50a), which makes it clear that he received his appointment temporarily while the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* ʿAlī Efendi performed the pilgrimage.

Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a accompanied Meḥemmed II on a number of campaigns, in all of which he achieved outstanding successes. The Sultan promoted him to the vizierate in recognition of his courageous exploits at the siege of Belgrade (Ibn Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 122), after which he served as vizier and *beglerbegi* of Rumelia. When, on 24 <u>D</u>jumādā I 863/31 March 1458, the Serbian Queen removed Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a's brother Michael Anglović and appointed a Catholic Bosnian in his stead, the Serbian boyars contacted Meḥemmed II and offered him suzerainty over Serbia (J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, Gotha 1845, ii, 116). The Sultan ordered Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a to settle the Serbian question. To the Rumelian troops which he had equipped at his own expense, Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a added the troops of Anadolu and 1,000 Janissaries which the Sultan had allotted to him (Dursun Beg, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i Ebu 'l-Fetḥ*, in *TOEM*, Suppl. 1330/1912, 82; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tā<u>d</u>j al-tewārī<u>kh</u>*, Istanbul 1279/1862-3, i, 465) and marched to Sofia. He succeeded, with numerous promises, in overcoming the objections of the troops, who refused to advance when the Serbs announced that they would observe the terms of the agreement only if the Sultan came in person, and that otherwise they would refuse to surrender the fortresses and join with the Hungarians. Continuing the advance, the Ottoman forces seized several fortified places, the most important being Resava and Kuruca (for the other fortresses, see ʿĀ<u>sh</u>ıḳ-Pa<u>sh</u>a-zāde, *Tewārī<u>kh</u>-i āl-i ʿO<u>th</u>mān*, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1332/1913-14, 150; Dursun Beg, *op. cit.*, 86). Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a then unsuccessfully laid siege to Smederovo, before withdrawing to the fortress which the Sultan had built nearby. Shortly afterwards, he improved the fortifications, and captured the castles of Ostrovica and Rudnik (Dursun Beg, *op. cit.*, 89; Enwerī, *op. cit.*, 103; Ibn Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 154; Bihi<u>sh</u>tī, *Tewārī<u>kh</u>-i āl-i ʿO<u>th</u>mān*, BL ms., Add. or. 7869, f. 168a).

After celebrating *bayram* at Yellü Yurt near Ni<u>sh</u>, Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a appeared before Golubac. He seized and repaired the fort before despatching Minnet Beg-O<u>gh</u>lu Meḥmed Beg with *aḳın<u>dj</u>î* troops to raid into Hungary. He then joined the Sultan in Skoplje. It was he who dissuaded the Sultan from demobilising the army when the Hungarians crossed the Danube. A number of sources state wrongly that Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a commanded the Serbian expedition which resulted in the fall of Smederovo in 864/1459 (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 447), whereas Dursun Beg (*op. cit.*, 90) and Idrīs-i Bitlīsī (*op. cit.*) make the Sultan himself the commander (cf. also Zinkeisen, *op. cit.*, ii, 116).

In 864/1460, Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a took part in Meḥemmed II's Morean campaign (see D. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, Paris 1932, i, 285 ff.) On the Sultan's command he laid siege to the fortress of Mistra which the Despot Demetrios held and, with the Sultan's Greek secretary, Thomas Katavolenos, acting as intermediary, he persuaded the Despot to surrender and sent him, on 9 <u>Sh</u>aʿbān/30 May, to the Sultan in Istanbul. Since the Despot had voluntarily surrendered the fortress, the Sultan treated him well (Ducas, *Historia Byzantina*, Bonn 1834, 521; Kritovoulos, *op. cit.*, 128; Dursun Beg, *op. cit.*, 94; Ibn Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 168).

In the following year, Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a served with great distinction under the sultan on the campaign against Sinop, Amasra and Trebizond. Meḥemmed II apparently attached great importance to the conquest of the Genoese-held Amasra, which earlier sultans had neglected to capture (ʿA<u>sh</u>ıḳ Pa<u>sh</u>a-zāde, *op. cit.*, 153; Ne<u>sh</u>rī, *op. cit.*, ii, 739), and despatched Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a to blockade the city with a force of 150 ships, while he himself came overland. In 865/1461, the city surrendered to the Ottomans (Ne<u>sh</u>rī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 185; Ḥadīdī, *Tewārī<u>kh</u>-i āl-i ʿO<u>th</u>mān*, University Library, Istanbul, Turkish ms. 1268, f. 126b). Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a also mounted the operations which resulted in the fall of Sinop. Sending a fleet of 100 galleys from Istanbul, with a letter written by Dursun Beg, he himself went first to Edirne and then to Bursa with the assembled troops. In describing the campaign Ne<u>sh</u>rī (*op. cit.*, ii, 743) wrote: "Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a was now at the height of his glory. It was as though the sultan had renounced the sultanate and bestowed it on Maḥmūd". In describing the council held at Bursa in the Sultan's presence, the Ottoman writers tell how Maḥmūd Pa<u>sh</u>a influenced the other members by speaking

against the enemy of the Ottomans, Isfendiyār-Oghlu Ismāʿīl Beg of Sinop, and attribute the preparations for the expedition to Maḥmūd Pasha. According to an anonymous *Taʾrīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān* (Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, ms. Revan 1099, 91), he spread the rumour that the expedition was aimed against Trebizond. At Ankara, the sultan announced the true goal of the campaign, and sent Maḥmūd Pasha ahead to Sinop. Despatching a letter composed by Dursun Beg, Maḥmūd Pasha secured Ismāʿīl Beg's submission to the Sultan (Dursun Beg, *op. cit.*, 98; ʿĀshıḳ-Pasha-zāde, *op. cit.*, 156; Chalcocondylas, *op. cit.*, i, 274. See also Yaşar Yücel, *Candar oğulları beyliği*, in *Belleten*, xxxiv/135 (1970), 373-407).

Before the Trebizond campaign, Maḥmūd Pasha accompanied the sultan on his way to confront Uzun Ḥasan Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, as far as Yassı Čimen, where, according to one account, a joint deputation from Uzun Ḥasan's mother Sara and Kürd Sheykh Ḥasan, the *beg* of Čemishgezek, secretly presented him with a petition for peace (Saʿd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, i, 479). Afterwards, he took part in the Trebizond campaign as commander of the troops of Rumelia. At the head of the left wing in the vanguard of the army, Maḥmūd Pasha appeared before Trebizond, and persuaded first the townspeople, and then the Emperor David and his family to surrender (Chalcocondylas, *op. cit.*, i, 278; Crusius, *op. cit.*, 21, 121). As David's *protovestiarius*, Maḥmūd Pasha's cousin, the philosopher George Amirutzes played an important role as intermediary, which had led a number of Greek writers to accuse him of treachery (Ducas, *op. cit.*, 343; on the fall of Trebizond, see J. P. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaisertums Trapezunt*, Munich 1827; Heath Lowry, *The Ottoman tahrir defters as a source for urban demographic history: the case study of Trabzon*, Ph. D. thesis, UCLA 1977, unpublished, ch. i [in course of revision by the author]).

In 866-7/1462, Maḥmūd Pasha participated in the Wallachian campaign, where he successfully prevented Vlad Drakul from routing Ewrenos Beg's *aḳındjı* troops and repulsed Vlad's night attack (Enwerī, *op. cit.*, 104; Dursun Beg, *op. cit.*, 106). Vlad sought refuge in Hungary, where he was imprisoned by Matthias Corvinus. According to S. Ferencs (*Magyaroszág a török hoditas korban*, Budapest 1886, 41), Matthias' motive in imprisoning him was a letter which he had sent in the same year to Meḥemmed II and Maḥmūd Pasha, offering Transylvania to the Ottomans (cf. Zinkeisen, *op. cit.*, ii, 176). In 862/458, the Duke of Lesbos, Niccolò II Gattilusio, had strangled his brother Domenico, whom he accused of collaboration with the Ottomans. This provided Meḥemmed II with a pretext to attack the island in 866/1462. Placed in command of the expedition, Maḥmūd Pasha besieged Lesbos with a fleet of about 60 galleys and 7 transport vessels (sources differ as to the exact number of ships) and a portion of the army. He bombarded the city with 27 guns and captured it on 24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 866/19 September 1462. According to some sources, the city was stormed (Dursun Beg, *op. cit.*, 112); according to others, it surrendered voluntarily (Ducas, *op. cit.*, 346, 511; Kritovoulos, *op. cit.*, 163; ʿĀshıḳ-Pasha-zāde, *op. cit.*, 163). Maḥmūd Pasha imprisoned the Duke and made a register of the booty (Neshrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 759) and gave the government of the island to ʿAlī al-Bisṭāmī (F. Babinger, *op. cit.*, 211).

When the Bosnian king Stjepan Tomašević laid claim to Smederovo and failed to send tribute, the Sultan determined on the conquest of Bosnia. On 3 Ramaḍān 867/22 May 1463, the Sultan seized Bobovac and, resolving to capture the king at Jajce, sent Maḥmūd Pasha to lay siege to this fortress. Maḥmūd Pasha sent Ṭurakhān-Oghlu ʿÖmer Beg ahead on a raid. The king surrendered when he heard that the Sultan had besieged Jajce. Maḥmūd Pasha then received orders to prevent the attacks of the Venetians who were inciting the Greek towns in the Morea to rebellion (H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, Gotha 1920, ii, 372). He marched to the Morea, routed the Venetians and captured Argos. His victories frightened the Greek rebels into submission. He then sent ʿÖmer Beg to raid the Venetian territories in the Morea, while he himself was despatched to relieve Lesbos which the Venetians were besieging. Within 12 days, he raised a fleet of 110 ships and pursued the Venetians, who had abandoned Lesbos and retreated to Euboea.

In 868/early 1464, when the Hungarians had passed to the attack, the Sultan, himself occupied with the siege of Jajce, ordered Maḥmūd Pasha on a winter campaign against Hungary. Maḥmūd Pasha sent words of encouragement to Zvornik to resist the Hungarians and, shortly afterwards, sent Mīkhāl-oghlu ʿAlī Beg to this fortress with *aḳındjı* troops, forcing the Hungarians to withdraw (Enwerī, *op. cit.*, 105; Ibn Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 273; Kritovoulos, *op. cit.*, 178). In 869-70/1465, Maḥmūd Pasha conducted negotiations with Venice and, in the following year, took part in campaigns in Albania under the command of the Sultan (*Münsheʾāt*, ms. Selim Ağa Library, Istanbul 862; Kritovoulos, *op. cit.*, 189; Ibn Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 300).

In 872/1468, Meḥemmed II intervened in the troubles in Ḳaramān following the death of Ḳaramān-oghlu Ibrāhīm Beg. Accompanying the Sultan to Konya and Gevele, Maḥmūd Pasha received orders to pursue the *beg* of Ḳaramān, Pīr Aḥmed, whom he was, however, unable to capture. Maḥmūd Pasha's rival, Rūm Meḥmed Pasha, used this opportunity to win the Sultan and the army to his cause, by ascribing Maḥmūd Pasha's failure to negligence. Although the event angered the sultan (Saʿd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, i, 511), he concealed his wrath and sent Maḥmūd Pasha firstly in pursuit of the Ṭurghudlu Turcomans and then, shortly afterwards, commanded him to deport all the master-craftsmen from Konya and Lārenda to Istanbul. Maḥmūd Pasha could not, however, restrain himself from absolving some of these from deportation, and offering his consolation to the rest (Ibn Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 291). To discredit him further, his rivals claimed that he had deported only the poor, and spared the rich in return for bribes (Ḥadīdī, *op. cit.*, f. 139b; ʿĀshıḳ-Pasha-zāde, *op. cit.*, 170). It was not long before these accusations influenced the Sultan. Maḥmūd Pasha's post went to Rūm Meḥmed Pasha and, according to an unsubstantiated report (F. Babinger, *op. cit.*, 272) the former Grand Vizier's tent was collapsed over his head when his army arrived at Afyon Karaḥiṣār. Through the misrepresentations of Rūm Meḥmed Pasha, he had been dismissed from both the vizierate and the *beglerbegilik* of Rumelia.

Ibn Kemāl (*op. cit.*, 293) and Ḥadīdī (*op. cit.*, f. 140a) state that, shortly after his dismissal, Maḥmūd Pasha retired to his *khāṣṣ* but, before long, he was appointed Admiral (*ḳapudan*) with the rank of *sandjaḳ begi* of Gelibolu, with the task of restoring and equipping the Ottoman fleet (spring 873/1469 or 874/1470).

On 5 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 874/5 June 1470, he left Gelibolu at the head of a large fleet to attack the Venetian island of Euboea (Negroponte, Eğriboz). Maḥmūd Pasha arrived off Euboea after capturing the island of Skiros and warding off the Venetian Ad-

miral Niccolò da Canale. Approaching the island from the mainland with a large army (Maʿnawī, *Fetḥ-nāme-yi Eğriboz*, in *Fatih ve Istanbul*, Istanbul 1954, i, 305), he persuaded the Sultan, who was hesitant, despite having had a bridge built on which he had crossed over from the mainland, to press on with the conquest of the island (Maʿālī, *Khūnkār-nāme*, ms. Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, 1417, f. 9a; Dursun Beg, *op. cit.*, 140; Chalcocondylas, *op. cit.*, ii, 113; Orudj Beg, *op. cit.*, 127). The island capitulated on 13 Muḥarram 875/12 July 1470.

When Uzun Ḥasan's troops began to advance into Anatolia, Maḥmūd Pasha, in recognition of his part in the conquest of Euboea, replaced Rūm Meḥmed Pasha as Grand Vizier (Dursun Beg, *op. cit.*, 148; Ibn Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 350). In Istanbul, he attended the council which the Sultan had convened to consider what measures to take against Uzun Ḥasan. At Maḥmūd Pasha's suggestion, the *beglerbegi* of Anadolu, Dāwūd Pasha, serving nominally under Prince Muṣṭafā, was sent against Uzun Ḥasan. According to contemporary sources, Maḥmūd Pasha's refusal of the leadership led to a breach between himself and the sultan.

On 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 877/11 April 1473, Maḥmūd Pasha left Istanbul with the sultan and marched to Sivas, where he encouraged Meḥemmed to attack Ḳaraḥiṣār-i Sharḳī (Shebīnḳaraḥiṣār) [see ḲARA ḤIṢĀR]. The Sultan rejected his advice and, at the battle of Otluḳ Beli, cast him in a secondary role by positioning him with the *beglerbegi* of Rumelia, Khāṣṣ Murād Pasha. Maḥmūd Pasha acted with great perspicacity and, perceiving Uzun Ḥasan's strategy, warned Khāṣṣ Murād not to cross the Euphrates. Khāṣṣ Murād ignored him and, after his death, Maḥmūd Pasha fought with Uzun Ḥasan's son, Ughurlu Muḥammad (Maʿālī, *op. cit.*, f. 29a). At the battle of Bashkent on 19 Rabīʿ I 878/11 August 1473, he fought among Dāwūd Pasha's forces (R. R. Arat, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in yarlığı*, in *Turkiyat mecmuası*, vi [1936-9], 285-322). Popular opinion attributed the victory to Maḥmūd Pasha (Maʿālī, *op. cit.*, 154); but Maḥmūd Pasha's enemies disgraced him in the sultan's eyes and caused his downfall (Bihishtī, *op. cit.*, f. 202b).

He retired to his estates at Khāṣṣköy, but returned to Istanbul on the death of Prince Muṣṭafā and, against the advice of his *khʷādja*, Kürt Ḥāfiẓ, appeared before the sultan. The sultan received him coldly. Suspecting him of taking pleasure in the death of Prince Muṣṭafā, he imprisoned him in Yedi Ḳule. He was executed shortly afterwards on 3 Rabīʿ I 879/18 July 1474 (Ibn Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 376-7; Saʿd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, i, 553 gives the month as Rabīʿ II) and buried in the *türbe* near the mosque in Istanbul which he had endowed (built 867/1462).

Bibliography: for further references see *İA* art. *Mahmûd Paşa* (M. Şehabeddin Tekindağ) of which this article is an abridged and slightly emended translation. See also Konstantin Mihailović, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, tr. B. Stolz, with historical commentary by S. Soucek, Michigan 1975; Selahettin Tansel, *Osmanlı kaynaklarına göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in siyasi ve askeri faaliyeti*, Ankara 1953. (C. H. IMBER)

MAḤMŪD PASHA, an Ottoman governor or *beylerbeyi* of Yemen and of Egypt in the 10th/16th century, whose avarice and devotion to self-promotion led to the near-expulsion of the Ottomans from southwestern Arabia. A Bosnian by birth, Maḥmūd was selected at Damascus in 944/1538 by Dāwūd Pasha, the new governor of Egypt (945-56/1538-49), as his *ketkhudā*. He subsequently held various positions in Egypt, including those of *amīr al-ḥadjdj* for 957/1550 and 958/1551 and of *sandjak beyi*, making both enemies and friends in his pursuit and distribution of wealth. In 967/1560, he gained the governorship of Yemen through the influence of Khādim ʿAlī Pasha, the governor of Egypt (966-7/1559-60), and probably by purchase. His appointment proved the first in a series of unfortunate appointments to the governorship of Yemen, where Ottoman authority had recently been much expanded and consolidated. Arriving deeply in debt, Maḥmūd's only apparent goal in Yemen was to exploit its riches for his own gain. Towards this, he demoralised the Ottoman soldiery by grossly further debasing the silver coinage to retain the surplus precious metal for himself; and he alienated Ottoman allies among the non-Zaydī population by seizing their wealth without pretext and levying taxes on previously tax-exempt communities.

When recalled in 972/1565, Maḥmūd lavished much of his accumulated fortune among the influential persons of Istanbul in order to gain the governorship of Egypt. To enhance his reputation and chances of success, he persuaded the Grand Vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha, a fellow-Bosnian, to divide Yemen into two *beylerbeyiliks* (5 Djumādā II 973/28 December 1565). This arrangement proved destructive to Ottoman interests for the three years during which it remained in effect, and contributed to the collapse of Ottoman rule in Yemen by 976/1568-9. In 973/1566, Maḥmūd secured his long-coveted posting to Cairo, where, according to Egyptian chronicles, he ruthlessly extorted private wealth, and from where he was able to manipulate official dispatches from Yemen reflecting adversely on his reputation and warning of the degenerating situation there. The steady erosion of Ottoman authority in Yemen was thus concealed from Istanbul until after his assassination at Cairo in Djumādā I 975/November 1567.

Bibliography: The only comprehensive contemporary source is the Arabic chronicle by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barḳ al-yamānī*, published as *Ghazawāt al-djarākisa wa 'l-atrāk fī djunūb al-djazīra*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, al-Riyāḍ 1967. Its author, who met with Maḥmūd Pasha on at least three occasions, incorporated all of the relevant material provided by the Egyptian chronicles, including *al-Minaḥ al-raḥmāniyya* by Ibn Abi 'l-Surūr al-Bakrī. Two modern studies dealing in part with this individual are M. Sālim, *al-Fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī al-awwal li-'l-Yaman*, Cairo 1969, and J. R. Blackburn, *The collapse of Ottoman authority in Yemen*, in *WI*, xix (1980), 119-76. (J. R. BLACKBURN)

MAḤMŪD B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM B. YAḤYĀ **SHABISTARĪ**, (or SHABUSTARĪ, according to modern Azeri writers) Shaykh Saʿd al-Dīn, Persian mystic and writer.

He was born at Shabistar, a small town near the north-eastern shore of Lake Urmiya. The date of his birth is unknown, but would have to be fixed about 686/1287-8 if the report that he died at the age of 33 (mentioned in an inscription on a tombstone erected on his grave in the 19th century) is accepted. He is said to have led the life of a prominent religious scholar at Tabrīz. Travels to Egypt, Syria and the Ḥidjāz are mentioned in the introduction to the *Saʿādat-nāma*. He may also have lived for some time at Kirmān where, in later times, a group of mystics, known as the Khʷādjagān, claimed to descend from a marriage of his contracted in that city (cf. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Riyāḍ al-siyāḥa*, Tehran

1334/1955, 89-90). In the Persian *tadhkiras*, dates varying between 718/1318 and 720/1320-1 are given for his death. The tomb at Shabistar, where he was buried next to his teacher Bahāʾ al-Dīn Yaʿḳūb Tabrīzī, has become a place of pilgrimage. It has been restored several times during the last century.

The fame of Maḥmūd rests entirely on a short *mathnawī* (1,008 *bayats* in the most recent edition), the *Gulshan-i rāz* ("The rose garden of the secret"). According to the poet's introduction, it was written in the month of Shawwāl 717/December 1317-January 1318 in reply to a versified letter (*nāma*) sent by a "well-known notable" (*buzurgī mashhūr*) from Khurāsān. A generally accepted tradition, appearing for the first time at the end of the 9th/15th century in Djāmī's *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (ed. Tehran 1337/1958, 605), specifies that the letter contained questions on difficult points of mystical doctrine and was composed by Ḥusaynī Sādāt Amīr [*q.v.*], who was an expert writer on the subject in his own right. These details are not confirmed by the text of the poem. The text of the letter, which is extant in some manuscripts of the *Gulshan-i rāz*, was probably only put together afterwards with lines taken from the lines of the poem itself, which precede each of the fifteen main divisions under the heading *suʾāl* ("question"). The answers given by the poet are subdivided into theoretical parts (*ḳāʿida*) and illustrative parts (*tamthīl*). The subject-matter of the poem is the doctrine of man's perfection through gnosis. This involves a number of cosmological, psychological and metaphysical themes as well as topics proper to the Ṣūfī traditions, such as the problem posed by expressions of identification with the Divine Being. The influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī, acknowledged by Maḥmūd in his *Saʿādāt-nāma*, is quite obvious. He also continues, however, the older tradition of Persian religious poetry as it appears from his treatment of poetical images as mystical symbols in the last sections of the *Gulshan-i rāz*, and from a reference to ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] as his example.

The great value attached to the poem is reflected, especially, in the many commentaries which were written on it throughout the centuries. The diversity of its contents, in spite of its concision, made the *Gulshan-i rāz* into a convenient starting-point to elaborate expositions of mystical doctrine, like the celebrated *Mafātīḥ al-iʿdjāz* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Lāhidjī al-Nūrbakhshī, dated 877/1472-3 (several editions, the latest by Ghulām-Riḍā Kaywān-Samīʿī, Tehran 1337/1958). Other notable commentators were Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Turka Khudjandī (d. 835/1431-2), Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī "al-Dāʿī ilā 'llāh" (d. *ca.* 869/1464-5) and Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Kurbālī, who wrote his work between 856/1452-3 and 867/1462-3. As early as 829/1425-6, a Turkish translation in *mathnawī* verses was dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Murād II by Elwān Shīrāzī (cf. E. Rossi, *Elenco di manoscritti turchi della Bibl. Vaticana*, Vatican City 1953, 236; B. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, no. 366). Imitations were composed until the present century, e.g. the *Gulshan-i rāz-i djadīd*, an appendix to the *Zabūr-i ʿadjam* (1927) by Muḥammad Iḳbāl. (See further on the commentaries, translations and imitations of the *Gulshan-i rāz*: A. Gulčīn-i maʿānī, in *Nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, iv, Tehran 1344/1965, 53-124; Munzawī, ii/1, 1248-53 and *passim.*) A manuscript with glosses by an anonymous Ismāʿīlī author was brought to notice by W. Ivanow (*JBBRAS*, viii [1932], 69-78) and published by H. Corbin.

The 17th-century traveller Jean Chardin was the first Western writer to note the importance of this poem to the Persian Ṣūfīs as a "somme théologique" (*Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, iv, 453). It was then used by F. A. D. Tholuck as a source of his study on Persian mysticism (*Sufismus*, Berlin 1821; wrongly ascribed to "Asisi") and his anthology of mystical poetry in German translation (*Blüthensammlung aus der morgenländischen Mystik*, Berlin 1825). The text, with a full translation, was published by J. von Hammer-Purgstall (*Rosenflor des Geheimnisses*, Pesth-Leipzig 1838) and by E. H. Whinfield (*The mystic rose garden*, London 1880; repr. 1978). Several other editions were published in Iran and on the Indian subcontinent. A critical edition was prepared by Gurban-eli Memmedzade (Baku 1973).

Of the other works ascribed to Maḥmūd Shabistarī, the most likely to be authentic are the *mathnawī* called the *Saʿadat-nāma*, on mystical theology, containing also valuable data for the biography of the author (cf. Rieu, ii, 871; Ateş, no. 351/1; Munzawī, iv, 2909-10) and *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn fī maʿrifat rabb al-ʿālamīn*, a prose work which was repeatedly printed (cf. Browne iii, 149-50; Munzawī, ii/1, 1129-30). The *Mirʾāt al-muḥaḳḳiḳīn*, also in prose, is in some manuscripts ascribed to Ibn Sīnā or others (cf. Munzawī, ii/1, 842-4 and 1374-5). No longer extant are the *Shāhid-nāma*, mentioned in *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* as well as in Gāzurgāhī's *Madjālis al-ʿushshāḳ*, and a translation of Muḥammad al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār*. The *mathnawī* called *Kanz al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, published under Maḥmūd Shabistari's name (Tehran 1344/1965), seems to be identical with a poem wrongly attributed to ʿAṭṭār (cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xxv [1939], 158 f.; idem, in *Oriens*, xi (1958), 21 f.; Ateş, no. 122/13). The real author is probably Pahlawān Maḥmūd Pūryār Khwārazmī (cf. Ateş, under nos. 351/2 and 382; Munzawī, iv, 3059-60). Some of his *ghazals* and quatrains are extant in anthologies (cf. e.g. Ethé, *India Office*, no. 1747; Ismailov, 165).

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MAḤMŪD SHEWḲAT PASHA (1856-1913), Ottoman general, war minister and Grand-Vizier (1913), was born in Baghdād. He came from a Georgian family long settled in ʿIrāḳ and thoroughly Arabised, so much so that he was known as ʿArab Maḥmūd at the War Academy. His father Ketkhudāzāde Süleymān was a former *mutaṣarrif* of Baṣra, and his mother an Arab lady of the ancient house of al-Farūkhī. After completing his early education in Baghdād he entered the War Academy in Istanbul, graduating in 1882 at the head of his class. He was appointed to the General Staff with the rank of captain and thereafter promotions came with regularity. He rose to the rank of major in 1886, colonel (1891), brigadier-general (1894), and divisional general or *ferīḳ* (1901). In 1905 he became army com-

mander or *birindji ferīk* and was appointed governor of Ḳosova, one of the most troublesome provinces in Ottoman Macedonia. He soon established a reputation as a tough, efficient, and fair-minded administrator who did not kow-tow to the Ḥamīdian clique in Istanbul. As a result, immediately after the constitution was proclaimed in July 1908, Shewkat Pasha was appointed commander of the Third Army at Salonica and in November, acting Inspector-General of Rumelia, succeeding Ḥüseyn Ḥilmī [*q.v.*].

In April 1909 when military insurrection and counter-revolution broke out in Istanbul, Shewkat Pasha marched with his Third Army from Salonica and crushed it with ruthless determination. He soon emerged as the most powerful political-military figure in the Empire. Though he permitted the creation of a civilian government, Shewkat Pasha, as martial law commander and Inspector-General of the first three army corps, refused to accept its authority, especially its attempts to control the military budget. For a time there was even tension between the Pasha and the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*]), whose fortune he had saved in April 1909, but which resented the Pasha's independence of cabinet control. When Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī Pasha [*q.v.*] became Grand Vizier in 1910, he tried to bring Maḥmud Shewkat under cabinet control by appointing him Minister of War. But this scheme did not work either and the Pasha even resigned (October 1910) when the Finance Minister attempted to inspect military spending. The ministerial crisis that followed was resolved on the Pasha's terms: the audit law was not to be applied to the War Ministry.

By the beginning of 1911, as the government faced rebellion in the Yemen, Albania and Macedonia, as well as political dissension at home, there were rumours in the press that Shewkat Pasha intended to seize power and set up a military dictatorship. Despite his independence of and contempt for the civilians, Shewkat Pasha had no such intentions. He denied these charges in the Assembly, claiming that he had not availed of such an opportunity when it had presented itself in April 1909. His position—and that of the CUP—declined following the outbreak of an unsuccessful war with Italy in September 1911. By the spring of 1912 an anti-CUP opposition had emerged in the army, reminiscent of the movement of 1908. Shewkat Pasha introduced legislation to curb this movement, but with no effect. The rebellion continued unabated, and he was forced to resign as War Minister on 9 July 1912 though he retained his military command.

Shewkat Pasha remained in political eclipse until 23 January 1913 when the CUP seized power. Again, the Unionists turned to the Pasha because of his popularity with the army and the people, and had him appointed Grand Vizier and War Minister. But now the Unionists were in control, and used Shewkat Pasha's talents to reorganise the Ottoman army after the disasters of the Balkan Wars. It was under Maḥmud Shewkat's influence that the decision to invite a German military mission under Liman von Sanders was taken. Meanwhile, in the turmoil following the fall of Edirne (26 March 1913), the Liberal opposition began to conspire to overthrow the CUP. As a part of that conspiracy, Shewkat Pasha was assassinated on 11 June as he drove to the Sublime Porte.

Maḥmūd Shewkat Pasha was one of the most important military-political figures of the Young Turk period. Despite the role he played, he lacked political ambition and his principal concern was always the interest of the amy and the state. He created neither a clique in the army nor a political faction in the CUP. He therefore found himself totally isolated in the political crisis of 1912 and was forced to resign. While he collaborated with the Unionists, he did not trust them nor they him: any co-operation between them was based on the shared goal of an independent and strong Ottoman state. While Turkish sources do not deal adequately with his alleged financial corruption, German sources, quoted by George Hallgarten, find him "hardly less corrupt than other Turks" (*Imperialismus vor 1914*, ii, Munich 1951, 139). Yet it is worth noting that he did prevent the Unionists from investigating the pilfering of the Yildiz Palace treasure by martial law authorities after April 1909. He was always considered pro-German, and there can be little doubt that his ten years in Germany and the influence that Field Marshal von der Goltz had upon him inclined him in that direction. But there was no question of his seizing power in order to set up a military régime devoted to German interests, as a Unionist paper claimed, even in 1909. Maḥmud Shewkat Pasha was primarily a professional soldier and a cautious statesman devoted entirely to the Ottoman state, and unwilling to involve it in any rash adventure. While he was alive there was little danger that he would take any risks that would threaten the Empire's very existence. Had he lived, he might have provided the stable leadership to prevent the war party in the CUP from taking Turkey into the World War at a time not of its choosing.

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MAḤMŪD TARDJUMĀN, interpreter and diplomat for the Ottomans. Born in Bavaria of a noble family, he was taken captive (probably at the age of 16) by the Turks at the battle of Mohács (1526) while serving as page to Louis II. Sent to the Palace School in Istanbul, he became famous for his extraordinary knowledge of languages. From 1550 at the latest, he served as interpreter to the Porte, with the title *agha*, and in 1573 he was promoted to chief interpreter, with the title *beg*. As Turkish ambassador he played an important role in the diplomatic relations of the Porte with the Hungarian king John Sigismund and the latter's widow Isabella (1553-4). In 1569 a diplomatic mission brought him to France, and in 1570 he was sent as ambassador to Venice in order to summon the Republic to withdraw from Cyprus. The negotiations remained inconclusive, war broke out

and Maḥmūd was kept back in Verona. Only in 1573 did he return to Istanbul. In 1574 he was sent to Vienna and in 1575 to Prague, where he died. His body was brought to Gran (Esztergom), then on the boundary of the Hungarian region which had been conquered by the Turks. Maḥmūd was described by his contemporaries as a learned and capable diplomat. Although it cannot be proved unequivocally, it is assumed that Maḥmūd can be identified with the author of the same name who wrote the *Taʾrīkh-i Ungurus*, chronicle of the history of Hungary in Turkish, the unique manuscript of which is in the collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Science (Török. F. 57).

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MAḤMŪD TAYMŪR (born in Cairo 16 June) 1894, died in Lausanne 25 April 1973), Egyptian writer whose prolific output includes novels and short stories, theatrical pieces, accounts of journeys, articles and various studies, in particular relating to Arabic language and literature. He is beyond doubt the best known of the Taymūr family, although his brother Muhammad (1892-1921) was a talented short-story writer and dramatist.

Hagiography has claimed the most remote origins for this family. Henceforward, the most reliable source for information on these origins is "the story of the Taymūrs", from the pen of the learned *adīb* Aḥmad Taymūr, father of Muḥammad and of Maḥmūd, which figures as supplement to his work *Luʿab al-ʿArab* "The games of the Arabs", 1st ed., Ladjnat al-muʾallafāt al-Taymūriyya, Cairo 1367/1948.

The first known ancestor of the Taymūrs, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Kurd Taymūr, was a Kurd from the region of Mawṣil who arrived in Egypt with the troops sent by the Porte after the departure of the French forces of Bonaparte (1801). Rising through the military echelons he became a general, then a senior official—the title of *kāshif* is also attached to his name. Having been the confidant of Muḥammad ʿAlī, he was to become that of his son Ibrāhīm.

The Taymūrs were thus installed in Egypt from the beginning of the 19th century. The devotion of these foreigners to the Arabic language and the people of Egypt intrigued and delighted the Egyptians, whether historians of literature or literary critics. Their ascendancy otherwise poses no problems since the Kurds, it is said, are pure Arabs, descended from Ḳaḥṭān. But what is astonishing is to see this dignitary of the Ottoman state and his descendants showing a clear predilection for the Arabic language and not keeping themselves aloof from the Egyptians, not displaying towards them that arrogance which is so typical of a foreign aristocracy.

Furthermore, Ismāʿīl, the son of the *kāshif*, marks the transition between official and man of letters. His mastery of Turkish and of Persian earned him the post of private secretary of Muḥammad ʿAlī, and he subsequently exercised important functions in the Khedival *Dīwān* under Ibrāhīm, ʿAbbās I, Saʿīd and Ismāʿīl. But it was no secret that he preferred the company of books to dealings with people. It was he who laid the foundations of a library which was to become famous.

The son and one of the two daughters of Ismāʿīl are the two first renowed members of the family in the modern era. The daughter, ʿĀʾisha (1840-1902), received, at home, a very substantial education, both religious and poetic, in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, and produced a corpus which is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that Arab poetesses were at that time scarcely numerous. The son, Aḥmad Taymūr (1871-1930), who became a Pasha in 1919, devoted his entire life to Arabic language and literature; at his death, he bequeathed to the National Library of Cairo 4,134 volumes, including many manuscripts, wich constitute the Taymūr collection.

Maḥmūd, the third son of Aḥmad, was born on 16 June 1894 in Cairo, in the Darb al-Saʿāda quarter, between the street of the Mūskī and Bāb al-Khalḳ. Subsequently, the family was to dwell in another quarter of Cairo, al-Ḥilmiyya, and, between these two stages, took up residence in ʿAyn Shams, a suburb still barely urbanised. Many cultured visitors frequented the home of Aḥmad Pasha Taymūr, some of them famous: the Imām Muḥammad ʿAbduh, the erudite Maghribī al-Shanḳīṭī and the orientalist Kratchkovski.

In this propitious milieu, Maḥmūd and his brother Muḥammad, two years his senior, were able to satisfy their precocious appetite for literature. Their father definitely possessed too strong a classical background not to make them learn by heart the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, but he was sufficiently imaginative to encourage them to read the *Thousand and one nights*. While still adolescents, the two brothers developed a passion for the theatre and, in emulation of Salāma al-Ḥidjāzī whom they saw at every opportunity, they composed plays which they performed before their family and their friends; they were also enthusiasts for journalism and, with the means at their disposal (the *bālūẓa* was the stencil of that time), they circulated on a very small scale the family newspaper which they edited.

Maḥmūd was to find himself the beneficiary of another advantage. Shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, his brother Muḥammad, returning from France where he had studied law for four years, revealed to him the existence of a realist trend in literature and acquainted him with the work of Maupassant. He accepted these discoveries with admiration but also with circumspection, because the change of direction to which he saw himself called was considerable. He had believed that he had realised his cultural *aggiornamento* in applauding the attempts made by Syro-Lebanese emigrants to America to liberate Arabic language and thought from ponderous classical clichés; his sensibility had been aroused by reading the *al-Adjniḥa al-mutakassira*, the poetic "novel" of Djabrān (1883-1931), the greatest of the "Americans", just as he appreciated the heart-rending stories, original or adapted, which the Egyptian al-Manfalūṭī (1876-1924) [*q.v.*] related in such exquisite Arabic. Now, his brother assured him, literature worthy of the name did not need to flee from reality to take refuge in romantic exaltation, but should cling as close as possible to life such as it is, to everyday Egyptian life. Of all contemporary Arabic writing, he said, two works alone deserved to find favour: the *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā Ibn Hishām* of Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī (1858-1939) and *Zaynab* of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (1888-1956) [*q.vv.*].

He therefore took some time assimilating this doctrine, though he did not dispute its worth. Appearing after some poems which he had composed in free verse, the first story which he published in the review *al-Sufūr* in September 1916 was sentimental and, in his own estimation, mediocre. On the other hand, in the same period his brother Muḥammad was for his part attempting to apply the new principles; he worked with other enthusiastic amateurs for the creation of a popular Egyptian theatre, and published, in different

reviews, short stories which count among the first realist Egyptian publications to mark an epoch. His untimely death persuaded Maḥmūd to engage resolutely in the path which his brother had traced out, and as a first step he published, one year after his death, an edition of his collected works in three volumes (1922).

However, the stories indicating that Maḥmūd had really taken up the mantle of Muḥammad seem to have been slow in coming. The first narrative to reflect his move towards realism, *al-Shaykh Djumʿa*, dates from 1921, but it was in 1925 that his *Ūsṭā Shaḥḥāta yuṭālibu bi-adjrihi* "The coachman Shaḥḥata claims his due", drew attention to him. The *al-Fadjr* review of avant-garde literature in which the text was published, saw its author as "the Egyptian Maupassant", and the critics stressed, not necessarily as a compliment, the audacious nature of this little tableau of manners. One of them reckoned that Oriental society was still too hypocritical to allow itself to be stripped bare by a Zola.

This was the real departure. Henceforth, his production became more prolific and he began publishing compilations: two for the one year 1925, each containing a dozen short stories, and another appearing in the following year. These first three compilations had particular importance for him because about ten years later (1937) he published a selection from them under the title *al-Wathba al-ūlā* "The first leap". It could in fact be said that here is a collection of the first truly meritorious works, on account of which he is considered the creator of the Arabic short story, an opinion held not only in Egypt and the Arab world but also in Europe, where the orientalists Kratchkovski, Schaade and Wiet presented and translated his writing. Until 1939, he published on average one collection of short stories every year. After a certain slowing down due to the war, the rhythm was subsequently sustained. It may be noted that from the decade of the 1940s onward, the storyteller also began writing novels and theatrical pieces which have added little to his reputation. Suffice it to say that as novelist or dramatist, Maḥmūd Taymūr followed the same preoccupations as in his short stories. Always painstaking in his clarity and accuracy, here too he drew upon various sources of inspiration: the most immediate present (the war in *al-Makhbaʾ rakm 13* "Shelter no. 13", play, 1942); social questions (the condition of woman is the basis of *Ḥawwāʾ al-khālida* "Eternal Eve", play, 1945, and of *Ilā al-likāʾ ayyuhā al-ḥubb* "Farewell, love", novel, 1959); and historico-legendary evocations tending towards fantasy and humour (*Kliyūbātra fī Khān al-Khalīlī* "Cleopatra in Khān al-Khalīlī", novel, 1946, and *Ibn Djalaʾ* (= al-Ḥadjdjādj, play, 1951). There are, however, particular features: only full-length fiction gave him the opportunity to develop the kind of psychological analysis to which he had always aspired (*Salwā fī mahabb al-rīḥ* "Salwā to the four winds", novel, 1944).

The fact remains that Maḥmūd Taymūr was before all else a short story writer—in the course of his life he published a total of some thirty compilations. From the start, he aimed to produce an Egyptian œuvre. Much attention is therefore given to the local colour in his writing, and it is taken as evidence of his patriotism. In fact, if he locates the majority of his tales in a context familiar to the Egyptians, he does so out of concern for authenticity and writes with such sobriety, with such mastery of ellipsis, that the predominant impression gained from his work is one of technical virtuosity. In addition, nothing could be less banal than the plots and the characters that he presents. The *futuwwa*, that is the bad boy, leader of a gang of ruffians, is indeed a familiar type among the common folk of Egypt; making him a *ḥādjdj* is not consistent with natural logic, but bestowing upon him this title and the dignity which accompanies it by having him serve as a hairdresser to a group of pilgrims travelling by train to Mecca, is something which departs totally from traditional norms and reveals the mischievous attitude of the author (*al-Ḥādjdj Shalabī*, in the collection bearing this title, 1930). Realism requires thus! In the quest for the desired effect, the writer leaves nothing to chance. He begins with an existing situation, a character who may be of any kind but is easily recognisable and, without any unnecessary delay, he brings out the weakness of the character, the incident which, breaking the daily routine, will prepare the way for catastrophe. In other cases, pathology plays a part from the outset; inspired and possessed persons abound in his work, as well as beings beset by obsessive beliefs and those whom misery, frustration or sickness have unbalanced. But all of this would be incapable of holding the attention of the reader were it not for the interplay of artistic qualities: narration which is clear yet precise, judicious choice of eloquent detail or of striking formula, sense of suspense and, essential to all the preceding, firmness of writing.

The question of language was central, in fact, in the art and in the life of Maḥmūd Taymūr. Out of concern for realism, he opted first for the spoken language which he employed in his early stories and theatrical pieces. Taking part in a Congress of Orientalists held in 1932 in Leiden, he expressed the opinion that classical Arabic language should be simplified and relieved of certain cumbersome grammatical forms in order to meet the needs of hitherto unknown literary genres, sc. the novel and drama. This being the case, his recourse to dialect, the natural language of conversation, is clearly explicable. But subsequently he was to take a different view. No doubt he felt himself obliged to employ a more polished, more "academic" language when official recognition was accorded to him: in 1947 the Fuʾād I Academy awarded him the short story prize for the corpus of his works written in the classical language; in 1950 he was elected a member of this Academy; and in 1952 he received the State Prize, which he shared with Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm.

It would, however, be a mistake to overstress this aspect and to forget that on his own account, for reasons of taste and also out of concern for efficacy and appeal, he had taken the side of the *fuṣḥā*. That which he lost in Egyptian parochialism, he gained in universality, but above all he was capable of expressing himself in a language simultaneously pure and adapted to the objectives that he imposed upon himself: a narrative, living language, freed from the traditional rhetorical tinsel which would in fact be totally out of place. On the other hand, those expressive classical idioms which had been unjustly abandoned are restored and rehabilitated in his work. This style which is both functional and mildly anachronistic gives to Taymūr's stories their distinguishing mark, their peculiar flavour. Most often the phrase is brief, but the syntax and vocabulary recall and embellish the technique of the prose masters of antiquity.

It may be that he attached too much importance to these questions of language. Not only did he eschew dialect completely in his later works but he systematically set about rewriting the earlier ones, or at least those of them closest to his heart. Dramatic

pieces and stories received their definitive version, revised and corrected to an extent that would satisfy the most rigorous academic standards. A lengthy text dating from 1934 (*Abū ʿAlī ʿāmil artist*) was thus revised twenty years later, becoming *Abū ʿAlī al-fannān* (1954). Of course, the removal of dialect was not always the only reason for the revision, which could be influenced equally by considerations of composition (lengthy passages are abbreviated, the profound sense of history is modified, etc.). However, it is impossible not to regret this perfectionism which drove a great writer to the rewriting of works which had been published many years before. To a certain extent, these scruples are a credit to a craftsman anxious to produce fine work, but they also have the effect of preventing the artist from developing truly original creations. In the end, it is certainly true that the art of Taymūr, too cultivated, too polished, could no longer, at a given moment, respond to the curiosities and dissatisfactions of new generations, in Egypt and in other Arab countries. It has come about that his successors, many of them his disciples, denounce his romantic or theatrical style of writing but furthermore, question the realism and the rationalism of which he was a resolute partisan.

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MAḤMŪD YALAWAČ, minister in Central Asia and China of the Mongol Ḳhāns in the 13th century A.D.

Barthold surmised (*Turkestan*³, 396 n. 3) that Maḥmūd Yalawač was identical with Maḥmūd the K͟hʷārazmian mentioned by Nasawī as one of the leaders of Čingiz's embassy of 1218 to the K͟hʷārazm-S͟hāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [see KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS]. It is true that the *Secret history of the Mongols* (tr. E. Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*², Leipzig 1948, 132) refers to Maḥmūd Yalawač and his son Masʿūd Beg [*q.v.*] as K͟hʷārazmians (Ḳurums͟hi) and that *yalawač/yalawar* means "envoy" in Turkish (Clauson, *Etymological dictionary*, 921: perhaps of Iranian origin?). He was clearly from the merchant class, and must have rendered services to the Mongols, for under the Great K͟hān Ögedey (1227-41) he achieved high office, being appointed over all the sedentary population of Transoxania and Mog͟holistan [*q.v.*] (i.e. the steppelands to the north of Transoxania) and ruling these from K͟hud͟jand [*q.v.*]. During his governorship, a serious popular revolt aimed against the Mongol overlords and the local notables broke out in Buk͟hārā under the leadership of the sieve-maker Maḥmūd Tārābī (1238), and it was only Maḥmūd Yalawač's intercession which saved the city from savage Mongol reprisals. Soon after this, he fell into dispute with Čag͟hatay, to whom part of Transoxania and Mog͟holistan had been granted as an *ind͟jü* or appanage [see ČAGHATAY KHĀN and MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR. 2. History], and was dismissed by Čag͟hatay. Ögedey expressed disapproval, but accepted his brother's excuses and then appointed Maḥmūd Yalawač as governor of Peking in northern China, an office later confirmed by Güyük and Möngke K͟hāns, where he died in 1254; his son Masʿūd Beg succeeded him as minister for the Mongols in Central Asia. Maḥmūd Yalawač is accordingly mentioned in Chinese sources as Ya-lao-wa-čʾi (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1888, i, 11-12).

D͟juwaynī praises the beneficent rule in Transoxania of Maḥmūd Yalawač and his son: they restored a city like Buk͟hārā to something of its old splendour, after the Mongol devastations, and Maḥmūd abolished compulsory labour and military services and extraordinary imposts (*ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*]).

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MAḤMŪDĀBĀD FAMILY, a leading landed family of north India prominent in public life under the Mug͟hals, the Kings of Awadh [*q.v.*] and the British. These Ṣiddīḳī S͟hayk͟hs trace their descent from Abū Bakr through one Naṣr Allāh, a *ḳāḍī* of Bag͟hdād who is said to have come in the 7th/13th century to India, where his descendants were *ḳāḍīs* of Dihlī. In the 8th/14th century, *ḳāḍī* Naṣr Allāh's great-grandson, *ḳāḍī* Nuṣrat Allāh, acquired land in Awadh, and under the Mug͟hals his descendants, Nawwāb Dāwūd K͟hān, Nawwāb Maḥmūd K͟hān and Bāyazīd K͟hān, rose high in the imperial service. Nawwāb Maḥmūd K͟hān founded the town of Maḥmūdābād in the Sītapur district of Awadh, which gave its name to the junior branch of the family, dominant over the last 150 years, and whose palace lay on its outskirts.

In recent times, the family's fortunes were founded by Nawwāb ʿAlī K͟hān (d. 1858) a S͟hīʿī poet, scholar and able estate manager. Between 1838 and 1858 he took advantage of the disturbed conditions of Awadh to add to the few lands he inherited, using all means at his disposal, until he possessed what Sleeman described as a "magnificent estate"; see P. D. Reeves, ed., *Sleeman in Oudh*, Cambridge 1971, 269-73. Although he took a prominent part in the uprising against the British of 1857-8, the Maḥmūdābād estate which was his great achievement did pass in large part to his son, Amīr Ḥasan K͟hān. The British policy of clemency, and their aim to create an Indian aristocracy in Awadh, thus enabled the family to consolidate the gains made under the Awadh régime and to emerge in the late 19th century as one of the largest Muslim landlords in India.

The wealth of the Maḥmūdābād estate provided the basis on which the descendants of Nawwāb ʿAlī K͟hān were able to play leading roles in Indian and Muslim affairs under the British. Rād͟jā Amīr Ḥasan K͟hān's (d. 1903) activities were those of a cultivated landed gentleman. He followed literary pursuits, in particular, writing elegies on the Imām al-Ḥusayn, whilst he was a great public benefactor in Awadh, support-

ing schools and a public library. In 1871 he became vice-president, and from 1882 to 1892 President, of the British Indian Association, the organisation of the Awadh *taʿallukdārs*. He also served on the Viceroy's council and was prominent in opposing the Indian National Congress.

The Rādjā's son, Muḥammad ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, played a more varied and yet more distinguished role in public life. He maintained the traditions established by his father. He gave generously to educational projects like the Lucknow University and Lucknow Medical College and founded the Lucknow Madrasat al-Wāʿiẓīn. Moreover, he not only gave to the Muslim University at ʿAlīgaṛh [*q.v.*] but also played a very active part in the movement to raise the funds to transform ʿAlīgaṛh College into the University of which he was the first Vice-Chancellor from 1920 till 1923. He was President of the British Indian Association 1917-21 and 1930-1, and served on the United Provinces' Legislative Council 1904-9 and the Governor-General's Council 1907-20. From 1920 to 1925 he was the first Home Member of the United Provinces' government, and consequently had the embarassing task of putting many personal friends, Congressmen and Khilāfatists, in prison. In 1925 he was given the personal title of Mahārādjā.

More important were Muḥammad ʿAlī Muḥammad's activities as a leading Muslim politician, and as patron of other politicians. He became involved in the politics of protest for the first time in 1909, demanding joint electorates in the negotiations leading to the Morley-Minto Legislative Council reforms, when the majority of North Indian Muslims were asking for separate ones. From 1909 to 1917 he was closely associated with the radical wing of Muslim politics. He took the part of the radicals in the Muslim University movement, he protested most vigorously to government over the Kānpur mosque incident of 1913 [see KĀNPUR] and helped bring about the pact between the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress at Lucknow in 1916, by which time his political stance had annoyed the government so much that it threatened to confiscate his estates. From 1915 to 1919 he was President of the All-India Muslim League and presided over its sessions in 1917, 1918 and 1928. Throughout much of his life he helped to support, both financially and in other ways, young men who were just entering politics, for instance, Sayyid Wazīr Ḥasan, the secretary of the All-India Muslim League 1912-19, Rādjā Ghulām Ḥusayn, the editor of *New era*, Čawdharī Khāliḳ al-Zamān, who for a while he made his education secretary, and the leading Pan-Islamist politicians Muḥammad and Shawkat ʿAlī. However, his political support was not restricted to Muslim causes alone; he was also a nationalist and counted leading Congressmen like Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru amongst his friends. In the last years of his life he strove, in the teeth of much Muslim opposition, to draw his community behind the Nehru Report of 1928, the Congress response to the communal problem which supported the creation of Muslim provinces but rejected separate representation, and then threw his weight behind the Muslim Nationalist Party founded in 1929. He died in May 1931.

The Mahārādjā was succeeded by his eldest son, Rādjā Muḥammad Amīr Aḥmad Khān (1914-73), who, though he began as an Indian nationalist in politics, soon became absorbed in Muslim separatism. In 1936, as a young man, he was drawn into the All-India Muslim League by Djinnah, a close family friend for over two decades and a trustee of the Maḥmūdābād estate. From 1937 to 1947 he played a leading role in the League, as treasurer, chairman of the Working Committee and a major benefactor. In particular, he operated as the link between the League and Muslim youth; he was president of the All-India Muslim Students Federation and devoted himself especially to organising the student forces which played such a considerable role in the League's campaigns for support. But Amīr Aḥmad Khān did not follow League policy in all things. A deeply religious man, in the early 1940s he became involved in the Islāmī Djamāʿat and advocated, against Djinnah, that Pakistan should be an Islamic state.

After the partition of India, Amīr Aḥmad Khān lived for a time in ʿIrāḳ and in Pakistan. He played little part in Pakistani politics, and rejected Ayyūb Khān's demand that he refound the Muslim League on the grounds that Pakistan needed a "party with socialist aims wedded to Islamic justice"; see *Dawn* (Karachi) for 15 October 1973. From 1968 until his death he was Director of the Islamic Cultural Centre in London, where his principal achievements were to bring to fruition plans to complete the London Mosque and to establish an Islamic Science Foundation. His life was distinguished by his faith, his simplicity, his generosity and a high level of cultivation in Urdu, Arabic, Persian and English, a level of scholarship which had been the hall-mark of his ancestors in the previous three generations.

Bibliography: There is a family history by Shaykh ʿAlī Ḥasan, the *Taʾrīkh-i Maḥmūdābād*, ms., Lucknow n.d.; short histories of the family can be found in Nurul Hasan Siddiqui, *Landlords of Agra and Avadh*, Lucknow 1950 and H. R. Nevill, *Sitapur: a gazetteer, being Volume XL of the District Gazetteers of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad 1905; T. R. Metcalf, *Land, landlords and the British Raj: Northern India in the nineteenth century*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1979, P. D. Reeves, *The landlords' reponse to political change in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, India, 1921-1937*, Ph. D. thesis, Australian National University, 1963, unpublished, and idem, ed., *Sleeman in Oudh*, Cambridge 1971, throw light on the family as *taʿallukdārs*; while F. Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: the politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923*, Cambridge 1974, Choudhuri Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, Lahore 1961, and the Rāja of Mahmudabad, *Some memories*, in C. H. Philips and M. D. Wainwright, eds. *The partition of India: policies and perspectives 1935-1947*, London 1970, offer information on the political careers of Amīr Ḥasan Khān, Muḥammad ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, and Amīr Aḥmad Khān. (F. ROBINSON)

MĀHPAYKAR. [see KÖSEM].

MAHR (A.), Hebrew *mohar*, Syriac *mahrā*, "bridal gift", originally "purchase-money", synonymous with *ṣadāḳ* which properly means "friendship", then "present", a gift given voluntarily and not as a result of a contract, is in Muslim law the gift which the bridegroom has to give the bride when the contract of marriage is made and which becomes the property of the wife.

1. Among the pagan Arabs, the *mahr* was an essential condition for a legal marriage, and only when a *mahr* had been given did a proper legal relationship arise. A marriage without a *mahr* was regarded as shameful and looked upon as concubinage. In the romance of ʿAntar, the Arab women, who are being forced to marry without a *mahr*, indignantly reject such a marriage as a disgrace. Victors alone married the daughters of the conquered without giving them a *mahr*.

In the pre-Islamic period, the *mahr* was handed over

to the *walī*, i.e. the father, or brother or relative in whose guardianship (*walāʾ*) the girl was. Here the original character of the marriage by purchase is more apparent. In earlier times the bride received none of the *mahr*. What was usually given to the woman at the betrothal was the *ṣadāḳ*; the *mahr*, being the purchase price of the bride, was given to the *walī*.

But in the period shortly before Muḥammad, the *mahr*, or at least a part of it, seems already to be given to the woman. According to the Ḳurʾān, this is already the prevailing custom. By this amalgamation of *mahr* and *ṣadāḳ*, the original significance of the *mahr* as the purchase price was weakened and became quite lost in the natural course of events. There can be no doubt that the *mahr* was originally the purchase price. But the transaction of purchasing, in course of long development, had become a mere form. The remains, however, as they survived in the law of marriage in Islam, still bear clear traces of a former marriage by purchase.

2. Muḥammad took over the old Arab patriarchal ceremony of marriage as it stood and developed it in several points. The Ḳurʾān no longer contains the conception of the purchase of the wife and the *mahr* as the price, but the *mahr* is in a way a reward, a legitimate compensation which the woman has to claim in all cases. The Ḳurʾān thus demands a bridal gift for a legal marriage: "And give them whom ye have enjoyed their reward as a wedding-gift" (lit. *farīḍa* "allotment of property", IV, 24) and again: "And give the women their dowries voluntarily" (IV, 3); cf. also IV, 25, 34; V, 5; IX, 10.

The bridal gift is the property of the wife; it therefore remains her own if the marriage is dissolved. "And if ye wish to exchange one wife for another and have given one a talent, take nothing of it back" (IV, 20). Even if the man divorces the wife before he has cohabited with her, he must leave half the *mahr* with her (II, 236-7).

Up to the Muslim period, the wife was considered after the death of the husband as part of his estate; the heir simply continued the marriage of the deceased. Such levirate marriages are found in the Old Testament also. Muḥammad abolished this custom, which still remained in his time, by sūra IV, 19; "O ye who are believers, it is not permitted to you to inherit women against their will". In his social reforms, Muḥammad made the *mahr* into a settlement in the wife's favour.

3. There was an ample store of traditions about the *mahr*, and these pave the way for the theories laid down by the jurists in the *fiḳh* books. From all the traditions, it is clear that the *mahr* was an essential part of the contract of marriage. According to a tradition in Bukhārī, the *mahr* is an essential condition for the legality of the marriage: "every marriage without *mahr* is null and void". Even if this tradition, so brief and to the point, is not genuine, a number of traditions point to the fact that the *mahr* was necessary for the marriage, even if it only consisted of some trifling thing. Thus in Ibn Mādja and al-Bukhārī, traditions are given according to which the Prophet permitted a marriage with only a pair of shoes as *mahr* and approved of a poor man, who did not even possess an iron ring, giving his wife instruction in the Ḳurʾān as *mahr*.

A few *ḥadīths* endeavour to show that the *mahr* must be neither too high nor too low. From the traditions we also learn what *mahr* was given in particular cases in the Prophet's time: for example, the bridal gift of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf was an ounce of gold, that of Abū Hurayra 10 *ūḳiyas* and a dish, that of Sahl b. Saʿd an iron ring.

In the *ḥadīths* we again frequently find the Ḳurʾānic regulation that in a divorce after cohabitation the woman has the right to the whole *mahr*.

4. According to Muslim *fiḳh*-books, marriage is a contract (*ʿaḳd*) made between the bridegroom and the *walī* of the bride. An essential element in it is the *mahr* or *ṣadāḳ*, which the bridegroom binds himself to give to the bride. The marriage is null without a *mahr*. The jurists themselves are not quite agreed as to the nature of the *mahr*. Some regard it practically as purchase-money (e.g. Khalīl: "the *mahr* is like the purchase-money") or as equivalent (*ʿiwaḍ*) for the possession of the woman and the right over her, so that it is like the price paid in a contract of sale; while other jurists see in the *mahr* a symbol, a mark of honour or a proper legal security of property for the woman.

All things can be given as *mahr* that are things (*māl*) in the legal sense and therefore are possible to deal in, that is, can be the object of an agreement. The *mahr* may also—but opinions differ on the point—consist in a pledge to do something or in doing something, e.g. instructing the woman in the Ḳurʾān or allowing her to make the pilgrimage. The whole of the *mahr* can either be given at or shortly after the marriage or it may be paid in instalments. When the latter is the case, it is recommended to give the woman a half or two-thirds before cohabitation and the rest afterwards. The woman may refuse to allow consummation of the marriage before a part is given.

Two kinds of *mahr* are distinguished:

a. *Mahr musammā*, "specified *mahr*", the amount of which is exactly laid down in the wedding contract.

b. *Mahr al-mithl* "*mahr* of the like", i.e. unspecified dower, in which the amount is not exactly laid down, but the bridegroom gives a bridal gift befitting the wealth, family and qualities of the bride. This *mahr al-mithl* is also applied in all cases in which nothing definite about the *mahr* was agreed upon in the contract.

The *mahr* becomes the property of the wife and she has full right to dispose of it as she likes. In the case of any dispute afterwards as to whether certain things belong to the *mahr* or not, the man is put upon oath.

The *Sharīʿa* lays down no maximum. There is also no upper limit to the *mahr*: whatever is agreed upon in the contract must be paid. The *mahr* generally is adjusted to what other women of equal status (sister, daughter, aunt) have received. As regards the minimum for the amount of the *mahr*, limitations were introduced by the various law-schools; the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs insist upon 10 *dirhams* as a minimum and the Mālikīs three *dirhams*. The difference in the amount fixed depends on the economic conditions in the different countries where the *madhhabs* in question prevail.

If the man pronounces a divorce, the *mahr* must be paid in every case if cohabitation has taken place; but the bridegroom may withdraw from the marriage before it is consummated; in this case he is bound to give the woman half the *mahr*.

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Mahomed Yusoof, *Mohamedan law relating to marriage, dower, divorce, legitimacy and guardianship of minors according to the Soonees*, i-iii, Calcutta 1895-8; Ameer Ali, *Mahommadan law*, i[4], Calcutta 1912, ii[5], Calcutta 1929; T. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islam. Gesetzes*, 181 ff.; E. Sachau, *Muhammadanisches Recht*, 34 ff.; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto Musulmano Malichita*, Rome 1926, p. 168 sqq.; van den Berg, *Principes du droit musulman* (tr. France de Tersant), Algiers 1896, 75; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, Italian tr. Santillana, Milan 1919, ii, 39 ff., French tr. G.-H. Bousquet, *Abrégé*, Algiers 1956-62; Tornauw, *Moslem. Recht*, Leipzig 1855, 74 ff.; G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge*, index; J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1959; idem, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 167-8; Asaf A. A. Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan law*[3], Oxford 1964, 126-38,[4] Delhi 1974, 132-45; N. J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, 40, 137-8, 207-8; see also the works of Milliot, Bousquet, Linant de Bellefonds and Brunschvig.

(O. Spies)

MAHRA, a tribe living in the south-eastern part of the Arabian peninsula, in a stretch of land along the coast of the Indian Ocean between Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān, and in the hinterland belonging to that region.

More accurately, the boundaries of Mahra-land run in the west from the coast along Wādī Masīla, a continuation of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, in the north-west along Wādī Ramāʾ as far as Ṣanāw, from there east-north-east, and reach via Anḍawr the north-eastern coast at Rās Ḥāsik, to the north of Ḥāsik, the ancient Mahra settlement. These boundaries enclose also the territories of other tribes, namely of the Shaḥāra, the Ḳarā and the Baṭāḥira in Ẓufār. At the present time, Mahra-land comes within the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in the west and in the Sultanate of ʿUmān in the east. Until very recently, the Mahra of the Ẓufār province in the Sultanate of ʿUmān, living mainly on the highlands between the desert and the mountains, led a Bedouin life; but those living on the coast have always been sedentary. The present-day sixth governorate (*muḥāfaẓa*) of South Yemen, with its chief town Ḳishn [*q.v.*], corresponds more or less with the former Mahra sultanate, with the same centre.

The Mahra can be considered not only as a tribe but as a separate people, since they speak a language of their own, Mahrī [*q.v.*], and have until very recently retained a high degree of autonomy. That the Mahra are mentioned by classical Arabic authors is mainly due to this fact that they have their own language, not understood by anybody else (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, 271, l. 17).

A member of the Mahra tribe is indicated in their own language as *mahrī* or *mehrī*, pl. *mahrē* or *mehrē* (A. Jahn, *Mehri-Sprache*, 130, l. 14); the corresponding feminine forms are *mehriūt* (Hein, *Mehri-Texte*, 137, l. 2), plural *mehreyten* (Jahn, 210). They indicate Mahra-land as *raḥbēt dha-mahrē* (cf. Jahn's map, *op cit.*, 211).

According to Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iv, 700, l. 8), the correct form is Mahara, not Mahra, but he stands alone in this opinion, which is moreover uncorroborated by any proof. Mahara is perhaps an incorrect reconstruction of an alleged plural Maharāt, a place name in the Nadjd of Mahra land (*Muʿdjam*, iv, 697, l. 2). Ibn Durayd (*Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. ʿA. M. Hārūn, 2nd ed. Baghdād 1979, 552, ll. 3 f.) derives the name Mahra from Arabic *māhir* "skilful, experienced". Ibn al-Mudjāwir (271, ll. 8-14) relates an aetiological story, according to which the Mahra are descendants of three hundred virgins who, having escaped a massacre in a place called al-Dabādib, were given a dowry (*mahr*) by the people of the surrounding mountains and then married by them.

The most important of the still-existing sub-tribes of the Mahra (their orthography not being always consistent in the sources) are: Bayt Kalshāt, Bayt Ṣamūdat, Bayt Thuwār, Bayt Zaʿbanāt, Bayt Ḥarāwīz, Bayt Ziyād, Bayt Bāraʿfīt, Bayt Ḳamṣīt and Bayt Balḥāf (see the charts and lists of the Mahra tribes in Dostal, *Beduinen*, 77 ff.; H. ʿA. Luḳmān, *Taʾrīkh al-djuzur al-yamaniyya*, Beirut 1972, 47-50: *Ḳaʾil al-mahrī fī Ḥaḍramawt*; Carter, *Tribal structures*, 46-8). W. Dostal (*Beduinen*, 34) estimates the number of their able-bodied, weapon-carrying men as 8,000. J. Carter (*Tribal structures*, 37) supposes that there are 5,000 members of this tribe in ʿUmān, and T. M. Johnstone (*The Modern South Arabian languages*, Malibu 1975, 2) is of the opinion that the individuals of all Mahra groups taken together amount to some 15,000. According to the *Gazetteer of Arabia. A geographical and tribal history of the Arabian peninsula*, ed. Sh. A. Scoville, i, Graz 1979, 80, the number of the Mahra on the mainland, the Bedouin included, amounted to 50,000 in the then Aden Protectorate at the time of the First World War. A census carried out in 1983 numbers the population of the sixth governorate of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen at 60,000. If one takes into account that on the one side people from Ḥaḍramawt and elsewhere have immigrated into the country of the Mahra and that on the other hand members of the Mahra tribes have emigrated to other provinces and to the Gulf Emirates the total number of the Mahra, i.e. the people speaking Mahrī, can be estimated at about 60,000 (A. Lonnet, *The Modern South Arabian Languages in the P.D.R. of Yemen*, in *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, xv [1985], 51).

It cannot be maintained any longer that Mahra-land was already known to the ancient Greek writers, nor that Mamali, with the variant Mali, named by Theophrastus (*Historia plantarum*, ix, 4,2) as the fourth South Arabian land next to Sabaʾ, Ḥaḍramawt and Ḳatabān [*q.vv.*], is probably a corruption of Mahra and should be identified with it (F. Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients*, Munich 1926, 137). E. Glaser's endeavour (*Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii, Berlin 1890, 26) to identify Minaia, mentioned by Strabo (*Geographia*, xvi, 4,4 = 768), who refers to Eratosthenes, with Mahra-land, has also been proved to be incorrect. The earliest attestation of the Mahra is apparently found in the Ḥaḍramite inscription RES 4877 from al-ʿUḳla, a pre-Islamic stronghold to the west of the capital Shabwa. The text, presumably dating from the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., runs as follows: (1) *shhrm/bn* (2) *w ʾlm/kb* (3) *r/ʾmhrn*, "Shāhirum (or Shahrum), son of Wāʾilum, chief of the Mahrites". It is true that A. F. L. Beeston (*The Philby collection of old South-Arabian inscriptions*, in *Le Muséon*, li [1938], 324) translates *kbr/ʾmhrn* as "chief of the artificers", and A. Jamme (*The Al-ʿUqlah texts*, Washington 1963, 50) as "leader of the specialised workers". But in the inscriptions, *kabīr* almost always indicates the leader or the chief of a tribe, and is followed by the name of the tribe or by the *nisba* plural in the form *ʾfʿln*, *afʿūlān*, usual in ancient South Arabian, e.g. *kbr/fyshn* (RES 3913,1) "*kabīr* (of the tribe) of Fayshān", *kbr/ṣrwḥ* (RES 3951, 1 f.) "*kabīr* (of the city-tribe) of Ṣirwāḥ", *kbr/kl/shʿbn/ʾrymn* (RES 4085,1) "*kabīr* of the entire tribe of the Raymānites", *kbr/ḥṣrn* (Ja 816,2) "*kabīr* (of the tribe) of the Ḥaṣirān", etc.; the "leader of the Bedouin of the king of Sabaʾ" (*kbr/ʾʿrb/mlk/sbʾ*: Ja

665, 1 f.) is indicated in the same way. Thus *ʾmhrn* is the *nisba* of an unattested * *mhryn* "Mahrite", i.e. Amhūrān, or perhaps Amhārān, since the place-name Burḳat al-Amhār, mentioned as lying next to al-Ghayḍa (Mahrī: Ghayḍat) (Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 147, l. 17), certainly does not mean anything else but "Burḳa of the Mahrites". W. Dostal's conjecture (*Beduinen*, 134) that the Mahra, being neighbours of the highly-developed culture of ancient South Arabia, served as mercenaries already in the armies of the pre-Islamic kings in the same way as they went into service occasionally later, is confirmed by inscription RES 4877. A further evidence for the country and the tribe of Mahra has been found in the Sabaean rock-inscription from Wādī ʿAbadān from the middle of the fourth century A.D., in which military campaigns "towards the country of Mahra" (line 7: *qbl/ʾrḍ/mhrt*) and "against the Mahra" (line 21: *ʿly/mhrt*) are mentioned (cf. the reproduction of the text in J. Pirenne, *Deux prospections historiques au Sud-Yémen*, in *Raydān. Journal of Ancient Yemeni Antiquities and Epigraphy*, iv [1981], 235). F. Hommel's assumption (*Süd-arabische Chrestomathie*, Munich 1893, 45) that the form Amhār is still alive in the name of Amhara people, who allegedly have migrated from Mahra land to Ethiopia, is wrong. Already A. Sprenger (*Alte Geographie*, 268) had wrongly maintained that the Semites of Ethiopia were of Mahra origin. An alleged form *mhrt*, found in the late Sabaean inscription RES 4069,5 from Niṣāb, has nothing to do with the Mahra; the passage should rather be read as *wmhrg/wkbwr/shʿbn/sybn*, and translated as "and the administrators and the leaders of the Saybān tribe".

The Yemenite authors al-Hamdānī and Ibn al-Mudjāwir excepted, the classical Arabic geographers who localised Mahra-land in the region between Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 12, l. 20; al-Muḳaddasī, 53, ll. 9-11), had only a superficial knowledge of it; the interior in particular was almost completely unknown to them. Al-Hamdānī (*Ṣifa*, 45, ll. 18 f.; see also *Iklīl*, i, 72, l. 19) names al-Asʿāʾ as the centre of the Mahra. C. de Landberg (*Ḥaḍramoût*, Leiden 1901, 158) wanted to correct this name into al-Ashghā, but there is no necessity for this, for the place-name al-Asʿāʾ, apparently not mentioned any more since the early Islamic period, is now verified as *ʾsʿyn* (Asʿāyān; Yanbuḳ 47, l. 7) in a late Sabaean inscription from Yanbuḳ in Ḥaḍramawt (M. A. Bafaqih, *New light on the Yazanite dynasty*, in *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, ix [1979], 7; M. Bāfaqīh et Chr. Robin, *Inscriptions inédites de Yanbuq*, in *Raydān. Journal of Ancient Yemeni Antiquities and Epigraphy* ii [1979] 49 f.). According to E. Glaser (*Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, Munich 1895, 87), the co-ordinates given by al-Hamdānī for the position of al-Asʿāʾ point to the region of Damḳōt and Rās Ḍarbat ʿAlī, thus rather precisely to the middle of the coastal strand which was, moreover, at a later time still inhabited by the Mahra. This conclusion corresponds with al-Hamdānī's indication, given in another passage (*Ṣifa*, 87, 11, 21 f.), that al-Asʿāʾ is a port. Elsewhere (*Ṣifa*, 127, l. 4), al-Hamdānī counts Mahra among the coastal lands of the Arabian Sea. According to him, the Wādī al-Aḥḳāf (for the term al-Aḥḳāf [*q.v.*], see also L. Forrer, *Südarabien nach al-Hamdānī's "Beschreibung der Arabischen Halbinsel"*, Leipzig 1942, 220, n. 4) flows for several days' journeys from the land of Ḥaḍramawt into Mahra-land (*Ṣifa*, 87, l. 10), and likewise to the left of the great wādī, the Wādī Thawba where the tomb of the Prophet Hūd is to be found (*Ṣifa*, 87, l. 8). Mahra-land is considered to belong to the farthest part of Yemen (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 280, ll. 1 f.; ii, 510, l. 13; etc.) and is named as one of its *mikhlāfs* (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 700, ll. 11 f.). The steppe region between the slope down to the coast in the south and the desert in the north is called Nadjd, as was already done by al-Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh*, i, 1980, l. 12), Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii, 681, l. 11; iv, 697, l. 2.; etc.) and others; from that region originates also the *nadjdī*, a highly-appreciated kind of frankincense (A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, i, Vienna 1922, 137 f.). Al-Shiḥr is also mentioned as a main centre of Mahra-land (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 25, ll. 10 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukhtaṣar*, 132, l. 2). Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (*Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Ḥaydarābād 1942, 266, ll. 4-6) counts al-Shiḥr in Mahra as one of the markets of the Arabs in pre-Islamic times; it is said to lie at the foot of the mountains in which the tomb of the Prophet Hūd is found, and said further that no tithe is levied on that market because the town does not belong to any kingdom. Al-Shiḥr is occasionally even identified with Mahra-land (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muktaṣar*, 132, ll. 1, 4 f.), as can also be concluded from Nashwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-ʿulūm*, when he (under the root *s-ʿ-y*) defines al-Asʿā (*sic*) as a place in al-Shiḥr, i.e. in Mahra-land. This is also the case when, for the year 694/1294-5, during the zenith of the power of the Rasūlids [*q.v.*] under al-Ashraf, it is said that the latter's domination was firmly established in the Yemen, in al-Shiḥr (i.e. in Mahra-land) and in Ḥaḍramawt (Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī fī akhbār al-ḳuṭr al-yamānī*, Cairo 1968, 477, ll. 6 f.). Thereafter, for long al-Shiḥr, once the residence of a Mahra sultan, did not belong any more to Mahra-land; it passed into the possession of the Ḳuʿayṭī sultans of al-Shiḥr and Mukallā. Only families like the Āl Ḳiraynūn, living there in isolation, testify to the former presence of the Mahra in al-Shiḥr.

The Mahra trace their genealogy back to their ancestor Mahra b. Ḥaydān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥāf. Already A. Sprenger (*Alte Geographie*, 266) recognized in these names some geographical and ethnographical names of places on the South Arabian coast, e.g. in Ibn al-Ḥāf the port of Bal-Ḥāf, lying to the west of Bīr ʿAlī. Early Arabic authors traced these geneaological connections further back to Ḳaḥṭān: al-Ḥāf b. Ḳuḍāʿa b. Mālik b. Ḥimyar b. Ḳaḥṭān (see the genealogy of the descent of the Mahra in Carter, *Tribal structures*, 38). On the descendants of Mahra b. Ḥaydān and the sub-divisions of the Mahra according to Arabic sources, see al-Hamdānī, *al-Iklīl*, i, 72, l. 19-74, l. 8, and the remarks by W. W. Müller on some of the names mentioned there in *OLZ*, lxiv (1969), 265-6. Less reliable than this South Arabian source is the rendering of the often specifically Mahra names by North Arabian authors like Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. W. Caskel, i, Leiden 1966, Table 328. The Mahra genealogy as given by the Arabic authors shows in any case a tendentious endeavour to reconstruct a pattern of origins for the tribes which often does not coincide with the genealogy handed down by the Mahra themselves. Their genealogy distinguishes clearly between the authentic Mahra (cf. the groups indicated in al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, i, 73, l. 12 as *afṣaḥ Mahra* and the "mahricised" Arabs (cf. the groups which are said newly to have come to join them: *dakhala fī Mahra*, al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, i, 73, ll. 20 f.), and thus reflects the fusion of Arab groups with the Mahra and their assimilation to the latter's genealogy. Rivalry between these Arab groups and those who claim descent from Mahra exists until today. Of these two groups which

differ genealogically, the one, whose members are considered to be "pure" Mahra, claim descent from the Banū Sharāwiḥ; the others who are said to be of Arabic origin, are brought together in the Banū Sār. Each of these two great confederacies is sub-divided again into several patrilineal groups (see the tables of the classification of the Mahra tribes and their attribution to these two groups in Dostal, *Beduinen*, 77). The greater part of the Mahra coastal area is in the hands of the Banū Sār, while the inland zone belongs to the Banū Sharāwiḥ, who have access to the coast only between Ḳishn and Ḍabōt and possess a small enclave further north (for a general outline of the region where both of the Mahra confederacies are at present dwelling and roaming, see the map in Dostal, *Beduinen*, 125). This spread of the Mahra over two areas is perhaps reflected already in al-Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh*, i, 1980, l. 9-1981, l. 3), who mentions two groups of the Mahra under two different leaders, one dwelling in the plain around Djayrūt (this form is also found in Ibn al-Mudjāwir 260, l. 9), the other in Nadjd, i.e. in the highland zone.

According to Ibn al-Mudjāwir (271, ll. 15 f.), the origin of the Mahra is to be sought in the remains of the people of ʿĀd; when God destroyed the greater part of them, this group of people was saved and went to live in the mountains of Ẓufār and the islands of Suḳuṭrā (Socotra) and al-Maṣīra. Ibn Khaldūn (*Mukhtaṣar*, 132, ll. 11 f.) also says that the land, afterwards inhabited by the Mahra, in prehistoric times belonged to the ʿĀd mentioned in the Ḳurʾān.

The first Ḳaḥṭānid to settle in this area is said to have been Mālik b. Ḥimyar, who was succeeded by his son Ḳuḍāʿa. The latter's possessions, however, became restricted to the land which later was named after his great-grandson (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 700, l. 10; Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukhtaṣar*, 132, ll. 13-17). Ibn Khaldūn goes on to say that the Mahra have come to their later dwelling-places from Ḥaḍramawt or from the Ḳuḍāʿa, but this certainly does not correspond with reality. The derivation of the Mahra from the Ḳaḥṭān through Ḳuḍāʿa and Ḥimyar is a mere construction of Arabic genealogists which does not withstand examination. Immigration from further west is also out of the question. Although the Mahra do not have written historical traditions, yet in their oral transmission the memory survives of large parts of ʿUmān having belonged in earlier times to the regions where they were living and roaming and of their being expelled from there by the Arabs. The pressure of their eastern neighbours must have caused the Mahra to withdraw to the west and brought about their great loss of fertile regions. W. Dostal (*Beduinen*, 184-8) supports this tradition of the Mahra by collating non-Arabic place-names in south-east Arabia ending in *-ūt*, *-ōt* and *-īt*. He also illustrates this tradition with the aid of a map showing the spread of Mahrī place-names (*Beduinen*, 133, Pl. 19). Further criteria for Mahrī place-names in this region are: the ending *-ēt* occuring as a variant of *-īt*, the feminine plural endings *-ōten* and *-ūten*, the relative frequency of place-names with the prefixes *ya-* and *yi-*, and finally the etymology which in many cases indicates a place-name as being clearly Mahrī. The majority of these place-names, mostly names of wādīs, lies in the interior. On the coast they are only found in the area which is traditionally Mahrī. Their greatest density occurs between long. 51° and 55° and lat. 16° and 18°. Since more than half of these non-Arabic place-names lie in regions now inhabited by Arabic-speaking tribes, this finding shows at the same time the present limitations of the Mahrī living space. Al-Hamdānī (*Ṣifa*, 52, ll. 5 ff.; *Iklīl*, i, 73, l. 15) still attests that the Banū Riyām, a group of the Mahra tribe of the Ḳamar, were settled in ʿUmān; other tribes, too, he remarks, have their dwelling places in the region of ʿUmān (*Iklīl*, i, 73, l. 5) or on the sea-coast of ʿUmān (*Iklīl*, i, 73, l. 4). Other groups, like the Banū Khanzirīt (*Ṣifa*, 51, ll. 25 ff.) and the Thugharā (*Ṣifa*, 52, ll. 2 ff.) were entangled in warlike altercations with Arabs who pressed forward along the coast into Mahra-land. Al-Hamdānī (*Ṣifa*, 51, ll. 16 ff.) still includes in his description of the "Green Yemen" the territory of the Mahra tribes of the Ghayth, Ḳamar and ʿUḳār. On the island of Suḳuṭrā [*q.v.*] (Socotra), Mahra are also to be found living (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 53, l. 1), i.e. members of all Mahra tribes (*Iklīl*, i, 74, l. 9). Ibn Ruzayḳ attests that even in the year 884/1479-80, part of ʿUmān was in the possession of the Mahra, since in that year the Ibāḍī *Imām* compelled the departure of the Mahra from ʿUmān.

After 608/1211-12, the Mahra tribe of the Banū Ẓanna pushed forward into the eastern part of Ḥaḍramawt, where they exercised control over the town of Tarīm for some time after 673/1274-5. In 945/1538-9 serious danger was brought to the Mahra by the Banū Kathīr under sultan Badr Bū Ṭuwayriḳ. The latter occupied great parts of the Mahra territory, and in 952/1545-6 conquered even the Mahra port of Ḳishn, where they murdered almost all the members of the family of the sultan of the Banū ʿAfrār, the *mashāyikh* of the Mahra. But in 955/1548-9 sultan Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh of the Banū ʿAfrār succeeded in reconquering the town of Ḳishn from the Banū Kathīr. He started from the island of Suḳuṭrā, where the Mahra had constructed a fortress after the retreat of the Portuguese in 917/1511-2. Since the Kathīr had joined the Ottomans, the Mahra were supported by the Portuguese. In 1876 the Mahra sultan of Suḳuṭrā and Ḳishn guaranteed not to surrender any of his possessions except to the British Government and in 1886 he agreed to a Treaty of Protectorate with Great Britain.

The Mahra also participated in the Islamic campaigns of conquest. Together with other South Arabians, they settled in ʿIrāḳ and in even greater numbers in Egypt. In Kūfa and in Old Cairo they lived in their own quarters (cf. the *khiṭṭat Mahra* of al-Fusṭāṭ in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 327, l. 12). There were also communications between the coast of Mahra-land and the island of Suḳuṭrā on the one hand, and with East Africa on the other, where the Mahra may have had settlements. Thus on Vasco da Gama's first journey, the Mahrī Ibn Mādjid [*q.v.*] guided the Portuguese as a pilot from Malindi to India. As well as Sulaymān Mahrī [*q.v.*], he left behind nautical texts. In 923/1517 the Mamlūk sultan Barsbāy enlisted Mahra as soldiers for his undertaking in the Yemen (see L. O. Schuman, *Political history of the Yemen at the beginning of the 16th century. Abū Makhrama's account of the years 906-927 h. (1500-1522 A.D.) with annotations*, Groningen 1960, 27 ff.). Mahra are attested in Zaylaʿ during the years 944-5/1537-9, and a group of about seventy Mahra with their chiefs (*muḳaddams*) are repeatedly mentioned in the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* (see Serjeant, *Portuguese*, 81, n. 5). The Comoro Islands [see KUMR] allegedly owe their name to the Ḳamar or Moon mountains of Mahra-land (see H. Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles*[3], New York 1966, 64). For Mahra immigrants to Somalia, see E. Cerulli, *Un gruppo Mahri nella Somalia Italiana*, in *RSO*, xi (1926-8), 25-6.

The Mahra are "tall handsome people" (Ibn al-

Mudjāwir, 271, l. 17) of brown complexion with black, often curly, hair. Because of these physical characteristics they have been considered as not belonging to the Mediterranean race but as related rather to the Veddas in South India. Until circumcision, boys have their hair shaven at both sides, so that only a tuft remains in the middle of the head. Circumcision of boys takes place at the age of twelve or also, as was usual in earlier days, only immediately before the wedding. After circumcision the hair grows long, either tied into a knot or falling down loosely and only kept together with a long braid, either plaited or made of leather; growing a beard is forbidden. Sedentary Mahra wear an indigo-coloured loin cloth and a skirt, the Bedouin generally only a loin cloth, an extremity of which can be thrown over the shoulder. Boys' ornaments consist of amulets and occasionally also necklaces; men adorn themselves with a leather belt equipped with characteristic ornamentation and sometimes stitched with pearls. Many Bedouin also wear an earring in the right ear and an armlet above the right elbow. Tattooing scars are also found, and all men carry the curved dagger (*djanbiyya*), more as an ornament than as a weapon. Nowadays, rifle and cartridge-belt are carried as weapons; formerly there were used the spear and the throwing stick terminating almost in a point, together with a sword without a sheath and a round shield. The Mahra have their own war-cry. They greet each other with a threefold kiss on the cheek, starting with the right cheek, then the left and the right again. Girls are circumcised immediately after birth. Mahra women wear the hair braided and go unveiled. Women's dress is preferably also indigo-coloured and has an open square or round neck. Women like to wear many silver ornaments like chains at the forehead, rings at nose, ears, fingers and ankles, and armlets (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, 271, l. 12, describes Mahra virgins as *mukhalkhalāt mudamladjāt* "provided with armlets and ankle rings"), and occasionally wearing head or neck ornament hanging down to the belt, single parts of which are adorned with geometrical embellishments and cornelians (*aḳīḳ*). At the neck, an amulet of leather, silver or gold is also worn, and one side of the nose is usually perforated in order to wear a precious stone as ornament. The breast ornament is an indication of the social status of the wearer. Women also use face-painting.

The nomads among the Mahra make do with modest shelters. They live mainly in caves, seek refuge under protruding rocks or make a roof against the sun amongst trees and shrubs. Remarks that the Mahra in these dwelling-places resemble animals (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, 272, ll. 2 ff.) and are like wild animals (*wuḥūsh*) in those sands (Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukhtaṣar*, 132, l. 12), may allude to their modest way of life and their familiarity with the surrounding nature. In their land, the Mahra do not know the cultivation of date-palms or agriculture (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 25, l. 12); this information refers of course to the Bedouin and not to the sedentary Mahra who, in the western part of their land, at the edge of Wādī Masīla, practice a well-developped farming and lay out palm plantations. The riches of the Mahra consist of camels and goats, while they live on meat, milk and a kind of small fish on which they also feed the animals (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muktaṣar*, 132, ll. 3 ff.). This fish is the sardine-like *ᶜayd*, found in great numbers along the coast and which, after having been dried, is given to the animals, especially when other food is lacking. Goats are still predominant among the Mahra and more appreciated than sheep. Camels bred by the Mahra (sing. *mahriyyat*^{un}, pl. *mahārā, mahār*^{in} *and mahāriyy*^{u}) were considered from ancient times as a particularly good breed (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa* 100, ll. 1 ff.). Among these were valued as noble the ᶜĪdite camels, named after ᶜĪdī (vocalisation according to al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, i, 73, l. 11), a Mahra tribe (*Ṣifa*, 201, l. 14). Already in the biography of the Prophet (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 963, l. 9) Mahra camels are mentioned; they were valued by the caliphs (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ᶜAdjāʾib*, i, 41, ll. 3 ff.) and repeatedly celebrated by the ancient poets (e.g. Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, ed. M. ᶜA. ᶜAzzām, ii, 132, l. 4 = *Aghānī*^{1}, xv, 106, l. 16). They spread as far as North Africa, where the form *mahrī* (pl. *mahārā*) made its way into French as *méhari* "riding camel" (pl. *méhara*) from which term was derived *méhariste* to indicate a member of the camel riders. Besides making use of their herds, the Mahra provide the transport of merchandise by procuring caravan service, convey pilgrims to the places of pilgrimage and supply local markets with camels. If they do not possess their own incense trees, a supplementary source of livelihood consists in employment as seasonal workers in Ẓufār at the time of the incense harvest in order to scrape the gum off the trees; The Ḳarā leave their incense trees to the Bedouin to take half of the harvest. The Mahra living on the coast are mostly fishermen; a few are also merchants and seafarers. With the rise of the oil industry in the Arab countries of the Gulf, many Mahras have departed thither as labourers.

Among the Mahra exists a patrilinear system of kinship; however, still-remaining traces of matriliny point to an earlier matrilineal social structure. Monogamy is the prevailing form of marriage; if polygamy occurs, it is in fact mainly a multi-local polygamy based on uxorilocal marriage.

The Mahra settle their social and political affairs almost exclusively inside their tribe. The sultanate of the Banū ᶜAfrār exercised authority only in name, and thus had only a limited influence on the political situation of the mainland, the more so because the sultan used to reside on Suḳuṭrā, with another member of the ᶜAfrār family acting as his representative in Ḳishn. The real power over the individual tribes is in the hands of their chiefs, the *muḳaddam*s, who have always enjoyed great esteem. Feuds exist between the Mahra and almost all of their neighbouring tribes (see the charts on inter-tribal relations in Dostal, *Beduinen*, 109); lasting hostility exists especially with the Manāhil. Friendly relations exist only with the Banū Kathīr and the Banū Rāshid, bringing about also marriages between members of these tribes and the Mahra.

Al-Hamdānī (*Ṣifa*, 87, l. 11) relates that the Mahra visit at all times the tomb of the Prophet Hūd. Besides this pilgrimage place, the Mahra also venerate other holy places like the tomb of Bin ᶜAlī in Mirbāṭ, of *shaykh* ᶜAfīf in Ṭāḳa or of Bin ᶜArībat in Raysūt. Oath-taking and vows play an important rôle among them (see T. M. Johnstone, *Oath-taking and vows in Oman*, in *Arabian Studies*, ii [1975], 7-18). In order to prove their innocence, they swear on the tombs of the saints and invoke divine judgement by way of ordeal by fire. They practise all kinds of charms, especially against malevolent *djinn* or against the evil eye. Ibn al-Mudjāwir (271, ll. 17-272, l. 1) even wanted to derive from *siḥr* "witchcraft" the term Saḥara, another name for the Mahra which has not as yet been satisfactorily explained. He attributes (272, l. 1) to the Mahra ignorance (*djahl*) and reason (*ᶜaḳl*) and some demoniac possession (*djunūn*), moreover, and continues (272, l. 2) by saying that they benefit from God's blessings without giving praise and thanks, and

that they worship not Him but someone else. The first statement probably refers to the indifference in religious matters and to the non-performance of the prescribed worship, which can be observed especially among the nomadic Mahra. The last statement, on the other hand, may be attributed to the fact that the Mahrī language does not know either the word *Allāh* or the word *rabb*, but speaks of God as *bālī* (literally "my Lord"), so that an Arab, not understanding this word might infer that they serve another deity. Ibn Khaldūn (*Mukhtaṣar*, 132, 11. 12 ff.), however, rightly remarks that, so far as religious confession is concerned, the Mahra are Khāridjīs, in fact Ibāḍīs [*q.vv.*]. Information about the Mahra's conversion to Islam is given by Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/2, Leiden 1917, 83, 11. 13-26. After the Prophet's death, Mahra-land also formed part of the areas joining the *ridda* movement; but ʿIkrima, one of Abū Bakr's commanders, succeeded in reconquering Mahra-land for Islam (al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1980, 1. 5 - 1982, 1. 2).

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MAḤRAM BILḲĪS. [see MĀRIB].

MAHRATTAS. [see MARĀTHĀ].

MAHRĪ. The Mahrī language, called by its speakers Məhrayyət, is spoken by many thousands, both Bedouin and settled people, over a large area of South Arabia extending in a great half-circle from Mukallā in South Yemen to the small coastal towns of Ẓufār or Dhofar. In South Yemen, the speakers are Bedouin, merchants, fishermen and seamen, but many Mahra of the more prosperous classes are now monolingual in Arabic. In Ẓufār, the Mahrī speakers are, or were, mainly concentrated in Nadjd, the high desert area of Ẓufār behind the fertile part of the long mountain range (Mahrī *śahayr*) which is largely populated by speakers of Djibbālī. For a long time, however, there have been large settlements of Mahra in the eastern coastal towns and their hinterlands, and in some of these coastal towns (like Sidḥ, for example), the Mahra speak only Arabic and Djibbālī.

The Mahra also continuously penetrate the *śahayr*, the fertile part of the Ẓufār mountain which gets the monsoon rains, not without some resistance from the Ḳarā, the dominant Djibbālī-speaking group. Many of these immigrants lose their Mahrī language also, and come to speak only Djibbālī and Arabic. The western dialect is not confined entirely to South Yemen, and is spoken in the coastal area of Ẓufār nearest to South Yemen (where there is also a definably western dialect of Djibbālī).

A number of non-Mahrī groups within this area speak what may be defined as dialects of Mahrī, or as languages closely related to Mahrī. Within Ẓufār, a small group of people, the Baṭāḥira, speak a language or dialect closely related to Mahrī. Now fishermen, formerly of humble status, they were apparently driven from their homes in the fertile hinterland of the coastal towns of Shuwaymiyya and Sharbithāt, at or near where they are now mainly settled. It seems likely that they learnt their language from the invaders, unlike the Ḳarā who would seem to have learnt their language from the original inhabitants of the fertile area they conquered. In the desert between the Ẓufār province and the Sharḳiyya province of ʿUmān, in the area between Haymā and the Wādī Ḥalfayn, is the small tribe of the Ḥarāsīs, apparently of Arab origin. Ḥarsūsī, which is fairly easily understood by Mahra, shows signs of having been acquired by them on the borders of Ẓufār and South Yemen. In the same border area is the last of the groups speaking a Mahrī-related language, namely Hobyot. Hobyot is spoken by a small number of people in little settlements on both sides of the border. It shares a few features with Ḥarsūsī: thus, "I want" is *xōm* in Ḥarsūsī and *xom* in Hobyot, as against Mahrī *ḥōm* and Baṭḥarī *ḥām*.

Nadjdī Mahrī (NM) appears to be a more conservative dialect than the South Yemen dialect (SM). Thus NM retains the interdentals *ṯ*, *ḏ* and *ḏ̣*, which in (most dialects of) SM are replaced by *t*, *d*, and *ṭ*. The Austrian expedition (SAE) publications give no indication that SM has a definite article, a passive voice, or conditional verb forms. This does not conclusively prove that they do not occur in SM, however, since the SAE publications also give no indication that glottalised consonants occur in SM, though they do occur in SM texts recorded by the present writer.

The principal features of interest in the phonology of Mahrī (M) are, firstly, the occurence of the glottalised consonants *ḏ̣* (mainly NM), *ḳ*, *ṣ*, *ṣ́*, and *ṭ* (as against the series of emphatic/velarised consonants in Arabic), the occurrence of the laterals *ś* and *ź* (which probably occurred in early pre-literary Arabic) and finally the (virtual) non-occurrence of the voiced pharyngal (Ar. *ʿayn*).

The syllabication of M is also of considerable historical and comparative interest. In M all forms with a final Cv (C) syllable (other than -CəC) have final stress. This stress results in a lengthening of the vowel of the final syllable where it was not already long, and the reduction to *ə* of the short (or lengthened) vowels of the non-final syllables.

Thus consider *katūb* ("he wrote", from earlier **katab(a)*), *kətəbūt* ("she wrote" from **katabat*), and *kətəbūs* ("he wrote it", f., from **katab-a-s*). Non-final stress occurs in many earlier monosyllables. Thus *badr*, "seed" has become *bēḏər*, but in affixed forms it remains *-baḏr-*, as, e.g., *abaḏrəh*, "his seed", where the *a*-element is a definite article. It is a puzzling feature of phonology that the vowel of the stressed syllable of nominal forms is not always of the same quality as that of the comparable verbal forms. Thus contrast *səyūr*, "he went", with *səbēb*, "cause"; and *bēḏər*, "seed" with *ṯībər*, "it got broken". Even if it is likely that the nouns lost their final vowels before the verbs (though some plural nouns like *ḥādūtən*, "hands", still have a final nunation which is elided on affixation), this does not throw much light on the problem. Fem.

nouns, for example, may be characterised by an *-ēt*, *-īt*, *-ōt*, or *-ūt* ending.

The noun in M is not inflected for case but has two genders, masc. and fem., and three numbers, sing., dual and pl. Some common nouns, such as *bayt*, "house" and *nəhōr*, "day", are fem. in M (and indeed, in all the Modern South Arabian languages). The dual in M ends in *-i*, thus *gawgi*, "two men" and *fakhi*, "[two] halves". It rarely occurs without a following numeral *ṯərō* (masc.) or *ṯərayt* (fem.), "two", and, unlike dual verb forms, can be considered to be obsolescent. Thus speakers clearly believe when they say "two boys" that they are saying *gəggēn iṯrō*, and not *gəggēni ṯrō*.

Nouns have sound or broken plurals. Masc. nouns for the most part have broken plurals, while fem. nouns mostly have sound pls. in *-ōtən*, *ūtən*, *-áttən*, etc. The noun in NM can be defined by the prefixation of *a*. This can, however, be affixed only to words with an initial voiced or glottalised consonant. Thus *kətōb*, "a/the book", *abēḏər*, "the seed", and *aṣayd*, "the fish".

The verb in M has two main simple themes and six derived themes, namely:

Simple	CəCūC (a) and CīCəC (b)
Intensive-conative	(a)CōCəC
Causative	həCCūC
Reflexive	CatCəC (a) and əCtəCūc (b)
Causative-reflexive	šəCCūc (a) and šəCēCəC (b)

The reflexive types (a) and (b) often overlap in their conjugation.

The verb has a perfective and an imperfective aspect. The imperf. indic. and subj. patterns are markedly different from Arabic. Thus consider *kətūb* (perf.)/*yəkūtəb* (indic.)/*yəktēb* (subj.)/*yəktēbən* (cond.). Conditional forms occur relatively rarely, mainly in sentences involving hypothetical conditions. All dependent verbs are subj., and the subj. also functions as a jussive and occasionally as a kind of future. Imperative forms are subj. in syllable structure but lack the personal prefixes, so, e.g. *k(ə)tēb!*, "write'.". The verb has the following persons: 3 m.s., 3 f.s., 2 m.s., 2 f.s., 1 c.s.; 3 m.du., 3 f.du., 2 c.du., 1 c.du; 3 m.pl., 3 f.pl., 2 m.pl., 2 f.pl., 1 c.pl. The verb has also verbal nouns, and active and passive participles. The active participle (as, e.g., m.s. *kətbōna*, f.s. *kətbīta*, etc.) functions as a future.

Mahrī (or at least NM) has a large vocabulary relatively little affected by Arabic, and there is a good deal of resistance to borrowings from Arabic. Lexical items may be considered to be for comparative purposes in a number of categories: words which have no cognates in literary or colloquial Arabic (as, e.g., *śxəwəlūl*, "he sat"); words which have Ar. cognates but cannot, for phonological or morphological reasons, be borrowings (as, e.g., *źáfōr*, Dhofar/Ẓafār); words which have the same radicals as the equivalent Ar. words (as, e.g., *səd*, "it sufficed"); words which have been borrowed and modified to become completely Mahrī in terms of phonology and morphology (such as, perhaps, *əbtōdi*, "he began"); and borrowings from Ar. which have been left virtually unchanged (as, e.g., *məftāḥ*, "key"). There is a large area of the vocabulary, which is not possible to categorise with any degree of certainty. Since M and Ar. have lived side by side for many centuries, it is difficult to say in many cases which language has borrowed from the other. Thus *səyūr*, "he went", is paralleled by *sār* in most Ar. dialects of the South. It is just as likely, however, that such Ar. dialects are influenced by Mahrī as that Mahrī has been influenced by Arabic.

Bibliography: All references up to his date of publication are collected in W. Leslau, *Modern South Arabian languages—a bibliography*, New York 1946; for later references, see E. Wagner, *Syntax der Mehri-Sprache...*, Berlin 1953. The most important of these earlier sources are the following (all published in Vienna) by the Austrian South Arabian Expedition (*SAE*) associates: (grammar) A. Jahn, *Grammatik der Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Bd. 150, Abh. 6, 1905; M. Bittner, *Studien zur Laut- und Formenlehre der Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Bd. 162, Abh. 5; Bd. 168, Abh. 2; Bd. 172, Abh. 5; Bd. 174, Abh. 4; Bd. 178, Abh. 2, 3, 1909-15; (texts) A. Jahn, *SAE* 3, 1902 (with vocabulary); W. Hein, *SAE* 9, 1909 (ed. D. H. Müller); D. H. Müller, *SAE* 7, 1907. For more recent work, see the following publications of T. M. Johnstone: *Ḥarsūsi lexicon*, Oxford 1977; *A definite article in the Modern South Arabian languages*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii/2 (1970); *Dual forms in Mehri and Ḥarsūsi*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii/3 (1970); *Diminutive patterns in the Modern South Arabian languages*, in *JSS*, xviii (1973); *Folklore and folk-literature in Oman and Socotra*, in *Arabian Studies*, i (1973); *Contrasting articulations in the Modern South Arabian languages*, in *Hamito-Semitica*, Leiden 1975; *Oath-taking and vows in Oman*, in *Ar. St.*, ii (1975); *Knots and curses*, in *Ar. St.*, iii (1976); *A St. George of Dhofar*, in *Ar. St.*, iv (1977); *Jibbāli lexicon*, 1981; *Mehri lexicon*, 1984.

(T. M. Johnstone)

MAHSATĪ (the most probable interpretation of the consonants *mhsty*, for which other forms, like Mahistī, Mahsitī or Mihistī, have been proposed as well; cf. Meier, 43 ff.) a Persian female poet whose historical personality is difficult to ascertain.

She must have lived at some time between the early 5th/11th and the middle of the 6th/12th century. The earliest sources situate her alternatively in the environment of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Sandjar, or of a legendary king of Gandja in Ādharbāydjān. The qualification *dabīr* or *dabīra* is often attached to her name, but it is uncertain whether she actually worked as a professional scribe, the function designated by this term. Usually, she is represented as a singer and a musician as well as a poet of the court, though not as a panegyrist. The poems attributed to her name are almost without exception quatrains. Their dominating theme is the lover's complaint about the absence, the lack of attention or the cruelty of his or her beloved. Several poems belong to the genre of *shahrāshūb* poetry in which the beloved is presented as a young craftsman. Mahsatī has acquired a reputation as a writer of bawdy verse. Mystical and fatalistic thoughts, often expressed in Persian quatrains, are absent and the antinomism of the *ḳalandariyyāt* can only seldom be found. The authenticity of these poems remains in each case questionable. An original collection is not known to exist. The current *dīwāns* of Mahsatī are modern compilations from many different sources.

Mahsatī became already at an early date the heroine of romantic tales. The oldest specimen is contained in ʿAṭṭār's *Ilāhī-nāma* (Meier, 53-6; tr. J. A. Boyle, Manchester 1976, 218-20). A similar story, embellished by inserted quatrains, was used by ʿAbd Allāh Djawharī in a commentary on the *ḳaṣīda-yi ḥawliyya*, a poem about alchemy, towards the end of the 7th/13th century. It is, however, not derived from ʿAṭṭār's story (Meier, 63-7). The *Dāstān-i Amīr Aḥmad-u Mahsatī* is a popular romance, built upon an extensive cycle of quatrains, dealing with the love between two poets, of whom the former is sometimes referred

to as "the son of the preacher of Gandja" (*pūr-i khaṭīb-i Gandja*). It is extant in two versions of different lengths (Meier, 123 and *passim*; E. E. Bertel's, *Nizami i Fuzuli*, 78, n. 12).

Bibliography: The fundamental study by F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des persischen Vierzeilers. Band I*, Wiesbaden 1963, gives full references to the preceding literature. It also contains a critical edition of 279 poems with translation and commentary; the quatrains which only occur in the *Dāstān*, have been excluded. See further: E. E. Bertel's, *Istoriya persidsko-tadžikskoy literaturī*, Moscow 1960, 425, 489 f.; idem, *Nizami-i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 77-81; Īradj Afshār, *Fihrist-i maḳālāt-i fārsī*, i, Tehran 1340/1961, 693-6 and ii, Tehran 1348/1969, 495; A. Gulčīn-i maʿānī, *Shahr-āshūb dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1346/1967, 15-7; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 199.

(J. T. P. de Bruijn)

MAHSŪD, the name of a Paṭhān tribe on the north-west frontier of Pakistan, in British Indian times the fiercest opponents there of British rule. The Mahsūds inhabit the heart of Wazīristān around Kāniguram and are shut off from Pakistan territory by the Bhittanni country. On all other sides they are flanked by Darwīsh Khēl Wazīrīs. It is now generally accepted that they left their original home in the Birmal hills of modern Afghānistān sometime towards the close of the 8th/14th century and gradually extending eastwards occupied the country in which they now reside. The tribe has three main branches: the Bahlōlzay, Shaman Khēl, and the ʿAlīzay.

The Mahsūds have always been the scourge of the Bannū and Dēradjāt borders. This was the case in the days of Sikh rule and, after the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849, they still continued to plunder and devastate the borders of British India. This and the fact that their rocky mountain fastnesses command the Gōmal and Toči, two of the five main passes connecting India with Afghānistān, compelled the British to resort to reprisals. On three occasions, in 1860, 1881 and 1894, the Mahsūds became so troublesome that punitive expeditions had to be undertaken against them. On the conclusion of the 1860 expedition, a temporary peace was patched up by which each of the three main sections of the tribe agreed to hold themselves responsible for outrages committed by their respective clansmen. From 1862 to 1874 various sections of the tribe were at one time or another placed under a blockade until, in 1873 and 1874 respectively, the Shaman Khēl and Bahlōlzay, finding their continued exclusion from British territory irksome, made full submission. The burning of Tank by a band of Mahsūds in 1879 and other outrages brought about the expedition of 1881, when a British force penetrated Wazīristān as far as Kāniguram and Makīn. For the next ten years, British subjects were left practically unmolested and the whole of the Wazīrī border enjoyed a period of comparative peace. So peacefully disposed were the Mahsūds that, in 1883, they even rendered assistance in the survey of the country around Khadjuri Kač, and, in 1890, were granted allowances for the watch and ward of the Gōmal pass.

In 1894, under the influence of Mullā Powinda, a Shābī Khel *mullā* belonging to the ʿAlīzay section of the tribe, the Mahsūds attacked the British boundary demarcation camp in defiance of the subsidised *maliks*. From this time the Mullā's influence steadily increased, and all efforts to uphold the authority of the *maliks* against his faction failed. Continued depredations along the British borders after 1897 called for reprisals. From December 1900 to March 1902, the Mahsūds were subjected to a stringent blockade, but it was only after the blockade had been varied by sudden punitive sallies into the Mahsūd hills that they were forced to come to terms. During this period, there were two factions in the country, the one headed by the *maliks*, the other by their enemy, the Mullā Powinda (to whom also, in an effort at conciliation, a monthly allowance had been granted in 1900); and from 1902 onwards the Mullā's influence was paramount. After 1908 the Mahsūd question became acute again, and a series of raids into British territory were traced to him. On his death in 1913, his place was taken by Mullā ʿAbd al-Ḥākim, who continued the policy of attempting to preserve the independence of the Mahsūd country between British India and Afghānistān by exploiting the marauding proclivities of the tribesmen. From 1914 to 1917 the history of the Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān district was one long tale of rapine and outrage. Eventually, in 1917, troops marched into the Mahsūd country, but were able to effect only a temporary settlement. British preoccupations elsewhere delayed the day of retribution, and during 1919 and 1920, the wind-swept *raghzas* of Wazīristān witnessed the severest fighting in the annals of the Indian frontier.

During the disturbances in Afghānistān following on the abdication of Amān Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and the brief assumption of power by the adventurer Bačča-yi Saḳāō (1928), Mahsūds and Wazīrs joined the returning Nādir Khān in his march on Kābul, and were the spearhead of his successful bid for the throne. But they were disappointed at not receiving a licence to loot indiscriminately, and were subsequently stirred up by the partisans of Amān Allāh, so that in 1933 a Mahsūd and Wazīr *lashkar* crossed the Durand Line and besieged Matun in the Khōst district till repulsed by Nādir's brother Hāshim Khān.

From 1936 onwards, the Mahsūds were further inflamed by the presence amongst them of the virulently anti-British "Faḳīr of Ipi" [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān, and in 1938 they and the Wazīrs were stirred up by the "Shāmī Pīr", Saʿīd al-Djīlānī from Syria, who established himself at Kāniguram with the aim of working for a restoration in Afghānistān of Amān Allāh, until the Pīr was bought off by a large subsidy from the Government of India.

Mahsūds and Wazīrs took part enthusiastically in the Kashmiri *djihād* against India in 1948; since Partition, considerable numbers of Mahsūds have migrated down to the Indus valley and other parts of Pakistan in search of work.

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Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957*, London 1958, 392-4, 397, 406-9; J. W. Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, The Hague 1963, 52-3.

(C. Collin Davies*)

MAḤSŪSĀT (A.), "sensibilia". For the theories of sense-perception held by the principal *falāsifa* of Islam, see ḤISS. In addition to these, it should be mentioned that Ibn Bādjdja is perhaps the philosopher who most closely follows Aristotle's views on this subject, and that his *Kitāb al-Nafs* (ed. M. S. Ḥasan Maʿṣūmī, Damascus 1960; tr. as *Ibn Bajja's ʿIlm al-nafs*, Karachi n.d.), while undoubtedly an original work, may be regarded as almost a paraphrase of Aristotle's *De anima*. In particular, he differs from other Islamic philosophers in not referring to to "internal" and "external" senses or to *al-ḳuwwa al-mushtarika*.

In *falsafa*, *maḥsūsāt* are frequently contrasted with *maʿḳūlāt*, "intelligibilia'. In *taṣawwuf*, however, both are regarded as equally unreliable as means of arriving at the truth and are contrasted with *dhawḳ*. For a clear statement of this position, see al-Ghazālī, *al-Munḳidh min al-ḍalāl* (where *ʿaḳliyyāt* is used rather than *maʿḳūlāt*). In spite of the Ṣūfīs' avowed rejection of *falsafa*, such views as these may, to some degree, be considered to represent less a complete abandonment of it than a turning away from Aristotelianism towards Platonism (in neo-Platonic guise). That *falsafa* continued to exercise an influence may be seen from Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's references in the *Mathnawī* to the "internal" and "external" senses and to the "common sense".

Bibliography: Given in the article and in ḤISS.

(J. N. Mattock)

MĀHŪR, a small town of mediaeval India in the extreme north of the former Hyderabad State of British India. It is situated in lat. 19° 49′ N. and long. 77° 58′ E. just to the south of the Pengangā river, a left-bank affluent of the Godavari, where it forms the boundary between the former regions of northern Hyderabad [see ḤAYDARĀBĀD] and Berār [*q.v.*] in Central India.

In pre-Muslim times, Māhūr had the shrine of Śrī-Dattātreya. In the middle years of the 8th/14th century, the territory up to Māhūr was conquered by the Deccani power of the Bahmanīs [*q.v.*]. In 857/1453 Maḥmūd I Khaldjī [*q.v.*] of Mālwa besieged the fortress of Māhūr, but was unable to conquer it from the Bahmanīs, and in 872/1468 it was again a bone of contention between the two powers. In later times, however, it relapsed into insignificance. In British Indian times, it fell after 1905 within the ʿĀdilābād District and *taʿalluḳ*, the district being described in the 1901 census as sparsely-populated forest land, with 76% of the people being Hindus, 11% animistic Gonds and 5% Muslims, whilst, from the linguistic point of view, 44% were Telugu-speaking and 28% Marāṭhī-speaking. In the Indian Union, after the 1956 administrative reorganisation, the Māhūr region was placed within Maharashtra State, and is now in Nanded District and Kinvat *taʿalluḳ*. Māhūr village had in 1971 a population of 380.

Māhūr has an important fortress, which may have been in existence in pre-Bahmanid times. It stands on a steep hill 380 feet/120 m. above the valley of the Pengangā, and is irregularly shaped since it occupies the edges of two adjacent spurs (the intermediate valley is converted into a large tank through the construction of a massive connecting wall); the hill is precipitous on the east, south and west, its northern access being defended by multiple gateways. The main northern gateway (known as Čīnī Darwāza, from the panels of Bahmanid tilework on its façade) encloses a defended entry with guard rooms along each side, and the *Kilʿadār*'s residence is set in an upper storey.

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(C. E. Bosworth-J. Burton Page)

MAḤYĀ, a communal nightly liturgical ritual in which the recital of supplications for divine grace for the Prophet [see ṢALAWĀT] is central.

Such sessions were originally introduced as a mystical method [see ṬARĪḲA] by Nūr al-Dīn al-Shūnī (d. 944/1537; cf. Brockelmann, II, 438, for the titles and additional details about the *ṣalawāt* composed by him), a *shaykh* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī [*q.v.*] at the mosque of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā and at al-Azhar mosque in Cairo in the year 897/1491-2 (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1954, ii, 172-3; cf. Nadjm al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, Beirut 1945-59, ii, 216-19). The meetings were held after the *maghrib* prayer on Thursday night until the *adhān* for the Friday prayer the following noon. Later, *maḥyā* sessions were held on Monday night as well (*al-Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 171). In these sessions many candles were burnt. This aspect brought about criticism from the side of the students at the mosque. They condemned it as an act of Mazdaism. It elicited a *fatwā* from al-Burhān b. Abī Sharīf who denounced the lightning of more candles than were necessary for sufficient illumination (al-Ghazzī, ii, 216), while Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳasṭallānī [*q.v.*] wrote a treatise in its defence (see al-Ghazzī, *ibid.*).

The spread of this new institution in Egypt and from there to Syria, North Africa, Takrūr and the Ḥidjāz during al-Shūnī's life-time (see *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 172) may be viewed as one of the manifestations of the growing reverence for the Prophet, particularly from the 7th/13th century onwards (cf. T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918, 379, 388, and I. Goldziher, *Ueber den Brauch der Mahjâ Versammlungen im Islam*, in *WZKM* xv [1901], 38 f.).

At al-Azhar, supervision and organisation of these meetings became institutionalised in an office. The incumbent to this office was known as *shaykh al-maḥyā*. The names of the *mashāyikh al-maḥyā* from al-Shūnī until the year 1057/1647-8 are mentioned by Muḥammad al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, Cairo 1284, i, 266, iii, 382 f. (see also ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣughrā*, Cairo 1970, 88 f. for data concerning al-Shūnī's *khalīfa*, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī, d. 960/1553). After this year, no incumbents are known and no information concerning the exact nature of the office has become available. It seems likely, however, that the office of *shaykh al-maḥyā* has been similar to the offices of *shaykh ḳurrāʾ al-Ḥizb* and *shaykh ḳirāʾat Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* existing in 19th century Egypt (cf. F. De Jong, *Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth century Egypt. A historical study in organizational dimensions of Islamic mysticism*, Leiden 1978, 112). The office of *shaykh al-maḥyā* must have become redundant or greatly insignificant during the 18th century, since no mention of an incumbent is made in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār fī 'l-tarādjim wa 'l-akhbār*, while the term *maḥyā* itself lost its specific meaning

and became synonymous with *dhikr* [*q.v.*]; cf. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tādj al-ʿarūs min sharḥ djawāhir al-Ḳāmūs*, Cairo 1306-7, x, 110.

In this sense, and more particularly in the sense of weekly *ḥaḍra* [*q.v.*], the term is used in a treatise by the well-known Rifāʿiyya *shaykh* Muḥammad Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī (1859-1909), *al-Ṭarīḳa al-Rifāʿiyya*, Baghdād 1969, 131. In the 7th/13th century another Rifāʿiyya author uses the term *maḥyā* (ʿIzz al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ṣayyād al-Rifāʿī, *al-Maʿārif al-Muḥammadiyya fi 'l-waẓāʾif al-Aḥmadiyya*, Cairo 1305, 41, 89; the context, however, defies identification of its meaning). The term is equally employed to denote the *ḥaḍra* of the Demirdāshiyya order [*q.v.*] in Cairo, which is not a *maḥyā* of the type introduced by al-Shūnī, as is erroneously supposed by Goldziher (*ibid.*, 49 f.; cf. E. Bannerth, *La Khalwatiyya en Egypte. Quelques aspects de la vie d'une confrérie*, in *MIDEO*, viii [1964-6], 47; and idem, *Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdāšiyya Sufis in Kairo*, in *WZKM*, lxii [1969], 130, for a description of the ritual. For the texts recited during the *ḥaḍra*, see also Ḥusayn Amīn al-Ṣayyād, *al-Fuyūḍāt al-nūrāniyya fī maḥyā al-ṭarīḳa al-Demirdāshiyya*, Cairo n.d., 12 ff.). In Egypt, the increasing institutionalisation of Islamic mysticism, in particular in the 9th/15th century, in *ṭarīḳas*, some of which, like the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*], held the recital of *ṣalawāt* as part of the *ḥaḍra*, and the rise of al-Shaʿrāniyya [*q.v.*] as an independent *ṭarīḳa* after the death of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565), who had been *shaykh al-maḥyā* in al-Ghamurī mosque (cf. al-Ghazzī, ii, 217), may have contributed to the decline of the *maḥyā* as an institution independent from the main stream of Islamic mysticism.

Before the middle of the 10th/16th century, the *maḥyā* had also become institutionalised in Mecca, as is testified by a *fatwā* given by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī [*q.v.*], *al-Fatāwī al-ḥadīthiyya*, Cairo 1307, 137-40, relative to the *ṣalawāt* formulae recited on these occasions. No other data on the *maḥyā* in this part of the Islamic world have come down to us.

In Damascus, the *maḥyā* was introduced by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥammad b. Suwār (921-1014/1515-1605). The first *maḥyā* in this city was held in al-Buzūrī mosque in Radjab 970/March 1563. Shortly afterwards, a weekly *maḥyā* was started in the Umayyad mosque (cf. al-Muḥibbī, ii, 454; iii, 276; Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-Durar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-thānīʿashar*, Būlāḳ, 1301, i, 112 f.; ii, 160; iii, 179; and al-Ghazzī, ii, 218). In Damascus, as in Cairo, organisation and supervision of the *maḥyā* sessions became an office which is referred to in the sources as *shaykh al-maḥyā* (Aḥmad al-Budayrī, *Ḥawādīth Dimashḳ al-yawmiyya (1154-75/1741-62)*, ed. Aḥmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm, Cairo 1359, 180, 230; al-Muḥibbī, i, 281, 336; ii, 454; iv, 375) and *shaykh sadjdjādat al-maḥyā al-sharīf* (al-Murādī, iii, 142). This office, about which little is known, was hereditary within the Ibn Suwār family. Members of this family conducted *maḥyā* sessions twice weekly at the mosques mentioned, until the end of the 19th century at least (cf. Goldziher, 49).

In addition, the term *laylat al-maḥyā* (night of the *maḥyā*, i.e. the night made alive by devotional activity; cf. Goldziher, 42; and al-Ghazzī, ii, 217, for etymological details and references) was used to denote the night of 27 Radjab, when religious gatherings were held at the shrine of ʿAlī, in early 8th/14th century al-Nadjaf (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 417-8); the night of 27 Ramaḍān, when the Ḥarīriyya order commemorated the death of the order's founder, in 8th/14th century Damascus (Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 91); and the night of mid-Shaʿbān in, as would seem, several parts of the Islamic world in that period (see Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAbdarī (= Ibn al-Ḥādjdj), *al-Mudkhal*, Cairo 1320, i, 260; and also ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī, *Khulāṣat al-iksīr fī nasab sayyidinā al-Ghawth al-Rifāʿī al-Kabīr*, Cairo 1306, 92).

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(F. de Jong)

MAIMONIDES. [see ibn maymūn].

MAʿIN, name of an ancient people of Southwest Arabia, mentioned by the 3rd century B. C. Greek geographer Eratosthenes as one of the four principal peoples (*ethnē*) of the area, under the form Minaioi.

In Strabo and Pliny they figure as largely engaged in the aromatics trade between South Arabia and the Mediterranean; according to Pliny, they were the initiators of the frankincense trade. Apart from sparse notices in Greek and Latin sources, our knowledge of them is based on their own inscriptions, in a distinctive language which has however some afinities with the language of Saba [*q.v.*]. The widespread nature of their trade is evidenced by Minaean inscriptions from the island of Delos and from the Egyptian Fayyūm, but apart from such scattered examples, all the texts in this language come from in and around their main centre Ḳarnaw (Khirbet Maʿin) at the eastern end of the South Arabian Djawf, from the oasis of Yathill (Barāḳish) a little south of there (both these places still show impressive town walls), and from their trading settlement at Dedan (al-ʿUlā in the northern Ḥidjāz). But they certainly had other similar trading posts elsewhere, and a Ḳatabanian language text from Timnaʿ in the Wādī Bayhān [see ḳatabān] mentions a "magistrate of the Minaeans in Timnaʿ".

In effect, the term Minaeans seems to have had a double application. There must have been an original Minaean folk who, to judge from Pliny's remark that "they possessed palmgroves, but their main wealth lay in cattle", may perhaps most plausibly be sited in the steppe country north of Ḳarnaw. But considered as a trading organisation, they were subdivided in a number of *ahālī* or "folks", of whom the most significant in the texts are the *ahl GBʾN*. Earlier scholars did not hesitate to identify these with Pliny's Gebbanitae, and although in recent years there has been a tendency to equate them with the Ḳatabanians, the earlier view still seems more probable, since Pliny's Gebbanitae (and also Strabo's Gabaioi) figure as principally concerned with the frankincense trade up the west coast of Arabia. The Minaean language texts all belong within the Ptolemaic period, and after Pliny (whose information may well be already a little out-of-date when he wrote), they disappear from the records. Evidently, therefore, their trading monopoly had broken up by about the turn of he Christian era, the west coast trade having been taken over by Nabataeans and other north Arabian peoples, while the Minaeans seem to have sunk back into obscurity.

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(A. F. L. Beeston)

MĀḲADŪNYĀ, the Ottoman Turkish name for

Macedonia, a region which occupies the centre of the Balkan Peninsula. Despite its historically mixed population of Slavs, Ottoman Turks, Greeks, Albanians, Vlachs, Sephardic Jews and others, Macedonia forms a geographical unit. Its boundaries are sometimes disputed, but may be said to follow the line of peaks which stretches from the Šar Planina in the north to the Rhodope range and the river Mesta in the east, and to the Albanian mountains and the Pindus in the west. On the southern side it is naturally limited by the Gulf of Salonica. Macedonia was visited by the early Arab traveller Hārūn b. Yaḥyā, and is mentioned in the form *Maḳadūniyā* by the ʿAbbāsid geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih (257/870) and by the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982).

1. Ottoman Macedonia. Immediately before the Ottoman conquest, Macedonia was loosely divided between the Byzantine and various local potentates. In 784/1383, during the reign of Murād I, Ottoman forces penetrated as far as Seres, and in 787/1385 captured Ishtīp (Štip), Manāstïr, (Monastir, Bitola) and Pirlepe (Prilep). Üsküb (Skopje) fell in 794/1391. Selānīk (Salonica) was briefly held from 789/1387, but not finally secured until 834/1430. Thereafter Ottoman rule was consolidated. The frontier marches were replaced by *sandjaḳs* dependent on the *beglerbeglik* of Rūmelī, and the *tīmār* system was introduced. Turkish settlements began at an early date. Anatolian *yürüks* were established in the neighbourhood of Selānīk, Ishtīp and Üsküb. The *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] was levied, and during the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries, conversion to Islam proceeded at a significant rate. Institutions of Islamic culture and learning were established in the major towns. Popular Islam was in the hands of the dervish orders, amongst whom the Bektāshīs were prominent. The 11th/17th century saw the emergence of an intractable *ḥaydūd* or brigandage problem. Economically, the region was a traditional exporter of grain; the development of *čiftliks* [*q.v.*] in the 12th/18th century led to an expansion of rice and tobacco cultivation. The Ottoman Empire did not recognise Macedonia as an administrative unit, and the *sandjaḳs*, into which the *beglerbeglik*, subsequently *eyālet*, of Rūmelī was divided, bore little relation to Macedonia's geographical borders. In 1864 the *Law of the Wilāyets* divided the region between the *wilāyets* of Ḳoṣowa, Manāstïr and Selānīk, and apart from a brief period when the *wilāyet* of Manāstïr was suppressed, this administrative partition survived to the end of Ottoman rule.

2. "The Macedonian question". Macedonia acquired a political significance during the 19th century as a result of the revival of the Christian nationalities and the rival aspirations of Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians to establish themselves in Macedonia as the Ottoman Empire's prospective successor. The Greeks were the first to mount an effective national propaganda designed to secure the allegiance of the Macedonian Christians, but they were rapidly challenged by the Bulgarians, who won ecclesiastical independence with the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870. Russia obliged Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II to agree to the inclusion of most of Macedonia in an autonomous Bulgarian principality at the Treaty of San Stefano (3 March 1878), but the subsequent Treaty of Berlin (13 July 1878) restored Macedonia to Ottoman control. Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian propaganda continued, and began to assume a violent form. In 1893 local Slavs formed the Internal Macedonia-Adrianople Revolutionary Organisation to fight for the establishment of an autonomous Macedonia. It was soon rivalled by the overtly pro-Bulgarian Supreme Macedonian Committee. There was an upsurge of guerilla and terrorist activity in which Greeks, Vlachs and Albanians soon joined. The Internal Organisation's abortive Ilinden Rising in August 1903 led the Powers to impose a programme of administrative reforms upon Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, but their intervention fanned existing discontent among Ottoman troops stationed in Macedonia, where the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*] was increasingly active. As a result, it was from Macedonia that the sucessful Young Turk Revolution was launched in July 1908. The Young Turk régime attempted to alter the confessional balance in Macedonia by encouraging the immigration of Muslims from Bosnia, but lost all of Macedonia in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. Macedonia was partitioned between Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia (subsequently Yugoslavia). Bulgaria's share was reduced somewhat after World War I. The partition has had far-reaching ethnic consequences. Thanks to immigration from Asia Minor, the population of Greek Macedonia now consists overwhelmingly of Hellenes. Before World War II, attempts were made to Serbianise Yugoslav Macedonia; however, the subsequent Communist régime has recognised the Macedonian Slavs as a separate historic Macedonian nation. The Turkish population has been drastically reduced by emigration to Asia Minor. In 1913 Turks accounted for 29.5% of the population of Greek Macedonia, and numbered some 300,000: all were deported during the Greco-Turkish population exchanges of the 1920s. Bulgarian Macedonia, where Turks accounted for 16.3% of the population in 1913, has been similarly cleared. The Turkish population of Yugoslav Macedonia has been reduced by voluntary emigration from a total of 209,000 in 1913 to 129,000 in 1971, falling as a proportion of the total population from 19.3% to 6.6%. Against this, the Albanian population of Yugoslav Macedonia rose from 13% of the total in 1961 to 17% in 1971. The surviving Turkish community in Yugoslav Macedonia enjoys full minority rights.

Bibliography: The geography and ethnography of Ottoman Macedonia is outlined in S. Gopčević, *Makedonien und Alt-Serbien*, Vienna 1889; Benderev, *Voennaya geografiya i statistika Makedonii i sosyednikh s neyu oblastey Balkanskogo poluostrova*, St. Petersburg 1890; and J. Cvijić, *Mazedoien und Altserbien*, Gotha 1908. For mediaeval Islamic geographers, see V. Minorsky, tr., *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, London 1937, 156, 420. There exists no comprehensive account of Macedonia under Ottoman rule. *Istorija na Makedonskiot narod*, 3 vols., Skopje 1969, is sketchy. Local Ottoman administrative materials have been translated into Macedonian and published in the two series, *Turski dokumenti za istorija na Makedonskiot narod*, i-iv, Skopje 1963-72, and *Turski dokumenti za Makedonskata istorija*, i-v, Skopje 1952-8. Documents from Istanbul are published as *Makedonija vo XVI i XVII vek: dokumenti od carigradskite arhivi (1557-1645)*, Skopje 1955. A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, describes provincial organisation, as does B. Cvetkova, *Les institutions ottomanes en Europe*, Wiesbaden 1978, which also deals with economic and social questions. The *sālnāmes* of the *wilāyets* of Ḳoṣowa, Manāstïr and Selānīk give basic information for the later Ottoman period, as does Maḥmūd, *Manāstïr wilāyetinin taʾrīkhčesi*, Manāstïr n.d. Popular religion is dealt with in F. M. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the sultanate*, 2

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MAḲĀLA (a.), article.

1. In Arabic

This *maṣdar mīmī* from the root *ḳ-w-l* "to say", has etymologically the sense of "statement", "utterance", etc. It will be noted, however, that in a typical hundred pages of text from the classical period, it is found only once with this "oral" sense (Ch. Vial, *Al-Ǧāḥiẓ, quatre essais*, ii, Cairo 1979, 132). On the other hand, its usage in contemporary Arabic is remarkably frequent, all the more so in that its sense is henceforward almost exclusively related to the written rather than the spoken text. The modern user designates by the word *maḳāl* or *maḳāla* that which we call "article", and doubtless there would be nothing further to add in this context were it not that the history of the word impinges upon the recent history of Arabic literature.

It being unnecessary to dwell in detail on an evolution which is now well-known, it will simply be recalled that modern Arabic prose has been forged through the intermediary of the press. It was a a result of the creation and development of Arab journals and reviews at the end of the 19th century that the affected and inflated language which had hitherto prevailed rapidly gave way to a convenient and direct means of expression. In avoiding the conventional attractions of hackneyed rhythm and rhyme (*sadjʿ*), the writer simultaneously freed himself from the mould of entrenched ideas which had hitherto been imposed on a variety of subjects. The liberation of the language was accompanied to a certain extent by a liberation of thought. This fundamental change was effected by departure from the domain of the classical Arabic humanities and by contact with European languages. There were genuine grounds for fearing that a movement of such magnitude might compromise the very nature of the Arabic language. There was much concern that, by dint of inspiration from foreign press agencies and the desire to imitate the style of European periodicals, the grammatical correctness of articles appearing in the Arabic press would be severely impaired. Authoritative voices—linguists, professors and writers—were raised to engage in often impassioned debate on the most common defects and on the means of preventing the corruption of the Arabic language. The development of education, the visceral attachment of the Arabs to their language, the frequent criticism brought to bear on the linguistic correctness of texts of all kinds, the painstaking work of academies of the Arabic language [see madjmaʿ ʿilmī. 1.], all these elements have enabled "the language of the press" to maintain a thoroughly respectable standard, even though—in Arabic as elsewhere—a number of eminent individuals protest at the liberties taken by the press, and more recently by radio and television, with the rules of the language (cf. in particular the arguments between linguists at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century; among them, the Lebanese Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī and his *Lughat al-djarāʾid*, Cairo 1901).

But the *maḳāla* does not represent only the testing bench or laboratory of that which, more elaborated and better adapted, has become the contemporary literary prose. It represents a mode of expression regarded as special, and some would go as far as to see it as a whole literary genre in its own right. In the same way that there is talk of oratorical literature (*adab al-khaṭāba*) it has come about that there is talk of literature of the article (*adab al-maḳāla*). There is an impression that, *mutatis mutandis*, the treatment of this term today is similar to the treatment undergone in the Middle Ages and until more recent times by the word *risāla* [*q.v.*]. In the latter case, the notion of "epistle" was abandoned in favour of that of a literary text of variable length and sometimes very long, retaining nothing in common with the idea of epistolary form other than the more or less fictitious existence of a recipient (sc. the one to whom the text is dedicated). Henceforward, the original sense of

"letter", "missive", "epistle", was no longer appropriate and, as works of undisputed literary quality dealing in principle with a relatively circumscribed subject which is considered in an original manner, it became appropriate to regard them as "essays" (cf. Vial, *op. cit.*, i, 2-3). Also, it will be noted that the definition of this *risāla* genre is so vague that it becomes impossible to lay down the guidelines according to which literature is to be conceived either as a manifestation of thought or as an artistic effect, in other words, closer to the original expression of a consistent thought or more akin to gratuitous rhetorical cliché. Precisely the same considerations apply to the *maḳāla* (cf. Anouar Abdel-Malek, *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*. ii. *Les essais*, Paris 1965).

On the one hand, Arab intellectuals who have acquired a western culture are inspired both by the ideas and the style of the French and English writers whom they have taken as models and masters. Djabrān, ʿArīḍa and Nuʿayma in America, al-ʿAḳḳād, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and al-Māzinī in Egypt, have attempted to present and adapt to the Arab public a new conception of literature and of reflection, and the framework in which they have expressed themselves is precisely that of the *maḳāla*, where the temperament and style of each of these authors is revealed: the concise phrase of Nuʿayma, the causticness of al-ʿAḳḳād, the fulsome sentence-structure of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, etc. Moreover, it is by no means absurd to consider an article of *Ḥaṣād al-Hashīm* by al-Māzinī as being just as revealing of his literary personality as one of his stories of *Bayt al-ṭāʿa*.

This close connection between essay and the narrative text enables a further step to be taken in the assessment of the role of the *maḳāla*. It is a known fact that the contemporary period has seen the development of a novelistic genre among the Arabs. As has been indicated above, the modernisation of the language, achieved as a direct result of the development of the press, gives to novelists an appropriate tool which they can perfect still further. But, on the other hand, there is a danger that the *maḳāla* may impose itself as a screen or as a substitute for narrative fiction as such. The first Arabic novels, those which attempt to evoke the problems of oriental society in the framework of an imported genre, often have the appearance of political or sociological articles. The first narrative essays of the ʿIrāḳī Dhu 'l-Nūn Ayyūb represent the transition between the article and the story and it is the author himself who calls them *al-maḳāṣṣa* (= *maḳāla ḳiṣṣa*). But even in the case of confirmed novelists, it is not unusual for the writer to indulge in an art which is located on the fringe of fiction. Examples are very numerous, but worthy of mention are the collections of articles by Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī and in particular one of his mixed collections (*ʿAntara wa-Djuliyat*) in which "tableaux" (*lawḥāt*) are found alongside "stories" in the true sense of the term. It is easy to demonstrate that, in this case as in other similar ones, the literary article which becomes the outline of a narrative corresponds to particular conditions of composition and readership; a journal is assured of the weekly collaboration of a writer of repute (in this case, for his humanity and his humour). The result of this is a special tone midway between the free expression of opinion or dilettante story-telling, and literary narration proper. The interest of the reader whose sympathy must be rapidly gained is attracted by the use of language that is apparently amiable and relaxed, but where the use of a carefully chosen dialectal term responds to strategic considerations. This having been said, it appears quite superfluous to consider *maḳāla* as a separate genre in itself, since if it were so, it would risk confusion with the "diverse" category, those *varia* which defy classification by any reputable catalogue.

Bibliography: Mainly given in the text, but see also ʿAbd al-Djabbār Dāwūd al-Baṣrī, *Ruwwād al-maḳāla al-adabiyya fi 'l-adab al-ʿirāḳī al-ḥadīth*, Baghdād n.d.; Muhammad Yūsuf Nadjm, *Fann al-maḳāla*, Beirut 1957; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ḥamza, *Adab al-maḳāla al-ṣuḥufiyya*, 8 vols., Cairo 1965, 1966 ff.

(CH. VIAL)

2. In Persian.

Maḳāla has been used in Persian to denote a collection of discourses, spoken or written, on a given subject (e.g. *Čahār maḳāla* by Niẓāmi-yi ʿArūḍī, ed. M. Muʿīn, 135; Khāḳānī's *Munshaʾāt*, ed. M. Rawshan, 174; Ḥamdīdī's *Maḳāmāt*, ed. Gh. Āhanī, 5, 17, 38; Bābā Afḍal's *Writings*, ed. Y. Mahdawī and M. Minōwī, ii, 393; *Djuwaynī's Tārīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed. M. Ḳazwīnī, i, 32; and also the poems of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Saʿdī). *Maḳāla* was used in reference to spoken discourses and sermons up to the late 19th century (see Muḥammad-Ḥasan Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *al-Maʾāthir wa 'l-āthār*, under the biography of Burhān al-Wāʿiẓīn of Gīlān, 1306 A.H., 201 col. 1).

Maḳāla has also been used to designate a book's inner divisions, synonymously with such other terms as *faṣl*, *bāb*, *bakhsh* or *guftār*. Niẓāmī-yi ʿArūḍī, *op. cit.*, 19, writes: "The book, therefore, comprises four *maḳālat* ..., in each *maḳālat* whatever was found befitting in the domain of philosophy was included." The title of his work, *Čahār maḳāla*, was not bestowed upon it by its author. The book was found to contain four discourses, and so it became popularly known as *Čahār maḳāla*, and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa appears to be the first person to have recorded down its title as such (see *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, under *Čahār maḳāla*).

The term *maḳālāt* has been also used for the utterances, statements and dictations of Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, the best-known of these being the *Maḳālāt-i Shams*; to the same category also belongs the *Maḳālāt-i ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī*.

Maḳāla in contemporary Persian is synonymous with *article* in English and *article* or *essai* in French. It started with the practice of modern journalism in 19th century Iran, and was applied to almost any kind of writing produced for the printed page (even a news story, short story or play was often referred to as *maḳāla* in place of *nivishta* or *maṭlab*), and the person who engaged in such writing would be called *maḳāla-nivīs* or equally *maṭlab-nivīs* (see Afḍal al-Mulk Zandī, *Afḍal al-tawārīkh*, ed. M. Ittiḥādiyya and S. Saʿdwandiyān, Tehran 1361 A.H.S.).

The leading article of a newspaper, or its editorial, would be called *sar-maḳāla* in Persian, and a series that would be carried over several issues would be *maḳālāt-i musalsal* or *silsila maḳālāt*.

Scholarly papers, which usually get published in academic journals, are also referred to as *maḳāla* (see Zarrīnkūb's *Naḳd-i adabī*, ii, 640), and a volume containing a collection of such papers would be called *maḳālāt* or *madjmūʿa maḳālāt*, e.g. the *Maḳālāt-i Taḳīzāda* or *Maḳālāt-i Kasrawī*. Sometimes the number of papers contained in such a volume will provide an appropriate title for it, e.g. *Bīst* [20] *maḳāla-yi Ḳazwīnī*, *Bīst maḳāla-yi Taḳīzāda*, *Čihil* [40] *maḳāla-yi Ḥusayn Nakhdjawānī* and *Čand* [several] *maḳāla-yi Naṣr Allāh Falsafī*.

The practice of indexing published articles and papers does not go back a long time. For a listing of selected writings in the field of Iranian studies, Īradj Afshār's *Fihrist-i maḳālāt-i Fārsī* is available. Three

volumes have been published so far, containing references to some 16,000 *makālāt* that have appeared between 1915 and 1971 in Iran. The fourth volume, unpublished as yet, deals with the writings of the past decade. Some other fields for which indexes are already available are geography, social sciences, economics, and law.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(I. Afshar)

3. In Turkey

In the majority of Turkish dictionaries of the 19th century, the term *makāla* figures with the primary sense of "discourse", of "monograph" or of "thing said or written regarding any given subject" (Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Kāmūs-i Türkī*). In this period it is usually encountered, often in the plural (*makālāt*), in the titles of collected editions of the "sayings" or "writings" of a certain writer or eminent person. However, since the middle of the 19th century, with the development of the Turkish language press, it has appeared more and more frequently as a designation of an article published in a periodical, progressively displacing from current usage other words such as *bend* or *bahth*.

Although a noun of Arabic origin, *makāla* has resisted quite well the various trends towards turkification of vocabulary which have characterised the history of the Turkish language in the 20th century. At the present time, this term is still in current use in the sense of an article in a journal or review (its primary sense of "thing said" having been forgotten), even though the word *yazı* "writing") which some would seek to substitute for it is gradually gaining ground, in spite of its inaccuracy.

Specialists in Turkish literature readily present *makāla* as a specific literary genre, distinct from the essay (*deneme*) or the anecdotal account (*fıkra*). It is thus, for example, that Cevdet Kudret defines it as a "writing composed with the object of exposing, defending or supporting a point of view on a certain subject" and states specifically that this type of work should not be confused with the essay (C. Kudret, *Örneklerle edebiyat bilgileri*, Istanbul 1980, ii, 372). In practice, however, it seems very difficult to assign precise limits to the *makāla* genre, this term being applied in fact, in customary usage, to every kind of article, ranging from the editorial of a daily newspaper to a learned study published in a specialist review, and including the article of literary criticism (generally classed in the category of "essays"), the "paper" of the historian or the political pamphlet.

While not constituting a major genre, the *makāla* is clearly a means of expression particularly valued by Turkish writers. The majority have written them while some, among the most eminent, have published nothing other than journalistic articles, promoting this type of production to the status of genuine artistic creation.

If the *makāla* has thus become the literary genre probably most widely practised in Turkey, this fact is to be explained in terms of the spectacular rise enjoyed by the periodical press in this country, beginning in the second half of the 19th century (see djarīda. iii). The first Turkish language journals—the *Takwīm-i wakā'iʿ*, founded in 1832, and the *Djerīde-yi hawādith* launched by the Englishman William Churchill in 1840—accorded only limited space for "articles", and essentially offered their readers short stories and official bulletins. However, with the appearance in 1860 of *Terdjumān-i ahwāl*, published by Āgāh Efendi in collaboration with Shināsī [*q.v.*], one of the most talented literary figures of the period, matters were to change in a radical manner. In fact, under the influence of Shināsī and of all those writers who were soon to become active in the same field, the nascent Turkish press rapidly acquired the objective not only of informing the public but also of working for the reform of society, and the journalistic article, in particular the editorial (soon to be designated by the term *bash makāla*), henceforward became a licensed instrument of education.

In the Turkish periodicals of the 1860s and 1870s, the majority of the leading contemporary literary figures are encountered. Besides Shināsī, who launched in 1861 his own journal, the *Taṣwīr-i efkār*, writers of renown including Ziyā (Ḍiyā') Pasha, ʿAlī Suʿāwī, Nāmīk Kemāl, Shams al-Dīn Sāmī and Ebü l-Ziyā (Abū l-Ḍiyā') Tewfīk, contributed to making the *makāla* one of the most flourishing genres. It was to a great extent through their articles, published in increasingly numerous intellectual journals, that ideas of reform began to spread at an accelerated pace. Neither political institutions, nor social structures, nor traditional culture escaped the criticism of these intellectuals of liberal tendency, most of whom belonged to the "Society of Young Ottomans" (*Yeñi ʿOthmānlılar Djemʿiyyeti*), which sought to transform Turkey into a modern country based on the model of the West, a state endowed with a constitutional régime and directed towards new manners of thought, life and action.

During this period of genesis, the newspaper article did not constitute only a means for the propagation of ideas received from elsewhere. It also played the role of a spear-head in the elaboration of a new literary language, closer to spoken Turkish. Shināsī and Ḍiyā' Pasha were among the first advocates of this simplification of the written language. They were soon followed by Nāmīk Kemāl—who was not always capable of putting into practice his own precepts on the matter—Shams al-Dīn Sāmī and numerous others.

While the *makāla* genre thus flourished in the context of the intellectual press, there also came into being in Turkey in the same period of time, a specialised periodical press—scientific reviews, women's magazines, professional organs, literary journals, etc.—in which there were to be found, alongside numerous translations, scholarly studies, articles of literary criticism and historical pieces comparable, in their professionalism, to writings of the same type promulgated by the Western press. Among these periodicals, one of the most notable was the *Medjmūʿa-yi fünūn*, founded in 1861 by Munīf Pasha. This monthly, which was presented as the organ of the "Ottoman Society of Sciences" (*Djemʿiyyet-i ʿIlmiyye-yi ʿOthmāniyye* [*q.v.*]) and which included articles dealing with such diverse disciplines as geography, history, geology, philosophy or natural sciences, was distinguished, during the few years of its existence, by the quality of its presentation and it played in Turkey of the mid-19th century a role similar to that of the *Grande Encyclopédie* in France of the Enlightenment.

Conscious of the danger which could be posed by these periodicals, which were continually growing in number, the Ottoman government had, since 1864, enacted various measures aimed at limiting the freedom of the press. With the accession to power of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II in 1876, the weight of bureaucratic interference was to become even more oppressive. But censorship, while preventing for several decades the publication of articles judged subversive, did not halt the development of Turkish journalistic production.

Indeed, on the contrary, as has been noted by Niyazi Berkes (*The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964, 277), the prohibition, beginning at the end of the 1870s, of subjects of political nature, was largely balanced by the proliferation of writings on scientific or cultural themes, which led to the accelerated diffusion of new ideas and knowledge.

Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi is definitely the most representative publicist of the Ḥamīdian period. Becoming a fervent supporter of ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II, after having flirted for some time with the adversaries of absolutism, he was very careful to write nothing which could have been interpreted as a criticism of the régime. This did not prevent him publishing an incalculable number of articles on the most diverse subjects, using the press, and in particular his own journal, the *Terd̲j̲ümān-i ḥaḳīḳat*, founded in 1878, as a veritable instrument of popular instruction.

The same encyclopaedic, somewhat disorderly curiosity is encountered in the case of Abu 'l-Ḍiyā' Tewfīḳ who, for almost thirty years, was practically the sole contributor to the *Med̲j̲mūᶜa-yi Abu 'l-Ḍiyā'*, one of the best cultural periodicals of the reign of ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd.

Among other great names of the Turkish press in this period, it is appropriate to mention also Aḥmed Iḥsān Bey, founder of the *T̲h̲erwet-i fünūn*, a scientific and literary magazine which brought together, until *ca.* 1900, the best writers of the time, notably the poet Tewfīḳ Fikret and the essayist D̲j̲anāb S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn, thus opening the way to the development of a whole literary school, subject to diverse influences but especially interested in symbolism and realism as then practised in France.

This having been said, although *maḳālas* on scientific or cultural themes represented, in these last years of the 19th century, the essence of Turkish journalistic production, political literature was also being developed. In fact, while within Turkey the periodical press employed its best efforts to avoid the attention of the Ḥamīdian censorship, abroad there was a proliferation of opposition journals, entirely devoted to anti-government diatribe. The Young Turk leader Aḥmed Riḍā Bey, who in 1895 had founded *Mes̲h̲weret* in Paris, was one of the foremost exponents of the political *maḳāla* and an expert at transcribing into Turkish the effects of French eloquence. His rivals were the founder of *Mīzān*, Murād Bey, and various other revolutionaries, among whom particular mention is due to ᶜAbd Allāh D̲j̲ewdet, whose *ᶜOt̲h̲mānli*, set in motion in Geneva in 1897, was for several years the most widely read organ of the Committee for Union and Progress.

After the Young Turk Revolution, which finally broke out in July 1908, the *maḳāla* genre was to enter a new stage in its development. The period of instability which ensued was marked not so much by liberalisation of control of the press as by the spectacular rise of a resolutely nationalist literature. In the daily press, it was the *Ṭanīn*, headed by Ḥüseyn D̲j̲āhid and Tewfīḳ Fikret, which played the role of the leading mouth-piece of this effervescent nationalism. But the Turkish intellectuals had at their disposal a large number of literary and scientific reviews in which they were able to publish considerably more "considered" articles than those destined for the daily consumption of the readers of newspapers.

According to a survey undertaken by Aḥmed Emīn in 1913 (*The development of modern Turkey as measured by its press*, New York 1914, 113-16), there were at this time in Istanbul, besides the official newspaper and 8 ministerial weekly bulletins, 60 periodicals, classified as follows: 6 dailies, 3 humorous magazines, 5 illustrated magazines, 6 "nationalist" reviews, 11 reviews intended for children, 2 women's journals, 6 religious reviews, 4 professional organs, 5 agricultural reviews, 6 military reviews and 7 scientific reviews. A large number of these periodicals had appeared after 1910, on the full crest of the nationalist wave, and they expressed, with different nuances and according to various approaches, the same aspiration towards a national rebirth. While the illustrated magazines accorded an ever increasing amount of space to photographs, the majority of the other reviews were composed almost entirely of *maḳālas*, often quite long. It was not unusual, for example, for *Türk Yurdu*, one of the leading nationalist organs of the period, to publish articles ten or more pages in length, in the form of serials continued over several issues. *Maḳālas* also occupied a relatively significant place in the daily press. According to the survey made by Aḥmed Emīn, *maḳālas* of all kinds (editorials, points of view) covered between 30 and 52% of the space of the six journals in circulation when the survey was conducted in 1913. The editorial alone occupied 11.74% of the space in *Ṣabāḥ*, an independent pro-government journal, 11.20% in *Tanẓīmāt*, an organ of the extreme left, 1017% in *Yeñi Gazete*, favourable to the opposition and between 6 and 10% in *Ṭanīn*, official organ of the government, *ᶜAlemdār* (opposition) and *Iḳdām* (moderate). These by no means negligible percentages testify in fact to the fidelity of the Turkish publicists to the tradition of the preceding decades where the *bas̲h̲ maḳāla*, the "leading article", constituted the essential and indispensable element of the newspaper, sometimes occupying as much as a quarter of the space available.

When this prolific production of articles is considered in total, the constant recurrence of certain themes cannot be other than striking. Among the questions of greatest interest to Turkish intellectuals in these years, the most prominent was the long-standing debate over the simplification and modernisation of the written language. The publication, in the review *Genč Ḳalemler* of Salonica, of a series of articles by ᶜÖmer Seyf al-Dīn and ᶜAlī D̲j̲ānib proposing the adoption of the spoken Turkish of Istanbul as a means of literary expression was to open the way, in 1911, to the movement of the "new language". The impassioned discussions which took place around this theme mobilised a large number of writers, some favourable to the theses defended in *Genč Ḳalemler*—prominent among those belonging to this category was Ḍiyā' Gökalp, one of the leading advocates of the nationalist trend—others opposed to them, among whom it is appropriate to mention Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād and D̲j̲anāb S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn, resolutely hostile to what they considered a debilitating debasement of the language. Another vigorous debate, in a quite different scheme of ideas, revolved around economic questions. Since the end of the 19th century, certain Turkish publicists, including Aḥmed Midḥat, had begun to express concern at Western control over the Ottoman economy and had advanced propositions aimed at putting an end to this state of affairs. Immediately after the Young Turk Revolution, controversies on this theme resumed in earnest, pitting the advocates of a liberal policy, favourable to foreign investments and freedom of commercial exchanges, against the supports of a strategy of tight government control, capable of opening the way to the establishment of a "national economy." Practically all the major periodicals of the period took part in these discussions, giving column space either to

"enlightened amateurs" such as Ḍiyā' Gökalp and Muṣṭafā Ṣubḥī, or to genuine specialists such as Alexander Israël Helphand, alias Parvus (one of the leading figures of German Social Democracy who lived in Turkey from 1910 to 1915) or Tekin Alp (pen-name of Moïse Cohen), editor-in-chief of *Iḳtiṣādiyyat Medjmūʿasi*, the leading economic review of the period.

In some publications, a very important place was also accorded to the literature and history of the Turks. In the review *Türk Yurdu* especially, writers whose origins lay in the Russian Empire, including Yūsuf Akčura, ʿAlī Hüseynzāde and Aḥmed Aghaoghlu, supported by Ottoman intellectuals including the novelist Khālid Edīb, the poet Djelāl Sāhir, the historian Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād and the literary critic ʿAlī Djānib, skilfully exalted the prestigious past of the "Turkish race" and pleaded unceasingly for a reunification, if only cultural, of the peoples derived from the primal Central Asian stem. Among the periodicals contributing to this exploration of the literary and historical foundations of Turkish nationalism, also worthy of mention are the monthly *Bilgi* and the weekly *Khalḳa Doghru*, both published by Djelāl Sāhir, and, in particular, the *Ta'rīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni Medjmūʿasi*, organ of the Ottoman Historical Society which, through the medium of the works of scholars such as Aḥmed Refīḳ and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, the last official chronicler of the Imperial Court, was to give decisive encouragement to the development of a "national" Turkish historiography.

To the range of themes which caused the greatest amount of ink to flow in the Young Turk decade, it is appropriate to add, finally, the religious question. In this domain, the controversies were particularly impassioned. While Muslim periodicals such as *Volkan*, *Beyān al-ḥaḳḳ* or *Sebīl ül-reshād* pressed for various forms of Islamic revival, advocating the teaching of the Ḳur'ān as the effective response to the evils of the age, certain nationalists and the "westernists" who had as their principal mouth-piece the review *Idjtihād* of the doctor ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet, published numerous articles which, if not overtly anti-religious, at least favoured a "rationalisation" of Islam and went so far as to demand a strict secularisation of Ottoman institutions which would free civil society from all religious domination.

The entry of the Ottoman Empire into war in 1914 did not bring about a fundamental change in the subject-matter of the *maḳālas* published by Turkish men of letters. In fact, a large proportion of the work produced in the preceding years had already constituted a literature of propaganda, intended principally to equip public opinion with ideological weapons in readiness for the approaching conflict, signalled in advance by a succession of regular crises. However, with the outbreak of hostilities there was witnessed a sharp radicalisation of the points of view expressed in the periodical press. Learned controversies were replaced by slogans, the exaltation of the national identity was transformed into belligerence and the eulogy of "Turkish" cultural values became racism. This nationalism exacerbated by war did, however, allow numerous Turkish individuals to clarify their positions. It was during the war years that Tekin Alp and some others put the finishing touches to theories of "national economy". It was also during the war years that Ḍiyā' Gökalp, who had become the foremost ideologue of the régime, promoted in the most excessive terms the cause of "Turkism".

Naturally, the circumstances were hardly favourable to freedom of expression. Literary men were obliged to take into account not only the imperatives of the war but also the increasingly marked authoritarianism of the Committee for Union and Progress, the holders of absolute power since 1912. It was not until the end of the global conflict that a genuine plurality of opinions was once more established in the Turkish periodical press. To be sure, occupied by the forces of the Entente, Istanbul, the intellectual capital of the country, was obliged for many years to bow to the censorship of the Allied High Commissions. But that which could not be said and written in the Ottoman capital could be blazoned forth in Anatolia, where Muṣṭafā Kemāl was leading the struggle for Turkish independence, and conversely, writings which would not be tolerated by the Anatolian government could be published without difficulty in the regions controlled by the Entente.

In Istanbul, a large number of journalists and writers took advantage of this situation to oppose systematically the ideas propounded by the nationalists, and to campaign with equally vigorous propaganda against those who still supported the Committee of Union and Progress in opposition to Muṣṭafā Kemāl and his partisans. The most virulent among them was ʿAlī Kemāl Bey, editor-in-chief of *Peyām-i Ṣabāḥ*, whose editorials bore witness to a particularly incisive polemical talent. For their part, literary men who supported the nationalist movement undertook as their primary task to put a stop to defeatism, using their writings to stimulate Turkish patriotism. But some also pondered over the future of Turkey and indulged in speculation as to the form which would be taken by the future Turkish state. No reader of the journalism dating from the beginning of the War of Independence can fail to notice, in particular, to what an extent the nationalists were fascinated by the Soviet experience. In *Yeñi Gün*, editorials favourable to the Soviets—most of them owed to Yūnus Nādī, the proprietor of the newspaper, or to Maḥmūd Esʿad—could be counted by the score. Articles of similar type, though fewer in number, were also published by *Ḥākimiyyet-i milliyye*, the official organ of the Kemālist government. It is, however, appropriate to state that this love affair with revolutionary Russia was short-lived. At a very early stage, the ideologues of the national movement—prominent among whom was Muṣṭafā Kemāl himself, who did not hesitate to take to the pen to express his point of view—were putting forward concepts very similar to those championed some years previously by the theorists of the Young Turk régime, leaving the defence of the Soviets to genuine Communists such as Shefīḳ Ḥüsnü and Ṣadr al-Dīn Djelāl, the two leading contributors to the review *Aydinliḳ*.

Undoubtedly the most remarkable phenomenon in these years was the emergence of a genre closely related to that of the *maḳāla*, the *fiḳra*, a kind of short news item generally of entertaining nature, combining anecdote with comment on some matter of contemporary importance. The first major practitioner of this literary genre, Aḥmed Rāsim, had begun to publish his articles towards the end of the 19th century. Subsequently, numerous other writers, in particular the poet Aḥmed Hāshim and the journalist Ḥuseyn Djāhid Yalčïn, made names for themselves as eminent authors of *fiḳras*. But it was especially after the First World War, with the appearance of new specialists such as Refīḳ Khālid Karay and Fāliḥ Rïfḳī Atay, that this type of news-item came to occupy a position of major importance in newspapers and reviews, possibly because the anecdotal tone which

was its distinguishing feature enabled it to discuss political questions in a manner unlikely to alarm the censors, possibly also because the public expressed an ever-increasing interest in this form of expression.

Extremely sensitive to the fluctuations of political circumstance, the Turkish periodical press was obliged once again to change its complexion in the mid-1920s, with the establishment in Turkey, shortly after the proclamation of the Republic, of a single-party régime. In fact, although this did not lead to the total disappearance of opposition newspapers and reviews, the monopoly exercised by Muṣṭafā Kemāl's creation, the Republican People's Party, over the conduct of public affairs was accompanied by a spectacular inflation—especially noticeable after 1930—in the press entrusted with the defence of the official line. This development of a republican press was made possible only by means of a vast mobilisation of intellectuals. Journalists, writers, historians, economists, sociologists, all were called upon to make their contribution to the building of the new Turkey. Those who responded to this appeal—and there were many of them—did so by producing for the Kemālist periodicals *makalas* remarkable, whatever the subject tackled, for the eagerness of their commitment.

It is probably in the monthly *Kadro*, published between 1932 and 1934, that there appeared the most remarkable and significant articles of the period. Motivated by a relatively limited team of writers including in particular Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Vedat Nedim Tör, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Ismail Husrev and Burhan Asaf, this review was especially concerned with economic and social questions, and it contributed in a significant manner to the refinement of Kemalist theses in these domains. Writers involved with this magazine were responsible for the most convincing arguments in favour of the state control policy adopted by the régime in economic matters, from the beginning of the 1930s.

The articles published in *Kadro*, often relatively long and technical, were addressed to an educated public of bureaucrats and intellectuals. *Makalas* of a more accessible type were to be found for example in the numerous organs of the "People's Houses" [see Kh̲alḳevi], kinds of public forums established by the Republican People's Party to propagate Kemalist values throughout the country. The reviews, of which the best was *Ülkü*, the monthly magazine of the People's House of Ankara, provided an impressive collection of works, generally modest in scale but sometimes of very high quality, concerning the folklore, the history, the arts and the social life of Turkey all of which had the aim, often in explicit manner, to stimulate the national pride of the population and to lay the foundations of a new culture compatible with republican ideas.

With the spread of universities, high schools and research institutions, Kemalist Turkey was also soon to be endowed with various specialised reviews, among which it is appropriate to mention in particular *Türkiyat Mecmuasi*, organ of the Institute of Turcology of the University of Istanbul, and *Belleten*, review of the Foundation for Turkish History. The scientific *makalas* published in these periodicals were generally of a quality comparable to that of articles of similar type produced in countries with a long university tradition. However, some writers willingly took account of the directives and principles of the régime, eager to construct from all their work hypotheses and theories capable of supporting them.

This said, even though writings inspired by official doctrines constituted until the end of the Second World War the major portion of the material appearing in the Turkish periodical press, dissidents were not deprived of the opportunity for self-expression, provided that they did not overstep certain limits. It was thus for example that one of the most talented journalists of the period, Peyami Safa, was responsible for a large number of subtly reactionary *makalas* and *fıkras* of which some were even published in government journals such as Yunus Nadi's *Cümhuriyet* and *Ulus*, the official organ of the Republican Party. Similarly, persons suspected of Communist sympathies such as Zekeriya Sertel, Sabahattin Ali, Aziz Nesin, Sadrettin Celal and numerous others, were able for many years to write in periodicals known for their progressive ideas—in particular the daily *Tan* and the monthly *Yurt ve Dünya*—without being unduly molested. It was only in 1945, in the wake of violent polemical struggle with Pan-Turkist organs, that they were obliged to put an end to their activities, some of them even being forced into exile.

After the Second World War, with the establishment of a pluralist régime and the emergence of new political parties, the various constituents of Turkish opinion were able to make their points of view known with greater ease than in the past, on condition however of exercising a degree of self-censorship. Only extremist factions, in particular all those considered to be Communists, as well as certain religious or ultra-nationalist groups, found themselves deprived for rather more than a decade of freedom of expression. This was however gradually restored to them in the wake of the *coup d'état* of 1960 which inaugurated in Turkey a period characterised by a growing liberalisation of political life and ideological debate.

This was a climate eminently favourable to the development of the press, as the statistics demonstrate. In 1951, there was a total of 551 periodicals in Turkey; by the end of the 1970s, the number had risen to more than 1,400. In such circumstances, the *makala* genre could not but prosper.

The political *makala* in particular flourished remarkably, especially in the period beginning in the mid-1960s. Among the outstanding specialists in the genre, mention should be made, on the left, of Doğan Avcioğlu, who in 1961 launched the weekly *Yön*, the first of a whole series of increasingly subversive periodicals which were to come into existence in succeeding years, as well as journalists of great talent including Çetin Altan, Abdi Ipekçi and İlhami Soysal. As for the conservative camp, besides Peyami Safa, who continued to produce extremely corrosive *makalas* until his death in 1961, worthy of mention, among many other polemicists of great virulence, are the poet Necip Fazil Kısakürek, founder of the Islamic and nationalist review *Büyük Doğu*, Ahmet Kabaklı, author of a large number of news-items of fundamentalist tone published in various journals, and Nazli Ilıcak, editor-in-chief of the daily *Tercüman*.

During the same period, literary criticism and the related genre of the essay (*deneme*) also developed in a remarkable manner. Nurullah Ataç, who died in 1957, had dominated the preceding decades with his refined sensibility and literary talent, leaving to posterity thousands of articles dispersed among scores of periodicals. Slightly younger than him, Suut Kemal Yetkin, Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, Azra Erhat and Tahir Alangu had also contributed to the enrichment of modern Turkish letters in these two domains. In their wake, with the proliferation of literary reviews from 1950 onwards, there appeared a host of new talents, of whom there is space here to mention only a few such as Asım Bezirci and Fethi Naci, very productive

literary critics; Mahmut Makal, the pioneer in Turkey of the essay on rural themes; Salah Birsel, who was responsible in particular for numerous theoretical writings on poetry; and most of all Atilla İlhan, author of news-items of a very personal tone on problems of contemporary Turkish society.

Finally, it is appropriate to note the remarkable proliferation of works of academic type published in reviews intended for a limited audience. Until recently, only establishments of higher education had at their disposal organs capable of accommodating such production. Several reviews of wider circulation, designed with the aim of laying the results of scientific research before an educated public, have begun to appear since the mid-1970s, at the initiative of private individuals or associations. The most characteristic example which may be cited in this context is the quarterly *Toplum ve Bilim*, founded by Sencer Divitçioğlu which, since its inception, has given a new impetus to works in the domain of economic and social history.

If the *makala* appears as a whole to be an ever-expanding genre, it should nevertheless be noted that, in the daily press, the tradition of the *bash makāla* has tended, for its part, to disappear. An essential element of the newspaper in the 19th century and during the Young Turk period, from the end of the 1930s the editorial occupied no more than approximately 1 to 2% of available space in organs such as *Cümhuriyet* or *Ulus*. Today, it has disappeared from the majority of dailies—including *Cümhuriyet*, in spite of its long-lived traditional role as a journal of opinion—or survives only in the form of articles of variable regularity relegated to the interior of the newspaper. This abandonment of the *bash makāla* is perhaps a result of the proliferation, in newspapers, of particular rubrics—*fikra*, news of foreign politics, economic news, etc.—enabling different members of the staff to express their point of view on matters of the moment. It is explained, above all, by the radical transformation experienced by the Turkish daily press after 1960. The appearance of non-political newspapers of mass circulation—in 1982 *Günaydin* had a readership of more than 800,000 and *Hürriyet* approximately 600,000—and the competition posed by television have had a drastic effect on the ideological press which, to survive, has found itself in many cases obliged to adopt the formulae operated by the mass-circulation dailies: development of photographic reportage, expansion of space reserved for sport, for humorous cartoons, for entertainments, multiplication of short stories at the expense of serious articles. The most successful example of this adaptation to the new circumstances of journalism is provided by the conservative daily *Tercüman* which in 1982 drew a readership of almost 400,000. However, as has been seen, these structural changes have not prevented the *makala* on political themes from prospering. The traditional *bash makāla* has been replaced not only by the news-items and diverse "points of view" published on the inside pages of daily newspapers, but also by the widespread production of weekly or bi-monthly periodicals of all shades of opinion, whose proliferation has only been temporarily halted by the measures taken to restrict the freedom of the press in the aftermath of the military intervention of 1980.

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(P. Dumont)

MAKALLA. [see AL-MUKALLĀ].

MAḲĀM (A., pl. *maḳāmāt*), literally "place, position, rank", began to appear in Islamic musical treatises at the end of the ʿAbbāsid period, to designate Arabo-Irano-Turkish and assimilated musical modes and, in this musical sense, it is still predominantly used today. It is thought that this usage comes from the place assigned to the musician with a view to the interpretation of a given musical mode; but it will be seen later that each mode also has a defined place and a position on the finger-board and fingering of the ʿ*ūd* [*q.v.*].

Maḳām has a broader meaning than its translation "mode". *Maḳām* defines both the "formulary mode" (J. Chailley), the Greek concept of the systemic mode, the "scale-system" (J.-Cl. Ch. Chabrier) with the heptatonic octave (*sullam, dīwān asāsī*) or, going beyond the octave, the analysed modal structure, standardised or conceived on the ʿ*ūd* through a joining-together of tri-, tetra-, or pentachordal genres (*djins*, pl. *adjnās*), the plan, process or "operational protocol" of improvisation or interpretation of the mode according to the models, forms, formulas or musical cadences, and finally "the ethos" or "modal sentiment" (*rūḥ al-djins*), linked to the conception or perception of the given musical mode.

Such a fairly broad meaning of the word, comprising the system, structure, form and aura of the mode, entails a relative synonymity of the term *maḳām* with other generic names of modes, used concurrently by the musicologists of mediaeval Islam, such as *laḥn*, *djamʿ*, *ṭarīḳa*, *dastān*, *madjrā*, *tarkīb*, *djins*, *dawr*, *shadd*, *murakkab*, *shuʿba*, *barda*, *āwāz*, *gūsha*, *baḥr*, etc. In the 20th century, even if the term *maḳām* remains the most classical and widespread, other generic names designate the musical mode in various regions: *naghma*, *nagham* (Arab East); *ṭab*, *ṣanʿa* (Maghrib); *āwāz*, *dastgāh*, *naghma* (Iran). The term *maḳām* becomes *makam* in Turkey, *mugām* in Ādharbāydjān and Turkmenistan and *makom* in Central Asia.

A musicological controversy places in opposition to

GENRES TRI- TETRA- PENTACORDES CONSTITUTIFS DES MODES ORIENTAUX_INTERVALLES COMMATIQUES ET INSERTION SUR L'ECHELLE

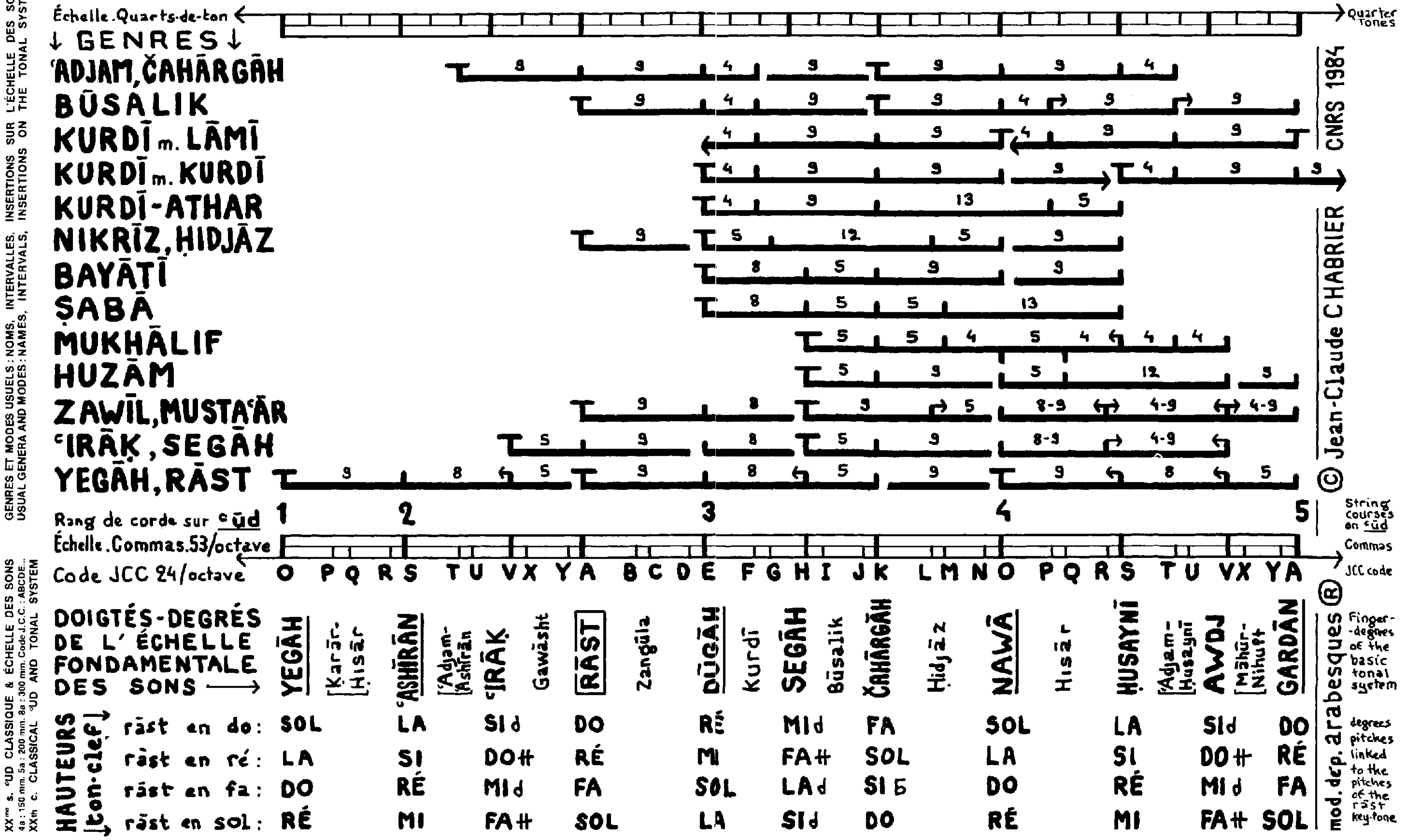

one another at present the partisans of the *maḳām*-system and the partisans of the *maḳām*-form. The ambiguity arises from the fact that a *maḳām*-system being made musically concrete entails the illustration of its structures in the form of a solo melodic modal improvisation entrusted to an instrumentalist (this is the *taḳsīm*), to the human voice without written music (this is the *layālī*), or in the form of a memorised or written elaboration entrusted to an instrumental group (*takht* or *djawḳ*) or to an orchestra with soloists, singers and choral voices. In the latter case, the listener retains the written music or poetry and the form more than the system. In some countries, e.g. those of the Maghrib or Central Asia, as in Iran, Ādharbāydjān or ʿIrāḳ, the *maḳām* is understood precisely through the agency of its forms or models transmitted on the instrument from master to pupil or entrusted to solo artists acquainted with the traditional répertoire (*nawba* in the Maghrib, *makom* in Central Asia, *radīf* in Iran, *mugām* in Ādharbāydjān or *maḳām* in ʿIrāḳ, for example).

Whatever may be the ascendancy of human voices and the impact of words and poems on the Islamic populations, even if it remains at the central core of Islamic culture, the Arabo-Irano-Turkish *maḳām* appears in the history of musical language to be a relation which has evolved from the ancient musical mode, rethought, conceived and standardised on the fingerboard of the *ʿūd* through an association of genres (*adjnās*). The understanding of the *maḳām* is thus inseparable, on the level of the analysis of modal structures, from a study of the language of the *ʿūd*, an instrument which has defined the scale of sounds and tested the types constituting the modes. The modal languages of Islam were developed under the finger (*iṣbaʿ*, pl. *aṣābiʿ*), on the finger-board (*dastān*) and along the scale-range of the *ʿūd*. This process of elaboration allowed each *maḳām*, from the time of its creation, to go beyond its own technical and intellectual conception and each system to be transmuted into a process and a form which would put into a concrete shape the "idea-material", the "*maḳām-ʿūd*" relationship. Hence the risk constituted by the representation of a *maḳām* or its modal structures on a musical stave in the 20th century.

Formation and evolution of the theoretical scale of sounds.—The first technical and modal problem of music within Islam seems to have been the combination of the autochtonous or empirical systems inherited from the *Djāhiliyya* with the scholarly systems borrowed from the Byzantines, Lakhmids and Sāsānids. The artists and theoreticians, therefore, until the end of the ʿAbbāsid period, had to find on the finger-board of the lute theoretical scales whose intervals and "finger-degrees" or "scaling-fingerings" might be compatible with the local practices and Greek theories which were regarded as ideal [cf. MŪSĪḲĪ].

As the Greek modes had been conceived on the lyre and the local modes on long-necked lutes, it was necessary to multiply the number of fingering-degrees and positions on the finger-board of the *ʿūd*, a short-necked lute adopted with the rise of Islam, so as to ratify the juxtaposition of various scales with different intervals and to open up the possibility of producing sound-degrees to suit various systems and temperaments.

The technical genesis of the *maḳām*, heir of the ancient mode, passed according to mediaeval treatises through the following stages:

1. Calculation of a theoretical scale, defining sounds and intervals;
2. Study of tetrachordal genres on the finger-board of the *ʿūd*; and
3. Elaboration of heptatonic octave scale system.

In fact, the theoreticians proceeded rather in the opposite way; starting with musical modes in use, they analysed their genres and attempted to conceive a rational theoretical scale.

What must be intended here by a theoretical scale is a series (*ṭabaḳa*) or a framework of available consecutive sounds disposed from low to high within an octave and over several octaves, to depart from which knowledgeable musicians could select the intervals or standardise the fingering-degrees, then the genres, and finally the modes of a piece of music in a given temperament. Throughout the evolution of the musical sciences within Islam, various theoretical scales were conceived and used, either successively or concurrently.

The first theoretical scale of tones, which existed before Islam and was known to the ancient Greeks, was based on the division of the string into forty aliquot parts, and, following from this, the division of the first octave into twenty musically unequal intervals. Al-Fārābī, writing in the 4th/10th century, describes the *ṭunbur* of Baghdād in these terms, distinguishing five first fingerings in use since the *Djāhiliyya* and five others which are his own invention. Theoretically, this acoustic system defines numerous intervals which are to be found in earlier or later systems. Worthy of mention are a sub-quarter-tone diesis (40/39) of Eratosthenes, a sub-limma (40/38 = 20/19; 89 cents), a sub-neutral-second, prefiguring that of Ibn Sīnā, (40/37), a minor harmonic tone (40/36 = 10/9; 182 cents), a maximal tone (40/35 = 8/7; 231 cents). Furthermore, al-Fārābī proposes a subminor-third (40/34 = 20/17; 281 cents), a sub-neutral-third (40/33), a major harmonic third (40/32 = 5/4; 386 cents), an implicit diminished fourth (40/31) and a perfect fourth (40/30 = 4/3; 498 cents). If this system is pursued, the logical outcome will be a sub-diminished fifth (40/29), a harmonic tritone (40/28 = 10/7; 617 cents), a short fifth (40/27) and a super-"wolf's-fifth" (40/26). But al-Fārābī restricts his description to the fourth, and no evidence is available concerning the details of the diffusion of this system in proto-Islamic or early Islamic music.

In Baghdād, in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries, the eminent and skilled classical soloists of the *ʿūd*, like Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, seemed more inclined to employ the Pythagorean Hellenistic system. The latter was characterised by a limma (256/243; 90 cents), an implicit apotome (2187/2048; 114 cents), a major tone (9/8; 204 cents), a minor third (32/27; 294 cents), a major (third) or ditone (81/64; 408 cents), a perfect fourth (4/3; 498 cents), an implicit tritone subsequently described by al-Fārābī with reference to the harp (729/512; 612 cents) and a perfect fifth (3/2; 702 cents).

The two systems were thus only compatible on the level of the limma and of the fourth. At the same time, Manṣūr Zalzal, a virtuoso lutist, apparently reconciled the popular and learned traditions by giving official status to a para-Pythagorean system based on empirical and equidistant longitudinal divisions of the string of the *ʿūd*, following the Pythagorean fingering-degrees.

Zalzal thus recommended the use of the following complementary degrees: a "Persian" neutral second (162/149; 145 cents; 6,4 holders), a "Zalzalian" neutral second (54/49; 168 cents; 7,4 holders), a "Persian" minor third (81/68; 303 cents; 13,4 holders) and a "Zalzalian" neutral third (27/22; 355

RÊVERIES SUR LE MAQÂM FARAḤFAZÂ
SUITE MODALE (19'30").

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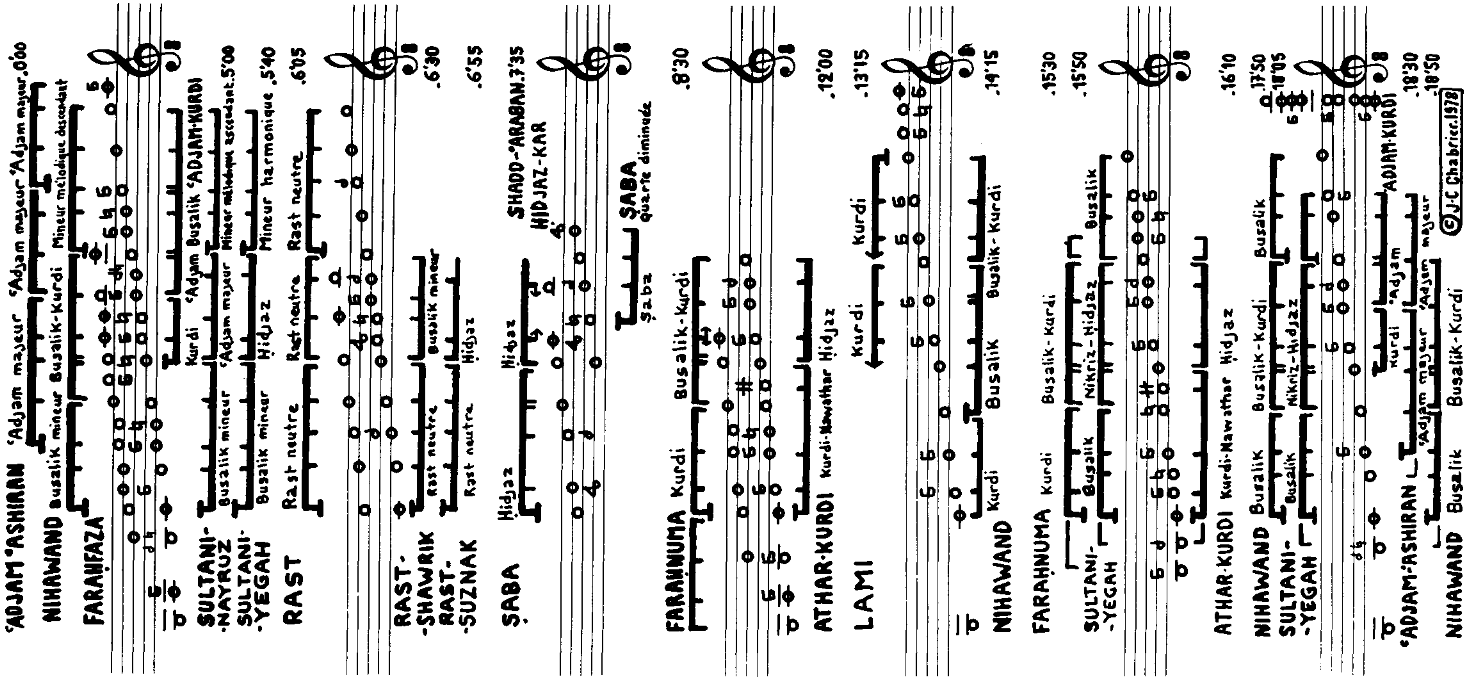

L'accordature du ᶜ*ûd* de Jamil Ghânim implique une échelle à *râst* en *fa*2. Le doigté *râst* (ton-clef) donne un *fa*, le degré *yegâh* (1° corde vide) un *do*2. Les modes et genres (commatiques) s'insèrent logiquement dans ce système : *Farahfazâ (yegâh-nawâ-do,* 6° corde en *sol*1), *Nihâwand (râst-fa,* 6° corde en *fa*1).

Les analyses et schémas consignent les modes, genres, degrés, intervalles constitutifs ou de modulation identifiés à l'oreille et sont transcrits à la hauteur réelle jouée. Les altérations précisent les quarts-de-tons ou commas conformément au style du musicien et à notre code *"arabesques"*.

Le code d'altérations *arabesques* confronte les codes arabes, iraniens, turcs, les quarts-de-tons et commas. Assimilant 1 quart à 2 commas, il reprend de nombreux signes déjà utilisés sur portées orientales et en crée quelques nouveaux pour situer des altérations touchant les 9 commas du ton majeur.

Code d'altérations *arabesques* avec division du ton en 4 quarts - 9 commas

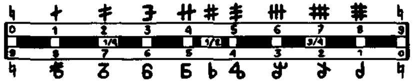

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cents; 15,7 holders.) Thus there came about, in regard to the fingerboard of the *ʿūd*, the confrontation between the Hellenistic or universal acoustic systems and the specific or empirical Arabo-Irano-Turanian musical systems.

The treatises of al-Kindī, al-Munadjdjim (3rd/9th century), al-Fārābī, al-Iṣfahānī, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (4th/10th century), Ibn Sīnā (5th/11th century) and many other scholars thus had as their object or desired aim to position on the finger-board of the *ʿūd* a theoretical scale capable of standardising the intervals of these different systems.

The ideal solution seems to have been found in the 7th/13th century by the Systematists with Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, thanks to a commatic scale supporting the Pythagorean system and assimilating, by justifying them by longitudinal measures and mathematical calculations, the intervals of the *Djāhiliyya* and the neutral intervals. It all led in practice to the (theoretical) comma, the limma (4 commas), the apotome (5 commas), the minor tone (8 commas), the major tone (9 commas) divided into two limmas and a comma, and their combinations, amongst these being a minor third (13 commas), a neutral third which became "natural" (17 commas), a major third (18 commas) and a perfect fourth (22 commas).

Subsequently, Iran, Central Asia and the outer regions moved away from reference to the *ʿūd* and returned to empirical systems. The Arab world was to experience the recession before adopting from the 18th century, and more precisely with Mikhāʾīl Mushāka (19th century), under the influence of Europe, a theoretical scale dividing the octave into twenty-four quarter-tones (*rubʿ*). Only the Ottomans and the heirs of ʿAbbāsid élitism were able to perpetuate the commatic system of the Systematists.

In the 20th century, a comparative Arabo-Irano-Turkish study entails the reconstitution of a theoretical scale of sounds confronting the three systems of contemporary Arab, Iranian and Turkish temperaments. In spite of divergences, the octave can be divided into twenty-four intervals defining twenty-five fingering-degrees or scaling-fingerings (*daradja*, *barda*, *perde*), supposing there to be four per major tone. The traditional names of these fingering-degrees are somewhat variable from one language to another (e.g. *segāh-sīkāh*, *čahārgāh-djahārkāh*).

The preliminary division of the octave into fifty-three Holderian commas among the Turks and twenty-four quarter-tones among the Arabs and Iranians only presents minor problems of temperament, illustrated by the controversies as to the height of the "neutral" fingering-degrees, as, for example, the *segāh* higher in the Zarlinian third (17 commas, Turkey, Aleppo, Baghdad than in the Zalzalian third (16 commas or 7 quarters, Cairo, Damascus). Of the twenty-five theoretical fingering-degrees, modern Iranian treatises mention only eighteen fingering-degrees to the octave, dividing the octave into seventeen intervals which are unequal, having a semi-tone and two quarter-tones in a major tone. So it is not a case of seventeen third-tones.

This theoretical scale is transposable in its entirety in terms of the pitch (*ṭabaḳa*) then of the height of reference chosen. Also the guide mark and key tone of the scale, *yegāh* and *rāst*, can be aligned on a frequency, a pitch and then an equivalent Latin note which varies according to the countries, schools or, obviously, voices to be accompanied. The *rāst*, key tone, can be a *si*♭, a *do* (Mediterranean), a *ré* (Turkey), a *fa* or a *sol* (ʿIrāḳ, Iran) or even a *la*, and the whole scale is led by it like a mobile keyboard or a set of *nāy*s (oblique flutes) of various pitches.

This theoretical scale can be deduced from the historical *ʿūd* which conceived it and is reducible to the modern *ʿūd* which is its ideal standard. For this reason, it is influenced by "units" of fourths, and presents in the 20th century preferential degrees corresponding to the open strings of the *ʿūd* with classical tuning, supposing that, from low to high, is a bass string: *karār-rāst* or *karār-dūgāh*, 1st string *yegāh*, 2nd string *ʿashīrān*, 3rd. string *dūgāh*, 4th string *nawā*, 5th string *gardān*. So it is not equalised like a piano scale.

This theoretical scale is only a range without an immediate melodic outcome. The twenty-five sounds disposable on the octave are not played in conjunction or simultaneously. A given modal structure uses normally only four degrees to the fourth or eight degrees to the octave in the rules of heptatonic diatonism.

Value of the intervals and formation of the genres. Historically in the treatises and logically in analysis, the approach to the *maḳāmāt* entails, the unit of measure and theoretical scale of sounds being known, a study of the intervals and fingering-degrees which, in dividing the fourth or the fifth, seek to define the tri-, tetra- or pentachordal genres constituting the *maḳāmāt*. The genre (*djins*, *baḥr*, *ʿiḳd*, in Arabic, *dörtlü-beşli* in Turkish) is thus the elementary unit of the modal structures in contemporary Arabic and Turkish treatises. In Iranian treatises it is not explicitly identified, but a modal analysis should reveal its presence.

The selection of a given genre brings a choice of fingering-degrees on the theoretical scale of sounds and also ordains a specific series of juxtaposed intervals. The value of these intervals is determined by the systems or temperaments adopted.

In the Arab countries and Iran, the intervals are measured in quarter-tones at the rate of twenty-four quarters per octave. The chromatic quarter-tone is exceptional. The current melodic intervals are the semitone (2 qs.), the three-quarter-tone (3 qs.), the major tone (4 qs.), the maxim tone (5 qs.), the trihemitone (an augmented second of (6 qs.). The thirds are minor (6 qs.), neutral (7 qs.) or major (8 qs.). The fourths are perfect (10 qs.), but the shortened fourth (6 qs.) of the *ṣabā* genre should be noted as well as the augmented fourth (tritone of 12 qs.) of the *nikrīz*, *nawathar* and *kurdī-athar* genres. The perfect fifths are 14 qs. The intervals are more flexible in Iran.

In Turkey and the academic schools (Aleppo, Mosul, Baghdad) the intervals are measured in Holderian commas at the rate of fifty-three commas per octave. The current intervals are the limma (4 commas), the apotome (5 cs.), the minor tone (8 cs.), the major tone (9 cs.), the "trilimma" or trihemitone (augmented seconds of 12 or 13 cs.). The thirds are minims (12 cs.), minors (13-14 cs.), rarely neutrals (15-16 cs.), Zarlinian naturals (17 cs) or Pythagorician majors (18 cs.). The fourths are perfect (22 cs.), shortened (18) or augmented (26 cs.), in the genres mentioned above. The perfect fifths are of 31 commas.

The Arab, Iranian and Turkish treatises give the specific intervals historical names, of which the variants will not be mentioned here. The fingering-degrees or scaling-fingerings are not always designated by their Eastern names, and, under the influence of European notation, Latin names of the notes are frequently used by giving them adapted inflections. Also, more precisely since the Congrès de musique du Caire (1932), a note lowered a quarter-tone (made semi-flat) can be called *nuṣṣ-bémol*, *kar-*

bémol or *koron*. Raised a quarter-tone (made semi-sharp), it becomes *nuṣṣ-dièze*, *kar-dièze* or *sorī*. The Turkish codes of inflection are clearly more rigid due to the commatic system. There are regular new initiatives, amongst which is a code of the Colloque de Beyrouth (1972). One of the most recent (code arabesque, 1978) normalises the signs and transcribes all the commatic inflections.

Just as the theoretical scale of sounds is only a range, the quarter-tone and the comma are only units of measure and not melodic or chromatic intervals. Heptatonic diatonism theoretically escapes the proliferation of fingering-degrees or scaling-fingerings beyond eight to the octave, when there is a given modulation. Further, the conception of the genres on the finger-board of the *ʿūd* can only use the open string and four fingers, which reinforces the link between the fifth and the playing of a pentachord and does not stir the musician to imagine micro-intervals smaller than the limma which do not exist in the traditional genres. Here, moreover, the *maḳām* owes more to the *ʿūd* than to the laboratory.

Nevertheless, some "micro-intervals" are smaller than the semi-tone or the limma. In diatonism, they may be detected below the fingering-degree *segāh* of the rare genres *awdj-ārā* and *sāz-kār* described by Erlanger (quarter-tone between *ré dièze* and mi semi-bémol). There is also a leading note at the same level in the *segāh* genre, which is superimposed on diatonism. However, it would appear to be a matter of Turkish limmas, which, transposed in the Arabic quarter-tone system, are devalued. In chromatism, there are micro-intervals in the execution of the rare *mukhālif* genre of ʿIrāḳ; but it is, in this case, an alternated overlapping of the *ṣabā* and *segāh* genres on the same part of the scale. In this case, it is even possible to analyse a *maḳām Mukhālif* formed from the overlapping of the three *Ṣabā*, *Segāh* and *Huzam maḳāmāt* mobilising twelve degrees per octave (cf. *Arabesques* record 5, *Luth en Iraq traditionnel*, *ʿUd Jamīl Bachīr*).

As the selection of a genre brings a choice of fingering-degrees and ordains a specific series of juxtaposed intervals, the genre is an elementary and invariable modal structure which should be identified on analysis in terms of the value of its intervals and independently of the temperament adopted. The ear itself is probably aided by characteristic melodic formulae of the genre and by an intuitive perception. However, apart from the variations of temperament from one country to another, the universal laws of music "temper" the rigidity of the specific intervals.

Some fingering-degrees of the genre, in particular the two poles or extremities often inserted in an open string of the *ʿūd*, are rigorously fixed, except, for instance, in the Iranian-ʿIrāḳıan *Dashtī-Dasht* mode. Others, the intermediaries, can be mobile. This mobility is frequently linked to phenomena of ascending or descending gradient or enharmonic change, quite natural on instruments with a non-fretted finger-board such as the *ʿūd* or the violin, and more artificial on instruments such as the *ḳānūn*. It also responds to phenomena of attraction or repulsion valid in other kinds of music.

Also, such a fingering-degree or scaling-fingering will be raised more in ascending than in descending. In spite of the fairly rigid commatic precision of the system applied in Turkey, the third fingering-degree *segāh* of the *rāst* genre occurs at 17 commas of the finale in ascending and 16 in descending, also inflecting a Zarlinian third and a Zalzalian third. By contrast, if this *segāh* fingering-degree becomes the finale of the *segāh* genre it becomes a modal pole and it is fixed more especially as it is doubled with a leading note given the space of several commas.

It may be remarked that the mobile degrees are frequently linked, as historical treatises or musical practice confirm, with the index or medius finger on the finger-board of the historical or modern *ʿūd*. In the modes of Iran, these mobile fingering-degrees, which the analysts do not associate with the role of the *ʿūd*, are called *mutaghayyir*.

The establishment of a nomenclature of Arabo-Irano-Turkish musical genres can only lead to a didactic compromise due to the complexity of the criteria allowing the specificity of a genre to be confirmed. However, the same term can designate different genres, or the same genre may be designated variously according to the countries. An Arabo-Turkish terminology will be normalised here.

Erlanger presents an Arabo-Turkish system marked by the academic tradition of Aleppo with a quarter-tone scale and enumerates seventeen genres. An Arabo-Turkish system will be presented here marked by the *ʿūd* school of Baghdād with a commatic scale. A progression of structures will follow from the "Hellenic" scale (tones and semi-tones) to the "Islamic" scale (which includes also neutral seconds and thirds). The reverse approach would also be plausible.

Attention will be given to eight structures of the main genres by giving precise information on their characteristic interval: *čahārgāh* or *ʿadjam-ʿashīrān* (major); *būsalīk* (minor); *kurdī* (minor second and third); *ḥidjāz* (with trihemitone-augmented second); *bayātī* and *nawā* tetrachords or *ḥusaynī* and *ʿushshāḳ* pentachords (neutral second and minor third); *ṣabā* (neutral second, minor third and diminished fourth); *segāh* and *ʿirāḳ* (finale on a neutral fingering-degree with apotome and short neutral third), *rāst*, an academic and classical genre (major second and neutral third).

Six structures will also be cited derived from the main genres by correlation, overlapping, combination, inflection: *kurdī-athar* (*kurdī*/*ḥidjāz* correlation); *nikrīz* and *nawathar* (*būsalīk*/*ḥidjāz* correlation); *mukhālif* (*ṣabā-segāh* overlapping); *huzam* (*segāh*/*ḥidjāz* combination); *mustaʿār* inflection of the *segāh*); and *zawīl* (*ḥidjāz*/*rāst* interaction).

All these genres are compatible with the fifth and can be represented in the form of pentachords on a diagram illustrating the real value of the intervals and the preferred insertion on the scale of sounds, itself transposable. However, so as to facilitate reading, a scale of sounds is often chosen with a *rāst* key tone in *do* (Mediterranean) and one may also remark the equivalence in Latin notes of the height of the fingering-degrees or scaling-fingerings by giving their inflections precisely.

Formation of the musical modes from the genres.—The mode (*maḳām* in Arabic; *dastgāh*, *āwāz*, *naghma* in Persian; *makam* in Turkish) is formed by the combination of genres. However, musicologists who do not play the *ʿūd*, Iranian authors and numerous Western musicologists study the mode as a whole like a Greek mode or an Indian *raga*.

In popular traditions and archaic practices, a single tri-, tetra- or pentachordal genre can constitute a *maḳām* of limited ambitus. In general, it is a genre more autochthonous than Hellenic such as the *ḥidjāz*, the *bayātī*, the *ṣabā* or the *rāst*. A Bedouin's improvisation on his *rabāba* is often limited to a tetrachord. But an educated artist can decide to play deliberately in the popular style and produce an astonishing result (e.g. Djamīl Bashīr interpreting the *swīḥlī-nāʿil* on the

ᶜūd; cf. *Arabesques* record 5, *Luth en Iraq traditionnel*, *ᶜUd Jamîl Bachîr*).

Two genres joined from low to high can form the "scale system" (*dīwān asāsī*, *sullam* in Arabic; *dizi* in Turkish) of a classical heptatonic *maḳām* bearing a tonic finale (*asās*, *mayé*, *durak*), a witness-pivot (*ghammāz*, *shāhid*, *güçlü*), normally placed at the juncture of the two genres and corresponding most often to an open string of the ᶜūd, which, in fact, by structural and acoustic definition, is a preferential degree. Other degrees can be preferential or mobile according to the genres and modes played and in terms of what the ethnomusicologists call the hierarchy of degrees.

Musical treatises class *maḳāmāt* in terms of the degree on which they are inserted and progress from low to high. Here it will be limited to a small number of heptatonic "scale systems", simple or compound according to the identical (or theoretically identical) or different genres from which they are formed. All the *maḳāmāt* cited point to Arabo-Turkish academic traditions and a certain number of these *maḳāms* seem to be of relatively recent creation from the time of the Ottoman Empire (18th-19th centuries).

The constituent genres will be mentioned from low to high with and by their arbitrary limitation to the main octave (*dīwān asāsī*).

1. The principal *maḳāmāt* formed by the combination of two identical genres are called simple, and often bear the same name as their constituent genre or the fingering-degree of insertion on the theoretical scale of sounds:

Čahārgāh or *ᶜAdjam-ᶜAshīrān* (or *Māhūr*): major; major pentachord + major tetrachord.

Nihāwand or *Būsalīk*: minor; *būsalīk* tetrachord + *būsalīk* pentchord

Faraḥnumā, *Ḥidjāz-kār-kurdī*, *Kurdī*: two disjointed kurdī tetrachords (or *Kurdī tetrachord* + *būsalīk* pentachord

Lāmī: two descending, joined *kurdī* tetrachords (minor without finale)

Shadd-ᶜArabān, *Sūzidil*, *Ḥidjāz-kār*, *Shāhnāz*: *ḥidjāz* pentachord + *ḥidjāz* tetrachord (or the latter + *nikrīz-nawathar* pentachord)

Ḥusaynī: *bayātī-ᶜushshāḳ* pentachord + *bayātī* tetrachord (pivot on 5th degree)

Rāst: *rāst* pentachord + *rāst* tetrachord (two neutral thirds) (3rd and 7th degrees are neutral)

2. Some compound *maḳāmāt* are formed by joining two different genres constituting a heptatonic blend (*tarkīb*, *mürekkep*):

Sulṭānī-yegāh, *Nihāwand-kabīr*: harmonic minor; *būsalīk* pentachord + *ḥidjāz* tetrachord (or *būsalīk* tetrachord + *nikrīz* pentachord)

Athar-kurdī: *kurdī-athar* pentachord + *ḥidjaz* tetrachord

Nikrīz: *nikrīz* pentachord + modulating *rāst* tetrachord

Nawathar: *nikrīz nawathar* pentachord + *ḥidjāz* tetrachord

Ḥidjāz: *ḥidjāz* tetrachord + modulating *rāst* pentachord

Bayātī, *Nawā*: *bayātī* tetrachord + modulating *rāst* pentachord (*būsalīk* pentachord in the Turkish *Bayātī*)

Kardjighār: *bayātī* tetrachord + modulating *ḥidjāz* pentachord

Shūr: *bayātī* tetrachord + modulating *bayātī*, *būsalīk*, *rāst* or *ḥidjaz* pentachord (mobile 5th and 6th degrees)

Dasht: *bayātī-ᶜushshāḳ* pentachord (mobile 5th degree witness-pivot) + modulating *Kurdī* tetrachord).

Sūznāk: *rāst* pentachord + *ḥidjāz* tetrachord

3. Some complex *maḳāmāt* are reducible to three different genres by their octave system (a theory not found in Turkey):

Huzam: *segāh* trichord + *ḥidjāz* tetrachord + *rāst* trichord

Segāh: *segāh* trichord + modulating *rāst* or *bayātī* tetrachord + *rāst* trichord

ᶜIrāḳ: *segāh* trichord + *bayātī tetrachord* + *rāst* trichord

Sabā: *ṣabā* tetrachord + *ḥidjāz* overlapping (no octave)

4. Some *maḳāmāt* are reducible to an overlapping of genres or modes: *Faraḥfazā*: minor-major modal relativity with several leading notes

Mukhālif: overlapping of *ṣabā*, *segāh* and *huzam* (chromatism)

The definition of the *maḳām* limited to the octave is only a didactic diagram, for only archaic improvisations are limited to the octave. The extension of the system beyond the octave can be made in various ways. In the most common case, the heptatonic structure is recommenced in the adjacent low and high octaves. In scholastic practice, the theory or science of the musician adds new structures to the high and low in the form of connected genres or modes. It also leads to the formation of *maḳāmāt* of a broad ambitus, of which many are described in treatises. Going beyond the register of the human voice, they apply to instruments covering three octaves such as the ᶜūd with six courses of strings, the *ḳānūn*, the *sanṭūr* or the *nāy*. In this way, the *maḳām* is freed from its antiquity.

On the occasion of an improvisation (*taḳsīm*), Arabic and Turkish traditions define for each *maḳām* a point of departure (*mabdaʾ*, *zemin*), a process of melodic movement (*ṭawr*, *seyr*), stopping points (*marākiz*, *asma kararlar*), specific melodic formulas such as the *ḳafla* before returning to the finale (*karār*). Iranian traditions entail the unrolling of a certain number of melodic models (*gūshas*) according to a fixed protocol in the official répertoire (*radīf*), with the periodic return of a conclusive formula-coda (*forūd*) such as *bāl-i kabutar*.

Apart from the vertical association of genres and modes from low to high, horizontal associations in time allow for improvisation by modulating from a *maḳām* of reference. Genres and modes constituting the initial modal system are renewed in terms of the laws of Arabo-Turkish modulation (*talwīn*, *geçki*) by the substitution or evolution of structures engendering a succession of genres and modes at intermediate stages (*miyāna*, *meyan*) and illustrating a rich procession of ten or twenty *maḳāmāt* before returning to the initial *maḳām* (e.g. "Reveries sur le maqām Faraḥfazā", *Arabesques* record 6, *Luth au Yemen classique*, *ᶜUd Jamîl Ghânim*)

Al-maḳām al-ᶜirāḳī, based on the same process, is a typically ᶜIrāḳī genre whose poem is entrusted to a solo singer (*maḳāmčī*) and the accompaniment to an instrumental quartet (*čalghī*) from the beginning (*taḥrīr*) to the finale (*taslīm*) (e.g. "Meditations sur des naghams traditionnels d'Iraq", in *maḳām Pandjgāh*, *Arabesques* record 1, *Luth en Iraq classique*, *ᶜUd Munîr Bachîr*).

Insertion, height in frequency, transposition, gradient, ethos.—*Maḳāmāt* are not of a fixed height in frequency with reference to universal physical principles. But they have for preferential insertion that of their main genre, which is done more readily on certain fingering-degrees of the scale of sounds. Also the *Shadd ᶜArabān*, the *Yegāh* are inserted on *yegāh*; the *Sūzidil* on *ᶜashīrān*; the *ᶜAdjam-ᶜAshīrān* on *nim-ᶜadjam*; the *ᶜIrāḳ* on *ᶜirāḳ*; the *Nihāwand*, *Nikrīz*, *Nawathar*, *Ḥidjāz-kār*, *Rāst* on *rāst*; the *Kurdī*, *Ḥidjāz*, *Bayātī*, *Nawā*, *Ḥusaynī*, *ᶜUshshāḳ*, *Ṣabā*, *Shāhnāz* on *dūgāh*; *Segāh*, *Huzam*, *Mustaᶜār* on *segāh*; etc.

As the height in frequency of the fingering-degrees or scaling-fingerings is in terms of the height in frequency of the theoretical scale of sounds and the latter varies from one country to another and one school to

another, it would be difficult to speak of absolute height, more especially as the European pitches, which are often cited in reference, have continued to rise since the 18th century. Recourse to the *nāy*, sometimes evoked as a pitch, presents the same risk since, with the fixed fingering-degrees, the *nāy* transposes the scale in terms of its size.

In the Mediterranean Arab countries, the *rāst* is generally assimilated to a *do2* and played as such by trained musicians. In Turkey the scale has been deliberately fixed and the *rāst* key tone, called *sol* and written *sol* by convention is a *ré2* in official institutions. In ᶜIrāḳ and Iran, the *rāst* is more readily a *fa2* or a *sol2*. These heights suit baritone singers quite well. At all times, in practice, the instrumentalists choose their scale and the soloist singers impose theirs in terms of their vocal aptitudes.

The *maḳāmāt* can be transposed in various ways, in addition to transposition by total displacement of the tuning-pitch of the instrument or the theoretical scale of sounds. Transposition can be obtained on the *nāy* by preserving the fingerings and changing the *nāy*. On the *ḳānūn* and the *sanṭūr*, the playing is displaced after the tuning-pitch has been refined. On the *ᶜūd* all the fingering-degrees of a course of strings can be transferred to the next course, corresponding to a translation of a fourth without modification of the internal acoustic equilibrium of the *maḳām*. Also a *bayātī* on a *dūgāh* (3rd open string) can be transposed on a *nawā* (4th open string) or on an *ᶜas̲h̲īrān* (2nd open string) without breaking its structure, since the finale and the pivot (4th degree) remain inserted on the open strings. In some cases, the *maḳām* transposed in this way takes on a new name.

In other cases, a musician displaces the finale in a longitudinal fashion on the string, which leads to a transposition with translation of all the fingering-degrees and a modification of the acoustic structure of the *maḳām*. Such would be the case of a *maḳām Rāst* played on a *segāh* finale, a particularly arduous performance which alters the acoustic role of the pivot (5th degree), usually on an open string (*nawā*), and plays it on a fingering in the middle of a string.

Some *maḳāms* have, observed on a stave, octave scale systems absolutely identical with those of other *maḳāmāt*, whose height of insertion on the theoretical scale is different. Such is the case of *maḳāmāt S̲h̲add-ᶜArabān* (on *yegāh*), *Sūzidil* (on *ᶜas̲h̲īrān*), *Ḥid̲j̲āz-kār* (on *rāst*), Turkish *Zengüle* and *S̲h̲āhnāz* (on *dūgāh*). Played on a *ḳānūn* in the absence of a criterion of height, they could only be differentiated from one another by formulas, details of modulation or cadence. By contrast, on an *ᶜūd*, they have their own acoustic equilibrium. The *yegāh* finale (1st open string) of the *S̲h̲add-ᶜArabān* is on the *ᶜūd* a preferential and fundamental degree. On the other hand, the *rāst* finale (on a fingering of minor third on *ᶜas̲h̲īrān* 2nd string) of the *Ḥid̲j̲āz-kār*, which is a very important key tone, is not an acoustically preferential degree. Consequently, a *maḳām Ḥid̲j̲āz-kār* is not a transposed *S̲h̲add-ᶜArabān*.

The question of the gradient of the *maḳāmāt* has given rise to several controversies. Some *maḳāmāt*, at the time of their improvised melodic evolution, deliberately display ascending melody, others no less deliberately descending melody. The musicologists of Turkey give precise information in their works as to the nature of the pitch to be given its value. At times, two *maḳāmāt* of identical modal structure and identical insertion have different gradients. Also, the Turkish *Bayātī* is descending and the Turkish *ᶜUs̲h̲s̲h̲āḳ* ascending; the Turkish *Ḥid̲j̲āz* ambivalent and the *ᶜUzzāl* ascending; the Turkish *Nevā* ascending and the Turkish *Tahīr* descending. In ᶜIrāḳ, two popular *maḳāmāt* based on the modal structure of the *Ṣabā* are respectively the *Manṣūrī*, usually ascending, and the *Nāᶜil*, usually descending.

Historically, each genre and mode is supposed to correspond to a certain ethos (*rūḥ*) or a "modal sentiment", which conditions the inspiration of the artist, and the perception or sensation of his accompanists and audience, when he improvises. Each mode or genre even had in former times its preferred hour, at dawn (*maḳām Rāhawī*), at the end of the evening (*maḳām Zirāfkand*), if reference is made to the *Anonymous treatise dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II* (9th/15th century). But in the 20th century, the holding of musical sessions in the evening and the influence of the media have upset the nyctemeral *rūḥ* as they have the sentimental *rūḥ*.

Nevertheless, the *Rāst* is classical and academic, the *Bayātī* has a rural and collective tendency and is well-suited to popular songs, the *Segāh* expresses lofty sentiments and is claimed by the mystics, the *Ṣabā*, linked to the fresh wind of dawn, expresses the weariness of the end of the night with a clear tendency to sadness and depression. It is all together strange, on the other hand, to the idea of waking up and is not an arousing *maḳām*. The *Ḥid̲j̲āz* is a *maḳām* able to evoke sadness without depression and it is remarkable to Western ears. In a certain measure, the calls to prayer maintain a kind of nyctemeral ethos of the *maḳāmāt*, since they are supposed to change the *maḳām* at each call.

Nomenclature and comparative approaches.—The number of real or fictitious *maḳāmāt* is difficult to determine in the absence of a preconceived idea and due to the plurality of musical traditions perpetuated in the heart of Arabo-Irano-Turkish Islam.

A Persian theoretician of the Sāsānid period, Bārbad̲h̲, had elaborated a mystical and cosmogonous musical system describing seven *k̲h̲usrawānīs* (modes), thirty *laḥns* (genres?) and three hundred and sixty *dastgāhs* (modulations?). This type of nomenclature as the basis of fatidical numbers has not disappeared and some contemporary musicologists retain seven notes and forty intervals to the octave so as to reach three hundred and sixty *maḳāmāt*. In the 7th/13th century, Ṣafī al-Dīn described twelve *s̲h̲udūd*, six *āwāzāt*, one *murakkab* and two undetermined modes.

Apart from large mediaeval treatises which studied the scales, intervals, genres and modes conceived on the *ᶜūd*, and which established the nomenclatures for the classification of the modes used, we should take account of the delicate art and patronage which encouraged musicians to create a new mode and present it to the prince amidst a circle of initiates or on the occasion of a collective feast. Also, throughout thirteen centuries, hundreds of *maḳāmāt* have been described and it has been possible to elaborate thousands. However, the present current practice is limited to a few tens of simple or compound *maḳāmāt* and a hundred transposed *maḳāmāt*.

In the 20th century, Erlanger describes one hundred and nineteen Eastern *maḳāmāt* and twenty-nine Tunisian *maḳāmāt* belonging to the Hispano-Arabic tradition. S. al-Mahdī describes forty *maḳāmāt*. Alexis Chottin notes the existence of twenty-four *nawbāt* of North Africa, corresponding to twenty-four modes. Hüseyin Sadeddin Arel describes a hundred Turkish *makamlar*. Nelly Caron and Dariouche Safvate describe twelve Iranian modes, seven being *dastgāh* and five *āwāz*. Jürgen Elsner notes the existence of the system of six *makomot* in Central Asia, usually

characterised by their forms. Habib Hassan Touma evaluates the *mugām* of Ādharbāydjān as more than seventy. Among all these structures there exist similarities and divergences.

Aesthetic, natural musical and universal laws, the limited character of the theoretical scale of sounds and a large number of historical interferences explain how numerous Arabo-Irano-Turkish *maḳāmāt* or those of Central Asia may be identical with Indian modes (*ragas*), Greek modes or modes perpetuated in the Eastern churches or among the minorities.

As for the similarities with India, we can recognise the identity of structure between the Indian *Bhairavi* and the *Kurdī*. As for the Greek heritage, it must be remarked that classical musicians of the end of the 2nd/8th century such as Isḥāk al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] used exclusively the Pythagorean Hellenic scale. The rehabilitation of autochthonous structures in academic music seems to be undertaken with Manṣūr Zalzal and his neutral fingering-degrees. Since then, "Greek" and "local" structures coexist. Some musicologists of Islam do not fail to underscore the homology between "Islamic" and Greek genres: Ionian, Aeolian, Dorian and Phrygian. The process, nevertheless, suffers from the multiplicity of classifications of the Greek genres. Thus we have to remark the presence of a major and a minor and the similarities with the modes of Greek churches, namely *Rāst*-natural diatonic, *Bayātī*-minor chromatic, and *Ḥidjāz-kār*-major chromatic.

The similarities with the Greek modes arise equally from the European influences of the 19th century which provoked a paradoxical re-Hellenisation. After the ᶜAbbāsid period, which marked the flight of Arabo-Irano-Turanian musical syncretism, academic musical forms regressed among the Arabs and Iranians and were to discover a new brilliance at the court of the Ottomans. But from the 19th century onwards, imperial patronage and the taste of Istanbul were more and more influenced by Europe. A recrudescence of the *Nihāwand* (minor) took place and the "creation" of *maḳāmāt* for grand occasions, with a very broad ambitus, and a "tempered" tendency such as the *Nawathar* (*neveser*), *Sulṭānī-yegāh* (harmonic minor), *Ḥidjāz-kār-kurdī* (*Kürdilī-Ḥidjāz-kār*), *Faraḥfazā* and *Faraḥnumā*. It is these *maḳāmāt*, along with so many others perpetuated at the Ottoman court, which were to be introduced in Egypt by ᶜAbdū al-Ḥammūlī so as to regenerate music which was at that time in a parlous condition, if the descriptions of Villoteau are to be believed.

The similarity between the modes of Islam and the modes of the Eastern churches is at times striking, despite divergences of form and style. It might as well be attributed to relics of the common ancient heritage claimed by both traditions, to a period of modal syncretism, or to the fruits of a coexistence which lasted more than ten centuries. The same question can be posed as regards the commatic chant of the churches whose territory was administered by the Ottomans, when the latter perpetuated the Byzantine artistic heritage and commatic system.

The problem of the musical modes perpetuated by the minorities reveals the same ambiguous similarities. As regards the Kurds, for example, it is well-known in Turkey, ᶜIrāḳ and Iran that the Kurdish singers and instrumentalists interpret more readily the *Ḥusaynī* or *Dasht* modes according to their own forms and styles. The form and style can also be ascribed to the mountainous environment as well as to precise ethnic criteria. But, if it is a matter of reconciling a citizenship or a race to the modes, it is noteworthy that the same *Ḥusaynī* or *Dasht* modes were perpetuated with the same structures and more classical forms or styles in Istanbul, Baghdād or Tehran.

Some modes, endowed with structures that can be found throughout the Arabo-Irano-Turkish world, have taken a form, style and name which makes them characteristic of a region. But they are not linked especially strictly to a nation. Also, the *Shūr* and *Dashtī* modes (*bayātī* structure) or *Afshārī* (*segāh* structure) of Iran, perpetuated equally in Ādharbāydjān, correspond respectively, as far as structure is concerned, to the *Shūrī*, *Dasht* and *Awshār maḳāmāt* of ᶜIrāḳ, and it may be supposed that they derive from a common regional ancestral patrimony in these three countries.

A classical mode can present local variants. Also the *Segāh*, remarkable for its finale on a neutral fingering-degree, is articulated according to various patterns: in the 3rd degree, on a modulating *rāst*/*būsalīk* tetrachord (in the Arab countries) or on the equivalent of a *bayātī* genre (in Iran), or, in the fifth degree, on a *ḥidjāz* tetrachord (in Turkey). Another mode called *maḳām Nawā*/*dastgāh-i Nawā*/*Nevā maḳāmi* is also constituted:

— a *Bayātī* tetrachord (hardly variable) inserted on the *dūgāh* fingering-degree (3rd open string on the ᶜ*ūd*)

— a modulating variable pentachord inserted on the *nawā* fingering-degree (4th open string on the ᶜ*ūd*) which may be

(a) a *rāst* pentachord in Turkey (5th degree hardly mobile);

(b) a *rāst* or *būsalīk* pentachord in the Arab countries (5th degree mobile); or

(c) a *rāst*, *būsalīk*, *Bayātī* or *ḥidjāz* pentachord in Iran (5th and 6th degrees mobile)

A comparative approach to the Arab, Iranian and Turkish modes would allow, by making an abstraction of nationalisms, separatisms or claims of paternity, the discovery of a large number of divergent structures under a common name or common structures under different names. However, ambiguities of terminology are involved. What is called a *maḳām*/*Čahārgāh* among the Arabs and Turks is a major, while the *Čahārgāh* of Iran corresponds to an Arabo-Turkish *Ḥidjāzkār*. The major is called *Māhūr* or *Rāst-pandjgāh* in Iran, while the Arab *Māhūr* is not a major. The *maḳāmāt* called *Pandjgāh* and *Shūrī* in ᶜIrāḳ would be called *Sūznāk* and *Kardjighār* in Turkey and Syria.

The fruitless efforts since the Congress of Arabic Music in Cairo in 1932 show that it is too late to establish normalised Arabo-Irano-Turkish nomenclature and that it is illusory to want to fix the height of the neutral degrees, very high in Istanbul and very low in Cairo. Finally, the two recent Baghdād Congresses of Music in 1975 and 1978 have allowed us to ascertain that it is just as impossible to agree to a definition of the term *maḳām* in its musical sense.

Moreover, every amateur and every musicologist will persist in perceiving the *maḳām* in terms of his sensibility or formation: familiar melodic formulas, recollection of a cultural identity, expression of an ethnic music, modal system, heptatone on a stave, modal protocol, form of improvisation, aesthetic vestige of the Golden Ages, obstacle to progress by harmonisation, communication of a state of soul, linguistic system of the ᶜ*ūd* and specific language, etc.

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(J.-Cl. Ch. Chabrier)

MAḲĀM IBRĀHĪM denotes, according to Ḳurʾān, II, 125 (... *wa-ttakhidhū min maḳāmi Ibrāhīmi*

muṣallan ...) a place of prayer. Some commentators interpreted, however, the word *muṣallan* as "a place of invocations and supplications", a definition which would considerably modify the status of the place. The reading of the verb in the phrase became the subject of discussion. Several scholars read it in the perfect tense "... *wa-ttakhadhū* ...", and they rendered it" ... and they took to themselves Abraham's station for a place of prayer", linking it with the preceding clause" ... and when We appointed the House to be a place of visitation for the people and shelter and they took to themselves ..." (see e.g. Mudjāhid, *Tafsīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sūratī, Islāmābād n.d., i, 88, 89 n. 1; al-Shawkānī, *Fatḥ al-kadīr*, Beirut n.d., i, 138; Ibn Mudjāhid, *Kitāb al-Sabʿa fī 'l-kirāʾāt*, ed. Shawkī Ḍayf, Cairo 1972, 169, no. 45; al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-kārī*, Cairo 1348, repr. Beirut, ix, 212). In the other version, the verb is read as an imperative "... *wa-ttakhidhū* ..." and rendered "... and take to yourselves ..."; this is the reading preferred by the majority of Muslim scholars. The verse was connected with the person of ʿUmar, who according to tradition approached the Prophet asking him to establish the spot on which the stone known as *makām Ibrāhīm* was located as a place of prayer. After a short interval, God revealed to the Prophet the verse of sūra II, 125 "... and take to yourselves ...". This is one of the miraculous cases in which ʿUmar's advice proved to be congruent with the will of God, the Kurʾānic verses lending confirmation to his suggestion (see Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1351/1932, iii, 302, 377, iv, 145; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣaghīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1388/1968; al-Muttakī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Hyderabad 1390/1970, xvii, 99, nos. 283-5; al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, Cairo n.d., xxiii, 86; Amīn Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb, *Fatḥ al-malik al-maʿbūd, takmilat al-manhal al-ʿadhb al-mawrūd, sharḥ sunan al-Imām Abī Dāwūd*, Cairo 1394/1974, ii, 11; al-ʿAynī, *op. cit.*, ix, 212; al-Kurṭubī, *Tafsīr* [*al-Djāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Kurʾān*], Cairo 1387/1967, ii, 112; al-Shawkānī, *op. cit.*, i, 140 inf.; Anonymous, *Manākib al-ṣaḥāba*, ms. Br. Mus., Or. 8273, fol. 3a). Ibn al-Djawzī is reported to have wondered why ʿUmar had asked for a practice from the faith of Abraham (*millat Ibrāhīm*) to be introduced into the ritual of Islam despite the fact that the Prophet had forbidden him to quote passages from the Torah. Ibn al-Djawzī tries to explain this, saying that Abraham is revered in Islam as an *imām*, the Kurʾān urges people to follow in his steps, the Kaʿba is linked with his name and the prints of his feet are like the marks of the mason; that is the reason why ʿUmar asked to turn the *makām* into a place of worship (see al-ʿAynī, *op. cit.*, iv, 145; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, Cairo 1300 [repr. Beirut], viii, 128). One of the commentators states that the injunction is linked with sūra II, 122 ("... Children of Israel, remember my blessing...") and that the Children of Israel are those who were addressed by it (al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, i, 472); another one says that the injunction is incumbent upon the Jews at the time of the Prophet (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Maḥmūd and Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo n.d., iii, 31); a third commentary connects the injunction with II, 124: "... and when his Lord tested Abraham ...". According to this last interpretation, the *makām Ibrāhīm* is one of the words of the Lord by which Abraham was tested (al-Shawkānī, *op. cit.*, i, 139; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Beirut 1385/1966, i, 291).

There was disagreement among Muslim scholars as to the significance of the expression *makām Ibrāhīm*. Some of them claimed that the expression denotes the whole place of the pilgrimage, others said that ʿArafa, Muzdalifa [*q.vv.*] and the Djimār are meant; a third group maintained that *makām Ibrāhīm* refers to ʿArafa only, while the fourth view identifies it with the *Ḥaram* of Mecca (see e.g. al-ʿAynī, *op. cit.*, iv, 130, ix, 212; Abu 'l-Bakāʾ Muḥammad b. al-Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿAdawī, *Aḥwāl Makka wa 'l-Madīna*, ms. Br. Mus., Or. 11865, fol. 84b; Amīn Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb, *op. cit.*, ii, 11). The great majority of the scholars identified *makām Ibrāhīm* with the stone in the sanctuary of Mecca which commonly bears this name (see e.g. al-ʿAynī, *op. cit.*, ix, 212; A. Spitaler, *Ein Kapitel aus den* Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān *von Abū ʿUbaid al-Qāsim b. Salām*, in *Documenta islamica*, Berlin 1952, 6, nos. 29-30) and behind which the Prophet prayed when he performed the circumambulation of the Kaʿba (see e.g. al-Wākidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London 1966, 1098; al-Ḥarbī, *al-Manāsik*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, al-Riyāḍ 1389/1969, 433, 500; al-Ṭabarānī, *op. cit.*, i, 22; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Kirā li-kāṣid umm al-kurā*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Sakkā, Cairo 1390/1970, 342 sup.).

The sanctity of the stone was enhanced by the fact that it bears the footprints of Abraham (see e.g. al-Isfarāʾīnī, *Zubdat al-aʿmāl wa-khulāṣat al-afʿāl*, ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3034, fol. 6b). The footprints of the Prophet had exactly the same size as the footprints in the *makām* (see e.g. al-Ṭabarsī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, Tehran 1379, 73; al-Kāzarūnī, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ms. Br. Mus. Add. 18499, fols. 70b, 88a, 89a). Some traditions say that the miracle of Abraham's footprints in the stone appeared when Abraham built the Kaʿba; when the walls became too high he mounted the *makām* which miraculously rose and went down in order to let Ismāʿīl hand him the stones for the building (see e.g. al-Sindjārī, *Manāʾiḥ al-karam bi-akhbār Makka wa 'l-Ḥaram*, ms. Leiden, Or. 7018, fol. 22b; al-Sayyid al-Bakrī, *Iʿānat al-ṭālibīn ʿalā ḥall alfāẓ fatḥ al-muʿīn*, Cairo 1319, repr. Beirut, ii, 295 inf.-296 sup.; al-Isfarāʾīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 83b; al-Khargūshī, *Lawāmiʿ*, ms. Vatican, Arab. 1642, fol. 67b; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥāwī li 'l-fatāwī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1378/1959, ii, 201; al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul al-hudā wa 'l-rashād fī sīrat khayr al-ʿibād*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 181; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, 343); other traditions claim that the miracle occurred when the wife of Ismāʿīl washed the head of Abraham (see e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*, Nadjaf 1374/1955, 39 inf.-40 sup.; Abu 'l-Bakāʾ al-ʿAdawī, *op. cit.*, fol. 85a; al-ʿAynī, *op. cit.*, ix, 212); a third tradition says that it happened when Abraham mounted the *makām* in order to summon the people to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca (see e.g. Abu 'l-Bakāʾ al-ʿAdawī, *loc. cit.*; al-Ṣāliḥī, *op. cit.*, i, 184-5; anon., *ʿArf al-ṭīb*, ms. Leiden, Or. 493, fol. 70a; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, 342; al-Sindjārī, *op. cit.*, fol. 28b; al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1388, xcix, 182, 188). Certain traditions affirm that Abraham took the stone as a *kibla* [*q.v.*]; he prayed at the stone turning his face to the Kaʿba (see e.g. al-Isfarāʾīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 83b; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*; Abu 'l-Bakāʾ al-ʿAdawī, *loc. cit.*). Some scholars, however, defined the stone merely as a means to mark the *kibla*, bidding the believer to have the stone placed in front of himself while facing the Kaʿba (al-ʿAynī, *op. cit.*, iv, 130: *fa-inna 'l-makāma innamā yakūnu kiblatan idhā djaʿalahu al-muṣallī baynahu wa-bayn al-kibla*). Certain scholars pointed out that the prayer at the *makām* is not obligatory (al-ʿAynī, *op. cit.*, ix, 212: *wa-hiya ʿalā wadjh al-ikhtiyār wa 'l-istiḥbāb dūn al-wudjūb* ...).

Numerous traditions about the qualities and virtues

of the *maḳām* report that the stone was sent down from Heaven, that supplications at the *maḳām* will be answered and sins will be forgiven (see e.g. al-Ṣāliḥī, *op. cit.*, i, 204; al-Sindjārī, *op. cit.*, fol. 23b; anon., *ʿArf al-ṭīb*, fol. 73b; al-Madjlisī, *op. cit.*, xcix, 219, 230, 231; al-Fāsī, *Tuḥfat al-kirām*, ms. Leiden Or. 2654, fol. 66b; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, 324; al-Shiblī, *Maḥāsin al-wasāʾil fī maʿrifat al-awāʾil*, ms. Br. Mus., Or. 1530, fol. 38b; al-Isfarāʾīnī, *Zubdat al-aʿmāl*, fols. 76b-77a; al-Khʷarazmī, *Mukhtaṣar ithārat al-targhīb wa 'l-tashwīḳ*, ms. Br. Mus., Or. 4584, fols. 11a-13a; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, Beirut 1382/1962, 118; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, Hyderabad 1390/1970, iv, 108-9; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1392/1972, v, 32, no. 8890; al-Sayyid al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 295). The sanctity of the *maḳām* was associated with that of the *rukn* and with *zamzam*; 99 prophets are buried at this spot, among them Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Nūḥ and Ismāʿīl (see e.g. al-Sindjārī, *op. cit.*, fol. 26a; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314, i, 136). Prayer at the graves was permitted on the ground that this was a cemetery of prophets; as prophets are alive in their graves, prayer is not only permitted but even meritorious (cf. al-Sayyid al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 277). Scholars criticised the practice of kissing the stone, stroking it, and even performing a kind of circumambulation round it (see Ibn Abī Shayba, *op. cit.*, iv, 61, 116; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, 357, no. 109; anon., *ʿArf al-ṭīb*, *loc. cit.*; but see Ibn Djubayr, *al-Riḥla*, Beirut 1388/1968, 55, ... *tabarraknā bi-lamsihi wa-taḳbīlihi* ...).

The *maḳām* is a stone of small dimensions: 60 cm. wide by 90 cm. high (see the data recorded by al-Fāsī, *Tuḥfat al-kirām*, fol. 67a; measured by al-Fāsī *anno* 753 AH; and see al-Sindjārī, *op. cit.*, fol. 23a). It is now "closely surrounded by glass and bars set into a polygonal base, the whole structure, capped by a much narrower kind of 'helmet', being about three yards above ground level" (A. J. Wensinck-J. Jomier, art. KAʿBA). In the early periods of Islam, the stone, encased in a wooden box, was placed on a high platform so as to prevent its being swept by a torrent. During the prayer led by the ruler or his deputy, the box used to be lifted and the *maḳām* shown to the people attending the prayer; after the prayer, the box was again locked and placed in the Kaʿba (cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 72). It was sad to see how al-Ḥadjdjādj tried with his leg to set up the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* back to its place after it had moved (see ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *op. cit.*, v, 49, no. 8959).

In 160/777 the *maḳām* was brought to the abode of al-Mahdī in Mecca when he performed the pilgrimage. In the next year, when the *maḳām* was raised carelessly by one of its keepers, it fell down and cracked; it was repaired at the order of al-Mahdī and its upper and lower parts were braced with gold. Al-Mutawakkil in 241/855-6 improved the pedestal of the *maḳām*, embellished the *maḳām* itself with gold and ordered the building of a cupola over the *maḳām* (cf. al-Sindjārī, *op. cit.*, fol. 120b). In 252/866 the *maḳām* was stripped of its gold by the governor of Mecca Djaʿfar b. al-Faḍl; the gold was then melted down for minting *dīnārs*, which he spent in his struggle against the rebel Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm (see al-Sindjārī, *op. cit.*, fols. 120a ult. - 120b, 121a; on Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf, see al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, Cairo 1383/1963, iii, 311, no. 783). A thorough restoration of the *maḳām* was carried out in 256/870 by the governor ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Hāshimī (see on him al-Fāsī, *op. cit.*, vi, 151, no. 2050). Al-Fākihī gives a detailed description of the stone in its place (cf. *Le Muséon*, lxxxiv [1971], 477-91). When the stone was brought to the *dār al-imāra*, al-Fākihī noticed the inscription on it and tried to copy parts of it. R. Dozy reproduced the inscription and tried to decipher it (R. Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, Leipzig 1864, 155-61). His reading and interpretation are implausible (Prof. J. Naveh's opinion, communicated verbally).

Lengthy and heated discussions took place among the scholars about the place of the *maḳām*. The traditions about whether the stone was established in its place are divergent and even contradictory (see e.g. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1964, xii, 160; al-Ḳuḍāʿī, *Taʾrīkh*, Bodleian ms. Pococke 270, fol. 58a; al-Ḥarbī, *al-Manāsik*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, 500; al-Shiblī, *op. cit.*, fol. 38a-b; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *op. cit.*, xvii, 97-9, nos, 278-81; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *al-Thiḳāt*, Hyderabad 1395/1975, ii, 218; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1343, i, 298). These traditions were divided by al-Sindjārī into five groups. According to some reports, ʿUmar was the first who removed the stone. Others say that in the time of Abraham the stone was in the same place as it is now, but in the time of the Djāhiliyya it had been attached to the Kaʿba and so it remained during the periods of the Prophet and of Abū Bakr and for some time during the caliphate of ʿUmar, who returned it to its proper place. A third series of traditions claims that the Prophet removed the stone from its original place (next to the Kaʿba) and put it in its present location. A fourth tradition maintains that ʿUmar moved the stone to its present place and returned it to the same spot after it had been swept away by a torrent. Finally, some scholars say that the *maḳām* has always been in the place where it is nowadays; ʿUmar re-installed it to this place after it was swept away by a torrent (see al-Sindjārī, *op. cit.*, fols. 23a-b, 76b-78a). A tradition which contains new aspects of the location of the *maḳām* is recorded by Ibn Kathīr. The stone was in the Kaʿba; the Prophet took it out of the Kaʿba and attached it to its wall (i.e. of the Kaʿba). Then he said, "O people, this is the *ḳibla*" (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, ii, 322). It is noteworthy that in this tradition there is no mention of ʿUmar, of his advice or of the changes carried out by him. It is quite plausible that ʿUmar's change had to be legitimised and duly justified. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī tries to explain this discrepancy by reporting that ʿUmar inquired after the death of the Prophet about the place in which Abraham put the stone. In the time of the Prophet, the stone was indeed attached to the wall of the Kaʿba; but ʿUmar was aware of the Prophet's will to follow the *sunna* of Abraham, and returned the *maḳām* to its original place, the place in which it had been put by Abraham (*al-Ḳirā*, 347; quoted by Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ al-ʿAdawī, *Aḥwāl Makka wa 'l-Madīna*, fols. 86b-87a). A divergent report is recorded by al-Sindjārī on the authority of Ibn Surāḳa. Between the door of the Kaʿba and the place of Adam's prayer (where God accepted his repentance) there were nine cubits; it was the place of *maḳām Ibrāhīm* and there the Prophet performed two *rakʿas* after finishing the *ṭawāf* and after receiving the relevation of the verse "... and take the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* as a place of prayer...". It was the Prophet himself who later removed the stone to the place where it is nowadays, sc. at a distance of 20 cubits from the Kaʿba (al-Sindjārī, *op. cit.*, fol. 77a). Instructive is the report of Ibn Djubayr. The ditch (*ḥufra*) at the door of the Kaʿba (in which the water gathers when the Kaʿba is washed) is the place of the *maḳām* in the time of Abraham; the place is crowded by

believers who pray there; the stone was moved by the Prophet to the present place (see *al-Riḥla*, 55 inf. - 56; al-Sindjārī, *op. cit.*, fol. 78a). The change of the place of the *maḳām* and the possibility that the stone should be moved to another place of the *ḥaram* led to a disturbing question: would it be incumbent upon the believer to pray, in such a case, in the new place (since the injunction clearly makes it necessary to take the *maḳām* as a place of prayer), or to stick to the original place? (See al-Sindjārī, *op. cit.*, 77b and also fol. 78a: the former *maḳām* occupied half of the ditch (*ḥufra*) at the *ḥidjr*).

Shīʿī scholars were aware of the change carried out by ʿUmar. Shīʿī *imāms* are said to have recommended prayer at the former place of the *maḳām Ibrāhīm*. This "former place" is described as being between the *rukn al-ʿirāḳī* and the door of the Kaʿba. Second in merit is the prayer behind the present *maḳām* (cf. al-Madjlisī, *op. cit.*, xcix, 230, no. 4, 231 nos. 6-7). Ibn Bābawayh sketches the history of the changes as follows. Abraham attached the stone to the Kaʿba, stood on it and summoned the people to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca; on that occasion his footprints were moulded in the stone. The people of the Djāhiliyya then removed the stone and put it in its present place in order to make the circumambulation of the Kaʿba easier. When the Prophet was sent, he reinstalled the *maḳām* in the place where it had been put by Abraham. ʿUmar asked where its location had been during the period of the Djāhiliyya, and returned it to that place; hence the present place of the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* is the same as it was in the time of the Djāhiliyya (see Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿIlal al-sharāʾiʿ*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Baḥr al-ʿulūm, Nadjaf 1385/1966, 423, *bāb* 160; quoted by al-Madjlisī, *op. cit.*, xcix, 232, no. 1; cf. anon., untitled ms. Vatican Arab. 1750, fol. 32b).

Some traditions related by al-Fākihī add certain peculiar details about the change carried out by ʿUmar. A report traced back to Saʿīd b. Djubayr says that Abraham placed the stone in front of the Kaʿba. ʿUmar removed the stone and placed it in its present spot, as he was afraid that people performing the *ṭawāf* might tread on it; it is now facing the former *maḳām*. Another report given on the authority of Hishām b. ʿUrwa and transmitted to him by his father ʿUrwa says that the Prophet prayed facing the Kaʿba; afterwards, both Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in the early part of his caliphate prayed in the same direction. But later, ʿUmar announced that God, blessed He is and lofty, says "... and take to yourselves the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* as a place of prayer ..."; thereafter, he moved the stone to the (present) place of the *maḳām* (al-Fākihī, *Taʾrīkh Makka*, fol. 331a). Both these reports recorded by al-Fākihī are sober, concise and devoid of miraculous features or of obligatory divine injunctions, and deserve a fair degree of confidence. The conclusion must be that it was ʿUmar who relocated the place of the *maḳām*, probably out of pragmatic considerations.

The latest change in the place of the *maḳām* has been carried out by the Saʿūdī government: the *maḳām* was moved to the rear in order to widen the path for the circumambulation of the Kaʿba (see in al-Ḥarbī, *op. cit.*, 500, n. 2 of Ḥamad al-Djāsir).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see the bibl. in *Le Muséon*, lxxxiv (1971), 477-91. (M. J. Kister)

MAKĀMA, a purely and typically Arabic literary genre. The word is generally translated as "assembly" or "session" (Fr. "séance"), but this is an approximation which does not convey exactly the complex nature of the term.

Semantic evolution of the term. The semantic study of this vocable for the period previous to the creation of the genre is complicated by the fact that the plural *maḳāmāt*, which is frequently used, is common to two nouns, *maḳāma* and *maḳām* [*q.v.*]. Both are derived from the radical *ḳ-w-m*, which implies the idea of "to rise, to stand in order to perform an action", but which is often weakened in that it simply marks the beginning of an action, whether the agent rises or not, and even loses its dynamic sense altogether, taking on the static sense of "to stay in a place". *Maḳām* occurs fourteen times in the Ḳurʾān with the general sense of "abode, a place where one stays", more specifically in the beyond, but in one verse (XIX, 74/73), where it is used in conjunction with *nadī*, "tribal council", it must refer to a meeting of important people; the same applies to a verse of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā (Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 573, v. 6: *maḳāmāt ... andiya*). Otherwise, from the archaic period onward, *maḳām* naturally conveyed the sense of "situation, state", and, in a verse of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (*Bānat Suʿād*, ed. and tr. R. Basset, Algiers 1910, v. 41), the *maḳām* of the poet, which is certainly dramatic, is judged terrifying (*hāʾil*) by the commentator. It is probable that an analysis of ancient poetry would supply more precise and illuminating examples, but it seems likely that by means of a transference of meaning, starting with "a tragic situation", *maḳām* came to designate a battle, a combat, a mêlée, and that, as a result of a confusion of the two terms or the simple exigencies of metre, *maḳāma* also took on this sense. In a verse of Djarīr in *-sī* (*Sharḥ Dīwān Djarīr*, ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo n. d., 326, v. 1 of the 2nd poem), *maḳāma* seems to signify, not *madjlis* "assembly" (as it is glossed by the editor, who confines himself to reproducing the dictionary definition), but "battle"; similarly, in a verse of Abū Tammām in *-dā* (*Badr al-tamām fī sharḥ Dīwān Abī Tammām*, ed. M.I. al-Aswad, Beirut 1347/1928, i, 222, v. 5), *maḳāma* (read as *muḳāma* by the editor, but glossed as "scene of warlike actions") is used in conjunction with *muʿtarak* and doubtless has the sense of "theatre of warlike valour". In other examples of this type it is the plural which is attested, and it is not known to which singular it corresponds. In any case, it is certainly in the sense of "battles, military actions" that this plural is to be best understood in a passage of the *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ* of *al-Djāḥiẓ* (ed. Ḥādjirī, 184, 1. 2; rectify accordingly the translation by Pellat, 289), where there is a case of Bedouins talking of battles of the pre-Islamic period (*ayyām* [*q.v.*]) and of *maḳāmāt*, acts of heroism.

In assemblies of important people, eloquence was a natural feature, and it is not surprising that, by means of another transference of meaning, *maḳām* should also refer to the topics discussed in the course of these meetings, then, by extension, to more or less edifying addresses delivered before a distinguished audience. This evolution is attested, in the 3rd/9th century by Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*] who, in his *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (ii, 333-43), gives the title *Maḳāmāt al-zuhhād ʿind al-khulafāʾ wa ʾl-mulūk* to a chapter in which he reproduces pious homilies designated, in the singular, by the term *maḳām*. Before him, the Muʿtazilī al-Iskāfī (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]) had written a *Kitāb al-Maḳāmāt fī tafḍīl ʿAlī*, and in the following century, al-Masʿūdī [*q.v.*] (*Murūdj*, iv, 441 = § 1744) speaks of homilies by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and (v, 421 = § 2175) of a sermon by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, delivered on the occasion of their *maḳāmāt*, where it is impossible to tell whether the corresponding singular is *maḳām* or *maḳāma*. Whatever the case may be, al-Hamadhānī was

perhaps thinking primarily of the latter interpretation, while retaining in the background the memory of the concept of feats of arms when he adopted the term *maḳāma* to designate the speeches, which he considered instructive, if not edifying, of Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī and the "sketches", the "sessions", in the course of which they are reported by ʿĪsā b. Hishām; then, this word came to be applied to a whole genre, and was ultimately confused often, as will be seen in due course, with *risāla* [*q.v.*]. W. J. Prendergast (*The Maqámát of Badíʿ al-Zamán al-Hamadhání*, London-Madras 1915, repr. with introd. by C. E. Bosworth, London-Dublin 1973, 11-14) has collected a number of occurrences of *maḳāma* and *maḳāmāt* in poetry and prose predating Badīʿ al-Zamān, but the most exhaustive research has been that of R. Blachère, *Étude sémantique sur le nom* maqāma, in *Machriq* (1953), 646-52 (repr. in *Analecta*, Damascus 1975, 61-7).

Birth of the genre. In the *maḳāmāt* described by Ibn Ḳutayba, it is often a Bedouin or a person of rather shabby appearance, although extremely eloquent, who addresses an aristocratic audience. Before an audience of common people, an analogous role was performed by the *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*], who originally delivered edifying speeches but, as is well-known, in the course of time soon took on the dual function of storyteller and mountebank, whose activity was to a certain extent comparable to that of the *mukaddī* [*q.v.*], the wandering beggar or vagrant who went from town to town and easily gathered around him an audience who rewarded him financially for the fascinating stories that he told. It seems probable that the first to introduce these colourful characters into Arabic literature was al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], who devoted a long treatment to them in the *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ* and wrote at least two other pieces on the stratagems of thieves (*Ḥiyal al-luṣūṣ*) and of beggars (*Ḥiyal al-mukaddīn*), of which al-Bayhaḳī (*Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, i, 521-3, 622-4) has preserved extracts which are unfortunately very short (see Pellat, *Arabische Geisteswelt*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1967 = *The life and works of Jāḥiẓ*, London-Berkeley-Los Angeles 1969, texts xlii and xliii). The interest taken by the aristocracy and men of letters, not only in the popular classes, but also in members of the "milieu" is remarkably illustrated by the *Ḳaṣīda sāsāniyya* of Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī (4th/10th century) [*q.v.*] which has given C. E. Bosworth occasion to write a masterly work (*The medieval underworld, the Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, 2 vols.) to which the reader must be referred; he will find there, in particular, a very well-documented first chapter on vagabonds and beggars, as well as a discussion (97-9) of opinions regarding the birth of the *maḳāma*. In the formation of the latter it is in fact possible to discern a certain influence from earlier literature relating to the adventures of some marginal elements of society, and in particular from the *ḳaṣīda* of Abū Dulaf (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, Damascus 1885, iii, 176). To this influence there should no doubt be added that of mimes [see ḤIKĀYA], since the *maḳāma* contains an undeniable theatrical element, at least in the make-up of the hero and the posture of the narrator. Recently, A. F. L. Beeston (*The genesis of the* maqāmāt *genre*, in *Journal of Arabic literature*, ii [1972], 1-12) has endeavoured to show that the reputation of al-Hamadhānī has been to some extent exaggerated and that the anecdotal literature represented especially by the *Faradj baʿd al-shidda* of his contemporary al-Tanūkhī (329-84/939-94 [*q.v.*]) also presented persons of pitiable appearance who prove to be endowed with an exceptional talent for oratory. The contrast between the external appearance and eloquence or wisdom is a commonplace of *adab*, and while the anecdotal literature discussed by Beeston has certainly exercised an influence, it has not been the only one to do so.

As early as 1915, Prendergast (*op. laud.*, 6) had drawn attention to and translated a subsequently well-known passage of the *Zahr al-ādāb* (ed. Z. Mubārak, Cairo 1344, i, 235; ed. Budjāwī, Cairo 1972/1953, i, 261) of al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), who states that al-Hamadhānī imitated (*ʿāraḍa*) the forty *ḥadīths* of Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*] and composed four hundred "sessions" on the theme of the *kudya*, the activity of the *mukaddūn*. After Margoliouth had, in the first edition of the *EI* (s.v. AL-HAMADHĀNĪ), given credit to this passage, Z. Mubārak, in 1930, adopted the same point of view in *al-Muḳtaṭaf* (lxxvi, 412-20, 561-4) and reproduced it in his thesis on *La prose arabe au IVᵉ siècle* (Paris 1931), while, in the same volume of the *Muḳtaṭaf* (588-90), Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfiʿī refuted his arguments by emphasising the weakness of the source on which he relied. R. Blachère and P. Masnou (*al-Hamadānī, choix de Maqāmāt*, Paris 1957, 15) criticise the exploitation of the information supplied by al-Ḥuṣrī and write that the only conclusion to be drawn from it "is that at the end of the 10th century or at the beginning of the 11th, a Muslim scholar discovered a link between the 'sessions' of Hamadānī and the stories attributed to a philologist-poet of Iraq, Ibn Duraid"; as Prendergast had done, these authors observe that no work of this genre features in the list of Ibn Durayd's writings, and C. E. Bosworth, in his introduction to the reprinted edition of Prendergast, concludes that al-Ḥuṣrī's information is suspect. Powerful evidence in support of this conclusion is supplied by the silence of a compatriot of the latter, Ibn Sharaf (d. 460/1067, *q.v.*), who at the beginning of his *Masāʾil al-intiḳād* (ed.-tr. Pellat, Algiers 1953, 5) declares that he himself has been inspired by the *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, by Sahl b. Hārūn [*q.v.*], who also wrote about animals, and by Badīʿ al-Zamān, but makes no mention of Ibn Durayd.

In another context, in his account of the great rival of al-Hamadhānī, al-Khʷārazmī [*q.v.*], Abū Bakr (323-83/934-93), Brockelmann (S I, 150) adds, having listed the mss. of the *Rasāʾil* of this author, "nebst *Maqāmen*, in denen wie bei al-Hamadānī ʿĪsā b. Hišām auftritt"; moreover, al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 128-38) reproduces, from the *Tadhkira* of Ibn Ḥamdūn (495-562/1102-66 [*q.v.*]), a *maḳāma* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Khʷārazmī in which the author recounts his victory over a learned opponent encountered in the course of a journey. Even allowing for the fact that al-Ḳalḳashandī made a mistake over the *kunya* of this Khʷārazmī, this *maḳāma* is certainly of a later period than the first *Séances* of Badīʿ al-Zamān. The same can probably be said of the *Ḥikāya* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (A. Mez, *Abulḳâsim, ein bagdâder Sittenbild*, Heidelberg 1902) of which the connections with *maḳāma* are not clear [see ḤIKĀYA].

Whatever the case may be, it may be asserted that the idea of the "session" as we know it was in the air and that, in the absence of information to the contrary, the first to have adopted it for the creation of a new literary genre was, as all the critics agree, al-Hamadhānī (358-98/968-1008 [*q.v.*]). It does not seem obligatory, in fact, to search desperately for a model whenever an innovation appears, since the most elementary justice demands that allowance be made for personal invention. Prendergast (*op. laud.*, 20-1) poses the question as to whether Badīʿ al-Zamān owes anything to Greek or Byzantine models, but considers such influence totally improbable and

concludes that "the same demons of difficulty, obscurity and pedantry entered the orators and poets of both nations in different periods". This assessment, the accuracy of which will become apparent in the course of the study of the evolution of the *maḳāma*, cannot, however, be fully applied to al-Hamad̲h̲ānī. It is undeniable that this author was, in the framework of Arabic literature and Arab-Islamic society in general, subject to various influences, but he should be given credit for having succeeded, through a commendable work of synthesis, in setting in motion two principal characters charged with precise roles, in particular a hero who symbolises a whole social category.

Structure of the original *maḳāma*. From the point of view of form, this genre is characterised, in the work of its initiator, by the almost invariable use of *sad̲j̲*ᶜ [*q.v.*], of rhymed and rhythmic prose (sometimes blended with verse) which, in the 4th/10th century, tended to become the almost universal mode of literary expression, especially in the class of administrative secretaries to which al-Hamad̲h̲ānī belonged, and was to remain so until the end of the 19th century. As regards the structure of an individual *maḳāma*, the fundamental characteristic is the existence of a hero (in this case Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī) whose adventures and eloquent speeches are related by a narrator (in this case ᶜĪsā b. His̲h̲ām) to the author who, in turn, conveys them to his readers. As Abd El-Fattah Kilito has quite correctly observed in a suggestive article (*Le genre "séance"*, in *St. Isl.*, xliii [1976], 25-51), in the *maḳāma*, a text is obtained through the research of a *rāwī* and transmitted through a second *rāwī* (the author), in such a way that the mode of transmission recalls that of ancient poetry and, still more precisely, that of *ḥadīt̲h̲*, with the difference that the text, the person who speaks it and the first *rāwī* are fictitious. In a typical *maḳāma*, Kilito adds (48), the order of events is as follows: arrival of the *rāwī* in a town, encounter with the disguised *balīg̲h̲* (the eloquent man = the hero), speech, reward, recognition, reproach, justification, parting. It need hardly be said that this general scheme does not apply invariably to all the *maḳāmat* of al-Hamad̲h̲ānī, still less to those of his successors. From the start, this literary form was employed to cover a great variety of subjects: criticism of ancient and modern poets, of prose-writers like Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ and al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, of the Muᶜtazilīs, exposure of the sexual slang and jargon of vagabonds, display of lexicographical knowledge, etc.; six *maḳāmat* of Badīᶜ al-Zamān celebrate the author's benefactor, K̲h̲alaf b. Aḥmad, the ruler of Sid̲j̲istān, to whom Margoliouth (*art. cit.*) believes that the whole work may have been dedicated. It is not, however, certain that all these compositions were put together in a compilation constituted *ne varietur*. In fact, Ibn S̲h̲araf (*op. laud.*, 5) counts no more than twenty of them and adds that they were not all available to him, while al-Hamad̲h̲ānī (*Rasāʾil*, Beirut 1890, 390, 516), quoted by al-T̲h̲aᶜālibi (*Yatīma*, Damascus 1885, iv, 168) and al-Ḥuṣrī (see above), claims to have written four hundred of them, which is highly improbable; current editions contain fifty-one each (fifty-two in all), so that fifty may be reckoned the average number of *maḳāmāt* of Badīᶜ al-Zamān in circulation in the Middle Ages; the figure of fifty was subsequently considered artificially to be a traditional characteristic and was respected by numerous imitators of al-Ḥarīrī (see below), who had himself adopted it.

In summary, the original *maḳāma* appears to be characterised fundamentally by the almost exclusive use of rhymed prose (with the insertion of verse) and the presence of two imaginary persons, the hero and the narrator. As for its content, this appears to be a complex amalgam having recourse to numerous genres such as the sermon, description, poetry in various forms, the letter, the travelogue, the dialogue, the debate, etc., which allowed the successors of al-Hamad̲h̲ānī the greatest of latitude in the choice of their subjects.

Development of the genre. These authors had no difficulty in obeying the exigencies of the form, namely rhymed prose, but it was not long before they indulged in verbal acrobatics, the first manifestations of which are encountered in the works of the most eminent successor of Badīᶜ al-Zamān, al-Ḥarīrī (446-516/1054-1122 [*q.v.*]). The latter retains the structure created by his predecessor and presents a hero and a narrator, but many of his imitators were to dispense with the former character, if not with both. The diversity of themes dealt with in primitive *maḳāmāt* set the scene for the exploitation of the genre for the most varied of purposes and we shall see that if the objective of the genre is that of the authentic *adab*, seeking to instruct through entertainment, by means of a harmonious blending of the serious and the joking (*al-d̲j̲idd wa 'l-hazl* [*q.v.*]), many *maḳāmāt* deviate from this purpose and in this respect follow the evolution of the *adab* which has a tendency either to neglect the *d̲j̲idd* or to forget the *hazl*.

Furthermore, some compositions corresponding approximately to the exigencies of this genre are known by other names, such as *risāla* or *ḥadīt̲h̲*, while some so-called *maḳāmāt* show none of the fundamental features of "sessions". What has happened is an evolution similar to that of the word *ṭabaḳāt*, which after usually designating biographical works arranged according to generation (*ṭabaḳa*), is ultimately applied to those which follow alphabetical order. A confusion between *risāla* and *maḳāma* is already visible in the *Risālat al-Tawābiᶜ wa 'l-zawābiᶜ* of Ibn S̲h̲uhayd (382-426/992-1035 [*q.v.*]), who was well-acquainted with Badīᶜ al-Zamān since he makes use of his *ṣāḥib*, his inspiring spirit (ed. B. al-Bustānī, Beirut 1951, 172-4); J. Vernet goes so far as to assert (*Literatura árabe*, Barcelona n.d., 114) that he was inspired by the *maḳāma iblīsiyya* in the writing of his *Risāla*, which in effect contains two features of the "sessions", rhymed prose and the presence of a companion of the author, in this case a genie who questions the *tawābiᶜ* of various representatives of Arabic literature. Other evidence is supplied at an early date by Ibn S̲h̲araf (see above) who gives the title *ḥadīt̲h̲* to his compositions, while one manuscript of the surviving fragment bears the title *Masāʾil al-intiḳād* and another, *Rasāʾil al-intiḳād*; the subject-matter comprises questions of literary criticism articulated by a scholar expressing his opinions of ancient and modern poets, somewhat in the style of al-Hamad̲h̲ānī, but without an intermediary *rāwī* (see Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-naḳd al-adabī ᶜind al-ᶜArab*, Beirut 1391/1971, 460-9).

These two authors were writing in al-Andalus where, on the other hand, the word *maḳāma* was to be used "to designate any rhetorical exercise in rhymed verse, with or without an ingredient of poetry, whatever the theme inspiring it: congratulating a recently-appointed provincial judge, accompanying a basket of first-fruits sent as a gift, describing a landscape, recounting an incident of minimal importance or the perils of a journey, giving praise or blame or simply indulging in caprice, as an antidote to boredom. Any theme is considered valid, and this type of composition, laden to the point of asphyxia with all the devices of language, erudition and pedan-

try and well-nigh indecipherable, is indiscriminately called *risāla* or *maḳāma*, without any account being taken of the theme (if indeed it has one...)" (F. de la Granja, *Maqāmas y risālas andaluzas*, Madrid 1976, p. xiv). The above remarks could equally well be applied to many of the oriental *maḳāmāt*.

History of the genre. Independently of the al-Kh^w^ārazmī mentioned above, whose dates cannot be precisely established, a contemporary of al-Hamadhānī, Ibn Nubāta al-Saʿdī (d. 405/1014) wrote a "session" which is preserved in Berlin (see Brockelmann, I, 95; Blachère and Masnou, *op. laud.*, 39 and n. 1), but it cannot be said whether it is an imitation or an original work. Again in the 4th/10th century, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿIrāḳī was the author of a *maḳāma* on the resurrection (Brockelmann, I, 524). Chronologically, it is here that one should place Ibn Shuhayd (see above) and Ibn Sharaf (see above) who confines himself to presenting his *ḥadīth* in the form of the beginning of a dialogue followed by a long monologue of the scholar who takes the place of the hero and the *rāwī*; one gains the impression that, for this learned Tunisian who made his home in Spain, the essential features of *maḳāma* are rhymed prose and the intervention of a fictional character who is an eloquent speaker (*balīgh*). It is thus that many later authors interpret the scheme of Badīʿ al-Zamān, when they do not eliminate the hero. In any case, the works of Ibn Shuhayd and of Ibn Sharaf, not to mention the *Zahr al-ādāb* of al-Ḥuṣrī, testify to the rapid diffusion of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī in Ifrīḳiya and al-Andalus where, in the same century, a poet, Ibn Fattūḥ, was the author of a *maḳāma* on the poets of his time which was also presented in the form of a dialogue (Ibn Bassām *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 273-88; F. de la Granja, *op. laud.*, 63-77), and where Ibn al-Shahīd [*q.v.*] made the account of a journey by a member of a group of travellers in a *maḳāma* (*Dhakhīra*, i/2, 104-95; F. de la Granja, 81-118) which exercised a certain influence on the genre as developed in Hebrew (see below). Ibn Bassām (*Dhakhīra*, i/2, 246-57) mentions another *maḳāma* by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳurṭubī (443-83/1051-92; see R. Arié, *Notes sur la* maqāma *andalouse*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, ix/2 [1968], 204-5).

In the east, a close successor of Badīʿ al-Zamān, the physician Ibn Buṭlān (d. after 460/1068 [*q.v.*]) was the author of a *Maḳāma fī tadbīr al-amrāḍ* (Brockelmann, S I, 885) which might well deserve examination. However, one of his most eminent imitators was Ibn Nāḳiya (410-85/1020-92 [*q.v.*]), nine of whose *maḳāmāt* are available to us; this author renounces the oneness of the hero and introduces several narrators, but this plurality would amount to nothing more, according to Blachère and Masnou (39-40), "than a mark of respect paid to the model", Badīʿ al-Zamān, to the extent that the possibility of varying the methods of narration has been understood (ed. Istanbul 1331; O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur Maqāmen-Literatur*, iv, 123-52; tr. Cl. Huart, in *JA*, 10th series, xii [1908], 435-54). Nevertheless, the most eminent successor of al-Hamadhānī is incontestably al-Ḥarīrī (446-516/1054-1122 [*q.v.*]) who gave the genre its classic form, freezing it, so to speak, and diverting it from its actual function; according only a secondary interest to the content and placing his entire emphasis on the style which often takes on the nature of ponderous obscurity, al-Ḥarīrī's ultimate aim is the preserving and teaching of the rarest vocabulary, to such an extent that some twenty philologists have commented on his *maḳāmāt* and many of his imitators accompany their own compositions with lexicographical commentaries. (In the same way, a Maghribī author was to write 12 *maḳāmāt* in dialectical Arabic in order to improve the language spoken in southern Algeria; see G. Faure-Biguet and G. Delphin, *Les séances d'El-Aouali, textes arabes en dialecte maghrébin de Mohammed Qabîh al-Fa'l (M. le Mauvais sujet)*, in *JA*, 11th ser., ii [1913], 285-310, iii [1914], 303-74, iv [1914], 307-78.) The success of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt*, which appealed to the taste of readers to such an extent that, after the Ḳurʾān, children were made to memorise them, overshadowed those of al-Hamadhānī, which were too easily intelligible, and prompted many later writers to imitate the rhetorical artifices invented by al-Ḥarīrī (see Prendergast, 22-5; Crussard. *Études sur les Séances de Ḥarīrī*, Paris 1923; Blachère and Masnou, 42-6) and to take such little interest in the substance that verbal richness remained in fact the principal, if not the only specific characteristic of this original and fertile literary genre in its principle.

In spite of the specialisation of the term which designates it, we still see al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]) in his *Maḳāmāt al-ʿulamāʾ bayna yaday al-khulafāʾ wa ʾl-umarāʾ* (ms. Berlin 8537/1) and al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1167 [*q.v.*]) in his *Maḳāmāt al-ʿulamāʾ bayna yaday al-umarāʾ* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 12702), of which the titles and content recall the chapter of Ibn Ḳutayba mentioned above, returning to the previous notion of *maḳām*/*maḳāma* = "pious discourse"; the same applies to al-Zamakhsharī (467-538/1074-1143 [*q.v.*]), who, while appearing to take his inspiration from al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī, composed fifty *maḳāmāt* in which he addresses to himself a number of moral exhortations, also entitled *Naṣāʾiḥ al-kibār*; they would appear to testify to the repentance of the author who has decided, after an illness, to renounce profane literature (see Brockelmann, S I, 511; Blachère and Masnou, 40-1; ed. Cairo 1312, 1325; tr. Rescher, *Beiträge*, vi, 1913), but, unable to forget that he is also a philologist, he produces a commentary on his own compositions (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 133).

Two authors of the 6th/12th century are also credited with *maḳāmāt* composed in imitation of al-Ḥarīrī: al-Ḥasan b. Ṣafī, nicknamed Malik al-Nuḥāt (489-568/1095-1173; see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, viii, 123-4; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 220) and Aḥmad b. Djamīl (d. 577/1182) of Baghdād, whose only work cited by Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, ii, 282) is a *Kitāb Maḳāmāt*.

The work of al-Ḥarīrī soon became known in Spain, where the most celebrated commentary on it, that of al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222 [*q.v.*]), was written. These *maḳāmāt* were already being imitated there, apparently, by a slightly younger contemporary of their author, Ibn al-Ashtarkūwī (d. 538/1143) in *al-Maḳāmāt al-Saraḳusṭiyya*, which numbering the henceforward traditional fifty, may perhaps be, according to F. de la Granja (*op. laud.*, p. xiii) the only Spanish ones which conform to the classical norms; in addition, the other title by which they are known, *Kitāb al-Khamsīn maḳāma al-luzūmiyya*, could be an indication of the influence of al-Maʿarrī and of his *Luzūmiyyāt* (cf. LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM; A. M. al-ʿAbbādī, in *RIEEIM*, ii/1-2 [1954], 161); two of them, which deal with literary criticism, have been the object of a study on the part of Iḥsān ʿAbbās (*op. laud.*, 500-1), but the others would doubtless merit closer examination (on the mss., see Brockelmann, S I, 543). It was also at the beginning of the 6th/12th century that the *wazīr* Abū ʿĀmir Ibn Arḳam composed a *maḳāma* in praise of the Almoravid *amīr* of Granada Tamīm b. Yūsuf b. Tashfīn (see R. Arié, *art. cit.*, 206); judging by the fragment which has been preserved by al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān (*Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān*, ed.

Paris, repr. Tunis 1966, 153-4), this composition in rhymed prose is related to the *raḥīl* of the *ḳaṣīda*, but there appears in it a fictitious person who engages the author in a discussion on the *mamdūḥ*. Al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān himself (d. ca. 529/1134 [*q.v.*]) composed a *maḳāma* on his master al-Baṭalyawsī (H. Derenbourg, *Mss. de l'Escurial*, 538), and Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (502-75/1108-79 [*q.v.*]) mentions in his *Fahrasa* (328, 450) a further seven *maḳāmāt* written by the *wazīr* Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sallām al-Bāhilī (see al-ʿAbbādī, art. cit., 162; R. Arié, *art. cit.*, 205). For his part, al-Maḳḳarī (*Azhār al-riyāḍ*, ed. Cairo 1361/1942, iii, 15) attributes a number of them to a *faḳīh* of Granada named ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḳaṣīr (d. 576/1180; see Arié, 206). In Spain in the 6th/12th century, we may note (Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 407) a further two *maḳāmās* by al-Wādī Āshī (d. 553/1158), one of which is written in praise of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (476-544/1083-1149 [*q.v.*]), but, contrary to a widespread opinion, this eminent person is neither the author nor the dedicatee of *al-Maḳāma al-dawḥiyya* or *al-ʿIyāḍiyya al-ghazaliyya* which is the work of Muḥammad b. ʿIyāḍ al-Sabtī and of which Ibn Saʿīd has preserved a few lines (see F. de la Granja, *op. laud.*, 121-8). Ibn Ghālib al-Ruṣāfī (d. 572/1177) composed a *Maḳāma fī waṣf al-ḳalam* of which a brief surviving fragment has been edited and translated by F. de la Granja (131-7). It was very probably in Syria that Ibn Muḥriz al-Wahrānī (d. 575/1179) wrote *al-Maḳāma al-fāsiyya*, in which the hero is questioned about a number of real actual people who are characterised in a few sometimes incisive lines (ed. S. Aʿrāb, in *al-Baḥth al-ʿilmī*, Rabat, no. 5 [1965], 195-204).

Too much attention should not be given to the *Maḳāmāt ṣūfiyya* of al-Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl (d. 587/1191 [*q.v.*]) which deal with Ṣūfī terminology (Brockelmann, S I, 783), even less to the *Maḳāmāt* or Stages on the Mystic Way, of another Suhrawardī, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar (d. 632/1234 [*q.v.*]). Neither shall we enlarge on the various collections of *Maḳāmāt* dealing with mystical ethics rightly or wrongly ascribed (see O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn 'Arabī*, Damascus 1964, nos 415, 416, 417) to Ibn 'Arabī (560-638/1165-1240 [*q.v.*]).

Abu 'l-ʿAlā' Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī al-Ḥanafī, who dedicated thirty "sessions" to the grand *ḳāḍī* Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī, seems to belong to the end of the 6th/12th century. He strives to imitate al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī, like them presenting a hero and a narrator, but he uses simpler language; he is fond of rich descriptions of a high-spirited nature which are not always free of obscenity and he composes *maḳāmāt* which go together in pairs and are mutually explanatory (ed. Rescher, *Beiträge*, iv, 1-115).

At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, attention may be drawn to *al-Maḳāma al-mawlawiyya al-ṣāḥibiyya* of al-Wazīr al-Ṣāḥib Ṣafā' al-Dīn, which deals with judicial questions (Brockelmann, S I, 490; ed. Rescher, *Beiträge*, iv, 153-99), then to an imitation of al-Ḥarīrī's work, *al-Maḳāmāt al-zayniyya*, fifty in number, composed in 672/1273 by al-Djazarī (d. 701/1301 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). In the course of the same century, the names of Ibn Ḳarnas (*ca.* 672/1273), of al-Baraʿī (*ca.* 674/1275) and of al-Ḳāḍī Ḥāshid (*ca.* 690/1291) are mentioned by Brockelmann (I, 278), as well as those of the young poet al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf (661-88/1263-89 [*q.v.*]), author of the amorously-inspired *Maḳāmāt al-ʿushshāḳ* (S I, 458), and Ibn al-Aʿmā (d. 692/1293) who wrote a *Maḳāma baḥriyya* (S I, 445). His contemporary Ẓahīr al-Kāzarūnī (d. 697/1298) presents a narrator and a hero who visits Baghdād with him and describes some early customs in a *Maḳāma fī ḳawāʿid Baghdād fī 'l-dawla al-'Abbāsiyya*, published by K. and M. ʿAwwād, in *al-Mawrid*, viii/4 (1979), 427-40. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh (645-722/1247-1322) is credited with a *Maḳāma shihābiyya* which did not survive.

In the 8th/14th century, imitations seem to proliferate, often applying to religious or parenetic subjects. In 730/1229, Ibn al-Muʿaẓẓam al-Rāzī is still using the term *maḳām* which we have encountered in the work of Ibn Ḳutayba in the title of his twelve compositions, *al-Maḳāmāt al-ithnāʿashar* (ed. Ḥarā'irī, Paris 1282/1865, Tunis 1303; Brockelmann, II, 192, S II, 255); the Tunisian-born Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334 [*q.v.*]) celebrates the Prophet and his Companions in *al-Maḳāmāt al-ʿaliyya fī 'l-karāmāt al-djaliyya*. Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327) puts the form of the *maḳāma* to a mystical purpose in *al-Maḳāmāt al-falsafiyya wa-tardjamat al-Ṣūfiyya* which are fifty in number (Brockelmann, S II, 161). The *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Wardī (689-749/1290-1349 [*q.v.*]), published by Fāris al-Shidyāḳ in Constantinople in 1300, contains some *maḳāmāt* and a *risāla/maḳāma*, *al-Nabā' ʿan al-wabā'*, concerning an epidemic in which he died shortly afterwards (Brockelmann, II, 140, S II, 174, 175). An author of Maghribī origin, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Tilimsānī, also known as Ibn Abī Ḥadjala (725-776 or 777/1325 to 1374-5 or 1375-6), who spent most of his literary career in Cairo, was renowned in his day as a writer of *maḳāmāt*, and one curiosity of his is a *maḳāma* on chess which he dedicated to the Artuḳid ruler of Mārdīn, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Shams al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, presumably himself a chess enthusiast (see Brockelmann, II^2, 5-6, S II, 5, and J. Robson, *A chess maqāma in the Rylands Library*, in *Bull. John Rylands Library*, xxxvi [1953], 111-27).

An Andalusian, Ibn al-Murābiʿ (d. 750/1350 [*q.v.*]) drew attention to himself with his *Maḳāmāt al-ʿīd*, published by A. M. al-ʿAbbādī (in *RIEEIM*, ii/1-2 [1954], 168-73) and translated by F. de la Granja (*op. laud.*, 173-99); the hero is a beggar, one of the Banū Sāsān, searching for a victim to sacrifice on the occasion of the Great Feast, and the text also supplies information concerning the history of Granada, the home of an eminent contemporary of the author, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713-76/1313-75 [*q.v.*]). In the extensive and varied literary output of the latter there are a number of compositions which borrow certain features of the "session"; of the four texts analysed by R. Arié (*Notes*, 207-14): *Khaṭrat al-ṭayf fī riḥlat al-shitā' wa 'l-ṣayf* (account of a journey), *Mufākharat Mālaḳa wa-Salā* (a eulogy of Malaga), *Miʿyār al-ikhtiyar fī dhikr al-maʿāhid wa 'l-diyār* and *Maḳāmat al-siyāsa*, it is the two last which are most closely related to the *maḳāma*. In the *Miʿyār* (ed. A. M. al-ʿAbbādī, *Mushāhadāt Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb fī bilād al-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus*, Alexandria 1958, 69-115), the author presents a traveller who describes thirty-four towns and villages of al-Andalus, and a doctor who eulogises sixteen localities in the Maghrib; as in the second text mentioned above, the reader is faced with a *mufākhara* or a *munāẓara*, a debate, of which a large number of examples is found in the "sessions" which ultimately absorbed this particular genre (see below). The similarity with the classical *maḳāma* is more marked in the *Maḳāmat al-siyāsa* (*apud* al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. Cairo, ix, 134-49), in which the author brings into the presence of Hārūn al-Rashīd an old man of unprepossessing appearance who gives him advice on good administration and the duties of the ruler (see D. M. Dunlop, *A little-known work on politics by Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Ḥaṭīb*, in *Miscelanea de estudios árabes y hebraicos*, viii/1 [1959], 47-54).

While still dealing with al-Andalus, we may further

recall that the *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāʿa* of Granada, al-Nubāhī [*q.v.*], inserted in his *Nuzhat al-Baṣāʾir wa 'l-abṣār*, in 781/1379, a commentary on his own *Maḳāma nakhliyya* presented in the form of an erudite, obscure and pedantic dialogue between a palm-tree and a fig-tree (see R. Arié, *art. cit.*, 212-12). In Spain in the following century, in 844/1440, a similar calamity to that described by Ibn al-Wardī (see above) inspired ʿUmar al-Mālaḳī al-Zadjdjal to write his *Maḳāma fī amr al-wabāʾ* which is preserved by al-Maḳḳarī in his *Azhār al-riyāḍ* (ed. Saḳḳāʾ *et alii*, Cairo 1939-42, i, 125-32) and translated by F. de la Granja (*op. laud.*, 201-30); this jurist-poet is also the author of the *Tasrīḥ al-niṣāl ilā maḳātil al-faṣṣāl* which according to the same Maḳḳarī, who twice reproduced the text of it (*Azhār*, i, 117-24 and *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. Cairo, vi, 345-50), was appreciated by the populace but rejected by the *khāṣṣa* on account of the *mudjūn* [*q.v.*] which characterised it.

In the East, the names of some writers of the 8th/14th century have been mentioned by Brockelmann: al-Shādhilī (702-60/1302-58; S II, 148); al-Ṣafadī (696-764/1296-1363 [*q.v.*]), the author of the *Wāfī*, who wrote a *maḳāma* on wine, *Rashf al-rahīḳ fī waṣf al-ḥarīḳ* (S II, 29); and al-Bukhārī (d. 791/1389; S II, 289).

Al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418 [*q.v.*]) reproduces in a chapter of the *Ṣubḥ* (xiv, 110-38) a text of al-Khʷārazmī (see above) and a *maḳāma* of his own invention regarding the function of the secretary to a chancellery (see C. E. Bosworth, *A maqāma on secretaryship: al-Qalqashandī's al-Kawākib al-duriyya fi 'l-manāqib al-badriyya*, in *BSOAS*, xxvii/2 [1964], 291-8). Naturally, the prolific writer al-Suyūṭī (849-911/1445-1505 [*q.v.*]) could not avoid cultivating the *maḳāma* genre, which he uses in the form of dialogues, abandoning the traditional structure and dispensing with hero and narrator, to deal with religious and secular questions, such as the fate of the family of Muḥammad in Heaven, the qualities of perfumes, flowers and fruits, and obscene subjects are not excluded (see Rescher, *Zu Sojūṭī's Maqāmen*, in *ZDMG*, lxiii [1919], 220-3; Brockelmann, S II, 183, 187, 197, 198; L. Nemoy, *Arabic MSS in the Yale University Library*, New Haven 1956, ms. L. 754, fols. 47-50). His contemporary, the South Arabian Zaydī Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Hādawī Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 914/1508) applies this form to theological questions in *al-Maḳāma al-naẓariyya/al-manẓariyya wa 'l-fākiha al-khabariyya* (Brockelmann, II, 188, S II, 248; Nemoy, *op. laud.*, ms. L-366, fols. 140-7), and al-Suyūṭī's rival, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳasṭallānī (d. 923/1517) did likewise in his *Maḳāmāt al-ʿārifīn* (Brockelmann, II, 72). Brockelmann also mentions al-Birkawī (929-81/1523-73; S II, 658), al-Ghazāfī (*ca.* 997/1589; S II, 383), al-Mārdīnī (*ca.* 1000/1591; S II, 383), al-Ḳawwās (*ca.* 1000/1591), author of nine "sessions" (II, 272, S II, 383) and al-Fayyūmī (d. 1022/1614; S II, 486). Not mentioned by Brockelmann is the Indian author from Multān, Abū Bakr al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥaḍramī (*floruit* late 10th/16th century) who wrote a set of fifty *maḳāmāt* inspired by al-Ḥarīrī; cf. L. Cheikho, *Madjānī 'l-adab*, Beirut 1957, vi, 76-8, and R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young, *Arabic literature in India: two maqāmāt of Abū Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī*, in *Studies in Islam* (1978), 14-20.

In the period of literary decadence which marked the 11th and 12th/17th and 18th centuries, the "session" was still used to deal with a wide range of subjects. In 1078/1697, Djamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī Fatḥ Allāh b. ʿAlawān al-Kaʿbī al-Ḳabbānī composed one describing the war conducted by Ḥusayn Pasha and ʿAlī Pasha Afrāsiyāb of Baṣra against a Turkish army commanded by Ibrāhīm Pasha, and added a commentary, the *Zād al-musāfir* (printed in Baghdād in 1924; Brockelmann II, 373; S II, 501). Also encountered are the names of al-Kāshī/al-Kāshānī (1007-90/1598-1679; S II, 585), ʿArīf (d. 1125/1713; S II, 630), Baʿbūd al-ʿAlawī who produced in 1128/1715 (S II, 601) an imitation of al-Ḥarīrī in which al-Nāṣir al-Faṭṭāḥ (the victorious conqueror) recounts the fifty adventures, in India, of Abu 'l-Ẓafar al-Hindī al-Sayyāḥ ("the triumphant Indian vagabond") under the title *al-Maḳāmāt al-hindiyya* (lith. 1264), and al-Djazāʾirī (1050-1130/1640-1718; S II, 586).

In Morocco, the genre is represented by Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā (d. 990/1582) and Muḥammad al-Maklātī (d. 1041/1631-2), whose *Maḳāma bakriyya* is a eulogy of Maḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Dilāʾī (d. 1021/1612 [see DILĀʾ in Suppl.]), the son of the founder of *al-Zāwiya al-dilāʾiyya* (see M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie calawide (1075-1311/1664-1894)*, Rabat 1971, 42). Muḥammad al-Masnāwī al-Dilāʾī (1072-1136/1661-1724) describes this *zāwiya* and laments its destruction in *al-Maḳāma al-fikriyya fī maḥāsin al-zāwiya al-bakriyya*, which is of classical structure, with hero and narrator (see Lakhdar, 156-8).

Nemoy (*op. laud.*) records a ms. (Yale L-182) of *al-Maḳāma al-rūmiyya* of al-Bakrī (1099-1162/1688-1749 [*q.v.*]), which is part of his *Tafrīḳ al-humūm wa-taghrīḳ al-ghumūm fi 'l-riḥla ilā bilād al-Rūm*. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baghdādī al-Suwaydī (d. 1174/1760) and his son Abu 'l-Khayr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 1200/1786) use this form (Brockelmann, II, 374, 377, S II, 508) as a means of bringing together, in an entertaining fashion, a whole series of ancient and modern proverbs, the father, in *Maḳāmāt al-amthāl al-sāʾira* (Cairo 1324), and the son, in *al-Maḳāma djāmiʿat al-amthāl ʿazīzat al-imthāl* (ms. Berlin 8582/3).

In the same way that al-Ḥarīrī, in the two *risāla*s called *al-sīniyya* and *al-shīniyya*, employed only words containing respectively a *sīn* and a *shīn*, ʿAbd Allāh al-Idkawī (d. 1184/1770) wrote *al-Maḳāma al-iskandariyya wa 'l-taṣḥīfiyya* in which pairs of words which differ only in diacritical points are placed beside each other (Brockelmann, II, 283). A display of erudition is the main characteristic of *al-Maḳāma al-Dudjayliyya wa 'l-maḳāla al-ʿUmariyya* of Uthmān b. ʿAlī al-ʿUmarī al-Mawṣilī (d. 1184/1770) which contains essentially a list and a brief definition of Islamic sects (Brockelmann, S II, 500; Rescher, *Beiträge*, iv, 191-285, where other products in this style are to be found). Nemoy (*op. laud.*) further mentions (Yale L-302) *Maḳāmāt* in mixed prose and verse by Aḥmad al-Armanāzī (18th century?).

The popular theme of competitive debate (see Steinschneider, *Rangstreitliteratur*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, clv/4 [1908]; Brockelmann, in *Mél. Derenbourg*, 231; Blachère and Masnou, 48 and n. 2; H. Massé, *Du genre littéraire "Débat" en arabe et en persan*, in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, iv, 1961), is developed in the *Maḳāmat al-muḥākama bayn al-mudām wa 'l-zuhūr* (ms. Berlin, 8580) of Yūsuf b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī (d. 1178/1764), also the author of *al-Maḳāma al-ḥifniyya* (B. M. 1052/1; Brockelmann, II, 283; S II, 392). The Cretan Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rasmī (1106-79/1694-1783) also experimented with this genre and wrote al-*Maḳāma al-zulāliyya al-bishāriyya* (Brockelmann, II, 430). Of the work of al-Badrī (d. 1215/1800) there survives a brief *maḳāma* (Yale L-30a) composed in *sadjʿ* and verse (Nemoy, *op. laud.*). In a similar way, by inserting numerous verses of his own composition, the Tunisian poet al-Warghī (d. 1190/1776) put together three *maḳāmāt* edited by ʿAbd

al-ʿAzīz al-Gīzānī at Tunis in 1972 and called *al-Bāhiyya* (on the founder of the *zāwiya bāhiyya* in 1160/1747), *al-Khitāniyya* (on the occasion of the circumcision of the Bey ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn's sons in 1178/1764) and *al-Khamriyya* (in praise of this same Bey in 1183/1769). His compatriot and contemporary al-Ghurāb (d. 1185/1771) likewise left three *maḳāmāt* behind, of which two, *al-Hindiyya* and *al-Bāhiyya*, have a hero and a narrator, without however conforming to all the genre's exigencies, whilst the third, *al-ʿAbāʾiyya* or *al-Ṣābāniyya*, is merely a *risāla* (see Ḥ. Ḥ. al-Ghazzī, *al-Adab al-tūnisī fi 'l-ʿahd al-ḥusaynī*, Tunis 1972, 95-7; see also 154-60, on al-Warghī). Another Tunisian, Ismāʿīl al-Tamīmī (d. 15 Djumādā I 1248/10 October 1832) wrote a *Maḳāma fī ḥaḳḳ al-shaykh sayyidī Ismāʿīl ḳāḍī al-ḥaḍra al-ʿaliyya bi-Tūnis*, which has been published by Ḥ.Ḥ. al-Ghuzzī, in *al-Fikr*, xxv/2 (April 1980), 25-9 (see also the latter's study on *al-Maḳāma al-tūnisiyya bayn al-taḳlīd wa 'l-taṭawwur al-marḥalī naḥw al-ḳiṣṣa*, in *ibid.*, xxvii/5-6 (1982), 33-9, 96-103).

Other names which could be mentioned are those of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Suwaydī (1134-1200/1721-86; II, 374), al-Barbīr (1160-1226/1748-1811; S II, 750), Ḥamdūn Ibn al-Ḥādjdj al-Fāsī (1174-1232/1760-1817; S II, 875) whose *Maḳāma ḥamdūniyya* is said to be found in ms. in Cairo (M. Lakhdar, *op. laud.*, 282). Again in Morocco, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Azārīfī (d. 1214/1799-1800) addressed to the sultan's *khalīfa* in Sūs a *maḳāma* comprising a hero and a narrator and describing the conditions prevailing in Saharan areas in the 12th/18th century (text in *al-Baḥth al-ʿilmī*, xiii/2 [1396/1971], 166-72). Another Moroccan writer al-Zayyānī (1147-1249/1734-1833) is the author of a *maḳāma fī dhamm al-ridjāl* directed against the conspirators who deposed Mawlāy Sulaymān (Lakhdar, 323). Another well-known Moroccan, Akansūs (1211-94/1796-1877 [*q.v.*]) left a *maḳāma* of mystical appeal (ms. Rabat D 1270) designed to show the vanity of the things of this world; it contains a hero and a *rāwī* and comprises poems, dialogues and descriptions (Lakhdar, 343-5).

Thus we arrive at the 19th century, where the first name to be noted is that of al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 1250/1824; Brockelmann, S II, 720), then that of Abu 'l-Thanā al-Ālūsī (1217-70/1802-53), author of five *maḳāmāt* without hero or narrator which contain advice to the writer's children, autobiographical information, descriptions and reflections on death (see Brockelmann, II, 498, S II, 786; *EI*², s.v. AL-ĀLŪSĪ); they were lithographed in 1273 at Karbalāʾ, but do not seem to have enjoyed great success (see M. M. al-Baṣīr, *Nahḍat al-ʿIrāḳ al-adabiyya*, Baghdad 1365/1946, 230-4).

It was precisely in the period of the *Nahḍa*, the renaissance, that a number of writers set themselves the task of reviving this genre in accordance with the classical norms, believing that, as a genre exclusive to Arabic literature, it was the best means of stimulating the interest of readers and of putting back into circulation a rich vocabulary that had fallen into disuse over the course of the preceding centuries. In this respect, the most eminent writer of the 19th century is the Lebanese Christian Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī (1800-71 [see AL-YĀZIDJĪ]), who, with his *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn*, offered the public, for didactic purposes, a successful imitation of al-Ḥarīrī; in his work, which nevertheless contains sixty *maḳāmāt* (instead of the fateful number of fifty) accompanied by his own commentary, the hero and the narrator meet sometimes in the town, but often in the desert, a traditional setting for eloquent speech (see also Blachère and Masnou, 49-50).

Brockelmann also mentions al-Djazāʾirī (S II, 758, III, 379), al-Hamsh (S III, 338) and ʿAbd Allāh Pasha Fikrī (d. 1307/1890 [*q.v.*]), whose works (*al-Āthār al-fikriyya*, Būlāḳ 1315) contain a number of *maḳāmāt* including *al-Maḳāma al-fikriyya fī 'l-mamlaka al-bāṭiniyya* which has been published separately in Cairo in 1289 (Brockelmann, II, 475, S II, 722). Some *Maḳāmāt* by Maḥmūd Rashīd Efendi were edited in Cairo in 1913 (S III, 85). In ʿIrāḳ, Dāwūd Čelebi (*Makhṭūṭāt al-Mawṣil*, 299) has found a *maḳāma* on Baghdād by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṣṭafā al-Fayḍī al-Mawṣilī (late 19th century). In the Lebanon, Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab (1242-1308/1826-91 [*q.v.*]) left eighty-eight "sessions" of traditional structure, with hero and *rāwī*, which are as yet unedited (see Dj. ʿAbd al-Nūr, in *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, vii, 172).

In 1907, in Cairo, Muḥammad Tawfīḳ al-Bakrī published a collection of *maḳāmāt*, *Saharīdj al-luʾluʾ*, a number of which were chosen by ʿUthmān Shākir and included, in 1927, in his work entitled *al-Luʾluʾ fi 'l-adab*.

It is not our intention to dwell here on the *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā b. Hishām* of al-Muwayliḥī (1868-1930 [*q.v.*]) of which the first edition in book form dates from 1907; this "novel", which is both the first major achievement of 20th century Arabic literature and the swan-song of classical literature, has been the object of a number of studies, the list of which is to be found in G. Widmer, *Beiträge zur neuarabischen Literatur*, iv, in *WI*, n.s. iii/2 (1954), 57-126; H. Pérès, in *Mélanges Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957, 233; N. K. Kotsarev, *Pisateli Egipta xx vek*, Moscow 1975, 157-9. It will however be recalled that while still being published in instalments, this satire on contemporary mores had inspired an imitation, *Layālī Saṭīḥ*, on the part of Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1872-1932 [*q.v.*]), who also aspired, although with less success, to present a satirical portrait of society in the form of a long *maḳāma* (see H. Pérès, in *B. Ét. Or.*, x [1943-4], 13 ff.; Kotsarev, *op. laud.*, 104-7). The *Wadjdiyyāt* of Muḥammad Farīd Wadjdī, published in Cairo in 1910, contain eighteen "sessions" which have not attracted much interest (but see the Tunisian review *al-Mabāḥith*, xxxi ff.). Finally, it is possible that other writers of the first half of the 20th century have composed, as rhetorical exercises or for a specific purpose, *maḳāmāt* which have not come to the attention of literary critics and historians. This applies notably to Amīn al-Rīḥānī (1876-1940 [*q.v.*]), whose *Rīḥāniyyāt* contain (ed. 1956, ii, 83-6) *al-Maḳāma al-kabkadjiyya*, where the narrator is a moth-grub (*ʿuththa*) searching for an attractive book in a library.

The above list cannot be regarded as exhaustive; it is based essentially on the article *Maḳāma* by Brockelmann in *EI*¹ and his *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, the material of which has already been exploited by Blachère and Masnou (*op. laud.*, 123-9); our intention has been to complete this inventory by means of less ancient works but, in order to achieve a more satisfactory result, it would be necessary to go through recently published or still unedited biographical works, as well as catalogues of manuscript collections, and to carry out research in certain libraries whose riches have not been explored. As our list has been compiled in approximately chronological order, no mention has been made of a dozen or so fairly late authors whose dates have not been precisely located. Blachère and Masnou mention the following: al-Sukkarī (Brockelmann, S II, 906), al-Khanīnī (S II, 908), al-Hāʾirī (Rescher, *Beiträge*, iv, 328), al-Ṣāghānī (*ibid.*, iv, 335), al-Shāfiʿī (S II, 908), Ibn Rayyān (S II, 909), Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b.

Aḥmad b. al-Hādī (S II, 909), al-Anṭākī (Rescher, iv, 116), al-Munayyir (S II, 1010), al-Ḥusaynī (Rescher, iv, 311), al-Ras^c^anī (Rescher, iv, 339), al-^c^Umarī al-Mawṣilī (Rescher, iv, 199).

In general, however, it seems certain that the most significant representatives of the genre have not escaped scrutiny, giving rise to the works enumerated in the bibliographies of the notices devoted to them by the present *Encyclopaedia*. But alongside those authors whose *maḳāmāt* are known only by a sometimes misleading title or by a brief mention in one or other of the bibliographical works, there are a number whose surviving works deserve, if not an edition, at least a fairly thorough examination, in order to allow for a more confident judgment. The general observations which follow are therefore still fragmentary.

Of the characteristics of primitive *maḳāma*, all the authors have essentially retained the use of rhymed prose, more or less rhythmic and mingled with verse, and, taking the example of al-Hamadhānī and especially of al-Ḥarīrī, a vocabulary obscure to the point of being sometimes impenetrable; furthermore, *sadj^c^*, which sometimes goes to acrobatic extremes, is all the less likely to make use of simple language since the object of many of the authors is to make a display of their verbal dexterity. Quite apart from this common feature, the presence of two characters is not always felt to be necessary, so that the hero and the narrator are the same person in a large number of *maḳāmāt*, where this device is still retained.

From a theoretical point of view, the "séance", which belongs to *adab* is, by this definition, certainly designed to entertain, but also to instruct, since it is inconceivable that, originally, prose literature could have lacked any purpose. While the didactic function was to be served by means of the educational or edifying content, it was soon the form which fulfilled this role to the detriment of the essence, through the accumulation, scarcely bearable today for the average reader, of rare and unnecessary words, through a disagreeable pedantry and an impenetrable obscurity. The first objective, for its part, was to be realised, as in the case of *adab*, by a mixture of the serious and the joking, by the interesting quality of the adventures related and the theatrical element introduced by the two imaginary characters. Now, just as the *risāla*, being a convenient means of display on the part of authors full of false modesty, tended to be nothing more than a rhetorical exercise, in the same way the *maḳāma*, while supplying authors with an opportunity safely to express personal opinions in fictitious guise, enabled many others simply to make a show of their lexicographical expertise, at the same time, however, aiming at a certain aestheticism, one is tempted to say, at art for art's sake. This tendency is an expression of the love of Arabic-speakers for fine verbal style, and one gains the impression that an exquisite form sometimes conceals nothing more than a total vacuum. It is, however, not impossible that at least some of the compositions which appear most hollow lend themselves to different interpretations at a level which has yet to be ascertained.

The authors of manuals on the history of Arabic literature, when tackling the subject of *maḳāma*, rightly cite al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī as those whose works are considered the first milestone on the path followed by this original genre; subsequently, they maintain their silence and, for the next seven centuries are unaware of one author worthy of mention as an eminent representative of the "session", which is evidently the sign of an unfortunate decline; more detailed studies will perhaps enable one to correct this severe judgment, but the fact remains that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is necessary to wait until the 19th century to find, in the *Madjma^c^ al-baḥrayn* of al-Yāzidjī, a third significant milestone, although the new lease of life given to the *maḳāma* by this author did not inspire any notable works, perhaps because his object was far too didactic. In any case, the fourth and final milestone was planted by al-Muwayliḥī, whose *Ḥadīth ^c^Īsā b. Hishām* is sometimes described as a novel. But at this time rhymed prose had already begun to lose its appeal, and the educated public turned for entertainment, either in the original, or in translation, to foreign works which inspired modern Arabic literature to the detriment of a henceforward discredited genre.

The theatrical element contained in classical *maḳāmāt* has not been satisfactorily exploited, for we do not see many playwrights drawing from them their inspiration and staging some of them. ^c^Alī al-Rā^c^ī (*Some aspects of modern Arabic drama*, in R.C. Ostle (ed.), *Studies in modern Arabic literature*, Warminster 1975, 172 ff.) thinks that the shadow-plays of Ibn Dāniyāl [*q.v.*] are linked to Arabic literature through the *maḳāma* and points out that the Moroccan al-Ṭayyib al-Ṣiddīkī has based himself on the famous *Maḍīra* [*q.v.*] and other sections of al-Hamadhānī to write plays which have met a great success; but this is an isolated attempt.

Imitation in other literatures. The success of the genre created by al-Hamadhānī and consolidated by al-Ḥarīrī was so remarkable in Arabic-speaking circles that some authors, who normally expressed themselves in other languages but had direct access to the Arabic texts, conceived the idea of composing *maḳāmāt* of their own.

In Persia, particularly highly esteemed were the twenty-four "sessions" which Ḥamīd al-Dīn Balkhī (d. 559/1156) composed in 551/1156 in imitation of the two great Arabic authors (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 12716; lith. Tehran and Cawnpore); some of them consist of debates between a young man and an old, a Sunnī and a Shī^c^ī, a doctor and an astronomer; others contain descriptions of summer and autumn, love and folly, judicial and mystical discussions, but the sense is always sacrificed to the form (see H. Massé, *Du genre "Débat"*, 143-4). The example of Ḥamīd al-Dīn does not seem to have been much followed; nevertheless, the journalist Adīb al-Mamālik (d. 1917) composed a series of *maḳāmāt* (Browne, iv, 349).

In Spain, Yehūdā ben Shlōmō Ḥarīzī (1165-1225 A.D.) first translated al-Ḥarīrī into Hebrew (in 502/1205), then composed fifty *maḳāmāt* which he entitled *Sefer Taḥkemōni*; in these "sessions" the style of the model is imitated by means of a very skilful use of Biblical quotations; as for the content, it has been noted that Ḥarīzī was inspired by a *maḳāma* of Ibn al-Shahīd which we have mentioned above (see S. M. Stern, in *Tarbiz*, xvii [1946], 87-100; J. Schirmann, *ibid.*, xxiii [1952], 198-202; J. Razahbi, *ibid.*, xxvi [1957], 424-39); the work had been the object of partial translations into German, by Krafft (in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, xiii [1840], 196-8, xiv, 213-5) and L. Dukes (*Ehrensäulern*, etc., Vienna 1873, 92-4), before being published by P. de Lagarde, under the title *Iudae Harizii Macamae* (Göttingen 1881, 2nd ed. Hanover 1924).

A contemporary of Ḥarīzī, Jacob ben Eleazar of Toledo (beginning of the 13th century A.D.) for his part composed ten *maḳāmāt* which he intitled *Meshālīm*, with a narrator, but no hero; this work has been studied by J. Schirmann, *Les contes rimés de Jacob ben*

Eleazar de Tolede (in *Etudes d'orientalisme ... Lévi-Provençal*, ii, 285-97). In addition, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa mentions, in *La poesía sagrada hebraico-española* (Barcelona 1948, 133-4, 136-7, 144) other Jewish writers of Spain whose works could be compared to *makāmāt*.

The archbishop of Nisibin, ʿEbedyeshūʿ/ʿAbdīshūʿ (d. 1318 A.D.) composed in 1290-1, in imitation of al-Ḥarīrī, fifty "sessions" in Syriac verse of religious and edifying content, divided into two parts designated under the names Enoch and Elias; he himself explained, in a commentary written in 1316, the extremely artificial language abounding with acrostics and verses which can be read indifferently from right to left or from left to right (see Chabot, *Littérature syriaque*, Paris 1934, 141); the first half of these "sessions" was published by Gabriel Cardahi in Beirut, in 1899, under the title *Paradaisa dha Edhen seu Paradisus Eden carmina auctore Mar Ebediso Sobensis*.

Apparently there is no *makāma* composed or translated into Latin or Romance during the Middle Ages, but it is quite clear that the hero of the picaresque novel, the *pícaro*, closely resembles in many ways the characters of Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī or Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī, and the diffusion in Spain of the work of al-Hamadhānī, and later and more significantly that of al-Ḥarīrī, suggests a direct or indirect influence of the *makāma*. The works which have been undertaken in this area (in particular by Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, 1943, i, 65 ff.; A. Gonzáles Palencia, *Del Lazarillo a Quevedo*, Madrid 1946, 3-9) appear as so far inconclusive. On the other hand, A. Rumeau (*Notes au Lazarillo*, in *Langue néo-latines*, no. 172 (May 1965), 3-12) has shown that the central episode, *La casa lóbrega y oscura*, of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* is closely related to an anecdote mentioned by al-Ibshīhī (*Mustaṭraf*, tr. Rat, ii, 670), but already figuring in the work of al-Bayhaḳī, who probably borrowed it from al-Djāḥiẓ; thus it is likely that the long road travelled from the *fatā* and the *mukaddī* of the latter to the *pícaro* passes through the *makāma*. This question, linked to that of the influence of the *1001 Nights*, has been recently discussed in an extensive thesis by M. Tarchouna, *Les margitans dans les récits picaresques arabes et espagnols*, Tunis 1982, which contains a profound comparison between the two sources mentioned above and the picaresque literature (and extensive bibl.)

Bibliography: To the references in the text, the following may be added: V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*, ix, Liège 1904; the studies published in the Tunisian review *al-Mabāḥith*, xxiii-xxv, xxvii-xxviii; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, index; G. E. von Grunebaum, *The spirit of Islam as shown in its literature*, in *SI*, i (1953), 114-19; Dj. Sulṭān, *Fann al-ḳiṣṣa wa 'l-makāma*, Damascus 1362/1943; Shawḳī Ḍayf, *al-Makāma*, Caire 1954; 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yāghī, *Ra'y fi 'l-makāma*, Beirut 1969; Jareer Abu-Haydar, *Maqāmāt literature and the picaresque novel*, in *JAL*, iii (1974), 1-10; M. R. Ḥasan, *Athar al-makāma fī nash'at al-ḳiṣṣa al-miṣriyya al-ḥadītha*, Cairo 1974; H. Nemah, *Andalusian maqāmāt*, in *JAL*, iii (1974), 83-92; R. Marzūḳī, *Taṭawur al-makāma shaklan wa-maḍūman*, in CERES, *Ḳaḍāyā 'l-adab al-'arabī*, Tunis 1978, 299-335; R. Droury, *Ḥawl ḳawāʿid tabaddul al-ḳāfiya fī l-makāma*, in S. Somekh (ed.), *Abḥāth fī 'l-lugha wa 'l-uslūb*, Tel Aviv 1980, 7-13; and A. Kilito, *Les séances*, Paris 1983. Several "maîtrise" theses dealing with the *makāma* have been presented in recent years to the University of Tunis; see also the general studies in manuals of the history of Arabic literature, in particular H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature²*, 1963, index, s.v. *maqāma*; F. Gabrieli, *Storia della letteratura araba*, Milan 1951, 202-7; G. Wiet, *Introduction à la littérature arabe*, Paris 1966, 174-9; and J. Vernet, *Literatura árabe*, Barcelona n.d., 125-9. (C. Brockelmann - [Ch. Pellat])

MAKĀN B. KĀKĪ, Abū Manṣūr, Daylamī soldier of fortune who played an important part in the tortuous politics and military operations in northern Persia, involving local Daylamī chiefs, the ʿAlids of Ṭabaristān and the Sāmānids, during the first half of the 4th/10th century.

The house of Kākī were local rulers of Ashkawar in Rānikūh, the eastern part of Gīlān in the Caspian coastlands. Mākān rose to prominence in Ṭabaristān in the service of the ʿAlid princes there, and as the ʿAlids themselves dissolved into internecine rivalries, he became the contender with a fellow-commander, Asfār b. Shīrūya [see ASFĀR B. SHĪRAWAYHĪ] for control over the Caspian lands. Mākān allied with the Ḥasanid *al-Dāʿī al-Ṣaghīr* al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim [*q.v.* in Suppl.] against the latter's rival Djaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Uṭrūsh and his supporter Asfār, but was worsted in battle in 316/928 by the rule of the ʿAlids in Ṭabaristān, and Mākān had temporarily to flee into Daylam. His fortunes nevertheless revived, and by 318/930 he was master of Ṭabaristān, Gurgān and even of Nīshāpūr in Khurāsān, and had repelled an attack by Asfār's supplanter Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār [*q.v.*], master of Ray (319/931).

Mardāwīdj's élan could not be stemmed by Mākān, who lost Ṭabaristān and had to retire to Sāmānid territory in Khurāsān, receiving from the *amīr* Naṣr b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] the governorship of Kirmān. However, when Mardāwīdj was assassinated in 323/935 by his slave troops (according to Gardīzī, at Mākān's instigation), Mākān returned from the east to the Caspian region, established himself as governor of Gurgān for the Sāmānids, and allied with another local leader, Mardāwīdj's brother Wushmagīr, founder of the subsequent Ziyārid dynasty [*q.v.*]. With Wushmagīr's support, he threw off the control of Bukhārā, but the *amīr* sent against him an army under Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Muḥtādj Čaghānī. Mākān was dislodged from the town of Gurgān and compelled to fall back on Ray; and outside the town, at a village called Isḥāḳābād on the Dāmghān road, the forces of Wushmagīr and Mākān were defeated on 21 Rabīʿ I 329/25 December 940. Mākān was killed and his head sent first to Bukhārā and then to the caliph in Baghdād.

Mākān's career is typical of several Daylamī condottieri in the early stages of the "Daylamī intermezzo" of Persian history, when the decline of caliphal power in northern Persia allowed various local interests to vie for power there; but in the long run, it was the Būyids who were able to establish the most enduring domination (ʿAlī b. Būya, the later ʿImād al-Dawla [*q.v.*], seems to have taken an important step forward in his career by joining Mākān's army as a commander, perhaps in *ca.* 316/928, but left Mākān when the latter was temporarily eclipsed by Mardāwīdj, see above). Collateral relatives of Mākān, the family of his cousin al-Ḥasan b. Fīrūzān, continued to rule locally in Daylam till the end of the century.

Bibliography: 1. Sources: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 6-8 = §§ 3578-9; ʿArīb, 137-8; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, i, 275 ff., ii, 3-6; Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 30-1, ed. Ḥabībī, 83-5, 153; Hamadhānī, *Takmila*, ed. Kanʿān, i, index; Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. Browne, 208-1i; Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Ḳazwīnī and

Muʿīn, 24-7, Browne's revised tr. 16-18 (chronologically confused anecdote): Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 140-292, *passim*; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, ed. Dorn, 171-6; 2. Studies. H. L. Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 140; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Daïlamites*, in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 1964, 17, 27; Spuler, *Iran*, 89-94; W. Madelung, in *Cambridge hist. of Iran*, iv, 141-2, 211-12, 253-4; *EI*[1] s.v. (M. Nāẓim). (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MAKARI. [see KOTOKO]

MAKASSAR, since 1972 renamed "Ujung Pandang" with reference to one of its oldest quarters around the harbour, is the capital of the Indonesian Province of Sulawesi Selatan (South Celebes). It has 434,168 inhabitants, among them 332,618 Muslims. After World War II, Makassar was the capital of the Dutch-sponsored East Indonesian State (until 1950). It still remains the dominant cultural, administrative, economic and traffic centre in East Indonesia, its population comprising notable minorities of Torajas, Menadonese, Ambonese, Timorese, etc.

Its name "Makassar" originates from the people living in its hinterland, stretching over the most southern part of the south-western peninsula of Sulawesi. The population of the island of Selayar, to the south, is usually also counted among the Makassars, although their dialect shows a number of differences from genuine Makassarese. Their neighbours to the north are the Buginese, who are closely related to the Makassars in their customs, manners, and language. At the present, there are about 1,250,000 people living in the predominently Makassarese-speaking *kabupatens* (regencies) of Gowa, Takalar, Jene Ponto, Bantaeng, Maros, and Pangkajene (here mixed with Buginese).

Originally, as H. J. Friedericy had pointed out by examining the old Bugis-Makassarese epic *La Galigo*, Makassarese society was divided into three main groups: the *ana' karaëng*, or family of the king, the *to deceng*, or free people, and the *ata*, or slaves, who were either captives, those who could not repay their debts, or who had acted against the *adat* (customary law). Since the beginning of the 20th century, slavery has been abolished. An outstanding feature of the character of the Makassars (and Buginese) is called *siri'*, a feeling of humiliation and shame if the rules of *adat* are broken; it usually leads to revenge.

Little is known about the history of Makassar in pre-Islamic times. In the middle of the 14th century, the area was under the rule of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. According to the chronicles of Gowa and Tallo', which are the names of the two ancient Makassarese kingdoms, Gowa originally consisted of an alliance of nine small districts, each under a noble; after the government had passed into the hands of one man and the kingdom had expanded, to include for example the lands of what was later Tallo', Gowa is said, after the death of the sixth king (the first one described as an ordinary mortal), to have been divided between his two sons; the one became ruler of Gowa and the other of Tallo'. Both kingdoms usually had close relations and were known to the Europeans as the "kingdom of the Makassars". About the year 1512, one year after the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese, "Malays" were given permission to settle in Makassar and to build a mosque in their quarter. Also, in other ports on the west coast of South Sulawesi, Muslim traders began to settle. Those in Pangkajene were resisting tendencies among the family of the local ruler to adopt the Christian belief. But on the whole, during the 16th century, the Makassars and their rulers were still adhering to their traditional religion, and an even-handed policy was pursued towards the Muslim traders, most of whom originated from Johore, Malacca, Pahang, Blambangan, Patani, Banjarmasin, and the Minangkabau in West Sumatra on one hand, and the Portuguese on the other.

When the Makassarese kings started to become interested in trade affairs, they usually asked the Portuguese for their good services. The *karaëng* of Tallo', Tu Nipasuru' (first half of the 16th century) is said to have travelled to Malacca and Johore for trade reasons. During the reign of Tu Nijallo as *karaëng* of Gowa (1565-1590), the *sulṭān* of Ternate, Bāb Allāh, visited Makassar about 1580. Besides trying to solve their political disputes, Bāb Allāh, a fervent enemy of the Portuguese who had murdered his father, urged the *karaëng* to adopt Islam. It seems doubtful that he had any success, and it was not until 9 Djumādā I 1014/22 September 1605 that the young *karaëng* of Tallo', I Mallingkaang Daeng Nyonri, who at the same time acted as *patih* (prime minister) of Gowa, publicly confessed the Islamic *shahāda*. Later he was known as Sultan ʿAbd Allāh Awwal al-Islām. The *karaëng* of Gowa, I Mangu' rangi Daeng Nanra'bia, soon followed his example and adopted the name Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. On 18 Radjab 1016/16 November 1607, the islamisation of the two Makassarese kingdoms was officially declared to be completed. This was followed by successful wars against the Buginese neighbours, who thus were forced to convert to Islam too. One of the most celebrated teachers of Islam at that time was the miraculous Dato' riBandang, a mystic from Kota Tengah in the Minangkabau, who is said to have been a pupil of Sunan Giri in Java. Other outstanding teachers were Dato' riTiro and Dato' Patimang. Their tombs became centres of worship.

In the first half of the 17th century, the kingdom of Makassar extended very much, so that it brought under its suzerainty almost the whole of Sulawesi, Buton, Flores, Sumbawa, Lombok and the east coast of Kalimantan. In 1609, the Dutch East India Company was granted permission to establish a factory, but disputes about the trade with the Moluccas gave cause to repeated warfare and treaties which reduced the sovereignty of the Makassarese kings, and led to the expulsion of the Portuguese and later, in 1667, of the British as well. A treaty dictated by Admiral C. Speelman in 1667, which was reconfirmed in 1669, gave the right to the Dutch to settle there permanently. These wars are the topic of the *Sjaʿir Perang Mangkasara'*.

Although the main port in South Sulawesi was (and is) Makassar, the most skilled sailors and shipmakers, however, were not the Makassars but the Buginese, especially those from Wajo, who formed in Makassar—like in some other major ports, e.g. in East Kalimantan—their own community supervised by the *matoa*. The third *matoa*, Amanna Gappa, assisted by two of his colleagues from other ports, compiled in about 1676 a code of trade and navigation law which reflects at the same time their understanding of the cosmic order, together with Islamic and traditional elements.

Both the Makassars and likewise the Buginese are usually considered as strong, and sometimes fanatical confessors of Islam. Generally speaking, most of the legal duties of Islam are conscientiously observed. But this does not prevent them from maintaining, at the same time, pre-Islamic religious convictions, and a number of "mystical movements" are still in ex-

istence or are even gaining in strength, especially among the villagers, but also among intellectuals. Since the beginning of this century, modernist Muslim ideas have been spread by Zaini Dahlan, a former pupil of the *Sumatra Thawalib*, and the journal *al-Islâm* which was published since 1906 for some years by a Sumatran living in Malaya, and which resembled *al-Manār* in its orientation. A branch of the modernist *Muhammadiyah* movement was established in 1929.

In 1950, Makassar became the starting point of the "Darul-Islam" rebellion led by Kahar Muzakkar. In 1963 came the establishment of the *Ikatan Masjid dan Mushalla Indonesia Mutahhidin*, or Association of United Indonesian Mosques and Prayer Houses (abbrev. *IMMIM*), which tries to propagate the principles of unity in the *ʿaḳīda*, but tolerance in matters of the *khilāfiyyāt*. Thus among its members are mosques which are owned by the *Muhammadiyah*, or by the traditionalist *Nahdlatul Ulama* party, or by other groups. They are urged by the leaders of the *IMMIM* to keep their special convictions among themselves in order to avoid public turmoil. It has branches now in Central and Southeast Sulawesi, in the Moluccas and in Irian Jaya.

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(W. H. RASSERS - [O. SCHUMANN])

MAKĀYIL (A.), "measures of capacity" (sing. *mikyal(a)*; var. *makāyīl*, sing. *mikyāl*), and **MAWĀZIN** (A.) "weights" (sing. *mīzān*). On the measures of length and surface area, see MISĀḤA.

1. In the Arabic, Persian and Turkish lands.

In the history of Oriental metrology, the spread of Islam meant no abrupt break. Whereas Charlemagne imposed in his empire a uniform system of weights and measures and introduced a much heavier pound than the Roman libra of 327.45 g, neither Muḥammad nor ʿUmar made such a reform; and as later rulers could not claim canonical character for their systems of weights and measures, their bewildering diversity was in the Muslim countries even greater than in mediaeval Europe, where Charlemagne's system remained as a firm basis. The weights and measures which were used in the countries conquered by the Muslims were however not altogether different, as preceding oriental conquerors had introduced their metrological systems in other countries and, secondly, a mutual influence shaped them to a certain extent. For the needs of the fiscal administration [see BAYT AL-MĀL and DĪWĀN] and the market supervision [see ḤISBA], every governor and finance director of the provinces of the caliphal empire had to enforce what the caliph decreed concerning weights and measures. But rulers who had in mind to establish a truly new régime fixed new weights and measures, just as they built up an administration different from that of their predecessors. The Būyid prince ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the Fāṭimids, the Il-Khān Ghāzān and the Turcoman Uzun Ḥasan introduced new metrological systems.

For the study of Muslim weights one has recourse to the accounts in literary sources, the analysis of glass weights which served as standards and, thirdly, to data in European sources, such as Merchants' Guides. But despite the relatively rich information, research in Muslim metrology has not resulted in generally-accepted conclusions. From the accounts of the Muslim authors and the archaeological findings, different values have been calculated. The data in the European sources mostly point to smaller ones, which cannot be considered as mistaken.

The names of the weights and measures of capacity point to their origins: the *raṭl*, the most common weight, is an Aramaic form of the Greek λίτρον; the *ḳinṭār* (100 *raṭls*) is obviously the Latin *centenarius*; and the *ḳafīz* is the Persian name of a measure of capacity. When the Arabs conquered the lands of the Near East, all these names were already used for different weights and measures. The *mudd*, a measure of capacity, was in ʿIrāḳ of (about) 1.05 litres, in Syria of 3.673 litres, and in Egypt of 2.5 litres. The diversity of the weights and measures called by the same name was a phenomenon common to all Muslim countries. Almost every district had its own weights and measures, and in some countries those used in the capitals were different from those of the countryside. This is what the Arabic geographers tell about Djibāl and its capital Rayy, about Khūzistān and its capital al-Ahwāz and about Aleppo (Ḥalab) and its province. Further different weights were used for various commodities: in many provinces meat was weighed by a *raṭl* different from that of other articles. In all provinces of Upper Egypt there was a *raṭl* for meat and bread and another for other commodities. In many countries there were particular *raṭls* for pepper, silk, etc. For grain, one used in all Arabic countries measures of capacity; for liquids one had other measures of this kind. One learns, however, from the sources that in course of time there was a trend in several countries to use for liquids (e.g. olive oil) weights, and secondly, there was a tendency to replace weights (and measures of capacity) by bigger ones. Despite the mutual influence between the metrological systems of the Near Eastern countries, there remained through the Middle Ages (and also later) a marked difference between the Persian and

Arab countries (although there was some overlapping). The mutual influence and the age-old Roman-Byzantine rule over the Near East resulted, however, in a two-sided structure of the metrological systems of all the Muslim countries: they were both sexagesimal and decimal. This was indeed also a characteristic feature of the metrological system of the Greco-Roman world. The survival of the metrological systems of antiquity overshadows the almost insignificant influence of the weights and measures of Arabia upon the newly-conquered countries. The measures of capacity which were used in the Ḥidjāz in the days of Muḥammad, the *ṣāʿ* equal to 4 *mudds* and the *wasḳ* equal to 60 *mudds*, did not spread to other countries (except perhaps in Algeria and Tunisia where the *ṣāʿ* is still used, with varying equivalences). But the basic weight used at Baghdād became widely accepted as a standard weight. This was clearly the influence of ʿAbbāsid rule. On the other hand, the Muslim rulers did not introduce "Royal measures" for collecting taxes or making payments; some of them established special measures for these purposes, but these latter ones did not become new standards. The striking feature of the metrological systems of the mediaeval Arab countries was their diversity. Nevertheless, the Muslims tried to give the obviously different systems a common theoretical basis, adapted to the monetary system of the caliphs which was considered as canonical. Thus a metrological theory was elaborated.

Every weight was supposed to consist of a certain number of weight *dirhams* (to be distinguished from the weight of the coin called by the same name). The French scholars who came with Bonaparte to Egypt found that this *dirham* was equal to 3.0884 g, whereas a commission appointed by the Egyptian government in 1845 concluded that it was of 3.0989 g, and this latter value was taken by Sauvaire as basis for his calculations. Decourdemanche concluded that it was 3.148 g, and Hinz 3.125 g. But the Egyptian government established in 1924 that it is 3.12 g, and both the glass weights of the caliphal period and the data in the late mediaeval Merchants' Guides point to a smaller value. In addition, mediaeval Muslim writers say that this unity was not equal everywhere. For in Central Syria it was, according to them, lighter than in other Near Eastern countries. Another standard weight unity was the *mithḳāl*. Just as 10 silver *dirhams* should have the same weight as 7 gold *dīnārs*, so 10 weight *dirhams* should be equal to the weight of 7 *mithḳals*. The authorities of the caliphal empire had the *dirham* weight stamped on the standard weights, and Arab writers usually give the value of a (real) weight in these theoretical units. They also established further relationships: a weight *dirham* consists of 60 barley grains (*ḥabba*), each equal to 70 grains of mustard; a *mithḳāl* too is equal to 60 barley grains, but of 100 mustard grains each. The *mithḳāl* was also divided into 24 *ḳīrāṭs* (from the Greek κεράτιον), and consequently the weight *dirham* was reckoned at 164/5 *ḳīrāṭs*. But the *mithḳāl* was not everywhere the same; thus that of Damascus was lighter than the Egyptian one.

In the time of Muḥammad and his first successors, the weight system of Mesopotamia had apparently already been introduced into Arabia. Both in Mecca and in ʿUmān there was used a *raṭl* which was the double of what was later called "the *raṭl* of Baghdād", so that it weighed 402.348 g. The *raṭl* of Yemen was equal to the Baghdād *raṭl*. The *raṭl* of Medina weighed 617.96 g. The basic unity of the measures of capacity was the *mudd*, which contained a Meccan *raṭl* of wheat, and this was considered as the canonical *mudd* of Islam.

The data which we have about the weights and the measures of capacity which were used in the Middle Ages in Syria and in Egypt are much more numerous than data about those in other Islamic countries, and both archaeological findings and the information provided by Westerners enable us to draw a comprehensive sketch of the metrological development of these two countries.

For weighing small quantities one used in these countries everywhere the *raṭl*. Under Umayyad rule, one had in Syria a *raṭl* of 337.5 g or 340 g, obviously equal to the Roman pound. In the 4th/10th century, one used in most provinces of Syria and Palestine a heavy *raṭl*, numbering 600 *dirhams*, i.e. 1.853 kg. The *raṭl* of Damascus was, however, according to al-Muḳaddasī, slightly lighter. In this town it remained unchanged throughout the Middle Ages. In northern Syria, however, other *raṭls* were used. In the 5th/11th century, the Aleppo *raṭl* was equal to 1.483 kg. In the 6th/12th century one had in Aleppo a *raṭl* of 2.335 kg, in Ḥamāt one of 2.039 kg and in Shayzar one of 2.114 kg. According to the Arabic sources, the Damascus *raṭl* was in the Mamlūk period still equal to 1.85 kg, but the Italian Merchants' Guides make it 600 light Venetian pounds, i.e. 1.8072 kg. The *raṭl* of the northern provinces of Syria was in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, according to the Arabic sources, equal to 2.22 kg, and according to the Italian sources it was of 2.1688 kg. In the 11th-13th/17th-19th centuries the *raṭl* of Aleppo was slightly heavier and weighed 2.28 kg. Even in Palestine every district had its own *raṭl*; that of Jerusalem (also used in Nābulus) was in the Middle Ages of 2.47 kg and in the 19th century of 2.78 kg.

Grain was measured in southern Syria and in Palestine by the *ghirāra*, a measure of capacity which was however of different size in every province. The *ghirāra* of Damascus was equal to 731/2 *mudds*, containing 2.84 kg of wheat each, or to 3 Egyptian *irdabbs*. So it contained 208.74 kg of wheat. But in Jerusalem, the *ghirāra* contained, at least at the end of the Middle Ages, three times as much, sc. 626.22 kg of wheat, and in Ghazza 313.1 kg. In northern Syria one used for weighing grains the *makkūk*. Even this was a name given to different measures. The *makkūk* of Aleppo and Tripoli contained 83.5 kg of wheat and that of Ḥamāt 92.77 kg, according to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī and al-Ḳalḳashandī. But in the period of the Crusades, the *makkūk* was smaller. Ibn al-ʿAdīm recounts that the *makkūk* of Aleppo was in the 6th/12th century half of the *makkūk* of his own day, so that it must then have been of about 40 kg of wheat. Once more one becomes aware of a characteristic trend of the development of weights and measures in the mediaeval Near East: that there was a tendency to use heavier and bigger ones. In the 19th century one used in Syria the *kayl* of 28.18 kg of wheat.

Judging from the glass weights found in Egypt, the standard *raṭl* in Umayyad times was in that country equal to 440 g, whereas the ʿAbbāsids introduced a lighter *raṭl*, weighing 390-400 g. But in ʿAbbāsid Egypt also a "big *raṭl*" (*raṭl kabīr*) of 493 g was used. Under the Fāṭimids, several *raṭls* were used. According to the Arabic writers of that period and shortly afterwards, such as Eliya of Nisibin, writing in the firts half of the 5th/11th century, al-Makhzūmī of the late 6th/12th century and Ibn Mammātī, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, and a later text referring to a happening in the early 5th/11th century, they were the following: the *raṭl* called *miṣrī* of 144 *dirhams*, i.e. 444.9 g, used for weighing bread, meat and other articles; that of 150 *dirhams*, i.e. 463 g, used for spices

(and therefore called *fulfulī*, pepper *raṭl*) and also for cotton; the *raṭl laythī* of 200 *dirhams*, i.e. 617.96 g, used for flax; and the *raṭl djarwī* of 312 *dirhams*; i.e. 964 g, used for honey, sugar, cheese and metals. However, according to the Italian Merchants' Guides the *raṭl fulfulī* was equal to 1.4 - 1.46 light Venetian pounds, i.e. 420 - 440 g, the *raṭl laythī* (called after the governor al-Layth b. Faḍl, year 802), equalled 602.46 - 617.52 g, and the *raṭl djarwī* 939.8376 - 951.8868 g or, as other Italian sources have it, 300 light Venetian pounds, i.e. 903.69 g. Although one can quote other data from these European sources, the comparison of the data in the Arabic and European sources shows clearly that the European merchants who carried on trade in the Near East were accustomed to lighter standards. Several authors of the European Merchants' Guides, such as Pegolotti, emphasise that these *raṭls* were used in Cairo, Alexandria and Damietta alike, and others point to minimal differences, but from the Arabic sources one learns that different *raṭls* were used in almost all provinces of Egypt. The Fayyūm, Asyūṭ, Manfalūṭ, Ikhmīm and Ḳūṣ in Upper Egypt, Ḳalyūb, Fuwwa, al-Maḥalla and Samannūd in Lower Egypt, all had their own *raṭls*. The variety of the Egyptian weights was even much greater than that of the weights used in Syria, as in the major towns of this latter country many more commodities were weighed by the same weights. In Damascus, for instance, all the spices and the metals were weighed by the Damascene *raṭl* (and *ḳinṭār*). In Egypt, on the other hand, some spices were weighed by the *mann*, which was equal, according to the Arabic sources, to 260 *dirhams*, i.e. 803.348 g, according to Pegolotti to 840 g, and according to other Merchants' Guides to $2^1/_2$ light Venetian pounds, i.e. 753 g. Spices weighed by the *mann* comprised cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, cloves, cubeb and borax.

The measures of capacity which were used in Egypt in the caliphal period for grain were the *ṭillīs* and different *irdabbs*, but from the middle of the 5th/11th century the first of these measures dropped out of use. Al-Muḳaddasī says that it was of 96.4 kg of wheat and that it was no more used in his days. But in various accounts of the third decade and of the middle of the 5th/11th century, the *tillīs* is still mentioned; perhaps this was another *ṭillīs*. The *irdabb* (from ἀρτάβη) was originally a Persian measure of capacity which had been used in Egypt for a long time under the Ptolemies and the Byzantines. According to al-Muḳaddasī, it contained 72.3 kg of wheat. This was the *irdabb* of the Egyptian capital; it consisted of 6 *waybas* of 12.05 kg of wheat each. In the various provinces there were other *irdabbs*, such as that of Fayyūm comprising 9 *waybas* or 103.22 kg of wheat. In the Mamlūk period, the *irdabb* of Cairo corresponded to 68.8 kg. of wheat, whereas, judging from the equations made by Pegolotti and in two anonymous Merchants' Guides, the *irdabb* of Alexandria was already in that period twice as much. In the 18th and 19th centuries the *irdabb* was apparently everywhere doubled, and nowadays it is in the Buḥayra of 140.8 kg of wheat and in the Ṣaʿīd of 148.3 kg. Flour was weighed by the *buṭṭa*, equal to 50 Egyptian *raṭls*, i.e. 22.245 kg. A *ṭillīs* of flour weighed, according to Ibn Mammātī, 150 of these *raṭls*, i.e. 66.735 kg.

For olive oil, one used in the period of the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs measures of capacity. There were three measures called *ḳisṭ* (ξέστης, *sextarius*), one containing 476 g olive oil, another 1.07 kg and yet another 2.14 kg. But according to al-Maḳrīzī, a *ḳisṭ* contained 2.106 1 (or .1.93 kg) of olive oil. Other measures of capacity for liquids were the *maṭar* (derived from the Greek μετρήτης) which, according to a Venetian source, contained, in the later Middle Ages, about 17 kg of olive oil. But under the rule of the Ayyūbids, one began to weigh olive oil by the *ḳinṭār (raṭl) djarwī*, as is borne out by an account of Ibn Mammātī.

For great quantities of various commodities, one used some kinds of "loads". The *ḥiml* was reckoned at 600 "Egyptian *raṭls*", i.e. 266 kg, but as far as spices were concerned it consisted of 500 *raṭls* only, i.e. 222.45 kg. This latter unity is that which the Italian traders called *sporta* and reckoned at 720 (later 700) light Venetian pounds, i.e. 216.885 kg.

Weights in ʿIrāḳ, where the old Persian tradition prevailed, were altogether different from those used in Syria and in Egypt, although some had the same name. The *raṭl* of Baghdād which was equal to 401.674 g (according to others, to 397.26 g) (130 or 128 4/7 *dirhams* respectively) was considered as the "canonical" *raṭl* of the Muslims, because it was used from the days of the first caliphs. Al-Muḳaddasī recounts that this *raṭl* was also used in Upper Mesopotamia. But a short time later, Eliya of Nisibin says that in his native town one had a *raṭl* of 926.49 g (210 *mithḳāls*) and he mentions also a *raṭl* of Balad as being twice as much, i.e. 1.8529 kg. His contemporary Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions the *raṭl* of Mayyāfāriḳīn which was equal to 1.483 kg. The measures of capacity which were used in ʿIrāḳ fitted into a sexagesimal system. Small quantities of grain were sold by *ḳafīz*. In the 4th/10th century one used various *ḳafīzs*. One of them contained 10 kg of wheat (25 Baghdādī *raṭls*); Baghdād and Kūfa had a *ḳafīz* containing 120 *raṭls* or 48.2 kg wheat, whereas the *ḳafīz* of Wāsiṭ and Baṣra was only half of it, i.e. equal to 24.1 kg. The measure of capacity used for greater quantities of grains was the *kurr*. There were, however, different *kurrs*. The so-called "reformed *kurr*" (*kurr muʿaddal*) contained, according to al-Būzadjānī, an author of the Būyid period, 2829 kg of wheat, since it was equal to 60 *ḳafīzs*; the "full *kurr*" (*kurr kāmil*) was half of it. In Upper Mesopotamia, one used the "Sulaymānī" *kurr* which contained 771.2 kg of wheat (1920 *raṭls* of Baghdād). In the period of the caliphs, one measured in this latter region small quantities of grain by a *makkūk* containing 6.025 kg of wheat, but in the period of the Crusades the *makkūk* of this region was bigger. It contained, according to Ibn al-Athīr, $^1/_{14}$ of a Damascene *ghirāra*, that is, 14.91 kg of wheat. The data which one finds in the Arabic sources about the measures of capacity which were used in ʿIrāḳ for liquids are rather scanty. According to Eliya of Nisibin, one used for olive oil a *ḳisṭ* containing 3 Baghdādī *raṭls* and another which was twice as much.

The weights and measures of capacity of Persia had almost nothing in common with the metrological system which had been established by the Arabs in Syria, in Egypt and in other countries on the basis of the Roman-Byzantine tradition. The ancient Persian tradition on the whole withstood the Muslim-Arab influence, but was nevertheless not wholly untouched by it.

In the provinces of Persia adjacent to ʿIrāḳ, many towns had the *raṭl* as the basic weight unit for small quantities of various commodities, but most of them shared with the *raṭls* used in the lands of the Fertile Crescent only the name. One exception to this rule was the town of al-Ahwāz, where one used the Baghdādī *raṭl*. Al-Iṣṭakhrī recounts that one used almost everywhere a *mann* which weighed twice as much as the *raṭl* of Baghdād. This is undoubtedly an

exaggeration. In Rayy, the capital of Djibāl, one had a *raṭl* of 300 *dirhams*, i.e. 926.94 g. This *raṭl* was also used in some provinces of Ādharbāydjān, as in those of Khūy and Urmiya. But outside Rayy, one used in Djibāl a *raṭl* which was the double of the Rayy one, and in other provinces of Ādharbāydjān one used the *raṭl* of Baghdād. The *raṭl* of Ardabīl weighed, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, 1,040 *dirhams*, i.e. 3.213 kg, and according to al-Muḳaddasī 1,200 *dirhams*, i.e. 3.7 kg. In Shīrāz one weighed bread and meat by the *raṭl* of Baghdād, whereas other commodities were weighed by the same *raṭl* as that used in Ardabīl (eight times as much as that of Baghdād). The standard weight for small quantities of dry (and even liquid commodities) was in most provinces of Persia the *mann* (also called *manā*), which had spread widely in western Persia. But even *mann* was a name given to different weights. In the province of Khūzistān, outside the town of al-Ahwaz, it was equal to 4 *raṭls* of Baghdād, so that it weighed 1.6 kg. In the neighbouring province of Fārs, one used in some towns, like Arradjān, a *mann* of 1.2 kg (equal to 3 Baghdādī *raṭls*) and in others one of 926.94 g. In Iṣṭakhr one used a *mann* of 400 *dirhams*, i.e. 1.235 kg, and in Fasā one of 300 *dirhams*, i.e. 926.94 g. The *mann* of Rayy was of 1.853 kg, and that of other towns of Djibāl 1.2359 kg (600 and 400 *dirham* respectively). The *mann* of Rayy was widely used. It was also the standard weight of the provinces of Daylam and Ṭabaristān, whereas Ḳūmis had a *mann* of 926.94 g. Despite the bewildering variety of all these weights, they point to a striking difference between the metrological system of the Persian provinces of the caliphate and those formerly belonging to the Byzantine empire: the basic unit was much heavier than that used in the latter countries. The *mann* remained also in the later Middle Ages, and even in subsequent periods, the basic weight of the provinces of Persia. Ghāzān imposed the *mann* of Tabrīz, which was equal to 260 *dirhams*, i.e. 803.348 g, as the standard weight in the whole kingdom of the Il-Khāns, and even grain was weight by this *mann*. However, according to Pegolotti, spices were weighed by a *mann* equal to 903.69 g. After the downfall of the Il-Khāns, in the middle of the 8th/14th century, it fell out of use. Uzun Ḥasan introduced another weight, the so-called *batman*, equal to 5.76 kg, and this was apparently the standard weight in most Persian provinces under the rule of the Ṣafawids. Then in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries a *mann* of 2.88 - 2.9 kg spread everywhere. Obviously, this was a variation of half the pound of Uzun Ḥasan. From the beginning of the 19th century, it was mostly equal to 3 kg, and later it was indeed fixed at exactly 3 kg. In 1926 the equivalence of Persian and metric weights was fixed by law, and in 1935 the metric system was introduced, although in practice the ancient weights are still used.

The use of measures of capacity was in Persia much less common than in the Arab-speaking countries, although in the days of the caliphs, the *ḳafīz* was widely used. According to the reports of the Arabic authors of the 4th/10th century, one used in Nīshāpūr a *ḳafīz* which was equal to 70 *manns*, i.e. 56.23 kg of wheat. In Fārs one had various *ḳafīzs*, containing 3.2 - 6.4 kg wheat. For greater quantities, one used there the *djarīb*, equal to 10 *ḳafīzs* of 16 *raṭls*, i.e. 64.26 kg, but the inference of al-Iṣṭakhrī is that this only is an indication of its average weight, since he adds to this equation with the *raṭl* (of Baghdād) the statement that the weight of the *ḳafīz* depended upon the commodity measured (and this was probably true for other equivalents of measures of capacity and weights). In his native town of Iṣṭakhr, one called *ḳafīz* a measure which was half of the *ḳafīz* of Shīrāz. In Khūzistān one used a *kurr* containing 1004 kg of wheat (but for government crops, only 963.5 kg). Another unit of weight which was in all periods widespread in the Persian lands was the *kharwār*, a donkey's load. The Būyid ruler ʿAḍud ad-Dawla fixed it at 96.35 kg, and Ghāzān Khān at 80.29 kg; but in the later Middle Ages a heavier *kharwār* was introduced, weighing 288 kg, and at present a *kharwār* of 297 kg is widespread (although others are used).

In the Muslim regions of Asia Minor one used, according to Eliya of Nisibin, in the 5th/11th century a *raṭl* which was equal to 317.89 g, but later authors say that the *raṭl rūmī* weighed 120 *dirhams*, i.e. 370.776 g. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, who wrote in the first half of the 8th/14th century, mentions the different *raṭls* of several provinces of Asia Minor. According to him, one used in some (as in those of Anṭālya, Aḳsarāy and Ḳarā Ḥiṣār) a *raṭl* of 1.779 kg; in Bursa a *raṭl* of 9.64 kg; and in Ḳasṭamūnī a *raṭl* of 7.118 kg. As to the *raṭl* of Sīwās, the contemporary Pegolotti says that it was of 4.8 kg, whereas one learns from an Arabic source that it was of 4.618 kg. In the 18th century Istanbul had a *raṭl* of 2.8 kg, and Konya had in the 19th century a *raṭl* of 481 g. Beside these different *raṭls*, one used everywhere in the Ottoman empire another weight, the *okka*, which was equal to 1.283 kg. For grain, one used in the Middle Ages in the Turkish provinces of Asia Minor measures of capacity, which in some places equalled the Egyptian *irdabb*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī lists them and says also that in Bursa one used a *mudd* which was bigger by a quarter. In the Ottoman period the *mudd* contained 513 kg of wheat (being of 666.4 l).

In North Africa the *raṭl* of Baghdād, being considered as the canonical, was the most common as long as the ʿAbbāsids exercised suzerainty there. The Fāṭimids, however, introduced a heavier *raṭl*, which had been previously used for weighing pepper. It was reckoned at 140 *dirhams*, i.e. it was equal to 432.572 g, according to the detailed account of al-Muḳaddasī. Ibn Ḥawḳal, who probably describes conditions prevailing at the beginning of their rule, says that meat was weighed in al-Ḳayrawān by a *raṭl* of 128 *dirhams*, i.e. 395.49 g, whereas other commodities were weighed by a *raṭl* of 4.94 kg. Eliya of Nisibin gives for the common Maghribī *raṭl* $137^1/_7$ *dirhams*, thereby confirming the account of al-Muḳaddasī. Ibn Ḥawḳal's report about a heavy *raṭl* of al-Ḳayrawān refers certainly to that used in this town, according to the later al-Bakrī, for figs, nuts and other victuals, and this was 10 times heavier than the pepper *raṭl*. The latter author gives also some data about the weights used in various other provinces of the Maghrib, in the post-Fāṭimid period there. According to him, one used in Tenes, Melīla and Nakūr, a *raṭl* of 330 *dirhams*, i.e. 1.019 kg, whereas meat was both in Tenes and in other towns weighed by much heavier *raṭls*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa makes two statements about the common Maghribī *raṭl*: in one he says that it was equal to a quarter of a Damascene *raṭl*, that is 463.47 g, and in another that it was $^5/_4$ of an Egyptian *raṭl*, i.e. 556.164 g. From Pegolotti, one learns that one used in the first half of the 8th/14th century in Tunis a *raṭl* of 490.7 g. For grains, one had in the Maghrib various *mudds*. According to al-Bakrī, there was used in Fās a small *mudd* of 4.31 l, but in most places bigger units were used. Al-Muḳaddasī says that in al-Ḳayrawān a *mudd* was used which equalled 201 l, and al-Bakrī reports that the people of Tāhart had a *mudd* of 243 l. For liquids, such as olive oil, there was used in Tunis in the 19th century the *ḳulla* of 10.08 l and the *maṭar*, twice its weight.

In Muslim Spain, a *raṭl* of 503.68 g was com-

monly used. But for weighing meat, one had a *raṭl* four times as heavy. For grain, one used a *ḳafīz* containing 60 *raṭls* of wheat, i.e. 30.22 kg. Olive oil was weighed by a *th̲umn* containing 2¼ *raṭls*, i.e. 1.12 kg; the *ḳulla* was equal to 12 *th̲umns*.

Bibliography: Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 156, 191, 203, 213; Muḳaddasī, 99, 129, 145 f., 181 f., 204, 240, 381, 397, 417 f., 452; Bakrī, ed. de Slane, 26 f., 62, 69, 89, 91117, 145; Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, Cairo 1943, 360 ff.; Ibn al-Uk̲h̲uwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, London 1938, ch. ix; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ṭalab min taʾrīk̲h̲ Ḥalab*, Damascus 1954, ii, 182; al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, iii, 445, iv, 181, 198, 216, 233, 237, 422 f.; Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 274, 1. 27; al-Saḳaṭī, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 11, 13, 39; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 382, iv, 317; Pegolotti, *La practica della mercatura*, ed. Evans, 30 f., 69 ff., 89 ff., 135, 166; Zibaldone da Canal, ed. A. Stussi, Venice 1967, 56, 65 ff.; *Tarifa zoè noticia dy pexi e mexure di luogi e tere che s'adovra marcadantia per el mondo*, Venice 1925, 26 ff., 63; *Il manuale di mercatura di Saminiato de' Ricci*, ed. A. Borlandi, Genoa 1963, 120; *Il libro di mercatantie et usanze de' paesi*, ed. Fr. Borlandi, Turin 1936, 70 f., 72 ff., 75 ff., 99 ff.; Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmane*, in *JA* (1884-6); idem, *On a treatise on weights and measures by Eliya, archbishop of Nisibin*, in *JRAS* (1877), 291 ff.; R. Brunschvig, *Mesures de capacité de la Tunisie médiévale*, in *RAfr.*, 1935/3-4, 86-90; idem; in *AIEO Alger* (1937), 74-87; W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden 1955, Russian tr. with corrections, together with a treatise about weights in Central Asia, *Musul'manskie meri is vesa s perevodom w metričeskuyu sistemu*, tr. Y. Bregel, (with) E. A. Davidovič, *Materiali po metrologii srednevekovoy sredney Asii*, Moscow 1970; P. Balog, *Umayyad, Abbasid and Tulunid glass weights and vessel stamps*, New York 1976; A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, Prague 1955, 139 ff.; F. Vivé, *Dénéraux, estampilles et poids musulmans en verre en Tunisie*, in *CT*, iv (1956), 17-90; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *The kurr system in medieval Iraq*, in *JESHO*, v (1962), 309 ff.; Cl. Cahen, *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale d'après le Minhadj d'al-Makhzumi*, in *JESHO*, vii (1964), 275 ff.; B. Lewis, *Studies in the Ottoman archives*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 489; E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 103, 125; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*², London 1969, 405 ff.; C. E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969). (E. Ashtor)

2. In Muslim India

It appears that the earliest Muslims in India of whose fiscal regulations we have any records had assimilated the indigenous system of weights of northern India for everyday trade; for the more precise requirements of the coinage, there is excellent numismatic evidence that indigenous standards had been adopted from the beginning and maintained thenceforth, except for a few anomalous periods. The interconnexion between precise and general weights, however, varies enormously from time to time and from region to region, so that there can be considerable difficulties in interpreting references before the 19th century.

An attempt was made by the East India Company in 1833 to standardise the weights system in *Regulation VII*, "A regulation for altering the weight of the Furruckabad [i.e. Farruk̲h̲ābād] rupee and for assimilating it to the legal currency of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies; for adjusting the weight of the Company's sicca rupee, and for fixing a standard unit of weight for India". This provided for the following scale:

8 *rattī* = 1 *mās̲h̲ā*
12 *māshā* = 1 *tōlā*
80 *tōlā* = 1 *sēr*
40 *sēr* = 1 *man*

The *sēr* was further divisible into 16 *čhaṭānk* (just as the rupee was divisible into 16 *ānā* "annas", the *ānā* being originally not a coin but merely a money of account, "sixteenth share". The central unit here, the *tolā*, was fixed at 180 grains, i.e. 11.6638 gm.; thus the "official seer", *sēr*, was fixed at 2.057 lbs.av. = 0.933 kg., and the "official maund", *man*, at 82.286 lbs.av = 37.32 kg. *The Indian weights and measures act*, Act. XI of 1870, provided for the extension of this system, throughout British India, and provided for a future redefinition of the *sēr* as precisely equal to the standard kilogram, although with the death of Lord Mayo, the proposer of the Act, this scheme did not materialise at the time, and the above system of weights remained in force until the official introduction of the metric system after Indian independence (persisting unofficially in country districts up to the present day). The *anglicé* form "maund" derives from *man* through Port. *mão*, possibly influenced by an old Eng. "maund", a hamper of eight bales, etc.; see *OED*, s.v. *Maund*.

This relative scale was general throughout north and central India and Bengal, although the values of *sēr* and *man* were very variable; the situation is further complicated by the presence side by side of a *kaččā* and a *pakkā sēr* and *man* almost everywhere (cf. mediaeval Europe: "almost every city in Italy had its *libra grossa* and *libra sottile*"; and the former distinction in England between lb.av. and lb.troy. See Hobson-Jobson, s.v. PUCKA, *Pucka*, and cf. variations in the Eng. pound for different commodities in *OED*, s.v. *Pound*. Thus Tavernier (*Les six voyages...*, Paris 1676, ed. and Eng. tr. V. A. Ball, London 1889) and Grose (*Voyage to the East Indies...*, London 1757) agree that the ordinary *man* is 69 livres/pounds, but that used for weighing indigo is only 53. Grose further mentions the *man* of Bombay as 28 lb., that of Goa 14 lb., that of Surat 37 lb., of Coromandel 25 lb., but of Bengal 75 lb. Some, but not all, of these estimates correspond with those of Prinsep (E. Thomas, ed., *Essays on Indian antiquities of the late James Prinsep ... to which are added his Useful Tables*, London 1858), whose list is the most complete; his largest *man* is of Aḥmadnagar, of 64 *sēr* and = 163.25 lbs, the smallest that of "Colachy" (Kolačel) in Travancore, of 18.80 lbs.

Absolute values have been cited first from European travellers, since they describe transactions of their own times and offer some standards for comparison. The question becomes more difficult when interpreting the Muslim historians: e.g. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, discussing (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Fīrūz S̲h̲āhī*, 316 ff.) the first *ḍābiṭa* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K̲h̲aldjī on the regulations of grain prices some sixty years after the events, details the prices for various commodities in terms of *djītals* or *tankas* per *man* or *sēr*; only Firis̲h̲ta's explanation—some three hundred years after ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's time—that the *sēr* was at that time of 24 *tōlās* allows the rough calculation that the *man* referred to must have been about 11.2 kg., provided that one can depend on the accuracy of both Baranī and Firis̲h̲ta [*q.vv.*]. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 290, tr. Gibb, iii, 695), describing the famine of 734/1334, refers to the Dihlī

man, and to its half, the *raṭl*, and elsewhere equates the Dihlī *raṭl* as 20 Maghrībī *raṭl* (Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 32, makes the Morocco *raṭl* 468.75 gm). Some writers confuse the issue further (e.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Shīrāzī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*; Djahāngīr, in *Tūzuk*), by referring to a foreign *man*, although Djahāngīr does explain that 500 Hindūstānī *man* = 4000 Wilāyatī; the "Hindūstānī" must be the recently established *man-i Akbarī*, equivalent to *man-i tabrīzī*.

The smaller weights present fewer problems, since they are relatable to the coinage and one possesses the ponderal evidence of the coins themselves. Here the standard is the *tōlā*, the weight of the *tanka*, calculated as equal to 96 *rattī*. The *rattī* ("red one", Skt. *raktikā*; Abu 'l-Faḍl in *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* calls it *surkh*) is the seed of a small red-flowered leguminous creeper, *Abrus precatorius*; the actual weight of such a seed varies from 80 to 130 mg, its notional weight, at least up to the end of the 8th/14th century, being 116.6 mg. (for fuller discussion of the metrological problem see SIKKA. India). The *rattī* is in Hindu theory a high multiple of the smallest particle, the "mote in a sunbeam"; there are several factitious tables of increments in the ancient authors, some of which are related by al-Bīrūnī (ed. Sachau, text i, 76 ff.; Eng. tr. i, 160 ff.), who complains of weights being "different for different wares and in different provinces". He relates some of these weights to his *mithḳāl*, but not consistently, giving the *mithḳāl* a weight of about 5.5 gm. But the weight of the *mithḳāl* has similarly varied; the term is used occasionally by Indian authors, especially in the *Bābur-nāma* and *Humāyūn-nāma*, where it is expressly stated to be the weight of a *shāhrukhī*, the especial currency of Kābul, two-fifths the value of an Akbarī rupee, and weighing only about 4.67 gm (S.H. Hodivala, *Historical studies in Mughal numismatics*, Calcutta 1923, s.v. "Shāhrukhīs", 1-10).

The *rattī* and, less frequently, the *māshā* are also used as the common jewellers' weights; in some cases the jewellers' *rattī* is known to have been a "double *rattī*"; this brings it to nearly the weight of another seed notionally used in South India, including Golkondā and Bīdjāpur, the *mandjālī* (Telugu) or *mandjādī* (Tamil), of about 260 mg. (Hobson-Jobson, s.v. *Mangelin*).

There were no measures of capacity in regular Indian use, liquids and grain being regularly accounted by weight only. When precision was of small importance, water might be accounted by the skinful, *dahī* (curds) by the jarful, small quantities of grain by the handful, etc. Al-Bīrūnī, *loc. cit.*, does mention some Indian measures of capacity, of which only the *bīsī* seems to have survived but not now to be identifiable. Factory records (e.g. those at Ḍhākā, see Abdul Karim, *Dacca: the Mughal capital*, Dacca 1964) show cloth as being accounted simply by the "piece", or (tantalisingly) for smaller or fractional lengths, by the *rēza*.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see for the metrology especially, H. N. Wright, *The coinage and metrology of the sultans of Delhi*, Oxford (for the Manager of Publications, Delhi) 1936, App. A. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

MAḲBARA (or *maḳbura*, *maḳbira*, *miḳbara*, *maḳbar* and *maḳbur*) (A.), "cemetery". The word occurs only in the Ḳurʾān in the plural form *maḳābir*: "Rivalry distracts you, until you visit the cemeteries" (CII,2). Its synonyms *djabbāna*, *madfan* and *turba* do not figure in the Holy Book.

1. In the central Arab lands

The Arab authors supply little information of use in tracing the history of Muslim cemeteries. Works of *fiḳh* refer only to prohibitions concerning tombs (*ḳabr*, pl. *ḳubūr* [*q.v.*]) and the visiting of burial-places (*ziyāra* [*q.v.*]). At the most, a few occasional references may be gleaned from these sources: Ibn Baṭṭa and Ibn Ḳudāma recall, for example, the dictum of the Prophet forbidding prayer in cemeteries (cf. H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 80, 149, and idem, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, 21). Ibn Taymiyya notes that the cemeteries of Christians and Jews must not be located in proximity to those of the faithful (cf. idem, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taimiyya*, Cairo 1939, 372). For more substantial information, it is necessary to consult works of topography, guides to pilgrimage and the accounts of travellers. Even here, it very often happens that such information is dispersed and responds only partially to the requirements of the historian. Thus in his topography of the city of Damascus, Ibn ʿAsākir devotes a whole chapter to the cemeteries, but he is primarily concerned with locating the tombs of the revered individuals who are buried there. While he identifies the site of the first cemetery of Damascus, that of Bāb Tūmā (currently Shaykh Raslān) where the Muslims killed at the time of the conquest of the city were buried, it is only by chance that he mentions those of al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr and al-Farādīs, in referring to the tombs of the Companions of the Prophet (cf. Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ii, ed. Ṣ. Munadjdjid, Damascus 1954, 188-200, tr. N. Elisséeff, *La Description de Damas*, Damascus 1959, 303-16). His aim is not to describe the history of the cemeteries, their creation, development and abandonment, but to give a topography of the tombs.

It is in the same manner that the authors of topographies of the two holy cities—Mecca and Medina—describe the cemeteries. They recount the traditions relating to their origin, but are concerned above all with the topographical landmarks of tombs of the members of the family of the Prophet whose names are listed. They accord the same treatment to the Ṣaḥāba and the Tābiʿūn (cf. al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka wa-mā djāʾa fī-hā min al-āthār*, Mecca 1965, 209-13; al-ʿAbbāsī, *Kitāb ʿUmdat al-akhbār fī madīnat al-mukhtār*, Cairo n.d., 147-62).

Somewhat different is the account given by al-Maḳrīzī in the chapter of the *Khiṭaṭ* devoted to the cemeteries of Cairo. He locates them, tells the story of the acquisition of the site of the Ḳarāfa at the time of the conquest, and gives a brief account of its development and extension. But the greater part of the chapter deals with the localisation of the monuments—mosques, palaces, *ribāṭs*, *muṣallās*—dispersed throughout that massive expanse at the feet of the hill of al-Muḳaṭṭam known as the "city of the dead" (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār*, Beirut n.d., ii, 442-3, 451-3).

By adding to the information supplied by topographical works that which may be gleaned from the accounts of travellers, it is possible to identify the privileged sites where Muslim cemeteries were established: in general, according to a comprehensible urban logic, they are laid out on the exterior of the ramparts, close to the gates of the town: for example, in the case of Damascus, the cemeteries of Shaykh Raslān near Bāb Tūmā, of al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, of Bāb Kaysān, of Dahdaḥ near Bāb al-Farādīs, of al-Ṣūfiyya near Bāb al-Djābiya, etc. (cf. Kh. Moaz and S. Ory, *Inscriptions arabes de Damas, les stèles funéraires. I. Le cimetière d'al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr*, Damascus 1977, 9-13); in the case of Mecca, the cemetery of al-Ḥadjūn, close to Bāb Maʿlā (cf. al-Azraḳī, *op. cit.*, ii, 3, 81; Ibn Baṭ-

ṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, i, 330, Eng. tr. Gibb, i, 206-8; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, Fr. tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1951, ii, 129); in the case of Medina, al-Baḳīʿ, near the gate of the same name (Ibn Djubayr, *op. cit.*, ii, 227; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 286, tr. i, 179; in the case of Baghdād, the cemeteries of Bāb Dimashḳ, of Bāb al-Tibn, of Bāb al-Ḥarb, of Bāb al-Kunās, of Bāb al-Baradān, of Bāb Abraz (cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, i, Cairo 1931, 120-7; J. Lassner, *The topography of Baghdad in the early Middle Ages*, Detroit 1970, ch. *The cemeteries of Baghdād*, 111-18; G. Maḳdīsī, *Ibn ʿAḳīl et la resurgence de l'Islam traditionel* Damascus 1963, index s.v. *cimetières*; etc.).

The slopes or foot of mountains imbued with an atmosphere of sanctity are also propitious sites for cemeteries. The cemeteries of the Ḳarāfa in Cairo, at the feet of the Djabal al-Muḳaṭṭam, are the best examples of this. Also worthy of mention in this context are the cemeteries of al-Ḥadjūn in Mecca, on the hill of the same name (cf. above), and that of Ṣāliḥiyya in Damascus, at the foot of Mount Ḳāsiyūn [*q.v.*].

While the perspective in which cemeteries are described in the works of Arabic topography does not fully respond to all the requirements of the historian, it does, on the other hand, identify well the relations existing between the cemetery and the town, ambivalent relations which reflect the difficulties of reconciling legal prescriptions with living reality, difficulties similar to those already mentioned in the context of tombs (cf. Y. Raghib, *Les premiers monuments funéraires de l'Islam*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, ix [1970], 21-2). In fact, in the view of some of the *fuḳahāʾ*, the cemetery is an impure case. It will be recalled that Ibn Ḳudāma and Ibn Baṭṭa (*op. cit.*, 80, 149) include it in the list of places unsuited to prayer, in the same manner as public baths, enclosures where camels shed excrement, abattoirs and rubbish dumps. However, for the majority of authors and the consensus of believers, the cemetery is a holy place, seeing that it contains the tombs of individuals venerated in Islam: members of the Prophet's family, the Ṣaḥāba or Companions, the Tābiʿūn or successors, *awliyāʾ* and *ṣāliḥūn*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and al-Maḳrīzī, referring to the mosque of the cemetery of the Ḳarāfa, call it the *Djāmiʿ al-awliyāʾ*, and when al-Harawī (*Ziyārāt*, ed. and tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953-7, 33/76, 37/86, 74/166, 76/172) mentions a cemetery, it is always in terms of the saints and righteous men buried there. Special blessings are attached to these tombs. Every major city of Islam claims the honour of possessing the tombs of such venerated persons, irrespective of the fact that several cities may boast of the burial-place of the same individual (cf. Moaz-Ory, *op. cit.*, tomb of Bilāl al-Ḥabashī, 79).

A whole literature has developed around this theme. These are the books of *faḍāʾil* [*q.v.*], listing the holy persons still present, in a certain sense, in the town, and conferring upon it merit, glory and blessing (cf. for example al-Rubaʿī, *Faḍāʾil al-Shām wa-Dimashḳ*, ed. Ṣ. Munadjdjid, Damascus 1950; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra fi 'l-Ḳarāfatayn al-kubrā wa'l-ṣughrā*, Baghdād n.d., chs. 1-3, pp. 5-12). Very similar to these works, and sometimes overlapping with them, are the books of *ziyārāt* [*q.v.*] for the use of pilgrims who come to visit these tombs in order to benefit from the privileges associated with them (cf. Y. Rāghib, *Essai d'inventaire chronologique des guides à l'usage des pèlerins du Caire*, in *REI* xli/2 [1973], 259-80; al-Harawī, *op. cit.*; J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Les anciens lieux de pèlerinage damascains*, in *BEO*, xiv [1954], 65-85). For these pilgrims to cemeteries, itineraries of visits are established (cf. L. Massignon, *La cité des morts au Caire*, Cairo 1958, 45-6) and rituals composed. Today still, Shīʿī pilgrims who visit the tombs of Fāṭima and Sukayna, in the cemetery of Bāb Ṣaghīr, recite, wailing, the litanies specially written for these visits.

In conjunction with these rituals, a veritable funeral liturgy was developed in certain cemeteries, in particular in that of the Ḳarāfa. Readings of the Ḳurʾān were performed over the tombs visited by members of the company of *ḳurrāʾ* [see ḲĀRIʾ] and, on feast-days, ceremonies took place with *dhikr* [*q.v.*], dances and chanting, organised by the disciples of the brotherhoods (cf. L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 46-8). These gatherings in the cemeteries sometimes led to abuses which the jurists were obliged to remedy. Thus in Baghdād, the caliphate authorities were obliged to place a guard on the cemetery, so intense were the demonstrations of devotion on the part of the pilgrims over the tomb of Ibn Ḥanbal (on the legality of these visits, see ḲABR).

The tombs of these holy persons were often the basis for the creation of new necropolises or "quarters" in pre-existing cemeteries. Their topography thus led to the appearance of nuclei, grouping together in small enclosures within the cemetery, the tombs of members of the Prophet's family, the Ṣaḥāba and the Tābiʿūn. In Baghdād, in the cemetery of Bāb al-Ḥarb, a number of Ḥanbalīs are buried in the shadow of the tomb of Ibn Ḥanbal, and Ḥanafīs around that of Abū Ḥanīfa (cf. Makdisi, *op. cit.*, 258, 259, n. 1, 446, n. 2, 447, 448, 453, n. 1, 388). At Karbalā, Shīʿīs were buried in the cemetery which developed around the tomb of the *imām* al-Ḥusayn and, in the small Syrian town of Buṣrā [*q.v.*], they established their own cemetery around the *masdjid* of al-Khiḍr [*q.v.*].

At the present day, Muslim cemeteries display an extremely varied typology. A vast extent of stones, with barely perceptible tombs, where the dead lie in anonymity conforming to the most rigorous injunctions of the *fuḳahāʾ*, or a city where the visitor becomes lost in the labyrinth of streets fringed with the façades of false buildings, behind which shelter tombs and funeral monuments, a veritable "city of the dead", desert necropolises gathered together in the hollows of dunes and fields of flowers from which funeral steles emerge, cemeteries built into the walls of cities or dispersed in palm-groves or forests of cork-oak—all of these constitute the cemeteries of Islam.

Bibliography: Given in the article, to which should be added, M. Galal, *Essai d'observations sur les rites funéraires en Égypte actuelle...*, in *REI*, xi (1937), 131-299. (S. ORY)

2. In North Africa

The most common terms used to designate a cemetery in the languages and dialects of the Maghrib are the plural forms *mḳābeṛ* and *ḳbōṛ l-maʿmōra* and *rōḍa* (in Moroccan and Algerian Arabic); and *djebbāna* (Tunisian and Algerian Arabic); the Berber form include *timəḳbəṛt* or *ləmkabəṛ* (Kabyle); *aʿammar*, *issəndal*, *timədlin* (Middle, High and Anti-Atlas Mts.), *imdṛan* (Rif), etc.

The cemeteries of North African towns and villages may be both *extra* and *intra muros*. Thus Fās, for example, has at least ten important graveyard sites. These include the Bāb Futūḥ, which is separated by a small valley and stream into two halves: the so-called al-Ḳbāb "the cupolas" (because of its numerous mausoleums of holy men) to the west, and Sīdī Ḥarāzəm to the east. The whole of the cemetery overlooks the *madīna* of Fās from the south. At the

same time, there are within the city walls immense graveyards, such as Bāb al-Ḥamra and Sīdī ʿAlī al-Mzālī (cf. R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 114, 135 and index, 638). The various sites may differ in social composition and rank, and within any given cemetery there may exist a diversity of types of graves and elaborations of these. In some tribal localities, there is a tendency for particular lineage groups to have their graves within a particular plot (cf. D. M. Hart, *The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif*, Tucson 1976, 144). It may be the case, in regard to some towns of the region, that urban growth "is hindered particularly by the stiff collar of cemeteries which modern Islamic towns have had the greatest difficulty in breaking through" (X. de Planhol, *The world of Islam*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1959 (original French ed. Paris 1957), 11), but this is not everywhere so; there are examples, at least in Tunisia, of cemeteries having been moved in order to facilitate urban expansion; elsewhere, formerly external sites have now become, because of expansion, part of city centres.

Some writers have noted a striking contrast between the cemeteries of Europe and those of the Islamic shores of the Mediterranean: that the former are enclosed, sad places, whilst the latter are open spaces, favoured especially by women and children, and used for visiting, for strolling about and for picnics. It seems that in the Muslim towns of the Mediterranean lands, attitudes towards death and the dead imply certain specific rights and duties that are absent in Christian Europe; cf. J.-P. Charay, *La vie musulmane en Algérie d'après la jurisprudence de la première motié du XXe siècle*, Paris 1965, 237; Hart, *op. cit.*, 147.

In the far west of Islam, during mediaeval times, judging on the basis of 6th/12th century Seville, the *ʿulamāʾ* were concerned about the maintenance of cemeteries both from the physical and the moral points of view. The *ḳāḍī* Ibn ʿAbdūn remarks upon the tendency to construct buildings within cemeteries and to use these buildings and the space around them for purposes considered illicit or indecent (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane au début du XIIes.*, Paris 1947, 57-8). Some dynasties constructed elaborate necropolises for their dead, e.g. Chella (S̲h̲āla [*q.v.*]), built by the Marīnid sultans Abu Saʿīd and Abu 'l-Ḥasan between 710/1310 and 739/1339 on the site of the ancient Roman city of Sala (see H. Basset and Lévi-Provençal, *Chella, une nécropole mérinide*, in *Hespéris*, ii [1922], 1-92, 255-316, 385-425), and the Saʿdian tombs of Marrakesh, mostly built during the reign of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (986-1012/1578-1603) (see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, 381 ff.).

A number of customs and rituals are associated with cemeteries in the Mag̲h̲rib. Most of these include ceremonial visits and meals, usually accompanied by prayers at gravesides. Thus in Fās, at least until World War II, the family of a deceased person on the day after the death sent a meal to the grave to be distributed to the poor assembled there (*ʿas̲h̲at l-ḳbar* "the supper of the grave"). Generally, various individuals or groups (family, men, women) visit graves on specific occasions, such as *ʿĀs̲h̲ūrāʾ* day, on 26 Ramaḍān, and on ʿArafa, the day before the Greater Festival. In most urban centres, the obligatory outdoor place of prayer, *muṣallā*, is in the major cemetery. There the chief religious rite of the Greater and Lesser Festivals, the morning worship of the first day, takes place; and on the Greater Festival, the initial sacrifice of the local community is carried out by the *ḳāḍī* (see E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 105, 254, 457, 478-9, 511, 547). Another rite often carried out at the *muṣallā* is the "prayer for rain" (*ṣalāt al-istisḳāʾ* [see ISTISḲĀʾ]); see K. L. Brown, *The impact of the Dahir Berbère in Salé*, in E. Gellner and C. Micauld (eds.), *Arabs and Berbers*, London 1973, 209.

The general attitude towards the space within cemeteries has been mentioned above. It appears to be marked by a mixture of dread and security. Thus according to Westermarck, Moroccans fear to pass near or through cemeteries at night, because in them dwell the *mwālīn l-arḍ*, i.e. the *žnūn*; but as Hart remarks, these *žnūn* are considered harmless. Moreover, travellers are said to have stayed the night in cemeteries because of the security and protection provided by the *mwālīn l-ḳbōr* "the masters of the graves", i.e. the dead, amongst whom there was likely to be some holy man (see Westermarck, ii, 374, and Hart, *loc. cit.*).

The sanctuaries of holy men (*awliyāʾ*) are often alongside or within cemeteries, and this in part explains why these latter places may be considered and filled with mystery. In tales, it is said that the prophets whilst crossing through them heard the voices of the dead; and mystics, especially those considered divinely-possessed (*mad̲j̲dhūb* [*q.v.*]), are supposed to have gone into retreat within them. Yet the fact of being sacred does not result from the simple agglomeration of graves, but depends on the presence and veneration of the tomb (*ḳubba*) of a holy man; cf. E. Dermenghem, *Le culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin*, Paris 1957, 135-6. Private sepulchres which become sanctuaries (*rawḍa*) may or may not be considered as cemeteries in the broader sense. Thus Mawlāy Idrīs, the main sanctuary in the heart of Fās, is not properly speaking a cemetery. But in other places, the tomb of a holy man will be at the centre of a town's graveyard.

Finally, it should be noted that the cemeteries of North Africa offer precious sources for historical and demographic research. The use of such data has hardly begun, but see J. Bourrilly and E. Laoust, *Stèles funéraires marocaines*, Paris 1927, and P. Pascon and D. Schroeter, *Le cimetière juif d'Iligh (1751-1955), étude des épitaphes comme documents d'histoire sociale (Tazerwalt, Sud-Ouest Marocain)*, in *ROMM*, xxiv (1982), 39-62.

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(K. L. Brown)

3. In Turkey

Funerary monuments in both the pre-Ottoman and Ottoman periods are characterised by the use of durable material as well as sometimes by rich decoration, neither of which accord with orthodox Sunnī tradition. Pre-Islamic Turkish traditions, as well as manners and customs of other peoples with whom the Turks came into contact during their migration towards the West, are here at variance with the stringent regulations of Sunnī Islam, according to which a tomb should be simple and made of transient material. Particularly in eastern Anatolia and in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, these traditions and contacts are at the origin of gravestones in the form of animals, connected with animistic religious belief, as well as of types based on the tradition of local industrial art (e.g. at Ak̲h̲lāṭ).

Not much is known about early Ottoman tombs before about the 10th/17th century. Since only a small number of authentic gravestones have been preserved, no further conclusions can be made. It cannot be ascertained whether their disappearance is to be attributed to the influence of time alone: European travellers of the 16th and 17th centuries mention

bricks as material for tombs (Geuffroy, *Erste Theil der Hoffhaltung Des Türckischen Keysers* ... ed. Hoeniger, Basel 1596, i, p. clii). The use of this transient material, if in fact not limited to isolated cases, could explain the small number of tombs which have survived from this period. This might then support the hypothesis according to which the funerary art of the later Ottoman period began to develop in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries only.

One of the characteristics of the Ottoman gravestone—unparalleled in this form—is its anthropomorphic shape, with a reproduction on top of some kind of headgear. Such a representation is reserved for tombs of men, but it is not the only form used. (Only further investigation can confirm the assertion, repeatedly put forward, that the form of the upper part of tombs for women, widespread since the 11th/18th century, can indeed be traced to an old Turkish, nomadic headgear.) The headgear on tombs of men—in a comparable form and frequency not to be found in any other region of the Islamic world—can be proved to have been in existence since *ca.* 900/1494-5. The oldest example in Istanbul is the tomb of a Dervīsh Meḥmed in Eyüp (918/1512-3). In the next 200 years, hardly any social differentiation can be detected in the form of the headgear, since only a small number of turban forms appear which cannot be clearly ascribed to any particular social group. Since the 11th/18th century, it became customary in Istanbul to represent, on gravestones of men, a headgear which was specific for a certain social class, or to express the social affiliation in another way (representations in relief of headgear and other distinctive marks). In the same way in which the graves of dervishes began to show the turbans of the various *ṭarīḳas*, and not the headgear in general use, the form of the turban started to indicate the differentiation between the various professional and social groups in other areas of society. Besides, one finds other representations in relief which indicate to which group the deceased belonged: insignia of *bölük* and *djemāʿat* for Janissaries, rosettes (*gül*) of the various *ṭarīḳas*, especially for women from *ca.* 1250/1834-5, and, rather infrequently, images of utensils and instruments.

For about a century, this strong differentiation marks the image of Ottoman gravestones. The introduction of the fez from 1829 onwards leads, again, to a general levelling and standardisation. (In other parts of the empire this development appears with some delay; e.g. in Bosnia, turban forms, which in the capital had fallen into disuse at the beginning of the 18th century, were still used towards the end of the 19th century.) Besides the fez, turbans remained in use, but in Istanbul they were, since about 1850, almost exclusively reserved for *ʿulamāʾ* and dervishes. Finally, the Atatürk reforms, especially the reform of the script and the legislation on headgear, mark the end of the tradition of Ottoman graves.

As in other fields of Ottoman art, an ever-increasing degree of European influence upon grave ornamentation can be detected from the second half of the 18th century onwards. Before that period, gravestones had hardly been decorated, but now vegetational motifs, both of traditionally oriental (cypresses, etc.) and of western origin (flower-baskets, cornucopias, etc.) were spreading more and more. By the roundabout way of Europe, older Islamic motifs, like the arabesque, were rediscovered for tombstone art towards the end of the 19th century. In general, the development of ornamentation of tombstones went parallel to that of representative and architectural art.

Whereas tomb inscriptions in Arabic can be found for the early period, Ottoman became the dominant language in the 10th/16th century. With regard to their contents, these inscriptions underwent but very few alterations: they follow a formula which corresponds largely to that of Ottoman documents (see Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1921, 12 ff., adapted to gravestones by Prokosch, *Osmanische Inschriften auf Gräbern bei der Moschee des Karabaş-Klosters in Tophane-Istanbul*, Istanbul 1976, 3-4):

1. *invocatio*: mostly *hüve 'l-bāḳī*, or another of the 99 names of God [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ].
2. *benedictio*: *merḥūm ve maghfūr*, occasionally more elaborate.
3. *inscriptio*: statements about the deceased. Apart from the name, details on his origin, relationship and profession, may be given here.
4. request for prayer: mostly *rūḥīyčün* or *rūḥuna fātiḥa*.
5. date.

Such concise and rather uniform inscriptions were standard during a long period, even if particular components occasionally are expressed more elaborately. From the 18th century onwards, poetical expressions on the transitoriness of temporal existence are often inserted between the *invocatio* and the *benedictio*, in which reference is almost always made to the same limited and reiterated répertoire of verses of this kind. In the same period, chronograms are more and more used, especially for dervishes. In later times, there is a clear tendency towards more elaborate inscriptions. Instead of the original 5-6 lines of concise text, there often appear 15-20 lines which, however, do not provide more factual information.

Traditional Ottoman Islamic society did not allow the digging out of tombs, or their re-use; burial-places had to remain for ever. Yet the loss of many tombstones, and above all of most of the (uninscribed) foot-end stones might be attributed to their being used again by Ottoman masons. Since the middle of the 19th century, the construction of roads for traffic and new buildings has become another source for destruction of cemeteries, and consequently of tombstones, a problem which has still not been solved. However, at present most of the permanent losses cannot be imputed to such interferences (in which, as a rule, at least part of the tombstones are erected again at some other places), but to the hardly supervised re-use of historical cemeteries.

Bibliography: H.-P. Laqueur, *Osmanische Grabsteine, bibliographische Übersicht*, in *Travaux et Recherches en Turquie, 1982*, *Collection Turcica* ii, Louvain 1983, 90-6. A survey of the most important historical descriptions of Ottoman cemeteries can be found in idem, *Grabsteine als Quellen zur osmanischen Geschichte-Möglichkeiten und Probleme*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/Journal of Ottoman Studies*, iii (1982), 21-44 (esp. 21-8). (H.-P. LAQUEUR)

4. In Iran [see Suppl.]

5. India

The word *maḳbara* is used in India for both graveyard and mausoleum, although *ḳabristān* is also heard for the former; *ḳabr* may, besides the grave itself, signify a monumental tomb, especially of the simpler variety; *dargāh* is used especially for the tomb or shrine of a *pīr*, where there may be also such associated buildings as mosque(s), *mihmān-khāna*, etc.; in Kashmīr a *pīr*'s tomb is usually called *ziyārat*, and the related *mazār* may also be used, especially for the smaller wayside shrine; *rawḍa* is commonly used for a

monumental tomb within an enclosure, not necessarily of a *pīr*.

The solitary grave is rare; the individual may select an appropriate site in his lifetime, usually on his own ground (but sometimes by a roadside, since it is believed that the dead like to be within sound of human activity). But because this action then precludes the use of the ground for other purposes, the individual grave becomes a focus for other sepultures. In this way many family graveyards especially have come into being—"family" in the case of a *pīr* being held to include *murīd*s. There is a tendency in some regions for graveyards of the Muslim community to be situated to the south of habitations, possibly an extension of the Hindū association of the south as the "quarter of Yama", the god of death: in the Lodī period the entire region of Dihlī south of Fīrūzābād and Purānā Ḳilʿa down to the Ḳuṭb complex was used mostly as a vast necropolis. Khuldābād, near Dawlatābād, was originally called simply Rawḍa and was a necropolis village. Community graveyards may be enclosed by a low boundary wall, but protection is generally careless and graves and walls may fall into early ruin. Some enclosures are known to be family graveyards, where the standard of upkeep is higher; there may be an imposing entrance to the east and a tall and substantial wall to the west, with arched openings or depressions which serve to indicate the *ḳibla*; some of the Dihlī examples (Yamamoto *et al.* list and illustrate some 72 graveyards) stand on high arcaded plinths and may have such features as substantial corner towers and the position of the central *miḥrāb* indicated on the exterior wall, precisely as in mosques. In the Ḳadam Sharīf [*q.v.*] at Dihlī the enclosure wall is fortified, as a measure of protection for the special relic; but the fortified rocky outcrop on which stands the tomb of Tughluḳ Shāh is primarily an extreme outpost of the fortifications of Tughluḳābād (plan at Vol. ii, p. 257 above). In Aḥmadābād the tombs of the queens of the Aḥmad Shāhī dynasty are enclosed in a large screened chamber (Rānī kā ḥudjra) which forms part of a royal precinct; a fine enclosed graveyard known as "Niẓām al-Dīn's" in Čāndērī [*q.v.*] contains tombs and many individual *miḥrābs* from the early 9th/15th century with a rich design repertory. Some graveyards may contain one or more substantial mausoleums in addition to simple graves. An indication of the *ḳibla* may be provided, even in unenclosed graveyards, by one or more "*ḳibla* walls", with an odd number of arched necesses; individual mausoleums may also be provided with such a separate structure on the *ḳibla* side, or the enclosure wall may be modified in such a way as to incorporate one: e.g. the tomb of Sikandar Lodī in Dihlī has three arches and a raised platform in the west enclosure wall which presumably formed a *ḳanātī* mosque. A mausoleum very often has openings on three sides with the west wall solid to incorporate an internal *miḥrāb* (the tombs of the Barīd Shāhīs [*q.v.*], however, are regularly open on all four sides). The larger mausoleums may be provided with a full-scale mosque (without *minbar*), either replacing or in addition to an internal *miḥrāb*; Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*] provides many excellent examples, of which the Ibrāhīm Rawḍa is the finest example with tomb and mosque of similar proportions and sumptuous decoration standing on a common platform in an elaborate enclosure; the Tādj Maḥall [see MAḤALL] has not only a superb mosque on the *ḳibla* side but an identical building on the east essentially for the symmetry of the plan but incidentally to serve as a *mihmān-khāna*. (The converse arrangement, wherein a single tomb is subsidiary to a mosque, is common, especially when both have the same founder.) Some major mausolea, however, are without any indication of the *ḳibla* at all: e.g. Humāyūn's tomb at Dihlī (plan at Vol. ii, p. 265 above) has neither internal *miḥrāb* nor external mosque or other structure (the building on the west, where a mosque might be expected, is in fact the main gateway); although the enclosure wall on the south-east has a range of *exterior* arches which formed the *ḳibla* wall of the earlier "Nīlā gunbad". At some graveyards there is a special mortuary provided for the *ghassāl*s to work in: outstanding examples at the graveyard of Afḍal Khān's wives at Bīdjāpur, and the tombs of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī kings at Golkonḍā. Some form of well is of course a common adjunct; a *bā*ʾ*olī* [*q.v.*] is commonly found included in a Čishtī dargāh complex, and occasionally elsewhere (e.g. within the fortified enclosure of the tomb of the "Sayyid" sultan Mubārak Shāh at Koṭlā Mubārakpur, Dihlī).

There has been no study of the typology of gravestones (i.e. the stone or brick structures above ground level, the *taʿwīdh*) in India as a whole, although many types with regional variation can be recognised. Djaʿfar Sharīf [*q.v.*], referring primarily to the Deccan, says that on a man's tomb, above the (commonly) three diminishing rectangular slabs, a top member is placed "resembling the hump on a camel's back, or the back of a fish", and adds that in north India tombs of men are distinguished by a small stone pencase (*ḳalamdān*) raised on the *flat* upper surface; but in fact both types can be seen side by side in Dihlī graveyards. The tombs of women are generally flat above the diminishing rectangular slabs, and more frequently in north India than in the Deccan may display a flat *takhtī*, in form like a child's slate, where those of men have the *ḳalamdān* (the explanation commonly given is that only males are literate and so can carry a pencase, whereas women have to have everything written for them!); in south India in particular a woman's tomb may have instead a basin-like hollow on the upper surface. The woman's tomb, given the same date and provenance, is lower than the man's. In the case of the larger mausoleums, this applies to the cenotaph *taʿwīdh* as much as to the *taʿwīdh* of the actual grave. There may be, in both men's and women's tombs, a mere stepped surround with the internal rectangular space filled with earth (e.g. grave of Awrangzēb at Khuldābād) or grass (e.g. grave of Djahānāra Bēgam, daughter of Shāhdjahān, within the *dargāh* of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ at Dihlī, where however the surround and the enclosure are of white marble and there is an inscribed marble headstone; plan at Vol. ii, p. 263 above). This is much approved by the pious, but leads to quick decay of the structure if the grave is not attended. In parts of western India in particular a cylindrical boss may be found at the head of the tomb of a man, sometimes in addition to an inscribed headstone. In Gudjarāt the "casket" style of tomb is favoured, at least for the more exalted personages, in which a rectangular chamber with vertical sides, about a cubit high, rises from the base and is capped by the shallow diminishing rectangular slabs, finished flat in the case of women, arched or triangular in cross-section for men; they may have in addition cylindrical corner stones with vertical ribbing and two or three cross-mouldings. Dr Zajadacz-Hastenrath, describing similar forms in the Čawkhanḍī tombs, sees here a representation of the *čārpāʾī* (string bed) with rope lashings which would have been used as the bier. A *čirāghdān*, to carry lamps or on which fragrant substances may be burnt, may be placed at the head of or alongside any tomb; the actual

grave may, in the case of the illustrious, be covered with a pall kept in place by ornamental weights (*mīr-i farsh*). The tomb of a *pīr* may be marked also by a white (or green in the case of a sayyid) triangular flag carried on a tall bamboo, especially in country districts.

It is only in the case of the remarkable Čawkhandī tombs that anything like a systematic study has been made (Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandigräber: Studien zur Grabkunst in Sind und Baluchistan*, Wiesbaden 1978). In the most characteristic (but not the only) style one, two or three diminishing rectangular hollow "caskets" are superimposed, and are capped by a final slab set vertically on edge. The cylindrical boss at the head may be added in the case of males. They are richly carved, either with geometrical patterns (the author gives ten plates of "Steinmetzmuster" alone), flowers, whorls, *miḥrāb*-like blind arches, swords, bows, and even the figure of a horseman carrying a spear, sometimes led by an attendant. Similar carvings (or paintings on wood) are reported in Crooke's ed. of Djaʿfar Sharīf (ref. below) from Afghānistān, Kurdistān, and the Orakzay Paṭhāns; this ethnological aspect stands in need of further investigation.

A curious class of tomb, sparsely but widely distributed, is that of the "nine-yard saints", *naw gaz pīr*, usually ascribed to warrior saints of the earliest days of Islam in India. Many of these have the reputation of miraculously extending their length over the ages. (Miracles are reported at other tombs: lumps of silver in the pavement of the *dargāh* of Muntadjib al-Dīn "Zar Bakhsh" at Khuldābād are said to be the remains of silver trees which grew after the saint's death, which were broken off for the upkeep of the shrine; hairs from the Prophet's beard at the same place are said to increase in number yearly.) Many tombs have the reputation of curing various ailments through the thaumaturgic power of a *pīr* persisting; e.g. women still tie ribbons on the lattice screens on the tomb of Salīm Čishtī at Fatḥpur Sikrī as a cure for barrenness. (The virtue is not confined to Muslims: I have seen an obviously Hindū woman making oblations at the tomb of the Ḳādirī brothers at Bīdjāpur.)

Tombs may bear inscriptions (and inscribed tombs, from reverence for the written word, stand a better chance of being looked after in later years): on the *taʿwīdh* itself sometimes simply a name and date of decease, more often the *kalima* or Ḳurʾānic verses such as the *Āyat al-kursī*, II.256, the conclusion of II.157, or the very end of Sūra II; there may be, especially with the tombs of men in Gudjarāt, a sizeable headstone with a more elaborate epitaph; but so many tombstones are devoid of any information on the deceased that many obviously major mausolea cannot be now identified. The cenotaph of Akbar, of white marble, is inscribed on the sides with the ninety-nine Names of God, and on the ends the Dīn-i Ilāhī formulae *Allāhᵘ Akbar* and *Djalla djalālahᵘ*. On the *taʿwīdh* of Djahāngīr the Names are inscribed in *pietra dura*. Often in the case of mausolea an inscription is placed within the entrance or on a wall, and copious Ḳurʾānic texts may be inscribed on the façade, e.g. at the Tādj Maḥall.

The graves above belong to the mainstream tradition of Islamic art, which may be described as the "Greater Tradition"; graves of a "Lesser Tradition", belonging to a stream of folk-art, have been observed in Gilgit, Punial, the Swāt valley and the Yūsufzay country, and may have a more extensive area. These, which do not always distinguish between the graves of males and females, have a crude indication of the north-south axis marked by slabs of stone, or by wooden planks which may be carved into various shapes, or by turned wooden posts; they may also be surrounded by an open wooden framework which, it is suggested, represents the bier inverted over the sepulture, and may be analogous to the *čārpāʾī* representations in the Čawkhandī tombs. A fuller description, with map and drawings, in J. Burton-Page, *Muslim graves of the "Lesser Tradition": Gilgit, Punial, Swat, Yusufzai*, in *JRAS* (1986).

The typology of the mausoleum is too complicated for any but the simplest treatment here; further information is provided in the articles HIND. vii. Architecture, MUGHALS: Architecture, and on the various regional dynasties. The simplest type, in that it provides a covered place over the *taʿwīdh*, is the *čhatrī* [see MIẒALLA], a single dome supported on pillars; those covering a square or octagonal area are the commonest, although the hexagonal plan is known. From the use of the umbrella in both Buddhist and Hindū funerary practices, there is possibly here a persistence of an eschatological idea (but the Hindū use of the *čhatrī* to mark the site of a cremation, so common with the Rādjpūt rulers at e.g. Udaypur and Djaypur, is a borrowing back from Muslim forms). Even with this simplest type there is the possibility of the common principle that a funeral building (or its site; cf. the tomb of Tughluḳ Shāh mentioned above) might be intended for a different purpose during its owner's lifetime. An elaboration is to support a square roof on twelve pillars, thereby furnishing three openings on each side as well as making possible a larger area (this type of building, *bāradarī*, is also of wide secular use for pleasaunces). Filling in the openings with stone screens (*djālī*), leaving an entrance on each side, is frequently practised, although as noticed above the western side is often completely closed to provide an indication of *ḳibla*; Tomb 2 at Thālnēr [*q.v.*; see plan of tombs] is a *bāradarī* whose sides have been filled in with purpose-cut masonry. An extension of this type is characteristic of Gudjarāt, whereby both an inner chamber and a surrounding veranda are provided with screened walls; after the Mughal conquest of Gudjarāt tombs of this type are found in north India, e.g. those of Muḥammad Ghawth at Gwālyār, Salīm Čishtī at Fatḥpur Sikrī. When a tomb is given greater prominence by being raised on a plinth, the sepulchral chamber may be placed at earth level in a *tahkhāna*, with a cenotaph *taʿwīdh* immediately above it on an upper floor; but where this applies to the principal inhumation at a large mausoleum, it is not practised for later and subsidiary burials, and is not held to be required for burials within a raised mosque *ṣaḥn*. The preponderant form of the masonry mausoleum is a square chamber surmounted by a dome; an idiosyncratic type occurs in the royal Bahmanī tombs (Haft Gunbad) at Gulbargā [*q.v.*], where two square domed chambers are conjoined on a single plinth (the sultan in one chamber, his immediate family adjoining); but the octagonal form [see MUTHAMMAN] is also known from the 8th/14th century (popular for royal tombs of the "Sayyid" and Lodī dynasties, tombs of *pīrs* at Multān and Uččh [*qq.v.*], nobles of the Sūr dynasty [see especially SHĒR SHĀH SŪRĪ], and not infrequently in Mughal times); in the earliest monumental tomb, that of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd ("Sulṭān Ghārī") at Dihlī, the plinth of the structure accommodates a vaulted octagonal sepulchral chamber. In two of the Sūrī tombs at Sasarām [*q.v.*] the mausoleum stands in the middle of an artificial lake, approached by a gateway and causeway; the idea recurs in the Mughal period with fine but anonymous examples at

Iᶜtimādpur, near Āgrā, and Nārnawl [*q.v.*], where the idea of a pleasaunce for use in the lifetime of the subject seems patent. Mug͟hal mausolea introduce new plans: the oblong, the square or oblong with chamfered corners to produce a "Bag͟hdādī octagon" (e.g. the Tād̲j̲ Maḥall), a square chamber with engaged corner rooms (e.g. Humāyūn's tomb, tomb of ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm K͟hānk͟hānān) or engaged corner turrets (e.g. tomb of Ṣafdar D̲j̲ang). They may also incorporate independent symmetricaly disposed minarets (see MANĀRA, 2. India), and may stand within a formal garden (see BŪSTĀN, and further references in MĀʾ, 12). The wooden tombs of Kas͟hmīr do not fall into any of the above categories, and are described under ZIYĀRA.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article and the Bibliographies to other articles cited: for graveside requirements and practices see D̲J̲ANĀZA; D̲j̲aᶜfar S͟harīf, *Ḳānūn-i Islām*, Eng. tr. as *Herklots' Islam in India*, ed. W. Crooke, Oxford 1921, esp. ch. ix, "Death"; W. Crooke, *Popular religion and folklore of northern India*, Allahabad 1894, Chap. iv, "The worship of the sainted dead", which has illuminating references to Hindū-Muslim syncretisms. F. Wetzel, *Islamische Grabbauten in Indien in der Zeit der Soldatenkaiser*, Leipzig 1918, provides a typological framework for the study of monumental tombs of the Dihlī sultanate, rich in plans and sections. T. Yamamoto, M. Ara and T. Tsukinowa, *Delhi: architectural remains of the Delhi sultanate period*, i, Tokyo 1967, describe (in Japanese) and illustrate 142 monumental tombs and 72 graveyards of Dihlī, excellent photographs; idem, ii, Tokyo 1968, analyse in depth several of the same monumental tombs. Some good illustrations of "Niẓām al-Dīn's graveyard" at Čānderī in R. Nath, *The art of Chanderi*, Delhi 1979. Much of the information above is based on a personal photographic collection, which will eventually be housed in Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MAḲBŪL IBRĀHĪM PAS͟HA, [see IBRĀHĪM PAS͟HA].

MAḲDIS͟HŪ, the capital of the Somali Republic, independent since 1960, comprising the former Italian Somalia and British Somaliland, lies in lat. 2° N. on the East African shore of the Indian Ocean.

Although it is not specifically mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*ca.* A.D. 106), this Alexandrine report attests the presence of Arab and Egyptian traders on the coast. The principal exports were cinnamon, frankincense, tortoise-shell and "slaves of the better sort, which are brought to Egypt in increasing numbers." Recent excavations at Rās Ḥāfūn by H. N. Chittick, as yet unpublished, disclosed Egyptian pottery of Roman Imperial date, probably 2nd to 3rd century A.D. Apart from some ruins of uncertain date that are possibly South Arabian, Maḳdis͟hū is stated by a 16th century *Chrónica dos Reyes de Quiloa*, preserved in a summary form by João de Barros, to have been founded by "the first people of the coast who came to the land of Sofala [*q.v.*] in quest of gold." This date is uncertain, but it was at some time between the 10th and 12th centuries A.D., when the Sofala gold trade became the monopoly of Kilwa (Port. Quiloa) [see KILWA]. It is not to be thought that there was any single immigration of Arabs; rather, they came in trickles, and from different regions of the Arabian peninsula; the most remarkable one came from al-Aḥsā on the Gulf, probably during the struggles of the caliphate with the Ḳarmaṭians. Probably at the same time, Persian groups emigrated to Maḳdis͟hū, for inscriptions found in the town refer to Persians from S͟hīrāz and Naysābūr dwelling there during the Middle Ages. The foreign merchants, however, found themselves obliged to unite politically against the nomadic, Somali, tribes that surrounded Maḳdis͟hū, and against invaders from the sea. In the 10th century A.D. a federation was formed of 39 clans: 12 from the Muḳrī tribe; 12 from the D̲j̲idᶜatī tribe; 6 from the ᶜAḳabi, 6 from the Ismāᶜīlī and 3 from the ᶜAfīfī. Under conditions of internal peace, trade developed; and the Muḳrī clans, after acquiring a religious supremacy and adopting the *nisba* of al-Ḳaḥṭānī, formed a kind of dynasty of *ᶜulamāʾ* and obtained from the other tribes the privilege that the *ḳāḍī* of the federation should be elected only from among themselves. It is not known at what period Islam became established, but the earliest known dated inscription in Arabic in Somalia is an epitaph at Barāwa of 498/1105.

In the second half of the 7th/12th century, Abū Bakr b. Fak͟hr al-Dīn established in Maḳdis͟hū an hereditary sultanate with the aid of the Muḳrī clans, to whom the new ruler recognised again the privilege of giving the *ḳāḍī* to the town. In 722/1322-3 the ruler was Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad: in that year he struck dated billon coins in his name, but without title. During the reign of Abū Bakr b. ᶜUmar, Maḳdis͟hū was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who describes the town in his *Riḥla*. The relationship of this sultan with his predecessors is not known, but he was probably from the family of Abū Bakr b. Fak͟hr al-Dīn; and under this dynasty Maḳdis͟hū reached, in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, the highest degree of prosperity. Its name is quoted in the *Maṣḥafa Milād*, a work by the Ethiopian ruler Zareʾa Yāᶜḳob, who refers to a battle fought against him at Gomut, or Gomit, in Dawaro by the Muslims on 25 December 1445. To these centuries are to be ascribed, in addition to the billon coins issued by Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad, the undated copper issues of ten rulers whose names are commemorated on their coins, but whose sequence even is not known. They are linked by a simularity of script, weight, type and appearance, and certain of the issues share with contemporary Kilwa issues a reverse legend contrived to rhyme with the obverse. To this period belongs also the foundation of the three principal mosques in Maḳdis͟hū, all dated by inscriptions, the Friday Mosque in 636/1238, that of Arbaᶜ Rukūn in 667/1268, and that of Fak͟hr al-Dīn in S͟haᶜbān 667/April-May 1269. Their handsome proportions witness to the prosperity of the times there.

In the 10th/16th century, the Fak͟hr al-Dīn dynasty was succeeded by that of Muẓaffar. It is possible that one copper issue refers to a ruler of this dynasty. In the region of the Wēbi S͟habēllā, the true commercial hinterland of Maḳdis͟hū, the Ad̲j̲urān (Sōmālī), who had constituted there another sultanate which was friendly with and allied to Maḳdis͟hū, were defeated by the nomadic Hawiya (Sōmālī), who thus conquered the territory. In this way, Maḳdis͟hū was separated by the nomads from the interior, and began to decline from its prosperity, a process which was hastened by Portuguese colonial enterprise in the Indian Ocean and later by the Italians and the British. When Vasco da Gama returned from his first voyage to India in 1499, he attacked Maḳdis͟hū, but without success; and similarly in 1507 Da Cunha failed to occupy it. In 1532 Estavão da Gama, son of Vasco, came there to buy a ship. In 1585 Maḳdis͟hū surrendered to the Ottoman *amīr* ᶜAlī Bey, who came down the coast in that year with two galleys as far as

Mombasa; all along the coast, the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan was recognised. In 1587, however, the Portuguese re-asserted their authority with a strong fleet, but no attempt was made to attack Maḳdis̲h̲ū. The vials of their wrath fell on Faza, where large numbers of people were slaughtered and 10,000 palm trees destroyed. ʿAlī Bey returned with five ships in 1589, but, although the coast again declared for the Ottomans, he was himself defeated and captured in Mombasa harbour, from which he was deported to Lisbon. Although this was the end of Ottoman attacks on the eastern African coast, at Maḳdis̲h̲ū new copper coins were issued by no less than eleven rulers. All these bear a *tug̲h̲rā* in imitation of Ottoman coinage, and are probably to be ascribed to the 10th/16th to 11th/17th centuries.

In 1700 a British squadron of men-of-war halted before Maḳdis̲h̲ū for several days, but without landing. After the ʿUmānī Arabs had taken Mombasa from the Portuguese in 1698 Maḳdis̲h̲ū and other towns on the Sōmālī coast were occupied at uncertain dates, but after a while their troops were ordered back to ʿUmān. The sultanate of Maḳdis̲h̲ū continued to decline, and the town was divided into two quarters, Ḥamar-Wēn and S̲h̲angānī, by civil wars. Little by little the Sōmālī penetrated into the ancient Arabian town, and the clans of Maḳdis̲h̲ū changed their Arabic names for Sōmālī appellatives: the ʿAḳabī became the rēr S̲h̲ēk̲h̲, the Ḏj̲idʿatī the S̲h̲ans̲h̲iya, the ʿAfīfī the Gudmanā, and even the Muḳrī (Ḳaḥṭanī) changed their name to rēr Faḳīh. In the 12th/18th century the Darandollā nomads, excited by exaggerated traditions of urban wealth, attacked and conquered the town. The Darandollā chief, who had the title of *imām*, set himself up in the S̲h̲angānī quarter, and once again the Ḳaḥṭānī privilege of electing the *ḳāḍī* was recognised. In 1823 Sayyid Saʿīd of ʿUmān attempted to assert his authority over Maḳdis̲h̲ū, and arrested two of the notables. It was not until 1843 that he was able to appoint a governor. He chose a Sōmālī, but the new governor shortly retired inland to his own people. When Charles Guillain visited Maḳdis̲h̲ū in 1848, he found only "an old Arab" who presided over the customs house. Guillain's fourth volume, an *Album*, contains some admirable engravings of Maḳdis̲h̲ū at this period which have been reproduced in Cerulli's work. It was only at the end of the century, during the reign of Saʿīd's son Barg̲h̲ash (1870-88), that Zanzibari authority was finally established over Maḳdis̲h̲ū, only to be ceded to Italy, along with Barāwa, Merca and Warsheikh, for an annual rent of 160,000 rupees, in 1892.

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(E. CERULLI - [G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE])

AL-**MAḲDISI** [see AL-MUḲADDASĪ; AL-MUṬAHHAR B. ṬĀHIR]

MAK̲H̲AČ-ḲALʿE (Russ. Mak̲h̲ačkala), a town on the western coast of the Caspian Sea at the point where the narrow coastal plain running north from Bākū and Derbend [*q.v.*], at the eastern extremity of the Caucasus range, debouches into the Nogay Steppe. The present name of what is now (since 1921) the chef-lieu of the Dagestan A.S.S.R. is neither Islamic nor of any great antiquity, reflecting the eponym of a local revolutionary leader Muḥammad ʿAlī Dak̲h̲adayev (d. 1918), but Mak̲h̲ač-ḳalʿe stands on or near the site of a number of places significant in the mediaeval history of the Caucasus: Balang̲h̲ar (= Arm. Varačʿan), the capital of the Hun tributaries of the Khazar kingdom (J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 16: Samandar, "four (eight) days march from Derbend"); and Ṭark̲h̲ū/Ṭarḳī, briefly occupied by the Ottomans in the late 10th/16th century. The present town may be traced back to the Russian foundation of Petrovsk, known subsequently as Temīr-K̲h̲ān-S̲h̲ūrā and (in the years 1917-20) as S̲h̲āmil-ḳalʿe.

Bibliography: O. Pritsak, in *Harvard Jnl. of Ukrainian Studies*, ii (1978), 263; A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse, in *REI* (1955), 7-56 (with details of the ethnic composition of Mak̲h̲ač-kalʿe); *İA*, art. *Dâğistân* (Mirza Bala); *EI*[1], art. *Dāg̲h̲istān* (W. Barthold-[A. Bennigsen]); *BSE*[2], s.vv. *Mak̲h̲ač*, *Mak̲h̲áčkala*.

(C. J. HEYWOOD)

MAK̲H̲ĀRIḎJ̲ AL-ḤURŪF (A.), "the places of emission of the letters", i.e. the points of articulation of the phonemes of Arabic. The singular may be either *mak̲h̲raḏj̲*, noun of place from form I of the verb *k̲h̲araḏj̲a* "go forth, be emitted", or else *muk̲h̲raḏj̲*, passive participle of form IV *ak̲h̲raḏj̲a* "emit, send forth" serving as the noun of place. The word *ḥurūf* (sing. *ḥarf*) denotes both the graphic elements of the language (= letters) and the phonetic ones (= consonants and vowels) which they represent.

The first description which we possess of the points of articulation of the 29 Arabic phonemes is that of al-K̲h̲alīl (d. 175/791 [*q.v.*]) in his *K. al-ʿAyn* (ed. Anastase al-Karmalī, Bag̲h̲dād 1914, 4, 11. 8-9). This description is given according to two classifications, which present certain differences. In the first, al-K̲h̲alīl enumerates, going from the throat towards the lips, 10 zones (*ḥayyiz*) of articulation, each of these comprising several degrees (*madraḏj̲a*):

1. The pectoral cavity (*ḏj̲awf*) and air (*hawāʾ*); the sounds made in the cavity or made with the air *wāw*, *yāʾ*, *alif* and *hamza*.
2. The back (*aḳṣā*) part of the throat (*ḥalḳ*): the gutturals *ʿayn*, *ḥāʾ* and *hāʾ*.
3. The fore (*adnā*) part of the throat: the gutturals *k̲h̲āʾ* and *g̲h̲ayn*.
4. The uvula (*lahāt*): the uvular sounds *ḳāf* and *kāf*.
5. The side (*s̲h̲aḏj̲r*) of the mouth: the laterals *ḏj̲īm*, *s̲h̲īn* and *ḍād*.
6. The apex (*asala*) of the tongue: the apical sounds *ṣād*, *sīn* and *zāy*.
7. The alveoles (*niṭʿ*) of the palate: the alveolars *ṭāʾ*, *dāl* and *tāʾ*.
8. The gum (*lit̲h̲a*): the gingivals *ẓāʾ*, *d̲h̲āl* and *t̲h̲āʾ*.

9. The tip (*dhawlaḳ*) of the tongue: the sounds pronounced at the tip of the tongue *rā*ʾ, *lām* and *nūn*.
10. The lips (*shifā*): the labials *fā*ʾ, *bā*ʾ and *mīm*.

In the second classification, less detailed than the first, al-Khalīl enumerates them in the opposite way, i.e. from the lips to the throat, but with only six articulatory zones:

1. The lips: *fā*ʾ, *bā*ʾ and *mīm*.
2. The tip of the tongue and the extremity (*ṭaraf*) of the palate (*ghār*): *rā*ʾ, *lām* and *nūn*.
3. The back (*ẓahr*) of the tongue and the zone going from the interior (*bāṭin*) of the middle incisors (*thanāyā*) to the palate: *thā*ʾ to *shīn*.
4. The back part of the mouth, between the root (*ʿakada*) of the tongue and the uvula: *djīm*, *ḳāf* and *kāf*.
5. The throat: *ʿayn*, *ḥā*ʾ, *khā*ʾ and *ghayn*.
6. The back part of the throat: *hamza*.

It will be noted that, in this scheme of classification, the place of emission of the *djīm* is placed with that of *kāf* (which might suppose a realisation as *gīm*), and that that of *wāw*, *yā*ʾ and *alif* is not given with precision, whilst that of the *hamza* is placed in the throat.

The second description of the points of articulation of the phonemes of Arabic is provided for us by Sībawayhi (d. *ca.* 180/796 [*q.v.*] in his *Kitāb* (ed. H. Dérenbourg, Paris 1889, ii, 452-3). In this, Sībawayhi enumerates, going from the throat towards the lips, 16 places of emission of the sounds:

1. The back part of the throat: *hamza*, *hā*ʾ and *alif*.
2. Its middle part (*awsaṭ*): *ʿayn* and *ḥā*ʾ.
3. Its fore part: *ghayn* and *khā*ʾ.
4. The back part of the tongue and palate (*ḥanak*): *ḳāf*.
5. A little lower (*asfal*) than the place (*mawḍiʿ*) of the *ḳāf*: *kāf*.
6. The middle part of the tongue and the middle part of the palate: *djīm*, *shīn* and *yā*ʾ.
7. The beginning of the edge (*ḥāffa*) of the tongue and its molars (*aḍrās*): *ḍād*.
8. The edge of the tongue, from its forward part to its extremity, and the palate, a little bit below the pre-molar (*ḍāḥik*), the canine tooth (*nāb*) and the incisors (*rabāʿiyya* and *thaniyya*): *lām*.
9. The tip of the tongue and a little bit below the middle incisors: *nūn*.
10. The same position, but a little further towards the inner part of the back of the tongue: *rā*ʾ.
11. The tip of the tongue and the bases (*uṣūl*) of the middle incisors: *ṭā*ʾ, *dāl* and *tā*ʾ.
12. The tip of the tongue and a little bit above the middle incisors: *zāy*, *sīn* and *ṣād*.
13. The tip of the tongue and the tips of the middle incisors: *ẓā*ʾ, *dhāl* and *thā*ʾ.
14. The inside of the lower lip and the tips of the upper middle incisors: *fā*ʾ.
15. The two lips: *bā*ʾ, *nūn* and *wāw*.
16. The nasal cavities (*khayāshīm*): nun realised lightly (*khafīfa*).

The most important difference between the description of al-Khalīl and that of Sībawayhi lies in the fact that al-Khalīl indicates the place of emission of *wāw* and *yā*ʾ realised as long vowels (*ū* and *ī*), whereas Sībawayhi indicates these places of emission realised as consonants (*w* and *y*).

It was Sībawayhi's description which was to prevail for all the later grammarians, in whose works it is found cited en bloc, sometimes with a few variations. Thus al-Mubarrad (*K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, Cairo 1963, i, 192-3) separates the place of emission of *shīn* from that of *djīm*, and names the place of emission of *ḍād* by a word which denotes the corner of the mouth (*shidḳ*).

One should finally note that the *makhāridj al-ḥurūf* have been the subject of a very interesting study by a Moroccan scholar, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Fāsī (1717-99), in his commentary on the *Lāmiyya* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shāṭibī.

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MAKHDŪM-I DJAHĀNIYĀN. [see DJALĀL BUKHĀRĪ].

MAKHDŪM ḲULĪ "Firāḳī", perhaps rather Makhtūm Ḳulī (local forms Magtïmkulï and Fragï), a prominent 18th century Turkmen poet (1733?-1782?).Much of the information about this poet is obscure, and sources are unreliable. Among the 10,000 lines ascribed to him, a substantial amount must certainly be considered spurious, invalidating their informative value. Moreover, it is unclear whether the events alluded to have a real historical significance or are merely literary devices. Hence it is uncertain whether he was really born in the Gürgen River region, studied at the Shīrghāzī and Kökildäsh *madrasas* in Khīwa and Bukhārā respectively, worked for a time as a silversmith and a cobbler, bewailed a brother, who had disappeared into captivity in Persia (where he himself had suffered too), lost an infant son and was separated from his love. However, there is a personal flavour in the relevant descriptions. Such uncertainties are often met with when discussing major Turkmen poets.

It does however seem that he was a son of Dawlat Muḥammad "Āzādī", that he travelled widely, and that he was well versed in classical Persian and Turkish letters as well as in the folk literature of Central Asia, Iran and Ādharbāydjān. A master of the elevated style and technique, he nevertheless introduced popular forms, such as syllabic quatrains, into Turkmen poetry. He wrote fiery patriotic verses during the warfare between the Turkmens, Iran and Khīwa. His lyrical and didactic (not epic, and—though Yasawī-like elements spring to the eye—not strictly religious) poetry remained widely appreciated, not only among his compatriots but in the whole of Central Asia.

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(H. F. Hofman)

MAKHDŪM al-MULK, a Mughal religious leader, whose real name was Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh. He was the son of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn of Sulṭānpūr. His ancestors had emigrated from Multān and settled at Sulṭānpūr near Lahore. The pupil of Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Sirhindī, he became one of the foremost religious scholars and functionaries of his day. A committed Sunnī, he never trusted Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī (d. 1011/1602 [*q.v.*]) and looked upon him from the beginning as a dangerous man. Contemporary monarchs had great respect for Makhdūm al-Mulk. The Emperor Humāyūn (937-63/1530-56) conferred on him the title of *Shaykh al-Islām*. When the empire of Hindūstān came into the possession of Shēr Shāh (946-52/1539-45), the latter further honored him with the title of *Ṣadr al-Islām*. He was a man of especially great importance during the reign of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605). Bayram Khān Khānān (d. 968/1560) exalted his position very much by giving him the sub-divison of Thānkawāla which yielded an annual income of one *lakh* of rupees, while Akbar gave him the title of *Makhdūm al-Mulk*, by which designation he has become known to posterity. When the Emperor introduced his religious innovations and tried to convert people to his "Divine Faith" [see dīn-i ilāhī], however, Makhdum al-Mulk opposed him. Akbar became very angry. He ordered Makhdum al-Mulk to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Setting out in 987/1579, he completed the enforced canonical journey within two years' time. On his return from the Hidjāz, Makhdūm al-Mulk died or was poisoned in 990/1582 in Aḥmadābād.

He was the author of the following books, none of which are now extant: (1) *ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'*, a work on the sinlessness of prophets (cf. Badā'ūnī, iii, 70); (2) *Minhādj al-dīn*, a life of the Prophet (cf. *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, iii, 252); (3) *Ḥāshiya Sharḥ Mullāh*, a gloss on Djāmī's commentary on Ibn al-Ḥādjib's *Kāfiya* (cf. *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, iii, 252); (4) *Sharḥ Shamā'il al-Tirmidhī*, a commentary on Tirmidhī's *Shamā'il al-nabī* (cf. Badā'ūnī, iii, 70).

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, iii, 70; Shāhnawāz Khān Awrangābādī, *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, iii, 252; *Khazīnat al-asfiyā'*, 443, 464; *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochman, 172, 544.

(M. Hidayet Hosain - [B. Lawrence])

MAKHDŪM al-MULK Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā **MANĪRĪ** or **MANĒRĪ**, celebrated saint of mediaeval Bihār. Born in Shawwāl 661/August 1263 at Manīr or Manēr, a village in the north Bihārī district of Patna, Sharaf al-Dīn was educated at Sunargaon, Bengal by the Ḥanbalī traditionist Abū Tawwāma. On completing his studies, he travelled to Dihlī, where he met the premier Čishtī *shaykh* of the Sultanate period, Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325). He subsequently enrolled as the disciple of Nadjīb al-Dīn Firdawsī (d. 691/1291) and spent several years in the forests of Bihīya and Rādjgīr secluded from human company and engaged in meditation on God. When he re-emerged at Bihār Sharīf (*ca.* 60 miles from Patna city) in the 1320s, he was acknowledged as a spiritual preceptor and guide of extraordinary power. From the *khānaḳāh* built for him by friends and later enlarged by Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (reigned 1325-1351), Sharaf al-Dīn established the Firdawsī *silsila* throughout northern Bihār and western Bengal. He died at Bihār Sharīf on 6 Shawwāl 782/3 January 1381.

The several writings of Sharaf al-Dīn reveal him to be a knowledgeable traditionist as well as a skilled dialectician of Ṣūfī categories and concepts. He is best known for one of his collections of letters, *Maktūbāt-i ṣadī*. He has also been credited with three other epistolary volumes: *Rukn-i fawā'id*, *Maktūbāt-i dū ṣadī*, and *Maktūbāt-i bīst-u hasht*. Numerous are the compilations of *awrād* (invocatory prayers) and *ishārāt* (practical directives) attributed to Sharaf al-Dīn, but his most comprehensive work was a *sharḥ* (commentary) on the Ṣūfī catechism, the *Ādāb al-murīdīn* of Abū Nadjīb Suhrawardī (d. 561/1168).

The literary and spiritual tradition of Sharaf al-Dīn was continued by the several notable Firdawsī saints who were his successors, beginning with Muẓaffar Shams Balkhī (d. 803/1401). The attainments of this regionally delimited *silsila* were lauded throughout Hindustan; its major *shaykhs* found recognition in the most popular pan-Indian *tadhkiras*, e.g., ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī's *Akhbār al-akhyār* and Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī's *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā'*.

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(B. Lawrence)

MAKHFĪ, the much-disputed pen-name of Zīb al-Nisā' Begum, eldest child of the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1658-1707).

She was born in 1638 at Dawlatābād in the Deccan. Her mother, Dilras Bānū Begum (d. 1657), was the daughter of Shāhnawāz Khān (d. 1659), a dignitary of Shāhdjahān's reign. For her early education she was assigned to Ḥāfiẓa Maryam, a learned lady who was the mother of one of Awrangzīb's trusted nobles, ʿInāyat Allāh Khān (d. 1139/1726-7). Under Ḥāfiẓa Maryam's guidance, Zīb al-Nisā' memorised the Ḳur'ān, for which Awrangzīb rewarded her with a purse of 10,000 gold pieces. Later, she studied under some of the best scholars of the time, foremost among them being Muḥammad Saʿīd Ashraf (d. 1116/1708-9), a poet and man of learning who came to India from Persia during the early part of Awrangzīb's reign. Her accomplishments included mastery of Arabic and Persian languages as well as skill in calligraphic writing. She was a great lover of books, and is said to have collected a library which was unrivalled in its time. Many writers and scholars benefited from her generous patronage, and some of them composed books bearing her name. Significant among such writing was Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī's *Zīb al-tafāsīr*, which was a Persian translation of Fakhr al-

Dīn Rāzī's exegesis of the Ḳurʾān. Zīb al-Nisā remained unmarried throughout her life. It is reported that she was involved in a love intrigue with ʿĀḳil Khān, a nobleman of Awrangzīb's court, but this is pure fiction invented by some 19th-century Urdu writers. She incurred Awrangzīb's wrath for complicity with her brother, Akbar, in his unsuccessful rebellion against the emperor. In 1681 she was imprisoned in the Salīmgaṙh fort at Dihlī, where she spent the remaining years of her life until her death in 1702.

Whether or not Zīb al-Nisāʾ left behind a *dīwān* of her poems is a disputed question. A collection of verse published in her name under the title of *Dīwān-i Makhfī* has been subjected to critical scrutiny, and is regarded as the work of someone other than Zīb al-Nisāʾ. Sporadic verses attributed to her indicate that she was a promising poet, favouring a lyrical style.

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(Munibur Rahman)

MAKHLAD, Banū, a family of famous Cordovan jurists who, from father to son, during ten generations, distinguished themselves in the study of *fiḳh*. The eponymous ancestor of the family was Makhlad b. Yazīd, who was *ḳāḍī* of the province of Reyyoh (the *kūra* in the south-west of Spain, the capital of which was Malaga), in the reign of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, in the first half of the 3rd/9th century. His son, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Baḳī b. Makhlad [*q.v.*], was by far the most famous member of the family, and his direct descendants devoted their intellectual activity mainly to commenting on the masterpieces of their celebrated ancestor. A list of these scholars, with bibliographical references, is supplied in a little monograph devoted to the family of the Banū Makhlad by Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud, *Familias de jurisconsultos: Los Benimajlad de Córdoba*, in *Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 251-8.

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MAKHLAṢ [see takhalluṣ].

MAKHRAMA, Bā or Abū, a South Arabian Ḥimyarite clan of Shāfiʿī jurists and Ṣūfīs who lived in Ḥaḍramawt and Aden in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. Prominent members of it were the following:

1. ʿAfīf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ṭayyib ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm Bā Makhrama al-Ḥimyarī al-Shaybānī (or al-Saybānī?) al-Hadjarānī al-Ḥaḍramī al-ʿAdanī, b. 833/1430 in Hadjarayn [*q.v.*], d. 903/1497 in Aden, where he was appointed *ḳāḍī* by the sultan ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir but resigned after four months, without losing his popularity (in Brockelmann, S II, 239 f.; these biographical dates are by mistake attributed to his son al-Ṭayyib, below, 2.). His writings include remarks (*nukat*) on *Djāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣarāt* by al-Nasāʾī (Brockelmann, II, 199/254) and the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik, a commentary on the *Mulḥa* of al-Ḥarīrī, an abstract of Ibn al-Hāʾim's commentary on the *Urdjūza al-Yāsamīniyya* (Brockelmann, S I, 858:7.I.1), *rasāʾil* and *fatāwī*.

2. Abū Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad ... al-ʿAdanī (son of 1.), b. 870/1465, d. 947/1540, jurist and scholar of wide learning, teaching *fiḳh*, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *naḥw* and *lugha*. He had studied under his father, Muḥammad Bā Faḍl and Muḥammad al-Ḳammāṭ (both d. 903/1497) and shared his reputation as a *faḳīh* with Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Bā Ḳaḍḍām (d. 951/1544) belonging to another branch of the Makhrama family. Sickness evidently prevented him from finishing his two main works: the "Chronicle of Aden" *Taʾrīkh Thaghr ʿAdan* (ed. Löfgren 1936-50) and *Ḳilādat al-naḥr fī wafayāt aʿyān al-dahr* (*ṭabaḳāt* work, with historical supplement ed. Schuman 1960). He also wrote *Mushtabih al-nisba ilā 'l-buldān* (Serjeant, *Materials*, no. 11) and *Asmāʾ ridjāl Muslim*. In the *Ḳilāda* are biographies of the brothers Aḥmad (d. 911/1505-6), ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmūdī and Muḥammad, who at his death in Shiḥr in 906/1500-1 bequeathed his library to students of theology in Aden, under the supervision of his brothers Aḥmad and al-Ṭayyib (see *MO*, xxv, 131-8).

3. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad (son of 1.), b. 884/1479 in Hadjarān, d. 952/1545 in Saywūn (a residential town in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt between Tarīm and Shibām), famous Ṣūfī scholar and poet. Having completed his juridico-theological training in Aden under his father, the local saint Abū Bakr al-ʿAydarūs [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Djirfīl al-Dawʿanī (d. 903/1497-8), he met with the Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar Bā Hurmuz [see hurmuz, bā], was converted to mysticism, and became a local spiritual leader residing in Saywūn, where he collected numerous disciples and was buried in a mausoleum close to that of the Kathīrī sultans. He was a productive poet in classical as well as indigenous (*ḥumaynī*) metre; his *Dīwān* was collected in several volumes by al-Ḥudaylī Ṣāḥib al-Ḳāra (d. 1037/1627-8, al-Muḥibbī, ii, 366, cf. Serjeant, *Materials*, no. 28). Specimens of it are given in *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, 33-7, and *Taʾrīkh al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn*, i, 134 ff. Two verses on *maʿiyya* written shortly before his death were treated by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAydarūs under three titles, *Irshād dhawī 'l-lawdhaʿiyya ʿalā baytay al-maʿiyya*, *Itḥāf dhawī 'l-almaʿiyya fī taḥḳīḳ maʿnā 'l-maʿiyya*, and *al-Nafḥa al-ilāhiyya fī taḥḳīḳ maʿnā 'l-maʿiyya* (cf. Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, i, 18, ii, 668). Other writings by him include *al-Wārid al-ḳudsī fī sharḥ āyat al-kursī*, *Sharḥ Asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, *al-Maṭlab al-yasīr min al-sālik al-faḳīr*.

4. ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh (son of 3.), b. 907/1501 in Shiḥr, d. 972/1565 in Aden, where he finished his legal career as *muftī*

and was buried at the side of his father and his uncle al-Ṭayyib close to the mausoleum of the Ṣūfī Djawhar al-ʿAdanī (6th/12th century, cf. *Taʾrīkh Thaghr ʿAdan*, ii, 39 ff.). Having studied under his father, his uncle and ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad Bā Surūmī al-Shiḥrī (d. 943/1536-7) he was *ḳāḍī* in Shiḥr twice, became a great authority (*ʿumda*) on *fiḳh*, and was consulted from all parts of the Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt. As will be seen from the list of his writings, he was not only a *faḳih* and theologian, but pursued a special interest of astronomy and chronology. He also wrote some poetry (*arādjīz*).

His writings include *Dhayl Ṭabaḳat al-Shāfiʿiyya* by al-Asnawī (Brockelmann, II, 91/111) *Nukat* on Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haythamī's commentary on al-Nawawī's *Minhādj*, 2 vols., *Fatāwī*, *al-Durra al-zahiyya fī sharḥ* [*al-Urdjūza*] *al-Raḥbiyya* (16 vv. in Ambr. NF D 256), *Ḥaḳīḳat al-tawḥīd* (*radd ʿalā ṭāʾifat Ibn ʿArabī*), *al-Miṣbāḥ fī sharḥ al-ʿUdda wa ʾl-silāḥ* (*li-mutawallī ʿuḳūd al-nikāḥ*, by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bā Faḍl, d. 903/1497-8), (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 972:5 *Mishkāt al-miṣbāḥ*, identical); astronomy-chronology: *al-Djadāwil al-muḥaḳḳaḳa al-muḥarrara fī ʿilm al-hayʾa*, *al-Lumʿa fī ʿilm al-falak* (Rabat 2023), *al-Shāmil fī dalāʾil al-ḳibla*, etc., *rasāʾil* on *ikhtilāf al-maṭāliʿ wa-ttifāḳihā*, *al-rubʿ al-mudjayyab*, *samt al-ḳibla*, *ẓill al-istiwāʾ* (several details from the work of King, see *Bibl. below*).

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MAKHREDJ (A.), "outlet, going out", an Ottoman term used in education and law. In education, the term was used in reference to two schools in the 19th century, of which one prepared students for employment in Ottoman administrative offices, the other for the military schools.

Makhredj-i aḳlām designated the post-secondary school were secondary school students were prepared to "go out" to work at Ottoman administrative offices, *aḳlām* (pl. of *ḳalam* [*q.v.*]). The *Makhredj-i aḳlām* was founded in 1862 when Ottoman administrators decided that the quality of secondary school training was insufficient. The first graduates of the school were examined in 1864 by the Educational Council, *medjlis-i maʿārif*, and were appointed to the aḳlām. The school was superseded in 1876 by a school of higher education for civil servants, *mekteb-i fünūn-u mülkiyye*.

Makhredj-i mekātib-i ʿaskeriyye was the secondary school which prepared students "going out" to military schools. The foundation for the school was laid in 1862 when the Naval and Civil Engineering, Warfare, and Medical Schools established introductory classes to train their students. The students were admitted to these classes only after completing classes called *makhredj*. In 1864, all introductory classes were combined into a preparatory school, *iʿdādi-i ʿumūmī*. The *makhredj* classes were collected into a secondary school, *makhredj-i mekātib-i ʿaskeriyye*. This school was replaced in 1875 by a newly formed military secondary-school, *ʿaskerī rüshdiyye*.

In law, the term makhredj had two meanings. Certain judicial districts in the Ottoman Empire were referred to as *makhredj mewlewiyyeti* [see MEWLEWIYYET]. The name derived from a common attribute of the judges appointed to these districts. All were judges "going out" to their first appointment after teaching in schools, *madrasa* [*q.v.*]. The judges who had completed this appointment and were awaiting assignment to a higher ranking judicial district were called *makhredj mewālīsi*.

In inheritance law, makhredj was the term for the denominator which was used to divide an inheritance among heirs. In the case of the inheritance of a deceased woman, for example, where her husband and daughter each received one-fourth of the inheritance and her son received two-fourths, the *makhredj* of the inheritance would be four.

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MAKHZAN (A.), from *khazana*, "to shut up, to preserve, to hoard". The word is believed to have been first used in North Africa as an official term in the 2nd/8th century applied to an iron chest in which Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, *amīr* of Ifrīḳiya, kept the sums of money raised by taxation and intended for the ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād. At first this term, which in Morocco is synonymous with the government, was applied more particularly to the financial department, the Treasury.

It may be said that the term *makhzan* (pronounced *makhzen*) meaning the Moroccan government, and everything more or less connected with it, at first meant simply the place where the sums raised by taxation were kept, intended to be paid into the treasury of the Muslim community, the *bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*]. Later, when the sums thus raised were kept for use in the countries in which they were collected, and they became, as it were, the private treasuries of the communities in which they were collected, the word *makhzan* was used to mean the separate local treasuries and a certain amount of confusion arose between the *makhzan* and the *bayt al-māl*.

We do find in Spain the expression *ʿabīd al-makhzan*, but it still means slaves of the treasury rather than slaves of the government, and in al-Andalus, later it seems than in Morocco, in proportion as the state became separated from the rest of the Muslim community after being successively under the Umayyads of Damascus, the ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād, the Umayyads of Spain and the Fāṭimids of Egypt, that *makhzan* came to be used for the government itself.

To sum up, the word *makhzan*, after being used for the place where the sums intended for the *bayt al-māl* of the Islamic empire were kept, was used for the local treasury of the Muslim community of Morocco, when it took shape under the great Berber dynasties; later, with the Sharīfī dynasties, the word was applied not only to the treasury but to the whole organisation more or less administrative in nature which lives on the treasury, that is to say the whole government of Morocco. In tracing through history the changes of meaning of the word *makhzan*, one comes to the conclusion that not only is the institution to which it is applied not religious in character but, on the contrary,

it represents the combined usurpations of powers, originally religious, by laymen, at the expense of which it has grown up through several centuries. The result of these successive usurpations is that the *makhzan* ended up by representing to the Moroccans the sole principle of authority.

In rapidly surveying the history of the *makhzan*, we can see how it became gradually established, while using the prescriptions of Islam, and how it succeeded in forming, in face of the native Berber element which surrounded it, a kind of Arab façade, behind which the Berbers, in spite of the slowness of their gradual islamisation, have preserved their institutions and their independence.

No organisation was made at the first conquest by ᶜUkba b. Nāfiᶜ in 63/682. All the Arab conquerors had to do was to levy heavy tributes in money and slaves to satisfy their own greed and to enable them to send valuable gifts to the caliph of Damascus.

It was the same in 90/708 with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, but the conquest of Spain brought over to Islam a large number of Berber tribes by promising them a share in plundering the wealth of the Visigoths. On the other hand, the spread of Khāridjī doctrines made any unity of power impossible and on the contrary increased decentralisation.

The Idrīsid dynasty, which its Sharīfī origin gives a claim to be the first Muslim dynasty of Morocco and which completed the conversion of the country to Islam, only exercised its power over a small part of Morocco. Alongside of it, the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] heretics and numerous Khāridjī *amīrs* continued to exist. It was not till the 5th/11th century, under the Almoravids, that in the reign of Yaᶜkūb b. Tāshfīn we can see the beginnings of a *makhzan* which only becomes clearly recognisable under the Almohads.

It was under the latter that religious unity was first attained in Morocco. The heresy of the Barghawāṭa and all other schisms were destroyed, and a single Muslim community, that of the Almohads, replaced the numerous more or less heterodox sects which had been sharing the country and its revenues. It may be said that the organisation of the *makhzan* as it existed in Morocco at the opening of the 20th century is fundamentally based on this unification and the measures which resulted from it. The Almohads were able to apply to all the territory of their empire the ideal Muslim principle for dealing with land, i.e. that all the lands conquered by them from non-Almohads, and even from Almohads whose faith was regarded as suspect, were classed as lands taken from infidels and became *hubus* (pl. *aḥbās*) of the Muslim, i.e. Almohad community. These landed properties are those whose occupants have to pay the *kharādj* tax. In order to levy this, the sultan ᶜAbd al-Muᵓmin had all his African empire surveyed from Gabès to the Wādī Nūn.

A few years later, Yaᶜkūb al-Manṣūr brought to Morocco the Djusham and Banū Hilāl Arabs and settled them on lands which had been uninhabited since the destruction of the Barghawāṭa, the wars of the Almohads with the last Almoravids and the extensive despatches of troops to Spain.

These Arab tribes who formed the *gīsh* [see DJAYSH] of the Almohads did not pay the *kharādj* for the lands of the Muslim community which they occupied. They were *makhzan* tribes who rendered military service in place of *kharādj*. We shall find later the remains of this organisation with the *gīsh* tribes and the tribes of *nāᵓiba*. The efforts of the Marīnids to reconstitute a *gīsh* with their own tribes did not succeed, and they had to return to the *makhzan* of Arab tribes brought to Morocco by Yaᶜkūb al-Manṣūr and even added to it contingents of the Maᶜkil [*q.v.*] Arabs of the Sūs.

Under the Banū Waṭṭās, this movement became more marked, and Spanish influences became more and more felt in the more complicated organisation of the central *makhzan* and by the creation of new offices at the court and in the palace.

The conquests by the Christians, by causing the development of the *zāwiyas* and the fall of the Banū Waṭṭās, brought about the rise of the Saᶜdids [*q.v.*] of Wādī Darᶜa. The latter, with their customs as Saharan tribes and under the religious influence of the *shaykhs* of the brotherhoods, began to try to bring back the exercise of power to the patriarchal simplicity with which it was wielded in the early days of Islam. The necessities of the government, the intrigues of the tribes and the wars of members of the ruling family against one another soon made necessary the constitution of a proper *makhzan* with its military tribes; ministers, its crown officials of high and low degree, its governors to whom were soon added the innumerable groups of palace officials which will be mentioned below.

The frequent intercourse between the Saᶜdids and the Turks, who had come to settle in Algeria at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, brought to the court of Morocco a certain amount of eastern ceremonial, a certain amount of luxury and even a certain degree of pomp in the life of the sovereign and in that of his entourage and of all the individuals employed in the *makhzan*.

The increasing official relations of Morocco with European powers, the exchange of ambassadors, the commercial agreements and the ransoming of Christian slaves, largely contributed to give this Makhzan more and more the appearance of a regular government. The jealousies of the powers, their desire to maintain the *status quo* in Morocco and the need to have a regular government to deal with them further strengthened the *makhzan* both at home and abroad and enabled the sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan to conduct for nearly twenty years this policy of equilibrium between the powers on one side, and the tribes on the other, who kept till his death the empire of Morocco in existence, built up of very diverse elements, of which the *makhzan* formed the façade.

The very humble, almost humiliating, attitude imposed on the European ambassadors at official receptions increased the prestige of the sultan and the *makhzan* in the eyes of the tribes. The envoy of the Christian power, surrounded by the presents which he brought, appeared on foot in a court of the palace and seemed to have come to pay tribute to the commander of the Muslims, who was on horseback. All the theatrical side was developed to strike the imagination of the *makhzan* with much care, and it succeeded in creating an illusion of the real efficiency of this organisation in the eyes of both tribes and powers.

Under the Berber dynasties, the Almohads, the Marīnids and the Banū Waṭṭās, the military tribes, the *djaysh* (*gīsh*) were almost all Arab; under the Saᶜdids they were entirely Arab; to the Djusham and Banū Hilāl Arabs were added the Maᶜkil Arabs of the Sūs. On the other hand the Saᶜdids had removed from the registers of the *djaysh* a certain number of the Arab tribes who then paid in money the *kharādj* for the *aḥbās* lands of the Muslim community which they occupied. These tribes, in contrast to the *djaysh*, were called tribes of the *nāᵓiba*, that is to say, according to the etymology proposed for the word, they were under the tutelage of the *makhzan* (from *nāᵓib* "tutor" or "substitute" for a father), or rather, they paid the tribes of the *djaysh* a sum for replacing them (from *nāba* "to act as a substitute").

From this time onwards, Morocco assumed the ap-

pearance which it had when France established her protectorate there. The frontier, settled with the Turks in the east, had hardly been altered by the occupation of Algeria by France and the territory of Morocco was divided into two parts: 1. *bilād al-makhzan* or conquered territory; 2. *bilād al-sība* [*q.v.*] or land of schism; the latter was almost exclusively occupied by Berbers.

The *bilād al-makhzan*, which represented official Morocco, was formed of territories belonging to the *aḥbās* of the Muslim community, liable to the *kharādj* and occupied by Arab tribes, some *gīsh*, other *nāʾiba*.

The Berber tribes of the *bilād al-sība* not only refused to allow the authority of the *makhzan* to penetrate among them, but even had a tendency to go back to the plains from which they had gradually been pushed into the mountains. One of the main endeavours of the present dynasty, the ʿAlawīs of Tafilalt, which succeeded the Saʿdids in the 11th/17th century, has been to oppose this movement of expansion of the Berber tribes. This is why Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, the most illustrious sultan of this dynasty, built 70 *ḳaṣbas* on the frontier of the *bilād al-makhzan* to keep down the Berbers. Hence we have this policy of equilibrium and intrigues which has just been mentioned and which up till the 20th century was the work of the *makhzan*.

As has already been said, it was not a question of organising the country nor even of governing it, but simply of holding their own by keeping rebellion within bounds with the help of the *gīsh* tribes by extracting from the ports and from the *nāʾiba* tribes all that could be extorted by every means. From time to time, expeditions led by the sultan himself against the unsubjected tribes asserted his power and increased his prestige.

The *makhzan*, gradually formed in course of centuries by the possibilities and exigencies of domestic policy as well as by the demands of foreign policy, seems to have attained its most complete development in the reign of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, the last great independent sultan of Morocco (1873-94). The government of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan consisted in the first place of the sultan himself, at once hereditary and also, if not exactly elected, at least nominated by the *ʿulamāʾ* and notables of each town and tribes from among the sons, brothers, nephews and even the cousins of the late ruler. This proclamation is called *bayʿa*. It is, in general, he who takes control of the treasury and of the troops when the moment comes to assume the right of succession. It sometimes happens that the late sovereign has nominated his successors, but this does not constitute an obligation on the electors to obey it. There is then no rule of succession to the throne.

Formerly there was only one vizier, the grand vizier (*al-ṣadr al-aʿẓam*); the grand vizierate, a kind of Ministry of the Interior was divided into three sections, each managed by a secretary (*kātib*):

1. From the Strait of Gibraltar to the Wād Bū Regreg.
2. From Bū Regreg to the Sahara.
3. The Tafilalt.

In the reign of Sīdī Muḥammad (1859-73), the more frequent and intimate relations with Europe and more particularly the working of the protectorate, made it necessary to found a special office for foreign relations, and a *wazīr al-baḥr*, literally Minister of the Sea, was appointed. This did not mean minister for the navy, but for all that came by sea, i.e. Europeans. This minister had a representative in Tangier, the *nāʾib al-sulṭān*, who was the intermediary between European representatives and the central *makhzan*. His task was to deal with European complaints and claims from perpetual settlements and to play off against one another the protégés of the European powers, who were certainly increasing in numbers and frequently formed an obstacle to the traditional arbitrary rule of the *makhzan*. The régime of the consular protectorate, settled and regulated in 1880 by the Convention of Madrid, had also resulted in discouraging the *makhzan* from extending its authority over new territory.

The exercise of this authority was in fact automatically followed by the exercise of the right of protection and, from the point of view of resistance to European penetration, the *makhzan* had everything to gain by keeping in an apparent political independence the greater part of the territory in order to escape the influence which threatened in time to turn Morocco into a regular international protectorate.

By a conciliatory policy and cautious dealing with the local chiefs, the *shaykhs* of the *zāwiyas* and the Sharīfī families, the *makhzan* was able to exert even in the remotest districts a real influence and never ceased to carry on perpetual intrigues in order to divide the tribes against one another. It maintained its religious prestige by the hope of preparation for the holy war which was one day to drive out the infidels, and sought to penetrate by spreading the Arabic language and the teaching of the Ḳurʾān and gradually substituting the principles of Islamic law of the *sharʿ* for Berber customs. In a word, it continued the conquest of the country by trying to complete its islamisation and making Islam permeate its customs.

In the reign of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, the *makhzan* consisted of the grand vizier, the *wazīr al-baḥr*, minister of foreign affairs, the *ʿallāf*—afterwards called minister of war—, the *amīn al-umanāʾ*.—afterwards minister of finance—, the *kātib al-shikāyāt*, secretary for complaints, who became minister of justice by combining his duties with that of the *ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt*, Ḳāḍī of Ḳāḍīs. These high officials had the offices (*banīka*, pl. *banāʾiḳ*) in the *mashwar* at the Palace.

The offices were under the galleries which were built round a large courtyard. At the top of the *mashwar* was the office of the grand vizier, beside which was that of the *ḳāʾid al-mashwar*, a kind of captain of the guard, who also made presentations to the sultan. The *ḳaʾid al-mashwar* was in command of the police of the *mashwar* and he had under his command the troops of the *gīsh*, *mashwariyya*, *masakhriyya* as well as all the bodies of servants outside the palace (*ḥanāṭī*, sing. *ḥanṭa*); the *mawlā* (*mūl*) *al-ruwā*, grand-master of the stables, and the *frāʾigiyya*, who had charge of the sultan's encampments (*āfrāg* [*q.v.*]).

In addition to these *banīkas* of the *mashwar*, mention must be made of an individual who could play a more considerable part in the government than his actual office would lead one to expect. This is the *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*], whose *banīka* was situated between the *mashwar* and the palace proper; he had charge of the interior arrangements of the sultan's household. Under his orders were the various groups of domestic servants (*ḥanāṭī al-dākhliyyīn*), *mwālīn al-uḍūʾ*, who looked after the washing arrangements, *mwālīn al-frash*, who attended to the beds, etc.; he also commanded the eunuchs and even was responsible for the discipline of the sultan's women, through the *ʿarīfas* or mistresses of the palace. The *ḥādjib* is often called grand chamberlain, although he does not exactly correspond to this office.

Around these officers gravitated a world of secretaries of different ranks, of officers of the *gīsh*, then the *ḳāʾid al-raḥā*, who was in theory in command of 500 horsemen, the *ḳāʾid al-mīʾa*, who commanded

100, down to a simple *mukaddam*. All this horde of officials, badly paid when paid at all, lived on the country as it could, trafficking shamelessly in the influence which it had or was thought to have and in the prestige it gained from belonging to the court, whether closely or remotely.

In this organisation it may be noticed that the authority of the *makhzan* properly so-called, i.e. of a lay power, continually increased at the expense of the religious power by a series of changes. No doubt the basis continued to be religious, but the application of power became less and less so and the civil jurisdiction of the *kāʾids* and of the *makhzan* more and more took the place of the administration of the sharʿ by the *kāḍīs*, which finally became restricted to questions of personal law and landed property [see MAḤKAMA. 4. x].

The sultan's authority was represented in the towns and in the tribes by the *kāʾids*, appointed by the grand vizier and by the *muḥtasibs*, who supervised and controlled the gilds, fixed the price of articles of food and inspected weights and measures and coins [see ḤISBA].

The tax of the *nāʾiba*, which represented the old *kharādj*, was levied on the non-*gīsh* tribes by the *kāʾids* of these tribes. It was one of the principal causes of abuses; the amount of this tax was never fixed and the sums which came from it were in reality divided among the *kāʾids*, the secretaries of the *makhzan* and the vizier without the sultan or the public treasury getting any benefit from it.

The grand vizier also appointed the *nāḍir* (< *nāẓir*) officials who, from the reign of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, had been attached to the local *nāẓirs* of the *aḥbās* of the mosques and sanctuaries. The financial staff, *umanāʾ*, who controlled the customs, the possessions of the *makhzan* (*al-amlāk*), the *mustafādāt* (market-dues and tolls, etc., called *mukūs*, pl. of *maks*), the controller of the *bayt al-māl* (popularly *abu ʾl-mawārīth*), i.e. the official who intervened to collect the share of the Muslim community from estates of deceased persons and who also acted as curator of intestate estates (*wakīl al-ghuyyāb*). All these officers were appointed by the *amīn al-umanāʾ*, who was later known as the minister of finance.

This organisation was completely centralised, i.e. its only object was to bring all the resources of the country into the coffers of the state and of its agents; but no provision was made for utilising these resources in the public interest. No budget was drawn up, no public works, no railways, no navy, no commerce and no post was provided for. Military expenses were confined to the maintenance of a regiment commanded by an English officer, of a French mission of military instruction, of a factory of arms at Fās directed by Italian officers and of the building at Rabāṭ of a fort by a German engineer. These were really rather diplomatic concessions to the powers interested than a regular military organisation. In the spirit of the *makhzan*, the defence of the territory was to be the task of the Berber tribes, carefully maintained out of all contact with Europeans behind the elaborate display maintained by the court.

In the event of war, the *makhzan*, faithful to its system of equal favour, purchased arms and munitions from the different powers and kept them in the Makīna of Fās in order to be able, when necessity arose, to distribute them to the tribes when proclaiming a holy war.

The expenses of the education service were limited to the very modest allowances granted to the *ʿulamāʾ* of al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*]. These allowances were levied from the *aḥbās* and augmented by the gifts made by the sultan on the occasion of feasts (*ṣila*).

Nothing was done for public health, and one could not give the name of hospitals to the few *māristāns* to be found in certain towns, where a few miserable creatures lived in filth, receiving from the *aḥbās* and the charity of the public barely enough to prevent them dying of hunger and without, of course, receiving any medical assistance.

On the repeated representation of the Powers, the sultan had ultimately delegated his powers to the members of the diplomatic corps in Tangier, which had been able to form a public health committee in order to be able to refuse admission if necessary to infected vessels. In spite of its defects, the *makhzan* constituted a real force; it formed a solid bloc in the centre of surrounding anarchy which it was interested in maintaining, in order to be able to exploit it more easily on the one hand and on the other to prevent the preservation in the country of any united order which might become a danger to it.

In brief, we may say that the *makhzan* in Morocco was an instrument of arbitrary government, which worked quite well in the social disorder of the country, and thanks to this disorder, we may add, it worked for its own profit and was in a way like a foreign element in a conquered country. It was a regular caste with its own traditions, way of living, of dressing, of furnishing, of feeding, with its own language, *al-lugha al-makhzaniyya*, which is a correct Arabic intermediate between the literary and the spoken Arabic, composed of official formulae, regular clichés, courteous, concise and binding to nothing.

This *makhzan*, which was sufficient in the old order of things which it had itself contributed to create and maintain, was forced, if it was not to disappear at once, to undergo fundamental modifications from the moment this state of things had rendered necessary the establishment of a protectorate. The vizierate of foreign affairs and that of war were then handed over to the Resident-General, and that of finance to the Director-General of Finance, who administered the revenue of the empire like those of a regularly-organised state. The director-generalships of agriculture and education, which were regular ministries, were held by French officials, as were the management of the postal service, telegraph and telephone, and the board of health.

Two new vizierates had been created, that of the regal domains (*al-amlāk*) and that of the *aḥbās*. The vizierate of the *amlāk* was soon suppressed and the domains were henceforward administered by a branch of the finance department. The vizierate of the *aḥbās* was under that of the Sharīfian affairs. This organisation represented the principle of protectorate in the Moroccan government itself, in order to realise "the organisation of a reformed Sharīfian *makhzan*" in keeping with the treaty. (E. MICHAUX-BELLAIRE*)

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(M. Buret)

MAKHZŪM, Banū, a clan of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] which achieved a prominent position in pre-Islamic Mecca. Although in the course of the 7th century A.D. the clans of ^c^Abd Shams and Hāshim [*q.v.*] went on to achieve greater prominence, a role of some importance was played in early Islamic history by Makhzūmīs. They were for the most part descendants of al-Mughīra b. ^c^Abd Allāh b. ^c^Umar b. Makhzūm, in whom the *bayt* of Makhzūm reposed (al-Muṣ^c^ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 300; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Süleymaniye ms. ii, 523; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, ed. Hārūn, 144), rather than members of the cadet branches of the clan associated with his nineteen (according to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, ed. Caskel, table 23) or more brothers and cousins.

The extent of the power and influence of Makhzūm in Mecca during the 6th century A.D. cannot be established with any certainty; all we know is that Muslim accounts of the two major Ḳurashī alignments there at that time—the Muṭayyabūn and the Aḥlāf—place Makhzūm in the latter grouping, along with the clans of ^c^Abd al-Dār, Sahm, Djumaḥ and ^c^Adī (Watt, *Mecca*, 5). Near the end of the century, however, at about the time of the formation of the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl [*q.v.*] as a third grouping at Mecca (which took ^c^Adī away from the Aḥlāf), the Makhzūmī leader Hishām b. al-Mughīra came to occupy a prominent position in Meccan political life. He was "the *sayyid* of Ḳuraysh in his time"; (Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Hārūn (following Wüstenfeld's pagination, 92); Mughīra had inherited the *siyāda*, and the Banū Hishām were the foremost of the Banu 'l-Mughīra (Ibn Durayd, 87); "in the *djāhiliyya* the genealogy of Ḳuraysh was linked with that of Hishām" (*nusibat Ḳuraysh ilā Hishām fi 'l-Djahiliyya*: Ibn Durayd, 94); when Hishām died, the Meccans were called on to witness the funeral of their lord (*rabb*: Ibn Durayd, 63); and it is reported that Ḳuraysh used a dating system in which Hishām's death was taken as the starting point (al-Muṣ^c^ab, 301; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, ed. Fāriḳ, 412; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 524; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 313; *Aghānī*[1], xv, 11 (where a second report says, less credibly, that the death of [his brother] al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra was taken as the starting point). The economic interests of Makhzūm at this time appear to have been focussed on trade in the Yemen and Ethiopia, where they constituted the predominating Meccan presence; in that connection, the sources name Hishām, his brother al-Walīd, and

Descendants of al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm

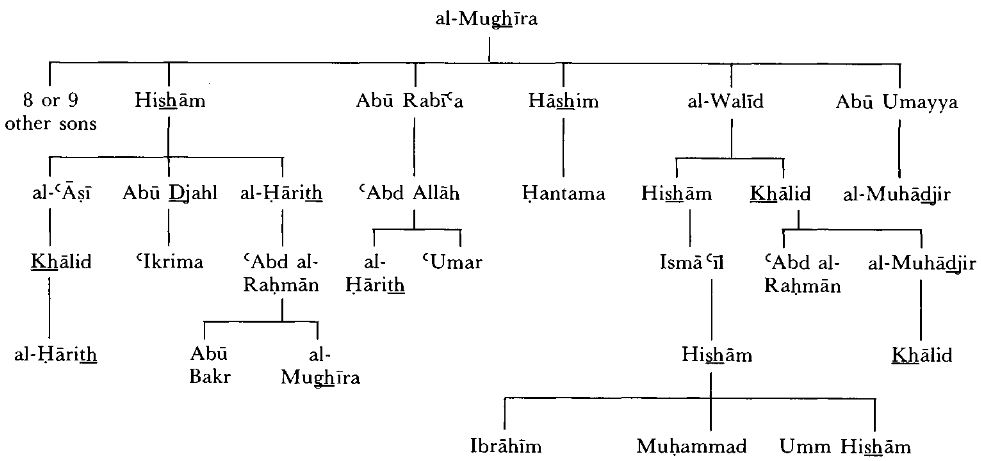

two more of the sons of al-Mughīra, together with four of their sons (P. Crone, *Meccan trade* (forthcoming), ch. v).

The emergence of Muḥammad as Prophet in the second decade of the 7th century A.D. met with strenuous opposition on the part of the Makhzūmī leader of the time, Abū Djahl b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra [*q.v.*]; he it was who in particular brought into effect the boycott of the Banū Hāshim in *ca.* 616-18 (Watt, *Mecca*, 117 ff.). In addition, his uncle, the *ḥakam* [*q.v.*] (Ibn Ḥabīb, 460; al-Fāsī, ed. Wüstenfeld, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ii, 143) al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, was one of the "deriders" (*al-mustahziʾūn*) against whom verses in the Meccan sūras of the Ḳurʾān are said to have been directed (Muʾarridj al-Sadūsī, *Ḥadhf min nasab Ḳuraysh*, ed. al-Munadjdjid, 68; Ibn Hishām, 272; Ibn Ḥabīb, 485-6; Ibn Durayd, 60-1, 94). But the tables were turned on Makhzūm by the Prophet shortly after the *hidjra* at the battle of Badr [*q.v.*], where the Meccan force which went to the assistance of the threatened caravan was led by Abū Djahl. The Makhzūmī losses were heavy: seven or eight of al-Mughīra's twenty-five or so grandsons were killed on the Meccan side at Badr (among them Abū Djahl himself), together with a similar number and proportion of the same generation of the cadet branches of Makhzūm, and others were taken captive (for details, see Ibn al-Kalbī, tables 22-3 and Register; al-Muṣʿab, 299-346; Watt, *Mecca*, 176-7); the three Makhzūmīs who fought on the Prophet's side at Badr, viz. al-Arḳam b. ʿAbd Manāf, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad, and Shammās b. ʿUthmān, were all from the cadet branches of Makhzūm, not from the Banu 'l-Mughīra (Muʾarridj, 73-4; Watt, *Mecca*, 176, and cf. 93). Losses of an order such as this inevitably weakened the position of Makhzūm at Mecca, and in particular vis-à-vis Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Shams. It was not until shortly before the Prophet's conquest of Mecca in late 8/January 630 that ʿIkrima b. Abī Djahl began to exert influence there as the new Makhzūmī leader—one who was strongly opposed to entering into negotiations with the Prophet (Watt, *Medina*, 58, 62, 64); but by that stage more Makhzūmīs were among those who had gone over to the Prophet, including Khālid b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra [*q.v.*], who had earlier played a vigorous part in the Meccan military opposition to him. Khālid participated in the conquest of Mecca; and ʿIkrima fled to the Yemen.

Following the conquest of Mecca, Makhzūm were incorporated into the new order. Two of their number, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra and Saʿīd b. Yarbūʿ, were among "those whose hearts were reconciled" (*al-muʾallafa ḳulūbuhum*: Watt, *Medina*, 74), presumably in their capacity as leaders of the Banu 'l-Mughīra and the cadet branches respectively (Muʾarridj, 74, also names a second person from the cadet branches in this connection). ʿIkrima received a pardon, returned from the Yemen, played a conspicuous part in the suppression of the *ridda* [*q.v.*] in 11/632-3 (see al-Ṭabarī, index; the Yemen was among the places to which this activity took him, but Muʾarridj seems to be alone in holding the view (69) that Abū Bakr appointed him over the Yemen), and was subsequently mortally wounded in battle against the Byzantines in Syria (at either al-Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] or al-Yarmūk [*q.v.*]: al-Muṣʿab, 303, 310; Ibn Saʿd, v, 329; Ibn Durayd, 93; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 526; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2100-1, iii, 2307). The continuing Makhzūmī link with the Yemen also becomes apparent with the appointments there of al-Muhādjir b. Abī Umayya b. al-Mughīra and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿa b. al-Mughīra; there is disagreement in the sources about points of detail, but it would seem that al-Muhādjir was appointed as governor of Ṣanʿāʾ by the Prophet in 10/631 but did not go there, was reappointed by Abū Bakr, went there, and was still there at the time of Abū Bakr's death in 13/634 (Muʿarridj, 71; Ibn Durayd, 62, who incorrectly calls him al-Muhādjir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Umayya; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1750, 2013, 2135, iii, 2357). Even more confused are the reports relating to ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿa, who is one of those named in the earlier context of Makhzūmī trade in the Yemen. He was appointed over al-Djanad and its *mikhlāf*s by the Prophet (*Aghānī*[1], i, 32), over all or part of the Yemen by Abū Bakr (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 531), and over the Yemen by ʿUmar (al-Muṣʿab, 317; Ibn Saʿd, v, 328, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, 154; Ibn Ḥazm, 146); he was governor of al-Djanad at the time of ʿUmar's death (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2798; *Aghānī*[1], i, 32) in 23/644 and at the time of the death of ʿUthmān (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3057 Add.) in 35/656.

Two other Makhzūmīs who were particularly active in this period were Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] and al-Ḥārith b. Hishām. Khālid overcame the resistance of al-Musaylima [*q.v.*] in the Yamāma and subsequently played a leading role in the conquest of Syria. Al-

Ḥārith also took part in the conquest of Syria and later migrated there with 70 of his *ahl bayt*, apparently because of his displeasure at being allocated by ʿUmar a stipend which reflected the tardiness of his conversion; he and all but four (or two) of those with him perished, variously in battle and of plague (al-Muṣʿab, 302; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2411-12, 2516, 2524). His surviving son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was brought to Medina by ʿUmar, who awarded him an allocation of land (*khiṭṭa* [*q.v.*]) there (al-Muṣʿab, 303). In this connection, it can be noted not only that ʿUmar's mother was from the Banu 'l-Mughīra (Ḥantama bint Hāshim b. al-Mughīra: al-Muṣʿab, 301, 347; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 531; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2728; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 192 = § 1525; Ibn Ḥazm, 144. Al-Masʿūdi says that she was black, from which Lammens (*Études*, 8 n.) inferred that she was "esclave des Maḫzoûmites"), but also that one of his wives, Umm Ḥakīm, was a daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām (al-Muṣʿab, 349-50, cf. 302).

The line of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām was to be of particular importance within the large and influential Hishām branch of the Banu 'l-Mughīra. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān fathered thirteen or fourteen sons (five or six of them by Fākhita bint ʿUtba of ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy) and eighteen daughters; al-Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, writing in the first half of the 9th century A.D. remarks (419) on the large numbers of descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Fākhita in his own time. Some idea of 7th century Makhzūmī connections can be gained not only from the information that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's own wives included a daughter of al-Zubayr (who was herself a granddaughter of Abū Bakr) and a daughter of ʿUthmān (al-Muṣʿab, 111, 307-8; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 526), but also from data relating to twenty-five marriages (all of them within Ḳuraysh) of his daughters: ten of these were with Makhzūmīs (all of them from the Banu 'l-Mughīra), eight of them were with Umayyads (including Muʿāwiya, although that was a childless union terminated by divorce), and five were with Zubayrids (ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in two instances); the marriage settlement of 40,000 *dīnār*s paid by ʿAbd al-Malik's uncle, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam in respect of one of these ladies, while it may not have been typical, does at least give us an indication of how large such a settlement could be (al-Muṣʿab, 306-8). In the following generation, the ten recorded marriages involving the six daughters of al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān are also instructive: one with a Makhzūmī (an *ibn ʿamm*), three with Marwānids (including one of ʿAbd al-Malik's sons) and five with other Ḳurashīs (descendants of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, al-ʿAbbās and Ṭalḥa respectively); the tenth of these marriages, that of Umm al-Banīn bint al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] (al-Muṣʿab, 310), represents the earliest indication of a Makhzūmiyya being given in marriage to a non-Ḳurashī (the two other examples of this phenomenon given by al-Muṣʿab (309, 310) involve sons of al-Ḥadjdjādj).

A second branch of the Banu 'l-Mughīra to which attention should be paid is that of al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, particularly in the lines of his sons Khālid, Hishām and al-Walīd. The distinction of Khālid's line lies above all in his own accomplishments and those of his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*], who was governor of Ḥimṣ and the Djazīra for Muʿāwiya and achieved renown as the leader of campaigns against the Byzantines. Al-Muṣʿab states quite categorically that the line came to an end in the time of (their agnate relative) Ayyūb b. Salama (328), i.e. by the end of the Umayyad period or conceivably just after; all forty or so of Khālid's male descendants died in a plague in Syria (Ibn Ḥazm, 148). The line of Hishām b. al-Walīd is of interest because his grandson, Hishām b. Ismāʿīl, in addition to being ʿAbd al-Malik's governor of Medina, was also the father of ʿAbd al-Malik's wife Umm Hishām (Muʾarridj, 71; al-Muṣʿab, 328; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 541; Ibn Ḥazm, 148 (Umm Hāshim); Ibn Ḥazm, *Ummahāt al-khulafāʾ*, ed. al-Munadjdjid, 17: her name was either ʿĀʾisha or Fāṭima). When her son Hishām became caliph, he appointed his maternal uncles Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad, the sons of Hishām b. Ismāʿīl, to terms of office as governors of Medina; they later ran foul of his successor, al-Walīd b. Yazīd, and were tortured to death on his instructions by the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*] (al-Muṣʿab, 329; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 541 (Muḥammad was governor of Mecca and then of Medina)). As far as the line of al-Walīd b. al-Walīd is concerned, its interest lies primarily in the fact that it produced Umm Salama bint Yaʿḳūb b. Salama, who married the future first ʿAbbāsid caliph, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās; their daughter Rayṭa married the caliph al-Mahdī and bore him two sons (Muʾarridj, 72; al-Muṣʿab, 330; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, ed. al-Dūrī, 161, 180; Ibn Ḥazm, 148).

Although there were some Makhzūmīs in Syria (at least until Khālid's line became extinct) and some in ʿIrāḳ (mainly Baṣra) in the course of the Umayyad period, the main concentration of Makhzūm was in the Ḥidjāz, at Mecca and Medina. The Makhzūm of Medina appear to have come into conflict with ʿUthmān on account of his maltreatment of the Companion ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*] (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 266, 299 = §§ 1591, 1602), who was a *mawlā* of theirs as a result of Abū Ḥudhayfa b. al-Mughīra's manumission of him (Ibn Ḥabīb, 312; Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 176; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2388). In the events following the murder of ʿUthmān, some Makhzūmī support for Ṭalḥa [*q.v.*] and al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] is indicated by the Makhzūmī casualities (Khālifa, 209) at the battle of the Camel (al-Djamal [*q.v.*]). In the ensuing confrontation between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, Muʿāwiya had the support of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid, who distinguished himself at the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], where he bore the standard of the Syrian army (Lammens, *Études*, 5); and the Makhzūm of the Ḥidjāz may be presumed to have preferred Muʿāwiya to ʿAlī. The presence on ʿAlī's side of Djaʿda b. Hubayra, who was from one of the cadet branches of Makhzūm, is explained by the identities of his mother and his wife: his mother was a daughter of Abū Ṭālib and his wife was a daughter of ʿAlī (Muʾarridj, 75; al-Muṣʿab, 39, 45, 344, 345; Ibn Ḥazm, 141). Less easy to explain is the pro-Hāshimite stance of Khālid's son al-Muhādjir, who was killed on ʿAlī's side at Ṣiffīn (Ibn Ḥabīb, 450; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 543; *Aghānī*³, xv, 13).

If we are to judge by the pattern emerging from the marriages reported by al-Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, however, it would seem that Muʿāwiya's ultimate victory was not particularly to the advantage of Makhzūm. Their links by marriage were stronger with the Zubayrids and the descendants of ʿUthmān and al-Ḥakam than with the Sufyānids. Moreover, relations between Muʿāwiya and Makhzūm deteriorated when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid was (at least allegedly) poisoned in 46/666 by Muʿāwiya's physician Ibn Uthāl (reportedly on account of his growing popularity as potential successor to Muʿāwiya) and Ibn Uthāl himself was killed in vengeance by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's nephew Khālid b.

al-Muhādjir (al-Muṣʿab, 327; Ibn Ḥabīb, 449 ff.; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 542; *Aghānī*¹, xv, 13; al-Ṭabarī (ii, 82-3) seems to be alone in attributing the murder of Ibn Uthāl to Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān—the other sources know of no son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's by that name. Cf. Lammens, *Études* 7-10). It is noticeable that there were no Makhzūmī governors of Mecca from 48/668 until the end of Muʿāwiya's caliphate in 60/680, although Khālid b. al-ʿĀṣī b. Hishām had hitherto held that post on several occasions (Ibn Saʿd, v, 330; al-Fāsī, 161-6). Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya did appoint Khālid's son, the poet al-Ḥārith b. Khālid, to the post (al-Muṣʿab, 313, 390; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 531; Ibn Ḥazm, 146; al-Fāsī, 166), but it was also a Makhzūmī (ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī ʿAmr b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Mughīra) who was the first to forswear allegiance to Yazīd (al-Muṣʿab, 332; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 539; Ibn Ḥazm, 149). In the ensuing second civil war, Makhzūm were pro-Zubayrid with the single exception of al-Ḥārith b. Khālid, who was pro-Marwānid (*Aghānī*¹, iii, 102); and they were accordingly represented among the governors appointed by Ibn al-Zubayr (al-Ḥārith al-Ḳubāʿ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿa b. al-Mughīra at Baṣra; and ʿAbd Allāh al-Azraḳ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd Shams b. al-Mughīra at al-Djanad (al-Muṣʿab, 332)).

The defeat of the Zubayrids obviously affected the interests of Makhzūm adversely, and ʿAbd al-Malik saw the wisdom of being magnanimous in victory by drawing them closer to him. In addition to reinstating al-Ḥārith b. Khālid as governor of Mecca, he appointed the Makhzūmī Hishām b. Ismāʿīl (from Banu 'l-Walīd b. al-Mughīra) as governor of Medina and married his daughter; a second Makhzūmiyya (Umm al-Mughīra bint al-Mughīra b. Khālid b. al-ʿĀṣī b. Hishām) is also identified as having been one of ʿAbd al-Malik's wives (al-Muṣʿab, 165; al-Mughīra b. Khālid is not otherwise known; al-Ḥārith b. Khālid would make perfect sense); and the blind religious scholar, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra (d. in or *ca.* 93/711-12), whose predilection for ritual prayer, fasting and asceticism earned him the sobriquet "the monk" (*rāhib*) of Ḳuraysh", enjoyed the caliph's special favour (*kāna dhā manzila min ʿAbd al-Malik*: al-Muṣʿab, 304; Ibn Saʿd, v, 151; al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 527-8; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhib*, xii, 31). There is not, however, any evidence of similar caliphal attention having been paid to Makhzūm by ʿAbd al-Malik's immediate successors. Al-Walīd dismissed Hishām b. Ismāʿīl from his post at Medina, and the sources tell us little of Makhzūm thereafter until the caliph Hishām appointed his maternal uncles as governors of Medina in the 720s to 740s; their demise at the hands of Yūsuf b. ʿUmar shortly preceded the end of the Umayyad caliphate.

It is apparent that, as the Ḥidjāz became more and more a political backwater after the defeat of the Zubayrids, the role of Makhzūm became increasingly restricted to one of being merely local gentry. Individual Makhzūmīs crop up in the sources mainly in the context of religious learning and the application of Islamic law: In addition to Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (see above), special mention should be made of the *faḳīh* Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab [*q.v.*], who was from one of the cadet branches of Makhzūm; a list of Makhzūmīs who transmitted *ḥadīth* is given by al-Ṭabarī (iii, 2383-8); ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (from one of the cadet branches) served as *ḳāḍī* of Medina in the time of the caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī (al-Muṣʿab, 341. Ibn Ḥazm, 142, says Mecca and Medina in the time of al-Manṣūr and al-Hādī), Muḥammad al-Awḳaṣ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (from the Banū Hishām b. al-Mughīra) served as *ḳāḍī* of Mecca in the time of al-Mahdī (al-Muṣʿab, 315; Ibn Ḥazm, 146; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 531 says in the time of Abū Djaʿfar), and Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Aṣghar (from the Banū Hishām b. al-Mughīra) served as *ḳāḍī* of Medina in the time of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (al-Muṣʿab, 309; Ibn Ḥazm, 145). There are in addition indications that in the early ʿAbbāsid period Makhzūmī links with ʿAlids, notably Ḥasanids, became closer (al-Muṣʿab, 52-3, 56, 63); in particular, the mother of Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], who founded the Idrisid dynasty in the Maghrib at the end of the 8th century A.D., was ʿĀtika bint ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. Khālid b. al-ʿĀṣī (from the Banū Hishām b. al-Mughīra: al-Muṣʿab, 54, 315).

The bulk of the wealth and assets of Makhzūm may be presumed to have been in the Ḥidjāz: they owned much land and property in and around Mecca (al-Azraḳī, ed. Wüstenfeld, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, 468-72 for details), as well as the *khiṭṭa* at Medina awarded by ʿUmar to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām; and the report that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's son al-Mughīra endowed an estate as a *wakf* [*q.v.*] for the provision of food to pilgrims at Minā [*q.v.*] (al-Muṣʿab, 305-6) does prompt the question of whether Makhzūmīs may have had a stake in the business of provisioning more generally. There is not a great deal of evidence of Makhzūmī economic involvement elsewhere: ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth, who was from one of the cadet branches, prospered greatly in al-Kūfa from early on (al-Muṣʿab, 333; Ibn Durayd, 61); and Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith, who took the head of the rebel Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [*q.v.*] to the caliph Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, was rewarded for his pains with the rebel's *dār* (sc. at al-Baṣra) and some of his estates (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., ii, 528). Insufficient evidence also prevents much being said about the nature of Makhzūmī links with the Yemen after ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿa: the sole subsequent Makhzūmī appointee there was Ibn al-Zubayr's governor of al-Djanad (see above); the land in the Yemen owned by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿa (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2757) may have stayed in the family; and his son, the poet ʿUmar (b. ʿAbd Allāh) b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*], had maternal relatives (*akhwāl*) there (*Aghānī*¹, i, 49). As for Ethiopia, it remains to be ascertained whether there was any continuum between pre-Islamic Makhzūmī activities there and the Makhzūmī sultanate of Shoa, which ruled from the last decade for the ninth century A.D. until 1285 (*Cambridge History of Africa*, iii, 106, 140).

Bibliography: In addition to the items given in the article, see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ed. Ibrāhīm, xviii, 285-309; Schwarz, *Der Diwan des ʿUmar ibn Abi Rebiʿa*, 4 (Schluss-) Heft, Leipzig 1909, 1-33, esp. 9-12 (M. Hinds)

AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Ḳurashī, author of an important, long-forgotten fiscal treatise, *al-Minhādj fī ʿilm kharādj Miṣr*, a large part of which was recently discovered in the acephalous ms. Add. 23,483 in the British Museum. Al-Makhzūmī belonged to a great family dating back to the origins of Islam. He was a *ḳāḍī* and it was owing to this title, although he was a Shāfiʿī as were nearly all the Egyptians, that the Fāṭimids, as was their custom, entrusted him with the duties of controlling the employees of the tax office, nearly all Copts. He performed these duties for a long time in Alexandria, and it is plain that he had ac-

quired a concrete experience of the work, which his illustrious contemporary, Ibn Mammātī [*q.v.*] did not possess. Although the two works have similar documentary sources for some points and present almost the same form of administration (that of the later Fāṭimids prolonged under Saladin), they differ profoundly: the *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn* presents a clear, methodical account, without technical details which would be difficult for the senior civil servant to understand, of the fiscal régime of Egypt; the *Minhādj* is concerned, with the concrete activities performed by the employees of the tax office. For us, its remarkable originality lies in the minute description it gives of the customs and commercial administration of the Mediterranean ports frequented by Italian merchants; it provides despite the lacunas of the manuscript and the mediocrity of the style, something which no other work gives us in any corresponding measure. There is also an important chapter on the army, a very short one on the currency, the *ṭirāz*, etc. The author of the present article has devoted to the contents of the *Minhādj*, especially in *JESHO* for 1962, 1963, 1965 and 1972, a series of articles now gathered together in his *Makhzūmiyyāt* (Leiden 1978) and hopes to produce in the near future the complete Arabic text. The manuscript, however, comprises in its first part some historical developments and traditions which will be left aside, owing to the very poor state of these pages, of which al-Maḳrīzī reproduces all the main points. The *Minhādj* has been used to advantage by some young contemporary scholars, such as H. Rabie, in his *Financial system of Egypt*; R. Cooper, most recently in *JAOS* (1976); Gladys Frantz-Murphy (unpublished thesis); etc. (CL. CAHEN)

AL-**MAʿĶIL**, Arab tribe, probably of Yemeni origin, who, having come from Arabia at the same time as the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*], crossed Egypt and Libya, entered the Maghrib towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, led a nomadic life for a short time to the west of Gabès (Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, i, 36), but left only a small number of their members in the south of Ifrīḳiya (*Berbères*, i, 116; cf. R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 170); in fact, they proceeded towards the west (*taghriba*), following the northern border of the Sahara (cf. al-Zayyānī, *Turdjumāna*, Fr. tr. Confourier, in *AM*, vi [1906], 448, who notes their route). However, it happened that they strayed from their route on occasion and also that, in 496/1103, the Ḥammādid al-Manṣūr (481-98/1088-1104 [*q.v.*]) was able to march on Tlemcen after having gathered together some Arab contingents including some Maʿḳil (*Berbères*, i, 54-5, 295). Similarly, at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, a clan of the tribe, the Thaʿāliba, occupied the region stretching from Titteri to Médéa and supplied the local rulers with auxiliary troops (*Berbères*, i, 92, 123, 253); Leo Africanus (ii, 349) mentions that in 915/1510 a member of this clan had become ruler of Algiers and held on to power for several years before being strangled in a *ḥammām* and replaced by Barbarossa [see KHAYR AL-DĪN], who dealt harshly, moreover, with the Thaʿāliba.

But it is principally in the oasis of Touat and Gourara (southern Algeria), and then in Morocco (where they began to infiltrate in the first decades of the 7th/13th century, so as to constitute an important collection of groups who were authentically Arab, at least in origin), that the majority of the Maʿḳil settled. They approached this land from the south-east and expanded rapidly in the eastern and southern regions of what constituted at that time al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, on the one hand between the west of the Oran region and the valley of the Moulouya (Malwiyya) as far as the Mediterranean coast and, on the other hand, in the south-east of present-day Morocco, in Tafilalt, Darʿa and Sous, as far as the Atlantic coast to the south of the High Atlas. The clans known as Dhawī Ḥassān and Shabbānāt, established further to the north, were to be summoned to Sous by ʿAlī b. Yedder (Idder = Yaḥyā or Yaʿīsh), who had rebelled against the Almohad al-Murtaḍā (646-65/1248-66) in 652/1254-5 (*Berbères*, i, 131, ii, 276-7), but it is quite possible that these clans may already have been in the area. Whatever may be the case, the Maʿḳil were not slow to impose their domination on the sedentary Berbers of the *ḳṣūr* and the oases, to levy tolls on the caravans that they were supposed to protect and to sow disorder in these lands which were already fairly turbulent; in fact, even if, according to Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, i, 117), they did not always devote themselves to brigandage, they upset the economic situation and political structures quite considerably. Some of them remained nomads (camel breeders), especially in the steppes of eastern Morocco, but the majority settled, not without allying themselves at times with the local Berber groups in order to resist more effectively the sultan and his agents, should the occasion arise.

Even though on their arrival in Ifrīḳiya the Maʿḳil were, we are told, fewer than 200 (*Berbères*, i, 116), they increased considerably and added to their number allogenous elements, after having attained the goal of their principal migration. They formed, according to Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, i, 115-34), three large groups called Dhawī (Dwi) ʿUbayd Allāh (between Tlemcen, Taourirt and the mouth of the Moulouya, in the plain of the Angād), Dhawī Manṣūr (who constituted the majority and occupied the region stretching from Taourirt to Darʿa, as well as the countryside around Taza, Fez, Meknès, and even Tadla) and Dhawī Ḥassān (between Darʿa and the Atlantic Ocean). The author of the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* enumerates in great detail the families grouped within these three branches. He rejects the claim of the Maʿḳil to be descended from Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] and, while being quite convinced that their origin is unknown, he is compelled by his intellectual honesty to consult Ibn al-Kalbī's *Djamhara*, retains two possible genealogies, and finally inclines in favour of that which links them with the Banū Madhhidj [*q.v.*]: in fact, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe is sometimes called Rabīʿa, and the Maʿḳil of the Madhhidj in fact bears the personal name of Rabīʿa b. Kaʿb (= al-Aratt) b. Rabīʿa (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Tab. 258). Moreover, G. Kampffmeyer (in *MSOS* [1899], 176) considers that the use of Dhawī pleads in favour of the Yemeni origin of the Maʿḳil. For his part, Leo Africanus does not indulge in the same speculations as Ibn Khaldūn, but he also divides the Maʿḳil into three branches (i, 27, 30-2) called Mukhtār, ʿUthmān and Ḥassān (cf. *Berbères*, i, 119, where the two first names only designate subdivisions). In both authors, the large groups contain an important number of families whose territory is mentioned with relative precision; however, they are far too numerous, and the nomenclature is much too variable, to be able to contemplate enumerating them here with any degree of reliability. It is even impossible, within the restricted limits of the present article, to relate the history of the most notable clans, even supposing that it were known sufficiently. We will therefore confine ourselves to the facts which appear the most remarkable.

It is probably in the last years of the Almohad dynasty (515-668/1121-1269) [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN]

that the Maᶜkil settled in the pre-Saharan areas of Morocco, where they began to dominate the local populations without, however, playing a political role wide enough to be termed national. But on the accession of the Marīnids (668-823/1269-1420 [*q.v.*]), the situation was modified. Shortly after the unsuccessful siege (660/1261-2) of Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*] by a Marīnid prince, the inhabitants of the town, which had fallen into the hands of the Maᶜḳilī clan of the Munabbāt, appealed to the ᶜAbd al-Wādids (7th-10th/13-16th centuries [*q.v.*]) of Tlemcen (*Berbères*, ii, 278-9), which led the Marīnid Yaᶜḳūb b. ᶜAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (656-85/1258-86) to come to seize it in 672/1274 (*Berbères*, iv, 68-9) and to massacre the population. Various clans of the Maᶜḳil, such as the Shabbānāt and the Dhawī Ḥassān, also tried to oppose the interference of the new sultans in the territories of the south where they were solidly established (*Berbères*, ii, 132). Profiting from this troubled situation, a relative of the sultan Abū Yaᶜḳūb (685-706/1286-1307) passed over in 686/1287 to the Dhawī Ḥassān and "raised the standard of revolt"; the sovereign sent against the rebels, to the east of Darᶜa, his nephew Manṣūr b. Abī Mālik who slaughtered them in large numbers and seized their herds and womenfolk. Several months later, the sultan himself went to Darᶜa to punish some Maᶜkil who were practising brigandage (*Berbères*, iv, 123). Generally, eastern Morocco suffered from the opposition of these tribes to the Marīnid sovereigns, until the time when Abū ᶜInān (749-59/1349-58 [*q.v.*]) appointed to Darᶜa a governor who won their friendship and succeeded in imposing his authority, but he had to grant them *iḳṭā*ᶜs and entrust them with collecting taxes (*Berbères*, i, 117, 132); these privileges, from which some clans benefited, did not prevent several others from continuing to plunder the whole region; at the end of the 8th/14th century, the Maᶜḳil brought anarchy to Sous and seized revenues which should have been paid to the Marīnids (*Berbères*, i, 133).

It is probably towards the end of this dynasty that, not content with controlling the oases and Saharan borders, some Maᶜḳil proceeded as far as the Ḥawz of Marrakech, devastating on their way cultivated lands and forests (see J. Berque, *Antiquités Seksawa*, in *Hespéris* [1953], 379, 401-2). In the following century, the plain of Shīshāwa and the town of Amizmiz on the northern slopes of the High Atlas were suffering from the presence of "Arabs" who overtaxed the people (Leo, i, 98).

At almost the same period, i.e. in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, some Dhawī Ḥassān, who were accustomed to spending the winter in the area called al-Sāḳiya al-ḥamrāʾ [*q.v.*], spread into the western Sahara. It is not known under exactly what conditions this partial migration took place towards a region which today forms part of the Republic of Mauritania, but as the groups in question had received the title of *makhzan* tribes [see DJAYSH, iii], it could be considered a conquest on behalf of the sultans of Morocco (on this problem of territorial distribution, see MŪRĪTĀNIYA). In any case, the dialect of the Arabic speakers of the land, *Ḥassāniyya*, is related to those who are known as the clan of the Dhawī Ḥassān, without, from an ethnic point of view, necessarily being associated with the confederation of the Maᶜkil (see D. Cohen, *Le dialecte arabe* ḥassānīya *de Mauritanie*, Paris 1963).

The decadence of the Marīnids also encouraged other Maᶜḳil to speed up their movement northwards and to enter the Middle Atlas in search of summer pastures; they appeared in the region of Khunayḳ al-Ghirbān, on the direct route from Tafilalt to Fez, before spreading, at the beginning of the 11th/17th century, in the region of Sefrou, bringing in their wake migrations of Berber tribes (see G. S. Colin, *Origine arabe des grands mouvements de populations berbères dans le Moyen-Atlas*, in *Hespéris*, 1938/2-3, 265-8). And it is probably at the end of the 9th/15th century that the Zaër (Zaᶜīr), who are authentic Maᶜḳil (al-Ifrānī, *Nuzha*, Fr. tr. Houdas, 329), moved northwards across the mountainous massifs of the High and Middle Atlas. Leo Africanus (i, 249-50) mentions them near Khenifra, and they then descended the valleys of the Bou Regreg and its tributaries to come to settle to the south of Rabat, where they are still to be found (see V. Loubignac, *Textes arabes des Zaër*, PIHEM, xlvi, Paris 1953).

Leo Africanus also recalls (ii, 426-7) that in the same period the Maᶜḳil were the masters of Sidjilmāsa and that they controlled the traffic, levying a toll; but, even if they did not attack caravans, their presence made the traditional routes from the Maghrib to the Sudan impracticable, so that travellers had to make detours.

At the end of the 9th/15th century, they were powerful enough in the south-west of Morocco to participate in the agreements reached in 904/1499 between the Berbers and Castile (D. Jacques-Meunié, *Maroc Saharien*, i, 317), Subsequently, their attitude towards the Portuguese regarding the position of Santa Cruz of the Cap de Gué [see AGADIR-IGHIR] seems to have been conditioned by their relations with the Saᶜdids (961-1064/1544-1654 [*q.v.*]). In fact, in the period which witnessed the birth of the movement which was to result in the foundation of this dynasty, the Berbers of Sous, exhausted by the oppression that the Arabs had inflicted upon them, supported the action of these more or less genuine *sharīf*s whom they continued to uphold, whereas the clan of the Shabbānāt of the plain of Sous and the western High Atlas were, it seems, the only one to rally to the Saᶜdids, whose famous sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (986-1012/1578-1603 [*q.v.*]) married a wife from this family.

The Maᶜḳil who remained in the region of Guercif towards the end of the Saᶜdid dynasty gathered in 1051/1641-2 around the ᶜAlawid Mawlāy Muḥammad b. al-Sharīf (1050-75/1640-64), who seized Oujda and pressed his advantage as far as the south of Algeria, but his followers abandoned him in 1074/1664 and recognised his brother Mawlāy al-Rashīd (1075-82/1664-72 [*q.v.*]) whom they proclaimed in Oujda. These events were not able to limit the activity of other Maᶜḳil, who continued for their part to trouble public order. It was also in 1069/1659 that Karrūm al-Ḥādjdj occupied Marrakech and, ten years later, Mawlāy al-Rashīd found the Shabbānāt masters of the capital of the South (see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959-66, i, 460). The brother and successor of this latter sultan, Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl (1082-1139/1672-1727 [*q.v.*]) added to his army some Maᶜḳil from the oases to form the *gīsh* (*djaysh*) of Ūdāya, but he treated other members of the tribe harshly (see al-Zayyānī, *Turdjumān*, Fr. tr. Houdas, 35), the Aḥlāf (= ᶜAmārna and Munabbāt of the Dhawī Manṣūr from the region of Sidjilmāsa); after his death, these clans recovered their old power.

It would be difficult today to trace the descendants of the various groups of Maᶜḳil, more especially as the names which designated them changed frequently in the course of centuries. Furthermore, it is probable that some members of this confederation were distinguished in the religious or literary sphere, but

the adjective Maᶜkilī does not appear to be used, and it would be necessary to search in the lists—without any assurance of success—for those members of the tribe corresponding to the numerous families cited by Ibn Khaldūn. We will restrict ourselves to remarking that the Thaᶜālibīs of Algeria, who produced a renowned theologian (788-873/1386-1468 [*q.v.*]) and probably belonged to the Maᶜkil, occupy a prominent position till our own day. Ibn ᶜAskar (*Dawḥat al-nāshir*, ed. Hadjdjī, Rabat 1396/1976, 101) notes that the *faḳīh* and saint by the name of ᶜUmar al-Ḥusaynī who died in the years 940s/1530s, was *min ḳabīlat Ḥusayn min ᶜArab al-Maᶜḳil* (more precisely, from the Dhawī Manṣūr); such a note is however isolated. It is also not impossible that the Maᶜkil may be have taken part in the spread of the popular poetry known in Morocco by the name of *məlḥūn* [see MALḤŪN].

It is evident from the brief account that precedes that different groups of this tribe were scattered over a territory which, within the present Moroccan frontiers, forms a crescent going from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean, crossing the High and Middle Atlas and turning its convex side towards the desert. But the vast territory occupied by these Arabs is not continuous, to such an extent that, being intimately mixed with Berber populations, they scarcely have the feeling of belonging to a homogeneous ethnic group. This situation explains how the various clans would often rally to opposite camps, favouring moreover the weakest dynasty (cf. *Berbères*, i, 120-1). If some of them, still partially nomadic, rebelled spontaneously, those who were settled in Tafilalt and Sous provided a refuge rather for princes who were in more or less open rebellion and who found on the spot combatants ready to help them, at least provisionally. So the almost constant policy of the authorities established in the capital was to suppress energetically any sign of insubordination and to prevent these Arabs—although employed at times as auxiliaries—from moving northwards to settle in more fertile regions, which they nevertheless succeeded at times in doing, when the central power showed signs of weakness.

Bibliography: Among the Arabic sources, the richest is the *Kitāb al-ᶜIbar* of Ibn Khaldūn, of which only the French translation of de Slane is cited, entitled *Histoire des Berbères*, 2nd ed., Paris 1925-34, 1956). From Ibn ᶜIdhārī (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries), whose *Bayān* (vol. iii) published by A. Huici Miranda in Tetuan in 1963 had been used by the latter in the preparation of his *Historia politica del imperio almohade*, Tetuan 1956, the Arab historians of the Maghrib and especially of Morocco (notably al-Ifrānī/Ufrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, Fr. tr. O. Houdas, Paris 1888-9, Ibn Abī Zarᶜ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, Rabat 1972, and al-Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, Casablanca 1954-6) were led by force of circumstances to cite the Maᶜkil. The same applies to even the authors of general histories such as Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*², Paris 1952, H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1949-50, and A. Laroui, *Histoire du Maghreb*, Paris 1970.

Apart from Ibn Khaldūn, another important source is Leo Africanus, whose *Description de l'Afrique*, Fr. tr. Épaulard, Paris 1956, gives an idea of the situation at the beginning of the 16th century. Independently of the partial studies, of which some have been cited in the art., two works are of particular interest: those of G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIᵉ au XIVᵉ siècle*, Constantine-Paris 1913, 364-404, 548-81 and index (with a map of the distribution of tribes at the end of the work) and Mme D. Jacques-Meunié, *Le Maroc saharien des origines à 1670*, Paris 1982, index, *s.vv.* Arabes Maâqil and Maâqil (with an extensive bibliography); the other works of the latter author, notably *Cités anciennes de Mauritanie*, Paris 1961, also contain useful information. See also F. de La Chapelle, *Esquisse d'une histoire du Sahara occidental*, in *Hespéris* xi/1-2 (1930), 35-95, esp. 65-70. Finally, one should cite an unpublished thesis submitted in Paris in 1984 by M. Kably and entitled *Société, pouvoir et religion au Maroc, des Mérinides aux Waṭṭāsides (XIVᵉ-XVᵉ siècles)*, index. (CH. PELLAT)

AL-MAKĪN B. AL-ᶜ**AMĪD**, DJIRDJIS, (602-72/1205-73) Arabic-speaking Coptic historian whose *History*, covering the period from the creation of the world to the year 658/1260, was one of the very first mediaeval oriental chronicles to become known in Europe and consequently played a significant role in the early researches of modern Islamic scholars.

The encyclopaedists, who since the 18th century have provided a biography of al-Makīn which is still reproduced by Brockelmann (I, 348) and Graf (*GCAL*, i, 348), have omitted to indicate their sources; all that is known is that the history of the family of al-Makīn was related in his own appendix to a manuscript with which these scholars were evidently familiar. However, this account, an enlargement from his biography, is certainly the basis of the version supplied by the Christian Arab al-Suḳāᶜī, *Tālī kitāb Wafayāt al-aᶜyān* (ed. J. Sublet, no. 167) and subsequently reproduced by al-Ṣafadī and al-Maḳrīzī in the *Muḳaffā*. Al-Makīn was descended from a merchant of Takrīt who settled in Egypt under the caliphate of al-ᶜĀmir; the younger son of this merchant (if our biographers are not missing out a generation) held high offices in the *dīwān al-djaysh* from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, offices in which he was succeeded by his son al-Makīn, first in Egypt and later in Damascus. Implicated in the unrest which broke out in Syria at the time of the Mongol invasion and the beginning of the reign of Baybars, al-Makīn spent several years in prison; he ended his life in Damascus, but remained in close contact with Egyptian Coptic scholars, like al-ᶜAssāl, who possessed a manuscript of the history of al-Makīn (Graf, *loc. cit.*).

This history, *al-Madjmūᶜ al-mubārak*, generally known by the simple title of *History*, is a universal chronicle covering the period from the origins of the world to the accession of Baybars (658/1260). It is divided into two major sections: the first concerning pre-Islamic history as far as the eleventh year of Heraclius; the second, Islamic history to the year 658.

(i) *Pre-Islamic section.* It is today difficult, if not impossible, to determine the originality of the *History* of al-Makīn, for two reasons: on the one hand, the manuscripts have not been classified; on the other, the similar work of his contemporary Ibn al-Rāhib [*q.v.* in Suppl.], which al-Makīn frequently quotes, has not yet been edited. G. Wiet, who undertook an edition of the history, has given some indications as to the manuscript transmission of the earlier section, in J. Maspero, *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1923, 219-22, n. 2. He identified two distinct groups of manuscripts, one transmitting the original text of al-Makīn, the other, which he calls the vulgate, being an edition adapted according to the model of Eutychius/Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīk (it was a manuscript of this vulgate which was utilised by al-Maḳrīzī, e.g. B.N. ar. 4729).

In addition, al-Makīn makes frequent textual quotations from Ibn al-Rāhib. Before the researches of A. Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhibs Leben und Werk*, Freiburg-i.-Br. 1972, the latter's *Universal history* was known on-

ly in the form of an abbreviated edition which has misled more than one historian (L. Cheikho, *Petrus ibn Rahib chronicon orientale*, in *CSCO*, xlv, Louvain 1903). But there is now available a complete manuscript of the *K. al-Tawārīkh*, a work dating from 1257, and the forthcoming publication of this text will no doubt make it possible to assess how much of al-Makīn's work is to be considered original.

Whatever may prove to be the case, al-Makīn presents universal history in the form of biographies: to the year 586 B.C., it is naturally enough the biblical account which provides the format, the biographical series beginning with Adam; after the destruction of the Temple of Solomon he traces the ancient dynasties of Asia, then those of Alexander, the Romans, the Byzantines.

(ii) *Islamic section.* The second part of al-Makīn's history is quite unconnected with the first and appears to be an abridged version of al-Ṭabarī, supplemented with material from more recent sources dealing with the history of Syria and Egypt. But in fact it seems that al-Makīn was not directly responsible for this work; a comparison between his text and the *Taʾrīkh Ṣāliḥī* of Ibn Wāṣil (unedited) leads to the conclusion that al-Makīn virtually copied either this work, or a hitherto unidentified common source; the only doubt arises from the fact that the correspondence between the texts ceases with the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, although Ibn Wāṣil's history extends to the year 635/1238; for the early stages of this final period al-Makīn clearly lacks source-material.

Whatever the case may be, the abbreviated nature of the greater part of this history makes it less useful to us than to our predecessors. Only the last part, contemporary with the life of the author, is more detailed and of vastly superior originality and interest. By an unfortunate chance, Erpenius, who edited the work in the 17th century, stopped short at the year 525/1130, with the result that the final section has remained virtually unknown until the present day and its publication by Cl. Cahen (in *BEO*, xv [1955]; cf. *Arabica*, vi, 198-9, and *al-Makīn et Ibn Wāṣil*, in *Hispano-Arabica... Fr. Pareja*, i, Madrid 1974, 158-67).

A characteristic apparently common to all Arabic historiography, Christian or Muslim, is that authors of both persuasions write in almost the same manner and indulge in mutual plagiarism. As has been observed, al-Makīn follows a Muslim predecessor and is utilised in his turn by Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī. The only difference is that the Christian supplements the Hegirian chronology with a Christian chronology (in this case the Era of the Martyrs) and includes in his account episodes of ecclesiastical history (which were to be borrowed by al-Maḳrīzī). Certain copyists continue his list of patriarchs as far as the year 720/1320. It is not known whether al-Makīn utilised the history of the patriarchs compiled by Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ and his successors.

The final section of the work of al-Makīn, the part contemporary with his own life, is totally undeserving of the pejorative judgment of it expressed on the author by Renaudot (*Hist. Patriarch. Alex.*, Paris 1713, 10); it is intellectually comparable with the works of the major historians of the period, with a particularly sensitive interest in military administration, reflecting the professional career of the author. Most important of all, the principal historians of this time, even though they deal with Egypt, are of Syrian nationality; together with the Muslim Ibn Muyassar, whose treatment of the Ayyūbids is accessible to us only through al-Nuwayrī's version, al-Makīn is the only Egyptian historian of his generation. His work was continued by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍāʾil, who was of the same family but who makes no mention of him.

Also published, but erroneously, under the name of al-Makīn was a doctrinal study, *al-Ḥāwī*, ed. Taridus Basili, Cairo, Maison Copte (cf. *Abstracta Isl.*, 1966 no. 831).

Bibliography: Given in the article; supplementary details concerning the early section are given by M. Plessner in *EI*[1], *s.v.*

(CL. CAHEN and R. G. COQUIN)

MAKKA (in English normally "Mecca", in French "La Mecque"), the most sacred city of Islam, where the Prophet Muḥammad was born and lived for about 50 years, and where the Kaʿba [*q.v.*] is situated.

1. THE PRE-ISLAMIC AND EARLY ISLAMIC PERIODS

Geographical description.—Mecca is located in the Ḥidjāz about 72 km. inland from the Red Sea port of Jedda (Djudda [*q.v.*]), in lat. 21° 27′ N. and long. 39° 49′ E. It is now the capital of the province (*manāṭiḳ idāriyya*) of Makka in Suʿūdī Arabia, and has a normal population of between 200,000 and 300,000, which may be increased by one-and-a-half or two millions at the time of the Ḥadjdj or annual pilgrimage.

Mecca lies in a kind of corridor between two ranges of bare steep hills, with an area in the centre rather lower than the rest. The whole corridor is the *wādī* or the *baṭn Makka*, "the hollow of Mecca", and the lower part is al-Baṭḥāʾ, which was doubtless the original settlement and where the Kaʿba stands. Originally some of the houses were close to the Kaʿba, but apparently there was always a free space round it, and in the course of centuries this has been enlarged to constitute the present mosque. Into the Baṭḥāʾ converged a number of side-valleys, each known as a *shiʿb*, and often occupied by a single clan. The outer and higher area of settlement was known as the *ẓawāhir*. The situation of Mecca was advantageous for trade. Important routes led northwards to Syria (Gaza and Damascus); north-eastwards through a gap in the mountain chain of the Sarāt to ʿIrāḳ; southwards to the Yemen; and westwards to the Red Sea, where there were sailings from Shuʿayba (and later from Djudda) to Abyssinia and other places. Rainfall is scant and irregular. There may be none for four years. When it does come, it may be violent and a *sayl* or torrent may pour down each *shiʿb* towards the *Ḥaram* or sacred area round the Kaʿba. There are accounts of the flooding of the *Ḥaram* from time to time. The supply of water depended on wells, of which that at Zamzam beside the Kaʿba was the most famous. One of the leading men of Mecca was always charged with the *siḳāya*, that is, with the duty of seeing there was sufficient water for the pilgrims taking part in the *Ḥadjdj*. Needless to say, there was no agriculture in the neighbourhood of Mecca. The climate of Mecca was described by the geographer al-Muḳaddisī as "suffocating heat, deadly winds, clouds of flies". The summer was noted for *ramḍāʾ Makka*, "the burning of Mecca", and the wealthier families sent their children to be brought up in the desert for a time.

Pre-Islamic Mecca.—Mecca had been a sacred site from very ancient times. It was apparently known to Ptolemy as Macoraba. The Ḳurʾān has the name Makka in XLVIII, 24, and the alternative name Bakka in III, 96/90. It also (II, 125-7/119-21) speaks of the building of the Kaʿba by Abraham and Ishmael, but this is generally not accepted by occidental scholars, since it cannot be connected with what is otherwise known of Abraham. According to Arabian

legend, it was for long controlled by the tribe of Djurhum [q.v.], and then passed to Khuzāʿa [q.v.], though certain privileges remained in the hands of older families. After a time, presumably in the 5th century A.D., Khuzāʿa were replaced by Ḳuraysh [q.v.]. This came about through the activity of Ḳuṣayy [q.v.], a descendant of Ḳuraysh (or Fihr), who became powerful through bringing together hitherto disunited groups of the tribe of Ḳuraysh and gaining the help of allies from Kināna and Ḳuḍāʿa. It is probable that Ḳuṣayy was the first to make a permanent settlement here as distinct from temporary encampments. In later times a distinction was made between Ḳuraysh al-Biṭāḥ (those of the Baṭḥāʾ or centre) and Ḳuraysh al-Ẓawāhir (those of the outer area); and it is significant that all the descendants, not only of Ḳuṣayy but of his great-grandfather Kaʿb, are included in the former. These are the clans of ʿAbd al-Dār, ʿAbd Shams, Nawfal, Hāshim, al-Muṭṭalib, Asad (all descended from Ḳuṣayy), and Zuhra, Makhzūm, Taym, Sahm, Djumaḥ and ʿAdī. The most important clans of Ḳuraysh al-Ẓawāhir were Muḥārib, ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy and al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. There are no grounds, however, for thinking this distinction was equivalent to one between patricians and plebeians.

In the 6th century A.D. divisions appear within Ḳuraysh al-Biṭāḥ. ʿAbd al-Dār had succeeded to some of the privileges of his father Ḳuṣayy, but in course of time his family was challenged by the descendants of another son of Ḳuṣayy, ʿAbd Manāf, represented by the clan of ʿAbd Shams. ʿAbd Manāf had the support of Asad, Zuhra, Taym and al-Ḥārith b. Fihr; and this group was known as the Muṭayyabūn ("perfumed ones" [see LAʿAḲAT AL-DAM]). ʿAbd al-Dār's group, known as the Aḥlāf or Confederates, included Makhzūm, Sahm, Djumaḥ and ʿAdī. A compromise agreement was reached without actual fighting. About the year 605 (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaḳ*, 46) a league is mentioned called the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl [q.v.] which seems to be a continuation of the Muṭayyabūn. It comprised the same clans as the latter, except that of the four sons of ʿAbd Manāf only Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib were in the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, while Nawfal and ʿAbd Shams remained aloof. The ostensible reason for this league was to help a Yamanī merchant to recover a debt from a man of Sahm (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 123 f. = §§ 1451-3; cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 167; idem, *Munammaḳ*, 45-54; Ibn Hishām, 85-7; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1084 f.). This suggests that the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl was not a general league against injustice (as maintained by Caetani, *Annali*, i, 164-6) but was an association of commercially weaker clans attempting to curb unfair monopolistic practices by stronger and wealthier clans—the repudiation of debts would discourage non-Meccans from sending caravans to Mecca and increase the profits of the caravans of the great merchants of Mecca (sc. those not in the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl).

From many other pieces of evidence it is clear that by this time Mecca had become an important commercial centre. Because of the sanctuary at Mecca and the institutions of the sacred months, when blood feuds were in abeyance, there had doubtless been some commerce for many centuries. It would appear, however, that during the second half of the 6th century A.D. the trade of Mecca had increased enormously. It might be conjectured that the wars between the Byzantines and Persians had made the route through western Arabia more attractive than that from the Persian Gulf to Aleppo. Even if this is not so, the leading merchants of Mecca had gained control of a great volume of trade passing between Syria and the Mediterranean on the one hand and South Arabia and the Indian Ocean on the other. Despite the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, it would appear that most of the merchandise was carried in caravans organised by wealthy Meccans. The Ḳurʾān (XVI, 2) speaks of "the winter and summer caravans", and it is usually stated that the former went to the Yemen and the latter to Syria [see ĪLĀF]. Normally, a caravan carried goods belonging to many groups and individuals, who presumably gave a proportion of their profits to the organisers. The organisers had to enter into agreements with the political authorities in Syria and South Arabia, and possibly also with the ruler of al-Ḥīra and the Negus of Abyssinia, in order to be allowed to buy and sell; and they had to ensure the safety of the caravans by agreements with the nomadic chiefs through whose areas they passed.

It is possible that the expedition of the "men of the elephant" (Ḳurʾān, CV, 1) was occasioned by the growing prosperity of Mecca, and that Abraha [q.v.], the Abyssinian ruler of the Yemen, wanted to reduce its commerce by attacking the sanctuary which facilitated it.

The war of the Fidjār [q.v.] certainly marks a stage in the growth of Meccan commercial strength, since it appears to have resulted in the elimination of al-Ṭāʾif as a rival centre of trade and its incorporation into the Meccan system in a subordinate position. The term "system" is appropriate since Mecca was a financial centre, and not a mere focus of trade. By about 600 A.D., the leading men were skilled in the manipulation of credit and interested in possibilities of investment along the routes they travelled, such as the mines in the territory of the tribe of Sulaym. It may be noted that one or two women were merchants, trading on their own account and employing men as their agents; such were Khadīdja [q.v.], Asmāʾ bint Mukharriba, mother of Abū Djahl, and Hind, wife of Abū Sufyān. Among the goods carried were leather, ingots of gold and silver, gold dust (*tibr*), perfumes and spices, the two latter from South Arabia or India. From Syria they conveyed the products of Mediterranean industry, such as cotton, linen and silk fabrics, and also arms, cereals and oil. Some of these goods would be sold to nomadic tribesmen, others would be sold in markets at the further end of the trade route.

Henri Lammens spoke of Mecca as a "merchant republic", and this description fits up to a point, but the underlying political concepts were those of Arabia, not of Greece or Italy. Almost the only organ of government, apart from clan assemblies, was the *malaʾ* or "senate". This was in fact a meeting of the chiefs and leading men of various clans, but had no executive powers. Any punitive measures could be taken only by the chief of the offender's clan, since otherwise the *lex talionis* [see ḲIṢĀṢ] would be invoked. There was no president or doge, but sometimes a man's personal talents gave him a degree of primacy (as Abū Sufyān had for three years after the defeat at Badr in 624). The Ḳuraysh, however, were renowned for their *ḥilm* [q.v.] or "steadiness", and this in practice meant putting their commercial interests before all other considerations. Because of this, the *malaʾ* was often able to compose differences between its members and come to a common mind. Thus most of the leading men were agreed on a policy of neutrality in the struggle of the two giant empires of the day, the Byzantine Greek one and the Sāsānid Persian one. Both were trying to extend their spheres of influence in Arabia. When, in about 570 or 575, the Persians conquered the Yemen from the Abyssinians, it became all the more necessary for the Meccans to re-

main neutral. Some years after the war of the Fidjār, a man of the clan of Asad called ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith entered into negotiations with the Byzantines and told his fellow-Meccans that he could get favourable trade terms for them if they accepted him as their leader; though he was denounced by a men of his clan as aiming at kingship, the rejection of his proposition was doubtless also due to the need of avoid too close an association with the Byzantines.

In addition to the *malaʾ*, there were certain traditional offices or functions, usually attached to specific families. The *siḳāya* or superintendence of the water-supply, especially for pilgrims, has already been mentioned. The *rifāda* was the provisioning of pilgrims; the *liwāʾ* was the carrying of the standard in war; the *nasī* was the privilege of deciding when an intercalary month should be inserted to keep the lunar calendar in line with the solar year; and there were several others.

The culture and religion of the Meccans were essentially the same as those of their nomadic neighbours. They applied the *lex talionis* in much the same way, and had similar ideas about the relations of a chief or *sayyid* to the full members of his clan or tribe, namely, that he was only *primus inter pares.* They likewise gave a central place to the conception of honour [see ʿIRḌ], though in detail Meccan ideas of honour may have been modified by the ideas of wealth and power. Like most nomadic Arabs, the majority of Meccans were pagans, acknowledging many gods, but probably having little faith in these and being mainly materialistic in outlook. The Ḳurʾān, however, in a number of passages, describes pagans who, besides the minor deities, acknowledging Allāh as a "high god" or supreme god, and especially his function of creating. This form of belief is known to have been predominant among the Semitic peoples of a whole wide region (cf. J. Teixidor, *The pagan god*, Princeton 1977). In addition, besides Byzantine visitors or temporary residents, one or two Meccans seem to have become Christians, such as ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith, and others are said to have been attracted to monotheism [see ḤANĪF]. One or two, whose business contacts were with ʿIrāḳ, had some interest in Persian culture.

Mecca and the beginnings of Islam.— Although the Ḳurʾānic message had from the first a universal potential, it was originally addressed to Meccans. The attraction of the message for many Meccans was due to its relevance to the moral, social and spiritual malaise which had developed in Mecca as a result of the great increase in wealth. It is thus not accidental that Mecca still remains the focus of the religion of Islam. The career of Muḥammad and the early history of the religion which he proclaimed will be found in the article MUḤAMMAD. Here the relation of these events to the town of Mecca will be briefly noted.

Muḥammad was born in Mecca into the clan of Hāshim about 570 A.D. This clan may have been more important earlier, but was not now among the very wealthy clans, and played a prominent part in the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, which was directed against monopolistic practices. Because Muḥammad was a posthumous child and his grandfather died when he was about eight, he was excluded by Arabian custom from inheriting anything from either. Most of his near kinsmen were engaged in trade, and Muḥammad accompanied his uncle Abū Ṭālib on trading journeys to Syria. Then he was employed as a steward by the woman merchant Khadīdja and subsequently married her. This was about 595, and thereafter he seems to have continued to trade with her capital and in partnership with one of her relatives. It was no doubt his personal experience of these consequences of being an orphan which made Muḥammad specially aware of the problems facing Meccan society; and it was about 610, after he had long meditated on these matters, that the Ḳurʾānic revelation began to come to him.

The Ḳurʾān may be said to see the source of the troubles of Mecca as the materialism of many Meccans and their failure to believe in God and the Last Day. In particular, it attacked the great merchants for their undue reliance on wealth and their misuse of it by neglecting the traditional duties of the leading men to care for the poor and unfortunate. At the same time, the Ḳurʾān summoned all men to believe in God's power and goodness, including his position as final Judge, and to worship him. In the years up to 614 or 615 many people responded to this summons, including sons and younger brothers of the great merchants. By 614 some of these great merchants, especially younger ones like Abū Djahl, had come to feel their position threatened by Muḥammad, since his claim to receive messages from God and the number of people attracted by his preaching might eventually give him great political authority. A movement of opposition to the new religion then appeared. The great merchants applied pressures of various kinds to Muḥammad and his followers to get them to abandon their beliefs, or at least to compromise. Some of his followers, persecuted by their own families, went to Abyssinia for a time. Muḥammad himself was able to continue preaching so long as he had the protection of his clan. About 619, however, his uncle Abū Ṭālib died and was succeeded as head of the clan by another uncle, Abū Lahab, who was in partnership with some of the great merchants and found a pretext for denying clan protection to Muḥammad. In 622, therefore, Muḥammad accepted an invitation to go to Medina where a great many people were ready to accept him as a prophet. His move from Mecca to Medina was the *Hidjra* or emigration.

The greater part of the period between the *Hidjra* and Muḥammad's death was dominated by the struggle between Muḥammad's supporters and the great merchants of Mecca. After some fruitless Muslim razzias against Meccan caravans, the Meccans were provoked by the capture of a small caravan under their noses, as it were, at Nakhla early in 624. Because of this they sent a relatively large force to protect a very wealthy caravan returning from Syria in March 624; and this expedition ended disastrously for them in the battle of Badr, where they lost many of their leading men by death or capture, including the leader of the expedition, Abū Djahl. Meccan affairs were guided by Abū Sufyān for the next three years. His attempt in 625 to avenge the defeat of Badr led to his having the better of the fighting at Uḥud in the oasis of Medina, but he failed to disturb Muḥammad's position there. His next attempt in 627, with numerous allies, was a more ignominious failure through Muḥammad's adoption of the *khandaḳ* or trench and the break-up of the alliance. Abū Sufyān then seems to have worked for peace and reconciliation with the Muslims, while other men still hoped to retrieve the fortunes of Mecca, and, for example, forcibly prevented Muḥammad and 1,600 Muslims from making the pilgrimage in 628. Nevertheless, they made the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya [*q.v.*] with him as with an equal. A breach of the terms of this treaty by Meccan allies led to a great Muslim expedition against Mecca with some 10,000 men. The town was surrendered almost without a blow, and all the Mec-

cans, except a handful who were guilty of specific offences against Muḥammad or some Muslim, were assured their lives and property would be safe if they behaved honourably. For some time, Muḥammad had been aiming at reconciling the Meccans rather than crushing them by force. When, a week or two after the capture or *fatḥ*, it was learnt that there was a large concentration of nomads to the east of Mecca, some 2,000 Meccans took to the field with Muḥammad and helped him to gain the victory of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*]. Some of the pagan Meccans became Muslims almost at once, others only after a longer period.

A young Muslim of a Meccan family was left as governor of Mecca and it was made clear that Medina would remain the capital. The Kaᶜba had for many years been the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] or direction towards which all Muslims turned in prayer. At the *fatḥ* it was purged of idols and became a centre of Islamic worship, while the Black Stone was retained as an object to be reverenced. The annual *Ḥadjdj* [*q.v.*] was retained as an Islamic ceremony, and this also gave special importance to Mecca in Islamic eyes. Its commercial activity appears to have dwindled away, perhaps largely because many of the leading men moved to Medina and subsequently found their administrative abilities fully employed in organising an empire. After the capture of ᶜIrāḳ, the trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean seems to have resumed the old route by the Euphrates valley.

Mecca from 632 to 750.—Not much is heard about Mecca under the first four caliphs. ᶜUmar and ᶜUthmān were concerned with the danger of flooding and brought Christian engineers to build barrages in the high-lying quarters. They also constructed dykes and embankments to protect the area round the Kaᶜba. The first Umayyad caliph, Muᶜāwiya, the son of Abū Sufyān, though mostly living in Damascus, took an interest in his native town. He had new buildings erected, developed agriculture in the surrounding district, and improved the water-supply by digging wells and building storage dams. The work of flood prevention continued under the Umayyads. In an attempt to control the *sayl*, a new channel was dug for it and barriers were erected at different levels. Despite these improvements, the problem was not fully solved, since the Baṭḥāʾ was a basin with no outlet. In the course of operations, buildings on the bank of the *sayl* and adjoining the Kaᶜba were taken down, and the appearance of Mecca was thus considerably altered.

For a brief period after the death of Muᶜāwiya, Mecca had again some political importance as the seat of the rival caliph ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. The succession to Muᶜāwiya of his son Yazīd in 61/680 was disliked by many members of Ḳuraysh, and Ibn al-Zubayr took advantage of such feelings to build up a party of supporters in Mecca, and eventually had himself proclaimed caliph there. For a time he controlled most of Arabia and ᶜIrāḳ, but the Umayyad ᶜAbd al-Malik gradually consolidated his power, and in 73/692 his general al-Ḥadjdjādj defeated and killed Ibn al-Zubayr, thus ending his bid for power and restoring to Umayyad rule Mecca and the other regions acknowledging the Zubayrids. In 63/682, when Ibn al-Zubayr was deep in intrigue but had not yet openly claimed the caliphate, an Umayyad army was sent to Mecca, and during its presence there the Kaᶜba was partly destroyed by fire, probably through the carelessness of a supporter of Ibn al-Zubayr. Subsequently, the latter had the Kaᶜba rebuilt, including the Ḥidjr within it; but this change was reversed by al-Ḥadjdjādj. The caliph al-Walīd I is credited with the construction of galleries circling the vast courtyard round the Kaᶜba, thus giving the mosque (*al-masdjid al-ḥaram*) its distinctive form. In the period of the decline of the Umayyads, in 130/747 Mecca was briefly occupied by Abū Ḥamza, a Khāridjī rebel from the Yemen, but he was soon surprised and killed by an army sent by the caliph Marwān II. For most of the Umayyad period, Mecca had a sub-governor responsible to the governor of the Ḥidjāz who resided at Medina. It attracted wealthy people who did not want to be involved in politics and became a place of pleasure and ease with many poets and musicians. There were also some religious scholars, but fewer than at Medina.

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2. From the ᶜAbbāsid to the modern period

i. Mecca under the ᶜAbbāsids down to the foundation of the Sharīfate (132-350/750-961).

Although the political centre of gravity in Islam now lay in Baghdād, this period at first presents the same picture as under Umayyad rule. The *Ḥaramayn* are as a rule governed by ᶜAbbāsid princes or individuals closely connected with them (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 181 ff.). Sometimes Mecca and Ṭāʾif were under one ruler, who was at the same time leader of the *Ḥadjdj*, while Medina had a separate governor of its own.

Arabia had, however, from the 1st century A.H. contained a number of ᶜAlid groups, who, as was their wont, fished in troubled waters, lay in wait as brigands to plunder the *Ḥadjdj* caravans, and from time to time hoisted their flags when they were not restrained either by the superior strength or by the bribes of the caliphs. We find al-Manṣūr (136-56/754-74) already having trouble in Western Arabia. Towards the end of the reign of al-Mahdī (156-69/774-85) a Ḥasanid, Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī, led a raid on Medina, which he ravaged; at Fakhkh [*q.v.*] near Mecca, he was cut down with many of his followers by the ᶜAbbāsid leader of the *Ḥadjdj*. The place where he was buried is now called al-Shuhadāʾ. It is significant that he is regarded as the "martyr of Fakhkh" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 551 ff.; *Chron. Mekka*, i, 435, 501).

Hārūn al-Rashīd on his nine pilgrimages expended vast sums in Mecca. He was not the only ᶜAbbāsid to scatter wealth in the holy land. This had a bad effect on the character of the Meccans. There were hardly any descendants left of the old distinguished families, and the population grew accustomed to living at the expense of others and were ready to give vent to any

dissatisfaction in rioting. This attitude was all too frequently stimulated by political conditions.

In the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/817-33) it was again ʿAlids, Ḥusayn al-Afṭas and Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā, who extended their rule over Medina, Mecca and the Yemen (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 981 ff.; *Chron. Mecca*, ii, 238), ravaged Western Arabia and plundered the treasures of the Kaʿba. How strong ʿAlid influence already was at this time is evident from the fact that al-Maʾmūn appointed two ʿAlids as governors of Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1039; *Chron. Mecca*, ii, 191 ff.).

With the decline of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate after the death of al-Maʾmūn, a period of anarchy began in the holy land of Islam, which was frequently accompanied by scarcity or famine. It became the regular custom for a number of rulers to be represented at the *Ḥadjdj* in the plain of ʿArafāt and to have their flags unfurled; the holy city was rarely spared fighting on these occasions. The safety of the pilgrim caravans was considerably affected; it was very often ʿAlids who distinguished themselves in plundering the pilgrims.

The ʿAlid cause received an important reinforcement at this time by the foundation of a Ḥasanid dynasty in Ṭabaristān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1523-33, 1583 ff., 1682-5, 1693 ff., 1840, 1880, 1884 ff, 1940). In Mecca the repercussion of this event was felt in the appearance of two Ḥasanids (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 343; ii, 10, 195, 239 ff.), Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf and his brother Muḥammad, who also ravaged Medina and Djudda in the way that had now become usual (251/865-6).

The appearance of the Ḳarmaṭians [see ḲARMAṬĪ] brought still further misery to the country in the last fifty years before the foundation of the sharīfate (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2124-30). Hard pressed themselves at the heart of the empire, the caliphs were hardly able even to think of giving active support to the holy land, and, besides, their representatives had not the necessary forces at their disposal. From 304/916 onwards the Ḳarmatians barred the way of the pilgrim caravans. In 318/930, 1,500 Ḳarmaṭian warriors raided Mecca, massacred the inhabitants by the thousand and carried off the Black Stone to Baḥrayn. It was only when they realised that such deeds were bringing them no nearer their goal—the destruction of official Islām—that their zeal began to relax and in 339/950 they even brought the Stone back again. Mecca was relieved of serious danger from the Ḳarmaṭians. The following years bear witness to the increasing influence of the ʿAlids in western Arabia in connection with the advance of Fāṭimid rule to the east and with Būyid rule in Baghdād. From this time, the Meccan ʿAlids are called by the title of Sharīf, which they have retained ever since.

ii. From the foundation of the Sharīfate to Ḳatāda (*ca.* 350-598/960-1200).

a. The Mūsāwīs. The sources do not agree as to the year in which Djaʿfar took Mecca; 966, 967, 968 and the period between 951 and 961 are mentioned (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 205 ff.). ʿAlids had already ruled before him in the holy land. It is with him, however, that the reign in Mecca begins of the Ḥasanids, who are known collectively as Sharīfs, while in Medina this title is given to the reigning Ḥusaynids.

The rise and continuance of the Sharīfate indicates the relative independence of Western Arabia in face of the rest of the Islamic world from a political and religious point of view. Since the foundation of the Sharīfate, Mecca takes the precedence possessed by Medina hitherto.

How strongly the Meccan Sharīfate endeavoured to assert its independence, is evident in this period from two facts. In 365/976 Mecca refused homage to the Fāṭimid caliph. Soon afterwards, the caliph began to besiege the town and cut off all imports from Egypt. The Meccans were soon forced to give in, for the Ḥidjāz was dependent on Egypt for its food supplies (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, viii, 491; *Chron. Mekka*, ii, 246).

The second sign of the Sharīfs' feeling of independence is Abu 'l-Futūḥ's (384-432/994-1039) setting himself up as caliph in 402/1011 (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 207; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 233, 317). He was probably induced to do this by al-Ḥākim's heretical innovations in Egypt. The latter, however, was soon able to reduce the new caliph's sphere of influence so much that he had hurriedly to return to Mecca where in the meanwhile one of his relatives had usurped the power. He was forced to make terms with al-Ḥākim in order to be able to expel his relative.

With his son Shukr (432-53/1039-61) the dynasty of the Mūsāwīs, i.e. the descendants of Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, came to an end. He died without leaving male heirs, which caused a struggle within the family of the Ḥasanids with the usual evil results for Mecca. When the family of the Banū Shayba (the Shaybīs) went so far as to confiscate for their private use all precious metals in the house of Allāh, the ruler of Yemen, al-Ṣulayḥī (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 208, 210 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 422; x, 19, 38 [see ṢULAYḤIDS], intervened and restored order and security in the town. This intervention by an outsider appeared more intolerable to the Ḥasanids than fighting among themselves. They therefore proposed to al-Ṣulayḥī that he should instal one of their number as ruler and leave the town.

He therefore appointed Abū Hāshim Muḥammad (455-87/1063-94) as Grand Sharīf. With him begins the dynasty of the:

b. Hawāshim (455-598/1063-1200), which takes its name from Abū Hāshim Muḥammad, a brother of the first Sharīf Djaʿfar; the two brothers were descendants in the fourth generation from Mūsā II, the ancestor of the Mūsāwīs.

During the early years of his reign, Abū Hāshim had to wage a continual struggle with the Sulaymānī branch, who thought themselves humiliated by his appointment. These Sulaymānīs were descended from Sulaymān, a brother of the above-mentioned Mūsā II.

The reign of Abū Hāshim is further noteworthy for the shameless way in which he offered the suzerainty, i.e. the mention in the *khuṭba* as well as the change of official rite which is indicated by the wording of the *adhān*, to the highest bidder i.e. the Fāṭimid caliph or the Saldjūḳ sultan (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 253; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 67). It was very unwelcome to the Meccans that imports from Egypt stopped as soon as the official mention of the Fāṭimid in the *khuṭba* gave way to that of the caliph. The change was repeated several times with the result that the Saldjūk, tired of this comedy, sent several bodies of Turkomans to Mecca.

The ill-feeling between sultan and Sharīf also inflicted great misery on pilgrims coming from ʿIrāḳ. As the leadership of the pilgrim caravans from this country had gradually been transferred from the ʿAlids to Turkish officials and soldiers, Abū Hāshim did not hesitate occasionally to fall upon the pilgrims and plunder them (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 254; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 153).

The reign of his successors is also marked by covetousness and plundering. The Spanish pilgrim Ibn Djubayr, who visited Mecca in 578/1183 and 580/1185, gives hair-raising examples of this. Even

then, however, the Hawāshim were no longer absolutely their own masters, as over ten years before, the Ayyūbid dynasty had not only succeeded to the Fāṭimids in Egypt but was trying to get the whole of nearer Asia into their power.

The Ayyūbid ruler Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin)'s brother, who passed through Mecca on his way to South Arabia, abandoned his intention of abolishing the Sharīfs, but the place of honour on the Ḥadjdj belonged to the Ayyūbids and their names were mentioned in the *khuṭba* after those of the ᶜAbbāsid caliph and the Sharīf (Ibn Djubayr, 75, 95). The same Ayyūbid in 582/1186 also did away with the Shīᶜī (here Zaydī, for the Sharīfs had hitherto been Zaydīs) form of the *adhān* (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 214), had coins struck in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's name and put the fear of the law into the hearts of the Sharīf's bodyguard, who had not shrunk from crimes of robbery and murder, by severely punishing their misdeeds. A further result of Ayyūbid suzerainty was that the Shāfiᶜī rite became the predominant one.

But even the mighty Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn could only make improvements in Mecca. He could abolish or check the worst abuses, but the general state of affairs remained as before.

iii. The rule of Ḳatāda and his descendants down to the Wahhābī period (*ca.* 596-1202/1200-1788).

Meanwhile, a revolution was being prepared which was destined to have more far-reaching consequences than any of its predecessors. Ḳatāda, a descendant of the same Mūsā (see above) from whom the Mūsāwīs and the Hawāshim were descended, had gradually extended his estates as well as his influence from Yanbuᶜ to Mecca and had gathered a considerable following in the town. According to some sources, his son Ḥanẓala made all preparations for the decisive blow on the holy city; according to others, Ḳatāda seized the town on 27 Radjab when the whole population was away performing a lesser *ᶜumra* in memory of the completion of the building of the Kaᶜba by ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, which was celebrated on this day along with the festival of Muḥammad's ascension to heaven. However it came about, Ḳatāda's seizure of the town meant the coming of an able and strong-willed ruler, the ancestor of all later Sharīfs. He steadfastly followed his one ambition to make his territory an independent principality. Everything was in his favour; that he did not achieve his aim was a result of the fact that the Ḥidjāz was once again at the intersection of many rival lines of political interest.

Ḳatāda began by ruining his chances with the great powers; he ill-treated the son of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil (540-615/1145-1218 [see AL-ᶜĀDIL]) in brutal fashion (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 263). He roused the ire of the caliph by his attitude to pilgrims from ᶜIrāḳ. He was able, however, to appease the latter and the embassy he sent to Baghdād returned with gifts from the caliph. The caliph also invited him to visit Baghdād. According to some historians, however, the Sharīf turned home again before he actually reached Baghdād. On this occasion, he is said to have expressed his policy of the "splendid isolation" of the Ḥidjāz in verse, as he did in his will in prose (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Qatâdah's policy of splendid isolation*, cited in *Bibl.*).

On the other hand, Ḳatāda is said to have vigorously supported an *Imām* of Ḥasanid descent in founding a kingdom in the Yemen. After the reconquest of this region by a grandson of al-ᶜĀdil, the Ayyūbids of Egypt, Syria, and South Arabia were mentioned in the *khuṭba* in Mecca along with the caliph and Sharīf.

Ḳatāda's life ended in a massacre which his son Ḥasan carried out in his family to rid himself of possible rivals (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 215, 263 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 262 ff.). The Ayyūbid prince Masᶜūd, however, soon put a limit to his ambition and had Mecca governed by his generals. On his death, however, power again passed into the hands of the Sharīfs, whose territory was allowed a certain degree of independence by the rulers of the Yemen as a bulwark against Egypt.

About the middle of the 7th/13th century, the world of Islam assumes a new aspect as the result of the advent of persons and happenings of great importance. In 656/1258 the taking of Baghdād by the Mongol Khān Hülegü put an end to the caliphate. The pilgrim caravan from ᶜIrāḳ was no longer of any political significance. In Egypt, power passed from the Ayyūbids to the Mamlūks; Sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] (658-76/1260-77) was soon the most powerful ruler in the lands of Islam. He was able to leave the government of Mecca in the hands of the Sharīf, because the latter, Abū Numayy, was an energetic individual who ruled with firmness during the second half of the 7th/13th century (652-700/1254-1301). His long reign firmly established the power of the descendants of Ḳatāda.

Nevertheless, the first half century after his death was almost entirely filled with fighting between different claimants to the throne. ᶜAdjlān's reign also (747-76/1346-75) was filled with political unrest, so much so that the Mamlūk Sultan is said on one occasion to have sworn to exterminate all the Sharīfs. ᶜAdjlān introduced a political innovation by appointing his son and future successor Aḥmad co-regent in 762/1361, by which step he hoped to avoid a fraticidal struggle before or after his death.

A second measure of ᶜĀdjlān's also deserves mention, namely the harsh treatment of the *muʾadhdhin* and *imām* of the Zaydīs; this shows that the reigning Sharīfs had gone over to the predominant rite of al-Shāfiᶜī and forsaken the Zaydī creed of their forefathers.

Among the sons and successors of ᶜAdjlān, special mention may be made of Ḥasan (798-829/1396-1426) because he endeavoured to extend his sway over the whole of the Ḥidjāz and to guard his own financial interests carefully, at the same time being able to avoid giving his Egyptian suzerain cause to interfere.

But from 828/1425 onwards, he and his successors had to submit to a regular system of control as regards the allotment of the customs.

From the time of Ḥasan, in addition to the bodyguard of personal servants and freedmen, we find a regular army of mercenaries mentioned which was passed from one ruler to another. But the mode of life of the Sharīfs, unlike that of other Oriental rulers, remained simple and in harmony with their Arabian surroundings. As a vassal of the Egyptian sultan, the Sharīf received from him every year his *tawḳīᶜ* [*q.v.*] and a robe of honour. On the ceremonies associated with the accession of the Sharīfs, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 97-8.

Of the three sons of Ḥasan who disputed the position in their father's lifetime, Barakāt (I) was chosen by the sultan as co-regent; twenty years later, he succeeded his father and was able with slight interruptions to hold sway till his death in 859/1455. He had to submit to the sultan, sending a permanent garrison of 50 Turkish horsemen under an *amīr* to Mecca. This *amīr* may be regarded as the precursor of the later governors, who sometimes attained positions of considerable influence under Turkish suzerainty.

Mecca enjoyed a period of prosperity under

Barakāt's son Muhammad (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 341 ff.; iii, 230 ff.), whose reign (859-902/1455-97) coincided with that of Ḳā'itbay [*q.v.*] in Egypt. The latter has left a fine memorial in the many buildings he erected in Mecca.

Under Muḥammad's son Barakāt II (902-31/1497-1525), who displayed great ability and bravery in the usual struggle with his relatives, without getting the support he desired from Egypt (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 342 ff.; iii, 244 ff.), the political situation in Islam was fundamentally altered by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm's conquest of Egypt in 923/1517.

Although henceforth Constantinople had the importance for Mecca that Baghdād once had, there was little real understanding between Turks and Arabs, Mecca at first experienced a period of peace under the Sharīfs Muḥammad Abū Numayy 931-73/1525-66) and Ḥasan (973-1009/1566-1601). Under Ottoman protection, the territory of the Sharīfs was extended as far as Khaybar in the north, to Ḥalī in the south and in the east into Nadjd. Dependence on Egypt still existed at the same time; when the government in Constantinople was a strong one, it was less perceptible, and vice-versa. This dependence was not only political but had also a material and religious side. The Ḥidjāz was dependent for its food supply on corn from Egypt. The foundations of a religious and educational nature now found powerful patrons in the Sultans of Turkey.

A darker side of the Ottoman suzerainty was its intervention in the administration of justice. Since the Sharīfs had adopted the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* was the chief judge; this office had also remained for centuries in one family. Now the highest bidder for the office was sent every year from Istanbul to Mecca; the Meccans of course had to pay the price with interest.

With Ḥasan's death, a new period of confusion and civil war began for Mecca. In the language of the historians, this circumstance makes itself apparent in the increasing use of the term *Dhawī*... for different groups of the descendants of Abū Numayy who dispute the supremacy, often having their own territory, sometimes asserting a certain degree of independence from the Grand Sharīf, while preserving a system of reciprocal protection which saved the whole family from disaster (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 112 ff.).

The struggle for supremacy, interspersed with disputes with the officials of the suzerain, centred in the 11th/17th century mainly around the ʿAbādila, the Dhawī Zayd and the Dhawī Barakāt.

Zayd (1040-76/1631-66) was an energetic individual who would not tolerate everything the Turkish officials did. But he was unable to oppose successfully a measure which deserves mention on account of its general importance. The ill-feeling between the Sunnī Turks and the Shīʿī Persians had been extended to Mecca as a result of an order by Sultan Murād IV to expel all Persians from the holy city and not to permit them to make the pilgrimage in future. Neither the Sharīfs nor the upper classes in Mecca had any reason to be pleased with this measure; it only served the mob as a pretext to plunder well-to-do Persians. As soon as the Turkish governor had ordered them to go, the Sharīfs however gave permission as before to the Shīʿīs to take part in the pilgrimage and to remain in the town. The Sharīfs likewise favoured the Zaydīs, who had also been frequently forbidden Mecca by the Turks.

The further history of Mecca down to the coming of the Wahhābīs is a rather monotonous struggle of the Sharīfian families among themselves (Dhawī Zayd, Dhawī Barakāt, Dhawī Masʿūd) and with the Ottoman officials in the town itself or in Djudda.

iv. The Sharīfate from the Wahhābī period to its end. The Kingdom.

Although the Wahhābīs [*q.v.*] had already made their influence perceptible under his predecessors, it was Ghālib (1788-1813) who was the first to see the movement sweeping towards his territory like a flood; but he left no stone unturned to avert the danger. He sent his armies north, east and south; his brothers and brothers-in-law all took the field; the leaders of the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrim caravans were appealed to at every pilgrimage for help, but without success. During the period of the French occupation of Egypt (1798-1801), he made a rapprochement with the French there, hoping to ensure the continuance of the corn imports from Egypt upon which the Ḥidjāz relied and to reduce Turkish influence there (see M. Abir, *Relations between the government of India and the Sharif of Mecca during the French invasion of Egypt, 1798-1801*, in *JRAS* [1965], 33-42). In 1799 Ghālib made a treaty with the *amīr* of Darʿiyya, by which the boundaries of their territories were laid down, with the stipulation that the Wahhābīs should be allowed access to the holy territory. Misunderstandings proved inevitable, however, and in 1803 the army of the *amīr* Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz approached the holy city. After Ghālib had withdrawn to Djudda, in April Suʿūd entered Mecca, the inhabitants of which had announced their conversion. All *ḳubba*s were destroyed, all tobacco pipes and musical instruments burned, and the *adhān* purged of praises of the Prophet.

In July, Ghālib returned to Mecca but gradually he became shut in there by enemies as with a wall. In August, the actual siege began and with it a period of famine and plague. In February of the following year, Ghālib had to submit to acknowledging Wahhābī suzerainty while retaining his own position.

The Sublime Porte had during all these happenings displayed no sign of life. It was only after the Wahhābīs had in 1807 sent back the pilgrim caravans from Syria and Egypt with their *maḥmal*s [*q.v.*], that Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] was given instructions to deal with the Ḥidjāz as soon as he was finished with Egypt. It was not till 1813 that he took Mecca and there met Ghālib who made cautious advances to him. Ghālib, however, soon fell into the trap set for him by Muḥammad ʿAlī and his son Tusun. He was exiled to Salonika, where he lived till his death in 1816.

In the meanwhile, Muḥammad ʿAlī had installed Ghālib's nephew Yaḥyā b. Sarūr (1813-27) as Sharīf. Thus ended the first period of Wahhābī rule over Mecca, and the Ḥidjāz once more became dependent on Egypt. In Mecca, Muḥammad ʿAlī was honourably remembered because he restored the pious foundations which had fallen into ruins, revived the consignments of corn, and allotted stipends to those who had distinguished themselves in sacred lore or in other ways.

In 1827, Muḥammad ʿAlī had again to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Sharīfs. When Yaḥyā had made his position untenable by the vengeance he took on one of his relatives, the viceroy deposed the Dhawī Zayd and installed one of the ʿAbādila, Muḥammad, usually called Muḥammad b. ʿAwn (1827-51). He had first of all to go through the traditional struggle with his relatives. Trouble between him and Muḥammad ʿAlī's deputy resulted in both being removed to Cairo in 1836.

Here the Sharīf remained till 1840 when by the treaty between Muḥammad ʿAlī and the Porte the Ḥidjāz was again placed directly under the Porte. Muḥammad b. ʿAwn returned to his home and rank. Ottoman suzerainty was now incorporated in the person of the *wālī* of Djudda. Friction was inevitable between him and Muḥammad b. ʿAwn; the latter's friendship with Muḥammad ʿAlī now proved of use to him. He earned the gratitude of the Turks for his expeditions against the Wahhābī chief Fayṣal in al-Riyāḍ and against the ʿAṣīr tribes. His raids on the territory of Yemen also prepared the way for Ottoman rule over it.

In the meanwhile, the head of the Dhawī Zayd, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (1851-56), had made good use of his friendship with the grand vizier and brought about the deposition of the ʿAbādila in favour of the Dhawī Zayd. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, however, did not succeed in keeping on good terms with one of the two pashas with whom he had successively to deal. In 1855 it was decided in Istanbul to cancel his appointment and to recall Muḥammad b. ʿAwn. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib at first refused to recognise the genuineness of the order; and he was supported by the Turkophobe feeling just provoked by the prohibition of slavery. Finally, however, he had to give way to Muḥammad b. ʿAwn, who in 1856 entered upon the Sharīfate for the second time; this reign lasted barely two years. Between his death in March 1858 and the arrival of his successor ʿAbd Allāh in October of the same year, there took place the murder of the Christians in Djidda (15 June) and the atonement for it (cf. DJUDDA, and Snouck Hurgronje, *Een rector der mekkaansche universiteit*, in *Bijdragen t. d. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië*, 5e volgr., deel ii, 381 ff., 399 ff.).

The rule of ʿAbd Allāh (1858-77), who was much liked by his subjects, was marked by peace at home and events of far-reaching importance abroad. The opening of the Suez Canal (1869) meant on the one hand the liberation of the Ḥidjāz from Egypt, on the other, however, more direct connection with Istanbul. The installation of telegraphic connections between the Ḥidjāz and the rest of the world had a similar importance. The reconquest of Yemen by the Turks was calculated to strengthen the impression that Arabia was now Turkish territory for ever.

The brief reign of his popular elder brother Ḥusayn (1877-80) ended with the assassination of the Sharīf by an Afghān. The fact that the aged ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (see above) was sent by the Dhawī Zayd from Istanbul as his successor (1880-82) gave rise to an obvious suspicion.

Although the plebs saw something of a saint in this old man, his rule was soon felt to be so oppressive that the notables petitioned for his deposition (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 204 ff.). As a result in 1881, the energetic ʿOthmān Nūrī Pasha was sent with troops to the Ḥidjāz as commander of the garrison with the task of preparing for the restoration of the ʿAbādila. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was outwitted and taken prisoner; he was kept under guard is one of his own houses in Mecca till his death in 1886.

ʿOthmān Pasha, who was appointed *wālī* in July 1882, hoped to see his friend ʿAbd Ilāh, one of the ʿAbādila, installed as Grand Sharīf alongside of him. ʿAwn al-Rafīḳ (1882-1905) was, however, appointed (portrait in Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*). As the *wālī* was an individual of great energy, who had ever done much for the public good and ʿAwn, although very retiring, was by no means insignificant, but was indeed somewhat tyrannical, trouble between them was inevitable, especially as they had the same powers on many points, e.g. the administration of justice and supervision of the safety of the pilgrim routes. After a good deal of friction, ʿOthmān was dismissed in 1886. His successor was Djemāl Pasha, who only held office for a short period and was succeeded by Ṣafwat Pasha. Only Aḥmad Rātib could keep his place alongside of ʿAwn, and that by shutting his eyes to many things and being satisfied with certain material advantages. After ʿAwn's death, ʿAbd Ilāh was chosen as his successor. He died, however, before he could start on the journey from Istanbul to Mecca. ʿAwn's actual successor was therefore his nephew ʿAlī (1905-8). In 1908 he and Aḥmad Rātib both lost their positions with the Turkish Revolution.

With Ḥusayn (1908-1916-1924 [see ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ]), also a nephew of ʿAwn's, the last Sharīf came to power as the nominee of the young Turks in Istanbul. But for the Great War, his Sharīfate would probably have run the usual course. The fact that Turkey was now completely involved in the war induced him to declare himself independent in 1916. He endeavoured to extend his power as far as possible, first as liberator (*munḳidh*) of the Arabs, then (22 June 1916) as king of the Ḥidjāz or king of Arabia and finally as caliph. Very soon however, it became apparent that the ruler of Nadjd, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd, like his Wahhābī forefathers, was destined to have a powerful say in the affairs of Arabia. In September 1924 his troops took al-Ṭāʾif, and in October, Mecca. King Ḥusayn fled first to ʿAḳaba and from there in May 1925 to Cyprus. His son ʿAlī retired to Djudda. Ibn Suʿūd besieged this town and Medina for a year, avoiding bloodshed and complications with European powers. Both towns surrendered in December 1925.

We owe descriptions of social life in Mecca during the last decades of the pre-modern period to two Europeans, the Briton Sir Richard Burton, who as the dervish-physician Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh visited Mecca in 1853 at the time of the pilgrimage, and the Dutchman Snouck Hurgronje, who lived in Mecca for some months during 1884-5 with the express aim of acquiring a knowledge of the daily life of the Meccans, but also with a special interest, as a Dutchman, in the Djāwa or Indonesians who went as pilgrims to Mecca and who often stayed there as *mudjāwirūn*.

The institution of the pilgrimage and the ceremonies connected with the various holy sites in or near the city dominated Meccan life, many of its citizens having specific roles concerning the religious rites and being organised in special gilds, such as the *zamzamiyyūn* who distributed water from the well of Zamzam in the courtyard of the Kaʿba; the Bedouin *mukharridjūn* or camel brokers, who arranged transport between Djudda, Mecca, al-Ṭāʾif and Medina; and above all, the *muṭawwifūn* or guides for the intending pilgrims and their conductors through the various rites (*manāsik*) of the *Ḥadjdj* [*q.v.*]. These *muṭawwifūn* had their connections with particular ethnic groups or geographical regions of the Islamic world (there were, in Snouck Hurgronje's time, 180 guides plus hangers-on who were concerned with the Djāwa pilgrims alone), and their agents (*wukalāʾ*) in Djudda would take charge of the pilgrims as soon as they disembarked. Such groups as these, together with the townspeople in general who would let out their houses or rooms, were geared to the exploitation of the pilgrims, and it was only in the rest of the year that tradesmen, scholars, lawyers, etc., could really pursue their other vocations.

At this time also, the slave trade was still of considerable importance. There were a few white Circas-

sians (Čerkes [*q.v.*]), but much more important for hard manual labour like building and quarrying were the black negro slaves (*sūdān*), and, for domestic service, the somewhat lighter-skinned so-called Abyssinians (*ḥubūsh*). Despite the prohibitions of slave-trading imposed in their own colonial territories and on the high seas, Snouck Hurgronje further observed some slaves from British India and the Dutch East Indies, and the Mecca slave market was a flourishing one.

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(A. J. Wensinck - [C. E. Bosworth])

3. The Modern City

Politics and administration. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, was declared king of al-Ḥidjāz on 5 Rabīʿ I 1346/4 October 1924 following the abdication of his father the previous day, but the odds against his stabilising a collapsing situation were insurmountable. Wahhābī forces under Khālid b. Luʾayy and Sulṭān b. Bidjād had already occupied al-Ṭāʾif, where excesses had taken place, and a significant number of Makkans, in fear for their lives, had fled to al-Madīna and Djudda. Since, unlike other Ḥidjazī cities, Makka had no walls, and since King ʿAlī's "army" probably did not exceed 400 men, the monarch ordered his troops out of the capital on 14 Rabīʿ I 13 October 1924 to take up new positions in Baḥra about half-way between Makka and Djudda. The next morning, the city was looted, not by the Ikhwān (Wahhābīs) but by local Bedouin who found it unguarded. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd, the sultan of Nadjd and its Dependencies, was in al-Riyāḍ and had ordered Khālid b. Luʾayy and Ibn Bidjād not to enter Makka by force before his own arrival, for fear of further savagery in Islam's holiest city. However, when Khālid and Ibn Bidjād found that the enemy had fled, they decided to move. On 17 Rabīʿ I/16 October, by which time the Bedouin had left, Ibn Bidjād ordered four Ikhwān from Ghaṭghaṭ to enter the shuttered city without weapons and wearing *iḥrām* clothing. As they traversed the deserted streets, they read a proclamation annexing the city and guaranteeing the safety of its inhabitants. Slowly the citizenry began to re-emerge. On the following day, Khālid and Sulṭān led their forces, all *muḥrimūn*, into the holy city to the *Ḥaram*, where the *ʿumra* was performed. There was some sporadic destruction of water pipes, tobacco supplies, Sharīfian property and domed tombs, and the Ikhwān delivered sermons. Among the revered antiquities destroyed was the reputed birthplace of the Prophet and two houses revered as those of Khadīdja and of Abū Bakr. But on the whole, good order was kept. As a Suʿūdī official observed, the Ikhwān entered Makka saying "Lā ilāha illā Allāh" and "Allāhu Akbar", not fighting and killing. Khālid b. Luʾayy was "elected" *amīr* and promptly installed himself in the Sharīfian reception room to receive the submission of the civil and religious notables.

The *amīr* of Makka served unaided for a month-and-a-half, and had to confront both domestic and international problems almost at once. On 6 Rabīʿ II 1343/4 November 1924, the consuls resident in Djudda (British, Dutch, French, Iranian and Italian), who no doubt anticipated an immediate Suʿūdī advance on Djudda, sent Ibn Luʾayy a letter addressed to Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz holding the Nadjdīs responsible for the safety of the subjects and citizens of their several countries but also indicating their neutrality in the ongoing conflict with the reduced Sharīfian kingdom. Ibn Luʾayy forwarded it on to the sultan. Ibn Luʾayy also received a rather treasonable communication of 7 Rabīʿ II/5 November from the Ḥidjāz National Party in Djudda. This group, which was nominally led by Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Sarrādj, the *muftī* of Makka, who reputedly had been the only official of al-Ḥusayn's government who had been willing to stand up to him in debate, had been transformed into King ʿAlī's cabinet. Following Baker's account, we learn that they nevertheless, secretly, wrote to Ibn Luʾayy seeking some accommodation. Ibn Luʾayy responded on 20 Rabīʿ II/18 November curtly, "We, the Muslims, have no aim but to subject ourselves to God's orders and to love those who carry out those orders even if he be an Abyssinian negro, to fight the *kuffār* ... or the *mushrikīn* ... As God said (LVIII, 22) in his Holy Book... 'Thou wilt not find those who believe in God and the last day loving those who resist God and His Prophet even though they be their fathers, sons, brothers or kin' ... if you look at our own situation and consider our actions you will see that this is our way of defending Islam." He enclosed a copy of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's pro-

clamation to the people of Djudda and Makka suggesting an international conference on the future of al-Hidjāz and meanwhile assuring security for all. The Hidjāz committee responded to the effect that, since al-Husayn had gone and since King ᶜAlī and the Party accepted the same kind of Islam that Sultan ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz believed in, there was no reason to continue fighting. They asked to send delegates to Makka so that a truce could be signed pending the decision of the international conference. Khālid gave them no encouragement; he wrote on 22 Rabīᶜ II/20 November, "God has already purified the Holy *Haram* by ridding it of Husayn... We shall oppose all those who continue to support ᶜAlī." Muhammad al-Tawīl, who was the real power in the Hidjāz National Party, nevertheless, requested permission to send a delegation; Khālid agreed, and the delegation went to Makka the next day. Any lingering doubt as to Wahhābī intentions was removed by the ultimatum which Khālid gave his visitors. They could arrest ᶜAlī, get him out of the country, or join the Wahhābīs in seizing Djudda.

Sultan ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz had left al-Riyād with an army of 5,000 sedentaries on 13 Rabīᶜ II 1343/11 November 1924 for Makka and arrived there in remarkably fast time on 8 Jumādā I/5 December. Upon his departure from al-Riyād he had issued a proclamation (text in Wahba, *Djazīra*, 253) on his purposes in going to Makka. He also sent an advance party of three close advisors, Dr. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Damlūdjī (from al-Mawsil), Shaykh ᶜAbd Allāh Āl Sulaymān (from ᶜUnayza in al-Kasīm, Nadjd), and Shaykh Hāfiz Wahba (of Egyptian origin) to study out the situation in Makka and to assist in reassuring the population. Shaykh Hāfiz reports (*Khamsūn*, 63 ff.) that he delivered a number of speeches to ulema, merchants and government employees in various meetings. He stressed that ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz would reform corruption, end the isolation of al-Hidjāz from the mainstream of the Muslim world and put the administration of the country, and especially of the Haramayn, on a sound basis. These speeches probably helped; in any case, just before ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz's arrival, Shaykh Hāfiz received a letter from the director of the Egyptian *takiyya*, Ahmad Sābir, congratulating him on one of them.

Sultan ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz himself reached al-Tāʾif on 6 Djumāda I/3 December, changed into *ihrām*, entered the city and then, by the Bāb al-Salām, entered the sacred mosque. No member of his house had prayed there since 1227-8/1812. Ibn Suᶜūd eschewed the Sharīfian palaces and instead set up his camp outside the city in al-Shuhadā', where for two weeks he received all and sundry. Universal report is that his humility, his unpretentiousness, his sincere apologies for what had happened at al-Tāʾif and his rejection of sycophancy (to those who tried to kiss his hand he said that his custom was only to shake hands) combined to win local hearts. The proclamation that he had issued on 12 Djumādā I 1343/9 December when he entered the city had already made a favourable impression (text in Wahba, *Djazīra*, 254-5). Article 4 was as follows: "Every member of the ulema in these regions and each employee of al-Haram al-Sharīf or *mutawwif* with a clear title shall be entitled to his previous entitlement. We will neither add to it nor subtract anything from it, with the exception of a man against whom people bring proof of unsuitability for a post, for unlike the past situation, such practices will be forbidden. To whomever has a firm previous claim on the *bayt al-māl* of the Muslims, we will give his right and take nothing from him."

Having established some rapport with the citizens of Makka, Sultan ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz now took command of his forward troops located at al-Raghāma about 4 km. east of Bahra. The governance of the city rested still with Ibn Luʾayy, but ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz now turned the civil administration of the city over to ᶜAbd Allāh al-Damlūdjī and to Hāfiz Wahba on a kind of rotating basis. He then decided he would rather have al-Damlūdjī close at hand and left the administration of Makka divided so that Khālid b. Luʾayy handled Ikhwān and military affairs and Shaykh Hāfiz civil matters. Soon thereafter the administration was further elaborated. The municipality was turned over to a Makkan, Shaykh Ahmad al-Subahī, and an embryonic consultative council was established under the chairmanship of Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Kādir al-Shaybī, the keeper of the key of the Kaᶜba. This simple council was the kernel of the later *Madjlis al-Shūrā*. This administrative set-up continued until the capture of Djudda a year later.

The dual amīrate was not harmonious. Shaykh Hāfiz reports perpetual conflicts between himself and Khālid. It was, he says, a conflict between Bedouin and sedentary mentalities. "He wanted to confiscate all the houses and seize their contents because their owners had fled. Since they had only fled out of fright, I tried and in many cases succeeded in preserving them; in other cases I failed." Smoking was a perpetual source of trouble. Ibn Luʾayy wanted to use force on offenders; Hāfiz, kindness. One of the ironies was that although smoking had been banned, cigarettes were taxed.

There were other problems. King ᶜAlī, attempts at reconciliation having failed, stopped all supplies going from Djudda to Makka. Since 300-400 camel loads a day were needed, the situation became very strained. ᶜAbd al-Kādir al-Shaybī wrote to King ᶜAlī as follows: "How far do your deeds differ from the statement of God. What is the reason for stopping our food? We are not responsible for the Nejdi Army entering Mecca; you are, for the following reasons (i) you did not settle differences with the Sultan of Nejd, (ii) when the Nejd army entered Taif we asked you to evacuate our families and belongings, but you refused. You promised to protect us but you ran away. When you came to Mecca we asked you and your father to protect us... and again you ran away... we would like to ask your Highness if the neighbours of the House of God are animals. We beg your Highness to leave us and Jeddah." (quotation from Baker, 214-15). ᶜAlī sent one of his dilapidated aircraft to drop a leaflet in reply saying that he had left in order to prevent a repetition of the *émeutes* in al-Tāʾif. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz's response to him was more concrete. He sent the Ikhwān to capture Rābigh and al-Līth thus (a) giving them something to do; (b) breaking the blockade; and (c) cutting the communications between Djudda and al-Madīna.

In fact, the situation in Makka improved while that in Djudda slowly deteriorated. Not only did Makkans begin to return home, but native Djuddāwīs themselves began to arrive in Makka. The superior administration in Makka was a noticeable factor. In April an interesting visitor arrived, Comrade Karīm Khān Hakīmoff, the Soviet consul in Djudda. He had been granted permission by King ᶜAlī to mediate and arrived with his Iranian colleague. They were of course received by ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz. Reportedly, Hakīmoff characterised the hostilities as resulting from imperialist plots, but he did get permission for Fuʾād al-Khatīb, King ᶜAlī's foreign minister, to come and negotiate. On 2 May, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz met with al-Khatīb at a coffee shop midway between the

warring lines. The sultan never wavered: the former King al-Ḥusayn now in al-ʿAḳaba was still really running affairs; even if he were not, King ʿAlī was indistinguishable from him; both had to go.

The sieges of al-Madīna and Djudda dragged on, but the approaching *Ḥadjdj* season of 1344/June-July 1925 began to occupy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's attention. Despite the difficulty that the siege of Djudda imposed, he was anxious for the *Ḥadjdj* to go well. He announced that Rābigh, al-Līth and al-Ḳunfudha were official pilgrim ports and sent out a general invitation (*nidāʾ ʿāmm*) to all Muslims (text in Wahba, *Khamsūn*, 67) which incidentally indicated that charitable contributions and economic development projects would be welcome.

This was the year that Eldon Rutter, an English Muslim, made the pilgrimage and left a first-hand account thereof. Of course, the number who came was very small. His *muṭawwif* claimed normally to have had some 1,000 plus clients, but this year he had only Eldon Rutter. The Englishman estimated that the total number who came was approximately 70,000, of whom he thought some 25-30,000 were Nadjdīs. They camped apart, and Rutter notes that they took no notice of the tobacco that was on sale everywhere. "It is the smoking ... which is unlawful, not the selling of it!" At ʿArafāt, while returning toward his tent from a visit to Masdjid Namira (also known as Masdjid Ibrāhīm and Masdjid ʿArafa), Rutter and his companions "passed the burly figure of Ibn Saʿûd, dressed in a couple of towels and bestriding a beautiful Nejd horse which looked rather like a little animated rocking horse under his long form. He was attended by four mounted guards carrying rifles." Another of Rutter's vivid descriptions is that of the break-up of the pilgrim throng at ʿArafāt: "Far out on the northern side of the plain rode the scattered hosts of the Nejd Ikhwân—dim masses of hosting camelry, obscurely seen in the falling dusk. Here and there in the midst of the spreading multitude, a green standard, born aloft, suddenly flashed out from the dust-cloud, only to disappear the next moment behind the obscuring screen, which rose in spreading billows from beneath the feet of the thousands of trotting deluls." There were also Wahhābīs riding as police against the returning crowd on the look-out for thieving, which was much less that year because potential thieves knew that the Wahhābīs would apply Islamic law literally and promptly. The Nadjdī flag was flying over the hospital at Munā, where ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had pitched his tent on the "cope-stoned earthen platform where the tents of the Sharîf of Mekka were formerly pitched at this season." All guests, including Rutter, were received by the sultan, and he rose to greet each and every one. By this time, the sultan had apparently settled for more comfortable quarters when in the city. Rutter mentions passing his residence in al-Abṭaḥ (al-Muʿābada), a spacious well-built mansion which belonged to ʿUmar al-Saḳḳāf and over which the green flag flew. Rutter met with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz a number of times, learned that he personally approved the editorials in the new official journal, *Umm al-Ḳurā*, and on one occasion heard the king say that his three concerns were Allāh, "my beloved" Muḥammad and the Arab nation.

In short, despite occasional harassment of foreign pilgrims by the Ikhwān, the pilgrimage was a brilliant success for the new régime. The numbers who came were obviously small but the organisation was excellent. Glowing reports filtered back to home countries, and the bogey man image of the Wahhābī leader began to recede.

Meanwhile, the sieges were dragging down to their end. Rutter describes one aerial attack in which the Sharīfian bombs were dropped on the hills bordering al-Muʿābada. He opines that they were probably aimed at the house in al-Abṭaḥ. The result was not impressive; the straw hut of a Takrūnī (African) was destroyed, and an old woman was slightly wounded in the leg. Autumn brought visitors. Philby on a personal mission was received by the sultan at al-Shumaysī on the edge of the sacred territory. Sir Gilbert Clayton, who was negotiating with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz at his camp in Baḥra, noted in his diary for 22 Rabīʿ I/21 October the arrival of an Iranian delegation. Led by Mīrzā ʿAlī Akbar Khān Bahmān, the Iranian minister in Egypt, and Mīrzā Ḥabīb Khān Huwayda, the consul-general of Iran in Palestine, its function was to investigate alleged Wahhābī desecration and destruction of shrines in Makka and al-Madīna. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz received them most cordially and sent them on to Makka by car. The sultan said he welcomed the investigation because the charges were false. Incidentally, Clayton indicated in his diary (19 October 1925) his belief that Ibn Suʿūd could have captured Djudda whenever he wanted, but that he was going slowly because, *inter alia*, he wanted "to gauge more fully the effect which his attack on the Holy Places and his capture of Mecca has had on the Moslem world in general and especially in India and Egypt." In any case, by the middle of November 1925, large numbers of Wahhābīs began to arrive in groups ranging from half-a-dozen to several hundred. The wadi from Djabal al-Nūr to the city was crowded with them and many were sent on to the front. Clearly, the sultan was preparing to storm Djudda, but it turned out not to be necessary. Al-Madīna surrendered on 19 Djumādā I 1344/5 December 1925, followed two weeks later by Djudda. On 20 Djumāda II 1344/5 January 1926, certain notables in Djudda formally approached the sultan of Nadjd to ask him if he would also become king of al-Ḥidjāz, hoping by this device to maintain the integrity of al-Ḥidjāz. When they had left. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz convened the ulema and other notables. They approved. On 22 Djumādā II/7 January in Makka, Ibn Suʿūd released a formal statement of his intentions pointing out that there had been almost no response to his appeal for a conference to discuss the problem of al-Ḥidjāz. "So, as I find that the Islamic World is not concerned about this important matter, I have granted them [the people of the Ḥidjāz] the freedom to decide what they will.' The wishes of the "people" manifested themselves the same evening in the form of a petition confirming their support for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: "We acknowledge you, Sultan Abdulaziz, as king of Hejaz in accordance with the Holy Book and the *Sunna* of the Prophet and that Hejaz will be for the Hejazeen ... Mecca will be the capital and we shall be under your protection" (Baker, 230). Rutter was present in the Great Mosque for the *mubāyaʿa*: "Upon a Friday [23 Djumādā II/8 January] after the midday prayer, I mounted the crumbling stone steps of the school el Madrassat el Fakhrîya, which stands beside the Bâb Ibrâhîm, in order to visit an acquaintance who was employed as a schoolmaster there. As we sat sipping tea beside a window looking into the Haram, we were surprised to observe a sudden rush of people toward Bâb es-Safâ. They were evidently attracted by something which was happening near that gate.

Rising, we descended the steps and passed into the Haram. Making our way toward Bâb es-Safâ, we came upon a great press of Mekkans and Bedouins. In the midst of them was one of the Haram preachers

[probably ᶜAbd al-Malik Murād] perched upon a little wooden platform or pulpit, apparently addressing the multitude. Elbowing our way into the crowd, we were able to see Ibn Saᶜûd sitting in a prepared place near the gate. The preacher was addressing to the Sultân a speech of adulation. Presently, he made an end, and then several of the Ashrâf, the Shaybi, and other prominent Mekkans in turn, took the Sultan's hand and acknowledged him King of the Hijâz. Ibn Saᶜûd received these advances with his usual cordial smile, and upon the conclusion of the ceremony he rose, and accompanied by his armed guards, made his way slowly through the crowd towards the Kaaba and proceeded to perform the towâf. Having completed this, and prayed two prostrations in the Makâm Ibrâhîm, he left the Mosque and went to the Hamîdîya where he held a general reception... Suddenly one of the old guns in the Fort of Jiyâd [Adjyād], boomed and was immediately followed by another on Jebel Hindi. The troops of the garrison were saluting the new king. A hundred and one times the peace of the city was broken." Rutter reports some hostile reactions to the elevation of al-Suᶜūdī, as some Makkans dubbed their king, but contrasts most favourably the honest treatment received by pilgrims under the new dispensation.

The hostilities over, the new king of the Ḥidjāz remained in his new capital, Makka, and addressed himself to these major issues: the *Ḥadjdj* of 1344/1926, the Islamic conference which he had previously announced and which was scheduled in conjunction with it, and the administration of the kingdom. The *Ḥadjdj* that summer attracted 191,000, approximately an eight-fold increase over the previous year, but the Holy City was also the scene of the rather serious *maḥmal* [*q.v.*] affair. The Egyptian *maḥmal* arrived in the usual way with the *kiswa* [*q.v.*], with the retinue of civilians and soldiers including their flags and bugles, and with contributions of cash and kind much of which represented *waḳf* [*q.v.*] income dedicated to the *Ḥaram* from Egypt. The Egyptian *amīr al-Ḥadjdj* was Maḥmūd ᶜAẓmī Pasha. The whole procedure was almost programmed for trouble, given the cultural differences of the groups involved and especially the religious sensitivities of the Ikhwān. As Lacey (202) observed: "The glorious shoulder-borne litter smacked to them of idolatry [and] its retinue of armed guards piqued their pride...". In the event, the Kaᶜba was dressed in its new Egyptian *kiswa* without incident, and the ceremonies were proceeding normally, but on the eve of 9 Dhū 'l-Ḥidjdja (some report the day of 10 Dhū 'l-Ḥidjdja) the situation exploded. One report is that the spark was some music (= probably bugling) played by the Egyptian soldiers. Other reports indicate that the Nadjdī Bedouin simply saw the *maḥmal* and began to shout out that it was an idol. Whatever the precise trigger event was, in the crowded mass of pilgrims between Munā and ᶜArafāt some Ikhwān tried to interfere with the Egyptians and began to throw stones at them. The Egyptians responded with gunfire reportedly at the order of Maḥmūd ᶜAẓmī. In all, some 25 men and women pilgrims were killed and 100 wounded; 40 camels were also killed; but the carnage could easily have been much worse. Just as the Ikhwān were preparing a massive assault on the Egyptians, King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz rode up and at considerable personal risk managed to separate the two groups and to cool the hot blood. Once order was restored, the king ordered his son Fayṣal to guard the Egyptians with a detachment of Suᶜūdī troops until the end of the ceremonies. When the *Ḥadjdj* had ended, he ordered Mushārī b. Suᶜūd b. Djalwī to escort the Egyptians to Djudda with a detachment of Suᶜūdī troops, and as a cable (text in Wahba, *Khamsūn*, 257) of 16 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1344/from ᶜAbd Allāh Āl Sulaymān in Makka to Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, then serving as the king's envoy in Cairo, makes clear, the departure of the Egyptians from Makka was scarcely willing, but the king was going to have them out, willing or not. As Lacey had summarised it (*loc. cit.*), "the Mahmal never trooped again in glory through the streets of Mecca", but the incident further soured Egypto-Suᶜūdī relations to the degree that diplomatic relations were not established between the two countries as long as King Fuʾād reigned in Cairo.

Since the fall of the city to his arms, King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz had repeatedly proclaimed his intention to convene an Islamic conference in Makka to which delegates from all Muslim countries and communities would be invited. The stated idea was to discuss the governance of Islam's holiest sites and ceremonies, but the basic motivation was to put to rest the fears of Muslims beyond Arabia over the capability of a Suᶜūdī-Nadjdjī-Wahhābī régime to care for the Ḥaramayn responsibly. In the event, the conference probably attained its goal, but the results were passive not active. Egypt had declined to attend, and the *maḥmal* incident was most distracting. The delegates who did attend debated with great freedom a wide variety of religious subjects but to no very particular point. On the underlying political issue, it was crystal-clear that ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz was going to run the country and there was no indication of any incapacity on his part. That issue was settled without being raised.

The series of *ad hoc* administrative arrangements made by the king during and after the conquest now gave way to more permanent arrangements. It should be remembered that until the unification of the "dual kingdom" (on 25 Radjab 1345/29 January 1927 ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz had been proclaimed king of Nadjd and its Dependencies) as the Kingdom of Suᶜūdī Arabia in 1932, and even beyond that time, al-Ḥidjāz and especially its capital Makka received most of the government's attention. It is not always easy to separate what applied: (a) to Makka as a city, (b) to al-Ḥidjāz as a separate entity including Makka, and (c) to both the Kingdom of al-Ḥidjaz and the Kingdom of Nadjd, equally including Makka. The evolution of advisory or quasi-legislative councils was as follows. Immediately after the Suᶜūdī occupation of Makka (7 Djumādā I 1343/19 December 1924), ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz convened a partly elected, partly appointed body of notables called *al-Madjlis al-Ahlī* (the national council). It was elected and then it was re-elected on 11 Muḥarram 1344/1 August 1925. Representation was on the basis of town quarters, and included prominent merchants and ulema, but in addition, the king appointed a number equal to the elected members and also appointed the presiding officer; indeed, no elected member could take his seat without ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz's approval. After the second election, this group came to be known as *Madjlis al-Shūrā* (consultative council). After the Islamic conference ended, this arrangement was significantly changed. A national (Ḥidjāzī) council—a kind of constituent assembly—with 30 Makkan members was convened to study an organic statute (*al-Taᶜlīmāt al-Asāsiyya li 'l-Mamlaka 'l-Ḥidjāziyya*). Known as *al-Djamᶜiyya al-ᶜUmūmiyya* (the general assembly), it accepted on 21 Ṣafar 1345/31 August 1926 Ibn Suᶜūd's draft of the organic statute which specified that Makka was the capital of the kingdom, that administration of the kingdom was "in the hand of King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz,"

and that a *nā'ib ᶜāmm* (deputy general, viceroy) would be appointed on behalf of the king. Fayṣal b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, the king's second living son, was appointed *nā'ib ᶜāmm*. Under his chairmanship and in accordance with the statute, a new *Madjlis al-Shūrā* of 13 members (five from Makka), this time all appointed, was convened. Various administrative and budgetary matters were routinely discussed by it. (For the rapid evolution of the *Madjlis al-Shūrā*, see Nallino, 33-5, 235-6 and M.T. Ṣādiḳ, 21-47.) The *Madjlis al-Shūrā*, no matter how limited its real powers were, did play a major role as a sounding board in al-Ḥidjāz for various government policies. It has never been dissolved and even under the very much changed situation caused by oil price increases in 1973, it apparently still meets ceremonially from time to time.

One should also note that the *Madjlis al-Shūrā*, meeting in Makka on 16 Muḥarram 1352/11 May 1933, recognised the king's oldest living son, Suᶜūd b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, as heir designate (*walī al-ᶜahd*). The prince himself was not present, and Fayṣal b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz received the *bayᶜa* on his behalf. The decree was read aloud in the *Ḥaram* and the ministers, notables and ordinary people filed by to present their congratulations. The organic statute also established arrangements for local government and national departments; all of the latter were in Makka. Nor did this situation change radically with the proclamation of the unified Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1351/1932. As late as 1952, the Minister of Health and Interior (H.R.H. Prince ᶜAbd Allāh b. Fayṣal b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz) and the ministry officials were in Makka as was the Ministry of Finance under ᶜAbd Allāh Āl Sulaymān Āl Ḥamdān and the Directorates General of Education, P.T.T., Public Security, *awḳāf*, and other central government agencies. It may be noted here that Fayṣal was named Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1349/1930, but also that his father continued to make all important decisions in all matters as long as he was vigorous.

Initial branches (originally called *aḳsām*, sing. *ḳism*) of the new government, each under a director (*mudīr*) were: *sharīᶜa* affairs, internal affairs, foreign affairs, financial affairs, public education affairs and military affairs. Courts, *waḳfs* and mosques, including the Makkan *Ḥaram*, were under the *sharīᶜa* branch; municipal matters were under internal affairs. It should also be noted that a *Ḥadjdj* committee composed of the heads of all departments concerned with pilgrimage matters plus members nominated by the king was formed under the chairmanship of the viceroy. Finally, one may note that the titles of departments, their heads and the loci of responsibility all evolved over time. For example, in 1350/1932 a Council of Agents (*Madjlis al-Wukalā'*) was announced, and for the first time the germ of the idea of ministerial responsibility was introduced.

Makka was one of only five cities in the Ḥidjāz that had had a municipality in Ottoman and Hāshimite times. The municipality was re-established by the Suᶜūdī regime in 1345/1926 with its own organisational structure. Three years later, its powers and responsibilities were increased and its name was changed to *Amānat al-ᶜĀṣima*. According to Hamza, the underlying idea of the king was to turn purely local matters over to local people. Further organisational adjustments were made in 1357/1938. The budget was in reality under the control of the king and his deputy general, but formaly it was under the purview of the *Madjlis-al-Shūrā*. Once the budget was approved, the municipality apparently enjoyed a certain independence in administering it. It was able to levy local fees (*rusūm*). Figures are very incomplete, but in 1345/1926-7 the municipal budget totaled SR 158,800 and in 1369/1949-50 SR 4,034,000. Municipality responsibilities included city administration, cleaning, lighting, supervision of establishments, roads, installation of awnings, condemnation and destruction of properties, land registration, price regulation (for necessities), cleanliness of food preparers, slaughter houses, weights and measures, supervision of elections of guilds of industries and trades and of their activities, supervision of burial procedures, kindness to animals and fines. No other municipality in the land had such broad responsibilities.

The one area where Nadjdīs played an important role in the Makkan scene after the conquest was in organised religion. As early as Djumādā II 1343/January 1925, conferences between the Wahhābī ulema of Nadjd and the local ulema of Makka were going forward with minimal difficulty. Shortly after the conquest, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz had transferred ᶜAbd Allāh b. Bulayhid (1284-1359/1867 to 1940-1) from the *ḳaḍā'* of Ḥā'il to that of Makka, where he remained for about two years. He was succeeded by ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb. Philby, writing around 1369-70/1950, referred to him as the "archbishop of Mecca" and Aramco, *Royal Family*... still reported him to be chief *ḳāḍī* in Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 1371/July 1952. Yet care was taken not to alienate the local ulema. For example, when the Ḥidjāzī *Hay'at al-Amr bi'l Maᶜrūf wa'l-Nahy ᶜan al-Munkar* was established in 1345/1926, ᶜAbd Allāh al-Shaybī was made chairman of the committee. The function of the *Hay'a* was in general to supervise morals, encourage prayer, control muezzins and *imāms* of mosques, and report infractions of the *sharīᶜa* (details in Nallino, 100-2.) In general, the influence of the ulema was high and they were deferred to. The king could not dispose of *sharīᶜa* questions on his own and regularly referred them to either a *ḳāḍī* or to the full "bench" of the Makkan or Riyāḍī ulema. The king's direct influence over this largely autonomous group was through the power of appointment, but he was of course influential indirectly.

Makka was one of only three cities in al-Ḥidjāz that had had police at the time of the Suᶜūdī takeover; however, since King ᶜAlī had taken them all to Djudda as part of his military forces, none were immediately available. According to Rutter, a squad of powerful black slaves belonging to ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz kept order. Makka was also the seat of police administration. A police academy was started in 1353/1933-4 and, at that time at least, the police supervised the orphanage and an old persons' home which had 44 residents. In 1953-5, a new government building was constructed in Djarwal as the main headquarters for the police, and in 1385/1965-6 a police emergency squad was established which responded to the emergency telephone number of 99. In the first decades after the conquest, police were almost all recruited from ᶜAsīr [*q.v.*] and Nadjd. By the mid-1930s, they wore European-style uniforms and numbered 33 officers and 896 other ranks. As long as it was necessary, the police force also included a special squad called *Ḳalam Taftīsh al-Raḳīḳ* (section for the inspection of slaves). Executions were usually carried out on Fridays after the noon prayer between the Ḥamīdiyya (government house) and the southern corner of the *Ḥaram*. Philby (*Jubilee*, 118-20) details a triple execution in 1931 over which Fayṣal presided from a window in the *madjlis* of al-Ḥamīdiyya, where a group of notables had also gathered. There was a large crowd of commoners in

the street. When the beheadings were over, the police tied the corpses "each with its head by its side" to the railings of the building until sundown.

There were three levels of judicial jurisdiction established by the court regulations (*niẓām tashkīlāt al-maḥākim al-sharʿiyya*) issued in Ṣafar 1346/August 1927, at least up until the post-World War II period. The lowest was the summary court (*maḥkamat al-umūr al-mustaʿdjila*) presided over by a single *ḳāḍī* with jurisdiction over petty civil cases and criminal cases not involving execution or loss of limb. The higher court (*maḥkamat al-sharīʿa al-kubrā*) had a *ḳāḍī* as president plus two of his colleagues. In cases involving loss of limb or execution, the sentence had to be pronounced by the full court. The appeals court sat only in Makka and was presided over by a president and four other ulema. It functioned as a court of appeals (criminal cases) and of cassation (civil cases). Appeals have to be filed within 20 days and if the court refuses to take the case, the verdict of the lower court stands. The president, who was Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh, also administers the whole system and supervises all courts and *ḳāḍīs*. There has also been, since 1350-1/1932, an inspector of courts. Notaries (sing. *kātib al-ʿadl*) were instituted in 1347/1928-9, and Hamza reports that in Makka at the time he was writing the incumbent was ʿUrābī Sidjīnī.

A few other administrative notes are in order. Immediately after the conquest, the government overprinted "Sultanate of Nadjd and al-Ḥidjāz" on the Hāshimite stamps, but Suʿūdī ones were soon in use and the Suʿūdī government joined the International Postal Union of Berne in 1345-6/1927. In 1357-8/1939 Makka's post office was one of only four (the others being at Djudda, al-Madīna and Yanbuʿ) in the country that could handle all operations specified by the international conventions including the telegraph. There was a daily service to Djudda and al-Ṭāʾif and a twice-weekly service to al-Madīna. In 1384/1964-5, Makka's post office, which was handling in that year's *ḥadjdj* 350,000 letters daily, became a postal centre independent of Djudda. Rent control was imposed at the time of the conquest and was still in force as late as 1374/1955-6. There was a customs office in the city which, like its counterpart in al-Madīna, was presumably a branch of the main office in Djudda. *Waḳf* administration in Makka reported directly to the viceroy. Early directors of the Directorate of *Awḳāf* were Muhammad Saʿīd Abu 'l-Khayr (1343/1924-8) and Madjid al-Kurdī (1347-50/1928-31). By a royal decree of 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1354/21 March 1936 the Makkan Directorate of *Awḳāf* was changed into a directorate general to which the other *awḳāf* directorates of al-Ḥidjāz would report. Sayyid ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Nāʾib al-Ḥaram was appointed director general.

As far as fire fighting is concerned, Rutter (228) describes a reasonably effective volunteer system in use before modern systems were adopted. He comments that in case of fire "the neighbours regard it as a point of honour to render all the assistance in their power, and official notice of the occurrence is taken by the police, some of whom also turn out and help." The first student mission sent abroad to train in fire fighting and life-saving methods was some time before 1367/1947-8.

One may at this point reasonably inquire as to general Makkan acceptance of Suʿūdī hegemony in the pre-oil period. Leaving aside Ikhwān discontent at the régime's alleged softness toward religious laxity in Makka and discounting near-by tribal unhappiness ("taxing" pilgrims was no longer possible), there was general acceptance of the régime and great pleasure at the total security and basic fairness. There was also some unhappiness which doubtless increased with the very straitened circumstances concomitant with the general world-wide depression. In 1345-6/1927 Ḥusayn Ṭāhir al-Dabbāgh, whose father had been Minister of Finance both under King al-Ḥusayn and under King ʿAlī and who himself headed a business house, established in Makka an anti-Suʿūdī "Ḥidjāz liberation organisation" called *Andjumānī Ḥizb al-Aḥrār*. Its basic platform opposed any monarch in al-Ḥidjāz. Ḥusayn was exiled in 1346-7/1928, but he probably left behind a clandestine cell of his party which also maintained an open operation in Egypt. We get another glimpse of anti-Suʿūdī feeling in Makka in 1354-5/1936 from the report of a Muslim Indian employee of the British legation in Djudda named Iḥsān Allāh. According to him, dissatisfaction was widespread; older conservative merchants and ulema wished for an Egyptian takeover with British support, whereas middle-aged merchants and government officials simply viewed the government as backward, a "set of old fools"; younger businessmen, army officers, and pilots longed for an Atatürk [*q.v.*] or a Mussolini. Iḥsān notes, however, that there was no action and that the preferred way to seek relief was by working for Ḥidjāzī interests through the *Madjlis al-Shūrā*. Intelligence reports are notoriously unreliable, but it would have been surprising had there not been some level of discontent. With the coming of oil, separatist feelings doubtlessly disappeared, and Makka participated to the full in the extraordinary development that the Kingdom enjoyed as a whole. The extraordinary events of 1400/1979 were the only dramatic break in the standard rhythms of the city's life.

Seizure of the *Ḥaram*. Not since the followers of Ḥamdān Ḳarmat [*q.v.*] seized Makka and carried the Black Stone back to their headquarters in al-Aḥsāʾ [*q.v.*] had there been such an astonishing event as that which unfolded in the *Ḥaram* at dawn on Tuesday, 1 Muḥarram 1400/20 November 1979. It was of worldwide interest not only because of its intrinsic importance for one of the world's major religions, but also against the background of the Soviet-American global rivalry, of the recent revolution in Iran, and of the general religious fervour surging through the Muslim world.

The events can be quickly told. The Ḥaram may have had 50,000 people in it, which is not many for a structure designed to accommodate 300,000. It had more than usual at that hour because the day was the first of the new Islamic century and thus deserved some special observance. The *imām*, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Subayyil, had gone to the microphone to lead the prayer, but he was then pushed aside. Several dozens of men produced rifles from their robes; firing broke out, the worshippers ran, and the armed men moved quickly to seal the 29 gates. Many people were wounded in these first exchanges, and a number were killed. Meanwhile two men, subsequently identified as Djuhaymān ("little glowerer") b. Muḥammad al-ʿUtaybī and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳaḥṭānī, were at the microphone proclaiming that the latter was the *Mahdī*. The rebels, a number of whose grandfathers had been killed while fighting as Ikhwān against ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 1347-8/1929, who considered themselves neo-Ikhwān, and who numbered in all some 250 including women and children, let the worshippers out aside from 30-odd who were kept as hostages. With apparent presence of mind, Shaykh Muḥammad had removed his clerical garb and made

his way to a telephone in his office according to some reports—a public phone according to others—and notified the authorities of the seriousness of what was happening. He managed to slip out with the other worshippers. At the beginning of the ensuing siege, the rebels used the powerful public address system, which had speakers in the 90 m. high minarets and which was designed to be heard in the streets and plazas outside the mosque, to proclaim their message that the *Mahdī* was going to usher in justice throughout earth and that the *Mahdī* and his men had to seek shelter and protection in *al-Ḥaram al-S̲h̲arīf* because they were everywhere persecuted. They had no recourse except the *Ḥaram*. Attacks on the House of Suʿūd and its alleged policies and practices were virulent; the rebels opposed working women, television, football, consumption of alcohol, royal trips to European and other pleasure spots, royal involvement in business, and the encouragement of foreigners who came to Arabia and corrupted Islamic morality. Details of names and business contracts were specified. The *amīr* of Makka came in for particular attack. Meanwhile, Suʿūdī Arabia was alive with rumours, some officially encouraged, to the effect that the D̲j̲uhaymān was a homosexual, that he was a drug addict, a drunkard, etc.

The reaction of the Suʿūdī government was hesitant at first but never in doubt. Prince Fahd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the heir designate, was out of the country attending an international conference in Tunis. Prince ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz second in line to the throne was on vacation in Morocco. The king, K̲h̲ālid b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, was awakened at seven in the morning and informed of what had happened. He immediately ordered that all communication with the outside world to be cut. The ensuing communications blackout was so total that it was reported that even Prince Fahd had been unable to find out what was going on. In Makka a police car, which may have been the first concrete reaction, drove toward the mosque to investigate. It was promptly fired on and left. Later the *amīr* drove up to try to assess the situation, only to have his driver shot in the head. The men inside were evidently well armed, trained and ruthless. By mid-afternoon, the 600-man special security force was in Makka and national guard, police, and army units were being airlifted in from Tabūk [*q.v.*] in the north and K̲h̲amīs Mus̲h̲ayṭ [*q.v.*] in the south. Prince Sulṭān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the Minister of Defence; Prince Nāʾif b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the Minister of Interior; and Prince Turkī b. Fayṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the Chief of Exernal Intelligence, all arrived in Makka. In al-Riyāḍ, the king had simultaneously called together the senior ulema in order to get a *fatwā* authorising the use of force in the *Ḥaram*, since force there is by definition forbidden. The *fatwā* approving the action was apparently issued immediately but not published for several days. Authority was found in the *āya* of the Ḳurʾān: "Do not fight them near the Holy Mosque until they fight you inside it, and if they fight you, you must kill them, for that is the punishment of the unbelievers" (II, 149).

By Tuesday evening the siege was on, and the rebels had no way to escape, despite the fact that they had secretly and ingeniously cached large supplies of weapons, ammunition and food in the mosque. Electricity and all other services to the mosque were cut, but D̲j̲uhaymān's snipers covered the open ground around the mosque. Horrified by what was going on, some national guardsmen (*mud̲j̲āhidūn*) wanted to storm the mosque, but the king had ordered that casualties be minimised. The situation was extremely delicate, for Prince Sulṭān could hardly order heavy weaponry to destroy the mosque and Bayt Allāh. Ultimately, Prince Sulṭān ordered an attack on the *masʿā* which juts out from the mosque enclosure like an open thumb from a closed fist (see plan). According to some, an "artillery barrage" was laid down, but when the troops advanced, they suffered heavy losses and accomplished little. There was considerable confusion on the government side and some lack of coordination among the various services. At one point, two soldiers reportedly ran firing into the courtyard in order to be shot down and die as martyrs. Others were reported to have been unhappy at being called on to fight in the mosque. Since the national guardsmen were tribal, and it had become known that the leaders of the insurrection were tribal, suspicion of the national guardsmen arose. Sulṭān tried another approach involving a disastrous helicopter attack into the courtyard. It failed; the soldiers were winched down in daylight, and most died. When government soldiers died, the rebels are said to have exclaimed *amr Allāh* ("at the order of God"), when one of their own died, they either shot or burned off his face—a job the women mostly performed—to conceal his identity. In a very difficult situation, friendly governments including the American, French and Pakistani "were prodigal with advice, much of it conflicting" (Holder and Johns, 524). By Friday, 4 Muḥarram/23 November, however, the superiority of the government forces began to tell. Using tear gas, they forced an entrance into the mosque including the second storey, and they drove the rebel marksmen from two of the minarets. Once inside, government forces were able to rake D̲j̲uhaymān's people, and despite a desperate pillar-to-pillar defence backed by barricades of mattresses, carpets and anything else that could be found, the rebels were gradually pushed down toward the maze-like complex of basement rooms. By Monday, 7 Muḥarram/26 November the government had gained control of everything above ground. But the fighting continued in nightmarish conditions below ground even though the number of the rebels was by then much reduced. By Wednesday the courtyard had been sufficiently cleared and cleaned to broadcast prayers live on TV and to begin to calm down the city and the country.

Below ground, difficult fighting continued. The rebels were few and their supplies now scant, but accompanied in some cases by their women and children they fought desperately. Gas, flooding, and burning tires were all tried in an effort to flush them out—without success. The fate of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳaḥṭānī is not clear. Some reports indicate that he was killed early in the fighting; others that, in the depths of despair, D̲j̲uhaymān had shot him. With many wounded, the hour of the rebels had come. At an hour-and-a-half after midnight on Wednesday 16 Muḥarram/5 December D̲j̲uhaymān led his people out. "It is said that as they emerged, many weeping and too tired to stand, muttering constantly, spat on and reviled, one of the band turned to a National Guardsman and asked: 'What of the army of the north?'" (Holder and Johns, 526.) But many had to be individually overpowered. D̲j̲uhaymān is reported to have been kicking and struggling even as his arms were pinned. Suʿūdī TV covered this scene, and D̲j̲uhaymān "stared defiantly at the cameras, thrusting forward his matted beard, his eyes fierce and piercing like a cornered beast of prey" (Lacey, 487).

The investigation and trial of the rebels did not take long. On Wednesday a.m., 21 Ṣafar 1400/9 January

1980 (not following the Friday noon prayer as was customary) in eight different Saudi cities amongst which they had been divided, 63 of the rebels were beheaded. Their citizenship was as follows: Suᶜūdīs 41, Egyptians 10, South Yamanīs 6, Kuwaytīs 3, North Yamanīs 1, Sudanese 1 and ᶜIrāḳīs 1. Twenty-three women and thirteen children had surrendered along with their men. The women were given two years in prison and the children were turned over to welfare centres. The authorites found no evidence of foreign involvement. In addition, 19 who had supplied arms were jailed, while another 38 so accused were freed. The government casualty count listed 127 troops killed and 461 wounded, rebel dead as 117, and dead worshippers as 12 or more (all killed the first morning). Popular reaction to these extraordinary events was uniformly hostile to the rebels as defilers of God and his house. The only reported approval is by other members of the ᶜUtayba tribe, who reportedly admired the fact that Djuhaymān had in no way buckled under during interrogation.

Population and Society. Consistent population figures for Makka are not easy to find. Those that follow are perhaps suggestive:

Date	Estimated population	Source
Before Suᶜūdī-Sharīfian war	125,000	Rutter
1923	60,000	Rutter
1932	100,000*	Wahba, *Djazīra*
1940	80,000	*Western Arabia & the Red Sea*
1953	150,000	Philby, *Saᶜudi Arabia*
1962	71,998	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣādiḳ al-Sharīf
1970	112,000	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣādiḳ al-Sharīf
1974	198,186	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣādiḳ al-Sharīf
1976	200,000 plus	Nyrop

* Excluding women

Incidentally, the population density for Makka district (not the city) has been estimated as 12 per km². The age distribution in the city for 1974 was estimated to be as follows (in percentage):

Age	Makka	Kingdom of Suᶜūdī Arabia
Under 10	35	37
10 - 29	36	30.8
30 - 49	22	21.4
Over 50	7	10

Given the fact that Makka has for centuries been the centre for a pilgrimage that was often slow and tortuous, and given the desire of the pious to live and die near Bayt Allāh, it is natural and has been observed by many that the population is a highly mixed one. Faces from Java, the Indian sub-continent and sub-Saharan Africa are noticeable everywhere. Almost every cast of feature on the face of the earth can be found. And the process continues; Nyrop (140) estimated that 20% of the population consisted of foreign nationals in the early 1960s—a figure which is particularly remarkable when one reflects that the non-Muslim foreigners who flocked to other Arabian cities in that era were absent from Makka. In a way, this has constituted an important benefit for Makka because the city is the continual recipient of new blood.

Outsiders have frequently complained about the people of Makka. Nor were the early Wahhābīs least in their low opinion of Makkans. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz is reported to have said that he "would not take the daughters of the Sharif or of the people of Mecca or other Moslems whom we reckon as *mushrikin*" (Helms, 98 quoting W. Smalley, *The Wahhabis and Ibn Saᶜud*, in *MW*, xxii [1932], 243). Philby (*Jubilee*, 126) quotes the king in 1930 as having dismissed them with, *Ahl Makka dabash* ("the people of Makka are trash"). Nor was Philby's own opinion of them high: "In truth, the citizen of God's city, by and large, is not an attractive character: his whole life being concentrated on the making of money out of gullible people, especially pilgrims, by a studied mixture of fawning and affability." H. R. P. Dickson reports the Bedouin view that "every foul vice prevails there." But of course, not all reports are bad. Wahba (*Djazīra*, 31) opines that Makkans (along with Medinese) care more about the cleanliness of their houses and their bodies than do other Arabians. One might finally note the establishment in Makka of the *Sundūḳ al-Birr* (the piety fund), which was started by one family and joined in by others, including the royal family. The organisation distributes welfare support to some hundreds of needy families and also helps victims of accidents and calamities. It proved to be a model for similar funds in other cities in Suᶜūdī Arabia. Actual Makkan manners and customs seem unexceptionable (as the comments above about cooperative neighbourly firefighting suggest), and Rutter, who gives many interesting details of life in Makka just after the Wahhābī conquest, specifically states that the city is not as immoral as it is pictured and that for example, Makkans use foul language much less than do Egyptians.

Marriages were arranged by the prospective bridegrooms's mother or other female relative, who negotiated with the prospective bride's parents. Both normally give their consent. Once the dowry and other details have been agreed, the bride's parents prepare a feast to which the groom and his friends are invited. Two witnesses are required, but there is usually a crowd. After instruction by the *shaykh*, the girl's father takes the groom's hand and states that he is giving him his daughter in marriage for a dowry of the agreed amount. The groom accepts this contract and the parties are at that point married. No women are present. Neither party has seen the other unless accidentally or as children. Consummation, if the individuals are old enough, is usually about a month later at the bride's house. The same night, she is escorted quietly by her family to the groom's house, and the whole procedure ends the evening after that

with a party at the groom's house to which relatives of both families male and female are invited. The sexes are, however, still segregated on this occasion. In Rutter's day there was some polygyny and many slave concubines, but little divorce. He thought Makkan women, for whom silver was the commonest jewelry, were generally fairer than the men and notes that many women could play the lute and drum. They also smoked a great deal. Prostitution was never seen by him. A week after the birth of a child, the father invites his and his wife's relatives for the ceremony naming the infant. Again, the women are upstairs and the men down. When all have assembled, the father goes up and brings the child down on a cushion and places it on the floor while saying things like *ma s̲h̲āʾ Allāh* [*q.v.*]—but not too vigorously lest devils be attracted. The father arranges the child so that his head is toward the Kaʿba and his feet away from it. The father kneels, says *aʿūd̲h̲u bi-Allāh min al-S̲h̲ayṭān al-rad̲j̲īm*, then bends over the child's head with his mouth close to the right ear of the infant and repeats the *ad̲h̲ān* [*q.v.*] three times. He then says: "I name thee so-and-so. "The child is now a Muslim. The guests repeat the name, invoke God's blessing, and each puts a coin under the pillow. Another person then rings an iron pestle against a brass mortar. This is the signal to the women upstairs that the child has been named. They respond with *zag̲h̲radāt* (trilling ululations) of joy. With that, the father picks the infant up, the guests kiss it on the cheek, and the father takes it back upstairs to the women. He redescends with a tray full of sweets. On the 40th day after birth, every child is taken to the *Ḥaram* and placed for a moment on the threshhold of the Kaʿba. Other aspects of child rearing, at least up to Rutter's time, included the use of foster mothers by the wealthy and the *as̲h̲rāf*'s turning their male children over to Bedouin foster mothers for the three-fold purpose of developing their independent spirit, learning the "pure" language of the desert and creating an indissoluble alliance with the tribe. Up to the age of four, clothes worn are scanty and sketchy. Starting at five, boys go to *kuttāb*s [*q.v.*] and girls are veiled. Boys are circumcised at six or seven, and female circumcision is also practised. Rutter characterises children as generally submissive and respectful. Rutter thought that life expectancy was not great because of the lack of movement of air during the heat of the long summer and because of the high humidity during the wet season (November-February). Death is marked by brief keening, after which the women friends of the family come to comfort the bereaved women. The body is washed, then carried on a bier without a coffin and placed on the pavement of the *maṭāf* in front of the door of the Kaʿba. The mourners stand, and one repeats the burial prayers. The bier is then lifted, taken out the appropriately named D̲j̲amāʾiz Gate to the Maʿlā Cemetery north of the *Ḥaram*. Mourners and even passers-by rapidly rotate in carrying the bier. Burial is in shallow graves, and the shrouds have commonly been soaked in Zamzam water. After the burial, male friends pay a brief visit of condolence to the males of the deceased's family. There are often Ḳurʾān readings on the 7th and 40th days after death.

As to recreation, there was little sport, but impromptu wrestling and foot races sometimes occurred. Singing, the lute, the reed pipe and drums were popular both in homes and in the open air coffee houses just outside of town, but all music was discouraged by the Nad̲j̲dī puritans. "The club of the Mekkans," wrote Rutter (375), "is the great quadrangle of the Haram. Here friends meet by accident or appointment, sit and talk of religious or secular matters, read, sleep, perform the towâf in company, have their letters written (those of them who are illiterate) by the public writers who sit near Bâb es-Salâm, or feed the sacred pigeons." There are, incidentally, many pigeons and they enjoyed a beneficial *wakf* for the supply of the grain. They had drinking troughs and two officials to serve them, one to dispense their grain and the other to fill the water troughs. Popular belief is that no bird ever perches on the roof of the Kaʿba. Rutter himself says that in months of sleeping on a roof overlooking the Kaʿba, even when the courtyard and the *maḳām*s of the *imām*s were covered with birds, the roof of the Kaʿba was bare. Another popular belief concerns those who fall asleep in the *Ḥaram*. Should their feet point toward the Kaʿba, they are sharply turned around to conform with custom. There were other pleasures. One of the greatest was repairing to the outdoor, half-picnic, half-tea or coffee house sites out of town. Rutter describes one in a ravine at the southeast end of Ad̲j̲yād where a small stream of clear water often flows. Many groups would go there with samovars and waterpipes (*s̲h̲īs̲h̲a*s). At sunset, after performing ablutions in the stream, all would pray. There was a singer, some of whose lays were religious, others, amorous. Along with these latter went clapping and dancing. In pre-Wahhābī times, alcohol may have been served and pederasty practiced. Incidentally, he comments that King al-Ḥusayn had already stopped the open drinking and prostitution of Ottoman times. Rutter also provides (291-4) an interesting account of a visit to the oasis and farms of al-Ḥusayniyya about 20 km southeast of the city (and see Nallino's reference (202) to similar visits to al-Sanūsiyya, 20 km northeast of the capital). He also paints a picture of how Makkans spend a week or two on the upland (2,000 m) plain of al-Hada overlooking the escarpment to the west of al-Ṭāʾif. The largest house there belonged to the Kaʿba key-keeper, al-S̲h̲aybī. Religious occasions also formed part of the rhythm of participation in the life of the city. Twice yearly in Rad̲j̲ab and Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda there occurs the ritual of washing the inside of the Kaʿba. These occasions constitute major festivals. All the important people and important visiting pilgrims attend and a big crowd gathers. Al-S̲h̲aybī provides the water in a large bottle and brooms which the dignitaries use for the purpose. There are some distinctly un-Islamic folk practices, such as people washing themselves in the used washing water and actually also drinking it. During Ramaḍān, there is much recitation of the Ḳurʾān. One hears it as one walks down the street. Purely secular "clubs" also existed in the form of coffee houses which provided tea, light food and *s̲h̲īs̲h̲a*s. One of their characteristics is the high (about 1 m.) wood-framed platforms about two m. long with rush-work surface. Characteristically, the mat work is done by Sudanese. These high mats are used as chairs, on which three or four can sit, or used as beds. The cafés have linen available if the latter use is required. These establishments are open day and night. Al-Kurdī indicates that there were two Ottoman-era *ḥammām*s [*q.v.*], but that the first, which had been near Bāb al-ʿUmra, was torn down to make way for the mosque expansion and the second, in al-Ḳas̲h̲ās̲h̲iyya quarter, was closed—a victim no doubt of private residential baths and showers.

Finally, some mention must be made of slaves. King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had agreed as early as 1345/1927 to cooperate with the British government in suppressing the international slave trade, but slavery as such

was not outlawed in Su^cūdī Arabia until 1382/1962. In 1365/1946 Ḥāfiẓ Wahba described it (*Djazīra*, 32-3) as a reasonably flourishing institution. Makka was the largest slave market in Arabia—possibly because it was secure from prying non-Muslim eyes. Meccans trained male slaves (sing. *ᶜabd*) and female slaves (sing. *djāriya*) well for household duties, and Wahba quotes prices as being £60 for a male and £120 for a female. Ethiopians were considered the best because they were more loyal and more sincere in their work. He indicates that they worked mostly in domestic chores or in gardens, but that Bedouin chiefs also acquired them as bodyguards. *Djāriyas* he notes were also used for other things. Manumission is an act of piety, and Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ says that hardly a master died who did not free some of his slaves and leave them a legacy. Apparently non-slave servants were very difficult to find, and Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ opined that a sudden prohibition of slavery would cause a revolution. He also notes that the trade was declining.

The coming of the Suᶜūdī régime also had an important impact on the top of the social structure in that the privileged position formerly held by the *sharīfs* was eliminated. Merchants, ulema and *muṭawwifūn* stood high on the local social scale, with pride of place perhaps going to the Shayba family.

Because of the cosmopolitan nature of the population, city quarters seem not to have had quite the same degree of near water-tight ethnic or religious compactness that is found in some other cities, but quarters did and do exist. Some generalised comments applying mostly to the pre-oil period follow. Djarwal, an extensive mixed area northwest of the *Ḥaram*, was the site of many offices and the garages of motor transport companies. It is also the quarter in which Philby lived, the quarter where ᶜAbd Allah Āl Sulaymān, the Minister of Finance under King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, had his palace, and the quarter in which immigrants from west and central Africa used to live—mostly in hovels. Writing in the early 1960s, al-Kurdī indicates (ii, 264) that the Djarwal and al-Misfala quarters had heavy concentrations of *bidonvilles* inhabited by poor Sudanese and Pakistanis. Their shanty dwellings were, however, being replaced by modern buildings. Al-Shubayka, to the west and a little south of the *Ḥaram*, was, pre-World War II, mainly populated by Central Asian, Indian and East Indian *muṭawwifūn*. Adjyād, southeast of the *Ḥaram*, was the old Ottoman quarter sometimes called "government quarter." It continued in Suᶜūdī times to contain a number of important institutions, including the first modern hospital, the Egyptian *takiyya*, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the public security office, *al-Maᶜhad al-ᶜIlmī al-Suᶜūdī*, the *Kiswat al-Kaᶜba* factory), the Egyptian Bank and the Directorate of Education. Adjyād is dominated by an imposing looking Ottoman fort, Ḳalᶜat Adjyād, which is perched on the heights to the south of it. The quarter is said to have the best climate and the best views in the city. It was also the location of most of the better older houses and hotels. Pre-oil city quarters numbered 15 in all, as follows: Sūḳ al-Layl, Shiᶜb ᶜAlī, Shiᶜb ᶜĀmir, al-Sulaymāniyya, al-Muᶜābada, Djarwal, al-Naḳā, al-Falḳ, al-Ḳarāra, al-Shāmiyya, Adjyād, al-Ḳashāshiyya, al-Shubayka, Hārat al-Bāb and al-Misfala. There are also eleven modern outlying quarters: al-ᶜUtaybiyya, al-Hindawiyya, al-ᶜAzīziyya (earlier known as Ḥawḍ al-Baḳar), al-Shishsha, al-Rawḍa, al-Khānisa, al-Zāhir, al-Tanbudāwī, al-Raṣīfa, al-Mishᶜaliyya and al-Nuzha. Some of these are dubbed *ḥayy*; others, *ḥāra*; and the last three *maḥalla*. Each quarter has an *ᶜumda* as its administrative head.

The importance and centrality of the *Ḥaram* dictated that areas immediately adjacent to it were of high importance and prestige, at least as long as the pilgrim business was the main source of revenue. Thus before the extension of the mosque, there were a number of *sūḳs* which surrounded it or nearly so. These included al-Suwayḳa just north of the northern corner which was the drapery and perfume bazaar; Sūḳ al-ᶜAbīd the slave market; al-Sūḳ al-Ṣaghīr *ca.* 100 m southeast of Bāb Ibrāhīm, which was in the main water course and often washed out in floods; Sūḳ al-Ḥabb the grain market some 700 m north of the mosque; and finally the fruit market, also to the north, which was simply called al-Ḥalaḳa, the market. Al-Masᶜā formerly was paved and covered during the early days of ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz' reign, but it was still a public street with book and stationery stores at the southern (al-Ṣafā) end and stalls selling items for pilgrims along the rest of it. Another transient demographic feature that may be noticed is that in pre-oil days, the camps used by pilgrims were on the outskirts of the city nearest the direction from which they came, *i.e.*, those coming from Syria camped north of the city, etc.

With the broader economic and transportation possibilities available since World War II (and especially after the oil price increases of 1973 and beyond) and with the number of pilgrims swelling to almost two million (with attendant traffic and other problems), centre city has probably become less desirable.

The physical City. Constrained as it is by the wadi courses and low mountains of its location, the size and physical appearance of Makka has changed dramatically in the six decades since the Wahhābīs most recently captured it. It should be borne in mind that the *Ḥaram* is in the widest part of the central, south-flowing wadi and that main streets follow wadi valleys. Before the most recent enormous enlargement of the mosque structure, a noticeable feature was what Philby called "oratory houses." These surrounded the entire periphery and abutted on the mosque itself. They had first floor balconies on the roof of the mosque's surrounding colonnade and were more or less considered an integral part of the mosque. Since the inhabitants of these houses could pray at home while observing the Prophet's injuction that whoever lives near the mosque should pray in it, they were in high demand at high rentals. On the other hand, the residents were said to have run up rather large hospitality bills! In the pre-oil era, Makkan buildings were mostly built of local dark grey granite, but by and large they gave no great impression of grandeur. The larger ran to about four storeys. Even before modernisation, major streets in Makka were fairly wide. King al-Ḥusayn had electrified the *Ḥaram* during his brief reign, but probably it was not until after the second World War that streets were lighted electrically. Previously they were lighted, on special occasions only, by oil lamps attached to the corners of houses. Al-Ḥusayn's palace had been located northeast of the *Ḥaram* in al-Ghazza, but when King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz built his own palace, he chose a site well to the north in al-Muᶜābada, where incidentally, the pre-oil wireless station was also built in the immediate vicinity of the king's palace. At the present time (1405/1985) this tradition continues, for the amīrate, the municipality secretariat, its technical units and the main courthouse are all located at that site. Expansion of the city in the period before there were adequate roads tended to be along the Djudda road.

Modernisation in the oil era has brought completely different architectural approaches and materials, and

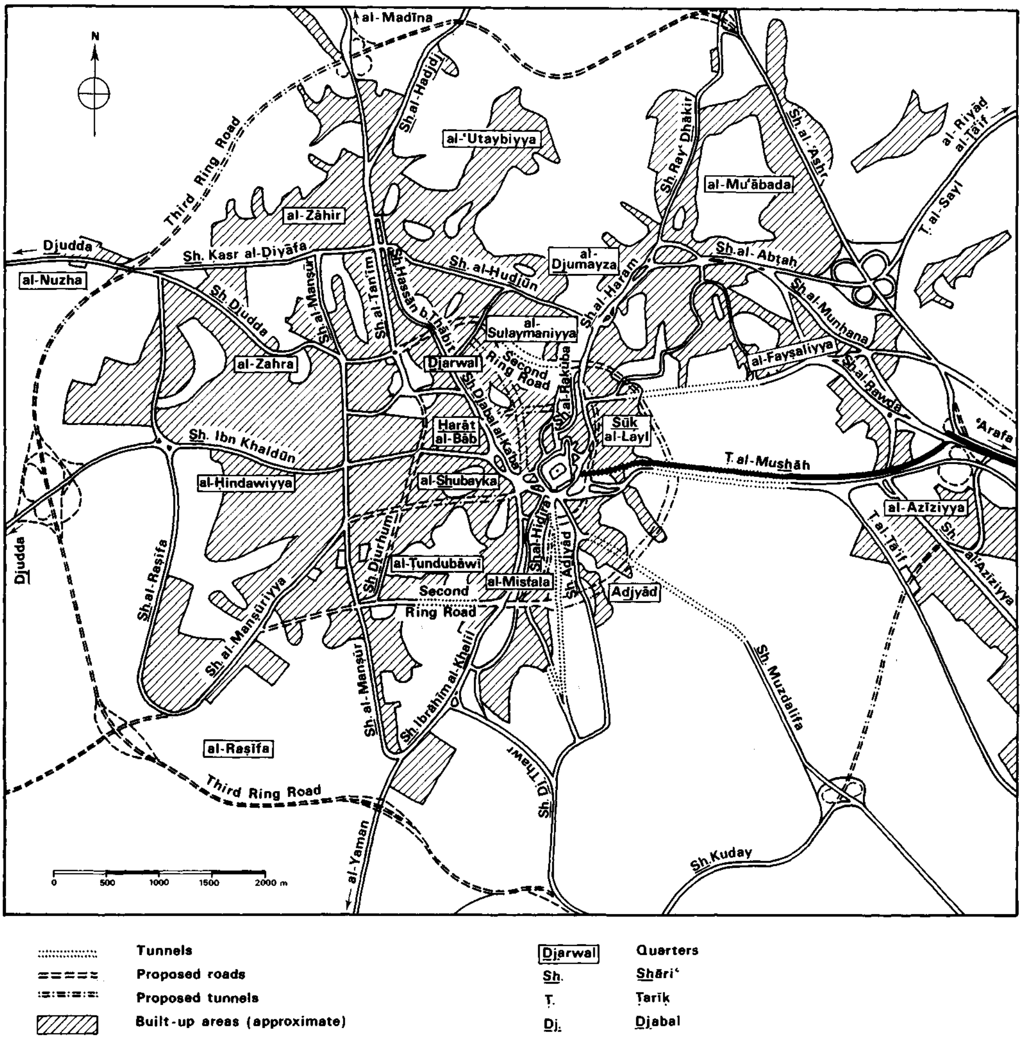

Fig. 1. Makka in the 1980s: built-up areas. After Fārisī.

much of the old has been swept away. Air conditioners are everywhere, cement and reinforced concrete reign, and buildings of up to 13 or more storeys high are everywhere visible. City planning in Suʿūdī Arabia has become pervasive, and the master plan studies and designs for Makka were projected to be ready for implementation in 1976. Given the pilgrimage, traffic circulation had to be a major part of the plan. Key features of the traffic plan were: a series of broad open plazas around the *Ḥaram*, a major north-south road which essentially followed the main wadi bottom, a set of four concentric ring roads (none of which had been completed by 1402-3/1982-3), and a remarkable complex of roads leading to Munā, Muzdalifa, and ʿArafāt. Especially to be noted is the extensive tunnelling under Makka's rocky crags for a number of these roads, not excluding a major "pedestrian way" for pilgrims which goes due east from al-Ṣafā before bending southwest toward ʿArafāt. About one kilometer of the "pedestrian way" is a tunnel (Nafaḳ al-Sadd) under Djabal Abī Ḳubays, the north-south running mountain east of the *Ḥaram*. In addition to the roads themselves—all built to international standards with clover-leaf intersections, overpasses and the like—there are vast systematic parking areas, helicopter pads and other facilities. Makka may have some areas left without modern amenities such as running water and electricity, but essentially it is a modern city with all the assets and problems that modern implies. The growth in the area of the built-up section of Makka can only be roughly estimated, but according to Rutter's map (facing p. 117), the maximum length of the built-up section on the north-south axis was about 3 km; on the east-west axis it was about $2^1/_2$ km. Fārisī's map (1402-3/1982-3) indicates a north-south axis of about 8 km and an east-west of just under $5^1/_2$ km. This massive growth does not include very extensive new built up areas such as al-Fayṣaliyya and al-ʿAzīziyya—the latter reaching all the way to Muzdalifa.

Economy. The economy of Makka consists of only two basic factors, commerce and industry concerned with the local market, and the pilgrimage. Agriculture is essentially non-existent in Makka. Food was imported: fruit from al-Ṭāʾif, vegetables largely from the Wādī Fāṭima and a few other oases

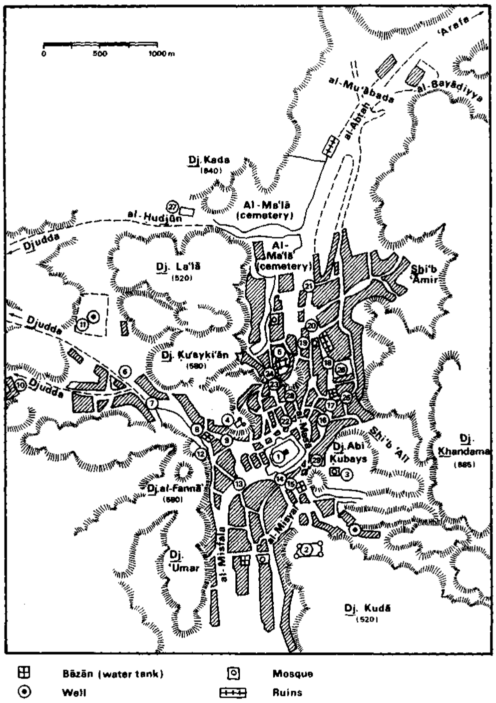

Fig. 2. Makka in late Ottoman, Hās͟himite and early Suʿūdī times. After Rutter and *Western Arabia and the Red Sea.* The numbers indicate approximate heights in metres above the central valley.
Key: 1. al-Masd͟jid al-Ḥarām—2. Ḳalʿat Ad͟jyād—3. Masd͟jid Bilāl—4. Ḳalʿat D͟jabal Hindī—5. Ḳalʿat Fulful—6. S͟hayk͟h Maḥmūd—7. D͟jarwal—8. Ḥārat al-Bāb—9. al-S͟hubayka—10. Ottoman barracks—11. Walled garden—12. Graveyard—13. al-Sūḳ al-Ṣag͟hīr—14. al-Ḥamīdiyya—15. Dār al-Takiyya al-Miṣriyya—16. al-Ḳas͟hās͟hiyya—17. Sūḳ al-Layl—18. al-G͟hazza—19. al-D͟jawd͟hariyya—20. Sūḳ al-Ḥabb—21. al-Maʿlā—22. al-Suwayḳa—23. al-Ḳarāra—24. al-Falḳ—25. Prophet's birthplace—26. S͟harīfian palace—27. Slaughterhouse— 28. al-Ṣafā.

such as al-Ḥusayniyya. They included egg plant, radishes, tomatoes, vegetable marrows, spinach, Egyptian clover (*birsīm*) for fodder and hibiscus. Makka itself had to content itself with a few date trees in the gardens of the wealthy (see al-Kurdī, ii, 208-15). Industry in 1390/1970-1 counted 35 establishments employing 800 people with an estimate of SR (= Suʿūdī riyals) 22 million in use. By way of contrast, neighbouring D͟judda had 95 establishments with 4,563 employees and SR 329 million in use. Among the Makkan enterprises were corrugated iron manufacturing, carpentry shops, upholstering establishments, sweets manufacturies, vegetable oil extraction plants, flour mills, bakeries, copper smithies, photography processing, secretarial establishments, ice factories, bottling plants for soft drinks, poultry farms, frozen food importing, barber shops, book shops, travel agencies and banks. The first bank in Makka was the National Commercical Bank (*al-Bank al-Ahlī al-Tid͟jārī*) which opened in 1374/1954. Hotels and hostels are another major activity. According to al-Kurdī (ii, 173), there were no hotels before the Suʿūdī régime began. Important pilgrims were housed in a government rest house, others stayed in private homes as actual or paying guests. The first hotel project was undertaken and managed by Banque Misr for the account of the Ministry of Finance in 1355/1936-7. A decade later it was bought by Ṣidḳa Kaʿkī, a member of Makka's most successful business family. Banque Misr also managed a second hotel that belonged to S͟hayk͟h ʿAbd Allāh Āl Sulaymān and which opened in 1356/1937-8. This had its own electric power, an elevator, running water and some private baths. Construction activity, long important in Makka, has obviously grown with the oil-fired building boom. The traditional building trades with their interesting organisation and special skills in stone masonry (details in al-Kurdī, ii, 261-6) are fading away. It is also interesting to note that in 1936 a *D͟jamʿiyyat al-Ḳirs͟h* was founded with its seat in Makka with the goal of encouraging economic development in order to make the country economically independent by stimulating new and existing industrial and agricultural projects. Goods available in the markets in the 1930s were almost all imported. Cotton textiles came from Japan, silk from China and India, and carpets, rosaries (*subḥa, misbaḥa*), and copper and silver items—the kinds of items that pilgrims wanted—came variously from Syria, India and al-ʿIrāḳ. Many of the merchants catering to the pilgrim trade were foreigners or of foreign extraction and employed native Makkans as hawkers. Visitors felt that prices were high, profits large and local employees inadequately paid.

The importance of the *Ḥad͟jd͟j* for the economy of Makka through most of the city's history is simple. As Rutter has put it, "[Makkans] have no means of earning a living but by serving the ḥâjjis." Fifty years later, D. Long confirms that "the Hajj constitutes the largest single period of commercial activity during the year," and that no one in the country is unaffected thereby. Indeed, once al-Ḥid͟jāz had been conquered, *ḥad͟jd͟j* income was supposed to finance Nad͟jd in addition to the Holy Land. The money came in different ways. A direct tax, instituted by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 1345-6/1927, was seven gold rupees ($16.80). In addition there was a kind of service charge, dubbed "landing and service fee," which amounted to £1.5 ($7.20) in the early thirties. As late as 1972, this charge, now called "fee for general services" was SR 63 ($11.88). There were also taxes on internal motor transport, for example £7.5 (36.00) on the round trip car hire fare between Makka and al-Madīna in the 1920s, reduced to £6.00 (28.00) in 1931. In addition to direct levies, the government received indirect income from licence fees charged those who served the pilgrims, from customs duties on goods imported for re-sale to pilgrims and from other indirect levies. As D. Long (much followed in this section) has noted, when the world-wide depression struck, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, despite his successful efforts to eliminate gross exploitation of the pilgrims, was forced to impose fees on the pilgrims in order to maintain the solvency of the government. Later, oil income essentially eliminated government dependence on pilgrim fees, and in 1371/1952 the king abolished the head tax altogether. That the government continued to be sensitive to the public relation aspects of any fees at all, is made clear by the official *Ḥad͟jd͟j* instructions for 1972 (quoted by Long) to the effect that such charges only cover the actual costs of necessary services. For Makka, the *Ḥad͟jd͟j* has of course continued to be a major source of cash income. On the other hand, from a national Suʿūdī viewpoint, servicing the pilgrims became a major expenditure category far exceeding

the income generated, though one should note that in recent years the national airline, Saudia, derived some 12% of its revenue from Ḥadjdj-generated customers. D. Long has also made detailed estimates (101-5) of the effect of the Ḥadjdj on the private sector in Djudda, al-Madīna and especially Makka. Roughly, he estimates that in 1972 pilgrims paid the guilds (*muṭawwifūn*, *wukalāʾ* and *zamāzima*) a total of $7.9 million in fees, a figure which excludes gratuities. Lodging during the late 1960s cost each pilgrim an average of $60, for a total housing income of $40 million. The transportation syndicate's income based on fares paid by land and air pilgrims for internal transportation is estimated at $11 million. All these estimates are for gross income. Net income is difficult to calculate, especially because fixed costs of capital items, such as accommodation at Munā and ʿArafāt which is only filled for a few days a year, are normally not counted. Makkan merchants continue to see the two months of pilgrim business as more or less their whole year's business, and as in the case of holiday expenditures in other countries the merchants raise their prices, despite government attempts to protect the pilgrims. Animals for ritual slaughter approximately double in value. The foreign provenance of pilgrim-specific goods continued in later years. Cheap ($1 to $10 each), European-manufactured prayer rugs sell a million or more each year, but it may be noted that in the 1970s prayer beads were manufactured by a local Makkan plastics factory. In more general categories, Swiss and Japanese watches move briskly; most textiles still come from Asia, though expensive ones may be from Europe; United States products predominate among cosmetics, better quality canned foods and drugs; wheat is almost exclusively American; whilst China has predominated in cheap fountain pens, parasols and cheaper canned goods. One final point is that many non-Suʿūdī pilgrims who can afford them purchase luxury consumer items which are either heavily taxed or unavailable in their own countries. Foreign exchange trading also constitutes a brisk business for the Makkan banks—all nationalised by about 1400/1979-80. Long notices another economic factor, that more and more foreign pilgrims have come in the sixties, seventies and early eighties, but the shift in mode of travel has been equally dramatic as the chart below shows:

Mode of travel of non-Suʿūdī pilgrims
(Selected years)

Year	Mode of Travel			Total Number
	Land	Sea	Air	
1381/1961	32%	43%	25%	216,455
1391/1971	30	20	50	479,339
1403/1982	22	6	72	1,003,911

The dramatic increase in numbers and equally dramatic shift to air travel have meant that the average length of stay has decreased from two to three, or even more, months to an average stay of only a few weeks. Purchases of food and rentals for lodging have declined proportionately with the decrease in time, and in addition, because of baggage limitations on air travel, gift items have trended toward the watch and away from bulky items. Sales to pilgrims as a proportion of total sales by Meccan merchants have also declined. Long (based on Djudda information) estimated that they had declined from 33-50% of the total in 1381/1961 to about 25% in 1391/1971—still highly significant. Based on an estimate of per capita expenditures of *ca.* $230, Long estimates that gross sales by Suʿūdī merchants to foreign pilgrims aggregated $53 million from the Ḥadjdj. If one adds Suʿūdī pilgrims, the figure rises to $90 million. His estimate of Ḥadjdj income from all sources for the 1391/1971 Ḥadjdj was *ca.* $213 million. It is not easy to know the proportion of this total which went to Makka and Makkans, but the number has to be quite significant locally when one considers the size of the city and the concentrated nature of the business.

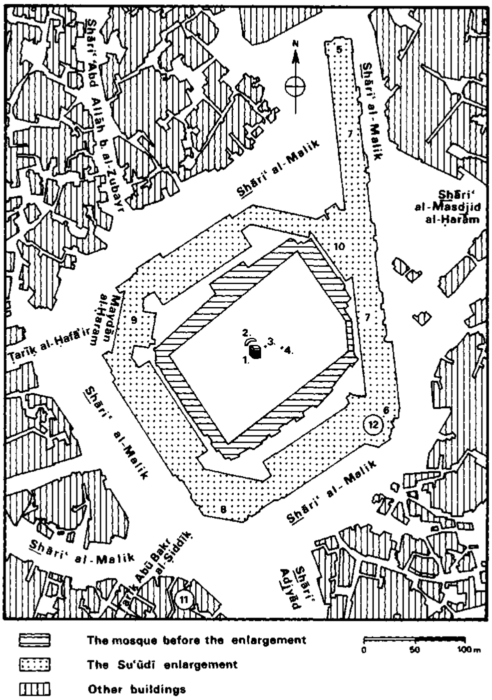

Fig. 3. al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām after the Suʿūdī enlargement. After Bundūḳdjī.
Key: 1. al-Kaʿba—2. al-Ḥuṭaym—3. Maḳām Ibrāhīm—4. Zamzam—5. al-Marwa—6. al-Ṣafā—7. al-Masʿā—8. Bāb al-Malik—9. Bāb al-ʿUmra—10. Bāb al-Salām—11. al-Ḥaram Library—12. Dome.

Al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām and other religious buildings. From the moment ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz entered Makka, he and his successors have expended time, money and effort on the Great Mosque of Makka. (For description of the mosque at the beginning of the Suʿūdī régime, see Rutter, 252-63.) In the spring of 1344/1925, the king was anxious to make the best impression possible for the first Ḥadjdj under his auspices. He ordered a general tidying-up, and when the pilgrims arrived, they found everything freshly painted and clean. An innovation of 1345/1926 was the erection of tents inside the cloister to give relief from the sun; but unfortunately they could not withstand the wind. In 1346/1927 the king ordered a thorough restoration to be undertaken "at his personal expense." The work was entrusted to Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Dihlawī on the basis of his successful work over a number of years at ʿAyn Zubayda. This programme lasted about a year and cost 2,000 gold pounds. The accomplishments included replacing tiles and marble, cleaning the domes of the cloister, repairing doors and pillars, repairing and painting (green)

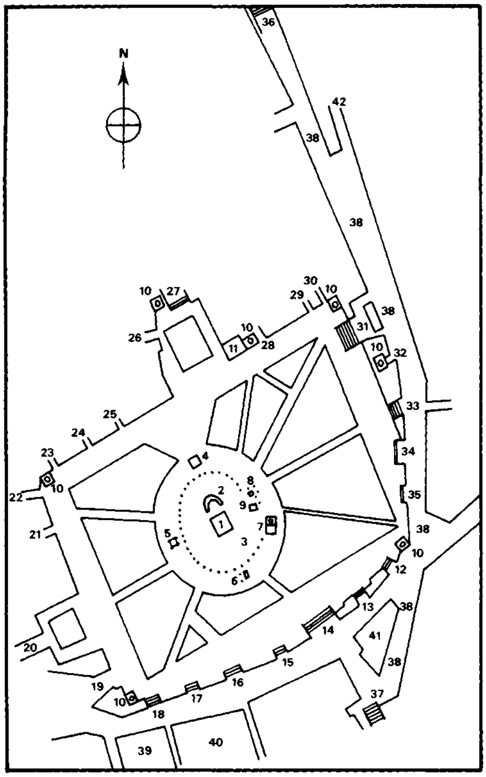

Fig. 4. Plan of the Ḥaram in late Ottoman, Hāshimite and early Suʿūdī times. After Snouck Hurgronje, Rutter and *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*.
Key: 1. al-Kaʿba—2. al-Ḥuṭaym—3. al-Maṭāf—4. al-Maḳām al-Ḥanafī—5. al-Maḳām al-Mālikī—6. al-Maḳām al-Ḥanbalī—7. Zamzam—8. Banī Shayba portal—9. Maḳām Ibrāhim—10. Minarets (7)—11. Ḳāḍī's office—12. Bāb Bāzān—13. Bāb al-Baghla—14. Bāb al-Ṣafā—15. Bāb al-Raḥma—16. Bāb Djiyād—17. Bāb Adjlān—18. Bāb Umm Hāniʾ—19. Bāb al-Widāʿ—20. Bāb Ibrāhīm—21. Bāb al-Dāʾūdiyya—22. Bāb al-ʿUmra—23. Bāb ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ—24. Bāb al-Zamāzima—25. Bāb al-Bāsiṭa—26. Bāb al-Ḳuṭbī—27. Bāb al-Ziyāda—28. Bāb al-Maḥkama—29. Bāb al-Madrasa—30. Bāb al-Durayba—31. Bāb al-Salām—32. Bāb Ḳāʾit Bāy—33. Bāb al-Nabī—34. Bāb al-ʿAbbās—35. Bāb ʿAlī—36. al-Marwa—37. al-Ṣafā—38. al-Masʿā—39. al-Ḥamīdiyya—40. Dār al-Takiyya al-Miṣriyya—41. Guardhouse—42. Sūḳ al-Layl.

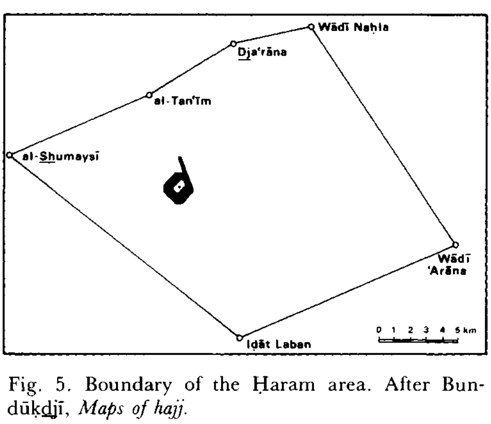

Fig. 5. Boundary of the Ḥaram area. After Bundūkdjī, *Maps of hajj*.

the roofs of the Maḳām Ibrāhīm and of al-Maḳām al-Ḥanafī. The Zamzam building was much beautified, the stones of the Kaʿba were pointed, and Bāb Ibrāhīm was widened and beautified. Moreover, determined to do something to protect worshippers from the fierce sun, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, for the 1346 *Ḥadjdj*, ordered ʿAbd Allāh Āl Sulaymān to erect all around the inside of the cloister a massive wooden frame to which heavy canvas was fixed as an awning. Once the pilgrims had left, this canopy was removed. But apparently there were some serious structural problems, for in 1354/1935-6 a more general study was undertaken. The order for this created a special four-man committee (ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Shaybī of the *Madjlis al-Shūrā*, chairman, Sulaymān Azhar, Assistant Director of *awḳāf*; Hāshim b. Sulaymān, Administrator of the Ḥaram (*nāʾib al-Ḥaram*); and ʿAlī Muftī of the Makka municipality). Its mission was to carry out a general survey and then make recommendations for repairs and restoration. The committee recommendations (details in Bāsalāma, 285) included such things as disassembling walls and rebuilding them, using cement for mortar. Costs for this work, which began in Ramaḍān, were split between the Directorate of *Awḳāf* and King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

The electrification of the mosque had been instituted under the Hāshimite al-Ḥusayn, but was steadily improved under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz with generous outside support. In 1346/1927-8 Ḥādjdj Dāwūd Atba (?) of Rangoon donated a 300 kilowatt generator, and as a result the king was able to increase the number of bulbs from al-Ḥusayn's 300 to 1,000. In 1349/1930-1 new generating equipment was acquired so that "a reader could read his book by electric lights anywhere in the mosque" (Bāsalāma, 257). In addition, large free-standing, brass electric candelabra mounted on reinforced concrete columns 3 m high were placed in the mosque and six other brass candelabra were mounted on al-Ḥuṭaym, the semi-circular wall enclosing the Ḥadjar Ismāʿīl. An even larger contribution was made in 1353/1934-5 by Djanāb Nawwāb Bahādur Dr. al-Ḥādjdj Sir Muḥammad Muzammil Allāh Khān (1865-1938) of Bhikhampur, India, who presented much more elaborate equipment to the mosque. It consisted of a 52 h.p. engine, a 220 volt, 34 kilowatt generator and required that the mosque engineer (Ismāʿīl al-Dhabīḥ) go to India in order to familiarise himself with it. He stayed there several months and, interestingly, returned with additional contributions in kind (elaborate candelabra put on the gates, on the *maḳāms*, and on the Zamzam dome) from Muslim philanthropists in Cawnpore, Lucknow and Karachi. Toward the end of 1354/1935-6, all was in working order and "the *Maṭāf* was as though in sunlight." Microphones and loudspeakers were first used in the mosque in 1368/1948-9.

Attention should now be turned to several specific features of the mosque area.

Al-Masʿā. — Firstly, it may be noted that the Hāshimite al-Ḥusayn was the first person in Islamic history to improve physically the running place, in effect a street at that time, between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa when in 1339/1920-1 he ordered ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ḳazzāz to erect a cover over it. A steel structure with wooden roof was built to the general benefit of all. This continued in use for many years, with some later improvements made by the municipality (then directed by ʿAbbās Ḳaṭṭān) at the order of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The king also undertook another major improvement early in his reign (1345/1926-7) when he ordered al-Masʿā, which was rough

ground, to be paved. To oversee the work, a high-level unit was constituted within the administration framework of the *Amānat al-ʿĀṣima*, that is, the municipality. It was presided over by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad, the *Naʾib al-Ḥaram*, and included his former assistant Muḥammad Surūr al-Ṣabbān, later Director (Minister) of Finance, along with the ubiquitous ʿAbd Allāh Āl Sulaymān (as the king's representative), several members of the *Madjlis al-Shūrā* and some technical people. The decision was reached to use square granite stones mortared with lime. Initial expenses were to be covered by the *Amānat al-ʿĀṣima* and subsequent ones from the national treasury (*bayt al-māl*). Once protruding living rock had been levelled, the work began ceremonially with a large gathering that saw H. R. H. Prince Fayṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz lay the "corner stone" and heard invocations from the *khaṭīb* of the mosque. This enterprise, completed before the *Ḥadjdj* of 1345, resulted in the first paved street in the history of the city.

Zamzam. — In the early repairs carried out under al-Dihlawī's direction, the king paid special attention to the well of Zamzam and the two-chambered building above it. Two new *sabīls* [*q.v.*] were constructed, one of six taps near Bāb Ḳubbat Zamzam, the other of three near the Ḥudjrat al-Aghawāt; in addition, the older Ottoman *sabīl* was renovated. All this was beautifully done in local marble with fine calligraphic inscriptions including the phrase "Imām [*sic*] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suʿūd [*sic*] built this *sabīl*."

Kiswa. — With the outbreak of World War I, the *kiswa* came as it had for many years previously from Egypt. When the Ottoman Empire entered the war on the side of Germany, the authorities in Makka assumed that British-controlled Egypt would no longer send the *kiswa* and so they ordered one to be made in Istanbul. It was a particularly fine one and was dispatched by train to al-Madīna, thence to be taken to Makka. In the event, the Egyptian government did send the *kiswa*, bearing the embroidered name of Ḥusayn Kāmil, sultan of Egypt as well as that of Sultan Muḥammad Rashād. The Istanbul-manufactured *kiswa* remained in al-Madīna, and the Cairo one (with Ḥusayn Kāmil's name removed) was hung on the Kaʿba. After the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn revolted against the Ottomans, the Egyptians continued to send *kiswa*s until 1340/1922. In that year, at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, as a result of a dispute between the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn and the Egyptian government, al-Ḥusayn sent the *maḥmal*, the Egyptian guard, the wheat ration, medical mission, *ṣurra* (traditional funds forwarded from Egypt), alms, oblation and *kiswa* back from Makka to Djudda. With only a very short time left before the *ḥadjdj*, al-Ḥusayn cabled to the *amīr* of al-Madīna immediately to forward the Ottoman *kiswa* stored there to Rābigh [*q.v.*]. Simultaneously, he dispatched the steamship *Rushdī* to proceed from Djudda to Rābigh. All worked well, and the Ottoman *kiswa* reached Makka in time to be "dressed" on the Kaʿba by the deadline date of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. Subsequently, al-Ḥusayn ordered a *kiswa* woven in al-ʿIrāḳ, lest the dispute with Egypt not be settled by the 1342/1923 *ḥadjdj*; however, in that year the Egyptian *kiswa* arrived and was used as usual. When the *ḥadjdj* of 1343/1924 approached, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ruled Makka, and relations with Egypt had become so bad that Egypt did not send the *kiswa*. Luckily, the king had a fall-back position, namely, the *kiswa* that King al-Ḥusayn had had made in al-ʿIrāḳ. In the next year, the Egyptians did send the *kiswa*, but that was the year of the famous *maḥmal* incident as a result of which Egypto-Suʿūdī relations became very bad indeed. The Suʿūdī expectation apparently was that the Egyptians would again send the *kiswa* in 1345, but in fact they forbade it along with the other customary items. The Suʿūdī government learned of this only at the beginning of Dju 'l-Ḳaʿda, and once again the king called on ʿAbd Allāh Āl Sulaymān, this time to have a *kiswa* made locally on a rush basis. Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh and the Makkan business community fell to, and by 10 Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja—the due date—a black broadcloth *kiswa*, brocaded with silver and gold as usual, had been produced. For the first time the name of the Suʿūdī monarch appeared—as the donor—brocaded on the band above the Kaʿba door. The *kiswa* continued to be made in a special factory in Makka until relations with Egypt improved, after which it was reordered from there. In 1377/1957-8, the donor legend was as follows: "The manufacture of the *kiswa* was carried out in the United Arab Republic during the régime of President Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir and donated to the noble Kaʿba during the régime of Khādim al-Ḥaramayn, Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd, King of Suʿūdī Arabia, A.H. 1377" (text in Kurdi, iv, 220). When relations between Suʿūdī Arabia and Egypt later soured again, the government once more responded by opening a *kiswa* factory in Makka (currently [1985] located on Djudda Street [Shāriʿ Djudda] about 8 km west of the *Ḥaram*. The factory is managed by a deputy minister of *ḥadjdj* and *awḳāf*.

Repair of the Kaʿba. — On the first day of Muḥarram 1377/29 July 1957, King Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz went to the roof of the Kaʿba to inspect reported damage. The fact was that the venerable building had an outer roof which needed repair, an inner wooden roof which was rotting and walls that were beginning to crumble. Repairs were needed immediately. Two commissions, one technical, the other religious, were established to undertake the work. A detailed examination was made on 7 Muḥarram, and a subsequent report recommended the following remedial steps: replacement of upper roof, repair of lower roof, insertion of a concrete beam between the two roofs around the perimeter, repair of the damaged walls and of the stairs leading to the roof and repair of the marble lining the inner walls. A royal decree (text in al-Kurdī, iv, 68) was issued instructing Muḥammad b. ʿAwaḍ b. Lādin al-Ḥaḍramī, the Director of Public Works (*inshāʾāt ʿumūmiyya*) to carry out the work. All workers were Makkan; the architects and engineers were mostly Egyptian. Specifications were that all materials should be local, the wood of the roof should be of the highest quality, the roof not be painted or decorated in any way and the concrete beam be exactly the same thickness as the original space between the two roofs. On 18 Radjab 1377/1957, Fayṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz presided over the start of these repairs, and on 11 Shaʿbān, H. M. King Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz placed the last piece of marble facingstone in the walls inside the Kaʿba. This was followed by two large dinners on successive nights.

Even before the repair of the Kaʿba, the mosque had begun to undergo the most stupendous expansion in its history. This development in Makka had no doubt been informally decided upon by the king and other senior officials, even as the expansion of *al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī* in al-Madīna was getting under way in 1370/1951. In any case, the increase in the number of pilgrims after World War II had brought facilities of all sorts to acute levels of congestion and inadequacy to the degree that pilgrims in Makka were praying in roads and lanes far outside the confines of the mosque. The first public indication of what was to

happen came on 5 Muḥarram 1375/24 August 1955 when it was announced that all the equipment and machinery which had been used on the now completed enlargement in al-Madīna would be moved to Makka. A month later (6 Ṣafar/24 September) a royal decree established: (1) a Higher Committee chaired by Fayṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the heir designate, to supervise the planning; (2) an executive committee to supervise implementation; and (3) a committee to assess values of expropriated property. Later, the first two were merged into a higher executive committee with King Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as chairman and the minister of finance as vice chairman. The basic concept of the final design was little short of inspired, and may be considered an extension of the design concept developed for the enlargement of the mosque in al-Madīna. It consisted of two ideas: (1) to maintain the old mosque intact and surround it by the new construction; and (2) to incorporate al-Masʿā fully into the mosque complex.

Work began in Rabīʿ II 1375/November 1955 with road diversions, cutting of cables and pipes, land clearing and other diversionary work, and was concentrated in the Adjyād and al-Masʿā areas. A foundation-stone ceremony was held five-and-a-half months later in front of Bāb Umm Hāniʾ with the king and other dignitaries in attendance, and this marked the beginning of construction. Incidentally, by *ḥadjdj* time, pilgrims were able to perform the *saʿy* undisturbed by hawkers and traffic for the very first time. Work concentrated in Stage I on the southeastern side of the mosque and also on the al-Masʿā "thumb." This latter, completed, is 394.5 m long. The ground floor is 12 m high and the second storey 9 m. It is noteworthy that there is a low partitioning in the middle of the Masʿā which provides for a special lane for the handicapped and ensures one-way traffic in each direction. There is no basement under al-Masʿā, but a full one under the rest of the new construction. A particular problem was the floods which sweep south down the wadi systems, around both sides of the mosque (but especially on the east). To deal with this problem an underground conduit 5 m wide and 4-6 m deep was run under the road now known as Shāriʿ al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām (formerly Shāriʿ al-Maʿlā) starting in al-Kashāshiyya quarter then under the area of al-Ṣafā, and under Shāriʿ al-Hidjra where, well south of the mosque, it resurfaces in the Misfala quarter. Among the buildings removed in this phase of the work were those of the old general post, the Ministry of Education and the Egyptian *takiyya*; in addition, there was some other non-mosque construction carried out as a part of the whole project, including a three-story building near al-Ṣafā to house government offices and the mosque-project offices and just northwest of al-Marwa a group of buildings with office and apartments on the upper floors. In Stage II, work continued in a counter-clockwise direction. Special note may be made of the demolition of the cells along the Bāb al-Salām and Bāb Adjyād façades, where the *zamāzima* used to store water for pilgrims, and the construction of replacement cells under the old ones. Not as lucky were the *madrasas* adjoining the mosque on the Adjyād façade; they were simply demolished. Public fountains were also built on the new exterior façades as the work progressed. In Stage III, the southwest and northwest arcades and façades were built. The work was completed in 1398/1978.

All walls of the new construction are covered with local marble. The marble came from quarries in Wādī Fāṭima, Madraka and Farsān. The quarries were developed by Muḥammad b. Lādin, who had also started the companion marble processing factory in 1950 in preparation for the enlargement of the mosque in al-Madīna. He identified the quarries by asking local Bedouin to bring him samples and then by purchasing the most promising land from the government. The equipment in the factory was all Italian, and a force of nine Italian marble specialists directed and trained a total work force of 294 Suʿūdīs and others on a three-shift, round-the-clock basis. According to the Italian technicians, the marble is much harder than the famous Italian Carrara marble. Another feature of the marble operations was the production of "artificial marble." Remnant pieces and chips of marble from the main operation were sent to a crushing plant in Djudda, where they were ground into carefully graded pellets. To these were added waste from the cutting operations. This material was then mixed with a binding agent and poured into a variety of moulds of decorative panels. There were 800 different moulds "the patterns for which were created by a master of the art from Carrara." The mosque project as a whole called for processing 250,000 m² of marble.

Some over-all statistics and other information on the new structure follow:

1. Areas of old building	29,127 m²
Area of new building, including al-Masʿa	131,041 m²
Total	160,168 m²

2. The building can accommodate an estimated 300,000 worshippers with a clear view of the Kaʿba.
3. The old gate names were retained for the new gates except for the new Bāb al-Malik Suʿūd (probably subsequently renamed Bāb al-Malik).
4. There are six main stairways and seven subsidary ones. Stairs leading directly form the street have gentle slopes in order to make it easier for elderly pilgrims.
5. There are seven minarets, 90 m high each. (The old minarets are one feature that did not survive; they also numbered seven.)
6. By Radjab 182/December 1962, demolition of 768 houses and 928 stores and shops had been carried out against indemnities of SR 239,615,300.
7. The work force in 1382/1962 was:

architect-engineers	6
administrative employees	208
skilled workers	150
unskilled workers (maximum)	3,000

8. The total cost of the mosque expansion is estimated at $155 million.
9. The width of the streets around the new mosque is 30 m, with large plazas in front of the main gates.

There is one final aspect of the mosque enlargement and renovation that deserves mention, sc. Zamzam. In 1383/1963-4, the building that had long covered it was torn down and the space was levelled. Access to the well is now below ground down an ample sloping marble staircase; there is no above-ground structure whatsoever.

Like other shrines, *al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām* has its servants and its administration. In late Ottoman days the administration was headed by the *wālī* of Makka who was, therefore, the nominal *shaykh al-Ḥaram*, and it depended financially on the *ewḳāf* (*awḳāf*) in Istanbul. The operational head was the *nāʾib al-Ḥaram* (deputy of the *Ḥaram*) who was appointed by the sultan. The Hāshimite contribution was to institute a special security force whose assignment was to watch out for thieves and corruption and also to provide needed ser-

vices such as "lost and found." Once he assumed power, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz appointed the *nāʾib al-Ḥaram*, and he also established a three-man administrative council (*Madjlis Idārat al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf*) over which the *nāʾib* presided. Financially, since income ceased coming from many *wakfs* after the Suʿūdī takeover, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ordered the financing of all services to come from the public treasury. He also initially doubled the salaries of those who served. His own *wakf* department had support of the *Ḥaram* building as one of its main charges. According to Rutter, below the *nāʾib* came the "opener of God's House" (*sādin*), who since pre-Islamic times had always been from the Shayba (*nisba*: Shaybī) family. Not the least of the perquisites of the *sādin* was the right to cut the *kiswa* up after the *Ḥadjdj* and to sell the small pieces to pilgrims as religious tokens. Incidentally, a member of the Banū Shayba could not become *nāʾib al-Ḥaram*. Below the "opener" were two or three lieutenants who supervised the numerous lesser personages and the actual workers. All, according to Rutter, took special pride in this work. Rutter's estimate is that the total work force declined to 400 during the Wahhābī invasion but that in better times it rose to as many as 800. This latter figure would have included 100 *imāms* and preachers, 100 teachers, 50 muezzins, plus hundreds of sweepers, lamp cleaners, door keepers and Zamzam water drawers (*zamzamī*, pl. *zamāzima*). The *Maṭāf*, the circular inner area around the Kaʿba, was in the care of 50 black eunuchs who also doubled as mosque police. They were either Africans or of African origin and are called *aghās* or, colloquially, *ṭawāshī* (pl. *ṭawāshiya*, sc. eunuchs). Their chief ranked directly below the Shaybī. They wore distinctive clothes and were diligent in instantly removing any litter. The rationale for having eunuchs was that, if women became involved in any incident in the mosque or had to be ejected, the *aghās* could deal with them without impropriety. They apparently had large incomes (especially from *awkāf* in al-Baṣra) and maintained expensive establishments including "wives" and slave girls as well as slave boys. They all lived in al-Hadjla at the northern end of al-Misfala quarter. The young boys destined for this service, who normally had been castrated in Africa, lived together in a large house, there to receive instruction both in their faith and in their duties. Literally slaves of the mosque and not of any individual, the *aghās* were nevertheless greatly venerated both by pilgrims and Makkans. "The middle-class Makkans also invariably rise when addressed by an Agha, and treat him in every way as a superior" (Rutter, 251). Others give a lower estimate for the numbers of mosque employees. Hamza (*Bilad*, 217) writing in 1355/1936-7 numbers as follows: muezzins 14, eunuchs 41, supervisors 80, water drawers 10, sweepers 20 and doormen 30. His list does not include teachers or preachers. Al-Kurdī (iv, 249), writing in the 1960s, notes that there are 26 eunuchs including their *shaykh* and their *nakīb*. He also notes that the *aghās* have their own internal organisation (*niẓām*) and that amongst themselves they use special nicknames.

There are, naturally enough, numerous religious sites in Makka other than *al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām*. Brief remarks: 1. Mawlid al-Nabī (the Prophet's birthplace), located in the Shiʿb ʿAlī ravine near Sūḳ al-Layl. First the dome and minaret and later the whole structure was torn down by the Wahhābīs. The place is still pointed out. 2. Mawlid Sayyidatnā Fāṭima (the birthplace of our Lady Fāṭima). Same remarks. 3. Masdjid al-Arḳam b. al-Arḳam. The home of a Companion of the Prophet and reputed site of ʿUmar's acceptance of Islam. Destroyed during the recent expansion of al-Ḥaram, its location is now a parking lot east of al-Masʿā. 4. In Rutter's time the small mosques marking the houses of other Companions had mostly already been destroyed. 5. Cemetery of al-Maʿlā. It is located about 1 km due north of *al-Ḥaram*. In it are buried Āmina, the Prophet's mother; Khadīdja, his first wife; ʿAbd Manāf, his great-great grandfather; ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his grandfather and guardian; and hosts of Muslims, famous and unknown, from the earliest days until the present. In the first flush of the occupation, Wahhābī zealots destroyed the small domes which covered some of the most famous sites, and those guardians who had sought alms from pious visitors were faced with other work. As in the case of al-Baḳīʿ cemetery in al-Madīna, bodies decompose quickly (six months) in al-Maʿlā, and there is "continuous" burial in the same place. 6. Masdjid al-Djinn (also called Masdjid al-Bayʿa and Masdjid al-Ḥaras). It is on Shāriʿ al-Ḥaram next to al-Maʿlā cemetery and marks the reputed place (see Ḳurʾān, XLVI, 29) where a party of *djinn*, having heard the Prophet chanting the Ḳurʾān were converted to Islam. An older Ottoman building was replaced by a modern mosque in 1399/1978-9. 7. Ghār Ḥirāʾ. Site of the first revelation (XCIV, 1-5), the cave of Ḥirāʾ is near the top of the mountain from which it takes it name (the mountain is more commonly called Djabal al-Nūr today). It lies about 5.2 km northeast of *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf*—a steep climb to the top. The Wahhābīs pulled down the dome which earlier had ornamented it. 8. Ghār Thawr. Seven km south-southeast of *al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām* lies the cave on the top of Djabal Thawr in which the Prophet took refuge with Abū Bakr at the beginning of the *hidjra*; a difficult ascent. 9. al-Tanʿīm. Seven km north of *al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām* on Shāriʿ al-Tanʿīm which turns into Ṭarīḳ al-Madīna. This is the limit of the sacred area in this direction, and it is the place where Makkans often go to don the *iḥrām* when they want to perform the *ʿumra*. They go there not because it is necessary for them but because it is the place where the Prophet, returning from al-Madīna, announced his intention of performing the *ʿumra*. Formerly also a pleasant picnic spot, al-Tanʿīm in the 1980s has become a suburban quarter. There is a small mosque called Masdjid al-ʿUmra. 11. Masdjid al-Khayf. A mosque in Munā in which (at least formerly) were several large vaults which were opened for the receipt of bodies in plague years. It is especially meritorious for prayer on the ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā and has been rebuilt and enlarged by the Suʿūdīs. The new mosque has many columns, splendid carpets and a permanent *imām*. 12. Masdjid Ibrāhīm or, more commonly today, Masdjid Bilāl. Formerly outside the city on the slope of Djabal Abī Ḳubays 250 m due east of the Kaʿba; now a built-up area. 13. Masdjid al-Namira. Also known as Masdjid Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl and as Masdjid ʿArafa. It is located almost 2 km west of Djabal al-Raḥma in the plain of ʿArafāt and takes its name from a low mountain about 2 km further west. 14. Al-Kurdī estimates (ii, 269) that in all there are 150 mosques in Makka, but he adds that Friday prayers are only allowed to be performed in 15 of them (not counting *al-Ḥaram*) in 1375/1955-6. This relaxation of the traditional restriction on performing the Friday noon prayers only in *al-Ḥaram* was in response to the growth of the city and the disruption of *al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām* by the new construction there. The 15 mosques (with their locations) are as follows: Masdjid (thereafter, M.) al-Djinn (al-Sulaymāniyya), M. al-Djumazya (al-Muʿābada), M. al-Amīra Ḥassa (al-Ḥudjūn), M. Ḥamdān al-Faraḥ (al-ʿUtaybiyya),

M. Ibn Rushd al-Hamzānī (?) (al-Muʿābada), M. al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (al-Muʿābada), M. Ḥayy al-Tawfīḳ (Djarwal), M. al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (al-Zāhir), M. Biʾr al-Ham (?m)am (Shiʿb ʿĀmir), M. al-Amīr Bandar (al-Muʿābada), M. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh (Shāriʿ al-Manṣūr), M. al-Kuwaytī (Shāriʿ al-Manṣūr), M. al-Tabīshī) (Djarwal), M. al-Kaʿkī (Djarwal), and M. al-Badawī (or M. al-Rāya or M. al-Djawdariyya) (al-Djawdariyya). From their names, it is clear that most of these are modern mosques. (For more detail on all the above and other mosques, see al-Bilādī, esp. *s.v. masdjid.*).

Pilgrimage. From time immemorial, the life of Makka has been punctuated by the inflow of pilgrims, and even mighty oil has not interfered with this annual surge. Indeed, it has rather confirmed it. D. Long's admirable study of the modern *Ḥadjdj* begins, "Over 1,500,000 people [by 1403/1982 the total figure was probably a little under 2,000,000] annually attend the Hajj, or Great Pilgrimage to Makkah, making it one of the largest exercises in public administration in the world. Nearly every agency of the Saudi government becomes involved, either in regulating the privately operated Hajj service industry, or in providing direct administrative services. Such a task would tax the most sophisticated government bureaucracy; and yet Saudi Arabia, where public administration is still in a developing stage, manages to get the job done each year. Moreover, since non-Muslims are not allowed in Makka, it is done with almost no administrative assistance from more developed countries." The brief tent city annually erected on the plain of ʿArafat and the vast multitude that inhabits it creates as moving a picture of religious faith as any that human society affords.

Ḥadjdj arrival figures (or estimates) for the period under review from various sources:

Foreign *Ḥadjdj* arrivals (in 000s)

Year	No.	Year	No.
1324/1907	120	1373/1954	164
1343/1925	25	1374/1955	233
1344/1926	—	1375/1956	221
1345/1927	191	1376/1957	216
1346/1928	96	1377/1958	209
1347/1929	91	1378/1959	207
1348/1930	82	1379/1960	253
1349/1931	39	1380/1961	286
1350/1932	29	1381/1962	216
1351/1933	20	1382/1963	197
1352/1934	25	1383/1964	267
1353/1935	34	1384/1965	283
1354/1936	34	1385/1966	294
1355/1937	50	1386/1967	316
1356/1938	67	1387/1968	319
1357/1939	60	1388/1969	375
1358/1940	32	1389/1970	406
1359/1941	9	1390/1971	431
1360/1942	24	1391/1972	479
1361/1942-3	25	1392/1973	645
1362/1943	63	1393/1973-4	608
1363/1944	38	1394/1974-5	919
1364/1945	38	1395/1975	895
1365/1946	61	1396/1976	719
1366/1947	55	1397/1977	739
1367/1948	76	1398/1978	830
1368/1949	90	1399/1979	863
1369/1950	108	1400/1980	813
1370/1951	101	1401/1981	879
1371/1952	149	1402/1982	854
1372/1953	150	1403/1983	1,004

In the period under review, three aspects of the *Ḥadjdj* must be considered: the transitional period running from the Suʿūdī conquest to the end of World War II, during which the camel gave way to the motor vehicle; the increasing Suʿūdī regulation of what D. Long has called the *Ḥadjdj* service industry; and the *Ḥadjdj* in the era of mass air transport.

1. *The* Ḥadjdj *in the era of camel and car.* In general, what must be emphasised is that the security which the *pax Suʿūdiana* brought to the Ḥidjāz transformed the pilgrimage. No longer were pilgrims subjected to capricious "taxes" or thinly veiled threats of much worse as they passed through tribal areas. No longer were the exploitative tendencies of merchants, transporters, *muṭawwif*s and officials allowed to run unchecked and unheeded. The policy was to make the pilgrimage as dignified and comfortable a spiritual experience as possible. King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz turned his attention to the improvement of the lot of the pilgrims as he first entered Makka. It has already been noted that, when the king entered the city, his initial decree confirmed all *muṭawwifūn* "with a clear title" in their positions. The organic statute of 1345/1926 established a committee, *Ladjnat Idārat al-Ḥadjdj* (committee on administering the *Ḥadjdj*), to assist the viceroy, Fayṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in supervising the pilgrimage. The committee was to include the heads of all government departments involved in the *Ḥadjdj* and a number of qualified notables, which latter category was probably intended to include senior members of the *muṭawwif* organisation. The committee was vested with investigatory powers, and all aspects of the pilgrimage were within its purview. But the king remained the final authority, as Article 16 makes clear: "'All regulations made by the Pilgrimage Committee should be enforced by the Agent-General [viceroy] after they have been sanctioned by His Majesty the King'" (quoted in Long, 55).

Philby reports (*Pilgrim*, 20 ff.) in some detail on the 1349/1931 pilgrimage. The king personally supervised matters like an officer in his command post. The royal party itself travelled in 300 automobiles, but it was not until 1352/1934 that ordinary citizens were allowed to use vehicles to go to ʿArafāt. Houses in Minā were being rented for £40 for the four or five days of the *Ḥadjdj*, but again note that they were used for only some of the 350 days of the lunar year. The government discouraged various extravagant practices and did not allow access to the summit of Djabal al-Raḥma; guards were posted about half-way up. Exactly at sunset on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the return to Makka begins, and on arrival at Muzdalifa the worshippers find a city which had not been there when the pilgrims passed through on the previous day. The pilgrimage is attended by various kinds of difficulties, for the régime which is responsible, not excluding political difficulties. Philby notes (*Jubilee*, 160) that during the 1349/1931 *Ḥadjdj*, the king felt it necessary discreetly to stop Amān Allāh Khān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the former king of Afghanistan, from making political propaganda for his cause with Afghan pilgrims. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's policy was that any Muslim was welcome, but that the occasion was for religious not political purposes. A different, attempted political use of the pilgrimage occurred during the 1353/1935. As the king and his eldest son Suʿūd were performing the *ṭawāf al-ifāḍa* (circumambulation of the Kaʿba on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda), three Yamanīs, probably hoping to revenge some loss incurred in the Suʿūdī-Yamanī war the previous year, fell on King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and on Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz with daggers. Both received light wounds, but the assailants were shot dead.

The pilgrimage is also a socio-political affair, and

King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz and his successors have extended their hospitality generously and advantageously. ᶜAbbās Ḥamāda, who was a delegate from al-Azhar and whose account of his pilgrimage in 1354/1936 contains many interesting observations, vividly retells his reception by the king. He and others were invited to a royal dinner on the night of 6 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja. They gathered in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to wait for cars to take them to al-Muᶜābada palace. A little before sunset, the group left. Paraphrasing and skipping, his account reads (70-3): "We were let off in front of a great palace built like a strong military fort outside Makka to the northeast in al-Muᶜābada. Opposite the palace lies Djabal Durūd, on the summit of which was a fort. When I entered the outside door, I found the royal guard on both sides armed to the teeth wearing splendid Arab dress. Most of them were slaves of the king. I walked until I entered a large reception hall furnished with splendid oriental carpets. When all the visitors had assembled, excellent Arabian coffee was passed around several time. During this stage, the chief of the *dīwān* was going around and greeting people warmly. When the muezzin called out sunset prayer time, we hastened to the mosque inside the palace. After praying, we climbed to the upper floor where superb Arab food was spread out for the guests. It combined the best oriental practice with the most modern European. H. R. H. Prince Suᶜūd b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, the heir designate, sat at one table; Prince Fayṣal b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, at another; and the chief of the royal *dīwān* at a third. After the meal, we went into an area reserved for receptions and then to the main royal reception hall where King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz ibn al-Suᶜūd was surrounded by ulema, princes, ministers and Eastern leaders who had come to Makka for the pilgrimage. When all had gathered, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz delivered an Islamic sermon. His talk reminded me of the Orthodox caliphs. When he finished, various speakers and poets rose to praise him. I got up and gave my speech [text, which is not without interest, at pp. 71-3]. We all left full of thanks, praise, and loyalty." Nor was that dinner the only time Ḥamāda was entertained by the royal family. He was later received by the king in Minā, and on another occasion Suᶜūd b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz sent for him to attend his *madjlis*.

Ḥamāda makes other observations. He speaks of the general lack of consideration for the old and weak in the surge of people performing the *ṭawaf*. Some would die, he opines, were it not for the police. A custom that he reports (61) is that some men take their wives' heads and shove them hard against the Black Stone. If blood flows, he calls out: "*Hadjdjī*" because the flowing blood means that the pilgrimage is acceptable. There is also shouting for forgiveness as people run around the Kaᶜba. These folk practices and ideas, including the belief of some ignorant pilgrims that it is a blessing if they are hit by droppings from the *Ḥaram* pigeons, or the practice by others of kissing the stone of the *Maḳam Ibrāhīm*, are the kind that the Suᶜūdī régime discouraged; Ḥamāda condemns them vigorously in his turn. He also discusses (67) begging. At *Ḥadjdj* time, thousands of poor Bedouin flocked to Makka and, along with the Makkan poor, became an army of beggars who constituted a considerable nuisance for the pilgrims. It was more or less a profession, in his view. Since his pilgrimage was made just when the conversion from camel to automobile transport was taking place, Ḥamāda makes a number of remarks (*passim*) on the subject. Most importantly, cars are much more comfortable than camels and much quicker. He contrasts the 12 days it took by camel from Makka to al-Madīna with the 18 hours that it took by car, although he notes that the conversion might deprive many Bedouin of their livelihood. He himself went to ᶜArafāt with a group that had 400 camels, and he paid 60 Egyptian piasters for the round trip. The outgoing trip encountered a severe thunderstorm, and it took six hours to reach the destination. On the problem of conversion from camel transport to motor vehicles, Philby notes (*Forty years*, 173) that the chaos initially engendered by cut-throat and dishonest competition among motor transport companies had by 1348-9/1930 been ended through the government's forcing all the motor companies to combine into a single monopoly company backed and regulated by the government.

2. *The* Ḥadjdj *service industry*. This service has long been a key element in the year-to-year functioning of the pilgrimage. It has grown up over centuries, is highly specialised, is divided among families and is organised into guilds. Two guilds are specifically Makkan, the *muṭawwifūn* (sing. *muṭawwif* "one who causes [others] to make the *ṭawāf* or circumambulation of the Kaᶜba"; an alternate term sometimes encountered is *shaykh al-ḥadjdj*); and the *zamāzima* (sing. *zamzamī*, a "Zamzamer"). A third guild which is related to Makka, but which is largely based in Djudda, is that of the *wukalā'* (sing. *wakīl*, "agent") whose task, as agents for the *muṭawwifūn*, is to meet pilgrims arriving in Djudda, help them choose a *muṭawwif* if by chance they do not have one, be responsible for them in Djudda until they depart for Makka and again when they return to Djudda. (For the guild of *adillā'*, sing. *dalīl*, "guide" of al-Madīna, see art. AL-MADĪNA; for the now defunct guild of camel brokers, *mukharridjūn*, sing. *mukharridj*, "dispatcher", see Long, 46.) The task of the *muṭawwifūn* is to assist the pilgrim while in Makka, by supplying his material needs and in performing the rites of the pilgrimage. In the years immediately following the Suᶜūdī conquest, the *muṭawwifūn* functioned much as they had in previous times. They delegated many of their responsibilities to assistants, who were called *ṣabī* (boy) if apprentices and *dalīl* (guide; unrelated to the *adillā'* of al-Madīna) if experienced. *Muṭawwifūn* commonly owned property which they either rented out directly to their clients or to another *muṭawwif* for his clients. Rutter notes (149) that particular national groups have their own attitudes. Malaysians, for example, like to be housed near the *Masdjid al-Ḥarām* and are willing to pay handsomely for the privilege. Thus a *muṭawwif* with a house there will rent it to a *muṭawwif* of Malaysians and put his own group in cheaper quarters. Rutter's own *muṭawwif* was the model for this generalisation. Aside from his own living quarters, he had rented his house to a *muṭawwif* of Malaysians for a three-month period for £30 per year. Incidentally, Rutter reports that in the previous year 1342/1924 his *muṭawwif* had had 1,000 clients whereas in the starving year of 1343/1925 he had only Rutter. One of the obligations of a *muṭawwif* even in Rutter's time was to keep a register of each pilgrim who died, along with a list of his or her effects. Twenty-seven of this *muṭawwif*'s 1,000 clients had died during the 1342/1924 pilgrimage. Most had been destitute or had possessed only a pound or two. The *muṭawwifūn* were organised according to the areas from which their clients came, and frequently the *muṭawwif* was originally from the same area. Thus he spoke the language and knew the characteristics of his customers who in turn would, if warranted, report favourably on him when they returned home.

Muṭawwifūn specialising in a particular country

formed sub-guilds (Long's term, 30) which rigidly excluded other *muṭawwifūn*. These sub-guilds were called *ṭawā'if (sing. ṭā'ifa)*, and each was headed by a *shaykh al-mashā'ikh*. The title of the over-all guild leader was *shaykh al-muṭawwifīn*. He both represented the guild to the authorities and also had the responsibility of seeing that government regulations were applied. The normal pool for admitting new members was those proven assistants who were members of the family of a *muṭawwif*. "In cases of an interloper, however, the muṭawwifīn would rise to a man to prevent him from becoming established. The few outsiders who persisted were called *jarrārs* (those who drag [someone] along) and dealt primarily with Hajjis too poor to hire the services of a bona fide muṭawwif" (Long, 30). The final decision on admissibility lay with the *shaykh al-muṭawwifīn*. Some *muṭawwifūn* were large operators, with recruiters who travelled annually to the country or countries of specialisation; others were much smaller. Long (31) estimates that in the mid-1930s, there may have been 500 *muṭawwifūn* who, with helpers and apprentices, would have totalled "several thousand." The *muṭawwifūn* were compensated for their work in a variety of ways, although it should be noted that in theory there was no charge for guiding the pilgrim in the actual performance of his duties. In fact, there were no set fees and the pilgrims were expected to pay a gratuity according to their means. Should a pilgrim be too poor to pay, a *muṭawwif* would help him with the rites without pay; however, according to Rutter (446), "such an act is rarely done out of kindness. It is done in order to sustain the delusion that rites performed without the guidance of a mutawwif are valueless in the sight of Allah—for such is the impious connection advanced by the fraternity of guides for their own financial advantage." Yet such a flexible system doubtless cut both ways, especially for the apprentices and guides, and some at least worked hard for little. Additional sources of income were rentals, commissions for referring clients to various associated merchants, *zamāzima*, coffee shops, etc. It should also be realised that the government got a "cut" of *muṭawwif* income by issuing licenses (sing. *taḳrīr*) to the *muṭawwifūn*. In theory, these licenses once issued had been good for life, but prior to the Suʿūdī take-over, revalidation fees of various sorts had caused the system to break down. The *zamāzima* are basically organised in the same way as the *muṭawwifūn*. Membership is hereditary, members employ young helpers, they have their own *shaykh*, and they also specialise by the country or area of their clients' origin. As indicated above, they normally have client-sharing relationships with the *ṭā'ifa* of *muṭawwifūn*, specialising in the same linguistic or national group as themselves. Many are bi- or multilingual. The basic function of the *zamāzima* is to distribute the sacred water of Zamzam to those who desire it, whether in the mosque precincts or at home, where it was delivered twice a day to those who ordered it. Naturally, business was much greater during the *Ḥadjdj*. Selling water in containers to be taken home by a pilgrim was also a most important part of their business. Although in principle anyone could draw his own water, the practice was hardly encouraged by the *zamāzima*, and in addition, they performed a considerable service during the long hot periods by cooling the otherwise warm water in porous earthenware jars. The members of the guild of *wukalā'* of Djudda have formal relationships with the Makkan *muṭawwifūn* for whom they do it in fact work as agents.

Regulation of the guilds began shortly after the occupation of al-Ḥidjāz. In Rabīʿ II 1345/-October-November 1926, Fayṣal issued comprehensive regulations for the guilds, in the first article of which it was made clear that the king nominated *muṭawwifūn*. However, the fact that these guilds were powerful is indicated by the fact that they made King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz back down on two separate occasions. The first was very shortly after he took Makka, when he tried to break the monopoly that had grown up whereby a pilgrim was compelled to accept as *muṭawwif* a *muṭawwif* who had acquired rights to all pilgrims from the given pilgrim's home area, but the affected interests were too powerful, and the king had to accept the old system. The second time was in the late 1920s, when the king wanted to pump water from Zamzam and lead it by pipe to taps in locations where it would be more readily available to pilgrims and also more sanitary. The *zamāzima* and the *sāḳīs* (water haulers) saw their interests threatened, and they aroused the local Nadjdīs against the king's plan. With the Ikhwān trouble brewing, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz decided it was more politic to retreat, and the pumps and pipes that had been ordered sat uselessly. Nevertheless, government control over the guilds gradually increased. In 1348/1930, the king devoted much effort to the reorganisation of the *Ḥadjdj*, and the committee's name became *Ladjnat al-Ḥadjdj wa 'l-Muṭawwifīn* (Committee on the *Ḥadjdj* and the *muṭawwifūn*). During the 1351/1932-3 sessions of the *Madjlis al-Shūrā*, its policy mandate was enlarged to include "caring for pilgrimage and pilgrims ... because efforts expended in serving the interests of pilgrims in this holy land constitutes one of the ways of approaching God.... It is a duty in the interest of this country to care for them and their interests with vigilance" (text in Hamza, 101). Bureaucratically, *Ḥadjdj* affairs were under the Ministry of Finance. The committee was composed of ten members, as follows: chairman (appointed by the government), four members elected by the trustees (*hay'at umanā'*) of the *muṭawwif* guild (two to represent Turkish *muṭawwifūn*; two, other nationalities), two members from the trustees of the Djāwā ("Java" = Southeast Asia) *ṭā'ifa*, two members from the trustees of the "Indian" (= South Asia) *ṭā'ifa*, and one member from the trustees of the *zamāzima*. Licensing of guildsmen was spelled out by the Suʿūdī régime in some detail. The bases for possession of a valid licence were: 1. inheritance of a licence; 2. service under a licenced *muṭawwif* for a period of 15 years conditional on the applicant's receiving a certification of competence and good character from a licensed *muṭawwif*, plus nomination by the relevant *ṭā'ifa* and approval by the *shaykh al-muṭawwifīn*; 3. a grant (*inʿām*) from the ruler (*walī al-amr*); and 4. holding a license from a previous ruler. Two types of these licenses had been issued, a first type that gave the head of a given geographical area's *ṭā'ifa* the right to assign pilgrims to individual *muṭawwifūn* within the *ṭā'ifa*, and a second type introduced by the Hāshimite régime, in which the process of assigning pilgrims was opened up. At the time Fu'ād Ḥamza was writing, these guilds were divided into three divisions (his term is *ḳism*) each led by a head (his term is *ra'īs*): 1. the "Javan" *shaykhs* ((headed by Shaykh Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Mannān), whose ten trustees were elected by the 500 members. 2. The "Indian" *muṭawwifūn* (headed by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Maẓhar), who also have trustees and who number in all 350. 3. The *muṭawwifūn* of other races (headed by Shaykh Muḥammad Harsānī), who also have ten trustees and a membership of 350. Ḥamza notes that there were 200 *zamāzima* (headed by Sulaymān Abū Ghaliyya),

with a similar organisation. Ḥamza's estimate then is for a total of 1,400 Makkan guildsmen, not counting the *mukharridjūn*. For the 1386/1967 *Ḥadjdj*, regulations on the assignment of clients to *muṭawwifūn* were liberalised so that a pilgrim arriving without a pre-selected *muṭawwif* could be assigned to any *muṭawwif* by the *Suʾāl* (Interrogation [committee]). A *Suʾāl*, composed of *wukalāʾ* and Ministry of Ḥadjdj officials, sits at every port of entry. The purpose of the change was to prevent *muṭawwifūn* who specialised in areas whence many pilgrims came, from getting too large a share, relatively, of the market. To the same end, the fees collected were set on a sliding scale which reduced the fee as the number of a *muṭawwif*'s clients increased. Nevertheless, nothing prevented *muṭawwifūn* from employing doubtful tactics to lure pilgrims before their arrival in Suʿūdī Arabia and after the 1386/1967 pilgrimage, controls in this regard were tightened to force each *muṭawwif* formally to declare his area of specialisation. Simultaneously, the three *ṭāʾifa*s were also formalised as follows: Arab *ṭāʾifa* (Arab countries plus Turkey, Iran and Europe [?plus the Americas], Indian *ṭāʾifa* (Afghanistan, Ceylon, India and Pakistan), Djāwā *ṭāʾifa* (Indonesia, Philippines, Burma, China, Malaysia, Thailand and Japan). As a double check, each *ṭāʾifa* board had to approve the *muṭawwif*'s declaration. The net result was that no *muṭawwif* was allowed to solicit clients outside the area of his approved declaration. Balancing this limitation was the rule that thereafter, pilgrims arriving with no pre-selected *muṭawwif* would automatically be assigned to a *muṭawwif* specialising in the area from which he came.

Gradually, the government was also able to establish set fees. In 1948 the total fee for a pilgrim was SR 401.50/£35.50 (see *Madjallat al-Ḥadjdj*, n. 10, p. 47; cited by Long, 38). This fee included all charges. The part of it dedicated to Makkans was as follows: *muṭawwif*, SR 51; *shaykh al-muṭawwifīn* and his board, SR 4.5; *naḳīb* (? later term for a *dalīl*), SR .5; poor *muṭawwifūn*, SR .5; *zamzamī*, SR 3.5. Thus the total cost for guild services in Makka was SR 60/£5.31.

Various new decrees and amendments continued to increase the regulatory control until on 9 Djumādā I 1385/5 September 1965 a comprehensive royal decree (*marsūm*) was issued which detailed the responsibilities of all guilds, including those in Djudda and in al-Madīna, reset fees and established travel instructions. The fee for the services of a *muṭawwif*, *zamzamī* and a *wakīl* was SR 74/$16.44. This fee was paid in Djudda to the *wakīl*, who deposited it in the central bank, the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency. The government then paid the guildsmen. Under new streamlined procedures, the pilgrim was to go to a reception centre run by the Ministry of *Ḥadjdj* and *Awḳāf* where he or she was processed and introduced to the *muṭawwif* or his staff. Duties to the client were specified as follows: 1. to receive the arriving pilgrim, take his passport, and issue him a special travel document giving his name, nationality, address in Makka, name of his *muṭawwif*, departure date and means of transport; 2. to assist the pilgrim to find lodging at a rate he can afford, according to a rent-control schedule of SR 100 for a house in Makka and SR 30 for a tent in ʿArafāt and Minā. There is an Accommodation Control Committee charged with oversight of housing and investigation of abuses. The *muṭawwif* must also assist the pilgrim in obtaining reasonable prices for food and other goods in stores; 3. to guide the pilgrim through all the prescribed rites in Makka, ʿArafat, and Minā; 4. to supervise the transportation and the stay at ʿArafāt and Minā. For this purpose a second card is issued showing the site of his tent in ʿArafāt and Minā. According to the regulation, "cards shall include the number of the plot, square, and street." In addition, the *muṭawwif* must erect signs giving the same information "so that the Hajjis may see clearly their places in ʿArafāt and Mina" (Long, 41-2); and 5. to assist the pilgrim in arranging his ongoing travel. Three days before departing from Makka, the pilgrim's name "is submitted to the Hajj Ministry for inclusion on a departure list and for checking reservations and tickets... Passports, tickets, and reservations are then returned to the Hajji" (Long, 42). The *zamzamī* had under the 1965 regulations two responsibilities: 1. to supply pilgrims with Zamzam water within *al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām* and twice a day in their rooms; and 2. to help them during prayers, i.e., to supply water for ablutions. All guildsmen are responsible for carrying out set procedures to help lost pilgrims, to report suspected disease to health officials and to deal with death. Finally, the government has also tried to regulate the quality of the guildsmen's helpers. Long indicates (45-6) that the royal decree of 1965 "states that every employee must be of good conduct, physically fit, of suitable age to perform his required services, and competent and licensed for that service. It further stipulates that: 'The muṭawwif... and zamzami, for their part must take the necessary steps to supervise the said persons during their work and guarantee good performance. Each is to be supplied with a card containing all the [required] information including the name of his employer.' "

3. *The* Ḥadjdj *in the era of air travel.* The pilgrimage entered its latest phase in the wake of World War II with the simultaneous appearance of air travel and of greatly increased income from oil. The first pilgrim flights were in chartered ex-military transports; in the 1980s, almost all pilgrims came by "wide-bodied" jets, and the number have increased dramatically as noted above. One might start this section on the post-war period by reporting that the direct tax imposed by the king in 1345-6/1927 was lifted in 1371/1952, by which year oil income had exceeded *Ḥadjdj* income. The circumstances were as follows. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, just a year before his death, was heard to say: "The goal of my life is to lift the *Ḥadjdj* fees from the Muslims." One of his oldest advisors, Shaykh Yūsuf Yāsīn, who was present, said: "The king almost immediately turned to me and said, 'Telegraph Ibn Sulaymān [ʿAbd Allāh Āl Sulaymān, Minister of Finance] to abolish the pilgrims' fees.' So I wired him in the king's name as directed. He replied to the king, 'O Long of Life: Thirty million *riyāl*s—from what shall I compensate them in the budget?" ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz replied to him: '*Dabbir nafsaka*' ("solve your own problems")!' " The fees were abolished forthwith. (See al-Ziriklī, 1416.) Other positive moves followed. By 1376/1956-7, the Ministry of Health had built a large modern hospital in Minā, including specialised sunstroke facilities, even though the town really existed only a few days a year. Al-Kurdī describes (ii, 194) the government's provision of shaded rest areas and ice water taps along the way between Minā and ʿArafāt (in addition to the numerous coffee houses which serve fruit and other food as well as drinks). There were also important administrative changes. In 1383-4/1964 following Fayṣal's accession to the throne, direct supervision of the *Ḥadjdj* was relinquished by the new king and devolved upon the *amīr* of Makka. For the pilgrimage of 1385/1966, the old committee was superseded by a new Supreme Ḥadjdj Committee (*Ladjnat al-Ḥadjdj al-ʿUlyā*). "Chaired by

the amir, its members include the mayors of Jiddah and Makkah; the senior representatives in the Hijaz for the Ministries of Health, Interior, Hajj and Waqfs, and other interested ministries; and representatives from the local police, customs, quarantine, and other offices'' (Long, p. 56). All policy on the ever-more complicated *Ḥadjdj* operation was set, under the over-all supervision of the king, by this committee. Another new aspect of the *Ḥadjdj* is the growth of hotels. The city now boasts not less than 25 hotels, and several of them belong to major international chains; many meet international standards. To give a small insight into the way things have changed in the latest phase, it is enough to mention that at ᶜArafāt there are lost children's tents stocked with toys to divert them until their parents claim them. It is also pertinent to note that in 1974, the *kiswa* factory employed 80 craftsmen who wove 2,500 feet of material on hand looms. The finished cloth weighs about 5,000 lbs.

The annual traffic problem may be the most challenging in the world. An excellent picture is provided by the following extended quotation:

''In order to get some idea of the magnitude of the traffic problem at ᶜArafat during the nafrah, one might picture about twelve [major] football games all getting out at the same time, with all the fans heading for the same place; only, in the case of the Hajj, there is a multitude of different languages, types of vehicles, and many foreign drivers not familiar with the road system. In order to cope with this situation, special cadres of traffic police are trained for the Hajj and are given extra assistance by the Saudi army. In recent years such modern devices as closed circuit television have also been installed to help guide the traffic flow. Moreover Hajjis traveling overland are required to use designated routes on entering al-Madīnah, Makkah, Muzdalifah, and Minā; the vehicles must be parked in designated places until the Hajjis are scheduled to depart. While in these cities and at ᶜArafat the Hajjis must utilize Saudi transportation (for which they have paid anyway).

Despite all these measures the traffic situation can still get out of hand. In 1968 a mammoth traffic jam developed during the nafrah, and some Hajjis were delayed as much as twenty hours trying to get from ᶜArafāt to Muzdalifah. Making matters worse, an exceptionally large number of Saudis attended the Hajj because of the special religious significance of Standing Day falling on Friday and because of the extension of the highway system throughout the kingdom. Not subject to the parking regulations for non-Saudi Hajjis, many took their private autos to ᶜArafāt. In addition many Turkish buses, which had been allowed to drive to ᶜArafāt because they contained sleeping and eating facilities, broke down during the long tie-ups, further contributing to the traffic jam. Sixteen new, black-and-white-checkered police cars especially marked for the purpose, were wrecked as they sought to cross lanes of moving or stalled traffic. In the post-Hajj evaluation by the Supreme Hajj Committee, traffic control was a major topic, and since then no such major tie-ups have been reported'' (Long, 64).

It is clear that, in totally changed circumstances, pilgrimage to the *Bayt Allāh* in Makka is a continuing, vital process not only for Muslims around the world but most especially for Makka al-Mukarrama.

Education and cultural life. Formal education, traditional or modern, was little developed in Makka in late Ottoman and Hās̲h̲imite times. The first major attempt to improve the situation had been made by the distinguished public-spirited D̲j̲udda merchant, Muḥammad ᶜAlī Zaynal Riḍā, who founded the Madrasat al-Falāḥ in Makka in 1330/1911-12 as he had founded a school of the same name in D̲j̲udda in 1326/1908-9. He is reported to have spent £400,000 of his own money on these two schools before the world depression of 1929 forced him to curtail his support, at which point ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz assigned a share of the D̲j̲udda customs' duties to support the institutions. These two schools, the best in the land, had enormous influence through their graduates, even though they followed the old principles of excessive reliance on memorisation with little emphasis on independent thought. There were also in pre-Has̲h̲imite days some Indian religious institutes, and of course, Islamic sciences were taught in *al-Masd̲j̲id al-Ḥarām*. During the Hās̲h̲imite period, what Wahba calls (125) schools-in-name appeared, including an academic school (al-Madrasa al-Rāḳiya) as well as agricultural and military schools. By the time of the Suᶜūdī occupation, the city counted one public elementary (*ibtidāʾī*) and 5 public preparatory (*taḥḍīrī*) schools. Private schools in addition to al-Falāḥ included 20 Ḳurʾān schools (*kuttāb*) and perhaps 5 other private schools. Rutter noted that a good deal of study went on among the pilgrims and opined that the Makkans were better educated than the contemporary Egyptians. Ḥamāda, writing a decade later, agrees about the first point, for he says that during his pilgrimage hundreds of pilgrims gathered nightly to hear the lesson given by the *imām*, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Abū Samḥ ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir. He taught *tafsīr [q.v.]* according to Ibn Kat̲h̲īr [*q.v.*], but Ḥamāda complains that his lecture wandered, often to the question of intercession with God—a sensitive point for the Wahhābīs—and wishes that he would concentrate on subjects of more interest to his listeners. He also comments that the majority of the population were illiterate and opines that the highest diploma awarded by the Falāḥ school, the *ᶜālimiyya*, was equivalent to the *ibtidāʾiyya* of al-Azhar in Cairo.

In any case, King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz moved rapidly in the field of education as in other areas. In 1344-5/1926 he established al-Maᶜhad al-ᶜIlmī al-Suᶜūdī (Science Institute) for instruction in *s̲h̲arīᶜa* and Arabic language and linguistics, but also for social, natural and physical sciences as well as physical education. In 1356-7/1938, the Maᶜhad was divided into four departments, *s̲h̲arīᶜa*, calligraphy, teacher training, and secondary instruction. The faculty was largely Egyptian, and by 1935 was also giving instruction in the English language. In addition, by that time the government had established other schools, the K̲h̲ayriyya, ᶜAzīziyya, Suᶜūdiyya and Fayṣaliyya, in addition to starting student missions abroad. These developments were praised by Ḥamāda. Another development in the growth of education in Makka was the establishment in 1352/1932 of the Dār al-Ḥadīth (the *ḥadīth* academy) by Imām Muḥammad Abū Samḥ ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir. *Ḥadīth* was the only subject taught, and that at a relatively low level. Based on Ḥamza's summary (220-2), Makkan schools in about 1354/1935 were as shown in the table overleaf.

Thus, based on a population of perhaps 80,000, there were some 5,000 students enrolled in schools. Many of the teachers were ''foreigners,'' Egyptians, Southeast Asians, Muslims from British India and Central Asians, but then many in the population as a whole were people of non-Arabian origin. Students in many of these schools received stipends based on the financial capability of the several schools.

Educational facilities continued to expand, especially after oil income began to flow on a significant scale

Name	Level	No. of teachers	No. of students
Public schools			
al-Maᶜhad al-ᶜIlmī al--Suᶜūdī		7	57
al-ᶜAzīziyya	elementary & preparatory	15	452
al-Raḥmāniyya	,,	10	300
al-Suᶜūdiyya	,,	10	300
al-Fayṣaliyya	,,	10	250
al-Muḥammadiyya	elementary	5	100
al-Khālidiyya	,,	5	90
Night Schools		6	100
Police Department supervised orphanage		?	49
Sub-total		68	1,698
Private schools			
al-Falāḥ			796
al-Fakhriyya			371
al-Ṣawlatiyya			575
al-Fāʾizīn			120
al-Māḥī			138
al-Tarakkī al-ᶜIlmī			79
al-ᶜUlūmiyya al-Djāwiyya			500
al-Indūnisiyyā			30
Dār al-Ḥadīth			30
20 *kuttāb*s			685
Sub-total			3,324
Total			5,022

after World War II. Secondary school education developed as follows. The first school to become a regular secondary school was the ᶜAzīziyya, which had been upgraded to that status in 1355-6/1937. By 1363-4/1944, the number had grown to four with total enrollments of 368. Nine years later, there were 12 secondary schools with 1,617 students, and by 1381-2/1962 there were 18 with 2,770 pupils. The first institution of higher learning was established in 1370/1949-50, namely, the Kulliyyat al-Sharīᶜa (*sharīᶜa* college), which subsequently became the Faculty of Sharīᶜa of King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz University, most faculties of which are in Djudda. According to Thomas's survey (published 1968) the Faculty of Sharīᶜa was comprised of departments of *sharīᶜa*; Arabic language and literature; and history and Islamic civilisation. The undergraduate programme lasts four years and grants a bachelor's degree. Master's degrees and doctorates are also granted. (For curricular details, see Thomas, 68-70.) A College of Education followed in 1370-1/1951. Its departments in the mid-60s were: education and psychology; geography; English; mathematics; and physics. It only granted the bachelor's degree in the 1960s, but planned to develop masters' and doctoral programs. (For curricular details, see Thomas, 74-7.) In 1981 the university faculties in Makka were constituted into a separate university called Djāmiᶜat Umm al-Ḳurā, which included four faculties; *sharīᶜa* and Islamic studies; science; Arabic language; and education, to which last there was also attached a centre for the English language. In 1379-80/1960 another higher institution was created, the police academy, which required a secondary school certificate for admission. By 1386/1966-7 there was also in existence Maᶜhad al-Nūr (the Institute of Light), a school for the blind and deaf, which counted 87 students. It may also be noted that an intermediate vocational school teaching auto mechanics, shop, electronics, printing and book binding had opened.

An official survey of the academic year 1386-7/1966-7 (from Kingdom of Suᶜūdī Arabia, Ministry of Finance, *passim*) reveals the picture for institutions which are part of the Ministry of Education shown on the facing page.

There is little information available on female education. According to Ḥamāda, girls in the 1930s only attended *kuttāb*s taught by *faḳīh*s and after the first few years had to continue study at home. He also comments on the generally low level of women's knowledge and deprecates the use of female diviners or fortune-tellers (sing. *ᶜarrāfa*) for medical purposes. But Ḥamāda also notes that even in his day, young men were seeking more educated wives, and he calls on the government to support female education and in particular to replace the *faḳīh*s with "enlightened" teachers. The chart above indicates that, although female education has expanded a great deal, it has continued to lag behind male.

In the 1970s and the 1980s, educational expansion has continued on a large scale. One estimate—possibly high—is that in 1402/1982 there were 15 secondary schools in Makka.

Educational administration of Makkan institutions followed general trends in the country. The Department of Education was established in 1344/1926 under the direction of Ṣāliḥ Shaṭṭa, and regulations for it were issued by the government of al-Ḥidjāz in Muḥarram 1346/July 1927. *Inter alia*, these gave the department its own policy board (*madjlis*). The budget was £5,665. In Muḥarram 1357/March 1938 a vice-regal decree (*amr sāmⁱⁿ*) was issued which thoroughly reorganised the department now called *Mudīriyyat al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜĀmma*. All education except military fell under its aegis. Four departments were established: policy board, secretariat, inspectorate, and instruc-

Type	No. of institutions	No. of Su^cūdi teachers	No. of non-Su^cūdī teachers	Total teachers	No. of students
Elementary	56	527	213	740	18,654
Intermediate	7	94	95	189	2,768
Intermediate/secondary	1	7	15	22	387
Secondary	1	9	27	36	767
Teacher training institutes of elementary schools	2	—	—	—	343
Teacher training institutes for secondary schools	1	2	7	9	65
Commercial intermediate school	1	2	6	8	57
Adult education	19				2,226
Institute for blind	1	8	8	16	87
Private schools	13	25	72	97	1,563
Public girls schools	21	—	—	318	9,882
Private girls schools	6	—	—	74	1,984
Faculty of Sharī^ca	1	12	11	23	737
Total	130				39,520

tional office (details in Nallino, 44-7). These new regulations brought private education under full government control. They specified that the principal had to be a Su^cūdī citizen and that preference in hiring teachers should also go to citizens. Foreign nationals had to be approved by the Department of Education. In curricular terms, those private schools which received government support were required to teach *sharī^ca* according to any one of the four recognised *madhhabs*. In the religious institutions, *kalām* [*q.v.*] was forbidden and *fikh* was limited to the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*. Little budgetary information on the schools of Makka is available. Directors of the department were as follows: Ṣāliḥ Shaṭṭa, Muḥammad Kāmil al-Ḳaṣṣāb (of Damascus, who served only briefly), Mādjid al-Kurdī, Ḥāfiẓ Wahba (in addition to his other duties; his deputy, who ran the department, was Ibrāhīm al-Shūrī, a graduate of Dar al-^cUlūm in Cairo), Muḥammad Amīn Fūda (1347-1352/1928-9 to 1933-4), Ṭāhir al-Dabbāgh (until 1378/1959), Muḥammad b. ^cAbd al-^cAzīz al-Māni^c (of Nadjdī origin). It may be mentioned that when independent, fully-formed ministries were established at the end of ^cAbd al-^cAzīz's reign, Prince (later King) Fahd b. ^cAbd al-^cAzīz became the first Minister of Education. Subsequently, the ministry was divided into a Ministry of Education (*Wizārat al-Ma^cārif*, under Dr. ^cAbd al-^cAziz al-Khuwayṭir from approximately 1395/1975 to the present, 1405/1985) and a Ministry of Higher Education (*Wizārat al-Ta^clīm al-^cĀlī*, under Shaykh Ḥasan b. ^cAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh from approximately 1975 to the present).

The most important library in Makka is the *Ḥaram* Library (*Maktabat al-Ḥaram*) as it became known in 1357/1938. The basis of the collection was 3,653 volumes donated by Sultan ^cAbd al-Medjīd. These were placed under a dome behind the Zamzam building, but were badly damaged during the flood of 1278/1861-2. The sultan then ordered the construction of a *madrasa*/library next to the Egyptian *takiyya* (by the southern corner of the *Ḥaram*), but died before its completion. In 1299/1881-2 the dome above Bāb al-Durayba was used to house the remains of the damaged library. New accretions began; Sharīf ^cAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ghālib (d. 1303/1886) donated *wakf* books, to which were added those of Shaykh Ṣāliḥ ^cIṭirdjī, and still other volumes brought from different mosques and *ribāṭs*. In 1336/1917-8 another addition was made by *wakf* from Shaykh ^cAbd al-Haḳḳ al-Hindī. A more important accretion occurred in 1346/1927-8 under the new Su^cūdī régime when the 1,362-volume library of Muḥammad Rushdī Pasha al-Shirwānī (d. 1292/1875-6), a former Ottoman *wālī* of al-Ḥidjāz, was added to the growing collection. By 1386/1965 the collection was officially estimated as 200,000 volumes used in the course of the year by 100,000 readers. The main public library, founded in 1350/1931-2, contained 500,000 volumes and was used by 400,000 people per year. Other libraries include: 1. The Dihlawī library results from a combination of the library of Shaykh ^cAbd al-Sattār al-Dihlawī (1286-1355/1869-70 to 1936-7) composed of 1714 volumes with that of Shaykh ^cAbd al-Wahhāb al-Dihlawī which in fact had been collected by Shaykh ^cAbd al-Djabbār (? al-Dihlawi). It is said to have many choice items. 2. The Mādjidiyya library was assembled by Shaykh Muḥammad Mādjid al-Kurdī, sometime director of the Department of Education, and consists of 7,000 volumes of rare printed works and manuscripts. Shaykh Mādjid not only acquired the books but systematically organised and indexed them. After al-Kurdī's death, ^cAbbās al-Ḳaṭṭān purchased the library from al-Kurdī's children and set it up in a building that he had built. Although al-Ḳaṭṭān died in 1370/1950, the library was moved to the building and was attached to the *wakf* libraries of the Ministry of Ḥadjdj and Awḳāf. 3. Another library reputed to contain manuscripts and rare printed works is that of Shaykh Ḥasan ^cAbd al-Shukūr, a "Javan" *shaykh*. 4. Other libraries are those of ^cAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ghāzī, al-Madrasa al-Ṣawlatiyya, Madrasat al-Falāḥ, Sulaymān b. ^cAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣanī^c (d. 1389/1969), Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Ghazzāwī (brother of the poet laureate), Muḥammad Surūr al-Ṣabbān, al-^cAmūdī, Ibrāhīm Fūda, Aḥmad ^cAbd al-Ghafūr ^cAṭṭār, and the late distinguished writer ^cAbd al-Ḳuddūs al-Anṣārī. (Section on libraries basically from al-Ziriklī, iii, 1035-7.)

Presses and publishing in Makka have been rather restricted. The first press was brought to the city *ca.*

1303/1885-6 by ʿOthmān Nūrī Pasha, who had arrived as Ottoman *wālī* in November 1881. Probably it was briefly directed by the historian Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān (d. 1304/1886-7). During the Hāshimite period, it was used to print the official gazette, *al-Ḳibla*. It was of course taken over by the Suʿūdī régime, new equipment was purchased, and other small local presses were bought by the government and added to it. The new enlarged operation was called Maṭbaʿat Umm al-Ḳurā after the new Suʿūdī official gazette *Umm al-Ḳurā*, which was published thereon. Subsequently, a separate administration was set up for it and its name was changed to Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥukūma (the government press). A Syrian expert at the same time was brought in to teach Suʿūdīs zinc etching and stamping (*ʿamal al-ṭawābiʿ*). A special plant was set up for this purpose in 1346/1927. The next press to arrive was brought in by Muḥammad Mādjid al-Kurdī in 1327/1909. Called al-Maṭbaʿa al-Mādjidiyya, it was installed in his house and printed many books. His sons continued it after his death. The third press was that introduced by the famous Djudda scholar, Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Naṣīf, which he called al-Maṭbaʿa al-Salafiyya, but which he soon sold. Other presses include: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿArabiyya (or al-Sharika al-ʿArabiyya li-Ṭabāʿ wa'l-Nashr) used to print *Ṣawt al-Ḥidjāz* newspaper (subsequently called *al-Bilād al-Suʿūdiyya*, subsequently *al-Bilad*); the press of Aḥmad al-Fayḍ Ābādī established in 1357/1938 on German equipment; Maṭābiʿ al-Nadwa, established in 1373/1953-4; the beautifully-equipped press of Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad Djamāl (for printing books); Maṭbaʿat Ḳuraysh, established by Aḥmad al-Sibāʿī, the author of the well-known history of Makka; and Maṭbaʿat Maṣḥaf Makka al-Mukarrama established in 1367/1948 with American equipment. Most of these were hand presses up until the 1960s, but many have doubtless been highly automated since then. (For other lesser presses, see al-Kurdī, ii, 156, who along with al-Ziriklī, 1023-4, is much followed in this section, and also Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Mudīriyya, 235.)

Newspapers and magazines published in Makka in modern times include in chronological order the following: 1. The first periodical in Makka (and in the Ḥidjāz) was an official gazette called *al-Ḥidjāz* which began publication in both Arabic and Turkish in 1326/1908 (not, apparently, in 1301/1884 as reported by Philippe Ṭarrāzī). It appeared in four small pages and ceased publication a year later with the Young Turk Revolution. It reappeared under a new name, *Shams al-Ḥaḳīḳa* ("The Sun of Truth") that same year again in Arabic and Turkish as the organ of the Committee on Union and Progress in Istanbul. Its editor was Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Makkī and his assistant was Ibrāhīm Adham. Under the Hāshimites, *al-Ḳibla*, their official gazette, appeared starting in 1334/1916 on a weekly basis. Those who participated in the editorial work were Fuʾād al-Khaṭīb, Muḥyī al-Dīn Khaṭīb, and Aḥmad Shākir al-Kar(?a)mī. When ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd captured Makka, the official gazette re-emerged once again on a weekly basis as *Umm al-Ḳurā*. The speed with which it began once again illustrates the energy of the new régime, for it started on 15 Djumādā I 1343/12 December 1924, exactly one week after the sultan of Nadjd had entered the newly-conquered city. According to Ḥamāda, circulation was 3,000 during the *Ḥadjdj*. The paper has remained the unrivalled documentary source for Suʿūdī affairs, but also has included much non-official material, especially literary. Successive editors of *Umm al-Ḳurā* starting with vol. i, no. 1 were Yūsuf Yāsīn, Rushdī Malḥaṣ, Muḥammad Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Maḳṣūd, ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs al-Anṣārī, and in 1952, al-Ṭayyib al-Sāsī. 2. *Ṣawt al-Ḥidjāz*, ("The Voice of the Ḥidjāz"), appeared in 1350/1932 as a weekly paper and lasted with that title for seven years. Like *Umm al-Ḳurā*, it had four, small-format pages. Its publisher was the well-known Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Naṣīf and its initial editor was ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Āshī. His successors were a kind of *Who's Who*, including Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ghazzāwī, Ḥasan al-Faḳī, Muḥammad Saʿīd al-ʿAmūdī, Muḥammad Ḥasan ʿAwwād, Aḥmad al-Sibāʿī, Muḥammad ʿAlī Riḍā and Muḥammad ʿAlī Maghribī. 3. *al-Manhal* ("The Spring or Pool"), a magazine which was first published in al-Madīna in 1355/1936, but transferred to Makka a year later. It ceased publication for a while during World War II along with other periodicals (see below), and then resumed in Makka. It is essentially a literary magazine and was published and edited by the well-known ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs al-Anṣārī. In the 1960s, *al-Manhal*'s operations were moved to Djudda. 4. *al-Ḥadjdj* magazine started publication in 1366/1947 under the initial editorship of Hāshim al-Zawāwī, who was succeeded therein in 1370/1951 by Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Kurdī. It is religiously oriented and includes literary and historical materials. It is published under the auspices of the Ministry of Ḥadjdj and Awḳāf. 5. *al-Iṣlāḥ* ("Reform") ran for two years as a monthly magazine starting in 1347/1928. It was published by the Department of Education and edited by Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Faḳī. It is not to be confused with its late Ottoman predecessor of the same title. 6. *al-Nidāʾ al-Islāmi* was a bilingual monthly magazine (Arabic and Indonesian) which began publication in 1357/1938. It is to be noted that on 27 Djumādā II/1360/21 July 1941, the government issued an official communiqué which ordered the cessation of all newspapers and magazines except *Umm al-Ḳurā* because of the war-time shortage of newsprint. When the wartime emergency was over, *al-Manhal* and *al-Ḥadjdj* reappeared and have continued publication. 7. *Ṣawt al-Ḥidjāz* also reappeared but with a different name, *al-Bilād al-Suʿūdiyya* ("The Suʿūdi Land")—first as a weekly again, then as a half-weekly. Starting in 1373/1953, it became the first daily in all of Suʿūdī Arabia. Its name was subsequently shortened simply to *al-Bilād* and, according to al-Ziriklī, (ii, 1024-8), much followed here, it was by far the best paper in the country from almost all points of view. Its editor was ʿAbd Allāh ʿUrayf for a long period after the Second World War, and it is worth noting that, as with several other periodicals, Makka lost *al-Bilād* to Djudda in the 1960s. 8. A newer Makkan daily is *al-Nadwa*. It was founded in 1378/1958-9 and in 1387/1967 boasted a circulation of 9,000. 9. Finally, note should be taken of *Madjallat al-Tidjāra wa'l-Ṣināʿa* ("The Journal of Commerce and Industry"), a monthly founded in 1385/1965 with a circulation of 2,000. (For additional journals, see al-Kurdī, ii, 156-60.) Both Nallino and Ḥamāda, writing about the same time, note that censorship existed. The former indicates that the *Hayʾat al-Amr bi'l-Maʿrūf* had responsibility for censorship and states that among books which had been disallowed were polemics against Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], the forerunner of Wahhābism, books by Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān, and Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal's *Fī manzil al-waḥy*, the latter for its criticism of Wahhābī extremism. Ḥamāda says only that "a committee" oversees writers and journalists and passes on imported books. He wonders if his book will be approved.

Before turning to Makkan writers, we may notice

one or two incidental aspects of cultural life in the city. Bookstores were formerly clustered around the *Ḥaram* near its gates. When the enlargement of the mosque took place, they were forced to move and relocate in scattered directions. Of 12 listed by al-Kurdī (ii, 138, 148), four belonged to the Āl Bāz and three to the Āl Faddāʿ families, but al-Kurdī reports that only two were sought by scholars and students. The first was Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, which was, he opines, founded "a number of centuries ago" by an Ottoman sultan. Originally, it was located facing Zamzam "in a room above a small dome," but when the Ottoman mosque renovation (? by Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd) took place, it was relocated inside the mosque at Bāb al-Durayba. When the Suʿūdī expansion took place, the store was once again moved to a special place near Bāb al-Salām. The second, Maktabat Makka al-Mukarrama, he describes as newly-established. Information on the time spent in penning careful calligraphy is not commonly given. Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Kurdī, whose history has often been cited in this article, started the calligraphy for a Ḳurʾān in 1362/1943-4. He published it, as *Maṣḥaf Makka al-Mukarrama* in 1369/1949-50. Some mention should also be made of the *waḳf*-established *ribāṭs* of Makka, best defined perhaps as hospices. Some were for students; others for the poor and the wayfarer. They were, according to al-Kurdī (ii, 149), "numerous" and not a few were for women. Established for the most part by *waḳfs*, they usually provided students with single rooms. They were generally located adjacent to or in the immediate vicinity of the *Ḥaram*. When the Suʿūdī régimes pulled everything down around the mosque to make way for the enlargement, the *ribāṭs* of course went. Some were paid compensation and hence rebuilt elsewhere; others were not, and hence have disappeared forever. Al-Kurdī remembers six of the latter, and claims that none was less than 400 years old. (For details of the Italo-Muslim hospice in Makka, *al-Ribāṭ al-Īṭālī al-Islāmī*, see Nallino, 109-10.)

Makka has not failed to produce its share of modern writers, some of whom were primarily poets, others prose authors. Many had other work, often in publishing, journalism and printing. Many of the names that follow (based on Nallino, 132-7, who based his work in turn on ʿAbd al-Maḳṣūd and Balkhayr's *Waḥy al-ṣaḥrāʾ*), have appeared earlier in this article: 1. Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ghazzāwī (b. Makka 1318/1900-1). A poet, he studied at the al-Ṣawlatiyya and al-Falāḥ schools and held public positions both under the Hāshimites and the Suʿūds. A member of the *Madjlis al-Shūrā* in 1936. Was designated "poet of the king" (*shāʿir al-malik*; poet laureate, in Philby's words) in 1932. (For a sample of his verse see al-Zirikli, ii, 675-6). 2. Aḥmad Sibāʿī (b. Makka 1323/1905/6). Travelled abroad and studied two years at the Coptic High School in Alexandria. On his return, he taught in schools and then became the director of *Ṣawt al-Ḥidjāz* in 1354/1935-6. His *Taʾrīkh Makka* ("History of Makka"), the most judicious, comprehensive history of the city, was first published in 1372/1953. The sixth edition appeared in 1404/1984, a year after he was judged first in the state prize of honour (*djāʾizat al-dawla al-taḳdīriyya*). 3. Amīn b. ʿAḳīl (b. Makka 1329/1911). Amīn studied at al-Falāḥ and then moved with his family to Mukalla in South Yemen, where he continued to study. He also was in Laḥidj for a year-and-a-half and then returned to Makka and completed his studies at al-Falāḥ. In 1351/1932, along with a group of Ḥidjāzīs, he was briefly exiled in al-Riyāḍ on political grounds. His medium was prose. 4. Ḥusayn Khaznadār (b. Makka 1336/1917-18). He studied at al-Khayriyya school and finished his studies at al-Falāḥ: a poet. 5. Ḥusayn Sarḥān (b. Makka 1334/1915-16). A member of the al-Rūsān section of the ʿUtayba tribe, he also studied at al-Falāḥ and was a poet. 6. Ḥusayn Sarrādj (b. 1330-1/1912). Primary studies at al-Falāḥ, secondary in Jordan, he received his B.A. from the American University of Beirut in 1936; a poet. 7. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Āshī (b. Makka 1323/1905). He studied at al-Falāḥ, taught at al-Fakhriyya school and at al-Falāḥ. A member of the Automobile Association, he became editor-in-chief of *Ṣawt al-Ḥidjāz*. In 1932 he was imprisoned for political reasons and exiled in Nadjd for two months. On his return, he joined the Ministry of Finance and in time became head of the correspondence section. 8. ʿAbd Allāh ʿUmar Balkhayr (b. al-Ḥaḍramawt 1333/1914-15). He soon moved with his father to Makka, studied at al-Falāḥ and then at the American University of Beirut. Co-author of *Waḥy al-ṣaḥrāʾ* (with Muḥammad Saʿīd [b.] ʿAbd al-Maḳṣūd; Cairo, 1355[/1936-7]), an anthology of prose and poetry by then living Ḥidjāzī authors, this talented young man was diverted from writing into government service. He became the translator from English of world-wide radio reporting for King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz during World War II and rose to be Minister of Information under King Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. When the latter was deposed, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh retired and in the 1980s has begun to write again. 9. ʿUmar Ṣayrafī (b. Makka 1319/1901-2). Upon completing his studies, Ṣayrafī taught in South Yaman and subsequently at al-Maʿhad al-Suʿūdī al-ʿIlmī. Prose was his forte. 10. ʿAbd al-Salām ʿUmar (b. Makka 1327/1909-10 studied at al-Falāḥ and also taught there until he took a post with the Ministry of Finance in the correspondence department, to which a number of writers—given the very high levels of illiteracy in the country—gravitated. ʿAbd al-Salām wrote prose. 11. ʿUmar ʿArab (b. Makka 1318/1900). Having studied in a *kuttāb* and then at al-Falāḥ, he taught at al-Falāḥ school in Djudda, became secretary of the municipal council of Makka and then was transferred to the correspondence section of the viceroy's secretariat. 12. Muḥammad b. Surūr al-Ṣabbān (b. al-Ḳunfudha 1316/1899) moved with his family first to Djudda then to Makka, where he enrolled in al-Khayyāṭ school. At first he became a merchant and then, under the Hāshimites, accountant of the Makkan municipal government. He retained this post under the Suʿūdī régime. He was imprisoned on political grounds but released after the fall of Djudda to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Thereafter, he became assistant to the head (*amīn*) of the municipality of Makka, but in 1346/1927 he was incarcerated in al-Riyāḍ for more than a year. After his release, he became head of the correspondence department in the Ministry of Finance, of which he ultimately became the minister. He was the author of *Adab al-Ḥidjāz* (Cairo 1344/1925-6), an anthology of Ḥidjāzī authors. 13. Muḥammad Saʿīd al-ʿAmūdī (b. Makka 1323/1905-6), attended a *kuttāb* and al-Falāḥ school. After a stint in commerce, he was employed by the ʿAyn Zubayda authority. After several other posts, he became head of the correspondence department of the Department of Posts and Telegrams. He was also editor of *Ṣawt al-Ḥidjāz*. Al-ʿAmūdī wrote both prose and poetry. 14. Muḥammad Ḥasan Faḳī (b. Makka 1330/1911-12) attended both al-Falāḥ of Djudda and that of Makka. He taught at the latter for three years, and he also became editor of *Ṣawt al-Ḥidjāz*. This poet and prose author was also chief of

the contracts' department in the Ministry of Finance. 15. Muḥammad Ḥasan Kutubī (b. Makka 1329/1911) studied at al-Falāḥ and was a member of the mission that Muḥammad ʿAlī Zaynal Riḍā sent at his own expense to Bombay, India, for the study of religious science. After receiving his diploma there, Kutubī returned and he also became editor of *Ṣawt al-Ḥidjāz*. In addition, he taught courses for prospective *ḳāḍīs* at al-Maʿhad al-ʿIlmī al-Suʿūdī and later became director of public schools in al-Ṭāʾif. 16. Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Maḥmūd al-Kurdī (b. Makka *ca.* 1323/1904-5. Al-Kurdī attended al-Falāḥ school, and after graduation entered al-Azhar in 1340/1921-2. That trip was the first of many to Egypt. He was a member of the executive committee on replacing the roof of the Kaʿba and on enlarging the Great Mosque. His works number more than 40, not all of which have been published. Among the published works are *Maḳām Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi ʾl-Salām* (Cairo 1367/1947-8), *Maṣḥaf Makka al-Mukarrama* (1369/1949-50), *Taʾrīkh al-Kurʾān wa-gharāʾib rasmihi wa-ḥukmihi*, *al-Tafsīr al-Makkī*, a book (title unknown) on calligraphy, and *al-Taʾrīkh al-Ḳawīm li-Makka wa-Bayt Allāh al-Karīm*, 4 vols. (Makka 1385/[1965]; a fifth volume is promised. His work is traditional in conception, but scrupulous and comprehensive.

Health care. Because of the *Ḥadjdj* and its attendent health problems and because of the world-wide reach of returning pilgrims, health facilities in Makka are of more than passing importance. In the late Ottoman and Hāshimite periods, there were two "hospitals" one in Adjyād and the other in al-Madʿā. They had about five doctors between them, and al-Kurdī reports (ii, 225) that the equipment was satisfactory. These doctors were all foreign—Indians, Indonesians, Algerians, etc. There was one proper pharmacy near al-Marwa and other shops which sold drugs on a casual basis. In a general way, observers noted that the combination of primitive sanitary facilities, low standards of personal hygiene and an oppressively hot climate were unhealthy, although Rutter said that vermin were almost non-existent as a result of the heat and summer dryness. Mosquitoes were apparently common enough but non-malaria bearing. Shortly after ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reached Makka, he deputed his personal physician, Dr. Maḥmūd Ḥamdī Ḥamūda, to re-establish the medical services, and among his first acts was the appointment of doctors to the Department of Health and the reopening of the Adjyād hospital. The hospital reportedly (Hamza, 200) had 275 beds and its facilities included an operating room, X-ray department, microscope room, pharmacy, obstetrics department and an out-patient clinic. It may be pointed out that it had become normal over the years for countries with large Muslim populations, and hence many pilgrims, to dispatch medical teams to Makka at *Ḥadjdj* time. In 1345/1927 the regulations for the health department (*Maṣlaḥat al-Ṣiḥḥa al-ʿĀmma*) were established, and by the mid-1930s the spectrum of medical facilities in addition to the Adjyād hospital included the following: 1. a mental hospital. 2. a contagious disease hospital. 3. a brand new hospital in al-Shuhadāʾ section with completely up-to-date equipment. 4. the Egyptian hospital in Dār al-Takiyya al-Miṣriyya—the official Egyptian presence in Makka. 5. an emergency aid society (*Djamʿiyyat al-Isʿāf*) founded 1355/1936, which held a conference on hygiene and first aid and which owned its own ambulances and motor cycles. In its first year it treated 922 victims of misfortunes, almost all of them in its own facilities. The king, heir designate, and viceroy all contributed to this society, and it was authorised to levy a special 1/4 piastre stamp on top of the regular postage for the support of its activities. This society probably came into existence because of needs arising from the 1934 Suʿūdī war against the Yaman. It grew into the Red Crescent society of the whole country (Philby, *Pilgrim*, 39); 6. a school for midwives. Philby estimated that during the pilgrimage of 1349/1931, there were 40 deaths out of total pilgrims numbering 100,000 and in 1352/1934, 15 deaths out of 80,000 pilgrims. In the post-World War II period, there was predictably a great increase in facilities, and to the above list must be added: 7. The Dr. Aḥmad Zāhir hospital with 400 beds and 16 doctors. 8. an obstetrical hospital. 9. an eye hospital. 10. a bilharzia (schistosomniasis) control station (1975). 11. a venereal disease control demonstration centre.

As noted earlier, various governments send medical missions to Makka during the *ḥadjdj* season. Ḥamāda reported (69) that in the 1930s, the Egyptian mission consisted of two units, one in Ḥārat al-Bāb near Djarwal, the other in the permanent Egyptian mission building (al-Takiyya al-Miṣriyya), which used to face *al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām* before it was torn down to make way for the mosque enlargement. The latter unit was in addition to the permanent Egyptian medical service in the same building. In 1355-6/1937, the countries sending medical missions were Egypt, India, the Dutch East Indies, Algeria, Afghanistan and the USSR. They contributed a total of ten doctors plus pharmacists, assistants and supplies to the available medical services. During the same period, Hamza noted (200) that at *Ḥadjdj* time there were a total of 13 government hospitals and clinics spread between Makka and ʿArafāt. Physicians, nurses and orderlies were hired on a temporary basis to man them. Reading from Fārisi's map, one finds that the latest indications are as follows: there were six hospitals, seven clinics (*mustawṣaf*) and three medical centres (*markaz ṭibbī*) in Makka proper and ten dispensaries in Minā, one hospital in Muzdalifa, and one medical centre in ʿArafāt. These latter doubtlessly function only during the *Ḥadjdj*.

Communications. By 1985 Makka, like other Suʿūdī cities, was possessed of the most modern telephone, telex, radio and TV communications. Its roads were of the most modern design, and it was linked to the rest of the country by first-class highways, many of them divided and of limited access. Since Djudda, which has one of the world's largest and most modern airports, is only some 60 km away and since a major airport at Makka would be difficult, both because of the terrain and because of the problem of non-Muslims being in proximity to the *ḥaram* area, there is no important airport in Makka. It may, however, be noted that a Djudda-Makka service had been authorised in 1936 to Misr Air (now Egypt Air). It was cancelled following an accident in 1938. In a similar vein, a railroad project from Djudda to Makka was authorised by a royal decree in 1351/1933 with a concession granted to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī. It was revoked 18 months later because of his failure to carry it out.

The modernisation of communications has been dramatically rapid. Rutter describes (455) how in 1925 camel caravans for al-Madīna assembled in an open space called Shaykh Maḥmūd on the western edge of Djarwal; a camel in Djarwal in 1985 would be about as common as a horse in Paris. The use of cars spread very rapidly after the Suʿūds' conquest and the development of the Djudda-Makka road was a natural early priority because of the pilgrim traffic. It

was first asphalted in the period just before the outbreak of World War II.

Telecommunications were early emphasised by King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz because they represented a means of control as well as a convenience. In King al-Ḥusayn's time, there had been about 20 telephones in the city—all reserved for high officials and probably only functional within the city. By 1936, subscribers in Makka had grown to 450 (slightly over half of all those in Suᶜūdī Arabia), and lines had been extended to Djudda and al-Ṭāʾif (but not al-Riyāḍ or al-Madīna). Ḥamza also reports (230-1) that, in addition to the regular telephones, there were "automatic" (?) telephones which were used by officials. Of this type, 50 were in Makka. After World War II, the first telephone training mission (10 persons) was sent abroad in 1367/1947-8. By 1385/1965-6, Makka had 5,000 telephones but service was still through operators. Dial phones were introduced soon after this, and within a dozen years there was fully automatic direct-dial service anywhere in the world. There had been limited radio communication within the Ḥidjāz under the Hāshimites. In 1348/1929, using Philby as an intermediary (for details see *Jubilee*, 173-4; *Days*, 286-9; *Saᶜudi Arabia*, 316-17), the king contracted with the Marconi company for wireless stations in various towns. That of Makka was of 25 kw power (as was al-Riyāḍ), and by the spring of 1932 the network was fully functional. Soon after World War II, by contract with the German Siemens company, this network was greatly expanded and improved. Radio communication has been used at various key points in directing the pilgrimage since about 1370/1950. Public radio broadcasts were initiated on *yawm al-wuḳūf* ("standing day") during the pilgrimage of 1368/1949 with *Hunā Makka* ("This is Makka") as the opening words. Initial power was only 3 kw, but with the creation of the Directorate General of Broadcasting, Press and Publications (by a decree of 1374/1955) under ᶜAbd Allāh ᶜUmar Balkhayr, there was rapid improvement. Within less than a year, power had increased to 10 kw, and it was boosted in 1377/1957 to 50 kw, making Radio Makka one of the most powerful in the Near East at that time. Later, power was increased still more to 450 kw. In keeping with Wahhābī tradition, music was initially kept off the air, but it was gradually introduced. TV in Makka began service in 1386/1966-7 and has since become a pervasive part of life there as everywhere else in the world.

Water supply. Before oil-induced modernisation, the water supply of Makka came from two basic sources. The first was local wells. The water of these, of which Zamzam is one, was generally brackish, and they were located in houses. The second was fresh or sweet water most of which came from ᶜAyn Zubayda by man-made underground channels of the *ḳanawāt* [see ḲANĀT] type. Locally, the system is called *kharaz*. A very sporadic third source was rainfall which, although it brought the threat of destructive floods, was eagerly collected in every way possible. Water distribution was by hand. A man carried two 20 litre petrol tins (*tanaka*) attached to the ends of a stout board or pole on his shoulders to the individual houses of those who could afford such service. Philby noted (*Forty years*, 172) that in the 1930s, 8 gallons cost one penny. His monthly bill seldom exceeded five shillings. The mass of the people went individually to get their own water at one of the small reservoirs or cisterns (*bāzān*). Of these in Rutter's time, there were seven in the city and one each in Minā, Muzdalifa, and ᶜArafa. The water for all of these came from ᶜAyn Zubayda.

The immediate source of the ᶜAyn Zubayda water is the mountains (Djabal Saᶜd and Djabal Kabkāb) which lie a few kilometers east of Djabal ᶜArafa or about 20 km east southeast of Makka. The main source is a spring in the mountains, ᶜAyn Ḥunayn, which according to Rutter is a two-hour walk from the Wādī Naᶜmān plain. Several other small springs are led to the beginning of the subterranean aqueduct which starts at the foot of the mountain. The aqueduct is attributed to Zubayda [*q.v.*], the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, but in all probability it far predates her, and she should be credited with improvement of the system rather than creation of it. Like other *ḳanawāt*, the ᶜAyn Zubayda system is characterised by access wells (*fataḥāt*) at intervals of about one km which are marked by circular erections around them. King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz did not lack interest in the water supply system, and made personal financial contributions from time to time. Philby reports (*Jubilee*, 116-17) an expedition of autumn 1930 when the king and his party drove out to inspect work in progress at one of the access wells which was being cleaned. A thorough cleaning of the whole system had been ordered because flow had been declining as a result of inadequate maintenance in the prior, disturbed years. A pit some 30 m deep had been dug "at the bottom of which the *top* [Philby's italics] of one of the original manholes could be seen." Philby theorised that the valley silt had built up at a rate of about 3 m a century. In any case, the new pit was surfaced with masonry and the channel between it and the next pit thoroughly cleaned. When the whole process was completed, the flow of water in Makka increased greatly, although Philby notes that the growth of private gardens in the suburbs was putting pressure on supplies. The ᶜAyn Zubayda system (as well as other lesser ones) was so important to the city that a separate ᶜAyn Zubayda administrative authority had been created. Its budget came from the government and fell under the purview of the *Madjlis al-Shūrā*. In addition, pilgrims often made pious contributions to the upkeep of the system. Ḥamāda notes (77) that supervision of it had to be increased during pilgrimage season because of the danger of defilement. He also, writing for an Egyptian audience, assures his readers that Zubayda water is little inferior to Nile water! In the early 1950s, a modern pipline was run from al-Djadīda, 35 km northwest of Makka at the head of the Wādī Fāṭima, to the city. It doubled the water supply. One may assume that by the 1980s, water was piped into most Makkan houses, offices and apartments and that indoor plumbing and metered water, desalinated from sea water, were the norm. Detailed information is not, however, readily available.

Floods in Makka have been a danger since earliest times. Al-Kurdī counts a total of 89 historic ones, including several in the Suᶜūdī period. The most severe one was in 1360/1942 when it rained for several hours. Water reached the sill of the Kaᶜba's door, and prayers and *ṭawāf* were cancelled. The streets of the city filled with mud, and there was severe damage to stocks in stores. Tombs in al-Maᶜlā were washed out and houses were destroyed (al-Kurdī, ii, 200). Philby also reports (*Saᶜudi Arabia*, 320) a flood in 1950 which reached a depth of seven feet in the mosque. Soon thereafter the improved modern technologies and easier financial situation led to the construction of dams, one on the Wādī Ibrāhīm, which is the main source of floods, the other across the Wādī al-Zāhir, which threatens the northern and western sections. These dams were helpful, and the great underground conduit built in connection with the mosque enlarge-

ment may have permanently ameliorated the problem of floods.

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4. As the centre of the world

Introduction.

In Ḳurʾān, II, 144, Muslims are enjoined to face the sacred precincts in Mecca during their prayers. The Kaʿba was adopted by Muḥammad as a physical focus of the new Muslim community, and the direction of prayer, *ḳibla*, was to serve as the sacred direction in Islam until the present day.

Since Muslims over the centuries have faced the Kaʿba during prayer, mosques are oriented so that the prayer wall faces the Kaʿba. The *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*] or prayer-niche in the mosque indicates the *ḳibla*, or local direction of Mecca. Islamic tradition further prescribes that certain acts such as burial of the dead, recitation of the Ḳurʾān, announcing the call to prayer, and the ritual slaughter of animals for food, be performed in the *ḳibla*, whereas expectoration and bodily functions should be performed in the perpendicular direction. Thus for close to fourteen centuries,

Muslims have been spiritually and physically oriented towards the Kaʿba and the holy city of Mecca in their daily lives, and the *ḳibla* or sacred direction is of fundamental importance in Islam [see KAʿBA and ḲIBLA, i. Ritual and legal aspects].

A statement attributed to the Prophet asserts that the Kaʿba is the *ḳibla* for people in the sacred mosque which surrounds the Kaʿba, the Mosque is the *ḳibla* for the people in the sacred precincts (*ḥaram*) of the city of Mecca and its environs, and the sacred precincts are the *ḳibla* for people in the whole world. To ʿĀʾisha and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, as well as to other early authorities, is attributed the assertion that Mecca is the centre of the world. The early Islamic traditions with Mecca as the centre and navel of the world constitute an integral part of Islamic cosmography over the centuries (see Wensinck, *Navel of the earth*, 36), although they do not feature in the most popular treatise on the subject from the late mediaeval period, namely, that of al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*]; see Heinen, *Islamic cosmology*.

From the 3rd/9th century onwards, schemes were devised in which the world was divided into sectors (*d̲j̲iha* or *ḥadd*) about the Kaʿba. This sacred geography had several manifestations, but the different schemes proposed shared a common feature, described by al-Maḳrīzī, "The Kaʿba with respect to the inhabited parts of the world is like the centre of a circle with respect to the circle itself. All regions face the Kaʿba, surrounding it as a circle surrounds its centre, and each region faces a particular part of the Kaʿba" (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, i, 257-8).

Islamic sacred geography was quite separate and distinct from the mainstream Islamic tradition of mathematical geography and cartography, which owed its inspiration to the *Geography* of Ptolemy [see D̲J̲UG̲H̲RĀFIYA and K̲H̲ARĪṬA]. Indeed, it flourished mainly outside the domain of the scientists, so that a scholar such as al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] was apparently unaware of this tradition: see his introduction to astronomy and astrology, the *Tafhīm*, tr. R. R. Wright, London 1934, 141-2, where he discusses the Greek, Indian and Persian schemes for the division of the world, but makes no reference to any system centred on Mecca or the Kaʿba.

The orientation of the Kaʿba.

In the article KAʿBA, it is asserted that the corners of the Kaʿba face the cardinal directions. In fact, the Kaʿba has a rectangular base with sides in the ratio *ca.* 8:7 with its main axis at about 30° counter-clockwise from the meridian. When one is standing in front of any of the four walls of the Kaʿba, one is facing a significant astronomical direction; this fact was known to the first generations who had lived in or visited Mecca. In two traditions attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.vv.*], and in several later sources on folk astronomy, it is implied that the major axis of the rectangular base of the Kaʿba points towards the rising of Canopus, the brightest star in the southern celestial hemisphere, and that the minor axis points towards summer sunrise in one direction and winter sunset in the other (Heinen, *Islamic cosmology*, 157-8).

For the latitude of Mecca, the two directions are indeed roughly perpendicular. (A modern plan of the Kaʿba and its environs, based upon aerial photography, essentially confirms the information given in the texts, but reveals more: for epoch 0 AD, the major axis is aligned with the rising of Canopus over the mountains on the southern horizon to within 2°, and the minor axis is aligned with the southernmost setting point of the moon over the south-western horizon to within 1°. This last feature of the Kaʿba is not known to be specifically mentioned in any mediaeval text, and its significance, if any, has not yet been established.) In early Islamic meteorological folklore, which appears to date back to pre-Islamic times, the Kaʿba is also associated with the winds. In one of several traditions concerning the winds in pre-Islamic Arabia, the four cardinal winds were thought of as blowing from the directions defined by the axes of the Kaʿba. This tradition is in some sources associated with Ibn ʿAbbās (see MAṬLAʿ and also Heinen, 157).

The term *ḳibla*, and the associated verb *istaḳbala* for standing in the *ḳibla*, appear to derive from the name of the east wind, the *ḳabūl*. These terms correspond to the situation where one is standing with the north wind (*al-s̲h̲amāl*) on one's left (*s̲h̲amāl*) and the Yemen on one's right (*yamīn*); see Chelhod, *Pre-eminence of the right*, 248-53; King, *Astronomical alignments*, 307-9. In other such traditions recorded in the Islamic sources, the limits of the directions from which the winds blow were defined in terms of the rising and setting of such stars and star-groups as Canopus, the Pleiades, and the stars of the handle of the Plough (which in tropical latitudes *do* rise and set), or in terms of cardinal directions or solstitial directions [see MAṬLAʿ].

It appears that in the time of the Prophet, the four corners of the Kaʿba were already named according to the geographical regions which they faced and which the Meccans knew from their trading ventures: namely, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Yemen, and "the West". As we shall see, a division of the world into four regions about the Kaʿba is attested in one of the earliest sources for sacred geography. Since the Kaʿba has four sides as well as four corners, a division of the world into eight sectors around it would also be natural, and, as we shall see, eight-sector schemes were indeed proposed. However, in some schemes, the sectors were associated with segments of the perimeter of the Kaʿba, the walls being divided by such features as the waterspout (*mīzāb*) on the north-western wall and the door on the north-eastern wall (see Fig. 1).

The directions of sunrise and sunset at midsummer, midwinter and the equinoxes, together with the north and south points, define eight (unequal) sectors of the horizon, and, together with the directions perpendicular to the solstitial directions, define 12 (roughly equal) sectors. Each of these eight- and 12-sector schemes was used in the sacred geography of Islam.

The determination of the sacred direction

The article ḲIBLA, ii. Astronomical aspects, ignores the means which were used in popular practice for determining the sacred direction, since at the time when it was written, these had not yet been investigated. It is appropriate to consider them before turning to the topic of sacred geography *per se*.

From the 3rd/9th century onwards, Muslim astronomers working in the tradition of classical astronomy devised methods to compute the *ḳibla* for any locality from the available geographical data. For them, the *ḳibla* was the direction of the great circle joining the locality to Mecca, measured as an angle to the local meridian. The determination of the *ḳibla* according to this definition is a non-trivial problem of mathematical geography, whose solution involves the application of complicated trigonometric formulae or geometrical constructions. Lists of *ḳibla* values for different localities and tables displaying the *ḳibla* for each

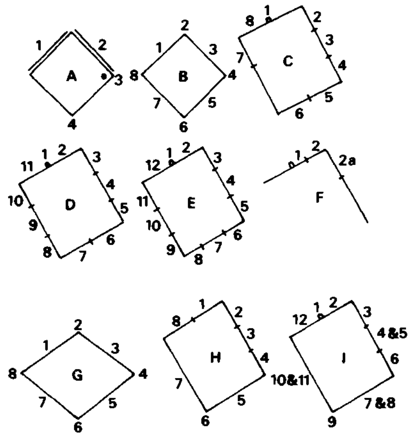

Fig. 1. Different schemes for dividing the perimeter of the Kaʿba to correspond to different localities in the surrounding world. The Black Stone is in the south-eastern corner; the door is on the north-eastern wall; the blocked door is on the south-western wall; and the waterspout is on the north-western wall.

degree of longitude and latitude difference from Mecca were available. Details of this activity are given in ḲIBLA. ii. Astronomical aspects. However, mathematical methods were not available to the Muslims before the late 2nd/8th and early 3rd/9th centuries. And what is more important, even in later centuries, the *ḳibla* was not generally found by computation anyway.

In some circles, the practice of the Prophet in Medina was imitated: he had prayed southwards towards Mecca, and there were those who were content to follow his example and pray towards the south wherever they were, be it in Andalusia or Central Asia. Others followed the practice of the first generations of Muslims who laid out the first mosques in different parts of the new Islamic commonwealth. Some of these mosques were converted from earlier religious edifices, the orientation of which was considered acceptable for the *ḳibla*; such was the case, for example, in Jerusalem and Damascus, where the *ḳibla* adopted was roughly due south.

Other early mosques were laid out in directions defined by astronomical horizon phenomena, such as the risings and settings of the sun at the equinoxes or solstices and of various prominent stars or star-groups; such was the case, for example, in Egypt and Central Asia, where the earliest mosques were aligned towards winter sunrise and winter sunset, respectively. The directions known as *ḳiblat al-ṣaḥāba*, the "*ḳibla* of the Companions", remained popular over the centuries, their acceptability ensured by the Prophetic dictum: "My Companions are like stars to be guided by: whenever you follow their example you will be rightly guided".

Astronomical alignments were used for the *ḳibla* because the first generations of Muslims who were familiar with the Kaʿba knew that when they stood in front of the edifice, they were facing a particular astronomical direction. In order to face the appropriate part of the Kaʿba which was associated with their ultimate geographical location, they used the same astronomically-defined direction for the *ḳibla* as they would have been standing directly in front of that particular segment of the perimeter of the Kaʿba. This notion of the *ḳibla* is, of course, quite different from that used by the astronomers. Such simple methods for finding the *ḳibla* by astronomical horizon phenomena (called *dalāʾil*) are outlined both in legal texts and in treatises dealing with folk astronomy. In the mediaeval sources, we also find *ḳibla* directions expressed in terms of wind directions: as noted above, several wind schemes, defined in terms of solar or stellar risings and settings, were part of the folk astronomy and meteorology of pre-Islamic Arabia.

The non-mathematical tradition of folk astronomy practiced by Muslims in the mediaeval period was based solely on observable phenomena, such as the risings and settings of celestial bodies and their passages across the sky, and also involved the association of meteorological phenomena, such as the winds, with phenomena in the sky [see ANWĀʾ, MANĀZIL, MAṬLAʿ and RĪḤ]. Adapted primarily from pre-Islamic Arabia, folk astronomy flourished alongside mathematical astronomy over the centuries, but was far more widely known and practised. Even the legal scholars accepted it because of Ḳurʾān, XVI, 16, "... and by the star[s] [men] shall be guided". There were four main applications of this traditional astronomical folklore: (1) the regulation of the Muslim lunar calendar; (2) the determination of the times of the five daily prayers, which are astronomically defined; (3) finding the *ḳibla* by non-mathematical procedures; and (4) the organisation of agricultural activities in the solar calendar (see King, *Ethnoastronomy*, and Varisco, *Agricultural almanac*).

Historical evidence of clashes between the two traditions is rare. Al-Bīrūnī made some disparaging remarks about those who sought to find the *ḳibla* by means of the winds and the lunar mansions (*Kitāb Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin*, tr. J. Ali as *The determination of the coordinates of cities*, Beirut 1967, 12 (slightly modified): "When [some people] were asked to determine the direction of the *ḳibla*, they became perplexed because the solution of the problem was beyond their scientific powers. You see that they have been discussing completely irrelevant phenomena such as the directions from which the winds blow and the risings of the lunar mansions".

But the legal scholars made equally disparaging and far more historically significant remarks about the scientists. According to the 7th/13th century Yemeni legal scholar al-Aṣbaḥī (ms. Cairo Dār al-Kutub, *mīḳāt* 984, 1, fol. 6a-b): "The astronomers have taken their knowledge from Euclid, [the authors of] the *Sindhind*, Aristotle and other philosophers, and all of them were infidels".

It is quite apparent from the orientations of mediaeval mosques that astronomers were seldom consulted in their construction. Indeed, from the available architectural and also textual evidence, it is clear that in mediaeval times several different and often widely-divergent *ḳibla*s were accepted in specific cities and regions. Among the legal scholars there were those who favoured facing the Kaʿba directly (*ʿayn al-Kaʿba*), usually with some traditionally acceptable astronomical alignment such as winter sunrise, and others who said that facing the general direction of the Kaʿba (*d̲j̲ihat al-Kaʿba*) was sufficient (see Pl. 1).

Thus, for example, there were legal scholars in mediaeval Cordova who maintained that the entire south-eastern quadrant could serve as the *ḳibla* (see King, *Qibla in Cordova,* 372, 374).

Islamic sacred geography

The earliest known Kaʿba-centred geographical scheme is recorded in the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. de Goeje, 5, of the 3rd/9th century scholar Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih [*q.v.*]. Even if the scheme is not original to him, there is no reason to suppose that it is any later than his time. In this scheme, represented in Fig. 2, the region between North-West Africa and Northern Syria is associated with the north-west wall of the Kaʿba and has a *ḳibla* which varies from east to south. The region between Armenia and Kashmir is associated with the north-east wall of the Kaʿba and has a *ḳibla* which varies from south to west. A third region, India, Tibet and China, is associated with the Black Stone in the eastern corner of the Kaʿba, and, for this reason, is stated to have a *ḳibla* a little north of west. A fourth region, the Yemen, is associated with the southern corner of the Kaʿba and has a *ḳibla* of due north.

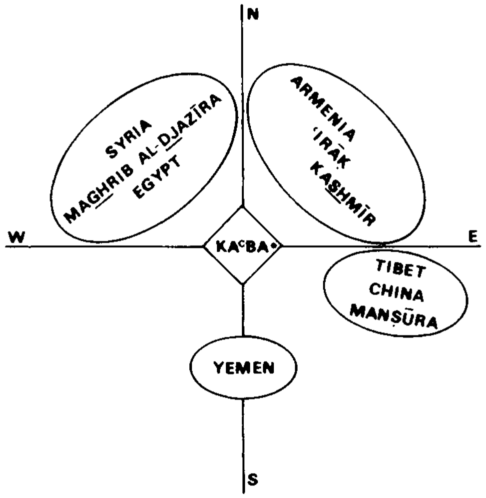

Fig. 2. A simple scheme of sacred geography in the published text of the *Kitāb al-Masālik* of Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih.

The 4th/10th century legal scholar Ibn al-Ḳāṣṣ wrote a treatise entitled *Dalāʾil al-ḳibla* which is unfortunately not extant in its entirety. The Beirut ms. is lost, and the Istanbul and Cairo mss. (Veliyuddin 2453,2 and Dār al-Kutub, *mīḳāt* 1201) are quite different in content. In the Istanbul copy, Ibn al-Ḳāṣṣ states that the world is centred on the Kaʿba and then presents a traditional Ptolemaic survey of the seven climates [see IḲLĪM]. In the Cairo copy, he surveys the different stars and star-groups used for finding the *ḳibla*.

The principal scholar involved in the development of sacred geography was Muḥammad b. Surāḳa al-ʿĀmirī, a Yemeni *faḳīh* who studied in Basra and died in the Yemen in 410/1019. Little is known about this individual, and none of his works are known to survive in their original form. However, from quotations in later works, it appears that he devised a total of three distinct schemes, with eight, 11 and 12 sectors around the Kaʿba. In each scheme, several prescriptions for finding the *ḳibla* in each region are outlined. Ibn Surāḳa explains in words and without recourse to any diagrams how one should stand with respect to the risings or settings of some four stars and the four winds; the actual direction which these prescriptions are intended to help one face is not specifically stated. Thus, for example, people in ʿIrāḳ and Iran should face the north-east wall of the Kaʿba, and to achieve this one should stand so that the stars of the Plough rise behind one's right ear, the lunar mansion al-Hanʿa rises directly behind one's back, the Pole Star is at one's right shoulder, the East wind blows at one's left shoulder, and the West wind blows at one's right cheek, and so on (see Table 1). Ibn Surāḳa did not actually point out that the *ḳibla* in ʿIrāḳ was toward winter sunset.

Ibn Surāḳa's eight-sector scheme is known from the writings of one Ibn Raḥīḳ, a legal scholar of Mecca in the 5th/11th century, who wrote a treatise on folk astronomy (extant in the unique Berlin ms. Ahlwardt 5664; see especially fols. 23a-25b). Several significant regions of the Muslim world were omitted from this scheme. A similar but more refined eight-sector scheme is proposed by the 7th/13th century Libyan philologist Ibn al-Ad͟jdābī [*q.v.*] (*Kitāb al-Azmina...*, ed. I. Hassan, 120-35). Here eight sectors are neatly associated with the four walls and the four corners of the Kaʿba, and the *ḳibla*s in each region are defined in terms of the cardinal directions and sunrise and sunset at the solstices. A cruder scheme based on the same notion is proposed by the 6th/12th century Egyptian legal scholar al-Dimyāṭī (ms. Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya 5579, fol. 14a). He represents the Kaʿba by a circle and associates each of the eight regions around the Kaʿba with a wind (see Pl. 2).

Yet another eight-sector scheme is presented in an anonymous treatise preserved in a 12th/18th century Ottoman Egyptian manuscript (Cairo, Ṭalʿat, *mad͟jāmīʿ* 811,6, fols. 59a-61a (see Pl. 3). From internal evidence, it is clear that this scheme, in which the *ḳibla*s are actually defined in terms of the stars which rise or set behind one's back when one is standing in the *ḳibla* and in terms of the Pole Star, was already at least five centuries old when it was copied in this manuscript. For example, various 7th/13th century Yemeni astronomical sources contain 12-sector schemes based on precisely the same eight *ḳibla* directions. In the eight-sector scheme, Palestine had been omitted and two regions were associated with two entire walls of the Kaʿba. The individual who first devised this particular 12-sector scheme added a sector for Palestine and three more for segments of those two walls.

Ibn Surāḳa's 11-sector scheme is known from an 8th/14th (?) century Egyptian treatise (ms. Milan Ambrosiana, II.75 (A75), 20, fols. 174a-177b), and in it he has simply added three sectors to his eight-sector scheme and modified the prescriptions for finding the *ḳibla*. His 12-sector scheme is yet more refined. It was used by al-Dimyāṭī in his *Kitāb al-Tahd͟hīb fī maʿrifat dalāʾil al-ḳibla* (ms. Oxford, Bodleian Marsh 592, fols. 97b-101b, and 126a-28a), who complained that Ibn Surāḳa had placed Damascus and Medina in the same sector, and so he himself presented a 13-sector scheme, subdividing the sector for Syria and the Ḥid͟jāz. Ibn Surāḳa's 12-sector scheme was also used by the 7th/13th century Yemeni astronomer al-Fārisī in his treatise on folk astronomy. The unique copy of this work (ms. Milan Ambrosiana X73 sup.) includes diagrams of Ibn Surāḳa's 12-sector scheme and the different 12-sector scheme discussed above (see Pl. 4).

Table 1: *Ḳibla* indicators in the eight- and eleven-sector schemes of Ibn Surāḳa

Ms. Berlin Ahlwardt 5664, fols. 23a-25b		Ms. Milan Ambrosiana A75,20, fols. 174a-177b	
BN = Banāt Naʿsh; EW = east wind; NW = north wind; PS = Pole Star; SW = south wind; WW = west wind			
1. Medina, Palestine (Waterspout)	BN setting behind Canopus rising in front (al-Dimyāṭī (ms. Oxford Marsh 592, fol. 100b) attributes: NW intermediate wind behind BN setting behind PS behind left shoulder)	1. As in 8-sector scheme ,,	BN setting behind Canopus rising in front Vega rising at left ear Vega setting behind right ear EW at left eye NW behind left ear WW behind right ear SW at right eyebrow
		2. Syria (Waterspout to Syrian Corner)	BN rising behind left ear PS at left shoulder, al-Haḳʿa rising at left EW at left cheek NW at joint of right shoulder WW at right ear towards nape SW in front
2. Djazīra, Armenia (Syrian Corner to *Muṣallā* of Adam)	Winter sunrise at bone behind left ear EW at left shoulder NW at right cheek WW in front SW at left eye	3. As in 8-sector scheme ,,	Capella rising between behind left ear and nape Capella setting at right side PS between right ear and behind nape Winter sunrise at bone behind left ear EW at left shoulder NW at right cheek WW at right side of neck SW at left eye
3. C. ʿIrāḳ, N. Iran, Transoxania (*Muṣallā* of Adam to Door)	BN rising behind right ear al-Hanʿa rising behind PS at right shoulder EW at left shoulder NW between right side of neck and nape WW at right cheek SW at left cheek	4. ,, ,,	BN rising at right ear al-Hanʿa rising between directly behind and behind left ear PS at right shoulder EW at left shoulder NW between right side of neck and nape WW at right cheek SW at left cheek
4. S. ʿIraḳ, S. Iran, China (Door to ʿIrāḳī Corner)	PS at right ear Vega rising behind al-Shawla setting in front Summer sunrise behind right shoulder EW at left shoulder NW at right ear WW in front SW at left side of neck	5. ,, ,,	PS at right ear Vega [rising] behind al-Shawla setting in front Summer sunrise behind right shoulder EW at left shoulder NW at right ear WW at right cheek SW at left eye
5. Sind, India, Afghanistan (ʿIrāḳī Corner to *Muṣallā* of the Prophet)	BN rising at left cheek (*sic*) PS behind (*sic*) EW behind left ear NW at right cheek SW at left shoulder	6. ,, ,,	BN rising at righ cheek PS at right eye EW behind right ear NW at right cheek WW at left cheek SW at left shoulder
6. Yemen, Hadramawt (*Muṣallā* of the Prophet to Yemeni Corner)	PS in front Canopus rising at right ear (*sic*) Canopus setting behind left ear Winter sunrise at right ear EW at right shoulder NW in front SW at right shoulder (*sic*)	7. ,, ,,	PS in front Canopus rising at right ear (*sic*) Canopus setting behind left ear Winter sunrise at right ear EW at right shoulder NW in front WW at left side SW at left shoulder
		8. Ethiopia (Yemeni Corner to Blocked Door)	Pleiades rising in front Sirius and Capella rising at right eye PS at left ear EW at right ear NW in front WW on left SW behind
		9. Sudan (Blocked Corner to 7 cubis short of Western Corner)	Capella rising in front Pleiades rising at right eye al-Shawla setting behind PS at left cheek Summer sunrise in front Winter sunset behind EW at right eye NW at left eyebrow WW at left ear SW at left shoulder
7. Andalusia, Maghrib, Ifrīḳiya, Ethiopia (7 cubits from Western Corner to Corner itself)	Pleiades rising in front Sirius rising at right eye EW in front WW behind NW at left shoulder SW at right shoulder	10. Andalusia, Maghrib, Ifrīḳiya As in 8-sector scheme	Pleiades rising in front Sirius rising at righ eye Capella setting behind nape EW in front WW behind NW at left shoulder SW at right shoulder
8. Egypt, coast of Maghrib and Ifrīḳiya	BN setting at right shoulder BN rising at left shoulder PS behind WW at right	11. ,, ,,	*al-Zubānā* (*al-Aḥmira*) rising in front BN setting at left shoulder BN rising at left ear NW behind left ear EW at left side

Several sources contain schemes in which the prescriptions for finding the *ḳibla* in each region of the world are based only on the Pole Star (*al-Djudayy* or *al-Ḳuṭb*). Although the earliest known scheme of this kind dates from the 6th/12th century, others must have been in circulation prior to this time, since al-Bīrūnī (*Taḥdīd*, tr. Ali, 13, modified) wrote: "Of the majority of people [who write about the *ḳibla* in non-mathematical terms], none are closer to the truth than those who use (*iʿtabarahu bi-*) the Pole Star known as *al-Djudayy*. By means of its fixed position, the direction of a person travelling can be specified approximately".

The most detailed scheme of this kind is recorded by the 7th/13th century Egyptian legal scholar Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḳarāfī [*q.v.*] in his *Dhakhīra*, ed. Cairo, i, 489-508; in this, some nine regions of the world are identified and instructions for finding the *ḳibla* are given as follows: "[The inhabitants of] Sind and India stand with [the Pole star] at their [right] cheeks and they face due west, etc." See Fig. 3 for a simplified version of this kind of scheme.

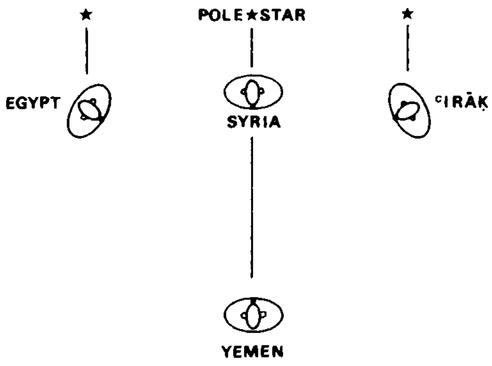

Fig. 3. A simple scheme for using the Pole Star to face Mecca recorded in a late Ottoman Egyptian text, typical of much earlier prescription for finding the *ḳibla*.

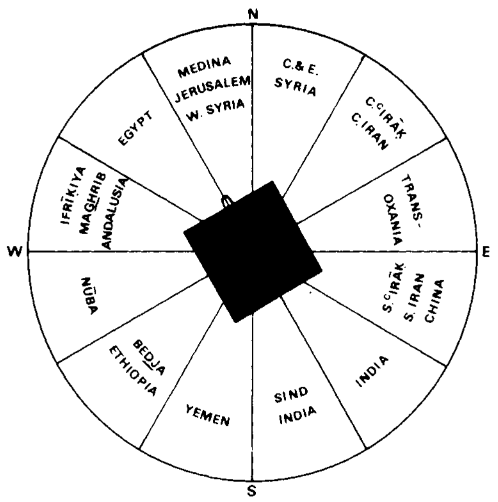

Fig. 4. A simplified version of the 12-sector scheme of sacred geography found in some manuscripts of the *Āthār al-bilād* of al-Ḳazwīnī.

At least one of the 12-sector schemes mentioned above must have been in circulation outside the Yemen before the 7th/13th century, because it was copied by the geographer Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, Eng. tr. Jwaideh, 51), who worked in Syria in *ca.* 600/1200. The instructions for finding the *ḳibla* are omitted from his diagram. A similar diagram is presented in al-Ḳazwīnī's *Āthār al-bilād,* 76, (see Fig. 4), and the same scheme is described in words in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* iv, 251-5. Another such simple 12-sector scheme occurs in the cosmography *Kharīdat al-ʿadjāʾib* of the 9th/15th century Syrian writer Ibn al-Wardī [*q.v.*], a work which was exceedingly popular in later centuries. In some copies of this, a diagram of an eight-sector scheme is presented. In others, diagrams of 18-, 34-, 35-, or 36-sectors schemes occur. In one manuscript of a Turkish translation of his treatise (ms. Istanbul Topkapı, Turkish 1340 = Bağdat 179), there is a diagram of a scheme with 72 sectors. In the published edition of the Arabic text (Cairo 1863, 70-1), extremely corrupt versions of both the 12- and the eight-sector schemes are included.

These simple diagrams were often much abused by ignorant copyists, and even in elegantly copied manuscripts we find the corners of the Kaʿba mislabelled and the localities around the Kaʿba confused. In some copies of the works of al-Ḳazwīnī and Ibn al-Wardī containing the 12-sector scheme, Medına occurs in more than one sector. In other copies, one of these two sectors has been suppressed and only 11 sectors appear around the Kaʿba (see Pl. 5).

Yet another scheme occurs in the navigational atlas of the 10th/16th century Tunisian scholar ʿAlī al-Sharafī al-Ṣafāḳusī (see Pl. 6). There are 40 *miḥrāb*s around the Kaʿba, represented by a square with its corners facing in the cardinal directions, and also by the fact that the scheme is superimposed upon a 32-division wind-rose, a device used by Arab sailors to find directions at sea by the risings and settings of the stars. Even though al-Ṣafāḳusī had compiled maps of the Mediterranean coast, the order and arrangement of localities about the Kaʿba in his diagram in each of the available copies (mss. Paris, B.N. ar. 2273 and Oxford, Bodleian Marsh 294) are rather inaccurate. Again, no *ḳibla* indications are presented.

Mainly through the writings of al-Ḳazwīnī and Ibn al-Wardī, these simplified 12-sector schemes were copied right up to the 19th century. By then, their original compiler had long been forgotten, and Muslim scholars interested in the sciences were starting to use Western geographical concepts and coordinates anyway. In most regions of the Islamic world, traditional *ḳibla* directions which had been used over the centuries were abandoned for a new direction computed for the locality in question using modern geographical coordinates.

The orientation of Islamic religious architecture

A variety of different *ḳibla* values was used in each of the major centres of Islamic civilisation (see King, *Sacred direction*). In any one locality, there were *ḳibla*s advocated by religious tradition, including both cardinal directions and astronomical alignments advocated in texts on folk astronomy or legal texts, as well as the directions computed by the astronomers (by both accurate and approximate mathematical procedures). This situation explains the diversity of mosque orientations in any given region of the Islamic world. However, since very few mediaeval mosques have been surveyed properly for their orientations, it is not yet possible to classify them, and for the present

we are forced to rely mainly on the information contained in the mediaeval written sources.

In Cordova, for example, as we know from a 6th/12th century treatise on the astrolabe, some mosques were laid out towards winter sunrise (roughly 30° S. of E.), because it was thought that this would make their *ḳibla* walls parallel to the north-west wall of the Kaʿba. The Grand Mosque there faces a direction perpendicular to summer sunrise (roughly 30° E. of S.), for the very same reason: this explains why it faces the deserts of Algeria rather than the deserts of Arabia. In fact, the axis of the Mosque is "parallel" to the main axis of the Kaʿba.

In Samarḳand, as we know from a 5th/11th century legal treatise, the main mosque was oriented towards winter sunset, in order that it should face the north-east wall of the Kaʿba. Other mosques in Samarḳand were built facing due west because the road to Mecca left Samarḳand towards the west, and yet others were built facing due south because the Prophet, when he was in Medina, had said that the *ḳibla* was due south, and some religious authorities interpreted this as being universally valid.

Similar situations could be cited for other mediaeval cities. In some of these, the *ḳibla*, or rather, the various different directions accepted for the *ḳibla*, have played an important role in the development of the entire city in mediaeval times. Investigations of the orientations of Islamic cities are still in an early phase. However, the city of Cairo represents a particularly interesting case of a city oriented towards the Kaʿba.

The first mosque in Egypt was built in Fusṭāṭ in the 1st/7th century facing due east, and then a few years later was altered to face winter sunrise (about 27° S. of E.). The first direction was probably chosen to ensure that the Mosque faced the Western Corner of the Kaʿba, the second to ensure that it faced the north-western wall, but these reasons are not mentioned in the historical sources. When the new city of al-Ḳāhira was founded in the 4th/10th century, it was built with a roughly orthogonal street plan alongside the Pharaonic canal linking the Nile with the Red Sea. Now, quite fortuitously, it happened that the canal was perpendicular to the direction of winter sunrise. Thus the entire city was oriented in the "*ḳibla* of the Companions". The Fāṭimids who built al-Ḳāhira erected the first mosques in the new city (the Mosque of al-Ḥākim and the Azhar Mosque) in the *ḳibla* of the astronomers, which at 37° S. of E. was 10° south of the *ḳibla* of the Companions. Thus their mosques were skew to the street plan.

The Mamlūks built their mosques and *madrasas* in such a way that the exteriors were in line with the street plan and the interiors skew to the exteriors and in line with the *ḳibla* of the astronomers. When they laid out the "City of the Dead" outside Cairo, they aligned the street and the mausolea with the *ḳibla* of the astronomers. In the other main area of greater Cairo known as al-Ḳarāfa, both the streets and the mosques follow a southerly *ḳibla* orientation. Al-Maḳrīzī discussed the problem of the different orientations of mosques in Egypt, but without reference to the street plan of Cairo. Now that the methods used in mediaeval times for finding the *ḳibla* are understood, the orientation of mediaeval Islamic religious architecture in particular and cities in general is a subject which calls out for further investigation.

Concluding remarks

This purely Islamic development of a sacred geography featuring the world centred on the Kaʿba, provided a simple practical means for Muslims to face the Kaʿba in prayer. For the pious, to whom the "science of the ancients" was anathema, this tradition constituted an acceptable alternative to the mathematical *ḳibla* determinations of the astronomers. As noted above, it was actually approved of by the legal scholars, not least because of Ḳurʾān XVI, 16. The number and variety of the texts in which this sacred geography is attested indicate that it was widely known from the 4th/10th century onwards, if not among the scientific community. The broad spectra of *ḳibla* values accepted at different times in different places attest to the multiplicity of ways used by Muslims to face the Kaʿba over the centuries, and all of this activity was inspired by the belief that the Kaʿba, as the centre of the world and the focus of Muslim worship, was a physical pointer to the presence of God.

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On Islamic folk astronomy, see in addition to the articles ANWĀʾ, MANĀZIL and MAṬLAʿ, King, *Ethnoastronomy and mathematical astronomy in the Medieval Near East,* and D. M. Varisco, *An agricultural almanac by the Yemeni Sultan al-Ashraf,* in *Procs. of the First International Symposium on Ethnoastronomy, Washington, D.C. 1983* (forthcoming).

All available sources on Islamic sacred geography (some 30 in number) are surveyed in King, *The sacred geography of Islam,* in *Islamic Art,* iii (1983) (forthcoming). For an overview of the *ḳibla* problem, see idem, *The world about the Kaʿba: a study of the sacred direction in Islam* (forthcoming), and its summary, *The sacred direction in Islam: a study of the interaction of science and religion in the Middle Ages,* in *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews,* x (1984), 315-28.

On the possibility of a *ḳibla* towards the east before the adoption of the *ḳibla* towards the Kaʿba, see W. Barthold, *Die Orientierung der ersten muhammadanischen Moscheen,* in *Isl.,* xviii (1929), 245-50, and King, *Astronomical alignments,* 309.

On the orientation of Islamic religious architecture, see King, *op. cit.,* and on the situations in Cordova, Cairo and Samarḳand, see *Three sundials from Islamic Andalusia, Appx. A: Some medieval values of the Qibla at Cordova,* in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Arabic Science,* ii (1978), 370-87; *Architecture and astronomy:*

the ventilators of medieval Cairo and their secrets, in *JAOS,* civ (1984), 97-133; *Al-Bazdawī on the Qibla in Transoxania,* in *JHAS,* vii (1983), 3-38. In 1983, a treatise on the problems associated with the *kibla* in early Islamic Iran by the 5th/11th century legal scholar and mathematician ʿAbd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī was identified in ms. Tashkent, Oriental Institute 177; this awaits investigation. No doubt other treatises on the problems of the *kibla* in West and East Africa and in India were prepared, but these have not been located yet in the manuscript sources. (D. A. KING)

AL-**MAKKARĪ**, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD B. YAHYĀ AL-TILIMSĀNĪ AL-FĀSĪ AL-MĀLIKĪ, man of letters and biographer, born at Tilimsān (Tlemcen) in *ca.* 986/1577, d. at Cairo in Djumādā II 1041/ Jan. 1632. He belonged to a family of scholars, natives of Makkara (about 12 miles from Msīla [see MASĪLA]). One of his paternal ancestors, Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Makkarī, had been chief *kādī* of Fās and one of the teachers of the famous Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khatīb [*q.v.*] of Granada. He himself received a wide education from his early youth; one of his principal teachers was his paternal uncle Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd (d. at Tlemcen in 1030/1620-1; on him, see Ben Cheneb, *Idjâza,* § 103).

In 1009/1600, al-Makkarī went to Morocco. At Marrākush, he met numerous scholars and followed the teaching of Ahmad Bābā [*q.v.*], who on 15 Rabīʿ 1010/13 October 1601 gave him an *idjāza* (text in al-Makkarī's *Rawda,* 305-12) authorising him to teach the *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the *Shifāʾ* of the *Kādī* ʿIyād and his own works, to the spreading of which he must have contributed greatly (see M. A. Zouber, *Ahmad Bābā de Tombouctou,* Paris 1977, 57-8 and index). It was probably round about this time that he began to frequent the *zāwiya dilāʾiyya,* where his special master for *hadīth* was Mahammad b. Abī Bakr (967-1046/1559-1636) [see AL-DILĀʾ in Suppl.]. He kept up cordial relations with the latter until his last days, judging by a letter written at Cairo early in 1041/1631 and entrusted to Mahammad's son Muhammad al-Hādjdj, on his return from the Pilgrimage; this letter, in which he gives some details about his latest works and journeyings, is preserved in the Rabat ms. 471 K (it has been published by M. Hadjdjī, *al-Zāwiya al-dilāʾiyya,* Rabat 1384/1964, 282-4).

Al-Makkarī remained then in Fās, where he became *imām* and *muftī* at the al-Karawiyyīn mosque [*q.v.*] from 1022/1613 to 1027/1617. It was during the stay there that he composed his *Azhār al-riyād* (see below). But he was accused of favouring a turbulent tribe, and decided to leave for the East in order to make the Pilgrimage. In 1027 or 1028/1617-18 he accordingly left Fās, leaving there, besides his books, a daughter and a wife (to whom he gave, in the above-cited letter, the power to obtain a divorce), and after having accomplished the Pilgrimage (1028/1618), he went to Cairo, where he remained for some months and got married. In the next year, he undertook a trip to Jerusalem, and then returned to Cairo. From there, he went back on several occasions to the Holy Places and, both at Mecca and at Medina, gave a course in *hadīth* which excited great attention. He made fresh trips to Jerusalem and Damascus, where he was welcomed at the Čakmakiyya *madrasa* by the scholar Ahmad b. Shāhīn; in this last city too, his courses on the Islamic traditions were much frequented by students. He went back to Cairo, and just as he was preparing to return to Damascus and stay there permanently, he fell ill and died.

In spite of his long stay in the East, it was in Morocco that al-Makkarī collected the essential materials for his work as the historian and biographer of Muslim Spain, especially at Marrākush in the library of Saʿdian Sultans (now preserved in part in the Escorial; see Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial,* iii, Paris 1928, pp. viii-ix). Indeed, his masterpiece, written at Cairo in 1038/1629 at the suggestion of Ibn Shāhīn, is a long monograph on Muslim Spain and on the famous encyclopaedist of Granada, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khatīb, *Nafh al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb wa-dhikr wazīrihā Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb,* an immense compilation of historical and literary information, poems, letters and quotations very often taken from works now lost. It is this that gives the *Nafh al-ṭīb* an inestimable value and puts it in the first rank for our sources of Muslim Spain from the conquest to the last days of the Reconquista.

The *Nafh al-ṭīb* consists of two quite distinct parts, a monograph on the history and literature of Muslim Spain and the monograph on Ibn al-Khatīb. The first part is divided as follows: 1. Physical geography of al-Andalus. 2. Conquest of al-Andalus by the Arabs, period of the governors. 3. History of the Umayyad caliphs and of the petty dynasts (*Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*). 4. Description of Cordova, its history and its monuments. 5. Spanish Arabs who made the journey to the East. 6. Orientals who made the journey to Spain. 7. Sketches of literary history, the intellectual and moral qualities of the Spanish Arabs. 8. The Reconquista of Spain and the expulsion of the Muslims. The second part contains: 1. Origin and biography of the ancestors of Ibn al-Khatīb. 2. Biography of Ibn al-Khatīb. 3. Biographies of his teachers. 4. Letters in rhymed prose of the chanceries of Granada and of Fās, sent or received by Ibn al-Khatīb (*mukhāṭabāt*). 5. Selection of his work in prose and verse. 5. Analytical list of his works.

The first part was published at Leiden from 1855 to 1861 under the title of *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne,* by R. Dozy, G. Dugat, I. Krehl and W. Wright. In 1840, D. Pascual de Gayangos had published in English, at London, under the title *The history of the Muhammadan dynasties in Spain,* a version adapted from the part of the first half which deals with the history of Muslim Spain. The complete Arabic text of the *Nafh al-ṭīb* was first printed at Būlāk in 1279, at Cairo in 1302 and 1304 in 4 volumes, then at Cairo in 1367/1949 in 10 volumes and finally, by Ihsān ʿAbbās at Beirut in 1968 (8 volumes). Although various texts given by al-Makkarī have been translated, in addition to the work of Pascual de Gayangos mentioned above, a complete version of this monumental work still remains to be done.

Another important work of this author is the *Azhār al-riyād fī akhbār ʿIyād,* a long monograph on the *Kādī* ʿIyād (476-544/1083-1149 [*q.v.*]), which is enriched by numerous pieces of information on scholars of Morocco and al-Andalus and by citations from otherwise lost works. Of this work, the autograph ms. (incomplete) is in the Royal Library in Rabat (no. 784), and there is a good ms. in the General Library of Rabat (no. 229 K); this has been the object of an edition begun in Tunis (1322/1904), and then 3 volumes have been published in Cairo in 1359-61/1939-42; the vols. iv and v at al-Muhammadiyya in 1978-80.

A third work by al-Makkarī, the *Rawdat al-ās al-ʿāṭirat al-anfās fī dhikr man lakītuhu min aʿlām al-hadratayn Marrākush wa-Fās,* contains biographies of scholars and other Moroccan personalities, together, like the preceding two works, various others texts, in

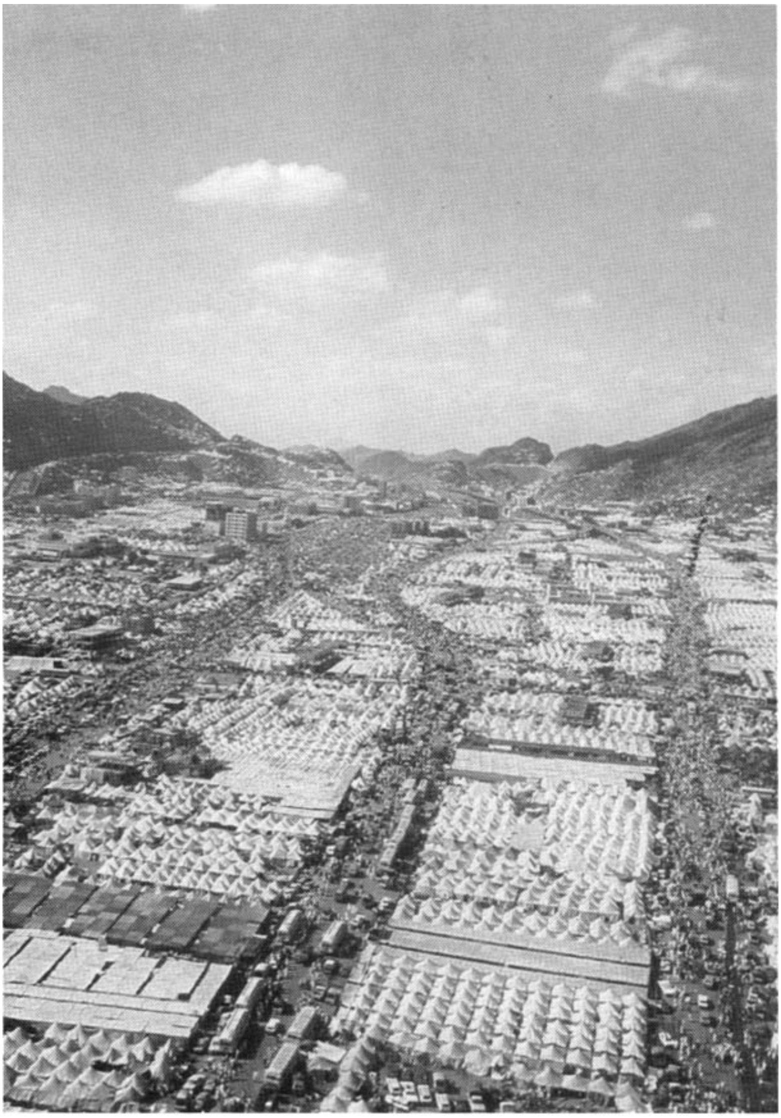

Fig. 1. Aerial view of ʿArafāt during the *ḥadjdj*. (Photograph by courtesy of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Saoudi Arabia, The Hague).

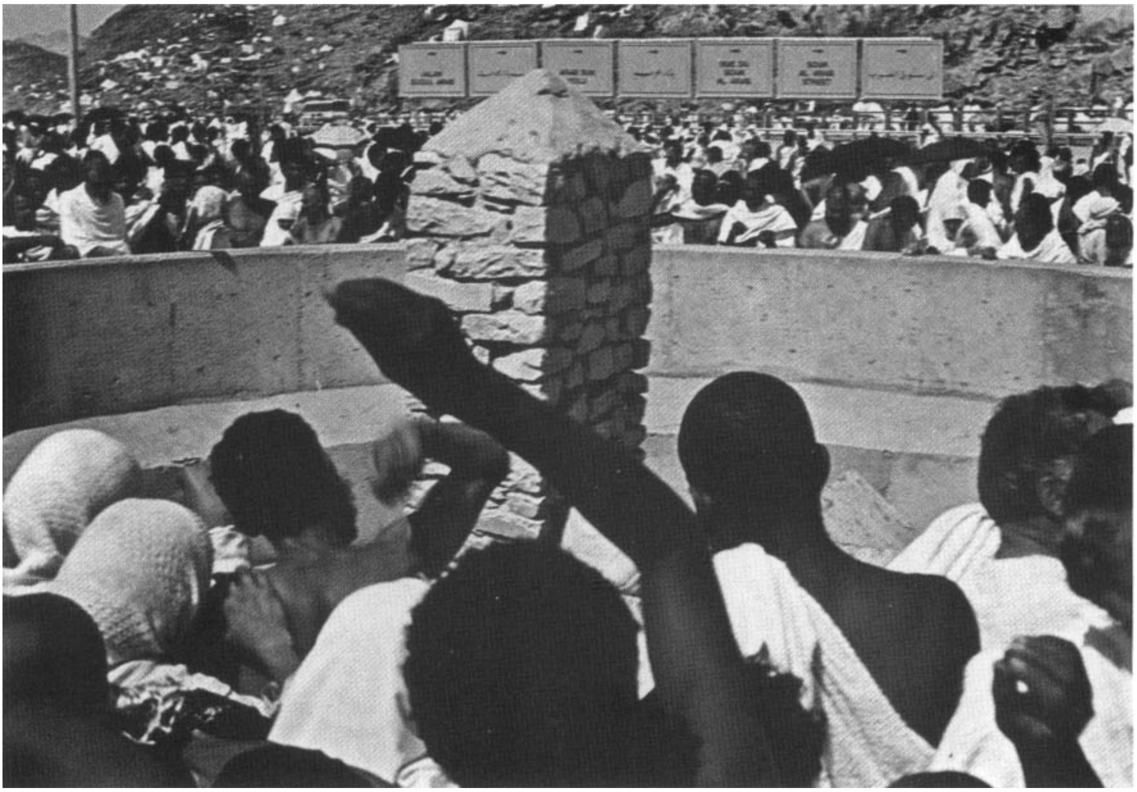

Fig. 2. Pilgrims at Minā. (Photograph by courtesy of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Saoudi Arabia, The Hague).

Fig. 3. Aerial view of Minā during the *ḥadjdj*. (Photograph by courtesy of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Saoudi Arabia, The Hague).

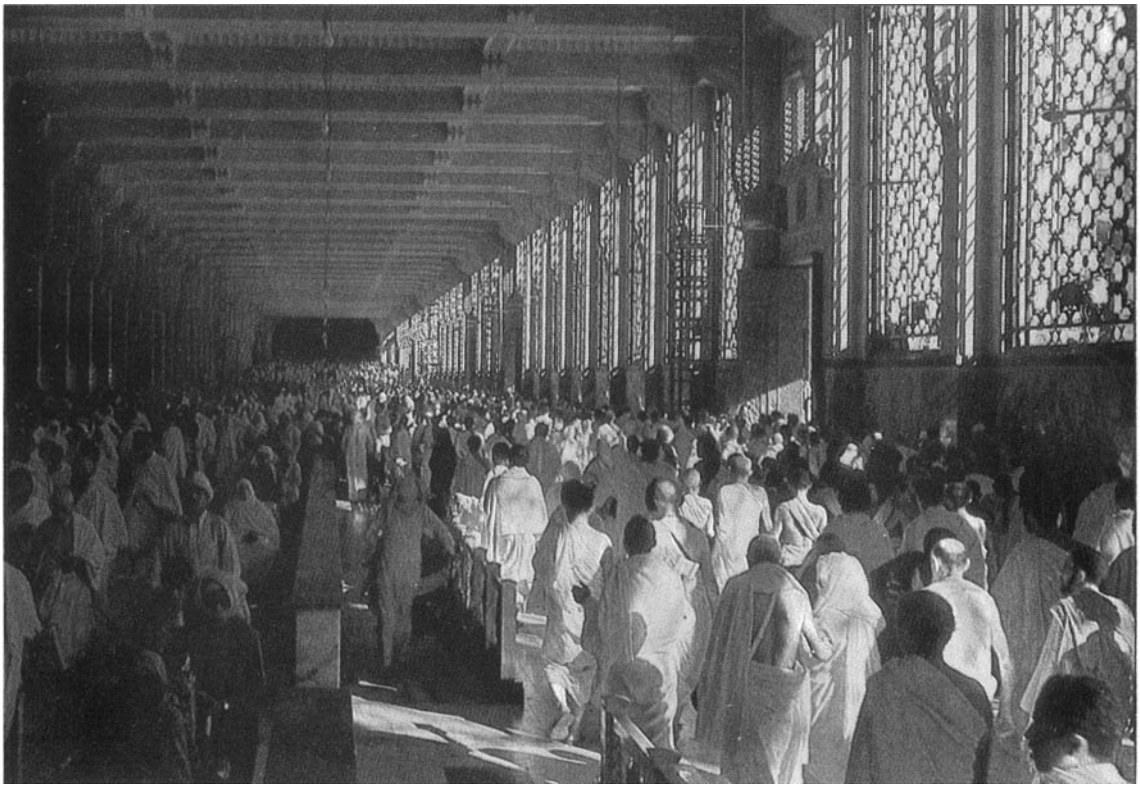

Fig. 4. Interior of the *Masʿā*. (Photograph by courtesy of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Saoudi Arabia, The Hague).

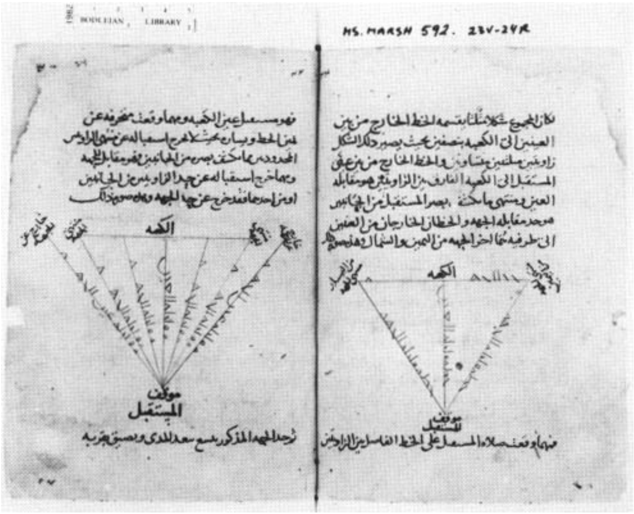

1. Diagrams in the unique manuscript of the *Tahdhīb* of al-Dimyāṭī displaying the notions of *ᶜayn al-Kaᶜba*, facing the Kaᶜba head on, and *djihat al-Kaᶜba*, facing the general direction of the Kaᶜba, that is, anywhere within the field of vision (*ca.* 90°) of a person facing the Kaᶜba head on. Taken from ms. Oxford Bodleian Marsh 592, fols. 23b-24a.

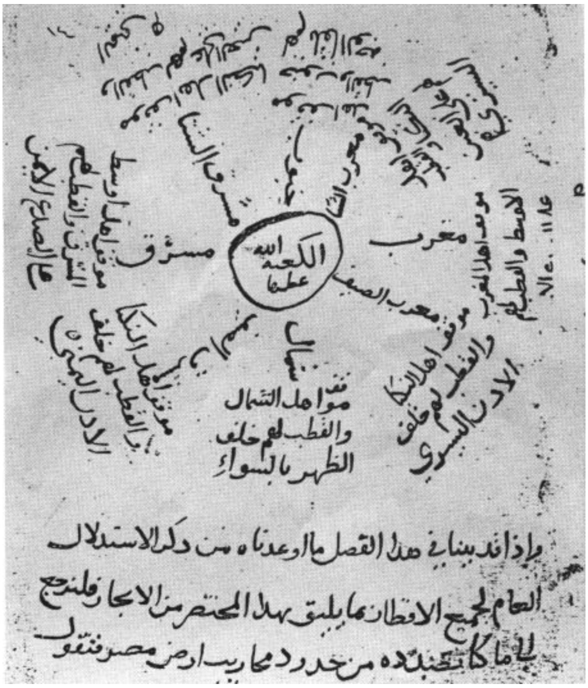

2. An illustration of al-Dimyāṭī's eight-sector *ḳibla* scheme in the unique copy of his shorter treatise on the *ḳibla*. The directions of the *ḳibla* are defined in each sector in terms of the Pole Star. Taken from ms. Damascus Ẓāhiriyya 5579, fol. 14a.

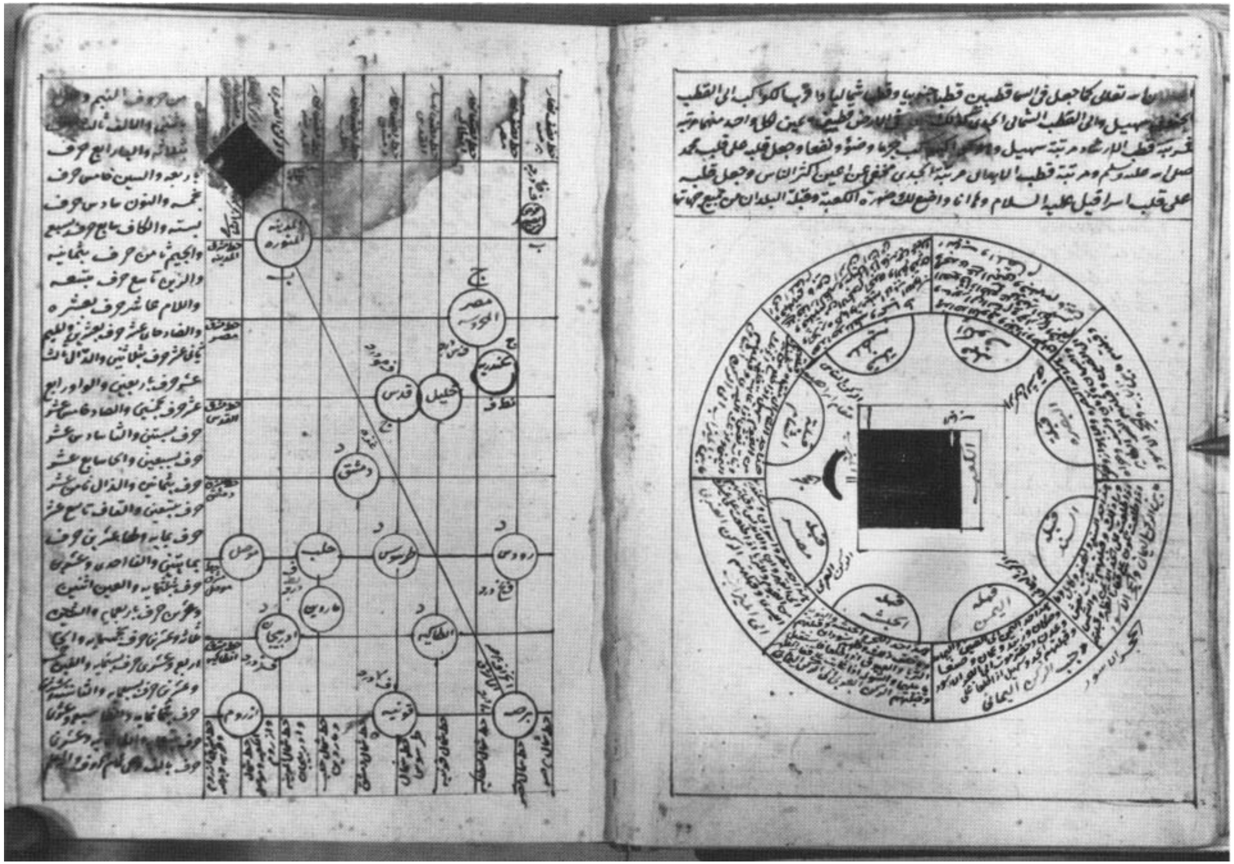

3. Two illustrations from an anonymous treatise on the *ḳibla* and the Kaʿba of uncertain provenance. On the left is a latitude and longitude grid with various localities marked, as well as the Kaʿba, shown in the upper left corner, inclined to the meridian. (No such diagram is contained in any scientific treatise from the mediaeval Islamic period.) On the right is an eight-sector *ḳibla* scheme not attested in any other known source. The main *ḳibla* indicators used in each sector are the risings or settings of prominent stars which should be *directly behind* the person facing the *ḳibla*: this suggests that they were determined by someone standing with his back to the appropriate part of the Kaʿba looking towards those regions. Taken from ms. Cairo Ṭalʿat *madjāmiʿ* 811, fols. 59b-60a.

4. Two 12-sector diagrams occuring at the end of the unique complete copy of a treatise on folk astronomy by the 7th/13th century Yemeni scholar Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Fārisī. The one on the left corresponds roughly to the scheme described in the text of al-Fārisī's treatise. Notice that the scheme is surrounded by a schematic representation of the Sacred Mosque. The one on the right is developed from the eight-sector scheme of Ibn Surāḳa. Taken from ms. Milan Ambrosiana Griffini 37, unfoliated.

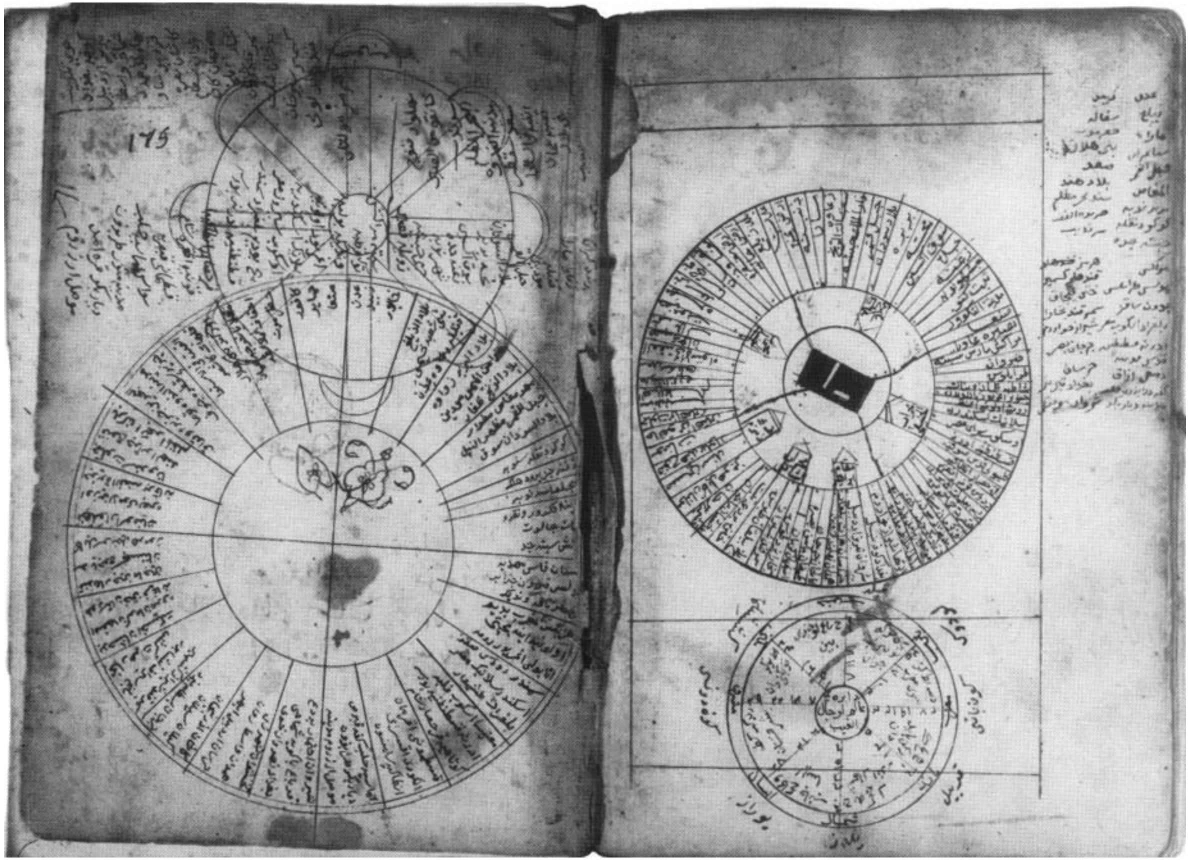

5. On these flyleaves of an Ottoman Turkish copy of a 10th/16th century Syrian *zīdj* are preserved four different schemes of sacred geography. Two are represented graphically, and two others by ordered lists of localities (upper left and upper right). In addition, there is (lower right) a diagram for locating the so-called *ridjāl al-ghayb*, intermediaries between God and man, belief in whom was widespread amongst Ṣūfīs in Ottoman times. Taken from ms. Paris B.N. ar. 2520.

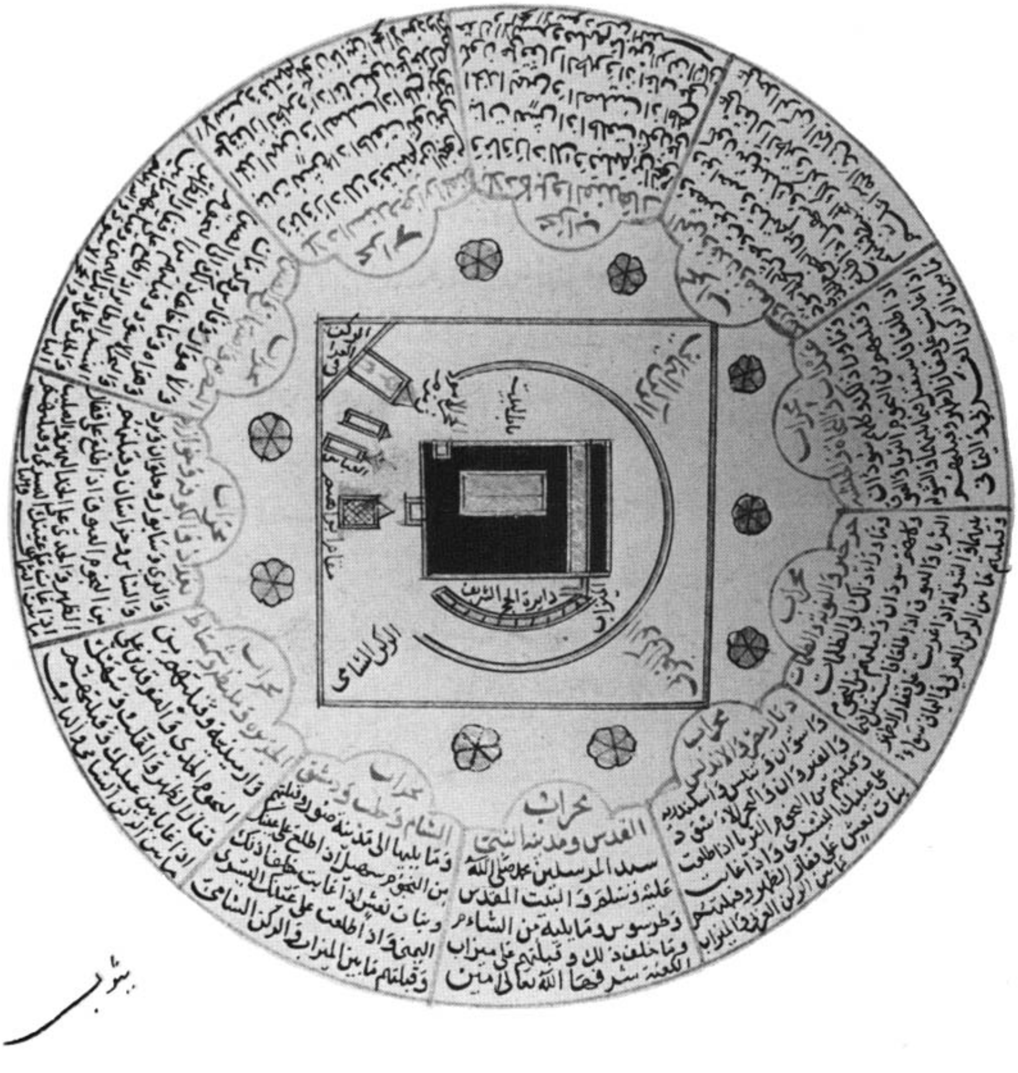

6. A defective diagram of a 12-sector scheme (simplified from that of Ibn Surāḳa) in an elegantly copied manuscript of Ibn al-Wardī's *Cosmography*. As in some diagrams of this kind in various copies of al-Ḳazwīnī's *Āthār al-bilād*, there are only 11 sectors: presumably at some stage in the transmission someone noticed that, because of copyists' errors in some copies of the text, Medina occurred in two sectors. The one omitted here is the one in which Medina had been entered by mistake. Taken from ms. Istanbul Topkapi Ahmet III 3020, fol. 52b.

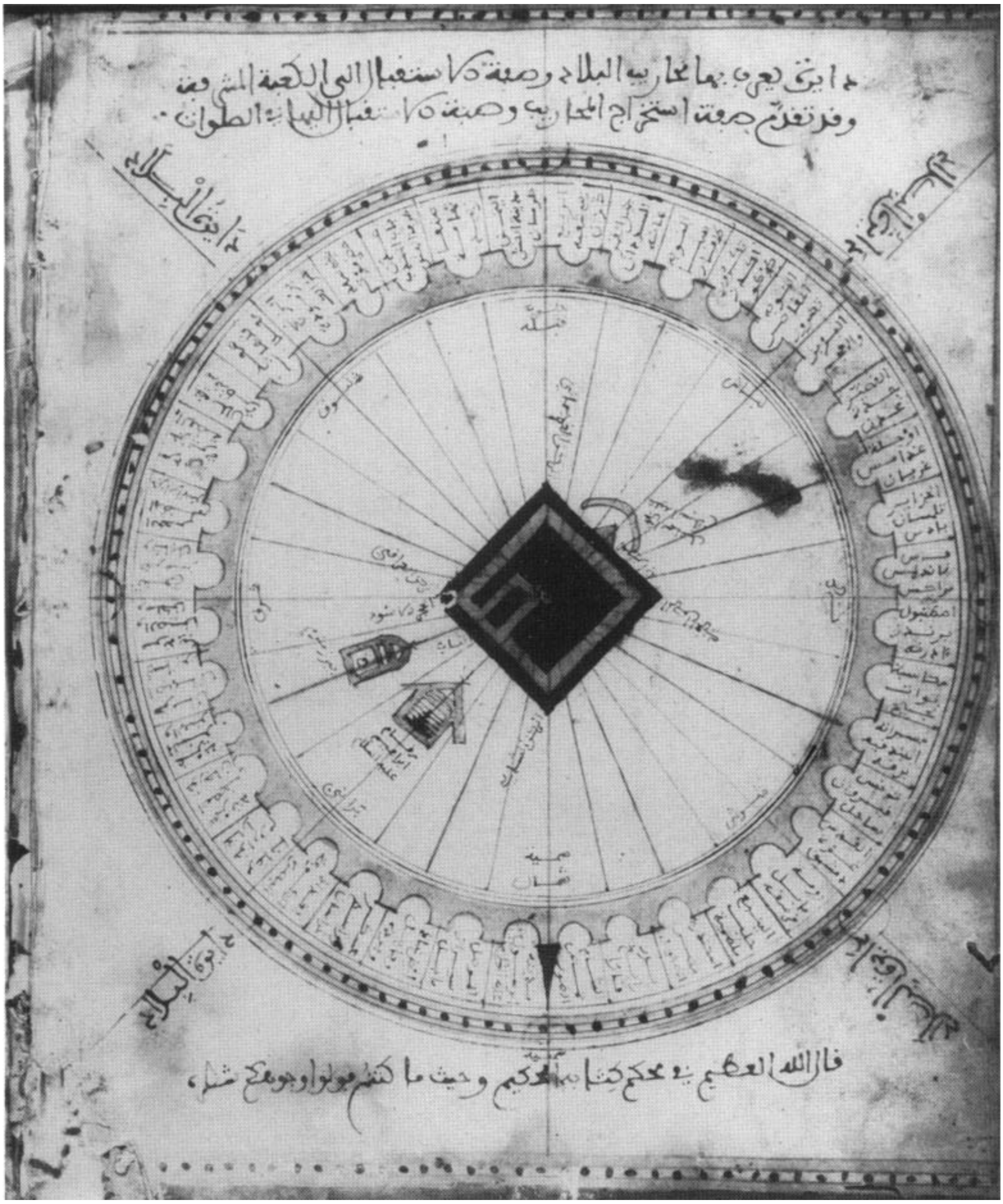

7. The 40-sector scheme of al-Ṣafāḳusī, superimposed on a 32-division windrose. The order of the localities around the Kaʿba differs somewhat in the two extant copies of this chart. Taken from ms. Paris B.N. ar. 2278, fol. 2b.

particular, *idjāzas* received by or conferred by the author (ed. Rabat 1383/1964).

As well as these historical and biographical compilations, al-Maḳḳarī is said to have left behind a commentary on the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 106) which has not yet been found, but there are extant several others of his works which are of varying interest. From the lists given of his works (see Ben Cheneb, *Idjâza*, § 102; Brockelmann, II², 381-3, S II, 407-8; M. Ḥadjdjī, *op. cit.*, 110-13), there will be mentioned here those which are extant and which deal with: — (1) the Prophet: *Fatḥ al-mutaᶜāl fī madḥ al-niᶜāl* (*ḥadīths*, verses and citations from the texts of Moroccan poets and writers, in particular, on the Prophet's sandals). This is a lengthy rewriting (ed. Hyderabad 1334/1916) of a compilation made in Cairo under the title of *al-Nafaḥāt al-ᶜanbariyya fī niᶜāl khayr al-bariyya*. The ms. 565 Dj. of Rabat contains the *Fatḥ* and an *urdjūza* on the same topic addressed to Maḥammad b. Abī Bakr. Another text, *Azhār/Zahr al-kimāma fī sharaf al-ᶜimāma*, is an *urdjūza* of 305 verses on the Prophet's turban, written at Medina and sent to this same Dilāᶜī, which contains lexicographical details on Muḥammad's clothing (cf. ms. Rabat 984 D, ff. 96b-103a). — (2) theology: *Idāʾat al-dudjunna bi-ᶜaḳāʾid ahl al-sunna*, a profession of faith in 500 *radjaz* verses, which al-Maḳḳarī asserts (in the letter cited above) he taught and commented upon at Mecca, Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo, Alexandria, Rosetta and Ghazza. More than 2,000 copies, most of them with his signature, are said to have been made (numerous ms., including Rabat 1227 D, 2742 K; ed. Cairo 1304). *Itḥāf al-mughram al-mughrā fī sharḥ al-Ṣughrā*, a commentary on the *ᶜaḳīda ṣughrā* of al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*] (mss. Royal Library at Rabat nos. 3544 and 5928). — (3) *fiḳh*: *Iᶜmāl al-dhihn wa 'l-fikr fī 'l-masāʾil al-mutanawwiᶜat al-adjnās al-wārida min al-Shaykh Sayyidī Maḥammad b. Abī Bakr, barakat al-zamān wa-baḳiyyat al-nās* (in al-Ḥawwāt, *al-Budūr al-ḍāwiya*, ms. Rabat 261 D, ff. 64a-71b). — (4) magical formulae and devices: *Nayl al-marām al-mughtabiṭ li-ṭālib al-mukhammas al-khālī al-wasaṭ* (ms. Rabat 2878 K).

Al-Maḳḳarī was essentially a compiler who felicitously preserved a host of texts otherwise lost which he had copied out before leaving for the East, and one hopes that he did not rely too much on his own memory, which was remarkble. His master Maḥammad b. Abī Bakr, despite their friendly relations, did not have a very high opinion of his reliability in regard to *ḥadīth*, and al-Ifrānī (*Ṣafwa*, 74), repeats a judgement of al-ᶜAyyāshī according to which he always refused to give a legal opinion twice on the same question, for fear of contradicting himself. Nevertheless, he was a skilful versifier, and in the passages composed by himself, his rhymed prose remains relatively smooth-flowing and readable.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the article): Mayyāra, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, Cairo 1305/1887, i, 41; Yūsī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, lith. Fās 1317/1899, 59; Khafādjī, *Rayḥānat al-alibbāʾ*, Cairo 1283, 293; Ibn Maᶜṣūm, *Sulāfat al-ᶜaṣr*, Cairo 1324, 589; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284, i, 302 ff.; Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, lith. Fās n.d., 22 ff.; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, lith. Fās 1310/1892, i, 157-60; Dugat, in introd. to the *Analectes*; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 93, n. 3; Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Fās 1346/1927, i, 337-8; M. Hajji, *L'activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque saᶜdide*, Rabat 1977, 423-4 and index.

(E. Lévi-Provençal - [Ch. Pellat])

AL-**MAKKĪ**. [See abū ṭālib].

MAKKĪ, Abū Muḥammad Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib b. (?) Ḥammūsh b. Muḥammad b. Mukhtār al-Ḳaysī al-Ḳayrawānī al-Andalusī al-Ḳurṭubī, Mālikī lawyer and Ḳurʾān reader, born at al-Ḳayrawān on 23 Shaᶜbān 354/25 August 965, died at Cordova in 437/1045, one of the earliest and most distinguished scholars in the science of Ḳurʾān reading (*ḳirāʾa* [*q.v.*]) and especially the theory and art of recitation (*tadjwīd* [*q.v.*]) in the Muslim West.

It is largely due to him that the new development in Ḳurʾān reading scholarship which is connected with the Baghdādī *Imām al-ḳurrāʾ*, Ibn Mudjāhid (d. 324/936 [*q.v.*]) spread so soon via Aleppo and Cairo to Spain. Makkī started his studies in Cairo at the age of thirteen, and accomplished most of his learning there during the years 368-74/978-84, 377-9/987-9 and 382-3/992-3, concentrating on philology, *ḳirāʾāt* and *tadjwīd*, and frequenting at an advanced stage such illustrious authorities as the commentator Abū Bakr al-Udfuwī (304-88/916-98, *GAS*, i, 46) and Abu 'l-Ṭayyib ᶜAbd al-Munᶜim b. Ghalbūn al-Ḥalabī (d. 389/999). The latter had studied with Ibn Mudjāhid's pupil Ibn Khālawayh [*q.v.*] during Sayf al-Dawla's reign in Aleppo [see ḥalab, III, 86a] and become famous for his works on *ḳirāʾa* (*GAS*, i, 15). Makkī also studied with Abu 'l-Ṭayyib's son Ṭāhir b. Ghalbūn (d. 399/1008), the same scholar, who was to become the teacher of Makki's 17 years' younger Maghribī colleague, Abū ᶜAmr al-Dānī [*q.v.*], who came to Cairo some 20 years later. It is Ṭāhir b. Ghalbūn's teaching and his *K. al-Tadhkira fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt* (*GAS*, i, 16) that were to become the foundations of two influential *ḳirāʾāt*-works by each of Makkī (*K. al-Tabṣira*, *K. al-Kashf*) and al-Dānī (*K. al-Taysīr*, *K. Djāmiᶜ al-bayān*). During Makki's short residence at home in 374-77/984-7, he studied with two outstanding Ḳayrawānī scholars: the legal scholar and traditionist al-Ḳābisī (d. 403/1011 [*q.v.*]) and the lawyer Ibn Abī Zayd (d. 386/996 [*q.v.*]). In 387/998 he set off for his last journey to the east. Staying three years in Mecca, frequenting Meccan scholars and performing the *ḥadjdj* several times, he wrote in 389/999 his *K. Mushkil gharīb al-Ḳurʾān*, a summary of which is probably extant in a unique ms. (ed. Yūsuf ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Marᶜashlī, Beirut 1981; its authenticity is, however, doubted by Aḥmad Farḥāt, see preliminary note to Marᶜashlī's edition). On his way back to al-Ḳayrawān via Cairo, two other works were completed: (1) *K. Mushkil iᶜrāb al-Ḳurʾān*, written in 390/1001 in Jerusalem (16 mss. extant, Brockelmann, I, 515, S I, 719, and cf. introd. to the critical edition by Yāsīn M. al-Sawwās, Damascus n.d., 2 vols.; further edition by Ḥātim S. al-Ḍāmin, Baghdād *ca.* 1970); and (2) *K. al-Tabṣira*, originally meant as a mere introduction to be memorised by beginners, which was later elaborated by Makkī and published in 424/1038 as *K. al-Kashf ᶜan wudjūh al-ḳirāʾāt al-sabᶜ* (4 mss., ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ramaḍān, Damascus, 2 vols.; Ḥātim S. al-Ḍāmin, Baghdād *ca.* 1970). This longer version not only gives the fuller *isnāds* for the readings but also grammatical justifications (*taᶜlīl*) for them, following closely the method first adopted by Abū ᶜAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987 [*q.v.*]), whose *K. al-Ḥudjdja*, which was well known to Makkī, constitutes a complete Ḳurʾān commentary discussing the readings presented by Ibn Mudjāhid in his *K. al-Sabᶜa*, see *GdQ*, iii, 116-43.

Makkī did not remain long in his home town, but — for reasons unknown to us — left al-Ḳayrawān for al-Andalus in 393/1003 and established himself as a teacher of Ḳurʾān reading (*muḳriʾ*) at Cordova at the Masdjid al-Nukhayla in the ᶜAṭṭārīn quarter. He soon won a wide reputation for his learning, and was appointed between 397/1007 and 399/1009 by al-Muẓaffar ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Abī ᶜĀmir [see ᶜāmirids]

as *mukriʾ* to the Mosque of the Zāhira quarter, newly established by the ʿĀmirids. After the fall of the ʿĀmirid rule in 399/1009, he was called by the caliph Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Mahdī (399/1009) to teach at the Friday Mosque of Cordova. There he continued to teach until the end of the civil war, when the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥazm b. Djahwar [see DJAHWARIDS] appointed him *imām* and preacher to the same mosque (after 425/1031), which office he held until his death on 2 Muḥarram 437/21 July 1045).

At Cordova, most of his works (numbering over 80, on various topics such as *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, but mostly on *ḳirāʾa*) were written. Two of the extant *tadjwīd* works have played a major role in the development of the *ḳirāʾa* disciplines, *al-Riʿāya li-tadjwīd al-ḳirāʾa wa-lafẓ al-tilāwa* (preserved in 9 mss, ed. Aḥmad Farḥāt, Damascus 1973) is considered as one of the earliest systematic treatises on *tadjwīd*. His *Sharḥ kallā wa-balā wa-naʿam wa 'l-waḳf ʿalā kulli wāḥidatin minhunna wa-dhikr maʿānīhā wa-ʿilalihā* (4 mss., ed. Aḥmad Farḥāt, Damascus 1978) treats the rhetorical qualities of the three particles monographically and is a useful source for the study of Ḳurʾān rhetorics. A work unique of its kind is his *K. al-Ibāna fī maʿāni 'l-ḳirāʾāt* (4 mss., ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ramaḍān, Damascus 1979, previous edition by ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Shalabī, Cairo 1960) discussing problems arising from the existence of several different and equally canonical readings. Whereas his comprehensive Ḳurʾān commentary *al-Hidāya* seems to be lost, his monograph on the special *tafsīr* problem of the abrogated verses is extant: *al-Īḍāḥ li-nāsikh al-Ḳurʾān wa-mansūkhih* (4 mss., ed. Aḥmad Farḥāt, Riyadh 1976). Makkī's work has in later generations been overshadowed by that of his younger colleague al-Dānī and the later scholastic commentaries resting upon al-Dānī's writings. Yet some of Makkī's treatises have exercised even a direct influence on later scholars, see Pretzl, in *GdQ*, iii, 214. Some of his work has come to light again only in recent years, and has still to be studied as to its intrinsic value and its impact on later developments.

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(ANGELIKA NEUWIRTH)

MAKLĪ, the elongated, flat hilltop, running north and south some 2 miles/3 km. to the northwest of the city of Thaffhā (Tatta or Thatta) [*q.v.*] in lower Sind [*q.v.*] on the road to Karāčī and now in Pakistan, which served as a necropolis for the local Sammā, Arghūn, and Tarkhān dynasties, besides being the burial ground for countless thousands of ordinary Muslims. The etymology is obscure, though possibly derived from *mukallaʾ* "a river bank", as it lies along the old bed of the Indus. Within its irregularly curving width, the mausolea are arranged in roughly chronological order, with the oldest at the northern end. Their architecture, strongly local and somewhat provincial in character, though influenced by buildings in Iran, is executed in two distinct techniques; the brick characteristic of the country is either clad in tilework, both polychrome and mosaic, or built in courses alternating with glazed bricks whose edges are recessed and glazed white to simulate a mortar joint about 1.5 cm wide on two or more sides (though some real mortar joints in white plaster can also be found) to create a vertical emphasis, a horizontal one, or both. Other monuments, however, are in carved ashlar of yellow, grey or red sandstone slabs on a rubble core, which in many cases has crumbled with disastrous effects; some of this stone is local, from Djangshāhī, and the rest imported from Rādjpūtāna and Gudjarāt. The brick buildings are set on stone bases to withstand the rise of moisture charged with destructive saltpetre. The glazes are generally white, cobalt, and turquoise; though the tile designs may be stereotyped, the technical standard of the dense red brickwork is very high, and the true joints can hardly be seen. Glazed brick in chevron patterns is also used to face some domes internally, as may be seen in one of the earliest buildings on the hill, the tomb of Fatḥ Khān's sister (898/1492).

The mausoleum of Djām Niẓām al-Dīn Nindō (915/1509) at the northernmost end of the site illustrates the recently Hindu origin of the Rādjpūt Sammās; square in plan, its four stone walls are decorated entirely with Hindu carving, except for a frieze of Ḳurʾānic inscriptions in beautiful *thulth*. The almost cubical mass is articulated by twelve other horizontal bands of motifs, including one of geese, alternating with plain stone. This is set off by the heavily-worked carving on the rear of the *miḥrāb*, surmounted by a corbelled balcony with arched openings. The incomplete nature of this work shows that it has been borrowed from a Hindu temple, complete with a miniature *śikhara*, though some panels are Islamic. The interior is dominated by the use of squinch arches, in tiers of first eight, then sixteen, to carry the missing dome. Both their scale and the corbelled technique are reminiscent of Iltutmish's tomb at Dihlī (*ca.* 632/1235), though the ornament is again limited to flat bands, friezes and rosettes like tilework. Two *čhatrī* pavilions nearby, each on eight columns, also incorporate Hindu work, with corbelled domes, monolithic banded pillars, and *kalsā* finials (late 15th century).

The tomb of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (966/1558), son of ʿĪsā Khān Tarkhān I, is an octagonal brick structure surrounding a square cell inside with a carefully-proportioned Persian dome on a cylindrical drum above. Each of the faces houses a recess within a pointed arch outside, those at the cardinal sides being taller, and containing a door with a window above in the flat *īwān* wall, while those at the angles form five-faceted niches. It may have been derived from the tomb of Mullā Ḥasan at Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*] (*ca.* 936/1530), though it lacks double storeys at the

angles, and its proportions are more compact. Traces of turquoise tiling can be seen on the dome, though little remains elsewhere except for three small panels of Ḳurʾānic phrases, one of them signed. Another cenotaph within is dated 952/1545, and that of Amīr Sulṭān Muḥammad stands outside. The structure anticipates the monument to Djānī Bēg (1009/1601), and ultimately that to Āṣaf Khān at Lāhawr [*q.v.*].

The tomb of ʿĪsā Khān Tarkhān I (973/1565) with five others of his family lies in the centre of a court whose stone walls still stand. Outside, recessed panels house blank arches with rosettes in relief, and arched *djālī* screens alternately, under bold string courses which rise around the *pīshṭāḳ* of the entrance. It is Iranian in its restraint. The mausoleum of the apparently paranoid Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāḳī Tarkhān (d. 993/1585), which follows the same pattern, still has merlons over the *pīshṭāḳ*, diaper-work on the lintel, and bolder entrance steps; the inscription shows it to have been built for his son Shāh-zāda Shāhrukh in 992/1584. Like other enclosures of this type, the court has been used for subsequent family burials in separate compartments over a generation. Just to the south again, the similar mausoleum of Ahinsa Bāʾī (995/1587) has finely-carved relief between the string-courses, in a frieze of palmettes carried over a tall *miḥrāb* to the west, and the *djālī* frets are geometrically more intricate.

Although Mīrzā Djānī Bēg, the last independent Tarkhān ruler, died while in submission to Akbar's court, he too was buried at Maklī, in the southernmost great tomb, in 1009/1601. Set in a once similar stone enclosure, with fine Ḳurʾānic epigraphs around the gate, which has four rosettes set boldly in the tympanum, and over the *miḥrāb* elaborated with a faceted recess, flanked by miniature lotus posts and superimposed aedicules, the mausoleum itself is a domed octagon, whose alternating courses of venetian red and turquoise brick, with both joints picked out in white glaze, reflect the alternately broad and narrow coursing of the yellow sandstone. The plan differs from Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's tomb only in that the panels housing the angle arches are recessed. The outer dome has fallen, though its septal reinforcements remain. The inner one still carries sections of tilework, and on the walls below is a tiled dado, which once had a counterpart outside. The three *īwāns* and the tympanum of the doorway to the south house geometric *djālīs*, surmounted by panels of Ḳurʾānic inscription in white on cobalt.

The building housing the tomb of Djān Bābā (d. 1017/1608), with others from 964/1557 onwards, is by contrast a rectangular pavilion originally covered by three domes, of which the central one remains. The brown stone enclosure wall is heavily carved with both relief and incised work, with blank arcading carrying fully developed pole medallions and rosettes. The rich *miḥrāb*, with *muḳarnas* vaulting, is housed in a carefully-conceived two storied backing.

The mausoleum of ʿĪsā Khān Tarkhān II (d. 1054/1644) combines a square domed central cell with surrounding verandahs in two stories, two rows of ten square columns being on each face. The middle two columns in the outer row rise free of the gallery behind, like those of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Aḥmadābād, to support triple arches with lotus-buds on the intrados, below a remarkable rising parapet which is effectively a *pīshṭāḳ* for each face. The main dome, surmounted by a *mahāpadma* finial, is surrounded by low hemispherical ones over each bay; it has, unusually, eight facets. The buff Kāṭhiāwāṛ sandstone surfaces of walls, pillars and lintels are wrought with carving of both types which in its swarming intricacy recalls that of Fatḥpūr Sikri (1568-85) [*q.v.*]. The monolithic pillars of the upper level have scrolled bracket capitals of an Indian type, but those below have tapering honeycombs of a western Islamic kind. The building is at the centre of a large court with high stone walls, arcaded within, and with a massive *īwān* in the middle of each side once crowned by a smooth squinched vault. Hindu influence is evident in the *djarōkhā* balconies projecting either side of these, and in the rows of niches forming the plinth. The work is reported to have been built in the Nawwāb's life-time.

Best preserved is the tomb of the Dīwān Shurfā Khān (1048/1638), again a square cell rising into a dome, with an *īwān* on each cardinal face outside, but here the corners are built as heavy cylindrical towers containing spiral stairs, and the dome, slightly bulbous above a recessed springing, is apparently the first of its kind in Northern India: it is close to that of the Masdjid-i Shāh at Mashhad (855/1451) in shape, and was once sheathed in light blue tile. The walls, outside and in, are of unglazed red brick with blue strips in the joints. Glazed bricks make a chevron pattern inside the dome, with bands of tiles below. The cenotaph and headstone carry especially fine carving. Another bulbous dome, with more pronounced shoulders, roofs the open tomb of Ṭughrul Beg (1090/1679), surrounded by merlons and *čhadjdjās*, above twelve carved square pillars. Honeycomb capitals support a trabeated octagon below the arches of an Islamic zone of transition, and chevron vaulting.

Bibliography: The available material is uneven. For tilework, see H. Cousens, *Portfolio of illustrations of Sind tiles*, London 1906. His descriptions of Maklī in his *Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta 1929, repr. Oxford and Karachi 1975, contains some mistakes in identification and dating, particularly of Bāḳī Bēg with Muḥammad Bāḳī Tarkhān (p. 119). Shamsuddin Ahmad, *A guide to Tattah and the Makli Hill*, Karachi 1952, is still a useful pocket guide, but dates need revision; M. Idris Siddiqi, *Thatta*, Karachi 1958 and Islamabad 1970; M. A. Ghafur, *Muslim architecture in Sind area*, Karachi 1964; idem, *The calligraphers of Thatta*, Karachi 1978 (useful history and dating, with transcriptions of epigraphy); Shaukat Mahmood, *Islamic inscriptions in Pakistani architecture to 1707*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh 1981, 3 vols., 254-320 (new analyses of inscriptions and chronograms). See also HIND. vii. Architecture. xii. Sind.

(P. A. ANDREWS)

AL-**MAKRAMĪ**, ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. FAHD, the progenitor of the Makramī (pl. al-Makārima, so called after their supposed ancestor Ibn Makram b. Sabāʾ b. Ḥimyar al-Aṣghar) family which headed the Sulaymānī branch of the Ismāʿīlī-Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA] in Yaman and also wielded political power in Nadjrān [*q.v.*] during the past two centuries.

He was appointed by Sulaymān b. Ḥasan (d. 1005/1597) [*q.v.*] as the acting *dāʿī* to manage the affairs of the *daʿwa* during the minority of his son Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān. He lived first in Ṭayba, a town northwest of Ṣanʿāʾ, then migrated to Nadjrān where he preached and succeeded in winning the confidence of the most influential Yām [*q.v.*] tribe settled in that region (Fuad Hamza, *Najran*, in *JRCAS*, xxii [1935], 631-40; the author, an official of the Saudi Arabian government, visited Nadjrān probably in 1934 and derived his information from the then deputy of the *dāʿī*, Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Makramī). Here in the

Yām territory he took Badr, situated at an altitude of 6,600 feet in *wādī* Badr, which later became the Makramī capital, as his new residence and died there on 1 Shaʿbān 1042/11 February 1633. Through his farsightedness the groundwork laid by him among the Yām came to fruition in the succeeding generations by providing the Yāmī support for the *daʿwa* and thereby raising its religious prestige in the Nadjrān province. He was also a prolific author. Most of his works deal with the succession dispute after the death of Dāwūd b. ʿAdjab in *ca.* 999/1591 which split the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* into the Dāwūdī and Sulaymānī branches (for a comprehensive list see I.K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature,* Malibu 1977, 244-6).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the article: ʿAbd Allāh al-Djarāfī, *al-Muktaṭaf min taʾrīkh al-Yaman,* Cairo 1951, 233; Muṣṭafā al-Dabbāgh, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab,* Beirut 1963, i, 234-5, 270; M. Wenner, *Modern Yemen,* 1918-66, Baltimore 1967, 34, 76-7. (I. POONAWALA)

MAKRAMIDS, a family which has held the spiritual and political leadership of the Banū Yām [*q.v.*] and the Sulaymānī Ismāʿīlī community [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA] in Nadjrān and Yaman since the 11th/17th century. The name evidently refers to the Banū Makram of Hamdān who are settled in Ṭayba in the Wādī Ḍahr and in some other villages to the west of Ṣanʿāʾ. There is evidence that the family came from Ṭayba, an old Ismāʿīlī stronghold. A pedigree linking them rather to a Makram b. Sabaʾ b. Ḥimyar al-Aṣghar is fictitious. The term Makārima is often also extended to their followers.

The earliest known member of the family, Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Fahd al-Makramī [*q.v.*], is said to have been the first of them to settle in the town of Badr in the Wādī Ḥibawnā in northern Nadjrān, which later remained the usual residence of the Makramī *dāʿīs*. When Sulaymān b. Ḥasan, founder of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* and its 27th *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* since the disappearance of the *Imām* al-Ṭayyib, died in 1005/1597, he became acting (*mustawdaʿ*) *dāʿī* during the minority of Sulaymān's son Djaʿfar, the 28th *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. He wrote numerous treatises, mostly polemics against the Dāwūdī *daʿwa,* and died in 1042/1633. A Djābir b. al-Fahd al-Makramī, also known as the author of a religious treatise, was probably his brother. Ṣafī al-Dīn's son Ibrāhīm succeeded to the leadership of the Sulaymānī community as the 30th *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* in 1088/1677, and died in 1094/1683 in Nadjrān (according to H. St. J. Philby, *Arabian Highlands,* Ithaca 1952, 358, in Ṭayba). Since then, the position has remained in various branches of the family except in the time of the 46th *dāʿī,* the Indian Ḥusām al-Dīn Ghulām Ḥusayn (1355-7/1936-8). A list of the Sulaymānī chief *dāʿīs* and their death dates has been given by A. A. A. Fyzee (*JBBRAS,* N.S. x [1934], 13-14, xvi [1940], 101-4), followed and continued by I. Poonawala (*Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature,* Malibu 1977, 368-9), and a geneaological chart of the family is provided by Philby (*op. cit.*, 719). The 43rd *dāʿī,* whose name is given there as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, was, according to E. Glaser, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl, son of the 42nd *dāʿī* (see D. H. Müller and N. Rhodokanakis, eds., *Eduard Glasers Reise nach Mârib,* Vienna 1913, 128). Nos. 48 and 49 in Poonawala's list are evidently identical.

The Makramī *dāʿīs* remained politically independent as rulers of Yām until the inclusion of Nadjrān in the Saʿūdī kingdom in 1934. Their history is only fragmentarily known from occasional reports, mostly in Yamanī and Wahhābī chronicles. The Zaydī *Imām* al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mutawakkil after his accession in 1131/1719 sought the support of the tribes of Yām and the Makramīs under the 32nd *dāʿī* Hibat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (1109-60/1697-1747) against rebels in his family and, in recognition of their services, granted him control of the Ismāʿīlī territories of Ḥarāz in Yaman. When his rule was solidly established, al-Manṣūr tried to recover Ḥarāz, provoking raids of the Yām into his territories in Tihāma. At this time, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khayrāt, *amīr* of Abū ʿArīsh and the Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, sought an alliance with them against hostile tribes. Overthrown by his uncle Ḥawdhān in 1157/1744, he found refuge in Nadjrān and was restored to power by an army of Yām. The Makramīs thereafter continued to interfere, by force and diplomacy, in the affairs of the Āl Khayrāt dynasty until its fall *ca.* 1285/1868. They were aided by the fact that the Āl Khayrāt were usually forced to employ Yām mercenaries as the backbone of their army.

The power of the Makramī *dāʿīs* reached a peak under Hibat Allāh's son and successor Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (1160-84/1747-70). Ismāʿīl asserted his authority over the Ismāʿīlī community in Yaman by conquering a mountain fortress in Ṣaʿfān (before 1164/1751) and holding it against all attacks of the Zaydī *imām* and of the adventurer Abū ʿUlāma al-Mashdjaʿī. He forced the *amīr* Muḥammad al-Khayrātī into an alliance. According to modern Ḥaḍramī authors, he invaded Ḥaḍramawt, for the first time in 1170/1756-7, and pretended to uphold the *sharīʿa* there and to abolish tribal law and customs. The Makramī sway over Ḥaḍramawt appears to have lasted for some time, perhaps still during the reign of his brother Ḥasan (see R. B. Serjeant, *Hūd and other pre-Islamic prophets of Ḥaḍramawt,* in *Le Muséon,* lvii [1954], 132, repr. in idem, *Studies in Arabian history and civilization,* London 1981, with addendum, p. 1). In 1178/1764 he invaded Nadjd and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Wahhābīs at al-Ḥāʾir. He pushed on further, approaching al-Riyāḍ, but then agreed to a settlement and withdrew, spurning the offer of an alliance and joint anti-Wahhābī action by ʿUrayʿir, the ruler of al-Aḥsāʾ. The Wahhābī chronicles seem to be mistaken in identifying the leader of the campaign as Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh. They, as well as Niebuhr, describe the leader as the lord of Nadjrān. Yet it is certain that Ḥasan did not succeed his brother Ismāʿīl before the latter's death six years later. Ismāʿīl is also the author of an esoteric Ismāʿīlī commentary on the Ḳurʾān, *Mizādj al-tasnīm* (ed. R. Strothmann, Göttingen 1944-55), of answers to questions by Ḥasan b. Sahnāʾ and of other works (listed by Strothmann, *op. cit.*, introd. 39). His brother and successor Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh (1184-9/1770-5) after his accession reaffirmed the Makramī domination in the territories of Muḥammad al-Khayrātī, who had tried to assert his independence, by defeating him and occupying the town of Ḥaraḍ for two months. In 1189/1775 he led a second campaign against the Wahhābīs to al-Ḥāʾir and Ḍurmā. The Wahhābī defence proved more effective this time, and Ḥasan, struck by illness, decided to retreat and died on the way back. In 1202/1788 "the lord of Nadjrān", presumably the 36th *dāʿī* ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (1195-1225/1781-1810), joined forces with some of the tribes of al-Dawāsir in order to prevent the Wahhābīs from taking possession of this region neighbouring Nadjrān, but was forced to retreat unsuccessfully. In 1220/1805 Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz sent a numerous Wahhābī army to conquer Nadjrān. After an unsuccessful assault on Badr, the Wahhābīs built a fortress near the town and left a garrison there.

The Makramīs now became more active in Yaman.

In 1237/1822 they seized Zabīd for six months, and in 1241/1825-6 they sacked al-Ḥudayda. In 1256/1840 they took possession of al-Manāk͟ha, the capital of Ḥarāz. The 41st *dāʿī*, Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥsin Āl S͟hibām al-Makramī (1262-89/1846-72), who belonged to a collateral line of unknown relationship to the main branch of the family, established himself there and pursued expansionist designs. In 1277/1860 he seized al-Ḥayma and held it against all Zaydī efforts to expel him. Other conquests were of less duration. According to Manzoni (*El Yèmen*, Rome 1884, 177-8), he entered into an anti-Ottoman alliance with the Khedive Ismāʿīl of Egypt, cut the Ottoman trade between al-Ḥudayda and Ṣanʿāʾ, and raided the Ottoman provinces of al-Ḥudayda and al-Luḥayya. In 1289/1872 the Ottoman Aḥmad Muk͟htār Pas͟ha set out from al-Ḥudayda to conquer Ḥarāz. The *dāʿī* surrendered in the mountain fortress of ʿAttāra after having received a promise of safety. When the Pas͟ha was informed of the heretical doctrines contained in the captured Ismāʿīlī books, he ordered the *dāʿī*, his sons and other leading Makramīs to be sent to the Porte. The *dāʿī* died on the way in al-Ḥudayda, perhaps murdered, and his son Aḥmad perished at sea. Thereafter, the Makramī *daʿīs* again resided in Badr. They reached a *modus vivendi* with the Ottomans in Yaman and declined an invitation of the Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī, ruler of ʿAsīr, to join an anti-Ottoman alliance, fearing Ottoman reprisals against their possessions in Ḥarāz.

In 1352/1933, after the failure of prolonged Saʿūdī-Yamanī negotiations concerning the status of Nad͟jrān, the army of *Imām* Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn seized Badr. The 45th *dāʿī*, ʿAlī b. Muḥsin Āl S͟hibām (1331-55/1913-36), probably a descendant of Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl, fled to Abhā in Saʿūdī territory. The Yamanī army destroyed the houses of the Makramī *dāʿīs* and desecrated the tombs of their ancestors. Strong local reaction forced it to withdraw and paved the way for the Saʿūdī takeover of Nad͟jrān, which was sealed by the Saʿūdī-Yamanī treaty of May 1934. ʿAlī b. Muḥsin was allowed to return to Badr, and all members of the family in Nad͟jrān, said to have numbered 145, were given a small pension by the Saʿūdī government in lieu of the contributions which they used to receive from their followers.

Bibliography (In addition to the works mentioned in the article): anon., *Tuḥfat al-zaman fīmā d͟jarā min al-nukat bi-kiyām Abī ʿUlāma fi 'l-Yaman*, ms. Brit. Mus. Or. 3790, fols. 14a, 16a; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 250, 267, 172-4, 347; Ibn G͟hannām, *Rawḍat al-afkār*, Bombay n.d., ii, 76-8, 101-2, 103-5, 150-1; Ibn Bis͟hr, *ʿUnwān al-mad͟jd*, Mecca 1349, i, 47-8, 63-4, 136; al-Nuʿamī, *Taʾrīk͟h al-Yaman*, ms. Brit. Mus. Or. 3265, fols. 170-1, 182b, 185b, 219b; al-Ḥarāzī, *Riyāḍ al-rayāḥīn*, ms. Brit. Mus. Or. 3912, fols. 52b, 59, 60b, 61a, 65a, 66a, 70b, 74a-75a; Aḥmad Rās͟hid, *Taʾrīk͟h Yaman wa-Ṣanʿāʾ*, Istanbul 1291, i, 265, 301, 311-2, ii, 86-90, 206; al-Wāsiʿī, *Taʾrīk͟h al-Yaman*, Cairo 1346/1927-8, 83, 85, 102-3, 106, 108, al-D͟jarāfī, *al-Muktaṭaf min taʾrīk͟h al-Yaman*, Cairo 1951, 205, 207, 243-4; al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā Sālim, *Takwīn al-Yaman al-ḥadīt͟h*[2], Cairo 1971, 367-70; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿAkīlī, *Taʾrīk͟h al-Mik͟hlāf al-Sulaymānī*[2], al-Riyāḍ 1982, esp. i, 393-424, ii, 1111-14. The anonymous Yemenite chronicle published by ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibs͟hī under the title *Ḥawliyyāt Yamaniyya min sanat 1224 h. ilā sanat 1316 h.*, n.p., n.d. [1980?], gives some variant dates for the Makramī campaigns in the first half of the 19th century (pp. 17-18, 28, 36). (W. MADELUNG)

MAKRĀN, the coastal region of southern Balūčistān, extending roughly from the Somniani Bay in the East to the eastern fringes of the region of Bas͟hkardia [see BAS͟HKARD in Suppl.] in the west. The modern political boundary between Pakistan and Iran thus bisects the mediaeval Makrān. The east-to-west running Siyāhān range of mountains, just to the north of the Mas͟hkēl and Rak͟hs͟hān valleys, may be regarded as Makrān's northern boundary. In British Indian times, this range formed the boundary between the southwestern part of the Kalāt native state [see KILĀT] and the K͟hārān one [*q.v.*]; the easternmost part of Makrān fell within the other native state of Las Bēla [*q.v.*]. At this time, the part of Makrān within British India was often called Kēč Makrān to distinguish it from Persian Makrān.

The topography of Makrān comprises essentially east-west running parallel ranges of mountains; the coastal range, going up to 5,180 feet; the central Makrān range, going up to 7,500 feet; and the Siyāhān range, going up to 6,760 feet. Between these lie the narrow Kēč valley and the rather wider Rak͟hs͟hān-Mas͟hkēl one, where some agricultural activity, chiefly dates, cereals and rice, can be practised by irrigation. Considerable fishing is possible from the coastland itself, otherwise arid, but this region possesses few major harbours, except for Pasni and Gwādar [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in what is now Pakistani Makrān, and Čāhbahār (now an important base of the Iranian Navy, with free access to the Indian Ocean) and D͟jāsk in what is now Persian Makrān. The only inland town of significance in Pakistani Makrān is Turbat, in the Kēč valley; the main towns of inland Persian Makrān are Nīks͟hahr, Bampūr [*q.v.*] and the modern administrative centre of Persian Balūčistān, Īrāns͟hahr (the mediaeval Fahrad͟j). Climatically, the coasts are in part affected by the southwestern monsoon, but the inland parts are extremely hot and arid. Makrān as a whole can never have supported more than an exiguous population.

The etymology of the name Makrān has been much discussed, but the popular Persian etymology from *māhī-k͟hurān* "fish eaters", echoing the Greek description of the inhabitants of the coastlands as *ichthyophagoi*, cannot of course be credited. More likely is a connection with the name Magan, which is known in texts of the Sumerian and old Akkadian period as a territory somewhere in or beyond the lower Persian Gulf region having trade connections with Mesopotamia. Recently, J. Hansman has propounded the identification of the ancient Magan with modern western, substantially Persian, Makrān, and the other region of Meluk͟hk͟ha, described as being beyond Magan according to the ancient Mesopotamian texts, with modern Pakistani Makran (*A Periplus of Magan and Meluḫḫa*, in *BSOAS*, xxxvi [1973], 554-87). Magan would therefore be the Maka of the Old Persian inscriptions (described as a satrapy of Darius, and here apparently covering the whole of Makran or Balūčistān), and the Makarēnē, seemingly so-called in the Seleucid period and certainly called thus in Byzantine Greek sources; but a derivation from Magan does not explain the intrusive *r* of Makrān. By the time of Alexander the Great, eastern Makrān was known to the Greeks as Gedrosia and its people as Gedrosii (a name possibly Iranian in origin, hence younger than the ancient one Meluk͟hk͟ha); the conqueror travelled through here on his way back from the Indus valley in 325 B.C., turning northwestwards and inland, probably from near modern Gwādar, to the Bampūr valley and the D͟jāz Muryān depression, whilst his general Nearchus sailed along the Makrān coast to Charax at the head of the Gulf. In Parthian usage we have the

form Makuran (*Mkwrn* in the Shāpūr inscription of the Kaʿba-yi Zaradūsht) and in Pahlavi the form Makulān (*Mkwlʾn*) in the Kārtīr inscription of Naksh-i Rustam) (P. Gignoux, *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes,* Corpus inscriptionum iranicarum, Suppl. Series, i, London 1972, 28, 57), echoed in early Islamic times in the Makurrān/Mukurrān of Arabic poetry (e.g. al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī, in al-Ṭabarī, i, 2708, and Aʿshā Hamdān, *Dīwān,* ed. Geyer, 328). In general, however, eastern Makrān must have remained until the Muslim invasions within the cultural and political sphere of India, and latterly under the influence of the Brahman kings of Sind.

Arab raiders reputedly entered Makrān from Kirmān during ʿUmar's caliphate, but were deterred by the appalling desolation and inhospitableness of the terrain (sentiments subsequently further expressed by Aʿshā Hamdān in his verses, see *loc. cit.*). In Muʿāwiya's caliphate, Ziyād b. Abīhi, governor of the east, sent thither Sinān b. Salama b. al-Muḥabbiḳ al-Hudhalī, who planted a garrison there; according to another tradition, Makrān was invaded by Ḥakīm b. Djabala al-ʿAbdī (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ,* 433-4; Yāḳūt, *Buldān,* ed. Beirut, v, 179-80). From here, raids were directed northwards into Ḳīḳān in the region known to the Arabs at the time as Ṭūrān [*q.v.* in *EI*[1]], which came to contain the mediaeval Islamic town of Ḳuṣdār [*q.v.*], and Makrān also formed the springboard for Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim al-Thaḳafī's invasion of Sind [*q.v.*] in 92/711.

The mediaeval Islamic geographers describe Makrān as a region of scant population and few amenities, its main product being sugar-cane syrup (*fānīdh,* see *EI*[1] art. SUKKAR). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (*ca.* 372/982), tr. 123, § 27, comm. 373, reckons Makrān as part of Sind. It names Tīz, in the Čāhbahār bay, as Makrān's chief port, together with inland towns which were centres of trading like Kīz or Kīdj (modern Keč), the seat of the king of Makrān, and Rāsk, Pandjbūr, etc.; Tīz is described by al-Muḳaddasī, 478, as a flourishing port with fine *ribāṭs,* and Pandjbūr as the *ḳaṣaba* or chef-lieu of the region. The local ruler of Makrān whose seat was at Kīz must have been from the family mentioned in connection with early Ghaznavid history. According to Miskawayh, in *Tadjārib al-umam,* ii, 298-9, tr. v, 320-1, ʿAḍud al-Dawla's general ʿĀbid b. ʿAlī had penetrated to Tīz and western Makrān in 360/970 as part of the operations to subdue the disturbed province of Kirmān, and had brought all these regions under Būyid allegiance (cf. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68),* in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky,* ed. idem, Edinburgh 1971, 117-18). With the subsequent rise of the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*], the local ruler of Makrān, named by Bayhaḳī as Maʿdān, submitted to Sebüktigin and Maḥmūd. After 417/1026, his son ʿĪsā likewise acknowledged Ghaznawid suzerainty, but Sultan Maḥmūd's son Masʿūd during 421-2/1030-1 sent an army into Makrān which placed ʿĪsā's brother Abu 'l-ʿAskar on the throne there; clearly, Makrān was at this time a loosely-tributary state of the Ghaznawid empire on the same sort of footing as the Ziyārids of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān or the Ṣaffārids of Sīstān before the imposition of Ghaznawid direct rule in 393/1003 (M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna,* Cambridge 1931, 79-80; R. Gelpke, *Sulṭān Masʿūd I. von Gazna. Die drei ersten Jahre seiner Herrschaft (421/1030-424/1033),* Munich 1957, 87-9).

During the succeeding centuries, Makrān appears little on the general scene of eastern Islamic history. At times, outside empires, like those of the Ghūrids and Khwārazm-Shāhs [*q.vv.*] and the *amīrs* of the Il-Khānids after the death of Abū Saʿīd (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 124; *amīr* Malik Dīnār), exercised some measure of suzerainty there, but local potentates must have held all internal power. Marco Polo sailed along the Makrān coast on his way home in 1290, describing it as Kesmacoran (= Kīdj Makrān) and as the last of the provinces of India, under a separate ruler of its own (Sir Henry Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian,* London 1871, ii, 334-5; cf. P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo,* ii, 759-60). It was during these centuries that Makrān was largely colonised by Balūč tribes, Makrān being predominantly Balūčī-speaking today. The region's history may now be followed in the *EI*[1] art. BALŌČISTĀN and the *EI*[2] arts. KILĀT and LAS BĒLA.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

MAKRĪN B. MUḤAMMAD AL-BUGHṬŪRĪ [see AL-BUGHṬŪRĪ].

AL-**MAKRĪZĪ**, TAḲĪ AL-DĪN ABŪ 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR (766-845/1364-1442), Egyptian historian.

His father (d. 779/1378 at the age of fifty), married a daughter of the wealthy philologist and jurist Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh (d. 776/1375). He was born in Cairo, apparently in 765/1363-4. The *nisba* Maḳrīzī refers to a quarter in Baʿlabakk where his paternal family came from. His paternal grandfather, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥammad (*ca.* 677-733/1278-1332, see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar,* ii, 391 f.) was a Ḥanbalī, his maternal grandfather, who influenced his early upbringing, a Hanafī. His father was a Shāfiʿī, and he himself opted for Shāfiʿism in early manhood; he also developed (non-juridical) Ẓāhirī tendencies (cf. I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten,* Leipzig 1884, 196-202). He received the thorough education of a youth born into a well-to-do scholarly family, studying with famous scholars and eventually being able to boast of "600 *shaykhs.*" Like his father, but with greater success initially, he exercised a variety of administrative and scholarly functions, such as those of writer of *tawḳīʿs,* deputy judge, *muḥtasib* (for terms lasting only a few months each in 801, 802, and 807), preacher in the Mosque of ʿAmr and the Madrasa of al-Ḥasan, *imām* and chief administrator of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, and professor of *ḥadīth* in the Muʾayyadiyya. In Damascus, where he spent about ten years beginning in 810/1408, he held teaching positions at the Ashrafiyya and Iḳbāliyya, and was chief financial administrator of the Ḳalānisiyya and the great Nūrī Hospital, although this last position was reserved by law for the Shāfiʿī judge of Damascus. He had actually been offered that judgeship by al-Nāṣir b. Barḳūḳ, but had refused. While in Syria, he appears to have decided to give up an unsatisfactory public career and devote himself full-time to historical scholarship (instead of part-time as he had done before). He did so after his return to Egypt. He spent a number of years in Mecca and died in Cairo in early February 1442. The last of his children had died already in 826/1423 (*Sulūk,* iv, 2, 651). A nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (801-67/1399-1462), survived him (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* ix, 150).

The germs of his determination to become an

historian were perhaps planted by Ibn Khaldūn, with whom he appears to have been on familiar terms; according to Ḍawʾ, ii, 24, he once predicted on the basis of Ibn Khaldūn's horoscope when the latter would again be appointed to office. With his fellow historians, such as al-ʿAynī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Ḥadjar, he seems to have had professional, and perhaps also personal, difficulties, although relations remained outwardly proper. Ibn Ḥadjar's devoted student al-Sakhāwī displays an outspokenly negative attitude toward him. His contemporaries were sometimes critical of his scholarship, cf., e.g., Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, vi, 756, tr., part iv, 143, *anno* 841. Yet his works were not only numerous and often planned on the grand scale, but they also proved to be of lasting importance.

For older editions, translations, and studies, most of them still useful for scholarship, see Brockelmann (below, *Bibliography*), whose bibliographical references are not repeated here. Best known is *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār,* commonly referred to as *Khiṭaṭ* (the incomplete ed. of G. Wiet covers about one-half of the ed. Būlāḳ 1270, repr. Beirut, *ca.* 1970; English translation by K. Stowasser in progress). It deals with the topography of Fusṭāṭ and Cairo as well as with Alexandria and Egyptian history in general. According to the critical Ibn Ḥadjar (al-Sakhawī), al-Maḳrīzī used much of the material assembled earlier by al-Awḥadī (761-811/1359-1408). He made no mention of that in the *Khiṭaṭ* (in the way in which, for instance, Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā acknowledged that he had used al-Maḳrīzī's notes for his *Tādj al-tarādjim*), but elsewhere he spoke of his indebtedness to al-Awḥadī (see *Ḍawʾ*, i, 358 f.). The accusation of plagiarism seems much too harsh. The preservation of older sources now apparently lost is one of the *Khiṭaṭ*'s greatest merits.

Among his many other works are a history of the Fāṭimids (*Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1367/1948, 1387/1967; ed. A. Hilmy, Cairo, 1971-3, see C. Cahen and M. Adda, in *Arabica*, xxii [1975], 302-20) and a history of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks (*al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat al-mulūk*, ed. M. M. Ziyāda and S. ʿA. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1934-73; English translation of the history of the Ayyūbids by R. J. C. Broadhurst [Boston 1980]; for source studies, see e.g. D. P. Little, in *JSS*, xix [1974], 252-68), also extensive biographical works, which remained uncompleted, on prominent Egyptians, entitled *al-Muḳaffā* and *Durar al-ʿuḳūd*, as well as a world history, *al-Khabar ʿan al-bashar*, which he also did not live to complete; it contains his last eloquent statement on the value of history. His short monographs are remarkable for the interesting subjects they deal with, such as the differences between Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids (*al-Nizaʿ wa 'l-takhāṣum*, ed. G. Vos, Leiden 1888, Cairo 1937; Eng. tr. C. E. Bosworth *Al-Maqrīzī's "Book of contention and strife..."*, Manchester 1981, see idem in *Islam: past influence and present challenge = W. M. Watt Festschrift*, Edinburgh 1979, 93-104), the Arab tribes which came to Egypt (*al-Bayān wa 'l-iʿrāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd ʿĀbidīn, Cairo 1961), the Muslim rulers of Ethiopia (*al-Ilmān bi-akhbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabasha min mulūk al-Islām*), or the geography of the Ḥaḍramawt (*al-Ṭurfa al-gharība*). His interest in the economic factors in history is evident in the *Sulūk* and in treatises on measures and on coins (al-Nadjaf 1387/1967, Turkish translation by İ. Artuk, in *Belleten*, xvii [1953], 367-92) as well as on famines and inflation in Egypt (*Ighāthat al-umma*, Cairo 1940; ed. al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1957; French translation by G. Wiet, in *JESHO*, v [1962], 1-90). A work on certain aspects of the biography of the Prophet (*Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, Cairo 1941), a biography of Tamīm al-Dārī (*Ḍawʾ al-sārī*, ed. M. A. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1392/1972), a treatise on caliphs and rulers who performed the pilgrimage (*al-Dhahab al-masbūk*, ed. al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1955), a discussion of the preferred position of the Prophet's family (*Maʿrifat mā yadjibu li-āl al-bayt al-sharīf min al-ḥaḳḳ ʿalā man ʿadāhum*, ed. M. A. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1973), attest to his religious interests, as does a work on dogmatics not yet studied (*Tadjrīd al-tawḥīd*, cf. also *al-Bayān al-mufīd fī 'l-farḳ bayn al-tawḥīd wa 'l-talḥīd*, of somewhat doubtful attribution, ed. and tr. by G. C. Anawati, see *MIDEO*, xii [1974], 150). He also published brief treatises on minerals (*al-Maḳāṣid al-saniyya*) and bees (*ʿIbar*, or *Dhikr al-naḥl*, ed. al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1946). A general work on geography, entitled *Djāmiʿ al-azhār min al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, has not yet been sufficiently studied, see IBN ʿABD AL-MUNʿIM AL-ḤIMYARĪ, at the end.

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MAKRŪH (A.) "reprehensible action, action disapproved of", one of the five juridical qualifications (*aḥkām* [*q.v.*]) of human actions according to the *Sharīʿa* [*q.v.*].

MAKS, toll, customs duty, is a loanword in Arabic and goes back to the Aramaic *maksā*, cf. Hebrew *mekes* and Assyr. *miksu;* from it is formed a verb *m-k-s* I, II, III and *makkās*, the collector of customs. According to the Arabic tradition preserved in Ibn Sīda, even in the Djāhiliyya there were market-dues called *maks*, so that the word must have entered Arabic very early. It is found in Arabic papyri towards the end of the 1st century A.H.

C. H. Becker dealt with the history of the *maks*, especially in Egypt, and we follow him here. The old law books use *maks* in the sense of *ʿushr*, the tenth levied by the merchants, more properly the equivalent of an excise duty than of a custom. They still show some opposition to the *maks*, then give it due legal force, but the word continued to have unpleasant association, cf. the *ḥadīth*: *inna ṣāḥib al-maks fī 'l-nār* "the tax-collector will go to hell": Goldziher has suggested that the Jewish view of the publican may have had some influence here. There are six traditions about *maks* in the *Kitāb al-Amwāl* by Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām (Cairo 1353, nos. 1624-9, Brockelmann, S I, 166), and al-Suyūṭī wrote a *Risāla fī dhamm al-maks* (Brockelmann, II, 152, no. 174).

The institution of the customs duty was adopted by Islam about the beginning of the Umayyad period or shortly before it. While theological theory demanded a single customs area in Islam, the old frontiers remained in existence by land and water, and Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia were separate customs areas. The amount of the duty in the canon law was settled not so much by the value of the goods as by the person, i.e. the religion of the individual paying it; but in practice, attention was paid to the article and there were preferential duties, and no attention was paid to the position of the owner in regard to Islam. The laws of taxation were very complicated and graduated; the

duties rose in course of time from the tenth (*ʿushr*) to the fifth (*khums*).

The Egyptian *maks* was levied on the frontier at al-ʿArīsh and in the ports (*sawāḥil*) ʿAydhāb, al-Ḳusayr, al-Ṭūr and al-Suways, but there was also an octroi to be paid in al-Fusṭāṭ, at a place called Maks. This name is said to have replaced an old Umm Dunayn and then became identified with the Maks = custom-house of Cairo. At Alexandria there was a *maks al-munākh* for caravans, and today Maks is the name of a quarter there, cf. Khalīl Muṭrān, *Waṣf al-Maks* (Nakhla, *Mukhtārāt*, ii, 139-41). All grain had to pass through here before it could be sold, and two *dirhams* per *artaba* and a few minor charges had to be paid on it. Further details of the administration of the *maks* in the earliest period are not known; but there are references towards the end of the 1st century A.H. to a *ṣāḥib maks Miṣr* in papyri and in literature also.

The conception of the *maks* was extended in the Fāṭimid period, when all kinds of small dues and taxes became known as *mukūs,* especially—emphasising the already mentioned unpleasant associations of the word—the unpopular ones which the people regarded as unjust. Such occasional taxes had been levied from time to time in the early centuries of Islam. The first to make them systematic was the dreaded financial secretary and noted opponent of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir [see IBN AL-MUDABBIR]. The latter introduced not only an increase in the ground-tax and the three great monopolies of pasture fisheries and soda (in connection with which it is interesting to note a reversion was made to old Roman taxes), but also a large number of smaller taxes which were called *maʿāwin* and *marāfiḳ* and included among the *hilālī,* the taxes to be paid according to lunar years. Such artifices (known as *mukūs* from the Fāṭimid period and later as *maẓālim, ḥimāyāt, rimāyāt* or *mustaʾdjarāt*) were destined to develop in time into the main form of oppressing the people and to become one of the principal causes of the economic decline in Egypt, until under the Mamlūks a limit was reached where hardly anything was left untaxed and *mukūs* were even granted as fiefs and "misfortune became general" (*wa-ʿammat al-balwā*). These small taxes, however, (but not the monopolies) were repeatedly abolished by reforming rulers, indeed *ibṭāl al-mukūs* (other terms are *radd, musāmaḥat, isḳāṭ, waḍʿ, rafʿ al-mukūs*) even formed part of the style and title of such rulers. Thus it is recorded of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn that he abolished some duties, and later of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Baybars, Ḳalāwūn and his sons Khalīl and Nāṣir Muḥammad, of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, Barḳūḳ and Djaḳmaḳ. Al-Maḳrīzī gives a long list of *mukūs* abolished by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and al-Ḳalḳashandī gives copies of the texts of *musāmaḥāt,* which are decrees of the Mamlūk sultans abolishing taxes or granting exemption from dues which were sent to the governors and read from the *minbars* and sometimes contain very full details, while shorter decrees were probably carved on stone and are given among the fragments published by van Berchem. It would of course be wrong to deduce from such abolitions of taxes that the government was a particularly good one, while on the other hand, the continually-recurring extortion of the same taxes shows that the abuses had been restored in the interval. Al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* i, 111, concludes with the well-known jibe at the Copts: "even now there are *mukūs,* which are in the control of the vizier, but bring nothing to the state but only to the Copts, who do exactly as they like with them to their great advantage". A group which particularly suffered from the *mukūs* were the pilgrims to Mecca from the Maghrib. The Spanish traveller Ibn Djubayr [*q.v.*], who as a pilgrim passed by Egypt in 1183, saw at Alexandria, ʿAydhāb and Djudda many proofs of *mukūs* and *waẓāʾif mukūsiyya.* He wrote a poem about them and sent it to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, whom he admired. But he noted *tamkīs* and *ḍarība maksiyya* even in Syria and Sicily. About that time, al-Makhzūmī wrote his *Minhādj,* with lists of *mukūs* and other duties (*khums, wādjib, ḳāf, matdjar*).

Among the great variety of dues, which were of course not all levied at the same place and at the same time, were the following: *hilālī* taxes on houses, baths, ovens, mills and gardens; harbour dues in al-Djīza, in Cairo at "the corn-quay" (*sāḥil al-ghalla*) and at the arsenal (*ṣināʿa*), also levied separately on each passenger; market-dues for goods and caravans (*baḍāʾiʿ wa-ḳawāfil*) especially for horses, camels, mules, cattle, sheep, poultry and slaves; meat, fish, salt, sugar, pepper, oil, vinegar, turnips, wool, silk, linen and cotton; wood, earthenware, coal, halfa grass, straw and henna; wine and oil-presses, tanned goods; brokerage (*samsara*) charges on the sale of sheep, dates and linen. There were taxes on markets, drinking-houses and brothels, which were euphemistically called *rusūm al-wilāya.* Warders deprive prisoners of everything they have; indeed, this right is sold to the highest bidder; officers consume the fiefs of their soldiers; peasants pay their lords forced labour and give them presents (*barāṭil, hadāyā*) and many officials (*shādd, muḥtasib, mubāshirūn* and *wulāt*) also accept them; when a campaign is begun, the merchants pay a special war-tax and a third of inheritances falls to the state; when news of victories is received and when the Nile rises, levies are made; the *dhimmīs,* in addition to paying the poll-tax, have to contribute to the maintenance of the army; pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre pay a tax in Jerusalem; separate special taxes are levied to maintain the embankments, the Nilometer etc.

Outside of Egypt we occasionally hear of the *maks* as toll or market-due, e.g. in Djudda and in North Africa (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 606). Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal,* iii, 67, mentions a *musāmaḥat maẓālim,* but does not use the word *mukūs* in this sense.

Bibliography: Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn,* 10-26; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* i, 88 ff., 104-11; ii, 267; Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 468 ff. (= Wüstenfeld, 169 ff.); xiii, 30 ff., 117; C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt,* 51 ff.; idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens,* 140-8; idem, *EI*[1], ii, 15; idem, *Islamstudien,* i, 177, 267, 273 ff.; M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum,* i, 59, 560; ii, 297, 332 ff., 374, 377, 384; A. Mez, *Renaissance,* 111 ff., 117; W. Heffening, *Fremdenrecht,* 53 ff.; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, the "Good Vizier"*, Cambridge 1928, 124; Wensinck, *Handbook,* 228; Fagnan, *Additions,* 165; Yāḳūt, iv, 606, on *Maks*; Ibn Djubayr, *Travels,* ed. Wright², 14, 55, 62, 69, 77, 301, 331; Cl. Cahen, *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Egypte médiévale d'après le Minhādj d'al-Makhzoumi,* in *JESHO,* vii (1964), 217-314 (= *Makhzūmiyyāt* [57]-[154]). (W. BJÖRKMAN)

MAḲṢŪRA (A.), a name given to a poem whose rhyme is constituted by an *alif maḳṣūra* (ى). According to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj,* viii, 307 = § 3462), the first author of a piece of this type was the Shīʿī Naṣr b. Nuṣayr al-Ḥulwānī [*q.v.*], who preceded the most famous versifier in this field, Ibn Durayd (died 321/933 [*q.v.*]. The author of the *Murūdj* also cites someone called Ibn Warḳāʾ (unidentified) who had composed a *maḳṣūra* on that of Ibn Durayd, and declares that the latter had often been imitated

(*ʿāraḍahā* ... *djamāʿa min al-shuʿarāʾ*; viii, 305 3461), but he only names in this connection a certain ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tanūkhī, whose *Maḳṣūra* was dedicated to the praise of the Tanūkh. As the *Murūdj* dates from 332/943, some imitations must have been made in the first third of the 4th century, testifying also to the immediate vogue of the masterpiece of Ibn Durayd; this success, due in large part to the didactic value of the piece of verse, was not contradicted in the course of the following centuries, to judge by the exceptional number of manuscripts of the *Maḳṣūra* which survive and by the *takhmīss*, *tasmīṭs* and commentaries which it inspired (see Brockelmann, S I, 172-3; Ben Salem, cited in the *Bibl.*). Among the *shurūḥ* which were devoted to it, al-Ṣafadī (*Wāfī*, ii, 1301) and al-Baghdadī, himself author of a brief commentary (*Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 490 = ed. Cairo, iii, 105) appreciate in particular that of Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] which was partially edited, with a Latin translation of the *Maḳṣūra*, by Boysen, in 1828. The Dutch were interested from an early date in this famous *Maḳṣūra*; by 1773, Haitsma had translated it into Latin and published it at Franeker, following it with the commentary of Ibn Khālawayh; this work had served as the basis of the edition-translation, also in Latin, of Sceidus (1786), and there exists in ms., in Leiden, a Latin version of N. G. Schroeder (1721-98), as well as a commentary of the same author and another anonymous Latin translation accompanied by a commentary (see P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts*, Leiden 1957, 192). In 1808, Bilderdijk brought out in the Hague a new edition and Dutch translation of the same *Maḳṣūra* which, since then, has been made the subject of several oriental editions: Tehran 1859 and 1910, Istanbul 1300/1883 with the commentary of al-Zamakhsharī, Cairo 1328/1910, 1358/1939.

The text of the poem calls for some remarks. In its present state, it numbers 249 and even 25 verses of *radjaz* in Ibn Sālim's ed. of the *Dīwān* of Ibn Durayd (Tunis 1973, 115-37), while al-Baghdadī (*loc. cit.*) counts only 239, so that it must be considered that several verses have been interpolated. In fact, al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 32) asserted that the original *maṭlaʿ* opened with a conditional particle, then a protasis without an apodosis, followed by a feminine, of which it was not known to what it related; it is Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Anbārī (died 577/1181) [see AL-ANBĀRĪ]) who allegedly composed a prologue of ten verses, of which the last may have been retained as a true *maṭlaʿ*. Independently of probable additions, the plan of this poem composed in praise of the Mīkālīs [*q.v.*] appeared barely coherent: at the beginning, there is the topic of the beloved, the separation, the cruel destiny of the poet, then comes the relation of a pilgrimage containing a certain number of toponyms in *-ā*; the personal glorification, followed by the panegyric of the Mīkālīs (vv. 96-110), but the beloved appears again later on, possibly justifying the nostalgia experienced by the poet for the city of Baṣra, and one can scarcely see why he glorifies himself anew, before delivering moral reflections, recounting a journey to the Mīkālis, returning to the *nasīb*, inserting some verses on wine and finally expressing his satisfaction. In spite of all these faults, the *Maḳṣūra* aroused the admiration of the litterati, philologists and *fuḳahāʾ*. The former, and particularly the poets, see in it a kind of tour-de-force because of the difficulty of the rhyme and the diversity of the themes treated; for the philologists, it contains a third of the nouns in *alif maḳṣūra* and may consequently serve for the teaching of vocabulary; the *fuḳahāʾ*, for their part, were seduced by the moral reflections which incline towards resignation.

Another important *Maḳṣūra* is that of Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭadjannī (died 684/1285 [*q.v.*]) which contains no less than 1,006 verses of *radjaz* and was composed in imitation of Ibn Durayd and in praise of the Ḥafṣid al-Mustanṣir. As it has already been discussed in the article on Ḥāzim, we shall confine ourselves here to a few pieces of information. The plan of the poem is hardly more homogeneous than that of its model: *nasīb* (vv. 1-52), praise of al-Mustanṣir's ancestors and services rendered by the latter (vv. 53-172), recollection of the poet's youth in various towns in Spain (vv. 173-84), glorification of love and description of the sky (vv. 185-97), recollection of past pleasures (vv. 198-502), return to the beloved (vv. 503-66), laments (vv. 567-788), panegyric of al-Mustanṣir (vv. 789-974), and finally, eulogy of the poet's masterpiece (vv. 975-1006).

The text of this *Maḳṣūra* was published in Cairo in 1344, then by Mahdī ʿAllām, in *Ḥawliyyat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb* of ʿAyn Shams University 1953-4, 1-110. Apart from the commentary of al-Gharnāṭī (*Rafʿ al-ḥudjub al-mastūra ʿan maḥāsin al-Maḳṣūra*, Cairo 1344/1925), M. Lakhdar (*Vie littéraire*, 37) mentions another of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Sabtī (died 760/1358).

Among the other pieces of verse which bear the title of *Maḳṣūra*, that of Abū Madyan (died 594/1197 [*q.v.*]) met with a great success, and there exist several mss. of it (see for example, G. Vajda, *Catalogue*, 460; Brockelmann, S II, 785). The BN in Paris also possesses one of Ḥasan b. Ḥabīb (Vajda, 459) and another of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Hawwārī (*ibid.*; Brockelmann, II², 15). Ḥamdūn b. al-Ḥādjdj (1174-1232/1760-1817) has also left us a *Maḳṣūra* on prosody and rhymes (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, 292 (5), 497 (11); Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 282).

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(CH. PELLAT)

MAḲṢŪRA [see MASDJID].

MAKTAB (A.), pl. *makātib*, was an appellation for the Islamic traditional school frequently known also as *kuttāb* [*q.v.*; a brief discussion of the uses of *maktab* will be found there]. The same applies to its equivalents in Persian, *maktab*, and in Turkish, *mekteb*. In Egypt, the Copts too used *maktáb* to denote their own traditional schools. Later, however, the term came also to mean "school", more generally, as in the Ottoman Turkish *mekteb-i ṣanāʾiʿ* ("vocational school") or even *mekteb gemisi* ("training ship"). In both Ottoman Turkish and Arabic the term was borrowed, mainly during the 19th century, to denote—in various word-combinations—some of the more modernised educational institutions which were then being established. Thus during the reign of Maḥmūd II, the *Mekteb-i ṭibbiyye shāhāne*, the *Mekteb-i maʿārif-i ʿadliyye* and the *Mekteb-i ʿulūm-i ḥarbiyye* were set up to teach, respectively, medicine, general knowledge for

government service and military studies. Later, in 1859, the *Mekteb-i mülkiyye* was founded as a civil service school. In a parallel manner, in Muḥammad ʿAlī's Egypt, *al-Maktab al-ʿālī,* which the French called "École des Princes", was inaugurated in the 1820s as a military college for the male members of Muḥammad ʿAlī's family and of some others. In 1833, a *Maktab al-muhimmāt al-ḥarbiyya* was set up in Cairo and closed down after three years, probably purveying for munitions or serving as military workshops. In 1836, a *Maktab raʾīs al-muḥāsaba* was set up to train the accountants which were so badly needed. In the Khedive Ismāʿīl's days, the general sense of "school" for *maktab* seems to have become so prevalent in Egypt that the term *makātib ahliyya,* i.e. "national schools" or "local schools", as were called the primary schools founded between 1868 and 1879 in Cairo, its suburbs and the provincial centres, was accepted unquestioningly. From there, the usage seems to have spread into other Arab lands, although *maktab* continued too to be widely used as synonymous with *kuttāb.* In our days, in Turkey, a primary school is called *ilk mektep* and the next stage, the "middle school", *orta mektep.* In Malaysia, it has recently been used for "Institute", as in *Maktab Perguruan Ilm Khas* ("Specialised Teachers' Training Institute") in Kuala Lumpur. *Mekteb* was also the title of a journal, published since 1307 A.H., in Istanbul, in Turkish, first as a weekly, then twice a month, for the benefit of educators. In modern Persian usage, in addition to its basic meaning of "school", *maktab* has acquired also the connotation of an "instructing manual", as in *Maktab-i Islām* ("A manual of instruction into Islam", 2 vols., Tehran 1375-8/1334-7), Mihrdād Mihrīn's *Maktab-i falsafa-yi igzīstansiyālīzm* ("A manual—or study—of existentialism", Tehran 1343), *Maktab-i tas̲h̲ayyuʿ* ("A manual of instruction in S̲h̲iʿism", annual, i, 1378-/1338-), or even *Maktab-i ʿis̲h̲k* ("A manual of love", title of a play by ʿAlī Aṣg̲h̲ar S̲h̲arīf, Tehran 1313). Otherwise, during the 20th century, *maktab* has increasingly come to mean, in Arabic, "bureau" or "department", generally in the official sense, such as *Maktab al-buḥūt̲h̲* ("Bureau of research") and *Maktab dāʾim* ("Permanent bureau") or *Maktab al-ṣiḥḥa* ("Department of Health"); or else "office" as in *Maktab al-barīd* ("Post office"); or even "agency", as in *Maktab al-anbāʾ* ("News agency"). This applies to both administrative and military terms, sometimes with slight differences of usage, in various countries.

Bibliography: See the bibl. for KUTTĀB and also the arts. in *EI*[1], *İA* and *Türk Ansikl.*, s.v. Further, *Mekteb-i ṣanāʾiʿ niẓām-nāmesi,* n.p. [Istanbul] 1285; Meḥmed Nüzhet, *Mekātib-i rus̲h̲diyye oḳunmaḳ üzere muk̲h̲taṣar mens̲h̲eʾet dir,* Istanbul 1289; H. Vámbery, *Der Islam im neunzehnten Jahrhundert,* Leipzig 1875, 171 ff.; Fāḍīl, *Mekātib-i ʿaskariyye-yi s̲h̲ākirdanine mak̲h̲ṣūṣ müswedde numünelen,* Istanbul 1314; Maʿārif-i ʿUmūmiye Neẓāretī, *Mekātib-i iʿdādīyede tedrīs olunān ʿulūm ve-funūn müfredāt prog̲h̲rāmī,* fasc. 1-7, Istanbul 1327; idem, *Mekātib-i ibtidāʾiyye ders müfredātī,* Istanbul 1329; idem, *Mekātib-i Sulṭāniyyenin ṣunūf-ī ibtidāʾiyye ve-tāliye ders prog̲h̲rāmlari,* Istanbul 1329; Ibrāhīm ʿAs̲h̲kī, *Mekteb terbiyesı,* Istanbul 1330; Fāʾiḳ Ṣabrī, *Mekteblerde d̲j̲og̲h̲rāfiyā tedrīsātī,* Istanbul 1331; *Mekteb-i Sulṭānīnīn ellind̲j̲ sene-yi dewriyye-yi teʾsīsī münāsebetile nes̲h̲rolunmus̲h̲tur,* Istanbul 1334/1918; Maʿārif-i ʿUmūmiyye Neẓāretī, *Mekātib-i Sulṭāniyye ʿArabī ve-Ed̲j̲nebī lisānlarī müfredāt prog̲h̲rāmlarīnīn muʿaddal ṣūretleri,* Istanbul 1335; *Mekteb-i mülkiyye-yi s̲h̲āhāne taʾrīk̲h̲česī,* n.p. 1337 (lith.); D̲j̲elāl ʿAbdī, *Muk̲h̲taṣar-i mekteb ḥifẓ-i ṣiḥḥasī,* Istanbul 1340; Mekteb-i Ḥarbiyye—Birind̲j̲ī dewre, *Ḍābiṭān kürsü 1340 senesi ʿumūmī imtiḥān prog̲h̲rāmlari,* Istanbul 1340; Kāẓīm Nāmī, *Mekteblerde ak̲h̲lāḳī nāṣīl telḳīn eytmeli?* Istanbul 1343/1925; T. Kāllīktyeyev, *Mektepte oḳütüd̲j̲ülar üčun metōdīkte yōldās̲h̲ī,* Kazan 1927; Ḥifẓ al-Raḥmān Rās̲h̲id, *Mektebçiliğin kaʿbesinde,* Istanbul 1928; Safattin Rıza, *Eski tarihte mektep,* in *Atsız Mecmua* (Istanbul), 6 (15 October 1931), 130-1; Şevket Süreyya, *Mektep kooperatifçiliği ve tasarruf terbiyesi,* Ankara 1932; Naci Kasım, *Mektep kitaplari ve Türk irfan hayatı,* Istanbul 1933; *Tek kitap kanuna dair: mektep kitaplan tâbilerinin bazi dilekleri,* Istanbul 1933; H. A. Malik, *Köyde mektep,* in *Ülkü* (Ankara), i/6 (July 1933), 481-4; F. Uzun, *Mektepçiliğe dair,* Istanbul 1935; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An introduction to the history of education in modern Egypt,* London n.d. [1938], 139-42, 207-8, 371-2; İhsan Sungu, *Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliyyenin tesisi,* in *Tarih Vesikaları,* i/3 (1941), 1-14; *Statuto della communità musulmana in Jugoslavia (25 ottobre 1936),* in *OM,* xxii (1942), 105-9; K. K. Pahlen, *Mission to Turkestan,* London, N.Y. and Toronto 1964, esp. 37-49, 58, 61, 63, 74 (for 1908-9); S.Z. Shaw and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey,* ii, Cambridge 1977, index s.v. *Mekteb-i;* İlhan Tekeli, *Toplumsal dönüşüm ve eğitim tarihi üzerine konuşmalar,* Ankara 1980; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Sayyid al-Miṣrī, *Kiṣṣat awwal madrasa islāmiyya fī g̲h̲ābāt Siera Leone,* in *al-Dawḥa* (Ḳaṭar), lxxiii (Jan. 1982), 35-9; P. X. Jacob, *L'enseignement religieux dans la Turquie moderne,* Berlin 1982, 12-38; Avraham Cohen, *Maktab: ha-Ḥeder bĕ-Faras* (Hebr., "Maktab: the Ḥeder in Persia"), in *Peʿamim,* Jerusalem, xiv (1982), 57-76.

(J. M. LANDAU)

MAKTABA, library, is the word now normally used in the Arab world for this institution. In Iran *kitāb-khāna* is used (the entry-word for the article in *EI*[1]), and in modern Turkey *kütüphane.* Other equivalents are *k̲h̲izānat al-kutub* and *dār al-kutub.*

With the zeal for literary pursuits and the ever increasing composition of books, after the period of conquests, men of literary tastes accumulated handsome private collections of books and from the example of the Kūfan philologist Abū ʿAmr al-S̲h̲aybānī we can reasonably assume that it was a custom for authors to deposit copies of their works for reference in the mosque of their town or quarter.

The libraries of the Umayyads contained books on all the principal branches of knowledge cultivated at that time. Librarians were appointed to take charge of them, and translators may have worked in them or, at least, have deposited their works in them.

Youssef Eche, by dint of reading most of the relevant Arabic literature, manuscript or printed, on history and geography, belles-lettres in prose or poetry, *fiḳh* and *waḳf,* has assembled all available information on public and semi-public libraries in ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt during the mediaeval period (up to the death of Hülegü). Hence there is no need to look further than this valuable compendium for the history of libraries in the Arab world during these centuries.

The first public libraries formed a fundamental part of the first academies known as *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*]. That established by Muʿāwiya contained collections of *ḥadīt̲h̲* and works such as that of ʿAbīd b. S̲h̲ariyya, composed at the order of the caliph. This was inherited by his grandson, K̲h̲ālid b. Yazīd [*q.v.*], who devoted his life to the study of Greek sciences, particularly alchemy and medicine. We are told that he caused such books to be translated, and when an epidemic occurred at the beginning of the reign of ʿUmar b.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he commanded the books to be fetched out of the library (*khizāna*) to be made available for the people.

The *bayt al-ḥikma* underwent its greatest development in the time of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn in Baghdād. To make this library as comprehensive as possible he had valuable Greek manuscripts purchased in the Byzantine empire and translated by a number of competent scholars into Arabic. This library contained books in all the sciences cultivated by the Arabs. After the transfer of the caliphate from Baghdād to Sāmarrā under al-Muʿtaṣim, successor of al-Maʾmūn, the *bayt al-ḥikma* lost its academic character and was known solely as *khizānat al-Maʾmūn*. Visited by scholars up to the end of the 4th/10th century, it is not mentioned by writers after that time, and is thought either to have been incorporated into the library of one of the caliphs or to have been dispersed by the Saldjūḳs. It is known, however, that some of its books carrying the emblem of al-Maʾmūn were presented to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.v.*] at the time of his compiling the *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*.

The period of the *bayt al-ḥikma* was followed by that of the *dār al-ʿilm* [*q.v.*], an institution of semi-official character, established in the style of a public library with its own building for the purposes of disseminating sectarian propaganda and teaching the natural sciences. These were set up in Baghdād, Mawṣil, Baṣra, Rām-Hurmuz and elsewhere; that in Baṣra, founded by Ibn Sawwār, being said to be the first ever established by *waḳf*. All of these are described in detail by Eche, and some by Mackensen (see *Bibl.*). The *dār al-ʿilm* engendered the *madrasa* [*q.v.*], and so the library is the father of the Arab university. Other celebrated libraries were those attached to the Niẓāmiyya and the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasas* in Baghdād, where there existed also many others attached to *madrasas*, mosques, *ribāṭs* and mausoleums. Eche describes more than twenty of these, most of which were destroyed by Hülegü in 656/1258, as were those of other cities in ʿIrāḳ. Similar libraries were founded in Damascus, Aleppo and other cities in Syria, and in Egypt.

The library collected by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*] in Cairo contained untold literary treasures and we learn that in the year 435/1043-4 the *wazīr* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Djardjarāʾī gave instructions for a catalogue of the books to be made and the bindings to be renewed, and he appointed Abū Khalaf al-Ḳuḍāʿī and Ibn Khalaf al-Warrāḳ to superintend the work. This library remained intact till the death of the last Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered it to be dissolved and the Ḳāḍī 'l-Fāḍil [*q.v.*] acquired most of the books and deposited them in the library of the Fāḍiliyya *madrasa* which he founded, where they were soon neglected, and by the time of al-Ḳalḳashandī most of them had disappeared. This library is stated to have contained 6,500 volumes on the exact sciences alone, such as mathematics, astronomy, etc., and among its treasures was a globe of copper stated to have been constructed by Ptolemy and bearing an inscription stating that it had been acquired by Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya.

The Spanish Umayyad caliphs at Cordova possessed a library which achieved great renown. Al-Ḥakam II [*q.v.*] devoted his life to it, employing agents to collect books from all Islamic lands. It is said to have contained some 400,000 volumes, described in a catalogue of 44 volumes, each containing 40 leaves. Disastrously, it was plundered and largely destroyed in the time of his successors. After the conquest of Granada by the Catholic kings, in order to facilitate the conversion of the Moriscos, the order was given that all books in their possession should be handed over to the authorities for examination by experts, so that all useful works of philosophy, medicine and history might be retained and all others destroyed. Cardinal Cisneros, however, decreed that all books in Arabic should be burnt in a public square in Granada. We are frequently told of valuable private libraries which were placed at the disposal of learned men, as e.g. in the biographies of al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*] we read of his large collection of books which were tastefully bound in red and yellow leather. Al-Ṣafadī [*q.v.*] records in the biography of Ghars al-Niʿmat al-Ṣābī that he founded in Baghdād a library of about 300 volumes for the use of students and that this library was shamelessly robbed by the librarian who had been placed in charge.

In Persia, libraries allegedly existed at the time of the Achaemenids, as we hear from Ibn Nadīm, but these were destroyed by Alexander the Great. In the ʿAbbāsid period libraries are recorded at Rām-Hurmuz (founded by Ibn Sawwār), Rayy and Iṣfahān (plundered by the Ghaznawid troops in 420/1029 and removed to Ghazna, but later destroyed there by the Ghūrid Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn). In Shīrāz, the celebrated library founded by ʿAḍud al-Dawla contained a copy of all books written up to that time in all branches of learning (al-Maḳrīzī, 449, tr. in Pinto [see *Bibl.*], 228).

When early in the 7th/13th century the Mongols swept over Persia we read that in addition to the loss of human life and the destruction of other valuable property untold quantities of priceless books were wantonly destroyed. Although some of the sultans of Dihlī patronised scholars and were keen friends of learning, no mention of a library from that period has as yet been found. The earliest of which we hear is, however, that of the saint Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ, a contemporary of the Khaldjī and Tughluḳid sultans. Many of the Mughal emperors and their courtiers were dedicated bibliophiles and possessed private collections of great value, and fostered the development of the imperial library. This was dispersed after the traumatic events of the 1857-8 Indian Mutiny, and some of its valuable manuscripts came to the India Office Library and the Royal Asiatic Society; but many remain in various libraries of India and Pakistan. Sezgin records 46 libraries in India and 8 in Pakistan which have published catalogues of their Islamic manuscripts, among them the Bānkīpur [*q.v.*] Library at Patna (6,000 manuscripts), the Buhār collection in the National Library at Calcutta (485 Persian and 465 Arabic manuscripts), and the Rāmpur State Library (10,500 manuscripts in Arabic, Persian and various Indian languages).

After the conquest of Constantinople, Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ [*q.v.*] assembled the manuscripts in Greek, Latin and other languages which had survived the holocaust into the library which he founded in the Eski Sarāy, which now forms part of his palace, the Ṭopḳapï Sarāy. Aḥmed III [*q.v.*] established no fewer than five libraries in Istanbul, including his Enderūn-i Hümāyūn Kütübkhānesi, of which the poet Nedīm [*q.v.*] was appointed curator. He also prohibited the export of rare manuscripts. Most of the libraries formerly attached to mosques in the capital have now been transferred to the Süleymaniye Public Library. In Istanbul alone there were said to be in 1959 over 135,000 manuscripts, many of them known only to scholars through the very inadequate *defter*s published in the late Ottoman period.

Most countries in the Middle East now possess a national library performing the functions of such libraries everywhere, including, it may be, the publication of the national bibliography (see Auchterlonie, *Libraries* [see *Bibl.*], 245-9). Public, university, special and school libraries have been set up, schools of librarianship inaugurated, and library associations founded.

Arrangements, administration and use of libraries. In the 4th/10th century there were already buildings devoted solely to libraries and erected specially for this purpose. For example, Sābūr b. Ardashīr, the vizier of Bahā᾿ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.], built in 381/991 in Baghdād in the Karkh quarter a *Dār al-kutub,* which contained over 10,000 volumes (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 246; Yāḳūt, i, 799). The geographer al-Muḳaddasī (449) found in Shīrāz a huge library which had been built by the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla (338-72/949-82). This library was a separate building and consisted of a great hall, a long vaulted building along the three sides of which were a series of rooms (*khazā᾿in*). Along the walls of the central vaulted room and along the side-rooms were cases of carved wood three ells high and three broad, with doors which were let down from the top. The books lay on shelves one above the other. The cases used in the Fāṭimid library in Cairo were somewhat different (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* Cairo 1270, i, 409); the bookcases (*rufūf*) were divided by partitions into separate compartments (*ḥādjiz*) each of which was closed by a door with hinges and locks. Open cases, which also were divided into small compartments, are illustrated in a miniature by Yaḥyā b. Maḥmūd of the year 634/1237 in the Paris manuscript of al-Ḥarīrī, ms. arabe, 5847), which shows a library in Baṣra (Blochet, *Les enlumineurs des manuscrits orientaux,* Paris 1926, Pl. 10). Unlike our custom, we find the books lying one above the other in the small compartments, as is still usual in the East. This explains the oriental custom (which is only occasionally found in the West) of writing a short title of the works on the upper and lower edge.

The books were systematically arranged, classified according to the various branches of knowledge. Copies of the Ḳur᾿ān had usually a special place; in the Fāṭimid library, for example, they were kept on a higher level than the others. The various books were often present in several copies; this made it possible not only to lend the same work to several readers, but the scholar was also enabled to read corrupt passages at once in a manuscript by referring to another copy. The Fāṭimid library of Cairo, for example, had thirty copies of the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl, twenty copies of the *Ta᾿rīkh* of al-Ṭabarī and, if the figure is not wrong, actually a hundred copies of the *Djamhara* of Ibn Durayd.

The *waḳfiyya* drafted when the books were deposited normally served as the catalogue. Occasionally we hear of a special catalogue (*fihrist* [*q.v.*]) being compiled by the librarian. These catalogues sometimes ran into several volumes, that of al-Ḥakam II in Cordova filling 44 of 20 leaves each (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar,* iv, 146). In the Fāṭimid library, to the door of each bookcase was affixed a list of the books contained therein.

Libraries usually had a director (*ṣāḥib*) and one or more librarians (*khāzin*) according to the size of the institution, also copyists (*nāsikh*) and attendants (*farrāsh*). We find that some of the most celebrated scholars were librarians: thus the historian Ibn Miskawayh was librarian to the vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd in Rayy (Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam,* ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth, Oxford 1921, text, ii, 224, tr. v, 237); al-Shābushī (d. 390/1000), the author of the *Kitāb al-Diyārāt,* was librarian of the Fāṭimid library in Cairo under al-ʿAzīz (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* i, 338).

The books were acquired partly by purchase and partly by the copyists attached to the libraries copying manuscripts. Al-Maḳrīzī has preserved for us the budget of a library (i, 459); according to this, the caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1020) spent 207 *dīnārs* a year on the *Dār al-ʿIlm* founded by him. This was allotted as follows:

	dīnārs
Mats from ʿAbbādān, etc.	10
Paper for copyist	90
Salary of the librarian	48
Drinking water	10
Wages of the attendant	15
Wages of the keeper of paper, ink, and reed pens	12
Repairing the door-curtains	1
Repairing books	12
Felt carpets for the winter	5
Blanket for the winter	4

Libraries were open to everyone free of charge. Paper, ink and reed-pens were supplied by the authorities. Some private libraries even provided for the maintenance of scholars who had come from a long distance. A deposit had usually to be made if books were taken outside the library buildings; at least Yāḳūt (iv, 509-10) praises the liberality of the libraries in Marw, where he always had two hundred and more volumes to the value of two hundred *dīnārs* in his house without a deposit. Instructive in this connection also is the *waḳf* document of 21 Ṣafar 799/24 November 1396) by which Ibn Khaldūn bestowed his *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* on the library of the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn in Fās; according to it, this manuscript was only to be lent out to trustworthy, reliable men for two months at the most in return for a substantial deposit, for this period was long enough to copy or study the borrowed work. The director of the library was to take care that this rule was observed (Lévi-Provençal, in *JA*, cciii [1923], 164).

But at the same time we find in Muslim lands purely reading libraries. One of these was the library of the Madrasa al-Maḥmūdiyya founded in Cairo in 797/1395. By the will of the founder, the Ustādār Djamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī (d. 799/1397), no book was to leave the rooms of the *madrasa.* The manuscript of the *Tadjārib al-umam* of Ibn Miskawayh (Gibb Mem. Ser., vii/6) published in facsimile by Caetani belonged to this library; in the *waḳf* document on the first page of this manuscript, dated 15 Shaʿbān 797/5 June 1395) it is written: "The above-named donor makes the condition that neither the whole work nor a single volume of it shall be lent from the library, either against a deposit or without one".

Nevertheless by the year 826/1423 when the books were checked, it was found that 400 volumes (exactly a tenth of the total) were missing, whereupon the then director of the mosque was dismissed (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, in Quatremère, *Mémoire* [see *Bibl.*], 64, 70; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* ii, 395).

If we think of the above statements, which are true even of the 4th/10th century, it can safely be asserted that Muslim libraries were in every respect centuries in advance of those of the west; there was a general need for public libraries felt in Muslim lands much earlier than in the west.

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AL-**MAḲTŪL** [see AL-SUHRAWARDĪ].

MĀKŪ, a former khānate in the Persian province of Adharbāydjān, and now the name of a town and of modern administrative units around it (see below).

Mākū occupies the north-western extremity of Persia and forms a salient between Turkey (the old *sandjaḳ* of Bāyazīd, modern *vilayet* of Ağri) and Soviet Transcaucasia. In the west the frontier with Turkey follows the heights which continue the line of the Zagros in the direction of Ararat. The frontier then crosses a plain stretching to the south of this mountain (valley of the Ṣarî-ṣu) and runs over the saddle between Great and Little Ararat. Down to 1920 Great Ararat formed the frontier between Russia and Turkey, while Little Ararat was divided between Russia and Persia. Since 1920 Great Ararat has been completely surrounded by Turkish territory, while Little Ararat is divided between Turkey and Persia. The Turco-Persian frontier at the present day comes down to the Araxes. The Lower Ḳara-ṣu and the Araxes (to its confluence with its right bank tributary Ḳotur-čay) form the frontier between Mākū and the autonomous territory of Nakhčuwān which forms part of the Armenian SSR. The third side of the triangle i.e. the inner boundary between the khānate and the Persian province of Khōī [*q.v.*] is somewhat vague. When the prestige of its khāns was as its greatest, their lands stretched to the districts of Čay-pāra, Čāldîrān (Ḳara-ʿAynī) and Äländ. The little khānate of Awadjîḳ (30 villages belonging to the Ayrumlu Khāns) on the Bāyazīd-Čāldîrān-Khōī road formed a little enclave close to the Turco-Persian frontier.

The region of Mākū consists of a series of heights and fertile valleys. In the centre between the valley of the Zängimār and that of the Akh-čay rises the isolated mass of Soḳḳar. At the foot of the Little Ararat along the frontier chain and on the slopes of Soḳḳar there are excellent pastures.

The lands of Mākū are very well-watered. The streams that flow into the Araxes on the right bank are as follows: 1. in the northwest the lower Ḳara-ṣu,

which runs almost parallel to the Araxes and receives on the right bank the waters from Dambat (a high plateau to the south-east of Little Ararat where in 1905 Minorsky discovered the ruins of the ancient town which local Armenian tradition identifies with Arshakawan, cf. Moses of Chorene, iii, 27, and *ibid.*, i, 30); 2. the mountain-torrents Yilandäräsi and Ṣarī-čay; 3. the river Zängimār (Zängibār, Mākū-čay) which consists of three main branches, one coming from the khānate of Awadjīḳ; the other, the Tīghnīt, from the south-east corner of the plain of Čāldīrān from the vicinity of the village of Tīghnīt (Armenian *tlmut* = "muddy"); and the third from the central canton of Bäbädjik. The combined waters run through the defile in which lies the town of Mākū and water the rich district of Zangibasar ("watered by the Zängimār"). Here the Zängimār receives on its right bank the waters from the central massif of Soḳḳar (this tributary seems to have been once known as the Ḳaban), and on the left bank the Ṣarī-ṣu (different from the above mentioned Ṣarī-sū) which rises in Turkish territory in the north of Bāyazīd and flows a considerable distance parallel to the central course of the Zängimār. 4. The Akh-čay, the sources of which are on the eastern face of the chain which separates Turkey from Persia and on the southern face of the transverse chain (Älägän) which separates Akh-čay from Tīghnīt. The waters of the Akh-čay and its tributary irrigate the canton of Sögmän-āwā, flow into the fertile plain of Čaypāra and flow into the Ḳotur-čay which waters the plain of Khōī. Below this confluence, the Akh-čay receives on its right bank the waters of the district of Äländ which rise near the Turco-Persian frontier to the south of the sources of the Akh-čay and the north of those of the Ḳotur-čay.

The town. Mākū is situated in long. 44° 30′ and lat. 39° 18′ at an altitude of 1,294 m./4,245 feet. Its site, 170 miles from Tabrīz and on the main Tabrīz-Erzerum road, is very striking. It lies in the short gorge through which the Zängimār here runs. The cliffs rise perpendicularly on the right bank. The cliffs on the left bank rise to a height of 600 feet above the river. The little town lies in an amphitheatre on the slope. Above the town at the foot of the rocks, are the ruins of ancient fortifications and a spring. Then the mountain wall rises almost perpendicularly, and at a height of 180 to 200 feet leans forward. There is therefore an incredible mass of rock suspended over the town. (According to Monteith's estimate, the dimensions of the cavern thus formed are: height 600 feet, depth of the cavern 800 feet (?), breadth 1,200 feet, thickness at the top of the arch 200 feet.) It is only for a brief period daily that the sun penetrates into this gigantic cave. Just above is a cave which used to be entered by a perilous scaffolding. At a later date, when the cave was used as a prison, the prisoners were hoisted up by a rope. (The only European who has been inside it is A. Ivanovski.)

The population. The population of the town of Mākū in *ca.* 1950 was 6,670, comprising Turkish-speaking Shīʿīs. The population of Mākū consists of Turks and Kurds. The former, who are in the majority, occupy villages along the rivers of the khānate. They are the remains of the Turkoman tribes of Bayat, Pornäk etc. The canton at the foot of the Soḳḳar is called Ḳaraḳoyunlu. The people (about 900 houses in the earlier decades of this century, grouped into 26 villages) belong to the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] faith (*RMM,* xl, 66) which is indirect but interesting evidence of the character of the heresy of which the Turkoman dynasty of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu was accused (Münedjdjim-bashī, iii, 153). The old enmity between the Turkoman tribes survives in the general name applied by the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu to their Shīʿa "Twelver" neighbours: they call them Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu (Gordlevsky, 9).

The Kurds of the khānate are semi-nomads. The Djalālī (cf. on their supposed ancestors, *ʿĀlam-ārā,* 539, under the years 1017-18) occupy the slopes of Ararat, and in summer betake themselves to the pasturages along the Turco-Persian frontier. Many sections of them lead a troglodyte life in the caves of the Dambat region.

The Milān live between the Araxes and the massif of Soḳḳar, where they pass the summer. At Ḳara-ʿaynī (in Kurdish Ḳaleni) there are Ḥaydarānlu.

Before the First World War there were only 1,200 Armenians left in Mākū. It was remarkable that the confidential servants in the houses of the khāns were of this nationality. The celebrated and imposing monastery of St. Thaddeus (Thadevos-Arakel = Ḳara-Kilisa among the Muslims), rebuilt in 1247 (St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie,* ii, 463), is in the central canton of Bäbädjik. It is regarded with a certain respect even by Muslims, who kiss the Gospels on entering it. A long inscription recording the *firmān* of protection given it by Shāh ʿAbbās adorns the doorway. At one time the villages at Mākū and at Khōī belonged to the monastery and paid their rents to it. Another Armenian monastery (Surp-Stephanos; Dāniyāl-Payghambar among the Muslims) lies below the mouth of the Ḳotur-čay on the borders of Mākū. The little village of Djabbārlu is inhabited by Yazīdīs [*q.v.*].

Ancient history. The oldest monuments of Mākū go back to the period of the Urartian (Vannic) kingdom. The chamber carved in the rock near Sangar (on the Mākū-Bāzirgān-Bāyazīd road) is one of a number of similar constructions in Bāyazīd and in the country west of Urmia (Minorsky, *Kela-shīn,* in *ZVOIRAO,* xxiv, 171; S. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide,* London 1972, 81-5). A Vannic inscription known as that of "Mākū" seems to come from Bastām on the Akh-čay (district of Čay-pāra). It is of king Rusa II, son of Argishti (*ca.* 680-645 B.C.; cf. Sayce, *A new Vannic Inscription,* in *JRAS* [1912], 107-13; N. Y. Marr, *Nadpis Rusî II iz Mākū,* in *ZVOIRAO,* xxv [1921], 1-54). The inscription is important as showing that the power of the kings of Vān extended to the region of Khōī.

Mākū later formed part of Armenia. It corresponds to the canton of Artaz of the province of Vaspurakan (Armenian 7th century *Geography*). According to Moses of Chorene, the district was at first known as Shawarshan, but was given the name of Artaz in memory of the old home of the Alān whom Artashēs transplanted hither (cf. Ardoz in Ossetia). The name Shawarshakan may be explained from the rule of the Artsruni kings among whom the name Shawarsh (Xšayāršan = Ξέρξης = Mod. Pers. Siyāwush) was frequent (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr,* 4, 177). The suggestion of this scholar that Artaz is connected with the older Ἄζαρα etc., Strabo, xi, 14, 3, is untenable because Azara is above Artaxata, which again is above the land of Artaz = Mākū. The Amatuni kings who later established themselves north of the Araxes must also have ruled in Artaz, for the diocese of Mākū is called Amantuneacʿtan (Adontz).

The names Mākū and Hacʿium (= Hasun) north of Mākū are mentioned in the *History* of Thomas Artsruni written in the 10th century, in the passage (ii, § 3) describing the frontier of the lands ceded by the Sāsānid Khusraw to the emperor Maurice in 591

(Brosset, *Coll. d'hist. arm.*, St. Petersburg 1874, i, 78). On the many Armenian monuments in the land of Mākū, cf. the work of Minorsky on the antiquities of the khānate; cf. also Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, 1904, 344, and Adontz, *Armenia v epokhu Justiniana*, St. Petersburg 1908, index.

According to a legend recorded by Moses of Chorene (i, 30; ii, 49), Tigranes, having defeated the Mede (in Arm. *Mar*) Aždahak, settled his descendants all around Masis (Ararat). Neither the Arab historians (al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr) nor geographers know this corner of Armenia, although the name looks very old. It would be tempting to explain Mākū as Māh + kūh = "Mountain of the Medes" (Pers. *māh* and Arm. *mār* go back to the old Iranian Māda). The form Mākūya (*Mākōya) which is found in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, however, presupposes a different final element.

History under Islam. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 89) is the first writer (740/1340) to mention Mākū among the cantons of the *tūmān* of Nakhčuwān: it is a castle in the cleft of a rock and at the foot lies a village which stands in the shade till midday. In this place lives the Christian chief priest (*ḳashīsh*) whom they call Mar-Ḥāsiyā (this reading is preferable to *Mardjanithā* of Le Strange; cf. Aram. *Mar-Khasīā* "the Lord Bishop".)

The Spanish Ambassador Clavijo who visited Mākū on 1 June 1404 still found it inhabited by Armenian Catholics ruled by their prince Noradin, who enjoyed practical independence. Tīmūr did not succeed in taking Mākū, but by a treaty Noradin agreed to supply him with 20 horsemen when required. The eldest son of Noradin was taken to the court of ʿUmar Mīrzā and converted to Islam, when he was given the name of Sorgatmix (Suyurghatmïsh); as to another son, Noradin intended to send him to Europe to be consecrated a bishop. Clavijo mentions a monastery of Dominicans at Mākū, "en el dicho lugar" (Frayles de Sancto Domingo, *Vida y hazañas*, ed. Sreznevski, St. Petersburg 1881, 158-62, 376; tr. Le Strange, London 1928, 144-5). Clavijo gives an accurate description of the town (a castle in the valley; on the slope, the town surrounded by walls; higher, a second wall, which was reached by steps cut in the rock).

On the death of Tīmūr, Ḳara Yūsuf the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu reappeared on the scene and Mākū was one of the first places he conquered in 809/1406 (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 376). Henceforth the country must have become rapidly Turkicised. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i, 295, 308), in 982/1574 the Ottoman government ordered the Kurd ʿIwaḍ Beg of the Maḥmūdī tribe [see KURDS] to take Mākū (one of the cantons of Nakhčuwān) from the Persians and to restore the fortress. ʿIwaḍ was given Mākū as *odjaḳlïḳ*. After his death in 1002/1593-4, Sultan Meḥemmed II gave the fortress to Muṣṭafā Beg, son of ʿIwaḍ.

When in the summer of 1014/1605 Shāh ʿAbbās was in the vicinity of Khōī, the Maḥmūdī Kurds of the district of Mākū and Pasak (a village on the Äländ-čay to the west of Khōī) did not come to pay homage to the Shāh. ʿAbbās I transferred the clan of Manṣūr-beg to Persian ʿIrāḳ and took the field in person against Muṣṭafā, *beg* of Mākū. The historian Iskandar Munshī mentions two forts at Mākū, one at the foot of the mountain (*pāy-i kūh*) and the other on its side (*miyān-kūh*). The former was soon taken by the Shāh's troops, but the capture of the other was "not so easy". Orders were given to plunder the Maḥmūdī tribe, which was done. The women and children were carried off and the Maḥmūdī men executed. The booty was so great that cows were sold at 2 *dirhams* = 200 (Persian) *dīnārs* a head. The royal camp remained for 10 days at Mākū, but the upper fortress "in spite of the constrictedness of the place and the lack of water" held out and the Shāh left for Nakhčuwān without having obtained its surrender (*ʿĀlam-āra*, 479).

The Turks and Persians attached great importance to the position of Mākū. Murād IV in the campaign of 1045/1635-6 himself realised the importance of Ḳotur and Mākū, and in the instructions given in 1048/1638-9 to Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha ordered him to demand that the Persians should destroy the two fortresses. Indeed, by the treaty of 1049/1639 the Persians decided to raze Ḳotur Mākūr (read Mākū) and Maghazberd (*Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā*, i, 686). However, Murād IV died and in the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm, the Persians reoccupied Ḳotur and Mākū (Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 279).

The next stage is recorded in the Persian inscription engraved on the rock above the fortress. (Minorsky, *Drevnosti*, 23). It tells us that Shāh ʿAbbās II ordered the destruction of the fortress because it sheltered the unsubdued (*mufsidān*). The fortress is compared to a Ḳalʿa-yi Ḳābān; the executor of the Shāh's order was a certain Akbar and the date is 1052/1642-3 (chronogram *gh-n-b*). The history of ʿAbbās II (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-Khāḳānī*, Bib. Nat. Paris, Suppl. Pers. no. 227) throws no light on the incident, but as (f. 74b) an Ottoman embassy to the court of the young Shāh in 1052/1642-3 is mentioned, it is probable that it was not without influence on the destruction of the fortress, on the preservation of which Persia had formerly laid stress.

Contrary to the tenor of the inscription, Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 337-9, claims that it was the Ottomans who, after the peace of 1049/1639, destroyed Mākū and at the same time recalled the Maḥmūdī Beg who was their representative there. In 1057/1647 the Kurd *beg* of Shūshīk (a stronghold on the borders of Persia) rebelled against the Turks. The Persians, while protesting against his raids, seized the occasion to introduce to Mākū 2,000 musketeers from Māzandarān. The Ottomans sent an army of 72,000 men against Shūshīk. Muṣṭafā Beg of Shūshīk was defeated and sought refuge in Mākū. Ewliyā accompanied the Pasha and the detachment that went to Mākū to demand the extradition of the rebel. Satisfaction was given them, and the *wālī* of Erzerūm, Meḥmed Pasha, treated the Persian envoys in a very friendly fashion. He told them, however, that if the Persians did not withdraw their troops from Mākū and destroy the fortress, he would attack Eriwān and Nakhčuwān. The result is not known, but Persia's possession of Mākū recognised in 1049/1639 does not seem to have again been seriously disputed by Turkey.

The family which ruled Mākū from 1747 to 1923 belonged to the Bayat tribe, the clan settled around the Soḳḳar (on the Bayat, cf. Köprülü-zāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Oghuz etnolozhisine dāyir taʾrīkhī notalar*, in *Türkiyyāt Medjmūʿasï* [Istanbul 1925], 16-23). According to oral tradition, Aḥmad Sulṭān Bayat was in Khurāsān in the service of Nādir Shāh. After the latter's assassination, he seized one of his wives and a part of his treasure and returned to Mākū. Very little is known about him or his son Ḥusayn Khān (Monteith's host?) who died in 1835. It is possible that under the Zand dynasty and at the beginning of the Ḳādjārs, the real authority in the region north-west of Ādharbāydjān belonged to the family of Dumbulī Khāns [cf. KURDS], whose headquarters was at Khōī (cf. TABRĪZ; the special history of the Dumbulī is not

accessible in Europe). The disappearance of the Dumbulī must have opened the way to the Bayat. ʿAlī Khān (1775-1865), son of Ḥusayn Khān, is often mentioned by travellers (Fraser, Abich, Flandin, Čirikov, Likhutin) as an influential chief jealous of his prerogatives. We know that the Bāb was entrusted to the guardianship of ʿAlī Khān from June to December 1847 and that the latter treated him very kindly. The Bāb in his esoteric language calls Mākū *djabal-i bāsiṭ* in contrast to *djabal-i shahīd* (= Čahrīk, see SALMĀS), where his imprisonment was more rigorous (cf. Browne, *A traveller's narrative*, 1891, ii, 16, 271-7; Djānī-Kāshānī, *Nuḳṭat al-ḳāf*, GMS, xv, Leiden 1910, 131-2). During the war of 1853-6, ʿAlī Khān derived great material advantage from the neutrality of his territory, which lay between Russia and Turkey. His son Tīmūr Pasha Khān (1820-95?) profited by a similar situation during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8. In 1881, his appearance at the head of the Mākū horsemen in the district of Salmās accelerated the collapse of the invasion of Kurds under Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh. Tīmūr Pasha Khān was hailed as the saviour of Ādharbāydjān and the people even called him *Mākū Pādshāhī*.

His son and successor Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān Iḳbāl al-Salṭana (1863-1923) at first continued the policy of isolation and aggrandisement of the khānate, but his activity aroused suspicion on all sides. At the beginning of the First World War in 1914, Russian distrust earned him a forced stay in Tiflis. In time, Mākū became part of the theatre of war. The Russian troops built a light railway from Shāh-takhtī (on the Araxes) to Bāyazīd, and the station of Mākū became a busy centre. In 1917 the Sardār returned home and held his position till the coming of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, when, accused of intrigues, he was arrested on 25 Mihr 1302/17 October 1923) and transported to the prison of Tabrīz where he died suddenly. A Persian officer was appointed governor of Mākū (Nawbakht, *Shāhinshāh-i Pahlawī*, Tehran 1332, 112).

In modern Iran, Mākū town is described as having a population of 6,670, all Turkish-speaking and Shīʿī in faith. It is also the centre of a *bakhsh* (population 22,420), together with two others, making up the *shahrastān* (population 100,854) of the same name in the province or *ustān* of Western Ādharbāydjān, which is based on Riḍāʾiyya (Rezaiyyeh) (since the Iranian Revolution of 1978-9, re-named Urumiyya (Urmia)).

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(V. MINORSKY*)

MĀKŪLA, BANŪ [see IBN MĀKŪLĀ].

MAKUA, the largest tribal group in Mozambique [*q.v.*], where they occupy the greatest part of the area north of the Zambezi River. A few also are found in Masasi, Kilosa and Tunduru districts in Tanzania. In 1980 they were approximately 30% of the total Mozambique population of some 12m. Almost all of them are Muslims. Their traditions assert that they reached Mozambique from the north during the 16th century, among other Bantu-speaking peoples then entering southern Africa. The Dominican missionary Fr Joâo dos Santos OP recorded a brief description of their customs during his travels in the country at the end of the 16th century, when they were still pagan. A few words of their language, Kimakua, were recorded in 1607 by the French sea captain Jean Moquet, some of which are akin to Swahili. Their conversion to Islam, which is almost total, most probably did not take place until after 1870, when members of the Ḳādiriyya and Shādhiliyya fraternities from the nearby Comoro Islands [see ḲUMR] penetrated the area as missionaries and traders. It seems that the Arabs, who had had contacts on the coast already for a millenium, had made no religious headway among them. The Makua who inhabit the areas nearest to the coast speak a form of Swahili. Other than the Yao [*q.v.*], their immediate neighbours have, however, apparently been impervious to Islam, and have been considerably Christianised. Although the question has not been explored in detail, this is probably due, as in neighbouring Tanzania, to the local limits of the activity of the Comorian missionaries. In spite of Islam, the Makua preserve matrilineal reckoning of descent, and are ruled by village chiefs without any central organisation of their own.

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(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

AL-**MAḲŪLĀT** (A.), "Categories", the translation of the title of the work of Aristotle [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS] on that subject, which is also referred to, by the transliteration of the Greek title as *Ḳāṭīghūriyā* or *Ḳāṭīghūriyās*. The singular is usually *maḳūla*, but *maḳūl* is also found. *Al-Maḳūlāt* is used also in the titles of works by Muslim authors on the same subject.

The ten Aristotelian categories are commonly rendered as follows (but for a detailed analysis of renderings by various Arab authors, see the table at the end of the article):

1. οὐσία (Substance, "what?") *djawhar*
2. ποσόν (Quantity, "how large?") *kam*

3.	ποιόν	(Quality, "of what kind?")	*kayfa*
4.	πρὸς τί	(Relation, "in what relationship to anything?")	*iḍāfa* or *muḍ…*
5.	ποῦ	(Place, "where?")	*ayna*
6.	πότε	(Time, "when?")	*matā*
7.	χεῖσθαι	(Posture, "in what attitude?")	*mawḍūᶜ* or *waḍᶜ*
8.	ἔχειν	(Possession, "having/ containing what?")	*(an yakūn) lahu* or *djida* or *milk*
9.	ποιεῖν	(Action, "doing what?")	*(an) yafᶜal* or *fiᶜl*
10.	πάσχειν	(Affection, "suffering what?")	*(an) yanfaᶜil* or *infi ᶜāl*

The earliest appearance known to us of the *Categories* in Arabic is in a version of a Greek compendium of part of the *Organon* attributed to Ibn al-Mukaffaᶜ [*q.v.*] (said to be preserved in Beirut ms. Univ. St.-Joseph 338). This compendium is said also to have been translated by Abū Nūḥ (*flor. ca.* 184/800).

The full translation that we possess, however, which was that used by later philosophers, is attributed to Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn [*q.v.*]. Ḥunayn is himself credited with a translation, but this seems to have been into Syriac. Isḥāḳ may have referred to his father's version in preparing his own, but this appears to have been made directly from the Greek. It certainly has no connexion with the Syriac version of James of Edessa (ed., with Isḥāḳ's Arabic version, K. Georr, *Les Catégories d'Aristote dans leurs versions syro-arabes,* Beirut 1948). Isḥāḳ's version is stylish and, on the whole, clear and accurate. It survives in a recension by al-Ḥasan b. Suwār (d. *ca.* 408/1017), based on Yaḥyā b. ᶜAdī's copy and furnished with an introduction and critical notes. In these, Ibn Suwār makes use of a large amount of earlier material, including a commentary by Ibn ᶜAdī.

The controversy in the classical world concerning the authenticity of the work appears not to have suvived its transmission to the Islamic world. Ibn Suwār mentions it, no doubt drawing on his Greek sources, but he accepts the work as genuine, as do the other commentators.

Many commentaries on the work were made. Among those mentioned by the bibliographers but not, as far as we know, extant are works by Abū Bishr Mattā, Thābit b. Kurra, Djābir b. Ḥayyān (attrib.), Abu 'l-Kāsim b. al-ᶜAbbād, and ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī. Epitomes are also attributed to Ibn Bahrīz (a bishop of Mawṣil and a patron of Ḥunayn), al-Kindī, Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib (d. 286/899), and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāᵓ al-Rāzī. Surviving works based on the *Categories* include a paraphrase by al-Fārābī (ed. D. M. Dunlop, *Al-Farabi's paraphrase of the* Categories *of Aristotle,* in *IQ,* iv [1958], 168-87, v [1959], 21-54), a large section of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Shifāᵓ* (*al-Manṭiḳ 2 - al-Makūlāt*), ed. G. Anawati *et alii,* Cairo 1959), a commentary by Abu 'l-Faradj b. al-Ṭayyib [see IBN AL-ṬAYYIB] (d. 434/1043) (preserved in Cairo ms. Bibl. Eg. 7772; anon. paraph. India Office ms. Or. 3832), notes by Ibn Bādjdja [*q.v.*] on al-Fārābī's paraphase (preserved in Escurial ms. 612), and Ibn Rushd's *Compendium* (in Hebrew tr.) and *Middle Commentary* (ed. M. Bouyges, *Averroès: Talkhiç kitab al-maqoulat,* Beirut 1932). The work or, at any rate, the subject with which it deals is also, of course, referred to, if at no great length, in other Islamic philosophical works, e.g. the *Rasāᵓil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāᵓ* and al-Ghazālī's *Miᶜyār al-ᶜilm.*

It might well be thought that the *Categories* received more attention from the earlier Islamic philosophers than it merited, particularly in view of the difficulty of determining precisely what it is about. This question is still disputed; I. Madkour (introd. to ed. of *al-Shifāᵓ* cited above) characterises it as "... à la fois une recherche sur la substance et les accidents et un essai de déterminer exhaustivement le nombre des genres suprêmes; par là, elle se rattache à la fois à la métaphysique et à la logique." Others maintain, more simply and perhaps more plausibly, that it is merely an early attempt by Aristotle to list all the predicates that can be attached to a given man, and that it is therefore indisputably an adjunct, if a minor one, to the study of logic. The choice of *al-makūlāt* as the translation of the title may perhaps indicate that Isḥāḳ himself inclined to the latter view (*kāla* ... *ᶜalā* ... "to predicate ... of ..."). It may be that the digressions in the work itself, the mass of commentary, in Greek, Syriac and Arabic, that it attracted, and the inclusion of a similar treatment of the categories in *Metaphysics* Δ (where, according to Ross, it is clearly out of place) combined to obscure the significance of the title. Whether most of the Islamic commentators really considered it to be an integral part of the *Organon,* or their respect for Aristotle forced them to retain it as such, is not clear. Ibn Sīnā is the only philosopher to give an independent opinion on the nature

Early Arabic nomenclature of the categories

(compiled by F. Zimmermann)

Aristotle	Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh	al-Kindī	al-Yaᶜḳūbī	Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Kātib	Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn	al-Fārābī	Ikhwān al-Ṣafāᵓ	al-Khʷārazmī	Avicenna
οὐσία	*ᶜayn (djawhar)*	*djawhar*	*djawhar*	*djawhar*	*djawhar*	*djawhar*	*djawhar*	*djawhar*	*djawhar*
ποσόν	*ᶜadad*	*kammiyya*	*kammiyya*	*ᶜadad*	*kam*	*kammiyya*	*kam*	*kam*	*kammiyya*
ποιόν	*ṣifa*	*kayfiyya*	*kayfiyya*	*ḥāl*	*kayfa*	*kayfiyya*	*kayfa*	*kayfa*	*kayfiyya*
πρός τι	*muḍāf*	*muḍāf*	*muḍāf*	*iḍāfa*	*iḍāfa*	*iḍāfa*	*muḍāf*	*iḍāfa*	*iḍāfa*
πού	*makān (ayna)*	*ayna*	*ayna*	*makān*	*ayna*	*ayna*	*ayna*	*ayna*	*ayna*
ποτέ	*waḳt (matā)*	*matā*	*matā*	*zamān*	*matā*	*matā*	*matā*	*matā*	*matā*
κεῖσθαι	*nuṣba*	*waḍᶜ (nuṣba)*	*waḍᶜ*	*nuṣba*	*mawḍūᶜ*	*waḍᶜ*	*nuṣba (waḍᶜ)*	*waḍᶜ (nuṣba)*	*waḍᶜ*
ἔχειν	*djida*	*lahu*	*djida*	*kunya*	*(an yakūna) lahu*	*lahu*	*malaka*	*dhū (djida)*	*djida, milk*
ποιεῖν	*fiᶜl*	*fāᶜil (fiᶜl)*	*fāᶜil*	*fāᶜil*	*yafᶜal*	*yafᶜal*	*yafᶜal*	*yafᶜal*	*yafᶜal (fiᶜl)*
πάσχειν	*mafᶜūl*	*munfaᶜil*	*mafᶜūl*	*munfaᶜil*	*yanfaᶜil*	*yanfaᶜil*	*yanfaᶜil*	*yanfaᶜil*	*yanfaᶜil (infiᶜāl)*

and the value of the work. He takes its object to be to assert—not to prove—that ten things are *summa genera* (*adjnās ʿāliya*), which comprehend all that exists (*taḥwī ʾl-mawdjūdat*), and to which alone single terms (*al-alfāẓ al-mufrada*) can be applied. One of these is substance and the nine others are accidents. Consequently, he considers it to be metaphysical rather than logical and, although he grudgingly accords it a certain value for the theory of definition, wishes to remove it completely from the syllabus of the study of logic. He is, he claims, merely following tradition in including in his logical works a treatise (a most substantial, detailed and critical one, it must be said) on a subject that is of little use and may indeed confuse and harm the reader. In *al-Nadjāt,* he refers to the categories only in connection with the theory of definition, and in *al-Ishhārāt* he omits all mention of them.

Ibn Rushd does not tell us his opinion of the work or indicate whether he made his commentary on it for its own sake or out of loyalty to Aristotle. After him, at all events, it would seem that Ibn Sīnā's assessment of its worth commanded general assent, for it makes few further appearances.

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MAKURRA [see NŪBA].

MĀL (A.), means in the old language possession, property, referring among the Bedouins particularly to camels, but also to estates and money, and in any case to concrete things. The word is formed from *mā* and *li* and means properly anything that belongs to any one. As a noun it is of course treated as a med. *w* stem from which a verb is then formed. In the meaning "money", the word is used in the expression *māl ṣāmit* "dumb property" in contrast to *māl nāṭiḳ* "speaking property", applied to slaves and cattle. There is a full definition of the conception in the introduction to the *Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra* of Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Dimashḳī (Cairo 1318/1900-1, 2 ff.), studied and for the most part translated by H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, vii (1916), 1-91. There and in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (see *Bibl.*), 59, the different classes of property are enumerated. As *māl* includes property in its different aspects, the word can also mean "taxes".

The attitude of the Muslim religion to money and property and its acquisition was of course a subject of discussion from the beginning of the literature. The authoritative religious and ethical point of view is that of al-Ghazālī in the second ten of the books of the *Iḥyāʾ*, especially book 13 (Ritter, *op. cit.*, gives an analysis) and 14 (tr. H. Bauer, *Erlaubtes und verbotenes Gut = Islamische Ethik,* iii, 1922; cf. R. Hartmann in *Isl.*, xiv; analysis of the two books in G.-H. Bousquet, *Ihʾyâ ʿouloûm eddîn,* Paris 1955, 121-53).

The acquisition, conservation and disposal of property is one of the four main sections of domestic economy (*tadbīr al-manzil*), the second part of practical philosophy, which is divided into ethics, economics and politics, just as it entered Islam with the rest of Hellenistic sciences. As the *Politics* of Aristotle, the first book of which deals with economics, was not translated into Arabic, the Muslims had to be content with the only translated work on economics, composed by the Neo-Pythagorean Ps.-Bryson, which has had a deciding influence on the whole economic literature of Islam. The text, the Greek original of which is lost, was first edited by L. Cheikho in *Machriq,* xix (1921) and has been recently published with the Hebrew and Latin versions and a German translation by M. Plessner. The interesting chapter on *māl* in it was further expanded by Muslim authors of the school of the Ps.-Bryson, particularly from religious literature. A standard work is the *Akhlāḳ-i nāṣirī* of al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], of which the economic section has been analysed and translated by Plessner. The view of the origin of money which Aristotle holds in the *Nicomachaean ethics* reached Islam direct, besides coming through the Ps.-Bryson; it is first found in the *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ* of Miskawayh, e.g. Cairo 1322, 1904-5, 38 [cf. also NĀMŪS and DHAHAB].

The word *māl* very early became a technical term in arithmetic. It is first found in exercises in dividing inheritances applied to the property of the testator which is to be divided. We later find the word used regularly for the unknown quantity in an equation; in this meaning it was afterwards replaced by *shayʾ* [*q.v.*]. Used for the unknown in quadratic equations, it became the word for the square of a number. The fourth power is called *māl al-māl*, the fifth *māl*^{u} *kaʿb*^{in}, the square of the cube. The history of this change of meaning has been elucidated by J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra und Rechenkunst,* in *S.B.Ak. Heid.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. (1917), no. 2, esp. ch. vi, cf. also index s.v. *Māl.*

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(M. Plessner)

MĀL AL-BAYʿA (A.), also *ḥaḳḳ al-bayʿa, rasm al-bayʿa* and *ṣilat al-bayʿa,* a term used for the payments made to the *djund* at the time of the swearing of the oath of allegiance (*bayʿa* [*q.v.*]) to a new ruler.

The practice was unknown among the Umayyads and early ʿAbbāsids, and the first example seems to be the payments made to the *djund* in Baghdād following the death of al-Mahdī in 169/785, when each man was given eighteen months' or two years' salary (*rizḳ*) after they had caused disturbances. It is not clear, however, that this was directly related to the *bayʿa,* and it may have been settlement of arrears of pay. Nonetheless, this seems to have become a precedent, and extra *ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*] was paid at the time of Hārūn's accession the next year. After the death of Hārūn in 193/809, al-Amīn's supporters in Baghdād paid two years' *rizḳ* to the army, while in Marw his brother al-Maʾmūn paid one year's salary at the time of the *bayʿa*. By this time, such payments seem to have been regarded as standard practice, and the harmful effects were soon apparent; when Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī was proclaimed caliph in Baghdād in 201/817 in opposition to al-Maʾmūn, he promised six months *ʿaṭāʾ*, but was unable to pay the full amount, hence drafts were given

to the troops so that they could collect payment in kind from the surrounding country. There is no mention of payment at the accessions of al-Muʿtaṣim (218/833) or al-Wāt̲h̲iḳ (227/842), but whether this meant that the practice was in abeyance or that it had become routine is impossible to tell. On the accession of al-Mutawwakil (232/847), eight months' salary was paid, and some, but by no means all, of his successors followed the practice. Under al-Muḳtadir, the abuse of the system became glaringly obvious. The troops in Bag̲h̲dād received *māl li 'l-bayʿa* at the time of his accession, while those escorting the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* rioted when they did not receive *d̲j̲āʾizat al-bayʿa* which they clearly felt was their due. After the abortive revolt of Ibn al-Muʿtazz in the next year, the *d̲j̲und* were given a second payment for renewing the oath. In 317/929 a revolt was launched with the object of deposing al-Muḳtadir and making al-Ḳāhir caliph, but the attempt collapsed when the leaders were unable to supply the year's *rizḳ* demanded by the army as a reward. The re-establishment of al-Muḳtadir meant that *māl al-bayʿa* was required for the third time in his caliphate, and this led to the selling off of state lands at very low prices in an effort to satisfy the troops. The accession of al-Ḳāhir in 320/932 meant a further payment.

Thereafter, the practice seems to have become less regular; at the accession of al-Muttaḳī in 329/940, the Turkish *amīr al-umarāʾ* Bad̲j̲kam [*q.v.*] reduced payments and restricted them to his own followers. Payments were sometimes made under the Būyids, as at the accession of Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 379/989, when *rasm al-bayʿa* was paid, and the army also extorted it on the accession, in suspicious circumstances, of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳādir in 381/991. Under the later Būyids, extra payments continued to be demanded, and sometimes made, at accessions and other times of crisis, but the decline of the system of regular salaries, and the bankruptcy of the state, meant that the practice was irregular.

Bibliography: See descriptions of accessions in Ṭabarī, iii; Miskawayh, *Tad̲j̲ārib*, ed. Amedroz; Rūd̲h̲rāwarī, *D̲h̲ayl Tad̲j̲ārib*, ed. Amedroz; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr; and also INʿĀM. (H. KENNEDY)

MĀL-I AMĪR (See ĪD̲H̲AD̲J̲].

MĀL-I IRSĀLIYYE [See IRSĀLIYYE].

MALABAR, the name first given by Arab and Persian mariners in mediaeval times to a pepper-producing coastal region of the south-western Indian Deccan approximately conterminous with the modern state of Kerala. The name "Malabar" is probably derived from a combination of the Dravidian term *malai* = "mountain" and the Persian *bār* = "country" (Logan, i, 1), though the affix *bar* may alternatively be derived from the Arabic *barr* = "a continent", or the Sanskrit *vāra* = "a slope" (*Hobson-Jobson*, 539; cf. *Madras glossary*, 460). The name Malabar is not generally employed by the indigenous inhabitants of the region, who have traditionally preferred the Dravidian *Malayalam* = "the hill country", or the more classical *Keralam*, a name thought to be derived from the former Chēra kingdom of the Indian Deccan (Logan, i, 224; see also Menon, *op. cit.*, *passim*).

According to *Hobson-Jobson*, the substantive part of the name Malabar, variously appearing as *Malai*, *Male*, *Maliāh*, etc., is to be found "in the earlier post-classical notices of India, whilst in the great Temple-Inscription at Tanjore we find the region in question called *Malai-nadu*". The affix *bār* would seem to appear for the first time (in the form *Manībar*) in al-Idrīsi's mid-6th/12th century geographical study *Nuzhat al-mus̲h̲tāḳ fī 'k̲h̲tirāḳ al-āfāḳ* (Nainar, 19), whilst Yāḳūt includes the name Malībār in his 7th/13th century geographical dictionary, the *Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān* (Nainar, 19; cf. Miller, 18). In its original usage, the name Malabar was applied by the Arabs and Persians to the whole coast of the south-western Deccan from Mt. D'eli in the north to Cape Comorin in the south. Although originally an exclusively Arabo-Persian designation, the name Malabar soon attained widespread international currency, being employed by John of Montecorvino in 693/1293 (Yule, *Cathay*, i, 215) and by Marco Polo in 698/1298 (Bk. iii, ch. 25). The name Malabar also occurs in Ming Chinese sources, both in the rather obscure form *Ma-li-mo* employed in Chau Ju-kua's 7th/13th century *Chu-fan-chi* (Hirth and Rockhill, 88, 90) and in the immediately recognisable form *Ma-lo-pa* listed in Feng Ch'eng-chün's *Hsi-yü ti-ming*.

Although the name Malabar was adopted by the Portuguese and applied by them to the whole region of modern Kerala, from the beginning of the British period the name was applied to an increasingly restricted area, being employed to designate that part of the south-western Deccan which came under direct British rule. This area, which covered the northern third of present-day Kerala, became the administrative district of Malabar, a part of the Madras Presidency situated between 10° and 12°30′ north which included the important ports of Kannanūr (Cannanore) [*q.v.*] and Kozhikode (Calicut), as well as the important Māppila [*q.v.*] Muslim centre of Ponnani. After the incorporation of Malabar within the modern Indian state of Kerala in 1956, the old Malabar district was divided into three smaller districts: Kozhikode, Kannanūr and Palghat. In 1969 a fourth district, Malappuram, was carved out of these three (Miller, 18). Under the British, Minicoy Island and the Laccadives [*q.v.*] were attached to Malabar for administrative purposes, though when Malabar was incorporated within Kerala in 1956, the Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands were reorganised in the separate Indian Union Territory of Lakshadweep.

Arab contacts with the Malabar region pre-date the Islamic era by many centuries, and the foundations of the present Māppila Muslim community of South India were laid within a few years of the *hid̲j̲ra*, certainly well before Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim's conquest of Sind in 93-5/711-13 (Miller, 39-43; Ahmad, 77; Logan, i, 231-45; Cherian, *op. cit.*, *passim*); Malabar is therefore the site of the earliest Muslim community to have been established on the South Asian subcontinent.

Today South India's Māppila community numbers some five millions and extends beyond the frontiers of Kerala into Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. Māppila communities are also to be found in Bangalore, Madras and Bombay as well as overseas in Arabia, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Burma. The former district of Malabar remains, however, the Māppila homeland *par excellence;* thus according to *Census of India* figures for 1921, out of a total population of 2,039,333 there were 1,004,327 Muslims living in the Malabar district, 93.60% of whom were Sunnīs. Nearly all the Malabari Muslims are Māppilas, but there is also a sizeable Labbai [*q.v.*] community, and there are lesser numbers of Pathans and Arabs. According to the 1971 *Census of India*, there were 4,162,718 Māppilas in Kerala state, of whom 2,765,747 lived in the four administrative districts (Kozhikode, Kannanūr, Palghat and Malappuram) which correspond approximately to the former Malabar District. (In 1971 the total population of this same region was 8,012,759, of

whom 4,789,198 were Hindus; Miller, 315.) Today the administrative region of Malabar no longer exists, but the name is still widely applied to coastal Kerala, and may almost be said to have reverted to its original Arabo-Persian meaning, that is, the whole littoral of the south-western Indian Deccan between Mt. D'eli in the north and Cape Comorin in the south.

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MALACCA, a town situated on the west coast of the Malay peninsula, in lat. 2° 12′ N and long. 102° 15′ E. The common anglicised form is Malacca, but the official spelling now used in Malaysia is Melaka. Giving its name to the Malacca Straits separating the Malay peninsula from Indonesian Sumatra, Malacca is the administrative centre of Malacca State and is 152 km. from the Malaysian capital of Kuala Lumpur. The town is distinguished from other Malaysian cities by its 19th century Chinese Malay shop houses and old Portuguese and Dutch buildings. Together with Central Malacca district, it currently numbers about 250,630 inhabitants. Relatively quiet today, Malacca was in the 9th/15th century the bustling heart of the most powerful kingdom in Malay history, the Malacca sultanate, which played a key role in the expansion of Islam through the Archipelago.

Origins. Malacca's origins are obscure. Although a plausible date for its founding is *ca.* 802-3/1400, Malacca is not mentioned in any pre-9th/15th century sources. The first verifiable reference is Rabīᶜ II 806/October 1403, which comes from the imperial records of the Ming dynasty. At that time the new Yung Lo Emperor (804-28/1402-24) first heard of Malacca's existence, possibly from some Muslim Indian envoys then in Peking. It was already important enough to warrant the despatch thither of a Chinese mission, and its growth must thus have been extremely rapid. According to Albuquerque's commentaries (983-4/1576), one purported derivation of "Malacca" was a word (as yet unidentified) meaning "to meet", because so many people settled there in such a short time. In an effort to explain why Malacca was able to develop so quickly, scholars have been drawn by Malay traditions which attribute its founding to a prince from a mighty kingdom situated in Palembang in southeast Sumatra.

Malay accounts of Palembang's former greatness have been supported by archaeological evidence as well as by references in Chinese sources. It is believed that a prosperous trading kingdom, which the Chinese called San-fo-chi (reconstructed as Śrīvijaya) rose in southeastern Sumatra in the 1st/7th century. Acting as an entrepot to serve the trade between India and China, Śrīvijaya flourished and became a noted centre for Buddhist studies. At the height of its power, it claimed overlordship over the interior and east coast of Sumatra, the Malay peninsula, and the islands of the Riau-Lingga archipelago and the South China Sea. By the 6th/13th century, Śrīvijaya appears to have been weakening as neighbouring kingdoms challenged its commercial hegemony and sought to take advantage of new opportunities for trade with China. Attacks by Chola India in 415-16/1025 and recurring hostilities with Java further undermined its position. From 772-3/1371, Java claimed suzerainty in southeastern Sumatra, but around 792-3/1390 a Palembang prince apparently attemped to assert his independence. Shortly afterwards, he was ousted by an invading Javanese army. When a Chinese fleet visited Palembang early in the 9th/15th century, it was still an important port, but was under the control of a Chinese pirate chief.

Two major sources contain the Malay legend of a Palembang prince who left Sumatra, founding a dynasty which ultimately ruled in Malacca. The first is the *Sejarah Melayu,* a Malacca court text, of which the oldest extant version dates from the 11th/17th century but which was probably based on earlier recensions since lost. The second is the *Suma oriental,* a work by a Portuguese apothecary, Tomé Pires, sent to Malacca in 914-15/1509 by the Portuguese to investigate trading conditions there. Though the two sources differ in detail, the core of the legend is similar. According to the *Sejarah Melayu,* a descendant of Alexander the Great (in Malay, Iskandar Zul-karnain) appeared miraculously on a hill in Palembang named Bukit Si Guntang. A covenant was concluded between him and the local chief in which he promised that he and his descendants would govern the people justly in return for their loyalty. With the title Sri Tri Buana, he was then made ruler. Subsequently, seeking a suitable site for a city, Sri Tri Buana came to an island which he renamed Singapore after glimpsing a strange beast which he took to be a lion (*singa*) there. During the succeeding four reigns, Singapore developed into a great trading city, but the fourth and fifth rulers flouted Sri Tri Buana's earlier covenant, unjustly punishing their subjects. In retribution, Singapore was attacked not only by giant swordfish but by Javanese armies. The ruler, Iskandar S͟hāh, fled up the coast to Muar, but was twice forced to relocate his settlement. Finally, he came to a place called Bertam which he deemed auspicious after he saw one of his hounds kicked by a courageous mouse deer. Because he was standing under a *melaka* tree (*phyllanthus emblica; tetramerista glabra*) he decided to call the place Melaka.

The broad outlines of Pires' version are similar. According to the *Suma oriental,* a Palembang prince entitled Parameśvara would not acknowledge his subservience to Java and proclaimed his independence. The Javanese attacked and Parameśvara fled to Singapore with a following which included thirty *orang laut,* proto-Malay sea people whose habitat

was the coasts and offshore islands of Sumatra and the peninsula. In Singapore, Parameśvara killed the local chief, a vassal of the Thai kingdom of Ayudhya, and established himself instead. When the Thais attacked five years later, Parameśvara fled to Muar where he settled, while the *orang laut* moved about 8 km. further north to the mouth of the Malacca River. Discovering an attractive area up-river (Bertam), they persuaded Parameśvara to establish his residence there. Parameśvara gave the port at the estuary the name Malacca, which according to Pires' version means "hidden fugitive", although no satisfactory derivation is known. Another suggested derivation given in the *Sejarah Melayu* is the Arabic *malakat* (written ملاكة in Malay and ملاقة or ملقة in early Arab trading manuals) = "possession", which the text interprets to mean "a place where merchants gather".

The Malacca dynasty. The precise chronology of the first five rulers varies according to the source, and gravestones have established the reign dates of only some of the later rulers. The following is the currently accepted dynastic list of the Malacca dynasty:

Parameśvara (died 816/1413-14)
|
Megat Iskandar Shah (817/1414 - 826/1423-4)
|
Sri Maharaja Sultan Muhammad Shah (827/1424 - 847/1444?)
|
- Raja Ibrahim, Sri Parameśvara Dewa Shah (848-9/1445? - 850/1446?)
- Raja Kasim, Sultan Muzafar Shah (850/1446 - 863-4/1459?)
  |
  Raja Abdullah, Sultan Mansur Shah (863-4/1459? - 882/1477)
  |
  Sultan Alauddin Riyat Shah (882/1477 - 893/1488)
  |
  Sultan Mahmud Shah (893/1488-934-5/1528)

After 917/1511, when Malacca was captured by the Portuguese, the dynasty ruled from capitals in the Riau archipelago and peninsular Johor. The last direct descendant was murdered in 1111/1699.

Malacca as an international entrepôt. In order to appreciate the reasons for Malacca's place in the expansion of Islam, it is necessary to understand its emergence as an entrepôt. It has been said that Malacca was founded, rather than grew into, a trading city. Its life blood was always commerce, for the soil around was unsuitable for large-scale rice growing, and rice imports became vital for feeding its population. Some sago was grown, together with fruits such as sugar cane, jackfruit, lichi and bananas. The ordinary people subsisted by fishing from simple dugout canoes, by collecting forest and marine products, by panning tin and by weaving mats for barter in Malacca's market. These local activities, however, were economically of minor importance beside Malacca's role as an exchange centre in the international trading network which by the 10th/16th century reached from China through India and the Middle East to Europe.

By 805-6/1403, presumably within a few years of its founding, Malacca was sufficiently important to receive a mission from the Chinese Emperor. During the course of the 9th/15th century, it eclipsed its rivals, notably the ports of Pasai and Aru on Sumatra's northeast coast, which had long since participated in international trade. Tomé Pires commented, "There is no doubt that Malacca is of such importance and profit that it seems to me it has no equal in the world."

If the Sumatran origins of Malacca are accepted, it can be argued that a primary reason for its rapid rise was the fact that its founders brought with them the prestige, administrative traditions and commercial experience of the formerly great port of Śrīvijaya.

However, there were more tangible factors in Malacca's success as an entrepôt. It was strategically placed on the narrow Straits through which shipping between China and India passed and where the dominant monsoonal wind systems met. Ports in the Straits region had a guaranteed clientèle because seaborne trading patterns followed the cycle of the monsoon winds. Ships from India and the western lands arrived at various periods between March and January, while traders from China and the east came between November and March and those from the western archipelago between May and September. For some shipping, there was an enforced wait before they could return home as the monsoon changed direction or gained force; other traders, taking advantage of different wind systems, needed to wait only a short period before they left. Malacca proved ideally suited as a stapling port where goods could be stored, ships reprovisioned and cargoes sold and purchased quickly. It had an attractive harbour with approaches free from shoals and mangrove swamps and, because it lay in the lee of Sumatra, was more sheltered from storms than Pasai. By tropical standards, the climate was pleasant; there were good stands of timber for masts in the jungles nearby; and to the northeast of the settlement was a supply of potable water. Malacca was also well-placed as a collecting point for local jungle and marine products which were valued in India and China. A portage route linked the upper Malacca River with the gold mines of inland Pahang, and numerous rivers that disembogue on both sides of the Straits facilitated the transport of goods between the coast and interior. Finally, the hill to the east of the settlement (Malacca or St. Paul's Hill) was a natural vantage point where lookouts could be posted to warn against any impending attack.

Diplomatic initiatives by the first rulers further contributed to Malacca's commercial success. The patronage of China, the greatest Asian power at the time, was assiduously cultivated. When a large Chinese mission arrived in 806/1404, Malacca responded by sending envoys back to the imperial court. As a sign of the emperor's favour, Parameśvara was granted an elevated title and Malacca became the first foreign nation to receive the Yung Lo Emperor's

personal inscription. Between 806-7/1404 and 838-8/1435, twenty missions were sent from Malacca to China, several of which were headed by the ruler himself. By offering the apropriate tribute and fulfilling its obligations to its Chinese overlord, the new settlement retained China's favour and protection in the initial stages of its development. For their part, the Ming Emperors obtained as a vassal an important commercial centre which could act as a base for the Chinese naval fleets that periodically sailed to the Indian Ocean. Although the Imperial court withdrew from active involvement in overseas affairs after 837-8/1434, junk trade with Malacca continued. Nor were the close ties of the past forgotten. Sultan Muzafar, Sultan Mansur and Sultan Mahmud requested investiture by China and it was to China that the last Malacca ruler looked for assistance when the Portuguese attacked in 916-17/1511.

The new settlement also reached if not friendship then at least a *modus vivendi* with its two powerful neighbours, the Thai kingdom of Ayudhya and Majapahit in Java. Founded in 751-2/1351, Ayudhya continued to claim suzerainty over the entire peninsula, and Majapahit too exercised a vague overlordship in the southern peninsula. Accordingly, until the latter part of the 9th/15th century, Malacca rulers acknowledged themselves to be Ayudhya's vassals. In return, Malacca received supplies of food and people as well as valued trading privileges. When Ayudhya attempted to impose its control there in 809-10/1406, 822/1419 and 834-5/1431, Malacca was able to appeal to its patron China, who ordered the Thais to desist. The relationship with Majapahit, on the other hand, was more harmonious. Malacca continued to accept vassal status till the end of the century, and ties with Majapahit were fostered through regular missions and royal marriages. This ensured a mutually advantageous trade and guaranteed Malacca access to Javanese rice.

From Malacca's inception, its rulers sought to attract inhabitants. Not only was manpower a vital economic resource, but a kingdom's prestige was always measured in terms of the people it controlled. According to Portuguese accounts, within four months of his arrival Paramesvara's new settlement had a population of a hundred people, which soon increased to 2,000. By the second reign, the population had swelled to 6,000 and it continued to grow as Malacca's trade expanded. Peoples from the archipelago itself, especially Sumatra and the peninsula, were the most numerous, but there were also large groups of foreigners, especially Indians, who took up semi-permanent residence in Malacca and frequently became prominent officials. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century the inhabitants of Malacca were estimated at 100,000, though this is probably an exaggeration. According to Pires, no less than 84 languages could be heard in the streets and 4,000 foreign merchants resided there. The town itself spread out for three leagues (about 15 km.) on both sides of the Malacca river, encompassing a large commercial quarter on the northern shore, a Javanese settlement on the southern side, impressive buildings on Malacca Hill, and fishing villages at the estuary and along the river marshes.

Militarily, Malacca was able to assert its superiority in the region and thus ensure that its commercial hegemony was maintained. Portuguese figures for Malacca's fighting men vary from 4,000 in the city proper to 100,000, including the neighbouring areas. In the Portuguese attack on Malacca in 917/1511, 3,000 guns were taken, but this was believed to be less than half the town's artillery. The prime component in Malacca's forces were the *orang laut,* the sea people of the coasts and river reaches, who manned its fleets. In the early stages of Malacca's development *orang laut* patrols were sent out to compel passing vessels to patronise Malacca rather than rival ports, and they were crucial in guarding Malacca's sea lanes from pirate raids by other kingdoms. Their prestige in Malacca was considerable. Several of their leaders were related to the Malacca dynasty through marriage, and some of the highest ministers traced their descent from *orang laut.*

A prime factor in Malacca's success was the quality of its administration. High priority was given to security within the town and to the protection of foreign merchants and their goods. One very practical measure was the construction of underground warehouses so that stored goods would be less vulnerable to theft and fire. An early Chinese account mentions men patrolling the streets ringing bells, and both Malay and Portuguese sources describe the active part taken by rulers themselves in supervising the enforcement of law. By the middle of the 9th/15th century, a body of laws had been codified regulating punishments and attempting to control abuses such as bribery, especially of judges. A separate maritime code set out the powers of a ship's captain when at sea and his relationship with the merchants whose goods he was carrying. The fact that foreigners in Malacca had ready access to a legal authority in cases of dispute must have been a great attraction to traders.

Commercial transactions were aided by an efficient administrative system shaped to the needs of the mercantile community. Four Shahbandars or harbour masters were appointed, each representing a group of trading nations. One was for the Gujeratis alone, since they were the most numerous (estimated at 1,000 by Pires); another was for other Indians and for traders from Pegu and Pasai; another for those from Java, the Moluccas, Banda, Palembang, Borneo and the Philippines; the fourth was for traders from Champa, China and the Ryukyu Islands (probably including Japan). Each Shahbandar had the responsibility of welcoming individual traders, assigning warehouses, overseeing the affairs of his particular group, maintaining a check on weights, measures and coinage, adjudicating disputes between ships' captains and merchants, and generally supervising the market place.

Customs duties were also carefully regulated. In general, these were paid in accordance with the value of the cargo, with additional gifts presented to the ruler and leading ministers. Though the bulk of Malacca's revenue came from these duties, they were somewhat lower than those of its chief rivals. The Chinese, furthermore, were exempt from any gift-offering. For large ships, a flat rate of 6% of the total value was levied, eliminating the need for further gifts. To minimise the possibility of extortion or corruption, a consortium of Malacca merchants under the supervision of the Temenggung often bought up the entire cargo of these larger vessels. Each merchant then received a proportion of the cargo equivalent to the amount he had contributed. This proved a speedy and efficient method of clearing cargoes, enabling captains to buy up new supplies and prepare for their homeward journey with the appropriate monsoon. The smaller Malay traders of Malacca acted as middlemen, by selling or bartering the goods in front of their homes, in licensed stalls erected on the bridge over the Malacca River, or in the market place itself. They also carried cargoes by boat to other areas in

the archipelago. Because of the middleman role of Malays, and because their language was easily learnt when compared with most regional languages, Malay became the *lingua franca* in ports throughout the archipelago.

Thanks to its attractive mercantile environment, Malacca emerged as the collecting centre for spices from the eastern archipelago as well as a distribution point for Indian textiles. This dual role was vital in its commercial success, giving it a great advantage over nearby ports and ensuring its dominance in the Straits region. By the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Pires valued Malacca's trade at 2.4 million cruzados annually, well over half that of Seville, one of Europe's major commerical cities.

Statecraft in Malacca. The prestige which came to Malacca was linked not only to its wealth but to the development of a court culture. A fundamental part of this culture was the formulation of a concept of statecraft that reinforced the status of the dynasty and of Malacca itself. At the apex of the kingdom was the ruler, whose exalted lineage was traced to Sri Tri Buana, the prince who had miraculously appeared on Bukit Si Guntang in Palembang. The legend of the contract made by Sri Tri Buana with the Palembang chief stressed that a terrible retribution would be meted out to any subject guilty of *derhaka* or disloyalty to the ruler. Although the latter was enjoined to treat all his subjects with respect, the punishment of a wicked king must be left to Allah Almighty. But when a ruler governed justly and wisely, the kingdom would flourish, for the prosperity of the state found its ultimate source in the king. Divine powers were inherent in him, in pre-Islamic times perhaps subsumed in the Sanskrit word *śakti* or old Malay *andeka* but later denoted by the Arabic term *daulat*.

Despite the king's theoretical sanctity and total authority, there were checks against arbitrary rule. It was customary for all state decisions to be based on *muafakat* or consultation between the ruler and his ministers. The interaction between the two is well expressed by the *Sejarah Melayu,* which compares the ruler to the fire and the ministers to the firewood "and fire needs wood to produce a flame". Since the ministers were responsible for the daily functioning of the kingdom, they wielded great power. The most important was the Bendahara, originally of commoner and perhaps *orang laut* birth, but whose line in time became intimately linked with the royal house through intermarriage. Following him came the Penghulu Bendahari, the head of all Shahbandars, who controlled state revenues as well as royal servants and scribes. The Temenggung, originally third in line but later regarded as Bendahara designate, was chief of police and chief magistrate. Finally, the Laksamana headed the military administration and was commander of the ruler's bodyguard and the fleets of *orang laut.*

Below them were many other nobles, although the numbers are unknown. Some noble positions were created as royal favours, but many others were inherited. The nobles shared in the process of government through collective decision-making in a large assembly where consensus was highly valued. Because of their commercial interests, these men were often extremely wealthy and could call on a large following. Indeed, the greatest challenge a ruler could face was a coterie of hostile ministers and nobles. It is not surprising, therefore, that by the mid-9th/15th century Malaccan theories of statecraft had been translated into laws which spelt out special royal prerogatives in dress and ceremonial and the severe penalties for any who flouted this rigid sumptuary code. In extreme cases, such as the use of words forbidden to any but the king, the offender would be put to death.

While these notions of kingship did not originate in Malacca, it was there that they were fully developed and most clearly articulated. Malacca's great achievement was to refine a court culture which was then consciously imitated throughout other parts of the Malay-speaking world. Despite local variations, the style of dress, literature and dance, social norms and courtly language were similar throughout the peninsula and east-coast Sumatra, with considerable influence in Borneo and parts of the eastern archipelago. The fact that this highly-respected dynasty also adopted Islam was not only an important ingredient in its own prestige, but was also fundamental to the spread of Islam in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.

Islam in Malacca. Arab and Indian Muslim traders had been in the archipelago for several centuries, but Islam did not begin to attract converts in significant numbers until after the 7th/13th century (for the coming of Islam, see MALAY PENINSULA and INDONESIA). By 692-3/1292 the town of Perlak and by 696/1297 Samudra-Pasai on the north-eastern coast of Sumatra had Muslim rulers, but on the peninsula the earliest evidence of an Islamic king is the Trengganu Stone from the east coast. It has a partly illegible *hidjra* date which could read between 702/1303 and 789/1387. Various dates for the conversion of the Malacca ruler, ranging from 811-12/1409 to 839-40/1436, have been suggested, but the precise year is still speculative. While the Islamic name of Iskandar is attributed to Malacca's founder by the *Sejarah Melayu,* it is unlikely that the first ruler was himself Muslim. Pires attributes the conversion to the second ruler, whom he calls Iskandar. Since his dynastic list omits one king, it is more probable that the conversion he describes can be identified with the third ruler, Sultan Muhammad Shah, whom the *Sejarah Melayu* depicts as the first royal convert. The second, and conceivably the first ruler, may have assumed the name Iskandar and the Persian title of Shāh to enhance their status, but Muhammad is a more appropriate name for a newly-converted king.

The *Sejarah Melayu* presents the conversion of the third ruler as an act of divine revelation. The Prophet, appearing to him in a dream, instructs him to recite the confession of faith, gives him the new name Muhammad, and tells him of the imminent arrival of a teacher from Jeddah. When the king awakes, he finds that he has been miraculously circumcised and that he is able to recite the creed. That afternoon a religious teacher arrives as his dream had foretold and, convinced by this event, both the ruler and his court embrace Islam.

The precise reasons for the ruler's conversion are still debated. According to Pires' account, the (second) Malacca ruler was aware that the commercial vitality of Malacca's rival, Muslim Pasai, was largely due to its patronage by Indian Muslim cloth merchants. He therefore took active steps to emulate Pasai's success and himself attract Muslims to Malacca. Muslim traders were granted commercial privileges; residences and mosques were built for them and they were welcomed at court. Pasai, assuming the prestigious role of proselytiser, encouraged this development by sending teachers to Malacca. Pires goes on to say that under the influence of both Pasai and prominent Muslim merchants, the (second) ruler at the age of 72 adopted Islam and married the King of Pasai's daughter.

Pasai's example and Malacca's desire to attract

merchants must have been persuasive in Malaccan court circles. Arguments in favour of taking definitive measures to secure Muslim trade would have been strengthened after the third ruler returned from a mission to China in 838-9/1435, presumably aware that the Emperor intended to abolish imperial trade, which had previously brought Malacca valued revenue, and revert to the tribute system.

But the decision to embrace Islam would not have been purely the result of commercial considerations. The new faith would have heightened the dynasty's already considerable prestige, since it linked the ruler with the wider Muslim world. The impressive ceremonial accompanying the reception of foreign envoys at the Malacca court must have been even more significant when the missions came from the Muslim princes of such places as Aden, Hormuz, Cambay and Bengal. Scholars have also suggested that the changing doctrinal mood of Islam may have been another inducement. By the 8th/13th century, the mystical Ṣūfī orders had become more influential within Islam and had become closely associated with trade guilds. The tolerance of Ṣūfism when confronted with non-Islamic practices as well as the Ṣūfīs' syncretistic theosophy, moderating the more stringent demands of orthodox Islam, may have helped to make the new faith acceptable to the Malacca court [see MALAY PENINSULA].

Little is known of the nature of Islam in Malacca. The main source for information about its theological content has been the *Sejarah Melayu*, but although the text contains scattered references to Islam, these cannot be considered as particularly revealing. The reshaping of the royal genealogy to incorporate Alexander the Great (Iskandar Zul-karnain), regarded as a great Muslim warrior who converted the ruler of India, conveys more about Malay attitudes to ancestry than to religion. The Islamic invocation at the conclusion of each chapter and the death-bed testimonies of various rulers are purely formulaic phrases. Stories similar to that describing the miraculous conversion of the third ruler can be found in other parts of the Indonesian world and are hardly unique.

Scholars have been attracted by apparent references to mysticism, but the *Sejarah Melayu* itself does not demonstrate any deep knowledge of Ṣūfī thought. The great Persian theologian and mystic, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]) is mentioned simply as an example of a very learned man; similarly, the episodes which describe the exchange of missions between Malacca and Pasai, apparently over questions of doctrinal interest, may be equally related to the Malay love of riddles and the rivalry between the two courts. In one of these episodes, a teacher from Mecca is sent from Malacca by Sultan Mansur to Pasai to have his book on mysticism, *Durr manzum*, either authenticated or explained. In another, Sultan Mansur poses to the Pasai court the question of whether those in heaven or hell abide there forever, from which it has been inferred that the work of the late 8th/14th century and early 9th/15th century mystic ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī (d. 820/1417 [*q.v.*]) was known in Malacca. Sultan Mahmud later sent a further mission to Pasai to resolve an apparent contradiction between two statements concerning the nature of unbelief. But while the deliberately undisclosed answer may possibly imply a mystic response, the debate over what distinguished an infidel from an unbeliever was of general concern to Muslims in these early stages of Islamicisation.

Available sources do no more than suggest that Islamic teaching in Malacca was tinged with mysticism. Historical evidence is more revealing about Malacca's prestige as a thriving Muslim centre in the 9th/15th century and about the contribution of Islam to the shaping of Malay culture.

Within Malacca, Islam helped to strengthen the dominance of the court. By the time Islam was formally adopted in Malacca, the influence of Persian notions of kingship, stressing the monarch's sacral nature and elevating him to a place high above ordinary mortals, had spread through much of the Islamic world. The Malacca ruler became part of this tradition. Already regarded as semi-divine, he was now able to assume other new and imposing titles. Coins from Malacca proclaim the ruler as Sultan and Shah, raising him above all other princes in the region who, with the exception of Pasai, bore the simpler title *raja*. He was also "Helper of the World and of the Religion" (*Nāṣir al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn*), "Allah's Shadow Upon the Earth" (*Ẓill Allāh fī 'l-ʿālam*), to whom obedience was due as a religious obligation. In the words of the *Sejarah Melayu*, "When you do your duty to the Prophet and Allah, with whom a good king is joined, then it is as though you are doing your duty to Allah himself".

There have been suggestions that the Hinduised titles of Sultan Muhammad's successor imply a short-lived rejection of Islam. In general, however, the promotion of Islam in Malacca was very much a royal undertaking, with the rulers themselves actively encouraging proselytisation. In the reign of Sultan Mansur, marriages between Muslims and infidels were arranged to attract new converts, and apostasy was forbidden. The daily prayers were made obligatory for Muslims, and to a considerable extent the legal system began to favour Muslims, especially as witnesses and in property disputes. The adoption of Islam became increasingly necessary in order to maintain high positions in the court; while able non-Muslims could still rise, they usually eventually converted to the new faith. Nothing is known of the Islamic religious hierarchy, although there are passing references to *imām*, *ḳāḍī*, and *khaṭīb*. It seems that the major religious official, who also played a prominent role in court affairs, was termed *Kadi*. He had far greater authority than did the *ḳāḍī* or judge in the Islamic heartlands, and in at least one case the position passed from father to son. Other religious officials, especially the ruler's own teacher, similarly gained influence in court circles and Malacca's administration because of their assumed piety and superior knowledge.

The high point of royal encouragement of Islam came during the reign of Sultan Mansur, who built a great new mosque for Malacca and made preparations to make the pilgrimage. He died before this could be accomplished, but his son, Sultan Alauddin, said to be devoted to mosque affairs, also announced his intention of going to Mecca. Though he too abandoned his goal, the projects assume greater significance when it is realised that until the late 19th century no Malay kings had made the *haj*.

In the development of Malacca's court culture, Islam's great strength was its willingness, within certain limits, to tolerate many non-Islamic beliefs and traditions. An examination of Malacca's laws (*Undang-Undang Melaka*) shows that Islam made continuing compromises with existing practices, particularly in regard to criminal punishments and sexual offences. These laws, though drawn up by Islamic jurisconsults and modified over several reigns, often include two penalties for the same crime, one following custom (*ʿadat*) and the other said to be that of "the

law of Allah". In fact, the so-called "law of Allah" was often adapted from *sharīʿa* law to conform with local conditions. This fusion of Islam and Malaccan custom was encouraged as local religious scholars and scribes took over the task of rewriting and amending the existing law code. While some sections of the Malacca laws seem to have been copied verbatim from Islamic law books, the language was not uncommonly corrupt because *sharīʿa* law was not always fully understood.

To some Muslims, especially non-Malays, this accomodation was not always acceptable. An Arab sailor-author whose account is dated 866/1462 considered that, in Islamic terms, Malacca had no culture; he was critical of the marriage between Muslims and infidels, and the fact that divorce was not regarded as a religious act; he also condemned the failure to observe Islamic restrictions against certain foods, especially the eating of dogs and drinking of wine. The *Sejarah Melayu* hints at the continuing tension between Malays and foreign Muslims who looked down on a society they might well consider morally and spiritually lax. One incident describes how a Malacca noble, coming to his religious class intoxicated, accuses his teacher of being in Malacca purely for financial gain; another noble defends the subtlety of Malay pronunciation in comparison with that of Arabic.

From an orthodox point of view, Malacca Malays might not have been deeply versed in Islamic theology or punctilious observers of strict *sharīʿa* law. On the other hand, even when the faith was only newly-established in Malacca, the sources contain no hint that Muslims from eastern Asia questioned its orthodoxy. Ma Huan, a Chinese Muslim interpreter whose account may relate to any period between 812-13/1409 and 855/1451, notes simply that "the king of the country and all the people follow the Muslim faith, fasting, doing penance and chanting liturgies". By the second half of the 9th/15th century, Malacca was regarded as a focal point for Islamic scholarship, with religious teachers attracted by the patronage of the court and the possibility of supporting themselves by taking on pupils. Malacca became a dissemination point for Islam as much as for trading goods, and all over the archipelago, in the southern Philippines, Borneo and Java, legends link royal conversions to teachers arriving from Malacca or to local figures who received instruction there. The explication and dispersal of Islamic beliefs was facilitated because Malay was already established as a regional *lingua franca*. Furthermore, the process of Islamicisation was fostered by the later Malacca rulers, who regarded themselves and were perceived as the champions of Islam in the region. Sultan Muzafar was said to have actively encouraged princes in the northern coastal ports of Java to adopt Islam, and one Javanese non-Muslim ruler was driven to complain to the Portuguese about Malacca's Muslim fervour. While Malacca laid down the basis for much of Malay culture, Islam itself became so associated with Malays that, in places such as Borneo, to embrace Islam was to *masuk Melayu,* to enter Malayness.

The spread of Islam in neighbouring courts owed much to the example of the prosperous and prestigious Malacca, but its acceptance was not only a result of peaceful persuasion. As Malacca expanded territorially, gaining control over greater economic resources, food-producing areas and manpower, it brought its religion as well as overlordship. In the second reign, Malacca's borders extended to include all land between Kuala Linggi and Kuala Kesang (respectively the northern and southern borders of the modern Malacca state) and from the mid-9th/15th century, territorial expansion proceeded apace. Confronted by an aggressive Ayudhya, Sultan Muzafar waged several campaigns against the Thais, the victory, according to the *Sejarah Melayu,* being finally assured by the magical power of a Malacca *sayid.* Following the conclusion of peace with Ayudhya and emboldened by his friendship with Pasai, China and Majapahit, Sultan Muzafar extended his control north to Selangor, south to Singapore and west to Pahang, where the ruler adopted Islam at Muzafar's request. Although he never succeeded in defeating Aru, Malacca traditions successfully propagated the notion that the people of Aru, though converted before Malacca, practised a form of Islam inferior to that found in Malacca. Sultan Muzafar did, however, defeat the rulers of Kampar and Indragiri on the east coast of Sumatra, forcing them to become Muslim and gaining access to the pepper and gold of the Sumatran interior. His son Sultan Mansur extended suzerainty over Perak, gained after wars with Kedah, Ayudhya's vassal. His control was strengthened along the east coast of Sumatra, where Siak was defeated and Mansur's daughter married to its ruler. Mansur's sister, who married the ruler of Minangkabau, also induced her husband to accept Islam. The next ruler, Sultan Alauddin, incorporated the entire Riau-Lingga archipelago in his territory, and to ensure his hold over key areas of his empire, retained the kings of Pahang, Kampar and Indragiri at the Malacca court, where he was said to have instructed them on Islamic matters.

Islam must have provided the last ruler of Malacca, Mahmud, with a rallying point around which to mobilise his subjects in campaigns against the Buddhist Thais. During his reign Malacca attacked Kelantan, a Thai vassal in the northern Peninsula, and in 902-3/1497 moved as far north as Ligor. A Thai prince of Patani agreed to accept Melaka's suzerainty and adopt Islam, while the ruler of Kedah also revoked Thai overlordship. When Mahmud formally renounced any Thai claims to suzerainty in the region, relations with Ayudhya were broken off. In 905-6/1500 the Thais attacked Malacca again and possibly made another unsuccessful Siamese assault prior to the first arrival of the Portuguese in 941-5/1509. But by this stage, Malacca's hold over the central and southern peninsula was so strong that Ayudhya was only able to impose overlordship over the most northerly Malay states.

During the 9th/15th century, the nexus between flourishing international trade and a thriving religious environment, characteristic of major maritime ports in the archipelago, is well-exemplified in Malacca. Islam became an integral part of the court culture of Malacca which, admired and emulated throughout the Malay world, also laid the basis for the evolution of modern Malay society. While Malacca played a vital role in the Islamicisation process, Islam was equally important in contributing to Malacca's special place in Malay history. Perhaps the measure of Malacca's prestige is expressed most vividly by the last ruler, Sultan Mahmud, who claimed that Malacca was so great that it could be made into Mecca itself. Although implications of Ṣūfī teaching on the unimportance of the *haj* have been read into this, it is as easy to see it simply as the boast of a proud, wealthy and successful dynasty. But the statement clearly created a dilemma for orthodox Muslims, and according to later Malay arguments it was Sultan Mahmud's unacceptable hubris which brought down divine retribution from far-off Portugal.

In Rabīʿ II-Djumādā I 917/July 1511, Malacca was

attacked by a Portuguese fleet under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque. The Portuguese aim was to establish a post for their expanding Asian trade, to gain access to and command of eastern spices, and to strike a major blow at Christianity's great rival, Islam. Internal dissensions in Malacca, and Portuguese military superiority, led to the flight of Sultan Mahmud with 3,000 men and the fall of the city itself on 21 Djumādā I 917/10 August 1511. There can be little doubt that at the time both Malays and Portuguese felt the religious nature of the conflict to be as compelling as the commercial one. Several Portuguese taken hostage in Malacca in 914-15/1509 were circumcised and forcibly converted by Sultan Mahmud's orders. His refusal to negotiate with Albuquerque two years later was attributed to the influence of Muslim merchants, especially those from India who had already experienced conflict with the Portuguese. Albuquerque for his part saw "Moors" as Portugal's implacable enemies, both on commercial and spiritual grounds, and gave orders that any Malay captured should be put to death. The Hindu merchants of Malacca regarded the Christian Portuguese as a natural ally against their Muslim rivals and gave Albuquerque valued assistance both before and after Malacca's fall.

In the aftermath of the attack, Malacca was sacked and mosques and royal graves destroyed to provide stone for the great fortress, La Formosa, built on the site of Sultan Mansur's great mosque. A Portuguese governor and administration was appointed, Hindus were placed in high positions and relations with neighbouring non-Muslim rulers were cultivated. In time, a *modus vivendi* was reached with other Muslim states whose economy had come to be closely linked with Malacca's. But despite sustained efforts, the Portuguese were never successful in reviving Malacca's former commercial supremacy. While it remained an important entrepôt, foreign merchants complained of high duties and official corruption, and Muslim traders preferred to patronise Islamic Atjeh [*q.v.*] because of the unsympathetic Portuguese attitude towards those of the Muslim faith. The Portuguese were thus unable to command the exchange trade in spices and cloth which, largely in Muslim hands, had been so fundamental in Malacca's former success.

Furthermore, Portuguese Malacca faced the continuing hostility of the Malacca dynasty's heirs. Setting up a new capital in the Riau-Lingga archipelago, they made repeated attacks on Malacca in an effort to recapture the city. When the Dutch appeared in the area in the early 11th/17th century, the Malacca dynasty, now based in peninsular Johor, were more than ready to assist the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in a siege of Malacca, perhaps hoping that they might thereby return. However, after Malacca's fall to Dutch forces in Shawwāl 1050/January 1641, it became simply one more post in the vast VOC trading network. Unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch never saw Malacca as an important commercial centre. Its major function was to act as a strategic guard post on the Malacca Straits, with commercial traffic focussed on Batavia, the VOC capital.

Under the Dutch administration, the Malay population (including Malay speakers from elsewhere in the archipelago) slowly increased to more than 5,000. Indian Muslim traders did frequent Malacca, but not in great numbers, being always the object of Dutch suspicion. But Islam fared better under the Protestant VOC than under the Roman Catholic Portuguese. The VOC did not encourage missionary activities among Muslims, and in many ways was more concerned about Catholicism. However, without a Malay court to act as a religious sponsor, and without the links to the Muslim world provided by a cosmopolitan trading port, Malacca made no further significant contribution to the development of Malay Islam. In 1795, during the Napoleonic Wars, it was taken over by the British to prevent its capture by the French. Under the British, the famous fort was destroyed to forestall its use by hostile forces in the future. Malacca reverted briefly to the Dutch in 1818 but in 1824, by the terms of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty, was returned to the British in exchange for Benkulen (west Sumatra). In 1826 it was incorporated into the Straits Settlements, but was always subservient commercially to Penang and Singapore, which became renowned centres for Islamic study. In 1867 the Straits Settlements were transferred from the Government of India and brought directly under the Colonial Office. During the colonial period (1874 until 1957), Malacca was under the control of a British Resident responsible to the Governor in Singapore. It became part of the independent Federation of Malaysia in 1957.

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(Barbara Watson Andaya)

MALAGA [see mālaḳa].

MALĀHĪ (a., pl. of *malhā*), appears in a number of sources, in a figurative sense, as the equivalent of musical instruments; it is sometimes replaced by *ālat al-lahw* or linked with the word *lahw* which means "game, pastime, amusement", as e.g. in certain works called *kitāb al-lahw wa 'l-malāhī.* According to the *LA,* the verb *lahā* denotes an action aimed at amusing and at securing *ṭarab,* the emotion of joy or sadness; this further term, closely associated with music and its power, gives birth to another appellation of musical instruments, *ālāt al-ṭarab.* Dozy, in his *Supplement,* ii, 554, lists several terms which come from the same root and are connected with the same idea: *mulhī* "musician, instrumental player, minstrel, balladeer whose profession is to amuse the masses"; the feminine *mulhiya* would mean "dancer", according to Quatremère, but Dozy remarks "I believe rather that it means a female musician"; finally, we have *arbāb al-malāhī* "musicians" and *ālāt al-malāhī* "musical instruments". We have thus already three equivalent terms denoting the same idea.

These few explanations of the usage of the term *malāhī* underline very clearly the association of the designated object with the idea of game, pastime, diversion and amusement, a point which leads us to examine certain questions of principle. Does this obvious connection with games and diversion indicate a certain ideological and conceptual attitude which could be at the very origin of the term in its relationship with music? Is it therefore possible that the term was adopted at a given moment and in particular circumstances? Was it, together with its variants, the sole term used to designate the musical facts to which it corresponds? Are the various meanings given by Dozy exceptional ones, or do they rather indicate that the term *malāhī* is a wider one and extends beyond the idea of musical instruments to denote, e.g., music in general, and above all, the art-forms of music? Is there perhaps a more restricted sense denoting e.g., a particular category of instruments? As we shall see, it seems that *malāhī* is a term with manifold usages.

A study of the sources on music reveals to us a very significant state of affairs. On one side, the term *malāhī,* either alone or linked with *lahw,* appears in the title of 7 or 8 works which, accordingly, set forth systematically the facts concerning it. On the other, *malāhī* appears in the chapters and passages devoted to music which form part of works belonging to certain categories of writings, but is almost absent from treatises with a speculative character. These last, which examine closely the mathematical, theoretical and philosophical aspects of music, like those of al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, etc., use other terms to denote the musical instruments or the other concepts covered by *malāhī,* such as *ālāt* pure and simple, or *ālāt al-mūsīḳī, ālāt al-ṭarab* and *ālāt al-g̲h̲ināʾ.* The Epistle of the Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ, which is on the borderline between the opposing categories, uses on one occasion at the beginning of the treatise the term in the combination *ṣināʿat al-malāhī* (instrumental art or *musica instrumentalis*), but in the definition of music and its aims twice repeated we read "*mūsīḳī* is *g̲h̲ināʾ,* the *mūsīḳār* is the musician and the *mūsīḳāt* are musical instruments, *ālāt al-g̲h̲ināʾ*". Amongst the rare exceptions in the speculative treatises, one may cite the case of a late, anonymous treatise called *Maʿrifat al-ang̲h̲ām wa 'l-hunūk wa 'l-ṭarab fī 'l-it̲h̲nay ʿas̲h̲ar wa 'l-sitta* "Knowledge about the melodies and modes and the happy emotions caused by the 12 and 6 modes" (ms. Top Kapu Sarayı A. 2130, pp. 2-47), where it says "The search for *ṭarab* has led to the invention of *malāhī* (musical instruments) by the philosophers".

It is interesting to note that seven out of the eight treatises completely dedicated to *malāhī* saw the light in the 3rd/9th century; the eighth one, the *D̲h̲amm al-malāʿib wa 'l-malāhī* by Ibn al-Kayyāl (d. 938/1532), is conceived in the same spirit and bears almost the same title as one of the seven others, Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā's *D̲h̲amm al-malāhī* (author d. 281/894). Like this last, Ibn al-Kayyāl brings together games and music in his treatise (ms. Chester Beatty 3419, fols. 1-77a), of which the first two-thirds are devoted to games and the last third to music, dancing and musical instruments, whose origin is attributed to Satan. Given that the theologian and jurist Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā's *D̲h̲amm al-malāhī* is the oldest extant work of this kind, it is plausible to suggest that it was indeed he who established the model of the systematic and expanded connection of "music and musical instruments" with "games, pastimes and amusements".

Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā in fact attacks violently music, which he regards as a diversion from the life of devotion and piety; his attack covers all kinds of musical activity, including the instruments linked up with games and other types of pleasure. This treatise accordingly became a source of inspiration for later generations of theologians and jurists who opposed music. Discussion concerning *malāhī* in either a wide or a more restrained sense crops up again whenever it is a question of *samāʿ* [*q.v.*]. In the numerous passages about the problem of *malāhī,* we find attitudes varying from total prohibition to total admissibility of music, dancing and all instruments. Hence in certain cases, the term *malāhī* acquires a very wide sense, embracing the art-forms of music and the dance; in others, it is restricted to a limited number of forbidden instruments. Al-Adfuwī, e.g. in his treatise *al-Imtāʿ bi-aḥkām al-samāʿ* (which exists in various mss., see Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings,* 50-2), discusses the case of several instruments, such as the *duff* (tambourine) and the *s̲h̲abbāba* and *yarāʿ* (flutes), then he deals separately with the *malāhī,* which are identified with *maʿāzif* (a generic term for stringed instruments). In this case, one must understand that *malāhī* denoting the forbidden instruments for amusement correspond essentially with stringed instruments, those par excellence of art-form music. The Mālikī jurist Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ (d. 737/1336) confirms in some measure this remark in his *Madk̲h̲al al-s̲h̲arʿ al-s̲h̲arīf,* where he states that *g̲h̲ināʾ,* listening to slave musicians, to the *ʿūd,* the *ṭunbūr* and other instruments of amusement (*malāhī*) is to be condemned. An attitude similar to al-Adfuwī's turns up again in the treatise of Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī, *Fī d̲j̲awāz al-samāʿ,* in which the author begins also by putting forward the idea that certain instruments are allowable, but then devotes a passage to *mazāmīr* and *malāhī,* which are absolutely forbidden. The jurist al-S̲h̲āmī (d. 993/1585) in his *Niṣāb al-iḥtisāb* writes that if the *ʿūd,* the *ṭunbūr* and the *zamr* are publicly on view, it is the *muḥtasib*'s duty to destroy them. Finally, in this type of writings, the term *malāhī* or *ālāt al-lahw* is taken, according to the attitude of the various authors, at times as the equivalent of all the concepts concerning art-form

music and the dance and at times as designating certain instruments which are universally condemned.

In the general schema of the literature on *samā*ᶜ, there are other points of view about the term and concept of *malāhī*. Al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731) in his *Īḍāḥ al-dalālāt fī samā*ᶜ *al-ālāt* (ed. Damascus 1302/1884) puts forward the idea that the word *lahw*, by which one describes the instruments (*malāhī* or *ālāt al-lahw*), does not necessarily indicate that musical instruments are invariably used with the aim of amusement. This qualification and the prohibition which follows from it are justifiable when the end sought is mere amusement. But when they contribute to the spiritual elevation of the Ṣūfī, this idea of distraction and amusement is no longer valid, since an instrument as such is not to be condemned because of its shape or the harmonious sounds which it makes; thus listening to the beautiful sounds made by birds is not forbidden. We find exactly the same attitude again, set forth in more or less the same terms, in the work of al-Nābulusī's pupil al-Dikdikidjī (d. 1189/1775), *Raf*ᶜ *al-mushkilāt fī ḥukm ibāḥat samā*ᶜ *al-ālāt bi 'l-naghamāt al-ṭayyibāt* (ms. Berlin, We 1811, fols. 1-29).

With this refutation, which reduces to some extent the pejorative sense of *malāhī* and which rejects the ideological attitude which associates them wholly with maleficient effects, we can pass on to the class of writings which presents the point of view of literary exponents and is seen in the other works of the 3rd/9th century devoted to *malāhī*. Amongst these, some are unfortunately lost, and we only have the titles in bibliographical works. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, in his *T. al-Ḥukamā*ʾ, mentions a treatise by al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/899), whose complete title is *Kitāb al-Lahw wa 'l-malāhī fi 'l-ghināʾ wa 'l-mughannīn wa 'l-munādama wa 'l-mudjālasa*. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa, in his ᶜ*Uyūn al-anbā*ʾ, gives an abridged title for the same work, *K. al-Lahw wa 'l-malāhī*, and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa refers merely to a *K. al-Lahw*; in the light of the practices of al-Sarakhsī's time, it may be that we have here more than one work. Amongst the lost treatises on music of Thābit b. Ḳurra (d. 288/901), a *Kitāb al-Lahw wa 'l-malāhī* is mentioned in the previously-cited work of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī. Finally, in the *Fihrist*, Ibn al-Nadīm cites a lost work of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr al-Mawṣilī (3rd/9th century) which had the title *Kitāb al-*ᶜ*Ūd wa 'l-malāhī*.

We come now to two final works of the 3rd/9th century which dealt with *malāhī* and which are, at the same time, the oldest treatises on music which have come down to us. The first, the *Kitāb al-Malāhī*, is that of the famous grammarian of the Kūfan school al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (d. *ca.* 292/905 [*q.v.*]). The work is essentially apologetic, and takes up the defence of two causes set forth in the introduction in the following order:

(1) Refutation of the opinion, probably that of the Shuᶜūbiyya [*q.v.*], according to which the Arabs did not know the ᶜ*ūd* and the other *malāhī* and the Arabic language did not possess the technical terms for the different parts of the instrument and for other musical features; and (2) demonstration of the fact that music and musical instruments were not illicit. The author begins with the second proof, to which he devotes a few lines only, adducing some pieces of evidence in favour of music and musical instruments. The greater part of the treatise is thus devoted to the first proof, in which the attitude of the grammarian becomes clear. He comments upon a large number of Arabic terms relating to instruments and to music which he has gleaned from classical Arabic poetry. The method of presentation starts off from the origin of each instrument considered, most frequently, in the style of the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*] literature. The ᶜ*ūd*, regarded as the king of instruments, comes first; in this connection, the author quotes Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī for the legend of its invention by Lamech [see LAMAK]. After having mentioned other Biblical inventors of instruments (Tzila, daughter of Lot, etc.), he moves on to details of terminology, supporting each piece of commentary by references to poetry. Thus he passes under review the different names for the ᶜ*ūd*, sc. *kirān, mizhar, barbaṭ* and *muwattar*; the term for "string", sc. *watar, maḥbaḍ* and *sharᶜa*; the special name for the ᶜ*ūd*'s four strings, sc. *zīr, mathnā, mathlath* and *bamm*; its frets (*dasātīn*), called in Arabic ᶜ*iḳāb*, the Arabic equivalents of the *ṭunbūr*, a lute with a long neck and plucked strings, sc. *dirrīdj* and *alwān*; and the names of the ten different kinds of wind instruments, sc. *mizmār, mizmar, zammāra, nāy, ḳuṣṣab, mushtaḳ, yarāᶜ, zanbaḳ* and *hanbuḳa*. Still on the lexicographical level, at the end of the treatise the author adds the first forms of singing developed in the pre-Islamic period, sc. *ḥidāʾ, naṣb, sinād* and *hazadj*. In addition to its lexicographic importance, the work has a special interest for musicology in its aspect of organology (i.e. the science dealing with musical instruments). This interest extends in fact to all the categories of the literature on *malāhī*, and provides information to the scholar about a large number of instruments since fallen into disuse. Thus al-Shalaḥī (8th/14th century) mentions in his *Kitāb al-Imtāᶜ wa 'l-intifāᶜ fī masʾalat samāᶜ al-samāᶜ* 28 different instruments, and the total number to be gleaned from this literature amounts to several dozen.

To the same period as al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama's work belongs that of the geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih (3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]), his *Kitāb al-Lahw wa 'l-malāhī*. Despite certain similarities to the preceding work, this latter one is much more complex and sophisticated. In the same fashion as the *Kitāb al-Malāhī*, it opens with a section refuting the opinions of those who prohibit music and gives the story of the invention of the ᶜ*ūd* by Lamech as well as the stories of other inventors of musical instruments in Biblical times, but Ibn Khurradādhbih slants his work towards wider and more universal horizons. His interest is indeed more centred on cultural and historical than lexicographical questions. In furtherance of these, he touches on the music of other peoples, in particular, on that of the Persians and Greeks; and he pictures the musical world on a wide scale, dealing with the power of music and its different effects. From his glimpse at world music, he passes to its development among the Arabs, and then devotes the greater part of the work to a series of biographies of all the famous musicians from the beginnings of Islam to his own time. As a result, the term *malāhī* has here a wider sense and becomes the equivalent of "music". Hence it is not by chance that al-Masᶜūdī (d. 345/956 [*q.v.*]) has cited, in the form of a dialogue in his *Murūdj al-dhahab* (see *Bibl.*) the essential part of Ibn Khurradādhbih's work. Al-Masᶜūdī related indeed that the caliph al-Muᶜtamid, who was a fervid lover of music, asked Ibn Khurradādhbih to compose for him a treatise on the origins and evolution of music; the discourse which Ibn Khurradādhbih sets forth in response to the caliph's request follows amost word-for-word the first part of the *K. al-Lahw wa 'l-malāhī* as far as the point where the long series of biographies begins.

These two works are the beginning and the end of this category of writings on the *malāhī*. They are also the opening of a genre of writings on music which borrows from that *adab* literature which has anecdotal and

edifying works which do not however use the word *malāhī* any longer in their title. Nevertheless, the term was to remain for a long while in use sporadically. It is often to be found in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, as e.g. in the passage concerning the caliph al-Muʿtamid cited above, in which it is said that he had a passion for *malāhī*. Moreover, in regard to the caliph Yazīd (60-4/680-3), the same source states that "he was the first to introduce *malāhī* (musical instruments) and singers at court".

In conclusion, we are inclined to admit that the term *malāhī* came into current usage of the 3rd/9th century above all with the sense of musical instruments. Within the circles of those religious authorities opposed to music, their association with amusement is seized upon and stress laid on this pejorative connotation, which at times enables these authorities to attack what they regard as the negative side of music and its emotive power. It is accordingly in this sense that the term *malāhī* is perpetuated in the corresponding literature. In the circles of literary adepts, the sense of amusement is taken up as the equivalent of *ṭarab*, the dominating and much sought-after effect of music in that period. Its substitution takes place at the moment when the theoretical writings on music become formed, without the influence of Greek treatises translated into Arabic, i.e. towards the beginning of the 4th/10th century. The term disappears fairly rapidly from this literature, because the philosophers and theorists inveighed against the identification of music with playing, pastimes and amusement; hence they had no interest in utilising a term which denoted the very thing which they wished to avoid.

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(A. Shiloah)

MALĀḤIM (A.), pl. of *malḥama* [*q.v.*], which is the subject of the article below mainly devoted to the *Malḥamat Dāniyāl* and its several versions culminating in an apocalyptic current, at first in connection with the announcing of the approach of the Mahdī [*q.v.*], and then oriented towards the predictions concerning the fate of different dynasties. These oracles gave birth to the elaborating of so-called *malāḥim* (or *ḥidthān*) works, which have been already spoken of in the article DJAFR, and the subject is only raised again here in order to note the use of the term in the sense of predictions of a historical character (see e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 8, ii, 335 = §§ 6, 756) and to highlight the fact that Ibn Khaldūn enumerates several of these writings in a section about the beginnings of states and of nations which he places in the last pages of ch. 3 of Book i of the *Muḳaddima* (Ar. text, ii, 193 ff., tr. de Slane, ii, 226 ff., tr. Rosenthal, ii, 200 ff.). There follows here a list of the texts of which he acquired knowledge, mainly in the Maghrib, but some also in the Orient:

— A *ḳaṣīda* of Ibn Murrāna on the Lamtūna, i.e. the Almoravids, who seized Ceuta [see SABTA] in 476/1083-4;

— A *ḳaṣīda* of 500 verses or 1,000 verses called *al-Tubbaʿiyya* and concerning the Almohads;

— A *malʿaba* "amusing piece" or "plaything" of about 500 verses given in *zadjal* [*q.v.*] form, attributed to a Jew and also concerning the Almohads;

— A *ḳaṣīda* on the Ḥafṣids of Tunis attributed to Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*], but belonging to a person of the same name who was a tailor;

— Another *malḥama* on the Hafsids;

— A *malʿaba* attributed to a certain Hawshanī and written in dialect Arabic in such an hermetical style that it would need an allegorical commentary.

In the Orient, Ibn Khaldūn acquired knowledge of a *malḥama* attributed to Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], the *Ṣayḥat al-būm* (see O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Damascus 1964, no. 708; T. Fahd, in AL-DJAFR, above), as well as several others attributed to Ibn Sīnā, to Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAḳb (see Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, lxxv [1921]) or, on the Turks, to the Ṣūfī al-Bādjurbaḳī.

One should note that the works consulted by Ibn Khaldūn in the Maghrib are all in verse (classical or dialectical), that they were widespread in his own time and that he himself attached no credence to any of them.

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(Ed.)

MALĀʾIKA (A.) angels (Persian "angel" = *firishta*).

1. In the Ḳurʾān and in Sunnī Islam.

The form *malāʾika* is the broken plural in Arabic of a word going back to early North-West Semitic (there is no cognate in Akkadian), Ugar. *mlʾk* "messenger", Aram. *malʾak* and O.T. Hebr. *malʾāk* "messenger, angel", the root in Arabic being referred by the lexicographers and commentators to a root *m-l-k*, *ʾ-l-k* or even *l-ʾ-k* (see *LA*, xii, 272-4, 370-1; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 150; Lane, *Lexicon*, i, 81c), which they consider original to Arabic. A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 269-70, following e.g. K. Ahrens, *Christliches im Qoran*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxiv (1930), 24, thought it fairly certain that the proximate source of the word in Arabic was nevertheless the Ethiopic *malʾāk*, pl. *malāʾeket*, the usual equivalent in that language for Grk. *angelos* "messenger > angel"; the word was presumably a loanword into Ethiopic from Aramaic or Hebrew. Since it is so frequently used in the Ḳurʾān, Muḥammad's audience was obviously familiar with it, and it must have been a pre-Islamic borrowing. The singular in Arabic is normally *malak* without *hamza*, and so always in the Ḳurʾān; although *LA* in two places (xii, 274,8; 371,5) quotes the same verse as a proof that *mal ʾak* does occur, but as an exceptional form (*shādhdh*). Both singular and plural in Arabic are used only in the sense "angel". In the Ḳurʾān it occurs twice in the dual (*malakayn*, II, 96; VII, 19); of the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt [*q.v.*, and SIḤR], and of Adam and Eve being tempted in the

Garden to believe that they may become angels. The plural occurs very often in the Ḳurʾān (in Flügel's *Concordance* under *l-ʾ-k,* 171) but the singular only 12 times (Flügel, under *m-l-k,* 183). These are of the people demanding revelation by an angel rather than a human being (*bas̲h̲ar,* VI, 8, 9, 50? XI, 15, 33; XVII, 97; XXV, 8); women think Joseph an angel for his beauty rather than a human being (*bas̲h̲ar,* XII, 31); an angel's intercession (*s̲h̲afāʿa,* LIII, 26) does not avail; twice as collective for angels, beside the *ʿars̲h̲* (LXIX, 17), and in rows and rows (LXXXIX, 23).

In XXXII, 11 "the angel of death" (*malak al-mawt*) occurs but not by name; see ʿIZRĀʾĪL, and references in tradition in Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition,* 22b. D̲j̲ibrīl, the angel of revelation, is named three times (II, 91, 92; LXVI, 4); cf. traditions on him in Muslim, Constantinople 1333, i, 109-11 and other references in Wensinck, 59. In Ḳurʾān XXVI, 193-5, D̲j̲ibrīl unnamed, is called "the Faithful Spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-amīn*); he brings down the revelation to the *ḳalb* of Muḥammad in a clear Arabic tongue. There are other descriptions of him, still unnamed, in LIII, 5-18 and LXXXI, 19-25, as appearing plainly to Muhammad in revelation. He, as "our Spirit" (*rūḥanā*), was sent to Maryam (XIX, 17). He is called "the Holy Spirit" (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*) in XVI, 104 and Allāh aided ʿĪsā with the name (II, 84, 254; V, 109). Mīkāʾīl (variant Mīkāl) is named (II, 92) as an angel of the same rank as D̲j̲ibrīl; see a long and apparently true story of how his naming came about in al-Bayḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, i, 74, 18 ff.); in traditions he, with D̲j̲ibrīl, appears to Muḥammad and instructs him; he does not laugh (Wensinck, 152b); Muḥammad called the two his *wazīrs* of the angels. To Isrāfīl [*q.v.*], the angel with the trumpet of resurrection, there is no reference either in the Ḳurʾān or in canonical traditions, but very much in eschatological legend. In Ḳurʾān, XLIII, 47, the tortured in hell call to the keeper of hell, "O Mālik!" and in XCVI, 18, the guards of hell are called al-Zabāniyya, an otherwise unused word, meaning apparently, "violent thrusters" (*LA,* xvii, 55); the number of these, LXXIV, 30, is nineteen, and they are asserted specifically to be angels, apparently to guard against the idea that they are devils; they are called "rough, violent" (*g̲h̲ilāẓ s̲h̲idād*). Another class of angels are those "Brought Near" [to Allāh], *al-muḳarrabūn* (IV, 170); these praise Allāh day and night without ceasing (XXI, 20); al-Bayḍāwī calls them also *al-ʿalawiyyūn* (on Ḳurʾān, II, 28; ed. Fleischer, i, 47, 23); and *al-karrūbiyyūn* (כרובים) on Ḳurʾān, IV, 170 (ed. Fleischer, i, 243, 25) as those that are around the *ʿars̲h̲*. The same term, *muḳarrab,* is used of ʿĪsā (III, 40) as he is in the company of the angels nearest Allāh; cf. ʿĪSĀ for his semi-angelic character. At the beginning of the Sūra of the Angels (XXXV) there is a significant description: "making the angels messengers (*rusul^an^*), with wings two and three and four; He increases in the creation what He wills"; this has had much effect on later descriptions and pictures. They are guardians (*ḥāfiẓīn*) over mankind, cognisant of what man does and writing it down (*kātibīn*; LXXXII, 10-12), in XXI, 94 the writing down is ascribed to Allah himself. In LXX, 4; LXXVIII, 38; XCVII, 4, there occurs the very puzzling phrase "the angels and *al-rūḥ*". Al-Bayḍāwī on the first two passages shows how perplexing the distinction was found (ed. Fleischer, ii, 356,5, 383,4): "the *rūḥ* is an angel set over the spirits (*al-arwāḥ*); or he is the whole genus of spirits; or D̲j̲ibrīl; or a creation (*k̲h̲alḳ*) mightier than the angels"; cf. too, al-Ḳazwīnī's *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib,* ed. Wüstenfeld, 56. For spirits and the conception "spirit" in Islam, see RŪḤ. In the Ḳurʾān there is no reference to the two angels, Munkar and Nakīr, who visit the dead man in his grave, on the night after his burial, and catechise him as to his Faith. Thereafter, if he is an unbeliever, his grave becomes a preliminary hell, and if he is a believer, it becomes a preliminary purgatory from which he may pass at the Last Day into paradise; it may even, if he is a saint, be a preliminary paradise. This is called technically the Questioning (*suʾāl*) of Munkar and Nakīr and, also, the Punishment of the grave (*ʿad̲h̲āb al-ḳabr* [*q.v.*]). This doctrine, similar to the Lesser Judgement of Christian theology, is one of the *samʿiyyāt* (to be believed on oral testimony) and is based on the implicit meaning of Ḳurʾānic passages (XIV, 32; XL, ii, 49; LXXI, 25) and upon explicit traditions (al-Taftāzānī's commentary on al-Nasafī's *ʿAḳāʾid,* Cairo 1321, 109; the *Mawāḳif* of al-Īd̲j̲ī with commentary of al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, Būlāḳ 1266, 590 ff.). There is a still fuller account and discussion by the Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya (Brockelmann, II, 106, no. 23) in his *Kitāb al-Rūḥ,* Ḥaydarābād 1324, 62-144, §§ vi-xiv.

The angels are also called the heavenly host, or multitude (*al-malaʾ al-aʿlā,* XXXVII, 8; XXXVIII, 69) and guard the walls of heaven against the "listening" of the *d̲j̲inn* and *s̲h̲ayṭān.* See further on this under SIḤR.

The Ḳurʾān lays stress on the absolute submission and obedience of the angels to Allah "To Him belong those who are in the heavens and in the earth and those who are with Him (*indahu*) are not too proud for His service (*ʿibāda*) and they do not become tired. They praise, night and day, without intermission" (XXI, 19, 20). "They do not anticipate Him in speech and they labour on His command (XXI, 27). At the creation of Adam they are distinguished in this respect from him and his future race: "while we praise Thee and sanctify Thee" (II, 28). Over the Fire there are set certain terrible and powerful angels, "they do not rebel against Allāh as to what He commands them and they do what they are commanded" (LVI, 6). But does this absolute obedience extend to impeccability (*ʿiṣma* [*q.v.*])? The Ḳurʾān is emphatic as to their obedience, but is in contradiction as to their created nature and as to their relationship in that respect to the *d̲j̲inn* and to the *s̲h̲ayṭāns.* Thus in several passages in the Ḳurʾān, the story is told of the creation of man out of clay and that the angels were bidden by Allāh to prostrate themselves to him. This they all did "except *Iblīs*" (*illā Iblīs*; II, 32, VII, 10; XV, 31; XVIII, 48; XXXVIII, 74). Iblīs, therefore, must have been an angel; as al-Bayḍāwī says, "If not, the command to them did not apply to him and his being excepted from them was illegitimate" (ed. Fleischer, i, 51, 21). This would mean that the angels were not impeccable. But, again, in XVIII, 48, the statement is expanded, "except Iblīs; he was of the *d̲j̲inn*; so he departed from the command of his Lord" (*fasaḳa ʿan amr^i^ rabbihi*). Further, in VII, 11; XXXVIII, 77, Iblīs pleads in justification that man was created of clay (*ṭīn*) but he of fire (*nār*); and the *d̲j̲inn* are acceptedly created of fire; "fire of the *samūm*" in VI, 27, "of a *mārid̲j̲* of fire" in LV, 14. The meaning of *mārid̲j̲* is unknown; *LA,* iii, 189, 13-19, gives a number of contradictory explanations, but it is probably an unidentified loan-word. Iblīs and the *d̲j̲inn,* then, were created of fire; but there is no statement in the Ḳurʾān as to the material out of which the angels were formed. A tradition traced back to ʿĀʾis̲h̲a is the foundation of the accepted position that the angels were formed of light: "The Prophet said, 'The angels were formed of light (*k̲h̲uliḳat min nūr*) and the *d̲j̲ānn* were

formed of a *māridj* of fire and Adam of that which was described to you" (Muslim, Constantinople 1333, vii, 226; al-Bayḍāwī, i, 52,4). Another difficulty in the doctrine of the impeccability of the angels is the Ḳurʾānic statement as to Hārūt and Mārūt referred to above. These two angels are supposed to have yielded to sexual temptation, to be confined in a pit near Bābil and there to teach magic to men. But, it is answered, (a) the Ḳurʾān says nothing of their fall; (b) teaching magic is not practising magic; (c) they always first warn those who come to them, "We are only a temptation (*fitna*); so do not disbelieve" (Ḳurʾān, II, 96); cf. further, al-Taftāzānī on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of al-Nasafī, Cairo 1321, 133.

In al-Bayḍāwī on Ḳurʾān, II, 32, there is a long discussion of the angelic nature (ed. Fleischer, i, 51, 20 to 52,8) which, however, runs out in the despairing statement that knowledge on the point is with Allāh alone (*al-ʿilm ʿinda-ʾllāhi*). Perhaps Iblīs was of the *djinn* as to his actions (*fiʿlan*) but of the angels as to species (*nawʿ*). Also, Ibn ʿAbbās has a tradition that there was a variety (*ḍarb*) of the angels who propagated their kind (this has always been regarded as an essential characteristic of the *djinn* and of the *shayṭāns* as opposed to the angels) and who were called *al-djinn*; and Iblīs was one of these. Or, that he was a *djinnī* brought up among the angels and identified with them. Or, that the *djinn* were among those commanded to prostrate themselves to Adam. Or, that some of the angels were not impeccable, although that was their characteristic in general, just as some men, e.g. the prophets, are guarded against sin but most are not. Further, perhaps a variety of the angels are not essentially different from the *shayṭāns* but differ only in accidents and qualities as men are virtuous or evil, while the *djinn* unite both, and Iblīs was of this variety. The tradition from ʿĀʾisha is no answer to this explanation, for light and fire in it are not to be taken too precisely; they are used as in a proverb, and light is of the nature of fire and fire of light, they pass into another; fire can be purified into light and light obscured to fire. So al-Bayḍāwī.

With this should be compared the scholastic discussion in the *Mawāḳif* of al-Īdjī, with the commentary of al-Djurdjānī, Būlāḳ 1266, 576. In it the objector to the *ʿiṣma* of the angels has two grounds": (a) their urging upon Allāh that he should not create Adam showed defects (slander, pride, malice, finding fault with Allāh) in their moral character; (b) that Iblīs was rebellious, as above. These grounds are then answered scholastically. Then various Ḳurʾānic texts, as above, on the submission and obedience of the angels are quoted. But it is pointed out that these texts cannot prove that all of them, at all times, are kept free from all sins. The point, therefore, cannot be absolutely decided. Individual exceptions under varying circumstances may have occurred, just as, while the *shayṭāns* as a class were created for evil (*khuliḳū li ʾl-sharr*), there is a definite tradition (*Sharḥ* by al-Māturīdī on *al-Fiḳh al-akbar* ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa, Ḥaydarābād 1321, 25) of one Muslim *shayṭān*, a great-grandson of Iblīs, who appeared to Muḥammad and was taught by him certain sūras of the Ḳurʾān.

The story of Hārūt and Mārūt suggests that the angels possess sex, although they may not propagate their kind. But "they are not to be described with either masculinity or femininity" (*ʿAḳāʾid* of al-Nasafī, Cairo 1321, 133). Al-Taftāzānī and the other commentators in this edition explain that there is no authority (*naḳl*) on this point and no proof by reason (*ʿaḳl*); it should, therefore, be left unconsidered and that, apparently, was the course followed by al-Īdjī and al-Djurdjānī. They may have sex and not use it. In that respect, man, who has in himself the possibility of sin and must himself rule his appetites of lust (*shahwa*) and of anger (*ghaḍab*), has a higher potentiality of excellency than the angels (al-Bayḍāwī on II, 28, ed. Fleischer, i, 48, 28).

This leads to the second question as to the angels which scholastic theology has considered, the relative excellency of angels and men, and especially, of angels and prophets. This is stated shortly by al-Nasafī, 147: (a) "The Messengers (*rusul*) of mankind (*al-bashar*) are more excellent than the Messengers of the angels; and (b) the Messengers of the angels are more excellent than the generality of mankind; and (c) the generality of mankind are more excellent than the generality of the angels". Al-Taftāzānī develops the theme that there is general and indeed necessary agreement on the excellency of the messengers of the angels over mankind in general, but that the other two statements (a and c) will bear argument. He urges (a) the prostrating of the angels to Adam; (b) that Adam was taught all the names of things (Ḳurʾān, 29); (c) that Allāh "chose" (*iṣṭafā*) Adam and Nūḥ and the family of Ibrāhīm and the family of ʿImrān over all created things (*ʿalā ʾl-ʿālamīn*, III, 30); and (d) that mankind achieves excellencies and perfections of knowledge and action in spite of the hindrances of lust and anger. But the Muʿtazilīs and the "philosophers" (*al-falāsifa*) and some Ashʿarīs held the superior excellence of the angels. They urged (a) that they were spirits, stripped of materiality (*arwāḥ mudjarrada*), complete actually, free of even the beginnings of evils and defects, like lust and anger, and from the obscurities of form and matter (*ẓulumāt al-hāyūlā wa ʾl-ṣūra*), capable of doing wonderful things, knowing events (*kawāʾin*), past and to come, without error. The answer is that this description is based on philosophical and not Muslim principles. (b) That the prophets learn from the angels, as in Ḳurʾān, XXVI, 193; LIII, 5. The answer is that the prophets learn from Allāh and that the angels are only intermediaries. (c). That there are multiplied cases both in Ḳurʾān and in tradition where mention of the angels precedes that of the prophets. The answer is that precedence is because of their precedence in existence or because their existence is more concealed (*akhfā*) and, therefore, faith in them must be emphasised. (d) In Ḳurʾān, IV, 170, "*al-masīḥ* does not disdain to be an *ʿabd* to Allāh nor do the angels" must mean, because of linguistic usage, that the angels are more excellent than ʿĪsā. The answer is that the point is not simple excellency but to combat the Christian position that ʿĪsā is not an *ʿabd* but a son to Allāh. In the *Mawāḳif*, 572-8, there is a similar but much fuller discussion which involves a philosophical consideration of the endowment—mental, physical, spiritual—of all living creatures from immaterial spirits to the lower animals (*al-bahīma*).

In the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳat* of al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 55-63, there is an objective description of the angels in all their classes, in which the statements of Ḳurʾān and Sunna are adjusted to the Aristotelian-Neoplatonic universe with its spheres (*al-aflāk*), in accordance with al-Ḳazwīnī's general aim to give a picture of the created universe in its details and wonders. Yet apparently, while the angels possess the quality of "life" (*ḥayāt*) and are the inhabitants of the heavens and of the heavenly spheres (*sukkān al-samawāt*), they are not to be reckoned among the animals (*al-ḥayawān*). Al-Damīrī includes mankind and the *djinn*, even the diabolic (*mutashaytana*) *djinn*, such as the *ghūl*, in his *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* but not the angels. Equally

acute and scholastic with the discussion in the *Mawāḳif,* and more spiritual than that by al-Ḳazwīnī, is al-Ghazālī's treatment of the mystery of the angelic nature in some of his specialist smaller treatises. For him, it is part of the general question of the nature of spirit to which his smaller *Madnūn* is devoted. See, too, the larger *Madnūn,* Cairo 1303, in *Rukn,* ii, 23 and the translation by W. H. T. Gairdner of his *Mishkāt al-anwār,* London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924 *passim.* Muslim literature also takes account of non-Muslim ideas on the angels, such as those of "philosophers", Christians, dualists, idolaters. These will be found given briefly by al-Bayḍāwī on Ḳurʾān, II, 28, ed. Fleischer, i, 47, 18, and in more detail in al-Tahānāwī, *Dict. of techn. terms,* 1337 ff.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see W. Eickmann, *Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans,* New York and Leipzig 1908; T. P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam,* 15-16; D. B. Macdonald, *The religious attitude and life in Islam,* Chicago 1912, index; J. Horovitz, *Muhammeds Himmelfahrt,* in *Isl.,* ix (1919), 159-83; idem, *Jewish proper names in the Koran,* in *HUCA,* ii (1925), 144-227; idem, *Koranische Untersuchungen,* Berlin 1926; L. Jung, *Fallen angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammadan literature,* in *JQR,* N.S., xv (1924-5), 267-502, vii (1925-6), 287-336; P. A. Eichler, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran,* Leipzig 1928; *ERE,* art. *Charms and amulets (Muhammadan)* (Carra de Vaux), *Demons and spirits (Muslim)* (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes); S. Zwemer, *The worship of Adam by angels,* in *MW,* xxvii (1937), 115-27; R. Guénon, *Notes sur l'angélologie de l'alphabet arabe,* in *Etudes traditionnelles,* xliii (1938), 324-7; J. Macdonald, *The creation of man and angels in the eschatological literature,* in *Isl. Studies,* iii (1964), 285-308; W. M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān,* Edinburgh 1970, indices at 216, 242; L. Gardet, *Les anges en Islam,* in *Studia missionalia,* xxi (1972), 207-27; F. Jaadane, *La place des anges dans la théologie cosmique musulmane,* in *SI,* xli (1975), 23-61; A. T. Welch, *Allah and other supernational beings: the emergence of the Qur'anic doctrine of Tawḥīd,* in *Jnal of the American Acad. of Religion, Thematic Issue,* xlvii/4 (Dec. 1979), 739 ff., 749 ff.; Fazlur Rahman, *Major themes of the Qur'ān,* Minneapolis-Chicago 1980, index; arts. DJABRĀʾĪL/DJIBRĪL, HĀRŪT WA-MĀRŪT, ISRĀFĪL, ʿIZRĀʾĪL, MĪKĀL.

(D. B. MACDONALD*)

2. In Shīʿism.

In Imāmī Shīʿism, angels are closely associated with the *Imāms.* Imāmī doctrine consistently upheld the dogma that the *Imāms,* just like the prophets, were more excellent before God than the angels with whom they shared in divine protection from sin and error (*ʿiṣma*), and leading theologians, like the Shaykh al-Mufīd, wrote treatises in support of it. The *Imāms* are, however, guided and aided by angels. According to a well-known Imāmī tradition, the *Imāms* could only hear the voices of the angels but could not see them, in contrast to the messenger prophets (*rusul*), who could see angels while awake and would converse with them, and to ordinary prophets who could hear and see them in their sleep. This was countered, however, by other traditions which affirmed that the *Imāms* also see the angels, and the restriction was held to apply only at the time of their receiving divine instruction through the angel. According to a tradition attributed to the *Imām* Djaʿfar, the angels regularly come to the *Imāms*, tread on their beds, attend their tables, come forth to them from every plant in its season, shake their wings above the children of the *Imāms*, prevent beasts from reaching them and join them in every prayer. Angels will, according to Imāmī belief, appear in the sky at the advent of the Twelfth *Imām* and will call out his name; Gabriel and Michael will rally the faithful to swear allegance to him. Imāmī doctrine adds to the Islamic angels of death, Munkar and Nakīr, who question and torment the dead in their tomb, a positive counterpart, Mubashshir and Bashīr, who are sent to the saintly dead to comfort them. According to some, they are the same pair as Munkar and Nakīr and merely change their function, while according to others they are a different pair.

In Ismāʿīlism, the hierarchy of ranks (*ḥudūd*) of the spiritual world are sometimes described as angels. In particular, the triad of Djadd, Fatḥ and Khayāl, which mediates between the Universal Intellect and Soul and the prophets and *Imāms* in the physical world, are commonly identified with the archangels Djibrāʾīl, Mīkāʾīl and Isrāfīl. In an early Ismāʿīlī cosmogony, seven Cherubim (*karūbiyya*) are named and described as having been created out of the light between the first two principles of the spiritual world. After them a group of twelve "spiritual beings (*rūḥāniyya*)" was created to form their counterpart. In later Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism, the third to ninth Intellects of the spiritual world are called the seven Cherubim. Ismāʿīlī doctrine, however, also recognises angels of a more conventional character. They are described as being all of a single substance, with only their names varying in accordance with their functions. Some inhabit the spiritual world, others the heavenly spheres, and still others the physical world in order to preserve all its regions. They are seen only by prophets and those who rise spiritually to become like prophets.

Bibliography: The Imāmiyya: al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*; for references to angels throughout this encyclopaedia, see ʿAbbās al-Ḳummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār,* Nadjaf 1355, ii, 546-9; the main section on angels in the new edition of *Biḥār al-anwār* is in vol. lix, Tehran 1386, 144-326. M. J. McDermott, *The theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd,* Beirut 1978, index s.v. Angels. The Ismāʿīliyya: ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [b.] al-Walīd, *Tādj al-ʿaḳāʾid,* ed. ʿA. Tāmir, Beirut 1967, 45-6; R. Strothmann, *Gnosistexte der Ismailiten,* Göttingen 1943, 29, 44, 46; H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique,* i, Paris 1964, 118-36; H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīliya,* Wiesbaden 1978, index s.v. *Karūbiya*; S. M. Stern, *Studies in early Ismāʿīlism,* Jerusalem 1983, 20-9.

(W. MADELUNG)

MALAK, MALʾAK [SEE MALĀʾIKA]

MALAK ḤIFNĪ NĀṢIF (1886-1918), pen-name of Bāḥithat al-Bādiya, daughter of Ḥifnī Nāṣif, a follower of Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], and pioneer protagonist of women's rights in Egypt. She was in 1903 one of the first Egyptian women to receive a teacher's primary certificate and became a teacher in the government girls' school. Her marriage to ʿAbd al-Sattār al-Bāsil took her to the Fayyūm, where she observed the life of women in nomadic and rural society. She was herself faced with the problem of polygamy, since her husband had married a second wife.

The intellectual influence of her father, her professional training and experience, and the experience of her marriage caused her to become the first Egyptian woman to speak out publicly for the emancipation of women. She wrote articles on the topic in *al-Djarīda* and such women's magazines as *al-Djins al-laṭīf* and founded her own women's organisation, the *Ittiḥād al-Nisāʾ al-Tahdhībī.* In 1911 she gave a speech before the Egyptian Congress in Helipolis, in which she

developed a ten-point programme for the improvement of the conditions of women.

In her ideas on emancipation, she was certainly influenced by the writings of Ḳāsim Amīn [*q.v.*], though her goals usually remained more moderate and her concern with proper Islamic norms was strong. She defended the veil, but was bitterly opposed to polygamy. She attributed great importance to the proper education of women in such subjects as hygiene, household economics, child-rearing, first aid, etc., i.e., to the provision of an education which would prepare the woman for her role as mother and household manager. In this she addressed herself especially to upper-class women, whose idleness in seclusion and ignorance she perceived as the major cause for the weakness of their social position, and whose style of life she contrasted with a somewhat romanticised view of the active life of rural and nomadic woman. Although she propagated the possibility of higher education for women, she did not envisage an independent professional life for women, and opposed any suggestion of their participation in public life and politics. Concurring with the general trend of the emancipation movement for women at the time, she did not postulate the legal and social equality of women with men.

Bibliography: For a collection of her essays, addresses, and lectures, see Madjd al-Dīn Nāṣif (ed.), *Āthār Bāḥithat al-Bādiya*, Cairo 1962, and Bāḥithat al-Bādiya, *al-Nisāʾiyyāt*, Cairo 1328/1910, which includes all her articles published in *al-Djarīda*. ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Aʿlām al-nisāʾ fī ʿālamay al-ʿarab wa 'l-islām*, Damascus 1959, v, 74-101, and Rawḥiyya al-Ḳallīnī, *Shāʿirāt ʿarabiyyāt*, Cairo 1964, 37-57, have comprehensive biographies on her, the latter work discussing especially her poetic works. For a general analysis of her role, see T. Philipp, *Feminism and nationalist politics in Egypt*, in N. Keddie and L. Beck (eds.), *Women in the Muslim world*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978. (T. Philipp)

MALAKA (A.), a philosophical term used to translate the Greek *hexis*, "a being in a certain state or habit". It is contrasted with privation (*ʿadam - steresis*) in translations and commentaries on Aristotle: whatever the possession (*malaka*) naturally occurs in, anything capable of receving a possession is deprived of it when it is completely absent from that which naturally has it. It is also used in the expression *al-ʿakl bi 'l-malaka* (the *nous kath-hexin* of Alexander of Aphrodisias) to represent the intellect *in habitu*, a stage in the development of the human intellect where basic primary truths are cognised on the route to the intellect *in actu* where a complete set of primary and secondary (imaginative) truths are cognised and applied in the philosophy of mind of al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd. According to Ibn Sīnā, all forms of thought exist in the intellect, which is in a state (*malaka*) in which it can by itself perform the act of thinking. Ibn Rushd uses the contrast between *malaka* or habit and *ʿāda* (the Greek *ethos*) or custom to criticise al-Ghazālī's reduction of causal language to language about God's customs. Talking about God having habits is to suggest impiously that there is change in God "from which a repetition of his act often follows" (*Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, 425.6). There is also a significant use of *malaka* by Ibn Khaldūn to explain the survival of civilisation despite serious political upheavals. The acquisition of habits embodying civilisation is a matter of education and involves the learning through continuous repetition of skills or science, which then persist in very different circumstances.

Bibliography: P. H. Hannes, *Des Averroes Abhandlung: über die Möglichkeit der Conjunction*, Halle a.S. 1892, 10, 53; Ibn Sīnā, *K. al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, ed. J. Forget, Leiden 1892, 126-7; Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1930; Ibn Sīnā, *K. al-Nadjāt*, ed. G. Anawati and S. Zayed, Cairo 1938, 160-1; Kh. Georr (ed.), *Les Catégories d'Aristote dans leurs versions syro-arabes*, Beirut 1948, 347 f.: Ibn Rushd, *Talkhīṣ K. al-Nafs*, ed. A. Ahwānī, Cairo 1950; F. Rahman, *Avicenna's psychology*, London 1952, 117-20; Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal, London 1958, i, p. lxxxiv; Ibn Sīnā, *Shifāʾ*: *De anima*, ed. F. Rahman, London 1959, 48-50; H. Wolfson, *The philosophy of the Kalam*, London 1976, 545, 556; F. Zimmermann, *Al-Farabi's commentary and short treatise on Aristotle's De interpretatione*, London 1981, 29 n. 2; I. M. Lapidus, in Barbara D. Metcalf (ed.), *Moral conduct and authority, the place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1984, 53-6 (on *malaka* in Ibn Khaldūn). (O. N. H. Leaman)

MĀLAḲA, Arabic form of the name of Málaga (in ancient times Malaca), which is today a major city of southern Spain, on the Mediterranean coast between Algéciras and Alméria, and regional centre of the province of the same name. It is situated in the centre of a bay and lies at the foot of a hill known as Gibralfaro (Djabal Fāruh). The town is divided from north to south by a ravine which, at times of heavy rainfall, carries the waters of the Guadelmedina (Wādī 'l-Madīna). To the west stretches the Hoya of Málaga, a fertile plain formerly covered with various crops and especially tropical fruits, but today severely damaged by the enormous tourist development of the region.

The geographers of al-Andalus, of the Maghrib and even of the Orient, provide lavish descriptions of Málaga in which they stress the outstanding qualities of the town just as much as the products of its soil. Its port, always a centre of intense traffic, was visited by numerous traders from all countries and especially from the mercantile republics of Italy, the Genoese in particular. The arsenal (*dār al-ṣināʿa*, the name of which is preserved in that of *atarazana*) drew the admiration of the German traveller J. Münzer in October 1494. The town, in the Islamic period and particularly from the 5th/11th century onward, was magnificent and possessed remarkable buildings; there were two densely-populated quarters, that of Fuentecilla or Fantanella (Funtanalla) in the upper city and that of the fig merchants (al-Tayyānīn) in the lower city, attractive public baths (*ḥammāmāt*) and well-stocked markets. According to al-Ḥimyarī (*Rawḍ*, text 178, tr. 214), five gates were let into the wall, of which two, to the south, overlook the sea; to the east, or rather to the west, was the Bāb al-Wādī; the north gate, according to the same author, was called Bāb al-Khawḳa; the *ḳāḍī* of Málaga Ibn ʿAskar (d. 636/1239) mentions the fifth, the Bāb al-Riyāḥ or "gate of the winds". The fortifications of the town in the time of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, comprising a fortress, double walls, a ditch, bastions, towers set out at short intervals and well-defended gates, rendered Málaga an impregnable stronghold. The same Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Mufākharat Mālaḳa wa-Salā*, in *Mushāhadāt fī bilād al-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus*, ed. A. M. al-ʿAbbādī, Alexandria 1968, 57-66; tr. E. García Gómez, *El parangon entre Málaga y Salé*, in *al-And.*, ii [1934], 190-1) stresses the attractive appearance and the elegance of its population, the liveliness of its streets, markets and suburbs, as well as the beauty of its buildings and palaces and the size of its country houses.

The Vega, now known as the Hoya of Málaga, was cultivated in its entirety. The texts stress the abundance of fruits, especially delicious figs, almonds and raisins. The figs of Málaga (*tīn rayyī*) were much in demand on the markets and, when dried, were exported to Egypt, Syria, ʿIrāḳ and even India. The Málaga region was densely planted with fig-trees, vineyards, groves of almonds, olives and pomegranates, without counting other crops and the timber plantations. The wine was excellent with the result that, rightly or wrongly, it became proverbial, as is described by al-S̲h̲aḳundī in his *Risāla* (tr. E. García Gómez, *Elogio del Islam español,* Madrid 1934, 111). Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb draws attention to the fact that Málaga enjoyed the benefits of the sea, which offers abundance and variety of fish, and of the land, so fertile that it produces lavish crops which not only allow it to be self-sufficient but also provide, through surpluses and the harvests from the common lands, considerable revenues. It is also appropriate to take into account the development, from the 5th/11th century onward, of the textile industry, in particular the manufacture of silk of different colours with a fringe of gold (*was̲h̲y*) known in Europe by the names, among others, of *algüexi, albeci, alveici* and *oxi,* and the making of muslin for bonnets and turbans. The industry of leather and precious stones, used in the manufacture of sword scabbards, belts, straps and cushions, was no less important; the iron industry, producing especially knives and chisels is also to be noted; there was also the manufacture of glazed and gilded ceramics which, of unique type, were an exported product. In the markets of the town, baskets were woven from both osiers and esparto-grass. The curing of fish, anchovies in particular, was characteristic of Málaga. The tending of bees and silk-worms were also well developed industries; silk had become one of the most highly-prized export products.

Málaga possessed a considerable number of mosques. One of the first must have been that which, situated inside the fortress, was constructed at the initiative of the traditionist from Ḥimṣ, Muʿāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 158/775). The Great Mosque, which occupied the present site of the cathedral, in the centre of the former *madīna*, had five naves according to the author of *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār.* The courtyard of this mosque was planted with orange and palm trees. The fortress was built or rebuilt by the Zīrid Bādīs after he captured Málaga in 449/1057; it was reinforced in the 8th/14th centuries by the Naṣrids, because for them the town constituted a vital strategic point. There were, it is known, at least five cemeteries; the largest was situated to the north-east, outside the gate of the Fontanella; there were also those of the Muṣallā and of the Rawḍa of the Banū Yaḥyā, according to L. Torres Balbás (*Ciudades hispano-musulmanas,* i, 277). On the banks of the Gibralfaro, in the 9th/14th century, there lay, not far from the Jewish quarter, to the east of the town, the cemetery of the Jewish community; this then numbered just over 1,500 persons.

Concerning the social and economic life of Málaga, especially in the 7th/13th century, information is available from an exceptional document, sc. the treatise on *ḥisba* by al-Saḳaṭī, which offers a vivid and expressive account of customs, weights and measures, corporations, the price of foodstuffs, etc. The description of Málaga, like that of other towns in the region, offered by Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb in his *Miʿyār al-ik̲h̲tiyār* (ed. M. Kamal S̲h̲abāna, Rabat 1396/1976, 87-92, and ed. A. M. al-ʿAbbādi, in *Mus̲h̲āhadāt Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb,* 76-8) permits the formation of a close impression of the reality of life in Málaga in the later centuries of its Islamic history.

In the politico-administrative division of al-Andalus, Málaga, perhaps on the fall of the caliphate, came to be the regional centre of the *kūra* of Rayya (some read Rayyu) in place of Archidona (Ars̲h̲id̲h̲ūna or Ard̲j̲id̲h̲ūna). The limits of the *kūra* are, exceptionally, indicated for the beginning of the 5th/11th century by the 8th/14th century author who was a native of Málaga, al-Nubāhī, in his *K. al-Marḳaba al-ʿulyā,* Cairo 1948, 82: the region included Alhama (al-Ḥamma) of Granada: to the west, the limit was formed by the Montemayor (Munt Mayūr, previously Ḥiṣn al-Wād) near Marbella; to the north by the Rio Genil (Wādī S̲h̲anīl) alongside the Benameji (Ḥiṣn Banī Bas̲h̲īr) and the Castillo of Anzur (al-Ranisūl); the limit subsequently passed through the territory of Aljonós (al-K̲h̲unūs), of Gilena (Ḳaryat D̲j̲ilyāna), near Estapa (Istabba) as far as the limit (*ḥawz*) of Morón (*Mawrūr*). Among the strongholds and towns of the *kūra* were Marbella, Fuengirola (Suhayl), Cártama, Iznájar, Comares, Vélez Málaga, Coín, Alhama and Antequera and, for some time, probably also Estepa (cf. J. Vallvé, *De nuevo sobre Bobastro,* in *al-And.,* xxx [1965], 139-74).

The perimeter of Málaga enclosed an area of some 34 hectares at the end of the 5th/11th century, which allows a calculation of the population, in these years, at 20,000 inhabitants, mostly residing in homes of 50 to 100 m^2 (although some exceeded 150 m^2 or were smaller than 40). During the same century, according to Ibn Ḥazm in his *D̲j̲amharat ansāb al-ʿArab* (cf. Elías Terés, *Linajes árabes en al-Andalus,* in *al-And.,* xxii [1957], index) a number of Arab tribes settled in the region of Málaga, among them As̲h̲ʿarīs, Lak̲h̲mīs, Nahdīs and Ḳaysīs descended from Ḥimyar, (Ḥabībī) Umayyads, and Berbers of diverse origin (Lamāya, Mag̲h̲īla, Nafza, among others of the race of the Ṣanhād̲j̲a and the Zanāta), all of these on a broad base mostly Hispano-Christian and Hispano-Muslim, with a considerably smaller Hispano-Jewish element.

Málaga and its *kūra* knew almost eight centuries of Islamic history from the moment when, according to certain sources, an army sent from Ecija by Ṭāriḳ, in 92/711, took the town, then an episcopal see and one of the most important ports of the peninsula in the Roman period. However, Ibn ʿAskar, who seems to take his information from Ibn Ḥayyān (cf. J. Vallvé, *Una fuente importante de la historia de al-Andalus. La "Historia" de Ibn ʿAskar,* in *al-And.,* xxxi [1966], 244-5) presents in some detail a version according to which it was ʿAbd al-ʿAlāʾ, son of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, who besieged the town and took it by storm, without thereby discounting the obliging *wa-yuḳāl* which indicates that it was Ṭāriḳ who sent the army to the conquest of Málaga. In the time of the *wālī* Abu 'l-K̲h̲aṭṭār, in 125/742, the Syrian *d̲j̲und* of Jordan (al-Urdunn) became established in the *kūra.* In the last decade of the period of the *wālīs*, the territory of Málaga experienced the effects of rivalries between Kalbīs and Ḳaysīs who were seeking power, and the Syrians. One of these pretenders was Yaḥyā b. Ḥurayt̲h̲, an Arab of the D̲j̲ud̲h̲ām, who had to be content to govern the province of Rayya, but for only a short time, since he was soon to be stripped of power by Yūsuf al-Fihrī, appointed in 131/747 *wālī* of al-Andalus.

Málaga gave a warm welcome to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I al-Dāk̲h̲il and supported him after his landing at Almuñécar and his journey across the *kūra* of Ilbīra. Until the second half of the 3rd/9th century, the chronicles record no event of importance, apart from the fact that, for an expedition against D̲j̲illīḳiya, the *kūra* of Málaga supplied 2,600 horsemen to the imposing army which was formed with contributions from

other provinces. In the period of al-Mundhir, and at the outbreak of the civil wars which marked the major crisis of the amīrate, Málaga and other regions of southern al-Andalus found themselves involved in the series of rebellions which ensued and of which the leading protagonist was the *muwallad* ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn, who established his operational base and the centre of his revolt in the territory of Málaga, where he could rely on the decisive aid of the city chieftains and of strong fortresses. This action obliged the authorities in Cordova to send troops in order to defeat and punish the rebels. One of the most important of these expeditions dispatched in the time of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh was that of 291/904 which, commanded by Abān, brother of the *amīr*, routed the forces of Ibn Ḥafṣūn near Antequera. Some years later, the same Abān marched against Málaga, laid siege to the city, set fire to the suburbs and overran part of the neighbouring littoral. A fresh expedition was sent against the rebels of Málaga in 297/910 and achieved a result favourable to the troops of the *amīr*. In the first years of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, various campaigns were undertaken in the region with the object of putting an end to the rebellion of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn, who had found support there especially from the population of Spanish origin, both Christians and Muslims. One of these was the campaign of Belda, directed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III himself in 306/919, and crowned with success. Once Málaga had been subdued, all the strongholds of the *kūra* met the same fate, as a result of repeated expeditions, and once the territory had been pacified, the *kūra* of Rayya experienced a long period of prosperity which was to last throughout the caliphate, until the turbulent years of the *fitna*.

In the first third of the 5th/11th century, at the beginning of the period of the *Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* (in fact as early as the time of the *fitna*), Málaga declared itself independent under the government of the Ḥammūdids [*q.v.*], recognised as caliphs by the majority of Berbers of southern al-Andalus. Under the caliphate of ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd, proclaimed in Cordova in 407/1016, who, arriving from Ceuta had disembarked at Málaga, the town began to play a national role in the affairs of al-Andalus. It was in fact the refuge of al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd when he was forced to leave Cordova in 412/1021 and, in 413/1023, of his nephew Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī, who sustained his rebellion in Málaga and was recognised as caliph by the people of Seville and by the neighbouring Berber chieftains. Some time later, al-Ḳāsim, besieged in Xérès and taken prisoner by his nephew, was incarcerated in Málaga, where he was strangled on the orders of Idrīs b. ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd in 427/1036. In fact, Málaga was transformed into another *taifa* kingdom and was the rival of Seville, where the *ḳāḍī* al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAbbād employed a fraud consisting of displaying and having recognised a double of Hishām II al-Muʾayyad. Yaḥyā, son of Idrīs, was proclaimed in Málaga on the death of his father in 431/1039 and was recognised by the people of the town, but at the price of estrangement from another Ḥammūdid prince, Ḥasan, based in Ceuta. Confronted by action undertaken by troops loyal to the latter, Yaḥyā surrendered and abdicated in favour of Ḥasan, who was proclaimed four months later, having taken power (432/1040), and was recognised as rightful caliph by the Zīrid *amīr* of Granada and by other provincial chieftains. In 434/1043 the Ḥammūdid Idrīs II was in charge of the political affairs of Málaga, but the inhabitants turned against him and he was forced to seek refuge in Bobastro, where he appealed to Bādīs for assistance in regaining his throne. When his enterprise failed, in spite of the support that he received, he withdrew to Ceuta. Power then fell to Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd who adopted, like his predecessors, the title of caliph. He reorganised public administration but, proving cruel and bloodthirsty, he was deposed, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, governor of Algéciras, was appointed in his place.

The history of Málaga under the later Ḥammūdids remains fairly obscure, and there is evidence that the situation was fairly precarious and showing symptoms of weakness and instability, since Bādīs of Granada took steps to annex Málaga and its entire region to his own possessions and achieved this in 448/1056, according to al-Nubāhī, who follows the account of ʿIbn ʿAskar, or in 449/1057-8, according to al-Maḳḳarī and other sources. Bādīs, as has been said previously, then built or reconstructed the old fortress and entrusted the government of Málaga to his son Buluggin. The successor to the latter, Tamīm, showed hostility to his brother ʿAbd Allāh, the Zīrid of Granada, and, around 474/1082, he appealed unsuccesfully to Yūsuf b. Tashfīn for aid against the latter. In 483/1090, Tamīm was deposed by Yūsuf, and Málaga was henceforward ruled by Almoravid *ḳuwwād*, but no significant information is available until the time that Ibn Ḥassūn, *ḳāḍī* of the town, rebelled against the Almoravids (538/July 1143-July 1144) and subsequently repelled the Almohads in Rabīʿ I 547/June 1182. Málaga had been besieged by the *shaykh* Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Īntī who had not succeeded in breaching its defences, but when the inhabitants rebelled and Ibn Ḥassūn was deposed and imprisoned, the people invited the Almohads to enter the town. In years marked by the overall insurrection of al-Andalus against the Almohads, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zannūn began a revolt in Málaga and recognised the authority of Ibn Hūd in 621/1229. Ibn ʿAskar supplies a quite detailed account of the political activities of Ibn Zannūn and of his tragic end.

Finally, in Ramaḍān 635/April 1238, Málaga was incorporated into the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada. The Banū Ashkilūla, the kinsmen of Muḥammad I b. Naṣr, who governed the town, consolidated themselves there, rebelled against the latter and offered allegiance to Alfonso X of Castile who was at war with Granada. In 665/1267, Málaga was besieged without success for three months by the Granadan; in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 674/June 1275, Muḥammad II also attacked the town without success, and subsequently the Banū Ashkilūla, who had obtained the favour of the Marīnids and recognised them as sovereigns, handed over the town to them on 6 Shawwal 676/2 March 1278. Six years later, the Marīnid sultan renounced his claim to Málaga and other places in favour of Muḥammad II al-Faḳīh of Granada. Henceforward, a Naṣrid governor was appointed over the town. The plague of 1348 claimed some hundred victims each day, with the result that the inhabitants panicked and abandoned the town. In the later years of the crisis of the Naṣrid kingdom, from 1455 onwards and in the time of the sultans Saʿd and of Muḥammad XI, Málaga found itself embroiled in dynastic quarrels and civil war, while its plain was subjected to reprisals on the part of the Castilians. In the course of the campaign between 1485 and 1488 and, more especially in that which began in the spring of 1487 against Vélez-Málaga, the old capital of the Ḥammūdids, after three-and-a-half months of siege, its chieftain then being Aḥmad al-Thaghrī, fell on 27 Shaʿbān 892/18 August 1487 to the might of the armies of the Catholic Kings.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): see especially (on Rayya as well as Málaga), *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. D. Catalán and M. S. de Andrés, Madrid 1975, 105-8; Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome 1975, v, 570-1; Zuhrī, *K. al-Dja*ʿ*rafiyya*, ed. M. Hadj-Sadok, in *B. Et. Or.*, xxi (1968), 179; Ibn Saʿīd, *K. Basṭ al-arḍ*, ed. J. Vernet, Tetouan 1958, 74 and idem, *España en la geografía de Ibn Sa*ʿ*īd al-Magribī*, in *Tamuda*, vi (1958), 313; *al-Mughrib*, ed. Shawḳī Ḍayf, Cairo n.d., i, index; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits*, Algiers 1924, index; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 174-5; Ibn Ghālib, ed. Luṭfī ʿAbd al-Badīʿ, in *RIMA*, i/2 (1955), 294; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ed. Beirut 1388/1968, 254-5 (various trs., including the latest, the Spanish one by S. Fanjul and F. Arbós, *A través del Islam*, Madrid 1981, 761-3). To the descriptions of the geographers and historians, add Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, Cairo 1393-7/1973-7, index; *Lamḥa*, ed. Cairo 1347, index; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1388/1968, index; For political history, as well as the sources cited in ISHBĪLIYA, see *Akhbār madjmūʿa*, 10, 12, 58, 80, 119 Arabic text, and 23, 25, 64, 79, 108 tr.; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, v, ed. P. Chalmeta, Madrid 1979, index; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*; ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn, *K. al-Tibyān*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Mudhakkarāt al-amīr* ʿ*Abd Allāh*, Cairo 1955, index, tr. E. García Gómez, *El siglo XI en la persona. Les "Memorias" de* ʿ*Abd Allāh, último Rey Zirí de Granada destronado por los almorávides (1090)*, Madrid 1980, index. As well as the works of R. Dozy, E. Lévi-Provençal, A. Prieto Vives, J. Bosch Vilá and A. Huici Miranda, cited in ISHBĪLIYA, see L. Seco de Lucena, *Los Ḥammūdíes, señores de Málaga y Algeciras*, Malaga 1955; H. R. Idris, *Les Zīrīdes d'Espagne*, in *al-And.*, xxix (1964), 39-144, index; R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides (1232-1492)*, Paris 1973; F. Guillén Robles, *Málaga musulmana. Sucesos, antigüedades, ciencias y letras malagueñas durante la edad media*, Malaga 1957; of special interest for the last years of the Islamic history of Málaga is the work of José E. López de Coce Castañer, *La tierra de Málaga a fines del siglo XV*, University of Granada 1977.

(J. Bosch Vilá)

MALAM (pl. *malamai*), a Hausa term derived from the Arabic *muʿallim* with the meaning "teacher", formerly used to designate a man versed in the Arabic language and Islamic sciences to whatever extent. The tasks of a *malam* were many and various and included any or all of the following: preparing talismans (Hausa: *hatimi* from the Arabic *khātam*), dispensing medical cures both herbal and Ḳurʾānic, advising on propitious days, slaughtering animals at circumcision, naming and other ceremonies, officiating at marriages, offering prayers on behalf of patrons, teaching the Ḳurʾān, copying and selling books, etc. A *malam* of higher scholastic attainments, often known as *babban malam* "a great *malam*", would devote himself mainly to teaching the Islamic sciences or to such offices as *ḳāḍī* (Hausa, *alkali*) or *imām* (Hausa, *limam*).

Nowadays, although the traditional *malam* described above remains a familiar feature of Hausa society, the term itself has been debased to the point where (like the Arabic term *al-sayyid*) it merely serves the function of the English "Mr.". Similarly, *Shehu* (from Arabic *al-shaykh*), once the coveted title of a great teacher and scholar, is now commonly used as a personal name. Combined with the word *malam*, however, in the phrase *shehu malami*, it is used as an epithet for a distinguished exponent of the Islamic sciences.

Among the black communities of Algiers where the Hausa *bori* (possession) cult has been influential, the term *malam* is used as a title in the *diyār* of Sīdī Bilāl. The *malam* is in charge of musical arrangements during ceremonies at the *dār* and officiates at minor sacrifices outside it.

Bibliography: For the autobiography of a *malam*, see *Alhaji Koki, Kano malam*, ed. and tr. N. Skinner, Zaria 1979. On the usage of the term in Algiers, J.-B. Andrews, *Les Fontaines des génies (Sebâ Aioun), croyances soudanaises à Alger*, Algiers 1903.

(J. O. Hunwick)

MALĀMATIYYA, an Islamic mystical tradition which probably originated in 3rd/9th century Nīshāpūr.

1. In the Central Islamic Lands

The foundation of this tradition has been attributed to Ḥamdūn al-Ḳaṣṣār (d. 271/884-5 [*q.v.* and see further on him below, section 2]). One of the main sources for the study of its doctrine is the *Risālat al-Malāmatiyya* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sulamī (330-412/941-1021). This treatise (see *Bibl.*) contains a number of sayings by early authorities concerning the Malāmatiyya and an enumeration of the principles (*uṣūl*) of Malāmatī teaching. This teaching is not a closely reasoned internally consistent system, but rather a number of tenets which centre around the basic Malāmatī doctrine that all outward appearance of piety or religiosity, including good deeds, is ostentation. The most important of these tenets are: 1. the display of ʿ*ibāda* [*q.v.*] is *shirk* [*q.v.*]; 2. the display of a *ḥāl* [*q.v.*] is *irtidād* [*q.v.*]; 3. in all *aḥwāl*, suspicion of one's *nafs* [*q.v.*] is obligatory (and in conjunction, man is an opponent of his *nafs*, therefore he must not find pleasure in any *ḥāl*); and 4. a man must struggle against finding satisfaction in doing good, since every action and every pious deed which he looks upon with appreciation is worthless. In accordance with these tenets, the Malāmatī has to struggle continuously against his desire for divine reward and for approval by man. This explains the requirements: 1. not to say prayers (*du*ʿ*ā*ʾ) except (under special conditions) for those in distress; 2. not to dress differently from others and/or isolate oneself from the world, but to dress like everybody else and to live a normal life in conformity with the requirements of society; 3. to take up a despised profession and to refuse a prestigious one; and 4. to conceal one's poverty (if revealed, one enters the state of neediness and will attract attention). The required struggle against the desire for the approval of men in conjunction with the concern to hide his *ḥāl* may bring the Malāmatī to show only his bad qualities. In doing so, he may make himself an object of blame (Ar. *malām, malāma*, from the root *lāma* "to blame").

The Malāmatī attitude is older than Islam. R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, Leipzig 1906, 65 ff., was drawn upon by I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1925, 167-8, Eng. tr. *Introduction to Islamic theology and law*, Princeton 1981, 149-50, who traced back the essence of Malāmatī thought to the ancient Greek philosophical school of the Cynics, while M. Molé, *Les mystiques musulmans*, Paris 1965, 72-7, has shown that the Malāmatī trend to hide one's virtuous actions, in order not to divulge one's saintly state, was to be found among the early Syrian Christians. Most

contemporary Muslim authors (see *Bibl.*) on al-Malāmatiyya are in unanimous agreement that this tradition is not Islamic, neither in its spirit nor in its theory.

In the 4th/10th century, the Malāmatiyya tradition reached Baghdād and Mecca in the persons of Abu ʿUmar al-Zadjdjādjī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Bandār, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Sahl al-Būshandjī, Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Nahradjūrī and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Farrāʾ (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Maḥmūd, *al-Falsafa al-Ṣūfiyya fi 'l-Islām,* Cairo 1967, 415). In later centuries, the Malāmatī orientation frequently took the form of an explicit invitation of reproach and rejection by intentional repulsive behaviour. Sometimes, such behaviour became the hall-mark and proof of sanctity.

Intentional and systematic transgression of the norms and values of society is particularly practised by the Ḳalandariyya [*q.v.*], which have been looked upon (e.g. by A. Le Chatelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz,* Paris 1887, 253 ff.) as the continuation of the Malāmatī tradition within the framework of a more or less regular *ṭarīḳa*. This idea of continuity must be discarded, however. Fundamental differences exist between Malāmatī and Ḳalandarī thinking and practice, as has already been pointed out by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī (539-632/1144-1235) and lately by J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam,* Oxford 1971, 264-9. In al-Suhrawardī's life-time, the Malāmatī tradition still had its adepts in Khurāsān and in ʿIrāḳ, where, however, the epithet Malāmatī was not applied to them (al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif,* Cairo 1971, i, 228).

Elements of the Malāmatī tradition, notably silent *dhikr,* abstinence of ritual activity in public and the requirement of "mental isolation" in the world while actively engaged in it, seem to have been absorbed into the teaching of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] order and filtered into the mystical traditions in the Arab lands; for this process, see section 2 below.

The origins of the version of the Malāmatiyya order which had active adherents in the Ḥidjāz in the 19th century were in a Syrian congregation of the Ḥamzawiyya (see below). These adherents were most numerous in the town of al-Ṭāʾif, where this Malāmatiyya order had been introduced by the *ḳāḍī* of the town, Ḥasan Fatḥ al-Karkhī. Leadership of the order in the Ḥidjāz used to be held by his descendants. A *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] existed in Mecca at the end of the 19th century (Le Chatelier, 256).

Bibliography: Basic texts on the Malāmatī mystical tradition are Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, *Risālat al-Malāmatiyya,* ed. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ ʿAfīfī in his *al-Malāmatiyya wa 'l-taṣawwuf wa-ahl al-futuwwa,* Cairo 1945, 71-120 (for an analysis of this text, see R. Hartmann, *As-Sulamī's Risālat al-Malāmatīja,* in *Isl.,* viii [1918], 157-203); Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb,* ed. V. A. Zhukovskii, Leningrad 1926, repr. Tehran 1399/1979, 68-78, tr. R. A. Nicholson, *The "Kashf al-Mahjūb", the oldest Persian treatise on Sufism by al-Hujwīrī,* GMS, London 1911, see 19-74 for the Malāmatiyya; Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif,* Cairo 1971 (several editions exist), ch. 8 (*fī dhikr al-Malāmatiyya wa-sharḥ ḥālihā*). Dispersed and fragmentary information may be found in a number of classical texts, which are all mentioned in ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Maḥmūd, 407. See also Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya,* Būlāḳ 1293/1876, iii, 44-6.

For short discussions by contemporary Muslim authors based mainly upon these texts, see Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-ʿAfīfī, *al-Taṣawwuf, al-thawra al-rūḥiyya fi 'l-Islām,* Beirut n.d., 268-70; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Maḥmūd, *op. cit.*, 406-20; Ibrāhīm Hilāl, *al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī bayn al-dīn wa 'l-falsafa,* Cairo 1979, 11-14. In addition to these works and the works mentioned in the article, see A. J. Arberry, *Sufism, an account of the mystics of Islam,* London 1956, 70, 74; H. Ritter, *Philologika XV. Farīduddīn ʿAṭṭār. III.*, in *Oriens,* xii (1959), 14 ff.; M.S. Seale, *The ethics of Malāmātīya Sufism and the Sermon on the Mount,* in *MW,* lviii (1968), 12-23 (contains an abridged translation of al-Sulamī's enumeration of Malāmatī tenets); P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie šādilite,* Beirut 1972, 243-4; M. G. S. Hodgson, *The venture of Islam,* ii, Chicago 1974, 457; A. Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam,* Chapel Hill 1975, 86-8; R. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Zweiter Teil: Glaube und Lehre,* Wiesbaden 1976, 346-7; Taḳī 'l-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Tuḥfa al-ʿIrāḳiyya fi 'l-aʿmāl al-kalbiyya,* Cairo n.d., 45 (for a condemnation of the Malāmatiyya in its antinomianist form); Aḥmad Muḥammad Riḍwān, *al-Nafaḥāt al-rabbāniyya,* Cairo 1970, 113 (a short characterisation of the Malāmatiyya and the observation that al-Khiḍr [SEE AL-KHAḌIR] is one of them). (F. DE JONG)

2. In Iran and the Eastern Lands

The concept of blame that underlies the designation Malāmatiyya (both in the sense of self-reproach and of exposing oneself to reproach by others) derives from Ḳurʾān, V, 54 ("they struggle in the path of God and fear not the blame of any blamer"), a verse referring to the Prophet and his Companions, whom the Malāmatīs indeed claimed as the first of their number (Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb,* Leningrad, 1926, repr. Tehran 1399/1979, 78). But as a historically identifiable group, the Malāmatiyya first appeared in Iran in the 3rd/9th century, and since they remained confined to Iran, at least in their original form, it is permissible to define the Malāmatiyya as an Iranian or, more narrowly, as a Khurāsānian form of spirituality.

As noted in the preceding section, the major figure of the Malāmatiyya was Abū Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdūn al-Ḳaṣṣār, after whom the early Malāmatīs were sometimes known as al-Ḥamdūniyya or al-Ḳaṣṣāriyya. Born in Nīshāpūr where he spent most of his life and gathered his following, he was himself a student of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sālim al-Bārūsī (for whose putative spiritual descent see Cavit Sunar, *Melamilik ve Bektaşilik,* Ankara 1975, 9). Al-Bārūsī was a critic of the effusive and public devotions of the Karrāmiyya sect [*q.v.*] in Nīshāpūr, and insofar as the emergence of the Malāmatiyya may be taken as a reaction against contemporaneous trends, it is in the Karrāmiyya rather than the Ṣūfīs that the counterpoint to the Malāmatīs should be sought. Shunning fame for piety and the concomitant danger of hypocrisy, Ḥamdūn al-Ḳaṣṣār and his associates believed it necessary to conceal all acts of superrogatory worship and declared public appearances to be a matter of indifference; the pleasure of God and the pleasure of men were irreconcilably opposed goals. The appetitive self was their exclusive object of blame (cf. the expression "reproachful soul"—*al-nafs al-lawwāma*—in Ḳurʾān, LXXV, 2), to such a degree that they allowed the duty of publicly "forbidding the evil" (*al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*) to fall into abeyance. The emphasis on inward, secretive devotion also led the Malāmatīs to a deliberate shunning of distinctive forms of dress, of the writing of treatises setting forth their principles, of

the musical sessions of the Ṣūfīs known as *samā*ᶜ [*q.v.*] and even of vocal—and hence audible—*dhikr* [*q.v.*].

Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād and ᶜAbd Allāh Munāzil, the latter a pupil of al-Ḳaṣṣār, are clearly identifiable with the Malāmatiyya, but other figures sometimes designated as Malāmatīs have been claimed by the Ṣūfīs as their own; this is the case notably with Abū ᶜUthmān al-Ḥīrī. In addition, Malāmatī features are to be found in persons who have no direct relation with the Malāmatī circle of Nīshāpūr, especially in Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī [see ABŪ YAZĪD AL-BISṬĀMĪ], who on several occasions changed popular acclaim into blame by apparent violations of the *Sharīᶜa*. It is evident, then, that the demarcation between Malāmatīs and Ṣūfīs was not always sharp. Ḥamdūn al-Ḳaṣṣār himself met with Sahl al-Tustarī and al-Djunayd [*q.vv.*] while on a visit to Baghdād and earned their approval, surely an indication of compatibility between the Malāmatiyya and the "sober" school of ᶜIrāḳī Ṣūfism.

Nonetheless, the shunning of all outward indications of one's inward state was a clear point of difference from the Ṣūfīs, one implying criticism of them. In return, the Ṣūfīs politely condemned the unceasing Malāmatī preoccupation with the wretchedness of the *nafs*, which seemed to them a form of implicit ontological dualism, setting the soul up as a reality confronting God. Echoing earlier writers, Djāmī said of the Malāmatīs: "Although this group is precious and their state is noble, the veil of creaturely existence has not been fully lifted from them" (ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Mahdī Tawḥīdīpūr, Tehran 1336 *sh.*/1957, 9). Likewise, the preoccupation with reproach of the *nafs* seemed to some Ṣūfīs to bar the Malāmatīs from all progress beyond the station (*maḳām*) of sincerity of devotion (*ikhlāṣ*); al-Suhrawardī said that while the Ṣūfī has "lost awareness of *ikhlāṣ* because of *ikhlāṣ* ... the Malāmatī is fixed at the station of *ikhlāṣ*" (*ᶜAwārif al-maᶜārif*, in supplementary volume to al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā*ᵓ *ᶜulūm al-dīn*, Beirut n.d., 71).

A close relationship appears to have existed between the first Malāmatīs and the practitioners of *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] the members of the craft guilds. Like them, the Malāmatīs wore the common dress of the bazaar and followed various callings, rejecting the work-denying interpretation of *tawakkul* made by certain Ṣūfīs. Both Ḥamdūn al-Ḳaṣṣār and Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād are on record as offering definitions of *futuwwa*, and it is significant that al-Sulamī—whose maternal grandfather was Abū ᶜUthmān al-Ḥīrī—treated *malāma* and *futuwwa* as twin concepts in his writing. Aḥmad Khiḍrawayh was identified by al-Ḳushayrī as a *fatā* and by Hudjwīrī as a *malāmatī*; this, too, must indicate an overlapping between the two affiliations. After the disappearance of the Malāmatiyya in their original form, the craft guilds and organs of *futuwwa* seem to have become one of the chief repositories of Malāmatī influence, with their emphasis on self-effacing probity and practical devotion.

Although no prominent individuals are identified as Malāmatī after the 4th/10th century, the original Malāmatiyya may have survived in Khurāsān for considerably longer. In the 6th/12th century, al-Suhrawardī wrote in his *ᶜAwārif al-maᶜārif*, 71, "There is still a group of them (sc. of Malāmatīs) in Khurāsān; they have their elders who expound their fundamental principles and make known to them the conditions of their states. I have seen people that follow the same path in ᶜIrāḳ but they are not known by this name". Early on, however, the name Malāmatī had been usurped by antinomians who actively sought the blame of others, instead of simply being ready to accept it; instead of hidden piety, libertinism was their hallmark. Although both Hudjwīrī (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, 72) and al-Suhrawardī (*op. cit.*, 72) sought to clarify the difference between the true and the false Malāmatī, it seems that the false gradually came to prevail, at least numerically. *Ḳalandar* [*q.v.*] a term designating a vagabond of scandalously offensive behaviour, became interchangeable with Malāmatī in popular usage.

The true heirs of the early Malāmatiyya of Khurāsān were, it appears, the Naḳshbandīs, although they did not claim initiatic descent from them (the notion of a *silsila*, like many other appurtenances of Ṣūfism, was in any event alien to the Malāmatīs). The Naḳshbandīs followed the Malāmatis in their avoidance of a distinctive garb, their shunning of vocal *dhikr* and *sam*ᶜ, their prohibition of ceaseless voyaging, and their closeness to the people of the bazaar. The most prolific of early Naḳshbandī authors, Khʷādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 823/1420) quoted approvingly and at length from Hudjwīrī's discussion of the Malāmátiyya; he said of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ, Salmān al-Fārisī and Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī—all key figures in the spiritual ancestry of the Naḳshbandī order—that they were to be regarded as Malāmatis; and concluded that "whatever holds true of the Malāmatīs holds true of our masters (*khʷādjagān*) also" (extract from Pārsā's *Faṣl al-khiṭāb*, quoted in Saᶜīd Nafīsī, *Sarčishma-yi taṣawwuf dar Īrān*, Tehran 1343 *sh.*/1964, 172-80). More generally, the original concept of the Malāmatiyya continued to be celebrated as a spiritual virtue or station in Ṣūfī literature, while in later Persian poetry—suffused with the terminology and concepts of Ṣūfism—*malāmat* became ubiquitous as a usefully rhyming antonym to *salāmat* ("safety"): the lover had to be ready, it was held, to accept the former and renounce the latter, for the sake of his beloved.

The original concept of the Malāmatiyya does not seem to have entered India and Central Asia, except as mediated by the Naḳshbandiyya. The term Malāmatī was, however, sometimes applied to antinomian (*bīsharᶜ*) groups such as the Djalāliyya, a derivative of the Suhrawardiyya that was addicted to narcotics and ate scorpions.

Bibliography: Aziz Ahmad, *An intellectual history of Islam in India*, Edinburgh 1969, 44-5; Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā*ᵓ, ed. R. A. Nicholson, London and Leiden 1905, i, 322-35; Jacqueline Chabbi, *Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasan*, in *SI*, xlvi (1977), 32-4, 53-7; Khʷādja ᶜAbd Allāh Anṣārī Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Sarwar Mawlāᵓī, Tehran 1362 *sh.*/1983, 113-17, 121-2; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 9-10; Saᶜīd Nafīsī, *Sarčishma-yi taṣawwuf dar Īrān*, 160-81; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī, *al-Risāla al-Ḳushayriyya*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Cairo 1974, i, 118-19, 129-31; Suhrawardī, *ᶜAwārif al-maᶜārif*, in supplementary vol. to Ghazālī, *Iḥyā*ᵓ *ᶜulum al-dīn*, 70-2; Sunar, *Melamilik ve Bektaşilik*, 8-12; F. Taeschner, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam*, Zürich and Munich 1979, 27; ᶜAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Ahl-i malāmat va rāh-i ḳalandar*, in *Yādnāma-yi Marḥūm Ustād Badīᶜ al-Zamān Furūzānfar* (*Madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt wa ᶜUlūm-i Insānī, Dānishgāh-i Ṭihrān*, no. 89 [Spring 1354 *sh.*/1975]), 61-100. (HAMID ALGAR)

3. IN OTTOMAN TURKEY.

In the Ottoman Empire, the name Malāmatiyya at-

tached itself to a heretical offshoot of the Bayrāmiyya [*q.v.*]. An account of the original split between the orthodox and the heretical branches of the Bayrāmiyya survives only as a legend recorded first in the 10th/16th century. According to this, ʿÖmer the Cutler (d. 880/1475-6), a dervish who had followed first Shaykh Ḥāmid (d. 815/1412-13) and then Ḥāmid's disciple, Ḥādjdjī Bayrām [*q.v.*], refused to join the disciples of Ḥādjdjī Bayrām's appointed successor, Aḳ Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.*] in performing *dhikr* [*q.v.*], or to kiss Aḳ Shams al-Dīn's hand. Thereupon, Aḳ Shams al-Dīn threatened to divest ʿÖmer of the distinguishing cloak (*khirḳa*) and headgear (*tādj*) of the new order. ʿÖmer's retort was to invite Aḳ Shams al-Dīn and his followers to his house, where he lit a fire in the courtyard. He then walked through the fire, which burned off his headgear and cloak but left his body unscathed. After this ʿÖmer's followers—the Malāmatiyya-yi Bayrāmiyya—wore no distinguishing garments (Maḥmūd of Caffa, *Katāʾib*, quoted in A. Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve melâmîler*, Istanbul 1931, 41; ʿAṭāʾī [*q.v.*], *Dhayl-i shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1268/1851-2, 65). The real reason why the Malāmatiyya wore no distinguishing clothing must, in fact, have been because their heretical beliefs led to occasional persecutions, and their survival could depend on concealing their identities from the authorities. To wear identifiable clothing would invite investigation. However, the sect continued to abjure special garments right down to the 13th/19th century, by which time it had long since become an orthodox Ṣūfī group, accepting the authority of the *Sharīʿa* [*q.v.*] (J. P. Brown, *The dervishes*, London 1868, repr. 1968, 61. On the orthodoxy of the later Malāmatiyya, see Brown's translation of a *risāla* by Laʿlīzāde ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, in *op. cit.*, 232 ff.). The legend of ʿÖmer's dispute with Aḳ Shams al-Dīn suggests that their rivalry was personal. This seems probable since, although Ḥādjdjī Bayrām had nominated him as his successor or *khalīfa* [*q.v.*], Aḳ Shams al-Dīn had been one of the last to join the group, so displacing candidates of "forty years'" standing. His nomination no doubt aroused jealousy. However, the essential split was doctrinal, and it was doctrinal differences that caused it to be permanent.

There are no surviving 9th/15th century Malāmī writings to give an account of the original doctrines and affiliations of the sect. Links with Badr al-Dīn of Simawne [*q.v.*] and the early Ṣafawiyya [*q.v.*], through ʿÖmer's and Ḥādjdjī Bayrām's connection with Shaykh Ḥāmid have been suggested (H. J. Kissling, *Zur Geschichte des Derwischordens der Bajramijje*, in *Süd-Ost Forschungen*, xv [1956], 237-68). The writings of 10th/16th and 11th/17th-century Malāmī *shaykhs*, however, clearly reveal the sect's doctrines and permit speculation as to its 9th/15th century origins. These show that the sect espoused Ṣūfism of a Ḥallādjian type, striving not, as orthodox Ṣūfīs, for *fanāʾ fi'llāh*—the total loss of individual identity in God—but believing in the manifestation of God in the individual member of the sect: "Know that the Mirror of Man is the outward form of the Merciful God", in the words of Aḥmed the Cameleer (d. 952/1545-6), or "The *kibla* is Man", in the words of "The Hidden" Idrīs (d. 1024/1615) (quoted by A. Gölpınarlı, *op. cit.*, 59, 127). The orthodox *ʿulamāʾ*, with some justification, regarded this form of Ṣūfism as leading to a disavowal of the *Sharīʿa*, the true source of divine authority, since its adepts believed the divine authority to be within themselves. This disavowal, the *ʿulamāʾ* believed, expressed itself in a denial of the distinction between what is canonically legitimate (*ḥalāl* [*q.v.*]) and what is canonically forbidden (*ḥarām*). The surviving verses attributed to the Malāmī martyr Ismāʿīl Oghlan Shaykh (d. 935/1529) (quoted by A. Gölpınarlı, *op. cit.*, 51-4) do, in fact, strongly suggest that he flouted the concepts of *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* by, for example, linking "the mosque and the wineshop" or "the mosque of the Muslim worshipper (*maʿbed-i ʿābid*) and the idol-house of the priest" in a way which went far beyond accepted Ṣūfī convention. In his guidelines for the trial of the Malāmī suspect Ghaḍanfer Dede (d. 974/1566-7), Abu 'l-Suʿūd [*q.v.*] instructed the examiners to pay particular attention to his statements on *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 87-8).

Although Ḥallādjian beliefs were not peculiar to any one sect, there is evidence that they came to the Malāmatiyya specifically from the original Ḥurūfiyya [*q.v.*]. Ḥurūfī doctrines appear not only in the Ḥallādjism of Malāmī writings, but also in certain specific details. In the verses attributed to Oghlan Shaykh, there are references to God's appearing in the human face: "Today, O heart, look at the beauty of the Beloved's face", and in a *ghazal* [*q.v.*] of "The Hidden" Idrīs, there is a reference to the indisputably Ḥurūfī concept of "The Seven Lines" of the face as a visible form of the *fātiḥa* [*q.v.*], which in turn represents the Sum of the Universe (i.e. God plus what is beside God): "The Seven Lines are the 'Mother of the Book' (i.e. the *fātiḥa*). They are the visible testimony from God". Oghlan Shaykh also makes the Ḥurūfī equation between the "Name" (*ism*) and the "Named" (*musammā*): "You whose name is Man gives news of the Named". Furthermore, one of his *ghazals* is a *naẓīra* of one by the Ḥurūfī martyr Nesīmī [*q.v.*] (d. 820/1417). These Ḥurūfī echoes occur in poems of the 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries, but it is possible that the doctrines themselves date from the earliest days of the sect in the first half of the 9th/15th century, since this was the period when the disciples of Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*] were actively preaching Ḥurūfī doctrines in Anatolia and Syria (see H. Ritter, *Die Anfänge der Hurūfi-sekte*, in *Oriens*, vii [1954], 1-54; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī [*q.v.*], *Inbāʾ al-ghumr*, Cairo 1973, 136; for the Ḥurūfī preacher in Edirne in 848/1444, see F. Babinger, *Von Amurath zu Amurath*, in *Oriens*, iii [1950], 229-65). ʿÖmer the Cutler and his followers may well have absorbed their doctrines.

A distinguishing feature of *malāmī* writings is their exhortation to believers to conceal their beliefs from the "ignorant", meaning non-members of the sect. In this they resemble the original Malāmatiyya; but concealment of belief had the immediate practical purpose of preventing persecution by the Ottoman authorities. They also maintained that "although there can be no place like Man for the manifestation of God's essence" (Oghlan Shaykh, quoted by A. Gölpınarlı, *op. cit.*, 52), God can be manifest only in a "believer" that is, a member of the sect. Nonbelievers are mere "animals".

The Malāmatiyya began as a sect in central Anatolia and appear not to have spread beyond this region until the first quarter of the 10th/16th century. ʿÖmer's *khalīfa*, Benyāmīn or Ibn Yāmīn (d. 926/1520) came from Ayash near Ankara [*q.v.*]. His successor, Pīr ʿAlī Dede (d. 935/1528-9) was a native of Aḳsaray [*q.v.*], where he is also buried. The Malāmī *shaykh* Ḥusām al-Dīn, a *khalīfa* of Aḥmed the Cameleer, came from the region of Ankara (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 70). In 960/1553 he was imprisoned and executed in the citadel of that town. He still had followers in the nearby region of Haymana, whom the Ottoman government investigated in 975/1568 (*Mühimme defteri*, text in

A. Refik, *On altıncı asırda Rafizîlik ve Bektaşîlik*, Istanbul 1932, 24-5). By the time of Ḥusām al-Dīn's end, however, the sect had spread far beyond the region of its origin.

The expansion began in 934/1528 when Ismāʿīl, the son of Pīr ʿAlī Dede, known as Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h, began to preach in Istanbul. For a year he preached and performed ceremonies, apparently in mosques, attracting many followers, including soldiers (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 79). These were probably *ḳapiḳulî* troops stationed in the capital. In 935/1529, after numerous warnings and condemnatory *fatwās* [*q.v.*], the authorities executed him on the At Meydānî, with the sanction of a *fatwā* from Kemāl Pas͟ha-zāde [*q.v.*].

The underlying question in the trial of Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h was whether or not he accepted the authority of the *S͟harīʿa*, and therefore of its officially appointed interpreters, the Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*. However, the examination centred specifically around the question of whether he and his followers regarded the gyrating dance which constituted their *d͟hikr* as *ʿibāda* [*q.v.*], obligatory worship, or simply as a permissible (*mubāḥ*) religious ceremony. To regard it as *mubāḥ* did not occur the death-penalty: it merely branded its practitioners as "dissolutes", to be corrected by flogging (*taʿzīr*). However, to regard it as *ʿibāda* made the death-penalty inevitable. Since the term *ʿibāda* refers specifically to the forms of obligatory worship laid down by the *S͟harīʿa*, to claim any other form of worship as *ʿibāda* is to arrogate to oneself the authority which properly belongs to the *S͟harīʿa*, the revealed command of God. This Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h did, and, furthermore, defended his position with quotations from the Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth* [*q.vv.*] (John Rylands Library, Manchester, Turkish ms. no. 39 [the *fatwās* of Kemāl Pas͟ha-zāde], fols. 377a-b. This section, entitled *Maṭlab-i Zeyd-i Ṣūfī*, appears to refer to the case of Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h). In doing so, he conformed precisely to the definition of a heretic (*zindīḳ* [*q.v.*]) which Kemāl Pas͟ha-zāde had propounded, following the case of Mollā Ḳābiḍ [*q.v.*] in the previous year. A *zindīḳ* was someone who, while "concealing his unbelief, also propagates it" by "extracting his seditious propaganda from the Truth" (Kemāl Pas͟ha-zāde, *Risāla fī taḥḳīḳ lafẓ al-zindīḳ*, printed in *Rasāʾil Ibn Kemāl*, Istanbul 1316/1898-9, 240-9). A heretic was, in fact, someone who, like Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h, supported "erroneous" opinions by arguments from the Ḳurʾān, *Ḥadīth* or other "true sources" of Islam (for a summary—how accurate a one we can only surmise—of the *s͟herʿiyye sid͟jilli* entry on the trial of Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h, see M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî ve içtimaî tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1971, 48-9).

The trial of Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h may have assisted the Ottoman authorities in formulating a definition of heresy, but was otherwise counterproductive. In executing him, they created the first Malāmī martyr. A body of legend, relating essentially to the injustice of his execution collected around him (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 70) and continued to circulate for at least a century and a half after his death (Evliya Čelebi [*q.v.*], *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 456). Years after his execution, Abu 'l-Suʿūd ruled that if a person claimed that Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h's execution was unjust and also belonged to the "sect of Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h", he incurred the death-penalty (M. E. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuûd Efendi fetvaları*, Istanbul 1972, 196). In the case of G͟haḍanfer Dede, Abu 'l-Suʿūd also wrote that "no good" could come of him if the reports were true that he was "from the *silsila* [*q.v.*] of Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h" (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 88). An Imperial Decree of 967/1559 concerns the arrest of a *s͟hayk͟h* who preached around Üsküdar [*q.v.*] and was a "disciple of Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h's father" (*Mühimme defteri*, text in A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 17). This frequent re-occurrence of Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h's name suggests that his martyrdom advanced the fortunes of the Malāmatiyya.

Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h brought Malāmī doctrines to the capital. It is possible that Aḥmed the Cameleer, a native of Hayrabolu in Thrace, where he is also buried (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 65), carried them into Europe. In 980-1/1572-3, the Imperial *Dīwān* ordered the *ḳāḍī* of Hayrabolu and the *ḳāḍīs* of the neighbouring districts of Rodosčuḳ (Tekirdağı) and Burgos (Lüle Burgaz) to examine suspects in certain villages who were adherents of the martyred Malāmī Ḥamza (d. 968/1561) (*Mühimme defteri*, text in A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 33-4; *Mühimme defteri*, xxii, 228). It may have been Aḥmed the Cameleer who established the sect in his native region. His itinerant profession would also have given him the opportunity to proselytise in different areas. A later *s͟hayk͟h*, "The Hidden" Idrīs, also travelled a great deal, making frequent trips as a merchant to "Belgrade (Belgrad), Plovdiv (Filibe), Sofia, Edirne and Gallipoli (Gelibolı)" (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 602). It is likely that travelling *s͟hayk͟hs* such as these both spread the sect and maintained contact between members in different regions. By whatever means it spread, it is clear that by about 1560 Malāmī doctrines had reached and had become deep-rooted in Bosnia. There is no obvious reason why this should have been so, but it is worth noting that pre-Ottoman Bosnia had been a centre of dualist Christianity, with remnants of the Bogomil sect surviving into the Ottoman period, showing that Bosnia had long been receptive to heterodox forms of religion.

The Malāmī *s͟hayk͟h* Ḥamza, a *k͟halīfa* of Ḥusām al-Dīn, was a Bosnian by birth. His public preaching in Istanbul led to his execution there in 968/1561 and to an investigation of his followers in Bosnia, of whom "many were arrested and executed" (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 70-1). ʿAṭāʾī's report (*loc. cit.*) that a *baltad͟jî* [*q.v.*] committed suicide in grief at his execution suggests that he, like Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h, had a following among the *ḳapiḳulî* troops.

The execution of Ḥamza, like the execution of Og͟hlan S͟hayk͟h, had the effect of creating a new martyr, and one so revered that the Malāmatiyya came to be known as the Ḥamzawīs until the last days of the sect (Brown, *loc. cit.*). Nor did the persecutions in Bosnia after his death eliminate his followers in the area. In 981/1573, the year of similar investigations in Thrace, the Imperial *Dīwān* received reports about "disciples of the heretic Ḥamza, who was previously arrested and executed" and ordered the *sand͟jaḳ beyis* of Hercegovina (Hersek [*q.v.*]), Bosnia and Požega, and the *beylerbeyi* of Buda (Budin [*q.v.*]), to arrest and imprison them while awaiting further instructions (*Mühimme defteri*, xxii, 194). The authorities' efforts seem again to have been ineffective, since in 990/1582, the *ḳāḍīs* of Zvornik, Gracanica and Tuzla in Bosnia again investigated a group belonging to the "sect of Ḥamza, who was executed when his heresy was proven" (*Mühimme defteri*, xlvii, 185; xlviii, 151). At the same time, the government clearly continued to treat with suspicion adherents of the sect in the capital. At an unspecified date, it issued a *fermān* for the arrest of "The Hidden" Idrīs, after the "great *s͟hayk͟hs* of the city", Sīwāsī Efendi and ʿÖmer Efendi, had publicly denounced him for heresy. Idrīs, however, avoided arrest by using his name Ḥād͟jd͟jī ʿAlī Beg in public, rather than his *laḳab* [*q.v.*] of Idrīs, and by spending most of his time in the seclusion of his own house (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 602; Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*],

Fedhleke, Istanbul 1286/1869-70, i, 373-4, after ʿAṭāʾī). The sect's last martyr was a certain Beshīr Agha who, together with "forty" disciples, was executed in Istanbul in 1073/1662-3. He apparently had a number of Ḥurūfīs in his following (A. Gölpınarlı, *op. cit.*, 128, 158-60, after Laʿlīzāde ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, *Sergüzesht*).

There are, however, indications that, by the time of Beshīr Agha, the Malāmatiyya had largely changed, or were changing their character to become an orthodox *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*]. The Bosnian Malāmī *shaykh* Ḥüseyn-i Lāmekānī (d. 1035/1625) (Kātib Čelebi, *op. cit.*, ii, 71), for example, while still defending the sect's gyrating dance with the same *ḥadīth* as Oghlan Shaykh had used, apparently upheld the primacy of the *Sharīʿa*: "[The believer] should be a Ḥanafī, a Sunnī and pious ..." (quoted by A. Gölpınarlı, *op. cit.*, 82). By the time of Laʿlīzāde (d. 1165/1751-2), the sect appears to have accepted without question the authority of the *Sharīʿa*. The report that the vizier Ferhād Pasha [*q.v.*] (d. 1004/1595) became a disciple or *murīd* of Ḥüseyn-i Lāmekānī is perhaps significant; as members of the Ottoman ruling establishment began to join the sect, it would, by definition, become orthodox.

The organisation and membership of the sect remains as obscure as the Malāmīs themselves obviously intended it to be. It is not clear, for example, whether one *ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*] could ever claim the allegiance of the entire sect. This was probably the case until the death of Benyāmīn (926/1520), when the order was confined to central Anatolia. ʿAṭāʾī (*op. cit.*, 65), however, gives him three *khalīfa*s: his son Shaykh Ibrāhīm, Abū Leylī Shaykh Süleymān and the influential Pīr ʿAlī of Aḳsaray. He then lists three *khalīfa*s of Pīr ʿAlī: Aḥmed the Cameleer, Pīr Aḥmed of Edirne (d. 1000/1591-2) and Shaykh Yaʿḳūb the *ḥelvā*-maker (d. 989/1581-2). The last two appear to have been too young to have been Pīr ʿAlī's personal disciples, but the number of apparently very long-lived Malāmī *shaykh*s whom he lists, and other peculiarities, cast doubt upon ʿAṭāʾī's chronology. Among Pīr ʿAlī's successors, one should also mention his son Ismāʿīl Oghlan Shaykh. Aḥmed the Cameleer's *khalīfa* Ḥusām al-Dīn, in turn claimed three *khalīfa*s: the martyred Ḥamza, Ḥasan the Tailor, from Bursa (d. 1010/1601-2) and "The Hidden" Idrīs. Ḥüseyn-i Lāmekānī was a *khalīfa* of Ḥasan. The most influential *ḳuṭb*s down to 1024/1615 seem to have been ʿÖmer—Benyāmīn—Pīr ʿAlī and his son—Aḥmed—Ḥusām al-Dīn—Ḥamza—Ḥasan—Idrīs. However, another branch descended from Aḥmed the Cameleer: ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn of Vize (d. 970/1562-3) (for verses attributed to this *shaykh*, see A. Gölpınarlı, *Türk tasavvuf şiiri antolojisi*, Istanbul 1972, 119-31) and his *khalīfa* Ghaḍanfer Dede, who won acquittal in his trial for heresy. His successors were, in turn, Bālī Efendi of Vize, his son Ḥasan and Emir Efendi of Ḳāsim Pasha.

The number of *khalīfa*s whom ʿAṭāʾī records after the death of Benyāmīn points to the success and spread of the sect from the time of Pīr ʿAlī. However, it is by no means certain that his list represents any kind of recognised succession or hierarchy within the order itself. The apparent confusion within the line of succession suggests that, as the sect spread over a wide area after 926/1520, it became less cohesive, with various *ḳuṭb*s acquiring fame and a personal following not universally recognised by all members. It is possible, for example, that the following of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, Ghaḍanfer Dede and Bālī Efendi did not extend beyond the region of Vize. The difficulty of communication within a widely-dispersed and underground order must have caused fragmentation, and the order probably had no recognised and formal hierarchy.

If information on the Malāmī leaders is inadequate, that on their followers is even more so. The recorded professions of the *shaykh*s suggests that it was largely a movement of artisans, although the verses and other writings of some of them suggest that they had received an education wider than a simple craft-training. The founder, ʿÖmer was a cutler, Shaykh Yaʿḳūb a *ḥelvā*-maker, Aḥmed a cameleer, and Ḥasan was a tailor who was "both director of a workshop, and intent upon guiding the people of the *ṭarīḳat*" (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 169). Ghaḍanfer Dede was a tanner, and "The Hidden" Idrīs made a fortune as a merchant, but had begun his career as an apprentice to his uncle, who was a tailor to the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*] (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 602). The list of Bosnian suspects in 990/1582 (*Mühimme defteri, loc. cit.*) refers to two of them as knife-grinders (*čarkčī*), and to one of them as *khalīfa*, a title which, in this context, probably refers to that position in a craft-gild (*kalfa*). However, Oghlan Shaykh and Ḥamza seem also to have numbered *ḳapīḳulī* troops among their followers, and the 981/1573 investigations in Thrace suggest that it had spread beyond the towns to the villages of the area.

The doctrines of the sect, which could lead its members to claim a source of divine authority outside the *Sharīʿa*, imply that they also disavowed the authority of the Ottoman dynasty which claimed, as a source for its legitimacy, to "prepare the path for the precepts of the Manifest *Sharīʿa*". The clearest statement of opposition to the dynasty occurs in a poem by Aḥmed the Cameleer, which he almost certainly composed during the reign of Süleymān I [*q.v.*]: "If I could find the most minute message from your ruby lips / I would not buy the Kingdom of Solomon (Turkish: *Süleymān*) for the smallest coin" (quoted by A. Gölpınarlı, in *op. cit.*, 59). There is further evidence from the 990/1582 investigations in Bosnia. Part of the accusation against the group was simply that they had "declared lawful that which is *ḥarām*" and "associated with women outside the permitted degrees" (*Mühimme defteri, loc. cit.*). These accusations, while quite possibly true, are simply stereotyped phrases found in most indictments of heretics. However, the additional accusation that one of them claimed to be "the Sulṭān who had succeeded Sulṭān Ḥamza", while others claimed to be "viziers", a "*ḳāḍī*" and a "*defterdār*" [*q.v.*], does suggest that this group, at least, did regard itself as self-governing and beyond the authority of the Ottoman state, whose titles and organisation it mimicked. While any evidence produced in a heresy hunt is suspect, this piece does seem credible in that it does not fit into the stereotyped pattern of orthodox accusations.

Bibliography: Given in article.

(C. H. Imber)

MALANG (etymology uncertain: not Pandjābī, possibly Persian; in Urdu, *malangi*, masc. = "salt worker", fem. = "loose, wanton woman"), a term used in Muslim India, including in the Pandjāb but also in the Deccan, to denote wandering dervishes of the Ḳalandarī, *bī-sharʿ* or antinomian type [see KALANDAR, ḲALANDARIYYA]. Djaʿfar Sharīf [*q.v.*] at one place of his *Ḳānūn-i Islām* puzzlingly names their founder as Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān-i Djahāngasht [*q.v.*], and at another, as Djamandjatī, a disciple of Zinda Shāh Madār (*Islam in India*, ed. W. Crooke, London 1921, 141-2, 172-3,

290), but describes the term Malang as a general one for unattached religious mendicants.

Malangs aim at total distinctiveness from the external world, in which are included the prescriptions of the Sharīʿa as followed by the more orthodox, bā-sharʿ Ṣūfīs, in order to enter the inner spiritual world. Hence the use of hashish and other narcotics is common amongst them, as is the wearing of a particular style of dress and type of long hair arrangement, together with the use of bangles, rings and other feminine ornaments to symbolise the Malang's role as the bride of God, hence subservient to Him; cf. the descriptions of Djaʿfar Sharīf, *loc. cit.*

Bibliography: Djaʿfar Sharīf, see above; H. A. Rose, *A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province*, Lahore 1911-19, i, 579, iii, 57; M. T. Titus, *Indian Islam*, London 1930, 127, 130; Katherine Ewing, Malangs *of the Punjab, intoxication or* adab *as the path to God?*, in Barbara D. Metcalf (ed.), *Moral conduct and authority, the place of* adab *in South Asian Islam*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1984, 357-71 (Ed.)

MALĀRYĀ, a neologism in Arabic for malaria, an infection of the blood by a minute plasmodium parasite. The disease is characterised clinically by fever, which is often periodic; varying degrees of anaemia; splenic enlargement; and various syndromes resulting from the physiological and pathological involvement of certain organs, including the brain, liver and kidneys. The severity of the disease is dependent on the age, health, and degree of immunity of the victim and the particular species of the plasmodium parasite. Under suitable environmental conditions, malaria is transmitted by the mosquito genus *Anopheles*; out of about 375 species of anopheline mosquitoes, more than 70 are vectors of the four species of human malaria, i.e. *P. falciparum*, *P. vivax*, *P. malariae*, and *P. ovale*. Although the geographical distributions of plasmodial and anopheline species are not uniform, malaria is today a serious endemic disease in most Islamic countries from North Africa to South-East Asia, evoking widespread eradiction programs.

Malaria seems to have originated in tropical Africa in prehistoric times. With the Neolithic revolution, the infection appears to have spread and established itself in the great centres of riverine civilisation in Mesopotamia, India, South China and the Nile valley, from which it invaded the Mediterranean littoral. From these five foci, malaria extended its hold over most of the tropical world and much of the land in the temperate climates. Moreover, it appears that high gene frequencies of abnormal haemoglobins were created that protected human population against malaria and allowed for the exploitation of malarious areas.

Considerable attention has been devoted to the history of malaria and its deleterious effects on Graeco-Roman civilisation. It would appear, that malaria became endemic in Greece and Italy at least by the 5th century B.C. Because of the prevalence of the disease, malarial symptoms were recorded in the Hippocratic corpus and later medical works (see W. H.S. Jones, *Malaria and Greek history*, Manchester 1909, ch. 3). Aside from simplistic cultural notions of degeneration, the major effects of malaria on a population are a high infant mortality rate and a reduction in its work efficiency.

A priori, malaria seems to have existed from late antiquity until modern times in most of the regions where Islam was established as the predominant religion. The spread of rice cultivation in the mediaeval period, especially, may have significantly augmented the disease. The history of malaria in Islamic society, however, has not been the subject of any systematic investigation. The medical literature, particularly, has not been studied with regard to malaria; in one instance, al-Rāzī gives a case that had been misdiagnosed as malarial (E. G. Browne, *Arabian medicine*, Cambridge 1921, 51 ff.; M. Meyerhof, *Thirty-three clinical observations by Rhazes (circa 900 A.D.)*, in *Isis*, xxiii [1934], 332 f.). Generally, the descriptions of fevers (*ḥummayāt*) in Arabic medicine appear to be greatly dependent on the Greek medical tradition (see M. Meyerhof, *ʿAlī at-Ṭabarī's "Paradise of wisdom", one of the oldest Arabic compendiums of* medicine, in *Isis*, xvi [1931], 29 f.; idem, *The "Book of treasure", an early Arabic treatise on medicine*, in *Isis*, xiv [1930], 71 f.; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 42, 137 f., 214).

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AL-MALAṬĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Shāfiʿī *fakīh* and specialist in the Kurʾānic readings, born at Malaṭya [*q.v.*] and died at ʿAskalān in 377/987, whence the *nisba* of al-ʿAskalānī which he also bears. He was the author of a *kaṣīda* of 59 verses on the readings and the readers, in imitation of a poem by Mūsā b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Khākānī, but he deserves the notice of Islamicists through his having left behind one of the oldest treatises on heresiography, the *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-radd ʿalā ahl al-ahwāʾ wa 'l-bidaʿ,* which has been edited and published on various occasions, in particular, by S. Dedering, Bibl. Islamica, ix, Istanbul-Leipzig 1936, and by Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, Baghdād 1388/1968.

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MALAṬYA, an old-established town of eastern Anatolia, not far from the upper Euphrates. It lies at the junction of important roads (in antiquity: the Persian royal road and the Euphrates route; in modern times Samsūn-Siwās-Malaṭya-Diyārbakr and Kayṣariyya-Albistān-Malaṭya-Kharpūt) in a plain (the fertility and richness of which in all kinds of vegetables and fruits was celebrated by the Arab geographers, as in modern times by von Moltke and others) at the northern foot of the Taurus, not very far south of Tokhma-sū (Arabic Nahr al-Kubākib), which is there crossed by the old bridge of Kïrkgöz. The town was supplied with drinking-water by the springs of ʿUyūn Dāwūdiyya and by the Euphrates. Weaving used to be a flourishing industry there; according to Ibn al-Shiḥna, there were once 12,000 looms for spinning wool in Malaṭya, but they no longer existed in his time. Its attitude is 2,900 ft./884 m.

1. Pre-Ottoman history.

The town appears as Melidda in Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions and two "Hittite" stelae have been found there (to be more accurate: at Arslān Tepe, a little south of Malaṭya: Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscr. Hetitic.,* in *MVAG* [1900], part iv, 13; [1906], part v, 7). It is probably also to be identified with the district called *M-l-z* (last letter uncertain) in the inscription of king *Z-k-r* of Hamāt (*ca.* 800 B.C.) which Pognon found in ʿAfis near Aleppo. Pliny (*Nat. hist.,* vi, 8) calls the town *Melita a Samiramide condita*; the name of the legendary foundress has perhaps survived in that of the fortress of Shamrīn which Michael the Syrian (*Chronicle,* tr. Chabot, iii, 272) mentions in the 12th century in the land of Sawād in the region of Malaṭya. To its position on the Oriental *limes* Malaṭya owed its great prosperity in the Roman period. From the time of Titus it was the headquarters of the *Legio XII Fulminata*; it was much extended by Trajan, and under Justinian raised to be the capital of the province of Armenia III. Anastasius and Justinian refortified and beautified it. After his severe defeat at Malaṭya in the autumn of 575, Khusraw I Anūshirwān burned the town (John of Ephesus, vi, 9; E. Stein, *Studien zur Gesch. d. Byzant. Reiches,* Stuttgart 1919, 66-8, 83 n. 9).

In the period of the early Arab conquests, Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihrī first took Malaṭya, but when Muʿāwiya became governor of Syria, he had to send Ḥabīb again to Malaṭya in 36/656-7, and he then captured it by storm. It subsequently became one of the frontier fortresses [see ʿawāṣim, thughūr] and was used as a base for the summer campaigns into Byzantium. In the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, it reverted to the Greeks, and was resettled by Armenian and Nabaṭī (i.e. Aramaic-speaking) peasants. In the course of the 2nd/8th century, Malaṭya was once more occupied by the Muslims, rebuilt by Hishām, razed to the ground by Constantine VI Copronymos in 133/750 and then again rebuilt by al-Manṣūr's governor of al-Djazīra and the marches, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, the caliph's nephew. The same pattern of struggles for possession of the town continued throughout the subsequent ʿAbbāsid period, with control of it oscillating between the Arabs and the Greeks, with an intermediate element in the 3rd/9th century in the shape of the Paulician heretics (Arabic, *al-Bayālika*), who lived to the north and west of Malaṭya and who were often aided by the Muslims against the Byzantines, e.g. by the *amīr* of Malaṭya ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Akṭaʿ. Then in the 4th/10th century, the Domestikos Joannes Kurkuas (in Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 221, al-Dumistik Kurkāsh), himself of Armenian origin, seems to have granted Malaṭya and Samosata (Sumaysāṭ [*q.v.*]) to the Armenian prince Mleh (Arabic, Malīḥ; Greek, Melías), who was however driven out of the two towns in 320/932 by the Ḥamdānid Saʿīd al-Dawla of Mawṣil. When Nicephorus Phocas reconquered Syria, he wished to rebuild and to repopulate Malaṭya with Greek settlers, but they refused to live there because of the town's exposure to Arab raids; hence Syrian Jacobites were in 969 invited to settle there, with the result that by the year 1100 there were said to be 53 churches in Malaṭya and its district and 60,000 Jacobite and Melkite Christians capable of bearing arms (Michael of Tinnīs and Barhebraeus).

During the years of Byzantine re-occupation, Malaṭya was held for a time by the rebel and claimant to the imperial throne Bardas Scleros (366/976-7), but in the following century began the attacks of the Turkmens. The first raid is recorded in the Syriac and Armenian sources as taking place in 1058, or slightly earlier in the reign of Constantine IX, and soon the Greeks were being by-passed by Turkmens raiding as far as Kayseri and beyond, making their tenure of Malaṭya impossible. Hence it was held for a while by the Armenian Philaretos as the centre of his

ephemeral principality on the *thughūr*, under caliphal protection. Despite help from the Frankish Crusaders, recently established in Edessa, Malaṭya was captured by the Turkmen *amīr* of Sīwās Gümüshtigin b. Dānishmend [see DĀNISHMENDIDS] in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 494/September 1101. There were now several contenders for control of the area, including the Dānishmendids, the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, the Mengüdjekids of Kemākh [*q.v.*], the Franks of Edessa and the Greek Comnenoi emperors. By the end of the 6th/12th century, the Saldjūḳs were generally the holders of power there, in alliance with the Ayyūbids. In 628/1231 the Mongols penetrated to Ḥiṣn Ziyād and the neighbourhood of Malaṭya, and after their victory at Köse Dagh [*q.v.*] near Sīwās in 641/1243, Malaṭya was on two occasions besieged by the Mongols and its vicinity laid waste; then in the time of the Il-Khān Abaḳa (663-80/1265-82), Malaṭya fell within the share of the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm allotted, under Mongol suzerainty, to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs. It is from the Saldjūḳ period that the oldest monument in Malaṭya, the Ulu Djāmiʿ, stems.

In the 12th and 13th centuries lived the two great Syriac historians, both born in Malaṭya, to whose chronicles we mainly owe our knowledge of the history of the town: the patriach Michael I (1126-99), son of the priest Eliyā, who belonged to the family of Kindasī in Malaṭya and the Mafrʿyān Gregor Abu 'l-Faradj called Barhebraeus (1226-86 [see IBN AL-ʿIBRI]), whose father, the baptised Jewish physician Ahrōn, had restrained his fellow citizens in Malaṭya from stupidly flying before the Tatars (Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Lit.*, 298-300, 312-20). Michael's principal authority, Ignatius (d. 1104), was also metropolitan of Malaṭya (Baumstark, *op cit.*, 291).

The increasing weakness of the Saldjūḳs about 1300 favoured the formation of local Turkmen and Armenian petty states, especially in the east of Asia Minor. According to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, Christians and Muslims in Malaṭya in those days lived on the best of terms with one another; the town took the side of the Tatars and informed them of everything that went on in the country. During his war against the Tatars, Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn in 715/1315 decided to send a large army under the *nāʾib* of Damascus, Sayf al-Dīn Dengiz, who was joined by his vassal Abu 'l-Fidāʾ of Ḥamāt, against Malaṭya. The army went by Ḥalab, ʿAynṭāb, Ḥiṣn Manṣūr and Zibaṭra to Malaṭya and encamped before the town on 28 April. The inhabitants sent their *ḥākim* Djamāl al-Dīn al-Khiḍr, whose father and grandfather had filled the same office in their time, through the south gate, Bāb al-Ḳāḍī, to Dengiz, who was willing to afford them protection and security, if they surrendered the town. But he was unable to fulfil his pledge, for the soldiers could not be restrained from plundering and ravaging in the town. Among the prisoners was the Tatar Ibn Kerboghāʾ and the *ṣāḥib* of Ḥiṣn Arkanāʾ, Shaykh Mindū. The greater part of the town was finally burned down (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales Moslemici*, ed. Reiske, v, 286-92; ed. Istanbul 1286, iv, 77-8; tr. also in *Rec. hist. or. Crois.*, i, 180; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalif.*, iv, 310-11). The sultan made the territory of Malaṭya a separate frontier province, which included seven districts (Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, 52). There were seven citadels around the town; Mūshār or Minshār, Kūmī, Ḳaraḥiṣār, Kadarbirt, Ḳalʿat Aḳdja, Ḳalʿat Nawḥamām (?) and Ḳalʿat al-Akrād (Khalīl, *op. cit.*; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 97, 105).

Malaṭya for the next few decades belonged to the Mamlūk sultans. As their remotest province, it was with Ḥalab in 791/1389 the scene of a great rebellion led by the governors Minṭāsh and Yilboghā against Barḳūk [*q.v.*]. About this time, the Turkish family of the Dulghadīr or Dhu 'l-Ḳadr-oghlu [see DHU 'L-ḲADR] began to rise to power in the region of Malaṭya and Albistān, where they ruled till 921/1515 under Mamlūk suzerainty. About 794/1391-2, Bāyezīd I conquered the town, and in 903/1400 Tīmūr. By the battle of Ḳoč Ḥiṣār (922/1516) it fell into the hands of Selīm I [*q.v.*] who destroyed the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr-oghlu. This was the cause of his war against Egypt, which was rapidly decided on the field of Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*]. At a later date under the Ottomans, the *eyālet* to which the *sandjak* of Malaṭya belonged was still called Dhu 'l-Ḳadrıyya.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

2. The Ottoman and modern periods.

Reliable information on the size of Malaṭya begins with the 10th/16th century. A first list of taxable inhabitants was prepared in 924/1518, shortly after the end of Mamlūk rule. In 929/1522-3, the town possessed 1,540 taxpayers, who probably represented a total population of 6,900-7,000 inhabitants. Almost forty years later, in 967/1559-60, the number of taxpayers had risen to 1,946. By this time, the total population should have amounted to about 8,700 inhabitants.

Malaṭya's commercial importance during the 10th/16th century was great enough to warrant the construction of a covered market (*bedestān*). In addition, the existence of a bridge toll collected at the Ḳîrkgöz bridge, a Saldjūḳ structure over which the

road to Sīwās crossed the Tokhma Ṣuyu, equally shows that 10th/16th century Malaṭya played a certain role in local and interregional trade. Moreover, it seems also during this period to have possessed at least one major *khān* [*q.v.*]. Of the constructions which existed in the middle of the 10th/16th century and produced appreciable revenues for the Sultan's treasury, nothing at present remains. But in 1046/1636-7, Sultan Murād IV's *kapudan-i deryā*, Silāḥdār Muṣṭafā Pasha, had a new *khān* constructed, which survives today and about whose original shape ample information can be found in contemporary documents. This *khān*, in which several hundreds of camels could be stabled, probably possessed military as well as commercial functions.

For the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, only indirect information concerning the population of Malaṭya is available. In *ca.* 1068/1657-8, the town consisted of 293 taxable units (*ʿawāriḍ-khāne*). At the beginning of the 12th/18th century, the town consisted of almost 100 taxable units (*ʿawāriḍ-khāne*), while the number of houses inhabited by tax-paying families amounted to about 370. Even if a large number of people lived in one house, the town must have declined appreciably between 967/1559-60 and the early 12th/18th century.

Throughout the 11th/17th century, Malaṭya, as described by travellers such as Ewliyā Čelebi and Kātib Čelebi, appears to have functioned primarily as a marketing centre for the fruit and other agricultural produce grown on the rich irrigated land surrounding the town. In summer, most of the inhabitants moved out of Malaṭya proper to live among their gardens and vineyards. This custom gave rise to the development of summer settlements, among which Aspuzu gradually took on the characteristics of a separate town.

Both the gradual decline of Malaṭya, and the rise of Aspuzu were accelerated by eternal factors. In 1838-9 the Ottoman army under Ḥāfiẓ Pasha, on campaign against the Egyptian forces of Muḥammad ʿAlī and his son Ibrāhīm, established winter quarters in Malaṭya. The townsmen were therefore obliged to spend the winter in their summer settlement, and after their return found that the town had been too badly destroyed to make reconstruction worthwhile. As a result, the name as well as the old foundations of Malaṭya were gradually transferred to Aspuzu. The old settlement, first known as Eskishehir and later as Eski Malaṭya, continued to exist as a good-sized village and *nāḥiya* centre.

Similar to other Anatolian towns, Malaṭya toward the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century went through a period of growth. Before the beginning of World War I, population had increased to 40,000. But the economic difficulties of the war years caused a sharp decline, and the first population count of the Turkish Republic in 1927 recorded only about 20,000 inhabitants. However, in the subsequent years, the town soon recovered and then surpassed its previous level, to become one of the most rapidly growing cities of Turkey. According to the census of 1975, Malaṭya possessed a population of 154,505, thereby ranking as a major provincial centre.

Bibliography: Among unpublished documents, see particularly the Ottoman tax registers Tapu Tahrir nos. 387, 408, 257 (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul) and Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Kuyudu Kadime no. 146 (Ankara). Compare also the *kāḍī* registers of 1068/1657-8, p. 198, and 1129-33/1716-21, pp. 121-30 (photostat copies in Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Library, Ankara). The Ottoman period, with particular emphasis on geographical factors, has been treated by Besim Darkot in his *İA* article s.v. (fundamental; excellent bibliography). Further references include: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāmesi*, ed. Aḥmed Djevdet *et alii*, 10 vols., 1313/1895-6 to 1935, iv, 7-20; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-numā*, Istanbul 1145/1732-3), 600, *Malatya il yıllığı*, 1967, Ankara; W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia*, 2 vols. London 1842, i, 252-6; Ch. Texier, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie*, Paris 1862, 586-9; Helmuth von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, Berlin 1877, 297 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie. Géographie administrative. Statistique descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie Mineure*, 4 vols. Paris 1891-4, ii, 369-75; *Murray's handbook, Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, London 1895, 256-7; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, 336-8; E. Banse, *Die Türkei. Eine moderne Geographie*, Brunswick 1916, 223-4; E. Chaput, *Voyages d'études géologiques et géomorphogéniques en Turquie*, Istanbul 1936, 134 ff.; A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, 2 vols. Paris 1940, i, 263-75, 352-4; ii, 94-7; Zeki Oral, *Malatya kitabeleri ve tarihi*, in *III Türk Tarih Kongresi, Kongreye sunulan tebliğler*, Ankara 1948, 434-40; Celal Yalvaç, *Eski Malatya Ulu Camii*, in *Türk Yurdu*, v (1966), 22-9; M. Oluş Arık, *Malatya Ulu Camiinin asli planı ve tarihi hakkında*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, viii (1969), 141-5; Erol Özbilgen, *Eski Malatya'da Silahdar Mustafa Paşa Hanı'nın restitüsyonu hakkında*, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, i (1970), 93-102; Nejat Göyünç, *Eski Malatya'da silahdar Mustafa Paşa Hanı*, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, i (1970), 63-92; idem, *Silahdar Mustafa Paşa Hanına ait bir vesika*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxv (1971), 73-8; idem, *Kanuni devrinde Malatya şehri*, in *VII Türk Tarih Kongresi, Kongreye sunulan bildiriler*, 2 vols. Ankara 1973, ii, 654-9; Cevet Çulpan, *Türk taşköprüleri, Ortacağdan Osmanlı devri sonuna kadar*, Ankara 1975, 119-20.

(S. Faroqhi)

MALAY PENINSULA. 1. Geographical considerations. The Malay peninsula, together with the Borneo states of Sabah (formerly North Borneo) [see BORNEO in Suppl.] and Sarawak, became the Federation of Malaysia in 1963. The population of the Federation in 1977 was estimated at 12.74 million, of whom 10.5 million lived on the peninsula, and the ethnic composition (according to 1970 census figures) was approximately: Malay 46.8%, Chinese 34.1%, Indians 9%, Dayaks (including Ibans) 3.7%, Kadazan 1.8%, other native groups 3.2%, and others (Eurasians, Arabs, Siamese, Filipinos, Indonesians, etc.) 1.4%. While almost all Malays, Indonesians, and some of the native groups are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī school, the other ethnic communities are mainly Christian, Buddhist and Hindu. "Peninsular Malaysia", as the Malay peninsula is officially known to distinguish it from the Borneo half, covers some 131,794 square kilometres and comprises the eleven states of Perlis, Kedah, Penang, Perak, Selangor (in which is located the separate Federal Capital Territory of Kuala Lumpur), Malacca, Johor, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan.

Peninsular Malaysia's unique location explains much about its prominent role in the history of Islam in Southeast Asia. Lying athwart the Straits of Malacca, the Malay peninsula is the southernmost extension of mainland Southeast Asia and forms, with the islands of the Indonesian archipelago, a large

breakwater between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Until the advent of air travel, seaborne traffic moving between the major civilisations of the East and the West was forced to sail through either the Sunda Straits, separating the Indonesian islands of Java and Sumatra, or the Malacca Straits. The latter was indeed almost the only passageway used until the Sunda Straits became better known in the 10th/16th century, with the invention of ships capable of open sea sailing and with the discovery of the winds known as the "Roaring Forties", enabling ships to sail quickly and easily from east coast Africa to Indonesia.

The Malay peninsula is also strategically located in terms of the seasonal monsoon winds circulating over the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. With the onset of the southwest monsoon in April, the winds blow from the Indian Ocean on to the Sumatra coast then in May across the Malay peninsula. While this monsoon gradually decreases, the northeast monsoon develops in the northern part of the South China Sea in October. It reaches a peak in January, when it covers all equatorial Southeast Asia except for Java and southern Sumatra, and then slowly lessens in intensity until the cycle begins again in April. Sailing ships in earlier centuries were dependent upon these winds to move quickly between east and west, and experienced mariners soon realised that the Straits of Malacca were ideal as a harbouring place because they were sheltered from the winds and were the beginning and end points of the monsoons.

Another important geographical consideration is the Malay peninsula's virtually inaccessible interior and its long coastlines. Along the whole length of the peninsula for about 483 km is a north-south mountain range varying between 914 and 2,134 m. above sea level. This main range and inhospitable interior jungles have been the main barriers to trans-peninsular contact by land. On the opposite shore of the Straits, in Sumatra, fairly similar conditions are found. From very early on, therefore, inhabitants living on the Malay peninsula and east-coast Sumatra have regarded the rivers and seas around them as the primary means of contact with one another. The Straits of Malacca between the west coast of the peninsula and the east coast of Sumatra became an internal lake linking the people living in lands adjoining it and helping to create a basically common culture. Communication between these peoples was often even closer than that between those living on the west and east coasts of the peninsula itself.

2. Early contact with the outside world. It is generally accepted that by the 2nd century A.D. there were Indian traders in the area of the Straits. The search for gold may have provided the initial impetus, but soon a profitable exchange of local products with Indian goods sustained the trade. The participation of the Chinese and other traders from the East and the Indonesian archipelago, all using the Straits as a convenient harbouring place and later exchange site, was an added attraction to Indian traders. Enterprising native chieftains quickly seized the opportunity to make their particular settlement the centre of trade. The few places which developed into major entrepôts had responded successfully to the demands of foreign merchants and provided the physical facilities and the legal and governmental apparatus to assure the rapidity, fairness and security of trade.

Through contact with Indians, the Malays were introduced to religio-political and cultural ideas which struck a familiar chord, since both societies shared a basic Monsoon Asian belief system. What was different and hence attractive to the locals was the elaboration and refinement of these ideas from India which had been a result of the incorporation of the Indo-European Aryan culture to local Monsoon Asian belief. Although little is known of how this "Indianisation" process occurred in the Malay areas, its success can be gauged by the survival of Indian terms, themes, and practices in present-day Malay language, literature and court ceremonies. India, then, was regarded from early times by Malays as the homeland of a rich culture worthy of consideration and emulation.

China's contact with the Malay peninsula was much more limited since it only began using a sea route to the West from about the 5th century A.D. Even then, China's political philosophy regarding the self-sufficiency of the kingdom discouraged official involvement in international trade. Nevertheless, some trade under various guises and rationalisations did occur and was carried on principally by Persians and Arabs in the first millenium A.D. Only later in the period of the famous Ming voyages of the late 8th/14th and early 9th/15th centuries did the Malay areas begin to appreciate the splendour and the might of the culture from China. Like India, China now became regarded by Malays as a respectable source of goods and ideas.

A third group to have visited the Malay areas in earlier centuries was the Arabs. By the 3rd/9th century, Arab traders knew a large part of Southeast Asia, but appeared to have neglected this area in favour of the lucrative China trade. Although Arab sources mention the northwestern and eastern coasts of Sumatra, the Malacca Straits down to Palembang, Johor, part of the Riau-Lingga archipelago and Pulau Tioman, there is no hint of organised Arab trade with these areas until the mid-4th/mid-10th century. By the 7th/13th century, Arab trade to Southeast Asia was all but superseded by that of their Muslim brethren from India, and it is to them that the spread of Islam through the archipelago is generally attributed.

3. The coming of Islam to the Malay lands. The Malay areas were accustomed to regard India as a source of respectable and exciting ideas, and they welcomed Indians bearing tidings of Islam in the same way that they had greeted their predecessors with their Hindu-Buddhist ideas. Although the question as to which Indian group was responsible for the conversion of Southeast Asia may never be answered conclusively, the direct relationship between trade and the spread of Islam is rarely denied. After the fall of Bag̲h̲dād and the destruction of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate by the Mongols in 657/1258, the spice route from the east through the Persian Gulf, up to the Levantine coast, and thence to northern Europe, was effectively closed. A new route now went from the east to India, then to Aden in southern Arabia, through the Red Sea up to Alexandria, and thence northward. Since the authorities in Egypt refused any but Muslim trading as far as Alexandria, the Muslim ports of Cambay, Surat and Diu in Gud̲j̲arāt province of India acquired great importance as trans-shipment centres for spices. Growing demand for Eastern spices by a prosperous Renaissance Europe and the cessation from the 8th/14th century of direct Chinese trade to India brought the Gud̲j̲arātī merchants into great prominence as intermediaries in the spice trade. Their great numbers in Malacca [*q.v.*], the major emporium in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago in the 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, facilitated the work of Muslim missionaries in spreading the ideas of Islam in the region. By the beginning of the 10th/16th cen-

tury, in addition to the thousand or so Gudjarātī merchants resident in the city of Malacca, there were about three to four thousand others always en route between this port and those in Gudjarāt. But the Gudjarātīs did not have the exclusive control of trade to Southeast Asia. There were substantial numbers of other Indian traders from the Malabar [*q.v.*] and Coromandel Coasts in South India, as well as from Bengal. In fact, some of the strongest arguments, based on local traditions and survival of certain religious terms, have been made for a Southern Indian origin of the Islamic ideas which came to Southeast Asia.

A theory has recently been advanced which does not attempt to single out any particular group for the honour of bringing Islam to Malay shores. Instead, it suggests that there was a general Islamic "fall-out" around the shores of the Indian Ocean which "showered" the Malay areas. When the Portuguese fleet rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 904/1498, they entered what has been described as an "Arabic-speaking Mediterranean". The extensive trading network which stretched from east-coast Africa to India was dominated by Muslims, and Arabic was the *lingua franca.* Malays had already long been a part of this trading world in which the Muslim network was simply the latest development. A 6th/12th century Arab account mentions Malays from Zābag (identified with Srīvijaya, a kingdom which flourished in the Straits of Malacca area between the 1st/7th and 8th/14th centuries) participating in the trade to east coast Africa, while an 8th/14th century Arabic source describes a trip from China to Sumatra on a junk manned by Malays. The latter had moved from being simply engaged in facilitating the trade of others to active traders themselves. They, therefore, according to this theory of "fall-out", were already subject to Islamic ideas prevalent in the Indian Ocean area.

Another theory concerning the coming of Islam to the Malay lands points to an easterly route, from China to Champa in central Vietnam and then to the western half of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. The participation of Muslim Arabs and Persians as shippers for the Chinese traders in earlier centuries, and the later direct involvement of Malays in the trade to China, would have provided the vehicle for movement of ideas from Muslims in China to these trading intermediaries. Early Chinese contacts with the Malay areas, especially with the 9-10th/15-16th century kingdom of Malacca, had already made such an avenue for ideas both acceptable and respectable.

4. The adoption of Islam by Malay society. A foreign Muslim trading colony is said to have existed at some time in the 4th/10th century in Kalah [*q.v.*] a place tentatively located in the northern part of the Malay peninsula. Other evidence of early Muslim activity on the peninsula itself is scattered and difficult to corroborate. In 1965 a Muslim tombstone was found in Kedah bearing the Arabic date 291 A.H. (903 A.D.). Another find was a gold coin in Kelantan in 1914, which local Islamic scholars claim dates from a 6th/12th century Muslim kingdom in that state. But the most interesting and reliable discovery of early Muslim activity in the peninsula is the Trengganu Stone, dated between 703/1303 and 788-9/1386-7. The stone, which was intended as a pillar, contains the oldest Malay text in the Perso-Arabic script. It refers to certain Islamic laws in a way which indicated that the population, if converted, was not yet deeply Muslim. However, the first evidence accepted by historians as indicating sustained local Muslim activity in the Straits of Malacca is not on the peninsula but on Sumatra, where Marco Polo in 692/1292 mentioned a Muslim town in Perlak on the northeastern coast.

The manner in which Islam, once brought to the Straits area through the trading connection, took root is still a matter of speculation. If the Indianisation process, though imperfectly known, can be used as a guide, there had to be certain perceived benefits which the new religion or religio-political ideas could confer on the receiving society. There are some who have argued that the rulers of the Malay areas were attracted by the resplendent titulary and traditions of the Perso-Islamic kingship which had arrived via India. An epithet borrowed from the Babylonian rulers, "God's Shadow on Earth", became incorporated into the titles of the Muslim rulers, as did the Persian title of Shāh. From Baghdād to Morocco and from the north of India in Dihlī to the south in Madura, Muslim rulers assumed grandiloquent titles or *laḳabs* [*q.v.*] to mark their uniqueness. To belong to such a distinguished company and to acquire the appellations and ceremonies associated with this new religion would have appealed to a Malay ruler, always awake to the possibilities of enhancing his position.

Another perceived benefit of Islam among the local ruling classes would have been the prospects of closer economic links with the powerful and prosperous Muslim kingdoms, whence came most of the traders to the Malay areas. After Malacca's foundation some time in the beginning of the 9th/15th century, it vied with a number of centres to become the dominant entrepôt in the region. One of its competitors was Pasai on the northeastern coast of Sumatra which had accepted Islam toward the end of the 8th/14th century. Malacca's rulers may have justifiably attributed Pasai's prosperity to the presence of large numbers of Muslim Indian cloth merchants in that city. Since Indian cloth was an essential component of the complex exchange system which operated in the Southeast Asian region, any ruler able to attract Indian cloth merchants was assured of a lucrative trade in his port. As an Islamic city, Pasai offered to Muslim traders mosques and the protection of an Islamic ruler, advantages which neighbouring non-Muslim kingdoms were unable to match. For Malacca's rulers, therefore, there seemed much to gain and little to lose by embracing this new faith.

While the paraphernalia of Perso-Islamic kingship and hopes of increased trade with powerful Muslim kingdoms may have been appreciated by the ruling classes, such arguments would have probably been insufficient to convince many of the common folk. In some areas in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, local sources indicate that, despite the conversion of the rulers, some resistance to Islam was encountered among the common people. But initial distrust gave way to cautious acceptance as the people began to view Islam as yet another source of ideas and spiritual power to strengthen the community.

One reason for the success of the proselytisation effort among the people may be attributed to Ṣūfism. The impressive flourishing in 10-11th/16-17th century Atjèh in north Sumatra of Ṣūfī ideas has given rise to the suggestion that Ṣūfism may have been the vehicle by which Islam became the religion of the archipelago. Ṣūfism's moderate religious demands, incorporation of local pre-Islamic beliefs, and similarity to certain existing spiritual practices are seen as positive factors in its general acceptance. In the Malay areas the Ṣūfī recitation of prescribed prayer formulae (*awrād*, sing. *wird*) resembled local incantations to the spirits; the trance-inducing Ṣūfī sessions of the *dhikr*

[*q.v.*] were similar to the seances of the local shaman (*pawang*); and the healing powers attributed to the Ṣūfī were a trait also associated with the traditional village doctor (*bomoh*). The successful co-existence of Islamic and local spirit practices is clearly demonstrated in a 12th/18th century Malay text from Perak, the *Misa Melayu*. It describes how, when the sultan was ill, prayers were offered to the Prophet, the saints, as well as the ancestors. *Pawangs* commonly ascribed their incantations to the Hindu deities Śiva and Brahma, as well as to Luḳmān al-Ḥakīm, father of Arabian magic [see LUḲMĀN]. Among Malay farmers today there are various *Kitab Tib*, Islamic works on magic, saint worship, and other practices considered to be only vaguely Muslim. One of the most well-known of these works is the *Taj ul-Muluk* (*Tādj al-mulūk*) respected among Malay farmers as the standard source on Islamic magic.

Another factor which may have facilitated conversion to Islam was the introduction of Muslim tales into the already vast international repertory of stories found among the Malays. Tales of Islamic heroes appealed to the people as much as the heroes of the well-known episodes from the Indian epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. Stories of the lives of Muslim saints were a source of entertainment and religious edification, and treatises on magic and divination helped confirm Islam as another important, if not the most superior, source of spiritual power for the Malay community.

One other reason should be cited for the adoption of Islam as a religion among Malays. In all levels of society, there would have been people who would have understood the basic teachings of the religion and seen their value for this life and for that in the hereafter. For such people, the act of embracing Islam was a spiritual commitment to the basic tenets preached by the Prophet Muḥammad.

5. The role of Malays and the Malay language in the propagation of Islam. The conversion of Malacca to Islam [see MALACCA] was an important factor in that kingdom's rise to become one of the greatest commercial emporiums in the 9th/15th century world and the centre for the propagation of Islam to other areas of Southeast Asia. With Malacca as the hub of a vast international trading network, which included even the easternmost islands of the Indonesian archipelago, Malay and other traders prepared the way for more formal conversion by Muslim missionaries. Malacca's predominance on the Malay peninsula meant that Islam quickly became established as a religion in all the vassal courts and riverine settlements.

The incorporation of the Malay peninsula and other areas in the archipelago into the Muslim *ummat* provided a basis for united action against the Christian Europeans who began appearing in the area from the beginning of the 10th/16th century. But unity was more a hope than a reality, and in 917/1511 the famous entrepôt kingdom of Malacca fell to the Portuguese, to be replaced by new centres of power in the Muslim kingdoms of Atjèh [*q.v.*] in northern Sumatra and Banten in West Java [see INDONESIA]. Malacca's royal family roamed the wide reaches of their kingdom before finally settling at a site on the Johor River in the southern tip of the Malay peninsula. As the ruling house of the new kingdom of Johor, the Malacca dynasty continued to conduct itself in the manner of the former days of glory, but the direction in the Islamic world in the archipelago was shifting to the rising power of Atjèh.

At the court of Atjèh in the 11th/17th century, important religious tracts on Ṣūfī mysticism were being translated into Malay by such writers as Ḥamza Fanṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf of Singkel [SEE INDONESIA. iv. History. (a) Islamic period]. Although Malay was not the mother tongue of any of these writers, it was the *lingua franca* in the archipelago as a result of Malacca's long dominance in the trading world. In order to reach the largest number of readers, these mystic scholars were forced to use Malay to explain Islamic concepts in a way which was comprehensible to those with only a limited understanding of Islam. Toward the end of the 12th/18th century, Malay theologians followed the trends in the Middle East and turned to the mysticism of al-Ghazālī. The latter's famous work, the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, was translated into Malay over a ten-year period by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad of Palembang, while Dāwūd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs of Patani also translated this work and al-Ghazālī's *Kitāb al-Asrār* and *Kitāb al-Ḳurba ilā Allāh* into Malay. For more serious debate within the Islamic world itself, these writers read, wrote, and discussed in Arabic.

For anyone wishing to go beyond the few rudiments of Islamic law and doctrine, a knowledge of Malay was essential. Even in those few manuals written in other regional languages there were numerous Malay words. But the more important information was contained in *kitabs*, which are works written in Malay but derived and compiled from Arabic sources. In general, only the introduction, the conclusion, and a few comments are the original work of the local "author", while the remainder is simply a translation. These *kitabs* were the principal tools of Islamic learning for many who were unable to read Arabic. One inhabitant in early 19th century Malacca describes how a poor Arab *sayyid* (Malay, *sayid*) from the Ḥaḍramawt with a knowledge of both Arab and Malay gave lessons on Islam for five dollars per year per pupil. The first text used was the *Ummu 'l-barahin* (*Umm al-barāhīn*), and then he went on to other manuscripts, all in Malay, to teach canon law, matters concerning prayers and similar devotional practices, various branches of Islamic knowledge and didactic stories. Malay, then, had become a language of Islam and an essential vehicle for the spread of religious ideas throughout the Southeast Asian Islamic world.

6. Impressions of Islamic institutions before the mid-19th century. There is very little material about Islam in the Malay peninsula before the early period of British rule in the mid-19th century. What one knows about Islamic institutions before this must perforce remain as impressions from scattered and often disparate evidence in Malay sources and contemporary European reports. It appears that one of the most important Islamic officials in the Malay states was the *kadi* (*ḳāḍī*). In early 12th/18th century Johor, the *kadi* was ranked next to the principal ministers as the most powerful individual in the kingdom. His respected status may have been a result of his Muslim learning, which would have still been considered to be a rare achievement in the Malay world at this time. Even in the early 19th century, an episode is related in the *Hikayat Abdullah* of how the rare appearance in Malacca of a learned *sayid* from Atjèh resulted in a virtual self-imposed seclusion of those who previously had claimed to be local religious scholars. The *kadi* appeared to have had close ties with the royal family and may even have married into local royalty. His knowledge of Islam would have made him in the eyes of the local people a superior individual with access to strong spiritual powers. But as the number of Muslim

teachers and scholars increased, especially in the second half of the 18th and 19th centuries, the *kadi* gradually lost his unique standing. Nevertheless, in the 19th century he was still described as "presiding over a number of mosques".

The only indication that one has of a religious hierarchy, although not necessarily an official one, is from the *Misa Melayu.* At the occasion of the opening of a new palace (*mahaligai*), which coincided with the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday, special celebrations were arranged with the secular and religious guests seated according to rank. On the first level was the sultan and his religious counterpart, the *sharif*; on the second level the nobles and the *ulama*; on the third level the court attendants and the *imam*; on the fourth level the district official (*hulubalang*) and the *khatib*; on the fifth level the official in charge of a settlement around a mosque (*penghulu mukim*) and the *bilal* (i.e. the muezzin); on the sixth level the ordinary people and the experts on religious matters (*lebai* and *alim*); and on the lowest level, the foreign traders, itinerant travellers and the religious mendicants (*fakir*).

The *sharif* family was especially honoured in Perak, but everywhere else in the Malay peninsula, descendants of the Prophet, whether *sayid* or *sharif* (Malays rarely distinguished between the two), generally were accorded a high place in society and even regarded as suitable marriage partners for the royal children. But pre-19th century sources rarely speak of them until the arrival of Ḥaḍramawt *sayids* and *sharifs* in the archipelago from the mid-12th/18th century. Once again, as the *kadi* in Johor in the early 12th/18th century, the prominent position of the *sayid* or *sharif* was most likely due to his religious knowledge, which would have been substantially greater than most other Muslims in the kingdom. But more important, the *sharif* or *sayid* had an even greater claim to respect and honour among the Malays because of his direct descent from the Prophet.

While there does not appear to have been any official hierarchy extending from the chief religious figures at the court to the other Muslim officials in the kingdom, there was a definite ranking at the village level. The *imam*, usually a member of a prominent village family, was the head of the village prayer house (*surau*), which functioned as the gathering place for Friday prayers, village Islamic rituals, village education, and certain community-wide religious celebrations. Mosques were usually found only in the larger settlements and in the towns. Below the *imam* was the *khatib* who delivered the Friday sermons and performed the wedding ceremonies. Next in line was the *bilal*, who called the faithful to prayer and officiated at funerals; and finally there was the *penghulu mukim*, combining both secular and religious administrative duties, who kept the mosque in good order, assisted in ceremonies, reminded the faithful of the Friday services, reported absences to the *imam* and beat the wooden gong outside the mosque to summon the people to prayer. The *kadi* and the village elders screened individuals before selecting them for these posts. Funds for the partial remuneration of these religious functionaries and for the upkeep of the *surau* or mosque were obtained through a collection of the annual *zakat* and *fitrah* (*zakāt al-fiṭr*), the taxes or alms, from the villagers.

Other than the small village Islamic officialdom, with the *kadi* at the apex in charge of a number of village *suraus* or mosques, there is no mention in the sources of any formal kingdom-wide religious hierarchy. A study of the state of Kelantan suggests that above this village hierarchy may have functioned a nominally state-wide authority of a *mufti* and *kadi* with the various other officials associated with the religious courts. But in other states the picture is less clear, and the only reference one has of any united Islamic effort is when holy war is declared against the Europeans. But such calls for Muslim unity were mainly unsuccessful since personal, ethnic, and state rivalries and antagonisms often proved stronger than the appeal to a common religious bond.

7. Islam in British Malaya. Only in the 19th century with the establishment of British rule in Singapore (1819) and the Malay peninsula (1874-1919) did a more formal organisation of Islam occur. The British long maintained the pretence that they were merely advisers to the Malay sultans, while effectively exercising control over all aspects of government except "religion and custom". This latter sphere was regarded as being under the jurisdiction of the sultans. Unable to exercise much authority in matters of government, the sultans in the last two decades of the 19th century created a religious administration modelled after the centralised bureaucratic system imposed by the British to govern the Malay states. In Kelantan, which together with Trengganu, Perlis and Kedah were under Siam until 1909, religious administrative change occurred toward the end of the 19th century more as a result of a reaction to Siamese provincial reform efforts than to any British example.

By the second decade of the 20th century, most states had a form of centralised Islamic bureaucracy which was co-ordinated by bodies such as Perak's Council of Chiefs and Ulamas, Kelantan's Council of Religion and Malay Custom, Selangor's various committees under the State Council, and Johor's Council of Ministers. These bodies, which included the State *Mufti* (*Shaikh ul-Islam*) and the Chief *Kadi* as ex-officio members, were appointed by the sultan and served as his religious advisers. What differed significantly from the past was the presence in these organisations of a majority of non-Islamic officials from the royal household and senior chiefs, a development which reflected the limited opportunities now open to the traditional ruling classes in the new British colonial government. Their participation in the newly-formalised religious hierarchy further strengthened the long-standing mutually supportive relationship between religious and secular authorities. This alliance guaranteed that any Islamic reform movement which threatened to weaken the established religion would find little favour among the ruling classes. It is noteworthy that the reformist Wahhābī movement which made such a great impression in Indonesia, especially in Sumatra at the end of the 18th and 19th centuries, created barely a ripple in the Malay peninsula.

In the new Islamic bureaucracy, the previously-independent village Muslim officals became incorporated into a system which bound them closer to the secular authorities than ever before. Although implementation of policies from the centre was often difficult because of the relative inaccessibility of some of the villages, the new religious structure did reinforce, at least in the eyes of the people, Islam's traditional support for the ruler.

Islamic scholarship, too, became much more organised and extensive in the peninsula in the 19th century. One major factor in this development was the new Islamic intellectual activity being fostered in such centres as Atjèh, Palembang and Riau. Malay translations from the Arabic of authoritative Muslim treatises on doctrine, law, exegesis, commentary,

Ṣūfism, prayer and catechism were produced, together with popular religious works in Malay which arose independent of the Middle East. Riau's reputation as the guardian of the Malay heritage, which now also included the purity of Islam, made it an exemplar of Islamic thought and attitudes for the rest of the Malay world. From the beginning of the 19th century, reformist Islamic ideas were encouraged on Riau, as were the Ṣūfī mystical brotherhoods divested of their "accretions". In the congenial atmosphere of the Riau court, particularly that of the Raja Muda on the island of Penyengat, religious writings and theological debates flourished, attracting Muslim scholars from all parts of the archipelago.

One of the members of the Raja Muda family and a prominent Malay scholar was Raja Ali Haji ibni Raja Ahmad (*ca.* 1809-*ca.* 1870). He encouraged the recruitment of Islamic teachers and was sufficiently regarded as an Islamic scholar himself to have been consulted on religious doctrine by the royal family and even appointed as the religious adviser to the Raja Muda. He was greatly influenced by al-G̲h̲azālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* and *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, as can be seen by Raja Ali Haji's application of theological and ethical argument in viewing the Malay past in his monumental work, the *Tuḥfat al-nafīs*. Raja Ali Haji also had sisters and sons who promoted the study of Islam in such groups as the *Persekutuan Rusydiah*. But Raja Ali Haji remained the dominant intellectual figure in Riau, and his religious ideas became the basis for many of the views expounded later by the *Kaum Muda* group in Singapore.

The Straits Settlements of Malacca, Penang and Singapore, geographically and culturally on the edge of Malay society, contributed further to the development of Islamic thought in the region. Created as an administrative unit by the British in 1867, the Straits Settlements were cosmopolitan centres serving as a gateway for the flow of labour, capital and ideas to the Malay peninsula. The wealth and dynamism of Penang and Singapore, enjoying the protection of British rule, fostered religious and political ideas which were less acceptable in the Malay states. A heterogeneous Muslim community became resident in these cities, especially in Singapore, since it was an important port of call for Southeast Asian Muslims going on the pilgrimage to Mecca.

From the last two decades of the 19th century until about 1920, when Penang challenged its position, Singapore had a reputation as a principal centre of Islamic learning. Muslims from Southeast Asia, India, and the Middle East gathered in the city to debate the latest religious ideas, and Islamic tracts in Arabic were translated and simplified into Malay for consumption throughout the archipelago, a practice which had already begun in the 9th/15th century in the heyday of the Malacca kingdom. No stronger comment can be made concerning the vitality of Islam in Singapore than to mention that those in the archipelago wishing to study Islamic law or theology went either to Mecca or to Singapore. The establishment of a number of hand lithograph presses in Singapore in the late 19th century operated principally by *Jawi Peranakan* (those of mixed Malay-Indian origin) enabled the publication of a growing body of Islamic literature in Arabic, Malay and even in some regional languages. The generally liberal attitude of the British authorities toward religious activities in the Straits Settlements facilitated the publication of works and journals not in favour with the religious establishment in the peninsula.

In July 1906 a periodical *Al-Imam*, modelled intellectually after the Egyptian periodical *al-Manār*, began publication in Singapore, promoting the modernist Islamic ideas of the Egyptian thinker, Muḥammad ʿAbduh. Although *Al-Imam's* readership was small, limited mainly to the intellectuals in urban areas, its ideas did percolate to the countryside in the peninsula. The presence of *Al-Imam's* representatives in most Malay states and the interest which it generated among religious teachers in the modernist Islamic schools, the *madrasahs*, assured the transmission of its viewpoints to an audience outside the cities. This, and other similar publications, advocated a return to the original strength of early Islam and the rejection of accretions to Islam which had prevented the revival of the Malay nation. A number of *madrasahs* began to be established introducing a more modern curriculum than that offered by the *pondok* ("hut") schools, which employed the method of recitation and exegesis by a teacher as the principal means of imparting religious knowledge to the pupils. The *madrasahs* were intended to put into practice the ideas advanced in the modernist Islamic publications. Instruction was by no means confined to Islam, and such commercial subjects as mathematics, history, English, business, techniques for wet-rice agriculture, and soap- and soy sauce-making were also introduced to instruct a good Muslim how to survive and flourish in a modern society.

Because of the traditionally supportive role between the religious and secular authorities in the Malay states, the modernist Islamic press attacks on established religious officialdom became viewed as an attack on the ruling classes. Attempts were made to prevent entry of these publications into the peninsula from the Straits Settlements. In 1934 there was a public burning of a tract on free will written by a Malay modernist who had studied at al-Azhar university in Cairo. But the debate could not be stifled. Opponents of the movement referred to the modernists as *Kaum Muda*, the "Younger Faction", while reserving for themselves the more respectable appellation of *Kaum Tua*, or "Older Faction". The modernists objected to their label, since they regarded themselves as the true "Older Faction" who advocated a return to the original pure teachings of the Prophet. Despite the forcefulness of the rhetoric in the modernist Islamic literature and the progress made in the establishment of *madrasahs*, the impact of modernist ideas was much less in the countryside than in urban areas. With the British creation of Malay vernacular schools throughout the countryside, and the introduction of Ḳurʾān lessons within these schools, the village Muslim officials were able to strengthen their influence among the people. Their new formal positions provided them with security and respectability, and reinforced their traditional ties with the existing secular authorities. The opposition of these village Muslim officials to the modernist Islamic ideas being propagated via the Straits Settlements seriously weakened the impact of such ideas in the Malay countryside. During the Japanese Occupation in Malaya (1942-5), the links between the ruler and the Islamic hierarchy were further reinforced, since more of the secular functions of the ruler were removed, leaving him basically only with religion as an area of responsibility.

8. Islam since independence. Since the independence of Malaya in 1957, there has been constitutionally a separation between Church and State. The various sultans are regarded as the head of religion in their respective states, and in Malacca and Penang, which have no sultans, the quinquennially-

elected Paramount Ruler (*Yang Dipertuan Agung*) is regarded as the religious head. Since 1948 every state has had a religious affairs department, a type of council of religion, the *Sharīᶜa* court, the Treasury or *Bayt al-Māl*, and a department of *zakāt*. While Islam is the proclaimed official religion of Malaysia today, freedom to worship any other religion is guaranteed by the Constitution. The protection of the non-Muslim citizen is evident in the controlled application of *hukum syaraᶜ* or *Sharīᶜa* law. The religious courts (*mahkamah syariah*) deal mainly with Muslim personal law, especially with marriage, divorce and property matters, but have no jurisdiction over non-Muslims. In any conflict between the religious courts and the civil courts, the latter prevail.

The most significant religious development in the peninsula since independence has been the *dakwah* movement. *Dakwah* is described in Malaysia today as a call inviting those who are not yet Muslim to embrace the faith, and those who are Muslims to practice it in their lives. The movement stresses Islam as *deen*, a total system, which provides an effective alternative to Western materialism and secularisation. The movement seems strongest among government officials, teachers, and young urban Malays from English or Malay schools, rather than from Islamic educational institutions as one would have expected. Even among Muslim students studying abroad, there has been a noticeable increase in *dakwah* participation.

The origins of the movement can be traced directly to the government's policy after 1969 to increase Malay enrolments in the universities. Many of these graduates, who became teachers or bureaucrats in the education system, were the *dakwah* activists of the 1970s. The movement gained popularity, particularly after 1974, when government restrictions on student political activity on the campuses led many to re-channel their discontent via the *dakwah* movement, with its stress on Islam as a total system. So pervasive is the movement that the term *dakwah* has been used to categorise behaviour (returning to the simple, less materialistic life style), dress (wearing short praying veils for women, and the turban and long white, green, or black robes for men) and organisation (any group viewing itself as advancing the cause of the movement). Such dedication is encouraged by a steady supply of Islamic literature, both in Indonesian and English, now filling the bookstores in the urban areas.

The basic *dakwah* ideas are in the tradition of earlier Islamic reform movements, such as Wahhābism and the modernism of Muḥammad ᶜAbduh. They all preach the rejection of "corrupt" Islamic accretions and the return to the purity of Islam as practised by the Prophet. And as in earlier reformist waves, the *dakwah* movement is seen as a threat to the existing religious and secular authorities and has been resisted by both. In the villages, many of the Muslim officials reject the movement and have managed to retain the loyalty of the villagers. In the urban areas, where the movement is strongest, traditional religious officials have to a large extent been sheltered by the government's cautious attitude toward the movement. The government has sought to contain or domesticate the movement by creating its own *dakwah* organisations within the various departments. While fears have been expressed concerning the possibility of an Islamic revolution along the lines which have transformed Iran into a theocratic state, the more realistic concern is the movement's threat to disrupt the fragile unity painfully created by the nation's leaders between the Malays and the large non-Muslim Chinese and Indian minorities in the country. The movement is viewed suspiciously by some of the latter as yet another instrument by which the Malays would justify their dominance over the other ethnic communities.

The strength of the traditional relationship between the religious and secular authorities has thus far succeeded in diverting *dakwah* energies along the least disruptive channels. Unlike earlier reformist movements, however, *dakwah* activities have become much more forceful and prominent because of the resurgence of Islamic pride and power throughout the world. Yet one can still detect in the movement, and the attempts by established authority to contain and guide it, the process by which new ideas have always filtered into the Malay peninsula. The Malays are now undergoing a re-examination of their religion and society and will no doubt, as in the past, select only those ideas which will best strengthen and make more meaningful their chosen way of life.

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MALAYS, a people of South-East Asia. The Malays speak Malay, one of the languages of the Austronesian language family. Inscriptions from the area of Palembang in Sumatra dating from the 7th century are the oldest evidence of Malay. They show that Malay functioned as an official language in an Indianised kingdom. It is sometimes assumed, on somewhat tenuous ground, that this region of Sumatra and the islands off its east coast are the homeland of the Malays.

The Malay language takes three forms. It is a series of local dialects; it is a *lingua franca*, and it is the official language of Indonesia, of Malaysia, of Brunei and one of the national languages of Singapore. Its speakers rank sixth in number amongst those of other world languages. Most of these, however, do not have Malay as their first language. Malay is spoken also in Southern Thailand, in Sri Lanka by descendants of slaves brought there, and in the Netherlands by 40,000 Moluccan Malays. What is sometimes called Cape Malay is actually not Malay at all, but Afrikaans with unimportant Malay influence. As the official language of Indonesia [SEE INDONESIA, iii. Languages] it is one of approximately 800 languages. It is spoken as a local dialect in the southern part of Sumatra, around the city of Medan on that island and in the islands of Bangka, Billiton, and in Riau; in Kalimantan it is spoken around the rim of the island; in Java it is spoken as a local dialect in pockets along the north coast. "Moluccan Malay" is one name given to several varieties of the local dialects in Eastern Indonesia. From a linguistic point of view, the situation of dialects has not yet been properly studied. Teeuw notes that the varieties of types of influence—via traders, religious figures, wanderers and others—has left "an intricate complex of Malay, Malay-like and Malay-influenced languages and dialects". In Malaysia, the language of Johor and Riau is considered the correct language. There is much divergence from this form of Malay. However, linguistic study does not yet allow us to specify how many dialects can be isolated.

Malay already existed as a *lingua franca* during the period of Portugese activity in Eastern Indonesia. Its status as a national language was furthered by its use by both Dutch and British in dealing with their colonial subjects. The Japanese replaced Dutch and English with Malay during World War II and thus helped development of Malay as a language of administration and learning. This marked the beginning of efforts to expand the use of the language that continue to the present. Malay is more of a success as a national language in Indonesia than in Malaysia. It has often become the language of domestic life in major Indonesian cities, as well as the language of youth.

The complicated Malay linguistic situation makes it difficult to decide which groups are Malay and which are not. In Malaysia the term *bumiputera*, meaning "son of the soil" is used to distinguish Malays from Chinese and Indians. When it is so used it refers to native speakers of Malay who are Muslim and born in Malaysia. The same term in Borneo, however, refers to tribes who may or may not speak a form of Malay. Though the term *bumiputera* is recent, the notion, as Gullick notes, goes back to British rule. Before colonial times, it is doubtful that an equivalent term was used by anyone to designate themselves, Malay speakers rather referring to themselves as inhabitants of certain places or followers of certain rulers.

Before the colonial period, Malay states were typically situated at the mouths of rivers. Revenues collected from the control of trade were the source of the ruler's power. With these revenues, the ruler maintained a band of retainers. Before the coming of the British, peasants fled from one area to the next as they felt pressure from rulers to pay taxes or perform labour services. The limitation of aristocratic power and the bringing of peace to the Malay Peninsula allowed for the building of permanent Malay setlements. It resulted also in immigration from Sumatra to the central areas of the peninsula. Rubber became a major smallholder crop between 1910 and 1920 and thus a mainstay of the Malay economy on the West Coast. In other states, rice became the chief crop. The growing of those crops along with fishing, the cultivation of copra and palm oil, work on estates and in the civil service comprise the chief occupations of Malaysians today.

It is more difficult to isolate a notion of "Malay" in Indonesia with its more complicated linguistic and ethnic composition and different colonial history. What have been termed "Coastal Malays" have been little studied. Pigeaud has used the Malay word meaning "coastal" to term the culture that includes coastal Malays as well as other groups, "Pasissir culture". Hildred Geertz has elaborated this notion. She sees Pasissir culture as developing around the spice trade of the 14th to the 18th centuries and associated with the spread of Islam. In this process, Malay culture was mixed with other influences—Javanese and Makassarese as well as Arabic and south Indian, with different mixtures evolving in different localities. In addition to Islam, Geertz stresses an orientation to the market and the development of literary forms as features of Pasissir culture. As was the case in the Malay states, a system of status was tied to actual political power so that office was not a sure sign of authority, rulers having to validate their power through the maintenance of retainers.

Malays are Sunni Muslims. Their religious institutions vary from place to place. There is usually a village religious official, often termed a *lebai*. In the traditional states, there were religious officials, including *kadis*, associated with the courts as well as religious functionaries independent of the states and connected often with mosques or with religious boarding schools in the countryside. Peripatetic teachers from the Middle East as well as the pilgrimage have long been important vehicles of influence. The oldest Malay texts which show Muslim influences come from Trengganu in Malaysia and Atjèh in Indonesia. Both date from the 14th century. Tomb inscriptions showing adherence to Islam date from the 15th century. (J. SIEGEL)

Of pre-Islamic Malay literature, nothing is known. As far as may be concluded from a few old in-

scriptions in Hindu script, it seems that Malay was written in Kawi-like characters, but literature, in its earliest known form, is written in Arabic letters only. The oldest manuscripts are preserved in the Cambridge and Oxford libraries; they date from the last years of the 16th and the first decade of the 17th century. The only literary-historical evidence of the existence of written literature in the 16th century is the mention, in a 17th century chronicle, of the use made of a royal library at Malacca at the time when the Portuguese endeavoured to capture that town (1511). Malay literature, as it presents itself now, is only for a very small part original. Hardly any of the chronicles, tales and poems are derived from Arabic sources directly, most of the religious and semi-historical romances having been translated from Persian; but all these literary products are imbued with the Muslim atmosphere, being full of Arabic words and phrases and laden with Islamic theory. There are, it is true, some indigenous farcical tales, and some fables, especially the sometime highly appreciated mouse-deer tales, moreover some original romances with Hinduistic influences, and several adapted old Javanese tales, that do not betray real Islamic influence; but the very fact that all these books are written in Arabic characters makes them overflow with Arabic words in a way that shows that they belong to Islamic mentality. In this short account, there will be no mention of literary products going back to the great Sanskrit epic poems, nor of the tales that do not show traces of Muslim influence; only in so far as Malay literature has Islamic features will it be treated here. The originally genuine Indonesian deer-fable has undergone an Islamic correction. The historical writings, more or less mythical and semi-romantic, are almost absolutely Islamised. To that class of works the chronicle *Sejarah Melayu,* and other ones, as the chronicles of Kutawaringin, Kutai, Atjèh and Pasai, are to be reckoned. A partly historical but for the greater part fictitious, romance is the *Hikayat Hang Tuah.* A host of romances, dealing with foreign princes and princesses and their endless adventures, has been spread over a great part of the Malay-reading East-Indian World; the titles of all those popular, but for European readers less attractive, books, may be found in the catalogues of Malay manuscripts at Leiden, Batavia and London. Some books of fiction have been translated from Persian, Arabic or Hindustani. A group of them is to be traced to the *Hitopadeṣa*-collection, another one to the *Tūtī-nāma*-series, a third one to the *Bakhitar* cycle. Only exceptionally have foreign authors written in Malay; e.g. the Rādjput Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, who wrote a great encyclopaedic chronicle at the instigation of an Atjèhnese queen. A very great number of texts deals with the former prophets, the Prophet Muḥammad, his family and friends. Those works, like e.g. the romances of Amīr Ḥamza and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, have Persian originals. The purely religious books cannot be regarded as Malay literature.

Poetical literature has a different character. The real Malay kind of poetry, though not devoid of Persian influences, is the *pantun,* i.e., popular quatrains, whose first two kinds deal with a natural fact, or a well known event, and are intended to prelude, phonetically, the third and fourth lines, that contain the real meaning of the usually erotic poem. The other "genre" is the *shaʿir.* Its form is the stanza of four rhyming lines. Some of these very extensive overloaded poems are from the Javanese, some others are versified versions of prose romances, moreover historical events, love-scenes, religious matters, mystical speculations etc. are dealt with in innumerable *shaʿir.* (Ph. van Ronkel)

The development of Malay as a modern literary language is generally said to begin with the writings of Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi, 1796-1854 (known as Munshi Abdullah), who introduced a colloquial style and who relied on his own observations for the content of his writing. The Islamic features of the literature that developed after Munshi Abdullah are difficult to specify. The progress of modern literature meant a decisive break with older forms, such as the *shaʿir,* with their strong Muslim overtones. At the same time, the development of contemporary forms such as the novel and short story can be seen as a means of continuing the expression of traditional social tensions which often centred around Islam. Writers from the 1920s and 1930s who were responsible for the acceptance of modern styles were most often from the Minangkabau region of Sumatra. Taufik Abdullah has shown that a continuous tension and resolution between Minangkabau tradition which featured matrilineal descent and Islam resulted in the perpetual generation of new social forms. The modern novel and short story as exemplified in the works of writers such as Marah Rusli, born 1889, Nur Sutan Iskandar, born 1893, and Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, born 1908, can be seen as continuing the expression of this tension. At the same time, one cannot point to a specifically Islamic literature, though writers such as Hadji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, born 1908 (known as Hamka) continue to deal with Islamic themes.

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MALAYSIA. Political developments since 1957. The Federation of Malaya (consisting of nine peninsular Malay states plus Penang and Melaka) achieved sovereign independence within the Commonwealth on 31 August 1957. The written constitution (amended at various times since) provided a

strong central authority comprising the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (the constitutional monarch who is elected at five-yearly intervals by and from the nine hereditary Malay Rulers), a partially nominated Senate and a wholly elected House of Representatives. The Malay Rulers remained heads of their respective states (though Governors occupied this position in Penang and Melaka), each of which was provided with an executive council responsible to the state assembly. The Rulers were also confirmed as heads of the Islamic religion in their states. For a society where differences between Malays, Chinese and Indians are marked, a single nationality was created with provisions enabling all persons to qualify for citizenship either by birth or according to requirements of residence, language and allegiance. Though this would allow the proportion of non-Malay citizens to rise steadily, it was made acceptable to the Malays by constitutional safeguards for their religion, language and "special position" in public service, education, land reservations, etc. Lawyers and politicians have had some difficulty reconciling the historic principles of "the special position of the Malays" with the more modern concept of "common nationality".

Tunku Abdul Rahman's Alliance coalition of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) was intended to make compatible the interests of the three major communities. The arrangement allowed Malay political hegemony and non-Malay domination of the economy in the short term while holding out the prospect of a gradual breakdown of these respective preserves. The Alliance majority was confirmed at the 1959 elections and on 1 August 1960 it was confident enough to end the Emergency which has been declared on the outbreak of the communist insurrection (June 1948). Controversial educational and rural developmental policies were launched to improve the economic lot of the Malays.

On 27 May 1961 the Tunku proposed the formation of "Malaysia" from Malaya and the British dependencies of Singapore, Brunei, North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak. Neither the Tunku nor Lee Kuan Yew (Chief Minister of Singapore) believed that an independent Singapore could survive on its own, while the former was confident that the peoples of Borneo would counter-balance the Chinese of Singapore. Reassured about their military base in Singapore, the British were prepared to decolonise the rest of their Southeast Asian empire via the Malaysia plan. Despite protests in Borneo (e.g. the Sarawak United People's Party; Azahari's revolt in Brunei, December 1962), the Cobbold Commission and a UN Mission separately concluded that the majorities in Sabah and Sarawak favoured Malaysia which was inaugurated, but without Brunei's membership, on 16 September 1963.

The new federation faced problems within and without. Sukarno condemned it as a "neo-colonial" conspiracy and "confrontation" between Indonesian and Malaysian-Commonwealth forces lasted until May 1966, while the Philippines laid claim to Sabah. Relations between Kuala Lumpur and some state governments were also strained. The Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP) controlled Kelantan, and the federal government had to intervene in the affairs of Sabah and Sarawak to ensure state governments to its liking. Lee Kuan Yew's commitment to a "Malaysian Malaysia" challenged the Alliance formula for the harmonisation of communal differences and roused UMNO "ultras". In August 1965, Singapore was forced to secede from Malaysia. Nevertheless, the Alliance had increased its majority in the 1964 federal elections.

The elections five years later, however, were bitterly contested. The PMIP and some Malays within UMNO criticised Tunku Abdul Rahman for "giving in" to the Chinese, while the Democratic Action Party (DAP), Gerakan and People's Progressive Party complained about the disadvantages suffered by non-Malays. Reduction of the Alliance majority, particularly the MCA's poor performance, provoked demonstration and counter-demonstration which spilled into communal violence in Kuala Lumpur on 13 May 1969. Probably many hundreds were killed. Parliamentary government was suspended until February 1971.

1969 is a turning-point in the modern history of Malaysia. Tun Abdul Razak, for years the Tunku's deputy, assumed the leadership of government, first as Director of the National Operations Council and later as Prime Minister (September 1970 to January 1976). Razak evolved a strategy for stability which was continued by Hussein Onn (1976-81) and Mahathir (since 1981). The *Rukunegara* (national creed) was proclaimed, but public and parliamentary debate of "sensitive issues", notably the paramountcy of the Malay Rulers, the special position of *bumiputras* ("princes of the soil", i.e. Malays and other indigenous peoples) and the citizenship rights of non-Malays, was outlawed. Authoritarianism has been a characteristic of Malaysian government; in 1960 when the Emergency ended, the executive equipped itself with even wider emergency powers by amending the Internal Security Act, and detention without trial and news censorship have been features of the period since the return to parliamentary government in 1971. The coalition has been enlarged to incorporate former opposition parties, including the Parti Islam Sa-Malaysia (PAS, previously PMIP), between 1973 and 1977, but not the DAP. This National Front (NF or *Barisan National*), like the old Alliance, has been dominated by UMNO. In the 1974 elections, the NF won well over two-thirds of the federal seats (the amount needed to amend the constitution) and control of all 13 states.

Perhaps the most significant result of the 1969 riots lay in economic planning. One of the most prosperous countries in Asia and enjoying an enviable growth rate, Malaysia has nonetheless suffered from rural poverty and an uneven distribution of income. To break down the communal compartmentalisation of society, in which *bumiputras* were identified with traditional activities while Chinese and Indians were obviously associated with the modern sector, the New Economic Policy (NEP) was devised. Through a series of Five Years Plans (1971-5, 1976-80, 1981-5), the NEP has aimed to eradicate poverty and to increase the *bumiputras*' share of corporate wealth to 30% by 1990. There is tension between these objectives, and irritation arising from their immediate pursuit or failure to attain long-term goals could exacerbate communal relations and popular grievances. Since independence, the economy has diversified considerably and the manufacturing sector has been developed, but Malaysia still relies on the export of commodities (petroleum, rubber, tin, palm oil, timber and more recently cocoa) and is thus vulnerable to world-market fluctuations. Since the mid-70s, government has been aware that world recession might upset the timetable of the NEP. So, too, might the rapid growth of population (currently at 2.7% p.a.) which, according to the 1983 estimate,

totalled 14,744,000 and is ethnically divided in the approximate proportions of Malays 47%, Chinese 33%, Indians 9% and Borneo peoples 9% (plus 2% others), and is distributed geographically between Peninsular Malaysians 83% and East Malaysians 17%.

In foreign affairs, too, the early 1970s saw a shift in emphasis. The Anglophile Tunku had stayed firmly in the Western camp; though Malaysia had not joined SEATO, the Anglo-Malayan (Malaysian) Defence Agreement (AMDA) had underwritten the country's security, and Malaysia had supported the US in Vietnam. In 1971 AMDA was replaced by the Five Power Defence Arrangement (Australia, Britain, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore) in which Britain played a less prominent role. At the same time, Malaysia became interested in the neutralisation of the region through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN, 1967). Without compromising its anti-communism, it established diplomatic relations with China (1974). Communist expansion and Sino-Soviet rivalry in Indo-China since 1975 has been tackled by Malaysia as an ASEAN matter rather than through the Commonwealth, in which the present Prime Minister shows little interest.

In 1975-6, world recession, resurgent terrorism, political crisis in Sabah, corruption involving the Selangor Chief Minister and the death of Tun Razak (January 1976) might have shaken the régime, but the calm control asserted by Datuk (later Tun) Hussein Onn was endorsed by the 1978 elections. In July 1981 he was succeeded by the more abrasive Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, a vigorous champion of Malays within a "Greater Malaysia". "Leadership by example", "Malaysia incorporated" and "Look East" are some of the slogans illustrating his drive for administrative efficiency, entrepreneurial zeal and international repute. Since the NF's landslide victory in the elections of April 1982, however, he has been embarrassed by a constitutional wrangle with the Rulers, a financial scandal arising from the Bank Bumiputra's involvement in property development in Hong Kong, the Islamic revivalism of PAS and the defeat of the NF party (Berjaya) in the Sabah state election (April 1985). Though Mahathir's command of UMNO, the NF and the country is unassailable at the moment (June 1985), he has to counter the blandishments of PAS and guard against splits between NF partners and within parties such as the MCA and MIC, which are notoriously disunited. Apart from the politics of the moment, some are exercised by the fear of a slump in Malaysia's economy whose continuing buoyancy is essential to the integration of this new state.

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(A. J. STOCKWELL)

MALĀZGIRD. 1. The town. The modern Turkish Malazgird constitutes a district (*ilçe*) centre in the province (*il*) of Muş in eastern Anatolia. The area surrounding the town is rich in cuneiform inscriptions, and it is possible that the battle between Tiglathpileser I and the Naīri kings took place in the area. The name of the town itself, which probably goes back no further than the Parthian period, in Old Armenian is recorded as Manavazakert, Manavazkert and Manazkert, while the oldest Arabic form is Manāzdjird. It has been supposed that this name preserves the memory of the Urartu king Menuas of Van, whose name is mentioned in many inscriptions which have been found in the Malāzgird area.

Very little is known about the town's pre-Islamic history. Constantine Porphyrogenitus remarks that the local dynasty who held Malāzgird in the 4th/10th century paid tribute to the Byzantine Empire. However, the members of this dynasty, which originally had been subordinate to the Bagratids, bore Arabic names, the *nisba* derived from Malāzgird being recorded as al-Manāzī. Thus during the campaign of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla into eastern Anatolia (328/940), we hear of a prince of Malāzgird named ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. In 353/964 a *ghulām* of Sayf al-Dawla's conquered the town, and in 359/969-70 it was taken by the Byzantines. The Byzantine occupation of Malāzgird must have been very brief, for in 382/992-3 another Byzantine army tried to take possession of the town, this time without success. On the other hand, by 446/1054-5 Malāzgird must have once again fallen into Byzantine hands, because Ibn al-Athīr records that in 446/1054-5 Malāzgird resisted a siege by the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg.

However, the main event in the history of the town was the battle of Malāzgird between the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan and the Byzantine ruler Romanus Diogenes (463/1071) [for details, see 2. below]. The outcome of this battle led to the gradual settlement of Anatolia by Turkish nomads and then townsmen, and to the establishment of the Rūm Saldjūḳ sultanate in central and eastern Anatolia.

On the other hand, the town of Malāzgird itself never played a prominent role, neither in the Saldjūḳ nor during the Ottoman period. During the 7th/13th century, the name of Malāzgird is occasionally mentioned in chronicles (particularly Ibn al-Athīr), but no references can be found concerning the economic life of the town. Equally sparse is the material for the Ottoman period. Thus it has not been possible to locate an enumeration of Malāzgird tax-payers in the *taḥrīrs* of the 10th/16th century, although an Ottoman document from the year 1001/1592-3 refers to a *sandjaḳ* of Malāzgird, in the *wilāyet* of Diyārbekir, which was inhabited by the Ḳara Ulus nomads (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Divan-ı hümayun Ruus Kalemi, 253/46a, p. 63). However, Kātib Čelebi (*Djihān-numā,* 426) makes a brief reference to the existence of the town, which in the 11th/17th century could be reached in two days' travel from Erzurum. Moreover, the town lay on a road connecting Adilcevaz and Bitlis, which was used by the Ottoman army on one of its campaigns in ʿIrāḳ.

In the 1890s, Malāzgird appears as the centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ* (*sandjaḳ* of Mush, *wilāyet* of Bitlis) comprising 50

villages, the main settlement containing 213 houses and 19 shops. The *ḳaḍāʾ*, then as now, depended mainly upon agriculture and animal husbandry. According to the *İl yıllığı* of Muş (1967), Malāzgird appears as an *ilçe* (formerly *nahiye*) centre of 7,826 inhabitants, mostly engaged in field agriculture, such as the cultivation of wheat, barley, beans, and maize. Vegetables and industrial cultures (sunflowers, sugarbeet) were being encouraged by government projects. The number of craftsmen was low, and the *ilçe* possessed no industry.

According to the *İl yıllığı* of Muş published in 1973, the town had by 1970 grown to 10,711 inhabitants (1975: 13,094). A hydrolectrical power plant had been established, so that Malāzgird is now supplied with electricity. As an administrative centre, the town also provides educational services for its district: a high school (*lise*) was opened in 1971, and the construction of a cultural and sports centre began about 1970. An irrigation project had equally been undertaken by 1970, and the first producers' cooperatives were making their appearance. However industry continues to be practically absent from the *ilçe* of Malāzgird.

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(S. Faroqhi)

2. The battle. As noted above, the most important event with which the name of the town is connected is the battle of Mantzikert fought in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 463/August 1071 between Alp Arslan [*q.v.*] and Romanus IV Diogenes. This event is treated by a variety of sources, Byzantine Greek, Armenian, Syriac and Arabic. The most valuable account is surely that of Attaliates, who was present at the battle itself as well as being an adviser of the Emperor, whereas that of Psellus, tutor of Michael VII Ducas who was to replace Romanus on the imperial throne after the battle (see below), is hostile. Although Cahen (1934, see *Bibl.*) was critical of Attaliates' detailed testimony, more recently Vryonis and Cheynet (see *Bibl.*) have reinstated him as the prime source for the battle. A relevant Western source is the Gesta Roberti Wiscardi of William of Apulia (see *Bibl.*); other later Christian writers such as Michael the Syrian and Matthew of Edessa are strongly anti-Byzantine, viewing the Saldjūḳ invasions of Anatolia as divine retribution for the Emperors' treatment of non-Melkite religious minorities of the empire. There is no contemporary Muslim account, the earliest extant one being that of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (d. 555/1160), but the long description by Sibt b. al-Djawzī (probably deriving from Ghars al-Niʿma Muḥammad b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ's lost *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*) is, among other Muslim sources, detailed and valuable.

The policy adopted by Romanus when he became Emperor in January 1068 was to take the offensive against the Muslim enemy beyond the Byzantine frontiers rather than to wait for raids to take place, and the campaign which culminated at Malāzgird was the last of three conducted by the Emperor himself, for which he left Constantinople in spring 463/1071, aiming to securing against the Saldjūḳs the Armenian fortresses of Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*] and Malāzgird. Alp Arslan was for his part besieging Edessa in the spring, but on hearing of the arrival of the Byzantine army in the east, decided to move in that direction, probably via Mawṣil and Khūy, to assemble reinforcements. Romanus detached a contingent of his army under the Norman Roussel of Bailleul to take Akhlāṭ, whilst he took and garrisoned Malāzgird itself. Preliminary skirmishes took place, during which time some of the Uze (sc. Ghuzz) mercenaries in the Byzantine army deserted to the enemy, whilst Roussel and the Georgian Joseph Trachaniotes fled westwards from Akhlāṭ, deserting the Emperor, at the approach of Alp Arslan. The Muslim side offered peace, but Romanus refused any terms, feeling that he had numerical superiority and being unwilling to throw away the immense effort put behind his campaign. The Muslim sources emphasise Alp Arslan's pessimism before the battle, but the fact that the battle took place on a Friday meant that the force of universal Muslim prayer was felt as an advantage (cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūḳiyya*, 47-9, which purports to give the text of special prayers offered up throughout the Sunnī world at the caliph al-Ḳāʾim's orders).

Although the figures in the Muslim sources for Romanus's army (from 200,000 to 400,000) must be exaggerated, the Emperor must, despite defections, have had superiority in numbers; Cheynet estimates his army at probably 60,000, with much baggage and impediment. Its morale however was not high, and its composition very heterogeneous; amongst foreign mercenaries are mentioned Franks, Arabs, Rūs, Pechenegs, Georgians, Abkhazians, Khazars, Ghuzz, Ḳïpčaḳ, Scyths, Alans and Armenians. Alp Arslan is generally credited in the Muslim sources with having 15,000 troops at the battle. The exact date of the battle has not hitherto been established with certainty, but the fact that it was a Friday in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda seems to limit the possibilities to 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/19 August or the next week; in fact, astronomical indications, confirming Attaliates' information that the night before the battle was moonless, point to 27 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 463/26 August 1071, as is shown in a recent popular book on the battle, A. Friendly, *The dreadful day*, London 1981, 178. The exact location of the field of battle is likewise uncertain, though it was along the road between Malāzgird and Akhlāṭ; the al-Rahwa (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 880) of Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Djawzī and Ibn al-ʿAdīm seems most probable.

The course of the battle is described in most detail by Attaliates and by the anti-Romanus, later writer Nicephorus Bryennius. A Byzantine return to camp at nightfall seems to have been interpreted as a retreat; the rearguard under Andronicus Ducas left the field, leaving the army's rear unprotected; and in the later stages, the Saldjūḳ forces lured the Greeks into ambushes. The Emperor was captured and was honourably treated by Alp Arslan; several sources record the famous conversation in which the sultan asked Romanus what treatment should be meted out to him. A peace agreement was drawn up, the precise terms of which are not known, but which probably included a ransom, the cession of various frontier fortresses, and the provision of troops and annual tribute to the sultan; but since during Romanus's brief captivity, Michael VII Ducas had been proclaimed Emperor and Romanus was eventually blinded and

killed by his supplanter (August 1072), it is likely that these terms were never put into force anyway.

Romanus's defeat seems to have sprung in part from inadequate intelligence about the movements of the Akhlāṭ force, which was to rejoin him, and a poor choice of terrain, one favourable to the Saldjūḳs' mounted archers; but internal dissensions within the Byzantine empire, moreover, had been reflected in the army itself, for Andronicus Ducas, cousin of the future Emperor Michael VII, had been ill-disposed towards Romanus. A Fāṭimid involvement in the campaign has recently been suggested by Hamdani (see *Bibl.*), but this remains speculative.

Was the battle indeed "the greatest disaster of Byzantine history" (Grousset)? In many ways, it was the decade of internecine strife within the Empire after the battle which harmed the Empire more and allowed Turks to infiltrate Byzantine territory. Byzantine prestige abroad was certainly harmed by the ignominy of Romanus's capture, and some Crusader chroniclers (e.g. William of Tyre) see Western European involvement in the Levant as dating from this time, with the Franks replacing the Greeks as upholders of Christianity against Islam there. The Muslim historians, for their part, tend to overdramatise the event, probably because it was the only major military confrontation during the infiltration process.

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(Carole Hillenbrand)

MĀLDA (properly Māldah or Māldaha) a district of India, in the Jalpaiguri Division of the State of West Bengal, area 3,713 sq. km. (1971), population 1,612,657 (1971), of whom 827, 706 were males and 784,951 were females. Of the total population, 53.64% were Hindus and 46.18% were Muslims.

It is possible that the name of the district town, Mālda, is derived from the element *māl* and refers to the wealth of the place as a centre of trade in the mediaeval period. In more ancient times, the area was known as Gaur (Gauḍa) from the city of that name, capital of the Senas (a Hindu dynasty). Between 1201 and 1203 the whole area was conquered by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī, who was until that time a *djāgīrdār* under the Muslim governor of Oudh. Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī was murdered in 1206 by ʿAlī Mardān Khaldjī; the latter was subsequently appointed by the Sultan of Dihlī as governor in Lakhnawtī [*q.v.*] which had become the Muslim capital in western Bengal. Islamic institutions were established throughout the area; numerous mosques, *maktabs* and *madrasas* were constructed. In 1345, Sultan Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh became ruler of the area independently of Dihlī. The Shāhī dynasty he founded was noted for its liberal patronage of Bengali culture, and the Shāhīs are generally acknowledged to have been tolerant and enlightned rulers. The beginning of Mughal rule in Bengal at the end of the 10th/16th century was a period of disorder and upheaval, followed by eventual peace, but not by the same identification with Bengali culture as under the Shāhīs. In the 11th/17th century, under the Mughal rulers, trade with various European merchants flourished, notably with the English, whose assumption of the *Dīwānī* in 1765 led to the eventual economic decline of the area. The ruins of magnificent mosques at Mālda, Lakhnawtī and Pandu remain as evidence of the district's Islamic history; of the ten *thānas* into which the district is divided, four (on the western side of the district) have Muslim population majorities.

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(T. O. Ling)

MALDIVES, a group of islands in the Indian Ocean.

1. History and social organisation.

The Republic of Maldives, formerly a Sultanate, forms an independent Asian state located in the north-central Indian Ocean some 650 km. south-west of Ceylon [*q.v.*]. The name "Maldives" is a foreign designation, probably derived from the Sanskrit *māladvīpa,* "garland of islands"; the indigenous name Divehi Rājjē "island realm" is gradually attaining some international currency.

The Maldive Archipelago consists of a narrow, 750 km. long chain of coral islands, lying scattered on a north-south axis between lat. 7°6′ N. and 0°42′ S and long. 72° and 74° E. The country is divided into nineteen administrative atolls, comprising an estimated 1,196 islands, of which 211 are presently (1980) inhabited. According to the 1977 Maldivian Government Census, the total population was 143,469, of whom 29,555 lived in Malé, the capital and only town of the archipelago.

The Maldives are believed to have been settled by the first of several waves of Sinhalese in the 5th or 4th century B.C., though both legend and scientific evidence point to the presence of an earlier Veddoid or Tamil population (Bell, 1940, 16; Maloney, 1980, 28-71). The islands seem never to have passed under Ceylonese political control, however, and with the exception of a brief period of Portuguese domination (965-81/1558-73) have remained effectively independent throughout recorded history.

Little is known of the history or culture of the Maldive Islanders in the pre-Islamic period. There are indications both of an indigenous primal religious pantheon (in which Rannamārī, a powerful deity of sea and storm, may have played a leading role), and of Hindu influence, both etymologically (Maloney, 1980, 51) and archaeologically (a Shivalingam, possibly indicating the site of a former Hindu temple, was excavated in Ari Atoll, Ariyaddu Island, in 1959). It is clear, however, that from *ca.* 300 A.D. onwards, Theravada Buddhism emanating from neighbouring Ceylon came to dominate the archipelago (Bell, 1940, *passim*; Reynolds, 1974, 1978; Maloney, 1980, 72-98). Thus by the 4th/10th century, Buddhist monasteries and stupas existed throughout the country, but especially in the southern and central atolls.

The initial advent of Islam to the islands remains shrouded in mystery. However, it is clear that the existence of the Maldives must have been known to Arab (and Persian) mariners even in pre-Islamic times, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that Muslim merchants and sailors first visited the remote archipelago as early as the 1st/7th century (Forbes, 1981, 62-77). For the next four centuries, Buddhism remained established as the dominant religious creed of the islands, though it is possible that, during the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, some of the northern atolls fell under the political and cultural influence of the (Hindu) Chola monarchs Rājarāja I and Rājendra I (Sastri, 1953, 220; Forbes, 1979, 138). During this period a mixed Arabo-Maldivian population, albeit of small size, must have developed at Malé, in some respects paralleling the development of the neighbouring Mappila [*q.v.*] community of Malabar [*q.v.*] and elsewhere on the Indian Ocean littoral. As with the Mappilas, this nascent Maldivian Muslim community is likely to have wielded economic, political and cultural influence out of all proportion to its numbers.

According to the Maldivian *Ta'rīkh* (a historical chronicle dating from the early 12th/18th century—see Bell, 1940, 18-43), the last Buddhist monarch of the Maldives, who bore the Sinhalese-style *biruda* (epithet) "Sirī Bavanādītta", was converted to Islam by a Muslim visitor to the islands on the 12th day of Rabīʿ II 548 (1153 A.D.), upon which he adopted the Muslim name and title "Sulṭān Muḥammad al-ʿĀdil". Certain controversies surround this arcane event. Thus, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (who visited the islands between 1343-4 and again in 1346), the *shaykh* responsible for the conversion was a Maghribī styled Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Barbarī, a Sunnī Muslim of the Mālikī *madhhab* (text, iv, 127; English tr. Gray, 1882, 14). In contrast, the Maldivian *Ta'rīkh* ascribes the conversion to one Shaykh Yūsuf Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī, by *nisba* almost certainly a Persian or perhaps a Turk, of uncertain rite (Bell, 1940, 18-19). Today, Abu 'l-Barakāt is officially recognised as the *shaykh* responsible for the conversion, and his tomb stands in Malé's Henveru district, the most venerated *ziyāra* in the country. Other early epigraphic evidence ascribing the conversion to Shams al-Dīn is extant, however (Bell, 1940, 190; Forbes, 1982), and the exact role played by "Tabrīzugefānu" (who is still widely revered throughout the country) remains uncertain.

Following the conversion of Muḥammad al-ʿĀdil to Islam, both the *Ta'rīkh* and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Riḥla* are agreed that the new faith was rapidly embraced by all Maldivians. Recently-translated epigraphic evidence casts doubt on this claim, however. Thus according to a copper-plate grant (*lōmāfānu*) preserved at the Boḍugalu Mosque in Malé, more than half-a-century after the initial conversion, it was necessary for the Malé authorites to send a military expedition to crush an "infidel" (presumably Buddhist) king in the south of the country (a transcript of this *lōmāfānu* is currently in press at Malé). It may be safely assumed, however, that by the late 7th/13th century the country was universally Muslim, a situation which remains unchanged today.

Following the initial Portuguese assault upon the traditional trade network of the Indian Ocean, much of the indigenous, Muslim-dominated trade of the Malabar region was re-routed via the Maldives, thus exposing the islanders to more direct and regular contact both with Arabia and with Islamic South-East Asia. This development led in turn to an increased (and unfriendly) Portuguese interest in the islands, culminating in the brief but destructive Portuguese occupation when, between 965-81/1558-73, Malé passed under the control of the hated "Adiri Adiri" and "the sea grew red with Muslim blood" (*Ta'rīkh*: Bell, 1940, 26). In response to this Portuguese aggression, the Maldivians, under the inspired leadership of Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufānu, a son of the *khaṭīb* of Utīm in the north of the country, waged an unremitting guerilla struggle. By 981/1573 the Portuguese were forced to withdraw, and Muḥammad Takurufānu became sultan. One lasting result of the Portuguese occupation was a change in the *madhhab* followed by the Maldivians. Thus according to the *Ta'rīkh* (Bell, 1940, 27), following the expulsion of the Portuguese it was discovered that the Maldivian *ʿulamā'* had been decimated, and that no *shaykh* of the Mālikī *madhhab* remained alive. At this time there chanced to return to Malé from southern Arabia one Muḥammad Djamāl al-Dīn Huvadu (a native of Huvadu/Suvadiva Atoll in the south of the country),

a Maldivian *ʿālim* who had spent many years studying at the Shāfiʿī centres of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt and at Zabīd in the Yemen. He was subsequently appointed *ḳāḍī* by Muḥammad Takurufānu, and from this time the Mālikī *madhhab* was replaced by the Shāfiʿī one as the formal rite of the Maldives.

From 981/1573 to the present day, the Maldives have remained effectively independent, though in 1887 an agreement was signed between Sultan Ibrāhīm Nūr al-Dīn and the British Crown by which the islands assumed British protectorate status in matters of foreign policy, but retained internal self-government. In 1932 a constitution was introduced for the first time, though the Sultanate was retained for a further 21 years, when the First Republic was established under the Presidency of Muḥammad Amīn Dīdī. In 1954, following the overthrow and death of the latter, the Sultanate was briefly re-established. However in 1968, three years after the attainment of full independence from Britain, the Sultanate was finally abolished and a Second Republic proclaimed under the Presidency of Ibrahim Nasir. Today, the President of the Republic of Maldives is Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, a graduate of al-Azhar who is fluent in both Arabic and English.

The people of the Maldive Islands are predominantly of Indo-European origin, being linked ethnically and culturally with the Sinhalese people of Ceylon and the inhabitants of Minicoy Island, now grouped with the neighbouring Laccadive Islands [*q.v.*] to the north. Other important constituent elements in Maldivian culture are the Dravidian and the Arabo-Muslim ones. Maldivians are 100% Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. The only non-Muslims to be found in the country are foreign experts or businessmen, all of whom are resident on a strictly temporary basis, and none of whom may acquire property or Maldivian nationality without first becoming Shāfiʿī Sunnīs. The Ismāʿīlī Bohra community (originating from Gudjarāt [SEE BOHORĀS]) which dominated Maldivian trade from the late 19th century to the early 1950s has been expelled, and their solitary mosque (in Malé) has passed under Shāfiʿī control. Unlike the neighbouring Laccadive Islands, the Maldives are patrilineal; nor is "caste" a factor, though class distinctions were—and in some cases remain—strong. Maldivian Islam is therefore distinguished by considerable orthodoxy at the official level. At a popular level, however, it is characterised by an unusually widespread belief in spirits and in all manner of *djinn*, as well as by the extensive practice of *fańdita* (cf. Sanskrit *pańdit*, "a learned person"), a religio-magical science widely accepted throughout the archipelago and described by Maloney (1980, 242-73) as "a parallel religious system". Today the Maldivian religious establishment—which draws much of its inspiration from the reformist ideologies with their roots in Arabia and elsewhere in the Middle East—is anxious to limit the role played by *fańdita* in Maldivian society, and actively discourages *sīhuru* (cf. Ar. *siḥr* "magic"), *fańdita*'s black magic counterpart. Despite these pressures, however, widespread belief in *fańdita* and in a plethora of *djinn* persists, providing intriguing evidence of parallels between popular Islam in the Maldives and in its counterpart in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.

Bibliography: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 110-67; cf. A. Gray, *Ibn Batuta in the Maldives and Ceylon*, in *JRAS (Ceylon Branch)*, extra no. (1882), 60 pp.; F. Pyrard, *The voyage of François Pyrard of Laval*, ed. and tr. A. Gray and H. C. P. Bell, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge 1888, 3 vols. in 2, i, 60-320; H. C. P. Bell, *The Maldive Islands: an account of the physical features, climate, history, inhabitants, productions and trade*, Ceylon Government Sessional Paper xliii (1881), Colombo 1883; *idem, The Maldive Islands: report on a visit to Malé*, Ceylon Government Sessional Paper xv (1921), Colombo 1921); *idem, The Maldive Islands: monograph on the history, archaeology and epigraphy*, Colombo 1940; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Madras 1953; C. H. B. Reynolds, *Buddhism and the Maldivian Language*, in L. Cousins (ed.), *Buddhist studies in honour of I. B. Horner*, Dordrecht 1974, 193-8; J. Carswell, *Mosques and tombs in the Maldive Islands*, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, ix (July 1976), 26-30; Reynolds, *Linguistic strands in the Maldives*, in *Contributions to Asian Studies*, xi (1978), 155-66; C. Maloney, *Divehi*, in R. V. Weekes (ed.), *Muslim peoples: a world ethnographic survey*, London and Connecticut 1978, 128-33; A. D. W. Forbes, *Sources towards a history of the Laccadive Islands*, in *South Asia*, ii/1-2 (1979), 130-50; *idem, Archives and resources for Maldivian history*, in *ibid.*, iii/1 (1980), 70-82; C. Maloney, *People of the Maldive Islands*, Madras 1980; Forbes, *Southern Arabia and the Islamicisation of the Central Indian Ocean Archipelagoes*, in *Archipel*, xxi (1981), 55-92; *idem, The mosque in the Maldive Islands: a preliminary historical survey*, in *ibid.*, xxiv (1982); N. F. Munch-Petersen, *The Maldives, history, daily life and art-handicraft*, in *Bull. du Centre d'Etudes du Moyen-Orient et de la communauté Islamique*, Brussels, i/1-2 (1982), 74-103. See also LACCADIVES, *Bibl.*

(A. D. W. FORBES)

2. Language and literature. The Maldivian language, called Divehi, is an Indo-Aryan tongue closely related to Sinhalese, with which it shares such distinctive features as the half-nasals before voiced stops and the "umlaut" of *a* to *e* in certain positions. It maintains the distinction, now lost in Sinhalese, between dental *l* and retroflex *ḷ*. It was formerly written in a script derived ultimately from Brāhmī and closely resembling earlier forms of Sinhalese script. This script, known as *Dives akuru* ("Maldivian letters"), survives on tombstones and inscriptions and in some manuscripts, but was gradually replaced during the 18th century by a script called *tāna*, written from right to left (which facilitated the use of Urdu or Persian loanwords written in Arabic script). This script contains 24 letters (one of which is known as *alifu*, though it has more than one function). It was a local invention; the first nine letters are forms of the Arabic numerals. In 1977, an official romanisation scheme was introduced by the government.

No ancient literature has survived. Surviving writings on palmleaf are mostly magical or medical treatises. A few historical works exist, though not generally available for inspection. Learned works were sometimes written in Arabic; thus an Arabic *taʾrīkh* of the Maldivian Kingdom (*Divehi rājje*) exists, compiled in 1725 and brought up to date in 1821, as well as some 18th-century histories in Maldivian called *Rādavali* ("line of Kings"); these histories all begin from the time of adoption of Islam in 548/1153. Surviving poems include *Diyōge raivaru* ("The song of Diyō"), an obscure romance of travels in the Indian Ocean dating from about 1810.

It is only with the 20th century that books became common and duplication of texts was practised. Grammatical formulation of the Maldivian language may be dated from the publication of *Sullam al-arīb* by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Rushdī in A.H. 1355. Amīn Dīdī, Chief Minister and later first President of the Maldives (1909-54), was a prolific writer and encour-

aged and promoted literary compositions by others. Literary magazines feature among the early newspapers which date from the 1930s, and poetry competitions became fashionable at the time. Amīn Dīdī also wrote historical and biographical works, including a history of the Maldives during the 1939-45 war.

There was also a tradition of religious writing, usually of a commentarial character. Literary figures of the recent past who wrote on both secular and religious subjects are Shaykh Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. 1950) and Bodufenvalugē Sīdī (also known as ʿAfīf al-Dīn) (d. 1969). Most of their works remain in manuscript.

Bibliography: H. C. P. Bell, *The Máldive Islands: monograph on the history, archaeology and epigraphy*, Colombo 1940. (C. H. B. Reynolds)

MALḤAMA (A) in modern times designates an epic [see ḤAMĀSA] and also corresponds to a usage already in evidence in the Old Testament, where *milḥamōt* is applied to the wars of Yahweh (I Sam. xviii, 17, xxv, 28), but in the Islamic Middle Ages this word meant a writing of a divinatory character, the *Malḥamat Dāniyāl* [cf. DĀNIYĀL]. It is a question of a collection of meteorological signs with their divinatory meanings, derived from the day of the week on which 1 January falls (from the Saturday to the Friday), eclipses of the moon, following the same order, lightning, thunder, the appearance of halos around the sun and the moon, a rainbow, the appearance of a sign in the sky and earthquakes. This first series of signs is followed by another, referring to the effects of the winds on events, those of days of the week and those of days of the week on which 1 Thôt of the Coptic year falls, and the first day of the Arab year (cf. Istanbul ms. Bayezit, Veliüddin Ef. 2294,3, fols. 58-65).

Another recension of this *malḥama* (Istanbul, Bağdatlı Vehbi 2234, fols. 1-6a) enlarges the range of these predictions based on the lunar mansions, thunder according to months, eclipses of the moon, earthquakes, new moons, a rainbow, parhelions (*al-ghubār ʿalā wadjh al-shams*), the moon's disc, snow, hail, clouds, comets, the blowing of winds, rains, etc.

A third recension (Istanbul, Reisülküttab Mustafa Ef. 1164,2, fols. 15a-93a) enumerates the signs and information supplied by "celestial and terrestrial phenomena in deserts and at sea, earthquakes, eclipses, new moons, according to the signs of the zodiac, tempests, black winds, clouds seen as silhouettes of people; what will happen in the lands of the Persians, Arabs and other peoples and in the islands and mountains".

These popular astrological portents trace their origin to the Akkadian divinatory tablets and the Syriac writings which preserve echos of them. The most complete Syriac witness to this is the *K. al-Dalāʾil* (= *Ktōbō d-shūdōʿē*) "Book of Prognostications" of al-Ḥasan b. Bahlūl (cf. Istanbul, Hekimoğlu 572, fols. 1-300a, fine large *naskhī*, dating from 556/1160-1). The prognostications which it incorporates are derived from the seasons, months, weeks and festivals, according to the calendar of the Christians, Muslims, Jews, Armenians and Copts. This compilation contains, in addition, various calculations, information on the festivals of the Ḥarrānians, where Ibn al-Bahlūl refers to the *Fihrist* (of Ibn al-Nadīm), whose author he gives as Yaḥyā b. Ḥātim Ipnā (?) (ايني), and an account of the Mandaeans of Wāsiṭ. One table brings together prognostications derived from atmospheric phenomena; a chapter on physiognomy (based on the *Kunnāsh al-Manṣūrī* of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī and other writings); symptoms of poisons and their antidotes; signs of the humours which predominate in the body; rules for the purchase of slaves; the diagnosis of illness; the recognition of horses' illnesses; a compendium of dream interpretation.

There follows (fols. 302-356a) a *malḥama* of Daniel in which the meteorological and astrological *malḥama* develops into the apocalyptical *malḥama*. Indeed, in the introduction we read the following definition: "This is *Malḥamat al-bayān fī maʿrifat al-sinīn wa 'l-duhūr wa 'l-azmān* on the celestial bodies, the movements of the stars, the phenomena of the universe, order and corruption, how to see the shifts of fortune, the oppression that kings exercise over one another, the succession of their states and what will befall them" (fol. 2a). The work is presented as a reply by Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] to a question asked by Muʿāwiya concerning the Mahdī.

This apocalyptical current reaches its peak in *al-Shadjara al-nuʿmāniyya fi 'l-dawla al-ʿuthmāniyya*, a work attributed to Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and commented on, in particular, by his disciple Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī (d. 672/1263), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363). Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Makkarī (d. 1041/1632), Muṣṭafā Ef. b. Sahrab and al-Shahrāfī. The earliest form of this work, recast and adapted at a later date in Egypt (cf. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 2819, 82 fols., dating from 1111/1699-1700; Saray, Revan 1742, fols. 65b-180b; Üniv. Kütüphanesi A 6257, fols. 26b-34a), then in the Ottoman Empire, on the authority of Ibn al-ʿArabī, is thought to go back to the Fāṭimid period and to have dealt with the Mahdī. It is to be found in *madjmūʿāt* of an apocalyptical character, such as ms. A 542 of Istanbul University, containing: (1) *al-Shadjara al-nuʿmāniyya wa-hiya 'l-kubrā min thalāth dawāʾir* (fol. 2b); (2) *al-Dāʾira fī bayān ẓuhūr al-ḳāʾim min ʿilm al-djafr* (fols. 1b-2b) and (3) *al-Risāla al-sharīfa al-harfiyya fī bayān rumūz al-djafriyya* (fols. 3a-20a). Similarly, Bursa ms. Ulucami 3544, *naskhī* from 1096/1684-5, contains an anonymous commentary on *al-Shadjara al-nuʿmāniyya* (fols. 94a-140a) preceded by the *Risālat al-burhān fī ʿalāmat mahdī ākhir al-zamān* (fols. 1-92b) of ʿAlī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn known by the name of al-Muttaḳī (d. between 975 and 977/1567-9).

With this current of apocalyptical *malḥama, malāḥim* [*q.v.*] literature is associated.

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 224-8, 408-12; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, Leiden 1979, 312-17, 282-3, 328; A. Abel, *Changements politiques et littérature apocalyptique dans le monde musulman*, in *SI*, ii (1954), 23-43; Sophia Grotzfeld, *Dāniyāl in der arabischen Legende*, in *Festgabe H. Wehr*, Wiesbaden 1969, 72-85; G. Furlani, *Di una raccolta di tratti astrologici*, in *RSO*, vii (1916-18), 885-9; *idem*, *Eine Sammlung astrologischer Abhandlungen in arabischer Sprache*, in *ZA*, xxxiii (1921), 157-64; G. Bergsträsser (ed.), *Neue meteorologische Fragmente des Theophrast*, in *SBAk. Heidelberg*, Phil.-hist. Kl. (1918), Abh. 9, 6-7; G. Vajda, *Quelques observations sur Malḥamat Dāniyāl*, in *Arabica*, xxiii (1976), 84-7; A. Fodor, *Malḥamat Dāniyāl*, ed. and tr. in *The Muslim East. Studies in honour of Julius Germanus*, ed. G. Káldy-Nagy, Budapest 1974, 85-133. (T. Fahd)

MALḤŪN (*məlḥūn*) designates the state of the language which served for the expression of certain forms of dialectal poetry in the Maghrib, as well as this poetry itself. Although the verse composed may be generally intended to be intoned and chanted by amateurs or professionals with a momentary musical accompaniment, this term does not come from *laḥn* "melody", as Muḥammad al-Fāsī

would have it (*Adab sha^cbī*, 43-4), but from *laḥana* (cf. Djirārī, *Ḳaṣīda*, 55-7) understood in the sense of "to stray from the linguistic norm" i.e. from literary Arabic [see LAḤN AL-^cĀMMA]. In the Maghrib there are various forms of popular poetry in dialect which grew up there or were imported [see in particular BUḲĀLA, ḤAWFĪ and ZADJAL], but, although the distinction may not always be perceived or even perceptible, *məlḥūn* properly so-called, which also has various names such as *ḳaṣīda zadjaliyya* or *^cilm mawhūb/mūhūb* because this art was innate (see Djirārī, 54-64) or simply *klām*, comprises more specifically strophic poems or ones derived from the classical *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], whose fundamental characteristic appears to be (apart from liberties taken by poets) the tendency to use an internal rhyme, the first hemistichs of all the lines rhyming throughout the poem or in each of the strophes.

In the present article, we will not neglect Tripolitania, and we will concern ourselves with Tunisia, where popular poetry is still very much alive, but more particularly with Morocco and Algeria, for it is concerning these two countries that there is the most information, due to the significant number of bards (*gawwāl*, pl. *gawwālīn*) and poets (*shā^cir*, *nāẓim*, *shaykh*) who were famous there from an earlier period, and due also to the abundance of works which have been devoted to them. However, we will limit ourselves to citing those of them who are the most renowned and, as it is impossible to reserve a notice for each of them in this *Encyclopaedia*, we will indicate in brief the principal references which concern them, asking the reader to refer to the general bibliography, where the titles will be given in their complete form.

The origin of *məlḥūn*. *Məlḥūn* does not appear to have arisen from any of the categories of poetic production in dialectal Arabic with which Spain [see ZADJAL] and the Near East (see Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *al-^cĀṭil al-ḥālī*, ed. W. Hoenerbach, *Die vulgärarabische Poetik*, Wiesbaden 1956) were already acquainted in the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldūn, to whom the merit, among other things, must be acknowledged of taking popular poetry into account, does not use the word *məlḥūn*, but he cites at the end of the *Muḳaddima* (iii, 417 ff.; French tr. de Slane, iii, 445 ff. Eng. tr. Rosenthal, iii, 466 ff.) some examples of townspeople's poetry which he calls *^carūḍ al-balad* and whose creation he attributes to an Andalusian by the name of Ibn ^cUmayr who had emigrated to Fās. It is a strophic poetry with a double rhyme which Ibn Khaldūn regards as deriving from the *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*] and whose structure is similar to certain pieces of urban *məlḥūn* (see A. Tahar, *Poésie populaire*, 363 ff.). The author of the *Muḳaddima* adds that Ibn ^cUmayr respected *i^crāb*, but that the Fāsīs abandoned it because it did not interest them. Despite its undeniable value, this evidence does not allow us to ascertain the period in which the first manifestations of the genre which concerns us arose; that of Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] (10th/16th century) is not of much more help; he says in fact (*Description de l'Afrique*, 214-15) that there were in Fās many poets composing love poems in the "vernacular" and, each year, on the occasion of the festival of the Prophet's birthday (*mawlid/mūlūd*) [*q.v.*], a piece of verse in his praise [see MAWLIDIYYĀT], but it is quite likely that the "vernacular" in question was Hispanic Arabic, as this must also have been the language of the *^carūḍ al-balad*. According to G.S. Colin (in *Initiation au Maroc*, 224-7; *EI*[1], art. MOROCCO, vii. 2), two periods are to be distinguished in the evolution of popular poetry; during the first, which stretches until the beginning of the Sa^cdids (middle of the 10th/16th century), Moroccan poetry in dialectal Arabic was a direct heritage from al-Andalus and was expressed in Hispanic Arabic, having become the "classical" language of the *zadjal*; the second begins in the 10th/16th century, and it is under the "Bedouinising dynasties" of the Sa^cdids and ^cAlawids (from 1076/1666) that *məlḥūn* properly so-called, a special language influenced by Bedouin dialects made its appearance and developed. The word designating, in Algeria, the popular poet (*gawwāl* and not *ḳawwāl*), the significant number of bards belonging to nomad or at least rural tribes, and the fact that the oldest specimens of the genre which have been preserved date from the 10th/16th century, seem to lend credence to G.S. Colin. However, this *məlḥūn* was not born overnight, and it is probable that the Arab tribes who had emigrated into North Africa in the 5th/11th century had preserved their traditions and that they composed some verse in their own dialect; only a study of the language of the most ancient remnants of dialectal poetry could shed some light on this problem. It is actually dangerous to contest G.S. Colin's theory by citing, as Djirārī had done (549-60), poets earlier than the 10th/16th century, without taking account of the language—which is really hard to define—that they used in their compositions.

Whatever may be the case, the first who is known was one called Ibn ^cAbbūd who lived in Fās at the end of the Waṭṭāsid dynasty (first half of the 10th/16th century); he is famous in Morocco for a "war poem" (*ḥarbī*) inspired by the battle of 942/1536 between Waṭṭāsids and Sa^cdids, at which he was present (Rabat ms. G594; see E. Dermenghem and M. El Fasi, *Poèmes marocains*, 96; M. El Fasi, in *La Pensée*, no. 1 (November 1962), 68; M. al-Fāsī, *Adab sha^cbī*, 46). Two poets of the same period, the Moroccan al-Madjdjūb [*q.v.*], author of well-known quatrains which constitute a category on their own, and the Algerian Sīdī Lakhḍar Bəkhkhlūf (al-Akhḍar, *alias* al-Akhal b. ^cAbd Allāh b. Makhlūf), of the Mostaganem region, are counted among the earliest; in a poem on the Battle of Mazagran delivered against the Spaniards in 965/1558, the latter asserts that he participated in this combat in person, so that if this detail is authentic, he supplies a valuable chronological reference; the works of this bard are still appreciated, so that it has been possible to collect them in a *Dīwān* published by M. Bekhoucha in Rabat in 1951 (31 poems, among which figure several panegyrics of the Prophet, which are still sung by the *ṭolba*, in funerary vigils, to the tune of the *Burda* [*q.v.*]; see also J. Desparmet, *Blida*, 146-66; idem, *Chansons de geste*, 195, 216-19; Sonneck, no. 112; M. al-Ḳāḍī, *Kanz*, 7-15; A. Tahar, index).

The principal poets from the 10th/16th century to the present. In the second half of the century there lived another Moroccan originally from the Tāfīlālt called Abū Fāris ^cAbd al-^cAzīz al-Maghrāwī (d. 1014/1605) who has also remained famous, to the point that there is a proverb *kull ṭwīl khāwi, ghēr ən-nəkhla w-əl-Məghrāwi* "Everything tall is empty, except the palm-tree and al-Maghrāwī", because he was very tall and expressed such wisdom in his verses that sanctity was attributed to him (see Rabat ms. Bibl. Royale 860), although he also left erotic poems which we do not know whether to interpret symbolically; in his finely-executed work figure *ghazawāt* (see below) and, in particular, a *marthiya* [*q.v.*] in dialectal Arabic composed on the death of Sultan al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (985-1012/1578/1603), whose favourite he was (see Rabat ms. 594; Aubin, *Le*

Maroc, 343; Colin, *op. laud.,* 225; al-Ghawthī, *Kashf,* 87-9; Ḳāḍī, *Kanz,* 205-10; Bekhoucha, *Poèmes erotiques,* 156-78; idem and Sekkal, *Printanières,* 61-5; M. al-Fāsī, *Adab shaʿbī,* 57, who estimates at about 50 the number of the poems preserved; Belhalfaoui, 120-37, hymn to the Prophet; Djirārī, 587-91; Tahar, index).

In the course of the 11th/17th century, when Tlemcen had already become a flourishing centre of this genre of popular poetry, Moroccan *məlḥūn* received a fresh impetus from Tlemceni poets in exile (see below). Towards the end of the century, another *shāʿir* originally from the Tāfīlālt (see M. al-Fāsī, *Adab shaʿbī,* 57; Djirārī, 592-6), al-Maṣmūdī, "noted the principal tunes, that the people had gradually adapted for their songs, and he also became the creator of the" *grīḥa* (< *ḳarīḥa,* which designates a light music and some easy tunes for popular poems, with a vague instrumentation"; Aubin, *op. laud.,* 342-3); with regard to this, it is said that al-Maṣmūdī is one of the branches of poetry, while al-Maghrāwī is its trunk.

Məlḥūn did not cease to find favour with all classes of Moroccan society, but after these two poets, it experienced a certain stagnation until the end of the 12th/18th century. In this period, one of those who revived it was Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1171-1204/1759-89) who had no scruples about cultivating it himself (see M. al-Fāsī, *Adab shaʿbī,* 58). Among his successors one can mention Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1276-90/1859-73), with whom Tuhāmī al-Madgharī (Mdəghri) of the Tāfīlālt (see below) lived on intimate terms, and it is said that many *ḳaṣīdas* issued in the latter's name were really the work of the prince (Aubin, *op. laud.,* 343-4; M. al-Fāsī, *Adab shaʿbī,* 62-3). The last sultan who was particularly interested in dialectal poetry was Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ (1909-13), who is said to have composed the 39 pieces of verse collected in his *Dīwān* lithographed in Fās (n.d.); it is, however, doubtful whether they were all of his creation (see M. al-Fāsī, *op. laud.,* 64), and the names of three poets are cited who may have participated in the fraud (see Djirārī, 663-9).

In an erotico-mystical poem on Mecca, the Moroccan al-Ḥādjdj Mukhtār al-Bakkālī (d. 1255/1839; see Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf,* v, 339, 341, 443) wants to confide his anxieties to 21 of his predecessors and contemporaries and asks them for their intercession (text and French tr. in Belhalfaoui, 56-61); although he may not be one of the most remarkable, this poet gives an idea of the unity which existed in the field of dialectal poetry between Morocco and Algeria and, without compiling an honours list properly speaking, or testifying to the tastes of all his contemporaries, he nevertheless supplies precious information on the names to bear in mind by recording in the first lines, alongside more obscure personages and ones who are harder to identify, the greatest representatives of *məlḥūn* from the 10th/16th century to the first decades of the 13th/19th. Apart from al-Maghrāwī, Sīdī Lakhḍar and al-Maṣmūdī already cited, there appear notably:

al-Ḥādjdj ʿĪsā of Laghwāṭ (d. *ca.* 1150/1737-8), author, in particular, of hunting poems (see Sonneck, no. 63; M. Sidoun, *Chasse au faucon,* 272-94; Ḳāḍī, *Kanz,* 179-81; C. Trumelet, *Les Français dans le désert,* 499).

Muḥammad b. Āmsāyb (Ben Msayeb *et var.*) of Tlemcen (d. 1182/1768), who had to go into exile in Morocco after having sung of love and wine, and composed on his return several panegyrics of the Prophet and saints; he is still held in public favour and his "poems of love and religious inspiration always move men and women at weddings" (S. Bencheneb, in *Initiation à l'Algérie,* 302; see Sonneck, no. 32; M. Ben Cheneb, *Itinéraire*; Desparmet, *Blida,* 8; Ḳāḍī, *Kanz,* 134-42, 147-9; A. Hamidou, *Poésie vulgaire,* 1007-30; Bekhoucha, *Poèmes érotiques,* 6-33; idem and Sekkal, *Printanières,* 124-7; Belhalfaoui, 72-91; Tahar, index; *al-Djawāhir al-ḥisān* 285-316; his *Dīwān* (31 poems) was collected and published in Tlemcen in 1370/1951 by M. Bekhoucha.

ʿAlī Kūra (end of the 12th/18th century), of the Relizane region, who celebrated Platonic and mystical love (see Belhalfaoui, 148-53; Tahar, 208, 210).

Ibn Swīkāt (Bessouiket), an Oranian of the same period, who achieved fame through his opposition to the Turkish occupation, although al-Bakkālī claims that he was a Turk (see A. Cour, *Poésie politique,* 486; Belhalfaoui, 144-7, on his dying horse; Tahar, index).

ʿAlī al-Baghdādī, a Moroccan poet of the same period, whose fame rests on a *ḳaṣīda* entitled *al-Ḥarrāz* (watchman = *raḳīb* of the Andalusians = *gardador* of the troubadours), which is a little satirical comedy (French tr. E. Dermenghem and M. El Fasi, *Poèmes marocains,* reproduced in H. Duquaire, 213-22 and E. Dermenghem, *Les plus beaux textes arabes,* Paris 1951, 522-31; see also M. al-Fāsī, *Adab shaʿbī,* 61-2).

Ibn Ḥammādī of Relizane (early 13th/19th century) who exalted love and the Prophet (see Belhalfaoui, 138-43; Tahar, index).

Ibn ʿAlī: this poet who is cited by al-Bakkālī must be Muḥammad b. ʿAlī wuld/u Rzīn of Tāfīlālt (d. 1237/1822), whose best known work today in Morocco is a love poem in which the *ṭarshūn* ("young hawk") symbolises the loved one (text and French tr. by M. El Fasi, *Le* tarchoun (*le petit faucon*) *de Ben ʿAli Chérif,* in *Hespéris-Tamuda,* vi [1965], 39-52; see also Sonneck, no. 59; Aubin, 343; Bekhoucha, *Poèmes érotiques,* 115-54; idem and Sekkal, *Printanières,* 75-89; M. al-Fāsī, *Adab shaʿbī,* 60-1); he is notable for his composition of a poem (preserved, but inaccessible) on Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt (see Djirārī, 625-7).

al-ʿAmīrī of Meknès (middle of the 13th/19th century), who attracted attention on account of his poems called *djafriyya* full of reflections of a political character which led him to make predictions about future events (see M. al-Fāsī, *Adab shaʿbī,* 62; Djirārī, 627-8).

al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad al-Nadjdjār of Marrakesh, son-in-law and copyist of Mthīrəd (see below), who left many panegyrics of the Prophet, a poem in which he alluded to an eclipse and a *marthiya* of Ḥamdūn b. al-Ḥādjdj [see IBN AL-ḤADJDJ in Suppl.] which is preserved in Rabat ms. 396D (see Aubin, 343; Bekhoucha and Sekkal, *Printanières*; M. al-Fāsī, *Adab shaʿbī,* 58; Djirārī, 616-19).

His contemporary Ḳaddūr al-ʿAlamī of Meknès (d. 1266/1850), who is one of the most popular; that al-Bakkālī, who was his master, cites him among his authorities is an indication of the prestige which he already enjoyed. This illiterate poet, who claimed descent from ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [*q.v.*] and led a pious life, is a kind of saint regarded as possessing thaumaturgical gifts; moreover, he recounts several miracles in his poems which he composed with extreme facility. There appears to have been no attempt to collect his works, but a certain number of them, preserved by his disciples and *rāwīs* (also called in Morocco *ḥəffāḍ* < *ḥaffāẓ*), still enjoy great popularity, even in the humblest circles. Sīdī Ḳaddūr, who belongs to the urban school, is the author of *zadjals* dealing with mystical and profane subjects and of *ḳṣāyd* (*ḳaṣāʾid*) to which a religious character is attributed, even when they have an en-

tirely erotic appearance. One of his most famous compositions is that in which he tells the story of his house, sold, miraculously recovered and transformed into a much-frequented *zāwiya,* where he was later buried. His biography, which figures in Ibn Zaydān (*Itḥāf,* v, 336-52) has been discussed by M. T. Buret, in *Hespéris,* xxv/1 (1938), 85-92 (see also Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire,* 337-8; on his verses, see the *Itḥāf, loc. cit.*; Sonneck, no. 12; A. Fischer, *Liederbuch,* nos. 17, 26, 29, 34; Lévi-Provençal, in *Arch. Berb.*, iv [1919-20], 67-75; Ḳāḍī, *Kanz,* 143; Bekhoucha, *Poèmes érotiques*; J. Jouin, in *Hespéris,* 1959/1-2, 87-103; M. al-Fāsī, *Adab sha^cbī,* 62-3; Djirārī, 629-39; Tahar, index; Belhalfaoui, 47, for whom a line of Ḳaddūr rightly recalls the beginning of a famous poem of Rutebeuf).

Abu 'l-Aṭbāḳ, who is doubtless Mubārak Abu 'l-Aṭbāḳ (Mbārk Bū Leṭbāḳ), an Oranian poet, author of *ghazawāt* (see Desparmet, *Chansons de geste,* 195; M. al-Fāsī, *Adab sha^cbī,* 56, 58).

Al-Baḳḳālī further cites an Ibn ^cArūs, who is perhaps identical with al-^cArūsī al-Tilimsānī (see Desparmet, *Chansons de geste,* 195, 205 ff.), and four other unidentified poets.

On the other hand, several great names have been omitted and, although the limits of this article do not allow mention of all the *gawwālīn* whose work is not totally forgotten, we will go back in time a little to add to the preceding list those who appear the best known: Abū ^cUthmān Sa^cīd b. ^cAbd Allāh al-Tilimsānī al-Mandasī, who lived in the entourage of three sultans of Morocco: Mawlāy Maḥammad b. al-Sharīf (1045-74/1635-64), Mawlāy al-Rashīd (1075-82/1664-72) and Mawlāy Ismā^cīl (1082-1139/1672-1729). This poet originally from Tlemcen enjoyed great prestige among his colleagues due to his profound knowledge of literary Arabic in which he also composed, as well as to his taste for rare rhymes and for the transposition in dialect of classical poems. He is known particularly as the author of the *^cAḳīḳa,* a famous poem of 303 lines composed in 1088/1677 in praise of the Prophet, with a commentary in literary Arabic by Muḥammad Abū Ra^ɔs al-Nāṣirī (1164-1237/1751-1822) entitled *al-Durra al-anīḳa fī sharḥ al-^cAḳīḳa,* later edited and translated by G. Faure-Biguet, *L'Aqiqa* (*la Cornaline*), Algiers 1901 (see also al-Ghawthī, *Kashf,* 51-75; Ḳādī, *Kanz,* 21-43, 190-6; M. al-Fāsī, *Adab sha^cbī,* 58; Djirārī, 604-8; Tahar, index).

Al-Mandasī had as his pupil his fellow-citizen Aḥmad b. al-Trīkī (Ben Triki or Ben Zengli) who died at the beginning of the 18th century. A singer of love, he was exiled by the Turks in 1083/1672 and, like his master, had to seek refuge for some time in Morocco. On his return, he composed mainly panegyrics of the Prophet (see Sonneck, no. 33; al-Ghawthī, *Kashf,* 75-84; Desparmet, *Blida,* 130-1; Bekhoucha, *Poèmes érotiques*; idem and Sekkal, *Printanières,* 50-4; A. Hamidou, *Poésie vulgaire,* 1030-6; Djirārī, 608; Belhalfaoui, 100-15; Tahar, index; *al-Djawāhir al-ḥisān,* 85-106, 317-70).

After the stagnation which has been alluded to above, the Moroccan *məlḥūn* experienced a new flowering at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, less probably due to the panegyrist of the Prophet ^cAbd al-Madjīd al-Zabādī (d. 1163/1750; see Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire,* 94) than to

Djilālī Mthīrəd, who lived in the reign of Sīdī Muḥammad b. ^cAbd Allāh, has already been cited as a poet in dialect. Mthīrəd, a Filālī born in Marrakesh where he worked as a vegetable seller, composed principally *khamriyyāt* [*q.v.*] and some love poems; he is regarded as the best of his time and perhaps in Morocco, and it is quite astonishing that al-Baḳḳālī, who cites his son-in-law al-Nadjdjār, passes over him in silence, unless he knew him under another name (see M. al-Fāsī, *Adab sha^cbī,* 58-60; idem, *Jilali Mthired,* in *La Pensée,* no. 5 [March 1963], 42-54; Djirārī, 611-16).

In the reign of Mawlāy Sulaymān (1206-38/1792-1823), Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Fāsī, a pupil of the Ibn ^cAlī mentioned by al-Baḳḳālī, found himself in disagreement with his master, and his verses carry an echo of this misunderstanding; a *ḳaṣīda* undoubtedly composed on his death-bed is one of his most remarkable works (see Aubin, 343; Sonneck, no. 5; Bekhoucha and Sekkal, *Printanières,* 65-71; M. al-Fāsī, *Adab sha^cbī,* 61; Djirārī, 625-7).

For his part, the Darḳāwī Muḥammad al-Ḥarrāḳ of Tetwan (d. 1261/1845) is the author of mystical *ḳaṣīdas* which have been preserved and published at the end of his *Dīwān* (lith. Tunis and Fās n.d.; ed. Meknès, n.d.); he was himself made the subject of a monograph, *al-Nūr al-lāmi^c al-barrāḳ fī tardjamat Muḥammad al-Ḥarrāḳ* (Rabat ms. 960; see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa,* 343, n. 8).

Tuhāmī al-Madgharī (d. 1273/1856) whom we have already encountered, composed also in classical Arabic; his works consist of some occasional poems, *khamriyyāt* and *ghazal*, as well as the panegyric of the prince Muḥammad b. ^cAbd al-Raḥmān (see Sonneck, no. 14; Ḳādī, *Kanz,* 162-4; Desparmet, in *Bull. Soc. Géog. Alger,* xxii [1917], 40-51; M. al-Fāsī, *Adab sha^cbī,* 63-4; *Un poème marocain inédit: «les Buveurs» de si Thami al-Oldaghi,* recueilli et traduit par M. El Fasi et E. Dermerghem, in *L'Islam et l'Occident, Cahiers du Sud,* 1947, 343-8; Djirārī, 643-9).

Aḥmad al-Ganduz, who lived in the reign of Mawlāy ^cAbd al-Raḥmān (1238-76/1823-59) and his son Muḥammad (1276-90/1859-73), is the author of an elegy on the first and poems in honour of the Ḥamādsha [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (see Djirārī, 650-2).

al-Madanī al-Turkumānī (d. 1303/1886) is regarded as a specialist in humorous *ḳaṣīdas* (see Sonneck, no. 11; M. al-Fāsī, *Adab sha^cbī,* 64).

Idrīs b. ^cAlī, surnamed al-Ḥansh (d. 1319/1901), left a classical *dīwān* and a *maḳāma* [*q.v.*] in addition to his poems in *məlḥūn* (see Djirārī, 656-7).

Several more or less renowned Moroccan poets might also be cited in the three principal centres of composition; Fās, Meknès and Marrakesh (see al-Fāsī, *Adab sha^cbī,* 64; Djirārī, 534-704, *passim*).

In Algeria, we should not pass over in silence the Tlemceni singer of love, Muḥammad b. Sahla (end of the 12th/18th century), whose works enjoy a lasting success (see Sonneck, nos. 29, 30; Desparmet, *Blida,* 8; J. Joly, *Répertoire algérois,* 58-66; Bekhoucha, *Poèmes érotiques,* 70-111 (on Muḥammad b. Sahla and his son); idem and Sekkal, *Printanières,* 122-4; Hamidou, *Poésie vulgaire,* 1025, 1037; Belhalfaoui, 170-9; *al-Djawāhir al-ḥisān,* 371-88). His son Abū Madyan (Boumediène) followed his father's example and also sang of love (see Sonneck, no. 31; El Boudali Safir, in *Hunā 'l-Djazā^ɔir,* no. 61 [1958], 35-7; Tahar, index; *al-Djawāhir al-ḥisān,* 389-97).

In the 19th century, Ibn al-^cAbbās (Belabbès) of Mascara, combined with love poetry philosophical and political themes (see Belhalfaoui, 116-19), while his fellow citizen Ḥabīb b. Gannūn (Benguennoun) composed principally during his long life (1761?-1864) erotic poems (see Bresnier, *Cours,* Algiers 1846, 636-7; A. Tahar, in *Bull. des Ét. Ar.*, no. 12 [1943], 42-3; Belhalfaoui, 92-9; Tahar, index).

The most famous *gawwāl* is, however, Muṣṭafā b.

Ibrāhīm (Məṣṭfa bən Brāhīm, 1800?-67), whose rich *Dīwān* was collected by ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir ᶜAzza (see below); having had much success with women and celebrated love at length, this Oranian bard, following a gallant adventure, had to seek exile in Fez, where he expressed his nostalgia in a highly-esteemed poem, *əl-Gomri* "the dove" (*Dīwān*, no. 34, 242-84). He then returned to his country and, like all his compatriots on returning from exile, ceased to sing of women in order to turn to religious poetry. Some of his poems are still sung at weddings and circumcision feasts.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the most popular of the *gawwālīn* appears to have been ᶜAbd Allāh b. Kerrīw of Laghwāṭ (d. 1921), whose romances are still appreciated (see J. Joly, in *R Afr.*, liii [1909], 285-303; *Hunā 'l-Djazāʾir*, no. 13 [1953], 22, no. 27 [1954], 27-8; S. Bencheneb, in *Initiation à l'Algérie*, 302; Tahar, 87-9).

The poems of Tripolitanian origin gathered by Sonneck (nos. 16, 17, 45, 101, 102) are generally anonymous and come from the Maḥāmīd tribe. As for Stumme (*Beduinenlieder*), it was an informant from the Maṭmāṭa, illiterate but provided with a collection, who supplied him with his documentation on Tripolitania and South Tunisia. The specimens collected by P. Marty (*Chants lyriques*) at the beginning of the century in this latter region are all anonymous; those which Stumme reproduced in *Märchen und Gedichte*, relying on an informant from Tunis, are also unnamed, whereas the authors of some of the 23 Tunisian poems which figure in Sonneck's collection are known, but are not very old and barely go back to the 19th century. Among them can be cited ᶜAbd Allāh b. Bū Ghāba of al-Kāf (no. 107) who, like Məṣṭfa b. Brāhīm, entrusted a message to a pigeon in a strophic *ḳaṣīda*; Sāsī b. Muḥammad (19th-20th century) of the Djibāliyyīn (nos. 46, 65, 67, 75) who describes at length the horse and its rider (no. 65) as well as a hunting party (no. 67); ᶜUthmān Ulīdī of Bizerta, who celebrates (no. 106) the construction of a bridge; Aḥmad b. Khūdja who exalts the merits of the saint ᶜĀʾisha al-Mannūbiyya [*q.v.*]; finally Aḥmad b. Mūsā (d. 1893; see Briquez) to whom is attributed, probably wrongly (see Marzūḳī, *Mallāk*, 10) the authorship of a poem of 29 strophes of 5 lines of which each one, packed with proverbs and maxims, is introduced by a letter of the alphabet followed by a word beginning with the same letter; however, this poem (*Alif al-adab*) is more likely to be the work of Aḥmad Mallāk of Sfax, who was his contemporary and lived in a period when popular poetry had developed, in part due to the impetus given it by Aḥmad Bey (1253-71/1837-55). The *Dīwān* of this latter poet, who deals with all kinds of subjects (social, wise, religious, but also amorous, satirical and rural) was published in the form of extracts by Muḥammad al-Marzūḳī, *Aḥmad Mallāk, shāᶜir al-ḥikma wa 'l-malḥama*, Tunis 1980. Mallāk is described here as an epic poet, but we do not know exactly whether it is him or Ḥamdūn Shalbī who is the author of a kind of narrative poem inspired by the legend of Ḥassūna al-Laylī; the latter was made the subject of another poem of Sālim al-ᶜAydūdī that M. Marzūḳī published and studied, with the preceding poem, in *Ḥassūna al-Laylī, malḥama shaᶜbiyya*, Tunis 1976.

In our own time, *məlḥūn* is always very much in favour in the whole of North Africa. Djirārī further cites (671-87) several contemporary Moroccan poets who bear witness to the vitality of dialectal poetry. In Algeria, Muḥammad ᶜAbābsa (d. 1953), surnamed the "Bard of the tribes" (*shāᶜir al-aᶜrāsh*), expresses "philosophical" ideas, e.g. on peace and fraternity (in *Hunā 'l-Djazāʾir*, no. 10 [1953], 16-17). Al-Ṭāhir Raḥāb greets the spring, the month of Ramaḍān, the feast of the sacrifices, tells of a journey to Sicily and eulogises his mother in some poems of 26-43 lines (see *Hunā 'l-Djazāʾir*, nos. 11, 14 [1953], 43, 44 [1956], 56 [1957], 61 [1958]).

In Tunisia, the government encourages not only the study of popular poetry of the past, but also the composition of poems on the occasion of anniversaries of national events which have marked the recent fortunes of the country: festivals of the Revolution (18 January), Independence (20 March), Victory (1 June), the Republic (25 July), the Departure of the occupiers (15 October), as well as that of the birth of President Bourguiba (3 August); the Minister of Cultural Affairs publishes, under the suggestive title *ᶜUkāẓiyya* [see ᶜUKĀẒ], a selection of these occasional poems. The authors will not be cited, as they are still alive, but by way of information we will note that the *ᶜUkāẓiyyāt* of the years 1977-80 and of 18 January 1981 contain a total of 73 poems by 24 poets, among whom several provided 4 to 10 compositions.

Subjects treated in *məlḥūn*. As suggested by the preceding, poetry in dialectal Arabic covers the same fields as that which is expressed in literary Arabic, and the classical genres are present in it, sc. *madīḥ, hidjāʾ, rithāʾ, ghazal*, etc., but certainly in different proportions. As S. Bencheneb rightly remarks (in *Initiation à l'Algérie*, 302), the *gawwālīn* "derive their inspiration from all sources, chivalrous adventures as well as love stories, miracles as well as everyday life"; for his part, G. S. Colin (in *Initiation au Maroc*, 226) makes out poems which are amorous, mystico-erotic, satirical, political (against the French presence), didactic (or on wisdom themes), burlesque, to which must be added those which celebrate wine (mystical or not), sing the beauties of nature, glorify the Prophet and the saints or eulogise a person living or dead. M. al-Fāsī presents (*Adab shaᶜbī*, 51-6) a comprehensive list of the subjects treated, and Djirārī devotes a very long discussion (198-529) to the themes of the Moroccan *məlḥūn* which he analyses with great care. Although no statistics are available, we cannot help but remark on the important place occupied by love in spontaneous dialectal poetry, very often in a symbolic form behind the erotic (or erotico-Bacchic) appearance, in which it is sometimes very hard for the profane, but not for the initiated, to detect a mystical meaning, as is the case with al-Baḳḳālī's poem cited above. Moreover, what is particularly striking is the abundance of religious songs, hymns to the Prophet, to the patron saints of the different towns and local saints, *klām al-djədd* as opposed to *klām al-həzl*; one can even read (Belhalfaoui, 66-71) a mystical poem dedicated to ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] by ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ṭubdjī (beginning of the 19th century).

Among the Bedouins, beside love, nature and animals, both wild and domesticated (horse, camel, pigeon), are very often celebrated in accordance with archaic tradition, and hunting with the falcon is a traditional theme (see above, al-Ḥādjdj ᶜĪsā and Gen. A. Margueritte, *Chansons de l'Algérie*), while wars between tribes gave further inspiration to the bards of the south at the times when these wars were still endemic (see P. Marty, *Chants lyriques*).

As the poets enjoy much freedom, some acts of daily life and family events are a source of inspiration which is not negligible (we will mention notably a poem on the death of his wife, a relatively rare theme in Arabic literature [see MARTHIYA], by Ibn Gīṭūn Wulā al-Ṣaghīr of the Biskra region; Sonneck, no. 41 and *Hunā 'l-Djazāʾir*, no. 19 (1953), 14-15).

Some dramatic events which made a deep impression also find an echo in popular poetry. Venture de Paradis had collected *Un chant algérien du XVIIIe siècle* of 114 lines (published in *RAfr.*, xxxviii [1894], 325-45) on a bombardment of Algiers, in 1770, by the Danes (?). An accident which occurred in 1885 provides the material for a *Complainte sur la rupture du barrage de Saint-Denis-du-Sig,* edited by G. Delphin and L. Guin, Paris-Oran 1886. S. Bencheneb (*Initiation à l'Algérie,* 307) mentions that the first Orléansville (al-Aṣnām) earthquake, in 1954, inspired melodies full of sadness and hope, and it is probable that the one in 1980 will also be lamented in *məlḥūn*. It has been seen earlier that Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt was made the subject of a Moroccan poem, just as the construction of a bridge at Bizerta had been celebrated in its time.

The events which have so far been alluded to until now have a lesser weight, in the eyes of the Maghribīs, than the conquest and colonisation of North Africa. In Algeria, they have, since 1830, given rise to a whole series of compositions (see e.g. Gen. E. Daumas, *Mœurs et coutumes de l'Algérie*³, 1858, 160-74, on the capture of Algiers; J. Desparmet, *La conquête racontée par les indigènes,* in *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Alger.*, cxxxii [1932], 437-56). The resistance of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] was bound to find an echo among *məlḥūn* poets, such as Ḳaddūr wuld Muḥammad al-Burdjī, called Bū Ngāb (d. 1850), of the Mascara region (see A. Cour, *Poésie politique,* 463-76; Ḳādī, *Kanz,* 92, 94, 96, 100, 104-6; Moh. Abderrahman, *Enseignement de l'arabe parlé*², 1923, 44 ff.) or Ṭāhir al-Ḥawwa who fought him, was taken prisoner, then eulogised him after having been freed (see A. Cour, *Poésie politique,* 478-83; Ḳāḍī, *Kanz,* 75-8; Desparmet, *Elégies et satires,* 48-9).

In a general way, the poets who tackle political themes deplore what they consider as the ruin of Maghribī civilisation, and pour out their sarcasm on that which their conquerors bring them (see Desparmet, *Elégies et satires*). Opposition to the French penetration is manifested indirectly in some poems which the *məddāḥs* declaim in public: some accounts relating the warlike exploits of the Prophet's contemporaries and some Muslim heroes which, in classical Arabic, constitute the pseudo-*Maghāzī,* are in part adapted in dialectal Arabic and form a kind of little epics; very much in vogue from the time of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in order to stimulate the ardour of the combatants, then at the end of the 19th century and in the 20th century to recall the glories of the past and give consolation for the present humiliation, these *ghazawāt* are an evident manifestation of Maghribī nationalism (see J. Desparmet, *Chansons de geste*).

Different events which took place after the conquest also inspired the *gawwālīn*. By way of example, we will cite Mḥammad b. al-Khayr (Belkheïr) who was deported to Corsica after taking part in the insurrection of the Awlād Sīdī Shaykh of 1864-6; he addresses a prayer to God and expresses in touching terms his nostalgia, in a poem which deserves to be cited among the works composed by prisoners (see Sonneck, no. 44; Ḳāḍī, *Kanz,* 177-9; Tahar, 74-83).

The 38 poems gathered by P. Marty in southern Tunisia, between 1902 and 1907, are classified into 4 categories (see *Chants lyriques*) according to the subject which inspires them: love, war between tribes, nature, and finally the situation created in Tunisia by the installation of the French protectorate; in this "modern cycle" (for the other poems are older) some poets express their surprise and their anxieties or glorify the epic action for independence of some rebels, whilst others discover in the new themes material for irony or for reflection (see e.g. Sonneck, nos. 70 and 71, against the French in 1881).

The two World Wars have also found an echo in *məlḥūn* (see Desparmet, *Chanson d'Alger*), and it is probable that the events which took place in Algeria from 1954 to 1962 have given rise to a certain form of heroic poetry, but the author of the present article only possesses in this connection some works of poets writing in French. In southern Tunisia, al-Fītūrī Tlīsh (d. after 1943) derives his inspiration from the political and military situation during the Second World War, and uses symbols to express his hostility with regard to the French authorities who had thrown him into prison; but horses and camels are not absent from his work, which has been collected in a *Dīwān* and published by M. Marzūḳī (Tunis 1976). Today, the *ʿUkāẓiyyāt* are eloquent, and the patriotic themes are greatly developed in them.

Transmission and preservation of *məlḥūn*. As was said at the beginning of this article, the compositions in *məlḥūn* of the poets earlier than the 10th/16th century, if they existed, have not been preserved. It can be still ascertained that, among the Bedouins, the *gawwālīn* used to go, in the manner of troubadours, from encampment to encampment, from the house of a notable to the tent of a tribal chief in order to provide a spectacle on the occasion of festivals: wedding, circumcision, anniversary, etc., being accompanied by a rudimentary orchestra playing the oboe, flute and tambourine, while, sometimes, dancers complete the troupe. Several authors who have described these festivals (e.g. C. Trumelet, *Les Français dans le désert,* 249-61; P. Marty, *Chants lyriques,* in *RT*, 1936/1, 96) stress the transmission of the traditions of song in families. "It is rare", adds Marty, "for them to make them publicly known or for a stranger to be allowed to record them ... But the refrains are known by everyone or at least learnt and remembered at once, and the whole audience, especially the women who are always very excited, repeat in chorus this refrain, which is ordinarily indicated by the two last rhymes of the couplet." In southern Algeria, a distinction is established between the *gawwāl* proper, the *məddāḥ* who sings the works of others, and the *fəṣṣāḥ* who improvises and modifies from his own inspiration a theme which is learnt and known, without always distinguishing exactly what he has remembered from what is of his own creation. In Morocco, Aubin (343) says with regard to the *ḳaṣīda* that "it is the work of a poet who, himself, is not a musician and who is content to provide professionals with his compositions and entrust them with retailing them from house to house. The latter learn by heart the new song and apply to it a known tune which appears to suit it." M. el-Fasi confirms this information (in *Hespéris-Tamuda,* vi [1965], 39) and states that the town poets who compose *ḳaṣīdas* without ever writing them "entrust them to the memory of a *ḥaffāḍ* or *rāwī* who teaches them to the *šiāḫ* [*shyākh*, pl. of *shaykh*/*shēkh*] musicians. They sing them to the accompaniment of the violin and the *taʿrīja* (tambourine), while the *āliyīn* who sing to classical 'Andalusian' music, have an orchestra formed by the lute, the *rbāb* (rebeck) with two strings, the tambourine (*ṭarr*) and the violin."

Thus, as among the ancient Arabs, the popular poets do not make a point of writing their compositions, more especially as they are often illiterate, and the executants, who trust to their extraordinary memory, only rarely transcribe them in notebooks (*kunnāsh*) or on loose leaves, so as more surely to retain

the monopoly. Dialectologists and ethnologists have sometimes succeeded in procuring some of these documents, and in 1898 A. Fischer could have at his disposal, in Tangier, a rich songbook (*Liederbuch*, pp. vii-viii) containing poems in dialectal Arabic, all anonymous, and some poems of well-known classical authors, such as al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf, Ibn al-Rūmī, Abu 'l-Atāhiya, Abū Nuwās and al-Mutanabbī. Not all investigators have been as fortunate, and H. Stumme states (*Beduinenlieder*, 2-3) that he was refused the possibility of examining a collection whose existence he knew of. The jealous care with which the written documents are preserved by their owners is a constant trait of which researchers do not cease to complain (see e.g. the complaints of D̲j̲irārī, 5, whose entreaties often met with no response, or of Marzūḳī, *Mallāk*, 6). In a general way, in a period in which the tape recorder did not exist, the investigators had to be content with collecting from the mouth of more complaisant informants, some texts which they transcribed and, in many cases, translated. Jeanne Jouin relates (in *Hespéris*, 1959/1-2, 78) that she was able to have a Moroccan girl or woman, whose father owned a collection of the works of Ḳaddūr al-ᶜAlamī (see above), recite a *ḳaṣīda* "which he was often pleased to chant aloud for the joy and edification of his family who appreciated it very much" and had ended by learning it by heart. Fortunately, D̲j̲irārī (700-3) supplies a long list of manuscript sources, and ᶜAzza (see below) states that he had procured a collection of al-Madg̲h̲arī's poems. Without waiting to have at their disposal technical means of recording them, some scholars and ardent amateurs succeeded, after minute and difficult inquiries, in putting together some important anthologies (see al-G̲h̲awt̲h̲ī, Ḳāḍī, Bekhoucha, Marzūḳī, etc.), and even, in assembling patiently some scattered remnants, to reconstitute at least partially some *dīwāns* and publish them in Arabic script, in spite of the inconvenience that this procedure presents (see below). Fraudulent attributions are doubtless more numerous than those which have been laid bare, but, after all, this poetry is a common patrimony, and it is not of great importance that the authorship of each poem be exactly defined. As P. Marty writes (*Chansons lyriques*, 97), whose collection is all anonymous: "The singers do not, however, have the glory of the author" (even if they assert that such a passage is *mən klāmi* "of my creation").

The reader has been able to remark a revival of interest in productions in dialectal Arabic, and particularly in Tunisia where, until recently, they encountered a "hostile prejudice" (L. Bercher, in *Initiation à la Tunisie*, Paris 1950, 194). Although several Muslims did not have scruples about showing, by publishing specimens and translating them, their taste for popular poetry, it should be recognised that the opposition had two principal causes: on the one hand, many scholars, even if they took pleasure in listening to *məlḥūn*, could not admit that they were seriously concerned with dialectal Arabic and the literature expressed in it (and D̲j̲irārī states that there was an attempt to dissuade him from submitting in Cairo a thesis on the *ḳaṣīda* in *məlḥūn*); on the other hand, in the eyes of many, to bring these works to light, was to play the game of "colonialism" which a certain propaganda presented as determined to transform dialectal Arabic into a national and official language. Still today, when this unfounded worry has been dissipated, M. al-Fāsī begins his article on *Adab s̲h̲aᶜbī* with a profession of faith in the future of literary Arabic and A. Tahar feels constrained (p. v) "to reaffirm his position which is entirely favourable to classical Arabic as a means of communication both written and oral". There is no doubt, he adds, "that the liberation of the Arab lands has ruined the hopes of those who speculated on linguistic partition in order to divide them so as to perpetuate their rule over them", and then he justifies (p. vi) "his assistance in the work of a salvaging enterprise to rescue from oblivion the little which remains of popular poetry". No-one ever really believed in the propaganda which aroused this speculation on "linguistic partition", and especially not A. Tahar who, an ardent admirer of *məlḥūn*, had begun to study it well before the independence of Algeria; in 1933, in fact, he had presented an (unpublished) mémoire on Ben Guennoun and, some years later, promised his collaboration to Henri Pérès. The latter, after having given in the *BEA*, no. 1 (1940), 17-19, a general bibliography of Algerian popular poetry, published (*ibid.*, no. 4, 111-15) under an engaging title (*Pour un corpus des poésies populaires de l'Algérie*), a list of 85 *gawwālīn* whose works had to be collected and edited according to a necessarily subjective order of urgency. In the period, five *dīwāns* were in the course of preparation, but to our knowledge, only three of them have been published: those of Sīdī Lak̲h̲ḍar (who came quite low in the order of urgency), Ibn Amsāyb (see above) and Mṣṭfa bən Bṛāhīm (see below). Actually, the project of H. Pérès was quite ambitious and difficult to achieve integrally, but it is regrettable that it was not more largely carried out. Aware of the interest that popular poetry presents as an authentic element of the national patrimony, an eloquent representative of the personality of a country and evidence of a sensibility which cannot always be expressed in classical Arabic, the author of the present article accepted the supervision of three theses on this subject: those of Abdelkader Azza (*Məṣṭfa bən Bṛāhīm, barde de l'Oranais et chantre des Beni ᶜAmer*), M. Belhalfaoui (*La poésie arabe maghrébine d'expression populaire*) and A. Tahar (*La poésie populaire algérienne (melḥûn). Rythmes, mètres et formes*). All three have been printed, but only the latter *in extenso* (Algiers 1975); to elaborate on the first, which was treated in H. Pérès' list, the candidate had collected the works of Məṣṭfa bən Bṛāhīm and had transcribed them in Arabic and Latin script and commented on them; his work was published after his death, but exclusively in Arabic (D. (= *Duktūr*) ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir ᶜAzza, *Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm, s̲h̲āᶜir Banī ᶜĀmir wa-maddāḥ al-ḳabāʾil al-wahrāniyya*, Algiers 1977). The case of the second is entirely different, for M. Belhalfaoui, in order to publish it in Paris in 1973, had to remove the apparatus criticus and transcriptions into Latin script, so as to present a literary study only—of high quality and very suggestive—as well as a selection of poems reproduced in Arabic script and translated. Actually, a fourth thesis ought to be added, that of Mohamd El Moktar Ould Bah, which was submitted in 1969, but has remained unpublished; it is a collection of Mauritanian poems in literary as well as dialectal Arabic, which the author presented in a *Introduction à la poésie mauritanienne (1650-1900)*, published in *Arabica* (xviii [1971], 1-48); a paragraph in it was devoted to the popular poetry which is expressed in the dialect of the country, *Ḥassāniyya*, and is called *g̲h̲nāʾ* (*g̲h̲ināʾ*), although, in an unspecified work of Muḥammad al-Yadalī, it also bears the name *malḥūn*; the reader will find several examples of it in this *Introduction* (which he will be able to supplement with Aḥmad al-S̲h̲inḳīṭī, *al-Wasīṭ fī tarād̲j̲im udabāʾ S̲h̲inḳīṭ*, Cairo 1960, studied by A. B. Miské, in *BIFAN*, B, xxx/1 [1968]; A. Leriche, *Poésie et musique maures*, in *BIFAN*, xiii [1951], 1227-56; D. Cohen, *Ḥassānīya*, 236-43; H. T. Norris, *Shingīṭī folk literature and song*, Oxford 1968).

It is essential to insist on the necessity of not restric-

ting oneself to publishing in Arabic script the texts gathered, if one wants to write a useful work and present a study which can be used beyond the limits of one land or indeed region. The efforts of M. El-Fas to explain how he arranges the Arabic writing so as to allow the correct reading of a text (*Hespéris-Tamuda,* vi [1965], 45) would certainly have been more conclusive if he had added to the good translation of the poem studied a transcription in Latin script, especially as his article is in French and is addressed to a public who may well be ignorant of Arabic. For his part, Dj̲irārī doubtless devised an analogous system, but could not prevent the printer from omitting the vowels and reading signs, conscious though he was of the difficulty that is encountered in reading a dialectal poem. The vowels which figure in the *ᶜUkāẓiyyāt* and in certain publications of M. Marzūḳī are useful, without being totally satisfactory. The thesis of A. Tahar proves that it is possible to produce works which combine a care to preserve the poems in their Arabic script with a concern to make them appreciated and studied by Arabists and, thanks to translations, to procure proper evidence to nourish fruitful studies in comparative literature.

The language of *məlḥūn.* If we have insisted on the importance of presenting transcriptions and translations (accompanied by suitable annotation), it is also because this poetry is not always perfectly clear; the differences of interpretation which can be brought forward among qualified experts are an irrefutable proof. With regard to Morocco, E. Aubin (343) writes: "The song—qaçida—is composed in the common language and permits, consequently, the dialect of each province", which would appear evident. On the other hand, A. Fischer (*Liederbuch,* p. ix) distinguishes, midway between the dialectal (*Vulgärsprache*) and the classical (*Schriftsprache*), some poems in a mixed language (*Mischsprache*), and G. S. Colin (*op. laud.,* 225) describes, for his part, the language of popular poetry as a "kind of literarised poetic *koiné,* based on common Moroccan Arabic, but influenced above all by Bedouin dialects. "It seems furthermore", he adds, "that this poetry may be of Bedouin origin". This last suggestion seems very plausible, and one cannot help thinking of the poetic *koiné* of the pre-Islamic period which transcended the speech of the tribes and tended to a certain unity. *Mutatis mutandis,* a similar phenomenon has been able to take place with *məlḥūn* which serves so to speak as a common language for poets of different regions, without extending, however, to the whole of North Africa. On the other hand, the literary genre also represented was not limited to the Bedouins and countryfolk, and it must be recognised that a more or less independent *məlḥūn* developed in certain towns and adopted, besides, some rather different structures (see below).

Given that the language of popular poetry has still not been studied in depth, in spite of the efforts of M. al-Fāsī (*Lug̲hat al-malḥūn*), it is best to be very prudent and beware of any peremptory assertion. M. Belhalfaoui (53-4) describes *məlḥūn* as "a language whose expression, while remaining popular and current, possesses a vocabulary which is sometimes entirely that of classical Arabic, with some minor modifications; some forms which are often actually the same as those of classical Arabic, without our losing sight of the notable differences in morphology and above all the semantic evolutions which confer here and there on the dialectal expression a stamp *sui generis* far removed from the classical source ... We believe that we can assert that the dialectal language—that of the people and that of the bards—is today remarkably similar to that which was already attested in the works of El-Maghraoui or Lakhdar Ben Khlouf and Abderrahmane El-Mejdoub, all three of the 16th century" and, he could have added, of different origin. Here we have a highly optimistic assertion, and certainly an imprudent one in the present state of our knowledge. Even if the language of the bards appears palpably that of the people, one cannot fail to remark some differences, which thorough comparisons and exhaustive inventories would reveal more clearly. Proofs of these particulars are not lacking: A. Joly (*Poésie moderne*) and Abdelkader Azza (at the end of his original thesis) gave a list of words which do not figure in Beaussier's dictionary; M. al-Fāsī (*Lughat al-malḥūn,* 199) recognises that the language of *məlḥūn* is not easily intelligible, and Dj̲irārī writes (6): "It has not been easy for us to understand these texts, especially those which were recorded in writing, because of the evolution of the language and our ignorance of the meaning of many words and their pronunciation." M. Marzūḳī takes care to explain, at the end of each of the poems that he publishes, the difficult terms, and often claims that only the context enlightens them. Fortunately these exist a number of texts in *məlḥūn* transcribed in Hebrew characters, so that further studies in this respect will probably yield useful information.

When the poets are educated (like al-Mandasī in the *ᶜAḳīḳa*), it is understandable and inevitable that they use classical words and forms (omitting the *iᶜrāb* and certain short internal vowels), but the illiterate poets themselves, formed by the tradition and example of their masters or predecessors, are acquainted with some of them and use them in their compositions. Some at the very least provide food for thought; thus the word *rāḥ* (wine), already poetic in classical, is quite frequent in *məlḥūn*; is it a case of a borrowing or a survival from the poetic tradition brought by the conquerors and consequently a pre-classical word? As Dj̲irārī has rightly perceived, it is the whole problem of the Arabisation of North Africa which is hereby posed (see W. Marçais, *Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée*).

Apart from classical words, certain poets go as far as inserting in their verses, as a pleasantry (*li 'l-ḍaḥik*; Sonneck, no. 117, of ᶜAlī b. al-Ṭāhir of Djelfa), some French words (or Berber, notably in Mauritania) possessing the required syllabic quantity, and this remark must lead us directly to another problem which appears to be a very difficult one, that of metre.

The metrics of *məlḥūn.* The first researchers who concerned themselves with popular poetry were Arabists, naturally inclined to look for connections with classical metrics, but they stumbled against the problem of identifying the rhythm and proposed various solutions. H. Stumme (*Tunisische Märchen und Gedichte,* 87-103) detects in the verses studied a metre based on accent, then discovers in the Bedouin *məlḥūn* of Tunisia and Tripolitania (*Beduinenlieder,* 24, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45) some iambic lines of classical poetry. W. Marçais (*Tlemcen,* 208-9) discerns in his turn in the *ḥawfī* [*q.v.*] a classical *basīṭ*. R. Basset finds a *rad̲j̲az mad̲j̲zūʾ* in *Une complainte arabe,* 4. However, J. Desparment (*Blida,* 445) considers that the rhythm of the *məlḥūn* is based on the "numeration of syllabes which are accented in conformity with dialectal pronunciation". For G. S. Colin (in *Initiation au Maroc,* 225 and *EI*[1], art. MOROCCO, vii/2), the metre is "based exclusively on the number of syllables of each line (as in French)". S. Bencheneb (*Chansons satiriques,* 90) emphasises the number of syllables and the rhyme. A.

Chottin (*Musique marocaine,* 154) is of the opinion that the rhythm rests on the number of syllables and on an accentuation which he can hardly define. E. Dermenghem and M. El Fasi (*Poèmes marocains,* 99) imply that the *məlḥūn* is characterised by the number of syllables and the rhyme. For Azza, it is the number of syllables which characterises the verse of Bən Brāhīm. Dj̲irārī (131-46) recognises that the metre of al-K̲h̲alīl [*q.v.*] cannot be applied to *məlḥūn,* and says that the Moroccan *zadj̲dj̲al*s have particular *tafʿīlāt* which they call *ṣurūf* and which are of two kinds: the *dandana* (*dāndānī*) and *mālī mālī,* owed respectively to al-Mag̲h̲rāwī and al-Maṣmūdī (592-6). M. al-Fāsī, who undertook a study in depth of the structure of *məlḥūn,* also considers (*ʿArūḍ al-malḥūn,* 8-9) that the rhythm is syllabic, but remarks that certain poems pose quite complicated problems.

A. Tahar, after having been won over to the view of S. Bencheneb, not without taking into account the accentuation (*Métrique,* in *BÉA,* no. 11 [1943], 1-7), endeavoured to deepen his study of the question and finally discovered and explained, in his thesis cited above, a new theory which appears attractive. Given that Mag̲h̲ribī Arabic possesses only end short open syllables (Cv̆), while such syllables are preserved in literary Arabic in the body of the word, a line in *məlḥūn* cannot be scanned according to the classical metres [see ʿARŪḌ]; all the syllables are thus long (Cv̄C, Cv̄) or overlong, and the latter (Cv̄C, Cv̄CC, CCv̄C, CCC, Cv̄CC, CCv̄CC) present a particular importance. So, after having examined a considerable number of lines and separated the syllables which they contain, this scholar has come to the conclusion that the rhythm of the *məlḥūn* is essentially characterised by the identity of the number and the place of the overlong syllables in the lines of a poem. Here is an example taken from the work of the Moroccan Ḳaddūr al-ʿAlamī:

līn yərkən mən bārət lū žmīʿ l-əḥyāl
ʿād mənzəl dīwānū b-əl-kdār mālī

"Where will he go to take refuge whose stratagems have all been in vain
And whose cares fill up the place of his assemblies?"

scanned (61) as follows (the over-long syllables in roman type):

līn / *yər*/*kən*/*mən*/*bā*/*rət*/lūž/mīʿ/*ləḥ*/yāl
ʿād/*mən*/*zəl*/*dī*/*wā*/*nū*/bəlk/dār/*mā*/*lī*

In spite of the impressive number of examples cited, this theory does not seem to be applicable to all poetry in *məlḥūn,* at least when one attempts to put it into practice on written texts; however, it is worthy of being taken into consideration.

Pursuing his researches, A. Tahar has tried to determine the different "metres" according to the number of syllables and the place of the over-long ones and, in imitation of al-K̲h̲alīl, has even given them names. For example, the line above belongs to metre no. 1, called *əl-ʿtīḳ* "the old", formed by two decasyllabic hemistichs with four over-long syllables in the first and three in the second. In all, seven metres have been distinguished, but some of them contain a considerable series of variants, so that the question, in so far as it is of interest, would have to be reconsidered. In any case, pp. 176-349, which are devoted to the analysis of the metres, have the additional advantage of containing a mass of verse reproduced in Arabic script, transcribed and translated.

The structure and forms of *məlḥūn.* In an *urdj̲ūza* of some 5,000 lines, *al-Uḳnūm fī mabādiʾ al-ʿulūm,* which is a veritable encyclopaedia (see M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire,* 93-5), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (d. 1096/1685 [see AL-FĀSĪ in Suppl.]) approaches the *ʿilm mīzān al-malḥūn* (see Dj̲irārī, 62) and counts 15 *awzān,* of which the last is *al-ḳaṣīd al-dj̲ārī*; one might as well say that one can hardly make use of this document where *wazn* appears to designate at once the form and the rhythm. Anyway, analysis is complicated by a confusion in the terminology and the extension of the word *məlḥūn* to everything which is composed in dialectal Arabic, and notably to *zadj̲al,* in which is included the *ḳaṣīda,* also known as *grīḥa.* In fact, although the forms of *məlḥūn* may be extremely varied, it is permissible to distinguish, for the sake of simplication, two principal categories: the Bedouin type and the urban type.

Among the Bedouins and the townsfolks who follow the Bedouin tradition, we meet with isometric poems generally described as *ḳaṣīda* or *ḳaṣīd* (*gṣēda*/*gṣēd*) and recalling the old *ḳaṣīda,* with, however, some essential differences: the bi- or tripartite frame is not compulsory; the rhythm (see above) has nothing in common with classical metres and especially the *ḳāfiya,* the final rhyme, is doubled by an internal rhyme, i.e. all the first hemistichs rhyme also within themselves. For example, the line of Ḳaddūr al-ʿAlamī cited above belongs to a poem in which the odd hemistichs end in *-āl,* and the even, in *-lī*; in al-Baḳḳālī's poem used at the beginning of the present article, the hemistichs rhyme respectively in *-dī* and *-rā*; G. Boris (*Documents,* 166-7) reproduces a satire of seven lines rhyming in *-rā* and *-ān.* The examples could be multiplied, and it suffices to go over the great collections in order to take account of the importance of internal rhyme, which appears so fundamental that it is respected even in the case where the bard takes the liberty of changing the rhyme of the second hemistich in each line.

The word *ḳaṣīda* (*et var.*) naturally applied to poems of the preceding type, is extended, among the Bedouins themselves to a strophic structure which, far from being uniform, presents very numerous varieties which it is impossible to reduce to only a few forms. A. Tahar has undertaken a work analogous to that of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk [*q.v.*] on the *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* [*q.v.*], and one can only refer to his analysis (363-404). The simplest form to be recognised is constituted, in Bedouin *məlḥūn,* by a succession of strophes with a double rhyme whose designation is variable from one region to another. We are not able to enter here into all these details, and will limit ourselves to recalling that in Algeria these strophes, which alternate with one another, are called *hədda* and *frās̲h̲,* the poem beginning and ending with a *hədda*; such an arrangement is particularly regular in the *Dīwān* of Məṣtfa bən Brāhīm. In Morocco, the *ḳaṣīda* with a double rhyme contains several divisions called *ḳsām* (pl. of *ḳsəm*), themselves having subdivisions whose terminology does not seem clearly fixed. It is the same in Tunisia, and this question will merit being made the subject of an analysis in depth. Finally, the quatrain is also to be met with in Bedouin *məlḥūn.*

As for the urban type, which may be compared with the *ʿarūḍ al-balad* cited by Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, it also presents some variable forms, for the strophic arrangement which is prevalent leaves the field open to all the improvisations, and the terminology, here again, is quite confused. For example, in Algeria, a prelude (*maṭlaʿ* or *məd̲h̲həb*) is followed by strophes of two or three parts: *bīt* or *ʿarūbī,* then *ḳufl* or *bīt, dawr* and *ḳufl.* The structure and terminology of Moroccan *məlḥūn* have been made the subject of a thorough study by M. al-Fāsī (*ʿArūḍ al-malḥūn*). Dj̲irārī (147-73) analyses a *ḳaṣīda* containing a prelude (*sarrāba*) intended to set the

rhythm and comprising an introduction (*dkhūl*) followed by two or three lines forming a *nāʿūra*, of one strophe and one linking hemistich (*rədma*); then comes the *ḳsām* which follow a refrain (*ḥarba*); the latter *ḳsām* often contain the name of the author and the date of the composition clearly announced or in a cryptic form and, for the latter, by means of the Maghribī *abdjad* [*q.v.*] (an example in Belhalfaoui, 168).

In his edition of the *Ṭarshūn* (*Hespéris-Tamuda* [1965], 39 ff.), M. El-Fasi divides the poem into: *ḳsəm* of introduction followed by a *ḥarba* (refrain), then four other *ḳsām* constituted by a strophe (*nāʿūra*), a *ḥarība* (small refrain), a *ḳsəm* and a *ḥarba*. So we see that the structure of *məlḥūn* and the terms which designate the different parts of a *ḳaṣīda* are extremely variable. The common point remains, nevertheless, the principle of the double rhyme, which tends to be quite widely respected in each of the constituent elements.

It is clear from all that precedes that the Maghribī *məlḥūn* which we have attempted to present concisely by abstaining from approaching the difficult question of melody (on the different modes, see M. al-Fāsī, *ʿArūḍ al-malḥūn*), is a question which, from a scientific point of view, merits being studied more deeply, now that the obstacles, real or imagined, have in large part been raised, for this "poetry of popular expression", as M. Belhalfaoui wishes to describe it, not only remains very much cultivated and even to a certain point competitive with poetry in classical Arabic, as the Tunisian *ʿUkāẓiyyāt* notablv prove, but still offers to the Arabist and comparativist an extremely extensive field of research. Although the corpus already available, thanks to dialectologists and enlightened amateurs, may as a whole be considerable, it will be desirable in the first place to collect the greatest possible number of poems preserved in the memory of the *rāwīs* or in notebooks still too jealously guarded, to transcribe them in Arabic and Latin script and translate them or at least elucidate the obscure passages. The national radios today give a large place to popular poetry, and the singers hardly have reasons to refuse to communicate their répertoire; so it will be necessary to record it in such a way as to be in a position to resolve definitively the problem of rhythm and see to what extent the theory of A. Tahar can be generally applied. One would then have to attempt to set to rights a terminology which seems anarchic, and finally to make an inventory of the vocabulary so as to determine the origin of the different elements which constitute it.

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MALI, a kingdom of mediaeval West Africa. The West African Republic of Mali is named after the ancient kingdom of Mali. In the 13th and 14th centuries, ancient Mali expanded over the whole territory of the modern Republic of Mali and beyond into the present Republics of Senegal, Gambia and Niger.

The dominant ethnic group in ancient Mali were the Malinke (i.e. "the people of Mali"), also known as Mandinka, of the large group of Mande-speaking peoples.

The history of ancient Mali is known to us from oral traditions and from Arabic written sources. The two categories represent different, but complementary, viewpoints, Whereas in the oral traditions the African traditional themes are prominent, the Arabic sources emphasise Islamic aspects.

In 460/1067-8 al-Bakrī (ed. Algiers 1911, 178) describes the small chiefdom of Malal amidst stateless, loosely-organised peoples. Its ruler embraced Islam after a Muslim visitor had prayed for rain and had saved the country from severe drought. The Malal of

al-Bakrī must have been one of several chiefdoms which, according to oral traditions, emerged among the Malinke during the 11th and 12th centuries. Muslims reached that area of the Upper Niger river on their way to the goldfields of Burne, the exploitation of which began about that time.

Mali was Ghana's successor as the hegemonic power in the Western Sudan. But in between (towards the end of the 12th century), after the decline of Gh̲āna [*q.v.*] and before the rise of Mali, the Susu, a southern Soninke group, conquered territories to the north (Gh̲āna) and south (the Malinke chiefdoms).

The Susu represented a traditional reaction to Islam, which by then had become a significant factor in quite a few chiefly courts. The Malinke war of liberation from the rule of the Susu was led by Sundjata, who became recognised as head of all the Malinke, with the title of *mansā*.

In the first half of the 13th century, following the victory over the Susu, the new kingdom of Mali expanded northwards to the Sahel. The termini of the trans-Saharan trade, where Muslim communities flourished, became part of Mali, and served as a link with the Muslim world north of the Sahara. As the small Malinke chiefdom turned into a multi-ethnic kingdom, with influential Muslim elements inside and extensive Islamic relations with the outside, the rulers of Mali adopted an Islamic-oriented policy.

Mansā Ulī (or Walī), son of the founder of Mali, extended the conquests of his father. He secured the northern frontiers of Mali in the Sahara, which permitted him to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. He passed through Cairo during the reign of Baybars (658-76/1260-77). There was a long tradition of royal pilgrims in West Africa, especially among the more powerful rulers. Ibn Kh̲aldūn, to whom we are in debt for an excellent chronicle of the kings of Mali in the 13th and 14th centuries (ed. Paris 1847, i, 264-8), recorded also the pilgrimage of Sakūra during the second reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir b. Ḳalāwūn (698-708/1299-1309). But the most famous of all royal pilgrims was Mansā Mūsā [*q.v.*], who visited Cairo in 724/1324.

Visits of kings of Mali to North Africa, Egypt and Mecca established the fame of Mali (often referred to as Takrūr in Egyptian chronicles) as a Muslim kingdom rich in gold. Religious, cultural and commercial relations between Egypt and Mali became more intensive. At home, the blessing (*baraka*) ascribed to pilgrims was respected by Muslims and non-Muslims alike and added to the authority of the king. The performance of the pilgrimage, and the encounter with the central lands of Islam, called the rulers' attention to the laxity of Islam in their own lands. Mansā Mūsā pursued a more vigorous Islamic policy after his return from the *ḥadjdj*; he built new mosques and sent local *ʿulamāʾ* to study abroad in Fās. In 737/1337, Mansā Mūsā initiated the exchange of ambassadors and gifts with the Moroccan Sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī of the Marīnid dynasty, which were continued under their successors until 762/1360-1.

The Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Mali in 753-4/1352-3, during the reign of Mansā Sulaymān, the brother of Mansā Mūsā. In many Malian towns, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met residents from Morocco.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account reveals strong traditional survivals in Mali beneath a veneer of Islam. Royal presence at the public prayer of the two Islamic festivals turned them into official ceremonies to which non-Muslims were also attracted. In return, the prestige of Islam was used to exhort loyalty to the king during the *kh̲uṭba*. As national feasts, the Islamic festivals had to accommodate pre-Islamic rites, which were among the sources of the king's legitimacy. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa condemned this and other pre-Islamic customs at the court of Mali. But he also had words of praise for the devotion to the prayer of Malian Muslims, in particular the Friday prayer, and their concern with the study of the Ḳurʾān by heart. The ritual rather than the legal aspects of Islam were of greater significance. The precepts of the *Sh̲arīʿa* were observed only by foreign residents and by a small but committed group of local traders and clerics.

Islam penetrated into African societies through the rulers' courts. But it was in the purely Muslim towns, mostly commercial centres, that Islam was more vigorous and the *ʿulamāʾ* were in authority. The kings of Mali respected the autonomy of these towns, the most important of which was Timbuktu [*q.v.*].

Timbuktu, which had begun as a summer camp and a trading entrepôt for the Tuaregs, developed into an important commercial town and a cultural centre of Islam since the 14th century. The Andalusian poet and architect Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sāḥilī, who accompanied Mansā Mūsā back to Mali from the *ḥadjdj*, died in Timbuktu in 1346. Timbuktu must have been by then an intellectual centre of some importance for al-Sāḥilī to have settled there.

By the beginning of the 15th century, Timbuktu was "full of Sudanese *fuḳahāʾ*" (al-Saʿdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, 51). One of the leading scholars of Timbuktu was Modibo Muḥammad, who had come from the town of Kābora on the Niger south of Timbuktu. This town was mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 395) together with Diāgha, the people of which "were Muslims of old, and are distinguished by their piety and their quest for knowledge".

Towards the end of the 14th century, Mali was weakened by rivalries over the royal succession and lost its hold over the Sahelian provinces. In 837/1433-4 Timbuktu passed into the hands of the Tuaregs. The political vacuum caused by the decline of Mali invited the expansion of the rising kingdom of Songhay [*q.v.*] into the area west of the Niger bend. The hegemony of Songhay over the northern section of the present republic of Mali in the second half of the 15th and through the 16th centuries coincided with the most illustrious period in the economic and intellectual history of Timbuktu. The history of Songhay and Timbuktu may be reconstructed from the biographical treatises of Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1036/1627) and from the mid-17th century chronicles of Timbuktu, the *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* by al-Saʿdī and the *Taʾrīkh al-Fattās̲h̲* by Ibn al-Mukh̲tār. Djenne, which was linked by the Niger waterway with Timbuktu, was the commercial and Islamic metropolis of the Sudanic hinterland. About the level of Islamic learning in Djenne, one may learn from the career of two of its sons, the brothers Muḥammad and Aḥmad Bagh̲yugh̲u, who moved to Timbuktu and were among the leading scholars there. From Djenne and its region, the Dyula and Marka, Muslim traders who spoke Malinke and Bambara dialects extended their commercial network southwards as far as the fringes of the forest. These traders were known also as Wangara. Their impact on Hausaland is recorded by the Kano chronicle (*J. of the Anthropological Institute* [1908], 70): "The Wangarawa came from Mali bringing with them the Mohammedan religion."

The Songhay empire expanded mainly along the Niger river as far as Djenne in the south. Mali contracted to its Malinke nucleus, but survived repeated attacks until the beginning of the 17th century. Niani, the capital of Mali, was on the Sankarani, one of the

tributaries of the Upper Niger (today in Guinea). Because its ethnic and political base was deep in the Savannah, Mali survived longer than the two other powers of the Western Sudan, G͟hāna and Songhay. Both had their centres in the northern Sahel, exposed to external intervention: the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] in the 11th century and the Moroccans at the end of the 16th century.

In 1591 a Moroccan expeditionary force sent by the Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] defeated the Songhay army by its superior fire-arms and conquered Gao, Timbuktu and Djenne. Timbuktu became the capital of a *pas͟halīḳ*, which soon became virtually independent of Morocco, and ruled by a hereditary military caste, the descendants of the Moroccan conquerors, known as *al-rumāt* or *arma*. The *pas͟halīḳ* survived until the beginning of the 19th century.

As seen from the north, through Muslim records, Mali was reduced to a kingdom of local importance during the 15th and 16th centuries. But the Portuguese, who about that time reached the Gambia, became aware of the powerful inland ruler of Mali, whose authority extended to the Atlantic coast. Mali's westward expansion was consolidated by the migration of Malinke warriors, peasants and traders to the Gambia. In 1621, sailing up the Gambia river, the British voyager Jobson met many hundred of Muslims traders and clerics who "have free recourse through all places" even in times of war (Jobson, in E. W. Bovill, *The golden trade of the Moors*, London 1932, 17-8, 84, 106).

In Mali and Songhay, Islam had become integrated into the imperial texture ideologically and institutionally. Yet even the great *mansās* and *askiyas*, who had been exposed to external Islamic influences and ruled over centres of Islamic learning, remained attached to the pre-Islamic heritage of their people. Islam was confined to urban traders and *ʿulamāʾ*. Similar patterns persisted into the 17th and 18th centuries, except that the rulers of smaller states, which had emerged as a result of the fragmentation of the great empires, had no contacts with Islamic centres north of the Sahara and had fewer and smaller towns. Consequently, Islamic influences were mitigated by traditional particularisms.

The Bambara, one of the major ethnic groups in present day Mali, are closely related to the Malinke and speak a similar dialect. They call themselves Banmana, and the term Bambara has the connotation of "infidels". Under ancient Mali they were among the subject peoples, the common peasantry, who had no share in the imperial culture of which Islam was an important component. Following the disintegration of Mali, the Bambara entered upon a process of state-building, which culminated with the establishment of the powerful Bambara states of Segu and Kaarta in the 18th century. With Bambara clans in political authority, their chiefs came under Islamic influences. Muslim elements penetrated the culture of the Bambara, but the latter remained traditionally-oriented. They were treated as infidels by most of the militant Islamic leaders of the 19th century.

The northern frontiers of the modern Republic of Mali cut deep into the Sahara to incorporate important Arabo-Berber groups. Thus Mali, like Niger and Chad, accommodates both the pastoralists of the southern Sahara and the peasants of the Sahel and the savannah. Tension between these two elements is an important feature in the political life of these states. Though the present frontiers were determined by colonial France, the interaction between desert and Sahel has a longer tradition. The southern Sahara was of strategic importance for the Sudanic states as the outlet of the desert trade routes. On the other hand, the pastoralists of the southern Sahara were attracted, mainly during years of drought, to the more promising pastures of the Sahel.

Whenever a strong state dominated the Sahel (G͟hāna of the 11th century, Mali of the 14th century and Songhay of the 16th century), its authority extended over the Tuareg of the southern Sahara. But in between these periods, the pastoralists pressed south. The most decisive and lasting invasion of the Tuareg into the Niger bend began in the second half of the 17th century with the decline of the power of the *pas͟halīḳ* of Timbuktu.

The southern Sahara was not, however, only a threat to the Sahel, but also a source for religious and spiritual leadership. The most prominent scholars of Timbuktu, such as the famous Aḳīt family, were of Ṣanhād͟ja origin. The harshness of the desert pastoralists was mitigated by the marabouts, from holy families, whose religious prestige carried political influence. In the 18th century the Kunta [*q.v.*], a clan of Arab and Berber descent, established one of its centres in Azawad, north of Timbuktu. Their leader Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-Kuntī (1728-1811) was venerated by the Tuareg warriors, and through them he extended his influence over the Niger bend and the city of Timbuktu. His religious authority expanded even farther as the head (*muḳaddam*) of the Ḳādiriyya Ṣūfī brotherhood [*q.v.*], which was for the first time spread effectively among Islamic communities of the Savannah by Sīdī al-Muk͟htār's numerous disciples.

The introduction of Ṣūfism into the western Sudan contributed to Islamic revivalism and militancy, which bred the *d͟jihād* movements. In 1818 S͟hek͟hu Aḥmadu (S͟hayk͟h Aḥmad), a scholar of Fulbe origin and a follower of the Kuntī Ḳādiriyya, initiated a *d͟jihād* against the Fulbe clan leaders in Massina who practiced mixed Islam. He also challenged the religious authority of the established *ʿulamāʾ* of Djenne, who sanctioned the existing socio-political order and reconciled it with the marginal role of Islam. The military success of S͟hek͟hu Aḥmadu resulted in the creation of a theocratic state (known as *dina*) with its capital in the new town of Ḥamdallāhi. The state existed for over forty years under the successive rule of S͟hek͟hu Aḥmadu, his son and grandson.

In 1862 Ḥamdallāhi was conquered and destroyed by a rival *mud͟jāhid*, al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar b. Saʿīd. Al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar, whose way to his own land of Futa Toro, on the lower Senegal, had been blocked by the French, turned east against the infidel Bambara state of Segu. He then attacked the theocratic state of Ḥamdallāhi, which he anathemised as an ally of the infidel Bambara. Behind this pretext was the fierce conflict between two Ṣūfī brotherhoods; the Ḳādiriyya of Ḥamdallāhi and the Tid͟jāniyya of al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar. The Tid͟jāniyya represented a more vigorous, radical and populist way (*ṭarīḳa*) which challenged the aristocratic, established way of the Ḳādiriyya. The leader of the Ḳādiriyya Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī (grandson of the great Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-Kuntī), who had first resented the militant aggression of Ḥamdallāhi, now rose to oppose the Tid͟jānī threat of al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar. The forces which he mobilised fought al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar, who was killed in battle in 1864.

The latter's son Aḥmad ruled for almost thirty years in Segu, the former Bambara capital. His authority had to be enforced by his army, composed of Tokolor followers and local conscripts (*sofa*), against continuous resistance of local ethnic groups.

The French military commanders in their advance towards the Niger exploited the internal dissensions in the Tidjānī empire of Segu, until its final defeat in 1893. The non-Muslim ethnic groups, like the Bambara, greeted their liberation from Tidjānī rule. Many of those who had been forcibly converted to Islam by the Tidjānīs now returned to their ancestral ways.

During the colonial period (when the present Republic of Mali was known as the French Sudan), Islam progressed among most ethnic groups, winning over those who moved to the growing towns and those who joined the seasonal labour migration to the more prosperous colonies. With better roads and greater security, more clerics (*marabouts*) visited villages, converted non-Muslims and invigorated religion among long-established Muslim communities.

These marabouts helped the spread of Ṣūfī brotherhoods. The younger and more vigorous Tidjāniyya expanded faster and further than the old Ḳādiriyya. But the Tidjāniyya in its turn was challenged by a new brotherhood, a splinter group, the Ḥamāliyya, named after its founder Ḥamāhullāh (1883-4 to 1943). The French colonial authorities, seeking to avoid instability, intervened in defence of the old Tidjāniyya brotherhood. They deported Ḥamāhullāh, harassed his followers and as in other cases of self-fulfilling prophecies, provoked the Ḥamāllists to violence.

In the 1930s, some young Muslim scholars who returned from studies at al-Azhar resented the growing influence of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods and deplored the exploitation of the believers by the marabouts. The reformists, sometimes referred to as neo-Wahhābīs, considered ignorance as the source of all evils and devoted themselves to the promotion of Islamic education, with emphasis on the teaching of Arabic. Bamako, the capital of the French Sudan, was an important centre for their activities. Religious reformism and fundamentalism soon had political implications; at home they challenged the authority of the old marabouts, and abroad they subscribed to pan-Islamic ideologies. Both trends were considered a threat to the public security, and the reformists were closely watched by the French colonial authorities and their activities were severely curtailed. The reformists were among the first supporters of the radical, anti-colonial party, the Union Soudanaise (US - RDA).

The post-war political struggle in the French Sudan was between the US and the PPS (Parti Progressiste Soudanaise). The latter was the party supported by the traditional chiefs and favoured by the French colonial authorities. It was stronger in the villages among non-Muslims and away from the main commercial routes. It survived longer among the Bambara and the Fulbe, the two ethnic groups most hostile to the Tidjānī empire and those who had most to gain from its destruction by the French. The US was stronger in the towns, along commercial routes, among traders, and the more committed and politically-articulate Muslims. The political leaders of the US soon discovered the effectiveness of an Islamic vocabulary for mass mobilisation. Radical Muslim ideas were incorporated into the political ideology of the US. It won the elections of 1956 and formed the first autonomous African government of the French Sudan. After independence, the radical government of the US pursued a "scientific" though not an atheistic socialism. In its economic policies, it soon alienated the Dyula Muslim traders, who had been among the supporters of US during the period of decolonisation. The government also curtailed the activities of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Islam was integrated into the national ethos of Mali, but only at the symbolic level. The coup d'état in November 1968 brought to power young officers, mostly of Bambara origin, who were little concerned with Islam. In 1971 by a government decree, the modern Islamic schools established by Muslim reformists (l'Union Culturelle Musulmane) were closed.

Modern Malians have strong historical sentiments and consider themselves heirs to the traditions of ancient Mali, to the intellectual achievements of Timbuktu and to the religious experience which was enriched through the interplay of Islam and ethnic religions.

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MALIK, the Arabic word for king (pl. *mulūk*), stemming from the old Semitic root *m-l-k* (the Hebrew equivalent is *melekh*; Aramaic *malkā*; Akkadian *malku*; Assyrian *malku, maliku*), which signifies "possession" and, by extension, "rule" or "government". As a kingly title, the term appears repeatedly in pre-Islamic inscriptions from southern Arabia and the Syrian desert fringes (e.g. the Namāra epitaph of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, "King of the Arabs", from 328 A.D. [see LAKHMIDS]). The Ḳurʾān mentions several historical and legendary kings (*mulūk*), among them Pharaoh and Saul (II, 246-7; XII, 42 f.); and the *ḥadīth* discusses numerous others.

Islam, however, presented a new order in which God alone was "the King, the Truth", "the Possessor of Heavens and Earth" as the Ḳurʾān says, "Say, O God, Possessor of sovereignty (*mālik al-mulk*), You give sovereignty to whomever You choose and take it from whomever You choose" (III, 26). In this view, heads of the community of believers, the caliphs, were vested with the exercise of God's sovereignty so that they could administer His divinely-created polity; yet its ultimate possession, as well as the kingly title, remained exclusively His. Accordingly, a man's claim to such a title was regarded as a contemptible feature of the prior, unholy order that Islam sought to replace (an analogous approach may be seen in the Old Testament, where the idea of human kingship is discredited as unfit for the pious community of the People of Israel; cf. Judges, viii, 22-3; I Samuel, viii, 4-20). *Malik* thus came to connote the temporal, mundane facet of government—the antithesis of *khalīfa* and *imām* [*q.vv.*] which signified piety and righteousness. The Umayyads were termed *mulūk* and their rule *mulk* by their opponents, who thus expressed disdain for an irreligious and worldly-minded government. Considered to be a term of abuse, *malik* was not officially assumed by Muslim rulers in the early centuries of Islam; on the other hand, it was commonly applied, sometimes with unconcealed scorn, to non-Muslim monarchs.

The spread of the Islamic empire brought it under the impact of non-Arab traditions, which played a major role in shaping the Muslim concept of government in the early centuries of Islam. Under Sāsānid influence, authors of "Mirrors for princes", from the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period, introduced theories on the divine right of kings. God, it was stated, "bestowed upon kings His special grace (*karāmatihi*) and endowed them with His authority (*sulṭānihi*)" (*Kitāb al-Tādj fī akhlāḳ al-mulūk*, attributed to al-Djāḥiẓ, ed. Aḥmad Zakī, Cairo 1914, 2). Discussing in great detail the privileges, duties and recommended conduct of kings, this literature emphasised the elevated status of a *malik* within his community. The principles underlying these writings, distant from the initial Islamic theory of rulership, represented the revival of pre-Arab concepts in the formerly Persian regions of the empire.

The use of the royal title in such a manner gradually led to a modification in its import, and consequently to its adoption by Muslim rulers. Towards the middle of the 4th/10th century the Būyids, new rulers of the empire, were reviving the Sāsānid tradition of regnal epithets: in the year 325/936 ʿAlī b. Būya, one of the three founders of the dynasty, assumed the persian title *shāhānshāh* (i.e. "king of kings" [*q.v.*]); and his nephew and heir, ʿAḍud al-Dawla (338-72/944-83 [*q.v.*]) added *malik* to his list of epithets (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk,* 28). Meanwhile, in the north-eastern provinces, Sāmānid rulers likewise assumed kingship as a measure of asserting their independence from ʿAbbāsid and Būyid dominion: on coins dating from the years 339/950-1, i.e. from the reign of Nūḥ b. Naṣr (331-43/943-54), the latter is designated *al-malik al-muʾayyad.* Later members of his dynasty employed the title in a similar way (S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of coins in the British Museum,* ii, 100, 103, 105-6, 109-10, 115-16). Other non-Arab dynasties followed suit: Khwārazmī, Ghaznawid and Saldjūḳ rulers called themselves *malik,* usually in combination with honorific adjectives, e.g. *al-kāmil, al-ṣāliḥ, al-ʿādil,* which accordingly became a highly common feature of mediaeval Islamic titulature. On the western flank of the Islamic empire, Fāṭimid rulers in the late 5th/11th century similarly adopted *malik* as their royal epithet. The Ayyūbids inherited it from them (one of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's titles was *al-malik al-nāṣir*), and in turn passed it on to the Mamlūks. In the Būyid, Saldjūḳ, Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid, and Mamlūk states the title was not reserved for the heads of the monarchy alone, but was rather freely applied to princes, *wuzarāʾ* and provincial governors as well (see examples in Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alḳāb al-Islāmiyya,* Cairo 1957, 496-500).

The increasing number of potentates identifying themselves as *malik* gradually rendered the name less majestic, for it came to imply limited sway over one realm among many, and subjection to a supreme suzerain. Its devaluation, once again, was reflected in the fact that many a ruler assumed, in addition to *malik,* other and more pretentious designations. Several Būyid heads of state (e.g. Djalāl al-Dawla, Bahāʾ al-Dawla) and Ayyūbid ones (e.g. al-ʿĀdil) adopted the epithet *malik al-mulūk,* modelled on the Persian *shāhānshāh*; while others called themselves *sulṭān* [*q.v.*], a title superior to *malik* as it conveyed a sense of independent sovereignty. The Mamlūks, in a similar manner, combined these last two names, identifying themselves as *al-malik al-sulṭān,* while calling high-ranking governors in the Egyptian and Syrian provinces *malik al-umarāʾ* i.e. chief *amīr.* In one instance in the Mamlūk state the term was employed in the feminine, as the regnal designation of Shadjar al-Durr [*q.v.*] (d. 655/1257), who entitled herself *malikat al-muslimīn.* Another occurrence of the name in the feminine was in India, where *malik* was not otherwise in use; the queen Raḍiyya [*q.v.*] of Dihlī (634-7/1236-40), the only female ruler in Muslim India, adopted it in lieu of the title *sulṭān* carried by the male members of the dynasty.

The depreciation of the title was apparently the main reason for its disappearance in later times. The Ottoman Sultans did not commonly use it. By the time when they were in power, the name retained but little of its former glory.

In the 20th century, *malik* has appeared again in the Muslim countries, carrying a new sense of grandeur. Following more than a century of contacts with European monarchies, the idea of kingship acquired new respect in the Islamic countries, and *malik* lost whatever was left of its uncomplimentary associations. Its reappearance was, thus, not a revitalisation of the old title but rather a calque of "king" or "roi" in the

modern European sense. The first to use *malik* in this novel sense was the Hāshimite Ḥusayn, the *sharīf* of Mecca, who in 1916 declared himself "King of the Arab countries"; after some international discussion, he was recognised by Britain and France as "King (*malik*) of the Ḥidjāz". The Hāshimite kingdom of the Ḥidjāz existed until 1925, when it was conquered by the Saʿūdī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd, the Sultan of Nadjd. In 1926 the latter declared himself "Sultan of Nadjd and King of the Ḥidjāz and its Dependencies", and in 1932 he merged the different units, thereby becoming *malik* of the "Kingdom of Saudi Arabia".

The style of royal titles reached the peak of its prestige in the Islamic countries in the 1920s, when several kingdoms were established. In 1920 the Hāshimite King Ḥusayn's son, Fayṣal, was declared King of Syria; his monarchy lasted for four short months, at the end of which he left for ʿIrāḳ, where he became king in 1921. In the following year, the Sultan of Egypt, Fuʾād I [see FUʾĀD AL-AWWAL], followed the latter's footsteps and assumed the title *malik*. In 1926 Amān Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the *amīr* of Afghānistān, abandoned his former title and declared himself king; and in the same year the *Imām* Yaḥyā of Yemen was first recognised as *malik* in a treaty with Italy. Yemenī rulers, more commonly known by the title *Imām*, were thereafter formally acknowledged as kings in international documents. Muslim rulers continued to adopt the royal epithet in later years: in Trans-Jordan in 1946 the Hāshimite *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh took the title "King of Trans-Jordan" (since 1948: of "the Hāshimite Kingdom of Jordan"); in 1951 the *amīr* Idrīs al-Sanūsī of Cyrenaica was declared *malik* of the nascent state of Libya; and in Morocco in 1957, the Sultan Muḥammad V changed his title to *malik*, thus marking his intention to introduce a modern type of government.

By that time, however, *malik* was no longer the venerated and popular title it used to be in the earlier part of the century. Anti-monarchical revolutions and revolts swept away most kings reigning in the Islamic countries—in Egypt in 1952; in ʿIrāḳ in 1958; in Yemen in 1962; in Libya in 1969; and in Afghānistān in 1973. Thus the last third of the 20th century has witnessed, once again, a decline in the standing of the kingly title, which has lost ground to more attractive alternatives inspired by leftist, revolutionary trends.

Bibliography: *LA*, s.v.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-atābakiyya*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, x, Paris 1876, s.v., in index; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 486-8; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 31 ff., Eng. tr. ii, 40 ff.; A. K. S. Lambton, *The theory of kingship in Naṣīḥat ul-mulūk of Ghazālī*, in *IQ*, i (1954), 47-55; W. Madelung, *The assumption of the title shāhānshāh by the Būyids and 'the reign of the Daylam (dawlat al-Daylam)'*, in *JNES*, xxviii (April 1969), 84-108, (July 1969), 168-83; C. E. Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Oriens*, xv (1962), 210-33; Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alḳāb al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1957, 496-507 and *passim* (a fundamental work); cf. also LAḲAB, PĀDISHĀH, SHĀH, SULṬĀN.

(A. AYALON)

MĀLIK B. ABI 'L-SAMḤ AL-ṬĀʾĪ (d. *ca.* 136/754), one of the great musicians of the 1st/7th century. According to a tradition given in the *Aghānī*, the famous Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī classed him among the four finest singers, of whom two were Meccans, Ibn Muḥriz and Ibn Suraydj, and two Medinans, Maʿbad and Mālik.

His father, who came from a branch of the tribe of Ṭayy, died when Mālik was still very young; his mother, who came from the Ḳurayshite tribe of Makhzūm [*q.v.*], had to leave the mountains of the Ṭayy because of famine and settled with her children in Medina. According to the *Aghānī* again, Mālik became fascinated by singing, and spent his days at the door of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr's son Ḥamza, listening to the latter's protégé, the famous singer Maʿbad, and in whose company he spent the greater part of his time. One day, the *amīr* invited in the strange young Bedouin who had stationed himself at the door, and after a brief audition, instructed Maʿbad to teach him music. The relations between master and pupil were not always unequivocal.

Subsequently, Mālik attached himself to Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-Hāshimī, who became his patron. When al-Saffāḥ came to power, he nominated his uncle Sulaymān as governor of the lower Tigris region. The latter installed himself at Baṣra and summoned thither his protégé Mālik. After a short stay, Mālik decided to return to Medina, where, after some time, he died at over 80 years old.

Mālik learnt very easily the songs which he heard; but although he could easily remember the tunes, with all their nuances, he found it hard to remember the poetic texts. Ever since his first meeting with Ḥamza, he showed a remarkable mastery in the exact and tasteful reproduction of the melodies of Maʿbad, whom he captivated when listening at the door. In regard to the words, he confessed frankly that he could not remember them. In accordance with the norms of the period, Mālik was not considered as a creative artist and he himself did not consider himself as such. His practice was to declare that he was happy to embellish and enrich the works of others. Accordingly, he was in some way a musical aesthete whose whole imagination and energy were concentrated on the refinement and embellishment of the melody and on the beauty of its execution, rather than on the creation of new songs. Being careful to discover an exact expression of the facts just mentioned, he questioned his confrère Ibn Suraydj about the qualities of the perfect musician, and heard this reply: "The musician who enriches the melody, has good wind, gives the correct proportion to the phrases, underlines the pronunciation, respects the grammatical endings of words, gives long notes their proper value, separates clearly the short notes and, finally, uses correctly the various rhythmical modes, can be considered as perfect". It is very likely that Mālik embodied these qualities of the perfect musician.

Finally, Mālik remained faithful to his origins among the people, for we read on several occasions that he took as the basis of this compositions folkloristic melodies which a mourning woman, a weaver, an ass-driver, etc., sang.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, Cairo 1932, i, 251, 315, v, 101-21; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1949, vi, 29-30; *JA* (Nov.-Dec. 1873), 497-500.

(A. SHILOAH)

MĀLIK B. ANAS, a Muslim jurist, the *Imām* of the *madhhab* of the Mālikīs, which is named after him [see MĀLIKIYYA], and frequently called briefly the *Imām* of Medina.

1. The sources for Mālik's biography.

The oldest authority of any length for Mālik, Ibn Saʿd's account (d. 230/845 [*q.v.*]), which is based on al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/822 [*q.v.*]) and which places him in the sixth class of the Medinan "successors", is lost, as there is a hiatus in the manuscript of the work; but it is possible to reconstruct the bulk of it from the quotations preserved, mainly in al-Ṭabarī (iii, 2519 ff), in the *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* (*Fragm. hist. arab.*, i, 297 ff.), in Ibn Khallikān and in al-Suyūṭī (7, 6 ff., 12 ff., 41, 46).

From this, it is evident that the brief biographical notes in Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889 [*q.v.*]) and the somewhat more full ones in the *Fihrist* (compiled in 377/987) are based on Ibn Saᶜd. The article on Mālik in al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/922 [*q.v.*]) *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* is essentially dependent on the same source, while a few other short references there and in his history are based on other authorities. Al-Samᶜānī (wrote *ca.* 550/1156 [*q.v.*]) with the minimum of bare facts gives only the legendary version of an otherwise quite well established incident, while in Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282 [*q.v.*]), and particularly in al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277 [*q.v.*]), the legendary features are more pronounced, although isolated facts of importance are also preserved by them. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]) gives a detailed compilation drawn from Ibn Saᶜd and other works, most of which are now no longer accessible but are for the most part of later date and unreliable, like the *Musnad Ḥadīth al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* of al-Ghāfiḳī, the *Ḥilya* of Abū Nuᶜaym, the *Kitāb al-Muttafaḳ wa 'l-mukhtalaf* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, the *Kitāb Tartīb al-madārik* of al-Ḳāḍī ᶜIyāḍ and the *Faḍāʾil Mālik* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Fihr. The bulk of the later *Manāḳib* [*q.v.*], for example that of al-Zawāwī, are of no independent value.

2. Mālik's life.

Mālik's full name was Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Mālik b. Anas b. Mālik b. Abī ᶜĀmir b. ᶜAmr b.-al-Ḥārith b. Ghaymān b. Khuthayn b. ᶜAmr b. al-Ḥārith al-Aṣbaḥī; he belonged to the Ḥumayr, who are included in the Banū Taym b. Murra (Taym Ḳuraysh).

The date of his birth is not known; the dates given, varying between 90 and 97/708-16, are hypotheses, which are presumably approximately correct. As early as Ibn Saᶜd we find the statement that he spent three years in his mother's womb (over two, according to Ibn Ḳutayba, 290), a legend, the origin of which in a wrong interpretation of an alleged statement by Mālik on the possible duration of pregnancy, is still evident in the text of Ibn Saᶜd. According to a tradition preserved by al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad himself is said to have foretold his coming as well as that of Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiᶜī. His grandfather and his uncle on the father's side are mentioned by al-Samᶜānī as traditionists, so that there is nothing remarkable in his also being a student. According to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, he is said to have first wanted to become a singer, and only exchanged his career for the study of *fiḳh* on his mother's advice on account of his ugliness (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 79, n. 2); but such anecdotes are little more than evidence that someone did not particularly admire him. Very little reliable information is known about his studies, but the story that he studied *fiḳh* with the celebrated Rabīᶜa b. Farrukh (d. 132 or 133 or 143/749-60), who cultivated *raʾy* in Medina, whence he is called Rabīᶜat al-Raʾy, can hardly be an invention, although it is only found in somewhat late sources (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 80). Later legends increase the number of his teachers to incredible figures: 900, including 300 *tābiᶜūn* are mentioned. He is said to have learned *ḳirāʾa* from Nāfiᶜ b. Abī Nuᶜaym. He transmitted traditions from al-Zuhrī, Nāfiᶜ, the *mawlā* of Ibn ᶜUmar, Abu 'l-Zinād, Hāshim b. ᶜUrwa, Yaḥyā b. Saᶜīd, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, Abu 'l-Zubayr and others, but the *isnāds* of course are not sufficient evidence that he studied with the authorities in question; a list of 95 *shuyūkh* is given by al-Suyūṭī, 48 ff.

A fixed chronological point in his life, most of which he spent in Medina, is his being involved in the rising of the ᶜAlid pretender Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh in 145/762 (on the other hand, the story of Mālik's alleged dealings with Ibn Hurmuz in the same year gives the impression of being quite apocryphal). As early as 144/761, the caliph al-Manṣūr sent to the Ḥasanids of Mecca through him a demand that the two brothers Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd Allāh, suspected of being pretenders to the supreme power, should be handed over to him; this shows that he must have already attained a position of general esteem and one at least not openly hostile to the government; he was even rewarded out of the proceeds of the confiscated property of the captured ᶜAbd Allāh, father of the two brothers above named. This mission met with no success. When Muḥammad in 145/762 by a coup made himself master of Medina, Mālik declared in a *fatwā* that the homage paid to al-Manṣūr was not binding because it was given under compulsion, whereupon many who would otherwise have held back joined Muḥammad. Mālik took no active part in the rising but stayed at home. On the failure of the rebellion (147/763), he was punished by flogging by Djaᶜfar b. Sulaymān, the governor of Medina, when he suffered a dislocation of the shoulder, but this is said to have still further increased his prestige and there is no reason to doubt that the stories of Abū Ḥanīfa's ill-treatment in prison are based on this episode in the life of Mālik. He must have later made his peace with the government; in 160/777 the caliph al-Mahdī consulted him on structural alterations in the Meccan sanctuary, and in the year of his death (179/796) the caliph al-Rashīd visited him on the occasion of his pilgrimage. While this fact may be considered certain, the details in the *Kitāb al-ᶜUyūn* are already somewhat legendary and in al-Suyūṭī, following Abū Nuᶜaym, quite fantastic. The story of al-Manṣūr found as early as Ibn Saᶜd, in a parallel *riwāya* in al-Ṭabarī from al-Mahdī, is quite fictitious, and is given again with fantastic detail in al-Suyūṭī (from Abū Nuᶜaym) from al-Rashīd, that the caliph wanted to make the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* canonical and only abandoned his intention at the representations of Mālik.

Mālik died, at the age of about 85 after a short illness, in the year 179/796 in Medina and was buried in al-Baḳīᶜ. ᶜAbd Allah b. Zaynab, the governor there, conducted his funeral service. An elegy on him by Djaᶜfar b. Aḥmad al-Sarrādj is given in Ibn Khallikān. Pictures of the *ḳubba* over his grave are given in al-Batanūni, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*[2], opposite p. 256, and in Ibrāhim Rifᶜat Pasha, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn*, i, opposite p. 426.

As early as Ibn Saᶜd (certainly going back to al-Wāḳidī), we have fairly full description of Mālik's personal appearance, his habits and manner of life, which cannot however claim to be authentic, nor can the sayings attributed to him, which became more and more numerous as time went on. The few certain facts about him have been buried under a mass of legends; the most important facts have already been noted and the others will be found in al-Suyūṭī and al-Zawāwī.

On the transmitters of his *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and the earliest members of his *madhhab*, see MĀLIKIYYA. Here we will only mention the most important scholars who handed down traditions from him. These were ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, al-Awzāᶜi, Ibn Djuraydj, Ḥammād b. Zayd, al-Layth b. Saᶜd, Ibn Salama, al-Shāfiᶜī, Shuᶜba, al-Thawrī, Ibn ᶜUlayya, Ibn ᶜUyayma, Yazīd b. ᶜAbd Allāh and his *shaykhs* al-Zuhrī and Yaḥyā b. Saᶜīd; al-Suyūṭī, (18 ff.) gives a long list of transmitters, but most of them are not corroborated. We may just mention the apocryphal story of Mālik's meeting with the young al-Shāfiᶜī (*Fragm. hist. ar.*, i, 359; Wüstenfeld, in *Abh. Gött. AW* [1890], 34, and [1891], 1 ff.), which is simply an expression of the

view that was held of the relation between the two *Imāms*.

3. Mālik's writings. Further sources for his teachings.

A. Mālik's great work is the *Kitāb al-Muwaṭṭa*ʾ which, if we except the *Corpus juris* of Zayd b. ʿAlī, is the earliest surviving Muslim law-book. Its object is to give a survey of law and justice; ritual and practice of religion according to the *idjmāʿ* of Islam in Medina, according to the *sunna* usual in Medina; and to create a theoretical standard for matters which were not settled from the point of view of *idjmāʿ* and *sunna*. In a period of recognition and appreciation of the canon law under the early ʿAbbāsids, there was a practical interest in pointing out a "smoothed path" (this is practically what *al-muwaṭṭa*ʾ means) through the far-reaching differences of opinion even on the most elementary questions. Mālik wished to help this interest on the basis of the practice in the Ḥidjāz, and to codify and systematise the customary law of Medina. Tradition, which he interprets from the point of view of practice, is with him not an end but a means; the older jurists are therefore hardly ever quoted except as authorities for Mālik himself. As he was only concerned with the documentation of the *sunna* and not with criticism of its form, he is exceedingly careless as far as order is concerned in his treatment of traditions. The *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ thus represents the transition from the simple *fiḳh* of the earliest period to the pure science of *ḥadīth* of the later period.

Mālik was not alone among his contemporaries in the composition of the *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ; al-Mādjashūn (d. 164/781) is said to have dealt with the consensus of the scholars of Medina without quoting the pertinent traditions, and works quite in the style of the *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ are recorded by several Medinan scholars of the same time (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 219 ff.) but nothing of them has survived for us. The success of the *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ is due to the fact that it always takes an average view on disputed points (see below, section 4).

In transmitting the *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ, Mālik did not make a definitive text, either oral or by *munāwala*, to be disseminated; on the contrary, the different *riwāyas* (recensions) of his work differ in places very much (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 222). The reason for this, besides the fact that in those days every little stress was laid on accurate literal repetition of such texts and great liberty was taken by the transmitters (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 221), lies probably in the fact that Mālik did not always give exactly the same form to his orally-delivered teachings. But the name *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ, which certainly goes back to Mālik himself, and is found in all recensions, is a guarantee that Mālik wanted to create a "work" in the later sense of the term, although of course the stories which make Mālik talk of his writings reflect the conditions of a later period. In later times, the *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ was regarded by many as canonical (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 213, 265 ff.; al-Suyūṭī, 47) and numerous legends deal with its origin (al-Suyūṭī, 42 ff.).

Fifteen recensions in all of the *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ are known, only two of which were to survive in their entirety, while some five were studied in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries in Spain (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 222, nn. 2 and 4) and twelve were still available to al-Rudānī (d. 1094/1693) (Heffening, *Fremdenrecht*, 144, n. 1):

a. the vulgate of the work transmitted by Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Maṣmūdī (d. 234/848-9), often printed e.g. Delhi 1216, 1296 (without *isnāds* and with Hindustānī translation and commentary), 1307, 1308, Cairo 1279-80 (with the commentary of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Zurḳānī, d. 1122/1710), Lahore 1889, Tunis 1280; numerous commentaries, editions and synopses; cf. Brockelmann, I, 176, S I, 297-9; Ahlwardt, *Katalog Berlin*, 1145; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī (Introduction to the edition of the recension *b*), Lucknow 1297, 21 ff.; al-Suyūṭī, 3 *passim* (work of al-Ghāfiḳī), 57 (on Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr) and 58 (chief passage); Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 230, n. 2; Schacht, in *Abh. Preuss. Ak.* (1928), no. 2 *c*; and al-Suyūṭī, *Isʿāf al-mubaṭṭa*ʾ *bi-ridjāl al-Muwaṭṭa*ʾ, Delhi 1320, and Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Patnī, *Madjmaʿ biḥār al-anwār*, Lucknow 1283.

b. the recension of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805) which is also an edition and critical development of Mālik's work, as al-Shaybānī at the end of most chapters gives his own views and that of Abū Ḥanīfa on the questions discussed, sometimes with very full reasonings; often printed, e.g. Lahore 1211-13 (with Hindustānī translation and notes), Ludhiana 1291, 1292, 1293, Lucknow 1297 (with introduction and commentary by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī), Kazan 1910 (with the same); several commentaries; cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*; Schacht, *op. cit.*, nos. 2, 2*a*, 2*b*; and the works quoted under *a*.

On the relation of these *riwāyas* to one another, cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 223 ff.

c. The quotations from the recension of ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197/813) which are preserved in the two fragments of al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā*ʾ (ed. Kern, Cairo 1902, and Schacht, *op. cit.*, no. 22) are fairly comprehensive; this *riwāya* follows that of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā quite closely.

The other recensions of the *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ are given by al-Lakhnawī, *op. cit.*, 18 ff.; further lists of transmitters of the *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ are given in al-Suyūṭī, 48, 51, and in al-Nawawī.

B. Whether Mālik composed other works besides the *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ is doubtful (the statements in the *Fihrist*, 199,$_9$, which speak of a number of works by Mālik are quite vague and uncertain). The books ascribed to him fall into two groups: legal and otherwise. Among the legal ones we read of a *Kitāb al-Sunan* or *al-Sunna* (*Fihrist*, 199, ll. 9, 16) transmitted by Ibn Wahb or by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī, a *Kitāb al-Manāsik* (al-Suyūṭī, 40), a *Kitāb al-Mudjālasāt*, transmitted by Ibn Wahb (*ibid.*), a *Risāla fi 'l-aḳḍiya*, transmitted by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Djalīl (*ibid.*, 41) and a *Risāla fi 'l-fatwā*, transmitted by Khalīd b. Nazzār and Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif (*ibid.*). The genuineness of all these is, however, uncertain, and even if they go back to Mālik's immediate pupils (sometimes they are actually attributed to the latter; cf. al-Lakhnawī, *op. cit.*, 19), Mālik's own share in them would be still uncertain. A work (Gotha 1143) said to have been transmitted by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī and heard by him along with Ibn Wahb and Ibn al-Ḳāsim is certainly apocryphal and does not pretend moreover to give any utterances of Mālik himself.

Of other titles, there are mentioned a *Tafsīr*, a *Risāla fi 'l-ḳadar wa 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-ḳadariyya*, a *Kitāb al-Nudjūm* and a *Kitāb al-Sirr* (al-Suyūṭī, 40 ff.), which are in the usual style of the apocryphal literature. The suspicion of falsity is also strong in the case of the *Risāla* containing advice to the caliph al-Rashīd, mentioned as early as the *Fihrist* alongside of the *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ (printed *Būlāḳ* 1311; cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*) which looks like a Mālikī counterpart of the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* of Abū Yūsuf: even al-Suyūṭī (41) doubted its genuineness, although for reasons which are not convincing to us.

C. There are two other main sources for Mālik's

teaching (setting aside the later accounts of the doctrine of the Mālikī *madhhab*):

The more important is the *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā* of Saḥnūn (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]) which contains replies by Ibn Ḳāsim (d. 191/807) according to the school of Mālik, or according to his own *raʾy*, to questions of Saḥnūn as well as traditions and opinions of Ibn Wahb (d. 197/813) (cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, 177; Heffening, *op. cit.*, 144; Krenkow, in *EI*[1] art. SAḤNŪN).

Al-Ṭabarī, who in his *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahāʾ* has preserved fragments of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* recension of Ibn Wahb (cf. above), also quotes frequently traditions and opinions of Mālik in his commentary on the Ḳurʾān on the "legal" verses.

4. Mālik's position in the history of *fiḳh*. Mālik represents, in time, a stage in the development of *fiḳh* in which the reasoning is not yet thorough and fundamental but only occasional and for a special purpose, in which the legal thought of Islam has not yet become jurisprudence; and, in place, the custom of the town of Medina where the decisive foundations of Muslim law were laid down. One of the main objects in the juristic thought that appears in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* is the permeation of the whole legal life by religious and moral ideas. This characteristic of the formation of legal ideas in early Islam is very clear, not only in the method of putting questions but in the structure of the legal material itself. The legal material, having in itself no connection with religion, that has to be permeated by religious and moral points of view, is the customary law of Medina, by no means primitive but adapted to the demands of a highly developed trading community, which for us is the principal representative of old Arabian customary law: it appears in Mālik sometimes as *sunna* "use and wont"; sometimes it is concealed under the Medina *idjmāʿ*, which he ascertains with great care. Broadly speaking, this only means that objections on religious grounds have not been raised by anyone against a principle, etc., of customary law. The older jurisprudence had another main object: the formation of a system which sets out from principles of a more general character, which aims at the formation of legal conceptions in contrast to the prevailing casuistry and is to some extent rounded off in a codification, if still a loose one, of the whole legal material.

While the Islamisation of the law had been already concluded in its essential principles before Mālik, many generations had still to work at its systematisation; therefore, Mālik's own legal achievement can only have consisted in the development of the formation of a system. How great his share in it was cannot be ascertained with certainty from the lack of material for comparison. The surprising success achieved by the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, out of a number of similar works, would in any case be completely explained by the fact that it recorded the usual consensus of opinion in Medina without any considerable work of the author's own and came to be regarded as authoritative as the expression of compromise (just as the works on Tradition came to be regarded as canonical). The *Muwaṭṭaʾ* would in this case have to be regarded less as evidence of Mālik's individual activity than as evidence of the stage reached in the general development of law in his time. It may be said that this average character was just what Mālik aimed at (cf. above, section 3, A).

The high estimation in which Mālik is held in the older sources is justified by his strict criticism of *ḥadīths* and not by his activity in the interests of *fiḳh* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2484, 2492; al-Samʿānī; al-Nawawī; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 147, 168; idem, *Ẓâhiriten*, 230); even this only means that with his *ḥadīths* he kept within the later consensus. That al-Shāfiʿi devoted special attention to him out of all the Medinan scholars (cf. his *Kitāb Ikhtilāf Mālik wa 'l-Shāfiʿī*) is explained by the fact that he was a disciple of his.

As to the style of legal reasoning found in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *ḥadīth* is not by any means the highest or the only court of appeal for Mālik; on the one hand, he gives the *ʿamal*, the actual undoubted practice in Medina, the preference over traditions, when these differ (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2505 ff), and on the other hand, in cases where neither Medinan tradition nor Medinan *idjmāʿ* existed, he laid down the law independently. In other words, he exercises *raʾy*, and to such an extent that he is occasionally reproached with *taʿarruḳ*, agreement with the ʿIrāḳīs (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 217; idem, *Ẓâhiriten*, 4 ff., 20, n. 1). According to a later anti-*raʾy* legend, he is said to have repented of it on his deathbed (Ibn Khallikān). It is scarcely to be supposed that he had diverged seriously from his Medinan contemporaries in the results of his *raʾy*.

5. Mālik's pupils. In the strict sense, Mālik no more formed a school than did Abū Ḥanīfa; evidence of this is found in the oldest names *Ahl al-Ḥidjāz* and *Ahl al-ʿIrāk*, etc. compared for example with *Aṣḥāb al-Shāfiʿī*. These names at once indicate the probable origin of the Mālikī *madhhab*; after a regular Shāfiʿī school had been formed, which in view of al-Shāfiʿī's personal achievement, is quite intelligible in the development of *fiḳh* (cf. Bergsträsser, *op. cit.*, 76, 80 ff.), it became necessary for the two older schools of *fiḳh*, whose difference was probably originally the result of geographical conditions in the main, also to combine to form a regular school, when a typical representative of the average views like Mālik or Abū Ḥanīfa was regarded as head. In the case of Mālik, the high personal esteem, which he must have enjoyed even in his lifetime (see above, section 2) no doubt contributed to this also. But it is to his pupils that his elevation to the head of a school is mainly due. Traces of this process are still to be found in the varying classification of old jurists as of the Ḥidjāz school or as independent *mudjtahids* (cf. also *Fihrist*, 199, l.22).

On the Mālikī law school, see MĀLIKIYYA.

Bibliography: On Mālik's life: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 250, 290; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, index; *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 198; Samʿāni, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, GMS, xx, fol. 41a; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 500; Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 530; De Goeje, *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, index; al-Suyūṭī, *Tazyīn al-mamālik*, in Ibn al-Ḳāsim, *al-Mudawwana*, i, Cairo 1324; ʿĪsā b. Masʿūd al-Zawāwī, *Manāḳib sayyidnā al-Imām Mālik*, Cairo 1324; the further *manāḳib* and Mālikī *ṭabaḳāt* literature; a modern list by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī in the introduction to his edition of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*].

On Mālik's writings: Brockelmann, I, 175, S I, 297-9; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 457-84; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 213 ff. (Fr. tr. L. Bercher, 269 ff.; Eng. tr. S. M. Stern and C. M. Barber, ii, 198 ff.); al-Lakhnawī, *op. cit.*

On Mālik's position in the history of *fiḳh*: Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xiv, 76 ff.; Goldziher, *op. cit.*

(J. SCHACHT)

MĀLIK B. **ʿAWF** B. SAʿD B. RABĪʿA AL-NAṢRĪ, Bedouin chief and contemporary of Muḥammad, who belonged to the clan of the Banū Naṣr b. Muʿāwiya of the powerful Ḳaysī tribe of the

Hawāzin, whom he commanded at the battle of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] against the Muslims; it is mainly through this rôle that he has achieved a place in history.

We know little about his early history, but one may assume that he early found opportunities to display his personal bravery. He was still *amrad,* beardless, that is, barely out of his first years of adolescence (*Aghānī*[1], xix, 81) when he commanded a detachment of the Hawāzin in the Fidjār [*q.v.*] war.

This distinction he perhaps also owed to the consideration which his clan, the Banū Naṣr b. Muᶜāwiya, enjoyed among the Banū Hawāzin. Allies of the tribe of Thaḳīf (Aghānī, xii, 46), the Banū Naṣr found themselves in the same position with regard to the latter and the town of Ṭāʾif as the Aḥābīsh with respect to the Ḳuraysh and Mecca. They supplied mercenaries to Ṭāʾif and were given the task of defending the town and protecting against the depredations of marauders the fine gardens that covered the Thaḳafī territory. Their relations were, as a rule, peaceful and friendly, but occasionally it happened that the anarchical instincts of the Bedouins, gaining the upper hand, drove them to encroach on the domain of their allies, the citizens of Ṭāʾif. This situation enables us to understand how in the struggle that was about to develop against Islam, the Thaḳīf were ready to march under the banner of a Bedouin commander.

In 8/629, Muḥammad, at the head of a strong force, was preparing to attack Mecca. This news disturbed the people who lived on the hills of the Sarāt. They asked themselves, if, once master of Mecca, the Prophet would not be tempted to invade their country. It was then that Mālik b. ᶜAwf succeeded in combining for their joint defence the majority of the Ḳaysī tribes settled on the frontiers of Nadjd and of the Ḥidjāz. The Thaḳafīs joined their forces to those of their Hawāzin allies. The only result was the defeat at Ḥunayn [*q.v.*]. The commander-in-chief Mālik had had the unfortunate idea of bringing the women, children and flocks along with the actual combatants. The whole of this enormous booty fell into the hands of the Muslims.

The defeated side did not distinguish themselves by bravery on the battlefield; the tradition of the Banū Hawāzin attempts the impossible when it endeavours to hide this failure and save Mālik's reputation. After the débâcle, he is said to have bravely sacrificed himself to cover the retreat of his comrades-in-arms. This same tradition attributes to him a series of poetical improvisations on this occasion, in which, after the fashion of the old Bedouin paladins, he explains and excuses his flight.

Mālik tried to make a stand at Liyya, a few hours south of Ṭāʾif where he had a *ḥuṣn.* What was a *ḥuṣn*? In Medina at the time of the *hidjra,* the name was given to an enclosure commanded by an *uṭum* or tower. Mālik's had probably only brick walls like the little stronghold in Yemen described by al-Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm,* 84). A century ago, the traveller Maurice Tamisier (*Voyage en Arabie,* Paris 1840, ii, 6) passing through Liyya saw there "une forteresse flanquée de tours" intended as in earlier times, to guard the road. Muḥammad easily destroyed Mālik's fort, and when the latter learned of the approach of the Muslims, he tought it prudent to seek refuge behind the ramparts of Ṭāʾif.

In the interval, all the booty taken by the Muslims at Ḥunayn had been collected in the camp at Djiᶜrāna, including Mālik's family and flocks. To the Hawāzin deputies sent to negotiate the ransom of the prisoners, Muḥammad said: "If Mālik comes to embrace Islam, I shall return him his family and property with the addition of a gift of a hundred camels". Whatever the decision adopted by Mālik, this declaration could not fail to compromise him with the Thaḳafīs. He rightly recognised that his position in Ṭāʾif had become untenable. He succeeded in escaping from the town and presented his submission to Muḥammad, who fulfilled his promise to the letter. Mālik then pronounced the Muslim confession of faith and, to use the traditional formula, "his Islam was of good quality".

The new proselyte had extensive connections and was remarkably well acquainted with the Thaḳafī region. The Prophet was glad to use him against Ṭāʾif, which he had been unable to take by force. He put Mālik at the head of the Ḳaysī tribes who had adopted Islam. Mālik therefore organised a guerilla war against his old allies in Thaḳīf. No caravan could leave Ṭāʾif without being intercepted by Mālik's men. Exhausted by this unceasing struggle, the Thaḳafīs decided to sue for terms. Mālik then became the representative of the Prophet among the Banū Hawāzin, and the caliph Abū Bakr later confirmed him in the office. He took part in the wars of conquest, and was at the taking of Damascus and the victory of al-Ḳādisiyya in ᶜIrak.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra,* ed. Wüstenfeld, 840, 852, 854, 867, 872, 879; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maᶜārif,* 315; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara,* Tab. 115; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ,* ed. Bevan 495; Yāḳūt, s.v. *Liyya*; Ibn Saᶜd. *Ṭabaḳāt,* ed. Sachau, vi, 17; Nawāwī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ,* ed. Wüstenfeld, 539; *Aghānī*[1], viii, 160, xvi, 141, xix, 81; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba,* iv, 289-90; Caetani, *Annali,* ii, 119, 152, 162 ff., 189, 359, 559; H. Lammens, *La cité arabe de Ṭāʾif à la veille de l'hégire,* in *MFOB,* viii/4 (1922), 61, 63, 65, 74-5.

(H. Lammens)

MĀLIK B. DĪNĀR al-Sāmī, Abū Yaḥyā, preacher and moralist of Baṣra, who copied the Holy Book for a living and who was interested, it seems, in the question of the Ḳurʾānic readings (Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ,* ii, 36).

He was the *mawlā* of a woman of the Banū Sāma b. Luʾayy, to whom he owed his *nisba,* and had the occasion to follow more or less regularly the teaching of Baṣran traditionists and mystics as famous as Anas b. Mālik, Ibn Sīrīn, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Rabīᶜa al-ᶜAdawiyya [*q.vv.*]. He was considered to have led an ascetic life himself, and posterity went so far as to attribute to him thaumaturgic gifts. In reality, he seems to have been above all a most eloquent *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*], who nevertheless admired the eloquence of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] whom he naturally could see at Baṣra. According to Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān,* 190, tr. Massé, 231, he brought honour to his native town because he was accounted one of the six Baṣrans who were without equals at Kūfa. Abū Nuᶜaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ,* ii, 357-89, and Ibn al-Djawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa,* Ḥaydarābād 1356, iii, 197-209, reproduce a host of sayings attributed to Mālik b. Dīnār whose authenticity is nevertheless very doubtful; the idea of *djihād* within oneself is even traced back to him (*djāhidū ahwāʾakum kamā tudjāhidūn aᶜdāʾakum* "fight against your desires just as you fight against your enemies"; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil,* ed. Zakī Mubārak, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 180, ii, 520; Abū Nuᶜaym, *op. cit.,* ii, 363). It is not impossible, as Abū Nuᶜaym suggests (ii, 358, 359, 369, 370, 382, 386), that he was strongly influenced by the Christian scriptures. His moralistic tendency is seen in a fairly numerous collection of pieces of advice for behaviour, as well as in the reproaches which he

launched at Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*], who was accused of bringing dishonour on the Baṣrans and inciting the population to debauchery (*Aghānī*[1], iii, 41, vi, 49).

He died just before the epidemic of plague which caused considerable ravages in Baṣra in 131/748-9; the *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo 10, places his death in 130/747-8, and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 173, places it in 127/744-5.

Bibliography: In addition to sources given in the article, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 470, 577; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/2, 11; Ṭabarī, iii, 281; Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya*, ed. and tr. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1915-20, 17; Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, iv, 187; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 537; Pellat, *Milieu*, 99-100, 257.

(CH. PELLAT)

MĀLIK B. MISMAʿ [see MASĀMIʿA].

MĀLIK B. NUWAYRA B. DJAMRA B. SHADDĀD B. ʿUBAYD B. THAʿLABA B. YARBŪʿ, ABU 'L-MIGHWĀR, brother of the poet Mutammim [*q.v.*] and a poet in his own right, considered as the chief of the B. Yarbūʿ during Muḥammad's lifetime. The B. Yarbūʿ was one of the most powerful tribes of the Tamīm confederacy, and was involved in many of the battles (*ayyām al-ʿarab* [*q.v.*] in the Djāhiliyya. The office of *ridāfa*—a kind of viceroyship in the court of al-Ḥīra—was traditionally held by members of Yarbūʿ, among whom was Mālik b. Nuwayra (there is, however, an account according to which he was offered the *ridāfa*, but rejected it. See Djarīr, *Dīwān*, 261-2). Mālik's clan, the B. Thaʿlaba b. Yarbūʿ, was incorporated into the body-politic of Mecca in the Djāhiliyya, through the organisation of the *ḥums* (see M. J. Kister, *Mecca and Tamīm*, in *JESHO*, iii/2 [1965], 139, 146).

Mālik is usually portrayed as a noble, ambitious and brave warrior, a hero of whom the Yarbūʿī poet Djarīr boasts, referring to him as "the knight (*fāris*) of Dhu 'l-Khimār" (heroes often being called after their horses). The saying "a man but not like Mālik" (*fatā wa-lā ka-Mālik*) is taken to reflect his bravery. Notwithstanding all these descriptions, concrete details of his heroic exploits are sparse if not altogether lacking, and in the abundant and detailed material concerning the *ayyām* of Yarbūʿ he is hardly mentioned at all. The few verses attributed to him concerning certain battles do not necessarily indicate that he participated in them (see e.g. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. *Mukhaṭṭaṭ*). There is, however, an incident in which it is implied that Mālik held a senior position in his clan: during a conflict between groups of Tamīm, peace was proposed to the B. Ḥanẓala (the larger tribal group which includes the B. Yarbūʿ), and all its leaders accepted except for Mālik. Nevertheless, he had to comply with the decision of the others (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, i, 258-9, al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, Beirut 1962, ii, 525, al-Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, ii, 75). It seems, then, that Mālik's fame as a chief and warrior in the Djāhiliyya has no solid basis in actual accounts of his glorious exploits. Indeed, even the saying "a man but not like Mālik" seems originally to refer to his reliability rather than his valour (see Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *al-Muʿammarūn wa 'l-waṣāyā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿĀmir, 1961, 15). It is rather his brother's descriptions of him which have earned him his fame. Mutammim, who lamented bitterly Mālik's death, glorified him in elegies which have come to be counted among the most famous of their kind in Arabic literature.

Not much is known about Mālik's attitude towards Islam during the lifetime of the Prophet. There is a dubious tradition which records that when the sage Aktham b. Ṣayfī [*q.v.*] recommended to Tamīm that they should adopt Islam, Mālik objected. However, he is said to have been appointed by Muḥammad as tax-collector (in the year 9 or 11 A.H.). His responsibilities are said to have included the tribe of Yarbūʿ or the larger group of Ḥanẓala. Both versions seem to be exaggerations caused by the careless way in which tradition uses tribal names. It is safer to accept Abū Rayyāsh's statement, that Mālik was appointed over his own clan only, namely, the B. Thaʿlaba b. Yarbūʿ (see Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, i, 370, al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, ii, 24).

In contrast to the sparsity of information about Mālik's life, there is an abundance of details concerning the circumstances of his death. This is due to the fact that his execution during the *ridda* wars, apparently by order of Khālid b. al-Walīd, aroused a fierce dispute among the Muslims. Some claimed that Mālik was an apostate (*murtadd*) and therefore deserved his fate, while others maintained that he was a Muslim, and that Khālid had him murdered because he coveted his wife. The affair was used in political conflicts, as Khālid's enemies, both from among the Ḳuraysh and the Anṣār, used it against him, while the Shīʿa accused Abū Bakr of having ordered Mālik's execution for his alleged support of ʿAlī (see al-Madjlisi, *Biḥār al-anwār*, [Tehran 1301-15], viii, 267; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1963, xvii, 202). Also reflected in this affair is the juridical and theological debate concerning the conditions required from a man in order to be considered a Muslim (see e.g. al-Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid wa-manbaʿ al-fawāʾid*, Cairo 1352-3, vii, 293-4). All details of the traditions about Mālik's execution should be examined in the light of these debates.

The sources are in agreement that Mālik was killed by the Muslims in the year 11 A.H. There are, generally speaking, three different accounts of the events.

Account (a), the most prevalent of the three, runs as follows: Mālik was the tax-collector of his people. Upon Muḥammad's death he did not hand over to Medina the camels which he had collected as *ṣadaḳa*, but instead gave them back to his fellow-tribesmen; hence his nickname al-Djafūl (it should however be noted that *djafūl* also means "one who has abundant hair", a trait for which Mālik was known. See e.g. Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Cairo 1321, 54). When Abū Bakr learned of Mālik's deed he was furious, and had Khālid b. al-Walīd promise before God that he would kill Mālik if he could lay hands on him. As Khālid was advancing through Nadjd, having conquered some rebellious tribes, one of his detachments came upon a group of twelve Yarbūʿīs, among whom was Mālik b. Nuwayra. The Yarbūʿīs offered no resistance, declared that they were Muslims, and were taken to Khālid's camp at al-Buṭāḥ (or Baʿūḍa) where they were executed as rebels. Some of the captors, chiefly the Anṣārī Abū Ḳatāda, tried to prevent the execution by arguing that the captives were inviolable, since they had declared themselves to be Muslims and performed the ritual prayer. Khālid, however, disregarded these arguments, ordered the execution, and married Mālik's widow. When ʿUmar learned of Khālid's conduct, he pressed Abū Bakr in vain to punish him, or at least to dismiss him. Eventually, Abū Bakr openly forgave Khālid, after having heard his version of the story.

Account (b), the unique tradition of Sayf b. ʿUmar (preserved in the annals of al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Kathīr, and in the *Aghānī*). This tradition connects Mālik with the so-called false prophetess Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*]. It relates that Muḥammad's death found the confederacy of Tamīm in a state of internal

conflict, with groups of it preparing for war against one another. At this point, Sadjāḥ and her army reached Tamīmī territory. Mālik persuaded her to abandon her original plan, which was to attack Medina, and to join him against his (Tamīmī) enemies. A battle took place, in which the combined forces of Sadjāḥ, Mālik and another chief of Ḥanẓala were defeated. Sadjāḥ's army was defeated in yet another battle, whereupon she headed for al-Yamāma, while Mālik stayed behind, realising that his policy had failed. He ordered his men to disperse and cautioned them not to offer any resistance to the Muslims who would reach their territory, but to submit and adopt Islam. He himself retreated to his dwelling-place, where he was captured by the Muslims. The details of his capture and execution closely resemble those given above in account (a). Into these two accounts are sometimes woven traditions justifying the conduct of Khālid b. al-Walīd. For instance, it is recorded that in a conversation held between Khālid and Mālik, the latter referred to Muḥammad as "your man" (or "your master") instead of "our man" (or "our master"), thus excluding himself from the Muslim community. In a variant of this tradition, Mālik further insisted on withholding the *ṣadaḳa* payment, and therefore Khālid put him to death (needless to say, this additional detail spoils the original argument, because if Mālik withheld the *ṣadaḳa*, which was the *casus belli* of the *ridda*, it was immaterial how he referred to Muḥammad in a conversation). Another tradition claims that the captives were killed by mistake, as Khālid's soldiers misinterpreted his orders, due to dialectal differences (cf. the same motif in quite another story, in *LA*, s.v. *ḥ-m-r*). Strangely enough, though, traditions which openly accuse Mālik of rebellion against Islam do not mention his co-operation with Sadjāḥ, but only his refusal to pay *ṣadaḳa*. Moreover, it is stated that this co-operation was not tantamount to *ridda* (e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, s.v. *Mālik b. Nuwayra*).

Account (c), the unique tradition quoted from Abū Rayyāsh (Aḥmad b. Abī Hāshim) (preserved in al-Baghdādī's *Khizāna* and al-Tabrīzi's commentary to the *Ḥamāsa*). This tradition records that upon Muḥammad's death, Mālik raided the place called Raḥraḥān and drove off 300 camels which had been collected from various tribes as their *ṣadaḳa* payment. When Abū Bakr learned about this, he ordered Khālid b. al-Walīd to kill Mālik, should he capture him. While advancing through Nadjd, Khālid arrived at the plain where the clans of Yarbūʿ were encamped. He encamped there as well, and they showed no fear of him. Then he attacked the clans of Ghudāna and Thaʿlaba (Mālik's clan), because he did not hear the call to prayer (*adhān*) among them. He disregarded their protestations that they were Muslims, and not rebels, so Mālik took to arms. Only a part of his clan followed suit, but they fought vigorously till they had to surrender. Khālid offered Mālik security (*dhimma*) in return for his acceptance of Islam, to which Mālik consented. Later, Khālid broke the agreement on the ground that he had promised Abū Bakr to kill Mālik, and so he ordered his execution.

Obviously, the three accounts are very different from one another, and can hardly be harmonised so as to make one coherent story. Two additional details should be mentioned here. Firstly, the actual executioner of Mālik, whether or not by order of Khālid b. al-Walīd, was Ḍirār b. al-Azwar al-Asadī, whose clan had been in a state of war with Mālik's clan. Secondly, the affair of Mālik's execution closely resembles another affair, where Khālid, on a mission on behalf of Muḥammad to invite people to embrace Islam, wrongfully executed members of the B. Djadhīma. Indeed, some of the accounts of the two affairs are practically identical. It thus seem that the truth behind Mālik's career and death will remain buried under a heap of conflicting traditions.

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(Ella Landau-Tasseron)

al-MALIK al-ʿĀDIL, al-MALIK al-KĀMIL, al-MALIK al-MANṢŪR, etc.; see for those Ayyūbid monarchs with names of this type, the second element of the name, i.e. al-ʿādil, al-kāmil, al-manṣūr, etc.

al-MALIK al-NĀṢIR. [see ṣalāḥ al-dīn].

MĀLIK al-ṬĀʾĪ. [see mālik b. abi ʾl-samḥ].

MALIK AḤMAD BAḤRĪ, later styled Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī and regarded as the first independent ruler of the Niẓām Shāhī [*q.v.*] sultanate, was the son of Malik Ḥasan Niẓām al-Mulk Baḥrī, the converted Hindū who eventually became a *wazīr* of the Bahmanī sultanate after the murder of Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] in 886/1481.

There is no reliable evidence concerning his date of birth or his early years, but he is known to have accompanied his father when the latter was appointed governor of Telingānā in 875/1471. Here his ability and promise were so conspicuous that Maḥmūd Gāwān separated father and son, sending Aḥmad to Māhūr [*q.v.*] as a commander of 300, where he spent five years before becoming his father's deputy governor at Rādjamundarī. After Malik Ḥasan came to power in Bīdar, when the boy king Maḥmūd had succeeded to the Bahmanī throne, he strengthened his following by conferring assignments on his own men, his son Malik Aḥmad receiving Bīr and Dhārūr and other districts around Dawlatābād and Djunnār, residing in the latter place and successfully suppressing Marāthā oppression; later, at his father's bidding, he attacked the Marāthā hill-forts whose chieftains had been withholding the annual tribute, and extended his control over the entire Konkan coast. In 891/1486 Malik Ḥasan was murdered and Aḥmad assumed his title of Niẓām al-Mulk; he continued his campaign of conquest against Marāthā-held forts, and soon held the entire north up to the river Godāvarī, where his good administration commanded much local respect and support. The court party, mostly of Āfāḳīs, at Bīdar was against him and his successes; but an army sent against him was defeated near Nikāpur, later named Bāgh, from the garden which Aḥmad laid out to commemorate his victory in 895/1490; a palace he built there (Bāgh-i Niẓām) became his residence, and the city which grew around it was named Aḥmadnagar. He then styled himself Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī, and omitted the name of the Bahmanī sultan from the *khuṭba*; this, and his use of the white umbrella, were resented by some Bahmanī loyalists, but he had become too strong and his independence dates from this time.

For his future history, and for Bibliography, see further under Niẓām Shāhī. (J. Burton-Page)

MALIK ʿAMBAR, a Ḥabashī *wazīr* and military commander who served the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty of Aḥmadnagar in the Deccan.

Born around 955/1548 in Abyssinia, Malik ʿAmbar was sold into slavery in Baghdād and subsequently brought to India, where he was sold to the *wazīr* of the Niẓām Shāhī court. After his patron died, he sought, but was refused, the patronage of other local powers in the Deccan. He then returned to Aḥmadnagar, where in 1006/1596 he commanded a cavalry of 150 horse. The fall of Aḥmadnagar fort to Mughal arms in 1009/1600 created turmoil in the kingdom, during which Malik ʿAmbar rose to particular prominence. Supported by Deccanis and other Ḥabashīs, he managed to rescue the dynasty from extinction by raising a member of the royal family, Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh II, to the throne. The monarch's power was only *de jure,* however, as the *wazīr* wielded effective power from this point until his death in 1035/1626. Malik ʿAmbar fended off not only his rival for military supremacy within the kingdom, Miyān Rādjū, who was finally suppressed in 1016/1607, but also the armies of the ʿAdil Shāhī dynasty of Bīdjāpur to his south, European naval powers on the Konkan coast and above all, the armies of the Mughal Empire to his north. Throughout the period 1009-35/1600-26, the emperors Akbar and Djihāngīr [*q.vv.*] mounted large-scale invasions of the Deccan in repeated attempts to subdue the Ḥabashī *wazīr.*

Malik ʿAmbar's name has endured for several reasons. First, he represents perhaps the most striking example of Ḥabashī slave mobility in Indo-Muslim history. Second, despite his preoccupation with military matters, he placed the land revenue system of the kingdom on a firm and rational basis, probably imitating the reforms of Rādjā Todar Mal in this respect. Third, it was he who pioneered the recruiting and training of Marāthā [*q.v.*] light cavalry and also the organised use of guerrilla tactics in Indian warfare. Even his arch-opponent, the Mughal Emperor Djahāngīr, acknowledged that as a commander, Malik ʿAmbar was without equal. Finally, he promoted the social and political fortunes of several Marāthā families—most notably that of Shāhdjī Bhonsle, father of the Marāthā chieftain Shīvādjī—which contributed to the subsequent rise of Marāthā power in western India.

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MALIK AYĀZ, Indian Muslim admiral, administrator and statesman, one of the most distinguished personalities of the reigns of the Gudjarāt Sultans Maḥmūd I (863-917/1458-1511) and Muẓaffar II (917-32/1511-26).

Ayāz, according to the Portuguese historian João de Barros, was originally a Russian slave, born in Georgia, who fell into the hands of the Turks and thus

found his way to Istanbul, where he was sold to a trader having business connections with India. Endowed by nature with valour and wisdom, he proved to be the "jewel of a great price" in the estimate of his master who later, in one of his business trips to Gudjarāt, made a gift of him to the reigning Sultan Maḥmūd I, popularly known in history as Sultan Begādā. A legend has it that he attained instant fame when he brought down, with a well-aimed arrow, a hawk which defecated on the head of the Sultan during an expedition against Mālwā; the delighted Sultan granted him freedom on the spot and conferred on him the title of *Malik*. By showing gallantry on the battle-field and prudence in council, Ayāz rose steadily in the confidence of the king, who ultimately made him governor of Dīv [see DIŪ], an island situated off the coast of Una in the extreme south of the Kathiawar peninsula.

In 1484, Malik Ayāz played a vital part in securing form Maḥmūd I the great and impregnable Rādjput hill-fortress of Pavagaṛh in Čāmpanēr, following its investment over a period of 20 months. Its fall signalled the end of the centuries-old sovereignty of the Rādjput dynasty of Patai Paval over Čāmpanēr, which for the next 50 years remained the political capital of Gudjarāt under the Muslims. In 1511, Malik Ayāz was called upon by Sultan Muẓaffar II to salvage the prestige of Gudjarāt, severely mauled by the inroads of Rana Sangha of Čitōr. Placed in supreme command of what is described as 100,000 cavalry and assisted by generals like Malik Sārang and Mubāriz al-Mulk, Ayāz proved his mettle in capturing enemy strongholds like Dungarpur and Mandasor, and also through his diplomatic skill concluded peace with Rana Sangha.

But it is round the administration of the historic island city of Dīv that the career of Malik Ayāz is mainly centred. In view of its strategic situation and commercial importance, the island during the late 15th century had become a bone of contention between the maritime powers of Europe and the Gudjarāt Sultans. The most determined challenge came from the Portuguese, who had already made their appearance on the western shores of India. They made persistent demands from the Muslim rulers for permission to build a fortress in Dīv, whose possession was in fact the cornerstone of the very survival of Malik Ayāz. Ever since he was given charge of Dīv, Malik Ayāz set about fortifying the island. He built a tower there on a submarine rock and drew from it a massive iron chain across the mouth of the harbour so as to block the entry of enemy ships into the island waters. He also built a bridge over the creek lying between the island and the mainland. The resulting naval base was meant for his fleet of at least 100 *fustas*, large war vessels and many armed merchant ships, which ultimately made Dīv invulnerable to Portuguese attacks. Both the contemporary native historians and Portuguese chroniclers testify to Malik Ayāz's complete authority over the Gudjarāt sea-coast as long as he lived, and his invincible armada did not allow any intruding vessel to enter Dīv except for the purpose of trade.

The Portuguese now tried diplomacy, and won supporters among courtiers such as Malik Gopi in order to secure approval for building a fortress in Dīv, but were frustrated by the intelligence and influence of Malik Ayāz. Afonso de Albuquerque, conqueror and Governor of Goa, whom the Malik met and entertained at Dīv in 1513, records that "he had never known a more suave courtier; nor a person more skilful in deception while at the same time leaving one feeling very satisfied". The last Portuguese attempt during Malik Ayāz's life was in 1520 under Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, the next Governor of Goa, who nevertheless found the island's defences too strong for his ambitions.

Malik Ayāz died at Una in 928/1522, and lies buried there near the tomb of Shāh Shams al-Dīn. In his death, the Gudjarāt Sultān lost a brave soldier and astute statesman and the Portuguese an inveterate adversary. The disastrous consequences suffered by the kingdom soon after the Portuguese were granted the much-sought-after concessions by Sultan Bahādur in 1535 provide the highest justification of the unbending policy of exclusion which Malik Ayāz had followed in respect of the Portuguese.

The *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī* contains many anecdotes about Malik Ayāz and his mode of life; his dinner table used to be stocked with the delicacies of India, Persia and Turkey. The *Ẓafar al-wālih* speaks of his generosity, charity and hospitality, and his conciliation of his subjects with presents and bounties. He amassed immense wealth and affluence, and attained a position second in power only to the Sultan himself.

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AL-MALIK AL-ʿAZĪZ, ABŪ MANṢŪR KHUSRAW-FĪRŪZ, eldest son of Djalāl al-Dawla Shīrzīl, Būyid prince (407-41/1016 or 1017-1049). In the lifetime of his father Djalal al-Dawla [*q.v.*], ruler of Baghdād, he was governor of Baṣra and Wāsiṭ and latterly heir to the throne, but when his father died in Shaʿbān 435/March 1044, Khusraw-Fīrūz was away from the capital in Wāsiṭ, and superior financial resources enabled his more forceful cousin ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār Marzubān [*q.v.*] to secure the loyalty of the Būyid troops in Baghdād and to establish himself firmly in ʿIrāḳ. Khusraw-Fīrūz was forced to wander between local courts such as those of the Mazyadids at Ḥilla and the ʿUḳaylids at Mawṣil [*q.vv.*], making abortive military attempts to secure his father's throne, and died at Mayyāfāriḳīn in Rabīʿ I 441/August 1049 whilst staying with the Marwānids of Diyārbakr [*q.v.*].

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

MALIK DĀNISHMAND [see DĀNISHMANDIDS].

MALIK KĀFŪR, military commander of the Dihlī sultans.

Originally a Hindu eunuch, nicknamed *Hazār-*

dīnārī, "a thousand *dīnār* slave", from his purchase price, was included in the large booty captured from the port city of Kambayāt (modern Cambay) following the Khaldjī conquest of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] in 698/1299, and brought to Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, whose fascination he attracted by dint of his personal ability. He gradually attained the title of *nāʾib malik* "Regent of the King", a position which was next only to the Sultan. Malik Kāfūr reached the zenith of his meteoric career when he showed his martial prowess conclusively as the commander of the first Muslim army to cross the Vindyachal into South India. In 706/1307, he opened his Deccan adventure by leading an army of 30,000 horsemen to Devagiri (modern Dawlatābād in Maharashtra State), whose king Ramachandra Deva surrendered without offering any resistance. By subjugating in 709/1310 Warangal, the capital of the Kakatiya kingdom of Telingana, Kāfūr secured for his master the vassalage of its ruler Rai Prataprudra, along with a vast quantity of treasures, which were carried to Delhi by a thousand camels. In 710/1311, the Hoysala dynasty of Dwarasamudra, the ruins of which can still be seen at Halebid in the Hassan district of modern Karnataka State, was the third Deccan kingdom to fall to the invading hordes of Kāfūr, and its ruler Vir Ballala III became bound by a peace treaty to pay a substantial war indemnity to the Dihlī Sultan, apart from acknowledging his suzerainty. Malik Kāfūr continued his spectacular march towards the extreme south of the peninsula and after a few days' march arrived at Madura, the seat of Pandya kingdom (known to Muslim writers as Maʿbar [*q.v.*]), only to find it abandoned by its fleeing king Vir Pandya. The Khaldjī general stopped only when confronted by the sea at the coastal town of Rameswaram, where he built a mosque named after ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī. He returned to Dihlī with an enormous spoils which included 312 elephants; 20,000 horses; 2,750 pounds of gold, whose value equalled nearly ten crores of *tankas*; and chests of jewels. The capital had never before seen such a large booty.

Kāfūr's brilliance on the battlefield was overshadowed by the civil strife which marked the rest of his life. The Sultan's infatuation with him proved anathema to the influential Khaldjī nobles, so much so that within only 35 days of the Sultan's death he fell a victim to the assassin's sword on 12 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 715/11 February 1316.

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(Abdus Subhan)

al-**MALIK** al-**KĀMIL** II [see shaʿbān]

MALIK ḲUMMĪ, Indo-Muslim poet, was born at Ḳum in about 934/1528. The author of the *Maykhāna* states that his full name was Malik Muḥammad.

He went at an early age to Kāshān, where he stayed nearly twenty years, and then spent approximately four years in Ḳazwīn, frequenting the company of writers and scholars in both places. Already during his youth he seems to have won distinction for himself in poetical competitions with his contemporaries, and was regarded highly by such literary figures as Muḥtasham of Kāshān (d. 996/1587-8) and Ḍamīrī of Iṣfahān (d. *ca.* 1578) for his innovative tendencies. He was respected in important circles, and was sought after by Ṣafawī nobles and other Persian dignitaries. He left Ḳazwīn, according to Āzād Bilgrāmī, in 987/1579 and, reaching India, took up residence at Aḥmadnagar, enjoying the favours of Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh I (1565-88) and, upon the latter's death, of Burhān Niẓām Shāh II (1590-5) [see niẓām-shāhs]. It is mentioned in the *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī* that after the fall of Aḥmadnagar to Akbar's forces, he served temporarily under ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān, whom he praises in several of his *ḳaṣīdas*. Finally, he settled down in Bīdjāpūr, attaching himself to the ruler of that state, Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II (1580-1627) [see ʿādil-shāhs]. There he reached the highest point of his career, with his appointment as poet laureate in the Bīdjāpūr court. In Aḥmadnagar, and later in Bīdjāpūr, he developed close relations with Ẓuhūrī (*ca.* 1537-1616), to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. The two poets collaborated in several literary ventures which they undertook for Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh. The report that they also worked jointly in producing *Naw ras*, a book of songs attributed to the above-mentioned ruler, and received 9,000 gold pieces as a reward for their efforts, is disputed by modern writers. Towards the end, Malik Ḳummī seems to have led a life of retirement dedicated to austerity and devotion. He died, most probably, in 1025/1616, a date confirmed by the chronogram composed on his death by Abū Ṭālib Kalīm.

Apart from Ẓuhūrī, Malik Ḳummī was the only other significant poet in the Deccan during his time. According to Badāʾūnī, he was known by the title of Malik al-Kalām. Most writers speak highly of his literary talents. He was the author of many works, written either independently or in collaboration with Ẓuhūrī. In his personal life he was inclined towards mysticism, and has been praised for his pious habits and purity of character.

Bibliography: *Kulliyyāt*, ms. I.O. 1499; ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Nihāwandī, *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī*, iii, ed. Muḥammad Hidāyat Ḥusayn, Calcutta 1931; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, iii, tr. T. W. Haig, Calcutta 1925; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ii, ed. Djawād Fāḍil, Tehran n.d.; Iskandar Munshī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, ed. Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, Tehran 1334/1955-6; ʿAbd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī Ḳazwīnī, *Maykhāna*, ed. Aḥmad Gulčīn Maʿānī, Tehran 1340/1961-2; Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātash-kada*, ed. Sayyid Djaʿfar Shahīdī, Tehran 1337/1958; Ghulām ʿAlī Khān Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-i āzād*, Hyderabad 1913; idem, *Khizāna-yi ʿāmira*, Cawnpore 1871; Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Hāshimī Sandīlawī, *Tadhkira-yi makhzan al-gharāʾib*, ms. Bodleian 395; Lačhmī Narāyan Shafīḳ, *Shām-i gharībān*, ed. Akbar al-Dīn Ṣiddīḳī, Karachi 1977; Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Tadhkira-yi natāʾidj al-afkār*, Bombay 1336/1957-8; Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, iii, repr. Aʿẓamgaṛh 1945; E. G. Browne, *LHP*, iv, repr. Cambridge 1953; Muhammad ʿAbdu'l Ghani, *A history of Persian language and literature at the Mughal court*, iii, Allahabad 1930; Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, iv, Tabrīz 1371/1952; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1956; Nazir Ahmad (ed.), *Kitāb-i nawras*, Delhi 1956; T. N. Devare, *A short history of Persian literature at the Bahmani, the Adilshahi, and the Qutbshahi courts, Deccan*, Poona 1961; H. K. Sherwani (ed.), *History of medieval Deccan*, ii, Hyderabad 1974; P. N. Chopra, *Life and letters under the Mughals*, Delhī 1976.

(Munibur Rahman)

al-**MALIK** al-**MANṢŪR** [see ḳalāwūn].

MALIK MUGHĪTH, military commander under the rulers of Mālwā [*q.v.*].

The son of a Turkish noble named ʿAlī Shīr Khurd, he played a conspicuously important role in the history of mediaeval Mālwā. He came into prominence during the reign of Sultan Hushang Shāh Ghūrī (809-38/1406-35), who appointed him minister in recognition of his meritorious service and conferred on him the titles of *Ashraf al-Mulk* and *Khān-i-Djahān.* He was instrumental in bringing about the accession of his son Maḥmūd Khaldjī I (839-73/1436-69), whom he helped to achieve signal victories against rival chieftains of central India, to extend the limit of frontiers to its widest extent and to bring unprecedented glory to Mālwā. The galaxy of honorific denominations which Malik Mughīth received, such as *Amīr al-Umarāʾ*, *Zubdat al-Mulk*, *Khulāṣat al-Mālwa*, *Aʿẓam-i Humāyūn* and *Masnad-i ʿĀlī,* amply reflect the influence and prestige which he enjoyed throughout his life. His death in 846/1443, following a brief illness while laying a siege to the fort of Mandasor, left the Sultan so distracted with grief that he "tore his hair and raved like one bereft of his senses" (Firishta, ii, 488). He lies buried in the Khaldjī family mausoleum at Māndū [*q.v.*] where he has also left an architectural legacy in the shape of an elegant mosque called the Masdjid-i Malik Mughīth, which he built in 835/1432.

Bibliography: Ghulam Yazdani, *Mandu, City of Joy,* Oxford 1929; Upendra Nath Dey, *Medieval Malwa (1401-1562),* Dihlī 1965. (ABDUS SUBHAN)

MALIK MUḤAMMAD DJĀYASĪ (DJĀYSĪ/ DJAYSĪ) (?900/1493 to ?949/1542), Indian Ṣūfī and poet, was born at Djāyas (Djays) in Awadh [*q.v.*] and died at nearby Amēthī. Educated locally, he became a disciple of the Čishtī Shaykh Muḥyī 'l-Dīn. He had Hindu as well as Muslim teachers, and showed a religious tolerance which some ascribe to the influence of Kabīr. He wrote poetry in Awadhī, a form of Eastern Hindī, including two fairly short religious poems, one of which, *Ākhirī kalām,* is on the Day of Judgement. But he is famed chiefly for his *Padumāvat,* a narrative and descriptive poem of over 5,000 verses probably, but not conclusively, written in Persian script, although it is best preserved in Nāgarī, and moreover probably the earliest major work in any Indian vernacular extant in authentic form, apart from its intrinsic literary merits. It combines some elements of the earlier Hindī bardic epic, elements of the traditional *mahākāvya* and some metrical resemblances to the Persian *mathnawī,* being a story of war and love, the heroine of the title being a paragon among women. It ends with the death of Padumāvatī's husband, who is ruler of Čitōr, and her *satī,* followed by the capture of Čitōr by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, Sulṭān of Dihlī.

Despite the apparent secular nature of the poem, K. B. Jindal (*History,* 45, see *Bibl.*) regards it as a Ṣūfī love poem. The poet, in his envoi (if this is authentic and not a later addition), states that it is an allegory, briefly explaining the symbolism: but A.G. Shirreff (*Padmavātī,* p. viii, see *Bibl.*) describes it as "half fairy-tale and half historical romance". The first canto (again, if this is authentic) is of interest to Islamologists. The poet praises God, Muḥammad the Prophet, the first four caliphs, Shēr Shāh, the Sulṭān of Dihlī, the poet's Čishtī teachers and predecessors and the city of Djāyas. Hindu and Islamic terminology is intermingled, the Ḳurʾān being so named and also called *purāna,* for example. All the essentials of Islam are referred to in Hindu terms, with a deliberately propagandist intent in accordance with Čishtī ideals, e.g. ʿUthmān is called *paṇḍit,* Allāh *vidhi,* "the book" *giranth* = Granth, the Companions *mīt* (Skr. *mitra* "friend"), as well as the Ḳurʾān called *purān.*

Malik Muḥammad Djāyasī has been revered on religious grounds by both Hindus and Muslims of the sub-continent, while his poetry gives him importance in the history of both Hindī and, to a lesser extent, Urdu literature.

Bibliography: Brief critical accounts of the poet will be found in F.E. Keay, *A history of Hindi literature,* London, etc. 1920, 31-3; K. B. Jindal, *A history of Hindi literature,* Allahabad 1955, 44-7; G. A. Grierson and N. A. Dvivedi, *The Padumāvatī of Malik Muhammad Jaisi,* Calcutta 1911, i, Introd. 1-5; A. G. Shirreff, *Padmāvatī,* Calcutta 1944, containing an annotated English translation of the whole poem; the text of the collected poetry is found in Rāmčandra Shukla, *Djāyasī granthāvalī,* 1st ed. Benares 1924, 5th ed., Allahabad 1951, and Mātāprasād Gupta, *Djāyasī granthāvalī,* Allahabad 1952 (both in the Dēvanāgarī script). Grierson and Dvivedi's work contains the text of about half of the *Padumāvatī* in the same script, with a translation in vol. ii. Lakshmi Dhar, *Padumāvatī - a linguistic study of 16th century Hindi (Avadhi),* London 1949, gives the text of cantos 26-31 (out of 57) in Roman transliteration, with an indifferent or worse English translation and lexical analyses. There are five mss. of the text in Persian script, three dating from around the end of the 11th/17th century, in the India Office Library, London. Unfortunately, there is no authoritative printed edition in the Persian script, scholars having largely concentrated on producing a reliable Dēvanāgarī version, since the Persian script, even when fully vowelled, is not entirely satisfactory for Hindī. They have compared Persian-script mss. with earlier ones in *Dēvanāgarī,* but the process of establishing a definitive version is not yet complete. For further bibliography, including historical and religious background, see Shirreff, *op. cit.,* pp. xi-xiii, to which should be added, as the best modern study, Vāsudev Śaran Agravāl, *Padmārat,* Jhansī 2012 V.S./1955, with a critical introd., analysis, edited text based largely on Gupta's but also taking into account recently-discovered mss., translation and commentary. See also HINDĪ and HINDŪ. (J. A. HAYWOOD)

AL-**MALIK** AL-**RAḤĪM**, ABŪ NAṢR KHUSRAW-FĪRŪZ, Būyid *amīr,* d. 450/1058. When Abū Kālīdjār, ruler in Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān, ʿUmān and Baṣra in parallel with his uncle Djalāl al-Dawla [*q.v.*] of Baghdād, died in 440/1048, the eldest of his ten or so sons, Khusraw-Fīrūz, succeeded as *amīr* with the title, unwillingly extracted from the caliph, of al-Malik al-Raḥīm. However, his succession was challenged by various of his brothers, and especially by Fūlād-Sutūn, and during his seven years' reign, Khusraw-Fīrūz reigned undisputedly only in ʿIrāḳ, with Fūlād-Sutūn established in Shīrāz and generally controlling southern Persia, fighting off Khusraw-Fīrūz's attempts to secure Fārs and Khūzistān.

These squabbles were ominous for the future of the Būyid dynasty, whose position in northern Persia had already been destroyed by the Ghaznawids [see MADJD AL-DAWLA], in that it allowed the Saldjūḳ leader Ṭoghrïl Beg to intervene in the remaining Būyid lands. Already in 444/1052-3 marauding Oghuz reached Shīrāz; in the next year Fūlād-Sutūn placed Ṭoghrïl's name in the *khuṭba* before those of Khusraw-Fīrūz and his own; and in 446/1054-5 Ṭoghrïl was in control of Khūzistān. Khusraw-Fīrūz's seven-year reign in Baghdād was marked by continuous civil strife there, with the caliph al-Ḳāʾim's vizier, the *raʾīs al-ruʾasāʾ* Ibn al-Muslima [*q.v.*] upholding the Sunnī, Ḥanbalī cause, and the Turkish commander Arslan Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] inclining towards the Shīʿīs, being

suspected of furthering the designs of the Fāṭimids on ʿIrāḳ. Ṭoghril marched on Baghdād and entered it in Ramaḍān 447/December 1055, with his name pronounced in the *khuṭba* there. Khusraw-Fīrūz was soon afterwards arrested and deposed, and spent the last four years of his life in captivity, dying at Ray in 450/1058. The rule of the Būyids in ʿIrāḳ accordingly ended, though it continued for a few years more in Fārs under Fūlād-Sutūn.

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Ibn al-Athīr, al-Bundārī and Ibn al-Djawzī. See also H. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, in *JRAS* (1929), 234-8; Mafizullah Kabir, *The Buwaihid dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, 112-15; C. E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 45-7; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 119-24. (C. E. Bosworth)

MALIK SARWAR, or Khwādja Djahān, the founder of the sultanate of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*] in northern India. A eunuch of common birth, Malik Sarwar rose in the service of Sultan Fīrūz Tughluḳ to become the governor of the city of Dihlī. In the political confusion that followed the death of Sultan Fīrūz in 790/1388, Malik Sarwar lent powerful support to Prince Muḥammad, his chief patron and a younger son of Fīrūz, in Muḥammad's bid for the throne. Several years later the prince eventually ascended the Dihlī throne as Sultan Muḥammad Shāh, and in 795/1392 he elevated Malik Sarwar from governor of Dihlī to *wazīr* of the sultanate, conferring upon him the title Khwādja Djahān. But the sultan died the next year, and the state of political affairs in Dihlī plunged still deeper in chaos, with provincial governors and Hindu chieftains openly defying the authority of the court.

In these circumstances, Sultan Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, shortly after becoming sultan in 796/1394, made Malik Sarwar governor of all the Dihlī's sultanate's possessions from Kanawdj to Bihār, and conferred upon him the title Malik al-Sharḳ or "Lord of the East". The new governor promptly repaired to these domains with twenty elephants and a large army. After a victorious campaign, in which he succeeded in subduing rebellious princes throughout the lower Djumna-Ganges Dōāb and Bihār, Malik Sarwar established himself in the provincial capital of Djawnpūr as a virtually independent monarch, a circumstance enhanced by Dihlī's own preoccupation with Tīmūr's invasion of India in 801/1398. During his brief rule, Malik Sarwar's power increased and his administration flourished, with even the kings of Bengal paying to him the tribute formerly sent up to Dihlī. Upon his death in 802/1399, he bequeathed to his adopted son Ḳaranfūl a vast kingdom stretching from just east of Dihlī through the heart of the Gangetic plain to Bengal. Through the patronage of Malik Sarwar's successors, the Sharḳi kings of Djawnpūr, the city of Djawnpūr emerged as an important regional centre of Indo-Muslim culture in the 9th/15th century.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, completed *ca.* 837/1434 by Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, Calcutta 1931, tr. K. K. Basu, Baroda 1932; *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, compiled in 1001/1593 by Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, Calcutta 1913, tr. B. De, Calcutta 1927-31; Mīyān Muḥammad Saeed, *The Sharqi sultanate of Jaunpur*, Karachi 1972.

(R. M. Eaton)

MALIK-SHĀH, the name of various Saldjūḳ rulers.

1. Malik-Shāh I b. Alp Arslan, Djalāl al-Dawla Muʿizz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ, Great Saldjūḳ sultan, born in 447/1055, reigned 465-85/1072-92. During his reign, the Great Saldjūḳ empire reached its zenith of territorial extent—from Syria in the west to Khurāsān in the east—and military might.

Alp Arslan [*q.v.*] had made Malik-Shāh his *walī 'l-ʿahd* or heir to the throne in 458/1066, when various governorships on the eastern fringes were at this same time distributed to several members of the ruling family. Although Alp Arslan was fatally wounded during his Transoxanian campaign against the Ḳarakhānids [see ilek-khāns], he lingered long enough to make clear his intended arrangements for the future of the empire, leaving his son Ayāz in the upper Oxus provinces and his brother Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*] to continue in the largely autonomous principality of Kirmān which he had carved out. Through the prompt action of the experienced vizier Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], Malik-Shāh's succession to the sultanate was officially notified to the caliph in Baghdād, and the key city in Khurāsān of Nīshāpūr and its treasury secured for the young prince. The revolt of the disgruntled Ḳāwurd, who regarded his position as senior member of the Saldjūḳ family as giving him a superior claim, was quelled at Hamadān in 466/1074 and Ḳāwurd strangled, though the sultan subsequently (467/1074) restored his sons Sulṭān-Shāh and Tūrān-Shāh to Kirmān (see E. Merçil, *Kirman Selçuklari*, Istanbul 1980, 45 ff.).

Malik-Shāh's preoccupation with Ḳāwurd at this time in western Persia had emboldened the Ḳarakhānid Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Tamghač Khān Ibrāhīm (460-72/1068-80) to invade Balkh and Ṭukhāristān, necessitating Malik-Shāh's hurried return to the east. He drove the Ḳarakhānids out of Tirmidh and dictated terms to the Khān in his own capital of Samarḳand (466/1074); the subsequent disputes of Shams al-Mulk Naṣr with the eastern branch of his dynasty in Kāshghar kept the Khān generally submissive to Saldjūḳ suzerainty over the ensuing years (see W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, London 1928, 314-15). Ayāz b. Alp Arslan died just before the Transoxanian campaign of his elder brother, and Malik-Shāh now gave Balkh and Ṭukhāristān to his other brother Tekish. For some years, Tekish governed his territories peacefully, but in 473/1080-1 took into his service 7,000 mercenary troops discharged by Malik-Shāh as an economy measure, even though Niẓām al-Mulk had warned him of the dangers of throwing such a large group of desperadoes out of employment (cf. *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xli, ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340/1962, 209-10, tr. idem, London 1960, 170-1). With these soldiers, Tekish rebelled, but failed to capture Nīshāpūr and had to submit. The sultan pardoned him, but four years later, in 477/1084, Tekish again renounced his allegiance whilst Malik-Shāh was in the Djazīra at the other end of the empire; this time, Malik-Shāh showed no mercy, and after quelling the outbreak, blinded and jailed Tekish. These draconian measures kept further potential trouble-makers within the Saldjūḳ family quiet for the rest of the reign.

Peace was also established on the eastern fringes by the achievement of a *modus vivendi* with the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] of eastern Afghānistān and India. The succession quarrels at the outset of Malik-Shāh's reign tempted the Ghaznawid sultan Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd (451-92/1059-99) to make a bid for the recovery of the Ghaznawid territories in Khurāsān lost to the Saldjūḳs 30 years before. Ibrāhīm attacked the Saldjūḳ prince ʿUthmān b. Čaghrī Beg Dāwūd in northern Afghānistān and captured him, but Malik-

Shāh sent an army and restored the situation there (465/1073). Thereafter, Ibrāhīm seems to have been reconciled to the permanent loss of the Ghaznawid former western provinces, and peaceful relations between the two empires became the norm; there were marriage links between the two royal houses, and Saldjūḳ cultural influence, e.g. in regard to titulature and coinage patterns, was increasingly felt within the Ghaznawid dominions (see C. E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 50-8). Within the buffer zone between the two empires, the principality of Sīstān, governed by scions of the once-mighty Ṣaffārid dynasty [*q.v.*] as vassals of the Saldjūḳs, Malik-Shāh's authority was reasserted, and joint operations conducted by the Saldjūḳ and Ṣaffārid forces against the Ismāʿīlīs of Ḳūhistān [*q.v.*].

Saldjūḳ-Ḳarakhānid relations also remained pacific, as noted above, for the rest of Shams al-Mulk Naṣr's reign and during the short reign of Khiḍr Khān b. Ibrāhīm and then of the latter's son Aḥmad, nephew of Malik-Shāh's Ḳarakhānid wife Terken Khātūn, whom the sultan had married when a child in 456/1064. But the discontent of the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* in Transoxania led Malik-Shāh to invade Transoxania once more in 482/1089, to depose Aḥmad Khān (though he was later restored before his final deposition and execution, ostensibly because of his Ismāʿīlī sympathies, in 488/1095) and to penetrate as far as Semirečye, overawing the eastern Ḳarakhānid ruler of Kāshghar and Khotan, Hārūn Khān b. Sulaymān, who now acknowledged Malik-Shāh in the *khuṭba* of his dominions. Recognition of the Saldjūḳs here represented the culmination of Saldjūḳ prestige in the east (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 316-18).

Timely displays of military force were sufficient to subdue ambitious Saldjūḳ rivals, to bring into line Ḳarakhānid princes torn by family dissensions and to persuade the Ghaznawids that their fortunes now lay in the exploitation of India rather than in futile irredentist dreams in the west. The situation on the western borders of the Great Saldjūḳ empire was more complex and the frontier, towards which Türkmen adventures and *ghāzīs* had for some time been deflected by government policy, more fluid and shifting. There was a zone of local Arab and Kurdish amīrates, jealous of their independence, mingled with ambitious Turkish slave commanders and Türkmen *begs*; beyond them, in western Transcaucasia and western Anatolia, lay the hostile Christian powers of Georgia and Byzantium. Hence the special importance to the Saldjūḳs of defending the northwestern provinces of Ādharbāydjān, Arrān and Armenia against Georgian attacks and of preserving these regions as areas of concentration for Türkmen forces. Soon after he came to the throne, Malik-Shāh took steps to strengthen his frontier by deposing the Kurdish Shaddādid [*q.v.*] prince of Gandja and Dvin Faḍl(ūn) III b. Faḍl II (466-8/1073-5) and installing there the veteran Turkish slave commander of Alp Arslan's, Sawtigin, who was already well-familiar with the situation in the Caucasus region. Malik-Shāh campaigned here personally in 471/1078-9, after the Georgian king had temporarily captured Kars from the Muslims, and again in 478/1085 after the restored Shaddādid Faḍl III had rebelled (see V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, *I. New light on the Shaddādids of Ganja*, 67-8). This time, the main line of the Shaddādids in Gandja was extinguished, although a collateral branch continued in Ānī till the end of the 6th/12th century (see *ibid.*, *II. The Shaddādids of Ani*, 79-106). The submission of the Shīrwān-Shāh Farīburz [see SHĪRWĀN] was also received. Much of the Araxes-Kur basin, i.e. eastern Transcaucasia, was now parcelled out as *iḳṭāʿs* [*q.v.*] for the sultan's Turkish commanders, with Malik-Shāh's cousin Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Yāḳūtī as overlord.

The overrunning of Anatolia and the gradual pushing-back of the Greeks continued essentially as an enterprise of individual Türkmen leaders, prominent among whom were the sons of the Saldjūḳ Ḳutlumush b. Arslan Isrāʾīl, Sulaymān and Manṣūr. Although the later historiography of the Rūm Saldjūḳs makes Malik-Shāh officially invest these princes with the governorship of Anatolia, the assumption of the title of sultan by these last seems to have been a unilateral act which Malik-Shāh probably could only regard as one of *lèse-majesté*; and two others of Ḳutlumush's sons actually fought at the side of the Fāṭimids in Palestine against the Saldjūḳ cause (see Cl. Cahen, *Qutlumush et ses fils avant l'Asie Mineure*, in *Isl.*, xxxix [1964], 26-7; idem, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 73 ff.).

In the Arab lands of ʿIrāḳ, the Djazīra and Syria, Saldjūḳ policy aimed at containing the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimids [*q.v.*] in Palestine, at curbing their influence among the Shīʿī Arab amīrates of the desert fringes and within the Arabian peninsula, at assuring Sunnī control of major cities like Aleppo and Damascus, and at establishing some measure of control over the Türkmen bands ranging across these lands of Syria and the Djazīra and competing with the existing Arab population for pasture-grounds. The caliphal vizier Fakhr al-Dawla Ibn Djahīr [see DJAHĪR, BANŪ] secured Saldjūḳ military help in order to reduce the Kurdish principality of the Marwānids [*q.v.*] of Diyārbakr in 478/1085, eventually incorporating it into the Saldjūḳ empire. Malik-Shāh's authority in Syria was imposed in the face of opposition from the Armenian former general of the Byzantines. Philaretos, in the middle Taurus Mountains region, from the ʿUḳaylids [*q.v.*] under their *amīr* Muslim b. Ḳuraysh in the lands between Mawsil and Aleppo, and from Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumush, firstly through the agency of Malik-Shāh's brother Tutush and then in 477-8/1084-5 by an army from the capital Iṣfahān under the caliph's personal command (see Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, 177 ff.; idem, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 30-2). Triumphing over his rivals, Malik-Shāh's authority was now extended as far as the Mediterranean shores, and Turkish slave commanders installed as governors in Antioch, Aleppo and Edessa. Saldjūḳ influence was even carried southwards into the Arabian peninsula, for in 469/1076-7 Malik-Shāh's commander Artuḳ b. Ekseb (later, the founder of a dynasty of Türkmen *begs* in Diyārbakr [see ARTUḲIDS]) marched into al-Aḥsā in eastern Arabia against the Carmathians [see ḲARĀMIṬA]; the *Sharīfs* of Mecca were suborned from their Fāṭimid allegiance; and Yemen and Aden were temporarily occupied.

Relations with the ʿAbbāsid caliphs were necessarily important for a power like the Saldjūḳs which claimed to be the spearhead of Sunnī orthodoxy and protector of the Commander of the Faithful against Shīʿī threats. Malik-Shāh did not manage personally to visit Baghdād until 479-80/1086-7, when al-Muḳtadī [*q.v.*] formally granted him the *salṭana* or secular authority. As Cahen has pointed out (*op. cit.*, 42), Malik-Shāh and Niẓām al-Mulk regarded the sultanate, whose protectorate over the caliph had been established by Malik-Shāh's great-uncle Ṭoghrīl Beg [*q.v.*], as an institution deriving its legitimacy from its

very self and having a full entitlement to intervene even in religious matters. The caliphs could not of course concede the validity of this constitutional interpretation of the ordering of affairs in Islam, hence the inevitability of a state of tension, in greater or lesser degree, between the two focuses of authority (see G. Makdisi, *Les rapports entre calife et sulṭān à l'époque Saljûqide,* in *IJMES,* vi [1975], 228-36).

The sultans had installed in Baghdād a *shiḥna* [*q.v.*] or military commander, who had to keep order in the city and often in ᶜIrāḳ in general, and an *ᶜamīd* [*q.v.*] or official in charge of civil and financial matters, including the allocation to the caliph of his *iḳṭāᶜ*s and allowances. These personages could, and at times did, exert considerable pressure on the caliphs. Central policy in the Saldjūḳ state was directed from the *dīwān* of the great vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, who had been first appointed under Alp Arslan; for a detailed survey of his policy, see NIẒĀM AL-MULK. Part of this policy lay in facilitating the revival of Sunnī Islam, as the authority of Shīᶜī powers like the Būyids or Buwayhids [*q.v.*] and Fāṭimids disappeared or waned, by financial and other support to the orthodox religious institution, including the encouragement of the founding of *madrasas* [*q.v.*], and this in theory meant harmonious co-operation with the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs, the moral heads of Sunnī Islam. In practice, strains arose between Niẓām al-Mulk and the Banū Djahīr, viziers to the caliphs from al-Ḳāʾim to al-Muḳtafī, with a nadir of bad relations in 471/1079 when Niẓām al-Mulk secured Fakhr al-Dawla Ibn Djahīr's dismissal. The arranging of the betrothal of one of Malik-Shāh's daughters to al-Muḳtadī in 474/1081-2 (another daughter was later to marry the next caliph al-Mustaẓhir) only brought about détente when the sultan came personally to Baghdād and the marriage was celebrated in 480/1087. Even then, relations speedily deteriorated, and on his second visit to Baghdād, shortly before his death, the caliph was largely ignored by Malik-Shāh, who set in motion extensive building operations, including a great mosque, the Djāmiᶜ al-Sulṭān, and palaces for the great men of state, intending to make Baghdād his winter capital (see Makdisi, *The topography of eleventh-century Baġdād, materials and notes,* in *Arabica,* vi [1959], 292, 298-9). It seems that the sultan planned to set up his infant grandson Djaᶜfar, the "Little Commander of the Faithful" and fruit of the alliance between the caliph and the Saldjūḳ princess, as caliph; but in the middle of Shawwāl 485/November 1092, not very long after Niẓām al-Mulk's assassination, of complicity in which some people thought him guilty, Malik-Shāh died of fever at the age of 58, suspectedly poisoned (see M. T. Houtsma, *The death of Nizam al-Mulk and its consequences,* in *Jnal. of Indian history,* iii [1924], 147 ff.). The caliph was thereby assured of a reprieve. Terken Khātūn and her protégé the *mustawfī* Tādj al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim endeavoured to place Terken Khātūn's four-year old son Maḥmūd on the throne, but the Niẓāmiyya, the relatives and partisans of the dead vizier, succeeded in killing Tādj al-Mulk and eventually securing the succession of the thirteen-year old Berk-yaruḳ, Malik-Shāh's eldest son by another wife, Zubayda Khātūn. The Great Saldjūḳ sultanate now entered a period of internal dissension under Malik-Shāh's sons [see BARK-YĀRUḲ; MUḤAMMAD B. MALIK-SHĀH; SANDJAR], so that the political authority of the caliphate could revive in the 6th/12th century as that of the sultans declined. Malik-Shāh's body was carried back to Iṣfahān and buried in a *madrasa* there.

Malik-Shāh is praised in the sources, Christian as well as Muslim, for his noble and generous character. Although probably no more cultured than the rest of the early Saldjūḳ sultans, he acquired, in the conventional pattern of Islamic rulers, the reputation of being a patron of learning and literature. The great Arabic poet and stylist al-Ṭughrāʾī [*q.v.*] served in his chancery, and amongst Persian poets, Muᶜizzī [*q.v.*] in fact derived his *takhalluṣ* from Malik-Shāh's honorific of Muᶜizz al-Dīn. ᶜUmar Khayyām [*q.v.*] seems to have been attracted into the Saldjūḳ service at the time of Malik-Shāh's Transoxanian campaign against Shams al-Mulk Naṣr, and to have played a leading role in the reform of the calendar, involving the introduction of the new Malikī or Djalālī era (after the sultan's *laḳab* of Djalāl al-Dawla [see DJALĀLĪ]), and in the construction of an observatory at Iṣfahān. A collection of legal *responsa,* the *Masāʾil al-Malikshāhiyya fi 'l-ḳawāᶜid al-sharᶜiyya,* perhaps composed for the sultan, is mentioned in certain sources, e.g. in Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī's abridgement of Rāwandī, *al-ᶜUrāḍa fi 'l-ḥikāya al-saldjūḳiyya,* ed. K. Süssheim, Leiden 1909, 69-71.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the article): Of primary sources, see the standard Arabic and Persian ones for the period, such as Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, Rāwandī, Bundārī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Djawzī, Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, and the Syriac one of Barhebraeus. Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, v, 283-9, tr. de Slane, iii, 440-6, has a biography of Malik Shāh, deriving material for it from the continuation of Miskawayh by Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī (d. 521/1127).

Of secondary sources, see İ. Kafesoğlu, *Sultan Melikşah devrinde Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu,* Istanbul 1953; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran,* v, 66-102, for political and dynastic history, and A. K. S. Lambton in *ibid.,* 203 ff. for administrative history; O. Turan, *Selçuklar tarihi ve Türk-Islam medeniyeti,* Istanbul 1969, 152-75.

2. MALIK-SHĀH II B. BERK-YARUḲ, infant son of sultan Berk-yaruḳ, who, after the latter's death in 498/1105, was briefly proclaimed sultan in Baghdād, with Ayāz as his Atabeg and Saᶜd al-Mulk Abu 'l-Maḥāsin as vizier, but who soon had to yield to Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh I [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran,* v, 111.

3. MALIK-SHĀH III B. MAḤMŪD B. MUḤAMMAD MUᶜĪN AL-DĪN (547-8/1152-3), son of sultan Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], who, with the support of the *amīr* Khāṣṣ Beg Arslan and of Ildegiz [*q.v.*], Atabeg of Arrān and most of Ādharbāydjān, briefly became sultan in western Persia after the death of his uncle Masᶜūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] without direct heir. His incapability as a ruler—the caliph al-Muḳtafī was now able to get rid of all Saldjūḳ authority from Baghdād and ᶜIrāḳ—speedily led to his deposition in favour of his brother Muḥammad. He was imprisoned, escaped and then was granted the governorship of Fārs by Muḥammad, but died at Iṣfahān in 555/1160.

Bibliography: Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran,* vi, 169, 175-7.

4. MALIK-SHĀH was also the name of two members of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm in the 6th/12th century: (a) MALIK-SHĀH B. ḲILIDJ ARSLAN I B. SULAYMĀN B. ḲUTLUMUSH (for a brief spell after his father's death in 500/1107); and (b) MALIK-SHĀH B. ḲILIDJ ARSLAN II B. MASᶜŪD, ḲUTB AL-DĪN, who during the division of territories during the latter part of his father's reign (i.e. 551-88/1156-92), received Sīwās and Aḳsaray, and who then kept his father in semi-captivity in Konya [see ḲILIDJ ARSLAN II].

Bibliography: Zambaur, *Manuel,* 143; O. Turan, *Selçuklu zamanında Türkiye,* Istanbul 1971, 149 n. 2, 154, n. 17; S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor,* Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, 147, 150 n. 48.(C. E. Bosworth)

MALIK AL-SHUʿARĀʾ (A.), "King of the Poets", honorific title of a Persian poet laureate, which is also known in other forms. It was the highest distinction which could be given to a poet by a royal patron. Like other honorifics [see LAKAB], it confirmed the status of its holder within his profession and was regarded as a permanent addition to his name which sometimes even became a hereditary title. Corresponding to this on a lower level was the privilege, given occasionally to court poets, of choosing a pen name [see TAKHALLUṢ] based on the name or one of the *lakabs* of their patron.

Certain responsibilities went with the title, at least during the Middle Ages. The poet laureate was a supervisor of the poets assembled at the court and passed judgment on poems before they were presented to the patron. He also decided about the admission of applicants to the position of a court poet, but it is evident from some of the anecdotes related by Niẓāmī-yi ʿArūḍī that such introductions could equally be sought through the intermediacy of other dignitaries. Being the guardian of the ruler's reputation as a benefactor of letters, he occupied a position of trust; it is frequently mentioned that the poet laureate was a prominent boon companion (*nadīm* [*q.v.*]) of his patron. E. E. Bertels ascribed an important role in the development of Persian poetry before the Mongol period to the institution; the influences exerted by a poet laureate on the poets under his control fostered the rise of local traditions marked by common stylistic features.

The scarce information about literary life at the Sāsānid court available to us suggests that the rank of favourite artist was known in Iran prior to Islam. The story about the rivalry between Sarkash and Bārbad over the first place among the minstrels of Khusraw Parvīz can be taken as an indication (cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides,* Copenhagen 1944, 484). The founding of a *dīwān al-shiʿr* for the distribution of rewards to poets by the Barāmika [*q.v.*] and the appointment of Abān al-Lāḥiḳī (died about 200/815-16 [*q.v.*]) as an official critic of the poems presented to these Iranian viziers of the ʿAbbāsids, point into the same direction (see also D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿAbbāside de 749 à 936,* Damascus 1959-60, i, 143 f.).

Dawlatshāh (*flor.* at the end of the 9th/15th century) recorded the formal appointment of ʿUnṣurī as a poet laureate by Maḥmūd of Ghazna through a *mithāl-i malik al-shuʿarāʾī* in the early 5th/11th century. The duties of this office were similar to those incumbent on the holder of the office instituted by the Barmakids (*Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ,* London-Leiden 1901, 44 f.). Although the actual title is not mentioned in sources from his own time, there is little reason to doubt that ʿUnṣurī did occupy the leading position at the Ghaznawid court ascribed to him. This need not mean, however, that he was the first Persian poet who was honoured in this manner. The chapter on the poets in the *Čahār maḳāla,* the anecdotes of which illustrate the most important aspects of early court poetry, refers to the special position held by Rūdakī under the Sāmānids in the 4th/10th century. Particularly informative is the story on Niẓāmī-yi ʿArūḍī's visit to Amīr Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] in 510/1116-17 in order to get a reward for a *ḳaṣīda* presented to this poet-laureate of the Saldjūḳ sultan. It contains a detailed account of Muʿizzī's succession to the post of *amīr al-shuʿarāʾ* which was held already by his father Burhānī. The remunerations attached to this function consisted of a *djāmagī* and an *idjrāʾ,* the kinds of salary regularly assigned to officials [see DJĀMAKIYYA]. Another anecdote tells about a conflict at the court of the Khāḳānīyān (i.e. the Ilek-Khāns [*q.v.*]) of Transoxania between rival poets. Rashīdī defies successfully the authority of the *amīr al-shuʿarāʾ* ʿAmʿaḳ and wins for himself the title of *sayyid al-shuʿarāʾ.* It should be noted that the title of *malik al-shuʿarāʾ,* which later appears to be in general use, does not occur in the *Čahār maḳāla.*

The institution remained a part of the organisation of courts wherever poetry was practised according to the Persian tradition. We find it under the Saldjūḳs of Anatolia as well as under the Muslim rulers of the Indian subcontinent. For the later periods, it is difficult to decide to what extent its significance exceeded that of a merely honorary office. A remarkable revival of mediaeval customs came about in 19th-century Iran under the Ḳādjār dynasty. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh tried to imitate the literary splendour of the ancient court of Ghazna by attracting a great number of court poets who were united in a society called *andjuman-i Khāḳān.* He gave the title of *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* to Ṣabā, the author of the *Shāhinshāh-nāma,* which in the style of the *Shāh-nāma* glorified the exploits of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. Many honorifics of this kind were handed out by Shāhs, viziers and provincial governors to their favourite poets throughout this period. Among the last who received the title of *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* was Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār [*q.v.*]. In 1904, when he was only eighteen, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh allowed him to adopt this title which was previously held by his father Ṣabūrī. In spite of his subsequent renouncing of feudal poetry, the title remained attached to Bahār's name till the end of his days.

Bibliography: Niẓāmī-yi ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla,* ed. M. Ḳazwīnī and M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1955-7, 49 ff.; E. E. Bertels, *Izbrannïe trudï. Istoriya persidskotadzikskoy literaturï,* Moscow 1960, 125 f., 332, 355; F. Machalski, *Persian court poetry of the Kaǧar period,* in *Folia Orientalia,* vi (1964), 1-40; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature,* Dordrecht 1968, 173, 203, 326, 328 f., 345; J. W. Clinton, *The Divan of Manūchihrī Dāmghānī,* Minneapolis 1972, 29 ff.
(J. T. P. de Bruijn)

MALIK AL-TUDJDJĀR (A. "king of the big merchants"), an office and a title which existed in Iran from Ṣafawid times (J. Chardin, *Journal de voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient* ..., ed. L. Langlès, v, Paris 1811, 262), and probably earlier, until the end of the Ḳādjār period.

It is not clear precisely what the functions of the *malik al-tudjdjār* were during the Ṣafawid and early Ḳādjār periods, or to what extent the office existed in the various commercial centres of the country. It is, however, obvious, that not all major towns had a *malik al-tudjdjār* in the first half of the 19th century. In Djumādā I 1260/May-June 1844 Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48) issued a *farmān* which ordered that a *malik al-tudjdjār* be appointed "in every place in Persia where extended commerce is carried on ..." ("Firman relating to bankruptcies ...", in L. Hertslet [ed.], *A complete collection of the treaties and conventions ... between Great Britain and foreign powers,* ix, London 1856, 614). By the second half of the 19th century, big merchants (*tudjdjār*) acting as *malik al-tudjdjār* were to be found in most major commercial centres of Iran (Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Iʿtimād al-Salṭana [Ṣaniʿ al-Dawla], *Mirʾāt al-buldān-i Nāṣirī,* Tehran

1297-1300/1880-83, ii, 270; iii, 2, 4-5, 25, 33, 120; Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran 1313/1895-6, i, 308-9; ii, 205; *Rūznāma-yi Dawlat-i ʿAliyya-yi Īrān* [Tehran], 486, 2 Ramaḍān 1277; 26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1280; Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā-yi Kirmān*, ed. M. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran 1346/1967, 67, 159; J. E. Polak, *Persien: Das Land und seine Bewohner, ethnographische Schilderungen*, Leipzig 1865, ii, 188; E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, 372, 407; W. M. Floor, *The merchants (tujjār) in Qājār Iran*, in *ZDMG*, cxxvi (1976), 107-9). In Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's reign (1848-96), the *malik al-tudjdjār* of Tehran was officially recognised as the superior *malik al-tudjdjār* of the country, and received the title *malik al-tudjdjār al-mamālik* (Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Iʿtimād al-Salṭana [Ṣaniʿ al-Dawla], *Taʾrīkh-i muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, Tehran 1300/1883, iii, 231; *Rūznāma-yi Dawlat-i ʿAliyya-yi Īrān*, 642, 16 Rabīʿ I 1287). It seems that the prominent big merchants of each main town chose one from out of their ranks and recommended his name to the authorities, which would then nominate him to that office (*Rūznāma-yi Dawlat-i ʿAliyya-yi Īrān*, 486, 2 Ramaḍān 1277; 26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1280; Polak, *Persien*, ii, 188; J. Greenfield, *Die Verfassung des persischen Staates*, Berlin 1904, 145). It appears that the office almost always fell into the hands of one of the most prominent and wealthy big merchants of any given commercial centre (Dr. J.-B. Feuvrier, *Trois ans à la Cour de Perse*, new ed., Paris 1906, 284; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOmān, and Central Arabia*, i/2, Calcutta 1915, 2618; "Maʿdan" and "Shīrāz" in Government of India, *Gazetteer of Persia*, Simla 1910, i, 497-8, 502-3; iii, 852; J. Greenfield, *Verfassung*, 143), and that a strong hereditary tendency developed in the holders of the office (*Rūznāma-yi Dawlat-i ʿAliyya-yi Īrān*, 642, 16 Rabīʿ I 1287; Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Mirʾāt*, iii, 120; Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma*, ii, 205).

The *malik al-tudjdjār* was not a government official. He did not receive any payment for holding the office, nor was he officially a member of any government department. He had two main functions: (1) he was the merchants' representative, or better, the link between the trading community of a given town or province and the authorities, and (2) he was entrusted with authority to settle disputes between the Iranian merchants and their customers, among the merchants themselves, and between local and foreign merchants and trading-firms (Polak, *Persien*, ii, 188-9; J. M. de Rochechouart, *Souvenir d'un voyage en Perse*, Paris 1867, 176; C. J. Wills, *Persia as it is*, London 1886, 45; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 450; A. Houtum-Schindler, art. *Persia. I. Geography and statistics*, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 10th ed., London 1902, xxxi, 619; Greenfield, *Verfassung*, 143; idem, *Das Handelsrecht ... von Persien*, Berlin 1906, 22, 27). It was the latter function, especially so far as it concerned the claims of foreign merchants in cases of the bankruptcies of Iranian merchants, that provoked the issue of Muḥammad Shāh's above-mentioned *farmān*. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh extended the functions of the *malik al-tudjdjār* to include, in collaboration with the provincial official in charge of trade and commerce (*raʾīs tudjdjārat*), the encouragement of commercial activity in particular and of the economy of the country in general (Greenfield, *Verfassung*, 143). In Tehran, the *malik al-tudjdjār* was consulted by the government on commercial and various other economic issues. He was asked by Nāṣir al-Dīn to form a council of the prominent big merchants of the capital which would hold regular meetings, in which the question of developing and encouraging trade and commerce, should be discussed, and the results of its deliberations communicated to the government (Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 231. Cf. Houtum-Schindler, in *EB*[10], xxxi, 619).

The economic developments of the 1870s and 1880s were bound to bring to an end the co-operation which had existed between the government and the big merchants. While the central government found itself faced by growing fiscal difficulties, the big merchants became wealthier. Against this background, the government initiated new economic measures. The tobacco concession (1890) and the new customs administration and regulations (1898-1904) in particular aroused the opposition of the big merchants to the government. Big merchants holding the office of *malik al-tudjdjār* in several major towns played a central role in the protest movements which brought about the cancellation of the tobacco concession in 1892, and the granting of a constitution (*ḳānūn-i asāsī*) and the establishment of a national consultative assembly (*madjlis-i shūrā-yi millī*) in 1906 (see further Mihdī Malikzāda, *Taʾrīkh-i inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyāt-i Īrān*, Tehran 1328/1949, i, 128-30, 278-9; ii, 28, 168-72; Ibrāhīm Taymūrī, *Taḥrīm-i tanbākū yā awwalīn muḳāwamat-i manfī dar Īrān*, Tehran 1328/1949, 78-9, 112; Nāẓim al-Islām Kirmānī, *Taʾrīkh-i bīdārī-yi Īrāniyān*, Tehran 1332/1952, 12; Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān Amīn al-Dawla, *Khāṭirāt-i siyāsī-yi Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān Amīn al-Dawla*, ed. Ḥāfiẓ Farmānfarmāyān, Tehran 1341/1962, 155; Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Taʾrīkh-i muʿāṣir yā ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, Tehran n.d., i, 108; A. K. S. Lambton, *The tobacco regie: prelude to revolution*, in *SI*, xxii [1965], 124-42; eadem, *Persia: The breakdown of society*, in *The Cambridge history of Islam*, i, Cambridge 1970, 459-67; eadem, *The Persian constitutional revolution of 1905-6*, in P. J. Vatikiotis (ed.), *Revolution in the Middle East*, London 1972, 175-82; N. R. Keddie, *Religion and rebellion in Iran, the tobacco protest of 1891-1892*, London 1966, 49-53, 85, 90-1; eadem, *Iranian politics 1900-1905: background to revolution*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, v [1969], 7, 12, 155-6, 163, 236, 240, 243; G. G. Gilbar, *The big merchants (tujjār) and the Persian constitutional revolution of 1906*, in *Asian and African Studies*, [The Hebrew University, Jerusalem], xi [1976], 288-303; idem, *Persian agriculture in the late Qājār period, 1860-1906: some economic and social aspects*, in *ibid.*, xii [1978], 334-46).

With the fall of the Ḳādjārs and the adoption of modern forms of government and Western institutions, the office of *malik al-tudjdjār* lapsed, its functions being taken over by the Chambers of Commerce of the major towns and by several government departments.

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(G. G. GILBAR)

MĀLIKĀNE, a technical term made up of Arabic *mālik* "owner" and the Persian suffix *-āne* which gives the meaning of "in the manner of, way of" to the word to which it is added. It is used to describe intangible property, i.e. fiscal revenues, whenever the enjoyment of them is connected with full ownership. The term's content has nevertheless changed over the centuries. The oldest attestation of it known to us appears in a grant of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīrshāh, ruler of Khʷārazm, d. 627/1230 (see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselğūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 142). Under the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor and their subsequent successor states, including the Ottomans, the term *mālikāne* was applied to the tithe (i.e. the tax levied according to the religious law) or to a proportion of it ceded by the state either subject to various liabilities or freely to a

certain person, who could sell it, make it into a pious foundation or bequeath it to his descendants. It is thus contrasted with those fiscal revenues called *dīwānī* which were composed of customary rights. Under this form, the *mālikāne* system was able to maintain itself only in certain long-established pious foundations, since the Ottoman state would not tolerate any fiscal revenue slipping from its control.

In 1695, the *defterdār* [see DAFTARDĀR] of the time elaborated the bases of a new form of *mālikāne,* i.e. a grant of the enjoyment of revenues for life, with care to protect the properties of the state from the dilapidation allowed by uncaring lessees, heedless of the ultimate fate of properties granted to them. The fiscal revenues were, as in ordinary leases, put up for auction and sold to the highest bidder. This last paid over to the state the "price" of the lease called *muʿadjdjele* and contracted to hand over each year a fixed sum corresponding to the fiscal revenues taken on lease. In the case of a new sovereign coming to the throne, he paid additionally 25% of the cost of the lease, and in times of war, 10%. Given the fact that the holders of these leases for life came from the class of high officials and persons (such as civilian and military dignitaries and scholars) who usually lived in the capital, they in turn sub-let the properties they had leased. In 1715 a *firman* decreed the abolition of the system, but it continued in existence till *ca.* 1839.

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(I. BELDICEANU-STEINHERR)

MĀLIKIYYA, a juridical-religious group of orthodox Islam which formed itself into a school (*al-madhhab al-mālikī*) after the adoption of the doctrine of Imām Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] who died at Medina in 179/795.

In the 2nd/8th century, when the islamisation of law had been partially accomplished but different systems coexisted, the need for a uniform judicial code became imperative. The second ʿAbbāsid caliph, Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr (d. 159/775), approached the Medinan jurist with a proposal to establish a judicial system which would unify the different methods then in force in the different Islamic countries. This project was in accordance with the spirit of ʿAbbāsid policy, and Mālik b. Anas was chosen because he represented Medina, where the principles of Islamic law had been determined, and because it is almost certain that, at the time that this proposal was put to him, his doctrine had already been diffused and circulated by his pupils in the Maghrib and in Spain.

1. DOCTRINE

The sources. The originality of the teaching of Mālik consists in the fact that he introduced in the *Kitāb al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* the recognition of *ʿamal,* i.e. the effective and unanimous practice of Medina, which he established as an organised judicial system. The *Muwaṭṭaʾ* is the earliest Islamic judicial work which has survived to the present day; a treatise of *fiḳh* based on *ḥadīth* which plays the role of judicial argument, it has two objects in view: religious worship (*ʿibādāt*) and general law (*muʿāmalāt*). In its final edition, the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* contains approximately a hundred *ḥadīths*, 222 *mursals*, 613 *mawḳūfs* [see ḤADĪTH] and 285 opinions of *Tābiʿūn.* All the individuals mentioned are Medinans or scholars who had frequented Mecca or Medina. The bulk of the traditions are traced back to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar. The success enjoyed by the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* is owed to the fact that it represented the moderate view then holding sway in Medina and that, without being a particularly original work, it bore witness to the judicial level attained by the consensus of opinion in Medina (for an analysis of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, see A. Békir, *Histoire de l'école mālikite.*) The *Muwaṭṭaʾ* is thus a code of legislation according to a description of law, statute and dogma as practised according to the consensus and the tradition (*sunna*) of Medina, augmented by personal remarks of Mālik. On the recensions of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, see MĀLIK B. ANAS, and al-Suyūṭī, *Tazyīn al-mamālik bi-manāḳib sayyidinā al-Imām Mālik,* where there is a list of authors who have passed on a *riwāya* of the work.

The other principal source for the study of the doctrine of Mālik is intitled *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā.* It is the work of the Ḳayrawānī Saḥnūn (160-240/776-854 [*q.v.*]), and is a collection of Mālikī *fiḳh* which contains the corrections and responses made to Saḥnūn by Ibn al-Ḳāsim al-ʿUtāḳī (d. 191/806), a disciple of Mālik, according to the opinions of Mālik himself, of his contemporaries and his masters in tradition including al-Zuhrī (d. 124/740), Nāfiʿ (d. 116/734) and Rabīʿat al-Raʾy. The *Mudawwana* was also called the *Mukhtaliṭa,* since it completed and improved upon, through the diversity of subjects considered, the *Asadiyya* of Ibn al-Furāt (d. 213/828), a work based on the teaching of Mālik and of the Ḥanafīs of ʿIrāḳ. The practical interest of the *Mudawwana* consists in the fact that it illustrates the connections between religion and trade and that it describes mercantile practices (documentation, bills of exchange and all kinds of commercial transactions). See G. H. Bousquet, *La Mudawwana. Index (avec la table générale des matières),* in *Arabica,* xvii/2 (1970), 113-50.

This work gave rise to a whole literature of commentaries of which the principal examples will be indicated here, and some of which have been translated. The first to be mentioned are the works of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 386/996): the *Ikhtiṣār al-Mudawwana* and the *Kitāb al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt ʿalā 'l-Mudawwana,* a summary of the precepts of the school, supplemented by a study of cases not foreseen by Saḥnūn. Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī is also the author of a famous *Risāla,* a précis of Mālikī law, translated by L. Bercher, Algiers 1952 (see H. R. Idris, *Note sur l'identification du dédicataire de la Risâla d'Ibn Abî Zaid al-Qairâwânî,* in *CT,* i [1953], 63-8). Another work which enjoyed great success in North Africa is the *Tahdhīb al-Mudawwana,* Tunis ms. Zaytūna, of Abū Saʿīd al-Bardhaʿī (d. 400/1009). In imitation of Saḥnūn, the Andalusian Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/845) composed *al-Wāḍiḥa* after a visit to Egypt as the guest of Ibn al-Ḳāsim. One of his pupils, al-ʿUtbī (d. 255/869), made an abridged version of it entitled *al-ʿUtbiyya.* The Mudawwana also inspired Ibn Ḥādjib (d. 646/1248) who restated the precepts of the Mālikī school in his *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-furūʿ.* Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (d. 776/1374 [*q.v.*]) is the author of a *Mukhtaṣar* of this work. It has been translated into French by Perron (*Précis de jurisprudence musulmane,* 2nd éd., Paris 1877); into Italian by Guidi and Santillana in 1919, and again into French by G. H. Bousquet (*Abrégé de la loi musulmane selon le rite de l'Imâm Mâlik,* Algiers-Paris 1956-63), to say nothing of partial translations.

This *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl, a basic text of Mālikī law, is in its turn barely usable without the aid of commentaries, of which the best known are:

—*al-Sharḥ ʿalā Mukhtaṣar Khalīl* of al-Zurḳānī (d. 1099/1687, published in Cairo in 1307 with a commentary by al-Bannānī (a version highly valued in the Orient);

—*al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr* of Dardīr (d. 1201/1786), Būlāḳ 1289, and, of the same author;

—*al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, Būlāḳ 1295, with glosses by al-Dasūḳī;

—*Mukhtaṣar Khalīl* of al-Khirshī, with glosses by al-ʿAdawī, Būlāḳ 1316, vols, iv and v;

—*al-Djuzʾ al-awwāl min Kitāb Mawāhib al-Djalīl li-sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Sīdī Khalīl* of al-Mawwāḳ, vols. iii and iv; Abu ʾl-Walīd al-Bādjī (d. 474/1081), a celebrated polemicist who composed a *Mukhtaṣar fī masāʾil al-Mudawwana* is also the author of the *Muntaḳā sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, published in Cairo in 1312.

Transmission of the doctrine. According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, Cairo n.d.), until the 5th/11th century the Mālikī school was divided into three tendencies (*ṭuruḳ*): Kayrawānī, Andalusian and eastern, the last-named including the ʿIrāḳī, Egyptian and Alexandrian transmissions. The following are the lines of transmission from Mālik onwards:

Ḳayrawānī *sanad:* Ibn al-Ḳāsim (d. 191/806), Saḥnūn (d. 240/854), who also inherited from Asad b. al-Furāt (d. 213/828) and, by this indirect means, from the disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa. After Saḥnūn, there are the commentaries of Abū Zayd al-Ḳayrāwānī (d. 386/996), of al-Bardhaʿī (d. 400/1009), of Ibn Yūnus (d. 451/1059), of Ibn Muḥriz (d. 450/1058), of al-Tūnisī (d. 443/1051) and of al-Lakhmī (d. 478/1085). This line of transmission established the reputation of the *Mudawwana* and of its commentaries for the Maghrib.

Andalusian *sanad*: Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī (d. 234/848), al-Aṣbagh (d. 224/838), Ibn al-Mādjishūn (d. 214/829), al-Muṭarrif (d. 220/835), Ibn al-Ḳāsim (d. 191/806) who transmitted to Ibn al-Ḥabīb (d. 238/845) and in his turn to al-ʿUtbī (d. 255/869). The Andalusian transmission for its part accords the greatest respect to the *ʿUtbiyya*, of which the best known commentary is the *Bayān* of Ibn Rushd (d. 520/1126 [*q.v.*]).

ʿIrāḳi *sanad*: Ḳāḍī Ismāʿīl (d. 246/860), Ibn Khuwayzmindād, Ibn al-Labbān and al-Abharī (d. 375/985) who transmitted to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 421/1030). The last-named, who settled in Egypt, was to influence directly and profoundly the Egyptian *sanad*.

Egyptian *sanad*: Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam (d. 214/829), Ibn al-Ḳāsim (d. 191/806) and Ashhab (d. 204/819); al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn (d. 250/864) inherited from both these last two. The following may be regarded as the most significant links in this chain of transmission: Ibn al-Rashīḳ (d. 632/1234) and Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 646/1248), the latter inheriting via the Alexandrian *sanad* from Ibn ʿInān (d. 541/1146), Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 612/1215) and Ibn ʿAwf (d. 581/1185), and transmitting to al-Ḳarāfī (d. 684/1285). The connection between eastern and Andalusian transmission was established in the 6th/12th century with Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭushī (d. 520/1126), who travelled to Egypt and secured employment as a teacher in Alexandria (see V. Lagardère, *L'unificateur du malikisme oriental et occidental à Alexandrie: Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭushī*, in *ROMM*, i [1981]). This connection with the Egyptian school, already much influence by the ʿIrāḳi transmission in the person of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, was to have as its consequence the abandonment, in the 7th/13th century, of the *Mudawwana* and of the *ʿUtbiyya* in favour of the *Mukhtaṣar fī ʾl-furūʿ* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 646/1248). These two basic works of Mālikī doctrine, which had led to the production of a significant corpus of judicial writing, continued to be influential for some time after the disappearance of Cordova and Ḳayrawān as centres of learning, but lost their effective role at the end of the 8th/14th century.

Principles and judicial theory. Like other schools of Sunnī Islam, Mālikism bases its doctrine on the Ḳurʾān, the *Sunna* and *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*]; nevertheless, divergencies of greater or lesser significance exist in regard to the other rites. While there is unanimity surrounding the Holy Book, a primary difference appears concerning the *Sunna*. The tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad and that of the Companions constitute the *Sunna* according to Mālik, who excludes from it the tradition of ʿAlī, which other schools incorporate (in fact, in refusing to choose between ʿAlī and ʿUthmān, Mālik would have recognised the legitimacy of their caliphate, but, according to another trend of opinion, he would have agreed as to the superiority of ʿUthmān, which would seem more likely in view of the fact that his school also flourished at Baṣra in an ʿUthmānī milieu).

To *idjmāʿ*, universal consensus of the Muslims, there is added the Medinan *idjmāʿ* which proceeds from the *ʿamal*, the effective practice of Medina. It can even result that this consensus prevails over *ḥadīth*, Medinan opinion being considered to testify to the acts of the Prophet. For Mālik, *ḥadīth* is thus not the most important source, and personal judgment, *raʾy*, is to be used in parallel, when *idjmāʿ* cannot provide the answer to a question and only if this procedure does not injure the public good (*maṣlaḥa*). Mālik is sometimes reproached for making too much use of this method. *Ḳiyās* [*q.v.*], reasoning by analogy, which had many opponents among the Sunnīs, is applied by the Mālikīs in cases of *idjmāʿ al-umma*.

Mālikism and schismatics. It was the intolerance of Mālik towards schismatics which made his school so successful. The hostility of his teaching towards the Ḳadariyya [*q.v.*] and the Khāridjīs is based on the fact that they are considered to be disturbers of public order and agents of corruption (*fasād*). Khāridjīs must make an act of repentance (*tawba*); if they refuse, they are condemned to capital punishment. For the *zindīḳ* [*q.v.*], even repentance is not allowed; he is immediately condemned to death for the crime of apostasy. The temporal authorities, notably the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, often had recourse to a Mālikī *ḳāḍī* to judge heretics, public agitators or those considered as such. Thus it was the Mālikī Grand *Ḳāḍī* of Baghdād, Abu ʿUmar Ibn Yūsuf, who tried and condemned to death al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] in 319/922. Two Shīʿī extremists of the Middle Ages are known to have perished in similar circumstances: Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Sakākīnī, executed at Damascus in 744/1342, and ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī, executed in 755/1354.

Mālikism and mysticism. There is *a priori* no place for mysticism in the school of Mālik. A *ḥadīth* of the Prophet forbids monasticism, which is even regarded as *bidʿa*. Nevertheless, under the impulse of piety an ascetic movement was established, and until the 2nd/8th century it attracted little attention. But, stimulated by the intense intellectual activity which developed in the Orient from the end of this century, mysticism spread widely and attained proportions which were disturbing for the prevailing orthodoxy. In the Maghrib, in spite of *fatwā*s promulgated to condemn and ban the works of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Ṣūfism gained ground with the Almoravids and even

flourished under the Almohads. In al-Andalus, where the milieu was particularly intolerant, the mystical movement enjoyed a brief period of ascendancy with Ibn Masarra (d. 319/931) [*q.v.*] and his disciples (see V. Lagardère, *La Ṭarīqa et la révolte des Murīdūn en 539H/1144 en Andalus*, in *ROMM*, i [1983]).

The following may be named among the Mālikī mystics: Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-S̲h̲iblī (d. Bag̲h̲dād, 334/945), the Ifrīḳiyan Abū ʿUt̲h̲mān Ibn Sallāmī al-Mag̲h̲ribī (d. Nīsābūr, 373/983). After al-G̲h̲azālī, mysticism triumphed with the Ḥanbalī ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlī (d. 561/1166), whose school spread widely both in the East and the West. Abū Madyān al-Andalusī diffused his doctrine in the Mag̲h̲rib, and one of his pupils was ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mas̲h̲īs̲h̲ (d. 624/1227), the teacher of al-S̲h̲ād̲h̲ilī (d. 656/1258), who was educated in Ifrīḳiya and in Egypt and had numerous disciples in Syria and the Ḥid̲j̲āz. From this time onwards, there were many Ṣūfis among the Mālikīs. In Syria, around Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), the greatest mystic of Muslim Spain, a complete organisation was established and *zāwiya*s were built for his followers. Among known Mālikī Ṣūfis, also worthy of mention are Muhammad b. Aḥmad al-Bisāṭī (d. 842/1438), Mālikī *ḳāḍī* and *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the Ṣūfīs of Cairo, and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḳuras̲h̲ī (d. Alexandria, 808/1405). Another who should be mentioned is a famous Egyptian Ṣūfi who introduced gnosis (*maʿrifa*) into his doctrine, D̲h̲u 'l-Nun al-Miṣrī; a Mālikī, he is the author of a version of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*.

Works of Ṭabaḳāt, *other sources for the knowledge of Mālikism and of its disciples.* Although the first text of Mālikī *ṭabaḳāt* is owed to the pen of Ibn Abī Dalīm (d. 351/962), under the title of *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt fī man yarwī ʿan Mālik wa-atbāʿihim min ahl al-amṣār,* it is not this that is regarded by posterity as a fundamental work, both of *ṭabaḳāt* and of history of the doctrine, but the second of the genre in chronological order, that of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149 [*q.v.*]), which bore the title *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taḳrīb al-masālik.* This source is particularly important for the reason that, in addition to the biographies of Eastern and Western Mālikīs, it contains a lengthy study of the life of Mālik, his work, the eminence of his doctrine and the causes of its expansion before dealing with the expansion itself. The next text, which contains the biographies of Mālikīs who lived after the time of ʿIyāḍ until the end of the 8th/14th century, is the work of the Andalusian Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799/1396) and is intitled *al-Dībād̲j̲ al-mud̲h̲hab fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-mad̲h̲hab.*

The S̲h̲āfiʿi al-Sak̲h̲āwī (d. 780/1378) is the author of *Ṭabaḳāt mālikiyya* which is composed on the basis of some twenty sources mentioned in the conclusion. Two further works of *ṭabaḳāt* directly inspired by the *Dībādj* of Ibn Farḥūn should be noted: *Nayl al-ibtihād̲j̲ bi-taṭrīz al-Dībādj* of Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1032/1622 [*q.v.*]), printed in the margins of the *Dībādj,* and the *Taws̲h̲īḥ al-Dībād̲j̲* of al-Ḳarāfī (d. 1008/1600). The last text of Mālikī *ṭabaḳāt* is that of the Tunisian Muḥammad Mak̲h̲lūf who lived at the beginning of the 20th century; it is intitled *S̲h̲ad̲j̲arat al-nūr al-zākiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-Mālikiyya* and was published in Cairo in 1931. This is the most complete source, since it relates the biographies of the Prophet, of the Companions, of the *tābiʿūn,* then those of the eminent *fuḳahāʾ* of the Ḥid̲j̲āz, of ʿIrāḳ, of Egypt, of the Mag̲h̲rib and of Andalusia, concluding with those of the masters who instructed the author in 1922.

2. The expansion of Mālikism

The Orient. In general, in the East as in the West, it was the disciples of Mālik who took upon themselves the task of spreading his doctrine in his lifetime. In the *Tartīb al-madārik,* the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ informs us that it was in Egypt, at Alexandria, that the second centre of Mālikism after Medina was established, through the efforts of ʿUt̲h̲mān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam al-D̲j̲ud̲h̲āmī (d. 163/779), Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Maʿāfirī who introduced Mālikism to Alexandria, and Ibn al-Ḳāsim al-ʿUtāḳī who lived for a long time at Medina as an intimate of Mālik and was the intermediary through whom the doctrine gained sway in the Mag̲h̲rib and Muslim Spain. On his death in 191/806, ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812) succeeded him as leader of the Mālikīs of Egypt. These eminent *fuḳahāʾ* were successful in definitively implanting Mālikism in this country in spite of the difficulties caused by living in proximity with S̲h̲āfiʿism which was ultimately to supplant it; today, this school is dominant in Egypt, but Mālikism remains active in the Ṣaʿīd.

In his *Rafʿ al-iṣr ʿan ḳuḍāt Miṣr*, Cairo 1957, Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1449) provides a list of the Mālikī *ḳāḍīs* of Egypt from the origin of the post until the middle of the 9th/15th century. Al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, in the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xii, explains how the Mālikīs were addressed under the Mamlūks. For the modern period, see also G. Delanoue, *Moralistes et politiques musulmans dans l'Egypte du XIX siècle (1798-1882),* Cairo 1982.

In ʿIrāḳ, it was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kaʿnabī (d. 221/835), of Medinan origin, who spread the doctrine of Mālik in the region of Baṣra. One of the most eminent figures of the ʿIrāḳī school is the *ḳāḍī* Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāḳ who, by his judical and political activities, represents the Mālikī authority *par excellence* of his period. Other figures, no less renowned, including Abū Bakr al-Bāḳillānī or al-Abharī, continued the enterprise and spread the doctrine in K̲h̲urāsān and Syria. But the crises provoked by the S̲h̲āfiʿī movement at the beginning of the 5th/11th century led to the eviction of Mālikism from ʿIrāḳ. In K̲h̲urāsān, the doctrine did not long resist the competition of the new ideologies, and in Syria, after promising beginnings, Mālikism could not succeed in supplanting the doctrine of al-Awzāʿī and did not survive in that country.

In the Yemen, it stood firm for more than a century, but was ultimately ousted by S̲h̲āfiʿism.

At Medina, after the demise of the first disciples of the *Imām* Mālik, all trace of the school is lost. Nevertheless, some Mālikī scholars are attested before the time of the arrival of the Fāṭimids, notably ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Ḥāzim, Muḥammad b. Dīnār al-D̲j̲uhaynī (d. 182/798) and ʿAbd al-Malik al-Mād̲j̲is̲h̲ūn (d. 213/828). It was not until the triumph of Sunnism in the 8th/14th century that Mālikism returned to Medina (see A. Békir, *op. cit.*).

In the present day, the S̲h̲āfiʿī rite holds sway in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, but Mālikī nuclei exist in the cities. In the contemporary United Arab Emirates, there exists a small Mālikī community represented by a section of the Ḥinawī clan.

The Muslim West. North Africa. It was Asad Ibn al-Furāt who introduced Mālikism into North Africa and Saḥnūn who established it as a formal sect. A Mālikism of extreme severity then dominated the Mag̲h̲rib, in particular Ifrīḳiya under the Ag̲h̲labid dynasty, and this continued until the arrival of the Fāṭimids (298/910), which marked the triumph of S̲h̲īʿism. A vigorous resistance was directed against the latter by the Mālikī scholars of Ḳayrawān, but it was not until 440/1048 that Mālikism was definitively adopted in the Mag̲h̲rib following the expulsion of the Fāṭimids from Ifrīḳiya.

However, the intransigent doctrine which became the norm in the Maghrib had the effect of suppressing intellectual effort and religious feeling. In fact, the study of the Ḳurʾān and of *ḥadīth*, as well as *idjtihād* (personal effort at interpretation) were abandoned in favour of the manuals of applied *fiḳh* (*furūʿ*). The Almoravid sovereigns gave their support to these methods and encouraged the *fuḳahāʾ* to accord supreme importance to the study of manuals of *furūʿ*. This abandonment of recourse to the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna* is denounced by al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* which shows that Mālikism as practised by its disciples no longer had any connection with the religion as it had developed. He also condemns the important role played by the *fuḳahāʾ* in political life. Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] went even further than al-Ghazālī. Inspired by his principles, he declared war on the Almoravids, appointed himself judge of morals, appropriated the title of *Mahdī* and, by violent means, restored true orthodoxy. He banned the works of *furūʿ,* and established as the basis of his doctrine elements of the purest orthodoxy, sc. Ḳurʾān, *Sunna* and consensus of the *umma.* The doctrine of Ibn Tūmart was to be the impulse for an important mystical movement throughout the whole of the Maghrib, and in spite of the collapse of the Almohad empire, and thus of its political support, it was to imprint upon victorious Mālikism an indelible mark of austerity (segregation of the sexes, fasting, dietary prohibitions, among other elements characteristic of Maghribi austerity).

It is, on the one hand, with the Ḥafṣid civilisation in Ifrīḳiya, under the influence of the judicial schools of Tunis, Bougie and Ḳayrawān, and of scholars of the calibre of Ibn ʿArafa (d. 804/1401), and on the other, with the Marīnid civilisation in the Western Maghrib, and the famous *madrasas* of Fās and Tlemcen, that the renaissance of Mālikism in North Africa is observed. If, today, Maghribī Islam seems particularly rigorous, this is due to Mālikism. In fact, practice and doctrine have remained totally unchanged since the middle of the 7th/13th century, immediately after the fall of the Almohads. The success of Mālikism in North Africa may be explained by reference to the theory of Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) according to whom Bedouin culture accounts for the predominance of this school in the Muslim West. Effectively, Mālikism is loyal to the Tradition and hostile to rational explanations; it is perfectly suited to the Berber mentality of the Maghribīs who refuse to accept any idea unless it can be traced back to a tradition. It is for this reason that Maghribī Mālikism seems rigid in comparison to that of the East, which does not reject effort at interpretation (*idjtihād*). In contemporary North Africa, Mālikism is predominant in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya; it coexists with some Ibāḍī and Ḥanafī centres in the three last-named countries. It is exclusive in Mauritania where it has been the object, over the centuries, of an interesting adaptation (see Ould Bah, *Littérature juridique*).

Muslim Spain. It was at the end of the 2nd/8th century that Mālikism was introduced into Muslim Spain where it superseded the Syrian doctrine of al-Awzāʿī. Those who brought to the country the principles of the *Imām* of Medina were Andalusian scholars, initiated by Mālik himself or by his pupils. The best known among them are Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī, Yaḥyā b. Muḍar and ʿĪsā b. Dīnār. This class of scholars was the nucleus of a clerical aristocracy which, throughout the duration of the Umayyad dynasty, exercised real power in the state and made Mālikism the sole official rite of al-Andalus. This state of affairs, which lasted for nearly two centuries, coincided with the period of the transmitters of Mālik and of the Medinan tradition, of the commentaries on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and compilations of *responsa.* Andalusian Mālikism was characterised then by an intransigent austerity, exclusively attached to the study of manuals of jurisprudence (*furūʿ*), forsaking, in the manner of its Maghribī neighbour, the study of *ḥadīths* and proscribing all effort at personal reflection (*idjtihād*).

The fall of the Umayyad caliphate, then the emergence of regional principalities (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*) in the 5th/11th century, and later, the domination of the Almohads, put an end to the supremacy of jurisprudence. Political decentralisation, stimulated, at an early stage, a socio-cultural renewal with individuals including Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1070), al-Bādjī (d. 474/1081) and Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1063); with the last-named, a Ẓāhirī jurist who opposed the Mālikī doctrine, *ḥadīth,* the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and polemics of judicial methodology (*djadal*) became the order of the day (see in this context, the edition of *al-Minhādj fī tartīb al-ḥidjadj* of Bādjī, edited by A. M. Turki, Paris 1978, and Turki, *Polémique entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bāğī sur les principes de la loi musulmane,* Algiers 1976).

This opening towards the exterior, towards other systems of thought, is given formal expression in the work of Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198), especially with the *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid wa-nihāyat al-muḳtaṣid* (ed. Cairo 1329). Nevertheless, the class of the *fuḳahāʾ* retained a dominant position until the last days of the Andalusian principalities and in particular that of Granada, by means of individuals like Ibn Lubb and Muḥammad al-Saraḳusṭī in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, and through them, Mālikism, as the compilations of biographies testify.

Africa, Bilād al-Sūdān. Islam was propagated at an early stage in the Sudan, among the Nūba of the Nile Valley. But it was not until the 10th/16th century that it was introduced to Dār Fūr by Arab tribes. The progress of Islam became most definitive towards the end of the 13th/19th century under the influence of the *Mahdī* Muḥammad Aḥmad. At the present time, the majority of the Muslims of the Sudan are of the Mālikī rite and use the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl. Islam spread to Kanem in the 5th/11th century and was firmly established around Lake Chad from the 9th/15th century onwards.

In West Africa, Mālikism was introduced by the Almoravid conquest of the Takrūr (Fūta Tōro) among tribes which were to a greater or lesser extent vassals of Ghāna. At the end of the 5th/11th century, Islamisation gained sway in the Gold Coast. Timbuktu became the Islamic metropolis of the western Sudan in the 8th/14th century, and its influence lasted until the conquest of Songhay by Morocco in 1000/1591. It was especially among political functionaries and senior officials that the Muslim faith was spread. It was not until the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries that theocratic monarchies were established in Fūta Djallon and Fūta Tōro, following the victories of the Toucouleur Muslims over the Peuls who were forcibly converted. The Toucouleur Usmānu Fōdjo preached *djihād* and founded the empire of Sokoto in 1207/1802. Muslim law was introduced to Masīna by the Peul Sēku Ḥamadu Bari in 1225/1810 and, in 1236/1820, the Toucouleur al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar had himself appointed *khalīfa tidjānī* for the Sudan. A vast empire was established in which the Muslim faith was the state religion. At the present time, there are Mālikī Muslims in the Black African states of Senegal, Mali, Niger, Togo, Chad and Nigeria.

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(N. COTTART)

MALINDI, a town on the Kenya coast in lat 4°N. It is first mentioned in literature by al-Idrīsi (*ca.* 1150); the Ma-in mentioned by Ou-yang Hsiu, *Hsin T'ang-shu, ca.* 1060, is more likely to have been situated in Somalia. Al-Idrīsi says that it was a town of hunters and fishermen, whose inhabitants owned and exploited iron mines. Iron was their greatest source of profit. The iron, however, as A. O. Thompson has shown, was not mined, but recoverable from seashore deposits. Al-Idrīsi also mentions Malindi as a centre of witchcraft, a view also confirmed by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (1273-1331), who adds that it was the capital of the King of the Zandj; he is likewise aware of the exploitation of iron. Malindi was visited by the Chinese admiral Cheng Hô in the course of his fifth diplomatic and commercial voyage in the Indian Ocean. Otherwise, little is known of the town in the Middle Ages.

It was from Malindi that Vasco da Gama set off for India in 1498 under the guidance of the pilot Aḥmad b. Mādjid al-Nadjdjī [see IBN MĀDJID]. Da Gama had been cold-shouldered at Mombasa, but was well-received at Malindi, where the ruler had an ancient enmity against Mombasa. The town of Malindi, which in Swahili means "deep-water anchorages", lay in a bay and extended along the shore. A more detailed description is given by Duarte Barbosa in *ca.* 1517-18. The place was well laid out, with many storeyed houses with flat roofs. The people traded gold, ivory and wax, importing rice, millet and wheat from Cambay. It was visited briefly by St. Francis Xavier in 1542, when he had a conversation with a *ḳāḍī*, who would seem to have been a Shīʿī. He reported that the practice of Islam had greatly declined in recent years, and that, out of seventeen mosques, only three were in use. A later missionary, Fr. João dos Santos O.P., reported in 1609 that the whole coast from Mozambique to Lamu was Shīʿī.

The royal family of Malindi was of Shīrāzī descent, and possibly related to that of Kilwa [*q.v.*]. When the royal line of Mombasa failed in *ca.* 1590, the Portuguese donated Mombasa to the Malindi dynasty, which then reigned from Mombasa until 1632 [see MOMBASA]. In the 18th century the Malindi traders at Kilwa had as their chief an officer known as the Malindāni, who had virtually sovereign powers over them which even the Sultan of Kilwa could not overrule. After the move of the royal house to Mombasa, the town lost its importance. Captain Owen found it deserted in 1827. The modern seaside resort contains few Islamic antiquities: two ruined mosques, a cemetery, and a pillar tomb which is possibly near the site of the former royal palace.

Ten miles from Malindi to the south, and two miles inland, is the very remarkable Islamic site of Gedi, which was occupied from the 11th until the 17th century, when it was abandoned to nature. The outer wall encloses an area of about 45 acres, and may have contained a population of some 10,000. Within the inner wall are a palace, a Friday mosque and several other small mosques, numerous houses and what may have been a commercial centre. The place is not mentioned either in Arabic or Portuguese literature. Its proximity to Malindi, and the fact that it lies some two miles from the sea, suggests that, unlike other eastern African coastal sites, which were primarily trading centres, Gedi was, as it were, a country residence of the *sulṭāns* of Malindi, around which a small town had grown up. Three architectural features of the houses are of especial interest: the houses are divided into two distinct compartments, presumably for a wife each; of these compartments one has a store especially designed for cowrie shells, the local currency; and the palace and houses have elaborately constructed water conduits, leading to internal ablutions and latrines.

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(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

MĀLIYYE. In the Ottoman Empire and successor states. In the 19th and 20th centuries, this term has been used in Arabic and Turkish to refer to financial affairs and financial administration. In the Ottoman Empire, and in various of its successor states, the term has also acquired a more specific reference to the Ministry of Finance (*Māliyye Neẓāreti* under the empire; *Māliyye Wekāleti* or *bakanlığı* under the Turkish Republic; *Wizārat al-Māliyya* in the Arab states). The history of financial institutions in the Ottoman Empire and its successor states still awaits thorough research. In part, this fact is attributable to problems of the original sources, which remain largely inaccessible even for the empire (e.g., Çetin, 28-35, 42, 83, 128, 133-4, 135, 158-60; Sertoğlu, 62-7, 72,

74, 78-9, 85). In part, the challenge of studying the history of the financial institutions, or financial problems more generally, derives from the fact that the economic and fiscal problems of the Middle East cannot be fully understood as unique, local occurrences. Increasingly, as time passes, they have been manifestations of world-encompassing patterns of economic relationships that only become clear when seen in a comparative perspective, preferably one of global scope.

While it is essential to acknowledge this fact, a brief article can only be selective in coverage. Since much of the scholarship on economic and financial topics has concentrated on problems of particular interest to people outside the Islamic world, this discussion will concentrate on *māliyye* in the sense of institutions for financial administration. Even within that limit, it will focus on the Ministry of Finance of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. A concluding section will offer comments aimed at setting Ottoman and republican Turkish developments in a comparative perspective that encompasses other Islamic states.

1. The late Ottoman Empire. During the last quarter of the 18th century, the Ottoman financial agencies were still concentrated in a large building situated between Ṭop Ḳapî Palace and the Sublime Porte and referred to by terms such as *Bāb-î Defterī*. These agencies were presided over by three officials known respectively as the *defterdārs* [*q.v.*] of the first, second, and third "divisions" (*defterdār-î shiḳḳ-î ewwel, thānī, thālith*). In the 18th century, the first *defterdār* functioned as the real head of the financial departments, and the other two as assistants to him. Different sources from the period show the *Bāb-î Defterī* as including a slightly varying list of bureaux, numbering close to 30. In addition to records on the revenues and disbursements of the empire, these bureaux kept the muster rolls and pay records of various categories of military personnel and palace functionaries, as well as the records on the provisioning of the capital city and major fortresses. Other responsibilities of the offices of the *Bāb-î Defterī* included processing the papers for appointments of Muslim religious functionaries, maintaining records on relations between the imperial government and the non-Muslim religious authorities of the empire, and disposing of the estates (*mukhallefāt*) of important officials, when these estates reverted to the sultan by death or expropriation. As was characteristic of Ottoman government agencies of the period, these responsibilities were parcelled out among the various bureaux in a way that reflected the effects of accretion over time, more than any effort at systematisation. At the head of each bureaux stood an official holding the rank of the scribal élite (*khʷādjegān*). The potential for gradual change among the financial agencies, even before the beginning of serious efforts at innovative reform, was illustrated by the introduction, at the beginning of the reign of Selīm III, of a type of internal debt securities (*eshām*) and the creation of a new bureau to maintain the records on them (*Eshām Muḳāṭaʿasî Ḳalemi*). According to a source of *ca.* 1770-90 (Top Kapu Sarayı Arşivi D3208), the number of officals employed in the offices discussed here was about 650. This fact made the *Bāb-î Defterī* the largest, though not the most influential, of the scribal agencies.

Eighteenth-century Ottoman financial practice displayed several traits of particular significance for later periods. One was the custom of assigning specific revenues to specific expenses and limiting the extent to which transfers could be made. This practice goes back to the beginnings of Islamic fiscal practice and is still found in many parts of the world, but is in contrast to the preferred modern practice, at least in the West, of pooling revenues in a unified budget (Heidborn, ii, 12-14). A second characteristic was particularly prominent among the Ottomans in the era of imperial decline: revenue collection by means of tax farms, either on an annual basis (*iltizām*) or for life (*mālikāne* [*q.v.*]; Issawi, *Turkey*, 343-7). A third practice, which helps to explain the reliance on tax farming, was that some of the most important revenues continued to be collected in kind.

The chief business of the offices of the *Bāb-î Defterī* was to keep records of transactions organised on these bases. In furtherance of this, the staff included, in addition to the bureaux discussed above, an auctioneer (*mīrī dellāl bashîsî*) to conduct auctions of tax farms, an *ʿālim* appointed with the title *mīrī kātibi* to hear cases arising between the financial department and revenue farmers or other individuals; and staffs of quasi-police officers (*bash bāḳī ḳulî, kharādj bash bāḳī ḳulî*) whose responsibility was to collect overdue revenues (d'Ohsson, iii, 375-9; Hammer, *Staats.*, ii, 145-69; Uzunçarşılı, 319-73).

In the late 18th century, the treasury was still located in Ṭop Ḳapî Palace. In fact, there were two treasuries. One was known as the outer treasury (*khazīne-yi bīrūn, tashra khazīnesi*) or state treasury (*khazīne-yi ʿāmire*). The other was known as the inner treasury (*khazīne-yi enderūn, ič khazīnesi*). The latter was supposed to be a reserve treasury, filled at least in part out of the surplus of the former and bound to aid the former in event of shortage. In addition, there were a number of so-called *khazīne*s, including a "privy purse" (*djeyb-i hümāyūn*) at the palace and a number of others located in specific government agencies [see KHAZĪNE]. These were little more than special funds or cashiers' offices for specific needs or departments (Deny, 119-20).

Substantial efforts at reform of Ottoman financial institutions began under Selīm III (1789-1807 [*q.v.*]) in conjunction with his programme of military reform. To finance his new military force, he created a "new receipts treasury" (*īrād-î djedīd khazînesi*), under the direction of the former *defterdār* of the "second division" (*shiḳḳ-i thānī*), and assigned a number of revenues to him. The new treasury survived until the end of Selīm's reign, when, like other reforms of his "new order" (*niẓām-î djedīd* [*q.v.*]), it was eliminated. Those of its revenue sources that were still productive were reassigned to the "treasury" of the Mint (*ḍarbkhāne-i ʿāmire khazînesi*), which was a branch of the inner or private treasury (Muṣṭafā Nūrī, iv, 113-4; Pakalın, *OTD*, ii, 79-80; Shaw, *Old and new*, 128-34). Selīm's reforms also included some efforts to limit fiscal exactions and to reorganise the state treasury (*ibid.*, 170, 174).

Under Maḥmūd II (1808-39 [*q.v.*]), financial reform resumed in the 1820s, at first, it appears, as a concomitant of efforts in other fields. For example, Maḥmūd assigned a number of Anatolian *sandjaḳs* to a kind of collection agents (*mütesellim*), rather than the normal type of provincial administrators (*wālī, mutaṣarrif*). Such assignment of *mütesellim*s was not new, but this time the revenues that would otherwise have gone to the *wālī* or *mutaṣarrif* were diverted to Istanbul [see KHAZĪNE, IV, 1185]. Another of Maḥmūd's policies affected the *tîmar* [*q.v.*] system and the provincial cavalry (*sipāhīs* [*q.v.*]) who had traditionally benefited from it. In 1241/1825-6, Maḥmūd began re-assigning *tîmars* and *sipāhīs* to other types of military forces (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh* xii, 143-4). In 1831,

he attempted to abolish what remained of the *tīmar*-system and to carry out a land survey and census (Lewis, 90-2).

While the exact course of events is still not entirely clear, Maḥmūd's reforms had clearly extended by then into a direct reorganisation of financial offices. With the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826, the one of the offices of the *Bāb-ī Defterī* that had been responsible for maintaining records of that corps, that of the *yeñi-čeri kātibi*, went through a series of changes of name and function, emerging as a "military supervisorship" (*ʿaskerī neẓāreti*; Luṭfī, i, 132, 143; Pakalın, *Maliye*, iii, 22-3). By 1831, further change had produced at least two financial "supervisorships", a *maṣārifāt neẓāreti*, responsible for military expenditures, and a *muḳāṭaʿāt neẓāreti*, responsible for other aspects of government finance. This nomenclature is somewhat confusing, since presumably the revenues assigned to both agencies were farmed out, although the term *muḳāṭāʿa* might be taken to indicate that this was true only of the second (Heidborn, ii, 37; Pakalın, *Maliye*, i, 10; idem, *OTD*, ii, 578). Over the next several years, there were a number of further reorganisations, a persistent feature, at least until 1838, being maintenance of one agency for military finance and another for government finance more generally (Hammer, *Histoire*, xvii, 182; Luṭfī, iv, 111). In 1250/1834-5, for example, we find a state treasury (*k͟hazīne-yi ʿāmire*) and a financial agency for the army, referred to as the *manṣūre defterdārlig͟hī* (Heidborn, ii, 37; Pakalın, *OTD*, ii, 406-7). In 1251/1835-6, the state treasury (*k͟hazīne-yi ʿāmire*) was combined with that of the mint (*ḍarb-k͟hāne*), the new agency being placed under the headship of a *ḍarb-k͟hāne defterdārī* (Luṭfī, v, 17). Then on 3 D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟dja 1253/28 February 1838, the *manṣūre defterdārlig͟hī* was added to the organisation, the mint was again separated out, and the result became known as the Ministry of Financial Affairs (*Umūr-ī Māliyye Neẓāreti*).

The second half of the 1830s was when Maḥmūd organised the larger departments of the Ottoman government into European-style ministries, for which he adopted the generic term *neẓāret*. From that point onwards, that term continued, as in the past, to refer both to small-scale agencies, where it is more appropriately translated as "supervisorship", and to the new ministries. The financial agency created in 1838 was clearly of the latter type (Luṭfī, v, 104-5; Pakalın, *Maliye*, i, 25-6).

Following the death of Maḥmūd II, the development of the Ottoman system of financial administration reflected both the goals of reformers like Muṣṭafā Res͟hīd [*q.v.*] and the intensity of the political struggle that surrounded them. At the death of Maḥmūd, K͟hosrew Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] seized the grand vizierate and set to work undoing many of the reforms of the late sultan and his civilian bureaucratic advisers, who were K͟hosrew's enemies. Among other things, K͟hosrew abolished the Ministry of Financial Affairs (D͟jumādā 'l-Ūlā 1255/July-August 1839), replacing it with a dual system of a state treasury (*k͟hazīne-yi ʿāmire*) and a *defterdārlīk* for farmed revenues (*muḳāṭaʿāt*; Pakalın, *Maliye*, iii, 96). When Muṣṭafā Res͟hīd and his friends managed to topple K͟hosrew in 1840, they also launched an ambitious attempt to replace tax-farming with direct collection of revenues, at least in selected localities. About the same time, it appears that they converted the *defterdārlīk* for farmed revenues into a Ministry of Finance (*Māliyye Neẓāreti*) responsible for supervision of the system of direct collection, relegating responsibility for revenues that continued to be administered in the "old way" to the state treasury (*k͟hazīne-yi ʿāmire*; Luṭfī, vi, 68-9, 106). At the beginning of 1257/1841, the treasury was again combined with the ministry to form a single Ministry of Financial Affairs (*Umūr-ī Māliyye Neẓāreti*; Pakalın, *Maliye*, i, 26). Muṣṭafā Res͟hīd and his friends did not consolidate their hold on high office until *ca.* 1845; however, the history of the Ministry of Finance was continuous from 1841 onwards. By the early 1840s, the bureaux formerly attached to the *Bāb-ī Defterī* had also undergone considerable modification; and the ministry had acquired a number of new functionaries and agencies. The resulting organisation remained essentially unchanged from that point until 1297/1880 (Luṭfī, v, 105, 116; vi, 125-6; Pakalın, *Maliye*, i, 26-7; iii, 29-31, 34).

Had Muṣṭafā Res͟hīd and his colleagues succeeded in realising the policy goals that lay behind these changes of organisation, the results might have done a lot to provide the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms with the sound economic foundation that they never acquired. What the reformers intended was a fundamental reorganisation of the system of taxation: eliminating many of the old taxes, especially the arbitrary exactions (*tekālīf-i ʿörfiyye*), substituting direct collection for revenue farming, centralising receipts and disbursements in the state treasury, and assigning salaries to all officials to replace the prebendal forms of compensation and the revenue forms on which most of them had previously depended. In 1838, the tax reforms were inaugurated on an experimental basis in selected provinces, and the salary system was supposed to go into effect. The Gülk͟hāne Decree of 1839 proclaimed the general principles underlying the changes. Subsequent acts generalised the fiscal reforms to a larger number of provinces. The chief agents of the new system of revenue-collection were to be collectors (*muḥaṣṣīls*) appointed to assess and collect revenues in collaboration with locally appointed administrative councils (*med͟jlis-i idāre*), which were to include both ex officio members and representatives of the local populace (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, i, 346-7; ii, 6-50; İnalcık, *Tanzimat'in uygulanması*, 623 ff.; idem, *Application of the Tanzimat*, 97 ff.; Shaw, *Tax reform*, 422). These reforms failed, and the Ottomans never succeeded in overcoming the consequences. In part, the failure resulted from the fact that the Ottoman system of financial administration was not ready for the demands that fiscal centralisation made on it. In part, the problem resulted from the opposition of former tax farmers or *ṣarrāfs* [*q.v.*], who had vested interests in the old system (Pakalın, *Maliye*, iii, 52-4; Shaw, *Tax reform*, 422). In any case, revenue receipts fell off. In 1258/1842, tax farming (*iltizām*, but not the life farms, *mālikāne*) had to be restored (Pakalın, *OTD*, ii, 397). Direct collection was later revived for some taxes. But for the tithe on agricultural produce (*aʿs͟hār*), the most important single revenue, tax farming continued at least into the Young Turk period (Heidborn, ii, 117-30; Lewis, 385-6, 458; Shaw, *Tax reform*, 428-9; Issawi, *Turkey*, 351-60). The failure of the effort at centralisation of revenue collection crippled the new system of official salaries from the start. And that was not all.

The extent to which the Ottoman Empire had been integrated, prior to the 19th century, into the worldwide system of European economic dominance is clear from the evolution of the capitulations (*imtiyāzāt* [*q.v.*]) and the abuses that developed out of them. One of the saddest ironies of the *Tanẓīmāt* is that the economic subordination of the empire underwent a critical tightening in 1838, just as the new period was about to open. This occurred with the adoption of

the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Convention of Balta Liman. This, and comparable treaties concluded later with other states, marked the substitution of negotiated bilateral treaties for the capitulations. More important, it forced Ottoman statesmen, who were desperate at that point for European help against the Egyptian challenge, to accept what amounted to free trade (Bailey, Kütükoğlu). The effects on an unindustrialised economy, in which customs revenues had traditionally been one of the most important cash revenues, were very serious. Not only were Ottoman markets now opened wide to European industrial goods, but the ability of the Ottoman government to raise new revenue, either by taxation or by setting up monopolies or other government enterprises, was limited by the terms of the treaties (du Velay, 338). The deteriorating economic situation, and the political and military crisis with Egypt, led to the issue in 1840 of the first Ottoman paper money (*ḳāʾime* [*q.v.*]). This remained in circulation until 1862, and gave rise to serious problems of counterfeiting and depreciation. Paper money was again issued in the wake of the Russo-Turkish War and during World War I (Toprak, 205 ff.). The coinage, too, was in disarray (Schaefer, 25 ff.; Issawi, *Turkey*, 326-31). The monetary problems were aggravated by the lack, prior to the second half of the century, of modern banking facilities; when created, these were essentially foreign enterprises (du Velay, 132 ff.; Biliotti; Issawi, *Turkey*, 339-42).

To make matters worse, the Ottoman government began during the Crimean War to contract foreign loans (Djewdet, *Tedhākir, 1-12*, 20-3; du Velay, 134 ff.). In a little over twenty years, the empire acquired a foreign debt of 200 million pounds sterling (Blaisdell, 74) and experienced a complete collapse of its credit. The crisis over the public debt resulted in Muḥarram 1299/1881 in the creation of an international Council of the Public Debt (*duyūn-i ʿumūmiyye* [*q.v.*]), to which the Ottoman government was forced to cede control of a number of revenues (du Velay, 463 ff.; Young, v, 55 ff.; Blaisdell, 90 ff.; Issawi, *Turkey*, 361-5). The Russo-Turkish War also left the empire saddled with an indemnity of 35 million Turkish pounds to pay to Russia (Blaisdell, 85; Heidborn, ii, 294-5; Milgrim, 519 ff.). The liabilities that the Ottomans incurred under concessions for various economic development projects—example, the kilometric guarantees granted to assure a profit to foreign railway builders—were another drain (du Velay, 550 ff.). Over the course of time, the government ceded more of its revenues to the Public Debt Administration in order to cover further commitments, until that agency controlled almost one-quarter of Ottoman revenue (Blaisdell, 150-1).

Considering the swift failure of its most important attempts at fiscal reform and the continuing decline in the economic independence of the Empire, it is not surprising that Ottoman financial institutions of the reform era made little progress in achieving increased efficiency. The Public Debt is only the most conspicuous example of the extent to which control of public revenues remained dispersed among a number of different agencies. By the last years of the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909), there were twenty or more official or semi-official bodies in Istanbul with power to collect and disburse revenues directly. The most important were the Public Debt Administration and the privy treasury (*khazīne-yi khāṣṣa*). As successor to the old privy purse (*djeyb-i hümāyūn*), this became a very large and powerful organisation, thanks to the growth of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's enormous personal fortune. The Minister of Finance really had control only over fiscal resources not otherwise accounted for. Even there, the control was not effective. Partly because the economy was overwhelmingly agricultural, with important revenues still collected in kind, tax collection was always in arrears (Heidborn, ii, 162 ff.). The weakness of central control over provincial finance is clear from the use, as a favourite mode of payment, of the *ḥawāle*. This was an order to pay, drawn against a provincial "treasury", which might or might not have funds to honour the order. Ottoman bankers and *ṣarrāfs* made a business of discounting these orders. The Ministry of Finance seldom had enough money on hand to pay more than a few of its creditors in cash. Procedures were so complicated that even this favoured few had to "jump through many fiery hoops" before getting their money (Pakalın, *Maliye*, i, 38). Favouritism and irregularity in salary payments were but a variation on this theme. By inflating the numbers of officials in all departments, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's policy of using the bureaucracy as a vast patronage machine made the financial situation much worse.

Under these circumstances, it was out of the question for Ottoman officials to use budget preparation as an effective instrument of fiscal policy. What look like modern budgets began to be prepared in 1863; there had been somewhat similar documents earlier in the *Tanẓīmāt* (Shaw, *Tax reform*, 449-50; idem, *Ottoman expenditures*, 373-8; Findley, 349-52, 384 n. 123, 396 n. 178, 404 n. 124; Issawi, *Turkey*, 348-9). Contemporary experts were united in the opinion that the budgets bore little correspondence to reality, especially before 1908 (Heidborn, ii, 45-9; du Velay, 174-88, 317-24).

The late 19th century nonetheless witnessed some efforts to improve the organisation and efficiency of financial institutions. There was an attempt in 1277/1861 to organise a hierarchy of fiscal officials to serve in the local administrative system then being created (*Düstūr*[1], ii, 4-25). Under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, there were further acts on this subject and on the related issue of tax collection (Young, v, 18-21). The Constitution of 1876 contained a special section on financial affairs, including articles on taxation, budgeting, and the creation of an independent Board of Audit (*Dīwān-i Muḥāsebāt*; *Düstūr*[1], iv, 16-17, arts. 96-107). The law of 1877 on provincial municipalities authorised them to have their own budgets (Young, i, 69-84; *Düstūr*[1], iv, 538-53). After the Russo-Turkish War, there was a flurry of effort at reorganisation on a number of fronts, the purpose being to convince the major powers of the empire's capacity for reform. Among the measures then enacted were one of 1296/1879 setting up the Board of Audit (*Dīwān-i Muḥāsebāt*; *Düstūr*[1], iv, 602-13) and another of 1297/1880 reorganising the Ministry of Finance (*ibid.*, iv, 674-84; Pakalın, *Maliye*, i, 28-30, 32-7). The latter measure reorganised the ministry and its personnel into two components, the central organisation (*heyʾet-i merkeziyye*) and the attached agencies (*heyʾet-i mülḥaḳa*), located either in the provinces or in other ministries at the centre. The central organisation was to include a corps of inspectors (*heyʾet-i teftīshiyye*) empowered to investigate the accounts of all central and provincial departments. Under the Ḥamīdian régime, control measures such as the inspectorate and the Board of Audit produced little real effect. The practice of filling the post of undersecretary of finance (*māliyye müsteshārī*) with a foreign expert did at least provide a continuing source of critical perspective on fiscal affairs (Young, v, 16).

There was also another extensive reorganisation of the ministry in *ca.* 1305/1888. The ministry in this form appears to have been distinguished by the complexity of its internal organisation and records-keeping procedures (Pakalın, *Maliye,* i, 37-52). Like most governmental agencies under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, it also became grossly overstaffed. The number of officials in its central offices stood at 650 in 1879, 750 in 1888, and perhaps 1,400 at the time of the Young Turk Revolution (*ibid.,* i, 36, 52).

The 1908 Revolution opened the way for efforts at fundamental reform in finance, as in other fields. The most important reforms of the period appear to have been three in number. First, as part of a program affecting the bureaucracy in general, there was a purge (*tensīḳāt*) of superfluous and unreliable officials and a reduction of salaries for all others (Findley, 296-8). The purge was carried out in several waves and reduced the number of officals in the central offices of the ministry for a time to about 500. Second, as a natural extension of the purge, there was a reorganisation of the ministry. Thenceforth, its central agencies consisted of the minister, his undersecretary, a directorate general for accounts, eight specialised departments, and two consultative bodies. One of these, the Financial Reform Commission (*Iṣlāḥāt-ī Māliyye Komisyonī*), included foreign as well as Ottoman members and served to study reform proposals and draft legislation on them; the other, the Consultative Committee (*Endjümen-i Müs̲h̲āwere*), was to advise on implementation of a new accounting system. Even more important, the inspectorate of finance and the Board of Audit (*Dīwān-ī Muḥāsebāt*) were at last made into active institutions. The ongoing practice of training financial inspectors by a period of apprenticeship abroad dates from this period (Ayni, 25). The third major reform of the Young Turk years was a new system of accountability, embodied in a law (*uṣūl-ī muḥāsebe-yi ʿumūmiyye ḳānūnī*) that went into effect in 1911. The new system centralised control of revenue and expenditure in the Ministry of Finance, established in principle the universality of the state budget, defined the system for budget preparation, and provided for a directorate of accounts, controlled by the minister of finance, in every ministry. These major reforms of the Young Turk period were the most important innovations attempted in government finance since the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt* (Heidborn, ii, 42-65; Pakalın, *Maliye,* i, 30-1, 50-5).

In addition, the Young Turk years also included many other financial innovations. Publication of budgets and other acts of fiscal relevance began for the first time on a prompt and regular basis, and the budgets were much more realistic than any published before (see *Bibl.*). Some taxes were abolished, and the assessment and collection of many others revised. The law of 1913 on provincial administration allowed each province to have a budget consisting of revenue and expenditure items controlled at the provincial level (*Düstūr*², v, 144, 186-216, arts. 79-83; vi, 505-8). The Land Registry Office (*Defter-i K̲h̲āḳānī* [*q.v.*]), was attached to the Ministry of Finance. A special school for financial officials (*Māliyye Mektebi*) was founded in 1910. The privileges that foreigners enjoyed under the capitulations were unilaterally repudiated in 1914. In response to wartime needs, a Ministry of Supply (*Iʿās̲h̲e Neẓāreti*) was eventually created. Many of these reforms occurred during the four periods between 1909 and 1918 when Djāwīd Bey [*q.v.*] was minister of finance (Pakalın, *Maliye,* iv, 238-9, 243, 246-7). He exemplifies the energy and determination characteristic of the period.

2. The Turkish Republic. Following the collapse of the empire, the Turkish Republic managed to extricate itself from the problems that had done most to breach Ottoman economic sovereignty. The position of the Public Debt Administration had previously been undermined by the wartime loss of co-operation among its European members, the collapse of the Ottoman monetary system, and the shrinkage during the armistice period of the territory under control of the Ottoman government (Blaisdell, 179 ff.). The Treaty of Lausanne (1923) recognised the end of the capitulatory régime in Turkey and apportioned the Ottoman debt among the various successor states, setting the share of the Turkish Republic at 67%. The Turkish government accepted the debt obligations assigned to it, but later unilaterally suspended payment, and in 1943 made a final offer to redeem outstanding bonds at a reduced rate (Robinson, 98-9).

Meanwhile, the development of the Ministry of Finance, as of other agencies of the new government, was "evolutionary, rather than revolutionary" (Dodd, 47). Although the matter appears not to have been studied, there must have been substantial initial carry-over of personnel and organisation from the imperial government. Serious efforts at financial reorganisation came only with the abolition of the tithes (*aʿs̲h̲ār*) in 1925 and subsequent tax reforms (Ayni, 29), then in 1929 with a reorganisation of the Ministry of Finance under a law on unification and equalisation of government payrolls (*devlet memurlarının maaşlarının tevhid ve taadül hakkındaki kanun*; Ülker, 91). These provisions were superseded by a law of 1936 on the organisation and duties of the Ministry of Finance (*maliye bakanlığı teşkilât ve vazifeleri hakkındaki kanun*; Gorvine and Barber, 78-89). With numerous amendments, this remained in effect in the mid-1970s (Ülker, 91-2; *Teşkilât rehberi 1976,* 332).

Under the Republic, the mission of the Ministry of Finance has been defined as "to carry out the financial administration of the State in harmony with the efforts directed toward the economic development of the country" (*Organization and functions,* 164). In keeping with this extension of the old concept of financial administration into the newer one of economic development, the internal organisation and the size of the ministry have become considerably greater than in the Ottoman period, while a number of other organisations with related missions have also come into existence.

In contrast to the bipartite organisation of central and attached officials prescribed for the ministry in 1880, the Republican Ministry of Finance comprises four categories of agencies: central, provincial, international, and attached (*bağlı*) or related (*ilgili*). During the mid-1970s, the central organisation had at its top the minister, with his undersecretary, assistant undersecretaries, and private secretariat. There were five advisory and staff units, including the Financial Inspectorate (*teftiş kurulu*), the Board of Accounting Experts, and the Board of Certified Bank Examiners (*bankalar yeminli murakıpları kurulu*). The ministry had six principal organisational units, including a department for legal counsel and general directorates for budget and financial control, accounts (*muhasebat*), revenues (*gelirler*), and the treasury, the last also serving as a general secretariat for international economic co-operation. There were also support agencies in charge of personnel (*özlük işleri*), the mint and printing plant, the accounts of the ministry itself, etc. The provincial agencies of the Ministry of Finance were found at the two highest jurisdictional levels of the local administrative hierarchy, the *il* (province) and the *ilçe.*

At the province level, the chief financial officer continued to bear the old title *defterdar*. There were a number of agencies attached to him with functions parallel to various of the central agencies. The most important of these provincial agencies were those responsible for assessment and collection of taxes. At the next lower administrative level, the *ilçe*, the senior official was the *mal müdürü*, whose functions and staff were a reduced-scale replica of those of the provincial *defterdar*. The international agencies included financial representatives serving with the Turkish missions to organisations like the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (Brussels) or the United Nations (New York), as well as financial counsellors attached to embassies and consulates. The category of agencies attached or related to the Ministry of Finance included the Central Bank, the State Investment Bank, the government retirement fund, and the national lottery (*Turkish government organization manual*, 138 ff.; Ülker, 92 ff.; *Teşkilât rehberi 1976*, 333 ff.).

During the mid-1960s, the staff of the ministry reportedly stood on average at 2,000 in the central offices and 15,000 in all (Ülker, 92). A decade later, it was reported at 5,600 in the central offices and over 40,000 in total (*Teşkilât rehberi 1976*, 342). The comparison between these two sets of figures is startling, suggesting that political forces have again been at work, as in the days of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, to bloat the bureaucracy. Whatever the explanation of the short-term contrast, that between either of these sets of figures and those dating from the empire is probably more significant. Whatever other factors may be at work, the presence of many times more financial officials in a state much smaller than the empire surely reflects the greater demands made on the ministry in a society committed not just to financial administration, but to economic development.

Indeed, the growth of the Ministry of Finance is only a partial illustration of this point. To appreciate it fully, one must also note the proliferation of governmental agencies with financial and economic responsibilities. The empire in its day had ministries, which appear not to have been very effective, for trade, agriculture, public works, forests and mines, as well as certain state enterprises. Atatürk committed the Republic to eliminating the hold of foreign interests over the economy and to étatism, and the first state plan for economic development went into effect in 1934 (Robinson, 103 ff.; Hershlag, 31 ff.; Issawi, *Turkey*, 367-8). By then, the development of a new series of official and semi-official agencies had begun. By the mid-1960s, this series included the State Planning Organisation (*Devlet Plânlama Teşkilâti*, created 1960), Board of Audit (now known as *Sayıştay* instead of *Dīwān-ī Muḥāsebāt*), the ministries of customs and monopolies, commerce, industry, public works, communications, agriculture, health and social assistance, reconstruction and settlement, tourism and information, plus other agencies or enterprises concerned with banking, energy, natural resources, land tenure, and various forms of industrial production (*Organization and functions*, 62-6, 163-4, 198-317). The obvious need for coordination among so many agencies has given rise to several interministerial bodies intended to perform this function in support of the development plans (*Teşkilât rehberi 1976*, 139-43, 156-8). Where the Ministry of Finance is concerned, probably the most critical need for co-ordination arises between it and the State Planning Organisation, which not only prepares the economic development plans for the state but also plays a central role, together with the Ministry of Finance, in budget preparation (Dodd, 245-6; *Organization and functions*, 175-76).

The Ministry of Finance of the Turkish Republic, though vastly larger in size and wider-ranging in functions than its imperial prototype, has thus been surrounded with a galaxy of agencies with financial and economic responsibilities. According to recent sources, some major developmental needs of the ministry are still unmet. These include improved coordination with other agencies, especially the planning organisation; the full acceptance of "programme budgeting", as opposed to dispersion of sums needed for a given project under different headings; and an end to the age-old practice of assigning specific revenues to specific needs (Dodd, 246; *Organization and functions*, 170-1, 179-80). The last point, in particular, shows that the Ottoman tradition dies hard. To these problems must, of course, be added others of general economic significance, such as the monetary instability and mounting public debt that have again come to plague the republic.

3. Comparative note. In the 19th century, the financial and economic history of autonomous regions within the Empire passed through stages parallel to those observable in Istanbul. The similarities derive from a common institutional heritage, similar economic and environmental constraints, and confrontation with the same set of problems in dealing with the outside world. At many points, there is not only parallelism, but also contemporaneity, in the major economic events occurring in different locales. In the 20th century, parallelisms are equally noticeable, the main difference being the proliferation of sovereign states and the growth of emphasis on economic development. In both periods, similar traits can be found in Islamic states beyond the frontiers or former frontiers of the empire, as well as farther afield.

In the 19th century, there were two regions in the Islamic parts of the empire that the Ottomans acknowledged as autonomous. These were the "privileged provinces" (*eyālāt-ī mümtāze*) of Egypt and Tunisia. As early as the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī (1805-49), Egypt, at least, began to develop financial agencies that resembled, and for a time anticipated, those of Istanbul in their development. Both Tunisia and Egypt professedly adopted a European-style system of ministries in the 1850s; the Istanbul government had done so in the late 1830s. Tunisia and Egypt resembled their suzerain in the form and weakness of procedures for budgeting and revenue control. They shared the same problems where the privileges of foreigners were concerned. Tunis, Cairo, and Istanbul all began to accumulate a foreign debt between 1854 and 1862. Bankruptcy occurred for Tunis as early as 1866; for Cairo and Istanbul, it came a decade later, although Egypt had been in deep trouble ever since the collapse of the cotton boom enjoyed during the American Civil War (1861-5). Fiscal control agencies, dominated by Europeans, were established in all three places between 1870 and 1881. In Egypt, there was not only a *Caisse de la dette*, but also an Anglo-French dual controllership over the remainder of government finance. Even the personal fortune of the Khedive was taken under European control (Deny, 104-20, 131-43, 398-414, 519-48; Rivlin, 75-136; Landes, 278 ff.; Issawi, *Egypt: an economic and social analysis*, 23-5; idem, *Economic history of the Middle East and North Africa*, 62-70; Owen, 122-52, 216-43; Brown, 134-7, 245-50, 335-49; Ganiage, 99-112, 186-216, 298-334, 348-402). It is true that Tunisia came under direct European domination in 1881, and Egypt did in 1882, while the territories remaining under control of the Istanbul government did not. Yet for the Istanbul government, as for the few other

Asian and African states that retained nominal independence in this period, sovereignty became almost a fiction. With its fiscal system a weaker version of the Ottoman one, and its economy even more dominated by foreign interests, Ḳādjār Īrān is one of the clearest examples (Bakhash, *Evolution,* 139 ff.; idem, *Iran,* 102-4, 110-14, 142-4, 166-7, 263-6, 270-81).

Following World War I, the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire meant that all its Islamic territories outside what became the Republic of Turkey fell under European control, if they had not been before. The only exceptions—to the extent that it can be spoken of as former Ottoman territory—were in the Arabian peninsula. The fact that the Turkish Republic managed, through the Treaty of Lausanne, to escape the peace terms inflicted on the empire following World War I, while others of the successor states did not, meant that some aspects of the old régime survived elsewhere, after being abolished in Turkey. For example, the capitulatory privileges of foreigners were not abolished in Egypt until 1937 (Issawi, *Egypt: an economic and social analysis,* 172). In Egypt, the development of financial institutions continued in this period under the British-dominated monarchy. In the Fertile Crescent, the development of such institutions, beyond what had existed as part of the Ottoman provincial administration, began in the 1920s under the mandatory régimes controlled by the French and British. Whether for the mandate period or for that of independence, detailed examination would disclose important parallelisms between economic and fiscal developments in the Arab successor states and Republican Turkey. Major traits in common include demands that economic and financial institutions provide an increasing range and quality of services, a growing number of government agencies with responsibilities of such types, and an increasing emphasis on social welfare. Government control of important sectors of the economy, efforts to restrict foreign enterprises, reliance on centralised planning for economic development are now also generally characteristic. In recent years, the chief factor in differentiating the economic fortune of the various successor states has been the presence or absence of significant petroleum resources (see e.g. Issawi, *Economic history of the Middle East and North Africa,* 170 ff.; on Egypt, idem, *Egypt in Revolution,* 46-75, 169-80, 246-315; Hansen and Marzouk, 1-21, 246-316; Mabro, 107-63; Ikram, *passim;* on ʿIrāḳ, Penrose and Penrose, 148-81, 240-73, 381-530, 538-44; on Saudi Arabia, El Mallakh, *Saudi Arabia,* passim).

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(C. V. Findley)

MALḲARA (modern Turkish Malkara; Ottoman Maʿlghara < Mīghalghara/Mīghalḳara; oldest forms: Mīghal Ḳarā (in a *waḳfiyya* of Murād I of 767/1366—but cf. Wittek, in *WZKM*, lviii [1962], 180); Mīghalḳarā (temp. Meḥemmed II, cf. Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 167, 193) < ? *Μεγάλη ἀγορά/*Μεγάλη χαρύα cf. Jacopo de Promontorio, *ca.* 1475: "Magalicarea"), a township in European Turkey (pop. 1973, 12,204), approximately 95 km to the south-south-east of Edirne [*q.v.*] and lying 57 km. to the west of Tekirdağ (Tekir/Tekfūr Daghi [*q.v.*]) on the Ottoman "route of the left hand" (*ṣol ḳol*) from Istanbul to Greece and Albania.

In the oldest surviving Turkish narrative sources for the conquest of Eastern Thrace, the apparently uncontested (and possibly temporary) first Turkish seizure of Malḳara is linked with that of Bizye/Vize (which incontestably occurred between September 1357 and August 1358, cf. Schreiner, i, 9, 42; ii, 287-8), and of Kypsela/Ipsala, and with the name of Sulaymān Pasha b. Orkhan [*q.v.*] (Aḥmedī, *Iskendernāme*, 120, 11. 117-119: *Wize wü Mighalḳara wü Ibṣala/fetḥ oldi aña* [sc. Sulaymān Pasha] *bu üči* [*sic*: ? *udji*] *bile/anda leshkeri oldi zebūn*). In a different, *taḳwīm*-derived tradition, the fall of Malḳara is linked with Dimetoḳa [*q.v.*], Keshan and, dubiously, Edirne [*q.v.*; but see now Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*, and *Travaux et mémoires*, i]. Other sources, some of which are reflected in later recensions (e.g. Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, i, 57-8), attribute to the *udj-begi* Ḥādjdjī Ilbegi the "extinction of the rites of polytheism" in Malḳara, while Murād I's tutor and commander Lālā Shāhīn Pasha is also linked with grants of land in the vicinity of Malḳara (cf. Babinger, *Beiträge*, 47). This process of Ottomanisation of territory originally conquered and controlled by the virtually autonomous *udj-begis* probably took place after *ca.* 777/1376, from which time the other great *udj-begi* family of the Turakhan-oghullari, which also had its original seat in Rumeli in and around Malḳara (Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*, 47-8), found more lasting possessions in the new *udj* being opened up by then in Thessaly.

Despite this uncertainty in matters of chronology, evidence, such as the listing of a number of villages in the *nāḥiye* of Malkara as forming part of the *wakf* of Sulaymān Pasha, and the names of some of them (e.g. Ṣarukhanlu, Kasṭamonlu, Tatarlar, Karā Akhī, Kara Yakhshi; cf. Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, 167-8; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *op. cit.*, 142-3), suggests both the origin and the rapidity of Turkish colonisation in that part of Thrace. Malkara, indeed, from the earliest period of Turkish rule, seems to have been a place of particular resort for *akhīs* and dervish elements (cf. the numerous 9th/15th and 10th/16th century foundations of minor *tekkes* and *zāwiyas* in and around Malkara, Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, *passim*). Conversely, the *yürük* element in the population appears to have been scanty in comparison with districts more to the north and north-west (Gökbilgin, *Yürükler*, 262).

In the later centuries of Ottoman rule, the history of Malkara appears to have been both obscure and uneventful. In the reign of Meḥemmed II, Malkara possessed 938 Muslim hearths, but there was still a Christian element in the population, not only at the end of the 9th/15th century (cf. Barkan, *Belgeler*, i/1 [1964], Ek cedvel I), but also in the 19th century (150 Armenian houses and one chapel; 100 Greek houses and one church (*Journals* of Benjamin Barker [1823], cf. R. Clogg, in *Univ. Birmingham Historical Journal*, xii/2 [1971], 259; *Sāl-nāme-i wilāyet-i Edirne 1311*, 223 f.). In the 11th/17th century Malkara formed a *kaḍāʾ* in the *sandjak* of Gallipoli (Gelibolu [*q.v.*]); a rather meagre description of the town at this time is given by Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*], *Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, 325). At the end of the 11th/17th century, it figures as a relay-station (*menzil-khāne*) on the above-mentioned *ṣol kol*, between Tekir Daghī and Keshan (Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kepeci 3006).

Bibliography: Given in the text; cf. also Sh. Sāmī Bey, *Kāmūs al-aʿlām*, vi, Istanbul 1316, 4329.

(C. J. Heywood)

MALKOM KHĀN, Mīrzā, Nāẓim al-Dawla (1249-1326/1833-1908). Perso-Armenian diplomat, journalist and concession-monger, important in the history of 19th-century Iran for his early advocacy of governmental reform and thorough-going westernisation, themes he expounded first in a series of privately-circulated treatises and then in the celebrated newspaper *Kānūn*.

He was born in the Iṣfahān suburb of Djulfā [*q.v.* in Suppl.] to an Armenian family whose ancestors had been transplanted there by Shāh ʿAbbās from Karabāgh [*q.v.*] in the southern Caucasus. His father, Mīrzā Yaʿkūb, was converted to Islam some time after the birth of Malkom, but the profession of Islam sat lightly on the shoulders of father and son; both appear to have believed in a "religion of humanity", inspired by freemansonry and the theories of Auguste Comte. Recognising the importance of Islam in Iranian society, Malkom generally took care to present his proposals in Islamically-acceptable terms (see H. R. Haweis, *Talk with a Persian statesman*, in *Contemporary Review*, lxx [1896], 74-7), a stratagem imitated by other secular reformists of the time.

After preliminary studies in Djulfā, Malkom received his further education at the Samuel Moorat College in Paris, an Armenian institution operated by the Mechitarist Fathers. The seven years which he spent studying in Paris were the first of his many residences in Europe, which far exceeded in total the years he spent in Iran. He returned to Iran in 1267/1850, entering government service in two capacities: as interpreter for European instructors at the newly-established Dār al-Funūn, the first institution of modern, secular learning in Iran, and as personal translator for Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. At the same time, he began composing his earliest treatises on the necessity of westernising reform, notably the *Kitābča-yi ghaybī* ("The Booklet inspired from the Unseen"). In 1273/1856, he acquired his first diplomatic experience, accompanying Mīrzā Farrukh Khān's mission to Paris and London. After his return the following year, Malkom established a *farāmūsh-khāna* (lit. "house of forgetfulness") [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Tehran, the first masonic lodge to be set up in Iran. Numerous courtiers, merchants and even religious scholars joined the organisation, the purpose of which appears to have been twofold: the propagation of ideas of governmental reform, and the building up of a personal following for Malkom Khān. Fearing that the *farāmūsh-khāna* might be the centre of a republican conspiracy, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh ordered its dissolution in October 1861, and soon after banished Malkom to Arab ʿIrāk. After Malkom had spent a few months in Baghdād, the Ottoman authorities, responding to Iranian pressure, had him transferred to Istanbul.

There he was able to acquire the friendship of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān, the Iranian ambassador, and to enter his service. With his livelihood thus assured, he resumed writing his treatises, and also began to take an interest in alphabet reform, corresponding extensively on the subject with the ʿAdharbāydjānī playwright Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhūnd-zāda [*q.v.*].

In 1288/1871, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān was recalled to Iran and appointed prime minister, and the following year he invited Malkom to join him as special adviser. Malkom accepted, and his influence is to be seen on the measures of governmental reorganisation that Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān undertook. But a new emphasis had emerged in the thinking and aspirations of both men: the attraction of foreign capital to Iran, for the sake of personal profit as well as economic development. Thus Malkom became profitably involved in the negotiations surrounding the notorious Reuter concession, and it was partly in connection with the unfinished business of the concession that he left Iran early in 1873 to take up an appointment as Iranian envoy in London. He was now destined to spend the rest of his life in Europe, with the exception of four brief return visits to Iran, later in 1873, in 1881, in 1887 and in 1888.

His sixteen years as minister in London were spent chiefly in fruitless attempts to promote various concessions, above all for the construction of railways in Iran, and to interest Britain more closely in Iran, in the hope that she would provide a counterweight to Russia and would encourage reform in Iran. Despite his relative ineffectiveness in these areas, Malkom exerted some influence on events through correspondence with numerous princes and politicians, the most important of whom were Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān Amīn al-Dawla, a confidant of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and later prime minister; Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dawla, Iranian ambassador in Paris; Masʿūd Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān, the governor of Iṣfahān; and Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mīrzā, the heir-apparent. He also continued to compose treatises on the problems of government and reform, and took up again the question of alphabet reform (the scheme he finally elaborated is set forth in *Namūna-yi khaṭṭ-i ādamiyyat*, London 1303/1885).

The most important period of Malkom's career began after his dismissal from his diplomatic post in December 1889. The preceding year, he had obtained from Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh a concession for the institution of a national lottery and the construction of casinos in Iran. The concession was swiftly rescinded,

but Malkom deftly sold it to European investors before they had a chance to realise it was worthless. He invoked diplomatic immunity and escaped legal condemnation, but the profitable venture cost him his post of ambassador. Partly to avenge himself for his dismissal, he embarked on the publication of a newspaper, *Ḳanūn* ("The Law"), in which he castigated the Iranian government—particularly Amīn al-Sulṭān, the prime minister of the day—for its corruption, and hinted at the existence of a vast revolutionary network in Iran, owing allegiance to himself. It is unlikely that such a nework did exist, although an association called *Madjmaᶜ-i Ādamiyyat* ("The League of Humanity") did operate under Malkom's general and remote supervision, chiefly for the purpose of distributing *Ḳanūn*. Malkom also attempted to implicate the Bahāʾīs in his activities, almost certainly without foundation (see the letter of ᶜAbd al-Bahāʾ to E.G. Browne quoted in Browne, *Materials for the study of the Bábí religion*, Cambridge 1918, 296). Despite these ambiguities, it is certain that the newspaper was widely-circulated and avidly-read in Iran. Its strictures on tyranny struck a responsive chord, and it is indeed the impact made by *Ḳanūn* during the years preceding the constitutional revolution that is Malkom's chief claim to a place of importance in modern Iranian history. In keeping with its agitational purposes, *Ḳanūn* contained little systematic discussion of the changes Malkom proposed; noteworthy, however, is the demand, put forward in no. 35 of the newspaper, for the institution of a bicameral legislature, with the lower house to be elected by popular vote.

The contents of *Ḳanūn* appear to have been written almost exclusively by Malkom himself. Nonetheless, during the years of its publication he had extensive contact with other notable opponents of the Tehran government: Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī ("Afghānī") [*q.v.*], who met Malkom in London in 1891; Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī, a formerly Azalī freethinker resident in Istanbul, who helped in the distribution of *Ḳanūn* in the Ottoman Empire; and Shaykh al-Raʾīs Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mīrzā, a Ḳādjār prince of unconventional views living in India.

When Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was assassinated in 1896 and it appeared to Malkom that his political fortunes might be restored, the insurrectional tone which had marked *Ḳanūn* was abruptly abandoned. Two years later, in anticipation of his appointment to the Iranian embassy in Rome, Malkom ceased publishing *Ḳanūn* altogether. He retained his diplomatic post in Italy until the end of his life in July 1908, and no longer seriously involved himself in Iranian politics. Another organisation operating under this supervision, the *Djāmiᶜ-i Ādamiyyat* ("The Society of Humanity"), did, however, play a role of marginal importance in the struggles over the constitution in 1907 and 1908, and, more importantly, many of those active in promoting its cause can be shown to have belonged to the readership of *Ḳanūn*.

Most of those who knew Malkom personally—even those who can be termed his collaborators—seem to have had a low opinion of his personal qualities, regarding him as venal, arrogant and inconstant, despite his obvious talents as writer and thinker. Subsequent Iranian historiography accorded him a more honorable mention, emphasising his role as a pioneer of reform and modernisation. Of late, with the growing rejection in Iran of westernisation as a panacea, critical voices have again begun to be raised (Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad, for example, ridiculed Malkom as "a homegrown Montesquieu" in his *Gharb-zadagī* (new, uncensored edition, Tehran 1357 *sh.*/1978, 80; for a similar, but more detailed critique, see Humā Nāṭiḳ, *Mā wa Mīrzā Malkom Khānhā-yi mā*, in her book *Az māst ki bar māst*, Tehran 1354 *sh.*/1975, 165-99).

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(Hamid Algar)

MALLĀḤ, "Jewish quarter in Morocco". The institution of *mallāḥ*/*mellāḥ* is essentially linked to the history of Jewish settlement in the major cities of Morocco and to the distribution of their communities within the frontiers of the Sharīfian Empire. In

Morocco, it is the name given to the place of residence assigned to the Jewish *dhimmīs*.

At the outset, it is necessary to distinguish the urban *mallāḥ* from the rural *mallāḥ*. The former, as it exists in several large towns, is a quarter adjacent to the Muslim city, integrated within it or shifted to the nearby periphery, yet enclosed within a separate enclave defended by a wall and a fortified gateway. It is most often situated close to the *ḳaṣaba* (citadel), the residence of the king or the governor, in order to guarantee the security of its inhabitants, some of whom occupy senior positions in the civil administration or carry out important functions in the royal palace and must therefore remain close at hand in order to answer the summons, should their presence be required. The latter, the rural *mallāḥ*, that of the mountains and valleys of the Atlas and the Rīf, the southern and eastern plains as far as the fringes of the Sahara, is an "open" village exclusively inhabited by Jews, situated some distance from the nearest Muslim *ḳṣar* or the fortress of the protector *ḳāʾid*). Also to be noted is the existence, in some towns, of an old and a new *mallāḥ, mallāḥ ḳdīm* and *mallāḥ jdīd*. The reason may be a transfer of the Jewish population from one to the other, in order to move it away from an already existing site of Muslim culture or for purposes of construction (here we may note the religious scruples of the pious sultan Mawlāy Slīmān/Sulaymān, with reference to Tetouan and Salé), or it may be an extension of the former quarter on account of its overpopulation (al-Sawīra and Meknès/Miknās).

Not all towns necessarily possess a *mallāḥ*, and with those that do have one, it has not always been so. The institution of the *mallāḥ* was only imposed on some communities at a relatively recent date, as their history testifies. Whereas, in Christian cultures, segregation was the rule (although originally, here too, there was a preference for living together in the same quarter for reasons of security or simply for convenience, in order to facilitate the practice of ritual and the communal observance of religious laws, customs and usages), in Islamic lands the Jews coexisted for a long time, and almost everywhere, in the towns as well as in the country, with their Muslim fellow-citizens, in peaceful proximity in the same quarters and the same streets. Very often, and this predates the Arab conquest, there is evidence of a deliberate choice on the part of ethnic, religious and professional groups, to live together in the same space, with their own streets and quarters. Jewish quarters are called *ḥāra* in Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli; *ḳāʿa* in the Yemen; *maḥalla* in Persia, or quite simply *darb al-yahūd* "the street of the Jews" or *al-sharʿ* "the avenue".

The etymology of the term *mallāḥ* is closely associated with the history of the Jewish community of Fās and with what might be called its "ghettoisation". At the end of the 7th/13th century, the Marīnids founded, alongside Fās al-Bālī ("Old Fez"), Fās al-Jdīd ("New Fez"), and close by, a little later (first half of the 8th/14th century), the town of Ḥimṣ, which was initially allocated to the *Ghuzz* archers and the Christian militia; then, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, in 1438 according to the Jewish chronicles (*Kisse ha-melakhim* "Throne of the Kings", by Raphael Moise Elbaz; *Yaḥas Fās* "Genealogy of Fās" by Abner Hassarfati), the Jews were compelled to leave their homes in Fās al-Bālī and to settle in Ḥimṣ, which had been built on a site known as *al-Mallāḥ* "the saline area". From toponymy (derived from the root *m-l-ḥ* with the connotations "salt", "to salt", etc.), this term is extended in a generic sense, becoming a common name which, passing from Fās to the other towns of Morocco, ultimately designated the Jewish quarter. All the other proposed etymologies are to be rejected, in particular that which maintains that *mallāḥ* is "salted, cursed ground" and that the Jews are "those appointed to the task of salting the heads of decapitated rebels". It should be noted that originally there was nothing derogatory about this term: some documents employ the expression "*mallāḥ* of the Muslims" and conversely, the Jewish quarter contained large and beautiful dwellings which were favoured residences for "the agents and ambassadors of foreign princes". But for the Jews, these transfers from one quarter to the other were resented as a bitter exile and as the manifestation of a painful segregation, often accompanied by the conversion to Islam of those who refused to submit to the exodus imposed by the royal edicts and to abandon their homes and their shops. This was what happened at Fās in 1438 and, much later, at Salé in 1807.

The *mallāḥ* of Fās is, in every respect, the oldest in Morocco and, for a long time, remained the only and the most important one. It is only in the second half of the 10th/16th century (*ca.* 1557) that the term *mallāḥ* appears in Marrakesh, with the settlement there of Jewish and Judaised populations from the Atlas and, in particular, from the city of Aghmāt where there had lived, since time immemorial, an important Jewish community. G. Mouette, a French captive in Morocco from 1670 to 1681, writes (*Histoire des Conquestes de Moulay Archy*, Paris 1683): "In Fās and in Morocco (= Marrakesh), the Jews are separated from the inhabitants, having their own quarters set apart, surrounded by walls of which the gates are guarded by men appointed by the King ... In the other towns, they are intermingled with the Moors." It was not until 1682, or more than a century later, that a third *mallāḥ* was founded; it was that of the town of Miknās, new capital of the kingdom of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1672-1727). At the beginning of the 19th century, *ca.* 1807, the "ghettoisation" of the Jews was undertaken by the pious sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān in the towns of the coastal region, at Rabat and Salé, at al-Sawīra (Mogador) and at Tetouan. With the exception of Tetouan, where the Spanish word *juderia* is used, elsewhere it is the term *mallāḥ* which designates the new Jewish residential areas.

In Rabat, the Jews were living alongside the Muslims in the Bḥīra quarter when, in 1807, the sultan ordered the construction of a *mallāḥ* at the eastern extremity of the town, buying the land with his own money, building houses, kilns, mills and shops, all in the space of one year. In Salé, the New Mallāḥ, built in 1807, is a long avenue extending from the Gate of the Mallāḥ to the old monumental gate dating from the Marīnid period; in the alleyways which open out on this avenue there are 200 houses, 20 shops and trading booths, two kilns and two mills.

The Jewish community of Mogador deserves a special mention: the Jews were for a long time a majority in this town which was familiar with intense commercial activity and uninterrupted international relations (with the United States and Europe) from its recent foundation, in 1765, on ancient sites (the Purple Islands in the time of Juba II, the Portuguese Castello Real) until the beginning of the 20th century. When Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh set about building the town, there were Jews living in the village of Dyābāt on the Oued Ḳsob, some 2 km. to the south of the town. To populate the new city, designed to replace Agadir as a centre of international commerce, the sultan appealed to the wealthieth and most

dynamic Jews of other Moroccan communities, conferring upon them, along with the title of *tudjdjār al-sulṭān* "the King's merchants", special privileges such as tax exemptions and other immunities, assigning them comfortable homes in the quarter known as *ḳaṣaba al-ḳdīma* which was the residence of the governor, the higher functionaries and the consuls. The other Jews and Christian traders lived, with the Muslims, in the *madīna*. As in Tetouan, Rabat and Salé, it was in 1807 that orders were given for the separation of Jews from Muslims and for the construction of the present-day "old *mallāḥ*", with a surrounding wall and a fortified gate. Becoming overpopulated (8,000 souls in 1865), it was permitted to extend into the quarter known as Shabānāt where it took the name of *al-mallāḥ al-jdīd* "the new *mallāḥ*".

On the topography of the *mallāḥ*, administrative organisation, commercial and manufacturing activities, intellectual and cultural life, see in the *Bibl.* the works which the author of the present article has devoted to these various themes.

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MALLŪ IḲBĀL KHĀN, Indian military leader of the Tughluḳ period.

The decade of decadence following the death of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh of Dihlī in 790/1388 is marked by the manoeuvrings of the princes, intrigues of the nobles and sufferings of the people. According to Firishta, the vast kingdom of the Tughluḳs fell to pieces and the central administration lost all authority over the outlying provinces. Confusion reached such a point that there occurred an unprecedented spectacle of two sovereigns within a radius of 12 miles of Dihlī, i.e. Nuṣrat Shāh at Fīrūzābād and Maḥmūd Shāh at Djahānpanāh, like two kings in the game of chess, to use Badāʾūnī's words. Both the monarchs were no more than puppets in the hands of their ambitious but unscrupulous patron-nobles; and Mallū Iḳbāl Khān was one such noble who emerged as the strongest out of this internecine mêlée.

Mallū was one of the three sons of Daryā Khān, better known as Ẓafar Khān Lodī II, the influential Afghān chief under Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ. Along with his elder brother Sārang Khān, who was governor of Dīpālpūr, he obtained ascendancy over all other *amīrs* of Sultan Maḥmūd, who gave him the title Iḳbāl Khān and the command of the fortress of Siri, modern Shahpur Jat, east of the Dihlī-Ḳuṭb road. He owed his rise also to the Sultan's minister, Muḳarrab Khān, another member of the ruling military oligarchy of that time. Perfidious as he was by nature, Iḳbāl Khān gradually got rid of those whom he regarded as rivals. He first aligned himself with the other king, Sultan Nuṣrat Shāh, whom he deceitfully dislodged from Fīrūzābād, which he immediately occupied in 800/1398. He followed it up by treacherously killing his benefactor Muḳarrab Khān and securing complete control of Dihlī. Annexation of Pānīpat a little later made Iḳbāl Khān undisputed master of the region.

His triumph proved short-lived, as Tīmūr's sudden invasion of the Dōʾāb country caught him unawares. He confronted the Mongol invaders, but had to flee in order to avoid complete annihilation. He escaped to Baran (modern Bulandshahr), while Sultan Maḥmūd fled to Gudjarāt.

After Tīmūr's onslaught ended, Iḳbāl Khān again took possession of the ruined city of Dihlī. Though he had the capital of the sultanate under his sway, his writ did not extend beyond a part of the Dōʾāb and some districts round Dihlī. In 804/1401, he invited thither the fugitive Sultan Maḥmūd Shāh and accorded him a warm reception, without however parting with the reality of power. Not content with a limited sovereignty, Iḳbāl Khān was bent upon extending the boundaries of his suzerainty. But he felt frustrated by the powerful Sharḳī rulers of Djawnpur [*q.v.*] in the east and the influential governor of Multān, Khiḍr Khān, in the west. Accompanied by Sultan Maḥmūd, Iḳbāl Khān undertook an expedition against Djawnpur, where Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharḳī had lately ascended the throne. At a time when battle lines were being drawn, Sultan Maḥmūd secretly deserted Iḳbāl's camp and went over to the ruler of Djawnpur with a view to securing his assistance to extricate himself from tutelage of Iḳbāl Khān. On failing there, the Sultan went to Kanawdj [*q.v.*], an appendage of the Sharḳī kingdom, where he was allowed to live with the status of a local king as long as Iḳbāl lived. Iḳbāl returned to Dihlī in 805/1402 disappointed.

Iḳbāl Khān now decided to try his luck in the west, an attempt which brought about his downfall. He first marched to Samana, which was ruled by Bahrām Khān Turkbačča, who was in league with Khiḍr Khān. Though Iḳbāl managed to have Bahrām Khān murdered, he had to face the challenge of Khiḍr Khān, and in a fierce engagement by the river Dahinda in Adjodhan (modern Pakpattan in Pakistan), Iḳbāl Khān was defeated and killed by Khiḍr Khān's army in 808/1405. His severed head was presented to Khiḍr Khān, who sent it to Fatḥpūr, the latter's native town, where it was fixed on the gate of the city. According to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, the family and dependents of Iḳbāl Khān were expelled from Dihlī and sent to Kol, but none of them was harmed in any way.

A Persian inscription of Iḳbāl Khān, fixed on the southern bastion of an old *ʿīdgāh* at Kharera village near Dihlī, describes him as Mallū Sulṭānī, indicating that he insisted on being called a slave or servant of the Sultan. It must be said to his credit that in spite of possessing what were in effect the absolute political and administrative powers of a king, Iḳbāl Khān never assumed royal prerogatives, such as striking coins in his name and inserting his name in the *khuṭba*. The epitaph referred to above also reveals his religious zeal in having erected the place of worship with his own money, and condemns the destruction and desolation wrought by the Mongol marauders.

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A comprehensive history of India. v. *The Delhi Sultanate,* Bombay 1970. (Abdus Subhan)

MALTA (ancient Melita; Ar. Māl(i)ṭa; French Malte), the name of the main island of a Mediterranean archipelago which is situated around 100 km from Sicily and about 300 km from Tunisia and which also includes Gozo, Comino, Cominotto, Filf(o)la and some unimportant rocks, measuring 47 km. from the north-west to the south-east. The island of Malta measures 27 km in length and 14 km in breadth; its main town is Valletta (Fr. La Valette), the capital of what has been since 21 September 1964 an independent state included however in the British Commonwealth. In 1968, the total population was around 320,000. Malta is exclusively Christian, and owes its mention in the *EI* solely because it was occupied for more than two centuries by the Muslims and because its official language derives from an Arabic dialect.

1. History. Malta was inhabited in ancient times by a Mediterranean race, whose megalithic monuments are preserved at Hagiar Kim ("standing stones"), Hal Tarxen and Hal Saflieni. It was colonised very early, certainly before the 10th century B.C., by the Phoenicians, and formed a base for their trading ships. It is not certain that the name of Malta is derived from the Phoenician, while the Phoenician origin of Gaulos (Gozo), meaning "a merchant boat of round shape", seems certain.

The Carthaginians became masters of the island in the 7th-6th century B.C. and kept it for four or five centuries. The Romans conquered it in 218 B.C., and for the next ten centuries Malta remained under Roman and Greek influence, being situated near Eastern Sicily. Gozo had only Greek coins, and Greek and Roman coins in great number were minted in Malta. Very early, with St. Paul in the 1st century A.D., the island was converted to Christianity; during the Western Empire's decay the Byzantines established themselves in it; after their conquest of Northern Africa, the possession of Malta became indispensable to them.

The Muslim conquest of Malta is generally fixed in 256/870, but it is possible that the island was the goal of at least a reconnaissance raid in 221/835-6, if one considers it probable that the island was included amongst those against which the Aghlabid Ibrāhīm sent a fleet in that year. E. Rossi (in *EI*[1] s.v.) thought that it would not be too bold to adopt the view of Malta's falling under Muslim domination even before 184/800, and added that de Goeje shared his opinion (in *ZDMG*, lviii, 905 n. 2), but there is nothing to confirm this hypothesis. What seems certain is that in 256/870 a squadron left Sicily under the command of Aḥmad (called Ḥabashī) b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab in order to relieve Malta, which was being invested by a Byzantine fleet (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 307, and al-Nuwayrī, ed. Remiro, ii, 81, do not give the exact year). This shows that the island was already occupied by the Muslims before that date, and the year 255/869 indicated notably by Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, iv, 430) and al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, vi, 121) should probably be retained. The retreat, without a fight, of the Byzantine fleet on 28 Ramaḍān 256/29 August 870 seems to have given the signal for ill-treatment inflicted on the Greek population of the island, the arrest of its bishop, who was then sent into captivity at Palermo, and the destruction of the church, the materials from which were re-used at the time of the construction of the Ḳaṣr Ḥabashī at Sousse.

In Malta, the Muslim occupation was certainly more permanent and strongly established than in Sicily; the narrow island was completely subjugated by the conquerors, who made it a strategic base; this helps us to understand how the Arab-Berber Muslims of Africa succeeded in forcing upon Malta the Arabic language, from which the modern Maltese dialect is derived (see below, 2).

Besides the Arabic language and place-names, the Muslims have left in Malta a few coins and a considerable number of inscriptions on tombstones; one of them, the celebrated inscription called of Maymūna, dated 568/1173, was published more than a century ago, and repeatedly studied by orientalists (Italinski, Lanci, Amari, Nallino, etc.); another one, found in Gozo, is to be seen in the Malta Museum. About twenty more have been found in the excavations in 1922-5 at Rábato (near the place called Notabile); they are preserved in the Museum of the Villa Romana, near the place of the excavations.

The Muslims lost Malta in 483/1090, when the Normans conquered it; they were however allowed to live on the island under the Norman government until 647/1249, the date when Frederick II expelled them. From 1530 to 1798 Malta was the seat of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which the Turks had expelled from Rhodes in 1522. The Order organised there an important war fleet. The island was in constant relations with the East and with Barbary; thousands of Muslim slaves were taken to Malta; the Maltese ships had repeated encounters with those of the Porte and the Levantine and Barbary pirates. The Turks attempted to occupy Malta in 1565, with their well-known expedition, which ended in disaster, and again in 1614; more than once, they threatened to invade it under Sultan Meḥemmed IV.

A few Arabic manuscripts and nautical charts, of no great value, are preserved in the Public Library of Malta and in its Museum.

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(E. Rossi*)

2. The Maltese language. Maltese is the language of the inhabitants of the Maltese Islands (Malta, Gozo, and Comino; *ca.* 330,000 speakers). It is to some extent a mixed language, for its basic structure, together with much of the vocabulary for the more basic features of life, are derived from Arabic—mainly North African Arabic—while an important Romance adstratum (mainly [Siculo-] Italian) comprises, in particular, vocabulary linked with more advanced civilisation. The relation between the two constituent elements is comparable to that between the Anglo-Saxon and Norman French elements in English. For several centuries mainly a medium of oral communication, Maltese became a literary language chiefly during the 19th and 20th centuries; it gained official recognition in 1933, and became the national language of Malta in 1964. It is written in a modified form of the Latin alphabet (29 letters; see table), being the only Semitic language thus written; the present system, officially adopted in 1934, follows

experimentation influenced by Italian and Arabic models from the 18th century onwards. The language has thus been subject to standardising influences only for a comparatively brief period, and it is still actively developing in response to modern needs. Several variants of contemporary Maltese can be distinguished. Literary Standard Maltese, used in *belles lettres*, tends to aim at a mainly Semitic diction. Journalistic Maltese tends to differ from it slightly in spelling, phonology, morphology and syntax, but substantially in vocabulary and phraseology (many foreign loanwords and *calques*). Colloquial Standard Maltese is intermediate between the two, varying in composition according to socio-linguistic factors such as the social standing of individual speakers. In addition, there is dialectal Maltese, varying from town to town and from village to village, but essentially to be divided into urban and rural. Dialectal Maltese is now under threat, owing to the levelling effects of compulsory education and the news media.

Any attempt to offer a description of present-day Maltese, and still more of the past history of the language is faced with some difficulties. Grammars and dictionaries of Maltese were indeed being made at least by the 18th century: notably early works are Agius de Soldanis' grammar *Della lingua Punica presentemente usata dai Maltesi* (Rome 1750), and his unpublished dictionary surviving in manuscript *Damma tla Kliem Kartaginis Mscerred Fel Fom tal Maltin u Ghaucin*, followed by M. A. Vassalli's dictionary *Lexicon Melitense-Latino-Italum* (Rome 1796) and his two grammars, *Mylsen Phoenico-Punicum sive grammatica Melitensis* (Rome 1791), and *Grammatica della lingua Maltese* (Malta 1827). Understandably, the Maltese described by them differs somewhat from that of today. Correct present usage as taught in schools is given in A. Cremona's *Taghlim fuq il-Kitba Maltija* (2 vols. Malta 1934-8; many reprints), and in the grammars by E. Sutcliffe and J. Aquilina listed in the bibliography below. However, Maltese is at present not yet completely covered descriptively; thus no complete comprehensive dictionary on modern lines is available: the one by E. Serracino Inglott, *Il Miklem Malti* (Maltese-Maltese, Malta 1975 ff.) is still proceeding, while the Maltese-English dictionary by J. Aquilina is still to be published. There is also as yet no complete and comprehensive description of Maltese dialects, though work is proceeding.

Historically, Maltese is at present practically undocumented before the 15th century, and very badly known up to the 18th. To the 15th century belongs the earliest known Maltese literary text, the *Cantilena* by Peter Caxaro published by G. Wettinger and M. Fsadni (*Peter Caxaro's Cantilena, a poem in medieval Maltese*, Malta 1968; for a discussion, see the literature quoted by G. Wettinger, in *Jnal. of Maltese Studies*, xii [1978], 88 ff., and R. Bin Bovingdon, in *ibid.*, 106 ff.), as well as Maltese phrases and names of persons and places contained in notarial documents, all written in varying and often ambiguous transcriptions into the Latin alphabet. More texts of this nature are available from the 16th and 17th centuries (cf. G. Wettinger, in *Oriental studies presented to Benedikt S. J. Isserlin*, Leiden 1980, 173 ff.; idem, in *Procs. of the First Congress of Mediterranean Studies of Arabo-Berber influence*, Algiers 1973, 484 ff.), as well as a 16th-century word list gathered by the German traveller H. Megiser, published in his *Propugnaculum Europae* ... (Cracow 1611; discussed by W. Cowan in *Journal of Maltese Studies*, ii [1964], 217 ff.). Of 17th century date is another word list compiled by the English traveller Philip Skippon (cf. A. Cremona, *A historical review of the Maltese language*, Malta 1945, 14), as well as a sonnet by G. P. Bonamico (*ca.* 1672). From the 18th century, a few prose texts also survive, such as popular dialogues by de Soldanis, sermons and other devotional work, the Lord's Prayer (1718) and the first catechism in Maltese (1752)—brief bibliographical notes concerning all of which can be found in Wettinger and Fsadni, *op. cit.*, 8 ff. Broadly speaking, however, Maltese prose literature postdates the age of the early grammarians and lexicographers, though the origins of Maltese folk literature (songs, ballads, tales, proverbs) are earlier. Confronted with this scarcity of data, scholars attempting to trace the development of Maltese, and to explain its character and relations to Arabic dialects, have been compelled to work back from the present state of the language, to some extent, through theoretical reconstruction.

It can, however, be said that Maltese contains, according to present information, no recognisable linguistic elements going back to the pre-Phoenician prehistoric period. Though Phoenician or Punic was both spoken and written in Malta from *ca.* 800 B.C. to the Roman conquest of 218 B.C. and probably afterwards, the once popular opinion that Maltese is a direct descendant from Phoenician or Punic is now antiquated (cf. P. Grech, *Journal of Maltese Studies*, i [1961], 130 ff.).

The persistence of Phoenician substratum influences in Maltese has been suggested by J. Cantineau with reference to the realisation of *ā* as *ō* in Maltese rural dialects (*Cours de phonétique arabe*, Paris 1960, 100), and other scholars have suggested morphological or lexical survivals; but all this remains hypothetical at present. The existence of Latin elements in Maltese vocabulary going back to the period of Roman rule there is also disputed (cf. J.Aquilina, *Papers in Maltese linguistics*, Malta 1961, 8 ff.), and Greek terms which should date from the time of Byzantine supremacy, like *lapsi* (from Greek *analepsis* "Ascension Day") are remarkably few. The linguistic board appears in fact to have been wiped clean to an astonishing extent by the Arab conquest of A.D. 870, which brought in the North African dialectal (pre-Hilālian) Arabic which is still the basis of Maltese. This included some Berber elements in vocabulary (cf. G. S. Colin, in *Mémorial André Basset (1895-1956)*, Paris 1957, 7-16; J. Aquilina, *Maltese linguistic surveys*, Malta 1976, 25 ff.). Possible links with Eastern Arabic, like the Maltese realisation of *ḳ* as a glottal stop, are less cogent, though *bitāʿ*, recently identified in transcription in 15th century Maltese lists as the ancestral form of present Maltese *ta* "of" (G. Wettinger, *Journal of Maltese Studies*, vi [1971], 37 ff.), links Malta with Egypt rather than the North African dialect region, which has *mtaʿ*. Eastern Arabic-derived religious terms were possibly brought to Malta by Maronite clergy (J. Aquilina, *Maltese linguistic survey*, 19 ff.). The essentially Western Arabic dialect ancestry of Maltese is in fact sufficiently evident from two morphological features: the formation of the first persons singular and plural of the imperfect of verbs according to the pattern *nḳtl/nḳtlu* as against Classical and Eastern Arabic *ʾḳtl/nḳtl*, and the replacement of the verbal form derived from IX by a modified XI, with a resultative meaning (like *ḥmar* (*ḥmār*) "to redden"). See further on the whole question, Ph. Marçais, Arabiyya. 3. Western dialects.

Nevertheless, classical literary Arabic was used in Malta as well, down to *ca.* 1200 A.D. at least, as is shown by tombstones and surviving quotations from three 12th century Maltese poets writing in Arabic. This must have kept dialectal tendencies in check at

least among the educated. However, the Norman conquest of A.D. 1090, followed by the expulsion of the Arabs in 1249, gradually separated Malta from the Arabic-speaking world of Islam and linked her with the Romance-speaking part of the Christian West. This would have involved the removal of the linguistic control up to then exercised over Maltese Arabic by the Arab scribal and grammatical tradition, and allowed dialectal tendencies and local linguistic development to progress unchecked. With this one may link grammatical impoverishment, such as the loss of derived form IV of verbs (not all of which can still form perfect, imperfect and participle), or the loss of the feminine plurals of adjectives, besides a reduction and modification in the stock of broken plurals (e.g. merging of type *faʿālīl*^u^ with *faʿālil*^u^, spread of *faʿālī*), as well as the survival and development of aberrant forms, like mixed verbal forms derived from forms VII and VIII (such as *intħarat* as well as normal *inħarat* "was ploughed"—Arabic root *ḥ-r-th*), or of forms X and II (like *stkerrah* "he loathed"—Arabic root *k-r-h*, besides normal forms X of type *staktab*). There are analogies to such developments in dialectal Arabic, including North African Arabic. This is partly true also where the development of auxiliaries is concerned, Maltese *gieghed/qed* corresponding to dialectical Arabic *ḳāʿid* followed by the imperfect, indicating the actual present.

Lexically, Maltese underwent progressive shrinkage of its Semitic stock—even basic Semitic terms, like "father", "much, many" have disappeared. The former was replaced by Romance *missier*, the latter by Semitic terms changed in meaning, like *ħafna* (Arabic "a handful"), or *wisq* (Arabic "a load"). Changes in meaning are indeed not uncommon: thus, e.g., in Maltese *ħalq* means "mouth", not "throat" as in Arabic. This loss of contact with Literary Arabic also meant that Maltese was not much affected later by the Arabic renaissance of the 19th and 20th centuries; its vocabulary of abstract and technical terms has remained non-Semitic to a considerable extent, the use e.g. of verbal nouns, or of nouns ending in *-iyya* (Maltese *-ija*) for such purposes being much rarer than in Arabic. The replacement of Arabic as a written language first by Latin, then in the 15th century by Siculo-Italian and from the 16th onwards by Italian, the close connection with Sicily which continued during the rule of the Knights (1530-1798), and the influx of Romance speakers (administrators, merchants, artisans, sailors and fishermen) into Malta, all explain the importance which the Romance, and in particular the Siculo-Italian, element then acquired in Maltese. Standard Italian became the language of law and administration, literature and culture, up to the 20th century. The coming of British rule (1813-1964) added an English element to the language, which is noticeable now particularly in such semantic fields as sport, commerce and administration, and in professional and technical vocabularies. The English component in Maltese is still developing, owing to the importance of English as an international medium and also because it is taught in Maltese schools. On the other hand, recent interest in Malta's Arab connections has not so far found much linguistic reflection.

The present condition of the language thus evolved can be summarised as follows. While the Semitic vocabulary in Maltese may be limited, it is quantitatively very strong where actual use is concerned. In literary and ecclesiastical texts it may amount to over 90% of the total, according to word statistical investigation. In spoken Maltese the percentage is smaller, but even in newspapers with their tendency to use foreign loan words the Semitic element comes to over two-thirds, the Romance element to not quite one-third; similarly also in other texts dealing with political, social, and economic matters (cf. F. Krier, *Le maltais au contact de l'italien*, in *Forum phoneticum*, xv, Hamburg 1976, 110 ff.; E. Fenech, *Contemporary journalistic Maltese*, Leiden 1978, 216-17 and *passim*). The growth of this Romance component can be followed to some extent over the centuries: in Peter Caxaro's *Cantilena* there is one single purely Romance term, but by the mid-18th century de Soldanis' dictionary shows the Romance constituent in Maltese vocabulary was fairly substantial. English words in most contexts on the other hand amount to less than 5% of the total.

Phonetically, the Semitic stock of Maltese has undergone considerable changes. Among consonants, the emphatics, primary or secondary, have become fused with the corresponding non-emphatics: *ṭ* > *t*, *ḍ* > *d*, *ẓ* > *d*, *ṣ* > *s* (*ṛ* > *r*, etc.). However, the former presence or absence of emphasis may still be responsible for the different colouring of adjoining vowels: contrast Maltese *sajf* "summer" (Arabic *ṣayf*) with *sejf* "sword" (Arabic *sayf*). Interdental fricatives *dh*, *th* have become stops *d*, *t*. Arabic *ḳ* is normally replaced in Standard Maltese pronunciation by glottal stop (occasionally by *g*; and in some dialect pronunciations by *k*). *Kh* has become fused with *ḥ*, and *gh* with ʿ (but *kh* and *gh* survive as allophones in some dialects). ʿ itself, while still written, is no longer pronounced: it has left traces of various kinds (pharyngalisation, colouring, or lengthening of neighbouring vowels); in some contexts it is replaced by *ḥ*. *H* in standard Maltese is mostly silent (in which case it may cause compensatory lengthening in neighbouring vowels); in certain conditions it may become *ḥ*. Many of these changes seem to have occurred after the 15th or 16th century, when ʿ, *dh*, *th* may still have existed (though the fusion of *dh* and *th* with *d* and *t* may have gone some way in pre-Hilālian Arabic, from which Maltese descended, and *dh* had become *d* in Muslim Sicily); *kh* and *gh* were still fairly widely used in the 18th century. The diminishing Semitic consonantal répertoire was on the other hand augmented by the inclusion of Romance phonemic consonants *p*, *v*, *č*, *ts*, *dz*, and Romance influence is reponsible for a much wider use of *g*. The devoiced pronunciation of voiced consonants, an occasional feature in Arabic dialects, became regular in word final position or before voiceless consonants (thus *bieb* "door" is pronounced approximately *biep*, and *libsa* "suit" *lipsa*). *Vice versa*, voiceless consonants before voiced consonants become voiced. Consonant assimilation, fairly frequent, also affects the verbal prefix *t-* (e.g. *iġġib* (for Arabic *tadjīb* "you/she bring(s)" (via *itjīb*). As for vowels, the various realisations of phonemic vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*:*ā*, *ī*, *ū* inherited from Arabic are supplemented by the phonemic vowels *e*, *o*:*ē*, *ō* taken over from Romance. Since there is pronounced stress in Maltese, short unstressed vowels may disappear. Original Arabic *i* and *u* in open syllable before stress normally vanish, but short *a* is preserved near former emphatics and after ʿ or *gh*; since in some environments it may have gone into *i* before disappearing, Maltese may originally have been a "differential" dialect in Cantineau's terminology (*a* in the feminine singular ending *-a* once seems to have undergone *imāla*—15th century transcriptions not rarely give it as *-e*, but present Standard Maltese again has *-a*; the reasons for this change are not clear. *Imala* of *-a* may still occur in rural dialects). Among long vowels, Arabic *ā* is now mostly represented by *ie* (*ī*) in Maltese, rarely by *ē*—

except near former emphatics, velars, and pharyngals, where it may survive as *ā*. This *ie* is very typical of Maltese; it seems to have spread at the expense of *ē* during the last four centuries. Diphthongs mostly survive with some modification, though Arabic *ay* may be represented by *ī*, and *aw* by *ū*, as in *xitan* (Arabic *shayṭān*) "devil", or *mulud* (Arabic *mawlūd*) "born". Vowel harmony, and the formation of prosthetic and epenthetic vowels, are all noticeable features.

Maltese morphology remains essentially that of dialectal Arabic, somewhat modified and reduced. Foreign loan words may be fitted into this framework: thus, among nouns, *spalla* "shoulder" is given the dual ending *-ejn* (*spallejn* "two shoulders"), and sound or broken plurals are often given to loan words. On the other hand, foreign plural endings may be preserved: Italian *-i* (standing also for Italian *-e*), and English *-s*, the latter in recent loans. Incorporation often involves restructuring of loan words. In the case of Romance loan terms, this has most recently been studied by F. Krier (*Le maltais au contact de l'Italien*, following J. Aquilina, *The structure of Maltese*, Malta 1959; *Papers in Maltese linguistics*. Italian vowels may undergo the impact of Sicilian: cf. Maltese *munita* with Italian *moneta*. Nouns may lose vocalic endings but receive prosthetic prefixes (cf. Maltese *istess* with Italian *stesso*). Unstressed short vowels, but also some consonants, may be lost (cf. Maltese *storbju* with Italian *disturbo*, archaic variant *disturbio*). Early Romance loan words in particular may show a replacement of Romance by corresponding Semitic consonants (cf. Sicilian *palla* with Maltese *balla*). English loan words, recently studied by E. Fenech (*Contemporary journalistic Maltese*) have undergone similar restructuring: cf. e.g. Maltese *kitla*, plural *ktieli*, for English *kettle*. Verbs of both Romance and English derivation are similarly adapted, e.g. by internal modifications, or the addition of prefixes or suffixes; cf. e.g. *ikkopja* "copied" *jibbrajba* "bribes".—The Romance element has in turn affected the Semitic by the incorporation of endings—*azz* (from Sicilian - *acciu*) and *-un* (Italian *-one*) cf. *sakranazz* "addicted to drunkenness" and *darun* "big house", from Semitic *sakrān* and *dār*, respectively.

This substantial influx of foreign terms has led to many Romance-Semitic doublets, such as *hu stessu/hu nnifsu*, both meaning "he himself". Sometimes there are different shades of meaning. The occurrence of numerous *calques* derived from Italian and English expressions is a related feature. On the other hand, foreign influence in syntax is rather less marked, though e.g. the frequence of the sentence structure in which the verbal predicate follows rather than precedes the subject may owe something to European models.

Dialectal Maltese has received attention since the 18th century, when Vassalli recognised the existence of five regional dialects in the Maltese Islands and outlined their respective characteristics. H. Stumme's *Maltesische Studien* (*Leipziger Semitische Studien*, i/4, Leipzig 1904) made an outstanding contribution of permanent value; within the last decade, study has received a renewed impetus (cf. works by P. Schabert, J. Aquilina and B. S. J. Isserlin *et alii*, and A. Borg listed in the *Bibl.*). While urban dialects may be nearer to Standard Maltese, rural dialects show some archaic features: *kh* and *gh* are still sounded in some Gozitan villages, and the *imāla* of Arabic *ā* into *ē* (or *ī*—the latter found especially in Gozo) recalls 15th century transcriptions. The realisation of the *ā*, preserved as *ā* in standard Maltese, as *ō* is typical of country dialects; so is a tendency towards the diphthongisation of simple vowels, such as *ū* into *eo* or *eu*. The age of the former phenomenon is unclear—up to now, it has not been attested in early transcriptions—but the latter may have spread during the past few centuries. A greater tendency to use rare or archaic terms and broken plurals, and to employ Semitic rather than Romance vocabulary, are shared also by some oral folk literature. All in all, rural dialectal Maltese may represent to some extent a strain parallel to Standard Maltese, but one which is less far removed from the Western Mediterranean Arabic ancestry of the Maltese language than the latter.

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3. Maltese literature.

The literature of the small Maltese archipelago emanates from a culture which may still be defined today as Christian, and more specifically as Roman Catholic, in all its essential aspects. The very early Christianisation of the island of Malta (which its inhabitants trace back to a visit made there by Saint Paul—Acts, xxviii, 1-10) was able to resist a Muslim domination of almost four centuries, and Islam does not seem to have exerted a significant influence.

Until the 19th century, Italian, the official and administrative language, the language of education, was the vehicle of Maltese literature, just as it was the language of social relations among the educated classes. But alongside this learned literature, written in a foreign language, there existed, and still exists, an oral and genuinely national literature. At the festival of *Imnarja*, a great popular gathering in the woods of Buskett attended by peasants and artisans from all the villages of the island, among other displays there take place, on the night of 28-9 June, poetical contests and improvisations, some forms of which are approved by public acclamation.

On the other hand, since the end of the 19th cen-

Table showing the Maltese alphabet and corresponding Arabic and Romance sound values
(Rare correspondences are shown in brackets, occasional ones mostly omitted)

Maltese letter		sound value	corresponding Arabic sound[s]	corresponding Romance (Italian and Sicilian sound[s])
A	a	a	a, i	a
B	b	b	b (f)	b (p)
Ċ	ċ	č	s̲h̲, d̲j̲ (k)	č (k)
D	d	d	d, d̲h̲, ḍ, ẓ	d (t)
E	e	e	a, i	e (i)
F	f	f	f	f
Ġ	ġ	d̲j̲	d̲j̲	d̲j̲, č
G	g	g	k, q (d̲j̲)	g
H	h	- (h, ħ)	h	-
Ħ	ħ	ḥ	ḥ, k̲h̲ (ʿ)	-
I	i	i	i (a, u)	i (e)
J	j	y	y	y (d̲j̲)
K	k	k	k	k
L	l	l	l	l
M	m	m	m	m
N	n	n	n	n
Għ	għ	(see text)	ʿ, g̲h̲	-
O	o	o	u (a, i)	o, u
P	p	p	b, f	p (b, v)
Q	q	hamza	ḳ (ʿ, k)	k
R	r	r	r	r
S	s	s	s, ṣ	s
T	t	t	t, t̲h̲, ṭ	t (d)
U	u	u	u	u, o
V	v	v	w	v, b
W	w	w	w	w (k)w, (g)w
X	x	s̲h̲	s̲h̲ (s)	s̲h̲, s
Ż	ż	z	z	z, ʒ
Z	z	ts	t and s in disjunction	ts, č

Note: Long and short vowels are not distinguished in Maltese writings; e.g. *dar* stands for *dār*.

tury, collections of oral literature have been made by foreigners, including the German Stumme, and also by Maltese: Nawel Magri (1851-1907) published collections of popular tales, including *Ħrejjef missierijietna* ("Stories of our ancestors", 1902). Ġużè Cassar-Pullicino (b. 1921) wrote a number of volumes dealing with folklore; one of these, *Femmes de Malte dans les chants traditionnels* (1981), in collaboration with Micheline Galley, specifically studies the feminine repertoire.

These collections reveal the basic forms of this literature: stories which are generally short, very vivid and colourful, little quatrains which are usually satirical or amorous, also lullabies, prayers and ballads of which the most renowned is *L-Għarusa tal-Mosta* ("The wife of Mosta"), the tale of the kidnapping of a girl by Turks on her wedding day.

Similarly, proverbs have been collected since a very early date. In the 18th century, de Soldanis had already made an extensive collection, *Apoftegmi e proverbi maltesi*. He was followed in this course by M. A. Vassalli, whose *Motti, aforismi e proverbi maltesi* dates from 1828, and by G. Aquilina, whose *Comparative dictionary of Maltese proverbs* appeared in 1969.

Despite the cultural domination of Italian, there are available some items written in Maltese dating from before the 19th century. The oldest is a *Cantilena* of twenty verses attributed to Peter Caxaro, dating from the 15th century. Unfortunately, difficulties of reading and a syntax sometimes unfamiliar to modern scholars make its interpretation problematical. Moreover, the system of transcription lacks consistency, since a single phoneme may have two or even three graphical equivalents, and the converse applies. However, analysis of this text shows that certain phonetic evolutions, characteristic of Maltese as currently spoken, have not yet taken place; in particular the pharyngeals and the velars have not disappeared. Also worthy of mention are a short poem by the writer G. F. Bonamico (1639-80) composed *ca.* 1672 and dedicated to the Grand Master Nicholas Cottoner; humorous verses concerning the Carnival composed by Dun Felic Demarco in 1760; religious hymns and also some prose works, including a collection of sermons of Father Ignazio Saverio Mifsud (1739), in a rather feeble oratorical style, and a catechism (*Tagħlim Nisrani*) of F. Wzzino, published in 1752. It was also in the middle of the 18th century that de Soldanis composed his *Djalogi*; this consists of eight short dialogues which were discovered in the manuscript of his grammar and were published in 1947 by Ġ. Cassar-Pullicino. The majority of their protagonists are common people, whom the author makes talk in a very idiomatic manner, from which it may be supposed that these dialogues are a faithful reflection of the popular language of the period. Moreover, they contain a great deal of sociological and historical interest. Also available to us is an acrostic poem (1758) by the same author, in honour of Dr Ludovico Coltellini, secretary of the Academy of Botany and Natural History of Cortona, a documentary rather than literary curiosity.

Maltese prose-writing began quite modestly. Over a long period, the main concern of writers was to translate religious works, as well as Italian, English or French works. M. A. Vassalli himself made an ex-

cellent Maltese version of the Gospels (1823-9). Richard Taylor (1818-68) produced in 1846 a translation of *Robinson Crusoe* which is still highly regarded today. But all these works had the merit of showing that the Maltese language, unjustly scorned by the educated classes, was capable of serving literature of the highest quality.

It is only in the last quarter of the 19th century that an original prose is seen to emerge. The first novels, described as "Gothic" by the Maltese, enjoyed considerable popular success, in spite of their somewhat mediocre quality. *Neriku u Guditta* ("Henry and Judith", 1872), by M. German, *Ġorġ il-Bdot* ("George the Pilot", 1880) by Ninu Muscat Fenech and *Ermelinda u l-vendetta tal-Konti* ("Ermelinde and the vengeance of the Count", 1894) by A. Adam are nothing more than somewhat pale imitations of popular foreign novels. However, some works testify even at this time to a greater degree of independence, such as *Fernandu Montagnes* (1896) by Alwig Vella, or the stories of V. Busuttil, *Il-Ħabib tal-familji* ("The friend of the families", 1893-4). Here too the phraseology is of Italian type, but the reader is no longer aware of the awkwardness of a language of translation. In fact, it should not be forgotten that all these authors began their writings in Italian, a situation still applying at the beginning of the 20th century, before Italian was displaced in favour of English, which became an official language in 1934, at which time Maltese achieved the same status.

Two authors succeeded particularly well in defying the ascendancy of Italian, an achievement which earns them a special place in the history of Maltese literature. The first, A. E. Caruana, is distinguished by the purity of his language and the facility with which he expresses complex notions in spite of a vocabulary remarkably deficient in abstract terms. These features are especially evident in his historical novel *Ineż Farruġ*, which appeared in 1889 and of which the action is set in the 15th century during the Spanish occupation, but which denounces by implication all the foreign powers who have ruled the archipelago. The second, Ġużè Muscat Azzopardi (1853-1927), was concerned above all to give to the Maltese language a literary syntax of its own. It may be said that he achieved his purpose with *Nazju Ellul* (1909), a historical work describing the Maltese resistance to the occupation by Napoleonic troops.

But the Maltese novelists of this period, guided by concern for purity and nobility of expression, were generally unable to avoid the pitfalls of an excessively neutral language, of a frigid style dominated by the taste for oratorical eloquence. A further four decades were to elapse before they were able to rid themselves of the shackles of Italian romanticism.

However, their ambitious works exerted only a limited influence on the authors of the 20th century. The stories composed by F. M. Galea (1861-1941), *Mogħdija taż-żmien* ("Entertainments"), between 1899 and 1915, provided a model for a popular literature; written in a simple and living language, dealing with issues of daily and local life, they enjoyed immediate success. But it is to Temi Zammit (1864-1935) that there belongs the privilege of being considered the founder of the Maltese short story, idiomatic and concise. His writings were collected by Cremona in *Stejjer, ħrejjeff u kitba oħra* ("Stories, tales and other works") and *Stejjer u kitba oħra* ("Stories and other works") in 1961.

The historical and patriotic vein continued predominant in the inter-war period. Among the works produced at this time and worthy of mention are *Imħabba u mibegħda* ("Love and hate", 1927) and *Helsien* ("Liberty", 1940) by Ġużè Bonniċi (1907-40), *Żmien l-Ispanjoli* ("The time of the Spanish", 1938) by Ġużè Galea (1901-78) and *Anġli tan-niket* ("Angels of sadness", 1938) by Ġino Muscat Azzopardi (1899-1982), the son of Ġużè Muscat Azzopardi.

But, at the same time, new tendencies are taking shape. There is observed the appearance of an ironical tone, hitherto absent from Maltese literature, and Ġwann Mamo (1886-1941) is its initiator. His novel *Ulied in-Nann Venut fl-Amerka* ("The children of Grandmother Venut in America", 1930) is described by the author himself as a "satirico-descriptive, contemporary, semi-political novel". *Leli ta' Ħaż-Żgħir* ("Christmas of Ħaż-Żgħir", 1938) by Ġużè Ellul Mercer (1898-1961) is written in the same vein.

Some clear social preoccupations also begin to be observed, as in *Tejbilhom ħajjithom* ("To improve their life", 1937) by John Francis Marko (1894-1954) or in *Is-Salib tal-fidda* ("The cross of silver", 1939) by Henry Wistin Born (b. 1910).

However, the novel which is still today considered the masterpiece of modern prose belongs to the historical vein. The work in question is *Taħt tliet saltniet* ("Under three dominations"), published in 1937 by Ġużè Aquilina, then only 26 years old. But historical anecdote is here only the pretext for a more general social critique which goes far beyond the scope of the traditional historical novel. Furthermore, the work contains neither melodramatic plot nor rudimentary psychology. In addition, the work is distinguished by a great virtuosity of writing, Aquiline possessing perfect knowledge of the language and its popular usages.

Although under increasing competition, the historical novel was to remain an important genre until the decade of the 1970s. Example include *Manwel Gellel* (1961) by Ġużè Cardona (b. 1922), *Il-Qassis li rebeħ* ("The victorious priest", 1970) by Ġorġ Scicluna (1923-74), or *Beraq u qawsalli* ("Lightning and rainbow", 1976) of Ġorġ Pisani (b. 1909).

The "ironical" novel was also to be developed by M. C. Spiteri (b. 1917) in *L-Għafrid* ("The devil", 1975), and Trevor Zahra (b. 1947) in *Is-Surmast* ("The master", 1973).

But two European movements were to give rise to a new literary genre, the "social" genre, after the Second World War; these were the expressionist movement, which reached the archipelago at a late stage, and the theories of existentialism. The Maltese novel began to turn more and more towards contemporary social reality. Numerous authors achieved renown in this genre, notably Ġużè Chetcuti (b. 1914) who was the pioneer with *Nirien ta' mħabba* ("The fires of love", 1961). He was followed in particular by Victor Apap (b. 1913) and Alfred Massa (b. 1938). The former published *F' bieb il-ħajja* ("At the doors of life") in 1975, the latter *It-Tfajla tal-bikini vjola* ("The girl in the violet bikini") in 1979.

However, this movement only really began to be taken seriously under the pen of J. J. Camilleri (b. 1929). Thus *Aħna sinjuri* ("We are rich", 1965) is a political diatribe against certain aspects of Maltese life.

Finally, since the end of the decade of the 1960s, it has been the psychological novel which has dominated. The characters are no longer out-of-the-ordinary heroes; they are simple individuals, confronted by daily reality. The way was opened in 1968 by Frans Sammut (b. 1945) with his stories *Labirint u stejjer oħra* ("Labyrinth and other tales"). But it was especially in his first novel *Il-Gaġġa* ("The cage",

1971) that he showed himself a writer of talent, confirming this four years later with *Samuraj* ("Samurai"). Alfred Sant (b. 1948) for his part shows more philosophical preoccupations in *L-Ewwel weraq tal-bajtar* ("The first leaves of the fig-trees"), which appeared in 1969. Also worthy of mention are J. J. Camilleri for *Is-Sejħa tal-art* ("The call of the earth", 1974), T. Zahra for *Ħdejn in-nixxiegħa* ("Close to the source", 1975). Anton Grasso (b. 1952) for *Aħjar jibqa joħlom* ("Better continue to dream", 1975), and Oliver Friggieri (b. 1947) with *L-Istramb* ("The strange one", 1980).

Unlike the novel, dramatic art had a long time to wait before attaining a position of prestige. With Italian opera exerting a strong attraction upon the educated classes, theatre was relegated to a status of simple entertainment designed for the people, who had to be content with mediocrity.

It is to Luigi Rosato (1795-1872) that Maltese literature owes its first dramatic work, *Katarina* (1836), a historical and patriotic drama written in verse. But most of the works produced in the 19th century were nothing other than farces and melodramas, without much psychology or technical originality, and served by feeble, barely natural dialogues and excessively conventional situations.

The only dramatist of distinction of this period was Ġużè Muscat Azzopardi, who composed several pieces of romantic inspiration, or of social character, for example *X' Inhuma l-fatati* ("What phantoms are"), a comedy in two acts dating from 1874. Later, his son Ġino also wrote numerous dramatic works of some merit, including *Huwa* ("He").

Later still, certain authors distinguished themselves by sound knowledge of scenic technique and by vivid dialogue. Cremona set the example with a versified drama in five acts, *Il-Fidwa tal-bdiewa* ("The redemption of the farmers"), written in 1913, published in 1936. Subsequently added to the repertoire were some pieces by A. Born (b. 1901), whose main concern was in adapting French or Italian vaudeville, and by E. Sarracino Inglott (1904-83), in whose work the formal influence of the Classical Greek theatre is clearly perceived (*Il-Barrani*, "The stranger", 1942). A. Cassola (1915-74) was renowned in particular for a comedy in three acts, *Il-Vizzju tal-vjaġġi* ("The vice of journeys"), and Ġorġ Pisani for four comedies of social nature derived directly from the expressionist trend: *Is-Sengħa tal-imħabba* ("The art of love", 1945). *Għanja tar-rebbiegħa* ("Song of spring", 1947), *Il-Kewkba* ("The star", 1949), and *Is-Sigriet ta' Swor Kristina* ("The secret of Sister Christina"), written in 1958 and published in 1978. Ġ. Chetcuti is also known for his two dramas, *Il-Kerrejja* ("The Reformatory", 1963), and *Imħuħ Morda* ("Sick spirits", 1966), in which he studies the effects of social environment on individuals.

But four authors have been especially esteemed by critics; these are Ġużè Diacono (b. 1912). Ġużè Aquilina, Francis Ebejer (b. 1925) and Oreste Calleja (b. 1946).

Ġużè Diacono is a realist author whose works are both a document and a study of the life of his contemporaries. His most ambitious piece, *Erwieħ marbuta* ("Enslaved souls", 1965) is a transposition to the period of the Second World War of the Biblical story of Samson and Delilah. There also exists in his work a "naturalist" tendency, after the pattern of Zola, especially in relation to the problems of heredity, as emerges from *L-Ewwel jien!* ("I am the first!", 1963).

The works of Ġużè Aquilina show real, and often courageous, moral and sociological preoccupations, as in *L-Ikkundannata* ("The condemned woman", 1969), the plot of which revolves around the drama of an unmarried mother. In 1962, he published a collection of one-act plays, intitled *Fit-teatru* ("In the theatre"), which deal with both serious and humorous themes in a very brisk and masterly style. In 1981, there appeared a collection of three plays: *Xafra mill-borża* ("The knife of the sack"), *Il-Każ taz-Zija Olga* ("The case of aunt Olga") and *Coqqa u dublett* ("Hood and petticoat"), of a very different style which Ġ. Aquilina defines as "the exploration of the mystic aspects of pathological crime".

Francis Ebejer is for his part considered the leading light of the new Maltese dramatic art. His theatre, very philosophical and symbolic, has been strongly influenced by the "Theatre of the absurd" of Ionesco, although he lacks the latter's pessimism, since he always endows his characters with a certain willingness to change. In *Boulevard*, he denounces the absurdity of stereotyped and mechanical human language, as an image of the alienating ascendancy of society over the individual. In *Menz*, a more overtly political play, he contrasts the romantic hero, a positive and revolutionary figure, with the anti-hero, a man without qualities or illusions. These two plays were published in 1970.

Belonging to the same vein is the work of Oreste Calleja, whose four *Drammi* ("Dramas"), appearing in 1972, were favourably received by critics.

With the exception of Dwardu Cachia (1858-1907), whose poems were for the most part based on the octosyllabic metre of popular verse, a form of which M. A. Vassalli was a leading advocate, Maltese poetry, since its beginnings in the 19th century, has been much influenced by the Italian school, copying the metre, the accentual rhythm and strophic forms of classical and romantic poetry.

It was initially in the field of translations that the efforts of the first versifiers, who at this stage can hardly be called poets, were deployed. At around the middle of the 19th century, Dun Dovik Mifsud Tommasi (1796-1879) translated the hymns of the Breviary (1853), as well as the original compositions of a Salvatore Cumbo (1810-77) or of an Indri Schembri (1805-72); Richard Taylor also provided a version of the *Psalms* (1846), then adapted a canto of the *Divine Comedy* in 1864.

Ġan Anton Vassallo (1817-67) has left a corpus that is more personal, although considerably less spontaneous, in which he has experimented extensively in metrical forms. His epic *Il-Ġifen Tork* ("The Turkish galley"), based on the folklore tradition of piracy, written in 1844 and published in 1853, is still widely known.

These authors had opened the way, at least in part, and all that was lacking was a poet of real quality. This was found in the person of Ġużè Muscat Azzopardi. By means of pure and simple language, he was able to avoid the stiffness and monotony of his predecessors, and to adapt an original content to a borrowed form. His poetry, essentially religious, like all Maltese poetry, sought to express the preoccupations of his contemporaries. To him belongs the credit of having removed poetry from servile imitation of classical Italian forms. His influence on the following generation, of which Dun Karm is the most eminent representative, was essential.

The reputation of Dun Karm, considered the national poet, has extended beyond the frontiers of the archipelago, as is attested by the study devoted ~~to him~~ jointly by the Maltese P. Grech and the Englishman A. J. Arberry. He wrote one work of great lyrical in-

spiration which has led him to be compared with Foscolo and Leopardi. In its entirety, it is a long meditation on nature (*Dell u dija*, "Shadow and Light"), history (*Lil Malta*, "To Malta"), the condition of Man, especially in his relationship to God (*Zjara lil Ġesù*, "Visit to Jesus"), and on the destiny of the poet himself (*Non omnis moriar*). Although very romantic in its inspiration and sentiments, the versifying of Dun Karm remained classical and in conformity with the model of Azzopardi, although no constraint is perceptible since the writing is smooth and fluent. The major part of his works was published in 1940 by G. Bonnici in three volumes: *X' Ħabb u x' kaseb il-poeta* ("What the poet likes and thinks"), *X' Emmen il-poeta* ("What the poet believes"), and *X' Ħamel izjed il-poeta* ("What the poet does most"). O. Friggieri devoted a critical edition to him in 1980: *Dun Karm, il-poeżiji miġbura* ((Dun Karm, collected poems").

Among his contemporaries, Anastasju Cushieri (1876-1962) and Ninu Cremona showed the greatest audacity in prosodic and rhythmic style. Cushieri's poem *Il-Milied* ("Christmas") contains no less than six different metres within a very complex structure. Cremona has adopted the rhythms and the lightness of popular poetry in his recent *Għana Malti* ("Maltese songs"), after going somewhat astray in attempts at complicated syntax. A collection of his poems was edited in 1970 under the title *Mis-Siġra ta' ħajti, weraq mar-riħ* ("From the tree of my life, leaves in the wind").

All of this poetry is characterised chiefly by a very serious and relatively objective manner of approaching religious, patriotic or narrative subjects, which is found in such diverse works as those of Ġorġ Pisani, who gives the impression of being an Epicurean (*Il-Għid taż-żgħożija*, "The feast of youth", 1945), Ġorg Zammit (b. 1908), Ġ. Aquilina, Mary Meylaq (1905-75), a poetess of nature as is shown by her collection *Pleġġ il-hena* ("The promise of joy", 1945) and *Villa Mejlaq* (1947), Anton Buttigieg (1912-83), or Ġużè Delia (1900-80), renowned as the poet of legends following the appearance in 1958 of his collection *Leġġendi*.

But even among the poets of this generation there is already a perceptible change, with the deepening of poetic sentiment. "Religious fervour is tainted by pessimism and often has the object of questioning the norms of social life. Patriotic exaltation yields to philosophical or poetic satire. Lyricism becomes more personal" (David Cohen, *La littérature maltaise*, in *Encyclopedie de la Pléiade*). The work of a certain Karmenu Vassallo (b. 1913) takes this new tendency to the extreme. His collections, *Nirien* ("Flames, 1938), *Kwiekeb ta' qalbi* ("Stars of my heart", 1944), *Ħamien u sriep* ("Doves and serpents", 1959) and *Tnemnim* ("Flickerings", 1970) give the impression of a man disgusted with his century. Even Rużar Briffa (1906-63), in spite of the elegance and the musicality which characterise his work, is not immune from existential pessimism (*Jien ma naf xejn*, "I know nothing", 1957) and from social and political indignation (*Milied atomiku*, "Atomic Christmas", 1957).

His influence, as well as that of Wallace Gulia (b. 1926) who has greatly diversified his source of inspiration, has exerted a powerful influence on contemporary poetry. Indignation and lyricism, despair and hope, are intermingled in the world of young Maltese poetry, and there has been a revival of amorous poetry. Moreover, unlike their elders who were moulded by the influence of the Italian school, contemporary poets turn rather towards English poetry (that of T. S. Eliot for example) or French, abandoning classical versification. However, there has not been a crucial break with tradition, since Roman Catholicism still maintains the link with the preceding generation, and the same Christian perception of the world is evident.

Nevertheless, the independence of the country in 1964 induced among many young Maltese writers a new awareness of the restraint which the British occupation had constituted; this sense was accompanied by a reaction against the scholasticism of ancient poets. But this national awareness was combined with a desire to set poetry on the level of modern European literature. This was expressed in a kind of "dispute of the Ancients and the Moderns". Out of this controversy there was born in November 1966 the *Moviment Qawmien Letterarju* ("Movement for Literary Revival"), of which the first efforts materialised, under the inspiration of Victor Fenech (b. 1935), in publications to which all young authors contributed: *Kwartett* ("Quartet") in 1965, *Dħaħen fl-imħuħ* ("Smoke in the brains") in 1967, *Prizmi* ("Prisms") and *Antenni* ("Antennae") in 1968 and *Kalejdoskopju* ("Kaleidoscope") in 1969. In 1973 P. Serracino Inglott (b. 1936) devoted an authoritative anthology to this movement, *Linji godda* ("New lines").

Numerous authors illustrate this "revival": J. J. Camilleri, Marjan Vella (b. 1927) and Bernard Mallia (b. 1941) have succeeded in creating in various genres a synthesis between tradition and modernity. Ġorġ Borġ (b. 1946), greatly influenced initially by R. Briffa, has subsequently shown an occasional affinity with modern Arabic poetry in poems that are for the most part very short and melodious (*Solitudni fir-ramla*, "Solitude in the bay", 1978). Achille Mizzi (b. 1936), in *L-Għar tal-enimmi* ("The cave of the enigma", 1964) attempts a new metrical system. A poet of dreams and of mythology, he appeals to the mind rather than to the feelings. Daniel Massa (b. 1937), while being very close to the last-named, showed greater audacity in the treatment of themes.

Mario Azzopardi (b. 1944) expresses with great violence the protest of the individual against society in *Il-Qniepen nhar ta' ġimgħa* ("The bells of Friday", 1971); he is also a poet of sensuality. But his stylistic experiments sometimes lead him to copy foreign phraseologies.

Victor Fenech is also one of the most rare "committed" poets, but his vision is more analytical than that of M. Azzopardi. Worthy of mention, finally, are Joe Friggieri (b. 1946); Lilian Sciberras (b. 1946); Kenneth Wain (b. 1943); Philip Sciberras (b. 1945), an autobiographical author; and O. Firggieri, whose cold style conceals a deep despair.

These are some of the names which attest to the vitality of this poetry, the finest flower of Maltese literature.

The history of Maltese literature, barely a century old, is closely linked with the development of a literary language, the objective of several generations of writers. Today, the objective seems to have been attained. Works such as those of Dun Karm or Aquilina show that, after the ideological barriers, the linguistic obstacle has also been overcome. Furthermore, the Maltese writers, while succeeding in preserving their national identity, increasingly show a desire and a real capacity to exert a universal appeal.

For their part, the Europeans have begun to take an interest in this young literature, through the medium of anthologies and translations, of which the most recent are devoted to Dun Karm, Ġużè Galea (in English), Anton Buttigieg (in Italian) and Oliver Figgieri (in Serbo-Croat).

It may be agreed with the writer Gużè Cardona that

"the effort represented by the flowering of Maltese language and literature, coming from a small nation of 320,000 souls, is such as to fill us ... with astonishment and admiration".

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(MARTINE VANHOVE)

AL-**MAᶜLŪF**, a Lebanese family name which became renowned throughout the Arab world through the literary and other intellectual efforts of at least ten of its members, both in Lebanon and in the *Mahdjar* [*q.v.*], during the past 150 years. The best known members are Nāṣīf (1823-65), Lūwīs (1867-1947), Yūsuf (1870-1956), Amīn (1871-1943), the three brothers Ḳayṣar (1874-1964), Djamīl (1879-1950) and Mīshāl (1889-1942) and ᶜĪsā Iskandar (1869-1956) and his sons Fawzī (1899-1930) and Shafīḳ (1905-76).

According to ᶜĪsā Iskandar, who wrote the history of the family, the Maᶜlūf family are descendants of the Ghassānids [*q.v.*] who had their centre at Dāma al-ᶜUlyā in the Ḥawrān. They gave armed support to the four Rightly-Guided caliphs and so won exemption from paying the poll-tax. The same services were rendered to the Umayyads, who likewise exempted them from payment of the poll-tax. They called themselves Banu 'l-Maᶜyūf, because of the *iᶜfā'* (exemption) which they enjoyed. The ᶜAbbāsids did not prolong this privilege for the supporters of their adversaries, and then the name was changed into Banu 'l-Maᶜlūf.

The Ḥawrān became less secure for Christians when a new round of fights between the Ḳays and the Yaman [*q.v.*] had begun at the beginning of the 15th century. Some members of the Maᶜlūf clan left the Ḥawrān. One of those who left was Ibrāhīm al-Maᶜlūf, called Abū Nātiḥ because of his large offspring. He settled in Sirᶜīn not far from the Baᶜalbakk. His descendants split up after a fight in 1572 and settled in Nazareth, Djūni, al-Muḥaydatha and above all in Kfar ᶜAḳāb. The descendants of those who settled in Kfar ᶜAḳāb again spread over Syria and Lebanon with Zaḥla as their main city (see *al-Machriq*, viii, ix).

Muslim branches of the family are mentioned by ᶜĪsā Iskandar in his *Riḥlatī ilā Miṣr* (*al-Adīb* [March 1964], 58-9). He describes his visit in 1934 to the shrine of al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Maᶜlūf in Shubrā al-Khayma, Cairo, to which he refers as a place of pilgrimage and of a *mawlid*. Among his other discoveries is a manuscript in the National Library in Cairo, with the title *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, by Abū Bakr ᶜAbd Allāh al-Mālikī. This manuscript mentions the *Āl al-Maᶜlūf al-muslimīn fī Siḳilliyya wa 'l-Ḳayrawān wa-Sūsa*. The oldest Maᶜlūf mentioned is Abū ᶜUmar Ibn Maymūn b. ᶜAmr b. al-Maᶜlūf, who died in 316/928 (see *al-Adīb, loc. cit.*).

1. NĀṢĪF al-MAᶜLŪF (Nassif Mallouf), born in Zabbūgha (Lebanon) 20 March 1823, died near Smyrna 14 May 1865.

He received his first educational lessons at Bayt al-Dīn, where he went with his father, *ᶜāmil* of the *amīr* Bashīr II (1788-1840). He met there the poets and the scholars who were invited to Bayt al-Dīn by Amīr Bashīr, among whom he met Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī. Languages attracted his prime interest. He was engaged by a merchant from Smyrna to instruct his sons in Arabic and to teach them the basic rules of French in 1843. Part of his time was reserved for the business of the merchant. In 1845 he was nominated teacher of eastern languages at the school of the Propaganda of the Lazarists at Smyrna. From then on, he used his spare time for the study of Turkish, Italian and modern Greek. He was Dragoman to Lord Raglan, the supreme commander of the English forces during the Crimean War, whom he accompanied from August 1855 to September 1856. His travels with Lord Raglan brought him to London, where he stayed until the end of the year. During this stay, he was elected a member of the Athenaeum Club. He then became Dragoman to Sir Henry Bulwer, whom he accompanied from Bucharest to Istanbul. In 1858 he went back to Smyrna to become the first Dragoman of the English consul. He died in 1865 from yellow fever.

All his chroniclers make mention of the fact that Nāṣīf al-Maᶜlūf was a member of both the English and the French Asiatic Societies. He is listed as a member of the Société Asiatique from 1854, and the Royal Asiatic Society has his name on its lists of members from 1860 until 1867. A *curriculum vitae* was published in French in the *Courrier d'Orient*.

His most renowned works are his French-Turkish and Turkish-French dictionaries. The first was printed in Smyrna in 1849 and reprinted in 1856 by Maisonneuve in Paris and listed as Nassif Mallouf, *Dictionnaire français-turc*. The companion volume *Turc-français* was first published in 1863. Most of his polyglot and two-language conversation books had at least one reprint edition. His *Grammaire élémentaire de la langue turque* was published by Maisonneuve.

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2. LŪWĪS AL-MAᶜLŪF, SJ (Louis Maᶜlūf), born in Zaḥla 18 October 1867, died in Beirūt, 7 August 1947. He was baptised with the name Ẓāhir, which he changed into Louis upon his entry into the Jesuit Society. He studied at the Jesuit College in Beirut, went to England to study philosophy and studied theology in France, where he stayed for ten years. He is best known for his *al-Mundjid fī 'l-lugha wa 'l-adab wa 'l-ᶜulūm*, the first edition of which dates from 1908 and which has since been reprinted and expanded in many editions.

From 1906-32 he was director and editor of the Catholic weekly *al-Bashīr*. Its annual supplement *Taḳwīm al-Bashīr*, the almanac, was made by him into a useful instrument of information on matters of calendar, church and state, in that order. His *Maḳālāt falsafiyya ḳadīma li-baᶜḍ mashāhir falāsifat al-ᶜarab, muslimīn wa-naṣārā* was first published in Beirut in 1911 by the Imprimerie Catholique and then

republished at Frankfurt in 1911 with the French title *Traités inédits d'anciens philosophes arabes musulmans et chrétiens, publiés dans la revue al-Machriq par L. Malouf, E. Eddé et L. Cheikho.* He edited *Ta'rikh ḥawādith al-Shām wa-Lubnān min sanat 1197 ilā sanat 1257 (1782-1841)* of Mikhāyil al-Dimashkī, Beirut 1912. His *Riyāḍa rūḥiyya li 'l-kahana ḥasab ṭarīḳat al-ḳiddīs Ighnāṭiyūs* was published in 1937 in Beirut.

Bibliography: Dāghir, *Maṣādir,* ii, 727-9; Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*[4], v, 247; Riyāḍ al-Maᶜlūf, *Shuᶜarā' al-Maᶜālifa,* Beirut 1962, 85.

3. YŪSUF NUᶜMĀN AL-MAᶜLŪF, born at Zaḥla 1870, died at New York, 18 June 1956. He emigrated to North America, settled in New York and founded the newspaper *al-Ayyām,* which survived for ten years from 1897 to 1907. He enlisted the help of his nephew Djamīl (no. 6), who migrated for this purpose. Through their newspaper they made propaganda for Arab independence, and thus earned the displeasure of the Ottoman government. Both were condemned to death under Djamāl Pasha, the military governor of Syria from 1915 until the end of the Syrian campaign of the combined Arab-English forces. Yūsuf, however, never came within reach of the Ottoman authorities. Together with Djamīl he published *Kitāb Khizānat al-ayyām fī tarādjim al-ᶜiẓām,* New York 1899, a biographical dictionary of important men, Arabs and Turks. Another joint publication is *Asrār Yildiz aw al-ᶜaḳd al-thamīn fī ta'rīkh arbaᶜat salāṭīn,* New York 1900. His other publications were *Lā'iḥat Ismāᶜīl Bek,* and *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Hudā.*

Bibliography: Dāghir, *Maṣādir,* iii/2, 1262-3; Ṣaydaḥ, *Adabunā wa-udabā'unā fi 'l-Mahādjir al-Amīrkiyya*[2], Beirut 1957, 21, 307; al-Badawī al-Mulaththam, *al-Nāṭiḳūn bi 'l-ḍād fī Amīrkā,* New York 1946, 36; Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*[4], viii, 255; Riyāḍ Maᶜlūf, *Shuᶜarā' al-Maᶜālifa,* 88.

4. AMĪN FAHD AL-MAᶜLŪF, born in al-Shwayfāt (Lebanon), 1871, died in Cairo, 21 January 1943.

Amīn al-Maᶜlūf studied medicine at the Medical Faculty of the University of Beirut until 1894 and then went to Istanbul to obtain his *idjāza.* He served as a physician in the Egyptian army and took part in the Sudan expedition, the battle of Khartoum and the occupation of Bahr al-Ghazāl. An account of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl occupation by his hand was published in ten instalments in *al-Muḳtafaf* in 1911 and 1912.

He was active during the Balkan war and during the battle of the Dardanelles in the First World War, and then joined the Arab forces of Sharīf Ḥusayn. He taught biology at the Maᶜhad al-Ṭibbī al-ᶜArabī in Damascus after the capture of that city. When the French put an end to the rule of Fayṣal over Syria and the British offered him ᶜIrāḳ instead, Amīn also went to ᶜIrāḳ to serve in the ᶜIrāḳī army. He returned to Egypt when his time of retirement had come.

He wrote a large number of articles on Arabic scientific terms, especially on the names of plants. His *Muᶜdjam al-ḥayawān* was published in instalments in *al-Muḳtaṭaf,* from 1908 onwards, giving the English names in alphabetical order, followed by the scientific names, the Arabic equivalents and the current Arabic names. It was republished in book-form by *al-Muḳtaṭaf* and given to the subscribers as the annual present in 1932. A supplement was published not long after, possibly in 1933. His *al-Muᶜdjam al-falakī* appeared in Cairo, 1935. Studies about plant-names appeared in the *Madjallat al-Madjmaᶜ al-ᶜIlmī al-ᶜArabī,* but reasons of health prevented the author from developing these studies into a dictionary of plant names. Medical terms in Arabic were another field of study for him. He started the translation of *Webster's Dictionary,* reaching the letter F. An obituary by Fu'ād Ṣarrūf appeared in the magazine of the Overseas Services of the BBC, *Hunā London,* no. 75 (Febr. 1963), 30.

Bibliography: *al-Adīb,* 55-6; Dāghir, *Maṣādir,* ii, 713-15; Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*[4], iii, 19; *al-Muḳtaṭaf,* lxxxvii (1935), 245, cii (1943), 186, 418, 479.

5. KAYṢAR IBRĀHĪM AL-MAᶜLŪF, born in Zaḥla 1874, died in Beirut, 25 April 1961; brother of Djamīl and Mīshāl, brother-in-law of ᶜĪsā Iskandar and nephew of Yūsuf, his paternal uncle.

In 1895 he emigrated to São Paulo, Brazil. In 1898 he became editor of the newspaper *al-Barāzīl,* which had been founded in Santos in 1896 and had been moved to São Paulo in 1897. He continued to work for this paper until 1903, when it was absorbed by the paper *al-Afkār.* He was one of the founding members of an Arabic literary circle among emigrants *al-Nahḍa al-adabiyya* and of the literary club *Riwāḳ al-Maᶜarrī,* both in São Paulo. The *Riwāḳ al-Maᶜarrī* was quite popular, having many itinerant merchants among its members. Their main activity was the recitation of newly-received poems by Aḥmad Shawḳī and Khalīl Muṭrān, followed by comments and imitations along well-known lines of the *muᶜāraḍa* (Ṣaydaḥ, 151). The activities of the *Riwāḳ* came to an end during the First World War, when preference for nationalistic content to the detriment of literary value drove the better poets out (Ṣaydaḥ, 316). Ḳayṣar had meanwhile, in 1906 (Riyāḍ al-Maᶜlūf, *Shuᶜarā',* 45) or 1914 (Ziriklī, *Aᶜlām*[4], v, 209 f.) returned to Lebanon.

The list of his publications opens with a play in verse, *Riwāyat Nīrūn,* Zaḥla 1894. His *dīwān, Tidhkār al-Mahādjir,* was published in São Paulo in 1904, as were his novels: *al-Ghāda al-Sūriyya fi 'l-diyār al-Amīrkiyya,* São Paulo 1907; *Fidyat al-ḥubb,* São Paulo 1907 and *Midḥat Bāshā,* São Paulo 1907. *Djamāl bilādī* is an epic poem which appeared in Beirut in 1939. The *Dīwān Ḳayṣar al-Maᶜlūf* was published in Beirut in 1958.

Bibliography: F. dī Ṭarrāzī, *Kurrās al-nasharāt al-dawriyya al-ᶜarabiyya,* Beirut 1933, 450-1; Riyāḍ Maᶜlūf, *Shuᶜarāᶜ al-Maᶜālifa,* 45; Dāghir, *Maṣādir,* iii/2, 1256 f.; Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*[4], v, 209 f.; Ṣaydaḥ, *Adabunā wa-udabā'unā,* 151, 316, 454.

6. DJAMĪL AL-MAᶜLŪF, born at Zaḥla, 15 February 1879, died 30 December 1950; brother of Ḳayṣar and Mīshāl, brother-in-law of ᶜĪsā Iskandar and nephew of Yūsuf Nuᶜmān, his paternal uncle.

He learned Turkish in Beirut and then, in 1896, answering the call of his uncle, he migrated to the United States and helped in editing the newspaper *al-Ayyām.* He became a member of the literary circle *al-Ḥalḳa al-Afghāniyya.* Part of his time he spent travelling between New York, São Paulo and Lebanon. In 1908 he went to Paris and made contact with the Turks who were working for the deposition of ᶜAbd Ḥamīd II. The following year, after ᶜAbd Ḥamīd's reign had come to an end, Djamīl travelled via Istanbul to Beirut. The coming of Djamāl Pasha as military governor of Syria turned out to be a direct threat against his life. He was condemned to death, but escaped from being hanged as his family knew how to hide him from Turkish eyes. An incurable disease put him in hospital before the First World War ended, and there he remained until his death in 1950.

He wrote a large number of articles for the newspaper *al-Iṣlāḥ* in Brazil with the title *Kayf taṭhūr al-umam.* With his uncle Yūsuf he published *Khizānat al-ayyām fī tarādjim al-ᶜiẓām,* New York 1899, in which publication he wrote the part concerning the Turkish notables. His *Turkiya al-djadīda wa-ḥuḳūḳ al-insān,* São Paulo, is said to have served Kemāl Pasha as a hand-

book, but the catalogue of Atatürk's library does not mention the book. Djamīl advocated turcification of the country, the separation of church and state, unified schooling programmes, the adoption of the European dress, etc.

His further publications include *Waṣiyyat Fuʾād Bāshā*, Sao Paulo 1908, and *Ḳānūn al-ṣiḥāfa al-ᶜarabiyya*, also 1908, which he translated from the Turkish.

Bibliography: *Madjallat al-ᶜUṣba*, xi/4 (April 1951), 297-308; *al-Adīb*, x/4 (April 1951), 55 ff.; Riyāḍ al-Maᶜlūf, *Shuᶜarāʾ al-Maᶜālifaʾ*, 21-2; Dāghir, *Maṣādir*, ii, 716-19; Ṣaydaḥ, *Adabunā wa-udabāʾunā*, 308; Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*⁴, ii, 137; *Atatürk'ün özel kütüphanesinin kataloğu (Anıtkabir ve Çankaya bölümleri)*, Ankara 1973.

7. MĪSHĀL AL-MAᶜLŪF, born in Zaḥla, 1889, died in Beirut, 3 June 1942; younger brother of Ḳayṣar and Djamīl, brother-in-law of ᶜĪsā Iskandar, and nephew of Yūsuf Nuᶜmān al-Maᶜlūf, his paternal uncle.

His fame chiefly rests on the fact that he was one of the founding-members and the first chairman of *al-ᶜUṣba al-Andalusiyya* from 1932 to 1938, being one of the sponsors who made the publication of the monthly *al-ᶜUṣba* possible. In 1938 he returned to Lebanon.

His contribution to Arabic poetry was limited. Some of his poems are reprinted as an appendix to the memorial volume *Fī haykal al-dhikrā*, containing the commemorative speeches and the elegies of the members of *al-ᶜUṣba al-andalusiyya*, as well as the "In memoriam"'s which had appeared in *Djarīdat Zaḥla al-Fatāt* and in the monthly *al-Adīb*. A play by his hand, *Sadjīn al-ẓulm*, was printed at Zaḥla in 1910.

Bibliography: *Fī haykal al-dhikrā*, São Paulo 1944; Riyāḍ al-Maᶜlūf, *Shuᶜarā al-Maᶜālifa*, 51.

8. ᶜĪSĀ ISKANDAR AL-MAᶜLŪF, born at Kfar ᶜAḳāb, 23 April 1869, died 2 July 1956. He married in 1897 ᶜAfīfa Maᶜlūf, the daughter of Ibrāhīm Bāshā al-Maᶜlūf. Out of this marriage were born Fawzī (1899-1930) and Shafīḳ (1905-76), for whom see below, nos. 9 and 10.

ᶜĪsā Iskandar received his education at the Scottish Missionary school in his home village and at the Scottish Missionary school in al-Shuwayr. Circumstances forced him to leave this last school and to pursue his studies privately. In 1890 he was nominated teacher at the Patriarchal Orthodox school in Damascus. Almost simultaneously, he began to contribute historical articles to the periodical *al-Niᶜma*, and in December of the same year he started to work as the editor, secretary and proof-reader of the newspaper *Lubnān*. He exchanged Damascus for Zaḥla in 1898 to teach Arabic, English and Mathematics at al-Kulliyya al-Sharḳiyya (al-Badawī al-Mulaththam, *ᶜĪsā Iskandar*, 49). His articles in *al-Machriq* in this period have his name followed by the words *mudarris ādāb al-lugha al-ᶜarabiyya wa 'l-khiṭāba*. At al-Kulliyya al-Sharḳiyya he edited and printed the paper *al-Muhadhdhib* from 1901 onwards, and, after an absence from the college for one year, 1908-9, he produced the paper *al-Sharḳiyya*. Both papers were produced on a forerunner of the stencil-machine. In 1903 he founded the *Djamᶜiyyat al-nahḍa al-ᶜilmiyya* for his students as a training-ground on which they could develop their eloquentia and where they could indulge into literary research. He was its chairman until 1921. He made an important contribution in the field of humanities when in 1911 he founded *al-Āthār*, a periodical devoted to history, archaeology and literature, to which many scholars of fame throughout the Arab world contributed. The periodical continued to appear until 1928, with an interruption of three years during the First World War.

His efforts in the field of learning were so much appreciated that he became a member of the learned societies in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt on the very first day of their existence. On 8 January 1918 the *Shuᶜbat al-tardjama wa 'l-taʾlīf* was formed during the reign of Fayṣal in Syria. It was transformed into the *Madjlis al-maᶜārif* and then in 1919 into *al-Madjmaᶜ al-ᶜilmī al-ᶜarabī*. He was a member of these societies from the first day, as also of *al-Madjmaᶜ al-ᶜilmī al-Lubnānī*, founded on 20 February, 1928. The *Madjmaᶜ al-lugha al-ᶜarabiyya* Egypt counted him among its members on its foundation-day, 6 October 1933. In 1936 he was nominated corresponding member of the Brazil Academy of History and Literature in Rio de Janeiro.

He was a very prolific writer. Ṭarrāzī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa*, ii, 234-8, lists almost 40 journals and magazines to which he contributed his articles on a wide variety of subjects. Larger works were often serialised in magazines and then printed in book-form. Dāghir lists 22 printed works and more than 50 titles of works which did not pass the manuscript-stage. During his lifetime he acquired a large library of about 1,000 manuscripts and 10,000 printed works. Some 500 manuscripts were purchased by the American University in Beirut and catalogued.

The following is a list of works published in book-form or serialised in the periodicals *al-Adīb, al-Machriq* and *al-Muḳtaṭaf*:

—*al-Kitāba*—a volume of studies on script, language and writing (84 pp.), 1895—*Lamḥa fi 'l-shiᶜr wa 'l-ᶜaṣr* (40 pp.) 1902—*al-Akhlāḳ. Madjmūᶜ ᶜādāt*, Zaḥla 1902—*al-Mubkiyāt*, a collection of elegies in memory of Mrs. Mahība bint Yūsuf Abī ᶜAlī al-Maᶜlūf, the wife of Ibrāhīm al-Aswad, proprietor of the newspaper *Lubnān*, 1903—*al-Iḥtiḍārāt wa-ḳabariyyāt*, about last words and epitaphs. A series of articles in *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, xxx-xxxi (1905-6)—*Nāṣīf al-Maᶜlūf wa-usratuhu*, a series of articles on the origins of the al-Maᶜluf family and a short biography of Nāṣīf al-Maᶜlūf, in *al-Machriq*, viii-ix (1905-6)—*al-Khūrī Djirdjis ᶜĪsā al-Lubnānī*, 2 parts, in *al-Machriq*, ix, (1906)—*Nukhba min dīwān Ibrāhīm al-Ḥakīm al-Ḥalabī*, 4 parts, in *al-Machriq*, x (1907)—*Dawānī al-ḳuṭūf fī sīrat Banī Maᶜlūf*, al-Maṭbaᶜa al-ᶜUthmāniyya, Baᶜabda 1908. Apart from being a family history of the Maᶜlūfs, other families are also followed. The book is a history of Lebanon, Syria and Palestine with information about customs. Asad Rustum, in *al-Machriq*, lvii (1963), 518-20, describes the book as an encyclopaedia of the situation in Lebanon in the first half of the 19th century as it survived in the memories of the old people at the end of that century. The subtitle is *A general socio-historical book, being a description of facts, morals and customs and cultural affairs.*—*Nukhba min amthāl al-ḳiss Ḥanānyā al-Munīr*, 5 parts, in *al-Machriq*, xii, (1909)—*al-Shuᶜarāʾ wa 'l-sirḳāt wa 'l-maʾākhidh al-shiᶜriyya*, 16 parts, in *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, xxxvii-xxxix, xliv-xlvi (1910-15)—*Taʾrīkh madīnat Zaḥla*, 298 pp., Zaḥla 1911 and 1912—*Taʾrīkh Lubnān*, printed during World War I, it is said.—*Muᶜāraḍāt Yā layl al-ṣabb*, a collection of *muᶜāraḍāt* and the original poem by al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḳayrawānī [see Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḳayrawānī, ed. of M. Marzūḳī and Dj. b. al-Ḥādjdj Yaḥyā, Tunis 1963, 143-9 and *muᶜāraḍāt*, 150-201, containing César al-Maᶜluf (177-9), ᶜĪsā Iskandar (182-4), Fawzī al-Maᶜluf, (185-6) and a *muᶜāraḍa* by ᶜĪsā Iskandar 1921, also published in *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, lix, (1921)]—*Taʾrīkh al-ṭibb ḳabl al-ᶜarab*, 55 pp., 1924—*Taʾrīkh al-ṭibb ᶜind al-ᶜarab*, Damascus 1922—*al-Ḳilāᶜ wa l-ḥuṣūn fī Sūriyya*, in *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, lxi-lxiii, lxv, (1922-4)—*Ṣināᶜāt Dimashḳ al-ḳadīma*, Damascus 1924—*Taʾrīkh ḳaṣr Āl al-ᶜAẓm bi-Dimashḳ*, Beirut 1926. This was serialised in *al-Machriq*, xxiv

(1926) with the title *Ḳaṣr Asʿad Bās̲h̲ā al-ʿAẓm fī Dimas̲h̲ḳ—al-Ḳaḍāʾ fī Lubnān bi-zaman al-umarāʾ al-S̲h̲ihābiyyīn*, in *al-Machriq*, xxxi (1933)—*Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Amīr Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Maʿnī al-t̲h̲ānī ḥākim Lubnān min sanat 1590 ilā sanat 1635*, 468 pp., Beirut 1934 and 1966, also published in *al-Machriq* until vol. xxx (1932)—*al-Usar al-ʿarabiyya al-mus̲h̲tahira bi ʾl-ṭibb al-ʿarabī wa as̲h̲har al-mak̲h̲ṭūṭāt al-ṭibbiyya al-ʿarabiyya* (60 pp.), Beirut 1935—*al-G̲h̲urar al-taʾrīk̲h̲iyya fi ʾl-usra al-Yāzid̲j̲iyya*, two parts of 128 and 142 pp., Sidon 1944 and 1945—*Taʾrīk̲h̲ Mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲ al-Yāzid̲j̲iyyīn wa-as̲h̲ʿārihim*, Dayr al-Muk̲h̲alliṣ 1945, which is an abridged edition of *al-G̲h̲urar al-taʾrīkhiyya*—*Muʿd̲j̲am al-alfāẓ al-ʿāmmiyya al-ʿarabiyya wa ʾl-dak̲h̲īla*, serialised in 9 parts in *al-Adīb*, iii (1944), iv (1945). The introduction gives a survey of Arabic colloquial words and expressions from ancient until modern times.—*Muʿd̲j̲am taḥlīl asmāʾ al-as̲h̲k̲h̲āṣ*, serialised in *al-Machriq*, lix-lx (1964-6)— *Muʿd̲j̲am taḥlīl asmāʾ al-amākin fi ʾl-bilād al-ʿarabiyya*, serialised in *al-Machriq*, liii-lvii (1959-63)—*Taʾrīk̲h̲ Ṣaydnāyā*, written in 1924 but not published till 1973 at Bikfāyā—*al-Ak̲h̲bār al-marwiyya fī taʾrīk̲h̲ al-usar al-s̲h̲arḳiyya*, only partly published in periodicals.

Bibliography: *al-Adīb*, xvi/1 (January 1957), 56-7; *al-Machriq*, lvii (1963), 518-20; al-Badawī al-Mulat̲h̲t̲h̲am, *ʿĪsā Īskandar al-Maʿlūf: al-muʾarrik̲h̲, al-mawsūʿī, al-adīb*, Cairo 1969; Riyāḍ al-Maʿlūf, *al-ʿAllāma al-Marḥūm ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf, ʿuḍw al-Mad̲j̲āmiʿ al-ʿilmiyya al-ʿarabiyya: ḥayātuhu, āt̲h̲āruhu, baʿḍ maḳālātihi*, in *MMIA* (1957); Dāg̲h̲ir, *al-Maṣādir*, iii/2, 1246-55; Riyāḍ al-Maʿlūf, *S̲h̲uʿarāʾ al-Maʿālifa*, 37-8; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, v, 101; Ṭarrāzī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ṣiḥāfa*, i, 25, ii, 234-8.

9. S̲h̲AFĪḲ AL-MAʿLŪF, born at Zaḥla, March 1905, died at São Paulo 1976; son of ʿĪsā Iskandar and brother of Fawzī.

S̲h̲afīḳ studied at al-Kulliyya al-S̲h̲arḳiyya in Zaḥla. In 1922 he went to Damascus and joined the editorial staff of the newspaper *Alif-Bāʾ*. His first *dīwān* of poetry, *al-Aḥlām*, was completed in 1923 but not printed till 1926 in Beirut. The *dīwān* called forth many disputes and comments, including those of Anṭūn Saʿāda, published in his *al-Ṣirāʿ al-fikrī fi ʾl-adab al-Sūrī*, Beirut 1947. S̲h̲afīḳ left for São Paulo in 1926 to join his brothers Fawzī and Iskandar, who had set up a textile factory there. With his uncle Mīs̲h̲āl and others, he took an active part in founding *al-ʿUṣba al-Andalusiyya* in 1932 and its monthly *al-ʿUṣba* in 1933, which survived until 1952. He served Arab literary life in São Paulo by giving weekly dinners, at which he and his wife Rūz received writers and poets, with literary discussions before and after the meals (al-Badawī al-Mulat̲h̲t̲h̲am, *al-Nāṭiḳūn bi ʾl-ḍād fī Amīrkā al-D̲j̲anūbiyya*, part 2, Beirut 1956, 747).

In 1936 he produced the first version of *ʿAbḳar*, or a visit to the land of the D̲j̲inn, S̲h̲ayṭāns, Ḥūrīs, etc., in six cantos. This work was immediately hailed as an important innovation in Arabic literature, and a solemn meeting in honour of its author was held shortly after its publication. Speeches and poems read at this meeting were published in a special issue of *al-ʿUṣba* (ii, December 1936). The second edition with six new cantos added was published in 1949.

From 1951 onwards he published five new *dīwāns*: *Li-kull zahra ʿabīr*, São Paulo 1951; *Nidāʾ al-mad̲j̲ād̲h̲īf*, São Paulo 1952; *Wa-ʿaynāki mihrad̲j̲ān*, 1960; *S̲h̲umūʿ fi ʾl-adāb* and *ʿAlā sindān al-k̲h̲ayl*. A selection from the last two *dīwāns* was republished in a new *dīwān* with the title *Sanābil Rāʿūt̲h̲* (= Ruth), Beirut 1961. *Ḥabbat zumurrud*, Damascus 1966, consists of two longer essays and a collection of shorter essays. *Satāʾir al-hawdad̲j̲*, containing poetry and prose, was published in Damascus 1975. His *Laylā al-Ak̲h̲aliyya* is a *riwāya*.

A commemorative meeting was held in Zaḥla on 26 June 1977.

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10. FAWZĪ AL-MAʿLŪF, born at Zaḥla, 21 May 1899 (*D̲h̲ikrā*, 4; *Dawānī al-ḳuṭūf*, 288; *Dīwān*, 127), died at Rio de Janeiro 1930; son of ʿĪsā Iskandar and brother of S̲h̲afīḳ.

Of the primary constituent elements of his development, mention may be made of the influence of his father (see *al-Ḍād*, v [1935]; Aoun, 28-9) and the dual cultural background that he acquired in the two clerical institutions of al-S̲h̲arḳiyya (in Zaḥla) and of the Brothers of the Christian Schools (Beirut 1914-15). The World War and the severe famine in Lebanon forced him to interrupt his studies; in 1916 he was employed by the Wheat Commission (*Biḳāʿ*, ms. Jan. 1916), then, in 1919, he was appointed bursar of the teachers' training college in Damascus, and secretary to the Dean of the School of Medicine (*al-Maʿhad al-ṭibbī*, vii, 127; *D̲h̲ikrā*, 4; Aoun, 33-4). It is to this period that his literary first-fruits belong (*D̲h̲ikrā*, 5-6, 8-11, 39), and in 1921 his poem *al-Firdaws al-mustaʿād* won him a literary prize. On 17 September of the same year, apparently under compulsion (*D̲h̲ikrā*, 30; *Dīwān*, 25-28), he emigrated to Brazil and settled in São Paulo, where he joined his maternal uncle and engaged in commerce (*al-S̲h̲arḳ*, iv [March 1931]; *D̲h̲ikrā*, 186-8).

In 1922, he founded *al-Muntadā al-Zaḥlī* (*al-Ittiḥād*, 18 January 1930; *al-Rābiṭa*, 10 January 1930; *D̲h̲ikrā*, 4-5, 185), which led to a redoubling of both social and literary activity, and Spanish-Portuguese culture came to be grafted on to his original Arabic-French background (*D̲h̲ikrā*, 37). Although well-known in emigré society from the year 1923 onward, his name only began to arouse the interest of Brazilian literary circles after the appearance, in 1926, of his poem *ʿAlā bisāṭ al-rīḥ*.

Details concerning his short life, his generous nature, his illness (20 November 1929) and his death in the English Hospital in Rio de Janeiro (7 January 1930) have been carefully collected by his father (*D̲h̲ikrā, passim*): *al-Adīb*, xxxii (March 1973), 53d, reprints a letter of S̲h̲afīḳ to ʿĪsā al-Nāʿūrī saying that Fawzī had not died of appendicitis but of an inflamation of the duodenum, but that he had told his parents at the time that Fawzī was suffering from an appendicitis in order to allay their worries. The letter was written after ʿĪsā al-Nāʿūrī had written in *al-Adīb*, xxi/11 (Nov. 1972), 46, that Fawzī had possibly died of a venereal disease or of tuberculosis.

The rare unedited works preserved in his father's library (fragments of poetry, the first issue of a monthly revue, *al-Adab*, intended to be distributed in the school—ms. January 1914—assorted meditations, proverbs and aphorisms translated from French, two panegyrics—ms. 1914-15) display tendency towards an elegant and elaborate prose (*al-Adab*, preface), a quasi-traditional prosody, a romantic taste and a con-

cern for the collation or insertion of items of wisdom.

His first novellas, including *Salmā* and *ᶜAlā ḍifāf al-kawthar* (*Dhikrā*, 5-6, 39) recall the romantic genre of Djabrān (d. 1931 [*q.v.*]). In 1916 he completed the composition of *Ibn Ḥamīd aw sukūṭ Gharnāṭa* (*Dhikrā*, 39, 107-9), a romantic drama in five acts (published in Brazil by *al-ᶜUṣba*, 1952). The subject is borrowed from Andalusian Muslim history and the action is set in Granada. Attention has been drawn to analogy between this drama and the novel of Florian, *Gonzalve de Cordoue* (*Ibn Ḥāmid*, preface; Aoun, 59-74) which the poet, while still an adolescent, is said to have translated into Arabic (*Dhikrā*, 10). A closer analysis, however, shows the precise similarity between the drama and the novel by Chateaubriand, *Le dernier des Abencérages*, translated into Arabic by Shakīb Arslān (1870-1946) as *Ākhir Banī Sirādj* (ed. *al-Manār*, 1920, in *Khulāṣat taʾrīkh al-Andalus*). The dialogue is a poetic-prosodic mixture of a high level. There are, however, a number of weaknesses regarding theatrical technique, plot, analysis of characters (Act iv, sc. 2) and strict observation of local colour (Act iii, sc. 3, pp. 66, 69). Lyrical effusions have the effect, here and there, of hindering the rhythmic evolution of the action (*passim*; and Act v, sc. 7).

In its incomplete form, the *Dīwān* is a collection of 46 fragments and poems. It shows numerous omissions (see tentative outline, Aoun, 35-53, and appendix, 166-8; thesis, AUB 1967, appendix) and a chronological classification of the poems has still to be made. The three main titles (*Taʾawwuhāt al-rūḥ*: 12 poems; *Aghānī al-Andalus:* 12 *muwashshaḥāt*; *Shuᶜlat al-ᶜadhāb*; 6 cantos with a seventh incomplete) denote a set of varying correspondences within classical conformism (in the themes, *Elegy of Sulaymān al-Bustānī*, the *Muwashshaḥāt*, the occasional borrowings from al-Maᶜarrī and al-Mutanabbī).

The influence of the two poets Shawḳī (d. 1932; see Firᶜawn, in *Dīwān*, 9-15) and Kh. Muṭrān (d. 1949; see Ṣaydaḥ, 348-9) and a lyricism charged with childhood memories, nostalgia, love, dreams, mingled with the thought of death and the disillusionment of a bitter pessimism (his poems *Baᶜlabakk, ᶜalā shāṭiʾ Rio, al-Lifāfa*), are typical of the literary output of his generation and that of émigré poets in particular.

His position in contemporary Arabic poetry rests, however, on *ᶜAlā bisāṭ al-rīḥ*. This long poem (218 verses, in *khafīf* metre) contains fourteen cantos each with fourteen lines and originally modelled on the French sonnet (see the 1st ed., published in São Paulo, 28 June 1926, by al-Djāliya (*Dhikrā*, 74; *al-Āthār*, viii [October 1927], 387-400). In a 2nd ed. (1929) which was to give the poem its definitive form, the author fixes the number of lines at sixteen, except in the last three cantos. A two-line preamble, in the guise of a musical leitmotif (*madjzāʾ al-khafīf* = *fāᶜilātun, mustafᶜilun*) defines the respective phases of the poem. The illustrated edition (1929, 1931) is accompanied by a long introduction by F. Villaespasa, responsible for the Spanish version. Venturelli Sobrinho undertook the Portuguese version and seven other translations followed (*MSOS*, xxxi, 158-65; Aoun, 93-4; Dāghir, *Maṣādir*, ii, 722-3; *Dīwān*, 139-40). The poetic form, erratic in the *Dīwān*, more accomplished in the later poems, is to a large extent free from earlier imperfections and represents a harmonious fusion of restraint and simplicity. In this freely-flowing acoustic style, ideas, often common ones, take on a new and larger potential. The imaginary escape to the astral plane and the "Land of the Souls" is stimulated by the dualism of a divorce between the soul and the body. Faced by his insoluble dilemma, the divided and shattered being searches for its lost unity. The transitory tends towards immortality and the finite towards infinity. Thanks to his imaginative power, the poet, a stranger in the material world, seeks deliverance from his terrestrial imprisonment and project himself into space (cantos i, ii, iii). The stellar journey is marked out with dialogues, notably that of the winged and planetary race. These passages nevertheless bear the melancholic accent of a broken and lonely poet facing his implacable destiny (cantos vi, vii, viii). The spatial distance opens up a vertical perspective on the world; seen from these spiritual altitudes, controversies deepen, life takes on the appearance of a thin flux of ephemeral beings and there is a proliferation of meditations on the passions of mankind, his vanity and the destructive materialism of a perverse and perfidious civilisation ruled by the spirit of evil (cantos x to xiii). The poet's expiation is achieved by purificatory inspiration, and original unity is regained by the fusion of the two unyielding elements. But this state of grace attained through the mystery of love is dissipated like "the brightness of a dream" and the flesh is seen to fail. Only the pen, the poet's beloved harp, remains as the sole instrument of consolation and deliverance (canto xiv).

His poetic style takes as its starting-point the neo-classicism of his contemporaries, where the new professes to be the epiphenomenon of a traditionalist prosody. Then he frees himself from this genre so as to integrate himself with the emigrant literary movement. We may recall, in this connection, the elaborate themes, the nature of the imagery, the dimensions of the poetic state, the system of evocative language, which form common ground with the pleiad of *al-Rābiṭa al-ḳalamiyya*. Other reminiscences seem to recall the Arabic version of the *Rubāᶜiyyāt* of ᶜUmar Khayyām (tr. W. Bustānī, 1912) and Djabrān's poem *al-Mawākib* (New York 1918). Imbued with French romanticism, a desperate idealist, fleeing from confusion, an uprooted emigrant, his lyrical impulse is characterised by an authentic and personal accent within an incomplete poetic corpus.

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11. DJŪRDJ ḤASSŪN MAᶜLŪF, born at Bikfayā 1893, died in São Paolo 1965. He visited the English school at Shuwayr and then studied law at the Jesuit College in Beirut. Yaᶜḳūb al-ᶜAwdāt, who knew him well in later years, relates that Djūrdj Ḥassūn joined the Jesuit College in 1907 to study law and that he practised as a barrister for two years before he left Lebanon for Argentine in 1911. There he worked as the secretary to the Ottoman Consulate at Buenos Aires for one year and then he went to Brazil. He became

one of the founding-members of *al-ʿUṣba al-andalusiyya*. Though he had an astounding knowledge of Arabic poetry, prose held his chief interest. He translated from French, Spanish and Portuguese, and composed some stories himself, apart from numerous articles. He wrote a long introduction (32 pp.) to the *Dīwān* of Ilyās Farḥāt in 1932. *Al-ʿUṣba* published a volume of stories, partly translated, partly original, with the title *Aḳāṣīṣ* in 1954. The first instalment of a book on the literature of the *Mahdjar* was published in *al-Marāḥil*. He died in 1965 in a car accident.

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(C. NIJLAND)

MAʿLŪLĀ, a place in Syria.

1. The locality. Maʿlūlā is situated 38 miles/60 km. to the south-east of Damascus, 6 miles/10 km. to the west of the main Damascus-Ḥimṣ road, on the second plateau (5,000 feet/1,500 metres altitude) of the Djabal Ḳalamūn, the last chain of the Anti-Lebanon. The agglomeration is constructed in the form of an amphitheatre, inside a wide and deep gap; access to it is protected, from the side of the third plateau, by two defiles which open on to its flanks. There is access by one of these defiles to the monastery of St. Sergius, whose church with a cupola supported on pendentives is of Byzantine date; at the entrance to the other defile there is built, partly on the rock, the monastery of St. Thecla. The parish church of St. Leontius has no features of interest, but a mosaic from the 4th century A.D. has been found in the church of St. Elias.

Maʿlūlā is mentioned by George of Cyprus as Magloula and as forming part of Lebanese Phoenicia; Yāḳūt gives it as a district (*iḳlīm*) of the environs of Damascus. It is known to have been the seat of a Melkite Orthodox bishopric in the 17th century, and in 1724 was attached to Ṣaydnāyā. At the time of the rebellion of the *amīr* of Baʿlabakk, Muḥammad Ḥarfūsh, in 1850, Maʿlūlā was sacked by the Turkish troops of Muṣṭafā Pasha chasing the rebels who had taken shelter in the village against the desires of the local population. In 1860 and 1925, Maʿlūlā was again attacked and besieged.

The fame of this picturesque place comes from the fact that its inhabitants (about 2,000), who have remained Christians, mainly Melkite Catholics, still speak a Western Aramaic dialect, just like the people of two other nearby villages, Djubbaʿdīn and Bakhʿa, which became Muslim in the 18th century. Since the time of the first notes on the Aramaic or Maʿlūlā published by Cl. Huart in 1878, this speech has been the subject of several important works by Dom J. Parisot, G. Bergsträsser, S. Reich and A. Spitaler (see below, 2. The language).

Since the Aramaic of Edessa was formerly the liturgical language of these Christians of Byzantine rite, a certain number of Syriac manuscripts from the monasteries and churches of Maʿlūlā have come down to us, but most were burnt on the orders of a bishop in the 19th century.

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(G. TROUPEAU)

2. The language. Maʿlūla and its Aramaic-speaking neighbouring villages, Bakhʿa and Djubb ʿAdīn-Ghuppa ʿŌdh are bilingual, and use varieties of dialectal Arabic more or less rapidly assimilating to the regional prestige speech of the city of Damascus—a process already completed for Maʿlūla itself—in all outside relations. Hence it is not astonishing that there is a strong Arabic influence on their Aramaic vernacular, especially in the field of vocabulary: a random count will yield an average of about 20% and even more of words of Arabic origin in any given text. Loan translations abound. Nevertheless, the Aramaic language of Maʿlūla and Djubb ʿAdīn is still in full vigour, while at Bakhʿa there seems to be a marked tendency, especially among the younger generation, to supplant it entirely by Arabic, which, of course, in due time will lead to its extinction there; in 1971 people of less than forty years' age were, according to information by inhabitants of the village, no longer able to use the vernacular correctly, although they had no difficulties in understanding it. Understandability among the three villages is mutual, except for smaller details which on the whole will not impair the comprehension of any utterance.

The characteristics of Maʿlūla Aramaic (or, to be more exact, Western Neo-Aramaic) include:

General. MA is a descendant of the western branch of Aramaic (*yiḳṭul, yḳuṭlenn-e, inter alia*), its closest relationship being to Judaeo-Aramaic and Syro-Palestinian.

Phonology. Long vowels of Older Aramaic have been preserved under stress; *ā* > *ō*. In unstressed position, they appear shortened -*ā* > *a* - and partially merged, e.g. *ḥṓmi* < *ḥāmē*, *páyṯī* < *bayṯī*. Short vowels in a stressed syllable seem to continue the former state, while, when unstressed, they too have undergone, at least phonologically, certain mergers (*e* ~ *i*, *o* ~ *u* against *a*, pre-tonic even *e i o u* > *ə* against *a*). Stress is usually on the penult, and may hit even originally prosthetic vowels: *ébra* < *brā* via *əbrā*. Voiced plosive consonants have been devoiced (*b d g* > *p t k*), voiceless plosive consonants except *p* palatalised (*ṯ ḵ* > *č k*; Dj. ʿA. *k* > *č*), *p* has become *f*, *b* > *b*. *Begadkefat* laws are no longer operating, although they have left many traces; roots containing susceptible consonants will appear either unified: *irkheb* "he mounted (a horse)" from *rḵeḇ*: *arkhep* "he put somebody on horseback" corresponding to older *arkeḇ* which, except for palatalisation and *ḇ* > *b*, should have remained unchanged (for *p*, see below); or there exists a so-called root-variant: *irkheb* as above: *rikhpiṯ* "I mounted", the *p* having been generalised in the causative (see above example). Initially, in general the spirant version of these consonants has been perpetualised (original context pronunciation after final vowel).

Morphology. On the whole, the older system has changed very little, much less than in eastern Neo-Aramaic. This is doubtless to be attributed to a certain preserving force exerted by the structurally very similar surrounding Arabic dialects. Salient innovatory features out of Aramaic material are the development by fusion of analytical constructions of obligatory verbal forms to show the definiteness of a following direct or indirect nominal object (*iḳṭal ghabrōna* "they hit a man": *ḳaṭlull ghabrōna* "they hit the man", < *ḳaṭlunn-eh l-*) and the personal inflexion of predicative adjectives by prefixes formally identical with those of the imperfect (*ana n-ifḳer* "I'm poor"), as well as the strongly extended use of old *ḳṭīl* and *ḳaṭṭīl* participles as a resultative or perfect. Arabic has contributed in addition to a good many of verbal stems (III, V, VI, VII—the normal expression of the

passive voice—, VIII, X), which, with the exception of VII, of course may be regarded as a special kind of lexical innovation, above all its construction of *ʿamma* + *b*-imperfect (this latter being represented in Aramaic by the present participle) to render continuous action or state. This fact has led to at least a partial restructuring of the verbal system, the simple participle in main clauses being restricted to the function of a general present. Besides, mention should be made of the free possibility of forming an elative even of Aramaic roots on the model of Arabic (*awrab* "bigger", from *yrb*: Ar. *aḥsan*).

Syntax. For category syntax, see the preceding section. Clause and sentence connection is realised on the one hand to a large extent by intonation alone (asyndesis), while on the other hand there is, as far as clause adverbials of time are concerned, a real profusion of incessantly reappearing temporal conjunctions. Very remarkable is the introduction from Arabic of the asyndetic relative clause (the *ṣifa*) to be used in exactly the same circumstances (indefinite clause-head) as in the tongue of origin.

The value of western Neo-Aramaic for the clarification of difficult problems raised by our not always complete understanding of the intricacies of the grammar of Older Aramaic has not yet been fathomed; there is still a grave lack of studies of this kind.

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MĀLWĀ proper is an inland district of India bordered on the south by Vindhyās, and lying between lat. 23° 30′ N. and long. 74° 30′ E.

To this tract, known in the age of the *Mahābhārata* as Nishadha, and later as Avanti, from the name of its capital, now U̲d̲j̲d̲jayn, was afterwards added Akara, or eastern Mālwā, with its capital, Bhīlsā, and the country lying between the Vindhyās and the Sātpūras. Primitive tribes like Ābhīras and Bhīls have been dwelling among the hills and jungles of Mālwā since ancient times, some of whom still cling to their primitive way of life. The province formed part of the dominions of the Mauryas, the Western Satraps, the Guptas of Magadha, the white Huns, and the kingdom of Kanawd̲j̲ [*q.v.*], and then passed to the Mālawās, from whom it has its name since about the 5th century A.D. These when Hinduised formed the Paramāra tribe of Rād̲j̲pūts, which bore sway in Mālwā from 800 to 1200, but from the middle of the 11th century onward their power was increasingly challenged by a confederacy of the Čālukyas of Anhilvada and the Kalačuris of Tripurī.

Mālwā, at the crossroads between northern India and the Dakhan, and between the western provinces and the seaports of Gud̲j̲arāt [*q.v.*], always occupied a position of great strategic and commercial importance. It was therefore only a matter of time for the territory to attract the attention of the Sultans of Dihlī. In 632/1234-5 S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Iltutmis̲h̲ [*q.v.*] of Dihlī invaded U̲d̲j̲d̲jayn, demolished the temple of Mahākāl, and sacked Bhīlsā. This, however, was no more than a predatory raid and did not lead to annexation. Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī [see KHALDJĪS]—who as governor of Karā had led a successful raid on Bhīlsā in 691/1292—sent his commander ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], "a master of pen and sword" (Amīr K̲h̲usraw), in 705/1305 to conquer Mālwā. It now became a province of Dihlī, and, with interludes of Hindu revolt, remained so until, in 804/1401-2, on the disintegration of the Kingdom of Dihlī after Tīmūr's invasion, the Afg̲h̲ān governor Dilāwar K̲h̲ān G̲h̲ūrī made it an independent kingdom. On his death in 809/1406-7 (evidence of his having been poisoned by his son Alp K̲h̲ān is inconclusive), Alp K̲h̲ān succeeded him under the title of Hūs̲h̲ang S̲h̲āh. He transferred the capital from Dhār to Māndū [*q.v.*] and founded Hūs̲h̲angābād. To him goes the credit for the consolidation of the newly-established kingdom. He followed an active foreign policy, extended his territory wherever possible, maintained friendly relations with his southern neighbours and succesfully withstood the pressure of Gud̲j̲arāt. He favoured a policy of toleration towards his Hindu subjects and encouraged Rād̲j̲pūts to settle in his kingdom. Mālwā prospered under his benign rule, and his patronage of letters attracted many scholars. On his death in 838/1435 he was succeeded by his son G̲h̲aznī K̲h̲ān, entitled Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, who after a reign of less than a year was poisoned by his ambitious *wazīr* and brother-in-law Maḥmūd K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī.

Attempts by *amīrs* loyal to the G̲h̲ūrī dynasty to raise Muḥammad S̲h̲āh's thirteen-year old son Masʿūd were foiled by Maḥmūd who, in 839/1436, ascended the throne as Maḥmūd I, and whose reign of thirty-three years was the most glorious in the annals of Mālwā [see MAḤMŪD I KHALDJĪ]. He waged war successfully against the kings of Gud̲j̲arāt, the Dakhan, and D̲j̲awnpūr, against the small state of Kālpī, and against Rana Kūmbhā of Čitor; he retired, but without disgrace, before the superior power of Dihlī; and he extended the frontiers of his kingdom on the north, east and south. Maḥmūd followed a policy of "perfect toleration" (Jain). He protected the interests of the peasantry and encouraged extension of cultivation; trade and industry flourished, since he succeeded in establishing law and order throughout the realm. Robbery and theft were said to be almost unknown in his kingdom (Firis̲h̲ta). He was interested in the welfare of his subjects, and established hospitals, dispensaries, schools and colleges. Maḥmūd was known outside India, and had diplomatic relations with the titular ʿAbbāsid caliph of Cairo as well as with the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā of K̲h̲urāsān.

On his death in 873/1469 he was succeeded by his son ʿAbd al-Ḳādir G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn. Though G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn was well-versed in warfare, he had the sagacity to shift the emphasis from conquest to consolidation. He gave up his father's aggressive foreign policy and tried to maintain friendly relations with his neighbours. His reign was a period of peace and plenty and of cultural development. Having a large harem to look after, he increasingly associated his son Nāṣir al-Dīn in state affairs. In the event, Nāṣir al-Dīn removed all rivals from the throne, forced abdication on his father and himself ascended the throne (906/1500). His cruel reign ended with his death in 916/1510, leaving the kingdom in disarray and beset with grave problems. He was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], who, though personally brave, was a poor general. With the help of Muẓaffar II of

Gudjarāt he rid himself of his powerful Rādjpūt minister, Mednī Raī, but in doing so embroiled himself with Sangrāma Rānā of Čitor, who defeated him in the field and took him prisoner, but generously released him. He then, with inconceivable folly and ingratitude, bitterly offended Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, who invaded Mālwā and, after giving Maḥmūd every opportunity of atoning for his error, carried Māndū by assault in Shaʿbān 937/March 1531. Maḥmūd and his sons were sent in custody towards Čāmpāner, but the officer in charge of them, apprehending a rescue, put them to death.

Mālwā now became a province of Gūdjarāt, and in 941/1535 the emperor Humāyūn [q.v.], invading that kingdom, defeated Bahādur Shāh at Mandasor and captured Māndū, but was recalled to Hindūstān in the following year by the menacing attitude of Shīr Khān in Bengal; hence Mallū Khān, an officer of Maḥmūd II, established himself in Mālwā and assumed the title of Ḳādir Shadjāʿat Khān and Ḥādjdjī Khān, two officers of Shīr Shāh, drove him from Mālwā and assumed the government of the province. Shadjāʿat Khān died in 962/1554-5, and was succeeded by his son Malik Bāyazīd, known as Bāz Bahādur, who, during the decline of the power of the Sūr emperors, became independent. A severe defeat at the hands of the queen of the Gond Kingdom of Garha Mandla engendered in him a distaste for warlike enterprise, and he devoted himself to music and to the embraces of the beautiful Rūpmatī. In 968/1561 Akbar's army under Adham Khān surprised Bāz Bahādur at Sārangpūr, defeated his troops, put him to flight, and captured his mistress, who took poison rather than become the conqueror's paramour. Bāz Bahādur fled into Khāndēsh [q.v.] and Pīr Muḥammad Khān, second-in-command of Akbar's army, who followed him thither, was defeated by Mubārak Khān of Khāndēsh and drowned in the Narbadā. Bāz Bahādur returned and again reigned in Māndū, but in 969/1562 another Mughal army under ʿAbd Allāh Khān the Uzbek invaded Mālwā and compelled him to flee to Čitor. He remained a fugitive until 978/1570, when he submitted to Akbar and entered his service. Abu 'l-Faḍl mentions him among the musicians of Akbar's court.

Mālwā flourished under Mughal rule, and made notable progress in agricultural and industrial production. It became one of the best revenue-yielding provinces of the empire. The Marāthās [q.v.] started raiding the province during the closing years of Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr's [q.v.] reign. The province suffered greatly under their recurring depredations. In 1154/1741 the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh, with his authority greatly shaken by Nādir Shāh's invasion, was compelled by increasing Marāthā pressure to appoint the Peshwā as deputy-governor of Mālwā and virtually to hand over the province to the Marāthās. They failed, however, to restore Mālwā as a unified and settled province, and it soon "became a jumble of principalities ruled over by Marāthā generals and officers, Rajput princes and Afghan adventurers" (Raghubir Sinh).

It was afterwards divided between the great Marāthā generals whose descendants, Sindhya of Gwalior, Holkar of Indore, and the Ponwārs of Dhār and Dewas, still held most of it till 1947.

From 1780 until 1818, when British supremacy was firmly established, the province was one of the principal arenas in which Muslim, Marāthā and European contended for empire. Since then, its history has been uneventful, but sporadic risings took place at six military stations during the great rebellion of 1857.

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(T. W. Haig - [Riazul Islam])

MALZŪZA, an ancient Berber people belonging to the branch of the Butr, and to the family of Ḍarīsa, who most probably lived in Tripolitania.

If we are to believe Ibn Khaldūn (8th/14th century) and his sources, the Berber genealogists, the Malzūza were descendants of Fāṭin, son of Tamzīt, son of Ḍarī (eponym of the Ḍarīsa) and were the sister-tribe of the important Berber tribes of the Maṭghara, the Lamāya, the Ṣadīna, the Kūmiya, the Madyūna, the Maghīla, the Maṭmāṭa, the Kashāna (or Kashāta) and the Dūna. The majority of these peoples have survived until the present day, except for three, sc. the Malzūza, Kashāna and Dūna, who became extinct at an early date and whom the mediaeval Arab historians knew only by name. According to Ibn Khaldūn, all the nine peoples above-mentioned occupied, before the 8th/14th century, "an exalted rank among the Berber populations and were distinguished by their great exploits". One should add that, according to another passage of the *History of the Berbers* of Ibn Khaldūn, the Malzūza were not a sister-tribe of the Maghīla [q.v.], but rather a clan of this latter people. Another genealogy of the Malzūza, quite different from that of Ibn Khaldūn, was given by Ibn al-Aḥmar in his monograph on the Marīnids entitled *Rawḍat al-nisrīn fī dawlat Banī Marīn*. According to this author, the Malzūza belonged, together with the Maghīla, the Maṭghar (*sic*), the Madyūna, the Kashāshāna (or Kashāna), the Maṭmāṭa and the Lamāya, and also the people of Fāṭin, not to the descendants of Ḍarī, but to the great Berber branch of the Zanāta.

It seems that the majority of the Malzūza were annihilated by the ʿAbbāsid general Yazīd b. Ḥātim b. Ḳabīṣa b. al-Muhallab during the great massacre of the Berber peoples of Tripolitania which took place after the defeat and death of the Ibāḍī *imām* Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī [q.v.]. The Malzūza, his fellow tribesmen, were to suffer in particular after his fall. However, it is not impossible that a clan of the Malzūza survived until the 4th/10th century. Indeed, one would be tempted to link the name of مزورة Malzūza with that of ملزوزة Mazūra whom Ibn Ḥawḳal, who was writing during this century, mentions in his list of Berber tribes as among the peoples of Tripolitania belonging to the great branch of the Mazāta.

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Berbères[2], i, 172, 236, 248; Abū Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Beni ᶜAbd al-Wād*, ed. A. Bel, i, Algiers 1903, 123, n. 4; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, i, 107, Fr. tr. Kramers-Wiet, i, 104.

(T. Lewicki)

AL-**MALZŪZĪ**, Abū Ḥātim Yaᶜḳūb b. Labīd, famous Ibāḍī *imām*. He is mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Sīra wa-akhbār al-aʾimma*, an Ibāḍī chronicle written shortly after 504/1110-11 by Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wardjlānī. Abū Ḥātim was also known by other names. In the chronicle (which is at one and the same time a collection of biographies of famous Ibāḍī-Wahbī *shaykhs*) composed by Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad al-Shammākhī towards the beginning of the 10th/16th century and entitled *Kitāb al-Siyar*, the *imām* concerned is called Abū Ḥātim Yaᶜḳub b. Ḥabīb al-Malzūzī al-Nadjīsī; he was, according to this author, a *mawlā* of the Arab tribe of Kinda. Al-Shammākhī used, in the paragraph of his work concerning Abū Ḥātim, the historical work written by Ibn Salām b. ᶜUmar, a scholar who is the first Ibāḍī historian known from the Maghrib and who lived in the 3rd/9th century. Similarly, the form of the name of the *imām* Abū Ḥātim mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Siyar* is the oldest known and may be correct. As for the *nisba* al-Nadjīsī, which is added by al-Shammākhī, following Ibn Salām b. ᶜUmar, to the name of Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī, it most probably originates from the Berber tribe of Nadjāsa, which is known to us from the table of Berber peoples of Ibn Ḥawḳal (4th/10th century). The latter author cites the Nadjāsa among the peoples belonging to the branch of the Mazāta who lived in Tripolitania. Similarly, the tribe of the Malzūza seem to have belonged to the Mazāta and not to the Ḍarīsa or Zanāta, as it would appear from the evidence of the works of Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Aḥmar.

Another Ibāḍī historian and biographer of the Maghrib who has transmitted to us several details concerning Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī, that is, Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Saᶜīd al-Dardjīnī (7th/13th century), calls him Abū Ḥātim Yaᶜḳūb b. Labīb al-Malzūzī al-Hawwārī. The tribe of the Hawwāra, the largest part of which lived, in the first centuries of Islam, in the vicinity of the city of Tripoli, had, in the 2nd/8th century, played a major role in the history of the Ibāḍīs of Tripolitania. Also, it is not impossible that this tribe may have headed the confederation of Ibāḍi Berber people of the Maghrib who supported Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī, giving its tribal name to this confederation. It is very likely that Abū Ḥātim, being the supreme head of the confederation in question, added the name of Hawwāra to that of the tribe into which he was born, Malzūza [*q.v.*].

To conclude our discussion of the Ibāḍī sources, let us add that Abū Ḥātim is also mentioned in an anonymous document called *Tasmiyat mashāhid al-Djabal*, published by R. Basset under the title *Sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*. It is a list of the places venerated on Djabal Nafūsa, probably composed in the 9th/15th century, and was written as an autograph in an appendix to al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-Siyar* (ed. Cairo, 598-600). At the end of this list, we read that "one faces towards the oratory opposite the tomb of Abū Ḥātim". No doubt this is Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī who was killed, as we shall see, in a battle with the ᶜAbbāsid army in the Djabal Nafūsa and buried in a place in this district. Finally, a distinguished Ibāḍī writer of the 9th/15th century, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Barrādī, calls the leader in question Abū Ḥātim Yaᶜḳūb b. Labīd al-Malzūzī al-Hawwārī.

As for the orthodox Arabic sources, only three authors tell us of Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī: Ibn ᶜIdhārī al-Marrākushī (7th/13th century), al-Nuwayrī (8th/14th century) and Ibn Khaldūn, who lived in the same century. Ibn ᶜIdhārī calls him simply Abū Ḥātim, except in a passage where he cites al-Ṭabarī and where this *imām* is called Abū Ḥātim al-Ibāḍī. Al-Nuwayrī says that this leader bore the name Abū Ḥātim b. Ḥabīb and that he was also called Abū Ḳādim. He adds that Abū Ḥātim was a *mawlā* of the Arab tribe of Kinda. Sometimes he is named by al-Nuwayrī quite simply as Abū Ḥātim. Ibn Khaldūn gives the Berber leader the name of Abū Ḥātim Yaᶜḳūb b. Ḥabīb b. Midyan Ibn Īṭūwafat. According to Ibn Khaldūn, he also bore the name Abū Ḳādim; this historian also makes him an *amīr* of the tribe of the Maghīla [*q.v.*]. It should be noted that the tribe into which Abū Ḥātim was born, the Malzūza, was regarded by Ibn Khaldūn and the Berber genealogists on whom he depended as the sister tribe of the Maghīla or, indeed, as a clan of this latter tribe.

Let us now turn to Abū Ḥātim's political and military activity. It is not impossible that he played a certain role, as *amīr* of the powerful tribe of the Maghīla who professed Khāridjī, Ibāḍī and Ṣufrī doctrines, as early as the imāmate of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ᶜAbd al-Aᶜlā al-Maᶜāfirī (140-4/757-61). In fact, if we are to believe Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjlānī (6th/12th century), he was governor of the city of Tripoli during this *imām*'s rule. He survived the great massacre of the Ibāḍī populations of Tripolitania by the ᶜAbbāsid general Ibn al-Ashᶜath which followed the defeat and death of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb in the battle that took place at Tawargha between the Ibāḍī forces and the ᶜAbbāsid army (Ṣafar 144/May-June 761). In 151/768-9, when the ᶜAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr sent a new governor to Ifrīḳiya in the person of a distinguished Arab general called ᶜUmar b. Ḥafṣ, also known as Hazārmard, the Ibāḍī Berber tribes of Tripolitania, already recovered after the defeat of Tawargha, were ready to rise again against Arab domination. ᶜUmar b. Ḥafṣ established himself in Ḳayrawān, capital of Ifrīḳiya, but soon received orders from the caliph al-Manṣūr to go to the Zāb and rebuild the strong fortress of Ṭubna which was to be the main base of the Arab armies in the central Maghrib. He was anxious to confront the powerful Ṣufrī leader of the central Maghrib, Abū Ḳurra, who was supported by two great Berber tribes of this land, the Banū Īfran and Maghīla, and who was proclaimed caliph by his followers in 148/765. Abū Ḳurra had created a powerful state with Tilimsān (Tlemcen) as his capital. Making for Ṭubna, ᶜUmar b. Ḥafṣ entrusted the government of Ḳayrawān (already depleted, like the whole of Ifrīḳiya, of Arab troops, most of whom had gone to Ṭubna, following the new governor), to his cousin Ḥabīb b. Ḥabīb b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. ᶜUmar b. Ḥafṣ was entirely assured of the attitude of the Berbers of Tripolitania and Ifrīḳiya who had been, in 144/761-2 so severely punished by Ibn al-Ashᶜath. But this peace was only apparent. In fact, the Ibāḍīs of this land were already prepared to rebel against the Arabs. Indeed, immediately after the departure of the ᶜAbbāsid forces commanded by ᶜUmar b. Ḥafṣ in the central Maghrib, where they had difficulty in dealing with Abū Ḳurra, the Ibāḍī Berbers of the area around the city of Tripoli rebelled, in 151/768-9, against the Arab governor of the city of Tripoli. The rebels chose as their leader Abū Ḥātim. Under the command of their leader, they challenged the forces that the ᶜAbbāsid governor of this city had sent against them, and seizing Tripoli, they went on to lay siege to Ḳayrawān. Later, Abū Ḥātim al-

Malzūzī moved against Ṭubna, at the head of the Ibāḍī insurgents of Tripolitania and Ifrīḳiya, who then joined with the other Ibāḍī and Ṣufrī groups besieging ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ. The latter put up a brave defence, at the head of 15,000 soldiers. As for the besieging forces, they formed a huge army, in which Abū Ḳurra stood out at the head of 40,000 Ṣufrīs. Another band of Ṣufrīs numbering 2,000 soldiers was commanded by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Sakardīd. Several Ibāḍī forces, commanded by different leaders, were independent of one another. The sources mention among these latter troops: Abū Ḥātim at the head of a considerable number of warriors; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, with 15,000; ʿĀṣim al-Sadrātī at the head of 6,000 warriors and al-Miswar b. Hāniʾ with 10,000. The army under the command of Djarīr b. Masʿūd al-Madyūnī was also composed of Ibāḍīs. During the siege of Ṭubna, Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī was only one of the leaders of the Ibāḍī groups and not the commander-in-chief of the Ibāḍī armies who besieged ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ. The latter, threatened by the great Khāridjī army, whose total strength was about four times that of his own army, bought the neutrality of Abū Ḳurra for 40,000 *dirhams*. After this, the latter's warriors left Ṭubna. Similarly, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, whose troops had been routed by a detachment of the garrison of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ, hastened to lead back to Tāhart, his capital, the remnants of his army. It was only from this time that Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī took charge of the besieging forces. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ, seeing that the forces of the Ibāḍīs surrounding Ṭubna were very much weakened, succeeded in escaping from this fortress and making haste to Ḳayrawān, which was also besieged by the Ibāḍīs. The Ibāḍī army which was besieging this city was already commanded by Abū Ḥātim, who had abandoned the siege of Ṭubna to make an end of the capital of Ifrīḳiya and its governor in the name of the ʿAbbāsids, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ Hazārmard. This army was at this moment 350,000 men strong, of whom 35,000 were horsemen. It may be that, during the siege of Ḳayrawān, Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī had been proclaimed *imām* of all the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib with the title of *imām al-difāʿ* (Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Maʿāfirī bore the title of *imām al-ẓuhūr*). The siege of Ḳayrawān lasted for a long time and ended with the death of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ (who was killed by the Ibāḍīs during a sortie) and with the surrender of Ḳayrawān, whose population and garrison were already totally starved.

But Arab help was near. Indeed, a large ʿAbbāsid army was heading for Tripolitania under the command of the new Arab governor Yazīd b. Ḥātim. At the news of the approach of this army, Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī set out for Tripoli, from where he headed for the Nafūsa Mountains, whose inhabitants were particularly attached to the Ibāḍī doctrine. But other Ibāḍī Berber tribes also gathered around Abū Ḥātim, in anticipation of the final battle which would decide the future of Ibāḍism in the Maghrib. Among Abū Ḥātim's faithful followers, apart from the Nafūsa, may be counted the Hawwāra and Ḍarīsa. Abū Ḥātim held out in the Djabal Nafūsa in an almost impregnable place, according to certain sources, in Djanbī, where, however, he died, with his companions, despite their brave defence (155/772). Abū Ḥātim's tomb, which is situated in the same part of the Djabal Nafūsa and which is one of the holy places of this land, was surrounded with legends. After his death, the dignity of the Ibāḍī *imām* of the Maghrib passed to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam and his descendants, who succeeded in maintaining what was left of the Ibāḍī imāmate of Tāhart until the beginning of the 4th/10th century.'

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*², i, 221-3; Nuwayrī, *Conquête de l'Afrique septentrionale par les musulmans, apud* Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 379-85; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*², i, 75-8; *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Fr. tr. E. Masqueray, Algiers 1878, 41-9; Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301/1883-4, 133-8; Dardjīnī, *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh*, ed. Ṭallāʾi, Blida 1394/1974, i, 36-40; Barrādī, *Djawāhir al-muntaḳāt*, ed. Cairo 1302/1884-5, 172-3; *Tasmiyat mashāhid al-Djabal*, ed. R. Basset, in *JA* (May-June 1899), 423-36, (July-August 1899), 115-20; H. Fournel, *Berbers*, i, 371-80.

(T. Lewicki)

AL-MĀMAḲĀNĪ, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadjafī (b. at Nadjaf 15 Rabīʿ I 1287/15 June 1870, d. 15 Shawwāl 1351/11 February 1933), Imāmī Shīʿī scholar of *fiḳh* and *uṣūl*, and author of some 30 works to which the bibliographical guides devote in general only a few lines.

He is very well-known among the Imāmīs for his *Tanḳīḥ al-maḳāl fī ʿilm al-ridjāl* (lith. Nadjaf, i, 1349/1930-1, ii, 1350/1931-2, iii, 1352/1933-4), one of the last works in the tradition of *ʿilm al-ridjāl* [*q.v.*], of which al-Kashshī, al-Nadjāshī and al-Ṭūsī are the most eminent representatives. This is a collection in which the persons who were witnesses and/or transmitters of the *sunna* of the Prophet and the Twelve Imāms are arranged in alphabetical order. It gathers together 13,365 persons, enumerated by the author, and it is also possible to glean information about his own life from the *tardjama* which he devotes to himself, to follow his scholarly career, i.e. his studies, his travels and pilgrimages and the bibliography of his works, and to discover some important dates of his life, such as that of 14 Ramaḍān 1314/16 February 1897 when he received from his father the *idjāza* to function as a *mudjtahid*. The *Tanḳīḥ* can certainly be considered as his main work, and can be judged as the widest repertory existing of *ridjāl*. At the same time, it has been the object of various criticisms, both for the author's numerous errors and also for his particular way of using the term *madjhūl*. Among the specialists in this field, the term indicates a transmitter concerning whom the *aʾimmat al-ridjāl* (i.e. the chief authorities in this matter) have asserted *djahāla* "ignorance about the degree of confidence to be placed in him", but al-Māmaḳānī uses it in a wider sense, so that the *madjhūl* becomes merely a person whose biography he is ignorant about. This is why, on reading the *Tanḳīḥ*, and even more the *Natāʾidj al-Tanḳīḥ*, the index in which are set forth the "results" of the *Tanḳīḥ*, the impression is given that the transmitters of Imāmī *ḥadīth* were very largely *madjhūl*, unknown persons. These deficiencies led the contemporary scholar Muḥammad Taḳī al-Tustarī to write a final dictionary, the *Ḳāmūs al-ridjāl*, which puts itself forward as definitive in this particular sphere.

Bibliography: Mamaḳānī, *Tanḳīḥ*, ii, 208-11; Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa*, iv, Nadjaf 1360/1941, 466-7; idem, *Muṣaffā 'l-maḳāl fī muṣannifī ʿilm al-ridjāl*, Tehran 1378/1959, 250; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī Khiyābānī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, iii, 1369/1949-50, 430-3; Muḥammad Taḳī al-Tustarī, *Ḳāmūs al-ridjāl*, i, Tehran 1379/1959-60, 2-4; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, iv, 116. General references: A. Arioli, *Introduzione allo studio del* ʿilm ar-riğāl *imamita: le fonti*, in *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe*, Paris 1979, 77-8; B. Scarcia Amoretti, *L'introduzione al*

Qāmūs al-riǧāl *di Tustarī: per una guida alla lettura dei testi prosopografici imamiti*, in *ibid.*, 37-49.

(A. Arioli)

AL-MĀMĪ, AL-SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD (d. 1282/1865-6), traditional Mauritanian scholar of a highly individualistic nature, whose reputation is founded less upon his considerable qualities as a poet and a Mālikī jurist than upon some of his statements, which caused a sensation in their time.

Thus, for example, he claimed to know the number of grains of sand contained by the earth, by means of a calculation which he reveals in a poem in *ḥassāniyya* Arabic, although he refrains from giving the precise result of his computations. He caused something of a scandal by declaring the principle of the roundness of the earth, something of which his compatriots, adhering to the letter of the Ḳurʾān: "The earth, We have stretched it out ..." (XV, 19), were still unaware in the 19th century. He is also credited with having predicted the existence of the rich mineral deposits which are exploited today in Mauritania. Legend has it that from his reading of all the books currently available (except two!) he acquired original knowledge which is revealed particularly in his poems in dialectal Arabic. He employed this same mode of expression to declare grammatical rules or to formulate prayers, but he resorted to classical Arabic for anything that could be described as didactic poetry; the latter includes in particular the *ḳaṣīdas* intitled *al-Mīzābiyya* on the art of debate, and *al-Dulfīniyya* which express the essence of his judicial teaching.

Concerned to adapt law in such a way as to legitimise the practices of his time, he naturally rejects *taḳlīd*, blind imitation, and reveals himself an advocate of *idjtihād*, personal effort; while not going to far as to claim for himself the status of a *mudjtahid*, he skilfully recommends recourse to the practice of *takhrīdj*, which consists in formulating general rules on the basis of the teaching of a particular school, in his case, Mālikism.

A practical problem which engaged the attention of al-Māmī is that of the *zakāt* [*q.v.*] of animals owned by the tributaries of a Mauritanian tribe; he considers that they should be relieved of this obligation and bases his conclusion on substantial arguments. Otherwise, in a general fashion, he makes it his business to give legal foundation, in conformity with the *sharīʿa*, to all the customs rooted in his social milieu and, in his principal work entitled, significantly, *Kitāb al-Bādiya*, he addresses himself to the specific problems of nomadic societies: the open-air mosque, the valuation of objects according to a monetary system constituted by non-financial items (a block of salt, a sheep or a piece of fabric), the treatment of *wakfs* among nomads, etc. At the beginning of the *Kitāb al-Bādiya*, he deals at length with custom (*ʿurf* or *ʿāda*), stressing its continuance and normative value, and he reveals the fundamental role that it has played in the judicial system of Islam, especially among the Mālikīs. He is thus led to sanction practices current in his time and considered contrary to the *sharīʿa*: *wangala* (the slaughtering and sharing, each day, of a sheep within a given group), force-feeding of women, ear-piercing, *iḥsān* (contract for the loan of a lactiferous animal, the hiring of young camels for the purpose of following a she-camel so that she continues to give milk), gifts offered by merchants to sellers of gum, *faskha* (dowry supplied by the family of the bride when she joins the conjugal home), consumption of tobacco, etc., all these being topics treated in a very liberal fashion. It is this spirit which characterises the teaching of al-Māmī in the judicial sphere; it appears more exacting in the context of politics, and this author is observed deploring the absence of any administrative structure corresponding to the requirements of the authentic Islamic city and regretting to some extent that he has never found the opportunity to exploit his talents as a statesman, in spite of his prestige, his wealth and his personal connections with sultans of Morocco, to whom he dedicated many of his poems.

The literary corpus of al-Māmī is quite significant, but is yet to be edited. It comprises in particular, besides the *K. al-Bādiya* and the verse writings to which reference has been made, a rendering in verse of the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl and several commentaries on judicial works.

Bibliography: The only study is that of Mohamed El Mokhtar Ould Bah, *La littérature juridique et l'évolution du Mālikisme en Mauritanie*, Tunis 1981, 82-96, 112-13 (list of works) and index.

(M. M. Ould Bah)

MAMLAKA (A.), which may be considered (*LA*, s.v.) either as *maṣdar* or *ism al-makān* of the root *m-l-k* "to hold, possess", denotes in its first sense absolute power over things and especially over beings: to begin with, that of God over creation as a whole, and then, that of any individual, in certain circumstances. In a second sense, the word is applied to the place either in origin or by application, of the power under consideration: in the first case, it can refer e.g. to an all-powerful minister (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.); in another case, it can denote the spatial entity under the control of the above-mentioned power—the human one (whence: a free man who has become a slave, above all, by reason of war) or the natural one (notably: the middle of a road). But the most current denotation of the word, in this latter sense, is that of a piece of territory under the control of some authority—in the modern meaning of the term, a kingdom.

Arabic geographical literature provides some interesting developments of the word. It adopts it, on one hand, in its plural form *mamālik*, as it attested by the titles of several works of the type of geography called "that concerned with roads and kingdoms" (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* [*q.v.*]), made popular by Ibn Khurradādhbih. But it is the singular form, *mamlaka*, which merits attention here. One of the pioneers of Arab geography, al-Djāḥiẓ, distinguishes in his *K. al-Amṣār wa-ʿadjāʾib al-buldān* between the *mamlakat al-ʿArab* and the *mamlakat al-ʿAdjam*, which was a classic distinction in the framework of the Shuʿūbiyya controversies. About 70 years later, around 316-20/928-32, another pioneer of the genre, representing administrative geography, Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, want beyond the controversy and reunited the two *mamlakas* into a single one, the *mamlakat al-Islām* or, more simply, *al-mamlaka*. This course of evolution ended with the geographers of the Balkhī school, that of the so-called "atlas of Islam" who devoted themselves to depicting the Islamic world and that world only. The *mamlakat al-Islām* from this time onwards monopolises geographical description in al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳāl and above all al-Muḳaddasī, who opposes, en bloc, this *mamlaka* to the whole of the remainder of the world, calling it, according to the needs of the context, *mamlakat al-Islām, al-mamlaka* or *al-Islām*. The feeling of unity, based on economic links and the sense of belonging to the same civilisation, here transcends the political cleavage inherent in the existence of two caliphates at Cordova and Cairo, rivals of the one in Baghdād. But the appearance of the Turks in the 5th/11th century en masse, and the decline of the caliphate were to justify this vision;

political divisions were to make this vision disappear, at a single blow, after the year 1000 A.D., from the works of the geographers.

Bibliography: Given in A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du XIe siècle*, Paris-The Hague 1963 (new ed. 1973) - 1980, index (see esp. i, 99, ii, 525-8, iii, pp. x-xi).

(A. Miquel)

MAMLŪK (A.), literally "thing possessed", hence "slave" [for which in general see ʿABD, ḲAYNA and KHĀDIM], especially used in the sense of military slave"; for these last in various parts of the Islamic world, with the exception of those under the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt and Syria [see next article], see GHULĀM. Although for many centuries the basis of several Islamic powers, the institution of military slavery can in many ways best be studied within the framework of the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648-922/1250-1517) since the latter is so richly documented in the historical sources, many of them contemporary to the events which they describe and containing definitions and descriptions of that sultanate's institutions. Although differences of circumstances and the need to handle the Mamlūk sources with care (since many of them are partial or inaccurate or valid only for the author's own time) call for caution in making a comparative study, it is nevertheless true that an examination of Mamlūk military slavery is bound to shed much light on other Islamic societies in which the institution played a leading rôle.

Of all the slave societies which should be examined in connection with that of the Mamlūks, it is obvious that those immediately preceding and following it (in the Ayyūbid period and in Ottoman Egypt) should have first priority.

1. *Countries of origin and racial composition.*

We know quite a lot about the racial composition of the Mamlūks of the Mamlūk sultanate and their countries of origin (called quite often simply *al-bilād*; see e.g. Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 71, 11. 12-13). By contrast, though we know that the greater part of the Ayyūbids' Mamlūks were Turkish, we do not know their exact lands of origin, with the certain exception of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb's reign, the direct precursor of the Mamlūk period, and with the possible exception of the reigns of one or two of his Ayyūbid contemporaries or immediate predecessors.

The source evidence on the characteristics of the peoples supplying the Mamlūks and on the various factors which brought about those Mamlūks' sale and importation into the sultanate, clarifies the reasons for the creation of a military slave institution and explains its unparalleled success and durability as the major military force for its time in the lands of Islam.

A most important description of the Ḳīpčaḳ steppe [see DASHT-I ḲĪPČAḲ in Suppl.] and its people, the major source of military slaves for the Mamlūk sultanate in the first part of its existence, is that of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, who based it on the evidence of persons who visited the Golden Horde (K. Lech, *Das Mongolische Weltreich*, Wiesbaden 1968, 68-71 of the Arabic text, which is an excerpt of the *Masālik al-abṣār*; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iv, 456-8). There the author stresses both the very harsh circumstances in which the inhabitants of that steppe live, their primitiveness (including that of their pagan religion), as well as their military ability, faithfulness and loyalty (see also al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, 264, 11. 4-11, 279, 11. 9-12), a combination of qualities which made them highly suitable raw fighting material. The sources attest a unanimous conviction that the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria had been the decisive factor in saving Islam both from the Frankish and the Mongol threats since the battles of al-Manṣūra (647/1249) and ʿAyn Djālūt (658/1260) [*q.v.*] to the later battles against the Ilkhāns of Persia and ʿIrāḳ (al-ʿUmarī, *op. cit.*, 70, 1.7-71, 1.12; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 458. See also D. Ayalon, *The transfer of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, 58-9, and n. 1; idem, *The European-Asiatic steppe*, 47-52; idem, *The Great Yāsa*, part C_1, 117-130, part C_2, 148-56; idem, *From Ayyūbids to Mamlūks*). This unanimous and repeated evidence is crowned by Ibn Khaldūn's evaluation of the Mamlūk phenomenon in the lands of Islam in general and in the Mamlūk sultanate in paticular (*ʿIbar*, v, 369-73; Ayalon, *Mamlūkiyyāt*, 340-3). The resultant prestige greatly helped the Mamlūks in overthrowing the Ayyūbids, in firmly establishing their rule, and in thoroughly incorporating in their realm an undivided Syria, as a region with a status very inferior to that of Egypt.

The factors which led to the sale of slaves by the inhabitants of the Ḳīpčaḳ steppe and their rulers were the following ones: the general destitution of the population, which forced it, in certain years, to sell its children (ʿUmarī, 70, 11. 2-4; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 458, 1.2; al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 942, 11. 10-12); the need to sell the children in lieu of taxes to the ruler (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 476, 11. 11-16); the ruler's capturing and selling the children and women of his subjects (ʿUmarī, 69, 11.6-10; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 474, 1.10-475, 1.1). It was not, however, only under duress and such pressures that those children were sold. The high sums paid for them constituted an immense incentive. In the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (1309-40 [*q.v.*]), who was exceptionally lavish in his buying of Mamlūks, the Mongols competed so fiercely with each other in selling their boys, girls and relatives to the slave-merchants, that it marred their internal relations (*Sulūk*, ii, 525, 11.6-10).

It is true that the Mongol attacks on the Ḳīpčaḳ steppe filled the slave markets with Turks from there, thus facilitating their purchase by the later Ayyūbids and particularly by al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, and indirectly contributing to the establishment of the Mamlūk state (see e.g. Ayalon, *Le régiment Bahriya*, 133-4; idem, *The Great Yāsa*, part C_1, 117 ff.). However, prisoners of war captured by any kind of external enemy, or even by a Muslim ruler, could not guarantee the uninterrupted supply of Mamlūks, particularly children below military age, without the constant co-operation of local elements, whether the ruler, or the heads of the tribes, or above all, the parents and relatives of those children. Furthermore, that co-operation in selling their own flesh and blood was not confined to the subjugated peoples, but included as well the conquering and subjugating Mongols, and we are even informed as well that the subjugated peoples of that region used to steal the children of their Mongol conquerers and sell them to the slave-dealers (ʿUmarī, 72, 11.16-17).

The Islamisation of the Mongol dynasty of the Golden Horde and many of its constituent peoples must have contributed, in the long run, to the diminution of military manpower for the lands of Islam from the Ḳīpčaḳ steppe and especially for the Mamlūk sultanate. In the short run, however, it is quite doubtful whether the adoption of Islam had a considerable effect on the slave-trade from that region. For many years, those who became Muslims retained many of their old pagan habits, and numerous others remained pagan (ʿUmarī, 72, 11.12-19; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 457, 1. 19-458, 1.3). Both sellers and buyers had a very strong interest in the continuation of the slave-trade,

which meant that new converts to Islam were not necessarily excluded from becoming Mamlūks (*ibid.*). For the effects of conversion to Judaism or Christianity of nomads of the Eurasian steppe at an earlier period on their readiness to sell their children, see al-Iṣṭakhrī, 223, 11.11-15.

One of the major drawbacks of the Mamlūk system, from which almost all the Muslim states suffered, was that they had little or no control on their sources of supply (the outstanding exception being the Ottoman empire, which recruited most of its *ḳullar* from the Christian peoples living within its boundaries). The states which were not contiguous to those sources of supply had an additional major problem, that of being dependent on favourable factors concerning the routes leading to the sources in question (be they sea or land-routes) (see e.g. Ayalon, *Aspects of the Mamlūk phenomenon*, i, 207-9). The Mamlūk sultanate was, in this respect, completely dependent on foreign factors both on land and on sea; hence its attempts to diversify its routes (and very probably its sources) of supply as far as it could.

The main route was by sea through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and this was under the complete command of Byzantium, and later the Ottomans, and the Franks. In the Byzantine period there is no complaint in the Mamlūk sources about Byzantine interference with the ordinary flow of slaves to the Mamlūk sultanate, in spite of Byzantium's ambivalent policy in its relations with the Mongols of the Golden Horde, the Ilkhāns of Persia and ʿIrāḳ and the Mamlūks. In the correspondence between Michael Palaeologus and Ḳalāwūn in 680/1281 concerning the conclusion of a pact between the two states, the slave traffic figures quite prominently. The emperor promises, *inter alia*, safe passage of Mamlūks and slave girls, on the condition that there will be no Christians among them, but demands the release of all the Christian Mamlūks already in the sultanate to Byzantium. The sultan agrees, in his answer, to most of the emperor's suggestions, and stresses the importance of granting safe conduct to the merchants coming from Ṣūdāḳ and the Ḳîpčaḳ steppe, but completely ignores the emperor's demand about the Christian Mamlūks (Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 229, 1.20-230, 1.16, 232, 11.15-22, 233, 11.3-6).

Even more important was the attitude of the Ottoman empire, now in the ascendant. With the deterioration of Mamlūk-Ottoman relations from the beginning of Ḳāyitbāy's reign onwards, the Ottomans had an excellent means of weakening the Mamlūks by cutting off the supply of military manpower to them, and they do seem to have used that weapon to some extent. In 895/1490, when the Ottomans wanted to conclude peace with the Mamlūks, one of Ḳāyitbāy's two major stipulations was the release of the merchants of Mamlūk slaves (Ibn Iyās, iii, 267). In 922/1516, on the eve of the destruction of Mamlūk sultanate's independence, Sultan Selīm writes to Sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī a conciliatory letter in which he states that al-Ghawrī's claim that the Ottomans prevent the slave merchants from coming to his empire is wrong; those merchants avoided bringing Mamlūks to the Mamlūk sultanate because of its debased currency (Ibn Iyās, v, 43, 11.17-17). Considering the sizes of the Mamlūk regiments of Ḳāyitbāy and Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī, it would appear that the Ottoman embargo, as far as it existed, was not very thorough.

There were two additional land routes. One ran through Eastern Anatolia, about which we do not know much, but which seems to have been quite important. In using this route, the Mamlūks had to surmount two formidable obstacles: their enemies, the Ilkhānid Mongols, and the Mongols' staunch allies, the Christians of Little Armenia (*Bilād Sīs*). The attitude of the Mongols is unknown (for a single exception, see below), but that of the rulers of Little Armenia, as well as the importance of the route, is revealed in the truce (*hudna*) concluded between Ḳalāwūn and King Leon III in Rabīʿ II 684/June 1285, which included the following stipulation; the merchants bringing Mamlūks and slave-girls to the Mamlūk sultanate will be permitted to pass through King Leon's territory without hindrance, and those of them already stopped or imprisoned will be freed and allowed to pursue their journey (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa 'l-ʿuṣūr*, Cairo 1960, 99, 11.7-11,15, and especially 100, 1.19-101, 1.1). In all probability, Sultan Baybars I, who had been bought together with others in Sīwās, arrived in the Mamlūk realm by this Eastern Anatolian route.

The other land route seems to have been through the very heart of the Ilkhānid empire, and the slave-trade here apparently centred round a great merchant, named Madjd al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Sallāmī (or al-Madjd al-Sallāmī), a native of that empire, who was born in the vicinity of Mawṣil, described as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn's "slave-dealer of the Privy Purse" (*tādjir al-khāṣṣ fi 'l-raḳīḳ*) and very influential at the Ilkhānid court. He is said to have been the main instrument in the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Mamlūks and the Mongols (723/1323), but even before that date, he used to go repeatedly to Tabrīz and other places in the Ilkhānid realm and bring slaves from there. One of the stipulations of the Mamlūk sultan in that treaty was the free purchase of Mamlūks in the Ilkhānid dominions (*Esclavage*, 3; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, ix, Wiesbaden 1974, 220, 1.9-221, 1.6; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ix, 312, 1.16-313, 1.10; al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, index, p. 1020b), and it is thus very probable that the flow of Mamlūks through Ilkhānid territory increased as a result of the treaty. It is true that Dimurdāsh b. Djūbān, the Ilkhānid governor of Anatolia (*Bilād al-Rūm*), prohibited, after 1323, the dispatch of Mamlūks to Egypt from or through that area (*sulūk*, ii, 293, 11.1-8), but the attitude of that highly controversial ruler, for which he paid with his life, should be considered as exceptional. How the slave trade from the Ilkhānid empire went on after its disintegration in 736/1336 is unknown.

In the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, the purchase of Mamlūks reached, perhaps, its peak. He is said to have imported Mamlūks and slave girls from "the Golden Horde (*Bilād Uzbak*), Anatolia (*al-Rūm*), Tabrīz and Baghdād and other countries" (*Sulūk*, ii, 524, 11.13-15); clearly, at this time all the three main routes connecting his realm with the Mamlūks' countries of origin were in use.

In summing up the problem of the routes through which military manpower was supplied to the Mamlūk sultanate, it can be said that interference with the flow of slaves into it, be it by Byzantines, Ottomans, rulers of Little Armenia, Ilkhānid Mongols or Christian Europeans, never seriously affected the military strength of that sultanate; only an effective embargo on this item alone might have broken that strength.

One of the major events in the history of the Mamlūk sultanate, which transformed the racial composition of its military aristocracy, was the supplanting of the Ḳîpčaḳ Turks by the Circassians. The

Mamlūk sources attribute that transformation solely to internal causes (Ayalon, *Circassians*, 135-6). There are, however, good reasons to suggest that the situation in the Mamlūks' countries of origin had some share in bringing about that result. There is a considerable amount of evidence about the comparatively flourishing situation and the dense population of the Ḳîpčaḳ steppe in *ca.* 1200-1350 (*ibid.*, 136, and n. 2), although the process of its decline seems to have started with the Mongol occupation (al-ʿUmarī, 71, 11.15-18). Ibn ʿArabs̲h̲āh gives quite a detailed description of how it had been devastated and depopulated by internal wars and the attack of Tīmūr (*Ak̲h̲bār Tīmūr*, 113, 1.5-115, 1.4, 122, 1.2, 126, 1.2-127, 1.4; see also A. N. Poliak, in *REI* [1935], 241-2; *idem*, in *BSOS*, x, 864-7). The very fact that the area had been a major source for the supply of Mamlūks must have contributed considerably to its depopulation and perhaps even to the military devaluation of its human material, since the slave traffic was confined mainly to a particular section of a special age group, namely, the cream of adolescent boys and girls who still had all the reproductive years ahead of them, and this must have adversely affected the future generations in the steppe. Although the number of the Royal Mamlūks (*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*) was not very great, it should be remembered that many of the commanders, both in Egypt and in Syria, had their own Mamlūks, and that the owning of white slaves existed in sections of society well beyond the military aristocracy. Furthermore, the Ḳîpčaḳ steppe supplied slaves to countries outside the Mamlūk sultanate as well. Finally, the rate of mortality among those Mamlūks in the countries to which they had been imported was very high, especially in times of epidemics, necessitating the more or less constant need for the replenishment of their thinning ranks. The long-range effects of the islamisation of the peoples of the Ḳîpčaḳ steppe have already been mentioned.

Before enumerating the races of the Mamlūks, the term *Turk* must be discussed. It had two meanings; one very wide, the other much narrower. We shall start with the wider meaning, leaving the other to the enumeration of the races. *Turk* or *Atrāk* in the wide sense embraced all the Mamlūk races, and was practically synonymous with Mamlūks. The Mamlūk sultanate was called *Dawlat al-Turk* or *Dawlat al-Atrāk* or *al-Dawla al-Turkiyya.* The commonest designation of the Mamlūk sultans was *Mulūk al-Turk.* But whereas the sultans of the Ḳîpčaḳ period had only this designation, each of the sultans of the Circassian period had a double designation; thus Sultan D̲j̲aḳmaḳ was the thirty-fourth of "*Mulūk al-Turk* and their sons" and the tenth of the "*D̲j̲arākisa* and their sons"; and so on.

To compile a list of the various races represented in Mamlūk military society is quite easy. But to evaluate the respective weight of the various racial groups, with the exception of the two major ones (the *Turk* and the *D̲j̲arkas*) is very difficult. This is because it is quite rare that the sources refer to the racial affiliation of individual Mamlūks, who were usually given Turkish names, irrespective of their racial origin; moreover, the mention of racial groups taking an active part in a certain event or struggle (again with the exception of the two main races) is even much rarer (some lists of Mamlūk racial groups do however exist). This is in glaring contrast to the extremely rich and varied data furnished by those sources about the groups (*ṭawāʾif*, sing. *ṭāʾifa*) based on slave and patron relations, like the Ẓāhiriyya of Baybars, Manṣūriyya of Ḳalāwūn, Nāṣiriyya of Farad̲j̲, As̲h̲rafiyya of Ḳāyitbāy, etc. Therefore, our picture of these groups and their relations (on whom see below) is far clearer than that of the racial groups (*ad̲j̲nās*, sing. *d̲j̲ins*). The racial struggle comes into prominence mainly in connection with the Circassians and from a comparatively early date in the Turkish-Ḳîpčaḳ period, reaching its peak in the closing decades of the 8th/14th century. After the almost total victory of the Circassians, it is brushed aside, with the exception of some flickers of antagonism on the part of other races, and of repeated expressions of haughtiness towards and discrimination against those races on the part of the Circassians.

In Ottoman Egypt, the racial factor is even more subdued than the Mamlūk one. Furthermore, at least as far as the chronicle of al-D̲j̲abartī [*q.v.*] is concerned, practically the only data we possess about the racial composition of the military aristocracy are that source's mentioning of the racial affiliation of a certain number of individual Mamlūks.

From the data in the sources of the Mamlūk period (including the lists of races), the following general list can be reconstructed: *Turk* (or *Atrak*), *Ḳifd̲j̲āk*, *Tatar*, *Mug̲h̲ul* (or *Mug̲h̲ūl*), *K̲h̲iṭāʾiyya*, *Rūs*, *Rūm*, *Arman*, *Āṣ*, *Abaẓa*, *Lāz* and *D̲j̲arkas*.

By far the two dominant races were the *Turk* and the *D̲j̲arkas*, if the whole Mamlūk period is considered. The *D̲j̲arkas* seem to have constituted an important element already in the *Burd̲j̲iyya* [*q.v.*] regiment created by Ḳalāwūn, and are the only ones mentioned as repeatedly challenging the supremacy of the *Turk*. The *Ḳifd̲j̲āk* are rarely referred to in the above-mentioned data and lists, and are an obvious synonym of *Turk*. The case of the *Mug̲h̲ul* and the *Tatar* is more complicated. The *Mug̲h̲ul*, who are mentioned only in the Ḳîpčaḳ period, seem to have been distinct from the *Turk*, although perhaps with a certain degree of overlapping. The *Tatar*, on the other hand, especially under the Circassians, were very often synonymous with *Turk*. This can be proved in two ways: (a) *Turk* and *Tatar* are never mentioned together in the same list, or in connection with the same event; and (b) a good number of individual Mamlūks in the Circassian period are said to have been *Turkī al-d̲j̲ins* on one occasion and *Tatarī al-d̲j̲ins* on another. The reason for that alternation is obvious. The more the Tatars advanced in the steppe, the greater was the Turkish element which they subjugated and incorporated in their armies; and since the Turks were much more numerous, it was they who absorbed their conquerors. Already Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī says that the Tatars were completely assimilated by the Ḳîpčaḳīs and lost their own identity (*op. cit.*, 73, 11. 17-20).

The *Rūm* were third in importance. There is no sufficient information for establishing the relative importance of the other racial groups. The *Rūs* are never mentioned as a racial group outside the lists, and there are hardly any individual Mamlūks who are said to have belonged to that race (the best-know individual is Baybug̲h̲ā Rūs, or Urus or Urūs).

The Franks (*Farand̲j̲*, *Ifrand̲j̲*) are never mentioned in the Mamlūk sources as a racial group. There are, however, a fair number of Mamlūks who are said to have been of Frankish origin; and since the Mamlūks, as already stated, did not preserve their original infidel names—especially if they had not been Turks—and since the origin of many of them is not mentioned, the number of the Franks amongst them might well have been considerably higher. Yet the sources' absolute silence about the Franks as a separate body does not support the claim of some mediaeval Euro-

pean writers about the very great proportion of Franks in the Mamlūk army. One should, however, take into consideration the possibility that there might have been a certain degree of overlapping between *Farandj* and *Rūm*.

There were some Muslim-born people, even from within the boundaries of the Mamlūk sultanate, or from the neighbouring countries (particularly the areas inhabited by the Turcomans), or from regions lying further away, who managed to join the Mamlūk military aristocracy either by fraudulent means (such as an arrangement with the slave dealer), or because they were taken prisoners and found the status of a Mamlūk too good to give up by admitting that they were in reality Muslims. Some of these whose bluff had been called were ousted from the military aristocracy, deprived of their Mamlūk names and forced to bear again their original names. These Muslim-born Mamlūks constituted, however, only a very marginal element in Mamlūk society. A few of the Turcomans who became Mamlūks were called *Rūmīs* as well.

2. *The arrival and early training of the Mamlūk*

The crucial stage in the Mamlūk's career, from his leaving his country of origin, through his education and upbringing, and up to his manumission, can be reconstructed fairly well in the Mamlūk sultanate, despite numerous gaps which affect the sureness of the general picture; even so, this picture is far superior to what we know at present about the parallel careers of military slaves in the rest of the mediaeval Muslim world, including the Ottoman empire, up to the beginning of the 10th/16th century.

In the life story of each Mamlūk, his slave merchant, and especially the one who brought him over from his country of origin, figured most prominently. He was his first patron and protector from the hardships and dangers during the long voyage to his adopting country. He also served as the most usual link between him and his original homeland, so that Mamlūk was usually bound with strong ties of affection and veneration to that merchant. All of those merchants were Muslim civilians from outside the Mamlūk sultanate, and some of them became very influential in that sultanate. They should not be confused with the "merchant of the Mamlūks" (*tādjir al-mamālīk*, or fully, *tādjir al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*), who was generally a low-ranking Mamlūk *amīr* (*amīr* of ten) and whose function was to supervise the commerce of the Mamlūks; this personage usually stayed within the boundaries of the sultanate.

While we know very little about the slave-market and its functioning, we know much more about how the sultans bought their Mamlūks; they in fact usually bought them from the *Bayt al-Māl* [*q.v.*] or treasury. Those of them who had not yet been manumitted before the death or dismissal of the reigning sultan were returned to the *Bayt al-Māl* and bought from there by the new sultan.

The sultan's Mamlūks were brought up in a military school situated in the barracks (*ṭibāḳ*, *aṭbāḳ*, sing. *ṭabaḳa*) of the Cairo citadel, of which there were 12. It would appear that each of those barracks had a special (probably separate and secluded) section assigned to the Mamlūk novices (*kuttābiyya*, or possibly *kitābiyya*, sing. *kuttābī* or *kitābī*), since (a) after having finished their period of training, and as long as they had not been driven out of the citadel, the Mamlūks continued to stay in those barracks and belong to them, bearing their respective names; and (b) the barracks accommodated far bigger numbers of Mamlūks than the number of novices staying there at any given moment.

The education of the novice was divided into two main parts: first, the study of the elements of Islam and afterwards the military training (*anwāʿ* (or *funūn*) *al-ḥarb* (or *al-furūsiyya*)). The first part was most essential; for, in spite of its unavoidable elementary character, it inculcated in him the conviction that he had been led in the right path from the darkness of heathendom to the light of Islam (see also Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, B.L. ms. no. 23325, fol. 51b, 11.5-16). This kind of gratitude of the Mamlūk, even if later in his career he did not lead a very strict religious life, was at least as important as his other kinds of gratitude to the Muslim environment in general, and to his patron in particular, for raising him from poverty to richness and from anonymity to fame and high position. As al-Maḳrīzī aptly puts it in his well-known passage on the Mamlūk's upbringing, the combination of his identification with his new religion, and a great proficiency in the art of war (more precisely, in horsemanship) were the targets of the Mamlūk's education. "[Until] the glorification of Islam and its people had been merged in his heart, and he became strong in archery, in handling the lance and in riding the horse" (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 214, 11.1-2). Curtailing the religious education, or dropping it altogether, because of the need or desire to shorten the period of apprenticeship, was always a symptom of decline in the Mamlūk sultanate or elsewhere.

3. *The role of the eunuchs*

The overwhelming dominant element in the personnel of the military school was that of the eunuchs [see KHAṢĪ], who took part in the upbringing of the novices (even in the religious field, in addition to the theologians), as well as in keeping very strict discipline among them. A major reason for manning the school with eunuchs was to use them as a buffer between the young and adult Mamlūks to prevent pederasty [see LIWĀṬ]. A novice proved to have been the object of sodomy could be sentenced to death (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 214, 11.6-8).

The eunuchs in the military school formed a kind of a pyramid, at the basis of which were the simple eunuchs called *khuddām* (or *ṭawāshiyat*) *al-ṭibāḳ*. At the head of each barracks was a eunuch called *muḳaddam al-ṭabaḳa*, and all the barracks were commanded by a eunuch who was called *muḳaddam al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya* and who had a deputy (*nāʾib*), also a eunuch.

There does not seem to have been a separation between eunuchs serving in the school and in other military or administrative capacity and those of them serving in the harem or in religious institutions. It would appear, however, that they did not usually perform those different functions simultaneously.

The eunuchs as a body were extremely strong and influential under the Mamlūk sultans. It is difficult to compare their power with that of the eunuchs in other Muslim mediaeval states, because the eunuch hierarchy of those other states cannot be reconstructed to the same degree. What is certain, however, is that individual eunuchs in the Mamlūk sultanate could not rise to the highest ranks or be as powerful as those in other Muslim states, including under the Ayyūbids and in the very early decades of the Mamlūk sultanate; neither could they be commanders in the field of battle, as happened so often in earlier Muslim states. The highest rank that a eunuch could reach under the Mamlūks was the middle one, namely, *amīr* of forty, and even to this rank only one single eunuch could be appointed, the *Muḳaddam al-Mamālīk al-*

Sulṭāniyya. Only in the chaotic conditions prevailing in the years immediately following al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn's third reign, to a very great extent as a result of that reign, the eunuchs, together with the women and slave-girls of the court, accumulated unprecedented power. This kind of power could not have lasted for long, for in addition to its running counter to the basic concepts of Muslim society, it would have destroyed the very foundations of Mamlūk aristocracy. Other evils originating from that reign (usually believed to be good and great, with only partial justification) lasted much longer (see below).

The eunuchs in the Mamlūk sultanate belonged mainly to four races, the *Rūm*, *Ḥabash*, *Hind* and *Takrūr*, the two first-named being the predominant races. Thus only one race, the *Rūm*, was common to them and to the Mamlūks. Like the Mamlūks, each one of them was considered to be Ibn ʿAbd Allāh (thus shrouding his infidel past in obscurity). Unlike them, however, they bore a special kind of Muslim names, representing the pleasant and beautiful (gems, perfumes, etc.; see LAḲAB). Only a few of them bore Turkish names.

With all the differences between them and the Mamlūks, the eunuchs of the court formed a very essential part of the aristocracy, and without them, the early stage of the Mamlūk's career, which affected so decisively his subsequent one, would have been fundamentally different.

4. *Completion of training and manumission*

There is no evidence indicating the average length of the period which the novice had to stay in the military school. There is, however, much proof to show that, on the whole, that period was considerably shortened in the later period, a curtailment which adversely affected the proficiency of the Mamlūk soldier. Each single Mamlūk attending the school was manumitted on finishing his period of apprenticeship. The ceremony was a communal one, carried out in the presence of the sultan in a passsing-out parade called *khardj*, in which 150 to 500 "graduates" took part. Each one of them received a manumission certificate, called *ʿitāḳa*, which attested, at the same time, his being a fully-fledged soldier.

The *amīrs* did not have at their disposal facilities even remotely similar to those of the sultan for upbringing and training their Mamlūks, a fact which was reflected in their comparative military inferiority. There are, however, certain indications that the Mamlūks of the great *amīrs* were brought up according to principles resembling those which were applied in the case of the sultan's Mamlūks (see e.g. *Zubdat al-fikra*, fols. 51b, 11.5-16, 99b, 11.13-100a, 1.4).

The Mamlūks, on their manumission, were simple soldiers. Thus they were given an equal start. However, they had a real chance to rise to the highest ranks only if they had been manumitted by a sultan and not merely by an *amīr*, and this chance was greatly improved if the Mamlūk was included in the sultan's personal guard (*al-khāṣṣakiyya* [*q.v.*]). There was no school for training officers; these rose from the rank of simple soldier without having to undergo a special kind of training.

In a most illuminating passage, where al-Maḳrīzī contrasts the attitude of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn to his Mamlūks with that of the sultans who preceded him, the correct principles for creating a healthy and successful Mamlūk military body, as against the wrong ones, come to the fore: The earlier sultans, besides giving the Mamlūk the proper upbringing (already described earlier), used to dress him in comparatively simple costumes, raise his salary gradually and promote him slowly in rank and position. A Mamlūk thus treated, when reaching the top, will know how valuable is his new status, acquired with such efforts, and will be able to make the right comparison between his previous wretchedness (*shaḳāʾ*) and his present well-being (*naʿīm*) (*Sulūk*, ii, 524 1.3-525 1.15).

5. *The Mamlūk and his patron*

The period of the Mamlūk's slavery, terminated by his manumission, did not only affect his career (i.e. his chances of rising in the socio-military ladder), but also determined for life his close affiliations. He was bound by loyalty, on the one hand, to his manumitting patron (*muʿtiḳ, ustādh*), and, on the other, to his colleagues in servitude and manumission (*khushdāshiyya*). The intensity of the Mamlūks' feelings of loyalty to their patron is revealed in those cases when things did not work according to plan. It happened that a patron-sultan died or was dismissed shortly before the date fixed for the manumission of a certain group of his Mamlūks. This group refused sometimes to be manumitted by their new patron-sultan in spite of the fact that by doing so they practically dealt a death blow to their chances of becoming part of the uppermost stratum of the military aristocracy. The patron and his freedmen developed relations very similar to those of a family. He was considered to be their father (*wālid*), and they his sons (*awlād*, sing, *walad*), and the freedmen amongst themselves were regarded as brothers (*ikhwa*, sing. *akh*), with special relations between senior and junior brothers (*aghawāt*, sing. *agha*, and *iniyyāt*, sing. *inī*).

The ties binding the patron to his own freedmen and the same freedmen to each other constituted the pivot upon which Mamlūk internal relations hinged. These ties continued to be binding after the dismissal or death of the patron. That cohesive factor, most formidable in itself, was supplemented and strengthened by a rejective one: a freedman of patron A, who had been transferred to the service of patron B, would never be accepted by him and his own freedmen on an equal footing. He would always be considered as a stranger (*gharīb, adjnabī*). A Mamlūk "family" or group or faction (*ṭāʾifa*, pl. *ṭawāʾif*) kept outsiders serving their patron at arm's length. Such a faction, if and when separated from its patron, could either be broken by killing its members, putting them in prison, sending them into exile and transferring them to the service of other patrons, under whom they were given an inferior status, or else remain intact and carry on until the death of the last of its members. In the Mamlūk sultanate, a new sultan quite often broke up part of his immediate predecessor's freedmen and let the other part stay on until it petered out after several decades. Under the Circassians, where the attempts to create a dynasty failed constantly, and sultans followed each other in quick succession, numerous factions, owing allegiance to different sultans, existed simultaneously. Many combinations of short-lived coalitions between those factions were constantly forming and dissolving. A very instructive case in point is Ibn Taghrībirdi's account of the change in sultan Khushḳadam's position from almost complete shakiness to comparative stability as a result of the varying attitudes of the Mamlūks of the sultans who preceded him, both in their relations among themselves and with the Mamlūks of the reigning sultan, al-Ẓāhiriyya Khushḳadam. The Mamlūks of the sultans who preceded Khushḳadam were, in the order of their seniority, al-Muʾayyadiyya Shaykh, al-

Ashrafiyya Barsbāy, al-Ẓāhiriyya Djaḳmaḳ and al-Ashrafiyya Aynāl (*Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, 442, 1.7-444, 1.10, 550, 11.4-9). They formed ephemeral coalitions which changed kaleidoscopically.

The particular ties existing between the patron and his slave soldiers go back to the very beginning of military slave society in Islam and always constituted one of that society's mainstays. However, they clashed quite often with interests wider than those of the specific ruler and his military slaves, thus constituting a source of weakness as well. Yet on balance, they had, from a Muslim point of view, a positive value. The great drawback of the whole system was that it had outlived its purpose; it could not cope properly with the progress of technology and with the unavoidable military changes which it brought about, as was so decisively demonstrated in the annihilation of the Mamlūk army and empire by the Ottomans [see BĀRŪD. iii. The Mamlūks]. In Ottoman Egypt, the antiquated character of the art of war as practised by the Mamlūks was only accentuated. At the same time, the internal dissensions within Mamlūk society were greatly intensified, through a strange merging of hereditary and one-generation nobilities in that society. Hence Mamlūk "houses" (*buyūt*, sing. *bayt*) did not peter out as they did in the Mamlūk sultanate, but went on living indefinity as long as they were not crushed by a factor external to the specific "house". The longer they lived, the more deep-rooted and vehement became their mutual hatreds. The incidents necessitating the taking of blood revenge (*al-akhdh bi 'l-tha'r*) grew in number, ultimately leading to the unflinching determination of annihilating physically (*ḳaṭʿ, izāla*) the rival "house". When the Fiḳāriyya wiped out the Ḳāsimiyya in 1142/1729, the causes which brought about the inevitably uncompromising struggles within the Mamlūk society were not removed; the "houses" which grew out of the Fiḳāriyya continued their fights according to the old pattern.

6. *Mamlūk society*

Mamlūk society in the sultanate was a very exclusive one. In order to become a member of it, one had to fulfill very definite requirements. One had to be fair-skinned; to be (in most cases) an inhabitant of the area stretching to the north and to the north-east of the lands of Islam; to be born an infidel; to be brought into the Mamlūk sultanate as a child or young boy (preferably at the age of puberty); and to be bought, brought up and manumitted by a patron who was a member of the military aristocracy (preferably a Mamlūk as well, and most preferably the sultan himself). The chances of a Mamlūk who had been bought and manumitted by a civilian of joining the aristocracy, and particularly of rising high within it, were very meagre indeed.

What greatly helped in making the Mamlūks such an easily distinguishable, distinct and exclusive caste was a practice which started long before the creation of the Mamlūk sultanate, namely, that all of them, with but a few exceptions, bore Turkish names, irrespective of their origin. This was also the case of the Circassians when they came to constitute the major factor in the military aristocracy. The fact that most of the Mamlūks' sons (*awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*]) bore Muslim names greatly helped in their smooth ousting from that aristocracy, thus facilitating its preservation as a one-generation aristocracy. In Ottoman Egypt, the adoption of Muslim names by the overwhelming majority of the Mamlūks was an important factor in the creation of a society in which hereditary and one-generation nobilities merged into one.

Another important aspect of the exclusiveness of that society was that its members married mainly slave-girls from their own countries of origin or daughters of Mamlūks. Most of their concubines were also from the same region, although black girls were by no means excluded from that category. Marriages between Mamlūk *amīrs* and local girls (mainly the daughters of high-ranking officials, great merchants or distinguished *ʿulamā'*) were quite rare. This meant that the number of slave-girls imported from the areas which served as the source for military slaves was at least as great as the number of Mamlūks. Marriages between the sons of the Mamlūks and local girls were much more numerous, and this represents one facet of the assimilation of the Mamlūks' offspring in the local population.

The Mamlūks were also distinguished by their dress, which was considered to be much more respectable than that of any other class. This distinction goes back to the Mamlūk regiment of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, vii, 118 = § 2801).

The owning of Mamlūks was the prerogative of the Mamlūks (although cases of Mamlūks owned by civilians were quite frequent), as was the riding of horses. Orders prohibiting civilians from buying Mamlūks were rarer than those forbidding them to ride horses (some of the highest civilian officials were explicitly exempted from the riding prohibition).

The language which the Mamlūks used predominantly among themselves was Turkish. The knowledge of Arabic of most of them seems to have been very superficial, although a more systematic study of this question may change that impression to a certain extent. Their Islamic awareness, however, was very strong. It was expressed, *inter alia*, in the numerous religious institutions which they built. This activity had also its material aspect, as stated by Ibn Khaldūn; in order to assure the future of the Mamlūks' descendants, who could not join the military upper class, they appointed them as administrators or superintendents of the *waḳfs* assigned to those institutions for their maintenance (*al-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn*, 279).

The main body of the Mamlūk sultanate's army, namely, all the Royal Mamlūks (*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*)—who formed the backbone of the Sultanate—and most of the armies of the first-ranking *amīrs* were stationed in Cairo. It was very difficult to make any part of the Royal Mamlūks serve as a garrison anywhere outside the capital. Units of the corps which were forced to stay in Syria, for example, soon declined in power and importance, and some minor exceptions to this rule do not affect the general picture. Considering the comparatively limited number of the Mamlūks, keeping their élite element together must have been the only way of preserving its military might. This, in its turn, considerably increased the already great preponderance of the capital vis-à-vis the rest of the realm. Nothing could move the Royal Mamlūks, of their own choice, from Cairo, not even epidemics, which wrought havoc among them.

This concentration in the capital had its grave drawbacks. Any serious revolt of the Bedouins or Turcomans anywhere in the realm could not be quelled without the participation of the Royal Mamlūks, who were often stationed far away from the scene of the revolt. Worse still, all the major wars of the Mamlūk sultanate took place in its northern part or beyond it, a great distance from the main centre of military might, and this became critical in the closing decades of Mamlūk rule, when the Mamlūks had to cope with

the Turcomans beyond their borders, who lived contiguously to the Turcomans of their own realm, and who were supported by the ominously growing power of the Ottoman empire.

7. *Mamlūks in other Islamic states*

The Mamlūk sultanate served as an example to other Muslim states, including in the reliance on Mamlūk soldiers, many of whom were acquired in Egypt. For the ruler of Yanbuʿ, see Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 43, 11.6-9; for the ruler of Mecca, see *Ḍawʾ al-ṣubḥ*, 332; Ibn Iyās, iv, p. 456, 11.10-12; *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, vi, 117, 11. 18-23; Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 208, 11.12-15, 308, 11. 7-20; for the ruler of Yemen, see *Ṣubḥ*, v, 35, 11. 15-17; Nudjūm, v, 81, 11.1-2; for the ruler of Bidjāya, see *Ṣubḥ*, v, 137, 1.9; and for the sultan of Takrūr, see *Ṣubḥ*, v, 300, 11.7-9.

In 869/1464-5 the army of the ruler of Shīrwān and the adjacent areas, whose capital was Shamākhī, was estimated at 20,000 combat soldiers (*muḳātila*), of whom 1,000 were Circassian Mamlūks (*Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, 579, 1.16-580, 1.13). This does not necessarily imply direct influence from the Mamlūk sultanate, but what it certainly reflects is the great competition from other Muslim states which that sultanate had to face in drawing manpower from the same sources, and especially from states situated much nearer to those sources.

The character, structure and development of military slavery in the Mamlūk sultanate can be more properly understood if it is studied in connection with its Ayyūbid predecessor. The Kurdishness of the Ayyūbid régime and its army has been greatly exaggerated. The Turkish, and even more so the Turkish Mamlūk element in its armed forces was the dominant one throughout its history, as was only natural for a dynasty whose founders came from the ranks of the Zangid army. Shīrkūh's private army, the Asadiyya, who numbered 500, and who were, most probably, the main factor which enabled Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to succeed his uncle, were—contrary to what students of the Ayyūbids have written about them—a pure Mamlūk unit (see e.g. Abū Shāma, i, 173, 1.1-2; al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, iii, 308, 11. 9-10), as were the other private armies of the Ayyūbid sultans, like the Kāmiliyya of Muḥammad, the Ashrafiyya of Mūsā, the Nāṣriyya of Yūsuf, etc.

The reign of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the founder of the Baḥriyya regiment which toppled the Ayyūbids and established the Mamlūk sultanate, strengthened the Ayyūbid impact on that sultanate. That sultan was venerated by his Baḥriyya, who looked upon him as the example which should be followed. It was very rare that a ruler belonging to a deposed dynasty should leave such an impress on its deposers; it took the Baḥriyya quite a long time to disconnect themselves from the direct heritage of their patron, and from their general Ayyūbid heritage they disconnected themselves only partly.

Mamlūk military slavery certainly shows an evolution in comparison with its Ayyūbid prototype, but the changes were quite slow and each of them has to be traced and identified separately.

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MAMLŪKS, the Mamlūk sultanate, i.e. the régime established and maintained by (emancipated) *mamlūks* [see preceding article] in Egypt from 648/1250 to 922/1517, and in Syria from 658/1260 to 922/1516; and with the role of their successors, the neo-Mamlūks, in Ottoman Egypt. It surveys (i) political history, and (ii) institutional history. On military history, see the relevant sections by D. Ayalon of the articles BAḤRIYYA (i.e. navy), BĀRŪD, ḤARB, ḤIṢĀR; on the bureaucracy, see DĪWĀN, ii. Egypt (H. L. Gottschalk).

(i) POLITICAL HISTORY

(a) *Origins of the Mamlūk sultanate*

The Mamlūk sultanate had its origins in the Baḥriyya [*q.v.*], a military household of Ḳipčaḳ [*q.v.*] Turkish *mamlūks*, which belonged to the bodyguard (*ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*]) of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (637-47/1240-9). The Baḥriyya superseded the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*] in Egypt and Syria less by a deliberate process of usurpation than under the constraint of two military crises: the crusade of St. Louis (647-9/1249-50) and the Mongol invasion of Syria (657-8/1259-60). Their seizure of power in Egypt resulted directly from the preference shown by the new sultan, Tūrānshāh, for his own household at the expense of the Baḥriyya. A group of the Baḥriyya murdered Tūrānshāh on 27 Muḥarram 648/1 May 1250. The rise of the Baḥriyya to political dominance was assisted by their outstanding part in the resistance to the crusade, and probably also by the death of the last non-*mamlūk* commander, Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh, who had handled the affairs of state when al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb died, but was himself killed before the arrival of Tūrānshāh. The Baḥriyya sought to preserve the appearance of Ayyūbid sovereignty by installing as sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's widow, Umm Khalīl Shadjar al-Durr, herself of Turkish slave origin, but the shift of power was indicated by the appointment of a Mamlūk commander (*atābak al-ʿasākir*), Aybak al-Turkumānī. Al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the Ayyūbid ruler of Aleppo, refused to recognise the sultanate of Shadjar al-Durr, and captured Damascus. The Baḥriyya thereupon deposed Shadjar al-Durr, and raised Aybak to the sultanate as al-Malik al-Muʿizz (28 Rabīʿ II 648/11 July 1250). A few days later he resumed his former command, and a child, al-Ashraf Mūsā, descended from the Ayyūbids of the Yaman, was recognised as nominal sultan. This device failed to appease al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, who undertook more than one campaign against Egypt in the following decade. Aybak resumed the sultanate in 652/1254. At some time he married Shadjar al-Durr, thus following Saldjūḳid precedents for the marriage of an *atabeg* to the widow of his former lord. Meanwhile, hostility was developing between the Baḥriyya and the household of Aybak, the Muʿizziyya. The leading Baḥrī, Fāris al-Dīn Aḳṭāy al-Djamadār, assumed the royal insignia, contracted a political marriage with an Ayyūbid princess, and demanded that she should reside in the Citadel of Cairo. Aybak procured Aḳṭay's assassination by his *mamlūk*, Ḳuṭuz al-Muʿizzī. This coup broke the power of the Baḥriyya, many of whom fled to Syria and entered Ayyūbid service. Among these was Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī [*q.v.*], who now emerged as their leader.

Ironically, another political marriage led to Aybak's death. His intention to marry a daughter of the *atabeg* of Mosul, Badr al-Dīn Luʾlu [*q.v.*], aroused the jealousy of Shadjar al-Durr, who had him murdered on 23 Rabīʿ I 655/10 April 1257. The dispersal of the Baḥriyya had, however, left her without an adequate power-base. The Muʿizziyya had her put to death, and installed as sultan ʿAlī, a youthful son of Aybak by another wife, Ḳuṭuz being the most important of the magnates. When the Mongol invasion of Syria began in 657/1259, Ḳuṭuz usurped the sultanate and effected a reconciliation with Baybars, who returned to Egypt. They led an expeditionary force into Palestine, and defeated the Mongols at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] on 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 Sept. 1260. The Mongol evacuation of Syria rapidly ensued. Al-Nāṣir Yūsuf being a captive of the Mongols, the two major Ayyūbid principalities of Damascus and Aleppo fell under direct Mamlūk control, although the three minor lordships of Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt and al-Karak retained their autonomy. With the ending of this crisis, the inveterate rivalry of the Mamlūk households reappeared. Baybars headed a group of conspirators who murdered Ḳuṭuz. He then usurped the sultanate after undertaking to help his brothers-in-arms, the Baḥriyya.

(b) *The embattled sultanate*

Al-Ẓāhir Baybars, rather than his predecessors, was the effective founder of the Mamlūk sultanate. In his comparatively long reign (658-76/1260-77), a high degree of internal stability, contrasting with the political vicissitudes of the previous decade, allowed the establishment of the characteristic political structure and institutions of the régime. Nevertheless, during his reign and those of his immediate successors, the Mamlūk sultanate was an embattled power, threatened by the Mongol Īlkhāns [*q.v.*] in the east, and by the remains of the Frankish states on the Syro-Palestinian coast. Of the two, the Mongols were by far the greater danger. A few months after ʿAyn Djālūt, a second Mongol invasion of Syria was stopped by the Ayyūbids of Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt at the first battle of Ḥimṣ (Muḥarram 659/December 1260). Another critical encounter was at the second battle of

Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] in 680/1261, during the reign of Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], while the last invasion took place as late as 712/1313, early in the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn. The Frankish states were by comparison militarily insignificant: the danger was that they might provide a base for a crusade from Europe, which would make possible a pincer-movement of Crusaders and Mongols against the Mamlūks. This fear seemed about to be realised when the Lord Edward, son of the English King Henry III, brought a crusading force to Acre in 669/1271, and obtained the limited co-operation of the Īlkhān Abaḳa. This combined operation, the first and last of its kind, accomplished nothing. The security of Muslim Syria as a salient in enemy territory was thus one of Baybars's chief preoccupations. He strove with much success to strengthen his control there. At the beginning of his reign, his comrade Sandjar al-Ḥalabī, whom Ḳuṭuz had appointed governor of Damascus, proclaimed himself sultan, perhaps hoping for autonomy under Baybars's overlordship, somewhat on the Ayyūbid pattern. His bid for power was, however, quickly terminated, as was that of a war-lord in Aleppo, Āḳūsh (for Āḳ-ḳūsh) al-Burunlī (or al-Barlī). In 661-2/1263, two of the remaining Ayyūbid principalities fell into Baybars's hands: al-Karak by the treacherous capture of its lord, al-Mughīth ʿUmar (whom Baybars had served when in exile), and Ḥimṣ by the death without an heir of Shīrkūh's last descendant. The Ismāʿīlīs were reduced to submission, and between 669/1271 and 671/1273 their castles were taken over by Baybars. The reduction of the Frankish states was equally one of his objectives, and his aggressive policy contrasts with the general acceptance of co-existence by the Ayyūbids after Saladin. Baybars campaigned almost annually in Syria, and captured many of the remaining Frankish cities and castles: Caesarea, Haifa and Arsūf fell in 663/1265, Jaffa and Antioch in 666/1268. These towns were forthwith demolished, to deny them as bases to Crusaders. Inland fortresses, however, such as Ṣafad (captured in 664/1266) and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers, taken in 669/1271) were restored and provided with Muslim garrisons. Warfare alternated with uneasy truces, in which the Frankish frontiers were eroded by the establishment of condominia (*munāṣafāt*). Against the Mongols Baybars remained on the defensive, seeking to weaken them by diplomacy rather than force of arms. He exploited the hostility between the Īlkhāns and Berke [*q.v.*], the *khān* of the Golden Horde (reigned 654-64/1256-66), a convert and the ruler of the Ḳîpčaḳ steppes [see DASHT-I ḲÎPČAḲ in Suppl.], the Mamlūk recruiting-ground. The alliance with Berke promoted a flow of Mongol tribal warriors (*wāfidiyya*) from Īlkhānid territories to Baybars. Only at the end of his reign did Baybars invade the Īlkhānid sphere of influence by an expedition into the sultanate of Rūm. He defeated a Mongol army in the frontier-region of Elbistan [*q.v.*] in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 675/April 1277, and was enthroned in Kayseri (Ḳayṣariyya), but withdrew without achieving a lasting conquest.

Two of Baybars's internal aims were to legitimise his rule and to establish a dynasty. He succeeded in the former by installing an ʿAbbāsid prince as caliph in Cairo, and receiving from him a formal delegation of plenary powers as the universal sultan of Islam (Radjab 659/June 1261). When this caliph (al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh) shortly afterwards died in a forlorn hope against Baghdād, Baybars installed a successor, al-Ḥākim bi-amri 'llāh, whose descendants were recognised as caliphs in Egypt and Syria until (and even beyond) the Ottoman conquest. This translation of the caliphate assisted Baybars in his negotiations with Berke, in view of the social disparity between a *mamlūk* and a Čingizid. In regard to the second aim, Baybars early took steps to ensure the succession of his son, Baraka (i.e. Berke) Khān, named after his maternal grandfather, a Khwārazmian warrior-chief. In Shawwāl 662/August 1263, Baraka Khān, aged about four years, was duly invested as joint-sultan with his father.

Baybars's dynasty did not long survive, the essential cause of its downfall being the hostility between the veteran magnates of Baybars's household, the Ẓāhiriyya, and the *khāṣṣakiyya*, i.e. the court-*mamlūks* of his son. The leading opponent belonged to an older generation, and was Ḳalāwūn al-Alfī, a comrade of Baybars. Having deposed Baraka Khān, the magnates installed his seven-year-old brother Salāmish (Süleymish) as nominal sultan. A few weeks later, Ḳalāwūn usurped the throne (Rabīʿ II 678/August 1279), and exiled the sons of Baybars to al-Karak.

Al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn was responsible for an important military innovation, viz. the recruitment of a Circassian *mamlūk* regiment, known (from its quarters in the towers of the Citadel) as the Burdjiyya [*q.v.*]. This was the first indication of a threat to the ascendancy of the Ḳîpčaḳ Turkish *mamlūks*. In other respects, Ḳalāwūn continued the policies of Baybars. Syria remained a central preoccupation. The governor of Damascus, Sunḳur al-Ashḳar, proclaimed himself sultan like Sandjar al-Ḥalabī before him. He was defeated after some difficulty in Ṣafar 679/June 1280, but succeeded in establishing himself in the former crusader-castle of Ṣahyūn, whence he controlled the fortresses in the mountainous hinterland of Latakia. Finally, he joined Ḳalāwūn in operations against a Mongol force sent by the Īlkhān Abaḳa, which was routed at the second battle of Ḥimṣ (Shaʿbān 680/November 1281). Abaḳa died in the following year, and his successor, Tegüder Aḥmad, a convert to Islam, sought good relations with the sultan. Ḳalāwūn was thus left free to pursue the *djihād* against the Frankish states. Tripoli fell in Rabīʿ II 688/April 1289, and like the other coastal towns was demolished. Ḳalāwūn was about to lead an expedition against Acre when he died (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 689/November 1290). Like Baybars, he endeavoured to establish a dynasty, but his intended successor, his son al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī, predeceased him. The throne passed to another son, al-Ashraf Khalīl [*q.v.*], for whom was reserved the crowning mercy of the capture of Acre (Djumādā I 690/May 1291) and the extinction of the Latin kingdom. In the following year, Khalīl took the Armenian patriarchal see of Ḳalʿat al-Rūm (Radjab 691/June 1292), but in Muḥarram 693/December 1293 he fell a victim to a conspiracy of magnates who had belonged to his father's military household (the Manṣūriyya), and who felt themselves threatened.

The murder of al-Ashraf Khalīl inaugurated seventeen years of political instability, during which magnates with the support of *mamlūk* factions dominated the sultanate. Twice in this period, in 693-4/1293-4 and 698-708/1299-1309, another son of Ḳalāwūn, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, was installed as sultan. Aged less than ten at his first accession, he was no more than a figurehead, and he was twice set aside by usurpers; between 694/1294 and 698/1299 by Kitbughā and Lāčīn (Lādjīn [*q.v.*]), and in 708-9/1309-10 by al-Muẓaffar Baybars al-Djāshnikīr [*q.v.*]. It is significant that this last usurper was a Circassian, originally recruited into the Burdjiyya. The part played by the Burdjiyya added a further com-

plication to the factional struggles after the death of al-As͟hraf K͟halīl. In 709/1310, however, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, now mature in political experience and with a *mamlūk* household of his own, emerged from exile in al-Karak, and, with the support of the governors of Aleppo, Ḥamāt and Tripoli, marched on Egypt and overthrew al-Muẓaffar Baybars.

(c) *The autocracy of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*

During the long third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709-41/1310-41) the Mamlūk sultanate was no longer threatened by external enemies. The Frankish states were gone, and with them any serious danger of a crusade from Europe. The last Mongol invasion, commanded by the Īlk͟hān Öld͟jeytü in the winter of 712/1312-13, was abortive. Thus the Sultan did not need to divide his time between Syria and Egypt, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was free to concentrate on internal problems, and to establish an autocratic government.

He had first to secure his own position. The usurper Baybars and his colleague Salār were put to death within a few months of the restoration. The three Syrian governors who, as kingmakers, might become dangerous were the next to go. One died naturally, the second was arrested, while the third fled to Öld͟jeytü. Meanwhile, with consummate political skill, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad carried out the operation which had been fatal to several earlier sultans—the substitution of his own *mamlūks* for veteran magnates in key positions. Outstanding among his servants was Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī, appointed governor of Damascus in 712/1312, and in effect governor-general of Syria two years later. Another, Arg͟hūn al-Dawādār, received similar extensive powers as vicegerent in Egypt (*nā᾿ib al-salṭana bi 'l-diyār al-Miṣriyya*). Early in the reign, the sultan carried out a fiscal reorganisation (*al-rawk al-Nāṣirī*), which greatly strengthened his own position against the magnates. Such a reform had been attempted in 697/1298 by Lāčīn, and had been a principal cause of his murder. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad proceeded with his habitual caution, commissioning first a cadastral survey and redistribution of assignments of landed revenue (sing. *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*]) in the less politically sensitive province of Damascus (713/1313). This was followed in 715/1315 by the cadastral survey of Egypt, after which the sultan sat in full court to distribute warrants of assignments to the beneficiaries. In consequence of the *rawk*, the share of revenue assigned to the sultan's fisc (*al-k͟hāṣṣ*) was raised from one-sixth to five-twelfths at the expense of the other holders of assignments. At this time also he abolished a wide range of uncanonical taxes (*mukūs* [see MAKS]), many of them abusive. This was a popular act, which probably had little effect on the sultan's own resources but worked to the detriment of the tax-farmers.

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign was thus a period of autocratic and sometimes arbitrary rule. His tenure of power was so secure that on three occasions (712/1313, 719/1320, 732/1332) he was able to absent himself from Cairo for the Pilgrimage—thereby also demonstrating his suzerainty over the Holy Cities. His relations with his magnates, although apparently close and cemented by political marriages, were liable to sudden rupture. Even Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī was disgraced and put to death, after nearly thirty years' service in Syria. In the last months of the sultan's life, rival court-factions were forming around two of his favourites, Ḳawṣūn (who had married a daughter of the sultan) and Bas͟htak, although on his deathbed he obtained the semblance of a reconciliation between them. He died in D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 741/June 1341, having nominated his son, Abū Bakr, to succeed him.

(d) *The ascendancy of the magnates*

Although three generations of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's descendants succeeded him in the sultanate, the fact that twelve sultans reigned in less than half a century indicates their weakness. They were mostly young and inexperienced, some of them mere children, who lacked the essential power base of *mamlūk* households. Behind these figureheads, the magnates controlled the state, and struggled among themselves for the ascendancy. The period also saw a rise in Circassian recruitment after an intermission during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Political instability appeared immediately after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death. Three weeks later, Ḳawṣūn obtained Abū Bakr's approval for the arrest of Bas͟htak and the sequestration of his vast wealth and assignments. The fallen *amīr* was sent to Alexandria, where shortly afterwards he was put to death. Then in Ṣafar 742/August 1341, Ḳawṣūn forestalled a plot against himself by the sultan, whom he deposed, substituting an infant son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, named (or perhaps nicknamed) Kud͟juk, i.e. Küčük. The new sultan was certainly not more than seven years old, and Ḳawṣūn was the effective ruler until he was overthrown, and his puppet-sultan deposed, in Rad͟jab 742/January 1342. It would be otiose in this article to recount in detail the political history of the later Ḳalāwūnids. The one sultan in this period who showed some promise of repeating the success of his father, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, was al-Nāṣir Ḥasan. Eleven years old when he was first raised to the throne after the killing of his brother and predecessor (Ramaḍān 748/December 1347), he was deposed in favour of another brother in D͟jumādā II 752/August 1351. Restored in S͟hawwāl 755/October 1354, he succeeded in ridding himself of the kingmaker and regent, Ṣarg͟hatmus͟h al-Nāṣirī, in Ramaḍān 759/August 1358. He then promoted his own *mamlūks*, chief among them being Yalbug͟hā al-ʿUmarī, and tried to create a power-base of a new kind by conferring high amīrates and provincial governorships on *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*], i.e. descendants of the *mamlūks*, a socially privileged group who nevertheless did not normally form part of the military and ruling establishment. This experiment inevitably aroused the mistrust of the *mamlūks*, and an opposition faction appeared, headed (against the traditions of *mamlūk* loyalty to the founder of the household) by Yalbug͟hā al-ʿUmarī. The sultan was defeated, captured, and put to death (D͟jumādā I 762/March 1361). Yalbug͟hā acted as regent until his own overthrow and death in Rabīʿ II 768/December 1366. Sixteen years later, Barḳūḳ b. Anaṣ [*q.v.*], a Circassian nurtured in his military household, the Yalbug͟hāwiyya, deposed the last Ḳalāwūnid and usurped the sultanate.

(e) *The Circassian Mamlūk sultanate*

The Circassian Mamlūk sultanate, which begins with al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ's usurpation in Ramaḍān 784/November 1382, follows a regular and almost invariable pattern of succession. A magnate would usurp the throne, which on his death would pass to his son. Within a few years at most, the latter would be deposed by another usurper, and the cycle of events would be repeated. But the sultanate was not a prize open to all comers: the usurpers emerged from specific circles, namely the military households of previous sultans. The two principal nurseries of sultans were the households of Barḳūḳ and of Ḳā᾿it Bāy [*q.v.*], each

of which produced five rulers. Since Ḳā'it Bāy was a *mamlūk* of Barsbāy [*q.v.*], who was himself a *mamlūk* of Barḳūḳ, the Circassian sultans may be regarded as constituting a dynasty by *mamlūk* clientage rather than blood descent (cf. Table 2).

The Circassian sultanate faced in its early years a threat comparable to that which al-Ẓāhir Baybars had confronted in the later 7th/13th century—the danger of annihilation by the Turco-Mongol forces of Tīmūr Leng. Barḳūḳ responded by offering asylum in 796/1394 to Aḥmad b. Uways the Djalāyirid [*q.v.*] expelled from Baghdād by Tīmūr, by establishing a common front with the Ottomans and the Golden Horde, and by replying defiantly to Tīmūr. The storm did not break until 803/1400-1, during the reign of Barḳūḳ's son, Faradj [*q.v.*]. He and his forces were compelled to evacuate Syria, which Tīmūr occupied and devastated. He did not, however, attempt to invade Egypt. In Shaʿbān 803/March 1400, he began to withdraw from Damascus, having secured his flank for an advance on the Ottomans.

Although throughout the 9th/15th century the Mamlūk sultanate continued to present the appearance of a great power, it was undergoing a prolonged economic and military decline. Its growing economic weakness has usually been ascribed to political factors—the factional conflicts of the magnates, resulting in enfeebled administration, and hence in the decay of agriculture. These disorders were probably rather symptomatic than causative, and the basic reason for the economic decline may lie in the heavy mortality occasioned by successive epidemics of plague. The most serious of these (the Black Death of European history) occurred in 749/1348-9, during the first reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, and there were twelve severe epidemics during the last century of the sultanate. Since mortality was particularly high among the *mamlūks*, this must have necessitated very heavy expenditure by the sultans and magnates to keep up their military households. Even so, there seems to have been a marked fall in recruitment. The Royal Mamlūks dropped from about 12,000 in the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to less than half the number under the Circassian sultans. The plague, however, inflicted its severest damage by its inroads upon the agrarian and industrial workforce. Villages were deserted, irrigation works neglected, and cultivated land went back to waste. The landed revenue of Egypt shrank in the last century of the sultanate from over 9 milion *dīnārs* to less than 2 million. Alexandria, the centre of the textile industry, suffered badly from the Black Death, and its decline continued in the Circassian period. Both in Egypt and Syria, the weakening of administration and the decline of the sedentary population were reflected in growing tribal pressure on the cultivable areas and the routes. It is in this period that a fraction of Hawwāra [*q.v.*], settled by Barḳūḳ in Upper Egypt, established a domination there which they retained into the Ottoman period.

As the landed revenue decreased, the magnates and sultans made growing depredations upon commerce; e.g. they compelled merchants to buy goods at an artificially-enhanced price (*ṭarḥ, rimāya*), an abuse for which there had been sporadic precedents. The transit-trade, especially in spices, from the Indian Ocean, which had been handled since the 6th/12th century by the group known as the Kārimīs [*q.v.*], was brought under strict control by Barsbāy (825-41/1422-38). Djudda, under Mamlūk customs-administration from 828/1425, became in effect the staple for oriental trade in the Red Sea, and its revenue was shared between the sultan and the Sharīf of Mecca. In 832/1428 Barsbāy established a monopoly of the pepper trade, forcing up the price at Alexandria to the detriment of the Venetian merchants. His interest in the transit-trade between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean explains two other developments in his reign. Three campaigns against Cyprus, culminating in the conquest of the island (829/1426) and the reduction of its king to a vassal of the sultan, ended the danger to Muslim shipping from this Frankish outpost. The campaigns are of interest as being the only major naval operations undertaken by the Mamlūks. Furthermore, Barsbāy's refusals, repeated over ten years (828-38/1424-34), to allow Shāhrukh the formal privilege of providing a veil for the Kaʿba indicate a determination to deny the Tīmūrid any *locus standi* within the Mamlūk commercial sphere of interest.

Between the reign of Barḳūḳ at the beginning of the Circassian period, and that of Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*] at its end, the Mamlūk sultanate was involved in only one major land-war, that fought with the Ottomans between 890/1485 and 896/1491. The underlying cause of this war in the reign of Ḳā'it Bāy 872-901/1468-96) was the threat offered by the Ottomans to the marcher-principalities, particularly Elbistan, which since its foundation by the ruling dynasty (Dulḳadīr, see DHU 'L-ḲADR) in the first half of the 8th/14th century had been a Mamlūk protectorate. This localised conflict of interests was aggravated by considerations of high policy when, on the accession of Sultan Bāyazīd II [*q.v.*] in 886/1481, Ḳā'it Bāy gave asylum to his brother and rival, Djem [*q.v.*]. Although in appearance the Mamlūks confronted the Ottomans on equal terms, the outcome of the war was merely to maintain the *status quo* on the frontiers.

Bāyazīd had been unable to commit all his forces to the war, and the next conflict between the two powers was to reveal the inherent military and political weakness of the Mamlūks. As a fighting-force they were obsolescent. Unlike the Ottomans, they had failed to take advantage of the development of firearms, the conservative Mamlūk cavalry showing particular reluctance to adopt the crude hand-guns of the period. Even the traditional equestrian exercises and games were neglected, and the insubordination of newly-recruited *mamlūks* (*djulbān*) is a feature of the later 9th/15th century. A principal cause of the overthrow of Ḳā'it Bāy's son and successor, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (901-4/1496-8) was his recruitment of a force of black arquebusiers. Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī attempted to restore the military effectiveness of his state. An arquebus unit (*al-ṭabaḳa al-khāmisa*) was set up in 916/1510, but the old prejudice remained, and it was dissolved in 920/1514. He paid attention to the casting of cannon, which had been used by the Mamlūks (but for siege-warfare only) since the later 8th/14th century, and he made efforts to revive the traditional cavalry-training.

At the beginning of Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī's reign (906-22/1501-16), the Mamlūk sultanate was hemmed in by three great powers. To the north was the Ottoman state, which was now confronted on the east by the new military monarchy of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*]. To the south, dominating the Indian Ocean and threatening the Red Sea, was the naval power of the Portuguese. The Mamlūks lacked the maritime traditions and experience to deal with this danger. They received supplies of material and personnel for a naval expedition from the Ottomans in 520/1514. Ottoman-Ṣafawid hostilities, however, in-

volved the Mamlūks when Sultan Selīm I invaded Syria, probably to safeguard his flank, and defeated Ḳānṣawh (who died during the battle) at Mardj Dābiḳ (25 Radjab 922/24 Aug. 1516). He subsequently advanced into Egypt, and inflicted a second defeat on the Mamlūks at al-Raydāniyya (29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 922/23 January 1517). Cairo fell, and the last Mamlūk sultan, al-Ashraf Ṭūmān Bāy, was subsequently captured and hanged. Egypt thus became a province of the Ottoman Empire, and was separately administered from Syria.

(f) *The Neo-Mamlūks of the Ottoman period*

The Ottoman conquest of Egypt was not followed by the extirpation of the *mamlūks*. Indeed, from one point of view, it may be regarded as an episode in Mamlūk factional politics, since Selīm's victories were facilitated by Mamlūk collaborators in opposition to Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī and Ṭūmān Bāy. The leaders of this faction were the governors of Aleppo and Damascus, Khā'ir Bay and Djānbirdī al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*], who received their reward from the conqueror, Khā'ir Bey being appointed viceroy in Cairo (where he maintained much of the state of the sultans, his predecessors), and Djānbirdī being restored to Damascus. These arrangements marked, however, a transitional phase. On Selīm's death in 926/1520, Djānbirdī attempted to make himself independent, but his revolt was suppressed, and he himself killed (927/1521). Khā'ir Bey died in 928/1522, and thereafter Ottomans were appointed to both Damascus and Cairo. A last Mamlūk rising headed by the *kāshifs* Djānim and Īnāl was suppressed shortly afterwards.

Mamlūk recruitment and the formation of *mamlūk* military households nevertheless continued, and provided part of the armed forces of Egypt beside, but distinct from, the seven corps of the Ottoman garrison troops, the most important of which were the Janissaries and the *ʿazabs* [*q.v.*]. The heads of the Mamlūk establishment, nominally 24 in number, bore the Ottoman designation of *sandjaḳ beyi* (whence in the Arabic chronicles *sanādjiḳ*/*ṣanādjiḳ* is used as the plural of *baḳ*/*beg*; the modern *bakawāt* is a neologism), but they differed in their functions from their homonyms elsewhere in the Ottoman empire. After continuing in obscurity during the remainder of the 10th/16th century, the beylicate emerged as a factor of great political importance in the middle decades of the 11th/17th century (a period of Ottoman weakness), and the old pattern of Mamlūk factionalism reappeared with the inveterate hostilities between the two households of the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya (usually Faḳāriyya) and the Ḳāsimiyya [*q.vv.*]. The former attained its apogee with Riḍwān Bey, who was *amīr al-ḥādjdj* for over 20 years until his death in 1066/1656. The Faḳārī ascendancy was broken in 1071/1660 by the Ḳāsimiyya in collusion with the Ottoman viceroy, but with the assassination of their chief, Aḥmad Bey the Bosniak, in 1072/1662, they too sank into impotence. A revival of the political power of the beylicate, and of factional rivalry, may be observed in the early 12th/18th century. By this time, complex webs of protection and patronage were linking the Mamlūk households with the officers and troops of the Ottoman garrison, the urban population of Cairo and the Arab tribes, and a new polarisation appears in the factional struggles. There was a manifestation of this in 1123/1711, when the ambition of a Janissary boss, Afrandj Aḥmad, produced a split between Janissaries and *ʿazabs*, and between Faḳāriyya and Ḳāsimiyya, which culminated in a battle outside Cairo. Although in 1142/1730 the Faḳāriyya finally obtained the supremacy over the Ḳāsimiyya, they were soon overshadowed by a younger household, the Ḳāzdughliyya [*q.v.*], which (a significant indication of the assimilation of Ottoman military society in Egypt to Mamlūk norms) had been founded, and was for some decades headed, by officers of the garrison. *Mamlūks* from this household began to enter the beylicate after 1161/1748. Its most famous member was ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*], known as *Bulūṭ Ḳāpān*, who as *shaykh al-balad* (i.e. premier bey) dominated the affairs of Egypt between 1173/1760 and 1186/1772. He was ruthless in extirpating his rivals and opponents, and gave signs of an intention to make himself independent in Egypt. After his overthrow, his former *mamlūk*, Muḥammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab, enjoyed a brief supremacy until he died on campaign against Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar in 1189/1775. Thereafter factional struggles continued among the leading beys, the most notable of whom were two of Abu 'l-Dhahab's *mamlūks*, Ibrāhīm Bey al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] and Murād Bey, whose uneasy duumvirate was threatened by the expedition of Djezā'irli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1200-1/1786-7, and destroyed by Bonaparte's occupation of Egypt in 1213/1798. The massacre and proscription of the Mamlūk chiefs by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha in 1812 marked the end of their ascendancy in Egypt.

(ii) INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

(a) *Institutions of the sultanate*

The central and essential institution of Mamlūk society under both the sultanate and the Ottomans was the military household. This consisted of the *mamlūks* obtained, trained and emancipated by a master (*ustādh*), to whom they remained attached by loyalty and more formally by legal clientage (*walā'*). This link was indicated by the *mamlūk*'s *nisba*. The loyalty felt towards the *ustādh* was narrowly personal; during the sultanate, it extended, if at all, only in a very attenuated form to his sons or other members of his family. The second bond of loyalty created by the Mamlūk household was the comradeship (*khushdāshiyya*) existing among the *mamlūks* as brothers-in-arms (sing. *khushdāsh*). The constant propensity of each generation of magnates to recruit new households of *mamlūks* virtually excluded their blood-descendants (*awlād al-nās*) from military functions, and hence from political power. The second and later generations of immigrant origin thus became absorbed into the Arabic-speaking Muslim society of Egypt and Syria, to the culture of which they made notable contributions.

The principal households were those of the sultans (the Royal Mamlūks), designated from the *laḳab* of the founding *ustādh*, e.g. the Ṣāliḥiyya of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the Ẓāhiriyya of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars etc. Since the *mamlūks* were immigrants, recruited at any one time principally from a single ethnic group (originally the Ḳïpčaḳ Turks, subsequently the Circassians), they formed in effect a synthetic alien tribe. The factional struggles among the different households, which form a recurrent feature of Mamlūk history, bear some analogy to clan warfare. The *mamlūks* depended upon their *ustādh* for patronage and advancement, while the *ustādh* depended upon his *mamlūks* for the maintenance of his own power and security. This was clearly the case as regards the royal household. The short reigns of many sultans, e.g. the later Ḳalāwūnids and the sons of Circassian usurpers, may largely be explained by their lack of *mamlūk*

households recruited before their accession. Even if a sultan began his reign with an effective household, as did most of the usurping magnates, his position was not secure until he had ousted the great office-holders who were his potential rivals (often his *khushdāsh*-comrades), and installed his own *mamlūks* in their places. It was this situation which produced recurrent succession-crises from the time of Tūrānshāh onwards, and it resulted in continual tension between the two constituent groups of the Royal Mamlūks—those recruited by the reigning sultan (*djulbān, adjlāb, mushtarawāt*) and the veterans of his predecessors' recruitment (*ḳarāniṣa, ḳarānīṣ*).

The nature of the sultanate in the Mamlūk period is obscured by our sources, which present the ruler in accordance with traditional Islamic stereotypes. During the early decades, the sultan was primarily a war-leader, seen by his *khushdāsh*-comrades as first among equals, and presented as the supreme *mudjāhid* in the royal biographies. On the other hand, there is an anxiety to assert the Islamic legitimacy of the sultans, at first as the successors to the Ayyūbids. In his biography, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir shows Baybars as the true successor to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb by *mamlūk* clientage and qualities of character, rather than Tūrānshāh, the heir by blood-descent. The need for these somewhat specious arguments was ended, however, when Baybars, by his translation of the caliphate to Cairo, placed the supreme legitimating authority in Sunnī Islam under the control of himself and his successors. Thereafter the caliph played an essential, if formal, part in the accession observances of the Mamlūk sultans. When the danger from the Frankish states and the Mongols came to an end, and the sultans became sedentary in Cairo, their governmental functions became more important than leadership in war—a development demonstrated in the autocracy established by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in his third reign (709-41/1310-41), and reasserted by the effective usurping sultans during the Circassian period.

The distinctive characteristic of the administrative system was the over-riding control exercised by the sultan through Mamlūk *amīrs*. The amīrates that had existed under the Ayyūbids were organised, probably in Baybars's reign, into three principal ranks. At the top was that of *amīr miʾa wa-muḳaddam alf*, i.e. the commander of a household force of 100 horsemen and head of a company of 1,000 warriors of the *ḥalḳa*. With the differentiation of the Baḥriyya from the *ḥalḳa* which had been its matrix, the latter sank into being an honourable but archaic formation of declining military significance, latterly recruited largely from *awlād al-nās*. In theory there were 24 *amīrs* of the highest rank. The second rank was that of *amīr ṭablkhānāh*, who had the privilege of a military band, and came to be equated with the commander of 40 household troopers. The third rank, *amīr ʿashara*, had a military household of ten horsemen. This was a hierarchy of rank; it did not imply a chain of command, nor was there any kind of subinfeudation, although it usually provided a *cursus honorum*. The military households, including that of the sultan, were maintained by assignments of landed revenue (sing. *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*], *khubz*), which as mentioned above were reorganised by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 715/1315, thereby laying the fiscal basis of his autocracy. It was the Royal Mamlūks who were promoted to amirates and appointed to the great offices at court and in the provinces. Although their tenure of office was individually precarious, and their assignments were never in this period hereditary or life-tenures, these magnates were always potential opponents of the sultan. Repeated attempts to establish a species of contractual relationship by obtaining an accession-compact at the installation of a sultan were never effective in practice; hence many reigns ended in factional revolt, and the deposition (or even murder) of the ruler.

A noteworthy instance of the development of offices in this period, and of the extension of Mamlūk control over the administration, is provided by the history of the vizierate. Under the Ayyūbids, as under previous régimes, the greatest officer of state had been the *wazīr*, a civilian usually trained as a jurist, who served during the ruler's pleasure as his omnicompetent minister. The erosion of the *wazīr*'s powers began with the establishment of the office of vicegerent (*nāʾib al-salṭana*), held by a *mamlūk*, as a permanent post, not an *ad hoc* appointment during the sultan's absence on campaign. This development may be dated to the reign of Baraka Khān (676/1277). The close relationship which had existed between the ruler and the *wazīr* was further weakened in 678/1280 when Ḳalāwūn promoted the civilian head of the chancery (*ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshāʾ*) to the confidential post of secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) to himself. The secretaryship was held by a succession of civilian officials down to the end of the Mamlūk sultanate. The *wazīr* then was restricted to being the head of the state treasury (*al-dawla al-sharīfa, dīwān al-wizāra*), but on several occasions Mamlūk *amīrs* were appointed to the office until it was abolished by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 728/1328. A professional financial official, the controller of the treasury (*nāẓir al-dawla*) was jointly responsible with the *wazīr*, and handled its affairs directly when his colleague was an inexpert military officer. On the abolition of the vizierate, the controller continued to administer the treasury. A new financial department, *dīwān al-khāṣṣ*, created by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to administer his fisc, was also placed under a civilian controller (*nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*), who absorbed many of the *wazīr*'s financial functions as the secretary had taken over his chancery functions. Although the vizierate was restored after the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, it was restricted to a limited financial field. Barḳūḳ created two new personal treasuries, *al-dīwān al-mufrad* and *dīwān al-amlāk*, which were managed by a Mamlūk great officer of the household, the high steward (*ustādār al-ʿāliya* from *ustādh al-dār al-ʿāliya*).

The militarisation of household offices, and the acquisition by some of state functions, were characteristic developments of the Mamlūk sultanate. In contrast to the Ayyūbids, under whom only four court offices were normally held by the military, the Mamlūks beginning with Baybars quickly developed a hierarchy of such offices. The *dawādāriyya* was militarised, and its holder rose from being the bearer of the royal ink-well to being the channel of communication between the sultan and the chancery. Not until the 8th/14th century, however, was this office usually given to an *amīr* of the highest rank. Another officer who acquired public functions was the chamberlain (*ḥādjib* [*q.v.*]), who obtained jurisdiction in disputes between the *amīrs* and the soldiery. Originally, he acted in conjunction with the vicegerent, hence his importance increased when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad left the vicegerency vacant after 727/1326. During the first half of the 9th/15th century, the chamberlain's jurisdiction was abusively extended to ordinary subjects, to the detriment of the *Sharīʿa* courts. A proliferation of offices took place; e.g. by the end of Barḳūḳ's reign there were six chamberlains, Faradj raised the number to eight, and by the mid-9th/15th century their numbers had increased still more.

An important military office, which went back

through Ayyūbid and Zangid antecedents to a Saldjūḳid institution, was that of the *atābak* [*q.v.*], i.e. *atabeg*. From the start of the Mamlūk sultanate, it was held exclusively by officers of *mamlūk* origin, whereas under the Ayyūbids, free-born Muslims, and even princes of the blood, had also been appointed. The Mamlūk *atābakiyya* was originally a tenure of the supreme military command by delegation from a sultan who could not exercise it in person, e.g. Shadjar al-Durr, ʿAlī b. Aybak. Hence the specific title of *atābak al-ʿasākir* becomes standard form. The regency, which had been exercised by the *atabeg* under previous régimes, is usually separately designated as *tadbīr al-mamlaka* (or equivalent term), although this function was often combined with the *atābakiyya*. The four decades of the last Ḳalāwūnids, during which *atābaks* and *mudabbirs* flourished at the expense of the feeble sultans, saw the absorption of another title, that of *amīr kabīr*. In the Ayyūbid period and during the first century of the Mamlūk sultanate, this meant simply and literally a senior *amīr*, until in 756/1355-6, during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, Shaykhūn al-ʿUmarī annexed the title to his office of *atābak al-ʿasākir*, and the two terms were thenceforth synonymous. This was, however, itself an indication that the *atābakiyya* was coming to imply pre-eminence in rank rather than specific functions. From about the same time also, the title of *atābak al-ʿasākir* comes to be held by *amīrs* in the Syrian provinces, and so loses its uniqueness.

In contrast to the loose Ayyūbid family confederacy of autonomous principalities, the provinces of the Mamlūk sultanate were under close central control, being administered by governors of *mamlūk* origin serving as the sultan's delegates (sing. *nāʾib al-salṭana*). In Egypt, this title was originally held solely by the vicegerent (*al-nāʾib al-kāfil*), who (as indicated above) was in some respects the functional successor to the *wazīr*. The title of *nāʾib* was extended in 767/1365 to the governor of Alexandria (after the brief occupation of the city by King Peter I of Cyprus), and by Barḳūḳ to the governors of Upper and Lower Egypt. The vicegerency was characteristically allowed to lapse by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 727/1326. Restored after his death, it was overshadowed by the *atābakiyya*. The last appointment was made by Faradj in 808/1405. The Syrian *nāʾibs* held the title of *malik al-umarāʾ*, which had been used by the Saldjūḳs of Rūm [see BEGLERBEGI], and which continued to be borne by Khāʾir Bey as viceroy of Egypt after the Ottoman conquest. Pre-eminent among them was the governor of Damascus. Although the Syrian governors seemed like kinglets in their provinces, they were subject to various controls, both from the arbitrary will of the sultan and of an administrative nature. Grants of assignments could only pass under the sultan's signature, or sometimes that of the vicegerent. Several of the principal provincial officials, e.g. the governor of the citadel at Damascus and the chamberlain there, were appointed by the sultan, as was the governor's secretary, who served as a spy on him. Governors of the Egyptian provinces bore the inferior titles of *kāshif* or *wālī*.

(b) *Neo-Mamlūk institutions*

The extinction of the Mamlūk sultanate ended the recruitment of Royal Mamlūks, but the formation of *mamlūk* households continued until the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha. Detailed information on their structure is only available from the early 12th/18th century with the copious data provided by al-Djabartī. By this time the households (sing. *bayt*) had developed into complex patronage-systems comprising the following elements: (1) the head (*ustādh*) of the household, who might be a *bey*, an Ottoman garrison-officer, or even a native civilian (e.g. Ṣāliḥ al-Fallāḥ, d. before 1161/1748). (2) Children of the *ustādh*. By contrast with the normal practice under the sultanate, sons of an *ustādh* were members of the military household, and might succeed to its headship. Daughters or widows of an *ustādh* might marry *mamlūks* of the household. (3) True *mamlūks*. The immigration (especially of Circassians) continued as under the sultanate, but there is some evidence of the recruitment for military purposes of black slaves (*ʿabīd sūd*). (4) Free retainers recruited in Anatolia and Rumelia. They served chiefly as mounted bodyguards (sing. *sarrādj*), and were subsequently, it appears, enrolled in the Ottoman garrison-corps as clients (sing. *čīraḳ*, whence *ishrāḳ* or *djirāḳ*) of their former employers. They were thus largely excluded from the advancement open to true *mamlūks*, although the Bosniaks who appear in the Ḳāsimiyya in the 11th/17th century, and the future Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha, may have started their careers in this way. (5) Allies among the native urban population and the tribes, where Mamlūk factionalism tended to link up with an indigenous division into the rival groupings of Saʿd and Ḥarām.

With the disappearance of the Royal Mamlūks, the old factional polarisation between *ḳarāniṣa* and *djulbān* ceased, but factionalism reappeared (perhaps not before the later 11th/17th century) basically to obtain high office and the control of the revenues of Egypt. Although the old *iḳṭāʿs* had been abolished after the Ottoman conquest, their place was soon taken by a system of tax-farms (sing. *iltizām* [*q.v.*]), many of which were appropriated by the neo-Mamlūks. The *sandjaḳ beyis* (an Ottoman term which almost certainly conceals their continuity with the *amīrs* of the highest rank under the sultanate) were at one and the same time the leading *multazims* and the chiefs of the neo-Mamlūk establishment. Although they formed a military élite, the *beys* were outside the cadres of the Ottoman garrison. Their lack of specific duties enabled them to assume a wide range of functions and to develop into a self-perpetuating ruling group. Their principal functions were: (1) the command as *serdār* of forces levied for service inside Egypt (e.g. against nomadic incursions) or outside in the Ottoman sultan's wars. (2) The command of the annual tribute-convoy sent by land to Istanbul, held by the *amīr al-khazna*. (3) The command of the annual Pilgrimage-caravan to Mecca, held by the *amīr al-ḥādjdj* (the form *amīr al-ḥadjdj*, which might be expected, is not found in mediaeval or later sources), who accompanied the *maḥmal*, sent, as during the Mamluk sultanate, in token of sovereignty. (4) The headship of the financial administration as *daftardār*. The earliest *daftardārs* after the conquest were Ottomans, but from the later 10th/16th century the post was held by a *bey*. (5) Service as acting viceroy (*ḳāʾim-maḳām* [*q.v.*]) in the interim between the withdrawal of a viceroy and the arrival of his successor. In the factional struggles, such an appointment was a means of legitimating the position of the dominant group. In addition, during the 12th/18th century, *beys* served as military governors of the sub-provinces of Egypt, thus reducing the status of the former governors, the *kāshifs*, who were also *mamlūks* by origin. They became in effect subordinates of the *beys*. An important new office which emerged during the 12th/18th century was that of *shaykh al-balad*, which institutionalised the primacy (*riʾāsa*) held by military and political leaders. The title

TABLE 1
THE TURKISH MAMLŪK SULTANS

Continuous line: blood descent
Broken line: *mamlūk* clientage

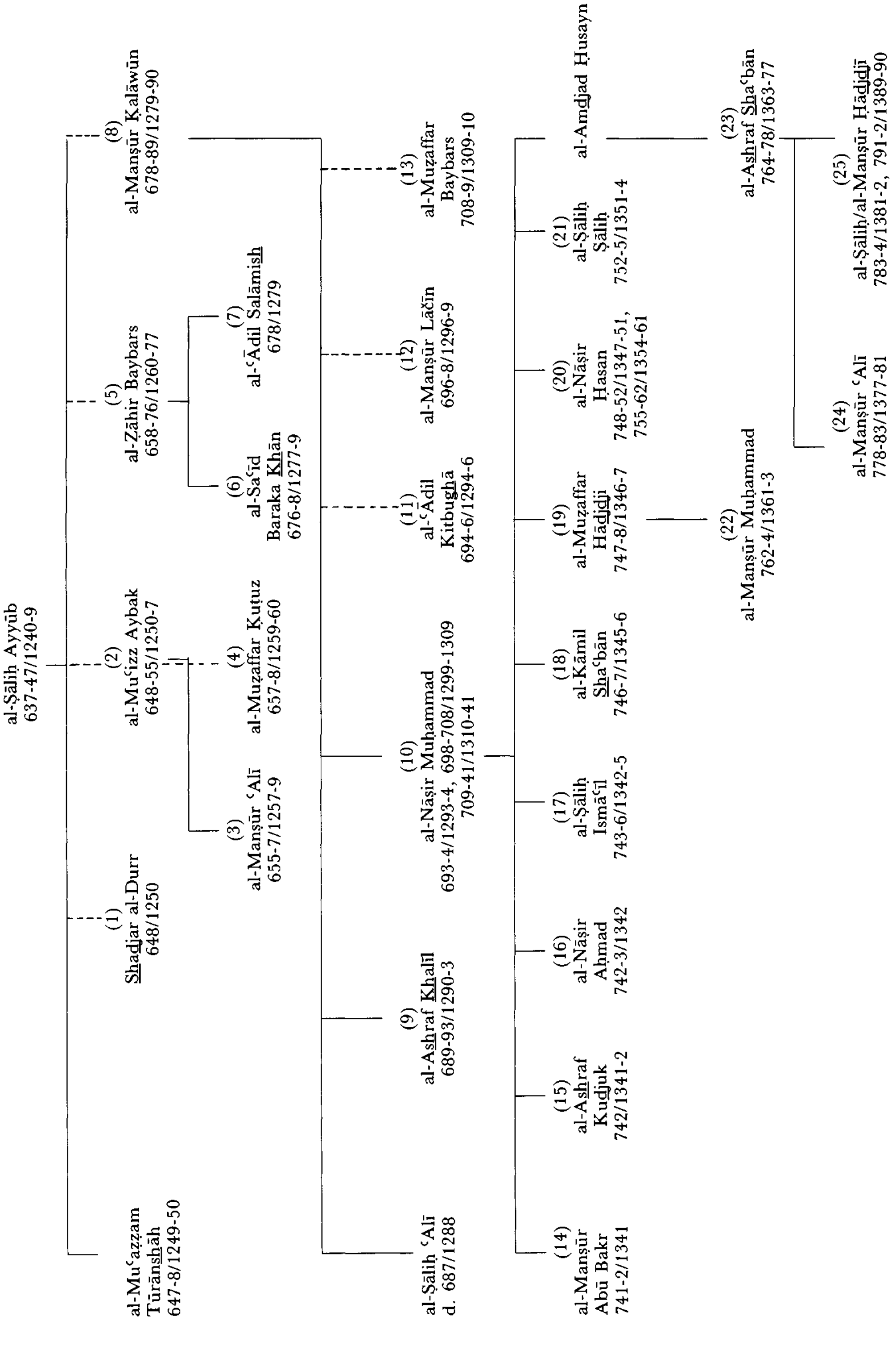

TABLE 2

THE CIRCASSIAN MAMLŪK SULTANS

Continuous line: blood descent
Broken line: *mamlūk* clientage

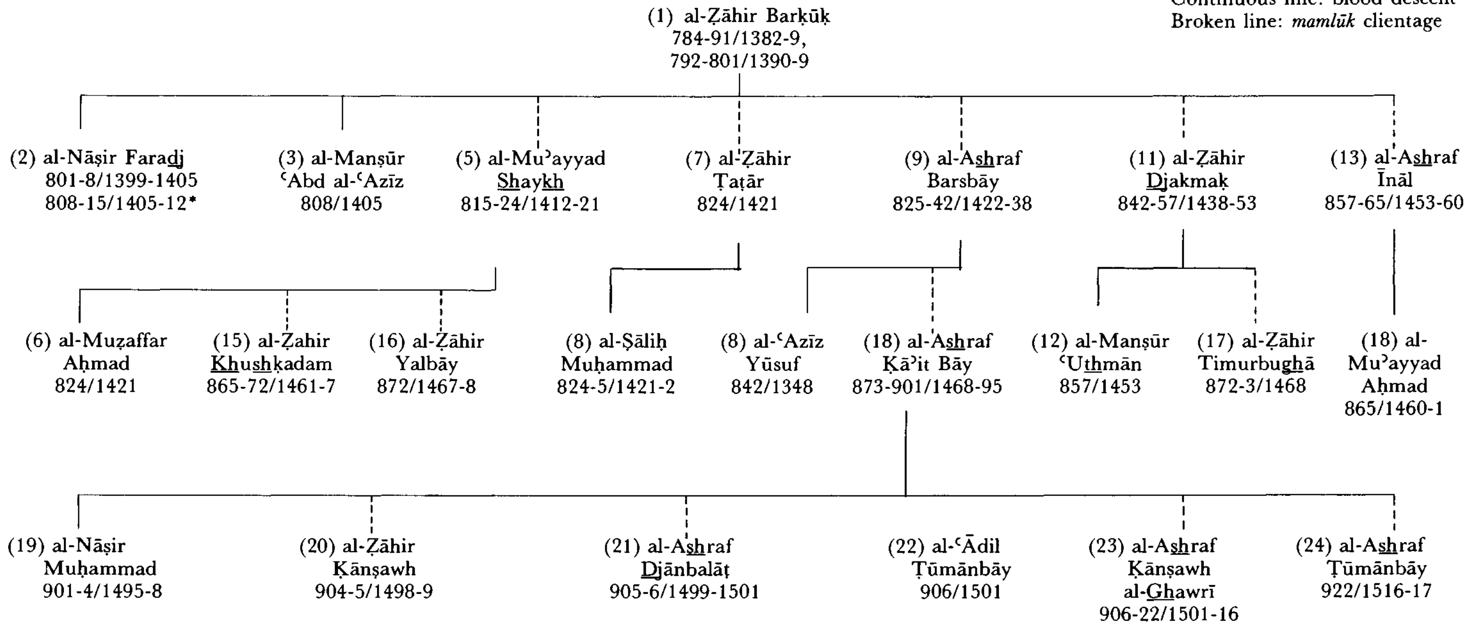

* al-Mustaʿīn, caliph and sultan: 815/1412.

seems to have been held only by members of the beylicate. With the administrative reorganisation carried out by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a as the autonomous viceroy of Egypt, the neo-Mamlūk titles and offices became obsolete.

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(b) Literary. There is extant a very considerable amount of material, particularly chronicles, royal biographies and biographical dictionaries, a number of which have been published. The following is a representative sample only. (1) The four major chronicles for the period are: Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. after 736/1335), *Kanz al-durar*, viii, ed. U. Haarmann, Freiburg 1391/1971; ix, ed. H. R. Roemer, Cairo 1379/1960; al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442), *K. al-Sulūk*, ed. M. Mustafa Ziada *et alii*, Cairo 1956- Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī (d. 874/1470), vii-xvi, Cairo 1348-92/1929-72, ed. W. Popper, Berkeley-Leiden 1908-36; Ibn Iyās (d. *ca.* 930/1524), *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, ed. Mohamed Mostafa, Wiesbaden 1379-95/1960-75. Among Syrian chroniclers may be mentioned Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1332), *al-Muk̲h̲taṣar fī taʾrīk̲h̲ al-bas̲h̲ar*, various edns., iv, for memoirs of his own times; Ibn Ṣaṣrā (d. after 801/1399), *A chronicle of Damascus 1389-1397*, ed. and tr. W. M. Brinner, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963; Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546), *Mufākahat al-k̲h̲illān fī ḥawādith al-zamān*, ed. Mohamed Mostafa, Cairo 1381/1962, 1384/1964. The principal published royal biographies are: (Baybars), Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-K̲h̲uwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976; S̲h̲āfiʿ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās (d. 730/1330), *Ḥusn al-manāḳib al-sirriyya al-muntazaʿa min al-sīra al-Ẓāhiriyya*, ed. al-K̲h̲uwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976; (Ḳalāwūn), Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tas̲h̲rīf al-ayyām wa 'l-ʿuṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. Murād Kāmil, Cairo 1961; (K̲h̲alīl), A. Moberg (ed. and tr.), *Ur ʿAbd Allâh b. ʿAbd Eẓ-Ẓâhir's biografi över Sultanen El-Melik El-Aśraf Ḫalîl*, Lund 1902. Among biographical dictionaries, a recent important publication is Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿī (d. 726/1326), *Tālī kitāb wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. and tr. Jacqueline Sublet, Damascus 1974.

(2) Much less has been published on the Ottoman period. Chronicles available are: al-Isḥāḳī (*fl. ca.* 1032/1623), *Kitāb Ak̲h̲bār al-uwal fī man taṣarrafa fī Miṣr min arbāb al-duwal*, various edns.; Aḥmad S̲h̲alabī b. ʿAbd al-G̲h̲anī (d. 1150/1737), *Awḍaḥ al-is̲h̲ārāt fī man tawallā Miṣr al-Ḳāhira min al-wuzarāʾ wa 'l-bās̲h̲āt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Cairo 1978; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-D̲j̲abartī (d. 1825-6), *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-āt̲h̲ār*, Būlāḳ 1297/1879-80. Two important documents are: S. J. Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt in the eighteenth century* [i.e. the *Niẓām-nāme-yi Miṣir* of D̲j̲azzār Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a], Cambridge, Mass. 1962; S̲h̲afīḳ G̲h̲urbāl, *Miṣr ʿinda mafraḳ al-ṭuruḳ* [i.e. the answers of Ḥusayn Efendi to Estève in 1216/1801], in *Mad̲j̲allat Kulliyyat al-Adab* [Cairo], iv (1936), 1-71; tr. and annotated Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt in the age of the French Revolution*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964.

(ii) Secondary sources: (a) Political history. There is no recent large-scale study of the Mamlūk sultanate. The pioneer work is that of Gustav Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iv-v, Stuttgart 1860-2. Its derivative, W. Muir, *The Mameluke or slave dynasty of Egypt*, London 1896, is inadequate. The period is presented in wider historical surveys by S. Lane-Poole, *A history of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1901; and by G. Wiet, *L'Egypte arabe ... 642-1517* [= G. Hanotaux (ed.), *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iv, Paris 1937]. On individual sultans, see G. Schregle, *Die Sultanin von Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1961 (for S̲h̲ad̲j̲ar al-Durr); Abdul-Aziz Khowaiter, *Baibars the First: his endeavours and achievements*, London 1978; P. M. Holt, *The sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāc̲h̲īn (696-8/1296-90)*, in *BSOAS*, xxxvi (1973), 521-32; Shah Morad Elham, *Kitbuġā und Lāǧīn*, Freiburg 1977; Aḥmad Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay 825-841/1422-1438*, Damascus 1961. The establishment of the Circassian ascendancy is studied in Ḥākīm Amīr ʿAbd al-Sayyid, *Ḳiyām dawlat al-Mamālīk al-t̲h̲āniya*, Cairo 1966. Some account of the neo-Mamlūks of Ottoman Egypt is given in Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, London 1966; see also idem, *Studies in the history of the Near East*, London 1973. A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, Damascus 1973, deals widely with political as well as social and economic history.

(b) Social, economic and institutional history. Data (chiefly from al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī) on the institutions of the Mamlūk sultanate are presented in the introduction to [M.] Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923. Most of the illuminating articles of D. Ayalon on many aspects of Mamlūk society are now conveniently assembled in *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250-1517)*, London 1977, and *The Mamlūk military society*, London 1979; idem, *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom*, London 1956, is a seminal monograph on military and social history. The transition from Ayyūbid institutions is examined by R. Stephen Humphreys, *The emergence of the Mamluk army*, in *SI*, xlv (1977), 67-99; xlvi (1977), 147-82. A general survey is provided by Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀs̲h̲ūr, *al-Mud̲j̲tamaʿ al-Miṣrī fī ʿaṣr al-salāṭīn al-mamālīk*, Cairo 1962. On economic and social history, E. Ashtor, *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, London 1976; idem, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'orient médiéval*, Paris 1969; Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt A.H. 564-741/1169-1341*, London 1972; H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern. I. Oberägypten und das Fayyūm*, Wiesbaden 1979, *II. Das Delta*, Wiesbaden 1982. On governmental institutions, Holt, *The position and power of the Mamlūk sultan*, in *BSOAS*, xxxviii (1975), 237-49;

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(P. M. HOLT)

MAʿMAR B. AL-MUTHANNĀ [see ABŪ ʿUBAYDA].

AL-**MAʾMŪN** [see AL-BAṬĀʾIḤĪ; DHU 'L-NŪNIDS].

al-**MAʾMŪN**, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS ʿABD ALLĀH B. HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD, seventh ʿAbbāsid caliph. Born on 15 Rabīʿ I 170/14 September 786, "the night of the three caliphs" (death of al-Hādī, accession of al-Rashīd, birth of the future al-Maʾmūn), he was the eldest of the eleven sons of al-Rashīd. His mother, Marādjil, a concubine originally from Bādhghīs, died soon after his birth and he was brought up by Zubayda, the grand-daughter of al-Manṣūr, wife of al-Rashīd and mother of Muḥammad (the future al-Amīn) who was born in Shawwāl 170/April 787. He received a classical education in Arabic, tutored by al-Kisāʾī [*q.v.*], in *adab* (as a pupil of Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī), in music and in poetry (where his tastes were classical). In religious sciences, he was trained in *ḥadīth* (and became a transmitter himself) and in *fiḳh* (taught by al-Ḥasan al-Luʾluʾī), where he excelled in Ḥanafī jurisprudence. He was distinguished by his love of knowledge, making him the most intellectual caliph of the ʿAbbāsid family, which accounts for the way in which his caliphate developed.

In 177/794, in response to the wishes of members of his family, al-Rashīd named as his first successor Muḥammad (al-Amīn), the only caliph born to parents both of whom were ʿAbbāsids; proclaimed initially in Khurāsān by his guardian al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī [*q.v.*], he subsequently received the *bayʿa* in Baghdād. As for ʿAbd Allāh (al-Maʾmūn), he had to wait until the age of puberty to be declared second heir of al-Rashīd, in 183/799, under the guardianship of Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, the caliph's favourite. While reviving the Marwānid tradition of appointing two heirs to the throne in order to guarantee the stability of the régime and the future of the dynasty, al-Rashīd made an innovation in accepting the appointment of a third successor, al-Ḳāsim (al-Muʾtamin), the son of a concubine, sponsored by his ʿAbbāsid guardian ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ [*q.v.*].

The protocol was solemnly proclaimed, during the pilgrimage of 186/802, in Mecca: the unity of the empire was re-affirmed by the existence of a single caliph-designate, Muḥammad (al-Amīn), residing in Baghdād, supported by his two heirs who were given charge of key-provinces: greater Khurāsān, the heartland of the ʿAbbāsid régime since the success of the *daʿwa hāshimiyya* (132/750), was entrusted to ʿAbd Allāh (al-Maʾmūn) and the war-front in the struggle against the Byzantine Empire (al-Djazīra and northern Syria), a major pre-occupation of al-Rashīd, placed under the authority of al-Ḳāsim (al-Muʾtamin). This interdependence between the different groupings of the empire conferred autonomy on Ifrīḳiya, where the authority of the Aghlabids was recognised in 184/800, with the purpose of containing the Khāridjīs, the ʿAlids and the Umayyads who had succeeded in founding principalities in the Maghrib and in al-Andalus, in the second half of the 2nd/8th century.

On his return from the pilgrimage, al-Rashīd rid himself of the patronage of the Barmakids, ordering the execution of Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā on the night of 1 Ṣafar 187/29 January 803, and arresting al-Faḍl and his brothers, who were imprisoned at al-Rāfiḳa. Henceforward, ʿAbd Allāh (al-Maʾmūn) had as his guardian al-Faḍl b. Sahl, son of a Zoroastrian from a village near Kūfa, who entered the service of the Barmakids and ultimately converted to Islam, in 190/806, assuming the role of *kātib*-tutor, thus becoming qualified for the post of future vizier on the accession of al-Maʾmūn.

At the age of eighteen, ʿAbd Allāh married his cousin, Umm ʿĪsā, daughter of Mūsā al-Hādī, who bore him two sons (Muḥammad al-Aṣghar and ʿAbd Allāh), and had numerous concubines. In 192/808, having stabilised the war-front with the Byzantine empire, al-Rashīd took personal charge of the situation in Khurāsān, which was disturbed by the revolt of Rāfiʿ b. Layth, grandson of Naṣr b. Sayyār (the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān), against the centralising policy of the governor ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, who represented the *abnāʾ al-dawla* (Khurāsānians resident in ʿIrāḳ). Accompanied by ʿAbd Allāh (al-Maʾmūn) and al-Faḍl b. Sahl, but also by the *ḥādjib*-vizier al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, successor to the Barmakids at the head of the central administration, he set out, but died at Ṭūs on 3 Djumada II 193/24 March 809, al-Maʾmūn having preceded him to Marw with a part of the army. Immediately, the new caliph in Baghdād began to take measures designed to reinforce the position of the central power in opposition to the autonomist aspirations of greater Khurāsān, in line with the policy that had been in force for fifty years; he ordered the return of the army and of the treasury to Baghdād, which deprived the prince-governor al-Maʾmūn of the means to "pacify" rapidly and completely the troubled regions (Transoxania; Sīstān-Kirmān, disturbed by the revolt of the Khāridjī Ḥamza since 179/795; etc.). Nevertheless, al-Maʾmūn did not lack the ingenuity to consolidate his position in confrontation with the caliphate, and following the example of his father, he devolved his responsibilities upon the Sahlids, who received full powers to manage affairs and to safeguard his rights of inheritance to the caliphate, which were sealed in the Kaʿba. A process of pacification and mobilisation of the forces of the eastern provinces was achieved by means of the recognition of the autonomy of local chieftains, the support of the aristocracy, which saw in the potentialities of the empire an opportunity of gaining unprecedented wealth and prestige, an increase in the wages of the army, the reduction of the *kharādj* by a quarter, the restoration of the efficiency of the administration and recourse to the *maẓālim* [*q.v.*], regularly presided over by al-Maʾmūn. Particular efforts were applied in the direction of the *fuḳahāʾ* and *mutakallimūn* suffering persecution in ʿIrāḳ (the Muʿtazila), whose opinions were canvassed. These various concessions, following the line of the Barmakid policy of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā, as practised at the time of his recruitment of an *ʿAbbāsiyya* army (in 177/794), had the expected effects in regard to the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the provinces subject to the authority of al-Maʾmūn (ending the various insurrections, except that of the Khāridjī Ḥamza in Sīstān) and the rallying of local populations to the "son of their sister" and a member of the Family of the Prophet whose rights to the *imāma* of the *umma* had been endorsed by the *daʿwa hāshimiyya*, installed at Marw.

Similarly, in the West, supported by his *ḥadjib*-vizier al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, chief of the *mawālī* of the caliph, whose role had been augmented at the expense of the *kuttāb* of the administration

(represented by the Barmakids), his confidential ally Bakr b. al-Mu'tamir (the holder of the Seal), his chief of police, al-Sindī b. Shāhak, *mawlā* of the caliph, al-Amīn enlarged his circle of partisans; he ordered the release of 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān, chief of the *Abnā'* (determined to preserve their privileges at the expense of the autonomist aspirations of Khurāsān), and the surviving Barmakids, including Mūsā b. Yaḥyā, who rallied to his cause, while Muḥammad rejoined the camp of al-Ma'mūn. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān was promoted leader of the caliph's bodyguard, while 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, the principal supporter of al-Mu'tamin, was arrested. Rule over Syria was entrusted to Thābit b. Naṣr, grandson of Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzā'ī (one of the twelve *nuḳabā'* of the *da'wa hāshimiyya*, who became the confidential ally of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī), while Egypt, governed by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī (descended from a Hāshimite *dā'ī*, former governor of Khurāsān), was potentially dissident. Only the Ḥidjāz, which had benefited from irrigation projects and from the riches of Zubayda, was firmly behind al-Amīn (at the expense of the 'Alids). This bi-polarisation has been the object of a historical misunderstanding, with the eastern provinces being identified with "Iran" and the western provinces with the contemporary Arab countries. In fact, greater Khurāsān extended only as far as Rayy and Hamadhān (in the west), while Fārs was detached from it following the assassination of Abū Muslim (137/755), and the most advanced centres of Islamisation and Arabisation in the period of al-Ma'mūn were situated in the former Sāsānid empire (divided between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn) rather than in the former Roman-Byzantine empire (Syria-Egypt); cf. R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the medieval period: an essay in quantitative history*, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1979. Likewise, the rivalry between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn is not explained by the origin of their mothers (Arab and Iranian), in view of the patrilineal system of the 'Abbāsid family, recalled by al-Manṣūr, son of a Berber concubine, to Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (who prided himself on being of pure and free descent on both the paternal and maternal side) to refute the legitimising pretensions of the 'Alids (in 144/762; cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii/1, 211-15). Al-Amīn attempted to copy the example of al-Manṣūr (in regard to 'Īsā b. Mūsā), of al-Mahdī (in regard to the same 'Īsā b. Mūsā), and of al-Hādī (in regard to his brother al-Rashīd), seeking to institute a direct line of succession, at the expense of his brothers (al-Mu'tamin and al-Ma'mūn). This attempt to modify the pre-established order had its supporters, the *mawālī* of the caliph and the *abnā' al-dawla* of 'Irāḳ, whose privileges were threatened by the success of regional autonomism, beginning in the Maghrib and extending to greater Khurāsān, the pillar of the 'Abbāsid régime. Under these circumstances, it comes as no surprise to find the eastern provinces supporting the defender of their aspirations. This was the first time that their status was officially defined (by the "Meccan Documents") and that their representative was not only an 'Abbāsid prince but also an heir to the caliphate. In other words, if victorious, the Khurāsānians would win their autonomy and be assured of an influential position in the structure of the state. As for al-Ma'mūn, it was his good fortune to reside beyond the jurisdiction of the reigning caliph, thus avoiding the fate undergone by 'Īsā b. Mūsā (obliged to abdicate in favour of the sons of al-Mahdī) or that all but suffered by al-Rashīd (imprisoned by his brother al-Hādī). His brother al-Mu'tamin did not have the same opportunity and his case confirmed *a contrario* the lot of al-Ma'mūn.

The conflict began in 194/810, sparked off by the addition of the name of Mūsā, the young son of al-Amīn, to the list of heirs to the caliphate: al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'tamin. A delegation was sent to Marw to persuade al-Ma'mūn to return to Baghdād, where he was to take on the role of adviser of the caliph. Offended by his refusal, al-Amīn attempted to re-assert his authority over the whole of the empire; he demanded the sending of the surplus revenues of certain provinces (Rayy, Ḳūmis and western Khurāsān, then the nomination of fiscal agents and finally the appointment of a chief of postal services or intelligence officer at Marw, al-Ma'mūn's capital. The perspicacity of al-Faḍl b. Sahl, and the determination of the Khurāsānians to defend the autonomy that they had finally acquired, helped al-Ma'mūn to refuse any modification of the letter of "Meccan Documents" and thus to avoid any involvement with the mechanism set in motion by the advisers of al-Amīn with the object of threatening his position. The rift opened wide in 195/811, with the removal of the caliph's name from the coinage and the *ṭirāz* of Khurāsān. Taking advantage of the strength of his position, al-Amīn resolved to settle the question of relations between the central power and Khurāsān, while there was still time. He proclaimed his son Mūsā (son of a concubine) first heir (at the expense of al-Ma'mūn) and 'Abd Allāh (son of another concubine) second heir (at the expense of al-Mu'tamin), in flagrant violation of the "Meccan Documents". Al-Ma'mūn replied by taking the title of *Imām*, following the example of the *Imām* Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad b. 'Alī, heir of Abū Hāshim (son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya). This return to the principles of the first *da'wa hāshimiyya* at Marw was further underlined by appeals sent to the various Arab tribal factions of Khurāsān, exalting the role of the *nuḳabā'*: Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm al-Dhuhlī al-Shaybānī (confidential ally of Abū Muslim), Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb al-Ṭā'ī (commander of the revolutionary army), Mūsā b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī, Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzā'ī, etc. In addition, the authority of the *Imām* is of a more religious nature than that of the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, this prefiguring the "imperial-papal" policy of al-Ma'mūn. Communications between 'Irāḳ and Khurāsān were cut, and the frontiers guarded to prevent the sending of intelligence to Baghdād, while al-Ma'mūn's intelligence service was in action at the court itself (through the efforts of al-'Abbās, son of the former heir to the caliphate 'Īsā b. Mūsā, and other informers recruited by al-Faḍl b. Sahl).

The "Meccan Documents" were undermined and then revoked at the behest of al-Amīn, who finally ordered his brother to recognise his complete authority over Khurāsān. The rupture became total with the appointment of 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān, the deposed former governor of Khurāsān, as governor of Djibāl (the provinces of Ḳumm, Nihāwand, Hamadhān, Iṣfahān) with the mission of restoring the caliph's authority over Khurāsān (Djumādā II 195/March 811). The caliph's army was composed of the *abnā'* "sons" of the Khurāsānian army garrisoned in 'Irāḳ, of whom some were supporters of the conflict with Khurāsān (notably 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān), while others showed themselves loyal, in spite of the reservations of some (in particular Khuzayma, son of Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī, governor of the region bordering on the Byzantine empire, the *'Awāṣim* [*q.v.*] of al-Djazīra and of northern Syria). Consequently, it is not appropriate to identify the par-

tisans of al-Amīn with Arabs bent on vengeance, since this leads to a flagrant contradiction: after all, the Khurāsānian army (composed of Arabs and of *mawālī*) had destroyed the Ḳaysī army of al-Djazīra to establish equality between Muslims, conquering Arabs or conquered *mawālī*, and to solve the social problems of the empire. The politico-military "establishment" was divided on the question of centralisation as oppossed to the autonomy of provinces, whose supporters were likewise of Arab and non-Arab origin. It is for this reason that a certain number of *abnāʾ al-dawla* are found in the camp of al-Maʾmūn, including Harthama b. Aʿyan, a *mawlā* of the Banū Ḍabba, a native of Balkh; this former supporter of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā (who accepted the idea of a partial autonomy for Khurāsān), having espoused the cause of al-Hādī and become a confidential ally of al-Rashīd, took the part of al-Maʾmūn, who appointed him chief of his bodyguard (although his son Ḥātim was governing Egypt in the name of al-Amīn); Zuhayr, son of al-Musayyib b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī (who was a deputy of the *naḳīb*), put himself on the side of al-Maʾmūn (who appointed him governor of Sīstān), as did his brother al-ʿAbbās, retained as chief of police by al-Maʾmūn (although another brother, Muḥammad, was an army officer in Baghdād in the service of al-Amīn); Shabīb, grandson of Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb al-Ṭāʾī, took the part of al-Maʾmūn (who appointed him head of the Ḳūmis), although the rest of his family supported al-Amīn; Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī, whose family was resident in a village of Bukhārā, supported al-Maʾmūn, while the grandsons of his namesake (who was a deputy of the *naḳīb*) were in the camp of al-Amīn.

The reserved attitude of ʿAbd Allāh, son of the *naḳīb* al-Haytham al-Khuzāʿī, who refused a post in the administration (the other members of his family were on the side of al-Amīn), as well as Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh b. Muslim, a *mawlā* of the Banū Dhuhl, a veteran of the army of al-Rashīd, opened the way to the promotion of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, of Būshandj, descendant of Abū Manṣūr Ṭalḥa b. Ruzayḳ, a *mawlā* of the Khuzāʿa, one of the twelve *nuḳabāʾ* of the *daʿwa hāshimiyya*, in charge of relations with the *Imām* Ibrāhīm. As governor of his native city. Ṭāhir had taken part in the revolt of Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth against the governor ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, until his deposition at the hands of Harthama b. al-ʿAyan (192/808). Promoted governor of Djibāl, Ṭāhir was sent to Rayy with a small army, to oppose the advance of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, commander of the main army of the caliph (40,000 men against 4,000-5,000 under the orders of Ṭāhir).

The composition of al-Maʾmūn's army was Transoxanian, thus extending recruitment to the ʿAbbāsid army to the populations of Soghdia, of Khʷārazm and of other principalities of Central Asia. Only the chiefs were dignified with the title of *mawālī* of al-Maʾmūn, in the sense of supporters (singular *muwālī*) of the heir to the caliphate, this permitting them to acquire a majority of key posts in the event of victory. The confrontation with the caliph's army took place near Rayy and, with odds of ten against one, the result of the battle seemed a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn succeeded in killing ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān (7 Shawwāl 195/3 July 811). This surprise victory earned him the honorific title of *Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn* and restored the situation in favour of al-Maʾmūn, saved by this feat of arms. Ṭāhir occupied Ḳazwīn and marched against Hamadhān, where the remnants of the caliph's army were entrenched. He was obliged to confront an army of reinforcements (20,000 *abnāʾ* based at al-Anbār) commanded by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Djabala, who had borne a grudge against al-Maʾmūn since the latter ordered the sending of the army of al-Rashīd and the treasury to Marw, in 193/809. Once more, Ṭāhir was victorious, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was killed (196/812). The whole of the province of Djibāl was now conquered, opening the road to ʿIrāḳ. To block the route of the Khurāsānian army, al-Amīn mobilised two new armies, one of 20,000 *abnāʾ* under the orders of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd, grandson of the *naḳīb* and commander of the revolutionary army Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb al-Ṭāʾī [*q.v.*], and the other of 20,000 Arabs commanded by the Ḳaysī Aḥmad b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, representing the Rabīʿa of al-Djazīra. Once more, Ṭāhir skilfully succeeded in playing these two sections of the army against each other by exploiting their rivalries (Ḳaysīs cheated of their rights by the Khurāsānians for 60 years!). These repeated reverses suffered by the *abnāʾ* of ʿIrāḳ and the impracticability of mobilising the Arabs of al-Djazīra forced al-Amīn to attempt to raise levies in Syria, in spite of the recent revolt of the Sufyānid against him (195/811). ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ was reinstated as governor of the *ʿAwāṣim* of al-Djazīra and Syria, and Ḥusayn son of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, his lieutenant, was sent on a recruiting mission to Syria. However, the divisions between Ḳaysīs and Kalbīs (Yemenis) did not constitute a propitious climate, all the more so in that the Arabs of Syria had learned lessons from their participation in the struggle for the caliphate, and the support given to the ʿAbbāsid ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī against the caliph al-Manṣūr (136/754). Finding his task impossible, al-Ḥusayn organised a *coup d'état* at Baghdād; in Radjab 196/March 812, he ordered the arrest of al-Amīn and proclaimed his brother al-Maʾmūn caliph. Nothing better illustrates the divisions of the *abnāʾ* than the counter-coup which restored the caliphate of al-Amīn, while al-Ḥusayn was sent away to fight the army of Ṭāhir, but was killed in retribution. Henceforward, the *ḥādjib*-vizier al-Faḍl al-Rabīʿ, one of the leading instigators of the conflict with al-Maʾmūn, sensing the cause of al-Amīn to be finally lost, decided to make provision for the future by leaving the political scene and plunging into obscurity. He was replaced by the *kātib al-sirr* of al-Amīn, Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ al-Ḥarrānī, who had little to say regarding the opening of further hostilities with al-Maʾmūn.

On the same date, al-Maʾmūn was officially proclaimed caliph at Marw, while al-Faḍl b. Sahl was endowed with the title of *Dhu 'l-Riʾāsatayn* (a dual civil and military command), and Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn received orders to march on Khuzistān, which was defended by a Muhallabid, Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim, resident at Ahwāz. Ṭāhir won the battle, and this forced the Muhallabid of Baṣra, Ibn Abī ʿUyayna, to assure the position of his family by rallying to the new caliph al-Maʾmūn. In return, he was appointed governor of Eastern Arabia (Baḥrayn, Yamāma and ʿUmān), while an ʿAbbāsid prince, Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar, was charged with the government of Baṣra. Ṭāhir's troops marched on Kūfa, where they encountered some resistance; then they set out towards al-Madāʾin, which they occupied, and finally arrived at a point west of Baghdād. A second Khurāsānian army, commanded by Harthama b. al-Aʿyan, one of the leading military chiefs under al-Rashīd, was sent by al-Maʾmūn to invest the capital from the east (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 196/August 812). The siege of Baghdād lasted thirteen months, prolonged by the popular resistance of the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*], people

of humble origin, who exploited the situation to their advantage. This urban guerilla warfare checked the advance of the regular army of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, who began a destructive bombardment of the "City of Peace". The provinces situated to the west of ʿIrāḳ recognised the authority of al-Maʾmūn in 197/813: the Ḥidjāz (where the pilgrimage was under the supervision of al-ʿAbbās, son of Mūsā b. ʿĪsā, an early ally of al-Maʾmūn); Egypt, where the *abnāʾ* were divided between partisans of *al-Makhlūʿ* (al-Amīn) and those allied to al-Maʾmūn, supported by the Yemeni Arabs (against the Ḳaysīs); Ifrīḳiya, autonomous under the Aghlabids, recognised the established power; northern Syria and al-Djazīra, which had lost their governor ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 196/812), took advantage of the situation to establish their autonomy, an example followed by Ādharbāydjān and Armenia.

As for al-Amīn, after squandering the resources of the public treasury (several hundreds of millions of *dirhams*), he lost his supporters, who negotiated with Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn in order to safeguard their interests. Finally, he was obliged to seek the protection of Harthama b. al-Aʿyan. But Ṭāhir captured him and ordered his execution on the night of 24-5 Muḥarram 198/24-5 September 813; this was the first time that an ʿAbbāsid caliph was thus humiliated and put to death by rebel soldiers, whose conduct contrasted with the more respectful and conciliatory attitude of the veteran Harthama b. al-Aʿyan.

The government of ʿIrāḳ was entrusted to al-Ḥasan, brother of al-Faḍl b. Sahl, while Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn was charged with securing the front in the war against Byzantium, starting with al-Djazīra, where Naṣr b. Shabath al-Laythī, grandson of one of the leading Ḳaysī chiefs, had made his base at Kaysūm (in Diyār Muḍar). The conqueror of al-Amīn underestimated this adversary (whose resistance lasted until 210/825), while in Ādharbāydjān Arab chieftains took control of the towns in which they were established (their autonomy lasted until 206/821). In order to subjugate Baghdād, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl did not spare the conquered *abnāʾ*, and this had the effect of re-kindling their resistance under the leadership of the family of the Banū Khālid, *mawālī* of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy, originally from Marw al-Rūdh, who took over the role of the family of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān (it may be noted that Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid allied himself with al-Maʾmūn and held high office in the administration of Marw). This unrest, encouraged by the demobilisation of the *abnāʾ* and fiscal problems in Baghdād, was exploited by the ʿAlids, of Zaydī tendency, who sought to seize power at the very heart of the empire: on 10 Djumādā 199/26 January 815, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā [*q.v.*], a descendent of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī and of Fāṭima, was proclaimed *al-Riḍā min āl Muḥammad* (in accordance with the *daʿwa hāshimiyya*) at Kūfa. He was supported by Abu ʾl-Sarāyā al-Sirrī b. Manṣūr al-Shaybānī, who had left the army of Harthama b. al-Aʿyan; the troops of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, sent to suppress this revolt, were repulsed, but Ibn Ṭabāṭabā died of his wounds (February 815). A new Ḥusaynid *Imām* was proclaimed in the person of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd. The movement sought to spread throughout ʿIrāḳ: at Baṣra, the Ḥusaynid Zayd, son of Mūsā al-Kāẓim, set upon the ʿAbbāsids of this metropolis to avenge the execution of his father (in 183/799) on the orders of al-Rashīd, as did the victims of the revolt of 145/762-63 which had been organised by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, brother of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.vv.*], against al-Manṣūr. The same occurred at Kūfa, where the property of ʿAbbāsids was attacked. Emboldened by these successes, the Shīʿīs marched on Baghdād, forcing al-Ḥasan b. Sahl to appeal for help to the veteran Harthama b. Aʿyan, who put an end to the revolt of his former lieutenant Abu ʾl-Sarāyā (executed in Rabīʿ I 200/October 815 [*q.v.*]). Kūfa was recaptured, as was Baṣra (where Zayd al-Nār "the Firebrand" was arrested and sent to Marw). Other Shīʿī centres were established in the Ḥidjāz and the Yemen: at Mecca, the envoy of Abu ʾl-Sarāyā succeeded in organising the proclamation of Muḥammad al-Dībādj, grandson of the *Imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, in Rabīʿ I 200/ November 815. The suppression of the uprising was entrusted to Ḥamdawayh, son of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, leading a force of those *abnāʾ* who had supported al-Maʾmūn in the civil war. Mecca was recaptured and Muḥammad al-Dībādj was spared (he eventually went into exile in Djurdjān). There was still the Yemen, where Ibrāhim, son of Mūsā al-Kāẓim succeeded in taking power in a bloodthirsty fashion (which earned him the epithet of al-Djazzār "the Butcher"), from Ṣafar 200/September 815. Ḥamdawayh succeeded in suppressing this movement (then attempted, in his turn, to make himself independent!).

These outbursts of hatred on the part of the ʿAlids for the ʿAbbāsids, who were accused of violating the "rights" of the descendents of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, drove al-Maʾmūn to effect a spectacular reconciliation between the two branches of the Family of the Prophet, ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids, by means of a return to the principles of the first *daʿwa hāshimiyya*, which did not in any way prohibit the choice of an ʿAlid *Imām*, in accordance with the interpretation of the first vizier Abū Salama al-Khallāl [*q.v.*] (who, on the death in 132/749 of the ʿAbbāsid *Imām* Ibrāhim had offered the caliphate to the Ḥusaynid Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, then to the Ḥasanid ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, as well as to ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan). In addition, not only did he spare the ʿAlids who had recently been proclaimed anti-ʿAbbāsid caliphs, but most significant of all, he went further than his grandfather al-Mahdī in choosing as his successor another son of the martyr Mūsā al-Kāẓim, ʿAlī, brother of Zayd the rebel in Baṣra and of Ibrāhīm the rebel in the Yemen, who was given the title of *al-Riḍā min āl Muḥammad*. This initiative by al-Maʾmūn ran counter to the policy pursued for a century, and in particular, since the support given by the Khurāsāniyya to the ʿAbbāsid branch, with the proclamation of al-Saffāḥ, brother of the *Imām* Ibrāhīm, in preference to the ʿAlid candidates. The Sahlids, who controlled the machinery of state, were forced to identify with this etymologically revolutionary policy in order to avoid suffering disgrace analogous to that of the Barmakids (when they did not share the anti-ʿAlid policy of al-Rashīd). Nevertheless, the relative strengths of ʿIrāḳ and of Khurāsān did not permit the realisation of this attempt to broaden the social base of al-Maʾmūn's régime. In fact, the threat of an inversion of roles at the expense of ʿIrāḳ led its aristocracy, far from enfeebled by the war between partisans of al-Amīn and of al-Maʾmūn, to resist the Sahlids whose policy in ʿIrāḳ was judged dangerous for the caliphate itself by such veterans as Harthama b. Aʿyan. The latter did not hesitate to present himself in person at Marw, to inform al-Maʾmūn of the reality of the situation in ʿIrāḳ, instead of taking up his post as governor of Syria and the Ḥidjāz, to which he had been appointed on the eve of the revolt of Kūfa. Taking advantage of his influence over the caliph, al-Faḍl b. Sahl succeeded in turning al-

Maʾmūn against him and ultimately he had him executed in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 200/June 816. In consequence, Ḥātim, son of Harthama b. al-Aʿyan and governor of Armenia, raised a revolt. Allying himself with other local chieftains of Ādharbāydjān, Bābak al-Khurramī [*q.v.*] went into action in 201/816 at Badhdh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the mountainous region to the south of the Araxes.

The struggle for power in Baghdād and the attempt to impose ʿAlī al-Riḍā as successor to al-Maʾmūn granted a respite to the autonomists of Ādharbāydjān, of Armenia, of the *ʿAwāṣim* of northern al-Djazīra and Syria, of Syria and of Egypt. In fact, the resistance of the *abnāʾ* forced al-Ḥasan b. Sahl to abandon the capital. A triple power was established there with the appointment of al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, son of a Persian concubine, as delegate of al-Maʾmūn, from 25 Djumādā II 201/18 January 817 onwards. In addition, the urban lower classes supported the movement of Sahl b. Salāma al-Anṣārī, a native of Khurāsān, in the quarter of al-Ḥarbiyya; "[the command] *al-amr bi ʾl-maʿrūf wa ʾl-nahy ʿan al-munkar* became identified more or less with political independence and with the self-government of small social groups" (J. van Ess, *Une lecture à rebours de l'histoire du muʿtazilisme*, in *REI*, xlvii/1 [1979], 68 = Extrait hors série 14, Paris 1984, 127), while Abu ʾl-Hudhayl and al-Naẓẓām, who had introduced Muʿtazilism to the court of al-Maʾmūn, worked, on the contrary, for a policy of reconciliation with the ʿAbbāsid power. In other words, the process of recovery of the second half of the reign of al-Maʾmūn, was beginning to evolve. In the meantime, on 2 Ramaḍān 201/24 March 817, al-Maʾmūn proclaimed ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim as his successor (at the expense of al-Muʾtamin, his brother), with the title of *al-Riḍā min āl Muḥammad*, and abandoned the black colour of the ʿAbbāsids in favour of the green colour (the *Katība al-khaḍrāʾ* of the Prophet). Henceforward, the choice of caliph-*Imām* was to be made from among the descendents of Hāshim, common ancestor of Muḥammad and of his uncles al-ʿAbbās and Abū Ṭālib the father of ʿAlī (a census taken in 201/816 counted 30,000 Hāshimites, who had their own *naḳīb*). When the news reached ʿIrāḳ four months later, the ʿAbbāsids and their supporters reacted against this assault on their "acquired rights": the ʿAbbāsid governor of Baṣra Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī refused to wear green, while in Baghdād, the sons of al-Mahdī led the opposition. When al-Manṣūr (whose mother was al-Buḥturiyya, daughter of the Dābūyid *ispahbadh* of Ṭabaristān, Khurshīd) refused to be proclaimed caliph, his half-brother Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (whose mother was Shakla, daughter of the Maṣmughān of Damāwand, deposed at the time of the conquest of this district) accepted the title (28 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 201/17 July 817) and chose his nephew Isḥāk b. Mūsā al-Hādī, brother-in-law of al-Maʾmūn, as heir to the throne. He was supported by the ʿAbbāsid princes, notably Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām (known as Ibn ʿĀʾisha), Abū Isḥāḳ the future al-Muʿtaṣim, the *mawālī* of the preceding caliph al-Amīn, al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ (who returned to his post of *ḥādjib* at the court), al-Sindī b. Shāhak, re-appointed chief of the police, and the *abnāʾ*, comprising the sons of both ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān and of Abū Khālid, and even of former partisans of al-Maʾmūn, including al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Allāh, grandson of the *naḳīb* Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʿī, or Nuʿaym b. Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī (who joined his brother Khuzayma, who had remained loyal to al-Amīn). In other words, this was the revival of the war between the two camps, dormant since 198/813. The fact that al-Amīn was the son of an Arab wife, and Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī that of a Persian concubine, like al-Maʾmūn, did not affect the way that the conflict was waged, in terms of the relations between ʿIrāḳ, (capital Baghdād) and Khurāsān (capital Marw).

The new caliph Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī succeeded in extending his authority over the capital by putting and end to the activities of Sahl b. Salāma al-Anṣārī in the quarter of al-Ḥarbiyya. Then he sought to take control of Kūfa, from which the ʿAlid governor al-ʿAbbās, brother of ʿAlī al-Riḍā, was expelled (Djumādā I 202/November 817). But Wāsiṭ served as a headquarters for al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who regained control of Baṣra. The governor of Egypt, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī, rallied to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, while the autonomous *amīr* of Ifrīḳiya remained neutral as before. The gravity of the situation was hidden from al-Maʾmūn by al-Faḍl b. Sahl, until ʿAli al-Riḍā disclosed to him that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī had been proclaimed caliph, rather than *amīr*, in Baghdād. Henceforward, at the age of thirty-one years, al-Maʾmūn decided to take personal control of affairs; he recognised that a military solution was not appropriate and that only agreement between the social elements of the empire was capable of saving the régime, by enlarging its social base as a means of gaining control of the different provinces. A first concession to the aristocracy of ʿIrāḳ was effected by the announcement of his return to Baghdād, whose rôle as capital of the empire was thus assured; on 10 Radjab 202/22 January 818 al-Maʾmūn left Marw with the court, the administration and the army, leaving Ghassān b. ʿAbbād, a cousin of the Sahlids, as governor of Khurāsān at Marw. At Sarakhs, al-Faḍl b. Sahl, who had attempted to usurp the authority of the caliph, suffered the same fate as the Barmakids; he was assassinated at the instigation of al-Maʾmūn (2 Shaʿbān 202/13 February 818), but unlike the Barmakids, the other Sahlids were spared; besides controlling Khurāsān and southern ʿIrāḳ, they held influential posts in the central administration, with the promotion of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl to the post of vizier-*amīr* which had been held by his brother al-Faḍl. A matrimonial alliance was concluded to consolidate this situation, with the betrothal of al-Maʾmūn to Būrān, daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl (the marriage was to be celebrated in Ramaḍān 210/December 825). Two months later, al-Maʾmūn left Sarakhs for Ṭūs, making no attempt to hasten the issue. As for Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, he was hampered by lack of financial resources and was obliged to combat opposition movements: on the part of Asad, who raised a revolt in the quarter of al-Ḥarbiyya (suppressed by ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid); on the part of Mahdī b. ʿAlwān al-Shārī (al-Ḥarūrī) in the region between Baghdād and Madāʾin (the headquarters of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī), who was defeated by Abū Isḥāḳ (al-Muʿtaṣim); and on the part of certain *abnāʾ* who sought to come to terms with the generals of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. Alerted to this conspiracy, in which al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī was implicated, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī returned to Baghdād (14 Ṣafar 203/21 August 818) and had his half-brother arrested, as well as Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī, although al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khuzāʿī succeeded in escaping. It was then that the army of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl captured al-Madāʾin and the Nahr Diyālā. Meanwhile, in Khurāsān, ʿAlī al-Riḍā met his death in the village of Sānabād, near Ṭūs, on 29 Ṣafar 203/5 September 818, and the Shīʿīs were convinced that al-Maʾmūn had had him poisoned

(whence the name of *Mashhad* [*q.v.*], given to this place). Not only was a heavy taxation levied, but in Bāghdād, certain *abnāʾ* conspired against Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī; ʿĪsā b. Abī Khālid was supposed to capture him and hand him over on Friday 29 Shawwāl 203/29 April 819, but his plan was revealed and he was imprisoned. To free him, the family of the Banū Khālid entered into conflict with Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and rallied to the cause of al-Maʾmūn (Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 203/May 819), who was in Djurdjān at this date (in other words, it had taken him sixteen months, since leaving Marw, to cover the twenty journey-stages which separated this town from Djurdjān). Feeling the cause lost, once more, the *hādjib* al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ deserted his caliph and his post and plunged again into obscurity. As for Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, he was reduced to using his rival Sahl b. Salāma al-Anṣār in an attempt to mobilise the lower classes of Baghdād. After two years as caliph, Ibrāhīm decided to leave the political scene, at the same time escaping from a conspiracy of some of his military chiefs who had plotted to hand him over to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl (16 Muḥarram 204/13 July 819). The authority of al-Maʾmūn was restored in Baghdād, while al-Ḥasan b. Sahl withdrew from political life (on account of his ill-health). In other words, the way was clear when al-Maʾmūn arrived at Ḥulwān, which separates ʿIrāḳ from the Iranian plateau. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, who had withdrawn to Raḳḳa, received orders to return to Baghdād, where al-Maʾmūn made a triumphal entry on 17 Ṣafar 204/August 819 (after ten years of absence). One month later, he re-adopted the colour black, but retained the title of *Imām* (which all his successors were to bear) with the object of consolidating his role as guide of the *umma*, following the example of the ʿAlid *Imāms*.

Henceforward, the attempt to control the empire and to guide the *umma* was the personal responsibility of al-Maʾmūn, advised by the Muʿtazilīs and the *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*]. To apply the new policies of the *Imām*, the *kuttāb* of the previous administration were first disbanded but then reinstated as advisers on the administrative staff which was recalled from Khurāsān. Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid, kinsman of the *abnāʾ* of ʿIrāḳ, was the personal secretary of al-Maʾmūn, and acted as principal adviser and as agent for rallying the *abnāʾ* of Baghdād (until his death in 211/826). The chiefs of the *dīwāns*, most of whom were former protégés of the Barmakids, were controlled directly by the caliph, who took personal charge of recourse to the *maẓālim*. For the maintenance of order, supervision of the police was entrusted to Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, while yesterday's adversaries were pardoned in the interests of communal reconciliation: thus al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ and then Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (in 210/825) benefited from the *ḥilm* of al-Maʾmūn (who executed only the recalcitrant Ibrāhīm Ibn ʿĀʾisha, descendent of the *Imām* Ibrāhīm, in 210/825). The central army combined numerous bodies of troops, and privileged status reverted to the supporters of al-Maʾmūn, of Transoxanian and Khurāsānian origin, at the expense of the *abnāʾ* who had been defeated on two occasions, in 198/813 and then in 204/819. Since the empire was only now emerging from a civil war that had lasted ten years, al-Maʾmūn confined himself to supporting the revolt of Thomas the Slav in Asia Minor (820-3), while awaiting the opportunity to renew the campaign against the Byzantine empire (which he did from 215/830 onwards). As for the government of the provinces, he entrusted the holy cities of the Ḥidjāz to an ʿAlid, while al-Djazīra, troubled by the revolt of Naṣr b. Shabath at Kaysūm, received as its ruler the veteran Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh b. Muslim, who was also required to act with restraint.

In 205/820, a number of troublesome incidents occurred in the marshlands of lower ʿIrāḳ, where the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] controlled the routes of communication (until 219/834), but also and especially in Khurāsān. It was in response to these problems that there was established a dynasty of Ṭāhirid governors, in accordance with the conditions granted to al-Maʾmūn by the "Meccan Documents" (in 186/802), this representing a durable compromise solution. This was the first time that the ʿAbbāsids made use of governors to rule the eastern half of the empire and to support the policies of the caliphate (similar methods had been practised under Muʿāwiya with Ziyād b. Abīhi, and under ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān with al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf al-Thaḳafī). In fact, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn ruled greater Khurāsān, while his cousin Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab deputised for him as commander of the police in Baghdād, and his son ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir was responsible for extending the caliph's authority over the autonomous provinces by means of the central army, which was recruited principally from the eastern provinces.

In other words, the autonomy of the Ṭāhirids was of a different nature from that of the Aghlabids in Ifrīḳiya, and, contrary to the views of some "Jacobin" historians, the power of the state was not conceived in terms of centralisation, representing a very high cost and uncertain results, but in the co-operation of different provinces which, in exchange for a degree of autonomy, were prepared to mobilise and to employ the energies and creative abilities of their inhabitants in the service of the *umma*. It was by this means that the integration of the former Sāsānid empire was achieved, assisting al-Maʾmūn in his task of restoring the unity of the empire on new cultural bases. In fact, Muʿtazilism seemed to represent a compromise solution which would conciliate the ʿAlids and would adapt Islam to the economic and social evolution of the empire, seeing that the rural communities were unfairly oppressed by the scale of land-taxes levied by the aristocracy of the towns, while the urban proletariat, by frugal living, managed after a fashion to support a non-Ḳurʾānic burden of taxation (whence its support for Ḥanbalism, favouring a strict adherence to the Ḳurʾān and to the *Sunna* of Muḥammad and his Companions). The political implications of Muʿtazilism, elaborated by the *mawālī* of Kūfa (including Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir) and of Baṣra (including Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf and his nephew al-Naẓẓām), explain the interest of al-Maʾmūn in this school of *kalām*, which supplemented the Arabic literary tradition by recourse to Greek philosophy as a means of arguing in favour of the oneness of God (whose shadow on the earth is the *Imām*). In other words, the "son of the Persian" al-Maʾmūn, far from hallowing the influence of the Sanskrit and Pahlavi cultural and scientific heritage, was the promoter of the cultural watershed of the 3rd/9th century, encouraging the translation into Arabic from Greek (and from Syriac) of the philosophy, astronomy, mathematics and medicine of the Hellenistic period (cf. R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, 1962; G. E. von Grünebaum, *Islam and medieval Hellenism*, London). The foundation of the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* [*q.v.*] in Baghdād (217/832) confirmed his interest in the development of a new culture, Arabic in expression and Islamic in inspiration, integrating the contributions of the various peoples of the Orient, including the neighbours of the ʿAbbāsid empire, whether they were commercial part-

ners (India) or political enemies (Byzantium). Scholars of all persuasions (Muslims, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians and Ṣābians) and from different provinces of the empire (Kh^wārazm, Farghāna, Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, al-Djazīra and ʿIrāḳ) contributed to the advancement of Arab science, heir to the sciences of antiquity, adopted and adapted according to the requirements of Arab-Islamic civilisation.

These borrowings from various foreign cultures were not to the taste of the traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*) who adhered to the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna* as sources of the law. While certain *fuḳahāʾ* were supporters of *raʾy* in questions of jurisprudence (particularly the Ḥanafīs of ʿIrāḳ), the majority tended to distrust divergences of opinion and, to maintain the purity of religion, re-affirmed the authority of the Ḳurʾān completed by the *Sunna* (at that time being edited in textual form, a process begun by Mālik. b. Anas). Al-Maʾmūn applied himself to encouraging politico-religious controversies, on the one hand between representatives of different religions (cf. G. Tartar, *Dialogue islamo-chrétien sous le calife al-Maʾmūn. Les épitres d'al-Hāshimī et d'al-Kindi*, doctoral thesis, Univ. of Strasbourg, ii, 1977, repr. in the Bulletin *Evangile-Islam*, special issue, October 1982; *Gudjastak Abalish*, ed. and tr. A. Barthélemy, Paris 1887; the subject is a polemic between a Zoroastrian converted to Islam and the leader of the Mazdaeans of Fārs); on the other hand, and most of all, between *ʿulamāʾ* of the different tendencies with regard to the interpretations of Islam. Aware of the gulf between Muʿtazilī concepts (hitherto classed as *zandaḳa*) and those of the *fuḳahāʾ* and *muḥaddithūn*, opposed to the notion of the created Ḳurʾān, al-Maʾmūn was at pains, over the years, to promote the Muʿtazilī point of view, of which the political implications were obvious: the *Imām*, seeking to correct the inequitable effects of the established order (particularly in terms of the taxation levied on citizens) borrowed from the Muʿtazilīs that which he judged necessary for his purpose, this being the dogma of the created Ḳurʾān (only God is uncreated and eternal), which he was able to use in rectifying the order himself, by means of his knowledge (*ʿilm*). This perspicacity brought him close to the example of ʿAlī, the first of the Companions of Muḥammad to have understood that a practical interpretation of Islam was necessary after the upheavals set in motion by the success and the extent of the Arab conquests (634-44). Furthermore, with the object of wooing the support of the Shīʿīs, ʿAlī was proclaimed "the best of the Companions after the Prophet" (in 211/826, re-affirmed in 212/827).

Scientific work, especially in the realms of astronomy and of mathematics, as well as cartography, conducted alongside the theological discussions of the decade beginning in 820, coincided with the restoration of the authority of the caliphate over the autonomous provinces with the regions situated to the north of ʿIrāḳ. Through the efforts of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, the revolt in al-Djazīra of Naṣr b. Shabath was suppressed (surrender in 210/825), while in Ādharbāydjān, ʿĪsā b. Abī Khālid put an end to the autonomy of the chieftains in the principal cities, but failed to subdue the mountainous region held by Bābak, who controlled the principalities of Siounik and Baylaḳān, situated in Arrān (on the other side of the Araxes). The various expeditions entrusted to Ṣadaka b. ʿAlī al-Azdī (in 209/824), then to Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭāʾī or al-Ṭūsī (212-14/827-9) were unable to stamp out a mountain guerilla force, strongly based and particularly effective against a regular army. These repeated failures cost the caliphate very dear, but did not impede the extension of the caliph's control over other mountainous regions; in 207/822, after arranging the succession of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn at Marw, Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid succeeded in integrating the principality of Ushrūsana into the empire, through the help of Ḥaydar b. Ḳāwūs, son of al-Afshīn [*q.v.*], who had taken refuge with al-Maʾmūn. Another local prince, Māzyār b. Ḳārin, driven out of his mountainous principality in the Elburz, was employed by al-Maʾmūn as co-governor of Ṭabaristān, of Rūyān and of Dunbāwand which were under the control of the Ṭāhirids (cf. M. Rekaya, *Māzyār*, in *Studia Iranica*, ii/2 [1973], 143-92, and ḲĀRINIDS). All these local princes who rallied to al-Maʾmūn were converted to Islam and were honoured with the title of *mawālī Amīr al-Muʾminīn* as a reward for their support of his policies. As for the Yemen, it was the base for the outbreak of a new ʿAlid revolt, fomented in 207/822 by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad, but al-Maʾmūn succeeded in obtaining his surrender, thus salvaging the desired reconciliation. However, the revolt of the citizens of Ḳumm, discontented by the refusal to reduce the *kharādj*, had to be suppressed (in 210/825, again in 216/831).

Once the pacification of the empire had been almost achieved, with the return of Egypt under the control of the caliphate (in 210-11/825-6), and the confirmation of the autonomous status of Aghlabid Ifrīḳiya, al-Maʾmūn felt sufficiently strong to proclaim Muʿtazilism as the official doctrine (in 212/827). He thus announced an "imperial-papal" policy, the application of which had been deferred until the consolidation of the new régime. In fact, the *Imām* undertook to reorganise the central army in order to provide himself with a powerful and effective striking force which would serve under his guidance. In 213/828 he took control of the armed forces, and divided them into three main army groups (each comprising a company of *abnāʾ*, troops of the *ʿAwāṣim* and recruits drawn from the eastern provinces): the first under the command of Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm (charged with the maintenance of order in ʿIrāḳ and in Djibāl and Fārs, adjoining greater Khurāsān, which was entrusted to Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir); the second under the orders of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn (responsible for the war-front in the struggle against the Byzantine empire in al-Djazīra and northern Syria); and the third entrusted to Abū Isḥāḳ Muḥammad (al-Muʿtaṣim, successor to al-Maʾmūn) and charged with the government of Egypt, where the situation was explosive. In fact, from 214/829, the Muslims and the Copts fomented a revolt against the system of taxation and inflicted a defeat upon the forces of al-Muʿtaṣim. In northern Ādharbāydjān, Bābak al-Khurramī succeeded in killing Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī (214/829) and repelling his army, forcing al-Maʾmūn to charge ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, veteran of the pacification of al-Djazīra and then of Egypt, with the suppression of this movement. However, before being able to intervene against Bābak, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir was transferred to Khurāsān on the death of his brother Ṭalḥa (214/829), this coinciding with the end of the revolt of the Khāridjī Ḥamza b. Ādarak (which had lasted for a third of a century in Sīstān-Kirmān). The task of pacifying Djibāl, Ādharbāydjān and Armenia was then entrusted to ʿAlī b. Hishām, one of al-Maʾmūn's leading generals, who did not however succeed in changing the territorial *status quo*.

This policy of restoring the unity of the empire preceded the resumption of war against Byzantium, already under way with the settlement of Andalusians in Crete (from 210/826) and the conquest of Sicily by

the Aghlabids of Ifrīḳiya (a campaign launched in 211/827). In addition, deserters from the Byzantine empire were gathered together and posted in frontier sites (cf. P. Lemerle, *L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie mineure d'après les sources greques*, in *Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance*, v [1973]; H. Gregoire, *Manuel et Théophobe*, in *Byzantion*, ix [1934]; M. Rekaya, *Mise au point sur Théophobe et l'alliance de Bâbek avec Theophile*, in *ibid.*, xliv [1974]).

The first campaign began in 215/830 under the personal command of al-Maʾmūn, who thus intended to prove himself worthy of his title of *Imām*, according to the Zaydī definition which then obtained, meaning a guide endowed with great knowledge (*ʿilm*) and with tried and tested political and military courage. On the way, al-Maʾmūn made the discovery of the Sabaeans of Ḥarrān, some of whom were obliged to convert to a Religion of the Book, while a *fatwā* proclaimed a formal accord between Islam and this religious community (then assimilated to the Ṣābiʾūn of the Ḳurʾān, II, 59/62, V, 73/69, XXII, 17), which produced many scholars and translators of the Greek heritage into Arabic. The outcome of this campaign was the capture of a number of fortresses in Cappadocia (in Arabic: al-Maṭāmīr [see MAṬMŪRA]. In response, the Byzantine emperor Theophilus attacked the fortresses of al-Maṣṣīṣa and Tarsus, provoking the second campaign of al-Maʾmūn (216/831) in which he was accompanied by his son al-ʿAbbās (the conqueror of Theophilus) and by his brother and successor Abū Isḥāḳ (al-Muʿtaṣim). After a series of victories in Asia Minor, al-Maʾmūn rejected the proposal for an exchange of prisoners and a five-year truce. The caliph withdrew to Damascus and from here he was obliged to make his way in person to Egypt to put an end to the revolt of the Copts and the Muslims against the burden of taxation. After the subjugation of the rebels, al-Maʾmūn undertook a fiscal reform; the system of *ḳabāla* replaced the former method of collection, and the state showed itself willing, in case of need, to take account of difficult circumstances. In addition, relations with the Nubians were improved, enabling the Muslims to exert better control of the lands of the Nile.

With the pacification of Egypt achieved, al-Maʾmūn returned to the Byzantine front in 217/832, with the object of gaining control over the ports of Cilicia beyond the Taurus. The siege of the fortress of Luʾluʾa (which controlled access to Tyana) ended with its capitulation, and once more the emperor Theophilus called unsuccessfully for a truce and an exchange of prisoners.

In spite of his preoccupation with the Byzantine war-front, and the political difficulties aroused by the persistent rebellions of the Zuṭṭ (of lower ʿIrāḳ), of Bābak al-Khurramī in the north of Ādharbāydjān, complicated by the sedition of ʿAlī b. Hishām, governor of Djibāl, of Ādharbāydjān and of Armenia (executed in Djumādā I 217/June 832), al-Maʾmūn did not neglect cultural matters (foundation of the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* in 217/832) and did not lose sight of his objective of having his "imperial-papal" policy recognised by the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ*. While preparing for the major campaign of 218/833 (of which the objective was Amorium, the natal city of the current Byzantine dynasty and thus the heart of Byzantium itself), al-Maʾmūn engaged in a trial of strength with the *ʿulamāʾ* in the Islamic sciences, instituting the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] (Rabīʿ I 218/April 833), four months before his death. Henceforward, Muʿtazilism was to be adopted by all the *ʿulamāʾ*, whether in the service of the state or independent of the ʿAbbāsid power. A struggle for influence over the *ʿāmma* took place between the *Imām* al-Maʾmūn who claimed for himself the right to interpret the law (and to change the established rules in the name of social justice), and the *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ*, traditionalists who refuted this pretension on the part of the caliphate (and believed that the changes would be, in fact, carried out in the interest of the *khāṣṣa*, the least of whose concerns was the general interest, represented by the *ʿāmma*). The majority of the *ʿulamāʾ* conceded the claims of the *Imām*, whether through loyalty or through fear of reprisals. A minority refused his directive, forming the nucleus of a resistance movement which received the support of the urban proletariat of Baghdād (cf. W. M. Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*, Leiden 1897). The social conflict between the *khāṣṣa* and the *ʿāmma* of the capital was revived (leading the successor of al-Maʾmūn to found a new capital at Sāmarrā).

Shortly before his death, al-Maʾmūn chose as his successor not his son al-ʿAbbās, who was in charge of the *ʿAwāṣim* (in the manner of al-Muʾtamin, who was to be the third heir of al-Rashīd), but his brother al-Muʿtaṣim who was responsible for the new recruits from Transoxania. His political testament recommended the pursuit of his politico-religious work, incomplete in Radjab 218/August 833, the date of his death near Tarsus.

In conclusion, it is not inappropriate to compare al-Maʾmūn with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/685-705), both of whom restored unity to the empire after a long civil war and promoted a political and cultural upheaval (of the 2nd/8th century in the case of ʿAbd al-Malik, and of the 3rd/9th century in the case of al-Maʾmūn). Their successors benefited from their work (built up over twenty years) and developed its main points of policy during their reign (of ten years); al-Muʿtaṣim put an end to various centres of persistent revolt (the Khurramiyya of Djibāl in 218/833, the Zuṭṭ of the marshlands of lower ʿIrāḳ in 219/834; the Khurramiyya of Bābak in Ādharbāydjān in 222/837; the *abnāʾ* favourable to al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn in 223/838; and the Sufyānid al-Mubarḳaʿ in Syria in 226/841). He endorsed the Ṭāhirids, the pillars of the régime, going so far as to suppress the autonomist revolt of Māzyār, the prince-governor of Ṭabaristān (225/840) and to sacrifice one of his leading supporters, al-Afshīn of Ushrūsana (225/840), in order to put an end to his rivalry with the Ṭāhirids. He surrounded himself with the same Muʿtazilī advisers as had been chosen by al-Maʾmūn, in particular the chief *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād, a native of Ḳinnasrīn, and pursued the *miḥna* inaugurated in 218/833. He made new campaigns against the Byzantine empire, achieving in 223/838 the project undertaken by al-Maʾmūn in 218/833. The stimulus given to translations and to scientific works under al-Maʾmūn continued unabated, permitting the tutor of the sons of al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Kindī, to achieve the integration of Neo-Platonism into Muʿtazilī theology. In spite of this continuity there were some changes, exemplified by the transfer of the capital to Sāmarrā [*q.v.*] (from 221/836), in order to preserve the strength of the strike force constituted by the army, dominated by Transoxanians, among whom the rôle of the Turkish guard was growing in importance.

Bibliography: Sources. These embrace practically all the categories of documents, cf. Cl. Cahen, *Introduction à l'histoire du monde musulman médiéval (VIIe-XVe siècle)*, Paris 1982. The section of Ṭabarī on al-Maʾmūn's reign has been translated into English by C. E. Bosworth, *The caliphate of al-*

Maʾmūn 198-213 (813-33), Albany 1986. 2. Studies. There is no work of synthesis on al-Maʾmūn (the subject however of the present writer's thèse d'état, in preparation). The 3 vols. of A. al-Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, Cairo 1928, are a compilation from the Arab sources; M. M. Haddāra, *al-Maʾmūn, al-khalīfa al-ʿālim*, Cairo n.d. [1966], has no scholarly pretentions. F. ʿUmar touches on this period only in certain articles collected together in his *Buḥūth fi ʾl-taʾrīkh al-ʿAbbāsī*, Baghdād 1977, and *al-Taʾrīkh al-islāmī wa-fikr al-ḳarn al-ʿishrīn*, Beirut 1980. Chapters are devoted to al-Maʾmūn's age in recent works on the ʿAbbāsids: M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history, a new interpretation. 2. A.D. 750-1055 (A.H. 132-448)*, Cambridge 1976; H. Kennedy, *The early Abbasid caliphate. A political history*, London 1981; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959, i; P. Crone, *Slaves on horses*, Cambridge 1980; O. Racine, *L'aristocratie au premier siècle ʿabbāside* (doctorat du 3e cycle), Univ. of Toulouse II 1984. One should also mention F. Gabrieli, *La successione di Hārūn al-Rašīd e la guerra fra al-Amīn e al-Maʾmūn*, in *RSO*, xi (1926-8), 341-97; S. B. Samadi, *The struggle between the two brothers Al-Amin and Al-Mamun*, in *IC*, xxxii (1958), 99-120; Barbier de Meynard, *Ibrâhîm fils de Mahdî*, in *JA* (1869); A. Arioli, *La rivolta di Abū Sarāya*, in *Ann. Fac. Ling. Lett. stran. Ca' Foscari*, v (1974); S. Hamdi, *The pro-alid policy of Maʾmun*, in *Bull. Coll. Arts Sc.*, Baghdād, i (1959); D. Sourdel, *La politique religieuse du calife ʿabbāside al-Maʾmūn*, in *REI*, xxx/1 (1962), 26-48; F. Gabrieli, *al-Maʾmūn e gli ʿAlidi*, in *Morgenländische Texte und Forschungen*, Leipzig ii, 1929; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Le vicende del ḫāriǧismo in epoca ʿābbaside*, in *RSO*, xxiv (1949), 31-44; M. Rekaya, *Le khurram-dīn et les révoltes khurramites jusqu'à Bābak (m. 837)*, Paris 1985; M. Kaabi, *Les Ṭāhirides au Ḫurāsān et en Iraq (IIIe/IXe siècle)*, Tunis 1983; D. Sourdel, *Les circonstances de la mort de Ṭāhir Ier au Ḫurāsān en 207/822*, in *Arabica*, v (1958), 66-9; E. L. Daniel, *Iran's awakening: a study of local rebellions in the eastern provinces of the islamic empire, 126-227 A.H. (743-842 A.D.)*, Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of Texas, Austin 1978 (publ. by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor 1982); idem, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule 747-820*, Minneapolis-Chicago 1979; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture*, in *JSS*, xiv (1969), 445-79; idem, *An early Arabic mirror for princes: Ṭāhir Dhū l-Yamīnayn's epistle to his son ʿAbdallāh* (206/821), in *JNES*, xxix (1979); D. M. Dunlop, *A diplomatic exchange between al-Maʾmūn and an Indian King*, in *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies*, Leiden 1972; A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes. I. Relations politiques de Byzance et les Arabes au temps de la dynastie d'Amorium (820-67)*, Fr. edn. H. Grégoire and M. Canard, Brussels 1935, repr. 1959; H. Ahrweiler, *L'Asie mineure et les invasions arabes (VIIe-IXe siècle)*, in *Revue Historique*, ccxxvii (1962), 1-32; M. M. Ahsan, *Social life under the Abbāsids (170-289/786-902 A.D.)*, London-New York 1976; Cl. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen Age*, in *Arabica*, v (1958), 225-50, vi (1959), 25-56; *Baġdād*, special no. of *Arabica*, ix (1962); G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*. Oxford 1924; S. Sabari, *Mouvements populaires à Bagdad à l'époque ʿabbasside, IXe-XIe siècles*, Paris 1981; E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969; idem, *A social and economic history of the Near East in the middle ages*, London 1976; M. ʿAwīs, *al-Mudjtamaʿ al-ʿabbāsī min khilāl kitābāt al-Djāḥiẓ*, Cairo 1977; M. R. al-Nadjdjār, *Ḥikāyāt al-shuṭṭār wa ʾl-ʿayyārīn fi ʾl-turāth al-ʿarabī*, Kuwait 1981; J. Pradines, *Recherches sur le rôle des chrétiens à la cour des Umayyades et des premiers ʿAbbāsides (661-861)*, thèse de 3e cycle, Univ. of Toulouse II, 1975; Y. Eche, *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, Syrie, Egypte au Moyen Age*, Damascus 1967; R. Arnaldez, *Sciences et philosophie dans la civilisation de Baġdād sous les premiers ʿAbbāsides*, in *Arabica*, ix (1962), 357-73; Ch. Pellat, *Etudes sur l'histoire socio-culturelle de l'Islam (VIIe-XVe s.)*, London 1976; J. E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, Paris 1975.

(M. REKAYA)

AL-**MAʾMŪN**, ABU ʾL-ʿALĀʾ IDRĪS B. YAʿKŪB AL-MANṢŪR B. YŪSUF B. ʿABD AL-MUʾMIN B. ʿALĪ, ninth sovereign of the Almohad dynasty, born in 581/1185-6 in Málaga, of the marriage of his father with the Spanish princess Ṣafiyya, daughter of the *amīr* Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Mardanīsh (Martinez). The Arab historians pay high tributes to the good qualities of this prince, who was very well-read, and equally well-versed in profane and religious learning. At a time when the Almohad dynasty was much troubled by the strife stirred up by pretenders, he was able by his energy to postpone for several years its final collapse.

At first, al-Maʾmūn served in Spain as the lieutenant of his brother Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿĀdil, then on the throne. The latter had soon to leave the Peninsula and return to Morocco without having been able to subdue the rebel leader Abū Muḥammad al-Bayyāsī, who was supported by Ferdinand III of Castile, but he was soon betrayed by his own men in his own land and assassinated in 624/1127. This murder was followed by the almost simultaneous proclamations of al-Maʾmūn and another Almohad pretender, nephew of the preceding, Yaḥyā b. al-Nāṣir b. al-Manṣūr, who took the honorific *laḳab* of al-Muʿtaṣim bi'llāh. On his accession and without leaving Spain, al-Maʾmūn was soon able to make himself recognised in the greater part of his empire and to get rid of the rebel al-Bayyāsī. But almost immediately, a rebellion broke out in the east of al-Andalus, in which Muḥammad b. Yūsuf of the powerful family of the Banū Hūd [*q.v.*] was proclaimed caliph in the town of Murcia. At the same time, the prestige of Yaḥyā al-Muʿtaṣim increased in Morocco and his partisans became more and more numerous. Feeling himself powerless in Spain and forced to turn his eyes towards Africa, al-Maʾmūn was forced to seek an alliance with the king of Castile. The latter agreed to support al-Maʾmūn under very harsh terms, including the surrender of ten Muslim strongholds of the *frontera* and the building of a church in Marrākush and the granting of freedom of worship. In return, al-Maʾmūn received a body of 500 Christian mercenaries with whom he at once went to the Maghrib. He was soon able to enter Marrākush in triumph, after having defeated the army of al-Muʿtaṣim (627/1230), and to open the chapel of St. Mary for his Christian troops.

Enraged at the defection of the Almohad *makhzan* [*q.v.*] so devoted to his predecessors, al-Maʾmūn took a decision at Marrākush that was quite unprecedented in the annals of the dynasty. He stigmatised the memory of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, denied him "impeccability" (*ʿiṣma*) and had a large number of Almohad *shaykhs* executed whom he suspected of having betrayed him. The rest of the reign of al-Maʾmūn was spent in trying to put down several rebellions in the Maghrib; but he did not succeed in bringing al-Muʿtaṣim to terms, for the latter was able

to take Marrākush, to massacre the Christians and destroy their church and to plunder the town. On hearing this, al-Ma'mūn, then busy with the siege of Ceuta, hurried off to the capital at once but fell ill and died on the way in the valley of the Wādi 'l-ʿAbīd at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 629/October 1232.

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MA'MŪN B. MUḤAMMAD, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS, founder of the short-lived line of Ma'mūnid Khʷārazm-Shāhs in Khʷārazm [*q.v.*].

Ma'mūn was governor, probably as a nominal vassal of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], in the town of Gurgandj [*q.v.*], which during the 4th/10th century had been prospering commercially at the expense of the ancient capital Kath [*q.v.*], seat of the old-established line of Afrīghid Khʷārazm-Shāhs [see KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS]. In 385/995 the Afrīghids were overthrown and their dynasty extinguished, so that Ma'mūn became ruler of a unified Khʷārazm.

Very soon he was drawn into the struggle between the last Sāmānid *amīrs*, in particular, Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, and the rebellious Turkish slave commanders Abū ʿAlī Sīmdjūrī and Fā'iḳ Khāṣṣa, arranging a peace between the two sides in 386/996, in the face of the threat of a renewed Ḳarakhānid invasion [see ILEK-KHĀNS]. In the following year, however, Ma'mūn was assassinated in an internal turmoil, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī.

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AL-**MA'MŪNĪ**, ʿABŪ ṬĀLIB ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. AL-ḤASAN, Arabic poet of the 4th/10th century, whose name indicates his descent from the caliph al-Ma'mūn. He was born in Baghdād after 343/953, left the capital in his youth and went to Rayy, where the famous Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] made him a member of his learned circle. However, "the scorpions of envy from the part of the boon-companions of the Ṣāḥib were creeping around him", so he decided to move and went to Nīshāpūr, where he was introduced to Ibn Sīmdjūr, a high-ranking military commander of the Sāmānids, who recommended him to the court in Bukhārā. The brilliant young poet having arrived there, al-*wazīr* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-ʿUtbī and his successor Abū Naṣr showered gifts and honours upon him. Al-Ma'mūnī seems to have dreamt of regaining—or usurping—the ʿAbbāsid caliphate by the aid of a Khurāsānian army; at least, this is what he intimated to al-Thaʿālibī (cf. below). However, his poetry shows him to have been rather an epicure and pleasure-lover than a warrior. He died of hydropsy in 383/993.

The main source for his life and poetry is al-Thaʿālibī's *Yatīmat al-dahr* (vol. iv, part. 4, ch. 3, Damascus 1304/1886-7, iv, 84-112; Cairo (1352/1934), iv, 149-79). In addition to this, a number of verses are scattered in various sources including al-Djurdjānī's *Asrār al-balāgha* and al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab*. Most of his poems are short specimens of *waṣf*, descriptive epigrams on buildings, various utensils (e.g. for writing), fruits, and dishes. His art of description makes ample use of metaphors, metonymy, periphrasis, and the attribution of human characteristics to objects, e.g. showing a pair of scissors as two inseparable spouses, a basket as a devout, reliable servant, and so on. With its still somewhat clumsy mannerism, this poetry forms an interesting document for the development of the sophisticated Persian style, showing it at an early stage and in Arabic guise, as already pointed out by Bertels.

Bibliography: E. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 258; E. Bertels, *Persidskaya noeziya v Bukhare—X vek* (Trudī Instituta vostokovedeniya, 10), Moscow 1935; J. C. Bürgel, *Die ekphrastischen Epigramme des Abū Ṭālib al-Ma'mūnī—Literaturkundliche Studie über einen arabischen Conceptisten*, in *Abh. Ak. W. Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 14, (1965), detailed review by W. Heinrich, in *ZDMG*, xcci (1971), 166-90. (J. C. BÜRGEL)

MA'MUNIDS [see KHʷARAZM-SHĀHS]

MA'MŪR (A), in the usage of the late Ottoman empire and Turkish republic, "civil official".

Roughly at the end of the 18th century, this term began to appear in Ottoman Turkish, not only as a passive participle designating "one who is ordered or commissioned" to do something, but also as a substantive referring to an "official", normally a "civil official". As far as one can tell from research done to date, the change was a matter of gradual transition, and not the result of any clearly-marked shift in governmental practice. This was, however, a period when traditional scribal institutions were undergoing extensive change, and scribal officials were being used increasingly for assignments or missions *(me'mūriyyet)* other than those evoked by such traditional designations for scribal roles as *kātib* [*q.v.*], *kalfa* (from *khalīfe*, normally applied to scribal officials only in the plural form *khulefā'*), or *khʷādje* (also normally applied to officials only in the plural form *khʷādjegān* [see KHʷĀDJEGĀN-Ī DĪWĀN-Ī HŪMĀYŪN]; Findley, 64-6, 106-11). Usage in historical works of this period suggests that repeated references to individuals who were "ordered" (*me'mūr*) to perform a particular mission (*me'mūriyyet*) gradually caused these terms to float free of association with specific persons or duties and acquire the general meanings of "official" and "official position or appointment". In the *History* of Wāṣif, published in 1219/1804, and in that of ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*], written about five years later, there are numbers of section headings containing the terms *me'mūr* or *me'mūriyyet* (e.g. Wāṣif, i, 148, 155, 184, ii, 110, 116, 119, 147, 154, 185, 207, 266, 268, 272, 294; ʿĀṣim, i, 62, 155, 174, 223, ii, 20, 26, 166). At some points, the word *me'mūr* appears with meanings approaching that later conventional in Turkish. *Me'mūrs* go to Egypt and return (Wāṣif, i, 172-3); the *me'mūrs* of the naval arsenal (*tersane*) are accused of negligence (ʿĀṣim, i, 51); Russian consuls behave inappropriately toward government officials (*dewlet me'mūrlari*, *ibid.*, i, 178-9).

From roughly the 1830s onwards, the term *me'mūr* began to be associated in Ottoman official usage with the term *mülkiyye*, which was then coming into use as a noun meaning "civil administration" or "civil service". Eventually, a civil official came to be known as a *mülkiyye me'mūri*, a compound that contrasted both the man and his branch of service with the scribe (*kātib*, etc.) of the scribal service (*ḳalemiyye*), as it had been known prior to the beginning of reform. Since

the terms *mülkī* and *mülkiyye* convey associations with both land ownership and sovereignty, generalised use of the new nomenclature may have been a result of the growing association of civil officials with provincial administration, thus with a vast domain of employment external to the bureaux in the capital city, in which most scribal officials had historically served. When Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] reorganised the central offices as a series of ministries, the first title of the new minister of the interior was, in fact, *umūr-ī mülkiyye nāẓiri*, or "Minister of Civil Affairs". The title was conferred in 1251/1836 (Luṭfī, v, 29-31), but was changed to Minister of the Interior (*dākhiliyye nāẓiri*) a year later. Ultimately, however, the term *mülkiyye meʾmūrī* and its variations, such as the common plural *meʾmūrīn-i mülkiyye*, clearly referred, not just to local administrators but to civil officials in general (Findley, 65-6, 140, 364, n. 66). Despite some inconsistency in usage, this fact became clearer as a systematic personnel policy emerged for this branch of service (*ibid.*, 140-7, 194-7, 270-9, 326-33). In the Turkish of the republican era, *meʾmūr* remains, first and foremost, a noun that means "official" and refers especially to the civil service.

Nineteenth-century lexicographical works were slow to register the use of *meʾmūr* in this sense. This fact no doubt reflects the tendency of the authors to rely on earlier written works; but it is probably also another sign that the shift in usage was not clearly marked. Works that do not mention the new usage include Alexandridis (1812), Bianchi (*Vocabulaire*, 1831, *s.vv.* "fonction", "fonctionnaire", "officier"), Hindoglu (1838, *s.v.* "*meʾmūr*"), and Handjéri (1841, *s.vv.* "fonction", "fonctionnaire", "officier"). Even Redhouse, whose long years in Ottoman service made him a great authority, gave only conservative definitions in his first lexicographical publication, the *Müntakhabāt-i lughat-i ʿothmāniyye*, prepared by the early 1840s and first published in 1269/1852-3 (see the printing of 1285/1868-9, 88). Even in his last dictionary, he gave the traditional meanings first, as was his wont (*Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1890, *s.vv. meʾmūr, meʾmūriyyet*). By then, however, indications of the new usages had long since appeared in Rhasis (1828, *s.vv.* "fonctionnaire" and "civil", giving as one translation of the latter term *milkī* [*sic*], with the example "troubles civils, *ikhtilālāt-ī milkiyye* ou *dākhiliyye*"), Bianchi (*Dictionnaire français-turc*, 1843, *s.v.* "fonctionnaire"), and in Guzel-oglou (1852, *s.v.* "fonction"). In 1835, Bianchi and Kieffer (*Dictionnaire turc-français*, s.vv. *meʾmūr, meʾmūriyyet, mülkī*) had given the new meanings, but had associated them with Egyptian usage.

The reference to Egypt does reflect usage there, at least in Ottoman Turkish, under Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha. In Ottoman-language Egyptian documentation of that period, one finds *meʾmūr* as a general term for "official" (Deny, 106); by the 1820s, *mülkiyye* was also in use in Egypt with essentially the meaning "civil affairs" (e.g. *dīwān-ī mülkiyye*, as opposed to *dīwān-ī djihādiyye*; *ibid.*, 108, 111-5). From this period also dates the use of the term *meʾmūr* as a title for the chief officer of a given type of local administrative district (*ibid.*, 130, 565); this usage has survived in Egypt. In general, *muwaẓẓaf*, rather than *maʾmūr* has been the common term for "civil official" in modern Arabic.

Bibliography: D. Alexandridis, *Grammatikè graikiko-tourkikè*, Vienna 1812 (reference supplied by A. Tietze); Aḥmed ʿĀṣim, *ʿĀṣim taʾrīkhi*, 2 vols., Istanbul n.d.; T.-X. Bianchi, *Dictionnaire français-turc*, 2 vols., Paris 1843-6; idem, *Vocabulaire français-turc*, Paris 1831; T. X. Bianchi and J. D. Kieffer, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, 2 vols., Paris, 1850 (also an earlier edn., 1835-7); J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930; C. V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire: the Sublime Porte. 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980; E. Guzel-oglou, *Nouveaux dialogues français-turcs précédés d'un vocabulaire*, Constantinople 1852 (reference supplied by A. Tietze); A. Handjéri, *Dictionnaire français-arabe-persan et turc*, 3 vols., Moscow 1840-41; A. Hindoglu, *Dictionnaire abrégé turc-français*, Vienna 1838; Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Luṭfī*, 8 vols., the 8th edited by ʿAbd ul-Raḥmān Sheref, Istanbul 1290-1328/1873-1910; anon. [by J. W. Redhouse], *Müntakhabāt-ī lughat-ī ʿothmāniyye*, Istanbul 1285/1868-9; idem, *A Turkish and English lexicon*, Constantinople 1921; G. Rhasis, *Vocabulaire français-turc*, St. Petersburg 1828; Aḥmed Wāṣif, *Maḥāsin ül-āthār we ḥakāʾik ül-akhbār*, 2 vols., Istanbul Shaʿbān 1219/November 1804.

(C. V. Findley)

MAʿMŪRAT AL-ʿAZĪZ, a town in eastern Anatolia, modern Turkish Elaziğ, now the chef-lieu of a *vilayet* of the latter name.

The area around the town is rich in evidence of prehistoric and protohistoric settlement. Bronze Age sites have been investigated at Ağin, Norşuntepe, Tepecik and Han İbrahim Şah, whilst traces of Hellenistic and later occupation have been found at Aşvankale and Kalecikler. Thus a more or less continuous occupation of the Elaziğ area since Chalcolithic times seems likely, even though it is not certain exactly at what periods the site of Elaziğ town was inhabited. In classical and mediaeval times, the main settlement of the region was at Khartpert (Latin name Ziata Castellum, Arabic Ḥiṣn Ziyād, Khartabird or Khartabirt, Classical Armenian Kharberd, mediaeval French Quart-Pierre, vulgar Armenian Kʾarpʾut, Byzantine Greek Χαρπότε, Ottoman Turkish Kharpurt, Kharpurd, or as in ʿAynī ʿAlī Efendī's *Ḳawānīn risālesi*, repr. Istanbul 1979, 30: Kharbrūt, modern Turkish Harput). For its history in classical and Byzantine times, see *EI*[1] art. KHARPŪT, and for the mediaeval Islamic and Ottoman periods, see KHARTPERT). It survives as a village and as a recreational area for the inhabitants of Elaziğ.

Although Kharpūt's location on its hilltop made it splendidly defensible, during the 19th century the difficulty of access came to be considered a liability rather than an asset. Hence early in that century, the governors of the *sandjaḳ* of Kharpūt in the *eyālet* of Diyārbakr, moved their residence to the plain to the little town of Mezere. The name of this settlement is probably derived from the word *mazraʿa, mezraʿa* "sown area, hamlet", which has not infrequently entered into the formation of Anatolian place names (compare in this context the articles *Harput* and *Elâziz* in *İA*, by Besim Darkot, also the different editions of TC Dahiliye Vekâleti, *Köylerimiz*. For an alternative, but less likely, suggestion, connecting the name with Μαζάρα as apparently found in Ptolemy, see H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xvi [1904]). Visitors of the 19th and early 20th centuries such as von Moltke and Gertrude Bell still record the name of the new settlement as Mazraa.

The new settlement gained importance in 1250/1834 when Rashīd Meḥmed Pasha, after a tour of inspection through the provinces of eastern Anatolia, suggested Mezere as the seat for the local governor. Barracks and a hospital were accordingly constructed, and von Moltke saw them on his visit in

1254/1838. In 1278/1862, upon a suggestion from the local governor Ismāʿīl Pasha, the settlement was renamed Maʿmūrat al-ʿAzīz in honour of the reigning sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*]. The name was extended to the *sandjak* and then in 1296/1879 to a new *wilāyet* formed on these upper reaches of the Euphrates. It was soon transformed in popular parlance into al-ʿAzīz/Elaziz, and the present name Elaziğ adopted in 1937.

Until the end of World War II, the growth of Elaziğ was somewhat irregular. While the town probably consisted of about 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitants at the beginning of World War I, the first census conducted by the Turkish Republic in 1927 recorded 20,052 inhabitants. In 1940, this figure had risen to 25,465, but the shortages of the war years led to an exodus of population, so that in 1945 only 23,695 inhabitants were counted. However, from then onward, the city has gone through a period of dramatic and uninterrupted growth (1950: 29,317; 1955: 41,667; 1960: 60,289; 1965: 78,605; 1970: 107,364; 1975: 131,415).

The most important factor determining the growth of Elaziğ in recent years has been the construction of the Keban power plant at a distance of only 45 km. from the town (lake area: 68,000 ha., productive capacity 5,871,000 kwh/year). Throughout the construction period, building workers employed on the Keban dam generally lived in the city, so that during the nineteen-sixties and seventies, Elaziğ was inhabited by many more males than females (1960: 32,449 males, 27,840 females; 1975: 69,797 males, 61,681 females).

Among the factories constructed in the area, some of the more important ones are connected more or less directly with the Keban dam project. Thus a cement factory belonging to the public sector of the Turkish economy was founded in the city, possessing a capacity of 400,000 ton/year. In addition, the city is located close to an important mining area, in which chrome is extracted; this situation accounts for the relatively high percentage of miners in the Elaziğ district (2.5% of the active population in 1965). Due to these activities, the level of urbanisation in the district of Elaziğ (40.2% in 1970) has surpassed the average not only for eastern Anatolia, but even for Turkey as a whole (38.7% in 1970).

The growth of Elaziğ has also been stimulated by a side effect of the Keban dam, namely the total flooding of close to a hundred villages. In addition, over a hundred others have lost a large part of their agricultural lands. Among the 20,000 people who were forced to move, many apparently chose to settle in Elaziğ and to invest the indemnities paid by the government in houses and small business. Some of the recipients of major indemnities were encouraged to invest their money in a holding company, which by 1972 had built a factory producing plastic pipes and tubes, and by 1977 had also erected a leather factory employing 260 workers. State offices and enterprises also absorbed some of the migrants, mainly in subordinate capacities. However, just as the electricity produced by the Keban dam is mainly consumed outside of the area, it appears that a considerable percentage of the money received as indemnities was invested in the large cities of western Turkey.

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(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

MĀN SINGH, Mahārādjā of Amber, outstanding general of the Mughal armies under Akbar, later governor of Mughal provinces.

He was born in 1607 V.S. = 975/1550, the son of Bhagwant Dās, eldest son and heir apparent of the reigning Mahārādjā Bhārah Mali, a Rādjpūt [*q.v.*] of the Kačhwāha clan; the Muslim sources (Niẓām al-Dīn, Badāʾūnī, Firishta, Abu 'l-Faḍl, and Djahāngīr in his *Tūzuk*) garble the names and confuse Mān Singh's parentage, but there seems no reason to doubt the contemporary Rādjpūt records. After a young martial training, he entered the Mughal service (together with his father Bhagwant Dās) in 970/1562 on the occasion of Akbar's marriage with the daughter of Bhārah Mall, the first of those alliances which were to strengthen Mughal-Rādjpūt relations. He was with the Mughal armies at the capture of Ranthambor in 976/1569 (Tod, ii, 472-3, casts Mān Singh as mediator in the surrender, but the assertion is without evidence and inherently improbable); his first command seems rather to have been in the Gudjarāt campaigns in 980/1572 against the Mīrzās [*q.v.*], before the campaign against Dāwūd Khān Kararānī [*q.v.*] two years later. He was, though, sent as a mediator to Pratāp Singh who had succeeded as Mahārāṅā of Mēwār on the death of Uday Singh, the knowledged senior ruler of the Rādjpūt tribes. Pratāp continued his father's arrogance and hostility to the Mughals, and gratuitously insulted Mān Singh, which resulted in the latter's being chosen to lead the Mughal army against him at the battle of Haldīghāṭ, 35 km. north-west of Udaypur, in 984/1576; he inflicted a devastating defeat, but his chivalrous orders that the Rāṅā was not to be pursued and that Mēwār was not to be looted lost him Akbar's favour for a while. He next cleared Mālwā of Mīrzā disaffection, and was rewarded with a *manṣab* [*q.v.*] of 3,500. Sent against the disaffected Afghān and Balūčī elements in the Pandjāb, he acquitted himself well, and was placed in charge of operations in the north-west against Akbar's half-brother Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥākim [*q.v.*], then ruling Kābul; after the Mīrzā's death in 993/1585, he occupied Kābul, brought the district to order, and was officially its governor, his principal occupation being to control the threat from the Rawshanāʾīs [see RAWSHANIYYA] and Yūsufzays. In 995/1587 Mān Singh was transferred to the governorship of the *ṣūba*

of Bihār, where he pursued a vigorous policy against both recalcitrant Hindū *rādjās* and disaffected local Afghān chiefs. He had succeeded to the Ambēr *gaddī* "cushion of state", i.e. throne in 998/1589, receiving the Mughal title of Rādjā with his *manṣab* confirmed as 5,000. In two campaigns he next brought Orissa (Uṛīsā, [*q.v.*]) under Mughal suzerainty, its local Afghān chieftains fleeing to eastern Bengal. His campaigns against them were continued in his next appointment, as *ṣūbadār* of Bengal, in 1002/1594. He built a new capital at Agmahal which he renamed Akbarnagar (Akbarī mint-town; later renamed Rādjmahal [*q.v.*]), with fort, palace and large mosque (see Catherine B. Asher, *Inventory of key monuments*, in G. Mitchell (ed.), *The Islamic heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO-Paris 1984, 120-1). Further chastisement of dissident Afghāns, and the conquest of Kuč-Bihār, occupied him until 1014/1605, when he returned to the imperial court at Āgrā with the *manṣab* of 7,000. He was less successful as a courtier than as a military commander, for he urged the claims of Khusraw against those of Djahāngīr; when the latter succeeded to the Mughal throne a couple of months later, Mān Singh was sent first to Bengal again, then on the Deccan campaign, accomplishing nothing of note in either. He died a natural death in Iličpur in 1023/1614. His contributions to building are important. Among much temple building and restoration, irrelevant here, stands the Govindadeva temple at Mathurā, which marries the Muslim use of arch and dome to traditional Hindū forms; Mān Singh's palace at Ambēr is largely in frank imitation of the buildings of Āgrā fort; various buildings at Akbarnagar [see RĀDJMAHAL]; especially repairs to fortifications at Rohtās [*q.v.*] with gateways and imposing palace, and originally a garden in the Mughal style.

Bibliography: Career details especially in Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*; Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabakāt-i Akbarī*, all *passim*, and information concerning "Mancinus" in Fr A. Monserrate, *Mongolicae legationis commentarius*, and de Laet, *De imperio magno Mongoli*, Leiden 1631. Valuable additional information, often correcting the above, in *Djaypur Vansāvalī* in State Archives of Jaipur. R.N. Prasad, *Raja Man Singh of Amber*, Calcutta 1966, is very useful for the Hindū sources quoted. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

MAᶜN, BANŪ, an Arab family of chiefs of the Druse district of the Shūf, in the southern parts of Mount Lebanon, who enjoyed a special political prominence in Syria in the 10th/11th and 11th/17th centuries.

The origin of the house of Maᶜn remains unclear, what is related about it by the traditional Lebanese historians being without foundation. The first Maᶜn whose historicity is beyond question was Fakhr al-Dīn ᶜUthmān b. al-Ḥādjdj Yūnis who died in 912/1506. Another, possibly Fakhr al-Dīn ᶜUthmān's son, was a Yūnis Maᶜn who died a young man in 917/1511. Ḳurḳumāz b. Yūnis Maᶜn, possibly a son of this Yūnis, was established as a *muḳaddam* (local chief) in the Shūf in 922-3/1516-17, when the Ottomans conquered Syria and Egypt. At least two other Maᶜns, a ᶜAlam al-Dīn Sulaymān and a Zayn al-Dīn (thus known by his *laḳab*, with no *ism* mentioned), were recognised chiefs in the Shūf at the same time. While the Maᶜns of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries comprised Ḳurḳumāz and his descendants, it appears that the ᶜAlam al-Dīns, who feature as the rivals of the house of Ḳurḳumāz in the Shūf at the time, were also Maᶜns descended from ᶜAlam al-Dīn Sulaymān.

Of the career of Ḳurḳumāz b. Maᶜn, not much is known, beyond the fact that he was reportedly residing in the village of al-Bārūk in 934/1528 and being deeply involved in the factional politics of the mountain. A second Ḳurḳumāz, possibly the grandson of the first, died in 993/1585 while Ottoman forces were invading the Druze districts. This Ḳurḳumāz left two sons, Fakhr al-Dīn and Yūnis. By the 1590s, his son Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 1044-5/1635), commonly believed to have been the older of the two, was already set on a career of political success which was to make him the dominant figure in the politics of Syria during the first three decades of the seventeenth century.

From small beginnings as a *muḳaddam* and Ottoman *multazim* (tax farmer) in the Shūf, Fakhr al-Dīn rose by 1011/1602-3 to become the *sandjaḳ-beyi* of Sidon-Beirut and of Ṣafad, under the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus. He had already taken possession of Beirut, along with the southern parts of the district of Kisrawān, as far north as Nahr al-Kalb (the Dog River), in 1006/1598. In 1014/1605, he took possession of the whole of the Kisrawān. He next became involved in the rebellion of ᶜAlī Djānbūlād, the usurper Pasha of Aleppo, by coming to his support against the *beylerbeyis* of Tripoli and Damascus. This aroused the suspicion of the Porte against him for the first time.

As the master of two *sandjaks*, Fakhr al-Dīn established himself in Sidon. He recruited a mercenary army of *levends* [*q.v.*] and *sokmans*, whom he used to garrison old Crusader fortresses in his territory which were restored for military use. By 1017/1608 he had reached an agreement with the Medicis of Tuscany, who had ambitions in Syria at the time, which increased the Ottoman suspicious against him. Attacked by the Ottomans in 1022/1613, Fakhr al-Dīn fled to Tuscany, but was permitted to return home in 1027/1618, to resume office as *sandjaḳ-beyi* of Sidon-Beirut and Ṣafad. During the years that followed, he crushed rival chiefs in every direction, at first with Ottoman support and approval, until most of rural Syria fell under this control. Alarmed by the growth of his power, the Ottomans organised an expedition against him in 1042/1633. In the face of the Ottoman offensive, his power rapidly collapsed; his eldest son, ᶜAlī, was killed in battle, and he and his remaining sons were captured and taken to Istanbul in 1045/1635. There Fakhr al-Dīn was put to death by strangulation in that year, along with his son Manṣūr. His youngest son, Ḥusayn Maᶜn-zāda [see MAᶜN-ZĀDA], survived him to become chamberlain to the Sultan and Ottoman ambassador to India. This Ḥusayn was an informant of the Ottoman historian Nāᶜīmā [*q.v.*], and the author of a book of *adab* literature entitled the *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*.

At home, Fakhr al-Dīn was survived by a nephew, Mulḥim, whose political claims in the Shūf (the Sidon hinterland) and the other Druze districts (the Gharb, Djurd and Matn, in the Beirut hinterland) were challenged by the ᶜAlam al-Dīns—as already mentioned, probably the descendants of ᶜAlam al-Dīn Sulaymān b. Maᶜn. At various times, Mulḥim held the *sandjaḳ* of Ṣafad, or the *sandjaḳ* of Batrūn, the latter in the *eyālet* of Tripoli. Upon his death, reportedly in 1068/1658, he was survived by a son, Aḥmad, who succeeded in expelling the ᶜAlam al-Dīns from the Druze districts and the Kisrawān in 1078/1667 and in installing himself in their place as the local *multazim*, in subordination to the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon (an *eyālet* since 1070/1660). By holding this position without interruption for thirty years (1078-1108/1667-97), Aḥmad Maᶜn became, *de facto*, the founder of the autonomy enjoyed by the territory in question (today part of Lebanon) until the 19th century.

With the death of Aḥmad Maʿn, the direct Maʿnid male line became extinct, and the *iltizām* of his territory passed over to his nephew (sister's son) Bashīr I Shihāb (1109-1118/1697-1706), then to his grandson (daughter's son) Ḥaydar Shihāb, Sunnī Muslim chiefs from Wādī al-Taym, in the Anti-Lebanon. The ʿAlam al-Dīns, apparently as Maʿns in the indirect line, rose to challenge this Shihāb succession sometimes by intrigue, sometimes by military action, until they were defeated in battle and killed to a man in 1123/1711.

In the modern Republic of Lebanon, the Banū Maʿn have become a national legend, and their tenure of their mountain territory in the southern Lebanon, as *multazims* for the Ottoman State, has come to be regarded as a precursor to the modern Lebanese State. Fakhr al-Dīn, in particular, is regarded as a Lebanese national hero, although Lebanon in his time was no more than a geographical expression. The real achievements of the Banū Maʿn are of a different order. By controlling the predominantly Maronite district of Kisrawān alongside the Druze districts of the Shūf, Gharb, Djurd and Matn, Fakhr al-Dīn and his Maʿn successors, more by accident than by design, laid the foundations of a political symbiosis between Maronites and Druzes in the *sandjak* of Beirut-Sidon (after 1660, part of the *eyālet* of Sidon). This became, in its turn, the mainstay of the *de facto* autonomy enjoyed by the same territory in subsequent Ottoman times. By encouraging silk production, and protecting foreign traders, the Maʿns furthermore secured for their territory a modest properity unknown in other rural parts of Syria in Ottoman times.

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(K.S. Salibi)

MAʿN b. AWS al-MUZANĪ, Arab poet belonging to the tribe of the Muzayna (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*), Tab. 88), which was established in a fertile region between Medina and Wādī 'l-Ḳurā.

He was considered to have been a *mukhaḍram* poet, but was probably born shortly before the mission of Muḥammad and lived most of his life under Islam. He lost his sight towards the end of his life, which came about no earlier than 64/684, at least if the verses in which he complains about the hospitality offered by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in Mecca are authentic. Although probably converted along with his tribe before the capture of Mecca, he does not seem to have participated in the conquests, and his poetry barely reflects the situation created by the new religion, which is mentioned only occasionally. Moreover, the available biographical information is sparse and is mainly concerned with his private life, his wives and his daughters (whom he by no means considered insignificant persons). Closely attached to an estate which he owned not far from Medina, and to the Bedouin life-style which he followed in his home-territory, he nevertheless visited Baṣra, where he is said to have met al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*] and to have married a woman of his tribe, also of Syria, the country of origin of another of his wives. He wrote eulogies of a number of Muslim personalities, including ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar, ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, without deviating from the Bedouin tradition. Although Ibn Sallām and Ibn Ḳutayba appear to ignore him, he is considered a talented poet, regarded by Muʿāwiya as almost the equal of his fellow-tribesman Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā. The fact is that his poetry contains, alongside personal references, passages of a moralistic nature. His name does not feature in the lists of *dīwāns*, collected by the early *ruwāt*, but P. Schwarz discovered in the Escurial an incomplete manuscript, with a commentary the contents of which go back to al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*] and published it under the title *Gedichte des Maʿn ibn Aus* (Leipzig 1903) with an introductory account of the poet (cf. Nöldeke, in *ZA* [1903], 274 ff.; Reckendorf, in *OLZ* [1904], 138-40; R. Geyer, in *WZKM*, xvii, 246-70). Kamāl Muṣṭafā reprinted the Schwarz edition, with some additions and omissions, under the title *Maʿn b. Aws, ḥayātuh, shiʿruh, akhbāruh*, Cairo 1927; these collections could probably be enriched by the use of new sources. O. Rescher partially translated the *dīwān* in his *Beiträge zur arab. Poesie*, vi/2, Istanbul 1956-8, 1-28, and M.R. al-Nadawī has devoted a study to the poet, *Maʿn b. Aws al-Muzanī*, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-Hindī*, i/1 (1396/1976), 107-25. A new edition of the *Dīwān*, based on Muṣṭafā's edition plus a combing of *adab* works, etc., is by ʿUmar Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Ḳaṭṭān, Djudda 1403/1983. *Shiʿr Maʿn b. Aws al-Muzanī* (47 poems and fragments).

Bibliography: In addition to the references cited, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 205, 379; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ii, 2-4; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; *Aghānī*, x, 154-8, ed. Beirut, xii, 50-9; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 819; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii, 234; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 55-6; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 816-7 (cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharh Nahdj al-balāgha*, ii, 125); Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 399; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 8451; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 258; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, index; Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himyān*, 294; Abkāryūs, 272-3; Brockelmann, S I, 72; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 107; R. Blachère, *HLA*, 320-1; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 269-70, ix, 275.

(M. Plesser - [Ch. Pellat])

MAʿN b. MUḤAMMAD, b. Aḥmad b. Ṣumādiḥ al-Tudjībī, Abu 'l-Aḥwas, founder of a branch of the dynasty of the Tudjībids [*q.v.*] in the little principality of Alméria [see al-mariyya] in eastern Spain in the middle of the 5th/11th century. The principality had been founded in *ca.* 416/1025 by the two ʿĀmirid *fatās* Khayān and Zuhayr. On the latter's death in 428/1037, their overlord ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī ʿĀmir, king of Valencia, declared it his property and in 432 or 433/1041-2, placed his brother-in-law Maʿn b. Ṣumādiḥ as governor there. The latter belonged to a noble family of Arab origin; his father

had been one of the generals of the celebrated *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] and was governor of the town Huesca [see WASHKA]. Maᶜn remained loyal to the king of Valencia for nearly four years, then cast off his allegiance and declared himself independent. He reigned at Alméria for a few years longers and died in Ramaḍān 443/January 1052.

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(E. Lévi - Provençal)

MAᶜN b. ZĀᵓIDA, Abu 'l-Walīd al-Shaybānī. military commander and governor of the late Umayyad and early ᶜAbbāsid period. He came from the *ashrāf* of the Shaybān tribe and rose to importance with the patronage of Yazīd b. ᶜUmar b. Hubayra (see IBN HUBAYRA], the last Umayyad governor of ᶜIrāḳ. He fought against the advancing ᶜAbbāsid armies when they reached ᶜIrāḳ in 132/749, and was said to have killed the enemy commander, ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb [*q.v.*]. He joined his master Ibn Hubayra in the defence of Wāsiṭ and was one of the few leaders not to be executed, apparently because he was in Ḳūfa, conveying Ibn Hubayra's oath of allegiance to al-Saffāḥ. Thereafter he remained in hiding until the rebellion of the Rāwandiyya in the newly-founded capital of Hāshimiyya (variously dated 139 to 141/756-9), when he was able to rescue the caliph from the rebels and so earn his forgiveness. Al-Manṣūr appreciated his value as a man with a strong tribal following, and sent him as governor to Yaman in 142/759-60. In this post he pacified the country brutally but successfully, and in 151/768 he was recalled and sent on another difficult mission to Sīstān. It was here that he came into conflict with the local Khāridjīs, who were defeated in battle but succeeded in killing him in his winter quarters at Bust by disguising themselves as workmen (152/769-70). He left at least four sons, but his position in the tribe of Shaybān and at the ᶜAbbāsid court was inherited by his nephew, Yazīd b. Mazyad, who also continued the feud with the Khāridjīs. Maᶜn was remembered in the Arab literary tradition as a fierce warrior, but also for his extreme generosity and as a patron of poets, notably Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa [*q.v.*], who wrote a famous elegy on Maᶜn.

Bibliography : Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, ed. Caskel, i, table 146; Yaᶜḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 389-400, 448, 462-3; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. Munadjdjid, 493-4; idem, *Ansāb*, iii, ed. Dūrī, 96-8, 138, 145-6, 235-8; Ṭabarī, ii, 1978-80, iii, 16, 63-5, 130-3, 368-9, 394-7; Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 45-6, 168-70 = §§ 2272, 2380-1; *Aghānī* (tables) iii, 642; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 284, 309, 336-7, 383-5, 464, vi, 15-6; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 742, ed. Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, v, 244-54, tr. de Slane, iii, 398-408.

(H. Kennedy)

MAᶜN-ZĀDA, Ḥusayn b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maᶜnī (Maᶜn-oghlu) son of the famous Druze *amīr*, Fakhr al-Dīn II [*q.v.*]; [see also MAᶜN, BANŪ], born on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1030/29 October 1621, his mother being the niece of Yūsuf Pasha Sayfa, the Sunnī Turkoman chieftain in the regions of ᶜAkkār and Tripoli. When he was an infant, his father sent him several times in delegations to receive senior Ottoman officials passing via the Syrian coast. Through bribery and other cunning methods, his father was in 1031/1621 able to get an imperial order entrusting Ḥusayn with the *sandjak* of ᶜAdjlūn, replacing the established Ghazzāwī family who were confidants of the Ottomans and the leaders of the Ḳaysī faction in southern Syria. Fakhr al-Dīn deputed one of his men to administer the *sandjak* on behalf of Ḥusayn, but two years later delegated the job to a certain Bashīr al-Ghazzāwī.

Very little is know about the childhood of Ḥusayn and his youngest brother Ḥasan. However, when Sultan Murād IV in 1043/1634 commissioned the governor of the province of Damascus, Küčük Aḥmad Pasha, to eradicate the Maᶜnids, Fakhr al-Dīn instructed Ḥusayn to take shelter in al-Markab citadel situated in the neighbourhood of Lādhiḳiyya. Ḥusayn was arrested and sent to Aleppo, whence he was eventually dispatched to Istanbul. In 1044/1635, his father and two of his sons were put to death, but the life of Ḥusayn was spared because of his youth. He was sent to the Palace pages' school. After graduating from there, he served at the Ottoman court in the *Khāṣṣ odası*. It appears that he showed competence, because he was promoted to be a private secretary to Sultan Meḥemmed IV (1058-99/1648-87). Later on, he held the post of chief assistant at the treasury, *khazīne ketkhüdāsī*, and then in 1066/1656 that of *kapīdjī bashī* or head of the Sultan's guards. Later in the same year, he was sent as the Sultan's special envoy (*elči*) to the Mughal sultan in India Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-57), travelling by land to Baṣra in the company of an ambassador sent by Shāh Djahān, and from there they sailed to India; Ḥusayn refers to this journey in his only surviving work *al-Tamyīz*. Arriving in Dihlī, he found that the emperor had died and that fighting had broken out between his sons. It seems that his stay there did not last long, and he went back to Istanbul carrying a message of good wishes from Murād Bakhsh, son of the deceased sultan. It is possible that he was not on good terms with the new Grand Vizier Meḥmed Köprülü (1656-61) [see KÖPRÜLÜ], since he was not appointed to any official post, although fortunately his property was not confiscated. This enabled him to devote ample time to his work *al-Tamyīz*, for which he made use of his own rich library and other private libraries in Istanbul. During this period of his life, it seems that the court historian, Muṣṭafā Naᶜīmā [*q.v.*] (d. 1128/1716) came to acquaint himself with Ḥusayn and to make use of his knowledge and of his library; on several occasions, Naᶜīmā acknowledges his indebtedness to him, praising his vast knowledge, his modesty and *zuhd*. He states that his information about both Sultan Ibrāhīm and Sultan Meḥemmed IV was taken orally from Ḥusayn, but a recent study doubts this role accredited to Ḥusayn by Naᶜīmā.

The *Tamyīz* comprises 26 *bābs* with a *faṣl* (section) appended to each chapter. In the *bāb* he mentions the merits of the subject he is analysing, whereas in the *faṣl* he relates what other learned sages have said for or against that particular subject. His citations came from innumerable sources, but mainly from the Ḳurᵓān, *Ḥadīth*, the *Nahdj al-balāgha* and the *Iḥyā*ᵓ *ᶜulūm al-dīn*. Naᶜīmā states that on the request of Ḥusayn, he made several copies of the *Tamyīz*, which were presented by the author to the dignitaries of Istanbul, and particularly to the Grand Vizier Ḥusayn Köprülü. It appears that he finished the first final copy in 1686.

Naᶜīmā places Ḥusayn's death in 1102/1690, while Muḥammad Khalīl al-Ḥusaynī al-Murādī (d. 1206/1791) mentions that this took place in 1109/1697, and this last report was accepted by some Lebanese historians such as the Patriarch Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī (d. 1704), Ḥaydar al-Shihābī (d. 1835) and

Ṭannūs al-Shidyāk (d. 1859), who claim that Ḥusayn intervened with Ottoman officials in 1697, when the Maᶜnid family came to an end. According to this, he succeeded in persuading the Ottomans to appoint Ḥaydar al-Shihābī, the grandson of *amīr* Aḥmad al-Maᶜnī, the last Maᶜnid *amīr*, rather than *amīr* Bashīr al-Shihābi, to govern al-Shūf. If Naᶜīmā is accurate in reporting the date of Ḥusayn's death (1102/1690), then this aspect of local Lebanese history clearly needs further investigation.

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MAᶜNĀ (a.), a term whose sense needs to be defined according to the discipline in which it is used.

1. In grammar. Etymologically, *maᶜnā* is what the speaker intends to say (*ᶜibāra ᶜan al-shayʾ alladhī ᶜanāhu ʾl-ᶜānī*, al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ*, i, 24,16); it is then almost synonymous with terms such as *maḳṣūd, niyya and murād*. As a technical term, *maᶜnā* indicates the semantic counterpart of *lafẓ*. Each word has an *aṣl*, i.e. the radicals that constitute the consonantal structure of the word, which is realised in a pattern (*binya*). For each *aṣl* there is a correlating *maᶜnā*, as well as for each *binya*, the latter *maᶜnā* being the primary concern of the grammarian.

The terminological pair *maᶜnā/lafẓ* is already found in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* (according to Troupeau, *Lexique-index*, 891 and 215 times respectively). This early popularity shows the importance of the use of *maᶜnā* in grammar and the need to take the grammatical data into account for any theory which tries to explain its origin in other disciplines, e.g. by pointing out analogies with the Stoic term *lektón*.

Although according to some authors there exists a correlation between the phonic and the semantic part of a word (Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, ed. Nadjdjār, ii, 245 ff., iii, 264 ff.), there is an inherent discrepancy between the two entities, in that one expression may stand for several meanings, and vice-versa (cf. already Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 7, 22-8, 3). On other level, one may say that the *lafẓ* never expresses the complete meaning, which can only reconstructed by means of a grammatical analysis, called *taḳdīr*. Through this method, the grammarian re-establishes, for instance, those governing words which are necessary for the meaning, but do not appear in the actual sentence (*ᶜāmil maᶜnawī*).

A special use of *maᶜnā* in grammatical writings is found in the expression *ḥarf maᶜnā* "particle" as against *ḥarf* "consonant, letter" (connected with the controversial definition of the *ḥarf djāʾa li-maᶜnan*, Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, i, 2, 1); and *ism maᶜnā* "abstract noun" as against *ism ᶜayn* "concrete noun" (e.g. al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal* , 5, 3).

In the debate between logicians and grammarians in the period after the first translations of Greek logical writings had appeared, the difference between *lafẓ* and *maᶜnā* was used by the logicians to define the different subjects of the two disciplines; grammar was to occupy itself solely with the *alfāẓ*, whereas the study of the *maᶜānī* was restricted to logic (e.g., al-Sidjistānī, *apud* al-Tawḥīdī, *Muḳābasāt*, ed. Sandūbī, 169, 21 ff.). The two terms are not synonymous with the pair *ism/musammā*, which is often used in logical and philosophical discussions, because *ism* denotes the entire linguistic symbol., whereas *musammā* is either the correlating thought or the object in the outer world.

The opposition between *alfāẓ* as the linguistic expression, and *maᶜānī* as the underlying meaning, was common in rhetorics and poetics, where one of the much-debated questions concerned the status of these two entities. For al-Djāḥiẓ, for instance, the *alfāẓ* of the poet are more essential for an evaluation of his qualities than the *maᶜānī* (*Bayān*, ed. Sandūbī, i, 98 ff.). The numerous books with titles such as *Kitāb Maᶜānī ʾl-shiᶜr, Kitāb Maᶜānī ʾl-Ḳurʾān*, etc., contain primarily discussions of the meaning of words and phrases, and are, therefore, lexicographical rather than grammatical writings.

In Ibn Ḥazm's grammatical theory, finally, there is a strict distinction, contrary to the generally-accepted usage, between the intention of the speaker and the inherent signification of the word.

Bibliography: A fundamental analysis is given by G. Bohas, *Contributions à l'étude de la méthode des grammairiens arabes en morphologie et en phonologie d'après des grammairiens "tardifs"*, thèse d'état Paris III, 1979, 33-42, 64 ff., 167 f.; cf. also C. Versteegh, *Greek elements in Arabic linguistic thinking*, Leiden 1977, 178-90; N. Anghelescu, *'Sensul' în gîndirea linguisticâ arabâ*, in I. Coteanu and L. Wald (eds.), *Semanticâ şi semioticâ*, Bucharest 1981, 166-77. *Lafẓ/maᶜnā* in rhetorics: W. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung und griechische Poetik*, Beirut 1969, 62-82; L. Bettini, *Studi sulla teoria letteraria araba*, Florence 1981, esp. 9-14. *Lafẓ/maᶜnā* in the debate between logic and grammar: M. Mahdi, *Language and logic in Classical Islam*, in G.E. von Grunebaum (ed.), *Logic in Classical Islamic culture*, Wiesbaden 1970, 51-83; G. Endress, *al-Munāẓara bayn al-manṭiḳ al-falsafī wa ʾl-naḥw al-ᶜarabī fī ᶜuṣūr al-khulafāʾ* (with English summary), in *Jnal. for the history of Arabic Science*, i (1977), 339-51; Versteegh, *Logique et grammaire au dixième siècle*, in *Histoire, Epistémologie, langage*, ii (1980), 39-52. *Maᶜnā* in Ibn Ḥazm's and Ibn Maḍāʾs Ẓāhirī system: R. Arnaldez, *Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue*, Paris 1056, 56-61, 90-6. (C. H. M. Versteegh)

2. In philosophy. This term is used to translate a number of Greek expressions. *Maᶜnā* is frequently used as a synonym of *maᶜḳūl*, corresponding to the Greek *noéma*, a concept, thought or idea. Sometimes *maᶜḳūl* is used to translate the term "concept" (as in al-Fārābī's commentary on Aristotle's *De Interpretatione*) and sometimes *maᶜnā* (as in his commentary on Aristotle's *De Intellectu*). Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn uses *maᶜnā* in his translation of the *De Interpretatione*, but he also translated Aristotle's use of *prágmata* (real things) by *maᶜānī*. (For an argument against the Latin translation of *maᶜnā* by *intentio*, see Gyeke). Al-Ghazālī uses *maᶜānī* to represent meaning, a general usage, and it has been argued that this sense of the expression is Stoic in origin, representing *lectón* (Shehaby). Al-Ḥasan b. Suwār, in his notes on Aristotle's *Categories*, identifies *maᶜānī* with *āthār* (affections produced by natural things in the soul) and identical to the forms (*ṣuwar*) of the actual things (*umūr*). It is in a similar sense that Ibn Sīnā identifies a form in the soul with a *maᶜnā*, a meaning or notion, which in mediaeval epistemology has the technical sense of "natural sign in the soul". Ibn Sīnā's distinction between *maᶜānī* of the first and second understanding probably stems from Porphyry's distinction between terms of first and second imposition. The latter, *maᶜānī* of second understanding, are abstract notions which are applied to the notions of first understanding. The expressions *maᶜānī maᶜḳūla*, intelligible notions, or *maᶜānī* or just *maᶜḳūlāt*, are often found in Ibn Sīnā, all frequently translated as *intellecta*. These terms are important for his argument of the complex relationship between logic and language (see Sabra).

Muᶜammar b. ᶜAbbād al-Sulamī, the Baṣran Muᶜtazilī philosopher, is undoubtedly the chief exponent of the use of the term *maᶜnā* as a vital part of a metaphysical system. According to him, every *maᶜnā* (entity) is brought about by another entity, which itself has its origin in a third entity, and so on ad infinitum. Muᶜammar speaks of an infinite chain of determinant *maᶜānī*, the first determinant of which is God, and through which God is indirectly the real cause for the accidental external appearance of substances. For example, he talks of God creating countless *maᶜānī* of colour, the final effect of which is the accident "colour". The infinite chain of *maᶜānī* are causes of creating, and the occasionally evil accidents brought about thereby are caused by the subtance through the real features of nature, not God. *Maᶜnā* is used by Muᶜammar to represent the principle of individuation of one substance from another. Horovitz identifies *maᶜānī* with Plato's ideas, while Horten thinks they originate in the Indian system of categories. Watt identifies *maᶜnā* with Aristotelian *eidos* and Plato's ideas, as a real determination of a substance. Wolfson relates it to Aristotle's concept of nature as the cause of motion and rest, a claim hotly contested by Frank. The latter describes it as an intrinsic causal determinant, a Stoic notion which certainly seems to be present in Muᶜammar's distinction between primary and secondary causal determinants. Frank criticises the accounts of Muᶜammar's use of *maᶜnā* provided by al-Rāzī and al-Shahrastānī and insists that *maᶜānī* in the original system inhere in the material substrate of atoms, not with the accidents (references in Frank). Daiber, in the fullest account of *maᶜānī* in Muᶜammar's system yet to appear, on the contrary stresses their relational properties as opposed to their property of inherence in substance.

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(O.N.H. Leaman)

3. In poetry. Marked out to serve as a reflection on the language and to take its place in a cultural synthesis, poetry, after the preaching of Islam, assumed its role under the surveillance of academic phraseology. Scholars began to derive arguments from it to support their theories. Thus called upon by morpho-phonology, syntax, lexicography and even exegesis and historiography, poetry was turned into an instrument and reduced to being just a speech practice meant for providing arguments for the basic disciplines of language and thought. Hence one should not be surprised at the lack, until the 4th/10th century, of a true theory of meaning visualised as starting from poetical experience. Until then the word *maᶜnā* had only two meanings:

(1) The meaning of a word or proposition in a *certain given verse*. This meaning limits the reading to a purely contextual explanation. The *Kitāb Maᶜānī al-shiᶜr* of Abū ᶜUthmān Saᶜīd al-Ushnandānī, transmitted by Ibn Durayd, gives an example of these courses and monographs devoted to verses considered difficult. Lexically, attention is concentrated on terms which have become rare in usage (*gharīb*) or culturally marginal (*waḥshī*), but also on those syntactic expressions which leave the expressions ambiguous. Numerous works devoted to poetry are subsumed under this pragmatic aim and the elucidation of meaning.

(2) The meaning of a trope. The procedure here is similar, that of a clarification of the meaning, but the specific nature of the figurative expressions opens up perspectives which were later to become a semantics of poetry.

In this way, a fragmentary poetical text, reduced to citations, finds a place in lexicography, syntax and rhetoric. The school exercise of explaining it corresponds to a demand of criticism. The latter, born out of philology, requires the fitting of the *maᶜnā* to the *maḳṣad* or *gharaḍ*, with the supposition that what is said corresponds exactly to what it was intended to say. Every displacement between the intention and the statement betrays the poet's inability to express what is correct with complete exactitude and shows up an inadequacy in the tools of the language. The *maᶜnā* is a target which may be missed in two ways: either by not respecting the established correlations between the word and its referent, or between the syntactic expression and the logical distribution of its meanings; or else by disturbing the rules of construction of such figurative expressions as comparison, metaphor, metonymy, etc. The divergence between what is said and what it was intended to say (*buᶜd*) is the measure of the ambiguity in the meaning (*ghumūḍ*). Criticism of meaning remains, within this framework, a criticism of effectiveness.

This enterprise ends up by updating the cultural codes prevailing in the language and makes an important contribution to the study of an archaeology of meaning. But one must note carefully that the works devoted to classification of meanings and tropes (Ibn Ḳutayba, al-Mubarrad, Thaᶜlab, Ibn al-Muᶜtazz in the 3rd/9th century) do not have poetry in view in the first place, or else they do not make the tropes analysed there a specific phenomenon of poetic writing. Moreover, even the terms connected with a single poetic genre such as *madīḥ*, *hidjāʾ*, *rithāʾ* or *nasīb* are not fashioned by means of a reflecting on the genres and themes. Till the end of the 3rd/9th century, it is quite wrong to consider the *ᶜilm al-maᶜānī* as an analysis of thematic forms, even with an author like Ibn Ḳutayba, who devotes a chapter of his *Kitāb Maᶜānī al-shiᶜr* to *marāthī*.

It is Ḳudāma b. Djaᶜfar [*q.v.*] in his *Naḳd al-shiᶜr* who puts forward a general theory on the nature of poetry. This theory aims at defining an aesthetic, hence at regulating taste (*dhawḳ*) by setting out the rules of a science of what is good in poetry. Since the latter is an art (*ṣināᶜa*), its actualisation can be placed on a scale of values which it is possible to draw up by reference to established canons of taste. Ḳudāma brings forward these canons of the connections existing between the constituent elements of poetic writing (*lafẓ*, *maᶜnā*, *wazn* and *ḳāfiya*). The *maᶜnā* here does not mean signification, since the latter is a fact of language, but the register of expression. Thus there are six *maᶜānī* in poetry: *madīḥ*, *hidjāʾ*, *marāthī*, *tashbīh*, *waṣf* and *nasīb*. Four of these names denote a semantic field relatively clearly delimited. Ḳudāma is here remaining within the track traced by his forerunners. He is an innovator in that he included *tashbīh* in this list; he considers it as a general way of proceeding for the production of poetical statements, and all his attention is concentrated on the figures of thought. *Waṣf* brings in the general problem of the relationship of the statement to the object described. We can discern here a trace, small but clear, of the Greek theory of mimesis. The dialectic of *kadhib* and *ṣidḳ* is thus here set aside, for Ḳudāma himself clearly, on this occasion, distances himself from all moralistic purposes.

Maᶜnā is definitively that particular form (*ṣūra*) which poetry sketches out in a general sense. What is good may be measured by the amount of the conforming of the statement produced to an ideal statement (*gharaḍ*) The progress of poetry is contained in this movement which leads towards the perfect forms.

In fact, reflection about meaning in poetry eluded the *udabāʾ*, who remained fixed on the need of philological and lexical explanations, and had no theoretical system which could enable them to go further ahead. Work on the *maᶜnā* became the preoccupation of the rhetoricians who had evolved the required tools for analysis. But it was the task of the logicians to put forward an attempt at definition, no longer of poetry, but of poetic theory, i.e. the ways of achieving the specific meanings required in poetry. Since al-Kindī's commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* has not come down to us, we have to consider al-Fārābī [*q.v.*] as the first to have turned his attention and thought to *al-aḳāwīl al-mukhayyila*. The problem of *takhyīl* was to remain as a subject of thought for the analysts, especially for Ibn Sīnā, ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djurdjānī, Ibn Rushd and Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī. Our point of departure is a re-interpretation of the Aristotelian mimesis, which al-Ḳarṭādjannī in the end separates completely from speculative discourse. *Takhyīl* denotes "the imaginary representation of the object which mimetic discourse (i.e. poetry) fixes in the speaker's imagination. The meaning is thus contained in a relationship of the object with its aesthetic representation as the producer of an effect". In this way, a fresh posing of the problem of meaning is formulated, and "the specificness and autonomy of poetry is circumscribed". The poet, as the creator of images, thus throws off the task of being truthful to life and becomes consequently free to project on to the object chosen all the features which his imagination pictures for him. The theory of the poetic *uslūb* set forth by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muḳaddima* is actually a theory of the genuine poetic image. The *uslūb* is the abstract form of the meaning which becomes fixed in the poet's imagination. The latter realises it in statements made up of a thing signified (*maᶜnā*) contained within a framework of the phrase (*tarkīb*). The nomenclature put forward by Ibn Khaldūn stems from this: *kalām/fann* (poetry, in contrast to prose)/*madhāhib* (*madḥ*, *rithāʾ*, *nasīb*)/ *asālīb/aghrāḍ* or *maᶜānī* and *tarākīb*. Ibn Khaldūn in this way completes his predecessors' analysis by studying the mechanism of production of *maᶜānī*.

Bibliography : Texts: Since the texts utilised are well-known and amply cited in the articles on the respective authors, it is enough to say that the logicians' developments of the topic of poetic theory are given in ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī's *Arisṭūṭālīs, fann al-shiᶜr*¹, Cairo 1954, with a better ed. of Ibn Rushd's commentary and a 1st ed. of al-Fārābī's *Djawāmiᶜ al-shiᶜr* by M. Salīm Salīm, Cairo 1971; the part of Ibn Sīnā's *K. al-Shifāʾ* devoted to the commentary on Aritotle's *Poetics* has been tr. with an English commentary by I. M. Dahiyat, *Avicenna's commentary on the Poetics of Aristotle, a critical study with an annotated translation of the text*, Leiden 1974.

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salis, new ed. (the definition of *takhyīl* is borrowed from here). (J. E. Bencheikh)

MANĀF, name of a deity of ancient Arabia. This IVth form *maṣdar* from the root *n-w-f* is connected with the Qatabanite *nwfn* "the exalted", an epithet describing ᶜAthar-Venus at its zenith, as opposed to *shrḳn* "the eastern" and *ghrbn* "the western". From the same root is derived *tanūf* "that which climbs high in the firmament", an epithet of the sun, as opposed to *mshrḳtym* "that which rises", and *tadūn* "that which sets" (cf. A. Jamme, *Le panthéon sud-arabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques*, in *Le Muséon*, lx [1947], 88 and n. 225, 102, 106; on the meaning of this root and the vocabulary which is derived from it, cf. *TA*, s.v.).

"Manāf was one of the greatest deities of Mecca", states al-Ṭabarī (i, 1092). Such a statement is nevertheless surprising, bearing in mind how little information we have on the subject. Only Ibn al-Kalbī (*K. al-Aṣnām*, ed. and Fr. tr. W. Atallah, Paris 1969, 26) devotes a few lines to it, repeated by al-Ṭabarī (i, 1091-2) and Yāḳūt (iv, 651); however, going by the inscriptions, the name was known in Thamudic (A. van den Branden, *Les inscriptions thamoudéennes*, 48 (Huber, 12), 225 (Huber, 696), in Ṣafaitic and in Liḥyanitic (G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, i, Louvain 1934, 18; *idem*, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*², Louvain 1953, 17), and altars were dedicated to him in the Ḥawrān (cf. P. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques conservées à l'Institut Français de Damas, no. 33*, in *Syria*, vi [1925], 246-52) and at Volubilis in Morocco (cf. L. Robert, in *Revue des études grecques* [1936], 3-8).

Probably of South Arabian origin, the cult of this deity was widespread among the Ḳurayshites, Hudhayl and Tamīm, as is shown by the theophoric names composed with his name (cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 143, 1. 16, 66; *TA*, iii, 470, 1. 7 f. *a fine*). One of the most famous is that of ᶜAbd Manāf, one of the four sons of Ḳuṣayy, reformer of the cult in Mecca. His mother had promised him to the god, so as to protect him from the evil eye, for he was so handsome that he was surnamed *al-ḳamar* "the moon" (al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*).

Ibn al-Kalbī, reproduced by Yāḳūt, notes a practice common to all the idols, mentioned by G. Ryckmans (*Les religions arabes préislamiques*, 17) as being peculiar to Manāf; menstruating women did not touch them as a token of blessing and kept at a distance from them. Two verses, one by Balᶜāʾ b. Ḳays, relating to Manāf, the other Bishr b. Abī Khazīm, relating to Isāf, allude to this (Ibn al-Kalbī and Yāḳūt, *locis citatis*; Yāḳūt, i, 235).

Bibliography: Apart from the references cited, see J. Wellhausen, *Reste*², Berlin 1897, 57; T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 122-3. (T. Fahd)

MANĀḲIB (a.), plural substantive (sing *manḳaba*) featuring in the titles of a quite considerable number of biographical works of a laudatory nature, which have eventually become a part of hagiographical literature in Arabic, in Persian and in Turkish.

To define this term, the lexicographers make it a synonym of *akhlāḳ*, taken in the sense of "natural dispositions (good or bad), innate qualities, character", and associate it with *naḳība*, explained by *nafs* "soul", *khalīḳa* or *ṭabīᶜa*, likewise signifying "trait of character, disposition", but also with *nafādh al-raʾy*, "perspicacity", in such a way that the connection with the radical *n-ḳ-b*, which is particularly expressive and implies especially the concrete sense of "perforate, pierce (a wall, for example)", thus, in an abstract sense, "succeed in penetrating a secret", becomes perfectly clear. Perhaps it should be approached as is suggested by Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*, sub radice *n-ḳ-b*), via *naḳīb* "chief", thus named because he is privy to "the secrets of his fellow-tribesmen (*dakhīlat amr al-ḳawm*) and to their *manāḳib*, which is the means of knowing their affairs"; in short, *manāḳib* would signify almost simultaneously both "traits of character" and "acts and deeds", and its use to introduce a biography centred not only on the actions, but also on the moral qualities of an individual, would be entirely legitimate. Finally, also worth consideration is an alternative meaning of the verb *naḳaba*, "walk, follow a narrow path", and a subtle connection may be observed between two senses of the singular *manḳaba*: on the one hand, "narrow street between two houses", or "difficult path on the mountain" (cf. Yāḳūt s.v. al-Manāḳib; *Sīra*, ii, 468) and, on the other hand, "noble action", in contrast to *mathlaba* "villainy, subject of shame" [see mathālib], as is supported by the evidence of numerous titles, particularly that on the *Kitāb al-Manāḳib wa 'l-mathālib* by Hibat Allāh Ibn ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid (Brockelmann, S II, 908), where the two antithetical terms possess the added advantage of mutual rhyme. If the last explanation suggested is correct, one is entitled to consider that a semantic evolution has occurred comparable to that of *sīra* [*q.v.*].

However, although this last term may be accompanied by a depreciative epithet (e.g. *sayyiʾ*), *manāḳib*, sometimes made more precise, sometimes not, by a qualificative (*djamīl, karīm*, etc.), is always taken in a good sense; the term may be rendered approximately by "qualities, virtues, talents, praiseworthy actions", and introduces a laudatory biography in which the merits, virtues and remarkable deeds of the individual concerned are given prominence. It will be observed that, immediately following the development of mysticism and the cult of saints, it is the marvellous aspects of the life, the miracles or at least the prodigies (*karāmāt*) [*q.v.*]) of a Ṣūfī or of a saint believed to have been endowed with miraculous powers, which are the subjects preferred, and *manāḳib* ultimately acquires the sense of "miracles" or "prodigies". It is perhaps a reminiscence of this last sense that is used to form an abstract applied even to the army by ᶜAzīz al-Aḥdab in his *Djaysh Lubnān wa-manāḳibiyyatuh al-ᶜaskariyya*, Beirut 1975.

Such is, schematically outlined, the apparent evolution of this concept, although it is not easy, in reality, to follow it with precision. In fact, the most ancient texts bearing the title of *manāḳib* have in general hardly survived at all, and their existence is only known to us thanks to the biographers and bibliographers of the Middle Ages; on the other hand, that which could be called "the *manāḳib* genre" is hard to isolate, since it is practically impossible, on account of constant interference, to establish a neat classification according to the etiquettes affixed by authors to the account of the life and enumeration of the virtues of the individual or the group chosen. The nomenclature in fact comprises a full gamut of titles which must be examined.

—*tardjama* [*q.v.*], quite neutral, implies no particular quality and introduces any biography; it may be said, however, that this term features in titles where another would be expected, for example *Tardjamat Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* or *Tardjamat al-Shāfiᶜī* by al-Dhahabī (see Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Muᶜdjam al-muʾarrikhīn al-dimashḳiyyīn*, Beirut 1398/1978, 445), while the founders of judicial schools are most often entitled to *manāḳib* (see below).

—*taᶜrīf*, likewise neutral, but already used by ᶜIyāḍ

(see below) for the Prophet, appears in the title of lives of saints, possibly for reasons of discretion, in a period where *manāḳib* seems to be confined to the hagiographical sphere. For example, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḳādirī (d. 1110/1698 [see AL-ḲĀDIRĪ]) devoted *al-Maḳṣad al-aḥmad fi 'l-taʿrīf bi-Sayyidinā Ibn ʿAbd Allāh* to Ibn Maʿn al-Andalusī (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 278), while the monograph on the same saint by Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī (d. 1109/1698 [see AL-FĀSĪ in Suppl.]) is intitled *ʿArif/ʿAwārif al-munna bi-manāḳib Sayyidī (Sīdī) Maḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh muḥyī 'l-sunna* (*Chorfa*, 275; ms. in Leiden, see P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Ten Arabic manuscript-volumes of historical contents acquired by the Leiden Univ. Libr. after 1957*, in E. van Donzel (ed.), *Studies on Islam*, Amsterdam-London 1974, 95). Similarly, Maḥammad al-Masnāwī al-Dilāʾī (d. 1136/1724 [see AL-DILĀʾ in Suppl.]), is the author of *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-shaykh Abi 'l-ʿAbbās al-Yamanī* (*Chorfa*, 302), ʿAbd al-Madjid al-Zabādī (d. 1163/1750; see *Chorfa*, 314) wrote the *Ifādat al-murād bi 'l-taʿrīf bi 'l-shaykh Ibn ʿAbbād* (d. 792/1390) and al-Darʿī (12th/18th century), *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fi 'l-taʿrīf bi 'l-shaykh Ibn Ḥusayn wa-atbāʿih al-akābir*, on the saint of Tamgrūt named al-Ḳabbāb (d. 1045/1635-6; see *Chorfa*, 315). This term, adopted by Ibn Khaldūn for his autobiography, seems to be particularly common in Morocco, where hagiographical literature is especially prolific.

—*akhbār*, also neutral, tends to be applied to collections of historical traditions, even of simple anecdotes, concerning individuals of ethnic or social groups (see e.g. *Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, *Akhbār al-ḳiyān*, etc.). Nevertheless, one encounters, again from the pen of al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347 [*q.v.*]), the *Akhbār Umm al-Muʾminīn ʿĀʾisha* (Munadjdjid, 445), which does not necessarily imply a greater concern for objectivity than is found in the *Manāḳib Ḥaḍrat Umm al-Muʾminīn ʿĀʾisha*. (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Istanbul 1941, ii, col. 1843) by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 694/1294-5 [*q.v.*]) or in the *Kitāb al-Albāb al-ṭāʾisha fī manāḳib Umm al-Muʾminīn ʿĀʾisha* by the Moroccan Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Wadjdī al-Ghammād (d. 1033/1624; see M. Hajji, *L'activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque saʿdide*, Rabat 1976, 487). For his part, Aḥmad Adfāl gave the title *Akhbār* to his biography of Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Samlālī (d. 971/1564; see Hajji, 181, 650; al-Sūsī, *al-Maʿsūl*, Casablanca 1380-3/1960-3, 20-43), whereas that of the same Sūsī saint by Yibūrk al-Samlālī (Hajji, 181) bears the title of *Manāḳib al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Mūsā*. A further example: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (d. 1096/1685 [see AL-FĀSĪ in Suppl.]) celebrated the memory of his father in two works: *Bustān al-azāhir fī akhbār al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir* and *Tuḥfat al-akābir fī manāḳib ʿAbd al-Ḳādir* (*Chorfa*, 267).

—*sīra*, as is known, is not reserved for the Prophet, and a considerable number of biographies (and even stories, such as the *Sīrat ʿAntar*) bearing this title are mentioned in the repertoires; it will be noted only, for the sake of example, that al-Dhahabī (yet again) wrote a *Sīrat al-Ḥallādj* (Munadjdjid, 446), and the Ṣūfī Ḥiṣnī (d. 829/1426; see Munadjdjid, 231), a *Siyar al-nisāʾ al-ʿābidāt*, just as Ḳāsim al-Ḥalfawī (d.after 1000/1591; see Hajji, 181) entitled his monograph on the santon of Marrakesh known as Abū ʿAmr al-Ḳasṭallī *Shams al-maʿrifa fī sīrat ghawth al-mutasawwifa* (mss. in Rabat and Marrakesh).

—*faḍāʾil*, "virtues", is closer to the sense of *manāḳib* and even serves as its equivalent, although covering a much more extensive range [see FAḌĪLA].While the "*faḍāʾil* genre" is in part reserved for the vindication of towns and of countries, Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]) wrote the *Manāḳib Baghdād* (ed. Baghdād 1921; see Brockelmann, S I, 917), he merely used *faḍāʾil* for Bishr al-Ḥāfī (d. 226 or 227/840-2 [*q.v.*]). The two terms are set in parallel and applied with exactly the same meaning to the people of Cordova by al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] in his *Opus geographicum* (written in 548/1154), v, 574. *Faḍāʾil* is used by authors anxious, as was al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923 [*q.v.*]), to celebrate the virtues of the Companions and of the Orthodox Caliphs (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 80-1); otherwise it had already been adopted by al-Madāʾinī (d. 226/840 [*q.v.*]) for Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya (*Udabāʾ*, xiv, 132) and by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), who dedicates a *bāb* to the *faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-Nabī*, following it however with a *bāb manāḳib al-Muhādjirīn* and a *bāb m. al-Anṣār* (v, 2-47); as late as the 5th/11th century, Ibn al-ʿUsharī (d. 441/1049; see Brockelmann, S I, 601) wrote a *Kitāb Faḍāʾil Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ*, and, in the 7th/13th century, Amīn al-Dawla Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 686/1288), *Faḍāʾil Umm al-Muʾminīn Khadīdja* (Munadjdjid, 120). However, the anonymous ms. 8273 of the British Museum is called *Manāḳib al-Ṣaḥāba*, and, in Spain, al-Ghāfiḳī (d. 540/1146; see Brockelmann, S I, 629) wrote *Manāḳib al-ʿashara wa-ʿammay Rasūl Allāh*, while ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maḳdisī (d. 600/1203; see Munadjdjid, 68-9) left for posterity *Manāḳib al-Ṣaḥābiyyāt* (ms. Ẓāhiriyya 3754), and Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 606/1210; see IBN AL-ATHĪR), *al-Mukhtār fī manāḳib al-akhyār* (cf. O. Spies, in *MO*, xxiv [1930], 1-15) on the pious men and women of early Islam; al-Ḍiyāʾ al-Maḳdisī (d. 643/1245; see Munadjdjid, 86, 442) eulogised the *manāḳib* of Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib (ed. M.H. Āl Yāsīn, Baghdād); the afore-mentioned Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, has, like al-Ghāfiḳī, celebrated the "ten assured of Paradise" in *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira fī manāḳib al-ʿashara* (ed. Cairo 1372/1953); al-Dhahabī is himself credited with *al-Tibyān fī manāḳib ʿUthmān* (Munadjdjid, 445) and Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503; see Munadjdjid, 274, 276) even wrote a *Maḥḍ al-ikhlāṣ fī manāḳib Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ* (ms. Ẓāhiriyya 3248). If, for ʿAlī b. Ṭālib and his descendants, the use of *manāḳib* is fully justified in the works of those authors who particularly revere their memory (see below), and if the same can to a certain extent be said of ʿUmar b. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz, thus eulogised by Ibn al-Djawzī, it is hard to say why the last-named (*Kashf*, iv, col. 560; Brockelmann, S I, 916-17) and, for example, al-Barzandjī (Brockelmann S II, 934) gave the title *Manāḳib* to their biographies of Abū Bakr and of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. It is true that it is impossible to find the explanation in the variation which manifests itself in the *Djamʿ al-fawāʾid min Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl* [of Ibn al-Athīr] *wa-Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid* [of al-Haythamī], Medina 1381/1961, in which *ḥadīths* concerning the Companions as a group are given under the title of *faḍāʾil* (ii, 490-500), whilst those relating to the same Companions considered individually are given under that of *manāḳib* (ii, 500-81).

—*maʾāthir* and *mafākhir*, "exploits, objects of pride", normally feature in the titles of collections of traditions in favour of tribes, peoples or groups and are the reverse of *mathālib*; they are also encountered, as is sometimes *maḥāsin*, in those of monographs of individuals who have played an eminent political, politico-religious or military role. An example which may be mentioned, from Morocco, is a *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf fī mafākhir Mawlānā Ismāʿīl b. al-Sharīf* by al-Ifrānī (d. 1156 or 1157/1743-5 [*q.v.*]), which concerns a sultan (*Chorfa*, 275); *al-Muntaḳā 'l-maḳṣūr ʿalā maʾāthir khilāfat al-Manṣūr* (ms. in Leiden, see van Koningsveld, 94;

Brockelmann, S II, 679) by Ibn al-Ḳāḍī (d. 1065/1616 [*q.v.*]), where *ma'āthir* is sometimes replaced by *maḥāsin*, is a panegyric of the sultan al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī; on the other hand, the *Rawḍat al-maḥāsin al-zahiyya bi-ma'āthir al-shaykh Abi 'l-Maḥāsin al-bahiyya*, by the afore-mentioned Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, is the biography of a religious man (*Chorfa*, 114), and the same al-Ifrānī who is cited above gave the title *Durar al-ḥidjāl fī ma'āthir "sab'at ridjāl"* (*Chorfa*, 115) to a hagiography of the "seven saints" of Marrakesh (see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech*, Rabat 1959, 571-5), whereas *manāḳib* would more naturally be expected.

—*akhlāḳ*: Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004 [*q.v.*]) is credited with a *Kitāb Akhlāḳ al-Nabī (Udabā'*, iv, 84) which justifies the assimilation, by Ibn Manẓūr (see above), of *manāḳib* to *akhlāḳ*, for it seems likely that in choosing this latter term, the author of the *Ṣāḥibī* wished to signal his intention of dealing with the character and moral qualities of the Prophet, as al-Tirmidhī (d. *ca.* 275/888-9 [*q.v.*]) had done in his *Shamā'il al-Nabī* (ed. Cairo 1306). In the 6th/12th century, the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149 [*q.v.*]) chose a more neutral title, *al-Shifā bi-taʿrīf al-Muṣṭafā* (numerous editions), not suspecting that this biography of the Prophet was destined to be accorded "throughout North Africa, supernatural virtues" (M. Talbi, *Biographies aghlabides*, Tunis 1968, 19); Ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashḳī (d. 779/1377; see Munadjdjid, 449), who is said to have imitated the *Shifā*, showed less discretion, since he entitled his work *al-Nadjm al-thāḳib fī ashraf al-manāḳib*. Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]) for his part, is the author of a *manḳabat mawlid al-Nabī* (this is the only attestation of the singular in a title), which is a "presentation of the life of the Prophet from the point of view of his metaphysical reality, that is to say in his capacity of representing the Perfect Man upon the earth" (O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Damascus 1964, 358; the singular is not attested in any Arabic title, but it may be noted that in Urdu *manḳabat* indicates a poem in honour of ʿAlī and the Shīʿī *Imāms*. [see MADĪḤ. 4. In Urdu]). *Shamā'il* is almost synonymous with *akhlāḳ* when the latter is taken in good a sense, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Sulamī al-Dimashḳī (d. 660/1262; see Munadjdjid, 97) associates this term with *manāḳib* in his *Manāḳib al-Muṣṭafā wa-shamā'iluh*. There is however a fundamental difference between *akhlāḳ* and *manāḳib*, as is clearly revealed by al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868 [*q.v.*]), who is the author of a *Madḥ* ... and of a *Dhamm akhlāḳ al-kuttāb*, where the key-word remains neutral, and of a *Risāla fī manāḳib al-Turk/al-Atrāk wa-ʿāmmat djund al-khilāfa*, in the title of which no further proof is needed of the desire to depict in the most favourable colours the natural dispositions, the merits and the characters of the Turkish troops and of other elements in the army. It appears from this example that in the 3rd/9th century, under the pen of a writer of the calibre of al-Djāḥiẓ, *akhlāḳ* and *manāḳib* may again be practically synonymous, on condition that the former be given clearer definition by means of a favourable term, except, of course, where no doubt is possible as to the intentions of the writer, as when the subject of discussion is the Prophet.

—*manāḳib*: R. Sellheim [see FAḌĪLA] considers that the *Faḍā'il* of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī by Ibn al-Djawzī belongs to the literature of *manāḳib*, but one may wonder why this author chose *faḍā'il* for the title of his eulogy of the famous preacher, whereas he opted for *manāḳib* when he sought to glorify Baghdād, ʿUmar b. Khaṭṭāb or ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and the most appropriate usage of the word in question is found in his *Kitāb Manāḳib al-imām Ibn Ḥanbal* (ed. Cairo 1349/1931), as will be observed in due course. Study of a long series of titles in fact leaves the impression that, for many writers, there was scarcely any difference in conception and in method of exposition according to the terminology employed; in effect, the latter seems to be to a large extent interchangeable, and although R. Sellheim is probably correct in thinking that the lives of saints were to exercise a sort of monopoly over the use of *manāḳib*, the fact remains that a degree of fluctuation in the choice of terms demands constant vigilance.

While the *Manāḳib* of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]) which Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa (ii, col. 1843-4) mentions, saying that later authors have to a large extent exploited this biography, and perhaps also that by al-Kūfī (d. 300/931; Brockelmann, S I, 209), are probably no more than collections of traditions relating the virtues of the Prophet's son-in-law, this probably does not apply to the *Manāḳib ʿAlī b. ʿAbī Ṭālib* by al-Khwārazmī (d. 568/1172; Brockelmann, S I, 623; there is said to be a ms. of it at Nadjaf (al-Samāwī library), which further possesses others; see *RIMA*, iv, 237), to the *Manāḳib Āl Abī Ṭālib* (ed. Telmay 1317; Nadjaf 1376/1956), by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192 [*q.v.*]), *al-Arbaʿīn fī manāḳib sayyidat al-nisā' Fāṭima al-Zahrā'* by the same author or the *Manāḳib Fāṭima al-Zahrā'* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), to which reference is made in the *Kashf* (ii, col. 1843). These last-named works are in fact closer to hagiography, like those, in a more general sense, which are devoted to the family of the Prophet, such as the *Dhakhā'ir al-ʿuḳbā fī manāḳib dhawi 'l-ḳurbā* (ed. Cairo 1356) by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 694/1294-5) or the *Maḥāsin al-azhār fī manāḳib al-ʿitra al-aṭhār* by Ḥamīd al-Maḥallī (d. after 652/1254; see A. Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane*, IFAO, Cairo 1974, 127, 128) or even the *Nūr al-abṣār fī manāḳib Āl Bayt al-Nabī al-mukhtār* by Mu'min al-Shablandjī (ed. Cairo n.d.).

There is no doubt as to the legitimacy of associating with this category a *Kitāb al-Manāḳib* of a 4th/10th century Imāmī Shīʿī named ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim al-Ḳummī (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 311; cf. *Udabā'*, xii, 215), but there is certainly no justification for including in the corpus of hagiographical literature *the K. al-Iʿlām bi-manāḳib al-Islām* (ed. Cairo 1968) by the Persian philosopher al-ʿĀmirī (d. 381/992 [*q.v.*]) "a philosophical defence of Islam" or the *Manāḳib al-a'imma* by al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]), which are designed to defend "the Sunnī position with regard to the imāmate". In fact, a number of other titles are encountered which testify to the imprecision of the nomenclature, for example the *Manāḳib al-maʿārif* by Ibn ʿArabī (O. Yahia, *op. cit.* no. 406; Brockelmann, S I, 801, no, 175) or *Kitāb Manāḳib al-kuttāb* by Ibn Kuthayyir al-Ahwāzī (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 200; cf. *Udabā'*, iv, 244) which must have been a simple vindication of government secretaries; it is hardly likely that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djibrīl (d. 450/1058) described miraculous cures in the *Manāḳib al-aṭibbā'* (*Kashf*, ii col. 1842), and attention may be drawn to *Manāḳib* of poets in Persian by Abū Ṭāhir al-Khātūnī (*Kashf*, ii, col. 1842) and, in Turkish, the *Manāḳib-i hünerverān* (ed. Istanbul 1926) by ʿĀlī (d. 1008/1599-1600 [*q.v.*]), in which "he collected important material on several hundred calligraphers, miniaturists, illuminators and book binders". Also, *al-Kawkab al-thāḳib fī akhbār al-shuʿarā' wa-ghayri-him min dhawī 'l-manāḳib* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Salawī (written 1176/1762-3) contains some 129 biographies of poets (ms. Royal Library of Rabat 925; see ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāsimī, in *al-Fikr*, xxvii/10 [1982], 121-32).

Dynasties, families, distinguished individuals, also have their compilations of *manāḳib* which are apparently nothing more than glorious deeds or achievements. Thus al-Yazīdī al-Naḥwī (d. 313/925) gathered together those of the Banu 'l-ʿAbbās (*Kashf*, ii, col. 1841) and al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946-7 [*q.v.*]), those of Ibn al-Furāt (d. 312/924 [*q.v.*]), as is noted by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iv, col. 559), while Ibn al-Samāʿī (d. 674/1275-6 wrote a *Kitāb Manāḳib al-khulafāʾ* (*Kashf*, ii, col. 1841) and Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Baṣrī (7th/13th century) dedicated to Baybars (d. 676/1277 [*q.v.*]) *al-Manāḳib al-ʿabbāsiyya wa 'l-mafākhir al-mustanṣiriyya* (Brockelmann, S I, 457), where the two terms used in parallel are evidently regarded by the author as synonymous. This Mamlūk sultan was himself the subject of a biography by Shafiʿ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās (d. 730/1330), *Ḥusn al-manāḳib al-sirriyya al-muntazaʿa min al-sīrā al-ẓāhiriyya*, ed. al-Khuwayṭir, Riyāḍ 1396/1976. The *Manāḳib Banī Hāshim wa-mathālib Banī Umayya* (Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 577) and the *Kitāb Manāḳib al-ḥikam fī mathālib al-umam* by a somewhat presumptuous author known as Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 602/1204; see *Udabāʾ*, xiii, 72) testify once more to the use of *manāḳib* as an antonym of *mathālib* and as a synonym, here too, of *faḍāʾil* or of *maʾāthir/mafākhir*. These latter terms could without inconvenience be substituted for *manāḳib* in the titles of those works written in praise of the ʿAbbāsids which have just been mentioned, and of the following, which celebrate ruling families or political figures: *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī 'l-manāḳib al-Badriyya*, a *maḳāma* [*q.v.*] written in 791/1389 by al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*] for his master Badr al-Din (see C.E. Bosworth, *A maqāma on secretaryship*, in *BSOAS*, xxvii [1964], 291-5); *al-Ḥadāʾiḳ al-wardiyya fī manāḳib (wa-dhikr tarādjim) al-aʾimma al-Zaydiyya* by the already-mentioned Ḥamīd al-Maḥallī (Fuʾād Sayyid, 127), *al-Durr al-thamīn fī manāḳib Nūr al-Dīn* by Badr al-Dīn Ibn Ḳadī Shuhba (d. 874/1470 [see IBN ḲĀḌĪ SHUHBA]), of which numerous mss. exist (Brockelmann, S II, 25; Munadjdjid, 252-3), *al-Mashraʿ al-rawī fi manāḳib al-sādāt Āl Abī ʿAlwī* (ed. Cairo 1319) by al-Shillī (d. 1093/1682; see Fuʾād Sayyid, 246), *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān fī manāḳib Sayyidī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān*, written in 1263/1847 in honour of a member (d. 1250/1834-5) of the al-Ahdal [*q.v.*] Yemeni family by Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh Suhayl (Fuʾād Sayyid, 294), or indeed *al-Durr al-thamīn fī dhikr al-manāḳib wa 'l-waḳāʾiʿ li-Amīr al-Muslimīn ʿIyāḍ* (Fuʾād Sayyid, 305), a history of the revolt against the Ottomans of this *amīr* and his descendants up until the year 1288/1871, by Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Yamanī. Also to be mentioned, in this context, are the *Manāḳib-i Maḥmūd Pasha-yi Welī* on an Ottoman Grand Vizier (d. 879/1474 [*q.v.*]) and al-*Manāḳib al-Ibrāhīmiyya wa 'l-maʾāthir al-khidīwiyya* (ed. Cairo 1299/1882) by Abkāryūs (d. 1885 [see ISKANDER AGHA]) on the viceroy of Egypt Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. The natural gifts of the Yemenis are celebrated by al-Afḍal al-Rasūlī (d. 778/1377) in *al-ʿAṭāyā 'l-saniyya wa 'l-mawāhib al-haniyya fī 'l-manāḳib al-Yamaniyya* (Fuʾād Sayyid, 148), and reference is also made to a work of al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651), *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-(manāḳib) aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, ed. Dj. S. Djabbūr, Beirut 1945-9 (cf. Munadjdjid, 319-20).

To the examples of this genre others could be added which would only further complicate the preceding survey, involved as it is already, and intentionally so, since the titles are an indication of a constant fluctuation of the terminology. What emerges from them is simply a clear desire on the part of the authors to emphasise the remakable qualities of the persons whose lives they describe and the superior merits of the groups concerned. Conversely, there are a good many works which could be entitled *manāḳib*, for they contain laudatory biographies and even belong to a literature of hagiographic type, starting with the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* by Abū Nuʿaym (d. 430/1039 [*q.v.*]). Nevertheless, two important tendencies come to light in the usage of the term which is the subject of the present article.

Biographies of the founders of *madhāhib*.

Regarding the first of these tendencies, we are fortunate in that a connoisseur of Arabic literature in general of the calibre of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657 [see KĀTIB ČELEBI]), can help us to a clearer view of the subject by offering his own interesting conclusions. It happens that this bibliographer not only supplies the researcher with a long list of *manāḳib* (*Kashf*, ii, col. 1836-43; see also iv, 559-60), but also declares, referring to the authors of works belonging to this category, that the disciples of the different legal schools need to know, in order to imitate them, the *manāḳib*, the qualities (*shamāʾil*), the virtues (*faḍāʾil*), the behaviour (*sīra*) and the truth of the sayings (*aḳwāl*) of their founders, besides information regarding their genealogy, places of birth etc. Although in this passage, *manāḳib* could no doubt be rendered simply by "natural dispositions, character", it is plain that, for Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, the term has a specialised meaning in its application to a genre composed of detailed, edifying and exemplary biographies of the great *imāms*. In fact, although *faḍāʾil* is employed from time to time, notably by al-Maghāmī (d. 288/900) for Mālik b. Anas (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1949, iii, 274-5) and by Abu 'l-ʿArab (d. 333/945 [*q.v.*]) for the same *imām* and for Saḥnūn (see below), and although al-Dhahabī preferred *tardjama* for Abū Yūsuf, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Shāfiʿī (see Munadjdjid, 445), it is nevertheless *manāḳib* which prevails in this category for:

—Abū Ḥanīfa (d. *ca.* 150/767 [*q.v.*]): the impressive list contained in the *Kashf* (ii, cols. 1836-9), also includes compilations in Persian (ii, col. 1839) and in Turkish (iv, col. 560). Those of Brockelmann (S I, 285) and more especially of Sezgin (*GAS*, i, 411-12) are likewise well-stocked; their most significant contents are the works of al-Muwaffaḳ b. Ahmad al-Makkī (d. 588/1192) and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kardarī (d. 827/1424), *Manāḳib al-imām al-aʿẓam* (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1321) and of al-Suyūṭī, *Tabyīḍ al-ṣaḥīfa fī manāḳib Abī Ḥanīfa* (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1307). Also to be mentioned are al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933 [*q.v.*]); al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]), *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmān ...fī manāḳib al-imām Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān* (*Udabāʾ*, xix, 135); al-Bakrī (d. 568/1172; Brockelmann, S I, 549); Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200); al-Shāmī (d. 942/1536), *ʿUḳūd al-djumān fī manāḳib Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān* (numerous mss. in Cairo, Istanbul and Damascus; see Munadjdjid, 287-8); Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 953/1546 [*q.v.*]) *al-Amānī 'l-laṭīfa fī manāḳib Abī Ḥanīfa* (Munadjdjid, 291); Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haythamī (d. 973/1565 [*q.v.*]) see Brockelmann, S II, 528): al-ʿAdjlūnī (d. 1162/1749), *ʿIḳd al-laʾālī wa 'l-mardjān fī manāḳib Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān* (ms. Princeton 4225; see Munadjdjid, 351-2); anon., ms. Yale 1202; Abu 'l-Kāsim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm al-Ḥanafī, *Manāḳib Abī Ḥanīfa wa-ṣāḥibayhi* (ms. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, see *Ḥawliyyāt al-Djāmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, vii [1970], 153, no. 76).

—al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774 [*q.v.*]): Ibn Zayd (d. 870/1465; see Munadjdjid, 248), *Maḥāsin al-masāʿī fī manāḳib al-Awzāʿī*, ed. Shakīb Arslān, Cairo 1352 (see Brockelmann, S I, 308; O. Spies, in *ZS* [1935], 189 ff.; for the identification of the author, see *MMIA*, xx [1947], 187).

—Mālik b. Anas (d. 178/795 [*q.v.*]): besides the *Ta-*

zyīn of al-Suyūṭī (Brockelmann, S I, 297; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 458), one may mention al-Dīnawarī al-Miṣrī (d. 310/922; *Kashf*, ii, col. 1841), al-Zawāwī (Brockelmann, S II, 961) and al-Ḥanbalī (d. 909/1503; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 458).

—al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]) has benefited from a large number of collections of *manāḳib*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa alone (ii, cols. 1839-40) lists thirteen: al-Subkī (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 185), Brockelmann (S I, 304) and Sezgin (*GAS*, i, 480) mention several others. One of the most ancient is probably that of Abu 'l-Husayn al-Rāzī (d. 347/958; see Munadjdjid, 17-18), whose death Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa places in 454/1063, while Sezgin (*GAS*, i, 480; cf. Brockelmann, S I, 921) attributes the *Manāḳib al-Shāfiʿī* (ed. Cairo 1372/1953) to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]). It is also appropiate to mention Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 643/1245; see *Udabāʾ*, xix, 50; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 102-3); Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245; Munadjdjid, 83-4), *Ḥilyat al-Shāfiʿī* (ms. Ẓāhiriyya 3795), the title of which recalls that of Abū Nuʿaym; al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277 [*q.v.*]), *Manāḳib al-Shāfiʿī wa 'l-Bukhārī* (ms. Ulu Cami 2462; Munadjdjid, 113-4); Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373 [*q.v.*]), *Tardjamat* (or *Manāḳib*) *al-imām al-Shāfiʿī* (ms. Chester Beatty 3390; Munadjdjid, 204, 206-7); Badr al-Dīn al-Hāshimī (d. 826/1423; *Kashf*, iv, col. 560); Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1449 [*q.v.*]), *Tawālī 'l-taʾsīs bi-maʿālī Ibn Idrīs fī manāḳib ... al-Shāfiʿī* (ed. Būlāk 1301/1884).

—Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/355 [*q.v.*]) has been the subject of fewer collections than al-Shāfiʿī, but some are encountered (*Kashf*, ii, col. 1836; Brockelmann, S I, 309); Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 503-4), among which the following may be mentioned: al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066 [*q.v.*]), *Manāḳib al-imām Ibn Ḥanbal wa 'l-imām al-Shafiʿī* (*Kashf*; cf. Brockelmann, S I, 619, nos. 11-12; Sezgin, i, 503), al-Harawī (d. 481/1088), Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), *Manāḳib al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (ed. Cairo 1349/1931) and al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442 [*q.v.*]), *Manāḳib Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (Brockelmann, S II, 37; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 504).

To these monographs may be added the biographical dictionaries devoted to the disciples of a school. They usually start with an account of the founder, and most often bear the classical title *Ṭabaḳāt* [*q.v.*], but one encounters nevertheless, by al-Sharīf al-Ḥusaynī (d. 776/1374), *al-Maḳātib al-ʿaliyya fī manāḳib al-Shāfiʿiyya* (ms. Feyzallah 1525; see Munadjdjid, 211) and, by Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1448 [see IBN ḲĀḌĪ SHUHBA]), *Manāḳib al-Shāfiʿī wa-aṣḥābih* (= *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*), drawn from the *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* by al-Dhahabī (numerous mss.; see Munadjdjid, 238-9).

It has been observed (see above) that al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]) was associated with al-Shāfiʿī by al-Nawawī, although he belonged to no particular *madhhab*, and it will be noted not without interest that al-Dhahabī, whose capricious choice of titles has already been established, entitled *manāḳib* the biographies of the author of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and of Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778 [*q.v.*]), but *tardjama* those of the founders of the legal schools (see *Kashf*, iv, col. 560; Munadjdjid, 446).

On account of the specialisation of the *manāḳib* genre and the proscribing of *iʿtizāl*, one would hardly expect to find compilations of this type composed in honour of the Muʿtazilīs. On the other hand, partisans of al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935-6 [*q.v.*]) were entitled to the *Manāḳib al-Ashʿariyya* (*Kashf*, ii, col. 1835) by ʿAlī Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176 [see IBN ʿASĀKIR] and to the *Manāḳib al-miʾa min al-aʾimma al-Ashʿariyya* (*Kashf*, ii, col. 1841) by a certain al-Yāfiʿī (d. 868/1464).

Among the Ḥanbalīs, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]) was not slow to benefit from a favourable treatment, as three of his contemporaries dedicated compilations of *manāḳib* to him: Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 744/1343; see Munadjdjid, 157), *al-ʿUḳūd al-durriyya fī manāḳib shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya* (ed. Cairo 1356), Ibn Ḳudāma al-Maḳdisī (d. 745/1344; see Brockelmann, S II, 119) and al-Bazzār (d. 749/1349), *al-Aʿlām al-ʿaliyya fī manāḳib shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya*, ed. Munadjdjid, Beirut 1396/1976.

The Mālikism which prevails in North Africa owes much to one of its interpreters, Saḥnūn (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]), founder of a local legal school, to whose memory al-Khushanī (d. 371/981 [*q.v.*]) dedicated a compilation of *manāḳib*, after Abu 'l-ʿArab gave the title *faḍāʾil* to his biography and to that of Mālik, while he had written a *Kitāb Manāḳib Banī Tamīm*. Among the eminent representatives of Mālikism in Ifrīḳiya, al-Ḳābisī (d. 403/1012 [*q.v.*]) was the object of *manāḳib* (ed. H.R. Idris, Algiers 1959) on the part of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mālikī (d. 438/1046); a similar honour was awarded to his disciple Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 432 or 435/1040-3; see Idris, *Deux maitres de l'école kairouanaise*, in *AIEO Alger*, xiii [1955], 30-41) by a pupil of the latter, Ibn Saʿdūn (d. 485 or 486/1092-3; see Idris, *ibid.*, 35-6). It is appropriate in this context to stress the importance of biographical works relating to this Mālikī school which was so active in the Maghrib, especially *al-Iftikhār fī manāḳib fuḳahāʾ al-Ḳayrawān* by ʿAtīḳ al-Tudjībī (d. 422/1030; see Idris, *Deux juristes kairouanais*, in *AIEO Alger*, xii [1954], 153), the *Tartīb al-Madārik wa-taḳrīb al-masālik bi-maʿrifat aʿlām madhhab Mālik* (ed. A. Bakīr, Beirut 1967) by the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149 [*q.v.*]), which begins with a lengthy biography of Mālik and in which the articles on the leading *fuḳahāʾ* contain a paragraph entitled *faḍāʾiluh* (= *manāḳibuh*), and the *Maʿālim al-īmān fī maʿrifat ahl al-Ḳayrawān* by Ibn Nadjī (d. 839/1435 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), who took up (see ed. Tunis, iii, 262, 263) the *Maʿālim al-īmān fī manāḳib al-mashhūrīn min ʿulamāʾ al-Ḳayrawān* of al-Dabbāgh (d. 699/1300 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), already continued by Ibrāhīm al-ʿAwwānī (d. 720/1320), and is also furnished with Ḳayrawānī *manāḳib* such as those of Sīdī Abū Yūsuf al-Dahmānī or of Abū 'Ali al-Ḳadīdī. R. Brunschvig (*Ḥafṣides*, ii, 382), who quotes these last-named authors, reckons that the biographies of the *Maʿālim* "are closely linked to the *manāqib* genre", meaning that they tend towards hagiography.

Hagiography

This second tendency appears all the less astonishing as certain of these Ḳayrawānī jurists were drawn, from the beginning of the 4th/10th century, into the ascetic movement which held sway in Ifrīḳiya and died more or less in an odour of sanctity or as "martyrs" in the ranks of the insurgents led by Abū Yazīd (d. 336/947 [*q.v.*]): it is thus in this period that the *manāḳib* genre begins in the Maghrib to take on a gradually more marked hagiographical tone. Featuring prominently among these persons is al-Rabīʿ b. al-Ḳaṭṭān (d. 334/946 who, having renounced his activities as a *faḳīh*, withdrew from the world but was one of the instigators of the revolt and attained the accolade of martyrdom (see Idris, *Deux juristes*, 129-30) in such a way that his *manāḳib* were gathered together by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Adjdābī (d. 432/1040) who dedicated monographs of the same type to another "martyr", al-Mammasī (d. 333/944), also to al-Sabāʾī (d. 356/966) whose piety and asceticism has been noticed (see Idris, *op. laud.*, 126-7, 133-4). Two other Ifrīḳiyans whose merits are widely celebrated,

al-Djabanyānī (d. 369/979) and the patron saint of Tunis, Muḥriz b. Khalaf (Sīdī Maḥrez, d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), have been the object, through the offices of, respectively, al-Labīdī (d. 440/1048) and al-Fārisī (d. *ca.* 440-50/1048-58), of hagiographies which have been published and translated by H.R. Idris (*Manāqib d'Abū Isḥâq al-Jabanyânî par Abû l-Qâsim al-Labîdî et Manâqib de Muḥriz b. Ḫalaf par Abû Ṭâhir al-Fârisî*, Tunis 1959, 111-20; one can also find there a short exposé on the genre studied in the present article and a description of several mss. containing various collections of *manāḳib*, as well as the text and the translation of those concerning (161-2, 329-30) Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 479/1086) and (163-7, 331-3) Abū Zayd al-Manāṭiḳī; see also Yūsuf al-Ḥanāshī, *Kutub al-manāḳib wa-maẓāhir min al-ḥayāt al-idjtimāʿiyya bi-Ifrīḳiya fi 'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ li 'l-hidjra/al-ʿāshir mīlādī*, in *al-Fikr*, xxvii/6 [1982], 111-20).

From that time onward, the development of hagiolatry, then of religious orders, favoured in the Muslim world as a whole the evolution and the rich proliferation of a specialised *manāḳib* genre, and there is scarcely a single famous ascetic, venerated saint, founder of a *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] or eminent Ṣūfī who did not earn his own monograph or at very least an article in general works, the titles of which do not necessarily contain the word *manāḳib*; this is the case, as has been observed, of the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* by Abū Nu ʿaym or of the Indian and other *Tadhkiras* [*q.v.*], or indeed, in a later period, the *Akhbār al-akhyār* (ed. Dihlī 1309/1891) by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642 [*q.v.*]). But reference may be made to, for example, the *Manāḳib al-abrār min maḥāsin al-akhyār* by Ibn Khamīs al-Mawṣilī al-Shāfiʿi (d. 552/1157; Brockelmann, S I, 776), the *Manāḳib al-abrār fī maḳāmāt al-akhyār* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shāfiʿī (d. 676/1277-8; *Kashf*, iv, col. 559), the *Manāḳib al-ʿibād min ṣulaḥāʾ al-bilād* by al-Ṣayrafī, of whom Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa says (ii, col. 1843) that he took some of his biographies from the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa* by Ibn al-Djawzī, the *Manāḳib al-aṣfiyāʾ* (ed. Calcutta 1895) by Shu ʿayb b. Djalāl al-Dīn Manīrī (after the 8th/14th century) and, in Turkish, the *Manāḳibi-awliyāʾ* of Sharīfī-zāde (d. 1040/1630-1; *Kashf*, iv, 560).

The eminent eastern saint Uways al-Ḳaranī (d. 37/657 [*q.v.*]), who is not lacking in biographies (see for example Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, ii, 79-87), has, omissions excepted, only at a late stage been the object of a monograph, and in Turkish, by al-Lāmiʿī (d. 938/1531-2 [*q.v.*], *Manāḳib-i Ḥaḍrat-i Uways al-Ḳaranī*; for mss. see G. K. Alpay, *Lāmiʿī Chelebi and his works*, in *JNES*, xxxvi [1976], 82, no. 9. The legend of Abū Ayyūb (d. 52/672) is recounted by Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd Allāh in *al-Āthār al-madjīdiyya fi 'l-manāḳib al-khālidiyya* (ed. Istanbul 1257/1841), and Ibn al-Djawzī celebrates the *manāḳib* of Maʿrūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815-16 [*q.v.*]), ed. S.M. al-Djumaylī, in *al-Mawrid*, ix/4 (1401/1981), 609-80. On Dhu 'l-Nūn (d. 246/861 [*q.v.*]) we are aware of *al-Kawkab al-durrī fī manāḳib Dhi 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī*, attributed to Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), but not mentioned by O. Yahya (*Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*; a ms. of this work exists in Leiden, see van Koningsveld, 108), while Ibn ʿArabī himself has *manāḳib* composed in his honour (*Kashf*, ii, col. 1843), in particular by al-Suyūṭī (d. 956/1549) according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ii, col. 1835). The great saint ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (d. 561/1166 [*q.v.*]) naturally has his place in the hagiographical dictionaries, and it is even said that the *Mirʾāt al-zamān* by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī supplied al-Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326) with the material for a collection of his *manāḳib* (*Kashf*, ii, col. 1842), which would be a further indication of the close links that have already been observed between general biography and hagiography when religious persons are concerned. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa lists numerous other monographs on the eponymous founder of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*], notably *Asnā 'l-mafākhir fī manāḳib al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir* by al-Yāfiʿī (d. 768/1367 [*q.v.*]). Another founder of an order, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rifāʿī (d. 578/1183 [see AL-RIFĀʿĪ]) soon earned his *manāḳib* from the pen of al-Wāsiṭī (d. 589/1194; see Brockelmann, S I, 781, who also mentions the compilation by Djaʿfar al-Barzandjī, 1179/1765). For their part, the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*], and in particular their first *shaykh*, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273 [*q.v.*]) and his successors, quickly inspired Aflākī (8th/14th century [*q.v.*]) to compose, in Persian, the *Manāḳib al- ʿārifīn wa-marātib al-kāshifīn* (French tr. Cl. Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918-22; ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1959); numerous other religious persons have their *manāḳib* written in Turkish (see *Kashf*, ii, col. 1842, iv, col. 560); for instance, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak presents in *JA*, cclxvii/3-4 (1979) a Turkish *mathnawī* of Elwān Čelebī (after 761/1360), Menāḳib 'ul-ḳudsīya fī menāṣib 'il-unsīya: *une source importante pour l'histoire religieuse de l'Anatolie au XIIIe siècle*, devoted to Baba Ilyās and his descendants. The saint so much respected in Egypt, Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276 [*q.v.*]), has been honoured by various compilations (see Brockelmann, S I, 808), but ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1028/1634-5), no doubt judging *manāḳib* insufficiently expressive, entitled his *al-Djawāhir al-saniyya fi 'l-karāmāt al-Aḥmadiyya* (numerous editions). Ibn Ḳiwām (7th/13th century) owes to his grandson the *Manāḳib al-shaykh Abī Bakr Ibn Ḳiwām* (mss. Ẓāhiriyya 5398, 6951), while Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546 [*q.v.*]) is content to entitle his biography *Tuḥfat al-kirām fī tardjamat Abī Bakr Ibn Ḳiwām* (Munadjdjid, 291). Naḳshband (d. 791/1389 [*q.v.*]), eponymous founder of the Naḳshbandiyya, speedily acquired his *manāḳib* through the offices of al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413; *Kashf*, ii, col. 1841), while the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] have been honoured by Muḥammad b. al-Makkī in *al-Nafaḥāt al-raḥmāniyya fī manāḳib ridjāl al-Khalwatiyya* (Istanbul 1927) and by Ibn ʿAzzūz al-Tūnisī (*Kashf*, iv, col. 560). Ibn al-Bazzāz al-Ardabīlī (8th/14th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.] wrote a biography of Ṣafī 'l-Dīn, founder of the Ṣafawiyya order and eponymous ancestor of the Ṣafawids, *al-Mawāhib al-saniyya fī manāḳib al-Ṣafawiyya*, or *Ṣafwat al-ṣafāʾ* (lith. Bombay 1329/1911). The patron saint of Aden or ʿAdan, Abū Bakr Ibn Aydarus (d. 914/1508 [see ʿAYDARUS]), found his panegyrist in the person of his contemporary Ḥusayn b. Ṣiddīḳ al-Ahdal (d. 903/1497 [see AL-AHDAL]), author of the *Mawāhib al-ḳuddūs fī manāḳib Ibn ʿAydarūs*. Al-Djaʿfarī (d. after 1157/1744) wrote *al-Ṭabīb al-mudāwī bi-manāḳib al-shaykh Aḥmad al-Naḥlawī* on a saint who died in 1157/1744 (see Munadjdjid, 347), and *mullā* Niẓām al-Dīn is the author of the *Manāḳib-i Razzāḳiyya* in honour of the *pīr* Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ [see FARANGĪ MAḤALL in Suppl.]. In the 13th/19th century, the vogue for *manāḳib* was perpetuated in the east. The Egyptian Ṣūfī saint Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī (d. 1241/1825) inspired a collective work, *al-Nūr al-waḍḍāʾ fī manāḳib wa-karāmāt ʿumdat al-awliyāʾ Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī* (ed. Cairo 1347/1928), al-Duwayhī (d. 1874 [*q.v.* in Suppl.] has left behind a biography of his master Aḥmad b. Idrīs, partially reproduced in a compilation of Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Madanī, *al-Muntaḳā al-nafīs fī manāḳib Ḳuṭb dāʾirat al-taḳdīs Aḥmad b. Idrīs*, Cairo 1960, Khalīfa al-Safṭī (d. 1296/1879) is the author of

the *manāḳib al-shaykh* ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Ḳayātī (d. 1258/1842; ms. Yale 1209), and Ḥusayn al-Djisr dedicated the *Nuzhat al-fikr fī manāḳib mawlānā 'l-ʿārif bi-llāh taʿālā ḳuṭb zamānih wa-ghayth awānih al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Djisr* (ed. Beirut 1306) to his father, who was a Syrian Ṣūfī (d. 1262/1846) and a disciple of al-Ṣāwī. Al-Ḥiṣāfī (d. 1910 [*q.v.* in Suppl.], founder of the *ṭarīḳa ḥiṣāfiyya*, has found his hagiographer in the person of ʿAlī al-Djaʿfarāwī, author of *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī fī manāḳib al-Sayyid Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī*, Cairo 1330/1911-12.

Rich though the list of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa is, it is still incomplete, for it is highly probable that many hagiographies of a more or less popular nature, which must have circulated in Ṣūfī circles, have escaped this conscientious bibliographer, without counting, of course, those which appeared at a later time. Whatever the reason, he makes scant reference to the collections of *manāḳib* composed in North Africa and particularly in Morocco, which was a breeding-ground of saints and marabouts. Just as hitherto there has been no attempt to cite all the relevant titles or to go beyond the 19th century, so we will confine ourselves to discussion of those Maghribī works which appear to be the most characteristic.

The earliest compilations of Ifrīḳiyan *manāḳib* have already been mentioned. The Moroccan saint al-Sabtī (d. 601/1205 [*q.v.*]), whose memory has remained very much alive in the Maghrib, inspired a number of them (mss. in Rabat, Algiers, Tunis, Paris etc.; see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscripts arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, no. 403; Brockelmann, S II, 1013). ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh (d. 625/1227-8 [*q.v.*]) has been honoured by al-Warrāḳ; Abū Sa ʿīd Khalaf al-Bādjī (d. 629/1230) enjoyed the same distinction, after 633/1235, through the offices of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥawwārī (see the catalogue of the mss. left by Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-Djāmi ʿa al-tūnisiyya*, vii [1970], no. 205; Public Library of Tunis, ms. ar. no. 30). Al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258 [*q.v.*]), his disciples and even his grotto situated in the Djabal al-Zallādj (ms. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, no. 655), have been the object of collections of *manāḳib* which have survived (mss. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb nos. 45, 321, 655). In the same period (7th/13th century), there lived in Tunis the saint ʿĀʾisha al-Mannūbiyya [*q.v.*], whose *manāḳib* have been published (Tunis 1344/1925). To a Tunisian saint of a later time, Sīdī Ben ʿArūs (d. 868/1463; see R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 341-50), ʿUmar al-Rashīdī dedicated the *Ibtisām al-ghurūs wa-washy al-ṭurūs bi-manāḳib al-shaykh Abi 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿArūs* (ed. Tunis 1303); to a member al-Asmar (d. 981/1574 [*q.v.*]), of the order of the ʿArūsiyya founded by the above-named, numerous compilations have likewise been dedicated, among which that of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Munastīrī, *Tanḳīḥ rawḍat al-azhār ... fī manāḳib Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar*, was published in Tunis in 1325/1907-8. A large number of monographs on Tunisian saints have yet to be published. Two mss. of the Great Mosque of Tunis (nos. 1697 and 3875) contain some fifteen of them, and in the catalogue of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb manuscripts more than half-a-dozen *madjmūʿas* are to be found (nos. 45, 205, 321, 519, 520, 541, 655) comprising a total of some 45 texts (some of them in duplicate or triplicate); it is likely that private libraries have also preserved a certain number of them.

On writings of this genre dating from the Ḥafṣid period (627-982/1229-1574), R. Brunschvig (*op. laud.*, ii, 381) makes a judgement which is capable of wider application: "Numerous and of living and of varying dimensions, often anonymous, are these lives of saints or *manāḳib*, a genre which is, moreover, fairly monotonous, where virtues and miracles are complacently enumerated on the testimony of witnesses, living or dead, who are named. Works of panegyrists or of devotees, they should not be expected to show any critical tendency, and some of the historical information that they purport to contain is to be treated with caution. Often composed by the semi-literate who address a poorly-educated public, they are written in simple language, as close as possible to the spoken idiom ... In this sense, they constitute linguistic documents of some interest. Similarly, the insights that they supply, unwittingly, on the toponomy and the 'realia' of their period are by no means to be disregarded, but above all they throw a useful light on the mentality and customs of these people, insignificant folk who congregated around the mystical shaikhs, eager to benefit from their *baraka*."

In the course of the ensuing period, the cult of saints did not weaken in Tunisia, but the activity of the hagiographers seems to have declined somewhat. A Abdesselem (*Les historiens tunisiens des XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, Tunis 1973, 495) notes that this literary genre "contains very few works", and, although monographs were probably still being composed, in addition to *al-Fatḥ al-munīr fī taʿrīf al-ṭarīḳa al-shābbiyya* by Muḥammad al-Masʿūdī al-Shābbī (10-11th/16th-17th century), the third chapter of which contains the miracles and prophecies of the founder of the Shābbiyya fraternity and of his sons, he points out and analyses only two hagiographical works: the first (149-53) is the *Nūr al-armāsh fī manāḳib Sayyidī (Sīdī) Abu* (sic) *'l-Ghayth al-Ḳashshāsh* (d. 1031/1621) written in 1032 by al-Muntaṣir b. Abī Liḥya of Gafsa, who put together a number of miracles (*karāmāt*) "all of them equally implausible" (according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, col. 1835, a certain Muḥammad b. Sha ʿbān al--Ṭarābulusī, d. 1020/1611, had already recorded the *manāḳib* of this saint); the second (385-6) is the *Takmīl al-ṣulaḥāʾ wa 'l-aʿyān li-maʿālim al-īmān fī awliyāʾ al-Ḳayrawān* (ms. Paris ENLOV, 452) by ʿĪsā al-Kinānī al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 1292/1875), which purports to be a sequel to the *Maʿālim al-īmān* by Ibn al-Nādjī (see above) and contains "material borrowed from earlier *manāqib*".

Travel narratives of a later period [see RIḤLA] are not lacking in hagiographical tendencies, but this does not apply to that of al-Sanūsī (d. 1318/1900 [*q.v.*]), who is nevertheless the author of numerous texts which A. Chenoufi (*Un savant tunisien du XIXe siècle: Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, sa vie et son œuvre*, Tunis 1977, 181-6) classifies under the heading "works of a hagiographical nature"; they do not bear the title *manāḳib*, but the *Tuḥfat al-akhyār bi-mawlid al-Mukhtār*, where there is an account of "the miraculous happenings which attended the birth of the Prophet, and those which characterised his youth", and *al-Mawrid al-maʿīn fī dhikr al-arbaʿīn*, which contains the laudatory biographies of the forty companions of al-Shādhilī (see above) testify to the permanence of this literary genre in Tunisia.

In Morocco, hagiolatry made its appearance at approximately the same time as in Ifrīḳiya, thus well before the springing-up, in the 9th/15th century, of the wave of mysticism which was to spread throughout North Africa and before the evolution of maraboutism as a characteristic of religious activity. In fact, the first elements of Moroccan hagiography appear as early as the 7th/13th century in the form of dictionaries such as the *Tashawwuf ilā [maʿrifat] ridjāl al-taṣawwuf* (ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958) of Ibn al-Zayyāt al-Tādlī (d. 627/1229-30) which contains 277 biographies of san-

tons and Ṣūfīs of the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries, or *al-Maḳṣad al-sharīf ... fī dhikr ṣulaḥāʾ al-Rīf* (tr. G.S. Colin, in *AM*, xxvi [1926]), of al-Bādisī (d. after 722/1322 [*q.v.*]), which describes the lives of some forty saints of the Rīf, of whom the majority are now forgotten; among this number, one who features (88-93) is an Andalusian named Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳaysī al-Yuḥānisī (7th/13th century), who was the master of al-Shādhilī and to whom is dedicated the *Tuḥfat al-mughtarib bi-bilād al-Maghrib fī karāmāt al-shaykh Abī Marwān* by Aḥmad al-Ḳashtālī (ed. Madrid 1974, under the title *Milagros de Abū Marwān al-Yuḥānisī*, by F. de la Granja, who stresses the rarity of words of this type in Spain). In the 8th/14th century, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī dedicated to the Marīnid sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan (767-74/1366-72) *al-Salsal al ʿadhb wa 'l-manhal al-aḥlā* on the forty saints revered in Fez, Meknès and Salé (*Chorfa*, 222-3; ms. in Leiden, see van Koningsveld, 94). Aḥmad b. ʿĀshir al-Ḥāfī (d. 1163/1750; see *Chorfa*, 313-14) is the author of a hagiographical work on his homonym, the patron saint of Salé (d. 764 or 765/1362) or 1363), the *Tuḥfat al-zāʾir bi-baʿd manāḳib Sayyidī (Sīdī) al-Ḥādjdj Aḥmad b. ʿĀshir al-Ḥāfī* (ms. in Leiden, see van Koningsveld, 96). Ibn Ḳunfudh al-Ḳusanṭīnī (d. 810/1407-8 [*q.v.*]) uses *manāḳib* in the sense of "prodigies" when he gives the title *Taḥṣīl al-manāḳib fī takmīl al-maʾārib* (ms. in Rabat) to a commentary on his astronomical treatise, the *Taysīr/Tashīl al-maṭālib fī taʿdīl al-kawākib*, but curiously, he refrains from employing the term in the *Uns al-faḳīr wa- ʿizz al-ḥaḳīr*, which is a biography of the patron saint of Tlemcen Abū Maydan (d. 594/1197 [*q.v.*]) and of his disciples (ed. M. al-Fāsī and A. Faure, Rabat 1965).

On account of the often-quoted *ḥadīth: bi-dhikr al-ṣulaḥāʾ tanzil al-raḥma* "mention of the virtuous (= saints) makes mercy descend", biographical literature developed to a considerable extent in Morocco under the Sharīfian dynasties, and the *manāḳib* genre, even though this term is not always used, plays a significant role in the form both of hagiographical dictionaries and of monographs of saints or at least of persons whose memory is revered. To become familiar with the extent of the phenomenon, it is sufficient to peruse *Les historiens des Chorfa* by Lévi-Provençal (from p. 220); numerous works of this type have been mentioned at the beginning of this article, and we confine ourselves here to reference to those which seem particularly representative.

A relatively ancient hagiography, dating from the 8th/14th century, bears a title devoid of ambiguity (*Chorfa*, 221); *al-Minhādj al-wāḍiḥ fī taḥḳīḳ karāmāt Abī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ*, by the great-grandson of this disciple (d. 631/1234) of Abū Madyan. The term *manāḳib* is observed as appearing to introduce an account of the lives of two saints of Aghmāt [*q.v.*] by al-Hazmīrī al-Marrākushī (*Chorfa*, 223); *Ithmid al-ʿaynayn wa-nuzhat al-nāẓirayn fī manāḳib al-akhawayn Abī Zayd wa-Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Hazmīriyyayn* (d. respectively in 706 or 707/1306-8 and 678/1280). In the 10th/16th century, the Djazūlī [*q.v.*] movement, of which the spiritual line stretches back to ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh (see above), found its historian in the person of Ibn ʿAskar (d. 986/1578; [*q.v.*]), author of the *Dawḥat al-nāshir li-maḥāsin man kān bi 'l-Maghrib min mashāyikh al-ḳarn al-ʿāshir*, (lith. Fās 1309/1892; ed. M. Ḥādjdjī, Rabat 1396/1976), which is a catalogue of *shaykhs* to whom, as a group, "was allotted a particle of sanctity" (*Chorfa*, 234); another catalogue, from which was drawn the *ʿĀrif al-munna* of the above-mentioned Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, was moreover entitled *Mumtiʿ al-asmāʿ bi-manāḳib al-shaykh al-Djazūlī wa-man lahu min al-atbāʿ*. The great Moroccan saint Abū Yaʿazzā (d. 572/1177 [*q.v.*]), who was the subject of a long article in the *Tashawwuf* (195-205), inspired another al-Tādlī (d. 1013/1604), to write a monograph, the *Kitāb al-Muʿzā fī manāḳib Abī Yaʿzā* (ms. in Rabat; see *Chorfa*, 239-40). Ibn Raysūn al-ʿAlamī (d. 1055/1645) is the author of the *Manāḳib al-Raysūniyyīn* on his father and his paternal uncles (Hajji, 520). To Ibn ʿAyshūn al-Sharrāṭ (d. 1109/1697) is attributed *al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir al-anfās fī akhbār al-ṣāliḥin min ahl Fās* (ms. in Rabat; see Hajji, 712). The *Ṣafwat man intashar min akhbār ṣulaḥāʾ al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar* (lith. Fās n.d.) by al-Ifrānī (d. 1151/1738-9 [*q.v.*]) is a catalogue of Moroccan saints, forming a sequel to the *Dawḥa* of Ibn ʿAskar. A Syrian emigré in Morocco, Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī (d. 1120/1708) is the author of *al-Durr al-nafīs wa 'l-nūr al-anīs fī manāḳib al-Imām Idrīs b. Idrīs* (lith. Fās 1300, 1304; see *Chorfa*, 287). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, who has already been mentioned on account of the fact that, like al-Ifrānī, he preferred *akhbār* to *manāḳib*, nevertheless also wrote the *Bustān al-adhhān fī manāḳib al-shaykh Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān* ;(ms. in Rabat) on the saint and poet in *malḥūn* al-Madjdhūb [*q.v.*]. Also to be mentioned is *al-Murkī/Muraḳḳī fī baʿd manāḳib al-ḳuṭb al-Sayyid Maḥammad al-Sharḳī* (12th/18th century?) by his descendant ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Sharḳī (ms. in Rabat); and *al-Dhahab al-ibrīz fī manāḳib al-shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* by al-Lamaṭī (d. 1156/1743 [*q.v.*]) devoted to the Fāsī saint called al-Dabbāgh (d. 1131/1719), lith. at Cairo in 1278/1861, printed at Būlāḳ in 1292/1875 and at Cairo in 1304/1886. The Ḳādirīs [*q.v.*] left to posterity numerous monographs of saints and prominent members of their family. One of them, ʿAbd al-Salām (1110/1698), is the author of the *Muʿtamad al-rāwī fī manāḳib walī Allāh Aḥmad al-Shāwī*, on a popular saint of Fās (d. 1014/1605), and of the *Nuzhat al-fikr fī manāḳib al-shaykhayn Sayyidī (Sīdī) Maḥammad wa-wālidih sayyidī (Sīdī) Abī Bakr*, on the founder of the *zāwiya* of al-Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and his son (see *Chorfa*, 278); the wonderful history of this *zāwiya* is recorded by al-Tāzī (d. 1247/1831-2) in the *Nuzhat al-akhyār al-marḍiyyīn fī manāḳib al-ʿulamā al-Dilāʾiyyīn al-Bakriyyīn* (ms. in Rabat). The Ashrāf (Shurafāʾ) of Wazzān [*q.v.*] have, in their own right, been the object of several complications: ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḳādirī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Ḳādiriyya fī manāḳib al-Wazzāniyyīn wa 'l-Shādhiliyyīn* (ms. in Rabat); Ḥamdūn al-Ṭāhirī (d. 1191/1777), *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān bi-baʿd manāḳib shurafāʾ Wazzān*, lith. Fās 1324/1906, with, in the margins, *al-Kawkab al-as ʿad fī manāḳib Sayyidinā wa-Mawlānā ʿAlī b. Muḥammad* [*al-Wazzānī*] (d. 1226/1811), of a 19th century author, Abū Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Miknāsī (see *Chorfa*, 327), Muḥammad al-Ruhūnī (d. 1230/1815) likewise collected the *manāḳib* of this last-named *sharīf* (see M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 279). As early as 1214/1799, Ḥarāzim was commending the merits of the founder of the Tīdjāniyya [*q.v.*] in the *Bulūgh al-amānī fī manāḳib al-shaykh al-Tīdjānī* (d. 1230/1815) which was published in Cairo in 1345/1926-7, with a different title. To conclude, attention may also be drawn to the *Manāḳib al-shaykh Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍīkī* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍīkī al-Djazūlī (d. 1189/1775), the *Manāḳib al-ṣulaḥāʾ* (see Lakhdar, 259) by Muḥammad al-Tāwudī Ibn Sūda (d. 1209/1795) and the *Manāḳib al-ʿAkkārī* (d. 1118/1707) by one of his descendants (d. 1304/1886); a ms. of it exists in Rabat. Finally, it will be noted that Ḥamdūn b. al-Ḥādjdj (d. 1232/1817 [see IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ in Suppl.]), who was in no sense a saint, also earned his *Manāḳib* (ms. in Rabat), which proves that this key-word was

not always felt, even in the 19th century, necessarily to imply the accomplishment of miracles.

As may be observed through a perusal of the intentionally-abridged list which precedes, several hagiographers are descendants of a saint or a *shaykh*; possessing sufficient education, they were no doubt able by themselves to put into shape the oral or written testimony as well as assembled family documents. On the other hand, many poorly-educated Moroccans devoted themselves to similar researches, but were obliged to entrust the dossier thus compiled to some learned individual, with instructions to compose the monograph which they wished to dedicate to the memory of their ancestor; E. Lévi-Provençal (*Chorfa*, 49, n. 1) cites an example of the latter procedure of which he has had direct knowledge, but it is known that others exist. Thus the libraries, especially the private ones, contain, among others, a number of these lives of saints which R. Brunschvig finds monotonous because the portraits of the individuals whom they honour are repeated without any great regard for originality. In general, writes Lévi-Provençal (50), although one may encounter "some accounts of events which seem distorted and tending towards the miraculous, it should be recognised that, in the majority of cases, the men whose lives are presented here are quite ordinary mortals. The true legend of the saint is not found in the written hagiographies, so to speak; it resides in the spirit of the uneducated masses. Popular hagiolatry often has little in common with compilations of *manâqib*. In the latter, the saint is above all a very orthodox, devout and ascetic Muslim; his biographers endow him with the nature of an intercessor; he sometimes has the ebullient spirit of a mysticism which brings him close to unity with the divine ... It is in the social role which they play in the land that the Moroccan marabouts gradually appear through the monographs. It is precisely here that the interest of the latter resides. This general observation also provides an explanation as to why female saints, who enjoy a widespread popular cult in Morocco, are almost ignored by the learned national hagiography". It will be noted, however, as exceptions confirming the rule, that a number of articles relating to Moroccan women, often anonymous, feature in the hagiographical dictionaries, particularly in the *Tashawwuf*, that there exist in the Sūs the *Manāḳib* of al-Sayyida Maryam bint Mas ʿūd al-Sūsī al-Samlālī (d. 1165/1751) by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Adrīzī (d. 1168/1754) and that al-Kuntī (d. 1224/1810 [see KUNTA]) honoured both his parents in one tribute, *al-Ṭarīfa wa 'l-tālida min karamāt al-shaykhayn al-wālid wa 'l-wālida* (ms. B.N. Paris 5511).

At the end of this inevitably limited catalogue of works which may be regarded as belonging in general to the *manāḳib* genre, it is possible to summarise its evolution as follows.

Since the earliest centuries of Islam, *manāḳib*, which is not yet a key-word, appears, concurrently with other terms which may be neutral *(tardjama, akhbār, taʿrīf)* or more expressive (*faḍā ʾil, mafākhir, maʾāthir*), in the titles of individual biographies or of biographical compilations whose principal aim is to offer to the reader a moral portrait and information on the noble actions of the individuals who constitute their subject or on the superior merits of a certain group. This concurrence is perpetuated over the centuries, although *manāḳib* clearly tends towards specialisation. In fact, from the 4th/10th century onwards, both in Ifrīḳiya and in other Islamic countries this term is quite regularly applied to laudatory biographies of the *imāms* who founded the great legal schools and played a fundamental role in the elaboration of the *Sharīʿa*. Like the *faḍāʾil* of the Companions of the Prophet, the *manāḳib* of the *imāms* and of their leading disciples are aimed towards the edification of the community, which is thus invited to acquire their real or supposed virtues and scrupulously to follow their example. However, hagiolatry which begins to emerge at this time and subsequently expands to a considerable extent, is concerned to recount the lives of saints whose memory has not yet been effaced, while the gradual foundation of religious orders, a gradual process over the years, leads to the proliferation of *shaykhs* who are to a greater or lesser extent tinged with an aura of sanctity; thus the *manāḳib* genre takes on an increasingly marked hagiographical nature, and the term which designates it, having been applied to the qualities and actions and behaviour of any human being, however little virtuous, becomes synonymous, in the public mind, with prodigies, even more with miracles performed by a saint recognised as such, or by a Ṣūfī, a marabout or indeed by a simple mortal to whom, rightly or wrongly, miraculous gifts are attributed.

Systematic research into the bibliographical catalogues, of biographical works and of general histories of Islamic literature, as well as a more detailed examination of texts bearing the title *manāḳib*, would certainly serve to bring into sharper focus the preceding outline. Just as the study of the *ṭabaḳāt* genre undertaken by I. Hafsi (in *Arabica*, xxiii/3 [1976], 227-65 and xxiv/1-2 [1977], 1-41, 150-86) has shown how a term as simple as the plural of *ṭabaḳa* has undergone, in the sphere of biographical literature, an astonishing semantic evolution, so parallel researches into the *manāḳib* genre deserve to be undertaken, seeing that it involves a delicate and ultimately quite complex concept.

Bibliography: The principal sources have been cited in the article. What is offered here is a simple reminder of the titles of a few works to which reference has repeatedly been made: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1940-7; A. Fuʾād Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane*, IFAO, Cairo 1974; P. Sj. van Koningveld, *Ten Arabic manuscript-volumes acquired by the Leiden University Library after 1957*, in E. van Donzel (ed.), *Studies on Islam*, Amsterdam-London 1974; M. Hajji, *L'activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque sa ʿdide*, Rabat 1976; S. al-Munadjdjid, *Mu ʿdjam al-muʾarrikhīn al-dimashkiyyīn*, Beirut 1398/1978.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-MANĀMA, the capital city of the amirate of Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] in the Persian Gulf. The city is located at latitude 26° 13′ N and longitude 50° 35′ E, on the north-eastern coast of the island of Baḥrayn, which was formerly known as Awāl. The shallow waters between Manāma and the neighbouring island of Muḥarraḳ [*q.v.*] have long been used to provide good shelter for native craft. It has been suggested that the name Manāma (A. "a place of resting, sleeping") may reflect the proximity of a number of prehistoric burial mounds.

The early history of Manāma remains obscure, for reliable references are few and their topographical nomenclature is both vague and confusing. When the Portuguese seized Baḥrayn in the 10th/16th century, they built their major fortification on the coast at Ḳalʿat al-ʿAdjādj, some 4 miles west of Manāma. The Persians, who wrested control from the Portuguese in 1011/1602, held the archipelago for much of the

following turbulent period of 180 years, during which time they erected a defensive position on the current side of Manāma. In 1197/1783 the Āl Khalīfa [*q.v.*] clan of the ʿUtūb tribe invaded the islands from Zubāra in Ḳaṭar, and after a siege of some 2 months the Persians were expelled from that fort. The Āl Khalīfa — who remain the ruling dynasty — did not, however, enjoy an unchallenged accession to power, and the Āl Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] rulers of ʿUman mounted a series of expeditions against Baḥrayn between 1214/1799 and 1244/1828 during which time the small town was attacked and occupied on several occasions.

Over the next century, Manāma gradually became an important entrepôt port serving much of eastern Arabia, though its fortunes fluctuated in response to the vagaries and violence of local and regional political rivalries. Although Manāma was becoming the commercial centre of the archipelago, the Āl Khalīfa usually resided at Muḥarraḳ, which was also the harbour used by the island's large pearling fleet. The ruling family used the fort at Manāma only during the hottest months of the year, and it was not until the second decade of the 20th century that the town became the true capital of the amirate.

European activities had, however, been concentrated at Manāma since the end of the 19th century. In 1893 the Dutch Reformed Church of America established a mission in the town, and in 1902 that organisation built a hospital and a dispensary. A British Assistant Political Agent was appointed and took up residence in 1900; four years later the post was upgraded to a Political Agency. According to Lorimer, the population of Manāma in 1905 was approximately 25,000, of whom 60% were Shīʿī and 40% Sunnī Muslims. There were, in addition, a small number of Hindu, Jewish and Christian residents.

The development of the modern city began after the First World War. In 1920 a municipal administration was established, educational facilities at the primary school level were created, and electricity supplies were inaugurated in 1930. The discovery of oil at Djabal al-Dukhkhān in 1932, and the subsequent development of that resource, helped to stave off the otherwise serious economic and social consequences of the decline in pearl fishing. In 1935 the British established a naval base at Raʾs al-Djufayr, some 2 miles southeast of Manāma, following withdrawal from the Persian island of Handjām. This base later became the major centre of British naval activity in the Gulf. In 1942 a causeway road was built linking Manāma with Muḥarraḳ. In 1946 the British Political Residency was transferred from Būshahr to Manāma. By 1950, the population of the town had grown to over 40,000 and the following three decades have seen even greater expansion and development. By 1981 the population was believed to be over 121,000, and Manāma had become an important regional centre for banking, commerce and communications.

Bibliography: As there are no works devoted exclusively to Manāma, the reader is referred to the bibliographical sections of the entries for BAḤRAYN and ĀL-KHALĪFA, which list the standard sources. The following recent monographs contain some additional information. E.A. Nakleh, *Bahrein: political development in a modernizing society*, Lexington 1976; M.G. Rumaihi, *Bahrain: social and political change since the First World War*, London 1976; Fuad I. Khuri, *Tribe and state in Bahrein: the transformation of social and political authority in an Arab state*, Chicago 1980 and Mahdi Abdalla al-Tajir, *Language and linguistic origins in Bahrain: the Baḥārnah dialect of Arabic*, London 1982. (R.M. BURRELL)

MANĀR, MANĀRA (A), "lighthouse", an elevated place where a light or beacon is established; the means of marking (with fire, originally) routes for caravans or for the army in war; lampstand ("candelabrum", archaic meaning); minaret (in this sense normally in the fem., *manāra*, whereas for "lighthouse", in both the masc. and fem., *manār*, *manāra*). In some modern Arabic dictionaries we also find *fanār*. It is by chance that this latter word resembles *phare* (French), *faro* (Italian, Spanish, which derive their origin from Pharos = the islet situated at the entrance to the port of Alexandria, on which formerly stood the famous lighthouse; see below). *Fanār* has no doubt come into Arabic via Turkish *fanār*/*fener*, which comes from the Greek *pharos*, whose diminutive *phanarion* was used, for example in Byzantine Greek; in a parallel fashion, in mediaeval Latin *fanarium* = lantern, lighthouse, beacon light, French *fanal* (cf. von Hammer-Purgstall and *İA*, s.v. *Fenerliler*; but the *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, 1968, xvi, 230, confuses *phanós* and Pharos). From Turkish, the word has also passed into Persian.

Classical Arabic literature describes several uses of fire among the ancient Arabs (*nīrān al-ʿArab* = "fires of the Arabs"; see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 461-91, v, 123, 133-4; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, i, 109-13; T. Fahd, *Le feu chez les anciens Arabes*, in *Le feu dans le Proche-Orient antique*, Leiden 1973, 43-61). Some of them were intended to guide caravans, convoys and individuals who were travelling, by night, indicating the route for them, or the beginning of it (*irshād al-sārī*). The roads were shown with "landmarks" (stones, etc., with fire; then the meaning was extended to those even without fire); the historical legends give the ruler of Pre-Islamic South Arabia, Abraha, the title "the man of the *manār*", for he was the first to mark out the routes, in time of war (see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasāʾil*, ed. al-ʿAdawī and ʿUmar, 146). But among these clearly recorded fires, we find no mention of maritime lighting (see also Yāḳūt, s.v. *manāra*; al-Nuwayrī, *Ilmām*, iv, 3: *manāra* of ʿĀd).

The word *manāra* designates several objects (or buildings) which facilitated lighting; for example the candelabrum in the sense outlined above, and which supported the lamp (*misradja*; see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. al-Ḥādjirī, 19; al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Djawāhir*, 227: *manāra* in porcelain; and the iconographic evidence in a miniature of the illustrated ms. Paris BN, Ar. 5847, fol. 13b; Leningrad, Acad. of Sc., Or. S. 23, fol. 30; cf. in the Cairo Geniza, e.g. Camb. T-S.J.1, 15 and Ox. 2821 [16], fol. 56a [and see E. Ashtor, in *JESHO*, vii, 179; *idem*, *Histoire des prix*, Paris 1969, under "chandelier"]), and even certain kinds of "arms" (arm-rests of seats, thrones, etc. (Sadan, *Mobilier*, 39, 126). The commonest word to designate the tower standing alongside (or on top of) a mosque and which is used to call the faithful to prayer, is *miʾdhana* [*q.v.*], but *manāra* is also found. This word has produced, in the European languages, forms such as *minaret* and *minareto* (A. J. Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, thinks that the connection between *manāra*-lighthouse and *manāra*-minaret is much more than a pure and simple etymological connection; the lighthouse of Alexandria influenced, in his view, the creation and form of the minaret in Islamic architecture; in the new ed. of Butler-Fraser, pp. LXXIV-LXXV, other references have been added, for, in fact, there is no unanimity among researchers; cf. H. Thiersch, *Pharos*, 98-201; Creswell, *A short account of Muslim architecture*, Beirut 1968, 14; and see MASDJID).

The research published on the pre-Islamic Arabs bears witness to the existence among them of a certain

knowledge of maritime life; however, they did not have very substantial experience. If we add that the "fires of the Arabs" do not contain anything on maritime lighting, we may assume that it is especially after the expansion of Islam that interest in this genre was awakened. It seems that in the east of the Islamic world (Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean), the Arabs had discovered the sporadic use of fires, and only the more durable "lighthouse" of the *khashabāt* [*q.v.*], near Baṣra, is mentioned in the description of Arab geographers.

Some sporadic uses of fire are even confirmed in the information about the only fixed and noteworthy lighthouse, properly speaking, that of Alexandria: communication by signalling with fires on the departure of Muslims' ships towards the Alexandria lighthouse which, in its turn, gave warning of the arrival of an enemy (by lighting the fire in the direction of the town); some fires were lit on the Mediterranean coast from Alexandria as far as the regions of North Africa, so as to give notice of enemies and direct ships. It is even recorded that opposite the Palestinian coast an exchange of signals of this kind was made between ships and the coast (see, apart from the *Bibl.* below, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, 258-61; RIBĀṬ, in *EI*[1], and especially ʿA. Elʿad, *Coastal cities*, in *The Jerusalem Cathedra*, ii, 146-67, which summarise (following G. Marçais and others) information taken from al-Balādhurī, al-Muḳaddasī, Ibn Marzūḳ (according to E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Hespéris*, v, 31 and al-Maḳrīzī, and cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī *Khiṭaṭ* ch. iv of *maḳāla* 10). It was a system of lighted fire signals, rather than fixed lighting, but nothing prevented them from profiting from this use of fires for the security of maritime pilotage (see al-Ḥamawī, in the *Bibl.*). These fires and their sites, near the sea, are called *nīrān*, *mawāḳīd*, *maḥāris* and *manāẓir*; al-Muḳaddasī even uses the word *manāra* for a kind of "lighthouse" or beacon-light and even for a tower (minaret of a *ribāṭ*?) being used as a lighthouse. Arabic geographical literature, and especially that of the maritime guides, e.g. in the 9th/15th century (Ibn Mādjid) and in the 10th/16th (Sulaymān al-Mahrī), clearly reflects the dangers presented by reefs and other maritime obstacles and the various means used to avoid them, as if the existence of lighthouses was rare (see I. Y. Kračkovskiy, *Geografičeskaya literatura*, Ar. tr., Cairo 1963-5, ii; G. R. Tibbetts, *Study*, Leiden and London 1979, *passim*; A. M. ʿAṭiyya, *Adab al-baḥr*, Cairo 1981, 79-98).

The famous lighthouse of Alexandria was inherited by the Arabs from the civilisation which had preceded theirs; it had been built, at the entrance to the port, on the islet of Pharos (which is connected today to the coast by a causeway), by Ptolemy Philadelphus, around 279 A.D. Since then and until the conquest of Alexandria by the Arabs (in 21/642), it had undergone some modifications and it has been concluded that its functioning and structure deteriorated successively. There is a tendency to accuse, often moreover without reason, the conquerors and change of régime of being the cause of deterioration, and the assumption that two centuries after the conquest, the lighthouse had fallen completely into ruin (G. F. Hourani, *Seafaring*, 61: "The wonderful Pharos fell to ruin and no one could be found who knew to repair it") seems exaggerated; for several centuries the lighthouse was indeed used, although its functioning was not as perfect as before Islam.

It is logical to suppose that during the first years of the Islamic régime, maritime traditions persisted as before. It is to the Umayyad period that certain historian-geographers attribute its first deterioration; the legend relates that a Christian, pretending to be a Muslim, was able to convince the caliph al-Walīd (d. 87/705) to allow him to look for treasure near (and underneath) the lighthouse and that the sabotage carried out at that time caused some damage to the upper part of the tower. But the Muslims continued to light the fire on the lighthouse, and only the Arab writers (geographers, etc.) allude to the fact that, in the past, the technique used in its functioning (the lantern) was more perfected, in recounting to their readers that in earlier times it was equipped with mirrors (or a mirror); by concentrating the sun's rays, these mirrors could burn the enemy ships (the historical fact which is hidden here is, perhaps, the existence in ancient times of a reflector or another technical method; the technique consisting of adding a reflector to a lantern was not completely unknown in the Islamic world (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Rawḍa*, 13-14),but it was probably more difficult to repair the damage undergone by a proper lighthouse). In the 3rd/9th century, the governor Ibn Ṭūlūn had the upper part of the lighthouse repaired, but the work was often in wood which was not strong and durable. The use of the lighthouse by the Arabs (lighting the fire on top, at night, by means of special custodians, who even had rooms intended for their lodging) continued until the 5th/11th century. In 578/1182-3 the lighthouse was only 50 cubits high; this diminution of its height was due to a deterioration of the construction and to an earthquake (which was neither the first nor the last experienced by the lighthouse), so that the upper parts had been destroyed. At the beginning of the 8th/14th century, it was no more than a ruin, despite the efforts made by certain sultans (for example, Baybars I (d. 676/1277) and Baybars II (d. 709/1310), some time earlier to repair it a little. Already al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 635/1238) had built on this site a mosque, and the fort which is to be found there today (and which now houses the maritime museum of Alexandria) was constructed by the sultan Ḳāʾit Bay (d. 901/1496).

As for the form of the lighthouse of Alexandria, it is often described by the mediaeval Arab authors, who strive to accentuate its splendour in the past (one of the "Seven Wonders of the World"); but it is hard to deduce what were its original dimensions, especially because the upper parts (a statue of Poseidon, on top, and the lantern) no longer existed in the Islamic period; some conclude that, during the major part of its history, after the birth of Islam, the lighthouse only reached two-thirds of its original height. Three attempts have been made to record its form and dimensions according to the description of the Muslim historians and geographers by H. Thiersch, Asín Palacios (who also discovered a description of the 7th/13th century) and E. Lévi-Provençal (who added a source drawing on the description of the geographer al-Bakrī in the 5th/11th century). The latter is the most recent and may also be summarised. The rectangular base of 320 cubits was surmounted by a narrower, octagonal section of 80 cubits, then by another narrower, rectangular section (until the discovery of this description it was considered to be cylindrical) of 50 cubits; no more of it was in existence.

Manār and *fanār* have given their names to some neighbouring quarters, e.g. in Istanbul (see Fanar[a]ki = Fener + köy, J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus*, 1822, 270, 279 and the Istanbul miniature of the 17th century, in B. Lewis, *Istanbul*, Norman, Oklahoma 1963, 99, on the left; see also *Fenerliler* in *İA*; however, the lighthouse—or rather the signalling tower, Kız Kulesi, at the en-

trance to the Bosporus—dates almost from our own times). With or without a direct connection with maritime illumination, some trading places, an important journal [see AL-MANĀR], etc., are called "lighthouse".

The modern age has witnessed several improvements and constructive efforts in the maritime field, including the building of lighthouses (e.g. in Morocco in 1865 [see MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜABD AL-RAḤMĀN]), of a more organised nature, in the necessary places.

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(J. SADAN AND J. FRAENKEL)

AL-**MANĀR**, a journal of Muslim thought and doctrine which appeared in Cairo from 1898 to 1940. Its work was the counterpart of that of a printing-house, of the same name, which, besides its other publications, re-issued articles previously published in the review, such as the famous modern commentary on the Ḳurʾān (*Tafsīr al-Manār*). Without forming part of any particular school, the *Manār* subscribed to the reformist line of the *salafiyya* [*q.v.*]; this movement of cultural resistance towards colonial encroachment sought to restore to Islam its former power and to re-establish confidence in its traditional values, starting with the Arabic language, while employing modern techniques. It elaborated an apologetic which is still widely known and influential today.

The *Manār* was the personal work of one man, Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*], born in 1865 near Tripoli (Lebanon). At the end of 1897, the same year as the death of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*], with whom he had dreamed of collaborating, he travelled to Cairo in order to work in partnership with the *Imām* Muḥammad ᶜAbduh [*q.v.*]. Resolved, from the outset, to found a journal which he entitled the *Manār* ("The Beacon"), he published the first issue at the end of Shawwāl 1315/March 1898. He was, over the course of the years, to include in it a number of articles by al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, al-Kawākibī, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī, and others. Scientific questions were tackled by Dr. Tawfīḳ Ṣidḳī. After the war of 1914-18, the *amīr* Shakīb Arslān sent him copy from Geneva. But the bulk of the material was drawn from him own tireless pen.

As H. Laoust writes in his article *Le réformisme orthodoxe des "Salafiya"*, "Its discreet expertise, its Islamic internationalism and the reliability of its general documentation, direct the *Manār* towards a liberal, cultured minority. The publication of the commentary of ᶜAbduh gives it the prestige of a great name. Its leading articles perfectly convey the progressive orthodox view, always well-argued and a balanced in form, of the major contemporary Islamo-Arab questions." In addition, its judicial discussions, its criticism of books and its news of the Muslim world made it into a link between correspondents, writing from Indonesia as well as from India, Syria, North Africa and even some European countries.

From being at the outset a weekly periodical numbering eight pages, later distributed at longer intervals (once a fortnight, then once a month), the journal very rapidly built up an annual total of 960 pages, a figure which declined during the war of 1914-18 and then rose back to 800 (ten issues per year). Each of its 35 volumes possesses either a detailed table of contents, or alphabetical indices, the form of which evolved over the years. The first 34 volumes covered a period of 37 years (1898-1935). As a result of the death of Rashīd Riḍā in 1935, the next volume (no. 35) had its ten issues spread over a period of six years (July 1935 - September 1940). The Muslim Brothers [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] had guaranteed its revival, but they preferred to concentrate their efforts on journals of their own. Initially printed in an edition of 1,500, then of 1,000, its circulation rose after the fifth volume with subscriptions from students. The figure of 300 subscribers henceforward guaranteed it a stable, basic readership. There were sometimes temporary difficulties in the distribution of the issues: these were later solved (cf. Turkish censorship in Syria in the first year of publication).

The collected corpus of the *Manār* provides a mine of information on the attitudes, the focuses of interest, the hopes and disappointments of reformists over a period of nearly forty years. It reflects the major events of the Muslim world seen from Cairo, as well as the personal development of Rashīd Riḍā. The judicial discussions have been separately reprinted in Beirut.

Being centred on the religious and social reform (*iṣlāḥ*, [*q.v.*]) of the Islamic *umma*, the *Manār* vindicates the *salafī* heritage of al-Afghānī and of ᶜAbduh, extolling a return to the Ḳurʾān and to the Sunna with a view to a purer *tawḥīd*. It is concerned with the unity of the community, and makes appeals for the surmounting of divisions. It opposes those Europeans who seek to efface the last vestiges of the Muslim law. It teaches the compatibility of Islam with science and with reason, in the best interests of mankind at all times and in all places. Following the expression of H. Laoust, "The canonical legitimacy of the sciences, the incorporation into the primitive conception of Islam of the most contemporary social and political ideas to which Muḥammad ᶜAbdūh had attached his name", have the right of free entry into the *Manār*. But Rashīd Riḍā remained cautious with regard to what was later to be called *al-tafsīr al-ᶜilmī* which seeks to discover in the Ḳurʾān all the modern sciences (cf. *Manār*, xxx, 514-16, on the *tafsīr* of Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī Djawharī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]).

Diverging from the Ḥanafism-Māturīdism of ᶜAbduh, the *Manār* turned towards Ḥanbalism. The journal's continual attacks on culpable practices, contrary to the *tawḥīd (mawlid, bidaᶜ*, etc.) are based on Ibn Taymiyya and certain of his *fatwās*. This paved the way for the reconcilation which was realised through the eulogy of Wahhābism and the transformation of the *Manār* publishing-house into an active centre of Wahhābī propaganda, beginning after the war of 1914-18 and especially following the conquest of the Ḥidjāz by Ibn Saᶜūd (1924-6). In the *Manār* there is insistence on the need for Muslim propaganda and for guidance (*al-daᶜwa wa 'l-irshād*). Many lines

are devoted to these topics, particularly to the idea of founding a seminary designed to train enthusiasts for this task. There are articles on Arab nationalism, on relations between Turks and Arabs and on the need to ensure for the Arabic language a land of freedom where it may flourish; Islam cannot in fact survive without it, especially at a time when the Turks are adopting a hostile linguistic policy. Similarly, the *Manār* enables us to follow the affair of the caliphate and the upheavals caused by its suppression by the Turks in 1924 [see KHILĀFA].

There are articles describing various personalities of the Muslim world, mostly Arab. Attitudes towards Shīʿism are discussed. Polemic is directed as much against liberal Muslims (cf. that against the *Siyāsa*, which supported Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, etc.) as against al-Azhar. There is news relating to the pilgrimage, the construction of the Ḥidjāz railway, the wars in Tripolitania, in the Rīf, etc., as well as European colonial policy, particularly in regard to the Syrian question after 1918, the Coptic Congress in Asyut in 1911, the Muslim Congresses of Cairo, of Mecca, etc.; relations with the Christians, their doctrine, missions of Western Christians, Western writers sympathetic to Islam, studies on the greatness and decadence of nations, on pedagogy, on the role of the *ʿulamāʾ* in the Muslim renaissance, etc. Literary and cultural Arab news items are not lacking. The judicial discussions tackle various difficulties, some of them relevant to the modern world, mentioning the position of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (cf. for example the question of the Savings Bank). In short, the periodical contained material suitable for learned and illuminating monographs.

The commentary on the Ḳurʾān published from the third year onward was the work of Rashīd Riḍā; it included lengthy extracts from the commentary expounded by Muḥammad ʿAbduh in evening lectures at al-Azhar, and the respective contributions of the two men were clearly distinguished. ʿAbduh went no further than v. 125 of sūra IV *(al-Nisāʾ)* whereas Riḍā continued to the end of sūra XII, (*Yūsuf*, v. 107). Some of the positions adopted were daring: ʿAbduh maintained that the texts of the Jewish Scriptures and of the Gospels were authentic and that only their interpretation had been false (Riḍā denied their authenticity); he claimed that the execution of the Muslim apostate was a measure dating from a time of war during which apostasy constituted desertion in the face of the enemy—today this is not the case and the apostate who does not attack Islam should not be put to death; it is for God to punish him. These examples and other show how ʿAbduh sought to re-open the door of *idjtihād*. Reference to all these allusions are to be found in the studies mentioned in the bibliography.

Although a positive and very important work in the context of the modern Muslim awakening, it should be noted that the *Manār* sometimes confined itself to schematic views of an apologetic nature, simplifying in extreme fashion certain historical problems, notably those of the causative influences which helped to bring about the Renaissance of Europe. It also used its influence on behalf of the Gospel of Barnabas, "this undoubtedly apocryphal work" according to L. Massignon, edited for the first time in the 14th century and later in the 16th, sponsoring its translation into Arabic in 1908. This apologetic must have responded to a deeply-felt need, for it enjoyed, and still enjoys, enormous success, even if it contributed little to imparting a sense of objectivity and of history to those who studied it. Similarly, the *Manār* seems to have ignored a fundamental question: did the adoption of Western techniques not also entail a certain change of mentality, and if so, what? It thus remained silent on one of the key problems posed by the very existence of technological civilisation.

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(J. JOMIER)

MANĀRA, MANĀR (A.) minaret.

1. In the Islamic lands between the Maghrib and Afghanistan.

Unlike the other types of Islamic religious building, such as the mosque and the *madrasa*, the minaret is immediately and unambiguously recognisable for what it is. The reasons for this are worth investigating. It seems on the whole unrelated to its function of the *adhān* [*q.v.*] calling the faithful to prayer, which can be made quite adequately from the roof of the mosque or even from a house-top. During the lifetime of the Prophet, his Abyssinian slave Bilāl [*q.v.*], was responsible for making the call to prayer in this way. The practice continued for another generation, a fact which demonstrates that the minaret is not an essential part of Islamic ritual. To this day, certain Islamic communities, especially the most orthodox ones like the Wahhābīs in Arabia, avoid building minarets on the grounds that they are ostentatious and unnecessary. Others are content with the so-called "staircase" minarets which consist simply of a few broad external steps leading to a diminutive kiosk a little above roof level. These perpetuate a practice common in the first century of Islam. While such structures are obviously functional, it is very doubtful whether the same can be said for any minaret much more than 15 m. high. Without mechanical amplification, the human voice simply cannot make itself heard, especially in a noisy urban setting, from the top of such celebrated minarets as the Giralda in Seville [see ISHBĪLIYA: 2. Historic buildings] or the Ḳuṭb Minār [*q.v.*] in Dihlī.

If then, the ostensible function of the minaret is somewhat misleading, what other purposes might it have served? If the investigation confines itself in the first instance to the early minarets of the Islamic world —i.e. those predating 1000 A.D.—three possible approaches may be suggested. One is to examine the role of the very earliest minarets in their particular historical setting, on the theory that these examples laid down guidelines for the further development of the form. Another is to see what clues lie in the Arabic words used for minaret, and in their etymology. A third approach would focus on the forms of these early minarets and on their immediate sources, and would

thus involve the assumption that at least traces of the earlier functions associated with these forms survived into the Islamic period. It must be remembered, however, that throughout the mediaeval period, the rôle of the minaret oscillated between two polarities: as a sign of power and as an instrument for the *adhān*. These functions were not mutually exclusive.

It will be convenient to begin by studying the circumstances in which the earliest minarets were built. According to the literary evidence, the first minaret was erected in *ca.* 45/665 by the governor of ʿIrāḳ Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*]: a stone tower (*manāra*) was added to the mosque at Baṣra. Soon afterwards, orders were given by the caliph Muʿāwiya to the governor of Egypt, and the mosque of ʿAmr at Fusṭāṭ was given a quartet of *ṣawāmiʿ*, whilst these were also added to other mosques in Egypt. Although nothing remains of these structures, this literary evidence is important in showing that the impetus to build was not a matter of local initiative but came from the highest power in the land, the idea emanating from Syria, where minarets were presumably added to at least some Syrian mosques at this time. It is hard not to see religio-political motives at work here. Christian Syria, within which the Muslims formed a few small enclaves, was lavishly endowed with fine stone churches whose most striking external feature was a tall tower. At the top of these towers was struck the *simandron*—the Orthodox equivalent of the church bell—to summon worshippers for divine service. Some attribute the change in the *adhān* to ʿUmar, but Muʿāwiya, sensitively attuned as he was to the discrepancies between Christian and Muslim culture, and to the need to reconcile them wherever possible, can scarcely have failed to compare this Christian practice with its simpler Islamic equivalent. It would have been wholly in character for him to have decided to secure for the *adhān* a dignity and formality it had not hitherto possessed by giving it monumental expression. Typically, too, that expression borrowed a Christian form but imbued it with a new Muslim meaning. The slightly later case of the Dome of the Rock leaps to mind as the obvious parallel. The intrusion of political concerns into the forms of early Islamic religious architecture was to be a hallmark of the Umayyad period.

The arguments set out above are susceptible to more than one interpretation. They could support the theory that these early, essentially redundant, minarets were intended simply to demonstrate to the local non-Muslims that the new faith was no less capable than its rivals of devising monumental architecture to glorify itself. However, they could also imply the conclusion that from its very beginning the minaret was intended to function as an outward sign of Islam. A usage formulated in response to a hostile environment would then gradually have become canonical and would have persisted even when circumstances had overtaken the need for it. These two interpretations will be considered in more detail below in the context of the form of the earliest minarets.

The second possibly approach to the original function of the minaret is through the etymology of the words used in Arabic to describe this kind of building. It is perhaps significant that the three words most commonly used - *manāra, ṣawmaʿa* and *miʾdhana* - all arguably refer to quite separate functional aspects of the building. Thus the notion that the minaret served multiple functions is embedded in the Arabic language itself. These functions quite naturally generated appropriate terms for themselves. Whether the prevalence of a given term in a given geographical area reflects the predominance of one function over another is, however, doubtful.

By far the commonest of the three terms is *manār(a)*, the source via Turkish of English and French "minaret", lit. "place of fire" (*nār*), a word used in pre-Islamic Arabia to denote an elevated place from which signals of fire or smoke were made. Whence the frequent education of the minaret with the lighthouse [see preceding article MANĀR]; the cylindrical towers attached to Islamic fortresses along parts of the North African littoral, e.g. in Tunisia, not only served as beacons and lighthouses but were actually called *manāras*. One should, on the other hand, avoid any temptation to connect *manār(a)* with *nūr* "light" and to discern a basis for symbolic interpretation of the minaret as an emanation of divine light or as an image of spiritual illumination. The original term *manār(a)* soon lost its necessary connection with fire, and became used to designate signposts, boundary stones or markers, and watch-towers when no particular association with fire was intended. Hence there emerges that *manār(a)* came to involve the two distinct notions of fire and of a marker, neither of which, however, had a specific role in Islamic ritual. The lighting of a fire on the minaret of a mosque was an event of utmost rarity in early Islam (it is recorded as having occured in the case of the Manārat al-ʿArūs in the Damascus mosque), though it is self-evident that the minaret had a value as marker of the principal building of the Islamic community. It seems therefore safe to assume that, in the context of religious architecture, the association between the minaret and fire is irrelevant.

The second term frequently used to designate the minaret—indeed, it is the standard usage in North Africa—is *ṣawmaʿa*. The word means the cell in which a person (usually a monk) secludes himself, with the particular gloss that the cell has a slender pointed apex. Such cells were a regular feature of pre-Islamic Byzantine architecture; they were incorporated into the tall rectangular towers with which churches, monasteries and houses were furnished. Once again, however, as in the case of *manāra*, the etymology is apt to mislead—for while the basic meaning of *ṣawmaʿa* is indeed "hermitage", the word has come to designate, by a process of *pars pro toto*, the entire structure of which the cell was a small part. The specific connotation of *ṣawmaʿa* in the present context is perhaps a "sentry-box" minaret, and eventually a tall, rectangular minaret, rather than the minaret genre itself. For this reason, it is an entirely appropriate term for the minarets of North Africa. Moreover, unlike the word *manāra*, its connotations are religious, albeit with a Christian tinge. Possibly as a result of its association with the minaret, the word is also used more generally to mean "a higher place" or even "a high building", and in this less specific since its connection with *manāra* in the sense of signal tower or marker is plain. In North Africa, however, a distinction clearly exists, for *manāra* is used for signal towers and lighthouses. Appropriately enough in view of its Christian connotations, *ṣawmaʿa* has found a lodging in Europe, in the Spanish word *zoma* meaning "minaret".

It is a challenging reflection that the two Arabic words most frequently used to designate the minaret give no clue to the ritual function commonly associated with the building. Instead, they evoke respectively pre-Islamic and Christian associations. The term that does accurately render the ritual function of the building—*miʾdhana*—is, ironically enough, much rarer than the other two, suggesting, perhaps, that earlier "minarets"/*manāras* had functions not ex-

clusively ritual. It derives of course from *adhān*, hence literally "place from which the call to prayer is made", whose root further gives *mu'adhdhin* "muezzin, he who gives the call to prayer". Even this last has pre-Islamic connections, for in the Djāhiliyya the herald who made important announcements was known as the *mu'adhdhin*. Before leaving the problem of etymology, it may be worth noting that several other words occur sporadically in literary or epigraphic texts as synonyms for at least some of the meanings of *manāra*: *ʿalam/ʿalama* ("signpost", "boundary maker", "standing stone", "flag"), *mīl* (possibly derived from the Greek *miliarion*, "milestone") and *ʿasās*, "a place of watching", a term especially popular in the Maghrib. The mere mention of these words in the context of the foregoing discussion is enough to emphasise yet again that etymology is a somewhat treacherous guide in determining the function of the minaret. It can safely be asserted, however, that the review of Arabic terminology given above establishes that the minaret performed not one function but several in the mediaeval Islamic world. Whilst the rarer Arabic words for "minaret" may well reflect the function of the building in the particular context concerned, the most commonly employed word, *manāra*, was obviously a blanket term which does not readily lend itself to precise elucidation, unless the context offers further, more specific, clues.

The third possible approach to determining the function of the minaret in the early centuries of Islam is by way of morphology. The briefest survey of the formal characteristics of mediaeval minarets is enough to yield one very significant result: that virtually the whole body of surviving minarets belongs to one of two categories. One category comprises minarets with ample interior space; the other, minarets in which the interior space is reduced to the bare minimum required for a spiral staircase to ascend the structure. Minarets with external staircases obviously belong in neither category. Useful as this division is, it cannot shed light on the crucial first century of Islam. Any attempt to explain the function of the minaret by means of its form has to take some account of the earliest recorded minarets, even though none of these has survived. The interpretation placed on the tantalising brief literary accounts which refer to the earliest minarets is therefore crucial.

These accounts are unfortunately either ambivalent or too short to throw any light on the problem. For example, the historian al-Balādhurī refers to the minaret at Baṣra as a stone minaret. Since stone is specified and the rest of the mosque was of mud brick, it seems legitimate to conclude that the minaret was important enough to have special care taken over its construction. This, then, seems to be a fairly straightforward case. The same cannot be said for the minarets of the mosque of ʿAmr at Fusṭāṭ. The source here is the 9th/15th century author al-Maḳrīzī, who states that Muʿāwiya ordered the building of four *ṣawāmiʿ* (pl. of *ṣawmaʿa*) for the call to prayer, and that Maslama placed four *ṣawāmiʿ* in the corners of the mosque. Since this is not, in all probability, the first word for minaret that would have come naturally to the Mamlūk historian's mind, its use in this passage needs some explanation. It is possible that al-Maḳrīzī used it deliberately because it connoted to him tall, rectangular minarets of the Syrian or Maghribī type (very unlike those which he saw all around him in Egypt). His choice of word would in that case have reflected either his own or his source's precise knowledge of the form which these early Umayyad minarets took; or he may have been quoting an earlier text. Alternatively, he may have used the word *ṣawāmiʿ* with one of his other meanings in mind, such as a high place. In that case, the sense of the passage might be more accurately rendered by translating the key passage as "Maslama heightened the four corners of the Friday Mosque". Such an interpretation would find further support in the literary accounts dealing with the construction of the Damascus mosque.

The key point to bear in mind in a discussion of the Damascus minarets is that there is no evidence that they were the work of any early Muslim patron. Indeed, the geographer Ibn al-Faḳīh, writing at the opening of the 10th century A.D., states specifically that the minarets (*mi'dhana*) in the Damascus mosque "were originally watch towers in the Greek days, and belonged to the Church of John. When al-Walīd turned the whole area into a mosque, he left these in their old condition". Similarly, al-Masʿūdī writes that in this rebuilding "the *ṣawāmiʿ* were not changed, they serve for the *adhān* at the present day". Thus strictly speaking, there is no clear evidence even that these pre-Islamic towers were used for the call to prayer in Umayyad times, and one may especially doubt that they served this function before the reign of al-Walīd, when the Muslims shared the site of the future Great Mosque with the Christians. Nevertheless, the significant use of the word *ṣawāmiʿ* by the ʿIrāḳī al-Masʿūdī pinpoints the connection between Damascus and Fusṭāṭ, a connection which would make sense anyway because Damascus was Muʿāwiya's capital. Conversely, one might justifiably use the evidence of Fusṭāṭ to conclude that in all probability the corner towers at Damascus were indeed used for the *adhān* after the mosque had been built.

Reasonable grounds therefore exist for assuming that the corners of the mosque of ʿAmr at Fusṭāṭ looked very like those of the Damascus *temenos*. Such *ṣawāmiʿ* could be no more than abrupt excrescences at roof level, possibly articulated a little further by crenellations. They would indeed resemble Christian towers, but only in a somewhat stunted fashion. They could not aspire to dominate the skyline or indeed make any marked physical impact on the urban landscape. If this motive had loomed large in the mind of al-Walīd at the time that he was building the Damascus mosque, it would have been a simple process to heighten the existing corner towers accordingly. That he chose not to do so is clear evidence that the symbolic role of the minaret was not yet generally accepted. Indeed, the mosques of Baṣra and Fusṭāṭ are more prophetic of later developments, even though they were built earlier. At Baṣra, the minaret, whatever its form may have been, was clearly distinguished by its different material of construction, while at Fusṭāṭ the *ṣawāmiʿ* were solid up to roof level, necessitating access by ladders. While this detail reflects the early Islamic practice of delivering the *adhān* from the roof, it is also conceivable that such corner *ṣawāmiʿ* had an architectural function as buttresses for the whole building. Their location and strength in turn invites a symbolic interpretation of their function as cornerstones of the faith. The impact of their placing can be gauged from the statement of al-Maḳrīzī that, at the time of the dawn prayer, a muezzin was stationed at each *ṣawmaʿa* and that their combined *adhān* resounded like thunder through the silent city. It might fairly be said, then, that despite the probably rather truncated nature of their resemblance to Christian towers, the *ṣawāmiʿ* of the Mosque of ʿAmr did operate as markers of the mosque. This function was certainly performed more

effectively and elegantly by later minarets, but the crucial point is that it is already implicit in the earliest buildings of this genre.

As evidence of the relationship between the Christian towers of Syria and the early minaret, the earliest surviving Islamic monument, at Boṣrā [*q.v.*] in southern Syria, is often cited and certainly its minaret fits naturally into a long series of similar towers erected in pre-Islamic times as part of Christian churches, monasteries and houses, often with a defensive function. Yet, this Boṣrā minaret, notable for its bold projection from the otherwise regular perimeter wall of the mosque, a feature not explicable by e.g. any peculiarity of the site or structural consideration, is actually Mamlūk. The Umayyad *mi'dhana*, according to recent research by Jonathan Bloom, is the staircase minaret along the west wall.

Hence already in the first Islamic century, the religious role of the minaret had been defined in essentials; later times were to bring refinements, but after this first century, the development of the minaret proceeded rather on the lines of variations in form and new secular functions.

For some time, the square form, already well established in Syria, continued to dominate in the Islamic world. Recent excavations have confirmed that the square substructure of the minaret of the Mosque of Sīdī ʿUḳba at al-Ḳayrawān in Tunisia is of Aghlabid date though some of the upper parts are later (thus weakening a once-popular theory that this minaret reflects the influences of the Pharos of Alexandria, which had a three-tier elevation, each tier smaller than the previous one), but it is quite possible that in its original form the minaret looked much as it does now. Lézine suggested that the lighthouse at Salakta was the formal model, but it is also possible that the Arab conquerors of North Africa, coming westwards as they did from Egypt, should have used the most celebrated tower of Egypt as a model for the minaret of the first mosque built in the newly-Islamised territory. In this mosque of al-Ḳayrawān, the minaret was placed opposite the *muṣallā*, and it was only a matter of time before the last refinement was added and the minaret aligned exactly with the *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*] (the Great Mosque at Sāmarrā is the earliest and best surviving example of this culminatory process). The substantial enclosed space of the al-Ḳayrawān minaret (base *ca.* 10m. square and height *ca.* 35m.) encouraged the possibility of provision of chambers within the minaret. For some reason, this was not done there, hence the minaret has inordinately thick walls; but later Maghribī and Andalusian minarets, such as the Almohad examples in Seville, Rabat and Marrakesh, employed such chambers and also gave them decorative vaults in stone or brick.

These three minarets of the later 6th/12th century mark the zenith of this genre in Western Islam, perpetuating the outer shell of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Syrian towers, and of the minaret at Cordoba, but they are much larger than their distant Syrian models (approaching 65m. in height) and display rich decoration on all four sides, with cusped, horseshoe or multifoil arches, often generating a lattice-work design, and also with single or paired windows on each storey. Eventually, too, the Andalusian minarets were to exert an influence on the campaniles of Spanish churches of the period—the wheel coming full circle, as it were, after these towers' Syrian Christian origins. So strong was the tradition of the tall, square-shafted minaret in the Maghrib, that in the eastern Maghrib it survived the coming of the Ottomans; and in Ottoman Tunis, a novel type of octagonal minaret, with each face richly tiled and the whole crowned by a projecting balcony and steepled pavilion, enjoyed special popularity.

An unexpected and distant by-product of the Syrian tradition is the Saharan or West African minaret. The Saharan type, often very high (e.g. the fairly recent example of the Walad Djalal at Zibane) has a marked batter to its walls—a feature which had occurred at al-Ḳayrawān but had not been exploited subsequently in the mediaeval period—and is crowned by an open-plan kiosk. In West African minarets, most of which date from the last four centuries (e.g. Timbuktu and Agadès), the latter is so pronounced that the minaret resembles a truncated cone, studded with projecting palm beams. These facilitate the constant repairs that such mud-brick structures require. Similar minarets are found as far north as the Mzāb region in Algeria.

The minarets of the Maghrib and Andalusia form a school unique in the Islamic world for its fidelity to an imported model and for its innate conservatism, which maintained a broadly consistent form throughout a vast area for over a millennium. The history of the minaret in the rest of the Islamic world, sc. in Egypt and Turkey and in the area to the east of them, is somewhat more varied. It embraces a very wide range of forms, of alien influences, and of functions both secular and religious.

This wider canvas is immediately apparent in the immediately post-Umayyad minarets which survive in the eastern Islamic world. These are principally to be found in ʿIrāḳ. Possibly the earliest among them is the so-called Manārat al-Mudjīda, which departs from the norms of the first century by being a slender cylindrical structure of baked brick, with a winding interior stair and sparing external decoration in baked brick; hence it is prophetic of the minarets erected in Iran during the Saldjūḳ period. Moreover, it is entirely freestanding, with no sign of there ever having been a building adjoining it. It lay strategically on the route between the ʿAbbāsid princely palace of al-Ukhayḍir [see ARCHITECTURE and pl. XIV there] and Kūfa, hence may have had the funtion of a marker, with its peculiar form a reflection of watchtowers which apparently stood along the former Sāsānid *limes* against the Arabs in ʿIrāḳ.

The most celebrated of early ʿAbbāsid minarets are of course the helicoidal towers attached to the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā (234-7/848-52) and the mosque of Abū Dulaf (245-7/859-61) [see ARCHITECTURE and Pls. XVII-XVIII there]. Although their precise origin is a matter of dispute, the question of a classical or Christian source does not arise. Their forms are deeply rooted in ancient Near Eastern architecture. In both cases, a square base carries an external ramp which spirals upwards, at first gently but then with increasing steepness, around a solid central cylinder. In the case of the minaret at Sāmarrā (the *malwiyya*) the ramp ends after five complete revolutions at an arcaded kiosk. A similar aedicule probably crowned the minaret of the Abū Dulaf mosque after the ramp had completed four revolutions. The Sāmarrā minaret is therefore substantially larger, and with a height of 53m. is indeed one of the highest minarets in the Islamic world. As befits its importance, the minaret has a new and imposing location. It is placed some 30m. outside the mosque and is precisely on the axis of the *miḥrāb*. By this means, its integration with the mosque and its liturgical function in relationship to the rest of the building is adequately stressed, while its isolation is sufficiently marked for the minaret to invite attention as a separate structure. The practice of

placing the minaret on the *miḥrāb* axis was copied throughout the Islamic world.

There seem to be two possible origins for this bizarre helicoidal form for a minaret. Firstly, an Iranian one. There survives at Fīrūzābād in Fārs, the first capital of the Sāsānids, a square-shafted tower with the remains of an external ramp winding round it (called a *tirbāl* by the Arabs), and this monument has been interpreted as a Zoroastrian one, which had a fire burning at its summit; and we have noted the Arabs' readiness to take over architectural forms sanctified by earlier faiths. Secondly, there is the ancient Mesopotamian form of the ziggurat or tower-temple. Whilst most of these had stepped elevations made up of superimposed squares of decreasing size, a few had a square base which carried a huge central cylinder encircled by a rising ramp; a four-storeyed building of this type has been excavated at Khorsābād [*q.v.*] in northern ʿIrāḳ. To have adopted either of these types as a basis for minarets would have accorded with the anti-Syrian attitudes of the ʿAbbāsids. In the event, however, the *malwiyya* form seems to have been too eccentric to serve satisfactorily as a minaret, and it remained virtually without progeny.

The sole important descendant of the ʿIrāḳī *malwiyya*, specifically that of the Mosque of Abū Dulaf, was indeed the minaret of the mosque built by a servant of the ʿAbbāsids in ʿIrāḳ, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, in Egypt (263-5/876-9) [see ARCHITECTURE and Pls. XXI-XXIV there]. Unfortunately, the present minaret is a reconstruction of the late 7th/13th early 8th/14th century, but earlier historians agree that its original form was spiral.

But these spiral minarets, though fascinating, represent a by-way in the history of the minaret. In the eastern Islamic world, the dominating tradition was henceforth to be that of Iran, where an entirely different form, that of the lofty, cylinder type, developed; this obviously owed nothing to Syria, but might well have owed something to the regions on Iran's northern and eastern fringes, sc. India, Central Asia and even China (E. Schroeder speculated that the pillar form is an immemorial symbol of "the axis of the universe, and the direct way to Heaven"). Even so, such fragmentary evidence as survives suggest that the very earliest Iranian minarets, e.g. at Dāmghān and Sīrāf, followed the Umayyad square-towered form, but judging by the minaret of the Nāyin mosque, which has a square, ground-level format surmounted by an octagonal shaft merging into a tapering cylinder, this form was soon modified. The Nāyin minaret seems to be pre-Saldjūḳ, and the literary evidence confirms that, by the 4th/10th century, extremely tall minarets were a feature of Iranian towns.

The tally of surviving 5th/11th and 6th/12th century buildings in Iran shows that this was a time of unprecedented building activity, with mosques being, like *madrasas* [*q.v.*], expressions of official Saldjūḳ patronage often executed by their *amīrs* (as at e.g. the mosques of Ḳazwīn and Burudjird). These soaring Saldjūḳ minarets—often around 30m. high, with a pronounced taper which accentuates their height, internal stairways, and lavish external brick geometric or calligraphic decoration contrasting with the plainness of the mosque walls—are of such assurance and completeness in their form that a previous period of development must surely be postulated. Within this context of Saldjūḳ patronage, one notes that the rich decoration of such minarets testified to its patron's munificence. Moreover, as an architectural project it was substantially smaller in scope—despite its ostentation—than a mosque. This would obviously recommend it to less wealthy patrons. That these minarets did not necessarily have a straightforward liturgical function is suggested by the case of 6th/12th century Iṣfahān. Given that it is only the Friday mosque that according to custom (not dogma) requires a minaret, it is remarkable to note that this city, one of the Saldjūḳ capitals of Iran, had over a score of minarets in this period. In nearly every case, the mosque for which the minaret was originally intended has vanished. It is tempting to speculate that these mosques were very much simpler and humbler structures which had earlier not had minarets. One may justifiable assume that some evidence besides the minarets themselves would have remained if these minarets had been built contemporaneously with their adjoining mosques as integrated building projects.

The case of the mausoleum traditionally associated with the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad at Bukhārā shows that by *ca.* 900 A.D. the effectiveness of brick decoration as a mantle for a building, one of relatively small surface area and therefore cheap, had been discovered, and was now transposed to the minaret (overall brick decoration on contemporary tomb towers, with their much larger diameters, occurs only on smaller buildings of that genre). The cylindrical Iranian minaret generated a surprising variety of forms, mostly in the 6th/12th century, with variations in the proportion of the plinth, octagonal or square, and the cylindrical shaft; two or three tiers of tapering cylinders (e.g. at Ziyār near Iṣfahān and at Djam in Ghūr in central Afghanistan); staircases might revolve round a central column or be built into the thickness of the exterior wall and carried on small vaults. Paired minarets probably date from this period, as a means of lending extra importance to the entrance gate of a building (e.g. at Ardistān and Nakhčiwān), eventually to be brought into the mosque proper in order to flank the entrance to the *muṣallā*. There seems to have been no consistent practice governing the location of single minarets within the mosque. When the minaret was erected as an integral component of the mosque, provision was often made for it to be entered not at ground level but from the roof of the mosque. The otherwise puzzling existence of such doorways comparatively high up the shaft of minarets which are now free-standing are clear evidence that they were originally intended to be part of a mosque.

A few minarets of this period raise searching problems of function. Some are located along major routes or at the edge of the desert (Khusrawgird; Ziyār; Mīl-i Nādirī), which would lend support to the theory that they served, no doubt *inter alia*, as signposts. Since much caravan travel was by night, a lamp at the top of a minaret would allow the building to serve as a landlocked lighthouse. A chance literary reference establishes that in 581/1185 the practice of placing a lamp at the top of a minaret was sufficiently familiar in Khurāsān to occasion no comment. Perhaps the most enigmatic, as well as the most splendid, minaret of the period is that of Djam, with a height of *ca.* 60m. unprecedented among Iranian minarets, and its main lower shaft principally decorated by a whole Ḳurʾānic sūra (XIX, *Maryam*) plus other, mainly historical, inscriptions, lauding the achievements of the Ghūrid sultan Ghiyath al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [see GHŪRIDS]; clearly, there is a motive here of prestige and victoriousness, with the Ḳurʾānic text perhaps emphasising the Islamic faith in a land which had not long emerged from paganism.

In later periods, the Iranian minaret never recovered the importance it had had under the Saldjūḳs, but even so, new uses and new types of

decoration were found for it. In Il-Khānid times, the device of paired minarets flanking an important *īwān* [*q.v.*]—usually the entrance to a building—was enthusiastically employed (Abarķūh, Ashtardjān, Ķarābāghlar and two buildings in Iṣfahān). There was a new emphasis on lavishly-applied tilework, and this was a crucial factor in a change of emphasis, the deliberate highlighting of the lower stages of the minaret. Under the Tīmūrids, the separateness of the minaret was stressed by the technique of enveloping the shaft with a lozenge grid in brick whose interstices were each filled with a medallion of high-quality tilework (e.g. the minarets of the Masdjid-i Shāh and the Mosque of Gawhar Shād, both in Mashhad). In Ṣafawid times, the topmost storey of the minaret was standardised in the form of a tapering shallow-domed cylinder which, like the rest of the minaret, was entirely sheathed in glazed tilework, with, occasionally, much of the shaft gilded (e.g. at the shrines of Ķum and Mashhad). Under the Ķādjārs, architects signalled the increasingly secular function of the minaret by using it to punctuate entrance portals to bazaars (Yazd), towns (Ķazwīn, Simnān) and places (Ṭihrān); minarets, formerly single or in pairs, now proliferated and became trivial.

The influence of the Saldjūķ minaret is clearly discernable in Muslim India, carried thither by the Ghūrids and their epigoni; see below, 2. India.

There remains to examine the architectural genre of the minaret in Egypt and Turkey, two areas where it enjoyed great popularity. Turkey has had a distinguished though shorter tradition of minaret construction than Egypt, beginning with the very numerous minarets erected by the Saldjūķs of Rum, in which we find a use of paired portal minarets, of massive strength, all of brick in their upper sections, contrasting with the ashlar stone façades below, all of this showing their ultimate Iranian origins.

Rather more individual, perhaps, was the Anatolian interpretation of what had long been a standard device of Islamic architects, namely employing a single minaret as an integral part of a mosque deserving special attention in its own right. The novelty lay in reducing the surface area of the mosque and thereby giving the minaret much more prominence. Nowhere in the Islamic world is the familiar silhouette of a compact mosque with a low dome and cylindrical minaret encountered as regularly as in Turkey. This is a schema which has attained well-nigh symbolic status, and was in Anatolia extended to *madrasas* and *ʿimārets*. Their sturdiness and their location at a corner of the building lends these minarets the air of a bastion, well exemplified in the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosques at Konya and Niğde or the Ulu Cami at Divriği (all 7th/13th century) and, in the following century or so, in the mosques of ʿĪsā Bey at Selçuk 777/1375) or Ilyās Bey at Miletus (806/1404). Such buildings kept the tradition alive and ensured that it became canonical under the Ottomans from the time of their earliest buildings at Iznik (Yeşil Cami) and Bursa (Yeşil Cami and the Hüdavendigâr mosque among others). In the mature Ottoman masterpieces of Istanbul, two or more minarets are standard equipment for mosque complexes; but in the provinces the old tradition continued unchanged, as mosques in Elbistan, Diyarbakir, Gebze and elsewhere testify.

Although a variety of forms were used in pre-Ottoman Anatolia, these minarets give little hint of the unique role which the minaret was to play in Ottoman architecture, one which became largely fixed, with its slender and elegant form, like a sharpened pencil, after the capture of Istanbul. In the Ottoman minaret, the main cylindrical shaft rises from a square or polygonal base and is punctuated by one, two or even three circular balconies carried on *muķarnas* [*q.v.*] vaulting, the whole being capped by elongated conical roofs, sheathed in lead and ending in finials. Muezzins on each balcony would deliver the call to prayer in the form of a canon; and the acoustic impact of these many voices would of course be significantly intensified in a mosque with multiple minarets, the voices interweaving in different sonorities depending on the height and distance separating the muezzins. Whether such musical refinements were entirely audible is another matter.

Perhaps the most celebrated feature of Ottoman minarets was not their outward form but their use in pairs, quartets or sextets as a device to proclaim the royal status of the building—for it seems that only a reigning sultan could erect more than one minaret per mosque. There can be little doubt that these mosques represent the most sustained attempt in all of Islamic architecture to reconcile the divergent aims of royal and religious iconography. These gigantic, needle-sharp lances clustered protectively, like a guard of honour, around the royal dome, have a distinctly aggressive and ceremonial impact, largely dependent on their almost unprecedented proportions; the pair of minarets flanking the Süleymaniye dome are each some 70m. high. Such minarets function simultaneously to enrich the exterior silhouette of the mosque—in the case just cited, for instance, the outer minarets flanking the principal façade of the building are shorter than those flanking the dome. Thus a pyramidal effect is achieved which is still further emphasised by the choice of a sloping site. The gently rolling skyline of Istanbul, with its rural views, was ideally suited for this kind of display, and the political significance of the city as the Ottoman capital may partly have motivated this new use of the minaret as a component of urban design on a mammoth scale. Such minarets were also used in a more symbolic way as markers of the courtyard of the *muṣallā*, or of the entire mosque, staking out the boundaries of the religious domain within a secular environment. Dome chamber and minaret alike thus acquire extra significance as symbols of the faith. This development was not new, but only in Ottoman architecture is it pursued with such singlemindedness. It is therefore entirely appropriate that these minarets should, like the domes over the *miḥrāb*, also bear the emblem of the crescent, supported on a series of superposed orbs.

If conservatism is the hallmark of the Ottoman minaret, its counterpart in Egypt is above all varied. This variety is all the more remarkable because the Egyptian school is to all intents and purposes concentrated on the buildings of Cairo, though it is represented in some small measure in the provincial towns of Egypt and in the architecture of the Mamlūks in Syria and the Levant. Unfortunately, very few surviving pre-Mamlūk minarets have escaped extensive alternation. Moreover, the most important examples to fall within this category are not metropolitan work at all but are found in various provincial towns—Esna, Luxor, Aswan and nearby Shellal, all dating from the late 5th/11th century and already displaying the characteristic Egyptian division of the minaret into separately conceived superimposed tiers, though Ḥidjāzī influences are at work also.

Interesting as these minarets are stylistically, they are insignificant in comparison with the great corner towers marking the main façade of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim in Cairo, built between 380/990 and 401/1010. With their massive—but later—embattled

square bases, whose taper, like that of an ancient Egyptian pylon, is so pronounced that it is almost a slope, they have all the appearance of bastions. That this military quality was to some degree present in the original layout is shown by the façade of the Mahdiyya mosque, built in Tunisia early in the previous century, which too had the corners of its main façade heavily emphasised by bastions which matched the main entrace of the mosque in projecting some 3m. from it and moreover projected a full 7m. from the lateral walls. In its original layout, the Ḥākim mosque maintained the consonance between corner projections and portal already established at Mahdiyya, though the projection was twice as marked. Very soon, however—by 401/1010—each minaret was enclosed by a huge salient some 17m. square which allotted it a revolutionary and portentous role. Finally, in 480/1087, Badr al-Djamālī enlarged the northern salient to gigantic proportions—some 25m. square. He thereby not only incorporated the principal façade of the mosque into the expanded fortifications of the city—a clear indication of the essentially military flavour of this mosque—but managed to make the minarets play a major part in this process without noticeable strain or incongruity.

Since the minarets of al-Ḥākim survive only in an altered state, it is not easy to see where they belong in the corpus of Egyptian minarets. This is all the more regrettable in view of the once-vigorous controversy over the role of the Pharos of Alexandria, which stood intact until it was partially ruined by an earthquake in 180/796-7, in the evolution of the Egyptian minaret. *Pace* Creswell, who argued against any connection between the two building types, it can scarcely be overlooked that the surviving Egyptian minarets which date before 1100 all attest a pronounced multipartite division of the elevation. Since this feature is absent alike in the Syrian, Iranian and Maghribī traditions (with two significant exceptions), some rationale for this unusual feature must be proposed, and a probability here seems to be the Pharos, with the Egyptian minarets as free variations on the Pharos theme. (One should note that the Pharos was repeatedly rebuilt by the Muslims until its final disappearance between the early 7th/13th and the mid-8th/14th century. Indeed, as Butler noted, the account of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf indicates that in *ca.* 1200 the Pharos comprised successively square, octagonal and round storeys and was crowned by a lantern or small cupola. It may well be, therefore, that this semi-Islamic Pharos rather than the original buiding was the means of establishing the tradition of the multi-staged minaret in Egypt.)

But if the Pharos did, in one or other of its successive guises, exert some influence on early Egyptian minarets, this does not seem to have been continuous. In the early versions of certain towers, the emphasis was on a tall, square shaft of Syrian type, which may be very plain (mausolea of Abu 'l-Ghaḍanfar, 552/1157, and Fāṭima Khātūn) or richly decorated (minaret in *madrasa* of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad), with the so-called *mabkhara* (because it resembled the top of an incense burner), a two-storey octagonal pavilion, crowning it. Subsequently, the *mabkhara* was accorded more emphasis, and its interior divisions made more marked, with differing ground plans, octagonal and circular, and decorative patterns.

In later times, the principle persisted of altering the ratio of the component tiers. The main shaft was reduced to the point where it was lost in the surrounding walls of the mosque, leaving the visible part of the minaret as an octagonal shaft with a cylindrical superstructure (minarets of Shaykhūn and Sarghatmish, both mid-8th/14th century). The transitions between the tiers were often marked by multiple balconies on *muḳarnas* corbelling, recalling Ottoman minarets, and these were indeed used to secure the same antiphonal effects in the chanting of the *adhān* as in Turkey. There was an emphasis on absolute height, with the southeastern corner minaret of the Sultan Ḥasan mosque soaring to 90m., the tallest in Cairo. The *mabkhara* was now replaced by the *ḳulla*, so-called because of its resemblance to the upper half of the typical Egyptian water container, pear-shaped and with at least two bronze finials whose crescents are orientated towards the *ḳibla*. In the final decades of Mamlūk rule, the minaret is crowned by a pair of square-plan pavilions crowned by a cluster of *ḳulla*s (funerary complex of Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī).

Finally, the popularity of the minaret in Mamlūk architecture invites explanation. In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, the main building type in Cairo appears to have been the composite ensemble. Its constituent parts could vary from one ensemble to another, but their main functional elements were the mosque, *madrasa*, *khānḳāh* and mausoleum. Similar complexes had already become popular in Saldjūḳ Anatolia. In Egypt, however, unlike Anatolia, the minaret was from the first regarded as an integral part of such complexes. Whether this was entirely for functional reasons may be doubted. In the dense urban fabric of Cairo, nothing could more appropriately designate such a complex from afar than a minaret; and in this sense, it could be regarded as a public affirmation of its patron's munificence. Their placing varied. Sometimes they were located at the two corners of the principal façade, or flanking a gateway (e.g. Bāb Zuwayla); these were traditional locations. But many of the locations were unusual or even unprecedented. The *madrasa* of al-Ṣāliḥ has a single minaret above the central porch of the façade, and the two minarets in the mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the citadel are at the corner of the *ḳibla* wall and to one side of the main entrance. The latter location recurs in the funerary complex of Ḳāʾit Bay. In this unpredictable positioning of the minaret, one may recognise similar concerns to those of Ottoman architects. Now the minaret was, it seems, valued less for its actual or symbolic religious function and more for its role as a marker or articulating feature, both within the complex to which it belonged and more broadly within the cityscape itself. Once again, then, the flexibility of the forms developed by Islamic architects asserted itself.

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(R. HILLENBRAND)

2. In India.

The *manāra* in India, commonly referred to by the *imāla* form *mīnār*, may be either (a) free-standing or (b) an integral part of a mosque or other building. In the second category, it is convenient to distinguish the (actually or potentially) functional from the non-functional forms. With rare exceptions, in some regional styles [see HIND. vii. Architecture] no form of the *mīnār* is used at all; Djawnpur; Mālwā; the Dihli sultanates and the pre-Mughal Pandjāb; Sind; Kashmīr; the ʿImād Shāhī, Niẓām Shāhī and Barīd Shāhī sultanates in the Deccan. (It might be objected that the non-functional forms do not properly qualify to be called *mīnārs* at all; but these forms, with others to be mentioned below, are certainly derived from *mīnār* prototypes, and there is no other recognised term by which they may conveniently be described. The term *mīnār* is regularly applied to towers of many types and functions.)

(a) The free-standing *mīnār* first appears in India as an adjunct to the earliest mosque ("Ḳuwwat al-Islām") in Dihlī, standing outside the original mosque compound, commenced by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak (whence, possibly, its sobriquet of "Ḳuṭb Mīnār" [*q.v.*]) about 595/1199, and completed before 634/1236 by Iltutmish [*q.v.*] to a height of some 230 feet. The taper of its profile is very pronounced, nearly 5° from the vertical and it was divided into four stages by encircling balconies supported by *muḳarnas* corbels; the three lower stages show different designs of vertical fluting, the flutes on the lowest stage being alternately rounded and angular, those in the second all rounded, those in the third all angular (the original fourth stage was rebuilt into two storeys in 770/1368 under Fīrūz Shāh the Tughluḳid). The occurrence of the Ḳurʾān, LXII, 9-10, in an inscription on the second storey affords presumptive evidence for the use of the *mīnār* as a *miʾdhana*. The assertions s.v. DIHLĪ (II, 260) and HIND (III, 441) above, that the fluted storeys develop the polygonal outline of the *mīnārs* of Ghazna, taken as the prototype of the Dihlī *mīnār*, now need modification in the light of later research: A. Hutt, in *Three minarets in the Kirman region*, in *JRAS* (1970), 172-80, shows that the section of the base of the minaret of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ of Zarand shows precisely the same disposition of alternate rounded and angular flutes; this is therefore a more exact exemplar for the Ḳuṭb Mīnār than the *mīnārs* at Ghazna, whose section is stellate, based on two interlaced squares. A *mīnār* in the Sīstān region, described by K. Fischer in *Afghanistan*, xxii/3-4 (1970), 91-107, of similar form, suggests a nearer prototype on the probable line of transmission to India. (There is thus now even less need to cite the form of the Doddabasappa temple in Dambal, Dharwar district, as a possible prototype of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār plan, as has been advocated by some Hindū enthusiasts.) The characteristic taper of the Kirmān examples, and of the minaret of Djām in Afghānistān, is also closer to that of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār than are the Ghazna examples. These details are emphasised here because of their persistence in certain aspects of mosque architecture, described under (b) below. Other free-standing *mīnārs* stand or stood at Kōʾil (ʿĀlīgarh) (inscr. 652/1254; erected by Balban as governor to commemorate victories of the sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd; tapering with square base and external galleries supported by cornices, with internal spiral stair, but demolished in 1862 without adequate record; Bayānā, cylindrical with slight entasis but unfinished, in city near Ukhā mandir and Ukhā masdjid, 9th/15th century, and tall *mīnār* in hilltop fort, tapered with corbelled balcony, inscr. 871/1466 (?), possibly with a double staircase (entrance blocked on my visit in 1972); Dawlatābād, "Čānd Mīnār" in inner city, *ca.* 849/1445, three encircling galleries supported by elaborate brackets, similar profile to *mīnārs* of *madrasa* in Bīdar, see below; Bīdar town, "Čawbāra", low cylindrical tower at crossing of main thoroughfares, early 9th/15th century; Čhoṭā Paṇḍuʾā Bengal: massive *mīnār* 50m. from Bafī masdjid, early 8th/14th century, five diminishing tiers resembling half-drawn-out telescope, lowest three fluted; Gawŕ: Fērōz Mīnār, *ca.* 895/1490, no taper, polygonal section. Both Hiran *mīnār* at Fatḥpur Sīkrī and "Nīm safāʾī" *mīnār* at old Māldā, Bengal, tapered with stone projections resembling elephant tusks (on which to display heads of rebels?), Mughal, late 10th/16th century; Dihlī "Čōr Mīnār", early 9th/15th century, many holes for same purpose; Shaykhūpūra, Pandjāb, Hiran Mīnār, 30m., tapering 1044/1635, popularly sometimes supposed to commemorate Djahāngīr's favourite elephant, but often attributed to Dārā Shukōh. Finally, the Kōs Mīnārs of the early Mughal period, solid towers of similar profile to the Ḳuṭb Mīnār but only 6-8 m. high, were set at intervals of a *kōs* [see MIṢĀHA. 2. India] along the major thoroughfares. Many purposes are involved in the above: *miʾdhana*; observation post to command dead ground; possibly, following Hindū examples, "victory tower"; other commemoration; platform for shooting or observation game; execution displays; distance markers. The purposes are frequently combined.

(b) *Mīnārs* attached to a mosque or other building, however, are provided primarily as *miʾdhanas*, although since they are almost always multiplied symmetrically, they obviously have also an important aesthetic function (the single *mīnār* in the south-east corner of the courtyard of the Bahmanī Ek mīnār kī masdjid at Rāyčur [*q.v.*] is a striking exception). Only in Gudjarāt under the Aḥmad Shāhī

sultanate, and in Burhānpur in Khāndēsh, are paired functional *mīnārs* used regularly before the Mughal period; here they are cylindrical, their internal staircases opening on to one or more encircling balconies supported on heavy corbels as well as to the mosque roof, and are capped by conical roofs with no suggestion of an open turret. The earliest Aḥmad Shāhī examples flank the central arch of the *līwān*, although later they may be placed at the north and south ends of the façade. The latest mosques of the Aḥmad Shāhī period, e.g. Rānī Sabarī's mosque and the Īsānpur one, have solid pseudo-*mīnārs* at the ends of the façade.

This sudden reintroduction of the *mi'dhana-mīnār*, with an immediate secondary aesthetic function, is not fully explained. Gudjarāt mosques in Dihlī Sultanate times such as Hilāl Khān's one at Dhōlkā, the Djāmi' mosque at Cambay, have only solid conical or cylindrical pillars over the parapet flanking the central bay of the *līwān*; but earlier Dihlī Sultanate examples outside Gudjarāt may show the connection with the Ḳuṭb Mīnār; e.g. the Aṙhā'ī din kā djompṙā mosque at Adjmēr carries two cylindrical turrets, solid and some 2m. tall, over the *maḳṣūra* arch, with vertical flutes alternately circular and angular exactly as on the lowest storey of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār (similar fluting occurs on the external corner buttresses of the mosque courtyard). In Dihlī itself, the Ḳuṭb Mīnār profile is perpetuated in the solid buttresses which flank mosque gateways, the central bay of the *līwān* façade, the external *miḥrāb*-projection, and external corners of courtyards, in the Tughluḳ and Lōdī periods; these show at least one band of Ḳuṭb Mīnār-like fluting, and their profile is carried up above parapet level to end in a *guldasta*; especially when flanking the central propylon-like arch of the *līwān* façade, these suggest paired *mi'dhana* towers, and may thus have a psychological purpose. This would seem to be the explanation for many of the examples which follow. In the Bahmanī Sultanate, the *mīnār* is not used regularly with mosques; that at Rāyčūr mentioned above is an exception, and the Čānd Mīnār at Dawlatābād is doubtless sited with the old Djāmi' mosque in mind although physically separated by some 100 metres—doubtless also to enable a view of broken ground to the east. The profile of both resembles that of the remaining one *mīnār* of two at the ends of the entrance façade of the *madrasa* of Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] at Bīdar, inscr. 877/1472, although the balconies of the latter are carried out from the main shaft in a curvilinear form rather than being supported on brackets in the usual Indian manner. All are crowned with a dome-shaped cap, with no open room at the top. The old brick *mīnārs* attached to the courtyard of the much later Makkā Masdjid at Bīdjāpur, also of Bahmanī date, have lost their upper parts; their balconies seem to have been supported on wooden brackets. Other Bahmanī *mīnārs*, all of similar profile, are the pairs flanking the gateways of the *dargāh* of Shaykh Sirādj al-Dīn Djunaydī and the so-called house of Gēsū Dāraz, both in Gulbargā, and those flanking both the outer and inner gateways of the *dargāh* at Āland; but these are crowned with foliated domes of three-quarter sphere shape, as in the 'Ādil Shāhī and Ḳuṭb Shāhī styles, and those of the outer gateway have moreover an encircling band of open arches in the Ḳuṭb Shāhī manner. Of possible relevance to the designs in north India referred to above are the *guldastas* which stand at the corners of the parapets of Bahmanī tombs, starting with the very earliest at Gulbargā: these are fluted, although fluting does not extend to the *mīnārs*. The *mīnār* proper is not used at all in the Bahmanīs' successor states. The skylines of mosques and tombs of the 'Ādil Shāhīs in Bīdjāpur and elsewhere are so liberally provided with vertical pillars as to resemble a burgeoning asparagus bed, but these are at best pseudo-*mīnārs* which may psychologically suggest the *mi'dhana-mīnār* but whose real function is merely artistic. Turrets, *čhatrīs* and *guldastas* are also freely used, but the relation between these forms cannot be pursued here. The *mīnār*-like structures of the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs of Ḥaydarābād and Golkonḍā, similarly, are usually solid shafts, cylindrical, with characteristic encircling arcaded galleries, although in a late offshoot of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī style in the Djāmi' mosque of Srīrangapaṭṭana [*q.v.*] ("Seringapatam") an internal staircase is provided. That the bases of the pseudo-*mīnārs* of the Tōlī Masdjid (1082/1671) outside Ḥaydarābād city stand in pot-shaped bases should not be taken as representing any connexion with ancient Indian pillars.

Under the Mughals, the functional *mīnār* returns to north India; this is possibly inspired by Gudjarāt examples, since other typically Gudjarātī features are introduced into Mughal architecture after the conquest of Gudjarāt in 980/1573. The first example is that of the four *mīnārs* at the corners of the gateway of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, completed in the early years of the 11th/17th century: tapering, white marble (the lowest stage fluted), two intermediate balconies supported on corbel brackets, topped by an open *čhatrī* with slender columns. With some variation in the patterns of the intermediate balconies, and of the material, section and decoration of the shaft, this type is the model for the major later *mīnārs*: at Djahāngīr's tomb in Lāhawr; the Djāmi' mosque (Shāhdjahānābād) Dihlī; the Tādj Maḥall at Āgrā (but not the Djāmi' mosque); the mosque of Wazīr Khān at Lāhawr; the Bādshāhī mosque of Lāhawr, which has also short *mīnār*-like corner turrets; the tomb of Rābi 'a Dawrānī ("Bībī kā maḳbara") at Awrangābād; Awrangzīb's mosques in Banāras, Mathurā, etc.; short corner staircased *mīnārs* also at the tomb of I 'timād al-Dawla at Āgrā, little more than turrets, seem to be the model for engaged corner turrets at e.g. the tomb of Safdar Djang at Dihlī, and Mughal mosques in Bengal e.g. Dhakā, Murshidābād, etc. Since there is no necessity for the *adhān* at tombs, many of these Mughal *mīnārs* are thus also principally decorative.

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Plates II-III, IX-X., and see also SRĪRANGAPAṬṬANA. For the ʿĀdil S͟hāhī decorative forms, see *Bibl.*, to BĪD͟JĀPUR. Monuments. For the Mug͟hal *mīnārs* and associated structures, see MUG͟HALS. Architecture. A fully-illustrated study by the author of *mīnārs*, *guldastas* and associated structures is in preparation. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

3. In East Africa, the word (Swahili, *mnara*, pl. *minara*), has three connotations:

(1) Before the late 19th century minarets were of extreme rarity. The Great Mosque of Kilwa in Tanzania, the largest of all, did not have one. The only examples are the Great Mosque (1238) and the Mosque of Arbaʿa Rukūn (1268) at Mogadishu, and the Friday Mosque at Merca (1609), all in Somalia and dated by inscriptions; a late 14th century mosque at Ras Mkumbuu, Pemba Island; and the Malindi Mosque in Zanzibar Town built in 1831, of which the minaret is reputedly of greater age. Many mediaeval mosques, however, possess an external staircase, sometimes part of the structure of the ablutions, from which the call to prayer was given. The earliest such example is at Kaole, near Bagamoyo, Tanzania, while the Great Mosque at Kilwa, Tanzania, has two such staircases outside the mosque proper in its north and south courts respectively.

(2) The word is also used, both in Arabic and Swahili, for the pillar tombs which are an architectural peculiarity of the eastern African coast. Situated generally on the north of *ḳibla* side—for Mecca lies almost due north of the eastern African coast—these tombs are formed by a roofless square or rectangular walled structure, providing space for two up to five or six burials, the distinguishing pillar being cylindrical or tapered, square, hexagonal or octagonal, and usually with a string course or some other form of decoration near the top that markedly suggests a phallic origin. (In this connection it should perhaps be noted that at Mtitimira, some 12 miles north of Kilwa, a representation of a phallus the size of a man's forearm surmounts the *miḥrāb* arch in a mosque that was abandoned in the 14th century.) The height of the pillars varies greatly from some 10 to 20 feet, but at Mombasa an extreme example reaches some 60 feet and has a base which actually spans the entire tomb. It is alleged today by some Sunnī Muslims amongst the Swahili that these pillar tombs are the work of S͟hīʿīs, but this has never been confirmed. The only reference to a pillar tomb in literature is in the Arabic *History of Kilwa*, B.L. Or. ms. 2666, which refers to the burial *ca.* 1364 of sultan Ṭālūt b. al-Ḥusayn of Kilwa in a pillar tomb on Mafia Island which was already occupied by the burials of two *faḳīhs*. This is the earliest date that we possess for these structures, but regrettably the tomb in question seems to have fallen into ruin and disappeared. Pillar tombs are distributed from as far north as Koyama in the Bajun Islands off the east coast of Somalia to as far south as Mboamaji, a few miles south of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Their walls are frequently panelled and often elaborately decorated with different motifs sculptured in coral, and sometimes inlaid with plates of Chinese porcelain, rarely celadon, but chiefly blue-and-white of the Ming dynasty. This practice already existed in the 14th century, as witness Yüan porcelain inlaid in the pillar of a pillar tomb at Kaole, near Bagamoyo, Tanzania. In 1954 the Zumbe (chief) of Mkwaja regretted to the present writer that no porcelain plates of Chinese origin were available for the decoration of the Zumbe's father's tomb. In default of porcelain, a group of early 20th century tombs at Moa, Tanzania, is decorated with blue enamel plates.

(3) A structure on Songo Mnara Island near Kilwa, which gives the island its name, is built on a platform of four steps some sixteen yards offshore. Visiting it in 1950, the late Gervase Mathew found the skeletal remains of a goat which had apparently been sacrificed on top of it. It is described by P. S. Garlake as a mosque, but an Arabic treaty between the then Sultan of Kilwa and a French slave-trader, Jean-Vincent Morice, dated 12 S͟haʿbān 1190/4 November 1776, clearly refers to it as *bayt manār (sic)*. Garlake prints a plan of the structure showing a small mosque with a ruined *miḥrāb*, but H.N. Chittick, who partly cleared the building in 1961, founds it to be "a truncated pyramid with stepped sides, surmounted by a rectangular chamber", with doors at the north and south. The present writer did not distinguish the remains of a *miḥrāb* when he visited it in 1955. Morice's two maps of *ca.* 1776 show it as a three-storeyed building, the three storeys tapering towards the top; he refers to is as *la pagode*. Chittick found only two storeys remaining, the second storey being decorated with numerous late 15th century celadon bowls. J. Crassons de Medeuil, another slave-trader, writing in 1784, says that *la pagode* which "was very curious looking", had fallen down at some time during the preceding three years. This sentence follows immediately upon the description of a mosque, thus clearly differentiating it therefrom. M. H. Dorman thought it to have been a lighthouse, but this is unlikely because these are unknown in eastern Africa at the period indicated by the celadon bowls, and indeed until the later 19th century. The elaborate decoration suggests rather that the building was domestic, even if the lowest of the three rooms was used for prayer, and that perhaps it was a tower kiosk built so as to take advantage of the evening breeze on what is a hot sticky island. This explanation would satisfy the meaning both of *mnara* and that of *pagode* in 18th century French.

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

MANAS, the name of the paramount hero of the Kirg͟hiz oral epic tradition and also of the totality of the epics which accreted about him and his kindred by the process of cyclisation, in this case very marked.

Some 4,000,000 lines of *Manas* are said to have been recorded in Kirgizia in this century, but not one scholarly edition of a self-contained performance has appeared, or, if it has, has yet reached the West. A recording of an episode from *Manas* was made by R. Dor in the Pamir in 1973, of which a philological edition, with translation and commentary, is imminent; and recordings of *Manas* in Xinjiang by members of the Institute for Minorities, Peking, are reported to

have been made during the last decade. In 1911-12, G. von Almásy published 72 lines critically, with translation and commentary. Thus the importance of the 15,705 lines of *Manas* recorded by W. Radloff (V. V. Radlov) and Ch. Ch. Valikhanov between 1856 and 1869 cannot be overestimated: it is obligatory in method that the earliest extant specimens of an heroic tradition be studied before the later, and the later Kïrghïz epics can scarcely be available in acceptable editions within a hundred years from now.

What follows here is largely based on close study of the mid-19th century recordings. The disordered renarration from *Manas* in the Tādjīk *Madjmū^c al-tawārīkh* of Sayf al-Dīn, attributed to the 16th century, has been accepted as evidence of the flourishing of *Manas* at that time; yet the two mss. of the *Madjmū^c* so far cited are dated respectively 1792-3 and 19th century, so that the (very likely) possibility that the *Manas* passage was interpolated to serve the political ends of Khoḳand requires convincing disproof before it can be considered as evidence for *Manas* in Kïrghïz at so early a date. However, *Manas*, as it appears in Kïrghïz verse for the first time in the Valikhanov recording of *Kökötöydün ashï* ("The memorial feast for Kökötöy") in 1856, reflects a mature and truly epic tradition which is obviously the product of many generations. Surprisingly, if one goes back to this earlier tradition from the patriotic and at times stridently nationalistic material of the 20th century, one finds that the heroes are not Kïrghïz but Noghay; on the very rare occasions when "Kïrghïz" are named, it is with irony. Nevertheless, the connection between the mid-19th century epic tradition and the life of the Kïrghïz as then lived is supplied by the situation of Manas, his son Semetey and his grandson Seytek: all are only sons forming a fragile line of *khāns* that is threatened with extirpation in manhood, boyhood, in the very womb. And such, *mutatis mutandis*, was the situation of the scattered Kïrghïz tribes themselves, dangerously hemmed in as they were on their high pastures by the Chinese, the Kalmïk, the Khoḳanders and the Russians. The "Noghay" of mid-19th century Kïrghïz epic are, as were the Kïrghïz themselves, only superficially touched by Islam, their treacherous Kalmïk antagonists even less by Lamaist Buddhism. The plots of the various self-contained episodes of the abstraction *Manas* that were recorded in 1856-69 are clear-cut, stark and existential. The style is rapid, graphic and abounding in beautifully-structured epithets and formulae aimed at connoisseurs. It provides a touchstone by which the published 20th-century material, despite its enrichment by Persian narrative poetry and the European novel, must be pronounced inflated, distorted and, *qua* epic, decadent.

Bibliography: See for pre-1966 references, ḤAMĀSA. iv. Central Asia. Since 1966: (i) Mid-19th-century. (Edition) A.T. Hatto, *The memorial feast for Kökötöy-khan (Kökötöydün ašï). A Kirghiz epic poem edited for the first time from a photocopy of the unique manuscript with translation and commentary*, London Oriental Series, 33, Oxford 1977. (Interpretation) [All by A.T. Hatto] *The birth of Manas*, in *Asia Major*, N.S., xiv (1969), 217-41; Kukotay *and* Bok Murun: *a comparison of two related heroic poems of the Kirgiz*, in *BSOAS*, xxxii (1969), 344-78, 541-70; *Almambet, Er Kökčö and Ak Erkeč*, in *CAJ*, xiii (1969), 161-98; *Köz-kaman*, in *CAJ*, xv (1971), 81-101, xv (1972), 241-83; *The Kirgiz original of Kukotay found*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiv (1971), 379-86; *Semetey*, in *Asia Major*, xviii (1973), 154-80, xix (1974), 1-36; *Germanic and Kirgiz heroic poetry. Some comparisons and contrasts*, in *Deutung und Bedeutung. Studies ... presented to Karl-Werner Maurer*, ed. Brigitte Schludermann *et alii*, The Hague-Paris 1973, 19-33; *The catalogue of heroes and heroines in the Kirgiz Joloi-kan*, in *Tractata altaica. Festschrift for Denis Sinor*, Wiesbaden 1976, 237-60; *Plot and character in mid-nineteenth-century Kirghiz epic*, in *Die mongolischen Epen*, Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 68, Wiesbaden 1979, 95-112; *The marriage, death and return to life of Manas: a Kirghiz poem of the mid-nineteenth century*, in *Turcica*, xii (1980), 66-94 (= Pt. I; Pt. II in 1981); *Zyklische Anspielungen und Epitheta in der altkirghisischen Heldenepik*, in *Asiatische Forschungen*, lxxii (1981). (Survey) *Kirghiz. Mid-nineteenth century*, in *Traditions of heroic and epic poetry*, gen. ed. A.T. Hatto, London, i (1980), 300-27. (ii) 20th century. (Miscellaneous) *Manas. Geroičeskiy épos kirgizskogo naroda*, ed. S. Musaev, Frunze 1968 (= Reprints of in part-inaccessible essays); J. Hein, *Epik altaischer Völker (passim)*, in *Volksepen der uralischen und altaischen Völker*, ed. W. Veenker (= Ural Alaische Bibliothek, xvi), Wiesbaden 1968, 55-65; S. M. Musaev, *Problemï naučnoy publikatsïi tekstov "Manasa"*, in *Fol'klor: izdanie éposa*, ed-in-chief A.A. Petrosyan, Moscow 1977, 223-9; İ. Başgöz, *The epic tradition among Turkic peoples*, in *Heroic epic and saga*, ed. F. Oinas, Bloomington and London 1978, 318-22; S. Musaev, *Épos "Manas": naučno-populyarnïy očerk*, Frunze 1979, 1-205.

(A.T. HATTO)

AL-**MANĀṢĪR**, BANŪ (sing. AL-MANṢŪRĪ), the name of half-a-dozen tribes, or branches of a single tribe, residing in eastern and southern Arabia, ^cIrāḳ, Jordan, the Sudan and Algeria. The Arabian tribe or branch, at least, claim descent from Ḳaḥṭān through Ghuwaynim, and they are thus, in the Arabic genealogical scheme, *al-^cArab al-^cāriba*, or true Arabs. Both they and the Jordanian branch boast of having been originally Christian, hence the derivation of the name from Naṣārā. Presumably therefore, the tribe originated in the Yemen, although the name does not appear in any of the South Arabian genealogical works.

Little has been written about those residing in the Fertile Crescent or in the Sudan, aside from the statements that those in Jordan (al-Balḳā^3) are affiliated with the Banū Djarūmiyya and those in ^cIrāḳ with the large and important Banū Shammar. In Algeria, the al-Manāṣīr, living along the coast between Ténès and Cherchell, have apparently been Berberised.

In eastern and southern Arabia, the Banu 'l-Manāṣīr share the entire southern edge of the Rub^c al-Khālī from the border of ^cUmān to Nadjrān, a distance of about a thousand miles, with the Banū Murra, noted, until modernisation, for their particularly fine herds of camels. Although supporters of the Su^cūdī family, the al-Manāṣīr are not Wahhābīs and follow the Mālikī school of law.

Bibliography: ^cUmar Riḍā Kaḥhāla, *Mu^cdjam ḳabā^3il al-^cArab*, Damascus 1948, iii; H.St. J.B. Philby, *The Empty Quarter*, New York 1933; A. Hamilton, *The Kingdom of Melchior*, London 1949; Frauke Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, London 1982. (C.L. GEDDES)

MANĀSTĪR. The name Manāstīr (Greek *monastírion*) is not an uncommon toponym (cf. Goljam Manastir in Bulgaria and Manastïr near Beyşehir in Turkey). However, it usually occurs as the Turkish designation for the modern town of Bitola in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in Yugoslavia. Bitola is situated near the site of the ancient town of

Heraclea where the eastern foothills of the 2,601m. high Mt. Pelister merge with the Pelagonian Plain. The town, already mentioned as an episcopal see in the 5th/11th century, had developed into an important urban centre as a result of its advantageous situation on the old Via Egnatia even before it was conquered by Tīmūrtas̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a in the eighth decade of the 8th/14th century. While documents pertaining to the history of the town under Ottoman rule are extant from as early as the first half of the 9th/15th century (H. Kaleši, *Najstarija arapska vakufnama u Jugoslaviji*, in *POF*, x-xi [1961], 55-75), statistical data reflecting the development of Manāstīr are extant only since the seventh decade of the century, and only last (as far as is known) until the seventh or eighth decade of the following 10th/16th century (M. Sokoloski, *Turski izvorni podatoci od XV i XVI vek za gradot Bitola*, in *Glasnik INI*, vii/l [1963], 127-56; idem (ed.), *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod. Opširni popisni defteri od XV vek*, ii, *Turksi dokumenti za makedonskata istorija*, 5 vols. Skopje 1973, 141-5). The *sid̲j̲ills* of the *ḳāḍīs* of Manāstīr, which offer a penetrating view into almost all aspects of urban life, document the period from 1016/1607 to the end of Ottoman rule in Macedonia (1912) and beyond. They also witness the development of Manāstīr first into a residence of the *wālīs* of Rūmeli (in the course of the second half of the 12/18th century), and then to the official seat of the provincial government of the *eyālet* of Rūmeli which was redefined in 1836 (M. Sokoloski, A, Starova, V. Boškov and F. Ishak (eds.), *Turksi dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod, Serija prva: 1607-1699,* 4 vols. Skopje 1963-72: i (1607-23), ii (1627-35), iii (1636-9), iv (1640-2); A. Matkovski (ed.), *Turski izvori za ajdutstvoto i aramistvoto vo Makedonija*, 5 vols. Skopje 1961-80: i (1620-50), ii (1650-1700), iii (1700-25), iv (1725-75), v (1775-1810); P. Džambazovski, and A. Starova (eds.) Skopje 1951-8: i (1800-3), ii (1803-8), iii (1809-17), iv (1818-27), v (1827-39)). In addition, documents from the archives of the metropolitan of Manāstīr pertaining to the first half of the 13th/19th century have been published (I. Snegarov, *Grdcki kodeksi na Pelagonijskata mitropolija/Griechische Kodexe der Pelagonischen Metropolie*, in *Godišnik na Sofiskija universitet, Bogoslovski fakultet*, xxv [Sofia 1948], 2-58). Since the middle of the 13th/19th century, when numerous European consulates were established in Manāstīr, consular reports comprise one of the most important historical sources. As a result of its importance, Manāstīr became the capital of a *wilāyet* of the same name in 1874 and again in 1879 (A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 71 f.). Its population in 1900 was 37,000, and in 1971, 65,035 (M. Panov, *Geografija na SR Makedonija*, i, Skopje 1976, 303).

Bibliography : A first, uncritical, sketch of the history of Manāstīr from its beginning is given by Meḥmed Tewfīḳ, *Manāstīr wilāyetinin tārīk̲h̲česi ve istātistīḳ-i ʿumūmīsi*, Manāstīr 1327/1909, Serbo-Croat tr. Gliša Elezović, *Kratka istorija bitolskog vilajeta*, in *Bratstvo*, xxvii (1935), 190-244. Although no comprehensive, scientific treatment of Manāstīr's history has been undertaken as yet, a general abstract, based in part on more recent research, has been undertaken by Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *History of Macedonia 1354-1833*, Thessaloniki 1973 (cf. index s.v. "Monastir"). The first, tentative, contributions to a bibliography of "Bitola and environs up to World War I" have been begun by Kočo Sidovski, *Prilog kon bibliografijata za Bitola i Bitolsko do prvata svetska vojna*, in *Istorija*, ix/l (Skopje 1973), 264-70; x/l (1974), 405-8; x/2 (1974), 571-5; xii/1-2 (1976), 323-7. (M. Ursinus)

MANĀSTİRLİ MEḤMED RIFʿAT (1851-1907), Ottoman Turkish officer, writer, poet and playwright of the younger *Tanẓīmāt* generation. Born in Monastir [see MANĀSTİR], son of a regimental secretary, Res̲h̲īd Efendi, who had migrated from Athens and settled there, he attended the local military school and then was trained at the War College (*Mekteb-i Ḥarbiyye*) in Istanbul and graduated in 1872 as a staff captain. He and his class mate, a close friend (and future collaborator in many plays) Ḥasan Bedreddīn (Bedr al-Dīn) were both appointed teachers at the War College where they attracted the attention of Süleymān Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], director general of military schools (*makātib-i ʿaskeriyye nāẓiri*) who thought highly of them and protected them.

When Ḥüseyn ʿAwnī Pas̲h̲a, the Minister of War (*Serʿasker*) and his close friends in the government (including the great liberal Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]) who strongly disapproved of Sultan ʿAbdülʿazīz (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz)'s régime, decided to dethrone the Sultan, they secured the help of their trusted man, Süleymān Pas̲h̲a, a convinced liberal and prominent soldier-scholar. On the night of 30 May 1876, the Dolmabahçe Palace was surrounded by troops led by Süleymān Pas̲h̲a. They consisted of two battalions of War College cadets commanded by Meḥmed Rifʿat and his colleague and friend Ḥasan Bedreddīn respectively. ʿAbdülʿazīz commited suicide on 5 June, six days after his dethronement.

During the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-8, Meḥmed Rifʿat, now a major, was sent to the Eastern Anatolian front and fought under G̲h̲āzī Aḥmed Muk̲h̲tār Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. He was taken prisoner, sent to Russia and returned home after the peace (July 1878). But the new absolutist régime which was inaugurated after the dissolution of Parliament (13 February 1878) marked down Meḥmed Rifʿat and Ḥasan Bedreddīn as *persona non grata*, having collaborated with "dangerous" liberals.

When in 1882 ʿAbdülḥamid II (ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd) decided to get rid of Midḥat Pas̲h̲a, "the Father of the Constitution" (*Eb-i Mes̲h̲rūṭiyyet*) who was at the time in Izmir as governor of the *wilāyet* of Aydīn, he accused him of having arranged the "assassination" of Sultan ʿAbdülʿazīz in 1876, had him arrested and sent to the Yīldīz Palace, where he and fourteen others were sentenced. All soldiers and civil servants involved in the dethronement, or simply thought to have liberal ideas, were banished from Istanbul. True to Ḥamīdian methods of dealing with undesirable soldiers and civil servants, Meḥmed Rifʿat was first promoted to lieutenant-colonel, then posted to a division in Damascus and later transferred to Aleppo, whence he never returned. He died in Aleppo in this same rank, in 1907, one year before the restoration of the Constitution.

A prolific writer, Manāstīrlī Rifʿat was both an author and also the translator of more than thirty books: text-books on mathematics, military science, religion, poetics, letter writing, Arabic and Persian grammar and plays, particularly during the theatre boom of the 1870s. While teaching in the War College, he founded the periodical *Čanta* ("Satchel, bag") in which he published mainly epic-patriotic essays, largely for the benefit of the cadets and his fellow officers, which prompted enthusiastic response from the great patriot Nāmīḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] from his prison at Famagusta in Cyprus (for the text of his letter, see Ebüzziya (Abu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ) Tewfīḳ, *Nümūne-yi edebiyyāt-ī ʿOt̲h̲māniyye*ⁱ, Istanbul 1292/1875).

Manāstīrlī Rifʿat's poems, written mostly in the old style and published in various newspapers and periodicals, his *sīra* and *Ḳiṣaṣ-i enbiyāʾ* in verse and his

verse translations of many Arabic and Persian *kaṣīdas*, etc., have not been collected into book form. His other poems, mostly of a personal nature, which he collected in a small *dīwān* (*dīwānče*) remain unedited.

Manāstīrlī Rifᶜat is mainly remembered because of his remarkable contribution to the Turkish theatre in writing, translating and adapting many plays. Some of these plays were written in collaboration with this close friend, Ḥasan Bedreddīn (later Pas̲h̲a) [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

Although it is customary to begin the modern Turkish theatre with Ibrāhīm S̲h̲ināsī's *S̲h̲āᶜir evlenmesi* (1859), there are many indications that an earlier date should be adopted (see Fahir Iz, *Pabuççu Ahmed'in garip maceraları*, Istanbul 1961, and Metin And, *100 soruda Türk tiyatrosu*, Istanbul 1970), However, modern Turkish theatre had a speedy development soon after S̲h̲ināsī's play, and reached the proportions of a boom, particularly in the late 1860s and early 1870s, one which lasted until the inauguration of the anti-liberal, reactionary period after 1878. Nāmīḳ Kemāl, S̲h̲emseddīn (S̲h̲ems al-Dīn) Sāmī, ᶜAlī Bey, Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pas̲h̲a, Teodor Ḳaṣāb and others contributed to this activity. Early modern plays were considerably inspired by the Turkish traditional or folk theatre (Karagöz, Orta oyunu, Meddāḥ [*q.vv.*]) and used, to some extent, the techniques of French comedy and farce (Molière being the favourite author). Often Western (mainly French) plays were translated or adapted.

Manāstīrlī Rifᶜat and Ḥasan Bedreddīn joined this movement and published together, in fascicules, between 1875 and 1879, 16 plays, under the general title *Temās̲h̲ā* ("Spectacle"), which eventually made up two volumes (Vol. i, fasc. 1-9. vol. ii, fasc. 1-7) of nearly a thousand pages. The majority of these plays, including two comic-operas and one opera-bouffe, of little interest, are translations from the French or via French. The following 7 plays are original: Vol. i, Fasc. 2, *Delīle yāhūt ḳanlī intiḳām* ("Delīle or bloody vengeance"), 1875, an historical drama of Eastern Anatolia; fasc. 4, *Ebu 'l-ᶜAlā yāhūt mürüwwet* ("Abu 'l-ᶜAlāᵓ or humaneness"), 1875, a play on Islamic history; fasc. 6, *Ebu 'l-Fidā* ("Abu 'l-Fidā"); a comic opera, in three acts, 1975; fasc. 7, *Nedāmet* ("Repentance") 1875, a comedy; Vol. ii, fasc. 1, *Kölemenler*, a historical drama in five acts; fasc. 4, *Faḳīre yāhūt mükāfā-ī ᶜiffet* ("The poor girl, or the reward of virtue"), 1876; fasc. 6, *Aḥmed-i yetīm yāhūt natīd̲j̲e-yi ṣadāḳat* ("Aḥmed the orphan, or the result of loyalty"), 1879, an historical drama of the Egypt under the Ṭūlūnids.

All these plays were performed in the famous Gedik Pas̲h̲a Theatre in Istanbul. Apart from these plays, written in collaboration, Manāstīrlī Rifᶜat published the following plays independently: *Görenek* ("Social practice, custom"), 1873, social criticism satirising over-lavish weddings, where families try to outdo one another; *ᶜOt̲h̲mān G̲h̲āzī*, 1873, *Yā g̲h̲āzī yā s̲h̲ehīd*, 1874, two patriotic plays, possibly inspired by the enthusiastic reception of the performance of Nāmīḳ Kemāl's famous *Waṭan* ("Fatherland"), which caused such a furor at the time; and *Pākdāmen* ("The chaste one") which seems to have been inspired by Red̲j̲āᵓi-zāde Ekrem's [*q.v.*] *ᶜAfīfe Anz̲h̲elik* (1870), with non-Turkish dramatis personae, about a married woman's resistance to the valet's overtures during her husband's absence. Manāstīrlī Rifᶜat's other works worth mentioning include: *Med̲j̲āmiᶜ el-edeb*, in four volumes, 1890, a detailed treatise on the art of literature, rhetoric, poetics, prosody, etc., and *Ḥikāyāt-ī müntak̲h̲abe* ("Selected stories"), 1876, a striking example of the spoken Turkish of the time used as written Turkish.

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(Fahir İz)

MANĀT, name of one of the most ancient deities of the Semitic pantheon, who appears in the Pre-Sargonic period in the form Menūtum and constitutes one of the names of Ishtar (J. Bottéro, *Les divinités sémitiques anciennes en Mésopotamie*, in S. Moscati (ed.), *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, 30; Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, 373-4); the Ḳurᵓānic *scriptio* of her name preserves the primitive *w*, which also appears in the Nabatean *mnwtw* (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 313; Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 28). The *w* changes to *i* in the Bible (Isa. lxv, 11), as in the Sallier IV papyrus, *verso*, i, 5-6 (in J.B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1950, 250), where Meni is presented as a Semitic deity forming part of "the Ennead which is in the house of Ptaḥ". The difference of gender poses no obstacle to this identification, due to the fact that the *t* is not radical in the two forms and that the Arabic sources regard it as a feminine termination referring to *ṣak̲h̲ra*, the stone or rock embodying the deity (cf. Yāḳūt, iv, 652, 1. 15; *TA*, x, 351 *in fine*; Ibn al-Kalbī speaks of Manāt in the masculine (*K. al-Aṣnām*, ed. and Fr. tr. W. Atallah, Paris 1969, 9), thinking in this case of *ṣanam*). Originally, the two names had the root *mnw/y* which is to be found in all Semitic languages with the meaning of "to count", "to apportion", being applied in particular to the idea of "to count the days of life", hence death (*maniyya*), and "to assign to each his share", hence, lot, destiny (cf. C. Bezold, *Babylonisch-Assyriches Glossar*, ed. Götze, Heidelberg 1926, 176; Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*[17], Berlin 1949, 436 ff.; *TA*, x, 347 ff.; Yāḳūt, iv, 652.

The Greco-Roman equivalents given to Manāt testify to this meaning, since she is identified with Τύχαι or the Fortunae, the dual reflecting the form Manawāt (a false plural used for the dual *manawān* (Yāḳūt, iv, 652, 1.12), as in Thamudic, where she is called *st slm* "the Lady of Peace", see A. van den Branden, *Les inscriptions thamoudéennes*, 110 (Huber, 193), and in Nabatean (CIS 198). In Palmyra she is represented on a mosaic, seated and holding a sceptre in her hand, after the fashion of Nemesis, goddess of destiny (J. Starky, *Palmyre*, Paris 1952, 103 and pl. xii, nos. 5 and 6).

Like al-Lāt [*q.v.*] and al-ᶜUzzā [*q.v.*] who form with her the Arab triad (Ḳurᵓān, LIII, 19-20), Manāt was worshipped by all the Arabs". It was [originally] a rock for Hud̲h̲ayl in Ḳudayd" (Yāḳūt, iv, 652, 1.15 f.). ᶜAmr b. Luḥayy [*q.v.*], who substituted for the cult of betyls that of idols, erected for her, in Ḳudayd, a statue imported from the north, like that of Hubal [*q.v.*]. The sacred site of al-Mus̲h̲allal in Ḳudayd, about 15 km. from Yat̲h̲rib, became the gathering place of the Aws and K̲h̲azrad̲j̲, who were the most ardent worshippers of Manāt, to such an extent that they considered their pilgrimage to Mecca as incomplete if they had not been to her to shave their

heads. All the tribes of the surrounding area took part in her cult. Before the arrival of the Aws and Khazradj, coming from the south, she was worshipped by the Hudhayl who led a nomadic life in the region of Yathrib and by the Khuzāʿa in that of Mecca.

Also, from being a simple rock in Ḳudayd, the third divinity of the Arab triad, following the normal evolutionary process, ended up by being sculpted to suit the root from which she derives her name, representing one of the faces of the Asiatic Venus, i.e. Fortune, who, according to the testimony of Pausanias (vi, 2,4), was worshipped by the Syrians on the banks of the Euphrates. Al-Lāt, with whom Manāt shared the title of Ṭāghiya (Yāḳūt, i, 236, 1.11), and al-ʿUzzā represented the two others volets of the triptych.

The destruction of the sanctuary of Manāt in Ḳudayd gave rise to a legend of the same interpretation as that which is associated with the destruction of al-ʿUzzā (cf. T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 173).

Saʿd b. Zayd al-Ashhalī (Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 106, and al-Ṭabarī, i^{3}, 1649, whereas Yāḳūt states that it was ʿAlī b. Ṭālib who found in his treasury the two famous swords, Mikhdham and Rasūb, which Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 118, places in the treasury of al-Fals), ordered by the Prophet to go to destroy Manāt, in the year 8/629, accompanied by twenty horsemen, appeared before the *sādin* and announced to him his intention to destroy her. "Go on", he said to him in an ironic tone. Saʿd went towards her and at once saw a nude black women rise up with her hair dishevelled, uttering curses and beating her breast. The *sādin* called out: "Come on! O Manāt, show the anger of which you are capable!". Saʿd began to beat her to death; then he approached the idol with his companions and they destroyed it.

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MANĀZGERD [see MALĀZGIRD]

AL-**MANĀZIL** (A.) or more fully *manāzil al-ḳamar*, the lunar mansions, or stations of the moon (sing. *manzil* or *manzila*), a system of 28 stars, groups of stars, or spots in the sky near which the moon is found in each of the 28 nights of her monthly revolution.

The system seems to be of Indian origin (see Scherer; Pingree [1] and [2]; Billard). Babylonian origin has sometimes been suggested (cf. Hommel), but could never be established from the documents. The "stars in the moon's path", in the ^{mul}APIN text (cf. van der Waerden [1], 77; recently re-dated to 2300 B.C., cf. van der Waerden [2]) are 17 or 18 in number and rather represent an early stage in the development of the zodiac. The system of the lunar mansions was adopted by the Arabs, through channels as yet unknown, some time in the pre-Islamic period, since the term *manāzil* is already mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (X, 5; XXXVI,39). To the single mansions, the Arabs applied names already found with them previously, and originally used to designate their *anwāʾ* [see ANWĀʾ]. A complete list of the 28 mansions is reported by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/852) on the authority of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795); nearly contemporary to this is the list drawn up by the astronomer al-Farghānī. Items of information concerning the lunar mansions were collected by the Arabic philologists in their *kutub al-anwāʾ* (see the printed works of Ibn Ḳutayba al-Marzūḳī, Ibn Sīda, Muḥammad al-Muḳriʾ, al-Ḳazwīnī, Ibn al-Adjdābi, Ibn Manẓūr/al-Tīfāshī, and Aḥmad b. Mādjid), and by astronomers, who took pains in identifying these mansions astronomically (see al-Farghānī, al-Battānī, al-Ṣūfī, al-Bīrūnī [1], [2], and [3]). Whereas the scientific astronomers of the Arabic-Islamic period did not actually use the lunar mansions, these apparently were of some importance for the distribution of the ecliptic (besides of the zodiac) in earlier times. Later, they were often used by astrologers and others for different systems of divination (see e.g. *Picatrix*, and ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ridjāl; cf. also Savage-Smith, for the lunar mansions in relation to geomancy). Hence they were engraved, together with other calendric and astrological items, on the back of many Islamic and some western astrolabes (cf. Hartner, 2549 f.; Michel, 42; Mayer, pls. XV, XVIB, XX, XXII-XXV). Through Latin translations of Arabic works, the list of the 28 lunar mansions and their Arabic names known to mediaeval Europe from the late 10th century onwards (see Millās, 251 ff.), and, later, were much used for divinatory purposes (see e.g. Steinschneider, Vian, Svenberg, Weidemann, Lutz and Müller). Lists of the 28 lunar mansions, with their Arabic names, have also penetrated Byzantine astrological texts (see CCAG).

The names of the 28 mansions, and their astronomical identifications, are as follows (for the names, see the individual entries in Kunitzsch [1], where sources and further details are given):

1. *al-sharaṭān* (also: *al-naṭḥ*), βγ, or βα Arietis.
2. *al-buṭayn*, εδρ Arietis.
3. *al-thurayyā*, the Pleiades.
4. *al-dabarān*, α Tauri.
5. *al-haḳʿa*, λφ$^{1.2}$Orionis (according to the *Almagest*, one nebulous object, the first star of Orion; but registered as three individual stars by al-Bīrūnī [3]). Alternatively also, *al-maysān*, which properly would be one of the two stars of no. 6.
6. *al-hanʿa*, γξ Geminorum; also *al-taḥāyī*, ημν Geminorum (either separately, or together with γξ Geminorum). Al-Bīrūnī [3] has it νγξ Geminorum.
7. *al-dhirāʿ*, αβ Geminorum. There is confusion in the sources as to whether this *dhirāʿ* is *al-dhirāʿ al-maḳbūḍa* or al-*dhirāʿ al-mabsūṭā.*
8. *al-nathra*, ε Cancri, or εγδ Cancri (Ibn Ḳutayba, and al-Bīrūnī [3]).
9. *al-ṭarf*, δ Cancri + λ Leonis.
10. *al-djabha*, ζγηα Leonis (included with this station is the star α Leonis, "Regulus", which had no individual name in the classical Arabic star lore).
11. *al-zubra* (also: *al-kharātān*), δθ Leonis.
12. *al-ṣarfa*, β Leonis.
13. *al-ʿawwāʾ*, βηγε Virginis, sometimes δ Virginis is also added to these.
14. *al-simāk* (i.e. *al-simāk al-aʿzal*), α Virginis.
15. *al-ghafr*, ικλ Virginis (al-Bīrūnī [3] has ικ only).
16. *al-zubānā*, αβ Librae.
17. *al-iklīl*, βδπ Scorpii.
18. *al-ḳalb*, α Scorpii.
19. *al-shawla*, λυ Scorpii. Sometimes, *al-ibra*, or *ibrat al-ʿaḳrab*, is given as an alternative designation, but some authors refer this name to a different ob-

ject, viz. the nebulous cluster following behind *al-shawla*, i.e. M 7 Scorpii.

20. *al-naʿāʾim*, the two groups of four stars each, γδεη + σφτζ Sagittarii; alternatively, *al-waṣl*, the space between these two groups.
21. *al-balda*, a region void of stars, between stations nos. 20 and 22.
22. *saʿd al-dhābiḥ*, α ^{1,2} νβ Capricorni.
23. *saʿd bulaʿ*, με Aquarii, to which some authors add Fl. 7, or ν Aquarii, as a third star.
24. *saʿd al-suʿūd*, βξ Aquarii + c^1 Capricorni.
25. *saʿd al-akhbiya*, γπζη Aquarii.
26. *al-fargh al-muḳaddam* (also *al-fargh al-awwal*), αβ Pegasi.
27. *al-fargh al-muʾakhkhar* (also *al-fargh al-thānī*), γ Pegasi + α Andromedae.
28. *baṭn al-ḥūt* (also *al-rishāʾ*). β Andromedae.

Some authors additionally register the names of some stars, or spots in the sky, near which the moon is seen when failing to reach her proper mansion, whereas the interstices between two mansions, generally, are called *furdja* (see Ibn Ḳutayba, 86; al-Marzūḳī, 196 f.; Ibn Sīda, 12; Ibn Manẓūr, 1800 = al-Tīfāshī, 205; al-Bīrūnī [1], 351 f., tr. 353 f.).

The knowledge of the 28 lunar mansions has lived on into modern times, and agricultural calendars formed according to them are still today found in various regions of the Arabic-speaking world and its neighbourhood (cf. Landberg, Cerulli, Monteil, Serjeant, Hiskett, Galaal, and the literature cited there; less so consistent are the observations reported by C. Bailey, *q.v.*). Such calendars are already known from mediaeval times (see *Liber anoe* [= *Kitāb al-anwāʾ*, Spain, 961 A.D.; translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona], and Ibn al-Bannāʾ); they appear to continue older astro-agricultural traditions as paralleled in Ptolemy's *Phaseis* and the Babylonian ^{mul}APIN texts.

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(P. KUNITZSCH)

MANĀẒIR, or **ʿILM AL-MANĀẒIR**, the science of optics. The term *al-manāẓir* (pl. of A. *manẓar* or *manẓara*, from *naẓara*, "to look at") was used by the Arabic translators of Greek scientific writings as equivalent to τὰ ὀπτικά, optics or the theory of vision. The feminine *manẓara* in the sense of "aspect" or "appearance" (the way a thing or a group of things looks) is attested in *al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* of Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085), where the plural *manāẓir* is also used in the same sense (ed. ʿA.S. al-Nashshār *et alii*, Alexandria 1969, esp. 476-7, 479, 483-4).

The *kalām* literature, to which al-Djuwaynī's *al-Shāmil* belongs, adopted *shuʿāʿ* both for the light rays emanating, for example, from the sun, and for the visual rays (i.e. rays emanating from the eye) which, according to Muʿtazilī and Ashʿarī *kalām*, were the vehicles of vision (see the relevant sections in al-Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār's *al-Mughnī*, iv (*Ruʾyat al-Bāriʾ*), ed. M.M. Ḥilmī and Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Taftāzānī, Cairo 1965, esp. 59-79). However, in the medical literature deriving from Galen, we find the word *manāẓir* used in the sense of visual rays (Galen's ὄψεις), and it is in this sense that Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ speaks of "the reflexion (*inkisār*) of *al-manāẓir*" (cf. M. Meyerhof, *The book of the ten treatises of the eye ascribed to Hunain ibn Is-hâq (809-977 A.D.)*, Cairo 1928, Ar. text 109; Meyerhof translated *manāẓir* here as "images" — see p. 36 of his English translation in the same volume — but cf. the Arabic version of Galen's *De usu partium*, Escorial ms. 850, fol, 29b). It may be noted that the Greek writers on optics, including Euclid, Hero and Theon, used ὄψεις and ἀκτῖνες interchangeable to designate visual rays (cf. A. Lejeune, *Euclide et Ptolémée*, Louvain 1948, 18-21).

In the scheme of the sciences inherited by mediaeval Islamic scholars from the Greeks, optics was considered a mathematical science. But Aristotle had already characterised optics as one of "the more physical of the mathematical disciplines", a group of enquiries which also included astronomy and harmonics (*Physica*, II.2). And although Euclid's book on *Optics* (*ca.* 300 B.C.) was formulated almost exclusively in geometrical terms, physical, physiological and even psychological elements tended increasingly to mingle with geometrical considerations in the writings of later Hellenistic mathematicians. Thus for example, Hero of Alexandria (1st century A.D.) compared the reflexion of visual rays to the behaviour of projectiles when they strike a hard surface (cf. his *Catoptrica*, iii, in *Herons von Alexandria Mechanik und Katoprik*, ed. and German tr. L. Nix and W. Schmidt (*Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia*, i/1, Leipzig 1900), 322-5). The (lost) first book of Ptolemy's *Optics* (2nd century A.D.) expounded a theory of luminous radiation as distinguished from the emission of visual rays; the same work dealt with binocular as well as monocular vision; and it mentioned a *virtus discernitiva* (or *regitiva*), a psychological faculty to which was assigned a certain vague role in visual perception (cf. *L'Optique de Claude Ptolémée dans la version latine d'après l'arabe de l'émir Eugène de Sicile*, édition critique et exégétique par Albert Lejeune, Louvain 1965, index and 22, n. 22; and 62, n. 81).

In the Islamic period, this tendency shows itself early in a work by Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]), which survives in a 12th century Latin translation entitled *De aspectibus* (*Al-Kindi, Tideus und Pseudo-Euclid: drei optische Werke*, ed. A.A. Björnbo and S. Vogl, Leipzig and Berlin 1912 [= *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematischen Wissenschaften mit Einschluss ihrer Anwendungen*, Heft, XXVI. 3]). Here al-Kindī considers optics to be a mathematical science (*ars doctrinalis*: *ʿilm taʿlīmī*), but one which must satisfy physical as well as geometrical principles (*ibid.*, 3); and he opens his book with a treatment of rectilinear *light* radiation and the formation of shadows, thus departing from Euclid's presentation but in agreement with Ptolemy and, it appears, Theon of Alexandria (see the Introduction to Theon's *Recension* of Euclid's *Optics in Euclidis Optica, Opticorum recensio Theonis, Catoptrica, cum scholiis antiquis*, ed. I. L. Heiberg, Leipzig 1895, 144 ff.; French. tr. P. Ver Eecke, in *Euclide: l'Optique et la Catoptrique*, Paris 1959, 53 ff.).

With Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] in the 5th/11th century, we reach an entirely new stage in the conception of the nature of optics. His great *Kitāb al-Manāẓir* ("Book of Optics", of which several manuscripts are extant) begins with the assertion that optics is a synthetic branch of inquiry that combines mathematical and physical considerations. But this was not merely to continue the trend that had already started in late antiquity. Ibn al-Haytham's position implied a complete break with the visual-ray hypothesis which had been consistently maintained by the entire mathematical tradition from Euclid to al-Kindī and by the medical tradition of Galen and his Islamic followers. Ibn al-Haytham opted instead for the view of "physicists" (*ṭabīʿiyyūn*) or natural philosophers, according to which vision consisted in the eye's reception of a form (*ṣūra*) emanating from the object seen. But again, this was not a mere imitation, and his theory was the first attempt to treat this view mathematically. The result was, therefore, not only a new doctrine of vision, but also a new methodology. In other words, Ibn al-Haytham was led to formulate problems which either would not have made sense from the standpoint of the visual-ray theory or had been ignored by philosophers aiming primarily to give an account of *what* vision is rather than an explanation of *how* it takes place.

Ibn al-Haytham was also convinced that an intromission explanation of visual perception was essentially incomplete without a theory of the psychology of perception, and he accordingly devotes a considerable part of his *K. al-Manāẓir* to such a theory. His argument is that since the eye can only receive impressions of the light and colour in the visible object, all other properties of the object, including the fact that it is situated in outer space, must somehow be "inferred" from the received visual material. His theory then consists in describing the models of inference (*ḳiyās*) which the "faculty of judgement" (*al-ḳuwwa al-mumayyiza*) employs in achieving the perception of such visual properties (*maʿānī mubṣara*) as distance, size, shape, opacity, transparency, beauty—in fact, all properties other than light and colour as such.

Ibn al-Haytham wrote substantial treatises on the burning sphere and burning mirrors of various

shapes, on the formation of shadows, on *camera obscura* phenomena and on the halo and the rainbow. Yet none of these phenomena is treated in the *K. al-Manāẓir*. The book thus illustrates a restricted conception of optics as primarily a theory of vision by means of direct, reflected or refracted light rays. (A discussion of the rainbow would not have been out of place in a book on optics in this narrow sense, since the phenomenon depends on the position of the eye. But the rainbow had been traditionally treated since Aristotle in books on meteorology—*aḥdāth al-dj̲aww* or *al-āt̲h̲ār al-ʿulwiyya* [*q.v.*]. The force of this tradition continued into the 17th century: Descartes, for example, offered his explanation of the rainbow in a work entitled *Météores*, and not in his *Dioptrique*.) But since these are luminous (not visual) rays, Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am's explanations are presented on the basis of an experimental examination (*iʿtibār*) of the relevant properties of light as objective phenomena existing independently of a seeing eye. Because of its highly-sophisticated character, combining physical, mathematical, experimental, physiological and psychological considerations in a methodically-integrated manner, the influence of Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am's book upon later writers on optics both in the Muslim world and (through a mediaeval Latin translation) in the West can hardly be exaggerated.

It is remarkable that two centuries-and-a-half had to elapse before the *Optics* of Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am began to exert any appreciable influence in the Islamic world, by which time the book had already made a deep impression in Europe (especially on Roger Bacon, John Pecham and Witelo). Towards the end of the 13th century, the Persian Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] rescued the *Optics* from near oblivion by writing a large and critical commentary on it, entitled *Tanḳīḥ al-Manāẓir li-d̲h̲awi 'l-abṣār wa 'l-baṣāʾir*, which survives in many manuscript copies testifying to its wide use (printed at Hyderabad, Dn., in two volumes in 1347-8/1928-9). In this work, Kamāl al-Dīn went beyond discussion of the matters treated in the *K. al-Manāẓir*, adding, among other things, recensions (sing. *taḥrīr*) of Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am's treatises "On the halo and the rainbow", "On the burning sphere", "On the formation of shadows" and "On the shape of the eclipse". We have here, then, a book on optics that is not entirely restricted to questions related directly or indirectly to vision. And yet the book does not include a discussion of burning mirrors, a subject which Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am had thought fit to include in a (non-extant) treatise "On optics, according to the method of Ptolemy". (As for gnomon shadows, these were generally considered a separate subject to be treated in a separate category of writings sometimes referred to as *Kutub al-Aẓlāl*, "books on shadows".) But the narrower conception of optics proved tenacious; when in the 10th/16th century Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Maʿrūf (d. 993/1585) wrote his *Nūr ḥadaḳat al-ibṣār wa-nūr ḥadīḳat al-abṣār* (Bodleian ms. Marsh 119) for the Ottoman sultan Murād III, he based himself directly on Kamāl al-Dīn's *Tanḳīḥ*. But rather than include the topics appended by the Persian mathematician to his commentary on Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am's *K. al-Manāẓir*, he limited himself to the subjects treated in the earlier work.

Bibliography: In addition to works, cited in the article, see the bibls. to the articles on Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī and al-Kindī in *Dictionary of scientific biography*, ed. C. Gillispie, New York: vi (1972), 189-210; vii (1973), 212-19 and xv (1978), 261-7. The mediaeval Latin translation of Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am's *K. al-Manāẓir* was published in 1572 by Friedrich Risner at Basel in a volume entitled *Opticae thesaurus*, which also included Witelo's *Perspective* and a treatise on dawn and twilight which is wrongly attributed in this volume to Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am. An edition of the Arabic text of *K. al-Manāẓir* is in progress; see A. I. Sabra, ed., *Kitāb al-Manāẓir I-II-III* (*On direct vision*), Kuwait 1982. This includes an introduction, Arabic-Latin glossaries and concordance tables for comparing the Arabic and Latin texts. An English translation is forthcoming.

(A. I. SABRA)

MANBIDJ, an ancient town of Syria which was situated to the north-east of Aleppo.

It appears that an urban settlement with the name Nappigi or Nampīgi existed on this site in the Assyrian period. In the time of Shalmaneser, it was known as Lita As̲h̲ūr. The Syriac appears to refer back to the Assyrian root; in fact the name became Mabbog or Mambog which signifies "gushing water", linked, according to Yāḳūt, to the root *nabadj̲a* "to gush", which would hardly be surprising in a region of abundant springs. The following spellings are encountered: in the Greek texts of the Byzantine period βέμπετξ, Μέμπετξε (Leo the Deacon, iv), βαμσύχη; elsewhere Manbadj̲ (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 127), Manbidj̲ (Yāḳūt, v, 205), Mambedj (Volney, 279), Mambidj̲ (Honigmann), Menbidj̲ (Dussaud, *Topographie*, 474), Meenbidj (Baedeker and Wirth), Membîdj (*Guide Bleu*, 1932). On the origin and orthography of the name, see E. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 16; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde* 1057 ff.; E. Honigmann, *EI*[1], s.v. On the various traditions regarding the origin of Manbidj̲, see Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl., iv, 732-42 and *Der kleine Pauly*, ii, 1130.

The Arab geographers are agreed in placing Manbidj̲ in the middle of the fourth climatic region to the north-east of Ḥalab; on the other hand, there are variants for the geographical coordinates. Yāḳūt (s.v.), quoting Baṭlamiyūs [*q.v.*] gives the longitude of 71°15′ and presents the horoscope of the town, then he mentions the *Zīdj̲* of al-Battānī, where the longitude is 63°45′ and the latitude is 35°. In the *Taḳwīm al-buldān* of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, the corresponding figures are 62°50′ and 36°50′.

This oasis is situated at an altitude of 1310 feet (398 m) in a zone of annual rainfall greater than 250 mm, bordering on two contrasting economies: to the north-north-east, a region of sedentary inhabitants, crop-growers or craftsmen; to the south-south-west, the domain of the nomadic shepherd or stock-breeder.

To the north of Manbidj̲, along the Sadj̲ūr, the plateaux are covered with flints from the Acheulian and Middle Palaeolithic epochs which enabled prehistoric man to manufacture tools; the presence of numerous springs permitted, as early as the Assyrian period, the organisation of a system of irrigation (*saḳya*) and the installation of *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] which established the renown of the region (*ʿamal*) to the west of the elbow of the Euphrates in Syria and of which, some 15-20 m. under ground, numerous remains have been found and are mentioned by all the Arab or foreign geographers and travellers who have visited the area.

The abundant supply of water also facilitated the development of the cultivation of cereals (corn and barley), as well as cotton and hemp, and the exploitation of orchards and plantations of mulberries for the rearing of silk-worms from the early Middle Ages. To the south of Manbidj̲, there also exists a hot water spring marked by a cupola in a place called "Hama".

For the demography of the region from Neolithic times to the birth of Islam, see the results of two archeological excavations conducted in the region of the

Nahr Sadjūr and on the Syrian Higher Euphrates, published in *Holocene settlement in North Syria* by Paul Sanlaville and others in the *BAR International Series*, Oxford 1985, no. S 238. Under the Umayyads, a section of the Banū Taghlib [*q.v.*] settled on the east bank of the Euphrates and led a nomadic existence near Manbidj, although the bulk of the tribe was established between the Khābūr [*q.v.*], the Euphrates and the Tigris. They were to distinguish themselves at the end of the 7th/13th century in the struggle against the Tatars. Palgrave (*Narrative*, London 1865, i, 118) mentions in the region the presence of a modern tribe, the Shammār, who are said to be related to the Banū Taghlib. According to A. Musil (*Middle Euphrates*, 281), the tribe of the Tarleb (*sic*) was still leading a nomadic existence at the beginning of the 20th century in the arid plain between Manbidj, Ruṣāfa and the heights of the Djabal Bishrī.

After having been "the mustering point of the Roman expeditions directed against the Sāsānid Empire which followed the route of the Euphrates", the latter being a military communication route parallel to the river on the western bank, Manbidj was an important centre of the *limes* of Chalcis, linked to Aleppo by a Roman causeway, before becoming the capital of the *ʿAwāṣim* in the ʿAbbāsid Golden Age. In the Middle Ages, it continued to play an important strategic and commercial role in north-south and east-west communications, the town being not only a staging-post, but also a major road-junction to the west of the Euphrates, on the route which maintained connections between the Mediterranean world and the Asiatic world, between the valley of the Orontes and that of the Euphrates.

Manbidj, of which mention is made in the *Antonine itinerary*, features on the 16th century *Tabula* of Peutinger. It was a military base of the Romans against the Persians, of the Byzantines under Justinian and his successors against the Sāsānids, of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the Syrian princes against the Crusaders, and a stronghold against Turkish invasions from the east. Its role was not only to safeguard the frontier posts (*thughūr*), but also to watch over the Syrian desert to the south as far as the region of Bālis-Maskana. Situated in a fertile plain furrowed with ravines, placed in the centre of a *ghūṭa* [*q.v.*], Manbidj also owes its importance to the presence there of abundant drinkable water for caravans. The site was of vital significance, because it controlled all the access routes from northern Syria towards the Djazīra [*q.v.*] and ʿIrāḳ and, in particular, three junctions leading to crossing-points (ζεῦγμα, *djisr*) on the great bend of the Middle Euphrates: to the north, up-stream from Biredjik [*q.v.*], a crossing protected by the Ḳalʿa Bayḍāʾ; or downstream from the confluence of the Sadjūr, opposite Tell Aḥmar, at Djarāblus, the ancient Caeciliana; or 29 km. to the north-east, at Ḳalʿat Nadjm [*q.v.*], which protected Djisr Manbidj, the bridge of boats permitting access to the Upper Djazīra. A further crossing-point was further south at Sūriya, opposite Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar [*q.v.*].

In the time of al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century), Manbidj was reached from Ḥalab in two days' journey, passing through Bāb and crossing the Wādī Buṭnān [*q.v.*], a distance of ten *farsakhs* [*q.v.*] (approximately 80 km.); from this point a single stage (*marḥala*) remained to be covered; Yāḳūt gives a figure of three *farsakhs* to arrive at Djisr Manbidj, where the Euphrates could be crossed by means of a bridge of boats, a crossing made today by ferry-boat. From Manbidj, ʿAyntāb or Ḳūrūsh (Cyrrhus) could be reached in two days and Malaṭiya in four.

It seems that the *darb sulṭāniyya*, which passed through Manbidj on the way to ʿIrāḳ, changed direction at the end of the 8th/14th century, crossing the Euphrates at the latitude of Ṣiffīn and Raḳḳa [*q.v.*], and the route was shifted further to the south. At the beginning of the 20th century, as Franz Cumont testifies, "caravans or *ʿarabas* [*q.v.*] setting out towards Ourfa (Edessa) and Mossoul still pass through Manbidj towards the same crossing, where ferry-boats transport them to the left bank of the Euphrates".

There also existed in the Ayyūbid period a route from Ḥamā towards the north-east. Protected against the Franks by Bārin, Fāmiya and Kafar Ṭāb, it permitted access to Djazīra by way of Manbidj, avoiding Ḥalab.

Today, the road from Ḥalab to Manbidj via Bāb (78 km.) is well-asphalted, as is that leading from Manbidj to Djarāblus (37 km.), where the Euphrates is crossed by a metal bridge.

Shortly before the reign of Alexander the Great, in the 4th century B.C., the town was in the hands of a dynast surnamed ʿAbd Ḥadad (= worshipper of Ḥadad, the god of thunder), who had coinage struck there. For a long period of Antiquity, Manbidj was a religious centre dedicated to the cults of Atargatis and her consort Ḥadad.

In the Hellenistic period, Manbidj played an important military role in countering invasions from the east. The Greeks endowed it with a double rampart and a temple owning an important treasure, which Crassus sacked before setting out with his legions to fight the Parthians and dying, the victim of an assassin, in 53 B.C.

From the 3rd century onwards, through the good offices of Septimus Severus, the town became, in its role as a bulwark against the Sāsānid Persians, one of the principal bases of the "*limes* of Chalcis". From there, in 363, Julian the Apostate led an expedition against Ctesiphon, in the course of which he was mortally wounded.

Manbidj was part of the Cyrrhestian province, before being promoted by Constantine II, in the middle of the 4th century, to the status of capital of Euphratesian Syria. In 451, the metropolitan of Manbidj was Stephen of Hieropolis. At the end of the 5th century there lived there an innovative theologian, the Monophysite bishop Philoxenus of Mabbugh, who had a Syriac translation made of the New Testament and published a commentary to it; he died in exile in Thrace in 523. In April 531, Kawādh, Emperor of Persia, occupied Hierapolis; Belisarius arrived to resist the invasion and in the same year inflicted a defeat on the Sāsānid army at Callinicos, near the confluence of the Balīkh and the Euphrates. In 532, Kisrā Anūshirwān, the new Persian sovereign, offered Justinian a treaty of "permanent peace" which was to be commemorated by a monument at Manbidj, but in 540 he attacked the town, which was obliged to pay a ranson for its liberation. It was in this period that a temple of fire was built in the town by the Sāsānid Emperors. Kisrā gave the town the name of Manbik, which was arabised into Manbidj.

During the 5th and early 6th centuries, the Byzantine emperors, including Justinian, maintained Hierapolis/Manbidj as a front-line stronghold against the East. In 612, the Persians invaded Syria, took Jerusalem on 5 May 614 and occupied Alexandria (617-19). Heraclius reacted and succeeded in restoring the situation and, in March 630, he came to Manbidj to receive the True Cross which the Persians had carried off from Jerusalem in 614. The chronicler

Pseudo-Dionysius mentions in Manbidj a church of Saint Mary and a church of Saint Thomas. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih, in the 3rd/9th century there was there a very fine church built of wood.

In the time of the caliphs ʿUmar and of ʿUthmān, after the conquest of Syria, Manbidj was one of the *ʿawāṣim*, fortified posts which marked the frontier between the *Dār al-Islām* and the Byzantine province of Antioch.

In 16/637, the inhabitants of Manbidj were attacked by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghānim, who had been sent as vanguard by Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*]. They capitulated, and the treaty was ratified by Abū ʿUbayda when he appeared before the town. The surrounding areas of the town were at this time occupied by Yemeni tribes and, in particular, the Banū Taghlib.

Under the Umayyads, according to the testimony of the Monophysite Christian poet al-Akhṭal (20-92/640-710), the Banū Taghlib, his own tribe, were settled between the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Khābūr and led a nomadic existence towards the west as far as the fertile region of Manbidj. Situated in the frontier zone of northern Syria, Manbidj seems to have enjoyed a degree of independence, in view of the fact that its inhabitants had requested permission from ʿUmar to practise commerce in the interior of the caliphate. When Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya constituted the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn, he incorporated Manbidj into it. In 131/748 the town was devastated by a violent earthquake in the course of which the church of the Jacobites (Monophysites) collapsed during a service, entombing the faithful. In 170/786, Hārūn al-Rashīd reorganised the northern frontier of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate with the intention of reviving *djihād*. He detached Manbidj from the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and made it the capital of the new zone of *ʿawāṣim*, which combined the frontier posts of Syria and of the Upper Djazīra. From 173/789-90, the caliph appointed as local governor ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], an ʿAbbāsid who was later (196/811-12) to be promoted governor of Syria and of Upper Mesopotamia by al-Amīn, who had many new buildings constructed in Manbidj. It was henceforward to serve as a starting base for summer expeditions (*ṣāʾifa*) directed against the Byzantines by the caliph of Baghdād. The good condition of its fortifications in this period contributed to its designation as capital. "A vast area of land was attached to it, stretching from the limits of the territory of Ḥalab to the Sadjūr and the Euphrates".

Implicated in an abortive plot against his uncle, the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, a pretender to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn, died in the prison of Manbidj in 223/838. Forty years later, in 264/877-8, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn occupied Syria under the pretext of conducting *djihād*, and Manbidj then passed under Egyptian domination. In the 4th/10th century, under the Ḥamdānids, Manbidj owed its importance to its agricultural wealth, to its location in the region forming the junction of the Mesopotamian and Syrian frontiers and also to its proximity to Ḥalab and the Euphrates close to a crossing over that river, Djisr Manbidj or Ḳalʿat Nadjm. In the middle of this century, the region was subjected to raids on the part of the ʿUḳayl, Kalb, Kilāb and Numayr tribes [*q.v.*]. According to al-Hamadhānī, Manbidj was shared between the Kalb and the Kilāb.

In 334/945 the Ḥamdānid prince Sayf al-Dawla signed a peace treaty with the Ikhshīdid [*q.v.*] ruler of Egypt and took possession of a vast area comprising the *ʿawāṣim* of Anṭākiya and of Manbidj. Two years later, the eastern part of this zone was entrusted to the poet Abū Firās [*q.v.*], a cousin of the prince of Ḥalab, who was, in 336/947, only sixteen years of age. In 343/late summer 954, a major expedition was launched from Manbidj with the object of combating the Nizārī tribes of Diyār Muḍar [*q.v.*] and of the Syrian Desert. In 351/962, Nicephorus Phocas seized Manbidj from Sayf al-Dawla's viceroy, Abū Firās, and took him prisoner. The latter was obliged to spend seven years in captivity in Constantinople, evoking Manbidj in his *Rūmiyyāt*.

In 355/966, Nicephorus Phocas, who had now become emperor, camped before Manbidj from where he removed the sacred tile bearing the portrait of Christ (*al-Ḳirmīda*, κεραμέδιον). According to Leo the Deacon, it was John Tzimisces who is said to have procured this "portrait of Christ" when in 363/974 he took the citadel of Manbidj, where he found the sandals of Christ and some hairs of St. John the Baptist, which he carried away as relics to Byzantium. During the second half of the 4th/10th century, Manbidj was to remain one of the primary objectives of the Byzantines.

At the end of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawḳal writes: "Not far from Bālis is situated Manbidj, a fertile and fortified town where there are numerous very ancient markets, rich in Greek relics. One of the local products is a kind of nougat (*nāṭif*) of dried grapes, made with nuts, pistachios and sesame ... Spread among the farms of Manbidj there is a very great number of non-irrigated vineyards. The dried grapes are exported to Ḥalab and to other places. This town is located in a desert plain without water-courses, but its soil is humid, red in colour and turning yellow saffron-colour, and the greater part of its land is not artificially irrigated. It is surrounded by an ancient rampart". Already at this time, thanks to water mills on the Ṣadjūr, manufactured paper could be found there.

Although the Fāṭimids were occupying northern Syria in 406/1015, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās became master of Ḥalab in 414/1023; he took Manbidj in the autumn of the following year. An agreement having been made between the Mirdāsid Rashīd al-Dawla Maḥmūd and his uncle Abū Duʿāba ʿAṭiyya, lord of Raḳḳa, Manbidj reverted to the latter between 456/1063 and 457/1064. In early 461/late 1068, Romanus IV Diogenes took possession of Manbidj and reinforced the citadel, thus securing communications between Anṭākiya and al-Ruhā [*q.v.*]. Subsequently, the town was to be entrusted to the Armenian prince Philaretos. Taken prisoner after his defeat at Malāzgird [*q.v.*] (Mantzikert) in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 463/August 1071, Romanus ceded Manbidj to Alp Arslān [*q.v.*], who was already occupying the town. A small mosque was built there in the same year by Ṣāliḥ, son of Muḥammad Sharīf al-Adhamī. In 468/1075, under the caliphate of al-Muktadī, Manbidj was entrusted to Saldjūḳ Turkish *amīrs* who are said to have restored the citadel. Ten years later (477/1085), it formed part of the territory subject to the authority of the ʿUkaylid *amīr* Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], a domain which extended from al-Mawṣil to the Euphrates, including the districts of Diyār Rabīʿa and of al-Djazīra.

In 479/1086, the Saldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh placed Manbidj under the authority of Abū Saʿīd Āḳ-Sunḳur ʿAbd Allāh Ḳasīm al-Dawla al-Ḥadjib, one of his Turkish officers, who, the following year, took over the government of Ḥalab, of Ḥamāt and Lādhiḳiya. In 485/1092, on the death of Malik Shāh, the situation changed; two years later, his brother Tādj al-Dawla Tutush defeated Āḳ Sunḳur, whom he put to death, and occupied Manbidj in his turn.

In the early years of the 6th/12th century, Manbidj

was to be coveted by the Atabeg of al-Mawṣil, Djawālī, by Riḍwān b. Tutush of Ḥalab and by the Franks. In Ṣafar 502/September 1108, after Djawālī seized Bālis from the prince of Ḥalab, the latter appealed to Tancred for aid. Baldwin and Joscelin restored Djawālī to Manbidj where Ṣadaḳa, chief of the Banū Mazyad Bedouins, was also present. In 503/1110, at the time of the attack on the principality of Antioch by Riḍwān, the troops of Joscelin descended from Tell Bashīr, attacking Manbidj and Bālis. The following year, the Franks seized and ravaged Manbidj; they joined it to the archbishopric of Tell Bashīr, subject to the Latin Patriarchate of Antioch. Shortly afterwards, the Franks lost the town, to which they were never to return, but there was to be for a long time a Latin prelate consecrated bishop of Manbidj *in partibus*.

In 514/1120, the territory of Manbidj was attacked from Tell Bashīr by Joscelin who, barely released from captivity by Djawālī, had crossed the Euphrates on his way to Antioch and, arriving at Manbidj, was unable to resist pillaging the lands belonging to Riḍwān of Ḥalab. In spring 517/1123, after the *amīr* Ḥassān b. Gümüshtigin, a Turkish lieutenant of Balak at Manbidj, had taken prisoners in the territory of Edessa, Joscelin returned to pillage the region by way of reprisal. In 518/1124, the Artuḳid Nūr al-Dawla Balak b. Bahrām b. Artuḳ [*q.v.*], the nephew of Il-Ghāzī, having become master of Ḥalab on the death of the latter in Ramaḍān 516/November 1122, resolved to attack Tell Bashīr. He entrusted an army to his cousin Ḥusām al-Dīn Tīmūr-Tāsh and asked him to invite Ḥassān to accompany him. Suspicious of Ḥassān's lukeward response, Tīmūr-Tāsh arrested him and occupied Manbidj, while ʿĪsā, the brother of Ḥassān, took refuge in the citadel of Manbidj and appealed for help to Joscelin of Edessa, offering him the town in return for driving away the troops of Balak. Joscelin marched towards Manbidj with Geoffrey the Monk, lord of Marʿash, and in Ṣafar 518/March-April 1124, was confronted by Balak as the latter was preparing to attack Manbidj. The Franks suffered a grave defeat; Geoffrey was killed, Joscelin fled and took refuge at Tell Bashīr. Balak occupied Manbidj and tried to take possession of the citadel, which he wished to hand over to his cousin Tīmūr-Tāsh, but on 19 Rabīʿ I 518/6 May 1124 an arrow shot from the citadel wounded him fatally. His troops disbanded, Tīmūr-Tāsh brought the body back to Ḥalab and took power there, while Ḥassān, released from detention, returned to Manbidj.

In 520/1126, the Atabeg Bursuḳī of al-Mawṣil, on a journey through Syria, passed beneath the walls of Manbidj. The following year, in Rabīʿ I 521/April 1127, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, having become Atabeg of al-Mawṣil and master of Ḥalab, did not hesitate to seize the important road junction of Manbidj. In 525/1131 Joscelin de Courtenay besieged Tell ʿArān, a site between Ḥalab and Manbidj. Injured by a collapsing undermining, he was carried to Tell Bashīr, where he died. The governor of Manbidj, accompanied by the *amīr* Sawār of Ḥalab, took advantage of the situation by attacking the knights of Edessa.

When the Byzantine John Comnenus attacked the region of Manbidj in 536/1142, he did not take the town. Two years later, Manbidj contributed a contingent of Turkomans to the army of Zangī. On the death of the latter, in 541/1146, his son Nūr al-Dīn, on his way from Ḥalab to lay siege to al-Ruhā, passed through Manbidj with his siege machinery. It was the *amīr* of Manbidj, Ḥassān, loyal ally of Nūr al-Dīn, who by taking Tell Bashīr in 546/1151, put an end to the County of Edessa.

In 553/1158 Madjd al-Dīn Abū Bakr, foster-brother of Nūr al-Dīn, governor of the province of Ḥalab, warned by the *amīr* in command of Manbidj of a conspiracy against Nūr al-Dīn, foiled the plot which had been hatched during the illness of the latter and was to have been put into effect in Muḥarram 554/February 1150. When Ḥassān al-Manbidjī died (562/1167), Nūr al-Dīn gave Manbidj in *iḳṭāʿ* to Ghāzī b. Ḥassān, but the latter rebelled and the sovereign then came in person with Madjd al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. al-Dayā and Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, in spring 563/1168, to take the town after a full-scale siege. He deposed Ghāzī and gave the place in *iḳṭāʿ* to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ināl b. Ḥassān, the rebel's brother. Nūr al-Dīn consolidated the defences of Manbidj, constructing there, as at Ḥalab, a protective outer wall. After 563/1167 he also built there a Shāfiʿī *madrasa* for Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, while Ḳuṭb al-Dīn built one for the Ḥanafīs.

On 14 Shawwāl 571/April 1176, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) launched an offensive in northern Syria against Sayf al-Dīn of Ḥalab. He headed towards the north-east, in the knowledge that Manbidj was held by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ināl b. Ḥassān, a resolute enemy of the Ayyūbid sovereign; the siege-engineers had already begun their work when Ināl offered to surrender, giving up his citadel and his treasury, in exchange for safe-conduct. The prospect of taking Manbidj without bloodshed and gaining precious time persuaded Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who permitted Ināl to make his way to al-Mawṣil. Manbidj was taken on 29 Shawwāl 571/11 May 1176, and the victor found significant spoils there. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn recalled his nephew Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Ṭurān Shāh, who was seeking to impose his authority in Egypt, and gave him fiefdoms in Syria, including Manbidj. In 577/1181, Taḳī al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar ʿUmar, prince of Ḥamāt, while in Manbidj, attempted to bar the road from Ḥalab to ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Muḳaddam, but he failed and was forced to retreat to Ḥamāt. In Ramaḍān 579/June 1179, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn appointed his brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil governor of Manbidj and, two years later, he added a minaret to the Great Mosque.

It was during this period (Rabīʿ I 580/June 1184) that Ibn Djubayr, coming from Ḥarrān, mentioned the purity of the air, the beauty of the landscape, the abundance and quality of the water of Manbidj. He described its broad streets and markets, noted the piety of the Shāfiʿī inhabitants, mentioned the ancient defensive wall as well as the remains of Roman buildings, and referred to the separate and isolated citadel.

In 586/1190, Manbidj, then ruled by Nāṣir al-Dīn, son of al-Muẓaffar Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar, was an important rallying-point for troops setting out to fight Frederick Barbarossa.

In 588/1192, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, third son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, sought to assert control of Manbidj, appealing to al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Ḥamāt to lend him his support against al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. But al-Manṣūr refused to give up the town which controlled the communication routes towards the north-east, the valley of the Upper Euphrates and Diyār Muḍar. In Radjab 589/April-May 1193, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir and al-Malik al-Afḍal attacked Manbidj; al-Ẓāhir destroyed the citadel to prevent it being used by an enemy and the town, deprived of defences, was given in *iḳṭāʿ*.

In 591/1195, Manbidj was dependent on al-Manṣūr of Ḥamāt; al-Malik al-Ẓāhir came from Ḳinnasrīn to attack it, but he was obliged to return in haste to Damascus and he abandoned the operation. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 595/September 1199, al-Malik al-Manṣūr

Muḥammad took Bārin from ᶜIzz al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Muḳaddam and gave him Manbidj by way of compensation. Several months later, at the request of al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil, he also gave Fāmiya and Kafar Ṭāb to ᶜIzz al-Dīn in recompense for Bārin. Meanwhile, ᶜIzz al-Dīn Ibrāhīm died at Fāmiya, and Manbidj reverted to his younger brother Shams al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Malik. In 598/1202, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir undertook restoration work on the Great Mosque.

Ca. 600/1204, Manbidj was a much-frequented place of pilgrimage. At the end of the 6th/12th century, al-Harawī refers to "the tomb, no longer to be seen, of al-Ḥakam b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Muṭṭalib", an eminent Ḳurashī who lived at the end of the Umayyad period and is said to have died in Syria. This author mentions the *mashhad* of al-Khaḍir and "the *mashhad* of the light (*mashhad al-nūr*), where it is claimed that there lies the tomb of some prophet". Ibn Shaddād (*Aᶜlak*, 57) confirms the existence of this monument; "*Mashhad* with the cenotaph of Khālid b. Sinān al-ᶜAbsī" [*q.v.*], a personage of the *fatra* [*q.v.*]; this tomb was situated to the east of Manbidj. There was also a *masdjid al-mustadjāb*, an oratory where vows were fulfilled. Also mentioned is a "Temple of the Moon which was a place of pilgrimage for the Sabians".

In 597/1201 al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī who, like al-Malik al-Afḍal, did not recognise the authority of al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil, sent al-Mubāriz Aḳdjā, one of his senior *amīrs* of Ḥalab, with troops to take possession of Manbidj and of Ḳalᶜat Nadjm. Shams al-Dīn was taken prisoner and incarcerated in the citadel of Ḥalab. Henceforward, Manbidj was incorporated among the territories of Ḥalab, and the domination of the Banu 'l-Muḳaddam came to an end.

Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir was not slow to acknowledge al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil as overlord, and the latter, in 598/1202, granted Manbidj in *iḳṭāᶜ* to ᶜImād al-Dīn b. Sayf al-Dīn ᶜAlī Aḥmad b. al-Mashṭūb. Soon afterwards, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, who struck coinage at Ḥalab, took it back from al-Mashṭūb in Djumādā II 598/March 1202 and dismantled the walls and the citadel, while ᶜAbd al-Malik b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Abī Shaybā contributed to the restoration of the Great Mosque. Manbidj was the object of numerous attacks on the part of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, who died in 613/1216.

In Rabīᶜ II 615/July 1218, the vanguard of the troops of the Saldjūḳ Kaykāwūs b. Kaykhusraw [*q.v.*] having invaded the territory of Manbidj, the town opened its gates to him. But the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm was forced to evacuate the place, which was taken by al-Malik al-Afdal; the latter spared the population and appointed as governor of the town one of his officers, Ṣārim al-Dīn al-Manbidjī, who restored the defensive walls. At the approach of al-Malik al-Ashraf, who had succeeded al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil as head of the Ayyūbids, Ṣārim al-Dīn advanced against the Ayyūbid army, suffered a decisive defeat and lost the town. In 625/1228, the army of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh [*q.v.*] advanced to Manbidj, but withdrew at the approach of winter. In 631/1234, al-Malik al-ᶜAzīz Muḥammad received orders from the Ayyūbid supreme ruler al-Malik al-Kāmil to muster troops at Manbidj in preparation for an assault on Tell Bashīr; as a result, the chieftains assembled on the plain of Manbidj included al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, Kayḳubād b. Kaykhusraw, al-Malik al-Mughīth of Ḥimṣ, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar of Ḥamāt and al-Malik al-Nāṣir of Karak; the commander of the operation was al-Malik al-Muᶜaẓẓam Ṭūrān Shāh, cousin of the prince of Ḥalab,who was reponsible for bringing these leaders together.

In 634/1236-7, at the end of the reign of al-Malik al-ᶜAzīz ᶜUthmān, further construction work was done to the Great Mosque of Manbidj. In 636/1238, al-Muᶜaẓẓam Ṭūrān Shāh brought his army to occupy the town, which gave shelter to refugees from Raḳḳa and Bālis fleeing before the Khwārazmians. In 637/1240-1, the latter, crossing the Euphrates once more, routed the troops of Ḥalab and marched against Manbidj; on Thursday 20 Rabīᶜ II/8 November 1240, the population took refuge within the fortifications, but the town was taken by assault three days later and burnt. The Khwārazmians massacred a great many of the inhabitants before recrossing the Euphrates. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr retrieved the town. In Djumādā I 640/November 1242, on their way from Ḳalᶜat Djaᶜbar, al-Malik al-Manṣūr and al-Malik al-Muẓaffar stopped at Manbidj before reaching Ḥalab.

When the Mongols of Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] crossed the Euphrates in their turn, in the course of their headlong invasion of the West, having taken Bālis in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 657/November-December 1259, they turned towards the north and sacked Manbidj, and then attacked Tell Bashīr before returning to their base at al-Ruhā.

With the arrival of the Mamlūk sultans, the post of *ḳāḍī* of Manbidj, which had been occupied by Awḥad al-Dīn, was entrusted to Shams al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī (616-88/1219-89).

In the treaty which the sultan Ḳalāwūn concluded with Leo of Armenia on 1 Rabīᶜ II 684/6 June 1281, Manbidj is mentioned among the "Egyptian" towns. According to Ibn al-Shiḥna, it contributed to the sultan's *dīwān* a sum of approximately 500,000 *dirhams* per year, composed of various levies.

At the end of 699/1299, Manbidj was destroyed by the Tatars, but in the vicinity, numerous pastures and gardens were still to be seen; the majority of the trees were mulberries.

In the period of Abu 'l-Fidāᵓ (first half of the 8th/14th century) Manbidj was replaced by Anṭākiya as capital of the *ᶜAwāṣim*. It became a small *niyāba*, but remained an important place in the region of the Syrian Upper Euphrates. It is known from al-Ḳalḳashandī (1418), who summarised the *Taḳwīm* (1321), that the region was dependent then upon the *nāᵓib* of Ḥalab and that its governor was a *djundī*, *muḳaddam* of the *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*], appointed by *tawḳīᶜ karīm* and enjoying an *iḳṭāᶜ*. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdjâ 721/November 1321, the place became the objective of the Turkoman *amīr* Minṭāsh, who came to attack it; the siege lasted several days, and finally Manbidj was taken and burnt, and a large section of the population massacred. A few weeks later, *the amīr* of al-Ruhā joined battle with Minṭāsh, who was defeated, taken prisoner and sent to Djulbān, viceroy of Ḥalab (early 722/late 1321).

In 748/1349, a major plague of locusts infested the region, which, the following year was to be smitten by a serious outbreak of the Black Death. In this period, the town had as its *wālī* the poet and historian ᶜUmar b. Muẓaffar al-Maᶜarrī Zayn al-Dīn al-Wardī, author of a sequel to the chronicle of Abu 'l-Fidāᵓ. In the 8th/14th century, following changes to the road network, Manbidj played no further part in the postal system (*barīd*); Ibn Baṭṭūta did not pass this way, and the mail between Ḥalab and the Euphrates, routed furhter to the south, crossed the river opposite Ḳal ᶜat Djaᶜbar.

At the beginning of the 9th/15th century, Manbidj, like many other places, suffered great damage as a result of the invasion of the Tīmūr Lang. However, in

the middle of this century, according to Ibn al-Shiḥna of Ḥalab (in his *al-Durr al-muntakhab*), it was contributing 40,000 *dīnārs* in annual taxation to the sultan's treasury, a fact which testifies to a degree of economic activity. For his part, the Egyptian Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, in his survey of the province of Ḥalab in the *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik* (mid-9th/15th century), makes no mention of Manbidj.

In 922/1516, Syria passed under the authority of the Ottoman sultans; the re-organisation of the eastern provinces of the empire and changes in the road network placed Manbidj on the periphery of the major commercial processes.

In 1784 Volney visited the *pashalik* of Ḥalab, and wrote: "Two days' travel to the north-east of Aleppo is the small town of Manbidj, formerly renowned under the name of Bambyce and Hierapolis. There remains no trace of the temple of that great goddess, whose cult is described by Lucian."

For the 19th century, two important sources of evidence are worthy of mention, those of Chesney and of Yanovski. In his account of an exploration of the valley of the Euphrates, Chesney provides valuable information concerning the state of Manbidj at the beginning of the century. He refers to the town and the castle, which were then called Kara Mambuche or Büyük Munbadj, and mentions remains of surrounding walls, square Arab towers and a trench which marked the limits of the Muslim city. He describes four large cisterns, a fine sarcophagus and the sparse ruins of the acropolis, the remains of two temples, in the smaller of which were an enclosure and the traces of seven columns. In the larger, which could be that of Atargatis, there are, he mentions specifically, traces of massive architecture: eleven arches alongside a paved court, in which there lie the shafts of columns and lotus-shaped capitals. Slightly to the west of the defensive walls there is a necropolis containing many Turkish tombs as well as some which are pagan, Saldjūḳ and Syriac, the last-named bearing inscriptions with illegible characters. Two roads leave this site, leading to two bridges of boats (ζεῦγμα). Towards Sādjūr, there are the remnants of a *ḳanāt*, partially abandoned, which has supplied Manbidj with water perhaps since the Assyrian, if not the Persian period. To the east of the town there is an aqueduct carrying water from the hills of the Djabal Dana Tagh situated 7 miles to the south-south-east. Two miles to the south is the encampment of the Banū Saʿīd Bedouins, whose herds roam the pasture-lands stretching from Bālis to the Sādjūr.

Some years later, J. Yanovski and J. David note that "as throughout the pachalik of Aleppo, subterranean water-courses abound in the territory of Mambidj, relayed by communication channels and thousands of reservoirs". In this region, Yanovski stresses the contrast between "the natural magnificence and the human squalor." From Manbidj to the southern limits of the land of Ḥalab, the author describes "massive plains, which although laid out in the form of fertile steppes, already resemble desert and which are variegated only by a series of low hills with derelict citadels on their summits". Yanovski also speaks of "once luxuriant prairies ruined by the disorderly encampments of nomadic tribes."

As for the remaining vestiges of the ancient Manbidj at the beginning of the 20th century, according to Baedeker (French edition, 1912, 411), "the extensive ruins of the ancient town are barely visible above the surface of the ground; however, it is possible to recognise the contours of a theatre and of a stadium". The *Guide Bleu* (1932 edition, 165) states for its part: "besides the perimeter wall, nothing is visible of the remains of the ancient town, the ruins of which have been used as a stone quarry of centuries". In the first third of the century, there still existed there a large pool, still stocked with carp similar of those which had been dedicated in Antiquity to the cult of Atargatis. This was, in fact, an ancient sacred lake which, like its equivalent at Marathus (Amrīt) on the Syrian coast, was originally flanked by a rectangular stone wall, and in the centre of which there rose an altar of marble, (*maʿābid*). In the middle of the 20th century all that remained of it was a deep unwalled depression without water, the dried-up sacred pool being used as a playground, while its spring supplied a bathing pool from which water was also drawn off to irrigate gardens. Of the successive ramparts surrounded by a broad trench which, since Antiquity had protected the town, there remained nothing but a circular earth embankment and a few vestiges on the north-west side.

Since the 16th century, Manbidj had been incorporated into Ottoman Turkey. At the beginning of the 20th century it was a regional centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *wilāyet* of Ḥalab, joined to the latter since 1913 by a telegraph cable. The region was then inhabited by groups of Kurdish and arabised Turkish families, among whom there were settled, after the Treaty of San Stefano put an end to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, a number of Circassians, Ḥanafī Muslims [see ČERKES]. In 1915, at the time of the Russian offensive against eastern Turkey, the Circassians were obliged, as a precautionary measure, to join their kinsmen established at Khanāzīr, 50 km to the south-south-east of Ḥalab at the northern limit of the Syrian desert.

In 1921, after the imposition of French authority in the Levant, Manbidj was incorporated into the third region of the provincial government of Ḥalab.

In 1924, the agricultural zone of Manbidj was part of the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥalab; later, it was to contribute one of the seven *minṭaḳas* of the *muḥāfaẓa* of Ḥalab. In this region, in the first half of the 20th century, there existed a tripartite association between the owner of the land, the owner of the irrigation equipment and the farmer, the supply of water being linked to the exploitation of the land. In this period, irrigation was still operated by the system of *ḳanāṭs*. Since before 1914, Manbidj had been an important staging-post for the convoys of humped cattle which, coming from al-Mawṣil, made a halt there, which explains the presence in the town, from this period onwards, of a veterinary surgeon who inspected the beasts before they set out for Ḥalab by way of Bāb. In the region of Manbidj itself, there was livestock, comprising in 1924, according to Ch. Parvie, 386 oxen, 414 calves and 4,182 cows, which made the town an important centre of dairy production. There were also herds of sheep and goats.

In 1930, Manbidj, where there existed a police station and a magistrate's court, was incorporated into the *ḳaḍāʾ* of the Djabal Samaʿān, which was dependent on Ḥalab. Two years later, the population of the town numbered 2,000, including 800 Circassians and 100 Armenians. In 1945, a census counted 4,653 inhabitants, including the population of the regional centre of the *ḳaḍāʾ*. According to the official statistics of the Syrian Arab Republic (1982), the population of the town was estimated in 1960 at 8,577, in 1970 at 14,635 (the *minṭaḳa* or district then numbered 102,730), and in 1981 at 30,844. The significant demographic growth of the region in the course of the last decade is due to electrification made possible by the barrage of Tabḳa on the Euphrates, to the im-

provement of the road network and to a re-structuring of the hydraulic system, measures which have led to a spectacular development of agriculture in the region and to an improvement of the habitat.

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MĀND (Mūnd, Mund), the longest river in Fārs (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*; 50 *farsakhs*; E.C. Ross: over 300 miles in length).

The name. As a rule in Persia, sections of a river are called after the districts through which they flow. Mānd is the name of the last stretch near its mouth. The name seems to appear for the first time in the *Fārs-nāma* (before 510/1116), but only in the composite Māndistān (cf. below).

The old name of the river is usually transcribed in Arabic characters Sakkān (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 120; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 191; al-Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, i, 401), but the orthography varies: Thakān, *Fārs-nāma*, GMS, 152; *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 134; Zakkān or Žakkan, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 217; Sitāragān, *Djihān-numā*, 247; cf. also Ṣayḥkān in Ḥasan Fasāʾī.

The identification of the Sakkān with the Σιταχός mentioned in the *Periplus* of Nearchus (Arrian, *Indica*, xxxviii, 8) is generally recognised. The identity of Sitakos with the Sitioganus (Sitiogagus) mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 26, is also usually admitted (Weissbach, 1927), but Herzfeld (1907) relying on the existence of another river, the Shādhkān (= Sitioganus?), has suggested doubts about the identification of the Sitakos with the Sitioganus. Now according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, 119, the Shadhkān flows into the Persian Gulf at Dasht al-Dastaḳān (north of Būshīr?). This Shadhkān must be identified with the river Shāpūr. The *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 163, mentions Rūdbāl-i Sittadjān ("the banks of the S.") as a station on the road from Shīrāz to Tawwadj. From this fact and especially from the name, Sittadjān seems to have applied to the left bank tributary of the Shāpūr. Pliny, who follows Onesicritos, adds that by the Sitioganus one reaches Pasargades in 7 days. Whatever be the identity of the Sitioganus, the exaggaration in this statement is evident (especially in the direction of the sea to Pasargades) and the waters of Pasargades (Mashad-i Murghāb) do not flow into the Persian Gulf. But there is nothing to prove the absolute impossibility of using the Sakkān as a subsidiary means of transport in the season of floods (the winter). According to Arrian, Nearchus found at the mouth of the Sitakos large quantities of corn which Alexander had brought there for the army. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 99, places the Sakkān among the rivers of

Fārs which are navigable at need (*al-anhār al-kibār allatī taḥmil al-sufuna idhā udjriyat fī-hā*).

Another question is the phonetic identity of the names Sitakos (Sitioganus?) and Sakkān. According to C.F. Andreas, Σιταχός is a nominative restored from a supposed genitive *Σιταχων (Sitakān); Sitiogan-us is a mistake for Sittagan-us; lastly, the peculiarity of the Arabic script could explain the change of Sittakān to Sakkān. Here we may add that Ḥasan Fasā ʾī gives one of the stretches of the river the strangely written form Ṣayḥkān (*Stkān?). Al-Iṣṭakhrī, however, derives the name of the river from that of the village of Sakk (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*: Zakān) in the district of Karzīn considerably below the Ṣayḥkān stretch of the river.

To sum up, the identification of the Sitakos with the Sitioganus does not seem sufficiently established.

The course of the river. The Sakkān (Mānd) describes a great curve. At first it runs in the direction N.W.-S.E., to the northern base of the Kūh-i Marra-yi Shikaft, which separates it from the valley of the river Shāpūr. It follows this direction (*ca.* 100 miles) to the end of the Āsmāngird mountains around which it makes a bend and turns south (70 miles). It then meets the parallel ranges which run along the Persian Gulf and continues its winding course to the sea in a westerly direction (140 miles).

The Sakkān (Mānd) and its tributaries drain and irrigate a considerable area (the Kūh-i Mānd and the Kūh-i Darang). Al-Iṣṭakhrī says that its waters contribute the largest share to the fertility of Fārs (*akthar*[u] *ʿimārat*[in]).

The sources of the river (Kān-i Zand, Čihilčashma and Surkh-rag) rise in the mountains of Kūh-i Nār and Kūh-i Marra-yi Shikaft to the northwest and west of Shirāz. These streams unite before Khan-i Zinyān in the district of Māṣarm on the great Shirāz-Kārrūn-Būshīr road. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 120, places the sources of the Sakkān near the village of Shādhfarī (?) in the district of Ruwaydjān (?). In the same author, 130, Khān al-Asad on the Sakkān corresponds to the modern Khān-i Zinyān. The *Fārs-nāma* (and the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*) places the sources of the Sakkān near the village of Čatrūya (?). Under the Turkish name of Ḳara aghač, i.e. "[the river of] the elm", the combined streams flow through the districts of Māṣarm (= Kūh-i Marra-yi Shikaft), Siyākh (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 120: Siyāh) and Kawār. In this last district, Rivadaneyra, iii, 81, going from Shīrāz to Fīrūzābād, crossed the river by a "substantial bridge". It is in the district of Kawār that Ḥasan Fasā ʾī gives the river the name of Ṣaykhān. In Kawār (Ḥasan Fasā ʾī) there used to be the barrage of Band-i Bahman, where by a subterranean channel (*ḳanāt*) part of the water was led into reservoirs (*čāh*) and then to the fields. In the *bulūk* of Khafr (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 105: Khabr), which must be distinguished from the district of the same name in the *kūra* of Iṣṭakhr, the river turns south. Aucher-Eloy, who crossed the river on the road from Fīrūzābād to Djarrūn (Djahrum) calls it "Tengui Tachka" (= Tang-i Ḳashḳay?) and speaks of its "beautiful valley". Rivadaneyra continuing his journey from Fīrūzābād to Dārāb crossed the river by a ford between the villages of Tadwān and "Assun-Dscherd" (Āsmāngird?). He also admires the pleasant and flourishing aspect of Khafr. Below the latter, the river enters the *bulūk* of Ṣimkān where, near the village of Sarḳal, it receives on its left bank, the brackish (*shūr*) river of Djahrum, and then flows through the ravine of Kārzīn, and waters the *bulūk* of Ḳīr-wa-Kārzīn. Abbott coming from Fasā crossed the river by a ford between ʿAlī-ābād and Lifardjān (cf. the name of the *ramm* of Kurds in Fārs al-Liwāldjān, al-Iṣṭakhrī, 113), where it was 100 yards wide and the water rose up to the horse's belly. Farther down below the ford, Stack, going from Ḳīr to Kāriyān crossed the river, here 60 yards broad, by the bridge of ʿArūs, built in a zig-zag and in two stories ("the queerest structure in the way of a bridge"). Near the village of Nīm-dih, the river enters the *bulūk* of Afzar. After having wound round the fort of Ḳal ʿa-yi Shahriyār the river receives (near the place called Čam-i Kabkāb) the name of Bāz and then irrigates the *bulūk* of Khundj (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 241: Khundjbāl = Khundj + Bāl). In the district of Diz-gāh of the *bulūk* of Galla-dār, the river has two tributaries: near the village of Gabrī, the Dār al-Mizān, and two *farsakhs* lower, that of Dihram. The Dār al-Mīzān comes from the left (east) side of the *bulūk* of Asīr. The Dihram, much more important, comes from the right side after watering the historic district of Fīrūzābād (the ancient Gūr, capital of Ardashīr-Khurra; cf. the details in Le Strange, 256, and also FĪRŪZĀBĀD). Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 121, makes this tributary come from Dārdjān (of Siyāh) and water first Khunayfghān and then Gūr (in place of the name of the river Tirza, al-Iṣṭakhrī, 99, 121, one should probably read Burāza; cf. the *Fārs-nāma*, 151, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 117-18: Ḥakīm Burāza was the sage who dried up the Lake of Gūr).

After Diz-gāh, the river enters the district of Sanā-wa-Shumba of the *bulūk* of Dashtī, and near the village of Bāghān receives on the right bank the river Čanīz which comes from the district of Tasūdj-i Dashtī. Finally, near the village of Dūmānlū the river enters the coast district of Māndistān and receives the name of Mānd. It flows into the sea near the village of Ziyārat, halfway between the old harbours of Nadjīram (to the north and Sirāf (to the south).

Māndistān. The district forms part of the *bulūk* of Dashtī (which is to be distinguished from Dashtistān to the north of Dashtī up to Būshīr). Dashtī (36 × 18 *farsakhs*) is composed of 4 districts: 1. Bardistān, the part of the coast in which is the port of Dayyir. 2. Māndistān in the coast to the north of Bardistān and the two banks of the river Mānd. 3. Sanā and Shumba on the river above Māndistān. 4. Tasūdj-i Dashtī, a very narrow valley (11 × ½ *farsakhs*), watered by the Čanīz and separating Sanā and Shumba from the *bulūk* Arbaʿa (on the lower course of the river of Fīrūzābād).

The whole of the *bulūk* belongs to the torrid zone (*garmsīr*) of Fārs. Māndistān (12 × 5 *farsakhs*) includes lands so flat that the current of the river is imperceptible and the water cannot be used for irrigation. Agriculture (wheat, barley, palm-trees) is dependent on the winter floods. The district has 40 villages. The capital of the district and of the *bulūk* is Kākī. There used to be two rival families in Māndistān: the Shaykhiyān and the Ḥādjdjiyān. During the disturbances under Afghān rule (1722-9) the Ḥādjdjī Raʾīs Djamāl exterminated the Shaykhiyān and founded a little dynasty of hereditary governors, who were able to annex the district of Bardistān through matrimonial alliances. One of his descendants, Muḥammad Khān (d. at Būshir in 1299/1881), was noted as a poet under the pen-name of Dashtī.

Ḥasan Fasāʾī explains the name Māndistān by a popular etymology: "the place where the water flows slowly (*wāmānda*)". Names in *-stān* are common in Fārs (Lāristān, Bardistān), but even if such a formation was possible in a river-name, the element Mānd would still be a puzzle. It is curious that Ḥasan Fasāʾī sometimes writes it Mānd (read Mūnd) and sometimes Mund (read *Mŏnd*). It might be suggested as a

pure hypothesis that there is a connection with the people Mnd (cf. Mēd) of which there might have been a colony in Māndistān.

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(V. MINORSKY)

MANDA, an island off the coast of Kenya. It lies in approximately 2° 12' S, 41° E, on the east side of Lamu Island [*q.v.*] in the Lamu Archipelago. There is a small modern settlement at Takwa Milinga, near the ruins of the ancient walled town of Takwa in the centre of the island, a small, deserted and allegedly ancient settlement at Kitau at the south-west corner of the island, and, in the extreme north, not far from a small modern settlement, the remains of the ancient walled town of Manda, which gives the island its name. It was finally destroyed by Fumo Luti, Sultan of Pate, in 1806. Its sole mention in Arabic literature is as Mandakhā or Manda Khā in the *History of Kilwa* [see KILWA], as one of the settlements at which a son of the founder was set up; the Arabic form presumably represents the Swahili Manda Kuu, or Great Manda, recorded by A. Voeltzkow. Al-Idrisi's reference *M.l.n.da.* more probably refers to Malindi [*q.v.*]. According to the traditional *Habari za Pate* ("History of Pate"), it was founded earlier than Pate, by which it was conquered later. However, it was of sufficient importance to pay tribute to the Portuguese separately from Pate, and it was its failure to do so that led to reprisals by the Portuguese in 1569, when many houses and some 2,000 palm trees were destroyed. In 1637 it was required to demolish its defensive walls.

H.N. Chittick carried out excavations at the site between 1966 and 1982. (These have been entirely filled in, and there is scarcely anything to be seen, other than the remains of two mosques.) There are massive stone walls on the western and northern sides abutting on the shore, and the remains of later walls on the south-west and south-east of the site. These walls are distinguished by Chittik as mega-walls and maxi-walls: the mega-walls are of blocks of stone weighing up to one ton each. The stone used, in both cases, is coral, quarried from a nearby reef which can still be identified. The walls provided stability for the sand dunes, so that houses could be built on the resulting terraces. These constructions are similar to ones observed by the writer at Shiḥr in South Yemen. The houses were built of coral, but also used brick. Very similar bricks have been found at Ṣuḥār, ʿUmān, and were probably brought from there as ships' ballast unloaded here in order to take on cargoes of mangrove timber. Certain houses have brick cisterns, and one, with a sunken courtyard, is similar to one known in Sīrāf. *Per contra*, the lay-out of the houses, however, is compared by M.C. Horton rather to types known from the Red Sea. Glazed and unglazed imported Islamic pottery, in which the earliest period of the site abounds, can be paralleled closely in D. Whitehouse's excavations at Sīrāf [*q.v.*], and some was certainly made in the Sīrāf vicinity. It need not be concluded, however, that Manda was a colony of Sīrāf. Rather, its connections with the Red Sea, and also with Ṣuḥār, suggest that it served both the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf as a trading port, already in existence in the mid-8th century, busied chiefly in the ivory and mangrove trades, in a region in which they abound naturally. A curiosity is an arcaded building with open sides, probably of the 13th-14th centuries, and most likely to have been a covered market, albeit it has been fancifully described as a "kiosk". There is a Friday mosque and another mosque, of 14th-15th century date. Only six coins have been found, two of them Fāṭimid, and apparently from Sicilian mints, an illustration of the wide dispersal of coinage. (The plate published by Chittick is illegible.) There is no trace of there having been a local currency.

At Takwa there is a well-preserved Friday Mosque and quite a number of houses in what was a walled town of some 12½ acres. The mosque appears to be of the late 15th or early 16th century, and was cleared by J.S. Kirkman, *Pace* the latter author, the pillar that rises above the roof of the *miḥrāb* is not of religious significance. Examination of the side walls discloses stumps of what were a series of pillars that originally provided an open clerestory below the roof, a feature still perpetuated in domestic architecture on Pate Island. A curiosity in the mosque ablutions is the decoration of the cistern with three plates: that in the place of honour in the centre is of Portuguese manufacture, and bears the Cross that is the emblem of the Portuguese Order of Christ. Outside the walls an inscription on a pillar tomb is read by Kirkman *ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ʿAlī al-mutawaffā sana 1094*. Local tradition, nevertheless, claims it as the tomb of Shaykh Aḥmad Manṣūr b. Aḥmad or "Shaykh Fakīhi Manṣūr", honouring it with an annual pilgrimage from Shela on Lamu Island. The Friday Mosque also enjoys the reputation of being a place of sanctuary. The inability to read the inscription can be taken as an indication of the local level of literacy in Arabic.

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

MANDATES. The mandate (Arabic *intidāb*; Turkish *manda*, from the French) was essentially a system of trusteeship, instituted by the League of Nations after the end of the First World War, for the

administration of certain territories detached from the vanquished states, chiefly the Ottoman and German Empires. The concept of the mandate has been variously understood as either a new world order or, contrariwise, merely as a façade for neo-colonialism, with other interpretations ranging between these two extremes. Essentially, the option of establishing mandates in conquered territories was largely intended to defuse (if not quite resolve) three foci or conflict: (1) Among the Powers themselves, particularly the victorious Allies, regarding domination of areas formerly administered by the vanquished - according to their respective global and regional interests and in consideration of secret agreements drawn up during the war years. (2) Between each Mandatory Power and the populations of the to-be-mandated territories — whose élites had become at least partially suffused with assertive patriotism — in an attempt to find methods of fulfilling promises expressed during the war. (3) Among rival sectors within each of these populations, some of which rejected mutual accommodation.

The mandate was not only a response to the real or potential threat of the above conflicts, but also a compromise between the desire of the victors — chiefly France and Great Britain — to maintain their hold on certain territories and the demand for self-determination raised by idealists, among whom President Woodrow Wilson and General Jan Smuts were most prominent. The guiding principle essentially agreed upon was to adopt a system of Great Power administration, intended to foster not only material welfare and cultural advancement but also progressive development of the mandated territory towards independence and statehood as well. The degree of development varied among the territories, which were classified accordingly into three categories. Category A, the highest level, comprised three mandates (out of a total of fourteen), all in ex-Ottoman territories: ʿIrāḳ; Syria and Lebanon; and Palestine and Transjordan. We will consider only these mandates herein, as they included sizeable Muslim populations (mandates in Category B were located in Africa and those in Category C in Africa and the Pacific area; for both, a more paternal type of rule was envisaged). For a brief while (1918-19) there was some discussion of a British and then an American mandate over Anatolia — the latter mooted separately by K͟hālide Edīb [*q.v.*] in Turkey and Henry Morgenthau, former U.S. ambassaor of Istanbul, in *The New York Times*. These projects were soon dropped, however, due to the Turkish nationalists' flat rejection, at the Sivas Congress (1919) of any mandate idea and their success in Turkey's war of independence. Similarly, projects of mandates for Armenia and Albania failed to materialise (the United States Senate debated the former, which received insufficient support because of majority opposition to the Treaty of Versailles. Furthermore, no other state was willing to assume a mandate over Armenia).

The victorious Allies first agreed in principle about mandates, in a formal manner, in a resolution of the Council of Ten on 30 January 1919, which became Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations signed in Paris in April 1919 and incorporated into the Versailles Peace Treaty two months later. Concerning the "A" areas, the Covenant stated, in part, that "Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a state of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory."

The above formulation reflected the feelings of humanity and justice prevalent in the wake of the First World War and well suited the principle of efficiency in public administration, better served by a defined Mandatory state whose commitment to the local population could be safeguarded by the control and criticism of international public opinion. However, not all the above principles were fully acceptable to France and Great Britain; hence the final texts of the mandates introduced certain modifications (e.g. in allowing local populations a share in selecting "their" Mandatory). At the San Remo Conference, in April 1920, the Allies definitively allotted ʿIrāḳ and Palestine to Great Britain, and Syria and Lebanon to France. The final versions of the mandates and the respective specifications of each were worked out within the League of Nations and approved in July 1922 for Palestine and Syria; those relating to ʿIrāḳ, however, were never ratified as such and consisted instead of a British-ʿIrāḳī Treaty — a modified version of the original draft of the mandate — signed on 12 October 1922 and approved by the Council of the League of Nations in September 1924. The mandates became valid only since September 1923, after the Republic of Turkey (at the Lausanne Conference) had officially renounced all claims on the non-Turkish territories of the defunct Ottoman Empire. Even then, certain frontier issues remained to be ironed out subsequently.

From a legal point of view, the appointment of a Mandatory took the form of an agreement between the League of Nations and the relevant Power, in which the latter was enjoined to promote the interests of the population in the mandated territory and prepare it for self-rule, under the control of the international body — a new conception in political science. The Mandatory had to report annually to the League of Nations' Permanent Mandates Commission, whose Constitution was approved by the League's Council in December 1920. The Commission was first appointed in February 1921 and formally supervised the application of the mandates. This Commission, numbering at first nine members (the number subsequently varied), comprised a majority of representatives from countries other than the Mandatory. It usually met in Geneva twice a year, diligently examining reports from the Mandatory and petitions by the local population, generally insisting upon the presence of representative officials of the Mandatory for cross-examination. Consequently, the commission's functions were simultaneous control of and collaboration with each of the Mandatories. It was hampered, however, by the lack of direct contact with people in the Mandated territories and by an absence of any power other than that of relaying observations to the Council of the League of Nations, whose duties included overall observance of the system and its modification where required. In addition, the International Court of Justice at the Hague served as a court of appeals, in certain cases, for the people of the mandated territories.

On a practical basis, the Mandatory thus had considerable latitude in its day-to-day governing and even in much of its decision-making. Nevertheless, there remained certain basic juridical differences between mandates and colonies. The Mandatory lacked exclusive rights and possessed merely a delegated — and consequently limited — authority; hence it was not the sovereign power of the mandated territory,

nor even its protector, in an international sense. Rather, it constituted merely a trustee for international society and a tutor appointed by the League of Nations to take care of the interests of the country's population. Legally, this implied both rights and obligations for the Mandatory. In actual practice, much depended upon the interests involved and the forces applied in each case.

ᶜIrāḳ. The mandates offered differing degrees of autonomy to the local populations — to ᶜIrāḳ the most, to Palestine the least, and to Syria an intermediate degree — apparently dependent upon the level of homogeneity of the population (assuming that too much autonomy might be unsuitable for a heterogeneous population). The case of ᶜIrāḳ is rather special, however, on other grounds as well. In 1921, even before final approval of the mandate, the British, who had already assumed effective control, invited Fayṣal b. Ḥusayn (who had been ejected from Syria by the French) to reign over ᶜIrāḳ under their aegis, assisting him in setting up the institutions of government [see FAYṢAL I]. True to their conception of the mandate, the British created directors' posts at the top level of every Ministerial office and appointed advisers in various administrative departments, as well as local judges. In 1921, an ᶜIrāḳī army was set up; in 1923, a Constituent Assembly was elected, which met in March of the following year and approved ᶜIrāḳ's constitution of July 1924. The assembly also approved the October 1922 British-ᶜIrāḳī Treaty which, without explicitly supplanting the Mandate, constituted official legal recognition by Great Britain of ᶜIrāḳ's sovereignty, provided the former offered binding advice in international and financial matters. Great Britain indeed successfully represented and defended ᶜIrāḳ's interests in the delicate negotiations held with Turkey since 1925 concerning the area of Mawṣil [*q.v.*] which the League of Nations eventually allotted to ᶜIrāḳ. Although the 1922 Treaty did not mention the mandate at all, it was nonetheless approved by the Council of the League of Nations, on 27 September 1924, as the instrument of mandate.

These moves only satisfied the ᶜIrāḳī nationalists for a brief while, however, if at all. Largely due to their pressures, a new British-ᶜIrāḳī treaty was signed in 1930, one which practically terminated the mandate; Great Britain reserved for itself certain rights, largely in the military domain, for another twenty-five years. The League of Nations, however, was the only institution which could terminate a mandate officially — and this was the first time the issue had arisen. Thus the Permanent Mandates Commission set up five pre-requisites for ending a mandate: a settled government and administration capable of running all public services; ability to maintain territorial integrity and political independence; capability of keeping internal peace and order; adequate financial resources for governmental requirements; and a legal and judicial system affording regular and equal justice to all. The Commission had some doubts about the suitability of conditions in ᶜIrāḳ for ending the mandate, primarily those relating to the judicial system and minority rights. After lengthy debates, however, in autumn 1932 the Permanent Mandates Commission voted to recommend termination of the mandate for ᶜIrāḳ to the Council of the League of Nations. The Council approved and in October 1932 admitted ᶜIrāḳ to the League of Nations (the first Arab state to join); thus the 1930 Treaty came into force and the mandate ended definitively. All formal restrictions on ᶜIrāḳ as a sovereign state were abrogated, although Great Britain did exercise its rights to intervene in crucial state and security matters until the end of the Second World War.

Syria and Lebanon. The French mandate in Syria and Lebanon, also imposed in 1922, continued to exist for a much longer period that that of ᶜIrāḳ, ending only in 1945. The Mandatory was charged with framing an organic law for Syria and Lebanon within three years and then to lead them into developing as independent states. It was further enjoined to levy taxes, develop natural resources, and establish judicial and educational systems, as well as military forces, these last to be eventually handed on to the local people. All this was conditional on the Mandatory's promoting the well-being of the population and refraining from granting monopolies and concessions to its own nationals to the detriment of the local people or those of those states. The French in Syria accordingly allowed Arab Syrians and Lebanese to staff the administration — although it was headed (as in ᶜIrāḳ) at its highest echelons by advisers delegated by the Mandatory. The French had a parallel organisation of their own, led by the High Commissioner; furthermore, they not only managed foreign and military affairs themselves, but often intervened in internal matters as well, through their officials. As with the British in ᶜIrāḳ, the French in Syria and Lebanon found Francophile Arabs willing to cooperate with them, simultaneously incurring the hostility of the nationalists.

On the whole, the Mandatory had greater success in Lebanon than in Syria. In the former, a representative council was prompted to prepare an Organic Law, in 1925, which was adopted by the Mandatory in the same year; in the following year, Lebanon became a republic with its own constitution, president and government — supervised by the Mandatory (as in ᶜIrāḳ). In Syria, however, a serious uprising (called a "revolt" by the nationalists and an "insurrection" by the French) occurred in the Druze region 1926-7, probably brought about by a combination of local grievances and patriotic aspirations; this uprising spread and the Mandatory forces put it down stronghandedly. An attempt to set up a Constituent Assembly, 1928, to prepare a constitution, foundered largely because of tensions between the above groups. In 1930, the assembly was dissolved and the French authorities unilaterally proclaimed a constitution, with the proviso that it could not contradict the responsibilities entailed in the Mandate. In principle, it resembled the Organic Law in ᶜIrāḳ, although it was republican rather than monarchical in intent and comprised variations for Syria's different units. An assembly was elected two years later and, in 1936, a French-Syrian treaty was agreed upon. This would have recognised Syria's sovereign independence (in three years' time), while allowing France to maintain its military forces there. However, the Government and Parliament in France did not ratify the treaty and Syria reverted to Mandatory rule, with the French High Commissioner increasing his authority.

All this exasperated the nationalists who, although divided among themselves, were antagonised by the French division of the mandated territory into separate units and by the changes repeatedly introduced. The nationalists were particularly irritated by what they interpreted as the Mandatory Power's actions to increase autonomy in Druze and ᶜAlawī districts, carve out a "Great Lebanon" and hand over the *sandjaḳ* of Alexandretta (Hatay) to Turkey. Even the declaration of General Catroux (commander of the Free French forces which entered Syria, together with the British, in June 1941), in September 1941,

that the French mandate had ended hardly convinced the Syrian nationalists, as France insisted on a "predominant position" there. Only at the end of the war, in 1945, did France recognise Syria's independence, thus ending the mandate (the League of Nations had been inactive during the war and was considered defunct, for practical purposes; hence it had no part in this decision).

The mandate in Lebanon developed along parallel although not identical lines. As early as August 1930, the French carved out a "Great Lebanon" which did away with the area's former Christian hegemony and turned Lebanon into an even more complicated mosaic of religious communities. The division of the main official positions, as well as the composition of the elected representative assemblies since 1926, have reflected and institutionalised this complexity. The 1926 Constitution accorded a high degree of home rule to the Lebanese, while granting France important decision-making privileges. A Franco-Lebanese treaty, similar to the Franco-Syrian one of 1936, was drawn up during the same year, but likewise failed to obtain ratification in France. Nevertheless, the difference between Lebanon and Mandatory France led to less violence in Lebanon than in Syria; Lebanon's independence (and termination of the mandate), attained in 1945, demanded fewer struggles that did Syria's.

Palestine and Transjordan. The mandate for Palestine was *sui generis* in several respects. Unlike the drafts of the mandates for ʿIrāḳ and for Syria and Lebanon, the text of the mandate for Palestine did not charge the Mandatory with drafting an organic law, but rather with promoting political, administrative and economic conditions to ensure the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people, while protecting the civil and religious rights of the rest of the population. The Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917 was inserted into the preamble of this text and certain privileges were granted to the Jews, sc. the formation of an official Jewish Agency to represent them as well as provisions concerning land settlement, Palestinian nationality, the establishment and operation of public works, services and utilities, the development of national resources and the recognition of Hebrew as an official language (along with English and Arabic)

Considering the terms of the mandate and, even more so, the increasing rivalries between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, the British authorities found it difficult to accommodate communities; many official measures antagonised one community, or the other, or both. One of the first such British decisions was to separate Transjordan from Palestine, in 1922, and endow it with a separate administration (to be headed, however, by the same High Commissioner). Relations between the Mandatory and Transjordan were then formalised, in 1928, by a treaty and a Constitutional Law, both patterned on British-ʿIrāḳī ones and confirmed by the Permanent Mandates Commission.

In both Palestine and Transjordan, the British instituted an administration essentially differing from the colonial ones they had established elsewhere. Its legal authority was based on *The Palestine Order in Council, 1922*, providing the British administration in Palestine with executive, legislative and judicial powers. The administration was led by the High Commissioner, assisted by a Chief Secretary and other British heads of various departments. Some of the middle-rank positions and most of the lower ones were staffed by local Arabs and Jews — one of their few and highly competitive meeting grounds. All British efforts to establish joint Arab-Jewish bodies, such as a Legislative Council, were doomed to failure. Even when reluctance was overcome, mutually acceptable terms could not be agreed upon: the Arabs wanted such bodies to reflect their statistical majority, while the Jews wished guarantees that they would not be voted down on every single issue. In consequence, both Arabs and Jews in Palestine developed their own separate systems for self-rule, the latter enjoying greater success in virtually developing "a state within a state" in such domains as education, self-defence, elections, trade unions, religious, social and cultural affairs. Many of these were taken care of within an "Assembly of Israel" (*Kneset Israʾel*) and co-ordinated by its elected "National Council" (*Vaʿad Lʾūmī*). The Arabs, on the other hand, were more divided among rival factions, of which the most important was the "Arab Higher Committee" (*al-Hayʾa al-ʿArabiyya al-ʿulyā*), led by the Muftī al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], which succeeded in co-opting a number of Christian Arabs as well.

The 1920-1 and 1929 flare-ups, directed mostly against the Jews, culminated in a large-scale Arab uprising which continued sporadically during 1936-9, against both the Jews and the British. Each was followed by British Commissions of Inquiry, which resulted in official White Papers duly laid before both the British Parliament and the Permanent Mandates Commission. The Royal Commission headed by Lord Peel proposed the partition of Palestine, but this was rejected by both Arabs and Jews. The 1939 White Paper limited Jewish immigration and restricted land sales to Jews, thus appeasing the Palestinian Arabs during the Second World War. After the war, however, it was the Palestinian Jews who acted against the 1939 White Paper policy: in steps initiated by the Jewish Agency and the National Council, they smuggled in Jewish immigrants from amongst the survivors of the Nazi Holocaust, while small groups, disobeying the above bodies, physically attacked British officials and soldiers in Palestine. When neither strong military reprisals nor additional commissions proved to be of any avail, the British, undergoing a process of decolonisation in any case, bowed to local wishes and world opinion. American pressure played a particularly prominent role in this respect, as did the United Nations, before which the issue had been brought in 1947 (and which had decided on partition). Thus the British terminated the mandate for Palestine on 15 May 1948. They had already granted Transjordan formal independence by a treaty concluded in March 1946 and amended in March 1948 in Transjordan's favour (equalising relations, although, in practice, Great Britain remained the new state's preferred ally).

Conclusion: The mandate system was far from a signal success; nor was it a total failure, however. First of all, it succeeded in providing a formula, acceptable to both idealistic statesmen and *Realpolitik* partisans, for dividing the spoils of the First World War; and, secondly, it represented a *modus operandi* for the victorious Allies, chiefly Great Britain and France, to maintain their interests in the Middle East without blatantly contradicting their mutual agreements during the war and their promises to Arabs, Jews and others. On the other hand, it failed to provide either a solution to tensions between local nationalists and the respective Mandatories, or a permanently satisfactory *modus vivendi* among the various local population groups within each of the mandates. It was nationalist pressure, escalating into violence, which hastened termination of the physical presence of the

Mandatories in ᶜIrāḳ, Syria and Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan. The process itself was part of the new world order following the Second World War, one which witnessed decolonisation and the founding of numerous new states, not unrelated to the political, military and economic relinquishing of Great Power status by the British and French. The tensions between Arabs and Kurds, Sunnīs and S͟hīᶜīs in ᶜIrāḳ, various ethnic and religious coomunities in Syria and Lebanon, Arabs and Jews in Palestine, or Bedouins and other groups in Transjordan, erupting into violence or even war, were among the more unfortunate aspects of the unresolved legacies of the mandates.

It may be that the Mandatories had neither the time nor the opportunity required to tackle these tensions and to set up a lasting accomodation. They were too busy with forging unitary countries and nations in the mandated territories, which had been disparate units in the sprawling Ottoman Empire. Although the Mandatories' fostering of local culture was tempered by a desire to export their own civilisation, they did succeed in encouraging education, setting up a more impartial judiciary, instilling law and order, promoting a national economy, establishing a more adequate taxation system, improving agriculture and irrigation and assisting with public health, roads and communications — all of which led to significant advances towards modernisation.

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MANDE, a term which simultaneously possesses geographical, political and ethnic connotations. Mande is a region situated between the upper Niger to the East, Beledougou to the North and the upper Bakhoy to the West. Mande is also applied, however, to the whole of an enormous ethnic family comprising, according to some West African traditions (Dogon, Bambara, Malinke in particular), more than forty population groups currently inhabiting the Republics of Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and even Nigeria (see D. Zahan, *Aperçu sur la pensée théogonique des Dogon*, in *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, vi [1949], 113-33; S. de Ganay, *Notes sur la théodicée bambara*, in *RHR*, cxxxv [1949], 212-13; G. Dieterlen, *Essai sur la religion bambara*, Paris 1951, 13; the same, *Mythe et organisation sociale au Soudan français*, in *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xxv/1-2 [1955], 40-2).

More precisely, Mande designates the "motherland" of one of the ethnic groups which originated there, the Mandingos. According to dialectal variants, the latter pronounce the term *Mande* or *Mandeng*, *Mandi*, or *Manding*, while the Bambara of Ouassoulu (South of Bamako) say *Mane* or *Mani*, the Soninkes *Malle* or *Malli*, the Foulbe *Melle* or *Melli* (cf. M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger* (*Soudan français*), 1st series, i, 121). All these forms constitute variants of one word which in phonetic notation should be transcribed as *Mãdẽ* or Mãdẽ.

This phonetic rendering illustrates the uncertain etymology of the morpheme, *Mãdẽ* could signify either "child" (*dẽ*) of the mother *ma*", i.e. uterine issue or "child (*dẽ*) of the master of the soil (*mã*)", i.e. indigenous (cf. M. Delafosse, *La Langue mandingue et ses dialects* (*Malinké, Bambara, Dioula*), Bibl. de l'ENLOV,

Paris 1929, i, 11). There is no basis for deciding in favour of either of these hypotheses.

In the current state of knowledge, little is known of the early history of the Mande. The first written information on this subject derives from Arabic sources, it being understood that the first scholars to transmit in writing their knowledge of sub-Saharan Africa lived in North Africa and were directly or indirectly in contact with the negroes of the Sudan of their period. Among the latter, the Mandingos were, doubtless from an early period, the suppliers of gold (the *tibr* of the Arab authors, signifying "unrefined gold" and "gold dust") to the Italian, Portuguese and Spanish merchants who acquired it in North Africa through the intermediary of local traders. But it is logical to suppose that the tracks crossing the Sahara and bearing this precious metal towards the Mediterranean did not become "trade routes" until after the conquest of North Africa by the Arabs. Furthermore, it was subsequent to this invasion that there appeared the first written testimonies relating to the Mande.

The earliest in date, known today, is given by al-Yaᶜḳūbī (d. 284/897) in his *Taʾrīkh*, 28: "There is also another kingdom called Mallal, which is at war with the sovereign of Kānim (Kanem). Their king is called Mayusī (Mai Wasī?)" (cf. J.M. Cuoq, *Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique Occidentale du VIIIe au XVIe siècle (Bilād al-Sūdān)*, Paris 1975, 48). Mallal is in fact Mali [*q.v.*], the future rival, then destroyer, of Ghāna [*q.v.*]. Al-Yaᶜḳūbī knew of it only by hearsay, never having travelled himself in the Bilād al-Sūdān. If his orthography is to be believed, the information that he provides is without doubt of Soninké origin, the Soninkés (or Sarakolés) constituting the predominant group, from a political and economic point of view, in the kingdom of Ghāna, situated between the Maghrib and the valleys of Senegal and of the upper Niger (otherwise known as the "Nile" by the Arab historians and geographers).

It is difficult to say what was the nature of Mallal at the time of this ancient historical testimony; a modest local chiefdom, no doubt, situated in the region of the confluence of the Niger and the Sankarani, but one which was beginning to make itself known because of its deposits of gold, coveted by the Arabs and the peoples living to the north of the Mediterranean.

Some time ago, having understood the cultural importance of the historical evidence, traditional story-tellers (*griots*) or minstrels of the present-day Republic of Mali began to reveal their knowledge concerning Mali. Certainly, this information is to be taken with the caution appropriate to oral testimonies separated from the events that they describe by a considerable period of time. But caution is not the same as rebuttal, far from it. According to these story-tellers, then, at the time of the foundation of the empire of Mali (beginning of the 13th century), the Manding comprised 34 clans, lineages and socio-professional groups: 16 clans of warriors (Konâté, Coulibaly, Traoré, Koné, Doumbya (or Koroma, or Kourouma, or Sissoko, or Fakoly), Kamara-Komagara, Bagayogo-Sinayogo, Dèrèba-Kamissoko, Dannyoko, Magassouba, Diawara, Dâbo, Diallo, Diakité, Sidibé and Sangeré); 5 Keïta lineages belonging to the family of Soundyata, founder of the empire; 5 maraboutic families (Cissé, Touré, Berété, Diâné and Sânogo)(according to some, the Kouma constituted the fifth maraboutic family of the Manding); 4 Dyâbi families, related to the afore-mentioned maraboutic families; 4 families of people of "caste": the *griots* or minstrels (Kwaté (Kouyaté), Kamissoko, Dyabaté, Soumano); the blacksmiths: Doubya, Bagayogo, Sinayogo, Sinaba, Kanté; the shoemakers: Kamare, Garanké; the descendants of slaves and slaves themselves (SCOA, *L'Empire du Mali*, 1976, 413).

Originally, however, the number of Manding clans was smaller. The memories of the story-tellers mention twelve of them, as having constituted the nucleus of what was later to become the Manding "world", the difference (between this number and 34) consisting of new elements coming in from the exterior, either from the empire of Ghāna, or from Sosso Mande, in fact, attracted these "immigrants", as they would now be called, for two reasons: first, the gold of Bouré, with all that this metal offered in terms of opportunity for work and wealth, and second, the paganism of the animist religion which was seen as virgin territory for Islamic missionary effort. The first of these attractions was more of a lure to the inhabitants of Sosso, almost all of whom practised the extraction and casting of iron; the second appealed to natives of the kingdom of Ghāna, among whom Islam was already beginning to be implanted on a wide scale and who were seeking, at the same time, to migrate towards the south, as a result of increasingly frequent droughts.

It is evident that available knowledge concerning Mande before the foundation of the empire represents fragments of little importance. If to these there is added an item from al-Bakrī (*K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, tr. de Slane, 1965, 333, quoted by Cuoq, *op. cit.*, 102-3), mentioning the conversion to Islam of a king of Mallal (*ca.* 442/1050) with the aim of putting an end to the drought which was devastating his country, then in a passage from al-Idrīsī (548/1154) on the subject of Mallal, "a small town without walls (*Opus geographicum*, i, Naples-Rome 1970, 22; Cuoq, *op. cit.*, 132), the sensation of "historicity" may perhaps be reassuring, but our knowledge relating to Mande gains nothing in substance. It is not until the beginning of the 13th century, and again with recourse to the oral tradition relayed by the minstrels, that a "history" is discovered in which Mande becomes a kind of stage, upon which actors, half-real and half-mystical, play a role in events of interest and significance.

At this period there was in Mande a certain Naré-Famaghan, who was only one of forty or more Manding princelings all of whom bore the title of *mansa* (chief). He had twelve sons, his potential successors, of whom the youngest, Soundiata (the Mari-Diata of Ibn Khaldūn) was to have a historic destiny: it was he who was soon to found the empire of Mali. Meanwhile, Mande was tributary to the neighbouring kingdom of Sosso.

This destiny was, in reality, dependent on three factors: (a) the decline of the neighbouring empire to the north, Ghāna, threatened by the king of Sosso, as well as by Arabo-Berbers descending from the north who were ultimately to destroy it (469/1076-7); (b) the lack of unity in Mande, where each princeling was master of his own territory; and (c) the victory of Soundiata over his rival Soumangourou Kanté, king of Sosso.

This last factor constitutes a remarkable example of the oral history of Mande. The narration of the events which took place in the confrontation between the two protagonists takes the form of an epic account in which the real, the miraculous, the serious and the comic are mingled in an apparently inextricable manner, but where a guiding thread is detectable throughout. The story-tellers have seized with relish on these events and, in general, accord little importance to the other two factors.

The plot of the account in question may be sum-

marised in the following manner. Soumangourou, king of Sosso and suzerain of Mande, massacres the eleven sons of Soundiata. The latter is spared only on account of his disability, which renders him inoffensive in the eyes of his suzerain. His disability is significant and makes him the opposite of his rival, the blacksmith of Sosso, the archetypal "man of action", dressed in garments of iron; he has crippled legs, as a result of which he lives for seventeen years in a hole in the ground, only his head and shoulders being visible. But Soundiata is cured of his infirmity in an equally significant manner: with the aid or two enormous bars of iron (used by him successively), of which the first becomes his bow and the second his royal sceptre, he hoists himself out of his "hole", permanently cured, takes to arms, rallies his warriors and goes to fight Soumagourou in a decisive battle, at Krina. The latter escapes from his pursuer only by disappearing into a cave, at Koulikoro, the opening of which is blocked by a slab of stone immediately after the entry of the unlucky hero. Traditionists and historians agree in making these events coincide with the foundation of the Manding empire, *ca.* 1235, and the dispersion of the blacksmiths across West Africa, subsequent to the destruction of their "empire".

It has not been possible to include all the details of the famous encounter between the two protagonists. The elements of the account supplied here have the purpose only of giving an impression of the structure of the narrative and an "introduction" to its eventual interpretention.

This structure and its interpretation have as their starting point the idea that the status of the hunter-cultivator is superior to that of the blacksmith; but this superiority only emerges and becomes evident from the moment that the first masters the products of the technology of iron possessed by the second. Soundiate is in subjection to Soumangourou until the day that he takes possession of arms, of which the raw material has been supplied to him by his rival, the blacksmith. This could, conceivably, be translated into more modern terms as an assertion that strategy and skill in the manipulation of arms (traits characteristic of the hunter-cultivator) represent a knowledge more profound than that which concerns metallurgy and the science of the armourer. The story summarised above also refers, undoubtedly, to the type of knowledge acquired through initiation. The blacksmith is, on account of his skill, a "natural" and it could be said, initiated being. The hunter-cultivator, on the other hand, acquires this knowledge only after a long period of initiation corresponding to a "death". Soundiata remains "buried" for seventeen years, and emerges from his "hole" to conquer. Soumangourou, on the contrary, is the archetype of life and strength, but, beaten, he descends into bowels of the earth. One comes out of the earth to defeat his adversary, the other enters the earth, vanquished by his enemy. This gives an explanation not only of the dispersal of blacksmiths across Africa, but especially of their place in society.

Soundiata, rich in exploits and in wisdom, occupies a position of eminence in the memory of Malinké story-tellers. He has no equal in the history of Mande other than in the person of one of his successors at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, Mansa Mūsā [*q.v.*], whose reign marked the highest point of the Manding empire. In his time, this extended from Gao to the estuary of the Gambia, and from Oualata (in the north) to the jungles of Guinea. But Mansa Mūsā owes his place of honour in the work of Arab historians, particularly in that of al-ʿUmarī (*Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, quoted by Cuoq, *op. cit.*, 275-9), to the pilgrimage which he made to Mecca and to the fast which he observed during the journey. This sovereign dominated the whole of the 8th/14th century in West Africa. Even Europe was aware of him and he was featured on the Catalan maps of Dulcert (1339) and of Cresques (1375). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 376-48), who passed through Mande in 753/1352-3, was unable to make the acquaintance of the Manding emperor who died *ca.* 1337, but his journey coincided with the last years of prosperity of the great empire. From about the year 1380 onwards, this empire entered upon a period of decadence concerning which Ibn Khaldūn gives some interesting information (cf. Cuoq, *op. cit.*, 339-50). The 15th century marked the beginning of the death-throes of Mande, harassed by the Touareg, the Songhai and the Mossi; the second half of the 17th century saw its disappearance. In 1670, Mande, as a political entity, was reduced, under the onslaught of the Bambara kings of Segou, to the small province from which it had originated, in the region of the Upper Niger; it had survived for approximately three and a half centuries.

Situated in a zone of commercial contacts between North Africa and Black Africa, Mande has, on account of its rich gold deposits, throughout its history attracted much covetousness, on the part of its immediate neighbours as well as of the Arabo-Berber tribes of the Mediterranean coast. In view of the facts, it is quite astonishing that this great kingdom, born out of the victory of strategy over technology, could have lasted so long. This would not, in the opinion of the present writer, have been possible had not those who presided over the affairs of the country, as well as the people themselves, been particularly conscious of the values which permit the realisation of human potential. The initiatic societies of the Malinkés, so closely linked to the monarchy, are instructive in regard to the "spiritual" preoccupations of the kings of Mande. Such concerns are not rare in African history, but in this case they take on a particular dimension in view of the zone of insecurity in which the Manding empire was located from the very beginning of its existence.

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MANDĪL, normalised *mindīl*, from Latin/Greek *mantēl(e, -um, ium)*, entered Arabic speech in pre-Islamic times, presumably through Aramaic, and has remained in use to this day. Its principal meanings were those of handkerchief, napkin, and towel. *Mandīl* was, however, understood generally as "piece of cloth" and used for many other purposes, such as covering or carrying something or serving, attached to the body, as an untailored part of dress. Numerous other words were available in Islamic languages as synonyms of *mandīl* in both its specific and its generalised meanings. Arabic thus had

mashūsh and *minshafa*, while *khirka* was often substituted as an inferior sort of *mandīl*. Persian had *dastār* (dimin. *dastārča*), *rūmāl*, and many other words; some were used in Arabic contexts such as *shustadja* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1048, also Glossary, CCCXI, and below) and *dastadja* (Kushādjim, below, although the meaning of handkerchief for *dastadja* seems unusual, read *shustadja*?). Turkish *bukča* was frequent in later Arabic texts (*bukdja*, for instance, al-Djawbarī, *Kashf*, Cairo 1316, 24; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 178). The diminutive *munaydīl/īl* is attested (Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿkūb [*q.v.*], in al-Bakrī, *Masālik* in connection with Prague; Ibn Sūdūn, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, ms. Brit. Mus. or. 6517, fols. 70a, 110a). Philologists invented *kunyas* for *mandīl*: Abu 'l Hānī, Abū Ṭāhir, Abu 'l-Naẓīf (Ibn al-Athīr, *Muraṣṣaʿ*, Baghdād 1972, 230, 323, 344, 373). Construct formations indicated function, such as *m. al-ghamar* ("grease"), *al-ṭaʿām* ("food"), *al-sharāb* ("drink"), *al-wadjh* ("face"), *al-ʿudhra* ("virginity"), *al-amān* ("safe conduct"). *M. al-kumm* (cf. German *Taschentuch*) got its designation from the wide sleeve in which it was carried.

Mandīls were made of many textile fibres. Often they were outstanding products of the weaver's and embroiderer's craft. This applied in particular to handkerchiefs, but also, in a more modest way, to napkins and towels. Handkerchiefs were praised for their sheerness and beauty. The qualities of their different makes were compared (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, repr. Cairo *ca.* 1968, ii, 146). They came in many colours and had colourful embroided borders. Many localities, especially in Iran and Egypt, produced, and gave their names to, special kinds of *mandīls*. Depending on quality, they could be very costly; even badly worn *mandīls* could still be sold for cash (al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda*, Cairo 1357/1938, i, 55 f., cf. also *Nishwār*, Cairo 1391-3/1971-3, iii, 67). They shared with other textiles the fact that they were often not within the reach of the poor. Not having a *mandīl* was part of the definition of poverty (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1933, i, 198). Conversely, the wealthier classes took considerable pride in them and counted them among their prized possessions, to which a person might become unduly attached (*Iḥyāʾ*, iv, 426, 1. 23) and which had to be taken good care of. But even among ordinary people, it was customary to carry a handkerchief when going out, as is shown, for instance, by the curious story of the trained donkey in al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*, Cairo 1299-1300, ii, 183 (for the use of *mandīls* in tricks, cf. also al-Djawbarī, 16, etc.). A complete outfit of clothing (*Iḥyāʾ*, iv, 185, 200) or a proper trousseau would include *mandīls*. Since they were thought to be indispensable, they were assumed to exist in Paradise (according to the *ḥadīth*, cf. also Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarkandī, *Kurrat al-ʿuyūn*, on the margins of al-Shaʿrānī, *Mukhtaṣar*, Cairo 1358/1939, 159; Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya, *Ḥādī al-arwāḥ*, Cairo 1381/1962, ch. 50). Angels had *mandīls* of fire (al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *Ilmām*, Hyderabad 1388-96/1968-76, i, 123, 1. 6). Fire-resisting *mandīls* in this world were described as curiosities.

Many uses of *mandīls* are attested, for instance: covering the face to conceal crying (al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, Hyderabad 1374-80/1954-61, i, 364; al-Djawbarī, 23, speaking of a trained monkey); wiping off tears (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 185) or sweat (al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, Baghdād 1383/1964, 75, using *shustadja*, tr. Salem, Beirut 1977, 61); blowing the nose, which had to be done in a refined manner, and the *m. al-ṭaʿām* was not to be used for it (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iv, 126, 1. 18; al-Ghuzūlī, i, 146, 1. 3); stilling a nose bleed (al-Yūnīnī, i, 354); cleaning hands and mouth after eating and drinking; wiping off spittle, to be done delicately with the end (*dhuʾāba*) of a folded *mandīl*, as was the custom of the great al-Ṭabarī (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 459); drying parts of the body; covering the loins (*izār*) after bathing (cf. H. Grotzfeld, *Bad*, Wiesbaden 1970, 67, 93); wrapping it around the body like a *wishāḥ* (al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1951, 133; al-Ṣanawbarī, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1970, 486); covering the head as *ʿimāma* (al-Zadjdjādjī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1382, 171 f.); covering dishes and tables; carrying practically anything, money, sandals (Ibn al-Ṣukāʿī, *Tālī*, Damascus 1974, 111), the medicines of a visiting physician (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 158, 1. 28, and, using *shustadja*, i, 217, 1. 2); massaging and serving as hot compresses (al-Rāzī, *Tadjārib*, ms. Istanbul, Topkapısarayı Ahmet III 1975, fols. 72a, 93a); wrapping objects, even heavy ones in large *mandīls*; strangling (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iv, 8) or poisoning (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 211 = § 3354); using it in *futuwwa* installation ceremonies (cf. F. Taeschner, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften*, Zürich-Munich 1979, 222), etc., etc.

Literature speaks of handkerchiefs as convenient for writing on, or concealing in, billets-doux (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Dhamm al-hawā*, Cairo 1381/1962, 532 f.). In general, littérateurs considered them worthy of notice as art objects whose mention conveyed special moods and aesthetic impressions. A poem by Kushādjim [*q.v.*] mourning a *mandīl* of his that had been pilfered by a lover gives a graphic description of their use and the esteem in which they were held (*Dīwān*, Baghdād 1390/1970, 86-8; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, Cairo 1389/1969, 868 f.). Blood covering a wolf's head from between the ears to the shoulder blades suggested a *mandīl* to the *mukhaḍram* poet Ibn Mukbil [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿānī*, Hyderbad 1368-69/1949, i, 184). The elephant's ear was compared to it (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ed. Hārūn, vii, 173), as was the flame of a candle spread by the wind's blowing (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, as quoted by al-Ghuzūlī, i, 81). *Mandīl* was used metaphorically to indicate low status, commonness, and abuse (al-Tawḥīdī, *Akhlāk al-wazīrayn*, ed. al-Ṭandjī, 232; al-ʿImād al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Cairo 1287, i, 313; al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, iv, Cairo *ca.* 1951, ii, 134; see also al-Rāʿī al-Numayrī, *Dīwān*, ed. Weipert, Beirut 1980, 235, Steiger and Keller, 126 f.). All this shows that the *mandīl* was always an object that engaged the human fancy.

Most, if not all, of the uses of *mandīls* antedated Islam (cf. H. Kindermann, *Über die guten Sitten*, Leiden 1964, 99-102). The widespread use of handkerchiefs, however, shows a high degree of general cultural refinement, much in advance of mediaeval Europe (cf. N. Elias, *The civilizing process*, Eng. tr. New York 1978, 143 ff.).

Bibliography : The few selected references in the article are meant to be in addition to those in F. Rosenthal, *Four essays on art and literature in Islam*, Leiden 1971, 63-99. Fundamental earlier studies are R.B. Serjeant, *Material for a history of Islamic textiles*, in *Ars Islamica*, ix-xvi (1942-51), repr. as *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, and A. Steiger and H.-E. Keller, *Lat. Mantēlum*, in *Vox Romanica*, xv/1 (1956), 103-54, where *mandīl* is followed in its forms and uses through the European languages and Arabic. More recently, Geniza studies have enriched our knowledge of the *mandīl*, cf. the publications by S. D. Goitein and, especially, Y. K. Stillman, for instance, *The wardrobe of a Jewish bride in Medieval Egypt*, in *Studies in marriage customs*, iv (1974), 297-304. See also LIBĀS.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

MANDĪL, Awlād or Banū, a chiefly family of the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*], prominent in what is now western Algeria in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, taking its name from Mandīl, grandson of one Abū Nās, a scion of the Banū Khazrūn, rulers of Tripoli (391-540/1000-1 to 1145-6) and descendants of the 10th-century Spanish Umayyad Maghrāwī chief, Khazrūn b. Falfūl.

Abū Nās, whose forbear from Tripoli had made his way to kin in the Chélif (Shalaf) basin and finally established himself among the local Maghrāwa, had received an *ʿiḳṭāʿ* there for his services to the Almohads in ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's [*q.v.*] day. His son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān thereafter united the Maghrāwa behind him and garnered the rewards of loyalty to the Almohads. On his death, he was succeeded by Mandīl, the elder of two sons, whose expansionism won him the Ouarsenis (Wansharīs), Médéa (al-Madiyya) and the fertile Mitidja (Matīdja) plain, which he devastated with unswerving pro-Almohad zeal. Subsequently he lost Mitidja itself [see BULAYDA] to Yaḥyā, the last of the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*], and around 623/1226 Yaḥyā had him killed. Mandīl was the founder of the stronghold of Marāt on the Riou (Wādī Rahyū), a tributary of the Chélif.

Mandīl's eldest son, al-ʿAbbās, was accepted by his brothers as the new chief. As such, he looked to his father's example, but in fact lost all Mandīl's gains to his rivals, the Banū Tūdjīn, and fell back with his tribe on their heartlands in the lower Chélif. There he remained for a time as ruler of a modest principality. A change came with the intervention of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*] in the Central Maghrib following the repudiation of Almohad authority by the ʿAbd al-Wādid [*q.v.*] Yaghamrāsan, *de facto* ruler of Tlemcen. Tribal appeals to the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyāʾ for aid against Tlemcen's aggression met with success: in 640/1242 Tlemcen was taken and Yaghamrāsan made a Ḥafṣid vassal. On his way back, the Ḥafṣid set up, on the basis of tribal support for him, three small buffer dependencies, each with an accredited ruler. One such ruler was al-ʿAbbās, chief of the Maghrāwa with sway over Miliana (Milyāna), Ténès (Tanas), Brechk (Barishk) and Cherchell (Sharshāl). During the chieftaincy of al-ʿAbbās, the Maghrāwa founded Mazouna (Māzūna). On his death in 647/1249-50 he was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad. The latter's assassination in 662/1263 by his brothers Thābit and ʿĀʾid disrupted family unity, With ʿAbd al-Wādid aid, their brother ʿUmar eventually won the day (668/1269-70) and, till his death in 676/1277-8, remained chief to the Maghrāwa. Thereafter the chieftaincy reverted to Thābit.

From Muḥammad's murder to Thābit's death the salient feature of the family's history is its involvement with Tlemcen, ending with its début on the Marīnid stage in Fez. Briefly, the facts are as follows. After an accord with Tlemcen, then a quarrel that cost him Miliana, Muḥammad regained the town with the aid of the Ḥafṣid Mustanṣir and ruled it in his name. But ʿUmar, resenting Thābit's position as chief of the Maghrāwa, conspired with Yaghamrāsan to put Miliana under Tlemcen's suzerainty in return for its governorship and command of the Maghrāwa. To spite ʿUmar and to curry favour with Yaghamrāsan, Thābit and ʿĀʾid then sold to the latter Ténès (672/1273-4). Thābit's attempts after ʿUmar's death to retrieve Miliana for himself and his tribe, though initially successful, ended in disaster. Tlemcen did not allow his disloyalty and rebellion to go unpunished: Yaghamrāsan began a campaign which, after his death, his son ʿUthmān was to complete. Within a few years, ʿUthmān had taken Médéa, Mazouna and Ténès and finally forced the Maghrāwa to take to the mountains. Thābit tried in vain to hold Brechk and sailed for Morocco (694/1294-5) to enlist Marīnid support. In his absence, his son Muḥammad usurped his chieftaincy of the Maghrāwa, but did not live long to enjoy it. Thereafter, the Awlād Mandīl of the Central Maghrib disintegrated in a welter of fratricidal and internecine quarrels.

For his part, Thābit was warmly welcomed by the Marīnid sultan Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, but died in an unfortunate incident in Fās before attaining his goal. His family, however, was cared for by Yūsuf, who in fact came to marry the sister of Thābit's grandson, Rāshid b. Muḥammad. The alliance gave Rāshid reason to hope for the retrieval of his birthright in the Maghrāwa homeland. But it was not to be: during the long Marīnid siege of Tlemcen (689-706/1290-1306), it was to ʿUmar b. Wīghran b. Mandīl that Yūsuf assigned chieftancy of the Maghrāwa and, later, command of the army that was to take Miliana, Ténès and Mazouna in 699/1299-1300. Resenting his kinsman's preferment, Rāshid deserted the Marīnids. From the Mitidja mountains he won a Maghrāwa following, provoked a rising in Mazouna, and, having eliminated his rival ʿUmar, gained united Maghrāwī support. Leaving Mazouna strongly garrisoned, he entrenched himself in the mountain fastness of the Banū Bū Saʿīd between Mazouna and Ténès. For the Marīnids he was a scourge: it took them two years to regain Mazouna, and in 704/1304-5 they sustained heavy losses in attempting to dislodge him. After his withdrawal to the Mitidja mountains they regained control of Maghrāwī territory, but readily agreed to end their pursuit of Rāshid when he sued for peace.

Peace between Tlemcen and Fās came in 706/1307 on terms restoring to the former all that the latter had taken. Thinking to retrieve his homeland, Rāshid marched on Miliana, but, finding the ʿAbd al-Wādids in control, banished the thought. Around 707/1307-8 he took up with Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ, the Ḥafṣid ruler of Bougie (Bidjāya) and, later, of Tunis. An initially successful and promising alliance between Rāshid and his Maghrāwa, on the one hand, and the Ḥafṣid and the Ṣanhādja, on the other, collapsed a few years later with the death of Rāshid in a heated personal quarrel with a new chief of his allies, the Ṣanhādja (between 709 and 711/1309 and 1311; date unclear). Dismayed at Rāshid's death, the Maghrāwa left their Chélif heartlands, and many took refuge in places as far apart as Andalusia and Ifrīḳiya. Rāshid's young son, ʿAlī, found safety with his aunt in Fez, the sultan's wife, and the Awlād Mandīl migrated to Marīnid soil and married into Marīnid tribes.

ʿAlī b. Rāshid grew up at court as a Marīnid by adoption and, in adult life, took part in the sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan's ambitious campaigns that toppled Tlemcen, but on the sultan's defeat at Kairouan (al-Ḳayrawān) in 749/1348 he took over Miliana, Ténès, Brechk and Cherchell and re-established his ancestors' principality. He requested, but was refused, Marīnid recognition in return for support against ʿAbd al-Wādid resurgence. ʿAlī's subsequent reliance on the ʿAbd al-Wādids to respect his principality proved misplaced, and brought him to disaster and suicide (752/1351-2). His young son, Ḥamza, was taken to Fās and, like ʿAlī, was reared as a Marīnid.

As an adult, Ḥamza deserted the Marīnids on the grounds of an alleged injustice when in the field against Tlemcen (772/1370). Taking to the mountains of the Banū Bū Saʿīd, he won Maghrāwa support and

held out till a vast Marīnid army terrified his allies into surrender. With few followers he next established himself among the Arab tribe of Ḥuṣayn, then in revolt against the Marīnids with ʿAbd al-Wādid backing. His style "ruler of Titteri" suggests that the tribe's *ḥiṣn Tītarī* was his stronghold. His subsequent failure to rally the Banū Bū Saʿīd drew him into a rash exploit at Timzought (Tīmzūghat), north-west of Miliana, which ended in disaster. Both he and his friends were captured, and the Ḥuṣayn fled to the Titteri mountains from their plain below. From the fortress they made their last stand—an event actually witnessed by Ibn Khaldūn. Ḥamza and his friends were executed, and early in 1372 their headless corpses were crucified outside Miliana. Thereafter the Awlād Mandīl disappear from history.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vii, 63-71 (text often corrupt) = de Slane, iii, 310-26 (translation not always accurate); on the places mentioned see "Table géographique", *ibid.*, iv, 489 ff., under the French spellings; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn*, Cairo 1951, 29, 139; Yaḥyā b. Khaldūn, *Bughyat al-ruwwād*, ed. and tr. A. Bel, *Hist. des Beni ʿAbd al-Wâd*, Algiers 1903-13, i, 128 f. = tr. 173; 146 f., 154 ff. = tr. 195, 206 ff. (the translation carries very informative notes on the places mentioned; see index); M. Gaspar Remiro, ed. and tr., *Correspondencia diplomática entre Granada y Fez (siglo XIV)*, etc., Granada 1916, 42, 82, 118; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 261 (on Khazrūn); J. D. Latham, *Ibn al-Aḥmar's* Kitāb Mustawdaʿ al-ʿalāma, in *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Iḥsān ʿAbbās*, ed. W. al-Ḳāḍī, Beirut 1981, 329 f. (see n. 127 on Titteri); J. M. Abun-Nasr, *A history of the Maghrib*², London 1975, 152, 156. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1940-7, i, 48, 128, ii, 77. All the chronicles of the Marīnids, ʿAbd al-Wādids and Ḥafṣids should be consulted. (J.D. Latham)

MANDINGO [see mande]

MANDJANĪĶ, (A., ultimately from Greek μαγγανικόν, via Aramaic, cf. Fraenckel, *Die aramänische Fremdwörter*, 243, passing into Spanish as *almajaneque*, cf. Dozy and Engelman, *Glossaire*, 153), a general term for any kind of stone-throwing siege-engine. The expressions *mandjanīḳ* and *ʿarrāda* [*q.v.*] are both used for this kind of machine, and although the *ʿarrāda* may have been the smaller of the two, the expressions often seem to be interchangeable. *Mandjanīḳ* occurs more frequently than *ʿarrāda*, but their presence at a siege is often confined to a mere mention, without any description of the machines being given. The earliest reference to the *mandjanīḳ* in Muslim times is the machine used to bombard the walls of al-Ṭāʾif when the town was besieged by the Muslims in 8/630 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 55). We are not told what kind of machine this was; it may well have been of the type used by the Greeks and Romans, which was operated by the release of energy stored in twisted fibres or large bows. These weapons were characterised by the high velocity and low trajectory of the missiles, which were fairly light. They were therefore of more use on the battlefield than against the strong walls of cities and fortresses. From some time in the 1st/7th century onwards, however, the siege-engines used by the Muslim armies were of beam-operated type, first the traction trebuchet and, much later, the counterweight trebuchet.

The traction trebuchet originated in China no later than the 4th century B.C. and was in common use in Chinese armies from that time onwards (J. Needham, *China's trebuchets, manned and counterweighted*, in *Lynn White Festschrift*, *Humana civilitas*, i [1976], 107-45). It consisted of a beam, composed of a single spar, or of several spars bound together, which was supported on a fulcrum on top of a timber tower. The tower was often provided with wheels, to assist in the emplacement and aiming of the weapon. The beams were from 5.60 to 8.40 m. in length, with diameters at the extremities of 12.5 and 7 cm. At the narrower end was a copper "nest", attached to the beam by iron wires, thus forming a short sling. The missile, which could weigh up to 60 kg. was placed in the sling. At the other end of the beam there was a special attachment to which a number of ropes were attached. A team of men, ranging in number from 40 to 250 or more, pulled in unison on these ropes to discharge the missile, to distances of up to 150 metres (D.R. Hill, *Trebuchets*, in *Viator*, iv [1973], 99-114). Although the range of these machines was less than that of the classical weapons, the greater weight of the missiles made them much more effective against fortifications.

The traction trebuchet was diffused from China, through the Turkish areas, to the Middle East during the 1st/7th century. At the siege of Mecca in 64/683 there was a *mandjanīḳ* called *Umm Farwa* ("Mother of the hair"). This description may well have been derived from the appearence of the ropes hanging down from the end of the beam. A poet added his own description: "swinging its tail like a foaming [camel] stallion" (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 426). At the siege of Daybul in Sind in 92/711-12, the Muslims had a siege-machine called *al-ʿArūs* ("The Bride"). It was operated by 500 men, and was under the control of a skilled operator who took charge of the aiming and shooting (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 437). There was a battery of machines at the siege of Baghdād in 261/865-6: men were assigned to every *mandjanīḳ* and *ʿarrāda*, and pulled on ropes to discharge the missiles (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1551 f.).

The counterweight trebuchet, which came into use at the end of the 6th/12th century, was a much heavier machine. It consisted of a heavy wooden beam resting on a fulcrum, which was supported on a massive timber tower. The beam, typically about 20 m. long, was divided by the fulcrum in the ratio of 5:1 or 6:1. At the end of the short arm, the box containing the counterweight was suspended, and filled with lead, iron or stones; the total weight was from 10 to 30 tonnes. A long sling—about as long as the beam itself—was attached to the end of the long arm, with a pouch to contain the missile. The trebuchet was spanned by a winch, whose rope was attached to the long arm at about the mid-point. When the release mechanism was pulled, the beam rotated and the sling accelerated to a greater velocity than that of the beam. The missile was released when the end of one of the ropes slipped from a hook, at an instant when the combined effect of the sling's velocity and the angle of discharge gave maximum range to the missile. Ranges were of the order of 300 m., and the missiles could be very heavy. During the 8th/14th century sieges of Tlemcen, the *mandjanīḳs* were capable of bombarding the town with balls made of marble, some of which have been found there, the largest with a circumference of 2 m. and weighing 230 kg. (see ḥiṣār, ii; for characteristics of both kinds of trebuchet, see Hill, *op. cit.*, *passim*).

The question of the point of origin of the counterweight trebuchet has not yet been resolved. The earliest unambiguous description of the machine in Europe refers to its use in northern Italy in A.D. 1199 (Lynn White Jr., *Medieval technology and social change*, Oxford 1962, 102-3). In a treatise on weapons

written a few years earlier than this, Murḍā b. ʿAlī devotes a section to trebuchets, all except one of the traction type. The exception is called a "Persian" *mandjanīḳ*, and although the passage is obscure, it is possible that this was a counterweight machine (Cl. Cahen, *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, xii [1947-8], 16-18). On present data, we can only locate the origin of the counterweight trebuchet somewhere in Mediterranean Christendom or western Islam, towards the end of the 6th/12th century. Its spread thereafter was very rapid, both in Europe and in the Muslim world. The first report we have of its use in Islam refers to the siege of Ḥimṣ in 646/1248, where the machine in question is referred to as a *mandjanīḳ maghribī*, a western or a North African trebuchet (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-bashar*, in *RHC*, *Historiens orientaux*, i, 1872, 125). Counterweight trebuchets were used in great numbers by the Muslims at the siege of ʿAkkā in 690/1291 (al-Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, ed. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, Paris 1837-42, ii, 125). Almost certainly, the counterweight trebuchet was introduced to China by the Muslims. Two Muslim engineers, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and Ismāʿīl, are honoured by a biography in the official history of the Yuan dynasty. They constructed the machines for Ḳubilay for the siege of Fan-chhêng towards the end of A.D. 1272. Thus the counterweighted trebuchets acquired the name of "Muslim phao", by which they were long afterwards known (Needham, *op. cit.*, 114).

Bibliography : In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des Mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen*, Helsinki 1941; information about the construction of traction trebuchets is to be found in Abu ʿAbd Allāh al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 247-9. (D. R. Hill)

al-**MANDJŪR**, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Miknāsī al-Fāsī, a learned Moroccan scholar and teacher, from a family originally from Meknès, born in Fās 926/1520 and died there 16 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/18 October 1587. Endowed with vast learning and a great power of verbal expressiveness, he spent his life teaching, with the methods in use at the time, various Islamic topics, in particular, theology and law, and was considered one of the greatest masters of his age at the Karawiyyīn [*q.v.*]. Between 987 and 993/1579-85, he stayed frequently for periods in Marrakesh, where his most eminent disciple was the sultan al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*].

He was the author of commentaries and glosses on well-known and esteemed works of theology and law (see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 91), of which various manuscripts are extant (see Hajji, *Activité intellectuelle*, 164-77, *passim*), but above all he has left behind a *Fahrasa* [*q.v.*] of great documentary interest which has not however yet been made the object of a critical edition. It was written in Radjab 989/August 1581 at the request of al-Manṣūr, who wished to get from his master a general *idjāza* [*q.v.*] theoretically authorising him to teach all the topics studied under his direction and further containing the names of his own masters, with biographical notices and items of information of a literary nature. Several manuscripts of al-Mandjūr's *Fahrasa* exist (see Hajji, *op. cit.*, 27, no. 72), which was written in two versions, a long and a short one, according to the author's own practice.

Independently of the sultan, this teacher oversaw the intellectual formation of several pupils, who themselves became more or less distinguished subsequently and who filled the office of *ḳāḍī* in various Moroccan towns, unlike their master who, despite his great learning, piety and exalted protection and patronage, never exercised any religious office at all because of his distant Jewish ancestry [see mayyāra]; he was even barred from leading the prayer when he had been thus designated by al-Manṣūr (al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, 155).

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MĀNḌŪ, fortress and town of Central India.

1. History. Once the fortress-capital of Mālwā [*q.v.*] and now a village 34 km. south of Dhār in Madhya Pradesh, in lat. 22° 21' N and long. 75° 26' E. The first rulers took full advantage of a natural outcrop of the Vindhya range, overlooking the Nimar plain to the south. A deep and jagged ravine, the Kakra Khoh, isolates it on the sides. The plateau, well-supplied with lakes and springs, stretches unevenly over 5 km. and more from north to south, and 6 to 7 km. from east to west, at an average altitude of 600 m. with the remains of the inner fort of Songaṙh as one of the more prominent landmarks to the west. *Maṅḍapika* is mentioned on an inscription found at Pratapgadh in Rādjasthān and dated to the equivalent of 946 A.D. *Maṅḍapa-durga* appears on a copper-plate grant of Jayavamadeva dated 1261 A.D. Thus Mānḍū could be a corruption of *Maṅḍapa* or even of *Mānḍava*.

In the early Islamic days of the subcontinent, the Paramāra king Bhoja deflected Maḥmūd, the Ghaznawid sultan [*q.v.*], from the area. Iltutmish himself did not reach as far as Mānḍū in his conquests, but Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī sacked the neighbouring lands in 1293, and the fort fell to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's general Āʾīn al-Mulk in 1303. Thereafter, the local governors ruled from Dhār, where Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluḳ took refuge from the chaos engendered by Tīmūr's onslaught; after his return to Dihlī in 804/1401, Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī proclaimed himself independent, and at his death in 808/1405, his eldest son Alp Khān ascended the throne of Mālwā under the name of Hūshang Shāh, and moved the capital to Mānḍū. On his coins and until the end of the century, Shādīābād, the "city of joy", appears as the name for the new capital. Although much involved in warfare with the rulers of Gudjarāt, Djawnpur, Dihlī, Uṙīsā and the Dakhan, he fully restored and strengthened the ancient fortifications protecting the access to the extensive plateau, as shown on the inscriptions on the Bhagwānīya *darwāza* (809/1416-17) and the Dihlī *darwāza* (820/1417). he also embarked on the ambitious construction of his Djāmiʿ Masdjid besides, no doubt, an impressive building programme over the 30 years of his liberal reign, in order to enhance the new capital and to rival with his neighbours. After his death, the cruelty of his own son led the son of his trusted relative and *wazīr* Malik Mughīth to accept the throne in 839/1436 under the name of Maḥmūd I Khaldjī [*q.v.*]. During the 36 years of his reign, the fame of Mānḍū

spread abroad as far as Cairo as well as to Samarḳand; scholars and holy men called at the capital, sometimes on their way to the Bahmanī court of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad III at Bīdar [*q.v.*]. The buildings of his reign reflect the ever-expanding size of his realm; besides palaces and hospitals, Maḥmūd ordered the start of Hūshang Shāh's tomb in 843/1439, his own *madrasa* and victory tower in 846/1443 after his victories over Chitor (Čitawr), and the completion of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid in 858/1454. In 871/ 1467 the lunar calendar replaced the solar one. Under the generous if orderly rule of sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn, the town of Mānḍū was further enhanced, one may imagine, by buildings to fit his desire "to open the door of peace and rest, and pleasure and enjoyment on me and those depending on me" after the "34 years at the stirrups" of his father. His large and somewhat eccentric harem never deterred him from his religious duties and from a sober life, unlike his son Nāṣir al-Dīn (906-16/1500-10), who was a dipsomaniac, although for a time a sound ruler, a lover of the arts and a great builder of palaces such as the so-called Bāz Bahādur palace dated 914/1508. During the troubled reign of his son Maḥmūd II, Muslim and Hindu nobles were rivals for power at court, especially Mēdinī Rāy [*q.v.*]. Notwithstanding its architectural highlights, his rule came to a brutal end in 937/1531, when Mānḍū fell to Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt and the Shāh was taken prisoner, with his seven sons, and later killed. In 941/1534, the Mughal Humāyūn [*q.v.*] broke into the fort near the Tārāpūr gate, but not before Bahādur Shāh had been lowered with horses from the inner fort of Songaṛh down into the deep Kakra Khoh. Two years later Mallū Khān, an officer of the defunct Khaldjī retinue, seized Mānḍū and ruled for 6 years under the name of Ḳādir Shāh until submitting in 949/1542 to Shīr Shāh Sūr, who replaced him by his relative Shudjāʿ Khān as governor of Mālwā. In 963/1555 his son Bāz Bahādur seized power, although unable to assert himself for long; when Akbar's general Adham Khān overran Mānḍū in 968/1560, Bāz Bahādur escaped while his favourite Rupmati, of poetical fame, chose poison rather than servitude. He managed to recapture Mānḍū briefly, but finally submitted to Akbar in 978/1570. The latter first visited the fort in 991/1573; further visits were connected with expeditions to the Dakhan. Two inscriptions dated 1008/1600 and 1009/1601 recall the hospitality given by his governor Shāh Budāgh Khān in his palace now called Nīl Kanth. On Akbar's order, the southern Tārāpūr *darwāza* was re-orientated to the west in 1014/1605 and Maḥmūd Khaldjī's tomb was roughly repaired at the same time. Djahāngīr [*q.v.*], according to his memoirs, spent seven months in Mānḍū during the rainy season in 1026/1617; buildings were restored and the whole court enjoyed hunting and feasting; his birthday celebrations took place in Bāz Bahādur's garden next to his palace with the future Shāh Djāhān and Sir Thomas Roe in attendance. Four years later, the young prince spent another rainy season there and held a conference to induce reconcilation between two Jain factions. Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] is represented in Mānḍū by only one inscription on the northern ʿAlamgīr *darwāza* dated 1079/1668-9. After his death 1118/1707, a rapid deterioration of the empire lead to the supremacy of Marāthā [*q.v.*] power. In 1734 A.D. Pēshwā Bādji Rao was appointed governor of Mālwā. His deputy Anand Rāo Pūar and his descendants ruled thereafter from Dhār. Mānḍū reverted to its first vocation of a hunting ground until basic restoration was started early this century; it has continued to this day.

2. Architecture. As in Gudjarāt, Djawnpur and Bīdar [*q.vv.*] throughout the 9th/15th century, the newly-independent state of Mālwā competed not only on the battlefield but also in setting up an imposing new capital. It was imperative to modernise the walls and the ten complex gates and to make good use of the expanses of water and springs, as well as to plan the town along a north-south axis with the new Djāmiʿ Masdjid sited at the central east-west crossing. As in Dhār, the master-builders at first drew on the Gudjarātī tradition by adapting Hindu proportions and style to the Dilāwar Khān Djāmiʿ (808/1405-6) measuring about 37 by 45 m., and the Malik Mughīth Djāmiʿ (835/1432), about 42 by 46 m. In both cases, spoils from temples were used to implement an Arab mosque plan, with three domes over the prayer hall in the later building. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid, built of red ochre sandstone like the rest of Mānḍū, was completed by the mid-9th/15th century to include the revered marble tomb of Hūshang Shāh. An inscription dated 1070/1659 recalls the reverential visit of four master builders of the Mughal court. An exalting plinth emphasises the 85m. façade of the mosque, with its eastern domed entrance of metropolitan quality. A similar dome over the *miḥrāb* rests on competent corner arches. A total 150 smaller domes line the *ṣaḥn*. Opposite, the one-time *madrasa* (Ashrafiyya Maḥall) of Maḥmūd I Khaldjī, with its tower of victory once seven storeys high, was changed into a marble-lined imposing tomb, with impressive inscriptions, before his death; but it soon became derelict. A large number of lesser tombs are scattered along the approach road to Mānḍū and across the plateau. Always on a plinth and at most times following a square plan, the domed chamber usually belongs to a complex including a prayer hall also on a plinth, and a tank, as with the Daryā Khān mausoleum (10th/16th century). Geometric bands of glazed tiles enhance the base of drums inside domes, as in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, as well as outside some of the tombs; they are chiefly turquoise and white, of mediocre quality when compared with those on buildings in Bīdar. Stone carving on elegant projecting windows, arched walls and *djalis* are far more successful.

In secular architecture, an attractive balance is struck between palaces and water expanses: the Djahāz ("ship") Maḥall, on two levels, extends to about 115 m. between the Mundja Talaō and the Kapūr Talaō. Each level has an original stepped bath; moreover, the long terrace of the upper level is dominated by elegant domed pavilions. In the more austere, T-shaped Hindolā ("swing") Maḥall, the broad buttressing outer walls (at an angle of 77° from the horizontal) contain an imposing audience hall with five double and one single-pointed arches. By the north wall of the royal enclosure, a large palace complex once dominated the Mundja Talaō, including a special well, the Champa *bāolī*, with adjacent underground rooms for the summer. Further afield, the Udjālā (bright) *bāolī* and the Andherī (dark) *bāolī* recall the elaborate wells of Gudjarāt and Rādjasthān. Both the Gadā (beggar) Shāh's shop and house hint at a later audience hall and palace. Beyond the large Sāgar Talaō to the south, the so-called Bāz Bahādur palace overlooks the waters of the Rīwā Kund. Once a complex of barracks, the so-called Rupmati pavilions dominate the whole scene. The last important palace to be built was the Nīl Kanth ("blue throat"); it faces westward on the edge of the cliff by a spring. At present it is used as a Hindu temple.

3. Painting. As in architecture, painting in manuscripts for the court evolved along original lines, but drew on two main sources, relating to neighbouring

states. A Jain minister of the Paramāra king Jayasimha founded in Maṇḍapa-durga one of his six *Jnāna-bhaṅḍāras* ("storage of knowledge"), a specifically Jain library, in 1263; the books always contained an important pictorial element. The Māndū *kalpa sutra* of 1439 illustrates the continuity in production. On the other hand, illustrated Islamic texts of the time blend this traditional draughtmanship and vivid colours with the conventions from the 9th/15th century schools of S̲h̲īrāz and Harāt, to produce a recognisable Mālwā style; the few manuscripts discovered so far relate to the early part of the 10th/16th century: the *Niʿmat-namā* (a book of delicacies), (Ethé 2775, India Office Library), the *Miftāḥ al-fuḍalāʾ* (a Persian glossary of rare words), (BL Or. 3299), the *Bustān* of Saʿdī dedicated to Nāṣir al-Dīn before 916/1510 (National Museum of India, New Delhi, no. 48.6/4), *ʿAdjāʾib al-ṣanāʾiʿ* (a Persian translation of al-D̲j̲azarī's book on the knowledge of mechanical devices [see AL-D̲J̲AZARI and ḤIYAL in Suppl.]) (BL Or. 13718).

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(YOLANDE CROWE)

MANDŪB (A.) "meritorious and recommended action", term of Islamic law; see S̲H̲ARĪʿA.

MANDŪR, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD MŪSĀ (1907-65), the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of modern Egyptian and Arab literary critics, was born in Kafr Mandūr, near Minyā al-Ḳamḥ, in Egypt's S̲h̲arḳiyya Province, to a rather wealthy family. His semi-literate father was a devout and tolerant Muslim who belonged to the Naḳs̲h̲bandī dervish order. Mandūr learned many Ḳurʾānic verses from his father, and his religious upbringing in a rural milieu instilled in him moral and spiritual values that he preserved all his life. At the age of five, he was sent to the village *kuttāb* [*q.v.*], and the following autumn he entered the elementary school in Minyā al-Ḳamḥ. In 1921 he transferred to the secondary school in Ṭanṭā, where he studied English and earned the Baccalauréat Littéraire in 1925. He then enrolled in the law school of the newly inaugurated Egyptian University, hoping to become a public prosecutor. He was persuaded by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] and another teacher to enrol also in the Departments of Arabic and Sociology. In 1929 he obtained a *Licence* in Arabic Literature, and in 1930 a *Licence* in Law. Immediately afterward, Mandūr was offered a position as a public prosecutor, but he declined it in order to accept a government scholarship to study at the Sorbonne.

After studying for nine years in France, Mandūr graduated both in classical languages and literatures and in law and political economy. The turbulent political situation in France before World War II discouraged him from finishing his doctorate and hastened his return to Egypt in 1939. Without a doctorate, he could not assume a university teaching position in Egypt. Hence he spent the years 1940-1 translating and teaching translation from French and English into Arabic. In 1942, the University of Alexandria was established and Mandūr was appointed a professor of Arabic literature. There the eminent scholar and educator Aḥmad Amīn (d. 1954) encouraged Mandūr to finish his doctorate, which he did in 1943. His dissertation, "Arabic critical trends in the fourth century A.H." (*Tayyārāt al-naḳd al-ʿArabī fi 'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ al-hid̲j̲rī*), supervised by Aḥmad Amīn, was later published under the title "Methodical criticism among the Arabs" (*al-Naḳd al-manhad̲j̲ī ʿind al-ʿArab*), 1946, and has since become the most celebrated single work in Arabic on mediaeval Arabic literary criticism.

He resigned his post at the University of Alexandria in 1944 in order to accept a position as Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *al-Miṣrī*, thus embarking on a tumultuous career of political and literary journalism in the vanguard of opposition to the government of Ṣidḳī Pas̲h̲a and the British. Mandūr was discharged after only three months, and for a short while he contented himself with publishing a few articles and teaching at the newly-founded (1944) evening Institute of Drama. In 1945 he was appointed Editor-in-Chief of the evening newspaper *al-Wafd al-Miṣrī*, which, with the assistance of some rebellious avant-garde writers, he gradually transformed into a daily revolutionary manifesto against the British and their Egyptian collaborators. Despite his socialist writings and his leadership of the liberal progressive wing within the Wafd party, Mandūr was never a communist. His deep involvement in national politics and his vehement opposition to the Ṣidḳī-Bevin Treaty brought him imprisonment twenty times in 1945 and 1946, and cost him the closing of his own six-months-old newspaper, *al-Baʿt̲h̲* ("Resurrection"), as well as eleven other newspaper and magazines. With the fall of Ṣidḳī's cabinet, Mandūr assumed the editorship of the new Wafd newspaper, *Ṣawt al-Umma* ("The voice of the Nation"), where he pursued his political struggle against "colonialism and Western exploitation of Egypt's national resources". Mandūr operated a successful law office from 1948 to 1954, and at the same time continued to write and edit the newspaper *Ṣawt al-Umma*. He was elected to the Egyptian parliament in 1950, and served on several parliamentary committees. In 1953 he embarked on yet another teaching and writing career at the Arab League's Institute of Higher Arabic Studies, and continued until some time before his death in 1965.

Mandūr's copious œuvre consists of specialised and general books treating one or several related subjects or literary genres; translations of diverse works, mostly from French into Arabic; book reviews; hundreds of political and literary articles; some elementary attempts at poetry; and one screenplay.

Despite his prominence as a journalist, political activist and translator, Mandūr's reputation is principally that of eminent literary critic, surpassing in

intellectual vigour and critical insight his teacher Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, but without his fame and versatility. His literary works encompass three basic fields: criticism, theoretical and practical; poetry and poets; and theatre, in both its prose and verse forms. Most notable and enduring of his critical books are *Fī 'l-mīzān al-djadīd* ("In the new balance"), in which Mandūr expounded his theory of *al-shiʿr al-mahmūs* ("whispered poetry"), inspired by the title of Mikhāʾīl Nuʿayma's [*q.v.*] poetry collection *Hams al-djufūn*, n.d. ("The whispering of eyelids"); and *al-Naḳd al-manhadjī ʿind al- ʿArab* ("Methodical criticism among the Arabs"), 1946. Some other books in this category are: *Fī 'l-adab wa 'l-naḳd* ("On literature and criticism"), 1949; *al-Adab wa-madhāhibuh* ("Literature and its schools"), 1958; and *al-Adab wa-funūnuh* ("Literature and its genres"), 1963. Mandūr's major works on poetry and poets comprised a theoretical work on poetry, *Fann al-shiʿr* ("The art of poetry"), 1960, and a renowned series of critical studies on Syro-American poets, Egyptian modernist poets, and the poets of the *vers libre* movement. His principal works on the theatre include *al-Masraḥ* ("The theatre"), 1959; *al-Klāsīkiyya wa 'l-uṣūl al-fanniyya li 'l-drāmā* ("Classicism and the artistic roots of drama"), n.d.; and applied studies of the verse plays of Aḥmad Shawḳī (d. 1932) and the prose theatre of Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm (born 1898).

The most distinguished of Mandūr's translations are the two acclaimed critical treatises which greatly influenced his early critical thought and which punctuated his critical writings throughout his career: Georges Duhamel's *Défence des lettres* (1943) and Gustave Lanson's *La Méthode de l'histoire littéraire* (1946), which he appended to the fifth edition of *al-Naḳd al-manhadjī ʿind al-ʿArab*. The other translated works encompass a whole range of literary disciplines, from Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* to E.A. Poe's "The Raven".

His political and ideological writings comprise one major book, *al-Dīmūḳrāṭiyya al-siyāsiyya* ("Political democracy"), 1952?, and innumerable articles, some of which were published in two books.

Mandūr's training in the French critical tradition, especially the then-predominant approach of *l'explication de textes*, was inculcated in his critical writings and eventually evolved into an eclectic theory that underwent, according to him, three distinct stages:

(1) Aesthetic impressionistic, in which precedence is accorded to aesthetic values. This approach is adopted in his two earlier and much celebrated works, *al-Naḳd al-manhadjī ʿind al-Arab* and *Fī 'l-mīzān ad-djadīd*, which also includes his famous theory of *al-shiʿr al-mahmūs* ("whispered poetry"). Mandūr acclaimed poetry that "whispers", that communicates with the listener is an undertone, *à mi-voix*, poetry that is devoid of elocutionary bombast, florid rhetoric and effete sentimentality. Emigré poetry [see MAHDJAR] (especially Nuʿayma's) and Free Verse were grand examples of "whispered poetry" in his judgement.

(2) Descriptive analytic. Here Mandūr undertakes an objective method that strives more for analysis, identification and instruction than for guidance. He generally applied this approach in the thirteen books on poetry and the theatre, including the renowned series "Egyptian poetry after Shawḳī", which he wrote for the Arab League's Institute of Higher Arabic Studies.

(3) Ideological criticism, which conceives of a well-defined social function for literature. His application of this approach was a consequence of his socialist beliefs and of his involvement in national politics, and is attributed to his diversified activities in journalism, law, parliament, and his enduring interest in Egyptian rural life. Ideological criticism, embedded in socialist (New) realism, is equivalent to committed literature, or as Mandūr called it, purposive literature (*al-adab al-hādif*), which he propounded more than he applied it to poetry in his critical works.

Despite the multiplicity of approach, Mandūr's fundamentally eclectic theory espouses the pursuit of beauty in any given literary work, and the ultimate judgment, in his reckoning, lay with cultivated personal taste reinforced by vast and diversified knowledge. He defined criticism as the art of distinguishing between literary style and its function as interpretation, evaluation and guidance. Criticism as such has the capacity to participate in re-creating a literary work.

Mandūr's remarkable literary presence, fecundity, originality and vibrant intellect earned him endless and brutal literary battles with his contemporary critics, especially with al-ʿAḳḳād [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (d. 1964), and with the opponents of modern Free Verse. Both the critics and their psychological, positivistic and dogmatic approaches were the subject of his learned and astute criticism.

Mandūr's precise, elegant and unembellished style enhanced the comprehensibility and accessibility of his rather original writings. Mandūr introduced into modern Arabic critical lore such concepts as whispered poetry, poetic pantheism, purposive literature, objective romanticism, and methodical criticism. Despite his political and socialist undertakings, Mandūr remained all his life a literary, but not an ideological critic.

Bibliography: Mandūr wrote upwards of thirty books and hundreds of articles and book reviews, the majority of which remain uncollected. In 1964, he granted an elaborate and informative interview which was published in Fuʾād Dawwāra's book *ʿAshrat udabāʾ yataḥaddathūn*, Cairo 1965. Another interview was published in the Lebanese literary journal *al-Ādāb* (January 1961), by Fārūḳ Shūsha. Scores of articles about his life and critical writings have been written after his death in such major Arab literary journals as *al-Ādāb*, *al-Ṭalīʿa* and *al-Madjalla*. The most detailed and penetrating expositions of Mandūr's criticism in English are presented by D. Semah in his book, *Four Egyptian literary critics*, Leiden 1974, and in his *Muḥammad Mandūr and "New Poetry"*, in *JAL*, ii (1971). Major Arabic studies of Mandūr include Henri Riyāḍ's *Muḥammad Mandūr*, *Rāʾid al-adab al-ishtirākī*, Khartoum 1965 and Beirut 1967; and Khayrī ʿAzīz, *Udabāʾ ʿalā ṭarīḳ al-niḍāl al-siyāsī*, Cairo 1970. Works published posthumously, such as *Kitābāt lam tunshar*, Cairo n.d., and more recent editions of Mandūr's work, feature representative lists of his publications. (MANSOUR AJAMI)

MANĒR, a former town, now no bigger than a village, 22 miles/32 km. west of Paṭnā [*q.v.*] in Bihār state, India, by the junction of the rivers Sōn and Ganges (it was reported to be at the junction in 1722, 3 miles/5 km. south of it by 1812, 7 miles /10 km. south by 1907); it had therefore some strategic and mercantile advantage, and was one of the earliest and most important sites of Muslim colonisation in this part of India.

By Mughal times, it had become the chief town of a *pargana* of some 80,000 *bīghas* [see MISĀḤĀ 2. India] in the *ṣūba* of Bihār (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, Calcutta 1891, ii, 151, 153). A copperplate grant from a Hindu

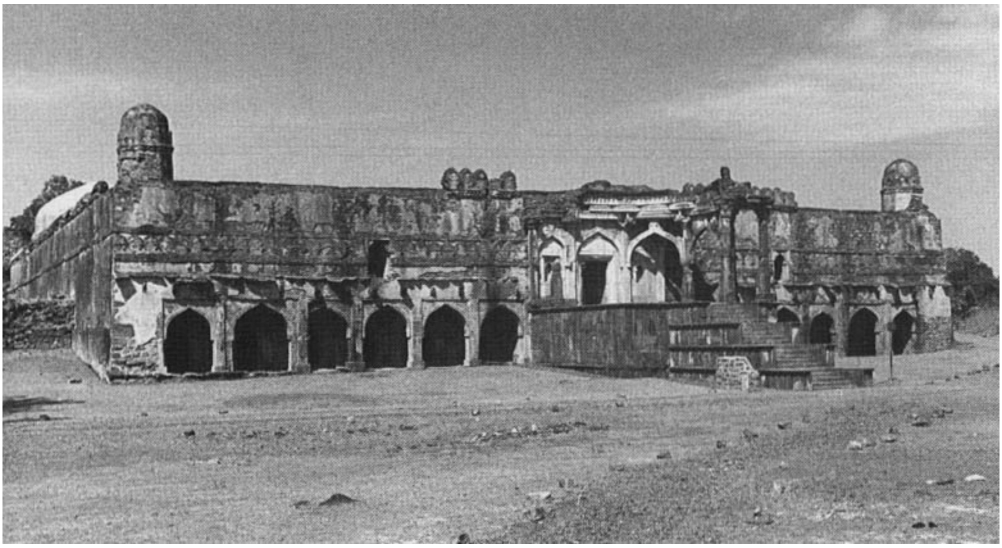

1. Malik Mug͟hīt͟h D̲jāmiʿ, 835/1432, east façade.

2. Malik Mug͟hīt͟h D̲jāmiʿ, *Ḳibla riwāḳ*s and *ṣahn*.

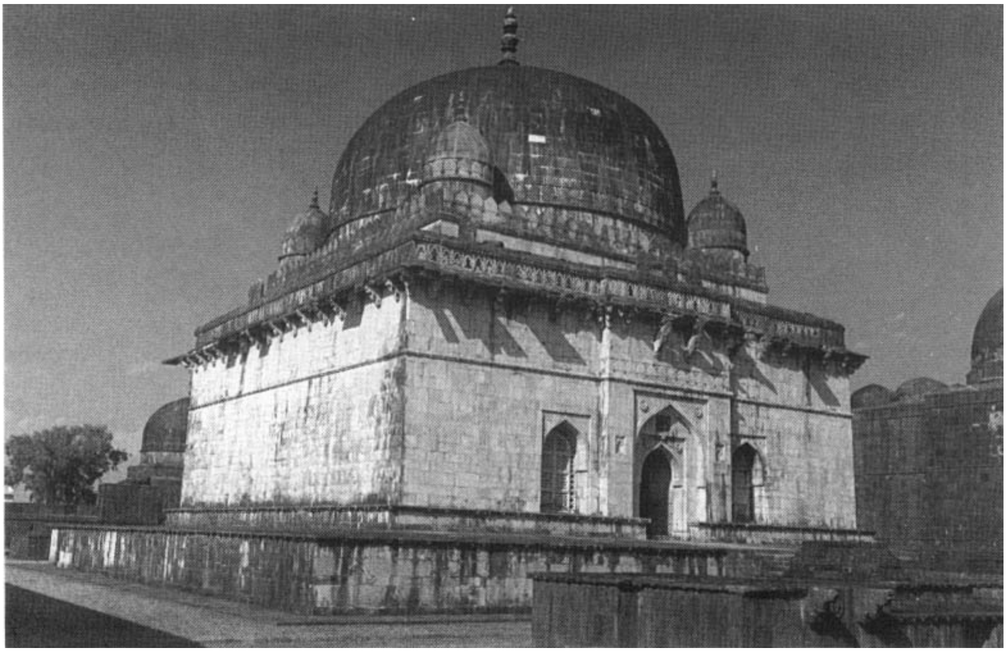

3. Hūshang Shāh's tomb, started 843/1439.

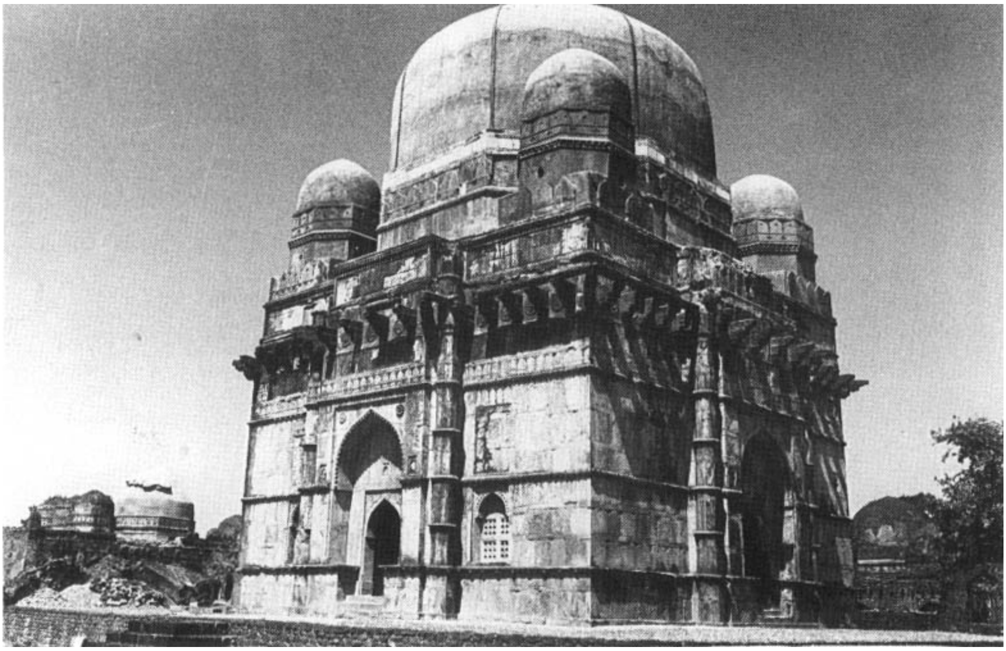

4. Daryā Khān's mausoleum, early 10th/16th century (photographs: Y. Crowe).

king of Kanawdj (ed. and tr. Pt. R. Sharma, in *JBORS*, ii/4 [1916]) of 1126 A.D. requires its Brahman recipient in "Maniyāra" to pay the tax called *turushka danda* "Turk's duty", which seems to imply that tribute was being paid some seventy years before the Muslim conquest of north India, presumably to a Ghaznawid agent; the early date is strengthened by local tradition, which holds one grave in the great *dargāh* to be that of Tādj al-Dīn Khandgāh, the nephew of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī (local traditions in eastern India may refer to other putative kinsmen of the Ghaznawid rulers; but other early 6th/12th century Sanskrit inscriptions also mention the *turushka-danda*, and references in Bayhaḳī point to sporadic trans-Gangetic Muslim settlement; see K.A. Nizami, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, Bombay, etc. 1965, 76 ff.). The consolidation of Islam is, however, thus explained: a Yamanī saint Muʾmin ʿĀrif (still of great local repute) had settled in Manēr, but was harassed by the local *rādjā*; he went back to Medina and returned with a raiding party led by Ḥaḍrat Tādj Faḳīh which defeated the local *rādjā* in a pitched battle, destroyed the temple (chronogram, *shud dīn-i Muḥammad ḳawī* = 576/1180) and dismantled the riverside fort. Many "*shahīds*' graves" in Manēr are said to date from this time. Tādj Faḳīh returned to Medina, leaving his kinsmen to rule Manēr; but the rule seems to have been a spiritual one, for his grandson Shaykh Yaḥyā Manērī, d. 690/1291 (chronogram: *makhdūm*!), was the most celebrated saint of Bihār, progenitor of a distinguished line of local saints, whose shrine (in the Baṛī Dargāh; see below) was visited by Sikandar Lodī, Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar, though his fame has been eclipsed by (and sometimes conflated with) that of his son Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad Manērī [see MAKHDŪM AL-MULK, SHARAF AL-DĪN] of Bihār Sharīf, *murīd* of Nadjīb al-Dīn Firdawsī. Eighth in descent from Shaykh Yaḥyā was Abū Yazīd, commonly known as Makhdūm Shāh Dawlat, d. 1017/1608-9, whose tomb (the Čhōṭī Dargāh) is the finest Muslim building in Bihār.

The *khānḳāh* forms a complex of buildings disposed around a vast rectangular tank (*ḥawḍ*), its stepped masonry sides equipped centrally with *ghāṭs* and *bārādarīs*, drawing its water from the river Sōn by a subterranean channel. The tank is said to have been rebuilt in stone at the same time as the Baṛī and Čhōṭī Dargāhs were erected in the early 11th/17th century by Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar (*not* by Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ Djang, *ṣūbadār* of Bihār 1023-5/1615-17, as Horn and others assert). The Baṛī ("great") Dargāh west of the tank, on the site of the temple mound, is great in sanctity rather than magnificence. It consists of a great boundary wall enclosing a graveyard and a small mosque, standing to the west of a railed platform containing the simple open grave of Shaykh Yaḥyā (inscription of Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar, 1014/1605-6); also odd stone pillars, and a mutilated statue at the entrance presumably from the old temple. The Čhōṭī ("small") Dargāh is a high square platform in a fortress-like brick enclosure north of the tank, on which stands the square sandstone mausoleum of Makhdūm Shāh Dawlat (inscription with decease chronogram 1017/1608-9, and two construction chronograms 1025/1616), a superb specimen of provincial Mughal architecture. The central square chamber is domed, with lower and upper verandahs (fine carved ceilings: floral, geometric and Ḳur ʾānic designs) running round all sides, each corner formed into a square room with arched openings below and an open domed *čhatrī* of similar size above. The lower verandah and the *čhatrīs* are built on the beam-and-bracket principle, and heavy stone corbels support both the lower and upper *čhadjdjā*, contrasting with the arches of the tomb chamber which also has finely carved stone screen openings. A local tradition asserts that the stone was brought from Gudjarāt; certainly, features of Gudjarāt tomb design are apparent here [see further MUGHALS. Architecture.]. West of the mausoleum is a small mosque with curvilinear roof, centrally situated between stone verandahs running along the entire western wall of the enclosure; inscription dated 1028/1619, quoting Ḳurʾān, III, 97-8. An underground chamber in the south-west corner is identified as the *čilla* of Shāh Dawlat. A fine entrance gate, in a more conventional Mughal style, bears two chronograms of 1022/1614-15 and 1032/1622-3. Other minor buildings around the tank are in grave disrepair. The earliest inscription of Manēr, 798/1395-6, records the reconstruction of an older mosque, now disappeared. The Djāmi ʿ mosque of Manēr, itself undistinguished, bears two records of renovations, of 1103/1691-2 and 1283/1866 (the last on a marble slab carved in Medina), both mosques thus testifying to a vigorous Muslim population over the centuries; but the grounds around the Manēr tank are also the scene of a doubtfully Islamic fair on the ʿ*urs* of Ghāzī Miyān [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: P. Horn, *Muhammadan inscriptions from Bengal*, in *Epigr. Ind.*, ii, 1894, 280-96; T. Bloch, *Report, ASBengal Circle*, 1901-2, 19 ff.; Syed Zahiruddin, *History and antiquities of Manair*, Bankipore 1905; Farīd al-Dīn Aḥmad (Sadjdjāda-nishīn of the *dargāh* in 1918), untitled Urdu ms. on the history of the *dargāh*, author's collection; Hafiz Shamsuddin Ahmad, *Maner and its historical remains*, in *Procs. and Trans. of 6th All-India Oriental Conference*, Patna 1933, 123-41; Yusuf Kamal Bukhari, *Inscriptions from Maner*, in *Epigr. Ind. Arabic and Persian Suppl. 1951 and 1952* [1956], 13-24, and pls. viii-x; Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian inscriptions of Bihar*, Patna 1973, 67, 162, 182-5, 214-15, 294-7, 391-2; Muhammad Ḥamīd Ḳuraishī, *List of ancient monuments protected ... in Bihar and Orissa* = *ASI*, N.I.S., li, Calcutta 1931. Excellent aquatint in T. Daniell, *Oriental scenery*, 1st series, xii: "The mausoleum of Mucdoom Shah Dowlut, at Moneah [*sic*], on the river Soane," London 1795; A. Casperz, in *Jnal. Photogr. Soc. India* (June 1902). For the Firdawsiyya order, see TAṢAWWUF. India. For Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar, see *Maʾāthir al-ʿulamāʾ*, Bibl. Ind. text, ii, 9-14, and *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, ed. Rogers and Beveridge, i, 29-30, 49, 59, 62, 77, 105, 248, 286, 298. See also the *Bibls.* to BIHĀR, PAṬNĀ.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MANF, Memphis, the capital of the Egyptian Old Kingdom, situated on the west bank of the Nile opposite modern Ḥulwān [*q.v.*] about twelve miles south of Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*], plays a pivotal rôle in mediaeval Arabic geographical and historical writing on Egypt.

Al-Ḳalkashandī (*Subḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 316, 6-8; German tr. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung in Ägypten*, Göttingen 1879, 41) presents the climate (= the third) and the geographic coordinates of Manf. The Muslims knew about the great antiquity (*madīna ... azaliyya*; *K. al-Istibṣār fī ʿadjāʾib al-amṣār*, Alexandria 1958, 83, French tr. 68) of the formerly huge city (cf. Ibn Zūlāḳ, quoted by al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād*, Beirut 1399/1979, 274). The great scholar and most prominent mediaeval authority on Manf, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (*al-Ifāda wa ʾl-iʿtibār*, in Kamal Hafuth Zand *etalii*, *The eastern key*, London 1965, 136-7) speaks of over 4,000

years, a surprisingly exact estimate. Manf was destroyed when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ conquered Egypt and presented itself to mediaeval visitors in ruins (*kharāb*, cf. e.g. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *K. al-Buldān*, 331,9, and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-buldan*, 117), unlike ʿAyn Shams [*q.v.*] (Heliopolis), Manf's traditional rival in the eyes of mediaeval Muslim authors (al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, 135, 4-5; *Opus geographicum*, 326, l. 2; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 160, French tr. J.H. Kramers and G. Wiet, Beirut-Paris 1964, i, 158). The two cities are often mentioned together—as in a poem ascribed to the caliph al-Maʾmūn (cf. Ps.-Ibn Ẓahīra/Ibn Ẓuhayra = Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī, *al-Faḍāʾil al-bāhira fī maḥāsin Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā and Kāmil al-Muhandis, Cairo 1969, 69; on the author, see now M. Cook, *Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī* (d. 888/1483), in *JSS*, xxviii [1983], 85-97)—and are sometimes confused (Ibn Ḥawḳal, as cited by Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, in Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, i, ed. B. Radtke, Cairo 1982, 124, 1-5).

Despite its decay, however, Manf continued to denominate the northermost *kūra* (district or country) of Upper Egypt for some centuries (see e.g. Ibn Khurradādhbih, *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, 81; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān*, 73; al-Dimashḳī, *K. Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿadjāʾib al-barr wa 'l-baḥr*, 231-2; and the tables in J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1919, 173-84, and A. Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten*, Vienna 1959, appendix ii). Many, though certainly not all, mediaeval authors (e.g. al-Dimashḳī, 232) merge the districts of Manf and of Wasīm-Awsīm into one. A papyrus of 133/750-1 explicitly mentions the *kūrat Manf* (Grohmann, 40b). Al-Dimashḳī counts 54 villages in the district of Manf (232). As late as the early 7th/13th century, Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] speaks of a village like Būṣīr as belonging to the *aʿmāl madīnat Manf*, the vicinity of Manf (*Anwār ʿulwiyy al-adjrām*, ms. Munich, fol. 47b). By that time, Djīza [*q.v.*], the provincial capital (*ḳaṣaba*, cf. Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *K. al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ʿiḳd al-amṣār*, iv, 130), had succeeded Manf as the regional centre (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 134-5). Until the 4th/10th century at least, Manf remained the see of a bishop (Severus of Ushmūnayn, in *Patr. orient.* vi, 490 [26]; Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, in B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler, *The churches and monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries*, Oxford 1895, 199), though only a few generations later (al-Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, 135-2, *Op. geog.*, 32b, *1*.2), it is labelled a village (*ḳarya*).

The Nile posed a constant threat to the fields and pastures around Manf in pre-Islamic and in Islamic times; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbāruhā*, 6,8) still speaks of the canal of Manf as one of the seven *khuludj* of Egypt; for al-Wāḳidī (see Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra*, 6,8 ff.) it was one out of six. In al-Ḳalḳashandī's time this canal had disappeared, unlike the six others (*Ṣubḥ*, iii,, 297-302). The Christian author Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (early 7th/13th century), in his remarkably vivid and original chapter on Manf, mentions that since antiquity the Nile gradually changed its bed towards the city (*Churches*, 19; see also Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, in Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz* , i, 124). In the 9th/15th century finally, the village of Badrashayn (Umm ʿĪsā) flourished, either exactly where (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, 130), or close to where (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 316,14) the old Memphis had stood (see also H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern*. i, Wiesbaden, 211).

Manf is the accepted rendering of the name of the city (al-Ḳalḳashandī, ii, 316,5), although one also reads Minf (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, 116), Munf (a variant reading in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalam, 6,5), Munayf (Abū Ṣāliḥ, 200), Manfish (Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, 21, 11; al-Bakrī was an expert of Greco-Latin toponyms, cf. 21, 10 and 13) and, wrongly, Manūf al-ʿulyā (Ibn Taghribīrdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, i, 49, 11 ff). On the confusion of Manf and Manūf [al-ʿulyā/al-suflā], see Maspero-Wiet, 200, 202-4). Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (8-9), on the authority of his prestigious informants, was the first of many subsequent authors to connect the Arabicised form Manf with Coptic *māfa* (= *maab, maave*), "thirty"; al-Ḳalḳashandī (iii, 316,10) quotes al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, stating a Syriac root. We also find the forms Māf (Ibn al-Zayyāt, 7,6-7) and Manāfa (Abū Ṣāliḥ, 199). As an explanation for this etymology, we learn that the first inhabitants of Manf—in one case described as unruly rogues *djabābira*; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. G. Wiet, iii, 29, quoting from Ibn Waṣīf Shāh's legendary history of Egypt—numbered thirty (e.g. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xv, 44, 8 ff.).

The seventeenth-century Turkish traveller Evliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme*, x, 11, 18) vacillates, in his interpretation, between a Coptic (*menūf* = a bride) and an Hebrew etymology ("place of purity").

The Muslims regard Manf as the first settlement (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, 130, offers as an alternative the city of B.d.w. in the province of al-Sharḳiyya) and as the capital city (*miṣr*, *ḳāʿida*) of postdiluvian Egypt, epitomising Egypt as a whole (al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *K. al-Ilmām*, iii, 367) until it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar (Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 113; *Khiṭāṭ*, iii, 26). He took the city because its king Ḳūmis (Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī, 69) had given shelter to the Jews who had fled from his oppressive régime (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 134-5). According to Ibn Duḳmāḳ (130), there had been an antediluvian settlement named M.z.na in the location of Manf. The earlier Egyptian capitals, Amsūs, off the Mediterranean coast, and B.r.sān (of uncertain location), had perished in the Flood (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 315, 14-20).

There is no consensus about the identity of the founder of Manf. We hear of Bayṣar b. Ḥām (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 9,3) who was the first to be buried in Egyptian soil (Abū Ṣāliḥ, 199), i.e. in the terrain of St. Jerome's—still visible—monastery (*Dayr [Abī] Hirmīs*) in the vicinity of Manf (Maspero-Wiet, 96). Symbolising the continuity of Egyptian history beyond the dividing line of the Flood, Bayṣar married the daughter of Philemon or Polemon al-Kāhin (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 29-30), the antediluvian sage of Egypt who had warned king Sūrīd of the imminent carastrophe and advised him to erect the Pyramids as a shelter for the secret knowledge of Egypt (cf. Ibn Waṣīf Shāh/al-Waṣīfī—on this latter form, see Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 39; Abū 'l-Ṣalt, *al-Risāla al-miṣriyya*, ed. ʿA. Hārūn, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, i, 24, 14 ff.; *K. al-Istibṣār*, 62; Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī, fols. 22a, 23a *et alia*—in Ps.-Masʿūdī's *Akhbār al-zamān*, ed. ʿA. al-Ṣāwī[3], Beirut 1978, 134-5; on Waṣīfī's hermetic history of pre-Islamic Egypt, see M. Cook, *Pharaonic history in medieval Egypt*, forthcoming in *SI*). Other authors (e.g. al-Dimashḳī, 229) claim Bayṣar's son Miṣr[īm/āyim] to have been the first to leave the security of the Muḳaṭṭam mountain (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 27) in the company of his grandfather Ḥām b. Nūḥ (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, 130) and to settle in the plains on the other bank of the Nile that could be reached by the clement east winds (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 26-7). Abū Ṣāliḥ (199) also mentions

another legendary king, Manfāʾūs b. ʿAdīm, as founder of Manf. In Ps.-al-Madjrīṭī's famous manual of the arcane sciences, Ghayāt al-ḥakīm, the inventor of the Indian amulet, Kanka al-Hindī al-Munadjdjim, is presented as the founder of the city where he built castles for his daughters, equipped with wondrous appliances that produced whistling and other sounds (H. Ritter and M. Plessner, *"Picatrix". Das Ziel der Weisen von Pseudo-Mağrīṭī*, London 1962, 285-6; Arabic ed. 278; cf. also Ibn al-Dawādārī, i, 213-14).

The explicit and implicit information on Pharaonic Egypt given in the Ḳurʾān and in the stories of the prophets was the indispensable repertory for mediaeval Muslim reports on the history of the country in pre-Islamic times. The ubiquitous archeological remains of Pharaonic period were eagerly identified with items familiar from the sacred text and the commentaries. In a similar fashion, Manf was given its well-defined and prominent place within salvation history. The reports of traditionists such as Ibn Lahīʿa [*q.v.*], recorded by early historians like Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and ʿUmar al-Kindī, remained the main corpus of information on Manf well into the modern period. Even in the 19th century the truths of the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* were not easily superseded by the results of enlightened empirical and historical research. ʿAlī Mubārak Pasha's lengthy chapter on Manf is introduced and, so it seems, legitimised by a long verbatim quotation from al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, i.e. by an intrinsically Islamic text. Only then does there follow what European scholarship has found out about the factual history of the city (see his *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda*, xvi, 2-8).

Three verses of the Ḳurʾān are interpreted as referring directly to the city of Manf: xxviii, 15, "And he [= Mūsā] entered the city at a time of carelessness of its folk" (cf. also ʿUmar al-Kindī, *Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, ed. Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-ʿAdawī and ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, Cairo-Beirut 1391/1971, 25); xxviii, 21, "So he [= Mūsā] escaped from thence, fearing, vigilant"; and xliii, 51, "Is not mine the sovereignty (*mulk*) of Egypt and these rivers flowing under me? Can ye not then discern?" (cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 6,5; al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *Ilmām*, iii, 363, on Hārūn al-Rashīd's symbolic defiance of Pharaoh's claim to the *mulk Miṣr*; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, i, 115). The latter verse posed particular problems to historical and geographical commentators. What to do with the rivers in the plural? It was Manf, 12 miles long, the city of iron (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, i, 124 writes "copper") and brass walls (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 73; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 161 [not 81, as in *EI*[1] art. MANF]) and of 70—or, alternatively, 30 (Abū Ṣāliḥ, 199-200—gates from which the four great rivers of the earth flowed. The numerous dams and bridges (*ḳanāṭir wa-djusūr*) of the lowlands of Manf (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 6,3; *al-Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 27) are also directly linked to this Ḳurʾānic verse.

The dominant Islamic stereotype associated with Manf is its role as the seat of Pharaoh (*madīnat Firʿawn*, see e.g. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 73). Other familiar epithets are *dār al-mamlaka* (*al-Istibṣār*, 83; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1975, 551a), *dār al-mulk* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 20, 14; Abu 'l-Ṣalt, 29; *al-Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 29), *dār al-mulk wa 'l-ʿilm* (Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut n.d. [1978-9], 20, 10), *madīnat al-iḳlīm* (Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī, 69), *miṣr al-iḳlīm* (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, 130) and, last but not least, *Miṣr al-ḳadīma* (Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī, fol. 34a; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 316, 14). At least five Pharaohs resided there (al-Dimashḳī, 229). Al-Maḳrīzī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 25-70) integrates the complete story of Egypt between Mūsā and Nebuchadnezzar into his chapter on Manf. Eight prophets, from Idrīs to Yūshaʿ, lived to see it as the Egyptian capital (Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī, fol. 12b). The famous stories of Mūsā and Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb took place in and around Manf (see e.g. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, Beirut 1397/1977, v, 214b, s.v. *Manf*). Miscellaneous monuments are identified with Yūsuf's granary and prison, with Zalīkhā/Zulaykhā's tomb and with the mosques of Yaʿḳūb and Mūsā (see e.g. al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 317, 4-12). The village of al-ʿAzīziyya north of Manf is said to go back to Potiphar, the *ʿazīz Miṣr* [*q.v.*]. It was at Manf that Yūsuf's coffin was lowered into the floods of the Nile (only in al-Masʿūdī, *Murudj al-dhahab*, i, 90 = § 83). Manf becomes an important scene of Jewish history. From there the Jews were banished to ʿAyn Shams, as one source maintains (Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī, fol. 57a). Al-Ḥimyarī goes so far as to claim Jewish rule over Egypt after the demise of Pharaoh's troops in the Red Sea (*al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, 551a, cf. the footnote of the editor). According to ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (134-5) and Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī (fol. 35a), both writing in the Ayyūbid era, Mūsā took refuge in the neighbouring hamlet of Dunūh/Dumūya/Dumuwayh. This place remained sacred to the Jews, who erected a synagogue there (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf) and made it a place of public veneration (Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī).

The women's régime established in Egypt after the Pharaoh of Moses had perished in the Red Sea together with the soldiers of the country provided the "historical" nucleus for the hen-pecked predicament of the Egyptian male, to be encountered among non-Egyptian writers from the days of Herodotus to the time when Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, at the end of the 10th/16th century, visited Cairo. Manf too has an important part to play in this context. The main temple (*birbā/barbā* [*q.v.*]) of Manf, with its four doors, built by the valiant Queen Dalūka, had an apotropaic function in those sad days when Egypt was bereft of men and seemed an easy prey to foreign invaders. If we follow Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and his sources (27, 16-28, 8), the sorceress Tadūra had prepared images of the riding beasts and of the vessels on which the numerous potential enemies could enter Egypt. In voodoo-like magical substitution, the destruction of the image entailed, whenever the situation arose, the destruction of the object depicted. With the extinction of Tadūra's offspring in Manf, this magic knowledge was irretrievably lost (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, 130; Ibn al-Zayyāt, 11, 14-22). In another tradition of obscure origin, cited by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī in his *faḍāʾil Miṣr* work (70), it was not the animals and vehicles but rather the enemy kings themselves who were depicted in Manf and who could thus be annihilated from afar whenever they were tempted to attack Egypt. We are reminded of one of the immortal stereotypes connected with Egypt: whomever God wishes to destroy, He lures into Egypt. In our story, Nebuchadnezzar contrived to gain knowledge of the secret, to have his own effigy in the tower (*ḳubba*) of Manf soaked with the blood of pigs, and thus to break the spell and conquer the city and the country. Al-Maḳrīzī, in his chapter on Manf (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 27), brings Manf into the orbit of Muḥammad's miraculous telepathic powers; the pagan monuments of Manf collapsed at the precise moment when the Prophet victoriously entered Mecca, destroyed the idols and proclaimed the advent of truth from east to west, all around the world.

As we have seen in the case of Manf's epithet "capital city of the Egyptian kings", historical

veracity and pious legend are inevitably and inextricably mixed. Some of the miraculous buildings of the Manf of the magicians may well have had their less conspicuous counterparts in historical reality. Thus we hear of sophisticated gears (*al-daradj al-mudjawwafa*, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 28) engineered to lift water to the highest buildings on Manf in early postdiluvian times. Manf is—truly or falsely?—mentioned as the location of Egypt's first Nilometer [see MIKYĀS], (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* ii, 365 = §781; a slightly altered version in al-Ḳazwīnī, 265, who cites al-Ḳuḍāʿī, and in Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, as quoted by Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, i, 196, 18-20). Al-Ḳalḳashandī (iii, 317,14) speaks of a place in Manf that up to his own time, the 9th/15th century, was known under the name of *al-miḳyās*. Al-Masʿūdī (*loc. cit.*) and Abū Ṣāliḥ (200) tell us that Yūsuf erected it, together with the Pyramids, and "was the first who measured the Nile in Egypt by the cubit" (see also Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam 16, 17 on the *miḳyās Manf*). The Nilometers of Ikhmīm or Akhmīm [*q.v.*] and in the "extreme Ṣaʿīd"—the latter, presumably referring to the Nilometer on the island of Elephantine, mentioned only by al-Masʿūdī—were built as the second and third ones much later by Queen Dalūka. Of equally indeterminable historicity is the widespread report of an observation post (*markab*) on the Muḳaṭṭam between Manf and ʿAyn Shams (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 157,18 - 158,5, on the authority of Saʿīd Ibn ʿUfayr, quoting Kaʿb al-Aḥbār). Whenever, according to legend, Pharaoh set out from Manf to ʿAyn Shams, his other favourite abode (al-Idrīsī, *Opus geogr.*, 376, l.3), or vice versa, his departure could immediately be signalled to the other city so that the people there had enough time for an appropriate to their ruler. This station on the Muḳaṭṭam was allegedly equipped with a mobile mirror (*mirʾāt tadūr ʿalā lawlab*, al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, 326 l.6). Later on, this place became known as "Pharaoh's oven" (*tannūr Firʿawn*) (cf. e.g. al-Idrīsī, *loc. cit.*; Yāḳūt, v, 214b). Ibn Ṭūlūn had a mosque erected there (cf. Zaky Mohamed Hassan, *Les Tulunides. Étude de l'Égypte musulmane à fin du IXᵉ siècle 868-905*, Paris 1933, 295). Ibn Khaldūn's remark that Manf was one of the residences of the Muḳawḳis is also at the borderline of legend and historical truth (*ʿIbar*, I, 114).

The vast and fabulous ruins of Manf—according to ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (176-7) another Bābil—left profound impressions on mediaeval visitors, some of whom declared the city as a whole one of the *ʿadjāʾib* of Egypt (cf. Ibn al-Zayyāt, 11, 13-14). It took ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (134-5) half a day to tour the site of Manf, which is often closely connected with the adjacent Pyramids (sc. of Saḳḳāra, Būṣīr and Djīza), Egypt's greatest *uʿdjūba* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, 200; Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī, fol. 34a, speaking of Manf as the "settlement" [*khiyām*] belonging to the Pyramids). A visit to the Pyramids and to Manf seems to have been the minimum programme for visitors to the area who were interested in Pharaonic archaeology (cf. Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī, 45a, on the envoy of Frederick II to the court of al-Malik al-Kāmil). In striking unanimity, most authors mention the prevalence of the indelible green colour (sc. of the granite monuments) in the ruins of Manf (see Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, 117).

Certain monuments are singled out in the descriptions available to us, though it is not always easy to identify them and to differentiate between their legendary function—in such cases as Joseph's abode or Pharaoh's palace—and the archaeological reality as seen and recorded by the authors. Therefore the detailed scholarly observations of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī are of particular value. One building, not mentioned by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, is the magnificent, monolithic, so-called "bishop's church" (*kanīsat al-usḳuf*); Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī (150) lists it even as the first among the *ʿadjāʾib* of Egypt. It is not all clear whether this church, the church "spread with mats" mentioned by Abū Ṣāliḥ (200), and, thirdly, the monolithic Dār Firʿawn, with its many halls, rooms and roofs, about which an ʿAlid authority reports full of awe (*al-Istibṣār*, 83; Yāḳūt, v, 214a; al-Ḥimyarī, 55a; al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *Ilmān*, iii, 367), all mean the same building or not.

There was certainly one other *kanīsa*—since we have to do with Pharaonic buildings, rather to be rendered as "temple" than "church"—in Manf. It was noted for its small size, for which a hieroglyphic inscription, deciphered by ʿUthmān b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 217/832), the "sage of Egypt" and one of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's main authorities, gives a very convincing financial explanation: building with granite on a large scale was just too expensive (ʿUmar al-Kindī, *Faḍāʾil*, 52, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Munḳidh al-Khawlānī; modified in Yāḳūt, v, 214a-b, quoted by al-Ḳazwīnī, 274-5, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī, 70). This temple was allegedly erected on the spot where the irate young Mūsā, at Satan's instigation, had killed an Egyptian (*al-radjul al-ḳibṭī* [!], cf. Ḳurʾān, XXVIII, 15). Again we have the problem of identification. Is this monument the famous monolithic green chapel that was located within the precinct of the great temple of Manf and is described in detail by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (138-9), al-Ḳalḳashandī (iii, 316, 19-317,3) and al-Maḳrīzī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 28)? Its weight was legendary (*ibid.*). Both from the inside and the outside it was covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions (*al-ḳalam al-birbāwī*, *aḳlām al-birbāwiyya*, Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī, fol. 42a), with pictures of the sun, of stars, men in different postures, snakes and other animals—for ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, important proof to his conviction that the old Egyptians used the pictograms not for simple decorative purposes (138-9). The fundament of this building had already been destroyed in his days by some, as he complains, foolish treasure-hunter (*loc. cit.*). Sultan Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn's generalissimo, the *amīr* Shaykhū, tried to transport the chapel to Cairo after the year 750/1350. It broke into pieces; Shaykhū had them polished and re-used them as sills and thresholds in his *khānaḳāh* and his Friday mosque in the vicinity of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn south of the Fāṭimid city of Cairo (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 29; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 317, 1-3; see the still important comments by Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-allatiph médecin de Bagdad*, Paris 1810, 248, n. 65; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, Paris 1953, 93, n. 2; U. Haarmann, *Die Sphinx. Synkretistische Volksreligiosität im spätmittelalterlichen islamischen Ägypten*, in *Saeculum*, xxix [1978], 377). There they can still be seen in our time. The astronomical reliefs on the green chapel attracted particular attention; Abū Ḥamid al-Ḳaysī al-Gharnāṭī (*Tuḥfat al-albāb*, ed. G. Ferrand, in *JA*, ccvii [1925], ii, 78) mentions them, and according to al-Maḳrīzī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 28), the Sabians maintained that this building was dedicated to the moon as one of originally seven such houses, each of which pertained to one of the seven planets. Also, Ps.-Madjrīṭī's remark (286) about a sanctuary dedicated to the planets by the Indian Kanka should be linked with the green chapel at Manf. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (140-55) goes on to describe the sad remains of the temple terrain within which the green chapel still stood in his time. He displays an expertise on the sophisticated techniques and materials of Pharaonic masonry and on the

harmonious proportions of the huge human statues of limestone and red granite, one of which undoubtedly represents Isis with the child Horus (154-5). Al-Ḳalḳas͟handī (iii, 316, 16-18) speaks of two idols of 20 cubits length each which lie precipitated in the mud as being made of "white granite". Al-Maḳrīzī (*al-K͟hiṭaṭ*, iii, 28) attributes them (or two other, similar, monuments) to Potiphar. One of the two statues could well be identical with the monument mentioned by Abū Ṣāliḥ (199) with the surprising name of Abu 'l-Hawl (see Haarmann, *Die Sphinx*, 373) and with the famous statue of Rameses II that was transported from Manf to the Cairo railway staion at the Bāb al-Ḥadīd in this century.

Bibliography: (in addition to the works quoted in the article): Else Peitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter aus den geographischen Werken der Araber*, Leipzig 1903, 129-36; *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, 90-3 (both works containing German or, alternatively, French translations of the passages referring to Manf in Abū Ḥamīd al-Ḳaysī al-G͟harnāṭī, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Bag͟hdādī, al-Maḳrīzī's *al-K͟hiṭaṭ* and al-Ḳalḳas͟handī); Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 200.

(U. HAARMANN)

AL-MANFALŪṬĪ, MUṢṬAFĀ LUṬFĪ (1293-1343/1876-1924), Egyptian writer and poet.

Born in al-Manfalūṭ (Upper Egypt), then going to live in Cairo, al-Manfalūṭī never attended any teaching institutions except al-Azhar. He later composed poems which appeared in the press; one was published in 1904 by Faraḥ Anṭūn's magazine *al-D̲jāmiʿa*. By the very traditional character of his art, he belongs among the great Egyptian poets of the age. Like them, he cultivated the still flourishing genre of occasional poetry. His composition of epic poems cannot even be regarded as original, since K͟halīl Muṭrān, Aḥmad S͟hawḳī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm had distinguished themselves in this field. (He left no *dīwān*, but only an anthology, *Muk͟htārāt al-Manfalūṭī*, 1912, in which some prose texts accompany several poems.)

Finally, his true originality derived from his doctrinal commitment, and from its quite unexpected literary corollary. His Islamic faith appears strong in the face of any test. For him, Islam is not an old system of values in which he will seek refuge, but a dynamic religion whose constantly renewed force should animate the faithful, allowing them to view the future with optimism. He also believes that everything capable of favouring this dynamism should be encouraged. Thus he took the side of the great reformist Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] and even went to prison for supporting him against the Khedive. His support for the companion of al-Afg͟hānī is often evident in his poems, but being as he is above all a moraliser, he found a more convenient form in which to express himself in the collection of essays in the shape of edifying stories which he published in the weekly *al-Muʾayyid* under the title of *al-Naẓarāt* ("Sketches"). Death, misfortune and tears, represent the essential ingredients of these narratives. At times, destiny, cruel and unjust, besets pure and defenceless beings. But often it is the evolution of society which brings on catastrophes; at the end of the last century and beginning of the present one, the rash Egyptians have repudiated their sound traditions and turned their back on the wise precepts of Islam in order to imitate blindly the European example. This is the message to be drawn from al-Manfalūṭī's fables. We must believe that the content and form of these writings matched the expectations of the public of the period, since they were reprinted in three volumes in 1910, 1912 and 1920.

But in 1915 our author published another collection with the evocative title *al-ʿAbarāt* ("Tears"). The dominant tone remains one of pathos, but it is to be noted that the stories are of two kinds. Only three of them are the original work of al-Manfalūṭī, while the eight others have been translated by him from French or—in one case—from American English. For, paradoxically, despite his admonitions against the Western life style, he admired the literature which it produced. Chateaubriand and Alexandre Dumas the Younger are translated here, and later it was to be the turn of Alphonse Karr (*Sous l'ombre des tilleuls* ["In the shade of the linden trees"], 1919), Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (*Paul et Virginie*) and François Coppée (*Pour la couronne* ["For the crown"], 1920). Are we not to suppose that this pitiful picture of disasters, to which venal, unshared or impossible love leads, constitutes the most eloquent condemnation of the society which attaches such importance to this sentiment? Furthermore, one of the three original stories in *al-ʿAbarāt*, entitled *al-Ḥid̲jāb* ("The veil") shows how a young Egyptian, returned from Europe where he has studied, brings on his own misfortune by allowing his wife to spend time in the company of his best friend. However, this interpretation is not always justified. It is clear that the narrator is little concerned to explain the avalanche of misfortunes which befall his heroes. His main concern is to place them in a desperate situation, which he knows how to turn to the best advantage in order to move his readers. For here we have an artist who excelled in appealing to the emotions. The instrument that he used was the Arabic language, on which he played to perfection because he kept it in the register which suited him best: ample periods, sonorities balanced with majesty and the theatrical expression of powerful feelings. All his contemporaries and even some of his successors bore witness to the quality of his style, which they regarded as enchanting. But, quite obviously, the conclusions that they reached could be diametrically opposed.

The novelist Maḥmūd Taymūr [*q.v.*], in the preface of one of his first collections (*al-S͟hayk͟h Sayyid al-ʿAbīṭ*, 1926), believed that the subjects and characters imagined by al-Manfalūṭī lacked consistency, but he did not cease to write eulogies on the quality of his vocabulary and the absolutely classical purity of his language. This testimony is worth bearing in mind when one realises how great an audience at this period in the Arab world such a writer enjoyed. On the other hand, the equally famous Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Māzinī [*q.v.*] proceeded, for his part, to a definitive execution of al-Manfalūṭī in the book of literary criticism which he published in collaboration with ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (*al-Dīwān*, 1921). His intrigues, he says, are a tissue of improbabilities, and his pretended virtue is only shoddy sentimentalism nourishing women's fiction; as for the style, let us speak about it in detail! It is characterised by artifice, accumulation of *mafʿūl muṭlaḳ*s, abuse of synonyms, i.e. of tinsel and eye shadow, whereas the art of the real writer resides in the care taken in significant and subtle composition, in the choice of the "mot juste".

Even if al-Manfalūṭī's works are constantly being republished, there is no doubt that from now on they will be merely of historical interest. But at any rate, this interest is undeniable. At a time when Arabic romantic literature was still sought after, al-Manfalūṭī contributed to winning a public for it. In fact, this well-known foreign genre became acclimatised on Arab soil. It did so in the first place thanks to the quality of its language, although some Syro-Lebanese

and Egyptian translators of the period wrote in very mediocre Arabic. It must be noted that, never having left Egypt or studied seriously any foreign language, his expression did not risk being contaminated and debased by foreign idioms. Also, his supposed translations were actually adaptations of pre-existing translations. Thus it is to be understood that they were, probably, not very faithful, and that his original works and translated works might be closely related. Furthermore, the kind of story which he preferred is the same in both cases. This was, moreover, along with the language, the second method of luring the reader. The *romantic*, in the technical and literary sense of the word, had to use the romantic in the emotional and popular sense of the word. He believed that, like himself, his compatriots might have a passion for the unhappy love stories in Europe, while they also might have a passion for the life stories of those who had died or had been driven mad by love, of whom Arab collective memory had preserved the remembrance. It is significant that the modernist al-Māzinī had mentioned, in the above-mentioned work, what a danger al-Manfalūṭī's literature presented for lovers of bad novels, those who put nothing above Platonic love (*al-ḥubb al- ʿudhrī*), i.e. the pure love which made the Ḥidjāzī tribe of the Banū ʿUdhra famous from the 2nd/8th century onwards.

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MANGIR [see SIKKA].

MANGĪSHLAK, a mountainous peninsula on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea. The northern part of Mangīshlak (the Buzači peninsula) is a lowland covered with small salt-marshes. In the central part, the Mangīstau mountains stretch from northwest to southeast for *ca.* 100 miles; they consist of three ranges, Southern and Northern Aktau and Karatau, the last one running between the first two. The highest peak (in the Karatau) is only 1,824 feet. To the south of the mountains lies the Mangīshlak Plateau. From the east, the peninsula borders the Üst-Yurt Plateau. Mangīshlak is now one of the most arid areas of Central Asia, without permanent rivers and with an annual precipitation of *ca.* 150 mm. The most often suggested etymology of the name is from Turkish *ming ḳīshlaḳ* "the thousand winter quarters"; another one derives the name from Turkish *man* (*mang*) "four-year-old sheep" (Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, iii, 157; cf. *mang* "three-year-old sheep" in Čaghatay and modern Turkmen), so that Mangīshlak is, presumably, "sheep's winter quarters". Neither etymology is proven; other etymologies trying to connect the word with its present Kazak form Mangīstau or with the name of a subdivision of the Nogays, Mang (?), are unacceptable, since the term was registered in the sources long before the emergence of both the Kazak and the Nogays with their languages.

The region was first mentioned under the Persian name Siyāh-Kūh ("Black Mountain"; see al-Iṣṭakhrī, 218; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 60), which, probably, is a translation of the Turkic name Karatau (or Karatāgh) mentioned above. The same name Siyāh-Kūh was given to the mountains (*djabal*; apparently, the steep scarp of the plateau of Üst-Yurt) west of the Sea of Aral (Ibn Rusta, 92). In mediaeval Muslim works, the localisation of the Siyāh-Kūh mountains was not always clear, and sometimes they were located also on the northern shore of the Caspian Sea and even as stretching along the whole eastern shore of this sea.

According to al-Iṣṭakhrī (219), the peninsula used to be uninhabited; it was only shortly before his time (or that of his predecessor al-Balkhī, i.e. in the first half or by the beginning of the 10th century A.D.) that Turks, who had quarrelled with the Ghuzz [*q.v.*], i.e. with their own kin, had come here and found springs and pastures for their flocks. Ships which were wrecked on the cliffs of the peninsula used to be plundered by these Turks, A short mention of the Ghuzz Turks on Siyāh-Kūh in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* goes back most probably to the same account of al-Iṣṭakhrī. Al-Mukaddasī mentions the mountain of Binkishlah as marking the frontier between the land of the Khazars and Djurdjān [*q.v.*] (see *BGA*, iii, 355); this is, apparently, the earliest mention of the name in literature. The name in its present form appears in the 5th/11th century in the dictionary of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (i, 387, vocalised Mānkishlāgh), where it is explained somewhat vaguely as "name of a place in the country of the Ghuzz". In almost the same form (B.n.kh.sh.lāgh) the name is mentioned in the *Ḳānūn* of al-Bīrūnī as a harbour, or port (*furḍa*), of the Ghuzz, belonging to the region of the Khazar (see *Bīrūnī's picture of the world*, ed. A.Z.V. Togan, New Delhi 1941, 67; cf. Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳānūn*, ii, Ḥaydarābād 1955, 575, with the spelling Y.n.ḥ.sh.lāgh. The interchangeable initial *m*/*b* probably supports the etymology *ming*/*bing ḳīshlaḳ*).

Mangīshlak as a region of the Saldjūk empire, apparently subordinate to the governor of Māzandarān, was mentioned in Persian documents compiled in the Saldjūk chancery in the middle of the 6th/12th century (where the spelling M.n.k.sh.lāk and M.n.k.sh.lāgh is given; see Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. by M. Kazwīnī and ʿA. Ikbāl, Tehrān 1329/1950, 19, 85); here also some unbelievers (*kuffār*) were mentioned in the desert of Mangīshlak and the regions of Dihistān [*q.v.*], and the governor of Djurdjān was instructed to wage *djihād* on them. In the very early 7th/13th century, Mangīshlak was mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr and Yākūt (both vocalised as Mankashlāgh) and by Muḥammad Bakrān in his *Djahān-nāma* (vocalised Mankishlāgh). Ibn al-Athīr (x, 183) tells about a Turkic principality on Mankashlāgh, with a town (*madīna*) of the same name, at the end of the 5th/11th century. In 490/1097 the Mankashlāgh Turks (their tribal affiliation is not mentioned) unsuccessfully interfered in the fight between the Khʷārazmshāh Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad and Toghrīl Tegin, son of Ekinči b. Kočkar [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. According to Ibn al-Athīr, the son and successor of Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, the Khʷārazmshāh Atsïz, conquered the town of Mankashlāgh when he commanded the army of Khʷārazm during the reign of his father (i.e. before 521/1127 or 522/1128). Yākūt (iv, 670) describes Mankashlāgh not as a region, but only as a strong fortress (*kalʿa ḥaṣīna*) near the sea between Khʷārazm [*q.v.*], Saksīn [*q.v.*] and the land of the Rūs; he cites verses by Abu ʾl-Muʾayyad al-Muwaffak b. Aḥmad al-Khʷārazmī, where Mankashlāgh and its conquest by Atsïz are mentioned. Muḥammad Bakrān, a contemporary of Ibn al-Athīr and Yākūt, first mentions Mankīshlāgh in his description of the Caspian Sea, as a region lying between Siyāh-Kūh and the Balkhān [*q.v.*] region in the south and the region of the Khazar in the north (*Djahān-nāma*, ed. Yu. Borshčevskiy, Moscow 1960, fol. 5b). In another place (fol. 17a) he

explains Manḳishlāgh as a name of a tribe (*ḳawm*) of Turks who left their former place because of an enmity between them and the Ghuzz and came to live in the region of Siyāh-Kūh near the Caspian Sea, where they found springs and pastures (cf. the account of al-Iṣṭakhrī-al-Balkhī above); they were called the "People of Manḳishlāgh" (*ahl-i Manḳishlāgh*), and their ruler was called *khān*. Immediately after this, speaking about the Turkic tribe (*ḳawm*) Yazīr which lived in the Balkhān mountains, Bakrān adds that two other tribes, one from Manḳishlāgh and the second from Khurāsān, joined the Yazīr, after which the latter became numerous and strong, and at the time of writing (*aknūn*) they consisted of three parts: the Yazīr proper, those of Manḳishlāgh (*Manḳishlāghī*) and of Fārs.

As one can conclude from all accounts cited above, Mangīshlak became inhabited by some Turkic (apparently Oghuz) tribe of tribes about the first half of the 4th/10th century, and the migration of these Turks to Mangīshlak was connected with the internal strife in the Oghuz confederation. The Mangīshlak Turks were apparently hostile to the Oghuz tribes involved in the Saldjūḳ movement, and they were considered pagan as late as in the middle of the 6th/12th century; in the early 7th/13th century they (or at least a part of them) were included into the Yazīr group of the Oghuz, the centre of which was in northern Khurāsān. No permanent settlement on Mangīshlak is again mentioned in the sources after the account of the campaign of Atsīz, and Barthold assumed that the "town" mentioned by Yāḳūt was destroyed by the Khwārazmians (see *EI*[1], iii, 243). However, it is quite possible that the "fortress of Mangīshlak" was in fact not a town, but rather a fortified place where the Oghuz nomads could find refuge in time of danger.

The accounts of written sources are to some extent corroborated by the Turkmen genealogical tradition as rendered by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (*Shadjara-yi Tarākima*, ed. Kononov, text, 61-2), which also connects the migration of the Oghuz to Mangīshlak with the great disturbances in the *el* of the Oghuz in the time of ʿAlī Khān and Shāh Malik (Oghuz rulers, contemporaries of the first Saldjūḳs). It is to this time that the Turkmen tradition relates the migration to Mangīshlak of all those tribes which were also later found on the peninsula, as attested in other sources. The most numerous among these tribes was the Salor [*q.v.*], which in the 10th/16th century was divided into the "inner" (*ički*) Salor" who lived on the coast, and the "outer (*tashḳi*) Salor" who lived farther to the east, on the road from the coast to Khwārazm (see Bartol'd, *Sočineniya*, viii, 148). The "outer Salor" was, in fact, a group of tribes affiliated with the Salor proper, and it was found also in the Balkhān and Khurāsān; among them the tribe Ersarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] lived partly on Mangīshlak. Other tribes mentioned in *Shadjara-yi Tarākima* as those who came there with the Salor included the Čawdor [*q.v.*] and Igdir, which remained on the peninsula also later.

According to the Turkmen tradition, in the middle of the 8th/14th century Mangīshlak belonged to the Golden Horde, together with the Balkhān and the northern part of Khwārazm (see Abu 'l-Ghāzī, *Shadjara-yi Tarākima*, ed. Kononov, text, 72). Nothing is known about the region in Tīmūrid times. The available sources only clearly indicate that after the Mongol conquest, Mangīshlak remained for several centuries one of the main regions inhabited by the Turkmens, together with the Balkhān and the western part of the Ḳaraḳum desert (see Yu. Bregel, in *CAJ*, xxv/1-2 [1981], 20-2). With the conquest of Khwārazm by the Uzbeks in the early 10th/16th century, the ʿArabshāhid khāns subdued also the Turkmen tribes of Mangīshlak, which were divided between the Uzbek *sulṭāns* as part of their appanages (see Abu 'l-Ghāzī, *Shadjara-yi Turk*, ed. Desmaisons, text, 201, 202, 206; tr., 216, 220). In the 11th/17th century, however, the Turkmens of Mangīshlak seemed to be mostly independent, and the region sometimes served as a refuge for the Uzbek *sulṭāns*, who fled from Khwārazm during internal strife there. Via Mangīshlak there ran a trade route from the Volga basin to Khwārazm. Goods were unloaded in the Ḳabaḳlī landing-place on the Buzači peninsula and taken to Khwārazm by caravans through the plateau of Üst-Yurt. The route became especially important after the conquest of Astrakhan [*q.v.*] by the Russians (1556). Turkmens also profited from this trade, supplying camels and protection to the caravans, extorting presents from the merchants and occasionally plundering them. Mangīshlak also served as the starting point of a sea-route to Shīrwān [*q.v.*], in the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries used by Central Asian merchants and pilgrims to Mecca wishing to avoid travel through Shīʿī Irān (see Abu 'l-Ghāzī, *Shadjara-yi Turk*, ed. Desmaisons, text, 257, 273; tr., 275, 294). In 1558 the first English traveller to Central Asia, Anthony Jenkinson, passed through Mangīshlak to Khwārazm (see *Purchase his Pilgrimes*, xii, Glasgow 1906, 10-13).

Both the Turkmen tribes on Mangīshlak and the trade caravans were endangered by the raids from the north of the Mangīt [*q.v.*], or Nogays, in the 10th/16th century and of the Kalmuk [*q.v.*] in the 11th/17th century. The Kalmuk raids in 1620s and 1630s caused the transfer of the landing-place from the Ḳabaḳlī Bay to the Ḳaragan Bay, near the Sarī-Tash Mountain, farther to the south (see A. Čuloshnikov, in *Materialī po istorii Uzbekskoy, Tadzhikskoy i Turkmenskoy SSR*, pt. 1, Leningrad 1932, 74-6, and the map attached to the book). Already the Mangīt raids forced a part of the Turkmens to leave Mangīshlak. Another cause of emigration was, apparently, the growing desiccation of the steppe which began at the same time (see Yu. Bregel, *op. cit.*, 29-30). Later, the Kalmuk pressure had the same effect. In the middle of the 11th/17th century, the Ersarī tribe totally abandoned Mangīshlak, together with a part of the Salor; another part of the Salor probably remained there till the early 12th/18th century. The Kalmuks under Ayuka (1670-1724), or as early as the reign of Puntsuk-Mončak (1667-70) deported parts of the tribes of the Čawdor and Igdir as well as the whole tribe of the Soyinadji to the Volga basin (from where they moved to the Caucasus). In the first half of the 12th/18th century, most of the remaining Čawdors and Igdirs migrated to Khwārazm, and in the early 19th century several groups of the same tribes migrated via the Volga to their tribesmen in the Caucasus; but Mangīshlak was finally abandoned by the Turkmens only in 1840s (a small section of the Čawdor has continued to dwell near the Caspian shore till the present time). The Turkmens were replaced on Mangīshlak by the Ḳazaḳs, who belonged to the clan Aday of the Bayulī tribe (of the Little Horde). There seems to be no historical evidence of the time of this migration; Ḳazaḳ legends relate this movement to the middle or the second half of the 12th/18th century. Assertion of some modern Ḳazaḳ scholars trying to connect the Aday with the ancient Dahae, and thus trying to prove that the Ḳazaḳs were the most ancient inhabitants of Mangīshlak, are totally unfounded. For the Aday, Mangīshlak was the

region of their winter pastures, their summer pastures being about 600 miles from there to the north.

As early as the 1670s, the khān of Khīwa, Anūsha, asked the Russian government to build a fortress on Mangîshlak to protect the trade route between Russia and Central Asia; but the first Russian attempt at establishing a permanent position on the peninsula was made only under Peter the Great, when three fortresses were built near the Caspian coast by the ill-fated expedition of Bekovič-Čerkasskiy (1716); the fortresses were abandoned the next year. During the 12th/18th and early 19th centuries a number of Russian expeditions studied Mangîshlak, and in 1834 the Russians founded a fortress on the southern shore of the Mertvîy Kultuk Bay, named Novo-Aleksandrovskoye, with a permanent garrison. The establishment of Russian power on the Mangîshlak shore was one of the reasons of tensions between her and the Khānate of Khīwa which led to the unsuccessful Russian military campaign of 1839-40. Mangîshlak remained a bone of contention between Russia and Khīwa for another decade, both sides trying to use against one another the Aday Ķazaķs, but neither actually extending its sovereignty over the peninsula until in 1846 the Russians built a fortress on Cape Tüp-Karagan, named first Novo-Petrovskoye and then in 1859 renamed Fort Aleksandrovskiy. But the final incorporation of Mangîshlak into the Russian Empire occured only after the occupation of the Krasnovodsk region in 1869 and the submission of Khīwa in 1873.

According to the imperial decree of 1870, the district (*pristavstvo*) of Mangîshlak was subordinated to the Russian vicegerent of Caucasus, and after the Russian conquest of Turkmenia in 1881 this district was incorporated, as an *uyezd*, in the newly-organised Transcaspian region (*Zakaspiyskaya oblast'*). After the revolution of 1917, Mangîshlak (except for its southernmost part around the Ķara-Boghaz Bay) was separated from the land of the Turkmens and included in the republic of Kazakhstan. Since 1973 it has formed a separate Mangîshlak region (*oblast'*) of Kazakhstan, including also a part of the Üst-Yurt plateau, with an area of 100,000 square miles and its centre at Shevčenko (built only in 1960s; until 1964 Aktau); the population of the *oblast'* was 256,000 in 1978, of which the population of Shevčenko was almost a half (110,000 in 1979); 92% of the inhabitants of the *oblast'* live in cities (see *Sovetskiy éntsiklopedičeskiy slovar'*, Moscow 1980, 1522). The present economic and strategic importance of Mangîshlak is determined by its mineral riches, especially petroleum and natural gas (discovered in 1961) and uranium; details about the uranium mines are kept secret by official Soviet sources, but this uranium is used, apparently, by the atomic power station in Shevčenko.

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(Yu. Bregel)

MANGÎT, the name of Mongol and Turkic tribes.

It first appears in Rashīd al-Dīn (in the transcription Mangķūt; Rashīd al-Dīn, i/1, ed. Romaskevič *et alii*, 87, 501-15, Russ. tr., 78, 184-6; i/2, Russ. tr., 29, 125) and the *Secret history* (§ 46) as one of the tribes belonging to the Nirun branch of the Mongols; its genealogy went back to Djaksu, the first son of Tumbine Khān (the great-great-grandfather of Čingiz-Khān). The Mangît were subjugated by Čingiz Khān together with the tribes of the Tayči'ut. Later they belonged to both right and left wings of the army of Čingiz Khān (Rashīd al-Dīn, Russ. tr., 1/2, 208, 272), and parts of this tribe were found in all major Mongol *ulus*es. The Mangît tribe (since the 14th century the name appears in the sources in the forms Mangķit, Manghūt, Mānghīt, Manghīt; in later Central Asian sources mainly Manķit and Manghit) became especially important in the *ulus* of Djoči (the "Golden Horde"), where it was completely Turkicised, along with the other Mongol tribes, apparently already by the 14th century. From the 15th century onwards, the Mangîts inhabited the territory in the lower Volga basin and farther to the east, at least to the Emba. At the same time they began to be called in Russian sources Nogai (according to N.G. Volkova, *Etnonimî i plemenniye nazvaniya Severnogo Kavkaza*, Moscow 1973, 78, not earlier than the 1380s). It is believed that this ethnic name was connected with the name of the famous Noķay Noyan [see NOGAY], a *tümen-begi* and an actual ruler of the *ulus* of Djoči in the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century (cf. on him B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*², Wiesbaden 1965, 56-77, with further references). According to this view, the Mangît was the predominant Turkic tribe in the *ulus* of Noķay. However, there seems to be no evidence of the tribal composition of the *ulus* of Noķay, which possessed the territory to the west of the Dnieper and formed the right wing of the *ulus* of Djoči, while the later Mangîts, between the Volga and the Emba, belonged to the left wing of the same *ulus*. Thus the connection between these two Turkic groupings remains unclear. The people known to the Russians as Nogai was known in Central Asia and Iran only as Mangît; on the other hand, Crimean and Ottoman sources of the 16th-18th centuries know only the Nogay. In the 14th and 15th centuries, this was a large tribal confederation in the central part of Dasht-i Ķipčāķ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] which included, besides the Mangît proper, also a number of other Turkic tribes. Since at least the second half of the 14th century, the confederation was ruled by the chiefs of the Mangît tribe. The most famous among them was the founder of this dynasty Edigü (Yedigey of the Russian sources), a contemporary and adversary of Toķtamish and Tīmūr and for a long time an actual ruler of the Golden Horde (d. 822/1419). In the middle of the 15th century, the Mangît (under Edigü's grandson Waķķāş Biy) played an important role in the nomadic state of Abu 'l-Khayr Khān [*q.v.*]. After the dissolution of this empire, the Mangît dominated the western part of Central Asian steppe till the end of the 15th century.

With the decline of the so-called "Great Horde" (the Golden Horde's successor in the lower Volga basin) in the late 15th and early 16th century, a part of the Mangît migrated to the Crimean Khānate, where their chiefs became the senior *beg*s (on the Mangît in Crimea, see V. Ye. Sîroyečkovskiy, *Mukhammad-Geray i ego vassalî*, in *Učeniye zapiski Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, lxi [Moscow 1940], 32-4, 36-7). At the same time another part of

the Mangīt tribe joined the Uzbek confederacy restored by Shaybānī Khān [see SHAYBĀNIDS] and participated in his conquest of Transoxania; the Mangīts in the troops of Shaybānī Khān are mentioned in the *Shaybānī-nāma* by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (ed. Vámbéry, Budapest 1885, 272, 276). Yet the bulk of the Mangīt confederacy still remained between the Volga and the Emba rivers for another century, until they were driven from this territory by the Kalmuks [*q.v.*] in the 1620s. After this, the greater part of the confederacy moved to Northern Caucasus, where they have been known only as the Nogays (about the Mangīt as one of the tribal units of the Caucasin Nogays, cf. N.G. Volkova, *op. cit.*, 80-3), while another part migrated to the Khānate of Khīwa, where they first established themselves in the Āmū-Daryā delta. Abu 'l-Ghāzī mentions the Mangīts only outside Khʷārazm, in their old territory, and as distinct from the Uzbeks (see *Shadjara-yi Turk*, ed. Desmaisons, text, 212-13, 230, 267, 270, 290; tr., 228-9, 246-7, 286, 289, 311). However, the same Abu 'l-Ghāzī is said to have divded all the Uzbek tribes of Khʷārazm into four groups, one of which was formed by the tribes Mangīt and Nukuz (Muʾnis, *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, ms. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C-571, fol. 65b). Probably, the migration of the Mangīts and other Turkic groups of the Mangīt *ulus* to Khʷārazm happened in the reign of Abu 'l-Ghāzi (1053-74/1643-63), and it was perhaps this movement that caused the redistribution of the Uzbek tribes and their territories in the khānate.

In Khʷārazm, the Mangīt tribe contended for power with the tribe of Ḳongrat [see ḲUNGRAT]; the historian of the Ḳongrat dynasty Muʾnis [*q.v.*] traced this rivalry back to the time of Noḳay Noyan (see *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, ms. cit., fol. 94b). At the end of the 17th and the 18th centuries, the Mangīt who inhabit the central part of the Āmū-Daryā delta (Aral) with the fortresses Mangīt-ḳalʿa and Shāh-Temir, together with several other Uzbek tribes of the same region, had their local rulers who did not recognise the authority of the khāns of Khīwa. In their struggle with the Ḳongrats, the Mangīts of Khʷārazm were supported by their tribesmen in Transoxania, whose chiefs founded a new dynasty in Bukhārā in the middle of the 18th century [see MANGĪTS]. After some success in 1740s (when two chiefs of the Mangīt, Artūḳ Īnaḳ and then his brother Khuraz Bek, were the actual rulers of the khānate), the Mangīt were finally overcome by the Ḳongrat and lost any political importance in Khʷārazm. Since the beginning of the 19th century, they have inhabited mainly a region to the south of the Āmū-Daryā delta, where the town Mangīt was founded in 1215/1800 (see Muʾnis, *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, ms. cit., fol. 156b) on a canal of the same name (Mangīt-arnā).

In Transoxania, the Mangīts were much more numerous and powerful than in Khʷārazm; their main territory was the oasis of Ḳarshi [*q.v.*], in the Ḳashka-Daryā basin, but a greater number of them lived also in the oasis of Bukhārā, as well as near Samarḳand and Ḳatta-Kurghan. It is not clear, whether they all were descendants of the Mangīts who came with Shaybānī Khān, or whether some of them arrived later, as in Khʷārazm (and, probably, through Khʷārazm), with the dissolution of the Mangīt *ulus* (cf. above). According to statistical data of 1923, the total number of the Mangīts in Transoxania was 99,200 (of whom 44,000 were near Bukhārā and 31,000 in the region of Ḳarshi), and in Khʷārazm, 10,435. There seem to be no later data.

The Karakalpaks [*q.v.*] also include the Mangīt as one of their major tribal subvisions (see T.A. Zhdanko, *Očerki istoričeskoy étnografii Karakalpakov*, Moscow-Leningrad 1950, 123-4; *Dokumentī arkhiva khivinskikh khanov po istorii i étnografii karakalpakov*, ed. Yu. Bregel, Moscow 1967, see index). This may go back to the 15th-16th centuries, when the Karakalpaks were apparently included in the *ulus* of the Mangīt.

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(YU. BREGEL)

MANGĪTS, a Turkish dynasty which reigned in Bukhārā [*q.v.*] from 1166/1753 to 1339/1920.

It was founded by the chiefs of the Uzbek tribe Mangīt [*q.v.*], which was dominant in the central regions of Transoxania after the Uzbek conquest of the 16th century. Khudāyār Biy, the grandfather of the founder of the dynasty Muḥammad Raḥīm, became an *atalīḳ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1126/1714 under the Djānīd khān Abu 'l-Fayḍ (*Taʾrīkh-i Abu 'l-Fayḍ-Khānī*, Russ. tr. A.A. Semenov, 3). His son Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy was appointed to the same post in 1134/1722 (*ibid.*, 67), and he became an all-powerful minister of Abu 'l-Fayḍ Khān. He was instrumental in securing the peaceful surrender of Abu 'l-Fayḍ Khān to Nādir Shāh in 1153/1740 and therefore enjoyed special favour of the latter, and began to style himself *amīr-i kabīr*. His son Muḥammad Raḥīm Biy served as the head of a detachment of Bukhāran troops with the army of Nādir Shāh. After the death of Muḥammad Ḥakīm Atalīḳ in 1156/1743 and the subsequent disturbances in the country, Muḥammad Raḥīm was sent by Nādir Shāh to Bukhārā with Iranian troops to restore order. Having firmly established his authority in Bukhārā, he ordered Abu 'l-Fayḍ Khān to be killed several days after the assassination of Nādir Shāh in Mashhad in 1160/1747. During the first years of his actual rule, he enthroned puppet khāns (the first of whom, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the son of Abu 'l-Fayḍ, was killed as early as 1161/1748), officially remaining only an *atalīḳ*; but after 1166/1753 he apparently reigned alone with the same title, and in 1170/1756 he was proclaimed khān. After his death in 1172/1758, his uncle and successor Dāniyāl Biy Atalīḳ (1172-99/1758-85; according to some sources, the correct name was Dāniyār; however, the coins give Dāniyāl) again enthroned puppet khāns, grandsons of Abu 'l-Fayḍ. Only Dāniyāl's son Shāh Murād (nicknamed "Amīr-i Maʿṣūm", 1199-1215/1785-1800) finally deposed the Djānīds and accended the throne himself. The latest known silver coin with the name of the last Djānīd khān Abu 'l-Ghāzī is dated 1203/1788-9 (see Davidovič, *Istoriya monetnogo dela*, 51-2; Burnasheva, *Monetī* [I], 120). However, Shāh Murād did not adopt the title *khān*, and instead of this called himself *amīr*, as did all his successors. Shāh Murād ascribed this title even to his father Dāniyāl on the coins which he minted in the name of the latter. The implied meaning was that of *amīr al-muʾminīn* (this title actually appears on the coins of *amīr* Ḥaydar, 1215-42/1800-26), which had to

show that the Mangīt rulers considered themselves Muslim kings par exellence and not continuators of the nomadic state tradition.

A characteristic feature of Mangīt rule was a sharp decline of power of the Uzbek tribal chiefs, with a parallel strengthening of the central government in Bukhārā. The Mangīts could achieve this because of the support which they received from the urban population as well as because of the creation of a small standing army. The tribal aristocracy was finally smashed by the seventh ruler of the dynasty, Naṣr Allāh (1242-77/1827-60), who in a relentless struggle against the aristocratic clans killed many of their members, including those of his own family, and well deserved the nickname "the butcher *amīr*" (*amīr-i ḳaṣṣāb*). As a result, the Khānate of Bukhārā became a despotic monarchy, where the *amīr*, enjoying practically unlimited power, ruled through a huge bureaucratic apparatus. Persons of a mean or at least non-Uzbek origin (former Persians slaves, Turkmens, etc.), tied to the sovereign by personal loyalty, held the key positions in this bureaucracy.

Despite the incessant wars with their neighbours and some military successes, the most important of which were the conquest of Marw by Shāh Murād in 1204/1789-90 and the temporary capture of Khoḳand in 1258/1842, the Mangīts were unable to impose their authority on all the territories which had been included into the Khānate of Bukhārā under the previous dynasties. The regions to the south of the Amū-Daryā in Afghān Turkestān were lost already under Shāh Murād, and Marw passed under the control of Khīwa in 1238/1823; the principality of Shahr-i Sabz remained independent, under hostile chiefs of the Keneges tribe, until 1272/1855-6; the principality of Ura-Tübe was a bone of contention between Bukhārā and Khoḳand, but mostly was either independent or under Khoḳand rule; and the mountain principalities of the Pāmir also remained mostly independent until the Russian conquest.

Under Naṣr Allāh's son, *amīr* Muẓaffar al-Dīn (1277-1302/1860-85), the Khānate of Bukhārā was defeated by the Russians and in 1285/1868 lost its independence. Samarḳand and its province were annexed by Russia; the *amīr* was slightly compensated by establishing, with Russian help, his firm control over the mountainous regions in the upper Zarafshān valley (1870); in 1895 principalities of the Western Pāmir were also annexed by Bukhārā. The Mangīts retained their throne as the vassals of the Russian Empire. The last two *amīrs*, ʿAbd al-Aḥad (1303-28/1885-1910) and Sayyid ʿĀlim Khān (1328-39/1910-20), maintained close relations with the imperial court in St. Petersburg. They were granted Russian honorary military ranks and high orders, were frequent visitors to Russia and used to spend summer in their villa in Crimea; the last *amīr* was educated during his teens at a Russian cadet corps in St. Petersburg. All this little affected the character of their reign, which remained no less despotic than that of their predecessors. ʿĀlim Khān was deposed and the khānate was formally abolished on 6 October 1920 as a result of a revolution orchestrated by Soviet Russia. ʿĀlim Khān fled to the mountainous regions of Eastern Bukhārā and from there to Kābul (beginning of 1921), where he died in 1934; it is reported that his descendants were living in Kābul in great misery (see B. Hayit, *Turkestan zwischen Russland und China*, Amsterdam 1971, 258, n. 57).

Bibliography: For the historical works in Persian on the history of the Mangīts, see Storey-Bregel, 496-9, nos. 361-2, and 1150-82, nos. 1007-41. On the coins of the Mangīts, see V. V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Moneti bukharskiye i khivinskiye*, in *Trudï Vostočnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Arkheologičeskogo Obshčestva*, iv (St. Petersburg 1859), 409-27; E. A. Davidovič, *Istoriya monetnogo dela Sredney Azii XVII-XVIII vv.*, Dushanbe 1964, 163-8, 176-97; R. Burnasheva, *Monetï Bukharskogo khanstva pri Mangïtakh (seredina XVIII - načalo XX v.)* in [III] *Épigrafika Vostoka*, xviii (1967), 113-28, [I] *ibid.*, xxi (1972), 67-80. For the general history of the Khānate of Bukhārā under the Mangīts, see V.V. Bartol'd, *Istoriya kul'turnoy zhizni Turkestana*, in his, *Sočineniya*, ii/1, Moscow 1963, 278-83, 290-2, 400-11, 416-33; P. P. Ivanov, *Očerki po istorii Sredney Azii*, Moscow 1958, 117-47; *Istoriya narodov Uzbekistana*, ii, Tashkent 1947, 119-24, 162-8; *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, i/2, Tashkent 1956, 32-41, 43-5, 47-9; *Istoriya tadzhikskogo naroda*, ii/2, Moscow 1964, 57-114; S. Becker, *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhārā and Khīva, 1865-1924*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968 (all these with extensive bibliographies). Also still useful is H.H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii/2, London 1880, 765-816; A. Vámbéry, *History of Bokhara*, is however outdated and should not be used. For valuable information on the personalities of the last Mangīt *amīrs*, court life and the administration of Bukhārā in the early 20th century, see A. A. Semenov, *Očerk ustroystva tsentral' nogo administrativnogo upravleniya Bukharskogo khanstva pozdneyshego vremeni* (*Materialï po istorii tadzhikov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, ii), Stalinabad 1954, and M.S. Andreev and O. D. Čekhovič, *Ark (kreml') Bukharï v. kontse XIX - načale XX vv.*, Dushanbe 1972 (esp. pp. 89-127: "The day of an *amīr* of Bukhārā"). (Yu. Bregel)

MANGRŌL, the name of two places in India.

1. A port on the southwestern coast of the Kāthiāwāṛ peninsula, in lat. 21° 28' N. and long 70° 14' E., formerly coming within the native state of Djunāgaṛh [*q.v.*] and with a Muslim local chief there tributary to the Nawwāb of Djunāgaṛh; the mosque there carries a date 785/1383.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xvii, 180.

2. A town in the former British Indian territory of Rajputana, within the native state of Kotah, in lat. 25° 20′ N. and long. 70° 31′ E. and 44 miles/70 km. to the northeast of Kotah city. Here there took place on 1 October 1821 the battle between two rival Rajput powers, that of the Maharao Kishōr Singh of Kotah and that of the aged regent of Kotah, the *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*] Ẓālim Singh (1740-1826), the latter aided by British troops, which resulted in a decisive victory for Ẓālim Sing and the retreat of the Maharao to Baroda.

Bibliography: J. Tod, *Annals and antiquities of Rajast' han*, Madras 1880, ii, 5-43; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 180-1. (C.E. Bosworth)

MANGŪ-TĪMŪR (thus on his coins: Mong. Möngke-Temür, sometimes written also Mūngkā (e.g. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 109); in Russian annals Mengutimer and Mengutemer, called also Külük "Glorious", "Famous"), khān of the Golden Horde (665-79/1267-80), grandson of the khān Bātū [*q.v.*] and son of Toḳūḳān (Toghon).

His predecessor Berke [*q.v.*] died, according to al-Dhahabī, in Rabīʿ II 665/30 Dec. 1266 - 27 Jan. 1267 (see Tiesenhausen, 210-2; other Egyptian sources mention only the year). In Ṣafar 666/Oct.-Nov. 1267), an embassy left Cairo which was to bring the new khān an expression of sympathy and congratulations from Sultan Baybars I [*q.v.*]. In 667/Sept. 1268-Aug. 1269, an embassy from the khān arrived in Egypt. The exchange of embassies was maintained

throughout the whole of the khān's reign. When in 670/1271-2 an embassy on the way to Egypt was captured by a Frankish ship from Marseilles, the ambassadors and all their goods had to be released on the sultan's demand. When in 680/April 1282 an Egyptian embassy left for the Golden Horde, nothing was yet known of the death of the khān. Only later did they learn that he was no more, having died in Rabīʿ I 679/July 1280 in the district of Aḳlūḳiyā (apparently nowhere else mentioned; cf. P. Pelliot, *Notes*, 62); his death is said to have been caused by the unskilful removal of a boil on the neck.

The Egyptian state tried to induce the khān to resume the war against the Persian Mongols begun by his predecessor Berke; but already in 667/1268-9 Mangū-Tīmūr concluded a peace with Abāḳā and never again attacked Persia. At the same time, Mangū-Tīmūr interfered in the affairs of Central Asia, sending an army of 50,000 men under Berkečār, a brother of Bātū, to help his ally Ḳaydū against Baraḳ [*q.vv.*]; as a result of the *ḳuriltay* of 667/1269 on the Talas river under Ḳaydū, one-third of Transoxania (probably one-third of its income) was secured for Ḳaydū and Mangū-Tīmūr together (Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, ed. A. Ali-zade, Baku 1957, text, 108-11). The alliance between Mangū-Tīmūr and Ḳaydū is also mentioned later; when in 1277 two sons of the emperor Ḳubilay Khān were taken prisoner in the war with Ḳaydū; the latter had the princes sent to the court of Mangū-Tīmūr, from which they were later sent back to their father (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 8; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, ii, 452-3).

In Russia, Mangū-Tīmūr continued the policy of his predecessor Berke. Under him a second census of Russian population was taken in the 1270s for tax purposes. The Russian princes of Rostov were close to Mangū-Tīmūr and enjoyed his favour; prince Fedor Rostislavovič of Yaroslavl' was married to his daughter. In winter 1277, a great number of Russian troops, especially those under the Rostov princes, participated in the Tatar campaign against the Alāns [*q.v.*] in the northern Caucasus, during which the Alān city of Dedyakov was captured and destroyed. In 1279 Lev of Galicia received assistance from Mangū-Tīmūr against the Lithuanians and Poles, but the Tatar auxiliaries proved a great burden not only to his enemies, but also to their protégés. From Mangū-Tīmūr dates the earliest extant edict of a khān of the Golden Horde on the privileges of the Greek Orthodox clergy; it is dated in the year of the hare (probably 1267; see M.D. Priselkov, *Khanskiye yarlïki russkim mitropolitam*, Petrograd 1916, 58-9, 83-5, 96-8). The Bishop of Saray, Theognostes, was sent by Mangū-Tīmūr as an ambassador to Constantinople in 1279. This was probably done to counterbalance the growing influence and involvement in Byzantine and Russian affairs of Mangū-Tīmūr's army commander and the chief of the Tatar tribes of the right wing, *amīr* Noḳāy [*q.v.*], who became all-powerful after the khān's death. However, under Mangū-Tīmūr, in contrast to the last two decades of the 13th century, the Golden Horde was a great power, free from internal troubles. Coins were still struck mainly in the old commercial city of Bulghār [*q.v.*] and some also in Crimea, but, unlike those of his predecessors, in his own name and not in that of the Great Khān. On his coins, the seal (*tamgha*) of the Golden Horde appears for the first time.

Mangū-Tīmūr apparently did not embrace Islam as his predecessor Berke had done, despite the facts that Islamic formulae were used on his coins and that some Egyptian historians praised him for "having followed the path" of Berke. On his attitude towards Islam there seems to be no direct evidence; a story is told, however, about his attempt to make the Saldjūḳ prince of Rūm Masʿūd marry his stepmother upon the death of his father ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs, according to the Mongol customary law and in contradiction to the *Sharīʿa*.

Bibliography: H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1880, ii, 125-34; J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, Pesth 1840, 248-59; B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*², Wiesbaden 1965, 52-63; A.N. Nasonov, *Mongolï i Rus'*, Moscow-Leningrad 1940, 47, 60-8; M. G. Safargaliyev, *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, Saransk 1960, 52-5; M. Kafalı, *Altın Orda Hanlığının kuruluş ve yükseliş devirleri*, Istanbul 1976, 59-62. All of these works contain further references to primary sources. For the Egyptian references, see esp. W. Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik materialov otnosyashčikhsya k istorii Zolotoy Ordï*, i, St. Petersburg 1884. On the correct forms of the name and the nickname of Mangū-Tīmūr, see P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, 58-62. (W. Barthold - [Yu. Bregel])

MĀNI (<A. *maʿnā*), a form of Turkish popular poetry.

The *mani* is, most usually, a piece of poetry made up of heptasyllabic verses rhymed on the pattern *a a b a*; each quatrain may be sufficient to fulfil a certain function or to transmit a certain message. This norm of a self-sufficient unity, as well as those in regard to the ordering of the rhymes, the number of verses and the metre, does not impose an absolutely watertight rule. The use of the *māni*, in certain circumstances, to form a song in dialogue shape (see below) can give it a polystrophic nature. Moreover, a considerable number of folk songs—which are not in dialogue shape—as well as certain lullabies (the *ninni*s of Anatolia and the *lay-lay*s of Ādharbāydjān) are made up of a stringing-together of *māni*s, with however the adding of refrains which provide a thematic unity and give them their generic character. There are also *māni*s rhymed *b a c a*, notably those of the northeastern littoral of Anatolia. In the texts of certain poems, the first verse is shortened to 3 or 4 syllables (words which simply set forth the rhyme) or disappears completely; the piece thus reduced to the schema *a b a* is called *kesik māni* "truncated *māni*", a form which is found most frequently in the *māni*s with *djinās*, i.e. in the pieces which play upon the rhyme words of the second and fourth verses. There are also cases where the quatrain is made longer by means of several distichs in *a a b a c a* ... or in *b a c a d a* ... A kind of *māni*, sung by nightwatchmen at the time of their rounds from door-to-door during the nights of Ramaḍān, is octosyllabic. This form, with its variant in *b a c a*, is also that of another genre of popular poetry, the *aghīt*s (funeral dirges) of the peoples of Avshar origin in central and southern Anatolia.

The term *māni* is used to denote this form and these poetical genres in Anatolia, amongst the Turkish-speaking Balkan peoples, amongst the Crimean Tatars, in Ādharbāydjān and amongst the Gagaouz of Bessarabia, sometimes with variant forms: in Anatolia, *māna* at Denizli and *maʿāni* at Urfa; in Ādharbāydjān, *mahni*; and in the Crimea, *māne*. Other terms are also used to denote poetic pieces with the same thematic and formal characteristics: *bayatï* in the two parts of Ādharbāydjān and in the Ādharī-influenced provinces of easter Anatolia; *khoyrat* at Urfa and Diyarbakir; *djïr* amongst the Crimean and Kazan Tatars; and *čïn* amongst the Misher.

On the basis of their themes and the circumstances

in which they are cited or sung, *mānis* can be classified as follows:

(1) *Mānis* about foretelling the future and divination recited at the festival of *hidrellez* [see KHIḌR-ILYĀS], on the occasion of other festivities and on winter evenings by womenfolk;

(2) Work *mānis* recited by women in the course of communal activities, such as the preparation of provisions for the winter, fruit-gathering, hay-making, etc. On the occasion of the latter two types of activity, *mānis* are adressed to passers-by, who are required to reply in the same fashion in order to avoid mockery by the womenfolk;

(3) Declamatory *mānis*, sung by boys and girls at the time of certain festivals and excursions into the countryside;

(4) *Mānis* of the watchmen of town quarters sung during the nights of Ramaḍān;

(5) *Mānis* of certain itinerant sellers of sweetmeats and delicacies who sing out to announce their appearance in the streets;

(6) *Mānis* of café singers in the tradition of old Istanbul;

(7) *Mānis* of letters, inserted as sentimental messages in letters exchanged between relatives, friends or couples; and

(8) *Mānis* of certain *ʿāshiḳs* [*q.v.*] or reciters and story-tellers, which they improvise and insert between the strophes of the poems which make up the sung part of their prose narratives (see P.N. Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikâyeciliği*, Ankara 1946, 239-42, 291).

Concerning the origin of the *māni*, one may suggest as a hypothesis an adaption of the model of the *rubāʿī* to the heptasyllabic and octosyllabic metres peculiar to the Turkish languages; a first stage in this process of adaptation of would be the *tuyugh*, another type of quatrain peculiar to Turkish classical poetry, composed in the *ʿarūḍ* metre and rhymed according to the same schema as the *rubāʿī* and *māni*.

Bibliography: For publication up to 1964, see Boratav, *Littérature orale*, in *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964-5, 107-13, 126-7; idem, art. *Māni* in *İA*. For more recent publications, see Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, *Halk şiirinde türler*, Ankara 1969, 51-68; S. Djāwīd, *Nomonāhā-ye folklor-e Āzārbāydjān*, Tehran 1344/1965, 14-21; İsmail Hakkı Acar, *Zara folkloru*, Sivas 1975, 47-55 (83 *māni* texts); Ferruh Arsunar, *Gaziantep folkloru*, Istanbul 1962, 302-13 (131 texts); M. Hasan Göksu, *Mânilerimiz*, Istanbul 1970 (2,796 texts); Hayriye Süleymanova and Emil Boef, *Rodop mânileri*, Sofia, 1st ed. 1962, 2nd ed. 1965 (2,000 texts classified in themes); Ata Terzibaşı, *Kerkük hoyrat ve mânileri*, Istanbul 1975 (2,490 texts). For the subject in general, studies and collections of texts, see also the following bibliographical works: *Türk folklor ve etnografya bibliyografyası*, i-iii, Ankara 1971, 1973, 1975; East Bozyiğit, *Mâni üzerine bir bibliyografya denemesi*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, no. 264 (July 1971); Tuncer Gülensoy, *Anadolu ve Rumeli ağızları bibliyografyası*, Ankara 1981.

(P.N. Boratav)

MĀNĪ B. Fāttik or Fātik, the form found in mediaeval Islamic sources (e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii 164, 167-8, vii, 12-16, viii, 293, = §§ 589, 594, 2705-7, 3447) for the founder of the dualist religion of Manichaeism, Mani son of Pātik, born in southern Mesopotamia in 216 A.D. and martyred under the Sāsānid Bahrām I in 274, 276 or 277, and whose faith spread from the Persian empire in the 7th century as far as Central Asia, eastern Turkestan (where after 762 it was the chief religion of the Uyghur Turks [*q.v.*]) and northern China. In Islamic sources, the adherents of Manichaeism appear as the Manāniyya (Mānawiyya), as in the important section on them in al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tadjaddud, Tehran 1350/1971, 391-402, tr. Dodge, ii, 773-805, and in al-Khʷārazmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 37, where both forms are however registered.

Although Manichaeism was in the early Islamic centuries largely pushed into Central Asia (thus the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 113, § 113.25, mentions a "convent of the Manichaeans", *khānagāh-i Mānawiyān*, in Samarḳand in 982, with *nighūshāk* or *auditores*) and beyond, it had an important part in the general phenomenon of *zandaḳa* "heresy, unbelief" in early ʿAbbāsid ʿIrāḳ; for a general consideration of this, see ZINDĪḲ, and meanwhile, Spuler, *Iran*, 206-9.

Bibliography: Older references are given by Spuler, *op. cit.* Of more recent ones, see G. Widengren, *Mani und der Manichäismus*, Stuttgart 1961, Eng. tr. *Mani and Manichaeism*, London 1965; Mary Boyce, *H. der O.*, Abt. 1, Bd. 4. *Iranistik*, Abschn. 2. *Literatur*, Lief. 1, *The Manichaean literature in Middle Iranian*, Leiden-Cologne 1968, eadem, *Acta Iranica IX. A reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Leiden 1975, Introd., 1-14; W. Foerster, *Die Gnosis. III. Der Manichäismus*, ed. J. P. Asmussen, tr. A. Böhlig, Zürich-Munich 1980.

(C. E. Bosworth)

MANISA [see MAGHNISA].

MANŌHAR, Manōhargárh, a fortress on a lofty rock, some 2,500 feet/770 m. high, in lat. 16° N. and long. 74° 1' E., in the Western Ghats range of peninsular India. Formerly in the southernmost part of the British Indian province of Bombay, it is now just within the southwestern corner of the Maharashtra state of the Indian Union.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xvii, 200.

(Ed.)

MANSA MŪSĀ, king (*mansa*) of Mali (712-38/1312-37).

He was apparently the grandson of Abū Bakr (Manding Bori), who was the brother of Mārī Jāta (Sunjata), the legendary hero credited with the establishment of Mali in the 14th century [*q.v.*] as a powerful empire. Mansa Mūsā reigned at the pinnacle of Mali's prosperity, and is remembered in the Arabic sources as a pious and virtuous sovereign. Following the example of several earlier Malian rulers, and having appointed his son Maghā (Muḥammad) to rule in his absence, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324 that made a profound impression on the Egyptians and was chronicled by Arab writers. According to the 17th-century Timbuktu chronicles *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* and *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh*, whose authors relied extensively on oral sources, Mansa Mūsā was accompanied by an entourage of thousands, including his favourite wife, Inari Konte, and he travelled via Timbuktu, where he caused to be built one of several mosques constructed during his journey. In Cairo, he flooded the market with so much gold that its value fell throughout Egypt. One of al-ʿUmarī's informants, Ibn Amīr Ḥādjib, was often in the company of Mansa Mūsā when he was in Egypt, and among the things told him him by Mansa Mūsā himself was that he came to power when his predecessor (Muḥammad, of a different branch of the same family) appointed him deputy before leaving on a seafaring expedition, from which he never returned, to discover the limits of the Atlantic Ocean. While on pilgrimage, Mansa Mūsā also met the Andalusian poet and architect Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Sāḥilī, who accompanied him back to Mali where, ac-

cording to Ibn Khaldūn's friend Khadīdja, Abū Isḥāḳ constructed for the *mansa* an elaborately decorated domed building that may have been the first of its kind in that country. Also accompanying Mansa Mūsā were four *shurafā'* from Ḳuraysh who settled in Mali with their families. Upon his return, Mansa Mūsā continued his policy of diplomatically furthering the interests of Mali in the greater Islamic world by corresponding with the sultan at Cairo, sending *'ulamā'* to study in Fās, and exchanging embassies and gifts with the Marīnid ruler of the Maghrib, Abu 'l-Ḥasan. Al-'Umarī claims that Mansa Mūsā had returned to Mali from his pilgrimage with the intention of handing over his sovereignty to his son and returning to Mecca to live near the sanctuary; but he died before he could carry out his plan.

Viewed from the local African perspective, Mansa Mūsā and his pilgrimage engendered a western Sudanic oral tradition, the hero of which is Makanta Jigi (Fajigi), "Father of hope who went to Mecca". As an oral record of the local Sudanic interpretation placed on Mansa Mūsā's pilgrimage by his subjects and their descendants, the Fajigi legend reveals attitudes that helped make it possible for an accommodation between indigenous religious practices and Islam to be achieved. The basic narrative line of the legendary oral account tells how Mansa Mūsā/Fajigi was motivated to make the pilgrimage because he was responsible for a regrettable incident involving his mother Gongo (Kankan), possibly resulting in her death. Making a pilgrimage to Mecca, he acquires the most important of the spiritually powerful altars (*boliw*) used in traditional Manding religious ritual, including those of the prestigious Komo society. As Fajigi returns through the land of the Manding, he distributes some of the altars, as well as various potions and amulets to people who help him. When he reaches the rivers of Mali, he uses a magic canoe to transport the altars. The canoe encounters rough waters and some of the cargo falls into the water, where it is transformed into several life forms such as fish and scorpions. On arriving home, the location of which varies according to the informant, the canoe sinks to the bottom of a lake or river where it remains to this day, itself a powerful altar that receives periodic offerings. The most significant feature of this legend is the paradoxical claim that the *mansa* most famous for his devotion to Islam was at the same time the one who provided his subjects with the essential paraphernalia of the ancestral non-Islamic Manding religion. Thus, from the traditional non-Muslim point of view, Mansa Mūsā and his pilgrimage emerge, not as examples of faithful Islamic endeavour and early Sudanic statesmanship, but as the source of an oral narrative that provided a framework on which descendants of the *mansa*'s subjects based their claim that certain features of their autochthonous religion were rooted in the same soil that nurtured the foundations of Islam.

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(D.C. CONRAD)

MANṢAB and **MANṢABDĀR**, terms of the military system of the Mughals in India.

The Mughal empire possessed a graded official hierarchy of officers with military and civil duties. The emperor, his *dīwān* or other high officials, assigned to each officer a rank or *manṣab*. The holder of this rank was termed a *manṣabdār*. Personal or *dhāt* rank was expressed numerically in even-numbered decimal increments. Ranks could vary from as low as 20 *dhāt* to a maximum of 7,000 *dhāt* for the highest nobles (*amīrs*). Princes of the blood held *dhāt* ranks as high as 20,000 *dhāt* when they reached maturity. The emperor, or a high-ranking noble acting with the emperor's approval, raised or lowered all *dhāt* ranks on the basis of perceived performance as well as favour at court. *Dhāt* determined the *manṣabdār's* relative status and his pay. Personal rank also set approximate limits upon official assignments, honorific titles and influence. Those five or six hundred *manṣabdārs* who, in the mid-11th/17th century held *dhāt* rank of 1,000 or above, were officially classified as nobles or *amīrs*. This small group comprised the ruling élite of the empire. Usually, lesser-ranked *manṣabdārs* served as subordinates to one of the *amīrs*.

A second numerical ranking system existed alongside that of *dhāt* ranks. *Manṣabdārs* could simultaneously hold trooper or *suwār* ranks. The latter was expressed in multiples of five from as low as five to as much as 7,000 *suwār*. Those *manṣabdārs* receiving *suwār* rank received extra pay. In return, they were obliged to recruit, command and pay a body of heavy cavalry acceptable to imperial standards. The actual number of horsemen brought to the muster in a *manṣabdār's* contingent was not equal to the nominal *suwār* rank, but was instead a fraction determined by a complex series of imperial regulations. All cavalrymen employed by *manṣabdārs* to meet *suwār* rank obligations were subject to periodic inspection and identification. Cavalrymen were identified in muster rolls by name and physical appearance; horses by description and imperial brands. Special *du-asbah suwār* rank obliged the *manṣabdār* to employ men bring two, rather than merely one mount to the muster [see further DĀGH U TAṢḤĪḤA in Suppl.].

Most *manṣabdārs* obtained payment for their fixed *dhāt* and *suwār* ranks in the form of salary assignments known as *djāgīrs* [*q.v.*]. Under this arrangement, the empire transferred to the *manṣabdār* the right of collection of its share of the land tax from a specified area—a village or portion thereof; or a *pargana* [*q.v.*] or portion thereof—in an amount equivalent to his pay claim. Assignment of a *djāgīr* ordinarily did not carry with it any administrative rights or responsibilities in the area assigned. Many lesser-ranked *manṣabdārs* were paid directly in cash from the provincial or central treasuries.

The *manṣabdārī* system formally expressed the uniformity and cohesiveness and discipline of the Mughal administrative and military élites. *Manṣabdārs* were the instruments of imperial unification and expansion. The honorific ranking system tied all the

nobles and lesser *manṣabdārs* to the person and the preference of the emperor. All advancement (and punishment) came directly from the throne. Thus the loyalty of the *manṣabdārs* was bound to the house of Bābur alone. But *manṣabdārs* were also bound by established policies, by precedent, and by written regulations in their conduct of official business.

It is important to note that another body of middling and lesser officers also served the empire without benefit of *manṣabdārī* status or rank. Many private servants of the *amīrs* employed within the massive households and military camps of their masters held responsible positions. Some were slaves; many were free Muslims or Hindu officers in private employ. Acting under the supervision of their master—an *amīr*—and the *manṣabdārs* attached to him, these men performed the essential functions of imperial administration and military service. It is difficult to estimate their numbers, but they must have been at least as numerous as the lesser and middle-ranking *manṣabdārs*.

Between 1119/1707 and 1136/1724 discipline and the integrity of the *manṣabdārī* system began to detoriorate. Ranks rapidly became inflated and, if not meaningless, were very much distorted. By the late 12th/18th century, the *manṣabdārī* ranks so freely given or so readily coerced from the Mughal emperor were merely a travesty of what they had once implied.

Bibliography: It is not possible to find a truly useful or synoptic account of the *manṣabdārī* system in the original sources apart from the passages in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*. But these last do not reflect the growth and change of the institution in the 11th/17th century. The student may see the working of the ranking system and the active role of the emperor in such works as the memoirs of Djahāngīr, the *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, tr. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, Dihlī 1909-14, 2nd ed. Dihlī 1968. For a similar impression later in the century, see the *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī* of Mustaʿid Khān, ed. Maulawī Aghā Aḥmad ʿAlī, Bibliotheca Indica no. 66, Calcutta 1870-3, Eng. tr. Jadunath Sarkar, Bibliotheca Indica no. 269, Calcutta 1947. Those large archival collections of Mughal documents which have survived are filled with references to promotions, demotions, transfers and *djāgīr* assignments for *manṣabdārs*. Any official reference to an individual *manṣabdār* invariably appended his numerical *dhāt* and *suwār* rank. See Yusuf Husain Khan, ed., *Selected documents of Aurangzeb's reign, 1659-1706*, Hyderabad-Deccan 1958, for a sampling of these documents. The indispensable modern discussion of the *manṣabdārī* system, although focussed on the nobility, is M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb*, Aligarh 1966. Another systematic description may be found in I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Mughal empire*, Karachi 1966. For a discussion of the role of *manṣabdārs* in a particular province, see J. F. Richards, *Mughal administration in Golconda*, Oxford 1975.

(J. F. RICHARDS)

MANSHŪR (A.) means literally "spread out" (as in Ḳurʾān, XVII, 14, and LII,3: opposite, *maṭwī* "folded"), or "not sealed" (opposite, *makhtūm*) hence it comes to mean a certificate, an edict, a diploma of appointment, and particularly, a patent granting an appanage (pl. *manāshīr*).

In Egypt in the early Arab period, *manshūr* seems to be a name for the passes which the government compelled the *fellāḥīn* to have in order to check the flight of colonists from the land, which threatened to become overwhelming (*djāliya*). In any case, in the *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*), no. 631 (cf. also nos. 601-2), such a certificate of the year 180/796 is called a *manshūr*, and in al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 493, we are told of the period of the financial controller Usāma b. Zayd al-Tanūkhī (104/722-3) that Christians who were found without identification papers (*manshūr*) had to pay 10 *dīnārs* fine (cf. Becker, *Beiträge zur Gesch. Ägyptens*, 104). In the texts of such passports themselves (cf. Becker, *Papyr. Schott-Reinhardt*, i, 40, 1.1) however, we have, so far as I can see, not the word *manshūr* but only *kitāb*.

Manshūr seems also to have a quite general meaning of "pass", when we are told in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshāʾ*, xiii, 142, that it was written on an ʿAbbāsid grant of a fief dating from the year 373/983-4) that no one could demand for the holder that he should show a *hudjdja* or a *tawḳīʿ* or a *manshūr*.

The Egyptian Fāṭimids usually called all state documents, appointments, etc., by the general term *sidjill*, but they had also special terms for partcular diplomas of appointment, including *manshūrs*.

Thus among the examples of Fāṭimid documents given by al-Ḳalḳashandī, x, 452-66, there are several which in their texts are described as *manshūrs*. Among these are for example, appointments to the supervision of inheritants (*mushārafat al-mawārīth al-ḥashriyya*), of the poll-tax (*mushārafat al-djawālī*), to a professorship (*tadrīs*), etc. A grant of an appanage could also be called *manshūr* at this time, as in al-Ḳalḳashandī, xiii, 131 [see IBN KHALAF, in Suppl.] from the Fāṭimid *Mawādd al-bayān* of ʿAlī b. Khalaf; and the regulation that the *manāshīr* must not have an address (*ʿunwān*) and that in place of this, the head of the *Dīwān* must write the date with his own hand, seems to be first found in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḳānūn Dīwān al-Rasāʾil*, 113 = al-Ḳalḳashandī, vi, 198.

Under the Ayyūbids also, *manshūr* had quite a general meaning. Thus in *ibid.*, xi, 49 f., a "marshall of the nobles" (*naḳīb al-ashrāf*) is appointed by a *manshūr*, and in 51 ff., governors (*wulāt*) of different provinces. In the text of it, the name *manshūr* is given to the edict on the equation of taxation and lunar years (*taḥwīl al-sinīn*) which is quoted from the *Mutadjaddidāt* of the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil for the year 567/1171-2) in al-Maḳrīzī, i, 281, ed. Wiet, iv, 292 (cf. also al-Ḳalḳashandī, xiii, 72 ff.), and according to a further quotation, for the year 584/1188 (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 269 = Wiet, iv, 248) the so-called "lord of the new year" (*amīr al-nawrūz*) issued his *manāshīr*.

The term *manshūr* became limited and specialised in the Mamlūk period, for which we have very full sources. The increasingly complicated system of the administration brought a minute distinction between and special names for the various diplomas of appointment, edicts, etc., and the term *manshūr* was henceforth used exclusively of the grants of appanages. These *manāshīr* were always written in Cairo in the chancellery (*dīwān al-inshāʾ*) in the name of the sultan; only in exceptional cases might they be in the name of the *al-nāʾib al-kāfil* (see al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 16; xiii, 157). According to the very full description in al-Ḳalḳashandī, xiii, 153 ff., and al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 211, the procedure in granting a fief was as follows: if a fief became vacant (*maḥlūl*) in a provincial town, e.g. in Damascus, the governor there (*nāʾib*) proposed a new holder and had a document (*ruḳʿa*, also called *mithāl* or *murabbaʿa*) drawn up about his proposal by the inspector of the army (*nāẓir al-djaysh*; cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 190; xii, 97) in the military *Dīwān* (*dīwān al-djaysh*) of his town. This document was then sent by courier (*barīdī*) or pigeon post (*ʿalā adjniḥat al-ḥamām*) to the government (*al-abwāb al-sharīfa*) in Cairo. Here it was

received by the postmaster (*dawādār*), later by the private secretary (*kātib al-sirr* = *ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshā*ʾ) who placed it before the sultan in audience (*djulūs fī dār al-*ʿ*adl*) for approval, receive the sultan's signature (*khaṭṭ sharīf*) and the note *yuktab* ("let it be written out"; see al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 51). The document then went to the Military *Dīwān* in Cairo (*dīwān al-djaysh*, occasionally also called *dīwān al-iḳṭā*ʿ), where it was filed, after what was called the *murabba*ʿ*a* had been made out. The latter was sent to the *dīwān al-inshā*ʾ, and the private secretary, the head of this *Dīwān*, wrote his requisition (*ta* ʿ*yīn*) for the *inshā*ʾ writer concerned; now finally the patent of the appanage (*manshūr*) proper could be made out in the *dīwān al-inshā*ʾ in Cairo, while the *murabba*ʿ*a* of the army *Dīwān* remained filed in the *dīwān al-inshā*ʾ as *shāhid* (proof) (cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, vi, 201).

Full particulars are given of the formulae used in these *manāshīr* and of their external form in Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allāh, *al-Ta*ʿ*rīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, 88 f.; al-Ḳalḳashandī, xiii, 153 ff., and Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypt*, i/1, 200 f., n. 82. There are many variants of format (*ḳaṭ*ʿ [*q.v.*]) and script according to the military rank of the recipient. Thus *manāshīr* for the *muḳaddamū 'l-ulūf* were written on *ḳaṭ*ʿ *al-thulthayn*, for *the umarā*ʾ *al-ṭablkhānā* on *ḳaṭ*ʿ *al-niṣf*, for the *umarā*ʾ *al-*ʿ*asharāt* on *ḳaṭ*ʿ *al-thulth* and for the *mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya* and *muḳaddamū 'l-ḥalḳa* on *ḳaṭ*ʿ *al-*ʿ*āda*. Many rules were laid down for the wording to be used; the text is to be shorter and less florid than in the other appointments and there are none of the usual rules about service (*waṣāyā*); an original "virgin" (*mubtakarat al-inshā*ʾ) is recommended as the finest form of a *manshūr*. Special formulae are further required for grants of appanages which were concerned with renewal (*tadjdīdāt*), addition (*ziyādāt*) or substitution (*ta* ʿ*wīḍāt*). A regular signature of the sultan, such as is usual on appointments as confirmation (*mustanad*), is not found on the *manāshīr*; instead of this, the sultan writes formulae like "God is my hope" (*Allāh amalī*), "God is my protector" (*Allāh waliyyī*), "God is sufficient for me" (*Allāh ḥasbī*), "To God belongs the rule" (*al-mulk li 'llāh*), or "God alone has grace" (*al-minna li 'llāhi waḥdahu*).

Occasionally, the *manāshīr* for the highest ranks (*muḳaddamū 'l-ulūf* and *muḳaddamū 'l-ṭablkhānā*) had a *ṭughrā* [*q.v.*] at the top. The *ṭughrās* were prepared by a special official beforehand and gummed on to the finished diplomas. In al-Ḳalḳashandī, xiii, 165 f., the *ṭughrās* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (693-741 with interruptions) and Ashraf Shaʿbān b. Ḥusayn (764-78) are reproduced and described; they differ considerably from the better-known form of the *ṭughrā* of the Ottoman sultans. After Ashraf Shaʿbān, *ṭughrās* were no longer used on the *manāshīr*; these were only used for purposes of representation on letters to infidel rulers.

The completed *manshūr* was then again taken back by a courier from Cairo to the town concerned, e.g. Damascus, and handed over to the tenant of the appanage. The inspector of the army there (*nāẓir al-djaysh*), however, first entered it in his register, for he had to keep a roll of the holders of fiefs in his province. Al-Ḳalḳashandī, xiii, 167-99, gives as examples of *manāshīr* no fewer than 26 texts, beginning with one drawn up by Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir in the reign of Ḳalāwūn for the latter's son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, which for its remarkable beauty he calls a regular *sulṭān al-manāshīr*. The other texts are of the above-mentioned military ranks, as well as for sons of *amīrs* (*awlād al-umarā*ʾ) and for *amīrs* of the Arabs, Turkomans and Kurds.

In the Ottoman Empire, certain patents of appointment were called *menshūr*. The *menshūrs* for a vizier, *beylerbeyi* and *sandjaḳbeyi* were issued by the Grand Vizier (*ṣadr-i a*ʿ*ẓam*). But they were also written for the *Ser* ʿ*asker*, *Baḥreyn ḥākimi*, the *mufti*, and even for Christian patriarchs and bishops. All *menshūrs* were controlled and if necessary corrected by the chancellor (*nishāndji*) and registered in the *menshūr defteri* of the *Dīwān-i humāyūn*.

In Persia, many documents, of a great diversity of subject matter, were called *manshūr*, sometimes with additions as *manshūr-i taḳlīd* or *manshūr-i tafwīḍ*. In modern Lahore, Pakistan, the *Manshūrāt-i Iḳbāl* are edited by the Bazm-i Iḳbāl.

In modern Egypt, edicts of the government are called *manshūr*, cf. some texts in *Ma*ʿ*riḍ al-khuṭūṭ al-*ʿ*arabiyya*, 1912, nos. 44, 69, 76, 78, 79, and *Taḳwīm*, 1937, 278, *madjmū* ʿ*at ḳarārāt wa-manshūrāt al-ḥukūma al-miṣriyya*, and 279, *madjmū* ʿ*at al-ḳawānīn wa 'l-ḳarārāt wa 'l-manshūrāt al-khāṣṣa bi-tasdjīl al-*ʿ*uḳūd*. In many Arabic states, serial publications now are called *manshūrāt*. In conclusion, it may be mentioned that *manshūr* in mathematical language means "prism" (varieties: e.g. *M. mā*ʾ*il* "oblique prism", *M. ḳā*ʾ*im* "straight prism", *M. mutawāzi 'l-aḍlā*ʿ "parallel prism", *M. muntaẓam* "regular prism", *M. muthallathī* "triangular prism", *M. nāḳiṣ* "truncated prism"), and that in the language of the Persian poets, the nightingales are called "the *manshūr*-writers of the garden" (*manshūr-niwīsān-i bāgh*).

Bibliography: In addition to the passages quoted, cf. Ibn Shīth, *Ma*ʿ*ālim al-kitāba*, 43; Khalīl al-Ẓāhiri, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, 100, 102; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, index; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, index 1; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 285; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 180; J. Reychman and A. Zajączkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman Turkish diplomatics*, The Hague 1968, 137, 140; H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 35, 47. (W. Björkman)

MANSŪKH [see NĀSIKH].

MANṢŪR, miniature painter of the Mughal period in India.

Manṣūr had a highly successful career of at least 45 years in the Mughal studio, achieving the distinction of being the only artist who made his reputation by nature painting. His progress is interesting as he was one of few painters whose fortune was improved by changes in the atelier when the amateur naturalist and aesthete Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27 [*q.v.*]) succeeded his father Akbar [*q.v.*] as emperor. His evolution demonstrates the fact that the Mughal artist was moulded by his patron's requests, since the painter's earlier work shows he had a proclivity for rendering animals or plants; however, although his talent was apparently known, as this type of subject matter was relatively undeveloped in the 10th/16th century, his ability was without particular significance. Djahāngīr made animal portraiture one of his primary interests and because he had a strong scientific curiosity, he demanded realistic renderings of a very high standard from his artists. Around the time of his accession, it appears from the number of animal portraits signed by other artists that the emperor widely awarded such commissions, but after a few years Manṣūr seems to have been singled out consistently. The painter had to deal particularly with exotic specimens of animals, birds or flowers brought to Djahāngīr's attention in the course of extensive travels or through embassies and presentations.

Although nothing is known of the painter's origins,

Manṣūr was working in Akbar's studio by about 988/1580, when he co-operated as a colourist for many natural history vignettes from the now dispersed earliest *Bābur-nāma* manuscript (E. Smart, *Paintings from the Baburnama*, Ph.D. diss., London University 1977, 327). Since his last dated painting is a work of 1033/1624 (see A. Das, *Ustad Mansur*, in *Lalit Kala*, xvii), it can be ascertained that Manṣūr was probably one of those recruits who began grinding pigments and colouring designs during his teenage years. The memoirs of the Mug̲h̲al dynasty's founder Bābur [*q.v.*] that record the strange flora and fauna of his adopted country were among the few early outlets for Manṣūr's talent; he definitely contributed to three of the four copies of this manuscript and probably also to the remaining volume (now in Baltimore and Moscow) which no longer has artist attributions (Smart, *loc. cit.*). Manṣūr's greatest achievement for the 10th/16th century Mug̲h̲al manuscripts is the colouring of a scene filled with animals which shows Akbar hunting in a *ḳamarg*; this is one of the most spirited miniatures in the *Akbar-nāma* manuscript (998-1003/1590-5), intended to be a uniquely powerful and impressive volume glorifying the dynastic position of the reigning sovereign. Although Manṣūr did not produce the design, much of the painting's impact can be attributed to him and indicates that he may have attracted some attention in the studio by this time.

The animal paintings of the four *Babūr-nāmas* are quite precise, but the challenge of anatomical studies on a small scale was perhaps not significant; a larger picture done about 998/1590 of two birds (rosy pastors, *sturnus roseus* Linnaeus) arranged in front of an imaginary landscape shows the limitations of Akbarī naturalism (E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *Indian book painting*, London 1926, pl. 10). It is clear that in this period Manṣūr uneasily applied flesh and feathers over a lumpish inner structure without the kind of anatomical knowledge that he had derived from observation of European paintings by about 1021/1612. Manṣūr was not a draughtsman; he acquired modelling skills with more difficulty than some other artists, and throughout his career there are indications in his work that he was forced to master formulae concerning structure. He does produce a few free and imaginative studies of animals poised in motion, such as that of a chameleon on a branch (S. C. Welch, *Indian drawings and painted sketches*, New York 1976, no. 15), but his greatest innate skill seems to be in transcribing patterns or textures. In this 10th/16th century compositions of birds, however, he does not render textures with as much illusionistic ability as he later did under the influence of Renaissance art.

Manṣūr did both the design and colouring of four political and courtly scenes for the first portion of an *Akbar-nāma* begun in 1912/1603. Such commissions indicate that artists were expected to be versatile during the Akbarī period in order to maintain their places in the studio; these compositions, which were the most usual types in an era devoted to historical illustration, were expected to be within the scope of all painters. Manṣūr is just able to manage the figural groups competently. The painter was apparently inconsistent in his ability to render figures, perhaps succeeding in revealing character only when he felt particular interest in his subjects. Of two portraits done in *ca.* 1003/1595, one of a *vina* player skilfully reveals an easy, jocular individual, while the other of a prince on a throne demonstrates the artist's decorative talent (*vina* player in Welch, *Art of Mughal India*, New York 1963, no. 18; prince on throne, private collection, Hyderabad). Since an ornate portrait of D̲j̲ahāngīr seated on a low throne is inscribed to both Manṣūr and his fellow artist Manōhar, who was primarily a portraitist, it is probable that Manṣūr contributed the details of costume and throne which are as intricately as his later bird pictures (A. Ivanova *et alii*, *Albom indiyskik̲h̲ i persidskik̲h̲ miniatur*, Moscow 1962, pl. 17).

D̲j̲ahāngīr began his commissions of hunting and probably animal subjects while still a prince; it is possible that the picture of rosy pastors mounted in an extensive *muraḳḳaʿ* or album prepared for D̲j̲ahāngīr had also been commissioned by him before 1008/1600. No specific evidence, however, remains to show how Manṣūr's special association with the emperor developed. By the time of D̲j̲ahāngīr's accession, Manṣūr had commenced signing pictures Ustād Manṣūr or Manṣūr Naḳḳās̲h̲ (N. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian manuscripts*, London 1977, 4), but despite this assertion of mastery there were many other painters, some younger than Manṣūr, who were more prominent and who had undoubtedly attracted the emperor's attention (e.g. Manōhar, Abu 'l-Ḥasan and Bis̲h̲ndas). There are only a few pictures which stylistically appear to have been done early in D̲j̲ahāngīr's reign because of the combination of delicate drawing and tentative modelling. These compositions are notably Manṣūr's green chameleon creeping along a leafy branch and his portrait of a Himalayan blue-throated barbet (S. C. Clarke, *Indian drawings*, London 1922, pl. 15). The latter composition has very sensitive details, but the bird is awkwardly posed, indicating an early date. By 1021/1612, Manṣūr had acquired a more exact scientific knowledge. In that year, D̲j̲ahangir records that he received several exotic creatures, including a turkeycock, which he ordered to be painted together in a special durbar scene by an unspecified artist (D̲j̲ahāngīr, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; or Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, repr. New Delhi 1968, i, 215-17). A single portrait of the rare turkey which has crisp, very sophisticated, decorative details was probably painted by Manṣūr in this same year and demonstrates the evolution of his mature abilities (Clarke, pl. 15).

Both this composition and that of the barbet deserve attention because they are inscribed with Manṣūr's title *Nādir al-ʿAṣr* ("Wonder of the age") which was given to him by the emperor at some indeterminate date. Though such an inscription may have been placed on these miniatures—which are here presumed to be early—at any time, it is worth noting the doubtful possibility that such a tribute had been awarded by *ca.* 1021/1612. The most reasonable assessment, however, seems to be that the encomium was given after this date because the painter has left a large body of consistent work which is slightly more advanced and complex than the turkeycock; it therefore seems logical to assume that it is this corpus which would have won such singular praise from D̲j̲ahāngīr. When in 1027/1618 D̲j̲ahāngīr himself mentions the title in his diary, it is clear from the context that he had bestowed it some time previously, perhaps in *ca.* 1024/1615 (*Tuzuk*, ii, 20). In the diary, the emperor begins with a discussion of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, whom he had also selected for the reception of a similar title and whom he asserts to be his best painter. An implicit comparison of the two artists is made by the emperor as the foremost in two artistic categories; it is apparent from the passage that D̲j̲ahāngīr's appreciation of natural history drawing was profound and that he had elevated the subject by his interest in it.

Of the five artists mentioned by name in Djahāngīr's memoirs (Abu 'l-Ḥasan, Āḳā Riḍā, Bishndas, Farrukh Beg and Manṣūr), Manṣūr receives most attention because the emperor discusses animal portraiture in great detail. Several interesting points emerge from his reminiscences, including the fact that the Djahāngīrī studio functioned with noteworthy artists like Manṣūr on call and ready to be summoned in the manner of news photographers for recording unusual occurences, such as the sighting of a novel bird species. Djahāngīr additionally mentions his habit of taking artists on trips like the 1029/1620 spring journey to Kashmīr during which he requested Manṣūr to paint more than one hundred flowers (*Tuzuk*, ii, 145). Since the artist also seems to have sketched a fish that is found in Gudjarāt (now in the Red Fort Museum, New Delhi), it appears that he accompanied the emperor on this long trip in 1026-7/1617-18 and probably on other journeys, as the studies of birds like the Himalayan barbet, Himalayan cheer pheasant and Bengal florican may imply.

Because of the demand for strict scientific accuracy, Manṣūr generally concentrates on his subjects with only rudimentary landscape forms or with no background. Since he often reconstructed dead animals and was not requested to focus on movement or behavioural patterns, his compositions are generally very still. His work can be divided into slightly different styles which are really treatments suggested by the animal or bird species itself. Among the most sophisticated and decorative of his paintings are those of birds such as the Himalayan cheer pheasant with striking contrasts of feather texture. An attributed painting of a *nilgai* is a much softer study with the fur of the animal done in small slurred brush strokes that create a hazy effect (L. Ashton, *The art of India and Pakistan*, London 1947, pl. 139). A picture of peafowl that is unsigned but attributable to the artist embodies in its design, colour and composition all the exhibitionist, majestic and coldly intense qualities of the species (M. Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, Williamstown, Mass. 1978, no. 47).

The date of Manṣūr's death or retirement is unknown, but it is doubtful that he would have continued in the atelier much beyond 1033/1624; no study done for Shāh Djahān is known by inscription. Most of the painter's work were mounted in the great royal albums commenced in Djahāngīr's reign and continued into Shāh Djahān's one, indicating the esteem in which the painter was held, as the albums include the most significant royal commissions from these two periods. Many of the miniatures originally in these album groups that each contained 60 pictures have been lost; in addition, in the early 19th century, these groups were rearranged and adulterated with copies by contemporary imperial artists. Manṣūr's remaining works can, however, be distinguished by the small folio numbers applied to the original leaves of the Minto and Wantage albums (V. and A., London) and the Kevorkian one (Met. Museum, New York), sometimes before the copies were inserted in the 19th century.

A painting of red tulips which is almost the sole survivor from the Kashmīrī flower group that Manṣūr painted is mounted on an album page like those of the Kevorkian, Wantage and Minto album groups (Red Tulips and Butterfly (Aligarh University) published in N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian painting*, Bombay 1928, pl. 31); however, the folio number which appears on the reverse is not positioned as those of the other album leaves, and it thus seems possible that the Kashmīrī flowers were originally placed together in a book of their own very similar to the other albums that were mainly portraits. In the composition of tulips, Manṣūr has blended the colour of the blooms very subtly to express their fragile, waxy quality which he then contrasts with the powdery wings of a butterfly. Clearly, by the end of his career he was interested in the nature of substances and in how the imagination reacts to sensation.

Other paintings by Manṣūr not previously mentioned include early work in the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, Tehran; the *Khamsa* of Dihlawī (fol. iv), Baltimore, and Djahāngīr's *Muraḳḳaʿ gulshan* (fol. 53a), Tehran. Additional flowers and birds include an iris and narcissus (Y. Godard, *Un album de portraits des princes timurides de l'Inde*, in *Āthār-è-Īrān*, ii (1937), nos. 80 and 81 (fig. 113), goldfinch (M.A. Alvi and A. Rahman, *Jahangir the naturalist*, New Delhi 1968, pl. XVIIA), falcon (R. Krishnadasa, *Mughal miniatures*, New Delhi 1955, pl. IV) and pheasant (G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Paris 1932, no. 259, pl. CLXXVII). Unfortunately, because of Manṣūr's reputation, most unsigned flower and bird paintings done in the first half of the 11th/17th century have been ascribed to him without stylistic consideration. Manṣūr's work is quite bold, his compositions are generally simple with few objects, and the atmosphere is often somewhat static, so that it is to great extent possible to distinguish his mannerisms from those of other painters. Not only have inferior unrelated miniatures been atttributed to him, but deliberate copies of Manṣūr's work were done by admiring artists of the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries. In a few instances, since it was customary for Djahāngīr to ask several artists to paint the same subject or to request an artist to produce more than one version of a miniature, there are two or more excellent pictures from Djahāngīr's reign that should be equally appreciated; these include another version of the turkeycock, probably by Manṣūr, and two others of the cheer pheasant—one perhaps by Manṣūr's fellow artist Payag. Since Djahāngīr's memoirs show that Manṣūr produced a vast number of paintings that have disappeared, what is known of his output should be evaluated as an accurate but limited indication of his abilities. It is clearly unfortunate that such a large percentage of his work should have been lost.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): T. Ahmad, *Nadiru l'Asr Mansur*, in *Indo-Iranica*, xxv (1972), 51-5; Beach, *The Grand Moghul* 137-43; Das, *Lalit Kala*, xvii, 32-9, xix, 40; Djahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, ii, 20-1, 107-8, 145, 157.

(LINDA Y. LEACH)

AL-**MANṢŪR**, the sixth ruler of the Ḥammādid dynasty, succeeded his father al-Nāṣir in the year 481/1088. The latter had witnessed the rise to the height of its power of the dynasty and the somewhat artificial development of the Ḳal ʿa of the Banī Ḥammād [see ḤAMMĀDIDS], as a result of the destruction of al-Ḳayrawān by the Arabs. Two years after the accession of al-Manṣūr, the Arabs, who had advanced towards the West and who had spread over all the region adjoining the Ḳal ʿa, began to make existence there difficult. The prince moved his capital from the Ḳal ʿa to Bougie, which he considered less accessible to the nomads; it should be mentioned that his father al-Nāṣir had already made preparation for this exodus by transforming a little fishing port into a regular town, which was called al-Nāṣiriyya but which was to assume the name of Bougie [see BIDJĀYA], while on the other hand, the Ḳal ʿa was not completely abandoned by al-Manṣūr and he even embellished it with a number of palaces. The Ḥammādid kingdom had there-

fore at this time two capitals joined by a royal road.

After taking up his quarters at Bougie, al-Manṣūr had in the first place to quell the revolt of one of his uncles, Balbār, the governor of Constantine. He sent against the rebel another Ḥammādid *amīr*, Abū Yaknī. The latter after his victory was given the governorship of Constantine, but shortly after, he in his turn, together with his brother, who had been given the governorship of Bône, rebelled. These risings over which al-Manṣūr, thanks to his energy, was triumphant, brought to the side of the rebels of the Ḥammādid family the Zīrids of al-Mahdiyya, who wished to get back some power in Barbary, the Almoravids of the Magh̲rib, who wished to extend towards the east, and the Bedouins, who were, always ready to join in the feuds of their powerful neighbours.

Al-Manṣūr was, on the other hand, led to oppose the advance of the Almoravids who were, somewhat curiously, allied with the traditional opposition of the Zanāta [*q.v.*]. With the probable object of disarming the opposition, al-Nāṣir and al-Manṣūr had married two sisters of Māk̲h̲ūk̲h̲, the chief of the Banū Wamānū, at that time the most powerful of the Zanāta group. This alliance did not hinder the time-honoured feud from breaking out again. It became more acute when al-Manṣūr murdered his wife, the sister of his enemy. The latter then asked for support from the Almoravids.

From Tlemcen, where they had been installed for more than twenty years, the Almoravids had, after many attempts, endeavoured to expand towards the east at the expense of their brethen of the same race, the Ṣanhād̲j̲a Banū Ḥammād. Al-Manṣūr had twice reduced them to impotence. It was at this time that the murder of the sister of Māk̲h̲ūk̲h̲ by al-Manṣūr drove the Wamānū chief into an alliance with the Almoravids of Tlemcen. The alliance formed in this way was a great blow to the Ḥammādid kingdom. Algiers was besieged for two days; As̲h̲īr was taken.

The fall of the latter fortress, the oldest stronghold of the family, was bitterly resented by al-Manṣūr. He got together an army of 20,000 men, composed of Ṣanhād̲j̲a, Bedouins and even Zanāta; he marched against Tlemcen, met the governor Tās̲h̲īn b. Tīnᶜamer to the north-east of the town and put him to flight. Tlemcen was spared at the supplication of Tās̲h̲fīn's wife, who invoked the ties of relationship uniting them with the Ṣanhād̲j̲a (496/1102).

After the defeat of the Almoravids, al-Manṣūr severely punished the Zanāta and the rebel tribes of the Bougie district, whom he forced to flee into the mountains of Kabylia.

Thus al-Manṣūr seems on the eve of his death (498/1105) to have thoroughly re-established the power of the Ḥammādids. According to a tradition, which is not above suspicion, recorded by Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, the two capitals owed very important buildings to him: Bougie, the Palace of the Star and the Palace of Salvation; the Ḳal ᶜa, the government palace and the Ḳaṣr al-Mannār, the beautiful donjon of which is still in part extant.

Bibliography: Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, i, 227-8, tr. de Slane, ii, 51-5; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 110; tr. E. Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, 448; E. Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ii, 53-6; L. de Beylié, *La Kalaa des Beni Hammad*, 38 ff., 99 ff. (doubtful traditions relating to the mosque of Bougie which was enlarged by al-Manṣūr); G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, i, 105, 121-3, 129-30.

(G. Marçais)

al-MANṢŪR, Abū D̲j̲aᶜfar ᶜAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī, the second ᶜAbbāsid caliph, reigned 136-58/754-75. He was born in *ca.* 90-4/709-13 at al-Ḥumayma [*q.v.*] to the east of the Jordan, where the ᶜAbbāsid family were living. His mother, Sallāma, was a Berber slave girl. In 127-9/744-6 he joined the unsuccessful revolt of the Ṭālibid ᶜAbd Allāh b. Muᶜāwiya [*q.v.*] against the Umayyads in western Iran. He then returned to al-Ḥumayma and took no part in the early stages of the ᶜAbbāsid revolution, coming to al-Kūfa with his brother Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās (soon to be the caliph al-Saffāḥ) as the ᶜAbbāsid armies were approaching from the east.

After the establishment of his brother as caliph, he was sent to conduct the siege of Wāsiṭ where the last Umayyad governor of ᶜIrāḳ, Yazīd b. ᶜUmar b. Hubayra [see ibn hubayra], was holding out. There he made contact with K̲h̲urāsānī generals, including al-Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba, who was to be one of his most loyal supporters. He also tried to reach an agreement with Ibn Hubayra but was thwarted by Abū Muslim, who demanded that the Umayyad leader be executed. After the fall of Wāsiṭ, he was appointed governor of al-D̲j̲azīra and Armenia, where he succeeded in winning the loyalty of some of the most important Umayyad generals, including Isḥāḳ b. Muslim al-ᶜUḳaylī. When al-Saffāḥ died in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 136/June 754, he had already considerable political experience and had attracted a powerful body of supporters.

His brother designated Abū D̲j̲a ᶜfar as his heir, to be succeeded in turn by his nephew ᶜĪsā b. Mūsā, the governor of al-Kūfa; Abū D̲j̲a ᶜfar, who was on the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* with Abū Muslim at the time, quickly returned to take control. However, until the defeat of the ᶜAlid rebellions of 145/762-3, he faced a series of challenges to his rule.

The first threat came from his uncle ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAlī, who at the time of al-Saffāḥ's death was preparing to attack the Byzantine Empire with a large army of Syrians and K̲h̲urāsānīs, and he decided to use this force to make a bid for the caliphate. Al-Manṣūr was obliged to seek the support of Abū Muslim, who, against his better judgment, was persuaded to lead a large K̲h̲urāsānī army against the rebel, and ᶜAbd Allāh's army, by this time composed almost exclusively of Syrians, was defeated near Niṣībīn in D̲j̲umādā II 137/November 754. ᶜAbd Allāh spent the rest of his life in disgrace in ᶜIrāḳ, but the caliph typically, was careful to be reconciled to the Syrian leaders who had supported him.

The defeat of the rebels left al-Manṣūr free to deal with Abū Muslim [*q.v.*]. Tension between the two men had been growing since the death of Ibn Hubayra, and a visit by al-Manṣūr to Abū Muslim's court at Marw before he became caliph had convinced him that Abū Muslim was too powerful to be allowed to survive. The conflict was not simply about personalities, but concerned the whole direction of the caliphate: Abu Muslim wished that eastern Iran should be effectively independent, under his rule, and that its revenues should be assigned to his K̲h̲urāsānī supporters, while al-Manṣūr insisted that the caliph should appoint governors and collect taxes from the area. The presence of Abū Muslim in ᶜIrāḳ made him vulnerable, and he was murdered at al-Madāʾin in the caliph's presence (S̲h̲aᶜbān 137/February 755). His murder was followed by disturbances in Iran, notably the strongly anti-Muslim revolt of Sunbād̲h̲, but in the end, al-Manṣūr asserted his control over K̲h̲urāsān.

The last major challenge which al-Manṣūr faced was the threat of an ᶜAlid uprising which eventually broke out in Rad̲j̲ab 145/September 762 in Medina, led by Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]. Attempts to

spread the revolt to Syria and Egypt failed, whilst al-Kūfa, the traditional centre of ʿAlid support, was closely watched by the caliph and his troops. Al-Manṣur ordered that food supplies from Egypt be cut off and Muḥammad, now isolated in Medina, was easily defeated and killed by an ʿAbbāsid force led by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā (Ramaḍān 145/November 762).

Shortly before Muḥammad's death, his brother Ibrāhīm led a rising in al-Baṣra which attracted widespread support in the city. Having taken over the town, he began to march on al-Kūfa, but was met by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā with an ʿAbbāsid army and was defeated and killed at Bāk̲h̲amrā after a fierce battle (D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 145/February 763).

The failure of the revolt left al-Manṣūr free to consolidate his rule in comparative peace. He was a political planner of great skill and had a clear vision of the development of the caliphate. His policy was to establish a centralised, largely secular state, based on a reliable, salaried army and an efficient revenue-gathering system. His models were the great Umayyad rulers ʿAbd al-Malik and His̲h̲ām, and he rejected the demands of those groups like the Rāwandiyya [*q.v.*] who launched a short-lived but dangerous revolt in 141/758-9 and who wanted to assume a more messianic role.

His main support came from the K̲h̲urāsāniyya, who had formed the army which overthrew the Umayyads and who now became a privileged military group; governors of K̲h̲urāsān were always chosen from among their number, and they were appointed to important posts in other parts of the Caliphate. In ʿIrāḳ, garrison cities were established for them at Bag̲h̲dād and al-Raḳḳa. Al-Manṣūr also relied heavily on members of his own family. They were frequently given key governorates in ʿIrāḳ and in the western half of the caliphate, and some, like Sulaymān b. ʿAlī in al-Baṣra and Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī in Syria, came near to establishing semi-autonomous sub-dynasties. The Syrian leaders with whom the caliph had made contact during al-Saffāḥ's reign also proved an important source of support, notably during the ʿAlid rising of 145/762-3. Finally, al-Manṣūr also recruited some leaders of the Yamanī faction in the Umayyad state, notably the Muhallabī family, who were given governorates in Egypt, Ifrīḳiya and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān as well as their native al-Baṣra. This broadly-based coalition of supporters meant that the caliph retained considerable political autonomy within the system, since he was never dependent on any one group; and it also assured a broad base of support for the régime.

The government of K̲h̲urāsān remained a problem, and demands for local autonomy led to a series of rebellions. After the rebellion of ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār al-Azdī in 140/757-8, al-Manṣūr solved the problems of the province by sending his son Muḥammad, later the caliph al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], to al-Rayy as viceroy. This allowed K̲h̲urāsān a wide measure of autonomy while ensuring overall ʿAbbāsid control. There were still sporadic rebellions in the remoter parts of the province, notably that of Ustād̲h̲sīs in Bād̲h̲g̲h̲īs [*q.v.*] from *ca.* 147/764 to 151/768, but they did not seriously threaten ʿAbbāsid power.

Other frontier areas of the caliphate also saw continuing disturbances. In 147/764 the K̲h̲azars [*q.v.*] attacked through the Caucasus and briefly took Tiflis before being driven out. The Byzantine frontier was the scene of settlement and fortification rather than important campaigns. In North Africa, Ifrīḳiya was threatened by continuous K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī uprisings, until in 155/772 Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī finally established ʿAbbāsid rule. In al-Andalus, power was seized by a member of the Umayyad family, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], who established an independant amīrate in 138/756

Al-Manṣūr's most lasting achievement was the foundation of the new ʿAbbāsid capital at Bag̲h̲dād. Al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr lived at a variety of sites in central ʿIrāḳ until in 145/762, the caliph decided to build a new capital at Bag̲h̲dād. Part of the reason for this was the need for security, and the outbreak of the Rāwandiyya had shown how vulnerable the caliph was to even small-scale rebellions. Bag̲h̲dād was also developed as a centre for the K̲h̲urāsānī soldiers who had come westwards and could not be settled in existing cities like al-Kūfa without arousing the hostility of the local population. At first, the city was essentially administrative and military in character, but the building of the al-Kark̲h̲ commercial district to the south from 151/768 onwards and settlement on the east bank of the Tigris meant that, by the end of his reign, the new capital was already a thriving metropolis. On the Euphrates in al-D̲j̲azīra, al-Raḳḳa was also developed from 155/772 onwards, as a K̲h̲urāsānī base to supervise the affairs of Syria and the Byzantine frontier.

In 147/764, al-Manṣūr forced the resignation of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā from his position as heir apparent and designated his own son Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who enjoyed the support of the bulk of the K̲h̲urāsāniyya, who now obliged ʿĪsā to content himself with being heir to al-Mahdī.

Al-Manṣūr died on the road to Mecca in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 158/October 775 in his mid-sixties. The twenty-one years of his reign had seen the establishment of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate as a centralised state under the caliph's control. He was a politician of genius who pursued his aims with a single-minded but prudent determination. He cannot be considered a popular ruler; he was noted for his hard work and his almost proverbial meanness (cf. his nickname Abu 'l-Dawānīḳ "Father of farthings"), and many felt that his autocratic style of government had betrayed the hopes of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution. Yet without his firm hand, the Muslim world might well have become prematurely fragmented in the mid-2nd/8th century.

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AL-**MANṢŪR** [see YAʿḲŪB AL-MANṢŪR]

AL-**MANṢŪR, AḤMAD** [see AḤMAD AL-MANṢŪR]

AL-MANṢŪR (MADĪNAT-) [see BAGHDĀD]

AL-MANṢŪR, AL-MALIK MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜUMAR B. SHĀHANSHĀH, local ruler of Ḥamāt [*q.v.*], historian and patron of letters, b. 567/1171-2 (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 205), son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's nephew al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taḳī al-Dīn ᶜUmar [*q.v.*], and paternal grandfather of Abu 'l-Fidā [*q.v.*] (but not Tūrānshāh's grandchild, as in vol. i, 805, above).

According to autobiographical remarks in his *Miḍmār* (see below), al-Manṣūr was still a child when taking part in campaigns and sieges of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and Taḳī al-Dīn. When in 579/1183 the latter was appointed governor of Egypt by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, al-Manṣūr accompanied him (*Miḍmār*, 158, 227), and in Alexandria he studied *ḥadīth* with Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī [*q.v.*] (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iv, 259, no. 1790), and with Abū Ṭāhir b. ᶜAwf [*q.v.*] (al-Dhahabī, *ᶜIbar*, v, 71). Already in 580/1184, when his father had to leave Cairo temporarily (*Miḍmār*, 200), he became his official representative in Egypt. After his father's death in Ramaḍān 587/September-October 1191, he became ruler of the city state of Ḥamāt and its dependencies, Ma ᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān, Manbidj, Ḳalᶜat al-Nadjm and Salamiyya [*q.vv.*]. The fiefs on the eastern side of the Euphrates, however, which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had granted to his father in 586/1190, he had to restore to the sultan, who passed them on to his brother al-ᶜĀdil [*q.v.*] (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 82-3; Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubda*, iii, 121-3; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Mukhtaṣar*, iii, 85). Eight years later in 595/1199, al-Manṣūr conquered the fortress of Bārīn (*mons ferrandus*) (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, 101), but was forced by al-ᶜĀdil to substitute for this fortress Manbidj and Ḳalᶜat al-Nadjm (Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubda*, iii, 148; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, 114; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Mukhtaṣar*, iii, 132). Thus his territory was at least a compact unit.

Ḥamāt and its surroundings held a key position against the Crusaders on the one hand, and on the other they were, after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death, a buffer state between the main opposing rulers of the Ayyūbids, especially between al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī in Aleppo and al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil in Damascus (see AYYŪBIDS).

Al-Malik al-Manṣūr succeeded in maintaining his sovereignty and keeping his territory together through all the dangers of the internal struggles of the Ayyūbids. Moreover, for thirty years to come, i.e. until his death in 617/1220, he made it into a centre of *adab* and the sciences. In and around Ḥamāt he engaged in a busy building activity (Abu 'l-Fidā, *Mukhtaṣar*, iii, 132; Yāḳūt, *Muᶜdjam*, ii, 300), and made the town into an almost impregnable fortress. The results of these activities proved useful during his victorious battles against the Crusaders (599-601/1203-4), as well as during the difficulties with his father's cousin and his temporary overlord al-Ẓāhir. For the battles against the Crusaders and the relations with them, see F. J. Dahlmanns, *al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil*, 118 f.; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, 141-50; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Mukhtaṣar*, iii, 111-2; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, i, 164; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, v/1, 22-4. The sources do not agree in the details: Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, 163 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 195; Ibn Naẓīf, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, 15 (= Gryaznevič, Moscow 1960, fol. 122b); Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, viii/2, 523. For his difficulties with al-Ẓāhir, see Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, 121-3; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Mukhtaṣar*, iii, 99; Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubda*, iii, 149. Differing from each other are: Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubda*, iii, 152; Ibn Naẓīf, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, 8 (= Gryaznevič, fol. 111b); Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, 132, and after him Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, ms. Topkapı Sarayı Ahmed III 2907 /xiii, fol. 292b, l. 11 (this line lacking in ed. Ḥaydarābād, viii/2, 510).

During the unrest after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death, al-Manṣūr officially took the part of al-Ẓāhir. In 595-6/1199-1200, he even declared himself ready to enter into a loose alliance with the latter against al-ᶜĀdil (Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubda*, iii, 144. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, 101). However, at an early stage he had also recognised the political advantage of an alliance with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother; already in 590/1194 he openly showed his sympathy for al-ᶜĀdil (al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, i, 124). But this again did not prevent him from playing the Ayyūbid rivals off against each other to his own advantage. Both al-ᶜĀdil and al-Ẓāhir wanted control over northern Syria, while al-Manṣūr was able alternately to promote or to foil their plans. In 596/1200, after al-ᶜĀdil had become sultan of Egypt, al-Manṣūr swore allegiance to him (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, 114) and the sultan confirmed him as ruler of Ḥamāt. In 598/1201-2 he married one of al-ᶜĀdil's daughters, and in 603/1206 and 606/1209 he supported the sultan in his attacks on the Crusaders' territory and in al-Djazīra (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, 172 f., 192; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, v/1, 86-90).

In politics, al-Manṣūr did not have much room for direct manoeuvring. However, his decision not to engage in politics on his own account whenever possible, but rather to keep a balance between the competing forces of the Ayyūbids, benefited not only his own city state but in the end also the state as a whole. He was the first ruler of Ḥamāt to have copper coins struck with his own name (Balog, *The coinage*, 249-52). They also bear the name of the ᶜAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*], whose *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] he had joined with great pomp (Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal*, in *JA*, 5th ser., vi [1855], 285 f.) His escort (*mawkib*) was so large that it was compared with the ones of al-ᶜĀdil and al-Ẓāhir (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iv, 81). The ruler of Ḥamāt was not only an important Maecenas and an *ᶜālim* in his own right (Abu 'l-Fidā, *Mukhtaṣar*, iii, 132) but also *imām* and *muftī* in several fields (al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, i, 205). His illness and death in 617/1220 threw the whole state considerably out of balance (see Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, 103-4, 167-70). The pretender to the succession, al-Manṣūr's middle son Ḳilidj Arslān, as well as the crown prince, his elder son al-Muẓaffar, who in the end secured his rights, were no more than dependents on al-ᶜĀdil's son al-Malik al-Muᶜaẓẓam of Damascus and al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt [*q.vv.*].

Works. 1. *Miḍmār al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ wa-sirr al-khalāʾiḳ*, a chronicle originally in ten volumes, preserved in parts (see *Bibl.*). The full title is given by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḳūṣī (d. 653/1255), one of the author's pupils who studied part of the work with him (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iv, 259-60, no. 1790), as well as by Ibn Wāṣil who knew a part of the *Miḍmār* which is lost today (*Mufarridj*, iv, 78,84), and by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, who apparently saw only a *mukhtaṣar* of the *Miḍmār* (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ii, 1713). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's remark that some historians were sceptical about the authorship of this chronicle is refuted by al-Ḳūṣī's direct information. The exact size of the *Miḍmār* cannot be determined, the preserved part apparently being only a final section of the whole work (see *Miḍmār*, 4). The text starts with the year 575/1180 and ends abruptly in 582/1186, and there are moreover lacunae (see 41, 115, 208). The text shows (38, 72) that the work was to be continued at least until 583/1187 (*Miḍmār* 122, 144). The *Miḍmār* was composed after the siege of Jerusalem (Radjab 583/ Oct. 1187), or even after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-

Dīn (Ṣafar 589/Feb. 1193), with the purpose of glorifying the deeds and character of the Ayyūbid sultan. It thus stands in the tradition which began with ᶜImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, was continued by Ibn Shaddād and came to its completion in the work of Abū Shāma [*q.vv.*], in whose eyes Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn played the role of a saviour in Islamic history.

The *Miḍmār* is one of the principal primary sources of its time. It contains numerous autobiographical data as well as reports of eye-witnesses, which are also of importance for the biography of the author's father al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], to whom the son devoted two chapters. He explaines why his father was unable to take part in the battle of Mardj ᶜUyūn (*Miḍmār*, 18 ff.) and deals with his nomination as governor of Egypt (*ibid.*, 154-8). Here (*ibid.*, 155-8) the certificate of investiture (*taḳlīd*) as granted by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is for the first time edited in its full context. The work contains numerous official documents, several of which can only be found here. Amongst them are letters of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's famous secretaries al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil and ᶜImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [*q.vv.*] (*Miḍmār*, 114, 149 f., 224 f.). The main figures are al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and Ḳarāḳūsh [*q.vv.*], to each of whom the author assigns a section for every year. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's politics are described as exemplary, with the caliph as his direct antagonist. In this context, al-Manṣūr's anti-Shīᶜī attitude supports the claim to legitimacy which was so important for the usurper Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

Two different groups of sources, an ᶜAbbāsid one and an Ayyūbid one, may underly the *Miḍmār*, although there are only scanty indications of informants (see A. Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir*, 14-17, and Index, *s.v.* Miḍmār; L. Richter-Bernburg, in *JAOS*, cii/2 [1982], 278 f.; A. Hartmann, *al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, in *ZDMG* cxxxvi (1986), 570-606). For the events in Baghdād, Ibn al-Māristāniyya is mentioned once (*Miḍmār*, 122), while the informants for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and Ḳarāḳūsh remain anonymous (139, 226), although al-Manṣūr received some information on the last-mentioned from himself or from participants in his campaigns (e.g. 54). A direct source for much of the information on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the *Miḍmār* is found in ᶜImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Barḳ al-Shāmī*. Since the *Barḳ* exists only in ms., with its greater part lost anyway, the *Miḍmār* is of interest for the reconstruction of several passages of the *Barḳ*, together with the text of al-Bundārī and Abū Shāma (see Hartmann, *al-Malik al-Manṣūr*). The author must have been in very close contact with the state chanceries, but his sources have still to be investigated, as does also the influence of the *Miḍmār* on later chronicles. The work was denied a large circulation, as remarked by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ii, 1713) who calls it something precious which could only have been composed by someone who belonged to the learned men of his time.

2. *Akhbār al-mulūk wa-nuzhat al-mālik wa 'l-mamlūk fī ṭabaḳāt al-shuᶜarā*ʾ, a lexicon in 10 volumes on poets from the Djāhiliyya period down to the author's time (*GAL* I, 324; S I, 558; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ii, 1102, ll. 27-9). Only the ninth volume, composed in 602/1205-6, has been preserved (ms. Leiden, Or. 639). It contains selections from poems and very short biographies of poets from ᶜIrāḳ, Syria, Egypt, Transoxania and al-Andalus of the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries. The poets are arranged according to their functions: kings, *amīrs*, viziers, judges and secretaries (see M. ᶜAwīs, *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-shuᶜarā*ʾ *li-'l-Manṣūr b. Shāhanshāh Ṣāḥib Ḥamāt*, al-Minyā: Dār Ḥirāʾ [1983]).

3. *Durar al-ādāb wa-maḥāsin dhawī 'l-albāb*, an *adab* anthology, composed in 600/1203-4, preserved only in fragments (ms. Leipzig 606; Brockelmann, I, 324; S I, 558; not mentioned in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa).

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AL-**MANṢŪR** BI'LLĀH (Almanzor in the mediaeval Spanish chronicles) is the name by which is known the man who was, *de facto*, the real master of al-Andalus from 368/978 to 392/1002. Since no new source is available, except as regards the military campaigns, to expand upon the major features of the biography of ABŪ ᶜĀMIR MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ᶜĀMIR AL-MAᶜĀFIRĪ, as revealed through the works of R. Dozy (*Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*) and E. Lévi-Provençal (*Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*), this article will be confined to a summary of this material.

Born in 326/938 into a minor aristocratic family which had settled after the conquest at Torrox, in the district of Algeciras, and which had fulfilled various posts in the judicial administration, Ibn Abī ᶜĀmir studied, in Cordova, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* as a pupil of Abū Bakr b. Muᶜāwiya al-Ḳurashī, and Arabic language and literature as a pupil of Abū ᶜAlī al-Ḳālī and of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya [*q.vv.*]. He began his career in the service of the *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, Muḥammad b. al-Salīm, and subsequently, in 356/967, became steward of the eldest son of *al-Sayyida al-kubrā*, the sultana Ṣubḥ [*q.v.*]. He skilfully acquired the friendship and support of the latter, according to some accounts, through

the giving of presents and according to others, through the exercise of his personal charm. This relationship was by no means unconnected with the rapid advance of his distinguished administrative career: director of the *sikka* [*q.v.*], treasurer, curator of intestate property, *ḳāḍī* of Seville and Niebla, etc. After a brief interlude (he had embezzled from the coffers of the mint, but his friend Ibn Ḥudayr made good the loss before the enquiry), he continued his advance and was appointed to the functions of chief of *al-shurṭa al-wusṭā* [see SHURṬA] in 361/972. The construction of his palace at al-Ruṣāfa dates from this period, and it was also at this time that he set out to court popularity among the Cordovans. The fact that he had been sent, as inspector of finances, to verify the sums by Ghālib [*q.v.*] during his campaign against Ḥasan b. Gannūn enabled him to forge solid links with the army.

The death of al-Ḥakam II [*q.v.*], in 366/976, opened a new phase. The caliph had named as his successor his son Hishām II [*q.v.*], who was only eleven years old, under the tutelage of the vizier al-Muṣḥafī. The party of palace slaves (*ṣaḳāliba* [*q.v.*]) wished to appoint his uncle, al-Mughīra. Al-Muṣḥafī, foreseeing that this would be the end of his political career, sent Ibn Abī ʿĀmir to strangle the latter. The ʿĀmirid was already closely linked to the vizier, through his personal ambitions and through his relationship with Ṣubḥ. It was thus that there fell to him the task of drafting the act of allegiance (*bayʿa* [*q.v.*]) to al-Muʾayyad bi 'llāh and of accepting the oaths of various Cordovan social groups. The new caliph appointed al-Muṣḥafī as *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*] and Ibn Abī Āmir as vizier. These two succeeded totally in destroying the political influence of the slaves' party and declared a remission of taxes as a means of ensuring popular support.

In 366/977, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir left to repel an attack by the Christians and captured the suburb of al-Ḥamma (Baños of Ledesma, in the province of Salamanca). The campaign was of little importance but, skilfully exploited, it served to increase the prestige of the new vizier, attracting to him the sympathy of military men and especially that of the commander in chief of the Middle March (*al-thaghr al-wusṭā* [*q.v.*]), Ghālib, who soon afterwards received the title of *dhu 'l-wizāratayn*. As the popularity of al-Muṣḥafī declined on account of his lack of political vision and his nepotism, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir succeeded in taking to wife the daughter of the old general, appointed himself *ṣāḥib al-madīna* [*q.v.*], accused the *ḥādjib* of malpractice, imprisoned him in 978 and caused his disappearance.

Having become *ḥādjib*, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir foiled a conspiracy against him but was forced to make concessions to the opinion of the *ʿulamāʾ* who criticised his conduct, private and public, under the pretext of lack of orthodoxy. He therefore decided to "censor" the splendid library of al-Ḥakam II, and works of philosophy, astronomy, etc., were destroyed. It was in the same spirit of ostentatious piety that he made his own manuscript copy of the Ḳurʾān and ordered the final expansion of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in 377/987. In order to strengthen his control of the administration of the state, he transferred the offices of Madīnat al-Zahrā [*q.v.*] to his new residence at Madīnat al-Zāhira and obtained from the young caliph a "delegation of all his powers, so as to permit him to devote himself to pious observances". He took advantage of these powers to seclude the latter in his palace and to prevent all contract with him. This delegation thus supplied him with legal ratification of his *de facto* authority. But thereby he overstepped the limits and he was obliged to confront Ghālib, who died at Torre Vicente in 371/981. The *ḥādjib* then took the title of al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh.

Al-Manṣūr conducted 52 expeditions against the Christian states of Spain (a partial list—the first 25—with dates of departure and return is given in the *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār* of al-ʿUdhrī; a list of 56—including two enagements at Algeciras, but undated—is given in the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*). On these campaigns, the reader is referred to the substantial and well documented article by Ruiz Asensio, *Campañas de Almanzor* (for the sake of completeness, attention is also drawn to the very unreliable and presumptuous article by L. Molina, *Las campañas de Almanzor*) and only the principal ones are mentioned: Zamora 981, Simanacas 983, Sepúlveda 984, Bracelona 985, Coimbra 987, Léon 988, Clunia 994, St. James of Compostella 997 and Cervera 1000. The last, in 392/1002, destroyed San Millan de la Cogolla; but on the return journey, al-Manṣūr fell ill and died at Medinacelli, and it was this which gave rise, two centuries later, to the legendary "defeat of Calatañazor".

The king of Léon, Ramiro III, was forced to surrender to him in 984; Sancho Garcès Abarca of Navarra had been his client since 982; Vermudo II of Léon asked and obtained from the ʿĀmirid an army which helped him to re-establish his authority; and the Castilian Count Garci Fernandez surrendered in 990. Sancho Garcès and Vermudo II gave their daughters in marriage to al-Manṣūr, who became the true arbiter of the Spanish situation. It is equally certain that these campaigns ruined a major part of the work of "reconquest" and almost the entire effort of repopulating Léon in the 9th century; the whole of Estramadura was devastated. The effects seem to have been still more in those eastern states which had no "frontier" (cf. P. Bonnassié, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xᵉ à la fin du XIᵉ siècle*, Toulouse 1978).

The *Mafākhir al-Barbar* [*q.v.*], which reproduces the chapter of Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*] on Hispano-Maghribi relations, is the principal source for the study of his North African activity. Al-Manṣūr inherited the policy of ʿAbd al-Raḥman III [*q.v.*] and of al-Ḥakam II; rather than seeking conquests, he preferred to obtain submissions and vassalages. This had the double advantage of not immobilising too many troops while allowing the recruitment of large numbers of colonial troops for the purposes of his Spanish campaigns. There were numerous dangerous moments: when the pro-Fāṭimid Buluggīn b. Zīrī [*q.v.*] advanced as far as the gates of Ceuta in 980; the insurrection of Ḥasan b. Gannūn in 985 (he was executed in defiance of the guarantee of security given by Ibn ʿAsḳalādja, which aroused a considerable degree of resentment); and the rebellion of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya [*q.v.*] in 998, suppressed by ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], who went on to install a sort of "viceroyalty" of Fās.

Almost all the authors stress the politico-military activity of al-Manṣūr, which was brilliant, and pass too quickly over his internal policy. The famous military reforms have not been correctly assessed and are generally considered an innovation, whereas they were in fact simply a systematic application of the policy inaugurated by the caliph al-Nāṣir, when the latter drew conclusions from the disaffection and subsequent rout of his troops during the campaign of 327/939, that of al-Khandaḳ (on this expedition and its setbacks, see Chalmeta, *Simancas y Alhandega*, in *Hispania* [1976], 397-464). Al-Manṣūr confined himself—in regard to the ethnic basis of recruitment—to intensifying the policy already applied by al-Nāṣir in 328/939-40 (see Chalmeta, *Simancas-Alhandega: al-año siguiente*, in *Actas Jordanas Cultura Arabe* [1978]) and to enlisting only non-Andalusians. This was therefore an army without attachment to the country, or to its people; a "neutral"

force, a "Foreign Legion". These professional warriors, mercenaries, required payment and were expensive to maintain. The ʿĀmirid novelty consisted in taxing heavily *all* the Andalusians, even the Arab *adjnād*. The desired effects were achieved. Powerful opponents were estranged from the army (thus deprived of prestige, of command, of access to information and to weapons), the considerable sums raised compensated the troops, who could be mobilised at 24 hours notice and who were entirely in his pay. The effect of his action was, primarily (*Tibyān*), 17) to forge for himself an instrument of internal repression and, subsequently, an army which by its very nature constituted an offensive machine of quality, but whose numbers and composition made it unsuitable for use as an occupying force (hence for the consolidation of captured positions). This policy also had unforeseen and undesirable effects in the long term: the impoverishment of the local population; its indifference towards the government; and its lack of military training. The otherwise incomprehensible phenomenon of the collapse of the caliphate, when confronted by the Christians of the north at the time of the *fitna* [*q.v.*], thus becomes understandable and almost inevitable.

The impact of the orthodox "purge" of the library of al-Ḥakam II on the intellectual life of Arab Spain is difficult to assess. It seems inevitable that it took a heavy toll. Many volumes must have been unique in al-Andalus, and their destruction must have prevented, or at the very least delayed, their dissemination. In an indirect fashion, the library of al-Ḥakam also performed, in part, the function of a public library, and it was dispersed during the siege of Cordova; furthermore, the economic crisis which accompanied the *fitna* was hardly propitious for the constitution or enrichment of private libraries.

The campaigns of al-Manṣūr, which assumed a change in relations between al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms, were to bring about, in the long term, the birth of a new attitude, a new sense of unity in the popular Christian consciousness. Hitherto the Muslim campaigns had only been responses to Christian initiatives. In order to avoid conflict, it was sufficient to abstain from provocation. These campaigns had also been relatively benign, without too drastic effects in terms of destructions and death. After all, the frontier-dwellers had relatives on the other side; they could be caught unawares in their turn; etc. The Christian states had hardly ever struck in any depth, and the danger had never affected the majority of the population. However, the ʿĀmirid raids were not responses, but attacks, and thus difficult to foresee. They were conducted with a ferocity unprecedented in the Spanish context, and left behind a long trail of destruction, of death and of rancour. The Muslims were no longer Hispano-Arabs, but foreigners, different people. These campaigns affected the hinterland, it was no longer simply a matter of frontier-dwellers, of people who had chosen, in exchange for certain fiscal and social advantages, to "live dangerously". All sectors of the population, including those people who preferred a peaceful existence, far from the exposed territories, were affected, capital cities were plundered, etc. Since survival was at stake, any likelihood of coexistence must have seemed absurd. These destructive raids provoked a defensive reflex and a much greater sense of solidarity between the various Spanish Christian kingdoms—Cervera is the proof of this—faced with what was coming to be regarded as a common enemy.

The ʿĀmirid campaigns, which employed a number of Christians, either as mercenaries or as vassal troops, for example in the famous raid against St. James of Compostella, enabled the latter to acquire, from the inside, a useful knowledge of the roads, the resources and the structure of the Cordovan state. This was to prove advantageous, some years later, when the Christians put into effect, in the reverse direction, the ʿĀmirid policy. By this time the damage had been done. The bitterness accumulated as a result of al-Manṣūr's 52 expeditions had engendered the notion that it was essential at the earliest possible opportunity to settle accounts with the adversary, an adversary whose lack of reaction aroused contempt. The new identification between the concepts of Christendom and Spain required the expulsion of the "other Spain" (Chalmeta, *Historiografiá hispana y arabismo: biografía de una distorsion*, in *Rev. Infor. Esp. UNESCO* [1982]).

The systematic policy of infiltration, destabilisation and then reconstruction of the Cordovan state which had enabled al-Manṣūr to seize power and above all to sustain it, led to the annihilation of all the structures constituting a system: political, economic, social, ethnic, cultural, etc. After him, there was to be no more caliphate, great families, surplus budgets, social or ethnic coexistence. The Andalusians were henceforward aware of only one enemy: the Berbers. They forgot the Christians, or saw them as their allies. In view of the fact that al-Andalus did not constitute a feudal society, its chances of resisting the advance of a society which had the necessary mechanics for waging war were limited. According to the *Chronicle of Silos*, "In the year 1002, Almanzor died; he was entombed in Hell". Such was the Christian verdict. It could be extended to the whole of Muslim Spain, for the policies of al-Manṣūr engendered the mental attitude which spelled the doom of Hispano-Arab Islam.

Bibliography: 1. Sources: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii, 267-321; Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-djazīra*, vii, 56-78; ʿUdhrī, *Nuṣūṣ ʿan ... Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār*, 74-80; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *K. Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, 59-73, 97-104; idem, *K. al-Iḥāṭa*; Ibn Darrādj Ḳasṭallī, *Dīwān*, ed. M. Makkī, Damscus 1961; *Mafākhir al-Barbar: fragments historiques...*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934; Makkarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 257-72; anon., *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus wa-faḍlihā wa-ṣifatihā*; one should add the details to be gleaned from Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*; Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā 'l-Maghrib*; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis*; Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*; Nuayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*; etc. 2. Studies. The basic works are still the *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, of R. Dozy, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1932, and the *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* by Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1950-3, to be completed by R. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia y epopeya*, Madrid 1934, 1-27; J. Pérez de Urbel, *Historia del Condado de Castilla*, Madrid 1945, 667-802; M. Makki, *La España cristiana en el dīwān de Ibn Darrāŷ*, in *B.R. Acad. Buenas Letras Barcelona*, xx (1963-4), 63-104; J. M. Ruíz Asensio, *Campañas de Almanzor contra el reino de León (981-986)*, in *An. Est. Med.*, v (1965), 31-64; L. Seco de Lucení, *Acerca de las campañas militares de Almanzor*, in *MEAH*, xiv-xv (1965 ff.), 7-29; M. Lachica Garrido, *Almanzor en los poemas de Ibn Darrāŷ*, Saragossa 1979.

(P. CHALMETA)

MANṢŪR B. **NŪḤ**, the name of two *amīrs* of the Sāmānid dynasty of Tranoxania and Khurāsān.

1. MANṢŪR B. NŪḤ I, Abū Ṣaliḥ, ruler of Khurāsān and Transoxania (350-65/961-76), succeeded his brother ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nūḥ I. Ibn Ḥawḳal is able

to describe the internal conditions of the Sāmānid kingdom under Manṣūr as an eye-witness; cf. especially BGA, ii, 341: *fī waḳtinā hādhā*; 344 on the character of Manṣūr "the justest king among our contemporaries, in spite of his physical weakness and the slightness of his frame". On the vizier Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad Balʿamī, see BALʿAMĪ, where also information is given about the Persian version of al-Ṭabarī's history composed in 352/963 by or by orders of this vizier. On the rebellion of the commander of the Sāmānid bodyguard, Alp-Tegīn, and the independent kingdom founded by him in Ghazna and on the establishment of Sāmānid rule there in the reign of Manṣūr and the son and successor of Alp-Tegīn, Isḥāḳ (or Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm) see ALP-TEGĪN and GHAZNA; in Barthold, Turkestan, 251, n. 4, Abū Isḥaḳ Ibrāhīm should be read for Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm (this passage is misunderstood in the Russian original). In other directions also in this reign, the Sāmānid kingdom prospered in its foreign affairs; the fighting with the Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS] and Ziyārids [*q.v.*] was as a rule successful.

2. MANṢŪR B. NŪḤ II, Abu 'l-Ḥārith, ruler in Transoxania only (387-9/997-9). His father Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr, to whom out of all the Sāmānid empire only a portion of Transoxania was left, died on Friday, 14 Radjab 387/July 23, 997 but it was not till Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/November that homage was paid to Manṣūr as his successor. The Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī, ed. Morley, 803, ed. Ghanī and Fayyād, 640, Russian tr. Arends[2], 776, talks highly of his courage and eloquence; on the other hand, he is said to have been feared by every one for his extraordinary severity. During his brief and impotent reign he was hardly able to instil terror into any one. The last Sāmānids were quite helpless against the rulers and generals who were quarrelling over the inheritance of the dying dynasty. One of these generals, Fāʾiḳ, succeeded even in taking Bukhārā at the head of only 3,000 horsemen; Manṣūr had to fly to Āmul [*q.v.*], but was called back by Fāʾiḳ. The last months of his reign were devoted to fruitless efforts to settle peacefully the question of the governorship of Khurāsān, which was claimed by various parties; but before the problem had been settled by force of arms, Manṣūr was dethroned on Wednesday, 12 Ṣafar 389/1 February 999, by his generals Fāʾiḳ and Begtūzūn, blinded a week later and sent to Bukhārā.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, London 1928, 251-2, 264-6; Narshakhī, *The history of Bukhara*, tr. R.N. Frye, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 98-9; Frye, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, 152-9; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids...*, Edinburgh 1963, 45-6; art. SĀMĀNIDS. For the chronology of these reigns, see Zambaur, *Manuel*, 202-3. (W. BARTHOLD)

AL-**MANṢŪR BI'LLĀH** ʿABD ALLĀH b. ḤAMZA b. SULAYMĀN b. ḤAMZA, Zaydī Imām of the Yemen. Born in Rabīʿ I 561/January 1166, he became *Imām* in 583/1187-8 (some sources have 593/1196-7). He was not a direct descendant of al-Hādī ilā 'l-Haḳḳ Yaḥyā [see ZAYDIDS], but of the latter's grandfather al-Ḳāsim al-Rassī b. Ṭabāṭabā (Kay, *Yaman*, 184-5, 314; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 366). Between 532/1137-8 and 566/1170-1, the *Imām* al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān had tried to assure Zaydī power over al-Djawf, Nadjrān, Ṣaʿda, al-Ẓāhir and Zabīd (Kay, *Yaman*, 317; *EI*[1] s.v. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD), but his influence had been seriously challenged by Ḥamīd al-Dawla Ḥātim and his son ʿAlī b. Ḥātim [see HAMDĀNIDS] (Smith, *Ayyūbids*, 71-5). When al-Manṣūr bi'llāh was proclaimed *Imām* in Maʿīn al-Djawf (Smith, *Ayyūbids*, ii, 94-5), according to Tritton [*EI*[1] s.v. RASSIDS] after a year of probation, the Ayyūbids had already started to interfere in Yemeni affairs. Tūrānshāh [*q.v.*] had arrived from Egypt in 569/1173-4 and had left in 571/1175-6, while his brother Ṭughtakīn [*q.v.*] had entered the country in 579/1183-4. He came to Ṣanʿāʾ in 585/1189-90, thus limiting the influence of the *Imām* to the north-west. Al-Manṣūr bi'llāh took up his residence in Ṣaʿda, then moved southwards and succeeded in entering Ṣanʿāʾ in 594/1197-8 or the beginning of 595/1198. In the same year, he took possession of Dhamār [*q.v.*] and its neighbourhood, but in 597/1200-1 he was defeated by al-Mu ʿizz Ismā ʿīl, son of Ṭughtakīn, and forced to retreat northward (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 113). He nevertheless extended his power into the Ḥidjāz, and in 600/1203-4 he restored the fortress of Ẓafār. In 601/1204-5 he ordered Sayyid Ḳatāda b. Idrīs (cf. al-Ḥabshī, *Muʾallafāt*, 47, no. 77) to restore the *mashhad* of al-Ḥusayn (Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 58/65). About 611/1214, Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, grandson of Rasūl (Muḥammad b. Hārūn) who gave the Rasūlid dynasty its name (see Smith, *Ayyūbids*, ii, 85 ff.), made contact with the *Imām*, who had occupied Ṣanʿāʾ for a second time, in an attempt to dislodge the Ayyūbid al-Muʿaẓẓam Sulaymān, grandson of Tūrānshāh. In the end, however, the Rasūlid came to terms with the Ayyūbid. Meanwhile, the *Imām* had also regained possession of Dhamār, and was trying to subject the *Muṭarrifiyya*. According to Kay (*Yaman*, 318, repeated in *Ghāyat al-amānī*, i, 371, n. 4; cf. *ibid.*, 390), this term, very generally accompanied by the epithet *shaḳiyya* "vile", may designate the Sunnīs (cf. B. L. Suppl. 210 II, IV), but see also R. Strothmann, *Die Literatur der Zaiditen*, in *Isl.*, ii, 67-9. Ibn Khaldūn—whose statements on the Yemen need some caution (Kay, *Yaman*, 284)—relates that al-Manṣūr bi'llāh displayed a hostile demeanour towards the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh [*q.v.*], with whom he affected a tone of equality. He sent his *dāʿīs* to the Daylamī [see DAYLAM] and to Djīlān [*q.v.*], with the result that the *khuṭba* was recited among these people in his name (the Caspian Zaydiyya had been merged into the Nuḳtawiyya [see ṬABARISTĀN and AL-ZAYDIYYA in *EI*[1], and cf. *EI*[2], art. ḤURŪFIYYA]. The caliph al-Nāṣir endeavoured to raise the Arabs of the Yemen against the *Imām* by means of subventions, and in 612/1215-16 al-Masʿūd, the last Ayyūbid in the Yemen (see on him Smith, *Ayyūbids*, ii, 88 ff.), sent Kurdish and Turkish troops, headed by ʿUmar b. Rasūl, to meet the Hamdānīs and Khawlānīs of the *Imām*. Al-Manṣūr bi'llāh retreated to the neighbourhood of Kawkabān, where he built a substantial house for himself and quarters for his followers, and even set up a mint. After frequent engagements, a truce was agreed upon in 613/1216-17. Having removed to Kawkabān and then to Ẓafār, al-Manṣūr bi'llāh died in Muḥarram 614/April 1217 in Kawkabān (Redhouse, *El-Khazraji*, 80). For a more detailed survey of the intricate situation in the Yemen during the life of al-Manṣūr bi'llāh, see *Ṣanʿāʾ*, ed. Serjeant, 61-3.

Al-Ḥabshī, *Muʾallafāt*, 37, mentions four *sīra*s of al-Manṣūr bi'llāh : one anonymous, one by Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Walīd, a third one by ʿAlī b. Nashwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī, and a fourth one by Abū Firās Daghtham (= Duʿaym) al-Ṣanʿānī, the *Imām*'s secretary (see Smith, *Ayyūbids*, ii, 8, 78 n. 4, 98). Al-Manṣūr bi'llāh is also the last *Imām* treated by his companion Ḥamīd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī in his *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiḳ al-wardiyya fī dhikr (manāḳib) aʾimmat al-Zaydiyya* (Brockelmann, I, 325; S I, 560; Strothmann, *Die literatur*, in *Isl.*, i, 361).

Like many other Zaydī *Imāms* before and after him,

al-Manṣūr bi'llāh developed a great literary activity. Besides the 21 titles mentioned in Brockelmann (*GAL*, I, 403, S I, 701; cf. also Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, iv, 4950, XI), al-Ḥabs̲h̲ī, *Muʾallafāt*, 38-48, lists 62 other titles, some of which may be the same as those summarised in B.L. Suppl. nos. 210, 211, 1230 IV-VII. In his *Kitāb al-S̲h̲āfī* (Brockelmann, I, 403, S I, 701; al-Ḥabs̲h̲ī *Muʾallafāt*, 44, no. 53), the *Imām* often quotes from the *Kitāb al-ʿUmda* by al-Ḥillī al-Wāsiṭī (Brockelmann, S I, 710; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 15/17 n. 1) and makes use of the *kutub al-ʿāmma*, i.e. collections of traditions favourable to the descendants of Fāṭima and ʿAlī (Strothmann, *Die Literatur*, in *Isl.*, i, 358, ii, 64). Of historical interest might be the following numbers, mentioned by al-Ḥabs̲h̲ī, *Muʾallafāt*. No. 23 is a *daʿwa* to Sunḳur of the year 599/1202-3. This Sunḳur is probably the *atābeg* Sayf al-Dīn Sunḳur, a *mamlūk* of Ṭug̲h̲takīn (cf. Smith, *Ayyūbids*, 97, 98; *G̲h̲āya*, i, 356 ff.). No. 24 is a *daʿwa* to the ʿIrāḳī *amīr al-ḥadjdj* Ṭas̲h̲kīn (= Ṭas̲h̲tikīn? cf. A. Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir*, 146), while no. 64 is a *kitāb* to (the same?) *amīr ḥādjdj al-ʿirāḳī*. No. 25 is a *daʿwa* of the *Imām* to (al-Muʿizz) Ismā ʿīl b. Ṭug̲h̲takīn when the latter came down (*ḥaṭṭa*) to Kawkabān, of the year 599/1202-3. (According to *Ṣanʿāʾ*, ed. Serjeant, 62, al-Muʿizz was murdered in 598/1201-2, but see *G̲h̲āya*, i, 380). No. 56 is a *ṣūra kitāb* to the *ʿāmil* of the Banū ʿAbbās in the Yemen, and no. 60 is a *ḳaṣīda* sent to the ʿAbbāsid caliph = al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (see *G̲h̲āyat*, i, 400 n. 1). According to al-Ḥabs̲h̲ī, part of this *ḳaṣīda* is mentioned in Muḥammad Yaḥyā Zabāra, *Aʾimmat al-Yaman*, Taʿizz 1375/1955-6, (but see *Ṣanʿāʾ*, ed. Serjeant, 572), 139-41, and there is a commentary on it by Ḥamīd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī, d. 652/1254, entitled *Maḥāsin al-azhār* (Brockelmann, I, 325, S I, 560). No. 63 is a *kitāb* to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb [*q.v.*] of the year 598/1201-2, while no. 79 contains correspondence between the *Imām* and the Banū Rasūl.

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(E. van Donzel)

AL-MANṢŪR BI'LLĀH, Ismāʿīl, third caliph of the Fāṭimid dynasty in Ifrīḳiya (334-41/946-53). His personality shines with an unparalleled brilliance under the pens of the Ismāʿīlī authors, who, as also the Sunnī chroniclers, show great wonder in relating his exalted deeds and who dwell at length on giving accounts of the battles, rebellions and other bloody events, especially as his name is linked with the defeat of the "man on the donkey", the celebrated K̲h̲āridjī rebel Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], whose remarkable revolt almost put an end to the caliphate and the ʿAlid line.

Sunnī and Ismāʿīlī authors are at one in acknowledging his exemplary bravery and tenacity in the face of all odds, shown by him during the long and dangerous campaign which he had to lead, at the head of his troops, against the rebel leader, as far as the massif of the Zāb. According to their accounts, Ismāʿīl possessed only good qualities: he was generous and benevolent, level-headed and perspicacious; above all possessing a brilliant eloquence; since his youth, he had devoted himself to piety and study, and was deeply conscious of his high calling as impeccable *Imām* and of his grandeur as a monarch.

Ismāʿīl was born at Raḳḳāda in the first ten days of Ramaḍān 301 January 914, the son of an Ifrīḳiyan slave concubine called Karīma, who had been left by the last Ag̲h̲labid *amīr* Ziyādat Allāh III [*q.v.*] and received as his share by his father, the second Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh [*q.v.*]. He was thus an Ifrīḳiyan Arab, for there was as much Ifrīḳiyan blood in his veins through his mother as eastern blood. It was at the death of his grandfather al-Mahdī bi'llāh [*q.v.*] that, in accordance with a rule of Ismāʿīli doctrine, he was secretly designated successor (*ḥudjdja*) of al-Ḳāʾim. He had accordingly to wait a dozen years with no involvement in the great civil and military responsibilities before he became heir presumptive; his public designation took place only on 7 Ramaḍān 334/12 April 946, a mere five weeks before his father's death, with great suffering, in an al-Mahdiyya besieged by Abū Yazīd.

Thus he had to face up to, immediately, the heaviest responsibilities without having served any apprenticeship as ruler. He did not wait for his father's death to engage with ardour in the task awaiting him, sc. to defeat the "accursed one", the K̲h̲āridjī rebel; he sent reinforcements to Sousse, which was undergoing siege, on 11 S̲h̲awwal 334/16 May 946. Two days later, his father died, but Ismāʿīl concealed his death for fear lest Abū Yazīd derive profit from the news and, without announcing his own accession, buried his father secretly, and then, on 19 S̲h̲awwāl 334/24 May 946, began his campaign against the rebel. His lieutenant Kābūn b. Taṣūla soon relieved Sousse, whose siege Abū Yazīd had to relinquish in order to fall back towards al-Ḳayrawān. Encouraged by this victory, Ismāʿīl decided to undertake personally the pursuit of his enemy; he required less than five months to subjugate him.

Having reached the southern part of the town, whose shame-faced notables had rushed out to meet him and to ask for *amān* and pardon for support which they had given to the K̲h̲āridjī chief, Ismāʿīl deployed his troops behind the shelter of a trench (*k̲h̲andaḳ*), from which he doggedly repelled the repeated attacks of the enemy, undertaken from the time of his camp being set up at Mams. Abū Yazīd, accustomed for two years to fighting dispirited troops led by timorous officers, found himself now up against a young *amīr* full of fighting spirit, always ready to expose himself to danger under his ceremonial parasol at the head of troops still weak, but determined to fight fiercely.

The battle for al-Ḳayrawān began at the end of S̲h̲awwāl 334/beginning of June 946, and ended after two months of fierce fighting in the crushing defeat of the K̲h̲āridjī leader, now driven to retreat into the region of the Zāb, the original seat of his revolt. But even though this batle allowed the Fāṭimid ruler to save his kingdom, it did not mean the end of the revolt, but only the beginning of the decline of K̲h̲āridjism. It remained for the Fāṭimid ruler, in order to extirpate the roots, to continue and subjugate its adherents the Kamlān, Birzāl, Huwwāra and other Zanāta elements in their fastnesses of the Aurès and

the Zāb. Also, he still had to kill Abū Yazīd. But to put an end to his formidable enemy, Ismāʿīl was going to need less than one year of untiring warfare.

Thus after an interval of two months used to regroup his forces and to take suitable measures for restoring a country ravaged by war,—sc. a tax holiday for the current year, exemption of his subjects, including the tributaries, from all legal and extraordinary levies, and the undertaking by the state only to levy, during the ensuing years, the tithe and the *ṣadaḳa* in kind—Ismāʿīl went off in pursuit o the enemy. On the spot of his encampment marked off by the trench, in order to immortalise his brilliant victory, he had just marked out a new city, appropriately called Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya, his future capital.

The rebel had withdrawn into the massif of Sālāt, so that Ismāʿīl had to dislodge him from there and force him to fall back to the north of the Zāb mountains, into the massif of ʿUḳbār, the Djabal Maʿādid. Thus harassed, Abū Yazīd retired into the strongholds of Shākir and Kiyāna. It was in this last, which was taken by storm, that he was at last taken prisoner, before dying of his wounds a few days later, in the night of Wednesday-Thursday 28 Muḥarram 336/ August 947. Having suppressed the rebellion and killed the "accursed" Khāridjī, Ismāʿīl could now make public his father's death and his own accession to the throne with the title of al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh. Then having pacified the Zāb from Masīla [*q.v.*] onwards, where the Banū Kamlān, previously uncompromising participants in the revolt but now submissive, had come to give him their submission, he proceeded to Tāhart in order to re-establish his authority there and to punish the rebellious tribes, notably the Lawāta [*q.v.*]. Did he then dream of leading his troops still further towards the central Maghrib with the intention of making an impression of his rival in al-Andalus, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and his Zanāta allies? Some Ismāʿīlī sources suggest this. In any case, a serious illness reduced him to inactivity, and when he at last recovered, he took the road towards Ifrīḳiya, on Saturday, 18 Rabīʿ II 336/6 November 947. He only arrived there two months later after a long stay at Sétif amongst his faithful adherents the Kutāma, from whom 14,000 families now accompanied him in order to settle in the new capital al-Manṣūriyya.

It was on Thursday, 27 Djumādā II 336/13 January 948 that Ismāʿīl entered there. His return was celebrated with great pomp, and in his presence was held a parade in the course of which the crowd was amused by the comic spectacle of the "man on the donkey", his skin stuffed with straw and hoisted on to the back of a camel and handed over to the tricks of an ape and monkey.

Thus only 15 months had been necessary for al-Manṣūr to finish off the leader of the Khāridjī insurrection. But hardly had he got back when he had to go personally to pacify the provinces of the Ḳasṭīliya region and the southern part of the Aurès and to reduce to obedience the Manāwa, Maghrāwa, Ḳalāla and other Yafran tribal elements stirred up by Faḍl, a son of Abū Yazīd. The death of Faḍl put an end to all Ibāḍī threats to the Fāṭimid kingdom. For the remainder of his all-too-short reign, less than seven years, al-Manṣūr devoted himself to dealing with internal and external affairs of his realm, which had suffered considerably from the revolt of the "man on the donkey". He resumed the wars of prestige undertaken by his predecessors in the central Maghrib against the Muslim Spanish ruler, who had not failed to support Abū Yazīd; and also in Sicily against Byzantium, which had, during the opening stages of the revolt, caused a deterioration of the authority of the Fāṭimids there. Order was soon re-established in Sicily, and rule there was entrusted to the faithful family of the Kalbids [*q.v.*], whilst in the farthest Maghrib, the influence of the Spanish Umayyads was contained and the Zanāta held in check by the tragic death of Abū Yazīd, which intimidated them. In the east, al-Manṣūr endeavoured equally to re-establish the prestige of his dynasty; he found time, before his demise, to give further weight to the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* against his ʿAbbāsid rivals and in support of its supporters in the Yemen and amongst the Ḳarāmiṭa of al-Aḥsā. It was on his orders that the chief of these last, Aḥmad al-Djannābī, was made in 340/951 to restore to Mecca the Black Stone which his father had carried off after seizing Mecca.

Before dying in his capital, hardly having reached the age of 40, on 28 Shawwāl 341/18 March 953, Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr could justly pride himself on having restored in a short period of time, the tottering edifice of the Fāṭimid caliphate in Ifrīḳiya.

Bibliography: The main sources for the campaign of al-Manṣūr against Abū Yazīd are Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān al-mughrib*, i, ed. G.S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948-51; the chronicle of Ibn Ḥammādo, ed. and tr. Vonderheyden as the *Histoire des rois Obeidites*, Algiers 1927; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿaẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, Cairo 1948; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, tr. de Slane as *Histoire des Berberes*, ii, 355 ff., iii, 209 ff.

The Sunnī and Ibāḍī sources have been used by R. Le Tourneau, in an exhaustive fashion, in *La révolte d'Abū Yazīd au Xᵉ siècle*, in *CT*, no. 2, Tunis 1953. For his part, S.M. Stern has the advantge of having utilised the Ismāʿīlī sources ignored by Le Tourneau in his *EI²* art. *Abū Yazīd*. F. Dachraoui has used all these sources in his *Le Califat fatimide au Maghreb. Histoire politique et institutions*, Tunis 1981, 183 ff., and has especially used the works of the Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *K. al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt*, at that time in ms., now ed. Chabbouh, Fequih and Yaalaoui, Tunis 1983, and *K. Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, ed. Dachraoui. But the basic source remains the *K. ʿUyūn al-akhbār wa-funūn al-athār* of the *dāʿī* Idrīs, from which Dachraoui has published extracts from vol. v as *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-fāṭimiyya bi 'l-Maghrib*, Tunis 1981, and M. Yaʿlāwī has published a complete edition of the section devoted to the Maghrib, Tunis 1985. (F. DACHRAOUI)

AL-MANṢŪR BI'LLĀH AL-ḲĀSIM B. ʿALĪ AL-ʿIYĀNĪ (d. 393/1003), Zaydī *imām* of Yaman, and a descendant of al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī [see RASSIDS] but not of the latter's grandson al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ, the founder of the Zaydī imāmate in Yaman.

The dates given by late sources for his birth (310/922 or 316/928) are unreliable. More likely he was born between 330/941 and 340/951. Before his arrival in Yaman, he lived in Tardj, south of Bīsha, in the country of Khathʿam [*q.v.*]. He gained early a reputation as a religious scholar and was visited for over twenty years by Zaydīs from Yaman urging him to revolt. In 383/993 he rose in the Ḥidjāz, claiming the imāmate. The revolt was quickly subdued by the *amīr* of Makka, ʿĪsā b. Dja ʿfar al-Ḥasanī, who arrived together with the rebel in Cairo in Muḥarram 384/February-March 994. The Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz treated him well, and after a few months permitted him to return to the Ḥidjāz together with the *amīr* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti ʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. al-Shayyāl, i, Cairo 1967, 278, 281-2). In his first invasion of Yaman, which occured probably in 387/997 or 388/998, he occupied Ṣa ʿda, the stronghold of the descendants of al-

Hādī, and brought Nadjrān and the territories of Khawlān, Wāda'a and Bakīl under his control. After his departure to Tardj, however, his administration quickly crumbled. In Muḥarram 389/January 999 he returned permanently to Yaman. During the next two years, he extended his sway over much of the highlands of Yaman. In the heyday of his reign, his rule extended from the Bilād Khath'am to Ṣan'ā' and Dhamār, and included the territory of Khawlān al-'Āliya, 'Ans, Alhān, Ḥimyar with Shibām Aḳyān, Kuḥlan, Lā'a, Djabal Maswar and Djabal Tays. His extensive kingdom, however, had no outlet to the sea, and his hopes to gain control of the Red Sea port of 'Aththar, ruled by two, presumably Ziyādid, slave *amīrs*, by diplomacy or military means, came to nought. For his residence in Yaman he came to prefer the town of 'Iyān, a two days' trip south-east of Ṣa'da, in the territory of the Banū Salmān, who were among his most loyal supporters. He also acquired an estate which he brought newly under irrigation in Wādī Madhāb, between 'Iyān and Ṣa'da, and built a castle there. In Ṣa'da he restored the ruined castle of the *Imām* Aḥmad al-Nāṣir, son of al-Hādī, which lay outside the town, for his own use.

His position in the old capital of the Zaydī state was, however, precarious, as the population and the tribes of the neighbourhood were predominantly loyal to the descendants of al-Hādī, whose allegiance to his imāmate proved to be fickle. After his failure to reduce the rebellious Banu 'l-Ḥārith in Nadjrān to obedience in two successive campaigns, the latent opposition came out into the open, led by Ibrāhīm al-Malīḥ b. Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār b. Aḥmad al-Nāṣir and Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Nāṣir. The latter had claimed the imāmate before the arrival of al-Manṣūr with the regnal name al-Dā'ī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ and had relinquished his claim only under duress. Al-Manṣūr's cause was lost when his governor of Dhamār, al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥusayn al-Zaydī, turned against him and captured his son Dja'far, governor of Ṣan'a', in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 391/October 1001. When al-Zaydī voluntarily released his son, al-Manṣūr consented to a peace agreement in Ṣafar 392/January 1002. He declined al-Zaydī's offer to let him keep the rule over Bakīl and Wāda'a because of the lack of support he had received from them, and withdrew to private life in Madhāb and 'Iyān. Al-Zaydī now supported the imāmate of Yūsuf al-Dā'ī, who gained wide recognition, As al-Manṣūr's qualifications for the imāmate were now impugned by many, he wrote an "Answer to the rejectors" (*Radd 'alā 'l-rāfiḍa*) against his critics. After a severe illness, he died on 9 Ramaḍān 393/11 July 1003 in 'Iyān. His shrine there was left unharmed in the razing of the town of 'Iyān by the *Imām* al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1026/November 1617. Later Zaydīs generally recognised him as a full *imām*, no doubt on account of his scholarship, and denied this title to his rival Yūsuf al-Dā'ī.

Of his writings, only excerpts from his *Kitāb al-Tafrī'*, a collection of legal opinions, are known to be extant, besides letters and poems quoted in his *Sīra*. Other works are known by title (see A. M. al-Ḥibshī [al-Ḥabshī], *Mu'allafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 21-3). In his teaching, he generally followed the doctrine of al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm and al-Hādī, although strict followers of the doctrine of al-Hādī like the *faḳīh* 'Abd al-Malik b. Ghiṭrīf accused him of deviation and stirred up opposition to him.

Bibliography: al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ya'ḳūb al-Hamdānī, *Sīrat al-imām al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh al-Ḳāsim b. 'Alī*, ms. Brit. Mus. Or. 3816; Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, *al-Ḥadā'iḳ al-wardiyya*, ii, mss., biography of al-Manṣūr; al-Ḥadjūrī, *Rawḍat al-akhbār*, iv, ms. Paris 5982 (see *JNES*, xxxii [1973], 179-80), fol. 240; Ibn al-Dayba', *Ḳurrat al-'uyūn*, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwa' al-Ḥiwālī, Cairo n.d., i, 228-31; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghayāt al-amānī*, ed. S. 'A. 'Āshūr and M. M. Ziyāda, Cairo 1968, 227-34; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 194-7.

(W. MADELUNG)

AL-**MANṢŪR BI'LLĀH** AL-ḲĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD, the *imām* and eponymous founder of the Ḳāsimī dynasty (*al-dawla al-ḳāsimiyya*) of Zaydī *imāms* which dominated much of Yemen from the early 11th/17th century to the outbreak of the republican revolution in 1962. Like almost all recognised Rassī *imāms*, he was descended from al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim al-Rassī (d. 298/911), who established the temporal authority of the Zaydī imāmate in Yemen. Their aristocratic pedigree notwithstanding, al-Ḳāsim's forbears from the death of Yūsuf al-Dā'ī, the great-grandson of al-Hādī Yaḥyā, kept a low political profile, while members of other branches of al-Hādī Yaḥyā's descendants filled the imāmate. Al-Ḳāsim's greatest claim to history is his initiation of the lengthy but sporadic rebellion against Ottoman rule in Yemen, which rule had been continuous since 945/1538-9 and ended in 1045/1645 with the expulsion of the last Turks from Yemen by al-Ḳāsim's son, Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh Muḥammad.

Al-Ḳāsim was born during Ṣafar 967/November 1559, probably in the northwestern Zaydī district of al-Sharaf. Recognising a strong *imām*-like potential in his noble origins and his marked propensity for scholarship, and having for some time forestalled any serious claimant to the imāmate, the Turks pursued the young al-Ḳāsim into a peripatetic life of secluded study, authorship and preparation for leadership. Formal proclamation of his claim to the imāmate (*da'wa*) in late Muḥarram or early Ṣafar 1006/September 1597 occured at Ḥadīd (possibly Djadīd) al-Ḳāra, a village in the northern district of Ḥudjūr. It was coupled with an appeal to all Yemenis to rebel against the Ottoman Turks for their irreligious and corrupt rule. At the time, Yemen was governed by Ḥasan Pasha, during whose remarkably long term (989-1013/1581-1604) local Ottoman fortunes had reached a high point: he had secured the loyalty of several Zaydī aristocrats, especially among those descendants of Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā 'llāh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā (d. 965/1558) who survived the mass exile of their family to Istanbul in 994/1586.

The rebellion began modestly in the Zaydī heartlands northwest of Ṣan'ā', in the districts of Ḥudjūr, al-Ahnūm and Ḥadjdja, and spread quickly southwards into the regions of al-Ḥayma, Sanḥān and Ānis, as local chiefs joined, if often more out of personal grievance with the Ottomans than loyalty to the new *imām*. After about a year of demoralising reverses, however, the Turks and their native allies, led principally by Ḥasan Pasha's capable commander, the *ketkhudā* Sinān, regained their balance and turned the tables on al-Ḳāsim. The latter lost all of his earlier gains, including Shahāra, his principal base, where he was besieged for 15 months before escaping to Baraṭ, in the remote north, leaving his eldest son Muḥammad to surrender it and to enter Ottoman captivity at Kawkabān (Muḥarram 1011/June-July 1602). When local support for the Turks was eroded during the governorship of the harsh Sinān Pasha (1013-6/1604-8), al-Ḳāsim resumed the offensive and recaptured many places.

Matters became settled for a time after 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1016/28 March 1608, when, on petition from Djaʿfer Pasha, Sinān Pasha's successor, al-Ḳāsim agreed to a ten-year peace treaty, by which the Ottomans recognised his control over much of northern Yemen and undertook to release his son Muḥammad.

Serious disorders within the Ottoman ranks during 1022/1613 induced al-Ḳāsim to breach the peace with a new offensive in the northern sector. Although at first it succeeded, with even Ṣaʿda falling to the *imām* for a time, Djaʿfer Pasha was able to restore Ottoman unity and achieve some modest gains, including the capture of al-Ḥasan, another of al-Ḳāsim's sons. Thereafter, each party tasted victory and defeat, until Djaʿfer Pasha, learning of his recall and wishing to depart with his province in order, obtained from al-Ḳāsim a one-year truce by which each side recognised the other's gains (1 Radjab 1025/15 July 1616). Hostilities recommenced the following year when Meḥmed Pasha, Djaʿfer's overconfident replacement, declined al-Ḳāsim's offer to extend the truce. Nevertheless, by Djumādā I 1028/April-May 1619 the Turks, dismayed at how well supplied with firearms were the *imām*'s supporters, agreed with al-Ḳāsim to another ten-year peace based upon the mutual recognition of each party's possessions and the release of all prisoners except al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim.

When the Imām al-Ḳāsim died and was buried at Shahāra in mid-Rabīʿ I 1029/February 1620, he controlled substantial territories in almost all directions from Ṣanʿāʾ, the Ottoman provincial capital. At least five of his sons survived him, and two of them succeeded as *imām*—al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh Muḥammad (1029-54/1620-44) and al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh Ismāʿīl (1054-87/1644-76). It was during al-Ḳāsim's time that English and Dutch ships first secured limited commercial privileges in Yemen, although negotiations were conducted with Ottoman rather than imāmic officials.

In view of his numerous impressive military gains against four Ottoman governors over more than two decades, it is hardly surprising that most accounts of Imām al-Ḳāsim dwell on his role as a warrior *imām*, so much so that one of his biographers (al-Djurmūzī) arranged the history of his imāmate according to his four "risings (*nahaḍāt*)" against the occupying power. But this should not obscure the fact that he commanded wide respect among fellow-Zaydīs for his scholarly attainments and extensive knowledge of Islamic law and religious practice. Al-Ḥabshī's study of the literary output of the various *imāms* attributes to al-Ḳāsim's authorship some 41 works, a productivity surpassed apparently by only four of his peers. His compositions, both in poetry and in prose, range in length from one or two folios to several hundred and deal mainly with jurisprudence and Zaydī dogma. Although some were produced prior to the proclamation of his *daʿwa*, others must have been composed during the military off-season in his wars with the Turks. Among the more frequently mentioned are *al-Iʿtiṣām*, a substantial work on *ḥadīth* uncompleted at his death; *al-Asās li-ʿaḳāʾid al-akyās*, concerning the fundamental principles of the faith and widely commented upon; *al-Irshād ilā sabīl al-rashād*, a collection of articles; and several compilations of his answers to questions regarding law and dogma.

Bibliography : The principal source for the life of al-Ḳāsim is a biography by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī (d. 1055/1645-6), an early supporter of the *imām* and one of his officials. A ms. of the second part of this *sīra* (title unknown) at Edinburgh formed the basis for A. S. Tritton's *The rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, London 1925; it is possible that this *sīra* and another title attributed to the same author, *al-Laʾālī al-muḍiyya fī akhbār aʾimmat al-zaydiyya*, are one and the same. However, the best known account of al-Ḳāsim's imāmate remains *al-Durra al-muḍiyya fi 'l-sīra al-Ḳasimiyya* (and its abridgement, *al-Nubdha al-mushīra*) by al-Djurmūzī (d. 1077/1667), who freely acknowledges his debt to al-Sharafī. Yet a third biography is the anonymous *Sīrat al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh al-Ḳāsim* described by Ayman Sayyid (*Maṣādir taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1974, 332) as a history of Yemen 985-1085/1577-1674. Also rich in details are the *Rawḥ al-rūḥ* by ʿĪsā b. Luṭf Allāh b. al-Muṭahhar (d. 1048/1638), *Ghāyat al-amānī* by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. *ca.* 1100/1688), al-Ḳāsim's grandson (ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1968, ii, 770-814), and *al-Iḥsān* by al-Mawzaʿī (d. *ca.* 1031/1621), unique among these accounts for its anti-Zaydī bias. For other ms. source materials, especially those of the 12th/18th century, consult al-Ḥabshī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 127 f., which work also identifies, describes and locates the mss. of all works attributed to al-Ḳāsim's authorship (pp. 128-36). Ottoman archival materials for al-Ḳāsim's era are extensive.

An important monograph on this figure is by al-Maddāḥ, *al-ʿUthmāniyya wa 'l-Imām al-Ḳāsim*, Djudda 1982. Other published secondary materials include Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284/1867-8, i, 485-7, ii, 73-6, 217 f., iii, 293-7, iv, 296-9; Aḥmed Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh-i Yemen we Ṣanʿāʾ*, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 170-223; Wüstenfeld, *Jemen im xi (xvii) Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1884, 38-48; ʿĀṭif Pasha, *Yemen taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1326/1908, 86-96; Zabāra, *Itḥāf al-muhtadīn*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1343/1924-5, 78 f.; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, ii, 47-51; Djurāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf min taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1951, 141-4; ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. al-Karmalī, Cairo 1939, 65 f.; Muṣṭafā Sālim, *al-Fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, Cairo 1969, 338-69; Bayḥānī, *Ashiʿʿat al-anwār*, Cairo 1391/1971-2, ii, 244, n.1.

(J. R. BLACKBURN)

MANṢŪR AL-NAMARĪ, Arab poet of the 2nd/8th century.

1. *Life.* Abu 'l-Faḍl or Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Manṣūr [b. Salama] b. al-Zibriḳān al-Namarī, from the Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ, one of the tribes of Rabīʿa b. Nizār, was born at Ra's al-ʿAyn probably at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century. Since the sources give no precise information regarding the various stages of life, it is useful, indeed essential, to examine his relations with the poets and leading political figures of his time. In fact, Manṣūr al-Namarī knew Muslim b. al-Walīd (d. 208/823) whom he met at a poetry symposium at the home of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī (d. 193/808), Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa (d. 182/797), Salm al-Khāsir (d. 186/802) and al-Khuraymī (d. 214/829), whom he met at the court of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809). Two other poets should be mentioned here: the first is a certain Manṣūr b. Bādja, who was sufficiently wealthy to avoid the need to court and praise the great and who, according to some sources, was allegedly the author of the *ḳaṣīda ʿayniyya* dedicated to al-Rashīd by al-Namarī. The second, who is far the most important in the life of al-Namarī is Kulthūm b. ʿAmr al-ʿAttābī (d. 220/835 [*q.v.*]). In fact, it is stated in the sources, and notably in the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and in the *Aghānī*, that al-ʿAttābī was the "teacher in verse composition" of al-Namarī, who admired him "for his sobriety, his dedication, his vast knowledge and his general erudi-

tion in literary subjects". Moreover, these contacts were not limited to the poetic sphere. It was al-ʿAttābī who introduced al-Namarī to al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā, who persuaded him to come from al-Djazīra to Baghdād and introduced him to al-Rashīd. Subsequently, rivalry broke out between the two poets, and it was through the good offices of the celebrated Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 207/822 [*q.v.*]) that they were reconciled.

Besides these poets, Manṣūr al-Namarī was acquainted with numerous political figures. In addition to the Barmakids and especially al-Faḍl Yaḥyā and his brother Djaʿfar (d. 187/803) and the afore-mentioned Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, he knew al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus (d. 208/824 [*q.v.*]), an enemy of the Barmakids and himself the vizier of al-Rashīd. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ intervened with the caliph to secure the release of the poet, who had been imprisoned for his proclaimed Shīʿī tendencies. A similar intervention was was assured him, we are told, by Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī (d. 185/801), the governor of Adharbāydjān. Al-Namarī knew al-Maʾmūn (d. 218/833) then heir to the throne, at whose court he met numerous poets. But according to all the evidence, it was the caliph al-Rashīd who influenced the life and who signed the death warrant of the poet. In fact, al-Rashīd invited al-Namarī to his court, where the latter addressed eulogies to him and received gifts from him. However, when the caliph became aware of his pro-ʿAlid tendencies, he cast him into disgrace, imprisoned him and ordered Abū ʿIṣma, a pro-ʿAbbāsid Zaydī, to torture and execute him. But the latter was only able, on arriving in Mecca, to attend the obsequies of the poet, probably in 190/805.

2. *Works.* Of the hundred-page *Dīwān* attributed by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995) to the poet and of the anthology or *Ikhtiyār shiʿr al-Namarī* attributed by Yāḳūt (d. 622/1225) to Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir, it has been possible to assemble only 57 fragments totalling 386 verses gleaned from various historical or literary sources, of which the most important are the *Aghānī* (14 pieces), the *Amālī* of al-Ḳālī (d. 356/979) and *al-Tibyān* or *Sharḥ dīwān al-Mutanabbī* by al-ʿUkbarī (d. 616/1219) (10 pieces), the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, the *Zahr al-adab* of al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 413/1022), the *Muwāzana* of al-Āmidī (d. 371/981) and the *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn* of al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005) (7 pieces). On the other hand, two modern authors, al-Rifa-ʿī in *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn* (10 pieces) and especially al-ʿĀmidī in the *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* (15 pieces) have taken an interest, among many others, in Manṣūr al-Namarī.

These 57 fragments, of which 14 may be disregarded since they are also attributed to other poets, are of unequal length; only 15 contain 7 verses or more and may thus be considered *kaṣīdas*, 16 others contain one verse, 11 others three verses, and 8 two verses.

The poet uses 10 different metres and, in particular, *ṭawīl, basīṭ, kāmil* and *wāfir* (respectively 20, 8, 8 and 6 fragments) which are the "noble" classical metres; *ramal, munsariḥ, hazadj* and *mutaḳārib*, the "light" metres, are used only once. For rhyme, al-Namarī uses 14 of the 28 letters of the alphabet: most prominently used are *lām, bāʾ, rāʾ, mīm, dāl* and *nūn* (respectively 14, 9, 8, 5 and 4 times), a common phenomenon in Arabic poetry. *Hamza, hāʾ, fāʾ, ḳāf* and *kāf* are used only once.

Moreover, in his poetry (or in that portion of it which is available to us) al-Namarī makes use of the principal poetic genres. While he reserves for satire (*hidjāʾ*), description (*waṣf*), boastfulness (*fakhr*) and lament (*rithāʾ*) only respectively 1, 2, 3 and 4 pieces, on the other hand he devotes to erotic poetry (*ghazal*) 17 fragments which are in fact nothing more than amorous preludes, where the poet evokes youth and looks forward with foreboding the old age. But, according to all the evidence, it was laudatory poetry (*madḥ*) which al-Namarī practised most prominently, In fact, 20 pieces or 200 verses are devoted to *madḥ*, 6 of them for the above-mentioned viziers and governors and 14 for al-Rashīd; noble lineage, munificence, courage, dedication, competence in handling the affairs of the state, in other words the socio-politico-religious qualities commonly recognised, are the principal themes of the laudatory poems and especially of those which are dedicated to the caliph. However, some authors make the remark that al-Namarī is not at all pro-ʿAbbasīd and that he only praises al-Rashīd with prudent dissimulation (*taḳiyya*) as do many poets. Moreover, he displays his Shī-ʿism in 9 pieces totalling 69 verses, emanating exclusively, admittedly, from Shi-ʿī sources. The poet expresses his deep affection for the ʿAlids, mourns al-Ḥusayn (d. 61/681), displays his hatred of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids to whom he denies all merit, and calls for armed revolt with the purpose of avenging the sons of Fāṭima.

In conclusion, in poems of classical structure and in a pure language and a sometimes quite virulent style, al-Namarī practises the principal genres, distinguishing himself in "political" or "opposition" poetry in spite of the contradictions which the majority of classical Arab poets display.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see T. al-ʿAshshāsh, *Shiʿr Manṣūr al-Namarī*, Publications of the Arab Academy of Damascus, 1401/1981, and the reviews by Shākir al-Faḥḥām, in *MMIA*, lvi (Oct. 1981), and M. Yaʿlawī, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-Djāmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, xxi (1982). (T. EL-ACHÈCHE)

MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-ḤASAN B. FARADJ B. ḤAWSHAB B. ZĀDHĀN AL-NADJDJĀR AL-KŪFĪ, often known as IBN ḤAWSHAB, was the founder of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Yaman. Other forms of his name and genealogy are less well attested; later Ismāʿīlī tradition considered him a descendant of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib.

He was a Kūfan Imāmī Shī ʿī, probably from Nars, a canal near Kūfa, learned in the religious sciences, and was won for the Ismā ʿīlī cause by a *dā ʿī*, who is identified in a Fāṭimid source as the chief *dā ʿī* Fīrūz and by the Ḳarmaṭī account as Ibn Abi 'l-Fawāris, an assistant of ʿAbdān, the chief *dāʿī* in ʿIrāḳ. According to his own account, as related by Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, he was introduced by the *dāʿī* to the *imām* who, after a training period, sent him together with the Yamanī ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl al-Djayshānī to Yaman. They arrived there early in 268/late summer 881 and separated. Ibn Ḥawshab passed through Ṣanʿāʾ and Djanad and stayed some time in ʿAdan before establishing himself, allegedly in accordance with the instructions of the *imām*, in the village of ʿAdan Lāʿa in territory under the rule of the Ḥiwālids (Yaʿfurids). In 270/883-4 he began his mission, publicly proclaiming the imminent appearance of the Mahdī, and quickly attracted a large following. After an attack on his followers by a local Ḥiwālid garrison he occupied the stronghold of ʿAbr Muḥarram on a mountain below Djabal Maswar (*ca.* 272/885-6). Later, he captured Bayt Fāʾis on Djabal Tukhlā and fortified Bayt Rayb on Djabal Maswar as his residence. He sent the *dāʿī* Abu 'l-Malāḥim as governor to Djabal Tays and conquered Bilād Shāwir, ʿAyyān and Ḥumlān. His first campaign against Shibām, the residence of the Ḥiwālids, failed. Later, he took the town aided by the

treason of a Ḥiwālid client, but was soon forced to leave again. These events took place before 290/903, though their exact dates are unknown. It is evident, however, that he was firmly established before 278-9/892-3 when the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] was sent to him from ʿIrāḳ to be trained for his mission in the Maghrib. He sent *dāʿīs* also to other countries: al-Haytham, cousin of his wife who was the daughter of a local Shīʿī, to Sind; ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās al-Shāwirī to Egypt; Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Ṭamāmī (al-Ẓamāmī?) to al-Baḥrayn; and others to al-Yamāma and Hind (presumably Gudjarāt). His *laḳab* al-Manṣūr or Manṣūr al-Yaman, which he was given after his early successes, implied ideas both of a restorer of Yamanī glory and a precursor of the Mahdī (see B. Lewis, *The regnal titles of the first Abbasid caliphs*, in *Zakir Husain presentation volume*, Delhi 1968, 16-18).

In 282/905 ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, who had initially established himself further south in the Bilād Yāfiʿ, seized the territories of Djaʿfar b. Ismāʿīl al-Manākhī, including the mountain stronghold of al-Mudhaykhira, and thus became a powerful rival of Ibn Ḥawshab. He had acted independently of the latter from the outset, and doubts about his loyalty to the Fāṭimid cause seem to have induced ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī to go to the Maghrib rather than to Yaman as previously planned. ʿAlī's conquest of Ṣanʿāʾ from the Ḥiwālid Asʿad b. Abī Yaʿfur in Muḥarram 293/November 905 gave Ibn Ḥawshab the opportunity to occupy Shibām. ʿAlī came to meet him there; reports that Ibn Ḥawshab met him in Ṣanʿāʾ seem unreliable. The meeting was evidently uneasy, and Ibn Ḥawshab warned his rival against overextending himself by further campaigns. The latter did not heed the advice and had to be rescued by Ibn Ḥawshab when he ran into troubles in a raid to al-Bayāḍ. Ibn Ḥawshab lost Shibām during the occupation of Ṣanʿāʾ by the Zaydī *imām* al-Hādī and his allies, but regained the town before the end of 293/906. He held it during the following years while Ṣanʿāʾ was under the rule of ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl. In Shawwāl 297/June-July 910 his followers briefly entered Ṣanʿāʾ after the withdrawal of the army of al-Hādī, but left again because of their small number. Asʿad b. Abī Yaʿfur occupied Ṣanʿāʾ and repeatedly raided Shibām, but failed to dislodge the followers of Ibn Ḥawshab permanently. In Muḥarram 299/August 911, ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl retook Ṣanʿāʾ and publicly repudiated his allegiance to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mahdī. He wrote to Ibn Ḥawshab demanding his allegiance. When the latter reproached him for his break with the Fāṭimid cause, he marched against him, taking Shibām and Djabal Dhukhār. After a few battles, he besieged Ibn Ḥawshab in Djabal Maswar for eight months. In Ramaḍān 299/April 912, Ibn Ḥawshab was forced to sue for peace and to surrender his son to ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl as a token of his submission. The latter returned the son to him a year later with a golden necklace. Ibn Ḥawshab died on Djabal Maswar on 11 Djumādā II 302/December 914. This date, given by the continuation of the *Sīrat al-Hādī*, is to be preferred to accounts of later sources suggesting dates two or three decades later. The dispute about the succession which these accounts describe as immediately following Ibn Ḥawshab's death was evidently considerable later.

Ismāʿīlī tradition ascribes to Manṣūr al-Yaman a *Kitāb al-Rushd wa 'l-hidāya*, of which fragments are extant, and a *Kitāb al-ʿĀlim wa 'l-ghulām* also ascribed to his son Djaʿfar. The authenticity of both, and especially the latter, must be considered uncertain, although both appear to belong to pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī literature. A *Risāla* of an otherwise unknown Ibn Ḥamdūn which "he ascribed to Manṣūr al-Yaman" is quoted by the Yamanī *dāʿī* Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamidī (d. 557/1162).

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AL-MANṢŪRA, the principal city of the province of Sind under the Arabs. It was founded by ʿAmr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳasim, the son of the celebrated conqueror of Sind, in 120/738 or shortly afterwards (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 444; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 389; Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica,* 1507), 47 miles to the north-east of modern Haydarabad [see HIND]. i. Geography, at iii, 407], Al-Bīrūnī's statement, according to which Manṣūra is merely a Muslim name given by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim to the ancient city of Brahmanābād at the time of its conquest (*al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir,* Ḥaydarābād, Deccan 1355, 48; *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Ḥaydarābād, Deccan 1954, 552), is at variance with the earlier traditions, though the sites of the two cities were certainly close to each other. The attribution of the founding of Manṣūra to the Umayyad governor and adventurer Manṣūr b. Djumhūr (Hidayet Hosain, in *EI*[1], s.v.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 379; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, s.v.) or to the ʿAbbāsid caliph Abū Dja ʿfar al-Manṣūr (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 238; al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome 1970, i, 169; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, ii, 83; Elliot and Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians* London 1867, i, 136; M. Ikram, *Āb-i kawthar*, Lahore 1968, 28-9) stems from the desire to forge a connection between the name of the city and the name of its founder. There is, however, no need to seek such a connection: Abu 'l-Fidāʾ correctly observed that numerous cities were named Mansūra "as an omen for victory and durability" (*tafāʾulan lahā bi 'l-naṣr wa 'l-dawām*) (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Sehier, Dresden n.d, 194; cf. al-Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī, loc. cit.*) Manṣūra was founded in order to provide the Arab conquerors with a secure base from which they could attempt to expand their rule in the hostile Hindu environment.

Classical Arab geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries describe Manṣūra as a flourishing city, which served as a centre for a number of smaller towns. It was surrounded by a branch of the Indus and therefore looked like an island. Its land was fertile, and it was the scene of both agricultural and commercial activity. The ruler, who is said to have been a scion of Ḳuraysh, bore allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and during the second half of the 4th/10th cen-

tury also recognised the authority of the Buwayhids (al-Muḳaddasī, 485). It seems, however, that the central government was unable to exercise effective control over Sind and the rulers of Manṣūra therefore enjoyed considerable independence.

The importance of Manṣūra diminished in later periods. It is briefly mentioned in connection with the conquests of Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*] (in 416/1025-6; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 243) and with the Khʷārazmian incursions into India in 623/1226 (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Calcutta 1864, 143). Abu 'l-Fidā', who completed his *Taḳwīm al-buldān* in 721/1321, says that all cities called Manṣūra, including that in Sind, were in ruins despite their auspicious name (*loc. cit.*, cf. Badāyūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Lucknow 1868, 154; tr. W. H. Lowe, Patna 1973, ii, 70). Though this is a reflection on the futility of human endeavour rather than a statement of reliable historical fact, Manṣūra was indeed ruined around Abu 'l-Fidā''s period. The fact that it is not mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is an indication in this direction.

The exact location of Manṣūra, the question whether it was built on the site of Brahmanābād or at some distance from it, as well as the precise date and circumstances of its destruction and abandonment, are inconclusively discussed by several authors. (see *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 439, 445; Ṭabarī, ii, 1895, iii, 80, 491; Mas ʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 207, 378; Iṣṭakhrī, 35, 175, 177; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 320-2; Muḳaddasī, 53, 476, 479, 480, 485; Buzurg b. Shahriyār, *ʿAdjā'ib al-Hind*, Leiden 1883-6. 2-3, 103; Bīrūnī, *Taḥḳīḳ mā li 'l-Hind*, Haydarabad, Deccan 1958, 16; ʿAllāmī, *Ā'īn Akbarī*, Calcutta 1948, i, 465, ii, 330, iii, 67 (identifying Manṣūra with Bhakkar; a view disputed by Bazmee Ansari in *EI²* art. BHAKKAR). J. McMurdo, *Dissertation on the river Indus*, in *JRAS*, i (1834), 20-44; Elliot and Dowson, *The history of India*, i, 368-74 and index; M.R. Haig, *On the sites of Bramanābād and Manṣūra in Sind*, in *JRAS*, xvi (1884), 281-94; S. Razia Jafri, *Description of India (Hind and Sind) in the works of al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Maqdisī*, in *Bull. of the Institute of Islamic Studies (Aligarh)*, v (1961), 8-9, 13, 19-20, 35-6 and passim; I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim community in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, The Hague 1962, 43; H. T. Lambrick, *Sind. A general introduction*. Ḥaydarabād, Sind 1964, index (including extensive bibliography); Mumtaz Husain A. Pathan, *Foundation of al-Manṣūra and its situation*, in *IC*, xxxviii (1964), 183-94; idem, *Present ruins of al-Manṣūra*, in *IC*, xlii (1968), 25-33; Y. Friedmann, *A contribution to the early history of Islam in India*, in M. Rosen-Ayalon, ed., *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 314-15.

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AL-**MANṢŪRA**, a town in Lower Egypt near Damietta (Dimyāṭ [*q.v.*]), and chief place of the *mudīriyyat al-Daḳahliyya*. The town was founded in 616/1219 by the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*] as a fortified camp against the Crusaders, who had conquered Dimyāṭ in Shaʿbān 616/November 1219. Situated at the fork of the branches of the Nile near Dimyāṭ and Ushmūm Ṭannāḥ, the town dominated the two most important waterways of the eastern delta and served as an advanced outpost of Cairo. In July/August 1221, the advance of the Crusaders under King John of Jerusalem and the Cardinal-Legate Pelagius was checked before al-Manṣūra. When al-Malik al-Kāmil ordered the dikes to be pierced and the land flooded, the Franks, who had pitched their camp in the angle between the two branches of the Nile, were forced to surrender and to purchase an unhampered retreat by giving up their Egyptian conquests (7 Radjab 618/27 August, 1221).

During the reign of the last Ayyūbid Tūrānshāh, the Crusade of Louis IX of France came to its end before al-Manṣūra in exactly the same way. In December 1249 the Franks, approaching from Dimyāṭ, appeared before the town and pitched camp again in the angle between the branches of the Nile. On 5 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 647/10 February, 1250, they forced the crossing of the Baḥr Ushmūm and penetrated into al-Manṣūra, but were driven back after heavy street fighting. During the ensuing battle before the gates of the town, King Louis found himself facing Baybars I al-Bunduḳdārī [*q.v.*]. After hesitating for several weeks, the Franks beat a retreat, but did not reach Dimyāṭ. On 3 Muḥarram 648/7 April 1250, the King and the remainder of his army were taken prisoner, and on 3 Ṣafar/7 May of the same year were ransomed in exchange for Dimyāṭ.

During the reign of the Mamlūk sultans, the town belonged to the province of al-Daḳahliyya, whose chief place was Ushmūm Ṭannāḥ, the present Ushmūm al-Rummān (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, ed. Vollers, v, 71; Ibn al-Djīʿān, *Tuḥfa*, ed. Moritz, 50; Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern*, Wiesbaden 1982, ii, 728). In 933/1527, the ottoman *wālī* of Egypt, Sulaymān Pasha al-Khādim, transferred the provincial court (*dīwān al-ḥukm*) from Ushmūm to the more conveniently situated al-Manṣūra, and made this town into the capital of the al-Daḳahliyya province, which it has remained until today. In 1826, al-Manṣūra also became the centre of a *ḳism* (an administrative subdivision of a *muḥāfaẓa*, renamed *markaz* in 1871) with 60 villages. As a staple place of cotton, harvested in the Delta, al-Manṣūra witnessed an important increase in population: 27,000 inhabitants in 1900: 49,000 in 1917; and 218,000 in 1970.

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AL-**MANṢŪRA**, the name of a town, now in ruins, constructed on two occasions by the Marīnid sultans about 3 miles/5 km. west of Tlemcen, during the sieges of that town. The desire to control the commerce in gold from Black Africa terminating at Tlemcen was a continuing concern of the North African policy of the Marīnids and explains their efforts to control this place. The account given by Ibn Khaldūn enables us to reconstruct the history of this typical camp-town. In the year 698/1299, the Marīnid Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, who had come to lay siege to the capital of Banū ʿAbd al-Wād [*q.v.*], which he closely surrounded with entrenchments, set up his camp on the plain which stretches to the west. As it was a long drawn-out blockade, he built a few dwellings for

himself and the leaders of his army and laid the foundation of a mosque. In the year 702/1302 the "Victorious Camp" (*al-Maḥalla al-Manṣūra*), was given the form of a regular town by the construction of a rampart. In addition to the mosque, the dwelling of the chiefs, the storehouses for munitions and the shelters for the army, there were baths and caravanserais. As Tlemcen was inaccessible to caravans, al-Manṣūra, or New Tlemcen, as it was called naturally attracted the business of the besieged town. Documents in the archives of the Crown of Aragon attest to the fact that it was visited by Christian merchants, and that a Majorcan consul lived there. After a siege of eight years and three months, the Marīnids in 706/1307 withdrew from Tlemcen following the death of sultan Yaᶜḳūb, and al-Manṣūra was methodically evacuated under the direction of Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd al-Djalīl, the vizier of the sultan Abū Thabit. The people of Tlemcen were compelled, by the terms of the treaty made by the Marīnids, to respect the rival town for some time later; then, when the entente between the two empires had collapsed, they demolished its building and rendered uninhabitable the entrenchments left at their gate by their hereditary enemy.

The second phase of al-Manṣūra's existence began 30 years afterwards, in 735/1335, with the Marīnid drive eastwards under the great ruler Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī. Tlemcen, once more besieged, was compelled to surrender (27 Ramaḍān 737/1337). Al-Manṣūra was splendidly restored, according to the indications of Ibn Marzūḳ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan's historian, who had accompanied him to the town, and provided with a *ḳaṣba* and mosque, a *meshwar*, a house of justice, palaces, baths and caravanserais. It was probably at this time that the great mosque was completed and that the "Victory Palace" was built (747/1344-5). The Marīnid court installed itself there and conducted the affairs of state thence until the defeat of al-Ḳayrawān and the re-installation of the Banū ᶜAbd al-Wād at Tlemcen (Djumādā II 749/September 1348).

After the retreat of the Marīnids, al-Manṣūra, once more abandoned, fell gradually into ruins. Today the rampart of terre pisée flanked by square towers is still comparatively intact, but the interior is land under cultivation. There still exists, however, the ruins of a palace, no longer distinct, a section of a paved street, and probably the surrounding wall in terre pisée of the mosque with half of the great stone minaret which rose above the principal entrance. Although the inlaid ceramic work has almost entirely disappeared, the façade of the square tower, which is 120 feet high, is one of the finest pieces of Maghribī art of the 8th/14th century that survives. The columns and the capitals in marble of the mosque are preserved in the Museums of Tlemcen and Algiers.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, ii, 136, 332 ff., 379 ff.; tr. iii, 375; iv, 414 ff., 221 ff.; Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, *Bughyat al-ruwwād*, ed. Bel, i, 121, 141; tr. i, 164, 189; Ch.-E. Dufourq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux 13e et 14e siècles*, Paris 1966, 133-6 351, 354-5, 360-3, 365, 372-5, 519; Ibn Marzūḳ, *Musnad*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 25, 35, ed. M. J. Viguera, Algiers 1981, 125-6, 173, 230-5, 447-8, 491-2, Spanish tr. Madrid 1977, 109-10, 148, 192-6, 369-70, 406-7; M. Shatzmiller, *Un texte relatif aux structures politiques mérinides*, in *REI*, xlvii (1979), 239-47; Bargès, *Tlemcen, ancienne capitale*, 249 ff.; Brosselard, *Inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen*, in *RAfr*, iii (1895) 322-40; W. and G. Marçais, *Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, 192-222; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, ii, 485-9, 549-50, 568-70, 625-9.

(G. MARÇAIS - [M. SHATZMILLER])

MANṢŪRIYYA, an extremist Shīᶜī sect of the 2nd/8th century named after its founder Abū Manṣūr al-ᶜIdjlī. The latter is also called al-Mustanīr in some sources, but the reading is uncertain.

Abū Manṣūr was a native of the *sawād* of Kūfa and, a tribesman rather than a peasant, grew up in the desert. Later, he owned a house in Kūfa. The statement of some sources that he belonged to ᶜAbd al-Ḳays is not necessarily wrong, since ᶜIdjl is often counted as a branch of ᶜAbd al-Ḳays. His following came chiefly from he traditionally Shīᶜī tribes of ᶜIdjl, Badjīla and Kinda, and included also *mawālī*. Initially, Abū Manṣūr supported the imāmate of Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, exalting him and the *imāms* preceding him to the rank of divinely-inspired Messenger prophets. He taught that the line of such Messengers could never be interrupted. After the death of al-Bāḳir (*ca.* 117/735), he claimed to be his successor and justified this claim, asserting that the Family of Muḥammad were heaven and the Shīᶜa, earth, while he, Abū Manṣūr, was the miraculous "fragment" (*kisf*) fallen from heaven which is mentioned in Ḳurʾān, LII, 44; thus he belonged spiritually to the Banū Hāshim. He identified those who, according to the Ḳurʾānic verse, would not recognise the miracle and claimed that it was merely "piled up clouds", with the followers of al-Mughīra b. Saᶜīd, his chief rival among the Shīᶜī *ghulāt*. He claimed that he had been raised to heaven and that God had wiped his head with his hand and had told him in Syriac or Persian, "My son, go and teach on my behalf". Abū Manṣūr taught that the first being to be created by God was Jesus and the next ᶜAlī. The rest of mankind was composed of light and darkness. He maintained that God had sent Muḥammad with the revelation (*tanzīl*) of the Ḳurʾān and himself with its interpretation (*taʾwīl*). Like other Shīᶜī *ghulāt*, he interpreted the Ḳurʾān allegorically, identifying heaven and hell, religious commandments and prohibitions with man, friends and enemies of God in the struggle between good and evil, and repudiating all religious laws.

Abū Manṣūr was vainly sought by Khālid al-Ḳasrī, governor of Kūfa, during his campaign of repression against Shīᶜī extremists. He was seized and killed by Khālid's successor, Yūsuf b. ᶜUmar al-Thaḳafī (120-6/738-44). After his death, the Manṣūriyya split into two groups. One of them, known as the Ḥusayniyya, recognised his son al-Ḥusayn as his designated successor. They seem to have held that the imāmate would continue among his descendants, since there were to be seven prophets from Ḳuraysh and seven from ᶜIdjl. the other group, known as the Muḥammadiyya, recognised the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (d. 145/762) as their *imām*. They maintained that al-Bāḳir had appointed Abū Manṣūr to succeed him merely as a temporary depositary (*mustawdaᶜ*) in order to forestall discord between the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, just like Moses had appointed Joshua before the succession reverted to the offspring of his brother Aaron. They reported that Abū Manṣūr had stated "I am only a depositary, and have no right to transfer the imāmate to anyone else. The Ḳāʾim is Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh." Al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Manṣūr was captured under the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) and put to death by him. Much money was confiscated from him, and many of his followers were now sought out and killed. The sect evidently disintegrated quickly.

The Manṣūriyya were particularly notorious as stranglers of their religious opponents. They are said to have considered murdering them a meritorious act

and to have used the method of strangling or stoning, because they held that iron weapons must not be employed before the coming of the Mahdī. They considered all belongings of their victims as booty and turned over a fifth (*khums*) to their leader. Al-Djāḥiẓ describes them as living and travelling together in groups and acting together, beating their drums and tambourines and making their dogs bark in order to cover up the cries of their victims. Abū Manṣūr's "foster mother" (*ḥāḍina*), Maylāʾ, is named as a head of the stranglers in a poem of Ḥammād al-Rāwiya.

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(W. Madelung)

MANṬIḲ (a.), a technical term denoting logic.

1. Etymology.

The *LA* gives *manṭiḳ* as a synonym of *kalām* in the sense of "language"; a book is described as being *nāṭiḳ bayyin* as if it does itself speak; God says in the Ḳurʾān (XXII, 62): "And before Us is a Book which tells the truth (*yanṭiḳu bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ*)". This telling of the truth also has a quality of judgment; thus (XLV, 29): "This is Our Book; it pronounces against you in all truth (*yanṭiḳu ʿalaykum bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ*)". Metaphorically, *manṭiḳ* expresses the language of all things, for example the language of birds (Ḳurʾān, XXVII, 16: *manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*). But idols do not speak (XXI, 63, 65). On the Day of Judgment, the accused will not speak (*lā yanṭiḳūn*, LXXVII, 35). It is God who makes every thing speak (*anṭaḳa kulla shayʾ*, cf. XLI, 20-1). It is thus seen that the Ḳurʾān uses this root with a normative quality; it is linked to the expression of truth and to justification. Although man can speak in order to tell lies and nonsense, this is not the case of the Prophet and of those to whom God gives the power of telling the truth. God says of the Messenger (LIII, 3): "And he does not talk through passion (*lā yanṭiḳu ʿan al-hawā*)". The man who has received wisdom (*ḥikma*) speaks according to reason. It is understandable that this root should have been chosen to translate the Greek λόγος (word, reason) and λογικος (reasonable). Man is defined as *ḥayāwān nāṭiḳ*, a reasonable animal, although the *LA* gives a broader sense to the word *nāṭiḳ*, opposing it to *ṣāmit* (that which is silent): every thing which has a voice (*ṣawt*) is *nāṭiḳ*. But it is certain that the articulate language of man distinguishes him from all other animals on the vocal level, just as reason distinguishes him on the spiritual level.

2. Definition of logic (*ʿilm al-manṭiḳ*).

Al-Tahānawī, in his *Dictionary of technical terms*, comments that this is also called the science of balance (*ʿilm al-mīzān*), "because this is a means of weighing arguments (*ḥudjadj*) and demonstrative proofs (*barāhīn*)". Ibn Sīnā calls it "the servant of the sciences" (*khādim al-ʿulūm*), "because it is not a science in its own right, but a means (*wasīla*) of acquiring sciences". But al-Fārābī called it the "mistress" (*raʾīsa*) of sciences "on account of its efficacity (*nafādh*) in the practice of them". This science, al-Tahānawī continues, "was called *manṭiḳ* because the root *nuṭḳ* (action of speaking, elocution) applies in a general fashion to statement (*lafẓ*), to the perception of universals (*idrāk al-kulliyyāt*) and to the reasonable soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiḳa*); since this art reinforces the first of these concepts, through the second it follows the path of rectitude (*sadād*), and by its means the perfection of the soul is realised, a word has been derived from this root to designate it, sc. the word *manṭiḳ*. It is the science of rules (*ḳawānīn*) which explains the methods for passing from that which is known to that which is unknown, and the conditions that they pose (*sharāʾiṭ*) so that error (*ghalaṭ*) will not survive in thought (*fikr*). The known extends to the necessary truths of intuition (*ḍarūriyyāt*) and to speculative truths". It may be noted that this distinction corresponds to that made by Aristotle (*Anal. Pr.* i, 10, 76 b 10) between "common axioms" and "entirely demonstrated conclusions".

As for the unknown, "it extends to that which is derived from concepts and to that which is derived from judgments (*taṣawwuriyyāt* and *taṣdīḳiyyāt*)". This definition is, according to al-Tahānawī, preferable to that which holds that the rules of logic "supply knowledge of the methods permitting a passage from the necessary truths of intuition to speculative truths, because this expression at first sight gives the impression of a passage which is effected [directly] by itself (*intiḳāl dhātī*), while the more general sense is that this is a passage which is either made directly by itself or through an intermediary (*bi 'l-dhāt aw bi 'l-wāsiṭa*)". This being so, al-Tahānawī points out the difference between logic and grammar (*naḥw*) on the one hand, and logic and geometry (*handasa*) on the other. Grammar "only explains the general rules which apply to the quality of elocution in Arabic terms, and that in general manner; when one wishes to propound a discourse appropriate to a particular subject (*makhṣūṣ*) in a correct fashion, there is a need for particular modalities (*aḥkām djuzʾiyya*) which are drawn from these rules as are normally the derivations (*furūʿ*) of principles (*uṣūl*). But this does not apply in the passage of thought from a known to an unknown. Grammar is of absolutely no assistance in making passages of this kind. The name is true of geometry; it is in posing normative problems (*masāʾil ḳānūniyya*) that it tackles objects of research on configurations, in the sense that it makes these problems the principles of the demonstrations whereby it reasons on these objects. As for the particular notions which intervene in these demonstrations, geometry does not in any way contribute to their understanding." Al-Tahānawī is no doubt thinking here of the Euclidian method which proceeds from problems to arrive at theorems: the given data of the problems serving as a base for the demonstrations. As for the particular notions, they relate to the terms of the syllogism, in particular the middle term which is the cause of the conclusion in the minor. Thus Aristotle writes (*Anal. Post.*, ii, 11, 94 a 27-34): "Why is the angle drawn in the semi-circle a right-angle? Or, from what given information does it follow that is is a right angle?" J. Tricot explains Aristotle's argument in these terms: "We have here the following *Barbara* syllogism, in which B, the middle term, is the cause of the conclusion: Every angle which is the half of two right-angles (B) is a right-angle (A); Every angle drawn in the semi-circle (r) is

the half of two right-angles (B); Every angle drawn in the semicircle (r) is a right-angle (A)." But it is evident that the role of geometry is precisely to show that every angle drawn in the semi-circle is the half of two right-angles. Although it implicitly uses the preceding syllogism, it is not by means of the syllogism that it achieves the end which it seeks. Consequently, the science of logic is different from the demonstrative science of geometry. Logic is definitely defined as one of the instrumental sciences (*min al-ʿulūm al-āliyya*). But if it plays a role in the treatment by each particular science of its own object, what is the object of logic itself?

"It is said," al-Tahanāwī states, "that it has its object (*mawḍūʿ*) concepts (*taṣawwurāt*) and judgments (*taṣdīḳāt*)". It is a process of passing from known concepts or judgments to unknown concepts or judgments, by short or long steps: short when a concept is defined through *ḥadd* or through *rasm*, or when judgment is by analogy (*ḳiyās*), induction (*istiḳrāʾ*), or comparison (*tamthīl*); long, when there is the added consideration that a concept is universal or particular, essential or accidental, or when a judgment is proved by a contrary or contradictory judgment (*ḳaḍiyya wa-ʿaks ḳaḍiyya wa-nāḳiḍuhā*). The logician also enquires into concepts in as much as they give access to judgment when they are considered as subjects (*mawḍūʿāt*) and attributes (*maḥmūlāt*). Those who are concerned with the precise meaning of words (*ahl al-taḥḳīḳ*) reckon that the object of logic is constituted by secondary intelligibles (*al-maʿḳūlāt al-thāniya*) not as such and taken in themselves, nor as existing in thought, for it then becomes an issue to be dealt with by philosophy; but in as much as they give access to the unknown. "In fact, when the universal intelligible notion (*al-mafhūm al-kullī*) exists in thought and it is compared with particular things which are beneath it, it becomes either essentiality (*al-dhātiyya*) because it becomes a part of their quiddity, or accidentality (*al-ʿaraḍiyya*) because it is exterior to them, or specificity (*al-nawʿiyya*) because it is their quiddity itself. That which becomes essentiality is the genre (*djins*) relative to its different individuals, and the specific difference (*faṣl*) relative to another thing. Similarly, that which becomes accidentality is either an attribute (*khāṣṣa*), or a common accident (*ʿaraḍ ʿāmm*), according to two differing points of view". These "intentions" (*maʿānī*), i.e. the fact that the universal notion is essential, accidental or specific, do not belong to exterior entities; they are what becomes of the universal natures (*al-ṭabāʾiʿ al-kulliyya*) when they are found in thought. The same applies to the fact that a judicative proposition is attributive or conditional, that an argument is an analogy, an induction or a comparison, for this is what becomes of the nature of particular relation (*al-nisab al-djuzʾiyya*) in thought. Consequently, these secondary intelligibles are indeed the object of logic. Finally, al-Tahānawī comments that logic is also concerned with "intelligibles of the third degree" (*al-maʿḳūlat al-thālitha*) which are essentially what becomes of secondary intelligibles. Thus the judicative proposition (*ḳaḍiyya*) is a secondary intelligible. But inquiry can be made as to its divisibility (*inḳisām*), on the fact that it contradicts another (*tanāḳuḍ*), or that it is convertible (*inʿikās*), or that a conclusion may be drawn from it (*intādj*); these are intelligibles which fall to the third rank (*al-daradja al-thālitha*). These questions are tackled by Aristotle in *De Interpretatione* and the *Prior Analytics*, whence this separation of intelligibles into three degrees seems to be derived. As for the purpose (*gharaḍ*) of logic, it is the discernment of truth and falsehood (*tamyīz al-ṣidḳ wa ʾl-kidhb*) in speech, of true and false (*al-ḥaḳḳ wa ʾl-bāṭil*) in beliefs (*fi ʾl-iʿtiḳādāt*), of good and bad in actions (*al-khayr wa ʾl-sharr fi ʾl-aʿmāl*). Its utility (*manfaʿa*) is thus to give access to the theoretical sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-naẓariyya*) and to the practical sciences (*al-ʿamaliyya*).

Such is the survey of logic made by al-Tahānawī at a late date (12th/18th century). It shows the ideas which were current in the Muslim world, following a long history in the course of which it was both attacked and defended, and cultivated in a more or less fruitful fashion. It is necessary now to go further back in time.

3. Discussions of logic among Arab-Muslim thinkers.

A. *Grammar and logic*. It is undeniable, and the work of Aristotle proves this, that there is a connection between logic and language in general, and with the spoken language and its grammar in particular. But can logic, which aspires to be universal to all men, be reduced to the grammar of a language spoken by a particular people? This question was posed in the course of a famous debate described by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, between the Christian logician Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus and the grammarian and commentator of Sībawayh, Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī. Mattā defines the purpose and utility of logic in the same terms as those employed by al-Tahānawī. Logic is an instrument comparable to a balance, giving awareness of "healthy" discourse (*kalām ṣaḥīḥ*) and distinguishing it from "sick" discourse (*saḳīm*). Abū Saʿīd replies then that, for the Arabic speaker, the quality of discourse is known by the laws of grammar; but if enquiry is to be made by means of intelligence (*ʿaḳl*), it is through reason that that which is false in an idea (*fāsid al-maʿnā*) is to be distinguished from the genuine (*ṣāliḥ*): As for the balance, it gives awareness of what weighs the most, but not the nature of that which is weighed. Furthermore, in bodies, not everything is evaluated by weights; there are measures other than weight. The same applies to intelligibles. This reply is evidently an argument *ad hominem* which does not explain how, alongside the grammar which regulates discourse, reason would pronounce, in intellectual problems, on the truth and falsehood of ideas.

Whatever the case, Abū Saʿīd returns to his thesis: it was a Greek who instituted logic according to the language of his people, on the basis of the technical terminology (*iṣṭilāḥ*) applied to it by the grammarians and of knowledge of the traits which characterise it. How could this logic be imposed upon Turks, Indians, Persians and Arabs? Mattā replies that logic is concerned with intelligibles and ideas; on this level all men are equal. For all men, two and two make four; the same applies to the rules of logic, which is denied by Abū Saʿīd, who declares that these intelligibles are only reached by the language with its nouns, verbs and particles. To preach the study of logic is to preach the study of the Greek language, seeing that the people who spoke it have disappeared and it is known only through translations into Syriac, then into Arabic. But, Mattā replies, the translations preserve intentions and ideas. Abū Saʿīd does not insist and does not pose the problem of the difficulties of translation, unlike al-Djāḥiẓ (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, i, 75-9). Even admitting, he says, that these translations may be accurate, there is no reason to think "that there is no proof other than the intelligence of the Greeks". To claims of the importance of their contribution to the sciences, he replies that "knowledge of the world is dispersed throughout the world among all the inhabitants of the world", without perceiving that by this reasoning there could be a logic common to all.

If the Greeks do not occupy a privileged position, it is also true that Aristotle is not the whole of Greece; he borrowed from his predecessors, and moreover, not all Greeks are in agreement with him. Here Abū Saʿīd touches on a central problem. Logic should suppress differences in opinions and in speculation; it should, as certain *falāsifa* (including al-Fārābī) believed, form a basis of agreement for all philosophers. How could a single man suppress all these differences "which are fundamental and natural"? It seems that Abū Saʿīd has not seen the gravity of his words, for they pose the question of knowing if there are diverse mentalities irreconcilable in their diversity, and if there are among men one or several truths. Should the existence be admitted of as many logics as there are languages and grammars and people? Whatever the implications, he concludes: "The world has remained the same after the logic of Aristotle as it was before." This being so, he attempts to explain that it is by grammar and not by logic that one can understand, for example, all the uses of the particle *wa* (and), which is undeniable, but proves nothing. Mattā replies that the logician has no need of grammar, although the grammarian needs logic: it is by accident that the logician is concerned with words, as it is by accident that the grammarian hits upon an idea (*maʿnā*); but the idea is more noble than the word. On the contrary, for Abū Saʿīd, "grammar is a logic, but it is derived from Arabic; logic is a grammar, but it is included in the language". The difference between the word and the meaning (*maʿnā*), is that the word is a "natural reality" which is effaced with time, while the meaning is a "reality of intelligence" which remains fixed across time. He then shows that, in order to express his logic, Mattā needs the Arabic language and its grammar; ignorance of the meanings of a single particle can invalidate any kind of reasoning.

This being so, Abū Saʿīd leaves the consideration of words in order to turn towards the intellectual content of their meanings. What is to be made of the statement "Zayd is the most virtuous of *his* brothers"? Mattā believes that this is correct. Abū Saʿīd retorts that he is mistaken and that the statement should be: "Zayd is the most virtuous of *the* brothers". Zayd is one of the brothers, but he is not one of his brothers. In fact, "the brothers of Zayd are other than Zayd, and Zayd is exterior to their group." Abū Saʿīd claims that Mattā does not know why one of the propositions is correct and the other false. But he himself does not explain how grammar demonstrates this, and his own explanation, based on the logical notions of inclusion and exclusion, has nothing grammatical about it. It is true that Aristotle does not deal directly with this type of proposition. Nevertheless, Mattā should have been able to reply, for the notion of a brother is relative and according to Aristotle (*Categories*, 7, 6 a 36) relatives "refer to another thing." Zayd, as a brother, is thus the brother of his brothers who are other than him: he is not one of them.

Finally, Abū Saʿīd criticises the logicians for having done nothing more than "frighten people" with the technical terms of genre, type, specific difference, attribute, accident, individual, and especially with the neologisms in *iyya*, such as *halliyya*, *ʿayniyya*, *kayfiyya*, *kammiyya*, *dhātiyya*, *ʿaraḍiyya*, *djawhariyya*, etc. Ibn Ḳutayba had already made a similar critique in the *Adab al-kātib*. Abū Saʿīd mocks the "magical" formulae of the syllogism and concludes, "All of this is nonsense, trifles, incomprehensible and confused propositions. Anyone possessing fine intelligence, good discernment and refined insight, can do without it altogether."

This critique poses more problems than it resolves, in particular that of a grammatical logic. Abū Saʿīd's performance is that of a debater seeking only to have the last word, unperturbed by his self-contradictions and avoidance of questions. But his critique is interesting, in that it shows the existence of a certain Arabism opposed to all things Hellenic, based no doubt on the religious belief that God has revealed the Ḳurʾān in clear Arabic language (XVI, 103).

B. *The doctrine of Ibn Ḥazm*. The Ẓāhirī views of Ibn Ḥazm leads him to deliberate on the nature of languages and to lay the foundations of a Ẓāhirī grammar which takes account only of the linguistic intentions expressly contained in the forms of the language and the speech which makes use of them. He excludes any psychological intention which might remain implied, having no clear indication (*dalīl*) in what is said or written. His object is to understand precisely the Word of God, without the intervention in the exegesis of any consideration, any human interpretation. The reason given to Man has no other purpose than to identify and attest to the revealed truth. Under these conditions, what role remains for logic? In the *K. al-Taḳrīb li-ḥadd al-manṭiḳ*, Ibn Ḥazm justified logic by means of Ḳurʾānic testimonies, in particular the verse LV, 3: "And the Merciful has created man; He has taught him *bayān*". *Bayān*, Ibn Ḥazm explains with reference to the verse II, 31, "And he taught Adam all the names", is "the exposition of all existing beings according to their different manners of being (*wudjūh*), and the account of their meanings (*maʿānī*), the differences of which are the cause that their names necessarily differ; it is the awareness of the way in which the denominated things are allotted their names". It is by this that God distinguishes Man from the beast: "He that does not know the qualifications (*ṣifāt*) of the denominated things which make necessary the distinction of the names, he that does not define all things by their definitions (*ḥudūd*), ignores the greatness of this precious gift... From him that ignores logic, the structure (*bināʾ*) of the language of God remains hidden". Thus the utility of logic is to make understood the Word of God and , thereby, the works of God in creation. However, Ibn Ḥazm recognises that there were formerly sages who wrote books on the connection between denominated things and their names, names "on the meanings of which all peoples are in agreement, even though they use different names to express them, for [human] nature is unique, but the choice [of words] is diverse and varied". Ibn Ḥazm also cites the eight books which constitute the *Organon* of Aristotle, among which he includes the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*, giving precedence to the *Isagoge* of Porphyry. But he declares at once, "As for us, our resolution is that of the man who wishes to have his Creator, the Unique and First One, to guide him, who attributes to himself no power or strength except through Him, and who has no knowledge except that which He has taught him". With regard to these books, men are divided into four groups. The first are those who, without having read and studied them, judge them as impious and tending towards heresy. The second see in them nothing but nonsense, but censure those who ignore them. In third place are those who have read them, but with defective intelligence and poor understanding. The fourth group includes those who study them with clear intelligence and with impartial ideas. They establish the oneness of God by necessary demonstrative proofs (*bi-barāhīn ḍarūriyya*); they see the diversity of creators and the action of the Creator in them. The last-mentioned group find that these books have a worth and a utility like that of a "friend of good counsel"

(*al-khadīn al-nāṣiḥ*). Unfortunately, translations render them in obscure terms and arcane usage: "Nor every expression is right for every notion." Consequently, "we shall discuss these meanings in simple, not complex terms, equally comprehensible to the common man and the educated, to the scholar and the ignorant, in the same measure as we have understood them".

This being so, Ibn Ḥazm surveys the eight books of logic. As regard the *Isagoge*, it is sufficient to mention what he says of names which can designate several individuals, or a single one, as the case is presented in Arabic. For example. God says (CIII, 2): "In truth, man is in distress". Here, the name indicates the species (*nawʿ*). A phrase such as "The man whom you know has come to see me", refers to an individual. But the ambiguity can be removed by the use of the collective: *al-nās* instead of *al-insān* (the man), *al-khayl* instead of *al-faras* (the horse). This reference to the Ḳurʾān and to Arabic is worthy of note. Ibn Ḥazm then tackles the works of Aristotle: first the book "of isolated names" (*al-asmāʾ al-murfrada*), i.e. the *Categories* (*Ḳāṭāghūriyās*); these are the ten *maḳālāt*.

He begins by defining synonyms (*al-asmāʾ al-mutawāṭiʾa*) and homonyms (*al-asmāʾ al-mushtarika*), for example, *nasr* which denotes the vulture, a star of the constellation of the Eagle and the shoe of a horse. In this he follows Aristotle, but he gives a different definition to paronyms which he calls "derivations" (*al-asmāʾ al-mushtaḳḳa*), the word πτῶσις used by Aristotle having the sense of a word formed from another. It is thus that one speaks of several denominated things, such as white-clothing, white-bird, white-man. "Each of these denominated things has a definition other than that of the other, and a name which, in its kind, is other than the name of the other; but they are associated in that they are all called "white". They thus concur in one of their qualifications which unites them "in a name derived from these denominated things". To these three types of names, Ibn Ḥazm adds "different names" (*al-asmāʾ al-mukhtalifa*) when the things denominated differ although their meanings concur, as is the case with *sinnawr*, *daywār* and *hirr* which all signify the cat. These names are distinguished from synonyms which are, according to Aristotle, "that which has both community of name and identity of notion, for example, the animal which is both man and ox (*Cat.* 1, 1 a 5)". Then Ibn Ḥazm develops in an independent fashion what Aristotle says about expressions that bear a liaison (*Cat.* 2, 1 a 16 ff.) and which he calls "composed discourse" (*kalām murakkab*). He introduces the very Arab notion of *khabar* (cf. below), as an informative or enunciatory discourse to which corresponds only imperfectly the predicative judgment, and he adds other forms of discourse: the interrogative, the vocative, the optative and the imperative (a useful point of view for the interpretation of the legislative texts of the Ḳurʾān). For example, in order to determine the *aḥkām* of the Law, it is important to know that an enunciative, in the form of a promise or a threat, can have the weight of a command or a prohibition. It is necessary also to distinguish the different qualities of verbal imperatives: the obligatory and constraining imperative (*al-wādjib al-mulzim*); the imperative of incitement (*al-maḥdūḍ ʿalayhi*) which is not constraining; in addition, the imperative which gives an accord (*al-masmūḥ fīhi*); that which leaves the subject free (*al-tabarruʿ*) as in "Do as you wish"; threat (*waʿīd*) as in the verse (XII, 40): "Do as you wish: truly God sees that which you do"; irony (*tahakkum*), as when God mocks the damned in Hell with the words (XLIV, 49): "Taste [the boiling water]: you are the powerful, the noble one"; the imputation of powerlessness (*taʿdjīz*), as in "Be stone or iron" (XVII, 50); and the prayer, the request, the appeal (*duʿāʾ*). Finally, there is the imperative *kun* (Be!) which brings beings into existence and which is the prerogative of the Creator. On the other hand, where Aristotle speaks of the affirmed or not-affirmed beings of a subject, existing or not existing in a subject, Ibn Ḥazm speaks of a division of names into four groups: bearers (*ḥāmila*) and qualifiers (*nāʿita*), bearers and qualified (*manʿūta*), born and qualified, born and qualifying. "Things" (*ashyāʾ*) of which the names belong to the first group, are like Man as a universal or taken in general (*al-insān al-kullī al-muṭlaḳ*). It is the bearer of all its attributes and it qualifies all the individuals denominated by it; but it is never "born", for "the substance (*djawhar*) bears and is not born ". Here there is estblished the ambiguity which results from the substitution of names for beings. Aristotle had stated clearly, "Among beings, some are affirmed by a subject, while not being in any subject' (*Cat.*, 2 1 a 20). Ibn Ḥazm should have specified that Man, in the sense of a secondary substance (cf. *Cat.*, 5, 2 a 10 ff.) is not in a subject, but as a universal, he can be the predicate of an individual subject: Zayd is a man. The names of the second group are the "substantial individuals" (*al-ashkhāṣ al-djawhariyya*) who bear their qualifications or attributes, but are not born, for example Zayd. The names of the third group are like the knowledge of such a man; it is born in his soul and is qualified by knowledge. The names of the fourth group are like the knowledge which is a kind of quality relative to the soul and which includes such studies as medicine, jurisprudence, etc., particular types of knowledge which it qualifies. What is of interest to Ibn Ḥazm is names, their meanings and their relationship within the language and their usage. The thing denominated is only considered in terms of the name which renominates it.

Turning to the ten categories, Ibn Ḥazm follows Aristotle, while simplifying him. With regard to the substance which is that which exists in itself, he does not say that the primary substance is neither in a subject (ʾεν ʿυποχειμένῳ), not attribuable to a subject (χαθʾ ʿυποχειμένον), while the secondary substance, once it has been seen, is not in a subject, but is attributable to a subject. He insists above all on the fact that the substance has no contrary (*ḍidd*). When two substances are taken to be contraries, the contrarity derives from their qualities (*kayfiyyāt*). Consequently, God, having no qualities, is in no sense contrary to His creation. It is no longer possible to talk of more and of less: an ass is not more than another ass in "the-nature-of-the-ass" (*fī ʾl-ḥimāriyya*), nor is a goat more than another goat in "the-nature-of-the-goat (*fī ʾl-taysiyya*): it is interesting to note this use of abstract terms in *-iyya* which in principle Ibn Ḥazm rejects since they evoke ideas of the Platonic type existing in reality. But here there is little risk of "realism", since the context shows quite clearly that *ḥimāriyya* and *taysiyya* are nothing more than conventional terms which designate the ass and the goat in the sense of secondary substances. Without pursuing further this analysis of the categories, it is evident that logic has so far been presented as a means of classifying words, of specifying their usage and thus developing a method of explaining the Ḳurʾānic text which is often quoted to illustrate, or to support, such-and-such a signification. Nevertheless, in his chapter on the *De Interpretatione*, which he calls "Book of Enunciations" (*K. al-Akhbār*), where there is a discussion of "names joined

to express a new signification (*al-madjmūʿa ilā ghayrihā*)", in other words "composites" (*al-murakkaba*), he denounces pure "nominalism". "All qualifications and enunciations bear on the things denominated, not on the names, for the things denominated are the significations (*al-maʿānī*) and the names are the expressions of them (*al-ʿibārāt ʿanhā*): it is thus well established that the name is other than the thing denominated." Those of a contrary opinion seek support from the verse (LXXXVII, 1), "Praise the Name of your Master...". But they are mistaken, since a thing denominated can only be reached through the name which expresses it; these are the two inseparable relatives.

It is worth paying attention to what Ibn Ḥazm says concerning speech, in order to show how he understands Aristotle in relating him to the notions of Arabic grammar. He renders the word ῥῆμα by *kalima* and says that it is what the grammarians call qualifications (*naʿt*) and the theologians attribute (*ṣifa*). The Greek word in fact primarily signifies speech and discourse (and in second place "verb" in the grammatical sense). J. Tricot writes (*De l'Interprétation*, 81, n. 1), "In the language of Aristotle and also that of Plato (cf. *Sophist*, 262 c; *Cratylus*, 399 b), the word ῥῆμα espresses the act of qualifying a subject or the qualification which is given to it, in a more general sense that which is stated on a subject." The Arab grammarians describe it as "a name derived from a verb (*fiʿl*)". For example: *ṣaḥḥa, yaṣiḥḥu, fa-huwa ṣaḥīḥ* (sense of being in good health). *Kalima* indicates a determined time. Thus *ṣaḥīḥ* is a statement (*ikhbār*) on the present state of health of a person; *ṣaḥḥa* indicates an action in the past (*fi 'l-māḍī*); *yaṣiḥḥu*, a future action (*mustaḳbal*). The word *ṣiḥḥa* (act of being in good health) is a name (*ism*), not a *kalima*. It is what the grammarians call *maṣdar* (verbal noun). These are of two types: (1) the *maṣdar* can express the action of an agent (*fāʿil*) or the movement of a mobile, for example the blow (*ḍarb*) of one who strikes (*ḍārib*); or (2) that which is a qualificative for what is qualified, for example the fact of being in good health (*ṣiḥḥa*, *maṣdar* or *ṣaḥḥa*) for someone who is in good health and is one of his qualificatives". There are thus two enunciative propositions: (1) Zayd strikes (*ḍaraba*), and (2) Zayd is in good health (*ṣaḥḥa*), which means that Zayd is the agent-subject of the act of striking which is his effectiveness (*taʾthīr*), and that he is the qualified-subject of the fact of being in good health which is "borne" *maḥmūl*) on him. With this incursion into Arabic grammar, Ibn Ḥazm deviates considerably from what Aristotle says.

In his study of the first part of the *Prior Analytics*, Ibn Ḥazm follows Aristotle fairly closely. He speaks of defined propositions (*ḳaḍāyā maḥṣūra*), "those which are preceded by a word (*lafẓ*, cf. below: *sūr*) which explains that they are intended to signify a global extension (*al-ʿumūm*): these are universal propositions; or else a limited extension (*al-khuṣūṣ*): these are particular propositions. Next come undefined propositions (*muhmala*), "in which the one who enunciates them does not state explicitly that he means a part (*baʿḍ*) of what is offered by the sense of the noun which they contain, or in which nothing prevents them from receiving a signification of global extension". It is evident that it is always the verbal expression (*lafẓ*, *ism*) which interests Ibn Ḥazm, where Aristotle speaks of attribution to such or such a subject (ὑποκειμένῳ). Furthermore, when he employs the words *mawḍūʿ* (subject) and *maḥmūl* (predicate), he always explains them by terms borrowed from Arabic grammar: *mukhbar ʿanhu* (that on which an enunciation bears) and *khabar* (enunciative). He stresses the means of concluding in an always true and necessary fashion (*intādj^an ṣaḥīḥ^an abad^an*). Logical necessity has posed a problem for theologians (cf. below). But here it is reduced to evidence supplied by the sense of words themselves. If the noun "man" denotes living beings, and if the noun "substance" is applied to living and to inanimate beings, it is evident that the noun "substance" applies to man. If this is formalised, the result is a first-figure syllogism of the *Barbara* type: Every living being is substance; man is a living being; thus every man is substance. (N.B. This syllogism is giving in the order major, minor, conclusion, whereas Arab logicians enunciate first the minor, then the major.)

Ibn Ḥazm devotes several paragraphs to judgments and to conditional syllogisms (*sharṭiyya*). Aristotle does not deal with these in the *Prior Analytics*. As in the case of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, a Stoic influence is evident here. The conditional proposition is either conjunctive (*muʿallaḳa*), or disjunctive (*muḳassama*). Conjunctives are divided into connected propositions (*muttaṣila*): if A, therefore B; and into propositions with exception (*istithnāʾ*) : A (or not A) unless if B. The disjunctive enumerates cases, two or several, exclusive of one another, in a manner which is exhaustive (therefore perfect) or non-exhaustive (therefore imperfect): either A, then B; or C. then D...; now A, thus B. Ibn Ḥazm gives examples, well-known as instruments of the Stoics: if the sun has risen, it is day. The rising sun is the cause (*sabab*) of the day. But he also gives judicial examples, which is to be expected since in the *K. al-Muḥallā*, among other texts, he stresses the obligation to take account of the conditions which are in the Book of God (*al-shurūṭ fī Kitāb Allāh*), without excision or addition. Thus a fornicator who is married, adult and healthy of mind, is punished by flogging; that which intoxicates is forbidden; now the wine of figs, when (*idhā*) it is fermented, intoxicates; thus the wine of figs if fermented is forbidden. The conditional particles are if (*in*), as soon as (*matā mā*), when (*idh mā*), whenever (*mahmā, kullamā*). This being so, Ibn Ḥazm examines the different conditional syllogisms, according to whether their premisses are universal or particular, affirmative or negative.

This brief appraisal shows that, without rejecting logic in general, and that of Aristotle in particular, Ibn Ḥazm reduces it to an instrument for the evaluation of names and of their meanings, whether they are isolated or connected in speech. By this means, genres, types, differences, particulars and accidents serve first to classify names, then, through them, the things denominated, to define the relations between names, and thereby between things denominated. While laying the foundations of a Ẓāhirī grammar, he has transformed the logic of Aristotle into a Ẓāhirī logic. It makes no attempt to advance a theory of quiddities and essences, being designed above all to serve in commentaries on Ḳurʾānic and prophetic texts, and the truth that it propounds is that of legal maxims and of *aḥkām*. It is for this reason that it is illustrated essentially by examples drawn from "Islamic law", and the nature of the work in question is clearly indicated by the full title, *al-Taḳrīb li-ḥadd al-manṭiḳ wa 'l-madkhal ilayhi bi'l-alfāẓ al-ʿāmmiya wa'l-amthila al-fiḳhiyya*.

C. *The theologians and logic*. (a) The Ḥanbalīs. Very attached to the notion that all knowledge comes from God, they admit however that reason (*ʿaḳl*), being a gift of God, is something of which use should be made. This is stated, for example, by al-Barbaharī

[*q.v.*], although he denounces personal and arbitrary use of reasoning. He attacks innovations (*bidaʿ*) as also does Ibn Baṭṭa [*q.v.*], who denounces those "who take ignorant and deluded beings as their masters, although the Lord has given them knowledge" and thus adopt "ideas which have no proof in the Book of God" (*Profession de foi*, introd., ed. and tr. H. Laoust, Damascus 1958). There is no doubt that logic is envisaged in this attack on *bidaʿ*.

But the most important text written by a Ḥanbalī on this subject is the "Refutation of Logicians" (*K. al-Radd ʿalā ʾl-manṭiḳiyyīn*) by Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*]. The author is at pains to show the uselessness of the logic of Aristotle. For example, a theory of definition teaches nothing about the defined object to those who do not already have knowledge of it: "There is nothing more clear than 'man', but his definition as a reasonable animal encounters objections". There is no need for a definition in forming a concept (*taṣawwur*) of the defined object and of its reality. "All men of good sense in all nations know the realities of things without being taught them by the school of Aristotle." However, Ibn Taymiyya admits nominal definitions which "distinguish between the defined object and that which is other than it". But he reproaches al-G̲h̲azālī for having introduced Greek logic into the *uṣūl al-dīn* and *fiḳh*; he denounces his works *al-Mustaṣfā, Miḥakk al-naẓar, Miʿyar al-ʿilm* and *al-Ḳisṭās al-mustaḳīm*. On the other hand, when the logicians declare that knowledge of judgments can only be formed by the syllogism (*ḳiyās*), this is a negative proposition (*ḳaḍiyya salbiyya*) which is not known through evident intuition (*badīha*), and they have no proof (*dalīl*) of this negation. How can they claim that no man can acquire knowledge of a non-intuitive judgment except through the intermediary of a logical syllogism based on the universal (*bi-wāsiṭat al-ḳiyās al-manṭiḳī al-s̲h̲umūlī*)? The difference between the intuitive and the speculative is relative. A judgment is intuitive when it is sufficient to observe the two terms (subject and attribute) in order to recognise that it is true. But in this men are very different from one another. Some are capable of understanding a conceptual representation with great rapidity. "In such cases the two terms of a perfectly accomplished representation are presented so well that it serves to clarify the concomitants (*lawāzim*) which are not clarified by any other..." It is an error to believe that the medium (*wasaṭ*) is in the thing qualified itself and that it is through its intermediary that the concomitant qualifications are actually established. This logical realism is evidently diametrically opposed to Ḥanbalī doctrine. But if by *wasaṭ* is meant the proof (*dalīl*) on which the conviction of thought (*al-t̲h̲ubūt al-d̲h̲ihnī*) is based, not a conviction bearing on that which is exterior to thought, the differences between men are seen to reappear. "There is no doubt that the thing by which one shows (*mā yustadall bihi*) can be the cause (*ʿilla*) in thought of an affirmation of existence bearing on the thing itself, whether this demonstration is called *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*] or *burhān* [*q.v.*] or any other name; it is then what is called *ḳiyās al-ʿilla* or *burhān al-ʿilla*, or *burhān limā*." But it can be otherwise, and it is then indication pure and simple (*dalīl muṭlaḳ*), called *ḳiyās* or *burhān al-dalāla* and *burhān inna*. "It is a reasoning based on verification by evidence." As Ibn Sīnā expressed it, "it gives the why of judgment, not the why of being" (*Is̲h̲ārāt*, 84). But in this too men differ. It is an error to claim that every speculative item of knowledge must have two premisses: a *dalīl* can have only one, or two, or more than two "according to the need of the one who speculates and demonstrates". In short, logical operations which are the operations of thought in the interior of thought, even when they form judgment of things, are relative to the strength or weakness of the faculty of thought of different individuals. In this sense, the logic of Aristotle, indeed all logic, will be nothing other than methods of exposition of known truths, not rules for transference from a known to an unknown.

In matters of religious tradition, there may be a need for unversal propositions. If, for example, the prohibition of *nabīd̲h̲* is to be explained, the statement will be that *nabīd̲h̲* is an intoxicating drink and every intoxicating drink is prohibited (or, *nabīd̲h̲* is a form of *k̲h̲amr* (fermented drink), and all *k̲h̲amr* is prohibited). Each of these propositions is known through a text (Ḳurʾānic or prophetic) or through consensus (*id̲j̲māʿ*). It there is objection to the minor premiss, the reply will be that it is established in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim that the Prophet said, "All intoxicating drink is fermented drink, and all intoxicating drink is forbidden". Those who believe that there is a demonstration by means of two premisses display enormous ignorance, "for the Prophet is of too eminent a rank to have recourse to such a method in the dissemination of knowledge". But it appears that this method may be applied to the purpose of those whose intelligence is of a less eminent rank.

Furthermore, universal propositions are known, in a general manner, not by demonstrative proof (*burhān*), but by an analogy of comparison (*ḳiyās tamt̲h̲īlī*). If the demonstration of the logicians requires a universal proposition, the knowledge that is had of them must have a cause. If one advances the consideration of that which is absent by that which is present (*iʿtibār al-g̲h̲āʾib bi ʾl-s̲h̲āhid*, cf. below), or the principle that the judgment borne on a thing is identical to that which is borne on a similar thing, then one has recourse to the analogy in question. If it is said that at the time of particular perceptions, there is produced in the soul a universal knowledge by the grace of the Giver of Intellect (*Wāhib al-ʿaḳl* = *Wāhib al-ṣuwar, dator formarum*; cf. the theory of the Intellect of al-Fārābī) who is the Agent Intellect (*al-ʿaḳl al-faʿʿāl*), or further, that in perceiving particular things, the soul is "disposed" to receive from the Agent Intellect the influx of the universal, the reply will be that it is discourse (*kalām*) on particular things which shows that the universal judgment is knowledge and not opinion or ignorance. Finally, if demonstrative proof supplies only a knowledge of the universal, as the universal is only in thought and there is nothing at the exterior but the determined existent (*mawd̲j̲ūd muʿayyan*), it follows that, through *burhān*, no existent can be absolutely known. The above are a few of the many criticisms levelled by Ibn Taymiyya against the logicians.

(b) The As̲h̲ʿarīs. In his *K. al-Tamhīd*, al-Bāḳillānī distinguishes between various kinds of demonstrations (*istidlāl*): (1) those which divide a thing in the intelligence (*fi ʾl-ʿaḳl*) into two or more parts which cannot all be true or all false; proof (*dalīl*) shows that these divisions are false, except one; the intelligence judges as necessarily true that which remains; (2) that which states in that which is presently given (*fi ʾl-s̲h̲āhid*), that it is necessary to judge and to qualify a thing by reason of a cause: it must therefore be judged that that which has the same qualification in that which is not presently given (*al-g̲h̲āʾib* = the absent), must have it by reason of this cause (cf. Gardet and Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, 365 and n. 3). "In fact it is impossible (*mustaḥīl*) to establish a proof which shows that which

justifies the qualification by an attribute in the absence of that which renders this attribute necessary." Thus it is known that a body is qualified as a body only by reason of the fact that it is composite; it must therefore necessarily be judged that everything qualified as a body has a composition; (3) that which demonstrates the truth or the falsehood of a thing according to (*ʿalā*) the truth or the falsehood of another thing which is similar to it and included in the same notion. For example, it is shown that God can give back life to the dead by the fact that this is the same thing as giving it to the living. Other types of demonstration depend on the exigencies of lexicography, or on the Ḳurʾān, the Sunna, *idjmāʿ* and the analogical reasoning of jurists (*al-ḳiyās al-sharʿī*) which, likewise, is linked to a "cause" (*ʿilla*, cf. below). "All these traditional proofs (*adilla samʿiyya*) have the same role in the unveiling of truth through *ḳiyās* as have judgments based on reason."

In his *Irshād*, al-Djuwaynī defines just reasoning (*al-naẓar al-ṣaḥīḥ*) as "everything which leads to an understanding of the manner in which the proof proves (*al-ʿuthūr ʿalā 'l-wadjh alladhī minhu yadull al-dalīl*)". As for proofs, "they are that which, through just reasoning with regard to them, lead to the knowledge of that which is not known in a necessary manner by deep-rooted practice." Muslim theologians are confronted here by an important problem, which al-Djuwaynī explains clearly. "Reasoning (*naẓar*) does not engender knowledge as a derived effect (*lā yuwallid al-ʿilm*); it does not necessitate it (*lā yūdjibuhu*) in the way that the efficient cause (*ʿilla*) necessitates its effect. "He thus expresses, on the one hand, the opposition of the Ashʿarīs to the Muʿtazilī doctrine of *tawallud*, and on the other hand, their opposition to the doctrine of the *falāsifa* who, following Aristotle, consider that the minor clause of a syllogism is the cause of its conclusion by the route of essential necessitation. According to the Ashʿarīs, it is God who immediately creates knowledge of the conclusion as soon as the premisses have been posed. This is an application to logic of the doctrine of occasional causes. Logical laws, like the laws of nature, are for God a custom (*ʿāda*), a rule of conduct (*sunna*) which He freely decides to observe, and the correlation between premisses and conclusion is purely *ʿādī*. Nevertheless, for al-Djuwaynī this correlation is rational (*ʿaḳlī*) in the sense that God has created reason and its necessary principles; they cannot be incumbent on Him, since He creates them freely, and it is by the same free act that, having created them, He decides to observe them habitually. (On this question, cf. Luciani, *El-Irchad*, ed. and tr. Paris 1938, 14-15, n. 2.) This problem of logical necessity (*al-ḍarūrī*) is of prime importance to theologians. According to al-Bāḳillānī, in his *Tamhīd*, a knowledge is necessary in two senses. First, it is a knowledge which is attached to the creature itself "by a connection (*luzūm*) of which it cannot rid itself". Doubt is not possible; here there is an act of violence done to the one who knows, for, in the language, the word *iḍṭirār* signifies *ikrāh* (violence), i.e. *ildjāʾ* (constraint). It is in this sense that there is talk of a necessary knowledge. Subsequently, a knowledge can be said to be necessary when there is a need for it, for, in the language, *ḍarūra* signifies *ḥādja* (need). In the first sense, sensible knowledges are necessary, since they are imposed on the five senses. But there is a sixth necessity "which has been originally created in the soul", arriving through none of the senses, such as the knowledge that the soul has of itself, and the knowledge of the principles of necessary intuition, such as that a statement is true or false; two statements posing two contrary objects cannot be simultaneously true or simultaneously false; and this applies in all cases where the intelligence makes a division by which is applied the principle of the excluded third. It is this necessity which renders the conclusion necessary. Here, too, there is recourse to the notion of the *ʿaḳlī* connection. (On the tripartite division of knowledge, cf. *Irshād*, 25, and n. 1.)

In his *Munḳidh min al-ḍalāl*, al-Ghazālī writes that questions of logic have no reference to religion, either to refute it or to prove it. "They are a rational examination (*naẓar*) of methods of proof and of criticism, of conditions relating to the premisses of the demonstrative syllogism (*burhān*) and the manner of disposing them, of the conditions of correct definition and the manner of organising it." However, misuse of this science leads to the belief that the conditions of demonstrative proof necessarily engender certitude (*al-yaḳīn*). On the level of religious problems, it is not possible to unite these conditions in an exhaustive manner. If al-Ghazālī thus warns the theologian against the dangers of logic, he does not fail to recognise in the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūmʾ al-dīn* that logic, as "enquiry into the manner and conditions of proof and of definition", enters into the science of *kalām*. A branch of philosophy, it is placed in the second rank, after mathematics and before metaphysics (*al-ilāhiyyāt*) and the philosophy of nature (*al-ṭabīʿiyyāt*). In *al-Ḳisṭās al-mustaḳīm*, al-Ghazālī has shown that there are syllogistic demonstrations in the Ḳurʾān, which he is concerned to set in form.

4. The logic of the *falāsifa*.

(a) *Preliminary comment*. The logic of Aristotle depends on judgments of attribution which express the inherence of the predicate in the subject (*omne praedicatum inest subjecto*) when it is a case of essential attributes, or its simple presence in the subject, when the predicate is accidental. The link between the predicate and the subject is marked by the copula "is" ('εστι). But the Arabic language disregards the copula. The verb *kāna* indicates a state at which the subject has arrived, a manner of being; this is why it is followed by the direct case (*naṣb*) such as a *ḥāl*. Grammarians recognise only the relation of the *mubtadaʾ* (inchoative) and of the *khabar* (enunciative). In his commentary on the *Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī, Ibn Yaʿish [*q.v.*] explains that the *mubtadaʾ* is definite in order to show that it is known to the two interlocutors who are in accord in discussing it, while the *khabar* is indefinite in order to show that one of the two is ignorant of that which the other intends to tell him regarding the *mubtadaʾ*. It is thus not a case of a discussion expressing the relation of a predicate to a subject, but of an informative discourse (*ikhbār*) of one who addresses a second person regarding something which is the object of the information (*al-mukhbar ʿanhu*). This concept is close to that of the Stoics in regard to the λεκτόν, that which can be said of a thing. Their dialectic concerns true or false statements relating to things; these statements or judgments ('αξιώματα) comprise a subject (substantive or pronoun) and an attribute expressed by a verb. They never express the relation of two concepts. Although the *khabar* can be something other than a verb (even an entire proposition, e.g. Zayd, his father has come) there is evident kinship between the notions of the Stoics and those of the Arab grammarians. There is even a relic of this where Muslim thinkers, especially in matters of *fiḳh* (cf. below) adopt formulae of the Aristotelian type. It may further be noted that for Ibn Yaʿīsh, the true agent of a proposition is not the grammatical subject, but the one who enunciates

it: before every statement, there is an understood "I say that". Now the verb *ḳāla* (say) is constructed with the particle *in* or *inna* (that). Consequently, it may be said that phrases commencing with *inna*, the particle normally introducing the consecutive of *ḳāla*, testify to the reality of this understood preface.

This being so, the *falāsifa*, under the influence of Aristotle, were obliged to find an equivalent of the copula. The particle adopted for this purpose was *huwa* (he; Zayd, he [is] wise), although its copulative usage is incorrect. As is shown by A. Taha (*Langage et philosophie*, Rabat 1979, 25), "in its ordinary usage, the pronoun *huwa* serves to establish a relating of identity between the subject and the noun (or rather the nominal description) attributed to it, for example, *Ibn Khaldūn huwa muʾallif al-Muḳaddima* (Ibn Khaldun is the author of the *Prolegomena*)". But it is also admitted, for example by al-Fārābī in his commentary on *De Interpretatione* (*Sharḥ K. al-ʿIbāra*, Beirut, 103) that the copula is "potentially" contained in the statement, since the verb to be is "either expressed in a word, or contained in the idea" (*ibid*, 46).

(b) *The commentaries.* The work of the *falāsifa* rests on translations and commentaries on a major, medium and minor scale, of the books of the *Organon*. In the article *Manṭiḳ* in *EI*[1], Van den Bergh wrote, "The Arabic philosophers did not develop this logic, but they have summarised, reproduced and commented on it, often with felicity". But this judgment assumes a positive contribution on their part. It should first be stated, with N. Rescher, that the first generations of Arab writers on logic, including al-Kindī, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, al-Rāzī and al-Fārābī, were in a true sense "the products of Syriac schools". "The Arab logicians thus continue the tradition of the Greeks of the Hellenistic period, and the Muslim Aristotelians, like al-Fārābī and Averroes, are the last link in a chain of which the first members are the masters of the Greek language, such as Alexander of Aphrodisias, Porphyry, Themistius, Ammonius and Joannes Philoponus" (*Al-Fārābī's Short Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analystics*, Pittsburgh 1963, Introd., 23). Nor should the influence of Galen, and through him of Stoic ideas, be forgotten. Thus in his Short Commentary on the Prior Analytics, al-Fārābī introduces the conditional syllogism which Aristotle does not discuss, although he has promised to do so (*Pr. Anal.* 50a 40 - B 1). On the other hand, the theory of propositions- and modal syllogisms to which Aristotle devotes more than a half of his treatise, is entirely ignored (cf. Rescher, *ibid.*, 38). It is true that al-Fārābī has dealt with this in his *Major Commentary*. In his disdain for modal syllogisms, Rescher sees the influence of the Syriac theologian-logicians. It may be noted that Galen, in his *Institutio Logica*, does not speak of them either.

One original step taken by al-Fārābī in this short commentary is the use of ecthesis (ἔκθεσις: *iftirād*, *apax*, which D. M. Dunlop suggests should be amended to *iftirād* or *ifrād*) in the reduction to the first figure of syllogisms of the second of the Baroco system and the third of the Bocardo. The following is an example of the Baroco system (with the major moved to the head):

Every mobile (M) is corporel (C) Major A
Some existent (X) is not corporel (C) Minor O
Some existent (X) is not mobile (M) Conclusion O.

If some C is not C, it may be said that a part of the Xs is not C. Let this part be called P. We then have: No P is C (E), which provides a second figure syllogism of the Camestres type:

All M is C Major A
No P is C Minor E
No P is M Conclusion E.

But "no P is C" is converted into "no C is P", and by inverting the premisses the result is a definitive reduction from Camestres to Celarent of the first figure, with the second concluding:

No C is P Major E
All M is C Minor A
No P is M Conclusion E.

It is thus proved by this reduction to the first figure that no P is M. But it is given that P is some X. Therefore, it is true that some X is not M.

Rescher also draws attention to the originality of the chapter on analogy or transfer, in relation to what Aristotle says (*Pr. Anal.* ii, 25, 69 a 20 f.) on this reasoning which he calls 'απαγωγή. Of the latter, the following is typical: there is an evident major and a minor which is uncertain, but more probable or at least no less probable than the conclusion which is to be demonstrated. For example: Every science can be taught; justice is a science, therefore justice can be taught (syllogism of the first figure in the Barbara system). But al-Fārābī's analysis is different. He revives the distinction between *shāhid* and *ghāʾib* (cf. above). Rescher analyses this reasoning as follows: when A and B are two similars relative to S, and when T is present in A, it may be concluded that T is present in B. Thus experience seems to teach us that bodies, such as animals and plants, are created. This character of being created is transferred from these bodies to the celestial bodies. But al-Fārābī adds, the resemblance must be "relative to that which characterises animals as created," in other words, "a similarity between animals and the heavens on a point which gives truth to the judgment that the character of being created belongs to all these beings", for example the fact that they are all contingent. This requirement recalls a passage in the *Topics* concerning resemblance (i, 17, 108 a 14-17): "it is in the measure that they possess an identical attribute that things are similar." Therefore the bodies of animals and plants are created because they have this character of being contingent. The result is a first figure syllogism of the Barbara type:

All contingent bodies are created
The celestial bodies are contingent bodies
Therefore the celestial bodies are created.

Al-Fārābī is not the only one to achieve originality in his commentaries. Ch. E. Butterworth has also drawn attention to the originality of Ibn Rushd, although the latter is reputed to have followed Aristotle to the letter. He had "the onerous task of introducing the thought of a pagan philosopher to a somewhat closed Muslim community..." And, since he conceives that "teaching by means of demonstration is the apogee of what Aristotle has said on the art of logic, he sees no objection to presenting everything which precedes the exposition of this teaching as preliminaries based on general opinion, provided that this tactic induces his readers to revise their attitude towards the philosophy ... of Aristotle" (*La valeur philosophique des commentaires d'Averroès sur Aristote*, in *Multiple Averroès*. Paris 1978, 117-26). Also worth consulting is the same author's very interesting introduction to the edition of the Middle Commentary on the *Topics* (*Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Topics*, Cairo 1979).

(c) *The original treatises.* It is with Ibn Sīnā that logic is genuinely detached from commentary to become an integral part of the great treatises. The *Shifāʾ*, the *K. al-Nadjāt* and the *Ishārāt* all begin with a section devoted to logic. In the *Shifāʾ*, moreover, Ibn Sīnā

follows the order of the treatises of the *Organon* while making them precede the *Isagoge* (*al-Madkhal*), then moving on from the Categories as far as the *Poetics*. Ibrahim Madkour has well demonstrated that this treatise is not a commentary in the manner of those of Ibn Rushd; it presents an original development with "personal hypotheses and analyses of great breadth" (*Le Shifā'*, ed. Cairo, General Introd. 16-17). The connections between the *Shifā'* and the *Nadjāt* are close. Both respond to the same principal idea: " to combine together logic, physics and metaphysics" (*ibid.*, 19). The *Ishārāt*, which are subsequent to them, further display "the originality and the personality of Avicenna. This is why the work is associated with the ʿOriental Philosophy'" (*ibid.*, 22). There has been much discussion of this philosophy, which Ibn Sīnā himself evokes at the beginning of the *Madkhal*. That which remains of the *Manṭiḳ al-Mashriḳiyyīn* (the Logic of the Orientals) offers no new ideas in relation to the other works. Ibn Sīnā shows himself here closely attached to Aristotle. But he himself indicates the sense in which this philosophy is different. "We have revealed in this book the philosophy conforming to that which is in the nature of the spirit (*fi 'l-ṭabʿ*) and to that which expresses the correct point of view (*al-ra'y al-ṣaḥīḥ*) without concessions to those who are associated in this discipline. There is no hesitation in diverging from their authority, as there is hesitation in other books" (*Madkhal*, 10). In fact, he specifies that the *Shifā'* is more in agreement with the Peripatetics (*al-Mashshā'ūn*). It could thus be considered, as a result of the works of S. Pinès on the *K. al-Inṣāf*, that the Orientals are the thinkers of Khurāsān who are represented by Ibn Sīnā and that the Occidentals are the Peripatetics of Baghdād; it is the latter that Ibn Sīnā opposes and it is their interpretation of Aristotle that he criticises, on account of the fact that it is marked by the influence of "those Christian simpletons of Baghdād". It is certainly a fact that these Christians, Nestorians in the main, had pursued their studies of logic "in close association with their theological studies, since Greek philosophy provided a rational conceptual analysis, in which the theology of these churches found its articulation" (*The development of Arabic logic*, Pittsburgh 1964, 16).

Nevertheless, in the *Shifā'*, there is already a debate conducted with various logicians. Nabil Shehaby (*The propositional logic of Avicenna*, Dordrecht 1973) has sought to discover whether these are Ancient Greeks, contemporary Muslims or Christian Arabs. The author refers to Aristotle, to the Stoics (Chrysippus), to Galien, and he uses information supplied by Diogenes Laertius, Sextus Empiricus, etc. In the posterity of Avicenna, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, who both commented on the *Ishārāt*, differ on their interpretation. Al-Rāzī wrote numerous critiques of Avicenna, while acknowledging the scale of his debt to him. Rescher writes with reference to him: "In principle, Fakhr al-Dīn was not only a critic, but also an interpreter and a continuer of the work of Avicenna. He may, nevertheless, be considered the founder of an important 'western school' of Persian logicians ... since it constitutes a focus of opposition to the tradition of Avicenna" (*Development*, 184). On the other hand, al-Ṭūsī (597-672/1201-74) criticised the writings of the "westerners", specifically those of al-Rāzī (*ibid.*, 197). In Spain, the influence of al-Fārābī was dominant, and there are seen perpetuated there the concepts of the school of Baghdād which had been introduced by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūn (4th/10th century). Worthy of mention among the logicians of this country are Abu 'l-Ṣalt [*q.v.*] and Ibn Ṭumlūs [*q.v.*]. Many of these logicians had maintained an ancient tradition dating back to the Syrians, that of associating the study of logic with that of medicine.

Among the successors of Ibn Sīnā, mention should also be made of Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*] who constructed his *K. al-Muʿtabar* on the tripartite division of logic, physics, metaphysics. He sometimes follows Ibn Sīnā and sometimes attacks him. His method is based on immediate, evident *a priori* forms of knowledge, which, as S. Pinès writes, "disparage the *a posteriori* theses" accepted by the Peripatetics.

This arrangement of treatises poses the problem of deciding whether logic forms an integral part of philosophy (the Stoics), or is only a methodological introduction to it (the Peripatetics). Many Arab logicians support the latter point of view. Ibn Sīnā and the Muslim Neoplatonists reconcile these two concepts: logic is a part of philosophy to which it constitutes an introduction.

There is room here only to draw attention to the interest in the study of logic on the part of scholars of the Arabo-Muslim world in the Middle Ages. Thus it is known that the great mathematician, astronomer, [optical] physicist and physician, Ibn al-Haytham (d. 430/1039 [*q.v.*] wrote on the "seven books". Al-Bīrūnī, a centemporary of Avicenna, considered that the perfect language of science was the mathematical language characterised by the bi-univocity of signifiers and signified. Nevertheless, he mentions in the introduction to his *Pharmacopoeia*, the interesting quality of the *Isagoge* and the four treatises, from the *Categories* to the *Secondary Analytics*. It may be wondered what use would have been made of it in cases where the mathematical language does not apply. In these matters, much research remains to be done.

(d) The logic of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. It is from the 10th to the 14th Epistle that questions of logic are dealt with, after mathematics (arithmetic and geometry), astronomy, geography and music. The Ikhwān speak of the *Isagoge* and the first four books of the *Organon*. Men, being tied to a body, require for its comprehension an elocution formed of articulated words (*nuṭḳ lafẓī*). But, having access to intelligibles, they also possess an elocution formed of thought (*nuṭḳ fikrī*). There are thus two logical sciences to be distinguished: (1) *ʿilm al-manṭiḳ al-lughawī*. and (2) *ʿilm al-manṭiḳ al-falsafī*. It is necessary to start with the first in order to make the second comprehensible; this is the object of the *Isagoge*, the *Madkhal*. Then the logic of thought (*al-manṭiḳ al-fikrī*) is approached. "Terms (*alfāẓ*) are only the signs which designate ideas, which are in the thought of souls: they have been instituted between men, so that each may express to other men what he has in his soul". These ideas are forms which are given to the individual soul by the Creator, through a series of intermediary emanations: from God to the Agent Intellect, then to the universal Soul, then to the primary Matter, then to the human soul. "They are that by which men express themselves in their thought relative to knowable things, having seen material testimony to them by means of the senses." Logical philosophy is thus fundamentally linked to a cosmology in which man is a microcosm (*ʿālam ṣaghīr*) and the world a *makros anthropos* (*insān kabīr*). But he requires verbal logic (*manṭiḳ lafẓī*) in order to convey knowledge to others and to question them. This logic is thus not an art of discovery, but an art of revealing and of answering questions. Its object is to inform and to "popularise" (Rescher).

Lexicographers recognise several senses for the word "genre". For the philosophers, there is only

one: that which is applied "to the ten terms studied in the categories (*al-ʿas͟hrat al-alfāẓ allatī fī Ḳāṭīg͟huriyās*)", which they call *maḳūlat*. Each of these terms is the name of one of the existent genres. All ideas belong within these ten terms. From the starting-point of sensible experience, the philosophers define as matter the things anterior in existence, and as form the posterior things (this is evidently a case of logical anteriority and posteriority; if there is no matter, there is no form for a matter). Then they perceive that form is of two kinds, the one constitutive (*mukawwina*), the other perfective (*mutammima*); they call the first substance and the second accident. They declare that substances, having a unique status (*ḥukm*), constitute a single genre, unlike accidents which vary according to nine genres corresponding to the nine unities. Thus the logical expression of the reality of beings is in harmony with their arithmological expression, fundamental among the Ik͟hwān. Furthermore, this presentation of categories is intimately linked to sensible experience on the one hand, to the terms of the language which express it on the other.

On the *De Interpretatione*, the Ik͟hwān follow Aristotle only approximately. They abridge the work considerably and even mutilate it. On the other hand, they present some original features. E.g. their analysis of propositions which "enunciate universally of a universal" (*De Int.*, 7. 17, a 36-17 b 15); they speak of enunciations of which the truth or falsehood is manifest, and which do not lend themselves to interpretation (*taʾwīl*), as opposed to those which require this, an important issue in Ḳurʾānic exegesis. A proposition is not subject to *taʾwīl*, "when it is delimited (*maḥṣūr*); delimited things are those which are determined by a *sūr*". This word denotes an enclosing wall. Al-Tahānawī explains that it indicates the quantity (*kammiyya*) of individuals in an attributive judgment, such as "every" or "some". This is the προσδιορισμός of Aristotle. This *sūr* can be universal or particular. Thus: Every man is animal (evidently true); no man is animal (evidently false), etc. Propositions which do not have a *sūr* are either indefinite (*muhmal*), for example, the man is (or is not) a writer, or specific, for example, Zayd is (or is not) a writer; the latter is neither true or false, since it is not known which Zayd is being discussed. These ideas (which have already been encountered above) can be traced back to the *Topics* (iii, 6, 120 a 5 f.). It is worth quoting further from this typically Muslim passage, which no doubt refers to what Aristotle says of future contingents, "things which do not yet exist, but have only the potential of being or not being" (*De Int.*, 9, 19 b 2); in this case, affirmation and negation are mutually exclusive, they can be united in the true or the false when care is taken to say for example, of a young child, that he is potentially a writer but not so in fact. This is the sense which is to be given to the statement of the Messenger of God, "I was a prophet when Adam was between the water and the clay". He was a prophet in potential, but not in fact.

As for the syllogism, the Ik͟hwān note that from two judgments united as premisses, a conclusion can only result if there is a common middle term, and they use the analogy of sexual union (*izdiwād͟j*), the conclusion being like the child which is the object and the result. But the presence of a middle term does not suffice; hence the existence of inconclusive modes. The Ik͟hwān explain the syllogism (*ḳiyās*) on the basis of the root *ḳāsa*, which means to measure a thing by using a yardstick of the same type. Thus the scales measure that which has weight (*t͟hiḳl*) with weights (*ṣand͟jāt*). It is the combination of two planes, of an axis, of threads and weights. The same applies to the logical balance which is demonstrative reasoning (*burhān*). What it is composed of and what it is capable of weighing are both shown in the *Categories*; then in the *De Interpretatione*, how it is arranged and adjusted to form a balance and a scale of measure (*miḳyās*); then in the *Prior Analytics*, how this balance should be observed in such a way that it will not be falsified and twisted; finally, in the Secondary Analytics, how the weighing is to be performed and used, with the aim that it will be just and faultless.

In more than one respect, the ideas of Ibn Sabʿīn [*q.v.*] on logic are close to those of the Ik͟hwān. Like them, he insists on term and names. Ideas are that which is produced in the spirit as a result of sensible perceptions. But the absolute monism of Ibn Sabʿīn condemns their plurality; knowledge thus obtained cannot be other than inadequate. In *Budd al-ʿārif*, the beginning of which is devoted to a critical survey of Aristotelian logic, he takes issue with the plurality of terms used by the logicians, in relation to the plurality of perceptions, those of genre, type, difference, particular, accident, and *a fortiori*, of individual. Thus, definition serves no purpose in the acquisition of genuine knowledge, that of the *ʿārif*. "There is no need of it for explaining to another that which one knows". If there is removed from definition everything which belongs to discourse expressed between men, all that remains is the affirmation of an existence. Thus, the defined is the existent (*fa 'l-maḥdūd huwa 'l-mawd͟jūd*). Now existence cannot be defined, at least, Ibn Sabʿīn adds ironically, "unless one wishes to call existence definition; we do not discuss these expressions, we seek only true realities". In a word, logic is in relation with the thought of men enclosed in a multiple world, with their awarenesses which bear on the multiplicity of finite and defined beings. But it is useful, as are the sciences which follow its rules, to show the inadequacy of this type of knowledge and the need to pass beyond it to acquire the awareness of the Absolute One which is sought by the *mustars͟hid* under the guidance of his master.

5. Logic in the judicial sciences.

There developed very early in Islam a science of the principles of law (*ʿilm uṣūl al-fiḳh*) of which it could be said that its function in the law was the same as that of logic in philosophy and the sciences. There is thus already a doctrine of reasoning among the *uṣūliyyūn*. From the Ḳurʾānic verse IV, 83, there has been drawn the notion of *instinbāṭ*, elucidation of the divine word, closely related to *istik͟hrād͟j* with the sense of deduction. The commandment in LIX, 2, *fa- ʿtabirū yā ulī 'l-abṣār* ("Draw the lesson from this, you who are of clear vision") is also interpreted in the sense of an obligation to reflect by means of analogy. There has thus been from the start the practice of informal modes of reasoning which constitute what is called in a general fashion *id͟jtihād* (personal effort). The great problem was to apply the revealed Law, often "approximately" (*ʿalā 'l-id͟jmāl*), to detailed questions and to particular cases. First to be used were the *ḥadīt͟hs* of the Prophet which gave clear guidance in detail (*ʿalā 'l-tafṣīl*). But when this was insufficient, there was recourse to analogy.

It is with the *Imām* al-S͟hāfiʿī that analogy (*ḳiyās*) was properly constituted as a form of reasoning more rigorous than the simple comparison of similar cases (*tamt͟hīl*). Al-S͟hāfiʿī proceeds from the notion that every order given by God has a cause (*ʿilla*), which is more general than the order itself. When a case is presented on which there is no particular text, if it resembles a case dealt with by a text, it falls under the

name judgment on account of this same cause. In his *Risāla*, al-S̲h̲āfiʿī employs the word *maʿnā* in the sense of cause or reason; the *ḳiyās* which is not based on a simple resemblance is that which rests on the fact that "God or his Messenger have in a text (*manṣūṣ*[an]) forbidden or permitted some thing *li-maʿnā* (for a reason). Consequently, when we find some thing similar to this *maʿnā* in a case which in itself is the object of no text of the Book or of the Sunna, we permit it or forbid it, because it is in the *maʿnā* of the permitted of the forbidden" (*Risāla*, ed. A. M. S̲h̲ākir, Cairo 1357/1938, 40). In order to extend the application of the Law, there are disinctions drawn between reasonings *a minori ad majus* (*ḳiyās al-adnā*), *a majori ad minus* (*ḳiyās al-awlā*), *a pari* or *a simili* (*ḳiyās al-musāwāt* or *al-mit̲h̲l*) and *a contrario* (*dalīl al-k̲h̲iṭāb*). But these first elaborations of a judicial logic are contemporaneous with the translation of Greek philosophy. Also no doubt perceptible, in this distinction of arguments, is the influence of the *Topics*, ii, 10 and iii, 6, for example, "An argument may be drawn from more or from less or from the same degree (119 b 16)". The influence of the methodology of Roman law is indisputable, and comparisons could also be drawn with the methods of Rabbinic law.

It is with al-G̲h̲azālī, in his introduction to the *Mustaṣfā*, that Greek logic is genuinely introduced into judicial speculations. For him there is no logic peculiar to the science of law, and therefore use is made of categorical syllogisms as well as conjunctive and disjunctive conditional syllogisms. Jurists reason only on texts or on cases which may be subjected to texts. The conclusion must demonstrate under which of the *aḥkām* (prescribed, forbidden, advisable, inadvisable and permitted) the case being considered falls. But on this point there is a certain parallelism between the logic of the jurists and that of the philosophers. Thus the modality of necessity corresponds to that of obligation; that of the impossible to that of the forbidden; and that of the possible to that of the permitted.

The *uṣūliyyūn* accept other principles such as *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ* [*q.vv.*]. There is debate on the one hand as to their value (some reject them), and on the other as to whether these are forms of reasoning or simply more or less subjective principles of evaluation without genuine logical foundation. In a thoroughly documented article, based in particular on the testimony of the Ḥanafīs al-Bazdawī and al-Sarak̲h̲sī and of the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya, G. Makdisi has arrived at the conclusion that "*istiḥsān* can be the abandonment or modification of reasoning by analogy, being based either on a disposition in the Ḳurʾān, the *sunna* or consensus which is opposed to it, or on another reasoning by analogy which contradicts it" (*Legal logic and equity in Islamic law*, in *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, xxxiii/1 [1985]). *Istiḥsān* is thus not a subjective preference in favour of what is considered equitable; it is a preference based on an *ʿilla* which is either a text, or the fact that one analogical reasoning has more force than another. But this point is controversial.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, attention is due above all to the work of N. Rescher, *The development of Arabic logic*, Pittsburg 1964, of which the second part consists of a list of the Arab logicians, with biographical data, lists of logical works, bibliography and assessment of their status in Arab logic. By the same author, who is in fact the chief promotor of studies in Arabic logic, see also *Studies in the history of Arabic logic*, Pittsburg 1964; *Studies in Arabic philosophy*, Pittsburg 1966; *Galen and the syllogism* (containing the Arabic text with an annotated English translation of *Treatise on the fourth figure of the syllogism* by the mathematician Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ), 1966; *Al-Farabi, an annotated bibliography*, Pittsburg 1962; R. Arnaldez, *Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue*, Paris 1956; *La raison et l'identification de la vérité selon Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1956, i, 110-21; R. Brunschvig, *Logique et droit dans l'Islam classique*, in *Études d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, ii, 347; idem, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique par analogie d'après al-Ghazālī*, in *ibid.*, 363; idem, *Rationalité et tradition dans l'analogie juridico-religieuse chez le muʿtazilite ʿAbd al-Ǧabbâr*, in *ibid.*, 395; idem, *Pour ou contre la logique grecque chez les théologiens jusristes de l'Islam: Ibn Ḥazm, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Taymiyya*, in *ibid.*, 303; Ch. Chehata, *Logique juridique et droit musulman*, in *SI* (1965), 5; G. Deledalle, *La logique arabe et ses sources non aristotéliciennes*, in *Les Études philosophiques*, iii (1969), 299-318; F. Jadaane, *L'influence du stoïcisme sur le pensée musulmane*, Beirut 1968; Hassan Abdel-Rahman, *La logique des raisonnements juridiques*, thesis, Service de reproduction des thèses, Lille 1976; idem, *L'argument* a maiori *et l'argument par analogie dans la logique juridique musulmane*, in *Rivista Internazionale di Filosofia del Diritto* (1971), 127; A. M. Goichon, *La démonstration de l'existence dans la logique d'Avicenne*, in *Mélanges Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 168-84; I. Madkour, *L'Organon d'Aristote dans le monde arabe*, Paris 1934; idem, *Le traité des Catégories du Shifāʾ*, in *MIDEO*, v (1958), 253-78; A. Turki, *Polémique entre Ibn Ḥazm et Baǧī sur les principes de la loi musulmane*, Algiers; E. Tyan, *Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam: istiḥsān, istiṣlāḥ, siyāsa šarʿiyya*, in *SI* (1959), 79; J. van Ess, *The logical structure of Islamic theology*, in *Logic in Classical Islamic culture*, Wiesbaden 1970, 21-50.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

MĀNŪ (and also Ḳaṣr Mānū or Tīn Mānū), ancient locality situated on the Mediterranean coast, in the western part of the plain of D̲j̲afāra, between Ḳābis (Gabès) and Aṭrābulus (Tripoli), and on the old route leading from Ifrīḳiya to Egypt.

In our opinion it should be identified with *[Ad] Ammonem* of the Ancients, a place situated about 30 km. west of the town of Sabratha, Ṣabra of the old Arabic sources. It was here that there took place, in 283/896-7, a great battle between the army of the Ag̲h̲labid *amīrs* and that of the great Ibāḍī Berber tribe of Nafūsa [*q.v.*]. The latter people who lived in the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa to the south-west of Tripoli (it was already called Nauusi by Corippus towards the middle of the 6th century A.D.), were already dominating the western part of the D̲j̲afāra before the Arab conquest, having their main centre in the town of Sabratha. The Nafūsa, being Christians in this period, made their influence felt as far as Tripoli, whose inhabitants appealed for their help, in the year 22/642-3, against the Arab general ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. Later on, after the Arab conquest of Tripolitania, the Nafūsa, who became orthodox Ibāḍī Muslims and transferred their political centre to the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa, continued to extend their domination over the plain of the Western D̲j̲afāra, thus assuring themselves of control of the communication routes running along the coast between Ifrīḳiya and Egypt. In 267/879-80 Abū Manṣūr Ilyās, chief of the Nafūsa and at the same time governor of this tribe nominated by the Rustamid *imāms* of Tāhart, was called upon for help, as the true master of the hinterland of Tripoli, by the inhabitants of this town, which was besieged by the Ṭūlūnid al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Sixteen years later, in 283/896-97, the Nafūsa barred near Mānū the

passage of the Aghlabid *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad who was leading an expedition against Egypt. In the bloody battle between the two armies, the troops of Nafūsa were annihilated, and the power of his people broken. From this time onwards, they were to withdraw into the mountains of the Djabal Nafūsa.

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(T. Lewicki)

MANŪČIHRĪ, Abu 'l-Nadjm Aḥmad b. Ḳawṣ b. Aḥmad, Dāmghānī, was the third and last (after ʿUnṣurī and Farrukhī [*q.vv.*]) of the major panegyrists of the early Ghaznawid court.

Very little is known of his life, and that little is derived exclusively from his poetry. Later *tadhkira* writers have expanded and distorted this modicum of information with a few, readily refuted speculations. What can be ascertained with reasonable certainty is that he spent his youth, presumably in Dāmghān, acquiring an encyclopaedic knowledge of Persian and Arabic poetry and otherwise honing his poetic skills in preparation for a career as a court panegyrist. Nineteenth-century scholars speculated that Manūčihrī's first patron was the Ziyārid prince Falak al-Maʿālī Manūčihr (d. 420/1029 [see ziyārids]), from whose name the poet took his own pen name. Yet there is no mention of Falak al-Maʿālī in what survives of Manūčihrī's *dīwān*, nor any evidence that he was ever a patron of poets.

Between the years 422/1031 and 424/1033 he dedicated poems to deputies of Sultan Masʿūd then at Ray, and he appears to have gone to the court of Ghazna some time after Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Shīrazī had replaced Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī [*q.v.*], who died in the spring of 424/1033, as Masʿūd's vizier. He remained at Ghazna until the death of Masʿūd in 432/1041, subsequent to his defeat at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] at the hands of the Saldjūḳs. He may himself have died about this time. Certainly, no poems of his survive that refer to events or persons after that date. (There is a detailed examination of Manūčihrī's biography in ch. 2 of J.W. Clinton, *The Divan of Manūchihrī Dāmghānī*, see Bibl.).

The latest and best modern edition of Manūčihrī's works (Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1347/1968) contains some 2,800 *bayts*, of which the majority are in the form of panegyric *ḳaṣīdas* (57) and *musammaṭs* (11) — the latter a form which Manūčihrī introduced to the canon of Persian forms — and the remainder make up a handful of *ghazals*, *rubāʿīs*, brief fragments and individual lines. There are no indications that Manūčihrī ever attemped the *mathnawī*. Of the panegyrics, roughly a third are addressed to Masʿūd, and most of the remainder to major officials of his court. A few of Manūčihrī's patrons cannot be identified, or can be identified only with difficulty, and several of his poems either identify no patron at all or do so only with the ambiguous *shahriyār* "ruler" (Dabīr-Siyāḳī, introd.).

Manūčihrī's poetry has several qualities which distinguish it from the work of his contemporaries. His enthusiasm for Arabic poetry, expressed in imitations of *djāhiliyya* style *ḳaṣīdas* and frequent allusions to Arab poets, was unknown among the Persian-writing poets of his day. Even more distinctive, however, is his delight and great skill in depicting the paradisial beauty of the royal garden at *Nawrūz* and *Mihrgān*, and the romantic and convivial scenes associated with them, in the exordium (*naṣīb*, *tashbīb*) of the *ḳaṣīda*. Moreover, he displays a gift for mythic animation in elaborating such concepts as the battle of the seasons (poem 17) and wine as the daughter of the vine (poems 20, 57, 58, 59 and 60). Though it is not unique to him, Manūčihrī's engaging lyricism is remarked upon by all commentators.

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(J. W. Clinton)

MANŪF, name of two towns in the Nile delta.

1. Manūf al-Suflā, near the present Maḥallat Manūf in the *markaz* of Ṭanṭā, in Byzantine times a bishopric in Coptic Panouf Khīt, in Greek Ὀνοῦφις ἡ κάτω. After the Arab conquest, the town became the centre of a *kūra* [*q.v.*] (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 82; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 74; al-Yaʿḳūbī, 337), but seems to have disappeared already in the Fāṭimid period (cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 384). It was replaced by Maḥallat Manūf which, since the administrative reform of the caliph al-Mustanṣir and the latter's vizier Badr al-Djamālī [*q.vv.*], has belonged to al-Gharbiyya province (Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn*, ed. ʿAṭiyya, 183). In Mamlūk times, the tax-farm lands of the town were given as *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] to Mamlūks of the sultan and to officers of the guard (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, ed. Vollers, v, 97), but later revoked in favour of the *dīwān al-mufrad* (Ibn al-Djīʿān, *Tuḥfa*, ed. Moritz, 91; Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern*, Wiesbaden 1982, ii, 523 and map 34).

2. Manūf al-ʿUlyā, the modern Manūf/Minūf, in Byzantine times a bishopric, in Coptic Panouf Rīs, in Greek Ὀνοῦφις. After the Arab conquest, the town became the centre of a *kūra* (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 82; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 74). According to Ibn Ḥawḳal (*BGA*, ii, 128) there was a tax official (*ʿāmil*) and a *ḳāḍī* in the town in early Fāṭimid times. At the administrative reform of the caliph al-Mustanṣir and Badr al-Djamālī, the *kūras* were united into greater provinces (*aʿmāl*, sing. *ʿamal*). The southern point of the Delta then became the *aʿmāl al-Manūfiyya*, with the town of Manūf as the residence of the *wālī* (Ibn Mammātī, 188; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam, s.v.*). During the Mamlūk period, the municipal lands of the town were divided into several *iḳṭāʿs* (Ibn al-Djīʿān, 100; Halm, *Lehensregister*, ii, 372 and map 23). Al-Ḳalḳashandī gives the name "Munūf", and mentions the ruins of the older town to the west of the new settlement (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 405; cf. iv, 66). Under the jurisdiction of the *wālī* of al-Manūfiyya, there came also the small province of Ibyār (Djazīrat Banī Naṣr), neighbouring on the north-west. In 1826, under Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, the town was replaced by the larger Shibīn al-Kūm as chief place of the *mudīriyyat al-Minūfiyya*. At present, Manūf is the centre of the *markaz* of the same name.

Bibliography : ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*

al-*djadīda*, 47 ff.; Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1954-5, ii/2, 107 f., 190, 222 ff.; Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux*, Cairo 1909, 202 ff. (H. Halm)

AL-MANŪFĪ, a *nisba* referring to the Egyptian town of Manūf [*q.v.*]. The vocalisation of the name of the town and the *nisba* varies. In the older texts (cf. Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xvi, 47) the name is vocalised as Manūf. The recent official vocalisation is Minūf; cf. Wizārat al-Māliyya (Maṣlaḥat al-Misāḥa), *al-Dalīl al-djughrāfī li-asmā' al-mudun wa 'l-nawāḥī al-miṣriyya*, Cairo [Būlāḳ], 1941, 220, and Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1958, i/2, 222. The biographical dictionaries of Kaḥḥāla and al-Ziriklī give the old vocalisation, and this is adopted here. Many persons carried the *nisba* of al-Manūfī, of whom, in chronological order, the following deserve mention:

1. ʿAbd Allāh al-Manūfī al-Mālikī (d. 7 Ramaḍān 748/11 December 1347), alleged founder of al-Manūfiyya (al-Manāyifa) al-Aḥmadiyya, one of the oldest branches of the Aḥmadiyya order [*q.v.*], which are collectively known as *al-bayt al-kabīr* (F. De Jong, *Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth-century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, 14 f.). He was the nephew of Ramaḍān al-Ashʿath al-Manūfī, one of the disciples of Aḥmad al-Badawī [*q.v.*], and appears third in the *silsila* [*q.v.*] of the present-day Manāyifa order. His shrine is in the Ḳarāfat al-Mudjāwirīn, near the mosque of Sultan Ḳāyitbāy (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 2; Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī, *Djāmiʿ karāmāt al-awliyā'*, ii, 119; Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xvi, 48).

2. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Saʿīd b. ʿAlī al-Shams b. Abi 'l-Suʿūd al-Manūfī (d. 856/1452), head (*shaykh al-mashāyikh*) of the important *khānaḳāh* Saʿīd al-Suʿadā' [*q.v.*] in Siryāḳūs near Cairo. Later in his life, he became head of the *khānaḳāh* al-Shaykhūniyya (cf. Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xvi, 49 f.) which is also known as *takiyyat* Shaykhūn (cf. De Jong, *op. cit.*, 17).

3. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mūsā Shihāb al-Dīn al-Manūfī (847-927/1443-1521), once head of the *khānaḳāh* al-Ẓāhir Baybars (al-Ẓāhiriyya). He was born and died in Manūf, where he was for some time *ḳāḍī*, and lived and studied in Cairo and in Mecca. On his works, see Brockelmann, I, 380, S II, 406. For a French translation of sections of his *al-Fayḍ al-madīd fī akhbār al-Nīl al-sadīd*, by the Abbé Bargès, see *JA*, iii/3 (1837) 97-164; iv/7 (1846), 485-527; ix/9 (1849) 101-31 (compilatory; contains fragments from lost texts). For short biographies and additional references, see al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, i, 154; al-Ziriklī, i, 232; and Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 184.

4. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Naṣr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad... b. Khalaf b. Djibrīl al-Manūfī al-Mālikī al-Shādhilī (857-939/1453-1532), author of a number of tracts of Mālikī *fiḳh* (Brockelmann, II, 316; S II, 434; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*, 1807). He was born in Cairo, where he studied under ʿAlī al-Sanhūrī [*q.v.*] and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*]. He also wrote on *ḥadīth* and grammar. For additional biographical data, see Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xvi, 49, and al-Ziriklī, v, 11.

5. ʿAbd al-Djawwād b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Manūfī al-Makkī (d. 5 Shawwāl 1068/6 July 1658), once *ḳāḍī* and *muftī* of Mecca and author of numerous tracts in the fields of the traditional sciences (*ʿulūm naḳliyya*). He was born in Manūf and lived for prolonged periods of time in Mecca, where in his later life he became the protégé of its ruler and attained high office. He died in al-Ṭā'if; cf. Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xvi, 48; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, ii, 303.

6. Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Manūfī al-Baṣīr al-Shāfiʿī (d. 1135/1722-3), jurist and *ḥadīth* scholar who studied, and later taught, at al-Azhar mosque in Cairo. He was born and died in Manūf (al-Djabarī, i, 74; Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xvi, 50; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, xiii, 16).

7. Maḥmūd Abu 'l-Fayḍ al-Manūfī (1892-1972), founder of al-Fayḍiyya, a Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] branch, and author of more than a dozen books on Islam and Islamic mysticism in the modern age. He was a disciple of Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and had also been initiated into al-Fāsiyya, a branch of al-Madaniyya [*q.v.*]. In 1918 he founded the Djamʿiyyat al-Fayḍiyyīn al-Mubashshirīn al-Islāmiyyīn, which was active in combating Christian missionary activity in Egypt, and from around 1920 he presented himself as head of his own distinct *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*], al-Fayḍiyya al-Shādhiliyya (cf. Maḥmūd Abu 'l-Fayḍ al-Manūfī, *Maʿālim al-ṭarīḳ ilā Allāh*, Cairo 1969, 445-7; and *idem*, *Djamharat al-awliyā' wa-aʿlām ahl al-taṣawwuf*, Cairo 1967, i, 323-5). His early writings, which were published and distributed under the aegis of the Djamʿiyya, present a modernist conception of Islam in conjunction with a reformist version of Shādhilī mysticism. In the main works, all written after 1950, he elaborates an intellectualised conception of Islamic mysticism which is presented as Islam itself. He was the original founder, owner and editor-in-chief of the Cairene monthly *Liwā' al-Islām*, which was later bought from him by Aḥmad Ḥamza (d. 1980), and of the monthly *al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī* which appeared from 1949 until his death in 1972. For further references and additional details, see De Jong, *Aspects of the political involvement of Ṣūfī orders in 20th-century Egypt (1907-1970). An exploratory stock-taking*, in G. Warburg and U. Kupferschmidt (eds.), *Islam, nationalism and radicalism in Egypt and Sudan*, New York 1983; and idem, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt, 1911-1981* (in preparation), ch. 4.

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(F. de Jong)

MANZIKERT [see malāzgird]

MANZIL (a., pl. *manāzil*), noun of place and time from the root *n - z - l*, which expresses the idea of halting, a temporary stay, thence stage of a journey.

1. In the central and western Islamic lands.

In the Ḳur'ān (X,5; XXXVII, 39), it appears only in the plural, designating the lunar mansions (*manāzil* [*q.v.*]). *Manzil* may also be a stage in the spiritual journey of the soul, in the mystical initiation, see e.g. in the title of ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī's *K. Manāzil al-sā'irīn*.

According to the *LA*, it is the place where one halts (*mawḍiʿ al-nuzūl*), where the traveller dismounts after a day's march (*marḥala*, pl. *marāḥil*), of from 6 to 8 *farsakhs* [*q.v.*], sc. *ca.* 35 to 48 km. A stage through the desert could reach 60 km, with a travelling span of 11 hours. In the terminology of itineraries given by Arab authors, *manzil* corresponds to the *mansio* of Latin texts, "halting place, resting place", not to be confused with *mutatio*, "place where one changes mounts, staging-post".

In setting up a *manzil*, a place of transit, on a road (*darb* [*q.v.*]), account has to be taken of the topography and relief for the distances between the *manāzil*, the presence of a watering-place, spring, well (*bi'r* [*q.v.*]) or cistern (*birka* [*q.v.*]) and the possibilities of pasture [see marʿā] for the beasts and camping for the men. In the *1001 Nights*, the *manzil al-ḳabā'il* is the place

where the tent [see KHAYMA] are erected, and in general, this term is a synonym for the encampment of nomadic Arabs and then for the halting place of caravans.

In the geographical works and travel accounts of Arabic authors from the mediaeval period, this term is used for the site or encampment of caravans on the fringes of some settlement or equally, at the side of a *khān* [*q.v.*] along the highway which might be fortified to a greater or lesser degree according to the needs for security. At the opening of the 7th/13th century, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam built a lodging-place (*maḳām*) at each *manzil* on the Pilgrimage Road (*darb al-ḥadjdj* [*q.v.*]), according to Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn in his *Ḳalāʾid*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions a *funduḳ* [*q.v.*] at each stop (*manzil*) along the Cairo-Damascus road; these must be the foundations of Nāṣir al-Dīn, Tankiz's *dawādār*. According to Sauvaget, there was, during the Mamlūk period, a lodging-place (*manzila*) at each posting-stage (*manzil*) of the *barīd* [*q.v.*] network. It could also happen that a *manzil* could be the origin of a village, as at Khān Shaykhūn in central Syria.

Manzil is thus the equivalent of a *dār al-manzila*: a house where one halts, whence a place where one offers hospitality, a "hospice", for travellers. Along the routes through Arabia used by the pilgrims, the *manzil* was often a pious foundation, with a *waḳf*; this is probably why Niebuhr mentions the "free hostelries" in his *Description of Arabia*, and why Burckhardt says, in his *Travels in Syria*, that these existed all through the countryside to the south of Damascus and that they did great credit to the Turks' sense of hospitality.

At the end of the Mamlūk period, at certain stages there were fortified caravanserais, with kitchens and farriers attached, which could accomodate military detachments. In the Ottoman period, Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha, governor of Damascus, built in 971/1563-4 to the north of the citadel, in the Taḥt al-Ḳalʿa quarter, a *khān* and also independent lodging-places in its vicinity; the *manzil* in this way became an inn meant for travellers without either mounts or merchandise. Al-Khiyarī (d. 1083/1672), who in 1080/1669 travelled from Medina to Istanbul, states that there was, at one stage (*marḥala*) from al-Ḳunayṭira [*q.v.*] in the Djawlān, a *manzil* where one could stay in tents in summer but live in a *khān* during the winter. In 1081/1671, the stage of Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ [see AL-HIDJR], one of the centres where the pilgrims assembled on the Pilgrimage Road to the south of Tabūk [*q.v.*], suffered a serious attack by the Bedouins. The frequency of such attacks against this *manzil* led Asad Pasha to construct, in the middle of the 12th/18th century, a fort in order to protect the religious caravans. At the end of the Ottoman period, there were, according to Tibawi, two types of hostelries: the *maḍāfa*, which was communal, and the *manzil*, which was private. In the first, lodging and food were offered free to travellers by the better-off members of the community, on a rota system. In the second, similar hospitality was given in private houses situated along the roads constantly used by travellers; the owners who offered this hosptality had to pay reduced taxes.

At the present time, *manzil* denotes a lodging, a house and even an appartment. It is sometimes accompanied by a term which pinpoints its function more exactly, e.g. *manzil al-ṭālibāt* "home for female students", the title of a work by Fawziyya Mahrān which appeared in Cairo in 1961.

The term *manzil* forms part of certain place names. We find mention of the main halting-places considered to be *manāzil* in such authors as Ibn Khurradādhbih (272/885), al-Yaʿḳūbī (287/900), Ibn Ḥawḳal (366/977) and al-Muḳaddasī (390/1000), or later, the Andalusian ones al-Bakrī (487/1094) and al-Idrīsī (561/1166), who give us the itineraries of the main commercial routes of the *Dār al-Islām* and the Pilgrimage ones. Thus along the *darb al-ḥadjdj* of Egypt, between Fusṭāṭ and Mecca, one finds the Manzil Ibn Bunduḳa (BGA, vi, 111, 149, 190, vii, 183), which al-Muḳaddasī (215, 249) and al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, 345) call Manzil Ibn Ṣadaḳa, between Buwayh and ʿAdjrūd; at the next stage, there was a *manzil* at Biʾr al-Hudhā, but with merely a well and no provision for travellers. Going westwards from Egypt, Ibn Khurradādhbih (223) mentions in Cyrenaica, on the track connecting Barḳa with Sulūḳ, in the Wādī 'l-ʿArab, the Manzil Shaḳīḳ al-Fahmī, which de Goeje translated as "territoire". Amongst the best-known *manāzil* of mediaeval Ifrīḳiya should be mentioned Manzil Bashshū [*q.v.*]; the Manzil of Ḳābis [*q.v.*] (Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, i, 313), which in the 7th/13th century was outside the walls and which Victor Guérin visited in the mid-19th century in the course of his travels through the Regency of Tunis; and on the coast, at the end of the 7th/13th century, to the north of Sousse, Manzil Abī Naṣr and Manzil Tamīm, a fishing port with a fertile hinterland [see DJAZĪRAT SHARĪK]. The dependencies of al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] included Manzil Khayra and Manzil Banī Maʿrūf (Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, i, 309). In Sicily, there existed a Manzil al-Amīr which al-Harawī (55/125) calls Ḳaṣr al-Amīr (the present Misilmeri), a famed pilgrimage place, where, according to some, was the tomb of Galen (Ḳabr Djālīnūs) and according to others, that of Aristotle. Numerous place names in al-Andalus recorded by al-Idrīsī as being in the 4th clime are made up of Manzil followed by a proper noun, e.g. Manzil Aban (573), Manzil al-Amīr (603), Manzil Yūsuf (606) and Manzil Maldjaʾ Khalīl (615) in a fertile and populous region. In the province of Valencia, one finds Manzil ʿAṭāʾ (= Mislata) and Manzil Naṣr (= Masanasa); Lévi-Provençal (iii, 318) mentions a *manzil* at Diezma and one at Mondújar, these being "kinds of inns". In the province of Cordova, there was a lodging-place at one of the stages, Manzil Hānī, two days' journey from the capital (*ibid.*, i, 478); and on the nearby site of Manzil Ibn Badr was to be constructed, from 368/979 onwards, al-Madīna al-Zāhira [*q.v.*].

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p. XCVI; V. Guérin, *Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, i, 190-7; H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas*, Damascus 1952, 186; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 424, 478, iii, 318; A. Musil, *The middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 281; idem, *Palmyrena*, New York 1928, 175; idem, *Arabia deserta*, New York 1927, 523, 524; C. Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, Paris 1779, i, ch. XI, 67-9; A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire*, Damascus 1973, 255; J. Sauvaget, *Caravanserails ottomans du Hadjdj de Constantinople*, in *AI*, iv (1937), 98-121; idem, *Caravanserails syriens du Moyen Age, I* and *II*, in *AI*, vi (1939), 48-55. vii/1 (1940), 1-19; idem, *La poste aux chevaux au temps des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941, 22 n. 101; A.L. Tibawi, *A modern history of Syria*, London 1969, 55.

(N. Elisséeff)

2. In the eastern Islamic lands.

In Iran and, especially, in Hindūstān, it came to designate a camp, characteristically the royal camp, with corresponding verbs like *nuzūl kardan* and *manzil giriftan* meaning "to encamp".

This usage is distinct from the sense of *urdū* [*q.v.*], properly "the royal precinct in camp" from Mongolian *ordo*, and of *yūrt* [*q.v.*] meaning "camp site, territory" as in Turkic, from the time of Djuwaynī onwards. The camp centre had already been organised as a rectangle by the Kʾi-tan, with the emperor's screened precinct differentiated into an outer and an inner area, as a mobile extension of the palace. The concept appears to have been inherited by the Mongols, but with the orientation shifted from east to south. The sides were defined by lines of carts and tents, the royal guard was quartered to the rear, forming the battle guard, *yeke ḳol*, and in front stood the standards, drums and ceremonial drinkling vessels (*tuḳ*, *güʾürge*, *ayaḳa saba*); a horse park, *kirüʾe*, for visitors was set at a considerable distance on the approach, while the khān's own horses were probably behind his tents. The remaining disposition reflected the division into right wing, *baraʾun ḳar*, and left wing, *djewün ḳar*. This corresponds to the late Īlkhānid arrangement described by Nakhčiwānī (see *Bibl.*) ii, 62-3, where a further distinction appears in the placing of princes, *umarāʾ-yi ulūs*, and Turanian nobles close to the ruler on the right, and viziers, chancellors and Iranian (*Tāzīkī*) nobles on the left. The select company of *īnāḳs* [*q.v.*] remained in his immediate neighbourhood. A *masdjid-i djāmiʿ* had supplanted the earlier shamans' tents opposite his own site, i.e. to the south, with its complement of clerics and secretaries. Al-ʿUmarī (see *Bibl.*), 98-100, adds that so many scholars, jurisconsults and students accompanied Abū Saʿīd's camp that they were known as the "travelling academy", *mudarrisī 'l-sayyāra*; there were all kinds of craftsmen and tradesmen, a fully stocked market, *urdū-bāzār*, and tents could even be hired by travellers. At the head of the approach was the court gate, *bāb al-kiryās* or *bāb al-khān*, where the *amīrs* assembled daily. The administration of this establishment required special officers, notably the quartermaster, *yūrtčī*, and the lost-property keeper, *bulārghučī*, whose tent was placed conspicuously. The early 7th/13th century *Ādāb al-ḥarb* (see *Bibl.*), 286, provides comparative plans of camps, including one of "the infidels of Khiṭā"which may represent the Mongol form. Behind the stables are the kitchens, to their right the treasury, and to their left the wardrobe; the market is at the very rear. The wings curve out like bull's horns, a formation later referred to in the *Altan tobči*, 116, as *buḳa*. The Iranian (*ʿAdjam*) form differs mainly in grouping the wings compactly on either side of the royal enclosure and bedchamber, *sarāy-parda wa khʷabgah*, and placing the *ḥaram* behind it, with treasury and wardrobe to the right, and saddlery and amoury to the left; the bazaar is now in front, beyond a triangular area for stables, standards, and drums. A rather similar Indian form groups the treasury and wardrobe with the *ḥaram*, with the armoury on its right and the saddlery to its left, and after an interval, musicians and vintners to the rear: the chief divergence is in an advance guard placed forward of the bazaar, with ranks of infantry and sentinels on either side. In spite of this, it seems that by the 10th/16th century, the usual Indian camp enclosure was rounded, and Humāyūn made a point of demonstrating a *sarāparda* to Ṭahmāsp "like a watermelon" in 951/1544, in contrast to the Iranian practice of leaving it open behind (Gülbadan, see *Bibl.*, 58b). The arrangements under Akbar, described in detail by Abu 'l-Faḍl (*ʿAʾīn*, bk. i, nos. 16, 17, with plan datable to *ca.* 1006-13/1597-1605), shows an arrangement closer to the Iranian plan (*ʿAdāb al-ḥarb*) than the Indian: the basis is strictly rectangular, with a highly elaborated system of service departments on either flank of the royal enclosure, and a new defence for the private area consisting of a folding wooden trellis, the *gulāl-bār*, covered with red sheeting (red tentage had remained a royal prerogative since Saldjūḳ times). The guard was still behind the royal enclosure, as in the Mongol plan, and indeed much of the camp terminology was still Mongol-Čaghatay, as in *urdū*, *yūrt*, *ḳol*, *barānkār*, *djuwānghār*, and *keshik-dār* for the guard itself, though the terms for tentage were by now Persian, as in *bargāh*, *khargāh*, *khayma* [*q.v.*], *sarāparda* and *sarāča*. Akbar's main innovation was probably the combination of bazaar streets along the perimeter of his own precinct with diagonal ones at its corners, dividing the army into manageable corps corresponding to tactical units. The space required for the centre alone was 1,530 *gaz* (1,275 metres if *ilāhī gaz*) [see MISĀḤA. 2. India], with a security zone around the precinct 300 *gaz* (250 m.) wide. European reports confirm the huge size of such camp cities, at about 3 *ḳos* across, or 6 English miles, and 20 miles circuit; even so, they could be pitched in four hours, the tents of the nobility being pitched in advance of their arrival as a *pīsh-khāna* or duplicate set. The movement on royal progresses was relatively slow, at 4-5 *ḳos* or 10 miles a day, or every other day (Roe, see *Bibl.* 324-5, 329, 334, 341, *et passim*). The camp defences were later modified by Ṣalābat Khān for Awrangzīb, to protect the precinct as much from the vast number of camp followers in moments of panic as from the enemy. Such numbers (Gemelli-Careri claims half-a-million at Bīdjāpūr in 1695, iii, 153) led to self-destruction through the inadequacy of supplies, and immobility, as at the defeat of Muḥammad Shāh at Karnāl in 1151/1739. In the earlier Mughal period, a high degree of order had been maintained by the *mīrān-i manzil* or *khʷush-manzilān*, with inspectors (*ṣāḥib-i ihtimāmān*), a superintendent (*dārūgha*), an auditor (*mushrif*), and workmen and labourers from the tent department, *farāsh-khana*, who levelled the ground and built platforms for the main tents (Čandar-Bhān, see *Bibl.*, fol; 155b). Royal tentage was carried on elephants, camels, and mules; eight mules were loaded with tents for meals and short rests while on the move. The mobility achieved through such camps, though nomadic in origin, came to be essential to the administration of an ever-expanding empire, yet moves remained seasonal, and Shāhdjahān regularly moved northward in summer for a change of climate alone.

In the nomadic camps of Central Asia, the greatest

change was from the cart tents which had been characteristic of the Golden Horde and were still used as *köterme üy* (Mongol *ger tergen*) by the Ḳazaḳ in 915/1509, but survived to this century only among the Noghay, with their auxiliary baggage carts, *küyme araba*; elsewhere, they have been supplanted by trellis tents. The protective circular camping formation is already defined by Rashīd al-Dīn (Mongol *güreʾen*) (see *Bibl.*, i, 21).

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(P. A. Andrews)

MANZIL BASHSHŪ, a place in Ifrīḳiya whose site has been identified as the place called Djadīda.

Under the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] it was the chief town of the administrative district of the peninsula of Cape Bon or Djazīrat Sharīk [*q.v.*], which al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, 293, 302) calls moreover Djazīrat Bashshū. In the 4th/10th century, it was "an extensive and fertile region", concerning which Ibn Ḥawḳal (tr. Kramers-Wiet, 69-70) further says: "... The tax yield and the population are both numerous. A small province is attached to it; there are various kinds of harvests there, and the merchants come there to get supplies. At more than one spot, there are polluted waters, whose impurity is obvious; hence all outsiders entering the town fall ill, with the exception of Blacks, who retain their good health. These Blacks can be used in all conditions and perform their tasks with good humour. All sorts of fruit are to be found there. Each month, Bashshū has a market which is held on a fixed day".

A century later, al-Bakrī mentions at Bashshū a place, the Ḳaṣr Ibn Abī Aḥmad, probably constructed in dressed stone, according to the remains still on the site, and whose marble columns were re-used in the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣaba in Tunis in 630-4/1232-6. The town had a Great Mosque, baths, three open places (*riḥāb*) where the markets and bazaars were situated, but it lacked ramparts, even though it occupied a strategic site on the ancient highway linking Tunis to the main centres of the Sahel and the south. This urban centre was destroyed in 582/1186-7 by the governor of Mayūrḳa [*q.v.*] ʿAlī b. Isḥāḳ b. Ghāniya. Al-Tidjānī, who in 706/1306-7 visited this *manzil* one stage away (*marḥala*) from Tunis, gives a description of it in his *Riḥla*. The region remained abandoned from the end of the 6th/12th century to the opening of the 11th/17th one.

Bibliography : Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, ed. and tr. de Slane, Paris 1859, 96/45 and index; Muḳaddasī, 227; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, ed. Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1958, 13; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Villes arabes disparues*, in *Mélanges William Marçais*, Paris 1950, 5-10; R. Brunschvig, *A propos d'un toponyme tunisien au Moyen Age: Nūba-Nūbiya*, in *Rev. Tun.* (1935), 153-4; idem, *Ḥafṣides*, i, 306, 344; V. Guérin, *Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1892, i, 190-7; P. Hubac, *Tunisie*, Paris 1948, 9-18; M. Talbi, *L'emirat aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 294, 698. (N. Elisséeff)

AL-MANZILA BAYN AL-MANZILATAYN, a theological term used by Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ [*q.v.*] and the later Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] for designating the salvational status of the mortal sinner (*fāsiḳ* [*q.v.*]). The word *manzila* alone is attested, in the technical sense of "salvational status", in *Ḥadīth* (cf. Muttaḳī al-Hindi, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, i, 28, no. 519) and, later than Wāṣil, in the *K. al-ʿĀlim wa 'l-mutaʿallim* which was probably composed by Abū Ḥanīfa's pupil Abū Muḳātil Ḥafṣ b. Salm al-Samarḳandī in the second half of the 2nd century (cf. ed. Hyderabad 1349, 20, 11. 4 ff. and Schacht, in *Oriens*, xvii [1964], 111). It was used together with, and perhaps derived from the corresponding verb *anzala* (cf. a story told in Murdjiʾī circles at Kūfa where Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ asks somebody: "Where do you locate [*ayna tunzilu*] the unbelievers in the Hereafter?" and gets the answer: "In Hell"; Abū Ḥanīfa, *Risāla ilā ʿUthmān al-Battī*, ed. Kawtharī, Cairo 1368/1949, 38 n.). The dual *al-manzilatānⁱ* is used, with respect to Paradise and Hell, in a *ḥadīth* preserved by Ibn Ḥanbal (*Musnad*, iv, 438, 1. 7 from bottom; for the context, cf. Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīt und Theologie*, 47 ff.). The idea of a *manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* is prepared in a saying attributed to the Baṣran ascetic Yazīd al-Raḳāshī (d. between 110/729 and 120/738): *laysa bayn al-djanna wa 'l-nār manzila* (in the presence of ʿUmar II; cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, ed. Aḥmad ʿUbayd, Damascus 1374/1953, 90, 1. 9). The Muʿtazilī phrase appears for the first time in the title of one of Wāṣil's books (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. R. Tadjaddud, Tehran² 1393/1973, 203, 1. 5). But whether he coined it for the purpose of his own theology must remain doubtful, for all the reports which we possess agree that, in reality, he did not dissociate from two positions only, namely those who regarded the *fāsiḳ* as a "believer" and those who called him an "unbeliever", but from three, he equally rejecting Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's definition of the *fāsiḳ* as a "hypocrite" (*munāfiḳ*) which was taken over by numerous Baṣran ascetics and especially by the so-called Bakriyya, the adherents of Bakr b. Ukht ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd (*fl.* probably in the second third of the 2nd century). It is possible that this third standpoint did not become relevant, and also vexing, through explicit opposition, for the early Muʿtazila, until the Bakriyya entered the scene, for even they—and *a fortiori* Ḥasan al-Baṣrī—ultimately considered the *munāfiḳ* as a "believer", though as a believer who will be eternally punished in Hell (cf. al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 286, 11. 2 ff.).

The discussion about the different *manzils* had always been connected with an attempt to specify the juridical or theological consequences attached to them. This is how the Muʿtazilī position is proven in most of our testimonies (which are all much later than Wāṣil: cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Risāla fī 'l-ḥakamayn*, in *Mashriḳ*, lii (1958), 460, 11. 5 ff.; al-Khayyāt, *Intiṣār*, ed.

Nader, 118, 11. 2 ff.; Pseudo-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm, *K. al-ᶜAdl wa 'l-tawḥīd*, in *Rasāʾil al-ᶜAdl wa 'l-tawḥīd*, ed. Muḥammad ᶜImāra, i, Cairo 1971, 125, 11. 4 ff.): the unbeliever must be fought and cannot be inherited from, the believer is loved by God, the *munāfiḳ* should be summoned to do penance or otherwise be executed; all this cannot be said about the *fāsiḳ*. Therefore, since these juridical regulations (*aḥkām*) cannot be applied to him, the corresponding designations (*asmāʾ*) are not valid in his case either. In this presentation of the problem which became common in the future, the term *manzila* was replaced by *ism*; thus it slowly lost its significance for the theological vocabulary. Ḍirār b. ᶜAmr (2nd century [*q.v.*]) and Bis̲h̲r. b. al-Muᶜtamir (d. 210/825 [*q.v.*]) still wrote treatises about the *manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* (cf. *Fihrist*, 215, 1. 13 and 205, 11. 23 f.). Abu 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl included it among the *uṣūl al-k̲h̲amsa*; Ibn al-Rēwandī [*q.v.*] refuted the Muᶜtazila in this point (cf. *Fihrist*, 217, 1. 10). The terms *ism* and *ḥukm* are already found, though perhaps not yet systematically linked with each other, in Abū Ḥanīfa's *Risāla ilā ᶜUt̲h̲mān al-Battī* (ed. Kawt̲h̲arī, 35, 1. 16 and 36, 11. 12 f.). The disputation between Wāṣil and ᶜAmr b. ᶜUbayd preserved by al-S̲h̲ārif al-Murtaḍā (*Amālī*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1373/1954, i, 165, 11. 8 ff.) where Wāṣil uses *ism* but not *ḥukm*, is apparently a retrojection or a recast possibly taken from the *K. Mā d̲j̲arā baynahū* [sc. *bayna Wāṣil*] *wa-bayna ᶜAmr b. ᶜUbayd* (cf. *Fihrist*, 203, n. 1) which may have been composed in the second half of the 2nd century; nevertheless, it remains our oldest testimony for the Muᶜtazilī position and shows archaic features in part of its argumentation.

Similarities with Christian speculations about penitence have been pointed out by E. Gräf (in *OLZ*, iv [1960], 397; cf. also R. Strothmann, in *Isl.*, xiv [1931], 215). There is, however, to date no proof for any influence.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Cf. also W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 10 ff.; W. M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 213; J. van Ess, in *REI*, xlvii (1979), 51 ff.; M. Cook, *Early Muslim dogma*, Cambridge 1981, 94. See also FĀSIḲ and MUᶜTAZILA.

(J. VAN ESS)

MAPPILA, standard Western form of Malayalam Māppila, the name of the dominant Muslim community of southwest India, located mainly in the state of Kerala, primarily in its northern area popularly known as Malabar, Significant numbers of Mappilas are to be found also in southern Karnataka and western Tamil Nad, as well as in diaspora groups scattered throughout India, including the Laccadive Islands, Pakistan, the Gulf States and Malaysia. In 1971 there were 4,162,718 Muslims in Kerala, almost all Mappilas, and of these 2, 765,747 (est.) were concentrated in Malabar. Mappila growth in the past century has considerably outpaced that of the general population. If the rate of increase in the decade 1961-71 (37.5 %) was maintained, the size of the community in 1981 would exceed 5,700,000. Mappilas share the language (Malayalam) and the culture of the inhabitants of Kerala (Malayalis), as well as the unique religious blend of its 25 million people (59,5% Hindu, 21.0% Christian, 19,5% Muslim). Not only because of its size but also because of its particular historical experience, the Mappila community represents a significant segment of Indian Islam.

1. *The Name*

The name Māppiḷa (= Māppila, Moplah) is a direct transliteration of the current Malayalam term. Its origin is not settled, but it appears to have been a title of respect formed by a combination of *mahā* "great" and *piḷḷa* "child"; it was referred to visitors and immigrants from abroad, both Christians and Muslims, either in the broad sense of "honoured ones" (Logan, i, 191; Innes, 186; Hameed Ali, 265; Kareem, 61) or in the more specific meaning of "bridegroom" and "son-in-law" (Miller, 33; Thurston, iv, 458; Gough, 442; Gundert, *A Malayalam and English dictionary*). The latter meaning points to a process of intermarriage and is supported by contemporary usage in colloquial Malayalam and Tamil. Other derivations, including Arabic, have been suggested, but none so persuasive as the above. In time, the term became the distinctive appellation of the indigenous Muslim community of Malabar, although it is still occasionally applied also to Syrian Christians in South Kerala.

2. *The origin of the Mappilas*

Mappila culture is the Malayalam culture of Kerala with an Arabian blend, a fact that points to the ancient intercourse between Kerala and southern Arabia, founded on the great spice trade. The Mappila community traces its origin to that well-documented relationship. Arab trade with Malabar [*q.v.*] was going on for centuries prior to the advent of Islam, becoming particularly energetic from the 4th century A.D. and continuing until the European era. Islamicised Arab traders brought their faith with them to Kerala, where some settled and intermarried with the native Malayalis. The earliest generally accepted epigraphic evidence of Muslim presence in Kerala is represented by the Tarisapally copper plates dated 235/849 (Kunjanpillai, 370), which contain Muslim names in Kūfic script; however, a Muslim tombstone at Irikkalur dated 50/670 was observed by Mappila scholar C.N. Ahmed Moulavi before it was washed away, and another tombstone inscription at Pantalayini-Kollam dated 166/782 was legible in the 19th century (Logan, i, 197; but note the criticism of Burgess in Logan, i, p. ix). Because of the Kerala climate and the impermanence of palm leaf writing materials, there are no known literary manuscripts in Malayalam predating the 14th century. Nevertheless, despite the paucity of material proof, I.H. Qureshi's (p. 11) balanced opinion that Islam entered Kerala "within a few years of the proclamation by the Prophet of his mission" is very probably correct and Mappilas, in that light, may be regarded as the first settled Muslim community of South Asia.

Another view favouring a later 3rd/9th century dating for Mappila beginnings is dependent on an unreliable passage of the *Ak̲h̲bār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Arab geographers, who provide the available materials for the 3rd-6th/9th-12th centuries of Mappila history, were compelled to rely on such reports (only al-Masᶜūdī travelled to India, and he to the north; cf. Nainar, 3 ff.). The point of view, however, is also related to the persistent and much-debated tradition of the conversion of an important Hindu ruler, Čeraman Perumāl. The form of the tradition that is generally accepted by Mappilas is that reported by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Zayn al-Dīn (904-89/1498-1581) (referred to as Zainuddin), who was the earliest known Kerala Muslim to deal with the subject of Mappila origins and whose *Tuḥfat al-mud̲j̲āhidīn* became the basis for later Indian Muslim writings on the subject (Firis̲h̲ta, iv, 531). Zainuddin dates the conversion event to 207/822, but most Mappilas prefer an earlier dating, that of 3/624. According to the story, Čeraman Perumāl's missionary followers

led by Mālik b. Dīnār established a series of mosques, thus facilitating the expansion of Islam. While there is no historical evidence for the strongly-held tradition, there can be little doubt of the hospitality and toleration of native Hindus toward the Arab visitors and their faith.

The direct relation of Mappilas with Arabian Islam is as significant as their relative isolation from Indo-Persian Islam. That original relationship continued over the years, furthered in recent times by the extensive employment of Mappilas in the Gulf region, and it has affected the Mappilas more profoundly than any other Indian Muslims.

3. *Mappila development to 1921*

(i) Beginnings to 1498

Through eight centuries from their origin to 1498, the Mappilas and Islam in Kerala experienced an apparently calm and peaceful development. Mutual economic interest and religious tolerance, expressed in the direct support of Arab traders by the Zamorin of Calicut, the leading figure in Malabar commerce, paved the way. Immigration, intermarriage and missionary activity were inter-woven strands in the Mappila growth. While occasional stress must be assumed, there is no record of overt abrasiveness or militant encounter between the religious communities; the long period of harmonious relationships, including as it did the delicate areas of religion and marriage, stands as a model development in the history of the subcontinent. Mappilas flourished under these conditions, especially in coastal areas, as noted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (704-79/1304-77) during his three stops in Malabar; Zainuddin estimates that 10% of the population of Malabar was Muslim by the midpoint of the 10th/16th century (p. 59).

(ii) The European period

Vasco da Gama's arrival in Calicut in 1948 ushered in the European era and signalled a sharp change in Mappila fortunes. A participant in the events, Duarte Barbosa (p. 78), summed up the history when he said: "Thus they continued to thrive until the Portuguese came to India". The imperialist aims of the newcomers, embracing both economic and religious interests and exercised through military means, introduced a new tone into Kerala life. They succeeded in cutting off the Arab trade, and Mappilas who had been prevented from becoming landowners by the hereditary system of land tenure and who depended on commerce, were cast into reduced economic straits which eventually became a pattern of poverty. As new alliances developed the warm relationships between Hindus and Mappilas were also disturbed, and in the end cordiality was replaced by antipathy. Extreme cruelty, chiefly on the part of the Portuguese, produced an inevitable reaction. The Portuguese attitude reflected the mediaeval European tradition and was well represented by the governor of Goa, Afonso Albuquerque (d. 1515), who dreamt of destroying Mecca and who bitterly persecuted his Mappila opponents.

The volatile combination of commercial rivalry and religious animus produced long-lasting negative effects on the Mappila community: economic retrogression, estrangement from Hindus, bitterness against Christians and a new spirit of militancy. These trends continued in the ensuing period of "pepper politics" as the Portuguese were replaced by the Dutch (1656), the British (1662) and the French (1725). Power remained in the hands of a coalition of Christian foreigners and their Hindu allies, while the Mappilas gradually became a society of small traders, landless labourers and poor fishermen. The Mappila community experienced psychological gloom and distress, and defensive attitudes developed.

During the period 1755-99 the Muslim leaders of neighbouring Mysore [see MAHISUR], Ḥaydar ʿAlī (d. 1782) and Tīpū Sulṭān (d. 1799) [*q.vv.*] briefly interrupted the European hegemony over Malabar. Their suzerainty provided fresh hope for the Mappilas, who for the first time in their history were under Muslim rule. Mappilas were now able to obtain some land rights and administrative positions. There was a sharp increase in the community's growth, especially through accessions from the outcaste society. The fanatical religious policy of the Mysore rulers, however, served to intensify the spirit of militancy in the whole region, and the Muslim-Hindu alienation that had been born in the Portuguese period now became an established pattern.

The British assumed full power in 1792 (continuing till 1947), and the newly-raised Mappila hopes were dashed. The British restored the old order, adopting a policy of deference to Hindu leadership and maintaining a wary eye toward the Mappilas. The latter, disappointed and embittered, displayed their resentment in a series of 51 militant outbreaks during the century 1821-1921. The formal causes of the outbreaks included agrarian discontent, poverty, religious zeal and resentment toward the rulers, but underlying these was the emotion of an oppressed people, who responded to a seemingly hopeless situation with often unreasoned and self-destructive violence. Not all Mappilas shared in the depression-agression syndrome, and only a small portion of the populace actively participated in the outbreaks. Those who did participate, however, did so in the tradition of militant *d̲j̲ihād*, resulting in violent activities against those whom they perceived as their oppressors, whether British administrators or Hindu landlords (*jenmis*), and they very willingly accepted martyrdom.

This course of events reached its final dénouement in the Malabar Rebellion of 1921, frequently called the Mappila Rebellion. This was a spontaneous uprising (not one of "systematic preparation", as stated by T.W. Arnold, *EI*[1], MĀPPILAS) that included the establishment of a temporary "Moplastan" in Ernad, South Malabar, under V.K. Kunyahamad Haji. The new factor that helped to provoke this major upheaval was Mappila involvement in the K̲h̲ilāfat movement [*q.v.*], an organised effort within Indian Islam and the Non-cooperation Movement, to help restore the caliphate in Turkey [see K̲H̲ALĪFA]. This ill-fated cause had helped to generate temporary Hindu-Muslim unity in the Indian freedom struggle. The message that came to the Mappila community through the visits of leaders such as M.K. Gandhi and S̲h̲awkat ʿAlī was clear: only a free India could effectively plead this cause, and Malabar must join the struggle. Their intention to promote a non-violent cooperative effort of Hindus and Mappilas was initially honoured, but the message had an explosive effect and a sudden violent uprising resulted. Distressed by the violence, most Malabar Hindus withdrew from the struggle which, by default, became the Mappila revolt. A minority of Mappilas continued the hopeless battle against superior British forces, particularly in South Malabar. Disappointed and resentful they also vented their anger of the Hindu community in several ways, including vendettas against landlords and forced conversions (estimates vary widely from "a few" to 2,500). In wider India, this series of events helped to sunder the newly-established Hindu-Muslim entente.

The immediate results for the Mappila community

were disastrous. The Rebellion was put down after six months of bitter fighting in which thousands lost their lives. Severe reprisals followed: 252 Mappilas were executed, 502 were sentenced to life imprisonement, thousands were jailed or transported to the Andaman Islands, and large fines were levied. A special force named "The Malabar Special Police" was organised to provide a permanent solution to the "Mappila problem". The community was recumbent in defeat, ist relations with Hindu neighbours at an all-time low, its reputation for uninformed zealotry unparalleled on the sub-continent. The fundamental implication was that Mappilas were at the end of the kind of road that had been followed; a fresh philosophy needed to be developed, and a new life forged. Contemporary evaluation within India tends to the view that the Malabar Rebellion was a war of liberation, and in 1971 the Kerala Government granted the remaining active participants in the revolt the accolade of *Ayagi*, "freedom fighter".

4. *From 1921 to the present*

Subsequent events have dramatically altered the shape of the Mappila community from a defeated and closed society to a community marked by recovery, change and positive involvement in the modern world. Factors producing the change include: the new political situation in India, involving Mappilas in the democratic process; the necessity to deal with economic problems, as well as the Communist challenge to traditional forms or belief and response; the development of modern education and the growth of a new generation of leaders who press for dynamic progress; and theological reform movements that provide a basis for conservative rapprochement with the modern spirit. This reshaping of the Mappila community has involved it in severe inner conflicts and has introduced a series of unresolved dilemmas. In the process, however, Mappilas have been transformed from a negative symbol to a positive force in contemporary Indian Islam.

(i) The political factor

In the post-Rebellion period, 1921-47, Mappilas began to draw away from the Congress Party, although Mappila leaders such as the highly-esteemed Muhammad Abdurrahiman Sahib and E. Moidu Moulavi continued to struggle for the nationalist cause. Most Mappilas were convinced that a Muslim party must speak for them, and they aligned with the Muslim League. They were led by the inspirational K. M. Seethi Sahib (1898-1960), the chief architect of the Mappila revival. In the Partition controversy, these Mappilas upheld the two-nation theory and put forward an abortive proposal for a separate Muslim-majority province in the Malabar region, to be called "Moplastan". Although the Muslim League suffered a demise in the rest of India, it continued to remain a serious political factor in Malabar, and Mappilas eventually provided the leadership for its resurgence on a national level.

It was after the linguistic state of Kerala was formed in 1956 (including Malabar District, formerly part of Madras State) that Mappilas became a strong political force, giving the community a new sense of confidence and importance. Mappila political views covered a broad spectrum, and Mappilas were associated with every major party. Under its able leaders Syed Abdurrahiman Bafaki Tangal (d. 1973), P. M. S. A. Pukkoya Tangal (d. 1975) and C. H. Muhammad Koya (b. 1928), the state Muslim League, however, held the allegiance of the majority of Mappilas, and it played a king-making role in the state. Although never gaining more than 14 seats in the legislature, through clever alignments it participated in several governments. This success not only created a taste for power politics, but also encouraged the conviction that the welfare of the Mappila community depended on political prowess. Their participation in Kerala politics further gave rise to a psychology of accommodation that took Mappilas into co-operative relationships with all segments of society, including coalitions with Marxist parties. The strong Mappila support for a Muslim party, however, gave rise to the charge of "communalism", a criticism that rose from both within and outside the Mappila community. It was noted that Pukkoya Tangal, much revered for his saintly qualities, was at the same time the President of the Samastha Kerala Jamiat-ul-Ulema and President of the Kerala Muslim League. The criticisms increased when the Marxist-led state government granted the wish of the League for the formation of a Muslim-majority district in 1969 (Malappuram District, 64% Muslim, the fifth largest Muslim-populated district in India), over vigorous protests of the Jan Sangh and other right-wing Hindu organisations. In 1975 the contention of the Muslim League that it represented the sole legitimate Muslim voice was seriously weakened when the party, largely as the result of personality conflicts, split into a continuing division. In 1983, the two Muslim parties held 12.8% of the seats in the state assembly (Indian Union Muslim League, 14; All India Muslim League, 4).

(ii) The economic factor

Mappila material strength recovered very slowly during the period 1921-47 and there was only slight improvement thereafter. Economic disabilities were keenly felt (e.g. by 1947, only 3% of *taluk* officers in Malabar were Muslim, though one-third of the population was Muslim; in 1971 Muslims held only 30% as many state government posts as did Hindu Nayars, whose numbers they exceeded). The problems of poverty and unemployment, endemic in densely-populated Kerala, were felt in a special way by the educationally-backward Mappilas. The situation produced within the community an emphasis on material concerns, self-critical attitudes, a thirst for education, and an open door to the influences of Communism.

Traditional Mappila leaders appeared baffled by the magnitude of their community's problems, and many disadvantaged Mappilas were gradually attracted to the arguments of Comunists that promised a better life. Communist parties, strong in Kerala, had down-played religious issues and had become accepted as ordinary political alternatives. As did many Hindus and Christians, Mappilas began to mark their ballots "Communist" without any sense of contradiction. It has been suggested (by Mappilas; precise data unavailable) that more than a fifth of Mappila voters may have made this choice at one time or another. For most, it was a statement of protest rather than a affirmation of ideology; some, however, were influenced by the ideas of the Communist movement, others became doctrinaire proponents of Marxism, and a few became prominent Party leaders and officials. Typifying the latter is Ayesha Bai, the first Muslim woman to rise to public fame in modern Kerala, who illustrates the startling impact of Communism on this conservative Islamic society. Joining the Communist Party in 1953, she became Deputy Speaker of the Kerala Assembly (1957), an organiser of the State Women's Society (Mahila Samajum), and an aggressive advocate for the forward progress of Mappila women.

Within the past five years, a dramatic turn-around has taken place in Mappila prospects as a result of the great influx of funds from the earnings of Mappilas employed in the oil production centres of the Middle East. The sudden and unevenly distributed wealth is creating a new set of circumstances, within which the interplay of economics and religion will take new forms.

(iii) The educational factor

Pre-independence governments had made special efforts to advance Mappila education, but Mappilas had maintained a generally suspicious attitude toward those efforts (the community's literacy rate was only 5% in 1931). By the 1950s, however, the Mappila community had accepted the state programme of universal education, especially at the elementary level, and by 1960 nearly half the eligible Mappila children in Kerala were attending schools: by 1972 almost all were enrolled. Higher education experienced slower growth. In 1922, the Aikya Sankhum society was founded in Cochin State to promote higher education, and it provided strong impetus for the establishment of Mappila-managed schools. In 1936 a special Mappila high school was founded at Malappuram under the pioneering C.O.T. Kunyipakki Sahib. Another significant event was the founding of Farook College in 1948, through the efforts of Maulavi Abussabah Ahmedali (d. 1971) who had spent some years in Egypt in association with Taha Husayn. The Islamic context was deliberately maintained in the College, but modern disciplines were placed in the foreground. Under the leadership of K.A. Jaleel (b. 1922), later Vice-Chancellor of Calicut University, the institution had great impact on the Mappila community. By 1974 there were over 700 elementary schools, 36 high schools, nine first-grade colleges, and several technical institutions conducted under Muslim management. The spirit of modern education was still the subject of controversy in the Mappila community, but not the value of schools.

The explosion of education fostered an increasing sense of individual independence and intellectual freedom. The Muslim Educational Society (MES), founded in 1964 by a group of Mappila professionally trained men, headed by P. K. Abdul Ghafoor, a professor of medicine, typified the new Mappila spirit and brought into sharper focus the increasing conflict between the old and the new. The MES was characterised by intense dissatisfaction with the slowness of the community's forward progress, by the call for "revolutionary change", by its attack on what it regarded as superstition, and by a burst of philanthropic activity. In addition to promoting new colleges and providing support for students, it began social service activities, including the founding of 14 hospitals. Its influential periodical, *MES Journal*, led the cry for change. The response of the Mappila community was broadly supportive, and the success of the MES gave it a wiser prominence in Indian Islam. The movement, however, came into conflict with traditional approaches, and major controversies within the Mappila community followed in its wake. After initially supporting the new dynamism, the Muslim League and Jamiat-ul-Ulema each issued calls to Mappilas to dissociate themselves from the popular cause, charging it with advocating changes in the *S̲harīʿa*. As a result, Mappilas began to be polarised between progressive and conservative views, but did not break into sharp and formal division. The MES itself, however, experienced a schism in 1982; dissatisfied with its leadership some members formed a new, parallel organisation called the Muslim Service Society.

5. *Mappila theology*

(i) General features

Mappila theological development followed a path independent of trends in other areas of Indian Islam, a phenomenon accounted for by the origins of the community and by its linguistic and geographical situation. It was the conservative pattern of Arabian Sunnī orthodoxy that provided the major external influence. Mappila development has not been merely imitative, however, but it has been affected by its living experience in the Malayalam cultural context, especially after 1947.

Mappila isolation from Urdu-speaking Islam is notable, although never total. Contacts in the post-Independence period have increased significantly as Mappilas assumed leadership roles in the Indian Union Muslim League, as well as in other all-India Muslim organisations, but these have been primarily of a political and social rather than theological nature. The only Malayalam translation (1967) of a major Indian Muslim work on theological themes is that of Sayyid Amīr ʿAlī's *Spirit of Islam*. The views of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, of Sir Muḥammad Iḳbāl, and even of Mawlānā Abū 'l Kalām Āzād, remain relatively unknown. Mawlānā Abū 'l ʿAlāʾ al-Mawdūdī's work is better known as a result of the translation efforts of the D̲j̲amāʿat-i-Islām. A few Mappilas have studied at Aligarh or Osmania universities, and Urdu is offered as a language option in Kerala schools. These factors, combined with societal mobility, indicate a probable deepening of relationships in the future.

The basic Mappila theological orientation is summed up in the two statements: All Mappilas are Sunnis ... The majority of Mappilas are Sunnīs. Both statements may be understood correctly. The former refers to the absence of S̲h̲īʿa in the Mappila community. The latter refers to ordinary Mappila usage of the term Sunnī: in common parlance it signifies the traditionally orthodox in contrast to adherents of other movements. Chief among the latter are the Mud̲j̲āhids; the D̲j̲amāʿat-i-Islām party has some influence, and there are a few Aḥmadiyya. In this secondary connotation, about two-thirds of the community are Sunnīs, who represent popular Mappila religious belief marked by conventional doctrine and practice, and alligiance to S̲h̲āfiʿī law.

(ii) Mappila religious leaders

The major categories of authoritative religious figures are maulavis, mullas, tangals and *ḳāḍīs*. Maulavis (= musaliar, the earlier term) are the true leaders, combining in effect the functions of *imām* and *k̲h̲aṭīb*, and to some extent those of *faḳīh* and *muftī*, the latter being dependent on the community's esteem. A maulavi must have graduated from an acceptable training program. Mullas are religious workers of lesser standing and slight education, whose functions are primarily Ḳurʾān reading and home visitation. Tangals (Mal. pers. pron.; honorific) are individuals descended from saintly families; not necessarily engaged in religious vocations, they are generally respected and occasionally revered. *Ḳāḍīs* are fewer in number, and though their sphere of influence is limited, they are well regarded; they may be hereditary tangals or appointed.

Mappila theological progress is closely related to the pattern of maulavi training. The older form was set by the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Mak̲h̲dūm institution at Ponnani. Said to have been founded in the 6th/12th century, it reached its peak under S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Zayn al-Dīn b. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī

(872-928/1467-1521), known as the "senior Makhdūm", who wrote religious treatises, and his famed grandson, Shaykh Aḥmad Zayn al-Dīn b. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, historian and legal scholar. The office of the Makhdum was hereditary, the style of education personal and the curriculum narrowly traditional. Although the institution has lost its earlier importance, its spirit lives on. It houses the Maunathul-Islam Sabha, whose key purpose is "instructing new converts to Islamism" (*The Maunathul-Islam Association—Articles of Association*, Ponnani 1949, 1).

Contemporary maulavi training follows two paths. The Ponnani tradition is carried forward by the Djamīʿa Nūriyya College at Pattikad (founded 1965) led by T.K. Abu Bekr Musaliar, which has rapidly become the premier Sunnī training college for Mappilas. Some Mappilas still attend al-Bāḳiyat-us-Ṣāliḥat College at Vellore, Tamil Nad, and a few have gone to Deoband. The curriculum at Djamīʿa Nūriyya follows the Deoband model, substituting Shāfiʿī law for Ḥanafī; theological authorities studied include al-Bayḍāwī, al-Maḥallī, al-Nawawī and al-Ghazālī. The basic intent of this educational stream is that the student becomes a true proponent of *taḳlīd* and obtain basic vocational skills, and the educational style combines the lecture method with memorisation. The narrow and concentrated learning experience instils the dedication for which the Mappila maulavi is noted, and assures that he will remain the symbol of continuity. Its lack of foundation in modern knowledge, however, has also made the system the focus of vehement criticism from within the Mappila community, and many Mappilas regard the reform of religious education as the key to Mappila forward progress. Reflecting this view a second track of maulavi training has developed that emphasises a basis in modern education. A high school degree, and desirably a college degree in Arabic is a prerequisite, in addition to the traditional Islamic disciplines. Within this stream the Rouzathul-Uloom at Feroke is a representative institution; the Djāmiʿa-i-Dār-us-Salaam College at Umerabad, Tamil Nad, has long served the Mudjāhid movement, while the Djamāʿat-i-Islām maintains its separate centre at Shantapuram Pattikad.

(ii) Mappila theological reform

Mappila theology remained in a fairly constant mould until the present century when Wakkom Muhammad Abdul Khader Maulavi (1873-1932) of Quilon sparked the beginning of the modern reform movements. He was influenced by the Egyptian reform of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā through *al-Manār* [*q.v.*], and was to some degree aware of the ideas of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [see IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB]. Wakkom Maulavi exhorted Kerala Muslims to abandon un-Islamic practises, to respect reason, to adopt English education, and to develop progressive movements. He spread his views through the short-lived but influential Arabic-Malayalam periodical, *al-Islām* (1919) and by his Malayalam books *A literary view*, *Progress and literature* and *The rights of man*. He inspired a group of students at Trivandrum who carried forward his ideals, including K.M. Seethi Sahib in the socio-political realm and Khatib Muhammad Maulavi (1886-1964) in the religious field. A Malabar scholar respected for his skill in *tafsīr* and *fiḳh*, for his important *fatwās*, and for his efforts to establish the all-Kerala Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Khatib Muhammad's integrity and personality enabled him to transmit the southern reform to the more traditional north. To help express the spirit of the reform, "K.M." also joined with his colleagues, E. K. Maulavi and M. K. Haji, in establishing the major Mappila orphanage at Tirurangadi.

The *iṣlāḥ* initiated by Wakkom Maulavi and carried forward by his followers was basically a conservative reform, marked by an insistent call to return to the fundamentals of Islam and a positive reaching out to the new world. It is this fact, taken together with the quality of its leaders and their effective teaching and writing, that accounts for its wide impact. In the end, the movement affected a broad spectrum of Mappila leaders: orthodox maulavis, teachers and other professionals, and business men. It took on an organisational form in 1952 when some Mappilas formed the Nadvat-ul-Mujahideen as "a progressive" organisation to enlighten the Muslim masses "on scientific lines," to further "the true injunctions of Islam" and to promote harmonious relationships" with other religionists" (cf. imprints on Mudjāhid invitations). Sunnī leaders felt compelled to resist many of the new trends; they called the Mudjāhids "Wahhābīs" as a term of reproach and criticised the Mudjāhid practice of establishing separate mosques. Mappila Mudjāhids place strong emphasis on *tawḥīd*, accompanied by severe criticism of saint veneration and other "superstitious" practices. They lay stress on the Ḳurʾān in contrast to Ḥadīth, and they argue for the validity of translations and the use of the vernacular in mosque and *madrasa*. They support the use of reason in the interpretation of the Ḳurʾān ("how it promotes thinking and discourages imitation", C.N. Ahmed Moulavi, *Religion of Islam*, Calicut 1979, 53) and its appropriate application to modern conditions. In that connection, the principles of *idjmāʿ* and *taḳlīd* are attacked, and *idjtihād* is affirmed. Modern education is to be promoted and should include women. C.N. Ahmed Moulavi (b. 1906), the premier Mudjāhid scholar and the most profilic Mappila theologian writing today, represents this approach. His six-volume translation of the Ḳurʾān (1951-61) was the first in Malayalam. His translations and other interpretative works (cf. *Bibl.*) comprise an important body of reformist literature and have made "C.N." the subject of controversy in the Mappila community.

The final stream in the contemporary Mappila theological development was added by the social reformers represented by such organisations as the MES (see above). Communist Mappilas had criticised what they viewed as "other-wordly" religion, but the orthodox tendency was to resist the critique in view of the source. The lay leaders of the Mappila social reform from a stronger base declared in effect that theology must be judged by its ability to respond to human problems. Their treatment of *zakāt*, which produced a major controversy, is illustrative. Traditional charitable giving practices should be altered, and a portion of *zakāt* should be diverted to revolving funds that will help establish productive enterprises and so deal with the roots of economic hardship. Science is to be respected, for there is no conflict with religion, and co-operation with people of other faiths for mutual uplift is enjoined. The fundamental emphasis of the Mudjāhids and MES is the same: it is not Islam but Muslims that need change and reform.

As a result of these influence, Mappila theology displays an increasingly divided face. Sunnī theology, which has both resisted and absorbed, is no longer a solid block. There is considerable inner movement and diversity of approach. The possibility of a new theological synthesis exists, but may be difficult to realise.

6. *Mappila religious and social custom*

(i) Religious practice

Formal religious life centres on the mosque, of which there are 5, 350 in Kerala, an estimated one for every seventy Muslim homes (*Kērala Muslīm Directory*, 668). The architecture is unique, following the general pattern of Kerala Hindu temples, with peaked roofs and no minarets, Mappilas believe that the oldest mosques were originally Hindu temples, setting the pattern for later construction. Newer mosques tend to an amalgam of style; the explosion of mosque construction in the early 1980s reflected both Arab cultural and financial influence. A defined geographical area will include a *djamā*ᶜ*at* mosque, other mosques and a number of small prayer halls (*niskarapalli*). Each mosque has a maulavi assisted by a *mukri* (= *mu*ʾ*adhdhīn*), and other staff, depending on its size and affluence. Arabic continues to be the primary language of the *khuṭba*, with Malayalam making some inroads. Women do not ordinarily attend mosque services. The popular Ramaḍān night services, however, are open to all and are well attended. Since only a minority of Mappilas attend the Friday mosque service, religious leaders look to a combination of Ramaḍān programmes and *madrasa* instruction to nurture the community.

Advanced Arabic studies are conducted at the more than 25 Arabic Colleges in the state. The majority follow the older method of rote instruction, but seven are chartered to grant the Afzal-ul-Ulama degree which is based on modern language study and which qualifies the bearer to teach the subject in secondary schools. The art of chanting has been drawn into public rhetoric and has created a special Mappila art form. The *i*ᶜ*djāz* of the Ḳurʾān is taken with great seriousness, and it has led to the protective use of Ḳurʾānic phrases in amulet form, usually blessed by a person possessing the grace of *karāmāt*, and used especially to ward off sickness.

Mappilas commonly observe the basic practices of *dīn*, and a disproportionately high percentage of the annual pilgrims from India to Mecca are Mappilas. *Mawlūd* readings are common in Mappila homes. Even more important are the Arabic-Malayalam *māla*s, religious song-stories, which celebrate the lives of Muslim saints or heroic events in the history of the community. The most popular is the *Moideen Māla* representing the life of al-Djīlānī (470-561/1078-1167), closely followed by *Rifa*ᶜ*in Māla* commemorating al-Rifāᶜī (500-78/1106-83). Sunnī Muslims also revere local saints, who are regarded as having miraculous powers, although the practice of shrine visitation is falling into some disrepute as the result of community criticism and the relentless pressure of modern views. The best-known is Syed Alavi of Mambram (1749-1843), whose shrine is still frequently visited; "by the foot of the Mambram Tangal" is a sacred verbal seal to a Mappila agreement. Other important shrines are those of Shaykh Zainuddīn at Ponnani and the Kondotti shrine of Muḥammad Shāh Tangal. The latter was an 18th century saint, possibly an itinerant Ṣūfī, whose followers have always denied the Sunnī allegation that he was a Shīᶜī. In addition to Bakr ᶜĪd and ᶜĪd al-Fiṭr, special festivals called *neřča*s are connected with particular localities. The most famous of these, the Malappuram *neřča*, recalls the deaths of 44 Mappila martyrs (1141/1728). These celebrations were traditionally accompanied by much fanfare and with very high emotional expression, but are increasingly regarded by the educated populace as outmoded expressions of religious fervour. A number of Sunnī leaders are waging a determined battle to validate the concept of *waliyat*, which is the most hotly debated issue in contemporary Mappila religion.

(ii) Social custom

Mappila social custom is governed by the *Sharī*ᶜ*a*, subject to the retraints of national law and the conditioning influences of Malayalam culture. Mappilas have generally stood for the inviolability of the *Sharī*ᶜ*a* in the area of personal law. Birth, marriage and burial ceremonies are strongly traditional, but in other areas, Mappila customs have been relatively open to change, including the area of family planning. Mappila women are experiencing a quiet revolution; some are joining professional vocations and assuming leadership roles. Polygamy was never common, but the divorce rate is high. Social classes in the Mappila community are nor sharply defined, but there is a continuing distinction of Mappilas of Arab descent, which is maintained through marriage practice and special regard for descent from the Prophet's line.

Mappila adaptation from the Hindu environment is not pronounced. The most striking example is the matrilinear system called *marumakkathayām*, indigenous to the Nayar caste, which played an influential role in Mappila history. Although in South Malabar accessions to Islam were primarily from outcaste groups, in North Malabar many Nayars joined Islam through conversion or intermarriage. Through this process, *marumakkathayām* took its place alongside the patrilinear system in Mappila Islam. The practice traces descent through the female side, assigns authority to the eldest sister, and controls property through the joint family system. This pattern, unusual in Islam (but cf. the Minangkabau Muslims of Sumatra) is progressively yielding to the development of nuclear families and to the pressure to conform to the more traditional Islamic order.

Other elements of Kerala culture, ranging from dress habits to architecture, have become part of the Mappila tradition. It is not possible, however, to speak of a fundamental cultural inter-penetration between Mappilas, Hindus and Christians. Mappila religious practice and theology, in particular, remaining relatively unaffected. The notable example of syncretistic practice—that associated with the Muslim saint, Vāvār, at the Hindu Sabarimala shrine in South Kerala—is an isolated exception to the general rule.

7. *Mappila character*

The key element in Mappila character is devotion to Islam. Although there is controversy within the community over the answer to the question "What is Islamic?", the importance of the issue is not doubted. The intensity of this commitment has given rise to the Mappila reputation for excessive religious fervour. The assessment that Mappilas are "religious fanatics" has followed as a more or less accepted assumption in many scholarly writings, particularly Western, contributing to the development of a caricature that bears little resemblance to reality.

As a result of the stress and reverses of the European period, Mappila reactions were extreme from time to time. The emotional and untutored response of some Mappilas to conditions that seemed hostile to Islam, however, did not represent an innate disposition characterising the entire community, which for centuries had co-existed with Hindu and Christian neighbours in practical harmony. Even those who maintained the "fanatic" assessment were forced to recognise variations between Mappilas of north and south Malabar, and in the south between coastal and inland Mappilas; these generalisations were too

broadly sweeping, however, to be accurate or helpful. Since 1947, Mappilas have turned their backs on the kind of reactions that produced the caricature; nothing so clearly illustrates that fact as the Mappila restraint in the anti-Muslim riots that took place in Cannanore District in 1971.

Mappilas share the emotional traits of Malayali personality, but Mappila character is especially marked by simplicity of faith; loyalty to friends, Muslim and non-Muslims; fortitude and patient endurance; honest and frugality; industriousness, marked ability in commerce; a sense of community pride and oneness; and the readiness to follow recognised leaders. Various influences are modifying the traditional character. Community loyalty is no longer blindly granted, and there is a new sense of individual freedom, as well as more impatience with unsolved problems. Although displaying remarkable vitality, religious faith is neither so simple nor so stable as it once was, and as the public attention is more and more directed to social progress, there is a growing tendency to view it as a purely private matter.

8. *Mappila literature*

For much of Mappila history, the number of Mappila writers and their influence upon the community was severely limited by the lack of education. As Mappila literature developed, religious publications dominated the field. These continue to increase rather than decrease in quantity, and the Ḳurʾān itself remains as the best-seller. More recently, however, Mappila writers have expanded their interests to general themes, and secular literature is being written and published in abundance.

The special, and still largely hidden, Mappila literary achievement is the Arabic-Malayalam body of religious materials, narrative poetry and songs. It is estimated (P. Seyd Muhammad, *Farook College Annual*, 1974, 56) that less than 10% of these materials are translated into Malayalam. This literary form emerged about five centuries ago as a complex blend of Malayalam language, Arabic script with special orthographic features, and some Arabic, Tamil, Urdu and Persian vocabulary. Particularly loved are the *khissa paṭṭukal*, comprising a series of romantic ballads and battle songs. These heroic epics represent the private Mappila folk annals, which are memorised and sung on special occasions, particularly by women. The poet laureate of the Arabic-Malayalam song literature is Moyinkutty Vaidyar (1857-91). With the rise of general education, the Arabic-Malayalam literary genre is on the decline, although religious literature is still being produced in considerable quantities at the publishing centre of Parappanangadi for use in *madrasas*.

Mappila periodical literature is extensive and wisely read, and is especially influential in the religious sphere. Almost one hundred periodicals have appeared during the past half-century, the majority in Malayalam, but many have died an early death. There are currently about a dozen significant publications, representing different points of view. A Mappila newspaper which played a significant role in the community's development is the *Chandrika* (founded 1934). For a more natural picture of Muslim life and emotion, the works of contemporary Muslim novelists must be considered. They represent Mappila culture, views and feelings with realism, freshness, honesty and a sense of humour. Generally uninterested in politics, the novelists also tend to be secular in spirit and deal lightly with religion, showing little hesitation to smile at its pretensions or to mock its idiosyncrasies. Drawing on universal human issues, they project a paradoxical mood of hope and pessimism. Leading authors include U.A. Khader, K.T. Muhammad, N.P. Muhammad and Moidu Padiyath, but the outstanding Mappila novelist is the widely honoured Vaikom Muhammad Basheer (b. 1910). His most noted work, *Nduppuppakkoranentarnnu* ("My grandfather had an elephant", 1951), follows the interaction between a conservative and progressive Mappila family, the elephant symbolising unrealistic traditionalism; the story illustrates a dilemma that faces Mappilas both in the present and in the future.

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Orthodox Sunnī beliefs are found in short Malayalam or Arabic-Malayalam writings such as *Muslim prārambha čatangl* ("Basic Muslim tenets") Ponnai, 1950; Madrasa textbook, *Classes I to V*. Parappanangadi 1972; K. Umar Maulavi, *Tarjumān-ul-Khurān*, Tirurangadi 1971; and the *al-Munir Annual*, publication of the D̲jāmiʿa Nuriyya College. The classic *S̲h̲arīʿa* manual is Shaikh Ahmed Zainuddīn, Fathul Muīn, Trichur 1968. Uncritical hagiologies of Muslim saints include M.A.

Kareem, *Sayyid Alavi Tangal*, Tirurangadi 1970, and I. Mitankutty, *Hazrat Muhammad Shah Tangal*, Kondotti 1964. For Wakkom Abdul and Khader's views, cf. his *Islāmile čintāprasthanangl* ("The progress of ideas in Islam") Perumbavoor 1954, and for his impact, cf. Muhammad Kannu *Vakkam Maulavi*, Calicut 1981. For the development of the Mudjāhid reform, see *K.M. Maulavismāraka grantham* ("K. M. Maulavi Memorial volume"), Tirurangadi *ca.* 1965, and the biographies of Seethi Sahib. The extensive writings of C. N. Ahmed Moulavi include his translation and commentary of the Ḳurʾān, *Pariśuddha Khurān*, 6 vols., Perumbavoor 1951-61, and of al-Bukhārī, *Saheelhul Bukhāri*, 2nd ed., Calicut 1970; idem, *Islām, oru samagrapāthanum* ("Islam, a comprehensive study"), Calicut 1979; idem, *Principles and practice of Islamic economy*, tr. K. Hassan, Calicut 1964. Vernacular publications such as *Chandrika* (League-oriented newspaper), *Al-Amīn* (Congress-oriented tabloid), *Sunni Times* (traditionalist weekly), *Muslim Education Society Journal* (progressive monthly), and *Prabōdhanum* (Djamāʿat-Islām journal), report on the clash of views on an broad range of subjects.

Neither Mappila religious practice nor social custom are well documented. For both, cf. *Kerala Muslim Directory* (*op. cit.*). The unique Mappila mosque architecture is studied by J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern architecture*, London 1876. The Malappuram *nerča* is reported on in *Manōrama*, 7 April 1972, p. 8. See also S.F. Dale and M.G. Menon, *Nerccas: saint martyr worship among the Muslims of Kerala*, in *BSOAS*, xli/3 (1978), 523-38. For Mappila songs, cf. K. K. Abdul Kareem's introduction to *Moyinkutty Vaidyar, Malappuram khissa pāttukal* ("Malappuram ballads"), Alwaye n.d.; O. Abdu, *Mappila pāttukal* (Mappila songs"), Chandrika Republic Day Edition, Calicut 1961; F. Fawcett, *A popular Mappila song*, in *Indian Antiquary*, xxviii (1899), 64-71; *idem, War songs of the Mappillas of Malabar*, in *IA*, xxx (1901), 499-508, 528-37; and C. N. Ahmed Moulavi, *Mahattāya Māppila Sāhitya Pārambariyum*, *passim*. Mappila marriage practice is treated in V. S. D'Souza, *A unique custom regarding Mahr (Dowry) observed by certain Indian Muslims of South India*, in *IC*, xxix (1955), 267-74, and *Kinship organization and marriage customs among the Moplahs on the south-west coast of India*, in Imtiaz Ahmad, ed. *Family, kinship and marriage among Muslims in India*, Columbia, Mo. 1976, 141-67; see also D. M. Schneider and K. Gough, *Matrilinear kinship*, Berkeley 1961. Mappila literature is discussed in K. Chaitanya, *A history of Malayalam literature*, New Delhi 1971, and in I. V. Ittiavar, *Social novels in Malayalam*, Bangalore 1968. In 1983 Farook College, Kerala inaugurated a Mappila Studies cum Research Centre, issuing a draft version of *Mappila Muslims of Kerala, a select bibliography*, ed. A.P. Abdurahiman, with the intent of developing a complete bibliography of Mappila materials.

(R.E. Miller)

AL-**MARʾA** (A) Woman.

1. In the Arab world.

For a long time, the problem of woman has been avoided or dealt with only partially or in a biased way, but now a general twinge of conscience has brought it to the focus of our attention. Not just one but many different problems confront the Arab woman and affect how she is seen by society. There is the legal aspect, defining the precise relationship between divine and human law; there is the collection of "distorted pictures" (the expression used by Etiemble) with which literature in particular presents the "myth" of woman; and there is feminine behaviour reported by contemporary witnesses since the beginning of the *Nahḍa*, to which she adds her own version.

Woman and the law. Problems arise within the systematic framework of law because of the ambiguity of legal phraseology and because of the growing confusion over the centuries between human and divine law with regard to the personal status of women. The major principles are outlined in the Ḳurʾān, two sūras of which are especially relevant: the one concerned with women (IV, *al-Nisāʾ*), and the other to divorce (LXV, *al-Ṭalāḳ*). Other verses deal with different problems such as adultery, modesty and inheritance (II, V, VII, XXIV, 31, 60/59, XXXIII, 30-3, 55, 59, XLIX, 11). Most of the hierarchies of human relationships are established in the Ḳurʾān; for Muslims it is a revealed morality rather than a *corpus iuris*. "Men have authority over women ... reprimand those you fear to be unmanageable! Confine them to their sleeping quarters! Beat them! If they then obey, you do not look for any other method [of constraint]! "(IV, 34/38) "Men have pre-eminence over them" (II, 228). A woman is "worth" approximately half a man, and there must be two female witnesses where one man will suffice (II, 282). The woman's share of an inheritance is generally half that of a man who has the same rights of succession (IV, 11-12/12-13). Polygamy is lawful (IV, 3). Great divine indulgence is promised to men, for "you could not be fair in your dealings with your women even if you wanted to; but do not be too partial!" (IV, 129, 128). But there are limits: "Do not force your slaves into prostitution....!" and certain taboos: "Your mothers your daughters, your sisters .... are unlawful for you [to have as wives]" (IV, 23-4, 26-7).

A free wife is described as a "field for ploughing (*ḥirth*); come to your ploughing as you wish!" (II, 223). In the hierarchy, she is placed along with children and the weak in need of protection. Over the centuries she has been kept in a state of almost total subjection by Ḳurʾānic "paternalism". Her attitude ("lowered eyes"), her gait and the chaste attire are all defined whether she is young (XXIV, 31) or old (XXIV, 60). Even more strict attention is paid to the "wives of the prophet", *yā nisāʾ al-nabī* (XXXIII, 30-3, 55, 59), and, as models of reference, caused women to be more rigorously restricted, through the veil and certain other prohibitions.

Rigorous interpretation has made the Ḳurʾān very severe. For example, according to the Ḳurʾān, marriage dowries, *ṣadukāt* in Ḳurʾān, IV, 4/3, translated *muhūr* in the *Tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī (Cairo 1947, 102), had to be paid "spontaneously" (*niḥlat^an^*) to the woman, but in practice this did not happen. The act of marriage, in origin stripped of all religious overtones, and purely "a civil act" concluded by *īdjāb* and *ḳabūl*, offer and acceptance, without any obligatory presence of a religious authority, according to Santillana, Schacht and Chehata, acquired a sacralised aura in law and became for the population at large an act subject to the divine law, contrary to the principles stressed by legal historians.

The constraints on women have become progressively worse. Adultery (*zinā*) punished in the Ḳurʾān (XXIV, 2) by a hundred lashes of the whip, applied to the offending woman and also to the man, eventually acquired legal sanction for the stoning of the women to death. What is perhaps even worse is that the Ḳurʾān stipulated that there should be four witnesses to an act of adultery before punishment could be authorised (XXIV, 4, 13 and IV, 15/19), but

later practice allowed the husband or the brother to put the suspected woman to death more expeditiously. Divorce (II, 226-32 and LXV *in toto*) is an absolute right reserved to the husband (LXV, 2), who must nevertheless refer to "the evidence of honest men among you" at all times. But in practice, this control has been neglected over the centuries. In the end, a new legal right evolved, allowing a man to use the police authorities to bring back a wife who has left the conjugal home (*bayt al-ṭāʿa*). Nevertheless, there had been constant reference to the Ḳurʾān even when irrelevant (*bayt al-ṭāʿa*, stoning the adulterous woman) and this was used as an argument for "sacralising" the status imposed on a woman.

This sacralising of her inferiority is perhaps the main reason for the problems of the Arab woman. She is regarded from an ontological point of view as a second-rate human being, coming after man in the order of God's creatures. She submits to her duties, is limited in her powers and is mistress neither of her own development nor of her own body. Everything about her is considered taboo, so that "marriage is dealt with in the same way as a man thinks about correct behaviour"

However, in the early stages of Islam "correct behaviour" was still flexible. Verses were revealed at the appropriate time to allow the Prophet to marry the divorced wife of his adopted son (XXXIII, 37) or, according to the exegetes, to expose the depraved character to public abuse for having accused ʿĀʾis̲h̲a of adultery (XXIV, 11-19; see note in Blachère's translation). Later, after the death of the Prophet, the conquests increased the number of marriages between Muslims and Jews and Christians. Although there was clear authorisation for this in the Ḳurʾān, the caliph ʿUmar temporarily prohibited this type of marriage for the sake of the welfare of the state. The revealed text was distorted or even contradicted to justify the need of the moment (cf. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā S̲h̲alabī, *Taʿlīl al-aḥkām*, 244).

In fact, the law was to become the battleground for two opposing factions. There were the literalists with their rigorous interpretation, who claimed to take their stand on the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna (*al-tafsīr bi 'l-manḳūl*) as well as on "consensus" (*id̲j̲māʿ*) and "precedent" (*taḳlīd*), methods essentially formalist or literalist. On the other hand, there was a body of rationalist or liberal opinion from the Muʿtazilīs to Avicenna and to K̲h̲ālid Muḥammad K̲h̲ālid in the 20th century who have tried to take into account the original historical setting of the statutes and the development of individual interpretation, especially concerning woman. However, over the period of the Arab-Muslim evolution, it has been the literalist tendency which has carried weight, even where in one region or another of the Muslim world some traditional customs favoured women's rights (cf. G.-H. Bousquet, 161 ff.).

In modern times, Muslims jurists, influenced by reformist ideas, have tried to make a distinction between "human law" and "divine law"; the "*ʿibādāt*, religious acts which bring the creature into contact with his creator", and the "*muʿāmalāt*, relations between individuals" (Chehata, 11). Since 1897, the institution of marriage (which is included in the *muʿāmalāt*) has been a written contract in Egypt and, therefore, has implied some means of protection for women, even though traditionally "it is not advisable to write it down" (Linant de Bellefonds, ii, 40). It has become more and more the general rule to draw up a legal document (in Ottoman law, 1911; in the Tunisian statute book, 1956; in Morocco, 1958; etc.). By borrowing from articles drawn up by the most liberal judicial schools, the modernists have followed a parallel course and tried legally to restrain the practice of polygamy; they include a "monogamy clause" taken from the Ḥanbalī school. This is why the Ottoman law of 1917 allows a wife to obtain the annulment of her marriage contract if her husband marries someone else. The Jordanian legal code of 1951 is similar. The Syrian (art. 14.3) and the ʿIrāḳī (art. 3.4) codes do not include the monogamy clause, but insist that the second marriage is given preliminary authorisation by a judge. The Tunisian code of 1959 (art. 18) was the first in an Arabic-speaking country, and until now (1982) the only one, to prohibit polygamy completely. As with marriage, there has been a gradual tendency to embody the procedure in a written document. It happened in Egypt in 1931 and in Syria in 1953 where, as also in Morocco, the judge may sentence the husband to pay costs and alimony. Several Islamic countries have forbidden "triple repudiation" in any circumstances. There has been a complete break with tradition in Tunisia, where (arts. 31 ff.) the act of repudiation is not reserved just for the husband, but it is possible to have "legal divorce", granted by the court "at the request of either husband or wife", each having equal statutory rights.

In Syria the law of 31 December 1975 (art. 60) stipulates that "the dowry must be paid to the woman herself" and almost everywhere, legal limits are imposed on the minimum age of marriage for young women and young men.

Although in most Arab-Muslim countries, it remains true that the witness of two women is worth that of one man; a marriage between a Muslim woman and a non-Muslim is null and void; and rights of inheritance are always regulated in an unjust way, improvements cannot be systematically denied. The wishes of a woman herself about her own future are now being taken into account. For example, the woman who marries a man with a different nationality is no longer obliged to lose her own nationality if she acquires that of her husband. In ʿIrāḳ (*J.O.* no. 2217. 1973), she may choose the nationality she wishes. In Lebanon (document dated 11 January 1968), she may have dual nationality and will lose her own only if she makes an official request to have her name removed from the registers of her native country. In Libya (Law no. 7, 1963), she keeps her nationality unless she is able and wishes to assume that of her husband; it is the same for Egyptian women (Nationality law, 1958) and for Syrian women (1969, art. 12). In Tunisia and the Sudan, the husband's nationality has no effect on that of the wife, who always keeps her own. It is also of note that in two decrees by the Supreme Court of Appeal in Egypt, in 1972 and 1975, equal weight was given to the testimony of women and men, and thereby the principle of the charter of 1962, "Woman must be equal with man", was introduced into the judicial system. Such examples indicate the tendency in recent times to concede a much greater autonomy in legal matters to a woman.

Distorted images of women in literature. From earliest times to the *Nahḍa*, poetic and literary compositions present their heroines with two sides to their character. Poetry of the archaic type always praises the hard life of the Bedouin with their historical records of events, their virtue and their sweethearts, who were not only ravishingly beautiful but were sometimes perfidious, were small-waisted and heavy-hipped, mendacious and inconstant (cf. Kaʿb b. Zuhayr's

Bānat Suʿād). They were always moving about, wandering with their tribes, seeking watering places as fleeting as the mirages. Later, love poetry evolved with society and a new image was added to the traditional one; there appeared the townswomen of the holy cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina, and of the Islamic capitals like Damascus and Baghdād. Pilgrims from Byzantium and Persia, both conquered territories, brought with them the first musical slave-girls, who were to play a considerable role in the creation of a new female image [see ḲAYNA]. Though them and the popular story-tellers [see ḲĀṢṢ], foreign influences reached different circles of Muslim society. The inspired stories from the Bible and from folklore frequently described queens like Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, and Bilḳīs [*q.v.*], queen of Sheba. The poets describe her as a silhouette surrounded by social prohibitions. The love aroused by woman in one group (Djamīl) is chaste and sad because it is always thwarted. For others (like ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa), love has become a game which is always spurred on by desire. It is played outside marriage with a woman who is conversant with the art of teasing. She becomes the object of a demanding "courtship", she must set aside her inferiority and inflame the man's passion, using her mind, her beauty and her talents. Since a wife has become the property of her husband (his "field"), she cannot be his equal and has lost this power, which is why in literature love affairs outside marriage were seen to be necessary. Ribald and mischievous poetry portrays a gallery of free-mannered women, even libertines. There were two types of women that could be described in this way in the early centuries of Islam. There were the beautiful, cruel slave-singers, and the so-called "free" women who tried first to imitate the free manner of the former and then allowed much more boldness in their behaviour than their successors under the ʿAbbāsid régime were able to tolerate (Lammens, *Moʿâwia Ier*, 259, 440). Both groups display strong intellectual qualities, for countless passages from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* represent free-women and slaves as being wise and good, firm advisers as well as well as mocking, insolent and cunning (i, 75, 76, 89, 126; ii, 86; viii, 133-4, 135, etc.). Again, this shows the dual image of woman described.

With the development of cities, these two female types finished on opposite sides of the social hierarchy. The urban Arabs adopted the values and ways of life of the peoples with whom they mixed, but they wanted to "preserve" their wives from them. This policy resulted in the practice of shutting up the so-called free townswomen of the wealthy and generally better-off social groups, especially after the transfer of the capital to ʿIrāk. Consequently, the influence of the slave singer became greater since she alone could mix with the men of the élite classes. She was shrewd, witty, cultured and often a poetess. She frequented all the places of social entertainment and constituted herself as a civilising influence on the sensitivity, the mind and the tastes of an expanding society throughout the Muslim empire, from al-Andalus to Persia.

Perhaps it was under the influence of the Manichaean beliefs of Persia or of Śatkism and Tantrism in Hindu and Buddhist India, that these same women of such great cultural importance gradually became a source of spiritual joy and a way of salvation. Such an apotheosis is evident in Shīʿī poetry which hails Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, as "the mother of her father", according to her *kunya* [see FĀṬIMA], "an angel of knowledge"; thus al-Suhrawardī says, referring to the *ḥadīth*, "He who knows Fāṭima as she is, knows himself". Now "he who knows himself, knows his God".

When she is transformed into such an icon, woman is the idealisation of the qualities of the slave-singer as well as those of the inaccessible free-woman. Poetry and prose alike express the sexual frustrations experienced by writers who have accepted the social prohibitions and who respect the traditional hierarchies. In love with his goddess, (whose social standing has been questioned by biographers), al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf claims only to "adore" a free woman. He says, "Only slaves can love servants" (*Dīwān*, ed. Khazradjī, 86, poem 161, verses 3, 4, 5). The same contempt was expressed later by al-Djāḥiz concerning slave prostitutes (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 253-4).

Theologians were appalled at the sacralisation of woman before she became this symbol of mystery. Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf is said to have "added apostasy to debauchery in his poetry" (*yaʿḳud al-kufr wa 'l-fudjūr fī shiʿrihi*), according to Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, the Muʿtazilī (*Aghānī*, viii, 15; concerning Ibn al-Aḥnaf, the poet at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and his love poetry, see N. Tomiche, *Réflexions sur la poésie de ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf*, in *Arabica*, xxviii/3 [1981], 275-99). In fact, poetic writing had become an expression of submission to social prohibitions and a sublimation of unattainable romantic desire. A poet like Ibn al-Aḥnaf really tortured himself in order to tell of his desire in a way that none of his predecessors had. Probably it was at this stage of literary development that the myth of Madjnūn, "the fool of love", became established (see Blachère, *HLA*, i, 122) and was anachronistically projected back to the beginnings of Islam. The poet makes an ideal of his frustration, and through his metamorphoses (the ground trodden on by the feet of the beautiful woman, or the linen encircling her beautiful body) he declares an impossible love.

Despite an apparent sacralisation, this poetry also carries the connotation of the suppression of the "game" of love and of reciprocal pleasure. It undoubtedly represents the woman as an idol beyond man's reach, but also as an erotic yet passive object, flattering the fantasies of the poet and of the story teller. This is why she was also a passive object of physical pleasure for poets like Abū Nuwās or Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj, who spoke of her in less mystical and less guarded terms. There was, therefore, an adoration and total submission of one group before woman, and a libertine attitude, an ethical debauchery and a revolt against social prohibitions of another; all these characteristics feature in the "man of high birth", the *ẓarīf*, the ideal man of the most illustrious centuries of the empire.

For centuries there has been a fixed dual image of woman as angel and demon. In Arab literature of the modern era, since the beginning of the *Nahḍa* and in later audio-visual media, feminine characters retain some of their traditional aspects. In current art forms, like modern novels and the theatre, the mediaeval contrast between angel and demon appears in familiar guise with the mother and wife on the one hand, and on the other, the "femme fatale", with eroticism aroused by the female form. Sexuality may, of course, be used to stimulate a wider circulation (magazine stories and films taken from the works of Iḥsān ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs or Yūsuf al-Sibāʿī). In the avant-garde novels, however, or in the new poetry, it may also convey a message of revolt against Society and the Establishment. Eroticism has a structural function

just like that of violence in works like those of Ghīṭānī or Madjīd Ṭūbiyā in Egypt or Ḥaydar Ḥaydar and Zakariyyā Tāmir in Syria.

Old feminine images still persist. Sometimes they are used to guarantee the old established order (proud, strong mothers and wives who keep the man on the right path in social behaviour); but they may also have an evil effect, threatening the dominant position of man, his virility, the family and the social structure (mistresses of restaurants, and brothels, treacherous women, real Delilahs capable of stripping any Samson of his vigour). Details are borrowed from real life and known events in order to bring these images up-to-date and to allow the stereotypes to be used again and again. New images show the changing life experience of women and enrich the discussion of novels, poetry, theatre and the cinema. There is the woman who has regained part of her independence by working and becoming entirely responsible for her own affairs. Her autonomy is accompanied by portraying a sexual emancipation in the artistic image of her, which is on the whole badly tolerated by the writer and the media. There is also the female student who is potentially emancipated and who often preaches looser morals than she practises. In contrast, there is the peasant woman, the worker and the servant, who have left their familiar countryside, are exploited for their work and their sex, and are all fighting to survive. And there is the freedom fighter, who struggles beside men for the liberation of the homeland in Palestinian literature. No judgment is made on her sexual behaviour, usually.

When issues of daily political and social life are involved, these images of woman are moulded to suit the artistic work in which they are used. Real events are set in a fictional world and then become symbolic elements within it. It is often difficult to discern what is true experience and what has been imagined, so they should not be taken seriously as historical documents. They do remain as important disclosures of their authors' aspirations and ultimately of the attitudes of their social groups, but not as a real description of the situation of woman in the Arab-Muslim society to-day.

Woman in real life. It is hard for official laws and idealising images in literature to reveal the true life style of Arab women. We can obtain a much better description by observing how historians and biographers from the past portray her, and then how the press and audio-visual media of to-day continue to do so. In ancient texts, she only appeared when some noteworthy event occurred, like her being expelled from the harem. But in early Islam she could win a measure of respect and even evoke fear. There were frequent political alliances made between the powerful to ensure the loyalty of influential tribes; and when wives were selected from a tribe, it gave the woman a distinctive prestige and respect (see Lammens, *Moʿāwia*, i, 324, 318). There seems to have been no need for her to be confined or veiled for several decades. One Amazon, who exposed the calves of her legs, took part in the horse racing at Medina, and women with uncovered faces received strangers and went out at night to visit friends or to discuss poetry within the precinct of the mosque (see *Aghānī*, x, 58, i, 150). Khadīdja, the Prophet's wife, would not allow her illustrious husband to marry again while she was alive, and his daughter, Fāṭima, imposed the same restriction on ʿAlī. These two men became polygamous only after the death of their first wives. The Ḳur'ān imposed the wearing of the veil only on the wives of the Prophet (XXXIII, 53, 59), for originally it was a mark of flattery and distinction.

In the course of time, after the conquests and the beginning of urbanisation, confining women and obligatory wearing of the veil became general among the leisured classes. Generally speaking, women ceased to participate in social life and only rare glimpses of a woman's life are provided. Some of the most suggestive scenes are found in the autobiography of Usāma b. al-Munḳidh (see H. Derenbourg, *Femmes musulmanes et chrétiennes de Syrie au XIIe s., épisodes tirés de la biographie d'Ousāma*, in *Mélanges Julien Havet*, Paris 1895, 305-16; also N. Tomiche, *La femme en Islam*, 136-7). There women are seen who exemplify the poetic myth of the "brave woman"; they help warriors in their struggles against the Crusaders and they help to maintain the social order. These are, of course, exceptional exploits, and apart from them, women make only rare appearances, whilst their slaves had less restrictions on their freedom and could be followed for a longer time in their movements.

In ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Egypt, and even in al-Andalus, in the large towns of the Muslim empire of ʿAbbāsid times, higher-class women ceased to appear in public, and they concealed themselves under copious layers of diaphanous material. The female world retracted into a fringe society and escaped observation. It was only common women that went about unveiled. They were no longer accepted in mosques under the pretext that they would defile them in their periods of impurity or that they would distract the minds of men who were over-sensitive to the gracefulness of their form and movement.

As the Ottoman Empire expanded, the confinement of free, well-to-do women became severe from the 14th century onwards, and woman's position in society weakened. Isolated in the harem, she deployed remarkable qualities in order to dominate her husband (see Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, repr. 1961, 225-6, 230-1; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le monde musulmane*, 387; Clot, i, 331). There was a mystery surrounding woman, her underhand activities and her ambitions, which produced in man a deep distrust of her and an imperious insistence on her local submission.

Lower-class women were not considered worthy of interest until the 19th century and afterwards. Then, many European travellers, especially in Egypt, gave precise information about their situation (see Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, ii, 305; Michaud and Poujoulat, *Correspondance d'Orient*, v, 13; vii. 83; 85-6; P.-S. Girard, in the monumental *Description de l'Égypte*, xvii, 36; Schoelcher, *L'Égypte en 1845*, 160-1, 305; Clot; etc.). Such a woman seemed lively and active, working in the factories of Muḥammad ʿAlī or as an *almeh*, "dancing girl". She endured "a type of circumcision" performed in Egypt (Clot, i, 321-3) [see KHAFḌ], and in the Sudan, infibulation, probably through the influence of pagan practices from black Africa. Following the occupation of Egypt by the French (1798-1801), the growing influence of the West, the development of the Arab bourgeoisie, the modernisation of towns and reformist ideas all had a disturbing effect on the family and social structures as well as on general attitudes. Any attempt to defend the earlier *status quo* brought about a deterioration in female segregation and increased restrictions. However, crises are sometimes salutary in the way they precipitate a liberation movement.

The year 1839 saw the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], a period of social reform when many schools were opened for girls in Turkey, but not in the other Arab regions of the empire. There had been a school for girls in Beirut opened by the American missionaries in Beirut in 1835, but it was the only one of

its kind for a long time. The first primary school for girls in Egypt was opened in 1876, and in ʿIrāḳ in 1899; tuition was given in Turkish.

The First World War brought about a growing need for labour, especially female labour, in these countries: they worked in the spinning and weaving industries, in companies manufacturing cigarettes and in factories making preserves, matches, etc. Women used to work side-by-side with men for the same pittance. In 1921 the first proto-trade union organisations demanded equality for men and women before the law. These rights, though often only existing in theory, like the nine-hour day and maternity leave on half pay, were granted from 1933 onwards. They led in turn to the setting up of a legal labour code in Iraq (1936), Syria and Lebanon (1946). These laws and guarantees, rarely respected at first, gradually and slowly are becoming customary.

It was not only in industry that women were employed. They worked in greater numbers (as they always have done) in craft and family enterprises. The patriarchal structure of the family favours an almost closed economy, and there the woman's fight for independence has almost no room to develop. The development of female education and the formation of a female consciousness has undoubtedly been made possible because of the wealth generated by oil and commerce.

The Arab woman's evolution was inevitably accompanied by a development of conscience, in the absence of which, in spite of lengthy periods of common conflict, she finds herself excluded from trade union activities through what is in effect discrimination. Furthermore, because of ignorance she did not avail herself of the rights which the law allowed her. Perhaps the quickest stirring of female consciousness was brought about by the fruitful activities of the feminist organisations. They were formed after the First World War and were mostly philanthropic, although some were definitely political; they were constantly active despite the sarcasm of the media.

Of all the Islamic countries, Turkey had the largest population of literate women, and it led the way in major changes. Developments in female education led to the propagation of more liberal thought. With the revolution of Atatürk in 1923, the country was laicised, and the wildest dreams of female liberation were realised—a model for other Arab states. At the end of the 19th century in Egypt, the first theorist of eastern feminism, Ḳāsim Amīn [*q.v.*], published a book entitled *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, "The emancipation of the [Egyptian] woman" which, in the name of the law of the Ḳurʾān itself, protested against the breaking of the law, the obligatory wearing of the veil, unjustified polygamy, and repudiation without the arbitration of a judge. He claimed equality of teaching for both sexes. Egyptian feminists supported him. From 1911 Bāḥithat al-Bādiya demanded that women should have free access to the mosques and that there should be compulsory primary education for everyone. After the First World War, Hudā Shaʿrāwī, a member of the Turkish aristocracy, opened her salon in Cairo and in 1923 appeared in public with an uncovered face.

At the end of the last century, feminist claims were expressed only by some women of the aristocracy, but now they have become increasingly urgent. They have been taken up by the upper and middle classes, by writers and journalists of both sexes and they have been organised into various unions or associations. The right to vote is now denied only to women in the Arabian peninsula, and since this right has become general, women's groups have assumed an electoral significance and have been recognised by the political authorities. In Egypt, the "Organisation of Arab Women" was formed by the female Minister of Social Affairs in 1962. In Syria, in 1968, the "General Union of Women" was directed by the Baʿth. The "Women's Union" was created by law in Libya in 1975 and in ʿIrāḳ the "General Federation of ʿIrāḳī Women" is one of the organisations (*munaẓẓamāt*) of the Baʿth party.

Trade unions and feminist activity have a value, but a general spread of education provides a much more favourable climate for female consciousness. Laws established after the achieving of independence have democratised education. The Declaration of Human Rights signed by the United Nations (art. 26) decreed that primary education should be free. Despite this, compulsory education is far from being generally accepted. Little schooling is available in the rural areas (in Morocco, Jordan, ʿIrāḳ and even Egypt, for example), but elsewhere only half the population of female school age reaches a primary school. In Saudi Arabia, the proportion is a third, with absolute segregation of the sexes (cf. *Maghreb-Machrek*, Paris, Doc. française, no. 78 (Oct.-Dec. 1977); *L'Islam*, Doc. fr. photogr. 27). The situation is the same in Syria. These difficulties arise because of an insufficient number of schools and qualified teaching staff. There are added problems because families use their children to work in the fields, in small industries, or in the home to eke out their resources.

Even when they are given the chance of a place at school and they pursue their studies, girls are subconsciously moulded by the cultural outlook fostered by the school and their view of the world is not necessarily different from that of their society, at least not until the final stages of secondary school. Official Syrian statistics for 1975 can act as a guide for the rest of the Arab world. In 1970, out of a population of 65,925 women who held certificates of primary education, 8,758 were pursuing an occupation other than that of housewife (= 13.4%); for secondary-modern (secondary and technical levels combined) diploma holders, the figures were 7,176 out of 8,059 (= 89.03%); for higher education diploma holders it was 3,365 out of 4,482 (= 75.07%); and for doctorate holders it was 108 out of 151 (= 71.5%) most of whom came from the middle classes or were the wives of diplomats living abroad. Very often (in 38% of the cases), the women were working for relatives or private individuals without receiving any payment. In 1970, this was the situation for 64,088 of them. It is also interesting to compare figures for married and unmarried women in the same year; there were 1,067,073 married women and 515,751 single, divorced or widowed, but although there were nearly twice as many married women, the number of active unmarried women (71,996) was well over the number of active married ones (58,886).

Often women agree to sacrifice their career in order to respond to the wishes of a husband or family. Such behaviour cannot simply be explained as due to the state of her mind, but must be influenced by the almost complete lack of necessary social infrastructures like crèches, canteens, etc. Pedagogic activity, therefore, cannot exist without educational activity, and they must complement each other. At the present time, there is insufficient integration of the different claims for equality of the sexes and for the liberation of women. Deep disturbances can be felt

even in the socialist universities of Damascus and Mawṣil concerning the actual segregation of women and concerning the wearing of the veil on the head or over the face. It has been an erratic path of development, and any progress that has been achieved by the work of cultured women, heroines in the fight for freedom, and trade unionists have been followed by some spectacular steps backwards, even in the so-called progressive countries.

The struggle goes on in the Arab-Muslim world between those who used to be called "literalists" but now "integrists" and the liberals; old arguments have been rekindled. The rise of Muslim "integrationism" has been made possible by the new-found power of the *āyatallāhs* in Iran through the success of their revolution against the Shah's régime, and above all by their resistance against the unfortunate ʿIrāḳī aggression. Even if the Arab-Muslim world accepts modern techniques in the hope of bettering its way of life, it still remains attached to the values and religious beliefs by which it hopes to preserve its identity. The threats and fulminations of the *ʿulāmaʾ* conservatives of Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Egypt and Algeria exploit this religious attachment and encourage the observance of passivity and submissive attitudes in the societies concerned. This has led to a spectacular return to the veil and long dress, the symbols of female submission.

Once they had given up the signs of their bondage, the cultured middle-class heroines of the Arab resistance movement became submerged in the fear of "integrationist" opposition. In Egypt, the law upholds the right of the husband to beat his wife and a legal official will even go so far as to stipulate what length of stick to use. In Kuwayt, members of the assembly have refused to grant women the right to vote in February 1982, even though the Dean of the Faculty of Law at Kuwayt University was a woman (*Le Monde*, 14 February 1982). The project for a "family code" in Algeria maintains the legal inferiority of the woman: she is always considered a minor and must pass from the guardianship of her father to that of her husband, brother or uncle, or even to that of her eldest son. Polygamy and repudiation are allowed and any professional activity a woman undertakes must be sanctioned by her husband (*Le Monde*, 9 January 1982). In the Assembly, Algerian officals have had to face up to the disagreements between those of the liberal tendency, who recognise the equality of men and women, and the traditionalists, who are faithful to the "Arab-Muslim heritage".

When the conflict moves to the political level, "progressive" and "modernist" tendencies within Arab socialism are opposed by totalitarian and theocratic tendencies, legitimised by religious tradition. Because of the overlap between politics and social life, the degree of freedom a present-day Muslim woman enjoys can be seen as an accurate indication of the degree of political change the society in which she lives has undergone. In the past, she was given a role which allowed her to consolidate the family unit and to perpetuate habits, modes of thought and the cultural heritage; even so, to-day she has a role which, depending on whether it is in a society reflecting archaic attitudes or one belonging to the secular liberal viewpoint, indicates a stagnant stage of civilisation or a modern attitude in harmony with the principles of the "rights of man"—and of woman. A solution will have to be found, but it is hardly likely to consist of a total victory for either side, or in its complete crushing. Too many political interests and deep-seated attachments are involved. Dialogue between the "integrationists" and the modernists will probably have to be re-established. To reach this end, however, it is essential for the liberal debate no longer to be resented as a much-hated innovation.

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(N. Tomiche)

2. The Arab woman in customary law and practice.

a. *The material and the problems raised.*

The noun *marʾa* is relatively rarely used in the Qurʾān. Although it occurs only 26 times, women are frequently alluded to as believers, wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, aunts, cousins, slaves, or simply as "females", *unthā*. Traditional usages and customs about women are often mentioned in the *ḥadīth* as well as in pre- and post-Hidjra poetry. Research by ethnographers into both ancient and modern Arab societies has produced much information on the rights and obligations of a woman, her social status, her daily life and her conduct on important occasions in her life. From the rich and varied material available, from pre-Islamic sources to contemporary Arab societies, we can present a reasonably precise account of her status as it emerges from an analysis of customs and usages.

Unfortunately, the material is not all of the same value, and what is found in pre-Islamic poetry must be treated with special care. It is even more important to remember that there is a serious gap in the material. Whereas the different sources all provide, by a sort of complicity between informants, information on the women of the North (the Bedouin), there is hardly any mention of the women of the South (sc. the Yemeni) ones), who have grown up in an environment appreciably different from that of Mecca or the desert, in religious texts, literature or ethnographic research work. Here and there references to customs presumably of South Arabian origin can probably be found in pre-Islamic sources, but these can be identified in one way only, the origin of the tribes where they were practised. Such information was collected well after the Hidjra when most of the Yemeni tribes, like the Ṭayyiʾ, ʿAws, Khazradj, Madhhidj, Murād, ʿUdhra, Kinda, Ḥaḍramawt, etc., had adopted customs which were fundamentally Bedouin. To judge from their poetry, they also spoke the same language as the Arabs from the North.

It would thus be unwise to consider as Yemeni one particular custom which does not fit into a group of well-established customs, just because it was observed in a society which originated in the South of Arabia. It could easily have arisen through the external influence on a tribe in the course of its many wanderings, or it could be the relic of behaviour characteristic of earlier social conditions and subjected to internal evolution within the tribe. Starting out from this hypothesis, the most plausible and generally accepted one, one could artificially bring into a unity an essentially disparate group of customs, which will then appear as landmarks in a long cycle of evolution.

That is how Robertson Smith suggested, under the influence of 19th century evolutionary theory, that family relationships among the ancient Arabs were primarily polyandrous. This system gave way to matriarchy, which was in turn followed by patriarchy. It is true that just before the birth of Islam, relationships were centred on the males of the family, although the old matriarchal system had not disappeared and many relics of it persisted. It is proper to mention this idea in the introduction to this article because of the role it gives to women in the evolution of the Arab kinship system; it has been the cause of much discussion and is still accepted by more than one orientalist. It assumes that the whole of the Arabian peninsula before the Hidjra enjoyed a cultural and linguistic unity and consequently a unity of behaviour patterns also. There is a reason to believe that the theory of evolution devised by this distinguished British scholar strays noticeably from the facts; the cultural unity of Arabia probably emerged only during the first century of Islam.

It is well known that Southern Arabia was regarded as a separate region from the rest of the country for a long time. Though moderately influenced by the desert, it developed a civilisation based on agriculture and commerce with more leanings to India and the Mediterranean than to the steppes of the interior. It seems certain that, before Islam, an area of Arabia experienced a system based on maternal rights. But this régime must have existed somewhere in *Arabia felix* rather than in *Arabia deserta*, where exogamy would seem incompatible with the warring nomads. It would have reached to other parts of the peninsula through Southern tribes emigrating, then gradually being absorbed by the customs of the Bedouin, and ultimately abandoning their traditional behaviour which had survived until just before the Hidjra. The cultural and linguistic unity, which came much later than Robertson Smith suggested, would have followed the decline of the kingdoms of the South and the progress of desertification. The language of the North, close to but different from the South Arabian which it ended up by supplanting, finally imposed itself on the whole peninsula, spreading with itself the customs and manners of the desert.

Robertson Smith's serious error has finally led to a regrettable confusion. At the time of the Hidjra, Classical Arabic (that of the Ḳurʾān) although not prevalent, was understood in almost all areas of Arabia. From this fact, he assumed that there was a linguistic unity long before Islam. Furthermore, having identified the relics of the old matrilinear customs in particular tribes, he concluded that these customs were prevalent in the whole of Arabia, without taking into account the question of migration.

What was the status of Arab women prior to Islam? It is quite clear from what has been said that the inhabitants of Southern Arabia (the "Southern Arabs") must be distinguished from those of the North. Even so, it is not necessary to agree with the genealogists who suggest a double lineage, Ḳaḥṭānī for the one and ʿAdnānī for the other, for they have merely translated into the language of their own particular discipline the ever-present rivalry between cultivators and pastoralists. Nonetheless, there were the well-established agricultural traditions of the southern Arab farmers. The Northern Arabs were traditionally dependent on a pastoral economy for their sustenance; they developed for themselves a distinctive nomadic civilisation marked by the stamp of the desert. Research into the South Arabian area has proceeded, but there is still only fragmentary and inadequate information on many aspects of social life. On the other hand, the abundance of information about the Arabs of the steppes is such that it is extremely difficult to synthesise.

b. *The status of the South Arabian woman*

Little is known about the customary status of woman (*ʾ n th t, m r ʾ t*) in South Arabia before Islam.

In a recently discovered inscription, anyone of the Dhū Matāra is forbidden to kill their daughter (Chr. Robin, *Mission archéologique et épigraphique française au Yémen du Nord en automne 1978*, 185, *CRAIBL*, April-Julie 1979: this scholar has helped to provide some of the bibliography in this study of the South Arabian woman). This practice may quite properly be compared with *wa'd*. It always denotes an inferior attitude to girls as compared to boys. In the same text, it is similarly forbidden to hand over girls by way of reparation, which leads one to suppose that the man had control of the woman. As in other Semitic societies, so here it is probable that the husband regards his wife as a chattel. Some inscriptions group wives and possessions together (A. F. L. Beeston, *The position of woman in pre-Islamic South Arabia*, in *Proceedings of the 22nd Congress of Orientalists, Istanbul, 1951*, ii, Leiden 1957, 104). However, it would not be correct to infer from this that the wife was in a state of slavery.

In other inscriptions, it is stated that she had a rôle in questions of inheritance. Rhodokanakis even dared to suggest that in South Arabia, the women were financially independent. Beeston does not share this point of view, but he does admit that the widow could acquire economic independence in certain conditions, as, for example, when the male heirs were too young to exercise their rights (Beeston, *op. cit.*, 105). He also draws attention to the fact that the woman could assume high office, especially that of priestess, a role in which she would have practised sacred prostitution (idem, *The so-called harlots of Hadramawt*, in *Oriens*, [1952]; cf. J. Ryckmans, *Les "hierodulenlisten" de Maᶜin et la colonisation minéenne*, 152). She also had access to high administrative offices. In one inscription a woman bore the title *maktawiya*, fem. of *maktawī*, a senior official who came under the direct orders of the king. Could it be that a woman may even have held the office of the highest magistrate, as suggested by the legend of the Queen of Sheba? However, the inscriptions do not mention the name of any sovereign or *kayla*. Nevertheless, after the *ridda*, the Banū Mūᶜāwiya in the Ḥaḍramawt, who were called the royal Kinda, were ruled by four brothers as joint kings in association with their sister, the famous al-ᶜAmarrada, who was a famous and despotic as they (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ᶜArab*, Cairo 1962, 428).

Information provided by the inscriptions about the system of family relationships might well lead to confusion. In most cases, the line of descent is through the father. However, in every age there are isolated instances of descent through women. In one text there is even a case of both types of descent side-by-side (see the inscription on the statue in Chr. Robin, *L'Arabie du sud antique*, in *Bible et Terre Sainte*, 177 [Jan. 1976], 19). Two other inscriptions record a concession granted by a king to men and women of the same class Now it seems that the transmission of the concession was made by the women to their descendants (Ahmed Fakhry, *An archaeological journey to Yemen*, ii, *Epigraphical texts*, Cairo 1952, inscrs. 3 and 76). In other inscriptions, women are mentioned only in terms of their lineage; even their ascendants are considered from the point of view of the female line. From there to the conclusion of the existence of a system of matriliny in South Arabia before Islam is one step only, easily made. One can even go on to affirm that polyandry may also have been known to the South Arabians. The observations of Strabo already mentioned are relevant here, and certain scholars like Glaser, Winckler and more recently Müller, consider that the views of the Greek geographer have been confirmed by the inscriptions (for further discussion and bibliography, see J. Chelhod, *Du nouveau à propos du matriarcat arabe*, in *Arabica*, xxviii [1981], 99 ff.; Chr. Robin has drawn our attention to a Hasaean inscription where the line of descent is traced exclusively through women; it reads "Burial place and tomb of Ghabya, daughter of Mālikat, daughter of Shibām, daughter of Ahadhat, of the lineage of Yankhāl"). However, documents where this type of union is mentioned are rare so that it is wise to treat them with caution. On the other hand, it is clear that polygamy was practised in ancient Yemen and, according to Beeston, they even practised temporary marriage (*Temporary marriage in pre-Islamic South Arabia*, in *Arabian Studies*, iv [1978], 21-5).

The inscriptions so far discovered do not contain any reference to the existence of a system of maternal rights in ancient Yemen before Islam, but the discussion must necessarily remain open, for ethnographers have produced several examples of matrilinear succession in contemporary Yemen society. Some sexual freedom before and after marriage has also been noted as prevalent in some tribes in Yemen. This is no recent innovation but, as will be shown, has its roots in the past.

c. *The status of women in customary law in modern South Arabia.*

As a rule, the *sharīᶜa* governs the status of both men and women in the whole of South Arabia, with slight modifications in the case of South Yemen. Its successful application relies on the central government maintaining effective control. Outside the large urban societies of Ṣanᶜā', Taᶜizz, ᶜAdan, Say'ūn, Shibām, etc. it is well known that the semi-sedentary and village Yemenis observe customs which do not always conform to Islamic law. Girls are often disinherited and marriages are contracted by exchange. This customary practice is known as *ṭāghūt*, or also *aḥkām al-salaf*. It is inspired by strongly-held desert values, and in accordance with Bedouin customs promotes an idea of honour among the Yemenis, related to the "whiteness of the face".

The law decrees that woman should be completely submissive to the will of the man; father, brother, husband, uncle, paternal cousins, and even her own adult children. She is considered to be a feeble being, whose defence depends entirely on the man. In his eyes, she symbolises his own virility: every thoughtless action is interpreted by her strong protector as a challenge to his power, an outrage to his dignity. A whole mystique has grown up around the concept of honour which decrees that the modesty of the women whom he guards should be a sacred object. Any assault or attempted assault on their chastity is classed as murder and may be punished extremely severely. This is the conventional attitude to the love life of Yemeni women. Among the Ḥumūm of the Ḥaḍramawt, however, despite her unfavourable position, the woman enjoys a certain amount of sexual liberty. Indeed, tradition even permits a girl to conceive a child outside marriage. If the child is not recognised by its natural father it will take the name of its mother or that of its maternal uncle. Even a married woman can take a lover without fear of her life and without the risk of being molested.

A girl wanting to take a lover would have to take him from among the people of her tribe. As a rule, the lucky man should exhibit all the physical and moral qualities which a woman would like to find in the father of her child. The aim of such a liaison is,

presumably, to produce an ideal child, but the custom is disappearing; it is called *kasb* or *iktisāb*. A similar type of union was known to the Arabs before Islam by exactly the same name. The Arabs were supposed to do this to raise children of pure Arab stock, so that the man who was to father the child should be especially good. There is some similarity between the two customs, but here it was the husband who asked the wife to have relations with another man, whereas among the Ḥumūm it is the girl who takes the initiative. Within this tribe, as among the ancient Arabs, no one is at all embarrassed to announce the birth of a child conceived outside marriage. The child born this way is called *al-farkh*, "the chicken", a harmless nickname which indicates the "illegitimate" nature of his birth, even if his father recognises him as his own. If he does not, he will take the name of his mother and be raised by her. She may subsequently be sought in marriage, and the intentions of her suitor will be judged by asking him if he will take her *bi-ḥamli-hā wa-shamlihā*, "with her burden and her coat". If he takes both mother and child, then the dowry would be more significant; but if he will take only the girl, the child will be brought up by her maternal uncles.

Custom likewise allows to Ḥumūm married women the right to have affairs during the prolonged absence of their husbands; when a husband returns, he cannot inflict reprisals on the unfaithful spouse. He has the choice of accepting the situation or repudiating his wife. If he nevertheless ill-treats his wife, he risks legal proceedings by his parents-in-law, and this appears to be an old custom. According to Ibn al-Mudjāwir, a woman among the Saru could take a lover called a *mukhlif*, "a replacement", when her husband was on a journey (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-mustabṣir*, Leiden 1951-4, 26).

Whatever the cause of trouble, the Ḥumūm never punish an adultress; but a woman who takes a lover while her husband is at home is severely condemned. Despite this, she is generally in a favourable position, for she can ask her husband to repudiate her so that she can start a new life, and he cannot deny her this privilege. All that is necessary is for the dowry and any wedding expenses to be returned. If she is repudiated at her own request, the unfaithful wife has no rights regarding her children; they will remain with their father and keep his name. Despite this freedom enjoyed by women in Ḥumūm society, the family is patrilocal and patrilinear, as elsewhere in Yemen.

How can these obviously matrilinear customs be reconciled with the prevailing patriarchal way of life? They seem to be the relics of a system of matrilinear rule which once was to some extent normal in South Arabia. It seems that neither virginity nor chastity was considered as important as modern Arabs unusually consider them. Ibn al-Mudjāwir states that among the Bahīmiyya, the "fiancée" was tried out by her suitor. If he was satisfied, he left his sandals behind at her father's house and the marriage could then be settled; if he were to put them on when leaving the house, it meant that he did not want the girl (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *op. cit.*, 54). The custom of giving a traveller a girl for the night goes back to the 3rd/9th century. The founder of the Zaydī state opposed certain sexual liberties practised in the village of al-Aʿsūm. It was situated in the high plateaux, and there a host would honour his guest by offering him his daughter or his sister after he had dressed her up in her most beautiful clothes. She would then be subjected to the most intimate caressing but not extreme sexual behaviour (C. van Arendonck, *Les débuts de l'imamat zaydite au Yemen*, 165). Similar observations were made by Ibn Mudjāwir, but in his account the wife was offered to the traveller (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *op. cit.*, 53). After fourteen centuries of Islam, it is only recently that a similar custom was observed in Yemen in the region of Mārib, though it is true that the guest there was made to respect his partner under the threat of reprisals (private investigation. Cf. K. al-Iryāni, *L'organisation social de la tribu des Hashid*, in *COC*, lxx [1968], 8).

This sexual liberty has ensured that sufficient scholarly attention has been paid to women in Yemen, and it seems that in some areas she has been able to impose her will on her husband. It is public knowledge among the Yemenis that in the Djabal Ṣabir, the pleasant mountain overlooking Taʿizz, the village women rule the roost in financial matters. They have even gone so far as to send back lazy husbands. It is still only the man who has the right to repudiate, but he must nevertheless obey his wife's commands. Among the Dihm in the region of the Djawf, a woman will put a piece of red cloth on the entrance to her tent when she is displeased with her husband. He knows from this that he is in disgrace, and does not dare to cross the threshold of his home until his wife has removed the sign of the quarrel with her own hand (A. Fakhrī, *al-Yaman māḍīha wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, Cairo 1970, 110). A similar custom existed among the Ṭayyʾin pre-Islamic Arabia. To show Ḥātim that he should leave, Māwiya simply moved the entrance to the tent (*Aghānī*, Beirut 1956, xvi, 207). She was thus mistress of her own fate, since she could separate at will from her husband when the latter displeased her. Among the ancient Arabs, a number of high-society ladies seem to have enjoyed the same privilege. There is, for example the case of Salma bint ʿAmr from Medina, who belonged to the Nadjdjār, originally from Yemen. The chroniclers say that she agreed to marry her husband only on condition that she could leave him if she wished.

Other accounts confirm how common these matrilocal customs were. Ezzé, Botta's guide, entered into a marriage contract, the principal clause of which stated that the wife could live with her own people and not follow the husband to his village (Botta, *Relation d'un voyage dans le Yémen*, Paris 1880, 125). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, at Zabīd marriage to a stranger was freely accepted, but if the husband decided to leave the town the wife would not follow him under any circumstances (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ii, 168). The child of such a marriage would be brought up by his mother or some other relative. Ibn al-Daybaʿ of Zabīd, the Yemeni historian, was abandoned by his father in his infancy and entrusted to his maternal grandfather. When this relative died, the boy was looked after by his maternal uncle (Ibn al-Daybaʿ, *al-Faḍl al-mazīd ʿalā bughyat al-mustafīd fī akhbār madīnat Zabīd*, ed. J. Chelhod, Ṣanʿāʾ 1983, 217).

When this discussion is analysed, the following facts emerge:

(a) A Yemeni woman is not required to follow a strict sexual morality, as is generally the case in the Arab East.

(b) The sexual freedom enjoyed by the women of the Ḥumūm dates back to ancient times.

(c) In some tribes, the woman controls her own destiny, having the right to take a lover and to dismiss her husband.

(d) Children conceived apart from the husband belong to the maternal side of the family.

(e) Such matrilocal customs are still to be observed in some parts of Southern Arabia.

Although it cannot be assumed at all that South

Arabia exerted an influence on North Africa (Helfritz, *L'Arabie heureuse*, Paris 1961, 116), there are certain similarities between the customs described above and those observed in Kabylia. The Berber woman is generally known to enjoy more sexual freedom than the Arab woman, and many monographs have been devoted to describing her love life. Its luxuriance and diversity of customs make any attempt at synthesis problematical. Prenuptial chastity is certainly not expected of any girl, but once married they must be faithful to their husbands. But if they are freed from their marriage ties by widowhood, repudiation or the prolonged absence of the husband, they are allowed to take lovers. Their sexual freedom is even more marked than that of the Ḥumūm. Many of them still work as prostitutes, and this is not thought in any way dishonourable. Many courtesans belong to high-class families and subsequently end up with good marriage arrangements (E. Dermenghem, *Le pays d'Abel*, Paris 1960, 69). Children born of these temporary unions belong to the mother's line.

When the life of the Yemeni woman is compared to that of her sister in the North, it seems very similar, except for the sexual freedom, limited in any case to certain districts, she enjoys. The Northern girl is also married very young (often before the age of ten) and her paternal cousin holds the right of preemption. She will not usually be consulted initially about her choice of husband; only after she has been widowed or divorced will she be free to reject a suitor. Analogies between her situation and that of the Bedouin women will be discussed later.

d. *The Arab woman in traditional law just before the Hidjra and during the first century of Islam.*

The status of women in Western Arabia before the Hidjra again raises the question of different customs in different areas. Clear differences in male attitudes can be detected, when comparing evidence from nomadic tribes, from the sedentary population, from a trading city or from a village community, even though at this particular time almost the whole peninsula was Bedouin in character. The word Bedouin clearly refers not only to the Arab of the steppe, *al-aʿrābī*, but also to anyone who follows the desert customs and conforms to its code of honour. Poets like al-Akhṭal and Djarīr called themselves Bedouin (*Aghānī*, vii, 134), and from this point of view, just before the Hidjra, the Meccans practised Bedouin customs.

Most of those Arab tribes which, by their nomadic and war-like life style set great store by their virility, consider that women are feeble and almost irresponsible beings and in need of constant help. At the same time, she embodies man's ideals and is sometimes almost venerated as sacred. This ambivalence naturally leads to the paradoxical description of her as *ʿawra*, nude, shameful and needing concealment and *ḥurma*, sacred, to be defended and protected. This two-fold attitude gives rise to a series of prohibitions for women and obligations on men, and failure to observe them casts a slur on their honour. Female chastity together with conjugal fidelity, *inter alia*, constitute *ʿirḍ* [*q.v.*]. Licentiousness is severely punished and brings disgrace to a family and to a tribe. In satirical poetry, the mother of the person being mocked is often spoken of disparagingly (for examples, see the *dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit; cf. *Aghānī*, iv, 8,10,11,81). Even the custom of *waʾd* is attributed to the fear of dishonour (*Aghānī*, iv, 248). In attempting to safeguard the rights of the female believer from an economic point of view, Islam confirms the pre-Islamic arrangements in everything touching her love life.

In fact, it would be unwise to make generalisations. Epinal's picture of a humble Arab woman submissive to the wishes of her *baʿl*, her lord and master, might well be the masculine ideal for a wife, but this is not the picture painted by our evidence. Many tales of the pre-Islamic and even the Islamic period show woman as a refined but mischievous creature, resisting supervision and enjoying sufficient freedom to enable her to embark on a few amorous adventures. The belief in the child sleeping peacefully in his mother's bosom is the incontestable proof of this. We shall see later that, in sexual matters, traditional customs are not adhered to so rigidly as is often believed.

The birth of a daughter was not welcomed at all, for families believed it could bring dishonour (*Aghānī*, iv, 248) or even poverty (Ḳurʾān, VI, 151; XVII, 31). Fathers sometimes buried their daughter alive, even though this custom was condemned in the Ḳurʾān (XVI, 58; LXXXI, 8). Among the Ḳuraysh, this custom was common, and they buried their daughters at a place called Abū Dulāma, a hill above Mecca (*Aghānī*, xi, 246). But for the most part, fathers seemed to accept the inevitable and to find consolation in counting up how much the infant girl would bring him on the occasion of her marriage.

Khafḍ [*q.v.*] "excision" was practised everywhere. It is not certain whether this happened soon after birth or just before marriage, but if the latter, it can be seen as a rite of passage. The girl would be married when she was scarcely nubile, and often she was promised from birth; sometimes her father or brother would exchange her for a wife without spending any money. This type of union was known as *shighār* (*LA*, s.v. *sh.-gh.-r*) and even applied to married women. A man would repudiate his wife and exchange her for another man's (*Aghānī*, xviii, 356). Marriage by exchange was forbidden in Islam (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1334, iv, 136), but nonetheless practised even to the present day. This emphasises the lack of real concern shown for the girl's own wishes, regarding her future partner. Her father, brother or guardian would draw up an agreement without even consulting her (*Aghānī*, x, 104; xix, 131-2, 275) which is not surprising considering how young she was when first married. ʿĀʾisha was married to the Prophet at the age of six, and the marriage was consummated when she was nine (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iv, 142). A widow or a divorced woman (*thayyib*), not so much in demand as a virgin (*bikr*), would generally make her own arrangements. This was probably what happened when a woman offered herself to Muḥammad (Ḳurʾān, XXX, 50); he declined the offer. The Ḳurʾānic reforms tried to protect the young girl when her parents abuse the right to be consulted (but see DJABR in Suppl.).

Arab dictionaries use the same word *nikāḥ* to denote stable and temporary unions, which often do not last long and border on prostitution. According to a *ḥadīth*, attributed to ʿĀʾisha and recorded by al-Bukhārī, pre-Islamic society recognised four forms of marriage. (1) A man may marry the daughter or sister of another man on payment of a dowry. (2) A man asks his wife, after her menstruation, to have intercourse with someone he names so that she can have a child of good pedigree. He himself avoids all contact with her until her pregnancy is evident. (3) A group of less than ten men assemble at a woman's house and all have intercourse with her. For the child which is subsequently born, the mother chooses one of the ten she prefers to be the official father. (4) A woman gives herself to any man as a prostitute. If she becomes pregnant, she

waits until the child is born and then consults a physiognomist to decide which of her clients is to be the father of the child. Once he has been selected, that man must accept paternity. To these four types, others can now be added. (5) *shighār*, a marriage by exchange described above. (6) *nikāḥ al-maḳt*, a marriage to the father's widow, which was prohibited by the Ḳurʾān (IV, 22). (7) *nikāḥ al-mutʿa*, temporary marriage, which was authorised at the beginning of Islam but forbidden by the *sunna*, apparently on the initiative of the caliph ʿUmar; tolerated however by the Shīʿa. (8) *nikāḥ al-khidn*, concubinage, which is also prohibited by the Ḳurʾān (IV, 25, V, 5).

On examination, the various types of "marriage" listed show two different attitudes to the relationship. Types 1,2,5 and 6 clearly betray the influence of the patriarchal system. The woman is completely subjugated to the man and has apparently little freedom. He may use her as he wishes, even to the point of making her share another man's bed; this is done either to honour the man or to raise a child of good stock. Moreover, he can "reserve for himself" a close relation (a sister or a daughter for example), not to marry himself but to exchange for a wife. The domination of women by men in this family system is absolute, and it is nowhere illustrated better than in the Arab preferential marriage. Now as before, it occurs between a man and the daughter of his paternal uncle, the well-known *bint ʿamm*, a word which has now become synonymous with "wife". Similarly *ibn ʿamm* means both paternal cousin and "husband" (*Aghānī*, xv, 263, 275). The son of a father's brother has by tradition a preemptory right over the daughter of his uncle. He is therefore required only to pay a symbolic dowry imposed by Islam. The *mahr* [*q.v.*] recouped by the father is in inverse proportion to the degree of the relationship. Strangers to the tribe pay more than fellow tribesman who are in an unfavourable position in regard to the *ḥamūla*; the *ibn ʿamm* would be absolved from payment and could even compel his uncle to give him his daughter. More distant cousins were equally favoured, but could not press their demands. Nevertheless, this unwritten right is not absolute; the more sedentary the community, the more it is contested. In literature, there are many examples of an uncle refusing his nephew through greed. The fear of weak progeny is an equally common reason for advising against marriage to the *bint ʿamm*. But the woman who is called to live in a strange tribe naturally evokes sympathy. She will be far away from her agnates, her natural protectors. Once relieved of the constraints imposed on her, the girl need no longer submit to the will of her cousin. When the poet al-Farazdaḳ became the guardian of his *bint ʿamm* Nawār, he had to devise a plan to get her to marry him after she had refused many times (*Aghānī*, xix, 12ff.).

Though the nomadic life, which condemns its followers to an indrawn existence, may favour endogamy, it does not explain a man's domination of his *bint ʿamm*. Robertson Smith likens this type of marriage to the right of inheritance. It is as though the woman forms part of the patrimony and many other customs confirm this point of view.

Marriage to the step-mother was quite widespread among the ancient Arabs. Al-Shahrastānī tells the story of three brothers who succeeded to their father's widow. It was recorded in both Medina and Mecca, and can be connected with the levirate, which was known to the Arabs then and is known now. Greed was the main reason for marrying a father's widow. The Ḳurʾān considered it an abominable practice (IV, 22), and contemporaries of Muḥammad maligned anyone who resorted to it; they called him a *ḍayzan*, which means one who is callous to his father and, not content to have his goods, wants to have his wife as well. On this point the Ḳurʾān expressly says: "O you who have believed! You are forbidden to inherit wives against their wishes, or to prevent them marrying in order that you may appropriate from them a part of what you gave them" (IV, 19). Commentators have observed that when a man dies, leaving a widow, his heir covers her with his cloak to show the right he has over her. Having done this, he may either keep her for himself without spending any money, for the dowry was paid by the deceased; or he can marry her off on condition that a new dowry is paid, which will come to him. He can also prevent her from marrying until she has bought back her freedom with what she received from her husband; if she does not, she will remain in his possession until she dies, and he will become her heir. Such a greedy attitude is found not only in the son but in the other male agnate relations, especially when the deceased left behind very young daughters. Here again the Ḳurʾān (IV, 127) plainly refers to orphaned girls whose guardians refuse to give them what has been bequeathed to them; they would rather keep them in order to marry them or force them to buy their freedom. In the same way, the paternal cousin, who is the first claimant able to marry the girl without committing incest, tries to seize what will ultimately come to him by inheritance, even during the lifetime of his uncle. Al-Wāḥidī, in his commentary on verse xix of the Sūra on Women, refers to this. A woman called Kubaysha complained to Muḥammad about the behaviour of her stepson who had inherited her; he did not support her financially, he did not cohabit with her nor would he grant her her freedom. Once they knew of her complaint, all the women of Medina searched for the Messenger of Allāh and told him, "All of us are in the same situation as Kubaysha, except that the right to marry us is not inherited by our sons but by the children of our paternal uncles" (al-Wāḥidī, *Aṣbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo 1315, 108). Thus in the minds of the women of Medina, marriage to a parallel cousin was similar to that of a son to his father's widow, sc. a right of succession. In neither case did the woman have any free will; at one time, she could belong to her husband's heir, and at another to her father's future heir.

All this raises the question of the status of the Arab woman regarding inheritance before Islam, a much-debated issue. It is generally thought that at Medina she was disinherited for the same reason as children: "Only those who fight and defend property can inherit." At Mecca. a trading town, the system of succession may have been more favourable, although the sources contradict each other. The words of the caliph ʿUmar are often quoted: "We Ḳurayshites dominate our wives; at Medina we find the men are dominated by their wives" (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1376, vii, 25). Obviously, the writer here is not concerned so much with the system of inheritance as with e.g. the behaviour of the women. It is difficult to imagine that a woman who behaves like a virago to her husband will display docility when her property is under attack. In any case, whether the woman was from Mecca or Medina, she would receive presents from her *khidn* "friend", her husband, and her relatives. She could even have a personal fortune and administer it as she pleased, as did Khadīdja, who ran her own business. She might even receive part of the inheritance by will.

Many orientalists feel that the reforms introduced by the Ḳurʾān to help women were inspired by the system of inheritance used in Mecca; but that thesis cannot be discussed here. We shall simply observe that in several verses of the Ḳurʾān it clearly states that the woman, be she mother or wife, had wealth which on her death reverted to her husband or children (IV, 12,37,175). In the circumstances, the Ḳurʾān must only have recorded what was a known fact. It would be difficult to explain in any other way the compulsion brought to bear on a widow to make her buy back her freedom by giving up part or all of what she had received from her husband. Besides what money she could earn from her own work (weaving, husbandry, beauty care, singing and dancing), she had other opportunities to be materially independent, thanks to matrimonial customs approaching free unions.

The four other types of marriage mentioned above (types 3,4,7 and 8) could assure the woman of a more or less comfortable existence. They are rooted in a matrilinear conception of relationship, and assume that the woman enjoys a fairly large amount of sexual freedom. In a society founded on the code of honour of the desert, even prostitution would be interpreted as a sign of tolerance in sexual matters, since the woman can indulge in this activity without fearing for her life. Furthermore, she is able to take a *k͟hidn* who pays for the services thus rendered by a *ṣadāḳ*. Group marriage and *mutʿa* also confirm the existence of matrilinear customs. In a temporary union, while still living within the group of relations, she grants her favour to a man and receives a payment in kind (a dress, a measure of dates or flour), and it lasts for a fixed time, usually three days (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iv, 130 ff.). The texts say nothing about any child born of this union; probably he would belong to his mother's clan and take her name, as was the case with the child born to a prostitute. The famous Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] was better known by the name Ibn Sumayya in Arab literature, and many men used their mother's name. One cannot for certain whether they were all born from cohabitation; it simply implies that the system of matriliny was well-known to the ancient Arabs. There are several examples: the king ʿAmr b. Hind, the poets Sulayk b. Sulaka, Ibn al-Dumayna (*Ag͟hānī*, xv, 350), Ibn al-Ṭat͟hriyya (*ibid.* xv, 385), Ibn al-Ḥaddādiyya (*ibid.* xiii, 3), Ibn Ḍabba (*ibid.*, vi, 307), etc.

Very many tribes have a woman as eponymous ancestor, such as the ʿĀmila, Bad͟jīla. K͟hindif and Ḳayla. There are also numerous examples of matrilocality. The poet Maʿn b. Aws [*q.v.*] took advantage of a visit to Baṣra to marry a woman whose guest he was. He spent a year with her and then asked her permission to go back to his first wife (*Ag͟hānī*, x, 352).

Whatever interpretation is put on these customs, they certainly show that the pre-Islamic Arab woman enjoyed much more freedom, even in sexual matters, than is generally supposed. Whenever the outcome of a battle seemed uncertain, the chief would place his daughter in a litter among the warriors in the hope that it would stimulate their excitement, and the prospect of such a marvellous reward would lead to victory. On the day of *taḥāluk*, the two daughters of Find al-Zimmānī, like she-devils, undressed among the warriors and sang love songs to give them more courage (*Ag͟hānī*, xx, 345). On the day of Uḥud, the same song was taken up by Hind bint ʿUtba among the ranks of Ḳurays͟h (*Ag͟hānī*, xi, 238).

It was the custom, especially for the tribes from the South, like the Kinda, the D͟jarm and the Banū ʿUd͟hra, to let a man speak to the girl he loved of his sentiments (e.g. *Ag͟hānī*, vii, 218, 219, 234, 263). However, when the suitor pressed his claim, the girl's father, fearing a scandal, might ban him from the house and decline his offer of marriage. The most famous example is that of Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir and Laylā al-Ak͟hyaliyya [*q.v.*]. Imruʾ al-Ḳays celebrated his love affairs in his *Muʿallaḳa*. Al-Farazdaḳ once surprised some girls bathing in a pool and exclaimed, "By God! It's like the day of *d͟jārat d͟jul-d͟jul*" (*Ag͟hānī*, xix, 52). Men and women might meet on many occasions, in the pasture lands, at wells and even in the tents. A woman would converse with men and have guests when the master of the house was away. The big annual fairs, which served well for arranging marriages, were frequented by women, poetesses, tradeswomen, inquisitive women and those eager for a sexual relationship, whether regular, temporary or licentious. In the first century after the Hid͟jra, while pursuing beauty, ʿUmar b, Abī Rabīʿa took advantage of the pilgrimage season to embark on some amorous adventures. On the question of the veil, see ḤID͟JĀB. Not only could the pre-Islamic woman converse with men (cf. *Ag͟hānī*, xix, 306) but by tradition she had the right to protect them. Fugitives from the battle of the Fid͟jār found sanctuary in the tent of Subayʿa bint ʿAbd S͟hams (*ibid.*, 161). When hard-pressed and in danger of his life, the well-known *ṣuʿlūk* Sulayk b. Sulaka sought refuge with a woman who belonged to his enemy's clan. Without hesitation, she defended him from his pursuers, covered him with her mantle and took up a sword to drive off those pursuing him; but, being outnumbered, she uncovered her hair and called her brothers to the rescue. The fugitive thus escaped death (*Ag͟hānī*, xviii, 320; cf. xx, 380 ff.).

However a man might behave himself towards his wives and female relatives, he expected strangers to show them the greatest respect. To cast a slur on a woman's honour was to throw down the gauntlet. Chroniclers say that the cause of the war of the Fid͟jār (*Ag͟hānī*, x, 152) can be attributed to a joke in very bad taste. The victim of the joke was a woman of the Banū ʿĀmir who let herself be courted by the young men at the *sūḳ* of ʿUkāẓ.

There is considerable evidence of a considerate attitude to women, but nevertheless they did not escape the hazards of war with the risk of captivity. Her conqueror would rarely spare her the ultimate humiliation of making her grace his bed (*Ag͟hānī*, xix, 340 ff.). Islam permits sexual relations with prisoners of war (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iv, 158; 170; cf. *Ag͟hānī*, xii, 370); married women are not excluded (*Ag͟hānī*, xix, 25, supported by a verse of al-Farazdaḳ); but pregnant women must not be approached (Muslim, iv, 161).

Even before Islam repudiation (*ṭalāḳ*) was known to the Arabs. A man could send away his wife simply by unilateral decision. All he had to do was to recite the formula *anti ṭāliḳa*. Another formula, with incestuous overtones, lent more gravity to the situation, but it belonged to the *ẓihār* and was forbidden by Islam (Ḳurʾān, LVIII, 2). The man would say to his wife, *anti ʿalayya ka-ẓahri ummī*, "To me you are like my mother's back". When the woman desired to separate, the man had recourse to *k͟hulʿ*; he would agree to restore her freedom on condition that she gave him back all or most of the property he had given her (cf. Ḳurʾān, II, 229; the arrangement is not prohibited provided the financial agreement is mutually acceptable). There were two other ways, rather more exigent, by which a man could force a woman to

return to him what she had been given by him. The *īlāʾ* was a temporary interruption of the marriage and could last for up to two years. The Ḳurʾān reduced the period to four months (II, 226). There was also the *ʿaḍl*, which was prohibited by the Ḳurʾān (IV. 9).

In the face of all this oppression the woman seemed helpless, yet there are records of women wanting to safeguard their independence, who only agreed to marry if they were granted the right to leave their husbands. Such women appear to have belonged to the higher social levels, and appear at Medina as well as at Mecca, among the sedentary communities as well as among the nomads. One cannot speak in this connection of polyandry, but they certainly changed their husbands very frequently. Al-Maydānī has recorded the names of some of them, the most famous one being Umm Khāridja, who is said to have married about forty times and whose hastiness in marriage became proverbial (*Amthāl*, proverb no. 1871, Cairo 1959, i, 348; according to Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 436, she married only about eight times).

Islam, it is true, allowed only men the right of repudiation, but the women of the Ḳuraysh aristocracy sometimes behaved like their independent sisters of the old régime. Because of their nobility, they were much in demand, and so they married many times; in this way, they were able to amass large fortunes (*Aghānī*, xiv, 37; x, 110 ff.) and make life hard for their husbands (*Aghānī*, xviii, 468). One of these women, the famous ʿĀʾisha bint Ṭalḥa [*q.v.*], even repudiated her husband by using the ancient formula of the *ẓihār*; she would not go back on her oath until she was convinced that it was invalid (*Aghānī*, x, 106).

In the pre-Islamic period, a widow would observe a delay before remarrying. When her husband died she would be shut away, wear her oldest clothes and use no perfume. After a year, she would come out from her place of withdrawal and throw a clod of mud. From that time onwards, she could lead a normal life (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vii, 52). This period was shortened by Islam to four months and ten days (Ḳurʾān, II, 234), during which she might not use perfume or *kuḥl*. When she received condolences, if she wished to remarry she remained seated; otherwise she would stand (*Aghānī*, x, 114).

These details have been given so that the status of women during the period of the Hidjra can be understood in the light of tradition, but these customs do not necessarily have any legal force. There are many problems still to be solved about the position of women in traditional law, and the pre-Islamic material is too scanty to help in solving them. The Ḳurʾān and the early *fiḳh* accord a considerable part to traditional customs, but Islam also provided a new outlook here by giving women a legal position, even though it is a diminished one, for she only counts as half the value of a man. It is not clear whether this is new legislation, or merely an adaption of old customs. Rather than waste time in conjecture, it seems worthwhile to study the behaviour of present-day Arab nomads.

Being Muslims, they have probably been influenced by that faith, notably in regard to what concerns their personal status, even though its influence may not be very deep. More than one modern custom is in direct contravention of the *sharʿ*. Woman is systematically disinherited and her evidence is often disregarded; marriage by exchange is frequently practised, and in blood revenge, equality is demanded. Clearly, the permanence of pre-Islamic customs here proves the lasting influence of the *ṭāghūt*. Traditional rights are still decided this way in the Yemen. Not all the pre-Islamic customs still thrive in Bedouin society, but the prevailing legal framework observed by them has been inspired by that tradition. They bear the mark of the desert, the same influence that has shaped all the Semitic nomads.

c. *The legal status of Bedouin women.*

The birth of a daughter is no cause for rejoicing. She is of so little account that if a Bedouin is asked how many children he has, he deliberately misses out the females. For the same reason, the strength of a tribe is measured purely by the number of warriors it can muster.

A girl's education is left entirely in the hands of her mother. From the time she is able to be of the smallest service, she is made to help with the domestic chores. From infancy onwards, excision is practised; sometimes it occurs just before marriage, which can take place when the girl is very young, often before she is ten. This occasion is of great importance for the father, for it falls to him to fix the amount of the dowry which he generally keeps for himself. It usually happens that the girl, whose opinion is rarely sought, has been promised from birth to an agnate relative, notably to her first paternal cousin, who has a preemptory right over her. He often uses this right and abuses it, for he can carry off his *bint ʿamm* on the day she is married to someone else if he disapproves of the union. He also has the right to "reserve" her for himself, although he is not required to follow up his expressed matrimonial intention. There is only one restriction to this excessive right, that is, the prohibition of marriage by exchange, *badal*, when the girl's father or her brother try to get themselves a wife thus. One should add that the traditional prerogatives of the *ibn ʿamm* are being contested more and more.

Because she is regarded as a source of wealth, the woman is jealously guarded, if not for the members of her *ḥamūla*, at least for own clan. Marriage outside the tribe is rare; generally it will take place only for political reasons or to stifle revenge. Of all the different types of union mentioned above, there remain only the marriage union as it is practised by the Muslims, marriage by exchange, profit, and finally, a special type of matrilocal union which will be discussed below.

Marriage by exchange, though condemned by Islam, is much practised, even among the sedentary Yemeni people. To conform to the *sharīʿa*, each side must offer the other exactly the same *mahr*. But things become complicated when one of the husbands repudiates his wife, since the other is then pledged to follow his example or to pay back a suitable dowry. It is not hard to envisage that law suits and angry scenes are bound to follow as a consequence of this custom in a society where the husband has only to repeat a set formula in order to dissolve his marriage.

Abduction must be carefully distinguished from taking captive. It is severely condemned in Bedouin society, even when it is done with a view to marriage. When it becomes known that a woman has been taken off, all the agnate relatives set off in pursuit of the culprit. If they catch him, he does not usually escape death, and the ravished woman may suffer the same fate. In fact, the treatment they each receive depends on the intentions of the abductor and the civil status of the woman he has taken.

A man who wishes to marry may encounter opposition from the girl's parents, and so he may, with her consent, resort to abduction. Provided it is carried out in good taste, his actions are looked on somewhat indulgently, but it must take place in the presence of

a trustworthy witness who has been enlisted to help in the operation. He must guard the girl, bring her to a safe place and vouch for the fact that everything was conducted honourably. With such pressure on the father, the latter will usually give his consent but ask for a high dowry. If the abduction is followed by illicit sexual relations, the man and the girl will be punished with the same severity as lovers who are caught in the act. If the abduction has been carried out against the wishes of the girl, the action is treated as rape. The man must offer to make amends by marrying the girl, and considers himself lucky if he is accepted. A dowry will then be required of him equal to the price of her blood. In addition, he is required to offer in marriage a girl who is a close agnate relative to the father, brother or paternal cousin of his future wife without a dowry.

To abduct a married woman, even with her consent, brings severe disapproval from Bedouin society. It can lead to reprisals, often violent from the husband in the first place, but also, and above all, from the agnate relatives of the unfaithful wife. Death awaits the lovers. They will escape their fate only if they can find refuge with some powerful person or influential leader. In order to save his guests, this person must bring the husband to recite the repudiation formula in exchange for the dowry he paid. He must also gain the parents' consent to the marriage. The abductor in turn must give one or more girls in exchange for the wife.

If any woman is suspected of having an illicit sexual relationship, whether she is a girl or a married woman, widowed or divorced, she finds herself in great danger. If gossip about her continues, she runs the risk of being killed by a close agnatic relative, her brother, cousin or uncle. Absence of proof of the alleged misconduct is not regarded as proof of innocence. It is customary to exonerate her or to condemn her by adopting one of the following procedures. Her father or guardian may request that a court of justice summon her lover, about whom the rumours are circulating, and that they make him swear that the accusations being made against him are untrue. It is remarkable that the woman stays away from this judicial action, even though her life depends on it. Her presumed partner must stand before the judge, and it is he who must take the oath. Women are considered to be legally incapable, and so are seldom authorised to appear before a Bedouin court even as simple witnesses. Certainly, if it should happen that there are no male witnesses in a particular case, a judge might agree to hear a woman's evidence, but solely for his own information. A woman's evidence is only acceptable in law when it concerns another woman. A quicker way to judge a woman's guilt is by subjecting her to the ordeal of *bas͟hʿa*. If the evidence according to this procedure is against her, it is not uncommon for her to be put to death by a close agnatic relative.

The reputation of a woman for whom he is responsible evokes an uncompromising attitude among the Bedouin. Abduction, adultery and rape all taint her honour, and their guilt can be washed away only by a blood-bath. But it always appears to be the woman who pays the price, and there is a quick, private system of justice to punish any girl who has compromised her reputation. Traditional Bedouin law relating to illicit love affairs is so complex that it is impossible to survey the main features briefly and accurately. Consideration must be given to the civil status of the woman or girl, whether she is married, widowed or divorced, her religious status, her connivance with or opposition to her ravisher, the resistance she displaced, the circumstances under which the crime occurred, and the time and place of the rape or attempted rape. It would obviously be tedious to dwell on these points. However, the culprits caught in the act are generally put to death. Their blood has been spilled, which means that the one exacting justice will not be pursued for that action and the *diya* will not have to be paid. The agnate relations may be less severe with a young girl who is seduced, and may let her off with her life, but the abductor must then marry her and must give a girl from his close family without asking for a dowry. He will also be forbidden to repudiate his wife because of these special circumstances.

It is probably unnecessary here to struggle through the labyrinthine procedure of the *ʿurf* on matters of illicit love affairs, but two of the previously-mentioned points are worthy of note: the place and the time of the crime. It may have been committed near the camp at dusk after the flock had returned; or in grazing land when the shepherdess was naturally far away from her family. In the first case, the woman is described as *ʿāḳibat al-sarḥ*, "the one who returns behind the livestock" and she is entirely responsible for what has occurred. At that time of day, it is thought that she should be at home, and the fact that she was far from her house proves that she was conniving with her seducer. But if she was away at her place of work, then her guilt is somewhat lessened, but she must cry for help (hence the expression *muṣayyiḥat al-ḍuḥā* "the girl who cries in the morning"). She is therefore spared by her family.

In several places previously, we have mentioned that an abductor must hand over a girl from his close family, without a dowry, to a member of the injured family. This custom is sometimes observed in a case of murder, when the blood relative forgoes his right of vengeance and accepts a compromise. The wergeld that the family of a murderer must give as compensation may include a young girl, called a *g͟hurra* in these circumstances. She must be a virgin, white and free. She is given in marriage without *mahr* to a near relative of the victim, and is reduced in effect to a state of semi-slavery. Although she is legally united to the man whose life she shares, she is not completely granted the status of a wife. She is liable to all the oppressions that a husband metes out to his womenfolk and endures his ill-treatment without being able to have recourse to the protection of her family. The most she can do is to seek refuge with an influential person and ask for his help. Her role is to correct the wrong inflicted on the injured family, by giving birth to a male child to replace the deceased. When the boy is old enough to bear arms, her mission is completed. At that time she ceases to be a *g͟hurra*, a servant, and becomes *ḥurra*, free. She can leave her husband, who has no further right over her; if he tries to keep her he must pay the dowry. She is not thought of as belonging permanently to the man who takes her, but is handed over by her family against a guarantee that she will be returned to them when she has finished her task. Even when the conditions of a woman's marriage are perfectly normal, she is still legally dependent on her own family. It is their responsibility to defend her, and it also falls on them in the end to avenge her blood.

One point of interest here is often passed over in silence, but deserves to be mentioned. Although by marriage a woman must be entirely submissive to her new master's will and must follow him and live together with him, for all that, she is not his property.

She is like a precious investment placed in his hands and which is entirely at his disposal. He may rebuke her, he may even hit her, but he is not allowed to injure her or to atttempt to take her life, for he is answerable to his parents-in-law for his conduct. He is perfectly within his rights to kill her if he actually catches her in the act of adultery, but then he may not ask for the return of the dowry he has paid. He would be entitled to a return of the dowry if he simply repudiated her, and he would then leave her relatives to wash away their shame in the culprit's blood.

The married woman depends, legally speaking, on her own family in most situations. It falls to her father, brother, uncle or paternal cousin to chastise her if she is at fault, and to avenge her blood if she is a victim of murder. Unless the husband is also the paternal cousin, he must restrain himself from any violent action and be content to have the dowry paid back to him.

The Bedouin woman is not handed over defenceless to the despotism of her husband. It is even probable that she often exerts a good influence on him. In his absence, she may offer hospitality and shelter to a fugitive. Even if her natural defenders, her agnatic close relatives, disappear or are at a distance, she is not left entirely without defence. If she is ill-treated by her husband she can put herself in the protection of a distinguished person as a *dakhīla*, a refugee. It is then up to her husband to ask her if she will resume married life. To do this, he arranges a delegation of at least three witnesses to inform her of his wishes. This procedure can be repeated three times. If, despite his insistence, his wife remains obstinate in her refusal the husband then has the right not to support her financially any more, if he does not want to dissolve the marriage. If he does not make any of these customary approaches, a Bedouin court can condemn him to pay his wife substantial financial compensation.

The dissolution of a marriage contract may occur in two different ways: repudiation or widowhood. Only the man has the right to divorce his spouse. If he does this without an adequate motive, he cannot reclaim the dowry, as custom enables him to if the fault is the wife's. This financial aspect to marriage plays an important role when the woman seeks to regain her independence and her husband refuses to recite the liberating formula on his own. There is, however, one circumstance where he is obliged to grant her her freedom, sc. in the case of his impotency. Since a woman's legal incapacity forbids her to appear before a law court, a relative representing her brings the action against her husband. The latter then has the right to only one-half of the dowry he paid. The divorced woman, like the widow, must observe a period of restraint before remarrying. The *ʿidda* for the Jordanian Bedouin is normally one hundred nights, but often the woman is put back into circulation before the expiry of the minimal legal delay, for she is considered a source of wealth.

Like repudiation, widowhood grants a woman some freedom in her choice of further husband. She may return to her own family, leaving behind all the property left by her husband, or she may stay with her husband's family and her children. If she is of remarriageable age, the dead man's brother may marry her. But if the widow has the role of guardian according to the wishes of the *de cujus*, in which case she can neither rejoin her paternal home nor remarry. It is her responsibility to remain at home looking after the children and administering the property which she inherited and which will pass to them when they attain the age of majority. Since remarriage is unavailable, she may ensure that she enjoys a normal sexual life by taking a *zawdj musarrib* "visiting husband" This type of union is very rare and runs counter to the principle of patrilocality on which Bedouin society is built. Instead of following her new partner, the widow receives him at her house almost as a guest. Whether the man is married or single, he must have his own home to which he returns after visiting her. In this way, the woman retains her freedom since she can dismiss her visiting husband if she no longer wants him. However, it is still he who has the right of repudiation. This is one of the very rare times that a Bedouin woman enjoys much economic independence.

The *ʿurf* is very strict with women in financial matters. It especially disregards the teaching of the Ḳurʾān which decrees that a daughter shall inherit exactly half the portion inherited by a son. It says that the only people who are allowed to inherit are the agnate males. On the father's death, the sons possess the property. The heirs must first attend to the needs of the mother and the widows of the deceased. Daughters are in their brother's care until their marriage. They must also help their sister both financially and morally if she is divorced, widowed or ill-treated. In return for these services, not only do these brothers exclude them from the inheritance but they also keep their dowries and exchange their sisters when they barter for wives. Custom is no more favourable to daughters in the case of a subsequent inheritance from the mother's side. No matter how important the total, they receive only the jewelry and the clothes. Even if the price of their mother's blood is involved, they do not receive anything more.

The problem of the *diya* for the murder of a woman brings many related complexities. From a purely formal point of view, the *ʿurf* decrees that a woman's blood is worth half of a man's. It is exactly the *diya* of an unemancipated slave. In reality, this applies when the murder was committed by a person of the same sex or when it happened purely by accident and not as the result of war or raid. A complete *diya* is required when a woman is unfortunately hit by a stray bullet in a brawl between two families or clans. On the other hand, the blood money can in effect quadruple in nominal value, i.e. double that for a man, when the death follows a struggle with a man, even if that man was only defending himself. If a woman dies at or after an attempted rape, the *diya* becomes from eight to twelve times its original value. In addition, the *ʿurf* makes a subtle distinction between a single and a married woman. In the latter case, it seeks to establish whether she is pregnant or not. If her pregnancy is confirmed, the sex of the foetus must be determined. Whatever the cause of death, a pregnant woman counts as two people. The culprit will have to pay either the *diya* for two women or for a man and a woman; of course, the case can be made worse depending on the circumstances and prevailing conditions at the time of the crime.

In conclusion, two comments should be made on the legal status of the Bedouin woman. First, it would be erroneous to pretend that the situation is the same for all the desert Arabs. Customs more or less local may vary, and important variations may be seen from one region to another. But there is good reason to suppose that these variations reflect differences in the letter of the traditional law rather than in its spirit, the perpetuity of the law being firmly guaranteed by its environment. The *ʿurf* represents one kind of mentality, that of the nomadic Semite, and there are

many similar customs to those described above attested among the ancient Hebrew nomads. Secondly, it would be equally wrong to suggest that this law, even where women are concerned, is as alive today to the extent it was at the opening of this century. The evolutionary process, less or more active according to the different regions, seems to develope in two directions. There is a marked return to the *shar*ᶜ, and many persons have tried to prove, in a contradictory fashion, that there is no break in the continuity of tradition between ᶜ*urf* and *shar*ᶜ. On the other hand, central governments have, in a rather more discreet manner, endeavoured to move towards a more modern conception of justice to accord with the general trends in the country. Despite all this pressure, there appears to be a part of ᶜ*urf* which seems secure against all modern reforms: that of whiteness of the face, honour and ᶜ*ird*, which in its very essence is symbolised by woman.

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3. In Persia. a. Before 1900.

The following will not be concerned with the legal position of women—this has been discussed above in sections 1 and 2—but will focus on their position and role in society. The sources are meagre. Women did not normally leave written accounts of their lives. We know little of their motives and characters from their own accounts, and it is not to be expected that others should write of them except in very general terms. So far as women are mentioned, they belong for the most part either to the ruling classes or to those who are believed to have made some contribution to the religious life of the community. Among the latter are women of the family of the Prophet and saints. Their lives are recorded in biographical dictionaries and hagiographical works. Their characters are seldom delineated in any but the broadest terms, and the virtues ascribed to them are usually characteristic Islamic virtues. This is to some extent true of the women of the ruling class also. They are mentioned in histories and chronicles because they either played a prominent part in events as regents or in some other capacity and because marriage alliances were an important element in state policy. Women of the middle and lower classes are seldom mentioned and peasant women are virtually ignored. Much incidental information on women is, however, to be found in the historical literature of the 5th-8th/11th-14th centuries. The anonymous *Tārīkh-i shāhī-i Ḳara-Khiṭā'iyān* written in the 7th/13th century (ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran Shāhinshāhī 2535/1976-7), and the *Simṭ al-ᶜulā* of Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī, written between 715/1315-16 and 720/1320-1 (ed. ᶜAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran AHS 1327/1949-50) contain lively accounts of the women of the Ḳara-Khiṭay (Ḳutlugh-Khānid) dynasty of Kirmān, and the *Djāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh gives much information on the women of the Īlkhānid family. The sources for the later centuries are less rich, until the 19th century, when there are several important works which give a picture of the activities of women of the ruling class, notably the *Tārīkh-i ᶜAḍudī* of Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā ᶜAḍud al-Dawla b. Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh (ed. ᶜAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, Tehran Shāhinshāhī, 2535/1976-7) *Yāddāsht-hā'ī az zindagānī-i khuṣūṣī-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh* by Dūst ᶜAlī Muᶜayyir al-Mamālik, who grew up as a page in the Ḳādjār court (Tehran n.d.); and vol. i of *Sharḥ-i zindagī-i man* by ᶜAbd Allāh Mustawfī (3 vols., Tehran AHS 1324-5/1945-6), which gives an intimate picture of life in an upper class family in Tehran; while Tādj al-Salṭana, the daughter of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, who was born in 1301/1883-4, wrote an autobiography entitled *Khāṭirāt-i Tādj al-Salṭana* in 1343/1924-5) (ed. Manṣūra Ittiḥādiyya and Sīrūs Saᶜdwandiyān, Tehran AHS 1361/1982). From the 10th/16th century onwards, Persian sources are supplemented by the accounts of European travellers. These, by the nature of things, are the accounts of outsiders, but as intercourse increased in the 19th century and European women began to come to Persia, the information on the position of women and their daily life becomes fuller.

At all periods, there was a difference between townswomen, peasant women and tribal women. The general consensus of the settled population was against the participation of women in public affairs. Townspeople were secluded and played no part in public life; and little is revealed of their influence in family affairs. All houses, other than those of the very poor, were divided into the women's apartments, the *andarūn*, public apartments, the *bīrūn*, where business was transacted and male guests entertained. In the richer houselholds, it was customary for eunuchs and female slaves to be employed in the *andarūn*. Peasant women worked in the fields. They did not, however, usually appear unveiled in public before the opposite sex.

In tribal society, great weight was given to the bond of blood relationship, and the woman's role in establishing this was of great, perhaps paramount, importance. Marriage alliances consolidated tribal federations and marked the entry of new tribes into existing federations. The exchange of women was also a method of terminating blood feuds. The nature of tribal society was such that women enjoyed a status and function which was, on the whole, denied to them in settled society. Tribeswomen did not normally veil. They played an active part in the daily life of the tribe and often in the management of tribal affairs (cf. Sir John Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia*, London 1845, 154-5).

In all classes and sectors of society, child marriage and the marriage of cousins were normal practice.

Among the richer classes, polygamy was common. Rivalry between the inmates of the *ḥaram* to secure favour for their own sons was of frequent occurence. Remarriage of widows and divorced women was also common [see MUTʿA and NIKĀḤ].

With the rise of the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] in the 5th/11th century, women of the ruling class began to play a more active role in political life. The reason for this is probably to be sought in their Turkic tribal background, even though the Saldjūḳs were to some extent separated from this once they had become the rulers of an empire. From the time of Ṭoghrïl Beg onwards, marriage alliances with local ruling families and with the caliphate were an important aspect of Saldjūḳ policy. This was also true of the succession states. The sons of Saldjūḳ mothers do not appear to have had precedence over the sons of other wives, nor, in general do the sons of free women appear to have had precedence over the sons of slave women or concubines. Some of the wives of the sultans had their own *dīwāns* and establishments; some held *iḳṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*] and landed property; and some disposed of considerable wealth. The office of *wazīr* to the wife of the sultan was sometimes a stepping-stone to important office under the sultan. Several "royal" women played a prominent part in public life. Ṭoghrïl Beg is reported to have consulted his chief wife Altun Djan in affairs, Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī states that she was a religious woman, much given to charitable works, of good judgement and firm determination (*Mirʾat al-zamān*, ed. Ali Sevim, Ankara 1968, 75; cf. also Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād, Deccan 1938-40, viii, 218). Terken Khātūn, the chief wife of Malikshāh, was a masterful and ambitious woman. She and Zubayda Khātūn, another of Malikshāh's wives, vied with each other in order to secure the succession of their respective sons after the death of Malikshāh. The former appears to have had a sizeable force of military slaves at her disposal.

Some of the wives of the *amīrs* and atabegs were also women of character; and several of them were noted for their charitable benefactions. One such was Zāhida Khātūn, who ruled Fārs for twenty-one years after the death of her husband Boz Aba in 541/1146-7. Another was the mother of Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl b. Muḥammad, who was married after the death of Ṭoghrïl to Ildegüz, the Atabeg of ʿĀdharbāydjān, under whose tutelage Arslan was installed as nominal ruler in Hamadān in 556/1161. Recording her death, which occurred in 571/1175-6, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī states that "it was as if the good order of the kingdom and the dynasty depended upon the existence of that lady" (*Saldjūḳ-nāma*, Tehran AHS 1332/1953-4, 82). Abish Khātūn, the daughter of the Atabeg Saʿd of Fārs, had a lively though short life. After the death of the last of the Atabegs of Fārs, Saldjūḳ-Shāh b. Salghur-Shāh b. Saʿd in 662/1263-4, she was put on the throne with the support of the Shūl and Turkoman *amīrs*, although she was only 4 or 5 years old, because no direct male descendant of the Atabegs survived. She had apparently already before that been betrothed by her mother to Tash Möngke, Hülegü's son. In due course, she became his chief wife. Her daughter Kürdüdjin received a contract (*muḳāṭaʿa*) in 719/1319-20 for the taxes of Fārs from Abū Saʿīd, the last Īlkhān. She was married first to Soyurghatmïsh, the Ḳutlugh-Khānid ruler of Kirmān, and secondly and thirdly to Mongol *amīrs*.

In Khwārazm, Terken Khātūn, the wife of the Khwārazmshāh Tekesh, played a turbulent role in the politics of Khwārazm during the reign of her son Muḥammad (596-617/1199-1220). She finally fell into the hands of the Mongols, and was sent to Ḳaraḳorum where she died in 630/1232-3 (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, index under *Turkān-Khātūn*). Another Terken Khātūn, who was also known after her marriage in 632/1235 to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, the Ḳara Khiṭay (Ḳutlugh-Khānid) ruler of Kirmān, by her *laḳab* Ḳutlugh Terken, was an outstanding woman. She ruled Kirmān after her husband's death in 655/1257 because her two sons, Soyurghatmïsh and Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān, were minors. She was a capable and vigorous woman, who in addition to her attention to affairs of state, was also given to charitable works and generous patronage of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Her daughters Pādishāh Khātūn and Bībī Khātūn also played a prominent part in the political affairs of the day; the former was married to the Īlkhān Abaḳa (see *Tārīkh-i shāhī-i Ḳara Khiṭāʾiyān* and Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī, *Simṭ al-ʿulā, passim*).

The Mongol conquest brought changes in the position and status of women of the ruling class. The Īlkhāns for the most part appear to have taken their wives from the Mongol tribes, and through them to have retained their links with the Mongols in Central Asia and China. They also concluded marriage alliances with local ruling families, whose daughters they took into their *ḥarams*. Such alliances had benefits for both parties: the local rulers assured their own positions, even if only temporarily, while the Īlkhāns were able through such unions to bring outlying provinces more closely under their control. But while local women were taken into the establishments of the Īlkhāns, women of the Īlkhānid family and of Mongol *noyans* are seldom recorded as having been given to local rulers. The women of defeated enemies, so far as they escaped massacre, were regarded as part of the booty and were taken into the establishment of the Mongol princes and army commanders.

The wives and daughters of the Īlkhāns and Mongol princes enjoyed a privileged position vis-à-vis the rest of society. They received a share of the booty and took part in the *ḳuriltays* [*q.v.*] held to acclaim or appoint a new Īlkhān. Many of them accumulated great wealth. Ögedey's chief wife Töregene and Güyük's chief wife both acted as regent on the death of their respective husbands, pending the appointment of a new Great Khān. There are no instances of women acting as regents in the Īlkhānate, but after the death of Abū Saʿīd, the last Īlkhān, his sister Sati Beg was put on the throne with the help of Shaykh Ḥasan, the grandson of the Amīr Čopan, in 799/1338-9, on the grounds that the right of the throne was hers since no male member of the house of Hülegü remained. In fact, however, the kingdom passed to the Čopanids and the Djalāʾirids. In spite of the prestige and authority enjoyed by the women of the Īlkhānid house, their freedom was limited by custom and their position was, in many respects, one of subjection. On the death of an Īlkhān, his wife passed to his successor or to one of his uncles, brothers or sons. If accused of plotting against the Īlkhān or of some other misdemeanour, Īlkhānid women were not immune from trial by *yarghu* [*q.v.*], the bastinado and even execution, whether guilty of the crime of which they were accused or not.

The senior wives of the Īlkhānids had their own *ordus*. Junior wives were often placed in the *ordu* of a senior wife. Imperial concubines were distributed among the *ordus* of the Īlkhān's wives. Some were in due course promoted to the status of a "full" wife. On the death (or disgrace) of one of his wives, the Īlkhān would give her *ordu* to another of his wives. It is difficult to determine exactly the composition and size

of the *ordus* of the Mongol princesses. By the time of Ghazan, many of them were large and powerful establishments. The Mongol princesses also took part in the activities of the trading and money-lending partnerships known as *ortaks*. Ghazan apparently sought to bring the *ordus* of the princesses under control and to use their revenues for military and other expenditure (see further Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia: aspects of administrative, economic and social history 5th/11th to 8th/14th century*, forthcoming; Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*³, Berlin 1968, see index under *Frau*; Shīrīn Bayānī, *Zan dar Īrān-i ʿahd-i Mughul*, Tehran AHS 1352/1974).

The position of women under the Tīmūrids resembled in many ways their position in the Īlkhānate. Tīmūr himself seems to have chosen wives mainly of Mongol origin for himself and his family (H. Hookham, *Tamburlaine the conqueror*, London 1962, 72). They had their own quarters in the royal camp (*Clavijo: embassy to Tamerlane*, tr. G. Le Strange, London 1928, 242-3, 268, 271). They appeared in public at royal feasts and on occasion gave banquets themselves, at which they appeared only lightly veiled before their male and female guests (*ibid.*, 237, 244 ff., 275; cf. also Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī's account of a great feast given by Tīmūr in 806/1403-4 at which women were present, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* ed. J. Aubin, Tehran AHS 1336/1957, 398 ff.).

Under the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, women of the ruling class continued to play an influential role, especially through the establishment of kinship links (see J. E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: clan, confederation, empire*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1976). Marriage alliances in the early Ṣafawid period also were an important means of consolidating the ruler's influence. Ṭahmāsp was allied in this way with powerful *amīrs* and local rulers (see Iskander Munshī, *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran AHS 1334/1956, 2 vols., i, 125 ff., for mention of his wives); his sister was married to the religious leader, Islām Shāh Ni ʿmat Allāh Yazdī, and a daughter of this union was married to Ṭahmāsp's son, Ismā ʿīl Mīrzā (*ibid.*, 132). Zaynab Begum, one of Ṭahmāsp's daughters, whose mother was a Georgian woman, was, according to Iskandar Munshī, highly intelligent and acquired great influence with ʿAbbās I, into whose *ḥaram* she passed. She was known for many charitable works and benefactions (*ibid.*, 135). Parī Khān Khānum, another of Ṭahmāsp's daughters, played an influential part on her father's death in promoting the accession of Ismāʿīl Mīrzā. After his accession, she fell from favour, but after his death, on the accession of Muḥammad Mīrzā, she exercised great influence in the government of the country. Great rivalry existed between her and Muḥammad Shāh's wife, Mahd Awliyāʾ Khayr al-Nisāʾ Begum. Parī Khān Khānum's high handed behaviour aroused the enmity of the Ḳizīlbash *amīrs* and she was eventually murdered by them. Khayr al-Nisāʾ Begum then took upon herself the government of affairs because of her husband's defective eyesight. She too was murdered by the Ḳizīlbash *amīrs*, who resented her interference (see *ibid.*, index under *Parī Khān Khānum* and *Mahd Awliyāʾ Khayr al-Nisāʾ Begum*, and Maḥmūd b. Hidāyat Allāh Afushtaʾī, *Naḳāwat al-āthār*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāḳī, Tehran AHS 1350/1971-2, 21, 72, 250). Khadīdja, another of Ṭahmāsp's daughters, was married to Djamshīd b. Sulṭān Aḥmad, the ruler of Biyā Pas in Gīlān (see ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūminī, *Tārīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran AHS 1349/1970, 54-6).

As the Ṣafawids moved away from their tribal background, the influence of their women was increasingly confined to *ḥaram* intrigues. Already under Ṭahmāsp, large numbers of concubines and slaves, especially Georgians and Circassians, were introduced into the royal *ḥaram*. This trend continued, and with it the power of the eunuchs of the palace greatly increased. The general deterioration in the position and status of the royal women in all probability spread among other ranks of society also (cf. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse*, Geneva 1970, 282-4; Du Mans, *Estat de la Perse*, Paris 1890, repr., 1969, 27-8; Chardin, *Sir John Chardin's travels in Persia* with an introduction by Brig. General Sir Percy Sykes, London 1927, 222). The status of the mother appears to have had little influence on the choice of the *walī ʿahd*. The mother of the shah was the most important lady in the *ḥaram*; after her came the shah's wives and then his favourite concubines (E. Kaempfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs 1684-1685*, tr. W. Hinz, Tübingen and Basel 1977, 232). When the ladies of the royal *ḥaram* went out, the district through which they were to pass was declared *ḳuruḳ* (a reserve), and those who inadvertently strayed into the road were beaten and sometimes done to death by guards and eunuchs (cf. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, 284; Du Mans, *op. cit.*, 95-6; Chardin, *The coronation of Solyman the III*, published with *The travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East Indies*, London 1691, 77; Thévenôt, *The travels of Monsieur de Thévenôt into the Levant*, London 1687, repr. 1971, pt. 2, 99). The practice of *ḳuruḳ* continued in a modified form under the Ḳādjārs. Males were expected to turn their faces to the wall when the royal women passed by (see Curzon, *Persia*, 2 vols., London 1892, i, 404).

The accession of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-55/1694-1722), the last of the Ṣafawids, was largely secured by his great aunt Maryam Begum, a masterful lady who exercised great influence. The shah took an inordinate pride in his *ḥaram*, the scale and magnificence of which became a drain on the treasury. It was not uncommon for beautiful women to be seized by his officers and sent to his *ḥaram*, as they had been in the reign of his predecessor, Shāh Sulaymān (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 36, 41, 47-8). Muḥammad Hāshim Āṣaf Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ alleges that there were nearly 1,000 beautiful girls of varying provenance in Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn's *ḥaram* (*Rustam al-tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī, Tehran AHS 1348/1969-70, 70-1).

Āḳā Muḥammad Khān (1193-1211/1779-97), the first of the Ḳādjārs, took the daughters and women of defeated enemies and rebels into the royal *ḥaram* as hostages to lessen the likelihood of rebellion and to consolidate his rule. He also sought to heal the breach which had occurred between the Ḳoyunlu branch of the Ḳādjār tribe, to which he himself belonged, and the Develu branch, by the marriage of his nephew and successor Fatḥ ʿAlī to the daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Develu [see ḲĀDJĀR]. On one occasion, when Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, was absent from Tehran, it was arranged that his sister should receive an envoy from one of the khāns of Turkistān, sitting behind a curtain to do so. This, however, gave great offence to the head of the Afshār tribe, either because of its supposed impropriety or because he had not been consulted (Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, i, 23-4).

From the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh onwards, there was a great increase in the size and expenses of the royal *ḥaram* and in the number of black and white eunuchs employed in the palace (ʿAḍud al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, 54 ff. See also Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia*, 220; J.

Morier, *A journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, 225, 239; Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, i, 40-1). Muʿayyir al-Mamālik puts the inmates of the *ḥaram* of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1848-96) at over 3,000; when the shah moved to summer quarters in the hills near Tehran, he was accompanied by a vast cavalcade (*Yāddāsht-hāʾī az zindagānī-i khuṣūṣī-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh*, 106, 127. See also Docteur Feuvrier, *Trois ans à la cour de Perse*, Paris 1906, 142). Fatḥ ʿAlī apparently abandoned the practice of ranking the princes in his audience according to their mother's birth (ʿAḍud al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, 47). As in Ṣafawid times, the mother of the ruler was the most important lady in the royal *ḥaram*. The mothers of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, ʿAbbās Mīrzā, Muḥammad Shāh and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh were, in succession, known as *mahd awliyāʾ*. Fatḥ ʿAlī's mother attempted in vain to mediate between Fatḥ ʿAlī and his full brother Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān after the former's accession (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi nāṣirī*, Tehran lith. 1895-6, 2 vols. in 1, i, 245-6). ʿAḍud al-Dawla describes the hierarchical order in the royal *ḥaram* and the rivalries of the royal ladies (*Tārīkh-i ʿAḍudī*, 12 ff. Cf. also Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 2 vols., London 1829, ii, 394, 396; Morier, *op. cit.*, 369. See also the introduction by ʿAbbās Iḳbāl to *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i ʿAbbās Mīrzā Mulk-Ārā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran AHS 1325/1946-7, pp. iii ff., on the jealousy and rivalry between the mother of Nāṣir al-Dīn and the mother of his half-brother Mulk-Ārā).

The female establishment of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh is in some ways reminiscent of that of the Īlkhāns. One of his wives, the daughter of Imām Ḳulī Khān Afshār Urūmī, gave Fatḥ ʿAlī several of her serving maids with appropriate outfits and in due course they bore him children (ʿAḍud al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, 15). Lady Sheil relates how one of the wives of Muḥammad Shāh, when he was still *walī ʿahd*, bought a Circassian slave-girl as a present for her husband (*Glimpses of life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 203-4). Several of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's wives were very rich and had their separate establishments outside and independent of the royal *ḥaram*, notably Tādj al-Dawla Ṭāwūs Khānum Iṣfahānī (ʿAḍud al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, 18-19) and Ḍiyāʾ al-Salṭana. The latter's mother, Maryam Khānum, was a Jewess. She had been in the *ḥaram* of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, and after his death was married to Fatḥ ʿAlī. Ḍiyāʾ al-Salṭana was a good calligrapher and copied many books of prayers and *ziyārat-nāmas*. She enjoyed Fatḥ ʿAlī's confidence, and during his lifetime remained unmarried. She often acted as his scribe and wrote his secret letters (*ibid.*, 25). Another of Fatḥ ʿAlī's wives, Sunbul Khānum, was among the prisoners taken by ʿĀḳā Muḥammad Khān during his Kirmān campaign. She enjoyed great favour with Fatḥ ʿAlī, and repeatedly interceded with him for the subjects (*ibid.*, 20). Her daughter, Ḥusn Djahān Khānum, was a poetess and a Ṣūfī. She was married to Amān Allāh Khān, the governor of Kurdistān, and for several years exercised great authority in that province (*ibid.*, 67). Another of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's daughters, Zubayda, who was married to ʿAlī Khān Nuṣrat al-Mulk Ḳara Güzlü, was also a Ṣūfī. She lived for many years in Hamadān, where she enjoyed great authority. She went on the pilgrimage and made several visits to shrines in ʿIrāḳ and Mashhad. She gave many gifts to the poor, *sayyids* and *mullas*, and was noted for her charitable benefactions. Every year, she set aside a sum for her personal expenses from the income of her estates and gave the rest to the poor and orphans (*ibid.*, 30-2). Badr-i Djahān Khānum, the mother of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's sons Ḥasan ʿAlī and Ḥusayn ʿAlī, the former of whom became governor of Fārs and the latter governor of Tehran, lived principally in Shīrāz, where she exercised great influence over her son, interfering in the administration of affairs and enriching herself greatly by commerce and monopolies. She was believed to have made a corner in corn with an accomplice in *ca.* 1810. Nevertheless, she was reputed to be charitable to the poor and ready to do justice for the oppressed. From time to time, she negotiated a visit to the capital, for which she was generally obliged to make a considerable present to the king, who then permitted her to return and reside with him as a wife (Morier, *A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, 1810-16*, London 1818, 61; idem, *A journey through Persia ... in the years 1808 and 1809*, 154-5).

Mustawfī describes in detail the *ḥaram-khāna* of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and the discipline exercised in it (*op. cit.*, i, 510 ff.). Nāṣir al-Dīn's mother, who presided over it, was a capable woman. She was a granddaughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh; her father was Muḥammad Ḳāsim Khān b. Sulaymān Ḳādjār (see Muʿayyir al-Mamālik, 172-6; Sheil, *op. cit.*, 9). Munīr al-Dawla, one of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's wives, used to hold a feast for women in Tehran on the birthday of Fāṭima, after her son Kāmrān Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana became governor of the city in 1277/1860-1 (Abu 'l-Ḥasan Buzurg Umīd, *Az māst kih bar māst*, Tehran ASH 1335/1957, 79). On the occasion of Nāṣir al-Dīn's first journey to Europe, which took place in 1873, it was finally agreed that only one of his wives should accompany him. In the event, the lady returned to Persia from Moscow. The only other of his wives to go to Europe was Amīna Aḳdas, one of his favourite wives, who went blind towards the end of her life. She was sent to Vienna for treatment, which, however, proved fruitless. She was accompanied by the eunuch Bahrām Khān Khʷādja and several women nurses and attendants (Muʿayyir al-Mamālik, *op. cit.*, 159; Feuvrier, *op. cit.*, 185).

Although women might exercise great authority within the *ḥaram*, their liberty outside was gravely circumscribed. However, Lady Sheil remarks that the practice of veiling enabled them to move freely in the streets, the princess being indistinguishable from the peasant (*Glimpses*, 212; cf. also Feuvrier, *op. cit.*, 144). She also notes that the mission doctor's door and house was crowded with women of all ages and ranks (*Glimpses*, 212-13). Women, other than tribal women, when they went on journeys normally travelled in panniers carried by mules or in litters suspended between two mules. The panniers carrying women of the higher classes were canopied by semi-circular tops covered with cloth hanging down like a curtain (Sir Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylon ... during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820*, 2 vols., London 1821-2, i, 398-9). Tribal women and some of the royal women rode and were often accomplished horsewomen (cf. *ibid.*, 259; Muʿayyir al-Mamālik, *op. cit.*, 127).

There was in general opposition to the education of women. So far as provision existed, it was of a rudimentary kind, though some women achieved competence in religious studies and were known for their learning. Girl's schools were not founded until the 20th century, apart from the small girls' school opened by the American Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States in Tehran in 1874, in Tabriz (1879) and Hamadan (1885) (R.E. Waterfield, *Christians in Persia*, London 1973, 135, 136, 137). Some girls were educated at

home by private tutors (cf. Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, i, 296-7, 298). Girls up to the age of seven were allowed to attend a *maktab*, but the number who did so was small; when they were then too old to go unveiled, their education was sometimes finished at home by female *mullās*. Girls in well-to-do households were taught to sew and embroider and such other accomplishments as were necessary for the running of the *ḥaram*. Spinning was the ubiquitous occupation of the poorer classes. Carpet weaving was also carried on by women and children, mainly as a house industry, in many districts, and also in tribal areas. Textiles were also woven by women in many towns and villages. Little is known of the condition of those so employed until modern times [see BISĀṬ, in Suppl.].

The recreation of women was largely confined to visiting relatives. Marriages, births, deaths and other anniversaries also broke the daily round. The weekly visit to the bath was an occasion which offered the opportunity of intercourse with female friends. Visits to shrines and cemeteries, especially on Thursday evenings, were other recognised outings (see Du Mans, *op. cit.*, 93-4; Sheil, *op. cit.*, 145 ff.; Morier, *A second Journey*...., 137, 166). *Rawḍa-kh^wānīs*, especially in Ṣafar and Muḥarram, were other occasions for visiting and recreation. Female *rawḍa-kh^wāns* usually conducted those held for women (Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, i, 373, 711-12) and also the assemblies for women in Ramaḍān (Mu^cayyir al-Mamālik, *op. cit.*, 111, 113). So far as women attended mosques, they sat curtained off from the men. They were also segregated at *ta^cziyas*. In the Tikiya-yi Dawlat in Tehran, the shah's women and women of the upper classes had their own separate boxes, while poorer women sat in a separate part of the "pit" (Sheil, *op. cit.*, 127-8; Buzurg Umīd, *op. cit.*, 157-8, and see p. 106 for a description of the procession taking the shah's standard (*^calam*) from the royal *ḥaram* to the Tikiya-yi Dawlat). Women of the Prophetic family figured prominently in several of the passion plays, but their roles were normally played by men and boys (see P.J. Chelkowski, ed., *Ta^cziyeh: ritual and drama in Iran*, New York 1976).

Gradually in the second half of the 19th century, changes took place in the position of women, partly as a result of increased intercourse with Europe. Emancipation was slow, but women began from time to time to take part in public demonstrations (cf. the account of a bread riot in Tehran in 1861 during the famine, E.B. Eastwick, *Journal of a diplomat's three years' residence in Persia*, London 1864, repr. Tehran 1976, 2 vols., i, 288-91). The most notable case was their participation in the movement against the Tobacco Régie in 1891. They supported the boycott declared against the use of tobacco, and urged their menfolk to do the same; some also took part in public protests against the Régie. It is reported that the movement spread even to the shah's *ḥaram* (Mu^cayyir al-Mamālik, *op. cit.*, 177). New trends among women were also to be found in the Bābī movement [*q.v.*], who numbered among their leaders the beautiful and brilliant woman Ḳurrat al-^cAyn [*q.v.*], who was martyred in their cause in 1852.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Spuler, *Iran*, 381-3; J. Atkinson, *Customs and manners of the women of Persia*, London 1832. The accounts of most European travellers have some information on the composition of women, but it has not been possible to quote them all. On Nādir Shāh's women, see Jonas Hanway, *Historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, 2 vols., i, 169. On women's dress, see LIBĀS; see also Tavernier, *op. cit.*, 282; Thévenôt, *op. cit.*, pt. 2, 293-4; Ker Porter, *op. cit.*, i, 202, 259. 396, 499; Scott Waring, *A tour to Sheeraz*, London 1807, 61-2; Morier, *A second journey* ... 61; Kay Kāwūs b. Iskandar, *Ḳābūs-nāma*, ed. Ghulām Ḥusayn Yūsufī, Tehran 1967, 129-31; Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī*, ed. M. Mīnovī and ^cAlī Riḍā Ḥaydarī, Tehran ASH 1356/1976, 215-22, 229-30; Fakhrī Ḳawīmī, *Kārnāma-yi zanān-i mashhūr-i Īrān*, Tehran AHS 1352/1973-4; Dhabīḥ al-Dīn Maḥallātī, *Rayāḥīn al-sharī^ca dar tardjuma-yi dānishmandān-i bānūwān-i shī^ca*, 5 vols., Tehran 1375/1955-6; Abu 'l-Ḥasan Buzurg Umīd, *op. cit.*, 21-2, 39-40; Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, i, 689 ff. On marriage customs see MUT^cA and NIKĀḤ; see also Ker Porter, *op. cit.*, i, 345; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, ii, 426-8, 440-3; Sheil, *op. cit.*, 143 ff.; ^cAḍud al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, 59, 68-9; Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, i, 287 ff., 456 ff. (A.K.S. LAMBTON)

b. After 1900

The end of the 19th century marked the beginning of a long struggle for emancipation by Iranian women, which culminated in a short-lived success in the 1970s. The participation of women in the public demonstration against the Tobacco Concessions in 1893 was a watershed for their political activities; for the first time women, a hitherto invisible sector of society, had taken part in Iranian street politics. In these demonstrations, women proved themselves valuable to the *^culamā'*, who subsequently encouraged them to participate in the uprisings that led to the 1906 constitution. Women mobbed Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's carriage, organised public meetings and even marched to the *Madjlis* brandishing guns and weapons. But although their activities provided actual and moral support, women were not granted the vote by the ensuing constitution. The opposition of the *^culamā'* to female suffrage was extreme: when Ḥādjdjī Wakīl al-Ra^cāyā proposed their enfranchisement in 1911, the President of the *Madjlis* moved that no record be made "of this unfortunate incident" (Mangol Bayat 1978).

The active participation of women in the constitutional revolution, however, served to heighten their political consciousness and in the years that followed, women formed a number of secret societies and organisations seeking three main objectives: access to education, freedom from the *ḥidjāb* (veil) and suffrage. It was in the field of education that women had their first success.

Since women were physically and socially confined to the sphere of domesticity, few had had the opportunity of obtaining any formal schooling before 1900. There were, however, exceptional women, some related to the *^culamā'*, who had been educated at home, or, in a few cases, attended schools and were thus able to educate other women. In 1910 one of these, Mrs Ṭūbā Azimūda, opened the first private girls' school in Iran, Nāmūs. Three years later Mrs Yazdī, the wife of a leading *mudjtahid*, opened a second girls' school, ^cIffatiyya. Despite considerable hostility and repeated attacks by mobs, more schools were set up, and finally in 1918 the government capitulated and opened ten state schools for girls as well as a women's training college, the *Dār al-Mu^callimāt*. This college was subsequently expanded and its courses extended from three to five years. In 1934 it was renamed the Preliminary Teachers' Training College for Girls, *Dānishsārā-yi Muḳaddimatī-yi Dukhtarān*. Much of the material taught in the 1920s at the college was subsequently compiled in text books and used for teaching in secondary schools (Badr-ol-Moluk Bamdad, *From darkness to light*, ed. and tr,

F.R.C. Bagley, New York 1977, 60). The increasing secularisation of education and the growing power of the state administration in this sector was an important factor in enabling women to gain access to education. The next major campaign was directed against compulsory seclusion and the veil.

In the 30 years that followed the constitutional revolution, many dedicated women participated in the prolonged battle for emancipation. Middle-class and upper-class women, some of whom had been educated at the foreign schools in Iran and many of whom were taught by their male relatives at home, formed secret societies and women's groups such as *Andjuman-i Āzādī Zanān* ("Women's Freedom Society"), which included a member of the royal family. In 1910, one of these groups published the first journal to be edited by a woman, *Dānish*, and other journals followed. Some, such as *Shukūfa*, edited by Maryam Umīd Muzayyin al-Sulṭān, which began publishing in 1913, were devoted to literature and education. Others were more overtly committed to political emancipation. One such was *Zabān-i zanān* edited by Ṣiddīḳa Dawlatābādī which began publication in Iṣfahān in 1919. Despite repeated threats to her life and attacks on her newspaper, Dawlatābādī remained a powerful force in the women's movement.

By 1930 there were a number of women literary figures, the best known among whom were Parwīn Iʿtiṣāmī [*q.v.*] (1906-41) and Sīmīn Dānishwar, as well as more than 10 women publishers and journalists. In the face of hostility, exile and imprisonment, women such as Shahnāz Āzād, editor of *Nāma-yi banūwān* ("Women's letter") and Āfāḳ Pārsā, publisher of *Djahān-i zanān* ("Women's world"), continued to oppose the religious establishment and its more restrictive dicta, and in the event, finally found an unexpected ally in Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī. (For a detailed discussion of women journalists and writers, see Parī Shaykh al-Islāmī, *Zanān-i rūznāmanigār wa andīshmandī-yi Īrān* ("Women journalists and women intellectuals of Iran"), Tehran 1351/1972, and in Elizabeth Sansarian, *The Women's rights movement in Iran*, New York 1982, 32-7).

After the overthrow of the Ḳādjārs in 1924, Riḍā Shāh embarked on an extensive programme which initially did not benefit women very much. For example, the Civil codes of 1930, although intended to curtail the judicial control of the *ʿulamāʾ*, in fact incorporated much of the Twelver Shīʿa *Sharīʿa* laws (Bagley, *The Iranian Family Protection Laws*, in C.E. Bosworth (ed.), *Iran and Islam*, Edinburgh 1971, 50). women continued to inherit only half as much men on the death of a spouse and that of parents. Paternal consent was needed for marriage of spinsters; the husband remained the legal head of household and his formal consent was required before a wife could take employment or travel abroad. Men also retained their right to polygamy and temporary *ṣīgha* marriages, as well as the right to divorce their wives at will with the custody of their sons at the age of two and daughters at seven. Divorced women were required to keep the *ʿidda* and remain unmarried for two months in case of *ṣīgha* and three for permanent wives. The only departure from the *Sharīʿa* was the stipulation of a minimum age for marriage: 15 for girls and 18 for boys.

The Penal Code of 1940, though almost wholly European in conception, retained the *Sharīʿa* laws for adultery. The killing of one's wife, daughter or sister caught *in flagranti delicto*, is not considered murder and carries either no sentence at all or a short discretionary term of imprisonment. Retribution against an adulterous husband, father or brother, however, is not sanctioned in the same way.

Nevertheless, by 1936 Riḍā Shāh felt sufficiently confident to include women's education and the banning of the veil in his modernisation process. He began in 1935 by giving state recognition to women's groups and setting up a women's centre, *Ḳānūn-i bānuwān*, with a budgetary allocation from the Ministry of Culture and under the patronage of his daughters Ashraf and Shams, and headed by Hadjar Tarbiyat. In 1937 Ṣiddīḳa Dawlatābādī was appointed as the head of the *Ḳānūn* and it was reorganised into an educational and craft training centre for women. In 1936, Tehran University began admitting women. It was, however, the outlawing of the veil in the same year and rigorous enforcement of this measure until Riḍā Shāh's abdication in 1941 which proved a historical landmark for Iranian women. Along with access to education, the abolition of the *hidjab* finally ended their physical and mental segregation and enabled them to participate openly in the public sphere (see Bamdad, *op. cit.*, 80-3; Sansarian, *op. cit.*, 62-6; Avery, *Modern Iran*, London 1965, 291-2).

After the departure of Riḍā Shāh, there was something of a backlash against women. Nevertheless, organisations such as the Women's League, *Djamʿiyyat-i Zanān*, and the Tūdeh (Communist) party's *Tashkīlat-i Zanān-i Īrān*, continued to agitate for legal reforms and female suffrage. In this, they met with the resolute opposition of the *Madjlis*, which in 1934 had voted and again in 1959 was to vote against the emancipation of women. Middle-class Iranian women, many of whom had been educated abroad, saw the religious establishment as the main opposition and sought to circumvent the legislature by taking to the streets. In this they had the tacit support of the Shāh's twin sister, Ashraf Pahlawī, who headed the influential High Council of Women's Organisation, *Shūrā-yi ʿĀlī-yi Djamʿiyyat-i Zanān*.

In January 1963, women organised a widely-publicised and well-supported one-day strike, refused to celebrate the anniversary of the unveiling of women, marched to the Senate and insisted on voting in the Shah's White Revolution referendum. Although their vote was counted separately, the high turnout, the extensive publicity given to the women's protests and royal patronage finally enabled them to obtain the vote in February 1963. A year later, there were two women senators and four women deputies in the *Madjlis*. In the struggle between the secular and the religious establishment, the state scored a temporary gain and acquired the wholehearted support of middle-class women.

Once enfranchised, the campaign for legal reforms was intensified. Assisted by the Women Lawyers' Union and the newly formed Iranian Women's Organisation (*Sāzamān-i zanān*) headed by members of the royal household, Iranian women succeeded in securing radical changes. By 1978 abortion was legalised and, through the Family Protection Laws of 1967 and 1975, the husband's right to *ṣīgha* and polygamous marriages was curtailed, as was his discretionary right of divorce and custody of children. Family Courts were set up and empowered to allow divorced women to claim an alimony over and above the customary *mahr*. Conditions for working women were also improved, and they gained an entitlement to twelve weeks' maternity leave and nurseries in work places with more than ten nursing mothers.

On the whole, it was the urban middle-class women who benefited from these measures; rural women, though theoretically entitled to nurseries and legal protection, were generally unaffected by these laws and were unable to get to such law enforcement agen-

cies as the town-based Family Courts. There were, however, a number of programmes intended specifically for rural women. For example, the Literacy Corps, the Extension Corps and the Health Corps, were set up in 1968, and despatched women conscripts to teach village women respectively to read, produce handicrafts and instruct them in family planning. Of these, by far the most successful was the Extension Corps which taught women to improve on their traditional crafts of weaving and sewing and embroidery and which facilitated the marketing of these products through a network of urban shops. Ironically, the ability of rural women to gain their livelihood as craft workers reinforced the parental reluctance to allow them to go to school, since schooling merely deprived the family of their daughter's all-too-valuable labour without giving them any substantial returns (for a case study on this, see Haleh Afshar, *The position of women in an Iranian village*, in *Feminist Review*, no. 9 [Autumn 1981], 76-8). Thus despite numerous literary campaigns, nearly 95% of rural women remained illiterate (J. Rudolph Touba, *Relationship between urbanisation and the changing status of women in Iran*, in *Iranian Studies*, v/1 [Winter 1972], 29, and *Bārrassī sōsialistī*, in *Asnād-i Djunbish-i Trotski-yi Īrān* [New York, Summer 1357/1978], 191).

Even for urban women, successes of the 1970s were short-lived. Although the Shāh appointed one women minister, an ambassadress and nearly 40 women judges, his modernisation policies did not benefit the mass of the poor rural and urban dwellers, male and female. Welfare legislation remained unimplemented and the bulk of Iranian women continued working in the informal sector without security and for minimal wages. It was the combination of poverty and illiteracy that made poorer women so responsive to the extensive campaigns waged by the religious establishment against the Shāh. In the early seventies, Āyatallāh Khumaynī emerged as the charismatic leader of this opposition. Khumaynī appealed directly to women to abandon their unrewarding tasks given to them by the Shāh and return to the sphere of domesticity, reminding them that the Muslim husband must fulfil his duty of supporting his wife and family "whether he has the means or not" (Āyatallāh Rūḥ Allāh Khumaynī, *Tawḍīḥ al-masā'il*, ed. Ḥawza-yi ʿIlmī, Ḳum n.d., *mas'ala* 2412).

The prospect was an alluring one for the many women who earned a pittance and often supported an idle husband or son. Some middle-class women among the intelligentsia also feared the total breakdown of the family. The high rate of divorce—Īrān ranked fourth in the world (*Iran Almanac*, published by *Echo of Iran*, Tehran 1974, 434)—and the predominance of divorce among working women, (40%), were seen by this group as evidence of social disintegration, and they espoused the cause of Islamic fundamentalism. They expected the Islamic Republic to bestow the dignity of motherhood and domesticity on women (Zahrā Rāhnaward, *Ṭulūʿ-i zan-i muslimān*, Nashr-i Maḥbūba n.d., 85). In the event, women appear to have lost everything but the vote. Their wholehearted support of Khumaynī and active participation in the street demonstrations marked women as an important support base and secured them the vote (H. Afshar, *Khumayni's teachings and their implications for Iranian women*, in A. Tabari and N. Yeganeh (eds.), *In the shadow of Islam*, London 1982, 75-90). But all women judges were dismissed, and women were expelled from the Faculty of Law. Female education has been segregated; given that only about 3% of women had any tertiary education, this measure has condemned them to an inferior education. In addition, the reversion to the *Sharīʿa* laws has meant that husbands have gained the discretionary right to polygamous and *ṣīgha* marriages as well as the custody of children on divorce. Women are now required to wear the *ḥidjāb*, and the implementation of the new *ḳaṣāṣ* laws has deprived them of equality before the law. A man who murders a woman has a *khūnbahā*, blood money; this must be paid by the woman's guardian before the murderer is punished. Women have a *khūnbahā* only half that of a man. Iranian women have opposed these measures with street demonstrations, a refusal to wear the *ḥidjāb* and collaboration with the resistance movement. It is too early to judge whether the restriction placed on women will prove any more long lasting than the liberalisation of the Pahlawīs; what is certain is that Iranian women will not easily concede defeat.

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(HALEH AFSHAR)

4. In Turkey [see Supplement].

5. In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The evolution of Muslim social polity in India, from the earliest date of advent of Islam in the subcontinent in the 2nd/8th century, has been constantly affected and acculturated by the indigenous cultural environment. In this process, the status and role of Muslim women also underwent significant changes throughout the ages. The earliest accounts indicate that among the Turkish settlers women enjoyed a respectable position; they even took an active part in state affairs. Seclusion was not strictly enforced during the earlier centuries, but began as a rigid practice after the 4th/10th century.

During the Dihlī Sultanate period (7th/13th century), despite strict seclusion of women, ambitious ladies of royal households often played decisive roles in intricate affairs of succession to the throne. Shāh Turkān (wife of Iltutmish and mother of Rukn al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh I) and Malik-yi Djahān (wife of Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh II) had succeeded in effectively outmanoeuvring the male-dominated courts by installing on thrones the princes of their choice and wielding absolute power in their behalf. Iltutmish's daughter, Raḍiyya Sulṭāna, even succeeded in ascending to the throne herself and ruled for four years (634-7/1236-40). The records of the Tughluḳ and Lōdī dynasties are also full of accounts of royal ladies often playing leading roles in state politics.

The harem life from the Sultanate period down to the Lōdī dynasty (i.e. in the pre-Mughal era) was centred around the ladies of royal households. with their dependents, maids, slaves and eunuchs. Seniority in rank among royal ladies was a major factor in commanding both respect and power. Seclusion was so strictly observed that even outside women were not permitted to enter the harem enclosures. The princesses and girls of higher classes received Ḳurʾānic and literary education at home from learned tutors (ladies as well as elderly men). In regard to literary and artistic talents, there are numerous instances of outstanding achievements by ladies. Raḍiyya Sulṭāna was a noted poetess; Dukhtar Khāṣṣa, Nuṣrat Bībī and Mihr Āfrūz had mastered the art of dancing; Futūḥa and Nuṣrat Khātūn were famous musicians of their times.

During the Mughal period (932-1161/1526-1748), although the practice of seclusion had become more intensive and was considered as a sign of respect—even royal decrees were issued for observing strictly the rules of *parda/purdah* (seclusion)—women of the royal households and upper classes played perceptible roles in state politics and achieved high merits in literary accomplishment. On occasion, Nūr-i Djahān (wife of Djahāngīr) broke the *purdah* convention and did not mind coming out in public. In fact, she was the real power behind the Djahāngīrī throne. She also led an army expedition against Mahābat Khān [*q.v.*]. In southern India, during the same period, Sulṭāna Čand Bībī personally defended the fort of Aḥmadnagar against the mighty forces of Akbar, and Makhdūma-yi Djahān ruled the Deccan as a regent on behalf of Niẓām Shāh of the Bahmanī family.

In literary achievement, the Mughal period provides a long list of ladies of distinction. Djahānārā (second wife of Shāhdjahān) was a noted biographer; Gulbadān Begam was the author of the *Humāyūn-nāma*. and Djān Begam (daughter of Khān-i Khānān) wrote a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, for which she received from Akbar an award of 50,000 *dīnārs*. Among the famous poetesses of this period, Salīma Sulṭāna, Nūr-i Djahān, Sitt al-Nisāʾ and Zīb al-Nisāʾ (eldest daughter of Awrangzīb) were outstanding.

The decline of the Mughal dynasty towards the middle of 12th/18th century heralded the emergence of the modern era in Indian history. The incoming European powers (Portugese, Dutch, British) were in the process of consolidating in the subcontinent their political and military powers, which eventually weakened the power bases of Muslim courts in northern as well as southern India. With this shift of power, new socio-economic groups gradually emerged in which the élites of the long-established courts lost their hold and their dominant status. The centralised feudal power fragmented into the holdings of local feudal lords, who started aligning themselves with the European powers. This basic shift in social organisation ultimately had its impact on women's rôle in society. The central harems of the past gradually lost their hold on political manoeuvrings, whilst the artistic and literary pursuits of these élite ladies also lost much of their significance as the popularity of Western-type education gradually spread. For almost a century, virtually all contributions of Muslim women in art and literature, and their active participation in education or politics, came to a standstill. It was not until the second half of the 19th century that a gradual revival of Muslim women's participation in active life of education and artistic and literary manifestations became visible.

In 1886 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan [see SAYYID AḤMAD KHĀN] founded the Anglo-Mohammedan Educational Conference for the general advancement of Western education among Muslim in India. Under the auspices of this organisation, the provision of Western education for Muslim girls was envisaged also. At the beginning of this century, the first Muslim women's college was established at ʿAlīgaṛh (now a constituent college of the Muslim University); the basic aim of this college was to provide facilities for higher Western education for Muslims girls under the strict rules of seclusion. Almost at the same time, Ḥakīm Adjmal Khān opened an exclusive section for women in his Yūnānī College (centre of Greco-Arab medical education) at Dihlī. The ʿAlīgaṛh College, in particular, contributed a great deal in giving a new direction to the role of Muslim women in modern India. It was followed by the establishment of educational institutions for Muslim girls in Bombay in the 1920s, and in other parts of the subcontinent in the 1930s.

During the 1920s, two monthly magazines in Urdu for Muslim women started their publication: *ʿIṣmat* from Dihlī and *Tahdhīb-i-Niswān* from Lahore. The objectives of both these periodicals were to publish reformist material for the average, middle-class Muslim woman. Their circulation was throughout the Urdu-speaking region of the subcontinent. The main themes on which the contributors (male and female) concentrated were: the stability of family life, children's upbringing, women's role as wives and

mothers, religious education, domestic economy, and light social fiction. Ḥidjāb Imtiyāz ʿAlī was the first Muslim woman writer of the modern era who earned an all-India fame in the late 1920s; most of her writings appeared in *Tahdhīb-i-Niswān*.

The 1935 Government of India Act had awarded separate electorates for Hindus and Muslims; female members of the two communities were also given the franchise. According to the terms of the new Act, general elections were held in 1936. By this time, a few Muslim women of the upper middle class had come out of seclusion and were actively participating in various fields: politics, medicine, education, social welfare, literary pursuits, etc. Thus they had demanded and were granted a reserved seat for Muslim women in the United Provinces legislature. In the 1936 elections, Begam Ḥabībullāh won the reserved seat and entered the U.P. Legislative Assembly as the first Muslim woman member.

During the Second World War, India witnessed an unprecedented political upheaval which had its bearing on Muslim women's increasing participation in political activities and literary expressions. Saleha Abid Husain, Rasheed Jahan and Ismat Chughtai emerged as leading Urdu writers of that time. Begam Mohammad Ali, maintaining her seclusion, fought and won a seat in U.P. legislature in 1946. Rasheed Jahan and Hajira Begam were Communist activitists; both of them were among the organisers of several industrial strikes, and were imprisoned for a considerable time in 1949.

In 1947, after Partition, two separate commonwealth states came to exist: India with Hindu majority provinces, and Pakistan consisting of Muslim majority regions, sc. the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, West Punjab (as the western wing) and East Bengal (as eastern wing). Among the remaining Muslim population in India, after independence, Muslim women came out of seclusion in greater number; they started entering the institutions of higher education in ever-increasing numbers and competed for specialised jobs. Although up to higher secondary level, seclusion of sexes has been maintained in college and university education, the predominant majority of Muslim girls have been enrolling in institutions of co-education. Their participation in active educational, professional and political fields has been of great significance. At ʿAlīgaṛh Muslim University, several Muslim women professors have chaired various academic departments. There have been a number of Muslim women holding administrative positions in various government establishments. In the political sphere, the traditions of Muslim women's participation have been continuous. Begam Anis Kidwai was the first Muslim female minister appointed in the 1970s in the Uttar Pradesh cabinet, and later on she was elected as President of Congress (I) of the U.P. Branch. In Assam, during the most politically troubled period, in the early 1980s, Begam Anwara Taimur took up the charge as Chief Minister of that state and headed the Congress (I) cabinet for several months.

At present, Muslim women are found throughout India as eminent medical practitioners, educationists, administrators, and political activists. In all these fields their status for all practical purposes is equal to men without significant discrimination.

Soon after the establishment of Pakistan as a Muslim state in 1947, women's emancipation became a key factor in all walks of life and especially in the provinces of West Punjab and Sind. Muslim women of the Punjab were already far advanced in education; a large number of well-educated families from the U.P. and Hyderabad had migrated after the partition to Sind province, and women of these families were demanding better opportunities for themselves in the newly-established state. Muslim women in the North-West Frontier Province and East Bengal had not been able to advance beyond average primary education in those early years. Thus the establishment of the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) during early 1950s drew upon female activists mostly from Lahore and Karachi. It remained a middle-class dominated organisation which aimed at a better deal for women: it organised meetings and demonstrations against polygamy and the maltreatment of women, and it presented a mild programme of social reforms in favour of women. But any active participation of women in politics was at least two decades away.

In literature, however, several women writers rose to prominance: Hajira Masroor, Khadija Mastoor, and Jilani Bano in short story writing; Qurat-ul-Ain Hyder as a novelist and Zohra Nigar as a poet. During the early 1960s, Begam Liaquat Ali Khan was appointed as the first woman ambassador of Pakistan; she was accredited to Belgium. Her appointment was not due to her own active participation in political or social life; she was honoured as the widow of the assassinated first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Sahibzada Liaquat Ali Khan [see LIYĀḲAT ʿALĪ KHĀN].

It was mostly during the 1970s that woman came to prominence in Pakistani politics. Begam Nasim Wali Khan had emerged, side-by-side with her husband, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, as a political activist against the rule of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Soon after Bhutto's execution, his widow—Begam Nusrat Bhutto—and daughter—Benazir Bhutto—took up the leadership of the Pakistan People's Party and have become the focal point of opposition to the Martial Law Authority. More and more women are becoming involved in political activity; thus Hinda Gilan, a lawyer by profession, has recently emerged in Lahore as a dynamic political activist.

Bibliography: Most of the works referring to the status and role of Muslim women in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent from the earliest times down to the end of the Mughal period comprise the standard historical sources, see the Bibls. to HIND. iv. History and vi. Islamic culture. For a summary treatment of the status of Muslim women in pre-Mughal times, see I.H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultans of Delhi*[4], n.d. Karachi, 150; Rekha Misra, *Women in Mughal India*, Delhi 1967, 5-15; R. P. Tripathy, *Some aspects of Muslim administration*, Allahabad 1936, 29; and Ishwari Parasad, *History of Qaraunah Turks in India*, Allahabad 1936, 132. Accounts of the status of Muslim women during the Mughal period are available, mostly written in Persian: Gulbadan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1902, provides an elaborate account of female life inside harems. Other important references to Muslim women's life can be found in ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1884, 404-6; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, tr. H. Beveridge, Calcutta 1912, i, 43, 114, ii, 39-41, 149-51, 212, 230, 288-93, 317-19, 324-30, iii, 212-13, 215, 536, 1140; Muʿtamid Khān, *Iḳbāl-nāmā-yi Djahāngīrī*, tr. Elliot and Dowson, Calcutta 1865, 345-6, 424-8, 430-1, 435-6. There are numerous studies in English on this period; see Rakha Misra, *op. cit.*, chs. 2-8; P. N. Chopra, *Society and culture during the Mughal age*, Agra 1963, ch. 5, 103-31; B. Andrea, ed. L. Binyon, *The life of*

a Mughal princess — Jahanara Begum, London 1931. On the status of Muslim women in modern times, intensive study is still very much needed; however, two works which have dealt with this theme should be mentioned, Cora Vreede de Stuers, *Parda: a study of Muslim women's life in Northern India*, Assen 1968, and Zarina Bhatty, *Status of Muslim women and social change*, in *Indian women: from purdah to modernity*, New Delhi 1976. (GHAUS ANSARI)

MARʿĀ (A.), pasture. 1. In nomadic Arab life.

The word *marʿā* is used only twice in the Ḳurʾān, where it has the purpose of praising the divine power (LXXIX, 31, and LXXXVII,4). In *ḥadīth* there are also two uses of this substantive to be noted (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*); one of them touches incidentally on the problem of the exploitation of pastures, but *ḥadīth* is more explicit with reference to *kalaʾ*, dry and green forage. In fact, a tradition asserts that "the Muslims are united (*shurakāʾ*) in three things: water, forage and fire"; it is the principle of the primitive collectivism of the Arab tribe which is stressed here. Another tradition conforms this point of view: "three things cannot be withheld: water, forage and fire". According to a third tradition, "it is forbidden to refuse excess water with the purpose of thereby denying forage" (*lā yumnaʿ faḍl al-māʾ li-yumnaʿ bi-hi 'l-kalaʾ*), since cattle eating without drinking will die of thirst (cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1334, v, 34; *LA*, s.v. *k-l-ʾ*).

Besides these somewhat vague pieces of information, neither *ḥadīth* nor even the works of *fiḳh* seem to be concerned with the manner in which pastures were exploited among the Arabs of the open plains. On the other hand, tracts of religious jurisprudence are often concerned with the problem of the sharing of water and its utilisation among riverside communities. One of the most important sources, in this context, is presumably the work, still in manuscript form, intitled *al-Marʿā al-akhḍar fī fatāwī al-Bakrī wa-bn Ḥadjar* (in the library of Tarīm).

In accounts describing the *ayyām al-ʿArab*, the contest for pastures is frequently evoked. Each tribe has its own, where only its members enjoy grazing rights. If a *sayyid* considers himself sufficiently powerful to appropriate pasture land, he then declares it *ḥimā* [*q.v.*] and forbids even his fellow-tribesmen access to it. The violent war of Basūs between the sister-tribes of Bakr and of Taghlib came about as a direct result of trespass on the reserve of Kulayb by a camel belonging to the Tamīmi Basūs.

The romantic tales of Arab chivalry, such as the story of ʿAntara, often describe heroic, warlike exploits in the conquest or defence of pastures. A clan whose lands are blighted by drought sets out to seek other grazing land belonging to friendly or allied tribes, but it cannot proceed there without having asked for and obtained authorisation from the proprietors. This approach is usually accompanied by gifts presented to the chief whose goodwill is sought; if he consents, the agreement is made conditional on terms, the most important of which is the duration of the grazing facilities. The clan which accepts then takes the visitors und its protection (*dhimām*), but it may revoke its decision and insist on the latter leaving its reserves on the grounds that their presence has caused friction. This breach of promise can degenerate into armed conflict.

It is a fact that the information supplied by the classical Arabic sources on the question of pastures among the Bedouin is far from satisfactory. To examine this subject it is necessary to turn to another source, sc. ethnography.

The Bedouin economy is based essentially on animal husbandry, sometimes linked with land cultivation of a more or less intermittent nature. These two activities could not be developed without at the same time creating a certain number of rules, determined by custom and relating in particular to the ownership of land and of wells. It might be supposed that the desert, on account of its aridity and particularly severe living conditions, is free territory belonging to anyone who has the courage to dwell there. This is not at all the case. An expert on the subject, T. E. Lawrence, states correctly in this regard:

"Men have looked upon the desert as barren land, the free holding of whoever chose; but in fact each hill and valley in it had a man who was its acknowledged owner and would quickly assert the right of his family or clan to it, against agression. Even the wells and trees had their masters, who allowed men to make firewood of the one and drink of the other freely, as much as was required for their need, but who would instantly check anyone trying to turn the property to account and to exploit it or its products among others for private benefit. The desert was held in a crazed communism by which Nature and the elements were for the free use of every known friendly person for his own purposes and no more" (*The seven pillars of wisdom*, London 1935, 83-4).

Each tribe, even the most itinerant, possesses a fixed centre which serves it as a place of resort and as a rallying centre where its various clans assemble during the months of greatest heat. At this time of the year, everything in the desert has been scorched by the sun. Then the Bedouin returns to his summer camp, situated close to an oasis or a major source of water. When the ferocity of the climate is alleviated, with the signs of the first rains, he goes back to his natural habitat in search of grazing for his flocks. But he cannot wander at will. Each tribe has its pastures which it frequents periodically. The vast extent of its nomadic range enables it, in a good or a bad year, in spite of the rigours of the severest climate, to find adequate nourishment for its livestock. In this manner, the Ruwāla spend the summer, especially the months of July and August, in Syria, to the south of Damascus. With the alleviation of the temperature, they travel to their winter pastures situated in Saudi Arabia, crossing the Jordanian desert by way of Wādī Sirḥān.

It can happen, however, that a persistent drought consumes the hardy desert vegetation, roots and all, in spite of its legendary resilience. The Bedouin is then constrained to leave his ancestral territory in search of a more fertile zone. But he is evidently obliged to take into account the attitude towards him of the lawful owner of the coveted pastures. The latter, however, can in fact refuse to accede to his request or may offer him grazing rights only in exchange for the payment of rent. If the supplicant considers himself strong enought to confront him with force, he will be inclined to reject any compromise. Otherwise, he must submit to the conditions prescribed, or search elsewhere. In Jordan, a nanny-goat, known as *shāt al-ritāʿa*, is offered to the owner of the pastures.

The territory of a Bedouin tribe is jointly owned; it is communal property, the exploitation and tenure of which are reserved for its occupants alone, the members of the group and their protégés. It is divided into lots, of unequal size, corresponding to the number of clans belonging to this group. Friends, even strangers properly introduced, may move about there freely and use the wells. But the grazing right is accorded only to fellow-tribesmen and their clients.

Even at this level of social organisation, pastures are a cause of dispute, the best being appropriated by the strongest clans. Consanguinity and solidarity impose upon all an obligation to accept here, with apparent enthusiasm, the least prosperous among them, especially in times of drought. But the latter would be wrong to consider an acquired right what is in fact a duty for mutual aid. The collectivism of the desert is located essentially at the level of the *ḥamūla*, the members of which may pasture their livestock in any part whatsoever of the communal lot. The members of another *ḥamūla* are admitted to it only with the authorisation of the *shaykh*, and by reason of their links of kinship, geographical proximity and good relations with the titular proprietors.

Among the Ḳabīlīs of the high plateaux of the Yemen, although this people has long been sedentarised, the pastures of a tribe are reserved for its members, but also for those who are admitted on account of being refugees: *rabīʿ*, *maṭīʿ* or *ḳaṭīr*. The stranger who ventures there without authorisation is tolerated for three days; this is the right of tenure (*mutʿa*) accorded to a friendly clan. Once this interval is passed, pressure is exerted on the unwelcome visitor to force him to leave. He is harassed, he is threatened, his mount may even be seized. But no attempt is made on his life, even if he insists on remaining; it will be enough to notify his *shaykh*. The latter is obliged to compensate the proprietors and force his subordinate to leave the place. If the demand is refused, serious conflict may erupt. To avoid this, the group of outsiders which has suffered drought must come to an understanding with more fortunate neighbours to pasture its livestock on their territory, in a place and for a period of time prescribed, in exchange for the payment of an indemnity in kind or in cash. Henceforward it will not be troubled. Furthermore, it enjoys the right of protected neighbour status (*djiwār* [*q.v.*]), according to which the lessors are required to act as official protectors.

There also exist in the Yemen, as among the Arabs of the desert, treaties of friendship between tribes which allow each contracting party to use the pastures of the other if the need arises. This is the case e.g., with the alliance known as *ṣuḥba* or *ṣaḥāb* which is based on a kind of fraternal relationship (*taʾākhī*). It is an agreement, both defensive and offensive, by which two tribes undertake to take up arms on one another's behalf. To conclude the agreement, there is no need for bloody sacrifices, except for the purpose of celebrating the event, nor for oaths; this is a pact that goes beyond sworn pledges. The agreement is set out in writing and signed by the leading *shaykhs*. Such documents (*marāḳīm*) state explicitly that the contracting parties consider themselves henceforward "as a single member, a single arm, sharing the same fear and the same tranquillity, sharing the loss and the gains, however meagre they may be, accruing from a common action against the enemy" (al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, ed. Khaṭīb, x, 70). Henceforth, the members of a tribe may go to live on the territories of the other and also take advantages for its pastures. Excluded from this treaty are the fornicator and the thief.

It will be understood that here it is the perspective of an essentially nomadic tribe that is under discussion. When the process of sedentarisation is initated, the community of proximity tends to take the place of consanguinity. Arabs residing in the same region exploit the pastures in common, even where they belong to different tribes. But a group from a different area which seeks to install itself there cannot do so before obtaining the consent of the leading *shaykhs*. The latter can even exact the payment of tribute.

The ownership of land, among the Arabs of the desert, is controlled by the law of the strongest. For this reason, it is never definitive. Until recent times, the Bedouin, even if sedentarised, despised any kind of bureaucratic administration of land and seldom had recourse to it. To defend his rights, he trusted his sword. The demarcation of territories operated in the most rudimentary fashion, since each clan knew its own domain, as well as that of its neighbour. For marking boundaries, very simple means were employed: a shallow ditch, stakes, mounds, piles of stones and, more recently, barrels. Those who occupied themselves with agriculture planted strips of onions to mark boundaries. Such an administrative system, clearly precarious and imprecise, often gave rise to disputes. Litigation was submitted to the jurisdiction of an *ʿārifa*.

Bibliography: A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 235-40; J. Chelhod, *Le droit dans la société bédouine*, ch. viii; idem, *Le droit intertribal dans les hauts plateaux du Yémen*, in *Al-Bahit* (sic), *Studia Instituti Anthropos*, xxviii (1976), 49-76; Ruks al-ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt ... al-urduniyya*, ʿAmmān 1973, i, 339. (J. Chelhod)

2. In Persia.

The terms *martaʿ* (pl. *marātiʿ*), *ʿalafzār*, *ʿalafkhʷār*, *ʿalafčar*, *marghzār*, and *čarāgāh* are used interchangeably in Persian literature to mean pasture. In early works, *giyāh-khʷār* is also found (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 94, 85 and Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange, London 1921, 155). *Marghzār* is also used to mean meadow-land, while the word *čaman* is restricted to this meaning. *Marāʿī*, *ʿalafkhʷār* and *ʿalafčar* are also used in the sense of pasture tax.

The wide variation in temperature in Persia is highly important in shaping the general plant geography, and coupled with the variations in the annual distribution of precipitation is responsible for the differences of Persia's plant cover and pasturage. Relief is also a decisive factor and affects both climate and soils; and a striking feature of Persia, especially the central plateau, is its micro-relief. The bulk of Persia's surface, apart from the Caspian region, receives its rains in autumn, winter and spring: summer rains are negligible in most regions. This affects the development of pastures and results in their exploitation being largely seasonal. In Islamic times the phytogeographical boundaries have probably continued broadly the same. Changes in micro-climates may have been experienced, but the over-all macro-climate has probably remained unaltered.

Millenia of human activity have left their impress through the cutting of trees and grazing. In many regions it is probable that the primary vegetation was a kind of *Artemisietum* which included perennial grasses. Centuries of overgrazing and steady grazing would appear to have reduced the original vegetation of much of the plateau to a state of barrenness. In some places, it has led to the disapppearance of perennial grasses from the steppe vegetation and their replacement by anti-pastoral non-palatable components, such as *Amygdalus*, *Anabasis*, *Astragalus*, and *Artemisia herba-alba*. The movement of flocks has also resulted in the severe cropping of trees, as, for example, in the oak forests of Luristān, Pusht-i Kūh, Īlām and Kurdistān, and the disappearance of *Quercus brantii* from hillsides in the neighbourhood of Kirmānshāh. The natural vegetation along the travel routes of nomad and semi-nomad tribes has also been disturbed in recent centuries.

Another factor which has led to change in the make-

up of vegetation is the collection of plants for industry, fuel, drugs and food. Fuel collection, especially, has affected not only the forest regions but also the steppes and led to the occurence of some barren, almost unvegetated areas. At the higher altitudes on the plateau, the climate is often too cold and water too scanty to produce anything more than a thin vegetational cover of short grass and low scrub. Large areas of the country are sterile or almost sterile hammadas due to very low rainfall or to an excess of salt in the soil or both. The ecology of hillsides varies greatly with respect to latitude, altitude, exposure and soil. Many slopes of low ridges and hills are bare because of their exposure to wind, heat and drought. Perennial grasses survive only in the high mountains beyond the limits of agriculture and in places inaccessible to grazing, on slopes too steep for agriculture and in those districts which have a long snow cover (approximately at an altitude of 2,400 m. to 2,600 m.). Seasonal grasses are found in the steppe areas and a periodic or episodic growth of grasses in some semi-desert regions (see further E. Ehlers, *Iran: Grundzüge einer geographischen Landeskunde*, Darmstadt 1980, 63-127).

Drought, demographic movements, disease, invasian and war have all at different times affected the local distribution of arable and pastoral land and dead lands—sometimes temporarily and sometimes permanently. Frontier regions, in particular, tended frequently to be laid waste, presumably with the destruction of, or damage to, local pastures. In the predominantly pastoral regions the maintenance of a balance between pastures, animal population and human population was maintained, on a short term, by the dispersal or concentration of flocks according to the productivity of the pastures and the utilisation of widely separated pastures at their different periods of productivity. If the balance between pastures, flocks and human population was upset, conflicts between different groups over pastures and encroachment upon neighbouring arable land would be likely to occur. If the settled population increased and productivity rose, more land would be brought under cultivation and grazing land would be restricted. Changes in land use, usually on a small scale and sometimes of a temporary nature, have also occurred from time to time when nomad tribes have adopted a settled life.

Since most pastures were exploited seasonally, it is difficult to arrive at any realistic estimate of the number of animals carried per acre in the different regions. Masson Smith's estimate that "a sheep required something like 10 acres of steppe pasture" (*Turanian nomadism and Iranian politics*, in *Iranian Studies*, xi [1978], 62) does not appear to take the seasonal factor into consideration. B. Spooner puts the stocking rate in the Tūrān district, east of Simnān, which was declared a biosphere reserve in 1977 and in which pastoralism of various types was the dominant form of land use, at 8.6 acres per animal for the period October/November to May (*The Turan programme*, in Margaret R. Biswas and Asit K. Biswas (eds.), *Desertification*, Oxford 1980, 192). Similarly, it is difficult to determine the relative distribution of sheep and goats. The matter is to some extent obscured by the fact that the term *gūsfand* in Persian literature covers both. In modern times sheep predominate; they probably did so in the past also. Goats are numerous, especially in areas where the vegetation is less abundant. They voraciously crop all green plants and are largely responsible for the deforestation and decrease in plant and grass cover which has taken place. Oxen are widely used as draught animals, but herds of cattle are not important except in a few, mainly lowland, districts. Herds of camels are put out to pasture in the tragacanthic steppes, often in areas where the vegetation is unpalatable or too sparse for either sheep or goats. Herds of horses are (or were) bred and turned out to pasture in some tribal districts (cf. Sardār Asad, *Tārīkh-i Bakhtiyārī*, lith. 1333 AH, 20-1). Rulers needed large numbers of horses for their armies. Royal herds and army remounts were grazed in special reserves and elsewhere (see Sir John Chardin, *Travels in Persia*, London 1927, 169-70, on the horses of the Ṣafawid shah). Flocks of sheep kept to provision the royal establishments were similarly pastured in royal reserves.

Seasonal pastures in cool upland regions (*sardsīr, yaylāk*) are exploited mainly by tribal groups. Some of them make long-range migrations from their winter quarters in lowland regions (*garmsīr, kishlāk*); others travel short distances, sometimes only from valley bottoms to the upper mountain slopes. Most villages are surrounded by many square miles of waste land in which the villagers are able to keep a few sheep and goats and donkeys. Some, in the more fertile regions, keep flocks which they take to graze either in the neighbourhood of their villages or farther afield. Stubble grazing is an important form of land use. In many upland regions, notably in the Alburz, villagers practise a limited form of transhumance, sending their flocks to summer pastures in the neighbourhood of their villages. There is also some winter migration of village flocks to the coastal plains of the Caspian from higher regions (see also A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 354-5, and ĪLĀT).

With the contraction of the frontiers of Persia in the 19th century, the Mughān steppe in the north-west and the Turkoman steppe in the north-east, both regions in which there were good pastures, became frontier districts and tribal groups migrated annually across the Perso-Russian frontier. The Perso-Ottoman frontier in Kurdistān also traversed pasture land and seasonal migration across it took place, and continued in the 20th century after the creation of ʿIrāḳ.

A survey made by H. Pablot in 1967 shows 25% of the total land as range-land (*Pasture development and range improvement through botanical and ecological studies*, in *Report to the government of Iran*, FAO 3211, Rome 1967, quoted by E. Ehlers, *Agriculture in Iran*, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, i, fasc. 6, 613). It would, however, be rash to assume that this percentage was constant throughout Islamic times, but because of the inadequacy of the sources for a historical survey it is not possible to discuss changes in the extent of the land under agriculture and pasture land at different periods except in the most general terms.

Pasture was an important resource for villagers, and for nomads it was vital, while for those dynasties which relied on the support of tribal and nomadic forces the ability to ensure the availability of pasture for their followers was also of critical importance. This was especially the case during and after the Mongol invasions, which resulted in a large and permanent increase in the number of nomads. Throughout the Īlkhānate (654-736/1256-1335), the demand for pastures was insatiable. The wars between the Īlkhānate and the Golden Horde were, in part, over the acquisition of the rich pastures of Ādharbāydjān (C.J. Halperin, *Russia in the Mongol empire in comparative perspective*, in *HJAS*, xliii [1983], 250-1). The war which broke out between the Īlkhānate and the Mongols of Central Asia in A.D. 1270 was in part over the pastures of Bādghīs (W. Barthold, *An*

historical geography of Iran, tr. S. Soucek and ed. C.E. Bosworth, Princeton 1984, 49). The possession of pastures was also important for the succession states to the Īlkhānate, with the possible exception of the Muẓaffarids, who observed, to some extent, the traditions of settled government. It was also the case under Tīmūr (d. 807/1405), the Turkoman dynasties of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlū and the Ḳara Ḳoyunlū and the Ṣafawids when they first came to power in the early 10th/16th century; while one of the reasons which led Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār to choose Tehran as his capital was that it was within easy reach of Gurgān, where the pasture grounds of the Ḳadjār tribe were situated.

A comparison of the accounts of the early Islamic geographers with later accounts will reveal some changes in the distribution of pasture land. The accounts of later writers must, however, be used with reserve unless they are known to be writing from personal experience. Sometimes they merely repeat the information available in the works of their predecessors. What an author records does not necessarily refer to the time he was writing.

There is little evidence that the Arab invasion had much effect on the distribution of pastures, though there probably was some displacement of those who had previously exploited them. There are references to the collective reserves of tribes (*ḥimā*, *ḥimāya* [*q.v.*]) and to reserves in which the cattle and flocks of the caliphs and their governors and army remounts grazed. Al-Balādhurī mentions the pastures of the flocks of the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) in the neighbourhood of Hamadān (*Futūḥ al-buldān*, 310-11). The *Tārīkh-i Ḳumm* also mentions that pastures (*čirāgāhhā wa ʿalafzārhā*) were reserved in every village in the neighbourhood of Nihāwand and Karadj for the beasts (*dawābb*) of the caliphs and were called *ḥiyāzāt* (Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ḳummī, *Tārīkh-i-Ḳumm*, Persian tr. by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik Ḳummī, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Ṭihrānī, Tehran AHS 1313, 185).

It is perhaps significant that Dīnawar, the centre of Māh Kūfa, was within easy reach of rich pastures. Kirmānshāh, also part of Māh Kūfa, was similarly a district with plentiful pastures. Ibn Ḥawḳal, writing in the second half of the 4th/10th century mentions that it had abundant pastures where numerous flocks grazed and much water (*K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ii, 359). Similarly, the availability of pastures in Khurāsān would have facilitated the settlement of large numbers of Arabs in that province and may perhaps have influenced the choice of the centres where they established garrisons. Even if they were not accompanied by flocks and herds, they would have required pastures for their remounts and baggage animals (on Arab settlement in Khurāsān, see further M. A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970). Elsewhere, so far as the Arabs settled in Persia as tribal groups, they would have required pastures for their flocks. But on the whole, there do not appear to have been many conflicts with local groups over pastures. The *Tārīkh*-i *Ḳumm*, 243-4, states that the Ashʿarī leaders ʿAbd Allāh and Aḥwaṣ complained in 102/720-1 to Yazdānfādhār, who had allocated to them the villages of Mamadjān and Djamar near Ḳumm in 99/717-18, saying that the pastures were too small for their camels, horses and sheep. Yazdānfādhār accordingly allocated to them the village of Farāba also.

The geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries give, on the whole, a picture of a prosperous countryside practising arable and pastoral farming. There is mention of pastures and meadow lands in some districts and of the presence of large flocks in various regions, which implies the existence of pastures and grazing land [see ĪLĀT]. Transhumance was practised in Fārs, and al-Iṣṭakhrī puts the number of nomads at 500,000 tents (*Masālik al-mamālik*, 97-9; ĪLĀT), which suggest that pasturage was extensive. Yāḳūt, writing in the early 7th/13th century, also states that they were estimated at 500,000 tents (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique et historique de la Perse*, Paris 1868, 412). It seems likely that he was merely copying al-Iṣṭakhrī, unless it is to be assumed that the pastures, flocks and tribal population were in a state of absolute equilibrium.

There were extensive pastures and grazing grounds on the borders of the *dār al-islām* occupied by the Ghuzz (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 100, and GHUZZ). One of the factors behind their migration in the 5th/11th century into the *dār al-islām* may have been pressure on pastures in Central Asia and tribal movements which resulted therefrom. One of their needs on entering Persia was to secure pasturage for their flocks. However, the numbers of the Ghuzz coming into Persia, first as independent groups and then under the leadership of the Saldjūḳs, were not large, and there is little evidence of major displacements by them of those exploiting existing pastures (see further Lambton, *Aspects of Saljūq-Ghuzz settlement in Persia*, in D.S. Richards (ed.), *Islamic civilisation 950-1150*, Oxford 1973, 121 ff.), nor, with the exception of Gurgān, does there seem to have been much change in the distribution of arable land and grazing land as a result of their advent into Persia. Whereas Gurgān in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries appears to have been a well-cultivated countryside, in Saldjūḳ times much of it was pasture land. By the reign of Sandjar (511-52/1118-57), large numbers of Turkomans occupied pastures in Gurgān, Dihistān and the neighbourhood of Marw (*ibid.*, 110), and pasture land was probably encroaching on arable land.

Fārs continued to be rich in pastures in the Saldjūḳ period. Ibn al-Balkhī, who wrote in the reign of Muḥammad b. Malikshāh (498-511/1104-18), mentions by name extensive pastures in Fārs, and states "From end to end Fārs was valleys and mountains. The whole of it was pasture land (*giyāh-khʷār*)" (*Fārs-nāma*, 155). The pastures of Sīkān, Dasht-i Arzhan and Kāmfīrūz were associated with woodland, in which were found lions (*ibid.*, 154-5). Ibn al-Balkhī gives the interesting information that the grass of the Ḳālī pasture was beneficial in winter but that in summer it was harmful for animals (*ibid.*, 154). Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī, writing in the second half of the 6th/12th century, mentions the excellence of the pastures in Rūdbār (in the district of Djīruft), and states that animals thrived in them (*ʿIḳd al-ʿulā li 'l-mawḳif al-aʿlā*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmirī Nāʾīnī, Tehran AHS 1311, 70), Earlier, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, which was composed in 372/982-3, had mentioned the woods, trees and meadows of Rūdbār (124). Afḍal al-Dīn makes no mention of woods. When the Ghuzz invaded Kirmān after the death of Sandjar, there appears to have been a temporary contraction in arable land. Afḍal al-Dīn mentions that land in the Rāwar district was not cultivated because of the encroachment of nomads (*ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 29) and that crops were grazed by the flocks of the Ghuzz (*al-Muḍāf ilā badāyiʿ al-azmān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran AHS 1331, 19-20).

The Mongol invasions in the 7th/13th century resulted in widespread destruction and depopulation. Standing crops were ruthlessly grazed by the Mongol hordes; much land went out of cultivation. There was

a permanent increase in the numbers of the nomadic population and the flock population and consequently in the demand for pastures; it is likely that much arable land was converted into pasture. Hülegü, according to Djuwaynī, when preparing his expedition to Persia, declared pastures in the districts through which it was expected that the army would march to be reserves (*ḳuruḳ*) and forbade any grazing in them other than by the army (*Tārīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, London 1912-32, iii, 93). Later rulers also sometimes declared pastures to be *ḳuruḳ*. After their invasion of Persia, the Mongol hordes continued to practise transhumance. Al-ʿUmarī, who lived in Mamlūk territory in the first half of the 8th/14th century, states that their summer residence was in the Ḳarabāgh region, which had many pastures, and that their winter quarters were in Ūdjān, which also had extensive pastures, and sometimes in Baghdād (*Masālik al-abṣār wa-mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. and tr, K. Lech, Wiesbaden 1968, Ar. text, 86). Many of the Mongol settlements in Persia were within easy, or fairly easy, reach of rich pastures. Marāgha, the first Īlkhānid capital, had good pasture in the neighbourhood and further afield at Ushnū and other districts in Kurdistān. Tabrīz, the capital of Abaḳa (663-80/1265-81) and later of Ghazan Khān (694-703/1295-1304), had good pastures nearby in Ūdjān and summer pastures in Mt. Sablān and Mt. Sahand. Ghazan also built a city, Maḥmūdābād, in the Mughān steppe, where the Mongols pastured their flocks and herds in winter (see Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern caliphate*, 176). Arghun (673-80/1284-91) founded the city of Sulṭāniyya, which was completed by Öldjeytü (703-16/1304-16) where there were very rich spring pastures. Another foundation built by Öldjeytü was Sulṭānābād-i Čamčamāl at the foot of Bīsutūn, which, because of its excellent pastures, was a regular camping ground of the Mongol establishments (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, London 1915, 107).

One of the biggest changes in the distribution of pasture land brought about by the Mongols was the expansion of land under pasture in the Mughān steppe and in the country round Sulṭāniyya. Some of this had formerly probably been under cultivation. Both regions continued to afford pasture to nomadic groups and army remounts down to modern times. Marco Polo on his journey south-east from Alamūt towards Yazd and Kirmān wrote, "When you leave this castle (sc. Alamūt), you ride across beautiful plains and valleys and charming hill-slopes, rich in fine grass and excellent pasture, and with abundance of fruits, and all other good things. Armies are glad to stop there on account of the great plenty" (*Travels*, tr. A. Ricci, London 1931, 53). Pastures in Gurgān, on the other hand, do not appear to have been important in Īlkhānid times: Mustawfī states that Gurgān and Kabūd Djāma were in a state of ruin (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* 160). It is possible that, apart from the destruction brought about by the Mongol invasion, they had been overgrazed. The pastures in Fārs of which Mustawfī gives a list were still extensive. He follows Ibn al-Balkhī's account but adds one or two details. He remarks that the pasture of Bīd and Mishkān was extremely large (135) and that the grass of the Shīdān pasture was beneficial (*ibid.*). He omits any reference to the pasture of Darābdjird, but mentions an extensive spring pasture near Kāzirūn (136). Mustawfī also mentions that there were excellent pastures in Khalkhāl (82) and a large pasture near Karadj-i Abū Dulaf (69). He states that the pastures of Ḳazwīn were especially rich in fodder for camels (58), and that the pasture lands of Iṣfahān were good for fattening animals (49). Round Tustar and in the neighbourhood of Dizful there were also many excellent pastures (110, 111). Curiously, he does not mention the pastures of Ūdjān or Ushnūya.

There is not much information on the pastures of Luristān [*q.v.*] in the early Islamic centuries. There was presumably some exploitation by transhumant herding, but this may have been more regularly organised in Īlkhānid times with benefit to the pastures. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī state that when Hülegü gave the governorate of Luristān to the Atabeg Shams al-Dīn Alp Arghun (d. 670/1271-2), the province was in a state of ruin and the subjects dispersed. The Atabeg brought the province back to prosperity by various measures. One reason for its renewed prosperity was, according to Mu ʿīn al-Dīn, the fact that Shams al-Dīn adopted the custom of the Mongols of moving from summer to winter quarters, spending the winter in Shūsh and Īdhadj and the summer in the Zarda Kūh (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i muʿīnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 43-4).

Initially, the basis of the Mongol economy was the produce of their flocks and herds, hence their primary need was for pastures; but once they had become the rulers of a settled empire some more stable basis was required. Ghazān Khān, towards the end of his reign, sought to bring about an agricultural revival, and his efforts may well have restricted the availability of pasture. One of the measures he took to provide for the upkeep of the military forces of the state was to issue a *yarligh* in 703/1303-4 to allocate *iḳṭāʿ*s to the soldiers. One of its provisions forbade the ploughing up of permanent pasture (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, 306). The reason for this prohibition can only be guessed at; perhaps, since land capable of cereal growing gave a higher yield in terms of foodstuffs per unit of area than land under pasture, it was due to a fear that the soldiers might plough up all the land allocated to them and as a result would not be able to keep their horses. Ghazan's reforms were shortlived and the agricultural revival ephemeral. With the emergence of new federations of tribes at the end of the Īlkhānid period and the apparent resurgence of nomadism in Khurāsān from about 747/1346 (see Mu ʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, *op. cit.*, 197 ff.), it is likely that the need for pasture again became paramount.

Tīmūr and his successors appear to have been in the habit of allocating pastures to their followers (cf. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1360-8 AH, ii, 1337). From the account of Clavijo, who travelled through Persia in the time of Tīmūr, there does not seem to have been undue pressure on pastures, in spite of the new influx of nomads. He states that a certain Čaghatay tribe, who served as Tīmūr's bodyguard, was allowed by him to seek pasture and to sow its crops in all districts, and he mentions meeting between Andkh^{w}uy and Balkh parties of Čaghatay nomads in search of pasture, who encamped in all places where there was pasture and water (*Embassy to Tamerlane*, 1403-1406, tr. Le Strange, London 1928, 196). He also describes extensive pastures in the neighbourhood of Kh^{w}uy (148), meadow lands in Lār in the Alburz (169), rich pastures along the Tedjen River (186-7) and round Samarḳand (233) and the winter pastures of the plains of Ḳarabāgh (309). We know from the *Maṭlaʿ al-sa ʿdayn* that in 866/1461-2 the Djalāyirid tribe [see DJALĀYIR, DJALĀY IRID] had "long since" (*az dīr bāz*) had its *yurt*, or tribal pastures, in Astarābād and had innumerable flocks (*op. cit.*, ii,

1253), which suggests that there had been an improvement in the pastures there since Īlkhānid times.

The period from the 8th/14th to the early 10th/16th centuries was one of tribal movement and resurgence under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Ḳara Koyunlu and the early Ṣafawids, and it is unlikely that there was any reduction in the land under pasture, with the possible exception of the reign of Uzun Ḥasan (871-83/1466-78). With the consolidation of the power of the central government under Shāh ʿAbbās (966-1038/1587-1629), more land may have been brought under cultivation. Already before this in the reign of Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76) one of the Ṣāʾin Khānī Turkoman tribes from Khwārazm, who had come from there to Astarābād, are said by Iskandar Munshī to have engaged in agricultural activity along the Gurgān River (*ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Iṣfahān AHS 1334, i, 530). The pastures of ʿArabistān, Luristān, Bakhtiyārī, Kurdistān and many of the frontier regions, which were under provincial governors and *beglarbegs*, were presumably exploited by their tribal followers. The shahs themselves owned large herds of horses and sheep, for which they needed pasture in the neighbourhood of the capital and elsewhere. Tavernier, who visited Persia several times between 1632 and 1668, states that the shah kept 40,000 horses (*Voyages en Perse*, introd. by V. Monteil, Geneva, 1970, 231; cf. also *The travels of Monsieur de Thévenôt into the Levant*, London 1687, repr. 1971, ii, 121) and large flocks of sheep (Tavernier, 258). The movement of tribes to border districts and elsewhere by the Ṣafawids and later by Nādir Shāh and Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār may have resulted in some minor changes in land use. The Turco-Persian frontier in Ādharbāydjān was deliberately laid waste during part of the Ṣafawid period, presumably with damage to its pasture also.

During the 12th/18th century, there is little information on the state of grazing land or the relative extent of arable and pastoral land. The numbers of various tribal groups were apparently increasing [see ĪLĀT], and this may have resulted in pressure on pastures. The disorders and disturbances which broke out on the fall of the Ṣafawids, on the death of Nādir Shāh in 1160/1747 and after the death of Karīm Khān in 1193/1779, were in any case not conducive to prosperity in regions of either arable or pastoral farming. We have more information on the condition of pasture land in the 19th century, thanks to the accounts of European travellers. Much of this is to be found in the pages of the various editions of the *Gazeteer of Persia* compiled for the Government of India (this information is also to be found in L. W. Adamec (ed.), *Historical gazeteer of Iran*, Graz 1976-, of which two volumes have so far appeared).

In Khurāsān there appears to have been excellent pasture in the 19th century. It is possible that the more stable conditions which prevailed compared to the 18th century may have resulted in an improvement in the pastures, but in the absence of information on their condition in the 18th century this can only be conjecture. There was good grazing in spring in the Djām valley, round Sarakhs, in the Gurgān plains and along the Gurgān and Atrek Rivers. Parts of the Gurgān steppe were, however, again converted into arable land. The Yamut, who inhabited the land south of the R. Atrek up to Astarābād, are recorded as regularly firing grass and undergrowth for grazing purposes (*Historical gazeteer of Iran*, ii, 665). There were fine pastures at Čināru̇d at the head of the R. Kashaf, and in the mountains of Ḳūčān and Budjnurd. In Darra Gaz there was good pasture in the plain and luxuriant herbage on the slopes of the Darra Gaz mountains. The plains of Farīmān also had excellent pasture. Along the Afghān, border there was abundant grass in spring and in a good year it lasted well into the summer. In the Hastādān district of Bākharz, there was plentiful grass in winter and spring. In Rādkān there were also good but not very extensive pastures. In the region round Mashhad, Turbat-i Ḥaydarī and Bīrdjand, short-lived spring grass fattened quantities of sheep.

In the north-west and the south-west there was probably little change in the distribution of pastures, which continued to be exploited by various tribal federations. Kinneir mentions the rich pasture lands of Sulṭāniyya (*A geographical memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, 124), the rich soil and pastures of Mughān (153) and the luxuriant pasture of Luristān (138). In Kirmānshāh the pasture was very good but inferior to that of Ardalān (141).

Failure of rains resulting in a partial or total lack of pasture occurred frequently in different localities. In the late 1860s and early 1870s there was widespread drought. From the winter of 1863-4, the rains were below average for some nine years, with the exception of 1865-6. In 1869-70, hardly any snow or rain fell in the valleys. In the south, particularly, there was little or no grass on the lower plains and there were heavy losses in flocks and herds (O.B. St. John, *Narrative of a journey through Baluchistan and Southern Persia*, in F. J. Goldsmid (ed.), *Eastern Persia, an account of the journeys of the Persian Boundary Commission 1870-1-2*, repr. London 1976, i, 95). From 1869-72, there was severe famine in almost all regions, accompanied by a country-wide outbreak of cholera; but what the effect of the resulting decline in population was on the distribution of arable and grazing land is not well documented.

In the last decades of the 19th century, there appears to have been some sedentarisation of nomads, on a fairly small scale, which may have resulted in the conversion of pasture land into arable land in some districts (see G. G. Gilbar, *Demographic developments in late Qajar Persia 1870-1906*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xi [1976], 146-7). In the latter part of the 19th century, there was also an expansion of cultivation in the piedmont zone round Tehran and Karadj; as a result of this, various tribal groups which had formerly grazed this land were forced to extend their annual migration farther and farther south towards the heart of the Central Lūṭ, in order to make use of very inferior and short-lived flushes of pasture that follow sporadic rainfall (W. B. Fisher, *Physical geography*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, i, 58). Similar events may have taken place elsewhere.

It will have become clear from the foregoing that much grazing land was situated either in the *ḥarīm* of villages, i.e. in the land surrounding the cultivated lands of a village, or in waste or dead land, and so far as the law books discuss pastures they do so chiefly under the headings of *ḥimā* and *mawāt* [*q.vv.*]. A *ḥadīth* of the Prophet is recorded to the effect that all Muslims are partners in water, fire and grass. In the light of this, Abū Yūsuf lays down that although the meadows belonging to a village were similar to other private property, their owners could not prevent others from the free use of water and grass unless they had no pasturage apart from such meadows and unless no common land was available to them in which they could graze their flocks (*Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, tr. E. Fagnan, Paris 1921, 155 ff.; see also N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, repr.

Lahore 1961, 513-14). Most Mālikīs and Ḥanafīs, however, apparently gave the villagers the exclusive use of the pasture lands in the *ḥarīm* of their village, but they nevertheless granted the *Imām* the right to make concessions of such lands to individuals should the public interest required it (*ibid.*, 514). In practice, a wide variety of usage seems to have prevailed. In modern times, the pastures round a peasant proprietor village were usually held in common by the villagers, while in landlord villages the villagers usually had a customary right to graze their animals in the village pastures (Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 355-7).

In privately-owned land (*milk, mulk*), the pastures followed the ownership of the rest of the land and could be transmitted by sale, gift or inheritance in the same way. Many pastures constituted, or were situated in, crown lands [see KHĀLIṢA], and could be granted to individuals as permanent, temporary or life grants like other crown land. Ibn al-Balkhī states that the pastures of Dasht-i Rūn in the Kūhgīlūya were partly *iḳṭāʿī* and partly *milkī* (*mulki*) (*Fārs-nāma*, 124, 155). At different times and in different regions there were considerable variations in the ownership of pastures and grazing rights, particularly in tribal districts. The allocation of grazing rights within the tribal areas was largely based on custom. Sometimes, rights were held jointly by households or tribes, sometimes individually. In some cases they were transmitted by inheritance, but in others they were subject to re-allotment by the chief of the tribe. Information on these matters is to be found in modern anthropological studies (see especially R. L. Tapper, *Pasture and politics*, London 1979, on the Shahsivan of Ādharbāydjān; F. Barth, *Nomads of South Persia: the Basseri tribe of the Khamseh confederacy*, London 1961; W. G. Irons, *The Yomut Turkmen: a study of social organisation among a Central Asian Turkic-speaking population*, Anthropol. papers, Museum of Anthropology, no. 58, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 1975; idem, *The Turkmen nomads*, in *Natural history*, lxxvii [1968], 44-51; and G. R. Garthwaite, *Khans and shahs: a documentary analysis of the Bakhtiari in Iran*, Cambridge 1983).

On the basis of the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad quoted above, al-Māwardī states that no governor could exact anything for the use of pastures in dead or reserved land (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1966, 187, tr. Fagnan, *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, Algiers 1915, 401). In practice, however, there was a wide variety of usage in the matter of pasture taxes generally, and they are not always easily distinguishable from flock taxes [see KHARĀDJ. ii. In Persia]. The owners of pastures also levied dues on those who grazed their flocks in them (for modern usage, see *Landlord and peasant*, 290, 355-8).

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3. In Turkey.

The legal practice on the pastures appears, from the ancient legal texts, to have been influenced by custom and tradition. The Aydi̊n Edict of 935/1528, issued during the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent, states in its 8th clause that farming in areas that have been used from time immemorial as pasture is forbidden as being against public interest. Likewise, the 13th clause of the Kütahya Edict of the same year indicates that the ploughing and private ownership of areas where cattle are pastured is forbidden, in the interests of both the urban as well as rural population.

In fact, similar provisions existed even earlier: the 16th clause of the Bursa Edict of 892/1487 suggests that the arrangements concerning pastures were much the same previously. It says that "It is forbidden to cultivate and to establish private property on pastures where both city and village dwellers graze their herds because it brings harm to the public."

Hence we conclude from these measures of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries that:

(1) acceptance of a given stretch of land as pasture is contingent upon its being used for this purpose from very old times and its having been allocated as a pasture for a certain town or village; (2) pasture lands should not be used for grain production, and frequent references to this prohibition in the laws of different periods show that this rule was implicitly admitted by society as an unchanging principle; (3) pastures cannot become private property; and (4) only the dwellers of the village or town to which the pasture is allocated may use it for this purpose.

The Land Edict of 1274/1858 is by far the most significant Ottoman legal text on this subject of the 19th century. Though it was a product of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] era when western influence was being felt in an increasing degree, this Edict combined custom and tradition with the tenets of the formal Islamic land law. Articles 91 to 102 of this Edict contained provi-

sions regarding the *arāḍī-yi matrūka* "assigned lands", though the normal term of Islamic law in which such stretches which are allocated to the use of town or village dwellers as pastures and winter grazing [see ḲĪSHLAḲ] is *arāḍī-yi maḥmiya* "protected lands". Now according to this new law, there were two kinds of *arāḍī-yi matrūka*. The first included areas of public utility such as roads, and recreational areas, while the second covered pasture, summer and winter grazing grounds, and scrubland where firewood might be gathered. Their salient features may be summarised as follows: (1) title deeds cannot be released for such lands; (2) they are not subject to taxation; (3) prescription is not applicable to them; (4) *ex officio* settlements of conflicts on these areas are not admissible; (5) such areas cannot be increased or decreased; (6) they cannot be made the subject of gifts; and (7) proof of collective use of such areas prevails over that of individual use in conflicts regarding their allocation.

Article 97 of the law defines pastures, concerning which the following points may be noted: (1) allocation is the *conditio sine qua non* for any area to be considered as pasture; (2) where allocation does not exist, it must have been used as a pasture from time immemorial; (3) the town or village dwellers to whom the allocation has been made alone can utilise a pasture for their herds; (4) pastures cannot be bought or sold; (5) buildings cannot be constructed on and trees cannot be planted in pastures, nor can they be converted into vineyards and fruit farms; (6) the surface areas of pastures may not be increased or decreased; (7) pastures cannot become private property through prescription; (8) the nature of the pasture cannot be altered, thus it cannot be used as arable land; (9) the offspring of animals grazing in the pasture are allowed there also; (10) summer and winter grazing grounds are accessible to dwellers of other town and cities, while the pastures are exclusive to urban or rural population to whom they are allocated; and (11) the use of summer and winter grazing grounds requires the payment of a certain fee, although the pastures are at the free disposal of the herds of towns and villages to which they are allocated.

There has been much debate among the Turkish jurists on whether the provisions regarding pastures of the 1274/1858 Land Edict were annulled by the 1926 Turkish Civil Code modelled on its Swiss counterpart. Though article 641 of this Code stated that *ad hoc* provisions would be introduced regarding the administration and utilisation of property for public use, such provisions have yet to be adopted, particularly concerning the pastures. Likewise, article 912 states that immovable property allocated for public use and not owned by individuals is in general not subject to the registration procedure. This does not appear to contradict the spirit of the 1274/1858 Land Edict or the practical implementation of the provisions concerning pasture lands. Article 43 of the Law on the Implementation of the Turkish Civil Code states unequivocally that the *Med̲j̲elle-yi aḥkām-i ʿadliyye* is rescinded, but without making any reference to the Land Edict; it merely mentions in a general fashion that the provisions of the previous laws contradictory to those of the Civil Code are deemed to have been repealed. Due to this uncertainty, the status of pastures has largely been governed by existing law and the Land Edict, even after the entry into force of the Civil Code in 1926.

Some of the laws passed after the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 nevertheless contain a number of provisions on pastures. Law no. 442 of 1340/1924 on Rural Administration declares in its article 6 that the rural population will continue utilising pastures as in the past and article 8 indicates that infringements of the arrangements regarding pastures will entail action appropriate to those usurping State property. Law no. 1580 of 1930 on Municipal Administration declares in its article 4 that the right to use the pastures within city limits is reserved to their previous users, and article 15 charges the municipalities with protecting such pastures.

During the period of its implementation, Law no. 4753 of 1945 on Land Distribution to Farmers has introduced some modifications to the law on pastures. Article 8 (b) permits the distribution to landless peasants of such areas of common village, town or city property as may be declared redundant by the Ministry of Agriculture. This Law has been rescinded, however, by no. 1757 of 1973 on Land and Agrarian Reform. Formally, Law no. 66 of 1966 on Cadastral Surveys empowers the national cadastral survey organisation to determine the boundaries of pastures and their areas (article 35). Law no. 1757 of 1973 mentioned above did not introduce a system different from that established by the Land Edict and existing legal practice. Its article 140, however, was important in that it foresaw the estalishment of a registry for pastures and winter and summer grazings as an expression of the state's determination to get a firm grip on the pasture land and to keep it from being nibbled away. At the same time, as a distinct departure from the previous principles of free use of pastures, article 151 required users to pay a certain fee to the village administration or to the municipality. This Law was in fact cancelled in 1976 by the Constitutional Court on procedural grounds, with effect from 1977. Consequently, it may be contended that the Turkish pasture law is governed today by the 1274/1858 Land Edict and the existing legal practice.

Statistics show that there has been a continuous decrease of pasture areas in Turkey:

Years	*Pastures* (in 1000 ha)
1928	46.298
1938	42.370
1948	38.330
1952	34.789
1957	29.748
1962	28.598
1967	26.135

Under article 639 of the Civil Code governing the acquisitive extraordinary prescription, any person who holds immovable property not entered on the land registry for an uninterrupted and legally unchallenged 20 years may request the registration of such property in his possession. Though this provision was used in a rather limited fashion in Switzerland, whence the Civil Code was borrowed, widespread use had been made of this article in Turkey in order to establish private ownership of land under state control and possession, including of pastures. This has been to some extent facilitated by the inadequacy of the land registry system and by the incompleteness of the cadastral survey work, not to mention the rapid population growth and the accelerating rate of agricultural mechanism. Finally, when the matter appeared to have attained significant proportions, the legislative power felt the need to take action, and a modification was made to article 639 of the Civil Code concerning the acquisitive extraordinary prescription whereby requests for registry were to be directed to

the treasury and the relevant public corporation. In 1972, Law 1617 limited the areas for which registration as private property could be requested under acquisitive extraordinary prescription to 20 *donums*. Meanwhile, the over-use of pastures far beyond their possibilities of natural regeneration has caused major problems, such as soil erosion. Accordingly, the introduction of a new legal framework for the regulation of pasture lands in Turkey should yield considerable benefits in developing livestock production and in making the existing pasturelands more productive.

Bibliography: Anon., *Arāḍī Ḳānūnnāme-yi Hümayūn sherḥi*², Istanbul 1330/1914; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, i, Istanbul 1943; Ebül'ûlâ Mardin, *Toprak hukuku dersleri*, Istanbul 1947; Bülent Köprülü, *Toprak hukuku dersleri*, i, Istanbul 1958; Zerrin Akgün, *Mer'a hukuku*³, Ankara 1959; Şakir Berki, *Toprak hukuku*², Ankara 1960; *Tarim istatistikleri özeri*, 1967; Suat Aksoy, *Tarim hukuku*, 1970; Mustafa Reşit Karahasan, *Mülkiyet hukuku*, Istanbul 1970; *Anayasa Mahkemesi Kararlar Dergisi*, xiv (1977); Halil Cin, *Türk hukukunda mer'a, yaylak ve kişlaklar*, Ankara 1980.

(ADNAN GÜRIZ)

MARABOUT [See ḲUBBA, MURĀBIṬ and WALĪ].

MARĀFIḲ (A.), sing, *marfiḳ*, "bribes, douceurs", literally, "benefits, favours". In mediaeval Islamic society, various terms in addition to this are found, such as *rashwa/rishwa*, *manāla*, *dja*ʿ*āla*, *hadiyya*, etc., with varying degrees of euphemism, for the inducements given either directly to a potential bestower of benefits or as an inducement for a person's intercession or mediation (*shafā*ʿ*a*, *wasāṭa*).

In the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, this form of bribery became institutionalised in the caliphate of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32 [*q.v.*]), when the vizier Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] instituted a special office, the *dīwān al-marāfiḳ* [see DĪWĀN. i] in which were placed bribes and money from commissions collected from aspiring candidates for office, above all for the lucrative financial ones, in return for a grant of such an office. Naturally, the vizier himself benefited from this, and among the accusations against Ibn al-Furāt at his fall was the one that he had kept back a proportion of the monies received from confiscations (*muṣādarāt* [see MUṢĀDARA]) and bribes for the grant of an office (presumably above the level at which it was recognised that a vizier or secretary might by convention keep back some part of the payment as a recognised commission, the *ḥaḳḳ al-istithnā*ʾ). Even a vizier with a reputation for probity and avoidance of the grosser forms of corruption like ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] was not averse to accepting *marāfiḳ* as a normal perquisite of office.

Bibliography: Material in such sources as Ṭabarī, Miskawayh and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ is utilised in H. F. Amedroz, *Abbasid administration in decay, from the Tajarib al-umam*, in *JRAS* (1913), 828-9, 834-5; F. Lokkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 190-1; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, ii, 408, 510-11, 594, 610-13, 636, 741. See also HIBA and for a more detailed treatment of bribery, RASHWA.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

MARĀGHA, the old capital of Ādharbāydjān.

Position. The town lies in lat. 37° 23' N. and long 46° 15' E. at a height of 5,500 feet above sea-level on the southern slope of Mount Sahand (11,800 feet high) which separates it from Tabrīz [*q.v.*]. This explains the very considerable difference in climate between the two towns, which are only 50 miles apar as the crow flies (by the high road 80 miles). Th climate of Marāgha is mild and rather moist (Ḥam Allāh and Mecquenem, 1904). The plentiful wate supply makes the vegetation rich. The fruit o Marāgha is celebrated in Persia and a good deal of i is exported to Russia via Ardabīl. The district i watered by the stream which comes down from th Sahand and then turns west to Lake Urmiya which i 20 miles from Marāgha. The town is built on the lef bank of the river Ṣāfī (Sofi)-čay which then water Bināb. A little distance to the east runs the paralle river Murdi-čay which waters the district to whicl Mecquenem gives the name Pahindur (Bayandur?) on the left bank rise the heights of Mandīlsar (= "with head bound"). The next stream is the Laylā which flows into the Djaghatu [cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ]. Th rivers farther east (Ḳaranghu and its sources, whicl water the Hashtarūd district) belong to the system o the Safīd-rūd [*q.v.*], i.e. the basin of the Caspian Sea

From the geographical point of view, Marāgha i quite independent of Tabrīz. It lies a little off the grea road from Tabrīz to Kirmānshāh which runs neare Lake Urmiya (via Bināb). The direct bridle-patl Tabrīz-Marāgha by the passes of the Sahand is onl practicable in summer. There is also a direct rout along the Sahand on the south and southeast side joining Marāgha to Ardabīl and Zandjān. This roa has always been of importance whenever Marāgh was the capital of Ādharbāydjān. The important plac on the route was Kūlsara (cf. below).

At the beginning of the 19th century, Marāgha ha 6,000 families (*Bustān al-siyāḥat*); in 1298/1880 it ha 13,259 inhabitants, of whom 6,865 were men an 6,394 women (H. Schindler). Mecquenem (1904 gives Marāgha 15-20,000 inhabitants.

At the present day, the inhabitants speak Ādhär Turkish, but in the 14th century they still spok "arabicised Pahlawī" (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*: *pahlawi-y muʿarrab*) which means an Iranian dialect of the north western group.

The walls of the town are in ruins. Its gates have th following names: Aḥmadī, Kūra-Khāna, Aḳdash Pul-i Bināb (or Gilaslik) and Ḥādjdj-Mīrzā. Th quarters are: Agha-Beg, Maydān, Darwāza an Sālār-Khāna.

Prehistory. The valley of the Murdi-čay i famous for its deposits of fossil vertebrates discovere by Khanikov in 1852. Excavations have bee conducted by Goebel (Russia), Straus, Rodler, Pohli (Austria), Günter (England) and Mecquenen (France). On the Murdi-čay have been found remain of the hipparion, of the rhinoceros, etc., dating fron the period before the eruption of the volcano o Sahand. Cf. J.F. Brandt, *Über die von A. Goebel .... b der Stadt Maragha gefundenen Säugethierreste*, in *Denkschr d. Naturforscher-Vereins zu Riga* (1870), and th bibliography in Mecquenem, *Contribution à l'étude d gisement des vertébrés de Maragha*, 1908; cf. another arti cle of the same author and title in *Annales de paléon tologie* (1924), 133-60.

The name. According to al-Balādhurī, the tow was at first called Aḳrā-rūdh (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 284 Afrah-rūdh; Yāḳūt, iv, 476: Afrazah-rūdh). Thi name which means in Persian the "river of * Afrāh' recalls very much the name of the town τὰ Φράατ which Mark Antony besieged in this region on hi campaign against the Parthians in 36 B.C. (Plutarch *Vita Antonii*, ch. xxxviii, Paris 1864, 1113, and Pseud Appian, *Parthica*, ed. Sweighäuser, Leipzig 1785, iii 77, 99). It has long been supposed that the names c Οὔερα in Strabo xi, ch. xiii, and Index, 935, Φαράσπα

1. Open semi-desert-like vegetation in Adharbāydjān having been browsed extensively for millennia by sheep, goats, horses and camels and dominated by antipastoral plants. (Photograph by M. Zohary, published in W. Holzner, M. J. A. Werger and I. Ikusima (eds.), *Man's impact on vegetation*, The Hague - Boston - London 1983, 292.)

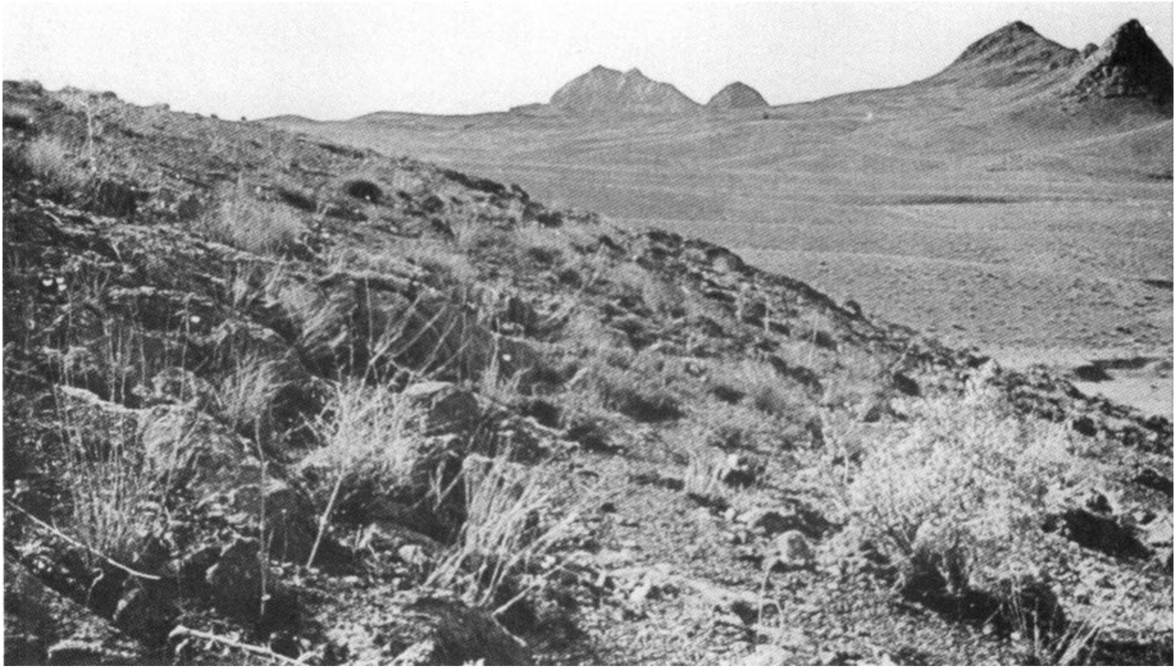

2. Same formation as shown in Fig. 1 but in a still hotter and drier area near Iṣfahān. Dominants are antipastoral and antipyric plant species (*Artemisia* spp., *Astragalus* spp.). The white dots are plants of *Tulipa polychroma*; the flowering shrub to the right in the foreground is a thorny species of *Amygdalus*. (Photograph by M. Zohary, *ibidem*, 292.)

3. Slope grazed by sheep and goats near Kirmānshāh originally covered by a low forest of *Quercus brantii*. (Photograph by M. Zohary, *ibidem*, 290.)

4. Detail from Fig. 2: *Artemisia*, probably *herba-alba*. (Photograph by M. Zohary, *ibidem*, 293.)

5. Another detail from Fig. 2: *Astragalus sect. Tragacantha*. (Photograph by M. Zohary, *ibidem*, 293.)

Ptolemy, vi, ch. ii, τοῖς Πραάσποις, Dio Cass., xlix, 25, are variants of the same name, which was probably that of the ancient capital of Atropatene; cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 770. If the identification of Γάζακα (summer capital, Strabo) with Takht-i Sulaymān suggested by Rawlinson has been accepted (cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, 252; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 108; A.V. Williams Jackson, *Persia, past and present*, 136), the identification of Θράατα is still uncertain. On general principles, it is improbable that a town like Marāgha so advantageously situated by nature was not in existence in Roman times, as the ancient name of Marāgha increases the probability of the identification Φράατα = Marāgha (of course with a reservation as to the exact site of the ancient town).

A place-name Marāgha is mentioned in Arabia (Yāḳūt) and a little town of the same name is in Egypt near Ṭanṭā. The etymology "place where an animal rolls" (from *m-r-gh*) proposed itself to the Arabs here, but in Ādharbāydjān (cf. also the village of Marāgha near Abarkūh, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 122) the name is rather a popular Arab etymology of some local name. It is to be observed that Ptolemy, vi, ch. 2, calls Lake Urmiya Margiane (μέχρι τῆς Μαργιανῆς λίμνης) and gives the same name to the country along the coast of Assyria. Lastly, Marquart in *Ērānšahr*, 143, 221, 313, retains the variant Μαρτιανή, but Μαργιανή seems also to be based on a good tradition (cf. Ptolemy, ed. Wilberg, 1838, 391).

The Arabs. Marāgha must have been among the towns of Ādharbāydjān conquered by al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba al-Thaḳafī in the year 22 (al-Balādhurī, 325; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 271). Marwān b. Muḥammad returning from his expedition to Mūḳān and Gīlān in 123/740 (cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 365) stopped here. As the place was full of dung (*sirdjīn* < Pers. *sirgīn*) the old village (*ḳarya*) was given the name of Marāgha (cf. above). Marwān did some building there. The town later passed to the daughters of Hārūn al-Rashīd. On the rebellion of Wadjnāʾ b. Rawwād, lord of Tabrīz [*q.v.*], Khuzayma b. Khāzim, who was appointed governor of Ādharbāydjān and Armenia (probably in 187/803, cf. R. Vasmer, *Khronologia namestnikov Armenii*, in *Zap. Kolleg. Vostokovedov* [1925], i, 397), built walls round Marāgha and put a garrison in it. When Bābak rebelled in 201/816-17, the people sought refuge in Marāgha. Al-Maʾmūn sent men to restore the walls and the suburb (*rabaḍ*) became inhabited again (al-Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*). In 221/836 Marāgha is mentioned as the winter quarters of Afshīn in his campaign against Bābak (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1186).

In 280/893 the Sādjid Muḥammad Afshīn b. Dīwdād seized Marāgha from a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn, who was killed (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2137; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 143 = § 3281). In 296/908 the caliph confirmed Yūsuf b. Dīwdād in possession of Marāgha and the whole of Ādharbāydjān. A *dirham* is known of this year struck by Yūsuf at Marāgha (Vasmer, *O monetakh Sadjidov*, Bākū 1927, 14). According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, 238, there was at Marāgha a military camp (*muʿaskar*), a governor's palace (*dār al-imāra*), a treasury (*khizāna*) and government offices (*dawāwīn al-nāḥiya*), but Yūsuf razed the walls of Marāgha and transferred the capital to Ardabīl (cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, 181). Marāgha is only mentioned as the place where the last Sādjid Abu 'l-Musāfir al-Fatḥ was killed in 317/929 (ʿArīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus*, ed. de Goeje, 145).

The Daylamīs. In 332/943 (during the rule of the Daylamī Musāfirids) the Russians (Rūs) had taken Bardhaʿa [*q.v.*]. Ibn Miskawayh (GMS, vi, 100) speaks of the diseases which decimated them because they ate too much fruit in Marāgha. This reference to Marāgha is quite unexpected in the text, and Margoliouth has rightly proposed to read بردعة in place of مراغة. A coin struck at Marāgha in 337/948-9 by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ is a record of the brief conquest of Ādharbāydjān by the general of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla (Vasmer, *Zur Chronologie d. Ǧastāniden*, in *Islamica*, iii/2 [1927], 170). Of 347/958 we also have *dirhams* of Marāgha in the names of the two sons of the Daylamī Marzubān, Ibrāhīm and Djastān (*ibid.*, 172).

The Rawwādīs and the Saldjūks. After the disappearance of the Daylamīs, we find in Tabrīz the family of Rawwādī Kurds who seem to have been related to the Musāfarids by marriage only. On the other hand, it is very likely that the Rawwādīs are the descendants of the Arab al-Rawwād al-Azdī, lord of Ādharbāydjān (al-Balādhurī, 331) who became assimilated by their neighbours in Ādharbāydjān. The best-known of these Rawwādīs is Wahsūdān b. Mamlān (= Muḥammad; the change of *d* to *l* in Kurdish is common) who is mentioned between 420/1029 and 446/1054 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 279, 351, 410), and who in addition to Tabrīz possessed other strongholds in the mountains (Sahand). When in 420/1029 the Ghuzz reached Marāgha and executed there a great number of Hadhbānī Kurds, the latter united under Wahsūdān and drove out the Ghuzz (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 270-2). This incident shows that the district of Marāgha was within the sphere of influence of Wahsūdān. In 446/1054 Wahsūdān became a vassal of the Saldjūks, but Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 410, says nothing about the extent of his possessions around Sahand.

In 497/1104 the peace between the sons of Malik-Shāh, Barkiyaruḳ and Muḥammad, was signed near Marāgha, and in 498/1105 Muḥammad visited Marāgha.

The Aḥmadīlīs. In 505/1111-12 we have for the first time mention of the Āmīr Aḥmadīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahsūdān al-Rawwādī al-Kurdī, lord of Marāgha and Kūtab (Kūlsara?) (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 361). He was the founder of a little local dynasty, which lasted till about 624/1227. We know very little of the history of the Aḥmadīlīs [*q.v.*], which has never been closely studied.

Aḥmadīl was certainly the grandson of Wahsūdān b. Mamlān of Tabrīz (cf. above), and this explains the insistence with which the Atābegs of Marāgha tried to retake Tabrīz. Only imprescriptible hereditary rights can explain the strange fact of the presence of a Kurd among the *amīrs* of the Saldjūḳs. The name Aḥmadīl is a peculiar formation; the name of Maḥmadīl, a village to the south of Marāgha, belongs to the same category of diminutives. The Aḥmadīls, however, very soon adopted Turkisch names.

Aḥmadīl with a large army took part in the Counter-Crusade of 505/1111-12. During the siege of Tell Bāshir, Joscelin came to terms with him (*ṭaṭāraḥa*) and he withdrew from the town (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, in *Rec. des hist. des croisades*, iii, 599). Aḥmadīl soon abandoned Syria entirely, for he coveted the lands of the Shāh-i Arman Sukmān who had just died. We know that Sukmān had extended his sway over Tabrīz, and the reference is probably to this town. According to Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, in *ibid.*, 556, Aḥmadīl had 5,000 horsemen and the revenues from his fiefs amounted to 400,000 *dīnārs* a year. In 510/1116-17 (or 508/1114-15) Aḥmadīl was stabbed in Baghdād by the Ismāʿīlīs, to whom he had done much injury (*ibid.*, 556; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 361).

Ak-Sunkur I. In 514/1120 Malik Masᶜūd, governor of Mawṣil and Ādharbāydjān, rebelled against his brother Maḥmūd and gave Marāgha to his Atābeg Kasīm al-Dawla al-Bursukī, but the rebellion collapsed and in 516/1122 Ak-Sunkur al-Aḥmadīlī (client of Aḥmadīl?), lord of Marāgha, who was in Baghdād, was authorised by Sultan Maḥmud to return to his fief. As the *amīr* Kün-toghdï, Atābeg of Malik Ṭughrïl (lord of Arrān; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 399), had died in 515/1121, Ak-Sunkur expected to get his place with Ṭughrïl. The latter ordered Ak-Sunkur to raise 10,000 men in Marāgha and set out with him to conquer Ardabīl, in which enterprise, however, they failed. In the meanwhile, Marāgha was occupied by Djuyūsh Beg, sent by Sultan Maḥmūd. The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i, 368) mentions under 516/1123 the defeat of Ak-Sunkur (whom he calls "Aghsunthul, Atābeg of Ran" = Arrān) during a demonstration against the Georgians carried out by Ṭughrïl from Shīrwān. In 522/1128, Ak-Sunkur took a part, but not a very active one, in the suppression of the intrigues of the Mazyādid Dubays [see MAZYADIDS]. In 524/1130 he was one of the promoters of the election of Sultan Dāwūd, whose Atābeg he was. In 526/1132 Ṭughrïl, uncle of Dāwūd, defeated the latter and occupied Marāgha and Tabrīz (al-Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, 161). Dāwūd, along with his uncle Masᶜūd and Ak-Sunkur, sought refuge in Baghdād. With the support of the caliph and the assistance of Ak-Sunkur, Masᶜūd reoccupied Ādharbāydjān. After the capture of Hamadān, Ak-Sunkur was killed there by the Ismāᶜīlīs (527/1133), instigated by Ṭughrïl's vizier (al-Bundārī, 169).

Ak-Sunkur II. The name of Ak-Sunkur's son is transmitted in different forms. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 166, 177, calls him, Ak-Sunkur (II); cf. also *Taʾrīkh guzīda*, 472. Al-Bundārī, 231, calls him al-Amīr al-Kabīr Nuṣrat al-Dīn Khāṣṣbek and, 243, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Arslān Āba (cf. al-Kāshghari, *Dīwān lughat al-Turk*, i, 80). The *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 241, 244, 262, gives him the name of Atābeg Arslān Āba. Al-Bundārī treats him as an equal of the great *amīr* Ildeñiz [*q.v.*], whose family finally triumphed over the lords of Marāgha. Ak-Sunkur II's adversary was the *amir* Khāṣṣbek b. Palang-eri (?), who was the favourite of Sultan Masᶜūd and sought to establish himself in Arrān and Ādharbaydjān. This Khāṣṣbek had besieged Marāgha in 541/1146-7 (al-Bundārī, 217). In 545/1150-1 Sultan Masᶜūd took Marāgha and destroyed its walls (*bāra*), but a reconciliation later took place between Khāṣṣbek and Ak-Sunkur II under the walls of Rūyīn-diz (cf. below). The execution of Khāṣṣbek in 547/1153 by Sultan Muḥammad alienated Ildeñiz and Ak-Sunkur II and they installed Sulaymān on the throne of Hamadān. Muḥammad on his return to power sent an embassy to restore good relations with the two lords of Ādharbāydjān (*ṣāḥibay Ā.*). Peace was concluded in 549/1154, and the two great *amīrs* shared Ādharbāydjān between them (al-Bundārī, 243). On his deathbed (554/1159), Muḥammad entrusted his young son Malik Dāwūd, (cf. the genealogical tree in the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*) to Ak-Sunkur. As Ildeñiz was furthering the interests of his ward Sultan Arslān, Pahlawān b. Ildeñiz advanced against Ak-Sunkur II, but the latter with the help of Shāh-i Arman defeated him on the Safīd-rūd. In 556/1161 Ak-Sunkur sent 5,000 men to the help of the governor of Ray, Înandj, who was fighting Ildeñiz. The latter gained the upper hand, and in 557/1162 Ak-Sunkur II took part in the expedition of Ildeñiz against the Georgians (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 189). In 563/1168, however, Ak-Sunkur II obtained recognition for his ward from Baghdād. Pahlawān b. Ildeñiz at once besieged Ak-Sunkur in Marāgha (*ibid.*, 218), but a peace put an end to hostilities.

In 564/1168-9, the *amīr* of Ray, Înandj, was killed (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 230). The *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 72, seems to suggest that the rebellion in Marāgha of Kuṭlugh (?), brother of Ak-Sunkur (II?), was due to Înandj's influence. He was punished by the Atābeg Pahlawān b. Ildeñiz, and Marāgha was given to his brothers ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn.

Under 570/1174-5, Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 280) mentions at Marāgha Falak al-Dīn, son of Ibn Ak-Sunkur (i.e. son of Ak-Sunkur II), to whom his father had bequeathed his estates. Pahlawān besieged the fortress of Rūyīn-diz and Marāgha. On this occasion, peace was concluded on the cession of Tabrīz to the family of Ildeñiz. This important detail shows that down to 570 the fief of the Aḥmadīlīs comprised all the country round Mount Sahand, including Tabrīz.

In 602/1205-6 the lord of Marāgha ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn came to an agreement with the Atābeg of Arbīl, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gök-büri, to deprive the Ildeñizid Abū Bakr of Ādharbāydjān of power, on the pretext that he was incapable of ruling. From Marāgha they marched on Tabrīz, but Abū Bakr called to his aid the former slave of his family Ay-doghmïsh (cf. Defrémery, *Recherches sur quatre princes d'Hamadan*, in *JA* [1847], i, 160). Gökbüri returned to his own lands and Abū Bakr with Ay-doghmïsh came to Marāgha. ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn had to surrender the fortress which was the bone of contention, but was given in compensation the towns of Urmiya and Ushnū. In 604/1207-8 ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn, whom Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 157, 182, here calls Kara-Sunkur, died and left one son, a minor. A brave servant of ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn assumed the guardianship of the child, but the latter died in 605/1208-9. Abū Bakr then took possession of all the lands of the Aḥmadīlīs except Rūyīn-diz, where the servant already mentioned had entrenched himself with his late master's treasures.

It is not clear if ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Kara-Sunkur is identical with the brother of Ak-Sunkur II mentioned in 564/1168-9. For the date of his accession and his importance we have a hint. According to the preface of the *Haft-paykar* of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*], this poem (finished in 593/1197) was composed at the request of ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn K.r.b (?) Arslān (the Rūm and the Rūs paid him tribute [*kharādj*]; the Georgians suffered reverses at his hands). This *mamdūḥ* was definitely identified by Rieu, *Catalogue*, ii, 567 and *Supplement*, 1895, 154, with ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn of Marāgha. Niẓāmī mentions two sons of ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Muḥammad and Aḥmad; but to reconcile this with Ibn al-Athīr we should have to suppose that both died before their father.

The family of the Aḥmadīlīs was continued for some time in the female line. In 618/1221 the Mongols arrived before Marāgha, and the town was stormed on 4 Ṣafar/30 March. The Mongols sacked and burned the town and massacred the inhabitants (*ibid.*, xii, 246, 263), but the lady of Marāgha (daughter of ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn?), who lived in Rūyīn-diz escaped the catastrophe.

Djalāl al-Dīn. In 622/1225, the Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn came to Marāgha via Dakūkā. He entered it without difficulty, for the inhabitants were complaining of all kinds of oppressions and raids by the Georgians (Nasawī, *Sīrat Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, 110). Djalāl al-Dīn tried to restore the prosperity of Marāgha; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 280, 282.

In 624/1227, while Djalāl al-Dīn was in Persian ᶜIrāk, his vizier Sharaf al-Mulk was forced to recon-

quer Ādharbāydjān. In the course of his campaign he besieged Rūyīn-diz, the lady of which was a grand-daughter (*min ḥafadāt*) of the Atābeg ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Karāba (?) (Nasawī, 129). This princess was married to the deaf-mute Khamūsh, only son of the Ildeñizid Özbek. The Atābeg Nuṣrat al-Dīn, son of Khamūsh, mentioned incidentally by Djuwaynī, *GMS*, ii, 242, must have been his son. As a way out, she offered her hand to Sharaf al-Mulk. Djalāl al-Dīn suddenly arrived from ʿIrāḳ and married the princess himself. Rūyīn-diz was given to a certain Saʿd al-Dīn. The citadel contained some thousands of houses (*ulūf min dūr*) occupied by the former inhabitants of the town (*ḳudamāʾ*). Saʿd al-Dīn decided to evacuate them, but as a result of his tactlessness, the fortress closed its gates again (to Saʿd?) (Nasawī, 129, 157). Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 322, seems to deal with the course of these events. Under 627/1230 he says that the troops of Djalāl al-Dīn besieged Rūyīn-diz for some time. The fortress was about to capitulate when some malcontents summoned the assistance of a Turkoman *amīr* Sewindj (Ṣwndj) of the tribe of Ḳush-yalwa. The domination of this chief and his relatives who succeeded him only lasted two years.

Rūyīn-diz. This fortress lay "near Marāgha" (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 322). According to Zakariyyā Ḳazwīnī, who gives a very accurate description of Rūyīn-diz, it was 3 *farsakhs* from Marāgha. Its proverbially impregnable position (*ḍuriba bi-ḥiṣānatiha al-mathal*) suggests that is was built on the side of Sahand. The Russian map marks on the Sofiča 10 miles (*ca.* 3 *farsakhs*) above Marāgha a place called Yay-shähär (in Turkish = "summer town") besides which two streams flow into the Sofi-ča (on the left bank) and between them is written the corrupted name "Res or Eris". It is very probable that this is the site of the famous fortress, on either side of which there was a stream (*nahr*); for *Res* one should read *Dez*, i.e. Rūyīn-diz. The date of the final destruction of Rūyīn-diz unknown. As late as 751/1350 the Čobanid Ashraf imprisoned his vizier there (von Hammer, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, ii, 337) but the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, in 740/1340, only knows the other Rūyīn-diz, that of Sawalān (there is still a Rūyīn-dizak 4 *farsakhs* north-east of Ardabīl).

Kūlsara. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 340, calls Aḥmadīl "lord of Marāgha and of Kūtab". This last name (كوتب) seems to be a corruption of Kūlsara (كولسره) or Kūsara, a little town well-known to the Arab geographers on the Marāgha-Ardabīl road (10-12 *farsakhs* from Marāgha and 20-7 from Ardabīl); cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 120; Ḳudāma, 213; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 194; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 252, in particular from his own experience talks of the importance of Kūlsara and its flourishing commerce. This place may correspond to the village of Kül-täpä "hill of cinders" (polular Turkish etymology) which lies on the Ḳaranghu about 35 miles (ca. 10 *farsakhs*) east of Marāgha. The fort of Ḳalʿa-yi Zohāk, notable ruins of which were discovered by Monteith, *ca.* 15 miles below Kül-täpä (cf. Morier , *op. cit.*, 296), must have been a bulwark for Kūlsara and Marāgha against invasion from the northeast. Rawlinson, in *JRGS* (1841), 120, saw a Sāsānid fortress in Ḳalʿa-yi Zohāk.

The Mongols. Marāgha was definitely taken by the Mongols in 628/1231 (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 324). After the taking of Baghdād in 656/1258, Hülegü took up his quarters in Marāgha and ordered an observatory to be built there from the plans of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (who had as advisers four astronomers, one of whom, Fakhr al-Dīn, was a native of Marāgha) (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 324). The observatory was built on a fortified hill to the west of the town, where only traces of foundation of the walls are still to be seen. According to Schindler's plan (1883), the levelled area on the hill measures 137 x 347 metres. On the observatory, cf. Jourdan, *Mémoire sur les instruments employés à l'observatoire de Maragah*, in the *Magasin encyclop, rédigé par A. L. Millin*, Paris 1809, vi, 43-101 (tr. of an Arabic *risāla* belonging to the Bibl. Nationale and attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn's colleague Muʾayyid al-Dīn al-ʿArḍī); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 839-43; D. Wilber, *The architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khānid period*, Princeton 1955, 107-8, no. 9. To contain his treasures, Hülegü built a castle on the island of Shāhī, 1-2 days distant from the capital. Here he was buried. On the fortifications of Shāhī, cf. al-Tabarī, iii, 1171. The handsome sepulchral towers, of which there are four at Marāgha (Mecquenem, 1908), date from Hülegü or his immediate successors: (1) the one at the entrance to the bridge of Ṣāfī-čay is built of red brick on a square foundation and with a vaulted cellar (*Gunbad-i ḳirmiz*?); (2) a similar one, situated in the gardens to the south of the town on the road from Khānägā; (3) and (4) near the old cemetery in the interior of the town, the octagonal tower (3) being of red brick overlaid with blue enamelled faience (*Gunbad-i kābūd*), and (4) being round, covered with plaster which is decorated with arabesques (*Koy-burdj* "Tower of the Ram"). There is a photograph of (1) in de Morgan (1894), 337, and Sarre, *op. cit.*, text, 15-16; of (3) in Sarre, *ibid.*, and of (4) in the Morgan, *ibid.*, 340. According to Sarre, (4) is later than 751/1350. The monuments require to be again studied on the spot. Lehmann-Haupt says that inscriptions can still be seen in their interiors. See now on the Gunbad-i Ghaffāriyya, apparently the tomb of Shams al-Dīn Ḳara-Sunḳur, governor of Ādhar-bāydjān under Abū Saʿīd, A Godard, *Les monuments de Marāgha*, Paris 1934; idem, *Notes complémentaires*, in *Athār-é Īrān*, i/l (1936), 125-60; and Wilber, *op. cit.*, 171-2, 175-6, nos. 78, 82.

The early Mongol Īlkhāns led a semi-nomadic life, which explains the absence from Marāgha of any other kind of memorial. It was only with Ghazan that a regular capital was built at Tabrīz. Marāgha continued to be of some importance on account of its pastures, and was a station on the road between Ādh-arbāydjān and Mesopotamia. Its name continually appears in the history of the ʿIlkhāns. In 703/1304 Öldjeytü received at Marāgha the ambassadors from the Ḳāʾān of China and installed at the observatory the son of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī.

In 712/1312 Ḳara-Sunḳur, *amīr al-umarāʾ* of Aleppo, fearing the wrath of the sultan of Egypt al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, sought an asylum in Persia with Öldjeytü, who gave him Marāgha. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who tells this (i, 179), adds that this town was known as "Little Damascus" (*Dimishḳ al-ṣaghīra*). Ḳara-Sunḳur died in 728/1328 (d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv, 699).

The geographers of the Mongol period. Zakariyyā Ḳazwīnī (673/1275) seems to be personally acquainted with the town. According to him, there were in the town memorials of the pre-Islamic period. He describes the mineral springs (near the village of Ḳiyāmatābād) and a cave which must correspond to the Čay-bāghī visited by Morier, Lehmann-Haupt, Minorsky, etc. Ḳazwīni also mentions the mountain of Zandjaḳān with a calcareous spring, the village of Djnbdḳ (Gunbadak) with a bottomless well (350) and gives a description of Rūyīn-diz (358).

The *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (written in 740/1340), ed. Le Strange, 27, estimates the revenues of Marāgha paid

to the treasury at 70,000 *dīnārs* (Ardabīl paid 85,000) and those of its *wilāyat* at 185,000 *dīnārs*. The *tuman* of Marāgha comprised all the southern part of Ādharbāydjān; in the north it was bounded by the *tuman* of Tabrīz, in the west by that of Khoy (Urmiya), in the south by the lands of Kurdistān (Dīnawar) and in the east by ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam (Zandjān, Sudjās). All the lands now under the modern Sāwdj-Bulāḳ or Mahābād [*q.vv.*] were then ruled from Marāgha. As dependencies of Marāgha, Ḥamd Allāh gives the towns of Dih-i Khʷāraḳān (in popular Turkish, Tukhorghan) to the south of Tabrīz, Laylān on the right bank tributary of the Djaghatu (cf. Rawlinson, 1841, 39: the ruins of Ḳalʿa-yi Bākhta) and Paswē in Lāhidjān, in the valley of the Tigris [cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ]. The *tuman* comprised six cantons (the names are much mutilated): Sarādjūn (?): Niyādjūn (?); Dūzakhrūd (? cf. the mountain Dūzakh on the middle course of the Djaghatu); Gāwdūk (at the confluence of the river of Laylān with the Djaghatu (the name is also read Gāwdūl, Gāwdawān. It is remarkable that Firdawsī (ed. Mohl, vii, 141, 151) mentions in these regions a Dash-i Dūk and Kūh-i Dūk where Bahrām Čūbīn was defeated by Khusraw); Bīhistān (probably the district of Bāhī on the Tatawu); and Hashtarūd (to the east of Sahand on the Karanghu). The district of Angūrān on the Ḳizil-üzen was also a dependency of Marāgha.

Christianity at Marāgha. In the Mongol period, Marāgha had become an important centre of Christianity. The celebrated Mār Bar Hebraeus [see IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ] (Jacobite *Maphrian*) lectured in 1268 on Euclid and in 1272 on Ptolemy in the "new monastery" of Marāgha; there he wrote the *Kitāb al-Duwal*. When he died on 30 July 1286, as a sign of mourning the Greeks, Armenians and Nestorians closed their shops in the market-place (Assemani, *Bibl. Orientalis*, ii, 266; Wright, *A short history of Syriac literature*, Oxford 1894, 267, 271, 276, 279). The history of Mār Yahbalāhā III (patriarch of the Nestorians [1281-1317], tr. Chabot, Paris 1895) contains valuable notes on Marāgha. Yahbalāhā rebuilt the already existing church of Mār Shalītā and built a house beside it. In 1289 Arghūn had his son baptised in Marāgha. In 1294 the patriarch laid the foundations of the monastery of John the Baptist two-thirds of a *farsakh* north of Marāgha. After the accession of Ghazan (694/1295), the persecution of the Christians began, instigated by the *amīr* Nawrūz. The mob plundered the residence of the patriarch and the church of St. George built by the monk Rabban Ṣawmā (it had been furnished with articles from the portable church of Arghūn's camp). The patriarch sought refuge in the suite of the Armenian king Haïton. On his return to Marāgha, Ghazan punished the formenters of the troubles. In 1298 Yahbalāhā was confirmed in his rights. In September 1301 he finished the monastery of St. John, authorised by Gaykhatu (see Wilber, *op. cit.*, 14). His biographer and contemporary gives an account of the beautiful buildings, the numerous relics and riches of the monastery (Chabot, *op. cit.*, 133). The village of Dahlī (?) to the east of Marāgha was purchased to serve as a *waḳf* of the monastery (to the north-east of the town there is still a village of Kilisä-kändi "village of the church"). Ghazan and his successor Öldjeytü visited the monastery. Yahbalāhā died and was buried there in 1317.

On the south side of the hill of the observatory there are chambers carved out of the rock (3 rooms, 12 feet high, communicating with one another, and a corridor). Inside there are niches in the shape of altars. Local tradition sees a church in these (perhaps of the Sāsānid period); cf. Macdonald Kinneir; Houtum-Schindler; Lehmann-Haupt; and Minorsky, in Zvoirao, xxiv (1917), 167.

After the Mongols. In 737/1337 the Djalāyirid Shaykh Ḥasan inflicted a defeat on Tugha-Tīmūr near Marāgha (or at Hashtarūd). The pretender Muḥammad was buried at Marāgha in 738/1337-8 (*Shadjarat al-Atrāk*, 315). Later, the political struggles of the Turkmens had their pricipal arena in the northern part of Ādharbāydjān. In the same period, the Kurdish elements of the districts south of Lake Urmiya became consolidated and received reinforcements from the districts of Mawṣil (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 288). The Mukrī Kurd *amīrs* extended their influence over Marāgha and even as far as Dih-Khʷāraḳān. The Turks during their rule over Ādharbāydjān included Marāgha with Tabrīz and levied 15 *kharwārs* of gold per annum on it, which caused its inhabitants to go away (*ibid.*, 294). In 1002/1593 the name of the fortress of Saru-ḳurghan (demolished in 795/1393 by Tīmūr; cf. *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 628 and rebuilt by the Mukrīs) in the regions of Marāgha often occurs in the *Sharaf-nāma*, 294-6; this name recalls that of the Sārūḳ, the right bank tributary of the Djaghatu.

During the second Ottoman occupation (1137/1725), Marāgha was governed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Pasha; this administrative unit consisted of 5 *sandjaḳs*, of which 2 were hereditary and 3 granted by the government (von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 228, according to Čelebizāde). In 1142/1729 Nādir defeated the Ottomans at Miyān-dū'āb on the Djaghatu and occupied Dimdim, Sāwdj-bulāḳ, Marāgha and Dih-Khʷāraḳān (Mahdī-Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī*, Tabrīz 1284, 66; tr. Jones, i, 104). According to the recently-discovered history of Nādir, the monarch transplanted 3,000 inhabitants from Marāgha to Kalāt (Barthold, in Zvoirao, xxv, 88).

The Muḳaddams. As early as the time of Nādir, the Turkish tribe of Muḳaddam is mentioned as settled in the region of Marāgha (Macdonald Kinneir: 15,000 men). Aḥmad Khān Muḳaddam played a considerable part in the affairs of Ādharbāydjān. Jaubert, *Voyage*, 160, knew him in 1805 as *beglerbegi* of Ādharbāydjān under prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā. In 1810 he exterminated the Bilbās chiefs whom he had invited to Marāgha [see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ]. According to Morier, *Second journey*, 293, this patriarch was aged 90 in 1815 (cf. Brydges, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, 90). The governor of Marāgha Ṣamad Khān, a partisan of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh who besieged Tabrīz in 1909, was of the family of Aḥmad Khān. At the present day, the Muḳaddams are concentrated round Miyān-dūʾāb.

In 1828 Marāgha was occupied by Russian troops. In 1881, the Kurdish invasion by Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh reached the gates of Marāgha. The town was not taken, but the whole country round was in ruins when Houtum-Schindler visited it in 1882. During the Great War of 1914-18, Marāgha was within the zone of the Russo-Turkish operations [see TABRĪZ].

Marāgha is today a town of 54,106 people (*ca.* 1970 figure) in the province (*ustān*) of Eastern Ādharbāydjān. It is also the centre of a district (*shahrastān*) of the same name which stretches as far west as Lake Urmiya and contains four component sub-districts (*bakhshs*), Huma, ʿAdjabshīr, Bunāb and Malik Kardī, the total population of the *shahrastān* being 252,067. As well as Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, in the main Turkish-speaking, the district also has some ʿAlī-Ilāhīs [see AHL-I ḤAḲḲ], mainly Kurdish; see *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, iv, 489-91, and L. Adamec,

Historical gazetteer of Iran. i. Tehran and north-western Iran, Graz 1976, 434-5.

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(V. Minorsky*)

MARAKKAYAR (Tamil corruption of A. *markab* "boat"), an endogamous Tamil-speaking Muslim group of South India located mainly in the coastal districts of Tamil Nadu State in the Indian Union. Major concentrations are found in the districts of Thanjavur, South Arcot, Tiruchi-rapalli and Tirunelveli, particularly in the ports of Nagappattinam, sc. Nagor, Porto Novo, Adirampatnam, Muttupet and Pottalpudar.

No population figures exist, but the Marakkayar probably number under 100,000. They are Sunnīs of the S͟hāfiᶜī mad͟hhab and read the Ķurʾān in a Tamil translation written in Arabic characters. Descent is claimed from Arab traders, and certainly Nagappattinam was known to early Arab merchants as Malifattan and was an important port of call en route to the Malay peninsula and Sumatra by the 15th century A.D.

The division between the Labbai [*q.v.*] and the Marakkayar is obscure. In the 19th century, the term was used in Thanjavur district amongst wealthy Labbai shipowners and traders to distinguish them from their poorer co-religionists, and in the 18th century records of the English East India Company similar usage is found particularly for Muslims trading out of ports in the Thanjavur district. As late as the early 20th century the title was freely adopted in Tirunelveli district by Labbais engaged in the rice export trade to Ceylon.

Despite such loose usage, there was by the 19th century a clear division between Labbai and Marakkayar in larger ports such as Nagappattinam. The division was most clearly based on wealth, with the Marakkayar comprising the more prosperous section of the Muslim community and dominating indigenous seaborne trade with Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Ceylon. The Marakkayar Tamil dialect in Nagapattinam also included a smattering of Arabic words, and socially they followed fewer Hindu practices than the Labbai. In part, the division between Labbai and Marakkayar was probably confirmed by occupational and wealth differentiation which occurred during the 18th century and 19th with wealthy Muslim shipowners and overseas traders separating themselves socially from the larger and poorer Labbai community.

By the mid-19th century the Marakkayar were stereotyped as the wealthiest and most orthodox section of the Tamil Muslim community. Their women were unique in observing *gos͟ha* (*purdah*), intermarriage with other Muslim groups was discouraged, and they deliberately attempted to eliminate Hindu practices from their social and religious life. In the late 19th century, under the influence of north Indian *ᶜulamāʾ*, and propagandists from ᶜAlīgarh, there was a shortlived movement to abandon Tamil in favour of Urdu.

Despite the tightening of group boundaries in the 19th century, the Marakkayar remain a cosmopolitan community. Communities exist abroad today in Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Singapore and Indonesia, and formerly in Burma. During the 20th century, they have broadened their economic base in southern India to include shopkeeping, hotel development and industrial development.

The most important Marakkayar religious centre, which is shared by other Muslim groups and Hindus, is the nationally-famous tomb of S͟hāh al-Ḥamīd ᶜAbd al-Ķādir (d. 1600), commonly known as Ķādir Walī or Mīrān Ṣāḥib, at Nagappattinam-Nagore. The tomb was endowed at foundation by the Hindu Raja of Thanjavur, and until the late 19th century it was patronised by the princesses of that family. Similar centres of pilgrimage patronised by the Marakkayar exist at Adirampatnam (the tomb of S͟hayk͟h ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Ṣāḥib Andavār) and Muttupet.

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Francis, *South Arcot*, Madras 1906; and H. R. Pate, *Tinnevelly*, Madras 1917. S. Playne and W. Bond, *Southern India, its history, people, commerce and industrial resources*, London 1914, provides biographical and descriptive data of the groups' economic interests; S. M. Fossil, *The Islamic South*, Madras 1942, provides further biographical details. J. Dupuis, *Madras et le nord du Coromandel*, Paris 1960, details group economic diversification. K. McPherson, *The political development of the Urdu- and Tamil-speaking Muslims of the Madras Presidency, 1901 to 1937*, M.A. thesis, University of Western Australia 1969, unpublished, and idem, *The social background and politics of the Muslims of Tamil Nad, 1901-1937*, in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vi (1969), provide accounts of the group in their regional context. M. Mines, *Muslim merchants*, New Delhi 1972, describes the economic behaviour of Muslim merchants in a changing, industrialising Tamil urban community. (K. McPherson)

MARAND 1. Town in the Persian province of Ādharbāydjān.

Position. The town lies about 40 miles north of Tabrīz, halfway between it and the Araxes or Aras in lat. 38° 25' 30″ N. and 45° 46" E. at an altitude of *ca.* 4,400 feet/1,360m. (it is 42 miles from Marand to Djulfā). The road from Tabrīz to Khoy also branches off at Marand. A shorter road from Tabrīz to Khoy follows the north bank of Lake Urmiya and crosses the Mishowdagh range by the pass between Tasūdj [*q.v.*] and Ḍiyā al-Dīn. Marand, which is surrounded by many gardens, occupies the eastern corner of a rather beautiful plain, about 10 miles broad and sloping slightly to the west. To the south, the Mishow range (western continuation of the Sawalān) separates it from the plain of Tabrīz and from Lake Urmiya. The pass to the south of Marand often mentioned by historians is called Yam (Mongol = "post-station"). The pass between the plain of Marand and Tasūdj takes its name from the village of Waldiyān. To the east of Marand lies the wild and mountainous region of Ḳaradja-dagh (capital: Ahar). To the north, the plain of Marand is separated from the Araxes by a range, a continuation of the central heights of the Ḳaradja-dagh which is crossed by the defile of the Därädiz. The plain of Marand is watered by the river of Zunūz, the southern arm of which called Zilbīr runs quite near Marand. The combined waters of Zunūz and Zilbīr flow into the Ḳotur-čay (an important right-bank tributary of the Araxes) about 20 miles north-east of Khoi. The length of the Zunūz is about 40 miles (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī: 8 *farsakhs*).

History. A lofty *tell* which rises besides the town is evidence of the great antiquity of this as an inhabited site; it must have existed in the time of the Vannic (Urartian) and Assyrian kings. Its Greek name Μοροῦνδα is perhaps connected with the people Μαροῦνδαι who, according to Ptolemy, vi, 2, occupied the lands as far as Lake Urmiya. A legend of Armenian origin based on the popular etymology *mair and* "mater ibi" locates in Marand the tomb of Noah's wife (Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, Leipzig 1904, 346, 415; Ker Porter, *Travels*, i, 217). Moses of Chorene places Marand (ch. 60) in the district of Bakurakert. There was another Marand mentioned by the Armenian historian Orbelian (*ca.* 1300) in the province of Siunikh (north of the Araxes) and a village of Marand still exists east of Tīghnīt in the khānate of Mākū [*q.v.*].

Ibn Baʿīth. After the Arab conquest, a certain Ḥalbas of the tribe of Rabīʿa took Marand. His son Baʿīth, a soldier of fortune (*ṣuʿlūk*) in the service of Ibn al-Rawwād, ruler of Tabrīz, fortified Marand. Muḥammad b. Baʿīth erected castles there (*ḳuṣūr*) (al-Balādhuri, 330; cf. *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 227). This chief had acquired considerable notoriety. In 200/815 he had taken from the family of Rawwād the strongholds of Shāhī and Tabrīz (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1171). (In another passage, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1379, mentions Yakdur [?] in place of Tabrīz). Ibn Baʿīth lived at Shāhī, which stood in the centre of Lake Urmiya (the peninsula of Shāhī, where at a later date the Il-Khānid Hülegü kept his treasure and where he was buried). Ibn Baʿīth was at first on good terms with the Khurramī Bābak [*q.v.*], whose authority must have prevailed in the Ḳaradja-dagh in particular, in the north-eastern corner of which was his residence al-Badhdh [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Ibn Baʿīth suddenly changed his tactics and seized by a ruse ʿIṣma, one of Babāk's generals, whom he sent to the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim. In 221/836 Ibn Baʿīth accompanied Bughā on his expedition against al-Badhdh (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1190, 1193). Under the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, Ibn Baʿīth committed some crime (*khālafa*) and was imprisoned in Sāmarrā or Surra-man-raʾa. On the intercession of Bughā al-Sharābī, 30 people of repute became guarantors of Ibn al-Baʿīth's good behaviour, and he must have been allowed considerable liberty, for in 234/848 he escaped to Marand. Ibn Khurradādhbih, who wrote in 234/848-9, mentions Marand as being Ibn Baʿīth's fief. Al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1379-89, gives a very graphic account of the expedition sent against this town. The wall which enclosed Marand and its gardens was 2 *farsakhs* in circumference. There were springs within it. The dense forest outside was a further protection to the town. Ibn Baʿīth collected 2,200 adventurers who were reinforced by a number of non-Arabs (*ʿulūdj*) armed with slings. He had ballistas constructed to repel the assailants. During the 8 months that the siege lasted, 100 individuals of note (*awliyāʾ al-sulṭān*) were killed and 400 wounded. When Bughā al-Sharābī (al-Balādhuri, 330: Bughā al-Ṣaghīr) arrived, he succeeded in detaching the men of the Rabīʿa tribe from Ibn Baʿīth. Ibn Baʿīth and his relatives were seized and his house and those of his partisans plundered. In Shawwāl of 235/April-May 850, Bughā arrived with 180 prisoners at the caliph's court. Al-Mutawakkil ordered Ibn Baʿīth to be beheaded, but the latter recited verses in Arabic and the caliph was astonished by his poetic gifts (*inna maʿahu la-adab^{an}*) and gave him his life. Ibn Baʿīth died in prison and his sons entered the corps of mercenaries (*al-shākiriyya*). According to one of al-Ṭabarī's authorities (iii, 1388), the *shaykhs* of Marāgha who praised the bravery and literary ability (*adab*) of Ibn Baʿīth also quoted his Persian verses (*bi 'l-fārisiyya*). This important passage, already quoted by Barthold, *BSOS*, ii (1923), 836-8, is evidence of the existence of the cultivation of poetry in Persian in northwestern Persia at the beginning of the 9th century. Ibn Baʿīth must have been Iranicised to a considerable extent, and, as has been mentioned, he relied for support on the non-Arab element in his *rustāks* (*ʿulūdj rasātīḳihi*).

Later history. The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 182; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 239; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 166-7) mention Marand among the little towns of Ādharbāydjān where the trouser-bands called *tikak* were manufactured. Al-Muḳaddasī, 51, 374, 377, puts Marand under Dabīl and notes its gardens, its flourishing suburb and a cathedral mosque in the centre of the market. The same author, 382, mentions a direct road from Marand to Marāgha (via Nūrīn [?], somewhere west of Tabrīz?). Later,

Marand must have shared the fate of Tabrīz [*q.v.*]. According to Yāḳūt, iv, 503, the town had begun to decline after it was plundered by the Georgians (Kurdj), who carried off its inhabitants. This is valuable confirmation of the Georgian expedition to Persia, a detailed account of which is given in the Georgian Chronicle for 1208-10 (605-7) [see TABRĪZ and AL-KURDJ].

Among the theologians born in Marand, Yāḳūt mentions one who died in 216/831 and another who had studied in Damascus in 433/1041-2. In 624/1226, Marand, which had not sufficient defences, was occupied by the *ḥādjib* ^c^Alī al-Ashrafī of Akhlāt. Sharaf al-Mulk, governor for the Khwārazmshāh, retook the town and wrought great slaughter in it (Nasawī, ed. Houdas, 166).

The only historical monument in Marand is the old mosque, Saldjūḳ in origin, now in ruins, with a *miḥrāb* in stucco bearing the dates of rebuilding 730/1330 (reign of the Il-Khānid Abū Sa^c^īd) and 740/1339 by Khwādja Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd (Cf. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, 24-5 and pl. xvii; the observations by E. Herzfeld, *Die Gumbadh-i ^c^Alawiyyan*, in the *Volume ... presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 194-5; and D. Wilber, *The architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khānid period*, Princeton 1955, 172-3, no. 79. A caravanserai some 8 miles/13 km. to the north of Marand dates from *ca.* 730-5/1330-5 but is known locally as "the caravanserai of Hülegü (Wilber, *op. cit.*, 176-7, no. 85).

Around this time, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes the excellent fruit and cereals of Marand and mentions that to the south of the town was found the *ḳirmiz* insect (*kermes ilicis*) for crimson dye. There were 60 villages in the district, and the revenues of the town and its dependencies amounted to 24,000 *dirhams*. The walls of the town were 8,000 paces round, but the town itself occupied only half this area (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 88, tr. 89). In the Tīmūrid period, Marand appears as a mint-town (in 832/1428-9), see E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzpragungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 238.

Marand is several times mentioned in connection with the Turco-Persian wars. According to Ewliyā Čelebi (in 1647), *Siyāḥat-nāma*, ii, 242, Marand was a hunting-resort of the Tīmūrid Shāhrukh. In spite of the damage done by the invasion of Sulṭān Murād, the town looked prosperous and had 3,000 houses. Ewliyā enumerates a number of celebrated theologians buried north of Marand.

In the autumn of 1724 ^c^Abd Allāh Pasha Köprülü sent the Kurdish Khān of Bitlīs Muḥammad ^c^Ābid to occupy Marand, the inhabitants of which had fled. Resistance centred round the town of Zunūz (10 miles north of Marand) which had 7,000 (?) houses and a castle called Diza by the Persians. To dispose of the threat to their flank, the Janissaries, before advancing on Tabrīz, fought a battle here in May 1725 with the Persians, of whom a large number were slain. Diza was taken and dismantled (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*², iv, 226, following Čelebi-zāde).

Marand has often been mentioned by European travellers since the time of Hans Chr. von Teufel (1589), cf. the notices by Chardin (ed. 1811, i, 318) and by Ker Porter, Jaubert, Morier, Ouseley and Monteith, of which a résumé is given in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 907. Marand has recently gained in importance since it lies on the modern high road from Tabrīz to Djulfā built by the Russians in 1906 and replaced by a railway in 1915-16.

In contemporary Iran, Marand comes within the third *ustān* of Ādharbāydjān, and is the centre of a *shahrastān* (1951 pop. 128,762) containing three *bakhshs*; the town itself had a population of almost 14,000 in 1951 and about 24,000 some years later (see Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, iv, 493; L. Adamec, *Historical gazetteer of Iran. i. Tehran and north-western Iran*, Graz 1976, 435-7).

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2. Town in the district of Khuttal. On this town to the north of the Oxus, cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 49, 290-1. (V. MINORSKY-[C. E. BOSWORTH])

MAR^c^ASH, a town in the Taurus Mountains region of southern Anatolia, falling within modern Turkey and now the chef-lieu, as Maraş, of the *il* (formerly *vilayet*) of Maraş.

It lies about 2,000 feet/610 m. above sea-level on the northern edge of the hollow (^c^Amḳ of Mar^c^ash; now Čaḳal Owa and south of it Shēker Owa or Mar^c^ash Owasī) which lies east of the Djayḥān and is watered by its tributary, the Nahr Ḥūrīth (Aḳ-Ṣū). As a result of its situation at the intersection of the roads which run to Anṭākiya, to ^c^Ayn Zarba and al-Maṣṣīṣa, to Albistān (Abulustain) and Yarpūz, via Göksün (Kokussos) to Ḳaysāriyya, via Behesnī (Bahasnā) to Sumaysāṭ and via al-Ḥadath and Zibaṭra to Malaṭya, Mar^c^ash was from the earliest times one of the most important centres of traffic in the Syrian frontier region. It is repeatedly mentioned as early as the Assyrian texts as Markasi, capital of the kingdom of Gurgum [see DJARĀDJIMA], and several Hittite monuments have been found there (cf. Unger, *Marqasi*, in Ebert's *Reallexik. d. Vorgesch.*, viii, 1927, 48).

1. History up to the Ottoman period. In the Roman imperial period it was called Germanikeia in honour of Caligula (on the coins, Ceasarea Germanikē; cf. Grégoire, in *Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belg.*, li [1908], 217 ff.). The identity of Germanikeia and Mar^c^ash is certain from numerous literary, especially Syriac, references. The Armenians probably knew, but probably from learned tradition only, the name Germanik (Kermanig in Vahram; cf. Matthew of Edessa, ed. Dulaurier, 487 below; St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arm.*, i, 200). The statement in a description of the district of Ḥalab (B.N. ms. Arab., no. 1683, fol. 72a) that the Armenian name of the town was Nākinūk (Blochet, *ROL*, iii, 525-6, 6) is wrong; this is a mistake for Göynük, a name later given to the neighbouring al-Ḥadath [*q.v.*]. The Emperor Heraclius passed through the town in 626 (Theophanes, *Chron.*, ed., de Boor, 313; Ramsay, in *Classical Review*, x, 140; Gerland, in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, iii [1894], 362). The Emperor Leo III came from Mar^c^ash (Germanikeia); later authors (like Theophanes, *op. cit.*, 391) wrongly called him the "Isaurian" (a confusion with Germanikopolis; cf. K. Schenk, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, v [1896], 296-8).

In the year 16/637 Abū ^c^Ubayda sent Khālid b. al-Walīd from Manbidj against Mar^c^ash, and the Greek garrison surrendered the fortress on being granted permission to withdraw unmolested; Khālid then destroyed it (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii, Milan 1910, 794, 806). Sufyān b. ^c^Awf al-Ghāmidī in 30/650-1 set out from Mar^c^ash against the Byzantines. Mu^c^āwiya rebuilt Mar^c^āsh and settled soldiers in this "Arab Cayenne" (as Lammens, in *MFOB*, vi [1913], 437 calls it). After Yazīd I's death, the attacks of the Greeks on the town became so severe that the inhabitants abandoned it.

After Muḥammad b. Marwān in 74/693-4 had broken the truce concluded by ^c^Abd al-Malik with the Greeks, in Djumādā I of the following year the Greeks set out from Mar^c^ash against al-A^c^māḳ (= ^c^Amḳ of

Antākiya; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 391) but were again driven back in the ʿAmk of Marʿash. Marʿash was restored by al-ʿAbbās, son of al-Walīd I, and fortified and repopulated; a large mosque was also built there.

The people of Kinnasrīn [*q.v.*] (i.e. probably of the *djund* of Kinnasrīn) had to send troops every year to Marʿash. During Marwān II's fighting against Hims, the Emperor Constantine again besieged Marʿash, which had finally to capitulate (129/746) and was destroyed (al-Balādhurī, 189; Theophanes, *Chron.*, ed.de Boor,422; Georgios Kedrenos, ed. Bonn, ii, 7). The inhabitants emigrated to Mesopotamia and the *djund* of Kinnasrīn. After the capture of Hims, Marwān sent troops to Marʿash, who rebuilt the town in 130/747; the castle in the centre of the town was henceforth called al-Marwānī after him (Yākūt, iv, 498-9). But by 137/754 the Greeks again sacked the town. Al-Mansūr then had it rebuilt by Sālih b. ʿAlī (d. 150/767) and gave it a garrison which al-Mahdī strengthened and supplied with ample munitions (al-Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*; Theoph., *op. cit.*, 445: ὁ Σάλεχ .... μετεποιήθε Γερμανικείαν εἰς Παλαιστίνην). The Arabs in 769 (1080 Sel.) entered the ʿAmk of Marʿash and deported the inhabitants of the region who were accused of espionage on behalf of the Byzantines, to al-Ramla (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, ed. Chabot, ii, 526). According to the Syriac inscription of ʿEnesh on the Euphrates, in 776-7 A.D. (1088 Sel.) the people of the hollow (*ʿumkā*) of Marʿash invaded Asia Minor (Bēth Rhōmāyā) to plunder (Chabot, in *JA*, ser. 9, vol. xvi [1900], 286-7; Pognon, *Inscr. semit. de la Syrie et de la Mésopotamie*, 148-50, no. 84). A Greek army of 100,000 men in 161-2/778-9 under Michael Lachanodrakon besieged Marʿash, which was defended by ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī (Ἰσβααλί in Theophanes, *op. cit.*, 451), grand-uncle of the Caliph al-Mahdī, destroyed al-Hadath and laid waste the Syrian frontier (Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 98). In 183/799 Hārūn al-Rashīd built the town of al-Hārūniyya near Marʿash (al-Balādhurī, 171; Yākūt, iv, 498, wrongly calls it a suburb of Marʿash); he also raised the prosperity of Marʿash and al-Massīsa (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 295 = § 3449). The *amīr* Abū Saʿīd Muhammad b. Yūsuf in 226/841 invaded Asia Minor; the Greeks drove him back, however, and took al-Hadath, Marʿash and the district of Malatya (Michael the Syrian, iii, 102; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 315-16, n. 1, considers this story unhistorical). The emperor Basil I in 877 passed via Κουκουσός (Göksün) and the Taurus passes (στενὰ τοῦ Ταύρου) against Marʿash (Γερμανίκεια), but could not take it and had to be content with burning and plundering the suburbs; the same thing happened at al-Hadath (Ἄδατα; Georgios Kedrenos [Bonn], ii, 214; Theophanes continuatus, ed. Bonn, 280). According to the Περὶ παραδρομῆς πολέμου (*De velitatione bellica*, Migne, Patrol. Graec., cxvii, 1000), shortly before the attack on Germanikeia he crossed the Παράδεισος ποταμός (cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 93: one of the *intus flumina* of Cilicia, probably the Ak-Sū, Arabic Nahr Djūrīth or Hūrīth; the location by Tomaschek in *SBAk Wien*, cxxiv [1891], Abh. viii, 66, is therefore presumably wrong). The Byzantine Andronicus in 292/904-5) invaded the region of Marʿash, defeated the garrisons of Tarsūs and Massīsa and destroyed Kūrus (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 378; al-Tabarī, iii, 2298, Weil, *op. cit.*, ii, 533; Vasiliev, *Vizantiya i Arabī*, i, 1902, 154). The Armenian Mleh (Arab. Malīh) plundered Marʿash in 916; 50,000 prisoners were carried off from it and Tarsūs (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii, 634; Vasilev, *op. cit.*, 203). In the fighting against Sayf al-Dawla, the Greeks under John Kurkuas took Marʿash in the spring of 337/949 (Kamāl al-Dīn, in Freytag, *ZDMG*, xi, 187; Weil, *op. cit.*, iii, 14, n. 1; Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 268). In 341/952 the Hamdānid defeated the Domestikos at Marʿash, and in June rebuilt the defences of the town (Freytag, *op. cit.*, 191; Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 291). When the Hamdānid Abu 'l-ʿAshāʾir in 345/956 was taken prisoner by the Byzantines, his father-in-law Abū Firās followed as far as Marʿash in the attempts to rescue him, but could not overtake his captors (Dvořák, *Abû Firâs*, Leiden 1895, 31; Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 297). Nicephorus Phocas in Rabīʿ I 351/August 962 occupied Marʿash, Dulūk and Raʿbān (Freytag, *op. cit.*, 199; Rosen, in *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xliv, 152, n. 100). Bandjūtakīn in 382/992 carried out a raid on Marʿash and came back with prisoners and great booty (Freytag, 248; Rosen, 250, 263). The Armenian Philaretos Brachamios (Filardūs al-Rūmī) who in the second half of the 5th/11th century, as a leader of a robber band and ally of the Byzantine emperor, conquered a little kingdom for himself on the Syrian frontier, belonged to the village of Shīrbaz in the district of Marʿash (Michael the Syrian, iii, 173, 173 n.*).

After the Franks under Godfrey de Bouillon had taken Marʿash in 490/1097, they installed a bishop there (Michael the Syrians, iii, 191). Bohemund of Antioch was taken prisoner in June 1100 in the *ʿamk* of Marʿash in the village of Gafinā (*ibid.*, iii, 188) on his campaign against Malatya by Gümüshtegīn b. Dānishmand (*Recueil des hist. or des crois.*, iii, 589; Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königr. Jerus.*, 9; Weil, *op. cit.*, iii, 179). The emperor Alexius later sent the general Butumites against Marʿash (τὸ Μάρασιν) who took the town, fortified the surrounding small towns and villages and gave them garrisons and left Monastras there as ἡγεμῶν (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii, 132, 11 ff; F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, i, Paris 1900, 234). The town of Marʿash was placed under the Armenian prince Thathul, who had distinguished himself in its defence against Bohemund (Matthēos Urhayecʿi, ed. Dulaurier, ch. clxvi, 229-30; Chalandon, *op. cit.*, i, 104-5). But by 1104 he had to abandon it and surrender it to Joscelin de Courtenay, lord of Tell Bāshir (Matthēos, *op. cit.*, 257, ch. clxxxvi; Raoul of Caens, ch. 148; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 49, n. 8, 52, n. 4). This Thatful is perhaps the same Armenian as had given his daughter in marriage to Godfrey's brother Baldwin (in William of Tyre, x, 1, he is called Tafroc; in Albert of Aix, iii, 31, v, 18: Taphnuz; cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, 103). By 1105 Tancred of Antioch seems to have been in possession of Marʿash (Röhricht, 56), to whom it was allotted in the treaty of September 1108 (ἡ Γερμανίκεια καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ ταύτην πολίχνια: Anna Commena, ed. Reifferscheid, ii, 217; Röhricht, 66). In 1114 the widow of the recently-deceased Armenian prince Kogh Vasil (= "Basil the thief") of Marʿash submitted to Ak Sunkur of Mawsil (Weil, *op. cit.*, iii, 199); on 28 Djumādā II 508/27 November 1114, Marʿash was devastated by a disastrous earthquake in which 40,000 lost their lives (Michael the Syrian, tr. Chabot, iii, 200; *Recueil hist. or. crois,*, iii, 607; Matthēos Urhayecʿi, 289, ch. ccvii). King Baldwin granted a monk named Godfrey (*Goisfridus Monachus*) a fief consisting of Marʿash, Kaysūm and Raʿbān (Michael the Syrian, iii, 211; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 161); in 1124 Godfrey was killed at the siege of Manbidj in the train of Joscelin of Edessa. The Dānishmandid Muhammad b. Amīr Ghāzī in 531/1136-7 laid waste the villages and monasteries near Marʿash and Kaysūm (Matthēos, 320, ch. ccliii). The Saldjūk sultān Masʿūd in 532/1138

advanced as far as Marᶜash, plundering the country as he went (Michael the Syrian, iii, 246) as did Malik Muḥammad of Malaṭya in 535/1141 (*ibid.*, iii, 249) and Ḳilīdj Arslan II in 541/1147 ibid., iii, 275). The town then belonged to Raynald, son-in-law of Joscelin II of Edessa, who fell in 1149 at Innib (Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 260). On 5 Djumādā I 544/11 September 1149, Ḳilīdj Arslan and his father Masᶜūd set out from Albistān against Marᶜash, plundered the country around and besieged the town. The Frankish garrison capitulated on being promised a safe retreat to Anṭākiya; but the sultan sent a body of Turks after them, who fell upon them on the road and slew them. On this occasion, all the treasure of the churches of Marᶜash was lost, which the priests who had rebelled against the bishop had appropriated (Michael the Syrian, iii, 290; Matthēos Urhayecᶜi, 330, ch. cclix; Chalandon, *op. cit.*, 421; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 263). After the capture of Joscelin, Nūr al-Dīn of Ḥalab in 546/1151-2 took a large part of the country of Edessa including the towns of Marᶜash, Tell Bāshir, ᶜAyntāb, Dulūk, Kūrus, etc. (*Recueil hist. or crois.*, i, 29, 481, ii, 54; Weil, *op. cit.*, iii, 296; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 265, n. 5). The district was then divided: the sultan received Marᶜash, Barzamān, Raᶜbān, Kaysūm and Bahasnā; the Artuḳid Ḳara Arslan of Ḥiṣn Ziyād got Bābūlā, Gargar, Kʸākhta and Ḥiṣn Mansūr; Nūr al-Dīn kept the rest (Michael the Syrian, iii, 297; William of Tyre, xvii, 16). When Masᶜūd's son Ḳilīdj Arslan, lord of Marᶜash (Michael the Syrian, iii, 318), attacked an Armenian village, the Armenians under Stephan, brother of the prince Thoros, in 1156 revenged themselves by setting Marᶜash on fire and carried off the whole population into captivity, during the absence of the sultan and his Turks (*ibid.*, ii, 314 [expanded from Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*]; differently in Abū Shāma, *Rec. hist. or. crois*, iv, 92;F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, ii, Paris 1912, 434). Among those carried off was the bishop Dionysios bar Ṣalībī, who escaped to the monastery of Kālsiūr (according to Chabot, *loc. cit.*, the κάστρον Καλιζίεριν of Anna Comnena, ed. Reifferscheid, ii, 219) and wrote three *mēmrē* about the devastation of his former diocese of Marᶜash (Michael the Syrian, *loc. cit.*; Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Litt.*, 298). Thoros of Little Armenia in 1165 plundered Marᶜash (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 331; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 319, n. 8; Chalandon, *op. cit.*, ii, 531, n. 1). Nūr al-Dīn again took Marᶜash from Ḳilīdj Arslan II when he was on a campaign against the Dānishmandid Dhu 'l-Nūn (Michael the Syrian, iii, 350) in the beginning of Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 568/14 June 1173) and Bahasnā in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i, 43, 592, iv, 158, Matthēos Urhayecᶜi, ed. Dulaurier, 360; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annal. musl.*, ed. Reiske, iv, 4; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 303, who is followed by Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, ii, 463, wrongly puts these events as early as 1159).

Nūr al-Dīn perhaps handed Marᶜash over to his ally Mleh of Little Armenia. When the dynast of Marᶜash raised the district of Raᶜbān, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir in 592/1195-6 took the field against him, whereupon the lord of Marᶜash sought forgiveness and recognised his suzerainty (Kamāl al-Dīn, tr. Blochet, in *ROI*, iv, 212). The Armenian ruler Rupen III took Bohemund III of Anṭākiya prisoner in 1185 and forced him to cede the territory from the Djayḥān up to Kastūn (Michael the Syrian, ii, 396-7; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 403, n. 7, 661). Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw, son of Ḳilīdj Arslan II, in 605/1208, when on a campaign against Little Armenia, took Marᶜash (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annal. musl.*, ed. Reiske, iv, 232), and made Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan governor of the town. He was succeeded in this office by his son Ibrāhīm, who in turn was succeeded by his son Nuṣrat al-Dīn, who ruled Marᶜash for 50 years. The long reign of his son Muẓaffar al-Dīn was followed by that of his brother ᶜImād al-Dīn who however in 656/1258 abandoned the town, which was much harassed by the Armenians and Georgians, after failing to find support either from ᶜIzz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs of Rūm or al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ of Egypt. The town then surrendered to the Armenians (Ibn al-Shiḥna, Beirut 1909, 192).

Marᶜash did not escape during the great Mongol invasion of Asia Minor. Baybars I of Egypt in his campaign against them in 670/1271 sent from Ḥalab a division under Ṭaybars al-Wazīrī and ᶜĪsā b. Muhīn to Marᶜash, who drove all the Tatars from there and slew them (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, ii, 246; al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Quatremère, *Hist. de Sultans Mamlouks*, i/2, 101). In the wars with the rulers of Little Armenia, troops from Ḥalab went as far as Marᶜash in 673/1274 and destroyed the gates of the outer town (Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, iv, 7). In the next few years, Baybars negotiated with envoys from Sīs, from whom he demanded the surrender of Marᶜash and Bahasnā; but he was satisfied instead with a considerable sum of money (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i/2, 123 [year 673/1274]; ii/l, 104 [688/1289]). It was not till 692/1292 that sultan Khalīl by a treaty received Bahasnā, Marᶜash and Tell Ḥamdūn (Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍāʾil, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv, 557; Weil, op. cit., iv, 186; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1901, 287). But the Armenians must have retaken the two last-named towns not long afterwards (Weil, iv, 213, n. 1), for in 697/1297 Marᶜash was again taken by the *amīr* Bilban Tabakhī, *nāʾib* of Ḥalab, for Lādjīn. A treaty was then concluded with the ruler of Little Armenia, by which the Djayḥān was to be the frontier between the two countries; Ḥamūs, Tell Ḥamdūn, Kūbarā, al-Nukayr (for its position, cf. L. Alishan, *Sissouan*, 493-6), Ḥadjar Shughlān, Sirfandakār and Marᶜash thus passed to Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii/2, 63; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Ann. musl.*, v, 140).

In the second half of the 8th/14th century, Zayn al-Dīn Ḳaradja and his son Khalīl, the founders of the house of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr-oghlu, conquered the lands along the Egyptian Asia Minor frontier with Malaṭya, Albistān, Marᶜash, Bahasnā and Kharpūt [see DHU 'L-ḲADR]. In the mosque of Marᶜash, one of his successors, Malik Arslān, was murdered in 870/1465-6; his portrait with the inscription "Sulṭān Arslān" and that of his sister Sittī Khātūn with the legend ἡ μεγάλη χάτω are painted in the Codex Venetus 516 of the *Geography* of Ptolemy, which he apparently intended to dedicate to this father-in-law Meḥemmed II (Olshausen, in *Hermes*, xv [1880], 417-42)

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 55-6, 62, 67-8; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 108-10, 120, 127, 153; Muḳaddasī, 154; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 97; Ḳudāma, 216, 253; Idrīsī, ed. Gildenmeister, in *ZDPV*, viii, 27; Ibn Rusta, 107; Masᶜūdī, *Tanbīh*, 58; idem, *Murūdj*, viii, 295; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, tr. Guyard, ii/2, 2, 39; Dimishḳī, ed. Mehren, 206, 214; Yāḳūt, iv, 498; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāᶜ*, ed. Juynboll, iii, 81; Balādhurī, 150, 188-9; Ibn al-Athīr, index, ii, 806; Ṭabarī, indices, 774; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, ed. Le Strange, 268; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, ed. Chabot, index, 48; Matthēos Urhayecᶜi, tr. Dulaurier, Paris 1858, 532; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 502-3; idem, *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, 128-9; Tomaschek, in *SBAk. Wien* (1891),

Abh. viii, 86; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1891, 240-7; H. Grothe, *Meine Vorderasienexpedition 1906 u. 1907*, ii, 312, index; Besīm Atalāʾī, *Marᶜash taʾrīkhī wa-djughrafiyāsī*, Istanbul 1339/1920-1; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, index; Canard, *Hʾamdânides*, 270. On the ancient town, cf. *Germanikeia*, in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl.-vol., iv, cols. 686-9. (E. Honigmann)

2. In Ottoman and modern times.

In Ottoman times, Marᶜash lay on one of the major routes to Syria: in the early 11th/17th century, Polonyalī Simeon passed through the city when returning from Aleppo to Istanbul by way of Kayseri. The pre-Ottoman or else 10th/16th century bridge, which still crosses the Ceyhan somewhat to the west of Marᶜash, must have served this traffic. If the surviving bridge is identical with the bridge mentioned in an Ottoman tax register of the second half of the 10th/16th century, this structure should been the site of a toll gate. According to the *ḳānūn* applied in the region, nomads travelling with their flocks were exempted from toll payment, which was only demanded from traders.

Marᶜash was considered as lying on a *ḥadjdj* or pilgrimage route, even though the "diagonal road" crossing Anatolia by way of Konya and Adana seems to have been much more popular. Ewliyā Čelebi passed through Marᶜash on his way to the Ḥidjāz, and the suppression of robbery in the district of Marᶜash was always treated with particular urgency because of the danger it presented to pilgrims (cf. Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Mühimme defterleri, 40, p. 42, no. 88, 987/1579-80). Probably for the same reason, a number of guarded mountain passes (*derbend*) was instituted in the area in the course of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries.

In the second half of the 19th century, the old thoroughfare passing through Marᶜash had apparently lost much of its importance, for in 1891 Cuinet reported that no road suitable for wheeled vehicles existed in the entire *sandjaḳ*. As a result, not much of an outlet existed for local industries. Only in 1948 was Marᶜash linked up with the Malatya-Fevzipaşa railway, which in certain sections follows the area's historical routes. In addition, asphalted roads were built, so that by 1960, Marᶜash was easily accessible from Adana, Iskenderun, Gaziantep and Malatya.

Administrative structure and population. After the Ottomans had conquered the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr principality in 921/1515, the area was first governed by Dhu 'l-Ḳadrlī ᶜAlī Beg b. Shāhsuwār under Ottoman suzerainty. However, after the latter had been killed in 928/1522, surviving members of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrlī family were appointed to governorships in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and the Ottoman *wilāyet-sandjaḳ* structure was established in the lands which this dynasty had formerly ruled. A tax register (*taḥrīr*) dating from the early years of Sultan Ḳānūnī Sulaymān's reign (after 931/1525-6) refers to a *wilāyet* of Dhu 'l-Ḳadriyya, governed by two *sandjaḳ begis* and divided into five *ḳaḍāʾ*s (Marᶜash; Elbistān; Ḳarṣ or modern Kadirli, also referred to as a *liwā-sandjaḳ*; Ṣamanto; and Bozok). This *wilāyet* consisted of 523 villages, 665 nomadic tribes, and 3,412 *mezraᶜas* (sown, but not necessarily inhabited, agricultural land). The total adult male population of the *wilāyet* amounted to 76,181 men. Among the latter, 9, 644 were exempt from the payment of *ᶜawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] taxes, either because of their former position under the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr dynasty or because of services rendered to the Ottoman administration. Total population registered in the *wilāyet* can thus be estimated at 230,000 to 300,400 persons.

During those years, the town of Marᶜash appears as an administrative centre with an unusually high proportion of tax-exempt inhabitants. Of the 1,557 adult males recorded in the town (this should have corresponded to a population of about 7,500, since only 85 persons were recorded as unmarried), 836 men were *sipāhīs* and *sipāhīzādes*, in addition to the usual contingent of tax-exempt religious functionaries. This would have left the town with a tax-paying population of only about 550 adult males, an anomalous situation which can be explained only by the fact that the count must have been prepared a short time after the conquest. At this time, Marᶜash was inhabited only by Muslims.

During Ḳānūnī Sulaymān's reign, the number of adult males registered in the *taḥrīr* as resident in Marᶜash almost doubled, and before 972/1564-5 had reached the level of 3,054 men. Of these, 370 were recorded as unmarried. Thus a total population of 13,000-14,000 is probable, apart from certain tax-exempt families which may have gone unregistered. This figure placed Marᶜash among the large towns of contemporary Anatolia. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, who passed through Marᶜash in 1058/1648 and again in 1082/1672-3, the town consisted of 11,000 houses, which would seem to point to a much larger settlement than that described in the 10th/16th century tax registers. However, the town seems subsequently to have lost population. Texier, who refers to Marᶜash as it was in the early 19th century, estimates its population at 5,000-6,000 inhabitants. Struggles between the family factions of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrlī and the Bāyezīdli were brought to an end only during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd II (1223-55/1808-39), and seem to have contributed to a decline in urban population. However, according to a British Foreign Office source, between 1830 and 1840 Marᶜash had again reached the level of 23,000 inhabitants.

Administrative structure between the late 10th/16th and the early 19th century showed relatively slight variations. According to a register containing appointments to provincial governorships between 975-82/1568-74, the *wilāyet* of Dhu 'l-Ḳadriyya consisted of the *sandjaḳs* of Marᶜash, Malāṭya, ᶜAyntāb, Sis and Ḳarṣ (modern Kadirli). In 1041-6/1632-41, this *wilāyet* had been much reduced, and now consisted only of the *sandjaḳs* of Marᶜash, ᶜAyntāb and Ḳarṣ. ᶜAynī ᶜAlī, who wrote during the reign of Sultan Aḥmed I (1012-26/1603-17) mentions the *sandjaḳs* of Marᶜash, Malāṭya, ᶜAyntāb, Ḳarṣ and Samīsād as forming part of the *wilāyet* of Dhu 'l-Ḳadriyya. This list has also been reproduced in the *Djihān-numā* of Kātib Čelebi (p. 598). Thus the *wilāyet* was apparently soon restored to its former size. Writing at the end of the 11th/17th century, Ewliyā Čelebi enumerates the following: Marᶜash, Malāṭya, ᶜAyntāb, Ḳarṣ, Samṣad and Niğde.

During the Ottoman-Egyptian conflict of the 1830s, the troops of Ibrāhīm Pasha, Muḥammad ᶜAlī's son, temporarily held Marᶜash, which was returned to the Ottoman realm in 1840. Administrative structure as it existed during the second half of the 19th century has been described by Cuinet: the *sandjaḳ* of Marᶜash then formed part of the *eyālet* of Aleppo and consisted of the *ḳaḍāʾ*s of Marᶜash, Elbistān, Andīrīn, Pazārdjīḳ and Zeytūn (modern name: Süleymanlı). According to the same author, the total *sandjaḳ* population amounted to 179,853, of whom 52,000 lived in the town of Marᶜash proper (32,000 Muslims, 20,000 non-Muslims). These figures indicate that a substan-

tial number of non-Muslims must have immigrated into the town, probably mainly during the 19th century.

For the early days of World War I, Besim Atalay reports 32,700 inhabitants for the town of Marᶜas͟h proper including 8,500 non-Muslims. In 1927, when the first census of the Turkish Republic was undertaken, the impact of the World War, the occupation of 1919 (first British, then French), and the War of Independence had reduced population to 25,672. From this low point, the city expanded continuously (1940: 27,744; 1945: 33,104; 1950: 34,641; 1960: 54, 447, 1970: 110,761; 1980: 178,557), without experiencing the temporary contraction that many Anatolian towns went through during and immediately after World War II. Between 1960 and 1980, the *vilâyet* (later *il*) consisted of the following *kazas* (later *ilçe*): Maraş-merkez, Afşin, Andırın, Elbistan, Göksün, Pazarcık and Türkoğlu. In 1980, the *il* of Kahramanmaraş contained a total population of 738,032, of which 281, 382 (38%) lived in towns and cities.

Economic activities. From the dues recorded in the tax register compiled before 972/1564-5, the importance of textile manufacture becomes apparent. Apart from a sizeable dyehouse, we hear of a tax payable by bleachers or fullers. The provincial governor claimed the right to tax the weavers' pits, (*d͟jullāh čuḳuru*); at the end of the 11th/17th century, complaints on this score were addressed to the Ottoman central administration. In the late 12th/18th century, red cottons were particularly esteemed among locally manufactured textiles. Even in the last years of the 19th century, Marᶜas͟h still possessed a reputation as a textile centre. Although by that time many looms lay idle, 281 workshops were still active in this sector. Apart from fabrics intended for everyday use, Cuinet mentions the manufacture of textiles embroidered in gold and silver thread. A certain revival has taken place in the second half of the 20th century; in 1960 a state factory for the manufacture of poplin and other cottons (Sümerbank) began to operate in Marᶜas͟h.

Throughout the Ottoman period, the Marᶜas͟h area produced ironware; in 983/1575-6, anchors for a flotilla to be constructed in Baṣra were being ordered from Marᶜas͟h. This iron must have been mined in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Süleymānlī, for Cuinet records that, in the second half of the 19th century, soft iron from this district was being employed by local farriers and blacksmiths. From the tax register of Ḳānūnī Sulaymān's early years, we learn that silver was being mined in Göksun; this latter mine, whose existence was also known to Cuinet, was apparently not exploited during the 1890s. In addition, salpetre mines were worked and powder was manufactured; during the Cyprus campaign of the 10th/16th century, the Ottoman armies were using powder from Marᶜas͟h. However, in the second half of the 20th century, the most important mines of the province of Kahramanmaraş are in Elbistan, where abundant lignite has been discovered, and power plants for the conversion of this raw material into electric energy are in the course of being completed.

Marᶜas͟h possesses an ample source of wood in the forests which are still fairly abundant in the district; in the 10th/16th century, this wood was used by the Ottoman central administration for the construction of a Euphrates flotilla in Bīred͟jik. According to Cuinet, in the second half of the 19th century wood was employed particularly in the manufacture of European-style furniture, whose quality and cheapness the author praised highly.

Agriculture in the Marᶜas͟h area during the 10th/16th century was dominated by the cultivation of wheat and barley; but in addition, a wide variety of garden cultures was present. Among the latter, the vine was particularly prominent, as it also was in Cuinet's time and still is today. Apparently fruit cultivation even by the reign of Ḳānūnī Sulaymān had given rise to processing activities; for the tax register compiled before 972/1564-5 specifically mentions the existence of helva and paste manufacturers. By the second half of the 19th century, rice had turned into a major commercial crop of the Marᶜas͟h area; it was traded mainly within the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, fruit, dyestuffs, and other garden and forest products were at this time also being exported to Europe, primarily through the port of Iskenderun.

By the middle of the 1970s, the continued importance of fruit and vegetable cultivation (163, 194 tons of fruit in 1975) had given rise to a certain number of processing industries, particularly the manufacture of dried red pepper. Furthermore, since World War II, agriculture has benefited from a number of state-sponsored projects for irrigation and swamp drainage.

Throughout the Ottoman period, the nomadic tribes which were particularly numerous in the Marᶜas͟h district and in the province of D͟hu 'l-Ḳadriyya as a whole practiced a pastoral economy. In the 10th/16th century, the province was not infrequently called upon to provide sheep so that Istanbul could be supplied with meat. Records of the 11th/17th century also refer to the raising of water buffaloes. But in the late 19th century, the most widely present animal was the goat, which particularly in the Marᶜas͟h *ḳaḍāʾ*, by far outnumbered sheep. By the mid-1970s, however, this pattern had changed, and throughout the *vilâyet* of Kahramanmaraş, sheep now substantially outnumbered goats. In addition, the state has been encouraging cattle raising by the establishment of the Maraş Inekhanesi.

Pious foundations and public buildings. The long reign of ᶜAlāʾ al-Dawla Bozḳurd (884-921/1479-1515) marks the period during which the D͟hu 'l-Ḳadr principality moved from the Egyptian into the Ottoman orbit. This period is of special importance in the history of Marᶜas͟h, for it was ᶜAlāʾ al-Dawla Beg who established the capital of his principality in this town, after Elbistan, the previous seat of the dynasty, had been sacked and destroyed by the Ṣafawid S͟hāh Ismāᶜīl I in 913/1507. A construction programme of some importance was undertaken by the ruling dynasty. ᶜAlāʾ al-Dawla Beg's name appears most frequently in this context, but certain structures were equally erected in the name of his wife S͟hams-Māh (also S͟hams) K͟hātūn and other members of the ruling family. Among the surviving buildings, one might name the Ulu D͟jāmiᶜ, the Tas͟h *madrasa* with the grave of (possibly) ᶜAlāʾ al-Dawla's son Meḥmed, the K͟haznadārlī D͟jāmiᶜ, the mausoleum of Iḳlīme K͟hātūn and the K͟hātūniyya D͟jāmiᶜ. In an Ottoman list of pious foundations compiled before 972/1564-5, we also find a D͟jāmiᶜ-i Sulaymān Beg, which had possibly been established by ᶜAlāʾ al-Dawla's father (846-58/1442-54), and which Ewliyā seems to ascribe to Sultan Ḳānūnī Sulaymān. This foundation is not mentioned in the secondary literature of the 20th century, and the same applies to the mosque of S͟hādī Beg, although Ewliyā knew of its existence; this latter foundation had been established at an unknown date. During the later years of the 10th/16th century, a *madrasa* called the Maktūbiyya also flourished in Marᶜas͟h, but nothing is known about the founder.

According to an Ottoman *id͟jmāl* register going back

to the early years of Ḳānūnī Sülayman, Marʿash at the time also possessed three *zāwiyas*. However, in actual fact the number must have been greater, for a later register (before 972/1564-5) refers to six dervish foundations as having benefited from the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrlī rulers' generosity. Among the latter, the *zāwiya* of Čomaḳ Baba continued to function at least until the late 12th/18th century, and during this latter period of its existence was inhabited by Bektāshī dervishes.

The Ottoman tax registers of the 10th/16th century also refer to the existence of a covered market or *bedestān*, which had been constructed by ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Beg. This latter ruler had also established a *kerbānsaray* and an *ārāsta*. It is possible that the last-named building survived in one of the three covered streets, lined with shops, which still exist, or until recently existed, in the centre of Marʿash. In the early Ottoman period, further business structures were added, for it is very probable that Ferhād Pasha, who caused his rival ʿAlī Beg b. Shāhsuwār to be killed upon Sultan Ḳānūnī Sulaymān's order in 928/1522, is identical with the Ferhād Pasha who (at sometime before 972/1564-5) had a *ḥammām* and *kerbānsaray* constructed in Marʿash. The citadel, which is said to go back to Hittite times, was according to Ewliyā Čelebi adorned with an inscription bearing the date 915/1509-10 (*sic*) and bore the name of Sultan Ḳānūnī Sulaymān (926-74/1520-66), who had ordered a complete reconstruction of the fortress.

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(Suraiya Faroqhi)

al-**MARʿASHĪ** [see nūr allāh al-shushtarī].

MARʿASHIS, a line of *sayyids* originally from Marʿash [*q.v.*], whose *nisba* became well-known on account of their dynasty which dominated Māzandarān [*q.v.*] for most of the period between 760/1358-9 and the second half of the 10th/16th century. The Ṣafawids [*q.v.*] were related to them by matrimonial alliances (see Table B and below, 2). Their descendants, offspring of the various branches of the Marʿashīs, have continued to bear this *nisba* by which they are generally known (see below, 3). It was also attributed over the course of the centuries to various *sayyid* and non-*sayyid* individuals. Concerning the *laḳab* Marʿash, another explanation of the origin of the Marʿashi *sayyids*, see Table A.

1. The dynasty of the Marʿashī *sayyids* of Māzandarān. (a) The first phase. Founded by Sayyid Ḳawām al-Dīn al-Marʿashī, known by the name of Mīr-i Buzurg, this dynasty is sometimes called *Silsila-yi mulūk-i ḳawāmiyya-yi marʿashiyya* (*Rayḥānat*, iii, 323). Its historical context is the vacuum of political power which—in post-Ilkhānid Iran—enabled *sayyids* and dervishes to impose their influence. Ḳawām al-Dīn traced his lineage to the Imām ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. However, the connection between his Marʿashī ancestors and Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn remains unclear (see M. Sutūda, ed., *TDG*, *Muḳaddima*). His genealogy, as featured in the work of Ẓahīr al-Dīn (*TTRM*) has been disputed by ʿA. Shāyān, who established an "exact" genealogy with which the biographers of the Marʿashī family concur. A genealogy, different from the two afore-mentioned. seems to have been current in the Ṣafawid period (see Table A.).

The family of Mīr-i Buzurg resided at Dābū, a village near Āmul [*q.v.*] where he studied religious sciences. He made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Imām ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā at Mashhad [*q.v.*] and

Table A
THE LINE OF MĪR ḲAWĀM AL-DĪN MARᶜASHĪ "MĪR-I BUZURG"

After:

Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marᶜashī(1)	The Ṣafawid sources(3)	ᶜAbbās Shāyān(5)
Imām ᶜAlī Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn	Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn	Zayn al-Ābidīn
Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar	Ḥusayn al-Asghar	al-Ḥasan Abū Muḥammad
Ḥasan al-Marᶜashī	Ḥasan	Muḥammad Abu 'l-Karām
Muḥammad	Muḥammad al-Akbar	ᶜAbd Allāh Abū Muḥammad
Ābd Allāh	ᶜAbd Allāh	ᶜAlī al-Marᶜashī Abu 'l-Ḥasan
ᶜAlī	Ālī al-Marᶜash(4)	al-Ḥusayn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh
Ḥusayn	Ḥasan	ᶜAlī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn
ᶜAbd Allāh	ᶜAlī	Abū Hāshim
Ṣādiḳ	Abū Hāshim	Muḥammad Abū ᶜAbd Allāh
Muḥammad(2)	Muḥammad	ᶜAbd Allāh Abū Ṣādiḳ
ᶜAbd Allāh	Abd Allāh	al-Ṣādiḳ
Ḳawām al-Dīn	Ṣādiḳ	Ḳawām al-Dīn
	Ḳawām al-Dīn	

Notes to Table A

(1) *TTRM*, ed. Tasbīhī, 166.
(2) Muḥammad absent from *TTRM*, ed. Shāyān, 236.
(3) *Djahān-ārā*, 88; Yazdī, fol. 2a; Shūshtārī, *Madjālis*, ii, 380.
(4) The *laḳab* al-Marᶜash (a kind of pigeon) is said to have been given in the first place to ᶜAlī Marᶜash, the eponym of the Marᶜashi *Sayyids* (*Rayḥāna*, iv, 10). In Yazdī, ᶜAlī al-Marᶜash and his son Ḥasan are made into a single "al-Marᶜash".
(5) *TTRM. Muḳaddima* (approved by the Āyatallāh Marᶜashī-Nadjafī, *TTRM*, ed. Tasbiḥī, *Muḳaddima*, 39-40, with typographical errors).

frequented the *khānḳāh* of the *sayyid* ᶜIzz al-Dīn Sūghandī, one of the three influential Ṣūfī *shaykhs* of Khurāsān, disciple of Shaykh Ḥasan Djūrī, founder of the Shaykhiyya-Djūriyya *ṭarīḳa*, promotor of the Sarbadār movement in Khurāsān (see J. Aubin, in *Studia Iranica*, v [1976], 217-24). Having obtained the *idjāzat* of ᶜIzz al-Dīn, Ḳawām al-Dīn founded his own *khānḳāh* at Dābū where he attracted numerous disciples. The control of Ṭabaristān-Māzandarān was then the object of keen competition between local powers. After the reconciliation concluded between the Kiyā-i Čulāb and the Kiyā-i Djalāl, in 750/1349, Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan, last representative of the third branch of the Bāwandids [*q.v.*], was assassinated by a son (or by two sons?) of Kiyā Afrāsiyāb, former *sipahsālār* and brother-in-law of Fakhr al-Dawla, eponym of the Kiyā-i Čulāb who were also known as Afrāsiyābids [*q.v.*]. Having thus obtained a precarious control over Āmul and Māzandarān, Kiyā Afrāsiyāb attempted to strengthen his popularity by becoming a disciple of Mīr-i Buzūrg, who conferred on him the *laḳab* of *shaykhī*. But the other disciples of Mīr-i Buzurg harassed Afrāsiyāb and his followers. Afrāsiyāb imprisoned Mīr-i Buzūrg, but the latter was freed by his furious disciples. Having appealed in vain for the aid of the Kiyā-i Djalāl, Afrāsiyāb was defeated at Djalālakmār-parčīn, near Dābū, by three hundred dervishes under the command of Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ḳawām al-Dīn (760/1358-9). Afrāsiyāb and four of his sons were killed; another, Muḥammad, the assassin of Fakhr al-Dawla, was killed by the *malik* of Rustumdār; another, Sayf al-Dīn, died of *kūlandj*, i.e. some abdominal illness (an act attributed to the supernatural powers of Mīr-i Buzurg); the only survivor was an infant, Iskandar-i Shaykhī (according to Rabino, in *JA* [1943-5], 236, three sons were killed at Djalālakmār-parčīn and ᶜAlī in the same battle as Muḥammad: *TTRM*, 250 ff.; Mahdjūrī 15 ff.). The Marᶜashīs then turned on the Kiyā-i Djalāl, Fakhr al-Dīn and Vishtāsp, who held respectively Sārī and Tūdjī (a fortress near Bārfurūsh-dih = Bābul). After the first battle, Ḳawām al-Dīn and Kamāl al-Dīn entered Bārfurūsh-dih as victors. With some former followers of Afrāsiyāb, Vishtāsp assassinated ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ḳawām al-Dīn. Fakhr al-Dīn and four of his sons perished in a battle near Bārfurūsh-dih. Vishtāsp took refuge with his family and close associates in the fortress of Tūdjī, which was reduced by the Marᶜashīs after a long siege, in the course of which Vishtāsp and his seven sons were killed (763/1362). Kamāl al-Dīn married the daughter of Vishtāsp by the daughter of Ḥasan Fakhr al-Dawla Bāwand, grandmother of the historian Ẓahīr al-Dīn (see below, 2). Then he undertook the restoration and enlargement of Sārī.

From the outset, Mīr-i Buzurg had indicated his intention to devote himself exclusively to pious activities. He entrusted the government of Māzandarān to his sons, and it was only in a non-combattant capacity that he accompanied them on their expeditions. The elder son, ᶜAbd Allāh (see above) having refused to assume power, this was exercised in the name of Mīr-i Buzurg by his second son Kamāl al-Dīn, who shared responsibilities with his brothers. In 763/1361-2, he entrusted the government of Āmul to Riḍā al-Dīn (*TTRM*, 255 ff.). With control of Āmul, Bārfurūsh-dih and Sārī thus assured, the Marᶜashīs extended their power over Sawādkūh and Fīrūzkūh, which were held by the representatives of the last Bāwandids. In the conquest of the fortress of Fīrūzkūh, and seizure of the treasury of Fakhr al-Dawla, they were assisted by their allies, the Malātī *sayyids* of Gīlān (*TTRM*, 261 ff.). The conquest of Rustamdār as far as Nātil-rustāḳ was the operation of Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn (782/1380-1). His conquest of Kudjūr having given to the Marᶜashis control over the whole of Māzandarān, Kamāl al-Dīn entrusted Rustamdār to him. Henceforward, he undertook to subdue the fortresses of Kudjūr, of Kalā-rustāḳ and of Nūr; he conquered Ṭāliḳān and Lawāsān, as well as part of Lārīdjān fortresses of Kuhrūd or Kahrūd in Dayla-rustāḳ, from Lawandar to Rayna (*TTRM*, 271 ff.). Fakhr al-Dīn took possession of Ḳazwīn—then being contested between Ādharbāydjān and ᶜIrāḳ-i ᶜAdjam—a brief control interrupted by the death of Mīr-i Buzurg (see below). Subsequently, he reoccupied the town, levied taxes

there, went to Ṭālikān, and then pillaged Alamūt (*TTRM*, 290 ff.).

At the end of a long retreat to Bārfurush-dih, Mīr-i Buzurg died of an illness (781/1379). For a period of twenty years, by his charismatic leadership, he controlled Māzandarān through his sons, among whom there was then a fair degree of unity (four of his fourteen sons died in infancy). Kamāl al-Dīn held Sārī and had entrusted Āmul to Riḍā al-Dīn, Rustamdār to Fakhr al-Dīn and Ḳaraṭughan to Sharaf al-Dīn. The power of the Marᶜashīs extended to the west as far as the frontiers of Ḳazwīn; with their support, the Malāṭī *sayyids* controlled a large part of Gīlān. But their position was threatened in the east by Mīr ᶜImād al-Dīn, founder of the small dynasty of the Murtaḍāʾī *sayyids* of Hazārdjarīb and in Astarābād by Amīr Walī, who attempted to have Kamāl al-Dīn assassinated. The latter conquered Astarābād, where he left a garrison (781/1379). Fearing lest Amīr Walī would join forces with Tīmūr Lang, he restored Astarābād to him; similarly, he handed over Rustamdār to Malik Ṭūs (794/1391-2; *TTRM*, 293 ff.; Mahdjūrī, 23 ff.). But soon after Tīmūr's conquest of Khurāsān and Harāt, Iskandar-i Shaykhī, younger son of Afrāsiyāb, who had campaigned in Khurāsān, joined forces with him. Twice, Tīmūr took possession of Astarābād. The second time, he appointed as governor there Pīrak, with whom Kamāl al-Dīn maintained amicable relations. Kamāl al-Dīn also sent his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn to Tīmūr on three occasions with suitable presents, in the hope of persuading him to protect the Marᶜashīs from persecution by Iskandar. But animosity towards the Marᶜashīs (Imāmī and Rāfiḍī Shīᶜīs) was rife among the predominantly Sunnī military chieftains of Tīmūr. It was fostered in the west, in Rustamdār, by Malik Ṭūs and in the east, in Astarābād, by Pīrak, who, inwardly, supported Iskandar-i Shaykhī (Mahdjūrī, 27 ff.).

Tīmūr had given orders to open up the route through the forests of Māzandarān, and he sent Ghiyāth al-Dīn, held as a hostage, with his vanguard force. Kamāl al-Dīn had a fortified camp built on a promontory in the lagoon of Māhānasar. Besides some property concealed at Sārī, the greater part of the wealth of Māzandarān, including that of merchants, foreigners and dignitaries, as well as funds seized from the Čulābīs, Djalālis, Sawādkūhīs, etc., was hoarded at Māhānasar. Informed of Tīmūr's advance, Kamāl al-Dīn and his supporters left Māhānasar and took up a position at Ḳaraṭughan, where the confrontation with the Tīmūrid forces took place on 6 Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 794/24 September 1392. Although inflicting losses, the Marᶜashīs were defeated by numerical superiority and withdrew to Māhānasar. after two months and six days of siege, Kamāl al-Dīn sent *ᶜulamāʾ* to Tīmūr to request *amān* or quarter for himself and his associates. They left the fortress of Māhānasar on 22 Ramaḍān 795/2 August 1393 and escaped persecution at the hands of Iskandar-i Shaykhī due to the efforts of Malik Ṭūs, who interceded with Tīmūr on their behalf. All the non-*sayyid* occupants of Māhānasar were executed (*TTRM*, 300 ff.).

Tīmūr is said to have obtained the most important spoils ever conceded to him by a king. Massacres and pillage continued in all the urban centres from Māhānasar to Āmul as well as at Sārī, to where the *sayyids* were brought. He then despatched them to Khʷārazm and to Transoxiana by sea and river routes, and compelled them to reside in these mutually isolated places. Before embarkation, three *sayyids* were able to take refuge in Gīlān: ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Riḍā al-Dīn, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm b. Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn and ᶜIzz al-Dīn Ḥasanī Rikābī. Two sons of Kamāl al-Dīn (ᶜAlī and Ghiyāth al-Dīn) were in the service of Tīmūr, who entrusted Sārī to Djamshīd Ḳarīn Ghawrī and Āmul to Iskandar-i Shaykhī. In spite of their efforts towards repopulation and economic restoration, these towns did not regain their former prosperity. Iskandar destroyed the mausoleum of Mīr-i Buzurg at Āmul, which numerous inhabitants left for Sārī. ᶜIzz al-Dīn Rikābī, returning from Gīlān, was pursued and killed with his five sons. Iskandar accompanied Tīmūr in his campaigns, before leaving him in Ādharbāydjān and setting out for Āmul (802/1399-1400). Subsequently, he rebelled and fortified the fortress of Fīrūzkūh, which he entrusted to his son Ḥusayn Kiyā. ᶜAlī and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Marᶜashī took part in Tīmūr's operations against Iskandar (805/1402-3), whose son ᶜAlī Kiyā, coming to his rescue, was captured. Overtaken in the forest, Iskandar fought valiantly against the troops of Hazārasf Muḥammad and was killed at Shīr-rūd-dūhazār. His severed head was displayed to his sons, the prisoners ᶜAli Kiyā and Ḥusayn Kiyā, who surrendered the fortress of Firūzkūh. Both sons were pardoned by Tīmūr, who then assigned the governorship of Āmul to ᶜAlī b. Kamāl al-Dīn, with his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn as his deputy, and promised him the liberation of the *sayyids* upon his return to Transoxiana. At Sārī, Djamshīd Ḳārīn died and was replaced by his son Shams al-Dīn. who did his utmost to discredit Sayyid ᶜAlī (*TTRM*, 313 ff.; Mahdjūrī, 29 ff.).

(b) The second phase: return to power and decline. On the death of Tīmūr (Shaᶜbān 807/February 1405), four sons of Mīr-i Buzurg were living in Transoxania (Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn, ᶜAlī, Yaḥyā and Sharaf al-Dīn). Kamāl al-Dīn and Fakhr al-Dīn had died at Kāshghar and three others (Riḍā al-Dīn, Ẓāhir al-Dīn and Naṣīr al-Dīn) in Transoxiana. The four surviving sons travelled with other *sayyids* to Harāt for an audience with Shāhrukh, who permitted them to return to Māzandarān. At Astarābād, Pīrak did not believe in the validity of their *idjāza* and detained them in order to protect Shams al-Dīn Ḳārin Ghawrī. The latter was then attacked and killed by dervishes, who informed ᶜAlī b. Kamāl al-Dīn of their intention of marching on Astarābād. But Pīrak freed the *sayyids* who, joined by numerous partisans, entered Sārī in triumph. Having controlled Āmul for three years, ᶜAlī b. Kamāl al-Dīn (ᶜAlī Sārī) took over the government of Sārī and of Mazandarān (809/1406-7 to 812/1409-10). He retained Yaḥyā and Sharaf al-Dīn at Sārī and entrusted Bārfurūsh-dih to Ghiyāth al-Dīn. The descendants of Riḍā al-Dīn wanted to install ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib as ruler of Āmul, but ᶜAli Sārī preferred Ḳawām al-Dīn b. Riḍā al-Dīn (Ḳawām al-Dīn II), replaced in 810/1407-8 by ᶜAlī b. Ḳawām al-Dīn (ᶜAlī Āmulī) who governed equitably (*TTRM*, 317 ff.; ḤS, iii, 347; Mahdjūrī, 33 ff.). Ghiyāth al-Dīn sowed discord between ᶜAlī Āmulī and ᶜAlī Sārī who, defeated by a coalition of elements from Rustamdār and from Hazārdjarib (Amīr ᶜIzz al-Dīn and his son-in-law Sayyid Murtaḍā) was forced to flee to Astarābād. His only ally in this business was his brother Naṣīr al-Dīn, whom he sent to Harāt to anticipate Shāhrukh.

After their victory, the people of Āmul set Murtaḍā b. Kamāl al-Dīn in control at Sārī where, in spite of the threats of Shāhrukh, he continued to hold sway for almost a year (812-13/1409-10) before being deposed by the populace on account of his drinking habits. ᶜAlī Sārī regained control of Sārī and of Māzandarān

Table B
SIMPLIFIED GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MARʿASHĪ DYNASTY[1]

Kawām al-Dīn I b. al-Ṣādiḳ[2]
d. 781/1379

- ʿAbd Allāh
- Kamāl al-Dīn I, d. 801/1379
  - ʿAlī Sārī, d.820/1417-8
    - Murtaḍā, d. 837/1433
      - Muḥammad, d. 856/1452
        - ʿAbd al-Karīm I, d. 865/1461
          - ʿAbd Allāh I, d. 872/1467-8
            - ʿAbd al-Karīm II (916/1510-1)
        - Kamāl al-Dīn II
          - Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn
          - Shams al-Dīn (905/1499-1500)
            - Kamāl al-Dīn III (908/1502-3)
  - Murtaḍā
  - Ghiyāth al-Dīn
    - Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn
    - Djalāl al-Dīn
      - Ghiyāth al-Dīn
  - Naṣīr al-Dīn[3], d. 836/1433
    - Ẓahīr al-Dīn (historian), d. *ca.* 894/1488-9
      - Aḥmad
      - Naṣīr al-Dīn
    - ʿAbd-al-Hayy
- Riḍā al-Dīn (795/1392-3)
  - Kawām al-Dīn II (822/1419-20)
    - Kamāl al-Dīn, m.849/1445-5
  - Murtaḍā (856/1452-3)
    - Shams al-Dīn (865/1460-1)
  - Ḥasan
    - Murtaḍa
      - Ibrāhīm (890/1485-6)
    - Asad Allāh
      - Ḥusayn (893/1487-8)
      - Ḥasan (880/1475-6)
- Fakhr al-Dīn
- Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn
- Yaḥyā
- ʿAlī Āmulī, 825/1421-2
  - Ẓahīr al-Dīn
    - Faḍl Allāh
- Sharaf al-Dīn

- Amīr Shāhī (938/1531-2)
  - Murād I (984/1576-7)
    - Mīrzā Khān Maḥmūd (986/1578-9)
      - Murād II
- Maḥmūd
  - Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān
    - Muḥammad
  - ʿAbd Allāh II, m. 969/1561-2
    - Ibrāhīm
    - ʿAbd al-Karīm III
    - ʿAzīz
    - Khayr al-Nisāʾ — Shāh Muḥammad Khudābanda
      - Shāh ʿAbbās I
- Mīr Taymūr (historian)

Notes to Table B

(1) When the death dates are too uncertain, the dates of the end of the reign are shown between parentheses.

(2) Kawām al-Dīn had 14 children, of whom four died at an early age.

(3) Grandson of Kiyā Vishtāsp Djalal by his mother's side, born of the daughter of Fakhr al-Dawla Bāwand.

(814-20/1411-17). Ghiyāth al-Dīn took refuge at Āmul under the protection of ᶜAlī Āmulī and then at Rustamdār under the protection of Malik Gayūmarth, and finally returned to Bārfurūsh-dih with his son Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn. Aided by the sons of Riḍā al-Dīn, ᶜAlī Sārī expelled ᶜAlī Āmulī from Āmul; the latter took refuge at Rustamdār and then at Gīlān under the protection of Sayyid Riḍā Kiyā (*TTRM*, 321 ff.). ᶜAlī Sārī sent his brother Naṣīr al-Dīn to Harāt with *pīshkash* or presents. Under the pretext of the agitation maintained by ᶜAlī Āmulī and his supporters over a period of two years, he refused to pay the annual tribute and expelled the envoy of Shāhrukh, having cut off his beard. By chance, the punitive expedition mounted by Shāhrukh was obliged to make a detour towards Samarḳand, at which time, on the instructions of Naṣīr al-Dīn, who was being held hostage, Murtaḍā b. Kamāl al-Dīn came to offer apologies to Shāhrukh (816/1413). This same year, when ᶜAlī Sārī was suffering from an attack of gout, Malik Gayūmarth (of Rustamdār) brought ᶜAlī Āmulī back from Gīlān and sent him to Āmul with an army in pursuit of Ḳawām al-Dīn II.

Once returned to power, ᶜAlī Sārī decided to come to terms with Malik Gayūmarth, to whom he entrusted some territories (Namā-rustāḳ. Daylā-rustāḳ and Tartiya-rustāḳ). The union was sealed by matrimonial alliances (his son Murtaḍā married the daughter of Gayūmarth; the daughter of his nephew Ḳawām al-Dīn II (Āmulī) married Kāwūs b. Gayūmarth). After a temporary refuge at Tunukābun, ᶜAlī Āmulī regained Āmul from Ḳawām al-Dīn II (*TTRM*, 331 ff.).

Before dying, ᶜAlī Sārī named his son Murtaḍā as successor (820/1417). His brother Naṣīr al-Dīn promised to support the legitimacy of Murtaḍā, which Ghiyāth al-Dīn did not accept. Thus Naṣīr al-Dīn installed his nephew at Sārī (820-37/1417-33). He obtained from ᶜAlī Āmulī a guarantee not to rebel and strengthened ties with Malik Gayūmarth. But when Murtaḍā took power into his own hands, he made strenuous efforts to eliminate his uncle Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his two sons (whom he held as hostages), using for this purpose a former officer of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, Iskandar Rūzafzūn, whom he had made his *sipahsālār*. Disapproving of this conduct, Naṣīr al-Dīn left Murtaḍā. Prompted by Iskandar, Murtaḍā sent pursuers after Naṣīr al-Dīn, who reached Harāt by way of Čulāw, Sawādkūh and Dāmghān. He returned with Shāhrukh's army and a contract for the taxation of Māzandarān, but Murtaḍā made a higher bid and retained Māzandarān. After a fierce battle, Naṣīr al-Dīn was defeated by Murtaḍā and levies (*čarīk*) from Rustamdār. He was forced to flee to Nūr by way of Lāridjān, then to Nātil-rustāḳ, and took up residence in the region of Rūdsar in Gīlān. Murtaḍā expelled ᶜAlī Āmulī and Naṣīr al-Dīn tried in vain to recapture Āmul. ᶜAlī Āmulī returned to Tunukābun, and Naṣīr al-Dīn to Rūdsar (824/1421). After a further attempt, ᶜAlī was wounded and died (825/1421-2). Naṣīr lived as a beneficiary of the ruler of Lāhidjān (Sayyid Riḍā Kiyā died in 829/1425-6 and was replaced by his brother Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā) until his death in 836/1433. The same year, Ghiyāth al-Dīn died in prison at Sārī (*TTRM*, 336 ff.).

Malik Gayūmarth sought to extend his domain towards Tunukābun and Daylamistān, and Murtaḍā was thus drawn, with his ally Amīr Ilyās, governor of Ḳūm, into a conflict from which he emerged victorious (832/1428-9). After governing firmly and fairly, Murtaḍā died (837/1433) and was succeeded by his son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (837-56/1433-52). Although a drinker, the latter was a decent and peace-loving man, regularly paying the annual revenue to Shahrūkh. On the death of Ḳawām al-Dīn II, the governorship of Āmul passed to his son Kamāl al-Dīn, who conscientiously paid tribute to Sārī. But Muḥammad had five sons, including two favourites, ᶜAbd al-Karīm and Kamāl al-Dīn, to whom he wanted to award governorships. His *sipahsālār* Bahrām Rūzafzūn suggested that Kamāl al-Dīn and the other descendants of Riḍā al-Dīn should be deprived of control of Āmul. Muḥammad expelled Kamāl al-Dīn and established ᶜAbd al-Karīm at Āmul, which was soon retaken by Kamāl al-Dīn with the aid of the people of Tunukābun. Muḥammad then sought to install Murtaḍā b. Riḍā al-Dīn (uncle of Kamāl al-Dīn) at Āmul. When Murtaḍā was put to flight by Kamāl al-Dīn in alliance with Ẓahīr al-Dīn b. Naṣīr al-Dīn, Muḥammad allied himself with Amīr Hindūka of Astarābād. This coalition expelled Kamāl al-Dīn and Ẓahīr al-Dīn, who sought refuge with Malik Gayūmarth at Rustamdār and then at Gīlān. Kamāl al-Dīn proceeded to regain from his uncle control of Āmul, which he retained until his death (849/1445-6). Murtaḍā (a pious and just man) then returned from exile in Rustamdār and was established in power at Āmul by the inhabitants and by dervishes (*TTRM*, 350 ff.).

On the death of Shāhrukh (850/447) the Tīmūrid Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur b. Baysunghur undertook the conquest of Khurāsān and fought with Muḥammad for control of Māzandarān. In spite of the losses which he inflicted, Muḥammad was obliged to come to terms with Bābur, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Subsequently, he was forced to confront him again and was killed by one of his own officers acting on behalf of Babūr who, with the murder of his brother Muḥammad, controlled Khurāsān (Mahdjūrī, 465-6, according to *MS* and *RS*).

On the death of Muḥammad (865/1452), his son ᶜAbd al-Karīm was held hostage at Harāt (in the army of Djahān Shāh Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu, according to *ḤS*, iii, 352). A month after the temporary enthronement of his son ᶜAbd Allāh, ᶜAbd al-Karīm I arrived to take over the government of Sārī and of Māzandarān (856/1452 to 864/1459-60). Soon afterwards, Murtaḍā died and was replaced at Āmul by his son Shams al-Dīn, an incompetent drunkard. To obtain payment of the revenue, Bābur was obliged to send an expedition against ᶜAbd al-Karīm, who experienced difficulties with rival families claiming to be his *sipahsalar*: the Bābulkānī *sayyids* (ᶜAzīz and later Shams al-Dīn) to the east of Sārī, and Bahrām b. Iskandar Rūzafzūn to the west of Sārī. Killed at the instigation of Shams al-Dīn Bābulkānī, Bahrām was replaced by his brother ᶜAlī Rūzafzūn. ᶜAbd al-Karīm entrusted Āmul to Asad Allāh b. Ḥasan b. Riḍā al-Dīn (*TTRM*, 367 ff.).

After the death of Bābur (861/1457), Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and Maḥmūd competed for control of Māzandarān. Out of patience with the tyranny of Amīr Bābā Ḥasan, the Tīmūrid governor of Astarābād, Abd al-Karīm and the leading citizens of Māzandarān appealed to Djahān Shāh Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (d. 872/1467) to come and intimidate them (Mahdjūrī, 48, according to *MS* and *RS*). But the Tīmūrid took control of Khurāsān (863/1459), then, on two occasions, of Māzandarān which he gave in *suyūrghāl* to his son Maḥmūd. ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAbd al-Karīm (ᶜAbd Allāh I) succeeded his father (865/1461 to 872/1467-8). Under this ruler, an ineffectual man and a drunkard, the Rūzafzūn and the Bābulkānī carried on their vendettas. The Bābulkānī replaced ᶜAbd

Allāh I with his uncle Kamāl al-Dīn even more of a drunkard and more ineffectual than this nephew, who returned to power. ᶜAbd Allāh I had another uncle, Mīr Ḳawām al-Dīn, a simple and virtuous man who went to live in Āmul, then governed by Asad Allāh. As he gained influence, ᶜAlī Rūzafzūn made him return to Sārī. But disorder erupted in Māzandarān following the elimination of ᶜAlī Rūzafzūn by the Bābulkānī *sayyids*. ᶜAbd Allāh I eliminated his rivals. He had his cousin Murtaḍā castrated and put his uncle Kamāl al-Dīn in prison where he died. Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn avenged his father by killing ᶜAbd Allāh, whose son and heir, ᶜAbd al-Karīm was only four years old and lived in the *urdū* of Abū Saᶜīd. The majority of leading citizens pledged alliance to Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn, but the Pāzavārī *sayyids* took pains to overthrow him. The supporters of ᶜAbd Allāh attempted to enthrone his son ᶜAbd al-Karīm, whom they brought back from Ādharbāydjān, but when Asad Allāh refused them entry to Āmul, Ābd al-Karīm was taken by his mother to the court of Ḥasan Beg Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*]) with some *pishkashs*. Ḥasan Beg appointed one of his officers, Shiblī, who, with levies from Gīlān, Rustamdār and Māzandarān, established ᶜAbd al-Karīm at Sārī. But Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn retained allies, including Sayyid Haybat Allāh Bābulkānī, who betrayed ᶜAbd al-Karīm and joined him. Hiding in the forest, he defied Shiblī's confederation and recaptured Sārī, then helped Ibrāhīm to drive his uncle Asad Allāh from Āmul. But on the orders of Malik Djahāngīr b. Kāwūs Pādūspānī, he reinstated Asad Allāh at Āmul. In the interval before acceding to power, ᶜAbd al-Karīm lived at Gīlān under the protection of Kār Kiyā Muḥammad (end of 878/1474) and spent seven months at Ḳum as the guest of Ḥasan Beg. Sayyid Ḥasan, one of the sons of Asad Allāh, left Āmul and went to Sārī to serve Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn, who ordered the detention of Asad Allāh and his younger son Ḥusayn and installed Ḥasan at Āmul. Asad Allāh was imprisoned at Bārfurūsh-dih, but was freed by the inhabitants and, when reinstated at Āmul, urged ᶜAbd al-Karīm to join him in opposing Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn. But the latter attacked Asad Allāh at night, had him executed and regained temporary control of Sārī (880/1476). ᶜAbd al-Karīm went to Āmul and then, with numerous supporters, took Sārī and control of Māzandarān, but was expelled once more by Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn and was forced to take refuge for the third time at Lāhīdjān under the protection of Sayyid Muḥammad and then of his son ᶜAlī Kiyā, who sent him back to Māzandarān with a force commanded by Sayyid Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marᶜashī. Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn fled to Sawādkūh and sent his brother Shams al-Dīn to appeal to Yaᶜḳūb Beg Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, who sent an army to confront Mīrzā ᶜAlī at Gīlān and another army to Māzandarān. Ẓahīr al-Dīn installed ᶜAbd al-Karīm at Sārī, but the latter fled once more to Gīlān at the approach of the army of Yaᶜḳūb Beg. In the disorder which ensued, a fiscal officer of Yaᶜḳūb Beg was killed (888/1483) when he tried to establish himself as independent sovereign at Sārī (*TG*, 443-4; Woods, 147, n. 38). The continuing agitation led to an Aḳ Ḳoyunlu invasion of Māzandarān and to a threat posed to ᶜAlī Kiyā, required to pay a heavy indemnity, and to his protégé ᶜAbd al-Karīm, who was extradited to Tabriz. Even after his annexation of Māzandarān, control remained difficult for Yaᶜḳūb Beg (Woods, 147, n. 40).

On the death of Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn, his brother Shams al-Dīn succeeded him at Sārī (892/1486-7 to 905/1499-1500). Further bloody battles took place between ᶜAbd al-Karīm with the army of Gīlān (reinforced by Malik Bisutūn) and the army of Sārī. Temporally ousted, Shams al-Dīn regained Sārī through the good offices of his *sipahsālār*, Āḳā Rustam Rūzafzūn, who captured twelve *sardārs* of the army of Gīlān (*TKh*, 48 ff.). Faced by the unwillingness of Shams al-Dīn and Āḳā Rustam to return the prisoners, ᶜAlī Kiyā made his way towards Māzandarān (899/1493-4), and was joined by forces from Tunukābun, Rustamdār and Fīrūzkūh. These forces linked up at Tunukābun with an army from Astarābād sent by Badīᶜ al-Zamān Mīrzā. In spite of initial successes, the Gīlān confederacy was obliged to accept a compromise: Sārī and Āmul reverted to Shams al-Dīn and Bārfurūsh-dih to ᶜAbd al-Karīm (*TKh*, 65 ff.).

After the death of Shams al-Dīn, Āḳā Rustam enthroned the son of the former, Mīr Kamāl al-Dīn (905/1499-1500 to 908/1502-3). ᶜAbd al-Karīm made a further attempt, with the army of Gīlān, to regain Māzandarān. Defeated by Rustam Rūzafzūn, he went to Harāt, allied himself with the Tīmūrid Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, and returned several times with the army of Khurāsān. Finally, Rustam (initially governor of Sawādkūh) assigned to him half of the revenue of Āmul and then, having eliminated Kamāl al-Dīn, firmly controlled Māzandarān and maintained good relations with the neighbouring powers. He admired Shaybak Khān Uzbek and died, it is said, when Shāh Ismāᶜīl Ṣafawī sent him the latter's hand after killing him (*Ilčī*, 78-9, *AAA*, 38-9, tr. 62-3).

After the death of Rustam, ᶜAbd al-Karīm was obliged to negotiate with his sons (Suhrāb and Muḥammad) and with the Ṣafawid power in order to regain a precarious control over Māzandarān (916/1510-11 to 932/1525-6). Having squandered his patrimony, Suhrāb attempted an alliance with ᶜAbd al-Karīm who eliminated him. Compelled by the Ṣafawid power to share the government of Māzandarān with Muḥammad Rūzafzūn (who maintained amicable relations with the leading Ṣafawid dignitary Čūha Sulṭān Tekkelu), ᶜAbd al-Karim regained his throne by force and subsequently reigned with benevolence and equity. A learned man, in spite of his stammer, he was eloquent and conversed with the *ᶜulamā*ʾ. He was protected by Shāh Ismāᶜīl, whose commensal he was. But under Ṭahmāsp (1524-76), Čūha Sulṭān obtained the release of Muḥammad Rūzafzūn (imprisoned under Shāh Ismāᶜīl) and established him at Sārī. Ābd al-Karīm returned to Bārfurūsh-dih, where he died at about 24 years old after an unsuccessful attack on Muḥammad.

The *sayyids* and leading citizens were divided into two groups regarding the succession, some favouring the son and heir designate Amīr Shāhī (932/1525-6 to 938/1531), others his brother Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Placed in power by one faction, Maḥmūd was quickly deposed and sought refuge with Muḥammad Rūzafzūn who eliminated him (*Ilčī*, 86). Amīr Shāhī led a licentious life, and delegated official business to Amīr ᶜAlī Ḥusaynī who was soon eliminated by the partisans of Maḥmūd. Out of patience, the leading citizens turned towards Muḥammad Rūzafzūn. Others allied themselves with ᶜAbd Allāh b. Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Amīr Shāhī joined Ṭahmāsp's retinue in Khurāsān, and Muḥammad Rūzafzūn had him assassinated on his return to Māzandarān, at Āhūsar (near Fīrūzkuh) by Muẓaffar Beg Turkamān. Muḥammad also eliminated some of the Marᶜashī princes (Sulṭān Murād b. Mīr Shāhī, then in Gīlān, escaped the massacre), then dominated Māzandarān and maintained its security (939/1533-4 to 952/1545-

6; *Ilčī*, 86 ff.). He entrusted military affairs to Ḥasan-mat, a leading citizen of Sawādkūh, who appointed his brother Surhāb-mat to the *wikālat* of Āḳā Rustam, elder son of Muḥammad, and his other brother Gustahm to the governorate of Sawādkūh. In gradual stages, all districts of Māzandarān came under the control of his relations, but jealous parties impelled Muḥammad to depose Ḥasan-mat and his associates and disorder ensued. Shāh Ṭahmāsp sent an expedition (in 952/1545-6) to avenge the blood of Amīr Shāhī. But Muḥammad maintained a longstanding friendship with the *wakīl* Ḳāḍī Djahān, who was able to pacify the Shāh. Mīr ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulṭān Maḥmūd came to Rustamdār to avenge his father, and defeated the army commanded by Āḳā Rustam near Barfurūsh-dih. Almost a year after this defeat, Āḳā Rustam died (*Ilčī*, 89 ff.).

After killing Farāmarz b. Muḥammad—who was in the Ṣafawid *urdū*—at the time of his father-in-law's death, and expelling Suhrāb, nephew of Muḥammad (enthroned at Sārī for a brief period)—ʿAbd Allāh b. Māhmūd ruled over the whole of Māzandarān. Ignoring the demands of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to pay tax and to restore the funds of Muḥammad Rūzafzūn, he was deposed in favour of Sulṭān Murād b. Amīr Shāhī who, under Muḥammad Rūzafzūn, was part of the retinue of Shāh Ṭahmāsp at Ḳazwīn. Summoned to repay the funds of Muḥammad, ʿAbd Allāh was tortured by Murād and put to death in the course of a collective execution involving *sayyids* and other leading citizens of Māzandarān (969/1561-2). Shortly afterwards, Murād died, leaving the government (in part, see below) of Māzandarān to his son "Mīrzā Khān" Sulṭān Maḥmūd (*Ilčī*, 90-6). Two sons of ʿAbd Allāh and their sister took refuge at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The elder of the two, Ibrāhīm, died after consuming opium. Ṭahmāsp married the daughter of ʿAbd Allāh, Khayr al-Nisāʾ Begum (Mahd-i ʿUlyā), to his eldest son, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda (see below). Mīrzā Khān was obliged to share the government of Māzandarān with the elder son of Muḥammad Khudābanda, Ḥasan Mīrzā, accompanied by a *wakīl*, Mīrak Dīv, whom he caused to be assassinated at the instigation of Mīr ʿAzīz Khān, another son of ʿAbd Allāh (*AAA*, 210, 240, tr. 312-13, 358-9). After the death of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (984/1576), control of Māzandarān reverted in entirety to Mīrzā Khān, through the good offices of Shams al-Dīn Dīv, but in order to avenge the death of her father ʿAbd Allāh, Mahd-i ʿUlyā had Mīrzā Khān assassinated and replaced him with her uncle Mīr ʿAlī Khān b. Maḥmūd, who died soon afterwards (*AAA*, 210-11, 240-1; tr. 312-13, 358-9; on the campaigns of Mīr ʿAlī Khān against Mīrzā Khān and his "reign", see Mīr Taymūr, 201-2; on the successors of ʿAbd Allāh Khān, see also *Djahān-ārā*, 91-2; Shāyān, *Māzandarān*, 230-1).

In the chaos which ensued, Mahd-i ʿUlyā was assassinated in her turn. While *ḳizilbāsh* factionalism enfeebled Ṣafawid power, Māzandarān was the object of competition between various local potentates. After the death of Mīr ʿAlī Khān, his control was shared between Sayyid Muẓaffar Murtaḍāʾī (of Hazārdjarīb, d. 1005/1596-7) and Alvand Dīv, but the descendants of the various branches of the Marʿashī family continued to struggle for power. Notable among the latter were Mīr Ḥusayn Khān, cousin of Mīr ʿAlī Khān (Mīr Taymūr, 282-3) and especially Mīr Sulṭān Murād II b. Mīrza Khān (*ibid.*, 316-17). This unstable situation persisted until annexation to the Ṣafawid crown (see below). At Iṣfahān, distant descendants of Mīr-i Buzurg were influential at the centre of Ṣafawid power (below, 2).

Political, religious and cultural activity. In pre-Ṣafawid Iran, the Marʿashī movement represents an interesting case of political aspirations from which "Mahdism" is apparently absent. Unlike the militant messianism professed by the "Shīʿī republic" of the Sarbadārs of Sabzavār (1338-81), it remains, although Shīʿī, within the framework of Ṣūfism (Arjomand, 68-9, 83; on the Marʿashīs in the context of "popular" movements, see Petrushevsky, *Islām dar Īrān*, tr. K. Kishāvarz, Tehran 1354, 379-80). Few indications are available, however, as to the doctrine of the Marʿashīs between the 8th/14th and 10th/16th centuries, preoccupied as they were with the extension or defence of their power (very few theological or literary works have survived, see below). Their immunity as *sayyids* saved them from the extermination inflicted by Tīmūr on the Sarbadārs and other local potentates, but the charisma enjoyed by the founders—Mīr-i Buzurg and his sons—suffered from the erosion of power.

During the "second phase", after the death of Tīmūr, their descendants divided into rival groups competing for control of Sārī, Āmul, Bārfurūsh-dih and the frontier zones (in the east, Ḳaraṭughan; in the west, Rustamdār; in the south, the foothills of the mountains) which, with Gīlān, often provided refuges for claimants temporarily deprived of power. Control of Sārī, entailing that of Māzandarān, was the most hotly-contested. Essentially, it belonged to the descendants of Kamāl al-Dīn, while Āmul was controlled in the 8th/14th-9th/15th centuries by Riḍā al-Dīn and his descendants. But claimants from both branches remained in a state of constant rivalry.

Limited to the east by Tīmūrid control of Astarābād, the influence of the Marʿashīs was more easily extended on the side of their allies in Gīlān, especially at Lāhīdjān [*q.v.*], where they assisted Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā to establish himself as master of Biyā-pīsh and to extend his control as far as Ḳazwīn, Ṭārum and Shamīrān. The rivalries between claimants were complicated by the fact that some were supported by contemporary powers (Tīmūrids, Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and Ṣafawids), while others asserted to varying degrees a refusal of allegiance or independence. Increasingly threatened by local powers, they sought alliances and even, after the end of the 8th/14th century, marriages with influential families (Kiyā-i Djalāl, Kār Kiyā, Pāzavārī, Rustamdārī, etc.). Eclipsed in their domains by the Rūzafzūn of Sawādkūh in the early 10th/16th century, the Marʿashīs were in no position to compete with the increasing power of the Ṣafawids. It was another Shīʿī power, that of Amīr Ḥusayn Kiyā Čulāwī, which was obliged to tackle Shāh Ismāʿīl I (1501-24) in order to establish a precarious control over Māzandarān in 909/1504 (Savory, *Consolidation*, 73-4). It was to assert his hereditary rights as grandson of Mīr ʿAbd Allāh Khān Marʿashī (through his mother) that Shāh ʿAbbās took control of Māzandarān in 1005/1596; local non-Marʿashī chieftains (Sayyid Muẓaffar Murtaḍāʾī, Alvand Dīv and especially Malik Bahman Lārīdjānī) were obliged to defeat or subdue his general Farhād Khān Ḳaramanlu (*AAA*, 518 ff.; tr. 693 ff.).

Some important vestiges of the Marʿashī domination have survived in Māzandarān, a region subject to frequent earthquakes. The mausoleum (sometimes called mosque) of Ḳawām al-Dīn Mīr-i Buzūrg at Āmul, constructed in 781/1379-80, destroyed under Iskandar-i Shaykhī, rebuilt after the death of Tīmūr, decorated with *kāshīs* [*q.v.*] and embellished with gold under Shāh ʿAbbās I, was in a quite dilapidated state in the mid-19th century (Stuart, quoted by Rabino,

Māzandarān, 37; drawings from photographs in the Morgan (1307/1890) reproduced in Mahdjūrī, 24; Rabino, *Le Guilan*, Illustrations, 87). The Gunbad-i Naṣīr al-Ḥaḳḳ or Naṣīr al-Kabīr (i.e. of the *dāᶜī* Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī al-Utrush) was built (or restored?) at Āmul by Sayyid ᶜAlī b. Kamāl al-Dīn (*TTRM*, 328 ff.; Mahdjūrī, 36, 339). Among the monuments of Sārī, the *Imām-zāda* Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn shelters the tombs of Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn and Shams al-Dīn, son of Kamāl al-Dīn b. Muḥammad (Rabino, Māzandarān, 55; Mahdjūrī, 340; photograph in Rabino, *Le Guilan*, Illustrations, 89). On the monuments of Māzandarān and the tombs of the Marᶜashīs, see Sutūda, *Astārā*, iv, v (photographs and numerous indices).

2. Some descendants of the Marᶜashī Sayyids of Māzandarān. Although all related to Ālī al-Marᶜash/al-Marᶜashī or to Ḥasan al-Marᶜashī, the Marᶜashī *sayyids* are divided into various branches (in Māzandarān, at Ḳazwīn, Iṣfahān, Shūshtar, Mashhad, Nadjaf, etc.) in which the lines of kinship are sometimes hard to trace. The only ones to be mentioned here are the best-known, in the period subsequent to the foundation of the dynasty (on other Marᶜashīs, see below, 3).

In spite of their charisma and their acknowledged status as *sayyids*, very few of the Marᶜashīs of the dynasty gained renown as *ᶜulamā*ʾ or *udabā*ʾ. Besides Kamāl al-Dīn b. Mīr-i Buzurg, a prolific author and poet (*Rayḥānat*, iv, 12), two historians have left vivid accounts of their family. The best-known, Ẓahīr al-Dīn b. Naṣīr al-Dīn, spent the greater part of his life at Gīlān, where he had taken refuge with his father. Becoming one of the senior officers of the sovereigns of Biyā-pīsh (Lāhīdjān), he participated with the army of the Gīlānīs in numerous operations in Māzandarān (see above). Two important works of this author are available (*TTRM*, *TG*, in *Bibl.*). The date of his death must have been close to the last events described in *TG* (894/1488-9); on the author, his brothers and sons, his works, see *TTRM* (ed. Shāyān, *Muḳaddima*, where there is reproduction of an article by Kasravī and a translation of the Preface of Dorn's edition; ed. Tasbīḥī, with reproduction of an article by Kasravī; *TG*, *Muḳaddima*, by M. Sutūda). Little is known of the works of the second historian, Mīr Taymūr, identified by M. Sutūda as a son of ᶜAbd al-Karīm b. ᶜAbd Allāh. His only known work (see *Bibl.*, s.v. Mīr Taymūr) constitutes a kind of supplement to the *TTRM*, which comes to an end in 881/1476-7, and recounts the history of the family until 1075/1664-5.

Beginning at the start of the 9th/15th century, the migration of the Marᶜashī *sayyids* beyond the bounds of Māzandarān accelerated with their decline. Under the Ṣafawids, many of them settled at Shūshtar, Iṣfahān, Shīrāz, and then in India, at Nadjāf, etc. These migrations sometimes took the form of deportations. Among the descendants of representatives of the dynasty, Shāh Mīr b. Mīr Ḳawām al-Dīn, grandson of Mīr ᶜAlī Khān, deported to Iṣfahān, was followed by a group of Marᶜashī *sayyids* deported to Shīrāz in 1039/1629 (Mīr Taymūr, 377 ff.).

The Marᶜashī *sayyids* of Shūshtar were related to ᶜAlī Marᶜash/Marᶜashī and to the *sayyids* of Māzandarān. Mīr Nadjm al-Dīn b. Aḥmad, coming from Āmul on a pilgrimage to the *ᶜatabāt*, settled in Shūshtar where he was *naḳīb* at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. When Shāh Ismāᶜīl took the town (914/1508), he confirmed in office his fourth descendant, the *naḳīb* Mīr Nūr Allāh, who disseminated Imāmī Shīᶜism there. While the Marᶜashīs of Shūshtar tended to an increasing extent to migrate towards Shīrāz and India, the Imāmī Shīᶜī *ᶜālim* Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh b. Mīr Sharīf b. Mīr Nūr Allāh (965-1019/1549-1610), author of numerous works (including the *Madjālis* and *Iḥḳāḳ*, see *Bibl.*), held the office of *ḳāḍī* at Lāhawr, under Akbar. On the instigation of Sunnī *ᶜulamā*ʾ, he was executed at the orders of Djahāngīr. Imāmī Shīᶜīs conferred on him the title of Third Martyr. His son, ᶜAlāʾ al-Mulk Ḥusaynī Shūshtarī Marᶜashī, was the author of the *Firdaws*; his descendants ultimately settled at Nadjaf (*Firdaws*, 16 ff.; see also *Muḳaddima* and *Taᶜlīḳāt*; *Tadhkira-yi Shūshtar*, 33 ff.; *Rayḥānat*, ii, 436-9). Amīr Asad Allāh b. Mīr Zayn al-Dīn Marᶜashī Shūshtarī (d. 963/1555-6) was appointed *ṣadr* under Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 943/1536-7. His son, Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī, shared the *ṣidāra* with Muḥammad Yūsuf Astarābādī, and later performed the *tawliya* of the sanctuary of Imām Riḍā at Mashhad (*AAA*, 144, 316, tr., 251, 450; *AT*, 362, 510-11; *KhT*, 435. 797; *Firdaws*, 21-2 and *Taᶜlīḳāt*, 195 ff.). Another descendant, Amīr Zayn al-Dīn, received the *ṣidāra* of Shīrwān, of Khurāsān and of Ādharbāydjān in 970/1562-3 (*AT*, 538).

At Iṣfahān, descendants of Mīr-i Buzurg formed the influential family of the Khulafāʾ Sayyids, of which the most eminent representative was the *ᶜālim* Khalīfa Sulṭān Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī, son-in-law of Shāh Abbās I, appointed *wazīr-i-dīwān-i aᶜlā* (1033/1624), while his father Mīrzā Rafīᶜ al-Dīn held the post of *ṣadr*. Under Shāh Ṣafī (1629-42), he was exiled to Ḳūm, and his four sons were blinded (as were some Ṣafawid princes). He returned to the *wizāra* under Shāh ᶜAbbās II (1642-66) and died at Ashraf in 1064/1653-4 (*AAA*, 1013, tr. 1234 sq.; Mahdjūrī, 15; Shāyān, *Māzandarān*, 233).

Other Marᶜashis enjoyed the favour of Ṣafawid sovereigns. Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Mīr ᶜAlāʾ al-Mulk Marᶜash, *ḳāḍī-i ᶜaskar*, was appointed *ṣadr* of Gīlān (*AAA*, 155, tr. 234). The *ᶜālim* Sayyid Asad Allāh Ḥusaynī Marᶜashī "Shah Mīr" (d. 984/1576-7)—who also exercised the *ṣidāra*—was appointed *mutawallī* of the sanctuary of Imām Riḍā at Mashhad (*Rayḥānat*, iv, 10-11). Other Marᶜashīs continued to exercise this important function at the shrine-town of Mashhad [*q.v.*]. Their descendants were even able to claim double Ṣafawid and Marᶜashī lineage on account of Mīrza Sayyid Muḥammad Mutawallī (1126-76/1714-63), crowned under the name of Shāh Sulaymān II at Mashhad in January 1740 (on this "forty days' king" and his genealogy, see Gulistāna, *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, ed. Mudarris Raḍawī, Tehran 2536/1977, 396 ff. and index; *Madjmaᶜ al-tawārīkh*, 90 ff.). His grandson, Mīrzā Muḥammad Khalīl Marᶜashī Ṣafawī (who died in Bengal *ca.* 1220/1805-6) was the author of the *Madjmaᶜ al-tawārīkh* (ed. ᶜA. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1328 A.S.H.; see *Muḳaddima*; *Rayḥānat*, iv, 12-13).

Many other Marᶜashīs have played important roles in the religious or political domain since the time of the Ṣafawids (Marᶜashī-Nadjafī, in *TTRM*, ed. Tasbīḥī, *Muḳaddima*, 41-2; Fischer, 94-5). The *ᶜālim* Sayyid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī Musawī Marᶜashī was a close associate of Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh Ḳādjār (*Rayḥānat*, iv, 10). Scion of an *ᶜulamā*ʾ lineage, Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shahristānī Ḥāʾirī b. Mīr Muḥammad ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Marᶜashī (*mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd* at Karbalā) was the author of numerous works, as was his son Ḥādjdj Shaykh Mīrzā 'Alī Shahristānī, who settled at Ḳum (*ibid.*, 362-3). Currently, the most eminent *ᶜālim* of the family is the *āyatallāh* Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd Ḥusaynī Marᶜashī Nadjafī (born at Nadjaf in 1315/1897). Having arrived at Ḳūm in 1924, he is best known as *mutawallī* of numerous *madrasas*, of which one, endowed with a wealthy library, bears his name (brief biography in *Rayḥānat*, iv, 11-12; Fischer, index; Momen, 317). Although

TABLE A
THE LINE OF MĪR ḲAWĀM AL-DĪN MARᶜASHĪ "MĪR-I BUZURG"

Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marᶜas̲h̲ī(1)	After: The Ṣafawid sources(3)	ᶜAbbās Shāyān(5)
Imām ᶜAlī Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn	Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn	Zayn al-Ābidīn
Ḥusayn al-Aṣg̲h̲ar	Ḥusayn al-Asg̲h̲ar	al-Ḥasan Abū Muḥammad
Ḥasan al-Marᶜas̲h̲ī	Ḥasan	Muḥammad Abu 'l-Karām
Muḥammad	Muḥammad al-Akbar	ᶜAbd Allāh Abū Muḥammad
Ābd Allāh	ᶜAbd Allāh	ᶜAlī al-Marᶜas̲h̲ī Abu 'l-Ḥasan
ᶜAlī	Ālī al-Marᶜas̲h̲(4)	al-Ḥusayn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh
Ḥusayn	Ḥasan	ᶜAlī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn
ᶜAbd Allāh	ᶜAlī	Abū Hās̲h̲im
Ṣādiḳ	Abū Hās̲h̲im	Muḥammad Abū ᶜAbd Allāh
Muḥammad(2)	Muḥammad	ᶜAbd Allāh Abū Ṣādiḳ
ᶜAbd Allāh	Abd Allāh	al-Ṣādiḳ
Ḳawām al-Dīn	Ṣādiḳ	Ḳawām al-Dīn
	Ḳawām al-Dīn	

Notes to Table A
(1) *TTRM*, ed. Tasbīhī, 166.
(2) Muḥammad absent from *TTRM*, ed. S̲h̲āyān, 236.
(3) *D̲j̲ahān-ārā*, 88; Yazdī, fol. 2a; S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tārī, *Mad̲j̲ālis*, ii, 380.
(4) The *laḳab* al-Marᶜas̲h̲ (a kind of pigeon) is said to have been given in the first place to ᶜAlī Marᶜas̲h̲, the eponym of the Marᶜas̲h̲i *Sayyids* (*Rayḥāna*, iv, 10). In Yazdī, ᶜAlī al-Marᶜas̲h̲ and his son Ḥasan are made into a single "al-Marᶜas̲h̲".
(5) *TTRM*, *Muḳaddima* (approved by the Āyatallāh Marᶜas̲h̲ī-Nad̲j̲afī, *TTRM*, ed. Tasbiḥī, *Muḳaddima*, 39-40, with typographical errors).

more and more involved in the world of politics and public affairs, the Marᶜas̲h̲īs of Iran regard themselves predominantly as religious "specialists" (*rūḥāniyyūn*), with the religious line contracting matrimonial alliances among the élite of the *ᶜulamāʾ*. Alongside the major branch constituted by the family of the *āyatallāh* Marᶜas̲h̲i-Nad̲j̲afī—one of the seven leading *mard̲j̲aᶜ-i taḳlīds* in 1975 (a position still held in 1985: Momen, 249)—there exists a junior branch of Marᶜas̲h̲ī *mard̲j̲aᶜ-i taḳlīds* at S̲h̲īrāz (see Fischer, tables, 90, 92, 94).

Like other Imāmī *ᶜulamāʾ*, the Marᶜas̲h̲ī *sayyids* have established themselves in various parts of the Muslim world (Iran, ᶜIrāḳ, Syria, Turkey and Egypt) and in countries of the Indian Ocean fringes (East Africa (Zanzibar) and Java (*Rayḥānat*, iv, 12)). Sayyid ᶜAbd al-Ḥusayn Marᶜas̲h̲ī S̲h̲us̲h̲tarī was sent to Zanzibar in 1885 as *mullā* to guide the newly-established Imāmī community there (Momen, 317).

3. Other Marᶜas̲h̲īs. In the genealogies of descendants of ᶜAlī Marᶜas̲h̲/Marᶜas̲h̲ī (or Ḥasan Marᶜas̲h̲ī), mention is found of titles or functions such as *muḥaddit̲h̲*, *faḳīh*, *naḳīb al-as̲h̲rāf*, *wazīr*, etc., which indicate that previous to Mīr-i Buzurg, some of them must have held office or wielded a certain influence in ᶜIrāḳ and later in Iran, in the capacity of *ᶜulamāʾ* or *naḳībs* of the *sayyids*, or in administration. Among the other *sayyid* or non-*sayyid* Marᶜas̲h̲īs, whose lines of kinship with the various branches of the Marᶜas̲h̲īs are uncertain, the following are worthy of mention: Sayyid Ḥasan b. Ḥamza b. Alī Marᶜas̲h̲, Abū Muḥammad Ṭabarī Marᶜas̲h̲ī, *ᶜālim* of Ṭabaristan who went to Bag̲h̲dād in 356/966-7 and died there two years late (*Rayḥānat*, iv, 11); Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Marᶜas̲h̲ī, Abū Manṣūr (d. 421/1030), historian and close associate of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azni (*ibid.*); Sayyid Aḥmad b. ᶜAlawī Marᶜas̲h̲ī (d. 539/1144-5) extremist S̲h̲īᶜī *ᶜālim* (*g̲h̲uluwwī*) who travelled widely before settling at Sārī where he died (*ibid.*, 10); and S̲h̲ibāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr b. Ṣāliḥ b. ᶜUmar Marᶜas̲h̲ī, Abū al-ᶜAbbās, Ḥanafī *faḳīh* (d. 872/1467-8) (see Dihk̲h̲udā, *Lug̲h̲at-nāma*, s.v. Marᶜas̲h̲ī).

Bibliography and abbreviations: *AAA* = Iskandar Beg Muns̲h̲ī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi ᶜabbāsī*, ed. Īrad̲j̲ Afs̲h̲ār, Tehran 1334-5/1956-7, tr. R. Savory, *History of Shah ᶜAbbas the Great*, Boulder, Col. 1978 (notes unpubl. variants); Āmulī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Rūyān*, ed. M. Sutūda, Tehran 1348 s̲h̲.; *AT* = Ḥasan Beg Rumlu, *Aḥsan al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. ᶜA. Nawāʾī, Tehran 1357 s̲h̲.; S. A. Arjomand, *The shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago 1984; *D̲j̲ahān-ārā* = Ḳāḍī Aḥmad G̲h̲affārī, *Nusak̲h̲-i D̲j̲ahān-ārā*, ed. H. Narāḳī (*Tārīk̲h̲-i D̲j̲ahan-ārā*), Tehran 1343 *sh.*; *Firdaws* = ᶜAlāʾ al-Mulk S̲h̲us̲h̲tarī, *Firdaws dar tārīk̲h̲-i S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tar wa bark̲h̲ī az mas̲h̲āhir-i ān*, ed. Muḥaddit̲h̲ Urmawī, Tehran 1352 s̲h̲.; M. J. Fischer, *Iran. From religious dispute to revolution*, Cambridge, Mass. and London 1980; "The Qum Report" (Fischer 1976) which contains unpubl. biographical information; Mullā S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ᶜAlī Gīlānī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Māzandarān*, ed. M. Sutūda, Tehran 1352 s̲h̲.; ḤS = K̲h̲ʷāndmīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, 4 vols., Tehran 1333 s̲h̲.; *Iḥḳāḳ* = Nūr Allāh S̲h̲us̲h̲tarī, *Iḥḳāḳ al-ḥakk*, Tehran 1376/1956; *Ilčī* = K̲h̲ūrs̲h̲āh b. Ḳubād Ḥusaynī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Ilčī-i Niẓāms̲h̲ah*, cited after ed. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii, Paris 1885, 56/104; *KhT* = Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳumī, *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. Is̲h̲rāḳī, Tehran, i, (1359 s̲h̲.), ii (1363 s̲h̲.); *Mad̲j̲ālis* = Nūr Allāh S̲h̲us̲h̲tarī, *Mad̲j̲ālis al-Muʾminīn*, 2 vols., ed. Islāmiyya, i, Tehran 1375 A.H., ii, 1354 pp.; Ismāᶜīl Mahd̲j̲urī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Māzandarān*, ii, Sārī 1345 s̲h̲.; Mīr Taymūr Marᶜas̲h̲ī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i k̲h̲āndān-i Marᶜas̲h̲ī-i Māzandarān*, ed. M. Sutūda, Tehran 2536/1977; Moojan Momen, *An introduction to Shi'i Islam. This history and doctrine of Twelver Shi'ism*, New Haven-London 1985; *MS* = ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaᶜ al-saᶜdayn wa-mad̲j̲maᶜ al-baḥrayn*, 2 vols., ed. Lāhawr 1941-9, ed. Tehran 1353 s̲h̲.; Sayyid Ḥusayn Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾ ī, *Bargī az tārīk̲h̲-i Ḳazwīn*, Ḳum 1361 *p.* (contains material on the Marᶜas̲h̲ī *sādat* acting as *mutawallīs* and *muḥtasib* in Ḳazwīn); H. L. Rabino, *Les provinces caspiennes de la*

Perse, Le Guilan, in *RMM*, xxxii (1916-17), *Illustrations*; idem, *Les dynasties alaouites du Māzandarān*, in *JA* (1927), 253-77; idem, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, GMS, n.s., VII, London 1928; idem, *Les dynasties du Māzandarān*, in *JA* (1936), 397-474; idem. *L'Histoire du Mazandarān*, in *JA* (1943-5), 211-45; *Rayḥānat* = Muḥammad ʿAli Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, 5 vols. (see also Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 13 vols., Hyderabad 1963-81; M. Tihrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-shīʿa*, 2 vols., Nadjaf 1954, 5 vols., Beirut 1971-5; R. Savory, *The consolidation of Safawid power in Persia*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 71-94; *RṢ* = Mīrkh-wānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, 7 vols., Tehran 1338-9 sh.; ʿAbbās Shāyān, *Māzandarān*. *Djughrāfiyī-i tārīkhī wa iḳtiṣādī*, I, Tehran 1336 sh.; M. Sutūda, *Az Astārā tā Astarābād*, 7 vols., Tehran 1349-56 sh.; idem, *Darvīshān-i Māzandarān*, in *Tārīkh*, ii (2536/1977), 7-29; Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafawī, *Tadhkira*, ed. P. Horn, in *ZDMG*, xliv (1890), 563-649; Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, *Tadhkira-yi Shūshtar*, Calcutta 1343/-1924; TGD = Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Tārīkh-i Gīlān wa Daylamistān*, ed. Sutūda, Tehran 1347 sh.; *Tkh* = Lāhīdjī, *Tārīkh Khānī*, ed. Sutūda, Tehran 1352 sh.; *TTRM* = Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān wa Rūyān wa Māzandarān*, ed. B. Dorn, St. Petersburg 1850, ed. ʿA. Shāyān, Tehran 1333 sh.; ed. M. Tasbīḥī, Tehran 1345 sh.; (cited in ed. Shāyān); J. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, Minneapolis-Chicago 1976; Yazdī = Djalāl al-Dīn Munadjdjim Yazdī, *Rūz-nāma*, ms. B.L. Or. 6263; Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. M. ʿAbbāsī, 2 vols, Tehran 1336 sh.

(J. Calmard)

MARĀSIM (a), official court ceremonies, both processional and non-processional. The whole range of ceremonial, including protocol and etiquette, is called also *rusūm*; other terms found frequently are *mawsim* [*q.v.*] and *mawkib*. *Mawākib* [*q.v.*] refer specifically to solemn processions, but seem also to have had the more general meaning of audiences (for the ʿAbbāsids, see references in D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside de 749 à 946*, Damascus 1960, ii, 684, n. 3; for the Fāṭimids, see e.g. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 494: *djulūs* [*al-khalīfa*] *fi 'l-mawākib*; *ayyām al-mawākib*).

1. Under the caliphate and the Fāṭimids.

The caliph presided over court ceremonies seated on a throne (*kursī*, *sarīr*), a custom dating back to the Umayyads, surrounded by the insignia of sovereignty (*shiʿār al-khilāfa*), and veiled by a curtain (*sitr*). The insignia, according to al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 269-72, are: the seal (*khātam* [*q.v.*], the mantle of the Prophet (*burda* [*q.v.*], the staff (*ḳaḍīb* [*q.v.*]), the caliphal garments (*thawb* [see khilʿa and libās]), and [the dynastic] colour displayed in banners and robes of honour [see ʿalam and khilʿa]. Most of these insignia can be traced back to the Prophet himself. To these, the prerogatives of the *khuṭba* and *sikka* [*q.vv.*] can be added. For further discussion of insignia of sovereignty, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, New York 1957, ii, 48 ff.

Clear distinctions were made between ceremonial costume and ordinary wear. When summoned to the palace by al-Muḳtadir shortly before his arrest in 306/918, the vizier Ibn al-Furāt enquired, *bi-thiyāb al-mawkib am bi-durrāʿa?* ("in ceremonial dress or the *durrāʿa* [everyday costume of the scribal class]?", al-Ṣābī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, 264).

The ʿAbbāsid caliph wore a black *ḳabāʾ* and black *ruṣāfiyya* (a *ḳalansuwa*-type turban), and red boots. He girded himself with the sword of the Prophet. To his left, another sword was kept, and in front of him, the Ḳurʾān of ʿUthmān. He wore the *burda* and held the *ḳaḍīb* (al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. Mikhaʾīl ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1383/1964, 90-8, tr. Elie A. Salem, *The rules and regulations of the ʿAbbasid court*, Beirut 1977). Dignitaries, *arbāb al-marātib*, wore black *ḳabāʾ*s and black robes of honour (*khilaʿ*) were conferred on army commanders and honoured notables (al-Ṣābī, *op. cit.*, 90-4).

For the Fāṭimids, the sources on caliphal costume are more plentiful. The *dār al-kiswa* (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 409-13) provided magnificent costumes to the caliph and his entourage for each ceremony, as well as the *khilʿas* bestowed on innumerable occasions. The Fāṭimid colour was white, and the caliph's garments were often made of white *dabīḳī*, a fine silk stuff [see dabīḳ]. The most common term for Fāṭimid court apparel is *badla*, an outfit consisting of eleven pieces (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 413: *badla mawkibiyya*). The caliphs adopted the white *ṭaylasān* of lawyers and judges during Ramaḍān and the two festivals (*ibid.*, i, 413; ii. 227. 280).

The prerogative of wearing the dynastic colours was reserved to the caliphs, their families, their retinue and the highest officials of the bureaucracy and court. Red was also a royal colour. We read of a Fāṭimid vizier upon whom the caliph bestowed his own red garment (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, iv, 99), as well as a warning against wearing red in the caliph's residence "[because it] is the colour of the caliph's dress as well as those who rebel against him" (al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 75).

The most frequent of all ceremonies were caliphal audiences (*madjlis*; *djulūs*, used in the general sense as well as for accession) which took place in the palace (for discussion, see Sourdel, *Questions de cérémonial ʿabbāside*, in *REI* [1960], 121-48, and M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin: essai de comparaison*, in *Byzantion* [1951], 408 ff.). Al-Ḳalḳashandī lists three categories of audiences for the Fāṭimids: *al-madjlis al-ʿāmm ayyām al-mawākib* (general audiences), the *djulūs* held expressly for the *ḳāḍī* and *shuhūd* on the four *layālī al-wuḳūd* ("nights of lights"), and the *djulūs* on the *mawlid al-nabī* [see mawlid] and several other *mawlids*.

Even these audiences had some processional elements, manifested primarily in the formal arrival of the vizier at the palace riding his mount. After the audience hall had been prepared by covering the walls and the *sarīr* in fine fabrics (*dībādj* in the winter, *dabīḳī* in the summer), the *ṣāḥib al-risāla* summoned the vizier and rode with him, in customary haste, to the palace (*ʿalā al-rasm al-muʿtād fī surʿat al-ḥaraka*). The vizier wore ceremonial costume and rode with his entourage in the same order as that of the procession of the New Year (*fa-yarkabu fī ubbahatihi wa-djamāʿatihi ʿalā 'l-tartīb al-muḳaddam dhikruhu fī dhikr al-rukūb awwal al-ʿām*); cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 448-9 ff., for details of the vizier's arrival at the palace on the New Year.

The prerogative of mounts, even in a non-processional setting, was an important symbol of authority. Caliphs maintained large stables [see iṣṭabl], and horses were often distributed as gifts to particularly honoured officials. Even within the palace walls, caliphs were expected to ride from one point to another. Similarly, gates and doors were symbols of sovereignty and authority and were the sites of important ceremonial activity. The caliph and vizier usually mounted and dismounted at a gate or door (see e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 389-90), and officials sometimes dismounted at a gate of the palace and kissed it even when the caliph was not present (idem, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, Cairo 1967, ii, 71-2).

Under both the ʿAbbāsids and the Fāṭimids, the

vizier enjoyed the privilege of entering the palace walls while riding his mount, a prerogative normally reserved to the caliph himself (idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 387) Even the high-ranking *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*, accorded so many other ceremonial privileges (see below), dismounted at the avenue running between the two Fāṭimid palaces (*bayn al-ḳaṣrayn*, see *ibid.*, i, 433). The Fāṭimid vizier dismounted at the first *dihlīz* (vestibule of columns) of the palace, which is referred to in texts as his *makān* (*ibid.*, i, 386, 389). Upon his investiture with the *laḳab* [*q.v.*] of *Tādj al-milla* in 367/977, the Būyid *amīr* ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] requested permission to enter the courtyard of the palace (*ṣaḥn al-salām*) mounted on his horse, as a special mark of distinction by which his honoured position would be known. The caliph granted the audacious request, but took the precaution of having a barrier of baked brick and clay built across the door to the courtyard, forcing the vizier to dismount before entering (al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 80).

Caliphal ceremonies in the palace required keen attention to rank and dignity. In this sense, the position of each person in attendance with respect to the caliph can yield important information about social and political order. The responsibility for ordering the participants according to rank, presenting them to the caliph, and observing protocol in general, rested with the chief chamberlain (*ḥādjib* [*q.v.*]). He controlled access to the caliph and shielded him from those unworthy of his attention. He also supervised the retinue of the caliph and a corps of assistant chamberlains.

In addition to the *ḥādjib*, several other functionaries supervised the preparations and conduct of caliphal audiences. The ʿAbbāsids, for whom such information is sparse, employed a *ṣāḥib al-sitr* (master of the curtain, known already in the Umayyad period) and *ṣāḥib al-marātib* (master of the ranks). For the Fāṭimids, we are somewhat better informed. The *ṣāḥib al-bāb* (master of the door) was recruited from the *arbāb al-suyūf* (men of the sword) and fulfilled many of the functions of the chamberlain. He, along with the *isfahsālār* of the army [see ISPAHSĀLĀR], had duties in processional ceremonies as well.

The caliph's private service was provided by an élite corps of eunuchs (*al-ustādhūn al-muḥannakūn*) [see FĀṬIMIDS], who performed a wide range of ceremonial duties. From this corps were drawn the *shādd al-tādj* (the official charged with winding the caliph's turban in the prescribed manner), and the *ṣāḥib* (or *mutawallī*) *al-madjlis* (master of the audience hall), who placed people in their assigned places and informed the vizier when the caliph was seated on his *sarīr*, also called *ṣāḥib al-sitr*, master of the curtain. The *ṣāḥib al-risāla* (messenger), *ṣāḥib* (or *mutawallī*) *bayt al-māl*, the *ḥāmil al-dawāt* (bearer of the inkwell) and *ṣāḥib al-māʾida* (master of the table) performed ceremonial duties (for enumeration of these functions, see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 386, 411; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 484-5; and explanations in Canard, *Cérémonial fāṭimite*, 365 ff.).

The protocol for both ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid audiences was much the same. The caliph was concealed behind a *sitr* until all those in attendance were in their assigned places, according to their rank (*ʿalā ṭabaḳātihim*, *ʿalā marātibihim*). The *sitr* was then raised to reveal the caliph, who was saluted first by the vizier and then in descending order of rank by the highest officials of the state. The salute (*al-adab fi 'l-salām*, *adab al-khidma*) consisted in greeting the caliph with the formula *al-salām ʿalā* [or: *ʿalayka*] *amīr al-muʾminīn wa-raḥmat Allāh wa-barakātuh*. Under the Fāṭimids, however, this formula seems to have been reserved exclusively for the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 386, and *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 496). The second element, *taḳbīl al-arḍ*, kissing the ground, was acknowledged to be a late introduction. Previously, high-ranking officials (viziers and *amīrs*) used the verbal salute only. As an honour to a favoured official, the caliph might offer his hand, covered by his sleeve, to be kissed. The custom of kissing the ground seems to have been thoroughly engrained and observed, regardless of rank, by the ʿAbbāsid period. Variations included kissing the caliph's hand and foot, kissing his stirrup, and kissing the *martaba* in front of his *sarīr*.

Those attending a caliphal audience were exhorted to stand straight and still, not to fidget, to maintain absolute silence unless spoken to by the caliph, and then to answer in a low and clear voice. They were to fix their attention upon the caliph to refrain from laughing even if there was cause for it, and to avoid slander, calumny, and criticism at all costs. The caliph's mistakes were not to be corrected, nor was his name or that of his wives to be used. One approached the caliph only if summoned and in that case, advanced a few steps at a time, stopped with bowed head, and waited for the caliph's command to proceed. Even the vizier, who was permitted to approach the caliph to speak about matters of state with him, was advised to retreat to a distance of five cubits upon completion of his business.

The *djulūs* for the four *layālī al-wuḳūd* (at the beginning and middle of Radjab and Shaʿbān) took place in the belvedere (*manẓara*) overlooking the Bāb al-Zumurrud. The high point of the ceremony occurred when the caliph opened one of the windows of the *manẓara* and revealed his head and face. On of his *muḥannak* eunuchs put his head and right hand, covered by his sleeve, out of another window and proclaimed: "The Commander of the Faithful returns your greeting." The *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* and the *ṣāḥib al-bāb* were then greeted personally.

The Fāṭimids celebrated six (according to some sources four) different *mawlids*: those of the Prophet, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, and the present *imām* (*mawlid al-khalīfa* [or *al-imām*] *al-ḥāḍir*). The *mawlids* took place under the *manẓara* surmounting the *Bāb al-dhahab*, and included much of the same ceremony as the *layālī al-wuḳūd*, with the addition of distribution of *ṣadaḳāt* and an impressive quantity of food prepared in the *Dār al-fiṭra*. The powerful vizier al-Afḍal b. Amīr al-Djuyūsh annulled the observance of these *mawlids* at the height of his power, but the caliph al-Āmir, encouraged by his *muḥannak* eunuchs, restored them when he regained power.

Both the Fāṭimids and the ʿAbbāsids prepared elaborate receptions of ambassadors, in particular of the Byzantine embassies. Ambassadors rode to the palace and dismounted at its gate, then entered the audience hall through a column of soldiers. The *ṣāḥib al-bāb* and his *nāʾib* flanked the caliph, who was seated on his *sarīr*, surrounded by his vizier and high-ranking members of his retinue. Al-Maḳrīzī describes two such embassies in *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 403, 461, and al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, describes in detail the reception of the Byzantine ambassador Ward, 14-17. See also S.M. Stern, *An embassy of the Byzantine emperor to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz*, in *Byzantion*, xx (1950), 425 ff.

The caliphs (at least theoretically) held an audience every evening for redress of grievances (*al-djulūs li 'l-maẓālim*). The Fāṭimids conducted these *djulūs* in the *saḳīfa* of the palace.

Investitures of high officials with robes of honour

(*khilʿas*) and titles (*alḳāb* [see LAḲAB]) abound in the historical literature. These investitures generally occurred in the context of an audience, and the same protocol was observed.

Banquets (*simāṭ*, pl. *asmiṭa*) were some of the most elaborate and impressive ceremonial occasions. They occurred during Ramaḍān and on the two *ʿīds* (*ʿīd al-fiṭr* and *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* or *al-naḥr*), at the New Year, and at the *mawlid al-nabī*. The *simāṭ* of the Fāṭimids extended across the entire length of the audience hall, and was filled with all manner of delicacies, including sugar figurines and castles made entirely of confectionery. During Ramaḍān, the *amīrs* would rotate in attending the banquet every night, although their presence was not required. They were, as usual, seated according to their ranks. A significant feature of all banquets was the permissibility of taking food out of the palace and distributing (and even selling) it among one's family and friends. Descriptions of these banquets are found in Ibn Taghbirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, iv, 97-8; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 387-8. For further information about ceremonies on Ramaḍān and the two *ʿīds*, see MAWĀKIB.

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2. In Muslim Spain.

In al-Andalus, as elsewhere, *rusūm* is used, in the same manner as *marāsim*, to denote court etiquette and procedure. On this subject, no treatise is available comparable to the *De Caeremoniis* composed by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, or to the *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa* of Hilāl al-Ṣābī; there is no alternative therefore other than to attempt to reconstruct Hispano-Arab court etiquette by means of the meagre information preserved by the chronicles and to have recourse to descriptions of official acts (*bayʿa*, [*q.v.*]), signings of agreements, receptions, processions (*mawākib* [*q.v.*]).

When, in 138/756, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil [*q.v.*] transformed al-Andalus into an independent amīrate, he was the initiator of the (embryonic) Cordovan etiquette. It is in this sense that the dispositions of his entourage are best understood. According to al-Maḳḳarī (*Nafḥ*, ii, 25), "he was obliged to maintain a certain distance and not to mingle to an excessive degree with the people, nor to show himself in public". But it was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*] who (influenced by Ziryāb [*q.v.*]?) instituted Andalusian etiquette. According to al-Maḳḳarī (*Nafḥ*, i, 223), "he was the first to isolate himself, behind a tapestry, from the public". Ibn Ḥayyān (*Muḳtabas*, ii, 91) is still more explicit: "It was he who organised the hierarchy of the court (*rattaba rusūm al-dawlalal-khidma*)". This information is confirmed by Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, ii, 91) and Ibn Saʿīd (*Mughrib*, i, 45); the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (117) makes of him "the first to clothe himself in the pomp of the caliphs". The separation of the functions of the *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] and of the *sūḳ* [*q.v.*] which all authors attribute to him are to be seen in the same sense.

At the time of his *bayʿa*, in 206/822, his brothers, his uncles, his kinsmen, his "men" (the senior functionaries of the court), the judges and the *fuḳahāʾ*, military officers of every rank, the dignitaries and the people, pledged allegiance to him (*Dhikr*, 117). This order reflects a hierarchy, since the text clearly distinguishes six "groups" or "categories". The same regulation recurs (with minor variations) throughout the whole of the caliphate. It is observed in the allegiance pledged, in 300/912, to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] (*Chron. anón.*, 29-30) and in the list of witnesses who applied their signatures to the act of surrender of Saragossa in 326/937 (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, v, 277-9). The same hierarchy appears in the description of the feasts of the Breaking of the Fast in the years 360-4 and in that of the Sacrifices in the years 360-4, preserved by the *Muḳtabas* of Ibn Ḥayyān. Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 117) speaks of pomp and ostentation, of a rigid etiquette: "The reverential fear (*hayba*) which is inspired by the august person of the caliph and the magnificence (*fakhr*) which presides over all the manifestations of his official life encompass him in the manner of a halo".

It does not seem that al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] introduced any changes into the organisation of the caliphate. He was obliged to co-exist with the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*], judging by the comments of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], when he examines, in his *Memoirs*, the various groups capable of supporting him.

Nothing is known of the norms of Almoravid etiquette. In the Almohad period, there is no demonstrative proof of the effective application of the complex and discordant order described by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya* and the *K. al-Ansāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb* (13 categories according to the former, 18 according to the *K. al-Ansāb*; cf. the observations of J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, London 1958). The actual gradation was that relfected by Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt (*al-Mann bi 'l-imāma*, 232, 420, 437, 445, 457, 511), similar to the Hispano-Umayyad pattern.

In 558/1163, at the time of his proclamation, Abū Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was recognised by the *shaykh* Abū Ḥafṣ, the Almohads and the *ashyākh* of the tribes. In the course of the formal audience at Marrākush in 1170, the hierarchical order was: Almohad *ashyākh*, *ṭalaba* [*q.v.*] *ashyākh* and viziers. In 1171, at the time of his entry into Rabat-Salé, he was followed by the Almohad *ashyākh*, the vizier, the *kuttāb*, the *ṭalaba* and the Bedouin. During the Feast of Sacrifices, at Cordova, the "great Almohad *ashyākh*, the *abnāʾ al-djamāʿa* [*q.v.*], and their followers, the *ṭalaba* of the capital, the *fuḳāhāʾ*, the judges, the *kuttāb*, the governors, delegations and notables of the town, were introduced according to their rank." At the time of the Feast of Sacrifices of 568/1172, at Murcia, a development is observed: "First to present themselves were his brothers, followed by the Almohad *ashyakh* and the great men of the state". A further development is attested by ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (*al-Muʿdjib*, 239); in 610/1213, the proclamation of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf "took place first—on the Thursday—in private, attended by his close relatives; on the Friday, he was recognised by the Almohad *ashyākh*; and on the Saturday, by the people".

The hierarchy of the Naṣrids [*q.v.*] was probably close to the Hispano-Umayyad tradition. This is merely a hypothesis, for although Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Lamḥa*, 38) makes of the second sultan, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (672-701/1273-1302), "the initiator of the State, the organiser of its administration and its hierarchy... the creator of the royal protocol (*mumahhid al-dawla waḍaʿa alḳāb khidmatihā wa-ḳaddara marātibihā... wa-aḳāma rusūm al-mulk*)" this tells us nothing of its components.

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(P. CHALMETA)

3. In Iran.

Persian society in most, if not all, periods was intensely formal: the demeanour, manners, dress and mode of speech of each class was minutely regulated by custom. The court set the pattern. Respect for age and position was ubiquitous. An extensive *adab* [*q.v.*] literature, which sought to regulate all aspects of social life and behaviour, grew up (cf. al-Ghazālī, *al-Adab fi 'l-dīn*; Kāwūs b. Iskandar, *Ḳābūs-nāma*; and see J.S. Badeau, *They lived once thus in Baghdad*, in Sami A. Hanna (ed.), *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, Leiden 1972, 38-49).

Persian ceremonial was designed to emphasise both the awe in which the ruler was held and his separation from the rest of the population. Its influence was felt already in Umayyad times and became marked under the ʿAbbāsids. Much of the ceremonial of later times can be traced back to the early centuries. There was a long continuity of tradition in respect of the insignia of sovereignty. The parasol or *čatr* [see MIẒALLA] held over the ruler's head was an ancient custom going back at least to Achaemenid times, while the *liwāʾ* or standard was an old symbol of royalty going back to Parthian and Sāsānid times (see Spuler, *Iran*, 348), though neither were confined absolutely to the rules, but might also be attached to high offices. The beating of kettle-drums [see NAWBA] in honour of the ruler and those elevated to important governorships was also a practice of great antiquity, the origins of which are possibly to be found in Mithraism. The office charged with this ceremony was known as the *naḳāra-khāna* [*q.v.*]. Drums, trumpets and other instruments were played daily at sunset and sunrise and on religious festivals, on the ruler's birthday and at feasts given by him. If the ruler was in camp or on a journey, his musical instruments accompanied him. The *naḳāra-khāna* survived in Tehran until 1937. Considerable importance attached also to the throne. In the early centuries this was placed on a *ṣuffa*, or dais, which was often a considerable structure, consisting sometimes of a portico or pavilion open in the front in which the dais was situated. Sometimes on the throne itself there was another chair or seat on which the ruler sat. Apart from these ancient insignia, there were also insignia of Islamic provenance, such as the right of the ruler to have his name mentioned in the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*] and on coins [see SIKKA].

The grant of robes of honour [see KHILʿA] though not specifically one of the insignia of royalty, was a practice followed by all rulers and one attended in Ṣafawid and Ḳādjār times, if not earlier, by special ceremonies. The purpose of the grant was partly to honour the recipient, but partly also to fill the ruler's coffers, since the recipient was often expected to make gifts to the ruler in return, and if the recipient was in the provinces, to whoever brought the *khilʿa*. Another practice was the distribution of bags of gold and silver coins by the monarch on the occasion of his accession to those who were present at his court (H.L. Rabino, *Coins, medals, and seals of the Shahs of Iran, 1500-1941*, London 1945, 87). The distribution of scattering (*nithār*) of coins. jewels and precious objects, both by the ruler and by his subjects, was also customary on festive occasions such as the Naw Rūz (the Persian New Year). The canonical festivals of the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* and the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* [*q.vv.*] were the occasion for public celebration. It was customary for the ruler to go out to the the *muṣallā* outside the town where the *ʿīd* prayers were performed and to take part in them (see further MAWĀKIB. 2. In Iran).

The ruler was expected, especially if his followers were largely drawn from tribal groups, to keep open table. Feasting was especially common under the Ghaznawids, the Īlkhāns and the Tīmūrids. Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd, the Ghaznawid, used to have a large leather table-cloth (*khwān*) laid out on the dais on which he sat to hold audiences, on in some neighbouring garden or pavilion, and to invite the great men of the state to sit with him at the *khwān* (cf. Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ Mashhad A.H.S. 1350/1971, 439, 734-5). Wine flowed freely at these feasts (see *ibid.*, *passim*). Niẓām al-Mulk considered it indispensable for the ruler to keep an open table and he claims that Ṭoghrïl Beg entertained his followers thus in the early morning (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1891, 115). The court astrologer, though not essential to court ceremonial, nevertheless played an important role, especially under the Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs, in deciding the most auspicious moment for the coronation of the ruler or for some movement such as when the entry into a town should take place, or even for the proper hour "to sit, to rise, to depart, to eat, to go to bed" (Du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1890, repr. 1969, 30).

The Ziyārid Mardāwīdj [*q.v.*] (d. 323/935), when he sat on a golden throne and wore a crown (*tādj*), was imitating Sāsānid (or what he believed to be Sāsānid) custom (Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, v, 489, and see A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922, 17). In subsequent centuries, the throne and the *tādj* continued to be important elements in royal ceremonial. The Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] was surrounded by great magnificence when holding audiences. Like the caliph, he sat on a throne on a dais. High-standing visitors sat on stools or chairs (*kursī*) in front of his throne. As in the caliph's court,

the right hand side was the place of honour (see further H. Busse, *Chalif and Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969, 222 ff., and ʿAlī Aṣghar Faḳīhī, *Shāhinshāhī-i ʿAḍud al-Dawla*, Ḳumm n.d., 215 and *passim*). Hilāl al-Ṣābī describes the caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ's reception of ʿAḍud al-Dawla in Baghdād in 367/977-8 and the royal insignia which he gave to him in 368/978-9 (Faḳīhī, *op. cit.*, 62 ff. See also al-Suyūṭī, *History of the caliphs*, tr. H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1881, 427).

The Sāmānids and Ghaznawids both evolved an elaborate ceremonial, which was influenced by what was assumed to be Sāsānid practice and by practice at the caliph's court. In the Ghaznawid court, every effort was made to enhance the glory of the ruler. On formal occasions, the greatest deference was exacted from all, even the caliph's envoys. It was Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd's custom to hold court, sitting on a dais (*ṣuffa*), in one or other of his palaces or gardens (cf. Bayhaḳī, 438). It seems that his throne was originally made of wood. This was replaced in 429/1038 by a golden throne of great magnificence, which had taken three years to make. When it was finished, it was placed on a dais in the new palace which Masʿūd had built and surmounted by a parasol. Bayhaḳī describes the splendour of the scene when Masʿūd, wearing a red satin cloak shot with gold, mounted the throne for the first time on 21 Shaʿbān 429/8 July 1038. Ten richly dressed *ghulāms* stood on the dais on the right side and ten on the left, with rows of *ghulāms*, also finely dressed and bearing arms and the *martabadārān* standing in a body the hall. (The meaning of *martabadār* is uncertain. The term may have been applied to a *farrāsh* who held a switch or some such implement, whose duty was to keep back the crowds. On the other hand, one of the meanings of *martaba* was a cushion on a dais, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, Cambridge 1956-71, iii, 660, 18n., and *martabadār* may, thus, have been the bearer of the royal cushion.) The notables from the provinces and the great men sat on the dais. The "pillars of the state" and the great men of Masʿūd's entourage scattered innumerable gifts before him. The ceremony apparently began early in the morning, for Bayhaḳī states that Masʿūd sat until breakfast time (*čāstgāh*). At the close of the audience, Masʿūd's boon companions (*nadīmān*) came forward and scattered their gifts, after which Masʿūd mounted and rode off to a garden. Having changed his clothes, he went again on horseback to another palace or pavilion (the Spring House) where a feast was held for the great men and the "pillars of the state". After this Masʿūd went to another garden where he drank wine with his boon companions until the time of the afternoon prayer (Bayhaḳī, 714-15).

Masʿūd's reception in Muḥarram 423/December 1031-January 1032 in Balkh of an envoy sent by the caliph was marked, according to Bayhaḳī's description, by much splendour. Four thousand palace *ghulāms*, splendidly dressed and equipped, were drawn up in ranks on either side of the palace. Two hundred royal *ghulāms*, in full regalia, stood in rows near Masʿūd, while the great men of the court, the provincial governors and chamberlains, in their court dresses, gathered in the assembly. Masʿūd sat on a dais. The only other person to be seated was the chief minister, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Maymandī [*q.v.*]. When the caliph's envoy was brought in, he greeted Masʿūd and was led to a seat by the chamberlain, Bū Naṣr. Masʿūd then asked after the health of the caliph, and the envoy told him of the death of al-Ḳādir. After Aḥmad b. Ḥasan had said a few words to the envoy in Arabic, he gave him a signal to give the caliph's letter to Masʿūd. The envoy got up, took the letter, which was in a black brocade bag, gave it to Masʿūd and went back to his seat. Masʿūd then called to Bū Naṣr to come up to the throne. He took the bag, opened it and read the letter and then at Masʿūd's command translated it into Persian. The following day, a mourning assembly for the caliph al-Ḳādir was held. Masʿūd and all his court were dressed in white. The bazaars were closed and the *dīwān* shut for three days. When they were reopened, drums were played and on the following Friday the *khuṭba* was read in the name of the new caliph. Masʿūd sat close to the *minbar*, which was covered with cloth of gold (*dībā-yi zar-bāft*). The chief minister and the notables of the court sat nearby, with ʿAlī Mīkālī and the caliph's envoy rather further off. After the *khuṭba* had been read, the royal treasures placed 10,000 *dīnārs* and five silken purses at the foot of the *minbar* as a present for the caliph. The gifts of Masʿūd's sons, the chief minister, the great chamberlain, and others were then brought, after which Masʿūd departed, while the treasurers' scribes and *mustawfīs* took the gifts to the royal treasury. Some days later, the envoy was given a *khilʿa*, a mule and two horses, and sent back with the presents to the caliph. The chief minister also sent him a mule, with a rug (*djul*) and hood (*burḳaʿ*), 500 *dīnārs*, and ten garments (*ibid.*, 383 ff.). Similarly, in later times, the exchange of presents was also not confined to the two principal parties on the occasion of ambassies: ministers also expected to receive presents from envoys and sometimes made gifts themselves to envoys.

In the following year, 424/1033, another envoy accompanied by a eunuch (*khādim*) brought a diploma and *khilʿa* from the caliph for Masʿūd, who was then in Ray. When the envoy was taken to Masʿūd, he kissed the latter's hand, while the *khādim* kissed the ground. On this occasion, after Masʿūd had enquired for the health of the caliph, Bū Naṣr took the envoy under the arms and seated him near the throne on the dais, on which the army commander ʿAlī Dāya and the *ʿāriḍ*, the head of the military department [see ISTIʿRĀḌ] were also sitting—the chief minister was absent (*ibid.*, 471-2). This custom of taking envoys under the arms when bringing them near to the presence of the ruler also prevailed in the Tīmūrid, Ṣafawid and Afshārid courts (see below). Bū Naṣr then came forward and told the envoy to rise and take the diploma, which was rolled up in black brocade, and put it on the throne. The envoy, standing up, told Masʿūd to come down from the throne in order to put on the caliph's *khilʿa*. Masʿūd ordered a prayer rug (*muṣallā*) to be brought. As he turned to the *ḳibla*, drums were beaten and trumpets blown in the garden and at the gate of the palace. Bilge Tegīn and other military leaders ran forward to help Masʿūd down from the throne to sit on the prayer rug. The caliph's envoy then called for the box with the *khilʿa* and brought out seven robes and other garments. Masʿūd kissed them and performed two *rakʿas* of prayer and remounted the throne. A jewelled crown, necklace and bracelet were then brought forward, kissed and placed on the throne at Masʿūd's right hand, while the *khādim* advanced with a turban, which Masʿūd kissed and placed on his head. A standard (*liwāʾ*) had also been brought by the envoy, and this Masʿūd held in his right hand. He also put on the sword and sword-belt which the envoy had brought and then, having kissed them, put them aside. Finally, Bū Naṣr read and translated into Persian the caliph's letter and the diploma, after which those present began to scatter coins, jewels and rarities (*ibid.*, 473-4).

Mihragān and Naw Rūz appear to have been regularly celebrated by Mas^cūd. In 426/1035 Mihragān fell on the 16 Dhu 'l-Ḳa^cda. Bayhaḳī states that on this occasion coins and jewels were scattered before Mas^cūd and presents made to him. After prayers, wine was passed round and the "the customs of Mihragān were performed" (*ibid.*, 643, cf. also 655, 697, 743). When recording the celebration of Mihragān in 430/1039, Bayhaḳī states that poets and singers were not given presents on that occasion because there had been a shortage of rain (*ibid.*, 789-90). Under later rulers, the festival of Mihragān fell into desuetude. Bayhaḳī mentions that in 429/1038 Mas^cūd observed the customs of the Naw Rūz and gave presents and that wine flowed (*ibid.*, 705, cf. also 815). After the Ghaznawids, Naw Rūz was celebrated as a popular rather than a public festival; under the Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs it was again celebrated as a public festival (see below). Bayhaḳī also mentions the celebration of Sada, the festival of fire, in 426/1035, but this was probably not a public celebration. He states that Mas^cūd sat in a tent pitched beside a stream with his boon companions. Musicians were also present and a fire of wood was lit (*ibid.*, 572). (On Sada, see *Cambridge History of Iran*, iii/2, *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian periods*, ed. E. Yarshater, Cambridge 1983, 800-1.) The Ziyārid Mardāwīdj had before this made an abortive attempt to revive the feast of Sada. He prepared a great bonfire in Iṣfahān in 323/935, but was murdered before the ceremony could take place (Faḳīhī, *op. cit.*, 20). The recovery of the ruler from illness was another occasion for the offering of presents to him. On 1 Rabī^c 428/22 December 1036 Mas^cūd, who had just recovered from an illness, held a court in Bust. His entourage and the great men of the city came and scattered coins and presents, while the people offered prayers for him and sacrificed animals, giving the meat with bread to the poor (Bayhaḳī, 278).

It would appear from the *Tārīkh-i Mas^cūdī* that Mas^cūd b. Maḥmūd frequently granted *khil^cas* to his subjects. These appear to have differed according to the rank of the recipient. A large stock was presumably held in the royal wardrobe (*djāma-khāna*). Thus ^cAlī Dāya on 1 Djumādī I 432/6 January 1041 was "clothed with a *sipahsālārī khil^ca*, such as was customary for army commanders" (*op. cit.*, 436), while the *khil^ca* given to the caliph's envoy in 423/1031-2 was "such as is given to the *fuḳahā'*" (*ibid.*, 390). When the *ḥādjib* Sūbashī was made chief minister (*kh^wādja-i buzurg*) on 10 Ṣafar 427/13 December 1036, he was given a "complete" *khil^ca* with a banner, standard, drum and kettle drum, suits of clothes (*takht-hā-yi djāma*), bags of silver and other things which went with this office (*ibid.*, 648). A special horse was also the mark of certain offices. Tāsh Farrāsh, the army commander, when setting out for ^cIrāḳ in 422/1030-1 was presented with "the horse of the army commander (*sipahsālār*) of ^cIrāḳ" (*ibid.*, 373). Bayhaḳī also mentions "the horse of the leader (*sālār*) of Hindustān" (*ibid.*, 355). Horses played a special part in royal processions [see MAWĀKIB].

The Saldjūḳs, when they came into Khurāsān, took over some of the ceremonial forms they found in existence. When Ṭoghrïl Beg came to Nīshāpūr in 429/1073-8 he sat on Mas^cūd b. Maḥmūd's throne, which was in the front part of a dais, to receive the welcome of the population. His personal apparel was modest compared to that affected by Mas^cūd. Bayhaḳī states that on his entry into Nīshāpūr he wore a woven cloak (*kabā-yi mulḥam*), a *tawwazī* turban and felt boots, and was fully armed, and carried on his arm a strung bow with three wooden arrows (*ibid.*, 732). It is not without interest that a bow and arrows were part of the insignia of the Ḳādjārs (see below). Even after the rule of the Saldjūḳs had become firmly established, their court remained less minutely regulated and less luxurious than that of the Ghaznawids. This may have been due in part to a survival of tribal tradition (so far as this survived), and in part to the fact that the Saldjūḳ sultans were frequently engaged in military expeditions and spent much time travelling about their empire. Rāwandī states that Malikshāh was not cut off from the people by a curtain (*ḥidjāb*) and that if someone came to him for redress he would speak to him face to face (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, London 1921, 131).

Niẓām al-Mulk believed that fixed procedures in ceremonial matters enabled the subjects to regulate their conduct. Accordingly, he lays down rules in the *Siyāsat-nāma* for the holding of audiences by the sultan (110, 84, 86). These may well have represented his ideal rather than actual practice. He obviously felt that the Saldjūḳ sultans had failed to maintain the pomp necessary to preserve the awe in which he believed the monarch ought to be held. However, on occasion the Saldjūḳ sultans did observe an elaborate ceremonial (cf. the marriage of the daughter of Malikshāh to al-Muḳtadī [see MAWĀKIB]). Niẓām al-Mulk also lays down rules for the reception of foreign envoys. They were to be accompanied by an officer of the sultan as soon as they crossed the frontier. The reason for this was not only to honour the envoy but also to find out the aims and power of his patron (*ibid.*, 86). The practice of appointing an official, known in later times as the *mihmāndār* [*q.v.*], to conduct important personages through the country is also found under the Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs.

Bundārī and Ibn al-Athīr both give the impression that Ṭoghrïl Beg held the caliph in great veneration, though this did not prevent him from demanding the same honours as had been accorded to the Ghaznawids and in insisting on his own marriage to the caliph's daughter (see G. Makdisi, *Ibn ^cAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963, 78 ff. and *passim*; idem, *The marriage of Tughril Beg*, in *IJMES*, i [1970], 259-75). In 449/1057-8 when he was granted an audience by the caliph, he dismounted at the gate of the caliph's palace and went in on foot. On seeing the caliph sitting on his throne, he kissed the ground several times. He was then seated on a chair (*kursī*) in front of the caliph's throne. The caliph, addressing him through the *ra'īs al-ru'asā'*, gave him a *khil^ca*, standard and diploma and girded him with a sword (Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, ed. Ali Sevim Ankara 1968, 24-6; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ix, 436; see also MAWĀKIB). The caliph's envoy when he came in Sha^cbān 453/August-September 1061 to Tabrīz for the conclusion of the ^c*aḳd* between the caliph's daughter and Ṭoghrïl Beg, appears to have been treated with great respect. When he entered the sultan's presence the latter was sitting on his throne, around which were standing the *amīrs* and *maliks* according to their ranks. After the envoy had saluted the sultan, ^cAmīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī [*q.v.*], Ṭoghrïl Beg's *wazīr*, approached him and greeted him; under both the Ghaznawids and the Saldjūḳs it appears to have been the function of the chief minister to speak on such occasions on behalf of the sultan. The caliph's envoy then stood up and took out his deed of proxy (*kitāb al-wikāla*). The whole company rose and when he came to the passage stating the "exalted ceremonies which were to be performed" he bowed, and those present, including the sultan and ^cAmīd al-

Mulk, also bowed. When details of the marriage portion (*mahr*) were mentioned, voices were raised in prayer for the caliph. The *khuṭba* was read by a certain Masʿūd al-Khurāsānī, after which ʿAmīd al-Mulk scattered pearls and *dīnārs* before the throne (Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, ed. Sevim, 93-4).

Whereas the Ghaznawid Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd distributed *khilʿas* in great profusion, the Saldjūḳ sultans seem to have been more sparing in their grants. When Alp Arslan took oaths of allegiance from his *amīrs* for his son Malikshāh as his heir apparent, he gave them *khilʿas* (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 34). Similarly, when Sandjar came to Rayy in 543/1148-9 and renewed Masʿūd b. Muḥammad's diploma, he gave Masʿūd and all the *amīrs* of ʿIrāḳ valuable *khilʿas* (Rāwandī, 175). Whereas Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd appears to have espected his subjects to present him with gifts on all occasions, under the Saldjūḳs the practice was less common. The Salduḳs adopted the various insignia of royalty which had prevailed under earlier rulers. They added to them the *ghāshiya* [*q.v.*, and see also MAWĀKIB]. They apparently had special tents when on expeditions. When Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad spent one month with his uncle Sandjar in 521/1127 after he had rebelled against him, he was not allowed a red *djahrumī* tent. When he was restored to the government of ʿIrāḳ at the end of the month, Sandjar again accorded to him the customary marks of royalty and a special garment (*kiswat-i khāṣṣ*), as well as a bejewelled cloak, a special horse (*asb-i nawbat*) with harness set with jewels and an elephant with a howdah also set with jewels (Rāwandī, 170). Pīr Muḥammad, Tīmūr's grandson, also had a red tent (Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406*), tr. from the Spanish by G. Le Strange, London 1928, 254), and so too did Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (Feuvrier, *Trois ans à la cour de Perse*, Paris 1906, 44).

The Īlkhāns brought with them new ceremonial from Central Asia, some but not all of which survived their conversion to Islam. On the death of an Īlkhān, after the mourning ceremonies had been held, the Mongol princes and princesses and the great *amīrs* used to hold a *ḳuriltay* [*q.v.*], or council, to elect (or acclaim) a new Īlkhān. The procedure was similar to that held on the enthronement of the Great Khan (for a description of the enthronement of Güyük, see Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. J. Richard, in *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades*, viii, Paris 1965, 90-2; see also Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*³, Wiesbaden 1968, 264). The decision to confer the throne on one of the princes was followed by feasting and celebrations. During the reign of Ḳubilay (d. 1294), confirmation of the election by the Great Khan was considered necessary. Ghazan had a golden tent (*khargāh*) and a golden throne which, like the throne of the Ghaznawid Masʿūd, also had taken three years to make. It was set up in Ūdjān in 701/1301-2 and a seat, set with jewels, placed on it. After three days, during which religious celebrations were held, Ghazan gave a great feast, at which he put on garments of gold brocade, placed on his head a jewelled crown and girded on a belt of similar splendour to the crown (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 137-8, 139). Mongol customs pertaining to the recognition of the ruler appear to have been adopted in Fārs by the Atabeg Abū Bakr Saʿd b. Zangī. Rashīd al-Dīn relates that the *umarāʾ*, when offering allegiance to him, "took off their girdles and put them on their necks" (ed. Blochet, ii, 36, quoted by Spuler, *op. cit.*, 264). Subordinate rulers were given, together with the *yarligh* or *farmān* entrusting them with their governments (which was sealed with a special seal or *tamgha*), some or all of the following insignia: a parasol (*čatr*), a sword, a *pāʾiza* or tablet of authority in gold, silver or wood, according to the rank of the recipient, a standard, kettle-drums and a *khilʿa*. Some *pāʾīzas* were written in red and had a falcon at their head (cf. Naṣīr al-Dīn Munshī, *Simṭ al-ʿulā*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1328/1949-50, 79, 89; *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ Bahār, Tehran A.H.S. 1314/1935-6, 406; see also Marco Polo, *Travels*, tr. A. Ricci, London 1931, 17, 113). The birthday of the ruler, at least during the reign of Ghazan Khān, was celebrated with great splendour and presents were given to him (see Spuler, *op. cit.*, 264). There were apparently special ceremonies concerned with the presentation of drink to the Īlkhān. These, too, were modelled on the practice of the court of the Great Khan (cf. *Travels*, 132 and also *Tārīkh-i shāhī-i Ḳarā-Khitāʾīān*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran Shāhinshāhī 2535/1976-7, 139). One of the features which differentiated the ceremonies of the Īlkhānid and Tīmūrid courts from earlier and later courts was the participation, on occasion, of women of the royal house in public ceremonies. The Īlkhān's chief wife sometimes sat on the throne with him. The Īlkhāns were lavish in their grant of *khilʿas*. They and their wives held large stocks of precious garments. Some of these were made in royal workshops (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, 333; Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Öljeytü*, ed. Mahīn Hambly, Tehran A.H.S. 1348/1969, 121-2). Rashīd al-Dīn states that Ghazan gave away on one occasion 20,000 garments (*Tārīkh-i mūbarak-i ghāzānī*, 185);

Much of the ceremony of earlier times continued to be found under the Tīmūrids. Clavijo, in his account of Tīmūr's reception of foreign ambassadors in Samarḳand, describes how they were taken under the armpits by a series of waiting officials as they advanced through the palace and its grounds. First they came to Tīmūr's nephew, a very old man, seated on a dais, to whom they made obeisance; then they came to several of Tīmūr's grandsons, who were also seated on a dais and to whom they paid their respects. Three of the young princes got up, asked for the letter which the envoys had brought from the king of Castile and took it to Tīmūr. The envoys followed and found Tīmūr sitting on a dais in the portal at the entrance of the palace. He was dressed in a cloak of plain silk, wearing a tall white hat, ornamented with pearls and jewels, with a balas ruby on the crown, and sat on a mattress covered by an embroidered silk cloth with cushions behind him. On sight of Tīmūr, the envoys bowed and put their right knees to the ground, crossing their arms over breasts. Advancing another step, they again bowed, and on the third occasion remained kneeling. Tīmūr then commanded them to rise and approach him. Three chamberlains came forward, took them under the armpits, led them up to Tīmūr until they stood immediately before him, and again made them kneel. At the end of the audience a feast was held (*Embassy of Tamerlane*, 220 ff.). Clavijo describes another feast given by Tīmūr which was attended by numerous men and women (ibid., 227 ff.). At the end of it "one of the lords in waiting came forward with a silver bowl full of small pieces of silver money ... and of this money he proceeded to throw handfuls over us ambassadors as also over the other guests present, and gathered up all the rest of the coins that remained in the bowl and threw them into the skirt of the cloaks we ambassadors were wearing, this being a gift to us" (*ibid.*, 232). Tīmūr then presented each of them with a robe of honour. They

bowed in acknowledgement three times and then knelt before him (*ibid.*, cf. also the reception of the Spanish envoys by Pīr Muḥammad, Tīmūr's grandson, 254). At various other times the ambassadors were given robes of honour—on one occasion they each received not only a robe of kincob, but also a skirt to match, a hat and a horse for riding (*ibid.*, 236), and on another they were each given a robe of honour of kincob and for wearing underneath it a close fitting jacket of silk cloth lined with skins, with a high collar made of the fur of two marten skins, a hat and a wallet containing 1,500 silver pieces (*ibid.*, 276-7).

Once when Tīmūr received the envoys in the Great Pavilion in Samarḳand, he was accompanied by a great crowd of his imperial kinsmen and many foreign ambassadors, all of whom took their seats in due order of precedence. Elephants then were brought in and performed tricks, and minstrels played their instruments. Round about there stood some 300 wine jars for the guests and two tripods made of wooden staves painted red, with a great leather sack hanging on each filled with cream and mares' milk. These the attendants kept stirring and threw in many loaves of sugar. Tīmūr's chief wife appeared at the feast, taking her place beside Tīmūr but slightly behind him on a low dais, three of her ladies sitting beside her. Seven others of his wives, and the wife of one of his grandsons also took their allotted places (*ibid.*, 257 ff.). Describing the ceremonies connected with drinking that took place at the feast (which appear to have resembled customs at the court of the Īlkhāns), Clavijo states, "Those who are given to drink at the hands of Timur have to do so ceremoniously and after this fashion. They come forward and bending the right knee kneel, once at some distance before approaching: then they rise and step forward nearer to him (Timur) and kneel with both knees on the ground, receiving the offered cup from his hand. Then they stand up and go backwards a little distance, taking care always to face his highness, and they kneel again and then drink at a draught all that is in the cup, for to leave any wine undrunk would be against good manners. Then having swallowed the draught they rise again and salute, placing the hand to the head. When we ambassadors were thus called up for presentation, two of the lords in waiting seized each of us under the arms and did not let us loose until we had been subsequently brought back to our seats .... All round and about there were pitched many smaller tents and awnings where sat the various other ambassadors who had come to attend the court of his Highness but who were not deemed of sufficient rank to warrant a seat in the Great Pavilion where Timur himself had his place" (*ibid.*, 262).

Under the Ṣafawids court ceremonial was more tightly controlled. The *Dastūr al-mulūk* of Mīrzā Rafīʿā gives an account of the duties of court officials and of the precedence of civil and military officials and where they stood or sat in the royal assembly and of the robes of honour and other insignia given to them on appointment to office. This manual appears to have been written in the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, the last of the Ṣafawids, but the practices which it describes probably go back to earlier reigns, and some of them were later revived under Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and his successors (Muḥammad Taḳī Dānish-Pazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā wa Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Samīʿā*, in *Tehran University*, *Rev. de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines*, xv/5-6 [1967], 62-93, xvi/1-6 [1968-9], 298-322, 416-40, 475-504; see also V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, London 1943). The *ishikakasi-bashi*, the chief chamberlain, was charged with the supervision of court ceremonial. He normally belonged to the military classes and was one of the four "pillars of the state", the others being the *ḳurči-bashi*, the *ḳullar-aḳasi* and the *tufangči-aḳasi*. His insignia of office was a mace (*daganak*). He regulated the proceedings of the Bihishtāʾīn assembly. It was his duty after repasts and feasts to recite the *takbīr* Dānishpazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, in *op. cit.*, xvi [1968], 82-3). Great splendour prevailed in the court. The reception of envoys was accompanied by banquets and the giving and receiving of presents.

When Humāyūn, the Mughal emperor, took refuge in Persia in 951/1544-5, Shāh Ṭahmāsp welcomed him warmly. Many banquets were held, and at the final one Ṭahmāsp showered gifts on Humāyūn (Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, Tehran A.H.S. 1334/1956, 99). Similarly, when Bāyazīd, the son of the Ottoman sultan, took refuge in Persia, having been dismissed by his father from the governorship of Kütahya, Ṭahmāsp arranged a magnificient reception for him in Ḳazwīn (*ibid.*, 102). The Mughal emperor and the Ottoman sultan were the greatest of the contemporary Muslim rulers, but the lavishness of Ṭahmāsp's reception of Humāyūn and Bāyazīd was probably due to the fact that he hoped through them to extend his own influence in India and the eastern provinces of the Ottoman empire respectively.

Great importance was attached to the custom of kissing the ground before the ruler (*pābūsī, zamīnbūsī*), his throne and the gates of his palace; not only was it a means of showing honour to the ruler, but the action was believed to confer honour also upon the one who performed it. When the Djalālīs, who had defected to Persia from the Ottoman empire, came to Iṣfahān in 1016/1607-8 they had, Iskandar Munshī states, "the good fortune of kissing the shah's stirrups" in the audience hall of the Naḳsh-i Djahān palace, and the supports of the shah's throne (*ibid.*, ii, 777). William Parry records that Sir Robert Sherley and his companions, on their arrival in Ḳazwīn, were brought by the shah's steward (the shah being absent on an expedition) to the gate of the palace "to offer that homage that all strangers do—that is to kiss the entrance of the palace three times" (*Sir Antony Sherley and his Persian adventure, including some contemporary narratives relating thereto*, ed. E.D. Ross, London 1933, 116). Sir John Chardin describes the ceremony which took place when a foreign ambassador was presented to the shah in the following words: "The ambassador or other person is conducted to within four paces of the king, and right against him where they stop him, and make him kneel, and in that posture he makes three prostrations of his body and head to the ground, so low that his forehead touches it. This done, the ambassador rises and delivers the letter he had for the king to the captain of the gate, who puts it in the hands of the first minister, and he presents it to the king, who puts it on his right side without looking into it: after this the ambassador is conducted to the place appointed for him" (*Sir John Chardin's travels in Persia*, with an introduction by Sir Percy Sykes, London 1927, 84-5).

Exaggerated respect was shown to any communication received from the shah. The recipient of a letter or *farmān* would kiss the document and raise it to his eyes and head, "a ceremony all Persians religiously observe" (*The journal of Robert Stodart*, with an introduction and notes by E.D. Ross, London 1935, 29). If a *khilʿa* was sent to a provincial governor, the recipient would go out to a set distance beyond the city gates to meet the *khilʿa*, which he would then put on

and return to the city accompanied by a concourse of the local officials and inhabitants (*The travels of Monsieur de Thevenôt*, London 1687, repr. 1971, ii, 72, 104; Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse*, Geneva 1970, 273). This was also the case under the Afshārs and Ḳādjārs (cf. Jonas Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, i, 101; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 407, 408; ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagānī-i man*, Tehran A.H.S. 1324/1945-6, i, 546-7). Prior to taking leave of the shah, envoys were given *khilʿa*s, which they wore at the farewell audience. The quality of the person regulated the value of the *khilʿa*. Some consisted of a whole suit of clothing, even to the shirt and shoes. Some were taken out of the king's own wardrobe from amongst the garments he had worn. The common ones consisted of a vest, an upper vest, a scarf and a turban. The value of *khilʿa*s varied enormously. One given to an ambassador from the Mughal emperor was valued at 100,000 crowns and consisted of a garment of gold brocade with several upper vests, lined with marten furs and enriched by a clasp of precious stones, 15,000 crowns in money, forty very fine horses, their trappings garnished with precious stones, a sword and a dagger covered with the same and two large boxes filled with rich brocade of gold and silver, and several chests of dried fruits, liquors and essences (Chardin, ed. Sykes, 112-13). *Khilʿa*s were also given to ministers, provincial governors and others, especially on their appointment to office and on the accession of the shah (cf. *Dastūr al-mulūk*, in *op. cit.*, xvi/1-2 [1968], 71 and *passim*). In the latter case, the grant of a *khilʿa* indicated that the repicient was to continue to hold the office which he had held under the previous shah. Iskandar Munshī states that sultan Muḥammad Shāh (985-96/1578-87) gave the large stocks of robes of honour which had been accumulated over the years to officials and others and that never a day passed without him giving ten or twenty robes of honour to unknown persons (Iskandar Munshī, i, 228). Chardin records that when Shaykh ʿAlī Khān, Ṣafī II's first minister, was restored to favour after he had been in disgrace, he was sent a *khilʿa*, a horse with a saddle and trappings of gold, a sword and a dagger both set with diamonds, with an inkhorn, letters patent and other marks which denoted the post of prime minister. The next day, ʿAlī Khān, clothed in the *khilʿa*, came to kiss the shah's feet. Three days later he entertained the shah (Chardin, ed. Sykes, 8-9). Minor rulers also gave *khilʿa*s to their followers and to each other (cf. ʿAlī b. Shams al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i khānī*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran A.H.S. 1352/1973-4, 87, 129, 135).

Olearius, describing an audience given by the shah in 1656, mentions that the ambassadors were held under the arms by officials as they approached the shah, and notes that the purpose was both to honour the envoy and to ensure the security of the shah. At the end of the audience there was a feast at which dancers and singers performed (*Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse*, Schleswig 1656, ed. von Dieter Lohmeier, repr. Tübingen 1971, 510-12). Du Mans, who gives a detailed description of court ceremonial, does not mention the practice of taking envoys under the arms. He states that the ambassador, with his hands crossed on his chest, would be led by the *ishikakasi-bashi*, holding a kind of mace in his hand, to the shah to perform his obeisance. As they approached the shah, the *ishikakasi-bashi* would press his hand on the ambassador's shoulder to make him kneel. Then in that posture he would kiss the feet of the shah, after which he would retreat backwards to the place asigned to him by the *ishikakasi-bashi* (*Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, 30). Whenever an ambassador presented his letters and kissed the shah's feet, it was customary for him to eat with the king and his court and to sit in his assembly (*ibid.*, 32). According to the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, it was the duty of the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān* to read the *Fātiḥa* after meals in the royal assembly (*madjlis-i bihishtāʾīn*) (in *op. cit.*, xvi/1-2 [1968], 77). Thevenôt states that in audiences given to Christian ambassadors or others there was always much drinking (*op. cit.*, ii, 100). Kaempfer describes in detail the farewell audience given by the shah in Iṣfahān to the Swedish ambassador Ludwig Fabritius in 1684 (*Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs 1684-1685*, tr. W. Hinz, Tübingen-Basel 1977, 252 ff.). Twenty-two eunuchs stood behind the shah in a half-circle and six Georgian pages on his right side. One of them fanned the shah, another looked after the water-pipe (*ḳaliyān*), a third the spittoon, and a fourth had charge of a censer. One of the black eunuchs held the shah's dagger, and others held his gun, quiver, and bow, etc. (*ibid.*, 259). The various officials, who had their allotted places, stood in two rows, one on the right and the other on the left; the bodyguard stood four paces behind them (*ibid.*, 259-60). After the audience a sumptuous banquet was held (*ibid.*, 260 ff., 277 ff.).

On the shah's birthday the *amīrs*, "pillars of the state", the intimates of the court and the retinue, each according to his rank and status, gave the shah a sum of money. Some of this was handed over to the chief astrologer (*munadjdjim-bashi*) to give to the deserving (*arbāb-i istiḥḳāḳ*). The garments that the shah wore on his birthday were given as a *khil ʿa* to the *munadjdjim-bashi* (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, in *op. cit.*, xvi/3 [1968], 309). The Naw Rūz was also an occasion for the giving of presents (*pīshkash*) to the shah (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, in *op. cit.*, xvi/1-2 [1968], 71 and *passim*). It was the duty of the *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* [*q.v.*] to write a *ḳaṣīda* in praise of the shah, or in description of spring, and to read it at the public audience held on the Naw Rūz (*ibid.*, in *op. cit.*, xvi/4 [1969], 424). When the shah was in Iṣfahān, the Naw Rūz was celebrated by a great banquet held usually in the Čihil Sutūn palace or in the Naḳsh-i Djahān gardens. In 1004/1595-6, the celebrations went on for several days and there was a public holiday for ten or twelve days. The bazaars were decorated and in the Saʿādatābād Square there were polo matches and archery contests (Iskandar Munshī, i, 506, cf. also 518, 532). In 1011/1602-3 the Naw Rūz celebrations were held in the Naḳsh-i Djahān gardens, which were brilliantly lit for the occasion. The celebrations lasted three days (*ibid.*, ii, 634). In 1017/1608-9 the celebrations were again held in the Naḳsh-i Djahān gardens. The space round the large pond (*ḥawḍ*) in the middle of the garden was reserved for the *amīrs*, *wazīrs*, pillars of the state, and intimates of the court, while the great men and notables of Iṣfahān and its districts (*bulūkāt*), the people of Khurāsān and Tabrīz, merchants and different groups who happened to be in Iṣfahān, were given places along the banks of the irrigation canals according to their different ranks (*ibid.*, ii, 780). In 1022/1613-14 also, celebrations were held in the Naḳsh-i Djahān gardens, but they did not begin until the third day of the Naw Rūz because the shah did not return to Iṣfahān from Farahābād until then. On this occasion, he gave tax remissions to the people of the province of Iṣfahān (*ibid.*, ii, 861). If the shah was in the provinces, the celebrations of the Naw Rūz were of a minor character. In 1009/1600-1 he was in Mashhad and the celebrations took the form of games

of polo and archery contents in the *maydān* of the city (*ibid.*, i, 598). Sometimes owing to the exigencies of war, the Naw Rūz was not celebrated officially, as was the case in 1025/1616-17 when the shah was en route for Georgia (*ibid.*, ii, 897-8).

Sir John Chardin gives an eye-witness account of the coronation of Shāh Ṣafī II (1077-1105/1667-94). His father Shāh ʿAbbās II having died in Ṭabaristān without designating his successor, his chief ministers decided to put Sulaymān (who later took the name Ṣafī) on the throne. They sent the *ḳurči-bashi* to Iṣfahān to bring Sulaymān out of the *ḥaram* where he had been confined on the orders of his father, and to give him a letter announcing their decision. Every effort was meanwhile made to conceal the late shah's death, to which purpose the chief ministers, other than the *ḳurči-bashi* remained in Ṭabaristān, sending only their deputies to Iṣfahān. Sulaymān was informed of the decision to place him on the throne and preparations for the coronation were immediately made. The *ḳurči-bashi*, attended by the chief eunuch and a train of other persons, conducted the prince to the audience hall, where the deputies of the ministers of state made their three usual prostrations in the name of the ministers of state as also did the *munadjdjim-bashi*, who had come with them from Ṭabaristān (for a description of the hall, see *The travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East Indies .... to which is added The coronation of the present king of Persia Solyman the III*, London 1691, *Coronation*, 37 ff.). The prince then went to the bath to purify himself and put on new clothes. Meanwhile, the *munadjdjim-bashi* and another astrologer who had come with him from Ṭabaristān set themselves to observe the most favourable moment for the coronation to take place. The *shaykh al-islām*, who was to perform the ceremony, was sent for and the hall prepared for the coronation. Four articles needed for the coronation were placed in the middle of the hall. The first was the throne or *kursī*, "a little square cushion stool, three geometrical feet in height, the feet of the pillars that supported the corners being fashioned like so many great apples". These and the pillars were plated with gold and set with rubies and emeralds. When not in use, the throne was kept in the royal treasury and was so weighty that it needed two men to carry it (Chardin, *Coronation*, 39-40). The second article was the *tādj* or crown (for a description of this see *ibid.*, 40-1). The third was a sword and the fourth a dagger, both of which were set with precious stones (*ibid.*, 41). The three last mentioned articles were placed near the throne. When all was ready, Sulaymān came in and sat down (not on the throne) and the assembled company ranged themselves in their appointed places (*ibid.*, 42-3). When the *munadjdjim-bashi* gave notice that the propitious moment had arrived, the prince and those present rose to their feet. The *ḳurči-bashi*, after throwing himself at the shah's feet, rose to his knees, opened the bag in which was the letter he had brought from Ṭabaristān, took it out, kissed it, raised it to his forehead, and presented it to the prince and then rose to his feet. The prince, having received it, returned it to him and commanded him to open it and read it. When he had finished reading, the prince ordered him to send for the *shaykh al-islām*. The latter, approaching the prince, threw himself at his feet, rose after the usual prostrations, and took the letter from the *ḳurči-bashi*. Having laid it on his head, he read it and examined the seals, and then fell upon his knees before the prince and made three bows to the ground, thus declaring the authenticity of the letter and the elevation of the prince to the throne. The *ḳurči-bashi* on the left and the *shaykh al-islām* on the right then conducted the prince to the golden chair or throne in the middle of the hall. The *shaykh al-islām*, kneeling, said a prayer, blessed the *tādj*, the sword and the dagger, girded the sword on the shah's left side and hung the dagger on his right side. Then having made a sign to the *ḳurči-bashi* to take off the shah's bonnet, he put on the *tādj*, reciting as he did so verses from the Ḳurʾān, which he also did when he girded him with the sword and the dagger. He then gave way to the *khaṭīb*, who read the *khuṭba*. As the latter ended the *khuṭba* by praying for the long life of the shah and the increase of his conquests, those present loudly repeated five or six times the words *in shāʾ allāh*. The *shaykh al-islām* then bowed his forehead to the ground three times, pronounced a second benediction and bowed again three times, after which those present, according to their rank, came forward and made the three customary prostrations. This concluded the ceremony (*ibid.*, 42 ff.). Subsequently, as a result of an illness which attacked the shah, a shortage of foodstuffs, an outbreak of pest and various other infelicitous events, it was believed that the coronation had taken place under an unfavourable constellation. Accordingly, a second coronation was decided upon at what was hoped would be a more favourable hour. This took place in the Čihil Sutūn palace, and the shah took the name of Ṣafī (*ibid.*, 132-3).

Under Nādir Shāh, court ceremonial was inevitably much reduced, since he spent much of his life in camp and on military expeditions. Hanway describes his camp and the pavilion tent in which he gave audience and transacted business. Sometimes he used to sit cross-legged on a large chair or dais and sometimes on the floor. There was nothing sumptuous in the pavilion; the front was always open even in the worst weather; in very cold weather charcoal braziers were placed in the middle. Behind the pavilion were his private apartments, to which he retired at meal-times. His officers of state and those having business with him stood in the open air forming a semi-circle in front of the tent. If anyone was brought to answer for his conduct, he was held under the arms by officers to prevent his escape or committing an act of violence. "The same ceremony with very little difference", Hanway continues, "was observed towards foreign ambassadors, of great men, being made on the pretence of respect but in reality to prevent an accident" (*op. cit.*, i, 166-7). He mentions that there were two standards in Nādir's camp when he visited it in 1743. One was in stripes of red, blue and white and the other in red, blue, white and yellow, without any ornament. They were very large and extremely heavy (*ibid.*, i, 169).

Nādir's coronation was also a break with tradition. When he had decided to assume the crown, he summoned governors, *ḳāḍīs*, *ʿulamāʾ* and provincial notables to a *ḳuriltay* in the Mūghān steppe ostensibly to choose their ruler, but in fact to acclaim him as their ruler. Those who assembled were too numerous to be received simultaneously and so were divided into groups, each being given a separate audience. Finally, on 24 Shawwāl 1148/8 March 1736, after several days of charade, Nādir having signified his readiness to accept the crown subject to certain conditions, the *umarāʾ* and other persons of consequence clad in robes of honour assembled, and Mīrzā Zakī placed a golden crown, adorned with magnificent jewels, on Nādir's head. All those present knelt down and prayed, except the deputy chief *mullā*, who intoned the prayer. While this was being uttered, all kept their arms above their heads; afterwards, while the *Fātiḥa* was being read,

they bowed their faces to the ground. When the *Fātiḥa* was finished, everyone rose and seated himself in his appointed place according to his rank (see further, L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 96 ff.). Among the spoils that Nādir brought back to Persia from his Indian expedition in 1739 was the Peacock Throne. This was lost in the troubles after Nādir's death. The modern Peacock Throne is of Ḳādjār manufacture (see Amīr Gīlānshāh, *Yak ṣad u pandjāh sāl-i salṭanat dar Īrān*, n.d. Tehran, 28-9 ʿAlī Aṣghar Ḥikmat, *Takht-i ṭāwūs*, in *FIZ*, viii, 138-52).

Āḳā Muḥammad Khān (1193-1211/1779-97), like Nādir Shāh, spent much of his life in military expeditions and had little use for court ceremonial. Under his successor Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1211-50/1797-1834), traditional ceremonies were revived. No court, according to Sir John Malcolm, paid more rigid attention to forms and ceremonies, the maintenance of which were deemed essential to the power and glory of the monarch. Looks, words, and the motions of the body were all regulated by the strictest forms. When the king was seated in public, his sons, ministers and courtiers stood erect, with their hands crossed over their chests, and in the exact place belonging to their rank (*History of Persia*, ii, 400). James Morier also remarks that the king was never approached by his subjects without frequent inclinations of the body; and when the person introduced to his presence had reached a certain distance, he would wait until the king ordered him to proceed; upon which he would leave his shoes and walk forward to a second spot and wait there until the king directed him to advance further. No one sat before the king except relations of kings, poets, learned and holy men and ambassadors; his ministers and officers of state were never permitted this privilege (*A journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor*, London 1812, 286).

The insignia of royalty consisted of the following articles, all of which were set with jewels and pearls: the crown (of which there appear to have been several), the sword of state, a dagger, the royal bow and its arrows, a shield and staff or mace. These were held on ceremonial occasions by pages (*ghulāms*) or other officials, or by the princes (cf. W. Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the east....*, London 1819, iii, 130-1; Morier, *op. cit.*, 192, 214-15; Muʿayyir al-Mamālik, *Yāddāsht-hā-ī az zindagānī-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh*, Tehran n.d., 25). On the front of the crown was placed an aigrette (*djīgha*). A similar ornament was also worn on the headdress of the shah and princes. On state occasions, special bracelets were worn by the shah and his sons (Morier, *A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Anatolia*, London 1818, 173). A variety of standards were in existence, some with religious symbols, such as Dhu 'l-Fiḳār, the sword of ʿAlī, on them. The royal standard usually had on it the figure of a lion couchant with the sun rising behind it, which sign was also commonly sculptured upon the royal palaces (Malcolm, *History of Persia*, ii, 406-7). Hanway mentions that this emblem was to be found on the palace built by Shāh ʿAbbās at Ashraf (*op. cit.*, i, 199). It was a sign of some antiquity; the Saldjūḳ of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Ḳubād (634-42/1236-44) had it on one of his coins (Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii. 406 n.).

The arrival of a foreign embassy was deemed one of the occasions when the king ought to appear in all his grandeur. Fatḥ ʿAlī vied with the most magnificient of his predecessors in this respect. The exact procedure differed, however, in that ambassadors were no longer required to kneel and kiss the ground in front of the monarch, but merely to bow at intervals as they approached his presence (Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 400-1); those who escorted them into the royal presence no longer took them under the arms; and banquets were no longer held after audiences. Only ambassadors and the representatives of sovereign princes were allowed the distinction of being seated in the presence of the king at public audiences (Sir Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia...*, London 1821, i, 356). There is a curious reference in the account of the negotiations for the reception of Sire Gore Ouseley, the British envoy, who brought a letter from King George III addressed to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, in 1811. Ouseley wished to present the letter personally. The Persian ministers insisted that it should be transmitted through them according, as they alleged, to Persian usage; and Fatḥ ʿAlī himself said that he could not possibly receive the letter directly from Ouseley at a public audience. A compromise was reached, by which the shah agreed to receive the letter at a private audience (W. Ouseley, *op. cit.*, iii, 123).

It was the custom in early Ḳādjār times for foreign envoys, when they were received in audience by the shah or a prince governor, to wear red cloth stockings under green leather slippers with high heels, which they removed on entering the audience hall (Ker Porter, *op. cit.*, i, 249-50; cf. also Morier, *A journey through Persia*, 186; Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 10-11, 222, iii, 129-30). In the early years of the 19th century, if *khilʿa*s had been sent to the envoy and his suite by the shah or prince governor, they would wear these when attending his audience. The practice of sending New Year presents to foreign envoys was discontinued, at least so far as the British mission was concerned, from about the middle of the century (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60.130.Sheil to Palmerston, No. 46, Tehran, 23 April 1847).

The Naw Rūz was the most important of the public festivals celebrated by the shah. Fatḥ ʿAlī appears always to have returned to Tehran or Sulṭāniyya for it. To each of the chief men and officers of the court he would send a *khilʿa*, consisting of a complete suit of brocade with a shawl, and sometimes he would add to this a horse with its trappings and caparisons (see further Morier, *op. cit.*, 205; idem, *A second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, 93). Malcolm states that it was the custom for the shah to march out of his capital on the Naw Rūz, attended by his ministers, nobles, and as many of his army as could be assembled. The ceremonies of the day would commence with a review, after which the tribute and presents of all the rulers and governors of the different provinces would be laid at the foot of the throne, which was placed in a magnificent tent pitched for the purpose in an open plain. The shah would remain in camp for several days. Horse-races were among the amusements. (*History of Persia*, ii, 405; cf. also Morier, *op. cit.*, 208). Often, however, the Naw Rūz audience took place in the capital (see Ker Porter for a detailed account of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's Naw Rūz audience in Tehran in 1818, *op. cit.*, 320 ff., also quoted by R.G. Watson, *History of Persia*, London 1866, 138 n.). Under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh also, the Naw Rūz was celebrated with great magnificence. Three audiences were held; the first (the *salām-i taḥwīl*) took place when the sun passed into Aries and was held in the hall in which Fatḥ ʿAlī's throne was kept. A large white cloth for the Haft Sīn stretched from near the door of the hall to the edge of the dais on which the throne was placed. The Ḳādjār princes, military officers, civil officials, and religious dignitaries proceeded to their places an hour before the sun entered Aries. Three

quarters of an hour later, a curtain was raised and the shah in a blaze of jewels, preceded by the *ishiḳakasi-bashi* and the Iʿtimād al-Ḥaram, advanced slowly towards the throne, but out of respect for the *ʿulamāʾ*, he did not sit on the throne; instead he sat on a chair (*masnad*) covered with gold brocade, placed beside the throne, holding the sword of Nādir Shāh on his knees. The first minister (the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*), with his cloak and sword of office, and his subordinates stood near the throne. The *imām djumʿa* and the great *ʿulamāʾ* sat beside the *masnad* of the shah, while the less distinguished *ʿulamāʾ* stood at the foot of the throne. The *khaṭīb al-mamālik* and the *munadjdjim-bashi* stood facing the throne. The former, approaching the throne, read a *khuṭba* and at the mention of the names of the prophet, ʿAlī and the shah all heads bowed. The *munadjdjim-bashi* then came forward and after a moment or two announced that the sun had entered Aries. Immediately the trumpeters, who were drawn up outside, sounded their trumpets and guns were let off in the Maydān-i Mashḳ. The shah offered his congratulations to the *ʿulamāʾ* and then to the rest of the company. Taking the Ḳurʾān in his hands he reverently read a passage, after which Ḥādjdjī Niẓām al-Islām knelt before the shah and put a little dust from a packet into water and gave it to him to drink. Having drunk it, the shah began to give New Year presents (*ʿīdī*) consisting of purses full of gold coins, to the *ʿulamāʾ*. When this was finished and the *ʿulamāʾ* had left, the bands which were drawn up outside, hitherto silent out of respect to the *ʿulamāʾ*, would begin to play. The shah then got up from his *masnad* and sat on a chair and gave purses full of gold coins first to the princes, then to the army leaders and *mustawfīs* and finally to the rest of those present, saying a few words to each one in turn. The recipients, on receiving their presents, kissed them and raised them to their heads. The assembly lasted some two or three hours, after which the shah withdrew into the garden, and thence into the *andarūn*, where the ladies of the *ḥaram* vied with each other in kissing his feet (Muʿayyir al-mamālik, *op. cit.*, 70 ff.).

On the second day of the Naw Rūz, a public audience was held in the *dīwān-khāna*, attended by the Ḳādjār princes and leaders of the Ḳādjār tribe, military officers, civil officials and foreign envoys. When all were assembled, the shah entered the *dīwān-khāna*, mounted the marble throne and sat on a chair, set with jewels, which was placed on it. Bands then played the special music for the *salām* (*muzīḳ-i salām-i īrān*), trumpeters sounded their trumpets, guns were fired, and the instruments of the *naḳāra-khāna* were played. When this was over the *khaṭīb al-mamālik* read the *khuṭba*, and the court poet recited a *ḳaṣīda*, after which the *ḥakīm al-mamālik* brought the special *ḳāliyān* kept for audiences on a tray set with jewels and placed it at the feet of the shah, who, according to custom, began to smoke it. At this audience presents were given only to the military and the bureacracy; the *munshī al-mamālik*, with two others, took round large trays of coins and each person to whom it was offered took a handful (*ibid.*, 82 ff.). The audience held on the third day was of an informal nature; the *mustawfīs* and military officers were not present, only the shah's intimates. On this occasion he would watch the various activities which went on in the grounds and streets around the palace. These included ram fights, cock-fighting, bear-dancing, performances by conjurers, wrestlers and members of *zūr-khānas*. The shah would distribute largesse to the performers and a special armlet to the champion wrestler (*ibid.*, 86-7). On the eve of the Naw Rūz there was a firework display, which the shah would watch with his ladies from one of the palaces. On the thirteenth day of the *ʿīd*, the shah would go to one of the royal gardens with his *ḥaram* (*ibid.*, 89).

On the shah's birthday, three receptions were given in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. One was given by Anīs al-Dawla, the shah's chief wife, to which the wives of ambassadors and other European women resident in Tehran would be invited, together with wives of ministers and notables. The shah would appear at the reception and give the guests presents of gold coins. A lunch would then be held for the princes, after which Nāṣir al-Dīn would sit in the portico of the Shams al-ʿAmāra palace and give them presents (*ʿīdī*). In the evening the Nāʾib al-Salṭana, the shah's son, who was governor of Tehran, would hold a reception at which he would make a speech in honour of the shah's birthday, after which the foreign envoys who were present would also make speeches; before each of these the national anthem of the country which the envoy represented would be played. The shah would watch the proceedings with members of his *ḥaram* from a window looking on the audience hall (*ibid.*, 91).

The other major festivals celebrated by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh were the religious festivals of the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*, the birthdays of the prophet Muḥammad, the Imām ʿAlī and the Hidden Imām, the *ʿīd-i ghadīr* [see GHADĪR KHUMM], the *mabʿath* and the *ʿīd al-fiṭr*. Muẓaffar al-Dīn added to these the birthday of Ḥusayn (*ibid.*, 73).

The Ḳādjārs, influenced by European precedent, made various innovations in ceremonial matters. In addition to the playing of national anthems on state occasions, various orders were instituted. One of the first was the Order of the Sun which Fatḥ ʿAlī gave to the French envoy General Gardane; shortly afterwards he instituted the Order of the Lion and the Sun for Malcolm (see Kaye, *Life and correspondence of Major-General Sir John Malcolm*, London 1856, ii, 31 ff.). Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh introduced the custom of giving his picture (*timthāl-i humāyūn*) adorned by one, two or three rows of diamonds to favoured recipients. The first class with three rows of diamonds was given only to foreign rulers (Muʿayyir al-Mamālik, *op. cit.*, 83-4).

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(A.K.S. LAMBTON)

4. In the Ottoman Empire.

In the Ottoman Empire, ceremonial, protocol and etiquette are generally referred to as *Teshrīfāt*. *Alay* [*q.v.*] "procession", "parade", forms an integral part of most ceremonies held by the court, in the residence of the sultans as well as those organised by provincial governors who, in a lesser way, were expected to display the splendour of their monarch's régime.

The same purpose was served by military ceremonial and display. Splendid occasions were the mustering of the army setting out on campaign when the "horsetails" were planted in the field of Davudpaşa or outside Üsküdar. Likewise, the fleet of the *kapudān-pasha* lay at anchor in front of the tomb of Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa at Beşiktaş before putting to sea on its yearly tour in the Mediterranean (see BAḤRIYYA. iii, and TUGH).

Popular entertainment (modern *şenlik*) often had a processional character as well. Ceremonial festivities of the sultan's court, such as weddings, circumcisions of princes and anniversaries, were coupled as a rule with extensive popular entertainments like illuminations (*donanma*) and theatricals.

The great Islamic festivals [see ʿĪD], especially those

during Ramaḍān, were occasions of general enjoyment. Special dress and the distribution of presents by the sultan, as well as to his person, by his subjects and by foreign princes belong to the ceremonial sphere [see HIBA; KHILʿA; LIBĀS, iv; PĪSHKASH]. Ottoman ceremonial derives on one hand from the ancient traditions of world rule cultivated by the Mongol and Turkish empires in Central Asia and the Middle East. On the other hand, the traditions of leadership in Islam begun in Medina and developed in the historical seats of the caliphate in Syria and ʿIrāḳ which had adopted much from the pre-Islamic Persian kingdoms and from elements of provincial Byzantine administrations, were formative elements. The Mamlūk sultanate played an important role in the transmission of prevalent Islamic political culture to the Ottomans. Some scholars maintain that the greater part of Ottoman court ceremonial was in direct imitation of imperial Constantinople, but recent research in Islamic history has shown that such a hypothesis is no longer tenable. The pioneering studies here of M.F. Köprülü have been confirmed by the work of modern scholars such as A.K.S. Lambton and H.İnalcık.

The rules of ceremonies and protocol set by the Ottoman government were applied within the frame of Islamic legal usage and custom (*ʿörf*) [see ʿURF] and laid down in so-called "law codes" *Ḳānūn-nāmes* [*q.v.*]. Hardly any sources can be dated with certainty before the reign of Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512). Dilger's (1967) and Heyd's (1973) researches have shown that the mss. of *Ḳānūn-nāmes* used and published by von Hammer and Meḥmed ʿĀrif were composites or pious frauds of later date than the years of Sultan Meḥemmed II (second reign 855-86/1451-81). Hence the so-called "Ottoman *Ḳānūn-nāme*" is unreliable as an unqualified source, and the use made of these texts by von Hammer and, *a fortiori* by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, is therefore flawed.

Court ceremonial, appropriately enhanced by Islamic ritual, was designed to emphasise the awe in which the ruler was to held by means of a show of splendour to be seen as evidence of his power. As a consequence, his separation from the rest of the population followed. A protective seclusion was a characteristic of the Ottoman sultans, with their forerunners in the Islamic Middle East. A reliable source, Bertrandon de la Brocquière (1433) describes already the isolation of the reigning sultans, e.g. Murād II still dining with the companions, but his successor sitting at table alone. The increased elevation of the sultan's person and his gradual disappearance from the public eye led to heightened ceremonial on the rare event of the ruler showing himself at appointed occasions.

The audience maintained the link between the separate spheres of authority of the sultan and of his ministers united in the *Dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*] presided over by the Grand Vizier [see ṢADR-I AʿẒAM]. In the early days of the Ottoman monarchy, the meetings of the *dīwān* were still public audiences. Probably during the reign of Selīm I (918-26/1512-20), the public audience was instituted in front of the *Bāb-ī Seʿādet* in the Palace of Istanbul, when a throne was placed there under an awning. The appearance of the ruler was formally applauded under the guidance of the Chief Applauder or *Alḳishčī Bashī*. *Alḳish* (applause), accompanied by exclamations like "*pādishāhimiz čok yasha*" intonated by the *Selām Čavūsh* or *Duʿādjī*, is a ceremonial known already in Saldjūḳ times. The audience proper (*ʿarḍ*) implied kissing hands (*destbūs*) or kissing the hem of the ceremonial kaftan of the sultan seated on his throne placed on a dais (*ṣofa*) on such occasions. *Ca.* 1525 the throne was replaced in a room specially built for audiences just inside the gate, the *ʿarḍ odasī* still to be seen in the Topkapı Sarayı today. The protocol is well-known from numerous reports of foreign ambassadors thus received. The guests were led to the sultan while held by their arms. The traditional explanation that it was a measure of security originating in the assassination of Murād I [*q.v.*] in 1389 is rendered doubtful by the earliest sources mentioning this protocol dating from 1518. In fact, this rigid guidance is known from Saldjūḳ times and the Mamlūk court (Dilger, 1967, 58-9 and n.; Lambton).

As tokens of favour, precious kaftans were presented to those persons received as *khilaʿ* or robes of honour. In times of decline, according to diplomatic sources of the 17th and 18th centuries, these robes were actually bought back by the Ottoman Porte to be given out another time. Since the days of Selīm I, the ruler would remain immobile and practically silent during audiences. An exceptional favour was a compliment on a speech of an ambassador in the guise of a word or two, e.g. "*güzel*" or a mere gesture of the hand. Bāyāzīd II and Meḥemmed II still seem to have entered upon some civil conversation on such occasions. The throne (*Takht-i hümāyūn*, *serīr*) did not have an important ceremonial significance in itself apart from being of luxury manufacture. The newly-succeeding sultan would receive the homage or oath of allegiance of his subjects (*bayʿa* [*q.v.*], *bīʿat* in Ottoman usage).

The actual accession to rule was the subject of the great ceremony of the *djulūs*. The ruler proceeded in state on horseback (or boat) to the shrine of Eyyūb on the Golden Horn, where took place the Girding of the Sword (*taḳlīd-i sayf*, *ḳilič kushatmasī* in Turkish) in lieu of a coronation in Western style. According to tradition, this took place for the first time in 824/1421 at Bursa, where the venerable Sheykh Emīr Bukhārī girded Murād II. Since Meḥemmed II, the ceremony was held at the Eyyūb *türbe* till the accession of the last Ottoman Meḥemmed VI, on 3 July 1918, when the Sheykh Sayyid Aḥmad Sanūsī [*q.v.*] performed it. It is a persistent but erroneous notion that the sword was fastened by the Grand Sheykh of the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*] dervish order.

An imperial astronomer had to appoint the exact date, which was to fall between the third and seventh day after the actual accession. On the return journey, the sultan passed the Janissary Barracks of Eski Odalar. There, this corps offered *sherbet*, and the traditional intention for the next campaign of holy war was formulated by the ruler's words "We shall meet at the Red Apple" (*Ḳizil Elma*, in Turkish the symbol of distant Christian capitals such as Rome and Vienna). A distribution of money to the Janissary Corps became usual (*Djulūs bakhshīshi*) as was also customary at the reception of foreign ambassadors by the sultan and separately by the *dīwān* in full session, a so-called *Ulūfe Dīwānī* ("Salary Council"). The swords used formed part of the collection of the Holy Relics of the Prophet Muḥammad, *emānāt-i mubāreke*, still kept in the room in the Palace appointed for that purpose, the *khirḳat-i sherīf odasī*. These relics acquired by Selīm I comprised *inter alia* the Holy Mantle itself (*burda*), the Holy Banner (*sandjaḳ-i sherīf*), a fragment of a tooth of the Prophet (*dendān-i seʿādet*), hairs of the Prophet's beard (*liḥya-yi seʿādet*), a print of his footstep (*ḳadem-i seʿādet*) and swords which belonged to the Prophet, to the caliphs Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān and to six of his Companions.

These *eshyāʾ-i müteberrike* were in a way the insignia of government for the Ottoman sultans in their role as leaders of Islam, and during the 19th century, especially from the time of ᶜAbd Ḥamīd II (1293-1327/1876-1909) became symbolic of Ottoman pretentions to the caliphate. The true regalia and symbols of recognition as Muslim ruler were for the Ottomans as for all others, the right of coinage (*sikka* [*q.v.*]); the mention of the sultan's name in the Friday Prayers (*khutba* [*q.v.*]); the seal stamp (*mühür*); the monogram, i.e. the prestigious *ṭughra* [*q.v.*], the hallmark of Ottoman rule par excellence; on some occasions, the dressing of the Imperial Tent (*otāgh-i hümāyūn*, also *čadīr*); and accompanying most ceremonies, the military music of the Janissaries (*mehterkhāne* [*q.v.* and also NAḲĀRA-KHĀNA and NAWBA]).

The other sovereign ceremony with religious significance was the expedition of the annual "holy" caravan to Mecca and Medina carrying the concrete embodiment of Ottoman devotion toward the Holy Places. The *sürre-yi hümāyūn* was organised around the date of 12 Radjab by the *Dār al-seᶜādet aghasī* [*q.v.*] in the Harem apartment of the Palace. The first sending of the *ṣadaḳāt-i rūmiyye* was ordered by Meḥemmed I. Selīm I for the first time received the holy relics, together with the keys of the Kaᶜba. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II sent a sum of 3,503,610 *ghurush* with the *Maḥmal-i Sharīf* the "Holy Camel", thus called by Western observers. The end of the Ramaḍān saw a regular series of splendid religious ceremonials at court and in the capital. The congratulations on the occasion of the principal Islamic holidays took place in the sultan's palace in the form of a great audience in front of the *Bāb-i Seᶜādet* (the *muᶜāyede*). The traditional public visit to the mosque by the sultan for the Friday *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* each week remained one of few ceremonies during which a great number of subjects, and also foreign visitors, had the opportunity to see if the ruling sultan was alive and well. This so-called *selāmlïḳ* is the Ottoman ceremony most widely described (and photographed) through the ages, and was the symbol of the religious as well as the secular sovereignty exercised by the Ottoman dynasty.

Ceremonial and protocol were maintained according to traditional standards by a number of court officials. The *Čavūsh-Bashï* was in charge of protocol of the *Dīwān* and the sultan's audiences in the Palace. The *Mīr ᶜAlem(Emīr-i ᶜAlem)* or standard bearer, an officer of the "Outside Service" of the palace, was custodian of the regalia, e.g. the *aḳ ᶜalem, čadīr* [see MIẒALLA], the *mehter* and the "Horse tails" (*tugh* [*q.v.*]). He had to distribute standards and banners to newly-appointed *beylerbeys* and lesser provincial governors. The office of Master of Ceremonies, *teshrīfātčī bashï*, was instituted according to traditional opinion by Süleymān I. Registers were kept of all expenses and receipts related to ceremonial occasions. A journal of day-to-day events at court or at the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief (*Serdār-ï Ekrem*) seems to have been kept by these officials (also see R.F. Kreutel and K. Teply, *Kara Mustafa vor Wien 1683*, Graz, etc. 1982, 103-210). This office by 1683 or at least by 1703 fell under the authority of the Grand Vizier rather than that of the palace service (see K. Kepeci, *Tarih lûgati*, Istanbul 1952, s.v. *teşrifatçılık*).

The reforms begun by Sultan Maḥmūd II (1223-55/1808-39), and completed under the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], brought about changes in ceremonial and protocol: if not in principle and terminology, then certainly in size, luxury and uniforms. The setting of many occasions was changed completely by the moving of the sultans' residence and court out of Top Kapı Sarayı to palaces outside town along the Bosphorus near Beşiktaş and even across the water, notably the palaces of Çiragan, Dolmabahçe and the vast complex of Yıldız, the last one built upon the initiative of ᶜAbd-Ḥamīd II.

On the whole, tradition was maintained in a more sober form. To the ever-increasing number of foreign visitors to the Ottoman capital, ceremonies nevertheless still made a deep impression, as is evident from the mass of travel accounts, private memoirs and observations of diplomatists. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd reputedly took a great interest in keeping alive the great traditions, and promoted the study and restoration of institutions from the Ottoman and Islamic past, for ceremonial was still considered a useful means to enhance the pretentions of the Ottoman Sultan-caliph to great power status and to paramount leadership of the Islamic world.

During the second half of the 19th century, we see in ceremonial a blend of ancient oriental and modern European styles. The *Teshrīfātčī* remained an official attached to the Grand Vizerate, i.e. the *Dīwān-i Hümāyūn*. The newly-created Ottoman Foreign Office employed its own Chef-de-Protocole (*Khāridjiyye Teshrīfātčīsī*). Official titles and ranks are systematically arranged into a hierarchy. The *sālnāme* of 1323/1905-6 (164) mentions a *Teshrīfāt-i ᶜUmūmiyye Nāẓïrï*, ranking as a vizier of second class attached to the Grand Vizier's office. Next to him functioned a *Teshrīfātī-yi Dīwān-i Hümāyūn* carrying the *ūlā* rank of civil servants (*ibid.*, 164). In the Yıldız Palace, a *Merāsim Dāʾiresi* functioned. The ancient office of *Alḳïshčï Bashï* leading a group of official "applauders" still survived. The classical *mehterkhāne*, however, was replaced by a western-style military band playing martial music at all occasions.

A remarkable innovation *alla franga* was the introduction at public ceremonies, such as the *muᶜāyede, selāmlïḳ* or the visit to the *Khïrḳa-yi Sherīf*, on 15 Ramaḍān, of the prominent female members of the Sultan's household and family. The Wālide Sulṭān [*q.v.*] princesses, high-ranking consorts and female officials of the Harem had to take part in a great number of ceremonies and to watch the military parades in front of the *Taᶜlīmkhāne Köshkü* inside Yıldız Park, which was the successor, in a way, of the *Alay Köshkü* on the wall of the Topkapı Sarayı facing the Sublime Porte (*Bāb-i ᶜAlī* [*q.v.*]). As of old, the births, circumcisions and weddings of princes and princesses were occasions for court ceremonies and public entertainments. The collective circumcision of princes took place three times during ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II's reign. The first days of the great Islamic holidays were celebrated with splendid ceremonial audiences in the Dolmabahçe palace. Foreign ambassadors could watch proceedings from balconies opened for that purpose. The *destbūs* was performed by a long row of dignitaries. The *Sheykh al-Islām* performed the ritual prayer first but (a sign of the reforms!) was followed by the Orthodox Patriarch and the Chief Rabbi in congratulating the Sultan.

The last time Ottoman ceremonial was watched by multitudes in the streets of Istanbul was the accession to the throne by the last Ottoman sultan, Meḥemmed VI, in 1918. The Grand Vizier Aḥmed Tewfīḳ Pasha [*q.v.*] was the last one to leave the sultan's palace in stately procession (*alay*) to proceed to the Sublime Porte, this time in a carriage instead of on horseback, on 4 November 1922 (see A. F. Türkgeldi (a former *Mabeyn*, Chief Secretary to the last sultan) *Görüp işittiklerim* [= Memoirs], Ankara 1951², 165).

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(A.H. de Groot)

5. In Muslim India.

Ceremonial at the Muslim courts in India, while deriving much from Islam elsewhere, especially Iran, has also continued and adapted indigenous traditions. The pomp and ceremonial of Hindū courts is of considerable antiquity, and the grandeur of kings is a favourite theme of Hindū literature and Indian folklore; no Muslim ruler could have allowed the splendour of Hindū ceremonial to exceed his own! The psychological value of state ostentation is of course considerable, as tending to emphasise the power of the sovereign, his distance from his subjects, and the awe in which he is held. This ceremonial is most in evidence in the state audiences, and in the royal processions; for the latter, see MAWĀKIB.

Ceremonial in the earliest days of the Dihlī sultanate must be presumed, from the fact that the earliest records of the administration of the sultanate show such a close connection with that of the Ghaznawids whose power in the Pandjāb it inherited, to have been modelled on that of the Ghaznawids, for whom see section 3 above; through them came ʿAbbāsid connections also, which were undoubtedly strengthened in the time of Iltutmish when Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIṣāmī, who had served as a *wazīr* at Baghdād, was appointed the Dihlī *wazīr*. However, the prestige of the sultanate declined after the death of Iltutmish, when real power was in the hands of a confederacy of Turkish *amīrs* ("the Forty")—with the result that the sultan was prevented from being adequately distanced from his subjects—and was not restored until the reign of Balban who "introduced the Persian ceremonial" (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. text, 27-9, 30-2). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 217-29, tr. Gibb, Cambridge 1971, 658-64), an eye-witness, describes that of the court of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ; the entrance to his palace (the Hazār Sutūn at Djahānpanāh: see DIHLĪ. 2. Monuments) was approached by three gates, each guarded by men-at-arms and equipped with a band of musicians [see NAḲḲĀRA-KHĀNA, and also NAWBA]. At the second gate was the *naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ* (principal usher; for his functions see NAḲĪB), whose headdress was surmounted with peacock feathers (a borrowing from Hindū practice); he and his assistants scrutinised all who entered. At the third gate, beyond the antechamber, the names of all visitors were recorded, and none who had not the sultan's permission were permitted to proceed to the *darbār* within. Here the ceremonial was under the direction of the *amīr ḥādjib* (also called *bārbek* in the Dihlī sultanate). In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description this was the sultan's nephew Fīrūz b. Radjab, who later succeeded to the throne as Fīrūz Shāh; but it was common for the *amīr ḥādjib* to be of royal blood. His duty was, with the *nāʾib bārbek* and his assistant *ḥādjibs*, to marshall those attending the *darbār* according to their precedence and seniority, to present all petitions to the sultan, and to transmit the royal commands to subordinate officials and to any petitioners; one *ḥādjib* (*ḥādjib-i faṣl*, *ḥādjib-i faṣṣāl*) had the special duty of making an inventory of all gifts received by the sultan [see further, ḤĀDJIB]. The sultan sat in the daily *darbār* on a cushioned seat (golden bejewelled thrones were in use only at *darbārs* on feast days), the *wazīr* and his secretaries standing before him, followed by the various *ḥādjibs*, and about a hundred *naḳībs*. The noble appointed to carry the fly-whisk stood immediately behind the sultan, who was flanked to left and right by his special armed bodyguard, the *silāḥdārs*.

ranged in order down the *darbār*-hall were the *ḳāḍīs*. the *khāṭib*, the principal jurists and other *ʿulamāʾ*, the *shaykhs* of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods in the capital, the sultan's relations by blood and marriage, and then the principal *amīrs* and other commanders. When all these were in place, some sixty caparisoned horses of the royal stable, and fifty adorned war-elephants, were brought in. If anyone waiting at the third gate had brought a gift for the sultan, this was reported to him by the *ḥādjibs*; if the sultan approved, the donor and his gift were brought in, and welcomed by the sultan who might recompense the donor by a *khilʿa* [*q.v.*] and a purse of money "for washing the head" (*sar-shustī*); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes a more elaborate ceremonial in the case of gifts and revenues presented by one of the provincial officers (*ibid.*, iii, 226-7, tr. Gibb, iii, 663). When an audience was held on a feast day, the palace was spread with carpets and the hall was enclosed beneath vast awnings; on the first day of a feast the sultan sat on a cushioned seat on the large golden throne, with heavily jewelled legs, and a jewelled parasol was held over him; on later days of feasts smaller golden thrones were in use. All attending the court would salute the sultan individually, in descending order of precedence; then revenue-holders would bring present, and all would be entertained to a great banquet, again being served in order of precedence, while a large golden brazier would fill the hall with the smoke of different kinds of incense and fragrant woods, and those present would be sprinkled with rose-water. The dishes were escorted from the kitchens by *naḳībs*, and a eulogy of the sultan would be pronounced by the *naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ* before those present were assigned to their places. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes some of the dishes presented; last comes *pān* (betel-leaves containing chopped areca-nut with lime and a bitter gum). (This is an indigenous custom, and the presentation of *pān* is still used at Indian meals as a gracious sign of dismissal.) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa further describes the special ceremonies at the reception at court of the son of the ʿAbbāsid caliph; since these involved a processional entry, they are described s.v. MAWĀKIB.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, *passim*) refers often to the insignia of rulers and *amīrs*; for these see MARĀTIB. Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, whose *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* is richer in administrative details than most chronicles, lists twenty-one royal prerogatives (*sikkahā-yi tādj-dārān*) maintained by Fīrūz Shāh, including the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*], the throne (*takht*), the royal seal cut in agate, use of a *tughra* [*q.v.*], the right to the fly-flap (*magas-rān*), the royal saddlecover [see GHĀSHIYA], a white quiver, encampments outside the gate, the black umbrella, the royal headdress (*kulāh-i malik*; a crown is not specified), and others. The right to strike coin [see SIKKA] is, curiously enough, not included here, and also *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] finds no mention, although the practice is not unknown in India. For the umbrellas (*recte čhatra*, though commonly also *čatr* in Indian Persian texts) see MIẒALLA; for the special spear used in the royal escort see DŪRBĀSH. Another common royal prerogative is the scattering of small coin (and also small golden stars, arrowheads, etc.) among the populace at festivals, sometimes by catapult (*mandjānīk*); for this see NITHĀR. Possession of royal slaves (usually *bandagān* in Indian histories; but see GHULĀM, iii, and also ḤABSHĪ), and the overlordship of the state treasuries and workshops (*kārkhānas*) should also be mentioned.

There is little definite information on ceremonial in the later Dihlī sultanate and in the provincial dynasties, but there is no ground for supposing it to be different other than in detail (for example, the vast number of slaves, both male and female, in the later stages of the sultanate of Mālwā) from that already described. With the coming of the Mughals in the 10th/16th century, however, there are notable innovations, and also many more sources of information: autobiographies by Bābur, Gulbadan Bēgam and Djahāngīr, extensive dynastic histories (many produced under the stimulation of the millennium) and administrative accounts such as the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* and part of the *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*, accounts by European travellers, and the valuable contributions to social history of contemporary Mughal painting.

The *naḳḳāra-khāna* was extended both in the number and the variety of its instruments (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, *āʾīn* 19). The ruler in *darbār*, whether in the hall of general or special audience, was always seated on one of the thrones, which were of several kinds and of different shapes; some, in the Mughal forts, were permanent structures of marble, with or without a canopy. That in the *dīwān-i ʿāmm* of the Red Fort at Dihlī is a marble baldachino (*nishēman-i ẓill-i ilāhī*) under a marble "Bengali" roof, all inlaid with precious stones; Bernier describes a railed space round it, reserved for the *umarāʾ*, the Hindū *rādjās* at court, and foreign ambassadors; further space within the *dīwān* was reserved for other officials, and the general public awaiting audience were accommodated in the outer courtyard; he gives a full account of *darbār* ceremonial in *Travels*, 261-3. The elaborate golden thrones were in use in the halls of special audience (*dīwān-i khāṣṣ*), including the magnificent Peacock Throne (*takht-i ṭāwūs*) which was later looted by Nādir Shāh in 1152/1739 (description in *Bādshhāh-nāma*, i, 78-81; Bernier, *Travels*, 269 ff.; Tavernier, *Travels*, i, 384 ff.; for its fate, see G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, i, 321-2). Besides the appearance of the ruler in audience, there had been introduced under Akbar his appearance on a balcony on the wall of his palace so that he might be seen by the populace at large; for this adoption of a Hindū practice, see DARSHAN. The emperor here and in *darbār* was usually accompanied only by the *magas rān* and a single veiled sword; outside the palace he was invariably accompanied by the royal umbrella and the *ḳur*, a variety of arms wrapped in bags of scarlet cloth (other colours also appear in Mughal painting), the hilts of the swords often showing, together with *ʿalams* and the *čhatrtōḳ*, and *tumāntōḳ*, standards resembling the common *ʿalam* but with their shafts adorned with Tibetan yak-tails. The *magas rān* was commonly a switch of yak-tails (*čamarī*, *čawnrī*; see Hobson-Jobson, s.v. *Chowry*), although the folded towel is not unknown in Mughal painting; in contemporary Deccan painting, however, the folded towel is invariably depicted. *Darbār* paintings of Shāhdjahān often show the fly-whisk in the hands of a Hindū *rādjā* at court. Together with these trappings was carried a flat oval shield-like screen on a long pole, the *āftābgīr* (also called *sāyabān*), to shade the royal person from the rays of the sun. Other insignia also might be carried; see further MARĀTIB.

The dignities of the *čhatrtōḳ* and *tumāntōḳ*, the *māhī-marātib*, the right to an umbrella and to the use of elephants, might be conferred on royal princes and favoured nobles. The emperors took the title *bahādur* [*q.v.*] to themselves, only very rarely conferring it on distinguished generals; they used also the title *bādshāh*; it would seem that *mīrzā* might also be awarded as a title, as it is found appended to the names of those not of noble birth, and even to Hindūs [see MĪRZĀ]; royal princes were generally called *sulṭān*.

To the privilege of striking coin was added the

minting of pieces bearing the royal portrait, perhaps starting with the "symbols of faith"—the likeness of the emperor and the motto *Allahu Akbar*—presented by Akbar to his *murīds* in the Dīn-i Ilāhī (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 160), and a *shast wa shabīh* were given by Djahāngīr to favoured members of his court circle—including Roe, the English ambassador (*Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, ed. Foster, Hakluyt Socy., i, 244-5). Austin de Bordeaux ("Hunarmand") was similarly honoured. Other portrait medals were presented to nobles (S. H. Hodivala, *Historical studies in Mughal numismatics*, xi: "Portrait muhrs" of Jahāngīr, 147-70, Calcutta 1923). Gigantic minted pieces of Mughal emperors are also known, some intended as presents, but more generally retained as treasury pieces. Small coin was also struck specially for the *nithār* [*q.v.*], together with gold and silver fruits and flowers following Čaghatay practice, and was continued at least as late as the reign of Farrukh-siyar Royal seals [see MUHR] were cut in steel as well as in cornelian and agate, for use on *farmāns* and for accessioning additions to the royal libraries (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, *āʾīn* 20).

As well as royal attendance at the public mosques and at the *ʿīd* ceremonies (described s.v. MAWĀKIB), new ceremonies were introduced within the Mughal courts: Djahāngīr writes of his own regular weighing against gold, silver and other commodities, on the lunar and solar anniversaries of his accession, and the scenes are represented in Mughal painting. He also writes of the golden chain outside his palace, attached to a bell, which any suppliant for justice could ring (but *zandjīr pīsh-i dākhūl* already occurs in ʿAfīf's list of prerogatives of Fīrūz Shāh). The *nawrūz* and *āb-pāshān* ceremonies were also observed with great pomp in the palaces, again with painting confirmation available. Plate 7 of the Leningrad Album shows the scene of Djahāngīr's investiture (sometimes called "coronation": but there was no Mughal crown, merely a jewelled headband worn on the cap): foreign emissaries and Jesuit priests are distinguished by their attire (including perhaps Roe?), wrestlers and dancing-girls perform, ushers carry trays of money-bags, a courtier scatters coin, kettledrums are played from the back of an elephant which blocks a gateway, while *karnās* are blown from the palace walls. Plate 32 shows a *darbār* scene of Djahāngīr, painted by Abu 'l-Ḥasan: Djahāngīr wears a jewelled band round his turban, behind him are the *āftābgīr* and a small *čhatr* with the *ḳur* in a pink cloth; many of the courtiers are named, and indeed Rādjā Bīr Singh Dēv acts as his chowry-bearer (Leningrad Album publ. as *Al'bom indiiskikhi persidskikh miniatyur xvi-xviii vv.*, Moscow n.d.).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the sultanate of Dehli*[4], Karachi 1958, esp. ch. 4; Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. text, Calcutta 1890, 107-8; Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, cited from Bibl. Ind. texts; F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul empire*, ed. London 1901; *Tavernier's travels in India*, ed. V. Ball, London 1889. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

MARĀTHĀS, the name of the "caste-cluster of agriculturalists-turned-warriors" inhabiting the north-west Dakhan, Mahārāshtra "the great country", a term which is extended to all Marāthī-speakers. The Marāthā homeland stretched between 15° N. and 23° N., nearly equidimensional with the main mass of the Dakhan lavas north of the Malaprabha river and south of the Sātpūras. It lies within the rain-shadow of the Western Ghāts, a plateau compartmented by mesas and buttes between which valleys of black soil, watered by a 20" to 30" annual rainfall, yielded cereals, oilseeds and cotton. The significance of the Marāthās in Islamic Indian history is that they stopped the Mughal empire in its prime.

Marāthā fighters and revenue agents became indispensable to the sultanates of Aḥmadnagar [see NIẒĀM-SHĀHĪS] and Bīdjāpur [see ʿĀDIL-SHĀHĪS]. Hereditary local notables, *deśmukhs*, *deśpāndes* and *desājīs*, and village headmen, *pātīls*, dominated rural society with their armed followings and family connexions as *waṭandārs* with rights to land revenue. *Deśmukh* families, often ensconced in hill forts, became *sardārs*, cavalry captains, for Muslim rulers, receiving *muḳāsa* or (additional) revenue assignments. One such, Shāhdjī Bhōnslē (1002-74/1594-1664) father of Śivādjī (1036 or 1040/1627 or 1630 to 1680), the creator of Marāthā *rādj*, helped, along with other Marāthā *deśmukh* families, Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*] to preserve Aḥmadnagar against the Mughals in the 1620s. Following the final Mughal absorption of Aḥmadnagar in 1035/1636, Shāhdjī served Bīdjāpur in South India. In Shādjī's absence, Śivādjī from 1056/1646 onwards used the resources of his father's *djāgīr* of Pūna to extend his own control over the strongholds of neighbouring, often hostile, *deśmukh* families. By 1066/1656, Śivādjī was sufficiently important and free from Bīdjāpurī control for Awrangzīb, then governor of the Mughal Dakhan and attacking Bīdjāpur, to make overtures. In 1070/1659, Śivādjī's slaying of the Bīdjāpurī commander Afḍal Khān drew more Marāthās to himself. Hitherto, Śivādjī had been a Marāthā chief among many, taking advantage of the agriculturally-destructive wars between the Mughals and the Dakhan sultanates, and the dearths that accompanied them, to recruit larger Marāthā war bands for service under Muslim paymasters. Afḍal Khān, however, had desecrated the shrine of Tuldjapur and Pandharpur, the latter a major centre of Marāthā pilgrimage as "the focus of a specifically Maharashtrian *bhaktī* movement". By 1073-4/1663-4, during which time Śivādjī humiliated the Mughals by successfully raiding their chief commander's camp at Pūna (Shaʿbān 1073/April 1663) and the port of Sūrat (Djumādā II 1074/January 1664), Śivādjī had created a distinctively non-Muslim political authority in the Dakhan.

The massive Mughal campaign under Rādja Djay Singh in 1075/1665, together with the bait of a future joint Śivādjī-Djay Singh campaign against Bīdjāpur, led to the treaty of Purandar by which Śivādjī was to surrender 23 of his 35 forts. Śivādjī's attendance upon Awrangzīb at Āgra in 1076-7/1666 and his escape in a fruit basket illumine the obstacles to his becoming loyal to the Mughals at the price which they could pay. Rādjput refusal to accord Śivādjī *kśātriya* status, Mughal anger over the sack of Sūrat, and reluctance to reward defiance, limited Awrangzīb's freedom of action, while the decay of Bīdjāpur offered Śivādjī more opportunities than Mughal service could have done.

Śivādjī's coronation in 1085/1674 according to "Hindu" rites as *chatrapatī* symbolised the repudiation of an Indo-Muslim ethos, but not of the administrative structure of the Dakhan Muslim sultanates. He tried to curb the larger *deśmukhs* and assignees in his own territory (*svarādjya*) and his successful military and political activity furthered upward social movement among Marāthā and Kunbi *djātīs* and the tribal Kolis.

Prince Akbar's rebellion in 1091-2/1681 against

Awrangzīb, and his joining Śivādjī's successor Śambhadjī (1067-1100/1657-89) following on a Śivādjī-Golkondā alliance from 1084-5/1674 and the experience of only temporary accommodations with Śivādjī before the latter's death in 1091/1680, determined Awrangzīb to destroy Bīdjāpur and Golkondā and to force Marāthā submission. By 1100/1689, with the capture and brutal execution of Śambhadjī, following the seizure of Bīdjāpur (1097/1686) and Golkondā (1098/1687), Awrangzīb appeared triumphant. But Rādjarām, Śivādjī's younger son, migrated to Marāthā outposts at Tandjūr and Djindjī in South India, and the Mughals were faced with a mounted guerrilla campaign in the western and southern regions of the peninsula. Although Djindjī was taken in 1109/1698, several hill forts in Śivādjī's former *svarādjya* occupied, and many Marāthā chiefs apparently won over by the award of Mughal *manṣabs*, "the Mughal peace" was, south of the Narmadā, only established (temporarily) in Golkondā. The Mughals indeed succeeded in shattering authority and in splintering allegiances; they did not weaken Marāthā self-consciousness. At Awrangzīb's death in 1118/1707, there was no chief Marāthā with whom to conclude an agreement by which all Marāthās would abide, but only Marāthā chiefs to be cajoled into a personal and temporary submission. Śambhadjī's son Shāhū (1093-1163/1682-1749) was being raised in Awrangzīb's camp. In 1111/1700 Rādjarām's widow Tarabai installed her young son Śivādjī II as *chatrapatī* in one of the Marāthā camps.

After Awrangzīb's death, Mughal-Marāthā relations became a function of inter-Marāthā and inter-Mughal rivalries. Shāhū was allowed to escape: he was installed as *chatrapatī* at Satara in 1119/1708. In 1121/1709, the Mughal *pādshāh* Bahādur Shāh granted both Shāhū and Śivādjī II rights to *sardeśmukhī* (a notional 10% of the land revenue assessment as *deśmukh*) from the Mughal Dakhan. In 1130/1718, Ḥusayn ʿAlī, governor of the Mughal Dakhan, promised Shāhū *čawth* (a notional 25% of the land revenue assessment), *sardeśmukhī* and recognition of his *svarādjya* in return for 15,000 Marāthā horse for use against the Mughal *pādshāh* Farrukh-siyar, private concessions which were formally confirmed by the puppet *pādshāh* Rafīʿ al-Daradjāt in 1131/1719. Earlier, Ḥusayn ʿAlī's rival, Čīn Ḳilič Khān, had intrigued with Tarabai's faction while resisting raids upon the Mughal Dakhan by Marāthās obedient to Shāhū. In 1137/1724, Shāhū's *pēshwā*, Bādjī Rāo, assisted Čīn Ḳilič Khān to retain by force (against the Mughal *pādshāh* Muḥammad Shāh [1131-61/1719-48]) the governorship of the Dakhan. However, fear of encirclement by Bādjī Rāo's Marāthās raiding northwards into Gudjarāt and Mālwā and southward into the Karnātak induced Čīn Ḳilič Khān to treat with Shāhū's rivals (how headed by Rādjarām's second son Śambhadjī II [1109-74/1698-1760] at Kolhāpur). Defeat by Bādjī Rāo in 1140/1728 at Palkhed, and the treaty of Mungi Śivgaon, tilted the balance in the Dakhan permanently towards the Satara Marāthās.

In 1125/1713, Shāhū, struggling to assert authority over leaders of raiding bands unused to control, and faced with a rival *chatrapatī* at Kolhāpur, had appointed Bālādjī Rāo Visvanāth (d. 1132/172) as *pēshwā* or chief minister. A systematic policy of raiding Mughal territories and of dealing with local Mughal officers enabled the *pēshwā* to bind chiefs to him and to acquire resources for a Marāthā central direction. Under Bālādjī Rāo's son Bādjī Rāo (1132-53/1720-40), the Satara Marāthās secured Mughal recognition of their claim to *čawth* and *sardeśmukhī* (supplemented by *rāhdārī* or transit dues) from Gudjarāt (by 1143-4/1731), and from Mālwā (by 1154/1741)—this following a decisive victory over the Mughals at Bhopal in 1150/1737. Between 1154/1741 and 1164/1751, the forces of Raghudjī Bhōnslē plundered Bihār, Bengal and Orissa, forcing the granting of *čawth* from Bengal and the loss of Orissa. In the 1740s, the Marāthās were ready to intervene in the Gangetic region, over which Mughal authority had been fatally weakened by Nādir Shāh's [*q.v.*] sack of Dihlī in 1151/1739.

Although in wars against the *nizām* of Ḥaydarābād in 1164-5/1751-2, 1171/1757 and 1173/1760, the Marāthās acquired the cities of Aḥmadnagar, Bīdjāpur, Dawlatābād and Burhānpur, their gains further south proved insecure. After 1145-6/1732, the Marāthā possessions centred upon Tandjūr often became tributary to the *nawwābs* of Ārkāt (Arcot), and in 1156/1743 the then *nizām* of Ḥaydarābād (Čīn Ḳilič Khān) captured Tiruchirapallī (Trichinopoly). In 1174/1760-1, Ḥaydar ʿAlī [*q.v.*] seized power in Mahisūr (Mysore) [*q.v.*] and closed off the south to Marāthā exploitation. Even in the Marāthā homeland, the treaty of Varana (Warna) in 1143/1731 between Shāhū and Śambhadjī II of Kolhāpur, giving Shāhū control of the latter's diplomatic relations but recognising his *svarādjya*, indicated the segmentary character of Marāthā polity.

Under the *pēshwā* Bālādjī Rāo II (1153-74/1740-61) the Marāthās led by Malhar Rāo Holkar, Djayappa Sīndhīyā and Raghunnāth Bādjī Rāo, supported now Ṣafdar Djang of Awadh [*q.v.*], now Ghāzī al-Dīn ʿImād al-Mulk (grandson of Čīn Ḳilič Khān), and now the puppet *pādshāhs* Aḥmad Shāh (1161-7/1748-54) and ʿĀlamgīr II (1167-73/1754-9) in return for promises of *čawth* from the Pandjāb or from the Gangā-Djamnā *dō-āb*, and of Mughal offices and subventions. In 1171/1758 Raghannāth Rāo moved to Lāhawr against the invading Afghān ruler Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*]. In Djumādā I-II 1173/January 1760 Aḥmad Shāh's forces expelled the Marāthās from Dihlī, provoking a grand military riposte under Sadaśiv Rāo, the *pēshwā's* uncle. In Djumādā II 1174/January 1761 the Afghāns savagely defeated the Marāthās at Pānīpat, decimating their military leadership.

The death of many of the *pēshwā*'s principal aides and a succession of feeble *pēshwās* after the early death of Madhav Rāo in 1186/1772, dispersed authority among the Marāthās to the regional military chiefs, the Gāikwārs of Barōda, the Holkars of Indore, the Sīndhīyās of Gwāliyar and the Bhōnslēs of Nagpur. The military power of the Marāthās as an uneasy confederacy was sufficient for Mahādadjī Rāo Sīndhīyā (1139-40 to 1208/1727-94) to instal in 1185/1772 the Mughal *pādshāh* Shāh ʿĀlam in Dihlī as a dependent: it was sufficient for the Marāthās to defeat the East India Company's army at Talegaon in 1192/1779 and to repulse it from Pūna in 1195/1781, during the indecisive Anglo-Marāthā wars of 1192-96/1778-82; it was sufficient for Tukodjī Rāo Holkar and Dawlat Rāo Sīndhīyā in 1209/1795 to defeat the *nizām* of Ḥaydarābād's forces at Kharda.

But Dawlat Rāo Sīndhīyā and Djaswant Rāo Holkar fell to struggling for control of the *pēshwā* Bādjī Rāo II (1211-33/1796-1818) and, in desperation, the latter turned to the East India Company. Wellesley's subsidiary treaty of Bassein (1217/1802) took away the *pēshwā*'s independence. Raghudjī Bhōnslē and Dawlat Rāo Sīndhīyā resorted to arms and in 1218/1803 the latter lost Dihlī, the *dō-āb* and

territories in Gudjarāt and the Dakhan. Djaswant Rāo Holkar belatedly intervened in 1219/1804, inflicting a major defeat on the Company's troops near Kotah, a further inducement for Wellesley's recall to England. A revised settlement with Śīndhīyā restored to him territories south of the Čambāl; Holkar was left free in central India. But in 1233/1817, British pressure on the Pindarī freebooters was recognised as pressure on the Marāthā leaders, so the *pēshwā*, the Bhōnslēs and Holkar made one last effort by war to retain their independence, but were defeated piecemeal. The peace settlements of 1233/1817-18 incorporated the Marāthā home territories into the Bombay Presidency and reduced the *pēshwā* and the principal Marāthā chiefs to pensionaries or to mediatised princes under British paramountcy.

The Marāthās had hollowed out the Mughal empire, diverting its resources to themselves and distressing its peoples. But by accepting Mughal privileges, grants of revenue and titles, conferred in due form, they had preserved Mughal "sovereignty". Shāhū accepted the title of *rādjā* and Mughal *farāmīn* granting *čawth* and *sardeśmukhī*; in 1154/1741 the *pēshwā* accepted the *nā'ib-ṣūbadārī* of Mālwā; in 1198/1784 Mahādadjī Rāo Śīndhīyā received the title of *wakīl-i muṭlaḳ* from Shāh ʿĀlam. Mughal political and military defeats were accompanied by Mughal ideological successes. The Marāthās behaved like *arrivistes* with no faith in themselves. This was not inevitable. By 1091/1680, Śivādjī had created an independent polity with (against the backcloth of Awrangzīb's Islamising aspirations as expressed in the formal imposition of *djizya* and some temple destruction) an alternative religio-political symbolism (to be represented in Marāthā historiography). Śivādjī moved to protect cultivators in his *svarādjya* against his own kind—the overmighty *deśmukh* and *muḳāsa* holder. But by 1118-19/1707, Awrangzīb had occupied sufficient of Śivādjī's *svarādjya* to force Marāthā warrior bands to live off the Mughal countryside by plunder, unable to dominate and rule it from the urban centres that formed the nuclei of Mughal power. Wide-ranging Marāthā raids estranged the rural notables, the *zamīndārs*, from the Mughals, without attaching them to the Marāthās.

Among the Marātha chiefs, respect for Śivādji's family, the success of the *pēshwās* against the *niẓām* of Ḥaydarābād and the Mughals north of the Narmadā, and the pride of confounding the Mughals, provided sufficient cohesion before Shāhū's death in 1163/1749. Thereafter, the centrifugal possibilities opened up both by the practice of the chiefs operating in Mughal territory receiving the larger proportion of *čawth* and *sardeśmukhī* collections, and also by their being granted hereditary assignments and tax farms in the Marāthā homelands, proved to be beyond thwarting by a succession of sickly and feeble minors installed as *pēshwās*. How in fact the emergence of regional and local Marāthā chiefdoms affected the welfare of those living under them remains to be fully investigated.

Bibliography: Records in Marāthī, Persian and English—N.N. Gidwani and K. Navalani, *A guide to reference materials on India*, Jaypur 1974, ii, 1066-72; J.C. Grant Duff, *A history of the Mahrattas*, 2 vols., Oxford 1921; G.S. Sardesai, *New history of the Marathas*, 2 vols., Bombay 1946-8; Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal empire*, 4 vols., Calcutta 1932-50; idem, *Shivaji and his times*, Calcutta 1920; V.G. Dighe, *Bajirao and Maratha expansion*, Bombay 1944; Satish Chandra, *Parties and politics at the Mughal court 1707-1740*, Aligarh 1959; A.R. Kulkarni, *Maharashtra in the age of Shivaji*, Poona 1969; S.N. Sen, *Military system of the Marathas*, Calcutta 1928; idem, *Administrative system of the Marathas*, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1925; Percival Spear, *The Oxford history of modern India 1740-1947*, Oxford 1965, 43-129 *passim*; Hiroshi Fukazawa, *A study of the local administration of Ādilshāhī sultanate (A.D. 1489-1686)*, in *Hitotsubashi Journal of Economics (June 1963)*, 37-67; Satish Chandra, *The Maratha polity and its agrarian consequences*, in *Ideas in history*, ed Bisheshwar Prasad, London 1968, 173-89; idem, *Social background to the rise of the Maratha movement during the 17th century in India*, in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* (Sept. 1973), 209-17; idem, *Shivaji and the Maratha landed elements*, in *Indian Society: historical probings*, ed. R.S. Sharma, New Delhi 1974, 248-63; S.N. Gordon, *The slow conquest: administrative integration of Malwa into the Maratha empire, 1720-1760*, in *Modern Asian Studies* (1977), 1-40; M. A. Nayeem, *The working of the* chauth *and* sardeshmukhi *system in the Mughal provinces of the Deccan (1707-1803 A.D.)*, in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* (April-June 1977), 153-91; *The Cambridge economic history of India. i. c.1200-c.1750*, ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, Cambridge 1982, 193-203, 249-60, 471-7; A. Wink, *Land and sovereignty in India: agrarian society and politics under the eighteenth-century Maratha Svarajya*, Cambridge 1986. (P. Hardy)

MARĀTHĪ, the main Indo-Aryan language [see hind. iii. Languages] spoken by some 40 million in Bombay and the surrounding state of Mahārāshtrā. It differs from the "central" Hindī-Urdū language especially by its retention of the three genders of Old Indo-Aryan, by retroflex *-n-* and *-l-* consonants, by the presence of a past tense with *-l-* infix, and by a vocabulary more dependent on Sanskrit than on Arabic and Persian. As the chief language of Barār and the north-west Deccan, it was the regular demotic language for the populations of the old Niẓām Shāhī, ʿImād Shāhī and part of the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultanates, and later for much of the Niẓām's dominions in the old Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] state, as bilingual (Marāthī-Persian) and trilingual (Marāthī-Kannada-Persian) inscriptions, as well as monoglot ones, testify. These are particularly directed to conveying official orders (*ḳawl-nāmas*, *farmāns*, etc.) in the country districts, Marāthī has however been little cultivated as a literary language by Muslims, except for a few productions of "Sant" poets, i.e. local Ṣūfīs aiming at reaching the local population, often by reinterpreting well-known Hindū religious or philosophical works.

Bibliography: J. Bloch, *La formation de la langue marathe*, Paris 1920; for the linguistic relations of Marāthī, see *Bibl.* to hind. iii. Languages. For the Muslim contribution to Marāthī literature, see S. Dhere, *Musulmān Marāthī santa-kavi*, Poona 1967 (in Marāthī). Useful comment on the bilingual inscriptions is in Z.A. Desai, *Arabic and Persian epigraphy*, in H.K. Sherwani (ed.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, ii, 378, Hyderabad 1975; see also M.K. Dhavalikar, *Marathi epigraphy*, in *ibid.*, ii, 398-9, 401-2. (J. Burton-Page)

MARĀTIB (a.), literally "ranks, degrees" (sing. *martaba*), a term applied especially in Muslim India to the "honours" or "dignities", *aṭbāl wa- ʿalamāt*, drums and standards, borne by the sultan or conferred by him on the great *amīrs* (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 106; tr. Gibb (1971), iii, 599), later elaborated (ibid., iii, 110; tr. iii, 601) as "standards, kettledrums, trumpets, bugles and reedpipes" as carried by two

ships among the fifteen of the governor of Lāharī Bandar. The practice of Fīrūz Shāh's troops marching with 90,000 cavalry under 180 *marātib* and *nishāna-yi har djins* (ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. text 144), i.e. two such insignia per thousand troops, indicates that the *marātib* could function as battle ensigns. (One per thousand troops were employed in Čingiz Khān's army, cf. Djuzdjānī, *Ṭabakāt-i Nāṣirī*, Bibl. Ind. text, 338; tr. Raverty 968.) A phrase in ʿAfīf, *op. cit.*, 374, *ʿalamhā wa nishānhā-yi marātib hamīsha ṣūrat taṣwīr mīkardand* seems to indicate that "standards and banners among the *marātib*" were painted with pictures, although Fīrūz Shāh ordered their removal. The practice of using the *marātib* as battle ensigns continued in Mughal times, as is demonstrated profusely in Mughal painting; but there is no lack of painted (or embroidered) pictures here, including conspicuously the Persian Lion-and-Sun device (Sol in Leo?); see SHĪR WA KHURSHĪD. This device is known elsewhere in Indian Muslim art, e.g. among the Bahmanī buildings at Bīdar [*q.v.*], with no evidence however, to connect it with the *marātib*.

A special dignity, especially but not exclusively of Mughal times, is the *māhī-marātib*, "fish banner", the institution of which has been attributed to Khusraw Parvīz, Sāsānid emperor of Persia 591-628, from whom it passed to the house of Tīmūr, especially to the Mughal emperors, as a symbol of sovereignty or of authority emanating from the sovereign (W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and recollections of an Indian official*, ed. V.A. Smith, London 1915; the editor states that he "has been unable to discover the source of the author's story"). Originally there was a golden fish carried upon a long staff, flanked by two metal balls (*kawkaba*) similarly carried (possibly commemorating the inception of a royal reign when the moon was in Pisces); later the two emblems were separated and the fish used independently: the fish alone passed through Mīrzā Mukīm Abu 'l-Manṣūr Khān, Ṣafdār Djang, governor of Awadh under Muḥammad Shāh, to the sultans of Awadh, becoming the badge of the royal house and used freely on their buildings in Laknaʾū. "Possessors of [*djāgīrs*], collectors of districts, etc., have permission to use the fish in the decorations on their flags ... In Oude the fish is represented in many useful articles—pleasure boats, carriages, etc. Some of the king's chobdaars [*čūbdār*, "mace-bearer"] carry a staff representing a gold or silver fish." (Mrs Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India...*, 1832; ed. W. Crooke, Oxford 1917, 43; her account is based on 12 years' residence in Laknaʾū). The *māhī-marātib* was among the favours conferred by Shāh ʿĀlam II on Lord Lake in 1803 after the latter had delivered Dihlī from the Marāthās.

The *marātib* are also mentioned by Djaʿfar Sharīf (*Ḳānūn-i Islām*, ed. W. Crooke as *Herklots' Islam in India*, Oxford 1921), 159 ff., among the standards carried in procession at the Muḥarram [*q.v.*] ceremonies, later to be laid up at the Imāmbārā; his list, however, does not specifically distinguish *marātib* from other emblems. He says the *marātib* "is [sic] also a standard fixed on a bamboo, decorated with a rich cloth. These are carried on elephants, like colours". Certainly banners may bear such signs as the Prophet's sword Dhu 'l-Faḳār [*q.v.*], the lion, the hand of ʿAlī, the shield or *dāl ṣāḥib*, the shoe of Ḥusayn's horse at the battle of Karbalā (*naʿl ṣāḥib*); many of these are also represented as metal objects, and are then called simply *ʿalam* [*q.v.*]. Djaʿfar also remarks that "in all Shīʿa houses the fish standard is conspicuous"; this practice persists today in Ḥaydarābād. For the possible connexion of the common device in Bīdjāpur building of the rosette-on-bracket with the fish symbol, see J. Burton-Page, review of E. S. Merklinger, *Indian Islamic architecture: the Deccan. 1347-1686*, in *Marg*, xxxvii/3 (Bombay 1986), 89.

Other "dignities" and emblems of sovereignty or nobility such as the *čhatr* [see MIẒALLA] and *dūrbāsh* [*q.v.*], the *aftābgīr* and the veiled swords of state do not seem to be included in the term *marātib*, although treated similarly in practice, as Mughal art shows; for these see MARĀSIM. 5. India. For the use of flags and banners in the central Islamic lands, see ʿALAM.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MARBAṬ, MARBIṬ (A., pl. *marābiṭ*), the noun of place from the root *r-b-ṭ* in the sense of "to fasten, attach, tie", which denotes first of all the place where domestic animals (members of the camel, equine, canine, and more rarely, of the goat and sheep families) are tethered. Among the nomads, the *marbaṭ* simply involves tying the animal's halter to some bush or, failing that, tying the two ends of a rope (*ribāṭ*, pl. *rubuṭ*, *mirbaṭ* or *ākhiyya*) to a large stone which is buried in the sand and letting the loop emerge as a ring for tethering, in the shade of a tent; the beast thus tethered is called *rabīṭ* (for *marbūṭ*). With the same association of ideas, in Saʿūdī Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, *marbaṭ* and *mirsal* are also the names of the "leash" which holds the falcon down to its perching-block (*wakar*) or on the falconer's gauntlet (*mangala*).

In regard to the Ḳurʾānic expression (VIII, 62/60) "... *min ribāṭ al-khayl* ... (horses held in readiness)", the philogist al-Bayḍāwī [*q.v.*] in his commentary (*Anwār al-tanzīl*, ed. H. L. Fleischer, Leipzig, 1896, i, 372) is hesitant about the exact nature of this term *ribāṭ*, proposing to interpret it either as a singular, or as a *maṣdar*, or as a plural of *rabīṭ*; this last seems most logical, even though the lexicographers do not give a plural for this singular.

For sedentary and urban populations, the *marbaṭ* takes the form of a kind of shelter, made from palm leaves or from straw thatching, beneath which animals can shelter from the sun.

By extension, *marbaṭ* very soon imposed itself, in the towns of the East, on *iṣṭabl* [*q.v.*] and, in the Maghrib, on *riwā/rwa* in the general sense of stables, i.e. the building intended for the guard and the housing of horses in the palaces; for garrisons, for postal relays [see BARĪD] and for the open spaces used for equestrian exercises and racing [see MAYDĀN].

Already in the 5th/11th century, the hagiographer al-Thaʿlabī [*q.v.*] in his "History of the Prophets" (*K. ʿArāʾis al-madjālis fī ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*), describing the fabulous flying city of King Solomon, mentions the following nomenclature: ... *wa-fī asfali-hā marābiṭ wa-iṣṭablāt wa-awārī wa-awākhī li-khayli-hi wa-dawābbi-hi* "and in the lower part [of this city] were shelters, stables, tethering-posts and rings for attaching there his horses and beasts of burden". There is hardly anything one could add to these four terms for defining means of restraining domestic beasts.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see those in FARAS and KHAYL.

(F. VIRÉ)

MARCHES [see THUGHŪR].

MARDAITES [see DJARĀDJIMA].

MARDAM, name of an affluent and distinguished Syrian family, two of whose members, the cousins Djamīl and Khalīl, achieved renown in the first half of the 20th century, the former in the realm of politics, the latter in that of literature.

1. Djamīl, born in Damascus in 1894, received his primary and secondary education in various schools in his native city, in particular that of the Lazarist Fathers, and pursued higher studies in law and political sciences in Paris and Switzerland. For this reason, he was residing in Paris when the First World War broke out. His political activities began in 1913 with his involvement in the Arab Congress which was convened in Paris to defend the interests of the Arabs and of which he was elected Secretary-General. In 1919, after making a tour of South America, he returned to Damascus where he was appointed adviser to the *amīr* Fayṣal. In 1920, he became adviser to the Ministry of the Interior in the Cabinet of Hāshim al-Atāsī.

Having participated in the Syrian Revolution (1925-6), he escaped to Jaffa in Palestine, but was arrested and handed over to the French Mandatory authorities. He spent two months imprisoned at Arwād/Ruwād, a small island situated close to the Syrian coastal city of Ṭarṭūs. In 1928, he was sent to Paris to negotiate on behalf of the Constituent Assembly which had recently been instituted in Syria. Elected deputy for the city of Damascus to the Syrian Parliament in 1932, Djamīl Mardam was subsequently appointed Minister of Finance. In April 1933 he resigned and became involved again in the politics of resistance.

From January to March 1936, he was placed under house-arrest by the French authorities at Ḳirḳ-Khān, a little town belonging to the *sandjaḳ* of Alexandretta. On his return to Damascus, he was received with enthusiasm. Subsequently he was a member of the Syrian delegation which travelled to Paris to discuss the term of the Franco-Syrian Treaty.

In December 1936 he formed the first Nationalist cabinet and served as Prime Minister until February 1938. During this period, he travelled to Paris and to Geneva to defend the Syrian position in the question of the *sandjaḳ* of Alexandretta and to continue discussions relating to the Franco-Syrian Treaty. In the early part of the Second World War, he lived in ʿIrāḳ and in Saudi Arabia, not returning to Damascus until 1941. In 1943, he was again elected deputy for his native city and became successively Minister of Foreign Affairs (1943-4) and Minister of National Defence and of the National Economy (1944-5).

After the proclamation of Syrian independence in 1945, Djamīl assumed the functions of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Egypt and to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In November 1946, he returned to Damascus and formed a Syrian Cabinet for the second time (from January 1946 to October 1947). In July 1947, he was re-elected deputy for Damascus and was charged for the third time with the task of forming a Syrian Cabinet which lasted from October 1947 to summer 1948. Having resigned, he was recalled to form yet another Cabinet, and he remained at its head until the *coup d'état* of Colonel Ḥusnī al-Zaʿīm (30 March 1949). Djamīl Mardam then left Syria and made his way to Egypt, where he stayed until the end of his life. He died in Cairo in 1961, and his remains were conveyed to Damascus and interred in the cemetery of Bāb al-Ṣaghīr.

A veteran activist of the Nationalist Bloc (*al-kutla al-waṭaniyya*), a political party linking the eminent Syrian personalities who led Syria to independence, Djamīl Mardam was a skilful and far-sighted statesman. Fervent in his speeches, which were sometimes improvised, he was not lacking in eloquence.

Bibliography: Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*[4], ii, 138; Georges Faris, *Man hum fi 'l-ʿālam al-ʿarabī*, i (Syria), Damascus 1957; Archives of the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Syrian Parliament.

2. Khalīl, born in Damascus in 1895, received his primary and secondary education in the schools of his native city, then studied *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth* and the Arabic language as a pupil of the great masters of his time, including the *shaykh* ʿAṭāʾ al-Ḳasm, *muftī* of Damascus, the great scholar of tradition *shaykh* Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī and the *shaykh* Saʿīd al-Bānī.

After the establishment of the Arab government in Damascus (1918-9), he was appointed, at a very early age, editor-in-chief of the Bureau of Communication (*dīwān al-rasāʾil*), and then a teacher at the school for journalists which had recently been founded by the authorities, but he left his post when French troops entered Damascus (1920).

In 1921 he founded, with a group of eminent contemporary scholars, a "literary league" (*al-Rābiṭa al-adabiyya*), of which he was elected president. This association published a review bearing the same name, to which he contributed his first poems as well as his first articles. This review was also the forum for numerous well-known writers of the period. But the league was disbanded and its organ ceased to appear after its ninth issue.

In 1925 Khalīl Mardam was elected a member of the Arab Academy of Damascus after presenting a monograph on "The Syrian poets of the 3rd century of the Hidjra". The following year he travelled to Alexandria where he stayed four months, associating with certain eminent Egyptian literary figures, in particular, the poet Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm. Then, deciding to pursue his studies in the West, he made his way to England where, for four years, he studied literature at the University of London. This journey to the West and his knowledge of English literature exerted a profound influence on his poetry.

In 1929, returning to Damascus, he composed a fine poem entitled "Hail Damascus!", which was received enthusiastically by scholars who recognised in him a great poet. He was subsequently professor of Arabic Literature in a college renowned in Syria at that time, *al-Kulliyya al-ʿilmiyya al-waṭaniyya*, for a period of nine years (1929-38). Many of his pupils subsequently became respected literary figures.

In 1933, he published a review entitled *al-Thaḳāfa* with the aid of some well-known teachers and men of letters, including Djamīl Ṣalībā, Kāmil Dāghistānī and Kāmil ʿAyyād. Serious literary articles, short stories and poems were published in this review, which unfortunately was short-lived.

In 1941 he became Secretary-General of the Arab Academy of Damascus and in 1953 he was appointed President of the Academy, a post which he held until the end of his life. He was also elected a corresponding member of numerous Arab and European Academies, notably those of Cairo (1948) and of Baghdād (1949), the Mediterranean Academy of Palermo (1952) and the Moscow Academy of Sciences (1958).

Besides his literary activity, Khalīl Mardam participated in the political life of his country, serving as Minister of Public Education in 1942, ambassador of the Syrian Republic to Baghdād in 1951 and Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1953. Then he abandoned political life and devoted his energies to literature and to the Arab Academy. He died in Damascus on 21 July 1959, and was buried in the plot reserved for his family in the cemetery of Bāb al-Ṣaghīr.

His principal works are: a *dīwān* (edited after his death by the Arab Academy of Damascus in 1960 in collaboration with his son, the poet ʿAdnān Mardam);

and studies of al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ, Ibn al-ᶜAmīd, al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ᶜAbbād and al-Farazdaḳ (published, undated, in Damascus in the *Aᵓimmat al-adab* collection). He also established and published in the series of the Arab Academy of Damascus the texts of the *dīwāns* of Ibn ᶜUnayn (1946), ᶜAlī b. al-Djahm (1949), Ibn Ḥayyūs (1951) and Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (1958). Some biographical works were published in Damascus and Beirut after his death; most worthy of mention are *Djamharat al-mughannīn* (the singers), *al-Aᶜrābiyyāt* (the Bedouin women), *ᶜAyān al-ḳarn al-thālith ᶜashar*, (the notables of the 13th century A.H.) and *Yawmiyyāt al-Khalīl* (his diary).

The poetry of Khalīl Mardam comprises the traditional genres and is distinguished by its lyrical tone. In his description of nature and in his love poems, the poet displays extreme sensibility and remarkable finesse. His patriotic poetry is sincere, and his cultivated style is always fluent and clear and reflects the lucidity of his mind.

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MARDANĪSH [see ibn mardanīsh].

MARDĀWĪDJ b. Ziyār b. Wardānshāh, Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj, founder of the Ziyārid dynasty [*q.v.*] in the Caspian regions of Persia.

Mardāwidj's rise as a soldier of fortune in northern Persia is bound up with the decline of direct caliphal control there, seen already in the independent role of the Sādjid governors [*q.v.*] in Ādharbāydjān towards the end of the 3rd/9th century and in the general upsurge of hitherto submerged indigenous Iranian elements, Daylamī, Djīlī and Kurdish, forming what has been called the "Daylamī interlude" of Persian history [see daylam, and also buwayhids, kākūyids, musāfirids, rawwādids, shaddādids, etc.].

On his father's side, Mardāwīdj (literally, "man-assailant", see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 194) sprang from the royal clan of the Djīlīs, and on his mother's from the *ispahbadhs* of Rūyān. He served the Ḥasanid Shīᶜī rulers of Ṭabaristān and then the Djīlī condottiere Asfār b. Shīrūya or b. Shīrawayh [*q.v.*] until the latter's tyranny impelled Mardāwīdj, with the support of the ruler of Ṭārum, Muḥammad b. Musāfir, to rebel against Asfār, killing him in 319/931 and then rapidly capturing Hamadān, Dīnawar and Iṣfahān in western Persia from their caliphal governors. He now clashed with a rival Daylamī commander, Mākān b. Kākī [*q.v.*], who had held Ṭabaristān, Gurgān and western Khurāsān since 318/930. Mardāwīdj conquered Ṭabaristān and attacked Mākān, but since Mākān obtained the backing of the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr b. Aḥmad, Mardāwīdj agreed to a peace treaty, retaining only Ray as tributary to Naṣr. It was at this time that the three Būyid brothers ᶜAlī, Ḥasan and Aḥmad transferred to his service from that of Mākān, and Mardāwīdj appointed ᶜAlī (the future ᶜImād al-Dawla) governor of Karadj. Since Mardāwīdj was able to overrun most of Djibāl almost to Ḥulwān, the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs al-Muḳtadir and al-Ḳāhir were compelled to recognise him as governor there, on condition that Mardāwīdj evacuate Iṣfahān, now governed by his brother (and eventual successor) Wushmgīr.

By the end of 322/934, Mardāwīdj's forces had even occupied the province of Ahwāz. But the ambitions attributed to him in the (generally hostile) sources of planning to conquer Baghdād, overthrow the caliphate and proclaim himself ruler of a renewed Persian empire, were frustrated by his murder at Iṣfahān in Ṣafar 323/January 935, whilst celebrating the Zoroastrian festival or Sadhak, by his Turkish *ghulāms*, whom he had treated with contempt and harshness. Minorsky has described Mardāwīdj as "fantasque et barbare", and al-Masᶜūdī imputes to him delusions of grandeur and the assumption of a messianic role as the awaited "man with yellow-marked legs" who would rule the world. His brother Wushmgīr and his descendants kept the Ziyārids as a force in the Caspian region for a further century, but the main southwards impetus of the Daylamī *Völkerwanderung* was to be spearheaded by the Būyids.

Bibliography: 1. Sources: Masᶜūdī, ix, 15-30 = §§ 3578-3603; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ᶜAbbasid caliphate*, i, 161-3, tr. iv, 181-4; Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 30, ed. Habībī, 84-5, 153; ᶜArīb, 154; Hamadhānī, *Takmila*, ed. Kanᶜān, i, index; Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. Browne, 214-17; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut 1385-7/1965-7, viii, 227-9, 246-7, 263, 267-72, 285-7, 298-303; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marᶜashī, ed. Dorn, 171 ff. 2. Studies. Cl. Huart, *Les Ziyarides*, in *Mems. de l'Acad. des Inscrs. et Belles-Lettres*, xlii (1922), 357 ff.; H. L. Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, London 1928, 141; idem, *L'histoire du Mâzandarân*, in *JA*, ccxxxiv (1943-5), 229 ff.; B. Spuler, *Iran*, 89-92; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Daïlamites*, in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 1964, 17-19; W. Madelung, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 212-13. (C. E. Bosworth)

MĀRDĪN (written in Arabic as Māridīn, in Greek as Μάρδης, Μάργδις, in Syriac as Mardē and in modern Turkish as Mardin), a town in what was in mediaeval Islamic times Upper Mesopotamia or al-Djazīra, in the region of Diyār Rabīᶜa [*q.v.*] lying on a slope rising to an altitude of 3780 ft./1152 m. in lat. 37° 18' N. and long. 40° 44' E. The modern town, in southeastern Turkey near the Syrian border, is the chef-lieu of the *il* (formerly *vilayet*) of the same name.

Position. In Upper Mesopotamia, the watershed between the Tigris and Euphrates is formed by the heights which culminate in Ḳaradja-dagh (5,000 feet) to the south-west of Diyār Bakr. This basalt massif is continued eastwards in the direction of Djazīrat Ibn ᶜUmar by the limestone chain known in ancient times as Masius and later as Izala (Ἰζαλᾶς). The eastern part of this ridge forms the district of Djabal-Ṭūr or Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn [*q.v.*], the capital of which is Midyāt. From the southern slopes of the Masius descend numerous watercourses, the majority of which join one another before flowing between the mountains of ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz or Elaziğ (in the west) and Tell Kawkab and Sindjār (in the east); their combined waters form the river Khābūr [*q.v.*].

Mārdīn lies near the point where there is an easy pass through the Masius from the lands south of the Tigris (the rivers Gök-su and Shaykhān) to the lands round the sources of the Khābūr (the stream called Zuwārak which rises north of Mārdīn), in other words, Mārdīn commands the Diyār Bakr-Niṣībīn road (which then turns towards Djazīra Ibn ᶜUmar and Mawṣil). On the other side towards the west, several (Ritter, xi, 356, gives three) direct roads connect Mārdīn via Urfa with Bīredjik (on the Euphrates); to the south-west, a road runs from Mārdīn to Raᵓs al-ᶜAyn and to Ḥarrān. The direct distances are as follows: Mārdīn-Diyār Bakr 55 miles: Mārdīn-Niṣībīn 30 miles; Mārdīn-Sawur-Midyāt 75 miles; Mārdīn-Bīredjik 160 miles; Mārdīn-Adana (by rail) 450 miles.

The advantages of this position at the intersection

of important roads are enhanced by the very strong natural situation of the town, built on an isolated eminence, on the top of which is a fort 300 feet above the town (cf. the sketch in Černik, *Technische Studien-Expedition*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, Ergänzungsheft, x [1875-6], Heft, 45, pl. ii, no. 17). J.S. Buckingham compared its position with that of Quito in South America. All travellers (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 152) have been struck by the unique spectacle of the vast Mesopotamian plain which from the height of the town is seen to stretch southwards as far as the eye can see. Only a hundred years ago, Mārdīn was still considered impregnable, but the difficulty of access sensibly affected its commerce. According to Černik, loaded camels could not ascend right up to the town. A branch line 15 miles in length now connects Mārdīn with the station of Derbesiye on the Adana-Nusaybin section of the Istanbul-Bag̲h̲dād railway, but the station for Mārdīn is five miles from the town.

1. In pre-Ottoman times.

Ancient history. It is noteworthy that in spite of its remarkable situation, Mārdīn does not seem to be mentioned in the cuneiform sources. Ammianus Marcellinus (xix, 9,4) is the first to mention two fortresses "Maride and Lorne" between which the road passed from Āmid (Diyār Bakr) to Nisībīn. Theophanes Simocatta (ii, 2, 19) mentions τοῦ Μάρδιος φρουρά and (v. 3,17) το Μάρδες 3 parasangs from Dārā. Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, (ii, 4) mentions Σμάργδις (or Σμάρδις) and Δούρνης and Georgius Cybrius, ed. Gelzer, 1820, 46, Μάρδης Δόρνης. The name Μάρδη in Ptolemy, vi, l, however, refers to another place in Assyria to the east of the Tigris.

The Muslim conquest. The Muslims under ʿIyāḍ b. G̲h̲anm occupied the fortress of Mārdīn along with Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and Dārā in 19/640 (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 176). In 133/750-1 Mārdīn is mentioned in connection with a rebellion in Upper Mesopotamia. The town formed part of the possessions of Burayka, chief of the Rabīʿa, who was defeated by the ʿAbbāsid Abū D̲j̲aʿfar (Ṭabarī, iii, 53). In 279/892, Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā took Mārdīn from Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Kandād̲j̲ (*ibid.*, iii, 2134). The Ḥamdānid Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn after his accession in 260/873 seized Mārdīn. In 281/894, the caliph Muʿtaḍid marched on the town. Ḥamdān fled and left Mārdīn to his son. The latter surrendered the fortress which was dismantled (*ibid.*, iii, 2142). The "grey fortress" (*al-bār al-as̲h̲hab*) was later restored, for Ibn Ḥawḳal (in 366/976-7) attributes its erection to Ḥamdān b. al-Ḥasan Nāṣir al-Dawla b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdan. On the death of his father 358/969, Ḥamdān was dispossessed by his brother Faḍl Allāh Abū Tag̲h̲lib [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. By the peace of 363/794, concluded between the Būyid Bak̲h̲tiyār and Abū Tag̲h̲lib, Ḥamdān recovered his possessions with the exception of Mārdīn (Ibn Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz, ii, 254, 319.

The Arab geographers give few details about Mārdīn, but they emphasise its importance. According to Ibn al-Faḳīh, 132, 136, the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* of Mārdīn was equal to that of Mayyāfarīḳīn (865,000 *dirhams*). Al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 76 n. *k*, says that it is a large town on the summit of a peak, the ascent of which is a *farsak̲h̲* in length; Dunaysar [*q.v.*] was one of its dependencies. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 143, gives the ascent at two *farsak̲h̲s*. The quarter of Mārdīn itself was flourishing, thickly populated with large markets. The water supply was brought by subterranean canals from the springs to the town. The rain-water was also collected in cisterns (*ṣahārid̲j̲ wa-birak*). Yāḳūt, iv, 390 (cf. al-Ḳazwīnī, 172), speaks of the splendour of the quarters outside Mārdīn (i.e. below the town itself) and its many *madrasas*, *k̲h̲ānḳāhs*, etc.; as to the *ḳaʿla*, there was nowhere in the world so strong a defence; its dwelling-houses rose in terraces one above the other.

The Marwānids and the Sald̲j̲ūḳs. It is probable that Mārdīn was within the sphere of influence of the Marwānids, for according to their historian (cf. Amedroz, in *JRAS* [1904], their ancestor Bād̲h̲ (d. 380/990) had extended his power over Diyār Rabīʿa (Niṣībīn, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn). The Sald̲j̲ūḳs ruled here next. After the death of Maliks̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] Tutus̲h̲ b. Alp Arslan seized for a time all the lands as far as Niṣībīn. Under Berk-yaruḳ, Mārdīn was given to his old bard (*mug̲h̲annī*).

The Artuḳids. At this time arose the dynasty whose fortunes are especially associated with Mārdīn. The Artuḳ grandson called Yāḳūtī took by stratagem the fortress in which he had been imprisoned, but it was taken from him by his brother Sukmān b. Artuḳ, who died in 498/1104-5. In 502/1108-9, we find at Mārdīn Īl-G̲h̲āzī b. Artuḳ (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 269, 321), whose line ruled there till 811/1408. (On their coins struck at Mārdīn in 599, 600, 634, 637, 648, 655, 656, etc., cf. G̲h̲ālib Edhem, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes*, Constantinople 1894, and S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum*, iii, x, index, s.v. Mardin.)

In 579/1183 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn came to Ḥarzam (6 miles to the south-west of Mārdīn) but was unable to take the town. In 594/1198, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil b. Ayyūb seized the outer suburb, which was pillaged, but the siege of the town itself was abandoned in the following year. In 599/1202-3, al-ʿĀdil sent against Mārdīn his son al-As̲h̲raf, who appointed governors (*s̲h̲aḥna*) in its dependencies. The Ayyūbid of Aleppo al-Ẓāhir b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn offered his good offices, and al-ʿĀdil was content with an indemnity of 150,000 *dinars* and the acknowledgement of his suzerainty by the Artuḳid of Mārdīn (cf. Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ Barhebraeus, *Muk̲h̲taṣar*, ed. Pococke, 412, 425, 427).

The Mongols. In 657/1259, the Mongol Hūlāgū K̲h̲ān demanded the homage of the prince of Mārdīn, Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn G̲h̲āzī Saʿīd, who sent his son Muẓaffar to him but maintained a neutral attitude. In 658/1260 the town was besieged for 8 months by the troops of Yas̲h̲mut, son of Hūlāgū. Famine and an epidemic raged in the town. According to Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, 375), Muẓaffar killed his father in order to put an end to the sufferings of the inhabitants (Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ and Waṣṣāf give different versions, cf. d'Ohsson, iii, 308, 358). Muẓaffar was confirmed as lord of Mārdīn; his descendants also received from the Mongols the insignia of royalty (crown and parasol). In the reign of Ṣāliḥ b. Manṣūr (769/1367), whose sister Dunyā K̲h̲ātūn was the wife of the Īlk̲h̲ān Muḥammad K̲h̲udābanda, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 142-5) visisted Mārdīn; he mentions the fine garments made there from goats' hair wool (*mirʿizz*).

Tīmūr. The Artuḳid sultan ʿĪsā (778-809/1376-1406) was the king of Mārdīn at the invasion of Tīmūr in 796/1394. Malik ʿĪsā came to pay his homage to the conqueror, but the citizens attacked those of Tīmūr's men who ventured into the town. Malik ʿĪsā was put in chains and taken to Sulṭāniyya (*Ẓafar-namā*, i, 663, 671-2). In S̲h̲awwāl 803/April 1401, Tīmūr returned to the attack and the town was taken by storm. Then the siege of the upper fortress (*al-ḳalʿa al-s̲h̲ahbāʾ*) was begun, but it was never taken. Tīmūr was content with presents and promises of *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*, and returned to the plain (*ibid.*, i, 676-9). The people of Mārdīn obtained an amnesty on the birth of Ulūg̲h̲ Beg. Ṣāliḥ

was appointed at Mārdīn in place of his brother, ʿĪsā (*ibid.*, i, 676-81), but three years afterwards the latter was pardoned and restored to his fief (*ibid.*, i, 787). When in 803/1400-1 Tīmūr reappeared in Mesopotamia, ʿĪsā shut himself up in Mārdīn. As the siege would have taken some time and supplies were short, Tīmūr did not stop before the town, but ordered Ḳara ʿUthmān Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu to besiege Mārdīn (*ibid.*, ii, 354).

The Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. This was the beginning of Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu interference in Mārdīn, but Ḳara ʿUthmān's forces were not yet equal to this task. In 805/1402-3, ʿĪsā came of his own accord to Tīmūr and was pardoned (*ibid.*, ii, 51).

For a brief period, the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu tried to resist the extension of the power of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu to Mārdīn. When, after the death of Tīmūr, Ḳara Yūsuf left Egypt to re-enter into possession of his territory he joined ʿĪsā and advanced against Ḳara ʿUthmān. The battle lasted 20 days and was settled by agreement. As soon as Ḳara Yūsuf had left for Ādharbaydjān, Ḳara ʿUthmān returned to the attack, defeated ʿĪsā near Djawsaḳ (there is a Djawsat 10 miles to the west of Mārdīn on the road from Derek) and besieged Mārdīn, but once more without success (Münedjdjim-bashï, ii, 685). It is not clear what connection these hostilities have with an expedition against Diyār Bakr conducted by Djakīm or Djakūn (governor of Aleppo, a former *mamlūk* of Barḳūḳ's) in which Malik ʿĪsā took part. In the battle which Muḥammad (?) son of Ḳara Ilik (= Ḳara ʿUthmān) fought against the allies on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 809/23 April 1407, ʿĪsā was slain (cf. the Egyptian sources consulted by Rieu for Howorth, iii, 685). Ṣāliḥ succeeded a second time to ʿĪsā, but the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu continued to harass him and finally in 811/1408, he ceded Mārdīn to the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu, who gave him Mawṣil in exchange.

We do not know the exact course of subsequent events, but according to Münedjdjim-bashï, Ḳara ʿUthmān's successor ʿAlī Beg (832-42/1429-39, cf. Aḥmed Tewḥīd, *Musée Imp. Ottoman, monn. musulmanes*, part iv, Constantinople 1903) gave his brother Ḥamza the task of establishing the Turkomans in the vicinity of Mārdīn. Djihāngīr (848-57/1444-53), son of ʿAlī, was already master of the town. In the reign of Uzun Ḥasan, Josafa Barbaro visited Mārdīn and was lodged in the hostel (*ospedale*) built by Djihāngīr Beg (*Ziangir*). We have coins struck at Mārdīn by Uzun Ḥasan (875/1470-1) and his son Yaʿḳūb. After the death of Yaʿḳūb, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, prince of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr Turkomans [*q.v.*], seized the land of Diyār Bakr but, as the anonymous Venetian merchant shows, the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu retained Mārdīn. In 903/1498, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Ḳāsim b. Djihāngīr dated his *firmān* in the name of the prince of Egīl from his capital (*dār al-salṭāna*) Mārdīn; cf. Basagić, *Der älteste Firman der Čengić-begs*, in *Wissensch. Mitt. aus Bosnien*, vi, Vienna 1899, 497. The coins of Ḳāsim come down to 908/1502-3. The *takiya* of Ḳāsim-Padshāh which Niebuhr mentions must date from the same ruler.

The Persian conquest. In 913/1507, all the lands as far as Malaṭya were conquered by Shāh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], who appointed his general Ustadjlu Muḥammad over them. According to the Venetian merchant who travelled there in 1507 (*Travels*, 149), Mārdīn was occupied without bloodshed. The same traveller mentions the fine palace and mosques of the town; there were more Armenians and Jews in Mārdīn than Muslims. The battle of Čāldirān [*q.v.*] in 920/1514 shook the power of the Persians. In place of Ustadjlu Muḥammad, killed at Čāldirān, his brother Ḳara Khan was appointed and established his headquarters at Mārdīn. Soon the Ottomans occupied Diyār Bakr, and then the town of Mārdīn, but the Persians, who never lost the fortress, restored the status quo.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, ii, 142; Ibn Djubayr, ed. Wright-de Goeje, 240-1, tr. R. J. C. Broadhurst, London 1952, 250-1; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 142-7, tr. Gibb, ii, 352-5; Abu 'l-Fidā, tr. Reinaud, Paris 1848, ii/2, 55 = Arabic text, 279; *The travels of Josafa Barbaro* (1431) and *The travels of a merchant in Persia* (1517), Hakluyt Society, London 1873; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamia*, Leipzig 1883, 404-7; Pauly-Wissowa, xiv/2, col. 1648, art. *Mardē* (Weissbach); Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, 96; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935, index; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dysnastie des H'amdânides*, Algiers 1951, 989 and index (in *Arabica*, xviii/3 [1971], 309).

(V. Minorsky*)

2. The Ottoman and modern periods

Finally, in 922/1516, the Persian commander Ḳara Khān was defeated and slain in battle at Karghandede near the old town of Ḳoč-ḥiṣār, 10 miles to the southwest of Mārdīn. Persian domination in Upper Mesopotamia thus collapsed, but the fortress of Mārdīn still remained in the hands of Sulaymān Khān, brother of Ḳara Khān. The siege lasted a year, and not till Meḥmed Bïyïklï Pasha [*q.v.*] arrived from Syria with reinforcements was it stormed and its valiant defenders put to the sword (Iskandar Munshī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā*, 24, 32, tr. Savory, i, 72; this Persian source mentions Olāng-i Ḳurūḳ in place of Ḳoč-ḥiṣār) (von Hammer, *GOR*², i, 7367-40, quoting Abu 'l-Faḍl, son of Ḥakīm Idrīs and continuer of his *Hasht-bihisht*).

In the Baghdād campaign of 941/1534, Mārdīn was created a *sandjaḳ* and included in the *eyālet* of Diyārbakr (for the history of the region at this time, see Nejat Goyunç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Mardin sancağı*, Istanbul 1969). Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 59, gives Mārdīn 36 *ziʿāmets* and 465 timāriots; Mārdīn could put in the field 1,060 armed men (*djebeli*) In the 18th century, Mārdīn became a dependency of the Pashas of Baghdād; Otter (1737) found at Mārdīn a *voyvoda* appointed by Aḥmed Pasha. As late as the time of Kinneir (1810), Mārdīn was the frontier town of the *pashalïḳ* of Baghdād and was governed by a *mütesellim* sent from Baghdād.

The reforms of Sultan Maḥmūd II were badly received in Upper Mesopotamia. In 1832 (Ainsworth), Mārdīn rebelled. Power in Mārdīn had passed to the Kurdish beys. Southgate (1836) speaks of a hereditary (?) family who ruled in Mārdīn. The two brothers of the "ruling bey" seized power and refused to recognise the authority of the Porte. (It may be asked if these beys were not of the Millī tribe; on their chiefs cf. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, 156.) Rashīd Pasha, the pacifier of Kurdistān, besieged the town and blew up the great mosque (Ainsworth). Order was temporarily restored. Considerable works were undertaken to improve the road giving access to the town. Rashīd Pasha died in January 1837 (Poujoulat). When the Egyptians under Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad ʿAlī Pasha invaded Syria, their partisan Timawī b. Ayyūb of the Millī tribe seized Mārdīn (Sir Mark Sykes, *The Caliphs' last heritage*, 320) but was killed. The defeat of the Ottomans at Nizīb (June 1839) brought matters to a head. The Porte entrusted Mārdīn to Saʿd Allāh

Pas͟ha of Diyārbakr, but the inhabitants preferred to submit to Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha of Mawṣil, who was opposed to the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms. This Pas͟ha appointed a governor to Mārdīn, but the rebels still held the citadel (Ainsworth 1840), and the governor soon perished in a rising.

By the *"wilāyet* law" of 1287/1870, Mārdīn became a *sand̲j̲aḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Diyārbakr. It had 5 *ḳaḍā*ʾs: Mārdīn, Nīṣībīn, D̲j̲azīra, Midyāt and Avine. The area of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* was 7,750 square miles and the number of towns and villages 1,062. The *sand̲j̲aḳ* was mainly agricultural. The town of Mārdīn produced a small quantity of silk, wool and cotton, leather, shawls, etc., but in spite of the excellence of the work these articles were mainly used for local consumption (Cuinet). By the reforms of 1921, Mārdīn formed a *wilāyet* with 6 *ḳaḍā*ʾs, 1,018 towns and villages, and 125,809 inhabitants (*Türkiyye D̲j̲emhüriyeti 1925-1926 sāl-nāmesi*). In the present-day Turkish Republic, Mārdīn is also the name of one of the 12 component *ilčes* or counties of the Mārdīn *il*. The modern town lies on the main road from Diyarbekir to Nusaybin and the Syrian frontier, and is also the terminus of a railway spur from Şenyurt on the Konya-Adana-Nusaybin-Bag͟hdād line.

Population. Niebuhr (1766) counted 3,000 houses in Mārdīn (of which 1,000 were Christian) with 60,000 inhabitants. Dupré (1808) estimated the population at 27,000, of whom 20,000 were Turks (i.e. Muslims), 3,200 Jacobites, 2,000 Armenians and 800 S͟hamsiyya. The statements of other travellers are as follows: Kinneir (1814): 11,000, of whom 1,500 were Armenians; Southgate (1837): 3,000, of whom 1,700 were Muslims, 500 Armenian Catholics, 400 Jacobites, 250 Syrian Catholics, 100 Chaldaeans; Mühlbach (1838): 12-15,000 inhabitants; Sachau (1879): 20,000; Cuinet (1891): 25,000, of whom 15,700 were Muslims. By 1955, the town had an estimated population of 24,306, and according to the 1970 census, the town had 33,251 inhabitants, the *ilçe* of Mārdīn 66,197, and the whole *il* 456,415.

According to Southgate, Arabic and Kurdish were the predominating languages in the town. The rural population of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn speaks the Ṭorānī dialect of Neo-Aramaic; cf. E. Prym and A. Socin, *Der neu-aramäische Dialect des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, Göttingen 1881; H. Ritter, *Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1967-79; on the Kurdish dialect, cf. Makas, *Kurdische Texte aus der Gegend Mârdîn*, Leningrad 1924.

Among the religious sects of Mārdīn, the S͟hamsiyya would merit a special study. In the time of Niebuhr (1766), there were about a hundred families in the town, and Buckingham (*op. cit.*, 192) and Southgate (1837) also mention them. The S͟hamsiyya probably represent the last survivors of a local pagan cult. Towards the middle of the 18th century, they were led to declare themselves Jacobite Christians, but only formally (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 303-5).

Christianity at Mārdīn. The district of Mārdīn has played an exceptionally important part in the development of Eastern Christianity. A brilliant period of the Nestorian church which began in 755 is closely associated with Mārdīn. Towards the end of the 8th century, numerous monasteries were established round the town by the bishop John of Mardin. In 1171 the Jacobite patriarchate was transferred from Diyār Bakr (Āmid) to Mārdīn. In 1207 it was moved to Dayr al-Za ʿfarān, an hour's journey from Mārdīn, to return to Mārdīn in 1555 (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii, 110, 221, 470; W. Wright, *A short history of Syriac literature*, Oxford 1891, index). On the position of the Christians before 1914, cf. the works of Southgate, Parry, Cuinet, etc.

Monuments. Niebuhr noted many Arabic inscriptions at Mārdīn. Those of the buildings of the Artuḳids and the *waḳfiyyas* of their principal buildings were studied by ʿAlī Emīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], himself a native of the Diyār Bakr region; see his edn. of Kātib Ferdī (wrote 944/1537-8), *Mārdīn mulūk-i Artuḳiyye taʾrīk͟hi*, Istanbul 1331/1931. The citadel of the town was built or rebuilt in Ḥamdānid times. Numerous mosques were erected by the Artukid beys from the time of Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Īl-G͟hāzī in the early 6th/12th century onwards, including the great mosque, and an Artuḳid *ḥammām* remains. They constructed the Zind̲j̲īriyya and K͟hātūniyya or Sitt Riḍwiyya *madrasas*, whilst the imposing Ḳāsim Pas͟ha *madrasa* was built in 849/1445 by the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Ḳāsim b. D̲j̲ihāngīr. There are many interesting churches and monasteries in the town and the surrounding countryside, including the Dayr al-Zaʿfarān, where numerous Syrian Christian patriarchs and metropolitans are buried. See A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, Paris 1940, i, 3-44, ii, pls. a-d, I, XXIV; *İA*, art. *Mardin*, addition on *Eski eserler* by T.H.; Metropolit Hanna Dolapönü, *Tarihte Mardin, Itr-el-nardin fi tarih Merdin*, Istanbul 1972, 128 ff.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, Brighton 1843, i, 515 (the traveller's wife was a native of Mārdīn); J. B. Tavernier (1644), *Les six voyages*, 1692, i, 187; C. Niebuhr (1766), *Reisebeschreibung*, Copenhagen 1778, ii, 391-8, and plate xlvii; G. A. Olivier (1795), Voyages, Paris 12 (rep.), iv, 242; A. Dupré (1808), *Voyage*, i, 77-82; J.M. Kinneir, *A geogr. memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 264-5; idem (1814), *Journey through Asia Minor*, London 1818, 433; J.S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, 188-94 (with a general view of the town); H. Southgate (1837), *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia*, London 1840, ii, 272-88; W.K. Ainsworth (1840), *Travels and Researches*, London 1842, ii, 114-16; C. Defrémery, *Observations sur deux points de l'histoire des rois d'Akhlath et de Mardin*, in *JA* (1843); Southgate, *Narrative of a visit to the Syrian church of Mesopotamia* (1841), New York 1844, 215-42; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi (1844), 150-3, 379-97 (very detailed résumé); F.J. Goldsmith, *An overland journey from Bagdad*, in *Trans. Bombay Geogr. Soc.* xvii (1868), 29 (the population of Mārdīn is 22,000, half of whom are Christians); Černik, *Technische Studien-Expedition*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, Ergänzungsheft, x (1875-6), Heft 45, 15-18; H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, 683-6; Socin, *Zur Geogr. des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, in *ZDMG*, xxxv (1881), 237-69 (map), 327-415; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, 404-7, 428; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1895, ii, 494-519; Tomilov, *Otčet o poyezdkě 1904*, St. Petersburg 1907, i, 263-7; Sykes, *The Caliphs' last heritage*, London 1915, index.

(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

al-**MĀRDĪNĪ**, the *nisba* of three mathematicians and astronomers, for whose life and work we have up to now little information.

1. Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. G͟hāzī al-Numayrī, S͟hams al-Dīn, known as Ibn Fallūs. He probably came from Mārdīn [*q.v.*]) in al-D̲j̲azīra, and was born in 590/1194, dying in *ca.* 650/1252. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was the author of works on arithmetic (see Suter, 143-4, no. 359, and *Nachträge*, 227; Brockelmann, I², 622, S I, 860).

2. ʿAbd Allāh b. K͟halīl b. Yūsuf, D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn

(d. 809/1406-7), disciple of the great astronomer Ibn al-Shāṭir (d. 777/1375), perhaps at Damascus; he later became a *muwakkit* at Cairo (list of works in Suter, 170, no. 421; Brockelmann, II², 218, S II. 218). A good number of these are treatises on the use of various kinds of astronomical quadrants (*dastūr* quadrant, almucantarat quadrant and sinus quadrant). W.H. Worrell and W. Carl Rufus have translated the introduction to the *K. al-Durr al-manthūr fi 'l-ʿamal bi rubʿ al-dastūr* (*Maridini's introduction to the use of the quadrant*, in *Scripta mathematica*, x [1944], 170-80); this introduction is a brief, independent treatise in which the author sets forth the basic ideas (mainly definitions) of geometry and spherical astronomy. The rest of the work (60 chapters) is mostly concerned with problems regarding the transformation of coordinates with the *dastūr* quadrant. D.A. King has edited, translated and studied his *R. fi- 'l-ʿamal bi-rubʿ al-shakkāziyya (An analog computer for solving problems of spherical astronomy*, in *AIHS*, xxiv [1974], 219-42). This is a treatise on the use of a double quadrant, probably an evolved version of a similar instrument invented, in the second half of the 8th/14th century, by the astronomer of Aleppo Ṭaybughā al-Biklimishī or by his son ʿAlī. All these instruments derived from the *ṣafīḥa shakkāziyya* of the Spanish astronomer of the 5th/11th century al-Zarkālluh or from the universal plate of his contemporary ʿAlī b. Khalaf. King has also edited and translated the introduction to his *R. fi 'l-ʿamal bi 'l-djadāwil al-maʿrūfa bi 'l-shabaka*, a work in which Djamāl al-Dīn tabulates three functions of spherical astronomy and elaborates three auxiliary tables similar to those of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib (d. perhaps between 250 and 260/864-74 [*q.v.*]), Abū Naṣr Manṣūr (d. between 416 and 427/1025-36) or al-Khalīlī (*ca.* 766/1365), although less useful.

3. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Badr al-Dīn, known as Sibṭ al-Mārdīnī (826-912/1423-1506), grandson of no. 2 and disciple of the astronomer Ibn al-Madjdī (d. 850/1506); he became *muwakkit* at the Azhar Mosque in Cairo (list of works in Suter, 182-4, no. 445, and 222 n. 90; Brockelmann, II², 216-18, S II, 215-17; see also II,² 468, S II, 484). Like his grandfather, he wrote on the use of the almucantarat quadrant and the *dastūr* and sinus ones (cf. P. Schmazl, *Zur Geschichte des Quadranten bei den Arabern*, Munich 1929, 34-5, 63, 68, 72, 84). He also compiled a collection of tables, computed for the latitude of Cairo, in order to trace the curves of a solar quadrant (cf. K. Schoy, *Sonnenuhren der späterarabischen Astronomie*, in *Isis*, vi [1924], 332-60). He was also interested in arithmetic, algebra, the division of inheritances (*farāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*]) and mental arithmetic (*al-ḥisāb al-hawāʾī*), further writing commentaries on the works of the Egyptian mathematician Ibn al-Hāʾim (d. 815/1412), as well as on those of the Maghribī mathematician Ibn al-Yāsmīn (d. 601/1204; cf. Mohammed Souissi, *Ibn al-Yāsamīn, savant mathématicien du Maghreb*, in *Actas del VI Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino*, Madrid 1983, 217-25). In a work on the arithmetic of degrees and minutes, he brings out the periodicity of the sexagesimal fraction (cf. B. Carra de Vaux, *Sur l'histoire de l'arithmétique arabe*, in *Bibliotheca mathematica*, ser. 2, xiii [1899]). His works on the *mīkāt* [*q.v.*] and the astronomical instruments became very popular, and were still in use as textbooks at the Azhar in *ca.* 1800, according to the testimony of the Egyptian historian al-Djabartī (d. 1237/1822).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see King, *The astronomy of the Mamluks*, in *Isis*, lxxiv (1983), 531-55.

(M. Plessner - [J. Samsó])

al-**MARDJ** [see barka].

MARDJ BANĪ ʿĀMIR, "the plain of the Banū ʿĀmir", the largest of its kind in Palestine, named after the Arabian tribe ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*], parts of which reached Palestine after the Arab conquests and settled there. Stretching between the mountains of Nābulus and those of Galilee, it constituted an important link on the Cairo-Damascus highway. Ever since the Neolithic era, it has encompassed fortified urban centres, some of which (e.g. Megiddo) flourished in biblical times. Its strategic location turned it into a scene of crucial battles in pre-Islamic periods and after; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and other Ayyūbids against the Crusaders, the Mamlūks Baybars and Kutuz against the Mongols in the 7th/13th century, and Allenby against the Ottomans in 1918.

Mediaeval geographers usually referred to it rather by its most famous historical site, ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*], or by the administrative centres to its east (Baysān) and south (Djinīn and Nābulus). The term occurs, however, occasionally in texts from late Mamlūk times in various forms: "*Wilāyat* Djinīn and Mardj Banī ʿĀmir" or as a separate administrative sub-unit (*ʿamal*) of the province of Ṣafad.

Early Ottoman *taḥrīrs* point to a formalisation of the term and its status: as part of the newly-set administrative system, a *nāḥiya* by this name was designated, consisting of 38 villages bordering on Baysān in the east, Nazareth in the north, Kabāṭiyya in the south, and extending towards the Mediterranean. The 74 uninhabited *mezraʿas* included in it indicate the extent of ruin caused to the population and economy during the late Mamlūk period. In order to restore law and properity, it was granted to the local Bedouin *amīrs* of Ṭurabāy, who continued to rule it during the 16th and 17th centuries. The decline of Ottoman rule in Palestine meant once more a loss of any central control over this area, which became increasingly infested with Bedouins and gradually deserted by its sedentary population. "The whole of this country is in a state of insecurity... at present almost entirely deserted" is a description by Burckhardt which was invariably repeated by dozens of travellers who visited the place in the 18th and 19th centuries.

In the second half of the 19th century, most of its land was registered in the name of a few urban *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] families, of which the Christian Sursuks of Beirut had the lion's share. Jewish philanthrophic societies anxious to purchase lands in Palestine conducted elaborate negotiations with the Sursuks during the late 19th century, but actually bought only a small fraction. In the wake of First World War, the Jewish National Fund acquired from these *aʿyān* 250,000 dunams, compensated the 700 tenants living there, and proceeded with similar purchases in later years when this became a major bone of contention between Jews and Arabs. The drainage of the infectious swamps that covered most of the plain, the establishment of Jewish collective settlements and the intensive cultivation that resulted there, turned it into most fertile part of Palestine during the British Mandate. Ever since, both under the British and in the State of Israel, the term Mardj Banī ʿĀmir fell into disuse and was replaced by the biblical equivalent, "the valley of Jezreel".

Bibliography: Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, vii, 191; Yākūt, *Muʿjam*, ii, 180; Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iv, 154; Makrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, i, 683; Muḥammad ʿAdnān Bakhīt, *al-Usra al-ḥārithiyya fī Mardj Banī ʿĀmir*, in *al-Abḥāth* (1980), 55-78; B. Lewis, *An Arabic account of the province of Safad*, in *BSOAS*, xv,

483; M. al-Dabbāgh, *Bilādunā Filasṭīn*, i, Beirut 1965, 50-2 ff.; Y. Porath, *From riots to rebellion, the Palestinian-Arab national movement 1929-1939*, Tel Aviv 1978, 105-27; K. Stein, *The land question in Palestine 1917-1939...*, Chapel Hill and London 1984, 52-60, ff. (A. Cohen)

MARDJ DĀBIK, a plain near Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] on the Nahr al-Ḳuwayḳ in northern Syria. The town of Dābiḳ, was known to the Assyrians as *Dabigu* (Sachau, *ZA*, xii, 47) and is called Δάβεκον by Theophanes (*Chron.*, ed. de Boor, 143, 451 ff.).

For convenience in his campaigns against the Byzantines, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik moved the headquarters of the Syrian troops from Djābiya [*q.v.*] to Dābiḳ. In 717 with an army under ʿUbayda he set out from Mardj Dābiḳ for Asia Minor and on his return died there in Ṣafar 99/September-October 717 (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 397 = §2151; *Chronica minora*, ed. Guidi, in *GSCO*, *Scr. Syri*, ser. iii., vol. iv., text, 234, tr. 177). Hārūn al-Rashīd also encamped in 191/807 on this plain (Syr. *Margā Dābeḳ*) and composed the differences between the Syrian bishops (Michael Syrus, *Chron.*, ed. Chabot, iii, 19; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccles.*, ed. Abbaloos-Lamy, i, 339). The Mirdāsid Maḥmūd in Radjab 457/ June 1065 defeated his uncle ʿAṭiyya on the field of Dābiḳ and then took Ḥalab (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahan, i, 296.

When in 491/1098 the Franks conquered Anṭākiya, Kerbōghā of Mawṣil assembled a large army on Mardj Dābiḳ, with which he laid siege to Anṭākiya. (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 188; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, Ibn al-ʿAdīm, etc., in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i, 3, 194; iii, 580). In the spring of 513/1119, Īl-Ghāzī on his campaign against the Franks crossed the Euphrates at Baddāyā (now Beddāī on Sachau's map) and Sandja and advanced via Tell Bāshir [*q.v.*], Tell Khālid, Mardj Dābiḳ and Muslimiyya against Ḳinnasrīn (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ii, 187 *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii, 616). In Radjab 518/September 1124, Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa was defeated by Ḥusām al-Dīn Timūrtāsh on the field of Dābiḳ (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, v, 645). On his campaign against Leo II of Little Armenia, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir encamped in 602/1305-6 on Mardj Dabiḳ (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, v, 155). On Sayf al-Dīn Tungur's campaign against the Tatars to Malaṭya [*q.v.*], in which Abu 'l-Fidāʾ of Ḥamā took part, a halt was made on the way back on the plain of Dābiḳ from 3 Ṣafar to 2 Rabīʿ II 715/9 May-6 July 1315) (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i, 3).

On 25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516 was fought at Mardj Dābiḳ the battle which gave Selīm I a decisive victory by which Syria passed for the next four centuries under Ottoman rule (H. Jansky, *Mitteil. z. osman. Geschichte*, ii [1923-6], 214-25) [see also DĀBIḲ and ḲĀNSAWH AL-GHAWRĪ].

Bibliography: The geographical texts are gathered together in Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 503; cf. R. Dussaud, *La topographie de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 474, to which should be added ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *Aʿlāḳ*, ed. S. Dahan, tr. A. M. Edde-Terrasse, index. The main historical references are: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, ed. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev, in *Patr. or.*, 442; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 160, x, 188; Ibn al-Adīm, *Zubda*, ed. S. Dahan, index. (E. Honigmann)

MARDJ RĀHIṬ, the name of a plain near Damascus famous in Islamic history on account of the battles which took place there.

According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, "a *mardj* is a wide expanse of land with numerous estates where large and small cattle and beasts are raised". For M. Canard (*H'amdânides*, 204), a *mardj* is "the place where agriculture and gardens cease to be found". Beyond the *mardj* lies the *ḥamād*, the sterile terrain.

Mardj is a term which, in reference to Damascus, denotes a semicircular zone situated between the Ghūṭa [*q.v.*] and the marches of ʿUṭayba and Hidjdjāna, and the desert steppe which extends eastwards. In the north, the *mardj* is bounded by the foothills of the first chain of the Ḳalamūn, in the west by the slopes of Mt. Hermon, and in the south by the lava bed of the Ladjāʾ [*q.v.*] and the Ṣafā. At the present time, this plain forms parts of the *muḥāfaẓa* of Damascus. Certain part of the *mardj* have special names; amongst these, certain ones have played a great rôle in the history of Syria, sc. the Mardj ʿAdhrāʾ or Mardj Rāhiṭ in the north-east, and the Mardj al-Ṣuffar [*q.v.*] in the south.

The climate of the *mardj* is identical with that of Damascus; at an elevation of 700 m. above sea level on average, it receives each year between 300 to 400 mm of rain. In February, after the winter rains, the region is swollen with water, and it is more difficult to get around, since the roads and tracks are impassable. In the spring, the springs situated at the foot of the first lines of the Ḳalamūn allow the agglomeration of ʿAdhrāʾ to be irrigated and give enough water to Mardj Rāhiṭ for the grass and flowers to grow in April. Towards mid-May, the Bedouin come to camp and to pasture their flocks on the eastern border of the *mardj*. In August, the grass has disappeared, and the region is dusty until the first rains of autumn.

According to certain authors, like Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, Mardj Rāhiṭ is identical with Mardj ʿAdhrāʾ, but for others, Mardj Rāhiṭ is situated near ʿAdhrāʾ, which Yāḳūt mentions as one of the villages in the vicinity of Damascus. This settlement, which sometimes give its name to the neighbouring *mardj*, is situated between the modern village of Shafūniyya and the Khān al-Ḳuṣayr at the foot of the Hill of the Eagle (Thaniyyat al-ʿUḳāb) on the road from Damascus to Ḥimṣ. When going northwards, one passes by the Ḳubbat al-ʿAṣāfīr, the Khān ʿAyyāsh—identified with the Khān of Lādjīn [*q.v.*] built in 690/1291—and the Khān of al-Ḳuṣayr. It is to the south-east of this district that Musil fixes the Mardj Rāhiṭ.

In Muḥarram 13/March-April 634, the general Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] left ʿIrāḳ in order to take part, with two other Arab contingents, in the conquest of Syria. After their defeat at al-Adjnādayn [*q.v.*], the Byzantines fell back on Damascus, where they shut themselves up in Muḥarram 14/March 635. Khālid b. al-Walīd, having arrived himself at the beginning of spring in the region of Damascus, drove out the Ghassānids who were there and installed himself at Mardj Rāhiṭ, to the north-east of the city, which fact has led some people to think that he had come via Tadmur. Some others think that he took the southern road via Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*]. Whilst Khālid encamped to the north-east, the general Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*] deployed his troops to the south-west in order to besiege Damascus, which had to surrender in Radjab 14/September 638.

In 64/684 Mardj Rāhiṭ was the scene of a great battle involving an internal struggle of the Arabs. On the death of Muʿāwiya II b. al-Yazīd [*q.v.*], a complex crisis ensued over the succession to the caliphate. The community became divided into two, with the Ḳaysīs, partisans of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] on one side, and the Kalbīs, supporters of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] on the other. Whilst an assembly

convoked to choose a successor to Muʿāwiya II met at al-Djābiya [*q.v.*], al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī [*q.v.*], head of the Ḳays and supporter of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who had made him governor of Damascus, concentrated the Ḳaysī forces at Mardj al-Ṣuffar. Marwān, having become caliph, had as his prime aim the dislodging and breaking-up of the forces of al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who had rallied to Ibn al-Zubayr, in turn proclaimed caliph at Mecca. A first engagement took place in the middle of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 64/mid-August 684 at Mardj al-Ṣuffar; the Ḳaysīs fell back towards Damascus, but their opponents were in place to the north-east of Damascus at the foot of the Thaniyyat al-ʿUḳāb; this was "the encounter (*waḳʿa*) of Mardj Rāhiṭ". After some 20 days ("nights", according to Ibn al-Athīr) of skirmishes, the final struggle, called "the day (*yawm*) of Mardj Rāhiṭ", took place on 1 Muḥarram 65/18 August 684. If certain sources are to be believed, Marwān is supposed to have had 13,000 men under the command of ʿAbbād b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], whilst al-Ḍaḥḥāk had as many as 30,000. Can the death of al-Ḍaḥḥāk in battle, and the sight of his severed head presented to Marwān, alone explain the débâcle for the Ḳaysīs, whose main leaders were killed, only Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī finding safety in flight northwards? Amongst the dead are mentioned 80 *ashrāf* of Damascus. According to al-Harawī and Ibn Shaddād, at Mardj Rāhiṭ in the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries there were to be found the tombs of two Companions of the Prophet, Zumayl b. Rabīʿa and Rabīʿa b. ʿAmr al-Djarashī, both killed fighting Marwān; it was, accordingly, a place of pilgrimage.

The success of the Kalb party may be explained by the rallying to Marwān, in the course of the manoeuvres, of elements allied to Ḳays, as well as the fact that the Umayyads, having succeeded by means of a coup-de-main in seizing the state treasury (*bayt al-mal*) at Damascus and a store of arms, had at their disposal means for redressing the balance of forces. Only the defection, to Marwān's profit, of an important part of the Syrian tribes, anxious to preserve their hegemony, seems able to explain the overwhelming success of the Umayyad army.

After this victory, Marwān undertook the conquest of the lands where allegiance had been given to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. One result of the battle was to accentuate the rivalry of the Ḳays and the Kalb. The victorious Kalb and the family of Baḥdal [*q.v.*] acquired a preponderance which the Ḳays, with the support of Bāhila and Ghanī [*q.vv.*], were to contest strongly.

The "encounter at Mardj Rāhiṭ" was much mentioned in poetry of the Marwānid period, in particular by al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*]; and al-Masʿūdī cites in his *Tanbīh*, in connection with this Umayyad victory, verses by al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*].

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 334/July 946, the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] broke the treaty which he had made with the Ikhshīdid regent Kāfūr [*q.v.*] and seized Damascus, but the ruler in Cairo sent troops to regain the city. The Ḥamdānid army was put to flight by the Ikhshīdid troops near Nāṣira in Djumādā I 335/December 946, and retreated towards Damascus; it encamped at Mardj Rāhiṭ and then reached Ḥimṣ in Djumādā II 335/January 947, whilst Kāfūr's forces reoccupied Damascus. In spring 335/947, Sayf al-Dawla returned to Damascus, but he was beaten at Mardj Rāhiṭ, whose terrain was suitable for warfare, and fled towards Aleppo, pursued by the Ikhshīdid forces.

In 381/991 the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] dismissed Munīr al-Khādim, the governor of Damascus, and sent as his replacement the Turkish general Mangūtakīn, who took up his position initially at ʿAdhrāʾ at Mardj Rāhiṭ before making his entry into Damascus.

In Djumādā I 529/mid-February 1135, the Atabeg ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī arrived from Aleppo and went to encamp at Mardj Rāhiṭ between ʿAdhrāʾ and al-Ḳuṣayr with the aim of occupying Damascus. Whilst the city organised its defence, the Atabeg left Mardj Rāhiṭ and took up a position to the south at the ʿAḳabat al-Ḳibliyya on the road to Ḥawrān [*q.v.*]. On 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 535/22 June 1141, Zangī appeared again on the outskirts of Damascus in order to cut off food supplies from the city. A sortie by the defenders compelled Zangī to lift the siege and beat a retreat; he then fell back to Mardj Rāhiṭ in order to await his troops. When these last returned, loaded with plunder, he joined them on the road northwards.

A few years later, in spring 544/1149, Nūr al-Dīn in turn established his camp at ʿAdhrāʾ in the western part of Mardj Rāhiṭ whilst he was besieging Damascus. Two years later, on 13 Muḥarram 546/2 May 1151, Nūr al-Dīn's vanguard set up its tents at ʿAdhrāʾ in Mardj Rāhiṭ, but then the army, endeavouring to keep up the pressure on the city, changed camp several times before falling back at the approach of the Franks from Jerusalem who had come to the aid of the Damascenes. When Nūr al-Dīn came back a third time to lay siege to Damascus, in the second half of Muḥarram 549/beginning of April 1154, he set up his camp at Mardj al-Ḳaṣṣāb to the north of the Bāb Tūma.

Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] tells us that in 680/1280, "al-Manṣūr (sc. the Mamlūk sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]) got together his troops in the *mardj* and left with his army for Ḥimṣ"; assuming that the sultan journeyed northwards, this must be Mardj Rāhiṭ.

In 698/1298-9, the Mongol troops of the Il-Khān Ghazan [*q.v.*] entered Syria, passed by Ḥamāt [*q.v.*] and marched on Damascus. In Ramaḍān 698/June 1299, they regrouped at Mardj Rāhiṭ before embarking on the attack on Damascus. Fighting between the Mongols and Mamlūks was fierce. The city was burnt, the suburbs destroyed, the Ghūṭa sacked, and Sayf al-Dīn Ḳipčaḳ al-Manṣūrī who, with the *amīr* Baktimur al-Silāḥdār had passed into the Mongol service, was appointed governor of Damascus by Ghazan. But after the retreat of the troops commanded by Ḳuṭlūshāh, Sayf al-Dīn Ḳipčaḳ once more submitted to the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, and Djamāl al-Dīn Aḳḳush al-Afram reassumed the office which he had abandoned when the Mongols had appeared.

In 702/1303, the Mongols crossed Mardj Rāhiṭ in order to reach Mardj al-Ṣuffar, where they went to take up positions at Shaḳḥab before confronting the Mamlūk army.

From the 8th/14th century onwards, the name Mardj Rāhiṭ seems to disappear in local toponomy in favour of the designation Mardj ʿAdhrāʾ.

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(N. Elisséeff)

MARDJ AL-ṢUFFAR, the plain stretching from the south of the Ghūṭa and falling within the administrative district of Damascus (*arḍ Dimashḳ*). It holds an important position in the history of Syria because of the many battles occurring there over the centuries and the frequent crossings of it by pilgrims. It provides a convenient stopping place south of Damascus, and because of the good water supply there and excellent grazing, it makes an ideal encampment for any army travelling from the north or the south.

To the north it is bounded by the right bank of the Nahr al-Aʿwadj, which drops down from Hermon to disappear to the east in the Baḥr al-Hidjdjāna, and to the east by the railway line from Damascus to Darʿa (Adhriʿāt [*q.v.*]) and Amman (ʿAmmān [*q.v.*]). In the south-east, the Mardj ends in the volcanic area of the Safā, and in the south the boundary is the lava field of the Ladjā [*q.v.*], which is roughly situated between Umm al-Ḳuṣūr and Ghabāghib. To the west, the village of Kanākir marks the boundary, while in the north-west it is marked by the lava flow (*waʿr*) of Zakiya.

The Syrian Darb al-Ḥadjdj crosses the Mardj al-Ṣuffar from north to south after going through the Shuḥūra pass, the Djabal Aswad and the Nahr al-Aʿwadj. In its course it passes through Kiswa, Khān Danūn, Shakḥab and Ghabaghib, before entering the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*].

Here on the Mardj al-Ṣuffar one of the historically famous battles in the Syrian campaign of the caliph Abū Bakr was fought, in Djumādā 13/August 634. After the victory of Adjnādayn [*q.v.*], the Prophet's Companion Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], who had been put under the command of Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana, arrived in the advance party on his way from Djawlān [*q.v.*] and camped here with his troops. He was taken by surprise by the Byzantines under Theodore, the brother of the emperor Heraclius, who was supported by the Ghassānid troops of al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shām. Khālid b. Saʿīd was killed in battle and buried on the spot. His newly-married wife Umm Ḥakīm bint al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra, who had been the widow of ʿIkrima b. Abī Djahl, plunged into the conflict and killed his enemies. In memory of this exploit, the bridge on which she fought was named Ḳanṭarat Umm Ḥakīm. With the arrival of Arab reinforcements, the Byzantines fell back and shut themselves in Damascus, which was besieged by the Muslims shortly afterwards.

After his victory over the Ghassānids at Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*], Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] headed southwards and stayed for some time at the Mardj al-Ṣuffar before returning to Boṣrā [*q.v.*] by way of Ḳanawāt.

In Ramaḍān 64/May 684, partisans of the Umayyads met at al-Djābiya [*q.v.*] to nominate a successor to Muʿāwiya II [*q.v.*]. The governor of Damascus, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī [*q.v.*], the leader of the Zubayrid party, was also invited to the meeting and promised to be there. He left Damascus with a considerable number of troops, but when he came to the Mardj al-Ṣuffar, half-way to al-Djābiya, he decided to stop there to await the outcome of the meeting, whilst at the same time making his way towards a meeting of the Ḳays [*q.v.*] of Syria, who were in rebellion against the Umayyads.

On 3 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 64/22 June 684, after forty days of deliberation, the Kalb [*q.v.*] and the Umayyad partisans elected to the caliphate by acclamation Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*]. Immediately, he started out for Damascus and arrived at the Mardj al-Ṣuffar in the middle of Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda/the beginning of July. The Ḳays were unable to hold their position, and in an effort to avoid combat al-Ḍaḥḥak set off hastily towards Mardj Rāhiṭ, to the north of Damascus. In the battle which followed, the Ḳaysī leader and a large number of his men lost their lives.

In 476/1083, while the Saldjūḳ Tutush [*q.v.*] was away leading an expedition against the Byzantines in the Anṭākiya region, Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, the leader of the Banū ʿUḳayl and ruler of Ḥalab [*q.v.*] decided to besiege Damascus. The troops of Ḥalab, joined by the Banū Numayr [*q.v.*] and the Banū Shaybān [*q.v.*] as well as some Turkmen elements, came to lay siege to the town. The Ḳays and some Yemenis joined them there. Muslim hoped for aid from Egypt promised by the Fāṭimids, but he hoped in vain. Tutush was recalled by the townsmen of Damascus, but they had defeated their attacker before he could get back. The ʿUḳaylid was betrayed by some of his troops, and leaving the walls of the city, he went to make camp on the Mardj al-Ṣuffar. From there he took the road eastwards across the Ḥamād and reached the district of Salāmiyya.

Riḍwān b. Tutush [*q.v.*], the ruler of Ḥalab, came to besiege Damascus in 489/1096, supported by Sukmān b. Artuḳ. When he heard that Shams al-

Mulūk Duḳāḳ was returning to Damascus with his troops, Riḍwān raised the siege and fell back to the Mardj al-Ṣuffar, and then went on to pillage the Ḥawrān. Duḳāḳ arrived in Damascus, and set out in pursuit of Riḍwān's army. As Duḳāḳ began to close in on him, Riḍwān broke away, took a northerly route through the Syrian desert and returned to Ḥalab at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdjā 489/mid-December 1096.

In 11 Muḥarram 507/28 June 1113, the Saldjūḳ troops of the Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Mawdūd of Mawṣil and of the Atabeg Tughtakīn [*q.v.*] of Damascus won a resounding victory over the Franks at al-Ṣinnabra, the former winter residence of the caliph Muʿāwiya, south of Lake Tiberias. The Franks retreated to some rising ground to the west of Tiberias, whilst the Muslims camped at the foot of the hill. After thirty-six days under siege, debilitated by the extreme heat and the lack of provisions, they were obliged to surrender their position on Rabīʿ I 507/16 April 1113. Heading north through Baysān, they reached the Mardj al-Ṣuffar, where Mawdūd paid off his troops and they dispersed. He then accompanied the Atabeg Ṭughtakīn to Damascus, arriving there on 21 Rabīʿ I 507/5 September 1113.

At the end of 519/1125, Baldwin II of Jerusalem decided to launch a surprise attack on Damascus in reprisal for a raid during the previous autumn by the Atabeg Ṭughtakīn. He intended to reach the area by way of the Mardj al-Ṣuffar and Sharkhub. The Atabeg positioned his troops on the Mardj al-Ṣuffar and advanced as far as Tell al-Shaḳḥab. On 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 519/25 January 1127, the two armies confronted each other and fought a little battle which has become of great interest to military historians, as noted by Charles Oman, relying upon the accounts of Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre. This was, in fact, the first time that the Turks had used infantry to support their cavalry. The Franks were split into twelve field units each composed of cavalrymen and footsoldiers. Opposed to them was the Muslim army made up of Turkmen cavalrymen supported by young recruits, who were mounted behind the riders and ready to leap down and fight on foot when the enemy was near. On the Damascene side also were thousands of men on foot, for the most part citizens who had very little military training. It was only in respect of the irregular foot-soldiers that the Damascenes had a clear numerical superiority. Although the battle was extremely hard-fought, the casualties were not excessive. The Franks were first surprised by a hail of arrows and yielded ground, but then rallied, and the Damascus troops retreated at nightfall, falling back as far as Djabal Aswad, near Kiswa. Finally, both sides returned home.

In the first half of Shawwāl 523/the second half of September 1129, the Franks launched a new offensive against Damascus after the massacre of the Bāṭiniyya [*q.v.*]. Tadj al-Mulūk Būrī in vain solicited the help of the Fāṭimid caliph. The Franks encamped at the entrance to the Mardj al-Ṣuffar before Djisr al-Khashab and foraged on the plain between Tell Shaḳḥab and Kiswa. The Muslim army, now enlarged by Turkmens and Bedouins, halted in front of the Franks, who clustered round their tents while one group of them continued foraging in the Ḥawrān. After launching several attacks the Muslims were at last able to achieve a decisive victory, taking much booty and leaving many dead.

During the reigns of Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], we find hardly any mention of the Mardj al-Ṣuffar in contemporary chronicles. The *Nudjūm* of Ibn Taghrībirdī makes no mention of any conflict on this plain which the armies used to cross on the way from Cairo to Damascus. In Djumādā II 590/May 1194, the Ayyūbid of Egypt al-ʿAzīz camped at Kiswa, on the banks of the Nahr al-Aʿwadj on the northern edge of the Mardj al-Ṣuffar, on his way to Damascus to hold discussions with his eldest brother al-Afḍal.

During the battle between al-ʿĀdil and al-Afḍal in 595/1199, al-Afḍal went to encamp on the Mardj al-Ṣuffar several times before resuming the siege of Damascus in Ramaḍān/July. In the following year (596/1200), it was the turn of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir to encamp on the Mardj al-Ṣuffar during the rainy season before reaching to Ḥalab.

In 614/1217 al-ʿĀdil [*q.v.*], the younger brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, was hard pressed by the Crusaders, and fell back from Palestine to the north. He travelled through Baysān, crossed the Jordan, passed through ʿAdjlūn [*q.v.*] and then turned northwards to follow the track of Raʾs al-Māʾ in order to get the Mardj al-Ṣuffar. From there he appealed for help to the Ayyūbid princes, but only al-Mudjāhid Shīrkūh of Ḥimṣ came to his camp. While al-ʿĀdil was in the Mardj al-Ṣuffar, his elder son, who was governing Egypt on his behalf, had to confront the Fifth Crusade when it disembarked at Damietta (Dimyāṭ [*q.v.*]) on Rabīʿ I 615/28 May 1218. As soon as al-ʿĀdil had heard that the Franks had set foot on Egyptian soil, he left for Damietta. After a day's forced march he arrived at ʿAlikīn where he fell ill, shocked by the defeat at Damietta. He died in his camp on Friday, Djumādā II/31 August 1218. He was buried in Damascus, firstly in the citadel and then in his own *turba*. Whenever al-ʿĀdil stayed at Damascus during the rose blossom season, he would have his tent erected in the Mardj al-Ṣuffar, being allergic to the smell of the flowers, and then go back to the city later.

When al-Kāmil died in Radjab 635/March 1238, there was trouble among the Ayyubīd princes, and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd [*q.v.*] had to leave his post as governor of Damascus. For a time, he took refuge in Ḳabūn, some 4 km. north of Damascus. But he felt himself threatened there, so sought refuge in the Mardj al-Ṣuffar in the old Umayyad castle of Umm Ḥakīm, from where he fled to Ḳalʿat al-Rabaḍ, the castle of ʿAdjlūn.

In Shaʿbān 702/end of March or beginning of April 1303, the Mongols of Persia again crossed the Euphrates and marched towards Ḥamāt [*q.v.*]. Damascus had been occupied for a short while by the Tatars in 699/1300, and they now went out to wait for the enemy in the Mardj al-Ṣuffar, where they were to be joined by the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The troops of the Ilkhānid Ghazan Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] took up their position near Shaḳḥab, to the west of the Mardj al-Ṣuffar. They launched their attack on 2 Ramaḍān 502/21 April 1303 and were repulsed by the Mamlūks, who sustained heavy losses. The *amīrs* ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamur al-ʿIzzī al-Naḳīb, together with ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkī al-Ẓāhirī, the governor of the province of Ḥimṣ, and also the *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*] Djamāl al-Dīn Aḳḳūsh al-Shāmī, all fell "as martyrs" on that day.

In 791/1359 and 792/1390, the Mardj al-Ṣuffar was the theatre for violent fighting between Muslims. Barḳūḳ, the sultan who had been stripped of his position, left al-Karak [*q.v.*] where he had just been released from captivity, in Shawwāl 791/September-October 1389, and he arrived in Mardj al-Ṣuffar on 22 Shawwāl with, it is said, 500 men, some Mamlūks and some Bedouins. He clashed with the troops from Damascus near Shaḳḥab on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/30

October 1389, and went on to lay siege to Damascus. The *amīrs* of the main towns of the north of Syria banded together and came to the help of the city, but on the way, some of them decided to go over to Barḳūḳ. When, at the beginning of Muḥarram 792/end of December 1389 a warning was given of the approach of Tīmūrbug͟hā Mintās͟h, Barḳūḳ left Damascus after a violent battle at Bāb al-Ḏjābiya, within the eastern area of the city. He fell back towards the Mard͟j al-Ṣuffar, passed through Kiswa, and went on to camp at S͟haḳhab. According to Ibn Ṣaṣrā, the two armies confronted one another on 17 Muḥarram/5 January 1390. In this critical situation, Barḳūḳ was looking for cover when he suddenly came face to face with the sultan al-Manṣūr Ḥād͟jd͟jī, the caliph of Cairo al-Mutawakkil I, and the great *ḳāḍīs* who, since they had only a feeble escort, quickly surrendered. Hence at that point, the situation was reversed. Minṭās͟h tried three times to release Ḥad͟jd͟jī and his companions but without success, since a violent storm of hail and rain forced the adversaries to abandon their conflict. Though the number of dead on both sides was less than 50, it was nevertheless a battle important for history. While Minṭās͟h sought refuge in Damascus, Barḳūḳ went back to Cairo with the caliph and the *amīrs* who had joined his cause, and was restored to the office of sultan in Ṣafar 792/February 1390, whilst al-Manṣūr (al-Muẓaffar) Ḥad͟jd͟jī disappeared without any more trouble.

One may note that during the 8th/14th century, *k͟hāns* [*q.v.*] were built in the Mard͟j al-Ṣuffar, a sign of a certain prosperity in the district. One *k͟hān* was built to the north-west of the Lad͟jāʾ at S͟haḳhab in 716/1316-17 by the *amīr* Tankiz b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Nāṣirī, the viceroy of Damascus. In 725/1325 another was built between Kiswa and G͟habāg͟hib in the *nāḥiya* of al-Katf al-Buṣrī (?) in the Mard͟j al-Ṣuffar, at the expense of al-Amīr al-Kabīr ᶜIzz al-Dīn K͟haṭṭāb b. Maḥmūd b. Murtaᶜis͟h (?) al-ᶜIrāḳī al-G͟hazakī, and it attracted many travellers. The K͟hān Danūn, a very large *k͟hān*, built 5 km. south of Kiswa on the road to Ad͟hriᶜat, was completed in 778/1376 during the reign of sultan al-As͟hraf S͟haᶜbān. One should also mention a *k͟hān* at G͟hbāg͟hib, north of Ṣanamayn, on the Pilgrimage route, and another, the K͟hān al-Zayyāt, to the south-west of Kiswa and north-east of S͟haḳhab.

In 1941, during the course of hostilities between the Free French forces (supported by the British and Commonwealth troops) and the Vichy troops, there was a battle on the Mard͟j al-Ṣuffar, which took place on the very spot where the Byzantines had been forced to yield ground to the Arabs 1300 years before, and this later battle allowed the Allies to enter the Syrian capital.

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MARD͟JAᶜ-I TAḲLĪD (pl. *marād͟jiᶜ-i taḳlid*, Pers. for Ar. *mard͟jaᶜ/marād͟jiᶜ al-taḳlīd*), title and function of a hierarchal nature denoting a Twelver Imām S͟hīᶜī jurisconsult (*mud͟jtahid*, *faḳīh*) who is to be considered during his lifetime, by virtue of his qualities and his wisdom, a model for reference, for "imitation" or "emulation"—a term employed to an increasing extent by English-speaking authors—by every observant Imāmī S͟hīᶜī (with the exception of *mud͟jtahids*) on all aspects of religious practice and law. As in the case of other institutions, the history of this function (called *mard͟jaᶜiyyat-i taḳlīd* or simply *mard͟jaᶜiyyat*, the term *mard͟ja ᶜi- taḳlīd* often being abbreviated as *mard͟jaᶜ*, pl. *marād͟jiᶜ*) is to be understood in the context of the protracted doctrinal development of Imāmism. Although the Arab element played and continues to play an important part in this development, historical circumstances prevalent in Iran since the establishment of Imāmi S͟hīᶜism as the state religion under the Ṣafawids (907-1135/1501-1722 [*q.v.*]) were ultimately responsible for giving to the Imāmī *mud͟jtahids* a dominant spiritual and temporal influence. Under the Ḳād͟jārs (1794-1925 [*q.v.*]), the Imāmī *ᶜulamāʾ* developed or re-interpreted various concepts or points of doctrine (*niyābat*, *aᶜlamiyyat*, *mard͟jaᶜiyyat*, *wilāyat*) which contributed to the increase of their power. Having undergone an eclipse since the 1920s—a period corresponding with the renaissance of Ḳum [*q.v.*] as a theological centre—the influence of the Imāmī *mud͟jtahids* and the role of the *mard͟jaᶜ-i taḳlid* were seriously reexamined in the early 1960s as a result of doubts concerning the succession to Āyatullāh al-ᶜUẓmā Burūd͟jirdī (d. 1961 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), sole *mard͟jaᶜ-i taḳlīd* since 1367/1947. Discussions and debates were held by members, religious and lay, of the Islamic societies (*and͟jumanhā-yi islāmī*) concerning the method of selection and the functions of the *mard͟jaᶜ-i taḳlīd* and the institution of *mard͟jaᶜiyyat* in general, the position of Imāmism with regard to *id͟jtihād*, *taḳlīd* and the various problems posed by the

relations between religious and political authorities, the forms and the degrees of power which could be exercised by the *mudjtahids*, etc. It was especially after the publication of these discussions (*Bahthī*, 1341/1962; cf. Lambton (1964), 120), of which the authors, Āyatullāh Ṭāliḳānī (d. 1979) and Mihdī Bāzargān, were arrested and imprisoned following the demonstrations of spring 1963 against the "white revolution" of the Shāh (in which Āyatullāh Khumaynī played a prominent role) that abroad there ensued a wide-ranging debate concerning these questions, of which the salient points are summarised below in their historical context.

1. Discussions of *idjtihād* and *taḳlīd*. The evolution of Imāmī attitudes towards *idjtihād* and *taḳlīd* may be analysed in the context of what has been called, sometimes retrospectively and anachronistically, the conflict between the Akhbārīs/Akhbāriyya [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and the Uṣūlīs/Uṣūliyya [*q.v.*]. The eminent scholars of the period of the Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS] who formulated the Imāmī *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (al-Mufīd, d. 413/1022; al-Murtaḍā, d. 436/1044; Shaykh Ṭūsī, d. 460/1067) reject both *ḳiyās* and *idjtihād* (although al-Murtaḍā acknowledges a subordinate role for *idjtihād*: Brunschvig, 210; Arjomand (1984), 53). Even while employing its techniques, the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* continue to reject *idjtihād*. At the same time, Shaykh Ṭūsī describes the traditionists as literalists (*aṣḥāb al-djumal*, cf. Kazemi Moussavi (1985), 36). Akhbārīs and Uṣūlīs appear as opposing factions in the *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ*, an anti-Sunni polemical work written by the fervent Uṣūlī ʿAbd al-Djalīl al-Ḳazwīnī al-Rāzī (d. 565/1170; on this source, see Calmard (1971), Scarcia Amoretti (1981)). In the Ilkhānid period, al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) admits that—although rejecting *ḳiyās*—the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* have practised *idjtihād*. His pupil Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) formulated the methods of Imāmī *idjtihād*. According to Muṭahharī (*Bahthī*, 42), he was the first Imāmī jurist to use the term *mudjtahid* to describe one who derives religious precepts (*ḥukm-i sharʿī*) on the basis of authentic articles of the *sharīʿat*. According to other opinions, al-Mufīd is said to have been the first Imāmī *faḳīh* to practise *idjtihād*, al-Ṭūsī having given him a definitive formulation (J. M. Hussain, 150, quoting M. Ramyar, 88, 92).

Like *idjtihād*, *taḳlīd* is rejected by the first Imāmī theologians, notably al-Kulaynī (cf. Arjomand (1984), 139) and al-Mufīd (cf. McDermott, 257 ff.). For al-Murtaḍā, the disciple of al-Mufīd, the *taḳlīd* of an *ʿālim* is permitted (with reservations). He is followed three centuries later by Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī who—while no longer basing the competence of the *mudjtahid* on the entirety of the *sharīʿat*—draws a distinction between *idjtihād al-mukallafīn* and *idjtihād al-mudjtahidīn* or indeed between the *muftī* and the *mustaftī*, i.e. between the jurisconsult and the simple believer (Arjomand (1984), 139 f.; Kazemi Moussavi (1985), 37).

2. Basis and extent of the influence of the Imāmī *mudjtahids*. According to Imāmī tradition, the world cannot exist for a single moment without a *ḥudjdja* ("proof" or "guarantee" of God), this function being supplied, after the Prophet, by the Imāms. During the Minor Occultation (*ghaybat al-ṣughrā*, 260-329/874-941), the *fuḳahāʾ* were able to consult the Twelfth Imām through the intermediacy of his four *safīrs* or *wakīls*. On the instructions of the Imām, the fourth *wakīl* did not appoint a successor (Madelung, (1982), 163 ff.). During the Major Occultation (*ghaybat al-kubrā*, after 329/941), the Imāmī community therefore lived in a state of messianic expectation which compelled it to seek out solutions for its spiritual and temporal organisation. Unlike the Sunnīs, the Imāmī *fuḳahāʾ* generally denied the legitimacy of powers established *de facto* during the *ghayba* (the basis and the logic of this attitude have been questioned by Arjomand (1979) who criticises the interpretations of N.R. Keddie, A.K.S. Lambton, H. Algar etc.; cf. Calmard (1982), 255, Calder (1982 A), 3, n. 2).

In the acknowledged absence of an infallible guide or of a just sovereign, or of transmitters of traditions (*muḥaddithūn*), the Imāmī *fuḳahāʾ* became scholastic theologians (*mutakallimūn*) before extending their prerogatives in the capacity of *mudjtahidūn* (J. Hussain, 150). Their influence increased under the Būyids (who professed Shīʿism), with whom they felt able to collaborate without sacrificing their loyalty to their Imām (Kohlberg (1976 A), 532 f.). Numerous Imāmīs, including some *ʿulamāʾ*, collaborated with Sunnī authorities and occupied senior posts in the service of the ʿAbbāsids and the Saldjūḳs (Calmard (1971), 55 f.). The theologian Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and the Shīʿī vizier Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī promoted, in varying degrees, the accession to power of the Mongol Ilkhāns (Calmard (1975), 145 ff.). The Ilkhān Öljeytü/Uldjaytū (1304-17) showed favour to eminent Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* such as Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī and his son Fakhr al-Muḥaḳḳiḳīn (d. 771/1369-70): *ibid.*, 150 ff.; Arjomand (1984), 57 f.).

Whether accepting or contesting the powers established *de facto*, the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* continued to seek, within the structural limits of the *sharīʿa*, a means of coming to terms with their existence. According to a theory elaborated under the Būyids, during the *ghayba* certain parts of the *sharīʿa* (such as *djihād* or *ḥudūd*, legal penalties) are inapplicable (this is the doctrine of the *sukūt*: cf. Calder (1982 A), 4, quoting the same (1979 A), ch. 3). Points of doctrine concerning especially *djihād* and the duties incumbent (such as *amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, ordering the good and forbidding the bad) are thoroughly discussed (Arjomand (1984), 61 ff., see also Kohlberg (1976 B)). But the Imāmī political ethic expounded especially by al-Murtaḍā (and adopted by his successors) recommends in judicial and administrative matters "a positive and ethically responsible involvement in the existing political order" (Arjomand (1984), 65; see also Madelung (1980)).

With the rise of Ṣūfism in the post-Ilkhānid period (14th-16th centuries), Shīʿī themes began to permeate the *ṭarīḳāt* and the thought of various messianic or millenarian politico-religious movements inspired by charismatic chieftains or miracle-workers who seized power (the Sarbadārs, the Mushaʿshaʿīs, the Ṣafawids, etc.). Various Ṣūfī movements threatened the existence of the existing established powers or compromised with them (Kubrāwiyya, Dhahabiyya, Nūrbakhshiyya, Niʿmatullāhiyya, Ḥurūfiyya, etc.). The case of the Shīʿī order of the Marʿashī Sayyids [*q.v.*] constitutes a separate example of politicisation of Ṣūfism from which Mahdism is absent (for a socio-historical study of these movements, see Calmard (1975), 154 ff; Arjomand (1984), 66 ff.). Although these socio-political changes were unconnected with the efforts of the *ʿulamāʾ* to formulate and practise the Imāmī doctrine, their advice was sometimes solicited by politico-religious chiefs, as in the case of the "Shīʿī republic" of the Sarbadārs which created a precedent regarding the functions which could henceforward be exercised by Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* in a Shīʿī state.

It was in this context of Ṣūfism and extremism that there came about the rise of the Ṣafawiyya and its transformation in the course of the 15th century into a militant order exercising an increasingly extravagant messianic hold over the Turkoman dervish-g͟hāzis, the ḳizilbas͟h [*q.v.*]. The imposition of Imāmī S͟hīᶜism as the state religion by S͟hāh Ismāᶜīl (1501-24 [*q.v.*]) had the notable consequence of incorporating into the Ṣafawid state Persian dignitaries who were men of high religious or administrative rank and the owners of large properties (Aubin, 39). Since Ṣafawid "imperio-papism" was based simultaneously on the ethos of Iranian nationalism and on S͟hīᶜism, state policy led to the ruthless suppression of messianic and Ṣūfī tendencies both outside and inside the Ṣafawid movement and to the persecution of Sunnīs. With the appeal to the dogmatic principles of S͟hīᶜism, this situation favoured the establishment and the ascendancy of a hierocracy of Imāmī *ᶜulamā*ʾ who, from the outset, under S͟hāh Ismāᶜīl, were subject to the hostility of Persian religious dignitaries (Glassen, 262; Arjomand (1984, 133). The decisive initiative for the establishment of an Imāmī hierocracy was taken by S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp (1524-76). A devout Imāmī, professing no messianic pretensions, he favoured the installation of Imāmī *ᶜulamā*ʾ, "imported" from the Arab countries (Syria, mainly the D̲j̲abal ᶜĀmil, Arab ᶜIrāḳ and Baḥrayn). With their Persian students or colleagues recruited from the hostile camp of the Persian religious dignitaries, they ultimately constituted a "brotherhood" of religious specialists. The *farmān* through which S͟hayk͟h ᶜAlī al-Karakī al-ᶜĀmilī (d. 940/1534), the "Propagator of Religion" was awarded the titles of *Nāʾib* (deputy) of the Imām and of *K͟hātam al-mud̲j̲tahidīn* ("seal of the *mud̲j̲tahids*") could be considered both as the ratification of the establishment of the Imāmī hierocracy in Iran and as the definitive transition from extremism to Imāmism (Arjomand (1984), 129 ff., 133 f.).

The principles on which the authority of the Imāmī *ᶜulamā*ʾ rests were redefined under the Ṣafawids. The combination of the concepts of *taḳlīd* and *id̲j̲tihād* is expressed in various works (*Zubdat al-bayān*, by Mullā Muḥammad Ardabīlī al-Muḳaddas, d. 983/1585; *Zubdat al-uṣūl*, by Bahāʾ al-Dīn ᶜĀmilī "S͟hayk͟h-i Bahāʾī", d. 1030/1621; *Maᶜālim al-uṣūl*, by Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, d. 1011/1602). Although the "Mud̲j̲tahid al-zamānī" al-Karakī fulminates against the prospect of imitating a dead *mud̲j̲tahid* (*taḳlīd al-mayyit*), the general competence of the *mud̲j̲tahids* in all areas of the *s͟hariᶜa* (*id̲j̲tihād muṭlaḳ*) is confirmed, sometimes with the intention of restricting its performance to one or a few jurists, as recommended by Mīr Dāmād [see AL-DĀMĀD], d. 1041/1631-2 (*ibid.*, 138 ff.).

The authority of the *mud̲j̲tahids* during the *g͟hayba* is also redefined around the concept of *niyāba ᶜāmma*, Pers. *niyābat-i ᶜāmma* ("deputed authority") of the Hidden Imām exercised, in principle, collectively (Madelung (1982), 166). The prerogatives attached to this concept vary according to the *mud̲j̲tahids*. While al-Karakī limits their applications, ᶜAlī b. Zayn al-Dīn al-ᶜĀmilī, called *al-S͟hahīd al-t͟hānī* (d. 765/1557), introduces a terminological innovation in describing the *faḳīh* as the *Nāʾib ᶜāmm* or *Ḥākim-i s͟harᶜī* of the Hidden Imām. Among the important implications of the *niyāba ᶜāmma* is the right given to the *mud̲j̲tahids* to collect and administer legal taxes (*zakāt*, *k͟hums*) which, with the management of mortmain property, enjoyed with other religious dignitaries, gives them financial autonomy (*ibid.*, 141 f.; Calder (1982 A), 4 f.; on the development of the doctrine of *niyāba ᶜāmma*, see Calder (1979 A), chs. 4-6; on *zakāt* and *k͟hums*, see idem, (1981), (1982 B); Sachedina (1980)). The authority of the *mud̲j̲tahids* also derives formally from various *ḥadīt͟hs*, including a declaration by the Twelfth Imām which describes the *ᶜulamā*ʾ as the proof (*ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a*) of the proof of God (i.e. of the Hidden Imām) for all the faithful. The *ᶜulamaʾ* are also said to be the heirs of the Prophet (Hairi (1977), 59).

Although formulation of the concept of deputed authority was not pursued systematically in the Ṣafawid period, some of the attributes of the Imāms were then transferred to the *mud̲j̲tahids* (Arjomand (1984), 143). But the Imāmī hierocracy lacked an independent "clerical" organisation and needed political power in order to consolidate its position in relation to the religious dignitaries, especially the *sayyids*, who also enjoyed a certain mystique and wielded politico-economic influence. Claiming to represent the Hidden Imām, but incapable of assuming the heritage of Ṣafawid extremism, it legitimised the Ṣafawid dynasty only as a purely temporal power (this was the prudent attitude of Muḥammad Bāḳir Mad̲j̲lisī [*q.v.*], d. 1111/1699; cf. *ibid.*, 184). But in spite of its efforts and the support of S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp, the hierocracy did not succeed in taking over the important religious and administrative function of the *ṣadr* (*ṣidārat*), which was increasingly. The mystique of the *nāʾib ᶜāmm* did not fuse with that attached to the most learned *mud̲j̲tahid* to constitute a hierocratic institution. These setbacks were due in part to the fact that in addition to its rivalries with the religious dignitaries, the new Imāmī hierocracy experienced internal dissensions due to the diversity of its geographical origins and the diverse attitudes of its *ᶜulamā*ʾ, some of whom directed their attention to worldy matters, while others sought refuge in philosophy (*ibid.*, 132 f.). Despite the considerable influence enjoyed by al-Karakī in the 16th century, it was only at the end of the 17th century, with Muḥammad Bāḳir Mad̲j̲lisī, that there were established the bases of the future influence of the Imāmīᶜ *ᶜulāmā*ʾ, with solid popular roots rendering them independent of the State (*ibid.*, 159 and below).

3. Ak͟hbārī resurgence and Uṣūlī reaction. After being dormant since the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period, the opposition of the Ak͟hbārīs towards the Uṣūlī school was renewed at the beginning of the 17th century, when Mullā Muḥammad Amīn b. Muḥammad S͟harīf Astarābādī (d. 1036/1626-7), encouraged by his teacher Mīrzā Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī Astarābādī (d. 1028/1619), formulated the Ak͟hbārī doctrine in his *K-al-Fawāʾid al-madaniyya*, the basis of the neo-Ak͟hbārism which flourished in Iran and in ᶜIrāḳ in the 17th and 18th centuries (on Ak͟hbārism, notably in this period, see E. Kohlberg, AḴBĀRĪYA, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, i, 716-18). Both teacher and pupil belonged to the clique of Persian religious dignitaries. Neo-Ak͟hbārism was embraced by two eminent representatives of gnostic S͟hīᶜism, the elder Mad̲j̲lisī, Muḥammad Taḳī (d. 1070/1660), and Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kās͟hānī (d. *ca.* 1091/1680). The *s͟hayk͟h al-Islām* of Mas͟hhad, al-Ḥurr al-ᶜĀmilī (d. 1120/1708-9) was a fervent propagandist on its behalf. Rejecting the *id̲j̲tihād* and the *taḳlīd* of anyone who is not infallible (i.e. other than the Imām), Ak͟hbārism reflects the thought of religious dignitaries who prefer philosophy, hermeneutism and mysticism. By extolling reverence for the Imāms, it constituted, for the simple believers, an attractive element of S͟hīᶜism which gained in popularity. But with the anti-clerical policies of S͟hāh Ṣafī (1629-42) and of S͟hāh ᶜAbbās II (1642-66) and the resurgence of Ṣūfism in the mid-17th century, this tendency was to in part restored

before being rejected by the Imāmī hierocracy (*ibid.*, 146 ff. and below).

In fact, despite the advance of Akhbārism at the time of the decline and collapse of the Ṣafawids and throughout periods of disorder and instability (Afghan conquest and domination, 1722-9; reign of Nādir Shāh, 1736-47; Afshāri-Zand interregnum, until 1763), an Uṣūlī reaction emerged in the very bosom of the Madjlisī family, under Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1694-1722). In an effort to destroy popular devotion to Akhbārī-inspired Imāms, thus regaining it for himself, and to isolate the Ṣūfī and mystical trend of the élite, as a prelude to attacking it, Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī adopted Uṣūlism. This reversal and this strategy (adopted by other *ᶜulamāʾ*), had decisive consequences for the consolidation of an Imāmī hierocracy (*ibid.*, 151 ff.; on the Madjlisī family and its descendants see Cole (1985), 6 ff.).

During the years 1722-63, neo-Akhbārism was dominant in ᶜIrāḳ, especially among converts from Uṣūlism coming from Baḥrayn or Iran. But it was not long before in Iran and even in ᶜIrāḳ, Imāmī *ᶜulamāʾ* were observed moving discreetly from Akhbārism to Uṣūlism. After a difficult period for the *ᶜulamāʾ*, involving a kind of Sunni-Shīᶜī ecumenism (1736-51) imposed by the religious policy of Nādir Shāh, the Uṣūlī resurgence came about under the Zands, when Karīm Khān moved his centre of government to Shīrāz (1763-79). However, Karīm Khān had little regard for the *ᶜulamāʾ* (Perry, 220 ff.) and the decisive struggles took place at the *ᶜatabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the Shīᶜī holy places of ᶜIrāḳ, where the Akhbārīs exploited alliances with wealthy financiers and even with heads of criminal gangs (the *lūṭīs* [*q.v.*]). The leading figure in this resurgence of Uṣūlism was Āḳā Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Waḥīd al-Bihbahānī (d. 1208/1793-4 [*q.v.*]), considered the "renovator" (*mudjaddid*) of the 13th century of the Hidjra or as the founder (*muʾassis*) of Imāmī jurisprudence. He was linked both spiritually and genealogically to Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī. Like other *ᶜulamāʾ* of ᶜIrāḳ, he enjoyed the support of the merchant-artisan class (through the intermediary of family alliances). Forcibly imposing a reformulation of the Uṣūlī doctrine and refuting Akhbārism (*K. al-Idjtihād wa 'l-akhbār*), he went so far as to proclaim *takfīr* (excommunication) against the Akhbārīs, sending armed men (his *mirghaḍabs*) to harry them, and persecuted the Niᶜmatullāhī Ṣūfī order (Cole (1983), 39 ff.; idem, (1985), 13 ff.). Bihbahānī and his followers succeeded in "converting" to Uṣūlism numerous Akhbārīs, some of whom migrated towards Iran (in part on account of political tensions between Iran and the governor ᶜUmar Pasha concerning Iranian pilgrims, instability and outbreaks of plague). Some *ᶜulamāʾ* of Northern India were then trained in the Uṣūlī doctrine, which they proceeded to canvass in India (Cole (1985), 21 ff.). The resurgence of Uṣūlism, which developed during the 1760s in the *ᶜatabāt*, was spread in Iran during the 1770s (*ibid*)., 26).

In the final phase of the conflict, the last important representative of the Akhbārī school, the *muḥaddith* Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Nabī al-Nishābūrī al-Akhbārī, was discredited in the eyes of Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh Ḳādjār (1797-1834), who was at that time sympathetic towards Akhbārism, by the Shaykh Djaᶜfar Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ [*q.v.*] who declared him an infidel. In spite of the protests of the Shāh, he was expelled to ᶜIrāḳ and killed by the mob at al-Ḳāẓimayn in 1233/1818 (Algar (1969), 65 ff.). Although the situation of the Akhbārīs subsequently declined rapidly, some groups survived and aspects or concepts of their doctrinal positions remained, especially in Shaykhism (generally considered as being founded by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī [*q.v.*], d. 1241/1826; see also McEoin, art. AL-AHSĀʾĪ in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, i, 674-9). According to Shaykhism, each believer has, in principle, a vocation to *idjtihād*, the only authority to be followed or imitated (*taḳlīd*) being that of the Hidden Imām (Corbin, iv, 252 f.).

4. The institution of *mardjaᶜiyyat-i taḳlīd*. Under the Ḳādjārs, relationships of power with the Imāmī hierocracy were ambiguous. Since Nādir Shāh, the state had lost the "imperio-papal" character on which Ṣafawid power had been based. Despite the continuation of the "separation-collaboration", Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh sought and obtained confirmation of a certain degree of legitimisation on the part of eminent *ᶜulamāʾ* such as Mīrzā Abū 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳumī (d. 1233/1817-18), and Āḳā Sayyid Bihbahānī, grandson of Waḥīd Bihbahānī, who extolled Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh as Ẓill Allāh ("Shadow of God") (Arjomand (1984), 221 ff.).

While continuing to express themselves through *fatwās* or *tafkīrs* against one or other hostile or rival tendency or person (Akhbārī, Shaykhī, Ṣūfī), the Imāmī *mudjtahids* were consulted by the temporal authority regarding important issues. Anxious to assure himself of their support, Mīrzā ᶜĪsā Ḳāʾim-Maḳām, vizier of the crown prince ᶜAbbās Mīrzā, consulted them in connection with the threat of invasion on the eve of the first Irano-Russian conflict (1810-13). Their attitudes and their *fatwās* which he collected in his *Risāla-yi djihādiyya* testify to their influence. The most significant initiative came from Shaykh Djaᶜfar Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ who—in the capacity of *niyābat-i ᶜāmma* of the *mudjtahids*—authorised Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh to conduct the *djihād* in the name of the Hidden Imām (on the parallels and divergencies between the *Risāla-yi djihādiyya* and the positions adopted by Shaykh Djaᶜfar, see Lambton (1970 A), 187 ff.; cf. also Kohlberg (1976 B), 82 ff., Calder (1982 A), 6, and Arjomand (1984), 224 f.). This was also a time of re-assessment of the notion of *niyābat-i khāṣṣa*. Relating, in principle, to the only representatives of the Imāms (initially to the four *sufarāʾ*), it became, with the endorsement of the *fuḳahāʾ*, applicable to the just sovereign. Although the system of taxation had little connection with *djihād*, the subject was discussed at this time, with the *mudjtahids* re-affirming their rights concerning *kharādj* and especially *khums* of which a half, considered to be *sahm-i Imām* ("the Imām's share"), should revert to them after the period of the *djihād* (Arjomand (1984), 229 f.).

The sharing of prerogatives between the *ᶜulamāʾ* and the temporal power is well defined by Djaᶜfar Kashfī in his *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*. His dualist theory of legitimate authority, recalled by eminent *mudjtahids* under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah (1848-96), permitted the *ᶜulamāʾ* to acquire financial autonomy and judicial rights independent of the state (*ibid.*, 225 ff.). But it was especially the reformulation of concepts or doctrines regarding the powers and functions of the *mudjtahids* which led to a structuralisation of their leadership. Long discussions of *idjtihād* and *taḳlīd* culminated in establishing the competence of the *mudjtahids* in guiding the *muḳallids* ("imitators") in matters of *furūᶜ-i dīn* (i.e. the "branches" derived from "roots", *uṣūl*), the *taḳlīd* of a dead *mudjtahid* being definitively ruled out. The problem of the application of the *ḥudūd* during the *ghayba* continued to be thoroughly debated (*ibid.*, 231 ff.). The faithful

S̲h̲īʿī "being unable to understand the code" must entrust himself to the instructions of a jurist (Scarcia (1958 A), 237). The need for recourse to authorised interpreters of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, in the name of the *niyābat-i ʿāmma*, is energetically reformulated by Mullā Aḥmad Narāḳī (d. 1245/1829-30) in *ʿAwāʾid al-ayyām*, where he employs the terms *wilāyat-i ʿāmma* and *wilāyat-i k̲h̲āṣṣa* to describe the delegation of devolved authority to the *mud̲j̲tahids* in the name of the Hidden Imām (Kazemi Moussavi (1984); idem (1985), 40 ff.). Although making of the government of the jurisconsult (which he calls *salṭanat al-s̲h̲arʿiyya*) an independent subject of Imāmī *fiḳh*, he does not seem to have considered the latter obliged to supplant the existing power or to function in parallel with it (*ibid.*, 43 ff.).

A new and decisive step was taken, however, with the doctrinal formulation of the concept of *aʿlamiyyat* according to which the Imāmī community must follow or imitate the precepts of the most learned jurisconsult. Its premisses may be traced back to the Īlk̲h̲ānid period (it was then applied to the Imāms, but one celebrated *mud̲j̲tahid* then bore the title of "ʿAllāma" al-Ḥillī). Under the Ṣafawids, the term *aʿlam* is clearly applied to the Imāmī *mud̲j̲tahids* (Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn ʿĀmilī, *Maʿālim al-uṣūl*, quoted by Kazemi Moussavi, *ibid.*). When, after many cautious and hesitant attempts, the politico-religious context forced the Imāmī hierocracy to adopt a hierarchy, the rehabilitation of the concept of *aʿlamiyyat* took on its full importance, since the title of *mard̲j̲aʿ-i taḳlīd* was given to the most learned *mud̲j̲tahid*. In view of the obscurity surrounding the birth of the concept of *mard̲j̲aʿiyyat*—the initial signs of which may be traced back to the Ṣafawid period—the greatest *mud̲j̲tahids* of the past have recently been reinstated, *a posteriori*, as prototype *mard̲j̲aʿ-i taḳlīds* (on the lists, beginning with al-Kulaynī, d. 328/939, generally including sixty-three names and ending with Burūd̲j̲irdī, see Bagley (1970), 31; Hairi, 62 f.; Fischer, Appx. 2, 252 ff.). This tendency to reassess, in regard to a concept or a doctrine, the great figures of the past is also found in the tradition according to which the beginning of each century of the Hid̲j̲ra should be marked by a renewer of the religion (cf. a provisional list of S̲h̲īʿī *mud̲j̲addids* in Momen, 206, Table 7).

Having been in a process of gestation since the rebirth of Uṣūlism with Waḥīd Bihbahānī, the concept of *mard̲j̲aʿiyyat* took on precise form under his successors. But neither Bihbahānī nor Aḥmad Narāḳī bore the title of *mard̲j̲aʿ-i taḳlīd* (although Bihbahānī and his immediate successor Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Ṭabāṭabāʾī "Baḥr al-ʿulūm", d. 1212/1797, are currently called *mard̲j̲aʿ-i taḳlīd* in S̲h̲īʿī biographical works: cf. McChesney, 168). For numerous *mud̲j̲tahids* and ordinary worshippers in Iran and ʿIrāḳ, the first to have secured this title and this function was Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Ḥasan Nad̲j̲afī, d. 1266/1849-50, known by the name of Ṣāḥib al-D̲j̲awāhir (i.e. the author of *D̲j̲awāhir al-kalām*, "The jewels of scholarship", the most remarkable post-Ṣafawid work of *fiḳh* (Cole (1983), 40 f.; McEoin (1983), 157). When the Imāmī community was riven by the rise of Bābism, Muḥammad Ḥasan Ṣāḥib al-D̲j̲awāhir appointed S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Murtaḍā Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864) as his successor. Having initially offered it to Saʿīd al-ʿUlamāʾ Māzandarānī who refused it, Anṣārī occupied this function for fourteen years and became the single *mard̲j̲aʿ-i taḳlīd* (*mard̲j̲aʿ al-taḳlīd al-muṭlaḳ*) for the entire S̲h̲īʿī world. He encouraged Uṣūlī studies to a considerable extent and arranged direct payment of contributions (*sahm-i Imām*) to local centres of education. With him, the institution of *mard̲j̲aʿiyyat* attained its zenith. He defined its functions in the manual of ritual practice entitled *Sirāt al-nad̲j̲āt* ("The Way of Salvation"). All the Imāmī S̲h̲īʿī communities (Iran, ʿIrāḳ, India, the Caucasus and the Ottoman Empire) sent contributions to him representing considerable sums of money, yet he led a pious, simple and ascetic life. His political attitudes were moderate and he adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Bābīs, who treated him with respect. Some of his works became manuals (*Farāʾid al-uṣūl*, *al-Makāsib*), and many of his pupils became *mud̲j̲tahids* and even *mard̲j̲aʿ-i taḳlīd* (see Algar (1969), 162 ff.; Hairi, art. ANṢĀRĪ, in Suppl.; idem (1977), 63; Cole (1983), 40 ff.; Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī, list of his works, 131-4). Besides the piety and the wisdom of al-Anṣārī, the emergence of a single *mud̲j̲tahid* to occupy the supreme function of *mard̲j̲aʿiyyat* owes much to the disappearance of major Imāmī potentates as well as to the decline of Iṣfahān and the rise of Nad̲j̲af as an Imāmī religious centre (art. ANṢĀRĪ, in Suppl.; Kazemi Moussavi (1985), 45 f.).

Henceforward, it was in the *ʿatabāt*, especially at Nad̲j̲af, but also at Sāmarrā (site of the "catacomb" of the Hidden Imām), places of residence and instructions of the major *marād̲j̲iʿ-i taḳlīd*, that resistance was organised to Ḳād̲j̲ar autocracy and foreign domination. Although not political at the outset, the institution of *mard̲j̲aʿiyyat* became so, as a consequence of historical circumstances and the respective attitudes of each of the *mud̲j̲tahids*. Unlike his predecessor, Anṣārī issued no directives concerning his succession. But his definition of the institutional and ideological role of *mard̲j̲aʿ-i taḳlīd aʿlā* ("supreme model") offered opportunities for the exercise of political prerogatives of which his followers took advance, beginning with his immediate successor, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan S̲h̲īrāzī (d. 1312/1894), who assumed the responsibility of issuing the *fatwā* to revoke a concession on Iranian tobacco awarded to a British company (the Excise Affair, *fatwā* of December 1891; cf. Bibl. in Hairi (1977), 111, n. 8).

The essential characteristic of the institution of *mard̲j̲aʿiyyat* in the 19th century is that the office was occupied successively by a single *mard̲j̲aʿ-i taḳlīd*. After the death of Mīrzā S̲h̲īrāzī, a number of *mud̲j̲tahids*, equally qualified and unable to choose among themselves, were recognised as single *mard̲j̲aʿ* only after the demise of their colleagues. This tendency towards selection by longevity—working to the disadvantage of numerous highly-qualified *mud̲j̲tahids*—was continued until the death of Burūd̲j̲irdī. Since the beginning of the institution, the list of *marād̲j̲iʿ-i taḳlīd* who exercised the function in a sole capacity for a greater of shorter period of time until their death is summarised as follows:

1. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Ḥasan Iṣfahānī Nad̲j̲afī, "Ṣāḥib al-D̲j̲awāhir" (d. at Nad̲j̲af 1266/1850).
2. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Murtaḍā Anṣārī (d. at Nad̲j̲af 1281/1864).
3. Mīrzā Ḥasan S̲h̲īrāzī, *mud̲j̲addid* of the 14th century of the Hid̲j̲ra (d. at Sāmarrā 1312/1895).
4. Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim K̲h̲urāsānī, "Āk̲h̲und K̲h̲urāsānī" (d. at Nad̲j̲af, 1329/1911).
5. Ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲at al-Islām Sayyid Muḥammad Ḳāẓim Ṭabāṭabāʾī Yazdī (d. at Ḥuways̲h̲, near Nad̲j̲af, 1337/1919).
6. Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī Ḥāʾirī S̲h̲īrāzī (d. at Karbalā, 1338/1920).
7. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Faḍl Allāh Iṣfahānī "S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-S̲h̲arīʿa" (died 1338/1920, surviving his predecessor by only four months).
8. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsawī Isfahānī (d. at Kāẓimayn, 1365/1946).
9. Sayyid Āḳā Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī

"Āyatullāh Ḳumī" (d. at Karbalā, 1366/1947, surviving his predecessor by only three months).
10. Āyatullāh al-ᶜUẓmā Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Ḥusayn Burūdjirdī (d. at Ḳum, 1380/1961).

After the death of Mīrzā Shīrāzī, religious leadership was shared between eminent *mudjtahids* of Nadjaf: Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim Fāḍil Sharabyānī (d. 1322/1904); Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan b. ᶜAbd Allāh Mamaḳānī (d. 1323/1905); and Mīrzā Muḥammad Kāẓim Ākhund Khurasānī, who became sole *mardjaᶜ* after the death of Ṭihrānī. A disciple of Mīrzā Shīrāzī, Khurasānī was a fervent supporter of the constitutional revolution of 1905/11. With the *mudjtahids* Ṭihrānī and Māzandarānī, he issued *fatwās*, manifestos and telegrams and took part in the deposition of Muḥammad ᶜAlī Shāh (July 1909). He also campaigned against foreign influences and supported the Young Turk revolution (cf. Hairi, art. KHURĀSĀNĪ idem (1976) and (1977), 98 ff. and index; Momen, 246 f.). His successor, Sayyid Kāẓim Yazdī, abstained from political activity, refused to cooperate with the constitutionalist *ᶜulamāʾ* and cultivated amicable relations with the British after their occupation of ᶜIrāḳ (Hairi (1977), 96 ff., 117 ff. and index; Momen, 247). Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī Hāʾirī, resident at Karbalā, declared that he had no part in the constitutional revolution. He was a determined opponent of the British in ᶜIrāḳ, against whom he decreed a *djihād* in collaboration with other *ᶜulamāʾ* (Hairi (1977), 122 ff. and index).

With the revival of the centre of theological studies (*ḥawḍa-yi ᶜilmiyya*) of Ḳum, at the initiative of Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Karīm Yazdī Ḥāʾiri (d. 1937 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), there was during the 1920s a period in which several high-ranking *mudjtahids* were considered as *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd*. For Iran, the rôle was entrusted, at Ḳum, to Ḥāʾirī; for Nadjaf, to Shaykh ᶜAbd Allāh Mamaḳānī (d. 1933), Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nāʾīnī (d. 1936) and Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan Iṣfahānī (d. 1946), who became sole *mardjaᶜ* after the death of the others. On the death of Āyatullāh Ḳumī (1947), Āyatullāh Burūdjirdī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was recognised as sole *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd* (cf. below). Ḳum thus became the leading centre of Shīᶜī studies, although many students, especially those from Arab countries and the Indian subcontinent, continued to frequent Nadjaf. Following the example of Yazdī Ḥāʾirī and other *mudjtahids*, Burūdjirdī pursued a passive rôle in political matters. He occasionally collaborated with temporal authorities, especially from 1953 to 1958, and supported the anti-Bahāʾī campaign of 1955. It was not until shortly before the end of his life (1960) that he declared his opposition to the agrarian reforms proposed by the Shāh (see Algar (1972) 242 ff.; Akhavi (1980), 24, 77 ff., 102). Despite his title of Āyatullāh al-ᶜUẓmā (see below), and although his name has been mentioned as a *mudjaddid*, Burūdjirdī seems to have been acknowledged as the supreme *mardjaᶜ* in an organic rather than a charismatic sense (Binder, 132, MacEoin (1983), 161 f.). He succeeded no more than other *mudjtahids* in structuring the religious leadership to resist the initiatives of the Pahlavī régime which favoured as his successor Āyatullāh Shaykh Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm (d. 1970), an Arab *mudjtahid* resident at Nadjaf (Algar (1972), 244).

In the reformist religious movements of the "Islamic societies" (cf. above), besides discussion of doctrinal issues (*idjtihād*, *taḳlīd*, religious taxes, etc.), the idea was expressed that the function of *mardjaᶜiyyat* had become too heavy to be entrusted to a single *mudjtahid* and should be exercised by a "council for religious decrees" (*shūrā-yi fatwā*): M. Ṭāliḳānī, in *Baḥthī*, 201-13; M. Djazāʾirī, *ibid.*, 215-30. It was also proposed (by M. Muṭahharī) that, in accordance with the wishes of ᶜAbd al-Karīm Yazdī Hāʾirī, each *mudjtahid* should be "imitated" in the field of his speciality (cf. Lambton (1964), 127; Akhavi, 122 ff.). But the application of the ideas of this movement, revived in part in the 1970s by various reformist trends, did not open the way to a harmonious restructuring of the religious leadership, which henceforward became progressively more influenced by politics.

On the death of Burūdjirdī, the disintegration of the institution of *mardjaᶜiyyat* led to a dispersal of *mardjaᶜ*s: at Ḳum, the Āyatullāhs Sharīᶜatmādarī, Gulpāygānī and Marᶜashī-Nadjafī; at Mashhad, Āyatullāh Mīlānī (d. 1975); at Tehran, Āyatullāh Aḥmad Khᵂānsārī (d. 1985); at Nadjaf, the Āyatullāhs Khūʾī, ᶜAbd al-Hādī Shīrāzī (d. 1961), Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ and Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm. Other less important *mudjtahids* were also considered as *mardjaᶜ* (Momen, 248, n. 2).

While Mashhad [*q.v.*] for some rivalled Ḳum in importance, the events of 1963 catapulted Āyatullāh Khumaynī into pre-eminence in the capacity of *mardjaᶜ* (at Nadjaf, from 1965 onwards). With Mīlānī and Sharīᶜatmādarī, he was regarded as heir to Burūdjirdī (Algar (1972), 245), at least in Iran, since some consensus on the *mardjaᶜiyyat-i kull* of Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm seems to have been reached in about 1966 (Bagley (1970), 78, n. 7). In 1975 there were six *mardjaᶜ*s of senior rank: Khūʾī and Khumaynī at Nadjaf; Gulpāygānī, Sharīᶜatmādarī and Marᶜashī-Nadjafī at Ḳum; Khᵂānsārī in Tehran (Mīlānī died at Mashhad in August 1975). But there are also numerous lines of *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd*s linked by matrimonial alliances to the most important branches (see Fischer (1980), 88 ff., Fig. 3. 1. ff.).

After the death of Burūdjirdī, the Imāmī *ᶜulamāʾ*, together with the laity, were divided into various groups: radicals wishing to establish Islamic justice; social reformers; conservative heirs to the line of Burūdjirdī; collaborators with the Pahlavī régime (Akhavi, 199 ff.). The three first tendencies are to be found in the Islamic Republic of Iran (since February 1979), where rivalries have rent the religious leadership. The concept of *wilāyat-i faḳīh* reformulated by Āyatullāh Khumaynī could be considered as the logical conclusion to the development of Imāmī religious institutions since the Ṣafawids, absolute political power being regained and reverting *de facto* to the *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd*, supporters of the idea of collective *mardjaᶜiyyat* (including Āyatullāh Ṭāliḳānī, d. 1979) thus being defeated (Fragner, 98; see also the analysis of Calder (1982) regarding Khumaynī's position regarding Shīᶜī jurisprudence; F. Rajaee (1983) on Khumaynī's attitude towards man, the state and international politics etc.; see also Rose (1983)). But this new situation has in fact led to another schism in the institution of *mardjaᶜiyyat*; the most influential of the *marādjiᶜ* before the Islamic revolution, Āyatullāh Sharīᶜatmādarī, a man of moderate tendency who retained numerous supporters, especially among the people of Ādharbāydjan, his native region, was progressively isolated and then, accused of subversion, deposed from his position as Āyatullāh al-ᶜUẓmā in April 1982 (Momen, 296, 320). Some pious Imāmīs follow the leader of the revolution in political matters and that of one or other of the *marādjiᶜ* in religious practice (the one with the largest following now, in 1986, apparently being Āyatullāh Khūʾī who also enjoys a large following in the Arab world, India and Pakistan). It seems, however, that for the new generation of Imāmī *ᶜulamāʾ*, the doctrine of *wilāyat-i faḳīh* has ultimately prevailed (Momen, 296 ff.). It is

in this context that there is taking place the muted struggle over succession to Āyatullāh/Imām Khumaynī, the Assembly of Experts (*madjlis-i khibrigān*, created at the end of 1982, a group of seventy-two experts chosen to appoint the future supreme *mardjaᶜ*) having recently (October 1986) criticized the "heir-apparent", Āyatullāh Muntaẓirī; Ḥudjdjat al-Islām Rafsandjānī, President of Parliament, now appears to be a possible successor.

5. Qualifications, selection, functions, consultative rôle and titles of the *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd*. Among the conditions necessary for assuming the position of *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd*, six are judged indispensable: maturity (*bulūgh*), intelligence (*ᶜaḳl*), faith (*īmān*), justice (*ᶜadālat*), being of legitimate birth (*ṭahārat-i mawlid*) and of the male sex (*dhukūrat*; some women may, under exceptional circumstances, attain the level of *idjtihād*, but they cannot be *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd*). Other conditions are sometimes required: literacy, possession of hearing and sight, and being free, i.e. not a slave (Algar (1969), 8 f., following Burūdjirdī, Sanglādjī). In addition to these preliminary conditions, the future *mardjaᶜ* must be qualified to practice *idjtihād*, receive the *idjāza* from *ᶜulamā*ʾ of repute and demonstrate his knowledge through his teaching, his sermons, his discussions, his writings, etc. The *mardjaᶜ* must be generally acknowledged as the most learned (*aᶜlam*) person of his time. However, this title cannot be awarded to him through appointment, selection or election. His authority can only be confirmed by the universal recognition of the Imāmī community (Hairi (1977), 62; it seems however that there was at Ḳum a kind of "college of cardinals" deciding on the choice of the supreme *mardjaᶜ*, the Āyatullāh al-ᶜUẓmā; see Binder, 134).

The essential function of the *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd*—also called *muḳallad*—is to guide the community of those who "imitate" his teaching and follow his precepts, in particular concerning the following: application of the rules of the *sharīᶜa* (*furūᶜ-i dīn*); judicial solutions or legal qualifications (*aḥkām*) in regard to the problems of contemporary life. Imitation or emulation of the *mardjaᶜ* has no connection, in principle, with the *uṣūl-i dīn* which are derived from faith (*īmān*) and from inner conviction (*yaḳīn*). The *mudjtahid* established as *mardjaᶜ* must pronounce judicial decisions (*fatwās*) and write one or more books to guide his *muḳallids* (*risāla-yi ᶜamaliyya*, a kind of practical treatise; *tawḍīḥ al-masāʾil*, "explanation of problems" etc.).

For his part, the *muḳallid* has particular duties, especially as regards consultation of the *mardjᶜ-i taḳlīd* to whom access is sometimes difficult. The rules of conduct in this respect are explained at length by Anṣārī who forbids *taḳlīd* of a dead *mudjtahid* and stresses the role of the most learned (*aᶜlam*) *mudjtahid* in sanctioning worship and ritual. Every *muḳallid* is obliged to consult him, to follow or to "imitate" him, either directly, or in a case of obvious impossibility, through the intermediacy of an honest man who has himself witnessed to conduct of the *mardjaᶜ*, or through consultation of a book of rules of behaviour written by the latter. In cases of doubt or contradiction, prudence (*iḥtiyāṭ*) is recommended (on these complicated rules for consultation of the *mardjaᶜ*, see the analysis in the *Sirāt al-nadjāt* of Anṣārī, in Cole (1983), 42 ff.). These criteria represent only general principles, no specific process having been established for the choice of a *mardjaᶜ* (cf. Algar (1969), 10).

With the development of the concept of *mardjaᶜiyyat*, the economic power enjoyed by the *mudjtahids* has been concentrated in the hands of one man or of a small group of men. Besides the collection and distribution of *zakāt* and *khums*, the administration of *waḳf*/*awḳāf* (taken under state control by the Pahlavīs), the *mudjtahids* have economic and family ties with the merchant-artisan class of the *bāzār*. Imāmī *ᶜulamā*ʾ have also sometimes taken advantage of threats posed to political authority by movements such as the Ṣūfīs, Shaykhīs, Bābīs, etc. In fact, they have taken the initiative in countering or representing the doctrines and activities of groups seeking to find alternative solutions to the prolonged absence of the Hidden Imām (*wilāyat-i ṣūfī*, *shīᶜa-yi kāmil*, *rukn-i rābiᶜ* ("fourth pillar" of Shaykhism), *bāb*, etc.). Despite periods of tension or confrontation, *mudjtahids* and *marādjiᶜ* claiming the *niyābat-i ᶜāmma* have in varying degrees given a certain amount of support to the existing temporal power and have formulated a "variable approach" towards accommodation with an illegal régime established *de facto* (cf. Calder (1982), 6). However, remaining generally mistrustful of both spiritual and temporal powers, the *marādjiᶜ* claimed for themselves an important role in the political life of Ḳādjar Iran (see especially Algar (1969)). Although abstaining from political activity, Anṣārī formulated the notion of *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd-i aᶜlā* which offers the potential for political utilisation (cf. Cole (1983), 46 and below). Some of his successors have strongly resisted foreign economic, cultural and political influences favoured by the international context and by the political choices of the Ḳādjārs. They nevertheless held extremely diverse opinions regarding the events of the constitutional revolution of 1905-11 (cf. Lambton (1970 B); Hairi (1976-7), (1977), 55 ff.; Arjomand (1981)). In fact, neither the supporters nor the opponents of the constitution have ever preached the establishment of a government directly controlled by the *mudjtahids*. It is quite clear that recent events in the Middle East (in particular the seizure of power by the religious in Iran (1979), the Iran-ᶜIrāḳ war (since 1980) and the situation in Lebanon) have added to the difficulties of Shīᶜī believers, increasingly preoccupied with political choices and economic problems.

Since the Ḳādjār period, the number of titles and functions, civil as well as religious, has increased considerably in Iran. This has given rise to abuses, especially as regards the title of Āyatullāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.], often used to denote a *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd*. Although the distinctions remain somewhat fluid, current usage seems to describe a *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd* by the epithet *Āyatullāh al-ᶜUẓmā*, the term *Āyatullāh* alone being used to describe a *mudjtahid* and *Ḥudjdjat al-Islām* an aspiring *mudjtahid* (Momen, 205 f.). According to a recent decree of Khumaynī (September 1984), certain *ᶜulamā*ʾ who used to call themselves *Āyatullāh* are henceforward to bear the title of *Ḥudjdjat al-Islām* (Momen, 298 f.; the two titles having been used interchangeably until the creation of the *ḥawda-yi ᶜilmiyya* of Ḳum in the 1920s: Djalāl Matīnī, 583 ff.). The question may be asked whether the replacement of the title of *Āyatullāh* by that of *Imām* to designate Khumaynī implies a change in the religious hierarchy (i.e. the creation of a title superior to that of *Āyatullāh al-ᶜUẓmā*) or is simply an indication of political function (Momen, *ibid.*; on these problems of Shīᶜī titles and their historical precedents, see Djalāl Matīnī; on the epithet *Imām* for Khumaynī, 603 f.).

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(J. Calmard)

MARDJĀN (a.), coral. As a rule, red coral (*Corallium rubrum*) is used as a piece of jewelry; the black and white coral are also mentioned. The Persian term *bussadh*, often employed as a synonym, strictly speaking is the root of the coral "which grows as a stone in the sea in the same way as a tree on land" (al-Ḳazwīnī, *Cosmography*, i, 212,7), as well as the subsoil to which it is stuck.

With the pearl (*luʾluʾ* [*q.v.*]) and amber (*kahrubā* [*q.v.*]), the coral belongs to the organic products which were however, as in our time, mostly associated with the precious stones (*djawāhir*), i.e. the minerals (*maʿādin*). The most detailed information on the coral is given by al-Tīfāshī (see *Bibl.*), according to which the coral belongs to the mineral kingdom on the one hand because of its petrification (*taḥadjdjur*), and to the vegetable one on the other because it grows on the bottom of the sea like a tree with branches and twigs. For the rest, descriptions are taken over from Antiquity. According to Theophrastus, the coral, which grows in the sea, is like a stone, red and round like a carrot (*De lapidibus*, 38). Pliny (*Historia naturalis*, xxxii, 11) repeats a number of older tales on the way coral is won. He describes it as a shrub which, on green stalks, sprouts green, soft berries which petrify, turn red the moment they come out of the water and look like cornelians. According to Aristotle, the coral is "a red-coloured stone which grows in the sea. If put in dung and putrescent material, it is often used [chemically]" (al-Ḳazwīnī, *Cosmography*, i, 238, 5-6). According to the so-called "Stone-book of Aristotle", the coral grows in the way branches do, and puts forth thin or thick twigs (*Kitāb al-Aḥdjār*, see *Bibl.*).

As opposed to these relatively sober statements, Ps.-Apollonius of Tyana [see balīnūs] enlarges and speculates upon the double vegetable-mineral nature of the coral: "It resembles the waterplants; it originates from fire and earth through the intermediary of water... its body is mineral-like because hot fire and dry earth combine in it with the help of water, but its spirit is vegetable-like because water acts as a mediator... when water, warmed by the sun, absorbs the dryness of the earth, it becomes able, in its turn, to attract the warmth and dryness of the sun, and so the coral grows gradually like a plant; in cold air however it petrifies... its vegetable character is shown by the fact that it grows and branches in proportion to the warmth which the water, mixed with dryness, causes to mount in it as nourishment", see *Sirr al-khalīḳa wa-ṣanʿat al-ṭabīʿa. Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung und die Darstellung der Natur*, ed. Ursula Weisser, Aleppo 1979, 348, 7-351,8; cf. also the shortened translation by the same author in *Das "Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung" von Pseudo-Apollonius von Tyana*, Berlin-New York 1980, 120 f. (*Ars medica*, iii, 2). In al-Tīfāshī, who in general quotes Apollonius extensively, the same passage is found on p. 178 f.

Coral is repeatedly said to be won at Marsā 'l-Kharaz (= La Calle in Algeria); from a boat, a wooden cross, weighted with a stone, is sunk on a rope to the bottom of the sea; the boat sails up and down so that the corals get caught at the extremities of the cross, which then is weighed with a jerk. Then emerges a body with a brown crust, branched like a tree. On the markets, these corals are abraded until they shine and show the desired red colour, then are sold in great quantities at a low price. Spain, Sicily and "the Frankish" i.e. probably the European, coast are given as other finding places. From the western Mediterranean, still nowadays the main deposit area of coral, it is shipped to the Orient, the Yemen, India and East Asia. At the finding places, coral is put on the market in quantities of 10.5 Egyptian *raṭls*, costing, in Egypt and ʿIrāḳ, 1,020 *dirhams* if polished, 1,100 *dirhams* if unpolished. Otherwise, prices fluctuate greatly according to the market situation (al-Dimashḳī, *Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra*, in Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 858).

In medicine, coral is used above all in collyria against eye diseases (full description by al-Tamīmī, see *Bibl.*). Dioscurides deals with it under κουράλιον, var. κοράλλιον (in the Arabic translation, *ḳūrāliyūn*), and mentions the λιθόδενδρον "stone-tree" as a synonym because of the above-mentioned vegetable-mineral double nature of the coral. It is astringent and cooling, reduces proliferations, is effective against haemorrhage, softens the spleen and is a proved remedy against blockage of the urinary tracts. The curative property of the branches and roots is heightened if they are crushed, put in a clay jar, burned overnight in an oven and then baked. Mixed with tooth-powder, pounded coral cleanses and whitens the teeth, purifies the interstices between them, strengthens the gums and removes cavities in the roots. Until today, pulverised coral serves in the Orient as an anti-epilepticum and as a remedy against dysentery.

Bibliography: Dioscurides, *De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, lib. V 121 = tr. Stephanos-Ḥunayn, *Hayūlā 'l-ṭibb*, ed. C. Dubler and E. Terés, Tetuán-Barcelona 1952-57, v, 102; Jutta Schönfeld, *Über die Steine. Das 14. Kapitel aus dem "Kitāb al-Muršid" des ... at-Tamīmī*, Freiburg 1976, 71-7, and commentary 164-7 (thorough and stimulating); Bīrūnī, *K. al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir*, Ḥaydarābād 1355, 137 f., 189-93; Ibn Biklārish, *K. al-Mustaʿīnī*, ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz. III, F. 65, fol. 23b,9; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1362, ii, 42; Mūsā b. ʿUbayd Allāh, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār. Un glossaire de la matière médicale composé par Maïmonide*, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 227; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 93,20-94,18 (= Leclerc no. 282); Tīfāshī, *K. Azhār al-afkār fī djawāhir al-aḥdjār*, ed. M. Yūsuf Ḥasan and M. Basyūnī Khafādjī, Cairo 1977, 178-85; cf. J. Clément-Mullet, *Essai sur la minéralogie arabe*, new impr. Amsterdam n.d. 173-7; Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Ghassānī, *Muʿtamad*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā, Beirut 1395/1975, 24 f.; Ḳazwīnī, *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawdjūdāt. Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848/49, i, 212, 238, tr. J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des... al-Kazwīnī*, 9, 36 f. (*Beilage zum Jahresbericht 1895/96 der prov. Oberrealschule Heidelberg*); Ibn al-Ḳuff, *ʿUmda*, Ḥaydarābād 1356, i, 220, cf. H.G. Kircher, *Die "Einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Ph.D. thesis Bonn 1967, no. 40; Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 75, 4-20; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb, glossaire de la matière médicale marocaine*, ed. H. P. J. Renaud and G. S. Colin, Paris 1934, no. 73; Dozy, *Suppl.* ii, 578 f.; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, Leipzig 1885-6, ii, 609 f.; M. Berthelot, *La chimie au Moyen Age*, i, 1893 (new impr. Osnabrück-Amsterdam 1967), 14, 75, 187, 200, 208, 211, 263 (based on Latin sources); *K. al-Aḥdjār li-Arisṭāṭālīs. Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, ed. and tr. J. Ruska, Heidelberg 1912, no. 53; M. A. H. Ducros, *Essai sur le droguier populaire arabe de l'Inspectorat des Pharmacies au Caire*, Cairo 1930, no. 215; E. Wiedermann, *Aufsätze zür arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim-New York 1970, i, 858, 868 f. (A. DIETRICH)

MARDJUMAK AḤMAD [see MERDJÜMEK, AḤMED B. ILYĀS].

MAREA [see MĀRYĀ].

MARGHELĀN [see MARGHĪNĀN].

MARGHĪNĀN, later form MARGHELĀN, a town of Farghāna [*q.v.*] in Central Asia, situated to the south of the Sīr Daryā [*q.v.*] or Jaxartes, on a small river now called the Margelan Say.

It was a place of modest importance in the first Islamic centuries as one of the main towns, with *inter alia* Andidjān [*q.v.*], of the district of Farghāna known as Lower Nasyā; according to al-Muḳaddasī, 272 (see also Le Strange, *Lands*, 479; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 513-14, tr. 491; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. f. 522a), it had a Friday mosque and markets. Coins were first minted there under the Sāmānids. Then under the Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS], coins were occasionally minted by members of the eastern branch of the dynasty, e.g. at Marghīnān and the neighbouring towns of Akhsikath and Tūnkath by the son of Yūsuf Ḳadir Khān, Maḥmūd Ṭoghrïl Ḳara Khān (451-67/1059-75) and then by the latter's son ʿUmar Ṭoghrïl Tigin (467/1074-5), see G. C. Miles, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 374, 376; E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 233. It was in the later Ḳarakhānid or Ḳara Khiṭay [*q.v.*] period that the famous Ḥanafī jurist Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī [see next article] was born.

Marghīnān appears on a Chinese map of the 14th century as Ma-rh-i-nang (Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, ii, 54). Under the Mongols, Tīmūrids and Özbegs it continued to play a certain role, e.g. in the fighting of rival contenders for power amongst the Tīmūrids' epigoni in the opening years of the 10th/16th century, recorded in Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt's *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, see tr. N. Elias and E. D. Ross, London 1895, index. Bābur gives a description of Marghīnān as it was at this time in the *Bābur-nāme*, tr. Beveridge, 6-7. The town was famed for its fruits, including a special variety of pomegranates; the population was mainly of Sarts, i.e. sedentary Tādjīks, who were rough and turbulent. It was probably under the Özbeg Turks, who replaced these Sarts, that the form Marghīlān/Marghelān appeared, giving the Russian form Margelan.

It subsequently came within the khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*], and just prior to the Russian occupation was already a centre for textile production, including silk and cotton; the American traveller E. Schuyler described it in 1873 as an unfortified place, with a population of *ca.* 30,000 (*Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, ii, 49-50). When General Skobelev marched into the region, Marghīnān was occupied without resistance (8/20 September 1875). A settlement, called New Margelan, was founded two years later as the capital of the *oblast* of Fergana in the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan, some 7 miles/12 km. south of Old Marghīnān, and the new town was renamed Skoblev from 1907 till 1924. When the Bolsheviks began to impose their rule in Russian Central Asia, Margelan became a centre of Basmači [*q.v.*] resistance from January 1918 till 1922 (see G. R. Wheeler, *The modern history of Soviet Central Asia*, London 1964, 108 ff.). Old Margelan is still a place of significance, with nearly 48,000 inhabitants, but has been outstripped in growth by New Margelan, now called Fergana, the administrative centre of the Fergana *oblast* of the Uzbek S.S.R., which already in 1951 had a population of *ca.* 50,000.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also Barthold, *Turkestan*, 158-9, 315.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**MARGHĪNĀNĪ**, the name of two families of Ḥanafī lawyers; the *nisba* comes from their native town and the scene of their activities, Marghīnān [*q.v.*] in Farghāna.

I. 1. The most important was BURHĀN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ABĪ BAKR B. ʿABD AL-DJALĪL AL-FARGHĀNĪ AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ, the author of the

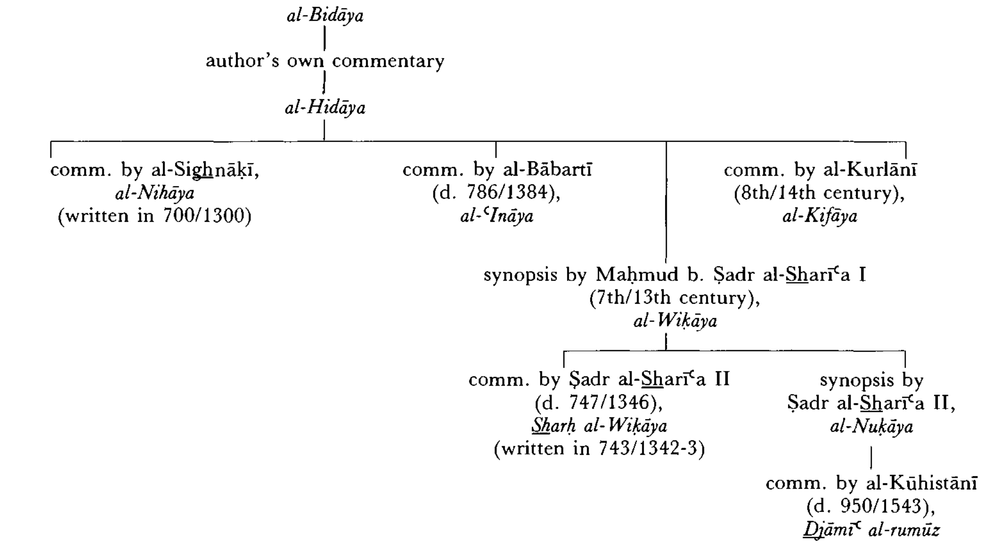

celebrated *Hidāya*. He acquired his knowledge on his travels, then still the usual way of studying in Islam. His principal teachers were Nadjm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142-3), al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. Māza (d. 536/1141-2) and Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī al-Baykandī (d. 552/1157), a pupil of al-Sarakhsī. He studied al-Tirmidhī's work on tradition under Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ṣāʿid b. Asʿad with the *isnād* given in al-Ḳurashī, i, 259, no. 679, and also with al-Ḥasān b. ʿAlī al-Marghīnānī (al-Ḳurashī, i, 198, no. 487). He himself, as was often done at this time, wrote a record of his studies, but it does not appear to have survived. He far surpassed his teachers and won recognition in his native town also, where he died in 593/1197. Of his works, the following are known, some surviving in manuscript and others only known from literary references: 1. *Nashr al-madhhab* (Ḳur., Lak., in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 13,790, probably wrongly, *al-Madhāhib*); 2. *K. Manāsik al-ḥadjdj* (Ḳur., Lak., H. Kh., no. 12,943); 3. *K. fi 'l-Farāʾiḍ* (Ḳur., Lak.), also called *Farāʾiḍ al-ʿUthmānī* (Ḥ. Kh., no. 8,989); 4. two collections of *fatwās*:*K. al-Tadjnīs wa 'l-mazīd* (Ḳutl., Lak., H. Kh., no. 2,467; mss. in Brockelmann) and 5. *Mukhtārāt al-nawāzil* (Lak.; in Ḳutl., called *K. Mukhtār Madjmūʿ al-nawāzil*, and in Ḥ. Kh., no. 11586, called *Mukhtār al-fatāwā*; mss. in Brockelmann); 6. *Mazīd fī furūʿ al-Ḥanafiyya* (Ḥ Kh., no. 11,838; identical with no. 4?); 7. a commentary on al-Shaybānī's *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabir* (Ḥ. Kh., ii, 567); 8. his principal work is the legal compendium, *K. Bidāyat al-mubtadī* (mss. in Brockelmann), based on al-Ḳudūrī's *Mukhtaṣar* and al-Shaybānī's *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*. On this work, he himself wrote a large commentary in 8 volumes, the *Kifāyat al-muntahā*. But before he had completed it, he thought it was much too diffuse and decided to write a second commentary, the celebrated *Hidāya*, which later writers repeatedly edited and annotated. The most important commentaries and synopses are given in the table below.

For the manuscripts and printed texts of these commentaries and synopses and of many supercommentaries and glosses, see Brockelmann, II², 466-9, S I, 644-9; a printed edition of the *Hidāya* appeared in 4 vols., Cairo 1326/1908.

Bibliography: al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*, Ḥaydarābād 1332, i, 383, no. 1058: ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya*, Cairo 1324, 141 ff. (synopsis of the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Kafawī); Ibn Ḳutlūbughā, *Tādj al-tarādjim*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1862, no. 124; Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, and the literature there given.

His sons and pupils were:

2. ʿImād al-Dīn al-Farghānī; cf. al-Laknawī, 146.

3. ʿUmar Niẓām al-Dīn al-Farghānī. Two works by him are recorded: 1. *Fawāʾid* (Ḥ. Kh., no. 9305); 2. *Djawāhir al-fiḳh*, which he compiled from the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ṭaḥawī and other works (Ḥ. Kh., no, 4,291; mss. in Brockelmann, S I, 649; cf. al-Ḳurashī, i, 394; al-Laknawī, 149).

4. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Fatḥ Djalāl al-Dīn al-Farghānī; cf. Ḳutl., 137 and al-Laknawī, 182; in al-Ḳurashī, ii, 99, apparently identical with no. 2.

5. A son of no. 2 and grandson of no. 1: Abu 'l-Fatḥ Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Bakr ʿImād al-Dīn b. ʿAlī Burhān al-Dīn b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Djalīl al-Farghānī al-Marghīnānī. He wrote the work on legal procedure in civil cases entitled *al-Fuṣūl al-ʿimādiyya*, which he completed in Shaʿbān 651/October 1253 in Samarḳand. Cf. Ḥ. Kh., no. 9,094; Lak., 93; Brockelmann, I², 475-6, S I 656, where the mss. are given.

II. Another family of Ḥanafī lawyers goes back to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Naṣr b. Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Marghīnānī, who died in 477/1084-5 in Marghīnān at the age of 68. Of his six sons who attained fame as *muftīs*, we may mention Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ẓahīr al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 506/1112-13). His son and pupil was Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Abu 'l-Maḥāsin. Four works by him are recorded: *al-Aḳdiya, al-Fatāwa, al-Fawāʾid* and *al-Shurūṭ*, of which only the last survives in manuscript. He was the teacher of the famous Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳādīkhān (d. 592/1196) and of Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, fol. 522a; Ḳurashī, nos. 487, 850, 1010; Laknawī, 62, 97, 121; Flügel, *Classen der hanaf. Rechtsgelehrten*, Leipzig 1860, 309; Brockelmann, I², 471, S I, 651.

(W. Heffening)

MARḤALA (a.), pl. *marāḥil*, in mediaeval Islamic usage, a stage of travel, normally the distance which a traveller can cover in one day; it was, there-

fore, obviously a variable measurement of length, dependent on the ease or difficulty of the terrain to be crossed. The classical Arabic geographers frequently use the term. Al-Muḳaddasī [*q.v.*] in one place (206) gives as his norm 6 to 7 *farsakhs* or parasangs (the *farsakh* [*q.v.*] being roughly 6 km.), and has an ingenious orthographical notation for *marāḥil* of less than 6 or more than 7 *farsakhs* (cf. A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, Paris-The Hague 1967-80, i, 328 n. 1). But elsewhere (64 n. *c*), his *marḥala* works out at an average of 8.6 *farsakhs* = 50 km. (cf. Miquel, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm* ... (*La meilleure répartition* ...), Damascus 1963, 139 n. 6).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

MĀRIB, Ma'rib (*mryb* or *mrb* in the ancient South Arabian inscriptions), in classical antiquity, capital of the Sabaean realm in South-West Arabia, now the chef-lieu of the *muḥāfaẓa* of the same name in the Yemeni Arab Republic, lying some 135 km. to the east of Ṣanʿā'. At the last census in 1975, the *muḥāfaẓa* of Mārib counted 70,000 inhabitants, and the *ḳaḍā'* of Mārib—with a population density of 2.4 inhabitants per km.^{2}—13,000 inhabitants, consisting of about 10,000 residents, 2,000 Bedouins and 1,000 refugees. The *ʿuzla* of Mārib counted 1,900 residents, and the place Mārib itself only 292 inhabitants, of whom 270 were men and 22 women, in 48 houses.

The ancient town of Mārib lies in a plain which rises 1,160-1,200 m. above sea level, and which forms the dry delta of the great Adhana wadi (now pronounced Dhana). The latter drains an extensive area of over 10,000 km.^{2} in the north-eastern highlands of the Yemen which has an abundant rainfall. Since the Mārib region lies at the fringe of the desert in an arid zone which has an annual rainfall of less than 100 mm., agriculture is only possible by way of irrigation through flooding. The Adhana wadi carries water twice a year, namely for some two weeks in spring and some six weeks in late summer. Before reaching the oasis of Mārib, this wadi forces its way through a narrow passage between the Balaḳ mountains. By constructing a dam, extensive irrigation became possible and the deposition of fertile clay easier, so that conditions for a lush vegetation were created. The Ḳur'ānic statement in *Sūrat Saba'* about a "good land" (*baldatun ṭayyibatun*: XXXIV,15) is rightly applied to Mārib and its surroundings (al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, 57,1). The land of Saba' around Mārib is said to have been one of the most fertile and best irrigated regions of the Yemen (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 366, 9-367,2 = § 1252), with irrigation creating the possibility of three sowings per year (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 383,10). The actual place of the same name stands inside the ancient urban area on a great hill of ruins which is increased by the débris of successive cultures. It lies at 15° 26′ N. and 45° 16′ E., about as far from the Red Sea as from the Gulf of ʿAdan. By its favourable position in an oasis between the highland on the one side and the desert on the other, Mārib was predestined to be the capital of the Sabaean realm, the core of which was formed by the urban district of Saba' with Mārib as its centre. Besides, Mārib was one of the most important halting-places on the ancient caravan-route which linked the regions producing incense with the Mediterranean Sea and which, along a chain of water-places, skirted the spurs of the wadis on the eastern slope of the range of hills between the mountains and the sandy plain of the desert. Arriving from Shabwa in Ḥaḍramawt or Timnaʿ in Ḳatabān respectively, two different routes of the incense-road led on from Mārib, one north-westward through the Djawf, the other first northward, to unite again before Nadjrān [*q.v.*], the next important destination on the route. Information about the course of these routes and their halting-places can in many cases be gained from later Arabic itineraries, because the Islamic pilgrim roads often followed the ancient trade-routes.

In antiquity, Mārib was a large, walled town with an area of about 110 hectares/275 acres. According to Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, vi, 32, 160), it is said to have had a circumference of six miles. From the shape of its ruins, still perceptible in our days, the town formed an irregular quadrangle, with a maximum extension of 1,430 m. in length and 1,070 m. in breadth. The remains of the ancient town, such as blocks of stone from the citywall and other constructions as well as fragments of columns, have disappeared almost completely in the last decades through unauthorised diggings. Consequently, since no scientific archaeological excavations have been carried out, for the description of ancient Mārib we still depend upon the information of the European travellers who, in the 19th century, succeeded in penetrating as far as Mārib under adventurous and dangerous circumstances. These were the two Frenchmen Th.J. Arnaud (1843) and J. Halévy (1870), and the Austrian E. Glaser on his third journey to South Arabia (1888). It is to the latter that we owe the most detailed, accurate and valuable observations.

More recent investigations in the Mārib oasis, carried out by the German Archaeological Institute in Ṣanʿā', have led to the conclusion that the irrigation sediments in places reach as high as 30 m. At a rate of sedimentation of 1.1 cm. per year, this height would lead to an irrigation period of *ca.* 2,700 years, i.e., if irrigation ended around the end of the 6th century A.D. or the first part of the 7th century, its beginning would reach back as far as the later period of the third millennium B.C. As for inscriptions, Mārib is mentioned in one of the earliest Sabaean texts which names a ruler, namely in Gl 1719 + 1717 + 1718 = MAFRAY-al-Balaḳ al-Djanūbī 1, a rock-inscription in which one of the governors (*'ḳyn*) of Mārib (*mryb*), the governor (*'ḳyn*) of Yadaʿ 'il Yanūf, dedicates some stone-hewn basins to a deity. H. von Wissmann, whose investigations into the chronology of ancient Sabaean texts is largely utilised in the following, dates this text to around 755 B.C.; its ductus belongs to the oldest paleographic stage of ancient South Arabian script. But already before this period, Mārib may well have become the capital of the Sabaean realm and the centre of South Arabia. The earliest Sabaean inscription bearing directly upon the town of Mārib is probably the three-line boustrophedon inscription (Ga 46), published by G. Garbini in *Oriens Antiquus*, xii (1973), 143. Here Yithaʿ'amar Bayyin, son of Sumhuʿalī, relates that he has walled in *mryb ḥwkw*. The Mukarrib of Saba' named here is most probably to be dated to around 715 B.C., while Ḥawkāwu, which figures after the name of the town of Mārib, is likely to indicate a part of the town or a section of its fortifications.

Rock-inscriptions dating from the same period or even earlier, and likewise originating from the Mārib region, mention the oasis area of the town. These inscriptions, containing probably the oldest Sabaean texts, inform us in ever recurring formulaic phrases that, during the priesthood of their founder, the god ʿAthtar drenched Saba' with rain in high summer and spring. Occasionally the word "Gaww" is added to Saba', or the variant "Adhana from Yahwir to

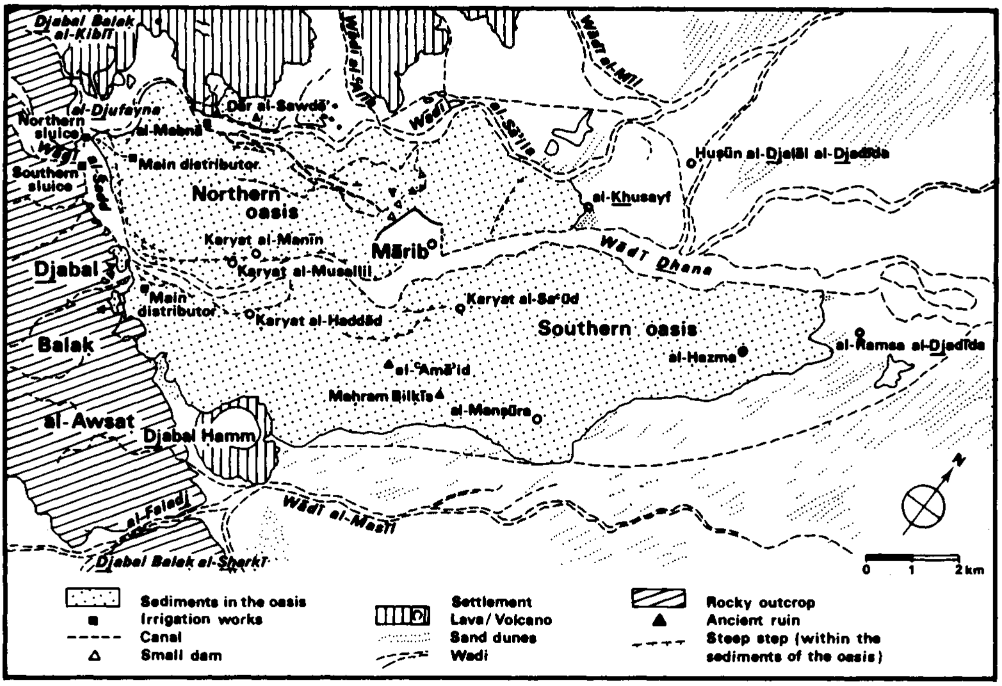

Fig. 2. The Mārib oases: physical geography.

Ḥimārum". Gaww indicates the lowland, i.e. the lower course of the wadi Adhana, while the expression "Adhana from Yahwir to Ḥimārum" probably also describes the area of the Mārib oasis. The name Sabaʾ, emerging here as the name of the region in which Mārib was situated, is originally the name of a tribe which in the inscriptions is more than once named together with Mārib. So we find e.g. "the tribe of Sabaʾ, the lords of the town of Mārib and its valleys" (*shʿbn/sbʾ/ʾbʿl/hgrn/mrb/wʾsrrhw*: RES 3910, 2), or "the Sabaeans, the inhabitants of the town of Mārib" (*ʾsbʾn/hwrw/hgrn/mryb*: Ga 9,3-4 with a reading corrected after F. Bron, in *AION*, xli [1981], 163). Still in Arabic tradition, Mārib is indicated as Maʾrib Sabaʾ (e.g. al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 26, 22) i.e. the Mārib which lies in Sabaʾ. After Sabaʾ, as a byname of ʿAbd Shams, had been personified as the alleged ancestor of the Sabaeans, and had been inserted into a pedigree by Arab genealogists, Mārib could thus become the town of Sabaʾ, that is to say of Sabaʾ b. Yashdjub b. Yaʿrub b. Ḳaḥṭān, who allegedly founded it or after whom it also occasionally may have been named (see e.g. Yāḳūt, *Mushtarik*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 239, 17-8; Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, 87, 1-2; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-mustabṣir*, 199, 1-2).

Line 4 of the fragmentary inscription RES 3943 relates that the ruler constructed both gates of Mārib and surrounded the town with towers, that is bastions of limestone (*blḳ*). The ruler, whose name is not retained in the text, may be Yithaʿʿamar Bayyin, son of Sumhuʿalī Yanūf, whose reign can be fixed around 510 B.C. When the Sabaean realm reached the zenith of its power and founded a colony in Abyssinia, there were among the colonists also emigrants from Mārib, as is shown by the indications of their origin *dh-mryb*, found in Sabaean inscriptions in Yeha and Melazo.

By its geographical position at the eastern side of the mountains, Mārib was protected only slightly by nature: to the south, plains stretched out as far as Timnaʿ, the capital of Ḳatabān, to the east as far as Shabwa, the capital of Ḥaḍramawt, and to the north as far as the towns of the Minaean realm. With the rise and strengthening of these other ancient South Arabian realms, fortification of Mārib became an urgent necessity. The town was not only the capital, but had also become the eastern fortress of the land-locked Sabaean realm: its frontier with Ḳatabān was only some 25 km. south of Mārib, and that with the Minaeans only some 40 km. to the north. The improvement of the traffic connections with the Yemeni highlands and their maintenance became all the more urgent through the danger threatening from the south. Inscription CIH 955 + 418, dating from the period of Sumhuʿalī Yanūf around 390 B.C., mentions the construction of a road from Mārib to Ṣirwāḥ, the second important town of the Sabaean realm, to which refuge could be taken in case of necessity. "The town which is revered" (*hgrn/thrgb*) in CIH 375,2, very probably also indicates Mārib. From this inscription, dealing with the construction of the Awām temple, we learn that an attack from Ḳatabān against Sabaʾ could be repelled and that its founder brought peace to Mārib. CIH 37, an inscription of the vassal of Sumʿay in the Yemeni highlands drawn up under king Karibʾil Watar at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., speaks about the Sabaean overlords as kings of Mārib (*ʾmlk/mryb*). The next information about the construction of a wall of Mārib cannot be fitted in accurately, since only the name of the king's father, Yithaʿʿamar Watar, has been preserved (RES 4452, CIH 626, Gl 1110). The latter, however, cannot be identified with either of the other rulers of this name. On palaeographic grounds, the three frag-

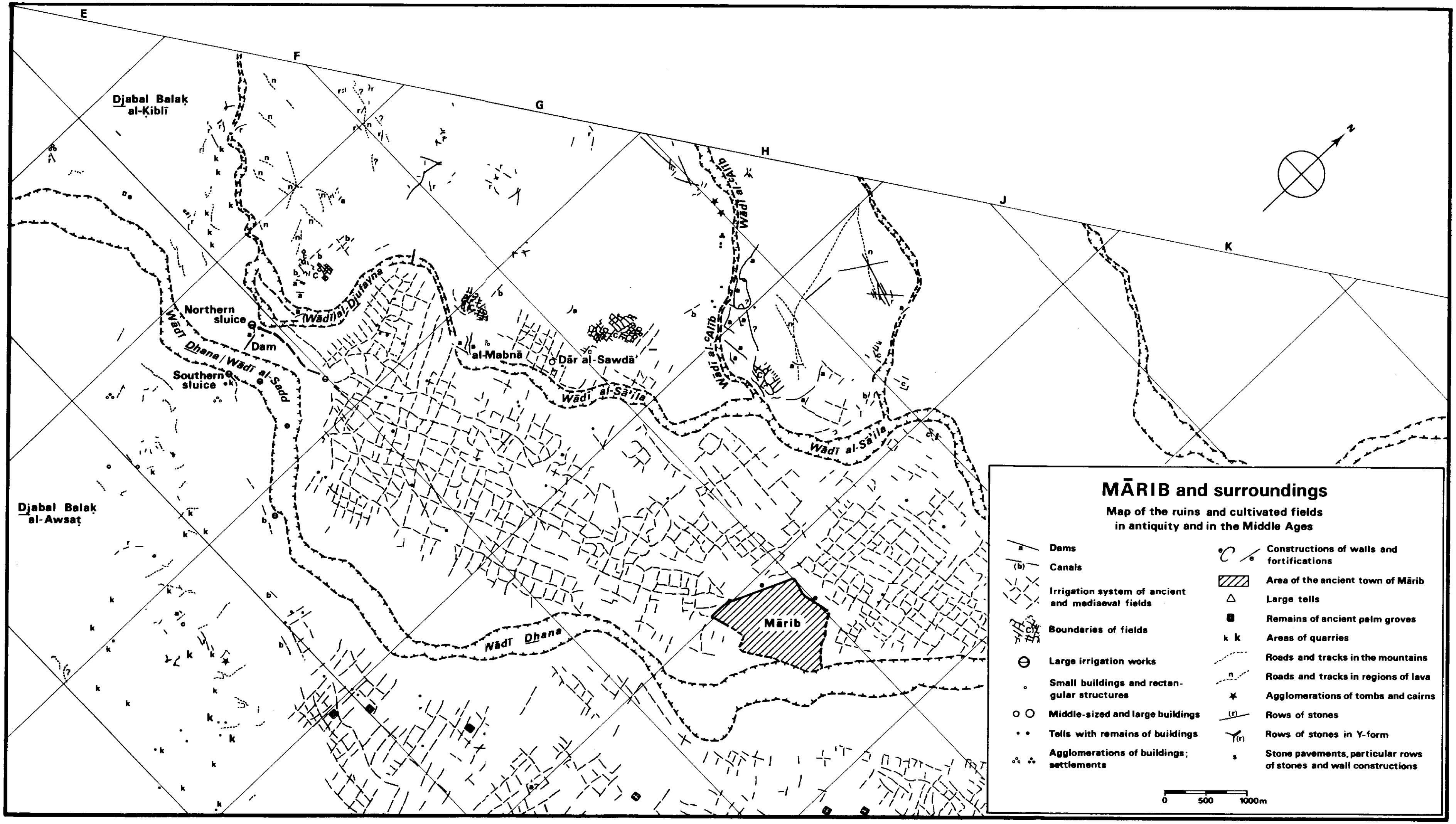
E
F
G
H
J
K
N
Djabal Balak al-Kiblī
Djabal Balak al-Awsaṭ
Northern sluice
Dam
Southern sluice
Wādī Dhana / Wādī al-Sadd
(Wādī) al-Djufayna
al-Mabnā
Dār al-Sawdā'
Wādī al-Sā'ila
Wādī al-Sā'ila
Wādī al-cAlīb
Wādī al-cAlīb
Wādī Dhana
Mārib
MĀRIB and surroundings
Map of the ruins and cultivated fields in antiquity and in the Middle Ages
Dams
Canals
Irrigation system of ancient and mediaeval fields
Boundaries of fields
Large irrigation works
Small buildings and rectangular structures
Middle-sized and large buildings
Tells with remains of buildings
Agglomerations of buildings; settlements
Constructions of walls and fortifications
Area of the ancient town of Mārib
Large tells
Remains of ancient palm groves
Areas of quarries
Roads and tracks in the mountains
Roads and tracks in regions of lava
Agglomerations of tombs and cairns
Rows of stones
Rows of stones in Y-form
Stone pavements, particular rows of stones and wall constructions
0
500
1000m

Fig. 1.

ments belonging to this text can be dated to the middle of the 2nd century B.C. The kings of Saba' repaired the walls of their capital, above all at the time in which danger from the outside was threatening. At that time, this may still have been the encirclement by Ḳatabān in the south and Maʿīn in the north, which ended only when Saba' conquered the Minaean realm in the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C. A monumental inscription, occurring in at least nine homonymous versions and compiled by H. von Wissmann from more than fifty fragments (RES 2669, Fa 91 + 92, Gl 1103 and many others), reads as follows: "Yadaʿ 'il Watar, king of Saba', son of Sumhuʿalī Yanūf, walled Mārib (*mryb*) in at the order and promise of ʿA<u>th</u>tar and Hawbas and Almaḳah". Unfortunately, the name of this ruler is not known from other inscriptions either, although von Wissmann plausibly dated him to around 30 B.C.

Shortly after the latter date, in 25-24 B.C., a Roman army under Aelius Gallus, the proconsul of Egypt, invaded South Arabia, escorted by Nabataeans, and reached, as Strabo relates, the gates of the Sabaean capital Mārib. Although assaulted during a period of six days, Mārib was able to resist, for the Romans were forced to withdraw because of scarcity of water and disease among their troops. Pliny is certainly not correct in counting Mārib among the destroyed cities. While besieging Mārib, the Romans probably laid waste the neighbourhood of the town and destroyed the irrigation works of the oasis. After their retreat, the most urgent task of the inhabitants of Mārib may well have been the reconstruction of the dam, the sluices and the water-distributors. Numerous fragments of Yadaʿ 'il Watar's inscription about the construction of the wall were found to have been used again as building material near the northern sluice and its distributor installations. From this, it may be concluded that ashlars were removed from the city-wall, probably destroyed for the greater part, in order to set up the irrigation works anew and to revitalise the oasis of Mārib. Is is not known at what time the city-wall was reconstructed, because no inscriptions about the construction of the wall are known from a later period. At the time of E. Glaser's sojourn in Mārib, the ancient city-wall, only one metre thick and probably provided with eight gates, was still preserved almost entirely. Air photographs of recent years show on the western and northern side only a few ruins of the ancient city-wall with its bastions.

During the decades after the Roman campaign against South Arabia, a period of decline set in for Mārib. The traditional dynasty of the kings of Saba' in Mārib was pressed hard by rulers of four other dynasties rising in the Yemeni highland. All of them assumed also the title of king of Saba' and controlled Mārib alternately. Saba' and Ḥimyar, which had grown strong, were hostile to each other, each claiming the realm of the other. Henceforth, the kings of both states bore the title "King of Saba' and <u>Dh</u>ū Raydān", the latter being the royal castle in the Ḥimyarite capital of Ẓafār. In the same period, Bedouins from the desert steppes also pressed forward from the north and the east into the region of Mārib, and were admitted into the army as contingents. In an inscription, the Bedouins of Mārib (*'ʿrb/mrb*: CIH 353, 10) are explicitly mentioned among the troops participating in a campaign. But even after South Arabia, towards the end of the 3rd century A.D., had come almost entirely under the domination of the Ḥimyar, and the highlands had become the centre of the united Sabaeo-Ḥimyarite realm, Mārib still retained a certain importance as the site of the central sanctuary of the realm. The fact that Mārib and its inhabitants are mentioned even later on in Sabaean inscriptions leads to the conclusion that the town still enjoyed prestige and influence. Notwithstanding the fact that caravan traffic had declined and trade had been transferred to the sea-route, the prosperity of the town had by no means disappeared. This is shown, to a certain extent, by inscription Fa 74, erected in the year 614 of the Ḥimyarite era (= 499 A.D.), according to which a citizen of Mārib had ordered a stately house with two bronze statues of lions and other bronze statuettes to be erected for himself. The fragments of columns, capitals, friezes and relief-slabs, and above all the perfectly executed inscriptions on stones preserved in Mārib, bear eloquent witness of the high level which artistic and manual skill had reached in this town during antiquity. It had struck al-Hamdānī, too, that elsewhere in Yemen columns dating from ancient times were not of such beauty and value as those in Mārib (*Iklil*, viii, 151, 11-2). After the Abyssinian conquest of the Yemen in 525, a Christian church was also built in Mārib, as we learn from an inscription set up under king Abraha (*bʿl/mrb*): CIH 541, 66-7). One of the new churches, consecrated in South Arabia according to the *Vita Sancti Gregentii*, is said to have been in the middle of Δανα, which probably means Wadi <u>Dh</u>ana, and thus the oasis region of Mārib.

The royal castle of Mārib was Salḥīn, which is also the building of ancient South Arabia most frequently mentioned in Sabaean inscriptions. If we admit that the most ancient form of the name was Salḥum (*slḥm*), the castle is already mentioned in the ancient Sabaean inscription RES 3946, set up by Karib'il Watar probably around 685 B.C. Line 5 relates that he constructed the upper storey of his house Salḥum. From this statement it may even be concluded that the stronghold was founded in a still earlier period. Salḥīn is mentioned with special frequency in the inscriptions of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. which originate from the Awām temple near Mārib, the place of ruins now called Maḥram Bilḳīs. They mostly relate that the king or one of his commanders returned safely to Salḥīn, or happiness is implored for the house of Salḥīn and its lords. Salḥīn was also the place where indigenous coins were minted on behalf of the Sabaean realm.

Next to Salḥīn, al-Hamdānī mentions Ha<u>dj</u>ar and al-Ḳa<u>sh</u>īb as other castles of Mārib (*Iklīl*, viii, 99, 10). From epigraphic tradition, these two are not known so far. The name al-Ha<u>dj</u>ar, "the town", is unusual for a fortress, and may already raise doubts for that very reason. According to al-Hamdānī (*Iklīl*), viii, 100, 2), al-Ḳa<u>sh</u>īb was built by a member of the <u>Dh</u>ū Ḥazfar, i.e. of that ancient eponymous kin of the <u>Kh</u>alīl tribe resident in and around Mārib. According to Yāḳūt (*Muʿ<u>dj</u>am*, iv, 104, 6), the castle al-Ḳa<u>sh</u>īb is said to have been built at the order of king <u>Sh</u>uraḥbīl bin Yaḥṣib. Such a ruler, is, however, not attested epigraphically. The name <u>Sh</u>urahbīl would fit in with <u>Sh</u>uraḥbi'il Yaʿfur and the father's name Yaḥṣib with Il<u>sh</u>araḥ Yaḥḍib, with a faulty rendering of the surname Yaḥḍib. However, the defective title of a "king of Saba' and the Tihāma and their Bedouins" which is also mentioned (Yāḳūt, *Muʿ<u>dj</u>am*, iv, 104, 7-8), points to a king of the later period, i.e. rather to <u>Sh</u>uraḥbi'il Yaʿfur who reigned in the middle of the 5th century A.D. than to Il<u>sh</u>araḥ Yaḥḍib who lived more than two centuries earlier. Since *ka<u>sh</u>īb* means "new", both in Sabaean and Arabic—an explanation given by al-Hamdānī himself in another place (*Iklil*,

ii, 317,7)—the name of the fortress may correspond to names like Newcastle, Neufchâteau or Neuburg.

The most important temple of ancient Mārib was the sanctuary of Awām of the god Almaḳah, now called Ḥaram Bilḳīs or Maḥram Bilḳīs. It lay at the eastern edge of Yasrān, the southern part of the oasis, at the other side of the wadi and at a distance of 3.5 km. south-east of the town. Partly excavated in 1952 by an American expedition under Wendell Phillips, it produced hundreds of dedicatory inscriptions, often quite extensive, which were erected in the entrance hall between the middle of the 1st and the 4th centuries A.D. They are our most important source for the history of that turbulent period. The sanctuary consists of a large, oval construction with a spacious courtyard, surrounded by a high, thick circular wall. The latter is made up of two mantles, an outer one and inner one consisting of ashlars, kept together by lateral walls, the hollow spaces being filled up with débris. The longitudinal axis between the north-western gate and the mausoleum on the opposite side measures about 105 m., while the latitudinal axis, which runs from the inner gate of the rectangular entrance hall, constructed before the circular wall, to the south-west, measures about 75 m. The temple court-yard thus had a surface of *ca.* 6,000 m². The construction, with its strongly fortified courtyard was originally perhaps also conceived as a refuge fortress, as is suggested by the name of the temple, *ʾwm*, which very probably means "place of refuge". The inscription CIH 957, placed in the wall of the temple, relates that Yadaʿ ʾil D̲h̲arīḥ, son of Sumhuʿalī and Mukarrib of Sabaʾ, erected the wall of the Awām, the house of Almaḳah. According to von Wissmann, this ruler is to be dated around 670 B.C. The concept of the entire construction presumably reaches back to this ruler, who is known as a temple builder, even if the works were transformed and changed in later times. Thus the oval enclosing wall, originally no doubt as high as 29 layers of ashlars i.e. 8.70 m. without the frieze, was, since the first quarter of the 4th century B.C., raised by 13 more layers of ashlars (cf. CIH 375). This was done in order to make up for the heap of sand and deposit which had accumulated in the precinct of the wall since the time of foundation and to raise the wall to its original height.

The last constructional renovation which is attested epigraphically was undertaken in the second half of the 1st century A.D. under king Karibʾil Watar Yuhanʿim "for the prosperity of the house of Salḥīn and the town of Mārib" (*hgrn*/*mryb*: CIH 373). It was also in this sanctuary that the tribe of Sabaʾ, i.e. the inhabitants of the town and oasis of Mārib, offered thanks for the fertility granted to their land through the water of wadi Ad̲h̲ana (cf. e.g. Sh 18); or they went there in a rogation procession when rain held off unduly (cf. Ja 735). Until the period of the beginning of monotheism in the second half of the 4th century A.D., hence during a whole millennium, the Awām temple of the god Almaḳah was the central place of worship of the Sabaean realm, to which people came in pilgrimage from afar (cf. e.g. RES 4176, 1-2).

Another large, sacred building in the area of the southern oasis, second only to the Awām sanctuary, was the Barʾān temple (*mḥrmn*/*brʾn*: CIH 400,2), likewise dedicated to the god Almaḳah. Nowadays it is called al-ʿAmāʾid, "the columns", because five pillars with capitals and a pillar stump still rise up from the débris of the construction so far unexcavated. With reference to Ḳurʾān, XXVII,23, these columns are occasionally also called *ʿars̲h̲ Bilḳīs* "throne of Bilḳīs", a designation which is however also used for a colonnade in Ṣirwāḥ (see R. G. Stiegner, *Die Königin von Sabaʾ in ihnen Namen*, 73).

In Mārib itself there was also a temple of the god Almaḳah. As proved by an epigraphical discovery in 1982 (Schmidt, *Mārib*, 24), the sanctuary Ḥarūnum (*ḥrwnm* or *ḥrnm*), already known from numerous Subaean inscriptions, was situated inside the area of the ancient town.

The oldest epigraphical evidence of the construction of irrigation works in the oasis area of Mārib is found in inscription RES 3946, an account of the activities of Karibʾil Watar, the son of D̲h̲amarʿalī, probably dating from 685 B.C. Lines 5 and 6 relate that the ruler constructed in the wadi Ad̲h̲ana the foundation Tafīs̲h̲ and the overflow-basin of the main canal of Yasrān, as well as the foundation of Yaliṭ and the overflow-basin of the main canal of Abyan; that for Yasrān, he further erected Ẓarib and Milkān and, in their midst, the construction works of Yasrān and Abyan. In an inscription which unfortunately has been copied deficiently and published inadequately, namely text ZI 71 = Sh 6, Sumhuʿalī Yanūf, son of Yadaʿʾil D̲h̲arīḥ, a ruler who, according to von Wissmann, is to be dated around 660 B.C., already proclaimed an instruction which more or less reads as follows: the water, allotted to a certain area which has been prepared for sowing, should not be limited if one lets it flow on that section of Yasrān which is irrigated by opening [the storage works], so that Mārib property (*mlk*/*mryb*) can be fertilised by water supply. Yasrān is the ancient name of the half of the Mārib oasis which lies south of the river bed of wadi Ad̲h̲ana, while Abyan indicates the northern half of the oasis, at whose further lower end the town of Mārib lay. In the Sabaean inscriptions, both oases are occasionally indicated as "Mārib and its two valleys" (*mryb*/*wsryhw* in Sh 18,3 and *mrb*/*wsryhw* in Fa 71,6), which survives in the Ḳurʾān as "the two gardens to the right and to the left" (*d̲j̲annatānⁱ ʿan yamīnⁱⁿ wa-s̲h̲imālⁱⁿ*; Sūra, XXXIV,15). Recent investigations by the German Archaeological Institute have shown that downstream on the southern bank and in the middle of wadi Ad̲h̲ana, remains of constructions and works are to be found in the rocks. They belong to the ancient irrigation systems and functioned as constructions for damming up and distributing the water. A natural lava-barrier served as a dam for the builders of these ancient reservoirs. There are three ruins in all, two of which can be labelled, with a fair amount of certainty, as the oldest damming and distributing constructions in the Mārib oasis. They are perhaps the irrigation works which are mentioned epigraphically in the beginning of the 7th century B.C. as the first northern and southern oases. These ruins of water works, lying in the wadi bed, must be considered as forerunners of the great dam of later date between the D̲j̲abal Balaḳ al-Ḳiblī and Balaḳ al-Awsaṭ. This dam only came into existence when the two halves of the oasis had already risen considerably above the wadi level through sedimentation. Originally, the irrigation works of Yasrān and Abyan were separated from each other, for the possibility of building one single great dam for the two halves of the oasis was only created much later, due to the difficult constructions at the southern sluice. The building of this dam and its sluices was realised under Sumhuʿalī Yanūf, son of D̲h̲amarʿalī, who according to von Wissmann is to be dated approximately around 528 B.C. In Gl 513 and Gl 514 = CIH 623, two identical rock-inscriptions placed almost opposite one another, this Mukarrib of Sabaʾ announces that he has hewn out in the rock the opening for the reservoir Raḥābum of the main canal

of Yasrān, i.e. by cutting through the contiguous limestone rock of the Djabal Balaḳ al-Awsaṭ he has built the southern sluice, so that the southern half of the Mārib oasis can be irrigated from a higher water-level. Although no inscription *in situ* is known at the northern sluice which led to Abyan, the northern half of the Mārib oasis, it can be concluded from the construction of the southern sluice that the great dam and the northern sluice too were built by the same Mukarrib, since the entire complex can only have been executed as a whole, and since the hewing out of the storage canal Raḥābum at the southern sluice presupposes the construction of the dam which held back the waters of the wadi. This dam, which lay about 8 km. west-south-west of ancient Mārib, consisted of sediments heaped on the rocky, solid stratum. At the surface, it was covered with small, unhewn stones, strongly joined by mortar; it was at least 16 m. high, at the bottom at least 60 m. broad, and about 620 m. long. The dam served less to create a storage reservoir than to raise the water, brought down twice a year by the *sayl*, to a level from which the fields could be irrigated. So it was in fact a diverting dam, blocking the total breadth of the wadi, one which made it possible to irrigate regularly a defined acreage. The northern sluice too may well have been constructed at the same period in an analogous way. From the sluice, a main canal of 1,120 m. led to the principal distributor at the western edge of the northern oasis, from where the mass of water, through 15 sluice-like openings and 121 secondary distributors, was directed to the canal systems of the various arrays built on the fields which had to be irrigated. The complicated irrigation works of the northern oasis, with its constructions of water-distributors and remains of the network of canals, is partly still discernible. The next ruler who ordered the canal of the southern sluice to be hewn further through the rock of the Djabal Balaḳ al-Awsaṭ was Yithaʿʾamar Bayyin, the son of Sumhuʿalī Yanūf. From him has also been preserved a boustrophedon inscription of two lines, recorded in two versions on the smoothened contiguous rock of the walls of the southern sluice, namely Gl 523 and Gl 525 = CIH 622. This inscription related that Yithaʿʾamar Bayyin hewed out the opening in the rock for the storage reservoir Ḥabābiḍ of the main canal of Yasrān. The incision of the southern sluice, which has been hewn out of the rock, divides after some 30 m. towards the east in a northern and a southern branch. The northern one, which lies closer to the wadi, belonged to the Raḥābum basin, as is recorded in the two versions of rock inscription CIH 623, mounted there. Consequently, the southern branch could be the Ḥabābiḍ basin, although the two versions of inscription CIH 622 which relate its construction have been chiselled on both sides of the entrance to the sluice on the west-side. Since Yithaʿ ʾamar Bayyin, through this main canal which branched off to the right, enlarged the construction of the southern sluice, a still greater acreage could probably be irrigated through the distributing constructions in the Yasrān oasis which were fed by this canal. Line 5 of the fragmentary, ancient Sabaean inscription RES 3943, preserved without the name of a ruler, mentions the hewing out of the storage reservoir Ḥabābiḍ (the text wrongly has *ḥ b ḍ ḍ* instead of *ḥ b b ḍ*). Hence it may be concluded that the text was set up under Yithaʿ ʾamar Bayyin. Besides, the enlargement of the storage reservoir Raḥābum and the building of further irrigation works in Yasrān and Abyan are also recorded. The constructions of the southern sluice have been best preserved. According to Glaser, the inhabitants of Mārib called them Marbaṭ al-Dimm "place where the cat was tied", because a cat was said to have been tied there once on a long chain in order to catch the rat which undermined the dam, and to prevent thus the calamity of a bursting of the dam.

North-north-east of the great dam lies a smaller dam construction, probably built relatively late and called Mabnā al-Ḥashradj. Water, also supplied from the great dam, was stored here and, through a canal system, was used to irrigate the fields of Dār al-Sawdāʾ, lying to the east, as far as the town of Mārib.

According to the calculations of U. Brunner, the entire surface irrigated at the lower end of the dam amounted to 9,600 hectares/24,000 acres, 5,300 hectares/13,250 acres belonging to the southern oasis and 3,750 hectares/10,740 acres to the northern one. The rest of the fields lay north-west and north of the northern oasis near al-Djufayna and Dār al-Sawdāʾ. If the results of the census of 1975, according to which 13,000 people were living in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Mārib, is taken as a basis, the number of inhabitants in and around Mārib in antiquity may be calculated at 30,000 at the least estimate and 50,000 at the most.

From the later Sabaean period, several dam-bursts have been recorded epigraphically. From text RES 4775, until today to be found on a wall near the northern sluice, we learn that, during the reigns of Dhamarʿalī Yuhabirr and his son Thaʾrān, at some time or other in the first two decades of the 4th century A.D., the storage basin Dhū-Amīr, in the Abyan oasis, was repaired after it had been destroyed and swept away by the rain flood. Inscription Ja 788 + 671 from the Awām temple mentions that, at the time of the kings Thaʾrān Yuhanʿim and Malikkarib Yuʾmin, in the beginning of the second half of the 4th century A.D., the dam broke at the storage basins Ḥabābiḍ and Raḥābum; the whole wall of the middle section between the two basins mentioned was destroyed, as well as 70 *shawāḥiṭ*, i.e. 350 ells or some 180 m. of the dam. Repair of the constructions took three months. The first of the two great inscriptions on the dam works, CIH 540, erected at the northern sluice constructions, relates that in the year 564 of the Ḥimyarite era (= 449 A.D.), under Shuraḥbiʾil Yaʿfur, the dam was restored after it had broken down as a result of the floods after late summer rain, but that in the next year heavy damage occurred again, which had to be made good through great expense of people and material. The main victuals are said to have been flour made from wheat, barley and *dhura* (*ṭḥnm/dhbrm/wshʿrm/wgdhdhtm*: CIH 540, 86-7; in another sequence in CIH 540, 39-40), i.e. from the three most important kinds of cereals which in the Mārib region nowadays still constitute about three-quarters of cultivation. The same king Shuraḥbiʾil Yaʿfur testifies in an inscription (Garbini, *AION*, xxix [1969], 560 = ZM 1) to the building of a castle in the capital Ẓafār in the year 572 of the Ḥimyarite era (= 457 A.D.). It is also said there that at the same time, repairs were executed at the dam in Mārib and constructions carried out at the storage basin Raḥābum; the first activity involved the removal of the mud deposits. The second great inscription on the construction of the dam, CIH 541, set up under king Abraha, relates to a dam-burst in the year 657 of the Ḥimyarite era (= 542 A.D.), which again could only be repaired after enormous efforts. It remains undecided whether by the newly-built construction, erected as high as 35 ells (CIH 541, 107-8), the dam proper is meant or another part of the storage works. The last inscription which mentions the great Mārib

dam is the rock-inscription Ja 547 which is certainly to be united with Ja 545, the latter being dated in the year 668 of the Ḥimyarite era (= 553 A.D.). The authors of the text were again engaged, under great exertion, in removing the mud deposits at the dam. Researches by U. Brunner on the discordances which occur in the sediments of the storage area have revealed that another dam-burst must have taken place some 35 years after the one described in inscription CIH 541. It was again repaired. The final catastrophe apparently occurred only at the beginning of the 7th century. It is the event which is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān as the dam-flood (*sayl al-ʿarim*: Sūra XXXIV, 16), i.e. the flood which broke the dam (Sabaean *ʿrm*). Afterwards, the Mārib oasis became desolate and, in the words of the Ḳurʾān, produced only briar fruits, tamarisks and a few Zizyphus trees (*loc. cit.*). Only small fields which lie at the edge of the wadi bed, and to which the high water can be directed through diverting dams, are cultivated. Al-Hamdānī already relates how in Mārib the pieces of land are irrigated from the *sayl*, and *ṭahaf* and *dukhn* are sown there until finally, the harvest is reaped and ploughing prepares the soil for the next sowing (*Ṣifa*, 199, 19-22). In more recent times, more and more extensive areas have been added, especially in the section lying to the south of the Adhana wadi; they are irrigated by subsoil water which has, however, to be brought up by pumps from as deep as 45-50 m.

Considering that, after a dam-burst, the sediments deposited by the floods had to be cleared away each time until the original level of the wadi was reached, it follows that each rebuilding of the dam became more difficult. Since the level of the oasis meanwhile had risen further, the dam had to be built higher each time. The mud which was carried along with the floods, and which raised the fields and was precipitated on to the dam and the storage basins, must have played an essential role in the dam construction being completely abandoned in the end.

Air photographs of the neighbourhood of Mārib show so called "dotted fields" standing out prominently. These accumulations of sediment clods lying in the ancient fields of the oasis, are relics of ancient tree and shrub plantations, widely spread, especially in the southern oasis. This observation is confirmed by the inscriptions. Text CIH 375 enumerates by name 13 palm-groves in the area of the Yasrān oasis alone, which is irrigated by the water of the Adhana wadi by means of sluices and canals conducting the waters of the dam. Al-Hamdānī, too, relates that, during a visit to the Mārib oasis, he saw a sunken *arāk* shrub, at whose root was a black palm trunk. One of his companions was of the opinion that this was a remnant of palms from pre-Islamic times (*Iklīl*, viii, 96, 2-4). In his time, date-palms remained only in Ruḥāba (*Ṣifa*, 102, 21), the region lying beyond the dam on both sides of the Adhana wadi.

The reasons which led to the neglect of the dam constructions and to their being left continuously to decay, and which finally reached a point so that they could not be renewed any more, may also have had a political and social background. The constant disputes between the individual principalities and dynasties of ancient South Arabia resulted in the loss of a strong central power and the disintegration of a well-organised society. This led to the growing influence of foreign powers, namely of Ethiopia and later of Sāsānid Persia. Moreover, the intensified penetration of North Arabian tribes brought about an increasing bedouinisation and a decline of rural culture based on agriculture and irrigation. A decrease of the population as a whole was probably connected with this. The Arab authors of the early Islamic period hold the same view. The fact that the last dam-burst is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān as *sayl al-ʿarim*, and the significance of this event for the town of Mārib and its surroundings, have caused Islamic tradition to deal in detail with this catastrophe and its consequences. Occasionally, information about the dam and the oasis themselves crept in, even if distorted and exaggerated. According to the Arab authors, too, events which had happened before the dam-burst, and the bursting of the dam itself, led to the Mārib oasis being abandoned by its inhabitants. The migration of entire South Arabian tribes towards the north is to be connected with it. Thus e.g. the Banū Ghassān and the Azd are said to have come from there and to have spread over various regions of the Arabian peninsula. The Banū Ghassān are even said to have established their era after the year of the dam-burst (*ʿām al-sayl*) (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1894, 202, 14-15). This would admittedly mean that the *sayl al-ʿarim* event has to be dated much earlier than it in fact took place. Through late Sabaean inscriptions we meanwhile know, however, that dating this last catastrophe in the 3rd, 2nd or 1st centuries A.D., or even earlier, as assumed by many Muslim authors and also some European scholars of the 18th and 19th centuries, is untenable. The Arab author who comes closest to the real date is Yāḳūt, who relates that the bursting of the dam took place in the period of the sovereignty of the Abyssinians (*Muʿdjam*, iv, 383, 20). Only al-Masʿūdī dares to attribute the bursting to natural causes, when he writes that the water gradually undermined the dam constructions built by man (*Murūdj*, iii, 370, 9-371, 2 = § 1254). To be sure, it cannot be completely excluded that traditions about a catastrophic bursting of the dam of a much earlier date have also crept into the legends which attached themselves to the *sayl al-ʿarim*. The most current version of the legend of the migration from the Mārib oasis is the following: a ruler of Mārib, ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir of the Azd, nicknamed al-Muzayḳiyāʾ, was married to Ẓarīfa, who had visions and dreams which she was also able to interpret. Evil omens being communicated to her, she warned ʿAmr, and one day she sent him to the dam, where he saw how a giant rat with iron teeth and big claws, called Khuld, was about to trundle away boulders and to undermine the dam. Thus warned and informed about the coming catastrophe of the bursting of the dam, ʿAmr decided to sell his possession at the lower end of the dam and to leave the country. However, in order to hide the real motive, he simulated a brawl with his son during which the latter slapped his face openly. This feigned defamation of the family presented him with the pretext of giving up his possessions, which could then be sold satisfactorily. After that, ʿAmr, with numerous followers, migrated from the Mārib oasis still in good time before the bursting of the dam set in (according to other versions, he only left after the event). His descendants spread over extensive parts of Arabia. After ʿAmr al-Muzayḳiyāʾ had left, the people of Mārib agreed upon a new king, who is, however, said not to have been designated as *tubbaʿ*. (For examples of detailed and embellished versions of this legend, see e.g. Wahb b. Munabbih, *Kitāb al-Tīdjān*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1979, 273-97; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 378, 2-392, 7 = §§ 1264-76; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 383, 20-385, 10; Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, 114, 13-117, 10, 16; al-Khazradjī, *al-ʿUḳūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, 9, 1-15, 3; a version which is divergent in some respects is given by Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, 195, 5-197,

15, where the dam, as in al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa* 110, 26, is called *sadd al-maʾzimayn* "the dam of the two closely joining places".)

The name of the ancient Sabaean capital has been transmitted in two forms in the ancient South Arabian inscriptions. The early inscriptions up to the 2nd century A.D., have always the form *mryb*; after that time, the form *mrb* appears. Two texts from the 2nd century A.D. still have both forms side by side. Inscriptions Fa 71 has *mryb* in lines 17-18, but *mrb* in line 6, while inscription Ja 576 has *mryb* in line 3, but *mrb* in line 2. The place-name *mryb* may originally have been a *nomen loci* of a root *ryb* of unknown meaning, which possibly has a parallel in Hebrew Mərībā, a spring in the desert (Exodus, xvii, 7, and repeatedly), in as much as one does not admit the meaning "quarrel", given in the Old Testament. For the pronunciation of *mryb* as Maryab, reference can be made to the rendering by ancient authors: Μαρίαβα as Μητρόπολις in Strabo, xvi, 4, 768, after Erastosthenes, and *ibid.*, xvi, 4,778, after Artemidoros, as well as Μαρσύαβα, *ibid.*, xvi, 4, 782, distorted either from Μαρύαβα or from Μαρίαβα or Σάβα, and also the *regia tamen omnium Mareliabata*, probably miswritten from Mareiaba, in Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, vi, 32, 155. The pronunciation Marīb may be inferred from the renderings Maribba in Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, vi, 32, 157, Mariba, *ibid.*, vi, 32, 160, and Mariba or, in the Greek version, Μαρίβα in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* = *Res gestae divi Augusti*, 26,5. In his *Introduction* to *Geography*, Book vi, ch. 6, Ptolemy has the name Μάρα μητρόπολις, but in his *Canon of the noteworthy cities* he has Μάραβα. A transition from a form Marīb to Mārib or Maʾrib is easier to explain than a change from Maryab to Mārib. When describing Mārib, al-Hamdānī too (*Iklīl*, viii, 104, 1-3) still gives both names Marīb and Maʾrib side by side, but explains them as being the names of two Arabian tribes, on the basis of a line of poetry which he transmits. In one of the fragments of the Ethiopian inscriptions from Mārib, the name of the town occurs as Mārəb (DJE 1 + 2, 13; see W.W. Müller, *Zwei weitere Bruchstücke der äthiopischen Inschrift aus Mārib*, in *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, i [1972], 62-3 and 66). Remarkable are the forms in which Mārib evidently appears in Syriac sources, namely *mrʾb* (*b-mrʾb m<u>dh</u>ittā*, in the town of Mārib; see A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, Lund 1924, 5b, 8-9), and *mwrb* (*men mwrb*, from Mārib; see I. Shahîd, *The Martyrs of Najrân. New documents*, Brussels 1971, xxix, 4). *Mrʾb* is certainly not the rendering of the *mryb* of the inscriptions, as Moberg, *op. cit.*, pp. xcii-xciii, seems to admit, for at that time the latter had not been in use for a long period. It is rather a miswriting for *mʾrb*, while *mwrb* could reflect a Syriac pronunciation Mōrib for Mārib. In Arabic tradition, the placename always appears as Maʾrib, which is probably formed secondarily from Mārib. The Arab lexicographers seem indeed undecided as to the root under which to put the name. The *Lisān al-ʿArab* and the *Tādj al-ʿarūs* give the name Maʾrib both under *ʾrb* and *mrb*, while Nas͟hwān al-Ḥimyarī gives it only under *mrb* (see ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-ʿulūm*, Leiden 1916, 96,19). Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iv, 382, 17-20) even tries, unsatisfactorily, to give three explanations at a time for the name Maʾrib, namely as *nomen loci* of *arab* or of the verbs *aruba* and *ariba*. Immediately afterwards he remarks (*ibid.*, iv, 382, 20-1) that Mārib is the name of each of the Sabaean kings. In this connection, one might think of the ancient South Arabian word *mrʾ* "lord", especially as a designation of the king in his quality of sovereign of the founders of dedicatory inscriptions, the more so because Nas͟hwān al-Ḥimyarī transmits a gloss according to which *mārī* means "lord" in the Ḥimyaritic language (see O. Blau, in *ZDMG*, xxv [1871], 591, n. 7).

After the death of the Persian governor Bād͟hān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the Prophet Muḥammad appointed representatives for the various towns of the Yemen, among them Abū Mūsā al-As͟hʿarī [*q.v.*] as representative for Mārib (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 1852, 19-20 and 1983, 9). From then on, Mārib is enumerated as a separate *mik͟hlāf* under the *mak͟hālīf* of the Yemen (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 102, 19). For al-Hamdānī, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, Mārib is still a town full of curiosities (*Iklīl*, viii, 95, 5). He counts it among the places to which God has shown mercy (*Iklīl*, viii, 191, 7-8), and names it among the towns where treasures are said to be hidden (*Iklīl*, viii, 194, 3-7). Certainly, the dam had been destroyed so that the two halves of the oasis, having been raised too high to be reached by the floods of the *sayl*, had become desolate (*Iklīl*, viii, 95, 7-96, 1). But the distributing constructions, which led the water from the reservoirs of the dam to the fields, were still standing there as if their builders had finished their work only the day before (*Iklīl*, viii, 96, 6-7). Moreover, even of the dam itself a piece had survived on the left-hand side; at the lower part it is said to have been 15 ells wide (*Iklīl*, viii, 96,10-97,1). This, however, was probably not the former lowest part of the dam. According to the words of al-Hamdānī, the dam was based on the foundation-wall which, between the side-walls, was joined to the reservoirs with mighty ashlars hewn from the rocks, and to the base by molten lead (*Iklīl*, viii, 99, 1-2). The building of such wonderful works as the dam constructions was therefore ascribed to the legendary Luḳmān b. ʿĀd, according to some (*Iklīl*, viii 99, 3; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 366, 3-4 = § 1251; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, 1171, 2; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 383, 1), while others were of the opinion that they had been erected by Ḥimyar b. Sabaʾ and al-Azd b. al-G͟hawt͟h, a descendant of Kahlān (*Iklīl*, viii, 99, 3 ff.). According to other traditions, the dam was begun by Yas͟hdjub b. Yaʿrub and finished by Ṣaʿb D͟hu 'l-Ḳarnayn al-Ḥimyarī (Wahb b. Munabbih, *Kitāb al-Tīdjān*, 58, 15 and 273, 19-274, 8), or built by ʿAbd S͟hams Sabaʾ b. Yas͟hdjub (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 382, 22-3), who are said to have directed there 70 rivers and floods from far away (Ibn Saʿīd al-Mag͟hribī, *Nas͟hwat al-ṭarab*, 86, 16-7). It is also said that the dam was begun by ʿAbd S͟hams, continued by Ḥimyar and finished by Ṣaʿb (al-K͟hazradjī, *al-ʿUḳūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, 7, 6-9). The building of the Mārib dam is occasionally also ascribed to Bilḳīs [*q.v.*], the legendary queen of Sabaʾ (al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1309/1892, i, 270, 31), or she is said to have repaired it (see R.G. Stiegner, *Die Königin von Sabaʾ in ihren Namen*, 75). Finally, the irrigation works are said to have been built by a king, not mentioned by name, after he had consulted wise men (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 369, 3-370, 7 = § 1254). As al-Hamdānī rightly observed, the *sayl* of the Ad͟hana wadi collected its water from many places and numerous sites of the Yemen (*Iklīl*, viii, 97, 10; detailed information in *Ṣifa*, 80, 12-23). Other authors even relate that the plantations in the Mārib oasis were so extensive that a horseman needed more than a month to cross them and that, in doing so, he found himself continuously in the shadow of the trees (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 367, 2-5 = § 1252; Ibn Saʿīd al-Mag͟hribī, *Nas͟hwat al-ṭarab*, 114, 20-115,1; it is even said that it took him six months (al-K͟hazradjī, *al-ʿUḳūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, 8,9-10). If a woman or servant

walked under the trees of the two gardens with a basket on the head, it used to fill of itself with fruits in a short time, without it being necessary to pluck them by hand or to pick them up from the ground (Ibn Rusta, *al-Aᶜlāḳ al-nafīsa*, 114, 7-10; Ibn Saᶜīd al-Maghribī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, 115, 9-10; al-Khazradjī *op. cit.*, 8, 5-7). According to a tradition, when shown the kingdom of heaven, Abraham asked for two earthly items only, namely the Ghūṭa of Damascus and the two gardens of Sabaʾ in Mārib (Ibn ᶜAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ii, 195, 11-2; Aḥmad al-Rāzī, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Ṣanᶜāʾ*, Damascus 1974, 191 and 407, 17-408, 2). The fame and vanished glory of Mārib are also sung in numerous lines of poetry (see al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, 98 ff.; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḳaṣīda al-ḥimyariyya*; *et alii*), and until today the former capital of the Sabaeans has remained an inexhaustible theme for Yemeni poets, as is shown e.g. by the anthology published by ᶜAbduh ᶜUthmān and ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz al-Maḳāliḥ under the title *Maʾrib yatakallamu* "Maʾrib speaks" (Taᶜizz 1971).

According to al-Hamdānī, there lies, to the east of Mārib in the desert of Ṣayhad, the *Djabal al-milḥ*, the salt mountain (*Ṣifa*, 102, 25-6), which he mentions once again among the wonders of the Yemen because its equal is not found throughout the world and its salt is rich and pure like crystal (*Ṣifa*, 201, 8-9). The Prophet Muhammad had given the salt of Mārib as a fief to Abyaḍ b. Ḥammāl when the latter came to him with a delegation and requested it as such (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ch. *Imāra*, *bāb* 36; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, ch. *Aḥkām*, *bāb* 39). What is meant here is the salt-mine at the Djabal Ṣāfir, which can be reached from Mārib with camels in three days' journey along a waterless road. In earlier times, the Banū ᶜAbīda supplied from there almost the entire Yemeni highlands with salt. Since the salt traffic passes through Mārib, this commodity is called in the Yemen Mārib salt (*milḥ Māribī*; Ḥayyim Ḥabshūsh, *Ruʾyat al-Yaman*, 116, 16) until today. Among the products of the Mārib region, al-Hamdānī calls special attention to the sesame, whose oil is quite bright, pure and of good quality (*Ṣifa* 199, 9-10). Until today it is considered as the best in all Yemen.

In later Islamic times, the place Mārib which already al-Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 89, 2) quotes only as *ḳaryat Mārib*, did not play a rôle of importance. Its name emerges sporadically in Yemeni chronicles, mostly in combination with warlike events, as when troops of the *Imām* moved from Ṣaᶜda through the Djawf to Mārib, or opponents of the *Imām* settled there. In 418/1027 there appeared in Nāᶜiṭ a man who claimed the imāmate. He went to Mārib where he was received, and proclaimed himself *imām* under the title al-Muᶜīd li-dīn Allāh. He succeeded even in obtaining entrance into Ṣanᶜāʾ and in winning adherents in various parts of the Yemen until he was killed by people from ᶜAns (Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 243-4). Around 1050/1640, Mārib came under the sovereignty of Sharīf Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir who, at the head of a cavalry unit of the Dhū Ḥusayn, the Dhū Muḥammad and the Yām, had helped to expel the Turks from the Yemen. He adopted the title of *amīr* and ruled in Mārib, which remained a more or less independent principality. C. Niebuhr, who also collected in 1763 in Ṣanᶜāʾ information about Mārib, called it "the as yet most prominent town in the Djawf" (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 277). Although consisting of only 300 houses, most of which were in wretched condition, it was still surrounded by a wall with three gates. A poor Sharīf was in power, who, apart from Mārib, commanded only a few villages and was hardly able to defend this area against his neighbours. When E. Glaser visited Mārib in 1888, the place counted hardly more than 600 inhabitants in some 80 houses of several storeys. In 1350/1932, Mārib was occupied by the *Imām* Yaḥyā's troops, commanded by ᶜAbd Allāh al-Wazīr, and the last *amīr* of the reigning *Ashrāf*, Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, was deposed.

In cultural and scientific life in Islamic times, Mārib was hardly of any significance either. The *nisba* al-Māribī occurs only very sporadically. Apart from Abyaḍ b. Ḥammāl already mentioned, it is borne only by an informant who transmitted the request to leave the Mārib salt as a fief, namely Yaḥyā b. Ḳays al-Māribī (al-Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, ed. de Jong, Leiden 1881, 465, 5; according to this source, *al-Māribī* should be read instead of *al-Māzinī* in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 73, 7). Other scholars, mostly traditionists, who bore the *nisba* al-Mārībī in the early Islamic period, are mentioned by Yāḳūt (*Muᶜdjam*, iv, 388, 9-21). For the later time, ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-ᶜarabī al-islāmī fi 'l-Yaman*, Ṣanᶜāʾ 1978, 316, was able to name only one bearer of the *nisba* al-Māribī.

During the Yemeni civil war of 1962-6, Mārib's fate was uncertain. Already in the beginning of October 1962 it was captured by the Royalists, but in March 1963 it was conquered by the Republicans who received Egyptian air support. In summer 1965, the Royalists succeeded in occupying Mārib again. During these combats, the houses of Mārib, which stand closely together on the ancient site, were largely destroyed by air attacks. Most of the inhabitants left the place and settled down in the neighbourhood, which explains the astonishingly low present number of the population. Until the present day, numerous houses of Old Mārib lie in ruins. At the foot of the hill of the old town lie in the *Masdjid* Sulaymān (with ancient columns), the residence of the governor (*muḥāfiẓ*), the police station, the military garrison, a water-pump installation, a number of huts covered with sheet-iron, shops and a restaurant. Formerly, Mārib could only be reached from Ṣanᶜāʾ by means of cross-country vehicles after an eight to twelve hours' difficult drive on tracks and through passes by three different routes, with a length between 170 and 220 km. Since 1981 the place has been linked with the capital Ṣanᶜāʾ by a road of about 150 km. length. After this convenient connection had been established, the flights between Sanᶜāʾ and Mārib with obsolete DC-3 aeroplanes, which had existed for years with occasional interruption, could be discontinued.

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MĀRIDA, Spanish Mérida, from the Latin Eme-

rita, a town in the south-west of Spain, in the modern province of Badajoz, where it is the capital of a *partido*, on the right bank of the Guadiana. Now somewhat decayed, it has only about 35,000 inhabitants. It is on the Madrid-Badajoz railway and is also connected by rail with Cáceres in the north and Seville in the south.

The ancient capital of Lusitania, Augusta Emerita, was founded in 23 B.C., and under the Roman empire attained remarkable importance and prosperity. Numerous remains of Roman buildings still testify to the position it held in the Iberian peninsula in those days: a bridge of 64 arches, a circus, a theatre, and the famous aqueduct of *los Milagros*, of which there are still standing ten arches of brick and granite. Merida under the Visigoths became the metropolis of Lusitania and, according to Rodrigo of Toledo, was fortified and strongly defended, which explains why the Muslim conquerors led by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] had some difficulty in taking it. The Arab leader on landing in Spain in Ramaḍān 93/June 712 first took Medina-Sidonia and Carmona, then Seville. He next laid siege to Mérida, before which he stayed for several months; but the inhabitants in the end capitulated and the town surrendered on 1 S̲h̲awwāl 94/30 June 713. From Mérida, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr continued his advance to Toledo.

Under the Arab governors, Mérida seems to have very soon become a rallying point for a large number of rebels of Berber and Spanish origin. It was there that Yụsuf al-Fihrī endeavoured to organise a movement against that organised for his own benefit by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dāk̲h̲il in 141/758. At a later date, a Berber named Aṣbag̲h̲ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Wānsūs rebelled there against al-Ḥakam I in 190/805 and the *amīr* of Cordova had for the next seven years to undertake summer campaigns against him before bringing him to reason. Another rebellion broke out in Mérida in 213/828, and the town had to be besieged in 217/832 and again in 254/868. In the reign of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh it was the headquarters of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān al-D̲j̲illīḳī ("the Galician"), an Arabic name which concealed that of a Christian nationalist leader. Mérida definitely returned to its allegiance in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, when it submitted in 316/928 to the *ḳāʾid* Aḥmad b. Ilyās.

From the 5th/11th century, Mérida began to decline in favour of Badajoz, especially when the latter town became the capital of the independent little kingdom of the Afṭasids [*q.v.*]. It remained in the hands of the Muslims till the beginning of the 7th/13th century. In 625/1228 it was retaken by Alfonso IX of Léon, but never recovered its former importance.

The Arab geographers who mention Mérida describe its Roman ruins in detail; they also mention the Muslim citadel, the foundation inscription of which has been preserved. It was built in 220/835 by the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. Kulayb b. T̲h̲aʿlaba by order of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

MĀRIDĪN [see mārdīn].

al-**MĀRIDĪNĪ** [see al-mārdīnī].

MAʿRIFA (a.) "Knowledge, cognition".

1. As a term of epistemology and mysticism

I. Lexicographical study. Like *ʿirfān*, the word *maʿrifa* is a noun derived from the verb *ʿarafa*. According to the lexicographers, it is a synonym of *ʿilm* [*q.v.*]. Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*) notes that *ʿarafa* may be used in place of *iʿtarafa* ("to recognise"), in the sense that *maʿrifa* is that which enables a person to recognise, to identify a thing. On the other hand, *iʿtarafa* signifies "to ask somebody for information (*k̲h̲abar*) regarding something". It is the reply which makes recognition of this thing possible. When an animal is lost, "a man comes who recognises it (*yaʿtarifu-hā*), that is to say, he describes it by an attribute (*ṣifa*) which makes known (*yuʿlimu*) that it belongs to him". According to a tradition related by Ibn Masʿūd, people were asked if they knew their Lord. They replied: "If He makes Himself recognised to us, we know Him." Consequently, from a philological point of view, the *maʿrifa* which causes recognition and which thereby gives knowledge (*ʿilm*) of its subject, always contains the indication of an attribute through which its subject is identified. The *ḥadīt̲h̲* of Ibn Masʿūd is explained thus: "If God describes Himself by means of an attribute through which we can authenticate Him, then we know Him."

In his *Dictionary of technical terms*, al-Tahānawī lists several senses of the word *maʿrifa*, which he identifies with the word "knowledge" while noting particular connotations which are sometimes given to it to distinguish it from *ʿilm*. (1) In the first place, *maʿrifa* is knowledge, in the absolute sense of perception (*idrāk*), whether in the form of a concept, or in the form of a judgment. (2) It is the perception of a concept; in the case of a judgment it is called knowledge. (3) It is the perception of what is simple (*basīṭ*), whether it is a concept of the quiddity or a judgment regarding the conditions of this quiddity; or it is the perception of something which is composite (*murakkab*), whether it be a concept or a judgment. But according to technical terminology, perception of the composite is specifically called knowledge. In addition, according to the lexicographers, the correct statement is "I have cognition of God (*ʿaraftu 'llāh*)" and not "I have knowledge of God (*ʿalimtu-hu*)", because God is a simple entity. Consequently, that which is in relation to *maʿrifa* is simple, whereas that which is in relation to knowledge is multiple (*mutaʿaddid*) and thus composite. (4) It is the perception of the particular, notion (*mafhūm*) or verdict (*ḥukm*); or the perception of the universal, notion or sentence. But the perception of universals is more specifically called knowledge or speculation (*naẓar*). According to al-Tahānawī, it is most probable that in principle, the word *maʿrifa* is used to apply to a concept, and the word knowledge to apply to a judgment. Then there are ramifications. Thus it may be considered that definitions (2) and (4) are ramifications of definition (3), since the particular and the concept resemble the simple, and the universal and the judgment resemble the composite. (5) It is the perception of a particular by means of a proof or indication (*dalīl*); this is called *maʿrifat istidāliyya*, cognition by proof. This is reminiscent of what the *LA* states regarding cognition by *ṣifa*. The language itself clearly marks the connection

between *dalīl* and cognition; it is said *dalaltu bi 'l-ṭarīk* in the sense of "I have made the way known (*ᶜarraftuhu*), as the *LA* notes. One also considers the meaning that grammarians give to the word *maᶜrifa* to indicate the determination of a noun, as opposed to *nakira*. It is the condition of a noun applied to a thing taken in itself (*bi-ᶜaynihi*) and the article which determines it (by *taᶜrīf*) acts in such a way that the object that it signifies may be pointed to (*mus̲h̲ār bihi*) with a positive designation (*is̲h̲āratan waḍᶜiyya*). The noun is furthermore, in a general sense, that which is indicated by a meaning (*mā dalla ᶜalā 'l-maᶜnā*). It thus seems that there is indeed a connection between *maᶜrifa*, in the sense of the perception of a particular by means of *dalīl*, and *maᶜrifa* in the sense of determination of a noun which makes known an "essence" definable in itself. (6). It is the perception that comes after ignorance (*d̲j̲ahl*). Thus it cannot be said that God is cognisant (*ᶜārif*); it must be said that He is knowing (*ᶜālim*). In this sense, the word *ᶜilm* has a general meaning, and the word *maᶜrifa* a particular meaning. (7) It is a technical term employed by Ṣūfīs.

II. *Maᶜrifa* in mystical thought. Al-Tahānawī relates that it is usually (*ᶜurfan*) considered to be the knowledge (*ᶜilm*) which precedes ignorance (*nakara*). The use of the word *nakara* in place of *d̲j̲ahl* is interesting (cf. above, *nakira*). It is the knowledge (*ᶜilm*) which does not admit doubt (*s̲h̲akk*) since its object, the *maᶜlūm*, is the Essence of God and his attributes. Cognition of the Essence consists in knowing (*an yuᶜlama*) that God is existent (*mawd̲j̲ūd*), one (*wāḥid*), sole and unique (*fard*); that He does not resemble any thing; and that nothing resembles Him. Cognition of the attributes consists in knowing Him as living, omniscient, hearing, seeing, speaking, etc. It is thus seen how regularly the word "knowledge" or the verb "to know" intervene in definitions of *maᶜrifa* among the mystics.

It is necessary to distinguish *maᶜrifa* based on proving indications which, by means of "signs" (*āyāt*) constitute the proof of the Creator. Certain people see things, then see God through these things. In reality, *maᶜrifa* is realised only for those to whom there is revealed something of the invisible (*al-g̲h̲ayb*), in such a way that God is proved simultaneously by manifest and by hidden signs. Such is the *maᶜrifa* of men "anchored in knowledge" (*al-rāsik̲h̲īn fī 'l-ᶜilm*; cf. Ḳurʾān, III, 7; IV, 162). Then there is the *maᶜrifa* of direct testimony (*s̲h̲uhūdiyya*) which asserts itself as evidence (*ḍarūriyya*); it is this which gives cognition of the signs through Him who has instituted them, and this is the prerogative of the just (*al-ṣiddīḳīn*, cf. Ḳurʾān, LVII, 19: *hum al-ṣiddīḳūn wa 'l-s̲h̲uhadāʾ ᶜinda rabbihim*). These are the men of contemplation (*aṣḥāb al-mus̲h̲āhada*).

III. Definitions given by the Ṣūfīs, and the mystical tradition. It is related that God said to David in a revelation. "Do you understand what it is to know Me? Cognition of Me is the life of the heart in the contemplation which it has of Me." Al-S̲h̲iblī said, "When you are attached to God, not to your works, and when you look at nothing other than Him, then you have a perfect *maᶜrifa*." Cognition has been compared to the sight of God in the Other Life; "Just as He is known here below without perception, so He will be seen in the other life without perception (*idrāk*)" (al-Tahānawī), for it is said in the Ḳurʾān (VI, 101), "Vision will not comprehend Him, but He, He will comprehend vision." The Ṣūfīs cite the following *ḥadīt̲h̲* of the Prophet, "If you knew God by a true *maᶜrifa*, the mountains would disappear at your command." Cognition is linked to various conditions (*aḥwāl*) with which *taṣawwuf* deals. Thus Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī [*q.v.*] said, "True *maᶜrifa* is life in the memory of God (*d̲h̲ikr*)." Similarly, al-Tahānawī quotes Abū ᶜAlī (perhaps al-D̲j̲uzd̲j̲ānī, 3rd/9th century), "The fruit of *maᶜrifa* is that one bears with patience (*ṣabr*) proofs when they come; that a man gives thanks (*s̲h̲ukr*) when he receives a benefit; and that he gives his consent (*riḍā*) to God, when he is struck with a hateful evil." The father-in-law of al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Daḳḳāḳ, said, "One of the signs of the cognition that a man has of God, is the entry into him of reverential fear (*hayba*). One of the signs that it is growing, is that this fear grows. *Maᶜrifa* necessarily entails quietude (*sakīna*) as knowledge entails rest." *Maᶜrifa* assumes not only the abolition of the consciousness of self at the level of the soul, the empirical self, but an absence of self at the level of the heart and the spirit. Abū Ḥafṣ (ᶜUmar b. Maslama al-Ḥaddād, born near Nīs̲h̲āpūr, d. *ca.* 260/874) said, "Since I have cognition of God, there enters into my heart neither truth nor falsehood. Cognition necessarily entails for the man his absence (*g̲h̲ayba*) from himself, in such a way that the memory of God reigns exclusively in him, that he sees nothing other than God and that he turns to nothing other than to Him. For, just as the man who reasons has recourse to his heart, to his reflection and to his memories, in every situation which is presented to him and in every condition which he encounters, so the *ᶜārif* has his recourse in God. Such is the difference between him who sees through his heart and him who sees through his Lord." In the same context, al-Bistāmī said, "The creature has its conditions, but the *ᶜārif*, the cognisant one, does not have them, because his traits are effaced and his ipseity (*huwiyya*) is abolished in the ipseity of One Other than him (God). His features become invisible beneath the features of God." Also worthy of quotation is al-Wāsiṭī (pupil of D̲j̲unayd and of al-Nūrī, d. 320/932), "*Maᶜrifa* is not authentic when there remains in the man an independence which dispenses with God and the need for God. For to dispense with God and to have need of Him are two signs that the man is awake and that his characteristics remain, and this on account of his qualifications. Now the *ᶜarīf* is entirely effaced in Him whom he knows. How could this—which is due to the fact that one loses his existence in God and is engrossed in contemplation of Him—be true, if one is not a man devoid of any sentiment which could be for him a qualification, when one approaches existence?" The following are other conditions which are related to *maᶜrifa*. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥawwārī (3rd/9th century) said, "He who knows God best and he who fears Him the most." Ibn ᶜAṭāʾ, the friend of al-Ḥallād̲j̲, thought that *maᶜrifa* depends on three things: reverential fear, modesty (*ḥayāʾ*) and intimacy with God (*uns*). In fact, he who has cognition of God is in intimacy (*anasa*) with Him. The following are some definitions and qualifications of the one who knows God. It has been said, "The *ᶜārif* is he who acts for the pleasure of his Lord, without gaining anything for himself by this action." Seeing that some teachers taught that having once arrived at cognition, man no longer acts, al-D̲j̲unayd took issue with this opinion: "Those who have the cognition (*al-ᶜārifūn*) of God, draw their actions from God and turn to God in their actions. If they needed to last for a thousand years, acts of piety would not be diminished by a jot." The same D̲j̲unayd said, "That man is not truly an *ᶜārif*, so long as he is not like the earth which is trodden by the pious man and the licentious alike, like the cloud which extends its shade over all things, and like the rain which drenches the one that it likes and the one

that it does not like." In some instances, the definition adopts a dialectical twist. Thus Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh (a native of Rayy, who settled and died in Nīshāpūr in 248/872), said, "The *ʿārif* is the man who is there without being there." Al-Djunayd added, "who is distinct without separation."

In general, it is to be noted that all these conceptions, while placing *maʿrifa* above demonstrative and speculative knowledge, do not absolutely imply an esoteric vision. All or most depend on certain features which make of *maʿrifa* an illuminative cognition whose brightness has the power to stun. Thus Ruwaym, a Ṣūfī of Baghdād (d. 303/915), said, "For the *ʿārif*, *maʿrifa* is a mirror; when he looks at it, his Lord shines there for him (*tadjallā lahu*)", and Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī notes that "the final stage of *maʿrifa* consists in two things: amazement (*dahash*) and confusion (*ḥayra*)". The same notion is found in the writings of Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī.

Some interesting analyses, and important conclusions, are to be found in the work of Farid Jabre, *La notion de maʿrifa chez Ghazālī*, Beirut 1958. Comparing al-Ghazālī with Plotinus, he writes (p. 134), "The former aspires towards an abstract ideal world, the 'well-guarded Table', archetype of revealed knowledge, the latter seeks to lose himself ontologically in the One... It is here that *maʿrifa* and *gnosis* diverge fundamentally: the latter is achieved in ecstasy... which is not simply vision... but unitive vision, and the former in the loss of consciousness of the self." Al-Ghazālī indeed belongs to the line of mystics whose conceptions have been related in this article.

IV. *Maʿrifa* in the thought of Ibn ʿArabī. It seems that Ibn ʿArabī makes no distinction in usage between the words "knowledge" and "cognition". For him, there is one *maʿrifa* which is attained through the light of intelligence (*bi-nūr al-ʿaḳl*): this is cognition of the divine nature (*maʿrifat al-ulūhiyya*) and of what is necessary, impossible, possible and not impossible for it. It is evident therefore that what is in question is a rational cognition, in other words, knowledge. On the other hand, there is a *maʿrifa* which is attained by the light of faith (*bi-nūr al-īmān*), by means of which intelligence (*al-ʿaḳl*) seizes the Essence and the qualifications which God ascribes to Himself. It is this second *maʿrifa* which has to be that of the mystics (cf. *Futūḥāt*, ed. ʿUthmān Yaḥyā, i, 203, no. 289). Ibn ʿArabī devoted ch. 177 of the *Futūḥāt* to "cognition of the status of cognition." Nobody has knowledge (*ʿilm*) except He who knows (*ʿarafa*) what is through its essence. Whoever knows what is through some thing which is added to its essence, is a *muḳallid* who intimates that which is added thus by means of that which he receives from it. Every cognisant being that is not God thus has cognition through *taḳlīd* in conforming to the data of the senses and of reason. Since he is compelled to imitate, the man of good judgment (*al-ʿāḳil*) who wishes to know God, must imitate Him in that which He has made known (*akhbara*) of Himself in His Books and through the mouths of His Messengers. When he wishes to know things, not relying on his own faculties but through force of obedience (*bi-kathrat al-ṭāʿāt*), he comes into a state where God is his hearing, his sight and all his faculties. Then he knows all things through God, and God through God. This was the answer given by Dhu 'l-Nūn when he was asked by what means he knew his Lord: "I know my Lord through my Lord; without Him, I would not know Him." Those who rely on their own senses, know that senses and reason can be mistaken (as al-Ghazālī pointed out in the *Munḳidh*). They seek to distinguish the cases where they are mistaken and the cases where they are justified. But since they make this distinction with faculties which can be mistaken, they can never know whether what they classify as true is not false and *vice versa*. Here there is a serious malady (*dāʾ ʿuḍāl*), which can be avoided only by those who in all things have knowledge only through God. As for knowing what it is that causes such men to have knowledge from God, this is something which our error-prone faculties are incapable of establishing. Since we see that we can have knowledge only through *taḳlīd*, all that remains for us is to imitate "him who is called the Messenger and that which is designated as the Word of God." We conform to these models to the point at which God becomes the totality of our faculties. We will thus be able to determine the cases where we shall take possession of truth. The man who arrives at this state is then, as the Ḳurʾān expresses it (XII, 108; LXXV, 14), *ʿalā baṣīratin*. *Maʿrifa*, in its highest degree, is thus this *baṣīra*, this interior view of realities which neither the senses nor reason are capable of attaining.

Ibn ʿArabī distinguishes three ranks of categories of knowledge (*marātib al-ʿulūm*). The first is that of the knowledge of intelligence, founded on necessary principles and the demonstrations based on them. This is not under discussion here. The second is that of the knowledge of states (*ʿilm al-aḥwāl*), to which the only access is through taste (*dhawḳ*), such as the knowledge of the sweetness of honey or the bitterness of bile. This definition also accords with the taste-oriented cognition of the Ṣūfīs. The third rank is that of knowledge of secret things (*ʿulūm al-asrār*). It is superior to the category of intelligence (*fawḳ ṭawr al-ʿaḳl*); it is the knowledge of the infusion of the breath of the Spirit of Holiness in the human spirit (*ʿilm nafth Rūḥ al-Ḳuds fi 'l-rawʿ*). It is the prerogative of the prophet (*al-nabī*) and of the saint (*al-walī*). It includes two types. The first is apprehended by the intelligence, as in the first rank of knowledges, but not as a result of speculation (*naẓar*). The second type is of two kinds. One is linked to knowledge of the second rank, to *dhawḳ*, but is superior (*ashraf*). The other is a knowledge of information (*min ʿulūm al-akhbār*). This is evidently concerned with information the veracity (*ṣidḳ*) of which is guaranteed; this is the information given by the prophets (cf. *Futūḥāt*, ed. Yaḥyā, i, 138-40, nos. 64-8). Consequently, *maʿrifa* in its highest degree, where *baṣīra* is exercised, seems to accord well with the different aspects of the *ʿulūm al-asrār*.

A further division is found (*ibid.*, i, 153, no. 100): "The axis of the knowledge which belongs to men of God (*ahl Allāh*) consists of seven questions. For whosoever knows them (*ʿarafa-hā*), there is nothing in the knowledge of Realities (*ʿilm al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*) which presents a difficulty. These are: cognition (*maʿrifa*) of the Names of God; the cognition of epiphanic emanations (*tadjalliyāt*); cognition of the Word addressed by God to man in the form of the language of the Law; cognition of disclosure through imagination (*al-kashf al-khayālī*); and cognition of sicknesses and remedies. A detailed study of these *maʿārif* forms the object of ch. 177 of the *Futūḥāt*, to which the reader is referred. All that is noted here is that it seems that among all these cognitions, there is one which is distinct in the sense that is operates in all the others; this is the cognition of disclosure through imagination. In particular, that which Ibn ʿArabī says concerning cognition of the Names of God depends on a symbolic vision which is the act of the imagination. Here we refer to the work of H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabi*,[2] Paris 1977.

V. The Yazdān-s͟hanāk͟ht of al-Suhrawardī. This Persian title is the equivalent of *maʿrifat Allāh*. Corbin has analysed it in his *Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques d'al-Suhrawardī*, Tehran-Paris 1970, ii, 117-31. Here the author examines the development of human cognition, estimative and intellective. Corbin writes in this context: "There is certainly a measure of Avicennism in all this, but it is possible in addition to discern the premisses of the philosophy of Ishrâq." In fact, this treatise which aspires towards prophetic cognition, towards mystical charismas and visions in dreams or in states of trance, is definitely less original than Corbin suggests. It calls to mind the *Kitāb al-Fawz al-as͟ghar* of Miskawayh (tr. Arnaldez, Tunis 1986). But it is in relation to the philosophy of *is͟hrāḳ* that Corbin defines true *maʿrifa*: "In contrast to *representative* cognition, which is cognition of the abstract or logical universal (*ʿilm ṣūrī*), this is a case of *presential* cognition, which is unitive and intuitive, of an essence absolutely true in its ontological singularity (*ʿilm ḥuḍūrī ittiṣālī, s͟huhūdī*), a presential illumination (*is͟hrāḳ ḥuḍūrī*) which the soul, the being of light, brings to bear on its object; it makes itself present in making itself present to itself" (*Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, in the series *Idées*, NRF, Paris 1964, 291).

VI. Conclusion. *Maʿrifa* has frequently been translated as gnosis. The Greek γνωσίς probably denotes purely and simply cognition. But the word "gnosis" has taken on a particular sense; it denotes, not one, but several systems which undoubtedly have common features, but which differ considerably from one another. There are thus several *gnoses*: Basilidian, Valentinian, Ismāʿīlī, *Is͟hrāḳī*, S͟hīʿī, etc. Corbin has written (*Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*, Berg International, 1979, 23), "But ultimately it remains a case of a spiritual attitude which is fundamentally the same: a deliverance, a salvation of the soul obtained not merely through cognition, but through cognition which is precisely gnosis." But this is nothing more than a nominal definition. The notion of salvation through cognition is certainly present in the gnoses, but it is also to be found in the systems inspired by Plato and by Neo-Platonism, in which it is taught that the cognition of intelligibles by the human intellect liberates man and even assures his survival after physical death. Yet there is nothing gnostic in these systems. In criticising the gnostics, Plotinus characterises the gnoses by other features entirely, in particular by the multiplicities of intermediaries, standing as so many entities between the First Principle and the world below, according to a succession of manifestations whose link with the mythologies is apparent. Thus it is undoubtedly true that there is a *maʿrifa* in the gnoses, and that *maʿrifa* can be of gnostic type, esoteric and initiatory. But it is definitely a misuse to translate *maʿrifa* automatically as "gnosis". Were it not so, it would be necessary to render the plural *al-maʿārif* by "the gnoses" (listed above), which would obviously be unacceptable.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(R. Arnaldez)

2. As a term denoting secular knowledge

Hence opposed to *ʿilm* and almost synoymous with *adab*, see ʿilm.

MARĪNIDS (Banū Marīn), a Berber dynasty of the Zanāta group, which ruled the western Mag͟hrib (Morocco) from the middle of the 7th/13th century to the middle of the 9th/15th.

A considerable number of contemporary sources, chronicles, literary works, inscriptions, collections of judicial decisions (*fatwās* and *nawāzil*), Italian, Aragonese and French archive documents make it possible to paint a fairly complete picture of the history of Morocco under the Marīnid dynasty. The historian Ibn K͟haldūn, their most famous contemporary, reproduced in his *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* the genealogical descent, largely mythical, of the Marīnid tribes in the context of the Zanāta family, and designates the desert between Figuig and Sid͟jilmāsa as the terrain which they originally frequented. It is to be believed that the arrival of Arab tribes in the region from the south during the 5th and 6th/11th-12th centuries was the cause of various demographic mutations which obliged the Marīnid tribes to proceed towards the north and to settle in the plains of the north-west of what is now Algeria. Nomadic shepherds and breeders of sheep, the Banū Marīn gave their name to the wool (merino) that they produced and which, being of superior quality, was, as early as the beginning of the 8th/14th century, exported to Europe through the agency of Genoese merchants. An Italian document which tells of 49 consignments of wool called "merinus", purchased in Tunis in 1307, also supports the theory that the dynasty was not unconnected with the introduction of the sheep of this name in the Iberian peninsula.

The appearance of the Marīnids in the works of Arab chroniclers dates from the 6th/12th century, first in reference to local conflicts, then as a political factor, from the time of their participation in the battle of Alarcos, in Spain, alongside the Almohads (591/1195) [see al-muwaḥḥidūn]. After 610/1213-14, they maintained a slow but persistent penetration into the inhabited areas of the zone which they had habitually frequented, where the Almohad régime was in the process of rapid disintegration. At the start, their activity consisted only in claiming dues from the towns and charging protection dues, and the Almohads conducted an ambiguous policy towards them, fighting them at times and collaborating with them at others. By the middle of the 7th/13th century, the Almohads were no longer able to resist forcibly the physical occupation and settlement of the Marīnids in the large towns. United under the leadership of the house of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, which at this point became the dynastic family, they captured Meknès in 642/1244, Fās in 646/1248, Sid͟jilmāsa in 653/1255 and finally Marrakesh, the capital, in 668/1269. Only recently converted to Islam, the Marīnids showed no particular reformatory zeal at the time of their occupation of Morocco, unlike their Almoravid and Almohad predecessors. They did, however, as a result of their encounters with jurists and city dwellers, cultivate a sense of mission which had a religious ingredient, wishing to provide the Muslims with just and prosperous government, which the Almohads were no longer able to offer (M. Shatzmiller, *Islam de campagne et Islam de ville: le facteur religieux à l'avènement des Merinides*, in *SI*, li [1980], 123-36).

Following the seizure of Marrakesh, the history of the Marīnids is divided into two periods of approximately equal length, corresponding to two phases: a first phase (668-759/1269-1358) characterised by military exploits, urban expansion and governmental stability, and a second phase (759-870/1358-1465) which sees a slow erosion of the political structures, a territorial regression and internal division. Almost all the Marīnid sovereigns of the first phase (see the dynastic list) were distinguished by the vigour of their military campaigns and the length of their reigns. From the start, the Marīnids displayed a remarkably dynamic military strength: with a series of campaigns

conducted in Spain against Castile (674/1275, 676/1277, 682/1283), the sultan Abū Yūsuf Yaᶜḳūb established the central position which the Marīnid factor was to occupy in the diplomatic scene of the western Mediterranean basin during the 7th and 8th/13th and 14th centuries. For their Maghribī co-religionists, this constant *Drang nach Osten* of Marīnid policy constituted a permanent threat which was realised from time to time, the most violent episode being the prolonged siege of Tlemcen under the sultan Abū Yaᶜḳūb Yūsuf (698-706/1299-1307). The high point of Marīnid history was reached under the sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī with the seizure of Tlemcen (737/1337) and of Tunis (748/1347) and the temporary subjection of the entire Maghrib (R. Thoden, *Abu 'l-Hasan ᶜAli. Merinidenpolitik zwischen Nordafrika und Spanien in den Jahren 710-725H/1310-1351*, Freiburg 1973).

The chroniclers of the period, al-ᶜUmarī and Ibn Marzūḳ, supply numerous details regarding the composition, the routine, the equipment and the pay of the army. Composed of regular and irregular units, its striking force seems to have been constituted by Zanāta horsemen (40,000 in the time of Abu 'l-Ḥasan). The Arab tribes also supplied horsemen, while Andalusians were recruited as unmounted archers. In addition to its numerical importance, the army was frequently engaged in training exercises and equipped with catapults and fire-throwers. A Christian militia, commanded by an "alcayt" and recruited in Aragon, Castile and Portugal from 1306 onwards, with other non-indigenous elements including Kurds and negroes, constituted the regular army and the personal bodyguard of the sovereign. The Christians, between 2,000 and 5,000 at the time of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, were paid once every three months at the rate of 5 to 50 gold *dīnārs* per month, part of their salary being paid to their respective sovereigns. In the turbulent years of the second phase, this militia took an active part in the increasingly numerous palace revolutions. The remainder of the army was also registered in the *Dīwān* and paid in kind. Only the chieftains of tribes received land in *iḳṭāᶜ*.

The only point of weakness was constituted by the fleet, which, in spite of the abundant supply of wood and the existence of ship-building yards at Ceuta and Salé, was never large enough to compete with the Aragonese fleet. The archives of the court of Aragon testify, in fact, that for naval battles, such as the seizure of Ceuta in 678/1279, Catalan ships were hired at a high price by the Marīnid sovereigns. On the other hand, a Marīnid unit of Zanāta horsemen participated in 1285 in the European campaign against France and in 1307, 7,000 Marīnids were in the service of the Naṣrids of Granada.

The first phase of Marīnid history was also an age of major architectural activity, and the Marīnid monuments of the early period reflect the energy and the material wealth of the time. These consist primarily of three new urban conurbations, New Fez, al-Binya near Algeciras and al-Manṣura near Tlemcen; of *zāwiyas*; of the necropolis of Chella; of the arsenals of Ceuta and Salé; of a *ḳaṣaba* at Meknès; of mosques at al-ᶜUbbād, al-Manṣūra and Taza; of fortifications; of a hospital for the insane at Fās; of hydraulic wheels in numerous towns, of fountains and gardens; but most of all, of magnificent *madrasas*, four at Fās and one at Salé, which, renowned for the beauty of their decoration and their Hispano-Moorish style, remain the Marīnid monuments *par excellence*. The material prosperity of the Marīnid state and the image that it adopted at this time, as champion of Maghribī Islam, explains the large number of pious donations (*waḳf khayrī*) made by members of the dynasty to the benefit of public institutions in their own towns and in captured towns, as well as those of the holy cities of the East. The chronicles, the *fatwās* and the inscriptions of *waḳfs* all attests to the donation of goods, property and land by the sultans Abū Saᶜīd, Abu 'l-Ḥasan and Abū ᶜInān to the benefit of *madrasas*, mosques and libraries.

Like its two contemporary dynasties, the ᶜAbd al-Wādids and the Ḥafṣids [*q.vv.*], the Marīnid state maintained the demographic, social and governmental structures of the Almohads, as well as the physical aspects of their civilisation. In addition to the Arab and Berber ethnic variety—the human wealth of the Marīnid state—the demographic composition of the countryside, still agrarian and tribal, was coloured by the distinction between the sedentary population of the plains and that of the mountain regions. While the countryside remained linguistically and socially, even religiously, almost entirely Berber, the nomadic shepherds, islamised to a small extent, became more and more arabised. In the towns, largely arabised and absolutely islamised, tribal loyalty gave way to familial aristocracy. Under the Marīnids, the towns gathered in Andalusian elements in ever-increasing numbers. The ethnic variety was completed by the existence of Jewish and Christian communities in the urban centres. While the Christians were merchants, priests and soldiers, more numerous in the coastal towns but still a small minority, the Jews, an indigenous element reinforced by immigrants from Spain, were more numerous and more active in all aspects of the life of the country.

The Marīnid court resided at Fās, which replaced Marrakesh as the seat of the administrative apparatus. A Marīnid sultan, bearing the title of *amīr al-muslimīn*, and later also that of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, was the supreme sovereign of his country, his involvement in government varying largely according to his personal inclination. Thus the sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan was involved in all the bureaucratic activities of his state, especially the administration of the army, taxation—he even introduced a landownership and fiscal reform in the Maghrib—intellectual and religious activity, and even the administration of justice to citizens who complained of abuses on the part of his agents.

The responsibilities of the vizier, who was at certain times subordinate to the chamberlain, were on a day-to-day basis in the charge of various functionaries; head of finances, head of chancellery, chief of police, admiral, town governor, head of *ḳaṣaba*, senior *ḳāḍī*, head of the mint and head of the *muḥtasibs*. The Berber democratic and consultative nature of the Marīnid government was maintained by the existence, throughout its history, of the council of chiefs of the Marīnid tribes, which was convened at the invitation of the sovereign and mainly discussed military affairs. The economic life of Morocco under the Marīnids attests to a prosperity which was unconnected with the rise, in the 8th/14th century, of the kingdom of Mali [*q.v.*] and the development of the gold trade. This prosperity was reflected in three sectors: agriculture, urban industry and trade with Africa and Europe. Agriculture was dominated by a system of land-ownership largely similar to that of the Ḥafṣids: land was classified into three categories, these being public land (*djazāʾ*), from which territory was leased to individuals and granted as *iḳṭāᶜ*; *mulk* (private property); and land endowed for religious institutions and individuals (*ḥubus*).

The Marīnid dynasty

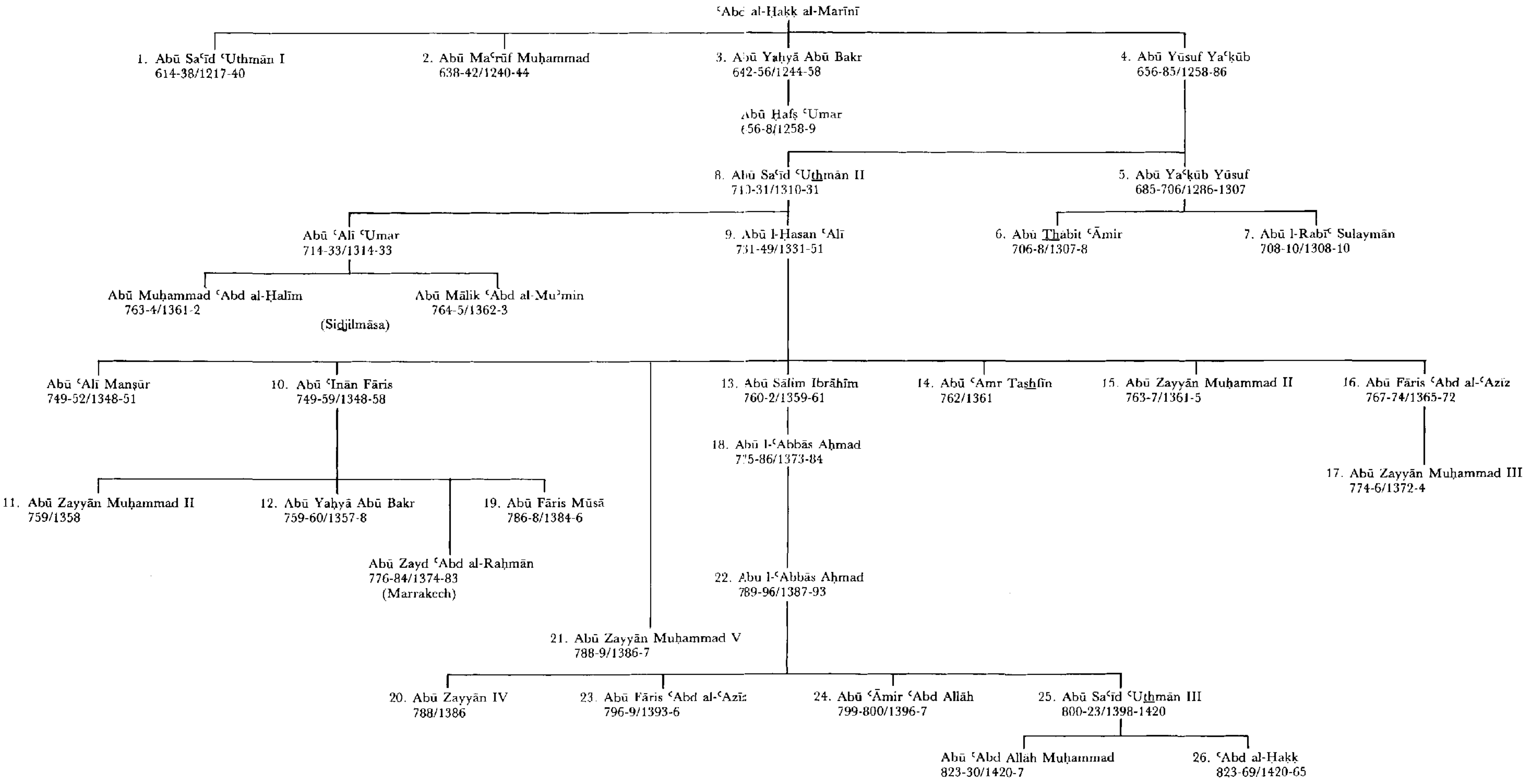

According to al-ʿUmarī, the revenues of *iḳṭāʿ* land were reserved for senior chiefs of the army, high dignitaries of the court, palace secretaries, *ḳāḍīs* and Ṣūfī *shaykhs*. The Marīnid *fatwās* attest to the existence of small and medium-sized plots of land, cultivated by the owner with one or more tenant-farmers. There is no indication of the existence of large agricultural holdings, except those in the possession of members of the reigning family. All co-operation in this regard was regulated by one of three agricultural contracts agreed upon by Muslim jurists, *muzāraʿa, mughārasa* and *musāḳāt*; *khamāsa* also existed. The sources speak of abundant yields of fruit and vegetables, cultivated in the countryside but also in the proximity of towns, wheat being the major exported product.

The local industries of the towns, textiles, tanneries, building, metal-working, ceramics, foodstuffs and glassware, gave rise to an important craft milieu which achieved prominence in the 8th/14th century with its participation in royal processions, where members of each profession marched in a group displaying a flag showing the tools of its trade, as well as written texts. Commerce with Christian countries passed especially through the town of Ceuta, but other Atlantic ports were also frequented from the 7th/13th century (660/1262), Salé, Safi, Arzila and Anfa, where in 705/1305 an agent was in residence, acting on behalf of Majorcan merchants. The duties levied by Marīnid customs on imported and exported goods varied from one port to another. Christians imported into Marīnid Morocco wine, cotton, pepper, flour, finished silk, camphor, cinnamon, metals, cloth, linen, fine fabrics, ropes, tackle, gum, lac, cloves, gall-nuts, brazil wood, jewellery. They exported copper, wax, cotton goods, coral, wool, salt, leather, and above all wheat, which was cheaper than in Ifrīḳiya and held as a monopoly by the palace administration. No less important for Marīnid Morocco was trade with Black Africa across the Sahara, whence caravans brought salt, ivory, ostrich-feathers, gum and incense, musk, Guinea pepper, ambergris, and above all gold from the Sudan in ingot and powder form, which arrived through the town of Sidjilmāsa. The vigour of external commerce explains the importance of Ceuta and of Sidjilmāsa throughout the Marīnid period, as well as the aggressive Maghribī policy of the Marinids, which had the object of gaining control of the revenues of the Oriental, Saharan and European trade which converged in the coastal cities of the Maghrib. An abundance of yellow metal characterises the Marīnid economy, as is manifested by the payments in gold (*dīnārs*) made by Marīnid sovereigns especially to Spanish monarchs and recorded in their archive documents. Silver was scarce. The Marinids struck gold *dīnārs* of high quality; they followed the tradition introduced by the Almohads in minting a double *dīnār*, the *dīnār dhahabī* of the sources, of a weight of 4.57 gr., alongside the traditional *dīnār* with inscription in *naskhī* and *kūfī*, the *dīnār fiḍḍī* or *ʿashrī* of the Marīnid sources, of 2.26 g., thus called because it was worth ten *dirhams*. Coins found indicate the existence of halves, quarters and eighths for *dīnārs* and *dirhams*. The Marīnids also maintained the square shape of the Almohad *dirham*, with an inscription also in Almohad style and in *naskhī* script. The quality of the striking seems, however, inferior. Marīnid coinage was struck at Azemmour, Ceuta, Sidjilmāsa, Fās, Marrakesh, and Salé, as well as in Maghribī towns occupied by the Marīnids: Tlemcen, Algiers, Bougie, Tunis and Tarifa. The taxes levied on the subjects of the Marīnid state were usually numerous, for the most part non-Ḳurʾānic and, except during the reform introduced under Abu 'l-Ḥasan, leased out to *wulāt*. In addition to *maghārim* and *mukūs* of all kinds [see MAKS], three major taxes were in evidence: the rural population paid the *khiras*, which corresponded to the canonical *kharādj* [*q.v.*], also imposed on citizens who cultivated fruit trees; city and country dwellers also paid the *ḳānūn*, a capital tax similar to the *djizya* [*q.v.*] levied on the Jews; shepherds paid the *ḥukr*, a tax on the lands used for pasture, and each user of the irrigation systems also paid a tax on the water.

The diverse manifestations of religious and intellectual life and of literary production under the Marīnids were to a large extent conditioned by the changes undergone by urban society and by the development of new political and social structures. Thus from the earliest days of the dynasty, the sovereigns had to deal with a numerically strong and powerful religious establishment, which claimed for itself the role of spokesman of society and was in evidence especially at Fās. The popular revolts which took place in this city obliged the Marīnids to confront the opposition of an autonomist urban movement to their régime, and to neutralise it by the creation of their own religious and intellectual circles. In order to achieve this aim, there was introduced into Morocco for the first time the institution of the *madrasa* [*q.v.*], which led to the creation of a body of Zanāta *fuḳahāʾ* whose loyalty to the régime could not be doubted. At the same time, because of the hostility of the city dwellers, even the administrative and literary circles of the court had to be recruited from among the new immigrants from Andalusia, from Ifrīḳiya, from the central Maghrib and even from the countryside (Shatzmiller, *Les premiers Mérinides et le milieu religieux de Fès: l'introduction des médersas*, in *SI*, xliii [1976], 109-18).

In general, the religious life of the period was marked by the restoration of Mālikism as an official rite, a process which had been well advanced under the last Almohads, but even more by the diffusion of Ṣūfism which, spreading to the countryside and practised in a particularly Maghribī form, degenerated into maraboutism. In the towns, Ṣūfism was also practised, but in a more refined form, with the participation of the sultans, the dignitaries and the men of letters.

Literary production under the Marīnids was multiple and varied, with Oriental and Andalusian elements of style and structure playing a dominant role. The areas cultivated were classical: *fiḳh*, biography, hagiography, poetry, geography (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and al-ʿAbdarī) at the same time as philosophy and natural sciences (Ibn al-Bannāʾ). Only history experienced an extraordinary development in this period, both in general and in detail, a phenomenon illustrated by the composition of the great regional histories of the mediaeval Maghrib (Ibn ʿIdhārī and Ibn Khaldūn) and the appearance of local history, of towns and of dynasties, the mouthpiece of the social milieu and of territorial nationalism. The Marīnid sovereigns encouraged the writing of their history, driven by a desire for legitimisation which their authority lacked.

The decline which struck the Marīnid dynasty, immediately after its period of greatest prosperity, continued throughout the second phase of its history. This process was characterised by a crisis of succession of which the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* provides the details: a multitude of children of the Marīnid family were successively placed in power by innumerable revolts on the part of Arab and Berber tribes and by palace

revolutions, while real power passed into the hands of viziers. The absence of a strong central authority provoked a movement of political and territorial disintegration in the regions far from the capital, especially in the south, but also in the north, where the activity of pirates provoked Castilian and Portuguese attacks on Tetuan and Ceuta. The weakening of the authority of the Marīnid dynasty was accelerated by socio-religious changes, which took place in proximity to the major towns and disrupted their stability. Since the dynasty was extinguished, in 870/1465, not by a palace revolution but by a popular uprising led by the *sharīfs*, which was nothing other than a renaissance of the cult of Idrīs, it is necessary to credit these movements with real importance. The fact that the country passed once again under the domination of a Berber family, the Waṭṭāsids, related to the Marīnids, demonstrates that in spite of its development, urban autonomism was not sufficiently powerful to check the demographic and military might of the tribal countryside. It remains true, however, that under the Marīnid dynasty there were introduced into Morocco, for the first time, the idea and the political structures of national and geographical unity which were to become modern Morocco.

Bibliography: Vol. iii of the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī, Tetuan 1963, supplies useful information on the beginnings of the dynasty, but the most complete account of its history is given by Ibn Khaldūn in the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, of which the section dealing with the Maghrib has been edited and translated into French by M.G. de Slane under the title of *Histoire des Berbères*, 2 vols., Algiers 1852-6 (new ed., i-iii, Paris 1925-34, and iv, containing the history of the Marīnids and the index, 1956); two other chronicles which provided source material for the *Histoire des Berbères* are the anonymous *al-Dhakhīra al-saniyya*, ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1921, and the *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās* of Ibn Abī Zarʿ, ed. and Latin tr. C.J. Tornberg, Uppsala 1843 (ed. Rabat 1972); the history of the town of Fās which occupies the first part of the *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās* is the theme of the chronicle intitled *Zahrat al-ās*, of al-Djaznāʾī, ed. and French tr. A. Bel, Algiers 1923; an almanac of the Marīnid sovereigns was composed at about the end of the 8th/14th century by Ibn al-Aḥmar and is preserved in his two chronicles which are almost identical: the *Rawḍat al-nisrīn*, French ed. and tr. G. Bouali and G. Marçais, Paris 1917, and the *al-Nafḥa al-nisrīniyya*, still in manuscript form. Two chronicles describe Marīnid Morocco under the reign of Abu 'l-Ḥasan: *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥasan* of Ibn Marzūḳ, ed. and Spanish tr. M. J. Viguera, Algiers 1981 and Madrid 1977 respectively, and the *Masālik al-abṣār* of al-ʿUmarī, French tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, 137-223; historical sources on the Marīnids are examined in M. Shatzmiller, *L'historiographie mérinide, Ibn Khaldūn et ses contemporains*, Leiden 1982, where there is a more complete bibliography for this period. A general history of the Marīnids was composed by H. Terrasse in his *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1950, ii, 3-99; Ch.-E. Dufourq described and analysed the relations of the first Marīnids with Aragon in *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib au XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Paris 1966; J. Caille included a chapter intitled *Les Marseillais à Ceuta au XIIIe siècle*, in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Occident Musulman*, Algiers 1957, ii, 21-31; on Fās under the Marīnids, see R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949; Marīnid coinage is described by H. Hazard, *The numismatic history of late medieval North Africa*, New York 1952, 192-227, 275-8; and the architecture by G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, 261-361, and A. Bel, *Inscriptions arabes de Fès*, in *JA* (1915-19). A quite uncritical catalogue of the literary production of the period is given by M, Benchekroun, *La vie intellectuelle marocaine sous les Mérinides et les Waṭṭāsides*, Rabat 1974; equally uncritical and based exclusively on Arab authors are the articles of M. al-Manūnī collected in *Waraḳāt ʿan al-ḥaḍra al-maghribiyya fī ʿaṣr Banī Marīn*, Rabat 1980. The Jewish communities of Marīnid Morocco are studied by D. Corcos, *The Jews of Morocco under the Marinids*, in *JQR*, liv, 271-87, 55, 55-81, 137-150; Shatzmiller, *An ethnic factor in a medieval social revolution: the role of Jewish courtiers under the Marinids*, in *Islamic society and culture, essays in honour of Professor Aziz Ahmed*, New Delhi 1983, 149-65; and M. Garcia-Arenal, *The revolution of Fās in 869/1465 and the death of sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Marīnī*, in *BSOAS*, xli, 43-66. On the Marīnid *waḳf*, see Shatzmiller, *Some social and economic aspects of "wakf khayrī" in fourteenth century Fez,* in *Internat. Seminar on Social and Economic Aspects of the Muslim Waḳf*, Jerusalem 1979. On Ṣūfism, see P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAbbād de Ronda (1332-1390)*, Beirut 1961. Finally to be noted is a new study of the history of the Marīnids by M. Kably, *Société, pouvoir et religion au Maroc à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris 1986.

(MAYA SHATZMILLER)

AL-MARĪS, the term applied to the area of the ancient kingdom of Nobatia, northernmost of the Nubian Christian kingdoms, and occasionally also to its people.

Broadly, it encompassed the area from Aswān to the northern border of al-Muḳurra [*q.v.*], and was under the control of the king of Dunḳula [see DONGOLA], the "Lord of Muḳurra and Nubia". The northern frontier, according to al-Manūfī, quoting al-Djāḥiẓ, was indicated by two rocks jutting into the Nile five miles beyond Aswān; the southern limit was at Bastū (and variants) where al-Muḳurra proper began. The capital was at Faras, and there were also important forts, including Ḳaṣr Ibrīm. The administration was vested in the "Lord of the Mountain" (*Ṣāḥib al-Djabal*, or "Lord of the Horses", *Ṣāḥib al-Khayl*, in Ibn al-Furāt), the Eparch of Nobatia, under the authority of the king at Dunḳula. This official's duties were to receive correspondence and visitors destined for the king, and to control passage southward into Nubia. The population of al-Marīs contained an admixture of Arabs, and al-Masʿūdī mentions a case in 218/833 between the king of Nubia and the Muslim citizens of Aswān who owned estates in al-Marīs. The king held that land could not be sold since it was his property, worked by his subjects only in their capacity as his slaves. The case was judged in favour of the purchasers. According to Yūsuf the Egyptian, there was a bishop of al-Marīs (perhaps the bishop of Pachoras (Faras)). The provinces of al-ʿAlī and al-Djabal, part of al-Marīs, were apparently ceded to Egypt by the treaty of 674/1276, and the Muslim Banu 'l-Kanz [*q.v.*] gradually became prominent in the region, eventually taking the throne at Dunḳula. Several of the Arab writers tell of the Marīsī wind, which brought a pestilence to Egypt, so that people began, when the wind arrived, to buy ointments and shrouds for their funerals. The designation "Maurotania" in Abba Mina's Coptic *Life of the patriarch Isaac* (*ca.* 700 A.D.), would appear

to refer to al-Marīs. The term al-Marīs is found in Arabic texts from at least the 1st/7th to the 10th/16th centuries.

Bibliography: Abba Mina, *Vie d'Isaac*, in *Patr. Or.*, xi, 1916, 3, 377-8; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 75; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 32, 42-3, vi, 273 = §§ 874, 880-1, 886, 2479; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 58; Abū Ṣāliḥ, tr. Evetts, *Churches and monasteries of Egypt*, 266; Ibn Khallikān, Beirut, i, 228; Yūsuf, in *Mon. Cart.* 1150b; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, Cairo ms. xxviii, f. 259, Paris ms 1578, f. 88b; Ibn al-Furāt, ed. Beirut, vii, 44 ff, 51; Ibn Khaldūn, v, 922, vi, 10; Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī, in al-Manūfī, ch. I; *idem*, in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 252 ff., 298-9, 303; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, vii, 188-9; Y. F. Hasan, *The Arabs in the Sudan*, Edinburgh 1967, index; G. Vantini, *Oriental sources concerning Nubia*, 1975, index.

(S. MUNRO-HAY)

MĀRISTĀN [see BIMĀRISTĀN].

MARITSA [see MERIČ].

MĀRIYA, a Copt maiden, according to one statement, daughter of a man named Shamʿūn, who was sent with her sister Sīrīn by the Muḳawḳis [*q.v.*]in the year 6 or 7/627-9 to Muḥammad as a gift of honour (according to another authority there were four of them). The Prophet made her his concubine, while he gave Sīrīn to Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*]. He was very devoted to her and gave her a house in the upper town of Medina, where he is said to have visited her by day and night; this house was called after her the *mashraba* of the mother of Ibrāhīm. To the great joy of the Prophet, she bore him a son whom he called Ibrāhīm, but he died in infancy. According to tradition, an eclipse of the sun took place on the day of his death, an interesting statement by which we can get the date exactly—if the story is true—as 27 January 632, that is, only a few months before Muḥammad's death. Māriya's beauty and Muḥammad's passionate love for her excited such jealousy among his other wives that, to pacify them, he promised to have nothing more to do with the Copt girl, a promise which he afterwards withdrew. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar honoured her and gave her a pension which she enjoyed till her death in Muḥarram 16/February 637. There is no reason to doubt the essential correctness of this story, as there is no particular bias in it and it contains all sorts of details which do not look in the least like inventions, so that it is exaggerated scepticism when Lammens supposes that the "mother of Ibrāhīm", after whom the *mashraba* was called, was some Jewess. On the other hand, in view of the fact that all the marriages of Muḥammad after the *hidjra* were childless, it would have been surprising if evil-minded people had not cast suspicions on the paternity of Ibrāhīm, and that this actually happened is evident from some traditions, the object of which is to defend Māriya from this suspicion.

On the other hand, it is not so easy to justify the part which Ḳurʾānic exegesis makes Māriya play in the exposition of sūra LXVI. In this sūra, the Prophet speaks in a very indignant tone against one of his wives, because she has betrayed a secret to another, which he had imparted to her under a promise of the strictest secrecy. At the same time, Allāh blames him, because, in order to please his wives, he had bound himself by oath to refrain from something which is not definitely stated and because he does not use the right granted him by Allāh to release himself from his oath. In addition, there is a word of warning to the two women who had disobeyed him and a threat to all his wives that he might divorce them in order to marry more pious ones (cf. XXXIII, 28-9). According to the usual explanation, the two wives are Ḥafṣa and ʿĀʾisha, and the revelation is said to have been provoked by the fact that Ḥafṣa, on returning unexpectedly to her house, found Māriya and the Prophet in an intimate tête-à-tête and that on a day which by rotation belonged to her (or ʿĀʾisha). In his embarrassment, he pledged himself by oath to have no more relations with the Copt girl. But after Ḥafṣa's breach of faith, Allāh tells him to release himself from his oath. This explanation fits very well in some respects, and that the promise of continence is connected with marital complications is illuminating. That there are *ḥadīths*, which explain his quarrel with his wives quite differently, does not mean very much, for they are no doubt invented to drive out of currency the popular, less edifying version. But, on closer examination, there is one flaw which makes the latter uncertain, for it does not answer the question how Muḥammad could call the situation in which Ḥafṣa caught him and Māriya a secret that he is said to have entrusted to her.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 1561, 1686, 1774, 1781-2; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 16-17; viii, 131-8, 153-6; the commentaries on sūra LXVI; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 217; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, ii, 211-12, 237, 311-12; Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, Rome 1912, 2-9. F, Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 297; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 286, 396; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*², Paris 1969, 228, 230-2; M. Rodinson, *Mohammad*, Harmondsworth 1973, 279-83. On the eclipse of the sun, see Rhodokanakis, in *WZKM*, xiv, 78 ff.; Mahler, in *ibid.*, 109 ff.; K. Öhrnberg, *Māriya al-Qibṭiyya unveiled*, in *Studia orientalia, Finnish Oriental Society*, xi/14 (1984), 297-303.

(F. BUHL).

AL-**MARIYYA** is the Arab name for the Spanish town of Almería. According to some authors, it was originally called Mariyyat Badjdjāna, for it had been the port or maritime suburb of Pechina (Badjdjāna) [*q.v.*], the ancient Roman Urci. Today, Almería is the chief town of the province (which has the same name) in the most easterly part of Andalusia on the Mediterranean coast. It is surrounded by bare mountains with steppe-like vegetation, and this means that its countryside is very similar to that of some parts of the North African coastline opposite. The only part not surrounded by rocky mountains is the area towards Cape Gata, and it has always been a region of low rainfall. The land is very eroded and marked by numerous *ramlas*, which have been hollowed out by raging torrents during the times when it does rain. By contrast, the Rio de Almería valley, the Andarax (Andarash), is a green fertile zone producing an abundance of fruit. This land of violent contrast has been witness to many splendid years of the Islamic era and has been described often in great detail by Arab writers, from East and West alike.

The Islamic history of Almería is closely linked with that of Pechina which, thanks to its own location on the coast, existed before Almería, gave it birth and saw it develop. Soon after its rapid conquest from 93/713 to 95/715, it was populated mainly by Yemeni Arabs throughout a large area extending almost as far as the Guadix (Wādī Ash), but there were also several Berber settlements, especially in the region of the lower Almerian Alpujarra. During its 765 years of Islamic history, this territory of Almería experienced various changes of fortune.

The small village and port of al-Mariyya became

more important than the neighbouring Aguilas, and it was an administrative dependency of the *kūra* (the *iḳlīm*, according to al-Idrīsī) of Pechina. Before they were controlled by al-Mariyya, the towns of Berja (Bard̲j̲a) and Dalías (Dalāya) were also dependent on Pechina. Dalías was the birthplace of al-ʿUd̲h̲rī, the well-known geographer of the 5th/11th century, who provided a careful description of al-Mariyya with much interesting information (see *Tarṣīʿ al-ak̲h̲bār*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, Madrid 1965, index). Other towns are Adra and the fortresses of Vélez Rubio (Bālīs̲h̲), Belicena (Balisāna), Purchena (Bars̲h̲āna), Senés (S̲h̲anis̲h̲), Andarax (Andaras̲h̲), to name but a few mentioned by al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, v, 537, 562-4) and by Abu 'l-Fidā. All these towns, as well as Vera (Bayra) and some others, were taken as dependencies of Naṣrid Granada during the last centuries of Islamic rule.

The region of al-Mariyya is surrounded by steeply sloping sierras which make overland communications difficult. The town was established in 344/955 by order of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*]; its special maritime importance arises from the fact that it faces the North African ports of Ténès and other Algerian and Tunisian ports, as well as Alexandria and the extreme Eastern Mediterranean. Arab geographers, therefore, chose an apt name for it, "the gateway to the East" and "the key to commerce and trade of every kind". The name of al-Mariyya (*sic*, not al-Māriyya) has given rise to various explanations. The idea of "watch-tower" could have come from the time when men reported there for guard duty, for it was a look-out post during the raids by the Normans, and later by the Mag̲h̲ribīs, which occurred in the mid-3rd/9th century and the 4th/10th century. A number of defensive towers (*maḥāris*) were built then along the coast to house garrisons and where people could lead a life of service in *ribāṭ*s [*q.v.*]. Al-Rābiṭa, which is mentioned by al-Idrīsī, is only a day's journey away. Yāḳūt, *s.v.*, gives free rein to his imagination when he considers the original meaning of this town name.

All writers seem to agree that this city was a recent one (*muḥdat̲h̲a*), and not, like the others, from the distant past (*azaliyya*), founded by the Arabs as a place in which "to practise the life of service in a *ribāṭ*", according to al-ʿUd̲h̲rī and the anonymous *D̲h̲ikr al-Andalus* (Rabat ms.). Al-Nāṣir turned it into the main port and arsenal for all the country's ships and also into a *madīna*. He gave it a fortress on a very rocky hill to the west, at the bottom of which was the district of al-Ḥawḍ; this was an area enclosed by a series of walls with a great number of markets, inns and baths. The population of Pechina, situated several kilometres inland, was absorbed by al-Mariyya, and it was used as a naval base and the point of embarkation for maritime raids against Chistian countries. During the period of the caliphate, it was a defensive bastion against the threat of the Fāṭimids. There was more commercial activity here than in any other port of al-Andalus, and it was open to the influence of all kinds of travellers to and from North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean. According to L. Torres Balbás (*Almería islámica*, in *al-And.*, xxii [1957], 411-53, which includes a plan of the town in the 14th century) at the end of the 4th/10th century the *madīna* comprised a rectangle of a little more than 19 hectares in area, excluding the fortress which was called *ḳalʿat K̲h̲ayrān*, enlarged by the ʿĀmirid *fatā* K̲h̲ayrān in 410/1019-20. He had also had a wall constructed from Mt. Laham, to the north of the town, to the sea. Within this area, the city was able to shelter about 27,000 people, according to L. Torres Balbás (*Extensión y demografía de las ciudades hispano-musulmanas*, in *SI*, iii [1955], 55-6). The town grew and became even more splendid during the time of K̲h̲ayrān (d. 429/1038) and Zuhayr, the two slaves who seized Almería and its territory at the time of the *fitna*, and during that of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*.

Shortly after the assassination of Zuhayr in 429/1037-8, al-Mariyya passed to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī ʿĀmir of Valencia, who controlled it from D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 429/Sept. 1038 to Rad̲j̲ab 433/Feb.-March 1042. According to Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī (*Bayān*, iii, 191-2), the *amīr* of Valencia was also the ruler of Tudmīr (Murcia) and he sent his son ʿAbd Allāh to be the governor of al-Mariyya. But he stayed only a short time; he soon died and was replaced by Abu 'l-Aḥwaṣ Maʿn b. Ṣumādiḥ al-Tud̲j̲ībī. In 433/1042 he revolted against the ʿĀmirid ruler of Valencia, declared his independence and ruled the town as his own territory until his death in 443/1052. The town certainly prospered under him, but it prospered even more so under his son Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. Maʿn b., Ṣumādiḥ, who took the title of al-Muʿtaṣim; it became a centre of culture, with one of the most famous of the literary courts of al-Andalus until the time of the Almoravids (see R. Dozy, in *Recherches*[3], 211-81). During the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, al-Mariyya maintained relations (though not always friendly ones) with the neighbouring *taifas* of Granada (see H.R. Idris, *Les Zīrīdes d'Espagne*, in *al-And.*, xxix [1964], 39-145), with Denia, Valencia, and even with Cordova and Seville. This had the effect of reducing the extent of the territorial possessions of the Banū Ṣumādiḥ.

Under the Almoravids, al-Mariyya achieved its fullest economic potential. It can be argued that it prospered most in the second half of the 5th/11th century and the first half of the 6th/12th century; then it suffered the first Christian conquest, in 1147, by Alfonso VII of Castile, which is celebrated in the *Chronica Adephonsi Imperatoris*. Its economic development and its military and naval importance showed itself in the commercial and industrial ventures that were undertaken and its growth as a city and artistic centre. Beginning with al-Idrīsī, many geographers from the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th centuries, including the compiler al-Maḳḳarī, agree that the cloth and brocade (*dībād̲j̲*) produced there were as fine as the products of Cordova; the town became highly renowned for this and without rival in al-Andalus. Among the materials and brocades which had built up the reputation of the town's industry were cloth of gold (*was̲h̲y* [*q.v.*]) (which was also made at Malaga) [*q.v.*], siglaton, baldachin, and all sorts of silk, which was known to be better (and more expensive) than that from other areas. There was an obvious eastern influence on the manufacture of textiles, as can be seen from the names given to some of the cloths, like *iṣfahānīs* and *d̲j̲urd̲j̲ānīs*, which sound Persian, and *ʿattābī*, which was probably ʿIrāḳī. Al-Zuhrī (*Kitāb al-D̲j̲aʿrāfiya*, ed. M. Hadj-Sadok, in *BEO*, xxi [1968], 101/206) mentions other white-coloured fabrics brocaded with gold, which, according to many sources, were favoured by the women of al-Mariyya for their garments. Other reliable authorities claim that there were 800 or 1,000 factories for *ṭirāz* in the town, and that there were as many looms for producing other fabrics as well. Naturally, this would have given employment to a considerable number of weavers.

Beside textiles, other industries included the building of warships (in the *dār al-ṣināʿa*) and the

manufacture of tools and weapons from copper and iron. Agricultural products of the region came especially from the valleys of the Andarax and the Almanzora (*wadī 'l-Manṣūra*) where there were olive trees, vineyards, a large variety of fruit trees, banana plantations and sugar-cane. The marble from the Macael quarries in the Sierra Filabres was particularly famous because it was used for covering plinths and for paving palaces, especially the one called *al-ṣumādiḥiyya* (see L. Seco de Lucena, *Los palacios del taifa almeriense al-Muᶜtaṣim*, in *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, iii [1967], 15-20; J. Bosch Vilá, *Mocárabes en el arte de la taifa de Almería?*, in *Cuad. Hist. Isl.*, viii [Granada 1977], 156). Mine-working in the area was to produce silver and gold; some writers say there were precious stones. The marble was also used to make columns, capitals, tombstones (*maḳbariyya*) and fountains.

From the time when the town was taken by the Christians in 1147 and its recapture by the Almohads in 1157, the commercial and cultural prosperity there dwindled. The most eminent citizens emigrated to North Africa, and several of the more densely populated and busier areas of the town were destroyed. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ramīmī (or Rumaymī), who had recognised the authority of Ibn Hūd [see HŪDIDS], was to be assassinated in al-Mariyya. These factions and subsequent internal political struggles considerably weakened the influence of the capital and, after it had been incorporated into the kingdom of Granada by Muḥammad I in Shawwāl, 635/May-June 1238, it ended its Islamic life under the Naṣrids. There was a major attack on the town in August 1309 when it was besieged by the Aragonese of James II (see R. Basset, *Le siège d'Alméria en 709*, in *JA*, 10th ser., x [1907], 275 ff.; I.S. Allouche, *La relation du siège d'Alméria en 709 (1305-1310) d'après de nouveaux manuscripts de la Durrat al-ḥijāl*, in *Hespéris*, xvi [1933], 122-38; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un "zajal" hispanique sur l'expédition aragonaise de 1309 contre Alméria*, in *al-And.*, vi [1941], 377-99). It continued to suffer from internal troubles and was involved in the dynastic rivalries and civil wars which weakened the kingdom of Granada and cast a shadow over the future of the Muslims of al-Andalus. Al-Zaghal, the uncle and enemy of Boabdil, took refuge there, and it was delivered into the hands of the kings of Castile on 22 December 1489.

Bibliography: References have been given in the text to Arab authors and the principal geographical and historical sources relevant to al-Mariyya and Mālaḳa. See also S. Gilbert, *La ville d'Alméria à l'époque musulmane*, in *CT*, xviii/69-70 (1970), 61-72; J.A. Tapia Garrido, *Almería musulmana (711-1147 y 1147-1482)* = vols. ii and iii of *Historia General de Almería y su provincia*, [Almería] 1976-8; and finally, E. Molina López, *Algunas consideraciones sobre la vida socio-económica de Almería en el siglo XI y primera mitad del XII*, in *Actas del IV coloquio hispano-tunecino de Mallorca en 1979*, Madrid 1982. There is also ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Sālim, *Algunos aspectos del florecimiento económico de Almería islámica durante el periodo de los Taifas y de los Almorávides*, Madrid 1979; *idem*, *Taʾrīkh madīnat al-Mariyya al-islāmiyya*, Beirut 1969. (J. BOSCH VILÁ)

MARḲAB, observatory [see MARṢAD].

AL-**MARḲAB**, a fortress situated on the Syrian coast.

The name of al-Marḳab, from the root *raḳaba* "observe, watch", denotes any elevated site from which it is possible to see and observe, such as the summit of a mountain, of a fortified castle or of a watch-tower (*LA*, ed. Beirut 1955, i, 424-8; Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut 1957, v, 108-9). Arab authors generally call this stronghold al-Marḳab; also found are Ḳalᶜat Marḳab and Ḥiṣn Marḳab. There are also Arabic transcriptions such as Mār Kābūs for Markappos, Mār Kābān for Marckapan, Mār Ghātūm for Margathum or Mārghat for Margat. In western works various spellings are encountered, including El-Marcab, Margat and Margath, Markab or Marqab.

1. Geography of the site. On current maps, the castle is situated at 35°27' E. by 35°10' N., between Lādhiḳiyya [*q.v.*] and Ṭarṭūs, standing at an altitude of 1,187 ft./362 m. at the summit of a broad and steeply-sloping basalt promontory, separated from a plateau of lava deposits. This barely accessible summit is one of the western foothills of the Djabal Anṣāriyya range which extends towards the north, evidence of very ancient volcanic activity marked by streams of basalt in the regions of al-Marḳab.

The castle affords a unique panorama towards the east over land consisting of calcareous hills with outcrops of quaternary and pliocene clay, the territory of the Assassins or Ḥashīshiyya [*q.v.*], and towards the west over the coastal plain which is fringed by basaltic sand and intended with small coves. At the foot of the castle there is a cove which is sheltered from the wind and capable of accommodating ships of limited tonnage; Walpole (*Travels*, iii, 289) noticed here in the 19th century some remains of masonry, possibly relics of mediaeval harbour installations. At this latitude the coast is one-and-a-half days' sailing distance from Cyprus.

The castle overlooks the main coastal road, at the point where the coastal expanse is narrowest. It is also at the foot of al-Marḳab that the road from Ḥamāt [*q.v.*] by way of Masyaḍ [*q.v.*] reaches the sea.

The barrier constituted by the basalt mass of al-Marḳab is skirted to the north by the Nahr Bāniyās, which is swollen by a prolific water-source upstream from Bāniyās, and to the south by the Nahr Markiya, which flows between al-Marḳab and Khirāb Markiya (ruins of Maraclea, Marachea); this coastal stream, according to *The initerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem*, constituted the northern frontier of Phoenicia. According to William of Tyre, this place marked the frontier between the Principality of Antioch and the County of Tripoli.

2. History. Among the early Arab geographers and travellers who made mention of al-Marḳab, al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, 644, tr. Jaubert, 130) says that "it is a fortress built on a mountain inaccessible from all directions"; Yāḳūt says in his *Muᶜdjam* that "it is a town and a castle overlooking the shore of the Syrian Sea. It protects the city of Bulunyās and the coast of Djabala [*q.v.*]. All those who have passed by it say that they have never seen anything of comparable might." At the beginning of the 8th/14th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 183) visited al-Marḳab and mentions it as one of the great castles of Syria constructed on the summit of a high mountain and recalls that Sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] captured it from the Christians (in 684/1285). His contemporary al-Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren, 208) says that "Ḥiṣn al-Marḳab is an impregnable fortress on a 'tongue of land' overlooking the sea". Abu 'l-Fiḍāʾ is more laconic, saying only that "al-Marḳab and Buluniyās are situated on the coast of Ḥimṣ; al-Marḳab is the name of the castle overlooking the sea". Finally, al-Ḳalḳashandī, in the 9th/15th century, stresses that "al-Marḳab is mentioned neither in the *Taᶜrīf* nor the *Masālik al-abṣār*"; he used material from Abu 'l-Fiḍāʾ in his *Ṣubḥ* (iv, 145-6), saying that "it is a fortress near the coast of "the Roman Sea" (*al-Baḥr al-Rūmī*) in the

fourth region and according to the *Zīdj*, (corrective tables of the Ptolemaic measures, one dating from 360/961, the other from 691/1292) situated at long. 60°, lat. 34°45'. It is a powerful and finely-constructed fortress overlooking the sea; at a distance of about one parasang, the town of Bilinyās (sic = Bāniyās) is located."

According to the chronicle of Abū Ghālib Ḥumām b. al-Faḍl al-Muhadhdhib al-Maʿarrī, quoted in Yāḳūt, and according to the *Taʾrīkh ak-Ḳilāʿ wa 'l-ḥuṣūn* of Usāma b. Munḳīdh quoted in Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 255), the fortress was built by the Muslims in 454/1062. Al-Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren, 208) states that al-Marḳab was constructed with stones from previous ruins, often with well-cut blocks found on the site, and attributes its foundation to al-Rashīd. It is hardly probable that the person in question is Hārūn al-Rashīd, considered by Van Berchem (*Voyage*, 304, n. 4) to be a proverbial expression, and even less likely is the opinion of G. Le Strange (*Palestine*, 506) that the reference is to Rashīd al-Dīn (Sinān) a contemporary of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. It is not impossible that the Rashīd mentioned by Usāma b. Munḳidh and then by al-Dimashḳī could be Rashīd [al-Dawla Maḥmūd b. Naṣr], who was Mirdāsid *amīr* of Ḥalab in 452-3/1060-1 and again from 454/1062 to 468/1075, a supposition which is not contradicted by the secondary use of ancient materials and which is confirmed by the presence of relics dating back to the 5th/11th century. The citadel was intended to block the advance of the Byzantines, who controlled the province of al-Anṭākiya, towards the south.

In 494/1101, al-Marḳab and its hinterland were in the hands of the Banū Muḥriz, who were also in command of the castle of Ḳadmūs. In the course of an expedition conducted in 497/1104 by the Byzantines against the Syrian coast, the Admiral Cantacuzenus, having been repulsed before the citadel of Lādhiḳiyya, disembarked at Buluniyās (Bāniyās) and took possession, according to Anna Comnena in the *Alexiad* (ʿΑλεξίας, ed. B. Leib, III, liv, XI, 48), of the important strategic point known as al-Marḳab (τὸ καλούμενον Μαρχαπιν, the Marchapin of the historians) and of other fortified sites in the region such as Sāfīthā (τό τε 'Αργυρόκαστρον) and Djabala (τὰ Γάβαλα).

In 506/1116-17 the heights of al-Marḳab represented the frontier of the principality of Antioch. In 510/1116-17 the crops failed as a result of inclement weather and drought and the situation was aggravated by financial inflation; Ibn Muḥriz, master of al-Marḳab, was placed in an increasingly difficult position, in that he did not have the means to maintain the citadel and was threatened by the Franks. He even went to the extent of offering to cede the castle to Ṭughtakīn. The Atabeg of Damascus sent the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Ṣulayḥa, the former master of Djabala, to his aid. On the advice of Ṭughtakīn, Ibn Ṣulayḥa took possession of the fortress and allowed the family of the Banū Muḥriz to remain there. The same year, Roger of Antioch, having concluded a treaty with the eunuch Luʾluʾ who governed Aleppo, marched against al-Marḳab. Pons de Saint-Gilles, Count of Tripoli, came to his aid, but following a quarrel, they abandoned the siege.

Soon afterwards the Atabeg of Damascus negotiated an agreement with the Franks, ceding al-Marḳab in exchange for Rafanea and the cessation of their attacks on Ḥamāt and Ḥimṣ. Ibn Muḥriz resisted the attacks of Renaud Mazoyer, the master of Bulunyās/Bāniyās, eventually negotiating with him in 511/1117-18. Renaud took possession of the castle, promising Ibn Muḥriz that he would be allowed to remain, but the new castellan expelled him twenty-five days later, allotting to him in exchange the fortress of Manīḳa in the Djabal Baḥra.

Thus Renaud Mazoyer, High Constable of the principality of Antioch, belonging to an important family mentioned in the *Lignages*, became the first Frankish governor of al-Marḳab, with territory embracing the mountainous hinterland as far as Abū Ḳubays, which overlooked the valley of the Ghāb [*q.v.*]. Frankish and Armenian settlers were established at al-Marḳab.

After the death of Roger of Antioch at the battle of Ager Sanguinis at Sarmada on 17 Rabīʿ I 513/28 June 1119, the situation in the principality became tense, and the Mazoyers had difficulty retaining control of the stronghold.

If the Syrian historian al-ʿAẓīmī [*q.v.*] is to be believed, it seems that the Muslims occupied al-Marḳab between 525/1130 and 534/1140 during the dispute between the Franks of Antioch and the Franks of Tripoli. The situation caused anxiety to the Franks, as freedom of movement in the coastal area was threatened. According to the Genoese historian Caffaro (d. 1166), the castle of al-Marḳab was taken from the Muslims by trickery in 534/1140 and seized by Renaud II Mazoyer, who proceeded to undertake fortifications, the relics of which may be found among the construction works of 582/1186. These fortifications had been demanded of him by the Prince of Antioch, anxious to reinforce the southern frontier of his domain.

In 551/1156 and 552/1157 several earthquakes affected the Syrian coast, but the most violent was that of 12 Shawwāl 565/29 June 1170 which was felt throughout Syria and in Cyprus and which, having damaged the castles of the Djabal Anṣāriyya, cannot have spared al-Marḳab.

In 577/1181 Bohemond III, excommunicated by the Latin Patriarch of Antioch Aimery de Limoges, was obliged to deal with a revolt on the part of the latter's partisans, among whom was Renaud II Mazoyer, who seems to have received the Patriarch at al-Marḳab. In order to meet the cost of maintaining the castle and its garrison, the castellan of al-Marḳab was obliged to sell, piecemeal, to the Order of the Hospitallers, his huge domains, part of which lay in the Rūdj between Anṭākiya and Afāmiya [*q.v.*]. After the death of Renaud II, his son Bertrand Mazoyer, having insufficient resources at his disposal, renounced his claims to the castle; on the advice of the Patriarch Aimery and with the consent of the Prince of Antioch, he ceded to Roger de Moulins, Grand Master of the Hospitallers, by an act of donation concluded at al-Marḳab on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 581/1 February 1186, the castle with all its territories and dependencies including Bāniyās, Ḳadmūs, ʿUlayḳa and Abū Ḳubays. On 30 June 1186 Pope Urban III appointed Brother Henry as castellan.

"The fief of Marḳab corresponded approximately to the bishopric of Boulouniyas (Valania); after 1188 the bishop of Valania and his hierarchical superior, the archbishop of Apamea, were constrained by the military situation to take refuge within the walls of Marḳab" (Cl. Cahen, *Syrie*, 519).

After the victory of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*], Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was intent on the reconquest of Syria. In Djumāda I 584/July 1188, coming from Ṭarṭūs, he was obliged to pass by the foot of al-Marḳab on the narrow coastal road dominated by the Burdj al-Ṣabī, linked to the castle by a wall. In his advance along the coast he had been followed by the Norman fleet of Sicily,

commanded by the Admiral Margaritus of Brindisi. The ships moored in the cove of al-Marḳab, and their crews showered missiles on the Ayyūbid army, which was only able to continue its northward march with the protection of a veritable palisade erected along the sea-shore, as described by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (tr. Massé, 125-6). In the principality of Antioch, only the city itself and the fortress of al-Marḳab remained in the hands of the Crusaders at the end of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's campaign.

The Prince Isaac Comnenus, who became the independent ruler of Cyprus in 1184, gave the Crusaders an unfriendly reception on his island and was taken prisoner, at the battle of Tremithoussia on 5 Djumāda I 587/31 May 1191, by Richard Cœur-de-Lion, who incarcerated him at al-Marḳab, where he remained until his death in 591/1195.

By means of the tribute levied on the Assassins of Djabal Bahra and their own resources, the Hospitallers were able, after 588/1192, to restore the defences of al-Marḳab. This site, with Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, became one of the most important items in the defensive apparatus of the Crusaders against the Muslim domain, an apparatus comprising ʿAkkār, ʿArḳa, Ḳulayʿat, Sāfīthā (Chastel Blanc), ʿUrayma, Ḳalʿat Yaḥmūr (Chastel Rouge) and Ṭarṭūs, in addition to the towers and subsidiary points linking these various places.

In 601/1204, a general chapter of the Order of the Hospitallers was held at al-Marḳab under the presidency of the Grand Master. From the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the garrison of al-Marḳab was in a state of constant conflict with the chieftain of Aleppo. In 601/1204-5, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī [*q.v.*], whose domain bordered on that of al-Marḳab, sent an army to attack the castle; several towers were destroyed but when its leader was killed by an arrow the army withdrew.

In the account of his travels in Syria in 1212, Wilbrand von Oldenburg gives the most complete description available of al-Marḳab: "A huge and very strong castle, defended by a double wall and surrounded by numerous towers. It stands on a high mountain. This castle belongs to the Hospitallers and is the most powerful defence of the whole country... The "Old Man of the Mountains" and the Soudan of Aleppo pay to it every year a tribute of 2,000 marks. Each night, four Knights of the Hospital and twenty-eight soldiers mount guard. In addition to the garrison, the Hospitallers maintain 1,000 persons there. The territory surrounding the fortress yields every year crops in excess of 500 loads of sheaves. The provisions gathered there are sufficient to last five years." (Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 170). The same author informs us that "for quite a long time, Margat has been an episcopal seat" and that the bishop of Valania (Bāniyās) had transferred his residence there. In this period, pilgrims embarked from al-Marḳab en route for Suwaydiyyya in the Principality of Antioch, with the aim of avoiding the Muslim towns and territories of the coast.

On the eve of the Fifth Crusade, in 613/1216, Pope Honorius III, successor to Innocent III, sent Jacques de Vitry to preach the Holy War in Syria, where he visited all the Crusaders' strongholds and praised especially the might of al-Marḳab. In the same period, Yāḳūt wrote that al-Marḳab "is a castle such that all men declare that they have never seen its equal" (v, 108).

The following year, in Djumāda II 614/September 1217, Andrew II, king of Hungary, disembarked at ʿAkkā with a Crusader army; at the beginning of Ramaḍān 614/early December 1217 he suffered a defeat before Mount Tabor (Djabal Thawr) and subsequently returned to Europe. Before leaving Syria, he halted at al-Marḳab; he was impressed by its defences and made a substantial donation towards their maintenance. At the end of 614/early 1218, the castellan of al-Marḳab enlarged his territory and made himself master of Djabala, whose ruler and inhabitants were obliged to perform an act of allegiance to the Hospitallers.

Having refused Frederick II, the excommunicated German Emperor, any support for his crusade in 1229, the Hospitallers received no aid from him towards the upkeep of al-Marḳab and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād.

In Rabīʿ II 628/February 1231, the troops of Aleppo began once more to pillage the neighbourhood of al-Marḳab; a truce was concluded at the end of spring 628/1231. In 639/1242, the truce was revoked and the Grand Master of the Order, Pierre de Vieille Bride, resumed a campaign of harassment against the territory of Aleppo from al-Marḳab.

Towards the middle of the 7th/13th century, al-Marḳab became an official episcopal seat when the bishop of Valania (Bāniyās) transferred his residence there.

From 659/1261, Sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] launched offensives against the strongholds of the Hospitallers, who paid a heavy price for their defence. The frantic appeals of the Grand Master of the Order, Hugues Revel, went unanswered. But, inasmuch as the Mamlūk sultans feared a revival of the Crusades and an expedition of Christians from Cyprus or from the West, al-Marḳab, like Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, retained its strategic value. An agreement was reached between the Hospitallers and the Templars regarding the possessions of the Hospitallers in the region of al-Marḳab.

In 665/1267, a treaty was concluded between Baybars and Hugues Revel in regard to these two fortresses for a period of ten years, ten months and ten hours; the enforcement of his treaty, accompanied by considerable sums of money, was supervised by the *nāʾib* of the sultan at Ḥimṣ. In 666/1268, Baybars took possession of Antioch, and seized Djabala and Lādhiḳiyya. In 1270, the sultan pillaged the neighbourhood of al-Marḳab and of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. In Shaʿbān 669/March-April 1281, after the capture of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād by Baybars, the Hospitallers were left with only one fortress, al-Marḳab; the Grand Master of the Order was only able to obtain a truce of ten years and ten days—negotiated through the intermediary of the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Dawādār (*Manhal*, no. 689)—in exchange for the cession of half of the coastal region (*sāḥil*) of Ṭarṭūs, al-Marḳab and Bāniyās and on condition that no new fortresses were to be constructed.

In Djumāda II 678/October 1279, taking advantage of the unrest which broke out in Syria with the accession of Sultan Ḳalāwūn, the Hospitallers launched a raid in the direction of Buḳayʿa [*q.v.*], but withdrew when attacked by the Muslims. On reaching the coast, they turned and routed the Muslims. After the defeat of the Armeno-Mongolian troops, the sultan commanded the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī (*Manhal*, no. 692), governor of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, to lay siege to al-Marḳab. In Shawwāl 679/February 1281, the Hospitallers made a sortie and repelled the Muslims, inflicting heavy losses. On 22 Muḥarram 680/13 May 1281, a truce of ten years and ten months was concluded between Ḳalāwūn and Nicholas Lorgne, the Grand Master of the Hospitallers.

In autumn 680/1281, the latter appealed in writing for help from Edward I, King of England; in September 1281 a Mongol invasion took place in Syria. Ḳalāwūn succeeded, in Djumāda II/October, in repelling the Mongols near Ḥimṣ, whither the Hospitallers of al-Marḳab had sent a contingent to aid the Ilkhān.

In 682/1283, the pilgrim Burchard de Mont Sion mentions in his account the "castrum Margath"—whose defensive might he extols—as belonging to the Hospitallers of St. John and as the residence of the Bishop of Valania (Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 30, 70).

In 1285, the sultan sought to punish the Hospitallers of al-Marḳab for the assistance that they had provided to the Mongols. Having assembled at Damascus, in great secrecy, a considerable quantity of siege materials, Ḳalāwūn appeared before al-Marḳab on 10 Ṣafar 684/17 April 1285. The siege lasted 38 days, and was especially remarkable for the work of the Muslim sappers and miners who dug numerous tunnels under the walls. An exploding mine caused the collapse of the angle of the salient (*bashūra*) near the Ram Tower at the southern extremity and sowed panic among the attackers, who withdrew on 17 Rabīʿ I/23 May. Discovering the number of tunnels dug around the castle, the Hospitallers abandoned the struggle; the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn Muḳrī received the surrender, and Ḳalāwūn entered the castle on 19 Rabīʿ I/25 May, having given *amān* to the vanquished. Aware of the strategic importance of al-Marḳab, the sultan, after installing a strong garrison, repaired the defences as is indicated by the large inscription on white marble (cf. *RCEA*, xiii, no. 4858). Among the eye-witnesses to the siege were Abu 'l-Fidā', then eleven years old, and his father, as well as the historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, who completed the *Chronicle* of Ibn Wāṣil. The best account of the capture of al-Marḳab is to be found in the biography of Ḳalāwūn entitled *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa 'l-ʿuṣūr bi-sīrat al-sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr* (see the text in M. van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage*, 310-15, where the French translation by Reinaud is also provided).

In the treaty concluded on 1 Rabīʿ II 684/6 June 1285 between Ḳalāwūn and Leo III of Armenia, al-Marḳab is mentioned among the possessions of the Mamlūk sultan; the district (*niyāba*) of al-Marḳab is the sixth dependency of the *mamlaka* of Ṭarābulus. The maintenance of the fortress was charged to the private resources of the sultan. Curiously, al-Marḳab is mentioned neither in the *Masālik* of al-ʿUmarī (mid-8th/14th century), nor in the *Taʿrīf*. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited al-Marḳab, he found there outside the walls a suburb used as a stopping place by foreign travellers, who were not permitted to enter the castle.

At the end of the 8th/14th century and the beginning of the 9th/15th (*Ṣubḥ*, xii, 463, 464) the *nā'ib* of Ḳalʿat al-Marḳab was an *amīr* of twenty; he was *wālī* of the eastern regions and had the duty of ensuring night and day the defence of the coast, the maintenance of observation-posts (*adrāk*) and guard-towers (*shawānī*) and was also required to deter potential enemies, the place being only a day's sailing time from Cyprus.

In the 9th/15th century, in the *Zubda* (ed. J. Gaulmier, 71), Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī mentions among the important sites of the province of Ṭarābulus, "the fortress of Markab which is clearly impregnable and controls a territory containing numerous villages".

In the course of his travels in Palestine and Syria in 842/1476, the sultan Ḳā'itbāy passed by the foot of al-Marḳab in Djumādā II/mid-October (Devonshire, 10), but did not halt there.

From the time of the period of the Burdjiyya Mamlūks [*q.v.*], al-Marḳab is primarily mentioned in the texts in its capacity as a state prison. Among the unwilling guests of this castle were: Sayf al-Dīn Aynabak al-Badrī, *atabak al-ʿasākir* (*Manhal*, no. 622; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, xi, 154) and his kinsman Sayf al-Dīn Ḳaratāy Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ashrafī (*Manhal*, no. 1850), both imprisoned in 778/1376-7. Djardamur, known as Akhū Ṭāz (*Manhal*, no. 831; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, 84) was sent there on the order of Ḳidjmās in Shaʿbān 784/October 1382, an experience which did not prevent him becoming governor of Damascus in 791/1389 (Laoust, *Governeurs*, 16). In 785/1383, Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad Aḳbughā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Dawādār (*Manhal*, no. 478; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, 106, 113; *Nudjūm*, xi, 202, 303) joined him there and was freed a few months later at the same time as the former.

In 791/1389, three *amīrs* were incarcerated there: Naṣr al-Dīn Ibn al-Hadhbānī, *nā'ib* of Ḥamāt (Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, 291), Timurbughā known as Mintāsh (*Manhal*, no. 722) and Bahādur al-Shihābī al-Ṭawāshī (*Manhal*, 702) who arrived there in Djumādā II/June.

In 800/1397-8, Sayf al-Dīn Shaykh Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣafawī al-Khāṣṣakī (*Manhal*, no. 1184) arrived as a prisoner at the castle and died there a year later. The *amīr akhūr kabīr* Īnāl Bay b. Ḳidjmās al-Ẓāhirī (*Manhal*, no. 621) was imprisoned there in 805/1402-3. In the same year, Sūdūn min ʿAlī Bak al-Ẓāhirī known as Ṭāz (*Manhal*, no. 1126; *Nudjūm*, xii, 177, 298) was transferred from the prison of al-Iskandariyya to al-Marḳab. Sayf al-Dīn Baktimur Djillak al-Ẓāhirī, *nā'ib* of Ṭarābulus (*Manhal*, no. 676) was present there for a short period; imprisoned in 810/1408, he was freed the same year. Sayf al-Dīn Manku Bāy al-Azdamūrī (H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in *JA* [1895], xi, 308, no. 135) was interned there for a period of time on the orders of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and then released in 818/1415. The *amīr* Ḳānī-Bay b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muḥammadī (*Manhal*, no. 1811; Darrag, *L'Égypte sous Barsbay*, 14) governor of Damascus who, following a rebellion in 818/1415 was recalled to Cairo, was appointed governor of Tripoli in Rabīʿ II 821/May 1417; shortly after this he suffered a defeat at the hands of the Turcomans, was dismissed and imprisoned at al-Marḳab, where he stayed for two years before being freed. Finally, in Rabīʿ II 905/November 1499 (Ibn Iyās, *Mamelouks*, 466), the sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ḳānsawh ordered the imprisonment at al-Marḳab of the *amīr* Khayr-Bak, prefect of the province of al-Gharbiyya, but then released him.

After his return from Florence, in autumn 1027/1618, the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn b. Maʿn [*q.v.*] took steps to strengthen his power in Syria; he succeeded in gaining the support of a number of places which had belonged to Yūsuf Ṣayfā, including al-Marḳab.

Among the travellers of the 18th century, Richard Pococke, who passed through Syria *ca.* 1740, noted in his *Description* (ii, 200) that the castle of al-Marḳab, of which he gives a good description, was the residence of the governors of the region and that it could be reached from Bāniyās in an hour and a half by way of a steep incline, in a south-easterly direction. In his *Voyage* (ed. Gaulmier, 284), Volney mentioned, in the Syrian coast "various villages, which were formerly fortified towns" including "the precipitous site of Merkab". He gives no description of it and in fact does not seem to have seen it.

3. Description of the fortress. Numerical and alphabetical references are those of the plan drawn up by E. G. Rey (*Arch. milit.*), copied by Max

van Berchem and Ed. Fatio (*Voyage*) and by P. Deschamps (*Terre Sainte Romane*, 140-1).

The configuration of the terrain is responsible for the plan of the castle, which is shaped like an isosceles triangle with its base line facing north. The latter measures 350 m., while the east and west walls each measure 400 m.; the area is more than three hectares. In the southern part is the "body of the site" separated from the remainder of the surface by a wall; the space located to the north of this internal defence is the "bailey", used as a farmyard and containing some outbuildings, enabling the population and the livestock of the immediate vicinity to be gathered within the walls in the event of hostilities.

On the west from of the perimeter wall of al-Marḳab, some 50 m. above the southern point of the triangle, is a rectangular tower (1), in the short southern side of which a door is located, giving access to the castle; further along are two square towers (2,3) both typical of the architecture of the period between 1140 and 1186. At approximately the mid-point of this slightly concave face, is a large square barbican (A) to which access is gained by a stepped north-south ramp, then turning at a right-angle, by a small west-east bridge with three arches above the ditch. This entrance permitted access to the "bailey" which extended towards the north and east and to the entrance giving access to the "body of site", the castle as such. It is fitted with a loggia supported by four corbels; the door is framed with two archery apertures and provided with a trap-door and a portcullis. Continuing towards the north, are found four semi-circular towers (4,5,6,7) lacking their battlements and curtains and in a poor state of repair. In the north-west angle is a large tower (8) which was restored after the siege of 1285. The north face of the perimeter, slightly concave, measures 350 m. This face is in a badly ruined state, with the relics of two towers, one in about the centre and the other (9) further east, 75 m. from the larger tower in the angle (10).

The eastern face is convex as far as tower 16. As on the remainder of the diagram, the perimeter wall with its archery apertures is double; it overlooks quite steep inclines and juts out at this point over a ditch, both sides of which are bricked from a depth of 5 to 7 m. There are the remains of five towers (11 to 15). It is from tower 16 that there began the east-west wall which separated the "body of the site" from the huge expanse of the "bailey", and the stones of which were used in the 19th century by local peasants for the construction of their houses.

The semi-circular tower R, 11.2 m. in diameter, constructed astride the double perimeter wall, comprises several stories. On its defensive front it has a stone "jacket" 17 m. in diameter (16). With the donjon (L), it is the finest construction of al-Marḳab. To the north of this tower, there was a defensive emplacement (Q) and a square tower (P). In 1211 the perimeter towers of al-Marḳab greatly impressed Wilbrand von Oldenburg, who said of them that they were "built to support the heavens rather than to provide defence".

By the entry A, there is access to the "bailey"; proceeding further east, a second door (O) is found, also provided with solid defensive structures and its right-angled passage opening on the courtyard (G). The latter is surrounded by a "series of buildings suitable for the accommodation and subsistence of a large garrison"; its southern side was limited by the "body of the site".

To the west, there is a building with a large vaulted hall (J), and on the first floor is a room (F). "From the window of this room," wrote P. Deschamps (*Terre Sainte*, 169), "there is an excellent view of the sea." Opposite the large hall, on the facing side of the court-yard, are some buildings "which were places of domestic use. In one of them, are two bread-ovens" and two millstones. The castle maintained five years' reserve of food.

Built on to the south-east wall of these premises (I), there is a building (S) with two superimposed stories, cradle-vaulted and 46 m. long to correspond with the tower (R).

To the south of the "body of the site" are located a chapel (H), a donjon (L), a hall (K) and two other halls (M, N).

The Gothic chapel (H) dates from 1186. It is of rectangular shape with two doors, the one to the north opening on the courtyard (G), the other an ogival portal opening to the west and allowing descent to the parvis by way of a flight of steps. The nave, 23 x 10 m., with walls more than 5 m. thick, has two spans of arched ribs; it is larger than that of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. Two small sacristies open on the sides of the chancel, that on the north side apparently showing the remnants of a fresco. This chapel has retained foliated capitals which resemble those of the first stage of construction of the cathedral of Ṭarṭūs [*q.v.*]. Following the Muslim occupation, a *miḥrāb* was constructed in the south wall.

The donjon (L), built on the southern angle of the castle, is a powerful tower with circular south front facing a nearby and potentially threatening escarpment. This tower is 21 m. high with basalt walls 5 m. thick, and in the interior are the remnants of a great hall.

Lower down, before the donjon, is a projecting structure (C) the base of which is protected by a "batter". The south face, 21 m. in breadth, is rounded in its central section—hence, by allusion to the prow of a ship, its technical name of "Ram Tower". At the top, under the watch-posts of this tower, a monumental inscription (*RCEA*, xiii, no. 4858), on a long band of white marble, written in enormous Mamlūk *naskhī* characters, commemorates its construction by sultan Ḳalāwūn in 684/1285.

A huge building (K) in three stories was constructed at the same time as the donjon (L), as is proved by "the common staircase which serves their upper rooms". This structure, shaped like a parallelogram, has three archery apertures opening towards the south-east and three doors, including a small one opening to the west on a triangular space giving access to the donjon or to the parvis of the church and the courtyard.

To the west of the donjon and the building (K), there are two buildings in two stories of vaulted rooms: M, in which there is a room "decorated with finely sculpted marble capitals", and N, closely linked to the donjon with which it shares a partition and a common passage.

The *birka* at al-Marḳab, as in many other places, is located outside the perimeter wall. In this case it is a stone-built reservoir 40 m. long and 10 m. wide; currently, it is less than 4 m. deep. Laid out on a north-south bearing, it was fed with water from mountain springs situated to the north. In times of peace, it supplied the needs of the men and livestock living within the perimeter of al-Marḳab. During sieges, the garrison made use of a reservoir and above all a well in the interior of the castle.

Ernest Renan, in 1863, referring to the testimony of his two colleagues, Thobois and Lockroy, wrote (*Mission*, 106) in regard to al-Marḳab: "Here there is

no sculpture or fine decoration, the design is that of a French 12th century castle. It is evident that in Syria the Crusaders did not have a uniform style of construction. Each of the nations which took part in its building followed its own taste, and all were subject to the constraints of the materials which they found."

According to the testimony of W. N. Thomson, to which Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xvii, 883) and M. van Berchem (*Voyage*, 305 n.), refer, "it seems that the fortress was still in a good state of repair before the middle of the 19th century".

4. The village of al-Markab. In an assessment of tithes, dating from 589/1193, it is noted that al-Markab exported must, wine, sumac, almonds, figs and pottery. The same products are mentioned in an agreement signed between the Order of the Hospital and the Templars in 630/1233. The "wine of Margat" was extolled by the traveller Burchard de Mont Sion at the end of the 13th century.

This is probably the suburb, built to the north and east at the foot of the slopes of the castle, which is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 183). It was in the spring of 726/1325 that the latter, coming from Lādhiḳiyya, passed before the fortress of al-Markab, of which he said that it resembled Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, constructed on a high eminence; he noted that it was forbidden to enter the castle and that foreigners were obliged to halt in an exterior suburb.

In the early 19th century, the castle of al-Markab does not seem to have greatly attracted the interest of travellers. When George Robinson visited Syria and Palestine in 1828, he took the coastal road and passed through Bāniyās on his way to Tripoli; he marked al-Markab on his map, but made no mention of it in the text of his account (ii, 94).

The Ottoman *ḳāʾimmaḳām* resided in the castle of al-Markab, administrative centre of the district of the same name which comprised some 1,500 inhabitants, for the most part Nuṣayrīs. In 1884, at the request of the *Ḳāʾimmaḳām*, the seat of government was transferred to Bāniyās.

In 1893, according to V. Cuinet, the *ḳaḍāʾ* of al-Markab was situated to the south of the *sandjak* of Lādhiḳiyya; it was then bounded to the north by the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Djabala, to the east by the *vilāyet* of Syria, to the south by the *sandjak* of Tripoli and to the west by the Mediterranean. This *ḳaḍāʾ* was divided administratively "into three nahiés which are *Marqab*, *Qadmous* and *Ghaouabi*. It contains 393 towns, villages and hamlets. The nahiés are administered directly by the caïmakam (deputy governor), with the exception of that of Qadmous which has a resident mudir in a fort of the nahié of Ghaouabi" (Cuinet, 169-70).

The total population of the *ḳaḍāʾ* rose to 39,671 inhabitants, including 27,121 Anṣāriyya. There were almost 200 schools there for 2,060 pupils. The main agricultural products were olives and onions, tobacco and silk which was sold for the most part to merchants in Beirut. Also found in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of al-Markab was the raising of livestock, especially goats.

In 1895, Max van Berchem and Ed. Fatio noted (*Voyage*, i, 308) that "the mosque, recognised from a distance by a cupola and a minaret-lantern white-washed with lime, contains some Arabic inscriptions. The most important are two decrees announcing the abolition of taxes, promulgated by two governors of the province of Tripoli, one under Sultan Barqūq in 795/1393, the other under Sultan Jaqmaq in 868/1463" (Wiet, *Décrets*, nos. 8, 166).

In 1914 al-Markab was the regional centre, as it was again in 1920. Between 1920 and 1937, this *ḳaḍāʾ* comprised three *nāḥiyas*: al-Markab, Ḳadmūs and Ennaya. In 1938 there were, between Bāniyās and al-Markab, five Sunnī villages. of which one, close to the foot of the castle comprised 832 inhabitants in 1945. These villages were dependent upon the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Bāniyās. In the neighbourhood there were Maronite, Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox villages.

Since 1968 this region has experienced considerable economic prosperity with the development of the I.P.C. pipeline and the petroleum port of Bāniyās.

5. The isolated tower. At a distance of 1,500 m. in a direct line from the castle, in the coastal plain, on an isolated hillock, stands a tower called Burdj al-Ṣabī ("Tower of the Boy").

This is a massive square guard-tower, 15 m. high, constructed of blocks of black basalt, held together with white mortar. On each face are constructed five archery apertures 2 m. high in walls 2.8 m. thick. A low door opens in the south-west face, giving access to a groin-vaulted hall; in one of the walls a staircase is constructed, leading to an upper room and thence to a terrace. This guard-tower was closely linked to the castle; its role was to watch over the small bay of the port of al-Markab and to control the coastal road. It is possible that there was a tunnel linking the tower to the castle, permitting the garrison, in time of siege, an outlet to the road or to the port.

The traces of a long defensive wall, which was covered over, are still visible; apparently in the Middle Ages it linked the coast to the castle. The road passed through a gate in the wall and, in all probability, there would have been a customs-post here.

6. The place of pilgrimage. Nearby, 150 m. from the goat to the south of the castle of al-Markab, is a cave called "el Basiyeh" where, according to popular belief, the Virgin Mary sheltered with the Infant Jesus. At the end of the 19th century this was a place of pilgrimage much visited by the Christian and Muslim inhabitants, especially on 8 September, feast of the Nativity of the Virgin.

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MĀRK(I)SIYYA, Marxism.

1. *Terminology*. Marxism is denoted in numerous Islamic languages by a pure borrowing from Anglo-French forms, already adopted by the Russian: *marksizm* (or *marksism*) in Turkish, Persian, Pus̲h̲tu, Uzbek, etc. (Albanian *marksizëm*). Elsewhere, an abstract form has been derived from the name of Karl Marx: Arabic *mārksiyya* (often *mārkisiyya* on account of the antipathy of the phonological system to a succession of three consonants), Urdu *mārks-vād* ("tendency of Marx"). In some languages there is a distinction, as there is in Russian, between an individual Marxist, *mārksist*, and a Marxist concept or practice, *mārksīstī* in Persian, Pus̲h̲tu etc., *marksīstīk* in Uzbek (Russian *marksistski* as opposed to *marksist*). In Arabic, both adjective and substantive are *mārksī*. On the same model, more recently terms have been coined for "Marxism-Leninism", "Marxist-Leninist" etc.

2. *The concept*. In the Muslim world as elsewhere, that which is called Marxism is most often conceived as a complete doctrine claiming to explain the world and society, upheld by a school of thought and by a social and political movement designed to bring into reality the conclusions which it draws from this doctrine. There are orthodox forms of the doctrine and of the movement, in other words forms consistent with the thought of the founders (Karl Marx, 1818-83 and Friedrich Engels, 1820-95) and with the reality of things, as opposed to deviant, heretical and erroneous forms. This orthodox concept, official doctrine in the USSR, is almost universally adopted, among other places, in the Muslim world, following the tradition of religious or classical religious tendencies attached to a particular founder (cf. *mānawiyya*, *ḥanafiyya*, etc.). But its supporters ultimately make of "Marxism" a particular (though very general) science, like physics.

Specialists without affiliation to a "Marxist" organisation tend towards a quite different vision. "Marxian" ideas (those of Marx and Engels) in questions of sociology, economics, philosophy, politics, etc., qualified, fluctuating and often recast by themselves, have formed the basis of multiple doctrinal syntheses, starting with Engels himself. Groupings of political and social campaigners have set themselves up, declaring that they take as their guide one of these syntheses which they claim to be the sole legitimate interpretation, a "scientific", complete and consistent doctrine. One of these groupings, the Communist Bolshevik Party of Russia, on coming to power in Russia in November (October in the Julian calendar) 1917, codified under the title of Marxism-Leninism the interpretation propounded by its leader Vladimir Ilič Ulyanov, known as Lenin (1870-1924). Under its direction, a large number of Communist Parties were formed, united in the Communist International (Komintern according to the abbreviated Russian form) between 1919 and 1943, and some of these gained power after 1945. Differences of interpretation have continued to appear in these parties (whether in power or not), with dissident groups and parties seceding from them.

It is not to be denied that there are common traits in all these doctrinal syntheses, in certain ideas which are the basis of them or which derive from them. It is only in this sense that it is possible to speak of a "Marxism" which would encompass the many variants. On the level of history, it is also possible to speak of a Marxist ideological movement, comprising numerous branches, derived in the final analysis from the ideas and activities of Marx. Clearly, these terms should be used with caution.

3. *Knowledge of Marx and of Marxism before 1917*. In the 1890s, when there was for the first time talk of "Marxism" or "Scientific Socialism" as a complete and coherent doctrine, there emerged, within the vast

European socialist movement, organisations calling themselves "Social Democrats" (united after 1889 in the Second International) which claimed inspiration from this doctrinal synthesis and tolerated numerous variations.

In the first decade of this century, a few isolated intellectuals from the Muslim world became aware of these ideas in Europe, through reading or through contact with organisations. Thus, in Paris, the Tatar student from Simbirsk, Yūsuf Akčura, who published in 1902 in the Young Turk periodical *Shūrā-yi ümmet* (Cairo-Paris) an economic analysis of the Eastern question with reference to Marx, and the Copt Salāma Mūsā in 1908. For them, as for many others, Marx was an eminent socialist thinker alongside others.

In the Russian empire, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, founded in 1898, encompassed or influenced Marxist factions and study groups among Muslim intellectuals and workers, at Kazan from 1902 (among Tatars) and at Baku from 1904 onwards (with Iranians, Armenians, Georgians, etc.). At Baku, one group adopted the name of "Muslim Social Democratic Party *Hümmet*" (with the sense of energy, effort, co-operation, from the Arabic *himma*). In Iran itself, a social-democratic group was in existence at Tabrīz already in 1905 (with many Armenian members at least), requesting advice from the Marxist theoreticians Georgii V. Plekhanov and Karl Kautsky. At about this date, another group adopted the name of Social Democratic Party of Iran (*firḳa-yi idjtimāʿiyyūn-ʿāmmiyyūn-i Īrān*). In the course of the Iranian Revolution, the latter seems, through the intermediary of a more substantial clandestine organisation, the *mudjāhidīn*, to have taken action aimed at a profound social revolution, invoking the Ḳurʾān and the *Sharīʿa*.

In the Ottoman empire, tendencies of the same order existed within the Christian minorities. From 1911 to 1914, Yūsuf Akčura, who resided there after having been one of the leaders of the movement of the Muslims of Russia during the revolution of 1905, appointed the German Marxist economist of Russian Jewish origin Alexander Helphand, known as Parvus, to edit (with personal editorial responsibility) the economic column of his journal *Türk Yurdu* at Istanbul.

The more radical social democrats of the colonising countries sometimes supported the nationalists of the Muslim lands and guided them in the direction of social struggle. An outstanding example was the Dutch social-democrat H. J. F. M. Sneevliet who, taking up residence in 1913 in the Dutch East Indies, founded there in 1914 the Indian Social Democratic Association (Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging) whose members included other Dutchmen, Eurasians and a few Indonesians.

4. *Knowledge of Marx and Marxism after 1917.* Within the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and the Second International, V. I. Lenin defended his own stance and defined the other tendencies as "an anti-Marxist current in the bosom of Marxism". He thus made the struggle for an exclusive orthodoxy a primary pre-occupation for his own tendency, that of the majority (Russian *bolsheviki*) in the Party (a temporary majority in this case), which became virtually an autonomous party in 1912 and seized power in Russia in October/November 1917.

The new Soviet power, endowed with considerable means and considering itself the first territorial resort of a world-wide revolution, consequently saw as a priority the diffusion of the works of Marx and Engels, as well as those which condensed their doctrine according to the canonical interpretation, the writings of Lenin in the first instance.

The same applied to all the communist parties (united in the Third International from 1919 to 1943) which were founded throughout the world on the model and the inspiration of the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party and of the parties and groups produced by schisms within the communist movement. Each grouping added to the so-called "classic" works of the founders other texts, those of the successive supreme leaders of the Soviet Union (especially Lenin and Stalin), those of the leaders of the various national parties, those of heads of groups of tendencies (above all Leon Trotsky), those of certain theoreticians considered particularly orthodox, or text-books defining the various orthodoxies. Meanwhile the Second ("Socialist") International continued to attempt a parallel diffusion of texts, but on a much smaller scale and with much less exclusive reference to a Marxist orthodoxy.

This massive activity of editing and diffusion was naturally performed in the languages relevant to each party or group. The Soviet state also published translations of selected texts into the many languages of the Union or of the outside world. In the Muslim countries, parties, groups and sub-groups undertook the diffusion of works published in Soviet (and later Chinese) editions and (often in association with the latter) in editions emanating from the Communist publishers of the major western countries. Often, in times of isolation or difficulty, they produced and diffused, by improvised means, their own translations and the texts of local leaders.

There exists no general bibliography of this immense literature, written in so many languages. Only a bibliography of bibliographies of editions of the "classics" of Marxism, edited in the USSR and elsewhere in the Azeri, Albanian, Bashkir, Kazakh, Tatar and Uzbek languages, is to be found in L. Levin, *Bibliografiya bibliografiy proizvedeniy K. Marksa, F. Éngel'sa, V. I. Lenina*, Moscow 1961 (see index by language).

For the purposes of a typical example, it may be noted that one of the texts most widely translated and distributed in the Stalinist era was the second section of Chapter iv of the *Istoriya vsesoiuznoy kommunističeskoy partiy (bolshevikov), kratkii kurs*, "History of the Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), short course", Moscow 1938. The sub-title was "course composed by a commission of the Central Committee of the C(b)P of the USSR, approved by the Central Committee of the C(b)P of the USSR, 1938". The section in question (it was leaked out that the author was Stalin himself) entitled "Historical materialism and dialectical materialism", set out to summarise (in 30 pages in the French edition of Moscow) "the theoretical basis of communism, the theoretical principles of the Marxist Party". Every communist group considered it a duty to distribute this text, reckoned to be fundamental. Cf. for example, in Arabic, Yūsuf Stālīn, *al-Māddiyya al-dāylaktīkiyya wa 'l-taʾrīkhiyya*, Baghdād, Maṭbaʿat al-Rashīd, 1944, 50 pp., in the collection *Rasāʾil al-baʿth* "Essays of the Renaissance" (there was no connection here with the still embryonic Baʿth Party).

5. *The Marxist groupings.* Bearing in mind that which has been stated above, it is difficult to characterise a group as Marxist unless (directly or indirectly) it expressly declares itself so. On the other hand, it is not possible here to give a complete list of the many Marxist groupings in the Muslim world. Such a list would have to include: (a) Marxist study

groups; (b) groups and parties which called themselves "social democrats" before 1919 (some of them continuing to do so today), those which declared themselves "communists" (Arabic *shuyūʿī*, in other languages usually transcriptions of the European or Russian word) after this date; (c) groups and parties which adopt other designations, but which declare themselves inspired by Marxism and whose ideological and political programmes are to be identified with those of social democratic and communist parties, such as the *Tūda* ("Masses") Party of Iran; (d) trade unions and so-called mass or popular organisations (of women, students, youth, peace campaigners, etc.), such as communist parties customarily create around themselves, in order to be assured permanently of a number of sympathisers, when it is established that these "popular" groups closely follow the line of a Marxist movement, mostly of a communist movement; (e) groups, parties or organisations which declare themselves "socialist", groupings or association which are attached to them, but only when they state categorically that their main inspiration is from Marxism.

6. *Attitudes to Marxism.* In the Muslim world, attitudes in regard to what is known and understood from Marxist ideas have varied as much as have attitudes in regard to organisations, and then states, which declared themselves Marxist or were supposed to be so, the whole being most often considered as constituting a coherent unity.

The attitude of men of religion has been influenced above all by the atheism which they considered to be the corner-stone of Marxist thought and even to be the major innovation of Marx, thus displaying their ignorance of the irreligious tendencies of European thought before Marx and alongside the Marxists. The anti-religious policies and atheistic propaganda of the Soviet State have inevitably reinforced this concept, still very widespread. The connection in actual fact of this philosophical atheism with Marxist economic and social principles has evoked memories of Muslim religious history: the Ismāʿīlī heresy being especially perceived on the basis of accounts of the Carmathian [see ḲARMAṬĪ] "communism" and the Nizārī terrorism [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA], with its supposedly non-Muslim instigators, the "communists" Plato and Mazdak. Against these ideas, prominence was given to the right of private property guaranteed by the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna*.

A quite different attitude, developed especially in certain circles after the Second World War, has seen in Marxism a kind of encyclopaedic scientific and philosophical synthesis giving sure guidance on action in the social sphere. Its role has been compared with that played by the Aristotelian encyclopaedia in the mediaeval Muslim world (cf. A. Laroui, *L'idéologie arabe contemporaine*, Paris 1967, 152 f.).

Attitudes have been particularly influenced by the policies of states claiming to be Marxist. During the 1920s and again after the Second World War, a series of states and movements have seen in them allies against Euro-American imperialism. In many cases, the sympathy engendered by this alliance was extended into attraction towards the doctrine reckoned to be basic to the general attitude of Marxist states and movement. In other cases, alliance of the external level has been able to coincide with the persecution of local Marxists.

Nationalists of Muslim countries have been able to denounce the internationalism which is an essential principle of the Marxist movement, with its antipathy towards total and unhesitating adherence to purely national objectives. Similarly, they have denounced the nationalisms which could be disguised by this theoretical internationalism: the Russian nationalism of the Soviet State, the nationalism of the communist parties of the colonialist countries (France, Britain, etc.), Zionist Jewish nationalism, etc.

7. *Influence of Marxist ideas.* The Marxist movement, most often indirectly, has diffused in the Muslim world ideas and elements of *Weltanschauung* which, although alien in many cases, it has systematised and popularised in its own way. They have been widely adopted, even in circles hostile to theories and political initiatives emanating from the Marxist movement.

This applies in the case of appeal in a voluntarist vein for the structural transformation of the social sphere, the traditional structures being judged to constitute permament causes of exploitation and oppression. Dissatisfaction with the established order and the demand for justice are given a great value at the expense of the traditional attitude of Islam (among other religions and philosophies), which sees in this a culpable rebellion against the order willed by God. Transformation cannot be achieved by a moral change, by conversion, but by an organised struggle on the part of the disadvantaged against the privileged, by pressures exerted by strikes, demonstrations, electoral campaigns and the like (reformism) or by a genuine civil war, a revolution. Circumstances having favoured the revolutionary options, the term "revolution" (Ar. *thawra*) and its synonyms (*inḳilāb*, etc.) have acquired a quasi-mystical quality.

The Marxist movement, born in Europe, had given the primary role to the transformation, reformist or revolutionary according to the tendencies, of industrial European society. In its communist branch, it had however also appealed for the revolt of colonised or dependent peoples, reckoned to be exploited and oppressed by the western ruling classes just like the proletarians of the industrial world. This appeal was taken up to the point of a complete inversion of priorities. Some doctrinarians, starting with the Tatar Mīr Saʿīd Sulṭān Ghaliev (see below) in Soviet Russia in the 1920s, placed on the primary level the struggle of "proletarian nations" against the totality of industrial nations, reckoned to exploit and oppress them with the complicity of and for the partial benefit of their own proletarians.

This theme of the exploitation of the colonial world by the industrial capitalist world which robbed it of its riches had been developed by Lenin as an appendix to the primary doctrine of internal exploitation. It had enormous success in all circles of the Islamic world. The term of imperialism which expressed this process, often confused with that of "colonialism" (Ar. *istiʿmāriyya*), was taken up by the most anti-Marxist elements and became a *leitmotif* (with some conceptual efforts to distinguish in a more precise fashion between "colonialism" and "imperialism" *imbiryāliyya*, etc.).

The diffusion of these dynamic ideas has been combined with an internal evolution, complex in origin, which tended towards a veiled secularisation, a recoil from specifically religious values (the quest for salvation, etc.) in favour of the primacy of earthly activism (which has always been regarded as important in Islam). This activism is often invested in the defence and promotion of the Muslim *umma* or one of its parts, but this objective henceforward takes precedence over piety and religious observance. Biographies of Muḥammad place far greater emphasis

on his earthly works than on his rôle as a messenger of the divine will.

There are limits to the influence exerted by concepts more or less Marxist in source in the world of Islam. The nationalism which is such a dominant force in this world (including the form of nationalism attached to the Muslim *umma* [see ḲAWMIYYA]) inspires distrust, to say the least, of any analysis of the classical Marxist type which identifies, within the struggling nation itself, exploiters and oppressors to be resisted. The vision of an end of history and an egalitarian classless society has not easily taken root, traditional Islam with its hierarchies of wealth and power being considered to constitute already a society without classes as such. Similarly, the internationalism which is fundamental to Marxism (although often abandoned in practice) could hardly be expected to tempt a public opinion moulded by nationalism.

A very widespread moralism also spurns the essential determinism of Marxism (even though Marxists have often been inconsistent on this subject in practice). Finally, in spite of the logical possibility of dissociating from atheism the political, sociological, social and strategic conclusions of historical Marxism, in spite of the sporadic efforts by communist parties to emphasise this dissociation, there is avoidance of any affiliation which could be interpreted as a public proclamation of atheism or (perhaps even more repugnant) a calling into question of the supra-human origin of the sacred books, the Ḳurʾān in particular. Atheistic propaganda, often amounting to restraint of religion in the communist states (without going in general to the extreme lengths of Albania, which has radically suppressed churches and mosques), causes unease, even among the leaders of movements or states which have chosen for strategic reasons to ally themselves with the former in a given period.

8. *Marxist view of Islam and the Muslim world.* Marx and Engels were not greatly interested in Islam as a religion, and as such it was subject to their general criticism of religious consciousness. Only the late reading by Engels of a book by the Anglican priest and orientalist Charles Forster, *The historical geography of Arabia* (London 1844) awakened in him reflections communicated to his friend and briefly commented upon by the latter (Marx and Engels, *Briefwechsel*, i, Berlin 1949 (= Moscow 1935), 568-90, letters of 18 (?) May, 2, 6 and 14 June 1853. At the end of his life, Engels, inspired by the revolt of the Sudanese *Mahdī* [see AL-MAHDIYYA], compared Muslim revolts to the religous uprisings of the Christian Middle Ages, more "progressive" in his opinion (*Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums*, in *Die Neue Zeit*, xiii/1 (1894-5), 4 ff., 36 ff. = Marx-Engels, *Werke*, Berlin 1963, xxii, 446-73, at p. 450). In general, both authors tend to explain the religious phenomena of Islam in terms of historical sociology and insist on the "stagnant" character of the "Orient" in general (cf. also *Marxisme et Algérie*, texts edited by R. Gallissot and G. Badia, Paris 1976).

The two founders followed much more closely the international events affecting the Ottoman Empire, the "Eastern Question". A favourable attitude towards the Ottoman Empire, inspired by their hatred of Russia, Turkey's enemy and supposedly the bastion of international reaction, led them to take a certain interest in Ottoman institutions following the example of their ally against Russia, the passionately Turcophile (and Turcophone) British parliamentarian, David Urquhart (1805-77), a conservative romantic. Towards the end of his life, Engels was at pains to dampen the enthusiasm ("sentimentalist" and "poetic") of French Marxists (the Guesdists) for the revolt of ʿUrābī, in his opinion a *pasha* like any other (cf. his letter to E. Bernstein, 9 August 1882, in Marx-Engels, *Werke*, Berlin 1967, xxxv, 349 ff.).

The Marxist theoreticians of the Second International showed even less interest in the world of Islam, with the exception of Parvus (see above) and some examples of the destruction of the "natural economy" by capitalism in Kabylia mentioned Rosa Luxemburg, quoting the Russian sociologist M.M. Kovalevskiy. Indignation at the traumas wrought by colonisation was counter-balanced, as it had been among the founders, by the conviction that socialist revolution could only be produced in the industrialised world as a result of the maximum development of capitalism. Only subsequently would the event have world-wide repercussions.

After the Russian Revolution, the Third International included in its strategy the insurrection of colonies against the capitalist metropolises, while maintaining the priority of revolution conducted by the proletariat in these metropolises themselves. This often led to more or less elaborated attempts at analysis, both on the part of communist parties (and eventually dissident factions) established in the colonial and dependent countries, including Islamic countries, and on the part of those of the metropolises whose duty it was to support, even encourage, the revolt of their colonies.

In Soviet Russia itself (subsequently transformed into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), the Tatar Mīr Saʿīd Sulṭān Ghaliev and his companions, originally from nationalist and reformist [see IṢLĀḤ. 5. Central Asia, in Suppl.] circles but impregnated with Marxist ideas, adhered to the Bolshevik Communist Party and initially collaborated with the new power. Sulṭān Ghaliev then elaborated his doctrine on the specificity and the globally "proletarian" nature of Muslim society, the primacy of the Muslim East in the struggle against world capitalism, the "progressive" and "democratic" nature of the Muslim religion. Expelled from the Party in 1923, his ideas evolved still further. He drew up plans for a Colonial Communist International and for a Socialist State of Tūrān, researching Muslim and Turco-Mongolian sources for Marxist concepts. He was forced to go underground and finally eliminated.

Studies of Islam and of the Muslim peoples have been developed in the USSR, naturally on Marxist lines as soon as the level of somewhat generalised conclusions has been reached. Particular attention is paid to the Muslim peoples of the Union, from among whom specialists have emerged. Advantage has been taken of the pre-revolutionary tradition of Russian orientalism which took a special interest in problems of economic and social history. In the communist states of Eastern Europe, studies have followed the same model on the basis of somewhat different academic orientalist traditions. In addition to numerous detailed studies, attempts at synthesis have been hampered by the ideological monopoly of the Party which reserves for itself the right to any general conclusion, however minor. Interpretations have also been required to follow the lines inspired by fluctuations of official ideology in general and above all by successive strategic attitudes adopted in relation to Islam, the Muslim populations of the interior and the Muslim states of the exterior.

The communist parties of the capitalist countries or of the Third World have undertaken virtually no general study of Islam. But they have sometimes encouraged their members to study a particular Muslim country or patronised their works. Outside or

on the margin of the orbit of communist states and parties, Marxist or quasi-Marxist studies have been published in increasing numbers with, in general, a great deal more originality.

Among the most interesting studies are economics-based analyses of contemporary developments in the Muslim world, some of them written by natives of these countries. More generally, intellectuals of the Muslim world tend to take as their guide in numerous domains the neo-Marxist synthesis codified in the Soviet Union, presented as "*the* authentic Marxism" and regarded as a kind of new science throughout the Third World. For this reason there is frequent recourse to the works inspired by this synthesis even in circles hostile to the political, social and ideological options of the states and parties laying claim to Marxism.

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(M. Rodinson)

MARMARA DEÑIZI, the Turkish name of the Sea of Marmara.

1. The Sea itself.

(a) *Geography*. This is a small sea within the borders of Turkey, communicating with the Aegean Sea through the Dardanelles [see ČANAḲ-ḲALʿE BOGHAZÎ] and with the Black Sea through the Bosphorus [see BOGHAZ-IČI]. Istanbul is the most prominent city on its shore.

The Sea has a surface area of 11,350 km.²; its greatest length, from the Dardanelles to the end of the Gulf of Izmit, is 260 km; its width between Silivri on the Thracian side and Bandirma on the Anatolian side is 80 km. Its greatest depth reaches 1,355 m.roughly in its geographical centre, but it is much shallower around the central depression, mostly under 200 m. The salinity of its water is relatively low, from 22/1000 near the surface to 38.5/1000 at 30 m. and deeper. A surface current flows towards the Dardanelles, while a deeper counter-current moves in the opposite direction.

In antiquity, it was called Propontis, and was thus distinguished from the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus; this distinction was continued by mediaeval European authors, but not by the Muslim ones, who usually bracketed all three phenomena under the term al-Khalīdj "The Strait", often specified as that of Constantinople: Khalīdj al-Ḳusṭanṭīniyya or al-Khalīdj al-Ḳusṭanṭīnī. This lack of terminological discrimination on the part of early Muslim authors was symptomatic of their unfamiliarity with the exact configuration of the area, although some seem to have been aware of the considerable variation in the width of this "Strait"; thus al-Masʿūdī, writing in 345/956 (*Tanbīh*, 66) states that the width at "Filās" is 40 miles. A hint of this sea appears on al-Idrīsī's map of A.D. 1154, although there too we find the usual single name of Khalīdj al-Ḳusṭanṭīniyya. The attempts by the Arabs to conquer Constantinople, especially those of 97-9/715-17, during which their fleets sailed through the Sea of Marmara, were obviously too brief and transitory to leave a clearer idea of this sea. The difficulty of sailing through the Dardanelles, and the fact that armies and travellers usually crossed from Anatolia to Thrace through this strait, may also have attracted the Muslims' attention thither and have obscured the small sea between it and Constantinople. A better understanding of the actual geographical nature of the area appears in Abu 'l-Fidā''s *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, composed by 721/1321, where the Sea of Marmara is described without, however, being assigned a name: "When travellers have entered it [i.e. the Khalīdj al-Ḳusṭanṭīniyya], it widens and resembles a lake (*birka*)..." Abu 'l-Fidā's lack of any specific name for the Sea of Marmara is also illustrated by a reference to the Marmara Island as "one of the islands of the Mediterranean (Baḥr al-Rūm)", with the remark that "it is in the midst of al-Khalīdj al-Ḳusṭanṭīnī" (*Taḳwīm*, 34, 188-9).

(b) *History*. The Sea of Marmara came permanently within the Dār al-Islām with the Turkish conquest of Byzantine territory. The *beylik* of Ḳarasî [*q.v.*] was the first Turkish principality to reach the Sea of Marmara, occupying, during the first half of the 8th/14th century, its southern shore from the Ḳapîdaghî peninsula to the Dardanelles. Ḳarasî, extending also along the Anatolian side of the Dardanelles and along the adjacent part of the Aegean shore, became a maritime power: its principal naval base was Edindjik on the Gulf of Erdek. The experience of Ḳarasî sailors, gained in their encounters with the Byzantines, proved useful to the Ottomans after the latter had absorbed Ḳarasi towards the middle of the 8th/14th century and after they had further extended Turkish domination to the remaining, eastern part of the Anatolian coast of the Sea of Marmara. At that point, the arsenal of Edindjik was joined by other naval installations such as Mudanya, Ḳaramürsel and Izmid. Although these shipyards and bases were eventually eclipsed by those of Gallipoli [see GELIBOLU] and Ḳāsîmpasha, those on

Marmara's southern shore, so significant in the incipient period of Turkish maritime history, retained their importance, some of them to this day.

In contrast to the southern, Anatolian shore of the Sea of Marmara, the northern, Thracian shore was occupied by the Turks more gradually and as a by-product of the Ottoman penetration into the Balkans and of the eventual conquest of Constantinople. Lacking the bays and natural or man-made harbours characteristic of the southern shore, the northern shore never played a similar role in Turkish maritime affairs, except for Istanbul itself, of which the Ḳadi̊rg̲h̲a Limani̊ was developed by Meḥemmed II and had some importance until Selīm I founded the arsenal of Ḳāsi̊mpas̲h̲a on the Golden Horn.

After the Ottomans had established themselves in Rumelia and had taken Constantinople, the Sea of Marmara became a Turkish lake and has remained so to this day; a certain limitation on Turkish sovereignty over this sea, however, has existed since the 19th century, for the special status of the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus affects Marmara as well. Its secure domination by the Ottomans was in part responsible for the relatively uneventful place this sea had in Ottoman naval history, and for the neglect it received in Ottoman literature. The Sea of Marmara is not described in the text of the *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, the 10th/16th century Turkish portolan by Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*], although the first, "draft" version does include brief chapters on the Marmara Island and the Princes' Islands, and its map does appear in some manuscripts. It is still anonymous in the *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār* by the 11th/17th century author Kātib Čelebi (*q.v.*]: "It (i.e. the Mediterranean) ends at Bozd̲j̲a-ada (= Tenedos). Between the inner side of the Strait (i.e. the Dardanelles) and Istanbul, there is a small sea whose circumference amounts to 700 miles... There are islands in it: Marmara, Imrali̊, Ḳi̊zi̊l adalar (= the Princes' Islands)..." (1729 ed., p. 2b). In the *D̲j̲ihān-nümā*, the cosmography by the same author, however, there is already a reference to this sea as "Baḥr-i Marmara" (1732 ed., p. 667). This name, derived from that of the Marmara Island, had begun to appear since the 16th century on European maps and in atlases in such forms as Mar de Marmora, and Kātib Čelebi, whose *D̲j̲ihān-nümā* was in part a translation of such works, may have followed their example.

2. The island after which the Sea of Marmara is named.

Marmara, the classical Proconnesos, is the largest island in this sea, with an area of 200 km.^{2} It is the principal one in a cluster that includes Avs̲h̲a (also called Türkeli), Pas̲h̲alimani̊, and a few other smaller ones, near the Ḳapi̊dag̲h̲i̊ peninsula, the latter originally also an island but eventually linked to the southern shore by a process of marine sedimentation. Marble quarries, exploited on Marmara Island since antiquity, gave rise to its later name. The population of these islands was until the recent exchange chiefly Greek-speaking, but was then replaced by Turkish immigrants from Crete and Bulgaria. While fishing, fruit and olive growing, and vegetable gardening (and until recently, lumber exportation, which has disappeared with the completion of deforestation), were the traditional occupations of the population, tourism has now taken precedence as the main industry of these islands, with regular boat service between Istanbul, Marmara (the chief town and harbour on Marmara Island) and Avs̲h̲a. Administratively, the Marmara Islands form a *bucak* within the *ilçe* of Erdek of the *il* of Balıkesir.

The second group of islands within the Sea, the Princes' or Prince Islands, in Turkish simply Adalar or Kızıl Adalar, is a cluster situated between 13 and 22 km. to the south-east of Istanbul and about 5 km. from the Anatolian coast. They consist of four larger islands (Kınalı, Burgaz, Heybeli and Büyükada) and five small ones. Together they form an *ilçe* within the *il* of Istanbul; Büyükada, Heybeli, and Burgaz-Kınalı form individual *bucaks* within this *ilçe*. The largest of these, Büyükada, lit. "the large island", was called in Byzantine times Prinkipo, but its classical name as mentioned by Pliny, that of Megale (*Naturalis historiae...*, v, 151) was a semantic ancestor of the Turkish name. In the Byzantine period, these islands were the occasional place of banishment or seclusion for members of the ruling family or for other important persons; in recent times, they have been the favourite resort of Istanbul's wealthier citizens. Heybeli harbours two establishments which train officers for the Turkish navy: the preparatory Deniz Lisesi, and the higher Deniz Harp Okulu, the latter the continuation of an older school at Ḳāsi̊mpas̲h̲a, whence it had moved in 1851.

Aside from these two groups of islands, there is the isolated Imralı, Byzantine Kalolimni, an elongated island near the beginning of the Gulf of Gemlik. After the departure of its Greek-speaking population during the population exchange in the early years of the Turkish Republic, the island remained uninhabited until in 1935 a penitentiary was placed on it, the inmates practising some of the traditional occupations of the former inhabitants.

3. Administrative organisation.

In administrative terms, during the Ottoman period the greater part of the coasts of the Sea of Marmara was usually within the *eyālet* of D̲j̲azāʾir-i Baḥr-i Safīd [*q.v.*], the special province under the Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] administered from Gallipoli.

Today, these shores are distributed among six *ils*, named after their administrative centres: Istanbul, Izmit (also called by its historical name of Kocaeli), Bursa, Balıkesir, Çanakkale and Tekirdağ.

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MARRĀKUS̲H̲ (popular pronunciation *Merrāks̲h̲*, in French Marrakech, English Marrakesh) a town in Morocco, and one of the residences of the sovereign.

The form Marrakech, adopted by the administration of the protectorate, is of recent origin. Down to

about 1890 the town was always known as Morocco. The kingdom of Morocco, distinct in origin from those of Fās and the Sūs, finally gave its name to the whole empire. At one time it only consisted of the country south of the wādī Umm Rabīʿ as far as the range of the Great Atlas.

Marrakesh is situated in 31° 37' 35 '' N. lat. and 7° 59' 42'' E. long. (Greenw.). Its mean height above sea-level is about 1,510 feet. The town is 150 miles south of Casablanca. It is through the latter that almost all the traffic with the coast passes at the present day. It used to go via Safi which is the nearest port (100 miles). Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] in 1765 tried to supplant it by Mogador (115 miles) where he built a town and harbour through which at the end of the 18th century most of the trade between Marrakesh and Europe passed.

The temperature which is very mild in winter is very hot in summer. The average maxima of 39°6 in the month of August 1927 have nothing unusual and imply extreme temperatures reaching or passing 50° on certain days. Rainfall is low (284.5 mm. in 1927, against 706.5 in Rabat and 1,007.3 in Tangier). But water fed by the snows of the Atlas is found at no great depth. It is collected by a system of long subterranean tunnels (*khaṭṭāra*, plur. *khaṭāṭīr* [see ḲANĀT] which bring it to the surface by taking advantage of the very slight slope of the surface. This method of obtaining water has enabled the vast gardens which surround the town to be created. The Almohads and the dynasties which succeeded them also built aqueducts and reservoirs to supply the town with water from the springs and streams of the mountains.

Contrary to what was until quite recently believed, Marrakesh has for long been the most thickly populated town of the empire. The census of 7 March 1926 gave 149,263 as the total population, 3,652 Europeans, 132,893 Muslims, 12,718 Jews. In 1936 the figures were respectively 190,314, 6,849, 157, 819 and 25,646; in 1947, the city had a total of 241,000 inhabitants. The probable growth of the population is not sufficient to explain the difference between the present-day figures and the old estimates, almost all far below the truth and varying greatly among themselves: from 20,000 (given by Diego de Torres in 1585 and Höst in 1768), 25,000 (Saint Olon, 1693), 30,000 (Ali Bey al-Abbassi, 1804), 40 to 50,000 (Gatell, 1864, and E. Aubin, 1902), 50,000 (Lambert, 1868), 60,000 (Beaumier, 1868), 80 to 100,000 (Washington, 1830) up to the obviously exaggerated figure of 270,000 given by Jackson in 1811.

About 40 miles north of the Atlas, the vast silhouette of which, covered by snow for eight months of the year fills the background, Marrakesh is built in a vast plain called the Ḥawz which slopes very gently towards the wādī Tansift, which runs 3 miles north of the town. The extreme uniformity of the plain is broken only in the north-west by two rocky hills called Gillīz (1,700 feet) and Kudyat al-ʿAbīd. In 1912 at the time of the French occupation, there was built a fort which commands Marrakesh. The European town called the Gueliz lies between this hill and the walls of the old town.

The wādī Issīl, a left-bank tributary of the Tansift, a stream often dried up but transformed into a raging torrent after storms, runs along the walls of the town on the east. To the north of Marrakesh as far as the Tansift and to the east stretches a great forest of palm-trees, the only one in Morocco north of the Atlas. It covers an area of 13,000 hectares and possesses over 100,000 palm-trees but the dates there only ripen very imperfectly.

The town is very large. The ramparts of sun-dried mud which run all round it measure at least 7 miles in length. The town in the strict sense does not occupy the whole of this vast area. The part built upon forms a long strip which starting from the *zāwiya* of Sīdī bel ʿAbbās in the north runs towards the *ḳaṣaba* (*ḳaṣba*) which stands at the southern end of the town. On the two sides lie great gardens and estates among which we find in the neighbourhood of the chief gates inside the walls, isolated quarters grouped like so many villages around their *sūḳ* and the mosque.

The town consisted mainly of little low houses of reddish clay, often in ruins, among which were scattered huge and magnificent dwellings without particularly imposing exteriors built either by the viziers of the old Makhzen (e.g. the Bāhiya, the old palace of Bā Ḥmād [*q.v.* in Suppl.], vizier of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan) or by the great *ḳāʾids*, chiefs of the tribes of the country around. The narrow and overhung streets in the central area broaden towards the outskirts into sunny and dusty squares and crossroads. The colour, the picturesque architecture, the palm trees, the branches of which appear over the walls of the gardens, the presence of a large negro population, all combine to give the town the appearance of a Saharan *ḳṣar* of vast dimensions.

The centre of the life of the city is the Djamaʿ al-Fnā, a vast, irregular, ill-defined open space, surrounded in the early years of this century by wretched buildings and reed huts, overshadowed by the high minaret of the Kutubiyya Mosque. Its name comes, according to the author of the *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, from the ruins of a mosque which Aḥmad al-Manṣūr had undertaken to build there; "As he had planned it on a wonderful scale, it had been given the name of mosque of prosperity (*al-hanā*); but his plans being upset by a series of unfortunate events, the prince was unable to finish the building before his death and it was therefore given the name of mosque of the ruin (*djāmiʿ al-fanāʾ*)". This origin having been forgotten; an attempt was later made to explain the name of the square from the fact that the heads of rebels used to be exposed there. It was there also that executions took place. Lying on the western edge of the principal agglomeration of buildings at its most thickly populated part, close to the *sūḳ*, connected with the principal gates by direct and comparatively quiet roads, Djāmaʿ al-Fnā is the point of convergence of the roads. At all hours swarming with people, it is occupied in the morning with a market of small traders: barbers, cobblers, vendors of fruit and vegetables, of medicines, of fried grasshoppers, of tea and of soup (*ḥarīra*); in the evening, it is filled with acrobats and jugglers (Awlād Sīdī Aḥmad ū Mūsā of Tazerwalt), sorcerers, story-tellers, fire-eaters, snake charmers and *shlūḥ* dancers. The audience consists mainly of people from the country who have come into town on business and want to enjoy the distractions of the town for a few hours before going home. These visitors are always very numerous in Marrakesh. Besides the regular inhabitants there is a floating population, the number of which may be of the order of 10,000 persons. For Marrakesh is the great market for supplying not only the Ḥawz but also the mountain country, the Sūs and especially the extreme south, Dādes, Darʿa (Draʿ) and the Anti-Atlas. Marrakesh used to be the starting-point for caravans going through the Sahara to trade with Timbuktu. They brought back chiefly Sudanese slaves for whom Marrakesh was an important market. The conquest of the Sudan by France put an end to this traffic.

To the north of the Djāmaʿ al-Fnā begin the *sūḳs*, which are very large. As in Fās and in the other large towns, the traders and artisans are grouped by trades under the authority of the *muḥtasib* [*q.v.*] The most important *sūḳs* are those of the cloth merchants (*ḳīsāriyya*), of the sellers of slippers, of pottery, of basket work, of the embroiderers of harness, of the dyers and of the smiths. An important Thursday *sūḳ* (*al-khamīs*) is held outside and inside the walls around the old gate of Fās which has taken the name of the market (Bāb al-Khamīs). This *sūḳ* was already in existence in the 10th/16th century.

There is no industry to speak of in Marrakesh. The most important is the making of leather (tanning). The manufacture of slippers occupied 1,500 workmen who produce over 2,000 pairs each working day. There are the only articles manufactured in the town that are exported. They are sold as far away as Egypt and West Africa. For the rest, Marrakesh is mainly an agricultural market. The whole town is a vast fondouk (*funduḳ*) in which are warehoused the products of the country, almonds, carraway seeds, goat-skins, oils, barley, wool, to be exchanged either for imported goods (sugar, tea, cloth) or for other agricultural produce (wheat, oil, which the tribes of the mountains and of the extreme south for example do not have).

The town is divided into 32 quarters, including the *mellāḥ* or Jewish quarter. We may further mention outside the walls near the Bāb Dukkāla a quarter called al-Ḥāra where the lepers lived. Until the 1920s, the gates of the town were closed during the night. The superintendents of the quarters (*muḳaddamīn*) had watchmen (*ʿassāsa*) under their orders. The old custom long survived of firing a salvo at midnight on the Djāmaʿ al-Fnā as a curfew.

Marrakesh being an imperial town, the sultan, who only stayed there at long intervals, was represented in his absence by a *khalīfa*, a prince of the imperial family (usually the son or brother of the sovereign). The role of this *khalīfa* was not purely representative, for he was a true viceroy, who formerly governed the territories to the South. The governor of the town is today a *pasha*, assisted by a delegate (*nāʾib*) and several *khalīfas*. One of the latter supervises the prisons and the administration of justice. Another has the title of *pasha* of the *ḳaṣba*. He governs the southern part of the town which includes the imperial palace and the Jewish quarter. Formerly, the *pasha* of the *ḳaṣba* was independent of the *pasha* of the town and served to counterbalance the power of the latter. He commanded the *gīsh*, an armed contingent furnished by the warlike tribes (Ūdāya, Ayt Immūr, etc.) settled in the vicinity of the town by the sultans of the domain lands. The *pasha* of the *ḳaṣba* only retains of his former powers certain rights of precedence and honorary privileges.

Muslim law is administered in Marrakesh by three *ḳāḍīs*: one is established at the mosque of Ibn Yūsuf; the other at the mosque of al-Mwāsīn and the third at the mosque of the *ḳaṣba*. The latter's competence does not extend beyond the limits of his quarter. That of the others extends over the whole town and even over the tribes of the area governed from it who have no local *ḳāḍīs*.

Marrakesh is not numbered like Fās, Rabat and Tetuan among the *ḥaḍariyya* towns, i.e. it has not, like them, an old-established citizen population, of non-rural origin, with a bourgeoisie whose tone is given by the descendants of the Moors driven from Spain. In the 10th/16th century, however, Marrakesh did re-receive a colony of Moriscoes large enough to give one quarter the name Orgiba Djadīda, a reminiscence of Orgiba, a town of Andalusia from which they came. The foundation of the population consists of people of the tribes for the most part Berbers or Arabs strongly mixed with Berber blood. Shlūḥ (*tashelḥit*) is much spoken in Marrakesh although the language of the tribes around the town (Rḥāmma, Ūdāya) is Arabic. The movements of the tribes, the coming and going of caravans, the importation of slaves from the Sudan have resulted in a constant process of mixing in the population, and the old Maṣmūda race which must, with the Almoravids, have been the primitive population of Marrakesh is only found in combination with amounts difficult to measure of Arab, Saharan and negro blood. Even to-day this process is going on: the newcomers come less from the valleys of the Atlas than from the Sūs, the Draʿ and the Anti-Atlas, from the extreme south which is poor and overpopulated. The greater number of these immigrants soon become merged in the population of the town; but the *Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes*, conducted by L. Massignon in 1923-4 (Paris 1925) yielded some very curious information about the survival in Marrakesh of vigorous groups of provincials, specialising in particular trades: the makers of silver jewellery (at least those who are not Jews) owe their name of *tāgmūtiyyīn* to the fact that they originally came from Tagmut in the Sūs; the Mesfīwa are charcoal-burners and greengrocers, the Ghīghāya, salters; the people of the Ṭodgha, gatherers of dates and *khaṭāṭīriyya*, i.e. diggers of wells, who specialise in water-channels (*khaṭāṭīr*); those of Tafilalt, porters and pavers; those of Warzarāt, watercarriers and of Tattaʿ (Anti-Atlas), restaurateurs; of the Draʿ, water-carriers and *khaṭāṭīriyya*, etc. This division is not the result of specialisation in their original home nor of privileges granted by the civic authorities but arises from the fact that artisans once settled in Marrakesh have sent for their compatriots when they required assistance. Thus groups grew up, sometimes quite considerable. The list of the corporations of Marrakesh gives a total of about 10,000 artisans. These corporations lost much of their power under the pressure of the Makhzen. Some of them, however, still retained a certain social importance: in the first place that of the shoemakers which is the largest (1,500 members); then come the tanners (430), the cloth (237) and silk (100) merchants; the *Fāsī* wholesalers, then some groups of skilled artisans, highly esteemed but of less influence, embroiderers of saddles, makers of mosaics, carpenters, sculptors of plaster, etc.

Religious and intellectual life. Mosques are numerous in Marrakesh. Some of them will be the subject below of brief archaeological studies. Those which play the most important part in the religious life of the city are the mosque of al-Mwāsīn, the mosque of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, both close to the *sūḳs*, that of Sīdī bel ʿAbbās and that of the *ḳaṣba*. Then come the Kutubiyya, the mosque of the Bāb Dukkāla, of the Bāb Aylān, of Berrīma, and the Djāmaʿ Ibn Ṣāliḥ. There are also many little mosques in the various outlying quarters. But although it can claim illustrious men of learning, Marrakesh is not like Fās, a centre of learning and of teaching. The Almohads built schools and libraries there, brought the most illustrious scholars, philosophers and physicians from Spain, like Ibn Ṭufayl, Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar) and Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd (Averroes) who died at Marrakesh in 595/1198. These great traditions did nor survive the dynasty. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, in the time of Leo Africanus, the library of the Almohad palace was used as a poultry house and the *madrasa* built by the

Marīnids was in ruins. In the inter-war period, in the town of the Kutubiyya there was not a single bookseller. A certain number of *ṭolba* still live in the *madrasas* (Ibn Yūsuf, Ibn Ṣāliḥ, Sīdī bel ʿAbbās, Berrīma, Ḳaṣba) but the teaching in Marrakesh has neither the prestige nor the traditions which still give some lustre to the teaching at al-Ḳarawiyyīn in Fās, much decayed as it is. Although they attempt to imitate the customs of Fās (they celebrate notably the "festival of the sultan of the *ṭolba*" [see FĀS] every spring), the students are far from holding in Marrakesh the position their comrades enjoy in Fās, even though a dahir of 1357/1938 established a *madrasa* of Ibn Yūsuf intended, like the Ḳarawiyyīn, for the training of *ḳāḍīs*. One should note that the city now possesses a modern university.

The devotion of the people of Marrakesh expends itself particularly on the cult of saints, not at all orthodox but dear to the Berbers. Their town has always been famous for the great number of *walīs* who are buried in its cemeteries and who justify the saying: "Marrakesh, tomb of the saints". But in the time of Mawlāy Ismāʿil, the Shaykh Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī by order of the prince organised, in imitation of the old established cult of the Sabʿatu Ridjāl (the seven saints of the Ragrāga, around the Djabal al-Ḥadīd, among the Shyāḍma), a pilgrimage to the Sabʿatu Ridjāl of Marrakesh, including visits to seven sanctuaries and various demonstrations of piety. The following are the names of the seven saints in the order in which they ought to be visisted: (1) Sīdī Yūsuf b. ʿAlī al-Ṣanhādjī, a leper, d. 593/1196-7, buried outside the Bāb Aghmāt on the spot where he had lived; (2) the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ, 476-544/1083-1149 [*q.v.*], *ḳāḍī* of Ceuta, then of Granada, a learned theologian, author of the *Shifāʾ*, buried beside the Bāb Aylān; (3) Sīdī bel ʿAbbās al-Sabtī, patron saint of Marrakesh and the most venerated of the saints of the region, 542-601/1130-1204. He came to Marrakesh when the town was being besieged by the Almohads and settled there, at first in a hermitage on the Djabal Gillīz where a *ḳubba* dedicated to him can still be seen. But the principal pilgrimage is to his tomb at the northern end of the town over which Abū Fāris b. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr built a *zāwiya* and an important mosque at the beginning of the 11th/17th century; (4) Sīdī Muḥammad b. Slīmān al-Djazūlī, d. in 870/1465 at Afughal among the Shyāḍma, a celebrated Ṣūfī, founder of the Djazūlī brotherhood. His body was brought to Marrakesh in 930/1523 by Aḥmad al-Aʿradj the Saʿdian; (5) Sīdī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tabbāʿ, a pupil of al-Djazūlī, d. 914/1508; (6) Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghazwānī, popularly called Mawlā (Mūl) 'l-Ḳṣūr, d. 935/1528; (7) Sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suhaylī, called the Imām al-Suhaylī, a native of the district of Malaga, d. 581/1185, and buried outside the Bāb al-Rabb.

It is quite an arbitrary choice that these seven individuals have been chosen as the Sabʿatu Ridjāl. Others could equally well have been chosen, as the town of Marrakesh and the cemeteries which stretch before it, contain a very large number of other venerated tombs. The principal ones are mentioned in the article by H. de Castries, *Les Sept Patrons de Merrakech*, in *Hespéris* (1924). Legend of course plays a great part in the cults of the various saints. We may mention for example the sayings and songs which perpetuate the memory of Lallā ʿŪda, mother of the sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, a real personage much transformed by the popular imagination. The various trade corporations have chosen patron saints. Thus Sīdī Yaʿḳūb is the patron of the tanners, Sīdī bel ʿAbbās of the soapmakers and lacemakers, Sīdī Masʿūd "slave" of Sīdī Muḥammad b. Slīmān is the patron of the masons, Sīdī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tabbāʿ of the dyers, etc. The majority of the artisans are also affiliated to the religious brotherhoods. In Massignon's investigation may be found details of the attraction which some of the latter had for certain trades.

The Jews. At the foundation of Marrakesh, the Jews had no permission to settle in the town. They came there to trade from Aghmāt Aylān where they lived. Al-Idrīsī relates that under ʿAlī b. Yūsuf they had not even the right to spend the night in Marrakesh and that those who were caught within the walls after sunset were in great danger of losing their lives and property. They settled there at a later date. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century there was, according to Marmol, in Marrakesh a ghetto of over 3,000 houses. It lay near the *sūḳ* on the site now occupied by the mosque of al-Mwāsīn. When this mosque was built by sultan ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib, the more scrupulous refused to pray there for some time on the pretext that it occupied the site of a Jewish cemetery. It was ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib who, in about 967/1560, settled the Jews on the site they occupied lately, along the wall of the *ḳaṣba* to the east, where the stables of the palace had been. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, there was here, according to the French traveller Mocquet, "like a separate town, surrounded by a good wall and having only one gate guarded by the Moors; here live the Jews who are over 4,000 in number and pay tribute". A century later, there were about 6,000 Jews and many synagogues. The Jewish quarter, called *mellāḥ* [see MALLĀḤ] after the example of the Jewish quarter of Fās (the name *mellāḥ* is attested for Marrakesh as early as the end of the 10th/16th century), was placed, as regards policing, under the authority of the *pasha* of the *ḳaṣba* but otherwise is administered by an elected Jewish committee. Questions of personal law were judged by a rabbinical tribunal of three members nominated and paid by the Makhzen. The Jews of Marrakesh early began to leave the bounds of the *mellāḥ*. The older ones wore the ritual costume: gaberdine, skullcap and black slippers, but the younger generations emancipated themselves from this dress. The Jews have little influence on the corporations of Marrakesh. They are limited to certain trades (jewellers, tinsmiths and embroiderers of slippers) and share with the people of Fās the wholesale trade. They trade particularly with the Shlūḥ of the mountains.

History. The Roman occupation never extended so far as the region of Marrakesh. It is quite without probability that some writers, following the Spanish historian Marmol, have sought at Aghmāt or at Marrakesh the site of *Bocanum Emerum* (Βόκκανον Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον of Ptolemy), a town of Tingitana, the site of which is now unknown. The earliest historians agree that the place where Marrakesh was built by the Almoravids was a bare marshy plain where only a few bushes grew. The name Marrakesh gives no clue to the origin of the town. The etymologies given by the Arab authors are quite fanciful (see Deverdun, *Marrakech*, 64 ff.). It was, it appears, in 449/1057-8 that the Almoravids advanced from Sūs north of the Atlas and took Aghmāt Urīka. It was there that they settled at first. But after the campaign of 452/1060 in the course of which they conquered the country of Fazāz, Meknès and of the Lawāta near Fās, they wanted to make their position more permanent and independent by creating a kind of camp, which could be used as a base for their further campaigns and

would threaten the Maṣmūda of the mountains and could be used as a connecting link between the south from which they came and the kingdom of Fās. Yūsuf b. Tas̲h̲fīn therefore purchased from its owner an estate on the frontier between two Maṣmūda tribes, the Haylāna and the Hazmīra, and pitched his camp there. So far was he from thinking of founding a great capital, a thing for which this Saharan nomad felt no need, that at first he lived in a tent here, beside which he built a mosque to pray in and a little *ḳaṣba* in which to keep his treasures and his weapons; but he did not build a surrounding wall. The native Maṣmūda built themselves dwellings surrounded by palisades of branches beside the Almoravid camp. The town grew rapidly to a considerable size, if it is true, that, in the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf it had at least 100,000 hearths, but it did not lose its rural character until Ibn Tūmart appeared and the threat of the Almohad movement revived by him forced ʿAlī b. Yūsuf to defend his town and surround it by a rampart which was built in eight months, probably in 520/1126. Some historians give the date 526/1132, but it is certain that the walls were already built in 524/1130, when the Almohads attacked Marrakesh for the first time. Marrakesh, the creation and capital of the Almoravids, was to be the last of their strongholds to yield. When Ibn Tūmart had established his power over the tribes of the mountains he tried to attack Marrakesh; he then sent an Almohad army under the command of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* al-Bas̲h̲īr, who, after defeating the Almoravids in the vicinity of Ag̲h̲māt, pursued them to the gates of Marrakesh. The Almohads could not enter the town but established themselves before its walls. After 40 days' siege, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf received reinforcements and made a successful sortie which forced the attackers to retreat. This was the battle of al-Buḥayra (D̲j̲umādā I-II 524/May 1130 from the name of a large garden, *Buḥayrat al-Raḳāʾiḳ*, near which it was fought. It lay to the east of the town before the Bāb Dabbāg̲h̲ and the Bāb Aylān. Al-Bas̲h̲īr was slain and Marrakesh respited for 17 years. Ibn Tūmart died a few months later. It is hardly likely that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin should have made soon after his accession, as the *Ḳirṭās* says, a new attempt to take Marrakesh. The memoirs of al-Bayd̲h̲aḳ which give such full details of all the events of this period make no mention of it. They show on the contrary the Almohad armies busied at first in conquering the country before occupying the capital, taking Tadla, Salé, Taza, Oran, Tlemcen and Fās and only returning to lay siege to Marrakesh after the whole country had been occupied and the capital alone held out as the last stronghold of the doomed dynasty. It was in the summer of 541/1146 that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin laid siege to Marrakesh. He made his headquarters at Gillīz and, seeing that the siege would be a long one, at once had houses built in which to instal himself and his army. The siege lasted eleven months. An unsuccessful sortie by the Almoravids seems to have hastened the fall of the town. Disgusted by lack of success and by famine, a number of chiefs of the besieged went over to the enemy. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had scaling-ladders made and distributed them among the tribes. The assault was made and, according to Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, the defection of the Christian soldiery facilitated its success. The Almoravid sultan Isḥāḳ, a young boy who had sought refuge in the fortress, was slain, along with a large number of the Almoravids. This event took place in 541/ S̲h̲awwāl 6 March-3 April 1147, according to the majority of the historians.

The Almohad dynasty which came from the south naturally took Marrakesh as its capital. It was here that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and his successors usually resided when they were not in the country. The town prospered exceedingly under their rule. They gave it many important public buildings: the *ḳaṣba*, mosques, schools, a hospital, aqueducts and magnificent gardens. During this period of prosperity, there were very few events of particular interest in the history of Marrakesh. In 547/1152-3 according to Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, in 549/1154-6 according to al-Bayd̲h̲aḳ and the *Ḳirṭās*, the Banū Amg̲h̲ār, brothers of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, entered the town and tried to raise the inhabitants against ʿAbd al-Muʾmin who was away at Salé. The rising was speedily put down and ended in the massacre of the rebels and their accomplices. But on the decline of the dynasty, i.e. after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (609/1212 [see AL-ʿIḲĀB]) and the death of al-Nāsir, son of al-Manṣūr, Marrakesh became the scene of the struggle between the royal family descended from ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and the Almohad *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* descended from the companions of Ibn Tūmart who, quoting traditions of the latter, claimed the right to grant investiture to the sultans and to keep them in tutelage. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, brother of al-Manṣūr, was strangled in 621/1224. His successor al-ʿĀdil was drowned in a bath in the palace (624/1227) and the Almohad *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* appointed as his successor the young Yaḥyā b. al-Nāṣir, while Abu 'l-ʿUlā Idrīs al-Maʾmūn, brother of al-ʿĀdil, was proclaimed in Spain. The whole country was soon in the throes of revolution. Yaḥyā, fearing the defection of the fickle Almohads, fled to Tinmal (626/1228). Disorder reigned in Marrakesh, where a governor named by al-Maʾmūn was finally appointed. But four months later, Yaḥyā returned to Marrakesh with fresh troops, put al-Maʾmūn's governor to death and after staying seven days in the town was forced to go to Gillīz to fight a battle (627/1230), for al-Maʾmūn had arrived from Spain to take possession of his kingdom. Ferdinand III, king of Castile, had given in return for various concessions, a body of 12,000 Christian horsemen with whose assistance al-Maʾmūn defeated Yaḥyā and his followers, entered Marrakesh and installed an anti-Almohad regime there, marked not only by a terrible massacre of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* and their families but by a new orientation in religious matters quite opposed to that of the preceding reigns. On his arrival in Marrakesh, al-Maʾmūn mounted the pulpit of the mosque of the *ḳaṣba*, recited the *k̲h̲uṭba*, solemnly cursed the memory of Ibn Tūmart and announced a whole series of measures, some of which are given by the *Ḳirṭās* and Ibn K̲h̲aldūn and which show he intended to do everything on opposite lines to his predecessors. His innovations revived the discontent so that two years later (629/1232) while al-Maʾmūn and his militia were besieging Ceuta, Yaḥyā again occupied Marrakesh and plundered it. Al-Maʾmūn at once turned back to the rescue of his capital but died on the way (30 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 629/17 October 1232). His widow, al-Ḥabāb, succeeded in getting her son al-Ras̲h̲īd, aged 14, proclaimed by the leaders of the army, including the commander of the Christian mereenaries. In return she gave them Marrakesh to plunder if they could reconquer it. But the people of the town, learning of this clause in the bargain, made their own terms before opening their gates to the new sultan. The latter had to grant them *amān* and pay the Christian general and his companions the sum they might have expected from the plunder of the capital—according to the *Ḳirṭās*, 500,000 *dīnārs*.

In 633/1235-6, a rebellion of the K̲h̲loṭ [see K̲H̲ULṬ] drove al-Ras̲h̲īd out of Marrakesh, and he took refuge

in Sidjilmāsa while Yaḥyā recaptured Marrakesh. Al-Rashīd, however, succeeded in retaking it and Yaḥyā finally was assassinated. It was in the reign of the Almohad al-Saᶜīd (646/1242-8) that the Marīnids who had arrived in the east of the country in 613/1216, seized the greater part of the kingdom of Fās. His successor ᶜUmar al-Murtaḍā proclaimed in 646/1248, found himself in 658/1260 reduced to the solitary kingdom of Marrakesh, to the south of the Umm al-Rabīᶜ. In 660/1261-2, the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf Yaᶜḳūb b. ᶜAbd al-Hāḳḳ came to attack Marrakesh. He encamped on mount Gillīz, whence he threatened the town. Al-Murtaḍā sent his cousin, the *sayyid* Abu 'l-ᶜUlā Idrīs, surnamed Abū Dabbūs, to fight him. The *amīr* ᶜAbd Allāh b. Abū Yūsuf was slain in the battle and his father lost heart, abandoned his designs on Marrakesh and returned to Fās at the end of Radjab 661/beginning of June 1262.

From this time, one feels that the dynasty was lost although peace was made, which moreover showed the humiliation of the Almohads who consented to pay tribute; but they were to destroy themselves. Falling into disfavour with his cousin al-Murtadā, Abū Dabbūs, this great-grandson of ᶜAbd al-Muᵓmin, who in the preceding year had defended Marrakesh against the Marīnid sultan, sought refuge with the latter and obtained from him the assistance necessary to overthrow al-Murtaḍā, on condition that he shared the spoils. Victorious and proclaimed sultan in Muḥarram 665/October 1266, Abū Dabbūs forgot his promises. Abū Yūsuf Yaᶜḳūb came in person to remind him of them. He laid siege to Marrakesh in 665-6/1267, but Abū Dabbūs had a stroke of good fortune, for the Marīnid had to raise the siege to go and defend the kingdom of Fās against an attack by the sultan of Tlemcen, Yaghmurāsen. The campaign being over, Abū Yūsuf Yaᶜḳūb returned to Marrakesh. He entered it in Muḥarram 668/Sept. 1269. The *Ḳirṭās* tells us that he gave *amān* to the inhabitants and to the surrounding tribes, whom he overwhelmed with benefits and ruled with justice and remained seven months to pacify and organise the country. By accepting Marīnid rule, however, Marrakesh lost for two-and-a-half centuries its position as a capital. The new dynasty made Fās its capital.

Its sultans however, did not neglect Marrakesh, especially during this period (end of the 7th/13th and first half of the 8th/14th century). The chronicles record many sojourns made by them there but its great days were over. The town began to lose its inhabitants. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī was the only Marinid to undertake buildings of any importance at Marrakesh (a mosque and a *madrasa*). In the absence of the sovereign, the government of the town and district was entrusted to powerful governors as befitted a large town remote from the central authority. For nearly 20 years, from 668 to 687/1269-88, this office was held by Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. Muḥallī, a chief greatly devoted to the Marīnids, says Ibn Khaldūn, and allied by marriage to the family of their ruler. But in Muḥarram 687/ February 1288, fearing treachery from Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī, Abū Yaᶜḳūb Yūsuf threw him into prison and gave his office to Muḥammad b. ᶜAṭṭū al-Djānātī, a client and confidant of the royal family, to whom the sultan further entrusted his son Abū ᶜĀmir. Abū Yaḳūb had not left Marrakesh six months when the young prince Abū ᶜĀmir rebelled there and proclaimed himself sovereign at the instigation of the governor Ibn ᶜAṭṭū (Shawwāl 687/November 1288). Abū Yaᶜḳub hastened to Marrakesh which he took after several days siege. The young Abū ᶜĀmir had time to escape and seek refuge in the mountains among the Maṣmūda tribes, after plundering the treasury.

The custom of giving the governorship of Marrakesh to a prince of the ruling family was kept up. Towards the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 706/May 1307, under the walls of Tlemcen, the sultan Abū Thābit gave his cousin Yūsuf, son of Muḥammad b. Abī ᶜIyāḍ b. ᶜAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, the governorship of Marrakesh and the provinces depending on it. By the end of the year, Yūsuf rebelled and proclaimed himself independent at Marrakesh after putting to death the governor of the town, al-Hādjdj Masᶜūd. Defeated by the imperial troops on the banks of the Umm al-Rabīᶜ, the rebel fled to the mountains, plundering Marrakesh on his way (Radjab 707/January 1308). The punishment inflicted on the rebels was severe. Yūsuf b. Abī ᶜIyāḍ, handed over by a *shaykh* with whom he had taken refuge, was put to death and the heads of 600 of his followers went to adorn the battlements of the town. Abū Saᶜīd ᶜUthmān stayed at Marrakesh on several occasions. He did much rebuilding in 720/1320. Peace and comparative prosperity seem to have reigned there under the rule of Abu 'l-Ḥasan until this prince, as a result of reverses suffered in his struggle with the Ḥafṣids, found his own son, the ambitious Abū ᶜInān, rebelling against him. During the troubles which now broke out, Ibn Khaldūn tells us, the town was seriously threatened with being sacked by the Maṣmūda of the mountains led by ᶜAbd Allāh al-Saksīwī. Abū ᶜInān was able to consolidate his power and avert this danger. The struggle between father and son ended in the region of Marrakesh. Abu 'l-Ḥasan, defeated at the end of Ṣafar 757/May 1350, near the town, sought refuge in the mountains with the *amīrs* of the Hintāta and died there just after becoming reconciled to his son and designating him his successor (Rabīᶜ II 753/June 1352).

During the course of the 8th/14th century, the *amīrs* of the Hintāta played a very important part in the country. The position of the tribe on an almost inaccessible mountain, from which it commanded Marrakesh, gave its chiefs comparative independence and predominating influence among the other Maṣmūda. Abū ᶜInān took no steps against the *amīr* ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz who had given asylum to the fugitive Abu 'l-Ḥasan. He retained him in the command of his tribe, which he gave a few years later to his brother ᶜĀmir. In 754/1353 the latter, becoming chief of all the Maṣmūda tribes and sufficiently powerful to keep under his thumb the governor of Marrakesh al-Muᶜtamid, son of Abū ᶜInān, very soon succeeded in making himself completely independent. He received and for a time held as hostages two rebel Marīnid princes Abu 'l-Faḍl, son of the sultan Abū Sālim, and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, son of sultan Abū ᶜAlī. Quarrelling with his protégé Abu 'l-Faḍl whom he had made governor of Marrakesh, he retired into his mountains and for several years defied the armies of the sultan. He was in the end captured and put to death in 771/1370.

After the death of ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, the pretender Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās, son of Abū Sālim, had himself proclaimed in Fās with the help of his cousin ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ifellūsen, himself a pretender to the throne. The latter as a reward for his services was given the independent governorship of Marrakesh and the country round it (Muḥarram 776/June 1374). The empire was thus completely broken up. The two rulers soon began to quarrel but then signed a treaty of peace in 780/1378. There was a new rupture and a

new truce two years later after Marrakesh had been besieged for two months without result. Abu 'l-Abbās in the end took Marrakesh in Djumādā 784/July-August 1382, and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān was slain. Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās, dispossessed in 1384 and exiled to Granada, succeeded in reconquering his kingdom in 789/1387 and sent to Marrakesh as governor his son al-Muntaṣir. This event is the last recorded by Ibn Khaldūn. From the time when his record ceases and throughout the 9th/15th century, we are incredibly poor in information about the history of Marrakesh. The south appears to have continued to form a large governorship in the hands of princes of the royal family. The only information at all definite that we have comes from a Portuguese historian who records that during the three years which followed the capture of Ceuta by the Portuguese (1415-18), Morocco was a prey to the struggles among the pretenders. While Abū Saᶜīd ᶜUthmān was ruling in Fās, Mawlāy Bū ᶜAlī, king of Marrakesh, was fighting against another Marīnid prince called Fāris. The "kingdom" or governorship of Marrakesh does not seem to have completely broken the links which bound it to the kingdom of Fās, for the governors of Marrakesh supplied contingents to the army which tried to retake Ceuta. But they very soon ceased to take part in the holy war in the north of Morocco, and their name is not found among the opponents of the Portuguese. Marrakesh by 833/1430 seems to have become *de facto* if not *de jure* independent but we do not know within fifty years at what date the Hintāta *amīrs* established their power; they were descended from a brother of ᶜĀmir b. Muḥammad. They were "kings" of Marrakesh when in 914/1508 the Portuguese established themselves at Safi, taking advantage of the anarchy prevailing, for the power of the Hintāta *amīrs* hardly extended beyond the environs of their capital and they could not effectively protect their tribes against the attacks of the Christians. By 1512 the Portuguese governors of Safi had succeeded in extending their power over the tribes near Marrakesh (Awlād Mṭāᶜ) and the town lived in fear of the bold raids which on several occasions brought the Portuguese cavalry and their Arab allies into the district. The king of Marrakesh, overawed, entered into negotations in 1514, but the terms were nothing less than his paying tribute as vassal and the building of a Portuguese fortress at Marrakesh. Agreement could not be reached. The occupation of Marrakesh remained the dream of the Portuguese soldiers. An attack on the town led by the governors of Safi and Azemmūr failed (9 Rabīᶜ I 921/23 April 1515). This was the period when in reaction against the anarchy and foreign invasions the Saᶜdian *sharīfs* began to come to the front in Sūs. Aḥmad al-Aᶜradj, who appeared in 919/1513 to the north of the Atlas, had himself recognised as leader of the holy war and accepted as such by the local chiefs, even by al-Nāṣir, king of Marrakesh. In Ṣafar 920/April 1514, it is recorded that he was in Marrakesh with the king. At the end of 927/1521, al-Aᶜradj established himself peacefully in Marrakesh which he found partly depopulated by famine and married the daughter of the king Muḥammad b. Nāṣir called Bū Shenṭūf. The latter in 930/1524 having tried to kick against the tutelage of his too powerful son-in-law al-Aᶜradj and his brother Maḥammad al-Shaykh, seized the *kaṣba*, which seems till then to have been held by Bū Shenṭūf. They disposed of the latter by having him assassinated in the following year (932/1525). Marrakesh became the Saᶜdian capital. The king of Fās, Aḥmad al-Waṭṭāsī, tried unsuccessfully to take it in Ramaḍān 933/June 1527. It remained in the hands of al-Aᶜradj till 961/1554, when it was seized by his brother Maḥammad al-Shaykh, up till then king of Sūs. After the assassination of Maḥammad al-Shaykh in 964/1557, al-Aᶜradj was put to death at Marrakesh with seven of his sons and grandsons, so as to secure the crown for Mawlāy ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ghālib. The whole of the latter part of the century was for Marrakesh a period of great prosperity. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ghālib built a series of important public works: rearrangement of the palace and of the provision storehouses in the *kaṣba*; in the town, the *madrasa* Ibn Yūsuf and the al-Mwāsīn mosque, etc. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr finished his brother's work by building in the *kaṣba* from 986 to 1002/1578 to 1594 the famous al-Badīᶜ palace. The sultan, enriched by several years of peace and good government, and by the gold brought from the conquest of the Sūdān (1000/1591-2), lived almost continually in Marrakesh, to which he restored a splendour and a prosperity that it had not enjoyed since the end of the 6th/12th century. But the death of al-Manṣūr opened a period of trouble and civil war "sufficient to turn white the hair of an infant at the breast", to use the expression of the historian al-Ifrānī. While Abū Fāris, son of al-Mansūr, was proclaimed at Marrakesh, another son, Zaydān, was chosen sultan at Fās. A third brother, al-Shaykh, came and took Fās, then sent against Marrakesh an army led by his son ᶜAbd Allāh, who seized the town on 21 Shaᶜbān 1015/22 December 1606. But Zaydān, who sought refuge first in Tlemcen, then made his way to the Sūs, via Tafilalt and coming suddenly to Marrakesh, had himself proclaimed there while ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Shaykh, while escaping with his troops, was attacked in the midst of the gardens (*jnān Bekkār*) and completely defeated (29 Shawwāl 1015/25 February 1607). In Djumādā II/October of the same year, ᶜAbd Allāh returned after defeating Zaydān's troops on the Wādī Tifālfalt (10 Djumādā II/2 October, 1607), fought a second battle with them at Rās al-ᶜAyn (a spring in Tansift), regained possesion of the town and revenged himself in a series of massacres and punishments so terrible that a portion of the population having sought refuge in the Gillīz, proclaimed as sultan Muḥammad, great-grandson of Aḥmad al-Aᶜradj. ᶜAbd Allāh was forced to fly (7 Shawwāl 1016/25 January 1608). Zaydān, recalled by a section of the populace, regained possession of his capital in a few days. The struggle between Zaydān and his brother al-Shaykh, in the year following, centred round the possession of Fās. Zaydān failed in his plans to retake it and henceforth Fās, given over completely to anarchy, remained separate from the kingdom of Marrakesh. On these happenings, a marabout from Tafilalt, named Abū Maḥallī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], attempted to intervene 1020/1611) to put an end to the fighting among the pretenders, which was inflicting great suffering on the people. His intervention only made matters worse. He took Marrakesh on 19 Rabīᶜ I 1021/20 May 1612. Zaydān took refuge in Safi and succeeded in again gaining possession of his capital with the help of an influential marabout in Sūs, called Yaḥyā b. ᶜAbd Allāh. After a battle near Gillīz, Zaydān withdrew into Marrakesh on 17 Shawwāl 1022/30 November 1613. But Yaḥyā, succumbing to ambition, rebelled himself at the end of 1027/1618, against the ruler whose cause he had once so well sustained. Zaydān had again to take refuge in Safi. He was soon able to return to Marrakesh, taking advantage of the discord that had broken out in the enemy ranks. ᶜAbd al-Malik, son and successor of Zaydān, has left only the memory of his cruelty and

debauchery. He was murdered in Shawwāl 1040/May 1631. The renegades, who killed him, also disposed of his brother and successor al-Walīd in 1636. A third brother, Maḥammad al-Shaykh al-Aṣghar, succeeded him but had only a semblance of power. He managed however to reign till 1065/1655, but his son Aḥmad al-ʿAbbās was completely in the hands of the Shabbāna, an Arab tribe who assassinated him and gave the throne to his *ḳāʾid* ʿAbd al-Karīm, called Karrūm al-Ḥādjdj, in 1659. "The latter", says al-Ifrānī, "united under his sway all the kingdom of Marrakesh and conducted himself in an admirable fashion with regard to his subjects". His son Abū Bakr succeeded him in 1078/1668, but only reigned two months until the coming of the Fīlālī sultan al-Rashīd, already lord of Fās, who took Marrakesh on 21 Ṣafar 1079/31 July 1668. Called to Marrakesh by the rebellion of his nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥriz, al-Rashīd met his death there in the garden of al-Agdāl, his head having been injured by a branch of an orange tree against which his horse threw him when it stumbled.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl had some difficulty in getting himself proclaimed at Marrakesh, which preferred his nephew, Aḥmad b. Muḥrīz. Ismāʿīl forced his way in on 9 Ṣafar 1083/4 June, 1672. In the following year, Marrakesh again welcomed Aḥmad b. Muḥriz. After a siege of more than two years (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1085-Rabīʿ II 1088/March 1675-June 1677), Ismāʿīl reoccupied Marrakesh and plundered it. He passed through it again in 1094/1683 on his way to the Sūs to fight Aḥmad b. Muḥriz who was still in rebellion. Marrakesh was no longer the capital. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl took an interest in it and destroyed the palaces of the *ḳaṣba* to use the materials for his works in Meknès. In Ramaḍān 1114/February 1703, a son of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, Muḥammad al-ʿĀlim, rebelled against his father, seized Marrakesh and plundered it. Zaydān, brother of the rebel, was given the task of suppressing the rising, which he did, plundering the town once more.

Anarchy again broke out after the death of Ismāʿīl. Its centre was Meknes. Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī, proclaimed by the ʿAbīd in 1151/1738, was disowned by them in 1740 and replaced by his brother ʿAbd Allāh. He sought refuge in Marrakesh. His brother al-Nāṣir remained his *khalīfa* in Marrakesh till 1158/1745, while al-Mustaḍī tried in vain to reconquer his kingdom. Marrakesh finally submitted in 1159/1746 to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, who sent his son Sīdī Muḥammad there as *khalīfa*. The governorship and then the reign of the latter (1171-1204/1757-90) formed one of the happiest periods in the history of Marrakesh. Sīdī Muḥammad completely restored the town, made it his usual residence, received many European embassies there, including a French one led by the Comte de Breugnon in 1767, and developed its trade. Peace was not disturbed during his long reign except for a riot raised by a marabout pretender named ʿUmar, who at the head of a few malcontents tried to attack the palace in order to plunder the public treasury. He was at once seized and put to death (between 1766 and 1772, according to the sources). On the death of Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the situation remained very unsettled for several years. After taking the oath of allegiance to Mawlāy Yazīd (18 Shaʿbān 1204/ 3 May 1790), the people of Marrakesh took in his brother Mawlāy Hishām and proclaimed him. On hearing this, Yazīd abandoned the siege of Ceuta, returned to Marrakesh, plundered it and committed all kinds of atrocities (1792). Hishām, supported by the ʿAbda and the Dukkāla, marched on Marrakesh. Yazīd, wounded in the battle, died a few days later in the palace (Djumādā II 1206/February 1792). Marrakesh remained faithful to the party of Mawlāy Hishām, but very soon the Rḥāmna abandoned him to proclaim Mawlāy Ḥusayn, brother of Hishām. He established himself in the *ḳaṣba* (1209/1794-5). While the partisans of the two princes were exhausting themselves in fighting, Mawlāy Slīmān, sultan of Fās, avoided taking sides in the struggle. The plague rid him at one blow of both his rivals (Ṣafar 1214/July 1799), who had in any case to submit some time before. The last years of the reign of Mawlāy Slīmān were overcast by troubles in all parts of the empire. Defeated at the very gates of Marrakesh, he was taken prisoner by the rebel Shrārda. He died at Marrakesh on 13 Rabīʿ I 1238/28 November 1822. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1824-59) did much for the afforestation of Agdāl and restored the religious buildings. His son Muḥammad completed his work by repairing tanks and aqueducts. These two reigns were a period of tranquillity for Marrakesh. In 1862, however, while Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was fighting the Spaniards at Tetwan, the Rḥāmna rebelled, plundered the Sūḳ al-Khamīs and closely blockaded the town, cutting off communications and supplies, until the Sulṭān, having made peace with Spain, came to relieve the town (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1278/June 1862). Mawlāy al-Ḥasan hardly ever lived in Marrakesh, but he stopped there on several occasions, notably in October 1875, to punish the Rḥāmna and the Bū 'l-Sbaʿ, who had rebelled, and in 1880 and 1885, to prepare his expeditions into the Sūs.

During the last years of the reign of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1894-1908), it was at Marrakesh that the opposition to the European tastes and experiments of the sultan made itself most strongly felt. The xenophobia culminated in the murder of a French doctor named Mauchamp (19 March 1907), and the spirit of separatism in the proclamation as sultan of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ, brother of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and governor of the provinces of the south (24 August 1907). But ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ becoming ruler of the whole empire (24 August 1907) and having signed the treaty of 24 March 1912 establishing the protectorate of France and of Spain over Morocco, the anti-foreign movement broke out again in the south. The Mauritanian marabout al-Ḥība [see AḤMAD AL-ḤĪBA in Suppl.] had himself proclaimed and established himself in Marrakesh. He only held out there for a brief period. His troops having been defeated at Sīdī Bū ʿUthmān on 6 September 1912, the French troops occupied Marrakesh the next day.

Relations with Europe. Five minor friars sent by St. Francis were put to death at Marrakesh on 16 January 1220, for having attempted to convert Muslims and having insulted the Prophet Muḥammad in their discourses. Their martyrdom attracted the attention of the Holy See to Marrakesh. A mission and a bishopric were established by Honorius III in 1225 to give the consolations of religion to the Christians domiciled in Morocco: merchants, slaves and mercenaries in the sultan's army. In the Almoravid period, the sultans had Christian mercenaries recruited from prisoners reduced to slavery or from the Mozarab population of Spain whom they had from time deported to Morocco by entire villages. In 1227, Abu 'l-ʿUlā Idrīs al-Maʾmūn, having won his kingdom with the help of Christian troops lent by the king of Castile, found himself bound to take up quite a new attitude to the Christians. He granted them various privileges, including permission to build a church in Marrakesh and worship openly there. This

was called Notre Dame and stood in the *ḳaṣba*, probably opposite the mosque of al-Manṣūr: it was destroyed during a rising in 1232. But the Christian soldiery continued to enjoy the right to worship, at least privately, and the bishopric of Marrakesh supported by a source of income at Seville, existed so long as there was an organised Christian soldiery in Morocco, i.e. to the end of the 8th/14th century. The title of Bishop of Marrakesh was borne till the end of the 10th/16th century by the suffragans of Seville (cf. Father A. Lopez, *Los obispos de Marruecos desde el siglo XIII*, in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, xlii [1920]). A Spanish Franciscan, the prior Juan de Prado, who came to re-establish the mission, was put to death in 1621 at Marrakesh. A few years later (1637), a monastery was re-established beside the prison for slaves in the *ḳaṣba*. It was destroyed in 1659 or 1660 after the death of the last Saᶜdian. Henceforth the Franciscans were obliged to live in the *mellāḥ* where they had down to the end of the 18th century a little chapel and a monastery. As to the Christian merchants, they had not much reason to go to Marrakesh in the Middle Ages. Trade with Europe was conducted at Ceuta from which the Muslim merchants carried European goods into the interior of the country. In the 16th century, ᶜAbd Allāh al-G͟hālib had a *fondaḳ* or "bonded warehouse" built in the *sūḳ* where the Christian merchants were allowed to live; but the majority of those who came to Marrakesh preferred to settle in the Jewish quarter. It was here also that foreign ambassadors usually lodged, at least when they were not made to encamp in one of the gardens of the palace.

Monuments. The present enceinte of Marrakesh is a wall of clay about 20 feet high, flanked with rectangular bastions at intervals of 250 to 300 feet. Bāb Ag͟hmāt, Bāb Aylān and Bāb Dabbāg͟h which still exist more or less rebuilt, are mentioned in the account of the attack on Marrakesh by the Almohads in 524/1130. Bāb Yīntān and Bāb al-Mak͟hzen, mentioned at the same time, have disappeared. Bāb al-Ṣāliḥa (no longer in existence: it stood on the site of the *mellāḥ*) and Bāb Dukkāla (still in existence) figure in the story of the capture of the town by the Almohads (542/1147). The plan of the wall has therefore never changed. It has been rebuilt in places from time to time, as the clay crumbled away, but it may be assumed that a number of pieces of the wall, especially on the west and south-west, are original, as well as at least three gates all now blocked up, to which they owe their survival, but have lost their name. According to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (8th/14th century), there were in Marrakesh seventeen gates; twenty-four at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, according to Leo Africanus. It would be very difficult to draw up an accurate list, for some have been removed, others opened, since these dates or the names have been altered. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ᶜUmarī (beginning of the 8th/14th century) adds to the names already mentioned those of Bāb Nfīs, Bāb Muḥriḳ, Bāb Messūfa, Bāb al-Raḥā, all four of which have disappeared, Bāb Tag͟hzūt, Bāb Fās (now Bāb al-K͟hamīs) and Bāb al-Rabb, which still exist. The only important changes, which have been made in the walls of Marrakesh since they were built, have been the building of the *ḳaṣba* in the south and in the north the creation of the quarter of Sīdī bel ᶜAbbās. The *zāwiya* which as late as the 10th/16th century stood outside the walls beyond the Bāb Tag͟hzūt, was taken into the town with all its dependencies.

The *Ḳaṣba*. The little *ḳaṣba* and the palace of Dār al-ᶜUmma built by Yūsuf b. Tas͟hfīn, lay north of the present "Mosque of the Booksellers" or Kutubiyya. ᶜAlī b. Yūsuf added in the same quarter other palaces called Sūr al-Ḥad͟jar, or Ḳaṣr al-Ḥad͟jar because they were built with stones from the Gillīz, while all the other buildings in the town were of brick or clay. It was here that the first Almohads took up their quarters. According to a somewhat obscure passage of the *Istibṣār*, Abū Yaᶜḳūb Yūsuf seems to have begun the building of a "fort" in the south of the town but it was Yaᶜḳūb al-Manṣūr who built the new *ḳaṣba* (585-93/1189-97); that is to say he joined to the south wall of the town a new walled area within which he built palaces, a mosque, and a regular town. Nothing remains of the Almohad palaces, but from pieces of wall and other vestiges one can follow the old wall, at least on the north and the east side. There also the line of the wall has hardly changed. The magnificent gateway of carved stone by which the *ḳaṣba* is now entered, must be one of al-Manṣūr's buildings. Its modern name of Bāb Agnaw (the dumb mute's = Negro's Gate) is not found in any old text. It probably corresponds to Bāb al-Kuḥl (Gate of the Negroes?), often mentioned by the historians.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ᶜUmarī, in the 8th/14th century, Leo Africanus and Marmol in the 10th/16th have left us fairly detailed descriptions of the *ḳaṣba*, in spite of a few obscure passages. In the Almohad period, the *ḳaṣba* was divided into three quite distinct parts. One wall in the northwest, around the mosque of al-Manṣūr which still exists, contained the police offices, the headquarters of the Almohad tribes and the barracks of the Christian soldiery. From this one entered through the Bāb al-Ṭubūl a second enclosure in which around a huge open space, the "Cereque" of Marmol (*asārāg*), were grouped the guard houses, the offices of the minister of the army, a guest-house, a *madrasa* with its library and a large building called *al-saḳāʾif* (the porticoes), the "Acequife" of Marmol, occupied by the principal members of the Almohad organisation, the "Ten", the "Fifty", the *ṭolba* and the pages (*ahl al-dār*). The royal palace, sometimes called the Alhambra of Marrakesh, in imitation of that of Granada, was entered from the Asārāg and occupied the whole area east of the *ḳaṣba*. The palaces of al-Manṣūr were still in existence at the beginning of the 10th/16th century when the Saᶜdians took possession. ᶜAbd Allāh al-G͟hālib incorporated them in the new palaces which he was building. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr added, in the gardens to the north, the famous al-Badīᶜ palace celebrated for its size and splendour. Only a few almost shapeless ruins remain of it, but its plan is perfectly clear. Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl had it destroyed in order to use its materials. The *ḳaṣba* remained so completely in ruins that Sīdī Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh, when he became governor of Marrakesh in 1159/1746, was obliged to live in a tent until his new buildings were finished. It is to him that we owe an important part of the present palace with its inner garden, ᶜArṣat al-Nīl. Other works were later undertaken by Mawlāy Slīmān and his successors. Some large unfinished buildings date only from Mawlāy ᶜAbd al-Ḥafīẓ. A number of gates, in addition to the Bāb Agnaw, give admittance to the *ḳaṣba*: these are Bāb Berrīma and Bāb al-Aḥmar in the east, Bāb Ig͟hlī and Bāb Ḳṣība in the west. The palace has vast gardens belonging to it: Jnān al-ᶜAfīya, Agdal, Jnān Riḍwān, Maʾmūniyya and Manāra. The latter, two miles west of the town, contained in the 10th/16th century a pleasure house of the sultans. The palace of Dār al-Bayḍāʾ, situated in the Agdal, took the place of a Saᶜdian palace. It was rebuilt by Sīdī Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh and has since been restored. As to the gardens of the Agdal, they seem to

have been created in the 6th/12th century by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin.

Mosques. Nothing remains of the early Almoravid mosques, in the building of one of which Yūsuf b. Tas̲h̲fīn himself worked along with the masons as a sign of humility. But the Friday mosque of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, where Ibn Tūmart had an interview with the sultan, although several times rebuilt, still retains its name. The Almohads, on taking possession of Marrakesh, destroyed all the mosques on the pretext that they were wrongly oriented. The mosque of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf was only partly destroyed and was rebuilt. ʿAbd Allāh al-G̲h̲ālib restored it in the middle of the 10th/16th century. The present buildings and the minaret date from Mawlāy Slīmān (1792-1822).

Kutubiyya. When the Almohads entered Marrakesh, Abd al-Muʾmin built the first Kutubiyya of which some traces still remain and it has been possible to reconstruct its plan. As it was wrongly oriented he built a new mosque, the present Kutubiyya, in prolongation of the first but with a slightly different orientation. It takes its name from the 100 booksellers' shops which used to be around its entrance. It is a very large building with seventeen naves, which with its decoration in carved plaster, its stalactite cupolas, the moulding of its timberwork, its capitals and magnificent pulpit (*minbar*) of inlaid work, is the most important and the most perfectly preserved work of Almohad art. The minaret, begun by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, was only finished in the reign of his grandson al-Manṣūr (591/1195). It is 230 feet high and its powerful silhouette dominates the whole town and the palm groves. It is the prototype of the Giralda of Seville and of the tower of Ḥassān at Rabat. It is decorated with arcatures the effects of which were formerly heightened by paintings still visible in places, with a band of ceramic work around the top.

The mosque of the *ḳaṣba* or mosque of al-Manṣūr is the work of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr. It was begun in 585-91/1189-95 and built in great splendour. It has been profoundly altered, first by ʿAbd Allāh al-G̲h̲ālib the Saʿdian, then in the middle of the 18th century by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, then more recently by Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1822-59). The minaret of brick is intact and magnificently ornamented with green ceramics. The lampholder supports a *d̲j̲āmūr* of three bowls of gilt copper, which occupy a considerable place in the legends of Marrakesh. They are said to be of pure gold and to be enchanted, so that no one can take them away without bringing on himself the most terrible misfortunes. This legend is often wrongly connected with the *d̲j̲āmūr* of the Kutubiyya.

Among the religious monuments of Marrakesh of archaeological interest may also be mentioned the minarets of the mosque of Ibn Ṣāliḥ (dated 731/1331) and of the sanctuary of Mawlā 'l-Ḳṣūr, built in the Marīnid period in the Almohad tradition, and two Saʿdian mosques: the mosque of al-Mwāsīn or mosque of the S̲h̲arīfs, which owes its origin to ʿAbd Allāh al-G̲h̲ālib, and that of Bāb Dukkāla, built in 965/1557-8 by Lālla Masʿūda, the mother of the sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr.

Madrasas. An Almohad *madrasa*, built "to teach the children of the king and others of his family in it", formed part of the buildings of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr. This royal school was presumably different from what were later the Marīnid *madrasas*. It stood on the great square in front of the palace and was still in existence in the time of Leo Africanus. The Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan in 748/1347 built another *madrasa*, also described by Leo. It lay north of the mosque of the *ḳaṣba*, where traces of it can still be seen. The *madrasa* of Ibn Yūsuf is not, as is usually said, a restoration of the Marīnid *madrasa*. It was a new building by ʿAbd Allāh al-G̲h̲ālib, dated by an inscription of 972/1564-5 and the only surviving example of a Saʿdian *madrasa*.

Saʿdian tombs. The two first founders of the dynasty rest beside the tomb of Sīdī Muḥammad b. Slīmān al-D̲j̲azūlī in the Riyāḍ al-ʿArūs quarter. Their successors from 964/1557 were buried to the south of the mosque of the *ḳaṣba*. There was a cemetery there, probably as early as the Almohad period, which still has tombs of the 8th/14th century. The magnificent *ḳubba*s which cover the tombs of the Saʿdian dynasty must have been built at two different periods. The one on the east under which is the tomb of Maḥammad al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ seems to have been built by ʿAbd Allāh al-G̲h̲ālib. The other, with three chambers, seems to have been erected by Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (d. 1012/1603) to hold his tomb.

Bibliography: Arab writers: see the indexes to the editions of Bakrī (tr. de Slane, 1859); Idrīsī (ed. tr. and Dozy and de Goeje, 1866); Ibn al-At̲h̲īr (tr. Fagnan, 1901); *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* (ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal, 1928); *Chronique almohade anonyme* (ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Mélanges René Basset*, ii, 1925); Zarkas̲h̲ī (tr. Fagnan, 1895); Marrākus̲h̲ī (tr. Fagnan, 1893); Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (tr. Solvet, 1839); Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik* (tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1927); Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbār* (tr. de Slane, 1852); Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī* (ed. and tr. Houdas, 1889); Zayyānī (ed. and tr. Houdas, 1886); Naṣīrī, *Istiḳṣāʾ* (part tr. in *AM*, ix, x, xxx, xxxi); *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb* (tr. Fagnan, 1924); see also: *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* (tr. Fagnan, 1899); *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, Tunis 1329, Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās* (ed. Tornberg, 1846, tr. Beaumier, 1860); Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, Paris 1956); Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, *al-Saʿādat al-abadiyya*, Fās 1336; al-ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm al-Marrākus̲h̲ī, *Iẓhār al-kamāl*, Fās 1334.

European authors: Damião de Góis, *Crónica do felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, ed. D. Lopes, Coimbra 1926, tr. R. Ricard, *Les Portugais au Maroc*, Rabat 1937; Marmol Carvajal, *Descripción general de Affrica*, ii, Granada 1573, French tr. 1667; H. de Castries, *Sources inédites de l'Histoire de Maroc, passim*, cf. the indexes to the French and Dutch series; Matias de S. Francisco, *Relación del viage... que hizo à Marruecos el Ven. P. Fr. Juan de Prado*, Madrid 1643, 2nd ed. Tangier 1945; G. Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*, Copenhagen 1781; L. de Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, iii, 1787; Jackson, *Account of the Empire of Morocco*, 1809; Ali Bey el Abbassi, *Voyages*, i, 1814; P. Lambert, *Notice sur la ville de Maroc*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.* (1868); Gatell, *Viages por Marruecos*, Madrid 1869; E. Doutté, *Merrakech*, 1905; P. Champion, *Rabat et Marrakech, Les villes d'art célèbres*, 1926; H. de Castries, *Du nom d'Alhambra donné au palais du souverain à Marrakech et à Grenade*, in *JA* (1921); P. de Cénival, *L'Eglise chrétienne de Marrakech*, in *Hespéris* (1927); H. Basset and H. Terrasse, *Sanctuaires et forteresses almohades*, in *Hespéris* (1925-7); Gallotti, *Le Lanternon du minaret de la Koutoubia de Marrakech*, in *ibid.* (1923); G. Rousseau and F. Arin, *Le mausolée des princes saʿdiens à Marrakech*, 1925; de Castries, *Le Cimetière de Djama el-Mansour*, in *Hespéris* (1927); G. Aimel, *Le Palais d'el Bediʿ à Marrakech*, in *Archives Berbères* (1918); Ch. Terrasse, *Medersas du Maroc*, 1928; Capt. Begbéder, *Notes sur l'organisation administrative de la Région de Marrakech*, in *Bull. de la*

Soc. de Géogr. du Maroc (1921); Voinot, *Les tribus guich du Haouz de Marrakech*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. et d'Archéologie d'Oran* (1928); in *France-Maroc*, 1919-21, a number of articles signed Aimel, Doutté, Guichard, etc.; Doctoresse Légey, *Contes et légendes populaires recueillis à Marrakech*, 1926; *Guides Bleus, Maroc*. There is a detailed list of the archival, manuscript, cartographic and iconographic sources, followed by an exhaustive bibliography (works in both Arabic and European languages), in G. Deverdun's monograph, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, 2 vols., Rabat 1959-66, complemented by the work of idem, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956. (P. de Cenival)

al-**MARRĀKUSHĪ** [see ʿabd al-wāḥid; ibn al-bannāʾ].

al-**MARRĀKUSHĪ**, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, astronomer of Maghribī origin who worked in Cairo. In *ca.* 680/1281-2, he compiled a compendium of spherical astronomy and astronomical instruments entitled *Kitāb Djāmiʿ al-mabādiʾ wa 'l-ghāyāt fī ʿilm al-mīḳāt*, which is perhaps the most valuable single source for the history of Islamic astronomical instrumentation.

In this work, which exists in several manuscript copies, al-Marrākushī presented a detailed discussion of the standard problems of spherical astronomy [see mīḳāt. 2. Astronomical aspects], and then dealt with different kinds of plane sundials, the armillary sphere, the planispheric astrolabe, the universal plate known as the *shakkāziyya*, the trigonometric grid called *al-rubʿ al-mudjayyab*, and a variety of aquadrants for determining time from solar altitude [see aṣṭurlāb and rubʿ]. Most of the material was apparently culled from earlier sources which are not identified by the author and which have not yet been established. Those earlier scholars whom he does mention do not appear to be his major sources. The compendium does contain several tables computed specifically for Cairo, and these appear to be original to al-Marrākushī. Rather surprisingly, he makes no reference to and does not exploit the *Zīdj ḥākimī* of the 4th/10th century Egyptian astronomer Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*], which included an exhaustive account of spherical astronomy and also contained numerous tables for Cairo.

Al-Marrākushī's work was highly influential in later Islamic astronomy in Rasūlid Yemen, in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, and in Ottoman Turkey. Most of the surviving manuscripts are of Egyptian, Syrian or Turkish provenance. His work was apparently unknown in the Maghrib and the Islamic East.

The first half of al-Marrākushī's treatise dealing with spherical astronomy and sundials was translated by J.J. Sédillot, and the second half dealing with instruments summarised by L.A. Sédillot. Al-Marrākushī's sundial theory has been studied by K. Schoy. A detailed study of this work, and an investigation of its sources, has yet to be conducted. An uncritical edition was prepared by the late Egyptian scholar Shaykh Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ, but this has not been published.

Al-Marrākushī is usually described as a Maghribī scientist because of his *nisba*. Unfortunately, we have no biographical information on him of any consequence. Whatever his origin, his *magnum opus* was clearly compiled in Cairo. Apparently neither of the Sédillots realised that he was writing there, and Sédillot *père* misdated him to 660/1261-2 in spite of the fact that his solar tables and star catalogue are computed for 680/1281-2.

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Studies of his works: J. J. Sédillot, *Traité des instruments astronomiques des Arabes...*, 2 vols., Paris 1834-5; L. A. Sédillot, *Mémoire sur les instruments astronomiques des Arabes*, in *Méms. de l'Acad. Royale des Inscrs. et Belles-Lettres de l'Inst. de France*, i (1844), 1-229; K. Schoy, *Die Gnomonik der Araber*, Band I, Lieferung F, of E. von Bassermann-Jordan (ed.). *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*, Berlin-Leipzig 1923. (D. A. King)

MARRĀSH, Fransīs b. Fatḥ Allāh b. Naṣr, Syrian scholar and publicist of the *Nahḍa* (1835-74 according to M. ʿAbbūd and S. al-Kayyālī, or 1836-73 according to Brockelmann, Dāghir and al-Ziriklī).

He was born and died at Aleppo, coming from a Melkite Christian family of literary men (Brockelmann, S II, 755), and in the opening stages of the modern Arabic literary renaissance, the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*], tried to introduce "critical reasoning" into a sphere at that time in a state of cultural effervescence. For this, he employed pseudo-scientific terms in order to prove, in his early works, the need for freedom and peace in the world, and then in his later works, the existence of God and the divine law (the *sharīʿa* which, in his eyes, goes beyond the sphere of the Islamic law alone). In order to free human thought from the yokes of tradition and respect for the ancients, he used extra-literary methods, the discoveries of the botanical, geological and zoological sciences; but, so as not to frighten off his public, he did not endeavour to free himself from traditional forms of expression (*sadjʿ*, the *maḳāma* genre, numerous poetic citations). The whole of his work involved religion and history in an epistemological revision, and in this, he contributed with Faris al-Shidyāḳ and Faraḥ Anṭūn [*q.vv.*] in the development of critical reasoning, fed by multi-disciplinary aspects of knowledge, in contemporary Arab thought.

He was aided in this by his milieu. Aleppo was at that time a lively centre of thought about the Arab future, within a society still under Ottoman rule. It was in the French religious schools that the Marrāsh family learnt Arabic with French and other foreign languages (Italian and English). The father, Fatḥ Allāh, and the brother, ʿAbd Allāh, achieved a certain literary fame. A young sister, Maryāna, born in 1848 (Brockelmann, S II, 756, erroneously calls her "daughter"; Dāghir, ii, 697), was to conduct a literary salon and seems to have been the first Arab woman to write in the daily newspapers (*al-Djinān* and *Lisān al-ḥāl*).

Since he was 4 years old, as a consequence of measles, Fransīs Marrāsh began to lose his sight. He studied science and learnt medicine with an English physician in Aleppo. He continued his studies in 1867 at Paris, where he had already been in 1850 for treatment for his eyes. But as his sight deteriorated, he had to return to Aleppo completely blind. During the last

years of his life, he was able to dictate a relatively abundant body of work.

His biographers reproach him for using a linguistic style at times incorrect and inelegant (Dāg͟hir, ii, 693; al-Ziriklī; Ḳusṭākī; M. ʿAbbūd, 115), but they speak with appreciation of the quality of his personal thought and insight (*kātib mabādiʾ wa-tafkīr... min al-ṭirāz al-awwal*, Dāg͟hir, ii, 693) at a time when *bidʿa*, innovativeness and originality, were still viewed with disfavour by traditional cultural circles. From the titles onwards, his works reveal a clearly marked-out form and a new range of contents: *Dalīl al-ḥurriyya al-insāniyya* "Guide to human liberty", Aleppo 1861, 24 pp.; *al-Mirʾāt al-ṣafiyya fi 'l-mabādiʾ al-ṭabīʿiyya* "The clear mirror of natural principles", Aleppo 1861, 60 pp. of pseudo-scientific text; *Taʿziyat al-makrūb wa-rāḥat al-matʿūb* "Consolation of the anxious and repose of the weary one", Aleppo 1864, a philosophical and pessimistic discourse on nations of the past; *G͟hābat al-ḥaḳḳ* "The forest of truth" (Brockelmann, S II, 756: *G͟hāyāt al-ḥaḳḳ*), Aleppo 1865, Cairo 1298/1881, Beirut 1881, his most famous and most often printed work, "almost a novel" (Dāg͟hir, ii, 695; ʿAbbūd, 131; Kayyālī, 57), a kind of apocalyptic vision and pleading for the liberty of peoples and for peace; *Riḥla ilā Bārīs*, a description of his trip to Paris, Beirut 1867; *al-Kunūz al-fanniyya fi 'l-rumūz al-maymūniyya* "Artistic treasures concerning the symbolic visions of Maymūn", a poem of almost 500 verses, a kind of symbolic vision whose hero is called Maymūn; *Mas͟hhad al-aḥwāl* "The witnessing of the stages of human life", Beirut 1870, 1883 (Brockelmann, S II, 756, gives an edition of 1865 [?]), these editions testifying to the work's success, as confirmed by ʿAbbūd—with its 130 pp. (this in the 1870 edition, 75 being in verse and 55 in prose), the book sets forth the author's philosophical ideas on beings and things: minerals, vegetable and plant life, animals and human kind; *Durr al-ṣadaf fī g͟harāʾib al-ṣadf* "The pearl of nacre concerning the curious aspects of change", a social narrative which appeared at Beirut in 1872; *Mirʾāt al-ḥasnāʾ* "The mirror of the beautiful one", Beirut 1872, 1883, a collection of poems; and his posthumous work, *S͟hahādat al-ṭabīʿa fī wud͟jūd Allāh wa 'l-s͟harīʿa* "The proofs of nature for the existence of God and the divine law", Beirut 1892.

In his articles published in *al-D͟jinān*, Buṭrus al-Bustānī's journal [see AL-BUSTĀNĪ, 2., in Suppl.], he reveals himself as favourable to women's education, which he limited however to reading, writing, and a little bit of arithmetic, geography and grammar. He wrote that it is not necessary for a woman "to act like a man, neglect her domestic and family duties, or that she should consider herself superior to the man" (*al-D͟jinān*, 1872, 769-70, cited by A. al-Maḳdisī, 268-9). He nevertheless closely followed his sister Maryāna's studies not suspecting that the first poem which she would publish in the public press—actually in *al-D͟jinān*—would be her elegy on him (ʿAbbūd, 173).

Bibliography: Mārūn ʿAbbūd, *Ruwwād al-nahḍa al-ḥadīt͟ha*, Beirut 1966, 115, 121, 123-36, 173, 193, 208; Brockelmann, II², 646, S II, 755; Y.A. Dāg͟hir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabiyya*, Beirut 1956, ii, 693-6; S. al-Kayyālī, *al-Adab al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir fī Sūriya (1850-1950²*, Cairo 1968, 53-9; Ḳusṭākī al-Ḥimṣī, *Udabāʾ Ḥalab d͟hawu 'l-at͟har fī 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿas͟har*, Aleppo 1925, 20-30; Anīs al-Maḳdisī, *al-Ittid͟jāhāt al-adabiyya fi 'l-ʿālam al-ʿarabī al-ḥadīt͟h²*, Beirut 1967, 205, 268-9, 275 (on Maryāna); Sarkīs, *Muʿd͟jam al-maṭbūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya wa 'l-muʿarraba*, Cairo 1346/1928, col. 1730; L. Cheikho, *al-Ādāb al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿas͟har*, Beirut 1926, ii, 45; Ṭarrāzī (Philippe de Tarrazi), *Taʾrīk͟h al-ṣiḥāfa al-ʿarabiyya*, Beirut 1913-33, i, 141; D͟j. Zaydān, *Tarād͟jim mas͟hāhīr al-s͟harḳ fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿas͟har*, Cairo 1900, ii, 152; idem, *Taʾrīk͟h ādāb al-lug͟ha al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1913-14, iv, 237; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām³*, v, 344b. (N. TOMICHE)

MARRIAGE [see ʿMAHR, MARʾA, NIKĀḤ, ʿURS].

MARS [see AL-MIRRĪK͟H].

MARSĀ [see MĪNĀʾ].

MARSĀ ʿALĪ [see ṢIḲILLIYYA].

MARṢAD (A.) originally means a place where one keeps watch, whence comes the meaning of observatory, also described by the word *raṣad.*

The first astronomical observations carried out in the Islamic world seem to date back to the end of the 2nd/8th century, i.e. to the period when Indo-Persian astronomical materials were introduced and the first Ptolemaic data appeared. According to Ibn Yūnus (d. 399/1009), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nihāwandī (174/790) made some observations in D͟jundīs͟hāpūr in the time of the minister Yaḥyā b. K͟hālid b. Barmak (d. 190/805) and used their results in his *Zīd͟j mus͟htamil*, unfortunately lost. The same Ibn Yūnus informs us, on the other hand, that in 159/776 the first determination of the obliquity of the ecliptic was made with a result of 23°31', but he does not cite the one responsible for these observations, who may have been al-Nihāwandī himself.

The first systematic programme of observations concerning which we have solid information is that which was implemented under the patronage of the caliph al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] (198-218/813-33) who gave an impulse to this research, perhaps because of his own interest in astronomy or his desire to achieve a permanent solution of the problem presented by the contradictory parameters used by the three astronomical schools known to Muslims: Indian, Persian and Greek (D. Pingree, *The Greek influence on early Islamic mathematical astronomy*, in *JAOS*, xciii [1973], 38-9). This second hypothesis would also explain the careful measurement of a meridian degree undertaken on al-Maʾmūn's order, in the Syrian desert (between the towns of al-Raḳḳa and Palmyra) and in ʿIrāḳ (between Bag͟hdād and Kūfa and on the Sind͟jar plain; see T. Bychawski, *Measurement of one geographical degree undertaken and carried out by the Arabs in the IXth century*, in *Actes du IXᵉ Congrès International d'Histoire de Sciences*, Barcelona-Paris 1960, 635-8). The observations encouraged by al-Maʾmūn were undertaken in Bag͟hdād and Damascus, not simultaneously, it seems, but consecutively, although we possess a reference to the collation of the results of an observation of the autumnal equinox carried out in the two towns. In Bag͟hdād, the observations took place in al-S͟hammāsiyya quarter, but the sources do not say if there was an observatory, properly speaking, in a building reserved for this purpose; in any case, the insistence in the introduction of the *zīd͟j* attributed to Hayhā b. Abī Manṣūr (d. *ca.* 215/830) on the use of the "circle" (*dāʾira*) of al-S͟hammāsiyya makes us think of a large scale instrument requiring a fixed installation and a minimal permanent space (cf. J. Vernet, *Las "Tabulae Probatae"*, in *Homenaje à Millás Vallicrosa*, ii, Barcelona 1956, 508, repr. in *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia medieval*, Barcelona-Bellaterra 1979, 198). The situation was the same in Damascus, where the observations took place in the monastery of Dayr Murrān on Mount Ḳāsiyūn [*q.v.*]; a sun-dial ten cubits high (about 5 m.) was built there and a marble wall dial, whose interior radius also measured ten cubits. In any case, it was not necessary for the installations to be of a permanent character, for the

programmes were brief; in Baghdād the observations were carried out in 213/828 and 214/829 under the direction of Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr with the collaboration of Sanad b. ᶜAlī and al-ᶜAbbās b. Saᶜīd al-Djawharī. They had to be interrupted for a year, to be repeated later in Damascus, where they took place at the end of a solar year between 216 and 217/831-2, under the direction of Khālid b. ᶜAbd al-Malik al-Marwarrūdhī, perhaps with the assistance of Sanad b. ᶜAlī and ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā al-Asṭurlābī. The question as to whether Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib (d. between 250 and 260/864-74) was involved in these observations, especially as head of the team in Damascus, has been much discussed, but there does not seem to be sufficient proof and Ḥabash himself, in the introduction of his *zīdj* where he alludes to these observations, does not say that he took part personally. The caliph's death, in 218/833, interrupted, according to some sources, the programme of observations, but the matter is not clear, for, on the one hand, some evidence shows that this work preceded al-Maʾmūn's death and, on the other, we possess some references to later observations carried out by al-Maʾmūn's astronomers in Damascus (Khālid in 219/834) and in Baghdād (Khālid, ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā al-Ḥarrānī and Sanad b. ᶜAlī in 230-1/843-4). It is furthermore possible that the observations in question survived to be followed up by a later imitator or that the latter to which allusion is to be made (such as those of Ḥabash in Baghdād between 210 and 220/825-33 and in 250/864) were carried out on the fringe of the official programme laid down by the caliph.

The observers of al-Maʾmūn's time seem to have given themselves to the systematic observation of the sun and moon, although observations were also made of the fixed stars and no doubt of the planets. The results of these labours were recorded in a certain number of *zīdjs*, outstanding among which are those attributed to Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr and Ḥabash. As far as the sun is concerned, these *zīdjs* improve upon the Ptolemaic parameters, and it is also known that al-Maʾmūn's astronomers established a new method, which offers some advantages as against that of Ptolemy, for establishing the parameters of the solar (W. Hartner and M. Schramm, *Al-Bīrūnī and the theory of the solar apogee: an example of originality in Arabic science*, in A.C. Crombie (ed.), *Scientific change*, London 1963, 208-9). Various calculations of the obliquity of the ecliptic (see al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin*, ed. P. Boulgakov, in *RIMA*, viii [1962], 90-1) and of the duration of the tropical year were undertaken. However, the observation of the moon, stars and planets proved to be less fruitful, and we can only say, by way of example, that the estimation of the precession of the equinoxes (1 every 66 years) obtained by Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr (following an observation of the autumnal equinox carried out on the 27 Radjab 215/19 September 830) is suspect, for D. Pingree (*Precession and trepidation in Indian astronomy before A.D. 1200*, in *Jnal. of the Hist. of Astronomy*, iii [1972]), has demonstrated that the parameter cited above is of Sanskrit origin.

The status given to astronomical observations by al-Maʾmūn's patronage was to be followed by a period during which the same work had to be pursued, on a lower level, in small private observatories: this is the case with the brothers Muḥammad and Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Shākir who observed the sun and fixed stars between 225 and 225/840-69, principally in Baghdād, but also in Sāmarrā and Nīshāpūr. This activity of the Banū Mūsā is easily explained, for they had at their disposal a considerable fortune and became patrons of other scholars, among whom figured Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] (d. 288/901), who also made observations himself, but is distinguished essentially by his use of the results of those which dated back to antiquity and al-Maʾmūn's period. Between the 3rd and 4th/9th-10th centuries, attention should be drawn to the work undertaken by al-Mahānī (observation of conjunctions and eclipses of the sun and moon between 239 and 252/853-66), the 30 years (273-305) of systematic observations of al-Battānī [*q.v.*] in al-Raḳḳa which are crystallised in his famous *zīdj* (edited by C.A. Nallino, Milan 1899-1907) and the labours of the Banū Amādjūr in Baghdād between 271 and 321/885-933, who made observations not only of the sun but also of the moon and planets.

The 4th/10th century had already begun when the interest of the Buwayhid dynasty in astronomy brought a revival of official patronage which facilitated the undertaking of very extensive work; Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ᶜAmīd [*q.v.*], minister of the ruler of al-Rayy, Rukn al-Dawla (d. 366/977), subsidised the construction of a large-scale instrument with which Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Harawī and Abū Djaᶜfar al-Khāzin [*q.v.*] made solar observations in 348/950. This same minister also had in his service ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī (d. 376/986), who was also patronised, in Iṣfahān, by another Buwayhid, ᶜAḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/983). Al-Ṣūfī's important stellar observations resulted in a systematic revision of Ptolemy's catalogue of stars; simultaneously, Ibn al-Aᶜlam, also for ᶜAḍud al-Dawla, made some planetary observations which are recorded in his famous *zīdj* (cf. E. S. Kennedy, *The astronomical tables of Ibn al-Aᶜlam*, in *JHAS*, i [1977], 13-21). This work was further developed under Sharaf al-Dawla (372-9/982-9), who commanded Abū Sahl al-Ḳūhī to observe the seven planets, which resulted in the construction of an observatory in the royal palace garden at Baghdād where some large-scale instruments were used. Astronomers such as Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzdjānī [*q.v.*] and Aḥmad b. Muhammad al-Ṣāghānī must have taken part in the first observations, which took place in 378/988. Unfortunately, this Baghdād observatory had an ephemeral existence, for its activities ended with the death of Sharaf al-Dawla. Even so, the patronage of Fakhr al-Dawla (366-87/977-97) supported the solar observations of al-Khudjandī [*q.v.*] (d. 390/1000) carried out in Rayy with the help of a large sextant called *al-sudus al-fakhrī*. The Buwayhids' example must obviously have awakened a desire to emulate it among members of other dynasties, and this was the case with the Kākwayhid ᶜAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad (d. 433/1041-2) who supplied Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] (370-428/980-1037), with funds to carry out observations of the planets in Hamadān around 414/1023-4, and with Maḥmūd of Ghazna (d. 421/1030), under whose patronage al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] (362-442/973-1050) also made certain observations and wrote a main part of his astronomical work.

From the 4th/10th century onwards, observations began to take place further west. In Egypt, there emerges the remarkable figure of Ibn Yūnus (d. 399/1009), despite the fact that the account according to which this astronomer is said to have had at his disposal a well-equipped observatory, thanks to the patronage of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021), appears entirely legendary; he probably had at his disposal only a private observatory, although a number of his observations (described in the introduction to his *zīdj*) were carried out in various places in the town between 367/977 (or 380/990) and

398/1007), such that we may assume that he used essentially portable instruments and obtained excellent results. In al-Andalus, the first observations known from documents are those of Maslama al-Madjrīṭī [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 398/1107; see J. Vernet and M. A. Catalá, *Las obras matemáticas de Maslama de Madrid*, in *al-And.*, xxx [1965], 15-47; repr. in *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia medieval*, Barcelona-Bellaterra 1979, 241-71), while far more remarkable work in this respect was carried out by Azarquiel/al-Zarḳalī (d. 493/1100), of whom we know that, with the assistance of several collaborators, he made observations of the sun, moon and fixed stars for more than 25 years, first in Toledo, then in Cordoba (J. M. Millás-Vallicrosa, *Estudios sobre Azarquiel*, Madrid-Granada 1943-50, 279); yet there does not seem to be any proof of an organised observatory.

The observatory as an institution, if not permanent, at least longer lasting than the examples mentioned until now, seems to be an Eastern development dating from the later Middle Ages. The most obvious antecedent, although not well-known, is the observatory founded by Malik Shāh (465-85/1072-92) around 467/1074, perhaps in Iṣfahān and where ʿUmar al-Khayyām [*q.v.*] (440-526/1048-1131), in collaboration with other astronomers, completed a *zīdj* and effected the reform of the Persian solar calendar [see further, DJALĀLĪ]. This observatory stayed active for about 18 years, until the death of the ruler, whose son, Sandjar b. Malik Shāh, patronised the planetary observations carried out in Marw by al-Khāzinī (between about 509 and 530/1115-35). With regard to the observatory of Malik Shāh, there appears for the first time the idea that the minimum time necessary to complete a programme of observations is 30 years (a revolution of Saturn). Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] (597-672/1201-74) was to recall this minimum period in the course of his negotations with the Mongol sultan Hülegü with a view to creating the Marāgha observatory; facing resistance from the ruler, the astronomer agreed to complete the same work in twelve years (a revolution of Jupiter). In the 9th/15th century, al-Kāshī (d. 833/1429), the principal astronomer of the Samarḳand observatory, was also to speak of a minimum period of between 10 and 15 years.

Hülegü Khān (d. 663/1265) founded, at the suggestion of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, the Marāgha observatory, on a hill situated near the town. It is the first large-scale Islamic observatory whose organisation and structure we know about in detail; it contained several buildings, including a residence for Hülegü, a mosque and a rich library (the sources speak of 400,000 volumes, which is a traditional figure). It had large-size instruments and was financed by the official revenues of pious foundations (*awḳāf*); this is the first time that we see an observatory subsidised in a manner ordinarily reserved for schools, hospitals and libraries. The motives behind this undertaking seem to have been, for Hülegü, basically astrological. The most important astronomers of the age, whose names are mainly associated with important modifications to the Ptolemaic system and undertakings, before the observatory's foundation, by Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī (d. 666/1266; see the work of G. Saliba, in *JHAS*, iii [1979], 3-18 and iv [1980], 220-34, and in *Isis*, lxx [1979], 571-6), participated in the observatory's work. Outstanding among them, apart from al-Ṭūsī and al-ʿUrḍī, are Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-Maghribī (d. between 680 and 690/1281-91) and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] (634-710/1236-1311). The observatory, founded in 657/1259, survived Hülegü. On the death of al-Ṭūsī (672/1274), the *Zīdj-i īlkhānī* had already been composed, i.e. some astronomical tables which constitute the basic result of the work completed in Marāgha. The observations thus lasted more than 12 years, and we know that they were pursued after al-Ṭūsī's death, until the end of the period of 30 years corresponding to a revolution of Saturn: following these new observations (around 672-703/1274-1304) some corrections were made to the *Zīdj-i īlkhānī*. It seems, on the other hand, that there was some activity at the observatory until around 715/1316 and that it was in ruins in 740/1339. So it was the first Islamic observatory to enjoy a remarkable longevity (55 or 60 years) and give birth not only to al-Ṭūsī's *zīdj* but also to that of Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-Maghribī.

Marāgha provided a model for several imitations among which may be cited the observatory of Sham (a suburb of Tabrīz) which was built by the ruler Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304) and survived 15 or 16 years (*ca.* 701-17/1300-17). However, no observatory of the size of that at Marāgha appears before the 9th/15th century. Thanks to the patronage of the great prince Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*], governor of the Samarḳand region, in 823/1420 an important *madrasa* was founded in that town. It specialised in the teaching of astronomy at the heart of what constituted the nucleus of a scientific circle frequented by Ulugh Beg, who was himself a mathematician and astronomer of note (see A. Sayılı, *A letter by al-Kâshî on Ulugh Bey's scientific circle in Samarquand*, in *Actes du IXe Congrès Intern. d'Hist. des Sciences*, Barcelona-Paris 1960, ii, 586-91; E.S. Kennedy, *A letter of Jamshīd al-Kāshī to his father. Scientific research and personalities at a fifteenth century court*, in *Orientalia*, xxix [1960], 191-213, republ. in *idem* (ed.), *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 722-44). It was in this same year that the observatory of Samarḳand was to be founded, situated on a hill near to the town, consisting of several buildings and equipped with huge instruments such as a large meridian axis, remains of which were excavated in 1908. The principal astronomers who made observations in Samarḳand were Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 833/1429), Ḳāḍīzāda al-Rūmī (d. between 840 and 850/1436-46) and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḳūshdjī (d. 879/1474). Ulugh Beg was assassinated in 853/1449, but the observatory continued to function under his son and successor ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, and the building remained standing for the 50 years which followed the death of its founder. Some systematic observations were carried out there, at least during the key period of 30 years, and it was then that the *Zīdj-i gurgānī* or *zīdj* of Ulugh Beg was prepared (see L. Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oloug Beg*, Paris 1847, 1853).

The Samarḳand observatory was twice imitated, firstly in the 10th/16th century, in Istanbul, where Taḳī 'l-Dīn b. Maʿrūf b. Aḥmad (932-93/1525-85) founded one in 982/1575 thanks to the patronage of Sultan Murād III (982-1004/1574-95); the building was completed in 985/1577. This establishment is said to have been a large observatory in a category analogous to those of Marāgha and Samarḳand, but an unfortunate astrological prediction about a comet carried out by Taḳī 'l-Dīn in this same year 985/1577, as well as the hostility of the most conservative sectors of society, made the sultan order the destruction of the buildings in 988/1580.

The last large Islamic observatories are those which were founded by Djay Singh (Savai Jayasiṁha II), *mahārādjā* of Ambēr from 1111/1699 (d. 1156/1743) who, wishing to bring up to date the astronomy of his

time, dedicated himself to collecting manuscripts of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic astronomical works, as well as European printed books of astronomy (D. Pingree, *Islamic astronomy in Sanskrit*, in *JHAS*, ii [1978], 315-30; D. A. King, *A handlist of the Arabic and Persian astronomical manuscripts in the Maharaja Mansingh II Library in Jaipur*, in *ibid.*, iv [1980], 81-6). Not satisfied with the results obtained with the *zīdjs* of Ulugh Beg and Ibn al-Shāṭir (705-77/1306-75), he constructed five observatories in Djaypūr (the capital which he had founded in 1141/1728), Dihlī, Banāras, Mathurā and Udjdjayn. Those of Banāras and Mathurā seem to have been built after 1147/1734. These observatories were equipped with large metal and stone instruments (the stone ones are mostly still standing), conforming to their models in Marāgha and Samarkand. Djay Singh also patronised the preparation of astronomical tables with rules in Persian, which were dedicated to the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh in 1141/1728 and were given the title *Zīdj-i djadīd-i Muḥammad Shāhī*. This *zīdj* was later to be rewritten (the introduction was written after 1147/1734) and we are not clear as to their relationship with the work carried out in the observatories, which were abandoned on the death of their founder (see G. R. Kaye, *The astronomical observatories of Jai Singh*, Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India. Imperial series, Calcutta 1918, repr. Varanasi 1973; *idem, A guide to the old Observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain and Benares*, Calcutta 1920; W. A. Blanpied, *The astronomical program of Raja Sawai Jai Singh II and its historical context*, in *Jap. Stud. Hist. of Science*, xiii [1974], 87-126).

Bibliography: Given in the article. The basic monograph which has been quite extensively drawn upon is the work of A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam and its place in the general history of the observatory*, Ankara 1960. On the connections between observatories and *zīdjs*, see E. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S., xlvi (Philadelphia 1956), 123-75; A. Bausani, *The observatory of Marāghe*, in *Quaderni del Seminario di iranistica*, ix (Venice 1982), 125-51. (J. Samsó)

al-**MARṢAFĪ**, al-Ḥusayn, Egyptian scholar and teacher (1815-90) from a family originating from the village of Marṣafā, near Banha; his father taught at the al-Azhar Mosque. Al-Ḥusayn became blind at the age of three; however, he underwent the programme of studies usual for boys destined to teach at al-Azhar and reached the rank of master in 1840-5. He was remarkable for the interest that he showed in his classes in belles-lettres, something rare among teachers at that period in Egypt. In 1872, ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak [*q.v.*] Minister of Public Education, appointed him professor of Arabic linguistic disciplines in the Dār al-ʿUlūm [*q.v.*], the school that he founded for teachers, with a more modern orientation than al-Azhar. Al-Marṣafī taught there until 1888. His importance as a teacher and author stems from the fact that he is regarded as the first to have formulated what was to become the attempt at a renaissance (*nahḍa*) in regard to literature. His lectures were first published in the review *Rawḍat al-Madāris*, then in a separate work, *al-Wasīla al-adabiyya ilā 'l-ʿulūm al-ʿarabiyya* (i, 216 + 7 pp., 1289/1875; ii, 704 pp., 1292/1879); a second work on the art of writing remains unpublished: *Dalīl al-mustarshid fī fann al-inshāʾ*; it was described and analysed by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Djawād in his study on al-Marṣafī (see *Bibl.*).

The thought of Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī is entirely favourable to the spread of the European "enlightenment"; in this he is very close to men such as Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] and ʿAlī Mubārak, who enlivened the new schools' system founded and developed in Egypt by Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and his successors. A revival of the art of writing (*inshāʾ*) is necessary for the use of the élite of modern Egypt, after the centuries of decadence, and in view of the catastrophic situation of this art in the 19th century. Al-Marṣafī takes as his guide Ibn Khaldūn, in the chapters of his *Muḳaddima* where he speaks of teaching language and belles-lettres; in *al-Wasīla*, he presents both a synthetic, clear account of the disciplines of the Arabic language (*lugha, ṣarf, naḥw, balāgha, badīʿ, ʿarūḍ* [*q.vv.*]), stripped of the commentaries and glosses which until then almost always accompanied them, and also a choice of relatively numerous examples, referring especially to Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid prose. Al-Marṣafī's teaching was regarded as formulating the general programme to be followed, if one wished to revive Arabic language and letters, by a great number of Egyptian writers and teachers who had a diffuse but effective influence on the educational system. The best known are ʿAbd Allāh Fikrī and Ḥifnī Nāṣif. This programme for reviving the language was gradually spread through almost all the Arab countries—with or without reference to al-Marṣafī—from the last years of the 19th century, thanks to the efforts of the reformists [see iṣlāḥ. i and muḥammad ʿabduh].

Al-Marsafī was also interested in the history of political ideas; in October 1881, he published an essay, the *Risālat al-Kalim al-thamān* (Cairo 68 pp.) on eight words of political vocabulary in frequent use, he said, in modern debates; *umma*, nation or community according to language, territory or religion; *waṭan*, fatherland; *ḥukūma*, government; *ʿadl*, justice; *ẓulm*, injustice; *siyāsa*, politics; *ḥurriyya*, liberty; and *tarbiya*, education. If it is read in the light of the debates of the time, his position appears to be that of a moderate, an advocate of a reasonable modernity, legitimised by constant reference to moral and cultural examples from the glorious ages of Islam; the author seems reserved and anxious about the haste of some (doubtless the partisans of ʿUrābī, officers, groups of intellectuals and notables) who would like to modify institutions prematurely to create a true parliamentarianism. The matter of greatest urgency for al-Marṣafī is the spreading among the élite as well as the masses of a reformed education (*tarbiya, adab*), modern in some of its forms, but based on an Islam whose faith and practices would be purified of the innovations (*bidaʿ*, sing. *bidʿa* [*q.v.*]) accumulated during the ages of decadence. This essay was re-published in 1903 by Muḥammad Masʿūd, one of the men involved in editing al-*Muʾayyad*, the journal with a moderate Islamic bias run by Shaykh ʿAlī Yūsuf; this is an indication that he could still represent those expressing a moderate, stable opinion.

Bibliography: Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Djawād, *al-Shaykh al-Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī*, Cairo 1952, 160 p.; G. Delanoue, *Moralistes et politiques musulmans dans l'Egypte du XIXe siècle (1798-1882)*, Cairo 1982, ii, 357-79, 650-1; for the political debates of the period, see A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern! Die politische und gesellschaftliche Krise der Jahre 1878-1882 in Ägypten*, Zürich-Fribourg 1973 (Eng. tr. *Egypt for the Egyptians! The socio-political crisis in Egypt 1878-82*, London 1981). (G. Delanoue)

MARTHIYA or *marthāt* (A., pl. *marāthī*) "elegy", a poem composed in Arabic (or in an Islamic language following the Arabic tradition) to lament the passing of a beloved person and to celebrate his

merits; *ritha*ʾ, from the same root, denotes both lamentation and the corresponding literary genre.

1. In Arabic literature.

The origin of the *marthiya* may be found in the rhymed and rhythmic laments going with the ritual movements performed as a ritual around the funeral cortège by female relatives of the deceased, before this role became the prerogative of professional female mourners (cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Qotaiba. Introduction au Livre de la poésie et des poètes*, Paris 1947, pp. xvii-xviii). It was in fact customary for the mother, a sister or a daughter of the deceased, originally perhaps with the intention of appeasing his soul, and in any event as a means of perpetuating his renown, to commemorate his noble qualities and exploits and to express the grief of the family and the tribal group, in a short piece composed in *sadj*ᶜ, normalisation in verse form being a later development. These improvisations, probably of a rather stereotyped nature, have not been handed down to posterity, but one fairly scanty specimen (see J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, i, 1884, 47), said to be the work of the mother of Taʾabbaṭa Sharrᵃⁿ [*q.v.*] has survived.

With the transition from *sadj*ᶜ to verse, it seems that women retained their role in the lamentation and the celebration of the deceased, and there are many *marāthī* traditionally credited to more or less obscure pre-Islamic poetesses; outstanding examples are Dakhtanūs, mourning the death of her father Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra [*q.v.*] in the Shiᶜb Djabala (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xi, 137-8) and al-Khirniḳ, who was responsible for a number of elegies, most of them concerning her brother Ṭarafa [*q.v.*] and her husband, preserved by the *ruwāt* (see L. Cheikho, *Shuᶜarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 321-7); the most renowned is unquestionably al-Khansāʾ [*q.v.*], who gave *rithā*ʾ a polished form and to this very day enjoys unanimous admiration (see N. Rhodokanskis, *al-Ḫansāʾ und ihre Trauerlieder*, Vienna 1904).

In the early years of Islam, Laylā al-Akhyaliyya [*q.v.*] enhanced her reputation with elegies, much appreciated by local critics, in which she mourns the death of Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xi, 212-20) and even that of ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAffān (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiᶜr*, ed. Cairo, ii, 123, 417-8). On account of their extreme sensivity (and, according to Ibn Rashīḳ, *ᶜUmda*, ii, 123, their low capacity for endurance), women are able to express unreservedly their grief at the death of a member of the family and to celebrate merits which ultimately reflect upon the entire group; they give to their compositions a passionate tone of such intensity and spontaneity that the expert connoisseur of Arabic poetry, Père Cheikho, did not hesitate to gather together the more or less authentic works of these poetesses in his *Riyāḍ al-adab fī marāthī shawāᶜir al-ᶜArab*, Beirut 1897.

Men were also active in this area, and without entirely taking the place of women, composed verse pieces of various lengths which offer variations on the common themes. It is worthy of note that a number of pre-Islamic poets, Mutammim b. Nuwayra [*q.v.*] for example, owe their reputations almost entirely to their elegies, and that among the four compositions regarded as most successful by the critics, there figures, alongside the *marāthī* of Ibn al-Rūmī, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī and Mihyār al-Daylamī (see below), an *ᶜayniyya* which has become proverbial (although it is probably in part apocryphal on account of the Ḳurʾānic influence discernible in it) by a poet of the last years of the Djāhiliyya, Labīd [*q.v.*], who mourns his half-brother Arbad, killed by lightning (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiᶜr*, ed. Cairo, 236-7; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xv, 300-1). Some authors, no doubt sensitive to the sincere expression of profound emotions, go so far as to place the *marāthī* of the Bedouin above their other poetic works; al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 320) quotes without comment the reply given by one of them when asked why their elegies were the best of their poems: "Because we speak [our verses], as our hearts burn [with grief]". This affirmation of the sincerity and the poignancy of their feelings does not however explain the fact (judging from the texts currently available, which probably reflect the true position) that these poets continue to refrain from expressing their sorrow at the death of a mother, a wife, a daughter or a sister (the lines of a Bedouin on his wife in the *ᶜIḳd* of Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih, ed. Cairo 1348/1926, ii, 181, are perhaps of a later date).

In fact, it is to a male parent or member of the group that the *marāthī* are addressed; the intention is to exalt the deceased by presenting his death as a loss felt by the entire clan or tribe; there is, on the other hand, the hope of continuing to benefit from his protection, and to this end he is implored not to go far away (*lā tabᶜad*; the reading *lā tabᶜud*, in *LA*, root *bᶜd*, is inappropriate since it would mean "do not perish"), he is promised revenge if he has been a victim of murder, and there are forceful expressions of hatred for his enemies. In spite of the repetition, in the prologue, of clichés and hackneyed themes ("weep, mine eye"; the impossibility, since the event, of finding sleep; etc.), the lyrical passages are not of a solely conventional nature, and images of some originality are sometimes to be found.

In the guise of consolation, the themes of lamentation and eulogy are supplemented by a *leitmotif* concerning the unavoidable and irreparable nature of death. The fact that nobody, neither man nor animal, is capable of escaping it, is sometimes illustrated by the imagery of the hunt; outstanding examples are three episodes inserted in the masterpiece ascribed to the *mukhaḍram* poet Abū Dhuʾayb [*q.v.*], a sixty-seven verse elegy of questionable authenticity in which the poet mourns the passing, in the same year (or the same day), of five of his sons, in variously described circumstances (see *Dīwān al-Hudhaliyyīn*, Cairo 1384/1965, i, 1-21).

It might be expected that a radical change would affect the concept of the *marthiya* following the birth of Islam, but the teachings of the Ḳurʾān inspire only minor additions and slight differences in tone which do not significantly alter the content of the poems, except perhaps where the author mourns the death of a group rather than that of an individual or members of the same family. During the wars and expeditions which took place in the lifetime of the Prophet, there were many poets, in both camps, who mourned the deaths of their comrades and hurled defiance at their adversaries. This applies, for example, to Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, giving to the Ḳurayshites notice of the death of Abū Djahl [*q.v.*] at Badr and calling upon his fellow-tribesmen to avenge him (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Saḳḳā *et alii*, ii, 27-8), also to Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt [*q.v.*] who, after the same battle, mourns the Ḳurayshites slain by the Muslims, against whom he likewise incites the members of his tribe (*Sīra*, ii, 30-3; Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih, *ᶜIḳd*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 194-5); the Prophet is said to have forbidden the circulation of this poem (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, iv, 126). Jewish poets did not hesitate to lament the massacre of their co-religionists and to threaten their enemies (e.g. Sammāk, in *Sīra*, ii, 198, 200, after the death of Kaᶜb b. al-Ashraf [*q.v.*]).

Compositions of this type are sometimes ripostes addressed to Muslim poets, who were not slow to reply in their turn; the *Sīra* echoes these exchanges, while it gives prominence to the poems of Muslims, significant among whom are Kaᶜb b. Mālik, Ibn Rawāḥa and in particular Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.vv.*]. The *Dīwān* of the last-named contains a number of *marāthī* inspired by the death of Ḥamza b. ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib [*q.v.*], also by the deaths of the combatants who fell at Biʾr Maᶜūna and at Muʾta (*Dīwān*, ed. W. ᶜArafāt, *GMS*, xxv/1, London 1971, respectively 321, 450 and 504 (?); 207; 98, 295, 323). Among some thirty elegies which figure in this *Dīwān*, it is to be noted that one of them (234) breaks with tradition in that it concerns the poet's daughter, that two or possibly three, where Ḳurʾānic inspiration is more clearly discernible, are dedicated to the Prophet (269, 272, 455), one to Abū Bakr (125), two to ᶜUmar (273, 499), eight to ᶜUthmān (96, 120, 122, 311, 319, 320, 511) and the others to various individuals, but a large part of this enormous composition is definitely apocryphal. In general, it may be said that the difference between the works of the early Muslim poets and those of their pagan predecessors consists in the fact that they refrain from calling for vengeance and confine themselves to promising the fires of Hell to their adversaries killed in combat, while they stress the consolation gained by the certain knowledge that the Muslims who have achieved the status of martyrdom are already in Paradise (e.g. Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, 338, vv. 17-18; tr. R. Blachère, in *HLA*, 432). The expression *ṣallā l-ilāh ᶜalā*... "May God bestow his blessing upon (the deceased)" would also appear to be characteristic. To all these elements, and to the eulogy addressed to the departed, there is added a sense of the superiority of Islam, a concept belonging to the *mufākhara* [*q.v.*] which to some extend takes the place of the glorification of the group typical of the work of pre-Islamic poets.

Thus *rithāʾ* may become an instrument of politico-religious propaganda. Following the defeat of the pagans, it is the opponents of established authority, Shīᶜīs and Khāridjīs, who make use of it. Conversely, the Umayyads and, later, the ᶜAbbāsids, also have recourse to this medium, in their case as a means of self-defence. In a brief survey it is impossible to take account of all the poems inspired by dramatic incidents such as the execution, for the crime of proclaiming his Shīᶜī beliefs in Mecca, of a certain Khandaḳ (see the two eulogies dedicated to him by Kuthayyir [*q.v.*] in *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xii, 170-1, 173-5; *Dīwān*, ed. H. Pérès, ii, 148-54, 156-66). The assassination of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib understandably gave rise, over the centuries, to a considerable number of *marāthī*, but a drama which deeply affected the Shīᶜī poets was the murder of his son al-Ḥusayn and his companions at Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*]; this tragic event, which later inspired the emergence of the genre known as the "passion play" (*taᶜziya* [*q.v.*]) has been evoked by poets relatively close, chronologically, to the deed itself, for example, al-Aᶜshā of Hamdān [*q.v.*] (see R. Geyer, *K. al-Ṣubḥ al-munīr*, London 1928, no. 5); one Ibn al-Aḥmar author of a piece on the episode (a piece of popular verse? see R. Blachère, *HLA*, 514); Sulaymān b. Ḳatta (see Muṣᶜab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 41; al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, § 1910 and ref.); al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*], who hopes that the grave of the martyr will be well-tended, according to the pure pre-Islamic tradition (*Dīwān*, Beirut, n.d., 470-2) or even Muslim b. Ḳutayba (*Murūdj*, § 1906); the tradition was preserved by later poets, the most prominent being Diᶜbil (*Shiᶜr Diᶜbil*, ed. Ashtar, Damascus 1384/1964, 141) and al-Sharīf al-Raḍī [*q.v.*], who appeals for vengeance in five lengthy and highly-regarded poems. Diᶜbil [*q.v.*] bemoans the fate of the Ahl al-Bayt [*q.v.*] in a poem which has enjoyed wide acclaim (rhyme *-ātī*, metre *ṭawīl*; *op. laud.*, 71-7), while in his *rithāʾ*, al-Riḍā takes the opportunity to recall the misfortunes of members of the Prophet's family, celebrating their merits and abusing their enemies rhyme *-arī*, metre *basīṭ*; (*op. laud.*, 110-13). However, the *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* of Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (Cairo 1949, ²1970) constitutes a long lament studded with verses borrowed from various elegies. Contrary to these, one may point out the poem of al-Ṣanawbarī (d. *ca.* 334/945-6 [*q.v.*]) on the pilgrims killed by the Carmathians [see KARMAṬĪ] in 317/930 discussed and translated by C.E. Bosworth in *Arabica*, xix/3 (1972), 222-39.

The Khāridjīs, far from mourning the losses that they have suffered, celebrate their dead in often-improvised pieces, rejoicing in the idea that the slain have earned the palm of martyrdom in the course of heroic action and include in their poetry passages from the Ḳurʾān which testify to their religious fervour (see Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, *Shiᶜr al-Khawāridj*, Beirut 1963, 32-3, 79 and *passim*).

To a certain extent, these compositions are reminiscent, with the sincerity of the feelings expressed, of the *marāthī* of the Bedouin. The latter are also perpetuated in the works of the major poets of the Umayyad era; thus some twenty elegies of classical construction are to be found in the *Dīwān* of al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*] and in that of Djarīr [*q.v.*]; the latter, however, breaks with tradition—much to the indignation of the former (*Dīwān*, ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo 1354/1936, 465-74, in particular 471)—in devoting several verses to the death of his wife Khālida, at the beginning of a rather mixed but nonetheless moving poem (*Dīwān*, ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo n.d., 199-210; tr. Blachère, *HLA*, 579); it is for mourning the passing of a woman and not for expressing his own grief that al-Farazdaḳ rebukes Djarīr, for he himself has no scruples about lamenting the demise of his father (*Dīwān*, 210, 611, 674, 676) and of his two sons (270-3, 764-5, 885-6), besides various individuals and the victims of an epidemic (491). It is nevertheless possible to discern the presence of a number of women among the departed loved ones of poets (see e.g. Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih, *ᶜIḳd*, ed. Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 179-81; Abu Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, Cairo n.d., i, 380: poetry of a certain Mālik/Muwaylik al-Mazmūm), and at a slightly later date a Muslim b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] is observed refusing to drink wine after the death of his wife, an event which he evokes in a few discreet verses (*Dīwān*, ed. S. Dahhān, Cairo n.d., 341).

The 2nd/8th century sees the birth of the poetic genre known as "ascetic poems" (*zuhdiyyāt* [*q.v.*]), which involves reflection on death and no doubt influences *rithāʾ*, in which gnomic themes, present since the pre-Islamic period, become increasingly numerous. Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], himself the author of *zuhdiyyāt* (see ᶜA.A. al-Zubaydī, *Zuhdiyyāt Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1959), has left no less than twenty *marāthī* in memory of distinguished persons, scholars and poets, friends and parents (although in some cases the individuals mourned were not yet dead), and even including himself (*Dīwān*, ed. Ghazālī, Cairo 1953, 572-95; cf. E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 349-60). It is often, in fact, the natural or violent death of an eminent person, the death in battle of an acquaintance or the demise of a distinguished scholar which inspires the poets. Thus Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*] writes funeral

orations for al-Shāfiʿī and al-Ṭabarī [*q.vv.*] and for his relatives slain in battle, demanding that they be avenged (*Dīwān*, ed. Ibn Sālim (A. Ben Salem), Tunis 1973, 67-72, 89-97). Being unable to revive the classic themes, the poets of the 3rd/9th century concentrate their efforts on the form, but they are not the first to act in this manner, since the fact that many of their predecessors, beginning with Ḥassān, dedicated more than one elegy to the same person would seem to prove that they were at pains to revise their compositions. Nevertheless, we may still find some masterly works which are appreciated by Arab critics. Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*], in his *marāthī*, allows his sentiments to overflow, gives expression to his sensivity and develops his own philosophy of existence; in particular, he mourns his wife, his mother, his brother, his sons (see *Dīwān*, ed. K. Kaylānī, Cairo 1924, 13, 80, 97, 104, 224, 326, 351), and his *dāliyya* (*ibid.*, 29) on the death of his younger son is regarded as one of the finest examples of the genre.

It is worth noting in passing that from the 2nd/8th century onwards, even more so from the 3rd/9th century onwards, a new form becomes frequent, the letter of condolence (*taʿziya* [*q.v.*]) addressed to the parents of the deceased; when it is in verse, it is virtually indistinguishable from the *marthiya* proper, but it is often written in prose (see e.g. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIkd*, ed. cit., ii, 197-202), even when produced by the pen of poets like Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] (see al-Ṣūlī, *Awrāk*, ii, 288 ff.), and it should be noted that at least one writer composed a true *marthiya* in prose form; in fact, in the course of his campaign aimed at opposing the supremacy of poetic composition in Arabic literature, al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*] wrote a long *risāla* on the death of Abū Ḥarb al-Ṣaffār in which free prose, albeit blended with poetic reminiscence, permits an extent of detail and an expression of feelings which the constraints of metre would render impossible (ed. Ṭ. al-Ḥādjirī, in *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī*, iii/9 [1946], 38-44; translated in Pellat, *The life and works of Jāḥiẓ*, 116-24 = *Arabische Geisteswelt*, 187-97).

The theorists of poetry (Ḳudāma, *Naḳd al-shiʿr*, ed. S. A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956, 49-55; Ibn Rashīḳ *ʿUmda*, ii, 117-26; etc.) do not give inordinate attention to the *marthiya*, essentially because they regard it as comparable with panegyric [see MADĪḤ], in the sense that it is a celebration of one or several individuals. It is in fact a kind of bipartite *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], of which the dominant characteristic is the absence of the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] which would in effect have been out of place. There exist, however, a few exceptions, of which the most significant is a *ḳaṣīda* by Durayd b. al-Ṣimma [*q.v.*] where he mourns the death of a murdered brother (in *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, ed. Ahlwardt, Leipzig 1902, 23-4); however, Ibn Rashīḳ (*ʿUmda*, ii, 121-2) justifies this deviation from the rule on the grounds that the poem was composed a year after the murder and that in the meantime the victim had been avenged. Further examples are supplied by Ibn al-Zibaʿrā (*Sīrā*, ii, 141-2), al-Aʿshā of Hamdān and a few others.

Laments over the remains of an abandoned encampment are thus replaced by a prologue, in which sorrow ignites and tears flow freely, also by more or less banal observations concerning the fragility of human life, the cruelty of destiny (*dahr*), the patience (*ṣabr*) which is necessary and always displayed, and other clichés among which the equivalents of "a single person is lacking and all is desolate" or "ubi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere" are not uncommon (see Becker, *Ubi sunt...*, *Festschrift E. Kuhn*, Munich 1916, 87-105; M. Lidzbarski, *Ubi sunt...*, in *Isl.* viii [1918], 300; cf. P. Keseling, *Ubi sunt...*, in *ibid.*, xvii [1928], 97-100). The *raḥīl* is similarly omitted, sometimes being replaced by an account of the circumstances of the death, especially of a violent death, but it is virtually impossible to delineate an overall scheme, since the various elements overlap one another, and reflections on death intrude on more than one occasion into the posthumous eulogy. The latter effectively resembles the *madīḥ*, to the point of confusion with it, not however without certain differences of detail. Ḳudāma (*op. laud.*, 49) in fact recommends the use of the past tense to indicate that the portrait drawn by the poet is no longer a present reality, not however saying, for example, "he was generous" but employing expressions such as "generosity has vanished", "after his passing, generosity is no more", etc. (this dictum does not inhibit Muḳātil b. ʿAṭiyya from saying of Niẓām al-Mulk "the vizier was (*kān*) a jewel...", al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo n.d., ii, 365). There is no rule that forbids lamentations over the destruction of an object (see below, with regard to cities) or the loss of an animal (the funeral eulogy of a cat figures in *Madjānī 'l-adab*, v, 135), and the poet is entitled to make reference to the sadness of Nature and of domestic animals; but he must beware of committing blunders, saying for example that a horse subjected by his master to harsh treatment in the course of his exploits is saddened by the latter's passing, whereas in fact this is for him liberation. It is the moral qualities of the deceased which should be celebrated: intelligence, courage, generosity, decency. Thus Ḳudāma approves particularly of three verses by Aws b. Ḥadjar [*q.v.*], who enumerates generosity, valour, energy, strength (or munificence, since the reading *al-tuḳā* cannot be accepted) and perspicacity (see the *Dīwān* of Aws, ed. M.Y. Nadjm, Beirut 1381/1960, 53-5). It need hardly be said that the poets do not restrict themselves to these qualities, but the rule enunciated by the critic proves that, even in the context of *rithā*ʾ, spontaneity is bridled, or tends to be so. The anthologists of the Middle Ages (see *Bibl.*) reserve an important amount of space for *marāthī*, but, always inclined to include only poems which are to their own personal taste, they adopt a system which precludes an overall judgment of the real structure and content of compositions arranged separately and often in the form of brief fragments, quite insufficient to allow generalisation without excessive risk of error.

The disintegration of the ʿAbbāsid empire brought virtually no change to the various aspects of *marthiya*, which seems however to become more and more influenced by "professional" exigencies. It is at the beginning of the 5th/11th century that Mihyār al-Daylamī [*q.v.*] achieves renown with his successful *rithā*ʾ of ʿAlī or of al-Ḥusayn (see *Dīwān*, Cairo 1344-50/1925-31, ii, 259-62, 367-70, iii, 109, etc.) and especially with the *mīmiyya* in which he mourns the death of his master al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (*Dīwān*, iii, 366-70), regarded as a masterpiece. Previously, the proliferation of provincial dynasties had increased the number of occasions for the composition of elegies of a nature more formal and elaborate than personal and spontaneous; a tendency which has already been seen to emerge takes on a definitive form in the work of al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], who revives the classical theme of destiny, pays tribute to the deceased and adds a panegyric in praise of an heir from whom he expects some reward, but without making mention of his own qualities (see R. Blachère, *Motanabbî*, 46, 119, 250). This is not unlike the approach to the family of the

deceased noted by ʿAlī Dj. al-Ṭāhir in the poetry of the Saldjūḳ period (*al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa-bilād al-ʿAdjam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdād 1958-61, ii, 108-113). This author holds in high regard a *rāʾiyya* and a *ḳāfiyya* of al-Ṭughrāʾī [*q.v.*] dedicated, respectively, to the memory of a wife and of a concubine (see *Dīwān al-Ṭughrāʾī*, ed. ʿA. Dj. al-Ṭāhir and Y. al-Djabūrī, Baghdād 1396/1976, 151-5, 264-5), and rightly criticises the *maṭlaʿ* of the famous elegy of Djarīr (see above), who in his long *ḳaṣīda* manages to devote only a few verses to the memory of his wife. Otherwise, the *marthiya* continues to be largely conventional in character, and ʿUmar Mūsā Bāshā (*Adab al-duwal al-mutatābiʿa: ʿuṣūr al-Zankiyyīn wa 'l-Ayyūbiyyīn wa 'l-Mamālīk*, Beirut 1386/1967, 579) finds nothing new that is worthy of note in traditional *rithāʾ*; he does however make one honourable exception in the case of Usāma Ibn Munḳidh [*q.v.*], who mourns, in a moving *ḳaṣīda*, the demise of members of his family who were victims of an earthquake at Shayzar (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1953, 304-5, 307-9). This same literary historian lays emphasis on the *marāthī* of Muslim warriors slain during the Crusades and is appreciative of certain poems by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] on the death of ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, the death of Nūr al-Dīn and in particular that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287-8, i, 45-6, 244-5, ii, 215-6) which lack neither emotion nor vigour in the description of events (*Adab al-duwal al-mutatābiʿa*, 505-12). As with the Khāridjīs of former times, warriors are impelled to seek the palm of martyrdom (*ṭalab al-shahāda*) which is the supreme reward (cf. E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade*, Paris 1968, 62). But this is not the only theme to be developed by the poets of the period, who engage in a propaganda whose elements E. Sivan (*op. laud.*) has analysed on the basis of a meticulous study of the poetry of the time; they reveal their fear of seeing recaptured cities falling again into the hands of the Christians, criticise those in authority for not having foreseen the defeats and mourn the loss of places seized from the Muslims.

The characteristic feature of this type of *marthiya* is the introduction, as objects of lamentation, on the one hand, of cities destroyed or damaged by wars and conquests, on the other, of local dynasties which are overturned. Omissions excepted, the oldest specimen of this type is the long *ḳaṣīda* of 135 verses in which Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Khuraymī [*q.v.*] describes in pathetic terms the desolation of Baghdād during the war which saw the confrontation between al-Amīn and his brother al-Maʾmūn (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 873-80; *Dīwān al-Khuraymī*, ed. ʿA. Dj. al-Ṭāhir and M. Dj. al-Muʿaybid, Beirut 1971, 27-37); this poet is also the author of several interesting elegies, for his brother (*Dīwān*), 24), for Khuraym (40-4, 44-6, 55) and for his own son (56-8). Another well-known *ḳaṣīda* is the *mīmiyya* which begins, conventionally, with the evocation of sleeplessness and tears, and was dedicated by Ibn al-Rūmī to Baṣra, describing the condition of the town following its sacking by the Zandj (*Dīwān*, ed. K. Kaylānī, 419). The conquest of Baghdād by the Mongols and the death of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim were also to inspire compositions in similar vein, in particular two *ḳaṣīdas* in which Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Kūfī bewails the tragic fate of the capital (see Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., i, 497-501).

Previous to this, in Ifrīḳiya, where traditional *rithāʾ* was extensively cultivated (and still by women; see Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Shahīrāt al-Tūnisiyyāt*, Tunis 1353, 25), the invasion by the Banū Hilāl and the destruction of al-Ḳayrawān (Kairouan) gave rise to the composition of poems describing "the pitiable lot of the people of Kairouan, the ruin of the once glorious city, the emotion inspired by the disaster" (Ch. Bouyahia); the best-known of these poems are the work of poets contemporary with the events: Ibn Sharaf (in Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, iv/1, 177-9); Ibn Rashīḳ (*Dīwān*, ed. Yāghī, Beirut n.d., 204-12) and al-Ḥuṣrī (*Dīwān*, ed. M. Marzūkī and al-Djilānī b. al-Ḥādjdj Yaḥyā, Tunis 1963, 125-7); all three have been the object of a study by Ch. Bouyahia, in *La vie littéraire en Ifriqiya sous les Zirides*, Tunis 1972, 332-40.

In al-Andalus, where the tradition of classical *rithāʾ* remained strong and vigorous, it is again the collapse of dynasties and the loss of towns to the Christians during the *reconquista* which inspire poems much appreciated by critics and enthusiasts. Quite apart from descriptions of the dramatic events in Cordova during the *fitna* which preceded the fall of the Umayyads (such as e.g. Ibn Shuhayd, *Dīwān*, ed. Pellat, Beirut 1963, 64-6 (authenticity of attribution suspect), 154-6, vv. 54 ff.) and from a series of elegies collected by H. Pérès (*Poésie andalouse*, 99 ff.), notably those by Ibn al-Ghassāl on the conquest of Barbastro by a Norman army, by al-Waḳḳāshī (preserved in a Spanish translation only) on the conquest of Valencia by the Christians (to the references in Pérès, 107 add A. R. Nykl, *La elegía árabe de Valencia*, in *Hispanic Review*, viii [1940], 9-17) or by Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*] on the burning of that city by the Cid, three poems deserve particular attention. The first comes from the pen of Ibn al-Labbāna [*q.v.*] and concerns the exile of al-Muʿtamid and the end of the ʿAbbādids (in Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān*, ed. Paris, 25-6; cf. 32-5); the second was composed by Ibn ʿAbdūn [*q.v.*] after the fall of the Afṭasids, and the historical allusions which it contains inspired Ibn Badrūn to compile a lengthy commentary on it (ed. Dozy, Leiden 1846); finally, the greatest significance is accorded to the *nūniyya* of al-Sharīf al-Rundī (d. 584/1285), on the fate of al-Andalus after the loss, in 664/1266, of several places in the provinces of Murcia and Jerez (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, i, 47-50). However, a poem well-known in North Africa was inspired by the capture of Granada in 897/1492, the work of an anonymous poet who describes the advance of the Christians and the progressive loss of the last places occupied by Muslims, while evoking the hardships suffered by citizens under siege and the feelings of sadness of those Andalusians driven from their land (see M. Soualah, *Une élégie andalouse sur la guerre de Grenade*, Algiers 1914-19). This work is largely documentary in character, as is also another (anonymous) *ḳaṣīda* composed in 1501 and appealing for aid to the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512) and depicting the dramatic predicament of the Moriscoes after the reconquest (text in al-Maḳḳarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, i, 108-15, edited and translated with commentary by J.T. Monroe, *A curious Morisco appeal to the Ottoman Empire*, in *al-And.*, xxxi/1-2 [1966], 281-303).

In general, when the lamentation is applied to places, the poets mourn over the *aṭlāl*, ruins not to be regarded with greater significance than in the pre-Islamic period; they bewail the destruction of buildings (mosques in particular), atrocities committed by the enemy and the slaughter of peoples condemned to exile; the emotions experienced by the survivors give rise to lyrical developments which are supplemented by the nostalgia of émigrés and their desire to return to their lost homeland, where life was so enjoyable. Mustapha Hassen (*Recherches sur les poèmes inspirées par la perte ou la destruction des villes dans*

la littérature arabe du IIIe/IXe siècle à la prise de Grenade en 897/1492, unpubl. thesis, Sorbonne 1977) has, in the course of his analysis of the poetical texts, noted a total of 96 items, containing slightly fewer than 2,000 verses, of which almost half were composed by Andalusians, a little more than a quarter by easterners, and the rest by Ifrīḳiyans. No doubt it would be possible to find a number of specimens of the same type dating back to a period earlier than the conquest of Granada, but the total collected so far is quite sufficiently instructive. It would be appropriate at this stage to add to the list more recent poems which the end of Islamic domination in al-Andalus has continued to inspire.

In Morocco, the destruction of the *zāwiya* of al-Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] inspires to this very day (see M. Ḥadjdjī, *al-Zāwiya al-dilāʾiyya*, Rabat 1384/1964, 270-2) occasional poems, having been lamented by numerous poets, whose number probably includes al-Yūsī [*q.v.*], who has the most compelling of nuances (see ʿA. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī*[2], Beirut 1964, 80, 277-8; Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 101-2).

Still in the Maghrib, there is also a *ḳaṣīda* by a Tunisian, Aḥmad al-Ḳlībī, on the conquest of Algiers by the French (see Ḥ.Ḥ. al-Ghazzī, *al-Adab al-tūnisī fi 'l-ʿahd al-ḥusaynī*, Tunis 1972, 54-62). This event was also to be bewailed in poems of dialectical Arabic [see MALḤŪN], specimens of which are reproduced by, for example, Gen. E. Daumas, *Mœurs et coutumes de l'Algérie*[3], 1858, 160-74. In dialectical Algerian Arabic, an interesting poem is the *Complainte arabe sur la rupture du barrage de Saint-Denis-du-Sig* (in 1885), published and translated by G. Delphin and L. Guin, Paris-Oran 1886. The popular poetry of the Maghrib, which is so full of panegyrics of the Prophet, some of which are sung at funeral ceremonies along with the *Burda* [*q.v.*], are hardly *marāthī* proper; the most remarkable is probably that which ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maghrāwī composed on the death of the sultan al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī in 1012/1603 (see Abū ʿAlī al-Ghawthī, *Kashf al-ḳināʿ ʿan ālāt al-samāʿ*, Algiers 1322/1904, 85). The review *Hunā 'l-Djazāʾir = Ici-Alger*, in its 19th issue (1953), 14-5, published an elegy of 162 verses, also in *malḥūn*, by Muḥammad Ibn Gīṭūn on the death of his wife, but this piece appears quite exceptional.

We thus arrive at the contemporary period, in the course of which the tradition has been perpetuated in Arabic-speaking circles. More or less improvised pieces of verse are still recited over the grave of the deceased, even in the countryside (see e.g. P.A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*[2], Paris 1948, 96-7, who gives an idea of what the pre-Islamic conventions may have been), while more polished poems are published in newspapers and periodicals or prepared with a view to public recitation at ceremonies taking place forty days after the demise (*ḥaflat al-arbaʿīn*) or on the occasion of its anniversary (*taʾbīn al-faḳīd*). Some celebrated individuals in the Muslim world have inspired a host of *marāthī* (about twenty, for example in memory of Muḥammad ʿAbduh) and it is to be noted that the *Dīwān* of the ʿIrāḳī poet al-Zahāwī [*q.v.*] contains several pages of lamentation over the death of Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*]. This politician has also been celebrated by a considerable number of poets, prominent among whom is Aḥmad Shawḳī [*q.v.*], a remarkably prolific writer of *rithāʾ*; in fact, he has left a legacy of no fewer than 53 elegies (the whole of vol. iii of the *Shawḳiyyāt*, ed. Maḥmūd Abu 'l-Wafāʾ, Cairo 1384/1964) relating to parents, personalities of Egypt, the Muslim world and even of Europe (Hugo, Tolstoy, Verdi); as in classical *marthiya*, gnomic themes dominate the prologue and are followed by an appeal to the deceased, then by a eulogy in his honour; these compositions also convey an echo of the major political, cultural and social events of the time (see A. Boudot-Lamotte, *Aḥmad Šawqī, l'homme et l'œuvre*, Damascus 1977, 158-77). A similar point is made by J. Majed (*La presse littéraire en Tunisie de 1904 à 1955*, Tunis 1979, 350-1) with reference to the funeral tributes paid to poets by their colleagues, who take advantage of the occasion to proclaim their determination to maintain the struggle in the literary, political or social domain. Finally, with the *marthiya* may be associated the laments on the hardships of the times, on the deterioriation of morals and on the deplorable situation in the world to be found in such prose works like the *Dhamm al-zamān* by al-Djāḥiẓ or such verse works like the *Marthiyat al-ayyām al-ḥāḍira* by Adonis.

From this brief survey, it emerges that *rithāʾ* occupies a position of importance in Arabic literature, both on account of its volume and its content and in spite of distinct differences, belongs to the same overall scheme as panegyric, to which it is subsidiary. Many poets, major or minor, have cultivated this genre which has enabled some of them to express sentiments all the more sincere because, in most cases, they had no reason to expect reward from the heirs of the deceased. No doubt attention should be drawn to the role of convention and of "professionalism"—which is by no means scanty—but the impression is often gained that of all verse, *marāthī* contain the greatest essence of true poesy.

Bibliography: More or less complete *marāthī* figure in a large number of *dīwāns*, some published, others unpublished, and the present article has been able to give only an imperfect idea of them; some editors have taken the trouble to classify the poems by genre or at the very least to indicate separately, in the table of contents (which is otherwise of no great importance) those which belong to *ghazal, madīḥ*, etc., with the result that the task of researchers is made much easier. Furthermore, the anthologists of the Middle Ages (Abū Tammām, Buḥturī, Ibn al-Shadjarī, Ḳurashī, etc.) have generally reserved a special section for *rithāʾ* (and it is worth noting that the *Bāb al-marāthī* follows immediately after the *Bāb al-ḥamāsa* which gives its name to Abū Tammām's selection). Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, in his *ʿIḳd* (ed. Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 158-202) classes the chosen specimens according to the nature of the deceased: son, brother, husband, concubine, wife, daughter, *ashrāf*, and he includes epitaphs and *taʿāzī*. Several scholars have even devoted monographs to *marāthī*, among which that of Ibn al-Aʿrābī survives in part (ed. W. Wright, *Opuscula arabica*, Leiden 1859, 97-136); the *K. al-Taʿāzī wa 'l-marāthī* of Mubarrad is said to exist in ms. in the library of Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir. Some texts figure in collections of biographies (Ibn Sallām, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Aghānī*, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, etc.), in works of criticism, *adab*, and also in historico-literary works (see e.g. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, Ar. index, root *r-th-y*). To the works of criticism and literary history mentioned in the article may be added A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955, 226-8. General histories of Arabic literature do not reserve a separate place for *rithāʾ*, but useful information is to be found in R. Blachère, *HLA* (index, s.v. *thrène*). Finally, a very exhaustive study, of which much profitable use has been made in the present

article, is that of M. Abdesselem, *Le thème de la mort dans la poésie des origines à la fin du IIIe/IXe siècle*, Tunis 1977. (Ch. Pellat)

2. In Persian literature.

The term *marthiya* in Persian is used primarily to designate poems in memory of someone who has died, wherein that person's good qualities are mentioned and regret is expressed at his death. This discussion will include *marthiyas* written for secular public figures, those written for family members and close friends, and those written for religious figures, especially for al-Ḥusayn. Sometimes included in the category *marthiya* but not discussed here are poems lamenting old age and the loss of youth, poems complaining about the unfortunate state of the times, conventional gravestone inscriptions and chronograms.

Unlike the classical elegy, the *marthiya* is not a genre defined by its form. It is a thematic category of Persian poetry, appearing principally in the monorhyme forms of the *ḳaṣīda*, the *ḳiṭʿa*, the *rubāʿī* and the *ghazal*; the strophic forms of *tarkīb-band* and *tardjīʿ-band*; and the *mathnawī* form of rhyming hemistiches. After 1500, the popular religious *marthiya* began to develop certain formal characteristics of its own. In general, the language and style of *marthiyas* followed the language and style of the times in which they were written. The conventional imagery differs, however, among the public, private, and religious *marthiyas*.

The earliest known *marthiya* in New Persian is a *ḳaṣīda* in Manichaean script reconstructed by Henning (*A locust's leg*, London 1962, 98-104) and dated before the first half of the 3rd/9th century. It shows a blending of Islamic and Manichaean elements and is probably a crypto-Manichaean allegory. It is spoken from the grave by the deceased himself. The poem that established many stylistic characteristics of the Persian *marthiya* is Farrukhī Sīstānī's [*q.v.*] striking *ḳaṣīda* of 69 lines for Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 90-3). The poem begins with the speaker describing the changed look of Ghazna as he walks about the city after a years's absence. He notices the grief expressed by different classes of society, questions an anonymous companion about what has happened, and begins to imagine reasons why the ruler has not appeared that morning. Not until line 21 does he allude to Maḥmūd's death. He expresses his own grief at the loss, calls upon the dead ruler to arise and resume his normal activities, finally becomes reconciled to the situation, and concludes by mentioning Maḥmūd's successor and praying for the dead sultan's happiness in heaven.

Some specific characteristics of Farrukhī's poem that often appear in later *marthiyas* are (1) the device of the speaker questioning a companion, or posing rhetorical questions about what has happened; (2) the use of euphemisms for dying, such as "he has gone"; (3) the speaker addressing the deceased directly as if he were still living; (4) the speaker making excuses for the absence of the deceased; (5) the frequent use of words such as *dardā* and *darīghā* meaning "alas"; (6) the use of images appropriate to the status of the deceased, often as a means to enumerate the subject's praiseworthy qualities; (7) descriptions of man and nature grieving for the dead; (8) the frequent use of anaphora; (9) the mention of the successor to the deceased; and (10) the use of a prayer for the happiness of the deceased in heaven.

The influence of Farrukhī can be seen in *marthiyas* written up to the 20th century. For example, Masʿūd Saʿd Salmān [*q.v.*] (d. 515/1121-2) in a *marthiya* for ʿImād al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ḳāsim has the speaker refuse to believe the bad news, address the deceased directly, praise his successor and wish the subject well in heaven. The theme of the infidelity and unpredictability of fortune, which becomes very common in *marthiyas* after this, is used prominently in this poem (*Dīwān*, ed. R. Yāsimī, Tehran 1339/1960, 215-18) Amīr Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] (d. 519-21/1125-7) in a *marthiya* for Niẓām al-Mulk, has the speaker ask questions in disbelief, uses anaphora, addresses the deceased directly and wishes him well in heaven (*Dīwān*, ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1318/1939, 476). Anwarī [*q.v.*] begins his *marthiya* for Madjd al-Dīn b. Abī Ṭālib b. Niʿma, the *naḳīb* of Balkh, by stating that the city of Balkh is in an uproar because Madjd al-Dīn did not hold his audience that day. The speaker questions a chamberlain, thinks up excused for the *naḳīb*'s absence, blames fortune for this loss, uses anaphora and the word *darīghā*, and prays for his well-being in heaven (*Dīwān*, ed. Mudarris Raḍawī, Tehran 1337/1958, i, 46-8). Among other famous *marthiyas* that display these conventions one can mention Saʿdī's *marthiya* for Saʿd b. Abū Bakr, Muḥtasham Kāshānī's for Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Lāhūtī's for Lenin.

A variation of this form of public *marthiya* is the poem which combines mourning for the deceased and congratulations to the successor in approximately equal proportions. The earliest example is by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Rabindjanī (*fl.* 331/942-3) where he mourns the death of the Sāmānid ruler Naṣr b. Aḥmad and congratulates his successor Nūḥ b. Naṣr (text and tr. in G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, 2 vols., Paris and Tehran 1964, i, 87; ii, 68). Other examples may be found in the *dīwāns* of Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Iṣfahānī, Khʷādju Kirmānī, and ʿUrfī Shīrāzī.

The *marthiyas* written for relatives and close friends are very personal in tone, in contrast with the more formal and distant tone of those written for public figures. Less emphasis is placed on the universal mourning of man and nature and more on the poet's own feelings. The poet does not adopt the persona of a puzzled observer who must discover what has caused the public grief, although other themes and devices typical of Farrukhī may be present, such as the use of anaphora, the direct address of the deceased, words meaning "alas", and prayers for well-being in heaven. Fate is often blamed for the untimely death, and if the deceased died young, much use is made of images of gardens, flowers, young shoots, and the seasons of spring and autumn. An early example is Firdawsī's [*q.v.*] *marthiya* for his son which comes at the beginning of the story of Bahrām Čūbīn in the *Shāh-nāma*. Masʿūd Saʿd Salmān's *marthiya* for his son is apparently the first use of the *tarkīb-band* form for a *marthiya* (*op. cit.*, 543-8). The most moving expressions of grief for the loss of a relative in all of classical Persian poetry are those of Khāḳānī Shīrwānī [*q.v.*] for his son Rashīd al-Dīn. Khāḳānī was one of the most prolific writers of *marthiyas* before the Ṣafawid period, and his *Dīwān* (ed. M. ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1336/1957) contains over 50 of these poems. In three of his *marthiyas* for his son, Khāḳānī displays his mastery of language and the poetic tradition, and his freedom from the restraints of conventional imagery. He begins one (*Dīwān*, 147-50) with the son's illness and ends with his death. The father orders many preparations to cure the boy, but when he dies, Khāḳānī demands these back. In a powerful use of the *radīf* "*bāz dihīd*" ("give back") the

poet proceeds through a long list of folk medicines and spells, and ends by asking for his son back. Another (*op. cit.*, 142-6) begins with 33 lines containing imperative verbs expressing the sense "weep and mourn and contemplate this tragedy". He then orders various parts of his house and articles of clothing to be destroyed, his hair to be cut, and his face scratched. The abundant use of images of death and mourning and imperative verbs constitutes an unusual and striking innovation within the poetic tradition. Equally as compelling is a third *marthiya* (*ibid.*, 371-4) cast in the words of the dying son to his father. This is reminiscent of the crypto-Manichaean poem mentioned above, and also anticipates certain characteristics of the post-Ṣafawid religious *marthiyas*, especially the motif of a speaker anticipating his own death and describing the mourning that will follow it.

Some other particularly moving *marthiyas* of this sort are Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl's for his son who was drowned (*Dīwān*, ed. H. Baḥr al-ʿUlūmī, Tehran 1348/1969, 429-32), and Humām Tabrīzī's cycle of 16 short *ghazals* on the death of his beloved (*Dīwān*, ed. R. ʿAywaḍī, Tabrīz 1351/1972, 170-6). Djāmī's [*q.v.*] *marthiya* for his brother in the form of a *tarkīb-band* of seven stanzas (*Dīwān*, ed. H. Raḍī, Tehran 1341/1962, 115-18) echoes closely in the first stanza a line from Saʿdī's *marthiya* for Abū Bakr b. Saʿd Zangī (*Hanūz dāgh-i nakhustīn durust nā-shuda būd*...), and includes (*taḍmīn*) a *ghazal* written by his brother. Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār's [*q.v.*] *marthiya* for his father (*Dīwān*, Tehran 1344/1965, i, 1-2) with its images of the setting sun, night, dark mourning clothes, and of poetry and writing, shows a clear departure from convention.

A special category of "personal" *marthiyas* consists of the poems that poets write on the death of other poets. Among these may be mentioned Rūdakī's short *marthiya* for Shahīd Balkhī, Labībī's for Farrukhī (with invective against ʿUnṣurī), Sanāʾī's for Muʿizzī, Bahār's for Djamīl Ṣadīḳī al-Dhahāwī, Īradj Mīrzā, Parwīn Iʿtiṣāmī and ʿIshḳī, and the collection of *marthiyas* by twelve contemporary poets for Furūgh Farrukhzād which were published in *Djāwidāna-yi Furūgh Farrukhzād* (Tehran 1347/1968).

An unusual exception to the rule that *marthiyas* are composed in verse is the prose *marthiya* for Muḥammad b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (d. 683/1284-5) by Ḥasan Dihlawī [*q.v.*] (in M.A. Ghani, *Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindūstān*, Allahabad 1941, 428-34). This begins with a complaint about the tyranny of fate, then recounts the circumstances of Muḥammad's death, describes all nature as mourning and ends with prayers for his happiness in heaven. It uses many of the conventional images of verse *marthiyas*, and has poetry interspersed throughout.

With the spread of Shīʿi Islam in the early Ṣafawid period came the mourning ceremonies associated with the month of Muḥarram and centring on *ʿāshūrāʾ*, the day of al-Ḥusayn's death. The religious *marthiyas* that were written to recall the events at Karbalāʾ developed in two directions: long courtly poems in the classical tradition, and various less formal popular genres.

Just as Farrukhī had established a model for writing secular courtly *marthiyas*, so Muḥtasham Kāshānī (d. 996/1587-8) created the model for the courtly religious *marthiya* with his famous twelve-stanza *tarkīb-band* on the death of al-Ḥusayn (*Dīwān*, ed. M. ʿA. Kirmānī, Tehran 1344/1965, 280-5). Reminiscent of Farrukhī's *marthiya*, Muḥtasham's begins with questions asking why the world and the heavens are in tumult. Anaphora are used prominently. Important images are those of shipwreck, floods of tears, waves and seas of blood, thirst, date palms and gardens, and the world and the heavens weeping. These images, and those of light and darkness which later became common in the *taʿziya* [*q.v.*], are the basic images of the religious *marthiya* in Persian. A great number of *tarkīb-bands* were written after the example of Muḥtasham, and this remained the principal courtly form for the religious *marthiya* until the 20th century. *Ḳaṣīdas* were also written, the most strikingly original being that of Ḳāʾānī [*q.v.*] for al-Ḥusayn. Employing the device, first used by Rūdakī, of short questions and answers in each line, Ḳāʾānī produced a powerful, ritual-like poem describing and lamenting the tragedy at Karbalāʾ (text and tr. in Browne, *LHP*, iv, 178-81).

The popular forms of the Shīʿi *marthiya* are the *taʿziya*, the *rawḍa* and *nawḥa*. The *rawḍa* takes its name from Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Kāshifī's [*q.v.*] *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ*, from which readings and recitations, called *rawḍa-khwānī*, were given. The *marthiyas* in *rawḍa-khwānī* sometimes involve considerable oral improvisation on well-known Karbalāʾ themes, and thus do not necessarily follow a prescribed literary form. Two popular 19th century books of *marthiyas* and Karbalāʾ accounts which have been reprinted many times are the *Ṭūfān al-bukāʾ* of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Bāḳir Harawī Ḳazwīnī "Djawharī" (d. 1253/1837-8) and Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh Shahrābī Ardjastānī's *Ṭarīḳ al-bukāʾ*. The latter seems to have been written especially for *naḳḳāls* and *rawḍa-khwāns*.

The *nawḥas*, which are sung on occasions involving breast-beating (*sīna-zanī*) of self-flagellation with chains (*zandjīr-zanī*), are a genre of strophic poems in classical metres which often have unconventional rhyme-schemes and arrangements of lines and refrains within the stanza. The number and placement of stresses in each line are important in *nawḥas*, those for breast-beating having a more rapid rhythm than those for chain-flagellation.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the text): a popular anthology of *marthiyas* was compiled by Ḥ. Kūhī Kirmānī under the title *Sūgwarīhā-yi adabī dar Īrān*, Tehran 1333/1954 (uncritical); Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Muʾtaman, *Shiʿr wa adab-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1346/1967, 74-106; Zahrā Iḳbāl (Nāmdār), *Elegy in the Qajar period*, in P. Chelkowski, ed., *Taʿziyeh: ritual and drama in Iran*, New York 1979, 193-209 (uncritical).

(W. L. Hanaway, Jr.)

3. In Turkish literature.

Funeral laments, inscribed in stone or recorded in Uyghur manuscripts, belong to the pre-Islamic heritage of the Turks. For the *marthiya* proper to Islamic Turkish literature, the poetic forms were the *ḳaṣīda*, or among the Ottoman Turks, preferably the stanzaic *tardjīʿ-band* or *tarkīb-band*. Ottoman *marthiyas* present the same varied and cultivated style which we know from *dīwān* poetry. Bāḳī's (d. 1008/1600) elegy on sultan Süleymān is regarded as the classical masterpiece, but it has behind it a long tradition of formal *marthiyas* by Aḥmedī, Sheykhī, Ḳiwāmī, Aḥmed Pasha, Nedjātī, Kemālpashazāde and Lāmiʿī, who composed "parallels" in the same metre and with the same *radīf* (N. M. Çetin, art. *Terci*, in *İA*, xii, 172). Underneath the high-flown imagery, a current of real feeling could flow. Closeness to the sultan could give power, office, and wealth; it was small wonder that the death of a sovereign caused real anxiety. The favour of the princes, too, potential successors to the throne, could raise poets to high positions. When a

prince or a high dignitary died, the poets in his entourage lost not only a friend but often their livelihood. Nedjātī (d. 915/1509), who mourned two princes in moving marthiyas, lived on a pension, but survived his last patron prince Maḥmūd by only two years. The abolition of the princes' courts in the 10th/16th century removed from the Anatolian countryside many centres of culture. At the central court in Istanbul, fear and flattery did not always prevail. When the much-loved prince Muṣṭafā was executed (960/1533), poets and prose writers expressed their grief, and Tashlīdjalī Yaḥyā (d. 990/1582) in his famous *marthiya* took some risk when he openly accused the Grand Vizier.

Ghazālī (d. 942/1535 [*q.v.*]) lived in retirement in Mecca after he had written in praise of the executed Iskender Čelebi. In the grand tradition of Ottoman *marthiyas*, but in a different vein, is the *Marthiya-yi gurba*, in which the urbane Meʾālī [*q.v.*] (d. 942/1535-6) commemorates his deceased cat with a mock solemnity in stanzas, from which also genuine affection emerges. In this way, the imagery of the *marthiya*, steeped in the panegyric convention, could be used for a deeper vein of feeling, for political criticism or for gentle irony. The form was in use until the end of the 19th century. The elegy written by Ghālib Dede [*q.v.*] on the death of his friend Esrār Dede belongs to the last great examples of Turkish *dīwān* literature. ʿĀkif Pasha (d. 1845) wrote a short moving *marthiya* on the death of his child. The lyrical poem *Maḳber*, written by ʿAbdülḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid Tarhan upon the death of his young wife in 1885, has been classed as the greatest *marthiya* after Bāḳī's elegy (S. E. Siyavuşgil, in *İA*, i, 71). Not completely removed from the urban tradition, the unlettered and the peasants have *marthiyas* of their own. In Turkish folklore, lyrical compositions expressive of grief, *aghīt*, have survived; they commemorate the deceased, treat of general aspects of death or express sorrow over collective calamities (P. N. Boratav, in *PhTF*, ii, cf. *chanson funèbre*). Whereas the sufferings caused by the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8 inspired Namīḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] to write his impassioned *Waṭan merthiyesi*, popular poets had already since 1683 turned to elegies upon the loss of Rumelian cities to the Christian enemy, such as Buda, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Banyaluka and Bügürdelen. The popular *aghīt* lives to this day; about twenty such compositions lamenting Atatürk's death are known. Religious *marthiyas* on the martyrs of Karbalāʾ belong to the *maḳtal* genre.

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(B. Flemming)

4. In Urdu literature.

Marthiya (pls. in Urdu, *marthiyē*, *marāthī*) is one of the oldest forms of Urdu poetry. Two types exist, secular and religious, but the second is by far the more important; indeed, it is almost always assumed whenever Urdu writers mention *marthiya*. Moreover, it is usually about the Karbalāʾ martyrs, especially the *Imām* al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Shorter poems on this theme may be termed *nawḥa* or *salām*, the latter normally containing a word such as *salām*, *salāmī*, *mudjrā* or *mudjrāʾī* in the first few verses. Urdu critics often begin their accounts with the pre-Islamic Arabic *marthiya*, and also postulate some slight debt to Persian elegists such as Muḥtashim (Shiblī, *Muwāzana*, 1-9). Yet they regard the form it took in 19th century Lucknow as peculiarly Indian—perhaps the only truly indigenous major Urdu poetical genre.

Its early development goes back to Dakkani, that form of Urdu used in southern India, which is related to the literary language which emerged in northern India somewhat as Chaucer's English is to that of Shakespeare. The ʿĀdil Shāh [*q.v.*] sultans of Bīdjāpūr (895-1047/1489-1686) and the Ḳuṭb Shāhs [*q.v.*] of Golkondā (901-1098/1496-1687) were Shīʿīs, patrons of poetry, and sometimes poets themselves. They encouraged the reciting of *marthiyē* in Muḥarram, and even had *ʿĀshūrā-khānas* built specially for the purpose. Thus though, like other Urdu poetical forms, it was at first court poetry, because of its religious nature it was taken by princes to the people, to form a corporate religio-literary and social activity. It probably played an important part in the development of the *mushāʿara* (public poetical recital or competition) which became—and still remains—a phenomenon of Indo-Pakistani literary and social life. In the Deccan, from the 10th/16th century onwards, numerous poets composed *marthiyas*; some specialised in it. The researches of Naṣīr al-Dīn Hāshimī and Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḳādirīzōr (see *Bibl.*) have brought hundreds of examples to light from manuscripts in the Subcontinent and Europe, including an important two-volume collection in Edinburgh University Library. Thus the Dakkanī *marthiya* can now be seen as the ancestor of the north-Indian *marthiya* which reached its apogee in the works of Anīs and Dabīr in the mid-19th century. Its spread northward was a by-product of the subjugation of the Deccan sultanates by the armies of the Emperor Awrangzīb (1097-8/1686-7).

Nevertheless, the 19th century Lucknow *marthiya*, varied in content but invariably in *musaddas* form, and frequently extending to between 100 and 200 stanzas (300-600 vv.), is a far cry from the modest elegies of early Dakkanī poets. To begin with, *musaddas* was rarely used in the Deccan. An isolated exception by Yatīm Aḥmad (Hāshimī, 379, gives two stanzas) dates from the Mughal period. It would appear that in Bīdjāpūr and Golkondā, the great majority of *marāthī* were in "*ghazal* form"—that is, monorhyme, the rhyme also coming at the end of the first hemistich of the first verse. Among other forms occasionally used were *mathnawī* and quatrains. To take an early poet, Sultan Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh (976-

1020/1568-1611) wrote 5 *marāthī* (*Kulliyyāt*, $\frac{56}{1}$ - $\frac{56}{8}$, 57-60), one in *mathnawī*, the rest in *ghazal* form. Of the latter, the longest, no. 5, has a good deal of internal rhyme, usually in the middle of the hemistich, thus suggesting quatrains. After the Mughal conquest, quatrains gained ground, and this trend continued in northern India in the 18th century. But *ghazal* form was not completed eliminated, as can be seen from the *marāthī* of Sawdā᾽ (1125-95/1713-81) (*Kulliyyāt*, ii, 134-333) and Mīr Taḳī Mīr (1135-1223/1722-1810) (*Kulliyyāt Mīr*, 1203-1325). The quatrains used in *marthiya* differed from *rubā*ᶜ*iyyāt* in their rhyme scheme, which was *aaaa, bbba, ccca*, etc., that is *tarkīb-band*. They are called *murabba*ᶜ or *čaw-maṣra*ᶜ. By the end of the 18th century, this was considered the normal verse-form for *marthiya*.

Certainly, both Sawdā᾽ and Mīr tried out *musaddas* of various kinds in about 10% of their elegies; but it was in Lucknow, where both poets gravitated late in life, that *marthiya* became inextricably associated with *musaddas*, with the rhyme scheme *aaaabb, ccccdd, eeeeff*, etc. The credit is usually given to Mīr Ḍamīr, of the generation before Anīs. It may be that Anīs' father, Mīr Khalīḳ, also had a hand in it, if only we could date poems attributed to him and could be sure they were not composed by his celebrated son (see Shiblī, *op. cit.*, 15).

The disturbed situation in Dihlī, due to Afghān and Marāṭhā incursions, attracted many of its poets to Lucknow, whose Nawwābs were poets and patrons of poetry; and as they were also Shīᶜīs, they encouraged elegiac poetry. In its progress from the Deccan via Dihlī to Lucknow, the *marthiya* changed in length, scope and content, as well as in prosody. In the Deccan, it began as a short lament, ranging from 5 verses (10 hemistiches) to 20—rarely 30, even allowing for the possibility that some examples which have survived may be mere fragments. Nor did its length increase significantly in the early Mughal era. In fact, it resembled the *nawḥa* or *salām* of northern India. The poet's task was *rōna awr rulāna* (lit. "to weep and cause weeping"). Thus the rhyme often included repeated interjections of sorrow, such as *wā᾽ē*, *wā*, *waylā*, *āh*, *hā᾽ē* and *hayf*: other evocative words such as *Ḥusayn*, *Ḥusaynā*, *Karbalā* and *muṣībatā* were also used in rhyme. The effect was heightened by the chanting (*sōz khʷānī*) in which elegies were recited. There were also realistic, if brief, descriptions of the blood-stained body or shroud or the martyr. Heaven and earth were said to be thunderstruck by his death. Yet despite its small compass, the Dakkanī *marthiya* foreshadows, spasmodically, almost all the elements in the content of that of the 19th century. The various characters, their words, their feelings, and their exploits, are to be found. For example, the unhistorical marriage of al-Ḥusayn's daughter Sakīna to his nephew Ḳāsim is alluded to by Hāshim ᶜAlī (d. after 1169/1756) and his contemporary Ghulāmī (Ḳādirī, 293, 297).

Brevity inhibited the development of these themes. But some long *mathnawīs* on the Karbalā᾽ martyrdoms were written in the Deccan, predating the 19th century Lucknow "epic" *marthiya*. Whether they had any direct influence on it is hard to say. Both Shāh Muḥammad's *Djang-nāma* and Walī Wēlūrī's *Rawḍat al-shuhadā᾽* date from around 1730. However, the latter, which begins with the Prophet's death and ends with Karbalā᾽, might better be described as a sequence of separate elegies. Another *Rawḍat al-shuhadā᾽*, by a certain Muḥkam, dates from 1806.

Sawdā᾽ was a major elegist, and composed 91 *marāthī*. Though their average length is only about fifty verses, he was able to extend the battle-scenes, characterisation and dramatic content. He seems an obvious half-way house between the *marthiya* of the Deccan and that of Lucknow. He was often been criticised for his lack of sincerity in lamentation.

The Lucknow "epic" *marthiya* may be said to have begun with Mīr Ḍamīr and reached its climax with Mīr Babar ᶜAlī Anīs (1802-74) and Mīrzā Salāmat ᶜAlī Dabīr (1803-75), who composed more than a thousand *marāthī* each. *Sōz-khʷānī* often gave way to declamation (*taḥt al-lafẓ*), thus enhancing the dramatic impact. Despite the great length of many elegies, which has already been mentioned, so varied and extended was the content that no one *marthiya* told the whole Karbalā᾽ story in full. This was doubtless necessitated by the circumstances and the popularity of the form which led the poets to go on writing *marthiyē*. Variety was achieved by the selection of incidents as well as variation in treatment. Yet some readers may regret that no full-fledged Karbalā᾽ epic resulted. Characterisation, dialogue, description of scenes and nature, battle preparation and the battle itself, all played their part, without neglecting the original aim of lamentation. From the literary point of view, no devices of *faṣāḥat-o-balāghat* were neglected, with rich vocabulary and telling similes and metaphors. Critics have analysed the content-sequence as follows (Riḍwī, *Rūḥ-i-Anīs*, Introd., 14-15: Afḍal Ḥusayn, *Ḥayāt-i-Dabīr*, i, 137-40):

1. *čihra* (*maṭla*ᶜ/*tamhīd*) - introductory verses setting the tone, with no restriction at to details.
2. *rukhṣat* - the martyr-hero's farewell to his nearest and dearest.
3. *sarāpā* - a description of the hero from head to foot.
4. *āmad* - the army's preparation for battle, perhaps including a detailed description of the hero's horse.
5. *radjaz* - the hero's battle oration.
6. *djang* (*laṛā᾽ī*) - the actual battle, stressing the hero's valour, often including a description of his sword.
7. *shahādat* - the death of the martyr, either al-Ḥusayn or some member of his family.
8. *bayn* - the lamentation of the martyr's family and friends, of the poet himself, and of all believers.

But the above scheme was not mandatory: there were really only two thematic essentials to qualify a poem as a *marthiya*—it must be a lament, and must involve the martyrs of Karbalā᾽.

There was both mutual influence and intense rivalry between Anīs and Dabīr. Lucknow split into two camps, and a considerable literature of comparison was generated. Both were outstanding poets, and some consider Anīs the greatest of all Urdu poets. If he is preferred to Dabīr, it may be because on the whole he exhibits less pedantry and straining after effect. Two such giants were hard to equal; and before their deaths, the Lucknow principality ended with the exile of Nawwāb Wādjid ᶜAlī to Calcutta after the Indian Mutiny (1857-8). Though *marthiya* continued into the present century, with encouragement at other courts such as Rampur and Hyderabad, its great days were over. Those interested in the contemporaries and successors of Anīs may consult Ṣiddīḳī, 713-39, and Saksena, 137-9. To the present writer, the *marāthī* of Anīs's brother Mu᾽nis seem to merit reassessment.

The importance of *marthiya* in Urdu literary history has been widely recognised. Ḥālī (*Muḳaddima-yi-shi*ᶜ*r-o-shā*ᶜ*irī*, 182-91) describes Anīs's *marthiya* as "the creation of a new form which greatly extended the range of Urdu poetry, increasing its vocabulary, ending its stagnation and breathing new life into it." It is also said to have demonstrated the suitability of *musaddas* for long poems, Ḥālī's famous *musaddas*, *Madd-o-jazr-i-Islām*, being a prime example.

Secular *marthiya* has existed alongside the religious type throughout its history, but it has received scant attention, and examples are hard to come by. Zōr (130-31, 258) gives an elegy on Awrangzīb in 5 verses of mixed Dakkanī-Persian *mathnawī*. The poet, Mīr Dja{c}far {c}Alī (1068-1125/1658-1713), was born in north India, but accompanied the Emperor's son to the Deccan.

In the 19th century, the {c}Alīgaṙh Movement revived interest in secular *marthiya*. Ḥālī himself composed five of them plus two shorter elegiac pieces (*Kulliyyāt-i-naẓm-i-Ḥālī*, Lahore 1968, i, 327-62), in various verse-forms. His elegy of the poet Ghālib in ten stanzas of ten verses each is an often-quoted masterpiece. Among others often praised are that of Shiblī Nu{c}mānī (1857-1914) on his brother and that of Munshī Nawbat Rā'e Naẓar on his son. Nationalism and independence in the Subcontinent have led to a proliferation of the form in newspapers and magazines.

Bibliography: For general accounts, Ram Baku Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 123-39; Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 145-63, contains useful extracts with English translations, including two Dakkanī elegies; {c}Abd al-Salām Nadwī, *Shi{c}r al-Hind*, A{c}ẓamgaṙh n.d., ii, 353-68, concentrates on generalities and the secular *marthiya*; most studies of individual poets and introductions to *dīwāns* contain short histories of the form; for Dakkanī elegy, Naṣīr al-Dīn Hāshimī, *Dakkan mēn Urdū*, 6th enlarged edition, Lucknow 1963, 62-4, 90-7, 183-5, 287-319 (fundamental), 321-45, 362-84, 489-98, 545-6; Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḳādirī Zōr, *Urdū shāhpārē*, Hyderabad, Deccan n.d., i, 130-1, 137-8, 144-6 (on Walī Wēlūrī), 152-71, 258, 264-79, 293-316; both these two books give the Urdu texts of many *marāthī*, those in the second being more substantial, especially for Dakkanī elegists of the early Mughal period; for individual Dakkanī elegists, Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, *Kulliyyāt*, ed. Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḳādirī Zōr, Hyderabad, Deccan 1940, $\frac{56}{1}$ - $\frac{56}{8}$, 57-60; Shāhī (Sultan {c}Alī {c}Ādil Shāh II) *Kulliyyāt Shāhī*, ed. Sayyid Mubāriz al-Dīn Rif{c}at, {c}Alīgaṙh 1962, 90, 192-215, though of 16 *marāthī* included, only one, no. 16 in 28 vv., can confidently be attributed to this poet; Baḥrī, *Kulliyyāt Baḥrī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Sayyid, Lucknow 1939, 96-7, including the text of 5 *marāthī* for the 18th century northern Indian elegy; Shaykh Čānd, *Sawdā'*, Hyderabad n.d., 282-315; *Kulliyyāt Sawdā'*, ed. {c}Abd al-Bārī Āsī, Lucknow 1932, i (Introd.) 17, ii, 134-333; Mīr Taḳī Mīr, *Kulliyyāt Mīr*, ed. {c}Ibādat Brēlwī, Karachi-Lahore 1958, 1203-1333; Afsōs, *Kulliyyāt Afsōs*, ed. Sayyid Ẓahīr Aḥsan, Patna 1961, 262-86; for the 19th century Lucknow *marthiya*, Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, *Lakhnā'ō kā dabistān-i shā{c}irī*, Lahore 1955, 661-743; Shiblī Nu{c}mānī, *Muwāzana-yi-Anīs-o-Dabīr*, Lucknow 1924; Mīr Ḍamīr, *Madjmū{c}a-yi-marthiyē-yi-Ḍamīr*, i, Cawnpore 1898; art. *Anīs*, by Sayyid Amdjad Alṭāf, in *Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iii, 500-5; which lists editions of this poet's works from the Lucknow five-volume ed. of 1876 onwards; Sayyid Mas{c}ūd Ḥasan Riḍwī's *Rūḥ-i-Anīs*, Allahabad n.d., contains selected *marāthī* and a useful introduction; art. *Dabīr*, by Muḥammad Shafī{c}, in *Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam*, xii, 208-10; Afḍal Ḥusayn, *Ḥayāt-i-Dabīr*, i, Lahore 1913, ii/l, 1915; Mu'nis, *Madjmū{c}a-yi-marāthī-yi-Mu'nis*, 3 vols., Cawnpore 1912; for an account of Lucknow in the era of Anīs and Dabīr, Abdul Halim Sharar, *Lucknow: the last phase of an oriental culture*, tr. and ed. E. S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain, London 1975, esp. 83-4, 147; for the {c}Alīgaṙh attitude to *marthiya*, see Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī, *Muḳaddima-yi-shi{c}r-o-shā{c}irī*, Lahore 1950, 180-93.

(J. A. Haywood)

5. In Swahili literature.

The word *marthiya* is not used in Swahili literature; the word for an elegy is *lalamiko* "lament". It is very much a living tradition among Swahili men of letters to compose praising poems for great men who have died. The custom is well-known in Bantu Africa outside the sphere of Islamic influence, so that it may well have been in use among the Swahili before the advent of Islam in the late Umayyad period. Among the Bantu peoples, songs of lament have been recorded by De Rop, Rycroft, Van Wing and others.

Few songs of lament in Swahili have come down to us from any earlier period than the present century, except the *Inkishafi*, which laments in eighty stanzas the fall of the ancient city of Pate (the ruins of which have not yet been excavated) written probably before 1232/1820, by Sayid Abdallah bin Ali bin Nassir, a Swahili of Arabic origin. His contemporary Muyaka bin Hajji al-Ghassaniy (whose family name also betrays his Arabic ancestry) (d. *ca.* 1250/1837) wrote secular verse on personal as well as political subjects, and quatrains on love and philosophy. One of his poems may be called an elegy. It begins thus:

"Do not remind me of that time
when both my parents were alive
when friends and kinsmen filled the house...
Today I have remained alone
with none to help or counsel me
alone with thoughts that no-one shares..."

In Tanga, Hemedi al-Buhriy, who also wrote in the second quarter of the 19th century, composed the *Utenzi wa Kutawafu Nabii*, the Epic on the Death of the Prophet, in which he inserts a few lines of what may have been an elegy on Muḥammad, see J. W. Allen's edition, p. 39. In Lamu, Muhammad bin Abu Bakari Kijumwa wrote an elegy on the death of Professor Alice Werner, of the School of Oriental Studies in London, whom he had served as an informant in 1913. The poem is dated 1354/1935-6. It begins:

"The hearts are full of grief and their
sadness cannot be measured..."

Mohamed Bin Nasor Shaksi wrote an elegy on the death of the Governor of the Kenya Coast, Sir Mbaraka Ali Hinawy, in 1959. It begins: "We pray to Thee, O Majesty, O Lord without a peer..." Some of the best elegies were written in the last twenty years, first at the death of the author Shaaban Robert (1962), then at the death of the poet and Minister of Justice in Tanzania. Sh. Amri K. Abedi, in 1964. The latter had himself composed a now famous lament at the death of his friend Shaaban Robert, which begins thus: *Hae msiba mzito* "Woe! A grave misfortune..". The complete text was published, together with many other elegies that were composed by Swahili poets in both Kenya and Tanzania for the same sad occasion, by the present writer in *Swahili. Journal of the East African Swahili Committee*, xxxiii (1963), in Dar es Salaam. The same journal published the elegies written at the death of Amri Abedi (*Swahili*, xxxv/1 [1965], 4-18).

It is evident that the majority of Swahili elegies which have been published belong to the secular tradition of mourning the death of great men. Some of the finest pieces of Swahili lyric are among them, which is all the more remarkable since very little real lyric verse in the Western sense has been written in

Swahili; there is for instance hardly any nature-lyricism. The probable reason for the excellence of elegiac poetry in Swahili is the popular predilection for nostalgia common not only among the Swahili but also among other Bantu-speaking peoples, notably the Zulu. The mood of feeling that in the past everything was better, when good men and great leaders were still alive, is a natural one for people who are so deeply attached to their parents, their grandparents, their aunts and uncles, that they will always go to their elders for advice and guidance. The demise of such senior friends creates a mood of loneliness and aimlessness which explains the refrains of several of the elegies, e.g. Amri Abedi's on Shaaban Robert (tr. in the original metre): "Our language is still tender/who will be its foster father? Now that Shaaban has departed,/he that nursed it like an infant!"

In the purely Islamic elegies, these feelings of nostalgia and solitude are projected on the demise of the Prophet Muḥammad, as in the elegiac hymn probably composed by Sharifu Badruddini in Lamu, which begins: "Longing fills the hearts of people..." The people need guidance in all matters of daily life and so, in Swahili literature, the time when the Holy Prophet walked on earth is described as one of happiness, since all men knew then what to do.

Bibliography: On songs of lament in a Bantu language, see especially A. de Rop, *Gesproken Woordkunst der Nkundo*, Tervuren 1956, 62-85. On the *Inkishafi*, see Knappert, *Four centuries of Swahili verse*, London 1979, 127-37; on Muyaka bin Hajji, see *op. cit.*, 146, where the full text and translation of this elegy are given; for text and full translation of Amri Abedi's elegy on Shaaban Robert, see *op. cit.*, 285-7. The same work gives a bibliography of Swahili poetry, including the works of J. W. T. Allen, on 314-16. For Ahmad Basheikh Husayn's elegy on Sir Mbarak Ali Hinawy, written in 1959 a few years before his own death, see Knappert, *op. cit.*, 258-60.

(J. KNAPPERT)

MARTOLOS, a salaried member of the Ottoman internal security forces, recruited predominantly in the Balkans from among chosen land-owning Orthodox Christians who, retaining their religion, became members of the Ottoman *ʿaskerī* caste [*q.v.*]. The word almost certainly originated from the Greek, either *amartolos* (ἁμαρτωλός), "corrupt", "gone astray", or *armatolos* (ἁρματολός), "armed", "weapon-carrying". It was shortened to *martolos* (sometimes *martuloz*, with the occasional plural *martulosān*, مارتولسان) in Ottoman Turkish, whence it entered Bulgarian and then Serbian. By the end of the 9th/15th century it had entered Hungarian and was often used by Europeans to describe Christian sailors on the Danube River who served the Ottomans as rowers on light wooden barques called *nassad*. Its use by the Ottomans, however, was much broader.

In the mid-9th/mid-15th century, the conquering Turks assigned *martolos* in the Balkans as armed police, mounted and foot, who occasionally participated in war, but usually acted in their locales as peacetime border patrols, castle guards, security forces for important mines, guards for strategic passes (*derbend*) and, occasionally, tax collectors. Because of their military positions, *martolos* were able to keep their lands within the *tīmār* system [*q.v.*], *Martolos* were not limited to the Balkans, however, as some were used as spies and messengers as early as the 8th/14th century conquest of western Anatolia (see Anhegger, in *İA*, vii, 342). *Martolos* in the Balkans were almost always led by Muslims (*martolos bas̲h̲ī*, *martolos ag̲h̲asī*, *martolos bas̲h̲bug̲h̲u*). They remained loyal to the Sultan for more than two centuries because the Ottomans rewarded them with daily-wage *ʿaskerī* status, though they remained Christian; their positions were heritable; and they were exempt from the *d̲j̲izya* [*q.v.*] and various local taxes.

When in the 11th/17th century local Balkan antagonisms against Ottoman rule increased, Christian *martolos* serving against rebellious haiduks caused hostility, some *martolos* joining with the anti-Ottoman revolutionaries. By 1104/1692 Istanbul no longer allowed Christians to serve as *martolos* in the Balkans, and by 1135/1722 the Rumeli governor, ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a, merged the institution of *martolos* with the Muslim *pandor* (local security police) (Orhonlu, 89). By the 13th/19th century, a few *martolos* persisted in northern Macedonia, but these were effectively replaced by new institutions brought about by the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms.

Bibliography: The term is briefly explained in Pakalın, s.v. *Martulos*, ii, 409-10, and Midhat Sertoğlu, *Resimli Osmanlı tarihi ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1958, 197. It exists in numerous western language studies, e.g. S. Kakuk, *Recherches sur l'histoire osmanlie des XVIe et XVIIe siècles, les éléments osmanlis de la langue hongroise*, Budapest 1973, 268. References to the institution in standard sources for Ottoman history may be found in E. Rossi's *EI*[1] article and in his addition in *EI*[1] *Suppl.* The most extensive bibliography on the formation of the institution is in R. Anhegger, *Martolos*, in *İA*, vii, 341-4, and in C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda derbend teşkilâtı*, Istanbul 1967, 79-90. For the Balkans, see M. Vasić, *Die Martolosen im Osmanischen Reich*, in *Zeitschr. für Balkanologie*, Jahrgang ii (1964), 172-89, or the Turkish translation, M. Vasiç, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda martoloslar*, in *TD* xxxi (1977), 47-64; and M. Vasich, *The Martoloses in Macedonia*, in *Macedonian Review*, vii/1 (1977), 30-41.

(E. ROSSI - [W. J. GRISWOLD])

MARTYR, MARTYRDOM [see S̲H̲AHĪD; S̲H̲AHĀDA].

MAʿRŪF AL-KARK̲H̲Ī, ABŪ MAḤFŪẒ B. FĪRŪZ or FĪRŪZĀN, d. 200/815-16, one of the most celebrated of the early ascetics and mystics of the Bag̲h̲dād school.

While it is possible that the *nisba* al-Kark̲h̲ī may be connected with the eastern ʿIrāḳī town of Kark̲h̲ Bād̲j̲addā, it is more likely that it derives from his association with the Kark̲h̲ area of Bag̲h̲dād. It is generally thought that his parents were Christians, although Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī (ed. Juynboll and Matthes, i, 575) maintains that they were Ṣābians of the district of Wāsiṭ. Among his teachers in the tenets of Ṣūfism were Bakr b. K̲h̲unays al-Kūfī and Farḳad al-Sabak̲h̲ī (al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1310, i, 9). He himself was an important influence on another famous Ṣūfī of the earlier period, Sarī al-Saḳaṭī [*q.v.*], who was in turn the teacher and master of one of the most famous exponents of Ṣūfism, al-D̲j̲unayd [*q.v.*]. The story of his conversion to Islam at the hands of the S̲h̲īʿī *Imām* ʿAlī b. Musā al-Riḍā and his attempt to persuade his parents to the same course is now generally regarded as untrue. Among the sayings attributed to him are: "Love cannot be learned from men; it is in God's gift and derives from His Grace"; "Saints may be known by three signs; their concern for God, their preoccupation with God and their taking refuge in God"; and "Ṣūfism means recognising the divine realities and ignoring that which bears the mark of created beings". Maʿrūf has always been venerated as a saint, and his tomb at Bag̲h̲dād, on the west bank of the

Tigris, is still an object of pious resort and pilgrimage. Al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī relates that prayer at his tomb was generally regarded as propitious in obtaining rain. Maʿrūf's name appears in many of the *silsilas* of the Ṣūfī orders.

Bibliography: Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1319, 11; Hud̲j̲wīrī, *Kas̲h̲f al-maḥd̲j̲ūb*, ed. Z̲h̲ukovski, Leningrad 1926, 141, tr. Nicholson, 113; Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1953, 83-90; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1932-8, viii, 360-8; K̲h̲aṭīb, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād* 1931, xiii, 199-209; ʿAṭṭār, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-awliyāʾ*, ed. Nicholson, i, 269 ff., tr. Arberry, *Muslim saints and mystics*, London 1966, 161-5; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1948, iv, no. 700, tr. de Slane, ii, 88; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-d̲j̲anān*, Hyderabad 1337-9, i, 460-3; D̲j̲āmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1859, 42; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt al-d̲h̲ahab*, Cairo 1350-1, i, 360; R. A. Nicholson, *The origin and development of Sufism*, in *JRAS* (1906), 306, and *A saying of Maʿrūf al-Kark̲h̲ī*, in *JRAS* (1906), 999; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, 207.

(R. A. Nicholson - [R. W. J. Austin])

MAʿRŪF AL-RUṢĀFĪ (1875-1945), leading poet of modern ʿIrāḳ and one extremely audacious and outspoken in expressing his political views. He was born in Bag̲h̲dād in 1875 to his father ʿAbd al-G̲h̲anī Maḥmūd, of Kurdish descent and from the D̲j̲abbāriyya tribe (between Kirkūk and Sulaymāniyya in N. ʿIrāḳ), who was a pious man and worked as a gendarme outside Baghdad; for this reason, Maʿrūf was brought up and educated by his devoted mother Fāṭima bint D̲j̲āsim at her father's house (she was of the Ḳarag̲h̲ūl Arabic tribe, a branch of S̲h̲ammar, who inhabited the Ḳarag̲h̲ūl quarter in Bag̲h̲dād).

Maʿrūf was sent to a *kuttāb* in Bag̲h̲dād where he learnt reading and reciting the Ḳurʾān by heart. After three years of primary school, he joined al-Rus̲h̲diyya al-ʿAskariyya school. In his fourth year there, he failed his examinations and was unable to continue his secular studies which would have paved him the way for high military or government service. Hence he switched to religious studies under the supervision of the celebrated scholar Mahmūd S̲h̲ukrī al-Ālūsī (1857-1924 [*q.v.*]), and others such as S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbbās al-Ḳaṣṣāb and Ḳāsim al-Ḳaysī, for twelve years. He was a distinguished student and became a devoted Ṣūfī. In appreciation of this, his master al-Ālūsī gave him the name of Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī, in contrast to the name of the celebrated Ṣūfī scholar Maʿrūf al-Kark̲h̲ī (which derived from the name of the western bank of the river Tigris), and thus Maʿrūf's family name became attributed to the eastern bank of the river.

There is no indication in the various biographical sources as to how he sustained himself during these years of his religious and literary studies and how he became a completely secular poet. What is known is that he was compelled to work as a teacher in two primary schools in Bag̲h̲dād until he left for a third school in Mandalī in Diyālā because of a higher wages.

Later, he attempted to return to Bag̲h̲dād and passed there an examination in Arabic language and literature with distinction, so that he was appointed a teacher at a secondary school until 1908. During these years, he published poems in well-known Egyptian periodicals such as *al-Muʾayyad* and *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, as did other famous poets of ʿIrāḳ, e.g. al-Zahāwī [*q.v.*], there being no periodical of distinction in ʿIrāḳ at that time. He became well-known in other Arab countries as well as among the Arab emigrants in America.

However, by this stage of his life, his poetry was already devoid of religious tendencies and completely secular, favouring freedom of thought, against tyranny, urging his people into scientific and cultural revival following the European model, describing and praising modern inventions, defending the victims of social injustice and lamenting the deteriorating conditions to which the Ottoman Empire, and especially ʿIrāḳ, was reduced. He also supported the slogan of the French Revolution, adopted by the Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P.) as *Ḥurriyya. ʿAdāla, Musāwāt* ("Liberty, Justice and Equality"), as it appears in his poems published in *Dīwān al-Ruṣāfī*, Beirut 1910.

After the Young Turk Revolution of 10 July 1908, he translated into Arabic the rallying-song of their poet Tewfīḳ Fikret, which became a school song in many Arab countries. It seems that his sympathy with the ideology of the C.U.P. induced the Bag̲h̲dād branch of C.U.P. headed by Murād Bey Sulaymān (the brother of Maḥmūd S̲h̲ewḳat [*q.v.*]), to invite him to edit the Arabic part of the bilingual political and cultural journal (*Bag̲h̲dād* (6 August 1908) which was the party's bulletin.

Al-Ruṣāfī celebrated the declaration of the *Dustūr* (or Constitution of 10 July 1908) with both poetry and action. According to Ḳāsim al-K̲h̲aṭṭāṭ (*Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī, s̲h̲āʿir al-ʿArab al-kabīr*, Cairo 1971, 52-5), al-Ruṣāfī with a group of his Jewish and Christian friends entered the al-Wazīr mosque on a Friday and removed forcibly the Muslim preacher from his pulpit and delivered a speech in favour of the C.U.P. ideology. Al-Ruṣāfī's behaviour roused tremendous anger among the religious and conservative circles of Bag̲h̲dād, who demanded that he be hanged and who demonstrated in front of the *Wālī* or governor Nāẓim Pas̲h̲a, so that the latter, out of fear for al-Ruṣāfī's life, put him in preventive custody.

However, at the beginning of 1909, at the request of Aḥmed D̲j̲ewdet, the editor of the newspaper *Iḳdām*, al-Ruṣāfī arrived in Istanbul via Beirut in order to produce an Arabic version of his periodical, which it was hoped would create a new understanding between the two main groups of the Ottoman Empire, the Turks and the Arabs, and would serve as the voice of the C.U.P. Al-Ruṣāfī was disappointed to learn that the editor had not been able to get the financial support needed to publish the Arabic part. So he left for Salonika, and there Maḥmūd S̲h̲ewḳat, the commander of the 3rd Army Corps of Macedonia, marched with his army on Istanbul, deposed the Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] on 13 April 1909, and removed his supporters, the reactionaries headed by Darwīs̲h̲ Waḥdatī, who had been raised to power on 31 March 1909. In his poem *Ruḳyat al-ṣarīʿ* ("An incantation for the fallen victim") (*Dīwān*, 6th ed., Beirut (?) 1958, 162-4), al-Ruṣāfī rebuked the Ottoman government for its tyranny, as being against Islamic tradition, and he called for a republican government (*d̲j̲umhūriyya*), in order to achieve progress and freedom as in Europe. In his poem *Fī Silānīk* (*ibid.*, 382-8), he described the revolution and his journey with the army to Istanbul againt the Sultan. In his poem *Tammūz al-ḥurriyya* ("July, the month of freedom") (*ibid.*, 388-9) he greeted the Young Turk Revolution, and expressed his joy at the deposition of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.

On his return to ʿIrāḳ via Beirut, where he was received with courtesy by men of letters headed by Amīn al-Rīḥānī, he became short of money, but fortunately the owner of al-Maktaba al-Ahliyya helped him by buying his *Dīwān*. The poems were edited and rearranged by Muḥyī al-Dīn K̲h̲ayyāṭ and

provided with a preface (Beirut 1910). This edition as well as the following ones were full of printing errors. The edition of Dār al-ᶜAwda, Beirut 1970, contains less errors, but the new edition annotated by Muṣṭafā ᶜAlī, al-Ruṣāfī's close friend and disciple, published in 4 vols. by the ᶜIrāḳi government, Bag͟hdād 1974, is the only authorised and complete edition. The pornographic poems of al-Ruṣāfī, except his poem *Badāᶜa lā k͟halāᶜa* (*Dīwān*, 6th edn., 283-5), are excluded from all editions, and the ᶜIrāḳi authorities never allowed their publication. In the former editions many verses and poems which were against King Fayṣal I, his officials, and against the Regent ᶜAbd al-Ilāh, Nūrī al-Saᶜīd and others, were not included.

Back home he resumed his work at the newspaper *Bag͟hdād*, but soon, in 1909, he reviewed a new invitation, this time from "The Arab Friends' Association" headed by al-Zahāwī and Fahmī al-Mudarris in Istanbul, to edit their daily newspaper *Sabīl al-ras͟hād* ("The Path of Reason"). In Istanbul he also gave lectures in two high schools on Arabic language and literature (collected in *Nafḥ al-ṭīb fī 'l-k͟hiṭāba wa 'l-k͟haṭīb*, Istanbul 1331/1917), and taught Ṭalᶜat Pas͟ha, a leading member of C.U.P., the Arabic language. It may be that his connection with Ṭalᶜat helped him to be elected as a deputy in the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies on behalf of the Muntafiḳ district of ᶜIrāḳ from 1912 onwards. He also married a widow named Balḳīs, but they had no children. He mentions her twice in his *Dīwān* (78, 244): in the first poem, when she is asking him "not to depart, while his ambitions forced him to", and in the second poem dedicated to the al-D̲jamīl family, asking them for support to be able to travel to Turkey in order to see "the person whom his heart is longing for". It seems that he later divorced her officially in 1925 because he was not able to sustain her.

Al-Ruṣāfī's main concern was the maintenance of the unity of the Ottoman Empire through the unity of all its religious and national groups, as well as its revival according to the ideology of the C.U.P. For this reason, he attacked the Arab Congress in Paris (17-23 June 1913) and censured its members in his satiric poem *Mā hākad͟hā* ("Not in this way") (*Dīwān*, 402-5, cf. also 405-7), accusing them of jeopardising the unity of the Empire, besides encouraging French ambitions in Syria and causing enmity between Christians and Muslims. In fact, al-Ruṣāfī was a great defender of the Arab spiritual and cultural revival within the framework of the Ottoman Empire, and a vehement critic of the European powers who were aiming at its destruction. When World War I broke out, he composed a poem *al-Waṭan wa 'l-d̲jihād* ("The homeland and the holy war") (*Dīwān*, 489-91) calling all the Muslims to defend Islam and criticising the Egyptians for backing the British, and he expressed his hope that ᶜIrāḳ would defeat the approaching enemy. This solidarity with the Ottoman Empire explains also why al-Ruṣāfī, in his poetry, did not lament those Arab nationalists who were hanged by D̲jamāl Pas͟ha (1916). On the other hand, he attacked the S͟harīf Ḥusayn of Mecca for his revolt against the Ottomans (10 June 1916); he neither celebrated an Arab government being established in Damascus and headed by Prince Fayṣal b. al-Ḥusayn (1918) nor lamented the latter's expulsion from Syria (1919); and in his poetry he did not as much as mention the ᶜIrāḳī revolt against the British in 1920.

After the war ended in 1918, al-Ruṣāfī left Istanbul for Damascus, where Prince Fayṣal formed his Arab government, but he was given the cold shoulder because of his former satirical poems against Fayṣal's father the S͟harīf Ḥusayn and the Arab nationalists. In fact, al-Ruṣāfī did not expect a reception of this kind from his former colleague in the Ottoman Parliament Prince Fayṣal, and was disappointed, because he considered his stand as having been honest and proper in the interests of the Ottoman Empire (*Dīwān*, 420-3).

For this reason, he accepted a job at the Teachers' Training College (*Dār al-Muᶜallimīn*) in Jerusalem (1918-21), where he became the focus of social and literary activities together with the Palestinian writers Isᶜāf Nas͟hās͟hībī, K͟halīl Sakākīnī and ᶜĀdil D̲jabr (*Dīwān*, 141, 428, 515). In 1921 the Director of the College, K͟halīl Ṭūṭaḥ, published al-Ruṣāfī's collection of 17 school songs with their musical settings under the title *Mad̲jmūᶜat al-anās͟hīd al-madrasiyya* (lith., Jerusalem 1921, with an introduction by Isᶜāf al-Nas͟hās͟hībī).

Safa Khulusi in his article *Maᶜrūf al-Ruṣāfī in Jerusalem* (in *Arabic and Islamic garland ... Studies presented to Abdul-Latif Tibawi* ... London 1977, 147-52) has discussed this period in the life of al-Ruṣāfī. Khulusi thinks that the poem which al-Ruṣāfī composed after attending a lecture which Prof. A. Sh. Yehuda gave on Arab civilisation at the invitation of Rāg͟hib Nas͟hās͟hībī, the Mayor of Jerusalem, and which was attended by Sir Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner for Palestine, succeeded in diverting the attention from the resolutions of the Palestinian Arab Congress held at Haifa in December 1920 and deflated the opposition to Samuel's policy. In this poem, al-Ruṣāfī praised the lecturer and the speech of Sir Herbert Samuel, as well as the Arab-Jewish blood ties, denying the accusation of their mutual enmity, and finally expressing the Arab's fear of being expelled from their homeland *Ilā Herbert Samuel*, *Dīwān*, 429-37). The poem evoked strong protests from Arab nationalists, and the Lebanese Maronite poet Wadīᶜ al-Bustānī, who lived in Haifa, composed a poem rebuking al-Rusāfī. This strong campaign against him persuaded al-Ruṣāfī to accept an invitation to return to Bag͟hdād in order to become the editor of a newspaper in support of Ṭālib Pas͟ha al-Naḳīb, who claimed the throne of ᶜIrāḳ.

One of the main questions asked by some Arab writers, and especially by the ᶜIrāḳi writer Hilāl Nād̲jī in his *al-Ḳawmiyya wa 'l-is͟htirākiyya fī s͟hiᶜr al-Ruṣāfī*, Beirut 1959, 108-9, is why al-Ruṣāfī did not deal with the Palestinian question and why he did not attack in his poetry the Zionist Movement in Palestine. The answer may be that al-Ruṣāfī was a great supporter of science, progress, socialism, woman's liberation, equality, freedom of thought and self-determination, as Hilāl Nād̲jī himself observed in his work and as is clear from several poems in al-Ruṣāfī's *Dīwān* (see e.g. *Yawm Sing͟hāfūra*, 473). It seems that he found all these qualities among the Jewish settlers in Palestine, hence admired them and did not criticise their projects.

Al-Ruṣāfī left for ᶜIrāḳ, but the expulsion of al-Naḳīb to India by the British in order to pave the way for Prince Fayṣal to become King of ᶜIrāḳ put an end to the publication of the newspaper. Instead, al-Ruṣāfī was appointed a deputy director of the office of translations, which he considered below his capability and his glorious previous career. He felt that he was being neglected and humiliated, at the time when what he called "flatterers and those devoid of talents" were attaining high and influential positions (*Dīwān*, 426-8). At the end of 1922 he left for Beirut and decided not to return to ᶜIrāḳ, but when he heard of the elections to the first ᶜIrāki Parliament he returned

to Baghdād. There he published his daily newspaper *al-Amal* (1 October-20 December 1923) whose editorials were his own, flattering British policy in ᶜIrāḳ. He also tried to make peace with King Fayṣal I, but to his great disappointment was not elected as an M. P. At the end of 1923 he was appointed Inspector of Arabic language in the Ministry of Education and gave lectures at the Teachers' College in Baghdād on Arabic Literature, lectures that were partly published in *Durūs fī taʾrīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ᶜArabiyya*, Baghdād 1928.

During this period he was in bad financial circumstances, and wrote the most vicious poems against King Fayṣal I, his government (especially against officials of the Ministry of Education) and the British (*Dīwān*, 448-50, 460-71); some of these poems remained unpublished and circulated orally or in handwriting. In his poem *Ḥukūmat al-intidāb* ("The Mandatory Government") (*Dīwān*, 461), he satirised the ᶜIrāḳi government as "False flag, constitution and parliament", and affirmed that the government was enslaved by the British. In a poem, not included in his *Dīwān* (see Khaṭṭāṭ, *Ruṣāfī*, 139, and Hilāl Nādjī, *Ṣafaḥāt min ḥayāt al-Ruṣāfī*, Cairo 1962, 80), he accused King Fayṣal I of doing nothing but "counting days and receiving his salary" and cursed him and his palace, imploring its destruction. In order to escape from his poverty, he wrote panegyrical poems to ᶜAbd al-Muḥsin al-Saᶜdūn and others, asking for financial support.

By the help of Saᶜdūn, he succeeded in being elected as a member of the ᶜIrāḳi Chamber of Deputies (19 May 1928), but Saᶜdūn's suicide on 13 November 1929 was a great loss to him, and he elegised him in several poems (*Dīwān*, 318-26). Later on, however, al-Ruṣāfī succeeded several times in being elected for a period of eight years in all between 11 November 1930 and 22 February 1939.

Between 1933-4 al-Ruṣāfī lived in Fallūdja in Diyāla; there he wrote his work *al-Shakhṣiyya al-Muḥammadiyya, aw ḥall al-lughz al-muḳaddas* ("Muḥammad's personality, or the solving of the holy mystery"). S. A. Khulusi called it a *magnum opus*, adding that "according to his closest friends, he advised that it should not be published before the year A.D. 2000," and stated that the book was described as "heretical and ... that it abounds in many objectionable views" (*Maᶜrūf ar-Ruṣāfī*, in *BSOAS*, xiii/3 [1950], 619). A microfilm of the ms. is kept in the Irāḳī Academy of Sciences.

From the middle of 1941, after the *coup d'état* of Rashīd ᶜĀlī al-Kīlānī, he returned to Baghdād, where he lived in poverty. He supported the *coup* with his poetry, satirising the British and the Regent ᶜAbd al-Ilāh, as well as Nūrī al-Saᶜīd and other officials whom he accused of corruption. With the failure of the *coup*, followed by a massacre of the Jews known as the *Farhūd*, the British occupied Baghdād (2 June 1941). Later on, al-Kīlānī's four lieutenant-colonels ("The Golden Square") were caught and hanged. Al-Ruṣāfī composed a long elegy on the failure of the *coup* and the hanging of some of its leaders, and threatened that a day would come and that the royal family would be destroyed by the army (Khaṭṭāṭ, 159-60; Nādjī, *al-Ishtirākiyya*, 44-5). However, he was not arrested, and was left without support until he was forced to sell cigarettes in a small shop.

In 1944 he published his *Rasāʾil al-taᶜlīḳāt* (Baghdād 1944), which contained three refutations of two of Zakī Mubārak's works *al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī* (1938) and *al-Nathr al-fannī* (1934), and a third one of Caetani's work on the life of Muḥammad in his *Annali de l'Islam* (Milan 1905). Al-Ruṣāfī's views on monism expressed in his refutation of *al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī* caused tremendous criticism and anger and he was accused of blasphemy. *Fatwās* were given against him and for the banning of his book. It seems that these attacks induced him to write his will, in which he affirmed that he was a Muslim who believed in God and in Muḥammad, and that he believed in the essence of the religion but not in its trivialities (Muṣṭafā ᶜAlī, *al-Ruṣāfī, ṣilatī bihi, waṣiyyatuhu, muʾallafātuh*, Cairo 1948, 43, and Khaṭṭāṭ, 188-9).

By the end of 1944, he was allotted 40 ᶜIrāḳī *dīnārs* a month by a rich and influential political personality, Muẓhir al-Shāwī (d. 1958), to the end of his life, which came on 16 March 1945.

The great fame of al-Ruṣāfī is based upon his political and social poetry. The 6th edn. of *Dīwān al-Ruṣāfī* (Beirut ?1958) is divided into 11 sections of different length: (1) On the universe (8 poems); (2) Social topics (63 poems); (3) Philosophy (9 poems); (4) Descriptions (59 poems); (5) Conflagrations (3 poems); (6) Elegies (24 poems); (7) On women (8 poems); (8) History (11 poems); (9) Politics (42 poems); (10) War (8 poems); (11) Short Poems (111 poems, the shortest being of 2 verses, some of them improvised at receptions and parties and the longest being of 29 verses). These sections contain altogether 346 poems. The longest poem is of 104 verses of monorhyme, a biographical poem on Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (*Dīwān*, 358-66), and a narrative poem (Poverty and illness) (*ibid.*, 94-102) in 51 quintets. However, the division of the poems into these precise sections is arbitrary. Most poems are of monorhymes, in which each verse is divided into two hemistichs, and in the opening ones, both hemistichs are rhymed. A few poems are of stanzaic form, such as one poem in couplets; one poem is of three hemistichs to each stanza; two in quartets; four in quintets, and three *muwashshaḥs* in the classical ten hemistichs form. Of the four quintets, one is a versification according to the modern theory of the formation of the universe entitled *al-Arḍ* ("The globe") (*Dīwān*, 27-32), and the second is a narrative poem on the consequence of poverty in ᶜIrāḳ (*ibid.*, 94-102). He composed poems in difficult rhymes which are avoided by other poets such as *z, ṣ, ẓ, ḍ, ṭ* and *n*, and at least eight poems, in the last hemistichs of which the numerical value of letters gives the date of their composition (*ᶜalā ḥisāb al-djummal*), a method which was used in the post-classical period. However, most of his poems are undated. Others were composed on the metre and rhyme of well-known classical examples, especially those of al-Mutanabbī and al-Maᶜarrī [*q.vv.*], and some have even quotations from pre-Islamic poets and others.

At the end of his life, he became free of this classical influence on style and metaphors and was able to use in his political poetry a spontaneous and more flexible style. The influence of al-Mutanabbī is clear also in his personal behaviour, his pride, his honesty and his endearing way in expressing his ideas. Like al-Mutanabbī, he used proverbial sayings, and boasted of his character and poetry in his panegyrics in which he asked for alms, while the influence of al-Maᶜarrī on him was clear in his philosophical outlook and his ideas on religion and God, including his scepticism and monism. Unlike Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*], al-Ruṣāfī was sceptical about the eternity of the soul and its ascent to heaven (*Dīwān*, 182, 116, 189) and about religion as a divine revelation: for him, religion was, rather, an invention of wise thinkers for the benefit of mankind (*ibid.*, 187, 189). But like William Blake, he

believed in the harmony and unity of body and soul (*ibid.*, 192-3), and even if the soul was supposed to be eternal, he would be inclined to think that it had no awareness of life. On the other hand, he urged on the Arabs the need for a scientific and cultural revival, for unity and liberty, and he defended the freedom of women, especially of Muslim ones, in his poems on women's affairs and in others. He also defended freedom of thought, behaviour and the press, and held that it was up to a free man to violate customs and traditions if he felt it necessary. He backed the oppressed, the persecuted and the victims of society, poverty and illness, and called for social security and equality. He rebuked the Arabs for their stagnation and apathy and for boasting of their old and glorious history. A unique poem which shows his attitude towards the oppressed and against religious fanaticism is his poem "The orphan's mother" (*Dīwān*, 39-42). In this, he relates the story of an Armenian widow and her orphaned son, both victims of religious fanaticism and racial hatred, her husband having been killed in the massacre of the Armenians in Turkey in 1915, and he declares that Islam is innocent of such cruelty. He also described new technical inventions such as the telegraph, the railway, the car, the watch, etc., and admired the inventions of the steam engine and of electricity.

He favoured long metres which suited his declamatory and rhetorical tone, such as *ṭawīl, wāfir, kāmil, basīṭ* and *khafīf*. Thought, not the emotions, dominated his poetry. He expressed his ideas in a direct and denotative style, not metaphorically or symbolically, and was fond of a classical vocabulary.

In his scientific works, he witnessed to his wide and profound knowledge of Arabic language and literature as well as of Islam and its history; yet he depended more on his talent and what he had studied during his youth. His published works, according to the chronological order of appearance are as follows:

(1) *al-Ruʾyā* [a novel] by Nāmiḳ Kemāl, tr. from Turkish into Arabic by al-Ruṣāfī, Baghdād 1909.
(2) *Dīwān al-Ruṣāfī*, Beirut 1910, 2nd ed. Beirut 1932, 6th ed. Beirut (?) 1958, with new poems added. New edn., Beirut, Dār al-ᶜAwda 1971, with new poems added. Also Baghdād, Maṭbaᶜat al-Ḥukūma 1974, 4 vols. ed. and annotated by Muṣṭafā ᶜAlī.
(3) *Madjmūᶜat al-anāshīd al-madrasiyya*, lith., with notes, Jerusalem 1921.
(4) *Dafᶜ al-hudjna fī irtiḍākh al-lukna*, Istanbul 1331/1912 (Arabic vocabulary used in the Turkish language and vice versa).
(5) *Nafḥ al-ṭīb fi 'l-khiṭāba wa 'l-khaṭīb*, Istanbul 1336/1917.
(6) *Tamāʾim al-tarbiya wa 'l-taᶜlīm*, Beirut 1924 (versified didactic and scientific subjects, for school children).
(7) *Muḥāḍarāt al-adab al-ᶜarabī*, Baghdād 1339/1921.
(8) *Muḥāḍara fī ṣalāḥ al-lugha al-ᶜarabiyya li 'l-tadrīs*, Baghdād 1926.
(9) *Durūs fī taʾrīkh al-lugha al-ᶜarabiyya*, Baghdād 1928.
(10) *Rasāʾil al-taᶜlīḳāt*, Baghdād 1944.
(11) *ᶜAlā bāb sidjn Abī al-ᶜAlāʾ*, Baghdād 1946 (a commentary on Ṭaha Ḥusayn's *Maᶜa Abī al-ᶜAlāʾ fī sidjnih*).
(12) *ᶜĀlam al-dhubāb*, Baghdād 1945 (a commentary on *Risālat ᶜālam al-dhubāb* by Dr. Fāʾiḳ Shākir).
(13) *al-Adab al-rafīᶜ fī mīzān al-shiᶜr*, Baghdād 1968 (on Arabic prosody—metre and rhyme).

There are 6 other unpublished works which are still in ms., the most important of which is *al-Shakhṣiyya al-Muḥammadiyya*.

Bibliography: The first detailed biography on al-Ruṣāfī was written by the Egyptian scholar Badawī Ṭabāna, *Maᶜrūf al-Ruṣāfī, dirāsa adabiyya li-shāᶜir al-ᶜIrāḳ wa-bīʾatihi al-siyāsiyya wa 'l-idjtimāᶜiyya*, Cairo 1947. Muṣṭafā ᶜAlī, al-Ruṣāfī's close friend, corrected many details of this book which he thought wrong in his work *Adab al-Ruṣāfī*, Baghdād 1947. Later on, Muṣṭafā ᶜAlī wrote another book, *al-Ruṣāfī, ṣilatī bihi, waṣiyyatuhu, muᶜallafātuh*, Cairo 1948, and his lectures in the Maᶜhad al-Dirāsāt al-ᶜĀliya in Cairo were published in his book *Muḥāḍarāt ᶜan Maᶜrūf al-Ruṣāfī*, Cairo 1953. Other friends of al-Ruṣāfī wrote also about him, including Nuᶜmān Māhir al-Kanᶜānī and Sa ᶜīd al-Badrī, *al-Ruṣāfī fī aᶜwāmihi al-akhīra*, Baghdād 1950; Saᶜīd al-Badrī, *ᶜĀrāʾ al-Ruṣāfī*, Baghdād 1951; ᶜAbd al-Ṣāḥib Shukr, *ᶜAbḳariyyat al-Ruṣāfī*, Baghdād 1958; Saᶜīd al-Badrī, *Dhikrā al-Ruṣāfī*, Baghdād 1959; Ṭālib al-Sāmarrāʾī, *al-Ruṣāfī dhālika al-insān*, Baghdād 1959. Other books on Ruṣāfī are Hilāl Nādjī, *Ṣafaḥāt min ḥayāt al-Ruṣāfī wa-adabih*, Cairo 1962, which contains poems and letters by al-Ruṣāfī praising the generosity of ᶜAbd al-Madjīd and Muẓhir al-Shāwī. Another important book by Nādjī is *al-Ḳawmiyya wa 'l-ishtirākiyya fī shiᶜr al-Ruṣāfī*, Beirut 1959. See also ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf Sharāra, *al-Ruṣāfī*, Beirut 1964; Djalāl al-Ḥanafī, *al-Ruṣāfī fī awdjih wa-ḥadīdih*, Baghdād 1962; and Ḳāsim al-Khaṭṭāṭ, Muṣṭafā ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf al-Saḥartī and Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Munᶜim Khafādjī, *Maᶜrūf al-Ruṣāfī shāᶜir al-ᶜArab al-kabīr, ḥayātuh wa-shiᶜruh*, Cairo 1971; at the end of this last book there is a comprehensive bibliography of books and articles in Arabic language only (381-9). Beside the two articles in English by Safa Khulusi mentioned above in the text, see Brockelmann, S III, 488-9; L. Massignon, *EI*[1], art. s.v.; Y. A. Dāgher, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabiyya, ii/1*: *al-Rāḥilūn (1800-1955)*, Beirut 1956, 388-92; Yūsuf ᶜIzz al-Dīn *Shuᶜarāʾ al-ᶜIrāḳ fī 'l-ḳarn al-ᶜishrīn* Baghdād 1960, 17-28, where he gives an interview made by Kāmil al-Djādirdjī with al-Ruṣāfī before his death; Salma Kh. Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, i, 188-93. (S. Moreh)

MĀRŪN AL-NAḲḲĀSH [see AL-NAḲḲĀSH].

MĀRŪT [see HĀRŪT WA-MĀRŪT].

MARW AL-RŪDH, a town on the Murghāb river in mediaeval Khurāsān, five or six stages up river from the city of Marw al-Shāhidjān [*q.v.*], where the river leaves the mountainous region of Gharčistān [see GHARDJISTĀN] and enters the steppe lands of what is now the southern part of the Ḳara Ḳum [*q.v.*]. The site seems to be marked by the ruins at the modern Afghān town of Bālā Murghāb (in lat. 35° 35' N. and long 63° 20' E.) described by C. E. Yate in his *Northern Afghanistan or letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission*, Edinburgh and London 1888, 208; the modern settlement of Marūčak or Marw-i Kūčik apparently marks the dependency of Marw al-Rūdh mentioned by the mediaeval geographers as-Ḳaṣr-i Aḥnaf. At present, Bālā Murghāb falls within the post-1964 administrative reorganisation Bādghīs province of Afghānistān.

Marw al-Rūdh's name, "Marw on the river", or that of "Little Marw" served to distinguish it from the larger centre of Marw al-Shāhidjān. The pre-Islamic name of the place was in MP Marvirōt, Armenian Mrot, later, giving the Arabic *nisbas* of al-Marwarrūdhī and al-Marrūdhī. The foundation of the town was attributed to Bahrām Gūr. In 553 a

Nestorian bishopric of Marw al-Rūdh is mentioned, and at the time of the Islamic conquest in 32/652 the local governor Bādhām became a client of the Arabs (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 75-6; Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 44; M.A. Shaban, The *ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 21-2). In the early ʿAbbāsid period, *ca.* 160/777, in the governorships of Ḥumayd b. Ḳaḥṭaba and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd, Marw al-Rūdh, Ṭālaḳān and Gūzgān were in the hands of the Khāridjite rebel Yūsuf al-Barm al-Thaḳafī (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 126).

The geographers of the 4th/10th century describe it as being in a flourishing agricultural region, with dependent settlements such as Diza and Ḳaṣr (or Diz)-i Aḥnaf and with its Friday mosque built on wooden columns in the middle of the covered market. Al-Muḳaddasī states that in his time (*ca.* 370/980) it depended administratively on the local rulers, the Shīrs, of Gharčistan and that the appearance and speech of the local people resembled that of the mountain peoples of Gharčistān (314; see also al-Iṣṭakhrī, 269-70; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 441-2, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 427; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 105, comm. 328, spelling the name as Marūd). The district flourished under the Saldjūḳs. Malik-Shāh built defences at the nearby town of Pandj-dih, and Sandjar built Marw al-Rūdh's wall, 5,000 paces in circumference and still standing in Mustawfī's time (158-9, tr. 155). The area was much fought-over in the warfare of the Ghūrids and Khwārazm-Shāhs, and a sharp battle took place near Marw al-Rūdh between the Ghūrid rivals for supremacy in Khurāsān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad and Sulṭān-Shāh (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 298). Marw al-Rūdh must accordingly have escaped the devastations which the Mongols wrought at Marw al-Shāhidjān, but appears to have become ruinous in Tīmūrid times.

Bibliography (in additions to references given in the article): Le Strange, *Lands*, 404-5; Barthold, *Merverrud*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xiv (1902), 028-032; idem, *Istoriko-geografičeskiy obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 25, Eng. tr. S. Soucek, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 35-6; Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 79. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

MARW AL-SHĀHIDJĀN or simply MARW, the city which dominated the rich but notoriously unhealthy oasis region of classical and mediaeval Islamic times along the lower course of the Murghāb river on the northeastern fringes of Persia, also called "Great Marw". Formerly within the historic province of Khurāsān [*q.v.*], the seat of pre-Islamic wardens of the marches and often of provincial governors in Islamic times, its site ("Old Merv") and the nearby modern settlement of Bairam Ali (see below) fall today within the Turkmenistan SSR. The name Marw al-Shāhidjān "Royal Marw" clearly relates to Marw's role as the seat of representatives of royal authority, guarding this bastion of the Iranian world against barbarians from the Inner Asian steppes, and is contrasted with the name of the smaller town of Marw al-Rūdh [*q.v.*] "Marw on the river", situated further up the river. Concerning the basic element of the name, Marw, we find in Avestan Mo^{u}ry-, and in OP Marghu, MP Marv, indicating the existence of both a labialised form like Marv and a spirantised one like Margh (see Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 45-6). The Arabic *nisba* is *al-Marwazī*, cf. al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. Margoliouth, f. 523b.

As a result of the work of V. A. Zhukovski (*Razvalinï starogo Merva*) and W. Barthold (*K istorii oroshenija Turkestana*, reprinted in *Sočinenija*, iii, Moscow 1965, see 136-56), we are better informed on the history of Marw than on that of any other town in Persia or Central Asia. Literary sources alone are not sufficient to enable us to fix the date to which history goes back in the valley of the Murghāb. Archaeology alone could supply the information, but the archaeology of this region has not yet adequately been studied. We are therefore only able to give the following facts. In the Achaemenid period (6th-4th centuries B.C.), we find a highly developed agricultural community in the region of the Murghāb incorporated in the Persian state. Details on this point are given by Greek writers of antiquity, in particular, the geographers and historians of the campaigns of Alexander the Great (336-323 B.C.). The Greeks found in this region not only a settled population but also a rural society practising agriculture on a very high level. They grew the vine and made good wine.

Classical sources refer to the Murghāb as the Margus river and to the region of Marw as Margiana; authors like Pliny attribute the foundation of the city to Alexander, but it seems that we are on surer ground in attributing this, or conceivably its refounding, to the slightly later Seleucid king Antiochus I Soter (280-261 B.C.). To this same period belongs the building of the wall intended to protect the agricultural zone from the nomads of the steppe, then inhabited by the predecessors of the Turkish people. There is no reason, it seems, to doubt the date of the foundation of Marw, but only archaeology can settle the question definitely. To what date does the earliest building in the area of Marw, that is, the citadel, belong? The fact that already several centuries before our era we find agriculture highly developed shows that the valley of the Murghāb had a system of artificial irrigation. The rapid development of the oasis of Marw was due not only to this but also to the fact that in the Parthian period the great caravan route which linked Western Asia with China passed through Marw. The caravan from Western Asia went from Marw to Balkh, thence via the Darwāz and the northern part of Badakhshān, then on to the Alāy, Kāshgar and finally to China. In the Sāsānid period, the trade-route was moved further north. Caravans went from Marw to Čardjūy, Samarḳand and Semirečye or the land of the Seven Rivers. Marw was not only an emporium on the trade-route but a great industrial city. It is, however, only after the Arab conquest that history gives us ample details of the life of the city.

By utilising the information supplied by the Arab historians and geographers, we can obtain a fair picture of what Marw was like in their period and in antiquity. To understand the part played by Marw in the economic life of Western Asia and Central Asia, we have to study all that the Arab geographers and administrative historians of the 4th/10th century tell us about the system of irrigation. These sources record a highly-organised system of supervision and upkeep of the irrigation canals, under a *mutawallī* or *muḳassim al-māʾ*, corresponding to the general Persian term for a local irrigation official, *mīr-āb* [see MĀʾ. 6. Irrigation in Persia]. Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī report that this chief of irrigation had an extensive staff to keep the channels in repair, including a group of divers (*ghawwāṣūn*). There was a dam across the Murghāb above the city, and the supply of water from this store was regulated and measured by a metering device, called by al-Muḳaddasī a *miḳyās* on analogy with the famous Nilometer [see MIḲYĀS], comprising essentially a wooden plank with intervals marked at

each sha^cīra. An office called the *dīwān al-kastabzūd* (< Pers. *kāst u afzūd* "decrease and increase") kept a record of all those entitled to shares in the water. See on all this, E. Wiedemann, *Beitrag X. Zur Technik bei den Arabern*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxxviii (1906), 307-13 = *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, i, Hildesheim 1970, 272-8; C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 151 ff.

It is to the 2nd-7th/8th-13th centuries that the great economic prosperity of the oasis of Marw belongs, with a highly developed system of exchanges. Numerous technical and agricultural methods of cultures were developed, except the cultivation of wheat, which was imported from the valleys of Kas̲h̲ka-Daryā and Zarafs̲h̲ān. The people cultivated the silkworm. Shortly before the coming of the Mongols, there was at K̲h̲arak to the south-west of Marw a "house" called al-Dīwakus̲h̲, where sericulture was studied. Al-Iṣṭak̲h̲ri, 263, says that Marw exported the most raw silk; its silk factories were celebrated. The oasis was also famous for its fine cotton which, according to al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, was exported, raw or manufactured, to different lands; see on the textiles of Marw, R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 87-90. The district of Marw also contained a number of large estates which assured their owners considerable revenue. According to al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1952-3), in the 2nd/8th century whole villages belonged to one man. In the absence of legal documents, little is known of the life of the peasants. It is evident, however, that they were bound by feudal bonds to their lords (*dihkāns*), and paid them at the time of the Arab conquest in kind and in the 2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries in kind and money. No evidence of the amount of these payments has come down to us. The town, built in the centre of a highly cultivated area, was destined to have a brilliant future. If we also remember that it had become one of the great emporiums on the caravan routes between Western and Central Asia and Mongolia and China, we can easily realise how the city grew so rapidly with its manufactures, markets and agriculture. At the present day, within the area of the old region of Marw, we can see three sites of ancient towns: 1. Gavur-Kaʿla, corresponding to the town of Marw of the Sāsānid and early Muslim period; 2. Sulṭān-Kalʿa quite close to the preceding on the west side. This is the Marw of the 2nd-7th/8th-13th centuries, which was destroyed by the Mongols in 1221; and lastly 3. ʿAbd Allāh-K̲h̲ān-Kalʿa south of Sulṭān-Kalʿa-Marw, rebuilt by S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ in 812/1409. This is all that remains of the famous city, including its nearer environs.

The citadel of Marw, contemporary with the town built on the Gavur-Kalʿa area, goes back to a date earlier than that of the town itself. The latter (Gavur-Kalʿa) must be recognised as the earliest site (called *s̲h̲ahristān*); it grew up around the castle of a great lord (*dihkān*), i.e. around the citadel itself. The *s̲h̲ahristān* can hardly be earlier than the beginnings of the town of Marw, but it will only be by excavation that the problem of the date of the earliest habitations in the citadel will be settled.

The Arabs on their arrival found the western quarter so much increased that it was by then the most important part of the town. It is to this part that the Arab geographers give the name of *rabaḍ*. The market was at first on the edge of the *s̲h̲ahristān* near the "Gate of the Town", not far from the western wall, and one part of it extended beyond this wall as the Razīk canal. The great mosque was built by the Arabs in the middle of the *s̲h̲ahristān* (al-Mukaddasī, 311). Little by little, with the moving of the life of the town towards the *rabaḍ*, the administrative and religious centre of the town was moved thither also. On the bank of the Razīk Canal was built the second mosque which at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century was allotted by al-Maʾmūn to the S̲h̲āfiʿīs. In the middle of the 2nd/8th century, in the time of the revolutionary leader Abū Muslim, the centre was moved still farther westward to the banks of the Mād̲j̲ān Canal. At this date, the town was gradually occupying the site of the *rabaḍ*. The town of Marw in the 2nd-7th/8th-13th centuries was therefore no longer Gavur-Kalʿa, but the town of which ruins still exist to the west of the latter, now known as Sulṭān-Kalʿa. But the *s̲h̲ahristān* did not lose its importance at once. The site of the old town on Sulṭān-Kalʿa is in the form of a triangle, elongated from north to south with an area equal to that of Gavur-Kalʿa. It is surrounded by a fine wall built of unbaked brick, with several towers and other buildings belonging to the fortress. The latter was rebuilt by order of Sultan Malik-S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] in 462-72/1070-80. It is one of the most splendid buildings of the period.

In the time of the Arab geographers, the two towns with their suburbs were surrounded by a wall, remains of which still exist. As regards the wall built in the time of Antiochus I, its remains were still visible in the 4th/10th century and are mentioned by al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 260, under the name of al-Rāy.

The social structure of the town of Marw in the period when it took the place of Sulṭān-Kalʿa changed a great deal, like the social and economic life of Western and Central Asia generally. The growth of cities, the development of urban life, the exchange of city products for those of the country and those of the nomads of the steppes, the expansion of caravan traffic, now no longer limited to the trade in luxuries, all these encouraged the growth of new classes of society. It was no longer the *dihkans* who were the great lords of the town of Marw in the 2nd-7th/8th-13th centuries, although in Gavur-Kalʿa, however, their *kūs̲h̲ks* existed down to the end of the 6th/12th century; it was the rich merchants and an aristocracy of officials who were masters. Although both were connected with the local aristocracy, it was no longer agriculture but trade and property in the town which were their sources of wealth. Similarly, a change was taking place in the position of the artisans who had long ceased to be the serfs of the *dihkans*. Down to the 3rd/9th century, a number of men still paid feudal dues to the *dihkans*. From then onwards, they seem to have been free. The appearance of the town also changed as regards both topography and buildings. While in the *s̲h̲ahristān* (Gavur-Kalʿa) the bazar was at the end of the town and in part outside of it, when the *rabaḍ* attracted urban life to it, the markets and workshops became the centre of the town. Marw (Sulṭān-Kalʿa) became in the 5th/11th century a commercial city of the regular oriental type. It was traversed by two main streets, one running north and south, and the other east and west; where they intersected was the *čārsū*, the centre of the market, roofed by a dome; the shops had flat roofs. It was there also that were to be found the little shops of the artisans, and although the literary sources only mention the money-changers', the goldsmiths' and the tanners' quarters, there also must have been the quarters of the weavers, coppersmiths, potters, etc. It was not only the administrative and religious centre, for it also contained the palaces, the mosques, *madrasas* and other buildings. For example, to the

north of the *čārsū* was the great mosque, already built in the time of Abū Muslim, which survived till the Mongol invasion, if we may believe Yāḳūt. It must, however, have been frequently rebuilt. Yāḳūt also says that beside the great mosque was a domed mausoleum, built on the tomb of Sultan Sandjar; its mosque was separated from it by a window with a grill. The great dome of the mausoleum of turquoise blue could be seen at a distance of a day's journey. Within the walls which surrounded the mosque was another mosque built at the end of the 6th/12th century which belonged to the Shāfiʿīs. In the period of Yāḳūt, it seems that the domed building erected by Abū Muslim in baked brick, 55 cubits in height, with several porticoes—which is said by al-Iṣṭakhrī to have served as a *dār al-imāra* or "house of administration"—no longer existed. It used to stand close to the great mosque built by Abū Muslim. The town of Marw in this period—in addition to its great wall—had inner ramparts which separated the different quarters of the town. The city was famous for its libraries, and Yāḳūt spent nearly two years there just before the Mongol cataclysm working in these libraries (on the topography of mediaeval Marw, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 397-403).

Regarding the history of Marw, the city was under the Sāsānids the seat of the *Marzbān* of the north-eastern marches, Marw being the farthest outpost of the empire, beyond which lay the city-states of Soghdia, the kingdom of Khʷārazm and steppe powers like the Western Turks. Marw may be the Homo (for Mo-ho) of the Chinese Buddhist traveller Hiuen-tsang, and on a Chinese map of the early 14th century it appears as Ma-li-wu (Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, ii, 103-4). Nestorian Christianity flourished there until the Mongol period, and its ecclesiastical leaders are often mentioned as present at synods; before 553 it was a bishopric, and thereafter a metropolitanate (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 75-6). It was the metropolitan Īlīyā who buried the body of the slain Yazdigird III at Pā-yi Bābān (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2881, 2883), and there was a monastery of Masardjasān lying to the north of Sulṭān-Ḳalʿa (*ibid.*, ii, 1925; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 684).

The last Sāsānid Yazdigird fled before the invading Arabs to Marw and was killed there in 31/651 by the *Marzbān* Māhūī Sūrī, so that the city acquired in Persian lore the opprobrious name of *khudāh-dushman* "inimical to kings" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2872). It was conquered in this year for the Arabs by the governor of Khurāsān ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [*q.v.*], who made a treaty with Māhūī on the basis of a large tribute of between one and two million *dirhams* plus 200,000 *djarībs* of wheat and barley; the local *dihḳāns* of the oasis were to be responsible for the tribute's collection, and the soldiers of the Arab garrison were to be quartered on the houses of the people of Marw. There was thus from the start a basic difference in settlement pattern from that in the great *amṣār* of ʿIrāḳ and Persia, where the Arabs built distinct encampments as centres of their power. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir left a garrison of 4,000 men in Marw, and then in 51/671 Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] sent out 50,000 families from Baṣra and Kūfa, who were then settled in the villages of the oasis by the governor al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī. A process of assimilation with the local Iranian population now began, especially as some Arabs began to acquire taxable land in the countryside, and so became financially subject to the *dihḳāns*. These atypical social conditions of the Marw oasis may have contributed to Marw's role in the later Umayyad period as the focal point in the east for the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, for the propaganda of the Hāshimiyya *duʿāt* seems early to have made headway among the settled and assimilated Arab elements. Some ʿAbbāsid agents were discovered there and executed in 118/736, and soon afterwards, a committee of twelve *nuḳabāʾ*, headed by Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī, was formed. Abū Salama al-Khallāl [*q.v.*] was in Marw in 126/746, and two years later Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] arrived as representative of the ʿAbbāsid *imām* Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās. Abū Muslim took advantage of the tribal strife of Ḳays and Yaman, and the assimilated population of Arabs, whose fiscal grievances had not been fully redressed by the tentative reforms of the Umayyad governor Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] in 121/739, aided by Yamanīs against Naṣr and his North Arab supporters, so that by early 130/748, Abū Muslim was in control of Marw (thus the interpretation of M.A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 129 ff., 138 ff.; idem, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132), a new interpretation*, Cambridge 1971, 84-5, 173-5, 177, 182-5).

Under the early ʿAbbāsids, Marw continued to be the capital of the east, despite a humid and unpleasant climate (it was notorious for the guinea worm, *filaria medinensis*), and was for instance the seat of al-Maʾmūn whilst he was governor of the eastern provinces and whilst he was caliph until the year 202/817, when he left for Baghdād. The Ṭāhirid governors of Khurāsān, however, followed here by their supplanters the Ṣaffārids, preferred to make their capital at Nīshāpūr, although Marw remained the chief commercial centre of Khurāsān, and continued to flourish under the Sāmānids. Nevertheless, the disorders in Khurāsān during the last decades of Sāmānid rule, when power was disputed by ambitious military commanders, seem adversely to have affected Marw's prosperity. Al-Muḳaddasī, writing *ca.* 980, says that one-third of the *rabaḍ* or outer town was ruinous, and the citadel too had been destroyed; moreover, the city was racked by the sectarian strife and factionalism which seems to have been rampant in the towns of Khurāsān at this time (311-12; on the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* in Marw—where the Ḥanafīs in fact had a preponderance—see H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 83-90).

But under the Saldjūḳs, the fortunes of Marw revived. It transferred its allegiance from the Ghaznawids to the Türkmens in 428/1037, and became the capital of Čaghrī Beg Dāwūd [*q.v.*], ruler of the eastern half of the newly-established Saldjūḳ empire, and from *ca.* 1110, that of Sandjar [*q.v.*], viceroy of the east. The latter's father Malik-Shāh had built a wall of 12,300 paces round the city, which in Sandjar's time underwent attack from various of the Saldjūḳ's enemies, such as the Khʷārazm-Shāh Atsïz [*q.v.*], who in 536/1141-2 raided Marw and carried off the state treasury. It was at Marw that Sandjar built his celebrated mausoleum, 27 m. square in plan and called the *Dār al-Ākhira* "Abode of the hereafter" (see on this, G. A. Pugačenkova, *Puti razvitiya arkhitekturï Yuzhnogo Turkmenistana*, Moscow 1958, 315 ff.). Under Sandjar's rule, the Türkmens of the steppes around Marw were under the control of a Saldjūḳ *shiḥna* or police official, but when in 548/1153 these Oghuz or Ghuzz rebelled against this control and defeated Sandjar, Marw fell under the nomads' control, and the latter held on to it, together with Balkh and Sarakhs, until the Khʷārazm-Shāhs imposed their rule in northern Khurāsān. Marw suffered terribly in the time of the first Mongol inva-

sions, when Khwārazmian rule was overthrown. It was savagely sacked by Toluy's followers (beginning of 618/1221). According to Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 256, 700,000 people were massacred, and according to Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 163-4, 300,000; even if one allows for the customary hyperbole, it nevertheless remains true that Marw's prosperity was dealt a blow from which it took two centuries to recover. Mustawfī found Marw still largely in ruins in the mid-8th/14th century, and with the sands of the Ḳara Ḳum encroaching on the arable lands of the oasis (*Nuzha*, 156-7, tr. 153-4).

What then remains of the town of the 2nd-7th/8th-13th centuries—in addition to the wall already mentioned? The whole site of Sulṭān-Ḳalʿa is covered with mounds and hillocks, formed on the sites of ancient buildings. Everywhere one sees great piles of bricks, whole and broken, and fragments of pottery, plain and glazed. In the centre, like a memorial of the great past, rises the domed mausoleum of Sultan Sandjar mentioned by Yāḳūt, one of the finest buildings of the 6th/12th century. The question arises whether it had any connection with the "house of administration" with a dome and several porticoes mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī. The Marw of this period contains numerous buildings within the area of Sulṭān-Ḳalʿa, as well as outside its walls, especially the western suburb, the subject since 1946 of archaeological investigations by M.E. Masson. In 808/1406 the Tīmūrid ruler Shāhrukh endeavoured to restore prosperity to this region, which had at one time been a flourishing oasis. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū gives us details of his scheme. The dam was rebuilt on its old site and the water restored to its old channel; but only a portion of the oasis could be irrigated. The town was rebuilt, but not on the old site because water could not be brought in sufficient quantity to Sulṭān-Ḳalʿa. The town of Marw of this period corresponds to the old town of ʿAbd Allāh-Khān-Ḳalʿa (popular legend wrongly attributing its building to the Shaybānid ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar (991-1006/1583-98 [*q.v.*]), the area of which was much less than that of Marw of the Mongol period, covering about three hundred square poles. The town of Marw of this period cannot be compared with that of the pre-Mongol period. In time, Marw and its oasis declined more and more. In the period of the Ṣafawid kingdom, it was the object of continual attacks on the part of the Özbegs, which could not help affecting it.

An almost mortal blow was dealt it at the end of the 18th century. Maʿṣūm Khān (later called Shāh Murād), son of the *atalīḳ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] Dāniyāl Biy of the newly-founded Mangït [*q.v.*] dynasty of *amīrs* in Bukhārā, attacked the Ḳādjār Türkmen local lord of Old Marw, Bayram ʿAlī Khān, killing him in 1785. Shāh Murād also destroyed the Sulṭān-Band, the dam across the Murghāb 30 miles/48 km. above Marw, and thereby reduced the economic prosperity of the region (F.H. Skrine and E.D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates from the earliest times*, London 1899, 206). Consequently, the traveller Alexander Burnes found Marw in ruins and the surrounding district in complete neglect (*Travels into Bokhara*, London 1834, ii, 23 ff., 37-8, 258-60).

In 1884 the Marw oasis was occupied by the Russian army, and secured in the following year from an Afghān threat by General Komarov's victory. From 1887 onwards, attempts were made, with considerable success, to revive the agricultural prosperity of the devastated region by the building of two dams on the Murghāb, that of Hindū-Kush and that of Sulṭān-Band. The Transcaspian railway line from Krasnovodsk to Bukhārā, Samarḳand and Tashkent passed through ʿAshkābād and Marw, and from Marw a branch was built southwards to Kushka on the Afghān frontier. In Tsarist times within the *oblast* of Transcaspia, Marw has since 1924 come within the Turkmenistan S.S.R. In 1935 the modern settlement of Bairam Ali was founded in the Marw region, and this town is now the chef-lieu of the *rayon* of the same name. In 1969 it had a population of 31,000, with flourishing cotton textile and dairy products industries (see *BSE*[3], ii, 534).

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AL-**MARWA** [see AL-ṢAFĀ].

MARWĀN I B. AL-**ḤAKAM** B. ABI 'L-ʿĀṢ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim and then Abū ʿAbd al-Malik, first caliph of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad dynasty [*q.v.*], reigned for several months in 64-5/684-5.

Marwān, born of al-Ḥakam's wife Āmina bt. ʿAlḳama al-Kinānίyya, stemmed from the same branch of the Umayyad clan of Ḳuraysh, sc. Abu 'l-ʿĀṣ, as the Rightly-guided caliph ʿUthmān, and was in fact ʿUthmān's cousin. The sources generally place his birth in A.H. 2 or 4 (*ca.* 623-6), but it may well have occurred before the *Hidjra*; in any case, he must have known the Prophet and was accounted a Companion. He became secretary to ʿUthmān when he already had a considerable reputation for his profound knowledge of the Holy Book (al-Madāʾinī, in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 125: *min aḳraʾ al-nās li'l-Ḳurʾān*), and doubtless helped in the recension of what became the canonical text of the Ḳurʾān in that caliph's reign [see ḲURʾĀN. 3]. Also during this reign, he took part in an expedition into North Africa, and it was apparently his share of the rich plunder from this which laid the foundations of Marwān's extensive personal fortune, invested in property in Medina; and it is further mentioned that he was for a while a governor in Fārs. He was wounded at the *Yawm al-dār*, the defence of ʿUthmān's house in Medina against the insurgents of the Egyptian army in 35/656, and fought at the Battle of the Camel with ʿĀʾisha and her allies [see AL-DJAMAL], but seized the opportunity personally to slay Ṭalḥa, whom he regarded as the most culpable person in the murder of ʿUthmān. Somewhat surprisingly, he then gave allegiance to ʿAlī after the battle.

During Muʿāwiya's caliphate, Marwān was governor of Baḥrayn and then had two spells as governor of Medina, 41-8/661-8 and 54-7/674-7, alternating with his kinsmen Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and al-Walīd b. ʿUtba. It was during these years that he acquired from the caliph the estate, with its lucrative palm groves, of Fadak [*q.v.*], which he subsequently passed on to his sons ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. It is possible that Muʿāwiya latterly grew suspicious of Marwān's ambitions for his family, especially as the family of Abu 'l-ʿĀṣ was perceptibly more numerous than that

of Ḥarb, Muʿāwiya's grandfather; Marwān himself had, according to al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, v, 164, ten sons and two daughters, and al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 136, tr. 107-8, states that he further had ten brothers and was the paternal uncle of ten of his nephews. It may have been fears of the family of Abu 'l-ʿĀṣ that impelled Muʿāwiya to his adoption (*istilḥāk*) of his putative half-brother Ziyād b. Sumayya [see ZIYĀD B. ABĪHI] and to the unusual step of naming his son Yazīd as heir to the caliphate during his own lifetime. There was certainly a lack (with the exception of al-Walīd b. ʿUtba, Muʿāwiya's nephew) of mature, experienced Sufyānids to succeed Muʿāwiya, whereas at the time of the expulsion of the Umayyads from the Ḥid̲j̲āz (see below), Marwān was the most senior of the Umayyads and the only one whom the Prophet had known (*s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ kabīr* in the sources, probably referring as much to his prestige and authority as to his age).

When the difficulties arose in 60/680 over Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya's succession, involving a refusal of allegiance by the cities of the Ḥid̲j̲āz, Marwān advised the governor of Medina, al-Walīd b. ʿUtba, to use force against the rebels. After the withdrawal of the expeditionary force of Muslim b. ʿUḳba al-Murrī and its return to Syria (beginning of 64/autumn 683), the Umayyads and their clients who had been previously expelled but had returned with Yazīd's troops, comprising principally members of the lines of al-ʿĀṣ under ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-As̲h̲daḳ [*q.v.*] and of Abu 'l-Āṣ under Marwān, were forced by the partisans of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] to abandon their properties in the Ḥid̲j̲āz and flee to Syria for a second time. Marwān was back in Syria by the beginning of 684, and some accounts say that he went in the first place to Palmyra rather than to the court of the ephemeral caliph Muʿāwiya II b. Yazīd [*q.v.*] at Damascus. With the latter's death, and in face of the widespread support, even in Palestine and northern Syria, for a Zubayrid caliph, Marwān despaired of any future for the Umayyads as rulers, and was himself inclined to give his allegiance to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. But heartened by the urgings of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], Marwān allowed his own candidacy to go forward at the meeting of Syrians at al-D̲j̲ābiya [*q.v.*] convoked to hail a successor to Muʿāwiya II, and with the support of the leader of D̲j̲ud̲h̲ām, Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ, was hailed as caliph, with K̲h̲ālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] and ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-As̲h̲daḳ named as next heirs. With this acclamation and the support of the Kalb under Ibn Baḥdal [see ḤASSĀN B. MĀLIK], Marwān was able to defeat the Ḳays under al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī [*q.v.*] at the battle of Mard̲j̲ Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*], probably to be placed in July or early August 684. Then shortly after his installation as caliph in Damascus, Marwān married Umm Hās̲h̲im Fāk̲h̲ita bt. Abī Hās̲h̲im b. ʿUtba, the widow of Yazīd I and mother of his two sons; this diplomatic alliance gave him a link with the Sufyānids.

Marwān was now able to consolidate his position in Syria and Palestine. His short reign was filled with military activity, beginning with the expulsion of the Zubayrid governor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUtba al-Fihrī, called Ibn D̲j̲aḥdam, from Egypt. Marwān seems to have secured that province by Rad̲j̲ab 65/February-March 685, leaving there as governor his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Although the sources are confused here, it seems that Marwān's forces also repelled a Zubayrid attack on Palestine led by Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. It is possible, but not certain, that a Marwānid army itself invaded the Ḥid̲j̲āz under Ḥubays̲h̲ b. Dul̲d̲j̲a, but was repelled at al-Rabad̲h̲a [*q.v.*] to the east of Medina. Marwān certainly took steps to secure ʿIrāḳ, which had declared for the Zubayrid cause, sending an army under ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād which by-passed the hostile Ḳaysī centre of Ḳirḳīsiya in al-D̲j̲azīra and had reached al-Raḳḳa when the news of Marwān's death arrived.

This last event took place in the spring of 65/685, possibly as a result of a plague which was affecting Syria at this time. The date of Marwān's death is variously given in the sources: Elias of Nisibin has 7 May, and the Islamic historians such dates as 3 Ramaḍān/13 April (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*) and 29 S̲h̲aʿbān-1 Ramaḍān/10-11 April (Ibn Saʿd, al-K̲h̲alīfa b. K̲h̲ayyāṭ, al-Ṭabarī). The place of his death is given by several authorities as Damascus (Ibn Saʿd, al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*), but by al-Yaʿḳūbī and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, as al-Ṣinnabra on the Lake of Tiberias, a place used, it seems, as a winter residence by the early Umayyads. The length of his reign is placed at between six and ten months. Even less certain is Marwān's age when he died; the sources make him at least 63, but he may well have been over 70.

On the occasion of the successful outcome of the Egyptian expedition, Marwān had taken the opportunity to vest the succession in his own sons ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.vv.*], and it was accordingly the former who succeeded to the caliphate in Damascus after Marwān's death, apparently without opposition (at least, at this moment) from the two heirs designated at al-D̲j̲ābiya, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd and K̲h̲ālid b. Yazīd, but now set aside.

Marwān's life had been crowded with action, above all in its later years, filled with military campaignings and the negotiations surrounding his succession to the caliphate. He seems to have suffered severe after-effects from various wounds, and his tall and emaciated frame earned him the nickname of *k̲h̲ayṭ bāṭil* "insubstantial, gossamer-like thread" (see al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 35-6, tr. 56). His brusqueness and lack of the social graces resulted in his being described as *fāḥis̲h̲* "uncouth". Later, anti-Umayyad tradition stigmatised him as *ṭarīd ibn ṭarīd* "outlawed son of an outlaw", associating him with his father al-Ḥakam who was allegedly exiled by the Prophet to Ṭāʾif, and as *abu 'l-d̲j̲abābira* "father of tyrants" because his son and five of his grandsons subsequently succeeded to the caliphate. But he was obviously a military leader and statesman of great skill and decisiveness, amply endowed with the qualities of *hilm* [*q.v.*] and *dāhiya*, shrewdness, which characterised other outstanding members of the Umayyad clan. His attainment of the caliphate, starting from a position without many natural advantages beyond his own personal qualities (for he had no power-base in Syria and had spent the greater part of his career in the Ḥid̲j̲āz), enabled his successor ʿAbd al-Malik to place the Ummayyad caliphate on a firm footing so that it was able to endure for over 60 years more.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The main historical sources for early Islam all contain relevant material. See al-K̲h̲alīfa b. K̲h̲ayyāṭ, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, index; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 304-6 and index; Ṭabarī, index; Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, ed. Guest, 42-8; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 271-4, 277-9, v, 197-209 = §§ 1596-7, 1601-2, 1961-72 and index; idem, *Tanbīh*, 292, 304, 307-12, tr. Carra de Vaux, 383, 395, 399-404. There are biographical sections devoted to Marwān in Ibn Saʿd, v, 24-30; Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb al-as̲h̲rāf*, v, ed. Goitein, 125-64; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkkās̲h̲a, 353-5; Ibn al-

Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 33-5 (al-Ḥakam), iv, 348-9 (Marwān). *Adab* works like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi's *ʿIkd*, Iṣfahānī's *Aghānī* and Thaʿālibī's *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif* (here cited ed. Abyārī and Ṣayrafī, and Eng. tr. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*) contain much anecdotal material.

2. Studies. Th. Nöldeke, *Zur Geschichte der Omajjaden*, in *ZDMG*, lv (1901), 683-91; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife Moʿâwia Ier*, in *MFOB*, i (1906), 27-9, 34-9, ii (1907), 94-132; idem, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, in *MFOB*, iv (1910), 294-5, v (1911-12), 88-9, 93, 115; F. Buhl, *Zur Krisis der Umajjadenherrschaft im J. 684*, in *ZA*, xxvii (1912), 50-64; Lammens, *Moʿâwia II ou le dernier des Sofiânides*, in *RSO*, vii (1915), 37-8; idem, *L'avènement des Marwânides et le califat de Marwân Ier*, in *MFOB*, xii (1927), 43-147; A. A. ʿAbd Dixon, *The Umayyad caliphate 65-86/684-705 (a political study)*, London 1971, 17-19; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 115-26, 135-65; G. R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam: the Umayyad caliphate A.D. 661-750*, London and Sydney, 1986, 46-8. (C. E. Bosworth)

MARWĀN II b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the last of the Umayyad caliphs of Syria (reigned 127/744 to 132/749-50) was, on his father's side, a grandson of the caliph Marwān I [*q.v.*], but there are variant accounts concerning his mother and the year of his birth. It is frequently reported that his mother was a non-Arab woman (sometimes specified as a Kurd) who passed into the possession of Marwān's father Muḥammad after ʿAbd al-Malik's defeat of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and his general Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar in 72/691. Some reports say that the woman was already pregnant when Muḥammad took possession of her and that she gave birth to Marwān "on the bed of Muḥammad". A number of the *nasab* works fail to refer to Marwān's mother, a fact which perhaps confirms that at least she was not known to belong to one of the important Arab families. If his mother was indeed pregnant when taken from the Zubayrids, then 73/692 would be a likely year for his birth, but al-Ṭabarī, ii, 940, has a specific reference to it under 76/695-6. Statements of his age at the time of his death in 132/750 vary between 58 and 69. In tradition two *lakabs*, again variously explained, are attached to Marwān's name: al-Djaʿdī and Ḥimār al-Djazīra (or simply al-Ḥimār, "the ass"). The former is usually said to be derived from the *ism* of Djaʿd b. Dirham [see ibn dirham] who, it is asserted, acted as Marwān's tutor (*muʾaddib*; see *Fihrist*, i, 337-8; cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Kuwayt 1983, 156-7). The explanation of the name al-Ḥimār is equally uncertain; in modern works it is often claimed that it refers to Marwān's resolution and bravery in battle, but Bar Hebraeus (*Chronography*, tr. Wallis Budge, i, 111) says that it referred to Marwān's fondness for "the ass's flower" (for the *ward al-ḥimār*, i.e. the peony?, or chrysanthemum?, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. *ward*). Al-Ṭabarī's story (ii, 1912) about the Abyssinian who insulted Marwān's forces by performing lewd actions involving an ass's penis on the walls of Ḥimṣ does not seem to be an attempt to account for the name but rather implies that it was already current.

Information on Marwān's career before his seizure of the caliphate centres on his activities in the Ādharbāydjān, Armenia and Caucasus region. Following the defeat of al-Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī by the Khazars in 112/730, it seems that Marwān accompanied his cousin Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] who had been appointed over the region by the caliph Hishām with the task of restoring the position of the Muslims in Armenia and the southern Caucasus. Having distinguished himself in the fighting, Marwān became governor of Ādharbāydjān and Armenia for Hishām, although there is some confusion as to whether he immediately succeeded Maslama as governor in 114/732, as al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1562, 1573) implies, or whether he rather followed Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī in the office (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 207). If the latter is the case, then the beginnings of Marwān's governorship should probably be dated to 116/734 or 117/735. As governor, he supported in Armenia the Bagratids against the rival Mamikonians, sending Gregory and David Mamikonian into exile when they refused to accept his appointment of Ashot Bagrat as Biṭrīk of Armenia. Faced with the continuing threat from the Khazars to the north, the Armenians cooperated with the Muslims, and Armenian forces played an important part in the expedition which Marwān led into the Caucasus in 119/737 (J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, Paris 1919, 339-40 (2nd ed. by M. Canard, Lisbon 1980, 422); R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, Paris 1947, 315-19; D. M. Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 80-7). It is noteworthy too that Armenian troops are later reported to have played a part in helping Marwān to establish his authority over Syria following the death of Yazīd b. al-Walīd (e.g., Dennett, *Marwān b. Muhammad*, 240, citing the chronicle of Levond).

Two passages of al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1941, 1944) refer to Marwān's adopting the military formation known as the *kurdūs* (pl. *karādīs*) and abandoning that called the *ṣaff* (pl. *ṣufūf*). A *kurdūs* was a relative small and compact detachment of soldiers (usually cavalry), while the *ṣufūf* were the more traditional long lines in which the Arabs organised themselves for battle. It has sometimes been suggested that Marwān was the first to introduce the *kurdūs* formation into the Muslim armies and that his experience in fighting on the northern borders where Byzantine influence was strong (χοορτις has been proposed as the source of the Arabic word; S. Fraenkel, *Aramäischen Fremdwörter*, 239) led him to do so. However, whether Marwān was really the first to use this formation among the Muslims is doubtful (R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 430) and it is notable that al-Ṭabarī's reports do not, in any case, relate to the period of Marwān's fighting on the northern frontier but to the later fighting against Khāridjites in Mesopotamia after he had seized the caliphate.

It seems that Marwān had already contemplated marching south into Syria and taking a hand in affairs when Walīd II was overthrown and killed and Yazīd III became caliph in Djumāda II 126/April 744, but had been foiled by the dissent of the Kalbīs in his army led by Thābit b. Nuʿaym. During the short caliphate of Yazīd III, Marwān then acted as governor of Mesopotamia, basing himself in the Ḳaysī centre of Ḥarrān. With the death of Yazīd III in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 126/September 744, he refused to accept the authority of the nominated successor, Ibrāhīm brother of Yazīd III, and crossed the Euphrates with his army. At this stage, it seems that he did not put himself forward as a candidate for the caliphate but merely as the champion of the two sons of the murdered Walīd II, who were imprisoned in Damascus. With the support of the Ḳaysī contingent of Ḳinnasrīn, he established control over Ḥimṣ and northern Syria and then defeated a Kalbī force led by Sulaymān b. Hishām at ʿAyn al-Djarr on the road from Damascus to Baalbek. In the aftermath of this

battle the two sons of Walīd II were murdered in Damascus, Ibrāhīm and Sulaymān b. Hishām fled to the Kalbī centre of Palmyra, and Marwān was able to enter Damascus. There, it is said on the initiative of Abū Muḥammad of the Sufyānid branch of the Umayyad family, who claimed that the two sons of Walīd II had named Marwān as their successor, he was recognised as caliph and given the *bayʿa* in Ṣafar 127/December 744. Subsequently, Ibrāhīm and Sulaymān b. Hishām accepted his authority and were granted *amān*. Marwān did not, however, choose to remain in Syria but moved back to Harrān in Mesopotamia where, presumably, he felt more secure. For the first time an Umayyad caliph attempted to rule from outside Syria.

Faced, however, with a rebellion in Syria he soon had to return there. The rebellion started among the Kalb of Palestine led by Thābit b. Nuʿaym and quickly spread to the north where Ḥimṣ came out in opposition to Marwān. In Shawwāl 127/July 745 Marwān in person obtained the resubmission of Ḥimṣ and then sent a force south to relieve Damascus, under attack from Yazīd b. Khālid al-Ḳasrī. Yazīd was defeated and killed, and Marwān's army went on to capture Thābit b. Nuʿaym who was attacking Tiberias. Thābit was executed and the Kalbī settlement of al-Mizza near Damascus put to fire. Finally, al-Abrash al-Kalbī in Palmyra agreed to surrender to Marwān, and it seemed that his rule over Syria was again secure. At this point he called the Umayyad family together and had the *bayʿa* given to his two sons as his successors. But the opposition to Marwān in Syria was not yet over. When he raised a Syrian contingent to join the Mesopotamian army under Yazīd Ibn Hubayra [see IBN HUBAYRA], which was attempting to establish Marwān's authority in ʿIrāḳ, it deserted as it passed by al-Ruṣāfa where Sulaymān b. Hishām lived, and the Syrians recognised Sulaymān in opposition to Marwān. Sulaymān took possession of Ḳinnasrīn and attracted support from the rest of Syria. Withdrawing most of his Mesopotamian troops from Ibn Hubayra's force, Marwān attacked and defeated Sulaymān near Ḳinnasrīn and the vanquished Umayyad fled with the remnants of his army to Ḥimṣ and thence, leaving his forces there under the command of his brother, to Kūfa via Palmyra. Marwān now besieged Ḥimṣ for the second time, and when the town finally submitted after several months he had its walls rased together with those of several other major Syrian towns. By the summer of 128/746 Marwān had finally established his control over Syria.

The extension of his authority over ʿIrāḳ and all of Mesopotamia took even longer. Initially, he had attempted to weaken the governor of ʿIrāḳ appointed by Yazīd III, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and to replace him with the Ḳaysī al-Naḍr b. Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī. Both rival governors were then overwhelmed, in 127/745, by the Khāridjite movement which had begun in Mesopotamia among the tribe of Shaybān and which is associated with the leadership of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī. The latter established himself in Kūfa but in the spring of 128/746 returned north and occupied Mawṣil, seeking to take advantage of Marwān's difficulties in Syria. Marwān's son ʿAbd Allāh, however, was able to hold the Khāridjites in check until Marwān had completed his subjugation of Ḥimṣ and could divert his forces to the east to deal with the threat. In the late summer Marwān defeated and killed al-Ḍaḥḥāk, under whom Sulaymān b. Hishām now fought, and the Khāridjites had to abandon Mawṣil. In the following year they were finally driven out of Mesopotamia and their danger ended when Marwān was able to withdraw men from ʿIrāḳ to deploy against them and their new leader Abū Dulaf. That Marwān was able to withdraw men from ʿIrāḳ was a consequence of the victories there in late 129/spring 747 of his general Yazīd Ibn Hubayra, who had defeated both the Khāridjite governor of Kūfa and the ʿAlid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], until then holding sway over large areas of western and south-western Iran.

The domination which Marwān had established by the end of 129/summer of 747 was to be ended two years later by the rising of the Hāshimiyya which had already begun in Khurāsān in Ramaḍān 129/June 747. By Rabīʿ II 132/November 749 the armies of the Hāshimiyya had destroyed Umayyad rule in Persia and ʿIrāḳ and the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had been proclaimed in Kūfa. In Djumādā II 132/January 750 Marwān himself led his forces in a last attempt to defeat the insurgents at the battle of the Greater Zab, and the destruction of his army there signalled the end of Umayyad power. Marwān himself escaped with a small band of supporters and fled through Syria to Egypt pursued by an ʿAbbāsid force. They finally caught him in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 132/June 750 at Būṣīr in the province of Ushmūnayn in Upper Egypt, and there the last Umayyad caliph fell after a short struggle.

Marwān's career illustrates some of the weaknesses affecting the later Umayyad caliphate. He had obtained power as a result of his close links with the predominantly Ḳaysī army of the north Mesopotamian frontier in opposition to the Kalbī-based régime of Yazīd III. This close identification of the caliph with a particular faction clearly diminished the religious and moral claims of the Umayyad caliphate. Furthermore, his attempt to move the centre of the caliphate to Mesopotamia reflects the way in which Syria, hitherto the base of Umayyad rule, had itself been engulfed by the factionalism among the Arabs. It may seem that Marwān was unfortunate in that, having finally consolidated his authority over the central provinces, he was so soon overthrown by a movement which originated outside his control. In reality, however, the Umayyad state had been so weakened by its fundamental inability to satisfy the demands of Islam and by the factionalism among the Arab soldiers that it is doubtful whether even Marwān's forceful and energetic personality could have significantly prolonged it.

Bibliography: In addition to the indices to the more important Arabic works of *taʾrīkh* and *adab*, such as Ṭabarī, Yaʿḳūbī, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd* (for which the *Analytical indices*, to the Cairo 1321 edition, prepared by M. Shāfīʿ, Calcutta 1935, are useful), see the entries on Marwān II in Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, and Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, the relevant parts of which are still in ms.; for a summary of the latter, see the article on Marwān in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *Muʿdjam Banī Umayya*, Beirut 1970; for the references to Marwān in the *K. al-Aghānī*, the compiler of which, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, is claimed as a descendant of his, see Aghānī, *Tables alphabétiques*. Furthermore, the Syriac, Armenian and Georgian sources listed in the secondary literature cited in the second paragraph above are important for specific aspects of Marwān's career from a non-Muslim viewpoint. Among modern works see J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902 (Eng. tr., *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta

1927); D. C. Dennett, *Marwan Ibn Muhammad: the passing of the Umayyad caliphate*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Harvard 1939; Abū Djayb al-Saʿdī, *Marwān b. Muḥammad wa-asbāb suḳūṭ al-dawla al-umawiyya*, Beirut 1972; P. Crone, *Slaves on horses*, Cambridge 1980; Hannelore Schönig, *Das Sendschreiben des ʿAbdalḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (gest. 132/750) und den Kronprinzen ʿAbdallāh b. Marwān II*, Stuttgart 1985.

(G. R. Hawting)

MARWĀN al-Akbar b. **ABĪ ḤAFṢA** and **MARWĀN** al-Aṣghar b. **ABI 'l-DJANŪB**, the most famous members of a family which included several poets; al-Thaʿālibī characterises it as the most poetic of families in Islam, with six poets amongst its members.

The origins of the family's ancestor Abū Ḥafṣa Yazīd are obscure. He was a *mawlā* of the Umayyad Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, whom he aided on various historical occasions during the caliphate of ʿUthmān and under ʿAlī. It is impossible to decide exactly whether he was of Persian or Jewish origin. Freed by Marwān, he was entrusted with certain posts, including the collecting of the taxation from Medina. He married a girl from B. ʿAmīr of the Yamāma, and his descendents were always to have close relations with that region of Arabia. One of them, Marwān al-Aṣghar, claimed that this woman was the granddaughter of al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī, which would explain the poetic talent of the family. The ancestor Yazīd wrote verses (the *Fihrist* however, describes him as *muḳill*). His son Yaḥyā was held in esteem by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and had relations with Djarīr. The *Fihrist* attributes to him a *dīwān* of 20 leaves, of which only a small part has come down to us. The eulogy which he addressed to al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik on the occasion of his accession to the caliphate is especially prosaic and conventional.

It is his grandson, Abu 'l-Simṭ Marwān b. Sulaymān, who can be considered as the first important poet of the family. He left the Yamāma for Baghdād, thus confirming the fact that it was impossible to attain literary fame when living remote from the capital. With a personality which was moreover strange, sordidly avaricious, clumsy and unscrupulous, he would arrive at the palace clad in rags, despite the enormous sums which the caliphs gave him for his poems. He seems to have steered his career forward with intelligence and prudence, and attached himself to the great personality of Abu 'l-Walīd Maʿn b. Zāʾida [*q.v.*], to whom he came to owe his fame. He wrote for him numerous eulogies and a famous elegy in *-lā* considered as a model of its kind, and so fine that both al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī took offence at a piece of praise which they considered excessive. Each of them is reputed to have excluded him from their *madjlis* for a whole year for this reason. But he was always recalled and found fresh favour with the ruler. This is attributable to the fact that he showed himself as a fierce opponent of the ʿAlids and on every occasion proclaimed forth the legitimacy of the ʿAbbāsids. He was one of that group of poets who, like e.g. Manṣūr al-Namarī, based their existence on their fidelity to the ruling power. He was accordingly rewarded with a prodigality which all the historians of literature stress. He was assassinated and died in *ca.* 181/797 in obscure circumstances.

Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa must be considered as a great classical poet. His supple and lexically straightforward vocabulary, and his clear syntax, contributed to his aim as a panegyrist who carefully sought formulae which would appear striking to his audience's minds. He was a master of the well-turned utterance; his poetry is expansive, strongly rhythmical, and his phrases follow each other in a continuous movement which gives his *ḳaṣīda* the strength of an oratorical period. He was thus, at the end of the 2nd/8th century, one of the best representatives of *shiʿr minbarī*. Moreover, he worked over his poems with great care, as e.g. Zuhayr and al-Ḥuṭayʾa had done before him. He would read them over to grammarians in order to get their advice on his language, which does not seem to have been of the purest. It is said that Bashshār corrected his verses. Al-Aṣmaʿī, a severe judge if ever there was one, considered him as a *muwallad* who never mastered the language. In the *ḥalḳa* of the philologist Yūnus, which he frequented in company with Khalaf al-Aḥmar, he was caught out over the explanation of a word used by Zuhayr. Yet Ibn al-Aʿrābī considered him to be the last of the great poets. In fact, these verdicts are not contradictory, but simply show an evolution. The poets of the 2nd/8th century no longer mastered all the Arabic lexicon, and scholars could thus catch them out. Marwān represents indeed the type of these utterers of set pieces who, illustrating the academic tradition of poetry, were to serve in the 3rd/9th century as the definition of the aesthetic of that kind of beauty described as poetic.

The *Fihrist* attributes 100 leaves to Idrīs, Marwān's brother, but it is the name of his grandson Abu 'l-Simṭ Marwān b. Abi 'l-Djanūb which found a niche in posterity as the last good poet of this family. It is correct that this particular person knew how to take up a central position on the scene. He was even more a professional eulogist than his grandfather, and was successively brought into the circles of al-Maʾmūn, al-Muʿtaṣim and then al-Wāthiḳ. The latter reproached him for being excessively close to his brother al-Mutawakkil and exiled him. Al-Mutawakkil's succession signalled his return to grace, and he went on to become one of the liveliest elements of the caliphal circles of literature. As well as the considerable sums which he got for his poems, he was awarded the governorship of the Yamāma and Baḥrayn. Al-Muntaṣir ordered him to return to the Yamāma, where all trace of him is lost.

Marwān b. Abi 'l-Djanūb kept up the anti-ʿAlid tradition characteristic of the whole family since the time of its founder. The most shining part of his fame came from his remarkable gift as a satirist. Recovering once more the verse of the swashbucklers of the 1st/7th century, he directed his shafts against several members of the court circle, in particular, ʿAlī b. al-Djahm, his favourite target, and ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. al-Munadjdjim. He was savage and coarse, and quick to discover chinks in people's armour; he used any weapon to hand, and did nor scruple to use mendacity when he was short of arguments, all of which gave great joy to the caliph, who took a keen pleasure in following these kinds of clashes.

Marwān al-Aṣghar seems to us inferior as a poet to his grandfather. He was most at ease in attacking people, and his eulogies, even if they contain some fine verses, use above all the conventional material of this type of poetry. Caught between Abū Tammām on one side, and al-Buḥturī and Ibn al-Rūmī on the other, it was hard for him to aspire to the top positions. Moreover, he lacked the inspiration of Diʿbil and the nobility of tone of ʿAlī b. al-Djahm. After him, talent left the family. His son Muḥammad and his grandson Futūḥ, to whom the *Fihrist* attributes 50 and 100 leaves respectively, were merely hack versifiers.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, x, 74, xii, 71, xxiii, 96;

Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Buḥturī*, index; *Fihrist*, Cairo edn., 234-5; Ibn Abī Ṭayfūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, 126, 156; Shābushtī, *Kitāb al-Diyārāt*, 8 and n. 24; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 649, 739; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 137, 321-2; idem, *Muwashshah*, 390 ff, 462 ff.; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, 392-3; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 142, 153-5; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, index; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, Cairo 1960, 70-4, tr. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 75-8; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, v, 189, no. 716, 244, no. 732 (notice on Maʿn b. Zāʾida); Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, 44-6; J. E. Bencheikh, *Le cénacle poétique du calife al-Mutawakkil (m. 247), contribution à l'analyse des instances de légitimation socio-littéraires*, in *Mélanges H. Laoust. I*, *BEO*, xxix (1977), 33-52; Muneerah al-Rasheed, *The Abū Ḥafṣah family of poets, together with a critical edition of the poetry of the principal members of the family*, unpubl. Manchester Ph.D. thesis 1980.

(J.E. Bencheikh)

MARWĀNIDS, the branch of the Umayyad dynasty of Arab caliphs in early Islam, who formed the second, and most long-lasting line of this dynasty, the first line being that of Sufyānids, that of Muʿāwiya I b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*], his son and his grandson (41-64/661-83). With the death of the child Muʿāwiya II b. Yazīd [*q.v.*], the caliphate passed to Muʿāwiya I's second cousin Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ, of the parallel branch of the Aʿyāṣ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Marwān and his descendants now formed the Marwānid line of the Umayyads (64-132/684-750), his son and successor ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] being the progenitor of all the subsequent caliphs with the exceptions of ʿUmar II [*q.v.*], son of ʿAbd al-Malik's brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and the last caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam.

For the general history of the dynasty, see UMAYYADS, and also the articles on individual rulers.

(Ed.)

MARWĀNIDS, a dynasty of Kurdish origin who, having ousted the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*], ruled Diyār Bakr from 380/990-1 to 478/1085. The founder of the dynasty, a Kurdish chief named Bādh, seized the city of Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*] after the death of the Būyid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla (373/983), and then took Āmid, Naṣībīn and Akhlāṭ (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 25; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 49-52). Badh successfully fended off attacks both from a Būyid army sent against him and from the Hamdānids, but was killed by a coalition of Ḥamdānid and ʿUḳaylid forces after his unsuccessful attempt to take Mawṣil (380/990).

The dynasty itself, however, takes its name not from Bādh but from Marwān, a miller who had married Bādh's sister. It was their son Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Marwān who, having withdrawn after Bādh's death in 380/990 to Ḥiṣn Kayfā, married his uncle's widow, routed the Ḥamdānids on two occasions and took possession of Mayyāfāriḳīn and Āmid (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 59-60; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 50). After his murder at Āmid in 387/997, his brother Mumahhid al-Dawla Saʿīd ruled until 401/1011. These two precarious reigns paved the way for the accession of a third brother, Naṣr al-Dawla Aḥmad [*q.v.*], whose rule marks the apogee of Marwānid power.

Naṣr al-Dawla was recognised as ruler of Diyār Bakr by the Būyid *amīr* Sulṭān al-Dawla, by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim, and by the Byzantine emperor, all of whom soon sent envoys and congratulatory messages to him (Ibn al-Azraḳ. 103). Indeed, Naṣr al-Dawla in his long reign (401-83/1011-61) was to practise a skilful policy of accommodation and self-preservation with all three powers. He also had to contend with Bedouin Arab dynasties such as the ʿUḳaylids and the Mirdāsids [*q.vv.*], who wielded power in Northern Syria and al-Djazīra, and to whom he was forced to cede Naṣībīn and Edessa respectively.

The 6th/12th century chronicler of al-Djazīra, Ibn al-Azraḳ al-Fāriḳī, gives in his chronicle a very full account of Marwānid rule. Naṣr al-Dawla was fortunate to have the services of two capable viziers, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn al-Maghribī, who died in office (428/1037), and whose biography is given by Ibn Khallikān [see AL-MAGHRIBĪ, BANŪ] and the even more famous Fakhr al-Dawla Ibn Djahīr [see DJAHĪR, BANŪ]. Under Naṣr al-Dawla, Diyār Bakr enjoyed a high level of stability and commercial and cultural prosperity. The Marwānid court at Mayyāfāriḳīn was frequented by prominent *ʿulamāʾ* and poets, such as the Shāfiʿī *ʿālim* ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāzarūnī (d. 455/1063) (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 52) and the poet al-Tihāmī (d. 416/1025-6) (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 82). Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited Mayyāfāriḳīn in 438/1046 and was much impressed by it (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 8-11).

Naṣr al-Dawla emerges as a flamboyant ruler with political acumen and extravagant tastes. His religious stance appears to have been a pragmatic one, suitable for the ruler of a vulnerable buffer state surrounded by greater powers of the most divergent confessional loyalties. It seems likely that he ruled a predominantly Christian population in the towns of Diyār Bakr and that he enjoyed a good relationship with Byzantium. Indeed, the emperor Constantine X asked him for help in procuring the release of the Georgian prince Liparit from the Saldjūḳ sultan Ṭoghrïl (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 372-3). It is probable that Naṣr al-Dawla was persuaded for a short while from 430/1038-9 to give the *khuṭba* in favour of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 318), but it is also noteworthy that in that same reign, ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāzarūnī went to Mayyāfāriḳīn and spread the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* throughout Diyār Bakr (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 52).

In traditional fashion, Naṣr al-Dawla is praised for strengthening the frontiers and for building bridges and citadels, and these laudatory statements of Ibn al-Azraḳ are confirmed by the evidence of Marwānid inscriptions found on the walls of Āmid. Indeed, according to the evidence of an inscription dated 445/1053-4 on a marble slab in the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa in Jerusalem, Naṣr al-Dawla was also responsible for establishing two houses for the use of pilgrims there (Burgoyne, 118-21). The sources comment on the immense wealth accumulated by Naṣr al-Dawla. He is also said to have possessed 360 concubines who did not, however, prevent him from meticulous observance of the morning prayer. He was interested in gastronomical pleasures, too, and sent his cooks to Egypt to learn to culinary arts of that country (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 11).

When the Saldjūḳ sultan Ṭoghrïl advanced into Diyār Bakr (448/1056-7), he did not aim at abolishing the Marwānid state, so Naṣr al-Dawla recognised his suzerainty and kept his lands. Ṭoghrïl wrote to him confirming his role as a frontier lord fighting the infidels and exhorting him to continue in this task (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 275).

On the death of Naṣr al-Dawla (453/1061), the power and prestige of the dynasty declined markedly. His son Niẓām al-Dīn Naṣr succeeded him, at first only in Mayyāfāriḳīn and then two years later (having overcome his brother Saʿīd) in Āmid too. On the death of Niẓām al-Dīn (472/1079) his son Nāṣir al-

Dawla Manṣūr, the last Marwānid ruler, came to power. The vizier Ibn Djahīr, who had left Diyār Bakr for Baghdād, used his influence with Malik-Shāh and Niẓām al-Mulk to persuade them to bring the Marwānid dynasty to an end and to seize their treasures. In 478/1085 Diyār Bakr fell to Ibn Djahīr and direct Saldjūḳ control was imposed (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 93-4). Ibn Djahīr took their treasury for himself and the last Marwānid ruler Manṣūr was given Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, where he lived on until 489/1096.

Bibliography: 1. Primary sources: Ibn al-Azraḳ al-Fāriḳī, *Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriḳīn wa-Āmid*, ed. B. A. L. Awad, Cairo 1959, *passim*; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 25, 49-52, 272-6, 372-3, 416, x, 11, 86, 93, 151, 174; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane; Ibn Khaldūn, Cairo 1847, iv, 315-21. 2. Secondary sources: H. F. Amedroz, *The Marwānid dynasty at Mayyāfāriqīn in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.*, in *JRAS* (1903), 123-54; M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg and Paris, 1910, 22-37; A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, Paris 1940; C. E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 24, 97-8; M. H. Burgoyne, *A recently discovered Marwānid inscription in Jerusalem*, in *Levant*, xiv (1982), 118-21; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 135. See also *EI*[1] MARWĀNIDS, NAṢR AL-DAWLA; and *EI*[2] DIYĀR BAKR. (CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

MARWĀNIYYA, a branch of the Khalwatiyya Ṣūfī order [*q.v.*] in Egypt, named after Marwān b. ʿĀbid al-Mutaʿāl (d. 1329/1911). His father, ʿĀbid al-Mutaʿāl b. ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl (d. 1299/1881-2), had been initiated into the Khalwatiyya order by Ḥusayn al-Muṣaylīhī (cf. Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xv, 45), a *khalīfa* [*q.v.*] of Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī's disciple Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shintināwī. ʿĀbid al-Mutaʿāl later obtained *al-khilāfa* and acted as a *shaykh* of his own Khalwatiyya order, which had not yet differentiated itself, either in name or in practice, from Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī's version of the Khalwatiyya, as transmitted by al-Bakrī's *khalīfa* al-Ḥifnī. From early 1912 onwards, under ʿĀbid al-Mutaʿāl's son, Marwān, the order was presented under a name of its own, al-Marwāniyya. The original *silsila* [*q.v.*] going back to al-Bakrī was dropped and replaced by another *silsila* which was identical with ʿĀbid's genealogy (cf. ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Ḥamzāwī al-Marwānī, *Tahdhīb al-isʿāfāt al-rabbāniyya bi 'l-awrād al-Marwāniyya*, Cairo 1330/1912, 61-4). In addition, the order's link with the Khalwatiyya tradition, which had been cultivated and propagated by Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, was cut when the reading of Yaḥyā al-Shirwānī al-Bākūbī's *Wird al-sattār*—which according to al-Bakrī, is the pivot of Khalwatiyya ritual—was abandoned and when, at the same time, private and communal reading (in the *ḥadras* [*q.v.*]) of al-Bakrī's *aḥzāb* [see ḤIZB]) was replaced by the reading of *ṣalawāt* and other liturgical texts attributed to ʿĀbid's ancestor Marwān al-Khalfāwī (d. 730/1329-30).

A discussion of the various factors which account for the introduction of these alterations and for the concomitant rise of the Marwāniyya, in conjunction with additional details and references, is to be found in F. de Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt, 1911-1981* (in preparation), ch. 3. The Marwāniyya is one of the officially recognised Ṣūfī orders in Egypt (cf. Mashyakhat ʿUmūm al-Ṭuruḳ al-Ṣūfiyya, *Ḳānūn raḳm 118 li-sana 1976 m. bi-shaʾn Niẓām al-Ṭuruḳ al-Ṣūfiyya...*, Cairo n.d., 29).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(F. DE JONG)

MĀRWĀR [see DJŌDHPŪR]

AL-**MARWAZĪ**, ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ, the preferred disciple of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*], who, it is said, appreciated al-Marwazī's piety and virtues. His mother was originally from Marw al-Rūdh, whence his *nisba*, whilst his father was a Khwārazmian. Hardly any of the events of his life are known, in as much as he seems to have lived within his master's shadow, although he is depicted as once setting out on an expedition in the midst of a crowd of admirers.

The biographical notices devoted to him stress Abū Bakr al-Marwazī's role in the transmission of *ḥadīths* gathered by Ibn Ḥanbal, as well as in the formation of quite a number of Ḥanbalīs, amongst whom al-Barbahārī [*q.v.*] is especially cited. They also contain *responsa* of the Imām in reply to various questions concerning, for example, outside the sphere of *fiḳh* properly defined, the rules of conduct which a Muslim should observe in society.

He was so close to his master that it was he who closed his eyes at the latter's death, and on his own death, on 7 Djumādā I 275/17 September 888, he was buried at his feet in the Cemetery of Martyrs (*maḳābir al-shuhadāʾ*) in Baghdād.

Bibliography: Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 123-5; Abū Yaʿlā al-Farrāʾ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo 1371/1952, 56-63; Nābulusī, *Ikhtiṣār Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus 1350/1931-2, 32-4; H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, index; idem, *Le Hanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad*, in *REI*, xxvii (1959), 76. (ED.)

AL-**MARWAZĪ**, ABU 'L-FAḌL AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-SUKKARĪ, Arabic poet of Marw, *floruit* later 4th/10th or early 5th/11th century. Al-Thaʿālibī quotes specimens of his light-hearted and witty poetry, and also of an interesting *muzdawadja* in which he turned Persian proverbs into Arabic *radjaz* couplets, a conceit said to be one of his favourite activities.

Bibliography: Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, Damascus 1304/1886-7, iv, 22-5, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iv, 87-90; C. Barbier de Meynard, *Tableau littéraire du Khorassan et de la Transoxiane au IVe siècle de l'hégire*, in *JA*, Ser. 5, i (1853), 205-7. (ED.)

AL-**MARWAZĪ**, ABŪ ṬĀLIB ʿAZĪZ AL-DĪN ISMĀʿĪL B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD... b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, a Ḥusaynī who seems to have devoted himself to the study of genealogies, although he is also credited with knowledge of astronomy and, like so many others, he was a composer of verse. His ancestors had left Medina and settled first in Baghdād, then in Ḳum(m) and finally in Marw, where he was born on 22 Djumādā 572/26 December 1176. He embarked on traditional studies in his native city, then, when 22 years old, he followed the pilgrims as far as Baghdād but refrained from completing the pilgrimage; he concluded his education as a pupil of eminent teachers of the period, in the capital of the caliphate, at Nīshāpūr, Rayy, Shīrāz, Tustar, Harāt and Yazd. In 614/1217, when Yāḳūt met him in Marw, he already had to his credit a series of works dealing especially with genealogies, but consisting in some cases of presenting in the form of ancestral trees (*tashdjīr*) the information contained in earlier works. Among his original writings figures a *Kitāb al-Fakhrī* on the genealogies of the Ṭālibīs which was commissioned from him by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (543-606/1149-1209 [*q.v.*]) when the latter passed through Marw; it is not inconceivable that this explains the attribution to al-Marwāzī of the *Fakhrī* of Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā (7th-8th/13th-14th century [*q.v.*]),

which was dedicated to Fak͟hr al-Dīn ʿIsā b. Ibrahim al-Mawṣil (see the edition of the *Fak͟hrī* by H. Derenbourg, Paris 1895, 14, no. 2, 16).

The information available on Abū Ṭālib al-Marwazī (see for example al-Suyūṭī, *Bug͟hya*, 194; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 401-2) is derived exclusively from the article which Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) devoted to him (in *Udabāʾ*, vi, 142-50) during his lifetime; this explains the fact that the date of his death is nowhere mentioned.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-**MARWAZĪ**, S͟HARAF AL-ZAMĀN ṬĀHIR, presumably a native of Marw [see MARW AL-S͟HĀHID͟JĀN] or a descendant of such a native, physician and writer on geography, anthropology and the natural sciences, died after 514/1120. He acted as physician to the Sald͟jūḳ sultan Malik-S͟hāh [*q.v.*] and possibly to his successors down to the time of Sand͟jar [*q.v.*]; little else is known of his life. His main fame comes from his book the *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*, which is essentially zoological in subject, but also with valuable sections on human geography, i.e. the various races of the world, extant in an India Office ms., Delhi, Arab 1949. Sections of this, in which the author reveals borrowings from *inter alia* the lost *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-D͟jayhānī and his family [see AL-D͟JAYHĀNĪ in Suppl.], have been edited and translated by Minorsky as *S͟haraf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942.

Bibliography: Minorsky, *op. cit.*; Brockelmann, S I, 903. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

MARY [see MARYAM].

MĀRYĀ or **MAREA**, a Tigre-speaking tribe some 40,000 strong in the upland region on the left bank of the river ʿAnsabā, north-west of Keren in western Eritrea [*q.v.*] They claim descent from a Saho warrior of the same name, who is said to have settled in the region with seventeen soldiers during the 14th century. This data seems to be confirmed by the *Gadla Ewosṭāṭēwos* (Turaiev, *Acta S. Eustathii*, 37-8), where the Ethiopian saint Ewosṭāṭēwos is said to have visited "the two Māryā" on his way to Jerusalem in *ca.* 1337 (cf. C. Conti Rossini, in *RSO*, ix, 452-5; Bermudez, *Breve relaçao*, 117). Until today, the tribe is indeed split into two sections of nobles, the *Māryā Ḳayiḥ* or "Red Māryā" and the *Māryā Ṣallīm* or "Black Māryā", who are by far the most numerous. The distinction must represent two migrations, for the "Black" are traditionally regarded as "the first born" and in a higher position than the "Red", which is contrary to the meaning of *ḳayiḥ* (*ḳayy*) in Amharic. On several occasion, such as the death of the chief of the "Black", the "Red" had to give presents to the other group. The tribe consists further of families who are vassals to the nobles. The descendants of the warrior Māryā became very numerous and subjugated the local tribes. Called *tigre* because of their origin—the term means "serf caste" in this context—these vassal tribes were in fact Ethiopians and Bed͟ja [*q.v.*], whose language was taken over by the ruling class. The latter's Saho language has been long since forgotten.

The distinction between "Black" and "Red" is now entirely a territorial one, the two groups living in strictly defined plateaux, divided by deep ravines. The "Black" occupy the lower regions with abundant water, keeping camels and vast numbers of goats. The "Red" live in more elevated regions with little water, do not keep camels but have many sheep. The land around the semi-permanent encampments is cultivated by the *tigre*, who also care for the animals. They have to supply the nobles with milk, butter and grain, make special offerings of animals at the marriages and deaths of the ruling class, and help them to pay off blood money, which with the Māryā is very high amounting to 800 head of cattle.

Until the beginning of the 19th century, the Māryā were Ethiopian Christians. Ruins of churches are scattered about their land, e.g. at Erota. Somewhere between 1820 and 1835 (Münzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, 228), the Māryā and the Bayt Asgedē were among the first of the Tigre-speaking tribes to join Islam under the influence of Muslim traders, the revival of missionary activities caused by Wahhābism and the preaching of Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsī (1760-1837), a Mag͟hribī *s͟hayk͟h* settled in Mecca, the serf caste having already adopted Islam earlier. Foremost among the Islamic missionaries were the ʿĀd S͟hayk͟h, descendants of S͟hayk͟h al-Amīn (generally corrupted to Lamīn) b. Ḥamad, who gained a great reputation through his miracles and whose tomb became the centre of a special cult. Although some of the clans still bear Christian names, like the ʿĀd Te-Mikāʾēl, a section of the "Red", the Māryā and their vassals are all Muslims. In many respects, Islamic law has considerably, and positively, influenced the life of the tribe. The right of the first-born son to inherit his father's estate to the exclusion of the daughters has been modified, while the old custom of enslaving the vassals who were unable to pay the nobles has been weakened. Differences in the penal code between punishments for crimes committed by nobles or by vassals have been disappearing. Under Italian rule, the more onerous duties of the vassals were considerably lightened. The rigid noble-serf relationship was, however, still very strong until recently.

Bibliography: E. Cerulli, art. MĀRYĀ in *EI*[1]; B. Turaiev, *Acta S. Eustathii*, Ethiopic text in *Monumenta Aethiopiae hagiologica*, iii, St. Petersburg 1905, Latin text tr. in *CSCO, Script. Aeth.*, ser. altera, xxi (1906), 1-97; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952; S. F. Nadel, *Races and tribes in Eritrea*. British Military Administration, Asmara 1943; W. Münzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen 1864; C. Conti Rossini, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Rome 1916; E. Littmann, *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia*, iv,... 1913-15; G. K. N. Trevaskis, *Eritrea, a colony in transition, 1914-1952*, London-New York 1960.

(E. CERULLI - [E. VAN DONZEL])

MARYAM, Mary, the mother of Jesus. The Arabic form of the name is identical with ܡܰܪܝܰܡ and μαριάμ which are used in the Syriac and the Greek Bible, in the New as well as in the Old Testament. In the latter it corresponds to the Hebrew מִרְיָם. Al-Bayḍāwī considers the name to be Hebrew; but the vowelling would seem to indicate a Christian source, according to A. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, s.v. The name Maryam, like others with the same suffix, such as ʿAmram, Bilʿam, points to the region between Palestine and Northwestern Arabia as its home. According to Muslim interpretation, the name means "the pious" (*al-ʿābida*; cf. the commentaries on sūra III,31). It occurs frequently in the Ḳurʾān in the combination [ʿĪsā] Ibn Maryam "[Jesus] the son of Mary" (sūra II,82, 254; III, 31-2; IV, 156, 169; V, 19, 50, 76, 82, 109, 112, 114, 116; IX, 31; XIX, 35; XXIII, 52; XXXIII,7; XLIII, 57; LVII, 27; LXI, 6, 14), no father being mentioned, because, according to Muslim tradition also, ʿĪsā had no earthly father. In the majority of these passages, ʿĪsā is clearly regarded as the higher of the two. Yet Maryam's place is important [see ʿĪSĀ and the Bibl. there listed].

Maryam is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, from the earliest to the later Medinan sūras.

(a) Maryam's special privileges; the annunciation.

To the first Meccan period belongs sūra XXIII, 52: "And we made the son of Maryam and his mother a sign; and we made them abide in an elevated place, full of quiet and watered with springs". Here some have seen the first allusion in the Ḳurʾān to the virgin birth. This idea is accentuated in sūra XIX,20, where Maryam says to the spirit (i.e. the angel) who announces to her the birth of a male child: "How should I have a male child, no human man having touched me?" In sūra LXVI, 12, the conception is ascribed to this divine spirit (cf. Luke, i, 34-5: "And Mary said to the angel, How can this be, since I have no husband? And the angel said to her, The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you").

The virgin birth is also mentioned in sūra LXVI, 12 (Medinan): "And Maryam bint ʿImrān who kept her body pure. Then we breathed into it from our spirit. She acknowledged the truth of the words of her Lord and of his book and she belonged to the obedient".

A third mention of the annunciation and the virgin birth is in sūra III, 37-8: "When the angels said, O Maryam, verily Allah has elected thee and purified thee and elected thee above the women of all created beings. O Maryam, be obedient unto thy Lord and prostrate thyself and bow down with those who bow down" (cf. Luke, i, 28). The commentators remark on these verbs: *iṣṭafā* (chosen: twice) and *ṭahara*: Maryam was miraculously preserved from all bodily impurity and from spiritual failings. There is discussion too as to whether Maryam is the best of all women without exception, bearing in mind the veneration accorded to Fāṭima. Al-Rāzī, followed by al-Ḳurṭubī, takes it in an absolute sense, while most say "of that time" (R. Arnaldez, *Jésus fils de Marie prophète de l'Islam*, Paris 1980, 77). Maryam is generally held, in Muslim tradition, to be one of the four best women that ever existed, together with Āsiya [*q.v.*], Khadīdja [*q.v.*] and Fāṭima [*q.v.*] (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 135), and the chief of the women of Paradise (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 64, 80). For a comparison of Mary with Fāṭima, based on Sunnī and Shīʿī interpretations of verses in sūra III and XIX, see J.D. McAuliffe, *Chosen of all women*: *Mary and Fatima in Qurʾānic exegesis*, in *Islamochristiana*, vii (1981), 19-28.

According to tradition, the annunciation took place in the following way: Djibrīl appeared to Maryam in the shape of a beardless youth with a shining face and curling hair, announcing to her the birth of a male child. She expressed her amazement, but, on the angel's reassuring answer, she complied with the will of God.

Thereupon the angel blew his breath into the fold of her shirt, which she had put off. When the angel had withdrawn, she put on the shirt and became pregnant. The annunciation took place in the cavern of the well of Silwān, whither Maryam had gone, as usual, to fill her pitcher; she was then 10 or 13 years of age; and it was the longest day of the year. In Christian tradition also, the voice of the angel was heard by Mary for the first time when she had gone to fill her pitcher. According to a different tradition, ʿĪsā's spirit entered Maryam through her mouth (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vi, 22).

(b) Maryam's religious importance.

It has been pointed out that the Ḳurʾān seems to refer to a belief that Maryam was considered as a third deity, or a divine person; and that she and her son were venerated together as gods. Such may be reflected in sūra V, 79: "Al-Masīḥ, the son of Maryam, is an Apostle only, who was preceded by other Apostles, and his mother was an upright woman; and both were wont to take food". This verse would appear to refute any veneration of ʿĪsā and his mother as divine persons, elevated above human needs. With it may be compared sūra IV, 169: "O people of the book, beware of exaggeration in your religion and say of Allāh nothing but the truth. ʿĪsā b. Maryam is only the Apostle of Allāh and his word, which he conveyed unto Maryam and a spirit that came forth from him. Believe, therefore on Allāh and his Apostles and say not 'three'. Beware of this, this will be better for you. Allāh is but one God", etc. Clearer is sūra V, 116: "And when Allāh said, O ʿĪsā b. Maryam, hast thou said to the people, Take me and my mother as two Gods besides Allāh? He answered: Far be it, that I should say to what I am not entitled. If I should have said it, thou wouldst know it", etc.

The commentaries also describe the Trinity as consisting of Allāh, ʿĪsā and Maryam. Al-Bayḍāwī, however, admits that in sūra IV, 169, there could be an allusion to the Christian doctrine of one God in three hypostases: Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

The question has often been asked why the Ḳurʾān sees fit to refute an apparent belief in Maryam as one of the persons of the Trinity. It seems likely that what is here reflected is a background of folk-religion, and the veneration accorded to Mary within the Church, rather than any specific beliefs. Christian sects giving undue importance to Mary were not very significant. The Trinity is a notoriously difficult concept: and in an expression quoted by al-Ṭabarī, vi, 171, Father, Son, *wa-zawdj mutabbiʿat^{un} minhumā*, *zawdj* is probably a misreading of the same consonantal outline, *rūḥ* (cf. J. Abd el-Jalil, *Marie et l'Islam*, Paris 1950, 66).

Attempts, however, have been made to trace the background of the Ḳurʾān's statements. Maracci has made a reference to Epiphanius, *Adv. Haereses*, Haeres. lxxviii, § 23, where this author speaks of women in Arabia who venerated Mary as God, and offered her cakes, from which the heresy is often called that of the Collyridians. Sale, in his *Preliminary discourse*, 45, mentions the Mariamites, who worshipped a Trinity consisting of God, Christ and Mary, referring to a passage in the work of al-Makīn. There could have been an identification of ʿĪsā with the Holy Spirit (cf. sūra IV, 169, as translated above) thus leaving a vacant place in the Trinity. A different explanation is attempted by Sayous, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 61.

The Story of Maryam and ʿĪsā.

Many of the features narrated in the Ḳurʾān agree, partly or wholly, with narratives in the apocryphal gospels. Sūra XXIII, 52 (see above), mentions the elevated place that was prepared for ʿĪsā and his mother. It is not clear which tradition might be here alluded to. According to Luke, i, 39, Mary went to mountains to visit Elisabeth. In the *Protoevangelium Jacobi* (ch. xxii; Syriac text, 20) it is Elisabeth who flees together with John to a mountain, which opens to protect them against their presecutors. The Muslim commentators mention Jerusalem, Damascus, Ramla and Egypt as being possibly meant by the "elevated place". Maracci thinks of Paradise.

In two passages of the Ḳurʾān there is a fuller narrative of ʿĪsā's birth and what is connected with it: sūra XIX (named *Maryam*), 1-35, and in sūra III, 31-

42 (for a very detailed analysis of relevant passages, cf. Schedl, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 189-99, 402-10).

Sūra XIX opens with the story of Zakariyyāʾ and Yaḥyā (1-15); then follows the story of Maryam and ʿĪsā (16-34). Sūra III, 31-42, contains: (a) the birth of Maryam; (b) the annunciation of Yaḥyā (33-6); and (c) the annunciation of ʿĪsā (37-41). The comparison of sūra XIX with sūra III makes it probable that Muḥammad became acquainted with the story of the birth of Maryam later than with those of Yaḥyā and ʿĪsā.

(a) The birth of Maryam. This story is found in a Christian tradition corresponding closely with that which is contained in the *Protoevangelium Jacobi* and *De nativitate Mariae*. Mary's father is called ʿImrān in the Ḳurʾān, Joachim in Christian tradition; Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, ii, 144) is also acquainted with the name Ioachim. Maryam is called a sister of Hārūn (sūra XIX, 29), and the use of these three names ʿImrān, Hārūn and Maryam, has led to the supposition that the Ḳurʾān does not clearly distinguish between the two Maryams, of the Old and New Testament. The Ḳurʾān names two families as being especially chosen: those of Ibrāhīm and of ʿImrān (sūra III, 32). It is the family of ʿImrān, important because of Moses and Aaron, to which Maryam belongs. It is not necessary to assume that these kinship links are to be interpreted in modern terms. The words "sister" and "daughter", like their male counterparts, in Arabic usage can indicate extended kinship, descendance or spiritual affinity. This second ʿImrān, together with Hārūn, can be taken as purely Ḳurʾānic. M. Hamidullah's literal rendering of *ukht Hārūn* in a marginal note of his translation of the Ḳurʾān (p. 289) as "Sœur Aaronide" would indicate this (Arnaldez, 33-4). M. Hamidullah also refers to Maryam as "membre par adoption de la famille de ʿImrān" (*Le Prophète de l'Islam*, Paris 1959, i, 415). Muslim tradition is clear that there are eighteen centuries between the Biblical ʿAmram and the father of Maryam.

ʿImrān's wife, ʿĪsā's grandmother, is not mentioned by name in the Ḳurʾān. In Christian as well as in Muslim tradition, she is called Ḥanna. It is only in Muslim tradition that her genealogy is worked out. She is a daughter of Fāḳūdh and a sister of Ishbāʿ, the Biblical Elisabeth.

Fāḳūdh

Ḥanna married ʿImrān	Ishbāʿ married Zakariyyāʾ
Maryam	
ʿĪsā	Yaḥyā

According to a different genealogy, Ishbāʿ and Maryam were sisters, daughters of ʿImrān and Ḥanna (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 120-1 = §§ 117-18; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii, 144).

ʿImrān

Ishbāʿ	Maryam
Yaḥyā	ʿĪsā

For further discussion, cf. A.M. Charfi, *Christianity in the Qur'ān commentary of Ṭabarī* (English translation), in *Islamochristiana*, vi (1980, 110; and A. Ferré, *La vie de Jésus dans Ṭabarī*, in *Islamochristiana*, v (1979), 11.

ʿImrān and Ḥanna were old and childless. One day the sight of a bird in a tree, which was feeding her young, aroused Ḥanna's desire for a child. She prays God to fulfil her desire, and vows, if her prayer should be heard, to dedicate the child to the temple. She had, however, forgotten that, according to Jewish law, this would be impossible if she should give birth to a female child (cf. *Protev. Jacobi*, chs. iii, iv; Syriac text, 4). Compare with this sūra III, 31: "How the wife of ʿImrān said, O my Lord, I have vowed to thee what is in my womb. Now accept [this vow] from me, thou art the hearing, the knowing. And when she had given birth to the child, she said, O my lord, I have given birth to a female child... and I have called her Maryam".

Then the Ḳurʾān relates how she invoked on behalf of Maryam and her posterity Allāh's protection from Satan. On this verse is based the well-known *ḥadīth* "Every child that is born, is touched (or stung) by Satan and this touch makes it cry, except Maryam and her son" (al-Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, *bāb* 44; *Tafsīr*, sūra III, 31; Muslim, *Faḍāʾil*, trad. 146, 147; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 233, 274-5, 288, 292, 319, 368, 523). This tradition is used in support of the impeccability (*ʿiṣma*) of ʿĪsā, Maryam and the Prophets in general (cf. al-Nawawī, *ad* Muslim, *loc. cit.*, and al-Bayḍāwī, *ad* sūra III, 31).

A modern commentator, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, insists that their privilege of preservation from Satan does not set them on a higher plane than Muḥammad; all three share the quality of *ʿiṣma* (*Tafsīr al-Manār*, Cairo 1367/1947, iii, 291-2). It has also been suggested that this idea of unique privilege could come from a Christian source (Arnaldez, 46-7).

The Ḳurʾān further relates (vs. 32) that the child grows up in a chamber in the temple (*miḥrāb*; cf. the κοιτῶν in *Protoev. Jacobi*, vi; Syriac text 5-6) under the divine grace and under Zakāriyyāʾ's care. According to Muslim tradition, ʿImrān had died before the birth of Maryam, and Zakāriyyāʾ claimed authority over her on account of his being her uncle; the rabbis did not recognise his claim; his right was proved by an ordeal, consisting in the parties throwing their pens or arrows (*aḳlām*) in a river; the only one that floated was that of Zakāriyyāʾ (cf. sūra III, 39). Christian tradition knows of an ordeal only in the case of Joseph, who, because a dove comes forth from his staff, is recognised as Maryam's guardian.

As often as Zakāriyyāʾ enters Maryam's *miḥrāb*, he finds her provided with food in a miraculous way (vs. 32). This feature also belongs to Christian tradition (*Protoev. Jacobi*, ch. viii; Syriac text. 7). The person of Joseph is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. In Muslim tradition, he takes care of Maryam, his cousin, because Zakāriyyāʾ is no longer able to do so, on account of old age.

Muslim tradition speaks of one Djuraydj a carpenter who is betrothed to Maryam; he is the first to notice her pregnancy and to be convinced by her of its miraculous nature, as brought about directly by the power of God. (A. Charfi, 115-16; Abd al-Jalil; L. Cheikho, *Mawlid Maryam al-ʿadhrāʾ fī taḳlīd al-Islām*, in *Machriq*, xxiv [1926], 682-6).

The undoubted parallels between the Ḳurʾānic account and material found in the apocryphal gospels do not, however, indicate direct dependence, but are more indicative of the folklore aspect of religion, much fuller than would be implied by the canonical text of the Gospels, itself the product of careful selec-

tion. Possibly apocryphal gospels and the Ḳurʾānic stories reveal a common folklore tradition. For such stories, cf. J. Robson, *Muhammadan teaching about Jesus*, in *MW*, xxi (1939), 37-54, and idem, *Stories of Jesus and Mary*, in *MW*, xl (1950), 236-43.

(b) The annunciation of Yaḥyā. See this art. and also ZAKĀRIYYĀʾ.

(c) The annunciation and birth of ʿĪsā. The more detailed narrative is that of sūra XIX, 16-17. Maryam retires to "a place situated eastward", where she hides herself behind a curtain. The commentaries do not know whether a place to the east of Jerusalem is meant, or the eastern part of her house, to which she retired every month. It is said that this is the origin of the *ḳibla* of the Christians.

In 17-21 the story of the annunciation is given (cf. above), followed by that of ʿĪsā's birth, which, according to some Muslim traditions, followed the conception either immediately or very soon. The pains of childbirth came upon Maryam when she was near the trunk of a palm. "She said, would to God I had died before this, and had become a thing forgotten, and lost in oblivion. And he who was beneath her [i.e. the child, or Djibrīl, or the palm] called to her, saying, Be not grieved; God has provided a rivulet under thee; and shake the trunk of the palm and it shall let fall ripe dates upon thee, ready gathered. And eat and drink and calm thy mind". This story may, perhaps, be considered as a parallel to the Christian tradition in which it is related that, during the flight to Egypt, the babe Jesus ordered a palm in the desert to bow down in order to refresh Mary by its dates; whereupon the palm obeyed and stayed with its head at Mary's feet, until the child ordered it to stand upright again and to open a vein between its roots in order to quench the thirst of the holy family (Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew, ch. xx). The Ḳurʾān goes on (v. 26): "And when thou seest any man, say, I have vowed a fast unto the Merciful; so I may not speak to any man today". The commentaries say this was meant to avoid importunate questions. This feature is not in Christian tradition; yet in the *Protoev. Jacobi* it is said (ch. xii; Syriac text, 11) that Mary, who was then 16 years of age, hid herself from the Israelites. According to Muslim tradition, she stayed in a cavern during forty days. The Ḳurʾān continues (XIX, 28): "Then she brought him to her people, carrying him. They said, O Maryam, now thou hast done a strange thing. O sister of Hārūn, thy father was not a bad man, neither was thy mother a harlot. Then she pointed to the child". Then the child begins to speak, one of the well-known miracles ascribed to ʿĪsā. The "very shameful calumny" which the Israelites brought forth against Maryam is also mentioned in sūra IV, 155.

As to the words "O sister of Hārūn" (cf. above), it may be added that, according to the commentaries, this Hārūn was not Moses' brother, but one of Maryam's contemporaries, who was either a wicked man, with whom she is compared in this respect, or her pious brother.

A legend about loaves of bread which Maryam gave to the Magi is mentioned by al-Masʿūdī, iv, 79-80 = § 1405.

The flight to Egypt is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, unless the "elevated place" (sūra XXIII, 52; cf. above) should be an allusion to it. According to Muslim tradition, which is acquainted with it, the abode lasted 12 years. After the death of Herod the family returned to Nāṣira.

After his alleged death (according to Muslim teaching: see ʿĪSĀ), he consoled his mother from heaven. According to others it was Mary Magdalene. The stories of the *Transitus Mariae* have not obtained a place in Muslim tradition. Instead of these, there is a narrative of how Maryam went to Rome in order to preach before Mārūt (Nero), accompanied by John (the disciple) and Shimʿūn the coppersmith. When Shimʿūn (Simon Peter?) and Tadāwus (Thaddaeus?) were crucified with their heads downward, Maryam fled with John. When they were persecuted the earth opened and withdrew them from their persecutors. This miracle was the cause of Mārūt's conversion.

Maryam in popular Muslim devotion.

Maryam is much venerated in Muslim folk tradition, often along with Fāṭima (see above). Muslim women have taken her as an example and as a recourse in time of trouble, often visiting Christian shrines. Christian and Muslim traditions both honour her memory at Maṭariyya near Cairo, and in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem is Ḥammām Sittī Maryam (the bath of Maryam), near St. Stephen's Gate, where it was believed Maryam once bathed; the place would be visited by women seeking a cure for barrenness (R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam. I. Wallfahrtswesen und Heiligenverehrung*, Wiesbaden 1960, 169; T. Canaan, *Mohammedan saints and sanctuaries in Palestine*, in *Jnal. of the Palestine Oriental Soc.*, iv/1-2 [1924], 1-84).

Some plants have been nemed after Maryam; (a) *Maryamiyya* or *mêramiyeh*, *Salvia triloba, Labiatae*, said to have acquired its sweet scent when Mary wiped her forehead with its leaves (T. Canaan, *Plant-lore in Palestinian superstition*, in *JPOS*, viii/3 [1928], 129-68). G.M. Crowfoot and L. Baldensperger, *From cedar to hyssop. A study of the folklore of plants in Palestine*, London 1932, describe the Miriamiya or "Sage of Vertue", and mention references to it by earlier travellers in Palestine (79-81). (b) *Kaff al-ʿAdhrāʾ*, *Anastatica hierochuntia, Cruciferae*, the dried seed-heads of which can last for years and are blown around the desert, the seeds germinating when water is available. The seed-head is thought to resemble a fist, hence the name; the *kaff* or "hand" is well-known as a protection against the evil eye [see KHAMSA]; it can be seen painted or carved, or worn as an amulet, generally known in Muslim circles as *kaff Fāṭima*. This plant, however, has in time past been used not to avert the evil eye—though this concept may also have been present—but as a birth charm, soaked in water when a woman was in labour, and the water sometimes given to her to drink. Known as *kaff Fāima bint al-Nabī* or *kaff Maryam*, it was sold in Egypt (Crowfoot and Baldensperger, *op. cit.*, 196; idem, *The Rose of Jericho*, in *JPOS*, xi/l [1931], 7-14); Violet Dickson, *Wild flowers of Kuwait and Bahrain*, London 1955, 16, remarks on its frequency in Central Arabia. Cf. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Gütersloh 1935, i, 54, for its location in Palestine. The plant can still be found, but its folk usage seems to have died out.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 407; Ṭabarī, i, 711-12; idem, *Tafsīr*, iii, 144-5; vi, 21, 179; vii, 82; xvi, 28-9; xviii, 17; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 74-5; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 120-1, ii, 145, iv, 79-80; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 211; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, Cairo 1290, 326-7; the commentaries on the Ḳurʾān; Maracci, *Prodomi*, Padua 1698, iv, 85-7, 104-5, 178-9 and the notes to his translation of the Ḳurʾān; C. F. Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Korans*, Hamburg und Gotha 1839, 22-3, 72-3; G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Musulmänner*, Frankfurt 1845, 280-1; E. Sayous, *Jésus-Christ d'après Mahomet*, Paris-Leipzig 1880; G. Smit, *Bijbel en*

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MARZBĀN-NĀMA (also known in the Arabicised form *Marzubān-nāma*), a work in Persian prose containing a variety of short stories used as moral examples and bound together by one major and several minor framework stories. It is essentially extant in two versions written in elegant Persian with many verses and phrases in Arabic. They were made from a lost original in the Ṭabarī dialect independently of each other in the early 13th century. The oldest version, entitled *Rawḍat al-ʿuḳūl*, was completed in 598/1202 by Muḥammad b. Ghāzī al-Malaṭyawī (or Malaṭī) and was dedicated to the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm, Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān Shāh. Manuscripts are preserved in Leiden (described in detail by M. Th. Houtsma, *Eine unbekannte Bearbeitung des Marzbān-nāmeh*, in *ZDMG*, lii [1898], 395-92) and Paris (cf. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, iv, Paris 1934, 18-21; extracts are contained in the introduction to Ḳazwīnī's edition of the *Marzbān-nāma*; the first chapter was edited and translated into French by Henri Massé, *Le Jardin des Esprits, 1re partie*, in *Publications de la Société des études iraniennes*, 14, Paris 1938). Much better known is the second version by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Warāwīnī who presented his work to Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Rabīb al-Dīn, vizier to the Ildeñizid Atabeg of Ādharbydjān, Özbek b. Muḥammad (607-22/1210-25) [see ILDEÑIZIDS]. It bears the title of the original and still exists in many copies. This version was published by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī in the Gibb Memorial Series (London-Leiden 1908; repr. Tehran 1352/1973 with additional notes).

According to Malaṭyawī, the author of the *Marzbān-nāma* was a descendant of the Ziyārid Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr (reigned 366-71/977-81 [*q.v.*]), but Warāwīnī mentions Marzbān b. Sharwīn as the "originator of the book" (*wāḍiʿ-i kitāb*). He belonged to the Bāwandids, a dynasty of Ṭabaristān claiming descent from the Sāsānid prince Kāwūs who was a brother of Khusraw Anūshirwān. He was the father of Kay-Kāwūs's grandmother and is named al-Marzubān b. Rustam b. Sharwīn in the *Ḳābūs-nāma* (ed. Tehran 1345/1967, 5). This form of the name corresponds to that given by Ibn Isfandiyār in *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, written in 613/1216-17, where it is specified that he ruled as an *iṣfahbad* of Pirīm, or Firīm [see FIRRĪM in Suppl.], the stronghold of the Bāwandids which is also called Shahriyārkūh (cf. *An abridged translation of the history of Ṭabaristān*, by E.G. Browne, Leiden 1905, 86). It is most likely that he should be identified with al-Marzubān b. Sharwīn whose name occurs on coins dated 371/981 and 374/984-5 (cf. W. Madelung in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 217; see also the discussion in Ḳazwīnī's introduction). The language used in the ancient *Marzbān-nāma* was, in the words of Warāwīnī, "the language of Ṭabaristan and old, original Persian (*fārsī-yi ḳadīm-i bāstān*)". He refers probably to an archaic form of Persian, perhaps not unlike the *pahlawī* in which the source of Gurgānī's *Wīs u Rāmīn* is said to have been written, with an admixture of the local dialect. During the 4th/10th century a language of this kind was used in Māzandarān for literary purposes, but only a few lines of poetry have survived. Ibn Isfandiyār ascribes to Marzbān a *dīwān* in Ṭabarī verse called the *Nīkī-nāma*.

The *Marzbān-nāma* is mainly a collection of moralistic fables like the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, to which it is often compared. It also contains, however, tales in which animals play no part and anecdotes about ancient kings and philosophers. The major framework is provided by the story of a prince who, after the succession of his brother to the throne, wants to withdraw to a life of seclusion. At the request of the grandees of the state he agrees to compose a book containing "wise counsels and useful directions for the conduct of life in this world". Through this book the new king should be made aware of the wicked character of his vizier. In the course of a disputation with the king and the vizier concerning his intentions, the prince starts to tell a long series of stories.

The versions in classical Persian were both made by members of the caste of secretaries serving in the chancelleries of mediaeval Islamic states. Their principal aim was to transform a comparatively simple text into a model of the style which was current in official correspondence. Warāwīnī mentions in his preface several works which are stylistically akin to his own work. Among these are the *Maḳāmāt* of Ḥamīdī, historical texts, *inshāʾ* collections as well as other collections of tales.

The differences between the two versions are considerable. Warāwīnī states that the original *Marzbān-nāma* had nine chapters. In the *Rawḍat al-ʿuḳūl*, an additional chapter contains moral teachings of an Islamic nature which contrast with the rest of the book. The latter version has also many stories which are not present in the work of Warāwīnī, who declares that he made a selection from the contents of the original. Houtsma suggested that the two adapters may have had access to different versions of the ancient text. The principal story is only in Warāwīnī's case a true framework story, as Gabrieli noted, but it is impossible to make out whether this is conformable to the original design or not.

The *Marzbān-nāma* of Warāwīnī was rendered into Turkish by Ṣadr al-Dīn Sheykhoghlu in the second half of the 8th/14th century. The latter work was translated again into Arabic by Ibn ʿArabshāh [*q.v.*] in 852/1448 under the title *Fākihat al-khulafāʾ wa-mufākahat al-ẓurafāʾ*. Another Turkish translation, also based on Warāwīnī, is the *Djewāhir ül-ḥikem* by Urfalī Nüzhet ʿÜmer Efendi (d. 1191/1778).

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MARZPĀN, Arabised form Marzubān, "warden of the march", "markgrave", from Av. *marəza* and M. Parth. *mrz* "frontier", plus *pat* "protector". The MP form *marzpān* suggests a north Iranian origin. It began to be used as the title of a military governor of a frontier province in the Sāsānid empire in the 4th or 5th centuries A.D. when *marz, marzpan*, and *marzpanutʿin* (marzpānate) appear as loan words in Armenian, and *marzbanā* as a loan word in Syriac. The NP form *marzbān, marzvān* or *marzabān* was Arabised as *marzubān* (pl. *marāziba, marāzib*), possibly as early as the 6th century A.D. Arabic also formed a verb *marzaba* ("to appoint someone as *marzubān*"), the noun *marzaba* ("marzubānate") and the adjective *marzubānī*. The later Syriac forms *marzubanā* and *marzuwanā*, and the later Armenian form *marzavan*, probably came from the Arabic or NP.

A *marzpān* of Bēth Aramāyē is attested from the time of Shāpūr II (309-79) until the early 6th century, while the marzpānate of Fīrūz Shāpūr (Anbār) and that of the land irrigated by the Euphrates are also said to have been established by Shāpūr II. In the 5th and 6th centuries, Naṣībīn was under a *marzpān* who commanded at least 7,000 men in 504, and a *marzpān* was in command of Āmid during the Byzantine siege of 504-5. After the reorganisation of the Sāsānid empire into four quarters under Khusraw I Anūshirwān (531-79), the *marzpān* became a high-ranking military and administrative official in the new system. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī, the *marzpān* was a provincial governor (*ra'īs al-balad*) after the *ispabadh* [*q.v.*]) and *pātkōspān* and above the district governor or *shahrīdj*. But in a description of this system anachronously ascribed to Ardashīr I (226-41), al-Masʿūdī claims that the *marzpān* was the deputy of the *iṣpabadh*, and under Hurmizd IV (579-90) and Khusraw II Parwīz (591-628), military officials of the imperial quarters are sometimes called *marzpān*. In fact, al-Masʿūdī also says that a *marzpān* was the lord of a quarter of the empire, a general, a *wazīr* or the governor of an administrative district. Such military officials were not supposed to assist each other without royal permission.

There seems to have been a category of great *marzpāns* in the late Sāsānid period who were haughty grandees (*nakhāwira*), brave horsemen, officers in charge of people just below the king, who lived at the capital and were employed as royal envoys and generals. Abū Muḥammad al-ʿAbdī described Khusraw II Parwīz as surrounded by noble *marāziba*, and the land of the *marāziba* of Kisrā was confiscated by the Muslims in the Sawād, along with that of the royal family. The great nobleman al-Hurmuzān is sometimes called a *marzubān*. However, in the early 7th century *marzpān* was still used for the military governor of the frontier districts of al-Ḥīra, Hadjar and the Djazīra, as well as for the governors of Bābil and Khuṭarniyya and of Balad.

Arabic accounts of the Muslim conquest of Sāsānid territories use *marzubān* for local leaders who organised the defence or concluded treaties at Anbār, al-Madhār/Maysān, Dast-i Maysān, Sūs, Iṣfāhān, Rayy, Ardabīl/Ādharbāydjān, Fārs, Kirmān, Zarang/Sidjistān, Nīshāpūr, Ṭūs, Sarakhs and Marw. This may be due to the military nature of their activity or because some of them, such as al-Hurmuzān, were great nobles, and it need not be taken as a title in every case. *Marzubān* appears to have been used in a generic sense for the *shahrīdj* of Fārs (just as Pāpak is called the *marzpān* and *shahridār* of Pārs in the *Kār-nāmak*), for the *padhghōsbān* of Iṣfahān, for the *iṣpahbādh* of Sidjistān and for the *kanārang* of Khurāsān. The Hephthalite ruler of Harāt, Bādghīs and Pūshang is also called a *marzubān*. At Marw and Marw al-Rūd, *marzubān* survived as the title of local Iranian officials under Muslim rule, and in 105/723 Muslim b. Saʿīd al-Kilābī appointed Bahrām Sīs as *marzubān* at Marw to collect taxes from the Zoroastrians or Madjūs [*q.v.*]. *Marzubān* was also used for the local notables and the *iṣpahbadh* of Ṭabaristān from the 1st/7th until the 3rd/9th century.

Meanwhile, Marzubān or Marzabān came to be used as a proper name, at first for powerful officers such as the second Persian governor of al-Yaman, al-Marzubān b. Wahrīz. It is also said to have been the name of Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, of a sword belonging to the Banū ʿĀ'idh of Makhzūm and of a district north of Samarḳand. Marzubāna was used as a woman's name, and al-Marzubānī was used as a *nisba* for someone who had an ancestor named al-Marzubān. *Marzubān* was also used metaphorically in poetry for a ruler or master, or for a leader of the Madjūs; *marāziba* were compared to lions, and a lion was called "the *marzubān* of roaring" and *marzubānī*.

Bibliography: For lexical matters, see Asadī Ṭūsī, *Lughāt-i Furs*, Tehran 1336/1957, 144; Djawālīḳī, *al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿdjamī*, Cairo 1969, 365-7; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, Beirut 1956, xii, 406; Ibn Khalaf, *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, Tehran 1330-42/1951-63, iv, 1987; P. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, 218; H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1897, repr. Hildesheim 1962, i, 193; J. Payne-Smith, *Syriac dictionary*, Oxford 1903, 300; A. Shīr, *Kitāb al-alfāẓ al-fārisiyya al-muʿarraba*, Beirut 1908, 145; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 82-3; W. Lentz, *Die nord-iranische Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache bei Firdosi*, in *ZII*, iv (1926), 255, 295; S. Iṣfahānī, *Vāzha-nāma-yi fārsī*, Tehran 1337/1958, 345-46; M, Kamil, *Persian words in ancient Arabic*, in *Bull. of the Fac. of Arts, Cairo*, xix (1957), 63; W. Eilers, *Iranisches Lehngut im arabischen Lexikon*, in *IIJ*, v (1962), 215-16, 219; M. Shūshtarī, *Farhang vāzhahā-yi fārsī dar zabān-i ʿarabī*, Tehran 1347/1969, 631-2; H. Nyberg, *A manual of Pahlavi*, Wiesbaden 1974, ii, 127.

For Bēth Aramāyē, see G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 38, 485, 496; O. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Munich 1915, 146; J.B. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, Paris 1902, 532-3; A. Scher, *Histoire nestorienne*, ii/1, in *PO*, vii, 1905, 129, 154. For Fīrūz

Shāpūr and the Euphrates, see Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 51; Ṭabarī, i, 839; Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, ed. Zotenberg, 529; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 367-8, iii, 929. For Naṣībīn and Āmid, see Chabot, 526-9, 523-7; W. Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, Cambridge 1882, 61-2; Scher, ii/1, 176, ii/2, in *PO*, xiii, 1919. For the *marzpān* as a late Sāsānid military official, see Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 203; Ṭabarī, i, 2037; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Dāghir, i, 269, 287, 319 = §§ 545, 581, 647 and index; Thaʿālibi, *Ghurar*, 643, 701; R. N. Frye, *The golden age of Persia*, London and New York 1975, 9.

For the great *marzpāns*, see Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, Paris 1921, 57; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 118; Dīnawarī, 83, 94, 112, 133; Ṭabarī i, 2053, 2555; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-buldān*, 216; Scher, ii/1, 178; Ibn al-Djawālīkī, 364, 367; *LA*, xiii, 406; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Beirut 1968, iii, 281.

For the *marzpān* as the governor of a local or frontier district in the early 7th century, see Markwart, *Catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 14, 21; Balādhurī, 78, 85, 242-43; Dīnawarī, 115; Ṭabarī, i, 2019, 2037-9, 2184, 2191, 2202; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa 'l-anbiyāʾ*, Beirut 1961, 96; Agapius of Manbidj, *Kitāb al-ʿUnwān* in *PO*, viii, 1912, 459; Scher, ii/2, 546, 549, 554.

For the use of *marzubān* in Arabic accounts of the conquest, see Nyberg, i, 1; Ibn Saʿd, vii/1, 3; Balādhurī, 310, 312, 313, 315, 325-6, 342, 386, 393, 404, 405-6, 408-9; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, tr. *Les pays*, Cairo 1937, 166; Dīnawarī, 121-4, 140; Ṭabarī, i, 2385, 2386, 2638-9, 2887-90, ii, 1462, 1688; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, Tehran 1912, i, 158; E.G. Browne, *History of Ṭabaristān*, abridged tr. Leiden and London 1905, 86, 101, 108, 113, 149; Yāḳūt, iv, 468; C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, Rome 1968, 13, 15, 16-17; Frye, *op. cit.*, 97.

For Marzubān as a proper name, see Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1858, 46, 197, 457; Balādhurī, 105-6; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1964, i, 179; Dīnawarī, 402; Iṣṭakhrī, 292, 323; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Leiden 1938-9, 468, 497, 499-500; Muḳaddasī, 279; Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, ed. Margoliouth and Amedroz, London 1921, ii, 133; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 291; Ibn Khallikān, iii, 281, iv, 354-6; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 197-8. For its use in poetry, see Djawālīḳī, 366-7; Ibn Khalaf, iv, 1987; Saʿdī, *Bustān*, Vienna 1858, 73; Shīr, 145; Shūshtarī, 631-2.

(J.H. Kramers - [M. Morony])

MARZUBĀN B. RUSTAM [see MARZBĀN-NĀMA].

AL-MARZUBĀNĪ Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Mūsā b. Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Khurāsānī al-Baghdādī al-Kātib, was one of the most versatile and prolific of Arab scholars in the vast field of *adab* during the 4th/10th century.

1. Life. His wealthy and influential family resided in Khurāsān, and his father was deputy to the *ṣāḥib Khurāsān* at the caliphal court in Baghdād, where al-Marzubānī was born in Djumādā II 297/February-March 910 or in the year before. Here he devoted himself to the study of *ḥadīth* under the guidance of well-known traditionists such as Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baghawī. He studied *lugha* and *akhbār* with the most renowned scholars of his time, such as Ibn Durayd, Ibn al-Anbārī, Nifṭawayh and Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī. His house was situated in the ʿAmr al-Rūmī road in the eastern half of the city, not far from the Tigris, set in the midst of gardens, and was a centre for Baghdād's scholarly and literary circles. His *madjālis* frequently lasted several days and were accompanied by food and drink, and whoever felt inclined towards staying found accommodation in al-Marzubānī's hospitable house. According to his own report, he could accommodate up to fifty people. Echoes of these assemblies are found in literature, e.g. in the so-called *Amālī* of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) i.e. the *Ghurar al-fawāʾid wa-durar al-ḳalāʾid*, Cairo 1373/1954, index. The personality of this distinguished and generous man, who, as his works show, stood above the constant quarrels of the religio-political parties and trends, must have been extremely impressive. The powerful Būyid *amīr* ʿAḍūd al-Dawla (d. 372/983 in Baghdād) thought very highly of him. Whenever he was in town and riding past al-Marzubānī's residence, he would wait at the gate until the honoured *shaykh* had shown himself, so that the *amīr al-umarāʾ* was convinced of his well-being. Al-Marzubānī died at about 85 years old, according to our calendar, on Friday, 2 Shawwāl 384/9 November 994. At his burial on his estate, Abū Bakr al-Khʷārazmī (d. 403/1012), the *shaykh al-Ḥanafiyya*, led the funeral prayers.

It is striking that only a few of his pupils are named in the biographical literature, in particular, two Ḥanafī *ḳāḍīs*, a Rāfiḍī from Ḳum [*q.v.*] and a relater of *akhbār*. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]) refers to them in his *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 135 f., as well as to his own teacher al-Azharī (x, 385), a narrow-minded traditionalist. The latter accused the unorthodox and active scholar of being a drunkard, a Muʿtazilī, an untrustworthy relater and—according to others—a liar. The last accusation is corrected by al-Khaṭīb with the remark that he was not a liar, but that it was the *madhhab* and *riwāya* which he followed. Both seemed ambiguous to the average intellect. Someone who published the *akhbār* of Abū Ḥanīfa alongside the *akhbār* of the Muʿtazila, or who collected the Shīʿī *ashʿār* alongside the *shiʿr* of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, or who mingled the principle of *idjāza* with that of *samāʿ*, could not possibly pass the rigid criteria of form accepted by the guardians of tradition. Once these accusations, against a man who frequently moved in Shīʿī circles, had been taken up by the eloquent and influential Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]) (*Muntaẓam*, vii, 177) in Baghdād—at that time under the influence of Ḥanbalism—then a like judgement, more or less founded on prejudice, was decisive and emphatic. The reputation of the *ṣāḥib akhbār wa-riwāya li 'l-ādāb*, as al-Khaṭīb spoke of him, was thereby marred. The fact that al-Marzubānī's contemporaries valued his works more than those of al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*] or that his colleague in Baghdād, the well-known philologist Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987 [*q.v.*]) counted him, the younger of the two, amongst the *maḥāsin al-dunyā*, could not improve his impaired reputation. His admirable—and admired—monumental work was soon neglected and, later on, became almost completely obscured. This must have happened because it was not in agreement with the criteria of the customary forms of tradition and because people were prejudiced about the author.

Al-Marzubānī's contemporary and admirer, the renowned bookseller in Baghdād, Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990 [*q.v.*]), has listed more than fifty titles, along with the number of folios and often with a short summary of the contents in his *Fihrist*, 132 ff. (tr. Dodge, 289-95) of the year 377/987. The later bio-bibliographers like Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 50 ff., Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 182 ff., and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iv,

236 f., more or less took over this bibliography, counting altogether more than 45,000 folios. Only remnants of this tremendous work survive and these—with only one exception—are not even the original versions, but excerpts and adaptations. For this, the fault may well lie not only with the already-mentioned prejudices but also with the terrible floods which befell Baghdād a few years before the Mongol conquest of the city (656/1258).

2. Works. We know concerning al-Marzubānī's 18-volume collection of biographies of scholars, the *K. al-Muḳtabas fī akhbār al-nuḥāt wa 'l-udabā' wa 'l-shuʿarā' wa 'l-ʿulamā'*, that the autograph, consisting of over 3,000 folios, was kept in the library of the Niẓāmiyya Madrasa, situated on the east bank of the Tigris. During the opening years of the 7th/13th century, two excerpts were made of this single manuscript, namely a *muntakhab* in four volumes and a *mukhtār* in at least two volumes. In the middle of the same century, the *Muntakhab* was extracted into one volume, which has been preserved and bears the title *Nūr al-ḳabas al-mukhtaṣar min al-Muḳtabas* (= *Die Gelehrtenbiographien des Abū ʿUbaidallāh al-Marzubānī in der Rezension des Ḥāfiẓ al-Yaġmūrī*, ed. R. Sellheim, Teil I. Text, Wiesbaden-Beirut 1964 [Bibliotheca Islamica, 23a]). It contains 125—of about 150 in all—biographies, hence approximatively one-seventeenth of the original version. The other excerpt, the *Mukhtār*, of which only the first part has survived, has not as yet been published. The traditions in this volume which, as a rule, begin with an *isnād*, only partially correspond to those in the *Nūr al-ḳabas*. The compiler diverges considerably, in the sequence of the 33 biographies as well as in the transmission within the individual biographies, from those of the *Nūr al-ḳabas*.

(2) His *K. al-Muwashshaḥ fī ma'ākhidh al-ʿulamā' ʿalā 'l-shuʿarā'* consisted of 300 folios according to the bibliography of Ibn al-Nadīm. It exists in its complete form and in two editions: Cairo 1343/1924 and ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1965. In this delightful piece of *adab* writing, an anthology compiled under the aspect of erudite critical standards, the author refers to numerous oral and written sources. For details, see Munīr Sulṭān, *al-Marzubānī wa 'l-Muwashshaḥ*, Alexandria 1978, and Muḥammad ʿAlawī Muḳaddam in *Madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt wa-ʿulūm-i insānī*, Mashhad, xiii/1 = fasc. 49 (1356/1978), 1-34.

(3) His *K. al-Muʿdjam fī asmā' al-shuʿarā'* originally consisted of 1,000 folios with the famous verses of about 5,000 poets, arranged in alphabetical order. Only the second half has been preserved, and that moreover with numerous omissions and lacunae. It exists in two editions: ed. F. Krenkow, Cairo 1354/1935, repr. Beirut 1402/1982 and ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmed Farādj, Cairo 1379/1960; cf. Ibrāhīm al-Samarrā'ī, *Min al-dā'iʿ min Muʿdjam al-shuʿarā' li 'l-Marzubānī*, Beirut 1404/1984.

(4) His *K. Ashʿār al-nisā'* is supposed to have included 500 or 600 folios. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682 [*q.v.*]) still quoted from it in his *Khizānat al-adab*, i, 10, and iv, 565. In an old manuscript, 59 folios of the third part are preserved and contain *akhbār* and verses by almost 60 women, members of sixteen different ancient Arabian tribes. The fragment was published by Sāmī Makī al-ʿĀnī and Hilāl Nādjī, Baghdād 1396/1976.

(5) The *Akhbār al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī* (d. 179/795?; Sezgin, ii, 458 ff.) is not listed in al-Marzubānī's bibliography. This booklet, published in Nadjaf by Muḥammad Hādī al-Amīnī in 1385/1965, was probably just a fragment of al-Marzubānī's 6,000 or even 10,000-folio anthology, bearing the title *al-Mustanīr*, with accounts of the recent poets ranging from Bashshār b. Burd up to Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.vv.*]. Also, it could possibly be from his anthology of 5,000 folios called *al-Mufīd*, containing works of the lesser known poets of the Djāhiliyya and of Islam. The *K. al-Mufīd* was subdivided into several sections, e.g. sections on the one-eyed, the blind, etc., poets, and on Shīʿī, Khāridjī, Jewish, Christian, etc. poets. It also had a section on Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (see *Fihrist*, 132, tr. Dodge, 289 f.). Of course, al-Marzubānī also dealt with the above-named poet in his *Muʿdjam* (see above no. 3), but only briefly (the passage has not been preserved); furthermore, he is quoted with verses by al-Ḥimyarī by the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (see above) in his *Ṭayf al-khayāl*, Cairo 1381/1962, 104-7.

(6) *Akhbār shuʿarā' al-Shīʿa* is a short *talkhīṣ* made by Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1371/1951), ed. Muḥammad Hādī al-Amīnī, Nadjaf 1388/1968. It contains *akhbār* and verses by 27 Shīʿī poets, without however one single *isnād*. If this piece really does go back to al-Marzubānī, whose name is only on the title page, then it could be a fragmentary piece from al-Marzubānī's *al-Mufīd* (see no. 5).

(7) His *K. al-Riyāḍ* (or *al-Mutayyamīn*), consisting of 3,000 folios, is also about poets, viz. those enslaved by love. Quotations, though sparse, can be found in the genre of amatory literature, see L.A. Giffen, *Theory of profane love among the Arabs: the development of the genre*, New York 1971, 18 ff., and S. Leder, *Ibn al-Ǧauzī und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft*, diss. Frankfurt/Main 1982, Beirut 1983, index.

(8) His *K. Shiʿr Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya*, which Ibn Khallikān (tr. de Slane, iii, 67), impressed by the poetry, himself memorised, comprises three sheets, hence approximately 30 folios; cf. *Shiʿr Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān*, collected and edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Beirut 1982.

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AL-**MARZŪḲĪ**, ABŪ ʿALĪ AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN, philologist who acted as a tutor to certain of the Būyids of Iṣfahān and who died in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 421/December 1030. The vizier the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], whom he had antagonised by neglecting to rise on his entry, nevertheless recognised al-Marzūḳī's value, at the same time dubbing him (in Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xviii, 215) a weaver (*ḥā'ik*), probably without any pejorative intention, since it is possible that he worked at this trade in his youth. Apart from this, we have hardly any details about his life, and it is merely known that he studied the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh under the direction of al-Fārisī (d. 377/987 [*q.v.*]) and himself became a master to whom al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 159) gives the unexpected title of *imām*.

The Arab authors who devote a brief notice to him, Yāḳūt (*Udabā'*, v, 34-5) and al-Suyūṭī (*loc. cit.*), and also Brockelmann (S I, 502), enumerate a series of philological works (*Amālī*, *Gharīb al-Ḳur'ān*, *Alfāẓ al-shumūl wa 'l-ʿumūm*) and commentaries concerned mainly with such poetical anthologies as the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, the *Dīwān al-Hudhaliyyīn* and above all the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām whose introduction taken from ms. Köprülü 1308 has been commented upon by al-Ṭāhir Ibn ʿĀshūr, Tunis 1377/1958.

However, the sole work of al-Marzūḳī to have been published is his *Kitāb al-Azmina wa 'l-amākin*, printed at Hyderabad in 1332/1914. This is a work on the

anwā' [*q.v.*] and is characterised by the fact that the author adds to the traditional ideas gathered by the *ruwāt* in the Arabian peninsula and put in order by philologists of the Ibn Ķutayba type, more general concepts and ideas in which outside pieces of information, which are used to make instructive comparisons, are also taken into account.

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MASʿĀ [see SAʿY].

MASĀ'IL WA-ADJWIBA (A.), "questions and answers", a technique of argumentation in mediaeval Islam. The pattern of question (*su'āl*, pl. *su'ālāt*, *as'ila*) and answer (*djawāb*, pl. *djawābāt*, *adjwiba*) has strongly influenced, both in form and content, numerous Arabic writings in virtually all fields of knowledge. Unsolved problems, or questions and objections propounded by a third person, are followed by answers or explanations and refutations. Sometimes the author, at the request of a third person, composed a monograph on a group of themes, and even dedicated it to him. Besides, the pattern of questions and answers often became a literary topos: as a justification for his work, the author, in his introduction, advances the plea that he composed it because of solicitations and requests of another person (Freimark, 36 ff.). Finally, the pattern also turned into a technique of scientific research or presentation, without any dialogue between teacher and pupil or between two opponents. Ancient and Patristic-Byzantine literatures show parallels with these structures: cf. ἐρωτήσεις, ἀπορίαι, ζητήματα-ἀποχρίσεις, λύσεις, προβλήματα and the Byzantine ἐρωταποχρίσεις, in evidence since the 12th century A.D. The mediaeval *quaestiones et responsiones* also belong to this genre. Since the pattern may have sprung from motives which are inherent in the matter, external influence from similarly-structured works of Christian origin or from Aristotelian-Peripatetic methodology (cf. Aristoteles, *Metaphysics*, iii, 1; *Prior and posterior analytics*, *Topics*) can only be proved after study of each individual case.

The oldest Islamic questions-and-answer literature endeavours to solve philological and textual problems of the Ķur'ān text. Mention may here be made of the answers given by ʿUmar to questions about *ķirā'āt*, *iʿrāb*, *tanzīl* and meanings (*maʿānī*) of the Ķur'ān (Abbott, 110), and of the *Masā'il* (*su'ālāt*) of the Khāridjī leader Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraķ (d. 65/685) on 200 difficult words in the Ķur'ān, to which ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās answered with references to ancient Arabic poetry. This philological interest, especially present in the oldest Ķur'ān exegesis, increasingly made way for textual interpretation as a source of Islamic law and as a starting-point of Islamic theology. Thus there have come down to us *masā'il* collections of Mālik b. Anas and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.vv.*] containing answers to legal, dogmatic and ethical questions, transmitted and partly edited by their pupils. Probably the most important *masā'il* collection of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal comes from al-Khallāl (d. 311/923) and is called *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ li-ʿulūm* (or *al-Musnad min masā'il*) *Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*. Its aim to give answers on legal questions culminates in the development of the Islamic institution of the *futyā*, the act of giving a *fatwā* [*q.v.*]. This institution can be compared with Roman *jus respondendi*; as Goldziher has shown, it has influenced Jewish circles.

On the basis of Ķur'ānic texts, an apologetic literature was developed which tried to prove the superiority of Islam by means of the question-answer pattern. An example is the *Kitāb al-Masā'il* attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām (d. 43/663-4), a Jew from Medina, and probably composed by a Jewish renegade. It consists of a collection of questions put before the Prophet, at whose answers Ibn Salām is said to have been converted to Islam. The work is based on a scholastic principle which appears in an already developed stage in the disputation of Leontius of Byzantium (d. *ca.* 543) with the heretics. Reaching back to Aristotelian dialectics, this Aristotelian, influenced by Neo-Platonism, was familiar with the scholastic technique of question and refuting answer (cf. Grabmann, i, 104 ff., 107 f.). It is conceivable that Leontius' contest with the Nestorians, which was to be continued and which, more than 200 years later, reached a climax in John of Damascus and, after him, in Theodorus Abū Ķurra (cf. Griffith, *Controversial theology*, 33 ff.), favoured in Syrian circles the development of a similar scholastic technique. Through disputations and polemics between Christians and converts to Islam, this technique may have become known to Islamic circles and have been accepted as a stimulating example in the practice of Islamic disputation (cf. Cook, *Origins*). The pattern of question (in the form of a conditional clause) and refuting answer or argument (*ḥudjdja*) (often presented in the form of a main clause expressing an irrealis) is already found in al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya (d. *ca.* 100/718), *al-Risāla fī 'l-radd ʿala 'l-Ķadariyya* (ed. Van Ess, *Anfänge*). Further examples from the early Islamic period are the discussion between the caliph al-Mahdī and the patriarch Timothy I, which took place between 170/786-7 and 178/794-5 (see Putman, 191, etc.), and the *Kitāb al-Masā'il wa 'l-adjwiba* (ed. Hayek; cf. Griffith, *ʿAmmār*, 149 ff.), a defence of Christian doctrine against the Muʿtazila by the Christian apologist ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī (first half of the 3rd/9th century). The principle of thesis and antithesis used here follows the tradition of the Christian Aristotelians, and marked the apologetic literature of Christian converts to Islam. One may compare al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb (4th/10th century) in Ibn Taymiyya (*al-Djawāb*, ii, 318,6, 319 *in fine*, etc.). Moreover, the question-answer pattern is also found in the dogmatic literature of Islam, as well as in its learned literature in general.

At an early stage, debates with opponents from their own circles took the place of disputes with non-Islamic doctrines. One may quote the above-mentioned refutation of the Ķadariyya by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya; the debate on knowledge (*maʿrifa*) inside the Muʿtazila as related by al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9) in his *al-Masā'il wa 'l-djawābāt fī 'l-maʿrifa*; the discussion on the theodicy problem between al-Naẓẓām, ʿAlī al-Aswārī, Abu 'l-Hudhayl, Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir, al-Murdār, al-Ashadjdj, al-Iskāfī) and Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb (see Daiber, *Muʿammar*, 260 f.), noted down in a protocol by ʿAbd al-Ķāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī (*al-Farķ*, 198,15-200,17; shorter version in *al-Milal*, 136,11-138,3); and also the protocol of a discussion on the Ķur'an between the Ḥanbalī Ibn Ķudāma al-Maķdisī and an Ashʿarī opponent from Damascus (ms. Leiden Or. 2523), which took place between 589/1193 and 595/1199. This protocol, rewritten as an independent theological treatise (ms. Manisa 6584-5), clearly shows the traces of the traditional technique of debating by way of question and answer, as well as the *reductio ad absurdum*. An example from the fields of philosophy and cosmology is the collection of question and answers of al-Ghazālī, inspired by his *Maķāṣid al-falāsifa* and preserved in Hebrew (ed. Malter). The disputes (*munāẓarāt*), held and afterwards written down by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, have a

theological-philosophical and juridical character. For an example of the discussion on grammar in the 5th/11th century, see Samir.

The Islamic technique of disputation is directly linked to the questions discussed (cf. Van Ess, *Beginnings*) and in particular cases, Christian peripatetical examples of perhaps Syriac origin may have been followed (cf. Cook, *Origins*). Like Judaeo-Christian Hellenism (see Van Ess, *Disputationspraxis*, 54 ff.), Islam in the sphere of disputation developed a technique which became more and more the pattern of scientific treatises. In Ibāḍī circles [see IBĀḌIYYA] in the Maghrib, there was even compiled a handbook of theological disputation, the *Kitāb al-Djahālāt*, whose actual form (*terminus ante quem* 5th/11th century) certainly contains older material (Van Ess, *Untersuchungen*, 43 ff.). The question-answer pattern has become here a didactic principle, used to prepare future missionaries for their task. Later, this technique was elaborated in the so-called *djadal* literature, developed under the influence of the *Organon* of Aristotle, and intended to teach Islamic theologians as well as jurists the art of dialectic discussion. One may compare the Ḥanbalīs Ibn ʿAḳīl (see G. Makdisi, *Scholastic method*, 650 ff.; idem, *Dialectic*) or Ibn Surūr al-Maḳdisī, whose *Kitāb al-Djadal* (composed *ca.* 630/1232) has survived in manuscript (ms. Berlin 5319, fols. 17a-32). Makdisi has drawn attention to the resemblance between Ibn ʿAḳīl and the *sic et non* method used by Peter Abelard (*Scholastic method*, 648 f., 657 ff.; revised in *Rise*, 253 ff.). It remains to be proved in detail whether the method of Abelard (see for this, Grabmann, ii, 200 ff.) and his predecessors offers more than "mere parallels", and whether its origin is due to Arabic models (Makdisi).

In medical literature, the question-answer pattern served an exclusively didactic purpose, namely the transmission of specific knowledge. The *al-Masāʾil al-ṭibbiyya*, or *al-Masāʾil fi 'l-ṭibb*, of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], preserved also in Syriac and Latin, which summarises in catechetical form the most important medical knowledge (see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 117 f.; idem, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 458), became widely spread. Medical works of Galen and Hippocrates were summarised in the same way by Ḥunayn (see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 117, 206). For other medical handbooks in the question-answer pattern, see *ibid.*, 110, 166, 209, etc. From the fields of philosophy, physics and logic, mention may be made of the *Masāʾil mutafarriḳa* of al-Fārābī, and of the anonymous Syriac collection of definitions (ed. Furlani). From such didactical question-answer books it is only one step to the *ḥudūd* (definition) literature [*q.v.*] which could fall back on classical models (see Fuhrmann, part ii). Examples are al-Kindī's *Kitāb Ḥudūd al-ashyāʾ wa-rusūmihā*, and Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd*. Like in Syriac (cf. Baumstark, 131 ff.; Daiber, *Bar Zoʿbī*), traditions of Greco-Hellenistic dihairesis literature may have been of influence here.

To the list of the above-mentioned works, which might be divided into question-answer literature of "dialectical" and "didactical" character, should certainly be added the Greco-Arabic tradition of the *Problemata physica* (*al-Masāʾil al-ṭabīʿiyya*). The *Problemata physica* study the reasons and causes (διὰ τί) of phenomena in nature, and often use the following paradox: "Why does phenomenon X have the effect Y, but does phenomenon Xa not have the effect Ya"? The very complex history of the tradition of the Greek texts (see Flashar, 297 ff.) is reflected in the Arabic material (see, for the time being, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 92-6; idem, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 458; Daiber, in *Gnomon*, xlii [1970], 545 f.; Sezgin, iii, 50; vii, 216; on further mss., see Daiber, *Graeco-Arabica and Philosophica in Indian libraries*, forthcoming). Numerous Arabic collections of the *Problemata*, ascribed to Aristotle, are closely related to the *Problemata inedita*, ascribed to Alexander of Aphrodisias, while others appear to be extracts from the *Problemata physica*, ascribed to Aristotle (cf. e.g. Book x in ms. 2234 of Tehran University, and see for this R. Kruk). The only, almost complete, manuscript of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's Arabic translation in 17 *maḳālāt* (mentioned also by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.v.*] in his *History of physicians*), is ms. Manisa 1790/3; an edition of the Arabic text, with its translation in Hebrew, is in preparation. The Arabic text goes back to a Greek original, which was definitely more complete than the Greek text known so far. Moreover, Syriac (Job of Edessa, 769-835 A.D.) and Arabic (Balīnās, at the turn of the 8th century A.D.) traditions seem to have utilised collections of the *Problemata* of Greek origin, which have not been preserved (cf. Weisser, 55 ff., 210, 215). For other collections of the *Problemata*, which have not been identified so far, and which, in the Arabic texts, are ascribed to Theophrastus, Proclus and Galen, see Ullmann, *op. cit.* The *Problemata physica* are often quoted and commented upon in Arabic: Rhazes, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (*Maḳālatāni fi 'l-hawāss wa 'l-masāʾil al-ṭabīʿiyya*, Kuwait 1972), Ibn al-Haytham, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and ʿĪsā b. Māssa. To this can be added the adaptations of two different collections of *Problemata* by Abu 'l-Faradj b. al-Ṭayyib in ms. Nuruosmaniye 3610 (new number 3095), written before 1076/1665: fols. 1b-21b (Alexander of Aphrodisias) and fols. 22a-33b (Aristotle). Moreover, there is the short extract (starting with Aristotle. *Problemata physica*, ii, 3) in ms. Princeton 2988 by Sulaymān b. Aḥmad, not further known.

Not related to the *Problemata physica* is the *Risāla fi 'l-asʾila al-ṭabīʿiyya* (ms. Washington, Army Medical Library A 82), a question-answer discussion, possibly fictitious, between al-Ḥārith b. Kalada [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (an older contemporary of the Prophet) and the Sāsānid ruler Kisrā Anūshirwān on practical questions of human health. This *Risāla* has become known (Sezgin, iii, 203) and published (by al-ʿAzzāwī) under the title *al-Muḥāwarāt fi 'l-ṭibb baynahu wa-bayna Nūshirwān*. The text is one of the numerous examples in which the question-answer pattern serves only to transmit knowledge, and thus has a didactic purpose. The master, the scholar, answers questions of a pupil, someone who tries to find information, but whose name is often not mentioned. This transmission of knowledge occasionally takes the form of learned correspondence. Thus the Christian Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 974 A.D.) answers fourteen questions on logic, physics and metaphysics asked by Ibn Abī Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Mawṣilī (see Endress, 97 f.); the Būyid vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 360/970) informs ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], at the latter's request, on all sorts of questions on natural science in letters, preserved in manuscript (ʿIrāḳ Museum, Baghdād 594; a different text in ms. Leiden Or. 184) (see Daiber, *Briefe*); Ibn Yaʿīsh (d. 643/1245) answers grammatical questions put before him by a group of scholars from Damascus (ed. R. Sellheim). A famous example is the change of ideas between Frederick II of Hohenstaufen and the Orient. In his *Adjwiba ʿan al-asʾila al-ṣaḳaliyya* (cf. Kattoura 42 f.; al-Taftāzānī, 108 ff., 178 ff.), the Spanish mystic and philosopher Ibn Sabʿīn, between 1237 and 1242 A.D., informs Frederick II about the problems of the eternity of the world, the essence of theology (ed. Yaltkaya, 24-26;

tr. M. Grignaschi), and the categories, the soul and the difference, in this subject, between Aristotle and his commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias. In his *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī-mā tudrikuhu al-abṣār*, preserved in manuscript (Brockelmann, i, 385), the Egyptian scholar al-Ḳarāfī reports on physico-astronomical and physiological-optical questions which Frederick II put before the Arab scientist Kamāl al-Dīn b. Yūnus (tr. Wiedemann). The texts mentioned show the extent of the scientific relations of Frederick II with the Orient (see also Suter).

Occasionally, reciprocal criticism went hand in hand with the exchange of ideas between scholars. We may mention the *Asʾila waʾl-adjwiba* between al-Bīrūnī, Ibn Sīnā and the latter's pupil Abū Saʿīd al-Maʿṣūmī on questions about Aristotle's *De caelo* and about physics, or the answers of Ibn Sīnā to al-Bīrūnī's questions on metaphysics (ed. Ülken, *Ibn Sina risaleleri*, ii, 2-9; ed. M. Türker, in *Beyruni'ye armağan*, Ankara 1974, 103-12). Other correspondents of Ibn Sīnā (ed. Ülken, *op. cit.*, and ed. al-Kurdī, *Djāmiʿ al-badāʾiʿ*, 152 ff.) were Abu 'l-Faradj b. al-Ṭayyib, Abū Saʿīd b. Abī 'l-Khayr, Abū ʿUbayd al-Djūzdjānī, ʿAlāʾ 'l-Dawla b. Kākawayh, Abū Ṭāhir b. Ḥassūl, Miskawayh (*Masāʾil ʿan aḥwāl al-rūḥ*; cf. Michot) and Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Sahlī; also Ibn Zaylā [*q.v.*] and his *Madjālis al-sabʿa bayn al-shaykh wa 'l-ʿĀmirī*, preserved in manuscript (Rağip Paşa 1461, fols. 150a-162b).

Finally, from the fields of metaphysics and mysticism we may mention the correspondence between ʿUmar Khayyām and Ibn Sīnā's pupil Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Nasawī (ed. Nadwī, 375 ff. = ed. al-Kurdī, 165 ff.), and the exchange of letters between ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī (al-Kāshī) and Simnānī (8th/14th century) on the unity of being (see Landolt). In some cases there were also personal attacks during the learned arguments, as is clear from a polemic altercation in the 5th/11th century between Ibn Buṭlān and Ibn Riḍwān on medical and philosophical questions.

The examples given above and taken from Arabic literature show the overall importance of the dialogue. In the search for truth and its causes, the striving for knowledge (*ʿilm*) found expression in the question-answer literature, in which the didactic element often appears consciously linked to the dialectic one which tried to persuade and refute. The technique of the *reductio ad absurdum* was developed and afterwards refined under the influence of the methods of Aristotelian logic. The result was often a quasi-logical reasoning, consisting in an attempt to show the incompatibility of certain theses by proving the untenability of their conclusions (cf. Perelman/Olbrechts-Tyteca, § 45 ff., 48). This type of reasoning became a standard pattern of learned Arabic literature. In this connection, it is important to note that dialogue and discussion in different cultures have led to similar techniques. This does not however, exclude the possibility that questioning and answering in Islam were stimulated by Hellenism and by Christian, and to a lesser extent Jewish, converts and opponents.

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AL-MASĀLIK WA 'L-MAMĀLIK (A.) "routes and kingdoms", name given by R. Blachère (*Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Age*, Beirut-Algiers 1934, 110-200; 2nd corrected printing by H. Darmaun, Paris 1957) to what he considered as a particular genre of Arabic geographical literature, because several works, which bear the title of *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, present common characteristics. Nevertheless, not all those which, in his eyes, constitute this genre were given the title which has been retained, and furthermore, the *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* which is perhaps the oldest, that of Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. between 272 and 300/885 and 912), does not form part of the genre, for we may see it simply as a manual for the use of the secretaries of the administration. Blachère thus places under this rubric the *K. al-Buldān* of al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. after 278/891), then as a group, the *K. Ṣuwar al-arḍ* of al-Balkhī (d. 322/934), the *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. after 340/951) and the *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ* of Ibn Ḥawḳal (d. after 367/977), the *K. Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm* of al-Muḳaddasī (d. after 378/988), the *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) and finally the *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* of al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1166), an expanded version of which, the *Rawḍ al-uns* or *K. al-Masālik* [*wa 'l-mamālik*], does not seem to have come to light. A. Miquel, who often cites the *masālik wa 'l-masālik* (in *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, i, Paris 1967, 2nd ed. 1973, index), devotes to this genre a fairly long chapter (267-330) which he entitles the "advent of genuine human geography" and in which he studies separately the works of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, adds to Blachère's list the *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of al-Muhallabī (d. 380/990) and simply mentions al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī who (269, n. 1) "hardly do anything more than complete the data of the *masālik* works for Spain and the Maghrib".

Leaving aside the two latter ones cited, all the authors illustrative of the genre isolated by Blachère are easterners living at the end of the 3rd/9th century or in the 4th/10th one, i.e. in a period when the Shīʿī movement began to enjoy some remarkable successes. As against the geographers who preceded them, they were for the most part travellers who, to the data already taken traditionally by their predecessors from treatises of cosmography and geography based directly or indirectly on Greek science and particularly on Ptolemy [see BAṬLAMIYŪS], and to the information relating to the routes, distant lands and peoples who inhabit them that they could derive from

various written or oral sources, now added first-hand documentation gathered in the regions that they describe. In this regard, a passage of the *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ* of Ibn Ḥawḳal is very revealing, for it presents a totally characteristic lay-out (see Blachère, *Extraits*, 110-1; Ar. text in the 2nd ed. of the *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 329, and Fr. tr. Kramers-Wiet, almost identical to that of Blachère, i, pp. IX-X and ii, 321-2).

Regarding the form given to these works, these authors (with the exception of al-Idrīsī) do not follow the division of the world into climates [see IḲLĪM], but distinguish large regions, roughly corresponding to the *mamālik* [see MAMLAKA], within which they describe the routes that they traverse, their localities and the men who live there. "The authors of whom we are about to speak", writes Blachère (*Extraits*, 115), "are concerned purely with description. All their attention is directed to the recording of the general features of a country, assessing how the details relating to each place, in the past, bear on their present life. All this is no doubt written down in a generally monotonous style". However, this genre assumes a literary aspect which contrasts with the dryness of the administrative manuals, without giving as important a place to *adab* as do a Djāḥiẓ or an Ibn al-Faḳīh, just as it avoids the fables and marvellous accounts of certain other travellers who had the opportunity to go beyond the borders of the Islamic empire. Nevertheless, the eastern authors of the group do not know the Christian world and even have a poor acquaintance with the Muslim West, with the exception of Ibn Ḥawḳal whose work constitutes, on certain points, a unique historical source, for his chapters on the Maghrib, Spain and Sicily can be regarded as original. Generally, history in these works occupies a place which is not negligible, but it is doubtless the sedentary al-Bakrī who supplies in this regard the most information, while al-Idrīsī, who questioned, at the court of the Normans of Sicily, some travellers and Christian pilgrims, is quite well-informed on the routes, towns and states of Europe, not to mention the fact that he himself navigated the length of the coasts.

It was with a purely didactic purpose that Blachère marked out from the rest of the geographical literature the genre of the *masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, whose limits are far from being settled. In fact, even if the adoption of the title in question by a certain number of Arab authors of the Middle Ages has not failed to be noted by the historians of literature, other classifications can be proposed. For example, in his article DJUGHRĀFIYĀ of the Suppl. of the *EI*[1], although dating from 1936, J. H. Kramers puts into the same "literary group" Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Sarakhsī, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ibn Rusta, Ḳudāma, al-Djāḥiẓ and al-Djayhānī, and treats separately the school of al-Balkhī. As for S. Maqbul Ahmad, who was entrusted with the same article DJUGHRĀFIYĀ in the *EI*[2], he also alludes (ii, 579a) to the works which have received "the generic title of *al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*", but he divides the geographical literature of the 3rd and 4th/9th-10th centuries into two large categories, comprising firstly (described as the ʿIrāḳī school) Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ḳudāma, Ibn Rusta, al-Masʿūdī and al-Djayhānī, and secondly (the school of al-Balkhī) al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī. Despite a certain convergence, the classifications, as we see, are appreciably different and invite us to proceed with some caution in handling the concept of *masālik wa 'l-mamālik*.

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MASĀMIʿA, members of a Baṣran family of the tribe of Shaybān of the confederacy of Bakr b. Wāʾil, prominent in the Umayyad period. They traced their ancestry to Djaḥdar b. Ḍubayʿa, a participant in the war of Basūs [*q.v.*] (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, i, table 155; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, i, 252 ff.; *Aghānī*[3], v, 43 f., 48 ff, 55). But apart from the report that Mismaʿ b. Shihāb died as an apostate from Islam in eastern Arabia (according to the poetry cited by al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 84; differently al-Ṭabarī, i, 1971), little is heard of them until they settled in Baṣra in the wake of the conquests. Here they joined the ranks of the tribal chiefs (*ashrāf, ruʾūs al-ḳabāʾil*) around whom Sufyānid politics revolved. They were one of the four families on which the Baṣrans prided themselves (see Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān*, 170, tr. H. Massé, Damascus 1973, 207-8; Pellat, *Milieu*, 33 and index).

Mālik b. Mismaʿ, the most famous member of the family, fought for ʿĀʾisha at the battle of the Camel (allegedly already then as commander of the Bakr b. Wāʾil) and threw in his lot with the Umayyads thereafter (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3179, 3220 f.; ii, 765 f.). In the civil war which broke out at the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, he negotiated the alliance (*ḥilf* [*q.v.*]) between the Bakr b. Wāʾil and Azd in Baṣra and played a major role in the subsequent feud between these two tribes and the Tamīm (64/683-4), emerging as the undisputed leader of the Bakr b. Wāʾil, whom he later conducted in battle against al-Mukhtār in 67/686-7 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 448 ff., 720, 726; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 105 ff.; v, 253, 259). Having joined the pro-Umayyad Djufriyya, a group of Baṣrans who unsuccessfully tried to oust Muṣʿab from Baṣra in 69/688-9 or 70/689-90 (not 71/690-1, as stated by Caskel, *Ğamhara*, ii, s.v. "Mālik b. Mismaʿ" and Crone, *Slaves on horses*, Cambridge 1980 117; cf. Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 190; al-Masʿūdī, ed. Pellat, Arabic index, s.v.), he fled to the Yamāma, but returned on ʿAbd al-Mālik's reconquest of ʿIrāḳ in 72/691. He died shortly thereafter (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 799 ff.; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 156 ff., 160 ff., 165; Pellat, *Milieu*, 270)). His brothers Muḳātil b. Mismaʿ and ʿĀmir b. Mismaʿ were also men of some prominence (for references, see Crone, *loc. cit.*).

Under the Marwānids, the family retained its leadership of the Bakr b. Wāʾil and, on the whole, its Umayyad sympathies. Thus Nūḥ b. Shaybān b. Mālik b. Mismaʿ commanded the *khums* of Bakr b. Wāʾil against the Muhallabids in Baṣra in 101/720 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1380), while other members of the family were at various times governors of Fasā and Darābdjird, Sīstān and Sind (Crone, *op. cit.*, 117 f.). But they played no role in the third civil war or the ʿAbbāsid revolution.

In the caliphate of al-Mahdī, ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Shihāb al-Mismaʿī commanded a naval expedition to Sind and acted as deputy governor there for a short while (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 460 f., 476 f., 491). Yet, unlike the Muhallabids or the Ḳutaybids, also Baṣran families of major importance in the Umayyad period, the Masāmiʿa failed to effect a political comeback under the ʿAbbāsids.

Bibliography: Practically all chronicles dealing with the Umayyad period have something to say about the Masāmiʿa. The most important references are given in the article, to which however should be added Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, ed. Hārūn, 320-1. (P. CRONE)

MAṢĀMIDA [see MAṢMŪDA].

MĀSARDJAWAYH (in Persian Māsargōye), sometimes called Māsardjīs, is one of the few physi-

cians from the Umayyad period who are known by name, and probably the first to translate a medical book into Arabic.

So far, endeavours to identify and date him have been unsuccessful. He is said to have been of Judaeo-Persian origin and to have lived in Baṣra. Occasionally he is indicated as a Syrian (*suryānī*), which is probably to be explained by the translation which he allegedly made from Syriac into Arabic of the *Kunnāsh* (πανδέχτης) of Ahrun [*q.v.* in Suppl.], translated into Syriac by a certain Gōsiōs. According to Ibn Djuldjul [*q.v.*], this was done under the caliphs Marwān (64-5/684-5) or ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. Marwān (99-101/717-20). The latter is said to have drawn the *Kunnāsh* out of the oblivion of his library and to have taken care that the translation became widely known. According to other authors, Māsardjawayh met Abū Nuwās, and so must have lived at the end of the 2nd/8th or the beginning of the 3rd/9th centuries. Totally mistaken are two places in Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī, mentioned here only for completeness's sake. This author dates him back to Greek Antiquity, see *The Muntakhab Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah of... as-Sijistānī*, ed. D. M. Dunlop, The Hague, etc. 1979; on p. 20, l. 341, Māsardjawayh appears amidst the pupils of Hippocrates; and on p. 88, ll. 1860-3, he is ranged after Aesopus and Theophrastes and before the sophist Mūrūn (?) and Brasidas.

Two of the works ascribed to Māsardjawayh have not come down to us: one about the benefit and harm of the potency of food-stuffs (*Kitāb Ḳuwā 'l-aṭᶜima wa-manāfiᶜihā wa-maḍārrihā*), the other about the benefit and harm of the potency of medicinal drugs (*Kitāb Ḳuwā 'l-ᶜaḳāḳīr wa-manāfiᶜihā wa-maḍārrihā*). On the other hand, a treatise on substitute drugs has been preserved: *Fī Abdāl al-adwiya wa-mā yaḳūm maḳām ghayrihi minhā*, see H. Ritter and R. Walzer in *SB Pr. Ak. W.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1934), 831; Eng. tr. M. Levey, ***Substitute drugs in early Arabic medicine, with special reference to the texts of Māsarjawaih, al-Rāzī, and Pythagoras***, Stuttgart 1971, 35-45. This short treatise has great similarity with the corresponding works of Galen and Paulus Aiginetes. It shows also that, during this early stage of translating activity, botanical nomenclature was already highly developed. In medical literature, Māsardjawayh is often quoted, especially in al-Rāzī's *Ḥāwī*, who calls him either Māsardjawayh or, more often, al-Yahūdī. The quotations have been put together by Ullmann, *Medizin*, 24, to which may be added Ibn al-ᶜAwwām, *Filāḥa*, tr. Clément-Mullet, ii/1, 88; the two quotations from Ibn Ḳutayba, *ᶜUyūn*, Cairo 1343-9/1925-30, ii, 102,4-103,3 and 108,3-5, have been translated by E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim-New York 1970, ii, 168 f. and 172 (the last quotation contains a remarkable observation about the beneficial effect of green colour on the eyes). These fragments still need careful analysis in order to answer the question whether the term "the Jew" indeed always indicates Māsardjawayh. For Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa, i, 163, 24 f. this question is settled in the affirmative.

A son of Māsardjawayh, ᶜĪsā b. Māsardjīs, who, according to his name, was probably converted to Christianity, also followed the medical profession, and is said to have composed writings on colours (*K. al-Alwān*), smells and tastes (*K. al-Rawāʾiḥ wa 'l-ṭuᶜūm*), see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 297, 17-8; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 247, 4-6; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa, i, 204, 9-10.

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MAṢAWWAᶜ Ar. form, also Muṣawwaᶜ; in Ethiopic, Meṣwāᶜ, Meṭwāᶜ, in Tigre and Tigriñña, Bāṣeᶜ, in Bedja, Bāḍeᶜ = Ar. Bāṣiᶜ/Bāḍiᶜ (see al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, vi, 184 *s.v.*, but also S. Tedeschi (*Bibl.*), an island and port in Eritrea [*q.v.*] on the Red Sea, at 15° 38' N. and 39° 28' E., opposite the Dahlak [*q.v.*] archipelago. The islands of Masawwaᶜ, the site of the deep-water harbour, and Tawlūd are linked to each other and to Arkiko on the mainland (for this name, see Basset, *Histoire*, i, 128-9; Crawford, *The Fung kingdom*, 127) by causeways. From the north, the roadsteads are protected by the Djarār and ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir peninsulas. With a recorded annual average temperature of 31° C., the port is among the world's hottest places, the annual rainfall being only 7 inches.

According to popular etymology, the name is derived from Ethiopic *mĕṣŭwāᶜ* "cry, loud call". A fisherman from Dahlak, driven by a storm to the then inhabited island, is said to have related that its size was such that a man, shouting in a high voice (*ṣawᶜ*), could make himself heard from one end to the other (Conti Rossini, *Il Gadla Filpos*, 162). According to another version (Conti Rossini, *Documenti*, 16; cf. Esteves Pereira, *Historia de Minas*, 62), Ethiopian caravan leaders, arriving at Djarār, had to cry aloud for the barks of the island to come and fetch them. The island is in fact one km. long and *ca.* 250 m. wide.

The Masawwaᶜ region, known as Samhar, may have been visited as early as the third millennium B.C. when Egyptian ships sailed down the Red Sea. It became better known in history when the Greek Ptolemies developed a series of stations along the African coast [see BADW, i, 887a]. The region, but not the actual port, is mentioned in the famous inscription carved in the port of Adulis about 240 B.C. at the time of Ptolemy III Energetes (246-221 B.C.), and copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes who visited the area about 525 A.D. (Mc Crindle, *The Christian topography*, 57). Artemidoros of Ephesus (*ca.* 100 B.C.), whose work is known through extracts by Strabo (*ca.* 20 B.C.), mentions on this coast the port of Sabā, identified with Djarār by Conti Rossini (*Storia*, 60, 103; *Comenti e notizie*, 17). In connection with Adulis, now Zula, the region is also mentioned in the well-known *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (tr. Schoff, 22-3, cf. 60). This Aksumite port in the gulf of the same name must have ceased to function somewhere about the middle of the first millennium A.D. (Kammerer, *Essai*, ch. 5), and its rôle may then have been taken over gradually by Masawwaᶜ, lying about 30 miles to the north.

In early Islam, Maṣawwaᶜ is mentioned as a place of exile and thus considered by Conti Rossini (*Storia*, 212) as being in Muslim hands. Because of his love of wine, the Arab poet Abū Miḥdjān [*q.v.*] was banished by ᶜUmar to Bāṣiᶜ in 14/634 (Caetani, *Annali*, v, 224 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 40, S I, 701; Conti Rossini, *Storia*, 212). At the death of Marwān, the last Umayyad caliph, his son ᶜAbd Allāh, on his flight to Djudda, arrived at Bāḍiᶜ (al-Masᶜūdī, *Tanbīh*, 330).

According to al-Masᶜūdī, who wrote in the 4th/10th century, the coastal plains, and consequently Maṣawwaᶜ, were tributary to Ethiopia, and Bāḍiᶜ lay on the littoral of *al-maᶜādin*, "the mines", the territory of the Bedja [*q.v.*]. If by this term the hinterland of Masawwaᶜ is meant (Bāḍiᶜ is not to be identified with Badi or Airi island lying further north, see Crowfoot, *Some Red Sea ports*), al-Masᶜūdī indicates that the Bedja were working the Eritrean gold mines (Conti Rossini, *Storia*, 278) and that the port played a rôle in the gold traffic.

During the 6th-8th/12th-14th centuries, Maṣawwaᶜ was under the sovereignty of the *amīr* of Dahlak, who called himself *sulṭān*. The Ethiopians, however, as in the time when the *amīr* depended on Aksum, continued to indicate him as *sěyuma baḥr* "prefect of the sea", in opposition to the *baḥr nagāš* "ruler of the sea [-province]", who resided at Debārwā (Debaroa). Relations between Ethiopia and the *nāʾib* of the *amīr* at Maṣawwaᶜ must have been uneasy, at least occasionally, as may be concluded from the capture of the port by Isaac, son of Negus Dawit I (1381- *ca.* 1410). In the 10th/16th century still, the sovereignty of Maṣawwaᶜ was linked to that of Dahlak (de Barros, *Decada*, ii, 1. viii, ch. 1; Basset, *Inscriptions*; Esteves Pereira, *Os Portugueses*) The *(Is) di mas(ua)* on Fra Mauro's map is perhaps identical with Maṣawwaᶜ (Kammerer, *La Mer Rouge*, iii/3, 20). An impression of the commercial activity in this and other ports on both sides of the Red Sea in the early 16th century can be gained from Ludovico di Varthema (*Travels*, 31, 37-8). Andrea Corsali (*Historiale description*, 32-3), Tomé Pires (*Suma oriental*, 43) and Duarte Barbosa (*The Book*, 16). According to the author of the *Cartas das novas* (Thomas, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, 67), there was a large number of boats at anchor at Maṣawwaᶜ, including two from Gudjarāt, when he arrived there in 1521. Soon, however, foreign trade in the Horn of Africa was to suffer severely from the Portuguese interference with local commerce. The discovery and development of the trade route round Cape of Good Hope, Aḥmad Grāñ's invasion of the highlands [see ḤABASH, ḤABASHA] and the emergence of Turkish influence in the Red Sea caused the decline of Maṣawwaᶜ, which remained however the main port of Ethiopia.

When a Portuguese exploratory mission landed in Maṣawwaᶜ in 1520, the town was completely Muslim. According to Alvarez (Beckingham-Huntingford, *The Prester John*, i, 58), the Portuguese transformed the mosque into a church, but did not occupy the port, although the Ethiopian king Lebna Dengel strongly wished them to build a fortress there (*ibid.*, ii, 479 ff.). The information of the "Zorzi Itineraries" (Crawford, *Ethiopian itineraries*, 90, 159), according to which king David (= Lebna Dengel) gave the port to the Portuguese, may refer to the mission of 1520, to some earlier expedition, to negotiations, or to mere rumour.

With the disembarkation of Cristovão da Gama in 1541 [see ḤABASH], Maṣawwaᶜ began its rôle as entrance-gate into Ethiopia for Western missionaries and travellers, even after Özdemir Pasha [*q.v.*] had conquered the port and Arkiko in 1557, which then became one of the *sandjaks* of the Ottoman province of Ḥabesh ([*q.v.*], and also Orhonlu, *Habeş eyaleti*, 33 ff.). The difficulties between Turks and Western missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, are described in the former's correspondence (Beccari, *Rerum*; Lobo, *A voyage*, 140 ff.; Aren, *Evangelical pioneers*; M. Kropp, in *Oriens Christianus*, lxvi [1982], 247). Turkish relations with Ethiopia, hostile at first, remained uneasy later on. After the combined forces of the Ottomans and *baḥr nagāš* Yisḥāk had been defeated in 1578 by the Ethiopian king Sarṣa Dengel (Conti Rossini, *La guerra*), Maṣawwaᶜ and Arkiko remained in Turkish hands, but Turkish power declined rapidly. A pasha was first established in Dahlak, and later in Maṣawwaᶜ, but actual power was soon left to a local Balaw chieftain from a Bedja family of the Samhar region, who acted as *nāʾib* (see Bombaci, *Notizie*, 79-86; idem, *Il viaggio*, 259-75) or deputy of the Turkish pasha, who had taken up residence in Suʾākin [*q.v.*]. After the expulsion of the Roman Catholic missionaires from Ethiopia in 1633, King Fāsiladas made an agreement with the pasha that the latter should execute all priests who might try to enter Ethiopia. The situation at Maṣawwaᶜ in 1634 is described by Barradas (Beccari, *Rerum*, i, 295-302). The Turkish presence in the port, and especially the extortions by the *nāʾib*, remained a source of irritation to the Ethiopian kings (al-Ḥaymī, *Sīrat al-Ḥabasha*; Van Donzel, *Foreign relations*, index *s.vv.* Turks, Massawa), the more so because imports and exports were not unimportant (Van Donzel, *op. cit.*, Appendix iv; Bruce, *Travels*, iii, 54; Beccari, *Rerum*, index *s.v.* Maçua). In 1693 the *nāʾib* Mūsā b. ᶜUmar b. ᶜĀmir b. Kunnu tried to use extortion against the Armenian merchant Khōdja Murād, who had returned from the Dutch East Indies with gifts for the Ethiopian king. When Murād refused to pay, his goods were confiscated. King Iyāsu I ordered the delivery of foodstuffs to Maṣawwaᶜ to be suspended, and started preparations to attack the *nāʾib*, who then submitted (Van Donzel, *op. cit.*, 83). According to the French traveller Charles Jacques Poncet (*ca.* 1700, see Foster, *The Red Sea*, 154), the fortress in Maṣawwaᶜ was not very strong, and the arrival of an English vessel "cast terror into the whole island". On learning of the arrival of this ship at Maṣawwaᶜ, the Ethiopian monks made a disturbance before the palace in Gondar, probably fearing a punitive expedition from what they thought to be Portuguese. Poncet also relates that the Pasha received him with great civility, at the recommendation of the emperor of Ethiopia, who was greatly afraid because he could easily starve the port or refuse to furnish it with water. The inhabitants of the island were obliged to fetch it from Arkiko on the mainland (Foster, *op. et loc. cit.* On the cisterns on the island, according to local tradition built by the "Furs", see Conti Rossini, *Storia*, 295-6; Puglisi, *Alcuni vestigi*, 35-47). Although claiming power over the port, the Ethiopian kings were never in fact master over it, as is also clear from the *Annals* of King Iyāsu II (1730-55) (see Guidi, *Annales Iyāsu II*, 127-30, 143-7, 155). Power remained in the hand of the *nāʾib*. When Bruce arrived in Maṣawwaᶜ in 1768, the Porte had annexed the government of the port to the pasha of Djudda, but the *nāʾib* did not pay tribute either to him or to the Ethiopian king (Bruce, *Travels*, iii, 5-6). The number of Banians or Indian merchants, in whose hands trade had formerly been (Van Donzel, *Foreign relations*, index *s.v.*), was reduced to six, who made but a poor livelihood (Bruce, *Travels*, iii, 55).

In the first decades of the 19th century, the *nāʾib* still exercised some power. According to Salt (*A voyage*, 138, 147), the *nāʾib* Idrīs tried to prevent the English from opening a communication with Ethiopia, but came then under pressure from both the Sharīf of Mecca on the one side and from Ras Wolde Sellāsie of Tigre on the other. Salt was told by the Ras that the road by Bure, south of Amphila Bay (see the map in Salt, *A voyage*, opp. p. 137), was preferable to the route by Maṣawwaᶜ, but Nathaniel Pearce wrote to him that the only road into Ethiopia was by

Maṣawwaʿ (*ibid.*, 152). He added that the *nāʾib* would not allow guns to pass through his country. In 1844, almost three centuries after their first attempt, the Turks tried again to get a foothold on the mainland by occupying Arkiko. But again they were forced back on to Maṣawwaʿ, which in 1846 was leased to Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], and now became an important element in Egyptian, British, Italian and Ethiopian policies. The lease, having expired at the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1849, was renewed in 1865 in favour of Ismāʿīl Pasha [*q.v.*]. Egyptian rule was welcomed by the local nomads who, during the anarchy of the last years of king Tēwodros of Ethiopia, had been suffering from the hill tribes. Soon some of the latter too began to seek Egyptian protection. In 1872 the Swiss Werner Münzinger, consul of France in Maṣawwaʿ since 1865, resigned from his post and entered the service of the Egyptians. Having allegedly paid £ 1,000,000 to the Porte, Ismāʿīl Pasha created the so-called Eastern Sudan, i.e. Taka, Suʾākin and Maṣawwaʿ, and appointed Münzinger as governor in 1873. Münzinger initiated a plan to link Maṣawwaʿ with the Egyptian possessions in the north-east, and constructed the causeways to the mainland. On each of them was a gate, watched by a guard who collected a toll from every passer-by (Rohlfs, *Meine Mission*, 31 ff.; Conti Rossini, *Documenti*, 16). He also fortified the port, made himself "protector" of the Bilen tribes and occupied the Keren region. The Turkish practice of having a *nāʾib* of Balaw origin was continued, and a member of his family was appointed *sirdār* [*q.v.*] of the troops in Maṣawwaʿ. When the European powers left Egypt with a free hand with regard to Ethiopia, Ismāʿīl Pasha appointed the Dane Søren Adolph Arendrup as commander of the Egyptian troops in Maṣawwaʿ, and three Egyptian expeditions set out against Ethiopia [see ḤABASH. i]. After the Egyptian *débâcle* near Gura in 1876, rumours spread in Maṣawwaʿ that the Ethiopian King Yohannes was going to attack the port. But the king wanted peace with Egypt, insisting however that Maṣawwaʿ should be restored to his kingdom. The peace treaty, arranged by C. G. Gordon, left Egypt still in control of the Keren region and the port, where the anti-Ethiopian policy was continued by Mukhtār Bey, the Egyptian governor of Maṣawwaʿ. He gave asylum to Fitawrāri Debbeb, an Ethiopian rebel and cousin of King Yohannes, who sold his loot openly in the markets of Arkiko and Maṣawwaʿ and who had brought trade with the coast to a standstill. After Mukhtār Bey had been replaced by Mason Bey, an American who had been in the service of the Egyptian government, a treaty between Great Britain, Egypt and Ethiopia was signed at Adowa in 1884 by king Yohannes and Rear-Admiral Sir William Hewett. The actual control of Egypt, and consequently of the ports on the Red Sea coast which had been occupied by the Egyptians, lay indeed in the hands of Great Britain after the revolt of ʿUrābī Pasha [*q.v.*]. Under British protection, free transit through Maṣawwaʿ was given for all goods, including arms and ammunition, to and from Ethiopia. A general reservation with respect to the lawful claims of the Porte, explicitly mentioned in Lord Granville's instruction to Admiral Hewett, was ignored in the Treaty. Nor did the Treaty contain any concrete agreement about the possession of Maṣawwaʿ. In a letter to Queen Victoria, King Yohannes, aware that the removal of the Egyptian garrison would leave the port open to him, expressed the hope that "the gates of heaven would open for her as she had opened Maṣawwaʿ for him". In her answer, the Queen regretted being unable to accede to the King's wish regarding the port (Zewde Gabre-Sellasie, *Yohannes IV*, 152). Indeed, by now another European power had appeared on the scene.

Wary of the French expansion in the Red Sea [see DJIBŪTĪ], and in view of financial difficulties in Egypt, Great Britain had been seeking an alliance with Italy. Already in 1881, an Egyptian appeal to use force against Italy after the establishment of an Italian colony in Assab [*q.v.*], had been rejected by the British government. In 1882 Italy had even been invited to participate in restoring order in Egypt. In the years 1881-3 expenditure had exceeded revenue in the port of Maṣawwaʿ (Zewde Gabre-Sellasie, *op. cit.*, 160); hence retaining possession of the port was not considered to be "in the true interests of Egypt" (*ibid.*, 161). Having thus been given a free hand in the Red Sea, Italy landed a military expedition in Maṣawwaʿ, where on 5 February 1885, the Italian flag was flying side-by-side with the Egyptian one over the palace and the forts. King Yohannes was outraged, while Menelik, who was building up his own power in Shoa and had signed a secret treaty of friendship and trade with the Italians in 1883, acted as mediator between the Ethiopian king and Italy. The Italians quickly occupied Arafale and Arkiko, and when the Egyptian garrisons were gradually withdrawn, almost all major places between Assab and Maṣawwaʿ came into their power. Notwithstanding the Treaty of Adowa, the Italians did not allow free transit of ammunition and arms to King Yohannes, nor in the quantities which he desired. They also rejected any form of Egyptian authority, although this was recognised at first. Tension between the Ethiopians and the Italians led to an armed encounter at Dogali (1887), where the latter suffered defeat. Menelik offered mediation, which was accepted by Yohannes but refused by the Italians, who concluded another treaty with the future Negus. Yohannes, meanwhile convinced that Great Britain and Italy were acting in accord, and considering Sir Gerald Portal's mission to him as a feint, marched against Maṣawwaʿ in 1887. However, before reaching it he turned his attention again to the Mahdist forces. After his death in the battle of Ḳallabat (Metemma), the Italians signed the Treaty of Ucciali (Wuchali) with Menelik in 1889. Italian possession of Maṣawwaʿ was confirmed, but Menelik was permitted to import arms duty-free through the port (see the text of the famous Treaty in Zaghi, *Crispi*, 152; cf. Marcus, *Menelik II*, index s.v. Treaties). After their defeat at Adowa in 1896, the Italians were able to retain Eritrea and the port of Maṣawwaʿ, which played an important rôle during the Italo-Ethiopian war. Conquered by British forces in 1941, Maṣawwaʿ remained under British administration until the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1950.

In 1931 the population was estimated at 9,300 and in 1970 at 18,490. Imports consist mainly of industrial goods, while exports comprise oilseeds, nuts, hides, coffee, salt, fish and pearl. Local industries include a salt works, fish and meat processing enterprises, a cement plant and an ice factory. A thermal power plant serves outlying areas where manganese ore is mined. The volcanic deposits of the Danakil Plains contain sulphur, sodium and potassium, gypsum, rock salt and potash.

During their brief occupation of Eritrea, the coastal settlements on the Red Sea and the Harar region, the Egyptians introduced their Ḥanafī legal code, which was kept on by the Italians. Thus the Ḥanafī *madhhab* is predominant in the coastal towns of Maṣawwaʿ, Arkiko, Zula, Assab, etc. Of the Ṣūfī orders in Islam, the Ḳādiriyya are well represented in Masawwaʿ. Its

founder, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī [*q.v.*], is said to have died at the place of the mosque dedicated in his name. His anniversary (*ziyārat al-D̲j̲īlānī*) is celebrated by a pilgrimage and the accompanying ceremonies on 11 Rabīʿ al-Awwal of each year.

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(E. VAN DONZEL)

MASCARA [see AL-MUʿASKAR].

MASCULINE [see MUD̲H̲AKKAR].

MASD̲J̲ID (A.), mosque, the noun of place from *sad̲j̲ada* "to prostrate oneself, hence "place where one prostrates oneself [in worship]". The modern Western European words (Eng. *mosque*, Fr. *mosquée*, Ger. *Moschee*, Ital. *moschea*) come ultimately from the Arabic via Spanish *mezquita*.

I. IN THE CENTRAL ISLAMIC LANDS

A. The origins of the mosque up to the Prophet's death

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C. The mosque as the centre for divine worship

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I. IN THE CENTRAL ISLAMIC LANDS

A. The origins of the mosque up to the Prophet's death.

The word *msgdʾ* is found in Aramaic as early as the Jewish Elephantine Papyri (5th century B.C.), and appears likewise in Nabataean inscriptions with the meaning "place of worship", but possibly, originally "stele, sacred pillar". The Syriac form *msgdʾ* and Amharic *masged* are late loans from Arabic, though Geʿez *mes̲h̲gād* "temple, church" may be a genuine formation from the verbal root *s - g- d* (itself certainly borrowed from Aramaic). The form *ms¹gd* "oratory, place of prayer" occurs also in Epigraphic South Arabian (A. F. L. Beeston *et alii*, *Sabaic dictionary*, Louvain-Beirut 1982, 125). The Arabic *masd̲j̲id* may thus have been taken over directly from Aramaic or formed from the borrowed verb (see A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 263-4).

1. The Meccan period. The word is used in the Ḳurʾān especially of the Meccan sanctuary (*al-Masd̲j̲id al-ḥarām*, sūra II, 139, 144, 145, 187, 192, 214; V, 3; VIII, 34; IX, 7, 19, 28; XVII, 1; XXII, 25; XLVIII, 25, 27); according to later sources, this was already the usage in the Meccan period (*ca.* al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*. i. 285, 12). According to tradition, the term *al-Masd̲j̲id al-aḳṣā* (sūra XVII, 1) means the Jerusalem sanctuary (according to B. Schrieke, in *Isl.*, vi [1915-16], 1; cf. Horovitz, in *ibid.*, ix [1919], 159 ff., the reference is rather to a place of prayer in heaven); and in the legend of the Seven Sleepers,

masdjid means a tomb-sanctuary, probably Christian, certainly pre-Islamic (sūra XVIII, 20). The word is also applied to pre-Islamic sanctuaries, which belong to God and where God is invoked, although Muḥammad was not always able to recognise the particular cult associated with them. It is undoubtedly with this general meaning that the word is used in this verse of the Ḳur'ān: "If God had not taken men under his protection, then monasteries, churches and places of prayer (*ṣalawāt*) and *masādjid* would have been destroyed" (sūra XXII, 41). The word is also used in a *ḥadīth* of an Abyssinian church (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 48, 54; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 3) and in another of Jewish and Christian tomb-sanctuaries (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 55; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 3). Even Ibn Khaldūn can still use the word in the general meaning of a temple or place of worship of any religion (*Muḳaddima, faṣl* 4, 6 at the end). There is therefore no question of a word of specifically Muslim creation. This is in entire agreement with Muḥammad's original attitude to earlier religions. Just as Abraham was a Muslim, so David had a *masdjid* (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 2408, 7 ff.).

To the Prophet, the Meccan sanctuary always remained the principal mosque, known as *Bayt Allāh* even before the time of the Prophet. It was a grave charge brought against the Ḳuraysh in the Meccan period that they drove the believers out of *al-Masdjid al-ḥarām* (sūra II, 214; V, 3; VIII, 34; XXII, 25; XLVIII, 25), which was considered all the more unjust as they worshipped the true lord of the sanctuary. To the true God belonged *al-masādjid* (sūra LXXII, 18, Meccan); it was therefore an absurdity for the godless to prevent the worship of God in "God's own mosques" (sūra II, 108). The result was that it was revealed in the year 9/630-1: "It is not right for polytheists to frequent the mosques of God" (sūra IX, 17 f.) and the opponents of the new religion were therefore excluded from the sanctuary. The *Sīra* agrees with the Ḳur'ān, that the sanctity of *al-Masdjid al-ḥarām* to which Muḥammad had been used from childhood was always regarded by him as indisputable. Like other Meccans, he and his followers regularly made the *ṭawāf* around the Kaʿba and kissed the Black Stone (e.g. Ibn Hishām, 183, 12 ff.; 239, 8; 251, 15); it is frequently stated that he used to sit in the *masdjid* like his fellow-citizens, alone or with a follower or disputing with an opponent (Ibn Hishām, 233, 16; 251, 15; 252, 14; 259; 260; 294; 18 f.). It is related that he used to perform the *ṣalāt* between the Yaman corner and the Black Stone, apparently from the narrator's context, very frequently (Ibn Hishām, 190, 9 ff.). After his conversion, ʿUmar is said to have arranged that believers performed the *ṣalāt* unmolested beside the Kaʿba (Ibn Hishām, 224, 13 f., 17 f.). How strongly Muḥammad felt himself attached to the Arab sanctuary is evident from the fact that he took part in the traditional rites there before the *hidjra* (sūra CVIII, 2); in the year 1/622-3, one of his followers, Saʿd b. Muʿādh, took part in the pilgrimage ceremonies, and in the year 2/623-4 he himself sacrificed on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja on the *muṣallā* of the Banū Salima. He therefore, here as elsewhere, retained ancient customs where his new teaching did not directly exclude them. But when an independent religion developed out of his preaching, a new type of worship had to be evolved.

In Mecca, the original Muslim community had no special place of worship. The Prophet used to perform the *ṣalāt* in secret in the narrow alleys of Mecca with his first male follower ʿAlī and with the other earliest Companions also (Ibn Hishām, 159, 166, 13 ff.). The references are usually to the solitary *ṣalāt* of the Prophet, sometimes beside the Kaʿba (Ibn Hishām, 190, 9 ff.), sometimes in his own house (Ibn Hishām, 203, 6 f.). That the believers often prayed together may be taken for granted; they would do so in a house (cf. Ibn Hishām, 202). Occasionally also ʿUmar is said to have conducted the ritual prayer with others beside the Kaʿba (Ibn Hishām, 224) because ʿUmar was able to defy the Ḳuraysh. When the Prophet recited in the mosque the revelation, later abrogated, recognising Allāt, al-ʿUzzā and Manāt, according to the story, not only the believers but also the polytheists present took part in the *sudjūd* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1192 f.). Abū Bakr is said to have had a private place of prayer (*masdjid*) in Mecca in his courtyard beside the gate; the Ḳuraysh, we are told, objected to this because women and children could see it and might be led astray by the emotion aroused (Ibn Hishām, 246; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 86; *Kafāla, bāb* 14 etc.; *Maẓālim, bāb* 22).

In the dogma taught by Muḥammad, a sanctuary was not a fundamental necessity. Every place was the same to God, and humility in the presence of God, of which the ritual prayer was the expression, could be shown anywhere; hence the saying of the Prophet that he had been given the whole world as a *masdjid*, while earlier prophets could only pray in churches and synagogues (al-Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 403; *Corpus iuris di Zaid b. ʿAlī*, ed. Griffini, 50 and p. clxxix; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 56; *Tayammum, bāb* 1; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 1), and also the saying: "Wherever the hour of prayer overtakes thee, thou shalt perform the *ṣalāt* and that is a *masdjid*" (Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 1). That he nevertheless remained firmly attached to the traditional sanctuary of the Kaʿba, produced a confusion of thought which is very marked in sūra II, 136 ff. When in Medina he was able to do as he pleased, it must have been natural for him to create a place where he could be undisturbed with his followers and where they could perform the ritual *ṣalāt* together.

2. The foundation of the Mosque in Medina. According to one tradition, the Prophet came riding into Medina on his camel with Abū Bakr as *ridf* surrounded by the Banū Nadjdjār. The camel stopped on Abū Ayyūb's *finā'*. Here (according to Anas) the Prophet performed the *ṣalāt*, and immediately afterwards ordered the mostque to be built and purchased the piece of land from two orphans, Sahl and Suhayl, who were under the guardianship of Muʿādh b. ʿAfrā', for 10 *dīnārs*, after declining to accept it as a gift; he lived with Abū Ayyūb until the mosque and his houses were completed. During this period he performed the *ṣalāt* in courtyards or other open spaces (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 48; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 212 above; Ibn Hishām, 336; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1258 f.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 140-1 = § 1469). According to this tradition, the building of the mosque was intended by the Prophet from the first and the choice of the site was left to the whim of his mount. According to another tradition, the Prophet took up his abode with Abū Ayyūb, but during the first period of his stay in Medina he conducted the *ṣalāt* in the house of Abū Umāma Asʿad, who had a private *masdjid*, in which he used to conduct *ṣalāts* with his neighbours. The Prophet later expressed the desire to purchase the adjoining piece of ground, and he bought it from the two orphans, who according to this tradition, were wards of Asʿad (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 6; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Stadt Medina*, 60). The site was covered with graves, ruins (*khirab*; also

ḥarth, al-Ṭabarī, i, 1259, 17; 1260, 1; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 212, 7, perhaps due to an old misreading) and palm-trees and was used as a place for keeping camels (and smaller domestic animals, al-Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 66). The site was cleared, the palms cut down and the walls built. The building material was bricks baked in the sun (*labin*) (Ibn Hishām, 337; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb*s 62, 65; according to one tradition they were baked at the well of Fāṭima, Wüstenfeld, *Stadt Medina*, 31); in plan it was a courtyard surrounded by a brick wall on a stone foundation with three entrances; the gateposts were of stone. On the *ḳibla* side (i.e. the north wall), at first left open, the stems of the palm trees which had been cut down were soon set up as columns and a roof was put over them of palm-leaves and clay. On the east side two huts of similar materials were built for the Prophet's wives Sawdāʾ and ʿĀʾisha; their entrances opened on to the court and were covered with carpets; they were later increased so that there were nine little houses for the Prophet's wives. When the *ḳibla* was moved to the south, the arbour at the north wall remained; under this arbour called *ṣuffa* or *ẓulla* the homeless Companions (*Ahl al-Ṣuffa* [*q.v.*]) found shelter (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb*s 48, 62; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 60 f., 66; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1302, i, 387 ff.; on the *ṣuffa*, 387 in the middle; 391 after the middle; cf. L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i, 377 f.). In seven months, the work was completed (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 59), according to others in the month of Ṣafar of the year 2 (Ibn Hishām, 339, 18 f.). The mosque was very simple. It was really only a courtyard with a wall round it; the *ṣuffa* already mentioned supplied a shelter on the north side, while on the south side, later the *ḳibla* side, an arbour was probably built also, for the Prophet used to preach leaning against a palm-trunk and this must have been on the *ḳibla* side. How large the arbours were cannot be ascertained. The mosque was the courtyard of the Prophet's houses and at the same time the meeting-place for the believers and the place for common prayer.

According to the sources, it was the Prophet's intention from the very first to build a mosque at once in Medina; according to a later tradition, Gabriel commanded him in the name of God to build a house for God (al-Diyārbakrī, i, 387 below); but this story is coloured by later conditions. It has been made quite clear, notably by L. Caetani (*Annali dell' Islām*, i, 432, 437 ff.) and later by H. Lammens (*Moʿâwia*, 8, 5, 62; idem, *Ziād*, 30 ff., 93 ff.) that the earliest *masdjid* had nothing of the character of a sacred edifice. Much can be quoted for this view from *Ḥadīth* and *Sīra* (cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, i, 440). The unconverted Thaḳafīs were received by the Prophet in the mosque to conduct negotiations and he even put up three tents for them in the courtyard (Ibn Hishām, 916; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 382); envoys from Tamīm also went freely about in the mosque and called for the Prophet, who dealt with them after he had finished prayers (Ibn Hishām, 933 f.; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 386). Ibn Unays brought to the *masdjid* the head of the Hudhalī Sufyān, threw it down before the Prophet and gave his report (Ibn Hishām, 981; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 225). After the battle of Uḥud, the Medina chiefs spent the night in the mosque (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 149). The Awsīs tended their wounded here (*ibid.*, 215 f.; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1491 f.); a prisoner of war was tied to one of the pillars of the mosque (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 76, 82; cf. 75). Many poor people used to live in the *ṣuffa* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 58); tents and huts were put up in the mosque, one for example by converted and liberated prisoners, another by the Banū Ghifār, in whose tent Saʿd b. Muʿādh died of his wounds (*ibid.*, *bāb* 77; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 297). People sat as they pleased in the mosque or took their ease lying on their backs (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, *bāb* 6; *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 85; Ibn Saʿd, i, 124, 14); even so late as the reign of ʿUmar, it is recorded that he found strangers sleeping in a corner of the mosque (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 118, 15 ff.); the Prophet received gifts and distributed them among the Companions (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 42); disputes took place over business (*ibid.*, *bāb*s 71, 83) and in general, people conducted themselves as they pleased. Indeed, on one occasion some Sudanese or Abyssinians with the approval of the Prophet gave a display with shield and lance on the occasion of a festival (*ibid.*, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 69; *ʿĪdayn*, *bāb* 2, 25; *Djihād*, *bāb* 81); and on another a stranger seeking the Prophet, rode into the mosque on his camel (*ibid.*, *ʿIlm*, *bāb* 6). So little "consecrated" was this, the oldest mosque, that one of the *Munāfiḳūn* or "Hypocrites", ejected for scoffing at the believers, could call to Abū Ayyūb "Are you throwing me out of the *Mirbad Banī Thaʿlaba?*" (Ibn Hishām, 362, 10 f.).

All this gives one the impression of the head-quarters of an army, rather than of a sacred edifice. On the other hand, the mosque was used from the very first for the general divine worship and thus became something more than the Prophet's private courtyard. Whatever the Prophet's intentions had been from the first, the *masdjid*, with the increasing importance of Islam, was bound to become very soon the political and religious centre of the new community. The two points of view cannot be distinguished in Islam, especially in the earlier period. The mosque was the place where believers assembled for prayer around the Prophet, where he delivered his addresses, which contained not only appeals for obedience to God but regulations affecting the social life of the community (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb*s 70, 71); from here he controlled the religious and political community of Islam. Even at the real old sanctuaries of Arabia, there were no restrictions on what one could do; what distinguished the mosque from the Christian church or the Meccan temple was that in it there was no specially dedicated ritual object. At the Kaʿba also, people used to gather to discuss every day affairs and also for important assemblies, if we may believe the *Sīra* (Ibn Hishām, 183 f., 185, 1, 229, 8, 248, 257, 19). Here also the Prophet used to sit; strangers came to visit him; he talked and they disputed with him; people even came to blows and fought there (Ibn Hishām, 183-4, 185-6, 187-8, 202, 19, 257, 259; *Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 223, 11). Beside the Kaʿba was the *Dār al-Nadwa*, where important matters were discussed and justice administered (*ibid.*, see index). From the Medina mosque was developed the general type of the Muslim mosque. It depended on circumstances whether the aspect of the mosque as a social centre or as a place of prayer was more or less emphasised.

3. Other mosques in the time of the Prophet. The mosque of the Prophet in Medina was not the only one founded by Muslims in his lifetime, and according to tradition not even the first, which is said to have been the mosque of Ḳubāʾ. In this village, which belonged to the territory of Medina (see Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, 126), the Prophet on his *hidjra* stopped with the family of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf; the length of his stay is variously given as 3, 5, 8, 14 or 22 days. According to one tradition, he found a mosque there on his arrival, which had been built by the first emigrants and the Anṣār, and he per-

formed the *ṣalāt* there with them (see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 56; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 1; al-Diyārbakrī, i, 380-1). According to another tradition, the Prophet himself founded the mosque on a site, which belonged to his host Kulthūm and was used as a *mirbad* for drying dates or, according to others, to a woman named Labba, who tethered her ass there (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 131; Ibn Hishām, 335; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1260, 6; Ibn Saᶜd, i/1, 6; Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 139; al-Diyārbakrī, 1, 381; *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1320, ii, 58-9). Out of this tradition arose a legend based on the story of the foundation of the principal mosque in Medina. The Prophet makes (first Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar without success, then) ᶜAlī mount a camel, and at the place to which it goes builds the mosque with stone brought from the Ḥarra; he himself laid the first stone, and Abū Bakr, ᶜUmar and ᶜUthmān the next ones (al-Diyārbakrī, i, 381). The Prophet is said to have henceforth visited the mosque of Ḳubāʾ every Saturday, either riding or walking, and the pillar is still shown beside which he conducted the service (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-ṣalāt fī Masdjid Makka wa 'l-Madīna*, *bāb* 2, 4; Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, tr. 94; al-Diyārbakrī, i, 382; al-Balādhurī, 5). We are occasionally told that he performed his *ṣalāt* on the Sabbath in the mosque at Ḳubāʾ when he went to the Banū 'l-Naḍīr in Rabīᶜ I of the year 4/625 (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 161).

It is obvious that the customs and ideas of the later community have shaped the legend of this mosque. The only question is whether the old tradition that the mosque was founded either by the Prophet himself or even before his arrival by his followers is also a later invention. We thus come to the question whether the Prophet founded or recognised any other mosques at all than that of Medīna. Caetani, in keeping with his view of the origin of the mosque, was inclined to deny it, pointing to the fact that there was later an obvious tendency to connect mosques everywhere with the Prophet and that sūra IX, 108, strongly condemns the erection of an "opposition mosque" (*Masdjid al-Ḍirār*). The Ḳurʾān passage is as follows: "Those who have built themselves a *masdjid* for opposition (*ḍirār*) and unbelief and division among the believers and for a refuge for him who in the past fought against God and his Prophet; and they swear: We intended only good! God is witness that they are liars! Thou shalt not stand up in it, for verily a *masdjid* which is founded on piety from the first day of its existence has more right that thou shouldest stand in it; in it are men who desire to purify themselves" (sūra IX, 108-9). According to tradition, this was revealed in the year 9/630-1; when the Prophet was on the march to Tabūk, the Banū Sālim said to him that they had built a mosque to make it easier for their feeble and elderly people, and they begged the Prophet to perform his *ṣalāt* in it and thus give it his approval. The Prophet postponed it till his return, but then his revelation was announced, because the mosque had been founded by *Munāfiḳūn* at the instigation of Abū ᶜĀmir al-Rāhib, who fought against the Prophet. According to one tradition (so Ibn ᶜUmar, Zayd) the "mosque founded on piety" was that of Medina, from which the people wished to emancipate themselves; according to another (Ibn ᶜAbbās), the reference was to that of Ḳubāʾ; Abū ᶜĀmir and his followers were not comfortable among the Banū ᶜAmr b. ᶜAwf and therefore built a new mosque. According to some traditions, it was in Dhū Awān. The Prophet however had it burned down (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1704-5; Ibn Hishām, 357-8, 906-7; Ibn Saᶜd, i/1, 6; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 410-11; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xi, 17 ff.; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 131; *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 60; al-Balādhurī, 1-2; Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 93). If the connection with the Tabūk campaign is correct, the *Masdjid al-Ḍirār* is to be sought north of Medina; the "mosque founded on piety" would then be the mosque of Medina rather than that of Ḳubāʾ which lies to the south of it. There is in itself nothing impossible about the rejection in principle of any mosque other than that of Medina. We should then have to discard the whole tradition, for, according to it, the Prophet was at first not unfavourably disposed to the new mosque, and his wrath, according to the tradition, arose from the fact that it had been founded by a refractory party. But as a matter of fact, there are indications that a number of mosques already existed in the time of the Prophet; for example, the verse in the Ḳurʾān, "in houses, which God hath permitted to be built that His name might be praised in them, in them men praise Him morning and evening, whom neither business nor trade restrain from praising God and performing the *ṣalāt* and the giving of alms", etc. (sūra XXIV, 36-7). If this revelation, like the rest of the sūra, is of the Medinan period, it is difficult to refer it to Jews and Christians, and this utterance is quite clear: "Observe a complete fast until the night and touch thou them (i.e. women) not while ye are in the mosques" (sūra II, 183). This shows that there were already in the time of the Prophet several Muslim mosques which had a markedly religious character and were recognised by the Prophet.

That there were really public places of prayer of the separate tribes at a very early date is evident from the tradition that the Prophet in the year 2 offered his sacrifice on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/3 June 624 on the *muṣallā* of the Banū Salima. In addition, there are constant references to private *masādjid* where a few believers, like Abū Bakr in Mecca, made a place for prayer in their houses and where others sometimes assembled (al-Bukhāri, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb*s 46, 87; *Tahadjdjud*, *bāb* 30; cf. also *Adhān*, *bāb* 50).

B. The origin of mosques after the time of the Prophet.

1. Chief mosques. What importance the Medina mosque had attained as the centre of administration and worship of the Muslims is best seen from the fact that the first thought of the Muslim generals after their conquests was to found a mosque as a centre around which to gather.

Conditions differed somewhat according as it was a new foundation or an already existing town. Important examples of the first kind are al-Baṣra, al-Kūfa and al-Fusṭāṭ. Baṣra was founded by ᶜUtba b. Ghazwān as winter-quarters for the army in the year 14/635 (or 16/637 or 638). The mosque was placed in the centre with the *Dār al-Imāra*, the dwelling of the commander-in-chief with a prison and *Dīwān* in front of it. Prayer was at first offered on the open space, which was fenced round; later, the whole was built of reeds and when the men went off to war the reeds were pulled up and laid away. Abū Mūsā al-Ashᶜarī [*q.v.*], who later became ᶜUmar's *wālī*, built the edifice of clay and bricks baked in the sun (*labin*) and used grass for the roof (al-Balādhurī, 346-7, 350; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 187-8; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 642, 6-9; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2377, 14 ff.). It was similar in Kūfa, which was founded in 17/638 by Saᶜd b. Abī Waḳḳās. In the centre was the mosque, and beside it the *Dār al-Imāra* was laid out. The mosque at first was simply an open quadrangle, *ṣaḥn*, marked off by a trench round it. The space was large enough for 40,000 persons. It seems that reeds were also used for building the walls here and later Saᶜd used *labin*. On the south side (and

only here) there was an arbour, *ẓulla*, built (cf. al-Balādhūrī, 348, i: *ṣuffa*). The *Dār al-Imāra* beside the mosque was later by ʿUmar's orders combined with the mosque (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2481, 12 ff., 2485, 16, 2487 ff., 2494, 14; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 323, 10 ff.; al-Balādhuri, 275 ff., cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, iii, 846 ff.). The plan was therefore an exact reproduction of that of the mosque in Medina (as is expressly emphasised in al-Ṭabarī, i, 2489, 4 ff.); the importance of the mosque was also expressed in its position, and the commander lived close beside it. There was no difference in al-Fusṭāṭ, which, although there was already an older town here, was laid out as an entirely new camp. In the year 21/642, after the conquest of Alexandria, the mosque was laid out in a garden where ʿAmr had planted his standard. It was 50 *dhirāʿ*s long and 30 broad. Eighty men fixed its *ḳibla*, which, however, was turned too far to the east, and was therefore altered later by Ḳurra b. Sharīk [*q.v.*]. The court was quite simple, surrounded by a wall and had trees growing on it; a simple roof is mentioned; it must be identical with the above-mentioned *ẓulla* or *ṣuffa*. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ lived just beside the mosque and around it the *Ahl al-Rāya*. Like the house of the Prophet, the general's house lay on the east side with only a road between them. There were two doors in each wall except the southern one (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 898-9; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 4 ff.; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, Cairo 1893, 59 ff.; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 63-4; ii, 135-6; cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, iv, 554, 557, 563 ff.). We find similar arrangements made in al-Mawṣil in 20/641 (al-Balādhūrī, 331-2).

In other cases, the Muslims established themselves in old towns either conquered or surrendered by treaty; by the treaty, they received a site for their mosque (e.g. al-Balādhūrī, 116, 14, 147, 2). But the distinction between towns which were conquered and those which were surrendered soon disappeared, and the position is as a rule not clear. Examples of old towns in which the Muslims established themselves are al-Madāʾin, Damascus and Jerusalem.—In Madāʾin, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ after the conquest in 16/637 distributed the houses among the Muslims, and Kisrā's *Īwān* was made into a mosque, after Saʿd had conducted the *ṣalāt al-fatḥ* in it (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2443, 15 f.; 2451, 7 ff.). In Damascus, which was occupied in 14/635 or 15/636 by capitulation, according to tradition, the Church of St. John was divided so that the eastern half became Muslim, from which Muslim tradition created the legend that the city was taken partly by conquest and partly by agreement (al-Balādhūrī, 125; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 591; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 262; *JA*, ser. 9, vii, 376, 381, 404). As a matter of fact, however, the Muslims seem to have laid out their own mosque here just beside the church [see DIMASHK]; and close beside it again was the *Khaḍrāʾ*, the commander-in-chief's palace, from which a direct entrance to the *maḳṣūra* was later made (al-Muḳaddasī, 159, 4). Conditions here were therefore once more the same as in Medina. But the possibility of an arrangement such as is recorded by tradition cannot be rejected, for there is good evidence of it elsewhere; in Ḥimṣ, for example, the Muslims and Christians shared a building in common as a mosque and church, and it is evident from al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal that this was still the case in the time of their common authority, al-Balkhī (309/921) (al-Iṣṭakhrī[1], 61, 7 f.; Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 117, 5; al-Muḳaddasī, 156, 15), and a similar arrangement is recorded for Dabīl in Armenia (al-Iṣṭakhrī[1], 188, 3 f.; Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 244, 21; cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 377, 3 f.).

There were special conditions in Jerusalem. The Muslims recognised the sanctuary there, as is evident from the earlier *ḳibla* and from sūra XVII, 1 (in the traditional interpretation). It must therefore have been natural for the conquerors, when the town capitulated, to seek out the recognised holy place. Indeed, we are told that ʿUmar in the year 17/638 built a mosque in Jerusalem on the site of the temple of Solomon (F. Baethgen, *Fragmente syr. u. arab. Hist.*, 17, 110, following Īshōʿdʿnah, metropolitan of Baṣra after 700 A.D.; cf. for the 2nd/8th century Theophanes, quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 91 n.). That the *Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra* [*q.v.*], which the Mosque of ʿUmar replaced, stands on the old site of the Temple is undoubted. How he found the site is variously recorded [see AL-ḲUDS]. The building was, like other mosques of the time of ʿUmar, very simple. Arculf, who visited Jerusalem about 670, says "The Saracens attend a quadrangular house of prayer (*domus orationis*, i.e. *masdjid*) which they have built with little art with boards and large beams on the remains of some ruins, on the famous site where the Temple was once built in all its splendour" (*Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. P. Geyer, 1898, 226-7, tr. P. Mickley, in *Das Land der Bibel*, ii/2, 1917, 19-20). It is of interest to note that this simple mosque, like the others, was in the form of a rectangle; in spite of its simple character it could hold 3,000 people, according to Arculf.

As late as the reign of Muʿāwiya, we find a new town, al-Ḳayrawān, being laid out on the old plan as a military camp with a mosque and *Dār al-Imāra* in the centre (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 213, 10 ff.). As al-Balādhūrī, for example, shows, the Muslim conquerors even at a later date always built a mosque in the centre of a newly-conquered town, at first a simple one in each town, and it was a direct reproduction of the simple mosque of the Prophet in Medina. It was the exception to adapt already existing buildings in towns. But soon many additional mosques were added.

2. Tribal mosques and sectarian mosques. There were mosques not only in the towns. When the tribes pledged themselves to the Prophet to adopt Islam, they had also to perform the *ṣalāt*. It is not clear how far they took part in Muslim worship, but if they concerned themselves with Islam at all, they must have had a Muslim place of meeting. Probably even before Islam they had, like the Meccans, their *madjlis* or *nādī* or *dār shūrā*, where they discussed matters of general importance (cf. Lammens, *Moʿâwia*, 205; *Ziād b. Abīhi*, 30 ff., 90-1; *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, 222 ff.). As the mosque was only distinguished from such places by the fact that it was also used for the common *ṣalāt*, it was natural for tribal mosques to come into existence. Thus we are told that as early as the year 5/626-7 the tribe of Saʿd b. Bakr founded mosques and used an *adhān* (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 44, 7, not mentioned in Ibn Hishām, 943-4; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1722); it is also recorded of the Banū Djadhīma, who lived near Mecca, that they built mosques in the year 8/629-30 and introduced the *adhān* (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 351). How far one can rely on such stories in a particular case is however uncertain. A later writer like al-Diyārbakrī says of the Banu 'l-Muṣṭaliḳ that they *aslamū wa-banaw masādjida* (*Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, ii, 132, 20; cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 221); in the early sources, this is not found. Nor is the story told by Ibn Saʿd at all probable, that envoys from the Banū Ḥanīfa received orders to destroy their churches, sprinkle the ground with water and build a mosque (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 56, 11 ff., while Ibn Hishām, 945-6, al-Ṭabarī, i, 1737 ff., and al-Balādhūrī, 86-7, say nothing about

it). But that there were tribal mosques at a very early date is nevertheless quite certain. The mosque at Ḳubāʾ was the mosque of the tribe of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 6, 6 and cf. above) and according to one tradition, the Banū Ghanm b. ʿAwf were jealous of it and built an opposition mosque (al-Balādhurī, 3; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 21). A Companion who had taken part in the battle of Badr, ʿItbān b. Malik, complained to the Prophet that he could not reach the *masdjid* of his tribe in the rainy season and wanted to build a mosque for himself (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 46; Muslim, *Masādjid*, *bāb* 47). The Prophet himself is said to have visited the *masdjid* of the Banū Zurayḳ (al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, *bābs* 56-8) and in the *masdjid* of the Banū Salima during the prayer, there was revealed to him sūra II, 139, which ordered the new *ḳibla*, wherefore it was called *Masdjid al-Ḳiblatayn* (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 62).

The tribal mosque was a sign that the independence of the tribe was still retained under Islam. Indeed, we hear everywhere of tribal mosques, for example, around Medina that of the Banū Ḳurayẓa, of the Banū Ḥāritha, of the Banū Ẓafar, of the Banū Wāʾil, of the Banū Ḥarām, of the Banū Zurayḳ (said to have been the first in which the Ḳurʾān was publicly read), that of the Banū Salima, etc. (see Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Stadt Medina*, 29, 37 ff., 44, 50, 57, 136 ff.); the "mosque of the two *ḳibla*s" belonged to the Banū Sawād b, Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salima (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 41). This then was the position in Medina: the tribes usually had their own mosques, and one mosque was the chief mosque. This was probably the position within the Prophet's lifetime, for in the earliest campaigns of conquest, mosques were built on this principle. ʿUmar is said to have written to Abū Mūsā in Baṣra telling him to build a mosque *li 'l-djamāʿa* and mosques for the tribes, and on Fridays the people were to come to the chief mosque. Similarly, he wrote to Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ in Kūfa and to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Miṣr. On the other hand in Syria, where they had settled in old towns, they were not to build tribal mosques (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 4 below). It is actually recorded that the tribes in each *khiṭṭa* had their own mosques around the mosque of ʿAmr in Fusṭāṭ (cf. Ibn Duḳmāḳ, 62 below -67), and even much later, a tribal mosque like that of the Rāshida was still in existence (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 64, 4 ff.). Even in the chief mosque, the tribes had their own places (*ibid.*, 9, 12-10). We have similar evidence from ʿIrāḳ. In Baṣra, for example, there was a Masdjid Banī ʿUbād (al-Balādhurī, 356, 2), one of the Banū Rifāʿa (Ibn Rusta, 201, 16), one of the Banū ʿAdī (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 191, 4) and one of the Anṣār (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 77, n. 5); in Kūfa we find quite a number, such as that of the Anṣār (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 284, 13 f.), of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays (*ibid.*, ii, 657, 2, 9), of the Banū Duhmān (*ibid.*, 670, 4), of the Banū Makhzūm (*ibid.*, 734, 19), of the Banū Hilāl (*ibid.*, 1687, 8), of the Banū ʿAdī (*ibid.*, 1703, 4), of the Banū Dhuhl and Banū Ḥudjr (*ibid.*, 532, 8 f.), of the Djuhayna (*ibid.*, 533, 8), of the Banū Ḥarām (*ibid.*, iii, 2509, 10), and the ʿAbsīs even had several *masādjid* (al-Balādhurī, 278, 12 f., see also 285, and Goldziher, *loc. cit.*).

During the wars, these tribal mosques were the natural rallying points for the various tribes, the mosque was a *madjlis*, where councils were held (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 532, 6 ff.) and the people were taught from its *minbar* (*ibid.*, 284); battles often centred for this reason round these mosques (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 130, 148, 6, 960). "The people of your mosque" *ahl masdjidikum* (*ibid.*, 532, 19) became identical with "your party". Gradually, as new sects arose, they naturally had mosques of their own, just as Musaylima before them is said to have had his own mosque (al-Balādhūrī, 90, 4 from below; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 404 below). Thus we read later of the mosques of the Ḥanbalīs in Baghdād, in which there was continual riot and confusion (Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, 335). It sometimes happened that different parties in a town shared the chief mosque (al-Muḳaddasī, 102, 5), but as a rule it was otherwise. In particular, the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs as a rule had separate mosques (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 63). It sometimes even happened that Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs had separate mosques (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 509, 9; al-Muḳaddasī, 323, 11). These special mosques were a great source of disruption in Islam, and we can understand that a time came when the learned discussed whether such mosques should be permitted at all. But the question whether one might talk of the *Masdjid Banī Fulān* was answered by saying that in the time of the Prophet, the *Masdjid Banī Zurayḳ* was recognised (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 41; cf. *Djihād*, *bābs* 56-8, and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xi, 20, after the middle of the page).

3. Adaptation to Islam of older sanctuaries; memorial mosques. According to the early historians, the towns which made treaties with the Muslims received permission to retain their churches (al-Baladhūrī, 121, in the middle; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2405, 2407), while in the conquered towns the churches fell to the Muslims without any preamble (cf. al-Balādhūrī, 120 below). Sometimes also it is recorded that a certain number of churches were received from the Christians, e.g. fifteen in Damascus according to one tradition (*ibid.*, 124, 8, otherwise on 121; cf. *JA*, Ser. 9, vii, 403). It is rather doubtful whether the process was such a regular one; in any case, the Muslims in course of time appropriated many churches to themselves. With the mass conversions to Islam, this was a natural result. The churches taken over by the Muslims were occasionally used as dwellings (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2405, 2407); at a later date, it also happened that they were used as government offices, as in Egypt in 146/763 (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 35; cf. for Kūfa, al-Balādhūrī, 286). The obvious thing, however, was to transform the churches taken into mosques. It is related of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ that he performed the *ṣalāt* in a church (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 6) and Zayd b. ʿAlī says regarding churches and synagogues, "Perform thy *ṣalāt* in them; it will not harm thee" (*Corpus iuris di Zaid b. ʿAlī*, ed. Griffini, no. 364). It is not clear whether the reference in these cases is to conquered sanctuaries; it is evident, in any case, that the saying is intended to remove any misgivings about the use of captured churches and synagogues as mosques. The most important example of this kind was in Damascus, where al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik in 86/705 took the church of St. John from the Christians and had it rebuilt; he is said to have offered the Christians another church in its stead (see the references above, in I. B. 1; and also *JA*, 9 Ser., vii, 369 ff.; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/1, 262 ff. and art. DIMASHK). He is said to have transformed into mosques a total of ten churches in Damascus. It must have been particularly in the villages, with the gradual conversion of the people to Islam, that the churches were turned into mosques. In the Egyptian villages there were no mosques in the earlier generations of Islam (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 28-9, 30). But when al-Maʾmūn was fighting the Copts, many churches were turned into mosques in (*ibid.*, 30). It is also recorded of mosques in Cairo that they were converted churches. Accord-

ing to one tradition, the Rās͟hida mosque was an unfinished Jacobite church, which was surrounded by Jewish and Christian graves (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 63, 64), and in the immediate vicinity al-Ḥākim turned a Jacobite and a Nestorian Church into mosques (*ibid.*, 65). When D̲j̲awhar built a palace in al-Ḳāhira, a *dayr* or monastery was taken in and transformed into a mosque (*ibid.*, 269); similar changes took place at later dates (*ibid.*, 240) and synagogues also were transformed in this way (Masd̲j̲id Ibn al-Bannāʾ, *ibid.*, 265). The chief mosque in Palermo was previously a church (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 719). After the Crusades, several churches were turned into mosques in Palestine (Sauvaire, *Hist. de Jérus. et d'Hébron*, 1876, 7; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/2, 40).

Other sanctuaries than those of the "people of the scripture" were turned into mosques. For example a Masd̲j̲id al-S̲h̲ams between al-Ḥilla and Karbalāʾ was the successor of an old temple of S̲h̲amas̲h̲ (see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 331). Not far from Iṣṭak̲h̲r was a Masd̲j̲id Sulaymān which was an old fire-temple, the pictures on the walls of which could still be seen in the time of al-Masʿūdī and al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century) (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 77 = § 1403; al-Muḳaddasī, 444). In Iṣṭak̲h̲r itself there was a *d̲j̲āmiʿ*, which was a converted fire temple (*ibid.*, 436). In Maṣṣīṣa, the ancient Mopsuestia, al-Manṣūr in 140/797-8 built a mosque on the site of an ancient temple (al-Balād̲h̲urī, 165-6) and the chief mosque in Dihlī was originally a temple (Ibn Baṭṭūta, iii, 151); as to Ṭāʾif, cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 10. Thus in Islam also, the old rule holds that sacred places survive changes of religion. It was especially easy in cases where Christian sanctuaries were associated with Biblical personalities who were also recognised by Islam: e.g., the Church of St. John in Damascus and many holy places in Palestine. One example is the mosque of Job in S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Saʿd, associated with sūra XXI, 83, XXXVIII, 40; here in Silvia's time (4th century) there was a church of Job (al-Masʿūdī, i, 91 = § 84; Baedeker, *Paläst. u. Syrien*⁷, 1910, 147).

But Islam itself had created historical associations which were bound soon to lead to the building of new mosques. Even in the lifetime of the Prophet, the Banū Sālim are said to have asked him to perform the *ṣalāt* in their *masd̲j̲id* to give it his authority (see above, in I. A. 3). At the request of ʿItbān b. Malik, the Prophet performed the *ṣalāt* along with Abū Bakr in his house and thereby consecrated it as a *muṣallā*, because he could not reach the tribal mosque in the rainy season (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 47; *Tahad̲j̲d̲j̲ud*, *bāb* 36; Muslim, *Masād̲j̲id*, tr. 46; a similar story in al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ad̲h̲ān*, *bāb* 47, *Tahad̲j̲d̲j̲ud*, *bāb* 33, is perhaps identical in origin). After the death of the Prophet, his memory became so precious that the places where he had prayed obtained a special importance and his followers, who liked to imitate him in everything, preferred to perform their *ṣalāt* in such places. But this tendency was only an intensification of what had existed in his lifetime; and so it is not easy to decide how far the above stories reflect later conditions. Mosques very quickly arose on the road between Mecca and Medina at places where, according to the testimony of his Companions, the Prophet had prayed (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 89; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 421 ff.); the same was the case with the road which the Prophet had taken to Tabūk in the year 9/630-1 (Ibn His̲h̲ām, 907; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 394; there were 19 in all, which are listed in *Annali dell' Islām*, ii-246-7). Indeed, wherever he had taken the field, mosques were built; for example, on the road to Badr, where according to tradition Abū Bakr had built a mosque (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 39, also Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 135). The mosque of al-Faḍīk̲h̲ was built on the spot where the Prophet had prayed in a leather tent during the war with the Banu 'l-Naḍīr in the year 4/625-6 (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 163; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 132). He is said to have himself built a little mosque in K̲h̲aybar during the campaign of the year 7/628-9 (al-Diyārbakrī, ii, 49-50; cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 19). Outside Ṭāʾif, a mosque was built on a hillock, because the Prophet had performed the *ṣalāt* there during the siege in the year 8/629-30, between the tents of his two wives, Umm Salama and Zaynab (Ibn His̲h̲ām, 872-3; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 369); in Liyya, the Prophet is said to have himself built a mosque while on the campaign against Ṭāʾif (Ibn His̲h̲ām, 872; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 368-9). Mosques arose in and around Medina, "because Muḥammad prayed here" (Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Stadt Medina*, 31, 38, 132 ff.). It is obvious that in most of these cases, later conditions are put back to the time of the Prophet; in connection with the "Campaign of the Trench" we are told that "he prayed everywhere where mosques now stand" (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 208). Since, for example, the Masd̲j̲id al-Faḍīk̲h̲ is also called Masd̲j̲id al-S̲h̲ams (Wüstenfeld, *Medīna*, 132), we have perhaps here actually an ancient sanctuary.

Mosques became associated with the Prophet in many ways. In Medina, for example, there was the Masd̲j̲id al-Bag̲h̲la where footprints of the Prophet's mule were shown in a stone, the Masd̲j̲id al-Id̲j̲āba where the Prophet's appeal was answered, the Masd̲j̲id al-Fatḥ which recalls the victory over the Meccans, etc. (see Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 136 ff.). In Mecca, there was naturally a large number of places sacred through associations with the Prophet and therefore used as places of prayer. The most honoured site, next to the chief mosque, is said to have been the house of K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a, also called Mawlid al-Sayyida Fāṭima, because the daughter of the Prophet was born there. This house, in which the Prophet lived till the *hid̲j̲ra*, was taken over by ʿAḳīl, ʿAlī's brother, and bought by him through Muʿāwiya and turned into a mosque (*Chroniken d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 423; iii , 438, 440). Next comes the house in which the Prophet held his first secret meetings. This was bought by al-K̲h̲ayzurān [*q.v.*], mother of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, on her pilgrimage in 171/788 and turned into a mosque (*Chron. Mekka*, iii, 112, 440). She also purchased the Prophet's birthplace, *Mawlid al-Nabī*, and made it into a mosque (*ibid.*, i, 422; iii, 439). If Muʿāwiya really bought the Prophet's house from his cousin, it was probably the right one; but the demand for places associated with the Prophet became stronger and stronger, and we therefore find more and more places referred not only to the Prophet, but also to his Companions. Such are the birthplaces of Ḥamza, ʿUmar and ʿAlī (*Chron. Mekka*, iii, 445), and the house of Māriya, the mother of the Prophet's son, Ibrāhīm (*ibid.*, i, 447, 466), who also had a mosque at Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 133). There were also a Masd̲j̲id K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a (*ibid.*, i, 324) and a Masd̲j̲id ʿĀʾis̲h̲a (*ibid.*, iii, 454), a Masd̲j̲id of the "granted appeal" in a narrow valley near Mecca, where the Prophet performed the *ṣalāt* (*ibid.*, 453), a Masd̲j̲id al-D̲j̲inn, where the D̲j̲inn overheard his preaching (*ibid.*, i, 424; iii, 453), a Masd̲j̲id al-Raʾya, where he planted his standard at the conquest (*ibid.*, ii, 68 below and 71 above; iii, 13, 453), a Masd̲j̲id al-Bayʿa where the first homage of the Medinans was received (*ibid.*, i, 428; iii, 441). In the Masd̲j̲id al-K̲h̲ayf in Minā is shown the mark of the

Prophet's head in a stone into which visitors also put their heads (*ibid.*, iii, 438). Persons in the Bible are also connected with mosques, Adam, Abraham and Ismāʿīl with the Kaʿba, beside which the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm* is shown, and in ʿArafa there is still a Masdjid Ibrāhīm (*ibid.*, i, 415, 425) and another in al-Ẓāhir near Mecca (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, Leiden-London 1907, 112). To these memorial mosques others were later added, e.g. the Masdjid Abī Bakr, Masdjid Bilāl, the Mosque of the Splitting of the Moon (by the Prophet), etc. (see Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 114 ff.; al-Muḳaddasī, 102-3; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 27; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*², Cairo 1329/1911, 52 ff.).

In al-Ḥidjāz, the Muslims thus acquired a series of mosques which became important from their association with the Prophet, his family and his Companions, and made Muslim history live. On the other hand, in lands formerly Christian, they took over sanctuaries which were associated with the Biblical history which they had assimilated (see Le Strange, *Palestine*, passim). Other mosques soon became associated with Biblical and Muslim story. The mosque founded by ʿUmar on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem was, as already pointed out, identified as *al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā* mentioned in sūra XVII, 1, and therefore connected with the Prophet's night journey and the journey to Paradise. The rock is said to have greeted the Prophet on this occasion, and marks in a stone covering a hole are explained as Muḥammad's footprints (sometimes also as those of Idrīs; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 136; al-Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 165; Baedeker, *Palästina*, 1910, 52-3; cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 311). The name *al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā* was used throughout the early period for the whole Ḥarām area in Jerusalem, later partly for it, and partly for the building in its southern part (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 100; Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, 95, 121; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 96-7). Then there were the mosques which had specifically Muslim associations, like the Masdjid of ʿUmar on the Mount of Olives where he encamped at the conquest (al-Muḳaddasī, 172).

In Egypt not only was an old Christian sanctuary called Maʿbad Mūsā (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 269), but we are also told, for example, that the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was built where Mūsā talked with his Lord (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 36); according to al-Ḳurdāʿī, there were in Egypt four Masdjids of Mūsā (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, ed. Vollers, 92); there was a Masdjid Yaʿḳūb wa-Yūsuf (al-Muḳaddasī, 200) and a Joseph's prison, certainly dating from the Christian period (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 315). There was also a Mosque of Abraham in Munyat Ibn al-Khaṣīb (Ibn Djubayr, 58). The chief mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ was built by Shem, son of Noah (Ibn Rusta, 110). The old temple near Iṣṭakhr mentioned above was connected with Sulaymān (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 76-7 = § 1403; Yāḳūt, i, 299). In the mosque of Kūfa, not only Ibrāhīm but one thousand other prophets and one thousand saints, described as *waṣī*, are said to have offered their prayers; here was the tree Yaḳṭīn (sūra XXXVII, 146); here died Yaghūth and Yaʿūḳ, etc. (Yāḳūt, iv, 325; also Ibn Djubayr, 211-12), and in this mosque there was a chapel of Abraham, Noah and Idrīs (Ibn Djubayr, 212); a large number of mosques were associated with Companions of the Prophet. What emphasis was laid on such an association is seen, for example, from the story according to which ʿUmar declined to perform the *ṣalāt* in the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, lest the Church should afterwards be claimed as a mosque.

4. Tomb-mosques. A special class of memorial mosques consisted of those which were associated with a tomb. The graves of ancestors and of saints had been sanctuaries from ancient times and they were gradually adopted into Islam. In addition, there were the saints of Islam itself. The general tendency to distinguish places associated with the founders of Islam naturally concentrated itself round the graves in which they rested. In the Ḳurʾān, a tomb-*masdjid* is mentioned in connection with the Seven Sleepers (sūra XVIII, 20) but it is not clear if it was recognised. As early as the year 6/627-8 the companions of Abū Baṣīr are said to have built a mosque at the place where he died and was buried (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 262). The Prophet is also said to have visited regularly at al-Baḳīʿ in Medina the tombs of martyrs who fell at Uḥud and paid reverence to them (*ibid.*, 143). Whatever the exact amount of truth in the story, there is no doubt that the story of the tomb-mosque of Abū Baṣīr is antedated. The accounts of the death of the Prophet and of the period immediately following reveal no special interest in his tomb. But very soon the general trend of development stimulated an interest in graves, which led to the erection of sanctuaries at them. The progress of this tendency is more marked in al-Wāḳidī, who died in 207/823, than in Ibn Isḥāḳ, who died in 151/768.

The collections of *Ḥadīth* made in the 3rd/9th century contain discussions on this fact which show that the problem was whether the tombs could be used as places of worship and in this connection whether mosques could be built over the tombs. The *ḥadīths* answer both questions in the negative, which certainly was in the spirit of the Prophet. It is said that "*Ṣalāt* at the graves (*fi 'l-maḳābir*) is *makrūh*" (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 52); "sit not upon graves and perform not *ṣalāt* towards them" (Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, tr. 33); "hold the *ṣalāt* in your houses, but do not use them as tombs" (Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, tr. 28). On the other hand, it is acknowledged that Anas performed the *ṣalāt* at the cemetery (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 48). We are also told that tombs cannot be used as *masādjid* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 48; *Djanāʾiz*, *bāb* 62). On his deathbed the Prophet is said to have cursed the Jews and the Christians because they used the tombs of their prophets as *masādjid*. *Ḥadīth* explains this by saying that the tomb of the Prophet was not at first accessible (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 48, 55; *Djanāʾiz*, *bāb* 62; *Anbiyāʾ*, *bāb* 50; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 3); as a matter of fact, its precise location was not exactly known (*Djanāʾiz*, *bāb* 96). The attacks in *Ḥadīth* insist that tomb-mosques are a reprehensible Jewish practice: "When a pious man dies, they built a *masdjid* on his tomb", etc. (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 48, 54; Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, *bāb* 71). Although this view of tomb-mosques is still held in certain limited circles (cf. Ibn Taymiyya and the Wahhābis), the old pre-Islamic custom soon also became a Muslim one. The expositors of *Ḥadīth* like al-Nawawī (on Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 3, lith. Dihlī 1319, i, 201) and al-ʿAsḳalānī, (Cairo 1329, i, 354) explain the above passages to mean that only an exaggerated *taʿẓīm* of the dead is forbidden so that tombs should not be used as a *ḳibla*; otherwise, it is quite commendable to spend time in a mosque in proximity to a devout man.

The name given to a tomb-mosque is often *ḳubba* [*q.v.*] a word which is used of a tent (al-Bukhārī, *Djanāʾiz*, *bāb* 62; *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 64; *Farḍ al-khums*, *bāb* 19; *al-Djizya*, *bāb* 15; Ṭarafa, *Dīwān*, vii, 1), but later came to mean the dome which usually covers tombs and thus became the general name for the sanctuary of a saint (cf. Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 114, 115; cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.). *Maḳām* also means a little chapel and

a saint's tomb (van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 72, etc.; cf. index). The custom of making a *ḳubba* at the tomb of a saint was firmly rooted in Byzantine territory, where sepulchral churches always had a dome (Herzog-Hauch, *Realenzyclopädie*[3], x, 784). The usual name however for a tomb-sanctuary was *ma<u>sh</u>had*; this is applied to places where saints are worshipped, among Muslim tombs particularly to those of the friends and relations of the Prophet (van Berchem, *CIA*, i, nos. 32, 63, 417, 544; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 265, 309 ff.), but also to tombs of other recognised saints, e.g. Ma<u>sh</u>had <u>Dj</u>ir<u>dj</u>is in Mawṣil (Ibn <u>Dj</u>ubayr, *Riḥla*, 236), etc.

The transformation of the tombs of the Prophet and his near relatives into sanctuaries seems to have been a gradual process. Muḥammad, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are said to have been buried in the house of ʿĀʾi<u>sh</u>a; Fāṭima and ʿAlī lived beside it. ʿĀʾi<u>sh</u>a had a wall built between her room and the tombs to prevent visitors carrying off earth from the tomb of the Prophet. The houses of the Prophet's wives remained as they were until al-Walīd rebuilt them. He thought it scandalous that Ḥasan b. ʿAlī should live in Fāṭima's house and ʿUmar's family close beside ʿĀʾi<u>sh</u>a's home in the house of Ḥafṣa. He acquired the houses, had all the houses of the Prophet's wives torn down and erected new buildings. The tombs were enclosed by a pentagonal wall; the whole area was called *al-Rawḍa* "the garden"; it was not till later that a dome was built over it (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 66 ff., 72-3, 78 ff., 89). In the cemetery of Medina, al-Baḳīʿ [see BAḲĪʿ AL-<u>GH</u>ARḲAD], a whole series of *ma<u>sh</u>āhid* came to be built where tombs of the family and of the Companions of the Prophet were located (*ibid.*, 140 ff.; Ibn <u>Dj</u>ubayr, *Riḥla*, 195 ff.). It is often disputed whether a tomb belonged to one or the other (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2436, 2). Such tomb-mosques were sacred (*muḳaddas*; Ibn <u>Dj</u>ubayr, *Riḥla*, 114, 13, 17), and they were visited *li 'l-baraka*. The name *al-Rawḍa* of the Prophet's tomb became later applied to other sanctuaries (*ibid.*, 46, 16; 52, 11). Separate limbs were revered in some mosques, like the head of al-Ḥusayn in Cairo, which was brought there in 491/1098 from ʿAsḳalān (ʿAlī Pā<u>sh</u>a Mubārak, *al-<u>Kh</u>iṭaṭ al-<u>dj</u>adīda*, iv, 91 ff.; cf. Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébr.*, 16); his head was also revered for some time in the *Ma<u>sh</u>had al-Raʾs* in Damascus (according to Ibn <u>Sh</u>ākir, *JA*, ser. 9, vii, 385).

Gradually, a vast number of Muslim tombs of saints came into existence; and to these were added all the pre-Islamic sanctuaries which were adopted by Islam. No distinction can therefore be drawn between tomb-mosques and other memorial mosques. It was often impossible to prove that the tomb in question ever really existed. In the Ma<u>sh</u>had ʿAlī, for example, ʿAlī's tomb is honoured, but Ibn <u>Dj</u>ubayr leaves it in doubt whether he is really buried there (*Riḥla*, 212) and many located his grave in the mosque at Kūfa and elsewhere (al-Masʿūdī, *Murū<u>dj</u>*, iv, 289, v, 68 = §§ 1612, 1825; Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 163). In ʿAyn al-Baḳar near ʿAkkā there was also a Ma<u>sh</u>had ʿAlī (Yāḳūt, iii, 759) and also in the Mosque of the Umayyads (Ibn <u>Dj</u>ubayr, 267); on this question, cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 46. Names frequently become confused and transferred. In Mecca, between Ṣafā and Marwa there was a *ḳubba*, which was associated with ʿUmar b. al-<u>Kh</u>aṭṭāb; but Ibn <u>Dj</u>ubayr says that it should be connected with ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (*Riḥla*, 115, 11 ff.). In <u>Dj</u>īza there was a Ma<u>sh</u>had Abī Hurayra, where the memory of this Companion of the Prophet was honoured; it is said to have been originally the grave of another Abū Hurayra (Maḳrīzī, i, 335, 19). Wherever <u>Sh</u>īʿīs ruled, there arose numerous tomb-mosques of the *Ahl al-Bayt.* In Egypt, Ibn <u>Dj</u>ubayr gives a list of 14 men and five women of the Prophet's family, who were honoured there (*Riḥla*, 46-7). Islam was always creating new tombs of saints who had been distinguished for learning or asceticism or miracle-working, e.g. the tomb of al-<u>Sh</u>āfiʿī in Cairo and Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭa. There were mosques, chiefly old-established sanctuaries, of Biblical and semi-Biblical personages like Rūbīl (Reuben) and Āsiya the wife of Pharaoh (*ibid.*, 46). In and around Damascus were a number of mosques, which were built on the tombs of prophets and unnamed saints (Ibn <u>Dj</u>ubayr, *Riḥla*, 273 ff.). In Palestine could be seen a vast number of tombs of Biblical personages (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, index, and Conder, in *Palestine Explor. Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1871, 89 ff.), usually mosques with a *ḳubba.*

After the sanctuaries of persons mentioned in the Bible came those of people mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. For example, outside the *<u>Dj</u>āmiʿ* in ʿAkkā was shown the tomb-mosque of the prophet Ṣāliḥ (Nāṣir-i <u>Kh</u>usraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 15, 1, tr. 49), and in Syria that of his son (Ibn <u>Dj</u>ubayr, 46); that of Hūd was also shown near ʿAkkā (Nāṣir-i <u>Kh</u>usraw, 16, 5, tr. 52), farther east, that of <u>Sh</u>uʿayb and of his daughter (*ibid.*, 16, 12, tr. 53); the tomb of Hūd was also pointed out in Damascus and in Ḥadramawt (Yāḳūt ii, 596, 16); then we have peculiarly Muslim saints like <u>Dh</u>u 'l-Kifl, the son of Job (Nāṣir-i <u>Kh</u>usraw, 16, 4, tr. 52). Then there are the sanctuaries of saints who are only superficially Muslim but really have their origins in old popular superstitions, like al-<u>Kh</u>aḍir, who had a *ma<u>sh</u>had* in Damascus (Yāḳūt, ii, 596, 9), or a saint like ʿAkk, founder of the town of ʿAkkā, whose tomb Nāṣir-i <u>Kh</u>usraw visited outside the town (15, 6 from below, tr. 51). Such tombs were much visited by pious travellers and are therefore frequently mentioned in literature (on *ma<u>sh</u>āhid* of the kinds mentioned here in ʿIrāḳ, see al-Muḳaddasī, 130; for Mawṣil, etc., *ibid.*, 146). In this way, ancient sanctuaries were turned into mosques, and it is often quite a matter of chance under what names they are adopted by Islam (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 325 ff.). It therefore sometimes happens that the same saint is honoured in several mosques. Abū Hurayra, who is buried in Medina, is honoured not only in the above-mentioned tomb-mosque in <u>Dj</u>īza but also at various places in Palestine, in al-Ramla and in Yubnā south of Ṭabariyya (<u>Kh</u>alīl ed-Ḍāhiry, *Zoubdat Kachf el-Mamâlik* ed. P. Ravaisse, 42, 1 from below; Nāṣir-i <u>Kh</u>usraw, 17, 1 from below, no. 59; Yāḳūt, iii, 512, 20; iv, 1007, 12; cf. *Symbolae Osloenses Fasc. Supplet.*, ii [1928], 31). The tomb of the Prophet Jonah is revered not only in the ancient Niniveh but also in Palestine.

Just as the *ḳubba* under which the saint lay and the mosque adjoining it were sanctified by him, so vice-versa a *ḳubba* and a mosque could cause a deceased person to become considered a saint. It was therefore the custom for the mighty not only to give this distinction to their fathers but also to prepare such buildings for themselves even in their own lifetime. This was particularly the custom of the Mamlūk sultans, perhaps stimulated by the fact that they did not found dynasties in which power passed from father to son. Such buildings are called *ḳubba* (van Berchem, *CIA*, i, nos. 82, 95, 96, 126, 138, etc.), exceptionally *zāwiya* (*ibid.*, no. 98), frequently *turba* (*ibid.*, no. 58, 66, 88, 106, 107, 116, etc.); the formula is also found: "this *ḳubba* is a *turba*" (no. 67); the latter word acquired the same meaning as *masdjid*, *ma<u>sh</u>had*, partly saint's grave

and partly sacred site (cf. Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 114, 196); but this word does not seem to be used of ordinary tomb-mosques, although the distinction between these and mosques in honour of saints often disappeared. In these *ḳubbas*, the regular recitation of the Ḳurʾān was often arranged and the tomb was provided with a *kiswa*. The mausoleum might be built in connection with a great mosque and be separated from it by a grille (Yāḳūt, iv, 509, 6 ff.).

5. Mosques deliberately founded. In the early period, the building of mosques was a social obligation of the ruler as representative of the community and the tribes. Very soon a number of mosques came into existence, provided by individuals. In addition to tribal mosques, as already mentioned, there were also sectarian mosques, and prominent leaders built mosques which were the centres of their activity, for example the Masdjid ʿAdī b. Ḥātim (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 130), the Masdjid Simāk in Kūfa (*ibid.*, i, 2653), the Masdjid al-Ashʿath, etc. As old sanctuaries became Islamised, the mosque received more of the character of a sanctuary and the building of a mosque became a pious work; there arose a *ḥadīth*, according to which the Prophet said: "for him who builds a mosque, God will build a home in Paradise"; some add "if he desire to see the face of God" (*Corpus iuris di Zaid b. ʿAlī*, ed. Griffini, no. 276; al-Bukhārī, *Salāt*, *bāb* 65; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 4; *Zuhd*, tr. 3; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 36). Like other sanctuaries, mosques were sometimes built as a result of a revelation in a dream. A story of this kind of the year 557/1162 is given by al-Samhūdī for Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 91); and a similar one of a mosque in Damascus (*JA*, ser. 9, vii, 384); a mosque was also built out of gratitude for seeing the Prophet (*al-Madrasa al-Sharīfiyya*, al-Makrīzī, iv, 209). It was of course particularly an obligation on the mighty to build mosques. Even in the earliest period, the governors took care that new mosques were built to keep pace with the spread of Islam (cf. al-Balādhurī, 178-9). About the year 390/1000 the governor of Djibāl, Badr b. Ḥasanawayh, is said to have built 3,000 mosques and hostels (Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 24, Eng. tr. 27). The collections of inscriptions, as well as the geographical and topographical works, reveal how the number of mosques increased in this way.

In Egypt, al-Ḥākim in the year 403/1012-13 had a census taken of the mosques of Cairo, and these were found to amount to 800 (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 264); al-Ḳuḍāʿī (d. 454/1062) also counted the mosques, and his figure is put at 30,000 or 36,000 (Yāḳūt, iii, 901; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, ed. Vollers, 92; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 264), which seems a quite fantastic figure (there is probably a *wa*-lacking before *alf*, i.e. 1,036). Ibn al-Mutawwadj (d. 730/1330) according to al-Maḳrīzī counted 480, and Ibn Duḳmaḳ (about 800/1398) gives in addition to the incomplete list of *djāmiʿ*s a list of 472 mosques, not including *madāris*, *khānaḳāhs*, etc.; the figure given by al-Maḳrīzī is smaller. The fantastic figure of 30,000 for Baghdād is found as early as al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 250). It is also an exaggeration when Ibn Djubayr was told in Alexandria that there were 12,000 or 8,000 mosques there (43). In Baṣra, where Ziyād built 7 mosques (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 191), the number also increased rapidly, but here again an exaggerated figure (7,000) is given (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *op. cit.*, 361). In Damascus, Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) counted 241 within and 148 outside the city (*JA*, ser. 9, vii, 383). In Palermo, Ibn Ḥawḳal counted over 300, and in a village above it 200 mosques. In some streets there were as many as 20 mosques within a bowshot of one another; this multiplicity is condemned: everyone wanted to build a mosque for himself (Yāḳūt, i, 719; iii, 409, 410). As a matter of fact, one can almost say that things tended this way; al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions in Baghdād a mosque for the Anbārī officials of the tax-office (*Buldān*, 245), and several distinguished scholars practically had their own mosques. It occasionally happened that devout private individuals founded mosques. In 672/1273-4 Tādj al-Dīn built a mosque and a separate chamber in which he performed the *ṣalāt* alone and meditated (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 90). The mosques thus founded were very often called after their founders, and memorial and tomb-mosques after the person to be commemorated. Sometimes a mosque is called after some devout man who lived in it (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 97, 265 ff.) and a *madrasa* might be called after its head or a teacher (*ibid.*, iv, 235; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 82). Lastly, a mosque might take its name from its situation or from some feature of the building.

6. Al-Muṣallā. In addition to the mosques proper, al-Maḳrīzī mentions for Cairo eight places for prayer (*muṣallā*) mainly at the cemetery (iv, 334-5). The word *muṣallā* may mean any place of prayer, therefore also mosque (cf. sūra II, 119; cf. al-Maḳrīzī *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 25, 16; idem, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. Bunz. 91, 17; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 326, 3-5) or a particular place of prayer within a mosque (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2408, 16; al-Bukhārī, *Ghusl*, *bāb* 17; *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 91). In Palestine, there were many open places of prayer, provided only with a *miḥrāb* and marked off, but quite in the open (cf. for Tiberias, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, ed. Schefer, 36). It is recorded of the Prophet that he used to go out at the two festivals (*al-Fiṭr* and *al-Aḍḥā*) to the place of prayer (*al-muṣallā*) of the Banū Sālima. A lance which the Negus of Ethiopia had presented to al-Zubayr was carried in front of him and planted before the Prophet as *sutra*. Standing in front of it, he conducted the *ṣalāt*, and then preached a *khuṭba* without a *minbar* to the rows in front of him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1281, 14 ff.; al-Bukhārī, *Ḥayḍ*, *bāb* 6; *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 90; *ʿĪdayn*, *bāb* 6). He also went out to the *muṣallā* for the *ṣalāt al-istisḳāʾ* (Muslim, *Istisḳāʾ*, tr. 1). This *muṣallā* was an open space, and Muḥammad is even said to have forbidden a building on it (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 127 ff.). This custom of performing the *ṣalāt* on a *muṣallā* outside the town on the two festivals became *sunna*. There is evidence of the custom for several towns. In Medina, however, a mosque was later built on the *muṣallā* (*ibid.*, 128) which also happened in other places. An early innovation was the introduction of a *minbar* by Marwān (*ibid.*, 128; al-Bukhārī, *ʿĪdayn*, *bāb* 6). When Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ built a mosque in Kisrā's *Īwān* in al-Madāʾin, at the festival in the year 16/637, it was expressly stated that it was *sunna* to go out to it; Saʿd, however, thought it was a matter of indifference (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2451). Shortly after 300/912-13 a *muṣallā* outside of Hamadhān is mentioned (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 23 = § 3595). There was al-Muṣallā al-ʿAtīḳ in Baghdād; here a *dakka* was erected for the execution of the Ḳarmaṭian prisoners (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2244-5; cf. 1659, 18); in Kūfa, several are mentioned (*ibid.*, ii, 628, 16; 1704, 8; iii, 367, 8-368) two in Marw (*ibid.*, ii, 1931, 2; 1964, 19; cf. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, tr. 274), one in Farghāna (Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 393, 11). In Tirmidh, the *muṣallā* was within the walls (Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 349, 18) which also happened elsewhere (*ibid.*, 378, 6-377). In Cairo, the two festivals were celebrated on the Muṣallā Khawlān (a Yemeni tribe) with the *khaṭīb* of the Mosque of ʿAmr as leader: according to al-Ḳuḍāʿī, the festivals were to be celebrated on a *muṣallā* opposite the hill Yaḥmūm,

then on al-Muṣallā al-Ḳadīm where Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn erected a building in 256/870. The site was several times changed (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 334-5; cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 200, 14-20). In 302, 306 and 308 the *ṣalāt al-ʿīd* was performed for the first time in the Mosque of ʿAmr (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 20, 8 ff.; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 137 below; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 194, 9 ff.). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes the custom in Spain (i, 20) and Tunis (i, 22) and also in India (iii, 154). Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (d. 737/1336-7) says that in his time the ceremonies still took place on the *muṣallā* but condemns the *bidaʿ* associated with them (*K. al-Madkhal*, Cairo 1320, ii, 82). It is also laid down in Muslim law, although not always definitely (see Juynboll, *Handbuch d. Islām. Ges.*, 1910, 127; I. Guidi, *Il Muḫtaṣar*, i, 1919, 136). The custom seems in time to have become generally abandoned. In the 9th/15th century the Masdjid Āḳsunḳur was expressly built for the *khuṭba* at the Friday services and at festivals (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 107, 17).

C. The mosque as the centre for divine worship.

1. Sanctity of the mosque. The history of the mosques in the early centuries of Islam shows an increase in its sanctity, which was intensified by the adoption of the traditions of the church and especially by the permeation of the cult of saints. The sanctity already associated with tombs taken over by Islam was naturally very soon transferred to the larger and more imposing mosques. The expression *Bayt Allāh* "house of God", which at first was only used of the Kaʿba came now be applied to any mosque (see *Corpus iuris di Zaid b. ʿAlī*, no. 48, cf. 156, 983; *Chron. Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 164; van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 10, 1. 18; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *K. al-Madkhal*, i, 20, 23; ii, 64, 68; cf. *Bayt Rabbihi*, *ibid.*, i, 23, 73; ii, 56). The alteration in the original conception is illustrated by the fact that the Mamlūk al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars declined to build a mosque on a place for tethering camels because it was unseemly, while the mosque of the Prophet had actually been built on such a place (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 91; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 22).

In the house of God, the *miḥrāb* and the *minbar* enjoyed particular sanctity, as did the tomb, especially in Medina (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-ṣalāt fī masdjid Makka wa 'l-Madīna*, *bāb* 5). The visitors sought *baraka*, partly by touching the tomb or the railing round it, partly by praying in its vicinity; at such places "prayer is heard" (*Chron. Mekka*, iii, 441, 442). In the Masdjid al-Khayf in Minā, the visitor laid his head on the print of the Prophet's head and thus obtained *baraka* (*ibid.*, iii, 438). A mosque could be built on a site, the sanctity of which had been shown by the finding of hidden treasure (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 75). There were often places of particular sanctity in mosques. In the mosques at Ḳubāʾ and Medina, the spots where the Prophet used to stand at prayer were held to be particularly blessed (al-Balādhurī, 5; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 91; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 65, cf. 82, 109). In other mosques, places where a saint had sat or where a divine phenomenon had taken place, e.g. in the Mosque of ʿAmr and in the Azhar Mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iii, 19, 52) or the Mosque in Jerusalem (al-Muḳaddasī, 170), were specially visited. Pious visitors made *ṭawāf* [see ḤADJDJ] between such places in the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 20). Just as in other religions, we find parents dedicating their children to the service of a sanctuary, so we find a Muslim woman vowing her child or child yet unborn to the mosque (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 74; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 20). The fact that mosques, like other sanctuaries, were sometimes founded after a revelation received in a dream has already been mentioned (see 1. B. 5).

This increase in sanctity had as a natural result that one could no longer enter a mosque at random as had been the case in the time of the Prophet. In the early Umayyad period, Christians were still allowed to enter the mosque without molestation (cf. Lammens, *Moʿâwia*, 13-14; Goldziher, in *WZKM*, vi [1892], 100-1). Muʿāwiya used to sit with his Christian physician, Ibn Uthāl, in the mosque of Damascus (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 117). According to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, the *Ahl al-Kitāb* (or *Ahl al-ʿAhd*) and their servants, but not polytheists, were allowed to enter the mosque of Medina (*Musnad*, iii, 339, 392). At a later date, entrance was forbidden to Christians and this regulation is credited to ʿUmar (Lammens, *op. cit.*, 13, n. 6). A strict teacher of morality like Ibn al-Ḥādjdj thought it unseemly that the monks who wove the mats for the mosques should be allowed to lay them in the mosque (*Madkhal*, ii, 57). Conditions were not always the same. In Hebron, Jews and Christians were admitted on payment to the sanctuary of Abraham until in 664/1265 Baybars forbade it (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/2, 27).

According to some traditions, a person in a state of ritual impurity could not enter the mosque (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 92; Ibn Mādja, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 123). In any case, only the pure could acquire merit by visiting the mosque (Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 49; *Corpus iuris di Zaid b. ʿAlī*, no. 48), and in a later period it is specially mentioned that the *wuḍūʾ* cannot be undertaken in the mosque itself (*Madkhal*, ii, 47 below) nor could shaving (*ibid.*, 58-9).

It is always necessary to be careful not to spit in a mosque, although some traditions which are obviously closer to the old state of affairs say, "not in the direction of the *ḳibla*, only to the left!" (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bābs* 33-4). The custom of taking off one's sandals in the mosque is found as early as the time of Abū ʿUbayd (2nd/8th century) (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 272, 13-237) and according to Ibn al-Ḥādjdj's *Madkhal* (see below) is also mentioned by Abū Dāwūd. Al-Ṭabarī puts the custom back to the time of ʿUmar (i, 2408). That it is based on an old custom observed in sanctuaries is obvious (cf. on the history of the custom, F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 1926, 60-1). The custom, however, seems not to have been always observed. In the 2nd/8th century in the Mosque of the Umayyads, the shoes were taken off only in the *maḳṣūra*, because the floor was covered with mats; but in 212/827 an Egyptian superintendent ordered that the mosque should only be entered with bare feet (*JA*, ser. 9, vii, 211, 217). The visitor on entering should place his right foot first and utter certain prayers with blessings on the Prophet and his family (which Muḥammad is said to have done!) and when he is inside perform two *rakʿas* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 47; *Tahadjdjud*, *bāb* 25; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, trs. 12-13; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2464, 2532). Certain regulations for decent conduct came into being, the object of which was to preserve the dignity of the house of divine service. Public announcements about strayed animals were not to be made, as the Bedouins did in their houses of assembly, and one should not call out aloud and thereby disturb the meditations of the worshippers (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 83; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 18; more fully in *Madkhal*, i, 19 ff.). One should put on fine clothes for the Friday service, rub oneself with oil and perfume oneself (al-Bukhārī *Djumʿa*, *bābs* 3, 6, 7, 19) as was also done with *ṭīb* for the *Ḥadjdj* (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 143).

A question which interested the teachers of morality was that of the admission of women to the mosques. That many did not desire their presence is evident from the *ḥadīth* that one cannot prevent them

as there is no *fitna* connected with it, but they must not be perfumed (Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 29; al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 13; cf. *Chron. Mekka*, iv, 168). Other *ḥadīth*s say they should leave the mosques before the men (al-Nasāʾī, *Sahw*, *bāb* 77; cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb*s 14, 48). Sometimes a special part of the mosque was railed off for them; for example, the governor of Mecca in 256/870 had ropes tied between the columns to make a separate place for women (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 197 below). According to some, women must not enter the mosque during their menstruation (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb*s 92, 103; Ibn Mādja, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb*s 117, 123). In Medina at the present day, a wooden grille shuts off a place for women (al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*, 240). At one time, the women stood at the back of the mosque here (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 400). In Jerusalem there were special *maḳṣūra*s for them (Ibn al-Faḳih, 100). Ibn al-Ḥādjdj would prefer to exclude them altogether and gives ʿĀʾisha as his authority for this.

Although the mosque became sacred, it could not quite cast off its old character as a place of public assembly, and in consequence, the mosque was visited for many other purposes than that of divine worship. Not only in the time of the Umayyads was considerable business done in the mosques (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1118; cf. Lammens, *Ziād*, 98) which is quite in keeping with the *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb*s 70-1) which actually found it necessary to forbid the sale of wine in the mosque (*ibid.*, *bāb* 73), but Ibn al-Ḥādjdj records with disapproval that business was done in the mosques: women sit in the mosques and sell thread, in Mecca hawkers even call their wares in the mosques. The list given by this author gives one the impression of a regular market-place (*Madkhal*, ii, 54). Strangers could always sit down in a mosque and talk with one another (see al-Muḳaddasī, 205); they had the right to spend the night in the mosque; according to some, however, only if there was no other shelter available (*Madkhal*, ii, 43 below, 49 above; see below I.D.1b). It naturally came about that people also ate in the mosque; this was quite common, and regular banquets were even given in them (e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 67, 121-2; cf. in *Ḥadīth*: Ibn Mādja, *Atʿima*, *bāb*s 24, 29; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 106, 10 from below). Ibn al-Ḥādjdj laments that in the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā people even threw the remains of their repast down in the mosque; animals were brought in, and beggars and water-carriers called aloud in them, etc. (*Madkhal*, ii, 53 ff.). It is even mentioned as a sign of the special piety of al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) that he often brought food into the mosque and consumed it there with his pupils (Wüstenfeld, *Der Imâm Schâfiʿī*, iii, 298). Gradually, the mosques acquired greater numbers of residents (see below, I.D. 2b). In the Azhar Mosque, it was the custom with many to spend the summer nights there because it was cool and pleasant (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 54). This was the state of affairs about 800/1398. Similar conditions still prevail in the mosques.

2. The mosque as a place of prayer. Friday mosques. As places for divine worship, the mosques are primarily "houses of which God has permitted that they be erected and that His name be mentioned in them" (sūra XXIV, 36), i.e. for His service demanded by the law, for ceremonies of worship (*manāsik*), for assemblies for prayer (*djamāʿat*) and other religious duties (cf. *Chron. Mekka*, iv, 164). The mosques were *maʿābid* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 117, 140). In Medina after a journey, the Prophet went at once to the mosque and performed two *rakʿa*s, a custom which was imitated by others and became the rule (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb*s 59-60; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, tr. 11; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 412, 436). In this respect, the mosque played a part in public worship similar to that of the Kaʿba in Mecca at an earlier date and the Rabba sanctuary in Ṭāʾif. The daily *ṣalāt*s, which in themselves could be performed anywhere, became especially meritorious when they were performed in mosques, because they expressed adherence to the community. A *ṣalāt al-djamāʿa*, we are told, is twenty or twenty-five times as meritorious as the *ṣalāt* of an individual at home or in his shop (Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 42; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 87; *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 49). There are even *ḥadīth*s which condemn private *ṣalāt*s: "Those who perform the *ṣalāt* in their houses abandon the *sunna* of their Prophet" (Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 44; but cf. 48 and al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 52). If much rain falls, the believers may, however, worship in their houses (al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 14). In this connection, a blind man was given a special *rukhṣa*; it is particularly bad to leave the mosque after the *adhān* (Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 45). It is therefore very meritorious to go to the mosque; for every step a man advances into the mosque, he receives forgiveness of sins, God protects him at the last judgment and the angels also assist him (Muslim, *Masādjid*, *bāb*s 49-51; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 87; *Adhān*, *bāb*s 36, 37; *Djumʿa*, *bāb*s 4, 18, 31; *Corpus iuris di Zaid b. ʿAlī*, nos. 48, 156, 983).

This holds especially of the Friday *ṣalāt* (*ṣalāt al-djumʿa*), which can only be performed in the mosque and is obligatory upon every free male Muslim who has reached years of discretion (cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 86; Guidi, *Sommario del diritto Malechita*, i, 125-6. According to Ibn Hishām (290), this *ṣalāt*, which is distinguished by the *khuṭba*, was observed in Medina even before the *hidjra*. This is hardly probable and besides is not in agreement with other *ḥadīth*s (see al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 11) but the origin of this divine worship, referred to in sūra LXII, 9, is obscure. The assemblies of the Jews and Christians on a particular day must have formed the model (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 1). Its importance in the earlier period lay in the fact that all elements of the Muslim camp, who usually went to the tribal and particular mosques, assembled for it in the chief mosque under the leadership of the general. The chief mosque, which for this reason was particularly large, was given a significant name. They talk of *al-masdjid al-aʿẓam* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2494; ii. 734, 1701, 1702, Kūfa; al-Balādhurī, 5; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xi, 21, centre; *ibid.* also *al-masdjid al-akbar*, Medina; cf. *al-masdjid al-kabīr*, al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 245) or *masdjid al-djamāʿa* (Yaḳūt, iii, 896, Fusṭāt; also al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1119; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 106). *masdjid li 'l-djumāʿa* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 4); *masdjid djāmiʿ* (al-Balādhurī, 289, Madāʾin; Yāḳūt, i, 643, 647, Baṣra); then *masdjid al-djamiʿ* (Yāḳūt, iii, 899; iv, 885; Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 298, 315, 387; al-Yaʿḳūbī, 110, etc.). As an abbreviation we find also *al-djamāʿa* (Yāḳūt, i, 400; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 343; cf. *masdjid al-djamāʿa*, al-Balādhurī, 348) and especially *djāmiʿ*. As the *khuṭba* was the distinguishing feature, we also find *masdjid al-khuṭba* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 44, 64, 87), *djāmiʿ al-khuṭba* (*ibid.*, iv. 55) or *masdjid al-minbar*, al-Muḳaddasī, 316, for *djāmiʿ*, 1. 8).

Linguistic usage varied somewhat in course of time with conditions. In the time of ʿUmar there was properly in every town only one *masdjid djāmiʿ* for the Friday service. But when the community became no longer a military camp and Islam replaced the previous religion of the people, a need for a number of mosques for the Friday service was bound to arise. This demanded mosques for the Friday service in the

country, in the villages on the one hand and several Friday mosques in the town on the other. This meant in both cases an innovation, compared with old conditions, and thus there arose some degree of uncertainty. The Friday service had to be conducted by the ruler of the community, but there was only one governor in each province; on the other hand, the demands of the time could hardly be resisted and, besides, the Christian converts to Islam had been used to a solemn weekly service.

As to the villages (*al-ḳurā*), ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Egypt forbade their inhabitants to celebrate the Friday service for the reason just mentioned (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 7). At a later period, then, the *khuṭba* was delivered exceptionally, without *minbar* and only with staff, until Marwān b. Muḥammad in 132/749-50 introduced the *minbar* into the Egyptian *ḳurā* also (*ibid.*, 8). Of a mosque in which a *minbar* had been placed, we are told *djuʿila masdjid*ᵃⁿ *li 'l-aʿyān* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2451) and a village with a *minbar* is called *ḳarya djāmiʿa* (al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 15; cf. *madīna djāmiʿa*, Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 321), an idea which was regarded by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) as quite obvious. In introducing the *minbars* into the Egyptian villages, Marwān was apparently following the example of other regions. In the 4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions a number of *manābir* in the district of Iṣṭakhr (1st edn., 182 ff.) and a few in the vicinity of Marw (*ibid.*, 316) and in Transoxania (*ibid.*, 378; cf. 384), and al-Muḳaddasī does the same for other districts of Persia (309, 317) and he definitely says that the *ḳurā* of Palestine are *dhāt manābir* (*ibid.*, 176; cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī[1], 58); al-Balādhurī (331) also uses the name *minbar* for a village mosque built in 239/853-4; in general, when speaking of the *ḳurā*, one talks of *manābir* and not of *djawāmiʿ* (cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī[1], 63). Later, however, the term *masdjid djāmiʿ* is used for a Friday mosque (Ibn Djubayr, 217). The conditions of primitive Islam are reflected in the teaching of the Ḥanafīs, who only permit the Friday service in large towns (cf. al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, 177).

As to the towns, the Shāfiʿīs on the other hand have retained the original conditions, since they permit the Friday service in only one mosque in each town (see DJUMʿA and *op. cit.*, 178-8), but with the reservation that the mosque is able to hold the community. The distinction between the two rites was of importance in Egypt. When in 569/1173-4 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn became supreme in Egypt, he appointed a Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* and the Friday service was therefore held only in the al-Ḥākim mosque, as the largest; but in 665/1266, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars gave the Ḥanafīs preference, and many mosques were therefore used as Friday mosques (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 52 ff.; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara*, ii, 140; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.* i/2, 39 ff). During the Umayyad period, the number of *djawāmiʿ* in the towns were still very small. The geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries in their descriptions of towns as a rule mention only "the *djāmiʿ*". Ibn al-Faḳīh, *ca.* 290/903, sometimes says *masdjid djāmiʿ wa-minbar* (304-6, also *minbar* simply, 305). In keeping with the oldest scheme of town planning, it was very often in the middle of the town surrounded by the business quarters (Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 298, 325; al-Muḳaddasī, 274-5, 278, 298, 314, 316, 375, 376, 413, 426, 427, etc.; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, ed. Schefer, 35, 41, 56) and the *dār al-imāra* was still frequently in the immediate vicinity of the chief mosque (Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 298, 314; al-Muḳaddasī, 426).

Al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions as an innovation in Islam that al-Ḥadjdjādj built a *djāmiʿ* in al-Wāsiṭ on the west bank, although there was already one on the east bank (al-Iṣṭakhrī,[1] 82-3; cf. al-Yaʿḳubī, *Buldān*, 322). Ibn Djubayr (*Riḥla*, 211) mentions only one *djāmiʿ* in Kūfa, called *Masdjid al-Kūfa* by Ibn al-Faḳīh, although he also mentions other mosques (173; cf. 174, 183 and al-Muḳaddasī, 116). In Baṣra, where al-Yaʿḳūbī (278/891) already mentions 7,000 mosques (*Buldān*, 361), al-Muḳaddasī (375/985) gives 3 *djawāmiʿ* (117). In Sāmarrāʾ, among many mosques, there was one *djāmiʿ* (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 258, 259), which was later replaced by another (*ibid.*, 260-1); al-Mutawakkil also built one outside the original town (*ibid.*, 265; see also P. Schwarz, *Die ʿAbbāsiden-Residenz Sāmarrā*, 1909, 32). In Baghdād, al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions only one *djāmiʿ* for the eastern town and for the western (*Buldān*, 240, 245, 251, 253; the almost contemporary Ibn Rusta just mentions the old western town and its *djāmiʿ*, 109) although he gives the fantastic figures of 15,000 mosques in the east town (*ibid.*, 254) and 30,000 in the west (or in the whole town?, *ibid.*, 250). After 280/893-4 there was added the *djāmiʿ* of the eastern palace of the caliph (Mez, *Renaissance*, 388, Eng. tr. 410, quoting al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*; a private *djāmiʿ* of Hārūn al-Rashīd in the *Bustān Umm Mūsā* is mentioned by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 433 below). These three *djawāmiʿ* are mentioned about 340/951 by al-Iṣṭakhrī (84), who also mentions one in the suburb of Kalwādhā. Ibn Ḥawḳal in 367/977 mentions the latter and also the Djāmiʿ al-Barāthā (164-5, of 329/940-1; Mez, *loc. cit.*), a fifth was added in 379/989, a sixth in 383/993 (Mez, 389, Eng. tr. 410-11); thus al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in 460 (1058 gives 4 for West Baghdād, 2 for the east town (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 324). Ibn Djubayr in 581/1185 gives in the east town 3, and 11 *djawāmiʿ* (*Riḥla*, 228-9) for the whole of Baghdād. For Cairo, al-Iṣṭakhrī gives two *djāmiʿ*s: the ʿAmr and Ṭūlūn Mosques (49) besides that in al-Ḳarāfa, which was regarded as a separate town (cf. Ibn Rusta [*ca.* 290/903], 116-17). Al-Muḳaddasī, who wrote (375/985) shortly after the Fāṭimid conquest, mentions the ʿAmr mosque (al-Azhar), also one in al-Djazīra, in Djīza and in al-Ḳarāfa (198-200, 209; the *djāmiʿ* in al-Djazīra, also Djāmiʿ Miḳyās [cf. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 75] is mentioned in an inscription of the year 485/1092; see van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 39). As these places were all originally separate towns, the principle was not abandoned that each town had only one *djāmiʿ*. The Fāṭimids, however, extended the use of Friday mosques and, in addition to those already mentioned, used the Djāmiʿ al-Ḥākim, al-Maḳs and Rāshida (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 2-3). Nāṣir-i Khusraw in 439/1047 mentions in one passage the *djawāmiʿ* of Cairo, in another seven for Miṣr and fifteen in all (ed. Schefer, 134-5, 147). This was altered in 569/1173-4 by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (see above), but the quarters, being still regarded as separate towns, retained their own Friday mosques (cf. for the year 607/1210-11 in al-Ḳarāfa, al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 86).

After the Friday worship in Egypt and Syria was freed from restriction, the number of *djawāmiʿ* increased very much. Ibn Duḳmāḳ (*ca.* 800/1397-8) gives a list of only eight *djawāmiʿ* in Cairo (ed. Vollers, 59-78), but this list is apparently only a fragment (in all, he mentions something over twenty in the part of his book that has survived); al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442) gives 130 *djawāmiʿ* (iv, 2 ff.). In Damascus, where Ibn Djubayr still spoke of "the *djāmiʿ*", al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521) gives twenty *djawāmiʿ* (*JA*, ser. 9, vii, 231 ff.), and according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, there were in all the villages in the region of Damascus *masādjid djāmiʿa* (i, 236). The word *djāmiʿ* in al-Maḳrīzī always

means a mosque in which the Friday worship was held (vi, 76, 115 ff.), but by his time this meant any mosque of some size. He himself criticises the fact that since 799/1396-7 the *ṣalāt al-djumʿa* was performed in al-Aḳmar, although another *djāmiʿ* stood close beside it (iv, 76; cf. also 86).

The great spread of Friday mosques was reflected in the language. While inscriptions of the 8th/14th century still call quite large mosques *masdjid*, in the 9th/15th most of them are called *djāmiʿ* (cf. on the whole question, van Berchem, *CIA*, i, 173-4); and while now the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] begins to predominate and is occasionally also called *djāmiʿ*, the use of the word *masdjid* becomes limited. While, generally speaking, it can mean any mosque (e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 137, of the Muʾayyad mosque), it is more especially used of the smaller unimportant mosques. While Ibn Duḳmāḳ gives 472 *masādjid* in addition to the *djawāmiʿ*, *madāris*, etc., al-Maḳrīzī only gives nineteen, not counting al-Ḳarāfa, which probably only means that they were of little interest to him. *Djāmiʿ* is now on the way to become the regular name for a mosque of any size, as is now the usage, in Egypt and Turkey at least. In Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (d. 737/1336-7), *al-djawāmiʿ* is occasionally used in this general meaning in place of *al-masādjid* (*Madkhal*, ii, 50). Among the many Friday mosques, one was usually distinguished as the chief mosque; we therefore find the expression *al-djāmiʿ al-aʿẓam* (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 54, 94; cf. the older expression *al-masdjid al-aʿẓam*, in *ibid.*, ii, 53). The principal *djāmiʿ* decided on such questions as the beginning and ending of the fast of Ramaḍān (*Madkhal*, ii, 68).

3. Other religious activities in the mosque. "The mentioning of the name of God" in the mosques, was not confined only in the official ritual ceremonies. Even in the time of the Prophet, we are told that he lodged Thaḳafī delegates in the mosque so that they could see the rows of worshippers and hear the nightly recitation (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 382). Although this story (which is not given in Ibn Hishām, 916) may simply be a reflection of later conditions, the recitation of the Ḳurʾān must have come to be considered an edifying and pious work at quite an early date. In the time of al-Muḳaddasī, the *ḳurrāʾ* of Naysābūr used to assemble on Fridays in the *djāmiʿ* in the early morning and recite till the *ḍuḥā*, (328), and the same author tells us that in the Mosque of ʿAmr in Egypt the *aʾimmat al-ḳurrāʾ* sat in circles every evening and recited (205). In the time of Ibn Djubayr, there were recitations of the Ḳurʾān in the Umayyad mosque after the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* and every afternoon after the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* (*Riḥla*, 271-2). Besides the recitation of the Ḳurʾān, there were praises of God, etc., all that which is classed as *dhikr*, and which was particularly cultivated by Ṣūfism. This form of worship also took place in the mosque. The *ahl al-tawḥīd wa 'l-maʿrifa* formed *madjālis al-dhikr*, and assembled in the mosques (al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, i, 152). In the Mosque of the Umayyads and other mosques of Damascus, *dhikr* was held during the morning on Friday (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 49). In the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā the Ḥanafīs held *dhikr*, and recited at the same time from a book (al-Muḳaddasī, 182). In Egypt, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn and Khumārawayh allowed twelve men quarters in a chamber near the minaret in order to praise God, and during the night, four of them took turns to praise God with recitations of the Ḳurʾān and with pious *ḳaṣīdas*. From the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, an orthodox *ʿaḳīda* was recited by the *muʾadhdhins* in the night (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 48). Ibn al-Ḥādjdj demands that the recitation of the Ḳurʾān aloud should take place in a mosque for the special purpose (*masdjid madjhūr*), as otherwise pious visitors are disturbed (*Madkhal*, ii, 53, 67). Mosques and, in particular, mausoleums, had as a rule regularly-appointed reciters of the Ḳurʾān. In addition there was, e.g. in Hebron and in a mosque in Damascus, a *shaykh* who had to read al-Bukhārī (or also Muslim) for three months (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébr.*, 17; *JA*, ser. 9, iii. 261). In Tunis, al-Bukhārī was read daily in a hospital (al-Zarkashī, tr. Fagnan, *Rec. Soc. Arch. Constantine* [1894], 188).

Sermons were not only delivered at the *ṣalāt al-djumʿa*. In ʿIrāḳ, even in al-Muḳaddasī's time, one was preached every morning, according to the *sunna* of Ibn ʿAbbās (130), it was said. Ibn Djubayr, in the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdād, heard the Shāfiʿī *raʾīs* preach from the *minbar* on Friday after the *ʿaṣr*. His sermon was accompanied by the skilled recitations of the *ḳurrāʾ* who sat on chairs; these were over twenty in number (Ibn Djubayr, 219-22). In the same way, the calls of the *muʾadhdhins* to prayer to the Friday *khuṭba* were delivered to a musical accompaniment (see below, I. H. 4). The unofficial sermons, which moreover were not delivered in mosques alone, were usually delivered by a special class, the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* (pl. of *ḳāṣṣ*) (on these, cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 161 ff.; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 314 ff.; and ḲĀṢṢ). The *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, who delivered edifying addresses and told popular stories, were early admitted to the mosques.

Tamīm al-Dārī is said to have been the first of these; in Medina in the caliphate of ʿUmar before the latter's decease, he used to deliver his orations at the Friday *ṣalāt*, and under ʿUmar he was allowed to talk twice a week in the mosque; in the reign of ʿAlī and of Muʿāwiya the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* were employed to curse the other side (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 16-7). In the Mosque of ʿAmr in Cairo, by the year 38/658-9 or 39/659-60 a *ḳāṣṣ* was appointed, named Sulaym b. ʿItr al-Tudjībī, who was also *ḳāḍī* (*ibid.*, iv, 17, wrongly: Sulaymān; al-Kindī, *Governors and judges*, ed. Guest, 303-4). There are other occurrences of the combination of the two offices (Ibn Ḥudjayra [d. 83/702], al-Kindī, 317; Khayr b. Nuʿaym in the year 120/738, *ibid.*, 348; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 131, Djabr, according to Thawba b. Nimr, *Ḥusn*, i, 130 below; Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāḳ al-Ḳārī [d. 204], Kindī, 427; see also al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 18), which shows that the office of *ḳāṣṣ* was quite an official one. There is also evidence of the employment of *ḳuṣṣāṣ* in the mosques of ʿIrāḳ in the ʿAbbāsid period (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 268, v, 446). The *ḳāṣṣ* read from the Ḳurʾān standing and then delivered an explanatory and edifying discourse, the object of which was to instil the fear of God into the people (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 18). Under the Fāṭimids also, the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* were appointed to the mosques; for example in 403/1012-13 the *imām* undertook the office in the Mosque of ʿAmr (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 18, below) and the rulers had also a *ḳāṣṣ* in the palace. The *ḳuṣṣāṣ* were called *aṣḥāb al-karāsī*, because they delivered their discourses on the *kursī* (al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, i, 152; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal*, i, 159; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 121). Their discourse was called *dhikr* or *waʿẓ* or *mawʿiẓa*, whence the *ḳāṣṣ* was also called *mudhakkir* (al-Muḳaddasī, 205) or *wāʿiẓ*. Specimens of their discourses are given by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (*al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1321/1903, i, 294 ff.). It was not only the appointed officials who delivered such discourses in the mosque. Ascetics made public appearances in various mosques and collected interested hearers around them (cf. e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 135). In the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarāfa, a whole society, the Banū Djawharī, delivered *waʿẓ* discourses from a *kursī* for three

months on end; their servant collected money in a begging-bowl during the discourse, and the *shaykh* distributed some of it among the poor (*ibid.*, iv, 121).

The *kaṣaṣ* was completely taken over by popular Ṣūfism and later writers would hardly reckon, as al-Makkī does, the "story-tellers" among the *mutakallimūn* (*Kūt al-ḳulūb*, i, 152). The whole system degenerated to trickery and charlatanry of all kinds, as may be seen in the *Maḳāma* [*q.v.*] literature (cf. thereon Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 167-8, and see also Mez and Goldziher, *op. cit.*). Al-Maḳrīzī therefore distinguishes between *al-ḳaṣaṣ al-khāṣṣa*, the regular and seemly edifying discourse in the mosque, and *al-ḳaṣaṣ al-ʿāmma*, which consisted in the people gathering round all kinds of speakers, which is *makrūh* (iv, 17). Others also have recorded their objections to the *ḳuṣṣāṣ*. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj utters a warning against them and wants to forbid their activities in the mosque completely, because they deliver "weak" narratives (*Madkhal*, i, 158-9; ii, 13-14, 50). He says that Ibn ʿUmar, Mālik and Abū Dāwūd rejected them and ʿAlī ejected them from the *masdjid* of Baṣra. It is of little significance that al-Muʿtaḍid in 284/897 forbade people to gather round them, for he issued a similar interdict against the *fuḳahāʾ* and the reasons were evidently political (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2165); it was for political reasons also, but with a very different motive, that ʿAḍud al-Dawla forbade their appearing publicly in Baghdād because they increased the tension between Sunnīs and Shīʿis (Mez, *op. cit.*, 319). As late as 580/1184, the *wuʿʿāẓ* still flourished in the mosques of Baghdād, as is evident from the *Riḥla* of Ibn Djubayr (219 ff., 224), and in the 9th/15th century there was in the Azhar mosque a *madjlis al-waʿẓ* as well as a *ḥalaḳ al-dhikr* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 54).

When Ibn al-Ḥādjdj denounces speaking aloud in the mosque, it is in the interest of the pious visitors who are engaged in religious works and meditation. *Iʿtikāf* [*q.v.*], retirement to a mosque for a period, was adopted into Islām from the older religions.

The word *ʿakf* means in the Ḳurʾān the ceremonial worship of the object of the cult (sūra VII, 134; XX, 93, 97; XXI, 53; XXVI, 71; cf. al-Kumayt, *Hāshimiyyāt*, ed. Horovitz, 86, 15) and also the ritual stay in the sanctuary, which was done for example in the Meccan temple (sūra II, 119; XXII, 25). In this connection, it is laid down in the Ḳurʾān that in the month of Ramaḍān believers must not touch their wives "while ye pass the time in the mosques" (*ʿākifūn fi 'l-masādjid*, sūra II, 183), an expression which shows, firstly, that there were already a number of mosques in the lifetime of the Prophet, and secondly, that these had already to some extent taken over the character of the temple. The connection with the early period is evident from a *ḥadīth*, according to which the Prophet decides that ʿUmar must carry out a vow of *iʿtikāf* for one night in the Masdjid al-Ḥarām made in the Djāhiliyya (al-Bukhārī, *Iʿtikāf*, *bāb* 5, 15-16; *Farḍ al-khums*, *bāb* 19; *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 54; *Aymān wa 'l-nudhūr*, *bāb* 29). It is completely in keeping with this that the Prophet, according to the *ḥadīth*, used to spend ten days of the month of Ramaḍān in *iʿtikāf* in the mosque of Medina (al-Bukhārī, *Iʿtikāf*, *bābᶜ*; *Faḍl Laylat al-ḳadar*, *bāb* 3), and in the year in which he died, as many as twenty days (*ibid.*, *Iʿtikāf*, *bāb* 17). During this period, the mosque was full of booths of palm branches and leaves in which the *ʿākifūn* lived (*ibid.*, *bāb* 13; cf. 6, 7). The Prophet only went to his house for some very special reason (*ibid.*, *bāb* 3). This custom was associated with the ascetism of the monks. The faithful were vexed, when on one occasion he received Ṣafiyya in his booth and chatted for an hour with her (al-Bukhārī, *Farḍ al-khums*, *bāb* 4; *Iʿtikāf*, *bāb* 8, 11, 12). According to another tradition, his *iʿtikāf* was broken on another occasion by his wives putting up their tents beside him, and he postponed his *iʿtikāf* till Shawwāl (al-Bukhārī, *Iʿtikāf*, *bāb*s 6, 7, 14, 18). According to Zayd b. ʿAlī, the *iʿtikāf* can only be observed in a chief mosque (*djāmiʿ*) (*Corpus iuris di Zaid b. ʿAlī*, no. 447). During the early period, it was one of the initiatory rites for new converts. In the year 14/1635 ʿUmar ordered the retreat (*al-ḳiyām*) in the mosques during the month of Ramaḍān for the people of Medina and the provinces (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2377). The custom persisted and has always been an important one among ascetics. "The man who retires for a time to the mosque devotes himself in turn to *ṣalāt*, recitation of the Ḳurʾān, meditation, *dhikr*, etc." says Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (*Madkhal*, ii, 50). There were pious people who spent their whole time in a mosque (*aḳāmū fīhi*; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 87, 97); of one we were told that he spent his time in the *manāra* of the Mosque of ʿAmr (*iʿtakafa*, *ibid.*, 44). Al-Samhūdī says that during the month of Ramaḍān, he spent day and night in the mosque (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 95). Saʿd al-Dīn (d. 644/1246-7) spent the month of Ramaḍān in the Mosque of the Umayyads without speaking (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 192). Nocturnal vigils in the mosque very early became an established practice in Islam. According to *Ḥadīth*, the Prophet frequently held nocturnal *ṣalāt*s in the mosque with the believers (al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 29), and by his orders ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays al-Anṣārī came from the desert for twenty-three successive nights to pass the night in his mosque in rites of worship (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 142-3). Out of this developed the *tahadjdjud* [*q.v.*] *ṣalāt*, particularly recommended in the law and notably the *tarāwīḥ ṣalāt*s [*q.v.*]. In Dihlī on these occasions, women singers actually took part (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 155).

During the nights of the month of Ramaḍān, there were festivals in the mosques, and on other occasions also, such as the New Year, sometimes at the new moon, and in the middle of the month. The mosque on these occasions was illuminated: there was eating and drinking; incense was burned and *dhikr* and *ḳirāʾa* performed.

The Friday *ṣalāt* was particularly solemn in Ramaḍān, and in the Fāṭimid period, the caliph himself delivered the *khuṭba* (see al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 345 ff.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/1, ed. Juynboll, 482-6, ii/2, ed. Popper, 331-3). The mosques associated with a saint had and still have their special festivals on his *mawlid* [*q.v.*]; they also are celebrated with *dhikr*, *ḳirāʾa*, etc. (cf. Lane, *Manners and customs*, chs. xxiv ff.). The saint's festivals are usually local and there are generally differences in the local customs. In the Maghrib, for example, in certain places the month of Ramaḍān is opened with a blast of trumpets from the *manābir* (*Madkhal*, ii, 69).

The mosque thus on the whole took over the role of the temple. The rulers from ʿUmar onwards dedicated gifts to the Kaʿba (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 20-1, and *BGA*, iv, *Indices*, *glossarium*, s.v. *shamsa*), and, as in other sanctuaries, we find women vowing children to the service of the mosque (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 74; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 20). *Ṭawāf* was performed, as at the Kaʿba, in mosques with saints' tombs as is still done, e.g. in Hebron; Mudjīr al-Dīn sees a pre-Islamic custom in this (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, 5). Especially important business was done here. In times of trouble, the people go to the mosque to pray for help, for example during drought, for which there is

a special *ṣalāt* (which however usually takes place on the *muṣallā*) [see ISTISKĀʾ], in misfortunes of all kinds (e.g. Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 19-20; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 57); in time of plague and pestilence, processions, weeping and praying with Ḳurʾāns uplifted, were held in the mosques or on the *muṣallā*, in which even Jews and Christians sometimes took part (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/2, ed. Popper, 67; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 243-4, cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/1, 35, 40; ii/2, 199) or for a period a sacred book like al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was recited (Quatremère, *op. cit.* ii/2, 35; al-Djabartī, *Merveilles biographiques*, French tr., vi, 13). In the courtyards of the mosques in Jerusalem and Damascus in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, solemn penance was done on the day of ʿArafa (i, 243-4), an ancient custom which had already been introduced into Egypt in the year 27/647-8 by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (*ḳuʿūd* after the *ʿaṣr*; cf. al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 50). Certain mosques were visited by barren women (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 133). An oath is particularly binding if it is taken in a mosque (cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 144); this is particularly true of the Kaʿba, where written covenants were also drawn up to make them more binding (*ibid.*, 143-4, *Chron. Mekka*, i, 160-1). It is in keeping with this idea of an oath that Jews who had adopted Islam in Cairo had to take oaths in a synagogue which had become a mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 265). The contract of matrimony (*ʿaḳd al-nikāḥ*) also is often concluded in a mosque (Santillana, *Il Muḫtaṣar*, ii, 548; *Madkhal*, ii, 72 below; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 163-4), and the particular form of divorce which is completed by the *liʿān* [*q.v.*] takes place in the mosque (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 44; cf. Pedersen, *Der Eid*, 114).

It is disputed whether a corpse may be brought into the mosque and the *ṣalāt al-djināza* performed there. According to one *ḥadīth*, the bier of Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ was taken into the mosque at the request of the Prophet's widow and the *ṣalāt* held there. Many disapproved of this, but ʿĀʾisha pointed out that the Prophet had done this with the body of Suhayl b. Bayḍāʾ (Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, tr. 34; cf. also Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 14-15). The discussion on this point is not unconnected with the discussions regarding the worship of tombs. In theory, this is permitted by al-Shāfiʿī, while the others forbid it (see Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 170; I. Guidi, *Il Muḫtaṣar*, i, 151). The matter does not seem to be quite clear, for Ḳuṭb al-Dīn says that only Abū Ḥanīfa forbids it, but he himself thought that it might be allowable on the authority of a statement by Abū Yūsuf (*Chron. Mekka*, iii, 208-10). In any case, it was a very general practice to allow it, as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn also points out. ʿUmar conducted the funeral *ṣalāt* for Abū Bakr in the Mosque of the Prophet and ʿUmar's own dead body was brought there; later it became a general custom to perform the ceremony in Medina close to the Prophet's tomb and in Mecca at the door of the Kaʿba; some even made a sevenfold *ṭawāf* with the corpse around the Kaʿba. This was for a time forbidden by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and later by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, *loc. cit.*, Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 77). The custom was very early introduced into the Mosque of ʿAmr (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 7, 1 ff.). That later scholars often went wrong about the prohibition is not at all remarkable; for it is not at all in keeping with the ever-increasing tendency to found mosques at tombs. Even Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, who was anxious to maintain the prohibition, is not quite sure and really only forbids the loud calling of the *ḳurrāʾ*, *dhākirūn*, *mukabbirūn* and *murīdūn* on such occasions (*Madkhal*, ii, 50-1, 64, 81). When a son of Sultan al-Muʾayyad died and was buried in the eastern *ḳubba* of the Muʾayyad mosque, the *khaṭīb* delivered a *khuṭba* and conducted the *ṣalāt* thereafter and the *ḳurrāʾ* recited for a week at the grave, while the *amīrs* paid their visits to the grave (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 240, 2 ff.). In Persia, it was the custom for the family of the deceased to sit in the mosque for three days after the death and receive visits of condolence (al-Muḳaddasī, 440 below).

4. Mosques as objects of pilgrimage. As soon as the mosque became a regular sanctuary, it became the object of pious visits. This holds especially true of the memorial mosques associated with the Prophet and other saints. Among them, three soon became special objects of pilgrimage. In a *ḥadīth* the Prophet says "One should only mount into the saddle to visit three mosques: al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām, the Mosque of the Prophet and al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā" (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-ṣalāt fī masdjid Makka wa 'l-Madīna*, *bāb* 16; *Djazāʾ al-ṣayd*, *bāb* 26; *Ṣawm*, *bāb* 67; Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, tr. 93; *Chron. Mekka*, i, 303). This *ḥadīth* reflects a practice which only became established at the end of the ʿUmayyad period. The pilgrimage to Mecca had been made a duty by the prescription of the *ḥadjdj* in the Ḳurʾān. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was a Christian custom which could very easily be continued, on account of the significance of *al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā* in the Ḳurʾān. This custom became particularly important when ʿAbd al-Malik made it a substitute for the pilgrimage to Mecca (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 311). Although this competition did not last long, the significance of Jerusalem was thereby greatly increased. Pilgrimage to Medina developed out of the increasing veneration for the Prophet. In the year 140/757-8, Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr on his *ḥadjdj* visited the three sanctuaries (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 129) and this became a very usual custom. Mecca and Medina, however, still held the preference. Although those of Mecca and Jerusalem were recognised as the two oldest (the one is said to be 40 years older than the other; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 1; *Chron. Mekka*, i, 301), the Prophet is however reputed to have said "A *ṣalāt* in this mosque is more meritorious than 1,000 *ṣalāts* in others, even in *al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām*" (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-ṣalāt fī masdjid Makka wa 'l-Madīna*, *bāb* 1; Muslim, Ḥadjdj, tr. 89; *Chron. Mekka*, i, 303). The *ḥadīth* is aimed directly against Jerusalem and therefore probably dates from the Umayyad period. According to some, it was pronounced because someone had commended performing the *ṣalāt* in Jerusalem, which the Prophet was against (Muslim, *loc. cit.*; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 349). The three mosques, however, retained their pride of place (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, *faṣls* 4, 6; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal*, ii, 55), and as late as 662/1264 we find Baybars founding *awḳāf* for pilgrims who wished to go on foot to Jerusalem (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/1, 248).

Although these three mosques officially hold a special position, others also are highly recommended, e.g. the mosque in Ḳubāʾ [see AL-MADĪNA]. A *ṣalāt* in this mosque is said to be as valuable as an *ʿumra* or two visits to the mosque in Jerusalem (al-Diyarbakrī, *Khamīs*, i, 381-2). Attempts were also made to raise the mosque of Kūfa to the level of the three. ʿAlī is said to have told someone who wanted to make a pilgrimage from Kūfa to Jerusalem that he should stick by the mosque of his native town, it was "one of the four mosques" and two *rakʿas* in it were equal to ten in others (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 173-4; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 325); in another tradition, *ṣalāts* in the provincial mosques are said to be generally worth as much as the pilgrimage (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 4), and traditions arose about the special blessings associated at definite times

with different holy places of Islam (al-Muḳaddasī, 183) and especially about their superior merits (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 174). The Meccan sanctuary, however, always retained first place, which was marked by the *ḥadjdj*. It was imitated by al-Mutawakkil in Sāmarrā˒: he built a Kaᶜba as well as a Minā and an ᶜArafa there and made his *amīr*s perform their *ḥadjdj* there (al-Muḳaddasī, 122).

D. The component parts and furnishings of the mosque.

1. The development of the edifice. Except in the case of Mecca the earliest mosques as described above (B. 1) were at first simply open spaces marked off by a *ẓulla*. The space was sometimes, as in al-Fusṭāṭ, planted with trees and usually covered with pebbles, e.g. in Medina (Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, tr. 95; al-Balādhurī, 6) and Fusṭāṭ (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 8; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv, 62; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 77), which was later introduced in Baṣra and Kūfa, the courtyards of which were otherwise dusty (al-Balādhurī, 277, 348). These conditions could only last so long as the Arabs retained their ancient customs as a closed group in their simple camps. The utilisation of churches was the first sign of a change and was rapidly followed by a mingling with the rest of the population and the resulting assimilation with older cultures.

ᶜUmar made alterations in the mosques in Medina and in Mecca also. He extended the Mosque of the Prophet by taking in the house of ᶜAbbās; but like the Prophet, he still built with *labin*, palm trunks and leaves and extended the booths (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 62; al-Balādhurī, 6). In Mecca also, his work was confined to extending the area occupied by the mosque. He bought the surrounding houses and took them down and then surrounded the area with a wall to the height of a man; the Kaᶜba was thus given its *finā˒* like the mosque in Medina (al-Balādhurī, 46; *Chron. Mekka*, i, 306; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 68). ᶜUthmān also extended these two mosques, but introduced an important innovation in using hewn stone and plaster (*djaṣṣ*) for the walls and pillars. For the roof he used teak (*sādj*). The booths, which had been extended by ᶜUmar, were replaced by him by pillared halls (*arwiḳa*, sing. *riwāḳ*) and the walls were covered with plaster (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 62; al-Balādhurī, 46; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 70). Saᶜd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ is said to have already taken similar steps to relieve the old simplicity of the barely-equipped mosque in Kūfa. The *ẓulla* consisted of pillars of marble adorned in the style of Byzantine churches (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2489; Yāḳūt, iv, 324).

This was little in keeping with the simple architecture of the original town, for Baṣra and Kūfa had originally been built of reeds and only after several great fires were they built of *labin* (see above, I. B. 1; cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maᶜārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 279). As to Ḳūfa, Saᶜd by ᶜUmar's orders extended the mosque so that it became joined up with the *Dār al-Imāra*. A Persian named Rūzbih b. Buzurdjmihr was the architect for this. He used fired bricks (*ādjurr*) for the building, which he brought from Persian buildings, and in the mosque he used pillars which had been taken from churches in the region of Ḥīra belonging to the Persian kings; these columns were not erected at the sides but only against the *ḳibla* wall. The original plan of the mosque was therefore still retained, although the pillared hall, which is identical with the *ẓulla* already mentioned (200 *dhirāᶜ*s broad), replaced the simple booth, and the materials were better in every way (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2491-2, 2494). Already under the early caliphs we can therefore note the beginnings of the adoption of a more advanced architecture.

These tendencies were very much developed under the Umayyads. Even as early as the reign of Muᶜāwiya, the mosque of Kūfa was rebuilt by his governor Ziyād. He commissioned a pagan architect, who had worked for Kisrā, to do the work. The latter had pillars brought from al-Ahwāz, bound them together with lead and iron clamps to a height of 30 *dhirāᶜ*s and put a roof on them. Similar halls, built of columns (here like the old booth in Medina called *ṣuffa*: al-Ṭabarī, i, 2492, 14; but also *ẓulla*, plur. *ẓilāl*: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 259-60) were added by him on the north, east and western wall. Each pillar cost him 18,000 *dirhams*. The mosque could now hold 60,000 instead of 40,000 (idem, i, 2492, 6 ff., cf. 2494, 7; Yāḳūt, iv, 324, 1 ff.; al-Balādhurī, 276). Al-Ḥadjdjādj also added to the mosque (Yāḳūt, iv, 325-6). Ziyād did similar work in Baṣra. Here also he extended the mosque and built it of stone (or brick) and plaster and with pillars from al-Ahwāz, which were roofed with teak. We are told that he made *al-ṣuffa al-muḳaddima*, i.e. the *ḳibla* hall, with 5 columns. This seems to show that the other sides also—as in Kūfa—had pillared halls. He erected the *Dār al-Imāra* close to the *ḳibla* side. This was taken down by al-Ḥadjdjādj, rebuilt by others, and finally taken into the mosque by Hārūn al-Rashīd (al-Balādhurī, 347, 348 above, 349; Yāḳūt, i, 642, 643). In Mecca also in the same period similar buildings were erected. Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Ḥadjdjādj both extended the mosque, and Ibn al-Zubayr was the first to put a roof on the walls; the columns were gilded by ᶜAbd al-Malik and he made a roof of teak (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 307, 309). The Mosque of ᶜAmr was extended in 53/673 with Muᶜāwiya's permission by his governor Maslama b. Mukhallad to the east and north; the walls were covered with plaster (*nūra*) and the roofs decorated; it is evident from this that here also the original booth of the south side was altered to a covered hall during the early Umayyad period. A further extension was made in 79/698 in the reign of ᶜAbd al-Malik (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 7, 8; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv, 62). Thus we find that during the early Umayyad period, and in part even earlier, the original simple and primitive mosques were in some cases extended, in other cases altered. The alteration consisted in the old simple booth of the Mosque of the Prophet being gradually enlarged and transformed into a pillared hall with the assistance of the arts of countries possessing a higher degree of civilisation. In this way, what had originally been an open place of assembly developed imperceptibly into a court, surrounded by pillared halls. Very soon a fountain was put in the centre of the court, and we now have the usual type of mosque. The same plan is found in the peristyle of the houses and in the *aithrion* of a basilica like that of Tyre (Herzog-Hauch, *Realencyclopädie*[3], x, 780).

The great builders of the Umayyads, ᶜAbd al-Malik and his son al-Walīd I, made even more radical progress. The former entirely removed the original mosque in Jerusalem, and his Byzantine architects erected the Dome of the Rock as a Byzantine building (cf. Sauvaire, *Jérus. et Hébron*, 48 ff.). Al-Walīd likewise paid equally little attention to the oldest form of mosque, when, in Damascus, he had the church of St. John transformed by Byzantine architects into the Mosque of the Umayyads. As al-Muḳaddasī distinctly states, they wanted to rival the splendours of the Christian churches (159). The new mosques, which were founded in this period, were therefore not only no longer simple, but they were built with the help of Christians and other trained craftsmen with the use of material already existing in older buildings. Al-Ḥadjdjādj, for example, used materials from the sur-

rounding towns when building his foundation of Wāsiṭ (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 321; al-Balād̲h̲urī, 290). Columns from churches were now used quite regularly (e.g. in Damascus: al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iii, 408 = § 1292; Ramla: al-Muḳaddasī, 165; cf. al-Balād̲h̲urī, 143 ff.; for Egypt, see al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 36, 124-5). Sometimes, remains of the older style remained alongside the new. In Īrāns̲h̲ahr, al-Muḳaddasī found in the chief mosque wooden columns of the time of Abū Muslim along with round columns of brick of the time of ʿAmr b. al-Layt̲h̲ (316). The building activities of al-Walīd extended to Fusṭāṭ, Mecca and Medina (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 106-7) where no fundamental alterations were made, but complete renovations were carried out. With these rulers, the building of mosques reaches the level of older architecture and gains a place in the history of art. There is also literary evidence for the transfer of a style from one region to another. In Iṣṭak̲h̲r, for example, there was a *d̲j̲āmiʿ* in the style of the Syrian mosques with round columns, on which was a *baḳara* (al-Muḳaddasī, iii, 436-7; cf. for S̲h̲īrāz, 430). Al-Walīd also rebuilt the Mosque of the Prophet, in part in the Damascus style (*ibid.*, 80; al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 71).

This revolution naturally did not take place without opposition, any more than the other innovations, which Islam adopted in the countries with a higher culture which it conquered. After the Mosque of the Prophet had been beautified by Christian architects with marble, mosaics, shells, gold, etc. and al-Walīd in 93/712 was inspecting the work, an old man said: "We used to build in the style of mosques; you build in the style of churches" (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 74). The disccusions on this point are reflected in *ḥadīt̲h̲s*. When ʿUmar enlarged the Mosque of the Prophet, he is reported to have said: "Give the people shelter from the rain, but take care not to make them red or yellow lest you lead the people astray", while Ibn ʿAbbās said: "You shall adorn them with gold as the Jews and Christians do" (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 62). Ibn ʿAbbās here takes up the Umayyad attitude and ʿUmar that of old-fashioned people, according to whom any extension or improvement of the *ẓulla* was only permissible for strictly practical reasons. The conservative point of view is predominant in *Ḥadīt̲h̲*. It is said that extravagant adornment of the mosques is a sign of the end of the world; the works of al-Walīd were only tolerated from fear of the *fitna* (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 134, 145, 152, 230, 283; al-Nasāʾī, *Masād̲j̲id*, *bāb* 2; Ibn Mād̲j̲a, *Masād̲j̲id*, *bāb* 2). The lack of confidence of pious conservatives in the great mosques finds expression in a *ḥadīt̲h̲*, according to which the Prophet (according to Anas) said: "A time will come over my *umma* when they will vie with one another in the beauty of their mosques; then they will visit them but little" (al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, i, 362). In *fiḳh*, we even find divergence from the oldest quadrangular form of the mosque condemned (Guidi, *Il Muk̲h̲taṣar*, i, 71). Among the types which arose later was the "suspended" (*muʿallaḳ*), i.e. a mosque situated in an upper storey (e.g. in Damascus, *JA*, ser. 9, vol. v, 409, 415, 422, 424, 427, 430).

2. Details of the component parts and equipment of the mosque. — a. The Minaret [see on this, MANĀRA]. — b. The Chambers. The old mosque consisted of the courtyard and the open halls running along the walls: these were called *al-mug̲h̲aṭṭā* (al-Muḳaddasī, 82, 158, 165, 182) because they were roofed over. When we are told that in Palestine, except in Jericho, towers were placed between the *mug̲h̲aṭṭā* and the courtyard (*ibid.*, 182), this seems to suggest that the halls were closed, which would be quite in keeping with the winter climate of this region. The halls were particularly extensive on the *ḳibla* side, because assemblies were held here. The space between two rows of pillars was called *riwāḳ*, pl. *arwiḳa* or *riwāḳāt* (*ibid.*, 158, 159; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 10, 11, 12, 49). Extension often took the form of increasing the number of the *arwiḳa*. In some districts, a sail-cloth was spread over the open space as a protection from the sun at the time of the worship (al-Muḳaddasī, 205, 430).

The courtyard was called *ṣaḥn*. The open space around the Kaʿba is called *Fināʾ al-Kaʿba* (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 307; Ibn His̲h̲ām, 822; cf. *Fināʾ Zamzam*: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 376). *Fināʾ* is also the name given to the open space around the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 6). Trees were often planted in the courtyard: e.g. in the mosque of ʿAmr (see above, I. B. 1; when we read in al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 6, that it had no *ṣaḥn*, this probably means that this space, planted with trees, between the covered halls was very narrow). In Medina, at the present day, there are still trees in the *Rawḍa* (al-Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 249); in Ibn D̲j̲ubayr's time there were 15 palms there (*Riḥla*, 194). Other mosques in Cairo had trees growing in them (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 54, 64, 65, 120; in al-Masd̲j̲id al-Kāfūrī, there were as many as 516 trees: *ibid.*, 266), as is still the case today. In other cases the court was covered with pebbles (see above, I. D. 1); but this was altered with a more refined style of architecture. Al-Muḳaddasī mentions that this was only found in Tiberias, out of all the mosques in Palestine (182). Frequently, as in Ramla, the halls were covered with marble and the courtyard with flat stone (*ibid.*, 165). In the halls also, the ground was originally bare or covered with little stones; for example in the mosques of ʿAmr until Maslama b. Muk̲h̲allad covered it with mats (see below). The floor of the Mosque of ʿAmr was entirely covered with marble in the Mamlūk period (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 13-14, cf. in S̲h̲īrāz, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 53). But in the mosque of Mecca, the *ṣaḥn* is still covered with little stones (al-Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 99 below); 400 *dīnārs* used to be spent annually on this (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 10-11). In Medina also, little pebbles were used (Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, *Riḥla*, 190; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 263).

There were not at first enclosed chambers in the halls. A change in this respect came with the introduction of the *maḳṣūra* (on this word, cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/1, 164, n. 46). This was a box or compartment for the ruler built near the *miḥrāb*. Al-Samhūdī gives the history of the *maḳsūra* in Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medīna*, 71-2, 89). The traditions all agree that the *maḳṣūra* was introduced to protect the ruler from hostile attacks. According to some authorities, ʿUt̲h̲mān built a *maḳṣūra* of *labin* with windows, so that the people could see the *imām* of the community (*ibid.*, and al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 7). According to another tradition, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, governor of Medina after an attempt had been made on him by a Yamanī in the year 44/664, was the first to build a *maḳsūra* of dressed stone with a window (al-Balād̲h̲urī, 6 below; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 70). Muʿāwiya is then said to have followed his example. Others, again, say that Muʿāwiya was the first to introduce this innovation. He is said to have introduced the *maḳṣūrāt* with the accompanying guard as early as the year 40/660-1 or not till 44/664-5 after the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī attempt (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3465, 9; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 109, 3; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 12, 11 ff.); according to one story because had had seen a dog on the *minbar* (al-Bayhaḳī, ed. Schwally, 393 below; cf. on the whole question, H. Lammens, *Moʿâwiya*, 202 ff.). This much seems to be certain,

that the *maḳṣūra* was at any rate introduced at the beginning of the Umayyad period, and it was an arrangement so much in keeping with the increasing dignity of the ruler that, as Ibn Khaldūn says, it spread throughout all the lands of Islam (*Muḳaddima*, Cairo 1322/1904-5, 212-13, *faṣl* 37). The governors built themselves compartments in the principal mosques of the provinces, e.g. Ziyād in Kūfa and Baṣra (al-Balādhurī, 277, 348) and probably Ḳurra b. Sharīk in Fusṭāṭ (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 12). In Medina, we are told that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as governor (86-93/705-12) raised the *maḳṣūra* and built it of teak, but al-Mahdī had it taken down in 160/777 and a new one built on the level of the ground (*ibid.*, 7; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*; al-Balādhurī, 7 centre). We are further told that in 161/778, al-Mahdī prohibited the *maḳāṣīr* of the provinces, and al-Maʾmūn even wanted to clear all the boxes out of the *masādjid djāmiʿa*, because their use was a *sunna* introduced by Muʿāwiya (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 12; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 571). But this attempt did not succeed. On the contrary, their numbers rapidly increased. In Cairo, for example, the Djāmiʿ al-ʿAskar built in 169/785-6 had a *maḳṣūra* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 33 ff.) and the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn had a *maḳṣūra* beside the *miḥrāb* which was accessible from the *Dār al-Imāra* (*ibid.*, 36, 37, 42; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 8, 14). The *maḳṣūra* was found in the larger mosques. In the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳalʿa, Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn in 718/1318 built a *maḳṣūra* of iron for the sultan's *ṣalāt* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 132). According to Ibn Khaldūn, the *maḳṣūra* was an innovation peculiar to the Islamic world. The question must however be left open, whether in its introduction and development there may not be some connection with the boxes of the Byzantine court, at least, for example, when the Turks in the Yeshil Djāmiʿ in Bursa put the sultan's box over the door (R. Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, 27).

Although the *maḳṣūra* was introduced with the object of segregating the ruler and was therefore condemned by the strict as contrary to the spirit of Islam (e.g. *Madkhal*, ii, 43-4), *maḳāṣīr* were probably introduced for other purposes. Ibn Djubayr mentions three in the Mosque of the Umayyads: the old one built by Muʿāwiya in the eastern part of the mosque, one in the centre, which contained the *minbar*, and one in the west where the Ḥanafīs taught and performed the *ṣalāt*. There were also other small rooms shut off by wooden lattices, which could be sometimes called *maḳṣūra* and sometimes *zāwiya*. As a rule, there were quite a number of *zāwiya*s connected with the mosque which were used by students (*Riḥla*, 265-6). We find the same state of affairs in other mosques.

While the groups of the *ḳurrāʾ*, the students, the lawyers, etc. had originally to sit together in a common room, gradually the attempt was made to introduce separate rooms for some of them. Small compartments were either cut off in the main chamber or new rooms were built in subsidiary buildings. In the former case, we get the already mentioned *maḳāṣīr* or *zawāyā*. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj says that a *madrasa* was often made by the simple process of cutting off a part of the mosque by a balustrade (*darbazīn*) (*Madkhal*, ii, 44). Thus in the halls of the Mosque of ʿAmr there were several compartments for teaching, which were called *maḳṣūra* and *zāwiya*, in which studies were prosecuted (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 20, 16, 25). In the Azhar Mosque, a *maḳṣūrat Fāṭima* was made in the time of the Fāṭimids, where she had appeared, and the *amīr*s in the following period made a large number of such *maḳāṣīr* (*ibid.*, 52, 53). In the Aḳṣā Mosque about 300/912-13, there were three *maḳṣūra*s for women (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 100). These divisions might be a nuisance at the great Friday assemblies, and this is why al-Mahdī wanted to remove them in 161/778 from the *masādjid al-djamāʿāt* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 486), and Ibn al-Ḥādjdj condemned them as works of the *mulk* and numbers them like other embellishments with the *ashrāṭ al-sāʿa* (*Madkhal*, ii, 43-4).

The *muʾadhdhin*s not only lived in the minarets, where, at any rate in the Ṭūlūnid period, they held vigils (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 48). They had rooms (*ghuraf*, sing. *ghurfa*) on the roof and these rooms in time came to be numerous (*ibid.*, 13, 14). All kinds of rooms were put in subsidiary buildings, for the *khaṭīb* (*ibid.*, 13), for judges, for studies, etc. In addition, there were dwelling-houses, not only for the staff but also for others. As already mentioned, devout men used to take up their residence in the mosque for a considerable period for *iʿtikāf* and any one at any time could take up his quarters in the mosque; he could sleep there and make himself at home. It therefore came quite natural to the devout to reside permanently in the mosque. Ascetics often lived in the minaret (see above), a *zāhid* lived on the roof of the Azhar mosque, others made themselves cells in the mosque, as a *shaykh* in Naṣībīn did (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 240; cf. in Ḥarrān, 245) and as happened in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's time in the Mosque of the Umayyads (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 182). It was, however, very usual for them to live in the side rooms of the mosque, as was the case for example, in the Mosque of the Umayyads (Ibn Djubayr, 269; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 206). In particularly holy mosques like that in Hebron, houses for *al-muʿtakifūn* were built around the sacred place (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, 11-12) and also beside the Masdjid Yūnis at the ancient Niniveh (al-Muḳaddasī, 146). Kitchens were therefore erected with the necessary mills and ovens and cooked food (*djashīsha*) and 14-15,000 loaves (*raghīf*) were daily distributed to those who stayed there and to visitors (Sauvaire, 20; cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/1, 231). Bread was also baked in the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, i/1, 233) and kitchens were often found in the mosques (for al-Azhar, see al-Djabartī, *Merveilles*, iii, 238-9; Sulaymān Raṣad, *Kanz al-djawhar fī taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, 71 ff., 107 ff.). Those who lived in and beside the mosque were called *mudjāwirūn* (cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 146; for Jerusalem, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 82, 91; for Mecca, Ibn Djubayr, 149; for Medina, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 279, where we learn that they were organised under a *ḳadīm*, like the North Africans under an *amīn* in Damascus; Ibn Djubayr, 277-8). They were pious ascetics, students and sometimes travellers. The students generally found accommodation in the *madāris*, but large mosques like that of the Umayyads or al-Azhar had always many students, who lived in them. The name of the halls, *riwāḳ*, was later used for these students' lodgings (cf. van Berchem, *CIA*, i, 43, n. 1; perhaps al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 54, 23). Strangers always found accommodation in the mosques (cf. above, I. C. 1). In smaller towns, it was the natural thing for the traveller to spend the night in the mosque and to get food there (Yāḳūt, iii, 385; al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 252). Travellers like Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Ibn Djubayr, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and al-ʿAbdarī (*JA*, ser. 5, iv [1854], 174) were able to travel throughout the whole Muslim world from one mosque (or *madrasa* or *ribāṭ*) to the other. The traveller could even leave his money for safe keeping in a mosque (*Safar-nāma*, 51). Large endowments were bequeathed for those who lived in the mosques (Ibn Djubayr, *op. cit.*; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/2, 105 f.).

In later times, the rulers often built a lodge or pavilion (*manẓara*) in or near the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 345; iv, 13; cf. on the word, Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/2, 15).

There was often a special room with a clock in the mosques; this also is probably an inheritance from the church, for Ibn Rusta talks of similar arrangements in Constantinople (126 above). Ibn Djubayr (270) describes very fully the clock in the Mosque of the Umayyads (cf. *JA*, ser. 9, vii, 205-6). It was made in the reign of Nūr al-Dīn by Fakhr al-Dīn b. al-Sāʿātī (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 183-4; an expert was kept to look after it, *ibid.*, 191). There was a clock in the Mustanṣiriyya in Baghdād (Sarre and Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii, 170), and the Mosque of ʿAmr also a *ghurfat al-sāʿāt* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 13, 15). In the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn is still kept a sundial of the year 696/1296-7; cf. van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 415), but the clocks were usually mechanical (see also Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *mindjāna*, and on the clock generally, E. Wiedemann, in *Nova Acta der K. Leop. Carol. Akad.*, c [Halle 1915]). In the Maghrib also we find mosqueclocks, e.g. in the Bū ʿInāniyya (*JA*, ser. 11, xii, 357 ff.).

The very varied uses to which the mosques were put resulted in their becoming storehouses for all sorts of things. In 668/1269-70, the Mosque of the Umayyads was cleared of all such things; in the courtyard there were, for example, stores for machines of war, and the *zāwiya* of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn was a regular *khān* (*JA*, ser. 9, vii, 225-6).

c. The prayer-niche or *Miḥrāb* [see for this, MIḤRĀB].

d. The pulpit or *Minbar* [see for this, MINBAR].

e. The platform or *Dakka*. In the larger mosques, there is usually found near the *minbar* a platform to which a staircase leads up. This platform (*dakka*, popularly often *dikka*) is used as a seat for the *muʾadhdhins* when pronouncing the call to prayer in the mosque at the Friday service. This part of the equipment of a mosque is connected with the development of the service (cf. below, under I. H. 4, and C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii [1912], 374-99 = *Islamstudien*, i, 472-500; E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.* [1913], Phil.-Hist. Cl., no. 2). The first *adhān* call is pronounced from the minaret, the second (when the *khaṭīb* mounts the *minbar*) and the third (before the *ṣalāt*, *iḳāma*) in the mosque itself. These calls were at first pronounced by the *muʾadhdhin* standing in the mosque. At a later date, raised seats were made for him.

Al-Ḥalabī records that Maslama, Muʿāwiya's governor in Egypt, was the first to build platforms (here called *manābir*) for the calls to prayer in the mosques (*Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 111 below). This story, however, given without any reference to older authorities, is not at all reliable. It seems that a uniform practice did not come into existence at once. In Mecca, the *muʾadhdhins* for a time uttered the second call (when the preacher mounted the *minbar*) from the roof. As the sun in summer was too strong for them, the *amīr* of Mecca, in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, made a little hut (*ẓulla*) for them on the roof. This was enlarged and more strongly built by al-Mutawakkil in 240/854-5, as his contemporary al-Azraḳī relates (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 332-3). The position in the mosque of ʿAmr in Cairo was similar. Here also the *adhān* was uttered in a chamber (*ghurfa*) on the roof, and in 336/947-8 there is a reference to its enlargement (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 11). As late as the time of Baybars, when the many chambers were removed from the roof of the Mosque of ʿAmr,. the old *ghurfa* of the *muʾadhdhin* was left intact (*ibid.*, 14; cf. al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, ed. Guest, 469, n. 2). In the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, the *adhān* was pronounced from the cupola in the centre of the *ṣaḥn* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 40). Al-Muḳaddasī records in the 4th/10th century as a notable thing about Khurāsān that the *muʾadhdhins* there pronounced the *adhān* on a *sarīr* placed in front of the *minbar* (327). The *dukkān* "platform" in front of the *minbar* in the mosques of Shahrastān must have had the same purpose (*ibid.*, 357).

In the 8th/14th century, Ibn al-Ḥādjdj mentions the *dakka* as a *bidʿa* in general use, which should be condemned as it unnecessarily prevents freedom of movement within the mosque (*Madkhal*, ii, 45 above). In the year 827/1424 a *dakka* in the mosque of al-Ḥākim is mentioned (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 61); the *dakkas* mentioned in inscriptions from Cairo all date from the period before and after 900/1495. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj mentions that, in addition to the large *dakka* used for the Friday worship, there was sometimes a lower one for ordinary *ṣalāts* (*Madkhal*, ii, 46-7) and says that in the larger mosques there were several *dakkas* on which *muʾadhdhins* pronounced the *adhān* in succession so that the whole community could hear it (*tablīgh*; *ibid.*, 45-6). Lane also mentions several *muballighs* in the Azhar Mosque (*Manners and customs*, Everyman's Library edn., 87, 2).

f. The reading-stand or *Kursī*; Ḳurʾāns and relics. In the mosques there is usually a *kursī* [*q.v.*], that is, a wooden stand with a seat and a desk. The desk is for the Ḳurʾān, the seat for the *ḳāṣṣ*, or reader, *ḳāriʾ*. Ibn Djubayr attended the worship in Baghdād at which a celebrated preacher spoke from the *minbar*, but only after the *ḳurrāʾ*, sitting on *karāsī* had recited portions of the Ḳurʾān (*Riḥla*, 219, 222). The *wāʿiẓ*, often identical with the *ḳāṣṣ*, sat on a *kursī* made of teak (Ibn Djubayr, 200. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 319; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 121); sometimes he spoke from the *minbar* to which the *wāʿiẓ* often had access (cf. Ibn Djubayr; see Mez, *Renaissance des Islâms*, 320, Eng. tr. 332). The *ḳuṣṣāṣ* are called by al-Makkī *aṣḥāb al-karāsī*, which is in keeping with this (*Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, i, 152, quoting *K. al-Madkhal*, i, 159). Several *karāsī* are often mentioned in one mosque (cf. for the Mosque of ʿAmr, al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 19). Whether the *karāsī* mentioned for the earlier period always had a desk cannot be definitely ascertained. The *karāsī* with dated inscriptions given by van Berchem in his *Corpus* all belong to the 9th/15th century (nos. 264, 302, 338, 359bis, 491). According to Lane, at the Friday service, while the people are assembling, a *ḳāriʾ* on the *kursī* recites sūra XVIII up to the *adhān* (*Manners and customs*, 86). The same custom is recorded by Ibn al-Ḥādjdj and condemned because it has a disturbing effect (*Madkhal*, ii, 44, middle).

The Ḳurʾān very soon received its definite place in the mosque, like the Bible in the church (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 91: they prayed at a pillar beside *al-muṣḥaf*). According to one tradition, ʿUthmān had several copies of his Ḳurʾān sent to the provinces (e.g. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qor.*, ii, 112-13); al-Ḥadjdjādj, a little later, is said to have done the same thing (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 17). The mosques had many other copies beside the one kept on the *kursī*. Al-Ḥākim put 814 *maṣāḥif* in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, where the founder had already put boxes of Ḳurʾāns (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 36, 40; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 138) and in 403/1012-13, he presented 1,289 copies to the Mosque of ʿAmr, some of which were written in letters of gold (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 12; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 136). Even earlier than this there were so many that the *ḳāḍī* al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn (237-45/851-9)

appointed a special *amīn* to look after them (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 469); there are still a very large number in the Mosque of the Prophet (see al-Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 241 above). Of particular value was the *muṣḥaf Asmāʾ*, belonging to the Mosque of ʿAmr, prepared by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, later bought by his son and afterwards by his daughter Asmāʾ; her brother left it in 128/746 to the mosque and it was used for public readings (see its whole history in al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 17-18). Besides it, another copy was for some time also used for reading, which was said to have lain beside ʿUthmān, when he was killed and to have been stained with his blood, but this one was removed by the Fāṭimids (*ibid.*, 19). In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, a Ḳurʾān for which the same claims were made was kept in Baṣra (ii, 10). On New Year's Day, when the Fāṭimid caliphs used to go in procession through the town, the caliph at the entrance to the Mosque of ʿAmr took up in his hands a *muṣḥaf* said to have been written by ʿAlī and kissed it (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/1, 472 middle); it was perhaps the *muṣḥaf Asmāʾ*. In Syria, Egypt, and the Ḥidjāz, in the 4th/10th century, there were Ḳurʾāns which were traced back to ʿUthmān (al-Muḳaddasī, 143; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 117). One of the Ḳurʾāns made for ʿUthmān was shown in the Mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus in the time of Ibn Djubayr. It was produced after the daily *ṣalāt*s and the people touched and kissed it (*Riḥla*, 268). It was brought there in the year 507/1113-14 from Tiberias (al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, Ḥaydarābād, 1337, ii, 25). Other Ḳurʾāns of ʿUthmān were shown in Baghdād and Cordova (see Mez, *Renaissance des Islâms*, 327, Eng. tr., 338-9) and Ibn Djubayr saw another in the Mosque of the Prophet; it lay in a desk on a large stand, here called *miḥmal* (*Riḥla*, 193; cf. thereon Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.). The Fāḍiliyya *madrasa* also had a *muṣḥaf ʿUthmān*, bought by the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil for 30,000 *dīnār*s (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 197) and there is one in Fās (*Archives Marocaines*, xviii [1922], 361). Valuable Ḳurʾāns like these had the character of relics and belonged to the *khizāna* of the mosque. They were often kept in a chest (*ṣandūḳ*) (Ibn Djubayr, *op. cit.*; for *al-muṣḥaf*, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 95, Muslim has *al-ṣandūḳ*; see al-ʿAṣḳalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, i, 385), also called *tābūt* (Ibn Djubayr, 104). In the Kaʿba, Ibn Djubayr saw two chests with Ḳurʾāns (84, 3). Ibn al-Faḳīh mentions 16 chests with Ḳurʾāns in the Jerusalem mosque (100). In the mosques there were also *ṣanādīḳ* for other things, such as lamps (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 53; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 82 = Ibn Djubayr, 194), a *tābūt* for alms *Madkhal*, ii, 44, below), for the *bayt al-māl* or the property of the mosque (see below). There were also chests for rose-wreaths (*Madkhal*, ii, 50) which were in charge of a special officer. In the Mosque of ʿAmr there was a whole series of *tawābīt* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 9).

The Ḳurʾāns were not the only relics to be kept in the mosques. Bodies or parts of the bodies of saints (cf. above, B. 4, C. 1) and other *āthār* were kept and revered in mosques: the rod of Moses (in Kūfa, Yāḳūt, iv, 325, previously in Mecca, see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 361), the Prophet's sandals (in Hebron, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 101, also in Damascus, where the Madrasa Ashrafiyya had his left and the Dammāghiyya his right sandal; *JA*, ser. 9, iii, 271-2, 402), his cloak (in Adhruḥ, al-Muḳaddasī, 178), hair from his beard (in Jerusalem among other places, al-Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 165) and many other things (see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 358 ff.; Mez, *Renaissance des Islâms*, 325-6, Eng. tr., 337-9). These relics were often kept in valuable reliquaries. The head of Ḥusayn was buried in a *tābūt* in his mosque in Cairo (Ibn Djubayr, 45). There was a black stone like that in the Kaʿba in a mosque in Shahrastān (al-Muḳaddasī, 433).

On the other hand, pictures and images were excluded from the mosques, in deliberate contrast to the crucifixes and images of saints in churches, as is evident from *Ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb*s 48, 54; *Djanāʾiz*, *bāb* 71; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 3; cf. on the question, Becker, *Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung*, in *ZA*, xxvi [1911] = *Islamstudien*, i, 445 ff.). It is of interest to note that in the earliest period, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ had no scruples about leaving the wall-paintings in the *Īwān* of Kisrā at Madāʾin standing, when it was turned into a mosque (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2443, 2451). The case was somewhat different, when, before the chief mosque in Dihlī, which had been a Hindu temple, two old copper idols formed a kind of threshold (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 151), although even this is remarkable (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, 451 ff. = *ZDMG*, lxi [1907], 186 ff.). In some circles the opposition to pictures extended to other relics also. Ibn Taymiyya condemned the reverence paid to the Prophet's footprint, which was shown, as in Jerusalem, in a Damascus mosque also (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/2, 246).

g. Carpets. Carpets [see on these, BISĀṬ in Suppl.] were used to improve the appearance of the mosques. The custom of performing the *ṣalāt* upon a carpet is ascribed by *Ḥadīth* to the Prophet himself. Anas b. Mālik performed the *ṣalāt* with him in his grandmother's house and the Prophet used a cloth or mat (*ḥaṣīr*), which had become black through wear; as a rule, he used a mat woven of palm leaves, *khumra* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb*s 19, 20, 21; *Ḥayḍ*, *bāb* 30; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 47; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 145). In any case, it is clear from al-Balādhurī that the *ṣalāt* was at first performed in the mosque simply in the dust and then on pebbles (al-Balādhurī, 277, 348; cf. al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ ʿalā ʾl-Muwaṭṭāʾ*, i, 283-4). Later, when the halls were extended, the ground, or the paving, was covered with matting.

The first to cover the ground in the Mosque of ʿAmr with *ḥuṣur* instead of *ḥaṣbāʾ* was Muʿāwiya's governor Maslama b. Mukhallad (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 8; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 136; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 77). The different groups which frequented the mosque (cf. above) had their places on particular mats: when a *ḳāḍī* (middle of the 3rd/9th century) ejected the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs from the mosque, he had their *ḥuṣur* torn up (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 469). Ibn Ṭūlūn covered his mosque floor with ʿAbbādānī and Sāmānī mats (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 36, 38). For the mosque of al-Ḥākim in the year 403/1012-13, al-Ḥākim bought 1,036 *dhirāʿ*s of carpeting for 5,000 *dīnār*s (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 56; cf. for al-Azhar, *ibid.*, 50). In the year 439/1047-8 in the Mosque of ʿAmr, there were ten layers of coloured carpets one above the other (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, ed. Schefer, text, 31, tr. 149). In the Mosque at Jerusalem, 800,000 *dhirāʿ*s of carpets were used every year (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 100). In the Mosque in Mecca they were renewed every Ramaḍān (*loc. cit.*). On ceremonial occasions, the *minbar* was also draped with a carpet (*sadjdjāda*); in Medina, the *minbar* and the sacred tomb was always covered like the Kaʿba in Mecca (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 83; cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml*, ii/1, 91) and some, especially the teachers, had their skins (*farwa*), in some cases, also a cushion to lean upon. The doors were also covered with some material (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 56). On feast-days, the mosques were adorned with carpets in a particularly luxurious fashion (see Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/1, 483). The puritanical rejected all this as *bidʿa* and

preferred the bare ground (*Madkhal*, ii, 46, 49, 72, 74, 76), as the Wahhābīs still do.

h. Lighting. Where evening meetings and vigils were of regular occurrence, artificial lighting became necessary. Al-Azraḳī gives the history of the lighting of the Meccan Mosque. The first to illuminate the Kaʿba was ʿUḳba b. al-Azraḳ, whose house was next to the Mosque, just on the *maḳām*; here he placed a large lamp (*miṣbāḥ*). ʿUmar, however, is said previously to have placed lamps upon the wall, which was the height of a man, with which he surrounded the mosque (al-Balādhurī, 46). The first to use oil and lamps (*ḳanādīl*) in the mosque itself was Muʿāwiya (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 20). In the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī placed a lamp on a pillar of the Zamzam beside the Black Stone, and the lamp of the Azraḳ family disappeared. In the reign of al-Maʾmūn in 216/831, a new lamp-post was put up on the other side of the Kaʿba, and a little later two new lanterns were put up around the Kaʿba. Hārūn al-Rashīd placed ten large lamps around the Kaʿba and hung two lanterns on each of the walls of the mosque (*thurayyāt*; cf. Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 149, 150, 155, 271; van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 506). Khālid al-Ḳasrī had the *masʿā* also illuminated during the pilgrimage, and in 119/737 the torches called *nafāṭāt* were placed here, and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ordered the people, who lived in the streets of Mecca, to put up lamps on 1 Muḥarram for the convenience of those visiting the Kaʿba (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 200-2, cf. 458-9). In 253/867 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Manṣūrī erected a wooden pole in the centre of the *ṣaḥn* and *ḳanādīl* on ropes were hung from it. This was, however, very soon removed (*ibid.*, ii, 196-7). About 100 years later, al-Muḳaddasī saw around the *ṭawāf* wooden poles on which hung lanterns (*ḳanādīl*), in which were placed candles for the kings of Egypt, Yemen, etc. (74). Ibn Djubayr describes the glass *ḳanādīl*, which hung from hooks in the Meccan Ḥaram (*Riḥla*, 103) and lamps (*mashāʿil*) which were lit in iron vessels (*ibid.*, 103, cf. 143). Similar silver and gold *ḳanādīl* were seen by him in Medina (*ibid.*, 192 at the top; see also Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 83 ff.). According to Ibn al-Faḳīh (before 300/912), 1,600 lamps were lit every evening in Jerusalem (100), and in the next century al-Muḳaddasī says that the people of Palestine always burn *ḳanādīl* in their mosques, which were hung from chains as in Mecca (182). The illumination was thus very greatly increased. In the year 60/679-80, when ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād was searching for his enemies in the mosque of Kūfa, the lamps were not sufficient, and large torches had to be used in searching the pillared halls (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 259-60). This, like what has already been said about Mecca, shows out of what modest beginnings this part of the mosque's equipment developed.

In the time of the ʿAbbāsids, lamps and lanterns were part of the regular furniture of the mosque. Al-Maʾmūn is said to have taken a special interest in this. He ordered lamps to be put in all the mosques, partly to assist those who wanted to read and partly to prevent crime (al-Bayhaḳī, 473). For this purpose, the *ḳanādīl*, already mentioned, hung on chains were used, as at the building of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 36, 38), in the Azhar Mosque and elsewhere; they were often of silver (*ibid.*, 56, 63). Golden *ḳanādīl* were also used and were of course condemned by Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (*Madkhal*, ii, 54) as ostentatious. At the same time, candles (*shamʿ* or *shamaʿ*) were used in large numbers, the candle-sticks (*atwār*, sing. *tawr*) often being of silver (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 45, 151, 194; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 95, 100). About 400/1009-10, large candelabra were made in Egypt, which from their shapes were called *tannūr*, stoves. Al-Ḥākim presented the Mosque of ʿAmr with a *tannūr* made out of 100,000 *dirhams* of silver; the mosque doors had to be widened to admit it. He also gave it two other lamps (al-Suyūṭī, ii, 136 below; cf. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, text 51, tr. 148; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii/2, 105). In the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, in addition to lamps and candle lanterns, he also put 4 silver *tanānīr* and he made similar gifts to the Azhar and other mosques: the lamps were of gold or silver (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 51, 56, 63; cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/2, 105). The *tanānīr* and other lanterns could also be made of copper (see van Berchem, *CIA*, i, nos. 502, 503, 506, 507, 511), as, for example, the celebrated candelabrum of the Mosque of Muʾayyad (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 137) which was made for the mosque of Ḥasan but sold by it (*ibid.*, 118).

This great interest in the lighting of the mosque was not entirely based on practical considerations. Light had a significance in the worship and Islam here, as elsewhere, was taking over something from the Christian Church. When, in 227/842 the caliph was on his deathbed, he asked that the *ṣalāt* should be performed over him with candles and incense (*bi 'l-shamʿ wa 'l-bukhūr*) exactly after the fashion of the Christians (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 165; cf. ii, 89). The dependence of Islam on Christianity is also seen in the story that ʿUthmān, when he was going to the evening *ṣalāt* in Medina, had a candle carried in front of him, which his enemies condemned as *bidʿa* (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 187). The Shīʿī bias does not affect the significance of this story. A light was used particularly in the *miḥrāb*, because it represented the holy cell, to which light belongs (cf. sūra XXIV, 35). Then, in Mecca, lamps were placed before the *imāms* in the *miḥrābs* and there were considerable endowments for such *miḥrāb* lamps (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 103, 144). Light, as was everywhere the custom in ancient times, was necessary in mausoleums, and the documents of endowment show that a large number of oil-lamps were used in this way (cf. e.g. the document for al-Malik al-Ashraf's mausoleum, van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 252). But in the mosque generally the use of lights had a devotional significance and lamps might be endowed for particular individuals (cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 74, quoted above). The lamps so given by al-Ḥākim were therefore placed in the mosques with great ceremony, with blasts of trumpets and beating of drums (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/2, 105).

On ceremonial occasions a great illumination was therefore absolutely necessary. In the month of Ramaḍān, says Ibn Djubayr, the carpets were renewed and the candles and lamps increased in number, so that the whole mosque was a blaze of light (*Riḥla*, 143); on certain evenings, trees of light were made with vast numbers of lamps and candles and the minarets were illuminated (*ibid.*, 149-51, 154, 155). In the Mosque of the Prophet in the time of al-Samhūdī, forty wax candles burned around the sacred tomb, and three to four hundred lights in the whole mosque (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 100). On the *mawlid al-nabī*, says Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, a procession went from the Kaʿba in Mecca to the birthplace of the Prophet with candles, lanterns (*fawānīs*) and lamps (*mashāʿil*) (see *Chron. Mekka*, iii, 439). In the *ḥaram* of Jerusalem, according to Mudjīr al-Dīn, 750 lamps were lit by night and over 20,000 at festivals (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, 138). In the dome of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra in 452/1060, a chandelier and 500 lamps fell down (*ibid.*, 69); at the taking of the town in 492/1099, the Franks carried off 42 silver lamps, each

of 3,600 *dirhams*, 23 lamps of gold and a *tannūr* of 40 *raṭls* of silver (*ibid.*, 71). It was similar, and still is, in Cairo and elsewhere in the Muslim world. For the *laylat al-wuḳūd* in the Mosque of ʿAmr, 18,000 candles were made for the Mosque of ʿAmr, and every night eleven-and-a-half *ḳinṭārs* of good oil were used (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 21 and more fully, ii, 345-6). The four "nights of illumination" fell in the months of Radjab and Shaʿbān, especially *niṣf Shaʿbān* (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/2, 131; cf. also Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 77). In 1908 electric light was introduced into the Mosque of the Prophet (al-Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 245-6).

(On the question in general of illumination, see Clermont-Ganneau, *La lampe et l'olivier dans le Coran*, in *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, viii [1924], 183-228; on the copper candelabra, see A. Wingham, *Report on the analysis of various examples of oriental metal-work, etc. in the South Kensington Museum*, etc., London 1892; F. R. Martin, *Ältere Kupferarbeiten aus dem Orient*, Stockholm 1902; on glass lamps, see G. Schmoranz, *Altorientalische Glass-Gefässe*, Vienna 1898; van Berchem, *CIA*, i, 678 ff.; M. Herz Bey, *La Mosquée du Sultan Hasan* (*Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe*), 1899, 8 ff.; see also the Bibliography in *Isl.*, xvii [1928], 217 ff.).

i. Incense. According to some traditions, even the Prophet had incense burned in the mosque (al-Tirmidhī, i, 116; see Lammens, *Moʿâwia*, 367, n. 8) and in the time of ʿUmar, his client ʿAbd Allāh is said to have perfumed the mosque by burning incense while he sat on the *minbar*. The same client is said to have carried the censer (*midjmar*: cf. Lammens, *loc. cit.*) brought by ʿUmar from Syria before ʿUmar when he went to the *ṣalāt* in the month of Ramaḍān (A. Fischer, *Biographie von Gewährsmännern*, etc., 55 n.). According to this tradition, the use of incense was adopted into Islam very early as a palpable imitation of the custom of the Church. In keeping with this is the tradition that, in Fusṭāṭ as early as the governorship of ʿAmr, the *muʾadhdhin* used to burn incense in the mosque (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 132; cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, iv, 565). The Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra Mosque had incense burned in it during the consecration ceremony (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, 53).

Under the Umayyads, incense was one of the regular requirements of the mosque (*ṭīb al-masdjid*: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1234, 10). Muʿāwiya is named as the first to perfume the Kaʿba with perfume (*khalūḳ*) and censer (*ṭayyaba*: Ibn al-Faḳīh, 20, 12). It became the custom to anoint the sacred tombs with musk and *ṭīb* (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 150, 10; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 191, 9). Baybars washed the Kaʿba with rose-water (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 96, 14). Incense, as well as candles, was used at burials (cf. de Goeje, *ZDMG*, lix [1905], 403-4; Lammens, *Moʿâwia*, 436, n. 9). Al-Muʿtaṣim's desire to be buried with candles and incense (*bukhūr*) exactly like the Christians (Ibn Uṣaybiʿa, i, 165, 12 f., cf. above) shows that they were aware that the custom bore much the same relation to the Christian usage as the mosque building did to the church. The consumption of incense in the mosques gradually became very large, especially at festivals (see for the Fāṭimids, Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/1, 484, 12; ii/2, ed. Popper, 106, 3; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 51; on vessels for holding incense, see the Bibliography in *Isl.*, xvii [1928], 217-18, and MAʿDIN. 4. In Islamic art).

j. Water-supply. Nothing is said of a water-supply in connection with the oldest mosques. The Mosque of Mecca occupied a special position on account of the Zamzam well. In the early days of Islam, two basins (*ḥawḍ*) are said to have been supplied by it, one behind the well, i.e. just at the side of the mosque for *wuḍūʾ* and one between the well and the *rukn* for drinking purposes; the latter was moved nearer the well by Ibn al-Zubayr. In the time of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a grandson of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās for the first time built a *ḳubba* in connection with Zamzam (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 299). At the same time, the governor Khālid al-Ḳasrī laid down lead piping to bring water from the well of al-Thabīr to the mosque, to a marble basin (*fisḳiyya*) with a running fountain (*fawwāra*) between Zamzam and the *rukn*, probably on the site of the earlier *ḥawḍ*. It was intended to supply drinking-water in place of the brackish water of Zamzam, but a branch was led on to a *birka* at the Bāb al-Ṣafā, which was used for ritual ablutions. The people, however, would not give up the Zamzam water and immediately after the coming to power of the ʿAbbāsids, the provision for drinking-water was cut off, only the pipe leading to the *birka* being retained (*ibid.*, i, 339-40). In Ibn Djubayr's time, there was, in addition to Zamzam, a supply of water in vessels and a bench for performing the *wuḍūʾ* (*Riḥla*, 89). Khalid's plan, arrangements for ablutions at the entrance and a running fountain in the *ṣaḥn*, seems to have been a typically Umayyad one and to have been introduced from the north. Such fountains were usual in the north, not only in private houses, but also for example in the *aithrion* (*atrium*) surrounded by pillars, which, from Eusebius's description, formed part of the church of Tyre (see Hauch, in Herzog-Hauch, *Realenzyclop. f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche*[3], x, 782).

The usual name for the basin, *fisḳiyya* (in Egypt now *fasḳiyya*), comes from *piscina*, which in the Mishna and in Syriac takes the form *piskīn* (see Levy, *Neuhebr. u. chald. Wörterbuch*, iv, 81b; Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, 124; *fisḳīna*, found in al-Azraḳī, *Chron. Mekka*, i, 340 is probably due to a slip). At the same time, however, *birka* or *siḳāya* or *ṣihrīdj*, which probably comes from the Persian (cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 287), or the old Arabic *ḥawḍ*, are also used. The arrangements for ablutions were called *maṭāhir* or *mayāḍiʾ*, sing. *miʾḍaʾa* (now usually *mēḍā*), "place for *wuḍūʾ*". The accommodation in Mecca just mentioned was later extended. Ibn Djubayr mentions a building at al-Zāhir, 1 *mīl* north of Mecca which contained *maṭāhir* and *siḳāya* for those performing the minor *ʿumra* (*Riḥla*, 111).

In Medina, Ibn Djubayr mentions rooms for *wuḍūʾ* at the western entrance to the mosque (*Riḥla*, 197, 13 f.; cf. the plan in al-Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, facing p. 244). At the same time, Ibn Zabāla mentions seventeen receptacles for water in the *ṣaḥn* in the year 199/814-15, probably for drinking-water; later (8th/14th century) a large basin surrounded by a railing is mentioned in the centre of the court. It was intended for drinking purposes, but became used for bathing and was therefore removed. Baths and latrines were built anew by al-Nāṣir's mother (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 99 ff.).

In Damascus, where every house, as is still the case, was amply supplied with water, Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) found no mosque, *madrasa* or *khānaḳāh* which did not have water flowing into a *birka* in the *ṣaḥn* (Yāḳūt, ii, 590). Ibn Djubayr describes the arrangements in the Mosque of the Umayyads. In the *ṣaḥn*, as is still the case, there were three *ḳubbas*. The centre one rested on four marble columns, and below it was a basin with a spring of drinking-water surrounded by an iron grille. This was called *ḳafaṣ al-māʾ* "water-cage". North of the *ṣaḥn* was a Masdjid al-Kallāsa, in the *ṣaḥn* of which there was again a *ṣihrīdj* of marble with a

spring (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 267). There was also running water in an adjoining *mashhad* (269), in the *khānaḳāh* and *madrasa* (271), and in a hall beside the living apartments there was again a *ḳubba* with a basin (*ḥawḍ*) and spring water (269). There were also *siḳāyāt* against the four outer walls of the mosque, whole houses fitted up with lavatories and closets (273); a century earlier, we are told that at each entrance to the mosque there was a *mīʾḍaʾa* (159). The whole arrangements correspond exactly to those made by Khālid al-Ḳaṣrī in Mecca in the Umayyad period and must therefore date from the Umayyads.

It was the same in other Syrian and Mesopotamian towns. In Sāmarrāʾ, al-Mutawakkil built in his new *djāmiʿ* a *fawwāra* with constant running water (al-Yaʿkūbī, *Buldān*, 265). In Naṣībīn, the river was led through the *ṣaḥn* of the mosque into a *ṣihrīdj*; there was also a *ṣihrīdj* at the eastern entrance with two *siḳāyāt* in front of the mosque (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 239). In Mawṣil in the mosque, which dated from the Umayyad period, there was a spring with a marble cupola over it (*ibid.*, 235). In Ḥarrān, there were in the *ṣaḥn* three marble *ḳubbas* with a *biʾr* and drinking-water (*ibid.*, 246), in Aleppo, two (*ibid.*, 253). In Kūfa, there were three *ḥawḍs* with Euphrates water in front of the Djāmiʿ (*ibid.*, 212), but in the mosque in a *zāwiya*, a domed building with running water (Yāḳūt, iv, 325, 326, here called *tannūr*; cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 173, Ibn Djubayr, 89, 267). It was the same in Āmid (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, ed. Schefer, 28) and in Zarandj in Sidjistān (Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 298-9). The principal mosques of ʿIrāḳ had *mayāḍiʾ* at the entrances, for which, according to a remarkable note by al-Muḳaddasī, rents were paid (129, read *karāsī*?; cf. *maṣṭaba*: Ibn Djubayr, 89). In Palestine also, in al-Muḳaddasī's time, there were conveniences for ablutions at the entrances to the *djawāmiʿ* (*maṭāhir*: 182; *mayāḍiʾ*: al-Iṣṭakhrī[1], and in Ṣanʿāʾ in the 4th/10th century, beside each mosque, there was water for drinking and for *wuḍūʾ* (Ibn Rusta, 111). In Persia also, it was the custom to have a *ḥawḍ* in front of the mosque (al-Muḳaddasī, 318) and there was drinking-water in the mosque itself on a bench (*kursī*) in iron jars into which ice was put on Fridays (*ibid.*, 327). Not only at the Zamzam well but also in the mosques of ʿIrāḳ, men were appointed whose duty it was to distribute drinking-water (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2165). The regular custom, therefore, was to have at the entrance to, or in front of the mosque, conveniences for *wuḍūʾ*, and in the court of the mosque itself a fountain as the traditional ornament and for drinking water. It was the exception for the *wuḍūʾ* to take place in the mosque itself.

In Egypt, at first the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was arranged similarly to the Syrian mosques. In the centre of the *ṣaḥn* there was a gilt dome, supported by sixteen marble columns and surrounded by a railing. This upper storey was supported by nineteen marble columns and below was a marble basin (*ḳaṣʿa*) with a running fountain (*fawwāra*); the *adhān* was called from the dome (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 37; the description is not quite clear). People complained that there were no arrangements for washing (*mīʾḍaʾa*) there. Ibn Ṭūlūn replied that he had not made them because he had concluded the mosque would be polluted thereby. He therefore made a *mīʾḍaʾa* with an apothecary's shop behind the mosque (*ibid.*, 38, 39; *al-Suyūṭī*, ii, 139; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/10). This suggests that previously in Egypt, the washing arrangements had been directly connected with the mosque. After the fire of the year 376/986-7, the *fawwāra* was renovated by al-ʿAzīz (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 40), and again in 696/1297 by Lādjīn, whose inscription still exists (*CIA*, i, no. 16). A new *mīʾḍaʾa* was built in 792/1390 beside the old one on the north, outside the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 42).

The Mosque of ʿAmr first got a *fawwāra* in the time of al-ʿAzīz. In 378-9/998-9 his vizier Yaʿḳūb b. Killis installed one in the cupola, already in existence for the *bayt al-māl*. Marble jars were put there for the water (probably drinking-water) (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 9, 11; cf. al-Suyūṭī, ii, 136; Yāḳut, iii, 899). A new water basin was installed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn beside his *manẓara* in the mosque. The water was led to the *fawwārat al-fisḳiyya* from the Nile. This was prohibited in the reign of Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī (658-76/1260-77) by the chief *ḳāḍī*, because the building was being affected by it (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 14; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 137). The *amīr*, who restored it, brought the water for the *fisḳiyya* from a well in the street (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 15).

Like Ibn Ṭūlūn, the Fāṭimids do not seem to have considered the *mīʾḍaʾa* indispensable. For the Azhar Mosque had originally no *mīʾḍaʾa*: as late as al-Ḥākim's *waḳf* document for the provision of *mīʾḍaʾa*, money is given only with the provision that something of the kind should be made (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 51, 54). At a later date we hear of two *mīʾḍaʾa*'s, one at the adjoining Āḳbughāwiyya (*ibid.*, 54). On the other hand, there was already a *fisḳiyya* in the centre of the court, but whether it had existed from the first is not known. It had disappeared, when traces of it were found in 827/1424 in laying-out a new *ṣihrīdj* (*ibid.*, 54). The *fisḳiyya* of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim was not erected by the founder. Like that of the Mosque of ʿAmr, it was removed in 660/1262 by the *ḳāḍī* Tādj al-Dīn, but after the earthquake of 702/1302-3, it was again rebuilt and provided with drinking-water from the Nile (*ibid.*, 56, 57) and again renovated after 780/1378 (*ibid.*, 61). A small *mīʾḍaʾa*, later replaced by another, was in the vicinity of the entrance (*ibid.*, 61). Other Fāṭimid mosques had basins in the *ṣaḥn*, which were supplied from the Nile and from the Khalīdj (*ibid.*, 76, 81, 120).

The traditional plan was retained in the period following also. For example, we know that the *amīr* Ṭughān in 815/1412 placed a *birka* in the centre of the Djamiʿ of Āḳsunḳur which was covered by a roof supported by marble pillars and supplied by the same pipe as the already existing *mīʾḍaʾa*s (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 107, cf. 124, 138, 139, etc.). At the ceremonial dedication of mosques, it was the custom for the patron to fill the *birka* in the *ṣaḥn* with sugar, lemonade or other sweet things (e.g. at the Muʾayyadī, in 822/1419, al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 139; at the Madrasa of Djamāl al-Dīn in 811/1408-9, *ibid.*, 253; another in 757/1356, *ibid.*, 256).

The importance of the *birka* of the mosque, as a drinking-place, diminished as pious founders erected drinking fountains everywhere (cf. for Mecca, *Chron. Mekka*, ii, 116-18; also *BGA*, *Glossarium*, 211, s.v. *ḥubb*; 258, s.v. *sabīl*) and especially when it became the custom to build a *sabīl* with a boy's school in part of the mosque (see below, I. E. 4, end). A *ḥawḍ* for watering animals was also sometimes built in the vicinity of the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 76). Sometimes also the *birka* of the *ṣaḥn* was used for washing. In the year 799/1397 the *amīr* Yalbughā made arrangements for this in the Aḳmar mosque so that one could get water for *wuḍūʾ* from taps from a *birka* put up in the *ṣaḥn* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 76). Al-Maḳrīzī condemns this addition, but only because there was already a *mīʾḍaʾa* at the entrance and the *ṣaḥn* was too small for the new one (*ibid.*), and not on grounds of principle; and it was only because the wall was damaged that the *amīr*'s gift was removed in 815/1412 (*ibid.*, 77). The custom of

using the water supply of the *ṣaḥn* for *wuḍūʾ* survived in many places in Egypt. The arrangements were therefore usually called *miʾḍaʾa* or rather *mēḍā* (which is not found in the inscriptions). If they had taps, they were called *ḥanafiyya*; according to Lane's suggestion, because the Ḥanafīs only permitted ablutions with running water or from a cistern 10 ells broad and deep (*Lexicon*, s.v.; cf. *Manners and customs*. Everyman's Library, 69; cf. on the question M. Herz, *Observations critiques sur les bassins dans les ṣaḥns des mosquées*, in *BIE*, iii/7 [1896], 47-51; idem, *La mosquée du Sultan Ḥasan*, 2; Herz wrongly dates the modern usage from the Turkish conquest in 923/1517). In quite recent times, the *miʾḍaʾa*s have often been moved outside to special buildings. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj condemns bringing water into the mosque, because the only object is for ablutions and ablutions in the mosque are forbidden by "our learned men" (*Madkhal*, ii, 47-8, 49); like shaving, ablutions should be performed outside the mosque in keeping with the Prophet's saying *idjʿalū maṭāhirakum ʿalā abwābi masādjidikum* (*ibid.*, ii, 58). It was in keeping with this principle that in earlier times the *miʾḍaʾa* was usually put at the entrance and the barbers took up their places before the entrance (cf. the name *Bāb al-Muzayyinīn* "The Barbers' Gate" for the main entrance to the Azhar mosque). *Miʾḍaʾa*s were also to be found in hospitals; thus the "lower hospital" was given two in 246/957, one of which was for washing corpses (Ibn Dukmāḳ, 99 below).

E. The mosque as a state institution.

1. The mosque as a political centre. Its relation to the ruler. It was inherent in the character of Islam that religion and politics could not be separated. The same individual was ruler and chief administrator in the two fields, and the same building, the mosque, was the centre of gravity for both politics and religion. This relationship found expression in the fact that the mosque was placed in the centre of the camp, while the ruler's abode was built immediately adjacent to it, as in Medina (and in Fusṭāṭ, Damascus, Baṣra, Kūfa). We can trace how this *dār al-imāra* or *ḳaṣr* (so for Kūfa: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 230-1; *ḳaṣr al-imāra*, *ibid.*, 234) with the growth of the mosque gradually became incorporated in it at Fusṭāṭ and Damascus and was replaced by a new building. The tradition remained so strong that, in Cairo, when the new chief mosque Djāmiʿ al-ʿAskar was being planned in 169/785-6, a *Dār Umarāʾ Miṣr* was built beside it with direct access to the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 33-4), and when Ibn Ṭūlūn built his mosque, a building called the *Dār al-Imāra* was erected on its south side, where the ruler, who now lived in another new palace, had rooms for changing his robes, etc., from which he could go straight into the *maḳṣūra* (*ibid.*, 42).

The ʿAbbāsids at the foundation of Baghdād introduced a characteristic innovation, when they made the palace the centre of the city; the case was similar with Fāṭimid Cairo; but Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik in Ramla had already built the palace in front of the mosque (al-Balādhurī, 143). Later rulers, who no longer lived just beside the mosque, had special balconies or something similar built for themselves in or beside the mosque. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built for himself a *manẓara* under the great minaret of the mosque of ʿAmr (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 13; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 137) and just to the south of the Azhar mosque, the Fāṭimids had a *manẓara* from which they could overlook the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 345).

The caliph was the appointed leader of the *ṣalāt* and the *khaṭīb* of the Muslim community. The significance of the mosque for the state is therefore embodied in the *minbar*. The installation of the caliph consisted in his seating himself upon this, the seat of the Prophet in his sovereign capacity. When homage was first paid to Abū Bakr by those who had decided the choice of the Prophet's successor, he sat on the *minbar*. ʿUmar delivered an address, the people paid homage to him and he delivered a *khuṭba*, by which he assumed the leadership (Ibn Hishām, 1017; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1828-9; al-Diyārbakrī, ii, 75; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 142); it was the same with ʿUmar and ʿUthmān (*ibid.*, 157, 187).

The *khuṭba*, after the glorification of God and the Prophet, contained a reference to the caliph's predecessor and a kind of formal introduction of himself by the new caliph. It was the same in the period of the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids (see for al-Walīd, al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1177 ff.; al-Amīn, *ibid.*, iii, 764; al-Mahdī, *ibid.*, iii, 398, 451, 457; cf. on this question also al-Bukhārī, *Aḥkām*, *bāb* 43). The *minbar* and the *khuṭba* associated with it was still more important than the imāmate at the *ṣalāt*, it was *minbar al-mulk* (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 656, v, 4). According to a *ḥadīth*, the Prophet carried the little Ḥasan up to the *minbar* and said, "This my son is a chieftain", etc. (al-Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, *bāb* 25). This reflects the later custom by which the ruler saw that homage was paid to his successor-designate; this also was done from the *minbar* (cf. *khuṭiba yawm al-djumʿa li 'l-Muʿtaḍid bi-wilāyat al-ʿahd*, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2131). The Fāṭimid caliph showed honour to a distinguished officer by allowing him to sit beside him on the *minbar* (al-Suyūṭī, ii, 91); in the same way, Muʿāwiya allowed Ibn ʿAbbās to sit beside him *ʿalā sarīrihi* (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 119), but whether the reference is to the *minbar* is perhaps doubtful. The *bayʿa* could also be received by another on behalf of the caliph, but it had to be accepted on the *minbar*. Thus the governor of Mecca in 196/811-12 accepted on the *minbar* homage to ʿAbd Allāh al-Maʾmūn and the deposition of Muḥammad al-Amīn (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 861-2; cf. for al-Mahdī: *ibid.*, 389). There are other cases in which the solemn deposition of a ruler took place on or beside the *minbar* (*Aghānī*², i, 12; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 15). Even at a much later date, when spontaneous acclamation by the populace was no longer of any importance, the ceremonial installation on the *minbar* was still of importance (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 94). It had become only a formality but still an important one. Homage was paid to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Egypt in the great *īwān* of the palace or in a tent in which a *minbar* had been put up, and similarly to the sultans whose investiture was read out from the *minbar* (cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/1, 117, 149 ff., 183 ff.). If one dreamt that he was sitting on the *minbar*, it meant that he would become sultan (*ibid.*, ii/2, 103). The ʿAbbāsid caliph had, however, long had his own throne after the old Persian fashion in his palace (Ps. -al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Tādj fī akhlāḳ al-mulūk*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī, Cairo 1914, 7 ff.; tr. Pellat, *Le livre de la couronne*, Paris 1954, 35 ff.) and so had the Fāṭimids (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/1, 457) and the Mamlūks (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, i/1, 87; cf. 147). When later we find mention of the *kursī 'l-khilāfa* (van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 33), *sarīr al-mulk* (*Chron. Mekka*, iii, 113), *sarīr al-salṭana* (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 157; cf. *al-sarīr*, royal throne: Ibn Ḥawḳal¹, 282, 285; *kursī* similarly: cf. Ibn ʿArabshāh, *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, ii, 186) or *martabat al-mulk* (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, i/2, 61), the reference is no longer to the *minbar*. This does not mean that the ruler could no longer make public appearances in the mosques: thus in 648/1250, al-Muʿizz Aybak regularly gave audiences in *al-madāris al-ṣāliḥiyya* (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, 17) and

memorial services for Baybars were held a year after his death in several mosques, *madāris* and *khawānik* in Cairo (677/1278; *ibid.*, i/2, 164-5).

The caliph spoke chiefly from the *minbar* of the capital, but when he made the pilgrimage he also spoke from the *manābir* in Mecca and Medina (cf. e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1234; al-Yaᶜḳūbī, ii, 341, 501; *Chron. Mekka*, i, 160). Otherwise, in the provinces, the governor stood in the same relation to the mosques as the caliph in the capital. He was appointed "over *ṣalāt* and sword" or he administered "justice among the people" and the *ṣalāt* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 860), he had "province and *minbar*" under him (*ibid.*, ii, 611), *al-wilāyāt wa 'l-khuṭba* (al-Muḳaddasī, 337). Speaking from the *minbar* was a right which the caliph had delegated to him and it was done in the name of the caliph. ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ therefore refused to allow people in the country to hold *djumaᶜ* except under the direction of the commander (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 7). This point of view was never quite abandoned. The *khuṭba* was delivered "in the name of" the caliph (*ibid.*, 94) or "for" him (*lahu*, *ibid.*, 66, 74, 198; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/1, 85 below; al-Muḳaddasī, 485 above), and in the same way an *amīr* delivered a *khuṭba* "for" a sultan (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 213, 214). The sultan did not have the "secular" and the caliph the "spiritual" power, but the sultan exercised as a Muslim ruler the actual power which the caliph possessed as the legitimate sovereign and had formally entrusted to him. During the struggles between the different pretenders, there was thus a confession of one's politics if one performed the *ṣalāt* with the one or the other governor (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 228, 234, 258; *Chron. Mekka*, ii, 168). The pretenders disputed as to whether the one or the other could put up his standard beside the *minbar* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2009).

Like the caliph, the governor also made his formal entry into office by ascending the *minbar* and delivering a *khuṭba*; this was the symbol of his authority (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 91, 238, 242; *Chron. Mekka*, ii, 173; cf. *Ḥamāsa*, 660, vv. 2-3; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 135). After glorifying God and the Prophet, he announced his appointment or read the letter from the caliph and the remainder of his address, if there was a war going on, was exclusively political and often consisted of crude threats. The *khuṭba* was not inseparably connected with the Friday service. The commander-in-chief could at any time issue a summons to the *ṣalāt* and deliver his *khuṭba* with admonitions and orders (see al-Ṭabarī, ii, as above and 260, 297-8, 300, 863, 1179) and it was the same when he left a province (*ibid.*, 241); a governor, who could not preserve his authority with the *khuṭba* was dismissed (*ibid.*, 592). Since war was inseparably associated with early Islam, and since the mosque was the public meeting-place of ruler and people, it often became the scene of warlike incidents. While the governor in his *khuṭba* was issuing orders and admonitions relating to the fighting, cheers and counter-cheers could be uttered (*ibid.*, 238) and councils of war were held in the mosque (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3415; ii, 284; al-Balādhurī, 267). Soon after his election ᶜAbd al-Malik asked from the *minbar* who would take the field against Ibn al-Zubayr, and al-Ḥadjdjādj shouted that he was ready to go (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 20). After the Battle of the Camel, ᶜAlī sent the booty to the mosque of Baṣra and ᶜĀʾisha looked for another mosque (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3178, 3223). Rowdy scenes occasionally took place in the mosques (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 18); Ziyād was stoned on the *minbar* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 88); one could ride right into the mosque and shout to the governor sitting on the *minbar* (*ibid.*, 682); fighting often took place in and beside the mosque (*ibid.*, 960, 1701 ff.; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 13-14). Sometimes for this reason, the governor was surrounded by his bodyguard during the *ṣalāt* or the *minbar* or even clothed in full armour (al-Walīd: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1234; al-Yaᶜḳūbī, ii, 341; al-Ḥadjdjādj: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 254). *Ṣalāt* and sword were thus closely associated in reality.

It thus came to be the custom for the enemies of the ruler and his party to be cursed in the mosques. This custom continued the old Arab custom of regular campaigns of objurgation between two tribes, but can also be paralleled by the Byzantine ecclesiastical anathematisation of heretics (cf. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 485, *Zur Gesch. d. islamischen Kultus*).

The first to introduce the official cursing of the ᶜAlids from the *minbar* of the Kaᶜba is said to have been Khālid al-Ḳasrī (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 36). The reciprocal cursing of Umayyads and ᶜAlids became general (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 12, 4; *Aghānī*[2], x, 102; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 248; see also Lammens, *Moᶜâwia*, 180-1). Like the blessing upon the ruler, it was uttered by the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 16); it was even recorded in inscriptions in the mosque (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii/2, 63, 64; cf. also Mez, *Renaissance*, 61, Eng. tr., 64). As late as 284/897, al-Muᶜtaḍid wanted to restore the anathematisation of Muᶜāwiya from the *minbar* but abandoned the idea (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2164). Anathemas were also pronounced on other occasions, for example, Sulaymān had al-Ḥadjdjādj cursed (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 37), and al-Muᶜtamid had Ibn Ṭūlūn solemnly cursed from the *manābir* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2048, 5 ff.); and other rulers had Muᶜtazilī heretics cursed from the pulpits (see Mez, *op. cit.*, 198, Eng. tr. 206; cf. against Ibn Taymiyya, Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/2, 256). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes the tumultuous scene with thousands of armed men uttering threats in a mosque in Baghdād when a Shīᶜī *khaṭīb* was on the *minbar* (ii, 58).

In was very natural to mention with a blessing upon him the ruler in whose name the Friday *khuṭba* was delivered. Ibn ᶜAbbās, when governor of Baṣra, is said to have been the first to pronounce such a *duᶜāʾ* over ᶜAlī (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, *faṣl* 37, end); it is not improbable that the custom arose out of the reciprocal objurgations of ᶜAlids and Umayyads; the *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, who had to curse the ᶜAlids in the mosques, used to pray for the Umayyads (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 17). Under the ᶜAbbāsids, the custom became the usual form of expressing loyalty to the ruler (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/1, 151). After the caliph, the name of the local ruler or governor was mentioned (*ibid.*, 156, 161): even in Baghdād in 369/979-80 by order of the caliph al-Ṭāʾiᶜ, the actual ruler ᶜAḍud al-Dawla was mentioned in the *duᶜāʾ* (Ibn Miskawayh, vi, 499; ed. Cairo 1915, 396) and the Būyids, according to al-Muḳaddasī, were generally mentioned in the *khuṭba* even in the remotest parts of the kingdom (this is evident from the above-mentioned expression *khuṭiba lahū*, for which we also find *ᶜalayhi*: see Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 20; al-Muḳaddasī, 337, 338, 400, 472, 485; cf. *Glossarium*, s.v.). There is also evidence that prayers used to be uttered for the heir-apparent (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 37; *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, 420). Under the Mamlūks also, the sultan's heir was mentioned (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/1, 101; ii/2, 3). Under the Fāṭimids, it was even the custom to call *salām* upon the ruler from the minaret after the *adhān al-fadjr* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 45); this also took place under the Mamlūks, e.g. in 696/1297, when Lādjīn was elected (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/2, 45). The prayer for the sovereign in the *khuṭba* did not find unanimous approval among the learned (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, 214-15).

In general, the mosque, and particularly the *minbar*,

was the place where official proclamations were made, of course as early as the time of the Prophet (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bābs* 70, 71), ʿUthmān's bloodstained shirt was hung upon the *minbar* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3255); messages from the caliph were read from it (*ibid.*, iii, 2084). Al-Walīd announced from the *minbar* the deaths of two distinguished governors (Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 242); the results of battles were announced in *khuṭbas* (Yāḳūt, i, 647; *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1321, ii, 149-50). In the Fāṭimid and ʿAbbāsid periods also, proclamations, orders, edicts about taxation, etc., by the ruler were announced in the principal mosque (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 40; iii, 2165; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/2, 68; al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. Bunz, 87 above; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/2, 89; ii/2, 44, 151); documents appointing the more important officers were also read upon the *minbar* (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 589, 599, 603, 604, etc., *passim*; al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 246; iv, 43, 88); frequently the people trooped into the mosque to hear an official announcement (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 14; cf. Dozy, *Gesch. d. Mauren in Spanien*, ii, 170).

After the position of the caliph had changed, tradition was so far retained that he still delivered the *khuṭba* in the principal mosque on special occasions, particularly at festivals. Thus the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz preached in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim on its completion (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 55) and in the month of Ramaḍān he preached in the three chief mosques of Cairo, one after the other (*ibid.*, 53, cf. 61-2; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/1, 482 ff.; exceptionally also in al-Rāshida: al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 63). The ʿAbbāsid caliph also used to preach at festivals (e.g. al-Rāḍī: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 349-50); it was the exception when a zealot like al-Muhtadī in the year 255/869 followed the old custom and preached every Friday (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 2 = § 3110). Even the *fainéant* caliph in Egypt preached occasionally (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 94; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/1, 138-9). Although the mosque lost its old political importance in its later history, it has never quite lost its character as the place of assembly on occasions of public importance. This is evident from al-Djabartī's history, and even quite recently large meetings have been held in the mosques of Egypt on questions of nationalist politics.

2. The mosque and public administration. The actual work of government was very early transferred from the mosque into a special *dīwān* or *madjlis* (see al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v.) and negotiations were carried on and business frequently done in the *ḳaṣr al-imāra* (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 230-1). But when financial business had to be transacted at public meetings, the mosque was used; of this there is particular evidence from Egypt. Here the director of finance used to sit in the Mosque of ʿAmr and auction the farming out of the domains, with a crier and several financial officers to assist him. Later, the *Dīwān* was transferred to the *Djāmiʿ* of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, but even after 300/912-13, we find Abū Bakr al-Mādharāʾī sitting on such occasions in the Mosque of ʿAmr. Under the Fāṭimids, the vizier Yaʿḳūb b. Killis used first the *dār al-imāra* of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (see above); later his own palace and afterwards the caliph's *ḳaṣr* was used (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 131-2). In the same way, in the reign of Muʿāwiya, the Coptic churches were used and the taxation commission took up their offices in them (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstelling*, no. 577); and Ibn Rusta (*ca.* 290/903) says that the officials in charge of the measurement of the Nile, when they noticed the rising of the river, went at once to the chief mosque and announced it at one *ḥalḳa* after another, at the same time scattering flowers on those seated there (116).

The connection with administration was also seen in the fact that the treasury-chest, the *bayt al-māl* (identical with the *tābūt*; al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 70, 117) was kept in the mosque. In Fusṭāṭ, Usāma b. Zayd, the director of finance, in 97/715-16 and 99/717-18 built in the Mosque of ʿAmr a *ḳubba* on pillars in front of the *minbar* for the *bayt al-māl* of Egypt. A drawbridge was placed between it and the roof. In the time of Ibn Rusta, it was still possible to move about freely below the *ḳubba*, but in 378-9/988-9 al-ʿAzīz put up a running fountain below it (Ibn Rusta, 116; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 9, 11, 13; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 136; Yāḳūt, iii, 899). Al-Kindī records an attempt to steal the chest in 145/762 (*Wulāt*, 112-13). In the disturbed period around the year 300/912, the *wālī* al-Nūsharī closed the mosque between the times of *ṣalāt* for the safety of the chest, which was also done in Ibn Rusta's time (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 266; Ibn Rusta, 116). New approaches to the *bayt al-māl* were made in 422/1031 from the *khizāna* of the mosque and from the *Dīwān* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 13).

In Kūfa, the *buyūt al-amwāl*, at least during the early period, were in the *Dār al-Imāra* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2489, 2491-2); in the year 38/658-9, during the fighting, it was saved from Baṣra and taken with the *minbar* to the Mosque of al-Ḥuddān (*ibid.*, 3414-15). In Palestine, in the chief mosque of each town, there was a similar arrangement to that in the Mosque of ʿAmr (al-Muḳaddasī, 182). In Damascus the *bayt al-māl* was in the most western of the three *ḳubbas* in the court of the Mosque of the Umayyads; it was of lead and rested on 8 columns (*ibid.*, 157; Ibn Djubayr, 264, 267; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 200-1); it is still called *ḳubbat el-khazne* ("treasure-cupola", earlier *ḳubbat ʿĀʾisha* (cf. Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*). In the time of the two travellers mentioned, the *ḳubba* only contained property of the mosque. Ibn Djubayr saw a similar *ḳubba* in the chief mosque of Ḥarrān and says that it came from the Byzantines (246). In Ādharbāydjān, also by the time of al-Iṣṭakhrī, the Syrian custom had been everywhere introduced (184); in Īrānshahr, in the centre of the court, there was a building with marble colums and doors (al-Muḳaddasī, 316), which perhaps points to a similar state of affairs, and in Armenia, it is recorded that the *bayt al-māl* was kept in the *Djāmiʿ* in the time of the Umayyads as in Miṣr and elsewhere (Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 241). The *ḳubba* was usually of lead and had an iron door. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj considers it highly illegal to shut off a *dīwān* in a mosque, since this is the same as forbidding entrance to it. This shows that the custom still survived in his time.

Ibn Djubayr's remark about Ḥarrān suggests that here again we have an inheritance from Byzantium. It was probably the building belonging to the *piscina* (cf. above) that the Muslims put to a practical use in this way. For the Byzantines had the treasury (*sakellē*) in the palace, and it is doubtful if the treasure-chambers of the church (*skenophylakion*) were built in this way (cf. F. Dölger, in *Byzantinisches Archiv*, Heft 9 [1927], 26, 34).

3. The mosque as a court of justice. That the Prophet used to settle legal questions in his mosque was natural (see al-Bukhārī, *Aḥkām*, *bābs* 19, 29, etc.; cf. *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 71; *Khuṣūmāt*, *bāb* 4), but he could also deliver judgments in other places (*ibid.*, *passim*). In *Ḥadīth*, it is recorded that some *ḳāḍīs* of the earlier period (Shurayḥ, al-Shaʿbī, Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar, Marwān) sat in judgment beside the *minbar*, others (al-Ḥasan, Zurāʿa b. Awfā) on the open square beside the mosque (al-Bukhārī, *Aḥkām*, *bāb* 18). The custom had all the better chance of survival, as churches were used in the same way (Joshua Stylites, ed. Wright, ch.

29; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 223, Eng. tr., 224). Sitting in judgment was primarily the business of the ruler, but he had to have assistants and Abū Bakr's *ḳāḍī* is mentioned as assisting ʿUmar (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2135), and a number of judges appointed by ʿUmar are mentioned (Ibn Rusta, 227). In the reign of ʿUthmān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd is said to have been judge and financial administrator of Kūfa (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 128). On the other hand, we are told that ʿAbd Allāh b. Nawfal, appointed by Marwān in 42/662, was the first *ḳāḍī* in Islam (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2477); it is recalled that in the year 132/749-50 the *ḳāḍī* of Medina administered justice in the mosque (*ibid.*, 2505). In Baṣra, we are told that al-Aswad b. Sarīʿ al-Tamīmī immediately after the building of the mosque (i.e. in the year 14/635) worked in it as *ḳāḍī* (al-Balādhurī, 346). In the early period, ʿUmar wanted to choose a *ḳāḍī*, who had been already acting as a judge before Islam (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 301-2; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 86). Even the Christian poet al-Akhṭal was allowed to act as arbiter in the mosque of Kūfa (see Lammens, *Moʿâwia*, 435-6).

In Fusṭāṭ, as early as 23/643 or 24/644 by command of ʿUmar, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ appointed a *ḳāḍī* named Ḳays (al-Suyūṭī, ii, 86; al-Kindī, 300-1). The *ḳāḍī* held his sessions in the Mosque of ʿAmr but not exclusively there. The *ḳāḍī* Khayr b. Nuʿaym (120-7/738-45) held his sessions sometimes before his house, sometimes in the mosque, and for Christians on the steps leading up to the mosque (al-Kindī, 351-2). A successor of his (177-84/793-800) invited Christians who had lawsuits into the mosque to be heard (*ibid.*, 391); of another judge (205-11/820-6), it is recorded that he was not allowed to sit in the mosque (*ibid.*, 428). It seems that the *ḳāḍī* could himself choose where he would sit. A judge, officiating in the year 217/832, sat in winter in the great pillared hall, turning his back towards the *ḳibla* wall, and in summer, in the *ṣaḥn* near the western wall (*ibid.*, 443-4). During the Fāṭimid period, the subsidiary building on the north-east of the Mosque of ʿAmr was reserved for the judge. This judge, called from the year 376/986 onwards *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* (cf. al-Suyūṭī, ii, 91; al-Kindī, 590), sat on Tuesday and Saturday in the mosque and laid down the law (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 246; iv, 16, 22; cf. al-Kindī, 587, 589; cf. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, tr. Schefer, 149).

In al-Yaʿḳūbī's time in Baghdād, the judge of the east city used to sit in its chief mosque (*Buldān*, 245), in Damascus the vice-*ḳāḍī* in the 4th/10th century had a special *riwāḳ* in the Mosque of the Umayyads (al-Muḳaddasī, 158), and the notaries (*al-shurūṭiyyūn*) also sat at the Mosque of the Umayyads at the Bāb al-Sāʿāt (*ibid.*, 17). In Naysābūr, every Monday and Thursday, the *madjlis al-ḥukm* was held in a special mosque (*ibid.*, 328). In course of time, the judge was given a *madjlis al-ḥukm* of his own (cf. al-Suyūṭī, ii, 96), and in 279/892 al-Muʿtaḍid wanted to forbid the *ḳāḍīs* to hold sessions in the mosques (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/1, 87 above; perhaps, however, we should read *ḳāṣṣ*: see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 164, n. 4). Justice was also administered in the *dār al-ʿadl* (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/2, 79). But the administration of justice did not at once lose all connection with the mosque. Under the Fāṭimids, the custom had been introduced that the *ḳāḍī* should hold sittings in his house, but Ibn al-ʿAwwām, appointed just after 400/1009-10, held them either in the *Djāmiʿ* at the *Bayt al-Māl* or in a side-room (al-Kindī, 612; cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii/2, 69; al-Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*ʾ, iii, 487: for 439/1046, see Nāsir-i Khusraw, ed. Schefer, text, 51, tr. 149). In Mecca, *the dār al-ḳāḍī* was in direct connection with the mosque (Ibn Djubayr, 104). In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa attended a court presided over by an eminent jurist in a mosque (*madrasa*) in Shīrāz (ii, 55, 63; cf. also *Madkhal*, ii, 54 below), and in Damascus the Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* held his sessions in the ʿĀdiliyya Madrasa (so Ibn Khallikān, in Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/1, 22; cf. also for Egypt: *ibid.*, 87, ii/2, 253), the vice-*ḳāḍīs* sat in the Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 218). The judgment might even be put into execution in the *madrasa* (*ibid.*, 220). During the Mamlūk period in Egypt, we occasionally find a small mosque being used as a *madjlis* for judges (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 270; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, 98 above); Ibn Khaldūn held legal sittings in the Madrasa al-Ṣāliḥiyya (*ʿIbar*, vii, 453).

A *muftī*, especially in the large mosques, was also frequently appointed; he sat at definite times in a *ḥalḳa li 'l-fatwā*, e.g. in Cairo (al-Ḳazwīnī, in al-Suyūṭī, i, 182; Djalāl al-Dīn, *ibid.*, 187), in Tunis (al-Zarkashī, *Chronicle*, tr. Fagnan, in *Rec. Mém. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, xxi [1895], 197, 202, 218, 248). In Baghdād, Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī (d. 405/1014-15) was the last to give *fatwās* in the Mosque of al-Manṣūr according to the *madhhab* of Sufyān al-Thawrī (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii/2, 120).

F. The administration of the mosque

1. Finances. The earliest mosques were built by the rulers of the various communities, and the members of the community did all the work necessary in connection with the primitive mosques. The later mosques as a rule were erected by rulers, *amīrs*, high officials or other rich men in their private capacity and maintained by them. The erection of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn cost its builder 120,000 *dīnārs*, the Mosque of Muʾayyad 110,000 (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 32, 137, 138). The upkeep of the mosque was provided for by estates made over as endowments (*waḳf*, *ḥabs*) (cf. thereon besides the *fiḳh* books, I. Krcsmárik, *Das Wakfrecht*, in *ZDMG*, xlv [1891], 511-76; E. Mercier, *Le code du hobous ou ouakf selon la législation musulmane*, 1899). In the 3rd/9th century we thus hear of houses which belonged to the mosque and were let by them (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer*, nos. 773, 837), and Ibn Ṭūlūn handed over a large number of houses as an endowment for his mosque and hospital (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 83). This custom was taken over from the Christians by the Muslims (see Becker, in *Isl.*, ii [1911], 404). According to al-Maḳrīzī, estates were not given as *waḳf* endowments until Muḥammad Abū Bakr al-Mādharāʾī (read thus) bequeathed Birkat al-Ḥabash and Suyūṭ as endowments (about 300/912-13; this was however cancelled by the Fāṭimids again (*ibid.*). Al-Ḥākim made large endowments not only for his own, but also for mosques previously in existence, such as the Azhar, al-Ḥākimī, Dār al-ʿIlm and Djāmiʿ al-Maḳs and Djāmiʿ Rāshida; the endowments consisted of dwelling-houses, shops, mills, a *ḳaysāriyya* and *ḥawānīt*, and the document (*ibid.*, 50-1) specifies how and for what purposes the revenues are to be distributed. Baths were also given as endowments for mosques (*ibid.*, 76, for 529/1135; cf. 81 for the year 543/1148-9). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn granted lands to his *madāris*: in 566/1170-1, for example, a *ḳaysāriyya* to the Ḳamḥiyya and a *ḍayʿa* in al-Fayyūm, and the teachers received wheat from al-Fayyūm; in the same year he endowed the Nāṣiriyya with goldsmiths' shops and a village (*ibid.*, 193-4; cf. another document, 196-7). During the Mamlūk period also, estates were given as endowments (for documents of this period, see van Berchem, *CIA*, i, nos. 247, 252, 528; Moberg, in *MO*, xii [1918], 1 ff.; *JA*, ser. 9, iii, 264-6; ser. 11, x, 158 ff., 222 f.; xii, 195 ff., 256 ff., 363 ff.). They

were often a considerable distance apart: the mosques in Egypt often had estates in Syria (van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 247; al-Maḳrīzī, vi, 107, 137). Not only were mosques built and endowed, but already existing ones were given new rooms for teachers, *minbars*, stipends for Ḳurʾān reciters, teachers, etc. There were often special endowments for the salaries of the *imām* and the *muʿadhdhin*s, for the support of visitors, for blankets, food, etc. (see Ibn Djubayr, 277 with reference to the Mosque of the Umayyads). The endowments, and the purpose for which they might be used, were precisely laid down in the grant and the document attested in the court of justice by the *ḳāḍī* and the witnesses (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 50, 196 below). The text was also often inscribed on the wall of the mosque (cf. *ibid.*, 76; the above-mentioned inscriptions amongst others. For documents from Tashkent, see *RMM*, xiii [1911], 278 ff.). Certain conditions might be laid down, e.g. in a *madrasa* that no Persian should be appointed there (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 202 below), or that the teacher could not be dismissed or some such condition (van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 201); that no women could enter (*JA*, ser. 9, iii, 389); that no Christian, Jew or Ḥanbalī could enter the building (*ibid.*, 405); etc. Endowments were often made with stipulations for the family of the founder or other purposes. That mosques could also be burdened with expenses is evident from an inscription in Edfū of the year 797/1395 (van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 539). If a mosque was founded without sufficient endowment, it decayed (e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 115, 201, 203) or else the stipends were reduced (*ibid.*, 251), but in the larger mosques as a rule the rulers provided new endowments. According to al-Māwardī, there were also special "Sultan mosques" which were directly under the patronage of the caliph and their officials paid from the *bayt al-māl* (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, 172 above, 176 above).

Just as the *bayt al-māl* of the state was kept in the mosque, so was the mosque's own property kept in it, e.g. the *kanz* or *khizānat al-Kaʿba*, which is mentioned in ʿUmar's time and may be presumed to have existed under his predecessors (al-Balādhurī, 43 above; *Chron. Mekka*, i, 307, ii, 14). The *Bayt Māl al-Djamiʿ* in Damascus was in a *ḳubba* in the *ṣaḥn* (al-Muḳaddasī, 157; Ibn Djubayr, 267; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 201. cf. for Medina, Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 86). Rich men also had their private treasure-chambers in the mosque (see above, I. E. 2), as used to be the case with the Temple at Jerusalem (see E. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*[4], ii, 1907, 322-8; F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 1926, 405-6).

2. Administration. As *Imām* of the Muslim community, the caliph had the mosques under his charge. This was also the case with the sultan, governor or other ruler who represented the caliph in every respect. The administration of the mosques could not however be directly controlled by the usual government offices. By its endowment, the mosque became an object *sui generis* and was withdrawn from the usual state or private purposes. Their particular association with religion gave the *ḳāḍī*s special influence, and, on the other hand, the will of the testator continued to prevail. These three factors decided the administration of the mosque, but the relation between them was not always clear.

a. Administration of the separate mosques. The mosque was usually in charge of a *nāẓir* or *walī* who looked after its affairs. The founder was often himself the *nāẓir* or he chose another and after his death, his descendants took charge or whoever was appointed by him in the foundation charter. In the older period, the former was the rule and it is said to have applied especially in the case of chief mosques, if we may believe Nāṣir-i Khusraw, according to whom al-Ḥākim paid the descendants of Ibn Ṭūlūn 30,000 *dīnārs* for the mosque and 5,000 for the minaret, and similarly to the descendants of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ 100,000 *dīnārs* for the Mosque of ʿAmr (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, text 39-40, tr. 146, 148). In 378/988 we read of an administrator (*mutawallī*) of the mosque in Jerusalem (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 11). In the case of mosques and *madāris* founded during the Mamlūk period, it is often expressly mentioned that the administration is to remain in the hands of the descendants of the founder, e.g. in the case of a mosque founded by Baybars (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 89), in the Djāmiʿ Maḳs when the vizier al-Maḳsī renovated it (*ibid.*, 66), the Ṣāḥibiyya (*ibid.*, 205), and the Ḳarāsunḳuriyya (*ibid.*, 232), etc.; so also in the Badriyya in Jerusalem ("to the best of the descendants", cf. van Berchem, *CIA*, ii/1, 129). Other cases are also found. Sometimes an *amīr* or official was administrator, e.g. in the Muʾayyad (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 140), the Ṭaybarsiyya (*ibid.*, 224), the Azhar (*ibid.*, 54-5) or the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xi, 159-62). In Djamāl al-Dīn's *madrasa*, it was always the *kātib al-sirr* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 256), in the *khānaḳāh* of Baybars the *khāzindār* and his successors (van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 252); but it was more frequently a *ḳāḍī*; for example, in the mosque of Baybars just mentioned, the Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* was to take charge after the descendants (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 89); in the Āḳbughawiyya, the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* was appointed but his descendants were expressly excluded (*ibid.*, 225). In the Mosque of the Umayyads, during the Mamlūk period the Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* was as a rule the *nāẓir* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 191), and thus also in the Nāṣir mosque in Cairo (*ibid.*, xi, 262-4). In this city, we find during the Mamlūk period that *amīrs* and *ḳāḍīs* alternately acted as *nāẓirs* in the large mosques (e.g. the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 42). Cases are also found, however, in which descendants of the founder unsuccessfully claimed the office of *nāẓir* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 218, 255). This was the result of the increasing power of the *ḳāḍīs* (see below). In the *madāris*, the *nāẓir* was often also the leading professor; the two offices were hereditary (*ibid.*, 204, the Ṣāḥibiyya al-Bahāʾiyya; and 238 above, the Djamāliyya). In Tustar, a descendant of Sahl as *nāẓir* and teacher conducted a *madrasa* with the help of four slaves (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 25-6).

The *nāẓir* managed the finances and other business of the mosque. Sometimes he had a fixed salary (in Baybars' *khānaḳāh*, 500 *dirhams* a month, van Berchem, *CIA*, i, 252; in the Dulāmiyya in Damascus in 847/1443-4, only 60 *dirhams* a month, *JA*, ser. 9, iii, 261), but the revenues of the mosque were often applied to his personal use. His control of the funds of the mosque was however often limited by the central commission for endowments (see below). The *nāẓir* might also see to any necessary increase of the endowments. He appointed the staff and he fixed their pay (cf. e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 41). He could also interfere in questions not arising out of the business side of administration; for example, the *amīr* Sawdūb, the *nāẓir* of the Azhar in 818/1415-16, ejected about 750 poor people from the mosque. He was however thrown into prison for this by the sultan (*ibid.*, 54). Generally speaking, the *nāẓir*'s powers were considerable. In 784/1382 a *nāẓir* in the Azhar decided that the property of a *mudjāwir*, who had died without heirs, should be distributed among the other students (*ibid.*, 54). In Mecca, according to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, the

Nāẓir al-Ḥarām was in charge of the great festival of the *mawlid* of the Prophet (12 Rabīʿ I) and distributed robes of honour in the mosque on this occasion (*Chron. Mekka*, iii, 349). In the Azhar, no *nāẓir* was appointed after about 493/1100 but a learned man was appointed Shaykh al-Azhar, principal and administrator of the mosque (Sulaymān Raṣad al-Zayyātī, *Kanz al-djawhar fī taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, 123 ff.). Conditions were similar in Mecca in the late 19th century (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 235-6, 252-3).

As we have seen, *ḳāḍīs* were often *nāẓirs* of mosques. This was especially the case in the *madāris*, where the *ḳāḍīs* were often teachers (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 209, 219, 222, 238, etc.); the *ḳāḍīs* were particularly anxious to get the principal offices in the large schools (cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, xi, 235). Their influence was however further increased by the fact that, if a *nāẓir* qualified by the terms of the founder's will no longer existed, the *ḳāḍī* of the *madhab* in question stepped into his place (cf. *ZDMG*, xlv [1897], 552). By this rule, which often gave rise to quarrels between the different *ḳāḍīs* (e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 218, the Ẓāhiriyya), a *ḳāḍī* could accumulate a larger number of offices and "milk the endowments" (*ibid.*, iii, 364). Sometimes their management was so ruthless that the schools soon declined (e.g. the Ṣāḥibiyya and the Djamāliyya, al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 204-5, 238). They also exercised influence through the committee of management of the mosque.

b. Centralisation in the management of the mosques. The large mosques occupied a special position in the Muslim lands, because the caliph had to interest himself particularly in them, especially those of Mecca and Medina, where the rulers and their governors built extensions and executed renovations (cf. *Chron. Mekka*, i, 145; iii, 83 ff.). During the ʿAbbāsid period, the *ḳāḍī* occasionally plays a certain part in this connection; for example al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), presented the *ḳāḍī* with the necessary money to extend and repair the Meccan mosque (*ibid.*, i, 312; ii, 43). In 263/877, al-Muwaffaḳ ordered the governor of Mecca to undertake repairs at the Kaʿba (*ibid.*, ii, 200-1). In 271/1884-5, the governor and the *ḳāḍī* of Mecca co-operated to get money from al-Muwaffaḳ for repairs, and they saw the work through (*ibid.*, iii, 136-7). In 281/894, the *ḳāḍī* of Mecca wrote to the vizier of al-Muʿtaḍid about the *Dār al-Nadwa* and backed up his request by sending a deputation of the staff there (*sadana*). The caliph then ordered the vizier to arrange the matter through the *ḳāḍī* of Baghdād and a man was sent to Mecca to take charge of the work (*ibid.*, iii, 144 ff.).

The importance of the *ḳāḍī* was based primarily on his special knowledge in the field of religion. A zealous *ḳāḍī* like al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn in Cairo (237-45/851-9) forbade the *ḳurrāʾ* of a mosque to recite the Ḳurʾān melodiously; he also had the *maṣāḥif* in the mosque of ʿAmr inspected and appointed an *amīn* to take charge of them (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 469). After the building of the Ṭūlūnid mosque, a commission was appointed under the *ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt* to settle the *ḳibla* of the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 21-2). But at a quite early date they also obtained a say in the management of the funds. The first *ḳāḍī* to lay his hands on the *aḥbās* was Tawba b. Namir al-Ḥaḍramī; while hitherto every endowment had been administered by itself by the children of the testator or someone appointed by him, in 118/736 Tawba brought about the centralisation of all endowments and a large *dīwān* was created for the purpose (al-Kindī, 346). How this system of centralisation worked is not clear at first, but it was carried through under the Fāṭimids.

Al-Muʿizz created a special *dīwān al-aḥbās* and made the chief *ḳāḍī* head of it as well as of the *djawāmiʿ wa ʾl-mashāhid* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 83 and 75; cf. al-Kindī, 585, 587, 589, according to whom al-ʿAzīz specially appointed the chief *ḳāḍī* over the two *djāmiʿs*), and a special *bayt al-māl* was instituted for it in 363/974; a yearly revenue of 150,00 *dirhams* was guaranteed; anything left over went to form a capital fund. All payments were made through his office after being certified by the administration of the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 83-4). The mosques were thus administered by the *ḳāḍīs*, directly under the caliph. The *dīwān al-birr wa ʾl-ṣadaḳa* in Baghdād (Mez, *Renaissance*, 72, Eng. tr., 80) perhaps served similar purposes.

Al-Ḥākim reformed the administration of the mosques. In 403/1012-13 he had an investigation made, and when it proved that 800 (or 830) had no income (*ghalla*), he made provision for them by a payment of 9,220 *dirhams* monthly from the *Bayt al-Māl*; he also made 405 new endowments (of estates) for the officials of the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 84, 264). Under the Fāṭimids, the *ḳāḍīs* used to inspect all the mosques and *mashāhid* in and around Cairo at the end of Ramaḍān and compare them with their inventories (*ibid.*, 84). The viziers of the Fāṭimids, who also had the title *ḳāḍī*, did much for the mosques (Djawhar, Yaʿḳūb b. Killis, Badr al-Djamālī, cf. van Berchem, *CIA*, i, nos. 11, 576, 631).

Under the Ayyūbids, conditions were the same as under the Fāṭimids. The *dīwān al-aḥbās* was under the *ḳāḍīs* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 84). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave a great deal to the mosques, especially the *madāris*: 20,000 *dirhams* a day is a figure given (*ibid.*, 117). When Ibn Djubayr says that the sultan paid the salaries of the officials of the mosques and schools of Alexandria, Cairo and Damascus 43, 52, 275), he must really mean the *Dīwān* already mentioned.

The same conditions continued for a time under the Mamlūks. In the time of Baybars, for example, the chief *ḳāḍī* Tādj al-Dīn was *nāẓir al-aḥbās*. He caused the Mosque of ʿAmr to be renovated, and when the funds from the endowments were exhausted, the sultan helped him from the *Bayt al-Māl* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 14); after conferring with experts, the chief *ḳāḍī* forbade a water-supply brought by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn into the mosque (*ibid.*, 14; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 137). In 687 the chief *ḳāḍī* Taḳī al-Dīn complained to Ḳalāwūn that the ʿAmr and Azhar mosques were falling into ruins, while the *aḥbās* were much reduced. The sultan would not however permit their restoration but entrusted the repairs of the mosques to certain *amīrs*, one to each (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 14, 15). This principle was several times applied in later times, and the *amīrs* frequently gained influence at the expense of the *ḳāḍīs*. Thus after the earthquake of 707/1303 (cf. thereon Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/2, 214 ff.), the mosques were allotted to *amīrs*, who had to see that they were rebuilt (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 15, 53). From the middle of the 7th/13th century, we often find *amīrs* as administrators of the chief mosques. The *ḳāḍī* had however obtained so much authority that he was conceded "a general supervision of all matters affecting the endowments of his *madhhab*" (al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf bi ʾl-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, 117; cf. *ZDMG*, xlv [1891], 559); according to this theory the *ḳāḍī* could intervene to stop abuses. In Syria in 660/1262 Ibn Khallikān became *ḳāḍī* over the whole area between al-ʿArīsh and the Euphrates and superintendent of *waḳfs*, mosques, *madrasas*, etc. (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/1, 170).

Sultan Baybars reformed these endowments and

restored the office of *nāẓir al-awḳāf* or *nāẓir al-aḥbās al-mabrūra* or *n. djihāt al-birr* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 34, 38; v, 465; ix, 256; xi, 252, 257; cf. Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, 109). According to al-Maḳrīzī, the endowments were distributed among the Mamlūks in three departments (*djihāt*): 1. *djihāt al-aḥbās*, managed by an *amīr*, the *Dawādār*: this looked after the lands of the mosques, in 740/1339-40, in all 130,000 *faddāns*; 2. *djihāt al-awḳāf al-ḥukmiyya bi-Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, which administered dwelling-houses; it was managed by the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*, with the title *Nāẓir al-Awḳāf*. This department came to an end in the time of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faradj because an *amīr*, supported by the opinion of the Ḥanafī chief *ḳāḍī*, spent a great deal and misused the funds; 3. *djihāt al-awḳāf al-ahliyya*, comprised all the endowments which still had particular *nāẓirs*, either descendants of the testator or officials of the sultan and the *ḳāḍī*. The *amīrs* seized their lands and Barḳūḳ, before he became sultan, sought in vain to remedy the evil by appointing a commission. The endowments in general disappeared somewhat later because the ruling *amīrs* seized them (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 83-6). In modern times, as a rule, endowments in Muslim lands have been combined under a special ministry, a *Wizārat al-Awḳāf*.

To be distinguished from the administrators of the mosque is the *nāẓir* who is only concerned with the supervision of the erection of mosques. Anyone could be entrusted with the building of a mosque (e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 92). Under the Mamlūks, there was also a clerk of works, *mutawallī shadd al-ʿamāʾir* or *nāẓir al-ʿimāra*: he was the overseer of the builders (*ibid.*, 102; see *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, 115, cf. 109; van Berchem, *CIA*, i, 742, no. 751).

The caliph or the ruler of the country was in this, as in other matters, supreme. As we have seen, he intervened in the administration and directed it as he wished. He was also able to interfere in the internal affairs of the mosque, if necessary through his usual officers. In 253/867 after the rising in the Fayyūm, the chief of police issued strict orders by which it was forbidden to say the *basmala* aloud in the mosque; the number of prayers in the month of Ramaḍān was cut down, the *adhān* from the minaret forbidden, etc. (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer*, 788). In the year 294/908, the governor ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī had the Mosque of ʿAmr closed except at the *ṣalāts*, because the *bayt al-māl* was kept in it, which however produced protests from the people (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 11; al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 266; Ibn Rusta, 116). Many similar examples could be mentioned, especially during periods of unrest. In 205/821 the *nāʾib*, in conjunction with the *ḳāḍīs*, revised the budget of the Mosque of the Umayyads and made financial reforms (*JA*, ser. 9, vii, 220). The *adhān* formulae were laid down in edicts by the ruler (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 44, 45). In the year 323/935 the vizier in Baghdād had a man whipped who had recited a variant text of the Ḳurʾān in the *miḥrāb*, after he had been heard in his defence in the presence of the *ḳāḍīs* and learned men (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 300). The importance of the sovereign in connection with the mosque depended on his personality. As a rule, he recognised the authority of the regular officials. When, for example, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī asked the caliph al-Ḳāʾim for authority to read *ḥadīth* in the mosque of al-Manṣūr, the latter referred the question to the *naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ* (Yaḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 246-7; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿi*, iii, 280).

The consecration of the mosque was attended by certain ceremonies. When, for example, the midday worship was conducted for the first time in the Djāmiʿ al-Ṣāliḥ in Cairo, a representative from Baghdād was present (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 81). At the consecration of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, the builder gave al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān, a pupil of al-Shāfiʿī, who lectured on *ḥadīth* there, a purse of 1,000 *dīnārs* (al-Suyūṭī, ii, 139). Al-Maḳrīzī describes the consecration ceremony at several mosques. In the Mosque of al-Muʾayyad the sultan was present seated on a throne surrounded by his officers; the basin of the *ṣaḥn* was filled with sugar and *ḥalwa*, the people ate and drank, lectures were given, then the *ṣalāt* was read and *khuṭba* delivered and the sultan distributed robes of honour among the officials of the mosques and Ṣūfīs (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 139); similarly at the Ẓahiriyya in 662/1264 where poems were also recited: cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/1, 228), Madrasat Djamāl al-Dīn, in 811/1408-9; al-Ṣarghitmishiyya, 757 (al-Makrīzī, iv, 217-18, 253, 256).

G. The personnel of the mosque.

1. The *Imām*. From the earliest days of Islam, the ruler was the leader of the *ṣalāt*; he was *imām* as leader in war, head of the government and leader of the common *ṣalāt*. The governors of provinces thus became leaders of the *ṣalāt* and heads of the *kharādj*, and when a special financial official took over the fiscal side, the governor was appointed *ʿalā 'l-ṣalāt wa 'l-harb*. He had to conduct ritual prayer, especially the Friday *ṣalāt*, on which occasion he also delivered the *khuṭba*. If he was prevented, the chief of police, *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*, was his *khalīfa* (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 83). ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ permitted the people of the villages to celebrate the two festivals, while the Friday divine service could only take place under those qualified to conduct it (who could punish and impose duties; *ibid.*, 7). This was altered under the ʿAbbāsids. The caliph no longer regularly conducted the *ṣalāts* (after the conquest of the Persians; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 45), and ʿAnbasa b. Isḥāḳ, the last Arab governor of Egypt (238-42/852-6), was also the last *amīr* to conduct the *ṣalāt* in the *djāmiʿ*. An *imām*, paid out of the *bayt al-māl*, was now appointed (*ibid.*, 83), but the governor still continued to be formally appointed *ʿalā 'l-ṣalāt*. Henceforth, the ruler only exceptionally conducted the service, for example, the Fāṭimids on ceremonial occasions, especially in the month of Ramaḍān (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii, 482 ff.; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 509 ff.); in many individual mosques, probably the most prominent man conducted the service; according to the *ḥadīth*, the one with the best knowledge of the Ḳurʾān and, failing him, the eldest, should officiate (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bābs* 46, 49).

The *imām* appointed was chosen from among those learned in religious matters; he was often a Hāshimite (Mez, *Renaissance*, 147, Eng. tr., 150); he might at the same time be a *ḳāḍī* or his *nāʾib* (see al-Kindī, 575, 589; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 276-7). During the *ṣalāt* he stood beside the *miḥrāb*; al-Muḳaddasī mentions the anomaly that in Syria one performed one's *ṣalāt* "in front of the *imām*" (202). He could also stand on an elevated position; on one occasion Abū Hurayra conducted the *ṣalāt* in the Meccan mosque from the roof (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 17). In Mecca, in Ibn Djubayr's time, each of the four recognised *madhāhib* (with the Zaydīs in addition) had an *imām*; they conducted the *ṣalāt*, one after the other each in his place, in the following order: Shāfiʿīs, Mālikīs, Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs; they only performed the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* together; in Ramaḍān, they held the *tarāwīḥ* in different places in the mosque, which was also often conducted by the *ḳurrāʾ* (*Riḥla*, 101, 102, 143-4). This is still the case; very frequently one performs the *ṣalāt*, not after the *imām* of one's own *madhhab* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 79-80). In Jerusalem, according

to Mudjīr al-Dīn, the order was: Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs, Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, who prayed each in their own part of the Ḥaram; in Hebron the order was the same (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jér. et Hébron*, 136-7). In Ramaḍān, extraordinary *imāms* were appointed (*ibid.*, 138).

When the *imām* no longer represented a political office, each mosque regularly had one. He had to maintain order and was in general in charge of the divine services in the mosque. In al-Muḳaddasī's time the *imām* of the Mosque of ʿAmr read a *djuzʾ* of the Ḳurʾān every morning after the *ṣalāt* (205). It was his duty to conduct every *ṣalāt*, which is only valid *fī djamāʿa*. He must conform to the standards laid down in the law; but it is disputed whether the *ṣalāt* is invalid in the opposite case. According to some, the leader of the Friday *ṣalāt* should be a different man from the leader of the five daily *ṣalāt*s (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, 171; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal*, ii, 41, 43 ff., 50, 73 ff.; al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, ed. Myhrman, 163-4; for *ḥadīth*s, see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 109-10). Many misgivings against payment being made for religious services were held by certain authorities, who quoted in support of their view a saying of Abū Ḥanīfa (al-Muḳaddasī, 127).

2. The *Khaṭīb* or preacher [see KHAṬĪB].

3. The *Ḳāṣṣ* and *Ḳāriʾ*. On these, see above, I. C. 3. Sometimes, in later usage, *wāʿiẓ* is used of the official speaker, very like the *khaṭīb* (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 9), while *al-ḳāṣṣ* is only applied to the street story-teller (al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, 161-2). The *ḳurrāʾ* were also frequently appointed to *madrasas* and particularly to mausoleums (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 223; Yāḳūt, iv, 509; al-Subkī, 162; van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 252).

4. The *Muʾadhdhin*. According to most traditions, the office of *muʾadhdhin* was instituted in the year 1, according to others only after the *isrāʾ*, in the year 2, according to some weak traditions, while Muḥammad was still in Mecca. At first, the people came to the *ṣalāt* without being summoned. Trumpets (*būḳ*) were blown and rattles (*nāḳūs*) used, or fires lit after the custom of Jews, Christians and Madjūs. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd learned the *adhān* formula in a dream; it was approved by the Prophet and when Bilāl proclaimed it, it was found that ʿUmar had also learned the same procedure in a dream (Ibn Hishām, 357-8; al-Diyārbakrī, i, 404-5; al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 1; al-Zurḳānī, i, 121 ff.). There are also variants of the story, e.g. that the Prophet and ʿUmar had the vision, or Abū Bakr or seven or fourteen of the Anṣār. According to some, the Prophet learned it at the *miʿrādj* from Gabriel, hence the introduction of the *adhān* is dated after the *isrāʾ*; among the suggestions made, the hoisting of a flag is mentioned (*Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 100 ff.). Noteworthy is a tradition which goes back to Ibn Saʿd, according to which at ʿUmar's suggestion, at first a *munādī*, Bilāl, was sent out who called in the streets: *al-ṣalāta djāmiʿat^an^*. Only later were other possibilities discussed, but the method already in use was confirmed by the dream, only with another formula, the one later used al-Diyārbakrī, i, 404; *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 100-1). According to this account, the consideration of other methods would be a secondary episode, and probably the tradition in general represents a later attitude to the practices of other religions. But in Islam, other methods were certainly used. In Fās, a flag was hung out in the minarets and a lamp at night (*JA*, ser. 11, xii, 341). The flag is also found in the legend of the origin of the practice.

The public crier was a well-known institution among the Arabs. Among the tribes and in the towns, important proclamations and invitations to general assemblies were made by criers. This crier was called *munādī* or *muʾadhdhin* (*Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 170; Lammens, *La Mecque*, 62 ff., 146; idem, *Berceau*, i, 229 n.; idem, *Moʿāwia*, 150). *Adhān* therefore means proclamation, sūra IX, 3, and *adhdhana*, *muʾadhdhin*, sūra VII, 70, "to proclaim" and "crier". *Munādī* (al-Bukhārī, *Farḍ al-khums*, *bāb* 15) and *muʾadhdhin* (*ibid.*, *Ṣawm*, *bāb* 69; *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 10 = *Djizya*, *bāb* 16; *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 270) are names given to a crier used by the Prophet or Abū Bakr for such purposes. Official proclamations were regularly made by criers (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2131, 3). Sadjāḥ and Musaylima used a *muʾadhdhin* to summon the people to their prayers (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1919, 1932; cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, i, 410; 638-9). It was therefore a very natural thing for Muḥammad to assemble the believers to common prayer through a crier (*nādā liʾl* or *ilā ʾl-ṣalāt*, sūra V, 63; lxii, 9); the summons is called *nidāʾ* and *adhdhān*, the crier *munādī* (al-Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 5; *Adhān*, *bāb* 7) and *muʾadhdhin*; the two names are used quite indiscriminately (e.g. *ibid.*, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 5; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 297 sq.). *Munādī ʾl-ṣalāt*, al-Muḳaddasī, 182, 12, also *ṣāʾiḥ* "crier" is used (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 861; *Chron. Mekka*, i, 340).

In these conditions, it was very natural for the crier in the earliest period to be regarded as the assistant and servant of the ruler; he is his *muʾadhdhin* (Ibn Saʿd, i, 7; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, tr. 4; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 43, etc.; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1120). ʿUmar sent to Kūfa ʿAmmār b. Yāsir as *amīr* and ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd "as *muʾadhdhin* and *wazīr*" (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 165); he is thus the right hand of the ruler. Al-Ḥusayn had his *munādī* with him, and the latter summoned to the *ṣalāt* on al-Ḥusayn's instructions (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 297, 298; cf. Ibn Ziyād, *ibid.*, 260 and in the year 196/811-12, the *ʿāmil* in Mecca, *ibid.*, iii, 861, 13; also *Chron. Mekka*, i, 340). During the earliest period, the *muʾadhdhin* probably issued his summons in the streets and the call was very short: *al-ṣalāta djāmiʿat^an^* (Ibn Saʿd, 7, 7; *Chron. Mekka*, i, 340; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 861; cf. also in the year 196/811-12, *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 101 al-Diyārbakrī, i, 404-5). This brief summons was, according to Ibn Saʿd, also used later on irregular occasions (i, 7 ff.; cf. the passage in al-Ṭabarī). Perhaps also the summons was issued from a particular place even at a quite early date (see I. D. 2a). After the public summons, the *muʾadhdhin* went to the Prophet, greeted him and called him to prayer; the same procedure was later used with his successor; when he had come, the *muʾadhdhin* announced the beginning of the *ṣalāt* (*aḳāma ʾl-ṣalāt*: cf. al-Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 5; *Adhān*, *bāb* 48; *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 104-5; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 45; and IḲĀMA). The activity of the *muʾadhdhin* thus fell into three sections: the assembling of the community, the summoning of the *imām* and the announcement of the beginning of the *ṣalāt*. In the course of time, changes were made in all three stages.

The assembling of the community by crying aloud was not yet at all regular in the older period. During the civil strife in ʿIrāḳ, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād in the year 60/680 had his *munādī* summon people with threats to the evening *ṣalāt* in the mosque, and when after an hour the mosque was full, he had the *iḳāma* announced (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 260). When a large number of mosques had come into existence, the public call to prayer had to be organised lest confusion result, and the custom of calling from a raised position became general after the introduction of the minaret. While previously the call to prayer had only been preparatory and the *iḳāma* was the final summons, the public call (*adhān*) and the *iḳāma* now formed two distinct phases of the call to prayer. Tradition has

retained a memory of the summoning in the streets, now completely fallen into disuse, when it tells us that ᶜUthmān introduced a third *adhān*, a call in al-Zawrāʾ, which was made before the call from the minaret: this call, however, was transferred by Hishām b. ᶜAbd al-Malik to the minaret (al-Bukhārī, *Djumᶜa*, *bābs* 22, 25; *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 110; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal*, ii, 45). This may be evidence of the gradual cessation of the custom of summoning the community by going through the streets. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (but this is exceptional) tells us that the *muʾadhdhins* in Khwārazm still fetched the people from their houses and those who did not come were whipped (iii, 4-5), which recalls Wahhābī measures. When exactly the Sunnī and, in distinction to it, the Shīᶜī formula, finally developed can hardly be ascertained [see ADHĀN]. The call *ḥayya ᶜalā 'l-falāḥ* is known from the time of ᶜAbd al-Malik (65-85/685-705) (al-Akhṭal, ed. Ṣālḥānī, 254; see Horovitz, in *Isl.*, xvi [1927], 154; on *takbīr*, see *ibid.*; on *adhān* formulae, see further *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 105-6). At first, the call was only made at the chief mosque, as was the case in Medina and Miṣr (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 43 below), but very quickly other mosques were also given *muʾadhdhins*: their calls were sufficiently audible in the whole town. The chief mosque retained this privilege, that its *muʾadhdhin* called first and the others followed together (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 43 below, 44).

The summoning by the *imām* in Medina was therefore quite a natural thing. The custom, at first associated with the ruler's mosque, was not observed in Medina only (see for ᶜUthmān and ᶜAlī, al-Ṭabarī, i, 3059-60), but was also usual under the Umayyads. The formula was *al-salām ᶜalayka ayyuhā 'l-amīr wa-raḥmatu 'llāh wa-barakātuhu, ḥayya ᶜalā 'l-ṣalat, ḥayya ᶜalā 'l-falāḥ al-ṣalāt, yarḥamuka 'llāh* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 45; *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 105). After the alteration in the *adhān* and the greater distance of the ruler from the mosque, to summon him was no longer the natural conclusion to the assembling of the community. In the ᶜAbbāsid period and under the Fāṭimids, there was a survival of the old custom, in as much as the *muʾadhdhins* ended the *adhān* call before the *ṣalāt al-fadjr* on the minarets with a *salām* upon the caliph. This part of the *muʾadhdhin*'s work was thus associated with the first *adhān* call. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn came to power, he did not wish to be mentioned in the call to prayer, but instead he ordered a blessing upon the Prophet to be uttered before the *adhān* to the *ṣalāt al-fadjr*, which after 761/1360 only took place before the Friday service. A *muḥtasib* ordered that after 791/1389 in Egypt and Syria at each *adhān* a *salām* was to be uttered over the Prophet (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 46; *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 110). Ibn Djubayr relates that in Mecca after each *ṣalāt al-maghrib*, the foremost *muʾadhdhin* pronounced a *duᶜāʾ* upon the ᶜAbbāsid *Imām* and on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn from the Zamzam roof, in which those present joined with enthusiasm (103), and according to al-Maḳrīzī, after each *ṣalāt* prayers for the sultan were uttered by the *muʾadhdhins* (iv, 53-4). Another relic of the old custom was that the trumpet was sounded at the door of the ruler at times of prayer; this honour was also shown to ᶜAḍud al-Dawla in 368/978-9 by order of the caliph (Miskawayh, vi, 499; ed. Cairo 1315, 396).

The *iḳāma* always remained the real prelude to the service and is therefore regarded as the original *adhān* (al-Bukhārī, *Djumᶜa*, *bāb* 24). In the earliest period, it was fixed by the arrival of the ruler and it might happen that a considerable interval elapsed between the summoning of the people and the *iḳāma* (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 260, 297-8). The times were later more accurately defined; one should be able to perform one to three *ṣalāts* between the two calls (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 14, 16). Some are said to have introduced the practice of the *muʾadhdhin* calling *ḥayya ᶜalā 'l-ṣalāt* at the door of the mosque between the two calls (*Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 105). From the nature of the case, the *iḳāma* was always called in the mosque; at the Friday service, it was done when the *imām* mounted the *minbar* (al-Bukhārī, *Djumᶜa*, *bāb* 22, 25; *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 110; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 43) while the *muʾadhdhin* stood in front of him. This *muʾadhdhin*, according to some, ought to be the one who called the *adhān* upon the minaret (*Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 109), while Ibn al-Ḥādjdj ignoring the historical facts only permits the call from the minaret (*Madkhal*, ii, 45). In Tunis, the *iḳāma* was announced by ringing a bell as in the churches (al-Zarkashī, tr. Fagnan, in *Rec. Soc. Arch. Constantine* [1894], 111-12). A similarity to the responses in the Christian service is found in the fact that the call of the *muʾadhdhin*, which contains a confession of faith, is to be repeated or at least answered by every one who hears it (al-Bukhārī, *Djumᶜa*, *bāb* 23); this is an action which confers religious merit (Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, ed. Flügel, 30). It is possible that we should recognise in this as well as in the development of the formulae the influence of Christians converted to Islam (cf. Becker, *Zur Gesch. d. islam. Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii [1912], 374 ff., and *Islamstudien*, i, 472 ff., who sees an imitation of the Christian custom in the *iḳāma* in general; on the possibility of Jewish influence, see Mittwoch, in *Abh. Pr. A. W.* [1913], Phil.-Hist. Cl. 2).

The *muʾadhdhin* thus obtained a new importance. His work was not only to summon the people to divine service, but was in itself a kind of religious service. His sphere of activity was further developed. In Egypt we are told that Maslama b. Mukhallad (47-62/667-82) introduced the *tasbīḥ*. This consisted in praises of God which were uttered by the *muʾadhdhins* all through the night until *fadjr*. This is explained as a polemical imitation of the Christians, for the governor was troubled by the use of the *nawāḳīs* at night and forbade them during the *adhān* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 48). In the time of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn and Khumārawayh, the *muʾadhdhins* recited religious texts throughout the night in a special room. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered them to recite an *ᶜaḳīda* in the night *adhān* and after 700/1300-1, *dhikr* was performed on Friday morning on the minarets (*ibid.*, 48-9, *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 111). In Mecca also, the *muʾadhdhins* performed *dhikr* throughout the night of 1 Shawwāl on the roof of the *ḳubba* of the Zamzam well (Ibn Djubayr, 155, 156; cf. for Damascus, al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 49). Similar litanies are kept up in modern times, as well as a special call about an hour before dawn (*ebed*, *tarḥīm*: see Lane, *Manners and customs*, Everyman's Library, 75-6, cf. 86; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* ii, 84 ff.).

The original call of the *muʾadhdhin* thus developed into a melodious chant like the recitation of the Ḳurʾān. Al-Muḳaddasī tells us that in the 4th/10th century in Egypt during the last third of the night, the *adhān* was recited like a dirge (205). The solemn effect was increased by the large number of voices. In large mosques, like that of Mecca, the chief *muʾadhdhin* called first from a minaret, then the others came in turn (*Chron. Mekka*, iii, 242-5); Ibn Djubayr, 145 ff.; (cf. Ibn Rusta, 111, 1 ff. and above). But in the mosque itself, the *iḳāma* was pronounced by the *muʾadhdhins* in chorus on the *dakka* (see above, I. D. 2e) erected for this purpose, which is also traced to Maslama. In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries we hear of these melodious recitations (*taṭrīb*) of the *muʾadhdhins* on a raised podium in widely separated

parts of the Muslim world (Ṣanʿāʾ, Egypt, Khurāsān, al-Muḳaddasī, 327; Ibn Rusta, 111; the expression *al-mutalaʿʿibīn*, "the musicians", if correct, probably refers to the *muʾadhdhins*, al-Muḳaddasī, 205; cf. also al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 469; for Fārs we are expressly told that the *muʾadhdhins* call without *taṭrīb*, al-Muḳaddasī, 439, 17). Sometimes in large mosques, they were stationed in different parts of the mosque to make the *imām*'s words clear to the community (*tablīgh*). The singing, especially in chorus, like the *tablīgh*, was regarded by many as *bidʿa* (al-Kindī, *op. cit.*; *Madkhal*, ii, 45-6, 61-2; *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 111). In other ways also, the *muʾadhdhins* could be compared to deacons at the service. The *khaṭīb* on his progress to the *minbar* in Mecca was accompanied by *muʾadhdhins*, and the chief *muʾadhdhin* girded him with a sword on the *minbar* (Ibn Djubayr, 96-7).

The new demands made on the *muʾadhdhins* necessitated an increase in their number, especially in the large mosques. The Prophet in Medina had two *muʾadhdhins*, Bilāl b. Ribāḥ, Abū Bakr's *mawlā*, and Ibn Umm Maktūm, who worked in rotation. ʿUthmān also is said occasionally to have called the *adhān* in front of the *minbar*, i.e. the *iḳāma* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 43). It is therefore regarded as commendable to have two *muʾadhdhins* at a mosque (Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, tr. 4; cf. al-Subkī, *Muʿīd*, 165). Abū Maḥdhūra was also the Prophet's *muʾadhdhin* in Mecca. Under ʿUmar, Bilāl's successor as *muʾadhdhin* was Saʿd al-Ḳaraẓ, who is said to have called to prayer for the Prophet in Ḳubāʾ (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*; cf. *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 107 ff.). In Egypt under ʿAmr, the first *muʾadhdhin* in al-Fusṭāṭ was Abū Muslim; he was soon joined by nine others. The *muʾadhdhins* of the different mosques formed an organisation, the head (*ʿarīf*) of which, after Abū Muslim, was his brother Shuraḥbīl b. ʿĀmir (d. 65/684-5); during his time, Maslama b. Mukhallad built minarets (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 44).

The office of *muʾadhdhin* was sometimes hereditary. The descendants of Bilāl were for example *muʾadhdhins* of the Medina Mosque in al-Rawḍa (Ibn Djubayr, 194). We also find in Medina the sons of Saʿd al-Ḳaraẓ officiating (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 132, 279), in Mecca, the sons of Abū Maḥdhūra (*ibid.*, 278; *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 106), in Baṣra, the sons of al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān al-ʿAbdī, *muʾadhdhins* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (Ibn Ḳutayba, 279); it is, however, possible that this was really the result of a system of guilds of *muʾadhdhins*. In the *djawāmiʿ* of the Maghrib in the 8th/14th century, each had regularly four *muʾadhdhins* who were stationed in different parts of the mosque during the *ṣalāt* (*Madkhal*, ii, 47 above); but there were often quite a large number. In the Azhar mosque in the time of al-Ḥākim, there were fifteen, each of whom was paid two *dīnārs* a month (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 51). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found seventy *muʾadhdhins* in the Mosque of the Umayyads (i, 204). About 1900, in Medina there were in the Mosque of the Prophet fifty *muʾadhdhins* and twenty-six assistants (al-Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 242). Blind men were often chosen for this office; Ibn Umm Maktūm, for example, was blind (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 11; *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, ii, 104; cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, 75). The Prophet is said to have forbidden Thaḳīf to pay a *muʾadhdhin* (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 383). ʿUthmān is said to have been the first to give payment to the *muʾadhdhins* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 44) and Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn gave them large sums (*ibid.*, 48). They regularly received their share in the endowments, often by special provisions in the documents establishing the foundations.

The *muʾadhdhins* were organised under chiefs (*ruʾasāʾ*: al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 14). In Mecca, the *raʾīs al-muʾadhdhinīn* was identical with the *muʾadhdhin al-Zamzamī* who had charge of the singing in the upper story of the Zamzam building (*Chron. Mekka*, iii, 424-5; Ibn Djubayr, 145; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 322). The *raʾīs* was next to the *imām* but subordinate to him; in certain districts, it was the custom for him to mount the pulpit during the sermon with the *imām* (when the latter acted as *khaṭīb*) (*Madkhal*, ii, 74). The position which they originally occupied can still be seen from the part which they play in public processions of officials, e.g. of the *Ḳāḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt*, when they walk in front and laud the ruler and his vizier (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 246).

Closely associated with the *muʾadhdhin* is the *muwaḳḳit*, the astronomer, whose task it was to ascertain the *ḳibla* and the times of prayer (al-Subkī, *Muʿīd*, 165-6 and see MĪḲĀT); sometimes the chief *muʾadhdhin* did this (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 322).

5. Servants. According to Abū Hurayra, the Mosque of the Prophet was swept by a negro (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 72, cf. 74). The larger mosques gradually acquired a large staff of servants (*khuddām*), notably *bawwāb*, *farrāsh*, and water-carriers (cf. e.g. van Berchem, *CIA*, i, 252). In Mecca there have always been special appointments, such as supervisor of Zamzam and guardian of the Kaʿba (*sādin*, pl. *sadana*, also used of the officials of the mosque: al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 76; cf. Ibn Djubayr, 278). In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time, the servants (*khuddām*) of the Mosque of the Prophet were eunuchs, particularly Abyssinian; their chief (*shaykh al-khuddām*) was like a great *amīr* and was paid by the Egyptian-Syrian government (i, 278, 348); cf. the title of an *amīr* of the year 798/1395-6, *shaykh mashāʾikh al-sāda al-khuddām bi 'l-ḥaram al-sharīf al-nabawī* (van Berchem, *CIA*, i, no. 201). In the Mosque of Jerusalem in about 300/912-13, there were no less than 140 servants (*khādim*; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 100); others give the figure 230 (Le Strange, *Palestine*, 163) and according to Mudjīr al-Dīn, ʿAbd al-Malik appointed a guard of 300 black slaves here, while the actual menial work was done by certain Jewish and Christian families (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jér. et Hébr.*, 56-7).

In other mosques, superintendents (*ḳayyim*, pl. *ḳawama*) are mentioned, a vague title which covered a multitude of duties: thus the Madrasa al-Madjdiyya had a *ḳayyim* who looked after the cleaning, the staff, the lighting and water-supply (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 251), the Azhar Mosque had one for the *miʾḍaʾa*, who was paid twelve *dīnārs* (*ibid.*, 51) and also 4 *ḳawama*, who were paid like *muʾadhdhins* (two *dīnārs* a month) and are mentioned between them and the *imāms*, probably supervisors of the staff (*ibid.*, 51). In other cases, a *ḳayyim al-djāmiʿ*, sometimes a *ḳāḍī*, is mentioned, who is apparently the same as the *imām*, the *khaṭīb* or some similar individual of standing (*ibid.*, 75, 121, cf. 122; cf. Ibn Djubayr, 51). A *mushrif*, inspector, is also mentioned, e.g. in the Azhar (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 51).

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(J. PEDERSEN)

H. The architecture of the mosque.

1. Introduction. Attemps to generalise about regional variations in mosque architecture are fraught with difficulty and have often miscarried. One solution, admittedly a compromise, is to select a few of the most celebrated mosques, to imply in more or less arbitrary fashion that they are typical, and to base the requisite generalisations on them. This approach has at least the merit of clarity, and it could indeed be argued that it is in the finest mosques of a given period and region that local peculiarities are apt to find their fullest expression. Nevertheless, such a broad-brush

approach, for all its superficial attractions, is simply not specific enough. Another approach, which might be termed typological, cuts across regional and temporal boundaries in order to isolate the significant variants of mosque design and trace their development. Yet, precisely because it ignores such boundaries, this approach tends to minimise the significance of regional schools and fashions. The categories and sub-species which it proposes tend to have a somewhat academic flavour; while technically defensible, they somehow miss the point. A third approach might be to rely on statistics and, by chronicling all known mosques of pre-modern date, to discover the types and distribution of the most popular varieties. The picture to emerge from such a study might indeed be literally accurate, but it would not distinguish between the *dj̲āmiʿ* and the *masdj̲id*, that is, between the major religious building of a town or city and the neighbourhood mosque (on the *dj̲āmiʿ* and its functions, see above, I. C. 2.). Since virtually all the mosques under discussion here fall into the category of *dj̲āmiʿ*, such a study would be of limited value in this context, and would assuredly blur the sharp outlines of regional peculiarities of mosque design. After all, the simplest types of mosques not only vastly outnumber the more complex ones but are also to be found throughout the Muslim world. It is such mosques, therefore, which make up the standard distribution of this building type. They dominate by sheer weight of numbers, but—by the same token—they distort the overall picture, suggesting a uniformity that actually exists only at the level of the most primitive buildings. Only when a statistical survey of this kind is relieved of the effectively dead weight of such buildings can regional and temporal distinctions stand out in their full clarity.

Such are the difficulties attendant on venturing a *tour d'horizon* of formal developments in the pre-modern mosque. What, then, is the best way of tackling this problem? The most promising line of approach is probably to identify those mosque types which are most distinctive of a given area and period, describing their constituent features but avoiding a detailed analysis of individual buildings. It should be emphasised that the over-riding aim of highlighting significant regional developments entails the suppression of much corroborative detail and, more importantly, of those periods when a given region was simply continuing to build mosques in a style already well established. Admittedly the lulls in innovation have their own part to play in the history of mosque architecture; but that part is too modest to rate any extended discussion here.

For that same reason, areas in which the pace of change was sluggish are allotted less attention in the following account than those which were consistently in the forefront of experiment. The Mag̲h̲rib, for example, receives less space than Iran, while ʿIrāḳ and the Levant take second place to Egypt and Anatolia. These emphases, moreover, reflect the basic truth that the design of a mosque was often less liable to take on a distinctively local colouring than were its decoration, its structural techniques or even specific components of that design, such as the minaret [see MANĀRA]. The time-span covered by this article is also limited. The mosque architecture of the last two centuries, which have seen the gradual invasion of a long-established Islamic idiom by European ideas and motifs, and in which a general decline is unmistakable, is omitted from this account. One final caveat should be sounded: the ensuing generalisations deliberately exclude the peripheral areas of the Islamic world, notably Indonesia, Malaysia, China and sub-Saharan Africa, for which see sections III-VII below. Nearly all the mosques in these areas are of post-mediaeval date, and therefore lie in the shadow of developments in the Islamic heartlands. There is, moreover, a strong vernacular element in these regional traditions, for they draw very heavily on a reservoir of ideas, practices and forms which owe very little to Islam. Thus for reasons which are as much historical and cultural as geographical they do not belong in the mainstream of mosque architecture.

This survey, then, will cover the central Islamic lands from al-Andalus to Afg̲h̲ānistān. The very nature of the material, however, makes it undesirable to embark directly on a series of regional summaries: the sheer lack of surviving monuments would require each summary to start at a different date. In most areas of the Islamic world it is not until the 5th/11th century that mosques survive in sufficient quantities for the lineaments of a local style to emerge. To explain that style would in most cases entail reference to earlier mosques in other regions, with consequent repetition and overlap. The crucial decisions which dictated the subsequent formal development of the mosque were taken in the early centuries of Islam; and the buildings which embodied those decisions are themselves thinly scattered over the entire area bounded by al-Andalus and Afg̲h̲ānistān. Yet the interconnections between these buildings are such as to make light of their geographical remoteness from each other.

Accordingly, a pan-Islamic survey of the early architectural history of the mosque will preface the individual accounts of local developments. These accounts in turn will be of unequal length. Pride of place will go to the Arab mosque plan, which not only had the widest diffusion but also covers the longest chronological span. Next in length will be the survey of the Persian tradition, almost as ancient as that of the Arab plan but more restricted in geographical scope. Shortest of all will be the discussion of the Turkish mosque type, whose creative development is confined in time to the 8th-11th/14th-17th centuries and in space to Anatolia.

2. Early history of the mosque: 622-1000 A.D.

(a) The house of the Prophet. Beyond doubt, the genesis of the mosque is to be sought in a single seminal building: the house of the Prophet, erected to Muḥammad's own specifications in Medina in 1/622. It was a near-square enclosure of some 56 x 53 m. with a single entrance; a double range of palm-trunk columns thatched with palm leaves (a feature of many African mosques to this day) was added on the *ḳibla* side, with a lean-to for destitute Companions to the south-east and nine huts for Muḥammad and his wives along the western perimeter. By a curious paradox, it was not built even secondarily as a mosque. This fact cannot be over-emphasised, since to ignore it is to misinterpret the subsequent history of mosque architecture. The venerated model for all later mosques itself became a mosque only, as it were, by the way and in the course of time. How is this to be explained? The accumulated deposit of many centuries of reverence makes it difficult to disinter the full original context of the building. Yet this much is clear: it was first and foremost a house for Muḥammad and his family to live in. It was also conceived from the beginning as a gathering place for the growing band of Muslims: in fact a kind of community centre, complete with the attendant associations of welfare. At the same time it served political, military

and legal functions, while its high walls and single entrance allowed it at need to act as a place of refuge for the community. To be sure, by degrees people began to pray in it; but they prayed in many other places too and there is no evidence that it was used as the regular place of worship in the earliest years of the community. The mere fact that dogs and camels were allowed free access to it effectively disposes of such a notion. In short, Muḥammad had, it seems, no intention of creating a new type of building here. It is in no sense radical. In its extreme simplicity and austerity it well reflects his own life-style at that time. Its substantial scale may seem to contradict this, but is in fact somewhat deceptive, for some 80% of the interior consists of a vast empty courtyard. Yet it was this very emptiness that gave the mosque its innate flexibility, and in subsequent centuries a large open space became a standard feature of most large mosques. It is surely *à propos* to note that the earliest Christian places of worship, the so-called *tituli*, were also ordinary houses. (For a detailed discussion of the Prophet's *masdjid* and its various functions, see above, I. A. 1.).

(b) The so-called "Arab plan". Although there was thus a large measure of accident in the adoption of Muḥammad's house as the model *par excellence* of later mosques, that form could not have enjoyed the popularity it did unless it had answered to a nicety the needs of Muslim liturgy and prayer. Its components—an enclosed square or rectangular space with a courtyard and a covered area for prayer on the *ḳibla* side—could be varied at will so as to transform the aspect of the building. Thus there evolved the so-called "Arab" or "hypostyle" mosque plan. From the first it showed itself capable of quite radical modification according to circumstances. At Kūfa in 17/638 the location of the mosque within one of the garrison cities (*amṣār*) allowed the builders to dispense with the element of security, and the perimeter—its dimensions fixed, according to al-Balādhurī, by four bowshots—is marked by ditches; elsewhere, as at Baṣra in the year 14/635, a reed fence served the same purpose. At Fusṭāṭ in the rebuilt mosque of ʿAmr (53/673), corner turrets served simultaneously to articulate the exterior, to single out the mosque from afar and to provide a place from which the call to prayer could be made: the germ of the future minaret. Multiple entrances became a feature as early as the first mosque of ʿAmr at Fusṭāṭ (22/643), admitting light to the *muṣallā* [*q.v.*, and also above, I. B. 6] and allowing maximum ease of circulation.

The sunny climate of the southern Mediterranean and the Near East allowed the courtyard to accommodate the huge numbers of extra worshippers attending the Friday service. This was when its large expanse justified itself. For the rest of the week it was largely empty, and the heat and light emitted by this expanse could cause discomfort. This was especially likely if there were no provision for shade on three of the four sides, as in the early versions of the Great Mosques of Cordova (170/787), Ḳayrawān (221/836) and Tunis (250/864). Hence there arose the practice of adding arcades along the three subsidiary sides, so that people could walk around the mosque in cool shade. In time these arcades could be doubled, tripled or even quadrupled. A change in the alignment of their vaulting from one side of the mosque to another brought welcome visual relief and excluded the danger of monotony; so too did variations in the depth or number of the arcades (the second ʿAmr mosque in Cairo). As the surface area of the covered sanctuary was increased so did new spatial refinements suggest themselves, such as the progressive unfolding of seemingly endless vistas in all direction. Rows of supports (often spolia) with fixed intercolumniations created hundreds of repetitive modular units, perhaps deliberately mirroring the long files of worshippers at prayer.

Externally, the accent was on simplicity, with regular buttresses giving the structure a warlike air. At the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā (completed 238/852) there are a dozen of these on each long side, not counting the corners, with doorways after every second buttress. At Susa the exterior dispenses with buttresses in favour of rounded corner bastions, while in the mosque of al-Ḥākim in Cairo (381/991 onwards) the minarets at the corner of the façade rise from two gigantic square salients. The emplacement of the *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*] was marked by a corresponding rectangular projection on the exterior wall. Entrances were commonly allotted a measure of extra decoration—as in the series of shallow porches along the flank of the Cordova mosque—but massive portals on the scale of those in Western cathedrals found no favour in the early mosques of Arab plan. The absolute scale of some mosques (the mosque of Sāmarrā, for instance, could have accommodated 100,000 people) encouraged the adoption of fixed proportional ratios such as 3:2, which contributed in large measure to the impression of satisfying harmony which these mosques produced. The Ḳarakhānid mosque of Samarḳand (5th/11th century) illustrates the continuing use of such ratios. Sometimes the scale of the mosque was illusionistically increased by the addition of a broad open enclosure (*ziyāda*) on three of the four sides (Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, Cairo, finished 264/878, presumably copying the mosques of Sāmarrā). In comparison with later mosques of similar scale, which catered for multiple subsidiary functions by adding appropriate purpose-built structures to the central core, these early mosques maintain simple and symmetrical lines, especially for their outer walls.

The architectural vocabulary of these early mosques brought further scope for diversity. In the first half-century of Islamic architecture, the system of roofing was still primitive, and even when columns and roof-beams had replaced palm-trunks and thatching, the basic scheme remained trabeate (Baṣra; Kūfa; and Wāsiṭ, 83/702) whether the roof was flat or pitched. Thus the post-and-lintel system long familiar from Graeco-Roman buildings was perpetuated, and the pervasive classical flavour was strengthened by the lavish use of spolia. Sometimes, however, as in the bull-headed capitals of the Iṣṭakhr mosque, these were of Achaemenid origin.

By degrees, wooden roofs resting on arcades gained popularity, and this was the prelude to full-scale vaulting in durable materials (especially in Iran: Tārīkhāna mosque, Dāmghān, and Fahradj *djāmiʿ*, both perhaps 3rd/9th century; Nāʾīn *djāmiʿ*, perhaps 4th/10th century). The earliest mosques all use columns, and were thereby restricted to relatively low roofs. By the 3rd/9th century the pier had ousted the column as the principal bearing member, though it occurs as early as the mosques of Damascus, Baʿlabakk and Ḥarrān, and though the column was still used for some mosques (Ḳayrawān; al-Azhar, Cairo, 362/973). This change made it possible to raise the height of the roof, an important development given the oppressive sensation produced by a low roof extending over a large surface area. At the Cordova mosque the column shafts bore piers braced by strainer arches; but this device, for all its ingenuity,

could not rival the popularity of superposed arcades in the fashion of Roman aqueducts (Damascus mosque, finished 98/716).

The apparently minor detail of whether the arcades ran parallel to the *ḳibla* or at right angles to it was sufficient to transform the visual impact of the roof. In the latter case, it focused attention on the *ḳibla*, and this was the solution that recommended itself to Mag̲h̲ribī architects (mosques of Cordova, Tunis and Ḳayrawān). Syrian architects, on the other hand, with only one major exception (Aḳṣā mosque, Jerusalem), preferred arcades parallel to the *ḳibla* (Damascus; Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr East, *ca.* 109/728; Baʿlabakk, *ca.* 6th/12th century; Ḥarrān, *ca.* 133/750; and Raḳḳa, *ca.* 3rd/9th century), possibly reflecting in this the influence of the Christian basilica ubiquitous in that region, and several Egyptian mosques followed suit, including those of Ibn Ṭūlūn, al-Azhar and al-Ḥākim. It was a natural development to build mosques with arcades running in both directions (Great Mosques of Sfax and Susa, both finished 236/850), but with these exceptions the early experiments with this idea are all on a relatively modest scale which betrays some uncertainty of purpose. They comprise a small group of 9-bayed mosques with a dome over each bay and no courtyard: a type represented in Toledo, Ḳayrawān, Cairo and Balk̲h̲ and dating mainly from the 4th/10th century. These buildings inaugurate the much more ambitious use of vaults in later mosques. No such solutions are to be found in the larger mosques built before the 5th/11th century. This early Islamic vaulting drew its ideas impartially from the Romano-Byzantine tradition and from Sasanian Iran, and quickly developed its own distinctive styles, in which the pointed vault soon dominated.

(c) The secular element in early mosque architecture. In some mosques, the desire to emphasise the covered sanctuary (*muṣallā*) was achieved simply by adding extra bays and thus increasing its depth. In other mosques, especially those with royal associations, the requisite emphasis was achieved by some striking visual accentuation of the *muṣallā:* a more elaborate façade, a higher and wider central aisle, a gable or a dome. Once this idea of glorifying the *muṣallā* had taken root it was enthusiastically exploited, for example by furnishing this area with several carefully placed domes (Cordova, al-Azhar). On occasion, indeed, the *muṣallā*—complete with such distinguishing features as wider central aisle, dome in front of the *miḥrāb* and transversely vaulted bays adjoining the *ḳibla*—could itself become the mosque, with no attached courtyard (al-Aḳṣā).

The effect of singling out the *muṣallā* by these various means is to emphasise that this area is more important than any other in the mosque. Since this latter notion runs counter to the widely-expressed belief that all parts of the mosque are equally sacred, and that gradations of sanctity within it run counter to the spirit of Islam, its origins are worth investigating. It should be stressed at the outset that these various articulating devices cannot all be explained as attempts to draw attention to the *ḳibla*. Some measure of emphasis for this purpose was certainly required. Hence, no doubt, the greater depth of arcades on that side and the provision of an elaborate façade for the *muṣallā* alone. Similarly, the use of a different alignment or type of vaulting for the bays immediately in front of the *ḳibla* would make sense as a means of signposting this crucial area. Yet the addition of a dome or gable, or both, along the central aisle of the *muṣallā*, and the greater width and height of that aisle, cannot be explained—as is so often the case—simply as a means of highlighting the *miḥrāb*. After all, the entire *ḳibla* wall served to mark the correct orientation for prayer, so that the *miḥrāb* was technically redundant. The relatively late appearance of the *miḥrāb* (no 1st/7th century mosque appears to have possessed one and it is described as an innovation introduced by al-Walīd I in his re-building of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina in 84/703) further suggests that it was not devised to meet some liturgical imperative.

The evidence points rather to the desire to assert in as public a way as the dictates of religious architecture would permit, the importance of the ruler in religious ceremonies. It was the duty of the caliph or of his representative to lead his people in prayer and to pronounce the *k̲h̲uṭba* [*q.v.*]. The political overtones of the latter ritual, which proclaimed allegiance to the ruler in much the same spirit as the diptychs in the contemporary Byzantine liturgy, in large part explain the physical form of the *minbar* [*q.v.*] from which the *k̲h̲uṭba* was pronounced. Similarly, the *miḥrāb*, another latecomer to mosque architecture, can be interpreted in secular terms, most conveniently as a throne apse transposed into a religious setting. These royal connotations could only be intensified by the addition of a dome over the bay directly in front of the *miḥrāb*.

Underneath that same dome was the preferred location for the *maḳṣūra* (see for this, above, I. D. 2.b.), usually a square enclosure of wood or stone reserved for the ruler, and ensuring both his privacy and his physical safety. Each of these elements in the mosque—*miḥrāb*, *minbar*, *maḳṣūra*, dome—drew added power from the proximity of the others, and together they stamped a secular and princely significance on this particular area of the mosque. The earliest surviving mosque which illustrates this emphasis, the Great Mosque of Damascus, adds a further refinement: a high transverse gable with a pitched roof cuts across the lateral emphasis of the *muṣallā* and thus highlights not just the *miḥrāb* area but also the way to it. The extra height of the gable and the way it cleaves across the grain of the mosque underscore its proclamatory role. Sometimes, as in the *d̲j̲āmiʿ*s of Tunis and Ḳayrawān, another dome over the central archway of the *muṣallā* façade sufficed to create an axis focused on the *miḥrāb*. As at Damascus, this axis asserted itself both inside the *muṣallā* and—by virtue of its greater width and the consequent break in the even tenor of the roofing—externally, at roof level. In later mosques, such as al-Azhar and al-Ḥākim (which possibly derive in this from al-Aḳṣā) the notion of the external gable is toned down to a broad flat strip projecting only modestly above roof level; but internally, the emphasis on the broader central nave terminating in the dome over the *miḥrāb* remains unchanged. It seems likely that these articulating devices were intended to mark out a processional way, presumably the formal route by which the ruler approached the *miḥrāb*.

So much, then, for the various elements in mosque design for which princely associations have been proposed. Yet their mere enumeration does not tell the full story. For it is above all the occurrence of these features in mosques located next to the residence of the ruler that places their political associations beyond doubt. This close juxtaposition of the secular and the religious may well have had its roots in the Prophet's house. Be that as it may, at Baṣra, Kūfa, Fusṭāṭ, Damascus, to name only a few very early examples, the principal mosque and the private residence of the ruler adjoined each other, and the viceroy Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] said of this arrangement "it is not fitting

that the *Imām* should pass through the people"—a sentiment, incidentally, not shared by many later Islamic rulers. The analogy with the palatine chapel in Byzantium and mediaeval Europe—at Constantinople and Ravenna, Aachen and Palermo—is striking. Perhaps the most public expression of the idea in the mediaeval Islamic world was in the Round City of Baghdād, where the huge and largely empty space at the heart of the city held only two buildings: the palace and the mosque, next door to each other. It would be hard to find the concept of Caesaropapism expressed more explicitly, or on a more gargantuan scale, than this.

The local expression of the articulating features under discussion varied from one part of the Islamic world to another, but they had come to stay. Henceforth, the *djāmiʿ* of Arab plan only rarely returned to the simplicity of the 1st/7th century. Such, however, was the strength of the traditions formed at that time that the basic nature of the earliest mosques remained substantially unchanged. They were proof, for example, against immense increases in size and against a growing interest in embellishment by means of structural innovations and applied ornament. Even the conversion into mosques of pre-Islamic places of worship, as at Damascus and Ḥamā, was powerless to affect their essential nature. The component parts of the Arab mosque could be redistributed and rearranged almost at will without impairing their functional effectiveness.

In much the same way, their idiosyncrasies of structure and decoration were purely cosmetic. The range of options in these areas was gratifyingly wide. Windows and lunettes bore *ajouré* grilles in stone or plaster with geometric and vegetal designs (Damascus mosque); wooden ceilings were painted or carved and coffered (Ṣanʿāʾ mosque, 1st/7th century onwards); a wide range of capitals, at first loosely based on classical models but in time featuring designs of Central Asian origin (Sāmarrā) was developed; and piers with engaged corner colonnettes (Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque, Cairo) rang the changes on the traditional classical column. Finally, the aspect of these early mosques could be varied still further by the type of flooring employed—stamped earth, brick, stone or even marble flags—and by applied decoration in carved stone or stucco, fresco, painted glass, embossed metalwork or mosaic.

3. Later history of the "Arab plan" mosque.

The essentially simple components of the Arab plan set a limit to the degree of diversity that could be achieved within these specifications. Most of the room for manoeuvre had been exhausted within the first four centuries of Islamic architecture. Thus the subsequent history of the Arab plan cannot match the early period for variety and boldness; the later mosques, moreover, lie very much in the shadow of their predecessors, to such an extent, indeed, that it is hard to single out significant new departures in these later buildings. It can scarcely be doubted that the presence of the great Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid mosques, built at the period when the Islamic world was at the peak of its material prosperity, acted as a signal deterrent to later architects with substantially less money, men and materials at their disposal. In these early centuries the caliphal permission, not readily granted, had been required for the construction of a *djāmiʿ* making it therefore a major undertaking, and correspondingly hard to emulate. By the 5th/11th century, moreover, most of the major Muslim cities had their own *djāmiʿ*, so that the need for huge mosques had much declined.

Although mosques of Arab plan have continued to be built throughout the Islamic world until the present day, in the mediaeval period there were only two areas where they achieved dominance: in the Western Islamic lands before they fell under Ottoman rule, and in pre-Ottoman Anatolia. These areas will therefore provide the material for most of the discussion which follows. Nevertheless, sporadic references will be made to mosques elsewhere, for instance in Egypt and the Yemen.

(a) The Maghrib. The Maghrib rightfully takes pride of place in this account because for almost a millennium virtually no mosque that was not of Arab type was built there. Here, then, is to be found the most homogeneous and consistent development of that type. Its sources lie, like so much of Maghribī art, in Syria, and specifically in the Great Mosque of Damascus. Its transverse gable becomes a leitmotif in Maghribī mosques, and in some cases (such as the Ḳarawiyyīn Mosque [*q.v.*], Fez, founded 226/841 but largely of the 6th/12th century) is associated with the same proportions as the Syrian building, including the relatively shallow oblong courtyard imposed on the Damascus mosque by the classical *temenos* but copied thereafter in other mosques as a deliberate feature. In the Mosque of the Andalusians at Fez (600-4/1203-7) the Damascus schema is retained despite a jaggedly irregular perimeter and trapezoidal courtyard; and, as at the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque, the main entrance to the mosque is aligned to it, a refinement not found at Damascus. The length of the gable has also increased considerably, though its height is modest.

In later Maghribī mosques especially, the emphasis shifted from the exterior elevation of the gable to its impact from within the building. It attracts unusually intricate vaulting, often of *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*] type, or may be marked by domes ranging in number from two (Tlemcen, 531/1136) to six (second Kutubiyya, Marrakesh, mid-6th/mid-12th century). The latter mosque has a further five cupolas placed three bays apart along the transverse *ḳibla* aisle. Thus by means of vaulting alone is created a T-shape which combines the secular and religious emphases of the *djāmiʿ*. Fewer vaults or domes, more strategically placed—for example at the *miḥrāb*, the *muṣallā* entrance and the corners of the *ḳibla* wall—could suffice to carry the T-shape into the elevation, but the form could be created at ground level alone by means of a wider central nave and by ensuring that the vaults stopped one bay short of the *ḳibla*, thus opening up dramatically the space immediately in front of it. The T-shape can indeed claim to be the principal Maghribī contribution to the development of mosque form, though horseshoe arches and square minarets were equally characteristic of the style.

Three other features distinguish Maghribī mosques from those found elsewhere in the Islamic world, though all have their origins in al-Andalus: the use of pierced ribbed or fluted domes, especially over the *miḥrāb*; the manipulation of arch forms to create hierarchical distinctions by means of gradual enrichment; and a readiness to alter the size, shape and location of the courtyard in response to the imperatives of a specific design. The ribbed domes (e.g. *djāmiʿ*s of Taza, 537/1142 and 691/1292, and Algiers, *ca.* 490/1097) derive from those of the Cordova mosque, but elaborate on them by cramming them with vegetal designs in carved stucco or by increasing the number of ribs from the usual eight to twelve (Tlemcen *djāmiʿ*) or even sixteen (Taza *djāmiʿ*). This practice gives free rein to the characteristically Maghribī obsession with non-structural arched forms, here used as a lace-like

infill between the ribs; the overall effect is one of feathery lightness and grace. The light filtered through these domes suffuses the area of the *miḥrāb* with radiance, perhaps as a deliberate metaphor of spiritual illumination, an idea rendered still more potent when, as is often the case, that *miḥrāb* bears the popular text of sūra XXIV, 36-7, "God is the Light of the heavens and the earth; the likeness of His Light is as a niche wherein is a lamp..."

Long files of arcaded columns stretching in multiple directions and generating apparently endless vistas are a particular feature of Maghribī mosques. The distinctive "forest space" thereby created finds its fullest expression in the fourth major rebuilding of the Cordova mosque, the supreme generative masterpiece of Western Islamic architecture, and the major Almoravid and Almohad mosques are best interpreted as reflections of this great original. Where the Cordova mosque, however, employed systems of intersecting arches and carefully differentiated types of capital to establish hierarchical distinctions, later Maghribī *djāmiʿ*s typically use a wide range of arch profiles to the same end. These include, besides the ubiquitious horseshoe type already noted, lobed, multifoil, interlaced cusped, trefoil, lambrequin and other varieties. They spring from piers, not columns, and this, coupled with the low roof, dim lighting and the general absence of ornament unconnected with vaulting, lends these interiors a ponderous austerity. Against this general background of parsimonious simplicity, the sudden switch from plain arch profiles for most of the sanctuary to elaborate ones for the axial nave alone constitutes a dramatic enrichment of the interior. Sometimes the transverse aisle in front of the *ḳibla* wall attests a third type of arch profile, and thus a further gradation of importance is emphasised.

In most western Islamic mosques the courtyard is something of an appendage. It is almost always very much smaller than the covered space. Custom decreed that it was isolated at the opposite end of the mosque from the *miḥrāb*, and that it should either be contiguous to the outer wall or be separated from it by no more than a single aisle. By contrast, the sanctuary tended to be of disproportionate depth and extent. This meant that the courtyard was never able to function as the heart of the mosque. Only when the sanctuary was reduced, as in the Ḳaṣba mosque in Marrakesh (581-6/1185-90), with its pronounced cruciform emphasis, was the courtyard able, both literally and figuratively, to play a more central role. In narrow rectangular plans, it can be a diminutive square box hemmed in by deep lateral aisles (Mosque of al-Manṣūra, 704-45/1304-44) or an extended shallow oblong (Mosque of Seville, *ca.* 571/1175). In oblong plans, it faithfully mirrored that emphasis on a diminutive scale (Tinmal, 548/1153; first Kutubiyya, Marrakesh, *ca.* 555/1160). Exceptional on all counts is the gigantic but unfinished mosque of Ḥasan, Rabat (*ca.* 591/1195), whose scale of 180 × 139 m. makes it the second largest mosque in the world, after the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā. Here the typical shallow oblong courtyard is supplemented by two lesser and narrow courtyards perpendicular to the *ḳibla* and along the lateral walls. These were, it seems, intended for men and women respectively, but they would also have served for ventilation and lighting, besides offering visual relief to the endless march of columns.

(b) Anatolia. For all that pre-Ottoman Anatolia was a fertile field for innovation in later mediaeval experiment with the hypostyle mosque, its contribution cannot seriously match that of the Maghrib and al-Andalus, not least because of the much shorter time span, a mere three centuries; discussion of it will accordingly be brief. The earliest surviving mosques well illustrate the dependence of local builders on more developed traditions of Arab and Persian origin. The Great Mosque of Diyārbakir (484/1091) follows the transept schema of Damascus, while those of Mayyāfāriḳīn (550/1155), Dunaysir (601/1204) and Mārdīn (largely 6th/12th century) follow Iranian precedent in their emphasis on a monumental dome rearing up out of the low roofing of the sanctuary and set squarely in front of the *miḥrāb* bay. Their foreshortened courtyards, however, owe nothing to Iranian precedent and instead presage later developments. So too did the increasing tendency to use domical forms rather than modular trabeate units as the principal means of defining space.

The buildings of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries sufficiently demonstrate the embryonic state of mosque design in Anatolia, for the variety of plans is bewildering and defies easy categorisation. The absence of direct copies of the classical Arab type of plan is striking, though modifications of it were legion. A common solution was to do without the courtyard altogether—perhaps a response to the severe Anatolian winter—and reduce the mosque to a wooden-roofed hall resting on a multitude of columns or pillars (ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque, Konya, 530/1135 to 617/1220; Sivas, *ca.* 494/1101; Afyon, 672/1273; Beyşehir, 696/1296). Usually the minaret was outside the mosque and therefore not integrated into the layout. Sometimes a similar design was executed in multiple small vaults (Divriği, castle mosque, 576/1180; Niksar, 540/1145; Urfa, 6th/12th century), and indeed the preference for vaulted as distinct from trabeated construction is well marked even at this experimental stage. Whatever the roofing system adopted in these enclosed mosques, the scope for development in either direction was small, while poor lighting, a sense of cramped space and inadequate ventilation were virtually inevitable. Huge piers and low vaults gave many of these mosques a crypt-like appearance (ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque, Niğde, 620/1223; Sivas, Ulu Cami).

The obvious way forward was to allot a more significant role to the dome, a decision made at an early stage (Great Mosque of Erzurum, 530/1135; Kayseri, 535/1140; and Divriği, 626/1229) but by no means universally accepted. In such mosques the domed bay is invariably the largest of all and is placed along the axis of the *miḥrāb*. This emphasis on the totally enclosed covered mosque was to remain the principal feature of Turkish mosque architecture, and as a natural corollary fostered a compact and integrated style. Sometimes a small courtyard is integrated into this design (Malatya, 635/1237; Kayseri, Mosque of Khʷānd Khātūn, 635/1237; Harput, 560/1165). By degrees, however, the courtyard was relegated to one of two functions: as a forecourt, akin to the atrium of Byzantine churches and thus heralding the mosque proper, instead of being co-equal to the sanctuary; and as a bay within the *muṣallā*, furnished with a skylight and a fountain as a symbolic reminder of the word outside. Sometimes these two uses coincided. The skylight bay (*shādirwān*) was normally placed along the axis of the *miḥrāb* and thus served as a secondary accent for it, in much the same manner as a central dome.

The 8th/14th century saw no major developments in hypostyle plans. Flat-roofed prayer halls, some with wooden-roofed porches (Merām mosque, Konya, 804-27/1402-24), others, especially in the Ḳaramān

region, without them, continued to be built. So too did hypostyle mosques with vaulted domical bays (Yivli Minare mosque, Antalya, 775/1373; the type recurs both in eastern Anatolia and Ottoman territory in Bursa and Edirne). Variations in the Damascus schema, with the transept replaced by one or more domes, a raised and wider central aisle, a skylight bay, or any combination of these were frequent (ʿĪsā Bey mosque, Selcuk, 776/1374; Ulu Cami, Birgi, 712/1312; mosque of Akhī Elvān, Ankara, *ca.* 780/1378). Finally, mosques with an enlarged domed bay in front of the *miḥrāb* spread from their earlier base in south-eastern Anatolia, an area bounded to the east by the Ulu Cami in Van (791-803/1389-1400) and to the west by that of Manisa (778/1376). In the latter mosque the *ḳibla* side is dominated by the dome and takes up almost half the mosque; a large arcaded courtyard with a portico accounts for the rest. With such buildings the stage is set for Ottoman architecture and Arab prototypes are left far behind.

These Anatolian mosques depart still further from the norm of the hypostyle type in their predilection for elaborate integrated façades. While earlier mosques of Arab type frequently singled out the principal entrance by a monumental archway, often with a dome behind it, the tendency was to keep the façade relatively plain. Only in the highly built-up areas of the major cities of the Near East, such as Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus and Aleppo, did the extreme shortage of space, and often the small scale of the mosques themselves, oblige architects to decorate mosque façades if they wished to draw attention to them, e.g. the Aḳmar mosque, Cairo, 519/1125. In Anatolia the tenacious Armenian tradition, which favoured extensive external sculpture and articulation, may well have predisposed Muslim architects in Anatolia to develop integrated decorative schemes for the main façades of their mosques. A monumental stone portal or *pīshṭāḳ* [*q.v.*], often an *īwān* [*q.v.*] was the standard centrepiece for such designs. It could be strongly salient and tower well above the roofline (Divriği Cami). Further articulation was provided by ranges of recessed arches with decorative surrounds (Dunaysir), open or blind arcades along the upper section of the façade (Mayyāfāriḳīn and ʿAlāʾ al-Din mosque, Konya), and windows with densely carved frames (ʿĪsā Bey mosque, Selcuk).

(c) Egypt and Syria. It seems possible that some of the more elaborate Mamlūk mosque façades in Cairo, such as those of Baybars (660/1262) and Sulṭān Ḥasan (757/1356) may derive, if at several removes, from Anatolian prototypes of the kind discussed above. It is noteworthy, however, that in general the mosques of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk period offer little scope for large-scale reworking of the hypostyle plan, since they were too small. The mosque of Baybars and that of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalawūn in the Cairo citadel (718/1318), which is a free copy of it, provide exceptions to this rule; in both cases a monumental dome over the *miḥrāb* bay is the principal accent of an extensive covered space. The relative scarcity of major mosques in this period not only reflects the primacy of the great early *djāmiʿ*s which were still in use, and which made further such buildings redundant; it also marks a shift in patronage away from mosques towards mausolea, *madrasas*, *khānḳāh*s and the like. In time, not surprisingly, joint foundations became the norm, in which the mosque was a mere oratory, a component in some larger complex. Eventually, too, the forms of mosques came to reflect those of contemporary *madrasas* more than the hypostyle plans of earlier periods. Hence the dominance of small domed mosques such as the 7th/14th century Mamlūk *djāmiʿ*s of Tripoli. Such buildings have no bearing on the history of the Arab mosque plan.

(d) The Yemen. Apart from the Maghrib, it was principally in the Yemen that the large hypostyle mosque maintained its popularity throughout the mediaeval period. Inadequate publication has meant that these buildings are less well known than they deserve, and without excavation the dating of many of them will remain problematic. This is particularly regrettable because several of them were built on the site of pre-Islamic temples, churches or synagogues (e.g. al-Djilāʾ mosque, Ṣanʿāʾ), and spolia from these earlier buildings—such as columns, capitals, inscriptions and even sculptures of birds—are used very widely. Persistent local tradition attributes the *djāmiʿ*s of Ṣanʿāʾ and al-Djanad to the time of the Prophet; both were probably rebuilt by al-Walīd I. The former has preserved much more of its original appearance: perimeter walls of finely cut stone in stepped courses enclose a roughly square shape with a central courtyard with the *muṣallā* only slightly deeper than the other sides. Al-Djanad, on the other hand, has had its similar original layout transformed by a domed transept and numerous subsidiary buildings. This gradual transformation by the addition of prayer halls, mausolea, ablutions facilities and the like is a recurrent pattern in the Yemen (*djāmiʿ*s of Zabīd and Ibb).

Small hypostyle mosques of square form (al-ʿAbbās, 7th/13th century), or of rectangular shape, whether broad and shallow oblongs (Tithid, 7th/13th century) or narrow and deep (Tamur, 5th/11th century or earlier), are common, and a few larger mosques of this kind, still without a courtyard, are known (Dhibin, after 648/1250). The commonest form, however, comprises a structure that is rectangular or trapezoidal (Masdjid al-Ṣawmaʿa, Hūt, 7th/13th century) with a central courtyard and extensive covered *riwāḳ*s on all sides (Rawḍa *djāmiʿ*, 7th/13th century). Often this formula is enriched by a lavishly carved or painted wooden ceiling over the sanctuary area alone (Shibām *djāmiʿ*, 4th/10th century) or by the incorporation of mausolea (Ẓafār Dhibin, 7th/13th century; funerary mosque of the *Imām* al-Hādī Yaḥyā, Ṣaʿda, 4th/10th century and later) or of minarets (Djibla, 480/1087; Dhū Ashraḳ, 410/1019). Influences from the central Islamic lands explain the use of wider central aisles in the *muṣallā* (Ẓafār Dhibin, Ibb, Djibla, Dhū Ashraḳ) and a concentration of domes along the *ḳibla* wall (enlargement of Ibb *djāmiʿ*; Djāmiʿ al-Muẓaffar and Ashrafiyya mosque, both 7th/13th century, Taʿizz). The glory of these Yemeni mosques as a group lies in their decoration: exceptionally long bands of stucco inscriptions (mosques of Dhamār and Rada, 7th/13th century and later), frescoes with epigraphic, floral and geometric designs (Rasūlid mosques of Taʿizz) and a matchless series of carved and painted wooden ceilings (Ẓafār Dhibin, al-ʿAbbās, Sirha, Dhibin, Shibām, Ṣanʿāʾ and others).

4. The Iranian tradition.

(a) The early period. Such was the prescriptive power of the "Arab plan" that its influence permeated mosque architecture in the non-Arab lands too. It would therefore be an artificial exercise to consider the development of the Iranian mosque in isolation, the more so as many early mosques in Iran (Bīshāpūr, Sīrāf, Susa, Yazd) were of Arab plan. Some also had the square minarets which were an early feature of that plan (Dāmghān; Sīrāf). Rather

did the Iranian mosque acquire its distinctive character by enriching the hypostyle form by two elements deeply rooted in pre-Islamic Iranian architecture: the domed chamber and the *īwān*, a vaulted open hall with a rectangular arched façade. The domed chamber derived from the mostly diminutive Sasanian fire temple with four axial arched openings, the so-called *čahār ṭāḳ*. Set in the midst of a large open space, it served to house the sacred fire. This layout obviously lent itself to Muslim prayer, and literary sources recount how such fire temples were taken over and converted into mosques (e.g. at Bu**kh**ārā) by the simple expedient of blocking up the arch nearest the *ḳibla* and replacing it with a *miḥrāb*; but conclusive archaeological evidence of this practice is still lacking, though the mosques of Yazd-i **Kh**āst and Ḳurwa may be examples of it. Such domed chambers, whether converted fire temples or purpose-built Muslim structures, may have served as self-contained mosques, with or without an attached courtyard; certainly the earliest part of many mediaeval Iranian mosques is precisely the domed chamber.

The associations of the *īwān*, by contrast, were markedly more secular than religious; its honorific and ceremonial purpose in Sasanian palaces is epitomised by the great vault at Ctesiphon, where it announced the audience chamber of the Emperor. The *īwān* form was therefore well fitted to serve as a monumental entrance to the mosque, to mark the central entrance to the *muṣallā* (Tārī**kh**āna, Dām**gh**ān; Nāʾīn) or, indeed, itself to serve as the sanctuary (as at Nīrīz perhaps 363/973 onwards?). Thus both the domed chamber and the *īwān* quickly found their way into the vocabulary of Iranian mosque architecture, and by their articulating power gave it a wider range of expression than the Arab mosque plan could command. It was in the interrelationships between the domed chamber, the *īwān* and the hypostyle hall that the future of the Iranian mosque was to lie.

(b) The Sal**dj**ūḳ period. The tentative experiments of early Iranian mosque architecture crystallised in the Sal**dj**ūḳ period, especially between *ca.* 473/1080 and *ca.* 555/1160. The major mosques built or enlarged at this time have as their major focus a monumental domed chamber enclosing the *miḥrāb* and preceded by a lofty *īwān*. This double unit is commonly flanked by arcaded and vaulted prayer halls. This arrangement represents the final transformation of the *muṣallā* in Iranian mosques, using the vocabulary of Sasanian religious and palatial architecture for new ends. The sanctuary *īwān* opens onto a courtyard with an *īwān* at the centre of each axis punctuating the regular sequence of *riwāḳs*. These arcades attain a new importance as façade architecture by their arrangement in double tiers. Yet the focus of attention is undoubtedly the great domed chamber. The simplicity of the prototypical *čahār ṭāḳ* is scarcely to be recognised in these massive Sal**dj**ūḳ *maḳṣūra* domes with their multiple openings in the lower walls and their complex zones of transition. This concentration on the domed chamber was often achieved at the expense of the rest of the mosque (Gulpāyagān *djāmiʿ*, *ca.* 510/1116). The new combination of old forms created the classical, definitive version of the already ancient 4-*iwan* courtyard plan that was to dominate Iranian architecture for centuries to come, infiltrating not only other building types such as *madrasas* and caravansarais, but also spreading as far west as Egypt and Anatolia and eastwards to Central Asia and India. The 4-*īwān* mosque thus became in time the dominant mosque type of the eastern Islamic world.

Up to the end of the Sal**dj**ūḳ period, however, the way was still open for numerous other combinations of hypostyle hall, domed chamber and *īwān*. Ba**sh**an, for example (4th/10th century) has a square layout with courtyard, hypostyle hall, domed sanctuary and sanctuary *īwān*, but lacks any further articulation of the courtyard façade by *īwāns*. The mosques of Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ma**sh**had-i Miṣriyān [*q.v.*] (both 5th/11th century) are typologically related. At Urmiya/Riḍāʾiyya (7th/13th century) the mosque is an extensive shallow oblong with the domed chamber at one end of a hypostyle hall, and no *īwān*. Sometimes the mosque is entirely covered by five (Mas**dj**id-i Diggaron, Hazāra, 5th/11th century) or nine domed bays (Čār Sutūn mosque, Tirmi**dh**, 5th/11th century; Mas**dj**id-i Kūča Mīr, Nātanz, 6th/12th century). In its Sal**dj**ūḳ form the mosque at Ardabīl comprised a domed chamber with an *īwān* in front of it, while at Sīn (528/1136) the sanctuary, comprising a deep *īwān* with *muḳarnas* vaulting, engulfs one side of the diminutive courtyard. The huge courtyard of the Firdaws *djāmiʿ* (597/1201) is dominated by its single *īwān* which heralds a low vaulted sanctuary. The *djāmiʿ*s of Faryumad (7th/13th century?) and Gūnābād (606/1210) have only two *īwāns* facing each other across a narrow courtyard, and no domed chamber. Other mosques in **Kh**urāsān are simpler still, comprising only the domed chamber itself (Sangān-i Pāʾīn, 535/1140; Birrābād and ʿAbdallāhābād, both possibly Sal**dj**ūḳ) or with insignificant bays adjoining it (Ta**kh**latan Baba, 6th/12th century). Often too, the various elements were added in an unpredictable sequence, for instance at Simnān where a probably 5th/11th century columned hall had a complete mosque "unit" comprising a domed chamber, *īwān* and courtyard tacked on to its side. Even within the classical 4-*īwān* model, considerable diversity could be attained by varying the scale of the components: from long narrow courtyards (Simnān) or small square ones of domestic scale (Zawāra, 527/1133) to huge open expanses broken up by trees (**Sh**īrāz *djāmiʿ*, mainly 10th/16th century), pools or fountains.

The principal emphasis on the internal façade was, however, unchanging. The exterior, by contrast, was unadorned and unarticulated to the point of austerity. Variations in the height or breadth of *īwāns* reinforced axial or hierarchical distinctions. By common consent the sanctuary *īwān* was the largest and deepest; the opposite *īwān* was next in size, though often very shallow, while the two lateral *īwāns* were usually the smallest. Minarets at the corner of the sanctuary *īwān* underlined its importance, while the twin-minaret portal *īwān* first encountered in the Sal**dj**ūḳ period (Na**kh**čivān, *ca.* 582/1186; Ardistān, Mas**dj**id-i Imām Ḥasan, 553/1158) became increasingly monumental and elaborate in later centuries (*djāmiʿ*s of A**sh**tar**dj**ān, 715/1315, and Yazd, 846/1442). *Īwān* minarets of this kind gradually replaced the freestanding cylindrical minarets so popular in the Sal**dj**ūk period.

(c) The Īl**kh**ānid period. As in Mamlūk Egypt, so too in Iran the later mediaeval history of the mosque is sometimes hard to disentangle from that of the *madrasa*-, tomb- or shrine-complex. Prayer and communal worship were, after all, integral to the operation of such "little cities of God" as the shrines of Ardabīl, Nātanz, Turbat-i **Dj**ām, Basṭām and Lin**dj**ān—all of them the scene of much building activity in the 8th/14th century—to say nothing of the great shrines of Ḳumm and Ma**sh**had. Such new foundations as these were simply perpetuated Sal**dj**ūḳ models (Haf**sh**ūya, early 8th/14th century), though these were subtly altered by having their proportions

attenuated or otherwise modified. At Ashtardjān everything is subordinated to the principal axis announced by the double minaret façade, an emphasis which is taken up and intensified by the single great *īwān* which takes up the full width of the courtyard and leads into the domed sanctuary. At Warāmīn, too (722/1322 onwards), which is of standard 4-*īwān* type, the sense of axial progression is strong, and is made rather more effective than at Ashtardjān by the absolute length of the mosque and the extended vestibule. The *djāmiʿ* of ʿAlī Shāh in Tabrīz, by contrast (*ca.* 710-20/1310-20) deliberately returned, it seems, to much earlier models, for it comprised essentially a huge cliff-like *īwān* preceded by a courtyard with a central pool and clumps of trees in the corners—perhaps a deliberate reference to the Ṭāḳ-i Kisrā itself. For smaller mosques, Saldjūḳ models were again at hand; hence, for example, the trio of domed chamber mosques with *īwāns* at Azirān, Kadj and Dashtī, all datable *ca.* 725/1325. Yet another compliment to earlier masters was the Īlkhānid tendency to add new structures to existing mosques: a *madrasa* to the Iṣfahān *djāmiʿ* (776-8/1374-7), an *īwān* to the mosque at Gaz (*ca.* 715/1315), and so on.

(d) The Tīmūrid period. The Tīmūrid period took up still further ideas which had been no more than latent in earlier centuries. While some mosques of traditional form were built such as the Mosque of Gawhar Shād, in Mashhad, of standard 4-*īwān* type (821/1418), attention focused particularly on the portal and *ḳibla īwāns*, which soared to new heights. Turrets at the corners magnified these proportions still further. This trend towards gigantism is exposed at its emptiest in the 4-*īwān djāmiʿ* of Ziyāratgāh, near Harāt (887/1482), where the absence of decoration accentuates the sheer mass of the sanctuary *īwān* looming over the courtyard. At its best, however, as in the mosque of Bībī Khānum, Samarḳand (801/1399) where these exceptional proportions are consistently carried through to virtually every part of the mosque, the effect is overwhelming. Here the 4-*īwān* plan is transformed by the use of a domed chamber behind each lateral *īwān*; by the profusion of minarets—at the exterior corners and flanking both portal and sanctuary *īwāns*—and by the four hundred-odd domes which cover the individual bays.

As in the Mongol period, however, the fashion for building *khānḳāhs*, *madrasas* and funerary monuments, all of them capable of serving as places of worship (shrine of Aḥmad Yasawī, Turkestan, begun 797/1394; the Rīgistān complex, Samarḳand, begun in its Tīmūrid form in 820/1417; Gawhar Shād complex, Harāt, 821/1418) excluded an equal emphasis on architecture. This may explain the continued popularity of so many standard mosque types—the domed hypostyle (Ziyāratgāh, Masdjid-i Čihil Sutūn *ca.* 890/1485) and the two-*īwān* type so long familiar in Khurāsān (Badjistān and Nīshāpūr *djāmiʿ*s, both later 9th/15th century)—to say nothing of the emphasis on refurbishing earlier mosques (*djāmiʿ*s of Iṣfahān, 880/1475 and Harāt, 903-5/1497-9), which, in accordance with the Tīmūrid predilection for innovative vaulting, often took the form of transversely vaulted halls (*djāmiʿ*s of Abarḳūh, 808/1415; Yazd, 819/1416; Shīrāz, *ca.* 820/1417; Maribud, 867/1462; and Kāshān, 867-8/1462-3; and the mosques of Sar-i Rīg, 828/1424 and Mīr Čaḳinaḳ, 840-1/1436-7, at Yazd). There was also still ample room for surprises. The winter prayer hall added to the Iṣfahān *djāmiʿ* in 851/1447 has multiple aisles of huge pointed arches springing directly from the ground and lit by ochre alabaster slabs let into the vaults and diffusing a golden radiance. The hoary 4-*īwān* formula was given a new twist by the addition of twin domed chambers flanking the sanctuary *īwān* (Harāt *djāmiʿ*, 9th/15th century), an idea which infiltrated other plan types too (Rushkhar *djāmiʿ*, 859/1454). At Djādjarm (late 9th/late 15th century?) the central axis marked by the domed chamber and the courtyard is flanked on each side by a trio of vaulted bays.

Yet perhaps the most original mosque designs of the period were those which focused on the single dome and thus echoed, if only distantly, the preoccupations of contemporary Ottoman architects. This concept manifested itself in several different ways. In the Masdjid-i Gunbād, Ziyāratgāh (*ca.* 887-912/1483-1506), a square exterior encloses small corner chambers and a cruciform domed central area, a layout more reminiscent of a palace pavilion than a mosque. The core of the Masdjid-i Shāh, Mashhad (855/1451), is again a large domed chamber, but this is enclosed by a vaulted ambulatory and preceded by a long façade with corner minarets and a portal *īwān*. Most ambitious of all, however, is the Blue Mosque in Tabrīz (870/1465) in which a similar idea is given much more integrated expression by virtue of the open-plan arrangement of the central space. The dome springs from eight massive piers, but this octagon has further piers in the corners, making it a square with twelve openings, and thus offering easy access to the multidomed ambulatory. A similar openness characterises the gallery area and ensures that this mosque, though entirely covered, was airy, spacious and flooded with light. The range and subtlety of its polychrome tilework makes this mosque an apt coda for a period which exploited to an unprecedented degree the role of colour in architecture.

(e) The Ṣafavid period. The restoration and enlargement of existing mosques, a trend already noted in Tīmūrid times, continued apace in the Ṣafavid period, and involved over a score of mosques in the 10th/16th century alone. Yet not one new mosque of the first importance survives from this century, though the Masdjid-i ʿAlī in Iṣfahān (929/1522), a classic 4-*īwān* structure, has a sanctuary whose open-plan dome on pendentives provides a bridge between the Blue Mosque in Tibrīz and the Luṭfallāh mosque in Iṣfahān (1011-28/1602-10). The latter, a private oratory for Shāh ʿAbbās I, makes a very public break with tradition, for it is simply a huge square chamber. Its lofty dome rests on eight arches via an intermediary zone of 32 niches. The whole interior is sheathed in glittering tilework whose smooth surfaces simplify all structural subtleties. Though the mosque is correctly oriented towards Mecca, it is set at an angle to the great square (*maydān*) from which it is entered, an angle dissimulated by the portal *īwān* which instead obeys the orientation of the *maydān* towards the cardinal points of the compass. A low vaulted passage linking *īwān* and dome chamber, but invisible from either, resolves these conflicting axes. It also draws attention to a discrepancy which could easily have been avoided and is therefore deliberate.

In the nearby Masdjid-i Shāh (1021-40/1612-30), which also fronts the *maydān*, the problem of discordant axes is solved with sovereign ease, for the portal leads into a diagonal vestibule which in turn opens into a 4-*īwān* courtyard now correctly orientated. Both portal and *ḳibla īwāns* have paired minarets to assert their importance. The scale is vast, but the entire mosque is conceived in due proportion to it. As at the comparably large mosque of Bībī Khānum, dome

chambers behind the lateral *īwān*s give extra space for prayer, while two *madrasa*s with courtyards flank the main courtyard to the south. Thus even at the height of its popularity, the 4-*īwān* mosque could accommodate quite major innovations without impairing its essential character. Later Ṣafavid mosques, such as the *djāmi*ʿs of Sarm and Čashum, the Masdjid-i Wazīr in Kāshān and that of ʿAlī Ḳulī Agha in Iṣfahān, serve by their very modesty, however, to highlight the altogether exceptional status of the two mosques on the Iṣfahān *maydān*. Even such a spacious and handsome version of the traditional 4-*īwān* schema as the Masdjid-i Ḥakim, Iṣfahān (1067/1656) could not fail to be an anticlimax in their wake.

5. The Turkish tradition.

(a) Early domed mosques. The earliest Anatolian mosques follow Arab prototypes, and by degrees some of them take on an Iranian colouring, especially in their free use of *īwān*s for portals and for sanctuary entrances. Already by the 7th/13th century, however, an emphasis on the isolated domed chamber as a mosque type began to make itself felt. This idea too might have had Iranian origins, but it soon developed in ways that owed nothing to Iran, since the contemporary preference for entirely covered mosques with no courtyard was itself enough to encourage experiments in the articulation of interior space. The dome quickly became the most favoured device to this end. In Iran, by and large, the domed chamber behind the *ḳibla īwān* remained spatially isolated from the rest of the mosque. In Anatolia, by contrast, architects were always seeking new ways of integrating the main domed space with the area around it. A consistent emphasis on domical forms created the necessary visual unity to achieve this. Already in the Saldjūḳ period tentative experiments in this direction may be noted, for example the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque, Niğde (620/1223), whose *ḳibla* is marked by three domed and cross-vaulted bays with further parallel aisles behind. In the Ulu Cami of Bitlis (555/1160), a single great dome replaces these smaller bays, while in the Gök mosque and *madrasa*, Amasya (665/1266), the *masdjid* comprises a series of triple-domed aisles. Experiment with domical forms was therefore deeply rooted in Anatolian architecture from the beginning. It is above all, however, the hallmark of mosques erected by the Ottomans, and can be traced to the very earliest years of that dynasty.

(b) Ottoman architecture before 857/1453. The sequence begins very modestly with a series of mosques comprising a simple domed cube with a lateral vestibule (ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque, Bursa, 736/1335, a structure typical of well over a score of such Ottoman mosques built in the course of the 8th/14th century) and minor variants of this schema, such as the mosque of Orhan Gazi, Bilecik, and the Yeşil Cami, Iznik, 780/1378. Such structures have a natural affinity with larger mausolea throughout the Islamic world, and with the simplest forms of Iranian mosques. It is only with hindsight that their significance for later developments, in which the theme of the single, and (above all) central, dominant dome of ever-increasing size becomes steadily more important, can be appreciated. This, then, is the main line of evolution in Ottoman mosque architecture, and the discussion will return to it shortly.

Meanwhile, two other types of mosque, in which the dome also loomed large, deserve brief investigation, especially as they bade fair in the formative early years to oust the domed, centrally planned mosque as the favoured Ottoman type, and also because they had their own part to play in the final synthesis of the 10th/16th century. The presence of three major types of domed mosque in the same century is a reminder that the pace of change was uneven. Several mosques conceived on an altogether larger scale rejuvenated the hypostyle form by investigating the impact of multiple adjoining domes. In some cases, like the Ulu Cami, Bursa, of 797/1394, a simple square subdivided into 20 domed bays of equal width though of varying height—the choice of the dome as the agent of vaulting is a diagnostic Ottoman feature—the effect was distinctly old-fashioned. At ground level this is an Arab mosque, even if its elevation is Anatolian. Contemporary with this, but marking a very different attitude to interior space, are two mosques in Bursa, that of Yïldïrïm Bāyazīd, 794/1390, and the Yeşil Cami of 816/1413, which use the dome motif on various scales and thus far more imaginatively. They represent a second preparatory stage on the way to the mature Ottoman mosque, and their large layout is by turn cruciform, stepped or of inverted T-type. Their distinguishing feature is the use of several domes of different sizes. In the two cases under discussion, the inverted T-plan highlights the *miḥrāb* aisle by two adjoining domes along the central axis flanked by a trio of domed or vaulted bays on each side, the whole knit together laterally by a 5-domed portico. Sandwiched between these two buildings in date is the Ulu Cami of Edirne, 806/1403, where the square is subdivided into nine equal bays, eight of them domed, with a domed and vaulted portico tacked on. At the mosque of Čelebi Sulṭān Meḥemmed, Dimetoka, this arrangement is refined by an increased concentration on the central dome, which is enveloped by vaults on the main axes and diagonals, the whole preceded by a 3-domed portico. Such a combination cannot fail to recall the standard quincunx plan, complete with narthex, of mid-Byzantine churches, and it was of course these buildings which dominated the Anatolian countryside in the early centuries of Turkish occupation. Steady Byzantine influence can be seen to have affected the evolution of Ottoman architecture even before the capture of Istanbul brought Turkish architects face to face with Hagia Sophia. Yet it would be grossly mistaken to regard mature Ottoman mosques as mere derivatives of Hagia Sophia. The Uç Şerefeli mosque, Edirne, of 851/1447, with its huge central dome on a hexagonal base flanked on either side by a pair of much smaller domes and preceded by a lateral courtyard enclosed by 22 domed bays, makes excellent sense within a purely Ottoman perspective as a key stage in the evolution which terminated in the great masterpieces of Sinān. The divergence between the great dome and the lesser ones flanking it has already become acute and was to end in their total suppression.

Yet one significant element, crucial to Hagia Sophia and a cliché of Ottoman architecture after 857/1453, had not yet entered the architectural vocabulary of the Turkish mosque before that date. This was the use of two full semi-domes along the *miḥrāb* axis to buttress the main dome. The long-rooted Islamic custom of marking the *miḥrāb* bay by a great dome rendered such a feature otiose. Once the decision had been taken to make the largest dome the central feature of a much larger square, the way was open for the adoption of this Byzantine feature, and with it the transformation and enrichment of interior space was a foregone conclusion. Otherwise, most of the architectural vocabulary used in mature Ottoman mosques was already to hand by 857/1453: flying buttresses, the undulating exterior profile created by multiple domes, tall pencil-shaped minarets and a cer-

tain parsimony of exterior ornament allied to exquisite stereotomy. It has to be admitted, however, that these features had yet to find their full potential, notably in the failure to develop a suitably imposing exterior to match the spatial splendours within. That potential could be realised only when these features were used in tandem with each other by masters seeking to express a newly-won confidence and bent on creating an integrated style for that purpose. The mosque was, moreover, their chosen instrument; indeed, Ottoman architecture is, first and foremost, an architecture of mosques.

(c) Ottoman architecture after 857/1453. The capture of Constantinople in 857/1453 provided both a terminus and an impetus to a radical rethinking of mosque design. Appropriately enough, the first building to express the new mood was a victory monument, as its name indicates: the Fātiḥ Mosque (867-75/1463-70). This has a single huge semi-dome buttressing the main one but also displacing it off the main axis; clearly, the spatial, aesthetic and structural implications of such a semidome had not yet been fully grasped. Within a generation, this anomaly at least had been rectified; the mosque of Bāyazīd II (completed 913/1506) has two such semi-domes on the *miḥrāb* axis, with four lesser domes flanking this central corridor on each side. On the other hand, the projecting portico sandwiched between dome chamber and courtyard is a clumsy and lopsided expedient with little functional justification. Yet the resultant emphasis on the portico is wholly typical of a period in which this feature re-appeared under numerous guises, especially in doubled form (Mihrimah mosque, completed *ca.* 973/1565). The Şehzade mosque (955/1548) presents a much more streamlined appearance, with dome chamber and courtyard of approximately equal proportions. Within the sanctuary, the great central dome opens into semi-domes on all four sides, with small diagonal semi-domes opening off the main ones and corner domes. It is instructive thus to see Ottoman architects developing the possibilities of the centralised plan like the builders of Christian churches and martyria a millennium before, and coming to very similar conclusions. Smaller mosques with domes on hexagonal (Ahmed Paşa, completed *ca.* 970/1562) or octagonal bases (Mihrimah mosque) were scarcely less popular than domed squares. A small number of wooden-roofed mosques perpetuating earlier modes, and with their roots in the Arab tradition, survive (e.g. Ramazan Efendi in Koçamustafapaşa, 994/1585, and Tekkeci Ibrahim Ağa, 999/1590) as reminders of a very widespread type of Ottoman mosque now almost entirely eclipsed by more durable structures.

In the ferment of experiment which marks 10th/16th century Ottoman architecture, the key figure was undoubtedly Sinān, an Islamic equivalent to Sir Christopher Wren, who transformed the face of the capital city as of the provinces with some 334 buildings (mostly mosques) erected in his own lifetime, and whose pivotal role as chief court architect (effectively Master of Works) allowed him to stamp his ideas on public architecture from Algeria to ʿIrāḳ and from Thrace to Arabia in the course of a phenomenally long career which spanned virtually the entire century. The Süleymaniye mosque in Istanbul (963/1556) is by common consent the masterpiece of his middle age. It takes up and refines the model of the Bāyazīd II mosque by adding ideas taken from the Şehzade mosque, like the succession of semi-domed spaces billowing out from the main dome, though only along the principal axis. Huge arches serve to compartmentalise the spatial volumes.

All these mosques are preceded by an open courtyard whose cloister is roofed by long files of adjoining domes. This standard feature typifies the new emphasis on subsidiary structures, mausolea, *ʿimārets*, *madrasas* and the like, and the consistent attempt to integrate them visually with the sanctuary itself, for example by subordinating them to the principal axes of the design. All this implies a marked increase in scale and a new sensitivity to the landscaping of the ensemble. Hence the recurrent choice of dramatic sites for these mosques, especially in Istanbul with its built-in vistas along the Bosphorus. This awareness of topography as a feature of mosque design is evident as early as the Fātiḥ mosque; its three parallel axes are grouped around and within an enclosed open piazza measuring some 210 m. per side. The climax of mature Ottoman architecture is reached with Sinān's final masterpiece, the Selimiye at Edirne (982/1574), in which the largest of Ottoman central domes (31.28 m. in diameter, hedged externally by the loftiest quartet of Ottoman minarets (70.89 m. high) rests on eight piers pushed as close to the walls as safety will allow so as to create the largest possible open space.

While the increase in the absolute height and breadth of these great domed chambers is striking, the amount of articulation and detail crammed into these spaces is scarcely less impressive. All is subordinated to a formidable concentration of purpose—for example, the carefully considered fenestration, surely a legacy from Hagia Sophia, with its superposed groupings of eights and sixes or sevens, fives and threes. In the interests of creating the maximum untrammelled space, thrusts are concentrated onto a few huge piers with spherical pendentives between them, and thus the layout is a model of clarity and logic. Flooded with light, their volumetric subdivisions apparent at a glance, these interiors are at the opposite pole from the dim mysteries of Hagia Sophia. Frescoes reminiscent of manuscript illumination and of carpet designs vie with Iznik tiles to decorate the interior surfaces, and often (as in the case of fluted piers) to deny their sheer mass.

Externally, these mosques attest a well-nigh fugal complexity by virtue of their obsessive concentration on a very few articulating devices like windows, arches and domes. The repetition of the same forms on varying scales intensifies the sense of unity. Even the minarets which mark the outer limits of the mosque's surface area are brought into play; for example, those of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque (completed 1025/1616) have the bases of their balconies so calibrated as to coincide with the top of the main dome, its collar and the collar of the main subsidiary half-domes, while their location at the corners of the building binds it together and defines the sacred space from afar. Detailing is sparse and crisp, with a strong linear emphasis, a flawless sense of interval and a pronounced attenuation of features like wall niches and engaged columns (Süleymaniye mosque). Nothing is allowed to impair the primary aesthetic impact of cliff-like expanses of smooth grey stone. Most notable of all is a dramatic but ordered stacking of units culminating in the great dome which crowns and developes the entire ensemble. These individual units are each locked into place within a gently sloping pyramidal structure whose inevitable climax is the central dome. From this peak the subsidiary domes, semi-domes and domed buttresses cascade downwards to form a rippling but tightly interlocked silhouette. These highly articulated exteriors are a triumphant reversal of the standard Islamic preference in mosque architecture for stressing the interior at the expense of the exterior. As the viewpoint changes, so too does the profile of

these mosques, from a continuous smoothly undulating line to a series of sharp angular projections formed by stepped buttresses and roof-turrets. The preference for saucer domes rather than pointed domes with a high stilt fosters the sense of immovable, rock-like stability, with the topmost dome clamped like a lid onto the mobile, agitated roof-lines beneath it.

This, then, can justly claim to be architects' architecture. It merits that term by virtue of its unbroken concentration on the single germinal idea of the domed centralised mosque. It is against that consistent unity of vision that the role of the Hagia Sophia must be assessed. Of course, Turkish architects were not blind to its many subtleties, and they freely quarried it for ideas. But it was as much a challenge that inspired them to emulation as it was a source for technical expertise. Finally, it was the Ottomans who succeeded where the Byzantines had failed: in devising for these great domed places of worship an exterior profile worthy of the splendours within. The triumphant issue of their labours to that end can be read along the Istanbul skyline to this day.

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II. In Muslim India

A. Typology.

The nature of the regional building styles and their characteristic decoration have been treated s.v. hind.

vii. Architecture, in Vol. III above. This section deals with the essential typology of mosques in India, and excludes the simplest structures used only for occasional prayer such as the *ḳibla*-indications at some tombs and graveyards [see MAḲBARA. 5. India], and the special structures (*ᶜīdgāh*) provided for the *ᶜīds*; for these see MUṢALLĀ. 2.

The continuous history of the mosque begins with the M. Ḳuwwat al-Islām in Dihlī, founded immediately after the Muslim conquest in 587/1191. There are however records of mosques founded earlier, e.g. under the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate in Sind [*q.v.*], by small communities of Muslim traders, especially in Gudjarāt and the Malabār coast, and by individual Ṣūfī *pīrs* who gathered a community around them. The remains of these are mostly too exiguous to be of value in a general statement. Recent explorations by M. Shokoohy, not yet published, have revealed a few structures, of a century or two before the conquest, at Bhadreshwar in Gudjarāt. These, in common with the first structures of any fresh conquest of expansion, are constructed from the remains of Hindū buildings; in the case of mosques built after a conquest there has been a deliberate pillaging of Hindū or Djayn temples, as an assertion of superiority as well as for the expediency of making use of material already quarried and of local impressed labour before the arrival of Muslim artisans. Examples of this are cited for different regions of India s.v. HIND, vii. Architecture, in Vol. III, p. 441 above. (It should be pointed out that the practice of pillaging the buildings of the conquered is known in India in the case of rival Hindū kings also.)

Where a mosque is actually constructed on the plinth of a destroyed Hindū building (e.g. M. Ḳuwwat al-Islām at Dihli; Atalā M. at Djawnpur) the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] will probably not be accurately located and the original cardinal west made to serve the purpose; but in general an effort is made to observe the correct *ḳibla*, which varies between 20° north of west in the south of India to 25° south of west in the extreme north, with a conventional west used only rarely in original buildings.

Mosques which might be described as "public"—i.e. not only the *Masdjid-i djāmiᶜ* of a particular locality (and of course in a conurbation there may be a separate *djāmiᶜ* for each original *maḥalla*) but also the individually-founded or endowed mosques within a town—are enclosed on all sides. This has not been required of mosques within a *sarāʾī* or a *dargāh*, or when the mosque is an adjunct of a tomb, and there are countless instances of small private mosques where there seems never to have been any enclosure. The enclosure for the public mosque is particularly necessary for Islam *in partibus infidelium*, and those courtyards which are *not* enclosed are protected from the infidel gaze in some other way, e.g. by the *ṣaḥn* standing on a high plinth (examples: the Djāmiᶜ M. at Shāhdjahānābād, Dihlī, Atalā M. at Djawnpur, where in both the courtyard is limited only by an open arcade or colonnade). The principal entrance is usually on the east, although any gate may be on occasion specified as a royal entrance; it is rare, though not unknown, for any entrance to be made in the western wall, and where this has happened it is not designed for access by the general public. The internal position of the principal *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*], sometimes of subsidiary *miḥrābs* also, is indicated on the outside of the west wall by one or more buttresses; a feature of mosques in India is the way the exterior elevation of the west wall is brought to life by decorative expedients.

The interior of the mosque admits of little variation outside two well-defined types. In one the western end (known in India as *līwān*) is a simple arrangement of columns supporting a roof, usually of at least three bays in depth but possibly of many more; the roof may be supported by beam-and-bracket or by the arch; the former arrangement being by no means confined to compilations of pillaged Hindū/Djayn material. The *līwān* openings may be connected directly with the arcades or colonnades of other sides of the *ṣaḥn*. Where Hindū material has been used it is usually necessary to superimpose one column upon another in order to gain sufficient height, for not infrequently a mezzanine gallery may be incorporated in the structure, in the *līwān* or in the side *riwāḳs*. These are frequently referred to as "women's galleries", but this is surely impossible unless they are placed to the rear of the structure so that women may not make their prayers in front of men; gallery structures in the *līwān* are more likely to be either reserved for royal (male) use or to be *čillas* for the use of a local *pīr*. In the other type, the *līwān* is physically separated from the *ṣaḥn* by a screen of arches (*maḳṣūra*), which may conceal a columnar structure to the west, as in the M. Ḳuwwat al-Islām where the *maḳṣūra* is a later addition to the original structure, or in the mosques of Gudjarāt where the arch is not used with as much freedom as in other styles. More commonly, however, the arches of the *maḳṣūra* are part of a vaulting system whereby the *līwān* is composed into one or more halls; there is always an odd number of *maḳṣūra* arches, and it is common for the bay which stands in front of the principal *miḥrāb* to be singled out for special treatment, either by being made taller than the rest, or by being specially decorated (the latter treatment common in the mosques of Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*]). (This is not invariably the central bay, as mosques are not necessarily symmetrical about the principal *miḥrāb* axis; cf. the "Stonecutters' M." in Fatḥpur Sikrī, where a *čilla* occupies two additional bays at the north end of the *līwān*, or the Arhāʾī Kangūra M. at Kāshī Banāras, where the side *riwāḳs* of the *līwān* are of unequal length.) In one mosque at Bīdjāpur (Makkā M.), the *līwān* stands within and unattached to the surrounding courtyard. A staircase is commonly provided to give access to the *līwān* roof, either separately or incorporated within the walls or the base of a minaret, as this is a favourite place from which to call the *adhān*; a staircase may be provided within a gateway for the same purpose. The *līwān* roof may be surmounted by one or more domes. Inside the *līwān*, the principal *miḥrāb* stands within the west wall opposite the main opening; if there are other *miḥrābs*, the central one is always the most sumptuously decorated and may be set deeper within the west wall than the other. The *minbar* is usually a permanent stone structure, with an odd number of steps, only occasionally made an object of decoration (splendid examples in the older Bengal mosques and in the Mālwā sultanate). A simple *minbar* is often provided when not liturgically necessary, as in the mosque attached to a tomb. There is an exceptional case at Bīdjāpur, at the mosque building for the cenotaph of Afḍal Khān: the mosque is two-storeyed, the two halls being exactly similar except that a *minbar* is provided only in the lower one. (In another first-floor mosque at Bīdjāpur, the Andā M., there is no *minbar*; the ground floor is apparently a well-guarded *sarāʾī*, and the suggestion has been made that the whole structure was intended for *zanāna* use.) The floor of the *līwān* is often marked out into *muṣallās* of *miḥrābī* shape for each individual worshipper. Lamps may be suspended from the *līwān* ceiling.

The *līwān* façade is open to the *ṣaḥn*; i.e. there is never any portion closed off like the *zimistān* of Persian mosques.

The *ṣaḥn* is usually an open courtyard, containing a *ḥawḍ* [*q.v.*] for the *wuḍūʾ*; this is usually placed centrally, except that in some Shīʿī mosques the *ḥawḍ* may be placed to one side of the central axis. There are rare cases where the *ṣaḥn* is completely or partially covered (e.g. the Djāmiʿ M. at Gulbargā [*q.v.*] is completely covered; in two mosques of the Tughluḳid period at Dihlī, Khiṙkī M. and Sandjar (Kālī) M., additional *riwāḳ*s leave only four small open courtyards in the middle of the *ṣaḥn*). In such cases provision must be made for the *wuḍūʾ* outside the *ṣaḥn*; some major mosques may also make provision, outside the *ṣaḥn*, for the *ghuṣl*. In some Gudjarāt mosques there is a water reservoir under the floor of the *ṣaḥn*, sometimes with chambers wherein to take refuge from the heat of the sun, with some sort of kiosk standing in the *ṣaḥn* from which water may be drawn; the idea is imitated on a small scale in the floor of the Djāmiʿ M. in Fatḥpur Sikrī. In one complex (Rādjōn kī bāʾīn) south of the M. Ḳuwwat al-Islām the mosque and an associated tomb seem subordinate to an enormous step-well (*bāʾolī* [*q.v.*]).

One or more bays of the side or end *riwāḳ*s may be closed off for a special purpose, e.g. to make a room for relics, or to serve as a room for the *ḳāḍī* or *mutawallī*; in Shīʿī mosques, sometimes to house the *ʿalams*, etc., but these are usually accommodated in the *Imāmbāṙā* or *ʿĀshūrā-khāna* where there is one. The use of part of the mosque as a *madrasa* [*q.v.*] is commonplace, and many instances could be cited at the present day where there is no special provision for such a purpose; but there are instances of a special building forming an integral appendage of the mosque designated as a *madrasa*; e.g. M. Khayr al-Manāzil, near the Purānā Ḳilʿa in Dihlī, where the northern *riwāḳ*, of two storeys, forms the *madrasa* of the foundation.

The *ṣaḥn* may be used also for graves, from the simplest tombstone to elaborate mausoleums (see MAḲBARA. 5); e.g. the Djāmīʿ M. of Fatḥpur Sikrī, where most of the northern side of the *ṣaḥn* is occupied by the tomb of Salīm Čishtī, the Zanāna Rawḍa, and the tomb of Nawwāb Islām Khān (not so designed originally, and possibly a *djamāʿat-khāna* for the saint's disciples).

A *mīnār* is by no means an invariable appendage to the Indian mosque; apart from a few occasional early instances, only in the Gudjarāt sultanate, and in Burhānpur in Khāndēsh, was a functional *mīnār* provided for the *adhān* before the Mughal period; after the 10th/16th century, the *mīnār* becomes common, but not invariable. See further MANĀRA. 2. India.

The administration of the mosque may be under the *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*] or, in the case of larger foundations, a committee headed by a *mutawallī* [*q.v.*]. Where a mosque stands on a high plinth there may be openings in it sufficiently large to be rented off as storerooms or to traders, in which case the revenues accrue to the mosque; see also WAḲF.

Bibliography: There are no studies dealing with mosque typology alone; for works on all architectural aspects, see the Bibliographies to HIND. vii. Architecture, and Section B. below.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

B. The monuments.

The development of the mosque in the subcontinent can be recognised as an adaptation of the Arab prototype, largely as already modified by Iranian builders, to local materials, climate, and the proclivities of a long-established tradition of architecture and ornament. The Arab elements in this fusion were those basic to the expression of the *djamāʿat*, the collective act of prayer and the simple, egalitarian liturgy: the courtyard and its protective enclosure, the *ḳibla* wall, here on the western side, the *ẓulla* or prayer hall, here known as *līwān*, along the western wall, and colonnades, *riwāḳ* or *dālān*, along the other sides, with an essential severity of outline and a spare orthogonal framework. The Iranian elements were rhythmic arcading, the prominent use of *pīshṭāḳ* [*q.v.*] or frontispiece alcoves, the voussoired dome, ultimately double, and a particular sense of proportion; minarets did not become general until relatively late, and then often as decorative rather than functional features. A gamut of Iranian decorative devices including ceramic tiles [see KĀSHĪ], cut plaster-work, *gač-barī*, plaster relief work, *munabbat-kārī*, and pietra dura inlay, *parčīn-kārī*, besides the pseudostructural pendentive-work, *ḳalūb-kārī*, or squinch-netting. The Indian elements, within the context of an elaborated stone-cutting technique, were initially a certain heaviness due to the stone itself (especially in corbelled domes), complexity in individual forms, a vibration set up by the reiteration of forms at different scales, an interest in diagonal axes, and an overwhelming fertility of imagination in carved ornament. Indian traditions of massing only influenced mosque design in a limited way, and then largely through changes in dome form and grouping. The traditions of temple building were in strong contrast, creating massive, highly ornate enclosures within which progressively more intimate cells led to individual confrontation with a deity; the vertical extension was frequently emphasised as much as the horizontal. Despite this difference, a reconciliation of these traditions led to an enlivening of the mosque outline, especially on the skyline, with a frequent play of pinnacles and pavilions, much use of receding planes, and in some cases a culminating centrality comparable with the Ottoman achievement. The underlying Arab archetype retained its simplicity of arrangement in most regions, though periodically transformed in others. Evidence for the direct transfer of skills from temple-building to mosque building, which can be deduced from the earlier forms, is provided by a Māru-Gurdjara architectural manual of the 15th century A.D., the *Vṛkṣārṇava*, in a chapter on the *Rehmāṇa-prāsāda*, or temple of Rehmāna, i.e. of Allāh, giving instructions for layout, orientation, superstructure and exclusively floral decoration, all within prescribed norms. The principal modifications attributable to the climate are a tendency to raise the courtyard level to catch wind currents and escape dust and noise, a tendency to pierce the courtyard walls to allow the currents through, and a preference for riverside sites. Specific architectural features are incorporated, notably the finaly pierced *djālī* screen to reduce glare, and the *čhadjdjā* or eaves pent to throw off monsoon water and increase shade. A general trend in the chronological development is the movement from trabeated construction towards arcuate or vaulted forms, though this is achieved with some hesitation. This is in parallel with a progression from a somewhat provincial emulation of Iranian or Central Asian types through local technique to a much more accomplished creation of local types in which influence from the *Vilāyat* can still be traced. Although the relative neglect of the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] as a building form may have been due in part to a practice of teaching within the mosque, this seems not to have produced any overall adaptation of layout, unless in the development of the undercroft.

The Arab conquest of Sind. It is recorded that the first mosque in Sind was built by Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim at Daybul [*q.v.*] after his capture of the city in 92/711, followed by another at Multān [*q.v.*], next year; he was urged to build mosques in every town, the resources seized having proved unexpectedly large. A third great mosque was built at Manṣūra [*q.v.*] either by his son *ca.* 120/738, or in the early years of Abū Dja^cfar al-Manṣūr, i.e. after 136/754, with teak columns. Little remains of these. If Daybul is correctly identified with Bhambōr, and the uncertain date of 109/727 is right, then the mosque there may be among the oldest in Islam. Its plan is certainly close to that of Kūfa [*q.v.*], as rebuilt in 50/670, with the same double rows of columns for the *riwāḳ*, but only three aisles (of twelve bays) parallel to the *ḳibla* wall in lieu of five for the prayer hall; no trace has been found of a *miḥrāb* recess, but neither has one been found at Wāsiṭ [see MIḤRĀB], as built under the same governor, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf. Outer bays of the *riwāḳ* were walled off to form cells, *ḥudjra*, and stone bases contain traces of timber pillars. Another inscription gives 239/853-4; one in flowered Kufic for 294/906-7 probably refers to rebuilding after the earthquake of 280/893. The building thus conforms to the early ᶜIrāḳī type, even to its strip foundations; though in yellow freestone, it lacks the stone columns. Pivots for gates in front of the *līwān* suggest some kind of *maḳṣūra*. At Manṣūra, the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid appears to have had a six-aisled prayer hall, built on an earlier Hindu site; three smaller mosques show careful alignment and external buttressing for a *miḥrāb*. In the absence of detail, the influence of these buildings is imponderable, but Daybul and Manṣūra survived until the 7th/13th century, and Manṣūra like Multān was taken by Maḥmūd of Ghazna; they can hardly have been ignored. A further early mosque in Kač̣h, at Bhadreśvar, has been identified by Shokoohy as a rebuilding with purposely-carved stone *ca.* 560/1165. This has a prayer hall of two aisles, a double *riwāḳ* colonnade at the sides, and a single one to the east. The prominent *miḥrāb* is echoed outside the east wall, which faces an open hypostyle hall, no doubt for an overflow congregation. The roof is trabeated throughout, mostly on the east-west axis.

In the period preceding the Dihlī Sultanate, the principal mosques must have been at Lāhawr [*q.v.*], the Ghaznawid centre (as Maḥmūdpūr) from 412/1021, including the Khishtī Masdjid., of which nothing remains, though brickwork is still typical of the area.

Sultanate. At Dihlī [*q.v.*] the victory of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn [*q.v.*] was proclaimed by the creation (587/1191) of the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām, "The Might of Islam", on a temple plinth, with stonework taken from 27 other temples by elephant-power. The plan, of the same ᶜIrāḳī type, is here elongated on the east-west axis, and includes formally symmetrical entrances to the east, north and south. The colonnades in the prayer hall are four aisles deep, those to the east three, and those down the long sides two. The hall is now modified to include a row of five corbelled domes, above five *miḥrābs*, by adjustment of the bay spacing to carry octagonal systems of lintels; this roof was set higher than the *riwāḳ* roofs, and mezzanines were built at the four angles of the court, possibly for women. Ingenious use of the strongly articulated temple pillars, with cruciform capitals and internally tiered domes, achieved a relatively light, harmonious building, whose Hindu character was scarcely disguised. In 595/1199, however, a great frontal screen of five pointed arches was added to the hall. Its clearly-framed format, with the central arch much taller, is Iranian, and related to the Ghūrid Shāh-i Mashhad in Ghardjistān (571/1175-6), or the Ribāṭ-i Sharaf [*q.v.*] (508/1114-15), but its construction is limited to Indian techniques, with corbelled arches. The marvellously vigorous combination of sinuous Hindu carving with *ṭughrā* inscriptions makes fresh use of Indian skills for a Muslim purpose. The exaggerated height of this screen, with no direct relation to the hall behind, set a pattern for later buildings. In the same year Ḳuṭb al-Dīn began the immense Ḳuṭb Mīnār [*q.v.*] outside the southeast corner of the mosque, much like that at Khᵂādja Siyāh Pūsh in Sīstān, as a symbol of the centrality of faith; minarets, if used at all in Hindustān, are usually symbolic rather than functional until Mughal times. The exception is at Adjmer. There the equally symbolic re-use of temple components as "the annihilation of idolatry" achieved more orderly expression in the Aṙhāʾī-din-kā Djhōṅpṙā (595/1199), under Abū Bakr al-Hirawī, with some evidence of specially-cut masonry in the lower column-shafts and tiered domes (see Meister, *op. cit.*), and a single, exquisite, cusped marble *miḥrāb*. The court is almost square, and probably had nine domes on all four sides, though there are five aisles in the prayer hall to three elsewhere; the effect is spacious, well-lit and calm. A reeded shaft graced each external angle, and the site on a mound allowed a grand approach stair to the east. Here too a great screen wall was added, with seven arches, under Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36), two lateral arches on each side reflecting the cusped form of the *miḥrāb*; the central arch is less dominant than at Dihlī, but is surmounted by two minaret shafts (now stumps), reeded and creased like the Ḳuṭb, so emulating a Saldjūḳ [*q.v.*] *pīshṭāḳ*. Iltutmish was to extend the work at Dihlī. Accepting Aybek's plan, he enlarged the prayer hall by a further three domes to north and south, with corresponding *miḥrābs* and screen wall. Corbels on the latter suggest a double storey in each central bay, as in later work in Gudjarāt. The *riwāḳ*, built as before, now enclosed the first mosque, including the Mīnār, to which he added three storeys [see DIHLĪ for plan and details] (completed 1229). The Shāhī Djāmiᶜ Masdjid at Bari Khatu is of the same period and type, set on a high plinth; it introduces an ornate domed gallery over the east entrance. At Badāʾūn [*q.v.*] the great Djāmiᶜ Masdjid built by Iltutmish in 620/1223-4 adheres to the same basic layout, but has been heavily rebuilt.

ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's scheme to double the Ḳuwwat al-Islām again fell victim to its own ambition, for it was abandoned at his death. Remnants show that it respected the existing alignments in prayer hall, screen wall, and north gateway, and even in the immense ᶜAlāʾī Mīnār which was to rise from the centre of the new prayer court. The inherent symmetry cannot have mitigated the disruption of worship by three courts set within each other. The only complete element to survive is the southern gateway, or ᶜAlāʾī Darwāza (710/1311), set as a *čārṭāḳ* on the palace approach: an elegant, accomplished building of a new order. Its vocabulary is recognisable in the Djamāᶜat Khāna at the *dargāh* of Niẓām al-Dīn (dated for his death 725/1325), fully Muslim in style, and built with new stone. This has no courtyard, but only a prayer hall of three domed chambers, to each of which there is a broad archway in the eastern façade. The square central space, almost the same size as the Darwāza, has a similar system of concentric keel arches for its squinches, as in earlier Khurāsānian work (cf. Ḳirḳ Ḳiz near Termez), here carved,

framed, and supporting an octagonal cornice; above, round the base of the smooth dome, are 32 arched niches, four of them pierced to admit light. The grace of the interior is achieved by a balance between the four main arches, the squinches, and at a reduced scale the *miḥrāb* and pairs of small arches at each corner, sustaining interest at each level. Each arch, inside or out, is contained by bands of inscriptions on the extrados (derived from Čis͟ht?), set off by lotus buds lining the intrados, in recessed planes above the angle shafts first introduced in Iltutmis͟h's screen. The now-voussoired arch construction is masked by the carving. The lateral bays have two domes each on triangular pendentives, and may have been added rather later. Externally, the lateral bays are sunk, and the central one advanced and raised as a modest frontispiece; all are joined by a string course at mid-height and a lotus-bud parapet. Each archway is latticed. A provincial variant of the same style can be seen in the Ukha Masd͟jid at Bayāna, erected by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak (716-20/1316-20). The mosques of the same period at D͟jālōr, Dawlatābād, Pāṭan and Bharoč are built from temple spoil, but that at Dawlatābād continues the use of tapering, fluted corner buttresses, and Bharoč, with its more conscious blending of Hindu with Muslim elements, provides a starting point for the Gud͟jarātī style, with latticed windows, coffered ceilings over carefully-grouped columns, and domes of two sizes over the *līwān*. The D͟jāmiʿ Masd͟jid at Khambāyat (*ca.* 1325) owes a more direct debt to Dihlī in its arches and massing, but local features are evident in the merlon parapet, pinnacles on the frontispiece, latticework set in a grid-like frame, and pillars carrying a cusped arch just inside the main archway. These examples attest to the diffusion of the style in western Hindūstān.

An altogether different treatment of the mosque was to characterise Tug͟hluḳ building. Most of the examples at Dihlī are undated, and have been ascribed to Fīrūz S͟hāh, but it has been suggested (Burton-Page, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 1974, 15) that the large Begampur Masd͟jid is better explained as built by Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ for his new city of D͟jahān-panāh (*ca.* 725/1325). Raised on a high plinth, it is important in introducing the Iranian four-*īwān* plan to India. North and south, the *īwān*s are advanced well into the court between heavy walls, boxing entrances at the centre of each side; to the east, the projection is outwards to a flight of steps, and to the west the tall arch rises to twice the roof height between tapering octagonal stair turrets, framing a triple entrance to the prayer hall. Here the main chamber is square, under a large pointed dome completely masked by this *pīs͟hṭāḳ*. The hall on either side is three-aisled, with lesser domes, and 44 more domes cover the single *riwāḳ* all round the court, above arcades, and matching arched windows (for plan see ASIAR, iv [1871-2], pl. x). Muḥammad's transfer of Dihlī's population to Dawlatābād in 729/1329 appears to have depleted the skilled labour force and led to its dispersion elsewhere, notably in the Bahmanī Sultanate; southward expansion emptied the treasury. Nevertheless, the change of attitude introduced by Fīrūz S͟hāh (752-90/1351-88) was primarily an ethical one, in which his religious integrity required a return to prescribed simplicity and lack of ostentation. His building programme encompassed many mosques and 120 *k͟hānaḳāhs* in Dihlī and Fīrūzābād alone, under the architect Malik G͟hāzī S͟haḥna; given his stringent financial control, a modest but durable type of construction was inevitable. The fortified appearance of these mosques probably owes more to K͟hurāsānian prototypes, whose tapering round towers and massive walls had met the needs of mud construction, than to the need for defence (G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn, a Ḳaraʾuna Turk, may have mediated this influence). The D͟jāmiʿ Masd͟jid at Fīrūzs͟hāh Kōtlā (755/1354), now ruined, was built to incorporate a *tahk͟hāna* or undercroft, with arcaded vaults accessible from three sides, the east fronting the river. It once had three-aisled *riwāḳ*s with multiple domes, and 216 stone pillars about 16 ft. (4.87 m.) high, around a central octagonal pool with its own dome. To the north, one of the As͟hoka's stone pillars was re-erected on a three-storey, arcaded pyramid as a marker. The materials for this and Fīrūz S͟hāh's other mosques are rough rubble stonework faced with *čūnā* plaster, once whitewashed or painted, with a minimum of mouldings. The common répertoire included tall plain walls with merlons, plain lintels on plain, squared quartzite piers set in twos or fours, with elementary scrolled cross-brackets and capitals, still Hindu in type, and two-centred arches of variable width sunk in panels, sometimes concentric. Domes were of a similar, helmet-like profile, set on framed, recessed squinch arches. Externally, the mass is emphasised by long flights of steps, projecting porches, and battered towers at the angles. The device of the *tahk͟hāna*, which allowed the lease of shop spaces to sustain the mosque, is repeated at the Kalān Masd͟jid (798/1387?) which exhibits these features, and an unusual corridor around the prayer hall, besides cannon-like *guldasta* pinnacles crowning the angle-towers of the porch. The Khiṛkī Masd͟jid, also on a *tahk͟hāna*, repeats the three-aisled *riwāḳ*, but in combination with three-aisled passages which traverse the court on both axes, dividing it into four smaller square courts. This four-court plan is to be seen in a perhaps earlier form at the Sand͟jar Masd͟jid (772/1370-1) at Niẓām al-Dīn, though there the *riwāḳ* and the passages are only one aisle deep, and the courts are rectangular. This scheme, possibly derived from D͟jayn temple plans, was presumably intended to provide shade; the courts themselves were probably covered by awnings, as in palaces at the time. It intruded on the essential unity of the *ṣaḥn* and its congregation, and the experiment was not repeated. The mosque of S͟hāh ʿĀlam includes an early example of a mezzanine gallery in the northwest corner; the inaccessibility of such retreats leaves their purpose uncertain.

The D͟jāmiʿ Masd͟jid at Irič (815/1412), some 40 miles north of Jhansi, demonstrates the transition from the Tug͟hluḳ to the Sayyid manner. The plan, with single-aisled *riwāḳs*, is centred on a prayer chamber whose dome spans the full depth of the hall, with two aisles and six smaller domes on each side. The structure is wholly arcuate, on low piers carefully detailed to articulate both axes, with frequent use of recessed planes; the arches are now stilted, with marked corbelling at the impost giving a shouldered effect, and set in deep panels. The *riwāḳ* has groined vaulting. The dome is single, a little pointed inside, with ribs, and still set on concentric squinch arches. The generally ponderous effect is offset by the assured but simple proportions, and the skyline is relieved with merlons (see *Mem. ASI*, xix, Calcutta 1926, for drawings).

The Lōdī mosque (Tug͟hluḳid) at K͟hayrpur (900/1494) incorporates similar features, while its massing shows the continuity of Tug͟hluḳid tradition despite Tīmūr's incursion. Attached by a walled court to the Baṛā Gumbad, it is balanced by an arched structure opposite: a significant precedent for later tombs. An arcaded basement makes up the change in

level at the rear, with tapering round buttresses at each rear corner, and at each angle of the projecting bay of the central *miḥrāb*, whose tops are alternately reeded below *guldasta* pinnacles; a Hindu window is corbelled out from the middle, and from either end wall. The hall has five bays; the three in the middle are domed, but the ends have low, flat vaults. The elevation reiterates the pattern, with three broad shouldered arches, and narrow ones at the extremities. As at Irič, the central *pīshṭāḳ* is raised a little, but here it is set between narrow, niched piers, and the outer two bays are united by the line of a *čhadjdjā*. Like its dome, the central arch, thrice recessed, is a little higher than the others, and a muscular tension results from the contrast of line. The surfaces, worked outside and in with deeply cut plaster, vibrate with countless arabesques; each extrados is inscribed, and inscribed rosettes fill the spandrels. Inside, they enhance pendentive systems of oversailing lintels carved with *mukarnas* [*q.v.*] niches. The vocabulary is further enlarged by blind merlon parapets, counterset trefoils around the octagonal dome bases (precursors of later foliation), and spreading lotus finials, *mahāpadma*. The development of this type is apparent in the Mōth kī Masdjid (*ca.* 911/1505), where the lateral domes are shifted to the end bays, in a much freer spacing. There they are supported on similar corbelled pendentives, as long used in Iran, while the central dome rests on squinch arches. The five façade arches are narrower, and a lancet window is added at each end. The *pīshṭāḳ* now encloses a lofty blind arch reacing the parapet, which frames the entrance arch below, and a window above, as anticipated in the *miḥrāb* at Khayrpur. The two corner buttresses give way to polygonal towers, arcaded in two storeys. White marble is used to set off the red sandstone, with coloured tilework, notably on *čhatrīs* at the courtyard corners, and painted carved plaster.

Despite his dissatisfaction with this style, Bābur appears to have secured little improvement at his mosques (932/1526) at Kābulī Bāgh, Pānipat and Sambhal, beyond introducing Tīmūrid squinch netting. Humāyūn, however, developed it further in the Djamālī Masdjid (943/1536) at Dihlī, in the same five-bay format. This only has one dome. The *pīshṭāḳ* is contained between engaged reeded shafts that anticipate the Mughal use of minarets. The four-centred arches on either side are separated by large superimposed niches, which help to maintain the rhythm, and their haunches are slight. Khaldjī lotus buds are re-introduced on the central intrados. The Masdjid-i Kuhna at the Purānā Ḳilʿa (*ca.* 1535-60?) shows further refinement. Each of its five arches is contained within a taller blind one, and that in a panel. The end bays, broken forward, resemble the Djamālī *pīshṭāḳ*, but the three middle ones are set deeper, with delicate angle shafts, and are proportionately taller. The fine ashlar incorporates the first geometric marble mosaic, after Tīmūrid models, and elaborate moulding profiles. Inside, the rippling recessed arches carry squinch arches below the prominent central dome, niched pendentives on either side, and arched cross ribs with vaulting at either end, again of a Tīmūrid type.

Regional developments. Bengal.

Remains from the early Muslim annexation are very limited. At Tribeni, an inscription framing the *miḥrāb* is dated 698/1298, but the mosque has been rebuilt, as has the Sāliḳ mosque at Basīrhāt (705/1305). At Čhōta Pānduā [see PĀNDUĀ, Čhōta] ruins of a large brick mosque include basalt Hindu columns supporting well-rounded, two-centred arches of a type that remained typical of Bengal, and *miḥrābs* with carved trefoil heads above ringed shafts, plainly derived from Hindu niches, though within diapered Muslim frames, and a kiosk-like *minbar* [*q.v.*]. It may have been the model for the huge Ādīna Masdjid at Ḥaḍrat Pānduā (776/1374-5)(154.70 x 87 m.), which has similar features. There the broad courtyard resembles that of the Great Mosque at Damascus in its proportions and the dominance of a *maḳṣūra*-like bay at the centre of the prayer hall, once vaulted over. This runs through the hall, with five arches leading to five aisles of 18 bays on either side, but the presence of a royal mezzanine in the north wing leaves its purpose in doubt. Triple-aisled *riwāḳs* surround the court behind plain, stone-faced arcades, each arch recessed once within a panel. The simple pillars support brick cross arches between which spherical pendentives of corbelled brick carry 378 identical low domes, punctuated only by the *maḳṣūra*. Outside, the ashlar wall is advanced and recessed in alternate vertical strips traversed by cornice and string course, each set off by an aedicule containing a cusped arch and lamp. Although never repeated at this scale (32 *miḥrābs*!) such treatment of detail was to inform most subsequent work. From the 9th/15th century onwards, mosques took a closed form in response to the wet climate, with the characteristically curved Bangālī eaves line, but still with the massive polygonal corner buttresses of the period. Thus the Čamkatta Masdjid at Gawŕ (*ca.* 880/1475?) has a single square chamber of brickwork surmounted by a single dome; it has single openings centred north and south, and three to the east giving on to a vaulted verandah running the full width, again with single doors to north and south, and three to the east. The piers between the arched openings carried aedicules set high, and glazed tilework. The Lattan Masdjid (880/1475-6) is similar, but with a more complete symmetry, having three openings to north and south, and three *miḥrābs* opposite the doors, three domes over the verandah, and intermediate "corner" buttresses; the central verandah dome has a roof with four curved eaves—a *čawčāla*. It was once tiled outside and in. The Gunmant Masdjid at Gawŕ (889/1484?) encloses four bays of three aisles, all domed, on either side of a central *maḳṣūra*, the stonework of whose vault is carved in relief. A further variant is illustrated by three mosques at Gawŕ. The Thāntipāra Masdjid (885/1480) is rectangular, enclosing five bays of two aisles, with a single line of four stone pillars to carry its ten domes. Fine terracotta reliefs fill the spandrels and the two registers of aedicules on the piers outside. At the Čhōŕa Sōnā Masdjid, built between 899/1493 and 925/1519, the plan is comparable, but of three aisles; its central bay is wider, and has three *čawčāla* roofs in lieu of domes. Its ashlar front is finely carved, and the dome was once gilded. The Baŕā Sōnā Masdjid (932/1526) combines eleven bays of three aisles with a verandah forming a further aisle down the front, facing an open quadrangle with arched gateways; the stone is remarkably plain. Such forms continued well into the Mughal period, as seen in the Ḳuṭb Shāhī mosque at Ḥaḍrat Pānduā (990/1582).

Djawnpur. A mosque begun in 778/1376 by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ was completed under the independent Sharḳī sultans (811/1408); its name, Aṭāla Masdjid, apparently refers to the pylon-like *pīshṭāḳ* which was to become the dominant trait of subsequent buildings here (Sk. *aṭṭāla* = "watch tower", see Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 23), exaggerating the great screen-arch at Dihlī. The four-*īwān* plan is apparently derived from the Begampur Masdjid at

Dihlī, though the *īwān* walls are reduced to massive spurs outside the enclosure, and those to north and south have domes carried on clustered columns, leaving the three-aisled *riwāḳ* unimpeded. Only the western *īwān* still boxes in space in the prayer hall, accessible through triple doors as before, but with bi-axial symmetry, three arches on either side maintaining the continuity of the three prayer hall aisles; the frontal turrets are now resolved as square towers tapering five stories to accommodate the *pīshṭāḳ* arch, whose recessed tympanum is pierced in three registers to reveal the open air beyond. This pylon, used for giving the *adhān*, is echoed at 1/3 scale on either side in the *līwān* wings, and in the remaining *īwān*s outside the remarkable two-storey colonnade; it may have been suggested by the pierced archway of the Shaykh Bārha mosque at Ẓafarābād (711/1311), though its scale perhaps owes something to Pāndua [for further description, see DJAWNPUR]. Tapering cylindrical turrets at the angles of the rear wall attest to Tughlukid influence. At the Lāl Darwāza Masdjid (*ca.* 852/1447), built on the same pattern, the structure behind the main *īwān* is still lighter, minimising obstruction of the prayer hall below the central dome, though mezzanines are set on either side; the absence of lateral domes, due to the smaller scale, leaves that at the centre uncluttered. The dome piers, with massive Hindu brackets, contrast oddly with the Iranic slenderness of the colonnades. In structural terms, the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid (842/1438, but finished under Ḥusayn Sharḳī) is a reversion to the Begampur type, with boxed-in, domed *īwāns* on all four sides, and the same high undercroft. In the prayer chamber the colonnades are eliminated except under the mezzanines either side of the central chamber, where the pillars are paired to match its piers, for the wings are again boxed in by heavy masonry supporting the roof of a single pointed barrel vault spanning east and west, on either side. The prayer hall is thus divided into three spaces free of supports, but separated by their cross walls and the two-storey mezzanines. The same triality is seen in the façade. The simply niched towers and arcaded tympana of the earlier *pīshṭāḳs* are transmuted into a rhythmic display of framed and fretted openings. The dichotomy between high frontal screen and the dome hidden behind is nowhere more pronounced than here. Related mosques are to be found at Itāwā (Djāmiᶜ Masdjid) and Banāras (Afhāʾī Kanguar).

Gudjarāt. In a sandstone architecture, drawing more than that of any other region on the Hindu and Jain traditions, two tendencies in mosque design had already emerged in the Khaldjī phase already referred to: the screening of the prayer-hall front between a series of archways, as at Khambāyat (after Niẓām al-Dīn at Dihlī), or the treatment of the hall as an open colonnade, given additional rhythm by the surge of domes above the *čhadjdja* line, as at Bharoč. In either case the domes were carried by the Hindu device of beams spanning between two columns grouped to convert each square bay to an octagon. Remaining square bays were panelled in intricately recessed layers of coffering, whose cellular carving matched that of the domes. Pillars with markedly stratified round shafts above squared, faceted pedestals, carry vigorously curved brackets never far from living movement. The proportions of the three-arched screen are carefully repeated at Dhōlkā in the mosque of Hilāl Khān Ḳāḍī (733/1333), but with bracketed, tiered pinnacles marking the *pīshṭāḳ* so prominently as to suggest the minarets which followed; the central dome, raised a storey above the roof, is surrounded by pierced screens. The same scheme, with its lower wings on either side, recurs at Aḥmadābād in Sayyid ᶜĀlam's mosque (815/1412), with half-rounded, tiered and bracketed buttresses framing the central arch as bases for fully functional *mīnārs* in a comparable style. The larger domes are now true, hemispherical ones. The development reaches fruition in the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid at Aḥmadābād (826/1423) where the roof at the front of the three central bays is raised for a clerestory, with mezzanine galleries between, and the central dome is raised a further storey, so that light can enter indirectly at two levels, filtered by a pierced screen set in the usual Gudjarātī gridframe of stone: the remaining domes, three deep and five in the length of the hall, surround these three at the lower level. The *mīnārs*, once four times this height, fell in 1819 (see J. Forbes' drawing of 1781 in *ASWI*, vii [1906], 30). The Masdjid of Malik ᶜĀlam (1422?) combines a single arch with such minarets and an open front. Continuing interest in the open type of hall is seen, as at the mosque at Sarkhēdj (855/1451), where 140 pillars, grouped as usual to support two rows of five equal domes, are set throughout in pairs to achieve an elegantly simple unity below a continuous roof line; there is little carving but for the *miḥrābs*. The Djāmiᶜ Masdjid at Čāmpānēr (Maḥmūdābād) (924/1518-9) works variations on that at Aḥmadābād. The eleven main domes are staggered, the central one being set over a single central bay rising through three roof levels, behind a *pīshṭāḳ* which now overlaps the *mīnār* on either side, and incorporates three corbelled bay windows. The hall wings (*bāzūhā*) thus maintain a single roof line, with a plain walled front pierced by two arches each side, but there are now corner turrets to match the octagonal *mīnārs*. The main dome is ribbed inside, the side ones still corbelled, and the carved panels have filigree tendril-work. As at Aḥmadābād, the *riwāḳ* is one aisle deep; three entrance pavilions outside the wall carry prominent *čhatris*, and the wall itself is strongly modelled. The mosque of Rānī Rūpawātī (*ca.* 916/1510) shows a hall of only three domes treated similarly, with bay windows playing a more conspicuous role in modulating the front and ends. The culmination of the open hall design at the mosque of Rānī Siprī (Sabarī), also at Aḥmadābād (920/1514), fronting her tomb, has two rows of three corbelled domes, with only one row of pillars down the centre, and another, paired, in front, enlivened by alternate spacing. The extreme delicacy of this small-scale scheme is most evident in the slender, but solid and purely decorative *mīnārs* now set at each end of the façade—a device already introduced at the mosque of Muḥāfiẓ Khān (897/1492) with full minarets. These two traditions were reconciled in the mosque of Shaykh Ḥasan Muḥammad Čishtī (973/1565-6), a pillared hall of three *miḥrābs* in which the front is arcaded between terminal *mīnārs*, and the central five bays are raised in an upper storey of verandahs around a single dome. Sīdī Saᶜīd al-Ḥabshī's mosque (980/1572-3), still at Aḥmadābād, has five bays of three aisles with intersecting arches, supporting shallow domes over squinches, lintels and corbels, but is remarkable for its ten large tracery lunettes, of which two are unrivalled in the sinuous naturalism they bring to the interior.

Mālwā. An initial phase of redeployed temple material is distinguished by a simple grace which remained typical of the kingdom. At the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid (or Lāt Masdjid) at Dhār (807/1404-5) the proportions of a single smooth hemispherical dome impart a spaciousness to the centre of the prayer hall colonnades, complemented by a pattern of flagstones,

and a peaked, cusped *miḥrāb* arch; outside, its coronet of merlons enhances the traces of a tiled merlon parapet over the open front. One domed porch is surrounded by coved vaults, and in another false arch profiles are inserted between the pillars as in Gudjarātī temples. The first mosque at Māndū, that of Dilāwar Khān (808/1405-6) is spartan, however, with its hall of elemental columns relieved only by seven *miḥrābs*. Its successor, that of Malik Mughīth (835/1432) presents a more Tughluḳid exterior, with an arcaded undercroft in front between domed turrets, and the prominent stair often used here. The open, pillared prayer hall has three low, helmet-like domes. These, though still supported by an octagon of lintels, are partly enclosed by similar false arches below, with web spandrels, well integrated with the *miḥrābs* behind. The Djāmiᶜ Masdjid (858/1454) has the same undercroft and steps, and the three main domes again span three rear aisles of the hall, but there are now two aisles in front of them, which with the triple aisles of the side *riwāḳs* are covered with ranks of small domes, one to each bay, 158 in all. The building is mature, wholly Muslim, and of a sturdy dignity. The heaviness of strongly stilted domes is balanced by the grace of matching arcades round the court; the lofty hall is intersected by arches over plain, squared pillars, and articulated with blind wall arches and a characteristic flaring squinch. Each end dome covers a mezzanine set on nine bays of cross-vaulting. The pink stone is almost plain. The Djāmiᶜ Masdjid at Čanderī is comparable, though remarkable for serpentine brackets developed from those of the *minbar* at Māndū.

Khāndesh. A similar restraint in the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid at Burhānpur is conspicuous in its open hall front of 15 uniform arches, relieved only by a dancing alternation of large and small trefoil merlons, and the reiteration of *čhadjdjā* brackets, the arcaded court appearing larger thereby (997/1589). The interior of the hall is equally regular, with five aisles of cross vaulting sustained by plain squared pillars decorated only on their bases, and a crested *miḥrāb* to each bay, rising above the string course, with three recessed arches finely chiselled in the dark stone. A substantial octagonal *mīnār* rises from a faceted square base at each end of the hall front, topped by a square lantern and a dome. Similar tall but plain *mīnārs* appear elsewhere in the city, and most notably as a pair flanking the *pīshṭāḳ* arch of the Bībī kī Masdjid, with four *djharōkhā* windows below their domes. Their tiered form otherwise resembles that at Čāmpānēr, there is even a *djharōkhā* on either side fronting the three-domed hall, whose organisation is apparently based on Rānī Rūpawatī's mosque at Aḥmadābād (see *ASI, NIS,* ix, 1873-5).

Bahmanī Sultanate. The interpretation of the *līwān* as a simple repetition of arched bays is already present in the Shāh Bāzār Masdjid at Gulbargā (*ca.* 761/1360?), in an open-fronted hall of 15 bays of crossed arches in six aisles, all of them domed. The arches, set on tall piers, are recessed once, shouldered at the impost and stilted; the domes are low. At the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid (769/1367, thus contemporary with the Khiṙkī and Sandjar mosques at Dihlī) similar arches and squared piers are deployed quite differently to cover what would normally be the court with 63 domes on pendentives of corbelled work on angle. The *riwāḳs* are replaced by broader aisles roofed by rows of transverse pointed barrel vaults countering the thrust of these, with a large dome at each corner; these vaults rest on arches set on very low imposts, the contrasts in height adding interest to the interior, while light floods in from arcades in the outer wall. A still larger dome is set in front of the *miḥrāb*, heavily stilted, over trilobed squinches echoing the *miḥrāb* itself, and set in a square clerestory (cf. that in the mosque of Karīm al-Dīn at Bīdjāpur, 720/1320). The ensemble recalls *bāzār* architecture in Iran; it was without sequel, like the experiments at Dihlī. A variant of the arcaded open *līwān* at the Dargāh of Mudjarrad Kamāl (*ca.* 802/1400) has carved stucco archivolts and rosettes, with an extraordinary "entablature" of depressed cusped arches on sinuous brackets. The Djāmiᶜ Masdjid (Solah Khamba) in the Fort at Bīdar [*q.v.*] is another version (827/1423-4), whose long front of 19 arched bays has square piers, and the five-aisle interior round pillars, carrying small domes on squinches. Heavy piers form a *maḳṣūra* enclosing the central three bays, from which squinches on sinuous brackets carry a tall 16-sided drum lit by fine *djālīs*, and a single large dome whose outer form is close to the domes at Mūltān [*q.v.*] while its supports recall the Tughluḳid *īwān* at Begampur. The small three-bayed Langar kī Masdjid at Gulbargā (*ca.* 838/1435?) introduces a single pointed brick vault over two arched ribs.

Barīd Shāhī. At Bīdar, the use of tall arches on low imposts is resumed at the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid (*ca.* 926/1520?), recessed once, with angular matching squinches articulated with great clarity below plain domes (cf. those in southern Iran). A transition to the Bīdjāpur vocabulary can be seen in the Kālī Masdjid (1106/1694-5), where the three front arches are framed by a pair of slender, formalised *mīnārs*, and the decagonal *miḥrab* recess is housed in a square rear tower carrying a *čārṭāḳ* lantern, and a slightly bulbous dome as introduced at the Madrasa of Maḥmūd Gawan (877/1472); a domical vault roofs the central bay. A small mosque at the tomb of ᶜAlī Barīd (984/1576), handled similarly, has three domes on squinch-net pendentives, and a fretted cresting.

ᶜImād Shāhī. The Djāmiᶜ Masdjid at Gāwilgaṙh [*q.v.*], rebuilt in 893/1488, already combined a seven-arched hall façade on square piers with a square pylon at either end topped by a *čhatrī* with *djālī*-work in the sides, and *čhadjdjas* on serpentine brackets, but otherwise follows the Bahmanī pattern of a dome over every bay, and a larger one raised on a tall drum at the centre; an arcaded screen wall surrounds its court. This is repeated at a smaller scale in the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid at Rohankhed (990/1582), where four pylons with *čhatrīs* now form the hall ends, with a single central dome: the imposing south gateway has extensive carving.

Niẓām Shāhī. The Damrī Masdjid at Aḥmadnagar, small and precise, has a three-arched façade flanked by ornate pylons, which carry four graceful *mīnārs* capped by bud-like domelets. Octagonal pillars form two arched aisles supporting a flat roof. At the centre of a decorative parapet two slim minarets frame an arch profile, as in the Bādal Maḥall Darwāza at Čanderī. No superstructure remains on the corner piers of the Dilāwar Khān mosque at Khed, but the exterior is enhanced by cusped arches, with two panelled bands running all round, and lotus medallions in relief. The central dome set on a square base imitates a tomb, complete with *čhadjdjās* and corner *čhatrīs*. Inside, columns with volutes carry a coved ceiling.

ᶜĀdil Shāhī. At Rāyčūr [*q.v.*] in the disputed Dōāb, a series of *līwāns* were built with flat ceilings over black basalt Čālukyan pillars whose short, heavy profiles are compensated by a deep parapet; the Ek Mīnār kī Masdjid has a tapering, free-standing *mīnār*

20 m. high (919/1513). In Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] the Bīdar vocabulary was elaborated in dark stone. Thus in the Djāmi^c Masdjid of Yūsuf (918/1512-3) the slightly bulbous dome, set on a tall cylindrical drum, is familiar but for the foliation around its base, as is the dominance of the central arch, its form, and the articulation of line and squinch within; what is new, and characteristic, is the prominence given the dome, and the domed *čārṭāk* lanterns at each corner, well above the roof line. The same three-bay format is used in the Djāmi^c Masdjid of Ibrāhīm (*ca.* 957/1550?), where a flat, domeless roof with sturdy domed *guldasta* pinnacles at each corner is relieved by a panelled *mīnār* set over each front pier. Cusped arches surround its *miḥrāb*. The mosque of Ikhlāṣ Khān (*ca.* 968/1560?) is similar, with the addition of a lantern in two storeys above the *miḥrāb*, and a cusped central arch. All three arches are cusped, and repeatedly recessed, in the mosque of ^cAlī Shahīd Pīr where a pointed vault (as at Gulbargā) runs parallel to the front, and a tall domed shaft rises over the *miḥrāb*. In all of these carved stucco decoration, notably rosettes, is prominent. A mosque in the fort at Naldrug (968/1560) may have one of the first double domes in India. At the Djāmi^c Masdjid of Bīdjāpūr, the largest in the Deccan (985/1577-8?), these elements achieve mature expression. Its prayer hall, nine bays long and five aisles deep, is articulated with a calm strength, only an alternation of squinch detail varying a uniform structure with shallow domes; four piers at the centre are omitted, and intersecting pendentive arches are inserted in a miraculous change of scale to carry the dome (as already found in the tomb of Sulṭān Kalīm Allāh at Bīdar and based on Tīmūrid antecedents. Clerestory arches with fine *djālīs* light it through a square base rising above the roof, but the dome, still of the Mūltān shape above its foliation, remains dim, as usual here. Two features are innovations. At the east end of each seven-bayed *riwāḳ* is an octagonal base for an unbuilt *mīnār*; the entire external wall is modelled with two registers of arcading, the upper a corridor, and the lower blind. Both may be derived from the Muṣallā at Harāt (841/1437-8) [*q.v.*]. A central courtyard tank anticipates Mughal practice. Stucco is partly replaced by carved stone at Malika Djahān Bēgam's mosque (*ca.* 995/1586-7), in which the dome now suggests a sphere in its collar of leaves, repeated at each stage of four corner minarets; *guldasta* lanterns, fretted cresting, and pendant stone chains compound a new elegance. The same character informs the Andā Masdjid (1017/1608) in fine ashlar, set back above a *sarā'ī*, with a gadrooned dome, and the mosque at the Mihtar-i Maḥall, domeless, with rod-like *mīnārs*, and four prolonged *čhadjdjā* brackets engaged to the piers. Its acme is the mosque at the Ibrāhīm Rawḍa (1036/1626), facing the tomb across a plinth within a walled garden; brilliant use is made of elements repeated at a miniature scale to complement the whole. Afḍal Khān's mosque (1064/1653) is on two floors, the upper probably for women, as at the Andā mosque. The style was taken as far south as Sante Bennur. Much of the extravagant ornament is discarded in the Makka Masdjid, in the latter half of the century, free-standing within a *riwāḳ* continued to the west.

Ḳuṭb Shāhī. At Golkondā [*q.v.*], the first capital, the ruins include a Djāmi^c Masdjid built by Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk in 924/1518 near the Bālā Ḥiṣār Darwāza. The regional achievement is best represented by the mosques at Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], which were given a new emphasis on height, accentuated by the concentration of external detail in the fascia between the *čhadjdjā* and the skyline, and complemented by arcaded galleries around powerfully contoured *mīnārs*. The multiple *guldastas* on fretted parapets, and foliated bulbous domes are, like the stucco, inherited from Bīdjāpūr. The Djāmi^c Masdjid (1006/1597-8) has a spacious arched hall behind a front of seven bays divided unusually into two registers, the upper one of cusped arches being carried on struts from the pier imposts; the central arch, broader and taller than the others, is surmounted by a plain profile in the upper section. The Makka Masdjid, begun *ca.* 1026/1617, and continued until finished by Awrangzīb in 1105/1693, is set behind a square courtyard reputed to hold 10,000 worshippers, with a hall two aisles deep and five tall bays wide. In the plain ashlar façade, the central arch is slightly larger, as the only variation below the strong horizontal of a *čhadjdjā* on linked brackets, spanning between the broad galleries of the turrets at either end, each of which is crowned by a bulbous dome on a marked necking. The columns carry arched pendentives and domes, with a coved central bay. Verticality is particularly pronounced in the Tolī Masdjid (1043/1633-4), where the five narrow arches of the front are stilted above impost blocks on the tall piers, and a tall parapet of arched screens joins the *mīnār* galleries for their full height; each shaft has two further galleries above roof level. Extensive use is made of cut plaster, syncretic in style. For other developments in the south, see MAHISUR. 2. Monuments.

Kashmīr [*q.v.*]. The combination of a mountain climate and plentiful timber have resulted in a tradition of mosque building in a blockhouse technique of laid *dewdār* logs and pitched roofs with birchbark sarking topped by turf. In parallel with Dakhani mosques, the basic constructional unit had much in common with the local tomb type, a near-cubical volume set on a stone base, the corners emphasised by timber jointing, and roofed by a pyramid, sometimes tiered, with a slim spire at the centre. Frequent renewal after fires renders dating unreliable, though the type seems to have been used since the 8th/14th century. At Shrinagar in the mosque of Shāh Hamadān, the volume is modulated by large roofed balconies on each outside face, and the roof by a square arcaded *mu'adhdhin*'s gallery below the peaked spire. Four tapering octagonal columns support a painted ceiling, with small rooms ranged to north and south. Cusped round arches contrast with the rhythms of varying timber lattices and panelling. At the Djāmi^c Masdjid (last built 1085/1674), a variant of the four-*īwān* plan places four of these units symmetrically around a square court, joined by four-aisled *riwāḳs* full of timber columns. Three form arched gateways, while the larger one to the west rises between walls of arched panelling over paired columns at the *riwaḳ* ends in an expansion of light and space, focussed on the simple arches of a large *miḥrāb* in a fenestrated wall. In this case the outer walls are of brick with a simple repeated window, contrasting with the four spired roofs. In Baltistān and Kuhistān simple open *līwāns* of one or two aisles are supported on wooden columns, often fluted above a waisted base, and with brackets carved in repeated waves supporting beams on the long axis; here the connection with Turkestan building is evident.

Mughal Empire. During Akbar's minority, the Tīmūrid innovations introduced under Humāyūn remained in currency, associated with the harem faction, as in the mosque and *madrasa* of Māham Anaga (Angā), the Khayr al-Manāzil (969/1561-2) whose three bays to the court are close in format to the cen-

tral three at Purānā Ḳilʿa with a slightly raised *pīshṭāḳ* advanced between clustered shafts, and four-centred arches whose tympana are pierced with archways at a lower level; only the single dome has an awkward, old-fashioned stilt. The arch spandrels are inlaid. The screened upper storey of rooms enclosing the court on three sides appears to be unique for the period, while the portal is the first to use a semidomed *īwān*. At Fatḥpur Sīkrī [*q.v.*] these forms are less in evidence. Although the front of the Stonecutters' Mosque (*ca.* 973/1565) is arched, originally in five bays, the arch profile is cut from thin slabs set between thicker posts, the *čhadjdjā* is supported by long, sinuous brackets, and the internal row of pillars is Hindū. The organisation of the great Djāmiʿ Masdjid (979/1571-2) stems from Djawnpur via Bayānā, where the technique of assembling cut stone components was already well-developed a century earlier (fieldwork by Shokoohy 1981). Three domed spaces at the centre and amid either wing of the *līwān* are each contained within massive walls pierced by symmetric arches to communicate with the columned spaces between, where flat, beamed roofs are supported on Hindū brackets, all in red sandstone; the central dome set on squinch arches is painted with swirling floral patterns, and the lateral ones are ribbed, lit through the drum, and carried on corbelled pendentives. The front of the hall with its alternation of broad and narrows bays, thin spandrels, long *čhadjdjās*, and the form of the pillars appears to be Gudjarātī in origin, as does the great tank under the courtyard. At the centre, however, is a great *pīshṭāḳ* of the Dihlī type, with a semi-dome, completely screening the stilted and lumpish dome behind. The wings are of half the height, and relieved by queues of little *čhatrīs* along the skyline, like the *riwāḳs* with their central *īwāns*: these once served as lanterns. Although the awkward column-spacing under the lateral domes of the Atāla Masdjid has been resolved, and much is made of the three main spaces, their walls still interrupt the unity of the hall.

The Mosque of Maryam Zamānī (1023/1614) at Lāhawr [*q.v.*], known as the Bēgam Shāhī Masdjid, and built of brick following local practice, achieves an unencumbered prayer hall of five square, domed compartments in line, interconnected by single arches springing from heavy piers at front and rear. The central compartment is wider, with a larger dome than the others, still stilted, but housing an inner shell which, though only of plaster, was probably the first used in a mosque in the north. The new arch shape extends to the squinches, with *muḳarnas* semi-domes, and the domes are articulated with netting, the whole being elaborately painted with floral, geometric, and inscriptional designs. Outside, the *līwān* front follows the model of the Djamālī Masdjid, with blind superimposed niches on the pier faces, but the arches are now simple in profile, the front is in one plane but for the vaulted *īwān*, and there are square, domed turrets at either end. The Masdjid-i Wazīr Khān (1044/1634-5) in the same city has a *līwān* of the same kind, both outside and in, as before punctuated by a *miḥrāb* below a semidome in each bay, with pendentives rising to carry the inner dome shells in the wings, and squinches at the centre. The dome profile is lower, with minimal stilting, but still unlike the profile of the five arches. The turrets are here full-sized octagonal minars with *čhatrīs* above the galleries, and are echoed by a second pair at the east of a long court. The brickwork forms shallow panels between orthogonal fillets, containing a sumptuous variety of tile mosaic; the interior is painted.

A series of court mosques faced entirely in white marble—seen as "pure like the heart of the austere" (*Bādshāh-nāma*, ii/1, 155)—was probably initiated at Āgra [*q.v.*] with the tiny, perfectly simple Mīnā Masdjid and the larger, three-bayed Nagīna Masdjid within the Fort. The latter, in which the lower dome profile has been transformed by necking above a torus moulding into a smooth bulbous shape with a large pointed *mahāpadma* (Bīdjāpūrī influence is suggested by the crescent above), represents an attempt to eliminate the conflict between emphasis on the central bay, and that on the dome behind, by replacement of the *pīshṭāḳ* with an upward curve of the *čhadjdjā* and parapet, in the new Bangālī fashion, at the middle. This accommodates the larger central arch; the arches are engrailed, probably to reduce glare when viewed from inside. In the mosque at the Tādj Maḥall [*q.v.*], the same conflict is resolved by raising the level of the façade over the two lateral arches almost to *pīshṭāḳ* level, and including a blind arched panel above each. This scheme is repeated at Lāhawr in the mosque of Dāʾī Angā (1045/1635-6), the corner turrets containing the taller front as before; the side arches are surmounted by great cusped arch heads, and the Lāhawrī panelling is of tile mosaic inside and outside the three interpenetrating square compartments. The treatment of the Madrasa Masdjid at Patnā (*ca.* 1040/1630) is comparable. The Fatḥpurī Masdjid at Āgra, flanked by the same flaring turrets, has a fully bulbous dome, but a tall marble *pīshṭāḳ* in front over a deep *īwān*, and low wings; its red stone is finely worked in relief, notably in the pendentives and inner dome. Like it, the Mōtī Masdjid at Lāhawr (*ca.* 1055/1645) is fronted by cusped arches flanking a plain central one, but it offers a further solution to the problem with a barely raised *pīshṭāḳ* linked to the wings by a continuous parapet in *parčīn-kārī*. The three marble domes still have the cavetto and profile of Dāʾī Angā's mosque, now clearly visible. These smaller mosques owe much to the consonant detail of arcuate screens which separate their courts from the outside world, and a finesse that extends to *sadjdjāda* inlaid in the floor. On a larger scale, the Shāh Djahānī Masdjid at Adjmēr (1048/1638-9), with a prayer hall two aisles deep with arched piers, presents a long, unbroken façade of eleven bays, accented only by a needle-like *guldasta* over each octagonal column, to a balustrated court adjoining the *dargāh* of Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī; the whole is in marble.

Some of these tendencies are resolved at the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Āgra, completed in red stone in 1058/1648. Its plan is essentially that of the five-compartment prayer hall from Lāhawr, complete with its corner turrets and another pair at the east corners of the court. Its capacity is increased by the addition of a second row of compartments in front of the first, the central one forming a deep *īwān*, whose *pīshṭāḳ* is thus spaced well forward from the domes over the main row behind; the two lateral domes are placed over the ends, for better balance, and all three are double and distinctly bulbous, with a pointed profile accentuated by inlaid chevrons of white marble (structural inner domes were from henceforward the norm). The front is of the tall type, with panels above and between the well-spaced plain arches, and two prominent shafts frame the marble *pīshṭāḳ*. *Čhatrīs* enliven the whole skyline. The interior is a smooth progression of netted pendentives and plain arches with a broad extrados, at a noble scale. Its equivalent at Dihlī (1066/1656), also raised on a high podium, and approached by three great pyramids of steps on the axes, is the largest enclosed mosque in northern India. Gateway *īwāns* on these axes regain their prominence,

and the *riwāḳ*s are open to the external air on all three sides. A collision between these and the *līwān*, a weakness at Āgra, is avoided by returning them along the west, and then advancing the hall forward between full-size minarets at the corners. The *līwān* plan fuses those of Āgra and Fatḥpur Sīkrī, with alternating main compartments, and slimmer piers at the front; cusped arches are used throughout. The domes, now on tall drums are, like the *mīnār*s and the *īwān*, striped with marble inlay, and the entire front is panelled in marble, with plain merlons above. Such detail, and especially the marble calyces topping the angle shafts, introduce a mannered deviation from the former simplicity. The scale is such that the *īwān* itself forms a *miḥrāb* to the courtyard.

The Mōtī Masdjid at Āgra Fort (1063/1653), the largest of the marble series, complete with *riwāḳ* and axial gateways, combines a restraint of outline and of plan with an extravagance in the intersecting, cusped arch profiles. Eighteen identical piers in three aisles carry plain coved ceilings alternating with three domes on smooth pendentives, that rise bulbous among the *čhatrī*s outside. That in the Dihlī Fort (1074/1663-4) shows the full extent of the stylistic change at a small scale, with a Bangālī curve in the *čhadjdjā* over the central bay, set off by Bangālī vaults within, reticulated coving, clustered *guldasta*s with calyces, and floral relief playing on many surfaces; the domes, rebuilt after the Mutiny, were originally lower, and gilded.

The last of the great congregational mosques, the Bādshāhī Masdjid at Lāhawr (1084/1673-4) derives its plan almost entirely from the great mosque at Dihlī, the principal differences being that the three-storey octagonal *mīnār*s are now set at the four corners of the court, and the *līwān* itself reverts to the local scheme with a domed octagonal turret at each corner. The *riwāḳ*s, too, are subdivided into an alternating series of *hudjra*s for teaching, accessible only through doorways, and though raised as before, the court is thus closed in. The *līwān*, of brick faced with red stone, is rather taller than at Dihlī, and panelled in the local manner, but the surfaces swarm with relief carving; the marble domes formerly had dark drums to relate them to the wings. Internally the squinched dome chambers alternate with Bangālī vaults, and the walls, arch soffits and domes are panelled or worked in net-patterns, *islīm-i khaṭāʾī*, of plaster relief, or else painted. The mosque is claimed as the largest in the world. The gateways of such structures served to house the *imām* and other staff. The Sonahrī Masdjid at Dihlī (1164/1751) repeats the Motī Masdjid at the Fort in fawn sandstone. In subsequent work in Awadh the curvilinear and vegetal elements were to become dominant [see LAKHNAW], and were still vigorous in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid of *ca.* 1840 in the capital.

Provincial developments within the Mughal empire predictably show an adaptation of the court style to local practice. In Bengal, the mosque of the Lālbāgh Fort at Ḍhākā (1089/1678) has the closed appearance and panelled front typical of the area, but the height of the prayer hall, its three cusped and netted front *īwān*s, its three low domes and the four octagonal turrets at its corners all refer to the experience of Lāhawr. The interior of the lateral bays is remarkable for semidomes set below the apical dome, with two sets of pendentives. Other mosques at Ḍhākā follow the same format, as in that of Khān Muḥammad Mirdha (1118/1706), with tall minars at the *līwān* corners, or the Sātgunbadh mosque with octagonal corner towers.

The brick architecture of Sind is extensively clad in fine glazed tilework, owing much to Iranian influence, and apparently that of Harāt [*q.v.*] in particular. This is already apparent in the Dābgīr Masdjid at Thaṭṭā (997/1588-9), of which the *līwān* remains in a ruined state, containing a square central compartment flanked by a rectangular one at each side, with arches connecting them between massive piers, and three deep *īwān*s, set in slightly raised *pīshṭāḳ*s. The central dome, like the *īwān* below it, is notably larger than those either side, but all three are set on double octagonal drums of an Iranian type. The walls of the central compartment each house one well-shaped arch within another; at the west the interval contains an arched window set on either side of the buff carved sandstone *miḥrāb*. The tilework, floral, geometric and calligraphic, in cobalt and azure on a white ground, filled arch spandrels and soffits. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Shāhdjahān (1057/1647) in the same city is unusual in plan, with repeated heavy piers forming the two aisles of the broad *riwāḳ*s, and the three of the prayer hall, around a very deep court, focussed on a great *pīshṭāḳ*, with small subsidiary courts on each side of an east entry passing under two domes in series (cf. the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ at Kirmān). The multiple bays are roofed by 80 small domes, with larger single ones over the central *īwān*s, backed to the west by a single shell dome replacing four bays in front of the *miḥrāb*; this rises from intersecting pendentive work over a zone of 16 arches, pierced for a clerestory at the angles, and tiled throughout in mosaic (more than 100 pieces per sq. ft.) in ranks of wheeling stars. The smallest sound at the *miḥrāb* can be heard throughout the mosque, perhaps by virtue of its domes. In both these mosques the red brick is defined by white pointing which accents the arches. Further excellent tilework at the Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Khudābād has been badly damaged. The treatment of its façade shows stronger Lāhawrī influence in proportions and panelling; the external walls, however, are noteworthy for three superimposed registers of repeated blind arches, a few being pierced at the lower levels.

At Aḥmadābād, the mosque of Nawwāb Sardār Khān (*ca.* 1070/1660?) combines a relatively orthodox Gudjarātī treatment of a three-bayed *līwān*, having three plain arches between narrow piers, a *djharōkhā* bay on each end wall, and balconied *mīnār*s framing the front, with features that seem to bridge the styles of Bīdjāpūr and Āgra. The three closely-spaced domes are bulbous, above torus mouldings, with steep *mahāpadma*s as in the Nagīna and Mōtī Masdjids. The *mīnār*s, however, carry long foliations, lotus buds and the elongated, bulbed finial of the later ʿĀdil Shāhī style, close to those at the similar and contemporary Mosque of Afḍal Khān in the Dargāh of Gīsū Darāz at Gulbargā. The mosque, unlike its counterparts, is of brick and stucco. The mosque of Nawwāb Shadjāʿat Khān (1107/1695-6) has a five-arched front, with Gudjarātī merlons, and *mīnār*s placed to contain the central three bays, but the piers are panelled with rows of little niches, and a line of cartouches runs overhead, with three low domes of the Dāʾī Angā type; the *mīnār*s once more have foliations, but have lost their tops. In its ceiling, the domes alternate with coved bays, as in the Mōtī Masdjid at Āgra, and it is finished with marble and polished plaster.

In general, it may be seen that whereas the enclosure of the court only achieves full architectural expression in cathedral mosques, or the later court mosques, the prayer hall is the subject of consistent architectural development. The particular structural means adopted in each region for enclosing the space become the vocabulary for a series of variations which

in most cases go far beyond the immediate needs of the liturgy or of mere shelter, and can be recognised as successive resolutions of the need for balance, harmony, and unity at the chosen scale.

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III. IN JAVA.

In Java, the Arabic form *masdjid* is practically limited to religious circles. The Indonesian languages have developed the derivatives *mesigit* (Javanese, in Central- and East Java), *masigit* (Sundanese, in West Java) and *masèghit* (Madurese, on the island of Madura and in part of East Java). In general, these terms are used only for the mosques in which on the Friday *ṣalāt al-djumʿa* is held. Smaller mosques serving for the daily cult and religious instruction alone, are called *langgar* (Javanese), *tadjug* (Sundanese) and *balé* (in Bantěn).

Indonesian Islam has produced its own type of mosque, clearly to be distinguished from that of other Islamic countries. Since this type was probably first developed in Java, it can be termed the Javanese type of mosque. Its standard characteristics are the following: (1) The ground plan is a square one. (2) The massive foundations are raised. The Friday mosque is not built on piles, as is the case with the classical Indonesian houses and the smaller mosques mentioned above. (3) The roof is tapering, and consists of two to five storeys narrowing towards the top (4) An extension on the western or north-western side serves as *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*]. (5) At the front—sometimes also at the two lateral sides—is an open or closed veranda. (6). The courtyard around the mosque is surrounded with a stone wall with one or more gates. Another characteristic is that in Java the mosque stands on the west side of the *alun-alun*, the grass-covered square which is found in virtually all chief towns of regencies and districts. In Tjeribon, Indramayn, Madjalěngka and Tjiamis—all regions in West Java—even each *dèsa* has an *alun-alun* with a mosque at its west side.

In Java, the direction of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*], is, however, not west but north-west, and so, in order to indicate the exact *ḳibla*, the *miḥrāb* or niche is sometimes built obliquely against the back wall. There are, however, also regions, like the Priangan, where the exact *ḳibla* is taken into consideration at the time of construction of the mosque.

The gate at the front which gives access to the courtyard surrounding the mosque is sometimes covered. The mosques of Central and East Java are characterised by their monumental entrance gates.

The veranda (Javanese: *surambi*, *sěrambi*, *srambi*; Sundanese: *těpas masdjid*, *těpas masigit*) is not considered as belonging to the mosque itself, as is evident from the various purposes which it serves. It is the place where, at night, after the mosque has been closed, the *ṣalāt* is performed; where travellers and other people who have no home pass the night; where marriages are concluded; where in former times (see Raffles, *The history of Java*) religious courts were functioning; where sometimes religious instruction is given and where *riyalat* (Javanese; in Arabic *riyāḍa* = ascetic abstinence from sleep, food and sexual intercourse) is practised. It is also the place for religious meals (*walīma*) on feast days like *Mawlid al-nabī* and *Miʿrādj* [*q.vv.*].

The walls of the mosque itself are rather low, but the roof tapers and ends in a sphere, on top of which is an ornament, called *mastaka* or *mustaka* in those regions where Javanese is spoken. It later times, this ornament was crowned by a crescent as the decisive symbol of Islam. This type of roof, in fact a piling-up of ever-smaller roofs, dates from pre-Islamic times and recalls the *měru* on Bali. In the present century, the cupola-shaped roof (Ar. *ḳubba* [*q.v.*]), an imitation of the mosques in other Islamic countries, and in particular India, is competing with the traditional piled-up roof of ancient Indonesia. Already before its restoration in 1935, the *Masdjid Kemayoran* in Surabaya diverged from the usual architectural pattern in that its base was not square but octagonal. In that year, two *ḳubba*s were constructed to the left and the right of the veranda. Another *ḳubba* was added to the monumental minaret, which is said to be an imitation of the Ḳuṭb Minār in Dihlī [*q.v.*]. At the same period, the *ḳubba* was also introduced into West Java. The use of the cupola-shaped roof became firmly established after Indonesia's independence in 1949. Impressive, huge mosques, all with *ḳubba*s, have been constructed since that time. The *Masdjid al-Shuhadāʾ* in Yogyakarta and the *Masdjid Istiḳlāl* in Jakarta can be considered as examples of a new type of architecture applied to the mosque.

The interior of a mosque built in the ancient Indonesian style can be described as a closed hall, sometimes provided with pillars, of a sober character, reflecting the simplicity which is the characteristic of the *masdjids* in Java. There are no pictures of man or animal on the walls, only sacred Arabic names and some religious texts like the *shahāda* [*q.v.*] and the *ḥadīth* in which the builder of a mosque is praised: "Allāh has built a house in Paradise for whoever has built a mosque for Allāh". Since the floor of the mosque has to be clean, it consists of cement, tiles or marble. The grey colour of cement is occasionally alternated with rows of red tiles, indicating the rows (Arabic *ṣaff*) of the faithful when performing the *ṣalāt*. Mats are usually spread on the floor. In mosques which have not been constructed in the exact direction of the *ḳibla*, these mats are laid out in the right direction. Regular mosque-goers have their own small mat or rug (Ar. *sadjdjāda*), preferably one brought back by pilgrims to Mecca.

The *miḥrāb* at the rear side of the mosque is usually rather narrow, consisting of a small gate with a round arch. Sometimes the niche, or rather the extension, is large enough to contain the *minbar* on the right side. There are, however, also mosques with two or even three niches next to each other, each provided with a small gate. Occasionally, the *miḥrāb* is built out into a large pentagon with the *minbar* in the centre and the place of the *imām* to the left, the front side being fenced off by a wooden fencing with green and yellow sheets of glass and decorated with religious texts. Sometimes the *miḥrāb* is built out into a large, square place with the *minbar* in the centre, the place of the *imām* for the daily *ṣalāt* to the left, and to the right a small movable construction with an open front, this being the place of the regent of the region. The *minbar* (Javanese and Sundanese: *mimbar*, Javanese and Sundanese of Bantěn: *imbar*) is always found to the right of the *miḥrāb*. Unlike other Islamic countries where the *minbar* is reached by a high flight of stairs, the *minbar* in Java is rather low. The height may vary from one to five steps, three steps being the average. Some *minbars* are very simple, but many others are conspicuous for their woodcarving. As Islam permits, decorations consist of plants and flowers which sometimes look like pictures of men and animals. On closer inspec-

tion, however, they prove to be representations of flowers and leaves of the lotus, arranged as wings and birds. Sometimes the *naga* (serpent) motive can be recognised on the arms of the *minbar*, as is the case in the holy mosque of Demak in Central Java and in the ancient, holy mosque of Kuṭa Deḍé in the same region.

Each mosque in Java possesses a drum, called *bĕḍug*, stretched with buffalo-skin. Before the *adhān* [*q.v.*] (Javanese and Sundanese: *adan*) this drum is beaten vigorously at least five times a day. The *adhān* itself is made either from the minaret (Javanese: *mĕnara*, Sundanese: *munara*) or, more often, in the mosque itself since not every mosque has its minaret. The *muʾadhdhin*, called *modin* or *bilal*, stands at the entrance of the mosque or on its roof.

The highest official of the mosque is the *panghulu* (thus in Sundanese; Javanese: *pangulu*; Madurese: *pangòlò*, *pangòlòh*; Malay, *penghulu*), often a learned man (Ar. *ʿālim*) who has studied theology and is a pupil of the *pĕsantrèn*, the Indonesian religious school, or of the more modern *madrasa*; he may even have studied in Mecca. Traditionally, the *panghulus* are highly-considered in Indonesian society. Sometimes the function is hereditary. One of his tasks is to supervise and coordinate the functions of the lower officials of the mosque: the *imām*, the *khaṭīb*, the *muʾadhdhin* [*q.v.*] and the *marbūṭ*, the official who is responsible for maintenance. According to the linguistic area, these officials are called *imām*, *kĕtib* or *ketip*, *modin* or *bilal*, and *mĕrbot*, *mĕrĕbot* or occasionally *marbot*.

In Java the mosque is also used for *iʿtikāf* [*q.v.*], especially during the last ten days of Ramaḍān.

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IV. In the rest of South-East Asia.

That the traditional South-East Asian mosque originated in Indonesia and that it is formally *sui generis* cannot be disputed. Whether, as has been claimed, it developed in Java is less certain. Indeed, the history of Islam in Indonesia would suggest another possibility. The building in question was of wooden construction. It consisted of a simple structure on a square groundplan, erected on a substantial base. This distinguished it from the classic Indonesian house on stilts. The existence of internal pillars probably depended on its size. It had openings in the walls, probably closed with shutters, and an entrance in the east side, opposite the later *miḥrāb*. It is not known how the *ḳibla* was originally indicated, but some mark on the west wall seems likely. Above this groundfloor hall, which had relatively low walls, there were a number of upper storeys of decreasing area, up to a total of four: each individual storey, including the main hall, had its own roof, usually in palm thatch, with widespreading eaves. The upper stories contained loft-like rooms which were functional. The whole building was topped by a finial which, in later times, seems to have been crowned by a crescent. The whole building was enclosed within a wall which had a more or less elaborate gateway in the east side. Occasionally there was more than one gate. There is some evidence to suggest that the main structure was surrounded by an irregular moat which may have formed part of a stream which traversed the enclosure. There was no *manāra*; the *adhān* was given either from the doorway of the mosque or from its top storey. This was probably preceded by the vigorous beating of a large skincovered drum, as is generally the practice today. A more simple structure, essentially a traditional Indonesian dwelling on stilts, serves as the model for a prayer hall which does not have the status of the mosque. It is still to be found in communities which cannot muster the requisite forty souls to constitute a congregation or, on occasions, as a supplementary building in a compound where it serves as a meeting place, a rest-house for visitors, an administrative centre as well as for *ṣalāt* when the mosque proper is closed.

This Indonesian prototype did not have the verandah, Javanese *serambi*, which is such a distinctive feature of the Central Javanese mosque. There is no evidence that this formed an original part of the mosque, from which it is, in fact, separated, both architecturally and dogmatically: shoes may be worn there. It seems to have derived from a royal building in pre-Islamic Central Java. Neither it, nor the externalised *miḥrāb*, belong to the original square mosque.

Various origins have been proposed for the basic Indonesian mosque. It has been derived from: (1) the *čaṅḍi*, a temple of either Hindu or Buddhist intention, ultimately of Indian origin but modified by Indonesian religious concepts; (2) the traditional bamboo and thatch cockpit used in Bali for the quasi-ritual cockfighting; (3) the multi-tiered sacred mountain which is of widespread significance in Indonesian religions (the Balinese temple with multi-tiered thatched roofs known as a *meru*, after the Indian sacred mountain, is an architectural example of this). The objection to (1) is that, quite apart from its possible unacceptability to Muslim teachers, the *čaṅḍi* does not occur in those parts of Indonesia where conversions to Islam first took place. The cockpit hypothesis appears to suffer from inherent implausibility. There is, however, good reason for holding the concept of the sacred mountain as one component in the undoubtedly complex origin of the Indonesian mosque. It differs so profoundly from mosques elsewhere in the Islamic world, not least in Cambay [see KHAMBĀYAT] and other parts of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] from which the main impetus towards conversion seems to have come.

South-East Asia lies across the sea route from the Middle East and the Indian sub-continent to China and beyond. The Malay Peninsula and Sumatra mark the area where the monsoon system of the Indian Ocean meets that of the Pacific, and constitute a natural interchange point. For two millennia or more merchants have travelled and traded through this region. After the coming of Islam many of these travellers were Muslims, but, although there were without doubt Muslim communities in the ports and harbours of the region, some of whose members may have traded in the interior, there is no evidence at all for conversion to Islam among the local peoples. (Nor, incidentally, is there any evidence for mosques to serve the needs of such Muslim traders.) The first instances of such conversion comes at the end of the 7th/13th century. A hint in a Chinese source dated 683/1281 receives striking confirmation from Marco Polo who spent several months in Sumatra, on his way home from China ten years later. Of Ferlec (Perlak) he noted "the people were all idolaters, but, on account of the Saracen traders who frequent the kingdom with their ships, they have been converted to

the Law of Mahomet", adding that this was only the townspeople, those of the mountains being like wild beasts. The ruler of Samudra (Pasai), where Polo spent some months waiting for the wind to change, and who died in 699/1297, certainly died a Muslim for his tombstone, which was imported from Cambay, gives his name as Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. It was from this remote, in Javanese terms, area of Aceh that Islam spread to the Malay Peninsula, above all to Malacca, [*q.v.*], to the north coast of Java and thence to other parts of Sumatra, to the coasts of Borneo and to the sources for the much sought-after spices, by way of the ports of Sulawesi and Maluku. Over a period of some three centuries, Islam followed the trade routes and with it there went the Indonesian *masdjid*, with its tiered, overhanging roofs. More than a dozen have been identified, notably by De Graaf. What is noticeable is that it was precisely in areas which had not been strongly influenced by Indo-Javanese architecture of Hindu or Buddhist tradition that the mosque of this type developed. Its origins have to be sought in the socio-religious structures of northern Sumatra in the communal house which, as elsewhere in Indonesia, once constituted the men's house. Now without windows or its original interior divisions, in Aceh it has become the *meunasah* which serves as a prayer house, a meeting place, and an administrative centre as well as a Ḳurʾānic school. It had the advantage that it had never housed idols, but this does not explain how the teachers from Gudjarāt and elsewhere were persuaded to permit the adoption of such an aberrant form of mosque.

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V. IN CHINA.

The Chinese term is *Ch'ing-chen ssu*, lit. "Pure and True temple". *Ch'ing-chen chiao* ("Pure and True Religion") being a Chinese synonym for Islam. The first Muslim settlements in China, dating from the early centuries of Islam, were established either by the sea route along the southern and eastern coasts (Canton and Hainan Island in Kwantung Province; Chuan-chou in Fukien Province, Hang-chou in Chekiang Province, Yang-chou on the lower Yangtze in Kiangsu Province); or by the overland "Silk Road" route at the ancient city of Ch'ang-an (some miles south of present-day Sian, Shensi Province), T'ang dynastic capital between 618-906 (corresponding approximately to the first three centuries *Hidjrī*).

Chinese Muslim tradition holds that numbers of mosques were established in these and several other cities by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ and various Companions of the Prophet or itinerant holy men during the first century, quite probably during the Rāshidūn caliphs' period. Pending further archaeological excavation, however, most of these oral traditions must be treated with caution, and according to Leslie (*op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 40), but few sites "merit serious consideration", the most important of which are:

1. Canton (the *Huai-sheng* mosque and *Kuang-t'a* minaret). This mosque, claimed by Muslim tradition as the first and oldest in China, may well date back to T'ang times, but the earliest extant reference dates from *ca.* 603/1206, whilst the earliest mosque inscription (in Chinese and Arabic) records the re-building of the *Huai-sheng ssu* in 751/1350 after its destruction by fire seven years before. The presence of a mosque in Canton in 755/1354 is attested by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

2. Chuan-chou (the *Sheng-yu* mosque), also sometimes claimed as the earliest mosque in China, though Leslie considers this to be "*a priori*, less convincing" than the claim of the *Huai-sheng ssu*. The mosque inscription of 710/1310-11 (in Arabic) dates the first building of the mosque to 400/1009-10, commemorating a restoration which took place over three centuries later. It claims that the *Sheng-yu ssu* was the first mosque "in this land", and calls it "The Mosque of the Companions" (*al-Aṣḥāb*).

3. Hang-chou (the *Chen-chiao* or Feng-huang mosque), ascribed by late Ming (11th/17th century) inscriptions to T'ang times, though Leslie rejects these unsubstantiated claims in favour of a Sung Dynasty establishment, Hang-chou being the capital of the Southern Sung (*ca.* 521-678/1127-1279), and by Yuan times "the greatest city in the world" (according to Marco Polo), with a substantial Muslim population living in its own ward (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Odoric).

4. Ch'ang-an (the *Ch'ing-chiao* or *Ch'ing-ching* mosque), which differs from those other mosques listed so far in that its foundation is ascribed to the arrival of Muslim soldiers travelling overland, rather than sailors coming by sea. Undated epigraphic evidence and long-established tradition date this mosque to the early T'ang (late Umayyad) period, but this remains inconclusive, and Leslie suggests that "until further evidence is forthcoming its is better to reject a T'ang date and query a Sung one, whilst taking for granted a Yuan [Mongol] presence".

Leslie continues by providing "Desultory Notes" for numerous other cities in Eastern. Central and Northern China (49-53), before concluding that many thousands (or even tens of thousands) of Muslims, mostly of Persian and Arab origin, were resident in China during T'ang Dynasty times, though little definitive evidence exists for the number of mosques which had been established during this early period of Chinese Islam. It is clear, however, that most of these *Hsi-yu jen* or "Westerners" were semi-permanent or permanent residents, many of whom would have intermarried freely with the indigenous Chinese population, thereby giving rise to a nascent Chinese-speaking, increasingly Sinicised Muslim population which would, by Ming times, develop into the Hui Chinese Muslim community. Certainly by T'ang times, the distinction was already being made between "foreigners" and "native-born foreigners". *Sharīʿa* law requires the establishment of congregational mosques wherever communities of more than forty adult male Muslims are gathered together; the presence of many small mosques along the Chinese coast and (to a lesser extent) in the interior may, therefore, be taken for granted by late T'ang/Sung times. Doubtless, except in the more important coastal towns such as Canton (Khanfu) and Chuan-chou (Zaitun) these mosques would have been fairly insubstantial buildings, long since altered beyond recognition or destroyed; thus, definitive proof of the extent of mosque-building in China during this early period will depend upon future archaeological excavations.

The Yüan period (*ca.* 678-770/1279-1368) was characterised by a substantial expansion of Islam in the central and western parts of China, most particularly in Yunnan, where Sayyid Adjall Shams al-Dīn Bukhārī (who conquered and subsequently admin-

istered the former Nan-ch'ao area for the Mongols) is credited with establishing two mosques in the region. Sayyid Adjall and his family may be seen as the archetypical example of Muslims in service under the Mongols—by whom they were employed as soldiers, administrators and financial middlemen—and from Yüan times the central focus of Islam in China moved definitively away from the southern coastal ports towards the north and west. Certainly, the oldest mosques in Yunnan and the north-west are likely to have been established during this period, a trend which was continued under the Ming Dynasty (*ca.* 771-1054/1368-1644) which is also known as a period of Sinicisation for the Chinese Muslim community—indeed, it may be that the Chinese-speaking Hui Muslim community emerged as a separate and distinct entity (paralleling, for example, the Swahili [*q.v.*] in East Africa and the Mappila [*q.v.*] of southern India) during this period.

It is probable that the mosques of the Hui (Chinese-speaking) Muslims, which are scattered throughout China but are particularly numerous in the provinces of Kansu, Ningsia, Tsinghai and Yunnan, evolved in their characteristic form during this period. Certainly under the Ming, the nascent Hui community expanded greatly as a result of intermarriage, overt (and, perhaps more frequently, covert) missionary work, and their success in the fields of military and commercial venture. Wherever Hui settled in any numbers, *ḥalāl* establishments (caravanserais, restaurants, inns), mosques and attendant *madrasas* soon followed. As Israeli notes (*op.cit.* in *Bibl.*, 29), many mosques constructed during the Ming period were built in a style reminiscent of indigenous Chinese temple architecture, either eliminating the minaret altogether, or eschewing the distinctive styles associated with the mosques of Central Asia, South Asia and the Middle East in favour of Chinese-style pagodas. As a result of this architectural development, the muezzin could no longer call the faithful to prayer in the usual way, but stood inside the mosque instead, calling the *adhān* behind the main mosque entrance. "And when one entered the mosque, one was struck by the traditional Muslim flavour; cleanliness and austerity. Except for the Emperor's tablets that were mandatory in any house of prayer, there was no sign of Chinese characters or Chinese characteristics. On the walls there were Arabic inscriptions of verses from the Qur'an and the west end (*qibla*) was adorned with arabesques. Once the believers were inside, they put on white caps, shoes were taken off, elaborate ablutions were ritually performed, and the prayers began in Arabic, with heart and mind centred on Mecca. When prostrating themselves before the Emperor's tablets, as required, the Muslims would avoid bringing their heads into contact with the floor... and thus did they satisfy their consciences in avoiding the true significance of the rite—this prohibited worship was invalid because it was imperfectly performed" (Israeli, *op.cit.*, 29).

Israeli defines this combination of external Sinicisation of mosque building and internal Islamic orthodoxy as a manifestation of the dichotomy of Chinese Islam. Certainly, the functions of the mosque remained immediately recognisable in their Islamic purpose. Thus, besides the area set aside for prayer, the interior of larger Chinese mosques is generally divided between lecture hall, dormitory, conference rooms, community leaders' offices, and the "dead man's room" for washing and otherwise preparing deceased Muslims for burial. Amongst the best-known and most beautifully decorated of these traditional Chinese mosques are the *Niu-chieh ssu* (Ox Street mosque) in Peking, and the *Hua-chueh ssu* in Sian.

By contrast with the Sinicised Hui Chinese mosques scattered throughout "China Proper", the mosques of the periphery are often very different. Thus the mosque architecture of Sinkiang conforms closely to that of neighbouring Western Turkestan, whilst in the far north-east (Heilungkiang Province), an area formerly much influenced by Russian culture, mosque may sometimes outwardly resemble Orthodox churches. In this context, an informative trilingual study illustrating many of the best-known mosques in China and clearly depicting the different architectural forms has recently been published by the China Islamic Association (*op.cit.* in *Bibl.*, 1981).

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

VI. In East Africa.

In East Africa the mosque is commonly spoken of in Swahili as *msikiti*, pl. *misikiti*, but *msihiri*, *misihire* in the Comoro Islands; and cf. Swahili *sijida*, the act of adoration, and verb *sujudu* "to prostrate oneself", from Ar. *sadjada*. Nineteenth-century traditional histories claim the setting up of Muslim cities on the eastern African coast in the 7th and 8th centuries

A.D. Of this there is no earlier literary evidence, but a mosque is mentioned in the Arabic *History of Kilwa* named *Kibala* (possibly a Bantu form from *ḳibla*) as existing on that island *ca.* 950 A.D. In spite of recent excavations at Kilwa [*q.v.*] by H. N. Chittick, there has so far been no positive identification of a mosque of this period. The first reliable evidence is from inscriptions. Cerulli reports one in the Friday Mosque at Barāwa, Somalia, dated 498/1104-5, while on Zanzibar Island there is the well-known Friday Mosque at Kizimkazi [*q.v.*] which has an inscription dating its foundation to 500/1107. The inscription is certainly of Sīrāfī provenance, which does not argue that Zanzibar was much Islamicised at this period. The 4th/10th century *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* of Buzurg b. Shahriyār of Rāmhurmuz contains, however, the tale of the conversion of an eastern African king of a place of which no identification is given; he was followed by his people. In the same century al-Masʿūdī, who visited eastern Africa, speaks of the people and their sovereigns as pagan. By the 6th/12th century al-Idrīsī says that "the people, although mixed, are actually mostly Muslims", which would accord with the epigraphical evidence.

Between 1962 and March 1964 the greater number of known mosques, from mediaeval times to the 18th century, both standing and ruined, were planned and photographed by P. S. Garlake. He omitted, however, an important series of foundation inscriptions of mosques at Lamu [*q.v.*], some twenty in all, and ranging from the 14th to the 19th century. He rightly says that "the most sensitive indicator of change and development in style and decoration is bound to be the mosque mihrab": he distinguishes a clear and unbroken development of style and technique from the early classic *miḥrāb* with a plain architrave of the 14th and 15th centuries; a developed classic *miḥrāb* in which the plain surfaces of the architrave are broken by decoration; a neo-classic *miḥrāb* of greater elaboration, both this and the foregoing in the 16th century; a simplified classic *miḥrāb* restricted to northern Kenya, and a derived classic *miḥrāb* on the Tanzanian coast in the 18th century, in which, however, there were new developments that led to multifoliate arches of an elaborate character. The dating of some of these *miḥrābs* derives from inscriptions, but is based to a great extent upon the evidence of imported pottery and Chinese porcelain, the latter coming to be used as a decoration by insetting it into the architrave of the *miḥrāb*.

All the 19th century Swahili settlements in eastern Africa are on the edge of the shore: Gedi, two miles from the Mida creek, is the sole exception. Some earlier mosques, however, are found on cliffs or headlands, where they may have been placed to serve as mariners' marks. Some of them are still of special veneration for seafarers. The population in these places was on the whole small, and only at Kilwa [*q.v.*] and at Mogadishū [see MAḲDISHŪ] was the need felt for mosques of more than modest size. Throughout the coast from Somalia to Mozambique, the only available building material of a permanent character was coralline limestone, obtained either from old raised beaches or directly from coral reefs. Mouldings, arches, and all features wherever precision was required, were of finely dressed coral blocks. A fine concrete, whose aggregate was coral rubble, was used for circular and barrel vaults. The method of burning it has survived to this day. From it also was made the plaster which in the 18th century was used to decorate not only the *miḥrāb* but also elaborately decorated tombs. There was a limited répertoire of mouldings, used also on tombs, and—more sparingly—in domestic architecture. The planning of all buildings, religious and domestic, was restricted by the span of the timber rafters, always of mangrove wood, which never exceeds 2,80 metres or approximately 9 feet. Even the vaulted buildings conform to this as to a fixed and unalterable convention. Thus even in the Great Mosque of Kilwa, with its five aisles and six bays, there is a sense of constriction rather than of spaciousness. Walls may be built of dressed coral limestone but quite commonly of coral rubble plastered over. Piers occur in mosques in Kenya and Pemba during the 14th to 16th centuries, but not in the south. After the 13th century in Tanzania, columns alone are found, some square and some octagonal. Generally, these were of dressed coral, but occasionally, as at Kaole (southern mosque) and in the northern *muṣallā* of the Great Mosque of Kilwa, wooden columns fitted into coral sockets were used. Because of the difficulty imposed by the length of the rafters, the master-builders—for only rarely can architects have been employed, and perhaps only for the Fakhr al-Dīn Mosque at Mogadishu—in seeking to erect a building of a particular breadth, frequently encumbered the perspective of the *miḥrāb* by constructing a central arcade of pillars. This clumsy feature (which occurs quite unconnectedly in certain mediaeval European churches) appears not only in two-aisled mosques such as those of Tongoni and Gedi but also in the four-aisled Friday Mosque of Gedi and the original North Mosque which forms part of the Great Mosque of Kilwa.

Minarets [see MANĀRA. 3. In East Africa] are very rare, and *minbars* [*q.v.*] have certain idiosyncratic features. In all, the mosques of the eastern African coast have a distinct regional character of their own, deriving in earlier times from the common use of ogival or returned-horseshoe arches, and in later times from the elaborate plaster decoration of the *miḥrāb* and its architrave.

Bibliography: H. N. Chittick, *Kilwa*, 1975, describes the Kilwa mosques, bringing up to date P. S. Garlake, *The early Islamic architecture of the East African coast*, Nairobi 1966, with its numerous plates and plans and exhaustive bibliography up to that date; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Some preliminary observations of medieval mosques near Dar es Salaam*, in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, no. 36 (1954), is wholly superseded by the finding of better evidence for date; see also J. S. Kirkman, *Men and monuments of the East African coast*, London 1964, and *Fort Jesus*, Oxford 1974; and, for inscriptions, G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville and B. G. Martin, *A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the eastern African coast*, in *JRAS* (1973).

(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

VII. IN WEST AFRICA.

In Muslim West Africa, the smallest hamlet has its mosque, and the quarters of an individual town compete with one another in the construction of cultic sites. In most villages, the mosque is situated in the middle of the public square, near the tree which is the traditional place for bargaining and discussion ("palaver"); it is generally constructed in the style of a large shed, roofed with zinc plates and bamboo partitions or with banco or with moulded clay, and has the appearance, in the majority of cases, of the most attractive building in the locality, often surrounded by bushy trees. The mosque is regarded with pious respect, and is kept clean. Volunteers, often women of a certain age, accept responsibility for maintenance, cleaning and the supply of drinkable water for the faithful.

In towns, the mosque is a more substantial building

and it dominates the neighbourhood with its minaret or minarets. Sometimes, as in the case of the Great Mosque of Dakar, it has only one, while that of Touba, the most important centre of the religious brotherhood of the Murids, has three, of which the tallest, known as the "Lamp" (*Fall*) measures 83 m. In fact, it is the modern mosques which possess minarets; the most ancient have none, but still dominate their surroundings with cubic pillars. In small villages, the floor of the mosque is covered with matting or with fine sand which is sifted every day. In the urban setting, oriental carpets cover the floor. A palisade of bamboo or zinc plates or even a cement wall forms an enclosure within which a spacious courtyard is set out, to enable those worshippers who cannot pray at the times when the mosque is crowded to perform their religious duties. On the left side of the larger mosques, the place reserved for women is separated from that where the men pray by a metal grill.

The *imām* leads the prayer standing in a niche (*minbar*) in the *ḳibla wall*. The Great Mosque is furnished with a throne, a kind of raised dais where the *imām* takes his place to preach his sermon and to harangue the faithful, first in Arabic and then in the local language.

All the other facilities, including lavatories and taps for ablutions, are located on the exterior. In a corner of the courtyard there is a hut for the washing of corpses.

Each *imām* is served by a *nāʾib* or deputy who officiates in his absence. Two or more muezzins make the call to prayer from the tops of the minarets. In the larger mosques loud-speakers have been installed, to relay either the call to prayer or the sermon of the *imām*. The majority of *imām*s receive no monthly salary. The *imām* of the Great Mosque of the Senegalese capital is one of the few who receives regular payment and occupies an official residence; more often, the *imām* and his family are accommodated in the mosque.

The architectural style reproduces especially that of the Magh̲rib. It is thus that the Great Mosque of Dakar, inaugurated by King Ḥasan II, was built under the supervision of a Moroccan architect, as was the Islamic Institute which adjoins it. However the ancient mosques of northern Senegal, including those of Halwâr, Ndioum, Guédé and Dialmath, are in the Sudanese style of the mosque-institutes of the towns of Mali (Djenné, Mopti, Timbuktu, etc.) and of the land of the Sahel (cf. J. Boulègue, *Les Mosquées de style soudanais au Fuuta-Tooro (Sénégal)*, in *Notes africaines*, 136 (Oct. 1972), 117-19). This is a style characterised by its massive buttresses exceeding the height of the roof, in a rounded, conical form, with a small cubic minaret; the whole is constructed in brick made from dried earth and covered with a facing of the same material and ochre or beige in colour. The walls are very thick. An elaborate system of ventilation maintains a freshness similar to that provided by air-conditioning.

Religious function. In West Africa, the principal function of the mosque is still religious; each quarter possesses several, and in this context a genuine rivalry prevails between quarters or between members of different brotherhoods. It is thus that the mosque of the Tid̲j̲ānīs is found alongside those of the Murīds [see MURĪD], of the Ḳādirīs [see ḲĀDIRIYYA] or of the Hamallites [see ḤAMĀLIYYA]. The faithful fill the mosques without regard for their particular affiliation. The Tid̲j̲ānīs organise gatherings in the mosque after morning and evening prayers to recite, in chorus, the litanies (*d̲h̲ikr*) peculiar to their religious order. This ritual is performed around a carpet and in darkness. But on Fridays or at times of canonical festivals, great crowds of Muslims are seen streaming towards the mosques clad in their splendid boubous or flowing robes.

Special prayers for the dead are also offered in the mosque. In this case, the bier is placed before the faithful, who pray upright without bowing or sitting. After these funeral rites, the parents of the deceased arrange a ceremony of recitation of the Ḳurʾān "for the repose of his soul".

The veneration of which the mosque is the object inspired Cheikh El-Hadji Malik Sy (1853-1922), founder of the *zāwiyya tid̲j̲āniyya* of Tivaouane, to compose a poem in Arabic consisting of forty verses in *rad̲j̲az* style and revealing the details of a whole system of etiquette. Cheikh Aliou Faye, the chief marabout of the Gambia, revised and embellished his master's poem, entitling his version *Tabs̲h̲īrat al-murīd* or "The way of success for the disciple". The following are a few of the verses:

Whosoever wishes to enter Paradise without punishment and without the need to give an exact account of his actions at the Resurrection, should build a mosque for God the Merciful, and he will be granted one hundred and thirty palaces in Paradise.

Every believer who enters this mosque to pray will obtain a pleasant dwelling in Paradise.

A mosque may be built in any place, even in the square of a church or a or a synagogue.

There it is forbidden to grow crops, to dig wells, to sew and to compose [profane] poetry.

There it is forbidden to eat garlic, leek, onion, to shave, to cause an injury to a human being, to cut the nails, to cast lice or fleas and to kill them.

To tie animals, confine the mentally ill, to allow a criminal to enter and be seated.

All mosques are of equal worth, with three exceptions: those of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, which are the best mosques.

Social function. Besides this predominant religious role, the mosque also performs a very important social function. It is there, in fact, that, under the patronage of the *imām*, marriages are contracted between the parents of the betrothed parties. The father or guardian of the prospective bride gives her hand to the father or guardian of the suitor and receives the dowry. This function is so important that when information is sought regarding the marital status of a female person, the question is asked: "Have the men gone to the mosque for her?" (in Wolof: *Ndax dem-nañu jaka ja?*). As a form of pleasantry and to tell a girl that she is nubile, the remark is made: "I shall go to see the *imām* about it." Parents or guardians may be accompanied to the mosque by other parents and friends who act as witnesses. The relatives of the suitor bring the dowry which they entrust to the *imām*; the latter gives it to the father or guardian of the prospective bride and recites the sacramental formula. In the presence of all, the *imām* blesses the couple. Cola, non-alcoholic drinks or delicacies are distributed.

Even though, since the promulgation of a "Family Code" in Senegal, for example, some ten years ago, marriages must be contracted before the mayor or the representative of the public authorities, it is considered that, without the mosque playing a part, the matrimonial union is not valid. Thus the *imām* in fact represents the municipal magistrate.

Often the elders of the village hold meetings not under the traditional tree, but inside or in the courtyard of the mosque at any hour of day or night to

discuss public matters; finance for the sinking of wells, construction of a market, division of the produce of common land, preparations for the reception of distinguished guests, etc. In this case, the mosque represents a kind of national assembly where all the affairs of the village community are the object of wide and democratic debate.

Sometimes the mosque performs the role of a tribunal where disputes between members of the village are laid public and closely examined. Solutions are always formed on the basis of the *Sharīʿa*, or of local custom, or of both. These may be disputes between spouses, between two dignitaries, between two families, between herdsmen and stock-breeders, between a representative of the state and local landowners, between traditional chiefs and religious leaders. Sometimes the division of bequests is performed in the mosque under the supervision of the *imām*.

Some mosques provide places of lodging for strangers. It is in this way that travelling Muslims are accommodated. Furthermore, any person who is regarded as having lived a pious life and who has contributed to the building of the mosque, is buried there after his death. Such is the case of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke, Cheikh El-Hadji Malik Sy, Cheikh Ibrahima Niasse, Cheikh Ahmadou Anta Samb, and Bouh Kounta respectively at Touba, Tivaouane, Kaolack, Kébémer and Ndiassance (Senegal).

Many other men renowned for their piety or for their work in the service of Islam are entombed within or in close proximity to the mosque.

Economic function. The economic function of the mosque is explained by the fact that the temporal is always closely linked with the spiritual. Thus, for example, the sums raised from legal alms (*zakāt*) are in most cases entrusted to the *imām* of the mosque who, as an expert in the matter, ensures that they are distributed to those entitled to them. Sometimes cattle are led to the mosque to be slaughtered by the *imām*, who distributes the meat to the needy. Every Friday, a whole army of beggars is seen flocking to the mosques, attracted by the prospect of receiving charity from the wealthier believers. The same spectacle is witnessed during the major Islamic feasts of *Tabaski* and *Korite*.

The *imām* received a gratuity for his services when marriage is celebrated. Even though the sum is by no means considerable, it is important for the *imām* who is not salaried. In the course of one Sunday afternoon he may preside over several marriage ceremonies. Furthermore, numerous mosques receive requests for readings of the Ḳurʾān in exchange for a certain sum, the amount being left to the discretion of the customer.

Mosques which incorporate tombs receive a profitable income as a result of daily, weekly, monthly and annual pilgrimages or on the occasion of major Islamic feasts. This applies in the case of the mosque of Touba during the well-known feast of *Magal*, which commemorates the departure into exile (in 1895) of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke, founder of the brotherhood of the Murīds, and that of Tivaouane at the time of the *Mawlūd* [see MAWLID].

Cultural function. Although the mosque in West Africa fulfils a considerable economic role, its function in the cultural sphere is more striking. In the majority of cases, the courtyard of the mosque is the setting for a Ḳurʾānic school. Sometimes dozens of young children, boys and girls, are seen squatting in a half-circle before their master, who sits either on the ground, on a sheepskin rug or reclining on a couch, holding a cane. Each pupil places on his knees a tablet on which the lesson to be learned is inscribed in ink made from soot from cooking-pots. In the evening, after twilight and before the meal, a large fire is lit and the verses to be learned are read by the light of the flames. By this educational method, in the shadow of the mosque, many scholars arrive at the point where they can recite the entire Holy Book by heart.

The mosque also serves as a high school and university when, having memorised the Ḳurʾān, the pupils become students and learn the other Islamic sciences: exegesis, *ḥadīth*, theology, mysticism, Muslim law and even literature, history, logic, astronomy, rhetoric, etc.

It is also in the mosque that lectures are held on various subjects relating to religion, as well as educational lectures given by scholars or distinguished guests from other Muslim countries. In the mosque, throughout the month of Ramaḍān, marabout exegetes expound and comment on the Ḳurʾān before an audience, either to recall the teaching of the Holy Book or to instruct the faithful. On the "Night of Destiny" nobody sleeps, and reverent vigil is held in the mosque. Also in the mosque, particularly at Tivaouane, the sanctuary of Tidjānism in Senegal, the head *khalīfa* of the disciples of the brotherhood founded by Aḥmad al-Tidjānī (1737-1815 [*q.v.*]) expounds and comments on the *Burda* of al-Buṣīrī (608-*ca.*695/1212-*ca.*1295 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]).

Political function. Finally, the mosque performs in West Africa a political function which is far from insignificant, because the region contains a very substantial percentage of Muslims. This figure is increasing as a result of large-scale conversion to Islam of followers of other religions (Christianity and animism). Islam has enjoyed a revival of activity under pressure exerted both from the interior of this zone and, to a lesser extent, from the exterior. In Senegal, for example, the quite recent appointment of M. Abdou Diouf to the post of chief magistrate has had a considerable influence in this domain, to such an extent that, unlike his predecessor, the head of state, accompanied by the presidents of the National Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, participates behind the senior *imām* in the prayers conducted on the occasion of major festivals. In his *khuṭba*, the latter invariably affirms his loyalty to the authorities and invites the believers present to pray, with him, for the President of the Republic and the members of his government, whom he mentions by name, appealing to God to "perpetuate their rule and assist them, giving peace, health and long life to them, to their families and to Senegal".

This account of the activity of the present President of the Republic of Senegal applies to the other Muslim Heads of State of West Africa.

The *imām* often uses the occasion of the Friday Prayer to draw attention in his *khuṭba* to themes of concern to the government such as the misappropriation of public funds, corruption, juvenile delinquency, drugs, prostitution, the degradation of morals, the urgent need to combat bush-fires and desertification.

After this survey of the functions of the mosque in West Africa, it may be affirmed that it performs a multifarious role in this region by virtue of its status as the supreme place of prayer.

Bibliography: J. M. Cuoq, *Les Musulmans en Afrique*, Paris 1975, 103-271, gives information and bibliographies concerning religious life in West Africa; see also, in particular, J. Schacht, *Sur la diffusion des formes d'architecture religieuse musulmane à*

travers le Sahara, in *Travaux de l'Inst. de Rech. Sahariennes*, xi (1954), 11-27. (A. SAMB)

AL-**MASDJID** AL-**AKṢĀ**, literally, "the remotest sanctuary." There are three meanings to these words.

1. The words occur in Ḳur'ān, XVII,1: "Praise Him who made His servant journey in the night (*asrā*) from the sacred sanctuary (*al-masdjid al-ḥarām*) to the remotest sanctuary (*al-masdjid al-aḳṣā*), which we have surrounded with blessings to show him of our signs." This verse, usually considered to have been revealed during the Prophet's last year in Mecca before the Hidjra, is very difficult to explain within the context of the time. There is no doubt that *al-masdjid al-ḥarām* is the then pagan sanctuary of Mecca. But whether the event itself was a physical one and then connected with a small locality near Mecca which had two mosques, a nearer one and a farther one (A. Guillaume, *Where was al-Masjid al-Aqṣā?*, in *Al-Andalus*, xviii [1953]), or a spiritual and mystical night-journey (*isrā'*) and ascension (*mi'radj* [*q.v.*]) to a celestial sanctuary; a consensus was established very early (perhaps as early as the year 15 A.H., cf. J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1926, 140) that *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* meant Jerusalem. By the time of Ibn Hishām's *Sīra*, nearly all the elements of what was to grow into one of the richest mystical themes in Islam were in place. Their study and the diverse and at times contradictory interpretations found in early commentaries of the Ḳur'ān derive from a complex body of religious sources (references in R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, Paris 1949, ii, 374) which have not yet been completely unravelled.

2. The words were occasionally used in early Islamic times for Jerusalem, and, during many centuries, more specifically for the Ḥaram al-Sharīf [*q.v.*], the former Herodian Temple area transformed by early Islam into a restricted Muslim space.

3. The most common use of the words is for the large building located on the south side of the Ḥaram platform and, next to the Dome of the Rock (Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*]), the most celebrated Islamic building in Jerusalem. Its archaeological history has been superbly established by R. W. Hamilton, *The structural history of the Aqṣā Mosque*, and his conclusions were entirely accepted by K. A. C. Creswell and incorporated in his *Early Islamic architecture*, Oxford 1969, 373-80. Such points of debate as do exist (H. Stern, *Recherches sur la Mosquée al-Aqṣā et ses mosaïques*, in *Ars Orientalis*, v [1963]) deal only with the precise dating of the archaeologically-determined sequences of building, not with their character. From the 4th/10th century onward, precious descriptions by al-Muḳaddasī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and, much later, Mudjīr al-Dīn's chronicle of Jerusalem, provide a unique written documentation which has been made accessible in several books, of which the more important ones are G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, and M. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 210-60. An easily accessible survey of drawings and plans is found in Eli Silad, *Mesgid el-Aksa*, Jerusalem 1978. For inscriptions, one should consult M. van Berchem, *CIA, Jérusalem*, Cairo 1927, ii/2, and S.A.S. Husseini, *Inscription of the Khalif El-Mustansir*, in *QDAP*, ix (1942); A. G. Walls and A. Abul-Hajj, *Arabic inscriptions in Jerusalem*, London 1980, 24-5, for a checklist. Finally, it is possible that a unique picture of Zion in the celebrated 9th century A.D. Byzantine manuscript known as the Chludoff Psalter is a representation of the Aḳṣā Mosque *ca.* 850 A.D.; cf. O. Grabar, *A note on the Chludoff Psalter*, in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vii (1983) (= a volume in honour of Professor Ihor Ševčenko). The recent excavations carried out south of the Ḥaram have brought a lot of contextual information pertinent to the uses of the Aḳṣā mosque, but, at least to the writer's knowledge, nothing immediately pertinent to its forms or history.

The latter can be summarised in the following manner: (a) There was an Umayyad hypostyle mosque consisting of several aisles (their exact number cannot be ascertained) perpendicular to the *ḳibla*, with a central, wider, aisle on the same axis as the Dome of the Rock. This mosque, like many Umayyad ones, re-used a lot of materials of construction from earlier buildings and was either built from scratch or completed under the caliph al-Walīd I. The only item of contention is whether it already contained a large dome in front of the *miḥrāb* which would have been decorated with mosaics (Hamilton and Creswell argue that it did not, Stern that it did; the argument of the latter has historical logic on his side, as al-Walīd was lavish in his imperial buildings, but the archaeological arguments against it are weighty indeed). Many decorative remains of painted and carved woodwork (kept in various Jerusalem museums) which have been preserved probably date from the Umayyad period, but they, as well as numerous fragments of mosaics, marble, etc., whose records remain in the archives of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (the so-called Rockefeller Museum), still await a full investigation. This first Aḳṣā mosque was the congregational mosque of the city of Jerusalem, but it was also seen as the covered part (*mughaṭṭā*) of the whole Ḥaram conceived as the mosque of the city.

(b) A series of major reconstructions took place in early 'Abbāsid times, possibly because of a destructive earthquake in 746. But the extent of the reconstructions carried out under al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir between 771 and 844 suggests more than a simple restoration. It was certainly a major attempt to assert 'Abbāsid sponsorship of holy places. It is essentially this 'Abbāsid building which is described by al-Muḳaddasī (*ca.* 985). It consisted of fifteen naves perpendicular to the *ḳibla*, of a fancy porch with gates inscribed with the names of caliphs, and of a high and brilliantly decorated dome. Its greatest pecularity is that it was open to the north, towards the Dome of the Rock and the rest of the Ḥaram *and* to the east. The latter is unusual and is probably to be explained by the ways in which the Muslim population, mostly settled to the south of the Ḥaram, ascended the holy place. We know that the main accesses to the Ḥaram were through underground passages, and the eastern entrances of the Aḳṣā may indicate that the Triple Gate and the so-called Stables of Solomon in the southeastern corner of the Ḥaram played a much greater rôle in the life of the city than has been believed.

(c) The earthquake of 1033 was a devastating one, leading, among other causes, to a major reorganisation of the whole city [see AL-ḲUDS]. The Aḳṣā was rebuilt under al-Ẓāhir between 1034 and 1036 and the work completed under al-Mustanṣir in 1065. Except for the latter, it is the mosque described by Nāṣir-i Khusraw in 1047, and most of the central part of the present mosque dates from that time. Shrunk to seven aisles only, probably without side doors, it was a very classical mosque adapted to the peculiar circumstances of Jerusalem, whose major characteristic was the brilliance of its mosaic decoration. The triumphal arch with its huge vegetal designs surmounted by a royal inscription in gold mosaics, the gold pendentives with their huge shield of "peacock's eyes," and the

drum with its brilliant panels of an idealised garden with Umayyad and possibly Antique reminiscences, transformed the mosque into a true masterpiece of imperial art and exemplified the political ambitions of the Fāṭimids in Jerusalem.

(d) The Crusaders used the mosque as a palace and as living areas for the Knights Templar, and much of the present eastern and western façades date from this occupation. In 1187, when the mosque was reconsecrated to Islam, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn re-did the decoration of the whole *ḳibla* wall, including the beautiful *miḥrāb* and the long inscription along the *ḳibla* wall. He also brought in the *minbar* made in 1169 by order of Nūr al-Dīn for the reconquered Holy City, but this great masterpiece of Syrian woodwork was destroyed by an arsonist in 1969 before it had been possible to study it fully. The northern porch was restored in 1217 and the eastern and western vaults re-done in 1345 and 1350. Under the later Ottomans, numerous repairs, often of dubious quality, and plasterings or repaintings altered considerably the expressiveness of what was essentially a Fāṭimid building with major Crusader, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk details. It was only in the nineteen-twenties and especially between 1937 and 1942 that a major and carefully supervised programme of restoration took place.

In spite of scholarly debates which will continue to grow about this or that detail, and this or that date for some aspect of the building, the history of the monument is reasonably set. What is far more difficult to define and to explain is its function, and on that issue the debate has barely begun. As a work of art, should it be considered as a finite monument to be explained entirely in its own architectural terms? Or should it always be understood as physically and visually part of a broader vision, whether even completed or not, of the Ḥaram as a unit? Socially and culturally, was it always, as it has become today, the city's mosque, different from its other sanctuaries, or was it, at times, simply the covered part of a single sanctuary? In all likelihood, the answers to these questions will differ according to the periods of the city's history. But beyond the fascinating vagaries of meaning of an extraordinary building in a unique setting, the problem is still unresolved of when it became known as the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā. The Ḳur'ānic quotation XCII,1, appears for the first time in the 5th/11th century official Fāṭimid inscription on the mosque's triumphal arch, and it is possibly at that time that it acquired its name. But in the early 10th/16th century, Mudjīr al-Dīn still calls it a *djāmi*ʿ, while acknowledging that it is popularly known as the Aḳṣā.

These confusions are all part of the complexities of Jerusalem's meaning in the Muslim world. Yet it should be noted that the spiritual and onomastic impact of the mosque extended much beyond its location, since in the Javanese city of Ḳudus the main mosque is also called the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(O. GRABAR)

AL-**MASDJID** AL-**ḤARĀM**, the name of the Mosque of Mecca. The name is already found in the pre-Islamic period (Horovitz, *Koranische Studien*, 140-1) in Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm, ed. Kowalski, v. 14: "By Allāh, the Lord of the Holy Masdjid and of that which is covered with Yemen stuffs, which are embroidered with hempen thread" (?). It would be very improbable if a Medinan poet meant by these references anything other than the Meccan sanctuary. The expression is also fairly frequent in the Ḳur'ān after the second Meccan period (Horovitz, *op. cit.*) and in various connections; it is a grave sin on the part of the polytheists that they prohibit access to the Masdjid Ḥarām to the "people" (sūra II, 217, cf. V,2; VIII, 34; XXII, 25; XLVIII, 25); the Masdjid Ḥarām is the pole of the new *ḳibla* (sūra, II, 134, 149); contracts are sealed at it (sūra IX, 7).

In these passages, *masdjid ḥarām* does not as in later times mean a building, but simply Mecca as a holy place, just as in sūra XVII, 1, al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā [*q.v.*] "the remotest sanctuary" does not mean a particular building.

According to tradition, a *ṣalāt* performed in the Masdjid al-Ḥarām is particularly meritorious (al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣalāt fī masdjid Makka*, *bāb* 1). This *masdjid* is the oldest, being forty years older than that of Jerusalem (al-Bukhārī, *Anbiyā*', *bāb* 10, 40).

This Meccan sanctuary included the Kaʿba [*q.v.*], the well of Zamzam [*q.v.*] and the Maḳām Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], all three on a small open space. In the year 8, Muḥammad made this place a mosque for worship. Soon however it became too small, and under ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, adjoining houses were taken down and a wall built. Under ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the Umayyad and Ābbāsid caliphs, successive enlargements and embellishments were made. Ibn al-Zubayr put a simple roof above the wall. Al-Mahdī had colonnades built around, which were covered by a roof of teak. The number of minarets in time rose to seven. Little columns were put up around the Kaʿba for lighting purposes. The mosque was also given a feature which we only find paralleled in a few isolated instances: this was the putting up of small wooden buildings, or rather shelters for use during the *ṣalāt* by the *imām*, one for each of the four orthodox rites. The fact that one of these *maḳāms* might be more or less elaborate than another occasionally gave rise to jealousies between the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfiʿīs. Ultimately, the ground under the colonnades, originally covered with gravel, was paved with marble slabs, also in the *maṭāf* around the Kaʿba as well as on the different paths approaching the *maṭāf*.

The mosque was given its final form in the years 1572-7, in the reign of the Sultan Selīm II, who, in addition to making a number of minor improvements in the building, had the flat roof replaced by a number of small, whitewashed, cone-shaped domes.

A person entering the mosque from the *masʿā* or the eastern quarters of the town has to descend a few steps. The site of the mosque, as far as possible, was always left unaltered, while the level of the ground around—as usual in oriental towns and especially in Mecca on account of the dangers of sudden floods (*suyūl*)—gradually rose automatically in course of centuries (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 18-20).

The dimensions of the Ḥarām (interior) are given as follows (al-Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 96): N.W. side 545, S.E. side 553 feet, N.E. side 360, S.W. side 364 feet; the corners are not right angles, so that the whole roughly represents a parallelogram.

Entering the *maṭāf* from the eastern side, one enters first the Bāb Banī Shayba, which marks an old boundary of the *masdjid*. Entering through the door, the Maḳām Ibrāhīm is on the right, which is also the Maḳām al-Shāfiʿī, and to the right of it is the *minbar*. On the left is the Zamzam building. As late as the beginning of the 19th century, there stood in front of the latter, in the direction of the north-east of the mosque, two domed buildings (*al-ḳubbatayn*) which were used as store-houses (*Chron. der Stadt Mekka*, ii, 337-8). These *ḳubbas* were cleared away (cf. already, Burckhardt, i, 265); they are not given in recent plans.

Around the Kaʿba are the *maḳāms* for the *imāms* of

the *madhhabs*, between the Kaʿba and the south-east of the mosque, the *maḳām* (or *muṣallā*) *al-Ḥanbalī*, to the south-west the *maḳām al-Mālikī* and to the north-west the *maḳām al-Ḥanafī*. The latter has two stories; the upper one was used by the *muʾadhdhin* and the *muballigh*, the lower by the *imām* and his assistants. Since Wahhābī rule has been established, the Ḥanbalī *imām* has been given the place of honour; it is also reported that the *ṣalāt* is conducted by turns by the *imāms* of the four rites (*OM*, vii, 25). The *maḳām al-Ḥanafī* stands on the site of the old Meccan council-chamber (*dār al-nadwa*) which in the course of centuries was several times rebuilt and used for different purposes. The *maṭāf* is marked by a row of thin brass columns connected by a wire. The lamps for lighting are fixed to this wire and in the colonnades. In the 1930s, the mosque was provided with an installation for electric light (*OM*, xvi, 34; xviii, 39).

The mosque has for centuries been the centre of the intellectual life of the metropolis of Islām. This fact has resulted in the building of *madrasas* and *riwāḳs* for students in or near the mosque, for example, the *madrasa* of Ḳāʾit Bey on the left as one enters through the Bāb al-Salām. Many of these *waḳfs* have however in course of time become devoted to other purposes (Burckhardt, i, 282; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 17). For the staff of the mosque, cf. SHAYBA, BANŪ; Burckhardt, i, 287-91.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

MASDJIDĪ (A.), pl. *masdjidiyyūn*, an adjective formed from *masdjid*, but specifically concerning the Friday mosque of Baṣra and used to designate groups (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 360) of adults or young people who were accustomed to meet together in that building, near the gate of the Banū Sulaym, as well as of poets, popular story-tellers (*ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see ḲĀṢṢ]), and transmitters of religious, historical and literary traditions, in particular, those regarding poetic verses. The information which we possess on the *masdjidiyyūn* in general comes from al-Djāḥiẓ, who seems clearly to have acquired from them, in his youth, part of his cultural formation and perhaps also some of the traits of his character. He was especially interested in a group which was probably composed of Baṣran bourgeois or, at all events, of idlers who exchanged ideas and held conversations on subjects which were probably more varied (see e.g. *Bayān*, i, 243) than those for which he puts forward some examples in his *K. al-Bukhalāʾ* (ed. Ḥādjirī, 24-8; tr. Pellat, 41-8); the conversations thus reproduced are concerned essentially with how to spend as little money as possible, and allow us to classify the persons taking part in these conversations as part of the class of misers.

Nevertheless, al-Djāḥiẓ frequented other *masdjidiyyūn*: not only poets—al-Āmidī (*Muwāzana*, 116) could not appreciate their verses, and al-Marzubānī (*Muʿdjam*, 379) states that Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. Muḥammad, e.g., was a *masdjidī*—but also traditionists who themselves wrote books, since, in regard to two *ḥadīths*, he states that he did not gather them directly from the mouth of some scholar but that he had read them in some book of *masdjidiyyūn* (*Bayān*, iii, 57-8). He mentions however (*ibid.*, iii, 220) that one *shaykh* of the mosque only wanted to frequent persons amongst whom were included traditionists handing on *ḥadīths* on the authority of al-Ḥasan (sc. al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*]) and *ruwāt* [see RĀWĪ] who were reciting the verses of al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*]. It should be noted that it is concerning the transmiters of classical poetry installed at the Mirbad [*q.v.*], the *mirbadiyyūn*, or in the Friday mosque, that al-Djāḥiẓ observes the changes of taste among lovers of poetry which were discernable precisely in these *ruwāt*'s audience (*Bayān*, iv, 23).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, 244-5.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-**MASḤ ʿALĀ ʾL-KHUFFAYN** (A.), literally: "act of passing the hand over the boots", designates the right whereby Sunnī Muslims may, in certain circumstances, pass the hand over their shoes instead of washing their feet as a means of preparing themselves for the saying of the ritual prayer. Al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Tunis 1971, 112) proposes a definition of the *masḥ*: "passing the moistened hand without making (water) flow" (*imrār al-yad al-mubtalla bi-lā tasyīl*), which justifies the translation by "wetting of the shoes" which is adopted by L. Bercher and G. H. Bousquet (see below), but the term in question nevertheless remains ambiguous. In fact, if in the verses IV, 46/43, and V, 8-9/6, of the Ḳurʾān, the verb *masaḥa* refers to ablutions which necessarily entail the use of a certain quantity of water and consequently has the sense of "to wash", as is suggested by the *Lisān*, it is also employed in the same verses in reference to ritual purification with sand or soil (*tayammum* [*q.v.*]) and therefore no longer has the same meaning. In his translation of the Ḳurʾān (iii, 1115), R. Blachère points out moreover that it is quite inaccurate to render this verb by "to wipe" or "to rub", since it properly signifies, in these contexts, "to pass the hand over".

Unlike the *tayammum*, the *masḥ ʿalā ʾl-khuffayn* is not envisaged by the Holy Book, and it is probable that the practice in question, although ancient, was only tolerated at a relatively late date, to take into account difficulties which could face armies in the field, and after provoking debate in the very bosom of the Medinan school. Ultimately it constituted, along with, especially, *mutʿa* [*q.v.*], one of the most manifest signs of the rift between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, for the latter, like the Khāridjīs, do not recognise it. The different Sunnī schools now base their doctrine, in this context, on a half-dozen *ḥadīths* whose authenticity is accepted by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, and on a number of other more liberal, but nevertheless for that reason more suspect traditions.

From "authentic" *ḥadīths* it emerges that the Prophet was observed to practise the *masḥ ʿalā ʾl-*

k͟huffayn. However, D̲j̲arīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bad̲j̲alī, who was converted after the revelation of the Medinan sūra *al-Māʾida* (V), which contains instructions relating to ablutions and to the *tayammum* (see above), claimed that he himself had seen Muḥammad passing the hand over his shoes; but his colleagues contested the validity of his statements and declared that the revelation of the verses in question had *ipso facto* put an end to the legality of this practice. This testimony, which has not been retained by al-Buk͟hārī, does not seem to have shaken the conviction of later *fuḳahāʾ*, any more than another more or less controversial tradition which official doctrine has retained, no doubt because it provides an additional benefit: according to K͟huzayma b. T͟hābit and Abū Bakra, the Prophet was reported to have permitted the Muslim to observe the *masḥ ʿalā ʾl-k͟huffayn* for a day and a night when he is in fixed residence (*muḳīm*), and for three days and three nights when he is travelling.

According to another "authentic" *ḥadīt͟h*, al-Mug͟hīra b. S͟huʿba, who travelled in the company of Muḥammad, bent down to take off his shoes in order to perform his ablutions, but the Prophet said to him: "Leave them, for I put them (= the feet) into [my boots], when they were in a state of ritual purity (*ṭāhiratānⁱ*)", and he passed his hand over his shoes. From this *ḥadīt͟h*, the *fuḳahāʾ* have retained the obligation, for the believer who wishes to cleanse himself of a minor defilement (*ḥadath* [*q.v.*]) by means of this indulgence, to wash his feet and polish his shoes before putting them on, and not to take them off in the meantime.

Regarding the legal manner of performing the *masḥ*, Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, of the Mālikī school, describes it clearly in his *Risāla* (ed. and tr. L. Bercher, Algiers, 1949, 50/51): "The believer will place the right hand on the upper part of the shoe [foı the right foot], beginning with the extremity of the toes. He will place his left hand underneath and thus make the hands glide as far as and including the pegs. He will do the same for the shoe of the left foot, putting his left hand above and his right hand underneath. But he will not let his hand touch the ground which may be under his shoe, or touch the dung of a beast of burden. He must previously raise his foot when rubbing or washing." The author adds that, according to another opinion, "the believer must wet the underside of the shoes, beginning with the pegs and ending with the extremities of the toes."

The classical manual of Western Mālikism, the *Muk͟htaṣar* of K͟halīl b. Isḥāḳ (tr. G. H. Bousquet, Algiers 1956, i, 34-5) presents an even more detailed account of the *masḥ ʿalā ʾl-k͟huffayn*. It envisages in fact the use of a kind of slipper (*d̲j̲awrab*) inside the boot proper, and prescribes that the *masḥ* should be performed on both pieces of leather; it forbids the use of a slipper which is too large or torn, because it must be firmly fixed to the foot, cover it completely and not let water penetrate through any crevice. This author also considers cases where the *masḥ* is invalidated, for example if the *g͟husl* [*q.v.*] is obligatory, if the individual has forgotten to pass his hand over the upper part of the shoe, etc.

Bibliography: All the *ḥadīt͟hs* concerning the *masḥ* have been conveniently assembled by Ibn al-D̲j̲ārūd al-Naysābūrī (d. 307/919-20) in his *Kitāb al-Muntaḳā min al-sunan al-musnada ʿan Rasūl Allāh*, ed. Cairo 1382/1963 by ʿAbd Allāh Hās͟him al-Yamanī al-Madanī, who has taken care to indicate in his notes (37-9) the more or less important collections in which they figure; the same editor has proceeded in the same fashion with the *D̲j̲amʿ al-fawāʾid min d̲j̲āmiʿ al-uṣūl* (Medina 1381/1971, i, 104-7) of the Moroccan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (1039-94/1630-83). See also R. Strothmann, *Kultus der Zaiditen*, Strasburg 1912, 21 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, index, s.v. *shoes*; J. Schlacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 263-4.

(Ch. Pellat)

MĀS͟HĀʾ ALLĀH (a.), a phrase occurring in the Ḳurʾān (VI, 128; VII, 188; X, 50; XVIII, 37; LXXXVII, 7; cf. XI, 109-10, LXXII, 8) and widely used in the Islamic lands of the Middle East with the general meaning of "what God does, is well done". The formula denotes that things happen according to God's will and should therefore be accepted with humility and resignation. In a cognate signification, the phrase is often used to indicate a vague, generally a great or considerable, but some times a small, number or quantity of time (Lane, *Lexicon*, *s.v.*, who refers to S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte*, 246, 394). One might compare *ilā mā s͟hāʾa Allāhu* "forever and ever" (Wehr, *Dictionary of modern written Arabic*, s.v.). The phrase is also the equivalent of the English "God knows what", and, as signifying "what God has willed", expresses admiration or surprise.

According to *TA*, in Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., a Jew addressed the Prophet, objecting to his people's saying *mā s͟hāʾa Allāhu wa-s͟hiʾtu* "what God has willed and I have willed", as implying the association of another being with God. The Prophet then ordered them to say *mā s͟hāʾa Allāhu t͟humma s͟hiʾtu* "what God has willed and then I have willed".

In Konya, blue hemispheres are found, representing half an eyeball, covered with silver-thread textile with which the phrase is embroidered. Because of the decorative character of the Arabic script, the hemispheres are also worn as ornaments (R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, ii, 12, 65 and pl. 7). As a charm to protect from the effect of the evil eye, the phrase is found on *zār* [*q.v.*] amulets and on amulets worn by children and domestic animals (*ibid.*, ii, 43, 66, 67, 153, and pl. 76; F. Th. Dijkema, *The Ottoman historical monumental inscriptions in Edirne*, Leiden 1977, 137; the amulet collection of the Ethnographical Museum, Cairo; Lane, *Manners and customs*, ch. xi). According to L. Einnsler, *Das böse Auge*, in *ZDPV*, xii (1889), 200 ff., there were silver amulets in Jerusalem with the formula on the obverse, the reverse bearing the invocations *yā kāfī*, *yā s͟hāfī*, *yā ḥāfiẓ*, *yā amīn*. In Turkey, the phrase is often found on the fronts of trucks and cars.

Bibliography: In the article, and see also M. Piamenta, *Islam in everyday Arabic speech*, Leiden 1979; idem, *The Muslim conception of God and human welfare as reflected in everyday Arabic speech*, Leiden 1983.

(Ed.)

MĀS͟HĀʾ ALLĀH b. At͟harī or b. Sāriya, Jewish astrologer of Basra (although the frequent confusion between Baṣrī and Miṣrī has sometimes led to him being considered an Egyptian). His Hebrew name was perhaps Manasseh (the *Fihrist*, 273-4, and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 327, call him Mīs͟hā) and in Persian he was known as Yazdānk͟hʷāst which, like Mās͟haʾallāh, signifies "that which God wills".

According to the *Fihrist*, the period of his activity extended from the reign of al-Manṣūr (135-58/754-75) to that of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), but the last date to be placed definitely within his lifetime is 193/809 (in *Fī ḳiyām al-k͟hulafāʾ*, he shows in fact that he knew that of the death of al-Ras͟hīd). With Nawbak͟ht, ʿUmar b. Farruk͟hān al-Ṭabarī and al-Fazārī, he drew the horoscope favourable to the foun-

dation of Bag̲h̲dād (3 D̲j̲umādā I 145/30 July 762); this horoscope, which has been preserved (see al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āt̲h̲ār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1923, 270-1), had probably been calculated on the basis of the Pahlavi original text of the *Zīd̲j̲ al-S̲h̲āh*. On the evidence of his *Kitāb al-Ḳirānāt*, he seems to have been of pro-Iranian and anti-ʿAbbāsid sentiment; he hoped in fact that the caliphate would be overthrown in 200/815 and that power would pass to the Persians.

In the *Fihrist*, Ibn al-Nadīm mentions 19 works of Mās̲h̲āʾ allāh, and al-Ḳifṭī reproduces this list in his *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ḥukamāʾ*. The generally most complete and most recent studies which mention the titles of these works and the mss. in which they are preserved are those of D. Pingree, *Mās̲h̲āʾallāh*, in *Dict. of scientific biography*, New York 1974, 159-62, and F. Sezgin, *GAS*, vi, 127-9, viii, 102-8.

Of the corpus of known works, discussion here will be limited to the following:

— *Fi ʾl-ḳirānāt wa ʾl-adyān wa ʾl-milal* ("On conjunctions, religions and communities"), an astrological history of mankind, and of Islam in particular, which is known to us by means of a summary by Ibn Hibintā. E. S. Kennedy and D. Pingree (*The astrological history of Mās̲h̲āʾallāh*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 1-25) have published a facsimile of the ms., with a translation and a study of the summary of this work, which is based on an amalgam of the Sāsānid theory which explains the major changes which have taken place in human history by reference to conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn, and of the Zoroastrian theory of millennia which attributes a thousand years to each planet from the time of the creation of the world (-8291), the cycle being repeated up until the figure of 12 millennia which will be reached in the year 3709 A.D. Ibn Hibintā's summary also contains 16 horoscopes, probably those of Mās̲h̲āʾallāh himself and calculated on the basis of the *Zid̲j̲ al-S̲h̲āh*: Kennedy and Pingree have made use of the numerical figuring in these horoscopies, combined with the sparse information supplied by other sources (essentially al-Bīrūnī) to reconstruct the principal parameters employed in the Persian tables mentioned above (see also J. J. Burckhardt and B. L. van der Waerden, *Das astronomischen System der persischen Tafeln I*, in *Centaurus*, xiii [1968], 1-28).

— *Fī ḳiyām al-k̲h̲ulafāʾ wa-maʿrifat ḳiyām kull malik* ("On the accession of caliphs and knowledge of the accession of each king"), of which the original Arabic, preserved, has been translated and studied by Kennedy and Pingree, in *The astr. history*, 129-43. After a general theoretical survey, the work contains horoscopes of the spring equinoxes at which the Prophet and 18 caliphs (from Abū Bakr to Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd) acceded to power. To calculate these, Mās̲h̲āʾallāh also made use of the *Zid̲j̲ al-S̲h̲āh*.

— *Kitāb al-Mawālīd* ("Book of genethliac themes"), known only through some quotations made by a disciple of the author, Abū ʿAlī al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ, and through a Latin translation edited and studied by Pingree (*The astr. history*, 145-74). It contains 12 natal horoscopes dating from between 36 and 542 A.D.; three of them derive from the *Pentateuch* of Dorotheus of Sidon (50-75 A.D.), and the other nine from an unknown Greek astrological work dating from the 6th century. He interprets the horoscopes according to the doctrine of Dorotheus, whose work he probably knew through the Pahlavi translation. The influence of this writer is also perceptible in the *Super significationibus planetarum in nativitate* of Mās̲h̲āʾallāh, which survives only in Latin translation.

— *De receptione*, preserved in Latin translation (ed. J. Heller, Norirbergae 1549), comprises 6 horoscopes dating between 791 and 794. One of them figures in the Peterhouse ms. 75.1, which contains the treatise of Chaucer (*ca.* 1340-*ca.* 1400) on the equator (E. S. Kennedy, *A horoscope of Messehalla in the Chaucer Equatorium manuscript*, in *Speculum*, xxxiv [1959], 629-30; repr. in E. S. Kennedy (ed.), *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 336-7; cf. Kennedy-Pingree, *The astr. history*, 175-8).

— *De scientis motus orbis* or *De elementis et orbitus coelestibus* or *De sphaera mota*, preserved in Latin translation, contains a study of the *Physics* of Aristotle (chs. 1-7), as well as an introduction to astronomy (chs. 8-24), both of these based on Syriac sources. The astronomical source mentions Ptolemy and Theo of Alexandria, but the planetary models described are pre-Ptolemaic Greek (they do not, in fact, employ the equant and introduce no specific apparatus for the moon and Mercury) and similar to those found in Sanskrit texts since the end of the 5th century (cf. D. Pingree, *Mashaʾallah: some Sasanian and Syrian sources*, in G. F. Hourani (ed.), *Essays on Islamic philosophy and science*, Albany 1975, 5-14).

— *Kitāb al-Amṭār wa ʾl-riyāḥ* ("Book of the rains and the winds"), ed. and tr. by G. Levi Della Vida (*Un opusculo astrologico di Māšāʾallāh*, in *RSO*, xiv [1933-4], 270-81), concerns the astrological procedure for predicting rain. A Latin version also exists.

— *Epistola de rebus eclipsium*, *De ratione circuli et stellarum*, *Liber Messehalla in radicis revolutionum* or *Epistola Messallach de planetarum efficacis* (cf. J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las tables astronómicas del rey don Pedro el Ceremonioso*, Madrid-Barcelona 1962, 87), preserved in Latin translation (by John of Seville, ed. Basle 1551) and Hebrew translation (by Abraham b. ʿEzra). The latter, which is entitled *Sefer li-Mas̲h̲aʾallāh bi-ḳadrūt ha-levanah we ha-s̲h̲emes̲h̲*, has been translated by B. R. Goldstein (*The Book on eclipses by Mashaʾallah*, in *Physis*, vi [1964], 205-13). It is divided into 12 chapters, of which the first contains a curious reference to magnetism in a cosmological context: the ascending node, the stars and the planets exert an influence on the earth in the same manner that magnetic stone attracts iron. It is appropriate also to mention the use, in this text, of a classification of planetary conjunctions distinct from that which figures in *Fi ʾl-ḳirānāt*.

— Ibn al-Nadīm attributes to Mās̲h̲āʾallāh a *Kitāb Ṣanʿat al-asṭurlābāt wa ʾl-ʿamal bi-hā* ("Construction and use of astrolabes"), often identified with the treatise on the astrolabe in Latin, which has been edited, notably by R. T. Gunther (*Early science in Oxford*, v, Oxford 1929, 195-231). A second treatise on the astrolabe in a Latin version, likewise attributed to Māshāʾallah, has been edited by Millás Vallicrosa (in *Las traducctiones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*, Madrid 1942, 322-7). P. Kunitzch has rejected the attribution of the two texts to Māshāʾallāh (see *Typen von Sternverzeichnissen in astronomischen Handschriften des zehnten bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1966, 313-21; idem, *On the authenticity of the treatise on the composition and use of the astrolabe ascribed to Messahallah*, in *AIHS*, xxxi [1981], 42-62). A part at least of the text edited by Gunther appears to be linked to the school of Maslama al-Mad̲j̲rīṭī (d. *ca.* 398/1007-8; cf. R. Martí and M. Viladrich, in J. Vernet (ed.), *Textos y estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo XIII*, Barcelona 1981, 79-99, and in idem (ed.), *Neuvos estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo de Alfonso X*, Barcelona 1983, 9-74; M. Viladrich, *On the sources of the Alphonsine treatise dealing with the construction of the plane astrolabe*, in *JHAS*, vi [1982], 167-71).

The work of Mās̲h̲āʾallah is that of a writer who has

little interest in astronomy, but has cultivated all the branches of astrology which he has widely promulgated and popularised; nevertheless, it has considerable interest from the astronomical point of view on account of the sources used (Persian, Syriac and, directly or indirectly, Greek), which throw light on a very early period in the history of Arab-Islamic astronomy.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also L. Thorndike, *The Latin translations of the astrological works by Messahala*, in *Osiris*, xii (1956), 49-72; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1956, 23-38; E. S. Kennedy, *The Sasanian astronomical handbook Zīj-i Shāh and the astrological doctrine of "transit"* (mamarr), in *JAOS*, lxxviii (1958), 246-62 (re-ed. in Kennedy and others, *Studies*, 319-35); Kennedy, D. Pingree and F. I. Haddad, *The Book of the reasons behind astronomical tables by ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān al-Hāshimī*, New York 1981, 183, 186-7, 191, 264, 284, 321-3. (J. Samsó)

MAṢḤAF [see muṣḥaf]

MAS̲H̲ĀḲA, Mīk̲h̲āʾil, a person of secondary importance of the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*] (b. Ras̲h̲maya 20 March 1800, d. Damascus 6 July 1888). Born in the Greek Melkite rite, he began his studies in Egypt in astronomy, mathematics and the natural sciences. As a silk weaver, he studied music (*Risāla fī fann al-mūsīkī*, ed. Ronzevalle, in *al-Machriq* [1899], pp. 146). As an official, a representative of S̲h̲ihāb and vice-consul for the United States, and then merchant, he took up medicine (doctor of medicine at Cairo, 1845). In 1848 at Damascus he joined the Protestant faith. The ensuing polemics can be found in *al-Dalīl ilā ṭāʿat al-Indjīl*², Beirut 1860, pp. 332, and in *K. al-Barāhīn al-indjīliyya ḍidd al-abāṭīl al-bābawiyya*, Beirut 1864, pp. 187. As the Arabic translator of Voltaire, a close connection of the al-S̲h̲idyāḳ family and of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, he reacted, through his attitude and his writings, against confessionalism, and opened the way, through his advocacy of reason, to scientific attitudes. His chronicle of Syria (1783-1841) remains in manuscript; the autograph is in the AUB Library, ms. 956, 9 M 39a.

Bibliography: Ḳasāṭilī, in *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, xii (August 1888), 703-5; Zaydān, *Tarādjim mas̲h̲āhīr al-s̲h̲arḳ*, ii, 156-9; S̲h̲aykh̲ū, in *al-Ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿas̲h̲ar*, ii, 140-1; Kurd ʿAlī, *Kh̲iṭaṭ al-S̲h̲ām*, xxiv, 71; Sarkīs, 1747-8; Brockelmann, II, 496 S II, 779-80; Graf, *GCAL*, iv, 297-9; Bag̲h̲dādī, *Īḍāḥ*, i, 175, 178, 221, 565; Kaḥḥāla, xiii, 57-8; Ziriklī, viii, 295-6; *Muntak̲h̲abāt min al-djawāb ʿalā iḳtirāḥ al-aḥbāb*, ed. Asʿad Rustum and Ṣubḥī Abū S̲h̲akrā, Beirut 1955, pp. 180; *Ruwwād indjīliyyūn*, in *al-Mas̲h̲ʿal* (1962), 24-42; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age*, 58; *Travaux et jours*, xl (July-Sept. 1971), 57-67; Dāg̲h̲ir, iii/2, 1212-14. (J. Fontaine)

MAS̲H̲ĀRIḲA (a.), the Arabs and Arabised peoples of the East (*Mas̲h̲riḳ*) in contrast to those of the West (*Mag̲h̲rib*) called *Mag̲h̲āriba* [*q.v.*]. The history of the Mas̲h̲āriḳa in the East, a history which is inseparable from the region itself, will not be treated here. The concern here is rather with the Mas̲h̲āriḳa who were perceived as such in the West by the Mag̲h̲āriba. The distinction between the two great groups, with a certain specificness proper to Muslim Spain, becomes perceptible less than half-a-century after the expansion of the Arabs in the West, i.e. around 122/740 [see mag̲h̲āriba].

It is impossible to determine, even with an approximative exactness, the number of Mas̲h̲āriḳa who, in successive waves and during periods stretching from the middle of the 1st century to the middle of the 5th one/last quarter of the 7th to the middle of the 11th, established themselves in the West and especially in Ifrīḳiya, where their settlement was the densest and most enduring. As the newcomers became "Mag̲h̲ribised", i.e. at the latest from the second generation onwards, they thereby ceased to be perceived as Mas̲h̲āriḳa. The first waves of them, up to the last quarter of the 2nd century/beginning of the 9th one, were made up of sedentaries who founded new towns or who settled in already existing towns. Their number cannot have exceeded a quarter of a million: fighters for the faith, often coming with wives and children; officials; men of religion; merchants; and all kinds of persons attracted by the prospect of profits offered by a new land (see M. Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 21-2, and art. al-ʿarab, v, at 542-3). The towns where they settled formed at one and the same time centres for religious Islamisation and cultural Arabisation, i.e., for the orientalisation of the Mag̲h̲rib. A certain number of the Ṣaḥāba, the Companions of the Prophet, are said to have died in the Mag̲h̲rib (see Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Paris 1915, 16-18; and al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, ed. B. al-Bakkūs̲h̲ and M. A. al-Miṭwī, Beirut 1981, i, 60-98, where, in the notes, the editors refer in a virtually exhaustive fashion to the other sources), and certain towns have retained the memory of them till this day, embodied in sanctuaries and tombs, as features of great glory. Thus at al-Ḳayrawān, the presumed tomb of Abū Zamʿa al-Balawī, transformed into the centre of a sanctuary—the Zāwiya Sīdī al-Ṣāḥib—enjoys a particular prestige (see B. Roy and P. Poinssot, *Inscriptions arabes de Kairouan*, Paris 1950, ii/1, 65-76). Nevertheless, the sources attach a particular importance to ten Successors or Tābiʿūn who were sent by the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99-101/717-20) into Ifrīḳiya in order to spread Islam in the Mag̲h̲rib (al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 99-118, with reference to other sources). One should however note that there was no figure of the first rank among these Mas̲h̲āriḳa.

Politically, the most outstanding of the eastern dynasties who reigned in the Islamic West were the Ag̲h̲labids of al-Ḳayrawān, the Idrīsids of Fez, the Umayyads of Cordova and the Fāṭimids [*q.vv.*], the founders of al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] on the Tunisian coast. The last Mas̲h̲āriḳa who infiltrated into the Mag̲h̲rib and then Spain in large numbers—several hundred thousands?—were the nomadic Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*], who were victorious in 443/1052 at Ḥaydarān [*q.v.*] and were backed up by the Banū Sulaym. Views on the extent of his "catastrophe" of the Hilālian invasions vary considerably (see Talbi, *Droit et économie en Ifrīḳiya...*, in *Etudes d'histoire ifrīḳiyenne*, Tunis 1982, 205 and n. 4, Eng. tr. in *The Islamic Middle East*, ed. A. L. Udovitch, Princeton 1981, 222-3 and n. 77). But the Hilāl and Sulaym were not perceived in the Muslim West as Mas̲h̲āriḳa *stricto sensu*.

This term too, together with those of *ʿIrāḳī* and *Kūfī*, denoted fairly frequently in the Muslim West, though not inevitably and constrainedly, the geographical connection with a socio-cultural area, but equally, the belonging to a religious school. In particular, the S̲h̲īʿīs are often described in Ifrīḳiya, after the coming of the Fāṭimids, as being *mas̲h̲riḳīs*, even when the persons in question were authentic Mag̲h̲ribīs. Thus Ibn Ghāzī was a pious Sunnī of al-Ḳayrawān and a zealous frequenter of *ribāṭs*. "When ʿUbayd Allāh made his entry [into al-Ḳayrawān], he embraced S̲h̲īʿism (*tas̲h̲arraḳa*)" (Talbi, *Biographies aghlabides*, Tunis 1968, 284). Another similar person was "a *mas̲h̲riḳī* who had abandoned Islam" (al-

Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, ii, 502) in order to convert to the Shīʿī heresy. An assembly at al-Ḳayrawān brought together "Sunnīs and *mashāriḳa*" (*ibid.*, ii, 338), i.e. Shīʿīs. See other examples in *ibid.*, ii, 425, 427, and in Talbi, *op. cit.*, 369, 383, 394.

The terms *ʿIrāḳī* (or *ahl al-ʿIrāḳ*) and *Kūfī* were, on the other hand, more often reserved for Ifrīḳiyan Ḥanafīs (al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 181, 256, 263, 264, 266, 277, 374, 375, 451, 452, 463, 500, ii, 29, 73, 207, 339; and Talbi, *op. cit.*, index s.v. *ʿIrāḳiyyūn*). These last, in contradistinction from the Mālikīs who made up the spear-head of opposition to the Fāṭimids, showed themselves as much more receptive to Shīʿī propaganda, which may be a contributory cause to their disappearance from the North African scene, after having formed the majority there (Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide*, 233), once Shīʿism was finally extirpated.

Above all, it was in a dual role, religious and cultural, that the Mashāriḳa played an outstanding part in the Muslim West. Certainly, none of their outstanding stars went beyond the Nile valley. The Maghrib was to some extent a land of exile where only persons relatively in the second rank sought their fortune, which does not however mean that their role was any the less decisive. Let us mention, for example, that ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] had among his masters two Mashāriḳa who had visited Ceuta, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Rabʿī al-Maḳdisī (d. at al-Nāṣiriyya in 531/1137, ʿIyāḍ, *Ghunya*, no. 81) and the Shāfiʿī Sahl b. ʿUthmān al-Nīsābūrī (no. 89; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968, iii, 67). Naturally, one cannot give here an exhaustive survey. Such a survey, which has not yet been done, would however show itself as very suggestive and open up many directions for research. The sources at our disposal at present have not, in any case, kept note of everything. Al-Maḳḳarī, who devotes 86 biographical notices to the Mashāriḳa who resided in al-Andalus (*Nafḥ*, iii, 5-149), remarks that "one cannot give an exhaustive list of them, even when limiting oneself to the most outstanding ones (*ibid.*, iii, 5). For his part, Ibn Bashkuwāl provides us with over 50 names of Mashāriḳa established in Muslim Spain (*al-Ṣila*, classified in an approximately alphabetical order at the end of each section, under the rubric *wa-min al-ghurabāʾ* ...).

Among the top figures, three are especially representative of the role played by the Mashāriḳa in the Muslim West, comprising two philologist *adībs* and a musician. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī (288-356/901-67 [*q.v.*]) arrived in Cordova in 330/942 and was received with great pomp (al-Maḳḳarī, iii, 71-2). Drawing on his rich library, and also on his memory, he spread eastern culture over a wide range, and he thus occupies the position of "the key figure in the ʿIrāḳī tradition in the West" (R. Sellheim, *EI²* art. s.v.). The figure of Ṣāʿid al-Baghdādī (d. ?417/1026 [*q.v.*]) is in a sense even more representative and of heightened relief (see R. Blachère, *Un pionnier de la culture arabe orientale en Espagne au Xᵉ siècle: Ṣâʿid de Bagdad*, in *Analecta*, Damascus 1975, 443-65). This was that of "a fairly picturesque Bohemian" (*op. cit.*, 445), certainly, enough of a flamboyant figure to shine at court. Having been compelled to "give up the idea of making a name for himself in Iraq", he took the road for Cordova, where he became "something like the type of the pioneer of oriental literary culture in Spain during the second half of the 10th century" (465). Ziryāb (173-243/789-857 [*q.v.*]) was a black musician who had first of all gravitated into the orbit of the ʿAbbāsid court in Baghdād. Having aroused jealousies there, he also had to renounce making an impression in ʿIrāḳ, and, after a brief stay in al-Ḳayrawān, went to seek his fortune at Cordova, arriving there in 207/822. His enormous influence was not just in the muscial sphere. "Under the unchallenged arbitration of Ziryāb, the court and the town altered their dress, their furnishings [and] their cuisine" (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, Paris 1950, i, 272).

Bibliography: There is no specific bibliography for this topic. In addition to references given in the text, information can be gleaned from all the historical works, from the *adab* literature and, above all, from the *ṭabaḳāt*. (M. Talbi)

MASHHAD (A.), noun of place from the verb *shahida* "to witness, be present at" > "be a martyr, *shahīd*" (a post-Ḳurʾānic semantic development which Goldziher thought was influenced by Eastern Christian Syriac parallel usage; see *Muh. Studien*, ii, 387-9, Eng. tr. ii, 350-2). In post-Ḳurʾānic times also, the noun *mashhad* developed from its designating any sacred place, not necessarily having a construction associated with it, but often in fact a tomb in general, the burial place of an earlier prophet, saint or forerunner of Muḥammad or of any Muslim who had had pronounced over him the *shahāda* or profession of faith. Later, it might mean a martyrium specifically or be used for any small building with obvious religious features like a *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*] (see O. Grabar, *The earliest Islamic commemorative structures, notes and documents*, in *Ars Orientalis*, vi [1966], 9-12). Literary sources, e.g. the early geographers, mention *mashhads* of what are clearly highly varying natures (see e.g. al-Muḳaddasī, tr. A. Miquel, *La meilleure répartition*, Damascus 1963, 6 n. 15), but an early epigraphic instance of the term's usage is on the frieze of the Mīl-i Rādkān, the tomb tower in Gurgān erected by the Bāwandid local ruler, the Ispahbadh Muḥammad b. Wandarīn, in 407-11/1016-21, where this edifice is described as a *mashhad* (see M. Van Berchem, *Die Inschriften der Grabtürme*, 1, in E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i, Berlin 1918, 87-90; *RCEA*, vi, nos. 2312-13; KITĀBĀT. 9. Iran and Transoxiana and Pl. XIX no. 22).

For the tomb of the caliph and First Imām of the Shīʿīs, ʿAlī, the Mashhad ʿAlī, see AL-NADJAF; for that of the Third Imām, al-Ḥusayn, the Mashhad (al-) Ḥusayn, see KARBALĀ; and for that of the Eighth Imām, ʿAlī al-Riḍā, the Mashhad in Khurāsān, see the next article.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): See M. Hartmann, in *ZDPV*, xxiv (1901), 65-6 and 65 n. 2; Van Berchem, *Opera minora*, ed. A Louca and Ch. Genequand, Geneva 1978, index s.v.; and the arts. BUḲʿA in Suppl., ḲUBBA, MASDJID. I. B. 4 Tomb-mosques, and TURBA. (C. E. Bosworth)

MASHHAD, a city of northeastern Persia, the capital of the present province of Khurāsān [*q.v.*] and the location since medieval times of one of the most important shrines of the Shīʿī world built round the tomb of the Eighth Imam ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*].

1. Geography, history and topography to 1914. Mashhad lies 3,000 feet above sea level in 59° 35′ E. long. and 16° 17′ N. lat. in the valley from 10 to 25 miles broad of the Kashaf-Rūd, also called Āb-i Mashhad, which joins the Harī Rūd [*q.v.*] about 100 miles S.E. of Mashhad on the Russo-Persian frontier. Mashhad lies about 4 miles south of the bank of the Kashaf-Rūd. The hills which run along the valley rise to 8,000 or 9,000 feet near Mashhad. In consequence of its high situation and proximity to the mountains,

the climate of Mas͟hhad is in the winter rather severe, in the summer, however, often tropically hot; it is regarded as healthy.

Mas͟hhad may in a way be regarded as the successor of the older pre-Islamic Ṭūs [*q.v.*], and it has not infrequently been erroneously confounded with it.

The fact that Ṭūs is the name of both a town and a district, together with the fact that two places are always mentioned as the principal towns of this district, has given rise among the later Arab geographers to the erroneous opinion that the capital Ṭūs is a double town consisting of Ṭābarān and Nūḳān; e.g. Yāḳūt, iii, 560, 5 (correct at iv, 824, 23) and in the *Lubāb* of Ibn al-At͟hīr quoted by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (*Taḳwīm*, 453). Al-Ḳazwīnī (*At͟hār al-bilād*, 275, 21) next made the two towns thought to be joined together into two quarters (*maḥalla*). This quite erroneous idea of a double town Ṭūs found its way into European literature generally. Sykes (*JRAS* [1910], 1115-16) and following him, E. Diez (*Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918, i, 53-4) have rightly challenged this untenable idea. The older Arab geographers quite correctly distinguish between Ṭābarān and Nūḳān as two quite separate towns. Nūḳān, according to the express testimony of the Arabic sources, was only ¼ parasang (*farsak͟h*) or one Arabic mile from the tomb of Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd and ʿAlī al-Riḍā (see below) and must therefore have been very close to the modern Mas͟hhad. The ruins of Ṭābarān-Ṭūs and Mas͟hhad are about 15 miles apart.

In Nūḳān, or in the village of Sanābād͟h belonging to it, two distinguished figures in Islamic history were buried within one decade: the caliph Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd and the ʿAlid ʿAlī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā [*q.vv.*].

When Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd was preparing to take the field in K͟hurāsān, he was stricken mortally ill in a country house at Sanābād͟h where he had stopped, and died in a few days (193/809). The caliph, we are told (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 737, 13-17), realising he was about to die, had his grave dug in the garden of this country mansion and consecrated by Ḳurʾān readers.

About 10 years after the death of Ḥārūn, the caliph al-Maʾmūn on his way from Marw spent a few days in this palace. Along with him was his son-in-law ʿAlī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā, the caliph designate, the eighth *imām* of the Twelvers. The latter died suddenly here in 203/818; the actual day in uncertain (cf. Strothmann, *Die Zwölfer-S͟hīʿa*, Leipzig 1926, 171).

It was not the tomb of the caliph but that of a highly venerated *imām* which made Sanābād͟h (Nūḳān) celebrated throughout the S͟hīʿa world, and the great town which grew up in course of time out of the little village actually became called *al-Mas͟hhad* (Mas͟hhad) which means "sepulchral shrine" (primarily of a martyr belonging to the family of the Prophet). Cf. on the conception of *mas͟hhad*, MASD͟JID. I. B. 4; the previous article; and M. van Berchem in Diez, *op. cit.*, i (Berlin 1918), 89-90. Ibn Ḥawḳal (313) calls our sanctuary simply Mas͟hhad, Yāḳūt (iii, 153) more accurately al-Mas͟hhad al-Riḍāwī = the tomb-shrine of al-Riḍā; we also find the Persian name *Mas͟hhad-i muḳaddas* = "the sanctified shrine" (e.g. in Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, 157). As a place-name, Mas͟hhad first appears in al-Muḳaddasī (352), i.e. in the last third of the 4th/10th century. About the middle of the 8th/14th century the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 77) uses the expression "town of Mas͟hhad al-Riḍā". Towards the end of the Middle Ages, the name Nūḳān, which is still found on coins in the first half of the 8th/14th century under the Īlk͟hāns (cf. Codrington, *A manual of Musalman numismatics*, London 1904, 189), seems to have been gradually ousted by al-Mas͟hhad or Mas͟hhad. At the present day, Mas͟hhad is often more precisely known as Mas͟hhad-i Riḍā, Mas͟hhad-i muḳaddas, Mas͟hhad-i Ṭūs (so already in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 66). Not infrequently in literature, especially in poetry, we find only Ṭūs mentioned, i.e. New Ṭūs in contrast to Old Ṭūs or the proper town of this name; cf. e.g. Muḥammad Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, *Taʾrīk͟h Ṭūs aw al-Mas͟hhad al-Riḍawī*, Bag͟hdād 1927, 3.

The history of Mas͟hhad is very fully dealt with in the work of Muḥammad Ḥasan K͟hān Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla entitled *Maṭlaʿ al-s͟hams* (3 vols., Tehran 1301-3 A.H.). The second volume is exclusively devoted to the history and topography of Mas͟hhad; for the period from 428/1036-7 to 1302/1885 he gives valuable historical material. On this work, cf. C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, 313-14, and E. G. Browne, *LHP*, iv, 455-6. The *Maṭlaʿ al-s͟hams* forms the chief source for the sketch of the history of the town in Yate, 314-26. Cf. also the chronological notes in Muḥammad Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, *op. cit.*, 13-16.

The importance of Sanābād͟h-Mas͟hhad continually increased with the growing fame of its sanctuary and the decline of Ṭūs. Ṭūs received its death blow in 791/1389 from Mīrāns͟hāh, a son of Tīmūr. When the Mongol noble who governed the place rebelled and attempted to make himself independent, Mīrāns͟hāh was sent against him by his father. Ṭūs was stormed after a siege of several months, sacked and left a heap of ruins; 10,000 inhabitants were massacred (see Yate, 316; Sir Percy Sykes, in *JRAS* [1910], 1118 and Browne, *op.cit.*, iii, 190). Those who escaped the holocaust settled in the shelter of the ʿAlid sanctuary. Ṭūs was henceforth abandoned and Mas͟hhad took its place as the capital of the district.

As to the political history of Mas͟hhad, it coincides in its main lines with that of the province of K͟hurāsān [*q.v.*]. Here we shall only briefly mention a few of the more important events in the past of the town. Like all the larger towns of Persia, Mas͟hhad frequently saw risings and the horrors of war within its walls. To protect the mausoleum of ʿAlī al-Riḍā in the reign of the G͟haznawid Masʿūd [*q.v.*], the then G͟haznawid governor of K͟hurāsān erected defences in 428/1037. In 515/1121 a wall was built round the whole town which afforded protection from attack for some time. In 556/1161 however, the G͟huzz [*q.v.*] succeeded in taking the place, but they spared the sacred area in their pillaging. We hear of a further visitation by Mongol hordes in 695/1296 in the time of Sultan G͟hāzān [*q.v.*]. Probably the greatest benefactors of the town and especially of its sanctuary were the first Tīmūrid S͟hāh Ruk͟h (809-50/1406-46 [*q.v.*]) and his pious wife D͟jawhar-S͟hād͟h.

With the rise of the Ṣafawid dynasty [*q.v.*], a new era of prosperity began for Mas͟hhad. The very first S͟hāh of this family, Ismāʿīl I (907-30/1501-24 [*q.v.*]), established S͟hīʿism as the state religion and, in keeping with this, care for the sacred cities within the Persian frontier, especially Mas͟hhad and Ḳumm, became an important feature in his programme as in those of his successors. Pilgrimage to the holy tombs at these places experienced a considerable revival. In Mas͟hhad, the royal court displayed a great deal of building activity. In this respect Ṭahmāsp I, Ismāʿīl I's successor (930-84/1524-76 [*q.v.*]), and the great S͟hāh ʿAbbās I (995-1037/1587-1627 [*q.v.*]) were especially distinguished.

In the 10th/16th century the town suffered considerably from the repeated raids of the Özbegs (Uzbeks). In 913/1507 it was taken by the troops of the S͟haybānī K͟hān [see S͟HAYBĀNIDS]; it was not till

934/1528 that Shāh Ṭahmāsp I succeeded in repelling the enemy from the town again. Stronger walls and bastions were then built and another attack by the same Özbeg chief was foiled by them in 941/1535. But in 951/1544 the Özbegs again succeeded in entering the town and plundering and murdering there. The year 997/1589 was a disastrous one for Mashhad. The Shaybānid ʿAbd al-Muʾmin after a four months' siege forced the town to surrender. The streets of the town ran with blood, and the thoroughness of the pillaging did not stop at the gates of the sacred area. Shāh ʿAbbās I, who lived in Mashhad from 993/1585 till his official ascent of the throne in Ḳazwīn in 995/1587, was not able to retake Mashhad from the Özbegs till 1006/1598.

At the beginning of the reign of Ṭahmāsp II in 1135/1722, the Afghān tribe of Abdālī [*q.v.*] invaded Khurāsān. Mashhad fell before them, but in 1138/1726 the Persians succeeded in retaking it after a two months' siege. Nādir Shāh (1148-60/1736-47 [*q.v.*]) had a mausoleum built for himself in Mashhad.

After the death of Nādir Shāh, civil war broke out among the claimants to the throne, in the course of which the unity of the Persian empire was broken. The whole eastern part of the kingdom of Nādir Shāh, particularly Khurāsān (except the district of Nīshāpūr), passed in this period of Persian impotence under the rule of the vigorous Afghān Shāh Aḥmad Durrānī [*q.v.*]. An attempt by Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] to reunite Khurāsān to the rest of Persia failed. Aḥmad defeated the Persians and took Mashhad after an eight months' siege in 1167/1753. Aḥmad Shāh and his successor Tīmūr Shāh left Shāh Rukh in possession of Khurāsān as their vassal, making Khurāsān a kind of buffer state between them and Persia. As the real rulers, however, both these Afghān rulers struck coins in Mashhad.

Otherwise, the reign of the blind Shāh Rukh, which with repeated short interruptions lasted for nearly half a century, passed without any events of special note. It was only after the death of Tīmūr-Shāh (1207/1792) that Agha Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Ḳādjār [*q.v.*] dynasty, succeeded in taking Shāh Rukh's domains and putting him to death in 1210/1795, thus ending the separation of Khurāsān from the rest of Persia. The death soon afterwards of Agha Muḥammad (1211/1796) enabled Nādir Mīrzā b. Shāh Rukh, who had escaped to Harāt, to return to Mashhad and take up the reins of government again. A siege of his capital by a Ḳādjār army remained without success; but in 1803 Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh was able to take it after a siege of several months when Nādir's funds were exhausted.

From 1825 Khurāsān suffered greatly from the raids of Turkoman hordes and the continual feuds of the tribal leaders (cf. Conolly, *Journey*, i, 288 and Yate, 53). To restore order, the crown prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā entered Khurāsān with an army and made Mashhad his headquarters. He died there in 1833.

The most important political event of the 19th century for Mashhad was the rebellion of Ḥasan Khān Sālār, the prince-governor of Khurāsān, a cousin of the reigning Shāh Muḥammad-i ʿAbbās. For two years (1847-9) he held out against the government troops sent against him. At the time of the accession of Nāṣir al-Dīn (1848), Khurāsān was actually independent. It was only when the people of Mashhad, under pressure of famine, rebelled against Sālār that Ḥusām al-Salṭana's army succeeded in taking the town.

In 1911 a certain Yūsuf Khān of Harāt declared himself independent in Mashhad under the name of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh, and for a period disturbed Khurāsān considerably with the help of a body of reactionaries who gathered round him. This gave the Russians a pretext for armed intervention, and on 29 March 1912, they bombarded Mashhad in gross violaton of Persia's suzerain rights and many innocent people, citizens and pilgrims, were slain. This bombardment of the national sanctuary of Persia made a most painful impression in the whole Muslim world. Yūsuf Khān was later captured by the Persians and put to death (cf. Browne, *The press and poets of modern Persia*, Cambridge, 1914, 124, 127, 136; Sykes, *History of Persia*, London 1927, ii, 426-7).

Mashhad is now the centre of eastern Persia, the capital of the province of Khurāsān which, since its eastern part was taken by the Afghāns in the 18th century, is barely half its former size (cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 383-4; *Isl.*, xi, 108-9). In the middle ages it was not Ṭūs, Mashhad's predecessor, but Naysābūr (modern Persian Nīshāpūr) that was the capital of this extensive and important province. A royal prince has usually been governor since the fall of the Nādirids. Since 1845, the lucrative and influential post of Mutawallī-Bāshī, the controller or treasurer of the sanctuary of the Imām, has usually been combined with the governorship (cf. Yate, 322).

Like most pre-modern Persian towns, Mashhad was enclosed by a great girdle of walls. The lines built to stiffen the defences, namely a small moat with escarpment before the main wall and a broad ditch around outside, were by the early 20th century in ruins and in places had completely disappeared.

The citadel (*ark*) in the southwest part of the town was directly connected with the system of defences. It was in the form of a rectangle with four great towers at the corners and smaller bastions. The palace begun by ʿAbbās Mīrzā but finished only in 1876, with its extensive gardens, was connected with the fortress proper, by the end of the 19th century fallen into disrepair (cf. Yate, 327). It was used as the governor's residence. The whole quarter of government buildings which, according to MacGregor, occupied an area of 1,200 yards, was separated from the town by an open space, the Maydān-i Tōp (Cannon Place) which was used for military parades.

There were six gates in the city walls.

The town was divided into six great and ten smaller quarters (*maḥalla*) (see Yate, 328). The six larger bore the names of their gates; see al-Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, *op. cit.*

The principal street which divides the whole town into two roughly equal halves, the Khiyābān, is a creation of Shāh ʿAbbās I, who did a great deal for Mashhad (see Yate, 319; cf. the pictures in Sykes, *The glory of the Shia world*, 231). This street, a fine promenade, is, being the main thoroughfare, filled all day with a throng of all classes and nationalities, including numerous pilgrims, and caravans of camels and asses; the bustle is tremendous, especially in the middle of the day.

The canal, which flowed through the Khiyābān in a bed about 9 feet broad and 5 feet deep, was fed, not from the Kashaf Rūd (see above) which runs quite close to Mashhad, for it has too little water, but from the Česhme-yi Gīlās, where the river rises, and which used to provide Ṭūs with water. When this town had been almost completely abandoned, Shīr ʿAlī, the vizier of Sultan Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr b. Bāyḳarā (1468-1506 [see ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ]), at the beginning of the 10th/16th century had the water brought from this source to Mashhad by a canal 45 miles long, thus sealing the ruin of Ṭūs; cf. Yate, 315; al-Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, 13.

The making of this canal (see Yate, 315; Mahdī al-

ʿAlawī, 13) contributed essentially to the rise of Mas͟hhad; for the greater part of its inhabitants relied on it for water, although after entering the town, the canal became muddy and marshy (which was often a subject of satire; cf. ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Voyage*, 74), and used it for drinking, washing and religious ablutions without hesitation. There were also large and deep reservoirs before the main gates. The water was saline and sulphurous and therefore had an unpleasant taste (cf. Conolly, i, 333-4; Khanikoff, 105; Curzon, i, 153).

The *Ḥaram-i S͟harīf* or sacred area, often called the *Bast* [*q.v.*], literally "place of refuge, asylum", straddles the lower part of the main street; for a detailed consideration of the shrine, see 3. below.

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As to descriptions of Mas͟hhad by Europeans, we owe the first full description to Fraser (1822); Conolly (i, 260) and Burnes (ii, 78) both say it is thoroughly reliable. Valuable notes on the town are given by Conolly, Ferrier, Khanikoff, Eastwick, MacGregor, Bassett, O'Donovan, Curzon, Massy, E. Diez, and especially by C. E. Yate and P. M. Sykes, each of whom spent several years (1893-7 and 1905-12 resp.) in Mas͟hhad as British Consul-General for K͟hurāsān.—Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo (1404), *Embassy to the court of Timur*, ed. C. R. Markham London 1859, 109-10; Truilhier (1807), in *Bulletin de la Société de Géogr.*, ix, Paris 1838, 272-82; J. B. Fraser (1822), *Narrative of a journey into Khorasan in the years 1821-1822*, London 1825, 436-548; A. Conolly (1830), *Journey to the North of India*, London 1834, i, 255-89, 296-368; A. Burnes (1832), *Travels into Bokhara*, London 1834, ii, 76-87; J. B. Fraser (1833), *A winter's journey from Constantinople to Teheran*, London 1838, i, 213-55; J. Wolff, *Narrative of a mission to Bokhara in the years 1843-1845*[3], London 1846, 177-96, 386-408; J. P. Ferrier (1845), *Caravan journeys and wanderings in Persia*[2], London 1857, 111-33; J. J. Benjamin, *8 Jahre in Asien und Europa*[2], Hanover 1858, 189-90; N. de Khanikoff (1858), *Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'Asie centrale*, Paris 1861, 95-111; idem, *Méched, la ville sainte et son territoire*, in *Le Tour du Monde*, Paris 1861, nos. 95-6; Eastwick (1862), *Journal of a diplomat's three years residence in Persia*, London 1864, ii, 190-4; H. Vámbéry (1863), *Reise in Mittelasien*[2], Leipzig 1865 (1873), 248-58; identical with H. Vámbéry, *Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse in Persien*, Pesth 1867, 313-27; H. W. Bellew (1872), *From the Indus to the Tigris*, London 1874, 358-68; F. J. Goldsmid (and Evan Smith, 1872), *Eastern Persia*, London 1876, i, 356-66; H. C. Marsh (1872), *A ride through Islam*, etc., London 1877, 96-112; V. Baker (1873), *Clouds in the East*, London 1876, 177-94; C. M. MacGregor (1875), *Narrative of a journey through the province of Khorasan*, London 1879, i, 277-309; ii, 4; J. Bassett (1878), *Persia, the land of the Imams*, London 1887, 219-47; E. O'Donovan (1880), *The Merw Oasis*, London 1882, i. 478-502; ii, 1-14; A. C. Yate (1885, brother of C. E. Yate), *Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission*, Edinburgh 1889, 367-84; G. Radde (1886), *Transkaspien und Nordchorasan*, in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteil.*, Erg.-H. 126, 174-8; G. N. Curzon (1889), *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, i, 148-76; H. St. Massy (1893), *An Englishman in the shrine of Imam Reza in Mashad*, in *The Nineteenth Century and after*, London 1913, lxxiii/2, 990-1007; C. E. Yate (1885, 1893-7), *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh 1900, 40-50, 53, 140-9, 249-346, 406, 418-21 (with pictures); P. Sykes (1893, 1902, 1905-12), *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, 24-6, 256, 301, 367, 385, 401; idem, *Historical notes on Khurasan*, in *JRAS* 1910, 1114-48, 1152-4;. idem, (and K͟hān Bahādur Aḥmad Dīn K͟hān), *The glory of the Shia world*, London 1910, 227-69 (with pictures); Ella C. Sykes, *Persia and its people*, London 1910, 88-105; H. R. Allemagne (1907), *Du Khorassan au pays des Bakhtiaris*, Paris 1911, iii, 75-114 (with very fine illustrations); A. V. W. Jackson (1907), *From Constantinople to the home of Omar Khayyam*, New York 1911, 263-77; H. H. Graf von Schweinitz (1908), *Orientalische Wanderungen in Turkestan und im nordöstl. Persien*, Berlin 1910, 15-28; E. Diez (1913), *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i, Berlin 1918, 52-61, 66-9, 76-8, 85-6, with index; ii, 19-20, 23-9, 36,2; 32, 38; idem, *Persien: Islamische Baukunst in Churāsān*, Hagen i. W. 1923, 43-79, 91, 154; O. von Niedermayer (1913, 1915-16), *Unter der Glutsonne Irans*, Dachau 1925, 207; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, index s.v. *Meschhed*; L. Lockhart, *Persian cities*, London 1960, 32-41; W. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, tr. S. Soucek, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Princeton 1984.— In the general works of K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii (1838), 11, 127, 238-308, 310; ix (1840), 904, and G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 388-91, 431. Ṭūs and Mas͟hhad are not satisfactorily distinguished.

(M. Streck)

2. History and topography from 1914 to the present day [see Suppl.]

3. The shrine, and Mas͟hhad as a centre of S͟hīʿī learning and piety [see Suppl.]

MAS͟HHAD ʿALĪ [see AL-NAD͟JAF].

MAS͟HHAD ḤUSAYN [see KARBALĀʾ].

MAS͟HHAD-I MIṢRIYĀN, a ruined site in Transcaspia (the modern Türkmenistan SSR) north-west of the confluence of the Atrak and its right bank tributary the Sumbar, or more exactly, on the road which runs from Čat at right angles to the road connecting Čikis͟hler with the railway station of Aydîn.

The ruins are surrounded by a wall of brick and a ditch and have an area of 320 acres. The old town, situated in the steppes which are now peopled by Turkomans, received its water from a canal led from the Atrak about 40 miles above Čat. Near the latter place, the canal diverged northwards from the river, crossed the Sumbar by a bridge and finally followed

an embankment 6 feet high on which the bed of the canal was 12 feet broad.

The ruins of a fine mosque can still be seen, the gateway of which, decorated with faience, has an inscription according to which this *ṭāḳ* was built by ʿAlāʾ al-Dunyā wa ʾl-Dīn Ghiyāth al-Islām wa ʾl-Muslimīn Ẓill Allāh fi ʾl-ʿĀlamīn Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Takish Burhān Amīr al-Muʾminīn. The Khwārazmshāh Muḥammad in question reigned 596-617/1200-20 [see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS]. On one of the two towers (minarets?) is written: *bismillāh ... barakatun min Allāhi, mimmā amara bihi Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Abi ʾl-Aʿazz* (?) *ṣāḥib al-ribāṭ, aʿazzahu ʾllāhu. ʿAmal ʿAlī R ....* (?). The identity of this Aḥmad is unknown but the title "lord of the *ribāṭ*" which he gives himself, confirms the fact that Mashhad-i Miṣriyān was a frontier fortress (*ribāṭ*). Near the east gate stood another white mosque.

Tradition (Conolly) ascribes the destruction of Miṣriyān to the "Ḳalmuḳ Tatars". The appearance of the Ḳalmuḳs in these regions may be dated about 1600.

The name Mashhad-i Miṣriyān (variants: Mestorian, Mest-Debran, Mest-Dovran, Mastān) is obscure, unless Mestorian is to be explained as * Nestoriyān i.e. "Nestorian Christians"; it may be recalled that during his campaign in the Čōl (*چول), to the east of the Caspian, Yazdagird II persecuted the Christians (Hoffmann, 50; J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, Paris 1904, 26).

The site of the ruins (to the north of Djurdjān) is given the name Dihistān in Muslim sources; for the town of this name, and the promontory of Dihistānān-Sur, as the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* calls it, see DIHISTĀN. 2.

The ruins of Mashhad-i Miṣriyān (as the inscription on the mosque suggests !) must correspond to the *ribāṭ* of Dihistān which al-Muḳaddasī, 358 (cf. also 312, 367, 372), mentions as distinct from Akhūr. This *ribāṭ*, situated on the borders of the steppes, had fine mosques and rich markets. Relying on Yāḳūt, i, 39, Barthold thought that in the 6th/12th century the *ribāṭ* (and not Akhūr to the east of the Djurdjān-*ribāṭ* road) was the capital of the district of Dihistān.

Bibliography: The Muslim sources as given in the text; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 60, 133-4, 385-6; A. Conolly, *Journey to the North of India*, London 1838, i, 76-7; A. Vambéry, *Reise in Mittelasien*², Leipzig 1873, 85 (fantastic statements on the Greek origin of the ruins); Lomakin, *Razvalinï dvukh drevnikh gorodov Mesteriyan i Meshkheda v Turkmenskoi stepi*, in *Izv. Kavk. Otd. Russ. Geogr. Obshč.*, iv/1, 15-17; A. Kohn, *Die Ruinen d. alten Städte Meschedund* (sic!) *Mesterian*, in *Globus* (1876), no. 71; Blaramberg, *Die Ruinen d. Stadt Mestorian*, in *Pet. Mitt.* (1876), xxii/1; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, Leipzig 1880, 277-81 (lucid analysis of the Arabic statements); Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 51, 73, 310; Barthold, *Istor.-geogr. obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 82, Eng.tr., *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 118-19; A. A. Semënov, *Nadpisi na portale mečeti v Meshkhedi-Misriyane*, in *ZVORAO*, xviii/4 (1908), 0154-0157; Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, 31-7; S. Flury, *Notes on the miḥrāb of Mashhad-i Miṣriyān*, in *Survey of Persian art*, iii, 2721-4; L. I. Rempel', *Arkhitekturnï ornament yuzhnogo Turkmenistana x.-načala xiii. v.v. u problema "Sel'dzhukskogo Stilya"*, in *Trudï Yu TAKE*, xii (Ashkhabad 1963), 249-308. (V. MINORSKY)

MASHHŪR (A.), technical term used in the science of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] for a well-known tradition transmitted via a minimum of three different *isnāds* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Nūr al-Dīn ʿItr, *Muʿdjam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-ḥadīthiyya*, Damascus 1976, 98, and the literature quoted there. (G. H. A. JUYNBOLL)

MASHRABIYYA (A.) designates a technique of turned wood used to produce lattice-like panels, like those which were used in the past to adorn the windows in traditional domestic architecture.

1. In Egypt. The term derives from Arabic *shariba* "to drink". The connection between the turned wood technique and drinking was established last century by E. W. Lane, who describes the *mashraba* as a niche attached to such lattice wooden

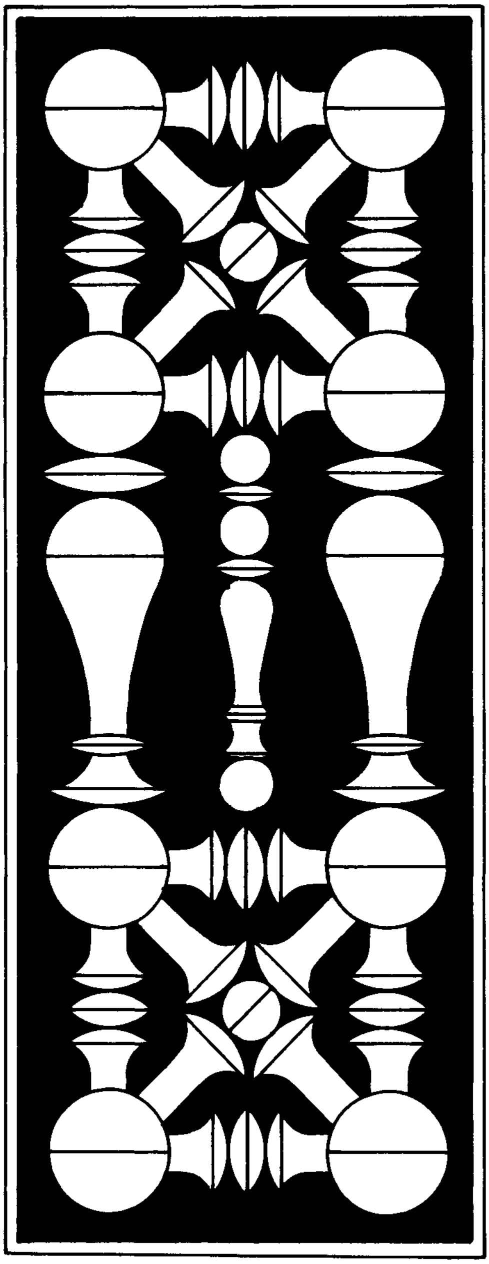

1. (Top third) *al-ṣalīb al-malyān*, "filled cross"; (lower two-thirds) *kanāʾisī ḳibṭī* "Coptic church style".

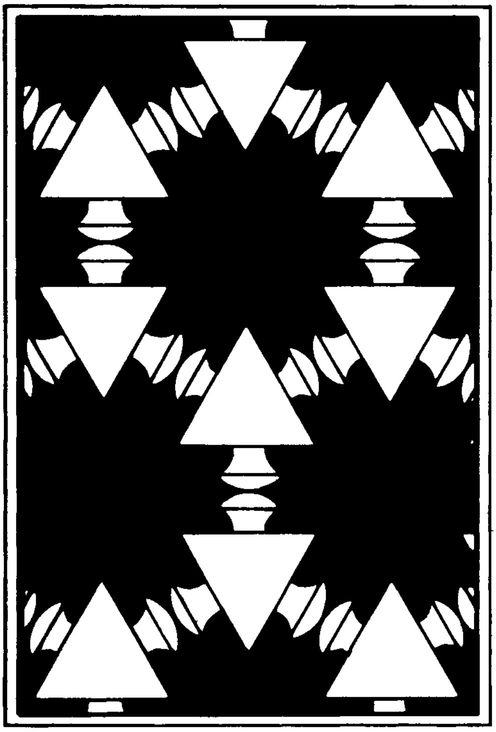

2. *Nudjūmī* "star-shaped".

windows and used to keep the water jars cool and fresh for drinking. This interpretation is confirmed by *wakf* [*q.v.*] documents, which since the 10th/16th century refer to such niches as *mashraba* and also to the turned wood technique as *mashrabiyya*. Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] is said to have prohibited the use of *mashrabiyya* windows, in order to replace traditional by European architecture. The *mashrabiyya* technique is a speciality of Cairo, where it was used with a multitude of patterns and combinations, as the collection of the Islamic Museum in Cairo shows, as well as the remains of some old houses of the Ottoman period. Each type of *mashrabiyya* has its own name, such as *nudjūmī* "star-like", *sākiya* "like a water-wheel", *muthallath* "triangular", *ṣalībī fāḍī* "cross-shaped and empty", *ṣalībī malyān* "cross-shaped and filled in", *kanāʾisī kibṭī* "Coptic church type", *kanāʾisī fāḍī* "church type and empty", *ʿayn al-katkūt* "chick's eye, *maymūnī mudawwar* "circular *maymūnī*", *maymūnī nudjūmī* "star-like *maymūnī*" and *maʿkūs* "reversed".

Mashrabiyya panels are composed of small pieces of wood which are turned in various forms and are fixed together without glue or nails, but simply by being inserted into each other, thus giving the panel more resistance towards the flexibility of the wood with the change of temperature. Geometric patterns of great complexity and diversity can be obtained with the combination of the wooden pieces. The result is a transparent screen which is very decorative due to the variation of patterns and density, according to which the pieces, of various shapes, can be fixed together. The panel filters the light and the sun rays in a pleasant manner; at the same time, it allows a view to the exterior without exposing the interior to outside view. This device had an important impact on the fenestration system, since it allowed large surfaces, like a whole wall in a room, to be made in turned wood and thus offered a panorama to the inhabitants at the same time as the introduction of fresh air. This could be combined with the use of glass panels or curtains for additional protection. *Mashrabiyya* windows could be made of painted wood in various colours, or could simply show the natural colour of the wood. Hence Cairo's façades in the 19th century as seen by orientalist painters and in early photographs, were characterised by the multitude of projecting *mashrabiyya* windows that almost touched each other on both sides of the narrow streets.

Historically, the technique of turned wood in Cairo seems to have been used first on other architectural objects before it was applied to windows. Mamlūk *wakf* deeds, which include detailed descriptions of buildings, refer to turned wood, though not usually in connection with windows. Only in the very late Mamlūk *wakf* deeds in the early 10th/16th century do we find, and then only sparsely, references to turned wood used on windows. It is referred to as *khashab kharṭ* or sometimes as *shughl al-kharrāṭ*, i.e. "made by the turner", to distinguish it from *shughl al-nadjdjār*, which means "made by the carpenter".

Whereas Lane reports that in his time, the houses of the rich differed from those of the poor by their larger display of *mashrabiyya* panels, in the Mamlūk period the windows of the rich had iron or bronze grills that were gilded like those of the royal palaces at the Citadel, whereas the more common ones were made of wood. Al-Maḳrīzī, deploring the ruins of the palace of Tashtimur, writes that its marble was replaced by stone, and its iron windows by wooden ones. Mamlūk *wakf* deeds describe the windows of residences of the period as having the same system of fenestration used in the mosque architecture: the lower windows were rectangular, large and adorned with iron or bronze grills, whilst above them were

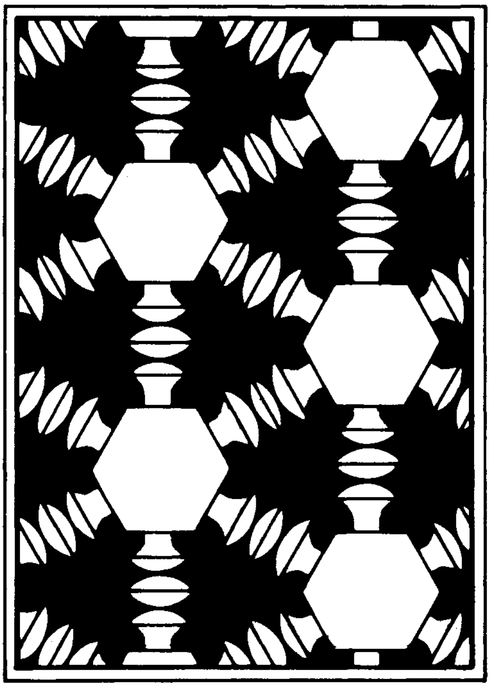

3. *Nudjūmī maymūnī "star-shaped maymūnī* style".

arched windows with stucco grills filled with coloured glass. The more common house type, or the less visible windows in a residence, were made of wood, in general without turned wood panels, according to the *wakf* descriptions. Whenever this technique is mentioned in Mamlūk *wakf* descriptions, it usually refers to balustrades, like that which adorns the *mak*ᶜ*ad*, i.e. loggia, or the wooden lantern which surmounts the central part of a *kā*ᶜ*a* or reception hall, also found in late Mamlūk mosques. *Khashab khart* is also mentioned in connection with *maghānī*, also called *aghānī*, which are a pair of loggias that flank a *kā*ᶜ*a* on both sides and which, as the name indicates, were intended for the singers and musicians, who traditionally performed behind curtains or screens.

There are three mediaeval mosques in Cairo that display magnificent examples of *mashrabiyya* technique. The mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiᶜ, built in the Fāṭimid period (555/1160) and restored more than once under the Mamlūks, has a screen of turned wood, today at the portico but originally inside the mosque. The present one is a modern copy made after a 19th century illustration. The mausoleum of Sultan Ḳalāwūn (built 683-4/1284-5) also has a turned wood screen around the cenotaph, restored at the beginning of this century. Further, the mosque of al-Māridānī (739-40/1340) has its sanctuary screened by a *mashrabiyya* wall from the courtyard.

Regular reference to turned wood *mashrabiyya* in connection with windows in domestic architecture, starts after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (923/1517) and is found in *wakf* descriptions. Although windows of turned wood are a characteristic feature of the domestic type of architecture, there is one Ottoman mosque in Cairo that has a large *mashrabiyya* window, the mosque of Yūsuf Agha al-Ḥīn (1035/1625), which was erected along the shore of the Canal of Cairo. The *mashrabiyya* window must have been intended to allow the worshippers to enjoy the view of the water and the greenery.

Nowadays, after modern European architecture was definitely adopted in Cairo from the first half of the 19th century under the initiative of Muḥammad ᶜAlī Pasha, *mashrabiyya* windows have disappeared from Cairo's façades. In the second half of that century, European architects introduced a kind of orientalist style in architecture and decoration which revived some traditional crafts, and turned wood became again fashionable, this time, however, with purely decorative functions. It was no more used in its original architectural context, but as decoration for European-style furniture and on small objects. With time, the *mashrabiyya* technique became a touristic craft only practiced in the bazaar, and the term *mashrabiyya* itself became equivalent to local traditional handicraft.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 68, 71; Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, introd.: *wakf* documents of the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods in Cairo, at the Ministry of Waḳf (Daftarkhāna) and at the Dār al-Wathāʾiḳ al-Ḳawmiyya, Citadel (Ḥudjadj al-Mulūk wa 'l-Umarāʾ). (Doris Behrens-Abouseif)

2. In Iran. As in many other Islamic countries, so too in Iran the use of *mashrabiyya* serves both practical and aesthetic functions. The former includes the protection of the private environment from indiscreet glances, the ability to see without being seen, and the requirements of ventilation. The latter operates in the context of an architecture which lacks deep voids and which strives for an effect of large surfaces over which decoration can extend.

The type most frequently encountered consists of rectangular grilles, grilles with ogee arches and grilles of larger dimensions containing three or more panels with a vertical and stepped movement (*urūsī*). The material most frequently used is wood, and in particular, plane (*čınār* or *platanus orientalis*) which, since it could secure optimum durability, and, since it had a high and straight trunk, also came to be used for columnar porticoes (*tālār*). Sometimes grilles of plaster or of coloured glass were employed (e.g. the specimen removed from the Darb-i Imām at Iṣfahān), as were grilles of stone or plaster and tile mosaic (e.g. the Masjid-i Shaykh Luṭf Allāh and the Masdjid-i Djumᶜa, both *in situ* in Iṣfahān).

The main decorative themes comprise vegetal, figural and animal motifs (cf. the above-mentioned grille of the Darb-i Imām); inscriptions (e.g. the large *urūsī* of the Haftdah Tan at Shahr-i Kurd); and, above all, geometric motifs.

In all the types recorded to date—rectangular, ogival, and stepped—the wooden grille is always subdivided for decorative purposes into two main parts, sc. an outer border and an inner field. The first of these, namely the border, always comprising a series of square "modules", is obtained by the repetition of a single decorative motif all along the edge of the grille. This establishes an exact correspondence between the width and height of a single grille. By contrast, the second—namely the inner field—constitutes the principal motif of the whole composition and is therefore subject to certain regulatory "laws".

Such laws are illustrated above all by the use of rotations around precisely located axes; or of rotations of a single basic motif; or of various renderings of a given decorative theme—unless, indeed, a single part of the design is isolated. This makes it possible to obtain, with minimum artifice, a most varied range of compositions.

The geometric schemes highlighted in these various compositions consist in the main of equilateral or isosceles triangles or of squares often rotated at an angle of 45°, and, more rarely, of rectangles. The geometrical figures are above all regular polygons such as hexagons, octagons, decagons and dodecagons, which, with their numerous symmetrical axes, allow the creation of complex ensembles. The decorative motifs employed have very ancient origins and go back to the first centuries of Islamic art and even to the period of Near Eastern late antiquity.

This répertoire was used and elaborated for centuries, with the result that today it is possible to find identical decorative motifs in periods far removed from each other in time. With the Ṣafawids, the decorative motif, initially simple and with a wide mesh, tends to thicken and to become more complicated with the creation of complex stellar figures or those with polygonal matrices. There is an increasing use of coloured glass, mirrors and perforated elements with a progressively increasing use of curvilinear motifs.

With the advent of the Ḳādjārs, this love of curvilinear motifs increases apace and the decorative design changes totally. The mesh widens yet again, the geometric motifs disappear almost entirely while curvilinear motifs prevail. These include floral themes, in which large areas of coloured glass occur; their colour scheme is dominated by blue, red and green.

Bibliography: B. Denikė, *Quelques monuments de bois sculpté au Turkestān occidental*, in *Ars Islamica*, ii (1935), 69-83; M. S. Dimand, *Dated Persian doors*

of the fifteenth century, in *Bull. of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, xxxi (1936), 79-80; L. Bronstein, *Decorative woodwork of the Islamic period*, in Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, London 1939, iii, 2607-27 and pls. 1434, 1460-77; Amy Briggs, *Timurid carpets. I. Geometric carpets*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii (1940), 20-54; R. Orazi, *Wooden gratings in Safavid architecture*, Rome 1976. (R. Orazi)

MAS̲H̲RIḲ (a.), the East, linked with and opposed to the West (Mag̲h̲rib [*q.v.*]), either in general or from the strictly geographical point of view; for the Arab world, the Mag̲h̲rib embraces all the lands to the west of Egypt, and the Mas̲h̲riḳ all those to the east. Nevertheless, the parallelism is not absolute; whilst the term Mag̲h̲rib is particularly applied either to the grouping North-Africa-Tripolitania or to North Africa properly so-called or to its most western part, Morocco (Mag̲h̲rib, al-Mag̲h̲rib al-Aḳṣā [*q.v.*]), the word Mas̲h̲riḳ seems to cover the Orient in general, without reference to any one country or another (the name of one of the *mik̲h̲lāfs* of Yemen, cited in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v., but not in al-Hamdānī, can only be understood, from all the evidence, in a local context).

An interesting attempt was, however, made in the 4th/10th century to take to its logical conclusion a rigorous parallelism between the two geographical groupings. It emanated from the Arabic geographer al-Muḳaddasī, whose originality of thought and conceptions is well-known. For him, the land of Islam (*mamlakat al-Islām*), going beyond its fourteen provinces, embraces several binary oppositions. Just as there exist two seas (those of Rūm and Ṣīn) and two deserts (the *bādiyat al-ʿArab* and the *mafāza* of Iran), there likewise exist two particular provinces (*iḳlīm*), hence binary also (a third province, Arabia, further has, like the two preceding ones, two capitals, Mecca and Zabīd, for the two lands of the North and the South, and this last, Yemen, is also described to us as having two lands, one of seacoast and one of the mountains (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 56, 69-70, 260-1); but the parallelism with the other two great provinces is not pushed any further). To the Mag̲h̲rib, made up of two *d̲j̲ānib*s (al-Andalus and the Mag̲h̲rib properly speaking) and with two metropolises (*miṣr*) of Cordova and al-Ḳayrawān, there corresponds the Mas̲h̲riḳ, defined as the assemblage of lands more or less strictly under the aegis of the Sāmānids, including Sid̲j̲istān, K̲h̲urāsān and Transoxania (*mā warāʾ al-nahr*), this assemblage being divided into two *d̲j̲ānib*s separated by the D̲j̲ayḥūn river (sc. the Oxus); to the south, K̲h̲urāsān and its *miṣr*, Naysābūr and to the north, Hayṭal and its *miṣr*, Samarḳand. It should be noted that al-Muḳaddasī, in the introduction to his work, adds to the distinction Mag̲h̲rib/Mas̲h̲riḳ a further parallelism between G̲h̲arb and S̲h̲arḳ, one which does not however seem to be operative in the rest of the book; for the author, G̲h̲arb embraces the ensemble Mag̲h̲rib-Egypt-S̲h̲ām (sc. Syria-Palestine) and S̲h̲arḳ the ensemble Mas̲h̲riḳ-Fārs-Kirmān-Sind.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see Muḳaddasī, 7, 47, 57, 260 ff. and *passim*. (A. Miquel)

MAS̲H̲RIḲ al-AD̲H̲KĀR, a term used in the Bahāʾī movement for four related concepts: 1. In Iran (loosely) to describe early morning gatherings for reading of prayers and sacred writings. 2. Generally of any house erected for the purpose of prayer. 3. Most widely, to refer to Bahāʾī temples (*maʿbad*) or "houses of worship", of which six have been built on a continental basis. The earliest was constructed in As̲h̲kābād, Russian Central Asia by the expatriate Iranian Bahāʾī community there (begun 1902; completed 1920; damaged by earthquake 1948; demolished 1963). The others are: Wilmette, Illinois (begun 1912; dedicated 1953); Kampala, Uganda (1961); Sydney, Australia (1961); Frankfurt, W. Germany (1964); Panama City, Panama (1972). Temples are under construction in India and Western Samoa, while land has been acquired for over 100 national buildings. Architecturally, temples differ widely, but conform to minimum requirements of a nine-sided circular construction. Internal ornamentation is sparse, with prohibition on images and use of a *minbar*; seating is provided for congregations on the Western church pattern, facing the Bahāʾī *ḳibla* (Bahd̲j̲ī, near Acre, Israel). In the absence of formalised clergy, worship takes the simple pattern of reading from Bahāʾī or other scriptures; sermons, instrumental music, and communal prayer are forbidden, although chanting (*tilāwa*), unaccompanied singing, and a capella choral singing are permitted. "Elaborate and ostentatious ceremony" is proscribed, and set forms of service are not laid down; private *ṣalāt* may be performed (communal *ṣalāt* is forbidden in Bahāʾī law). Temples are open to non-adherents for private worship. 4. In its widest application, to refer to a central temple in conjunction with various dependencies regarded as intrinsic to the overall institution. These include a school for orphans, hospital and dispensary for the poor, home for the aged, home for the infirm, college of higher education, and traveller's hospice. With the exception of a home for the aged in Wilmette, no dependencies have as yet been established. Temples may be erected on a national or local basis; administrative buildings (*ḥaẓīrat al-ḳuds*) are kept separate from the *mas̲h̲riḳ al-adhkār*.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd *Is̲h̲rāḳ K̲h̲āvarī* (ed.), *Gand̲j̲īna-yi ḥudūd wa aḥkām*, Tehran 1961, 188-9, 230-40; *The Bahāʾī World*, xiii (Haifa 1970), 699-748; xiv (1974), 475-95; xv (1976), 629-49; Mīrzā Asad Allāh Fāḍil Māzandarānī, *Amr wa k̲h̲alḳ*, iv (Tehran 1970), 147-53. (D. MacEoin)

MAS̲H̲RŪBĀT (ar.), drinks.

I. *Problems of identification and of permissibility.*

The problem of the distinction between "permitted" and "forbidden" in relation to drinks is a subject of great interest to Islamic religious literature, on account of the prohibition, in the Ḳurʾān, of the consumption of wine [see k̲h̲amr]. By extension, everything alcoholic is forbidden, and doctors of law devote entire chapters, and even independent works, to the subject of drinks (*as̲h̲riba*; for example: *Kitāb al-As̲h̲riba* by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, numerous editions). The use of certain receptacles is forbidden to Muslims, because of the ease with which they may be employed for the fermentation of liquids (see for example, *dubbāʾ*, *ḥantam*, *naḳīr*, in the *Concordance de la tradition musulmane*; the epistle of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *al-S̲h̲ārib wa 'l-mas̲h̲rūb*; the art. k̲h̲amr; and especially the legal and literary sources quoted in Sadan, *Vin—fait de civilisation*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, 129-60; one of the best later sources (somewhat polemical) is *Ikrām man yaʿīs̲h̲ bi-aḥkām al-k̲h̲amr wa 'l-has̲h̲īs̲h̲* by al-Aḳfahsī, B.L. ms. 9646, fols. 1b-7a, which makes a distinction, from a judicial point of view, between all kinds of musts, beers, etc.; drinks composed of fruits (dates, etc.) mixed in water are called *fadīk̲h̲*, *naḳīʿ* (cf. *ʿIlm al-tilmīd̲h̲ bi-aḥkām al-nabīd̲h̲*, Princeton, Yahuda 2090, ms. 5084, fols. 15a-20a). Liquids which tend to ferment are produced on the basis of fruits, various berries, cereals or honey (mead is called *bitʿ*, *nabīd̲h̲ al-ʿasal*); from syrup or from preserves of fruit there derives the *dūs̲h̲āb* which is sometimes non-alcoholic,

but which al-Djāḥiẓ and other authors mention in the context of drinks (*dūshāb*, *dādhī*, etc.) which can ferment and become alcoholic (see the references cited above, as well as Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, i, 331: *nabīdh al-dibs*—identical to *dūshāb*; M. Ahsan, *Social life under the ʿAbbasids*, 111). Certain jurists of the Ḥanafī and Muʿtazilī schools had a tendency to permit the consumption of some of these drinks, under certain conditions, excluding only wine made from grapes. A more limited group of the Muʿtazilīs (to which al-Djāḥiẓ did not belong) even tried to legalise wine made from grapes, and it is for this reason that Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Ashriba*, ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī, calls them "theologians of debauchery" (*mudjdjān ahl al-kalām*) (for other details, see Sadan, *op. cit.*, and for *dādhī*, see also al-Balawī, *al-Alif bāʾ*, ii, 80, and S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, iv, 1983, 260).

Now these tendencies count for nothing in Islamic jurisprudence at present (even among the Ḥanafīs), and these numerous and rich testimonies from mediaeval texts are cited only to show the difficulty, in a given historical context, of distinguishing between the "permitted" and the "forbidden", the "soft" and the alcoholic, and above all, to underline the rich variety of fermented drinks, soft or relatively so, musts and beers. The term *nabīdh* [*q.v.*], for example, most often denotes a true wine made from dates (very potent according to pre-Islamic poetry; see Sadan, *op. cit.*), or from various berries, but—with reference to the *nabīdh* consumed by the Prophet—the religious texts stress the non-alcoholic nature of this drink, which was lightly fermented (or, rather, exposed to the sun for only a few hours, according to the definitions of the texts themselves), in order to prevent any other interpretation of this term in the context of the biography of the Prophet (see Ibn Ḥayyān, *Akhlāḳ al-nabī*, Cairo 1959, 225-8; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Wafāʾ*, Cairo 1966, 617; cf. al-Bādjūrī, [Commentary on] *al-Shamāʾil* by al-Tirmidhī, Cairo 1301).

II. *Beers.*

In fact, beers were well-known in the civilisation of that time. For example: 1. *Mizr*, see *Concordance*, s.v.; Dozy, *Suppl.*, under *mizr*, *mazr*, *mizār*; S. D. Goitein, *op. cit.*, iv, 261 (under "beer") and cf. al-Ḥalabī, *Nuzhat al-udabāʾ*, Camb. ms. or. 1256(8), fol. 218b, where the Egyptian author describes *mizr* as the favourite drink of the Negroes living in Egypt. See also al-Aḳfahsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 5a, who calls *mizr* by the name of *nabīdh al-dhura*, "beer" of maize or of sorghum, while "beer" of wheat is called in Egypt, *apud* al-Aḳfahsī, *ḥatīʿa*; as for barley beer, *māʾ shaʿīr*, see below under the heading *fuḳḳāʿ*. On *mazzār* = "brewer", see Ibn Mawlāhum, *Maḳāma fī khamsīn marʾa*, B.L. ms. Add. 19, 411, fol. 94a: *mazzāra* (= "brewer" in the fem.) and her implements, her receptacles and the preparation of the drink. 2. *Djāʿa*, see, for example, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, x, 258-9; on the revived use of this term in this century, in place of the more widespread borrowing *bīra* (= modern beer), see *Machriq*, xii, 401-7. 3. *Māʾ shaʿīr* and *aḳsimā*, see below. 4. *Boza*, see towards the end of the article. 5. *Fuḳḳāʿ*, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, 280; Kushādjim, *Dīwān*, 1313, 84; al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *Dīwān*, Baghdād 1981, ii, 180: *fuḳḳāʿ* = sparkling drink; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, ed. al-Bidjāwī, i, 116: *faḳḳāʿ* = producer and vendor of this drink; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Beirut 1961, ii (4), 379; P. Kahle, in *ZDMG* (1935), 344; Darrāg, *L'acte de waqf de Barsbay*, Cairo 1963, 52; Sadan, in *REI* (1977), 50, 56, n. 18; Goitein, *loc. cit.* The long and narrow vessels which, among their others functions, were used for the preparation or storage of this "beer", were the *kīzān* (sing. *kūz*, see above). The *kūz*, often fitted with a handle (see al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*, Cairo 1299-1300, ii, 72) is frequently mentioned and described in Arabic literature. However, Goitein, *op. cit.*, iv, 146, translates *kīzān* as "bowls", a sense which the word possesses in certain dialects. With reference to the producer/vendor of this drink (*faḳḳāʿ*), see also the popular *Story of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and the fuḳḳāʿī* (= *faḳḳāʿ*), B.N. Ar. ms. 3658 fols. 26b-34a. On the *faḳḳāʿ/fuḳḳāʿī* = brewer, see also al-Nawādjī, *Marātiʿ al-ghizlān*, B.N. ar. ms. 3402, fol. 36a; al-Ṣarīḥī, *Nuzhat al-afrāḥ*, Oxford ms. Marsh 2, fol. 46a; al-Khafādjī, *Ṭirāz al-madjālis*, Cairo 1284, 71-3; S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, i, pp. cccxxxii-iii.

There existed numerous kinds of *fuḳḳāʿ*: they are mentioned in culinary literature, among sauces and drinks (see the mss. mentioned below and M. Rodinson, in *REI* [1949], 131, whose material is based on *al-Wuṣla* (see below); art. GHIDHĀʾ and Ḥ. Zayyāt, in *Machriq*, xli, 25). The sense of "beer" is clearly evident when the text describes the fermentation (*yakhmar*, *yatḥūr*) of this drink. In addition to the references given above concerning the *fuḳḳāʿ*, see anon., *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, Camb. ms. Qq. 196, fols. 108a-b, 109a: *fuḳḳāʿ* sweetened and flavoured with fruit (the mediaeval equivalent of "shandy" or almost so; it may thus be with justification that Ahsan, *loc. cit.*, attempts to conclude from a very partial reference of *adab* that this drink was invariably soft or even non-alcoholic; however, *apud* al-Ghuzūlī, *op. cit.*, who accurately reflects life in mediaeval Egypt, various kinds of *fuḳḳāʿ* were sweetened to a considerable extent), 108b, 109a-b: *māʾ shaʿīr*, literally "barley water", when fermented becomes "barley beer", of which a special variety exists for the nights of the month of Ramaḍān (according to this text and according to anon., *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, Chester Beatty ms. 4018, fol. 48a), 107a, 110a, 111a: *aḳsimā* = liquid, syrup, but, since one of these recipes mentions the presence of yeast among the ingredients of this drink, it must presumably be a variety of sweetened beer and not a simple syrup as it is usually translated (for the Egyptians, according to al-Ghuzūlī, *loc. cit.*, both the term and the recipe of *aḳsimā* often replace those of *fuḳḳāʿ*, 180a-b, 111b, 112a: *shīsh*, a drink or sauce which Rodinson, *loc. cit.*, reads as *šašš*, defining it as an unidentified liquid (without examining the recipes for it in the *Kanz*), but a humorous treatise in B.L. ms. Add. 19.411, fol. 15a, supplied the plural *ashyāsh* (which would seem to justify the reading accepted here, *shīsh*; the suggestion that it derives from the Turkish *shīshe* "bottle", cf. Lane, *Manners and customs*, 331, does not seem plausible). See also al-Warrāḳ, *K. al-Ṭabkh*, ms. Oxford, Hunt. 187, which contains recipes of *fuḳḳāʿ*, fols. 148b, 151b, and cf. Zayyāt, *loc. cit.*; anon. *al-Wuṣla*, B.L. ms. 6388, fol. 27a-b: *aḳsimā* and *fuḳḳāʿ*, 28b-29a: *aḳsimā* prepared with yeast, and various kinds of *fuḳḳāʿ*; cf. Rodinson, *loc. cit.* Certain physicians are inclined to define *fuḳḳāʿ*, made of barley or rice, as a relatively soft drink, when compared to real intoxicants (al-Rāzī, *Manāfiʿ al-aghdhiya*, Beirut 1982, 91; who notes, on the other hand, that the *fuḳḳāʿ* "goes to the head"), but for the jurists, the mediaeval experts in Islamic law, this drink brings up some difficult legal questions (see al-Ṭūsī, *Masʾala fī taḥrīm al-fuḳḳāʿ*, Bodl. MS.Arab.f.64, fols. 94v-97v).

III. *Milk.*

The same works of culinary art also provide a wide range of recipes of which the primary ingredient is milk, but it may be assumed, judging by the method

of preparation, that in the majority of cases the references are to sauces accompanying food rather than to drinks as such (cf. also Ahsan, *op. cit.*, 97-8, and the references given below). In fact, without refrigeration, it was not easy to preserve milk, except with the addition of preservative elements, e.g. salt, or allowing it to curdle. In fact, ever since the pre-Islamic period the Arabs were well aware of the importance of milk as a nutritive element, with numerous terms denoting its varieties and properties and verbs and adjectives used to identify the stages of curdling (*rāʾib* = clotting, for example), and it is thus that numerous pages are devoted to milk in the lexical literature (specialised works, including *Kitāb al-Laban wa 'l-liba'* by Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, ed. Haffner-Cheikho, in *Dix traités*, as well as entire chapters in longer works; see also the references in Sadan, *op. cit.*). The pre-Islamic Arabs were great breeders of camels and dromedaries, and it is often to their milk that these terms apply. Muslim civilisation was familiar with the milk of all kinds of beasts (see for example the work attributed to al-Suyūṭī [Sidi-Siouti], *Livre de la miséricorde*, Paris 1856, 19-21) and geographical literature refers to it at times (see e.g. Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers and Wiet, ii, 364). Ibn Ḳutayba (*al-Ashriba*) knew that it was possible to ferment these milks, e.g. that of the camel, although it was the milk of the mare which was more popularly used for fermentation a few centuries later (koumiss [see KUMĪS] was often produced from fermented mare's milk, as was *kefir*, generally less potent; some varieties still exist today which are even given to children to drink). This came about through the influence of the peoples of Central Asia and those from the native lands of the Mamlūks; the latter also drank koumiss, in spite of the hot climate of Egypt [see KHAMR].

As has already been mentioned, curdling, or even salting, were effective means of preserving lactic drinks, in a period when refrigeration was still unknown, and in relatively hot regions. It is thus that a land may be renowned beyond its geographical borders for the quality of its lactic products (the Syro-Palestinian region, for example, is praised for its yoghourts, etc., in a humorous work on the gastronomic art which does not however include recipes: untitled B.L. ms., Add. 19.411, fols. 4b-5a). Moreover, it is thus that certain of these drinks are still known today, for example *laban* (originally *laban* means nothing more than "milk", but in certain dialects the distinction has arisen of *ḥalīb* = milk, *laban* = fully or partially curdled milk), *ayran*, among the Turks, and there is an Iranian equivalent, *dūgh*, sometimes a little more salted. Some ancient texts describe yoghourts (*yoghurt*) and give the recipes: *Kanz*, the above-mentioned Cambridge ms., fol. 132a, with instructions on how to dilute it with water, producing a drink which would resemble the above-mentioned *ayran*; al-Warrāḳ, *op. cit.*, fols. 54b-56a (see also fols. 28b-30a): types of milk and their treatment; the untitled ms. mentioned above, B.L. Add. 19.411, fol. 4b; curdled milk and various yoghourts, including that made from the milk of the buffalo. Ibn Rāzin al-Tīdjānī, ed. Ibn Shaḳrūn, *Faḍālat al-khiwān (La cuisine andalou marocaine au XIIIième siècle)*, Rabat 1981, 147: *rāʾib* (explained above).

In the course of the last two centuries, Egyptian scholars and physicians have developed a genre of polemical debate in favour of and against milk and its products: Alī al-Dabbāgh al-Ḥalabī, *Radʿ al-djāhil ʿan dhamm al-kishk wa 'l-maʾākil*, ms. Taymūriyya, Adab 370 (replying to a treatise against certain lactic products); and Aḥmad al-Tābiʿī, *Fayḍ al-minan*, Cairo 1315 (replying to a treatise, *al-Wadjh al-ḥasan*, in favour of fish and against milk).

IV. *Literary and semiotic questions.*

In works of a moral and religious nature, milk is also a literary symbol (even a semiotic value) of the purity of Islam: it was chosen by the Prophet at the time of his nocturnal travels through the heavens (*isrāʾ* and *miʿrādj*), when he was offered water, wine, milk, etc. (on this and other symbolic senses attributed to milk, see Sadan, *op. cit.*; and, regarding the importance of milk in the eyes of the Prophet, see also Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, Beirut 1957, 299 ff.). For certain *mādjin* poets, wine characterises the sedentary life of Muslim society, especially that of ʿAbbāsid society (the relatively more affluent circles), while milk, of less worth in their eyes, characterises the pre-Islamic Arabs. This is not a case of true contradiction, but of two semiotic and literary levels. After all, this is not an objective notion (in fact, the ancient Arabs were not unaware of the existence of wine, but they did not drink it very very often) but one that arises from a variety of literary elements, showing, among other topics, the different roles that the pair "milk" and "wine" play as symbols in the various genres (see Sadan, *op. cit.*).

V. *Water as a drink.*

In spite of the afore-mentioned preference for milk over other drinks on the part of the Prophet, he is also credited with such remarks as "Water is the mother of all drinks", or "the master of all drinks" (on the importance of water in Muslim legal tradition, see also al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, vi, 380-1; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *op. cit.*, 302 ff.; al-Urmawī, *Siyāsa*, ms. Köprülü 1200, fol. 164a; al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār*, xiv, 752-5).

Water was an element of prime importance in the life of the ancient Arabs, especially those who lived in desert regions (see E. Bräunlich, in *Islamica*, i, 41-76, 288-343, 454-528). The literature of medical traditions speaks of the importance of this element as a drink, and gives detailed accounts of its properties and different varieties (see e.g. Sidi-Siouti, *op. cit.*, 38). In fact, geographical and topographical conditions made it necessary for each region to be content with a given, and often unalterable, quality of water: water from wells (*ābār*), from canals, rivers, etc. [see MĀʾ], a subject of frequent interest to Arab geographers (in particular the so-called "classical" ones of the 4th/10th century; al-Muḳaddasī, in his *Aḥsan al-taḳāsim*, often adds at the end of each description of a region a sub-chapter entitled *djumal shuʾūn hādhā 'l-iḳlīm* which contains, among other things, information concerning the different waters of the region, their qualities, etc.). Similarly, culinary literature (fols. 13a ff. of the *Kanz*, Cambridge ms., and cf. al-Ghuzūlī, *op. cit.*, ii, 74-7) also devotes special chapters to water, in its capacity as a drink. Well-organised systems of provision of water were rare, but not unknown in the mediaeval period (see e.g. R. B. Parker and R. Sabin, *A practical guide to Islamic monuments in Cairo*, 91). The water of certain rivers was often neither pure nor clean (al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bukhalāʾ*, ed. al-Ḥādjirī, 113, describes how sewage was dumped in one of the channels of the Tigris; see also E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispaniques de ḥisba*, 33; idem, *Séville musulmane*, 70). The quality of drinking water often depended on the social condition of the consumer, in particular the money available to him to pay the water-bearer (*saḳḳāʾ*; see Lane, *op. cit.*, 327-31), but there were also receptacles, or even special constructions (*sabīl*, pl. *subul*, testifying to the generosity of the benefactors who built them)

designed for the use of the general public. By such means, water was distributed to travellers or to the visitors of markets.

VI. *Water mixed with snow.*

The wealthy were not satisfied with ordinary water; they were not only prepared to pay more highly for water of good quality but they sought also to refrigerate it. In addition to porous jugs (which had the effect of lowering the temperature of water by a few degrees), it was possible, even at the height of summer (al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *op. cit.*, ii, 23) to buy snow, which was one of the most expensive products. The caliph al-Mahdī even ordered a supply of snow to be brought to him at the time of his pilgrimage (al-Ṭabarī, iii/1, 484). The vendors of snow (*thalladjūn*), in Baghdād for example, had their own storehouses which were filled with snow (often brought from afar: al-Shābushī, *al-Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1966, 88, in winter; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, *maḳāla* 10, ch. 3; al-Hānī, *al-Thaldj wa 'l-thalladjūn*, in *Ṣuwar ʿabbāsiyya*, Sidon-Beirut, n.d., 89-130; in his edition of al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, M. ʿAwwād mentions (24, n. 7) that he has published two articles on this subject in *Ahl al-naft* (Beirut), xxxviii and xxxix [1954]; it may be—added that the afore-mentioned Oxford ms. of the *K. al-Ṭabkh* contains a chapter devoted to "water with snow", fol. 147b; cf. fol. 148b: water cooled simply by air; cf. Ḥ. Zayyāt, in *Machriq*, xli, 25). Water mixed with a small quantity of snow (*māʾ muthalladj*) was such a "rarity" that it was preferred to lemonade (A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 408). One of the doctors of law even went so far as to write a short treatise on the question of whether it was permitted occasionally to distribute water mixed with snow to less affluent people and to the poor (al-ʿAynī, *Aḥkām al-ʿināya*, Chester Beatty ms. 4400 (8), fols. 92a-95b). It is thus that social stratification and its problems are reflected in the domain of *mashrūbāt*. See the series *Le voyage en Égypte*, I.F.A.O., Cairo, *passim* (e.g. volume for 1587-8, tr. and annot. by U. Castel and N. and S. Sauneron, n.d., 257).

VII. *Fruit-flavoured water, juices and other fresh drinks.*

Typical examples of the great variety of drinks based on fruits (or pure juice, or mixtures of juice with spices and other ingredients) emerge clearly from books of culinary recipes, including, for example, the afore-mentioned Cambridge ms., fol. 107a (lemonades and a drink made from ginger). The afore-mentioned London ms., fol. 30a (lemonade, orangeade, drinks flavoured with sumac); see A. Huici Miranda, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, in *RIEIM*, vi (1961-2), 235-48 (and now B.N. ms. 7009, fols. 76a-81a; a variety of soft drinks, sugared and flavoured with fruits, flowers, vegetables, spices etc., e.g. jujubes, apples, lemons, tamarinds, pomegranates and violets); the afore-mentioned ms., fols. 152a-154a (one ch. on vegetal-based drinks, and another on fruit-based drinks). A luxury drink was often a combination of one of these kinds of mineral waters with, in addition, *fuḳḳaʿ* (see above) and a little snow (see above and al-Ghuzūlī, *op. cit.*, ii, 88-9). This may be compared with Mez, *loc. cit.*, and especially idem, *Abulḳâsim*, Heidelberg 1902, 38, 39, mentioning the same drinks as early as the 4th/10th century (for example *māʾ laymūn* = lemonade, probably made from green lemons/limes; *māʾ ḥiṣrim* = verjuice drink which is described in a more detailed manner, with two recipes in the mss. mentioned above).

Since certain of these drinks were considered to be medicines or tonics, some of them may be encountered in medical literature, often in a chapter entitled *ashriba* "drinks" and there even exist independent medical treatises on this subject (see e.g. Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, index, s.v. *K. al-Ashriba*), but this topic is beyond the scope of the present article. However, some literary works show a fairly profound knowledge of the secrets of medicine (or of popular medicine), including for example al-Djāḥiẓ in his epistle concerning drinks; in another mediaeval literary work, written in colloquial or quasi-colloquial Arabic, a drink made from jujubes is found in the shop of a popular perfumer-pharmacist (Sadan, in *St. Isl.* [1982], 46); this may be compared with al-Saḳaṭī, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, 46: *Sharāb al-ʿunnāb* (= drink made from jujubes sold in the streets in marketplaces). There is a certain continuity with a whole range of mediaeval drinks, extending into the contemporary period, where fresh or cold drinks are still sold in the streets, often by itinerant traders (see Lane, *op. cit.*, 154-5, 331), such as, e.g., tamarind drink (*tamr hindī*, see above, and al-Saḳaṭī, *loc. cit.*) and liquorice drink (*sūs*), which are very popular; the drink made from dried grapes (*zebeeb* according to Lane, *loc. cit.*, *zabīb* or *zbīb* in colloquial speech), *djallāb* (which was known to the mediaeval world, see the above-mentioned Cambridge ms., fol. 133; al-Ghuzūlī, *loc. cit.*; Huici Miranda, *loc. cit.*). These recipes are not always based on dried grapes and the drink is most often non-alcoholic, but, even today, some devout Muslims abstain from consuming this drink made from dried grapes when it is prepared by non-Muslims, since it is feared that over-long soaking of the fruit produces alcohol. Also worthy of mention here is the *boza* of the Ottomans (whence *būza* in the Egyptian dialect, see Spiro, *Dictionary*, defining it as *bière*; but it is necessary to distinguish this term from *boza*, *būza* "ice cream" in some dialects of colloquial Arabic, which must rather be derived from Turkish *buz* "ice"). This may contain alcohol (see, the series *Le voyage en Égypte*, I.F.A.O., Cairo, *passim* (e.g. vol. for 1634-6, tr. and annot. by V. Volkoff, n.d., 255 and n. 157; *bouso*). But soft varieties of *boza*/*būza* are known (see E. G. Gobert, *Usages et rites alimentaires des Tunisiens*, in *Archives de l'Institut Pasteur de Tunis* [1904], 64; see also 43, 72, on other drinks such as *bsīsa*, for which see Beaussier, s.v. *bsīsa* and the other terms). The last-mentioned drinks recall the problem of the "permitted" and the "forbidden" explored in detail at the beginning of the present article (e.g. the *naḳīʿ*, mentioned above).

In this context of continuity, we may also compare the *sūbiyya* of the ancient texts (afore-mentioned Cambridge ms., fols. 112a-113a, and afore-mentioned London ms. *al-Wuṣla*, fol. 26b, although the references here are to a fairly thick liquid) with the *soobiya* described by Lane, *op. cit.*, in the 19th century (a similar drink, prepared from the pips of melons, is also described by R. Khawam, *La cuisine arabe*, 172: *boûzoûrate*).

VIII. *Hot drinks.*

As regards hot drinks, see the arts. ḲAHWA "coffee" (see also on this, R. J. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, Washington D.C. 1985) and SHĀY "tea", but besides these two drinks, the lands of the Near East are familiar with a wide variety of infusions of flowers, leaves, etc.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article: F. A. ʿUkkāz, *al-Khamr fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, Djudda 1982; Faradj Zahrān, *al-Muskirāt, aḍrāruhā wa-aḥkāmuhā*, Cairo 1983; Aḥmad ʿA. Ṭ. Rayyān, *al-Muskirāt, āthāruhā wa-ʿilādjuhā*, Cairo 1984; Ṣāliḥ Āl Manṣūr, *Mawḳif al-islām min al-khamr*, Cairo 1985; ʿIzzat Ḥasanayn, *al-Muskirāt al-mukhaddirāt*, Cairo 1986.

(J. SADAN)

MASHRŪṬIYYA [see DUSTŪR].

MASHWARA (A.) or MASHŪRA, a common term for consultation, in particular by the ruler of his advisers, the latter being various defined. The term sometimes also appears to mean some kind of deliberative gathering or assembly.

The practice of consultative decision was known in pre-Islamic Arabia [see MADJLIS, and MALAʾ in Suppl). Two passages in the Ḳurʾān (III, 153/159, *wa-shāwirhum fi 'l-amr* and XLII, 36/38, *wa-amruhum shūrā baynahum*) are commonly cited as imposing a duty of consultation on rulers. The merits of consultation (*mushāwara* and *mashwara*) and the corresponding defects of arbitrary personal rule (*istibdād*) are supported by a considerable body of material both in *ḥadīth* and *adab* (on *ḥadīth*, see Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, 212; for examples of *adab*, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 27-36; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1953, i, 46-8). Similar recommendations are made by the Ḳurʾān commentators (e.g. al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, Cairo 1373/1953, i. 322-3, iv, 179; i, 226; al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, iii, 120). The desirability of consultation by rulers becomes a commonplace in Islamic political literature. It is urged by representatives of the scribal and bureaucratic tradition (see for examples ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Risāla ... fī naṣīḥat walī al-ʿahd*, in Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, ed., *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1374/1953, 185; Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, *Ḥikam*, in *ibid.*, 155; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. 18, "On having consultation with learned and experienced men", ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1891, 84-5; French tr. idem, Paris 1893, 124-6; Eng. tr. H. Darke, London 1960, 195-6; etc.).

In general, bureaucrats urge the need to consult bureaucrats, while *ʿulamāʾ* lay greater stress on the importance of consulting the *ʿulamāʾ*. Ibn Taymiyya (*Minhādj al-sunna*, Būlāḳ 1321, ii, 86; idem, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, Cairo 1961, 161-4, French tr. H. Laoust, *Le traité de droit public d'Ibn Taimīya*, Beirut 1948, 168-9) goes further than most of his colleagues. Citing Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, he insists that the ruler must consult not only with the *ʿulamāʾ* and with his political and military officials, but also with spokesmen of the general population.

In the early Islamic centuries there seems to have been no formal procedure of consultation. As Gibb remarks: "There is, in fact, nothing in the texts to justify the suggestion that ʿUmar's consultation was more than informal, or that there was at Medina any recognized consultative committee, still less a cabinet" (H. A. R. Gibb, in *Law in the Middle East*, ed. Majid Khadduri and H. J. Liebesny, Washington D.C. 1955, 16). The nearest approach to a consultative body was the famous committee appointed by the caliph ʿUmar on his deathbed, with the function of choosing one of their own number as his successor [see SHŪRĀ]. The Umayyad caliphs, at least the earlier ones, do however seem to have continued the old Arabian practice of consultation with the elders of the tribes [see WUFŪD]. The increasingly authoritarian character of government after the accession of the ʿAbbāsids is vividly expressed in a passage quoted by many authors. Sudayf, a *mawlā* of the Hāshimīs, is quoted as complaining of the changes resulting from the ʿAbbāsid accession: "By God, our booty, which was shared, has become a perquisite of the rich; our leadership, which was consultative (*mashwara*), has become arbitrary; our succession, which was by the choice of the community, is now by inheritance ..." (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 115; Eng. tr. in Lewis, *Islam*, ii, 54-55; cf. *ʿIḳd*, iii, 32; *Aghānī*, xiv, 162; Ibn ʿAsākir, vi, 68; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 419; etc.).

The mediaeval literary tradition, though generally in favour of consultation, is not uniformly so. Some texts indeed, without formally condemning consultation, indicate that in excess it may lead to anarchy and destruction. Thus the traveller Ibn Faḍlān, describing the system of government of the Volga Bulgars whom he visited in 309/921, remarks that their form of government was consultative (quoting the Ḳurʾānic verse *wa-amruhum shūrā baynahum*) and goes on to remark that whenever they agree among themselves to do anything, their decision is nullified by the meanest and lowest among them (Ibn Faḍlān, *Riḥla*, ed. Sāmī Dahhān, Damascus 1379/1959, 91-2, French tr. M. Canard, *AIEO*, xvi [1958], 68). An equally harsh judgment on democracy in action is given by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, viii, 30, who, in speaking of the city of Sīs in Asia Minor, notes that "authority became consultative, the populace became anarchic, the fortifications fell into disrepair" and the city thus fell prey to Christian conquest. Consultation as usually interpreted meant that the ruler before reaching a decision should discuss matters with competent and experienced persons and not act in an arbitrary fashion on his own. It did not mean that he should set up any consultative body, still less share authority with it.

The existence of such bodies is first attested in the period following the Mongol conquest, and may be a reflection of Mongol practice in east Asia. The Ilkhāns in Iran seem to have adopted the practice of covening a great council of high dignitaries (*Dīwān-i Buzurg*), presided over by the Vizier. Regular meetings of a council are attested under the Ṣafawid Shahs, by both Persian and western sources [see DĪWĀN. iv]. The name Djānḳī, applied to this council, indicates a Mongol origin (see V. Minorsky, *Tadhkira*, 44, 53, 113 n. 5, 120; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 280-2; H. H. Zarinezade, *Fars dillinde Azerbaydjan sözleri*, Baku 1962, 248-50).

The Ottoman historian, Kemālpashazāde, in discussing the eastern campaigns of the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II, describes the holding of such a council in Persia. When the Persian monarch received a spy's report that the Ottoman sultan was moving eastward, he convened a meeting of "the dignitaries of his state and the notables of his realm and consulted with them (*erkān-i dewletini we aʿyān-i memleketini bir yere dirüb onlarīnla meshweret etdi*)", Ibn Kemāl, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, vii, *Defter*, ed. Ş. Turan, Ankara 1957, 544).

In Egypt, under the Baḥrī Mamlūks there appears to have existed a supreme council of high ranking *amīrs*. The members of this council were variously known as *Amīr Mashwara* and *Mushīr al-Dawla*. Its head was called *Raʾīs al-Mashwara*. References to appointments to this council and to its meetings are of frequent occurrence in the Mamlūk chronicles for the Baḥrī period (see D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army. III*, in *BSOAS*, xv [1954], 69; E. Tyan, *Institutions de droit public musulman*, ii, Paris-Beirut 1956, 171-81; Björkman, *Beiträge*, 153; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 28, xi, 153-6; al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, 64, 85-6, 182, 485, 551, 626, 634, 645, 746, 890, with an editorial note; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Bulāḳ, ii, 64; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *Nudjūm*, ed. Cairo, x, 190; see further MUSHĪR). Under the Circassian Mamlūks, references to this council become extremely rare.

According to an Ottoman historical tradition, the very foundation of the Ottoman dynasty and state was due to a deliberative act. According to this version, the Beys and Ketkhudās of that region met together and held a *mashwara*. After much discussion they came to ʿOthmān Bey and asked him to become their chief

(Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, 21; Yazīdjīoghlu ʿAlī, *Seldjūḳ-nāme*, cited in Agah Sırrı Levend, *Turk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme safhaları*, Ankara 1949, 34). Ottoman authors, like other Islamic authors, urged the importance of consultation by the ruler, and in the Ottoman empire such was indeed the practice. The high council (*dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*]) was an important part of the Ottoman governmental system. Presided over in earlier times by the Sultan, in later times by the Grand Vizier, it had a prescribed membership and prescribed times of meeting. The term *mashwara* (Ottoman *meshweret*) is used commonly by the Ottoman historians to denote ad hoc meetings and councils of military and other dignitaries to consider problems as they arose. Such *meshwerets* were already held in the course of the wars in Europe in the 15th century (see for example Kemālpashazāde, 127). References to such meetings are common in the Ottoman chronicles in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Naʿīmā offers many accounts of military *meshwerets* held in the field by the commanders as well as of civilian gatherings held in Istanbul by official dignitaries. The Sultan was not normally present at such gatherings (see for example Naʿīmā, i, 131, 146, 155, 180, 273, 413, ii, 354, 360, iii, 54, iv, 298, 413, v, 60, 203, 281-3). Towards the end of the 18th century such gatherings become more frequent, particularly in the periods of crisis associated with the Russian and other wars, and were sometimes held in the presence of the Sultan (examples in Wāṣīf, i, 316-18, 221, 222, 274; Djewdet, ii, 276 ff., iv, 289). A new phase began with the accession of Sultan Selīm III who, at the start of his reign, on 20 Shaʿbān 1203/16 May 1789, convened a consultative asembly (*meshweret*) of leading officials to discuss the problems of the Empire and the way to remedy them. Such gatherings were often held under Selīm III and his successors. The early 19th century historian Shānīzāde [*q.v.*] makes frequent reference to such gatherings and ascribes to them a representative character and significance not mentioned by previous authors (Shānīzāde, i, 66, 73-5, 199-201, 365, iv, 2-5, 201, 37 ff., 155-8, etc.). For a full treatment of these informal consultative assemblies, see MADJLIS AL-SHŪRĀ.

Shānīzāde's account marks the transition from a purely traditional Islamic interpretation of *mashwara* to a new approach influenced by the practice of European states, to which indeed he alludes under the polite euphemism *düwel-i muntaẓame* "well-organised states". He may have been thinking of the British parliament, a description of which, by the young Ottoman diplomatist Maḥmūd Raʾīf was available to him in Istanbul. Shānīzāde notes that the holding of such *meshwerets* was common in these states, where they served a useful purpose. At the same time, he was naturally concerned to justify the holding of such meetings with both Islamic and Ottoman precedents [see further ḤURRIYYA. ii].

Perhaps the earliest use of the term in a clearly western context occurs in the Turkish translation of the first volume of Carlo Botta's *History of Italy from 1789 to 1814*, first printed in Cairo as *Bonapart taʾrīkhi* in 1249/1833. This speaks of the *parlamento meshwereti* established by the liberals in that country.

In the course of the 19th century, the term *mashwara* or *meshweret* was much used by Turkish and Arabic authors, first to describe European representative institutions, and then to justify their introduction into the Islamic lands. Thus the Egyptian *shaykh* Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, discussing the functioning of French parliamentary institutions, makes common use of the term *mashwara* to describe the various consultative bodies (*Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz fī talkhīṣ Bārīz*, ed. Mahdī ʿAllām *et alii*, Cairo n.d., ch. 3, 138-43). This important book was published in a Turkish translation as well as in the original Arabic and provided the first detailed and documented description, in these languages, of constitutional and representative government. The term was adopted by the young Ottoman liberal patriots of the mid-century [see YEÑI ʿOTHMĀNLILAR] and was much used in their writings. By 1876 it was sufficiently well-accepted in Ottoman usage to figure in the Sultan's speech from the throne at the opening of the first Ottoman parliament (*Ḳāʿide-yi Meshweret*, in *Ḍabiṭlar Djerīdesi*, 10), and in 1909 the speech from the throne even speaks of constitutional and consultative government (*Meshrūṭiyyet we-meshweret*), "as prescribed by the holy law as well as by both reason and tradition" (*Taṣwīr-i efkār* of 15 November 1909).

Bibliography: Given in the text. In general, see L. Gardet, *La cité musulmane*, Paris 1954, 172-5; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 301-2; Muḥammad Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Rayyis, *al-Naẓariyyāt al-siyāsiyya al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1952, 224-8. See also MADJLIS. 4. A. In the Middle East and North Africa, sections i-ii, and MADJLIS AL-SHŪRĀ, the latter with full bibliography. (B. LEWIS)

MASHYAKHA or *mashīkha*, one of several plural forms of A. *shaykh*, literally "an elder, i.e. a distinguished person usually of an advanced age [*q.v.*]. In its classical usage, *mashyakha* also served as an abstract noun denoting a *shaykh*'s position or authority (e.g. in *mashyakhat al-Islām*, the authority of the *shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*]).

In the Muslim West *mashyakha* was used to designate the collectivity of urban elders and notables often wielding considerable political influence in the cities. Such groups of dignitaries sometimes acted as virtual advisory councils of local rulers, hence *mashyakha* also carried the sense of "a municipal council". This was so in Muslim Spain (D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings*, Princeton 1985, 142-45) and, according to clues offered by Ibn Khaldūn, in North Africa as well (ref. in Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. *shaykh*; *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 269; tr. Rosenthal, ii, 305).

During Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition, the word acquired a new meaning. Seeking an Arabic expression for "republic", Bonaparte's orientalist experts came to use *mashyakha*. This was apparently an intended allusion to the Directoire of five who were governing France at the time; endeavouring to simplify an idea novel to their audience, the translators chose to refer to the persons making up the governing body ("the elders") rather than to the abstract principle underlying it. The French administration employed the term extensively in its proclamations to the Egyptians—issued "on behalf of al-*mashyakha al-faransawiyya*"—using it interchangeably with *djumhūr*, the common Ottoman word for the notion [see DJUMHŪRIYYA]. *Mashyakha* then became a popular name for "republic" in Arabic writings as well, in which it was considerably more common during the first half of the 19th century than either *djumhūr* or *djumhūriyya*; the latter term was introduced by al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] in the 1830s.

The choice of a word with established connotations to express a new idea was bound to produce some confusion. Certain writers of Arabic thus understood "republic" to mean "government by elders", erroneously identifying the foreign notion with a more familiar concept (e.g. Nikūlā Turk, *Mudhakkirāt*.

Cairo 1950, 3, 97, 98; Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī. *Ḳalāʾid al-mafākhir*, Būlāḳ 1833, i, 52, ii, 104). In addition, the simultaneous application of the word, by similar logic, to other notions—such as *al-mashyakha al-baladiyya* ("city council"), *mashyakhat al-bilād* ("the country's government"), *mashyadhat Bārīz* ("the Paris Commune") etc.—further attested to the vagueness of the term and, perhaps, of some of the concepts it was chosen to express.

In the second half of the 19th century, *mashyakha* in the sense of republic gradually gave ground to *djumhūriyya*, although some writers continued to vindicate the older usage until the 1870s. Thereafter, *mashyakha* lost this meaning, retaining only the loose import of an institution of elders at large or a sheikhdom.

Bibliography: For the classical usage, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, s.v. in index (ed. Muḥammad Ḳandīl al-Baḳlī), 425. For its use in French proclamations, see examples in Aḥmad Ḥusayn al-Ṣāwī, *Fadjr al-ṣiḥāfa fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1975, pls. 43, 48, 49, 70, 79, 87A, 90-7. See further A. Ayalon, *Language and change in the Arab Middle East*, Oxford 1987, ch. vii.

(A. AYALON)

AL-**MASĪḤ**, the Messiah; in Arabic (where the root *m-s-ḥ* has the meanings of "to measure" and "to wipe, stroke") it is a loanword from the Aramaic, where *meshīḥā* was used as a name of the Redeemer.

Horovitz (*Koranische Untersuchungen*, 129) considers the possibility that it was taken over from the Ethiopic (*masīḥ*). Muḥammad of course got the word from the Christian Arabs, amongst whom the personal name ʿAbd al-Masīḥ was known in pre-Islamic times, but it is doubtful whether he knew the true meaning of the term (see K. Ahrens, *Christliches im Qoran, eine Nachlese*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxiv [1930], 24-5; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 265-6). In Arab writers we find the view mentioned that the word is a loanword from Hebrew or Syriac. Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr* on sūra III, 40 = iii, 169) gives only purely Arabic etymologies, either with the meaning "purified" (from sins) or "filled with blessing". Horovitz, *op. cit.*, calls attention to the occurrence of the word in inscriptions, proper names and in the old poetry.

In the Ḳurʾān, the word is first found in the Mecca sūras: (a) alone: sūra, IV, 170, IX, 30; (b) with Ibn Maryam; sūra, V, 19, 76, 79; IX, 31; (c) with ʿĪsā b. Maryam: sūra III, 40; IV, 156. None of these passages make it clear what Muḥammad understood by the word. From sūra III, 40: "O Maryam, see, Allah promises thee a word from Him, whose name is al-Masīḥ ʿĪsā b. Maryam", one might suppose that al-Masīḥ was here to be taken as a proper name. Against this view, however, is the fact the the article is not found with non-Arabic proper names in the Ḳurʾān. One can assume with reasonable certainty that al-Masīḥ is a title of Jesus in the Ḳurʾān, but not a messianic one; clearly, no eschatological interpretation of Christ's mission could have been known in Arabia (see J. S. Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in pre-Islamic times*, London 1979, 267).

In canonical Ḥadīth al-Masīḥ is found in three main connections: (a) in Muḥammad's dream, in which he relates how he saw at the Kaʿba a very handsome brown-complexioned man with beautiful locks, dripping with water, who walked supported by two men; to his question who this was, the reply was given, "al-Masīḥ b. Maryam" (al-Bukhārī, *Libās*, *bāb* 68; *Taʿbīr*, *bāb* 11; Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 302); (b) in the descriptions of the return of ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]; (c) at the Last Judgment, the Christians will be told; "What have you worshipped?". They will reply, "We have worshipped al-Masīḥ, the Son of God". For this they shall wallow in Hell (al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, sūra IV, *bāb* 8; *Tawḥīd*, *bāb* 24; Muslim, *Īmām*, trad. 302).

In Ḥadīth also, we frequently find references to al-Masīḥ al-Kadhdjāl; see AL-DADJDJĀL.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see T. P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, 328; O. H. Schumann, *Der Christus der Muslime: Christologische Aspekte in der arabisch-islamischen Literatur*, Gütersloh 1975; D. Wismer, *The Islamic Jesus: an annotated bibliography of sources in English and French*, New York 1977; G. Schedl, *Muhammad und Jesus, die christologische relevante Texte des Koran, neu übersetzt und erklärt*, Vienna 1978; R. Arnaldez, *Jésus fils de Marie, prophète de l'Islam*. Paris 1980; Abdelmajid Charfi, *Christianity in the Qur'an commentary of Tabari*, in *Islamochristiana*, vi (1980), 105-48; and the *Bibls.* to ʿĪSĀ and MARYAM.

(A. J. WENSINCK - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

AL-**MASĪḤĪ** AL-DJURDJĀNĪ, ʿĪsā b. Yaḥyā Abū Sahl, Christian physician born in Djurdjān, and one of the teachers of Ibn Sīnā, who dedicated some of his works to him.

He studied in Baghdād, and then taught in Khurāsān and later in Khwārazm. He had no social intercourse with his coreligionists, but performed religious worship alone in his house (al-Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh*, 95). In 401/1010, together with a number of other scholars who had settled in Khwārazm—among them al-Bīrūnī—, he was summoned by al-Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*] to this city under the suspicion of heresy. In the company of Ibn Sīnā he succeeded in fleeing to Māzandarān, but met his death in a sandstorm. So far, none of his works, in large part preserved, has been edited. The most important, existing in numerous manuscripts, is the *K. al-Miʾa* ("hundred [treatises]"), a comprehensive medical encyclopaedia, arranged in a hundred sections, probably the oldest work of its kind and perhaps the model for Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn*. An edition of this work is most desirable. A very much smaller work, the *K. al-Ṭibb al-kullī*, gives in 39 chapters an introduction to the general fundamentals of medicine. The third work to be mentioned here is the *K. Iẓhār ḥikmat Allāh taʿālā fī khalḳ al-insān*, dealing with the physiology of the human organs and their meaning and purpose as intended by God. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (i, 328,2) says explicitly that this work is based on Galen's [see DJĀLĪNŪS] *K. fī manāfiʿ al-aʿḍāʾ* περὶ χρείας μορίων, see G. Bergsträsser, *Hunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen* (AKM, xvii/2), no. 49. Already the title of al-Masīḥī work reflects Galen's teleological way of thinking: in the latter's work just mentioned, the single chapters deal with "God's wisdom with regard to the perfect creation of the hands" and of the other organs (see Bergsträsser, *loc. cit.*). Al-Masīḥī indeed was "a philosopher for whom medicine was dominant" (*ḥakīm istawlā ʿalayhi 'l-ṭibb*, al-Bayhaḳī, 95); with some exaggeration, Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī even calls him, together with Ibn Sīnā, "successor of Aristotle in philosophy, which includes all sciences" (*Čahār maḳāla*, 118, 8-9). His special investigations, which are smaller in extent, deal with smallpox, the pulse, and also with matters of geometry, psychology and the interpretation of dreams, and contain also an extract from the *K. al-Midjisṭī*. A work on the plague he dedicated to his patron, the Khwārazmshāh Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn b. Maʾmūn.

Al-Masīḥī's knowledge of theoretical and practical

medicine, his lucid terminology and the clear composition of his writings are generally praised. The *K. al-Miʾa*, in particular, has been commented upon and recommended to posterity by prominent experts like Amīn al-Dawla Ibn al-Tilmīdh. Only one single voice—but then a powerful one—is of an opposite opinion: al-Madjūsī gave a harsh verdict on the *K. al-Miʾa*, and in particular denounced the arrangement of the book, unsystematical in his eyes (al-Madjūsī, *Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, Būlāḳ 1294/1877, i, 4, 29-33).

Bibliography: Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. M. Ḳazwīnī and M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1955-7, 118,11-121,1, and the *Taʿlīḳāt*, 415-17, 423-5 (with a divergent version on al-Masīḥī's death); Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ al-Islām*, ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī, Damascus 1365/1946, 95-7; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert, 408-16-409,2; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, i, 327,30-328,29; Ibn al-ʿIbrī (Barhebraeus), *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, 330,9-11; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, i, 356 f.; Brockelmann, *GAL*², I, 273 f., S I 423 f.; Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 257 f.; A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, Göttingen 1966, 69-73; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1970, 151; idem, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 26; Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 326 f., v, 336 f.; Ghada al-Karmī, *A mediaeval compendium of Arabic medicine: Abū Sahl al-Masīḥī's "Book of the hundred"*, in *Jnal. Hist. Arabic Science*, ii (Aleppo 1978), 270-90 (detailed summary).

(A. Dietrich)

MASĪLA (current orthography M'sila), a town in Algeria founded by the Fāṭimids in 315/927 on the northern edge of the depression of Ḥodna as an outpost of their rule in the Zāb. This remote province of their domain was in fact to play, from the foundation of their caliphate, the role of a military frontier to the west of Ifrīḳiya. As with his predecessors, the Aghlabid *amīrs*, the primary task of the first Fāṭimid sovereign, al-Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh [*q.v.*], in ensuring the defence of the western side of the realm consisted in raising a powerful barrier on the desert route leading towards al-Ḳayrawān: this entailed the blocking of the natural course of penetration which followed, at the southern limit of Numidia, the defile of al-Ḳanṭara known as "mouth of the Sahara" (*fam al-Ṣaḥrāʾ*) and proceeded to the north-east by way of Wadi Miskyana and Wadi Mellegue, thus offering to the desert tribes access to the wealthy provinces of Ifrīḳiya.

As early as the ancient period, in Roman and subsequently Byzantine Africa, a line of fortresses (*limes*), including the powerful stronghold of Lambesus (Lambaesis), sealed this gateway to the Sahara at the western limit of the Zāb, where the renowned Third Augustan Legion was stationed on desert guard for a considerable period of time.

Intended as a military base, Masīla was founded not far from the ancient Zabi, to the west of Lambaesis, inheriting from the latter the rôle of giving protection against the Berber tribes always eager to pillage the prosperous Ifrīḳiyan regions, sc. the Birzāl, Muzāta, Kamlān and other Huwwāra clans. The threat that they posed became still more serious since the Ifrīḳiyan realm had come just under the control of the Shīʿī ʿAlids, who were just as accursed, from the point of view of the Khāridjī doctrines which the tribes professed, as were the Sunnī Aghlabids. Furthermore, the "auxiliaries" of these new masters of the coveted land of Ifrīḳiya were none other than the Kutāma, long-standing enemies of the Zanāta clan of which they had taken advantage.

It was thus with the object of holding these hostile tribes in check that the presumptive heir of al-Mahdī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad, the future al-Ḳāʾim bi-Amr Allāh [*q.v.*], took the decision to found Masīla at the time of the expedition which he conducted in the Zāb and then in the region of Tāhart in 315/927-8, on territory occupied by the most troublesome tribe, that of the Kamlān. He entrusted the task to his officer ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, ordering him to station himself there with his troops, ʿAdjīsa elements and slaves, and instructing the Kamlān to join with his army before going to establish themselves in the region of al-Mahdiyya on the route leading to al-Ḳayrawān. Called Muḥammadiyya after its founder, the new town was soon to bear the name of Masīla on account of its position on the edge of a water-course, the Wādī Ṣahr, currently the Wādī Ksob.

It soon supplanted Ṭobna as regional capital of the Zāb and became, under the rule of Ibn Ḥamdūn, in addition to its importance as a military base, a prosperous city and the seat of a powerful principality within the Fāṭimid realm. The father of ʿAlī, Ḥamdūn, also known as Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Andalusī, scion of a Djudhāmī family of Yemen, had counted among the most valued Arab "auxiliaries" (*awliyāʾ*) of the Fāṭimid cause, those who had been loyal from the outset. Sent to the canton of Elvira in Muslim Spain and then to the region of Bougie, he had been one of the disciples of al-Ḥulwānī, the first Shīʿī missionary in Ifrīḳiya, before becoming a loyal companion of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] at Ikdjān where he died, apparently before the fall of the Aghlabids. As for ʿAlī, he joined al-Mahdī at Sidjilmāssa before entering his service at Raḳḳāda in 297/910, barely a year after the conquest of Ifrīḳiya by Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He rapidly distinguished himself in the entourage of the sovereign, along with other Yemenis, notably the Kalbīs, acting as a counterweight to rebellious Kutāmī elements and to certain elements of the Muḍarī Arab aristocracy who had remained loyal to the Aghlabids.

But it was with the foundation of Masīla that he reinforced his rôle in supporting the cause of his Fāṭimid masters. Surrounded by a fortified wall, the new town was soon to be endowed with a second perimeter wall and its defences were strengthened by a canal dug between the two walls and fed by the river, in such a way as to provide water for the needs of the population and for irrigation. This permitted the development of extensive plantations of fruit, as well as fertile ground for the growth of cereals and a prosperous stock-breeding sector. These agricultural resources were supplemented by the produce of flourishing trade favoured by the town's position at the crossroads of the mercantile routes linking Ifrīḳiya to western Barbary. Varied victuals and provisions supplied vast reserves for the purpose of feeding troops in the course of punitive expeditions against the rebel tribes.

Thus during the revolt of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], Masīla played its rôle of a base for operations effectively. When the Khāridjī rebel arrived at the gates of al-Mahdiyya, ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn attempted to take the enemy from the rear and to unite his forces with those of Ibn al-Kalbī who had left Tunis to come to the aid of besieged Mahdiyya. But he was defeated by the son of Abū Yazid, Ayyūb, on the banks of the Medjerda and perished in Rabīʿ I-II 334/November 945. His son Djaʿfar, brought up at the court of Mahdiyya with his brother Yaḥyā, and foster-brother of the *amīr* Maʿadd, the future al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh, succeeded him in command at Masīla. Subsequently, when, defeated before al-Ḳayrawān, Abū Yazīd was obliged

to fall back towards Ḥoḍna and to entrench himself in the mountains of Koyāna, it was from Masīla that the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] conducted the campaign against the rebels and ultimately crushed them in Muḥarram 336/August 947.

Henceforward, Masīla became, in addition to its strategic rôle, one of the most important provincial capitals of the realm and underwent rapid development, while, in the mountain range of Titteri, the *amīr* of the powerful neighbouring Ṣanhādja, Zīrī b. Manād, founded Ashīr, an impregnable fortress intended to reinforce Fāṭimid control over the troublesome Zanāta. Masīla inspired its foundation and assisted its development.

Bordered, on the one hand, by Zanāta hostile to the Fāṭimids, on the other, by Ṣanhādja, who had recently become supporters of the ʿAlid cause on the side of the Kutāma, Djaʿfar began to rule, within the limits of his prerogative, as a veritable suzerain, thus acting in rivalry to Zīrī, and to raise Masīla to the status of a principality. Endowing it with castles and palaces and lavishing there large sums of money, he succeeded in making himself a conspicuous personality and even maintained a literary court frequented by numerous poets and scholars. The eminent Ibn Hānī [*q.v.*], who spent some time there and sang the praises of Djaʿfar and his family, did not hesitate, in lauding the Zāb, to compare it to ʿIrāḳ. Moreover, the administrative status accorded to Masīla by the Fāṭimid monarch, which endowed Djaʿfar with almost unlimited authority over his territory, was that of *istikfāʾ*, which conferred upon the governor of a province the right to exercise, like a viceroy, full powers and thus to maintain a high degree of military, judicial, financial and religious control. Djaʿfar was enabled to administer his territory "with trustworthiness" (*bi 'l-amāna*) without first being obliged to pay a fixed sum to the State Treasury (*ḍamān*). The process of autonomous administration then being developed in the provincial organisation of the realm thus authorised him to deduct from the annual revenues of the Zāb, which were considerable, all his public expenses before paying only the surplus as tax. Such a favourable status did not fail to arouse jealousy in the Fāṭimid court against the all-powerful suzerain of Masīla. In addition, his disagreements with the chieftain of the Ṣanhādja, Buluggīn b. Zīrī, and his good-neighbourly relations with the Zanāta who were the implacable enemies of the Kutāma and of his sovereign, caused severe irritation to al-Muʿizz. The presence at the court of Masīla of Umayyad agents, and the sentiments of allegiance to the Andalusian monarchy flaunted by the Zanāta with the blessing of Djaʿfar, gravely worsened his relations with his sovereign. Not hesitating to defy his anger, Djaʿfar espoused the cause of the Zanāta in their contentions with his rival, the *amīr* of the Ṣanhādja, then embarked upon open rebellion against al-Muʿizz. Subsequently, he proclaimed his allegiance to the Umayyad al-Ḥakam II and made haste to abandon Masīla with his family, arriving at Cordova in 360/971.

With the defection of the Banū Ḥamdūn, Masīla began to lose its importance to the advantage of Ashīr, already its rival. The predominance of Ashīr was confirmed with the designation of Buluggīn as viceroy of al-Muʿizz in Barbary, when the latter finally left the region for Egypt, to which the seat of the caliphate was transferred.

Under the first Ṣanhādja dynasties, supremacy over the Zāb and its regional capital Masīla became the object of the struggle in which they were continually embroiled with one of the components of the Zanāta clan, the powerful tribe of the Maghrāwa commanded by Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya. In the course of this struggle during the reign of Bādīs, distinction was achieved by his uncle Ḥammād who conceived the idea of founding, a score of kilometres to the northeast of Masīla, a new town, al-Ḳalʿa [see ḲALʿAT BANĪ ḤAMMĀD], destined to supplant the former in its role of provincial capital and military base capable of controlling the Zanāta tribes.

There then began for Masīla a long period of decline. Abandoned, to the advantage of its neighbour during the first half of the 5th/11th century, it conceded to it its status as the major city of the Zāb, where the Ḳalʿa became in its turn the seat of a principality founded by the powerful branch of the Ṣanhādja, the Banū Ḥammād. Then with the Hilālian invasion, the regions of the Zāb and of Ḥoḍna were, like Ifrīḳiya, devastated by nomadic Arab tribes, the Athbadj, Riyāḥ, Zughba and other elements of Sulaym. Masīla was ravaged, as was the Ḳalʿa. However, it outlived both the latter and Ashīr, which was laid to ruin under the empire of the Almohads, to the advantage of a new provincial capital, Bougie [see BIDJĀYA]. Then, despite the destruction caused by the Banū Ghāniya in revolt against the Almohads, it regained during the 6th/12th century a little of its lost glory in the wake of Bougie, with the renown of scholars such as Abū ʿAlī al-Masīlī or Aḥmad b. Ḥarb. But Masīla was to suffer again under the Ḥafṣids as a result of their struggles with the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.vv.*]. The Dāwūdiyya attempted in the meantime to assert their domination over the region. It regained for the last time some political importance and reputation with scholars such as Aḥmad al-Masīlī, a disciple of Ibn ʿArafa, and especially as a result of the rôle played there in the mid-8th/14th century by the renowned Ibn Khaldūn and his brother Yaḥyā in the service of the ʿAbd al-Wādid sultan Abū Ḥammū. Finally, with the ascendancy of nomadic Arab tribes over the Zāb and Ḥoḍna, during the 9th/15th century Masīla definitely lost its status as a major city, becoming nothing more than an undistinguished locality eking out a meagre existence through manufacturing and agriculture.

Bibliography: Besides the information supplied by the chroniclers and the writings of Arab geographers, especially those of Ibn Ḥawḳal and Bakrī used by G. Marçais in, notably, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siècle*, Constantine-Paris 1913, see the accurate Fāṭimid documentation used by M. Canard, in *Une famille de partisans, puis d'adversaires des Fāṭimides en Afrique du Nord*, in *Mélanges G. Marçais*, ii, 33-49, and *Vie de l'ustadh Jawdhar*, Algiers 1958 (tr. of the *Sīra* of Djawdhar, ed. M. K. Ḥusayn and M. ʿAbd H. Shaʿira). See also F. Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide au Maghreb*, Tunis 1981, and IBN HĀNĪ in *EI*²; M. Yalaoui, *Un poète chiʿite d'Occident au IVe/Xe siècle, Ibn Hâni al-Andalusî*, Tunis 1976. Also to be consulted is a general work, exhaustive but uneven, by P. Massiera, *M'Sila du Xe au XVe siècle*, reprinted in *CT*, xxii/85-6 (1974). (F. DACHRAOUI)

MAʾṢIR, a technical term of fiscal practice in the hydraulic civilisation of early Islamic ʿIrāḳ, doubtless going back to earlier periods there. It is defined by al-Khwārazmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 70, as "a chain or cable which is fastened right across a river and which prevents boats from getting past", and more specifically by Ibn Rusta, 185, tr. Wiet, 213, as a barrier across the Tigris at Ḥawānīt near Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl [*q.v.*] consisting of a cable stretched

between two ships at each side of the river, preventing ships passing by night (and thus evading the tolls levied by the official traffic and toll house regulators, *aṣḥāb al-sayyāra wa 'l-maʾāṣir*). The term has no obvious Arabic etymology from the root *ʾ-ṣ-r*, but may be connected with Akkadian *maṣāru* "to delimit, set a boundary", *muṣṣuru* "to fix a borderline", *maṣṣartu* "watchman, guard, watch house" (Von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, ii, 619-21, 659; *Chicago Assyrian dictionary. Letter M*, x/1, 333 ff., x/2, 245).

From being a barrier across the river to halt shipping, it soon acquired the meaning of "customs house where tolls are collected" (for such tolls, see MAKS and MAʿŪNA), and then the actual tolls themselves. In the caliphate of al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902) one hears of a body of officials attached to the *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] or police guard of Baghdād, called *maʾāṣiriyyūn*, who collected tolls from river traffic on the Tigris.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 36; M. ʿAwwād, *al-Maʾāṣir fī bilād al-Rūm wa 'l-Islām*, Baghdād 1948; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Al-Būzajānī (A.D. 939-997) on the "Māʾṣīr"*, in *JESHO*, viii (1965), 90-2; C. E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the secretary's art* ... in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 155. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

MAṢĪRA, an island to the north of a gulf of the same name, lying parallel to the eastern coast of Arabia, some 150 miles south-west of Raʾs al-Ḥadd. It is part of the Sultanate of Oman (ʿUmān). The irregular oblong island, which is composed almost entirely of igneous rocks, is some 40 miles in length and has a maximum breadth of nearly ten miles. Its total area is approximately 200 square miles, and Maṣīra is therefore the largest island in the Arabian Sea after Socotra (Suḳuṭrā). A low mountain ridge traverses the island reaching a maximum height of 740 feet at Djabal Madhrūb (lat. 20° 34' N, long. 58° 53' E) in the north. The shallow channel which separates Maṣīra from the mainland of Arabia is from 8 to 12 miles wide, but the existence of a large number of shoals and coral outcrops makes it hazardous for all except local craft. From mid-December until March, the northeast monsoon adds to the dangers of navigation in this Strait.

The landscape of the island is largely barren and vegetation is scant, consisting of a few stunted trees, some shrubs and scattered tufts of grass. In the past this lack of grazing has greatly restricted the number of domesticated animals kept by the local people. In 1845 an Indian Navy survey party put thc total number of inhabitants at about 1,000—the overwhelming majority of whom belonged to the Djanaba tribe [*q.v.*], while a smaller number were said to be Ḥikmān. Water supplies were then reported to be adequate. In 1957 de Gaury estimated the population to be just under 2,000. The climate is generally good; in May—the hottest month—the average maximum is 96° F., while in January—the coolest—the average minimum is 66° F.

The islanders have long derived their livelihood from the sea. Large numbers of turtles provided both food and tortoise shell for export; dried fish and shark fins were also traded for rice and dates from the mainland. The presence of sperm whales off the east coast of the island meant that lumps of valuable ambergris were sometimes washed ashore, and these too were exported. Lead and copper ores are known to exist on the island. Some apparently ancient smelting sites have been located, and it has been suggested that these may constitute evidence of an early Persian presence on Maṣīra.

The history of the island is, however, obscure, for clear and reliable documentary sources are few, and archaeological evidence is slight. Sprenger suggests that the classical geographers may have had some knowledge of the island under several different names. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* refers to it as the Island of Sarapis (Σαράπιδος νῆσοι); he also notes that the inhabitants ate fish and exported tortoise shell. The former fact was also observed by Ibn Baṭṭūta, who anchored off Maṣīra but did not land there. According to de Gaury, there are some vestigial ruins from the Portuguese period at Sūr Maṣīra in the west of the island.

Several foreign vessels are known to have foundered in the dangerous coastal waters, and some of the local tribes, who were extremely reluctant to acknowledge any external authority, indulged in wrecking and plundering as recently as the early years of the 20th century. (When the tribesmen did recognise such suzerainty, it was apparently that of the Shaykh of Ṣūr in ʿUmān). On 2 August 1904 a British vessel, the *Baron Inverdale*, went aground on the island of Djubayla in the Khūryān-Mūryān [*q.v.*] (Kuria-Muria) group. Some of the passengers and crew took to two boats, one of which was lost at sea. The other, carrying 17 people, landed on the northern shore of Maṣīra in mid-August. Those survivors were robbed and murdered by local inhabitants. After an abortive investigative visit in mid-September, the Sultan of Maskaṭ, Fayṣal b. Turkī Āl Bū Saʿīd, returned to the island at the end of that month and arrested several tribesmen who were taken to the capital for trial. Those found guilty were then returned to the island, and shot at the scene of their crime. A monument recording the execution of the murderers was erected nearby, and so too was a memorial slab in honour of the victims of the outrage. These events were very important in helping to establish the control of the Sultan of Maskaṭ over Maṣīra.

The inauguration of air routes across the Middle East in the 1930s began to give the island a new significance. During the Second World War, the British Royal Air Force and the United States' Air Force made use of the staging-post airfield, which was constructed at the northern tip of the island, in moving men and supplies to and from India and the Far East. A new agreement was reached in July 1958 between the Sultan of Maskaṭ and the British government which permitted the Royal Air Force to continue its use of that base. In 1962 a 9,000 feet hard-surface runway was added to the two shorter natural-surface landing strips which were already in operation. New fuel storage tanks and better communications equipment were also installed at this time. The Royal Air Force withdrew from Maṣīra in 1977, and control of the facilities then passed to the government of Oman. The Britsh Broadcasting Corporation maintains a radio-relay station on the island. A severe and prolonged hurricane struck Maṣīra in June 1977, causing considerable loss of life and destroying most of the buildings there.

Bibliography: References to Maṣīra are scattered and often fragmentary. There is also a degree of repetition involved in some of the works cited here. Admiralty (Great Britain) Hydrographic Department, *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden pilot*, London 1955 and later; H. J. Carter, *A geographical description of certain parts of the southeast coast of Arabia, to which is appended a short essay on the comparative geography of the whole of this coast*, in *JBBRAS*, iii/2 (1841), 224-317; J. R. Povah, *Gazetteer of Arabia*, Calcutta 1887; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian*

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(R. M. Burrell)

MASJUMI (*Madjelis Sjuro Indonesia*, "Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims"), the name of two different Indonesian Islamic organisations: (a) during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia 1942-5, and (b) in independent Indonesia.

(a) During the Japanese occupation. The Japanese Military Government, during the first stage of its occupation of Indonesia after 1 March 1942, tried to mobilise the Islamic groups for its anti-Western political and military aims. Most of the Islamic leaders had, in different degrees, opposed actively Dutch rule and a number of Islamic nationalist organisations had been established in pre-war Indonesia, with the *Madjelis Islam A'la Indonesia* (*MIAI*, "Supreme Indonesian Islamic Council") in 1937 as their co-ordinating organ.

In November 1943, Masjumi was founded more or less as the successor of *MIAI*. Membership was open only to those organisations which had been granted legal status by the Japanese authorities. These were, at that time, the traditionalist-oriented *Nahdatul Ulama* (*NU*, "Renaissance of the Scholars"), and the modernist social organisation *Muhammadiyah*, joined later by two smaller organisations. In addition, personal membership could be granted to those *ʿulamāʾ* and *kiyai* (religious leaders) who had obtained the consent of the Office for Religious Affairs (*Shūmubu*), established by the Japanese in March 1942 and since 1 October 1943 under Indonesian leadership. The aim and purpose of Masjumi was defined as sponsoring and coordinating the relations between the different Islamic associations in Java and Madura, guiding and guarding the activities of these associations in order to improve cultural life and thus enable the Muslim community to help and contribute their efforts for establishing the Commonwealth of Greater Asia under the leadership of *Dai Nippon*, "in accordance with God's commandments" (cf. van Nieuwenhuijze, 155; Soebagijo, 67). Masjumi's pro-Japanese stand resulted in a certain estrangement with the more radical Islamic organisations which were still waiting for their legalisation, with the associations of Arab Muslims, and with the religiously "neutral" nationalists whose activities were severely restricted.

Masjumi was not a merger, but "constituted a working agreement between Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama" (Benda, 152). It may be presumed that the interest of the Japanese authorities originated in the personal influence and respect which most leaders of *Muhammadiyah* and *NU* exercised on the populace, mainly in the villages, as religious teachers. Winning their support would mean for the Japanese a guarantee for a certain degree of quiescence and stability among the people. As a consequence of this policy, the traditional power balance in the Muslim society shifted from the jurisdictional and administrative representatives, the *penghulu*, who had obtained some support from the Dutch administration, to the Muslim teachers and scholars. On 1 August 1944, the *Shūmubu* was reorganised, its new leading personnel taken mostly from Masjumi. Thus Masjumi functioned practically as part of the government and was linked to its goals more than before. As go-betweens, the religious leaders had to explain the Japanese policy to the people, endeavouring to gain their support in spite of all kinds of increasing shortages and suffering; at the same time, they were responsible to the military administration, especially in cases of turmoil or revolt.

On 7 September 1944, the Japanese government had announced its plan to prepare Indonesia for independence. Now, Masjumi's political agitation received new momentum. During a rally sponsored by Masjumi and held in Jakarta on 12-14 October, a statement was adopted which stressed the task to prepare the Indonesian Muslim community so as "to be ready and able to receive freedom for Indonesia, and freedom for the religion of Islam" (cf. also W. Hasjim, 341). Independence was understood as an opportunity to establish the nation on Islamic principles, without restrictions imposed by a foreign or non-Islamic power.

The growing militancy in the country finally led to the formation of a military branch of Masjumi, the *Barisan Hizbullah* ("The Front of God's Party"), in December 1944. Already in September 1943, Masjumi had urged the Japanese, although in vain, to establish a Muslim volunteer corps, after the "secular" nationalists had made a similar plea and were allowed to form Peta (*Pembela Tanah Air*, "Defenders of the Home Country"). Hizbullah's aim was defined as to realise the solidarity of the Indonesian Muslim community, to stand and fight together with Japan, in the path of God (*fī sabīl Allāh*), and to realise Indonesian independence, all in accordance with the commandments of Islam (van Nieuwenhuijze, 159; van Dijk, 73). Japanese officers were in charge of the military training, whereas religious instruction was given by Indonesian Islamic teachers, preferably members of Masjumi.

After January 1945, Masjumi broadened its field of activity and started to infiltrate into the "Neighbourhood Associations", a "grass roots control apparatus to the *Djawa Hōkōkai*" ("People's Service Association in Java"), which was under direct Japanese control and staffed with *priyai*. This move, although apparently profitable for Masjumi, indicated that it had passed its climax as the favourite of the Japanese. These felt that Masjumi's agitation against the "infidel" (Western) imperialists became more and more ambiguous and could include the Japanese occupiers as well. The Japanese, therefore, began to deal with the different nationalist groups on more equal terms. This encouraged non-Masjumi Muslims to appeal for a larger basis of the Islamic movement. Finally, Masjumi lost its political monopoly among the Muslims, although its leaders remained the most eminent spokesmen of the Muslim community.

With the re-emergence of the "secular" nationalists, a fierce contest for ideological leadership in the national movement was inaugurated. This contest dominated the discussions in the "Study Committee for the Efforts to Prepare Independence" (*Badan*

Penyelidikan Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan), established by the Japanese on 1 March 1945, of whose 62 members only six were from Masjumi. After Soekarno, as a representative of the "secular" nationalists, had presented his concept of *Panca Sila* ("Five Pillars") on 1 June, in which not Islam but more generally the belief in One Divinity (*ketuhanan*) should be the religious element in the state ideology, the Masjumi members led by Wahid Hasjim agreed to this principle on 22 June, after it was amended with the "seven words": *dengan kewajiban menjalankan Syari'at Islam bagi pemelukpemeluknya* ("with the obligation for its adherents to practice the Islamic Law"), and some other Islamic provisions. This "compromise", later known as the "Jakarta Charter", stimulated the aceeptance of other religions considered to be monotheistic in the state, but it made it also obligatory for the state to force Muslims into obedience to the *sharīʿa*.

In the last weeks before Indonesia's independence, Masjumi as a politieal force speedily declined. Its aim to maintain the identification of nationalist and Islamic goals proved to be unrealistic. Opposition against the "Jakarta Charter" and its "seven words" were not only voiced by non-Muslims but also by Muslims, especially those coming from the Outer Islands. Some considered the *sharīʿa* as a foreign juridical concept with only particular applicability, and they therefore favoured traditional or *adat* law as an inclusive Indonesian basis for legislation and ideology. Thus, when after the Proclamation of Independence issued by the "secularists", and not Masjumi, on 17 August 1945, the draft of the Constitution was discussed, their repeated efforts to maintain, or include, Islamic preceptions, were finally refuted, and even the "seven words" of the "Jakarta Charter" were dropped. Masjumi as an organisation vanished together with its former protectors.

(b) In independent Indonesia. After the proclamation of Independence, Soekarno aimed at establishing only one party, a *Partai Nasional Indonesia*, in which all frictions in society would be overcome through consultation followed by unanimous decisions. The government was headed by the President, and power lay in his hands. There was, however, growing opposition against Soekarno's understanding of "unity" and leadership, and a desire to form political parties increased. On 7 November 1945, the Muslim leaders from various groups and orientations who had gathered at Yogyakarta in a national congress, transformed the old Masjumi into "the only political Islamic party in Indonesia". In contrast to the old Masjumi, the new party seems to have laid more stress on individual membership than on membership of organisations. There were granted extraordinary membership only, and were considered as mere "social organisations" not questioning Masjumi's political monopoly. The leadership mainly originated from *NU*, *Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia* (*PSII*, the oldest nationalist Islamic party founded in 1911), and Muhammadiyah.

Masjumi's pretensions to represent all Muslims in Indonesia presented an alternative, and challenging, conception of "unity" against the all-inclusive one of Soekarno. In the field of doctrine, this meant that differences about the role of the *madhhabs* and other questions of *khilāfiyyāt* were considered to belong to the *furūʿ*, not the *uṣūl al-fikh*. In actual policy-making, this call for Islamic unity actually urged co-operation between a number of Islamic leaders who had been bitterly opposed against each other before the war, and new controversies about *Pancasila* and its meaning for the Muslims added to the difficulties of this task.

Under the leadership of Masjumi, a women's organisation was founded to promote knowledge and political as well as religious awareness, and to strengthen their feeling of responsibility at home and in society. Besides this women's organisation, Masjumi established also an Islamic Youth Movement, an Islamic Labour Union, an Islamic Farmers' Union, and it was closely related to the Islamic Students Organisation *HMI* (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia*), established in 1947.

Although the original Islamic goals were not achieved in the Republic proclaimed in August 1945, the leaders of Masjumi called for a general mobilisation of the Muslims to defend it against the returning Allies. Internally, it intensified its strife for controlling the state. There has been much discussion whether the aim of Masjumi at this time was to erect the Islamic State (*Negara Islam*), or whether its intention was to develop an Islamic society in the state which implemented the Islamic law, without changing formally the constitution or abrogating Pancasila. Both tendencies had their protagonists. Social responsibility, sometimes even expressed in socialist terms, was a constant factor in Masjumi's working programs. In some areas with a strong feudal system, Masjumi presented itself as a forerunner of social renewal, or even social or Islamic revolution (H. Feith and L. Castles, *Indonesian political thinking 1945-1965*, Ithaca and London 1970, 55 ff.).

After 1946, Masjumi became more and more dominated by intellectuals who had received a modernist or western education. Some of them had been expelled by *PSII* before the war and were, more or less, affiliated with organisations like Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam, and others. This led to internal conflict which finally caused the exodus of former adherents of *PSII* and the re-foundation of this party in 1947. A similar exodus, although less spectacular, had already taken place in 1946 when the traditionalist "Movement for Islamic Education" (*Pergerakan Tarbiyah Islamiyah Perti*) of Central Sumatra, declared itself as a political party.

After the secession of *PSII*, there were three main groups within Masjumi (Ward, 10). The first one may be styled as "religious socialist", and indeed, they were occasionally political partners of Sutan Sjahrir's Socialist Party. Its members were mainly the above-mentioned intellectuals like Dr. Soekiman, Moh. Natsir, Mohammed Roem, Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, Jusuf Wibisono and others. After 1948 especially, they sometimes took over leading positions in government activities, including the negotiations with the Dutch which finally led to the recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty in 1949.

Another group left in Masjumi after 1947 were the traditionalist *ʿulamāʾ* related to *NU* under the leadership of K. H. Wahid Hasjim. Their participation in the government was usually focussed on the Ministry of Religious Affairs, founded in January 1946.

The third group of Masjumi members, and the smallest one, was that of the "radical fundamentalists". They represented the militant wing of the modernist movement, being more illiberal and anti-Western than the moderates of the first group. Isa Anshary, chairman of Masjumi's branch in West Java, became their spokesman. They became the most outspoken advocates of an "Islamic state".

A serious blow to the integrity of Masjumi was launched in 1948. S. H. Kartosoewirjo, a Masjumi leader in West Java, renounced the Renville Agreement of January 1948 between the Indonesians and

the Dutch, which called for a withdrawal of Republican troops from West Java. He let himself be declared as the *Imām* (Head of State) of the provisional "Islamic State of Indonesia" proclaimed in West Java as an alternative to the Indonesian Republic. His rebellion, known as the *Darul Islam* movement, lasted until 1962, when he was captured and executed. The leaders of Masjumi, although disagreeing with the measures which he had taken, were eager to avoid a definite break, but in 1951 they had to accept the demand of the army leaders and approve military actions against the rebels.

In the meantime, a new crisis developed in Masjumi. The *NU*-oriented *ʿulamāʾ* felt a growing decrease of their influence. In both the Natsir and Soekiman cabinets of 1950 and 1951, only the portfolio of Religious Affairs was entrusted to a representative of *NU*. When in the Wilopo cabinet of 1952, Faqih Usman from Muhammadiyah was appointed as Minister of Religious Affairs, the time had come for *NU* to separate from Masjumi and establish itself as a political party on its own (H. Feith, *Decline of constitutional democracy*, 233-7).

With two great rival Islamic parties, the political atmosphere in Indonesia changed considerably. The cabinet presided over by Ali Sastroamidjojo (*PNI*) from July 1953 to July 1955 was supported by *NU*, whereas Masjumi opposed it as being too much compromised with the Communists.

The uncompromising attitude against the Communists had been a characteristic of Masjumi since its very beginning. This led to conflicts with Soekarno, for whom Communism was one of the most powerful and therefore indispensable anti-imperialist ideological forces. In combining it with his understanding of nationalism, he outlined the ideology of his *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (*PNI*). A compromising attitude among some of Masjumi's leaders with the *PNI* had, however, already been apparent before the secession of NU, when Soekiman succeeded Natsir as Prime Minister, leading a Masjumi-*PNI* cabinet. Soekiman, being a Javanese, tried to counteract a *PNI-PKI* co-operation by strengthening ties with *NU*. On the other side, Natsir was more linked to the "radical fundamentalists" in his own party, and to the Socialist Party which was also strictly anti-Communist and opposing *PNI*.

After Soekarno's speech in Amuntai in January 1953 in which he attacked the concept of a Negara Islam and praised *Pancasila* as a guarantee for freedom of religious practice and civil rights of every single Indonesian, the different basic convictions of Masjumi leaders and their cultural and ideological roots became more apparent. Isa Anshary and his team stressed that their conception was based on divine revelation and therefore not open to compromise like the human-made concepts of Christians, secularists and others. He questioned the religious sincerity of Soekarno and those Muslims who were in favour of *Pancasila* as understood by the "religious neutral" nationalists, and he accused them of being hypocrites or unbelievers.

Natsir, like Soekiman, took a much more moderate position in this matter. He felt that the voters would reveal their aspirations in the coming elections and stressed that the people should be well prepared to cast their votes for the "right" party. Therefore he urged the start of new efforts in the fields of Islamic education and self-awareness.

During the election campaign in 1954-5, the voices heard from Masjumi and launched through its party organ *Suara Masjumi*, the daily newspaper *Abadi* and other media, became more and more adapted to the language of the radical fundamentalists. This was partly due to other Islamic revolts, besides the *Darul Islam* in West Java, which were shaking Aceh and South Sulawesi since 1953. Both provinces had a strong Islamic, and generally pro-Masjumi, population. They justified their revolt by pointing to, among other grievances, the neglect by the central government of the development of their provinces, and the growing influence of atheistic Communism in the state. If Masjumi wanted to obtain the votes of these groups, it had to show clearly its opposition to the incriminating trends and its struggle for Islamic goals.

The other Islamic parties taking part in the campaign had formed an Islamic anti-Masjumi bloc. Thus Masjumi became isolated; it was denounced as being extremist and even in sympathy with the Darul Islam, and therefore disturbing the national brotherhood based on the *Pancasila* which had even been accepted by the *PKI* in 1954.

In the Parliamentary elections on 29 September 1955, Masjumi gained 20.9% of the votes. It was thus the second largest party, after *PNI* with 22.3%. Next were *NU* with 18.4% and *PKI* with 16.4%. There were no major differences in the elections to the Konstituante (cf. H. Feith, *Elections*, 57 ff.). All Islamic parties together gained 43.7% of the valid votes. During the years after the elections, Masjumi remained in opposition to the governments, after a short initial period of co-operation. But in the debates in the Konstituante which started working on 10 November 1956 in Bandung and which had to draft the final Indonesian Constitution replacing those from 1945, 1949 and 1950, Masjumi was joined by *NU* and the other Islamic parties in its struggle for a constitution which would base state and society on the principles of Islam. Against this Islamic bloc, a *Pancasila* bloc formed itself from the other parties. Regarding the basic question, *Pancasila* or Islam, none was strong enough to reach the two-thirds majority needed for any decision. This deadlock encouraged Soekarno finally to dissolve the Konstituante on 5 July 1959 and to decree a return to the 1945 Constitution, together with the proclamation of Guided Democracy.

In these years after the elections, Masjumi experienced its political decline. This was partly due to its futile position, in that it still claimed to defend the interests of the Muslims or 90% of the Indonesian population and thus refrained from defining its role as constructive partner in the midst of Indonesia's pluralism of ideologies and religions. But more decisive for its decline than these failures was the involvement of some of its leaders like Moh. Natsir and Sjafruddin Prawiranegara in new regional uprisings which had broken out in North Sulawesi and in West Sumatra in 1957.

This again led to serious clashes in Masjumi between the "regionalists" and the "Javanese" wing led by Soekiman, who was in favour of Soekarno's centralisation policy. Others like Moh. Roem feared that another split in Masjumi could only serve the Communists and their growing influence on Soekarno, and thus endanger Masjumi's political role. He therefore urged the maintenance of the unity of the *umma*. But finally, some leaders like Soekiman left Masjumi in early 1960 and joined *PSII*. Muhammadiya, too, terminated its affiliation as a "special member". Thus the remaining faithful had to bear the consequences of Masjumi's image as "a party of separation and rebellion" (A. Samson, quoted by Ward, 14). They were viewed, moreover, with suspicion by the military leaders who, although outspoken

anti-Communist themselves, had to fight the rebels. On 17 August 1960, Soekarno announced his decree that Masjumi, together with Sjahrir's Socialist Party (*PSI*), were to be dissolved because both parties refused to condemn their party members who were active in the regional rebellions.

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(O. Schumann)

MASKANA, Greek Μασχάνη, from the Syriac Maškenē (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, xiv/1, col. 2963), a small town, now a village, in the northern part of Syria. The name is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium in regard to the war of Septimius Severus against the Parthians in 224 A.D. The Arabic geographers and chroniclers of the Middle Ages only mention Bālis [*q.v.*] in this region, situated 4 km./2½ miles to the south-east of Maskana.

The place is situated in long. 38° 05′ N. and 36° lat. E. at about 100 km./63 miles to the east of Ḥalab [*q.v.*] or Aleppo on a Pleistocene terrace which forces the Euphrates (al-Furāt [*q.v.*]) to turn eastwards after having flowed from northwards to southwards on leaving the Taurus, like its two left-bank affluents the Balīkh and Khābūr [*q.v.*]. Being on the 25 mm. isohyet, at the southern limit of the cultivable steppe land and the desert zone, Maskana is on the line of contact between the sedentary, peasant world and that of the nomadic pastoralist. The region has been populated since the Bronze Age, as is attested by numerous ancient sites, the most notable being Tell Muraybat, above the left bank.

Having developed down-stream from Ḳalʿat Nadjm [*q.v.*] and at a distance of 5 km./3 miles to the north-north-west of Bālis at a spot where the route coming from Ḥalab rejoins the route which follows the right bank of the Euphrates towards Baghdād, Maskana has since Antiquity experienced the vicissitudes of warfare, for it lies on a bend of the river in a region where there are fords. It should be noted that the Euphrates has in the course of the centuries several times changed its bed in the region of Maskana, a fact which may perhaps explain the variations in distance given in the written sources between the river bank and the actual course of the river. It is at this point that the Euphrates becomes navigable, and flat-bottomed barges (*shakhtūra*, pl. *shakhāṭīr*) constructed from wood are used for river navigation.

In pre-Islamic times, the tribe of the Ḥadīdīn pastured their sheep in the region of the middle Euphrates, and one of the tombs attributed to their mythical ancestor Shaykh Ḥadīd lay in the neighbourhood of Maskana. In the second half of the 6th century, members of the ʿAnaza [*q.v.*] and Bakr moved into the region and installed themselves there definitively. Over a thousand years later, there took place a new migration of the ʿAnaza towards this middle Euphrates region, and then a further one *ca.* 1800. In the 20th century, the Shammar and the ʿAnaza are the main sheep-rearing tribes of the region.

During mediaeval times, the history of Maskana is intertwined with that of Bālis, and it passed under the rule of the master of Ḥalab like all the region to the west of the Euphrates between Ḳalʿat Nadjm and al-Raḳḳa [*q.v.*]. At the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the Atabegs of Mawṣil disputed with the rulers of Ḥalab for this region which, at Nūr al-Dīn's death (569/1174) suffered successive blows from the rivalries of his successors and then those of the heirs of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. From the second half of the 7th/13th century onwards until the end of the 8th/14th century, the invasions of the Mongols were to provoke damage in this region, which always remained the inevitable route for anyone heading from Baghdād towards Ḥalab via the Euphrates valley.

At the time of Mamlūk control in Syria (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries), Maskana does not seem to have been a place worthy of mention. In Ottoman times, the population of the region was made up of turbulent nomads. When ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] became sultan in 1876, he confiscated the fertile lands of the *wilāyet* of Ḥalab in order to bring them into his own personal domains administered by a special organisation (*čiftlik* [*q.v.*]). In 1908, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd accepted the integration of his personal domains into those of the state, so that the *čiftlik* lands became *mīrī* ones, i.e. lands of the empire. The measures taken in 1326/1908 and in the following year were still regulating land ownership in the district of Maskana in 1923. Until the mid-20th century, this region remained almost exclusively one of traditional large ownership.

In May 1915, Alois Musil mentioned at Maskana a barracks for gendarmes, a large *khān* and the residence of the head of the telegraph service (*Palmyrena*, 89). At this time, camels browsed below the settled part. There was in the valley an ancient canal whose branches received, when the waters were high, water from the Euphrates for irrigating the cultivated lands.

Under the French mandate, the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Maskana, the second in the region of the province of Aleppo in 1923, was made up of 80% lands administered by the office of domain lands (*al-amlāk al-mudawwara*), following the system of tenant farming; 15% lands with the system of métayage; and 5% small landowners. In this *ḳaḍāʾ*, situated on the periphery of the province,

and only linked with Aleppo in 1922 by a single track impracticable for cars which went along the telegraph line, hence lacking any means for transport or commincations, the price of land was markedly less than that in other ḳaḍāʾs. There were two classes of lands in this region. Those alongside the Euphrates, called *hawī*, with a covering of alluvium left by the river at periods of high water, were irrigated for both summer and winter crops. Yields were 15 to 30 for one measure for corn and barley, whilst maize and sorghum gave 100 for one measure (Parvie, 104). The lands in the second category were to be found on the old slopes of the river some 10-15 m./33-50 feet above the distant river level, at the beginning of the 20th century, a distance of one to 5 km. These were less good, and corn, barley, cats and lentils were grown there.

Until a recent date, the construction material of this region was mud brick made from earth and chopped straw dried in moulds by the sun. In times farther back, there was also used clay from the Euphrates baked in kilns. In the opening years of the 20th century, Maskana became in spring time one of the centres for producing milk from cows for Aleppo, and this milk was used to make butter for exporting. In May could also be found dromedaries put out to pasture. Like Ḳalʿat Nadjm and al-Raḳḳa, it was one of the points where flocks of sheep coming from Mawṣil and heading for Aleppo crossed the Euphrates. Transhumance was practised on the pastures of Maskana.

In 1945 the village had 430 inhabitants. At the present time, the modern road network allows in this region, thanks to road bridges at al-Raḳḳa, Dayr al-Zōr [*q.v.*] and Mayyadīn, the transporting of sheep in two-level lorries to Aleppo without any need to halt at Maskana.

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MASKANA is also the name of a village of Syria situated in a zone of cultivated land on the road linking Aleppo with Damascus, near al-Ḳarā and in the ḳaḍāʾ of Ḥimṣ; in 1945 it had 900 inhabitants.

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MASKAṬ (lat. 23° 28' N., long. 58° 36' E.), Eng. Muscat, Fr. Mascate, a port on the Gulf of Oman and since the end of the 18th century notionally the capital of what came to be called the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, since 1970 the Sultanate of Oman. ʿUmānī sources often write the name as Maskad, and even as Maska/Muska with *tāʾ marbūṭa*, the former in accordance with local dialectal pronunciation.

1. Geographical situation and demography.

The site of the town is a constricted one, in a cove where the mountains come almost down to the sea, with the Portuguese Fort Mīrānī at the western end of the cove and a second Portuguese fortress, that of Djalālī, on one of the two off-shore islets. The town itself is on a gravel plain, but until modern times, access to Maskaṭ by land has always been difficult, and communication with it has more often been by sea. In effect, it is the cul-de-sac of the Bāṭina coastal plain, and the nearby port of Maṭraḥ [*q.v.*] is in many ways the more favoured centre. But the natural mountain defences plus a line of fortifications have given Maskaṭ a strategic significance, despite the limited space for settlement and the unattractive climate, with its high temperature and humidity.

The 19th century travellers and visitors commented unfavourably on the town's squalor and its narrow streets. Lorimer, in his *Gazetteer*, estimated the town's permanent population at 8,000, of which 3,000 lived within the town and the rest in the suburbs, whereas he estimated that of Maṭraḥ at 14,000, reflecting the latter's superior commerical role. After a period of steep decline, the population of Maskaṭ has been reliably estimated in 1970 at 6,000, mainly detribalised ʿUmānī Arabs or foreigners, including Baḥraynīs, Balūč, Persians and Ḥaḍārim (southern Arabian tribesmen) and a lowest stratum of the *bayāsira*, slaves and ex-slaves from Africa. In the 19th century there was also a small Jewish population. But the most significant element was that of the Banians, Hindu merchants and middlemen, who had certainly been there since Portuguese times; see C. H. Allen, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.* Their quarter was in the east of the town, where they have had their temples, traditionally since the 17th century.

2. History.

Maskaṭ's real rise to prominence goes back to the Hurmuzī period of the late 15th century, just before the arrival of the Portuguese; up to the 12th century, the main emporium of the ʿUmānī coast has been Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*], and the town of Maskaṭ's main importance was as the last watering place on the Arabian coast for ships trading with India (see the mediaeval Arabic sources, notably al-Muḳaddasī, 93; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 11; Yāḳūt, iv, 529; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, ed. Löfgren, ii, 284; ?the merchant Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948, §§ 13-14). Now, in the later 15th century, Maskaṭ grew at the expense of Ḳalhāt [*q.v.*], apparently under the patronage of the Hurmuzī ruling family, and Ibn Mādjid [*q.v.*] stresses that his home port had become the main centre of the ʿUmānī coast for trade with India (see G. R. Tibbetts, in *Arabian studies*, i, 87-101), the export trade in horses, bred in eastern Arabia as far away as al-Ḥasā, being especially important (see S. Digby, *War horse and elephant in the Delhi Sultanate*, Oxford 1971; Serjeant, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 27; J. Aubin, in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, ii, 112).

On 2 September 1507 Afonso d'Alboquerque arrived at Maskaṭ after subduing Ḳalhāt and destroying Ḳurayyāt, seizing and sacking the town and massacring its population, perhaps amounting to 7,000 at that time, three days later. The Portuguese soon realised Maskaṭ's strategic value, and it came to play an important part in their control of the Gulf,

above all after their loss of Hurmuz in 1622; previous to that, the Portuguese operated as nominal vassals of the ruler of Hurmuz, whilst nevertheless requiring an annual tribute from him, by 1523, of 60,000 *ashrafīs*. In the middle years of the 16th century, the Portuguese faced threats from the Ottoman occupation of al-Baṣra 61546) and of al-Ḳaṭīf (1550), but above all from the Ottoman fleet operating in the Indian Ocean from its base at Suez; in 1552 the Ottoman admiral Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*] temporarily captured Masḳaṭ, but was subsequently defeated by D. Fernando de Menezes in a naval battle off the ʿUmānī coast. Masḳaṭ now became integrated into the Portuguese trading empire, and although the Portuguese creamed off the main profit, seems to have benefited also, whereas Ḳalhāt declined *pari passu* with Masḳaṭ's rise. In the later 16th century new threats appeared from the Dutch and English, but the two main fortresses, still surviving today, San João or Djalālī and Fort Capital (now known as Mīrānī, ? < *almirante*), were built in 1587-8 as a reply to Turkish corsair raids. When the Portuguese were dislodged from Hurmuz, Masḳaṭ received most of Hurmuz's Portuguese garrison and was built up against the Ṣafawids and the native ʿUmānīs, now uniting under the Yaʿrabid *Imām* Naṣr b. Murshid. Further defences were constructed, and the town had two churches according to Pietro della Valle, who visited it in 1625 (*Travels*, London 1665, 223-36), and soon afterwards, a Carmelite staging-house, at some later period erected into a "cathedral"; used under the Āl Bū Saʿīd as a stable, remains of it were visible till the 1890s.

The Yaʿāriba [see YAʿRABIDS] first attacked Masḳaṭ in the 1630s, forcing the Portuguese to seek peace and possibly to pay tribute or protection money; by 1643 the Yaʿrabids had taken Ṣuḥār and now had independent access to the sea which enable the *Imāms* to bypass the Portuguese export licensing system. In 1649 Sulṭān b. Sayf al-Yaʿrabī finally stormed Masḳaṭ and took it from the Portuguese, and though the war continued at sea, with the Portuguese blockading and harassing the port, by 1697 they had to give up all hope of retaking it. The *Imāms* now built up Masḳaṭ's trade with India, South Arabia and East Africa for themselves, skilfully using the Dutch and English to further their own interests, though no foreign power, then or later, was allowed to establish a factory in ʿUmān. ʿUmānī aggression and buccaneering in the Gulf of Oman, in effect taking over the role of the old European powers, led to tension with Persia. With the decline of the Yaʿāriba and increased disorder within ʿUmān, involving the Hināwī-Ghāfirī civil war, there arose possibilities for Persian intervention. Persian military help was summoned by Sayf b. Sulṭān in 1737, and for a while in 1738 Masḳaṭ was occupied by a force under Muḥammad Taḳī Khān, *Beglerbeg* of Fārs.

Eventually during these years of anarchy in ʿUmān, Aḥmad b. Saʿīd was recognised as *Imām ca.* 1167/1743-4 [see BŪ SAʿĪD], and Masḳaṭ now began to develop again in importance during this period when Ottoman and Persia power in the Gulf was weak and when there were no foreign rivals for the trade there, until the Ḳawāsim and the ʿUtub [*q.vv.*], who captured Baḥrayn island in 1783, emerged as maritime rivals. Masḳaṭ's main trade was at this time directed at South India, and close relations developed between Masḳaṭ and Tīpū Sulṭān (1782-99 [*q.v.*]) of Mysore, who established a trade mission there (the Nawwāb's house was still in existence in the mid-19th century); fear that Masḳaṭ might follow Tīpū Sulṭān into the camp of the French was one of the reasons for the first agreement (*ḳawl-nāma*) with the British in 1798.

A further factor operative at this time in ʿUmānī affairs was internal division within the country, although it was not until after 1913 that the split between Sultan and *Imām*, coastal ʿUmān and the interior, became a significant factor; before that, ʿUmānīs from the interior had been as strongly involved as any others in maritime expansion and trade until German and Belgian expansion in Central Africa excluded them from Africa and British intervention along the ʿUmānī coast excluded them from Masḳaṭ. Now, after the arbitration of the Canning Award in 1861, the two separate Bū Saʿīdī rulers of ʿUmān and Zanzibar became in effect British puppet rulers [see BŪ SAʿĪD and ZANZIBAR].

Under the Bū Saʿīdīs, Masḳaṭ flourished as the naval and commercial centre of ʿUmān until in the 19th century, Zanzibar became the main centre for the dynasty's political control of overseas commerce. The rule of Sulṭān b. Aḥmad (1792-1804) saw the apogee of Masḳaṭ's florescence as the basis for ʿUmānī control of Gulf trade, with 15 ships of 400-500 tons each based there; fine houses were constructed there, including a residence for the ruler, the Bayt Grayza, by the site of the old Portuguese *igrezia* ("church") complex. After his death, however, pressure on ʿUmān from the Ḳawāsim, the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state and the ʿUtub increased. Protection increasingly came from the British, and when the Ḳawāsim were quelled in 1819, the ruler Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, after attempts to assert the old ʿUmānī control in the Gulf ended in disaster at Baḥrayn in 1829, eventually turned ʿUmānī interest away from the Gulf-Indian trade axis in order to concentrate on the South Arabian-East African one. Also, during this first half of the 19th century, Banian (Hindu) and other Indian merchants were encouraged to settle in Masḳaṭ and then Zanzibar, and they built up a dominating position in the increasingly monetarised ʿUmānī-East African-Indian commercial system, especially as customs-tax farmers, in which role they were protected by the British. One effect of this was that the Indians came to own most of the property in Masḳaṭ and Maṭraḥ. In the decades 1880-1910 Masḳaṭ was for a while incorporated into a wider pattern of world trade, as a port of call and coaling station; port facilities were therefore extended, a new palace built and foreign consulates set up. But already before World War I, decline was setting in. Attacks on Masḳaṭ from the interior were resumed, till in 1920, (Sir) Ronald Wingate arranged terms which effectively divided ʿUmān into two, with the sultanate of Taymūr b. Fayṣal based on Masḳaṭ and the coastlands only. Masḳaṭ became a commercial backwater, whilst Maṭraḥ grew in trade and in population at its expense. Taymūr's son Saʿīd (1932-70) effectively moved his capital to Salāla in Ẓafār [*q.v.*] and after 1954 ceased to visit Masḳaṭ. With this increased isolation, Masḳaṭ had no foreign representives beyond those of Great Britain and India, one bank and one mission hospital. When Saʿīd's son Ḳābūs succeeded after the coup of 1970, the latter had never seen Masḳaṭ, let alone the rest of ʿUmān.

At the present time, Masḳaṭ continues to be a backwater, within the capital area extending outwards beyond al-Sīb (ancient Damā). The problem of road access has been solved by the construction of a corniche round the rocky Raʾs Kalbuh, but the whole question of communication along a narrowly-constricted area of settlement has led to major developments now occurring at the southern end of the Bāṭina plain. Various facilities have grown up at nearby points, such as the oil port of Mīnā al-Faḥl and at the commercial centre of Maṭraḥ, with its moder-

nised port of Mīnā Kābūs. Since the Sultan's real capital is Salāla, Maskat proper remains only a notional capital, devoid of almost all functions and in effect a museum piece.

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Travellers' accounts are useful adjuncts, and D. G. Hogarth, *The penetration of Arabia*, New York 1904, still contains useful material. A valuable summary of their descriptions can be found in R. Bidwell, *Bibliographical notes on European accounts of Muscat 1500-1900*, in *Arabian Studies*, iv, 123-59. To his list of references may be added the account and drawings of E. Kaempfer discussed in G. Weisgerber, *Muscat in 1688: Engelbert Kaempfer's report and engravings*, in *J. Oman Studies*, v (1979), 95-101; and C. G. Miles, *The countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, London 1919, where descriptions of Maskat (1966 repr., 462-9) really describe the period when he was living there (1872-86). Collections of photographs also provide interesting details, notably the Fuad Dabbas Collection in Harvard University Semitic Museum, and W. D. Peyton, *Old Oman*, London 1983. This last contains a map which seems to derive from the unpublished *Muscat City planning survey* of 1972, a useful source for the state of the town before the impact of modern development; a description of that period may also be found in I. Skeet, *Muscat and Oman: the end of an era*, London 1974.

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For the post-Portuguese period down to the rise of the Āl Bū Saʿīd, Bathurst, *op. cit.*, remains the main study until the end of the Yaʿāriba period, while Anne Kroell, *Louis XIV, la Perse et Mascate*, Paris 1977, adds material from French sources. Then comes a lacuna, for which A. A. Amin, *British interests in the Persian Gulf*, London 1967, provides some background to the end of the 18th century and for which Mrs P. Risso's forthcoming thesis (Toronto University) should help fill the gap (*non vidi*).

From the 19th century to the early 20th century, there is no shortage of studies. The most useful summary of material in the India Office archives is in Lorimer's *Gazetteer*, whilst J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968, is a massive study based on British records. See also C. H. Allen, *The State of Masqat in the Gulf and East Africa*, in *IJMES*, xiv (1982), 117-27 and his full thesis, *Sayyids, Shaykhs and Sultans: politics and trade in Masqat under the Al Bu Sa'id 1785-1914*, University of Washington 1978, unpubl.; R. G. Landen, *Oman since 1856*, Princeton 1967; and J. E. Peterson, *Oman in the twentieth century*, London 1978.

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(J. C. WILKINSON)

MASKH (A.) "metamorphosis", that is, according to *LA*, s.v., "transformation of an exterior form (*ṣūra*) into a more ugly form"; the product of the metamorphosis is itself called *maskh/miskh* or *masīkh/mamsūkh*.

Belief in the fact that, as a result of supernatural intervention—divine punishment in the majority of cases—humans have been transformed into animals, statutes or even into stars was as widespread, before Islam, among the Arabs as among the peoples of Antiquity whose mythologies are known to us. The growth of the concept of punishment inflicted by God has led to the survival of this belief under Islam, not only among a populace conscious of ancestral tradition, but also in religious doctrine, since numerous Ḳurʾānic verses justify it: "You know of those among you who have broken the Sabbath; We have said to them: 'Be abject monkeys'" (II, 61/65; cf. VII, 166); "Those whom Allah has cursed, those on whom His wrath has fallen, those whom He has turned to the monkeys and the pigs" (V, 65/60); "If We wished, We would have transformed them where they stood" (XXXVI, 67). The verb *masakha* occurs only in the last-mentioned verse, which concerns deviants in general, whereas the others are applied to the Banū Isrāʾīl. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 39) explains that God has chosen monkeys and pigs because they are uglier and more antipathetic than other animals, and adds (iv, 39) that if monkeys only are mentioned in II, 61/65 and VII, 166, it is because the punishment in question is more severe.

Jews are also the subject of the principal *ḥadīth* relating to *maskh* (*apud* al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 573, s.v. *ḍabb*; cf. ii, 182, s.v. *ḳird*; see also al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, i, 439-40). Seeing somebody eating the flesh of the lizard, the Prophet

said, "A nation of the Banū Isrā'īl has been transformed, and I fear lest this creature is a part of it; I do not eat this meat, but I do not forbid it". This text is absolutely characteristic because, while testifying to the growth of traditions concerning punishments inflicted on the impious (cf. al-Damīrī, i, 386, s.v. *khinzīr*, where God changes to swine some Jews who have molested Jesus), it relates to an animal which is never mentioned in the Ḳur'ān and is corroborated by various anecdotes. In particular, al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 77) describes how a *faḳīh*, also seeing a person eating the flesh of the lizard, says to him: "Know that you have eaten a *shaykh* of the Banū Isrā'īl". The popular belief is in fact that two Israelite tribes have been transformed, one into lizards which have remained on dry land, the other into eels (*djirrī*) which have gone to live in the sea; the reason for this transformation is not indicated, and it is simply stated that it is likely because the foot of the lizard resembles a man's hand. Ibn Ḳutayba (*Mukhtalif*, 10, 362-3, tr. G. Lecomte, §§ 15, 300 c) refutes the interpretation of the proverb *aʿaḳḳ min ḍabb* "more irreverent than a lizard", according to which a Jew showing disrespect towards his parents had been transformed (al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, i, 509-10, proposes a different explanation). According to another ancient legend, all dishonest tax collectors were transformed (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 80), and there is reference to one of them who changed into a lizard (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 81, 155); of two others, one became a hyena and the other a wolf (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 80, 148), while Canopus (Suhayl, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 69, vi, 81, 155; *Tarbīʿ*, § 41; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Mukhtalif*, 10, tr. Lecomte, § 15) is none other than the fourth metamorphosed tax-collector. As for Venus (al-Zuhara), she was a prostitute who ascended into the sky by virtue of her knowledge of the greatest name of God (*bi-smi llāh al-aʿẓam*) which Hārūt [*q.v.*] and Mārūt had communicated to her (al-Samarḳandī, *Bustān al-ʿārifīn*, Ḳāzān 1298/1880, 131) and was transformed into a comet (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 69; *Tarbīʿ*, § 41 and index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Mukhtalif*, 10 = § 15).

The story of Isāf [*q.v.*] and Nā'ila, turned to stone in the Kaʿba, is well known, but it will be noted that the Ḳur'ān (XI, 83/81) does not say that the wife of Lot "became a pillar of salt" (Genesis, xix, 26); al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 70) makes the comment in this context that the Ahl al-Kitāb refer to no case of the metamorphosis of an human being into a pig or a monkey and simply state that this guilty woman was changed into a pillar of stone (*sic*). There are also encountered in the pre-Islamic period some individual instances of transformation into animals, but, after Islam, divine punishment does not seem frequently to take this form. There are however Shīʿī legends according to which ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wanders in the guise of an owl, and the murderer of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Shimr, "runs about incessantly in search of water, transformed into a dog with four eyes; he observes at least one spring which he never reaches, because at Karbalā' he forbade the family of Ḥusayn to approach the water" (H. Massé *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, 185). On the other hand, the Iranians attribute to post-Islamic metamorphoses the origin of several species of animal: the bear, the elephant, the tortoise, the vulture, the crow, the owl, the hoopoe, the hornet, in addition to the monkey, the pig, the dog and the lizard (*op. laud.*, 185-6).

To these latter attributions relating to Iran, should be added some cases of collective metamorphosis mentioned in the ancient Arab world. For example, it is stated, without undue emphasis, that the mouse (*fa'r* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) has for its ancestor a miller's wife (*Ḥayawān*, i, 297) and that the shrimp (or the lobster, *irbiyāna*) was a dressmaker who stole thread: this is why the creature has threads, to remind her of the crime that she committed (*Ḥayawān*, i, 297; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Mukhtalif*, 364 = § 300 c); the snake (*ḥayya*) had the form of a camel but, as a punishment (*Ḥayawān*, i, 297), God compelled it to crawl on the ground. According to popular belief, the dog is also the result of a metamorphosis (*Ḥayawān*, i, 222, 292, 297, 308, vi, 79), but in i, 297-8, al-Djāḥiẓ conjectures that the wolf would be the more likely case! Ibn ʿAbbās (*apud* Ibn Ḳutayba, *Mukhtalif*, 167 = § 172 a) comes close to believing in this metamorphosis; he has elsewhere handed down a tradition according to which the elephant, the hare, the spider, the eel and, naturally, the mouse, the monkey and the pig, are humans transformed (*Ḥayawān*, i, 309).

Obliged by the Ḳur'ān to accept the reality of *maskh*, jurists and theologians ponder the real meaning of such transformation and pose the question as to whether it is effected gradually or at a single stroke, whether it has led to the creation of new animal species and, consequently, whether the animals that are the result of it have survived and become numerous, in other words, whether the monkeys, pigs and lizards that we see today are their descendants and theirs alone. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*Tarbīʿ*, § 44) adds this secondary question, which he refrains from answering: "Do they recognise one another and do they know what has brought about their origin?".

To the first question, the author of *K. al-Ḥayawān* (iv, 70), one of whose most original ideas is the influence exerted by the soil and the climate on the somatic and psychological characters of living beings, replies by conveying, without however associating himself with it explicitly, the opinion of certain of the Dahriyya [*q.v.*] who accept the concept of gradual modifications capable of leading ultimately to a total transformation; conversely, there are others who do not deny the existence of collective divine punishments such as *khasf* or engulfment (of Sodom and Gomorrah in particular), poisonous wind and flood, but do not recognise *maskh*. On the part of the Muʿtazilīs, al-Naẓẓām accepts the phenomenon and considers that it falls within the category of divine miracles, while Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm and Hishām b. al-Ḥakam reject it and accept only *ḳalb*, modification (*apud Ḥayawān*, iv, 73). According to al-Bayḍāwī (on II, 61/65; cf. al-Damīrī, ii, 183, s.v. *ḳird*), Mudjāhid [*q.v.*] interpreted in a limited fashion the verse relating to the *maskh* of the Banū Isrā'īl, stating that they were not metamorphosed, but that their heart was transformed and their spirit rendered similar to that of monkeys; he was, however, the only one to hold this opinion.

As to the question of whether the monkeys and pigs of which the Ḳur'ān speaks and the above-mentioned animals in general derive exclusively from metamorphosis and were thus, originally, humans, or whether such species existed before the event in question, the answers are by no means unanimous, since points of view vary perceptibly, even though in II, 61/65, the words *ḳirada* and *khanāzīr* are defined by the article, which would seem to allow no freedom of interpretation. For some (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 68), the Ḳur'ān refers only to individual cases designed simply to impress minds and teach a lesson. For others, on the contrary, the lizards, pigs and monkeys, as well as the eels, dogs, etc., which are alive today are the descendants of those who have been transformed. It is thus that, for example, Ibn Ḳutayba, in referring to verse V,

65/60, accepts (*Mukhtalif*, 326 = § 284 a) that monkeys are indeed the product of a transformation and that this product has increased and multiplied (cf. 167, 37 = §§ 172 a, 280 h). According to al-Ḳurṭubī (*loc. cit.*) the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (468-543/1076-1148 [see IBN AL-ʿARABĪ] professed the same opinion, on the basis of a *ḥadīth* handed down by Abū Hurayra, according to which the Prophet said: "A nation of the Banū Isrāʾīl has disappeared and nobody knows what has become of it. I consider this the origin of the mouse. Do you not agree that when mice are offered the milk of the camel, they do not drink it, but if it is the milk of the ewe, they drink it". Al-Djāḥiẓ himself, at the end of the *Tarbīʿ* (§ 206), complains that God has radically transformed for the worse (*masakha*) this temporal world, as He has changed certain polytheists into monkeys and certain nations into pigs, with the difference however that in the world at large nothing survives of the previous situation, whereas the animals in question have retained some characteristics of their former humanity (cf. what has been said above concerning the foot of the lizard); this author thus implies that they were not previously created, although he does not believe in the reality of the phenomenon and in this passage has simply allowed himself to be carried away by his pen.

However, according to the prevailing opinion, the metamorphosed animals have died without leaving descendants, since, as objects of the anger and chastisement of God, they would be incapable of surviving. Al-Ḳurṭubī (*loc. cit.*, cf. al-Damīrī, ii, 182, s.v. *ḳird*) states that, for Ibn ʿAbbās, they survived no longer than three days, during which they neither ate, drank nor copulated; these details are attributed to the Prophet, who affirmed elsewhere (see al-Damīrī, ii, 183) that monkeys and pigs existed previously; having related the *ḥadīth* concerning the lizard which is quoted at the beginning of the present article, al-Damiri adds the curious comment: "It is probable that the Prophet said this before he knew that metamorphoses do not reproduce themselves (*anna 'l-mansūkh la yuʿḳib*)".

The same of course does not apply to the animals that have undergone a simple modification. Such is the case of the gecko (*wazagha*) struck deaf and leprous for having stirred up the fire that was to burn Abraham (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 68, cf. iv, 289-91; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Mukhtalif*, 10 = § 15; al-Damīrī, ii, 379, s.v. *wazagha*); the geckos that are seen today are indeed the descendants of the one that was modified and, although they are innocent, it is permitted, even recommended, to kill them. H. Massé (*op. laud.*, 187), also cites the case of the mule, rendered sterile for having, unlike the other beasts of burden, caused weariness to ʿAlī at the time of the assault on Khaybar, and the camel, whose organ of generation was made to point backwards so that the rider, Abraham, would not be soiled by the animal's urination; this last-mentioned case is clearly different from all the others.

All the excamples mentioned, including the Ḳurʾānic verses, belong ultimately to folklore, and there is no cause for surprise in that al-Djāḥiẓ treats them with irony in various passages of the *K. al-Ḥayawān* (in particular, i, 297). Also to be noted in this context is the belief according to which, "when an angel disobeys God in Heaven, he is sent to the earth in the form and with the nature of a man" (*Ḥayawān*, i, 187); this applies in the case of the father of Djurhum (see *Tarbīʿ*, § 40 and index) and also of Hārūt and Mārūt.

The notion of metamorphosis as a magical process was a natural source of inspiration for the writers of fabulous tales. In the *Thousand and one nights* (see N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et Une Nuits*, Beirut 1949, 127, 141-4), it is generally by means of sprinkling with water that humans are changed into animals (cow, calf, gazelle, dog, mule, monkey, bird, ass, bear) or that metamorphosed beings are returned to their initial form. Culprits are sometimes petrified (*ibid.*, 151), like Isāf and Nāʾila, and rocks which present a vaguely human appearance are invariably considered to represent men who have suffered divine punishment (as, for example, the rocks of Ḥammām Maskhūṭīn in eastern Algeria).

It may be noted finally that the metamorphoses of insects, well-known to the authors of zoological works, are not designated by the term *maskh* (a detailed example is to be found in al-Damīrī, s.v. *dūd*).

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(CH. PELLAT)

MAṢLAḤA, the concept in Islam of the public interest or welfare.

Maṣlaḥa (pl. *maṣāliḥ*) is the abstract noun of the verb *ṣalaḥa* (or *ṣaluḥa*), "to repair or improve". Strictly speaking, *maṣlaḥa*, like *manfaʿa*, means "utility" and its antonyms are *maḍarra* and *mafsada* ("injury"); but generally speaking, *maṣlaḥa* denotes "welfare" and is used by jurists to mean "general good" or "public interest". Anything which helps to avert *mafsada* or *ḍarar* and furthers human welfare is equated with *maṣlaḥa*. As a legal concept, *maṣlaḥa* must be distinguished from *istiṣlāḥ*, a method of legal reasoning through which *maṣlaḥa* is considered a basis for legal decisions [see ISTIḤSĀN and ISTIṢLĀḤ]. In this article, *maṣlaḥa* will be dealt with as a concept and a legal principle.

The first important case in which the notion of public welfare (*al-khayr* and *nafʿ*) was invoked as a basis for legal decision was the land of southern ʿIrāḳ (al-Sawād), which the caliph ʿUmar decreed should become state-land and a land tax (*al-kharādj*) was imposed on it. Earlier, the practice of the Prophet in such a situation varied from dividing the land among the participants in *djihād*, as in the case of the land taken from the Banū Ḳurayẓa, to turning it into state-land as in the case of Khaybar (Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, 51). Some of the Companions, like al-Zubayr and Bilāl, urged ʿUmar to divide the Sawād among the warriors, but others, like ʿUthmān, ʿAlī and Ṭalḥa, suggested that it should become state-land. After consultation with several other Companions, the caliph came to the conclusion that the interests of the community as a whole would be better served if the Sawād were brought under state control rather than divided. "If it were divided among the warriors", the caliph ʿUmar asked, "what would be the position of the believers as a whole and their descendants?" Retention of the land under state control would, he argued, bring about greater welfare and utility for the believers (*al-khayr li-djamīʿ al-Muslimīn* ... [and] *ʿumūm al-nafʿ li-djamāʿatihim* (Abū Yūsuf, 27). Though ʿUmar did not use the word *maṣlaḥa* per se, its notion was clearly implied in the words *khayr* ("welfare") and *ʿumūm al-nafʿ* ("public utility"). Supported by the opinion of leading Companions, he issued instructions to immobilise the land of al-Sawād and required its people to pay the *kharādj* (Abū Yūsuf, 23-7; Yaḥyā b. Adam, *Kitab al-Kharādj*, 17-21; M. Khadduri, *War and peace in the law of Islam*, 181-3). ʿUmar's decision on the basis of public interest may be said to have influenced other caliphs to make similar decisions, e.g. concerning the compilation of the Ḳurʾān. But these cases, though often cited as precedents, did not

establish *maṣlaḥa* as a principle or source of law. It was indirectly used through the derivative sources of *ḳiyās* and *istiḥsān* (al-Shāṭibī, *al-Iʿtiṣām*, ii, 287-8).

Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) is reputed to have been the first jurist to make decisions directly on the basis of *maṣlaḥa* through the use of *istiṣlāḥ* or *al-maṣlaḥa al-mursala*. Although no reference to *maṣlaḥa* or *istiṣlāḥ* is to be found in Mālik's writings, his disciples cited cases in which *maṣlaḥa* as a concept of law had been used by him. Both al-Shāfiʿī in the *Risāla* and Saḥnūn in *al-Mudawwana* cite the *ʿariyya* sale (the sale of fresh for dried dates, contrary to the rule that fresh fruit cannot be sold for dried) as a case in point in which *maṣlaḥa* was the basis of Mālik's rulings (al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, 331-5, tr. M. Khadduri, *Islamic jurisprudence*, 235-6; and Saḥnūn, *al-Mudawwana*, x, 93-4). As a method of legal reasoning, however, *istiṣlāḥ* was developed later and used by jurists who claimed that Mālik was the first to initiate the use of it (al-Shāṭibī, *al-Iʿtiṣām*, ii, 281-316). No clear evidence, however, has yet come to light indicating that Mālik had used *maṣlaḥa* as a concept of law. Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085) is mentioned as the first to call attention to it (al-Shāṭibī, *op. cit.*, 282), and other jurists must have made their contribution before it suddenly appeared as a mature concept in the writings of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111).

Al-Ghazālī states that in the narrow sense, *maṣlaḥa* may be defined as the furthering of the *manfaʿa* and the averting of *maḍarra*, but in a broad sense it is the ultimate purpose of the *Sharīʿa*, consisting of the maintenance of religion, life, offspring, reason and property. "Anything which furthers these aims," he adds, "is *maṣlaḥa*, and anything which runs contrary to them is *mafsada*" (*al-Mustaṣfā*, i, 139-40). Considering *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ* as imaginary (i.e. subjective) legal methods, he confirms the use of *ḳiyās* as a positive method of legal reasoning on the grounds that the achievement of *maṣlaḥa* is a necessity (*fī rutbat al-ḍarūrāt*) and develops the doctrine of necessity (*ḍarūra*) as a means by which to realise the ultimate purpose of the *Sharīʿa*. *Al-maṣlaḥa*, he maintains, consists of three categories: *al-ḍarūrāt* ("necessities"), *al-ḥādjiyyāt* ("needs") and *al-taḥsīnāt* ("improvements"). In order to make a decision on the basis of the second and third categories, the jurists must find a textual reference by means of *ḳiyās*; but the first category — the *ḍarūrāt*— constitutes by itself a basis for legal decision without resort to *ḳiyās* or any other method, on the grounds that the *maṣlaḥa* of that description is the ultimate purpose of the *Sharīʿa*. Thus by al-Ghazālī's time, *maṣlaḥa* had become a definite concept of law on the basis of which jurists could make legal decisions. Other jurists called legal reasoning *istiṣlāḥ*, but al-Ghazālī rejected *istiṣlāḥ*. If such a method is needed, *ḳiyās* can adequately provide it. In the case of *ḍarūrāt*, he argued, no dependence on a textual reference is needed. Thus *maṣlaḥa* of the highest rank itself becomes a source of the *Sharīʿa*. Al-Ghazālī cites as an example the case of unbelievers who shield themselves with a group of Muslim captives. He maintains that the killing of innocent Muslims, though not allowed by the Sharīʿa, would allow the unbelievers to gain mastery over the *dār al-Islām* and kill both the Muslims and the prisoners. Since minimising killing and the preservation of the community as a whole is closer to the purpose of the *Sharīʿa*, a decision to strike at the enemy shielded with Muslims can be justified on the strength of *maṣlaḥa*, since its protection is a *ḍarūra* (i.e. a necessity) and an implied purpose of the *Sharīʿa* (*op. cit.*, i, 141). But al-Ghazālī warns against the use of cases other than *ḍarūrāt*, such as if a few men in a ship, afraid of sinking or starvation, should kill one of them to save the rest.

It was, however, not a Mālikī or Shāfiʿī jurist who went further in the use of *maṣlaḥa*, but the Ḥanbalī jurist Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭawfī (d. 716/1316). In principle, he agreed with al-Ghazālī on the use of *maṣlaḥa* as a basis for legal decisions irrespective of others sources. He also argued that the other sources of the *Sharīʿa* recognised *maṣlaḥa* as the ultimate purpose of the Divine Legislator. Al-Ghazālī restricted its use to only the vital necessities (*ḍarūrāt*). So far, al-Ṭawfī seems to have said nothing innovative save that he universalised the principle to all cases of public interest. But then he went further by holding that, even if the principle of *maṣlaḥa* contradicts a primary source, it should override on the grounds that the *Sharīʿa* itself was laid down to protect *maṣlaḥa* as the ultimate purpose of the Divine Legislator (for the text of al-Ṭawfī's treatise on *maṣlaḥa*, see the appendix in Muṣṭafā Zayd, *al-Maṣlaḥa fī 'l-tashrīʿ al-Islāmī*, 7-48). Although he cites textual references from the Ḳurʾān and Tradition in support of his argument, the principal textual evidence is the tradition *lā ḍarar wa-lā ḍirār* ("no injury should be imposed nor an injury to be inflicted as a penalty for another injury"). From this and other citations, he asserted that the principle of *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa* must be overriding in all legal aspects of human relationships (*muʿāmalāt*), though not in matters relating to *ʿibādāt* (devotional duties), because these are relating to worship of God and are fundamentally different from *maṣlaḥa*.

The principle of *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa*, though ably defended by some of its adherents, like the Mālikī jurist Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388) and others, found no great supporters in an age in which *idjtihād* was discouraged and *taḳlīd* prevailed, mainly because it stressed dependence on evidence that cannot be clearly identified by *ḳiyās* or other derivative sources. In the modern age, however, under the impact of Western legal thought, the concept of *maṣlaḥa* has become the subject of an increasing interest among jurists who have sought legal reforms in order to meet the needs of the modern conditions of Islamic society. Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905) equated the *Sharīʿa* with natural law (M. H. Kerr, *Islamic reform*, 103 ff.) and opened the door for modern jurists to use reason as a basis for legal interpretation. Pursuing this line of thought, Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) might be regarded as the most effective protagonist of the use of *maṣlaḥa* as a source for legal and political reform. In his treatise *al-Khilāfa wa 'l-imāma al-ʿuẓmā* (1923) ("The caliphate, or the supreme authority"; tr. H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de Rašīd Riḍā*), Riḍā tried to re-interpret the *Sharīʿa* on the basis of *maṣlaḥa* and *ḍarūra* as the expression of public interest. Like al-Ṭawfī, he made a distinction between *muʿāmalāt* and *ʿibādāt*, and sought to reform the *Sharīʿa* by an elected assembly in which the *ʿulamāʾ* would be represented on the basis of the principles of *maṣlaḥa* and *ḍarūra*, presumably by the method of *idjtihād*, guided by reason, which Muḥammad ʿAbduh had eloquently explained. This approach to legal reform, partly on the basis of *maṣlaḥa* (often expressed by the modern usage of "national interest") and other legal devices, encouraged modern jurists such as ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī (d. 1968) and others to provide modern civil codes based partly on the *Sharīʿa*, but mainly on Western law.

Bibliography: Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1352, tr. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, Leiden 1958-69; al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā*, Cairo 1356; Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shāṭibī, *al-Iʿtiṣām*, Cairo 1331; Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭawfī, *Risāla fī 'l-maṣāliḥ al-*

mursala, in *Madjmū*ᶜ *rasāʾil fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, Beirut 1324, 37-70; a more critical edition of Ṭawfī's *Risāla* is in Muṣṭafā Zayd, *al-Maṣlaḥa fī 'l-Sharīᶜa al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo 1954; Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Khilāfa, aw al-imāma al-ᶜuẓmā*, Cairo 1341; M. H. Kerr, *Islamic reform*, Berkeley 1966. (MADJID KHADDURI)

MASLAMA B. ᶜABD AL-MALIK B. MARWĀN, son of the caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik and one of the most imposing Umayyad generals, whose siege of Constaninople 98-9/716-18 earned him lasting fame. Like his uncle Muḥammad b. Marwān [*q.v.*], whom he succeeded in Asia Minor in many respects, he was, as the son of a slave-girl, excluded from the succession to the caliphate. His date of birth is unknown. He died on Muḥarram 121/24 December 738.

Starting in 86/705, the last year of his father's reign, Maslama led the regular summer campaigns (*ṣawāʾif*), sometimes prolonged over the winter, into the Byzantine territories of Asia Minor, often accompanied by al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] and/or other sons of his half-brother, the caliph al-Walīd. The range of these campaigns stretched from the region of Malatya in the east to Amasya in the north and to Pergamon in the west. Among his early conquests, those of Ṭuwāna (Tyana) and ᶜAmmūriyya (Amorium) in 88/707 and 89/708 are best known. In 91/710 he succeded Muḥammad b. Marwān in the governorship of al-Djazīra, Armenia and Ādharbāydjān after having already served as governor of Ḳinnasrīn. In this capacity, he advanced as far as Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband) [*q.v.*] on the Caspian Sea, an operation which he repeated in 95/714 and in the course of which he conquered and destroyed the town. After Sulaymān had succeeded al-Walīd in the caliphate during the following year, Maslama was given chief command of the expedition against Constantinople which was carried out by land and sea [see ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA]. The siege proper started in the beginning of 99/mid-August 717 and ended exactly one year later without success. The fiasco was caused mainly by supply difficulties, the plague and the use of the Greek fire by the Byzantines against the Arab fleet. The loss did not injure Maslama's military reputation, but marked an interruption of his activities in Asia Minor for some years. Legend actually transformed the failure into a victory. Already in 100-1/719 he was ordered by ᶜUmar II again to lead the *ṣāʾifa*, but he had to use this army in ᶜIrāḳ, first against the Khāridjites and then, under the caliphate of Yazīd II, against the rebellious Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [*q.v.*], whom he defeated completely in Ṣafar 102/August 720 at ᶜAḳr in the vicinity of Wāsiṭ. Together with this expedition, he was entrusted with the governorship of both ᶜIrāḳs at the beginning of 102/July 720, but lost his office a year later because he apparently had not delivered the surplus taxes to Syria. This and his interference in the question of succession in favour of his half-brother Hishām and against Yazīd's son al-Walīd adversely affected his relations with the caliph, so that he did not exercise any military or administrative functions in the remaining years of Yazīd's caliphate. Hishām, however, reverted to the experienced general soon after his assumption of power, and conferred upon him the governorship of Armenia and Ādharbāydjān from 107/725 until 111/729 and again from 112/730 until 114/732. Maslama began this last phase of his military activities with a *ṣāʾifa* in the summer of 108/726 which resulted in the conquest of Caesarea in Cappadocia. His main attention, however, was turned further to the east against the Khazars [*q.v.*], who in these years threatened Adharbāydjān and Armenia. The culminating point of these activities was his new expedition to Bāb al-Abwāb in 112-13/730-1, during which he reconstructed and fortified the town and stationed a permanent Syrian garrison in it, whereby he became the founder of Islamic Darband. In 114/732 he retired from the political stage, and seems to have passed the remaining years of his life in northern Syria, where he possessed large estates, especially in the region between Ḥarrān and Raḳḳa.

Bibliography: See the general histories of Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, Balādhurī (*Futūḥ* as well as *Ansāb*), Yaᶜḳūbī, Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, etc.; *Aghānī*, index; Ibn ᶜAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, Ẓāhiriyya 3380, vol. xvi, fols. 222a-226b; J. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umaijaden*, in *NGW Gött.*, phil.-hist. Klasse (1901), Heft 4; F. Gabrieli, *Il califfato di Hishâm. Studi di storia omayyade*, Alexandria 1935 (Mémoires de la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie, vii/2); idem, *L'eroe omayyade Maslamah Ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik*, in *Rend. Lin.* (1950), serie VIII, vol. v, 22-39; R. Guilland, *L'expédition de Maslama contre Constantinople (717-718)*, in *Al-Machriq* (1955), 89-112 (= *Études Byzantines*, Paris 1959, 109-33). (G. ROTTER)

MASLAMA B. MUKHALLAD B. AL-ṢĀMIT AL-ANṢĀRĪ, ABŪ MAᶜN or SAᶜĪD or ᶜUMAR), Companion of the Prophet who took part in the conquest of Egypt and remained in the country with the Muslim occupying forces. Subsequently, loyal to the memory of ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAffān and hostile to ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, whose accession to the caliphate he had not recognised (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 3070), he opposed, with Muᶜāwiya b. Ḥudaydj [*q.v.*], the arrival of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*] who, having had a hand in the murder of the third caliph, had been appointed governor of Egypt, and it is probable that he was involved in the campaigns which took place in 38/658 and ended with the death of the son of Abu Bakr. He faithfully served ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ [*q.v.*], who governed the country until his death (43/663), and lived unobtrusively under his two successors, ᶜUtba b. ᶜAbī Sufyān and ᶜUḳba b. ᶜĀmir. Al-Ṭabarī (ii/1, 84, 93) says that in 47/667-8 Muᶜāwiya b. Ḥudaydj was appointed governor of Egypt and performed this function until 50/670, but other sources claim that Maslama governed Egypt from 47 onward; he was retained in his official responsibilities by Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiya, from 60/680 until his death on 25 Radjab 62/9 April 682 aged 62 or 66 years, since he was 10 or 14 years old on the death of the Prophet. During his period of office, he conducted regular operations against the Byzantines and rebuilt the mosque of ᶜAmr which he endowed with minarets [see MANĀRA]. Some authors state that, from the time of his nomination, he had responsibility for the Maghrib and Ifrīḳiya, and Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam for example (partial ed. and tr. A. Gateau, 66-7) specifies that it was he who, in 51/671, replaced ᶜUḳba b. Nāfiᶜ [*q.v.*] with Abu 'l-Muhādjir Dīnār al-Anṣarī; but the chronology is not easily established and Ibn ᶜIdhārī (i, 17) dates in the year 55/675 the decision on the part of Muᶜāwiya to join Ifrīḳiya to Egypt and the subsequent appointment of Abu 'l-Muhādjir.

Bibliography: Besides the references in the text, see Djāḥiz, *ᶜUthmāniyya*, 174; Ibn ᶜAbd al-Barr, *Istīᶜāb*, commentary on the *Iṣāba*, iii, 463; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 187; Ibn Saᶜd, v, 195; Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, partial ed.-tr. A. Gateau, Algiers[2] 1947, 67, 69, 71; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub annis*; ᶜAskalānī. *Iṣāba*, no. 7989; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 70; Ibn Taghribardī, *Nudjūm*, i, 132-57 *passim*; see also AL-ḲAYRAWĀN. (ED.)

MASLAMA AL-MADJRĪṬĪ [see AL-MADJRĪṬĪ].

MAṢMŪDA (the broken plural *Maṣāmida* is also found), one of the principal Berber ethnic groups forming a branch of the Barānis.

If we set aside the Maṣmūda elements mentioned by al-Bakrī in the neighbourhood of Bône, the post-Islamic Maṣmūda seem to have lived exclusively in the western extremity of the Maghrib; and as far back as one goes in the history of the interior of Morocco, we find them forming with the Ṣanhādja [*q.v.*], another group of Barānis Berbers, the main stock of the Berber population of this country. Indeed, from the first Arab conquest in the 1st/7th century to the importation of the Hilālīs by the Almohad sultan Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr in 586/1190, it was the Maṣmūda who inhabited the great region of plains, plateaux and mountains, which stretches from the Mediterranean to the Anti-Atlas to the west of a line from north-east to south-west passing through Miknāsa (Meknès) and Damnāt; the only parts of this territory which were not occupied by them were three small Ṣanhādja enclaves: the Ṣanhādja of Tangier, of the valley of the Wargha and of Azammūr. To the north and to the west, the land of the Maṣmūda was bounded by the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. To the east and south it was bounded by the land of the Ṣanhādja. To the north were the Ṣanhādja of the region of Tāzā and those of Wargha; in the centre, the Zanāga or Ṣanhādja of the Central Atlas, to which should be added the Zanāta of Fāzāz; to the south, the Haskūra, the Lamṭa [*q.v.*] and the Gazūla [see DJAZŪLA].

It was from the presence of this Maṣmūda block, extending continuously from Sūs to the Mediterranean, that eastern Morocco generally must have received the name of Sūs, a name found for example in Yāḳūt (s.v. Sūs) who distinguishes a Hither Sūs (capital Tangier) and a Farther Sūs (capital Ṭarḳala?) separated from the other by two months' journey. It is also to this racial unity that are due the legends according to which all the northwestern corner of Morocco was once inhabited by the people of Sūs (*ahl Sūs*).

Before the coming of the Hilālī Arabs, the Maṣmūda peoples were divided into three groups:

1. In the north, from the Mediterranean to the Sabū and Wargha, the Ghumāra [*q.v.*].
2. In the centre from the Sabū to the Wādī Umm Rabīʿ, the Baraghwāṭa [see BARGHAWĀṬA].
3. In the south, from the Wādī Umm Rabīʿ to the Anti-Atlas, the Maṣmūda in the strict sense of the word.

Like the majority of the Barānis, who in this respect are a contrast to the Butr, who are inclined to be nomads, the Maṣmūda were all settled; for if, in one passage, Ibn Khaldūn mentions two nomad tribes, the Lakha and the Zaggan, as forming part of the Maṣmūda confederation of the Ḥāḥa, he also points out that they were tribes of the Lamṭa, i.e. of the nomadic Ṣanhādja, who finally became incorporated in the Dhawū Ḥassān, Maʿḳilī Arab nomads [see MAʿḲIL] of Sūs. Ibn Khaldūn further makes special mention of the fortresses and fortified villages (*maʿāḳil wa-ḥuṣūn*) of the Maṣmūda who lived in the mountains of Daran or the Great Atlas. Other Arab historians and geographers mention the many little towns (*ḳarya*) in the plains occupied by the Dukkāla or the Baraghwāṭa, a pastoral and agricultural people; but these were gradually ruined and destroyed in the course of the fighting which went on without interruption in their country from the establishment of the Zanāta principalities of Shālla, Tādlā and Aghmāt: the Almoravid and Almohad conquests, repeated campaigns against the heretical Baraghwāṭa, the Hilālī occupation, the struggle between the Almohads and the Marīnids, the rivalry between the Marīnid kingdom of Fās and that of Marrākush and lastly the wars with the Portuguese. Exterminated as heretics, dispossessed of their lands and driven from them by the Arab or Zanāta nomads brought into their territory, transported to a distance (region of Fās) by the Waṭṭāsid sultans, for whose taste they showed too little hostility to the Portuguese, the central Maṣmūda, the original inhabitants of the Azghār, of Tāmasnā and of the land of the Dukkāla, finally disappeared; their place was taken by nomads, Hilālī Arabs (in the north, in Habṭ and Azghār, the Riyāḥ; in the south, the Djusham, Sufyān, Khulṭ and Banū Djābir) and the Berbers (Zanāta Hawwāra); in the 10th/16th century the coming to power of the Saʿdid dynasty brought about the immigration of Maʿḳil Arab tribes to the same region: ʿAbda, Aḥmar, Raḥāmina, Barābīsh, Udāya, Awlād Dulaym, Zuʿayr, etc.

From the 10th/16th century onwards, as a result of the occupation of their central plains by the Arabs, Hilālī then Maʿḳilī, the Maṣmūda only survived in the mountainous regions which formed the northern and southern extremes of their old domains.

The Maṣmūda of the north (or *Maṣmūdat al-Sāḥil*: "M. of the shore" of *al-Bayān*) were chiefly represented by the Ghumāra group. But, alongside of them, we find two small groups having the same racial origin:

a. The Maṣmūda of the Straits, settled between the district of Ceuta, which belonged to the Ghumāra and that of Tangier, a Ṣanhādja country. It was they who gave their name to the fortified port of Ḳaṣr Maṣmūda, also called Ḳaṣr al-Madjāz, the modern al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr. Their presence here is attested in the 4th/10th century, for it was while fighting here against them that Ḥā-Mīm, the prophet of the Ghumāra, was slain; al-Bakrī (5th/11th century) knew them in the same area corresponding to that of the modern Andjra.

b. Al-Bakrī mentions another group of Maṣmūda (tribe of the Aṣṣāda) settled in the land lying between al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr and Wazzān; there is still a small Maṣmūda tribe between these two towns.

The Maṣmūda of the south, who inhabited the lands between the Wādī Umm Rabīʿ and the Anti-Atlas, were divided into two groups: those of the plain and those of the mountain.

2. The Southern Maṣmūda of the plain lived to the north of the Great Atlas. The chief tribes were the Dukkāla; the Banū Māgir (around Safi); the Hazmīra; the Ragrāga and the Hāḥa (to the south of the lower course of the Tansift). The chief town in this region was Safi [see ASFĪ], for the town of Azammūr [*q.v.*] and the *ribāṭ* of Tīṭ [*q.v.*] were in the enclave of Ṣanhādja; beside the port of Safi, we must also mention that of Ḳūz (the *Agoz* of the Portuguese) at the mouth of the Tansift, which gave Aghmāt access to the sea and had a *ribāṭ*, and that of Amagdūl (the *Mogador* of the Portuguese) which served the district of Sūs. Besides these three centres, there were, as in Tāmasnā, a large number of fortified little towns (*ḳarya*) many of which survived down to the 10th/16th century; the Portuguese chroniclers, Leo Africanus and Marmol have preserved for us many names of these places which have now disappeared, their very memory being lost; the local hagiographic collections, and notably the *Kitāb al-Tashawwuf* of al-Tādilī (7th/13th century), have preserved a good deal of valuable information on this subject. At the present day, all the country to the north of the Atlas is arabicised and if the old Berber element has not com-

pletely disappeared, it is at least overwhelmed by Arabs, of whom the majority seem to be of Maʿḳilī origin. The Ḥāḥa alone, between Mogador and Agadir, have remained almost intact and have retained the use of the Berber language.

b. The Southern Maṣmūda of the mountains occupied the Great Atlas (*Djabal Daran*), the massif of Sīrwā (anc. Sīrwān) and the Anti-Atlas or mountains of the Nagīsa (Berber, I n Gist).

In the Great Atlas, the Maṣmūda extended to the east as far as the upper course of the Tansift (a pass called Tizi-Telwet). From east to west, the following were the chief groups: the Glāwa; the Haylāna (or Aylāna), the Warīka and the Hazradja, near Aghmāt; the Aṣṣādan, including the Maṣfīwa, the Māghūs and the Dughāgha or Banū Daghūgh; the Hintāta, including the Ghayghāya; the people of Tin-Mallal, on the upper course of the river of Naffīs; the Ṣawda or Zawda, in the lower valley of the Asif al-Māl; the Gadmīwa and lastly in the west, the Ganfīsa, the chief tribe of which was the Saksāwa or Saksīwa.

The massif of Sirwā and the high valley of the Wādī Sūs were inhabited by the Banū Wāwazgīt and the Saktāna. The northeastern part of the Anti-Atlas was occupied by the Hargha.

Farther to the south, the Sūs, properly so-called, was inhabited by heterogeneous elements of Maṣmūda origin (al-Idrīsī, *akhlāṭ min al-Barbar al-Maṣāmida*). Describing the road leading from Tarūdant to Aghmāt, al-Idrīsī mentions between Tarūdant and the land of the Hargha, four tribes the names of which, corrupted by the copyists, are unfortunately hardly identifiable.

Besides these highlanders, who were strictly Maṣmūda, we must mention the Haskūra (or Hasākira). These were highlanders of Ṣanhādja origin, brethren of the Lamṭa and Gazūla, who led a nomadic existence to the south of the Great Atlas and the Anti-Atlas. The Haskūra were settled in the high valley of Tansift and the Wādī al-ʿAbīd, on the two slopes of the mountain range which links the Great Atlas, the home of the Maṣmūda, with the Central Atlas, the home of the Zanāga (= Ṣanhādja) of Tādla; their chief tribes were the Zamrāwa, the Mughrāna, the Garnāna, the Ghudjdāma, the Faṭwāka, the Maṣṭāwa, the Hultāna, and the Hantīfa, who, according as they lived on one slope or the other, belonged to the Haskurāt al-Ḳibla (H. of the south) or to the Haskurāt al-Ḍill (Ḥ. of the north [< *ẓill*]). Ibn Khaldūn, who calls attention to the Ṣanhādja origin of the Haskūra, adds that, as a result of their taking up the Almohad cause, it became customary to associate them with the Maṣmūda tribes, but that they never enjoyed the same privileges as these latter.

History. In 62/682, ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*] marched against the Maṣmūda of the Atlas with whom he fought several battles. On one occasion, he was surrounded in the mountains and owed his safety solely to the help given him by a body of Zanāta. In the same year, he attacked and took the town of Naffīs which was occupied by "Rūm" and Berbers professing Christianity. Thence he went to Igli, a town of Sūs which he also took. Legend adds that he even thrust his way to the Atlantic where he rode his horse into the water, calling God to witness that there were no more lands for him to conquer.

This first submission of the Maṣmūda does not however seem to have lasted after the departure of ʿUḳba. In 88/707, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr had to reconquer Morocco; he in person took Darʿa and Tāfīlālt and sent his son to the conquest of Sūs and the land of the Maṣmūda.

In 114/732 ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb was appointed governor of the Maghrib; he appointed his son Ismāʿīl as assistant to the governor of Morocco and gave him particular charge of the district of Sūs.

In 117/735, the same ʿUbayd Allāh sent Ḥabīb, grandson of ʿUḳba, to make an expedition into Sūs against the Maṣmūda and the Ṣanhādja (Massūfa). Later the latter's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī (d. 127/745) becoming semi-independent governor of the Maghrib occupied Igli and built a camp there, the remains of which could still be seen in al-Bakrī's time. It is to the same governor that is attributed the making of the wells which supply the road from Tāmdalt to Awdaghost [*q.v.*] via Waddān, through the modern Mauritania.

The land of the Maṣmūda then disappears from history till the 3rd/9th century. The conquests of Idrīs I did not extend in the south beyond Tāmasnā and Tādlā. But in 213/812 Idrīs II made an expedition against the town of Naffīs; on his death in 213/828, his son ʿAbd (or ʿUbayd) Allāh obtained as his share of the kingdom, Aghmāt, Naffīs, the lands of the Maṣmūda and of the Lamṭa as well as Sūs. Al-Bakrī records that some of his descendants ruled as lords of Naffīs and among the Banū Lamās, not far from Igli. Other Idrīsids, descendants of Yaḥyā b. Idrīs, were at this time lords of Darʿa.

With the decline of Idrīsid power in the 4th/10th century, the Maṣmūda again became independent and were ruled by elected chiefs or *imgharen* (sing. *amghar* [*q.v.*], Arabic *shuyūkh*); al-Bakrī tells us that those of Aghmāt were appointed by the people for a term of one year. When at the end of the 4th/10th century, Zanāta principalities became established in Morocco (at Fās, Shālla and Tādlā), Maghrāwa established themselves at Aghmāt; but all we know of them is that they were attacked by the Almoravids. In 449/1057, after receiving the submission of Sūs and of the Maṣmūda (Zawda, Shafshāwa, Gadmīwa, Ragrāga and Ḥāha), the Almoravid chief ʿAbd Allāh b. Yā-Sīn took Aghmāt, the last Maghrāwa ruler of which, Lagūṭ b. ʿAlī, fled to Tādlā. His wife, the famous Zaynab, who was one of the Nafzāwa, finally became the wife of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, whom she initiated into the fine art of diplomacy.

From 449/1057, Aghmāt was the capital of the Almoravids till 454/1062, when Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn founded Marrākush [*q.v.*]. In 466/1074 the same ruler, having divided his empire among several governors, gave his son Tamīm the governorship of Marrākush, Aghmāt, of the Maṣmūda and of Sūs, then of Tādlā and Tāmasnā.

The Maṣmūda seem to have remained subject to the Almoravids till the rebellion in 515/1121 provoked by the *mahdī* Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] of the tribe of Hargha, who, supported by ʿUmar Intī, *shaykh* of the Hintāta, and by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*], brought about the foundation of the Almohad dynasty. The history of the Maṣmūda is henceforth involved with that of the dynasty which they brought to power and which was to last till 1269. The Maṣmūda, together with the Almohad dynasty, thus contributed to the rise of the Ḥafsids [*q.v.*], who ruled over Ifrīḳiya from 625/1228 to 982/1574, through the descendants of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Intī, *shaykh* of the Hintāta.

During the first half of the 7th/13th century, the power of the Almohads, routed by the Christians of Spain at the battle of Ḥiṣn al-ʿUḳāb (Las Navas de Tolosa) in 609/1212 and vigorously attacked in Morocco by the Banū Marīn, soon began to decline. The Maṣmūda of the Atlas, indifferent to the fate of the dynasty, took advantage of its plight to regain

their independence. It was the tribes of the Hintāta and the Haskūra, which in 621/1224 at the proclamation of al-ʿĀdil assumed the leadership in the movement; frequently allied with the Hilālī Arabs of the plains, Sufyān and Khulṭ, we find them fighting in all the civil wars and supporting various pretenders to the throne.

When in 667/1269, the Marīnids had definitely crushed the Almohads, the Maṣmūda retained a certain amount of independence and lived more or less in submission to the central power, ruled by chiefs chosen from the great local families: Awlād Yūnus among the Hintāta; Awlād Saʿd Allāh among the Gadmiwa; among the Saksāwa, ʿUmar b. Ḥaddū was an independent chief who went so far as to claim the Berber title *agellid* (= king). In Sūs, the Banū Yaddar (Idder) founded an independent principality which lasted from 652/1254 till about 740/1340. As to the Haskūra, the power among them was exercised by the Banū Khaṭṭāb.

Down to the 9th/15th century, except during the first half of the reign of the Almohad dynasty of which they had been the principal supporters, the Maṣmūda of the Atlas were hardly ever under the direct rule of the Moroccan government; only the tribes of the plains, Dukkāla and Ḥāḥa, in a position of inferiority as a result of their geographical situation, were able to offer less resistance and had to submit. The later dynasties, Saʿdid and ʿAlawī, were no better able to subdue the Maṣmūda of the highlands; but instead of gathering round local chiefs with temporal power, the latter now placed themselves under the leadership of holy men with religious prestige.

In the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the land of the Maṣmūda was in a state of anarchy. Some *ashyākh* of the tribe of the Hintāta held the lands of Marrākush; the most famous was Abū Shantūf; to the south of Tansift, the 8th/14th century saw the rise of the warlike group of the Ragrāga; in the 9th/15th century, the power of the mystic al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*] spread among the Ḥāḥa. In the adjoining country of Darʿa, the Saʿdid dynasty was rising, which, after occupying Sūs, imposed its domination on the whole of Morocco. But it did not, however, succeed in subjecting completely the highlanders of the Atlas. The powerful Aḥmad al-Manṣūr himself had to fight against a pretender who had proclaimed himself king of the Saksāwa. After the death of al-Manṣūr, the Atlas and Sūs were all under the authority of local religious leaders of whom the most important were to be found among the Ḥāḥa and in Tāzarwālt (family of Aḥmad u-Mūsā).

It was the ʿAlawid Sultan Mawlāy Rashīd who restored Sūs and the Atlas to the Moroccan empire. The only episode to note is the constitution in Tāzarwālt, by a marabout Sayyidī (Sīdī) Hishām of a kind of independent kingdom, the capital of which was Ilīgh and which lasted from the end of the 18th century till 1886.

Henceforth, the Maṣmūda disappear from history. The Atlas remained more or less independent, according to the degree of power of the ruling sovereigns, but all the important events in the region took place among the Ḥāḥa or in Sūs [*q.v.*]. The French occupation found the old Maṣmūda grouped, since the death of the ʿAlawid Sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, into three bodies each under the authority of a local family: the Glāwa in the east, the Gunḍāfa in the centre, ad the Mtugga in the west.

The name Maṣmūda, still preserved in the north of Morocco in the name of a little tribe of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, seems to have completely disappeared in the south, where the former Maṣmūda peoples, continuing to talk Berber, bear the name of *Shulūḥ* (French *Chleuhs* [*q.v.*]. It may even be asked if the name Maṣmūda, which is found so often in the Arab historians and geographers, was ever in regular use among the peoples to whom they apply it; it is, indeed, suggestive that it is not found in the long lists of ethnics given in the *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, published in the *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*.

Social structure. The Maṣmūda of the Atlas lead a settled life, living by a little agriculture and breeding a poor type of cattle; they live in villages or hamlets of stone houses with clay roofs. Ibn Khaldūn notes the existence among them of numerous little strongholds and fortified villages (*maʿāḳil wa-ḥuṣūn*), the ancestors of the modern *tighremts* and *agadirs* [*q.v.*]. There were no towns among the mountains; Tīn Mallal, famous for the mosque where Ibn Tūmart was buried, was never a town. Before the Almoravid ruler Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn founded Marrākush in 454/1062, built moreover in the plains out of reach of the highlanders, whom it was to control, the only urban centres in the district were situated at the foot of the Atlas on its lowest slopes. The principal towns were in the north, the double town of Aghmāt [*q.v.*] and that of Naffīs on the river of the same name; in the south, in Sūs, Igli and Tarūdant; as places of less importance we may mention in the north, Shafshāwa (mod. Shīshāwa), Afīfan and Tamarurt; in the east, among the Ḥāḥa and in the borders of Sūs, Tadnast. The great trade-routes which traversed the region started from Aghmāt for the port of Ḳūz (at the north of the Tansift), Fās (via Tādlā), Sidjilmāssa (through the land of the Hazradja and the Haskūra), and Sūs (via Naffīs, the land of the Banū Māghūs and Igli; no doubt using the pass now called Tizi n-Test). Al-Bakrī particularly mentions the industry and application and the thirst for gain, characteristic of the Maṣmūda of the Atlas of Sūs. The principal products of the country were fruits (nuts and almonds), honey and oil of *argan* [*q.v.*], a tree peculiar to the country, of which there were regular forests among the Ḥāḥa. The Maṣmūda could cast and work iron and also copper, which they exported in the form of ingots or "loaves" (*tangult*); they also worked and chased silver jewellery. In Sūs also the cultivation of the sugar-cane enabled sugar to be made.

From the intellectual point of view, the Maṣmūda seem to occupy a place of first rank among the Berbers. Each of their three principal groups has produced a "reforming prophet", the author of sacred works in the Berber language: Ḥā-Mīm of the Ghumāra; Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf of the Baraghwāṭa; Ibn Tūmart of the Maṣmūda of the Atlas. It may also be noted that Sūs is one of those few districts in which books were written in Berber down to a quite recent date (cf. H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, 73-81).

Religious life. The Maṣmūda were converted to Islam in the 1st/7th century by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, who left his comrade Shākir among them to teach the new religion. The latter died among them and was buried on the banks of the Tansift where his tomb is still venerated. The place is now called Ribāṭ Sayyidī Shikar near the confluence with the river of the Shīshāwa. The Mosque of the town of Aghmāt of the Haylāna was founded at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century in 85/704.

Ibn Khaldūn describes the Maṣmūda of the Atlas as being attached to Islam from the first conquest, in which they differed from their brethren of the north, the Baraghwāṭa and the Ghumāra, who remained

faithful to their heretical beliefs. At the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, several of them accompanied Ṭāriḳ on his conquest of Spain; the best known of these was Kuthayyir b. Waslās b. Shamlāl, of the tribe of the Aṣṣāda, who settled in Spain and was the grandfather of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, one of the *ruwāt* of the *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ; many others also settled in Spain and their descendants played important parts under the Umayyads.

In the 5th/11th century, however, al-Bakrī notes Rāfiḍī heretics among the Maṣmūda; these were the Banū Lamās settled to the north of the Hargha and the town of Igli. In this district he also mentions the existence of idolators who worshipped a ram; perhaps we have here a relic of the cult of the god Ammon among the ancient Berbers. The towns, however, formed important centres of Muslim culture, the influence of which was felt not only by the Maṣmūda of the district but also by the Ṣanhādja of the adjoining deserts, Lamṭa and Gazūla. We know that it was in the town of Naffīs, with Uggʷag b. Zallū, a learned jurist of Lamṭa origin and a pupil of Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of al-Ḳayrawān, that in 430/1039 Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gudālī recruited ʿAbd Allāh b. Yā-Sīn al-Gazūlī who was the promoter of the Almoravid movement. For the Almohad period, al-Tādilī's hagiographic collection, entitled *Kitāb al-Tashawwuf*, shows us the land of the Maṣmūda of the south full of wonder-working saints. Later, the tribe of the Ragrāga, settled on the lands now occupied by the Shayāḍima, was the cradle of a movement at once religious and warlike, the details of which are little-known but the memory still alive. In the first half of the 11th/17th century, religious activity seems to be concentrated in the south of Sūs, in Tāzarwālt where the descendants of the saint Sīdī Aḥmad u-Mūsā carved themselves out an independent marabout principality.

Bibliography: See the indices to the geographers, especially Bakrī and Idrīsī; Tādilī, *K. al-Tashawwuf ilā (maʿrifat) ridjāl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958; Leo Africanus, ed. Schefer, i, 181-231; Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, chapters devoted to the Maṣāmida; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, principally 55-67; R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930; H. Basset and H. Terrasse, *Timmel*, in *Hespéris* (1924), 9-91.

(G. S. Colin)

MAṢMUGHAN, ("great one of the Magians") a Zoroastrian dynasty which the Arabs found in the region of Dunbāwand (Damāwand [*q.v.*]) to the north of Ray.

The origins of the Maṣmughāns. The dynasty seems to have been an old, though not particularly celebrated, one, as is shown by the legends recorded by Ibn al-Faḳīh, 275-7, and in al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 227. The title of *maṣmughān* is said to have been conferred by Farīdūn upon Armāʾīl, Bēwarāsp's former cook (Zohāk), who had been able to save half the young men destined to perish as food for the tyrant's serpents. Armāʾīl (according to Yāḳūt, ii, 606, a Nabataean, a native of the Zāb) showed to Farīdūn in the mountains of Daylam and Shirriz, a whole nation of these refugees, which caused Farīdūn to exclaim *was mānā kata āzād kardī*, which is explained to mean: "What a large number of people of the house (*ahl bayt*ⁱⁿ) thou hast saved'".

The first historical reference to a *maṣmughān* is found in al-Ṭabarī's (i, 2656) account of the taking of Ray by Nuʿaym b. Muḳarrin in the time of the caliph ʿUmar (according to Ibn al-Athīr in the years 18, 21 or 22; Marquart, however, puts these events as late as 98/716-17). The King of Ray, Siyāwakhsh b. Mihrān b. Bahrām-Čubīn, had received reinforcements from the people of Dunbāwand, but when he was defeated, the *maṣmughān* of Dunbāwand made peace at once with the Arabs and received honorable terms (*ʿalā ghayrⁱ naṣrⁱⁿ wa lā maʿūnatⁱⁿ*) promising an annual payment of 200,000 *dīnārs*. The charter given by Nuʿaym was addressed "to the *maṣmughān* of Dunbāwand, Mardān-shāh, to the people of Dunbāwand, of Khʷār, of Lāriz (Lāridjān) and of Shirriz". This gives us an idea of the extent of the sway of the *maṣmughān*. His possessions included the country round Mount Damāwand and stretched down the plains as far as the east of Ray. The district of Dunbāwand (* Dubā-wand, [the land occupied by] the * Dubān clan?) did not form part of Ṭabaristān. The Arabs mention it along with Ray (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2653-6; al-Muḳaddasī, 209; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 275-7); but as we have seen, at the time of the conquest, Ray and Dunbāwand were under different dynasties. The old capital of Dunbāwand may have been at Mandān, where, according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, Armāʾīl had built a wonderful house of teak and ebony, which in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd was taken to pieces and transported to Baghdād. In the Arab period there were two towns in Dunbāwand, sc. Wīmā and Shalanba (the latter is marked on Stahl's map to the south of the modern town of Damāwand, which lies on the slopes of Mount Damāwand). According to Yāḳūt, the *maṣmughān*'s principal stronghold was called Ustūnāwand or Djarhud. This should be sought above the village of Rayna, which must correspond to the old Ḳaryat al-Ḥaddādīn. (Ibn al-Faḳīh's story of the shops (*ḥawānīt*) in which worked the smiths, the noise of whose hammers exorcised the enchained Bēwarāsp, must refer to the chambers carved out of the rock near Rayna; cf. E. Crawshay-Williams, *Rock-dwellings at Reinah*, in *JRAS* [1904], 551; [1906], 217.)

An attempt made by Abū Muslim in 131/748-9 to conquer the *maṣmughān* was a disastrous failure: his general Mūsā b. Kaʿb was attacked by the *maṣmughān*'s men and on account of the difficult nature of the country (*li-ḍīḳⁱ bilādihi*) was forced to return to Ray (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 304; cf. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, in Dorn, *Auszüge*, 441).

The principality was not conquered until 141/758-9. In this period, there were dissensions in the family of the *maṣmughān*. Abarwīz b. al-Maṣmughān quarrelled with his brother and went over to the caliph al-Manṣūr, who gave him a pension (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 130). The *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*, 228, testifies to his bravery in the rising of the Rāwandiyya and calls him "al-Maṣmughān Mālik b. Dīnār, *malik* of Dunbāwand". This Abarwīz (or Mālik) had enjoyed considerable influence, for, according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, the appointment of ʿUmar b. ʿAlāʾ as commander of the army sent against Ṭabaristān was made on the advice of Abarwīz, who had known him since the trouble with Sunbādh (on the partisans of this "Khurramī" in Ṭabaristān, cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 188 = § 2400) and with the Rāwandiyya.

In the year 141/748-9, the brother of Abarwīz who occupied the throne of Dunbāwand was at war with his father-in-law, the *ispahbad* Khurshīd of Ṭabaristān; but when he heard that the forces sent by al-Manṣūr were on their way to Ṭabaristān, he hastened to effect a reconciliation with his adversary (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 136; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 386).

The stories of the campaign against Ṭabaristān directed by al-Mahdī by order of his father al-Manṣūr

are very contradictory, as is shown by their very detailed analysis in Vasmer, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.* After the defeat of the *ispahbad*, the Arabs conquered the *maṣmughān* and captured him and his daughters Bakh-tariyya (?) and Ṣmyr (? or Shakla). Of these princesses, one became the wife of al-Mahdī b. al-Manṣūr and the other the *umm walad* of ᶜAlī b. Rayṭa. According to a story in Ibn al-Faḳīh, 314, Khālid b. Barmak (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 100, thinks that his expedition was sent especially against the lord of Dunbāwand) sent the *maṣmughān* and his wife and his two daughters to Baghdād, but in another passage, 275, the same writer says that the *maṣmughān* obtained *amān* from al-Mahdī and came down from the mountain of al-ᶜAyrayn (?). He was taken to Ray, and there al-Mahdī ordered him to be beheaded.

After the death of the *maṣmughān*, the people of these mountain regions lapsed into barbarism (*ḥawziyya*) and became like wild beasts (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 136). According to Ibn al-Faḳīh (276), however, the descendants of the *maṣmughān* (= Armāʾīl?) were still well-known.

Spiegel's and Marquart's hypotheses. Yāḳūt, i, 244, interprets *maṣmughān* as *kabīr al-madjūs* "the great one of the magi" (*mas* "great", N.W. Iranian form). Spiegel thought of connecting this dynasty with the prince-priests of Ray, whose existence is known from a well-known passage in the Avesta (*Yasna*, ix, 18, tr. Darmesteter, i, 170; cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 202-5). In spite of Marquart's criticisms, who says it is impossible to quote the authority of Avestan traditions which relate to much earlier state of affairs, Spiegel's suggestion is still of interest. We have certainly to deal with vague memories and not with actual facts. In the time of the Arab conquest, the descendants of Bahrām Čubīn were ruling in Ray, but the Arabs (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2653-6) installed there a certain al-Zaynabī, son of Ḳūla and father of al-Farrukhān. It remains to be seen if this family of Zaynbadī "whom the Arabs call al-Zaynabī" (al-Balādhurī, 317) is connected with Dunbāwand. Their stronghold in Ray was called ᶜArīn (?), which resembles the name of the mountain al-ᶜAyrayn from which the last *maṣmughān* came down (cf. the note by de Goeje in Ibn al-Faḳīh, 275). Marquart wanted to connect the *maṣmughāns* of the Bāwandid dynasty, the eponymous ancestor of which Bāw, a descendant of Kāwūs, brother of Khusraw I, is said to have lived in the time of the later Sāsānids [see BĀWAND]. This Bāw was a man of piety, and after the fall of Yazdagird III had retired to his father's fire-temple. Marquart regards him as a "magus" and identifies him with the father of the Christian martyr Anastasius, who bore this name (βαῦ) and was a "master of Magian lore". Lastly, he quotes the fact that the Bāwandids appeared in 167/783-4 only after the disappearance of the *maṣmughāns* (after 141), as if to continue their line. Unfortunately, several details of the ingenious argument are not accurate: our sources (Ibn Isfandiyār; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 204-5) give not the slightest suggestion that Bāw belonged to the priestly caste. According to Ibn Isfandiyār (tr. Browne, 98), his grandfather's temple was at Kūsān, which Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábad*, 160, locates a little distance west of Ashraf i.e. quite remote from Dunbāwand. The passage in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1294, which Marquart quotes to prove the occurrence of the name Maṣmughān among the Bāwandids refers to the cousin of Māzyār of the Ḳārinid dynasty [*q.v.*], which is quite different from the Bāwandids (cf. below).

The Ḳārinid *maṣmughāns*. It is curious that neither Ibn Isfandiyār nor Ẓahīr al-Dīn speaks of the dynasty of the *maṣmughān* of Dunbāwand, perhaps because they do not include this region in Ṭabaristān proper. On the other hand, they mention a *maṣmughān* (*maḍmughān* > * *mazmughān*) Walāsh, who was the *marzubān* [*q.v.*] of Miyān-du-rūd (Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 42, says that this canton was near the Sārī between the rivers Kalārud and Mihribān and that on the east it adjoined Ḳaratughān; Miyān-du-rūd is thus quite close to where Rabino puts Kūsān !). This *maṣmughān* Walāsh (Ibn Isfandiyār, 101; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 42) lived in the time of Djamāspid Farrukhān the Great (709-22?) and belonged to the elder branch of the Ḳārinids descended from Zarmihr b. Sūkhā. (it is unclear why Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch*, 430, takes this Walāsh to be the son of the last *maṣmughān* of Dunbāwand). The Ḳārinid Wandād Hurmuzd (of the younger line, descended from Ḳārin, brother of Zarmihr) in his rising against the caliph (al-Mahdī, 158-69/775-85) had combined with the *ispahbad* Sharwīn (772-97) and the *maṣmughān* Walāsh of Miyān-du-rūd. This latter (Ibn Isfandiyār, 126; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 155) seems to have been one of the successors of the *maṣmughān* Walāsh mentioned above.

Under 224/838 al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1294) mentions a cousin of the Ḳārinid Māzyār, who was called Shāhriyār b. al-Maṣmughān. According to this, al-Maṣmughān would be identical with Wandād Ummīd, uncle of Māzyār (cf. Justi, 430). On the other hand, under the year 250/864, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1529, mentions a Māṣmughān (*sic*) among the allies of the ᶜAlid Ḥasan b. Zayd. Ibn Isfandiyār, 165, calls him Maṣmughān b. Wandā-Ummīd. One must either suppose there is an error in al-Ṭabarī's genealogy or admit that the title of *maṣmughān* was borne both by Wandā-Ummīd and his son, but the form of the designation of the latter (ماصمغان without the article) would rather show that the title had become a simple proper name (Browne was thus wrong in translating "*the* Maṣmughān").

To sum up then. Alongside of the *maṣmughāns* of Dunbāwand, we have the *maṣmughāns* of Miyān-du-rūd. These *marzubāns*, if we may rely on Ẓahīr al-Dīn, belonged to the Zarmihrid branch of the dynasty of Sūkhrā (Sāsānid governor of Ṭabaristān descended from Ḳārin, son of the famous smith Kāwa [see KĀWAN]). Later we find the title (or proper name!) of *maṣmughān* recurring in the younger branch of the line of Sūkhrā (the Ḳārinid branch), which occupied a position in Ṭabaristān subordinate to the Bāwandid *ispahbads* (Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 154, 14).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 2656; iii, 130, 136 (1294, 1529); Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, 101, tr. 109, 227, 213; *Kitāb al-ᶜUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*, ed. de Goeje and de Jong, 228; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 18; v, 304, 386-7; Ibn Isfandiyār, index; Yāḳūt, i, 243-4 (Ustūnāwand); ii, 606-10 (Dunbāwand); Ẓahīr al-Dīn, index; F. Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, 1871, iii, 563; idem, *Über d. Vaterland d. Avesta*, in *ZDMG*, xxxv (1881), 629-45; F. Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch*, 199 and 430 (tables); J. Marquart, *Beiträge*, in *ZDMG*, xlix (1895), 661; idem, *Ērānšahr*, 127; R. Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Tabaristans ... zur Zeit des Chalifen al-Manṣūr*, in *Islamica*, iii (1927), 86-150; see also ḲĀRINIDS. (V. MINORSKY)

MAṢRAF DEFTERI, the household account book of high-level Ottoman administrators such as viziers or governors, or of palace personnel such as waterbearers. The account book covered, for time periods of a month up to several years, detailed monthly inventories of household economic transactions. These inventories are often organised under subject headings such as kitchen, clothing, or food expenses,

purchases of household goods from merchants and artisans, salaries of household members, or gifts given and received during religious holidays. Each entry of the inventory usually contains a description of the transaction, the price, quantity and the names of the people involved in the transaction. No systematic study of these books, hundreds of which are to be found in the Topkapı and Ottoman State archives, has yet been undertaken. (F. MÜGE GÖÇEK)

MASRAḤ (A.), "scene", increasingly employed as "theatre" (in the same sense as "Bühne" in German); frequently synonymous with *tiyātrō* (from the Italian).

1. In the Arab East.

Primarily an artistic and literary phenomenon of the last two centuries, the Arab theatre has its roots in local performances of passion plays [see TAᶜZIYA], marionette and shadow plays [see ḲARAGÖZ], mimicry and other popular farces, and was affected by the then contemporary (rather than the classical) foreign theatre as well. Although some popular open-air plays in Arabic have occasionally been presented publicly since the 12th/18th century, if not earlier, an Arabic theatre in the modern sense of this term has been in existence only since the mid-19th century. It was in 1847-53 that Mārūn al-Naḳḳāsh [*q.v.*], under the impact of the Italian theatre, wrote and produced several plays, chiefly adapted from Molière, before select audiences in Beirut. His plays arabicised the locale, the names of the *dramatis personae* and certain elements of the plot, in order to increase the appeal; with the same intent, the language combined the literary with the vernacular, and both vocal and instrumental music was added. To moderate possible opposition from religious circles, men and boys acted the female parts (later on, non-Muslim—and afterwards, Muslim—women joined theatre troupes). These features, which remained characteristic for some time, were introduced into Egypt by Syrian-Lebanese immigrant actors, who soon rendered Egypt (and, most particularly, Cairo) the centre of Arab theatrical activity. Performances continued in Syria as well, and gradually spread to other Arab lands in the Middle East and North Africa. Most troupes were made up of amateurs, e.g. students, or at most, of semi-professionals; gradually, however, the number of the professional actors increased, although they had to await the establishment of semi-independent states, following World War I, in order to benefit from the public funds which were vital for their unhampered activity.

These developments were parallelled by playwriting. At first, most plays were written by people of other professions. Mārūn al-Naḳḳāsh was a clerk and merchant; his successors were journalists or, even more often, troupe directors, stage managers or actors. Only much later did the writing of plays become a full-time profession. Adaptations, mostly from the French, came first, as al-Naḳḳāsh's literary output indicates. An even more prolific writer was Muḥammad ᶜUthmān Djalāl (1829-98) of Egypt, who adapted into Arabic French tragedies and comedies, introducing appropriate changes, chiefly in the latter; in general, the former were performed in literary Arabic, the latter in the vernacular. Increased education and changes in taste led to more literal translations (although adaptations did not disappear for some time). One typical translator was the Beirut-born Nadjīb al-Ḥaddād (1867-99), who wrote in Egypt. Although he changed the names of the plays and some of the characters and added music, al-Ḥaddād usually remained faithful to the originals (mostly translated from the French); his works served as a model for the strictly literal translators which soon followed. These generally translated from French or English and, to a lesser extent, from Italian and other languages. There followed an impressive number of original playwrights, whose output continued simultaneously with active translation work (and, initially at least, adaptations). These cover the entire gamut of dramatic writing, contributing to the répertoire of farces, historical plays, melodramas, dramas, tragedies, comedies, political and symbolic plays, as well as works pertaining to the theatre of the absurd. One of the most deservedly-famous of these playwrights, who successfully tried his hand at several of these genres, is Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm (born in ?1902), one of Egypt's prominent 20th century men-of-letters.

There was evident interaction between dramatic output and the further development of the troupes. While the musical theatre continued to attract crowds, the acting, the stage-directing and theatrical criticism achieved gradual professionalisation: the number of theatre halls increased, and troupes performed an increasing variety of plays to a steadily growing public of diverse interests and tastes. Of all the troupe directors and actors in Egypt after World War I, perhaps the ones with the most impact were Djūrdj Abyaḍ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] who, having studied acting in the Paris Conservatoire, promoted an Arabic classical theatre in the grand style; Yūsuf Wahbī (1899-1981), promoter of the often tear-jerking melodrama with social background; and Nadjīb al-Rīḥānī (1891-1949), nicknamed "The Oriental Molière", whose comedies amused the crowds while criticising the social mores of his time. Numerous other troupes have joined these during the Inter-War period and since World War II, particularly in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and ᶜIrāḳ, less so in Jordan, and hardly at all in the Arabian Peninsula. Most are ephemeral unless supported by public funds, while usually means government allocations. Obviously, schools for the dramatic arts and theatre halls are dependent on such funds. All this has, again, led to a certain politicisation of the Arab theatre, differing from one country to the other. This process has been evident from the early days of the Arab theatre, e.g. in the plays of Yaᶜḳūb Ṣanūᶜ Abū Naḍḍāra [*q.v.*] in the Egypt of the 1870s; since World War II, however, it has acquired an obvious social content, often fully committed and starkly realistic. Theatrical criticism, too, has become increasingly outspoken, with critics generally vying among each other in their caustic remarks on play-writing, acting and stage-directing. They readily find an outlet not only in journals specially devoted to theatrical criticism (see *Bibl.*, below, for examples), but in many Arabic dailies and periodicals as well. All this is yet another indication of the great interest in the theatre throughout much of the Arab East.

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(J. M. Landau)

2. In North Africa.

Tunisia. — The first attempt at introducing theatre into Tunisa dates back to the early years of the 20th century. It owed much to the initiative of a fine actor of Syrian origin, Sulaymān al-Ḳardāḥī, who, in the course of his long career, travelled along the Nile Valley between Cairo and Asyūṭ, mounting performances of an extremely varied nature (tragedy, drama, melodrama and comedy), featuring music and dance and with themes borrowed almost entirely from the *Thousand and one nights* and from the European répertoire (Shakespeare, Racine, Molière and Voltaire). Al-Ḳardāḥī's influence was consolidated by the fact that his troupe included talented performers such as the comedienne Ḥanīna, the singer Layla and, in particular, the singer Salāma al-Ḥidjāzī.

When he arrived in Tunis in 1907, al-Ḳardāḥī found support on the part of the Bey Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, and he obtained a municipal subsidy towards the realisation of his objectives. He was to devote the last two years of his life to training young comic actors, founding the first Tunisian drama company and performing various items from his vast répertoire in partnership with his best pupils, of whom the most gifted seem to have been Brāhīm Lakudī and Muḥammad Bourguiba. It was the latter who, on the death of the master, continued in his footsteps. In 1909, he formed his own troupe, with which that of ʿAlī al-Khaznī was soon to be a serious competitor.

In the period following the First World War, groups of amateur performers proliferated in all the major towns. They toured the country, playing Egyptian tragedies and dramas in literary Arabic, as well as comedy and farce in colloquial language. But it was the popular entertainments which appealed most to the public. Nevertheless, the Egyptian influence remained apparent, especially in the more serious genre as a result of the tours which the major troupes of Cairo made periodically in the Maghrib, visiting Tunis in particular: Djūrdj Abyaḍ in 1921, Yūsuf Wahbī in 1927, Fāṭima Rushdī in 1932 and Nadjīb al-Rīḥānī in 1935.

In a theatre quite openly dependent on foreign material, a play such as *al-Sudd* ("The Dam") by Maḥmūd al-Masʿadī takes on the nature of an original experiment. This transparently symbolic drama evokes the failure of a person engaged in an enterprise which is beyond him and which ultimately testifies in favour of the man and of his destiny. The action is stark, the scene set at the foot of a mountain. Two persons arrive, Ghaylān and Maymūna, leading a heavily-laden mule. The man decides to construct a dam, but he encounters enormous difficulties. Barely begun, the work is stopped, the scaffolding soon abandoned. To add to his misfortune, the man is swept away by a storm with his work unfinished, while his consort rushes headlong towards the plain exclaiming: "The Land, it is the Land that I discover!". Written *ca.* 1940 in a very pure prose style, intended to be read rather than performed, *al-Sudd*, on its publication in 1955, came to be regarded as a kind of masterpiece by Tunisian and Egyptian scholars and French Arabists.

However, dramatic production after 1940 seldom strayed from the beaten tracks. Authors were not concerned with presenting scenes that were new, true and pertinent to the human condition. Whether engaged in serious or in comic vein, they made strenuous efforts to achieve pathos or, on the other hand, contented themselves with facile gaiety. Innovations were rare, and performances of mediocre quality. For their part, the majority of actors were young amateurs whose enthusiasm did not compensate for their lack of training. Moreover, the absence of producers and technicians meant poor preparation and clumsy performance. Ultimately, the achievements gained by each troupe were all the more precarious in that the public was heterogeneous and fickle. The theatre thus underwent a crisis which found an echo in the local Arabic and French language press, where considerable space was devoted to exposing the problems with which it was faced: too few writers, insufficient training of actors, poor standards of performance-venues, diversity and unreliability of the public, etc. At this stage, Tunisian theatre seemed doomed to failure. It was certainly in a state of stagnation.

It was not until the years following Independence that significant efforts were made at various levels with a view to reviving the theatre. Writers, mostly of dual Arab and French culture, generally occupying posts in public administration which guaranteed their material security, set about laying the ground-work for a new dramatic movement. The example set by the foreign plays which were frequently produced in Tunis encouraged them to give freer rein to the imagination. In this process of renovation, producers, hitherto an unknown breed, played a rôle of the highest importance. The greatest of them was undoubtedly the Egyptian Zakī Ṭulaymāt, a man of expertise and experience, who for a long time enjoyed a well-deserved reputation in artistic circles of the Near East and the Maghrib.

When he arrived in Tunis in 1956, eight competing

companies of amateur comic actors shared between them the patronage of a sparse and eclectic public. Actors variously performed Egyptian plays in literary Arabic, adaptations of European works, comedies and farces in the colloquial style of the locality, normally concluding the show with singing, dance and music. There were among them some talented individuals, whom Ṭulaymāt chose in order to form a company of quality. He strove to make the scenery more authentic, the performance of actors more natural; he required his casts to rehearse thoroughly, to work in a spirit of team collaboration, to present well-constructed, living productions in which the element of convention is mingled with fantasy. The training which he gave bore fruit. In fact, when Zakī Ṭulaymāt left Tunisia in 1961, the theatre experienced a new era of prosperity through the efforts of some of his young successors, including ʿAlī Ben ʿAyād.

The latter was then director of the Municipal Theatre of Tunis. Both a man of grand aspiration and a man of the people, he was active in all spheres of artistic pursuit, with imagination and zeal as well as with realism. He adopted a dramatic technique which consisted in transposing the themes of works borrowed from the foreign répertoire to ancient or contemporary Arab-Islamic society, with the appropriate beliefs, costumes and conventions. Thus for example, his *Caligula* (1961) is set in the Middle Ages, at the court of a Maghribī sultan surrounded by his viziers, *amīrs* and Arab retainers. There is nothing in common with the historical character nor with the protagonist of Camus' play, whom the Tunisian dramatist takes as the symbol of a sovereign ruling in bloody tyranny over his people. Ben ʿAyād applied similar treatment to a series of foreign works which he presented in Tunis and at the international cultural centre of Hammamet before performing them before the heterogeneous audiences of provincial towns and rural villages: *Measure for Measure* and *Othello* by Shakespeare, *L'Ecole des femmes* und *L'Avare* by Moliere, *En attendant Godot* (1965), *La Derniere bande* and *Oh les beaux jours!* (1966) by Samuel Beckett, etc. In a few years, he became acquainted with a vast comic and tragic répertoire. The success of his productions earned him renown both in Tunisia and abroad, especially in Paris, at the Théâtre des Nations.

At the same time, other young dramatists who favoured strong characters, violent emotions and local colour, attempted to find new sources of inspiration in drawing their themes from Arab-Islamic history. They preferred the ages of glamour, retaining the facts but moulding them according to their imagination, developing the classical ideals of love, faith, honour and valour. The heroes, princes, military chieftains or simple waariors are obliged to risk their lives for the glory of Islam and the love of the homeland. Thus for example, Ahmad Khayr al-Dīn dramatised the epic of the Berber queen al-Kāhina who, at the end of the 1st/7th century offered fierce resistance to the Arab army of Ḥasan b. al-Nuʿmān before finally collapsing under his onslaught (*al-Kāhina*). For his part, Fattāḥ Wālī devoted his *Pearl of Sicily* (*Djawhar al-Ṣiḳillī*) to the exploits of the Muslims who, embarking from Sousse in 210/827 under the command of Asad b. al-Furāt, flung themselves into the conquest of Christian Sicily. Nor is romance absent from these pseudo-historical tableaux. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Karabaka brings alive on the stage the famous couple Ibn Zaydūn and Wallāda, with a nostalgic evocation of the Cordova of the 5th/11th century (*Wallāda wa-Ibn Zaydūn*). In this category of plays of heroic or historical pretensions, *Murād III* (1966) by Ḥabīb Boulares (Bu 'l-ʿArīs) is reminiscent of *Caligula* by ʿAlī Ben ʿAyād rather than of Shakespeare's *Richard III* which the Tunisian playwright seems to claim as his inspiration. The net result is that these dramas borrow the methods of melodrama, compounded by inferior dialogue and action filled with sensation and interludes of pathos. Written by young authors, they show the exuberance of youth. On the other hand, the wealth of invention, the intensity of colour and the epic grandeur of the subjects create an atmosphere of heroic legend capable of capturing the imagination of the spectators. Ultimately, the characters are of quite elementary simplicity, entirely good or totally evil, clad in their symbolic guises.

Alongside this serious theatre, the comic genre has made a worthy contribution. In the relaxed atmosphere of the period 1960-70, numerous humorists provided comedies, farces or simple entertainments of circumstance, introducing hilarious, pathetic or cynical characters. It was during this time that Aḥmad Khayr al-Dīn enjoyed his greatest popular success with the creation of the character of Ḥādj Klūf, distant cousin of the Egyptian Kish Kish Bey. All such plays, a little simplistic but well-constructed, have delighted popular audiences.

It may be added that the efforts made over the past twenty-five years to interest all classes of society in theatre in its most diverse forms have succeeded well. In the context of decentralisation, provincial drama companies have evolved, so that today every town boasts its own troupe of comic actors, whose active members contribute both to improvement in standards of production and to the opening up of the theatre to new audiences. On the other hand, theatre has made its presence felt in the school, the academy and the university, and every years competitions are organised to reward the best young dramatists. Thus a new spirit is alive in theatrical life. Attendance at dramatic performances, formerly the preserve of a narrow circle of intellectuals, has become within a few years a social event shared by the scholar, the artisan and the peasant. It is beyond doubt this fact which, more than the number and quality of works, best characterises the rebirth of theatre in Tunisia.

Algeria. — It was only in the years following the First World War that Arab theatre appeared for the first time in Algeria. In 1921, the Egyptian troupe led by Djūrdj Abyaḍ, after performing in Tunis, presented in Algiers two historical dramas by Nadjīb al-Ḥaddād written in classical Arabic: *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī* ("Saladin the Ayyūbid") and *Thārāt al-ʿArab* ("Vengeance of the Arabs"). Although encountering only limited success before a public generally ignorant of the literary language, these performances made the Algerian élite aware of the existence of a militant and didactic Arabic theatre. Drawing on this experience a few months later, a handful of young intellectuals, for the most part former *madrasa* students, formed a cultural association, *al-Muʾaddiba* ("The Educating [Society]") one of whose leaders, Ṭāhir ʿAlī Sharīf, organised the performance in the capital of three plays in literary Arabic which had the purpose of awakening the national sentiment of his compatriots and educating them concerning the horrendous consequences of social scourges such as alcoholism: *al-Shifāʾ baʿd al-ʿanāʾ* ("Recovery after the trial", 1921), *Khadīʿat al-gharām* ("Perfidy of Love," 1923) and *Badīʿ* (1924). Another company, that of *al-Tamthīl al-ʿarabī* ("The Arab Theatre"), founded in 1921, had as its leading personality a former student of Arabic

literature, Muḥammad al-Mānṣālī. This company performed in Algiers two plays in literary Arabic borrowed from the Egyptian répertoire: *Fī sabīl al-waṭan* ("For the homeland", 1922) and *Futūḥ al-Andalus* ("The conquest of Andalusia," 1923). This attempt at the introduction of dramatic art was hindered by two apparently unsurmountable obstacles: on the one hand, it encountered the incomprehension of a public barely familiar with Arabic literature; on the other hand, it incurred the disapproval of the bourgeois élite, which had little taste for performances whose themes seemed incompatible with the principles of Arab-Islamic ethics.

Taught by this experience, some young enthusiasts performed during the same period plays which would be universally accessible, drawing their themes from contemporary life and from popular tradition. They shared their predecessors' concern with moral and social, even political issues, and their simplistic philosophy, but they were at pains to express them in the daily patois of their fellow-citizens. During the interwar period, three names are pre-eminent: ᶜAllālū, Ksentini and Bachtarzi. With quite dissimilar gifts, all three gained reputations in comedy and in song, perpetuating in the theatre the tradition of popular poetry whose rhythms lend themselves particularly to music and dance. They embody, in varying degrees, the tastes and the spirit of their time.

In many respects, ᶜAllālū is a pioneering figure. Born in Algiers in 1902, he first participated as a singer in public concerts which a musical society, *al-Muṭribiyya*, organised during the evenings of Ramaḍān. Later he began performing in local cinemas, at Bab el Oued in particular, short sketches in the style of farces dramatising domestic situations. Enriched by this experience and confident of his methods, he formed in 1925 his own drama company, the Zahia troupe, and composed satirical, romantic comedies and comic ballets, written entirely in dialect, which he presented successfully in Algiers and the surrounding region, between 1926 and 1931: "Djeha" (*Djḥā*, 1926)," The marriage of Bou-Akline" (*Abū ᶜAḳlīn*, 1926), "Abou-Hassan or the sleeper awakened" (*Abu 'l-Ḥasan*, 1927), "The Fisherman and the Genie" (1928), "Antar el-Hachaîchi" (*ᶜAntar al-Ḥashāyishī*, 1930), *El-Khalifa oues-Sayyad* (*al-Khalīfa wa 'l-ṣayyād*, "The Caliph and the Fisherman," 1931) and *Hallaq Guernata* (*Ḥallāḳ Gharnāṭa*," The Barber of Granada," 1931). However, his company, the beneficiary of neither public nor private aid, was not a commercial success and ᶜAllālū soon found himself beset by serious financial difficulties. As writer, actor and director of the troupe, he led an exhausting life and consequently his health suffered. Disillusioned, in 1932 he decided to renounce all his theatrical activities.

ᶜAllālū had no pretentions to originality, and little interest in novelty. Three of his productions were adaptations of very well known stories from the *Thousand and one mights*: *Abou-Hassan or the sleeper awakened*, *The Fisherman and the genie* and *El-Khalifa oues-Sayyad*. His *Djeha* does indeed contain numerous humorous episodes traditionally attributed to the popular character of the same name, but the general theme is borrowed, via *Le Médecin malgré lui*, from a mediaeval fable, *Le vilain mire*, which depicts the triumph of a cunning woman. In *The Marriage of Bou-Akline* there are numerous echoes both of Arab folklore and of the French theatre. However, ᶜAllālū does not venture to follow Molière in the direction of comedy of character. His figures confine themselves to stereotyped theatrical roles; they never become authentic human beings. Nevertheless, he excels in devising plots and situations which automatically arouse laughter: in *Djeha*, the hero is soundly beaten by the emissaries of the sultan before admitting that he is indeed the famous physician capable of curing the son of the sovereign. Similarly, the wife of Bou-Akline, finding the door closed on returning from an assignation with her lover, simulates suicide by throwing a great stone into the garden well; later, when everyone believes her dead, she appears before her husband who, terrified, imagines himself confronted by the ghost of his wife. Thus, the plays of ᶜAllālū appear to be a compromise between farce and comedy of intrigue. Invariably, the audience is held in suspense by theatrical sensations or amused by the disguises: Abu 'l-Ḥasan, a nonentity dressed as a caliph and flaunting the trappings of his temporary authority; Hārūn al-Rashīd and his vizier Djaᶜfar disguised as merchants; etc.

Furthermore, ᶜAllālū is a skillful writer, deploying many witticisms, puns, amusing expressions: he gives to the hero of his first play, *Djeha*, the name of a popular character in the Arab world and to his wife that of *Ḥīla* ("Stratagem, trick"); the aged retainer of Bou-Akline, Mekidech (*Mḳīdash*) is the homonym of another fictitious character whose adventures have for a long time been a feature of Algerian popular tradition. Furthermore, the choice of names often reveals the parodic intention of the author: Hārūn al-Rashīd becomes *Ḳarūn al-rāshī* ("Ḳārūn the Corrupt"), his vizier *Djᶜfar al-markhī* ("Djaᶜfar the soft-witted") and his sword-bearer Masrūr is named *Maṣrūᶜ* ("The Sot"). Following the same procedure, a wretched cobbler is made to appear ridiculous by bearing the prestigious name of ᶜAntar, the chivalrous hero so much admired by Arabs past and present. All such pitiful dupes he places in the gallery of legendary characters who inhabit the popular imagination and still influence minds.

In addition, he endows them with a popular, vivid, colourful style of language. As well as their demeanour and their gestures, their speeches provoke laughter. Their verbal comedy is constituted partly by aphorisms, maxims and proverbs in current Algerian usage, partly by the repetition of exclamations habitually employed by the people to express joy, surprise or sadness (*wīlī wīlī*, "Alas for me"; *yā saᶜdī*, "Just my luck!"). The borrowings from the spoken language and the verbal novelties are evidently designed to make the audience share the gaiety of the actors. In sum, there is no profundity, but the revelation, through laughter, of a good humour free from vulgarity, a joyous, irrepressible, infectious enthusiasm. This cheerful mood makes everything acceptable: Djeha and his wife Ḥīla are arrant rogues, Bou-Akline is not entirely honest, and no more so is Abu 'l-Haṣan. It would be folly to object and to attach any importance to their actions or their concerns. ᶜAllālū has succeeded in the gamble of turning quasi-serious issues into the material of farce, without any pretension of displaying to the audience the illusion of reality. His principal achievement has been the definitive establishment in Algeria of a theatre of essentially popular inspiration and expression, adapted to the taste of his contemporaries.

The second actor-writer who has contributed significantly to the growth of the theatre in Algeria during the 1930s is incontestably Rashīd Ksentini, but in this instance the reader is referred to the lengthy article devoted to him, s.v. AL-ḲUSANṬĪNĪ.

The third motive force of Algerian theatre between the two World Wars is Bachtarzi (Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Bāsh

Ṭarzī), who was born and died in Algiers (1896-1985). When he came to prominence in the 1930s, he was already a veteran of the stage where he had acquired a fine reputation as a singer and an actor. Initially, he confined himself to repeating the principal successes of his predecessors in a slightly amended version. His players merged with those of ᶜAllālū and Ksentini, and the company thus formed comprised Algerian actors (al-Mānṣālī, Bās͟h D̲j̲arrāḥ, Daḥmūn and Hāmel) and French ones (Louis Chaprot, Georges Baudry and Georges Hertz), who were joined by comic actresses such as Kalt͟hūm and Marie Soussan, the last named being Jewish. On the other hand, Bachtarzi created a répertoire: to the comedies, farces and sketches of his predecessors he added his own works, the first composed in collaboration with Ksentini, Chaprot and Hāmel, and some seventy plays in all, all written in colloquial speech and several containing scenes where the actors express themselves in French. Among those which delighted the Algerian audience are the following: *Faqo* (*Fāḳū*, "That's no good!", 1934); *El Bouzerii fel Askaria* (*al-Būzrīᶜī fi 'l-ᶜaskariyya*, "The Bouzarian at the barracks," 1934); *Alennif* (*ᶜAlā 'l-nīf*, "From self-respect", 1934); *Beni oui-oui* (1935); *Syndicat des chomeurs* (1935); *Le Mariage par téléphone* (1936); *El-Kheddaine* (*al-K͟haddāᶜīn*, "The Traitors", 1937); *El Keddabine* (*al-Kaddābīn*," The Liars" 1938); *El Mechehah* (*al-Mas͟hḥāḥ*, "The Miser," 1940); and *Sliman Ellouk* (*Slīmān al-lukk*, "Sliman wax," (1942), the two last-named being adaptations of, respectively, *L'Avare* and *Le Malade imaginaire* by Molière.

Bachtarzi was indeed a performer, but he was above all an impresario of performances. He was also a writer conscious of the rôle which the theatre had to play in the evolution of Algerian society. Eager to encourage the broadest public to discover new horizons, he organised tours throughout Algeria and in Morocco, France and Belgium, playing to the significant Algerian communities present in these countries. However, his situation was precarious, as may be judged from the account in his *Mémoires*: in 1934, his troupe gave 61 performances in 44 localities; the following year it appeared in 55 urban centres; in 1936 and in 1937, the number of towns visited was respectively 59 and 89. Audiences varied between 150 in small towns and 2,000 in Algiers, Constantine, Oran and Tlemcen. Successes were inconsistent and receipts poor.

Such signs are a clue to understanding the difficulties faced by the new guiding spirit of Algerian theatre encountering a society which remained backward and an admininistration uneasy about the intentions of a potentially subversive movement. In fact, Bachtarzi did not content himself, like his predecessors, with exploiting the public taste for entertaining spectacles. He saw it as his mission to inform and educate his Muslim fellow-citizens regarding the various issues then exciting public opinion. In his plays and dramatic tirades, he denounces the danger posed to the Algerian community by the relaxation of morals, the adoption of a poorly understood modernism and the revival of social evils: unemployment, alcoholism, prostitution and usury. With the same zeal, he condemns the disunity of his compatriots, the compromises of elected administrators, religious busybodies and hypocrites. In this mood, he readily employs terms of ideological connotation (*ḥuḳūḳ*, "political rights;" *ittiḥād*, "union; "*ittifāḳ*, "accord; "*waṭan*, "homeland;" *umma*, "nation"), henceforward to become part of the normal vocabulary of every Algerian of any degree of education, and evidence of a willingness to take political and cultural initiatives in accordance with the social ferment dominating the country from the year 1930 onward. Inevitably, the irreverent style of Bachtarzi aroused serious hostility. His plays were banned or subjected to censorship. His career declined and he was only able to ensure the survival of his company by compromising with the authorities. However, he was appointed during the Second World War to entertain the Muslim soldiers receiving treatment in military hospitals.

The year 1947 marked the revival of Algerian theatre with the formation at the Algiers Opera of an Arab troupe and the appointment of Bachtarzi as its director. This initiative created conditions of a degree of professionalism and of greater stability. In fact, the players henceforward had facilities for rehearsing at leisure before every performance; they were guaranteed at least one performance per week; and finally they received a regular income as a result of a municipal subsidy. This company initially comprised about a score of actors, actresses, singers and musicians, most of them quite young: Mustapha Kateb, Muḥammad Tourī, Muḥammad Ḥaṭṭāb, D̲j̲alāl Sissānī, Riḍā Falakī, ᶜAyād Rouiched, Kalt͟hūm, Dalīlā and Laylā Ḥākim. Most often, they played comedy in the colloquial language, but they also on occasion performed serious plays such as *Hannibal*, a historical drama by Tawfīḳ al-Madanī (1952). They remained active until the dissolution of the troupe in 1956.

Meanwhile, numerous troupes of players made their appearance in Algeria. Four of them were based in Algiers: *Les fervents du théâtre arabe algérien*, which was managed by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Fuḍalā; *Firḳat al-fann al-tamt͟hīlī* ("The Company of Dramatic Art") whose main guiding spirit was Mustapha Grībī; *al-Masraḥ al-d̲j̲azāʾirī* ("The Algerian Theatre") of Mustapha Kateb and *Masraḥ al-g͟had* ("Theatre of Tomorrow") of Riḍā Falakī, the two last-named being former members of Bachtarzi's team. Other dramatic activists made their appearance in the provinces: Aḥmad Riḍā Ḥūḥū at Constantine, Ḥasan Derdour at Bone, Mūsā K͟haddāwī at Blida, etc. While Falakī specialised in producing children's programmes for Radio Algeria, the others composed comedies, farces, entertainments, romances, plays full of enthusiasm and fantasy, mostly written in dialect, but with a rapidly increasing number in classical Arabic. It seems that the impression made by Egyptian productions performed by the major companies of Cairo in the course of their tours of Algeria encouraged the activists of the Algerian theatre to give more scope to the literary language.

In the same period, companies of actors were formed in the major cities with the encouragement of organisers of the association of reformist *ᶜulamāʾ* and of the M.T.L.D. (*Mouvement pour le triomphe des libertés démocratiques*). The former presented, on the occasion of the celebration of religious feasts or of the annual distribution of prizes in private Arab schools, small dramas of cultural instruction intended to glorify Islam and the Arabic language. The latter were clearly oriented towards political and social action. For example, the play *Aimak and Rouibah*, performed in Algiers in the 1950s, dramatises the career of a young Algerian who "joins the party of the struggle for liberty" and evokes "the most noble cause". Such a committed theatre naturally had recourse to history with the object of exalting national sentiment: Hannibal, al-Kāhina, Barbarossa and Ṣalāḥ Bey, each of these characters being seen as a champion of

patriotism. On the other hand, in numerous plays a conspiracy is forged against the sovereign to put an end to "the servitude of the people" and to "deliver" the country from tyranny. These transparent allusions enable the audience to make straightforward comparisons and offer as a desirable prospect "the punishment of the despot" and "the revenge of the oppressed". The performance normally ends with the singing of patriotic anthems (*anāshīd waṭaniyya*). It need hardly be stressed that all these performances took place in private places, before a limited audience of militants and sympathisers. After the rebellion of 1954, the Arab theatre virtually ceased to exist in Algeria. Some of its guiding spirits, members of the F.L.N., took refuge in Tunisia where they occasionally performed propaganda pieces.

The years following 1962 saw considerable changes taking effect in the theatre. At the Algiers Opera, renamed the Algerian National Theatre, there were efforts, under the guidance of Mustapha Kateb, to renew theatrical presentation and communication with the public by introducing aesthetic and ideological preoccupations. In this spirit numerous national companies were invited to perform, from Black Africa, Eastern Bloc countries, Asia and Central America. The actors performed in their own languages and boasted of the benefits accruing to the people as a result of revolution in their countries. On the other hand, there were dialectal adaptations of foreign works such as those of Bertold Brecht and Sean O'Casey, but it must be admitted that neither the satire on rural and clerical society of the latter, nor the parables employed by the former to illustrate his communist principles, genuinely interested the public, which was thoroughly bored by these spectacles and found in them none of the entertainment for which it had come to the theatre. Other producers including Kākī, Raīs, Rouiched, Safīrī, dramatised episodes from the war (*Les Enfants de la Casbah* and *Hassan Terro*) or popular tales borrowed from oral tradition (*El-Ghoula* and *Dīwān al-Garagouz*).

After 1965, Algiers no longer held a monopoly over theatrical life. While, in the context of cultural decentralisation, five regional theatres were progressively established in Constantine, Oran, Sidi Bel Abbas, ʿAnnaba and Bejaia, groups of amateurs proliferated in the provinces. In 1970, seventy such groups were counted as regularly attending the annual festival of Mostaganem. Their members gave dramatic treatment to topics of contemporary interest: agrarian reform, socialist development of commerce, emigration, education of the young and the position of women in Algerian society. This last problem formed the subject of lengthy public debates at the conclusion of plays devoted to it which the troupe *Théâtre et culture* performed in Algiers in 1970. Similarly, *Le groupe théâtral de l'action culturelle des travailleurs* scored a major success both in Algeria and among expatriate communities in France with the performance in 1972 and 1973 of a dual Arabic and dialect version of *Mohammed, pick up your case!* by Kateb Yacine, in which the protagonist, a modern follower of Djḥā, condemns the activity of all those who shamelessly exploit workers. Agrarian reform gave numerous dramatists the opportunity to reveal their attitude to the subject, notably in *El-Meida* (*al-Mayda*, "The Table"), and *Beni Kelboun* by Kākī, *El Khobza* (*al-Khubza*, "Bread") by Abdelkader ʿAllūla and *El Agra* (*al-ʿĀgra*, "The Sterile") by Zāhir Bouzrar (1972-4).

The intentions of other authors are not displayed so overtly, but they are discernible. Such for example is the case of Slīmān Benaissa who, in *Boualem zid el-goudem* (*Būʿlām zīd al-guddām*, "Boualem, come forward!") and *Youm el djemaa* (*Yūm al-djamʿa*, "Friday," 1979) deals in a Marxist perspective with the relationships of politics, culture and religion and the social conflicts provoked by their confrontation. Furthermore his work, like that of his colleagues who have read Ionesco and Beckett, breaks with traditional technique and approaches anti-theatre. Scenery is almost non-existent: a deserted island in *Babour eghraq* (*Bābūr ghrak*, "A ship has foundered," 1982); the action is reduced to a few gestures, barely-scripted dialogues between two or three characters without substance who behave like puppets. Similar experiments have been undertaken to reform the presentation and the language of the theatre. But already, since the first seminar of young writers held at Saida in 1973, discussions have given rise to the following concepts: the man of the theatre needs the cooperation of all those who, in various ways, contribute to the staging of the play. Dramatic work is thus a collective creation. It is, furthermore, based on a close collaboration between actors and audience. In order to achieve this objective, it must be performed in the language common to both. It is to this trend of popular expression that the majority of Algerian dramatists adhere today.

Born out of private initiative, Algerian theatre has long suffered from poor material and financial resources. It has neither hierarchy nor organisation. Combination of style is the norm: drama, melodrama, comedy in each of its different elements. Plays rarely display a unity of tone. Written in dialectal prose—the use of literary Arabic is exceptional—they reflect familiar modes of conversation. This is nevertheless a good style of theatre, and it would be a mistake to attribute to it a literary quality which it does not have and which it does not claim. The concepts of authors evidently vary according to their temperament, but all are in agreement on one point: the primary objective is to please and to move the audience. ʿAllālū, Ksentini and Bachtarzi understood this well. Of the three, it is without doubt the second who, both as a man of the theatre and as a man of the people, best interprets the taste and the nature of his contemporaries with the composition of comedies and lively, jovial farces, often leavened with rational contemplation. His successor, Bachtarzi, aware of the educactive role of the theatre, is mainly concerned with familiarising his audience with the issues of concern to Muslim opinion during the inter-war period. In his view, the man of the theatre is a creator and the spectacle that he presents consists only in dramatising serious or comic situations: it is a kind of celebration of novelty and hope.

Like other cultural activities, since 1962 the theatre has been brought under state control. Many national companies are invited to perform, most of them from self-styled socialist and Third World countries, and their performances are aimed essentially at exhibiting communist and anti-imperialist doctrines. At the same time, youth has leapt to the forefront of the stage. Scores of regular and amateur companies, established in the towns, tour the provinces, performing plays in dialect with themes generally borrowed from contemporary life. Their promoters are obsessed with conceptual debates, seeking only to promote the principles dear to them. The public follows such ideological debates with passionate interest, but by excessively stereotyping characters they make for poor theatre. The best dramatists among the contemporaries are those who, avoiding extreme didacticism, are capable of going beyond narrative or pictorial

analysis and taking the measure of the human condition.

Morocco.—As in Algeria, it was not until after the First World War that theatre made its appearance in Morocco. In 1923, an Egyptian troupe led by ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Maṣrī made a tour of the country during which its most notable production was *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī*, a historical drama in literary Arabic by Nadjīb al-Ḥaddād, which Djūrdj Abyaḍ had performed two years earlier before Muslim audiences in Algiers. This event inspired several young intellectuals of Fez to present similar spectacles to their compatriots. They formed a company whose principal organisers were Muḥammad al-Durrī, Mahdī al-Mniaï and Ibn Shaykh. The first wrote about a dozen plays on themes dealing with the political and social scene: he denounced the protectorate régime, extolled national sentiment and stressed the poverty and ignorance which were the lot of the popular masses. Soon arrested, he died prematurely. His successors, who shared the same ideas, embraced political theatre with increased vigour. In 1929, there were enough of them to justify the holding at Fez of a contest to find the best dramatic actor. The winner was a student of the university of al-Ḳarawiyyīn who celebrated in literary Arabic the virtues of education in the cause of progress and of the struggle for the liberation of the country.

From 1934 onward, the theatre reflected the demands of the *Comité d'action marocaine* of ʿAllāl al-Fāsī which, in particular, sought the reform of Arab education, freedom of the press and the repeal of the dahir of 16 May 1930 codifying traditional Berber law. In the wake of violent public demonstrations at Fez and Meknès in 1934 and 1937, public meetings were forbidden. This measure had a severe impact on the theatre which took refuge in semi-secrecy. Henceforward, groups of players performed only in private sessions on the occasion of family celebrations. Short, humorous and sometimes satirical plays were shown, featuring known characters or current events, and these were much enjoyed by the audience. The state of limbo to which this theatre of controversy was reduced, banned or legalised according to changing circumstances, persisted until Independence.

The years following 1956 were marked by an intense intellectual ferment, to which the theatre contributed a major part. In the chief cities of the country, numerous amateur companies mounted spectacles combining all elements: evocations of the recent past and of ancient history, borrowings from Arab folklore or from foreign literature. To this scintillating period belong several remarkable works, including *Les Fourberies de Joha* by Atawakīl, adapted from Molière's *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, which achieved a huge success both in Morocco and in France, where it was awarded a prize at the Paris Festival of the Nations in 1956.

The public authorities encouraged initiatives aimed at popularising the theatre and took various measures with the purpose of putting its activities on a sound footing. It was thus that there was established in 1959 a centre for drama studies designed to train actors and theatre technicians. At the same time, a national company was founded, bringing together the best actors of the time: al-Ṭayyib al-Ṣiddīḳī, Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib al-ʿAldj, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Dinyā and Bashīr Skīradj. Finally, financial support was henceforward offered to groups of amateurs who were invited to participate in the annual festival of dramatic art. This official attempt at imposing structure on the theatre was a failure. It encountered difficulties which twenty years later were still not fully surmounted and which had as much to do with the conflicting ambitions of men of the theatre, their personal concepts of dramatic art and the use of the means laid at their disposal, as with the refusal of some of them to join in a process which would integrate them in a bureaucratic system. The combination of these various factors soon put an end to an experiment which had barely begun. In 1962, the centre for drama studies closed its doors. Soon afterwards, the national company broke up and fragmented into several competing groups, while amateur actors were as destitute of support as they had been in the past.

The theatre born immediately after Morocco's accession to independence produced diverse works of very inconsistent quality. The different comic genres continued to enjoy popular approval: sketches, farces, comedies based on mime and gesture, humorous and satirical playlets featuring traditional types such as the naïve and miserly Berber, the cunning and selfish Marrākshī, the greedy Jew, etc. On the other hand, adaptations of foreign works abounded: a characteristic example is supplied by *The Inquisitive ones* by Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib al-ʿAldj, after Molière's *Les Femmes savantes*. Finally, serious theatre was enriched by historical dramas which, written by young authors, sometimes display the exuberance of youth. In this spirit ʿAzīz Saghrūshnī describes, in *The Battle*, the heroic attitude of the inhabitants of al-Djadīda (formerly Mazagan) in their opposition to the occupation of their town by the Portugese at the beginning of the 16th century. Similarly, ʿAbd Allāh Shaḳrūn devotes numerous plays to the past of his country and develops the theme of resistance to foreign occupation, especially in *al-Wāḳiʿa* ("The Battle").

Around the year 1965, changes took place in the world of the theatre. The majority of those who, for ten years, had contributed to the development of dramatic art, abandoned the stage to enter public administration. Among the pioneers, only one remained at the forefront: al-Ṭayyib al-Ṣiddīḳī.

Born at Mogador in 1938, his father a teacher of Arabic and his mother of rural origin, al-Ṣiddīḳī spent his childhood in his native town. After studying at the High School of Casablanca and a brief period of working in postal administration, he began his stage career at eighteen years old, in an Arabic adaptation of *Les Fourberies de Scapin* which, as indicated above, enjoyed major success in Morocco and in France. Al-Ṣiddīḳī then spent two years in Paris, where he learned techniques of production from Hubert Ginioux at the Comédie de l'Ouest before acting for a season at the Théâtre National Populaire, under the direction of Jean Vilar. Returning to Morocco in 1958, he devoted himself entirely to the théatre. Under the auspices of the *Union marocaine du travail*, he established the *Théâtre travailliste*, setting up his stages on the Casablanca waterfront and mounting productions adapted from plays by Aristophanes and Gogol. This experiment lasted no longer than two years, after which he formed his own company, consisting of a dozen players who followed him to the Municipal Theatre of Casablanca when in 1964, at twenty-six years old, he took over its direction. Simultaneously actor, producer, director and administrator, al-Ṣiddīḳī exerted himself unstintingly in efforts to draw the masses of his fellow-citizens to the theatre.

In ten years, he wrote, translated, adapted, presented—almost invariably in dialect—about fifty plays with widely varied themes. First, productions, or more precisely, large-scale exhibitions dramatising events of the past or of the present: *Maroc I*, *La Bataille d'Oued Meghezem*, *Maroc 1973*, or huge pseudo-

historical tableaux performed in the open air on the occasion of the annual festival of the *tolba*. Next came pieces inspired either by classical Arabic literature, such as the *maḳāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī, or by the oral tradition as expressed, for example, in the rhymes of al-Madjdhūb [*q.v.*] which are still today recited on many occasions in the Maghrib. Finally, al-Ṣiddīḳī adapted some forty foreign plays, from *Jeu de l'amour et du hasard* by Marivaux to *Amédée* by Eugene Ionesco and *En attendant Godot* by Samuel Beckett. In sum, we have burgeoning répertoire continually enriched.

In fact, al-Ṣiddīḳī sought to provide himself with a lasting supply of material by vigorously seizing everything suited to his purposes, as much in the living popular culture as in foreign works. This versatility corresponded, in his personality, to a threefold concern: to try to interest the largest possible public by offering it numerous and varied productions; to make it aware of the problems faced by contemporary man in the political as well as the social and cultural domain; and to engage it in debate by establishing a dialogue between actors and audience. These parties could not communicate except by using the language of daily conversation. Al-Ṣiddīḳī knew that he was risking the disapproval of the partisans of literary Arabic, but he believed that this was a price worth paying for the development of the theatre in his country.

The prestige of al-Ṣiddīḳī should not obscure the efforts of writers and actors of lesser importance who for the most part have shared his motivations. There are several scores of them contributing to theatrical life in the main cities of the kingdom, Rabat, Fez, and especially Tangiers. Radio and television regularly devote broadcasts to the theatre, both in literary Arabic and in dialect. Studies of the traditional methods of performance (*bisāṭ*, *ḥalḳa* and *sirr*) are followed at centres of popular arts. As in Algiers and Tunisia, annual competitions are formed to reward the best dramatists. In short, significant efforts are being made in Morocco to promote and to popularise the theatre.

In the three countires of North Africa, there is periodic talk of crisis in the theatre, expressed in various terms of which the most often heard related to the paucity of writers, poor standards of performance-venues, public apathy, meagre patronage and the excessive cost of seats. In fact, it is perhaps in the very prosperity of the theatre that the true reasons for the crisis should be sought. Dramatic art in the Maghrib is suffering from inflation. There, as elsewhere, many are called and few chosen. The quite considerable number of mediocre works, hastily mounted productions, insufficiently trained actors, the excessive publicity applied to performances or performers of average quality, the constant confusion between original works and those which only pretend to be such, the urge to educate at any price—all these factors are liable to hinder the progress of the theatre without, however, truly threatening its existence. On the contrary, one is constantly surprised by its vitality, the constant innovation on the part of the young people who devote their daily energies to it—writers, producers, designers and actors—even if the co-ordination necessary between these elements is not always evident and the style of the particular period is not accurately invoked. What is clear, in any case, is that theatrical people are not doomed, as were their predecessors, to work in isolation. The problem of the relationship that they must establish with the public—one involving all classes of society—has been better addressed than ever before. In conclusion, the basis of hope for the future is founded as much on the development of communication between actors and audience as on the success of an art form.

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3. In Turkey.

The art of theatre in Turkey developed from the same religious, moral and educational urge to imitate human actions that accompanied its growth in ancient Greece. There are four main traditions of theatre in Turkey: folk theatre, popular theatre, court theatre and Western theatre. Improvised theatre developed in two complete different social environments: as part of the popular theatre tradition in big cities, such as Istanbul, and as part of folk-literature. Although the two traditions seem poles apart, they are essentially not so different in spirit as external characteristics might suggest. Both are extempore and non-literary. In both theatres, the action gains naturalism and vividness by spontaneity, and in both the language is simple, direct and strong. Performances were held at ground level in an arena, thereby lending flexibility to the acting and helping to create intimacy with the audience. Although highly different in presentation, techniques and conventions, both theatres have approximately the same genres: puppetry, story-telling (acted out), dramatic dancing and rudimentary play by actors.

Unlike most Asiatic countries, Turkey had no greatly individualised and distinctive court theatre tradition. Until the period of Westernisation, court theatre simply imitated popular theatre. The courts of mediaeval rulers all over Anatolia attracted dancers, actors, story-tellers, clowns, puppet masters and conjurors. They performed only for the aristocracy of the palace, and hence they were more refined and literary. But the court also supported theatrical entertainment outside the palace. The birth of a prince or his circumcision, a court marriage, the accession of a new ruler, triumph in war, departure for a new conquest or the arrival of a welcome foreign ambassador or guest, were occasions for public festivities, sometimes lasting as long as forty days and nights. These served the double purpose of amusing the courtiers and the people and impressing the world at large with a display of magnificence. The festivities included not only processions, illuminations, fireworks, equestrian games and hunting, but also dancing, music, poetry recitations, and performances by jugglers, mountebanks, and buffoons. Beginning in the 19th century, in reaction to Western influence, sultans started building theatres in their palaces. ʿAbd al-Medjīd constructed a theatre near the Dolma Baghče Palace in 1858, and the theatre that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II built in his Yïldïz Palace in 1889 has survived. In these theatres, dramatic and operatic performances were given by both professional and amateur players.

The development of the Turkish Western theatre tradition is fairly recent, and can be conveniently divided into three periods, which are determined not only by theatrical developments but also by political and constitutional changes. The first period, from 1839 to 1908, is subdivided into the *Tanẓīmāt* and *Istibdād* periods—that is, the periods of "reorganisation" and "despotism"; the second major period, from 1908 to 1923, is that of the Revolution of 1908; and the third from 1923 to the present can be called the Republican period.

Four public playhouses were built in the first year of the *Tanẓīmāt* period: a Western theatre, a playhouse for performances of traditional Turkish theatre, and two large amphitheatres for circus-like spectacles. (Before this date, however, there were probably several temporary theatres. For instance, documents have established that in 1830 a theatre was under construction in Izmir.) This theatre construction was important to the development of Western theatre in Turkey. As the *Tanẓīmāt* intelligentsia pointed out, what distinguished Turkish traditional theatre from Western theatre was the latter's reliance on playhouses and written texts. With the opening of four theatre buildings in 1839, the first major distinction had been breached. The second, the development of written text, was to follow.

To go ahead in time, 1908 saw the restoration of the constitution of 1876, and what is commonly called the "Declaration of Freedom" (*Hürriyyetiñ iʿlānï*). The political change brought a reawakening of the nation's creative theatre life, and the years that followed have been identified by drama historians as the theatre of the constitutional period. A new theatrical period can be said to have begun with the declaration of the Republic on 23 October 1923, first of all because the Republican period finally saw the removal of an obstacle which had been blocking the development of Turkish theatre: the ban against the appearance of Turkish Muslim women on the stage. Though some courageous Turkish women had previously attempted to break this ban, legal proceedings and police persecution had discouraged them. In July 1923, however, Atatürk attended a performance in Izmir, given by a group of actors from the Istanbul Municipal Theatre. He assured them that from then onwards, Turkish women would be free to appear on the stage and that the theatre arts would be supported by the government. In that same year, Turkish women appeared in a musical comedy called *The fugitives from the ballroom (Bala ḳačaḳlarï)*, and the picture of the leading actress Sedād Naẓīre Khānïm, was featured on the cover of a women's magazine. The following year two women appeared in a performance of Shakespeare's *Othello*, Badʿiyya Muwaḥḥid as Desdemona and Neyyire Neyyir as Emilia. With this general view in mind, the development of Western-style theatre in Turkey can be analysed in detail.

In 1839 the Royal Decree of Gülhane inaugurated the *Tanẓīmāt* period, important as a period when an audience for theatre was created, professional personnel developed and playwrights emerged to write hundreds of plays. Among the factors which helped facilitate the establishment of European theatre in Turkey, the following are important:

The sultan and his environment. Three reformist sultans were especially important to this development: Selīm III and Maḥmūd II, both prior to 1839, and ʿAbd al-Madjīd. In 1836 Maḥmūd II's library contained 500 plays, of which 40 were tragedies, 40 were dramas, 30 were comedies, and the rest farces and vaudevilles. The sultans sometimes attended public performance, and were a kind of insurance against opposition from fanatical orthodox quarters. When the latter attacked the notion of theatre, intellectuals could use the sultan's support as a defence: "Would you know better than His Majesty, not only our Sovereign but the Caliph of all Muslims, who is building a theatre in his own palace,

and rewarding foreign and native actors? He himself honours performances on many occasions." ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz was not so keen on the theatre as his predecessors, but it was during his rule that Turkish theatre had its golden age. During the thirty-three year reign of his successor, ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II, despotism and rigid censorship halted positive developments in the theatre, and public theatre almost ceased. Nevertheless, he himself had two theatres built in his palace, where he maintained two permanent, salaried theatrical companies, one foreign and the other native.

Turkish statesmen and ambassadors also contributed to the development of Western-style theatre. Early in 1870, the Grand Vizier ᶜAlī Pasha unsuccessfully tried to establish a national theatre, but later that year he achieved his objectives by granting Güllü Agôp, director of the Ottoman Theatre Company, a ten-year monopoly.

The press was another important factor in promoting Western-style theatre. Newspapers appeared in Turkey at just about the same time as the theatre, and many journalists began to write plays. Naturally, newspaper reports and reviews of theatre activities helped stimulate and guide public opinion. Foreign embassies, especially the French and Italian ones, played an important role, since many of these embassies had their own theatres, to which Turks were often invited to private performances. The embassies were also instrumental in bringing theatre and opera troupes to Turkey from their own countries. Non-Muslim minorities contributed greatly to the development of Western theatre in Turkey, most importantly, the Armenian community. An important role was also played by the cultural centres of other minorities of residents: the German one with their Teutonia, the French with their Alliance Française and the British and Italians through various theatre organisations.

Western theatre was perhaps most strongly promoted by visiting foreign troupes, many of which stayed as long as a whole season and gave regular performances. Some of these companies included the leading actors and artists of their times, and Turkish actors often learned their profession by watching these performances. Some seasons were so rich that the several foreign companies gave parallel performances, as for example on 11 September 1896, when there were three different performances of Verdi's *Aida* in Istanbul. Some of the operas of Verdi, Donizetti and Bellini were performed in Turkey before they were seen in Paris or other European capitals. Because of the influx of foreign companies, many more theatres were built. Often when these companies returned home, some of their members remained in Turkey, and it was from these actors, directors, set designers and conductors that Turkish theatre people learned their skills.

As has been pointed out, for the intelligentsia of the *Tanẓīmāt* period, the establishment of a Western theatrical tradition in Turkey was dependent on the building of theatres and the availability of written texts. The first modern Turkish play dates from 1859. Called *The poet's marriage* (*Bir shāᶜir evlenmesi*), this satire on prearranged marriages by the poet Ibrāhīm Shināsī had been commissioned for the newly-completed court theatre of the Dolma Baghče Palace. Though it was the first Turkish play written by a Turk in Turkey, it was not the first Turkish play. The first theatre texts in Turkish are those of the Azerbaijani playwright Mīrzā Fatḥ ᶜAlī Akhundov (1812-78), who wrote six comedies between the years 1850 and 1855. His popular plays were translated into Russian and later into the various languages of the present-day Soviet Union, as well as into Persian, French, English and German. Though Akhundov preceded Ibrāhīm Shināsī and enjoyed wide popularity outside his own country, Shināsī's short play demonstrates greater skill.

Mention should also be made of a Turkish manuscript found in Viennese archives by Professor Fahir Iz, *The strange and curious tale of Ahmet the Cobbler* (*Wakāyiᶜ-i ᶜadjībe we ḥawādith-i gharībe-yi kefsher Aḥmed*). Dated 1809, the manuscript, contains translations of the play in Italian, German and French; the name Iskerleč on it is probably that of the copyist. Two more plays were subsequently found: one, *Godefroi de Bouillon*, dealing with the First Crusade; the other, in both Turkish and French, was by a foreigner, Thomas Chabert, and its long title can be shortened to *Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh or the founding of the Janissaries*. The source of these texts was the Paris Ecole des Langues Orientales, which trained translators for the European embassies in the Middle East countries. Some of these plays were actually produced in the school. Years later, the catalogue of Turkish and Persian manuscripts in Poznan listed another version of *Aḥmed the cobbler* and another work entitled *Nasreddin Hoca's appointment to an official post (Naṣreddīn Khōdja'niñ manṣibi)*. The manuscript, translated into German, Italian and French was like the earlier-found version of *Aḥmed the cobbler* dated 1809, but the Poznan copy of *Aḥmed the cobbler* bore the signature Dombay, instead of Iskerleč, and the *Naṣreddīn Khōdja* play was signed Johann Lippa. The evidence suggests that in the School of Oriental Languages, Turkish was taught by members of the Turkish embassy staff. Though they no doubt wrote these plays, they chose as professional diplomats to remain anonymous. They probably dictated them as exercises to students, who in turn translated them into the three major languages of the Austrian Empire. Written from dictation, the manuscripts contain spelling errors, but since the authors were Turks, there are not many mistakes in syntax.

Other plays in Turkish that pre-date Shināsī's were only translations, some of which were performed but never published. For instance, ᶜAbd al-Medjīd's chamberlain, Ṣaffet Bey, translated Molière's plays for performance by the young Turkish musicians of the imperial band, and in 1845 the sultan invited three of his doctors to be present at the Turkish performance of two of Molière's plays, one of which ridiculed the medical profession.

Many foreign plays were translated into Turkish and performed by the Armenian theatre companies prior to the foundation of the Ottoman Theatre. Some copies of the translations that predate Shināsī's play are in Armenian characters. The earliest, published in 1813, is a translation of Molière's *Le médecin malgré lui*. Four plays by Metastasio were translated into Turkish and published in Armenian in 1831. Since the source of these latter plays was the Bible, it seems likely that they were used to propagate the Christian faith. Unlike contemporary Turkish texts, they do not contain Persian or Arabic words. Lithographed translated texts of opera libretti for Tukish audiences are very rare, but there are some in the Topkapı Museum and in private collections. An Italian opera on Turkish subject, *The siege of Silistria*, written in Turkey and performed there, has libretti in both Italian and Turkish.

Some students of Turkish theatre consider the first Turkish play to be Khayr Allāh Efendi's *Ḥikāye-yi Ibrāhīm Pasha*, a 19th century version of a 16th century

story about Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a of Sulaymān the Magnificent's time. The manuscript of this play by the father of the well-known Turkish poet and playwright ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ was discovered by Ismail Hami Danişment in 1939. Written in 1844, fifteen years before S̲h̲ināsī's play, when K̲h̲ayr Allāh was a student in medical school, it is little more than a rough draft by an amateur, probably never meant to be seen by others.

The Armenians and Levantines of Istanbul gave Turkey its first Western theatre in the Turkish language, generally adapted to local theatre tastes and conditions. Before the Armenians became active in theatre, the private residences of foreign embassy personnel were the only places in which Turks could see Western theatre and opera companies in their own languages. By the third quarter of the 19th century, however, the Istanbul Armenians had established two companies that sought a wider Turkish audience. First, a company called S̲h̲arḳ ("The Orient") and, later, one called Vaspuragan, came into existence, both of which translated, adapted, and performed European plays in both Armenian and Turkish.

The most important effort in this Armeno-Turkish development was that of the Ottoman Theatre Company at the Gedikpas̲h̲a Theatre in Istanbul. Headed by an Armenian Agop Vartovian (Güllü Agop), the company prepared the way for a genuinely national Turkish theatre by introducing Turkish actors in original Turkish plays. Sometimes given minor roles, the Turkish actors helped correct the pronunciation of Armenian performers, and Turkish writers were employed to make sure that the translations were idiomatically correct. The proceedings inevitably aroused the enthusiasm and support of university students.

But the guiding spirit remained Güllü Agop, who completed this Armeno-Turkish integration by eventually becoming a Muslim. In 1868 he committed his company to performances of plays in Turkish, and in April of that year he offered Istanbul its Turkish-language modern theatre production, a translation of a French play entitled *César Borgia*. This production was received somewhat unenthusiastically, and Güllü Agop immediately followed it with a tragedy based on the Turkish romance *Leylā and Med̲j̲nūn* by Muṣṭafā Efendi. The following year saw a marked increase in original Turkish plays.

As noted earlier, in 1870 the Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a granted Güllü Agop a ten-year monopoly of the production of dramas in the Turkish language. This patent, however, required him to open new theatres in various parts of Istanbul within a given time. Other would-be-producers barred from producing plays in Istanbul by Güllü Agop's monopoly, were encouraged, occasionally by prominent statesmen, to open theatres in the provinces. One such man, Ḍiyāʾ Pas̲h̲a (1825-80), brought a company from Istanbul, and another theatre was opened in Trabzon by the governor ʿAlī Bey, who was a playwright. In Bursa, the governor Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pas̲h̲a adapted nearly all of Molière's plays into Turkish and personally ran his own theatre, training and directing his actors and inspiring talented Turkish authors to write plays.

In Istanbul, Güllü Agop's monopoly was soon challenged, first by an open company which claimed that his patent did not apply to musical performances on stage, and then by *ortaoyunu* [*q.v.*] actors, who used every subterfuge to put on plays indoors as well as outdoors. They charged Güllü Agop with having failed to build the new theatres called for in his patent, and that in any case their performances were improvised, without text or employment of a prompter, and therefore not covered by the monopoly. Thus the seed was sown for a new theatre that could perhaps better nourish itself in the native tradition than the borrowed theatre translated from European literatures or directly imitative of them. With their *ṭulūʿat* (improvisatory) theatre, which filled the outline of a vague plot with local events, incidents picked up from the newspapers, or from street gossip, the *ortaoyunu* players gave their generation a kind of *commedia dell'arte* which stands midway between the traditional Turkish theatre and the imported Western theatre. However, after the Ottoman Theatre Company, was abruptly abolished by an order of the sultan in 1884, theatre activity in Turkey generally suffered an eclipse.

The second phase of the Western theatre tradition in Turkey is considered to have begun in 1908, the year of the constitutional revolution and to have ended in 1923, the year of the proclamation of the Republic. It was an important transitional period, a time of political turmoil. It also marked the restoration of theatre and some attempts to develop in new directions. The early months of 1908 were full of tension and excitement, as the new régime was being greeted with understandable delight. The theatres shared this enthusiasm, and put on productions suited to special occasions. Many new theatres sprang up under the stimulus of the events of this year, and during the next fifteen years they changed names and administration in rapid succession, some managing to survive only briefly. Too often, dramatic offerings were supplanted by political speeches and demonstrations meant to fire audiences with liberal enthusiasm. Plays previously banned by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's censorship were revived to stir up the populace against the former régime. The dominant genre of theatre was the *pièce de circonstance*. These works were set in contemporary Turkey, and their protagonists were the Young Turks, the leaders of the Union and Progress Party, who were shown as patriots, while the supporters and followers of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd were portrayed as opportunistic villains. Playwrights of the time saw theatre as a vehicle for the abasement of the former régime on the one hand and for enthusiastic praise of the constitutional reforms on the other. Thus the deluge of bad plays continued.

The theatre was also an ideal instrument for the strengthening of civilian and military morale. Wars followed in dizzy succession during that period, among them the Turco-Italian War of 1911, the Balkan War of 1912, World War I, and finally the Turkish War of Independence. A long series of Turkish plays were loosely constructed from topical scenes derived from some recent ware, glorifying the struggle of the Turkish people against their enemies. Other plays dealt with Ottoman history, lauding Turkish heroes of the past. The emphasis was always on solidarity and preparedness for war. Needless to say, most of these plays were extremely ephemeral.

Nevertheless, this period saw a number of significant developments in the theatre. Religious and official attitudes militating against the appearance of Turkish Muslim women on stage began to give way in 1919, when for the first time an actress—her name was ʿAfīfe—appeared in a play on the Turkish stage. Though her career was not without difficulties, her example was soon followerd by others.

The same period also saw the establishment of a school of drama and music in Istanbul. It was organised in 1914 by André Antoine (1859-1943), founder of Paris's Théâtre Libre, who had come to Turkey at the invitation of the mayor of Istanbul. In

1916, it started giving public performances, gradually becoming more of a theatre than a school and leading to the establishment of the present Istanbul Municipal Theatre.

It was also during this period that many native playwrights and theatre men of distinction started their careers. Until the Constitution of 1908 and the dethroning of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, government censorship discouraged the development of playwrights. After the reforms, however, there appeared dramatists who treated a variety of previously forbidden subjects.

Several professional, semi-professional, and amateur companies were active in this period. Among these were the Ṣaḥne-yi Hewes (formed by amateurs, among whom there were playwrights), and the short-lived Ṣanāyiʿ-i Nefīse. Amateurs later formed other troupes, such as Mürebbī Ḥiṣṣiyyāt, which was housed in the ʿOthmān Agha Theatre. Burhān al-Dīn Tepsi, a pupil of Silvain, studied drama in Paris and subsequently formed a company which gave regular performances. It was followed by another company called Dār al-Tamthīl-i ʿOthmānī, formed by the actor Hüseyn Kāmī Bey. Certain playwrights, intellectuals and actors unsuccessfully planned to found a national theatre. Other attempts in this direction were the ʿOthmānlî Tiyatro Kulübü (Ottoman Theatre Club), the Istanbul Ḳumpanyasî, and the Ertughrul Tiyatrosu. To raise money for the purchase of warships, the ʿOthmānlî Donanma Djemʿiyyeti was formed. Other important companies included Minakian's Ottoman Theatre and the Binemedjiyan Company.

The present period of Turkish drama dates from the proclamation of the Republic. This and the reforms of 1925-8 opened a new era and quickly brought about official approbation and government support of culture and drama in Turkey. The Turkish language was revivified, and there was increased interest in bringing to audiences works based on national history and folklore. Because the state considered drama to be an essential element in the modernisation of Turkey, it assumed full responsibility for the actor's professional career. The state conservatory established in 1936 in Anakara for training actors, acresses, opera singers and ballet dancers has since then greatly advanced the development of Turkish dramatic arts. When the course at that school has been completed, the student is taken on as a member of the leading State Theatre Company, which is founded by the government and functions under the Ministry of Culture. Additional funds are obtained from the sale of low-priced tickets. Providing security and opportunities for work in the theatrical profession, the State Theatre now operates with ten or eleven stages. In recent years it has produced excellent productions of foreign playwrights, from Sophocles to Edward Albee, and has introduced new Turkish dramatists. Along with several private theatres, it has been sending companies on one or two-month tours throughout the country.

The Halk evleri (People's houses) [see KHALḲ EVI] were established in 1931 and furthered cultural emancipation through a concerted programme of literary, artistic and mainly drama projects. Despite its success, this movement was disbanded on political grounds. The present trend is toward the establishment of regional theatre companies.

Theatre activity in Turkey is still mostly confined to the two largest cities, Ankara and Istanbul. The latter has about 25 private theatres, as well as 5 owned by the municipality. Privately-owned and managed theatres do not receive government subsidies or tax relief. In addition to the 4 theatres of the State Theatre Company, Ankara has several private companies, although the number varies from season to season. Owing to the competition of television, most theatres are almost invariably half-empty; therefore, while there appears to be a highly active theatre life in Turkey, this is now only superficially so.

From the point of view of the development of Turkish drama, the Republican period can be subdivided into two main sub-periods: from 1923 to 1960, and from 1960 to the present day. Though rooted in a relatively short tradition, recent Turkish drama has shown considerable promise.

Until 1960, the works seen on the Turkish stage reflected few of the changes which had overtaken the country. Some were poor copies of Western plays, in which an effort was made to assimilate the latter's surface qualities. The pre-1960 dramatists tended toward pseudo-symbolism or psychological realism, in which characters worked out their fate in an almost societyless vacuum. Highly popular were the traditional lightweight comedies that amused the audiences without ruffling their composure: plays focusing on unusual or off-beat characters: plays hammering on the theme that money is the root of all evil; plays on the inevitability of fate; plays involving dreams and psychoanalytic themes; plays on the eternal triangle; plays on the vicissitudes of married life; plays contrasting big city and provincial life; plays in verse which failed to be poetic; and sentimental plays on themes of love, altruism and self-sacrifice. Dramatists most often provided only a sketchy treatment of these themes.

After the Army junta overthrew the Menderes government in 1960 and promulgated a new constitution in the following year, the theatre turned to a more outspoken treatment of contemporary problems. Though theatre was excluded from preliminary censorship, a long list of moral and political taboos remained in effect. Nevertheless, the new values imposed by the 1961 constitution lie behind every problem play of the period. Turkish dramatists were working toward some moment of release from constrictions, both self- and externally-imposed. Not only did new dramatists emerge, but many playwrights writing before 1960 suddenly seemed to find new energy and new forms of expression. This lasted until the 1970s. During those memorable ten years, Turkish theatre enjoyed a vitality that enabled it to deal with problems of current social and political importance. In 1969 serious social, economic, and political unrest descended upon Turkey. Rural inhabitants were flocking to the big cities in search of work and student violence was erupting in the streets. Severe new codes were enacted which subjected the big cities to martial law. People naturally prefered to spend their evenings at home watching television, then quite a recent innovation in Turkey.

Between 1960 and the 1970s, private theatre had mushroomed in Istanbul and Ankara, but many now closed their doors, leaving others that are still struggling to survive. Two theatres deserve special mention: Dostlar Tiyatrosu (Friends' Theatre) in Istanbul, and Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu (Ankara Arts Theatre). Both are private theatres, and are socially and politically committed to the left. Thanks to their loyal audiences and staffs, they have been able to resist the tide.

A new generation of aspiring playwrights began to appear in the 1960s, and a changing society provided them with ever-new material. For convenience, the considerable dramatic output of the Republican period can best be broken down by its main focus and

theme. Contemporary man's sense of isolation, alienation, and loss of identity are dealt with in various plays. Plays about individuals caught in the cultural conflict between traditional values and modern Westernised ideas and manners are the subject of a number of plays. Peasants flooding into the big cities and being forced to live in slums are another topic. Many plays involve lower-middle class or working-class families in the grip of financial difficulties, and show the family as a microcosm of world problems as they fight against disintegration. Since 1960s there have been plays highlighting and revealing the role, the problems, and the social position of modern Turkish women. Some plays can best be described as village or peasant plays offering authentic pictures of village life in out-of-the way places. They deal with such problems as corrupt landlords and local administrators, marriage customs, jealousy intolerance, superstitions and family feuds. Some playwrights take their inspiration from mythology, old legends, local history and the history of previous civilisations. Plotless plays presenting glimpses of assorted characters and their everyday lives are often introduced by a narrator and depend largely on their atmospheric quality. Often they contrast an "inner" and an "outer" world. Many plays highlight political and social revolutionary ideals, the conflict between capital and labour, business ethics, and the fight against Fascism. Idealists whose zeal alienates them from contemporary Turkish reality are dealt with in a number of plays. Of a more general nature are those symbolic dramas concerned with such themes as man's place in the universe, analyses of social organisation and criticism of contemporary mores. In recent years, Turkish dramatists and theatre groups have been experimenting with new forms and unconventional structures. Western culture is now seen not as an ideal model but as a contrasting tradition. Playwrights have also become aware that "modern" theatrical trends in Europe have their counterparts in Turkish traditional theatre, and this has facilitated their absorption into contemporary Turkish theatre. For example, the tradition of Karagöz [*q.v.*] or shadow theatre has been supplied with new scripts designed for performance by live actors. The contribution of traditional Turkish theatre far transcends mere borrowing or superficial treatment. It stems from the very essence of traditional theatre: a sense of anti-illusionistic rapport between the actors and the audience, an open or flexible form, the attempt to give the impression of improvisation and total theatre in performance, and the use of music, dance and songs as adjuncts to drama.

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(METİN AND)

4. In Iran.

The history of the theatrical arts in Iran is obscured by the fact that they have only recently acquired a place among the manifestations of Iranian culture considered to be serious. Written drama as a branch of polite literature emerged under the influence of the West in the second half of the past century, and the development of a theatrical tradition with formal institutions started at an even younger data. This does not mean, however, that before that time no indigenous types of drama were in existence. References to performances of various kinds are known from pre-Islamic times onwards, although they do not become numerous enough to allow us to describe their origin and development in detail until the last few centuries. Iran even made a unique contribution to Islamic civilisation by creating a form of religious drama [see TAʿZIYA]. A common feature of these types of drama is that they are based almost entirely on improvisation so that they only rarely have left traces of their past existence in the form of written plays. They belong essentially to popular culture, even if they were adopted by the courts and by members of the educated class as forms of entertainment.

Religious objections to the impersonation of living beings, and to frivolous entertainment in general, being as they were prevalent during the Islamic period, have undoubtedly been an impediment to the development of serious drama. Already before Islam, however, dramatics did not play a prominent part in Iranian culture, at least not in that section of it about which we possess any knowledge. The Greek theatres which existed in some places after the invasion of Alexander remained a foreign element and soon disappeared without having exerted a noticeable influence.

The Sāsānid kings amused themselves with the performances of minstrels, singers and musicians, as well as with many other kinds of entertainment. Descriptions of these court traditions can be found in the Pahlawi book *Khusraw and his page* and in many Islamic sources (cf. M. Boyce, in *JRAS* [1957], 10-45). They provided a model for the amusements of polite society in later times. This tradition continued without fundamental changes till it came under the attack of modern types of entertainment. It remained close to the popular tradition of performances, called *maʿrika*, *hangāma* or *tamās̲h̲ā*, which mostly took place in public squares. The performer (*maʿrika-gīr*) could be a storyteller (*ḳiṣṣagū*), a rope-dancer, an acrobat, a magician or a leader of dancing animals. Literary sources seldom pay attention to these types of folk art, but a remarkable exception is the *Futuwwat-nāma-yi sulṭānī* by Kās̲h̲ifī (*q.v.*; see also Galunov, *Iran*, iii, 94). The earliest observations of such performances made by European travellers date from the 17th century (cf. e.g. J. B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages... en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes*, Amsterdam 1678, i, 442-3 (performances at the *maydān* of Tabrīz); J. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, ed. L. Langlès, Paris 1811, iii, 326 f. (variety at Tabrīz), 180 ff. (wrestlers, sword fighters and fighting animals at Iṣfahān), 436-64 ("Exercices et jeux des Persans")). At the social occasions held at the courts or in private mansions, singing, playing and dancing were among the principal amusements. Central figures were the minstrel (*k̲h̲unyāgar*; cf. the description of his craft in ch. 36 of the *Ḳābūs-nāma* by Kay Kāwūs [*q.v.*], ed. Tehran 1345/1967, 193-7), and the singer-musician (*muṭrib*), who appears frequently in Persian poetry. A picture of the entertainment at a local court about the end of the 5th/11th century is presented in a short *mat̲h̲nawī* poem by Masʿūd Saʿd-i

Salmān [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān*, ed. Tehran 1339/1960, 562-79), which makes mention of musicians playing various instruments, singers and dancers.

The art of the narrator (*naḳḳāl*), who accompanied his recitation with musical and gesticular means of expression, may rightly be regarded as a branch of indigenous dramatics. The relationship with polite literature, which often exists, puts this performer in a special category. Until the beginning of this century, the narrator was a man of some education whose performances were appreciated at all levels of society. His rôle as a transmitter of epics in prose or in poetry must have been considerable throughout the history of Persian literature, although he usually remained in the shadow of the writers and the poets. He also provided the latter with much of raw material, consisting of stories of all kinds, for their prose works and *mathnawī* poems. Several terms were in use to differentiate between specialisations within the profession of narrator. In more recent times, the best-known religious narrator is the *rawḍa-khwān* [*q.v.*]. The national epic provided the subject matter to the *shāh-nāma-khwān*, who narrated fragments from Firdawsī's poem. His popularity at the court of the Ṣafawids has been recorded by the historians of the period, together with the names of the most celebrated narrators of this type (for further details, see Bayḍāʾī, *Namāyish*, 60-81).

To the common people, the *naḳḳāl*, performed in particular at the coffee- or teahouses which are known to have existed in Iran since the 17th century [see čay-khāna in Suppl.]. Sitting on a platform (*takht*), he chanted his text using only a small stick (*miṭrāḳ*, *čūbdastī*) to accentuate his gesticulations. Sometimes his recitation was accompanied by one or two musicians. Pictures on the walls representing scenes from the *Shāh-nāma* or from the tales about the *Imāms* called *shamāyil*, often helped him to make his audience visualise his narrative. Story-telling with the help of pictures was also practiced outdoors by people named *pardazān* or *shamāyil-gardān* who mainly dealt with religious subjects. Subsequent scenes were usually combined on one canvas covered by a curtain which was gradually uncovered as the narration proceeded. A remarkable tool, described by Galunov as it could be seen at Iṣfahān in the twenties of of this century, was the *shahr-i firang* (a name referring probably to its European origin), a metal case inside which a roll (*ṭūmār*) could rotate to show pictures one by one through an opening at the front of the case (*Narodniy teatr Irana*, 67 ff.).

Puppet-shows were known in Iran already during the Middle Ages, as is witnessed by many references in the works of classical poets to puppets (*khiyāl*, *luʿbat*) as well as to certain props of the puppet-player, e.g. the curtain (*parda*), the cloth (*naṭʿ*) on which the plays were enacted, and the box (*ṣandūḳ*) into which the puppets were put away after the show had ended. Mention is also made sometimes of a magic lanterm (*fānūs-i khiyāl*), but it is uncertain whether any of the known references may be interpreted as evidence of the existence of shadow play in mediaeval Iran (see P. N. Boratav, art. ḳaragöz). Whenever mention is made of puppet-shows in these sources, the intention is to use them as symbols pointing to the thought that the existence of this world and its inhabitants is dependent entirely on God's will. In the *Ushtur-nāma*, a mystical *mathnawī* poem attributed by tradition to ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], a Turkish puppet-player is presented as an emblem of the divine rule over human destiny. This is also the proper meaning of the puppet-play according to the description in the *Futuwwat-nāma* of Kāshifī (see Galunov, *Iran*, ii, 72-4).

The most important types of puppet-play which until quite recently were current in Iran belong to the kind in which the puppets are shown directly to the public. The shadow-play never gained in Iran the prominence which it had in the folklore of other peoples of the Middle East [see khayāl al-ẓill] and disappeared already quite early without leaving many traces. A variety making use of glove puppets was called *pahlawān kačal* ("the bald hero") after its leading character who also appears however in other forms of popular theatre. It was sometimes called *pandj* because five figures were required to play the stock parts of the show. Much more elaborate was the *khayma-shab-bāzī*, a marionette theatre operating, as the name implies, at night and enacted, at least originally, in a tent. The performers were itinerant artists who were reckoned among the *lūṭīs* [*q.v.*] or the gypsies. In the present century, the *khayma-shab-bāzī* was also played at a fixed locality such as the *kafa-yi shahrdārī* at Tehran between 1941 and about 1950 (Bayḍāʾī, *Namāyish*, 110 f.). The puppet-player (*ustād*) and his assistant (*shāgird*) manipulated the figures from behind a screen and let them speak. They used a small whistle (*sutsutak*) to imitate high-pitched voices. In front of the scene, the leader (*murshid*) introduced the performance and argued occasionally with the characters of the play. Musical accompaniment was played on the *ḍarb*, the *tār* or the *kamanča*.

The variety shows performed by live actors originated from the acts of individual performers of different types. There is perhaps a historical connection with folk traditions, such as the installation of a mock king at the time of the New Year festival, which was practised in parts of Iran until quite recently (cf. M. Ḳazwīnī, *Mīr-i Nawrūzī*, in *Yādgār*, i/3, 13-6, who described an instance of the custom witnessed at Budjnūrd in 1923). Wandering groups of actors used to perform humorous sketches during this holiday. One of the stock figures was known as Ḥādjdjī Fīrūz, a clown with a blackened face. Jesters, called *dalḳak* (originally *ṭalḳak*) or *maskhara*, have been common in Iran since ancient times. They were present in the private *madjlis* [*q.v.*], as well as in the public square. Miniatures of the 10th/16th century depict groups of itinerant performers wearing high, pointed hats or animal masks and goatskins. Their comic dances were accompanied by tambourines. Comparable representations can be recognised already in the decoration of objects dating from the Muslim Middle Ages (cf. R. Ettinghausen, *The dance with zoomorphic masks*, in G. Makdisi, ed., *Arabic and Islamic studies in honour of H. A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 211-24). A bald clown by the name of Kal ʿInāyat was, according to Chardin (*op. cit.*, viii, 124-30), an entertainer at the court of Shah ʿAbbās I. Mimic dancing combined with singing, which constituted a kind of bawdy "opera", is mentioned in the same travel account (iv, 61) as the amusement of an aristocratic audience.

According to Bayḍāʾī (168), the popular theatre gradually expanded from the middle of the Ṣafavid period onwards. This began with the appearance of itinerant groups of musicians and dancers, who performed at private houses, usually during the night. Their répertoire consisted of ballets featuring local dances as well as some element of mime, e.g. in a piece called *ḳahr u āshtī* ("quarrel and reconciliation"). The curtain raisers (*pīsh-parda*) introducing such performances gave rise to more elaborate farces, called *muḍḥika*. In addition to *tamāshā*, the term *taḳlīd* became a general designation for secular theatre, although it refers more in particular to mime, which was a prominent element in most plays (see for an

example of a farce performed about 1838, A. Chodzko, *Théâtre persan*, Paris 1878, pp. x-xiv).

A special type of popular theatre was known as *baḳḳāl-bāzī* because the play's main character was a rich grocer who claimed to be a *ḥādjdjī* and was made fun of by his insolent servant. The latter was often represented as a negro, and plays in which he appeared in a major role were also called *siyāh-bāzī*. A variety show including various kinds of entertainment is the *rū-ḥawḍī* or *takht-i ḥawḍī*, which derives its name from the stage where it was commonly performed: a platform on a pond in the courtyard of a house. Occasions when the artists could be summoned, such as weddings and circumcisions, were especially important days in the life of a family. Popular theatre also attracted the attention of the court, where performances are on record from the time of the Zand dynasty onwards. Under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, the favourite court-jester Karīm Shīraʾī led a group who performed *baḳḳāl-bāzīs*. Plays were also enacted in teahouses and, in the present century, in small theatres, notably at Tehran.

In spite of its great popularity, popular drama was always under attack from the side of the religiously minded. In the thirties of this century, the government, suspicious of the satire of the popular performers, tried to censure it by demanding that scripts should be made and submitted to the authorites beforehand. Perhaps its most formidable opponent, however, presented itself in the form of modern entertainment as offered by cinema and television. Yet the oral tradition of drama somehow managed to survive long enough to make its impact on the development of modern drama.

The theatrical arts were an element of such prominence in Western civilisation during the 19th century that they could not fail to impress Iranians who travelled to the West, including Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh himself. In comparison with other countries in the Middle East, however, the introduction of Western-style drama to Iran proceeded at a very slow pace. The only instance of a theatre fitted up to stage modern plays before the end of the century was an auditorium in the building of the Dār al-Funūn at Tehran. It was used merely for private performances attended by the Shah and his retinue, and even these were discontinued after some time. Plays by Molière were the first to be translated, or rather adapted to a Persian audience: *Guzārish-i mardumgurīz* (*Le Misanthrope*) was published at Istanbul 1286/1869-70 (cf. Browne, *LHP, iv, 459-62); other early translations were Ṭabīb-i idjbārī* (*Le Médecin malgré lui*) and *Gīdj* (*L'Étourdi*).

A separate development was the use of drama as a medium for criticism about social conditions and the spread of modern ideas. The anonymous *Baḳḳāl-bāzī dar ḥuḍūr*, which contains comments on the administrative reforms introduced by Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Sipahsālār (1871-3) and has been preserved in a written form, shows how drama of the traditional type could be used in this manner. Much more important was the example set by Mīrzā Fatḥ-ʿAlī Ākhundzāda [*q.v.*] who between 1850 and 1855 wrote six comedies in the Turkish of Ādharbāydjān. In Tiflis he was in close contact with the Russian tradition of drama, which contained an influential strain of critical comedy, its most famous product being Gogol's *The Inspector* (1834). The plays of Ākhundzāda were translated into Persian by Mīrzā Djaʿfar Ḳarādjadāghī, who in his preface stressed their educational intent. The translations appeared first at Tehran (1291/1874) and were subsequently edited as well as translated in Europe by several scholars (cf. Browne, iv, 462; see also H. W. Brands, *Azerbaidschanisches Volksleben und modernistische Tendenz in den Schauspielen Mīrzā Feth-ʿAlī Aḫundzāde's (1812-1878)*, 's-Gravenhage-Wiesbaden 1958). The foreign interest in Ḳarādjadāghī's translations was roused in particular by his use of colloquial Persian. Most Western editions are for that reason accompanied by vocabularies.

For a long time, Malkum Khān [*q.v.*] was regarded as the author of three original Persian plays, the publication of which began in the newspaper *Ittiḥād* (Tabrīz 1326/1908) but was left unfinished (cf. E. G. Browne, *The press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 34); a complete edition based on a ms. then owned by Fr. von Rosen appeared at Berlin, Kāviyānī Press, 1340/1921-2. The discovery of a letter by Ākhundzāda preserved in the Akhundov Archive at Baku has made it more than likely that the recipient of this letter was the real author. He was Mīrzā Āḳā Tabrīzī, a Persian secretary at the French embassy in Tehran. The plays must have been written already about 1870 (cf. A. E. Ibrahimov and H. Mémédzadé, *Trudî Instituta Yazîka i Literaturî imeni Nizami*, ix, Baku 1956; Guseyni Abul'Fas, in *Narodov Azii i Afriki* [1965-6], 142-5; see also H. Evans, in *Central Asian Review*, xv [1967], 21-5; G. Scarcia, in *OM*, xlvii/2-3 [1967], 248-66). The plays satirise the political conditions in Ḳādjār Iran, especially the oppression exerted by local governors and their corruption. Tabrīzī gave them lengthy titles, which in an abbreviated form run as follows: (1) *Sargudhasht-i Ashraf-Khān ḥākim-i ʿArabistān dar ayyām-i tawaḳḳuf-i ū dar Ṭihrān*...; (2) *Ṭarīḳa-yi ḥukūmat-i Zamān Khān-i Burūdjirdī*... (3) *Ḥikayat-i Karbalā raftan-i Shāh-ḳulī Mīrzā*...*wa tawaḳḳuf-i čand rūza dar Kirmanshāhān*... (the plays were recently published by Ḥ. Ṣadīḳ, together with two others by the same author, Tehran 2536/1977; they were translated into French by A. Bricteux, *Les comédies de Malkom Khān*, Liège 1933, and into Italian by G. Scarcia, *Tre commedie*, Rome 1967). They are closet dramas written without much concern for the requirements of theatrical performance.

The beginning of theatricals performed in public cannot be dated earlier than the first decade of this century. Tabrīz seems to have preceded other cities. The Russian consul B. Nikitine saw performances at Rasht in 1912. They included at least one original Persian play, on the problem of alcoholism. The female parts were played by men (*Īrānī ki man shinākhta am*, Tehran 1329/1951, 127-8). In the capital, theatrical activities started about the same time. Among the first companies which gave regular performances were *Kūmīdī-yi Īrān* (1915), led by Sayyid ʿAlī Naṣr, and the drama section of *Īrān-i djawān* (1921), an organisation of progressive intellectuals. The *Kūmīdī-yi mūzīkāl* (1919) brought musical shows on the stage which were modelled on shows performed in Caucasian Russia. Non-Muslims were at this stage very prominent in the Iranian theatre. From their midst came especially the female actors, as the religious objections to the appearance of Muslim women on the stage were still very strong.

Although translated plays continued to hold their important place in the répertoire of the Iranian companies, original plays were also produced. The bi-weekly magazine *Tiʾātr* published already in 1908 dialogues which criticised the government. A playwright of the earliest period was Aḥmad Maḥmūdī, also known as Kamāl al-Wizāra (1875-1930). In his *Ḥādjdjī Riyāʾī Khān* he presented a Per-

sian Tartuffe, and in *Ustād Nawrūz-i pambadūz* a type similar to the *baḳḳāl* of the popular farce. Ḥasan Muḳaddam (1898-1925) published, under the name ʿAlī Nawrūz, his *Dja*ʿ*far-Khān az Firang āmada*. This successful comedy ridicules the type of the westernising Iranian (cf. I. Djamshīdī, *Ḥasan Muḳaddam wa Dja*ʿ*far Khān az Firang āmada*, Tehran 1357/1978 repr. Oakland 1984, with a French translation by the author himself). Its first performance at the Grand Hotel, Tehran, on 23 March 1922, was an important event in the history of the modern theatre in Iran. The drama was used as a literary genre by the poet Muḥammad Riḍā Mīrzāda ʿIshḳī (1894-1924) for works like *Īdiʾāl*, *Kafan-i siyāh* and the "opera" *Rastākhīz*. Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat [*q.v.*] and many others wrote plays on episodes from the History of Iran. Notable as a playwright was also Dhabīḥ Bihrūz (1891-1971).

Under the Pahlawī régime, the theatre was subjected to censorship, but it also received for the first time official recognition as an important section of modern Iranian culture. In 1939 a college for the training of actors, the *Hunaristān-i hunarmandān*, was founded. The leading personality of the theatre in Iran during the Riḍā Shāh period was the actor and playwright Sayyid ʿAlī Naṣr (d. 1961). A similar rôle was later played by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nūshīn (1905-70) who was active as a director and a translator of foreign drama, and wrote the handbook *Hunar-i tiʾātr* (1952).

The rise of the cinema and afterwards of television in Iran broadened the scope of the dramatic arts. Together with the theatre, they benefited from the remarkable flourishing of these arts, which took off in the 1960s and continued until the revolutionary turmoil began about a decade later. The promotion of indigenous theatre became a matter of official concern. A special department (*Idāra-yi tiʾatr*), which became a part of the Ministry of Culture and Arts, was created for this purpose. Dramatic education at an academic level was introduced in Tehran and the production of original Persian plays was encouraged. Shāhīn Sarkīsiyyān, ʿAlī Nāṣiriyyān, ʿAbbās Djawānmard and Bīzhan Mufīd were prominent stage directors and theatrical leaders. They also write a number of new plays based either on modern Persian literature (e.g. the short stories of Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat) or popular theatre, from which the type of the black clown (*siyāh*) was borrowed. Mufīd's *Shahr-i ḳiṣṣa* (1968) is a social satire based on children's stories, and put on stage with the use of animal masks. Active in all fields of drama were Bahrām Bayḍāʾī and Ghulām-Ḥusayn Ṣādighī (1935-85), a distinguished writer of short stories who under the name *Gawhar Murād* wrote many plays and film scripts.

The facilities for dramatic productions were enlarged through the opening of new auditoriums at Tehran and Iṣfahān. Of particular importance was the Festival of Arts (*Djashn-i Hunar*) of Shīrāz (1967-76), organised at the initiative of the National Iranian Television. It brought leading foreign directors to Iran, where they received the opportunity to stage experimental theatre of the most advanced kind. At the same time, special symposia on national drama were held featuring the epic tradition, the passion play and popular traditions. Another offshoot of the Festival was a theatre workshop (*Kārgāh-i namāyish*). The Iranian film attracted a great amount of attention at international festivals during the 1970s.

The Islamic revolution of 1979 changed the course of these developments considerably, but did not bring the dramatic activities in Iran to a standstill. They have also been continued outside the country by emigrants, especially in the United States.

Bibliography: The best survey of indigenous drama is Bahrām Bayḍāʾī, *Namāyish dar Īrān*, Tehran 1344/1965 (a new and revised edition has been announced). See further: Y. N. Marr, *Koečto o Péhlévan kéčele i drugikh vidakh narodnogo teatra v Persii*, in *Iran*, ii (1928), 75-88; R. A. Galunov, *Pakhlavān Kačal' - persidskiy petrushki*, in *Iran*, ii (1928), 25-74; idem, *Khéymé shab bāzī - persidskiy teatr marionetok*, in *Iran*, iii (1929), 1-50; idem, *Ma'riké gīrī*, in *Iran*, iii (1929), 94-106; idem, *Narodnïy teatr Irana*, in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1936/4-5, 55-83; M. Rezvani, *Le théâtre et la danse en Iran*, Paris 1962 (repr. 1981); J. Cejpek, *Dramatic folk-literature in Iran*, in J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 682-93; U. Gehrke and H. Mehner, *Iran. Natur-Bevölkerung-Geschichte-Kultur-Staat-Wirtschaft*, Tübingen-Basel 1975, 101-4; Y. Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, Tehran 2535/1976, i, 325-66, ii, 288-315; M. Istiʿlāmī, *Barrasī-yi adabiyyāt-i imrūz-i Īrān*, Tehran 2535/1976, 155-70; M. H. Farahnakianpoor, *A survey of dramatic activity in Iran from 1850 to 1950*, Brigham Young University 1977 (diss.; ed. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor 1979); W. O. Beeman, *A full arena: the development and meaning of popular performance traditions in Iran*, in M. E. Bonine and N. R. Keddie, eds., *Modern Iran. The dialectics of continuity and change*, Albany 1981, 361-81; idem, *Why do they laugh?*, in *Journal of American Folklore*, xliv (1981), 506-26; idem, *Culture, performance and communication in Iran*, Tokyo 1982; F. Gaffary, *Evolution of rituals and theatre in Iran*, in *Iranian Studies*, xvii/4 (1984), 361-89; idem, *Secular theatre*, in L. P. Elwell-Sutton, ed., *Bibliographical guide to Iran*, Brighton 1983, 343-4. *Abstracta Iranica* has had a special section on music and theatrical arts since vol. v (1982).

(J. T. P. de Bruijn)

5. In Central Asia and Afghānistān.

Islamic Central Asia—Western Turkistan including Kazakstan, Eastern Turkistan (Shinjiang) encompassing the area of the present Uyghur Autonomous Province, Afghānistān and contiguous territory where Islam was or is professed and Central Asian Iranian or Turkic languages are spoken—has known three main types of theatre. Oral folk art probably pervaded the region long before the advent of Islam, although documentation is as yet unavailable to prove it. Muslim religious drama, known especially to Shīʿīs [see taʿziya], received performance as late as the end of the 19th century in certain areas. Modern indigenous drama and theatre using written scripts, fixed stages and enclosed auditoria began activity within the region no earlier than the second decade of the 20th century.

Historical precedents for organised, formal theatrical presentations long existed in the region. A great, 35-tier, semi-circular outdoor Greek theatre was built and ruins survive at Ay Khanum, a fortified capital city located on the left bank of the Oxus River (Āmū Daryā) at the confluence of the Kokča River under the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. Additional archaeological finds from the vicinity of Termez (Tirmidh) and Bukhārā—in the form of Hellenic carvings, dishes, frescoes and sculptures dating from the 1st to 8th centuries A.D.—have depicted the head of Dionysus, the youthful god, patron of drama and wine, as well as musicians playing harps, drums and local stringed instruments. A ceramic ossuary dated to the early centuries A.D. unearthed at Afrāsiyāb, near Samarḳand, shows the clear depiction of several actors holding tragic masks. A comic figure originated from

the same sites. More direct evidence for theatrical life in that period is difficult to come upon. No clear evidence has been reported conclusively linking that ancient legacy with the development of indigenous Central Asian theatre art in the Islamic epoch, beginning there no earlier than the 1st/7th century in western Central Asia. It has been surmised that the obligatory attributes of recent folk performers from K͟hʷārazm known to follow the oldest traditions of *mäsk͟häräbäz* (clown) art in Central Asia—such as the goatskin mask and two-horned, cone-shaped or simply dishevelled cap of goat's wool—refer to the ancient Dionysian cult, and particularly to the 5th-6th centuries A.D. in K͟hʷārazm. (L. A. Avdeeva, in *Uzbekskii sovetskiii teatr*, Tas͟hkent, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka" Uzbekskoy SSR, 1966, 22, 18; Annaya F. Korsakova, *Uzbekskii opernyi teatr*, Tas͟hkent, Gosudarstvennoe. Izdatel'stvo K͟hudoz͟hestvennoy Literaturī, 1961, figure facing p. 24, 33).

Oral folk art. Undoubtedly the oldest continuous forms of Central Asia theatre still existing late in the 20th century belonged to the folk tradition. At their most uncomplicated level came performances by bear trainers, jugglers, stilt walkers, wrestlers and acrobats, horsemen, slight-of-hand artists, balancing artists, animal imitators and dancers. The last two categories often differed from the other entertainers by representing imagined actions to an audience rather than merely executing certain practiced skills. From at least the 9th/15th century onwards in Harāt and Samarkand, the existence of the *mäddaḥ* [see MEDDĀḤ] is recorded. He was a professional story teller who, with gesture and facial expression, added action to words with an extensive repertory of saint's lives, legends and tales told in public. Several storytellers continued actively to render their dramatic oral narratives as late as the reign of the Amīr ʿAbd al-Aḥad of Buk͟hara (1885-1910) in towns such as Mazār-i S͟harīf, Afg͟hānistān (Muhsin H. Ḳadiraw, *Ozbek k͟hälḳ tamas͟hä ṣänʿäti*, Tas͟hkent, "Oḳituwči", 1981, 8).

Puppeteers went even further in the direction of dramatisation. One of the two best-known varieties of puppet theatre seen in Central Asia was *čadirk͟häyal*, a marionette show with full-bodied miniature *ḳog͟hirčaḳlär* (marionettes) suspended and activated from above on strings. The second sort of puppet, usually a half-torso figure, was manipulated from below by the hand of the *ḳol ḳog͟hirčakbaz* (puppeteer). Both kinds of shows presented in confined space the interactions of lively figures whose sounds or words came from behind the scene, uttered by the puppet master, who sometimes talked through a tube or thin disk in order to alter his voice for different puppets. Musicians habitually accompanied both puppet shows. Rather elaborate playlets could be offered by accomplished puppeteers. Well-known to Western Turkistanis were the hand-puppet characters, long-nosed (and therefore un-Central Asian and "ridiculous") Palwan Kačal, also to be found in Iran, and his wife, Pučukk͟han-ayim or Biče K͟hanim-ayim, with their marital squabbles. One marionette play, called *Särkärdälär* ("The mighty ones"), has a certain Karparman acting as master of ceremonies at a royal gathering. He requires the chieftains, who enter the scene one after another in order of increasingly high rank, to announce themselves. The chief figure is the Yasawul, a Cossack officer embodying the Tsarist Russian administration, and there is a drunk who also shows Christians in a repulsive condition (T. Menzel, *Meddāḥ, Schattentheater und Orta Ojunu*, Prague 1941, 37-41; Avdeeva, 66-8). Then begins a spectacle within the shows, as the powerful men observe monkey trainers, various sensuous dancers in costume, and a military parade. At the end, a devil sometimes abruptly rushes these high-ranking sinners off to Hades in punishment for watching idle, profane theatricals. Puppet theatre came rather late to the Afg͟hānistān of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān K͟hān (1880-1901) [*q.v.*] from Buk͟hārā and Samarḳand, whence a court storyteller brought it and called it *butley bawz* ("puppet play"), from the Urdu. For this show, the storyteller invented the long-popular females, Onion Lady and Lady Sweet (S. Heuisler, *Two years and two months of involvement with theatre in Afghanistan*, Mimeographed Essay, Kabul, 18 Jan. 1975, 4). This emphasis upon movement and brusque gesture to entertain viewers was carried over to a notable degree into skits and farces by human actors in folk theatricals. Among Central Asians a form of *tämas͟ha* ("show") could be seen that edged much closer than other folk art to modern comedy.

Typical was the short play, *Raʾis* ("The Keeper of morals"), in which a governor's beadle, the main figure, enforces the injunctions of religion and keeps order as well as verifying the correctness of weights and measures in the marketplace. The keeper of morals suddenly appears in a bazaar, creating consternation among shopkeepers and tradesmen, who must submit their scales and measuring rods to his men for inspection. Violators bribe the officials flagrantly. In both Tajik and Uzbek versions of *The keeper of morals*, the traits of a semi-amateur folk performance are well exemplified. Flexible, unstable dialogue typifies the improvisation in the absence of any written script. Audience volunteers and other, less-experienced performers are openly coached during a show by the master of the troupe. The comic vein is almost invariably ribald, and the subject of the skit confined to everyday activity in town or countryside. No specific site or stage was used or needed for the presentation. This brief comedy placed emphasis, like the puppet shows, upon slapstick, pantomime, and stock characters. The skit depended for its effect largely upon minimal, repeated variants of one action. In *The Keeper of morals*, peddler after peddler encounters the same treatment at the hands of inspectors. The action moves forward through reiteration and rough jokes made at the expense of offenders publicly humiliated and by the surprisingly varied sorts of bribes offered to ward off extortion. The second part of the same farce portrays the keeper of morals similarly cross-examining hapless Muslims concerning their religious duties and the obligatory rituals, and meting out harsh discipline for infractions (Nizam Nurdz͟hanov, *Tadz͟hikskii narodnyi teatr*, Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1956, 145-50, 309-14; Muhsin Ḳadiraw, *Ozbek k͟hälḳ ag͟hzäki drämäsi*, Tas͟hkent, Uzbekistan SSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi, Näs͟hriyati, 1963, 57-63).

The many playlets extant differed greatly in size of cast. *The Keeper of morals* used as many as 50 performers, but some required only one or two. Many received command performances at the Central Asian courts, and most diverted townspeople or villagers as late as the early 20th century. A sizeable troupe of *ḳiziḳčis* (buffoons) at the Ḳoḳan (K͟hoḳand) court of ʿUmar K͟hān (1809-22) was led by a star, Bedas͟him. Succeeding generations of buffoons consider him to be their patron and founding father. (*Uzbekii sovetskii teatr*, i, 1966, 47). Troupes of buffoons were maintained also at the K͟hīvan and Buk͟hāran courts, except during the reign of an *amīr* or *k͟hān* whose piety prompted a ban on public theatricals. In Kās͟hg͟har,

under Yaʿḳūb Beg (1865-77) [*q.v.*], the *raʾīs* and his *muḥtasibs* strictly enforced the *Sharīʿat*. They actively prevented mimes, storytellers and actors from diverting bazaar-goers. Before Yaʿḳūb Beg's day. Chinese administrators had allowed all sorts of amusements there (D. Boulger, *Central Asian questions*, London 1878, 6). Popular folk plays included *Uylänish* ("The wedding"), humorously revealing a bridegeroom's reluctance to start life with an unknown woman, especially when it is discovered at the unveiling that she is not the promised bride. Another favourite skit, *Zärkakil* ("Golden tresses"), portrays forbidden dances and rituals engaged in by a group of men and women. They make their bacchanal so alluring that even the keeper of morals sent to censure them joins in the festivities. In *Mudärris* ("The seminary teacher"), the vices of a Marghīlān schoolman become the subject of the farce. *Mazar* ("The tomb") turns on the interaction between a venal custodian of a sacred shrine and women and men who bring offerings to the saint buried there.

Plays in this genre depended for their appeal not only upon the familiar themes but upon theatrical style and verve of the performers, as well as on special effects utilising such devices as flashes of gunpowder, fire, the antics of animals imitated by human performers, and stylised, rudimentary costuming. Most of these playlets would not have required more than 20 minutes to perform unless the characteristic repetitions were greatly multiplied. Their bawdy nature and irreverence offended the strict religious leaders of the capitals and repelled the urban literati with their crudity. Thus although folk theatre prepared the way for new developments in Central Asian stage activity by whetting an appetite among the public for more plays, it also created obstacles and provoked prohibitions which affected what was to follow.

Muslim religious drama. Strictly speaking, Muslim miracle plays also constituted a part of folk theatre, but their content and tone made a significant difference between the two genres and set religious drama far apart from the folk comedy found in Central Asia. Performances of mystery plays associated with the Shīʿī holy festival during the first ten days of al-Muḥarram have been reported in Central Asia relatively seldom. This is because the region has remained almost entirely Sunnī beginning from around the 4th/11th century. The earliest presentations of Muslim mystery plays anywhere are conventionally dated to the mid-18th century in Iran (P. J. Chelkowski, *Taʿziyeh: indigenous avant-garde theatre of Iran*, in *Taʿziyeh. Ritual and drama in Iran*, ed. idem, New York University Press and Soroush Press, n.p. 1979, 4). None seems to be attested in Central Asia before the late 1200s/1800s. But in at least three zones—in Turkmenistan along the Iranian frontier; in the Farghāna valley; and in the city of Bukhārā and its environs—Shīʿī ritual ceremonies connected with *ʿĀshūrā* received much attention in the 13th-14th/19th-20th centuries. Descendants of over 30,000 Persians had been transferred to the Uzbek-Tajik state of Bukhārā after Shāh Murād (1785-1800) captured and devastated Merv (Marw) in 1790. They augmented an existing core of mainly enslaved Shīʿī population already there. As late as January 1910, bloody riots erupted in the city of Bukhārā when Shīʿī processions, usually confined to the Persian quarter, moved by permission of a Shīʿī *Ḳushbegi* (Prime minister) through Sunnī sections of the city during *ʿĀshūrā*. They very likely performed mystery plays on that occasion as well. Not far from Bukhārā city was a well-known Persian garden called *ʿĀshūrākhāni*, whose name meant that it was a place connected with rites linked to the martyrdom of Ḥusayn, grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (Sadriddin Aini, *Vospominaniya*, Moscow-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1960, 1021; G. Tsvilling, *Bukharskaya smuta*, in *Srednyaya Aziya*, no. 2 [Feb. 1910], 79-95; O. A. Sukhareva, *Islam v Uzbekistane*, Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR, 1960, 27-8). In the Farghāna valley among Sunnī Muslims, performances consisted mostly of readings, recitations, and ritual feasting, but *atins* (women mourners), especially, were famed for their eloquence during *ʿĀshūrā* in dramatically rendering poetry devoted to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. Certainly, the people of southwestern Tekke Turkmen villages such as Muḥammadābād or Derguez in the holy days followed extended daily presentations of the mystery plays. Known as *shabih* ("imitation"), among them, and as *taʿziya* in Iran and India, the episodes attracted fascinated attention of all villagers. These performances, with lines chanted in Turkmen—one source who observed the plays between 1878-81 says that they were in Čaghatay—were offered by professional players who travelled from town to town during al-Muḥarram (E. O'Donovan, *The Merv Oasis*, London 1882, ii, 40-50).

The main segments of this cycle portray the suffering of Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, adolescent Ḳāsim the bridegroom, and other members of the Muslim Holy Family and their offspring and retinue. The martyrdom of Ḥusayn, in particular, the bereavement of their women, and the death of some children in the unequal battle on the field at Karbalāʾ in 60/680, comprise the central theme of the drama. Besides the sacred religious power of these episodes, tremendously effective theatrical use is made in them of physical suffering, acute thirst and hunger, personal sacrifice and loss, heroism, and inevitable human destruction. European witnesses have declared that these village presentations offered the most realistic acting the outsiders had ever seen (O'Donovan, ii, 42). Nevertheless, the producers and performers firmly rejected the notion that the *shabih* qualified as drama and theatre at all. If universal participation of those off-stage in such ritualistic performances deprives these presentations of a separated audience to watch without acting, and if that lack thus removes the requirement obligatory for theatre, the Central Asians may be justified in distinguishing such celebrations from what they otherwise call "theatre". No serious person denies that the Islamic mystery or miracle play, as it is designated in Western literature, exerts dramatic force and theatrical effect upon both Muslim and non-Muslim. Notwithstanding this fact, no vestige of this precedent, except possibly in historical tragedy, seems to have carried over into the new drama and stage that overlapped chronologically with it in Central Asia.

Modern drama and theatre. Nearly all forms of theatre known actively to the region began to coexist in the civilisation of Central Asia once the modern genre appeared. That innovation occurred separately in the three main sectors of the region only after the first decade of the 20th century. Two factors delayed adoption of the new theatre by Central Asians long after visiting troupes began touring in Tashkent and other cities of the Tsarist Russian sector. Racy folk skits had given "theatre" in Central Asia a bad name in polite society. In addition, the Armenian or Russian troupes that acted there after the Russian conquest in 1865 were not merely Christian but included women who showed their faces openly. Only after

Azerbaijani and Tatar troupes brought their all-male, Muslim casts and plays to Western Turkistan's cities were educated Central Asians able to accept European-style drama and theatre as their own institution. Central Asian women initially performed on stage in Tashkent and Samarḳand, when several actresses were recruited as trainees for the Model Uzbek Troupe established in December 1920. Women could not act publicly in Kābul theatres until 1959, much later than they went on stage in Kāshghar and Urumči in Eastern Turkistan, where, following Societ Central Asian models, they freely played roles beginning around the mid-1930s.

Modern indigenous drama and theatre of the region drew its initial audience in Samarḳand, Russian Turkistan, in January 1914. *Padarkush yakhud oḳumagan balaning hali* ("The patricide, or the plight of an uneducated boy"), written by the Samarḳand author Maḥmūd Khōdja Behbudiy (1874-1919) in 1911, provided the premier performance of a play by a local dramatist. Thereafter, the short tragedy quickly went on tour throughout the Tsarist Russian sector among Uzbeks, Tajiks, Uyghurs and others. Behbudiy's theme—the crying need for education—became a standard subject for Central Asian playwrights. Like some folk plays, these Djadīd (Reformist) dramas invariably focused upon some social problem or abuse, though the Djadīdīs would not have acknowledged any link with folk theatre. *The patricide* influenced the entire theatrical development for years to come by inspiring many young poets to begin writing for the theatre. They as a rule created didactic works meant to edify or reform the public and its behaviour, and usually avoided politics or outright comedy. Kölbay Toghïs ulï (b. and d. unknown) wrote the first Kazak-language drama, *Nadandïḳ kürbandarï* ("Victims of ignorance"), which was printed at Ufa in 1914 and performed at Orenburg in 1916, both towns being located in the Tatar-Bashkir sphere at or beyond the northern fringe of Kazak territory. The play explored serious difficulties arising among the nomads from the practice of polygamy, again blaming abuses upon a lack of enlightenment in the society. Another theme, the curse of pederasty, also persisted in early Reformist drama and literature, reflecting public concern over the prevalence of that practice in the sexually segregated urban life of Central Asia. Abdurrauf Shahidi (Shashudilin) (b. and d. unknown), a Tatar schoolteacher living in Ḳoḳan, wrote the play first published (1912) in the Turki (later, "Uzbek") language of southern Central Asia. The plot of *Māḥrāmlār* ("Forbidden to marry") dramatised the destructive effect upon young Turkistan boys of the organised homosexual circles in which many were kept by older men of means.

An acknowledged follower of what was termed *Behbudiy aḳimi* (the Behbudiy tendency), Abdullah Ḳadiriy (1894-1939), chose the second most common serious plot, after backwardness, for his drama, *Bäkhtsiz kuyaw* ("The unfortunate bridegroom"), published in 1915 and staged the same year. In it, Ḳadiriy explored the practice and often unhappy consequences of arranged or forced marriage in Central Asian life. That theme emerged, as well, in one of the earliest original plays presented in Kābul, Afghānistān, in the 1920s, in *Izdewādje idjbārī* ("A girl's forced marriage"). Similar social themes animated the modern Uyghur theatre in Kāshghar during its first period, starting after 1933. Drug addiction, polygamy, bribery, stupid pretension and forced or arranged marriage led the list of subjects in the Chinese sector of the region. Exposure to modern theatre in capitals of the Near and Middle East strengthened the conviction of reform-minded Central Asians that the theatre offered a compelling medium with which to educate and indoctrinate the woefully illiterate population (96.8% of the total, on average, in 1920) of Central Asians (E. Allworth, *Central Asian publishing and the rise of nationalism*, New York 1965, 22). In 1913, for example, the disgruntled, socially alienated Ḳoḳan poet, Hämzä Häkimzadä Niyaziy (1889-1929), visited Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Russian Azerbayjan, each of which had enjoyed lively indigenous modern stage activity beginning in the 1850s to the 1870s (Mamadzh Rakhmanov, *Khamza i uzbekskii teatr*, Tashkent: Gosudarstvennoye Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestkvennoy Literaturï UzSSr, 1960, 58, 70, 81). He returned to write several plays, similarly focused upon social abuses, during 1915-16. His works, unlike the better-known Djadīd drama, aimed not so much toward constructive persuasion and change as at exacerbating social tension and increasing civil strife. For this reason, Niyaziy remained little staged and outside the mainstream of new Central Asian dramaturgy in the initial period. But the same antagonistic quality was to earn this pro-Russian writer an ideological approval from Communist leaders in the 1920s that persisted long after his death. Niyaziy's first play, the four-act *Zähärli ḥäyat yakhud ʿishḳ ḳurbanläri* ("A poisoned life, or, victims of love"), written 1915, published by the author in 1916 at Tashkent, dramatises the anguishing forced marriage already portrayed in Central Asian poetry, fiction and drama. His version blames religion for permitting the practice. The playwright staged, directed, publicised and organised a company to act in this tragedy in Ḳoḳan's military assembly building at the end of 1915. Religious controversy closed the show and he disbanded his troupe after two performances (Mämäjan Rähmanaw, *Ozbek teätri tärikhi*, Tashkent, Uzbekistan SSR "Fän" Näshriyati, 1968, 313-16).

Plays that avoided treating contemporary life, usually historical dramas, in the beginning mainly served patriotic purposes, and often ended tragically. They started appearing about 1918, initially in the Russian-controlled sector of the region, notably in works written by another protégé of Behbudiy, the prolific Bukhārā author Abdurauf Abdurahim-oghli Fiṭrat (1886-1937) [*q.v.*]. He employed actual historic figures from early to late mediaeval times for many stage portraits. Fiṭrat composed *Begijan* in 1917, *Abu Muslim* in 1918, *Timurning saghanasi* ("Timur's mausoleum") in 1919, *Oghuzkhan* in 1919, *Abul Fayz Khan* in 1924, *ʿIṣyan-i Vose* ("Vose's uprising") in 1927, and others, either in Turki or Farsi. Like many educated authors or poets of that period, Fiṭrat was bilingual in Turkic and Iranian languages. Among his historical dramas, only the final two, the first in Turki, the second in Farsi, came out in print, though troupes staged all of them in various towns of Central Asia (V. Ya., art. *Fitrat, Abdul Rauf*, in *BSE*[1], lvii, 656; M. Rakh., art. *Fitrat*, in *Teatral'naya Entsiklopediya*', 1967, col. 475). Historical drama rapidly spread to other parts of Central Asia. Among the first modern plays staged, starting in the 1920s in Afghānistān, was *Fatḥ-i Andluz* ("The conquest of Andalus"), translated from Arabic and dealing with the Moorish invasion of southern Spain in 92/711, the very year in which Arab forces firmly planted Islam in Bukhārā. Another treatment, seen in the Russian sector of Central Asia, was *Andalis songgiläri* ("The last days of Andalus"). *The conquest of Andalus*, along with *Shahawn-i Afghān* ("The Afghān kings") were among the very first modern

dramas staged, like most Afghān plays, in the Darī language. King Amān Allāh (1919-29) [*q.v.* in Suppl.] took another step towards westernising Afghānistān in 1926 when he caused a theatre building to be constructed in the Paghman suburb of Kābul (Heuisler, *loc. cit.*). Historical themes likewise attracted Afghān dramatists in later decades, despite the risk entailed in writing about kings unflatteringly in a monarchy. Abdur Ghafur Breshna (1907-74) wrote his *Haji Mirwais Khan* about an 8th-century clan leader and khān who leads intrigues and battles for possession of the fortress of Ḳandahār (Breshna, *Haji Mirwais Khan. A historical play in 3 scenes and 17 acts*, in *Afghanistan: Historical and Cultural Quarterly*, xiii/2 [Summer 1349/1970], 59-81).

In the Russian sector, the earliest historical plays served supra-ethnic patriotic, but not nationalistic, purposes. They represented Islam at the height of expansion against Christianity or made allegories for the Central Asian situation under foreign rule. After the *coup d'état* in November 1917, and the increasing Russian Communist domination of cultural development in the sector, historical drama became explicitly civil- (i.e. class-) war-minded and anti-patriotic. Such plays were meant to depict rulers and most other past leaders as "class enemies", a procedure that persisted into following decades. An exception was made in works devoted to a few approved potentates who were usually also poets or scholars. Thus Uzbek drama furnishes an example; the Tīmūrids Ulugh-Beg (1394-1449), Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī (1441-1501), and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādishāh (1493-1530), or ʿUmar Khān's talented wife Nādira Khānim (1792-1842) has each furnished the subject for at least one full-length stage work in Uzbekistan alone. Selected historical figures served similar ends elsewhere in Central Asia.

Most active among the first prominent local Uyghur playwrights of Eastern Turkistan became the poet Abdurähim Tiläsh Ötkür (1922-), from Komul district. He wrote his initial play, "A million flowers from one drop of blood" (*Tamča ḳandin miliyon čičeklär*) (1943) in a patriotic vein. With the poet Lutpulla Mutällip (1922-45)—author of several other, ideological plays—Ötkür wrote "The Steadfast peony" (*Čing modangül*) (1943), soon staged in Urumči. And, when Ötkür served as Editor-in-Chief of *Shinjiang gazeti*, the principal East Turkistan newspaper, he published his drama, *Niyazḳiz* (1948) (Yusup Khojayef, *Čaḳmaḳ käbi hayat*, in *Bizning wätän*, no. 2 (Jan. 1983), 3; personal interview, Istanbul 1956, with Mr Polat Ḳadir, former Managing Editor, *Shinjiang gazeti*).

At Urumči and Turpan in Chinese Turkistan in 1982, Uyghur troupes staged a new historical drama, *Ḳanliḳ yillar* ("Bloody years") that had been published in the revived, modified Arabic script in 1981. The Uyghur author Tursun Yunus (b. and d. unknown), issued it in the unusual Uyghur language journal, *Shinjian sänʾiti* ("Art of Shinjiang") from Urumči. Sidiḳ Zälili, an 18th-century Uyghur poet and hero of this six-act play, affirms the identity of his country within the world of Islam when he prays for an end to religious conflict, rhetorically asking in his final speech: "When will the sectarian slaughter of the world of Islam (*Islamiyät dunyasi*) come to an end?" Commenting to Chinese critics upon his reason for creating this long historical drama, Yunus once remarked that he meant it to oppose the old Muslim sect of Īshāns which had "raised its head again in recent years in some parts of southern Shinjiang". (Tursun Yunus, *Ḳanliḳ yillar*, in *Shinjiang, sänʾiti*, no. 1 [July 1981], 24-93; Zhorhilimizning mukhbiri, *Tarikhiy dirama "ḳanliḳ yillar" sohbät yighinining khatirisi*, in *Shinjiang säʾniti*, no. 4 [1982], 123).

Alongside historical plays there came staged versions of legendary tales, heroic epics and popular romances. Mukhtar Auez ulï (1897-1961) not only gave Kazak audiences such a rendition of legendary motifs based upon oral epic and entitled his four-act work *Englik Kebek* (1922), but directed the first performance in Semey (Semipalatinsk) himself that same year (*Ḳazaḳ teatrïnïng tarikhï*, Alma Ata: Ḳazaḳ SSR-nïng "Ghïlïm" Baspasï; 1975, 353). Numerous selections of instrumental and vocal music often entered into these productions. The musician Sharahim Shaumar adapted well-loved motifs from the classical Central Asian cycle Shäshmäḳam to the text of the Turki-language scenarios written by Shämsiddin Shäräfiddinaw Khurshid (1892-1960) for *Färhäd wä Shirin* and *Läyla wä Mäjnun* (1922) (*Khurshid. Tänlängän. äsärlär*, Taskent: Uzbekistan SSR "Fän" Näshriyati, 1967, 10-11). Music added great feeling and appeal to the stage presentation of these tragic, mystical romances and made them increasingly popular throughout the region. Complete opera started relatively late. Conventionally, it is said to have begun in the Russian sector of Central Asia with *Boran* (1937, staged 1939), by Kamil Nuʿmanaw Yäshin (1909-). The work speaks about the tragic love and death of young Djorä and his beloved Nargul during the Central Asian uprising against Russian colonists in 1916. Music, based upon genuine Uzbek melodies, was arranged by the Uzbek composer M. Ashrafi and the Slavic musicologist, S. N. Vasilenko. In the Chinese sector, indigenous opera began at Kāshghar with *Rabiʿä Saʿdin* (1948), in five acts, by the Uyghur author, Ahmad Ziyaʾi (b. unknown). It, too used a traditional eastern Romeo and Juliet theme to the accompaniment of indigenous music. According to an eye-witness, audiences jammed the theatre's opera performances (A. Korsakova, *Uzbekskii opernyi teatr...*, 142-7; Ziya'i Ahmad, *Rabiʿä Saʿdin*, in *Tozomas čičeklar*, Kāshghar: Shinjiang Gazitä Idarasidä Basildi, 13 February 1948, 73-169; Ghulamettin Pahta, personal memoir, 30 January 1983).

More pleasant to audience taste in the region than opera were musical comedy and a form of serious theatre termed "musical drama" which combines spoken and sung parts for the personages. This type of theatre became institutionalised first in the Soviet Russian sector, then appeared in Afghānistān as well as Shinjiang. Ghulam Zafariy (1889-1944) wrote one of the earliest regional musical dramas, the four-act *Hälima*, 1918-19. A Tashkent cast with a woman in the lead role staged it in 1919-20. Uyghur theatre in Ḳazakstan saw its first formal Uyghur musical drama, *Änärkhan*, by Dj. Asim and A. Sadïr, and based again upon popular folk songs, staged in 1934 at Djarkent, now Panfilov, located just eleven miles from the Shinjiang frontier near Ḳuldja [*q.v.*]. Like the reformist plays of two decades earlier in Samarkand and Ḳoḳan, *Änärkhan* elaborates the unhappy consequences of a forced marriage between a young bride and an unloved older and wealthy man. In Kazakstan, among the small Uyghur population of 109,000 recorded for the USSR in 1926, a succession of Uzbek theatrical directors, producers and actors from Uzbekistan helped with the first staging of *Änärkhan*. Männan Uyghur (1897-1955) and ʿAli Ardobus Ibrahim (1900-59) infused those initial Soviet Uyghur endeavours with the brief Uzbek experience in drama. Ibrahim had also worked earlier in Stalinabad

(Dushanbe) with the fledgling modern Tajik theatre. This government-sponsored cooperation between nationalities imitated the frequent collaboration and borrowing in stage work initiated earlier by Central Asians themselves. For directing his first staging of *The patricide*, Behbudiy had brought in an Azerbayjanian, ʿAli Askar Askar-oghli (b. and d. unknown). The first decade and a half of modern Uyghur drama and theatre, including its répertoire, starting *ca.* 1933 in Shinjiang, also came to life under direct influence of the Soviet Central Asian theatre. In the folk tradition, when 19th-century puppetry came to Afghānistān from the Russian sector, it became more than simple borrowing. A puppeteers' troupe immediately formed around it and acquired the name *Madkharawi-yi Sayin* ("Clowns of Sayin", i.e. sugar) from the leading puppeteer, Sayin Ḳanad (Heuisler, *op. cit.*, 4).

Organised troupes, amateur or professional, coalesced wherever traditional or modern theatre was performed. The Ḳoḳan Khanate's next-to-the-last indigenous ruler, Khudāyār Khān (1854-8, 1862-3, 1866-75) [see KHOḲAND], maintained a well-known folk troupe at court. Itinerant troupes of performers often presented Muslim religious drama in the villages. Neither folk nor religious drama troupes could effectively adapt themselves to the modern stage when it appeared. The first Reformist dramas necessitated creation of entirely new theatre groups to perform them. At Samarḳand in 1913, Behbudiy acknowledged his difficulty in forming the initial indigenous troupe of amateurs because of lack of interest and experience. His group soon turned semi-professional through rehearsals and exposure during active road tours outside Samarḳand, playing also in Bukhārā, Ḳoḳan, Andidjan and other towns until it disbanded in 1916 (Mämäjan Rähmanaw, 281-2). The future playwright, Abdullah Awlaniy (1878-1934) established one of the earliest of these troupes, the semi-professional "Turkistan" group, basing itself on Tashkent, in 1914. Like the first Samarḳand group, "Turkistan" began assembling a répertoire around Behbudiy's *The patricide*, presenting various additional Central Asian plays and some translations from Turkish, Azerbayjani, and the like. Numbers of other private theatre groups came into being, mirroring the custom in folk theatricals. Traditionally, ensembles of clowns, buffoons, puppeteers, conjurors, stilt walkers, equilibrists, horn players, bellringers and related performers had been combined in one *käsäbä-yi sazändä* or *mihtärliḳ* (guild of musicians) rather than separated into guilds for each special art. As late as the early 20th century, this guild still possessed its own *risalä* (statute or treatise), giving a legendary history of the art's origins, naming saintly protectors, and setting forth religious duties and prayers linked to each phase of the vocational activity. In 1926, political authorities in the Soviet sector incorporated these folk performers into a "Union of Art Workers" and continued their performances under government auspices (A. Samoilovič, *Turkestanskii ustav-risolya tsekha artistov*, in *Materialy po etnografii*, Leningrad: Izdanie Gosudarstvennogo Russkogo Muzeya 1927, 54-6),. Thus sponsorship by provincial governors, added to some patronage of the *khāns* and *āmirs*, along with guild structure and tradition, gave performers in folk theatre systematic recognition and status comparable to the position enjoyed by many artisans of the region in different vocations.

In the initial modern period, amateur troupes attempting new productions regularly drew to them in various centres as actors persons who were already accomplished teachers, poets or playwrights. A Tatar author, Abdullah Badriy (b. and d. unknown), later a playwright, originally acted to acclaim the women's roles offered by Behbudiy's Samarḳand troupe. As "Bay", Abdullah Awlaniy had the lead in the first Tashkent presentation of *The patricide* on 27 February 1914. Hämzä Häkim Zadä Niyaziy acted in his drama *A poisoned life* in Ḳoḳan on 22 October 1915. Männan Uyghur and Awlaniy performed in the "Turkistan" troupe when it put on Abdullah Ḳadiriy's *The unfortunate bridegroom* in Tashkent, November 4, 1915. Ubaydullah Khodja's troupe toured all over the Farghāna valley. Following the March and November 1917 changes in Russian governments, some private theatricals had continued in Central Asia. Except for folk art shows, most of their activity was soon curtailed by political authorities. All theatre houses and properties became government-owned after 2 October 1918. By 1922, in the Russian sector among the Central Asians, only state theatre groups received approval or support, and political censorship was again firmly established. Uzbekistan's comprehensive law code in this field became a model for all Soviet Central Asia. It controlled répertoires as well as productions. The decree, enacted by the Turkistan Autonomous SSR on 16 April 1923 and codified by the successor Uzbekistan SSR on 8 February 1927, provided for Union republic censors in publishing houses and press and at all levels of local political hierarchy down to the county (*okrug*) (*Uzbekistan Idjtimaʿi Shoralar Djoralar Djomhoriyäti Ishči wä Dihkan Ḥokomätining Ḳanon wä Boyroḳlarining Yighindisi*, no. 9 [7nči Mart 1927inči yil], 199-202).

Nevertheless, the legacy of theatres, troupes and faithful audiences had already created the environment needed for enlarging modern drama performances on a regular basis. A network of new troupes and theatres quickly grew up in the Russian sector, though there were setbacks. The "Karl Marx Drama Troupe" organised there in October 1918 was led in 1921 to Bukhārā, which was at the time still semi-independent from Soviet Russia, by Männan Uyghur, to propagandise for the new régime's ideology. During a performance of Fiṭrat's *Abu Muslim* in 1922, opponents burned down the theatre and dispersed the troupe, leaving Bukhārā again without a professional theatre group for years. At Alma Ata in Kazakstan, in order to lay a stable foundation for guided theatrical growth in its area, the Kazakstan Autonomous S.S.R. Ministry of Education ordered the establishment of a Kazak Theatre Studio to accommodate 40 students from January 1933 onwards. This followed by almost a decade the founding of a studio for Uzbek theatre trainees in Moskow. The 24 young people sent to Moscow from Uzbekistan had included several who contributed greatly, as authors, directors, actors or translators, to the development of Central Asian theatre. They included the mature ʿAbdulhämid Suläyman Čolpan (1896-1938), a promising 14-year old actress Sarä Ishanturayewa (1911-), Männan Uyghur, and Äbrar Hidayätaw (1900-57). The latter subsequently achieved fame in the role of Hamlet during 21 consecutive Uzbek performances after the première in 1935. Cultural leaders dispatched another group of 17 from Uzbekistan to Baku in Azerbayjan for a theatrical apprenticeship (*Ḳazaḳ teatrīning tarikhī*, Alma Ata: Ḳazaḳ SSRnīng "Ghīlīm Baspasī, 1975, 201-2; *Uzbekskii sovetskii teatr*, i, Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka" Uzbekskoy SSR, 1966, 246-8). In 1937, there were 24 theatres, including both Russian and Uyghur ones, functioning in Kazakstan.

By 1934, the quantity of regularly performing local-language theatres in all Uzbekistan had reached its peak of 32, after which the numbers gradually subsided to a fairly constant 22 to 28. This did not include provincial Uzbek houses operated in the Kirgiz SSR at Osh and Tajik SSR at Now (Nau). The quantity of Tajikistan's theatres working in various languages rose from four in 1934 to 24 by 1941. (Mämäjan Rähmanaw, 413-5; N. L'vov, *Kirgizkii teatr. Očerk istorii*, Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo "Iskusstvo", 1953, 127; Yakov Mosheev, *My recollections of Now Raion: the status of a peripheral theater in Soviet Tajikistan*, in *Central Asian Survey*, nos. 2-3 [1982-3], 108-22; Nizam Khabiblullayewič Nurdjänaw, *Istoriya tadzhikskogo sovetskogo teatra (1917-1941 gg.)*, Dushanbe: Izdatel'stvo "Donish", 1967, 401). Thus the quantity of theatres in all Central Asia multiplied strikingly from 1913 onwards, reaching an estimated 150 official houses, government sponsored and supported, in the three sectors, during the 1950s and thereafter. The capital cities saw a division of labour among serious drama theatres, musical drama houses, opera, and comedy or children's playhouses, as well as between the major languages and traditions. In 1983, Tashkent possessed nine of Uzbekistan's 28 active theatres. Leading administrators in the three principal theatrical organisations of Uzbekistan in 1983 were the drama critics and historians, Professor Häfiz Sh. Äbdusämätaw (1925-), former Editor of *Shärk yulduzi*, the principal Uzbek journal publishing drama, and Director of the Hämza Institute for the Arts of the Ministry of Culture, Uzbekistan SSR; Professor Mämädjan R. Rähmanaw (1914-), Rector of the Ostrovsky Tashkent Theatre Arts Institute, the main training centre for theatre arts; Sara Ishanturayeva, Bähriddin Näsriddinaw and other officers of the sole membership organisation for stage, the Uzbekistan Theatre Society (*Djämiyäat*). The vigour of the theatrical institution implied a constant need for an attractive repertory, and, especially, for many original indigenous plays. The numbers of original Central Asian stage works written had risen from about 20 altogether by the end of 1916 to many hundreds by the 1980s. New Uzbek scripts of varying quality were being received at the rate of some 25 annually in the early 1980s. Yet critics and historians spoke soberly at the same time about a decline in drama, attributed generally to the emergence of radio, television and new popular music. Most keenly missed were good serious plays about contemporary subjects. Even before the strong growth of mass media in broadcasting, Central Asian theatre had endured slumps in attendance to a marked degree. Many auditoria remained nearly empty night after night in the 1920s and 1930s owing to public indifference to the offerings being brought to the stage, especially to those heavily ideological in content.

From the beginning, modern Central Asian drama bore three distinct traits: it was socially or politically didactic; purely entertaining and comic; or the plays were historical and patriotic, sometimes legendary. Newer drama combined some of these characteristics, remaining resolutely instructive in the Russian and Chinese sectors, but more balanced in spirit and aims in Afghänistän until the late 1970s. The theatre of all three sectors began to explore contemporary life seriously, in particular, after an opening period that was notably tendentious. Since the coming of Communist régimes to the three sectors, the nature of drama has shifted remarkably in the direction of propagandising political-social directives from the central authorities. In each case, the acknowledged ideological base is a kind of official Marxism. As a result, plays written and staged in the period following that political change in each sector have become at first outspokenly rhetorical and sloganeering. Themes announced by political authorities for each period can be found reflected in the dramaturgy and repertories. In addition, plays have persistently enunciated such principles as atheism, espoused by Communist régimes. Many Central Asian stage works originating in the Russian sector, far more than in the others, have openly and specifically opposed the religion of Islam. This paralleled the intensification of political and social tensions in the USSR in the 1930s, when Central Asian plays, too, mirrored the times. Zinnat Fathullin (1903-) wrote a drama typical of the period in 1932 entitled *Nikab yirtildi* ("The mask torn away"), one which is engrossed with a search for "enemies" ostensibly hidden inside Central Asian society. A related obsession with "external enemies" and "traitors" coloured political plays such as *Ḳanli särab* ("Bloody mirage") (1961-4) in two acts and ten scenes, by Sarwar Äzimaw (1923-), a political activist and diplomat.

In the 1960s, dramas with a more human content began to appear increasingly. It was indicative of this evolution that Bähram Rähmanaw (1915-61) turned to themes such as *Yuräk sirläri* ("Secrets of the heart") (1953), a play that ignored political topics and simply concentrated upon the private lives of its people. Rähmanaw, a Communist Party member, headed the Administration for Art Affairs in Uzbekistan from 1953-5; thereafter, he became Director of the Scientific Research Institute for Studies of the Arts, and finally, in 1958, took the post of First Secretary of the powerful government-controlled Union of Writers of Uzbekistan. Another influential intellectual, Izzat Sultan (1910-), in his play *Iman* addressed the ethical dilemma put before a family that finds a dishonest scholar in its midst. The senior Uzbek poet and playwright, Rähmätullä Atäḳoziyew Uyghun (1905-), soon made audiences face the crucial test of social and political ethics in Soviet Central Asia. He looked, in his play *Dostlär* ("Friends") (1961), at the havoc raised among farmers by the Stalinist terror and false denunciations that had resulted in unlawful treatment to the extremes of execution and exile. For Central Asian theatre this was a pointed theme, for many of the important earlier playwrights and other theatre people, including the Kazaks Mir Djaḳib Duwlat-ulï (1885-1937) and Säken Sadvaḳas Seyfullah-ulï (1894-1937) and the Uzbeks Čolpan, Fiṭrat, Ḳadiriy, Ziya Said (1901-38) and Zafariy, had lost their lives in the political repression.

The Kirgiz dramatist and novelist, Čingiz Äytmätaw (1928-) and the Kazak author, Kaltay Muḥammadjanaw (1928-), joined in examining that very controversial ethical subject. They translated their Kazak language drama, *Köktöbedegï kezdesu* ("Mountain top encounter") (1972) based upon a story by Äytmätaw, into Russian as *Voskhozhdenie na Fudziyamu* ("The ascent of Mount Fuji") and gave it its première in Moscow in 1973. They recreated the tension in society over collective indifference and guilt toward innocent victims of political repression and social discrimination. But the writers in the end concern themselves more forcefully with basic problems of individual honesty and responsibility for personal actions and outlook.

After those ethical dramas during the 1970s-1980s in the Soviet sector, historical tragedy and domestic comedy seemed to predominate, leaving assertively political and ideological plays less in the forefront that

they had been previously. Yāshin returned to the story of climactic events in early 20th-century Central Asian history with a three-act musical drama he called *Inkilab tangi (Bukhara)* ("Dawn of the Revolution: Bukhārā"), published in 1973. Its *dramatis personae* included the Bolshevik dictator Vladimir I. Lenin, the Young Bukharan politician Fazil Khodjäyew, the last Amīr of Bukhārā Saʿīd ʿĀlimkhān and other historical figures, portrayed on stage with a cinematic flashback technique. Yāshin represents the prominent old-time and doctrinaire Central Asian dramatists educated almost entirely in the Soviet period. Like Rähmanaw, he held key positions in the administration of the theatrical arts and served as Secretary of the Government's Union of Writers in Uzbekistan. The contribution of these playwrights hardly lay in the comic genre.

Comedy originally defined Central Asian theatre, for it was the essence of folk skits and acts long before and well after religious or modern drama appeared on the scene. In the early decades of the 20th century, both the Djadīds and the very first Communist Soviet playwrights, as well as Afghān writers, initially for the most part rejected light comedy. They believed their message to be paramount and serious. In the first decade, the official bulletin, *Ishtirakiyun*, published by the Central Committee of the Turkistan Autonomous S.S.R. at Tashkent, demanded that theatre cease to be "a place of amusement and love intrigues", and it specifically criticised attempts to present "diverting comedy" (*Ishtirakiyun*, 11 December 1919, 12 October 1920). Consequently, from the 1920s to the 1950s in Soviet Central Asian theatre, most stage comedy spoke with a heavy satirical voice. Hämid Ghulam (1919-) wrote *Tashbaltä ʿashik* ("Tashbaltä in love") (1962), a musical sharply attacking religion and the practice of Islam in Central Asia. Folk humour incorporated in modern plays from the 1920s onward repeatedly conformed to the vision of comedy preferred by cultural managers. The Uyghur dramatist Yusufbek Muhlisi (1920-), who emigrated from the Chinese sector to Soviet Central Asia at about the same time as other writers, sc. around 1964, provided Uyghur performers in Kazakstan and Uzbekistan with a later specimen of this genre. Muhlisi's *Näsriddin Äpändim* (1966), a musical staged in 1967 at Alma Ata, adapted several anecdotes from the widely popular Nasriddin tradition to fashion, in the Uyghur idiom, what critics called an anti-Islamic satirical comedy. (Akhmedzhan Kadyrov, *Godī stanovleniya (Iz istorii uygurskogo teatra muzīkal'noy komedii)* Alma Ata: Izdatel'stvo "Zhalyn", 1978, 62-3).

Subtler, often lighter, humour characterised more of the works written later in the 1960s by younger dramatists. The new generation of playwrights interests itself directly in personal feelings, contemporary values and ways of life. Most notable in Uzbekistan in the 1970s-80s became Olmäs Umärbekaw (1934-) and Äbdukähhar Ibrähimaw (1939-), both natives of Tashkent. Ibrähimaw's initial play, *Birinči bosä* ("First kiss") (1969), which the author calls "a lyric drama", ran for 500 performances between 1971-5 on the "Young Guard Theatre" stage in Tashkent. The comedy focuses exclusively upon the personal motives, lives and loves of several teenagers, shown as growing into young adulthood by the end of the second and final act. Ibrähimaw's unideological but bitter comedy, the two-act *Ärrä* ("The saw"), 1970, staged in the Farghana Oblast Theatre, is about the Mänsuraw family. It dramatises the character and ideals of Murad, the head of the family. He is an influential medical administrator and professor who is the cutting "saw" of the play Mänsuraw is convinced that everyone acts only out of selfishness or, out of what is closely related, a sense of obligation rooted in the principle of *quid pro quo.* He disallows the elements of affection, generosity, spontaneity and similar affirmative forces in human relationships. Ibrähimaw's two-act play *Meni äytdi demäng* ("Not a word about me") satirises a hearty but impervious country town borough politician and educator, Häshim-äkä. His callousness, like that of Professor Mänsuraw in *The saw*, permits any positive human urge to wither and die. This is symbolised in *Not a word...* by the corruption and demoralisation of the borough's best, most generous part-time gardener, a roofer, Ali, whose small courtyard plot has decorated, pleased and fed the whole neighbourhood well up until he acquires false values from a chain of irresponsible bureaucrats, including Häshimäkä, and allows the lush garden to dry up. Ibrähimaw's later play, *Tusmal* ("Supposition"), ran at the Samarkand Alimdjan Uzbek Drama Theatre in 1983, and another one, *Čakana säwda* ("Retail trade"), was published in 1984. Six of Ibrähimaw's plays, including *First kiss, The saw* and *Not a word about me*, came out in Russian translation in 1982. (Äbdukähhar Ibrähimaw, *Birinči bosä. Ärrä. P'esälär*, Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam namidägi Ädäbiyat wä Sänʿät Näshriyati, 1978; Abdukakhkhar Ibragimov, *Obo mne ni slova. P'esy*, translated from the Uzbek, Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1982; *Čakana säwda*, in *Shärk yulduzi*, no. 8 [Aug. 1984], 73-99; Äbdukahhar Ibrähinaw, *Tusmal. P'esälär*, Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam namidägi Äbdäbiyat wä Sänʾat Näshriyati, 1985). Crimean Tatars, Tajiks and Turkmens also contributed new plays.

After the earliest days of modern Central Asian theatre, translations and borrowings from plays written outside the region were frequently published in Central Asian languages and included in the repertory. Although Tsarist Central Asians originated their own earliest dramas, the relatively few local productions soon required supplementing by adaptations from playwrights of Azerbayjan, Tatarstan and Turkey in order to make an adequate répertoire available. Into Afghānistān, modern stage plays first came from the Arabic, English or Turkish. To Shinjiang in the 1930s, the active theatre of Soviet Central Asia supplied numbers of its plays, easily adapted to the linguistic needs of Uyghur and Kazak actors and audiences. Throughout the region, the range of dramaturgy widened further with renditions of European and Russian dramas. Molière's comedies, especially *L'Avare, Le Médecin malgré lui, Georges Dandin* and *Les fourberies de Scapin* became perhaps the most popular in Soviet Central Asia and Afghānistān, as they had been in Egypt and Turkey. Shakespeare, most often represented by *Hamlet, The merchant of Venice* and *Othello*, appeared nearly everywhere. Čolpan made the first published Uzbek translation of *Hamlet* in 1934. It was staged, along with *Othello*, in Tashkent in the mid-30s. By the 1960s and 1970s, Afghānistān's city theatres were staging recent American plays by Eugene O'Neill (*Desire under the elms*), Tennessee Williams (*The glass menagerie*), Edward Albee (*The zoo story*) and others. Translations of standard Russian plays seen in Soviet Central Asia included Gogol's comedy, *The Inspector-General*, Ostrovsky's melodrama, *Thunderstorm*, Gorky's ideological *Yegor Buličev and others*, and many dozens of works from Soviet Russian dramatists concerning selected political and historical themes. The importance of foreign sources for the Central Asian reper-

tory is emphasised in the fact that translations supplied around one-half of the 130 to 140 plays staged each year in Uzbekistan as late as the early 1980s (*Ozbekistan ädäbiyati wä sänʿäti*, no. 8 [19 February 1982] 4, 7).

Bibliography: A critical bibliography of Central Asian theatre and drama has not been published. Selected bibliographies are found in E. Allworth, *Drama and theater of the Russian East: Transcaucasus, Tatarstan, Central Asia*, in *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, xvii/2 (December 1983), 151-60; a short version of the same survey appears in R. Fleshman (ed.), *Theatrical movement: a bibliographical anthology*, New Orleans 1986; in Soviet Central Asia some lists for subdivisions of the region are in print: *Uzbekskoy iskusstvo (Teatr, muzyka, kino na stranitsakh pečati). Bibliografičeskii ukazatel'*, Tashkent 1936 [in Uzbek]; E. Baybulov *et alii*, *Saken Seyfuliin. (Ukazatel' literatury k 70-letiyu so dnia rozhdeniya)*, Alma Ata 1965; editions of plays: Mahmud Khōdja Behbudiy, *The patricide or the plight of an uneducated boy*, in *Ural-Altaic Yearbook*, lviii (1986), 65-96; Čingiz Äitmatov and Kaltai Mukhamedzhanov, *The ascent of Mount Fuji*, New York 1975; Abdulla Kakhar, *Silk Suzanei*, in *Soviet Literature*, no. 8 (1958), 43-98; writings about drama and theatre: L. Hughes, *The Soviet theatre in Central Asia*, in *Asia*, xxxix/10 (October 1934), 590-3; Nabi Ganiev, *Fifteen years of the Khamza Uzbek Academic Dramatic Theater*, in *Sovietland*, no. 3 (1935), 25-7, 42; *Drama in the Central Asian Republics and centralization of art*, in *Bull. of the Inst. for the Study of the History and Culture of the USSR*, i/3 (June 1954), 37-40; K. Stolz, *Le théâtre afghan*, in *Afghanistan* (Kābul), ix/3 (1954) 34-44; O. Spies, *Türkisches Puppentheater. Versuch einer Geschichte des Puppentheaters im Morgenland*, Emsdetten 1959, 41-4; A. Bombaci, *On ancient Turkish dramatic performances*, in *Uralic and Altaic Series*, xxiii (1963), 81-117; H. Wilfrid Brands, *"Askiya", ein wenig bekanntes Genre des usbekischen Volksdichtung*, in *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, xliii (1971), 100-6; M. N. Kadyrov, *Women's Folk Theatre in Uzbekistan*, in *Trudî VII Meždunarodnyi kongress antropologičeskikh i etnografičeskikh nauk*, vi (Moscow 1969), 94-9; N. Kh. Nurdzhanov, *Old Tadjik pantomimes*, in *ibid.*, vi, 87-93; Allworth, *The beginnings of the modern Turkestanian theater*, in *Slavic Review*, xxiii/4 (December 1964), 676-87; idem, *Drama and the theater*, in *Uzbek Literary Politics*, 1964, 215-35; idem, *Reform and revolution in early Uzbek drama*, in *Central Asian Review*, xii/2 (1964), 86-96; idem, *A document about the cultural life of Soviet Uzbeks outside their SSR*, in *Central Asian Survey*, i/2-3 (1982-3), 103-25; idem, *Mahmud Khoja Behbudiy*, in *Encycl. of World Literature in the Twentieth Century*, i, 1981, 219; idem, *Abdalrauf Fitrat*, in *ibid.*, ii, 1982, 143-4; idem, *Murder as metaphor in the first Central Asian drama*, in *UAYb*, lviii (1986), 65-97; Imin Äkhmidi *et alii*, *Möljär tagh boranliri*, Urumči 1985; Säypidin Äzizi, *Amannisakhan (Tarikhiy diramma)*, Beijing 1983; Äkhmätjan Ḳadiraw (compiler), *P'esilar (Uyghur dramaturgliri p'esilirining toplimi)*, Alma Ata 1978. (E. ALLWORTH)

6. In Muslim India and Pakistan.

The classical Sanskrit drama in India had reached its apogee two centuries before the first Muslim penetration. Its gradual decline—often blamed partly on the religious objections of the new Muslim rulers—was probably due as much to linguistic developments, through the mediaeval local Prākrits to the modern regional languages. But whilst Sanskrit drama, which was essentially court theatre, died out, popular vernacular drama prospered. Strolling players went from village to village performing various types of plays, pageants, monologues or other entertainment (Haywood, 294-6), often on familiar Hindu themes such as Krishna and Rādhā, with singing, dancing and, at times, coarse humour. Among the actors were Muslims: female parts were performed by men or boys.

Some efforts were made in the 17th and 18th centuries to write plays in various languages such as Hindi, Bengali, Assamese and Gujarati of literary, and not merely of entertainment value. But there is no doubt that it was the influence of European—especially British—drama which provided the main impetus for the growth of a new interest in the theatre, though the heritage, both classical and popular, played part. Towards the end of the 19th century, English plays were performed in Calcutta, and two were performed in Bengali translation (Guha Thakurta, 40 ff.). Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1833 led to the spread of English higher education in India. This in its turn led to the study, then the translation or adaptation of English plays, and especially of Shakespeare. R. K. Yajnik, 270-8, lists 200 versions of 29 Shakespeare plays in nine languages between 1864 and 1919. These languages are Urdu-Hindustani, Hindi, Panjabi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil, Telegu and Kanarese. In this period, the Indian government regarded Hindustani as a lingua franca and official language which could be written in either Persian or Devanagari script, depending largely on whether one was a Muslim or Hindu. People spoke of High Urdu and High Hindi, but the distinction was one of vocabulary, style and script rather than grammar. The entry of Muslims into playwriting led to the development of Urdu or Hindustani drama. Very occasionally, they used other scripts such as Devanagari or Gujarati. However, it is fair to say that practically all their plays—certainly all plays of note—were written and published in the Persian script, and may fairly be described as Urdu drama.

The form of popular drama which appealed to Muslims was called Rahas (cf. Sanskrit *rāsa* "sentiment", a technical term of the Classical dramaturgy), which was on Hindu themes and included singing and dancing and formed a sort of operetta. This became popular in Lucknow, thanks to the patronage of the last Nawwāb of Awadh (Oudh.), Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh, who himself wrote a number of them. It was there that what is considered as the first real Urdu drama, Amānat's *Indar Sabhā*, was performed in 1853. So successful was it that it was translated into several languages and performed all over the subcontinent. The scene is Indar (Indra)'s court, and the play recounts how a peri falls in love with a mortal, and finally wins Indar's approval. Songs predominate in this play, which is almost entirely in verse. The curtain is lowered and then raised again whenever a new character comes on stage, and characters announce their identity, as in English Miracle plays.

In some strange way, this play heralded the development of modern drama in several Indian languages. The commercial instincts of the Parsis led to the establishing of a number of theatrical companies in Bombay, but they soon opted for Urdu, rather than Gujarati, Marathi or Hindi, as the language medium. This new drama thrived until the first quarter of the 20th century, and not only did companies tour outside Bombay, but new companies were formed in distant cities such as Dihlī and Benares. Drama prospered rather as it did in

Elizabethan England. Each company had a resident playwright, most of them Muslims. Plots were often taken from Islamic Persian or Indian folk-lore or history, but contemporary social themes gradually emerged. The leading dramatist was Āghā Ḥashar Kāshmīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Plays were largely in verse, but rhymed prose, and increasingly prose, were also used. Plays by Shakespeare were adapted. There were sub-plots and many short scenes, and the general tone tended to be melodramatic.

This Urdu drama was certainly lively, but it was decried by purists on both moral and literary grounds. Its influence on drama in other languages, such as Hindi and Gujarati, has often been deplored (Tindal, 180-1, and Munshi, 304-5).

The theatre declined after the First World War, due to the emergence of the cinema, and especially of the talkies. Āghā Ḥashar became a film-star in Calcutta, and then founded his own film company in Lahore. On the other hand, radio, and even more, television, have given a new impetus to drama. Thus in Urdu, Mīrzā Adīb (b. 1914), who has specialised in one-act plays on social themes, has worked for Radio Pakistan. Imtiyāz ʿAlī Tādj, (1900-70), who wrote for radio and films, excelled in comedy. His *chef d'oeuvre* is *Anārkalī*. On the other hand, ʿIshrat Raḥmānī, who is best-known as a critic and editor of dramas, has continued the tradition of translation of Western plays, with *Hansī hansī meñ* (Brandon Thomas's farce, *Charlie's Aunt*) and *Ēk ḥamām māñ* (Booth Tarkington's *Clarence*).

The limited scope of this article precludes reference to some leading dramatists with no Islamic connections, particularly in Bengali, Marathi and Hindi. Information on them will be found in the works listed in the *Bibl.* There has not yet been sufficient theatrical activity to warrant reference to regional languages of Pakistan such as Sindhi and Pashto.

Panjabi, however, spoken in adjacent provinces of India and Pakistan, is a special case. The Gurmukhi script, a variety of Devanagari, is used by Sikhs, most of whom live in India; whilst the Arabic-Persian script has long been used by Muslims, and has been encouraged by the Pakistan Government. Plays have been written and published in both scripts. They are not numerous, but Mohan Singh, 87-8, lists 6 prose plays, 6 translations or adaptations from Shakespeare, and 3 from Sanskrit.

Bibliography: The following should be supplemented by reference to the art. ĀGHĀ ḤASHAR KĀSHMĪRĪ, and the footnotes in J. A. Haywood, *Urdu drama—origins and early development*, in *Iran and Islam. In memory of Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 293-302.

General works include R. K. Yajnik, *The Indian theatre*, London 1933, which has much to say about Western influence, especially of Shakespeare. Hemendra Nath Das Gupta, The *Indian Stage*, 4 vols., Calcutta 1934-44, despite its title, deals mostly with Bengali drama, though there are useful chapters on other languages and on the English theatre in Calcutta. For classical Sanskrit drama, see Biswanath Bhattacharya, *Sanskrit drama and dramaturgy*, Varanasi [Benares] 1974; and, for a more popular account, E. P. Horrowitz, *The Indian theatre, a brief survey of the Sanskrit drama*, Glasgow 1912, repr. New York 1967, which aims to convey the spirit and atmosphere rather than factual details. For drama in various languages, the following may be consulted: K. B. Jindal, *A history of Hindi literature*, 1955, 271-88; Kanayalal M. Munshi, *Gujarat and its literature*, London, Calcutta, etc., 1935, 248-9, 304-5, 373; P. Guha Thakurta, *The Bengali drama, its origin and development*, London 1930. For Urdu drama. Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*. Allahabad 1927, 346-67, lists many plays by Āghā Ḥashar Kāshmīrī and his contemporaries. Collections of the works of many of them have been published by Madjlis-i-Taraḳḳī-yi-Urdū in Lahore. Of more recent dramatists, Mīrzā Adīb's *Lahū awr ḳālīn—čand khēl*[2], Lahore 1959, contains 13 one-act plays. Of ʿIshrat Raḥmānī's translations, *Hansī hansī māñ* was published in Lahore 1964, and *Ēk ḥamām meñ*, in Lahore n.d. For Panjabi drama, see Mohan Singh, *A history of Panjabi literature*[2], Amritsar 1956. (J. A. HAYWOOD)

MĀSSA (Berber Masst), the name of a small Berber tribe of the Sūs of Morocco, from which comes the name of the place where it is settled, some 30 miles south of Agadir at the mouth of the Wādī Māssa; the latter is probably the *flumen Masatat* mentioned by Pliny the Elder (v. 9) to the north of the *flumen Darat*, the modern Wādī Darʿa, and the *Masata* of the geographer would correspond to the modern *ahl Māssa*.

The name Māssa is associated with the first Arab conquest of Morocco: according to legend, it was on the shore there that, after conquering the Sūs, ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ drove his steed into the waves of the Atlantic, calling God to witness that there were no more lands to conquer on the west. In any case, Māssa appears very early as an important religious and commercial centre. Al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 360, tr. Wiet, 226) notes that the harbour was a busy one, where ships built at al-Ubulla and "sewn" (i.e. not nailed) anchored, and mentions a *ribāṭ* already renowned, that of Bahlūl. Al-Bakrī (*Descr. de l'Afrique septentrionale*, 306) and al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, 240) mention the harbour of Māssṭ; al-Bakrī emphasizes the fame of the *ribāṭ* and the importance of the fairs held there. Ibn Khaldūn devotes several passages (*Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 181, 279) to the *ribāṭ* of Māssa, where according to popular belief the expected Mahdī [*q.v.*] will appear; this belief induced many devout people to go and settle in this *ribāṭ* and also sent many adventures there to raise rebellions.

Towards the middle of the 15th century A.D., the Portuguese began to become interested in Māssa, where they very soon acquired a privileged position (see R. Ricard, *Études sur l'histoire des Portugais au Maroc*, Coimbra 1953, 133, 136) and, at the opening of the 16th century, the Genoese came there to purchase gold, wax, cow and goat hides, lac and indigo.

Towards the end of the 15th century, the religious movement begun by al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*] made Māssa one of the great *zāwiyas* of Sūs, a remarkable centre for culture and piety (see M. Hajji, *L'activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque Saʿdide*, Rabat 1976-7, ii, 626-8 and index). In the middle of the 9th/16th century, Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 87-9) describes Māssa as a group of three little towns surrounded by a drystone wall in the middle of a forest of palmtrees; the inhabitants were agriculturists and turned the rising of the waters of the Wādī to their advantage. Outside the town on the seashore was a highly venerated "temple", from which the Mahdī was to come; a peculiar feature of it was that the little bays in it were formed of ribs of whalebone. The sea actually throws up many cetaceans on this coast and ambergris was collected here; local legend moreover says that it was on the shore of Māssa that Jonah was cast up by the whale.

After the fall of the Saʿdīds, the development of the

Marabout principality of Tazerwalt again made Māssa a commercial centre. The port was frequented by Europeans, but it was soon supplanted by that of Agadir. The rapid decline of the principality of Tazerwalt and the steadily increasing influence of the central Moroccan power finally destroyed almost completely any religious and economic importance of Māssa.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, tr. de Slane, ii, 201-202; R. Basset, *Relation de Sidi Brahim de Massat*, Paris 1883; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inedits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, index; R. Montagne, *Une tribu berbère du Sud Marocain: Massat*, in *Hespéris*, iv (1924), 357-403; D. Jacques-Meunié, *Le Maroc saharien des origines à 1670*, Paris 1982, index.

(G. S. Colin*)

MASSALAJEM, the name given to two Islamic settlements in North-West Madagascar: Old Massalajem, otherwise Langani, is also known as Nossi Manja, and the daughter settlement of New Massalajem, also known as Boeny (Swa. correctly Bweni). The original town is reputed to have been founded from Kilwa [*q.v.*], and to have had regular trade relations with it and with Malindi and Pate, until its destruction by the Sakalava at the end of the 18th century. Sherds found there do not antedate the 14th century. New Massalajem served the Sakalava first as their northern capital, until they moved to Majunga, also a town of Islamic origin.

Bibliography: H. Deschamps, *Histoire de Madagascar*², Paris 1961; M. C. Poirier, *A propos de quelques ruines arabes et persanes*, in *Bulletin de l'Académie Malgache*, Tananarive, n.s. xxv (1942-3); P. M. Vérin, *Les recherches archéologiques à Madagascar*, in *Azania*, i (Nairobi 1966); idem, *Histoire ancienne du Nord-Ouest de Madagascar*, numéro spécial, *Taloha* 5, *Revue du Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie*, University of Madagascar, Tananarive 1972.

(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

AL-**MAṢṢĪṢA,** the Arabic form of the classical Mopsuestis, Byzantine Greek form Μαμίστρα, Syriac Maṣīṣtā, Armenian Msis, Ottoman Tkish. Miṣṣīṣ. or Missīs, modern Tkish. Misis, a town of Cilicia on the western or right bank of the Djayhān [*q.v.*], 18 miles/27 km. to the east of Adana [*q.v.*] and now in the modern *vilayet* of Adana.

In antiquity it was called Μόψου ἑστία, a name, which (like that of Μόψου κρήνη in the Cilician passes) is derived from the cult of the legendary seer Mopsos (cf. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.*, i/2², § 483). In ancient times, the town was chiefly famous for its bishop Theodorus (d. 428), the teacher of Nestorius and friend of the suffragan bishop and inventor of the Armenian alphabet, Mashtᶜocᶜ.

The emperor Heraclius is said to have removed the inhabitants and laid waste the district between Antioch and Mopsuestia on the advance of the Arabs, in order to create a desert zone between them (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2396; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* 163: between al-Iskandarūn and Ṭarsūs), and under the Umayyads all the towns taken by the Arabs from al-Maṣṣīṣa to the fourth Armenia (Malatya) are said to have been left unfortified and uninhabited as a result of the inroads of the Mardaites (Theophanus, ed. de Boor, i, 363, 17). According to Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Azdī (in al-Balādhurī, 164), the Arabs conquered al-Maṣṣīṣa and Ṭarsūs under Abū ᶜUbayda, according to others under Maysara b. Masrūk, who was sent by him and who thereafter advanced as far as Zanda (in 16/637: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii, 805, § 311). Muᶜāwiya, on his campaign against ᶜAmmūriyya in 25/645-6, found all the fortresses abandoned between Anṭakiya and Ṭarsūs (see above). According to the *Maghāzī Muᶜāwiya*, he himself destroyed all the Byzantine fortresses up to Anṭākiya in 31/651-2 on his return from Darawliyya (Δορύλαιον in Phrygia) (al-Balādhūrī, 164-5). After the Syrian rebellion against ᶜAbd al-Malik, the emperor Constantine IV Pogonatos in 65/684-5 advanced against the town and regained it (al-Yaᶜkūbī, ii, 321). Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam in 77/696 marched against Mardj al-Shaḥm between Malaṭya and al-Maṣṣīṣa (al-Yaᶜkūbī, ii, 337). It was only in 84/703 that ᶜAbd al-Malik's son ᶜAbd Allāh retook the town and had the citadel rebuilt on its old foundations (al-Balādhurī, 165; al-Yaᶜkubī, ii, 466; al-Wākidī, in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 127; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 398; Theophanus, *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, 372, 4; Michael Syrus, tr. Chabot, ii, 477; Elias Nisiben, *Opus chronolog.*, ed. Brooks, 156, tr. 75; *Script. Syri, chronica minora*, ed. Guidi, 232. tr., 176, under 1015 Sel. year; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 472). In the following year, he installed a garrison in the fortress, including 300 specially picked soldiers, and built a mosque on the citadel hill (Tall al-Ḥiṣn); a Christian church was turned into a granary (*huryun*, *huryā* = *horreum*, *horrea*; al-Balādhurī, 165; Ibn al-Shiḥna, ed. Beirut, 179). To the same event no doubt refers the wrongly-dated reference in the *Chronicle* of the Armenian Samuel of Ani of the year 692 A.D. to the fortification with strong walls of the town of "Mamestia, i.e. Msis" by the Muslims under ᶜAbd al-Malik (*Ratio temporum usque and suam aetatem presbyteri Samuelis Aniensis*, in Euseb. Pamphil., *Chron.*, ed. A. Mai and I. Zohrab, Mediolani 1818, App. 57; Alishan, *Sissouan*, 286). Every year, from 1,500 to 2,000 men of the advance troops (*ṭawāliᶜ*) of Anṭākiya used to winter in the town. According to Michael Syrus (tr. Chabot, iii, 478), ᶜAbd al-Malik died in 1017 Sel. (705 A.D.) in al-Maṣṣīṣa.

ᶜUmar II is said to have intended to destroy the town and all the fortifications between it and Antioch and to have been either prevented by his own death (al-Balādhurī, 167) or dissuaded by his advisers; according to this version, he then had a large mosque built in the suburb of Kafarbayya in which there was a cistern with his inscription. It was called the "Citadel Mosque" and kept up till the time of al-Muᶜtaṣim (al-Balādhurī, 165; but Kafarbayya was probably not really built till the time of al-Mahdī or Hārūn al-Rashīd, see below). Yazīd b. Djubayr ('Αζιδος ὁ τον χουνεί (in 85/704 attacked Sīs (τὸ Σίσιον κάρτρον, in al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr: Sūsana in the *nāḥiya* of al-Maṣṣīṣa) but was driven off by Heraclius, the emperor's brother (Theophanus, ed. de Boor, 372, 23: A. M. 6196; according to al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1185, and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 419, wrongly not till 87 A.H.). Hishām built the suburb (*al-rabaḍ*), Marwān II the quarter of al-Khuṣūṣ east of the Djayhān, which he surrounded with a wall with a wooden door and a ditch. The bridge of Djisr al-Walīd between al-Maṣṣīṣa and Adhana, 9 *mīls* from the former, was built in 125/742-3 and restored in 225/840 by al-Muᶜtaṣim (al-Balādhurī, 168; Yākūt, *Muᶜdjam*, ii, 82; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid*, ed. Juynboll, i, 255). In the first half of the 2nd/8th century the caliphs al-Walīd II and Yazīd III brought the gipsy tribe of the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], who had been deported to Baṣra by Muᶜāwiya in 50/670, and settled them with great herds of buffalo in the region of al-Maṣṣīṣa in order to fight the plague of lions in the district of the Djabal al-Lukkām (al-Balādhurī, 168; De Goeje, *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Zigeuners*, Leiden 1875, 17-22).

The first ʿAbbāsid, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, on his accession strengthened the garrison by 400 men, to whom he gave lands; the same estates were later allotted to them by al-Manṣūr. The latter in 139/756-7 restored the wall, which had been damaged by an earthquake in the preceding year, and increased with 8,000 settlers the much diminished population of the town, which he called al-Maʿmūra (al-Balādhurī, 166; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 382; Yāḳūt, iv, 579, s.v. al-Maʿmūriyya; Ibn Shiḥna, 179). On the site of a heathen temple, he built a large mosque which far surpassed the mosque of ʿUmar in size. When ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir was governor of the West (i.e. in 211/826), it was enlarged by al-Maʾmūn. Al-Manṣūr increased the garrison to 1,000 men and settled in the town the inhabitants of al-Khuṣūṣ, Persians, Slavs and Christian Arabs (Nabataeans), whom Marwān had transplanted thither (see above), and gave them allotments of land. It is probably to the same event that the story refers that Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, when in the ʿAbbāsid period the inhabitants of al-Maṣṣīṣa, harassed by the Byzantines, resolved to migrate, sent Djibrīl b. Yaḥyā al-Badjalī al-Khurāsānī in 140/757-8 to rebuild the town and settle it with Muslim inhabitants (al-Balādhurī, 166; according to al-Ṭabarī, ii, 135 in the year 141). Under al-Mahdī, the garrison was increased to 2,000; in addition, there was the Anṭākiya corps of almost the same size which wintered here regularly until Sālim of Burullus became their *wālī* and increased the garrison by 500 men instead. There is a brief reference in the Syriac inscription of ʿEnesh to a raid by al-Mahdī to the Djayḥan (Syr. Giḥōn) in 780 A.D. (1091 Sel; Chabot, in *JA*, ser. 9, xvi [1900], 287; Pognon, *Inscr. semit. de la Syrie et de la Mésop.*, 148-50, no. 84). Hārūn al-Rashīd built Kafarbayya or, according to another story, altered the plans for this suburb prepared by al-Mahdī and fortified it with a ditch; he also built walls which were only completed after his death by al-Muʿtaṣim. In 187/803 an earthquake laid waste the town (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 688). In the following year, the Byzantines invaded and pillaged the region of al-Maṣṣīṣa and ʿAyn Zarba and carried off the inhabitants of Ṭarsūs into captivity, whereupon Hārūn al-Rashīd attacked and defeated them (Michael Syrus, iii, 16). According to al-Ṭabarī (iii, 709) and Ibn al-Athīr (vi, 135), the Byzantines in 190/806 invaded ʿAyn Zarba and Kanīsat al-Sawdāʾ and took prisoners there; but the people of al-Maṣṣīṣa regained all their loot from them. If, as it seems, the curious story in the Byzantine chroniclers (Theophanes, *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, 446, 18; Georg. Kedren, Bonn, Corpus, ii, 17) that in 771-2 (A. M. 6264) Ἀλφαδὰλ Βαδινάρ, i.e. al-Faḍl b. Dīnār, who had 500 Byzantine prisoners with him, lost 1,000 men and all his booty through a sortie of the Μομφουερτεῖς, refers to the same events, the latter would appear to be wrongly reported and wrongly dated.

On 13 Ḥazīran 1122 Sel. (811 A.D.), the walls and many houses in the town and three adjoining villages fell in a great earthquake; near al-Maṣṣīṣa the course of the Djayḥān was dammed for a week so that the boats lay on the dry bed (Michael Syrus, iii, 17). In 198/813-14 Thābit b. Naṣr al-Khuzāʿī was fighting in the Syrian marches of al-Maṣṣīṣa and Adhana (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 541). On his campaign into Bilād al-Rūm, al-Maʾmūn passed through al-Maṣṣīṣa and Ṭarsūs in Muḥarram 215/March 830 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1103; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 294; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales Moslem.*, ed. Reiske, ii, 152; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, ii, 239). In revenge, the emperor Theophilus in 216/831 raided the lands around these two towns and slew or took prisoner 2,000 men (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1104; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 295).

After the emperor's campaign against Zibaṭra (837 A.D.) in which he also defeated the Μομφουεστίται (Const. Porophyrog., *De caeremoniis*, ed. Bonn, 503; Vasilev, *Vizantiya i Arabi*, in *Zapiski ist.-filol. fak. imp. S.-Ptbg. Univ.*, *čast* lvi [1900], 88-9, n. 4), al-Muʿtaṣim in the following year attacked ʿAmmūriyya; his general Bashīr commanded a part of the army which included the Maṣṣīṣa contingents (Michael Syrus, iii, 96). In 245/859, the town was again visited by an earthquake which destroyed many places in Syria, Mesopotamia and Cilicia (al-Yaʿḳūbī, iii, 1440). The caliph al-Muʿtaḍid after restoring order in the Thughūr al-Shāmiyya (287/900) returned from al-Maṣṣīṣa via Funduḳ al-Ḥusayn, al-Iskandariyya and Baghrās to Anṭākiya, Ḥalab and al-Raḳḳa (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2198-2200; al-Funduḳ, a place in the *thughūr* near al-Maṣṣīṣa: Yāḳut, iii, 918; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid*, ii, 365).

When in 292/904-5 the Byzantine Andronicus invaded the district of Marʿash, the people of al-Maṣṣīṣa and Ṭarsūs met him, but were defeated and lost their leader Abu 'l-Ridjāl b. Abī Bakkār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2251; Ibn al-Athir. vii, 371; Vasilev, *Zap. ist.-fil. fak. imp. S.-Ptbg. Univ.*, *čast* lvxi [1902], 154, 2).

In 344/955-6, the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla was visited by horsemen from the frontier towns of Ṭarsūs, Adana and al-Maṣṣīṣa and with them an envoy from the Greek king, who concluded a truce with him (al-Nuwayrī and Kamāl al-Dīn, in Freytag, *ZDMG*, xi, 192); Ibn Ẓāfir al-Azdī. *Kitāb al-Duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*, tr. Vasilev, *op. cit.*, Priložen., 86). Defeated by Leo Phocas in 349/960 in the pass of al-Küčük, Sayf al-Dawla spent the night in al-Ḥawānīt and returned to Ḥalab via al-Maṣṣīṣa (Kamāl al-Dīn, in Freytag, *op. cit.*, 196; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Kračkovskiy-Vasilev, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiii, 1924, 782).

In 352/963, the emperor Nicephorus took Adana, the inhabitants of which fled to al-Maṣṣīṣa, and sent the Domesticus John Tzimisces (Yānīs b. al-Shimishīḳ al-Dumistiḳ) against this town. The latter besieged it for several days but had to withdraw as his supplies were running short, and after laying waste the country round burned the adjoining al-Mallūn (Μαλλός) at the mouth of the Djayḥān (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, 793-4). The emperor himself came again in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 353/Nov. 964 to the marches (*al-thaghr*) and besieged al-Maṣṣīṣa for over 50 days, but had again to abandon the siege owing to shortage of supplies and retired to winter in Ḳaysariyya. Finally, the town was stormed by John Tzimisces (Arm. Kuiř Žan) on Thursday 11 Radjab 354/13 July 965. The inhabitants set it on fire and fled to Kafarbayya. After a desperate struggle on the bridge between the two towns, the Greeks took this suburb also and carried off all the inhabitants into captivity (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, 795; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 408-11; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Ann. Mosl.*, ed. Reiske, ii, 482-3; Michael Syrus, iii, 128; Elias Nisiben., ed. Brooks, 218, tr. 106; Georg., Cedren., ed. Bonn, ii, 362; Leon Diakon., ed. Bonn, 52-3; Mattʿeos Uřhayecʿi, ed. Dulaurier in *Rec. hist. crois.*, *Doc. arm.*, i, 5; Stepʿan Asołik of Taron, *Armen. Gesch.*, tr. H. Gelzer and A. Burckhardt, Leipzig 1907, 134, 24). They were, to the number of 200,000, it is said, led past the gates of Ṭarsūs, which at that time was being besieged by the emperor's brother Leo, to terrify the people of the town (Ibn Shiḥna, *Rawḍat al-manāẓir*, in Freytag, *ZDMG*, xi; Elias Nisiben., *op. cit.*). The gates of Ṭarsūs and of al-Maṣṣīṣa were

gilded and taken as trophies to Constantinople, where one set was put in the citadel and the others on the wall of the Golden Gate (Georg. Cedren., ii, 363).

The town remained for over a century in the hands of the Byzantines; the Emperor Basil II Bolgaroctonus stayed for six months in the region of al-Maṣṣīṣa and Ṭarsūs before going to Armenia, after the death (31 March 1000 A.D.) of the Kuropalates Davitᶜ of Taykᶜ, to take possession of his lands by inheritance (Yaḥyā b. Saᶜīd, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Rosen, 39, in *Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xliv, St. Petersburg 1883). In 1042 the Armenian prince Aplgharib, son of Ḥasan and grandson of Khačᶜik of the house of the Artsrunians, was sent by the emperor Constantine Monomachos as governor to Cilicia (St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arm.*, i, 199). In 1085 Philaretos Brachomios, who was appointed in Constantinople perhaps as Sebastos (Michael Syrus, iii, 173) or at least Kuropalates (Mich. Attal., Bonn ed., 301) and whose ephemeral kingdom comprised the land from Ṭarsūs to Malaṭya, Urfa and Anṭākiya, held al-Maṣṣīṣa (Michael Syrus, *loc. cit.*; Laurent, *Byzance et Antioche sous le curopalate Philarète*, in *Rev. des Et. Arm.*, ix [1929], 61-72). Shortly before the arrival of the Crusaders, the Saldjūḳ Turks took Ṭarsūs, al-Maṣṣīṣa, ᶜAyn Zarba and the other towns of Cilicia (Michael Syrus, iii, 179). About the end of September 1097, the Franks under Tancred, who had been invited thither from Lambron by Ōshin III, took the town, which was stormed after a day's siege: the inhabitants were slain and rich booty fell into the hands of the victor (Albert. Aquens., iii, 15-16, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, clxvi, col. 446-7; Radulf. Cadom., *Gesta Tancredi*, ch. 39-49). William of Tyre describes al-Maṣṣīṣa on this occasion (iii, 21, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, cci, col. 295): *Erat autem Mamistra una de nobilioribus eiusdem provinciae civitatibus, muro et multorum incolatu insignis, sedet optimo agro et gleba ubere et amoenitate praecipua commendabilis.* Count Baldwin, who had quarrelled with Tancred, followed him along with the admiral Winimer of Boulogne and encamped in a meadow near the Djayḥān bridge; Winimer left him there and went with his fleet to al-Lādhiḳiyya, while the two rivals had a desperate fight, after which Baldwin withdrew to the east (Albert. Aquens., iii, chs. 15, 59, in Migne, *op. cit.*, cols. 446, 472). Tancred followed him, after he had imposed on the city *plus paternas quam principis leges* (Radulf. Cadom., ch. 44). The Byzantine general Tatikios, who had joined the Crusaders to take over their conquests in name of the Emperor, left them in the lurch in the beginning of February 1098 at the siege of Anṭākiya and ceded to Bohemund the town of Tursol (Ṭarsūs), Mamistra and Addena (Adana) (Raymond of Agiles, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanover 1611, 146, 5). Bohemund only took possession of the towns of Ṭarsūs, ᶜAyn Zarba and al-Maṣṣīṣa in August (William of Tyre, vii, 2). After the town had again fallen to the Greeks for a period, Tancred again took it in 1101 (Rad. Cad., ch. 143), but had to hand it over with Ṭarsūs, Adana and ᶜAyn Zarba to Bohemund on his return from captivity in 1103 (William of Tyre, vii, 2, in Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 379). In the following year, however, Longinias, Ṭarsūs, Adana and Μάμιρτα were regained for Byzantium by the campaign of the general Monastras (Anna Comnena, *Alexaid*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii, 140, 5, who apparently did not recognise the identity of Μάμιρτα with Μόφου ἑρτίαι, which she mentions several times). In the treaty between Bohemund and the emperor Alexius of September 1108, the town was promised to the former (Anna Comnena, *op. cit.*, ii, 218), Tancred having taken it in the preceding year with 10,000 men from the Byzantine general, the Armenian Aspietes (*ibid.*, ii, 147). At this time, of the quarters of the town one (probably Kafarbayya) was in ruins (*ibid.*). Baldwin of Burg and Joscelin of Courtenay, who allied themselves against Tancred with Kogh Vasil of Kaysūm, were supported by the latter with a detachment of 800 men and a body of Pečenegs, who were stationed in al-Maṣṣīṣa as Greek mercenaries (Mattᶜeōs Uřhayecᶜi, tr. Dulaurier, 266-7 = *RHC, Doc. arm.*, i, 86). The great earthquake of 1114 destroyed the town, like many others in Cilicia and Syria (Smbat, in *Doc. arm.*, i, 614).

Under the Frankish patriarchate of Antioch, Mopsuestia-Mamistra was separated from the ecclesiastical province of Anazarbos and made an autocephalous metropolis (Michael Syrus, iii, 191; recensions of the *Notitia Antiochena* of the Crusading period). The ἐνορία Μοψουεστίας stretched (according to *Notitia Antiohena* on the boundaries of the Antiochene dioceses, ed. Papadopoulo-Keramevs, 67) from Seleuceia in Syria and Adana ἀπο τοῦ μεγάλου Ξηροποταμοῦ (now Ozerlü or Rabaṭča?) ἕως τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ φυρῶν. The latter is undoubtedly identical with αὐτὸς ὁ μέγας ποταμὸς 'Αδανας, the Sayḥān.

In 1132-13 the Rupēnid Levon I (Λεβούνης), son of Constantine, took the town (Arm. Msis, Mises, Mamestia or Mamuestia) from the Greeks (Cinnamos, i, 7; iii, 14; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, in *Doc. arm.*, i, 615). The brother of the emperor John II Comnenus went to him, and Levon gave his sons his daughters as wives with the towns of al-Maṣṣīṣa and Adana as dowries. But when they quarrelled he took back from the Greeks all that he had given them, and Isaac had to flee with his sons to sultan Masᶜūd (Michael Syrus), ii, 230). Levon, falling through treachery into the hands of Raymond of Poitiers, had to cede (1136-7) al-Maṣṣīṣa, Adana and Sarvantikᶜar (now Sawuran Ḳalᶜe?), but regained his liberty in a couple of months; he very soon retook these towns (*Doc. arm.*, i, 152-3 = *Chron. de Matthieu d'Édesse*, tr. Dulaurier, 457; Smbat, *op. cit.*, 616). The emperor John in 1137 (1448 Sel.) had his revenge on Levon. He invaded Cilicia, took Ṭarsūs, Adana and al-Maṣṣīṣa, seized Levon himself with his wife and children and took them to Constantinople, where Levon subsequently died (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 35; Michael Syrus, ii, 245; Gregor. presbyt., *Forts. d. Chronik des Mattᶜēos*, tr. Dulaurier, 323; cf. *Docum. arm.*, i, p. xxxii, 1 and 153, 4; William of Tyre, xiv, 24; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, 211). John installed Coloman (*Calamanus*), son of Boris and grandson of Cilicia (William of Tyre, xiv, 24, xix, 9, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, cci, cols. 603, 756; a *Dux Ciliciae* mentioned in *Regum et principum epistolae*, no. 24, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Franc.*, 1182, 1. 46 and *passim*). When the emperor John died at Mardj al-Dībādj on 8 April 1143 (William of Tyre, xv, 22; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, 228, 4), his successor Manuel I Comnenos had his body brought by boat from Mopsuestia down the Pyramos to the sea and taken by sea to the capital (Niketas Choniat., *Man. Komn.*, i, Bonn ed., 67).

Thoros II, the son of Levon, who had escaped home from his confinement in Constantinople, was again able to cast off the Byzantine yoke. When in 1151 he took Msis and Tᶜil (Tall Ḥamdun) from the Byzantines (Smbat, in *Doc. arm.*, i, 619) and made their general Thomas prisoner, the emperor Manuel in the following year sent against him with 12,000 cavalry Andronicus Comnenus, whom he had appointed governor of Ṭarsūs and al-Maṣṣīṣa (Gregor. presbyt.,

in *Doc. arm.*, i, 167 = Matthew of Edessa, tr. Dulaurier, 334; Smbat, *Chron.*, in *Doc. arm.*, i, 619). Andronicus, who did not recognise Thoros as ruler of Asia Minor, advanced against al-Maṣṣīṣa, but was surprised by the Armenians and put to an ignominious flight with his 12,000 men. Thus not only the town, which was very well supplied with provisions and military material of all kinds, fell into his hands, but also a great part of Cilicia (Gregor. presbyt., tr. Dulaurier, 334-6 = *Doc. arm.*, i, 167 ff.; Smbat, *op. cit.*). The emperor, himself too weak to avenge the insult, twice induced by gifts the sultan Ḳilidj Arslān II (Gregor. wrongly: Masᶜūd) of Ḳonya to attack Thoros. The sultan, who on the first occasion (548/1153) was content with the defeat of the Armenian and the return of the lands taken from the Greeks, again attacked al-Maṣṣīṣa, ᶜAyn Zarba and Tall Ḥamdūn (Arm. Tᶜiln Hamtunoy) in 1156, but could do nothing against them and had finally to retire after heavy losses (Gregor., *op. cit.*, 338 = *Doc. arm.*, i, 171).

The emperor Manuel himself passed through Cilicia in 1159 with a large army to the assistance of the Crusaders. Thoros had already retired to Vahka in the desolate mountains (*Armen. Rhymea Chron.*, in *Doc. Arm.*, i, 505) when the emperor entered al-Maṣṣīṣa at the beginning of November, but he did no injury to any one there (Gregor., tr. Dulaurier, 353-4 = *Doc. arm.*, i, 187). The Frankish kings led by Baldwin came to pay homage to him in the town or on the adjoining *pratum palliorum* (as William of Tyre, xiii, 27, translates Mardj al-Dībādj) where his court was held in camp for seven months (Gregor., tr. Dulaurier, 358; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusal.*, 298). Thoros was also able with great tact to become reconciled with him, and on acknowledging Byzantine suzerainty and ceding several towns in Cilicia, was recognised as *Sebastos* of Msis, Anazarbos and Vahga (*Doc. arm.*, i, 186; Smbat, *ibid.*, 622). His brother Mleh, who attempted his life while out hunting between al-Maṣṣīṣa and Adana, was banished by Thoros and given by Nur al-Dīn the town of Ḳūrus (Kyrrhos; Smbat, *loc. cit.*). After the death of Thoros of Msis (1168-9; Smbat, 623), Mleh (Arab. Malīḥ b. Liwun al-Armanī) succeeded him and at first ruled only over the district of the passes (*Bilād al-Durūb*). In 1171 he surprised Count Stephen of Blois at Mamistra and plundered him (William of Tyre, xx, 25-8). In 568/1172-3, supported by troops of his ally Nūr al-Dīn, he took from the Greek Adana, al-Maṣṣīṣa and Ṭarsūs (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 255; Kamāl al-Dīn, tr. in Röhricht, in *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, i, Berlin 1874, 336).

When Mleh's successor Rupēn III fell through treachery into the hands of Bohemund of Antioch, his brother Levon (II) obtained his release in 1184 by ceding al-Maṣṣīṣa, Adana and Tall Ḥamdūn (Tᶜiln) and paying 3,000 *dīnārs*; immediately afterwards, Rupēn retook these strongholds from the Franks (Michael Syrus, iii, 397; *Doc. arm.*, i, 394).

Hetᶜum, the nephew of the Catholicos Grigor IV and son of Čᶜortvanēl of Ṭarōn, who came to Cilicia in 1189 with his brother Shahinshah, received from Levon II (1185-1219) his niece Alice, daughter of Rupēn III, in marriage and the town of Msis, but died in the same year (Smbat, in *Doc. arm.*, i, 629; Marquart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 481-2). The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 586/1190 was about to go to Syria via Ṭarsūs and al-Maṣṣīṣa when he met his tragic end in the Kalykadnos (alleged[?] letter of the Armenian Catholicos in Ibn Shaddād, in *Rec. Hist. Orient. des Crois.*, iii, 162); a portion of his army thereupon went to Antioch via Ṭarsūs, *Mamistria* and *Thegio* (Ḥiṣn al-Muthaḳḳab; not *Portella*, the Syrian passes, with which Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, 530, 4, identifies it).

Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who visited the East in the train of Duke Leopold VII of Austria and Styria and the Teutonic Grand Master Hermann von Salza, came in the beginning of 1212 to *Mamistere* which he describes as follows: (Wilbr., ch. 18, ed. Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, Leipzig 1864, 175): *Haec est civitas bona, super flumen sita, satis amoena, murum habens circa se turritum, sed antiquitate corrosum, paucos in quodam respectu habens inhabitatores, quibus omnibus rex illius terrae imperat et dominatur.* In the vicinity lay *quoddam castrum quod erat de patrimonio beati Pauli .... sed nunc temporis possidetur a Graecis. In hac civitate* [Mamistere] *habetur sepulchrum beati Pantaleonis. Ipsa vero distat a Canamella* (cf. Tomaschek, *SB Ak. Wien* [1891], app. viii, p. 71) *magnam dictam.* Levon II granted the republics of Genoa and Venice the privilege of having their own trading centres in al-Maṣṣīṣa, which could be reached by ship from the sea before the mouth of the Djayḥān became silted up (Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie*, 287). The attempt of Raymund Rupēn of Antioch to seize the throne of Armenia after Levon's death in 1219 failed; he was, it is true, able to take Ṭarsūs and attack al-Maṣṣīṣa but he was taken prisoner by Constantine of Baržberd and died in prison in 1222 (*Doc. arm.*, i, 514; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, 741-2).

For a century the Rupēnids ruled almost undisturbed in the town. Their glory reached its height under the splendour-loving Hetᶜum I (1219-70). Here were held the annual festivals of the Church at which numerous princes and nobles used to gather down to the last and difficult years of the king. Here was held the brilliant ceremony at which his 20-year old son Levon was dubbed knight. Hither the king brought the seat of government after the destruction of Sīs (Alishan, *Sissouan*, 287-8).

Baybars sent a punitive expedition against Hetᶜum in 664/1266 under al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Ḥamā, who advanced as far as Ḳalᶜat al-ᶜAmūdayn and into the district of Sīs, while Sayf al-Dīn Ḳalāwūn took al-Maṣṣīṣa, Adana, Ayās and Ṭarsūs (al-Maḳrīzi, *Hist. d. Sult. Maml.*, tr. Quatremère, i/2, 34-5; Abu 'l-Fidā'. *Annal. Mosl.*, ed. Reiske, v, 18; al-Nuwayrī, in Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, iv, 56). Three years later (1269), the district of al-Maṣṣīṣa was visited by an earthquake (al-Suyūṭī, in *Doc. arm.*, ii, 1906, 772, n. f.). Baybars (Arm. *Pntukhtar* = Arab. *Bundukdār*) himself in 673/spring of 1275 took the field against Levon III, son of Hetᶜum, laid waste the whole of Cilicia as far as Koricos and stormed al-Maṣṣīṣa and Sīs, the former on 26 March. The inhabitants were massacred, almost all the houses burned and the great bridge destroyed (Arm. Kandarayn Msisay, i.e. Ḳanṭarat al-Maṣṣīṣa; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, i/2, 123-4, with n. 154; Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *Gesch. d. Mamlūkensultane*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv, 389; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 531, 6; Smbat, *Chronik*, in *Doc. arm.*, i, 653; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, 967; van Berchem, *CIA*, i, 688, n. 2). When in 697/1297-8 an army under the *amīrs* Sayf al-Dīn Kipčaḳ, the *Nā'ib* of Dimashk, Fāris al-Dīn Ilbekī al-Sāḳī al-Ẓāhiri, the *Nā'ib* of Ṣafad, Sayf al-Dīn Bizlār al-Manṣūrī and Sayf al-Dīn ᶜAzāz al-Ṣāliḥī invaded the land of Sīs, al-Maṣṣīṣa is not specially emphasised among the unimportant places taken like Tall Ḥamdūn, Ḥammūṣ (Ḥumaymis), Kaᶜlāt Nadjīma, al-Maṣṣīṣa, Sirfandikār, Ḥadjar, Shughlān, al-Nuḳayr and Zandjfara (al-Maḳrīzī, ii/2, 60-5; Mufaḍḍal, *op. cit.*, 602; al-Nuwayrī, in Blochet, *ibid.*). In 722/1322,

the Egyptians crossed the Djayḥān by a bridge of boats, got behind the Armenians who had retired to Msis and inflicted a severe defeat upon them; among those who fell are mentioned the barons Het'um of Djlnoc', his brother Constantine, Wahram Lotik, Ōshin, the son of the marshal, along with 21 knights and many men (Smbat's Continuator, in *Doc. arm.*, i, 688). This authority also mentions a raid by an Egyptian force against al-Maṣṣīṣa (Mamuestia), Adana, al-Mallūn (Mlun) and Ṭarsūs in 735/1334-5 (*Doc. arm.*, i, 6/1; Tomaschek, in *SB Ak. Wien* [1891], part viii, 68). The last Egyptian invasion took place in 775/1373-4. Among the towns destroyed were Sīs, Adana, al-Maṣṣīṣa and 'Ayn Zarba, and Levon IV had to surrender in 1375 after a siege of nine months in Ghaban (*Doc. arm.*, i, 686, n. 3). The town thus passed nominally into the *Futūḥāt al-Djahāniyya* of the Mamlūk empire; it had, it is true, by now sunk into insignificance and it is not mentioned, for example, among the towns taken by Shahsuwār in 871/1467 (Alishan, *Sissouan*, 290).

Armenian sources mention eight archbishops of the town from 1175 to 1370 (1175-1206 David, 1215 Johannes, 1266 Sion, 1306 Constantine, 1316 John, 1332 Stephen, 1342 Basil, 1362-1370 unnamed; cf. Alishan, *op. cit.*, p. 290). Michael Syrus knows only Job of about 800 A.D. (*Chron.*, tr. Chabot, iii, 23-4, 451, no. 27), and the Frankish writers from 1100 onwards Bartholomaeus, before 1234 Radulphus and in the years from 1162-1238 three or four more unnamed bishops (Albert. Aquens., ix, 16; William of Tyre, xiv, 10; Le Quien, in *Oriens Christianus*, iii, 1198-1200; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusal.*, 42, 202). On account of the many Egyptian invasions, the Latin archbishopric was removed to Ayās by Pope John XXII in 1320 (Alishan, *Sissouan*, 290).

After the fall of the kingdom of Little Armenia, the power of the Ramaḍān-Oghlu [*q.v.*] and Dhu 'l-Ḳadr-Oghlu [see DHU 'L-ḲADR] gradually spread in Cilicia. Selīm I on his campaign against Egypt in 922/1516 and on his return also preferred to keep to the east of their land (Taeschner, *Anatol. Wegenetz*, ii, 32). Al-Maṣṣīṣa has been Turkish-controlled since that year, in which the decisive battle was fought on Mardj al-Dābiḳ [*q.v.*].

In Kafarbayya, a *khān* was built for caravans passing through in 949/1542 and restored in 1830 by Ḥasan Pasha. The Djayḥān bridge became useless in 1736 when the central arch collapsed; in 1766 this was repaired but was blown up in 1832 on the retreat of the Turkish troops from the fighting at Baylān in order to hold up the advance of Ibrāhīm Pasha's pursuing army. As late as the middle of the 19th century, it could only be crossed by an improvised wooden footbridge.

In modern times, al-Maṣṣīṣa is mentioned mainly by western pilgrims and travellers, who as a rule only spent a short time there. Thus it was visited in 1432 by the Burgundian Bertrandon de la Brocquière ("*Misse-sur-Jehan*"), in the 16th century by P. Belon, 1682 the Mecca-bound pilgrim Meḥmed Edīb, 1695 the Armenian Patriarch of Antiochia Makarios, 1704 Paul Lucas, 1736 Chevalier Otter, 1766 the Dane Carsten Niebuhr, 1813 Macd. Kinneir, 1834 Aucher Eloy, 1836 Colonel Chesney, 1840 Ainsworth and 1853 Victor Langlois, whose reports were exhaustively used by Carl Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xix, 66-115). The "Merges Galles" visited by Ludwig von Rauter on 8 July 1568, is not (as in Röhricht-Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem hl. Lande*, 1880, 434, n. 43) al-Maṣṣīṣa, but Merkez Ḳal'esi on the Bāb Iskandarūn (Cilic.-Syr. passes). Somewhat fuller descriptions of the recent Miṣṣīṣ and its ancient and mediaeval ruins were given in the 19th century by Langlois, Alishan and at the beginning of the 20th one by Cousin (see *Bibl.*).

The stretch of the Baghdād railway from Dorak south of the Taurus via Adana and Miṣṣīs to Ma'mūra at the foot of the Amanos was opened on 27 April 1912. As a station on the railway (the station is actually 1½ miles north-west of the place) the town gained a certain strategic importance in the Cilician campaign of the French in 1919-20 (1919: settlement of about 1,200-1,500 Armenians; 27-8 May 1920: futile Turkish blockade of the garrison there, about a company strong; end of July: withdrawal of the troops to Adana; cf. E. Brémond, *La Cicilie en 1919-1920*, in *Rev. Étud., Arm.* [1920], i, 311, 360, 363, 365). After the Turkish occupation, the newly-settled Armenians were probably exterminated in the usual way. The importance of the town has now passed to the neighbouring Ceyhan.

According to the Arab geographers, al-Maṣṣīṣa lay on the Djayḥān (Πύραμος, sometimes confused by the Byzantine authors with the Σάρος, Arabic. Sayḥān, with which it seems to have had at one time a common mouth: George Cedren, ii, 362; Anna Comn., ii, 147), 1-2 days' journey from Bayyas and one from 'Ayn Zarba and Adhana, 12 *mīls* from the Mediterranean coast. The sea could be seen from the Friday mosque in the town; in front of the town lay a beautiful fertile plain (the ancient 'Αλήιον πεδίον). Al-Maṣṣīṣa lying on the right bank was connected with Kafarbayya by an ancient stone bridge built by Constantius and restored by Justinian. The country round was rich in gardens and cornfields, watered by the Djayḥān. According to Yāḳūt, the town originally had a wall with 5 gates, and Kafarbayya, one with 4 gates. A speciality of the town was the valuable fur-cloaks exported all over the world. Ten miles from al-Maṣṣīṣa, which is somewhat inaccurately placed by Ibn Khurradādhbih, Yāḳūt and others on the Djabal al-Lukkām (Amanus), was the plain of Mardj al-Dībādj, which is often mentioned in the records of the fighting between the Mamlūks and Little Armenia (probably the *ager Mopsuestiae* on which Cicero encamped: *Ad fam.*, iii, 8). In it, to the north-east of the town on the road to Sīs, was the fort of al-'Amūdayn (al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Quatremère, ii/2, 61; cf. Ḳal'at al-'Amudayn in Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ann. Mosl.*, ed. Reiske, v, 18; located by Alishān, *Sissouan*, 225-6 too far east in "Hémétié-Kaléssi"). A field of Mardj al-Aṭrākhūn is also mentioned near al-Maṣṣīṣa (Yāḳūt, iv, 487; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid*, iii, 74). Tall Ḥāmid, a strong fortress of the Thughūr al-Maṣṣīṣa, corresponds to the recent Ottoman Ḥāmidiyye, now called Ceyhan (*ZDMG*, xi, 191, 200; Yāḳūt, i, 866; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid*, i, 211; Ibn al-Shiḥna, 339). There also was Tall Ḥūm (Yāḳūt, i, 867; *Marāṣid*, i, 211; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *ibid.*; exact site unknown). Al-'Ayn at the foot of the Djabal al-Lukkām, over which the Darb al-'Ayn pass went, was also one of the forts of al-Maṣṣīṣa (Yāḳūt, iii, 756; *Marāṣid*, ii, 293); on the frontier against Ḥalab lay Būḳa [*q.v.*; cf. van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, i, 257, 8]. Ḥiṣn Sinān (al-Balādhurī, 165; Yāḳūt, iii, 155) is probably also to be sought near al-Maṣṣīṣa. A pass called Thaniyyat al-'Uḳāb, to be distinguished from that of the same name near Damascus, was in the region of al-Maṣṣīṣa (Yāḳūt, i, 936; *Marāṣid*, i, 230). Even the remote fortress of Samālū (on its site cf. Tomaschek, in *Festschrift f. H. Kiepert*, 144) was sometimes reckoned in the Syrian *thughūr* and located near al-Maṣṣīṣa and al-Ṭarsūs (al-Balādhurī, 170: Dhamālū; Yāḳūt, iii, 416;

Marāṣid, ii, 167; Byzantine τὸ κάστρον Σημαλοῦος), al-Ṣafṣāf on the present Sügüdlī-ṣū (*ZDMG*, xi, 180; Reiske on Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal.*, ii, 649, n. 76, according to Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa: "Ḥiṣn Ṣafṣāf, that is Sögüd") is also reckoned by Yāḳūt (iii, 401) to the marches of al-Maṣṣīṣa. Not far from the town was a Syrian monastery, Gawīkāth (mentioned in *ca.* 1200 A.D.: Barhebr., *Chron. eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, 624; in Alishan, *Sissouan*, 295: Djokhath, probably identical with *Joacheth*). The neighbouring fortress of Adamodana (now Tumlu-Ḳalʿe) and Cumbetefort (*in territorio Meloni*, i.e. of Mlun, Ar.: al-Mallūn) were, according to Wilbrand of Oldenburg (*op. cit.*), in *ca.* 1212 in the possession of the Teutonic Order (*Allemani*). The Venetians had a church in al-Maṣṣīṣa (*Gestes des Chiprois*, in *Doc. arm.*, ii, 831). Armenian authors mention there the churches of St. Sarkis, Thoros and Stephan (Alishan, 288-9).

The present Misis is a large village or small town whose population was, according to the 1950 census, 1,177. A stone bridge with nine arches (in Baedeker, *Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, 1914, 303, wrongly: "five-arched"), the foundations of which are in part ancient (picture in Alishan, *Sissouan*, 289; Lohmann, *Im Kloster zu Sis*, 15), leads to the left bank of the Djayḥān where pieces of walls and inscriptions still mark the site of the ancient Mopsuestia. Here lay the mediaeval Kafarbayya; while this form is the one in general use in Arabic texts and in modern authors, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Djihān-numā*, Constantinople 1145/1732, 602) has Kafarbinā (Taeschner, *op. cit.*, 145, 1), as Langlois (*Voyage*, 462) and others apparently heard it on the spot. The name is unknown there now (Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, xliv, part vi, 11-12; the Turkish General Staff map in the German version of July 1918, Adana Sheet, calls the two halves of the town "Misis Nahijesi" and "Huranije"). According to Ibn al-Shiḥna, 179, Kafarbayya was also called "Little Baghdād".

Misis lies where the river emerges from a gorge with walls of yellow loess at which the last foothills of the highlands between the Sayḥān and Djayḥān in the north-west and the Djabal Nūr (Nur Dagh, 2,200 feet; picture in Alishān, 284), a part of the Djabal Miṣṣīṣ (*Stadiasm. mar. magn.*: Πάριον ὄρος), in the south-east meet. This ridge, which takes its name from the town, lying in the centre of the Cilician plain on the left bank of the lower Djayḥān and linked up with the Amanus in the east, is celebrated, particularly in the Djabal Nūr, for its rich flora, which was studied by the Austrian Theodor Kotschy on 24-6 April 1859. On account of its medicinal herbs, Ibn al-Rūmiyya in his commentary on the book of Dioscurides says that many writers took al-Maṣṣīṣa to be the city of the wise Hippocrates (Ibuḳrāt) who, however, according to others, belonged to Ḥimṣ (Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv, 393; Ibn al-Shiḥna, 180).

Near the mouth of the Djayḥān, which at one time was navigable for small ships up to al-Maṣṣīṣa, lay al-Mallūn, the site of which is not known (Μαλλός; now rather Bebeli than Ḳaraṭash; cf. R. Kiepert, *Form. orb. antiqu.*, viii, text, 19a). The Frankish writers also speak of a *portus de Mamistra* (Raimundus de Aigulers, *Historia Francor. qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, c, xi; cf. *Doc. arm.*, i, p. xlvi, n. 1), probably on the *fauces fluminis Malmistrae*, where al-Idrīsī mentions the place al-Busā (*ZDPV*, viii, 141; Tomaschek, *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxiv [1891], fig. viii, 69, writes al-Būṣā).

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(E. HONIGMANN)

MASTŪDJ, village, fort, and district in the upper Yārkhūn valley formerly included in the Dīr, Swāt and Čitrāl Political Agency of the North-West Frontier Province of British India and now in Pakistan. It apparently formed part of the ancient territory of Syāmāka (Sylvain Lévi, in *JA*, ser. 11, vol. v, 76; and H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan*, 1930, 29 ff.). Stein identifies Mastūdj with the territory of Čü-wei or Shang-mi which was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Wu-k'ung in the 8th century A.D. (*Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907, i, 15-16, *Serindia*, i, 18). An inscription discovered at Barenis points to the fact that Mastūdj

was included in the dominions of the Hindū<u>sh</u>āhiyya dynasty of Wayhind [see HINDŪ-SHĀHĪS]. The village of Mastū<u>dj</u> lies at an altitude of 7,800 feet, and is 71 miles north-east of Čitrāl town and to the west of Gilgit [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

The history of Mastū<u>dj</u> is closely connected with that of Čitrāl [*q.v.*]. British relations with these two states arose as a result of their relations with Ka<u>sh</u>mīr, which state recognised British suzerainty in the year 1846. During the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, it was deemed expedient, in view of Russian military activities in Central Asia, to obtain a more effective control over the passes of the Hindū Kū<u>sh</u>. With this objects in view, the Māharā<u>dj</u>a of Ka<u>sh</u>mīr was encouraged to extend his authority by means of peaceful penetration over Čitrāl, Mastū<u>dj</u> and Yāsīn. (The fullest account of early British relations with these states is to be found in Foreign Office mss. no. 65, 1062.) After the introduction of Lord Curzon's tribal militia scheme, Mastū<u>dj</u> became the headquarters of the Čitrālī irregulars.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES*)

MASᶜŪD B. MAḤMŪD, ABŪ SAᶜĪD, <u>SH</u>IHĀB AL-DAWLA, <u>DJ</u>AMĀL AL-MILLA, etc., sultan of the <u>Gh</u>aznawid [*q.v.*] dynasty, reigned 421-32/1030-40.

The eldest son of the great Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin [*q.v.*], he was born in 388/998. In 406/1015-16, as *walī ᶜahd* or heir apparent, he was made governor of Harāt and in 411/1020 led an expedition into the still-pagan enclave of <u>Gh</u>ūr [*q.v.*] in central Af<u>gh</u>ānistān. When in 420/1029 Maḥmūd annexed the northern Būyid amirate of Ray and <u>Dj</u>ibāl and attacked the Kākūyids [*q.v.*] of Iṣfahān and Hama<u>dh</u>ān, Masᶜūd was placed in charge of these operations in western Persia.

Shortly before his death, Maḥmūd had changed his mind and made another son, Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad, his heir, despite the latter's lack of experience as compared with Masᶜūd. When Maḥmūd died in Rabīᶜ II 421/April 1030, Muḥammad accordingly succeeded in <u>Gh</u>azna, but was unable to retain support there when Masᶜūd marched eastwards with his army, and later that summer, Muḥammad was deposed, sent into captivity and succeeded by Masᶜūd as sultan in <u>Gh</u>azna (<u>Sh</u>awwāl 421/October 1030), receiving caliphal confirmation and a grant of fresh *alḳāb* or honorific titles from Ba<u>gh</u>dād.

Masᶜūd's aim was doubtless to carry on his father's tradition of military conquest, but he was in fact less able than Maḥmūd and faced problems which demanded qualities of skill and foresight which he did not possess. Masᶜūd in 422/1031 successfully intervened in a succession dispute in the client state of Makrān [*q.v.*], and in 426/1035 asserted his authority in Gurgān and Ṭabaristān, where the local ruler Abū Kālī<u>dj</u>ār was two years in arrears with tribute. In India, raids were made into Ka<u>sh</u>mīr (424/1032-3), but policy regarding India in the middle years of his reign was taken up with lengthy operations against the rebellious commander of the army of India at Lahore, the Turkish officer Aḥmad Inaltigin, against whom Masᶜūd appointed as his commander the Hindu Tilak (424-6/1033-5). When order was restored in the Pan<u>dj</u>āb, the sultan in 427/1036 led a successful expedition against Hānsī, leaving his son Ma<u>dj</u>dūd as governor in the Pan<u>dj</u>āb.

This concentration on India meant that Masᶜūd could not give adequate attention to the western parts of the empire, where the situation grew increasingly menacing. On the death in 423/1032 of the <u>Gh</u>aznawid governor in <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm, the <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm-<u>Sh</u>āh Altunta<u>sh</u> [*q.v.*], that distant province, which had been annexed by Maḥmūd less than twenty years before, fell away from <u>Gh</u>aznawid control under less amenable governors there. The loss of this outpost, guarding approaches from the steppes to northeastern Persia, hampered Masᶜūd in dealing with the incursions of the Turkmens led by the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ family, who had been repulsed from Harāt and Farāwa early in the reign but who were by 425/1033-4 making systematic raids into <u>Kh</u>urāsān. Although the <u>Gh</u>aznawid armies were better armed, they lacked the mobility of the Turkmen cavalrymen, who were able to defeat a <u>Gh</u>aznawid army under the Ḥā<u>dj</u>ib Begto<u>gh</u>dī in 426/1035, and then temporarily to occupy Bal<u>kh</u> and Ni<u>sh</u>āpūr whilst Masᶜūd was involved in India (429-31/1038-9). The sultan mounted a final effort against the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs, but in the desert, en route for Marw, was decisively defeated at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (Ramaḍān 431/May 1040).

Masᶜūd's prestige and military reputation were now shattered. Fearing that even eastern Af<u>gh</u>ānistān and <u>Gh</u>azna might fall to the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs, he resolved to leave for India, but after crossing the Indus his army rebelled at the *ribāṭ* of Mārīkala, deposed him and soon afterwards killed him, having set up his brother Muḥammad again for a brief second reign (Rabīᶜ II 432/December 1040), before Masūd's son Mawdūd [*q.v.*] was able to avenge his father.

The verdict of contemporaries such as the official Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*] was that Masᶜūd was inferior in capability and determination to his father; his advisers complained of this capriciousness and lack of sound judgement. But in retrospect, one may well conclude that the <u>Gh</u>aznawid empire had reached a high point by the end of Maḥmūd's reign which no successor of his, however competent, could have sustained.

Bibliography: The primary sources are copious; they include Gardīzī, Bayhaḳī, Ibn Bābā al-Ḳā<u>sh</u>ānī, Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, <u>Dj</u>ūz<u>dj</u>ānī and Sayf al-Dīn Faḍlī ᶜUḳaylī's *Ā<u>th</u>ār al-wuzarā*ʾ. Of secondary sources, see W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, London 1928, 293-303; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of <u>Gh</u>azna*, Cambridge 1931, index s.v.; R. Gelpke, *Sulṭān Masᶜūd I. von Gazna. Die drei ersten Jahre seiner Herrschaft (421/1030-424/1033)*, Munich 1957; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, index s.v.; idem, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay. The dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 6-20; idem, arts. on the Ghaznavids in *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London 1977, index s.v.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

MASŪD B. MAWDŪD B. ZANGĪ, ᶜIZZ AL-DĪN, fifth Zangid Atābak of al-Mawṣil (Mosul) (576-89/1180-93).

Masᶜūd's public career was entangled from beginning to end with that of his great adversary Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and it is easy to regard him as no more than a troublesome shadow in the latter's path. But Masᶜūd had a positive policy of his own—to maintain, under his leadership, the legacy of Zangī and Nūr al-Dīn in

North Syria and the Djazīra. Though he had neither the material resources nor the political imagination to block Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's ambitions altogether, he nevertheless proved a tenacious opponent, and in the end was able to retain in the hands of his family al-Mawṣil and the core districts of Diyār Rabīᶜa. We should also note that he seems to have enjoyed the active support of his subjects, whose energy and stubbornness were decisive factors in the defence of al-Mawṣil in 581/1185.

Like every other Syro-Djazīran prince of the 6th/12th century, Masᶜūd operated within the framework of a family confederation. Once he came to the throne of al-Mawṣil, he was the senior member of a group of Zangid princes, but he had little capacity to intervene in the affairs of their appanages or to compel them to accept his leadership. At the time of his accession in 576/1180, Ḥalab (Aleppo) was held by his cousin al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāᶜīl b. Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd; Djazīrat Ibn ᶜUmar by his nephew Muᶜizz al-Dīn Sandjar Shāh b. Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II; and Sindjār by his younger brother ᶜImād al-Dīn Zangī II. But with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's occupation of Aleppo (Ṣafar 579/June 1183), Zangid rule was restricted to the principalities of al-Mawṣil (always the principal one), Sindjār and Djazīrat Ibn ᶜUmar. These three towns remained in fact the main elements of the Zangid conferation down to its end in the early 7th/13th century. As always in such political formations, the princes were seldom united among themselves, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn played with great skill on the petty ambitions of Sandjar Shāh and ᶜImād al-Dīn Zangī II. On the other side, Masᶜūd hoped to establish a close supervision over his relatives, but Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's presence prevented that.

Masᶜūd began his career in the service of his older brother, Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II (565-76/1170-80). He was commander of al-Mawṣil's contingent at the disastrous battle of Ḳurūn Ḥamāt (Ramaḍān 570/April 1175), which marked Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's first great military triumph in Syria, and was likewise present at the equally unfortunate Tall al-Sulṭān the following year, though on this occasion his brother Ghāzī was in command.

After this we hear nothing of Masᶜūd until the death of Ghāzī (Ṣafar 576/June 1180). Ghāzī had intended to name his twelve-year-old son Sandjar Shāh to succeed him, but was persuaded by the *amīr* Mudjāhid al-Dīn Ḳāymāz—the éminence grise of Zangid politics throughout this period—to assign al-Mawṣil to his brother Masūd and to compensate Sandjar Shāh with Djazīrat Ibn ᶜUmar. In spite of these beginnings, Masᶜūd's succession went without incident and was never seriously challenged throughout his reign.

Masᶜūd now had the primary responsibility for checking Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's evident ambitions, and the first six years of his reign were almost entirely taken up with this problem. The first crisis came with the death of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāᶜīl of Aleppo (Radjab 577/December 1181). Ismāᶜīl bequeathed Aleppo to his cousin Masᶜūd as the only Zangid prince with sufficient resources to hold the city. Masūd in fact did occupy Aleppo during the winter of 577/1182. But he soon negotiated an exchange of Aleppo for Sindjār with his younger brother ᶜImād al-Dīn Zangī II. Ibn al-Athīr states that the reason was Zangī's threat to turn Sindjār over to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; equally a factor, no doubt, was Masᶜūd's desire to consolidate his territories around al-Mawṣil. The exchange was consummated in Muḥarram 578/May 1182, and at once provoked Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's great Syro-Djazīran campaign of the same year. Al-Mawṣil was subjected to a short siege in the autumn of 578/1182, but far more important was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's capture of a string of major Djazīran towns, including Sindjār itself. Masᶜūd's effort to assemble a defensive alliance (including Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī of Mārdīn and the Shāh-Arman of Khilāṭ) failed, and in the spring of 579/1183 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn captured Āmid and Aleppo. The latter city was taken through negotiations with Zangī, and this prince was compensated with the restoration of his old seat of Sindjār together with several other towns. Masᶜūd's strategy had thus utterly failed; he was now isolated, while Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had gained a powerful new client in ᶜImād al-Dīn Zangī II. Worse, a moment of turbulence in the palace politics of al-Mawṣil caused Masᶜūd to lose control of a traditional client-state in Irbil, whose ruler also went over to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

At this juncture, Masᶜūd sought the support of the powerful Atābak of al-Djibāl and Ādharbāydjān, Pahlawān Muḥammad b. Eldigüz [see ILDEÑIZIDS]. Pahlawān never really intervened effectively in the region, but the possibility that he might seems to have induced a certain caution in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's policy until his death early in 582/1186.

In the spring of 581/1185, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn launched his last offensive in the Djazīra; among his allies this time was Sandjar Shāh of Djazīrat Ibn ᶜUmar. He was hoping for an easy victory over a presumably demoralised Masᶜūd, but it did not happen. The garrison and townspeople of al-Mawṣil put up a spirited defence, and the caliph's envoys made it quite clear that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's venture did not enjoy the support of Baghdād. Finally, a grave illness forced Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to withdraw to Ḥarrān in late autumn, and negotiations throughout the winter at length led to a treaty in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 581/March 1186. Masᶜūd would retain al-Mawṣil and would have full autonomy in internal affairs, but he would recognise Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's supremacy in the *khuṭba* and *sikka* and would supply him with military aid as demanded. These terms did in fact govern relations between the two princes for the rest of their lives. Masᶜūd's support to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn during the reconquest and the Third Crusdade even earned for him permission to attack his troublesome nephew Sandjar Shāh in Djazīrat Ibn ᶜUmar in 587/1191. He did not succeed in taking the city, but did compel Sandjar Shāh to concede him half his lands.

With Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death (Ṣafar 589/March 1193), Masᶜūd hoped to recoup the fortunes of his house. Joining forces with Zangī of Sindjār, he moved to occupy as much of the Djazīra as possible. But before any major results could be achieved, Masᶜūd fell ill and returned to al-Mawṣil. Meantime, Ayyūbid forces under al-ᶜĀdil were able to compel the hapless Zangids to make a quick peace before they suffered irreparable territorial losses. After an illness of some two months, Masᶜūd died on 29 Shaᶜbān 589/30 August 1193. He left al-Mawṣil to his son Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh (d. 607/1211), who would be the last effective ruler among the Zangid Atābaks of al-Mawṣil.

Bibliography: The Arabic sources for ᶜIzz al-Dīn Masᶜūd are essentially those for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Of particular importance are Ibn al-Athīr, *Atabegs*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, Cairo 1963, and with a French translation by Barbier de Meynard in *RHC, historiens orientaux*, ii, 1876; *idem*, *al-Kāmil*, xi-xii, *passim*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wayfayāt al-aᶜyān*, ed. I. ᶜAbbās, Beirut 1972, nos. 236, 521, 721 (Ibn Khallikān follows Ibn al-Athīr closely but adds

some fresh details). Modern works: the Zangid background is given in N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-dīn*, 3 vols., Damascus 1967; of the many works on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the most useful are A. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany, N.Y. 1972, and M. C. Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin*, Cambridge 1982. On the later Zangids, see R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany 1977, *passim*. There are no specialised monographs or articles on Masʿūd.

(R. Stephen Humphreys)

MASʿŪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MALIK-SHAH, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, Saldjūḳ sultan in ʿIrāḳ and western Persia 529-47/1134-52.

Like the other sons of Muḥammad b. Malik-Shah [*q.v.*], Masʿūd was entrusted as a child to the tutelage of Turkish Atabegs [see ATABAK], latterly with Ay-Aba Djuyūsh Beg acting thus, and given the appanage of Ādharbāydjān and al-Djazīra; at Djuyūsh Beg's prompting, Masʿūd unsuccessfully rebelled in 514/1120 at the age of 12 against his elder brother Sultan Maḥmūd b. Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*], but was pardoned.

When Maḥmūd died in 525/1131, a period of confusion ensued, during which various Saldjūḳ princes contended for power: Maḥmūd's son Dāwūd, and his brothers Masʿūd (with a power base in ʿIrāḳ), Saldjūḳ-Shāh (in Fārs and Khūzistān) and Ṭoghrïl (the preferred candidate of the ruler in the east, Sandjar [*q.v.*]). After complex military operations and several changes of fortune, Ṭoghrïl secured the throne, but died in 529/1134 after a reign of only two years, and Masʿūd was then proclaimed sultan by the *amīrs* of ʿIrāḳ.

Masʿūd now began a reign of 20 years, the longest of any sultan since Malik-Shāh's day, relying for his vizier first of all on Anūshirwān b. Khālid [*q.v.*], then on ʿImād al-Dīn Darguzīnī and then on the former treasurer Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. Masʿūd's effective power was confined to central ʿIrāḳ and Djibāl, and for many years, his nephew Dāwūd, installed in Ādharbāydjān, remained a potential rival. Then after Dāwūd's death in 538/1143-4, northwestern Persia was in the hands of powerful and ambitious Turkish *amīrs*, by the end of Masʿūd's reign, in those of Eldigüz or Ildeñiz [*q.v.*] of Arrān and most of Ādharbāydjān, Atabeg of Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl (the later sultan), and Aḳ Sunḳur Aḥmadīlī of Marāgha, both of whom were to found Atabeg lines in the region [see AḤMADĪLĪS and ILDEÑIZIDS]. Fārs was under the control of Masʿūd's enemy, the *amīr* Boz-aba, until the sultan defeated and killed him in 542/1147-8, having before his death espoused the cause of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad's two sons Muḥammad [*q.v.*] and Malik-Shāh [see MALIK-SHĀH. 3].

Within ʿIrāḳ, Masʿūd asserted his authority at the outset by deposing the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Rāshid [*q.v.*] in 530/1130 after disputes over the caliph's non-payment of tribute due to the Saldjūḳ. This marked the apogee of the sultan's influence in ʿIrāḳ, for the new caliph al-Muḳtafī [*q.v.*] gradually proved to be a much more powerful and effective force in Baghdād. Masʿūd, meanwhile, had over the next years to deal with various hostile coalitions involving at times the caliph, the sons of the Mazyadid of Ḥilla Dubays, the Turkish *amīr* of Mawṣil Zangī b. Aḳ Sunḳur, and his own brothers and their Atabeg backers. Despite some successes, the combined strength of the Turkish *amīrs* restricted his freedom of action. They compelled him in 533/1139 to dismiss his vizier Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. In the latter part of his reign, he fell more and more under their control, with much of the land in his dominions appropriated by the *amīrs* as *iḳṭāʿ*s, thus reducing the sphere of his direct control and consequently his financial resources. He was now increasingly forced to accept nominees of the *amīrs* for the vizierate and other high offices of state. Masʿūd defeated a coalition of discontented *amīrs* in 542/1147 and killed a major thorn in his flesh, Boz-aba; but jealousy of the sultan's favourite, the *amīr* Khāṣṣ Beg Arslan, provoked further warfare in the next year, with the rebel group endeavouring, unsuccessfully, to place Malik-Shāh b. Maḥmūd on the throne in Baghdād. Masʿūd later gave him one of his daughters in marriage and made him his heir, and when Masʿūd died at Hamadhān on 11 Djumādā 547/13 September 1152, Malik-Shāh succeeded briefly to power as the protégé of Khāṣṣ Beg. Ibn al-Athīr regards the fortunes of the Saldjūḳ dynasty as going into steep decline on Masʿūd's death.

Bibliography: 1. Sources: See the general chronicles, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Djawzī and Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī *sub annis*; and of the specifically Saldjūḳ sources, Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, 163-6, 172-227; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 234-49; Ṣadr al-dīn Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūḳiyya*, 106-27, Eng. tr. Qibla Ayaz, *An unexploited source for the history of the Saljūqs...*, Edinburgh Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1985, unpubl., 290-319; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saldjūḳ-nāma*, 55-65; Yazdī, *ʿUrāḍa*, 117-28; a brief biography in Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, v, 200-2, no. 720, tr. de Slane, iii, 355-6.

2. Studies. See M. A. Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu tarihi. ii. İkinci imparatorluk devri*, Ankara 1954, 250-305; Bosworth, in *Cambridge hist. of Iran*, v, 124-34; C. L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vezirate*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, index.

(C. E. Bosworth)

MASʿŪD BEG, minister in Central Asia of the Mongol *Khāns* in the 13th century A.D.

Soon after 1238, in the reign of the Great Khān Ögedey (1227-41), parts of Transoxania and Mogholistān [*q.v.*] (the region of the steppes to the north of Transoxania) were ceded to Čaghatay as an *indjü* or appanage [see ČAGHATAY KHĀN and MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR. 2. History]. Masʿūd Beg's father Maḥmūd Yalawač [*q.v.*] was transferred from his governorship of the sedentary population of Transoxania and Mogholistān to China, and the son then appointed to succeed him there. Indeed, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, tr. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1972, 94, cf. 183, 218, Masʿūd Beg administered the affairs of the entire sedentary population, sc. all but the nomadic Turks and Mongols, throughout Inner Asia from Khʷārazm to Kāshgharia and Uyghuria, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Djuwaynī praises him for his just rule over the Muslims of Transoxania. His benefactions included such buildings as the Khāniyya *madrasa* (built by him with money given by the Christian Queen Sorḳotani, widow of Toluy and mother of Möngke Khān and Hülegu) and the Masʿūdiyya *madrasa*, both situated near the Rīgistān of Bukhārā, and also, it seems, the Masʿūdiyya *madrasa* in Kāshghar (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 108).

Masʿūd Beg remained governor of Inner Asia under Möngke and Batu, during the civil strife of Alghu and Berke and after the victory of Ḳaydu over his rivals in 1269, showing remarkable powers of survival. He died in 1289 and was buried in the rebuilt Bukhārā Masʿūdiyya. He was succeeded in turn as minister to the Khāns by his three sons, the first two under Ḳaydu till the latter's death in 1301, and the

third in Kās͟hg͟har under Ḳaydu's son and successor Čapar.

Bibliography (in addition to references already given): Dj̲uwaynī-Boyle, index s.v.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, London 1968, 469-93 *et passim*; V. Minorsky, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1962, 46-8, 50.

(C. E. Bosworth)

MASᶜŪD-I SAᶜD-I SALMĀN, eminent Persian poet of the 5th/11th century (*ca.* 440/1046 to *ca.* 515/1121-2) who early and late in his life enjoyed position and fame at the G͟haznawid court, but spent some eighteen years of his maturity in onerous imprisonment. As a poet, he is most famous for the powerful and eloquent laments he wrote from his various places of incarceration [see ḤABSIYYA in Suppl.].

Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd was born in Lahore to a family of means and education. The family's original home was Hamadān, but had been settled in the region long enough for his father to have become a responsible official at court. About Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd's early life no reliable information survives. He makes his first dateable appearance in 460/1076-7 as a panegyrist in the retinue of prince Sayf al-Dawla Maḥmūd, son of the ruling sultan (Ẓahīr al-Dawla Ibrāhīm [see G͟HAZNAWIDS]), who was appointed governor-general of India in that year. The *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* which Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd composed on that occasion is the work of a mature and accomplished poet. By his own assertion in other poems from about this period, he was also a brave warrior, and a responsible and highly-regarded member of the prince's court. In about his fortieth year, Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd went to G͟hazna to reclaim land that had been seized from him by persons unspecified in the sources. While there, he fell under suspicion, and possibly more because of the suspected disloyalty of his patron than of his own, he was imprisoned. This period of imprisonment, which he spent in the fortresses of Sū, Dahak and Nāy, lasted some ten years despite the repeated entreaties of a number of officials friendly to the poet, and the supplications of Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd himself.

He was released early in his reign by sultan Ibrāhīm's successor, ᶜAlāʾ al-Dawla Masᶜūd (III) who also made the poet curator of the royal library. Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd also enjoyed the patronage of Abū Naṣr-i Fārsī, deputy to the current governor of India, ᶜAḍud al-Dawla Shīrzād, and was appointed by him to the governorship of Dj̲ālandhar/Čālandhar, a dependency of Lahore. When shortly thereafter Abū Naṣr-i Fārsī was disgraced and fell from favour, his protégé suffered a like fate and was again imprisoned, this time in the Indian fortress of Marandj̲, and for a period of eight or more years.

Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd was released from his second and final period of incarceration in *ca.* 500/1106-7, shortly after the opening of the reign of Sultan Masᶜūd's successor, Kamāl al-Dawla S͟hīrzād, but he remained in obscurity throughout both his reign and that of his successor, Sulṭān al-Dawla Arslān S͟hāh. Only toward the close of his life, with the beginning of the reign of Yamīn al-Dawla Bahrām S͟hāh, a notable patron of literature, did the now aged poet once again enjoy the recognition that his poetic talents merited.

Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd was a skilful court panegyrist who continued the style of his eminent predecessors, ᶜUnṣurī, Farruk͟hī and Manūčihrī [*q.vv.*]. His work does not reflect either the shift toward mystical subjects nor the more complex metaphorical structure that can be seen in the poetry of his contemporaries Sanāʾī and Azraḳī. His panegyrics have a special interest for the historian because they contain a measure of historical data about a period for which other sources are rare. However, his most enduring contribution as a poet has been his prison poems (*ḥabsiyyāt*), in which, through the skilful deployment of conventional language, he conveys with originality and power the wretchedness of his days. One hears in these poems that intensely personal voice whose lack is so frequently decried in studies of Persian poetry.

Bibliography: The notices of Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd-i salmān in mediaeval *Tad͟hkiras* are not to be trusted, and the only reliable source for his biography is his *Dīwān*, which has been capably edited by Ras͟hīd Yāsimī, Tehran 1338/1939, and frequently reprinted. Although he boasted of his knowledge of Arabic, no Arabic poetry by him has survived. The best study of his life and work remains that of Mīrzā Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb Ḳazwīnī, *Masᶜúd-i Saᶜd-i Salmán. Translated by E. G. Browne*, in *JRAS* (1905), 693-740, and (1906), 11-15. C. E. Bosworth makes a number of comments on the life of Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd and the general literary situation at the G͟haznawid court in his *The Later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977. There is a lengthy chapter on his imagery in M. S͟hafīᶜī-Kadkanī, *Ṣuwar-i k͟hiyāl dar s͟hiᶜr-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1350/1971.

(J. W. Clinton)

MASᶜŪD, Sayyid Sālār, called G͟hāzī Miyān, a legendary hero and martyr of the original Muslim expansion into the Gangetic plain of India.

He is alleged to have been the son of a sister of Sultan Maḥmūd of G͟hazna [*q.v.*], to have been born at Adj̲mēr [*q.v.*] in 405/1014, and to have been killed in battle against Hindu idolaters, aged 19, in 424/1033. His tomb is on a pre-Muslim sacred site in Bahraič, in the sub-Himalayan plain of northern Uttar Pradesh, and is the centre of a widespread cult. The hero-cult was well-established by the beginning of the 8th/14th century, and is succinctly described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The Sultans Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ and Fīrūz S͟hāh Tug͟hluḳ visited the tomb. The procession of the hero's *nēza* ("lance", a tall tufted pole) was prohibited by Sultan Sikandar Lodī (d. 923/1517) but remains a highlight of the annual festival (cf. similar poles of Lāl Beg of the Čuhṛās, and of S͟hāhbāz Ḳalandar at Sehwan). The myth of Sālār Masᶜūd was elaborated in Persian in the early 11th/17th century in the *Mirʾāt-i Masᶜūdī*, a heroic romance which owes something to the *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza* though it strives for a greater air of historical authenticity. G͟hāzī Miyān's cult extends to Bengal and the Pandj̲ab, probably sometimes conflated with the cult of other local Muslim *s͟hahīd*s. The main *ᶜurs* or death anniversary is celebrated on the first Sunday of the solar month of Dj̲yes͟ht'ha/Dj̲et'h, between 14 and 21 May, but an *ᶜurs* is also mentioned on the significant date of 11 Muḥarram. The martyr-cult is combined with a fertility-cult (cf. the secondary sexual symbolism of the pole, and the "mystic-marriage" implication of *ᶜurs*). Legends and songs of the marriage of G͟hāzī Miyān before his last battle are widely distributed and were sung at Muslim weddings. At an extreme popular level a conflation may occur (e.g. in west Nepal), with the celebration of the martyrdom of Ḥusayn at Karbalā, with the bridegroom figure of Ḳāsim b. Ḥasan, lamented in Indian *mart͟hiyas*. The *ᶜurs* of G͟hāzī Miyān is celebrated by lower-class Hindus as well as Muslims. Mendicant followers of G͟hāzī Miyān carry a *daff* (tambourine) and are known as *dafāli faḳīrs*.

Bibliography: Amīr K͟husraw Dihlavī, *Iᶜdj̲āz-i K͟husravī*, Lucknow 1872, i, 155; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,

Riḥla, iii, 155, tr. M. Husain, Baroda 1953, 110; Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Calcutta 1862, 491; ᶜAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Calcutta 1891, 372; ᶜAbd Allāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Dāwʾūdī*, Aligarh 1954, 38; ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Čishtī, *Mirʾāt-i Masᶜūdī*, Storey no. 1329(7), extracts tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, ii, 513-49; Djaᶜfar Sharīf, tr. G. A. Herklots, ed. W. Crooke, *Islam in India*, London 1921, 67, 141; R. C. Temple, *Legends of the Panjâb*, Bombay-London (1884), i, 98-120; J. A. Subhan, *Sufism: its saints and shrines*, Lucknow 1969, 123-6; M. Gaborieau, *Légende et culte du saint musulman Ghâziʾ Miyã au Népal occidental et en Inde du nord*, in *Objets et Mondes*, xv/3 (Autumn 1975) 289-318, with further bibl. (S. Digby)

AL-**MASᶜŪDĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, Arab writer whose activity, in the words of Brockelmann (in *EI*[1], s.v.) "has been undertaken outside the well-trodden paths of professional scholarship", with the result that he has been rather neglected by biographers and copyists and that a normally well-informed writer like Ibn al-Nadīm, who has obviously not read his works, takes him (*Fihrist*, 154) for a Maghribī and devotes to him only a short, moreover probably truncated, article. In fact, the only reliable account which is available concerning the biography of this eminent individual must be drawn from his two surviving works, the *Murūdj al-dhahab* (abbreviated here as *M*, refering to Pellat's edition-translation) and the *Tanbīh* (ed. De Goeje = *T*).

Al-Masᶜūdī was born in Baghdād (*M*, 987; *T*, 19, 42) into a Kūfan family which traced back its generalogy and connected its *nisba* to the Companion Ibn Masᶜūd [*q.v.*]. He himself does not record his ancestry in entirety, but it could well be as follows (see Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ᶜArab*, ed. Cairo 1962, 197; Ibn Khaldūn, *ᶜIbar*, ii, 319): ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh (*M*, § 522) b. Zayd b. ᶜUtba b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Masᶜūd (for the rest of the genealogy, see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 58: Hudhayl, who does not however allot to ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān a son named ᶜUtba). The date of his birth is unknown; however, if we are to take literally the expression (*ḥaddatha-nā*) preceding the reference (*T*, 254) to Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Kashshī (d. 292/904) or that (*shāhadnā*) which is used (*T*, 396) to introduce a series of authorities which includes al-Nāshiʾ (d. 293/906 [*q.v.*]), he must have been born no later than some years before 280/893, and not *ca.* 283/896, as is suggested by A. Shboul (*Al-Masᶜūdī and his world*, London 1979, p. xv).

His youth was spent in Baghdād, but he gives no information regarding the development of his studies. From a reading of the *M.* and *T.*, it may however be deduced that he had the opportunity, during the period of his religious, judicial and literary education, to attend classes given by a number of eminent teachers who died in the early years of the 4th century, notably (*T.*, 296) Wakīᶜ (d. 306/918 [*q.v.*]), (*M*, § 2242) al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥubāb (d. 305/917 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), (*M*, §§ 159, 2282) al-Nawbakhtī (d. at the beginning of the 4th century [*q.v.*]), (*T*, 396) Abū ᶜAlī al-Djubbāʾī (d. 303/915, see AL-DJUBBĀʾĪ), (*M*, § 3382) al-Anbārī (d. 304/916 [*q.v.*]); he may also have been acquainted at this time with: (*T*, 267) al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923 [*q.v.*]), (*M*, *passim*) al-Zadjdjādj (d. 311/924 [*q.v.*]), (*T*, 396) Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī (d. 319/931, see AL-BALKHĪ), (*M*, § 764) Ibn Durayd (d. 321/934 [*q.v.*]), (*T*, 396) al-Ashᶜarī (d. 324/935 [*q.v.*]), (*M*, *passim*) Nifṭawayh (d. 323/934 [*q.v.*]), and others besides; it is also known that in 306/918 (al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiᶜiyya*, ii, 307) he was present at the death bed of Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*]. It would be tedious to list the personalities with whom he associated in the course of his career, but a further exception is to be made in the case of (*M*, § 3382) Djaᶜfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Mawṣilī (d. 323/934; see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 625) and of (*M*, *passim*) Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 336/946, see AL-ṢŪLĪ), who seem to have played a particularly important role in his life. The scholars and men of letters cited above represent, at the highest level, the principal disciplines cultivated in this period (see, in this context, A. Shboul, *op. laud.*, 29-44; T. Khalidi, *Islamic historiography*, Albany 1975, 148-50; in the encyclopaedic index which follows the new edition of the *Murūdj*, brief biographies of the contemporary personalities mentioned in this work are to be found).

Whatever may have been the interest and the value of the knowledge thus acquired through direct transmission, an echo of which is also to be found in his work, al-Masᶜūdī would never have attained his eminence had he not been endowed with an extraordinary intellectual curiosity which impelled him, on the one hand, to educate himself with books, and, on the other, to enrich his human experience by undertaking long journeys both within and outside the Muslim world. For the composition of his principal surviving work, the *Murūdj*, he had recourse to no fewer than one hundred and sixty-five written sources, including, in addition to Arabic texts, translations of Plato, Aristotle and Ptolemy, as well as Arabic versions of monuments of Pahlavi literature. In one paragraph of the *Tanbīh* (154), he mentions Christian authors with whom he was in the majority of cases personally acquainted, and passes judgment on their works; he seems to have had them make translations of or to explain passages which provided documentation for chapters of his own works (e.g. *M*, §§ 523 ff.), and the transcription into Greek characters of the name Helen (*M*, § 735) is proof of his breath of interest and his curiosity.

The latter are also exhibited in the accounts, unfortunately dispersed, of his travels, a topic which raises the question of his profession, which he does not reveal, and thereby of the resources which enabled him not only to live but furthermore to undertake expensive foreign expeditions. By all appearances, he had no connection with regular commerce and he was neither an official representative nor a religious authority who could depend on hospitality from Muslim communities visited. The hypothesis of A. Miquel (*Géographie humaine*, i, 205-6) according to which he could have been an emissary of the Ismāᶜīlis seems hard to sustain, and ultimately it has to be assumed that this traveller possessed a personal fortune out of which he met the costs of his travels and that he perhaps drew some profits from the occasional commercial venture.

In 300/912, al-Masᶜūdī was still in Baghdād (*M*, § 2161); three years later (303/915), he is found visiting Persia (*T*, 106, 224), then India (*M*, §§ 269, 417-8; *T*, 224); it is hardly probable that he travelled as far as Ceylon and China (*M*, §§ 175, 342) since, when he speaks of these lands, he copies from Abū Zayd or the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 304/916, he returned to his own country by way of ᶜUmān and the island of Ḳanbalū (*M*, § 246). From 306 to 316/918-26 he was travelling around ᶜIrāḳ and Syria (*M*, § 3326) and it was perhaps during this time that he made his way to Arabia (cf. Shboul, *op. laud.*, 8, 12-13). In 320/932 or a little later he visited the provinces of the Caspian and Armenia (*M*, § 494), then, from 330/941 or 331 onward, he resided in Egypt, where, in 332/943, he composed the *Murūdj* (*M*, § 874

and *passim*), also returning to Syria in the same year (*M*, § 220) and visiting Damascus (*T*, 194) and Antioch (*M*, §§ 704-5) in 334/946. Naturally he visited Alexandria (*M*, §§ 679, 841) and Upper Egypt (*M*, §§ 811-18, 822, 893 ff.). It is in Fusṭāṭ that he seems to have spent his last years, reviewing his works and writing some new ones, in particular the *Tanbīh*, completed in 345/956 (*T*, 401), shortly before his death, which came about in Djumādā II 345/September 956. On his travels, see especially Maqbul Ahmad, *Travels of... al-Masᶜūdī*, in *IC*, xxviii (1954), 509-21; A. Shboul, *op. laud.*, 1-28.

It is not known exactly at what period al-Masᶜūdī began the composition of his work and committed himself fully to his vocation as a writer, but the titles that he quotes in the *Murūdj* suggest that he began with relatively short treatises before embarking on his major works and before turning to account the notes which he must have accumulated in the course of his travels. The first point that commands attention is the care which he devoted to the correction and enrichment of the original versions of his writings, in particular the *Murūdj*, of which the first "edition" dates from 332/943 and the last, from 345/956 (*T*, 154). The second point is the fact that this abundant and diverse corpus of work has, in total, been curiously neglected by posterity, with the exceptions, specifically, of the *Murūdj*, the success of which has never ceased but of which only the "edition" of 332, revised in 336, has been preserved, and of the *Tanbīh*, which, owing to its conciseness, responds to the Muslim taste for abstracts; a third text that has been attributed to him, the *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*, has survived for obvious reasons (see below) but it is of doubtful authenticity.

The content of the surviving works, which are presented in a historico-geographical framework, shows that this prolific writer has a close interest in various disciplines which are not to be arbitrarily classified as history or geography; since he displays in addition an active sympathy for the *Ahl al-Bayt* and Twelver Imāmī Shīᶜism, it is, to say the least, surprising that the Imāmīs, who mention al-Masᶜūdī as one of their partisans, but are principally familiar with the *Murūdj* (and subordinately with the *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*), have not devoted their efforts to the preservation of his works, beginning with the most "committed"; in fact, even if it can be understood that his major work, the *Akhbār al-zamān*, might not have tempted the copyists on account of its volume, it is hard to see the reason for a general indifference with regard to the majority of his other writings which ought to have been interesting and more easily manageable. While IBn al-Nadīm and later biographers have conscientiously enumerated the works, now lost, of so many less prestigious writers, not one of them has apparently entertained the idea of going through the *Murūdj* and the *Tanbīh*, in which thirty-four titles are mentioned, enabling us to establish thirty-six as the total number of al-Masᶜūdī's writings. It must be supposed that the article in the *Fihrist* has been truncated by a few lines, because it contains only five titles, whereas Yāḳūt, who revised it and therefore must have known it well, refers to eleven (*Udabāʾ*, xiii, 90-4) and the same number recurs in the work of al-Kutubī (*Fawāt*, ii, 94-5); the Shīᶜī al-Nadjāshī (*Ridjāl*, 178) increases the number to fourteen, and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*passim*) to sixteen. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ᶜAskalānī (*Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 224-5) confirms the general impression when he asserts that with the exception of the *Murūdj*, copies of the work of al-Masᶜūdī are rare. In the West, a number of authors have attempted to compile inventories of his work: De Goeje in the Introduction to his edition of the *Tanbīh* (vi-vii), Carra de Vaux in his translation of the latter (569-70), Sarton in his *Introduction to the history of science* (Baltimore 1927, i, 637-9), Brockelmann (I, 150-2, S I, 220-1), Sezgin (*GAS*, i, 333-4), but more recently, Khalidi (*op. laud.*, 154-64) and Shboul (*op. laud.*, 55-77) have made strenuous efforts, working on the basis of the titles mentioned in *M* and *T* and especially of such references to their content as are available, to identify the subjects of the lost works. When the researcher is confronted by such a discursive writer as al-Masᶜūdī, this method is often dangerous, but there is no reason why it should not be used in order to gain an impression of at least some of the questions examined and to establish an approximative classification.

I. A first category comprises works of general culture set in a framework of geography and history or of the latter alone:

1.—*K. Akhbār al-zamān wa-man abādahu 'l-ḥidthān min al-umam al-māḍiya wa 'l-adjyāl al-khāliya wa 'l-mamālik al-dāthira* (before 332/943); the author draws attention in *M* (§§ 1-2) to its general content and refers to it frequently in *M* and *T*, thus giving the impression that it contained a great deal more detail than the two surviving works; history was presented here in the form of annals (*M*, §§ 1498, 3240). The *K. Akhbār al-zamān* published in Cairo, in 1938, by Ṣāwī, has nothing in common with that of al-Masᶜūdī; it had been translated as early as 1898, under the title *Abrégé des merveilles*, by Carra de Vaux, who considered it a popular work (*JA*, 9th series, vii [1896], 133-44; cf. D. M. Dunlop, *Arab civilization to AD 1500*, London-Beirut 1971, 110 ff.).

2.—*K. Rāḥat al-arwāḥ* (before 332/943); despite the title, it is a supplement to the above-mentioned work and it concerns expeditions and wars (especially those of the mythical kings of Egypt) which did not figure in the preceding (*M*, § 819).

3.—*al-Kitāb al-awsaṭ* (before 332/943); this "Middle book" must have followed the same format as the *Akhbār al-zamān*, since it was both an abridgement and a supplement on points of detail. The Oxford and Istanbul mss. mentioned by Brockelmann (in *EI*[1], s.v. AL-MASᶜŪDĪ) and Sezgin (*GAS*, i, 334) do not correspond with *al-Kitāb al-awsaṭ* (see Shboul, *op. laud.*, 89, n. 127, who has examined them).

4.—*K. Murūdj al-dhahab wa-maᶜādin al-djawhar* (*fī tuḥaf al-ashrāf min al-mulūk wa-ahl al-dirāyāt*, *T*, 1): it is to this work, written in 332/943, revised in 336/947, again in 345/956 (*T*, 97, 110-1, 155-6, 175-6) that al-Masᶜūdī owes his reputation. The text of 332-6, the only version that has survived, was published at Būlāḳ in 1283 and in Cairo in 1313, in the margins of the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of al-Makkarī in Cairo in 1302 and of the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr at Būlāḳ in 1303; Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Ḥāmīd has made from it an annotated edition which has enjoyed a degree of success (2nd ed. Cairo 1368/1948, 3rd ed. 1377/1958, further ed. by Yūsuf Dāghir, Beirut 1973). As early as 1841, the first volume of an English translation, the work of A. Sprenger, appeared in London, and later Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille edited and translated the entire text into French (Paris 1861-77, 2nd ed. 1913-30); this work has been extensively exploited by orientalists, notably by Marquart (*Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903) and A. Seippel (*Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici*, Oslo 1896-1928), who amended it on points of detail; finally, Ch. Pellat has revised the edition-translation by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (5 vols. of text, Beirut 1966-74 and 2 vols. of index in Arabic, Beirut 1979; 3 vols. of

translation, Paris 1962-71, have so far appeared, but the last two and the French index have been complete for some years); this revision has been based on secondary sources rather than on new mss. (which are listed in Brockelmann, I, 151, S I, 220 and Sezgin, i, 334).

Brockelmann (in *EI*[1], s.v.) and other authors have accepted without reservation the interpretation by Gildemeister, who (in *WZKM*, v [1894], 202) asserted that *Murūdj al-dhahab* should be rendered as "gold-washings" rather than "meadows" of gold; taking as a basis the fact that the earth "makes gold to grow" (*tunbit al-dhahab*: *M*, § 796); the author of the present article regards this suggestion as nonsensical, and in this respect is followed by Khalidi (*op. laud.*, 2, n. 2) and Shboul (*op. laud.*, 71).

The *Murūdj* comprise two essential parts. The firs (§§ 34-663) contains "sacred" history up to the time of the Prophet, a survey of India, geographical data concerning seas and rivers, China, the tribes of Turkey, a list of the kings of ancient Mesopotamia, Persia, Greece, Rome, Byzantium, Egypt, and chapters on Negroes, Slavs, Gaul and Galicia. Next come the ancient history of Arabia and articles on the beliefs, the various calendars, the religious monuments of India, of Persia, of the Sabaeans, etc., and a summary of universal chronology. In this first part, which takes up roughly two-fifths of the work, al-Masʿūdī has set down, so as not to have to return to them, generalities regarding the universe and information of a historical nature on non-Muslim peoples (including the pre-Islamic Arabs), In the second part (§§ 664-3661), by contrast, there are only exceptional references to the peoples of countries outside the Islamic world, and it is the history of Islam, from the Prophet up to the caliphate of al-Muṭīʿ, which is recounted; the *khulafāʾ rāshidūn*, the Umayyad "kings" (only ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz has a right to the title of caliph, while al-Ḥadjdjādj enjoys special treatment) and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs each form the subject of a chapter in which a brief biographical article is followed by accounts (*akhbār*), anecdotes and digressions on various subjects. In view of the fact that the author declares (§ 3) that this work contains a summary of studies which had been more fully developed in the *Akhbār al-zamān* and *al-Kitāb al-awsaṭ*, as well as supplementary notices on certain points, the table of contents of the *Murūdj* allows an impression to be formed of the general format of these two works, where the points are perhaps presented with greater rigour.

5.—The *K. Waṣl al-madjālis bi-djawāmiʿ al-akhbār wa-mukhtaliṭ/mukhallaṭ al-ādāb/al-āthār*, foreshadowed in *M* (§§ 3014, 3428, 3608) and mentioned in *T* (333), was a collection of various traditions, especially concerning al-Andalus (the history of which is neglected in the *Murūdj*); it was probably composed in an unsystematic way and would certainly have appeared in a form closer to *adab* than to methodical history.

6.—The *K. al-Akhbār al-masʿūdiyyāt*, also composed after *M*, dealt (*T*, 259, 333) with the history of pre-Islamic Arabia and of al-Andalus.

7.—The *K. Maḳātil fursān al-ʿAdjam* (332/943) was no doubt a collection of traditions concerning Persian heroes, which was some sort of a counterpart of the *K. Maḳātil fursān al-ʿArab* by Abū ʿUbayda (*T*, 102).

8.—The *K. Funūn al-maʿārif wa-mā djarā fi 'l-duhūr al-sawālif* (after 332/943), which is mentioned several times in *T* (121, 144, 151, 153, 158, 160, 174, 182, 261), seems to have dealt especially with the Greeks, the Byzantines and North Africa and to have filled in the gaps left in preceding works.

9.—The *K. Dhakhāʾir al-ʿulūm wa-mā kāna fī sālif al-duhūr* (after 332/943) seems to have been more detailed than the *Tanbīh* (*T*, 97, 175, 400) on certain questions, particularly on the history of Byzantium.

10.—The *K. al-Istidhkār li-mā djarā fī sālif al-aʿṣār*, mentioned in *T* (1, 53-4, 102, 137, 144, 176, 271, 279, 401) was perhaps a kind of aide-mémoire.

11.—The *K. Taḳallub al-duwal wa-taghayyur al-ārāʾ wa 'l-milal* (*T*, 334) must have been a reflecting upon history with regard to the events which culminated in the seizure of power by the Fāṭimids in North Africa. This suggestive title makes one regret the loss of a work which Ibn Khaldūn, who had a high regard for al-Masʿūdī (see below), probably did not have the leisure to consult.

12.—Finally, the *K. al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf*, composed in 344-5/955-6, is probably the last work of al-Masʿūdī. It is not exactly an abridgement of the major historico-geographical works which came before it, although it does return to and express, with greater rigour and precision, their essential points of information concerning astronomical and meteorological phenomena, the divisions of the earth, the seas, ancient nations, universal chronology, and then the history of Islam until the caliphate of al-Muṭīʿ. As its title indicates, it is basically a combination of overall review and a setting in temporal perspective. The *Tanbīh* has been edited by De Goeje, in the *BGA*, viii, 1893-4, and by Ṣāwī, in Cairo, in 1357/1938; Carra de Vaux has translated it under the title *Le Livre de l'avertissement et de la révision*, Paris 1897.

II. A second category is also of historical nature, but it is devoted especially to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the Twelver *Imāms*.

13.—The *K. al-Zāhī* (before 332/943) concerned ʿAlī and the controversies to which he gave rise (*M*, § 1463).

14.—The *K. Ḥadāʾiḳ al-adhhān fī akhbār Ahl/Āl Bayt al-Nabī wa-tafarruḳi-him fi 'l-buldān* (before 332/943) was apparently the history of the twelve *Imāms* and of the partisans of ʿAlī (*M*, §§ 1013, 1943, 2506, 2742, 3023).

15.—The *K. Mazāhir al-akhbār wa-ṭarāʾif al-āthār fī akhbār Āl al-Nabī* [*al-akhyār?*], also prior to *M*, must have been, like the preceding, a history, or, doubtless, a "sacred history" of ʿAlī and of his partisans (*M*, §§ 1677, 1755, 3032).

16.—The *Risālat al-Bayān fī asmāʾ al-aʾimmā al-kiṭṭiʿiyya min al-Shīʿa*, written before 332/943, contained (*M*, §§ 2532, 2798; *T*, 297) detailed biographies of the Twelve *Imāms* who, unlike the Wāḳifiyya, maintained that Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] was dead and had designated as his successor their eighth *Imām*, ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*].

III. His Imāmī Shīʿī beliefs inspired al-Masʿūdī to write two works on the question of the Imāmate from the point of view of different sects and schools, as well as on other points of doctrine, such as temporary marriage, the religion of the ancestors of Muḥammad, the beliefs of ʿAlī before his conversion, etc.:

17.—*K. al-Istibṣār fī waṣf aḳāwīl al-nās fi 'l-imāma* (*M*, §§ 6, 1138, 1463, 1952, 2190), and

18.—*K. al-Ṣafwa fi 'l-imāma* (*M*, §§ 6, 1138, 1463, 1952).

IV. These writings border upon heresiography and comparativism, subjects to which the author devoted numerous articles of a more or less polemical nature:

19.—The *K. al-Maḳālāt fī uṣūl al-diyānāt*, prior to 332/943, was a survey, probably polemical, of the beliefs of Islamic sects and schools (Shīʿīs, Khāridjīs, Muʿtazilīs, Khurramīs, etc.) and of non-Islamic

religions (Sabaism, Mazdaism, Judaism and Christianity). Judging by the number of passages where it is cited (*M*, §§ 783, 1138, 1205, 1715, 1945, 1994, 2078, 2225, 2291, 2359, 2420, 2741, 2800, 3156; *T*, 154, 161-2), this work must have been regarded as quite important by its author.

20.—The *K. al-Ibāna ʿan uṣūl al-diyāna*, also prior to 332/943, dealt with the differences between Imāmism and Muʿtazilism (from which al-Masʿūdī admits having borrowed some doctrines, *M*, § 2256) and attacked Mazdaism, Manichaeism, Dayṣānism, etc. (*M*, §§ 212, 2256; *T*, 354).

21.—The *K. al-Intiṣār* was a refutation of Khāridjism (*M*, § 2190); this must be the text which Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, xiii, 94) mentions under the title *Akhbār al-Khawāridj*.

22.—The *K. al-Istirdjāʿ fi 'l-kalām* must also have been a refutation, but of certain beliefs of the Mazdaeans, the Manichaeans, the Christians, etc. (*M*, § 1223).

23.—The *K. al-Daʿāwī/al-Daʿāwā al-shanīʿa*, mentioned only once (*M*, § 1195, where the translation needs correction) was directed against "abominable" beliefs such as the transmigration of souls.

24.—The *K. Khazāʾin al-dīn wa-sirr al-ʿālamīn*, written after 332/943, dealt with the opinion of various sects, especially the Carmathians, and revealed the differences between Manichaeism, Mazdaism and Mazdakism (*T*, 101, 161-3, 385).

V. Various passages of the *Murūdj* show that al-Masʿūdī was interested in general philosophy, to which he devoted a number of treatises, and that he was by no means indifferent to political philosophy. Since the question of the transmigration of souls has been raised in no. 23 above, the first to be cited is:

25.—The *K. Sirr al-ḥayāt*, which took up the same subject, but dealt more generally with the soul and also touched on themes such as the Trinity, the *ghayba*, the *mahdī*, etc. (*M*, §§ 533, 988, 1195, 1248, 2800, 3156; *T*, 155, 353).

26.—The *K. al-Zulaf* also dealt with the soul, but a number of other subjects were also discussed: the qualities of sovereigns, cosmology, diseases, music, animals, etc. (*M*, §§ 533, 630, 743, 928, 1325, 1335).

27.—The *K. Ṭibb al-nufūs* was also devoted to the soul (*M*, §§ 988, 1247), as was:

28.—The *K. al-Nuhā wa 'l-kamāl* (*M*, § 1247).

29.—The *K. al-Ruʾūs al-sabʿiyya* (?) *min al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya/al-madaniyya wa-ʿilali-hā wa-milali-hā al-ṭabīʿiyya* seems to have been a treatise of political philosophy (*M*, §§ 928, 1222-3, 1232, 1336), as was

30.—The *K. Naẓm al-djawāhir fī tadbīr al-mamālik wa 'l-ʿasākir*, which is mentioned only in *T* (400-1), whereas the preceding were prior to the *Murūdj*.

VI. Two major works of scientific nature may legitimately be classed separately:

31.—The *K. al-Mabādiʾ wa 'l-tarākīb*, where there is a discussion of the influence of the two luminaries (*M* § 1325) and

32.—The *K. al-Ḳaḍāyā wa 'l-tadjārib*, in which al-Masʿūdī gives an account of observations made in the course of his travels of various phenomena, the three domains of Nature, etc. (*M*, §§ 369, 705, 815, 817, 846, 1208, 2247).

VII. Finally, although he can hardly be described *a priori* as a *faḳīh*, he did take an interest in the Sharīʿa and its principles, as is shown by four treatises:

33.—The *K. al-Wādjib fi 'l-furūḍ al-lawāzim*, on points of *fiḳh* on which Sunnīs and Shīʿīs were in disagreement (*M*, § 1952) and

34.—The *K. Naẓm al-adilla fī uṣūl al-milla*, both of them prior to 332/943 (*M*, § 5; *T*, 4);

35.—The *K. Naẓm al-aʿlām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, mentioned only in *T* (4), but probably composed much earlier; it is not impossible, in fact, that this text was known to al-Subkī, who had in his possession (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ii, 307) a treatise by al-Masʿūdī completing the notes that he had taken in 306/918 when Ibn Suraydj recited his *Risālat al-Bayān ʿan uṣūl al-aḥkām*; this was a survey of the principles of the law according to al-Shāfiʿī, Mālik, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Abū Ḥanīfa and Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī. Lastly,

36.—The *K. al-Masāʾil wa 'l-ʿilal fi 'l-madhāhib wa 'l-milal*, mentioned in *T* (4, 155).

It will be noted that, in the introduction to the *Tanbīh*, al-Masʿūdī lists in chronological order nos, 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, then the three last (nos. 34, 35, 36) and considers the *Tanbīh* to be the seventh of the first series.

It is appropriate to note in addition that the *Fihrist* (154) and Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, xiii, 94) mention a *K. al-Rasāʾil*, while al-Kutubī (*Fawāt*, ii, 94) refers to a *K. al-Rasāʾil wa 'l-istidhkār bi-mā marra fī sālif al-aʿṣār* (cf. above, no. 10). Similarly, the *K. al-Taʾrīkh fī akhbār al-umam min al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam (Fihrist, Udabāʾ, Fawāt)* must be the *K. Akhbār al-zamān*. Finally, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ʿUyun al-anbāʾ*, i, 56, 82) credits al-Masʿūdī, as a result of a confusion, with a *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*.

However, there remains one little book, the *K. Ithbāt al-waṣiyya li 'l-Imām ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, published at Nadjaf (n.d.; *ca.* 1955 for the 1st ed.), which poses a problem difficult to solve. Omissions excepted, this title is not mentioned by any Sunnī author, although the Shīʿīs unreservedly attribute it to al-Masʿūdī, and the anonymous editor identifies it with the *Bayān fī asmāʾ al-aʾimma* (no. 16 above). In spite of elements which militate in favour of this identification, it is doubtful whether the *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya* comes from the pen of the author of the *Murūdj*; but the question remains open, and is unlikely ever to be settled definitively (see Ch. Pellat, *Masʿūdī et l'Imāmisme*, in *Le Shīʿisme imâmite*, Paris 1970, 69-80).

Even if it is decided that this "anti-history" or this "sacred history" of the twelve *Imāms* is apocryphal, and speculation on the titles of the works catalogued above under the nos. 13-18 is abandoned, it is impossible to deny the Shīʿism or, more accurately the Imāmism, of al-Masʿūdī. Shīʿī authors are unanimous in considering him one of their number, and a reading of the *Murūdj* largely confirms this opinion. Among the Sunnīs it is quite curious that al-Subkī (*loc. cit.*) and Ibn Taghrībardī (*Nudjūm*, iii, 315-6) follow al-Dhahabī in seeing him only as a Muʿtazilī, while Ibn Taymiyya (*Minhādj al-sunna*, ii, 129-31) is one of the few who recognises his Shīʿism, and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī reconciles all points of view in pointing out, quite rightly (*Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 224-5), that his writings "abound with signs showing that he was Shīʿī and Muʿtazilī". Al-Masʿūdī in fact acknowledges this dual allegiance when he declares 6*M*, § 2256) that he has chosen some Muʿtazilī doctrines for his own use (cf. above, no. 20), and such an eclecticism was by no means astonishing in the 4th/10th century. As for his *madhhab*, it would seem to be largely Shāfiʿī, but nothing can be definitely asserted and it is possible that, in his treatises of *fiḳh*, he confined himself to dealing with comparative law.

Although J. D. Pearson, in his *Index islamicus*, reserves for al-Masʿūdī a special mention under the rubric "Muslim geographers", it is in the ranks of the historians that he is normally counted, because he is characterised and classified on the basis of the *Murūdj* and the *Tanbīh* and because the opinion of the Arab authors who qualify him as *muṣannif li-kutub al-tawārīkh*

wa-akhbar al-mulūk (Ibn al-Nadīm), *muʾarrikh kabīr* (al-Kutubī), *imām* (= model) *li'l-muʾarrikhīn* (Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, i, 52; tr. Slane, i, 67; tr. Rosenthal, i, 64) is accepted. The esteem in which he was held by Ibn Khaldūn (who mentions him frequently but does not hesitate to criticise him) seems to have been inspired by his historical method, his interest in nations foreign to Islam, whether ancient or contemporary, and in the religions practised there, by his open-mindedness and his universal vision of history (on the links between the two authors, see in particular M. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's philosophy of history*, London 1957, 152-3, 164 ff., 255 ff.; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn and al-Masᶜūdī*, in *al-Masᶜūdī Millenary commemoration volume*, Aligarh 1960, 51-9).

To be sure, the *Tanbīh* is presented in the form of a universal history from Adam to al-Mutīᶜ, preceded by a survey of general geography; to be sure also, the table of contents of the *Murūdj* given the same impression. But this voluminous work does not contain only history and geography; in addition, it has been observed that, in the list of works of al-Masᶜūdī, at least twenty are generally of a heresiographical, doctrinal, philosophical or legal nature. Even if it is considered that disciplines thus cultivated belong to global history, the qualification of "historian" in the normal sense of the term is only partially appropriate to this polygraph. A. Shboul has not hesitated to describe him, in the subtitle of his treatise, as *A Muslim humanist*, and A. Miquel (*Géographie humaine*, i, 202) confers on him the title of "*imām* of encyclopaedism", thus justifying the quality of *adīb* of the Djāḥiẓian type which the author of these present lines has been led to acknowledge in him (in *Jnal of the Pakistan Historical Soc.*, ix [1961], 231-4). Eager to acquire all available types of knowledge, of whatever origin, and anxious to present them in a form responding to the exigencies of *adab* which seeks to instruct without burdening the reader, al-Masᶜūdī writes for a public which seeks to educate itself, to escape from the narrow confines of traditional instruction and to extend the field of Arab-Islamic culture, while not regarding as negligible everything that happens outside the Muslim world. On the subject of Gaul, B. Lewis recalls (in *Mas. Mill. commem. vol.*, 10) that, from the first millenium of Islam, there have survived only three works dealing with the "history" of Western Europe, and that the oldest of these is by al-Masᶜūdī, the *Murūdj*. This author established no school, and in this there is no cause for surprise, in the sense that the last-named work was in itself adequate to satisfy the curiosity of readers for many years, to say nothing of the encyclopaedists of later times who continued to exploit it without reservation (e.g. al-Ḳalḳashandī cites him forty-two times in the *Ṣubḥ*, the editor of which finds no other reference to the Persian calendar (ii, 385) than that contained in the *Murūdj*); these authors give the impression that nothing of equal substance has been written in the course of the intervening centuries on questions which nevertheless appear to have been broadly set forth.

In a period when rhymed prose was beginning to invade literature, it is remarkable that al-Masᶜūdī did not seek to elaborate his style, and only a few rhymed sentences are to be found in his writings. It will be observed, however, that he himself gave rhymed titles to around fifteen of his works, and that in only three of them is the first unit artificial. To the extent that it is possible to verify his quotations, he has sometimes introduced modifications in them, but he seldom voluntarily embellishes the form. The general arrangement of his works is not exempt from defects, and attention should be drawn to his numerous digressions, without however reproaching him for them, since they constitute one of the characteristics of *adab*. On his style, see Khalidi, *op. laud.*, 19-23.

Finally, even if it may be reckoned that the *Akhbār al-zamān* and *al-Kitāb al-awsaṭ*, in spite of their documentary worth, were too voluminous to be preserved, the fact remains that the loss of thirty-four works out of thirty-six is hard to explain, especially considering the enduring success of the *Murūdj*. Essentially, it is perhaps this very success which has contributed most to the casting of a shadow over the major historico-geographical works and has driven the Shīᶜīs to take no further interest in the other writings of an Imāmi author who was sufficiently independent to play into the hands of the Sunnīs by giving pride of place, not to the *Imāms* (as in the *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*) but to the caliphs, and by preferring, as he emphasises on numerous occasion, objective accounts (*khabar*) to speculation (*naẓar*). It can easily be understood how the Sunnīs, for their part, should have concentrated their attention on the *Murūdj*, and it may be supposed that al-Masᶜūdī has been a victim of the suspicion which was attached to both the Shīᶜīs and the Muᶜtazilīs, since he was regarded as belonging to this school.

Bibliography: The Arabic biographical sources are not particularly detailed: see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 154 (ed. Cairo, 219-20); Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 178; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xiii, 90-4; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 94-5; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiᶜiyya*, ii, 307; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 224-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 315-6; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, index; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 371; Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, 379-82; Nūrī, *Mustadrak*, iii, 310; ᶜĀmilī, *Aᶜyān al-Shīᶜa*, xli, 198-213; Ziriklī, v, 87; Kaḥḥāla, vii, 80.

Studies: The many orientalists who have exploited the *Murūdj* and, to a lesser extent, the *Tanbīh*, have been led to review certain passages and, where appropriate, to amend them; this is especially the case with V. Minorsky, in the commentary on the *Ḥudūd al-ᶜālam*, London 1937. Different aspects of the work of al-Masᶜūdī have been the object of independent studies: particularly worthy of mention are: the writings of T. Lewicki (in Polish) on the Slavs and other peoples; A. Czapkiewics, *Al-Masᶜūdī on balneology and balneotherapeutics*, in *Fol. Or.*, iii (1962), 271-5; Ch. Pellat, *La España musulmana en las obras de al-Masᶜūdī*, in *Actas del primer congreso de estudios árabes e islámicos*, Madrid 1964, 257-64; and especially, S. Maqbul Ahmad and A. Rahman (eds.), *al-Masᶜūdī Millenary commemoration volume*, Aligarh 1960, which contains some twenty contributions on particular subjects. J. de Guignes appears to have been the first to draw attention to the *Murūdj*, in *Notices et extraits*, i, 1787, 27, but the earliest monograph is the work of E. Quatremère, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Masoudi*, in *JA*, 3rd series, vii (1839), 1-31; see also are Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, no. 119; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, pp. xxxiv-xxxv; Brockelmann, I, 141-3, S I, 220-1, I², 150-2; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 332-6; F. Rosenthal, *Muslim historiography*, index. The works of S. Maqbul Ahmad, *Al-Masᶜūdī's contribution to medieval Arab geography*, in *IC*, xxvii (1953), 61-77, xxviii (1954), 275-86, and *The travels*, in *ibid.*, xxviii, 509-25, in fact mark the beginning of a resurgence of interest in the author of the *Murūdj*, illustrated by A. Miquel, *Le géographie humaine du monde musulman*

jusqu'au milieu du IIe siècle, Paris, i, 1967, 202-12, and index, ii, 1975, index; then by two successive works based on dissertations: T. Khalidi, *Islamic historiography. The histories of Masʿūdī*, Albany 1975 (an important study of the historical method of this author) and A. Shboul, *Al-Masʿūdī and his world. A. Muslim humanist and his interest in non-Muslims*, London 1979 (fundamental monograph, with comprehensive bibliography). (Ch. Pellat)

MĀSŪNIYYA [see farāmush-khāna and farmāsūniyya in Suppl.].

MAṢYĀD, a town of central Syria on the eastern side of the Djabal al-Nuṣayriyya situated at 33 miles/54 km to the east of Bāniyās [*q.v.*] and 28 miles/45 km to the east of Ḥamāt [*q.v.*], in long. 36° 35' E. and lat. 35° N., in the massif of the Djabal Anṣāriyya at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Djabal Bahrāʾ, at an altitude of 1,591ft./485 m. and to the west of the great trench of the fault of the Ghāb [*q.v.*]. The pronunciation and orthography of the name varies between the forms *Maṣyād*, *Maṣyāf* (in official documents and on the inscriptions mentioned below of the years 646 and 870 A.H.), *Maṣyāt* and *Maṣyāth* (on the interchange of *f* and *th*, see O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxxiv, 465; Praetorius, in *ibid.*, lxxv, 292; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, 143, n. 4, 209, 395, n. 3). The variants *Maṣyāb* (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 556), *Maṣyāh* (Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, 49), *Messiat* in tr. Venture, 73 and *Maṣyāt* (al-Nābulusī, in Von Kremer, in *SB Ak. Wien*, 1850, ii, 331) are no doubt due to mistakes in copying (Van Berchem, in *JA*, Ser. 9, ix [1897], 457, n. 2). At a later period, the pronunciation *Miṣyāf*, *Miṣyād*, became usual (al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 208; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshāʾ*, iv, 113; Ibn al-Shiḥna, ed. Beirut, 265; cf. *Meṣyāf* on von Oppenheim's map in *Petermans Mitteilungen*, lvii [1911], ii, Taf. 11). The name is perhaps a corruption of a Greek Μαρσύα (= Μασσύα) or Μαρσου χώμη, which presumably lay on the *Marsyas amnis*, the boundary river of the Nazerini (ancestors of the Nuṣayrīs? Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, v. 81) (cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realenzyklopädie*, xiv, cols. 1985-6, s.v. *Marsyas*, no. 3).

Maṣyād is an important settlement which has developed under the protection of a powerful citadel whose traces are visible on a limestone outcrop. The region gets an average of 31.5 inches/800 mm of rain, and the climate is good. Various small watercourses have allowed not only the cultivation in the region of barley and wheat but also the existence of gardens and orchards (*basātīn*). In her travel account, Gertrude L. Bell noted the abundance of flowers—anemones, iris, narcissus, and white and red orchids (*Syria: the desert and the sown*, 217).

The main communication routes between northern and southern Syria do not pass through the Orontes valley, but more to the east on the fringes of the desert steppes. In order to travel from Maṣyād to northern Syria, one has to reach the Orontes valley by a road passing through Laḳba and Dayr al-Shamīl, where a road coming from Ḥamāt is crossed, leaving to the west, on the mountain flank, the fortresses of Kharība and Abū Ḳubays [*q.v.*]. The Ghāb is descended into, and then the Orontes is crossed at the bridge of ʿAshārna, a bridge from the Roman period 8 miles/15 km below Shayzar [*q.v.*]. Beyond the bridge, the route passes by Ḳalʿat al-Mudīk and then reaches the plateau and goes through Afāmiya [*q.v.*] to reach Anṭākiya [*q.v.*] in northern Syria. There also exists a route linking Maṣyād with Shayzar via Tell al-Salhab. Finally, at the beginning of the 20th century the traces of the paved way (*raṣīf*) of a Roman road which linked Ḥamāt with the Mediterranean (Bell, *op.cit.*, 232) could still be seen; it then crossed the Nahr Sarūt by a bridge before passing through the settlement of Maṣyād in the direction of the sea. The coast could also be reached after Maṣyād by going through Rafāniyya, where there was a bifurcation of the ways either towards Ḳalʿat Yaḥmūr in the direction of Ṭarṭūs [*q.v.*] or towards Tell Kalakh if the journey to Ṭarābulus [*q.v.*] or Tripoli was intended. At the present day, asphalted roads allow access to Maṣyād without any difficulty.

Maṣyād is not mentioned in the early Middle Ages; the first mention of the fortress is probably in a Frankish account of the advance of the Crusaders in 1099: *pervenimus gaudentes hospitari ad quoddam Arabum castrum (Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. Hagenmeyer, 1890, 418 with n. 29; Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairîs*, Paris 1900, 21 n. 4). In the course of the campaign which he conducted in Syria during the autumn of 389/99 to regain Antioch, threatened by the Fāṭimids, the Byzantine Emperor Basil II occupied the Djabal Bahrāʾ, at the limits of his empire, and dismantled the defences of Ḥiṣn Maṣyād and Rafāniyya, which at this time formed part of the province (*djund*) of Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*]. When, after the capture of Tripoli on 11 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 502/12 July 1109, the Franks advanced on Rafāniyya, Ṭughtakīn set out to relieve it; by the terms of the peace concluded between them, the Franks bound themselves to abandon all designs on Maṣyāth and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and in compensation, these two places and Ḥiṣn Ṭūfān were to pay them tribute (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii, 537). This agreement did not last long. Around this time, the frontiers between the Latin states began to be precisely delimited; on the other hand, one may note the presence of Ismāʿīlīs, who profited from the anarchy of the years following the arrival of the First Crusade and tried to find places of refuge in the mountainous region to the west of the middle Orontes.

Before 521/1127 the fortress was in possession of a branch of the Mirdāsids [*q.v.*], who sold it to the Banū Munḳidh [*q.v.*]. The Ismāʿīlīs, having in 524/1130 ceded to the Franks the stronghold of Bāniyās in the Wādī al-Tayim, which the Būrid Ṭughtakīn had given to them, now tried to establish themselves in the Djabal Bahrā' around Maṣyād. In 527/1132-3, Sayf al-Mulk Ibn ʿAmrūn, the lord of al-Kahf, sold to them Ḳadmūs, seized from the Franks in the previous year, after which they soon occupied al-Kahf and Kharība. In Ramaḍān 535/April-May 1141, they also seized the fortress of Maṣyāf by outwitting the commandant Sunḳur, a *mamlūk* in the service of the Banū Munḳidh of Shayzar, who was surprised and slain (Abu 'l-Fidā, *Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i, 25; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in *ibid.*, i, 438; al-Nuwayrī, Cod. Leiden 2^m, fol. 222b, in Van Berchem, *JA* [1897], 464, n. 1). Maṣyād now became the residence of the Syrian "Master" of the sect, as we may call him, with Van Berchem, to distinguish him from the Grand Master in Alamūt [*q.v.*], known as *Shaykh al-Djabal*. The Ismāʿīlīs now proceeded to make themselves independent there for a century-and-a-half. In 543/1148, after the check to the Second Crusade, the Ismāʿīlīs of Maṣyād made common cause with the Franks against Nūr al-Dīn, but in 552/1157 these same Ismāʿīlīs joined in the defence of the fortress of Shayzar, besieged by the Crusaders. Whilst the Ismāʿīlīs had just been regrouped in the mountainous region of Ḳadmūs by the Master (*muḳaddam*) Abū Muḥammad, there appeared in Syria around

557/1162 Ras͟hīd al-Dīn Sinān b. Salmān b. Muḥammad al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*] as envoy of the Grand Master of Alamūt, the head of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, sometimes known as the Assassins [see NIZĀRĪS, ḤAS͟HĪS͟HIYYA]. He soon took over the direction of them in this region, and until his death in 588/1192, showed an extraordinary talent for organisation, making the sect a formidable military force which sowed terror amongst both the Crusaders and the Syrian Muslims. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who wanted to punish them for two attempts on his life, invaded the land of the Ismāʿīlīs in Muḥarram 572/July-August 1176, laid it waste and laid siege to Sinān in Ḳalʿat Maṣyād. Whilst besieging Maṣyād, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn learnt that the Crusaders had attacked in the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*]. Since the siege became a lengthy one, he decided to negotiate through the mediation of his uncle S͟hihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Takas͟h al-Ḥārimī, the master of Ḥamāt, and at the beginning of Ṣafar/August, he retired with his army in the direction of Ḥamāt (Abu ʾl-Fidā and Ibn al-Athīr, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i, 47, 626). The exact terms of the agreement are not now known, but it is certain that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn never again attacked the Ismāʿīlīs and that the latter ceased to plot against him. Shortly before he raised the siege of Maṣyād (about 1 Ṣafar), he received from Usāma b. Munḳidh, who was in Damascus, a letter containing a panegyric of his great patron (Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousâma*, Paris 1893, 400-1). Rās͟hid al-Dīn died in 588/September 1192. The Syrian Masters, as the official epithet *al-Dunyā wa ʾl-Dīn* henceforth regularly borne by them shows, were raised by him to a position with power and privileges equal to those of sovereign rulers (Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, 470). While Sinān had completely emancipated himself from the suzerainty of the headquarters of the sect in Alamūt, in 608/1211-12 we find the old conditions completely restored (Abū S͟hāma, *al-D͟hayl fī ʾl-rawḍatayn*, in Van Berchem, *op.cit.*, 475ff., n. 1).

The fortress of Maṣyād lies to the northeast of the settlement, at the foot of the D̲jabal Bahrāʾ and within the town wall, a few traces of which are still today visible. The fortress is perched on a rocky limestone block and has a situation running from north to south; the eastern edge of this bluff rises vertically for some ten metres and gives the appearance of a cliff. Like S͟hayzar, Maṣyād is an Arab citadel antedating the Crusades and having no connection with them; in its dimensions and size, it cannot be compared with such great mediaeval fortresses of Syria as Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, Marḳab [*q.vv.*] or Ṣahyūn. For Van Berchem and Fatio (*Voyage en Syrie*, 115, 172), this fortress resembles in silhouette those of al-Musayliḥa and S͟humaymis. It is one of the best-preserved of the Ismāʿīlīs castles of Syria (Dussaud, *Topographie*, 138-48). It is made up of a curtain wall of only modest appearance with numerous rectangular salients. A donjon or keep, also rectangular, is built in the centre and dominates the ensemble. According to P. Deschamps (*Tripoli*, 39), the Ismāʿīlīs are said to have repaired in the 7th/13th century, with good-quality materials, a Byzantine building of minor importance, of which a certain number of columns and capitals embedded in the doorways of the fortress (partially reproduced in Gertrude Bell, *op. cit.*, 217-19) are still visible witnesses. The castle is entered by a grand gateway on the north side reached by several steps; the entrance is vaulted like that of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād; and the fitting-out of the interior is the work of the Ismāʿīlīs. The keep is in poor condition, and later accretions over the course of the centuries of shacks and constructions have disfigured this piece of military architecture, which merits study and publication of the results. A certain number of Arabic inscriptions mention the various building works made in the castle. The oldest, dating from the middle of the 6th/12th century, is the signature of a master of works, the *mamlūk* Ḳuṣta (*RCEA*, viii, 3197); another inscription from 560/1165 bears the signature of a certain Ibn Mubārak (*RCEA*, ix, 3264). According to two inscriptions on a doorway inside the castle (*RCEA*, x, 3890-1), the building was put into a state of repair by the Syrian Master Kamāl al-Dunyā wa ʾl-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd under the suzerainty of the Grand Master of Alamūt ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III (618-53/1221-55). The reference is probably to the al-Kamāl, who, according to al-Nasawī (*Hist. du Sultan Djelal al-Din Mankobirti*, ed. Houdas, 132), was for a period before 624/1227 governor in Syria for the Grand Master of the Ismāʿīlīs. It is uncertain whether the commandant (*mutawallī*) Mad̲jd al-Dīn, who received in 624/1227 the ambassadors of Frederick II (al-Ḥamawī, in Amari, *Bibl. arabico-sicula*, App. ii, 30) was one of the Masters (Van Berchem, in *JA* [1897], 501, n. 1). About 625-6/1228-9 and still in 635/1237-8, Sirād̲j al-Dīn Muẓaffar b. al-Ḥusayn was Syrian Master (Nasawī, *op. cit.*, 168; inscription of al-Kahf, in *RCEA*, x, 4143). In the village, there remain the traces of a mediaeval rampart provided with gateways and three inscriptions recording the repairs and works carried out.

A Persian from Alamūt, Tād̲j al-Dīn, was in 637/1239-40 *muḳaddam* of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrid̲j al-kurūb*, Paris, ms. ar. 1702, fol. 333b, in Van Berchem, 466, n. 2). As Tād̲j al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Futūḥ he appears in an inscription in Maṣyād of D̲hu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 646/February-March 1249, according to which he had built the city wall of Maṣyāf and its south gate. The commander of the fortress under him was ʿAbd Allāh b. Abi ʾl-Faḍl b. ʿAbd Allāh (inscriptions A and B in Van Berchem, *JA* [1897], 456 = Van Berchem-von Oppenheim, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, vii, no. 19). Probably it was Tād̲j al-Dīn to whom the Dominican monk Yvo the Breton, a member of an embassy sent by Louis IX to the "Old Man of the Mountains" in May 1250, sent a naive and fruitless appeal for his conversion (Jean de Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis*, ed. Wailly, 246; Van Berchem, in *JA* [1897], 478-80).

After having got possession of Alamūt in 654/1256 and having sacked Bag̲hdād two years later, the troops of Hülegu or Hūlākū [*q.v.*] invaded northern Syria in 658/1260 and temporarily occupied Maṣyād. In this year, in the time of the Master Riḍā al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Maʿālī, the Mongols seized and held the fortress for a time, but after the victory of the Egyptian Sultan Ḳuṭuz at ʿAyn D̲jālūt [*q.v.*], they abandoned it. About two years later, Baybars began to interfere in the affairs of the Ismāʿīlīs and to demand tribute from them. He very soon deposed the Master Nad̲jm al-Dīn Ismāʿīl and appointed his son-in-law Ṣārim al-Dīn Mubārak in his place and took Maṣyād from him. When the latter returned there, Baybars had him seized and brought to Cairo, where he was thrown into prison. Nad̲jm al-Dīn was again recognised as Master for a brief period and then his son S͟hams al-Dīn, on payment of an annual tribute before the sultan definitely incorporated Maṣyād in his kingdom in Rad̲jab 668/1270 (Abu ʾl-Fidā, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i, 153; Mufaḍḍal b. Abi ʾl-Faḍāʾil, *Gesch. d. Mamlūkensultane*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv, 445; Van Berchem, in *JA* [1897], 465, n. 2). Having now become a Sunnī Muslim possession, Maṣyād presumably at first belonged to the "royal province of fortunate conquests" the capital of which was Ḥiṣn al-

Akrād, then to Ṭarābulus (after its capture in 688/1289).

Within the scheme of administrative reorganisation within the Mamlūk empire, a route was established in the 7th/13th century for the *barīd* [*q.v.*] or postal service between Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] and Maṣyād, which was at the time an important strategic point under the authority of a commander responsible directly to the sultan because of the fortress's rôle in the defence of the *dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*] just like Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and Raḥba [*q.v.*].

Abu 'l-Fidā' (about 720/1320) describes Maṣyād as an important town, with beautiful gardens through which streams flowed; it had a strong citadel and lay at the eastern base of the Djabal al-Lukkām (more accurately Djabal al-Sikkīn) about a *farsakh* north of Bārīn and a day's journey west of Ḥamā (not Ḥimṣ, as Le Strange, *Palestine*, 507 erroneously says; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Geogr.*, ed. Reinaud, 229 ff.). As a result of its high situation, it has a more temperate climate than the low ground on the Nahr al-ʿĀṣī; the young Usāma in 516/1122-3 brought to Maṣyād the wife and children of the *amīr* of Shayzar, his uncle ʿIzz al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAsākir Sulṭān, from the heat of Shayzar which was causing the *amīr* anxiety about their health (Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousâma*, 43).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Maṣyād in 756/1355, mentions (*Riḥla*, i, 166-7, tr. Gibb, i, 106) as lying near this stronghold the Ismāʿīlī fortresses of Ḳadmūs, al-Manayḳa, ʿUllayḳa and al-Kahf. These five places, the *ḳilāʿ al-daʿwa* "fortresses of the [Ismāʿīlī] mission", formed, with the castle of al-Ruṣāfa, the *niyāba* of Maṣyād which, in the 8th/14th century, was a dependency of Ṭarābulus. Later, it was separated from this province and attached to the *niyāba* of Damascus, to which it still belonged in the time of al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 113, 202, 235), *ca.* 814/1412. Its *nā'ib* was nominated from Cairo and was at various times an *amīr* of *ṭabalkhāna* or an *amīr* of ten, and it had a garrison of Mamlūks. In 826/1423, under Barsbay [*q.v.*] there was no longer a *barīd* service, but there was a road which allowed one to travel from Ṭarābulus to Maṣyād and then to reach, via al-Ruṣāfa and Khawalī, Ḳadmūs, where it passed through al-Kahf and then ʿUllayḳa to end up at Balāṭunus [*q.v.*]. In the middle of the 9th/15th century, Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, in his *Zubda* (ed. Ravaisse, 49, tr. Venture, 73), tells us that around 850/1446 "the town of Maṣyād is still within this province (sc. Ḥamāwiyya); it is a pleasant town with an extensive surrounding countryside". An inscription of Maṣyād of Ramaḍān 870/April-May 1466 contains a decree about taxes of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Khushḳadam (Van Berchem-von Oppenheim, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, vii, 20, no. 23: no. 22 is perhaps of the same al-Malik al-Ẓāhir).

Under Egyptian rule, the position of the lands of the Ismāʿīlīs with Maṣyād as capital was to some extent exceptional (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 182, no. 3).

In the 10th/16th century, after the Ottoman conquest of Syria, Maṣyād is mentioned in the cadastral survey amongst the *ḳilāʿ al-daʿwa* situated to the west of Ḥamāt; these villages of the Ismāʿīlīs paid a special tax. Maṣyād formed part of the *liwā* of Ḥimṣ; there was situated there a *khān* [*q.v.*] on which the Ottomans levied tolls which were abolished in the middle of the 10th/16th century (Mantran and Sauvaget, *Règlements fiscaux*, 92). In 1105/1693-4 ʿAbd al-Ghānī al-Nābulusī [*q.v.*] passed through Maṣyād and mentions a certain Sulaymān, from the tribe of Tanūkh, as governor of the town at that time. In 1697 d'Herbelot cited the place in his *Bibliothèque orientale* as "Massiat". In the middle of the 12th/18th century, Maṣyād continued to be the residence of Ismāʿīlī *amīrs*. On the map drawn up by the Sieur d'Anville in 1750, the place is called "Masiat". Of more recent date are two inscriptions of an *amīr* Muṣṭafā b. Idrīs: one from the year 1203/1788-9 relating to the building of a fountain (*sabīl*) (Van Berchem-Von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 21, no. 24), and the other to the building of the house of the Ismāʿīlī *amīrs* (*ibid.*, no. 25).

The Ismāʿīlīs lived constantly in open or secret enmity with the Nuṣayrīs, although various tribes of the latter had offered their services to the Ismāʿīlī Masters, for example, as early as 724/1324 to Rāshid al-Dīn (S. Guyard, *Un grand maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin*, in *JA* [1877], 165; R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nosairîs*, 80). A number of Nuṣayrīs of the tribe of Raslān, whom the *amīr* of Maṣyād had allowed to settle in the town under their Shaykh Maḥmūd, in 1808 murdered the *amīr*, his son and about 300 Ismāʿīlīs, and seized the town. The other inhabitants, who had sought refuge in flight, applied for protection to Yūsuf Pāshā, the governor of Damascus. He sent a punitive expedition of 4-5,000 men against the Nuṣayrīs; Maṣyād had to be surrendered by the Banū Raslān after three month's stubborn resistance, and the fugitive Ismāʿīlīs returned to Maṣyād in 1810 (Dussaud, *op. cit.*, 32; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien*, 258). In 1812 Burckhardt estimated the population of Maṣyād at 250 Ismāʿīlī and 30 Christian families. The population since then seems to have diminished still further. Burckhardt and Lammens found many houses in the town in ruins and large gardens within its walls. According to Burckhardt, the land east of the town was a desert heath, while in the north at the foot of the hills the citadel stands on a high steep rock; on the west side is a valley, in which the inhabitants grow wheat and oats. The town, which lies on the slope of a hill, is about half an hour's walk in circumference. Three older gates have been incorporated in the present more modern walls. The mosque is in ruins. The old citadel is for the most part destroyed; only a few buildings have been roughly restored and in parts were still inhabited at the beginning of the 20th century.

From the 19th century onwards, the "Assassins" of Maṣyād, the generations of whom had lived since the 7th/12th century under the authority of delegates from the Nizārīs of Alamūt before becoming subjects of first the Mamlūks and then the Ottomans, were exposed to repeated attacks by the Nuṣayrīs. In February 1919 the region between Maṣyād and Tartūs [*q.v.*] was shaken by the revolt of Shaykh Ṣāliḥ against the French, whose troops were held in check on the road from Shaykh Badr to Maṣyād. According to Latron, *Vie rurale*, 208, the Government of Lādhiḳiyya compelled some of the large landowners of Ḥamāt to hand over to it in 1929 their villages in the *ḳaḍā'* of Maṣyād: Bayāḍiyya, Miryamīn, ʿAkākir and Ruṣāfa, whose cultivated lands have been distributed amongst the peasants working them. In this way, the ʿAlawī part of the *ḳaḍā'* of Maṣyād, including the fortress of Abū Ḳubays, was taken away from the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥamāt for attachment to the new State of the ʿAlawites.

In the mountain regions to the west of Maṣyād there exist deposits of iron known since Antiquity and still capable of exploitation. In order to provide a legal framework for disputes over the division of water, a list of the sharers and their entitlements was set down in writing and registered officially (Latron, *op. cit.*, 160).

Until 1938, the *minṭaḳa* of Maṣyād was part of the province of Ḥamāt, but in 1939 the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Maṣyād was integrated *in toto* into the *muḥāfaẓa* of the ʿAlawites, the *ḳaḍāʾ* then having a population of 4,059 people.

In 1945, according to Robin Fedden, the road linking Ḥamāt and Maṣyād climbed westwards up a small valley whose watercourse is an affluent of the Orontes. At the approach to the village one met, among the orchards, pathways lined with pomegranate trees. The village, with its stone houses, was formerly enclosed by a wall, and formed a compact unit of Ismāʿīlī cultivators. In our own time, Maṣyād still preserves an aspect different from that of the plains villages. The region situated beyond and to the south of the region of the Gh̲āb does not benefit directly from the investment in the "Gh̲āb Project". Nevertheless, the plans for this region and the settlement of nomads have favoured a perceptible development of the *minṭaḳa* which has, according to the 1970 census, 75,437 inhabitants, 37,922 men and 37,515 women. Since 1965, the Syrian government has set up at Maṣyād a centre for carpet weaving, with workshops having an essentially female working force. Production amounted to 740 m^2 of carpets in 1979 but only 410 m^2 in 1980.

At present, Maṣyād is linked with the new autoroute which travels along the eastern bank of the Orontes northwards. There is a loop 7 km to the east of Maṣyād running northwards from the asphalt road linking Ḥamāt with Bāniyās via Maṣyād. An oil pipeline connecting Ḥimṣ with the Mediterranean coast passes just to the south of Maṣyād and then follows the road across the mountain as far as the sea.

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(E. Honigman - [N. Elisséeff])

MAṢYĀF [see Maṣyād].

al-**MAṬĀLIʿ** (a, pl. of *maṭlaʿ*), ascensions, an important concept in mediaeval spherical astronomy and astronomical timekeeping [see mīḳāt]. Ascensions represent a measure of the amount of apparent rotation of the celestial sphere, and are usually measured from the eastern horizon, hence the name ascensions. Two kinds were used: (1) right ascensions, or ascensions in *sphaera recta*; and (2) oblique ascensions, or ascensions in *sphaera obliqua* [see also falak and maṭlaʿ].

(1) Right ascensions refer to the risings of arcs of the ecliptic over the horizon of a locality with latitude zero, and were called in mediaeval scientific Arabic *al-maṭāliʿ fi 'l-falak al-mustaḳīm*. In Fig. 1, which displays the horizon of such a locality and the celestial equator (perpendicular to the horizon) as well as an instantaneous position of the ecliptic, an arc λ of the ecliptic (measured from the vernal equinox γ) rises in the same period of time as the arc α of the celestial equator. The function $\alpha(\lambda)$ called the right ascensions measures the rising time of the ecliptic arc λ. Such ascensions were called *maṭāliʿ min awwal al-ḥamal*, since they were measured from the first point of Aries, that is, the vernal equinox γ.

The function $\alpha(\lambda)$ was often tabulated in the

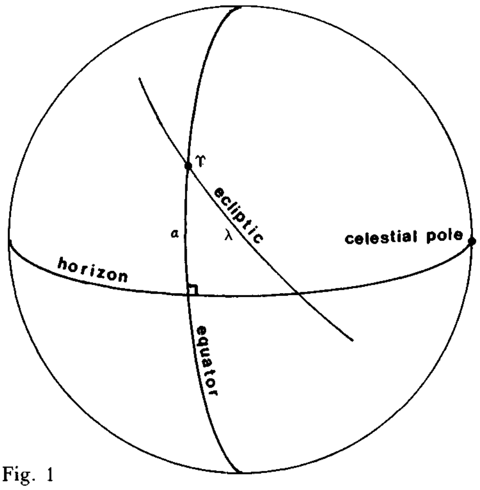

Fig. 1

astronomical handbooks known as *zīdjs* [see ZĪDJ] for each degree of λ to two or three sexagesimal digits. The underlying formula expressed in modern notation is:

$$\alpha(\lambda) = \arcsin(\tan\delta(\lambda)\cot\varepsilon),$$

where ε is the obliquity of the ecliptic and δ is the declination [see MAYL]. The function $\rho(\lambda) = \tan\delta(\lambda)$ (multiplied by an appropriate constant related to the bases used for the various trigonometric functions) was also tabulated separately to facilitate computation of $\alpha(\lambda)$—it was called *al-maṭāliʿ li-kull al-arḍ*, "ascensions for all the earth". More commonly, however, the quantity $\alpha' = \alpha + 90°$, called *al-maṭāliʿ min awwal al-djady*, that is, ascensions measured from the first point of Capricorn, was tabulated. The use of this function, now referred to as "normed ascensions", is explained below.

The ascensions of celestial bodies not on the ecliptic, such as stars, were also called *maṭāliʿ*. Fig. 2 shows a star with equatorial coordinates α for ascensions and

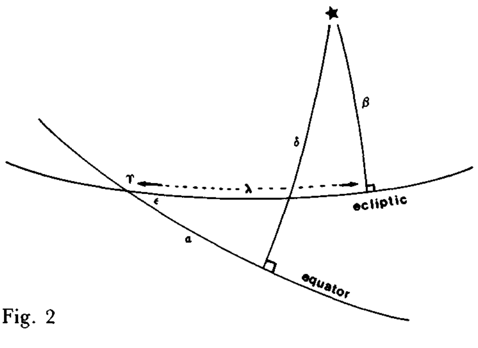

Fig. 2

δ for declination. Islamic star tables displayed either ecliptic longitudes and latitudes (λ and β) or equatorial ascensions (regular or normed) and declinations (α and δ) for a specific epoch. Since stellar longitudes increase steadily with time and stellar latitudes are constant, star tables could be modified for a different epoch by simply adding the amount of longitude increase (known as precession). Tables of equatorial coordinates could be prepared either by direct observation or by calculation from tables of ecliptic coordinates; in mediaeval times they could not be prepared from earlier tables of coordinates of the same kind because both stellar right ascension and declination are not linear functions of time. Formulae for the conversion of ecliptic to equatorial coordinates and *vice versa*, that is $(\lambda, \beta) \leftrightarrow (\alpha, \delta)$ were available to Muslim astronomers from Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and were simplified by them. The universal astrolabe [see SHAKKĀZIYYA] was particularly useful for performing transformations of ecliptic and equatorial coordinates.

(2) Oblique ascensions, associated with a specific latitude, were called *maṭāliʿ al-balad* or *al-maṭāliʿ al-baladiyya*. In Fig. 3, the arc λ of the ecliptic rises in the same time as arc α_φ of the equator over the horizon of a locality with latitude ρ. Muslim astronomers tabulated $\alpha_\varphi(\lambda)$ for specific latitudes. From *ca.* 400/1010 onwards, they often tabulated it for each degree of terrestrial latitude, usually for each degree of λ. The oblique ascensions, $\alpha_\varphi(\lambda)$, are related to the right ascension, $\alpha(\lambda)$, by the identity:

$$\alpha_\varphi(\lambda) = \alpha(\lambda) - d(\varphi, \lambda)$$

where $d(\varphi, \lambda)$ is half the excess of daylight over 180°, called in Arabic the *niṣf faḍl al-nahār*. In Fig. 3, ♈H =

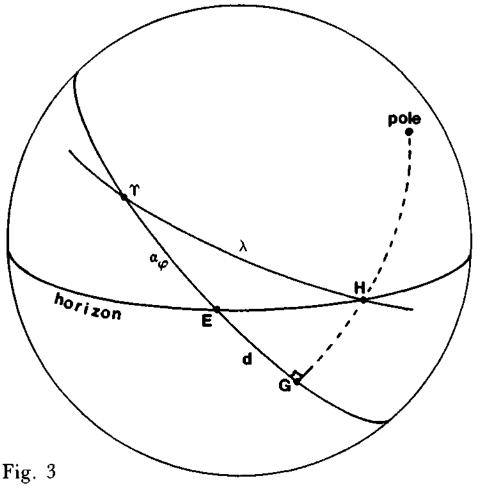

Fig. 3

λ, ♈E = α_φ, and EG = *d*. The formula for $d(\varphi, \lambda)$ used by mediaeval astronomers was equivalent to the modern formula:

$$\delta(\varphi, \lambda = \arcsin(\tan\delta(\lambda)\tan\varphi.$$

Again, the function $e(\lambda) = \tan\delta(\lambda)$ was used to generate values of $d(\varphi, \lambda)$ and, hence, tables of $\alpha_\varphi(\lambda)$ for different latitudes.

Oblique ascensions are of singular importance in timekeeping and in mathematical astrology. In both disciplines, the point of the ecliptic instantaneously rising over the horizon, which is known as the horoscopus [see ṬĀLIʿ], is of interest. In Fig. 4, it is labelled H. Clearly, from the geometry of the sphere, the oblique ascensions of the horoscopus (with ecliptic longitude λ_H) are given by the relation:

$$\alpha_\varphi(\lambda_H) = \alpha_\varphi(\lambda_\odot) + T$$

where $\lambda_\odot$ is the longitude of the sun and *T* is the time in equatorial degrees since sunrise. In order to measure the time of day, it is thus sufficient to control the oblique ascensions of the horoscopus and the solar longitude. Similar procedures hold for timekeeping by the stars at night. Muslim astronomers, following a tradition started in Ptolemy's *Handy tables*, generally preferred to use the normed ascensions $\alpha' = \alpha + 90°$ because of the relation

$$\alpha_\varphi(\lambda_H) = \alpha(\lambda_M) + 90° = \alpha'(\lambda_M),$$

where λ_M is the longitude of upper mid-heaven, the

point of the ecliptic culminating on the meridian. If a star whose ecliptic longitude is known is observed to be culminating, then the longitude of the horoscopus can be found immediately from tables of $\alpha_\varphi(\lambda)$ and $\alpha'(\lambda)$. Once the latter is found, the astrological houses can be determined using tables of ascensions. Ascensions, then, were important in both timekeeping and astrology. In all *zīdjs* and treatises on astronomical timekeeping they figure prominently.

Ascensions were also important in determinations of lunar crescent visibility [see RUʾYAT AL-HILĀL]. Since one of the most popular conditions for crescent visibility was that the difference in setting times of the sun and moon be twelve equatorial degrees (= 48 minutes of time), the problem could easily be expressed in terms of ascensions. The situation is shown in Fig. 4. Note that the "descensions" (*maghārib*) of an ecliptic arc λ are α_φ (λ + 180°). Thus if $\lambda_\odot$ and $\lambda_m = \lambda_\odot + \Delta\lambda$ represent the longitudes of the sun and moon, the condition may be expressed as:

$$\alpha_\varphi(180° + \lambda_m) - \alpha_\varphi(180° + \lambda_\odot) = 12°$$

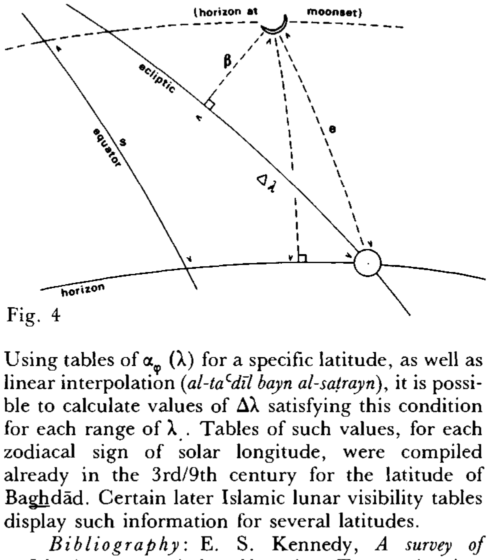

Fig. 4

Using tables of α_φ (λ) for a specific latitude, as well as linear interpolation (*al-taʿdīl bayn al-saṭrayn*), it is possible to calculate values of $\Delta\lambda$ satisfying this condition for each range of $\lambda_\odot$. Tables of such values, for each zodiacal sign of solar longitude, were compiled already in the 3rd/9th century for the latitude of Baghdād. Certain later Islamic lunar visibility tables display such information for several latitudes.

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* Articles marked with an asterisk are reprinted in E. S. Kennedy *et alii*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983.

(D. A. KING)

AL-MAṬĀMĪR [see MAṬMŪRA].

AL-MATAMMA, a town in the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, located in Shandī District, western bank of the Nile, opposite Shandī town [*q.v.*]. The number of households there in 1973 was 1,108.

Its origins are unknown, but its development was closely connected with caravan traffic that crossed the Nile there, and its status as a sister-town of Shandī is indicated by the fact that it was also known as Shandī al-Gharb. At the end of the 18th century it became involved in the upheavals of the Fundj kingdom [*q.v.*]; and around 1801 a rival faction of the Saʿdāb royal family of Shandī settled in al-Matamma, eventually becoming an ally of the Shāʾikiyya in their struggle against Fundj domination. By the time of the Egyptian invasion (1820-1), the population of al-Matamma numbered about 6,000, being ruled by King Musāʿid who was subordinate to his cousin Nimr, king of Shandī. Subjected to foreign rule, the rival kings united in a plot to kill the Egyptian commander Ismāʿīl Pasha [*q.v.*] (1822). After the subsequent reprisals in 1823, which hit Shandī more severely than al-Matamma, the latter grew into the most important tribal and commercial centre of the Djaʿaliyyūn [*q.v.*], with a large merchant class, and served as a transit point for caravans as in former times. By the middle of the century it was celebrated throughout the Sudan for the manufacture of coarse cotton scarfs. During the Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], on the eve of the British invasion in 1897, the people of al-Matamma refused to evacuate the town in order to make it a stronghold, and instead established contact with the invaders. A battle ensued in which the Mahdist forces killed most of the rebels (30 Muḥarram 1315/1 July 1897). During the present century, al-Matamma has gradually recovered but has not regained its commercial role.

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(A. BJØRKELO)

MAṬBAʿA (A.), printing.

1. In the Arab World

The Arabic verb *ṭabaʿa*, in the sense of printing a book, is a neologism probably inspired by the Italian or the French. This meaning is already attested in the

Dictionnaire français-arabe of Bocthor (1829): "printing", "the art of printing" is *ṭibāʿa* or *ṣināʿāt al-ṭabʿ*, while "printing-house", "printing-press" is *maṭbaʿa* or *dār al-ṭibāʿa*. It is the art of printing, in the context of the three technical processes that it comprises, xylography or wood-block printing (the discovery of which dates back to remote antiquity), printing by means of moving type (developed during the second half of the 15th century), and lithography (invented by G. A. Senefelder in 1796), which is the subject of this article.

Of the three processes, it seems that the Arabs, and the Muslims in particular, preferred lithography, especially during the 19th century. According to Demeerseman (see below, Tunisia) there are numerous reasons for this preference. The first reason is technical: lithography is more versatile than printing, and offers a greater range of possibilities in the production of designs and of maps. The second is artistic: it is an art which lends itself remarkably well to the reproduction of writing. As a corollary, there is the cultural reason: lithography causes no problem to the reader who is accustomed only to the manuscript style adopted for the writing-tablets of the Ḳurʾān school. Finally, there are social and economic reasons. In the East, the profession of copyist was highly developed, giving prestige and prosperity to a large section of the urban working class. According to the Bolognese scholar Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658-1730), the number of Turkish copyists in Constantinople, when he visited the city, was as high as 80,000. The creation of printing-presses would therefore have caused devasting unemployment among the educated population. Further reasons are moral, doctrinal and political, and these may easily be imagined.

Regarding the relatively late date of the introduction of printing in the Arab countries (except in Lebanon and Syria, the practice did not emerge until the beginning of the 19th century) two other factors, besides those already mentioned, played an important role. In the first place, the majority of the Arab countries had been under the Ottoman domination since the beginning of the 16th century. Before establishing its own official press in 1726, the Sublime Porte had hitherto forbidden (edicts of Bāyezīd II in 1485 and of Selīm I in 1515) the Muslims to print texts in Arabic characters (although it permitted the Jews to print texts in Hebrew). The second factor is the economic problem which would have faced the innovators. To found presses of even modest size required the investment of substantial capital sums, which the book market, revolutionised by the availability of large-scale mechanical production, remained incapable of repaying properly. It should not be forgotten that the Medici Press in Rome was virtually bankrupt in 1610, because its proprietor-director, Raimondi, lacked the expertise to distribute the books that he printed. And such must have been the fate, undeserved, of many other presses, whose record is confined to the production of a single work! A copyist, on the other hand, worked to a contract, and his only capital outlay was the purchase of paper.

A. Xylography

Xylography, or printing by means of plates or characters engraved on wood, was used by the Arabs, judging by the specimens which have been noted in the collections of manuscripts and papyri possessed by certain libraries in Europe (Vienna, Heidelberg, Berlin and the British Library). America (Museum of the University of Pennsylvania), or the Arab countries (National Library of Cairo and the ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Collection in Tunis). There is no precise indication of the dates of these specimens, of which the majority are amulets. According to Moritz, six printing-plates in the collection of the ancient Khedivial Library of Cairo date from the Fāṭimid period. A study of xylographed Arabic texts would be a worthwhile undertaking, rendering it possible to observe whether the Arabs confined themselves to plates or whether whole books were composed according to this process. See G. Levi Della Vida, *An Arabic block print*, in *The Scientific Monthly*, lix (December 1944), 473-4; F. Bonola Bey, *Note sur l'origine de l'imprimerie arabe en Europe*, in *BIE*, 5th series, iii (1909), 75; A. Demeerseman, *L'imprimerie en Orient et au Maghreb*, in *IBLA*, xvii (1954), 21-3; R. W. Bulliet, *Medieval Arabic* ṭarsh: *a forgotten chapter in the history of printing*, in *JAOS*, cvii (1987), 427-38.

B. Printing and lithography

1. *In Europe.*

Arabic printing with mobile characters originated and developed, through a curious combination of circumstances which have yet to be fully explained, in Europe in the 16th century. It was in fact with the purpose of publishing Christian religious texts in Eastern languages and in Arabic in particular, that the Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, on the advice of Pope Gregory XIII, in 1585 entrusted to the orientalist Giovan Battista Raimondi the task of establishing and administering the *Typographia Medicea linguarum externarum*. Until the death of Raimondi in 1614, this press was to print a whole series of Arabic works including the translation of the Bible and of the Four Gospels, the *Canon Medicinae* of Avicenna, and the anonymously-edited text of the *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* by al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*].

There exist, however, numerous works printed well before the *Typographia Medicea* began to operate, such that printing in Arabic characters must be deemed to have emerged at the beginning of the 16th century, or even in the final year of the 15th. The first book in Arabic characters seems in fact to have been a Ḳurʾān printed in Venice by Paganino de' Paganini (the dates given vary between 1499 and 1530); many authors speak of this work but no specimen of it survives, all copies having been destroyed by fire (see Maria Nallino, *Una cinquecentesca edizione del Corano stampata a Venezia*, in *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, cxxiv, Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti [Venice 1965], 1-12).

The earliest Arabic text that has reached us is a book of Christian prayers, the *Kitāb Ṣalāt al-sawāʿī* (or *Horologium breve*). It was produced at Fano, in the region of the Marches which constituted part of the States of the Church, in 1514, by the master printer Gregorio de' Gregori (or de' Gregoris). Two years later, in Genoa, the typographer Pier Paolo Porro printed the trilingual *Psalterium* (Greek, Hebrew and Arabic), or else the Book of Psalms (*Kitāb al-Mazāmīr*) with an Arabic preface. In 1556, in Rome, the press of the Collegium Societatis Jesu produced an anonymous religious treatise in Arabic (probably to be attributed to the Jesuit Giambattista Eliano or Romano) with the Latin title *Fidei orthodoxae brevis et explicata confessio* and the Arabic title *Iʿtiḳād al-amāna*, which was to be reprinted many times during the same century and in the following century.

The first work of a non-religious nature was printed, again in Rome, by the Venetian master printer Domenico Basa at his Roman printing-press in 1585, the book in question being the *Kitāb al-Bustān fī ʿadjāʾib al-arḍ wa 'l-buldān*, a work of descriptive geography by an author of whom nothing is known but his name, Salāmish b. Kundukdjī al-Ṣāliḥī.

Outside Italy, worthy of note is an Arabic grammar

by Guillaume Postel, printed in Paris, probably in 1538, of which the Arabic characters are unfortunately almost illegible. At Neustadt in 1582, with characters engraved on wood, there was published an *Alphabetum arabicum* by Jacob Christmann, professor of Arabic at Heidelberg. The same characters were used in Heidelberg, the following year, for the printing of a translation by Ruthger Spey of the *Epistle to the Galatians* of St. Paul.

Again at Rome, in 1627, there began the intensive typographical activity of the press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, responsible for the printing of two particularly monumental works. The first is the Arabic translation of an abridged version of the *Annales ecclesiastici*, or history of the Church edited in twelve volumes by Cardinal Cesare Baronio, published between 1653 and 1671, and the second, the *Biblia arabica ad usum Ecclesiarum orientalium*, in four folio volumes.

At least three other presses, active in the 17th century, are worthy of mention. The first is that of the Collegio Ambrosiano of Milan where, in 1632, there was printed the Latin translation of the well-known *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī, made by Antonio Giggei under the title of *Thesaurus linguae arabicae* in four large folio volumes.

The second is that of the Seminary of Padua, in the state of Venice, which ceased to operate in 1698 after printing, in two large volumes, the Arabic text of the Ḳurʾān, with Latin translation, an introduction and a commentary (drawn from as yet unedited Arabic works) by Ludovico Marracci, confessor to Pope Innocent XI, at the latter's request.

The third is the Reale Stamperia of Palermo, in Sicily, which published the first collection of accounts relating to the Arab occupation of Sicily intitled *Rerum arabicarum, quae ad historiam Siculam spectant, ampla collectio,* the *Libro del Consiglio d'Egitto*, or *Kitāb Dīwān Miṣr*, by the notorious forger, the Abbé Giuseppe Vella, and finally the first Italian edition of the *Grammatica arabica* of Erpenius.

It is extremely difficult to establish even a rudimentary list of the Arab presses of Europe (nevertheless, see J. Balagua, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident. (XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe-siècle)*, Paris 1984). Documentation is often fragmentary, sometimes non-existent. Certain presses are known only because they are mentioned in the works that have survived from them and available for study. Four editions of the Ḳurʾān, published in Europe between the end of the 17th and the first half of the 19th century, indicate the existence of other Arabic presses in Germany and in Russia. The first is that of Hinckelmann, produced in the Free City of Hamburg in 1694. Two Russian editions represent the first two Ḳurʾāns published by Muslims: the first in 1787 in Saint Petersburg, the then capital of the Tsarist Russian Empire; and the second in 1803 in Kazan, in the region of the Volga, today the capital of the Tatar Republic. Finally, in 1834, at Leipzig in Saxony, the centre of the book trade, Gustav Flügel published the first edition of his Ḳurʾānic text, later to be used by several generations of orientalists.

See Olga Pinto, *La tipografia araba in Italia dal XVI al-XIX secolo*, in *Levante*, 1-2 (1964), 8-16; Angelo Piemontese, *I fondi dei manoscritti arabi, persiani e turchi in Italia*, in *Gli Arabi in Italia*, Milan (privately printed edition by Credito Italiano-Libri Scheiwiller) 1979, 661-88; idem, *Les fonds de manuscrits persans conservées dans les Bibliothèques d'Italie*, in *JA*, cclxx/3-4 (1982), 273-93.

In Eastern Europe, it should be noted that towards the end of the 17th century, at the request of the Melkite patriarch of Aleppo, Athanasius Dabbās, the Voivode of Wallachia (a tributary of the Ottoman sultanate in the kingdom of Rumania) Constantin Bassaraba Brancoveanul, installed at Sinagovo an Arabic press which edited numerous liturgical books in Arabic. This press seems to have ceased production in 1704, when Athanasius returned to Syria (see below, Syria) and took the initiative of installing a printing-press in the city of Aleppo, his patriarchal seat. See J. Nasrallah, *Les imprimeries Melkites jusqu'à la fin du 18e siècle*, in *al-Maçarrat*, 34th year (1948), 438-40.

2. *In the Near East.*

a. Lebanon. The Lebanese claim the honour of having printed the first book in an Arab country. The work in question is a Psalter printed in 1610 at the Convent of Saint Antony of Quzḥaya (Dayr Mār Anṭuniyūs or Dayr Qizḥayya ?). The pages are divided into two columns, that on the right being for the text in Syriac, and that on the left for the Arabic text in *karshūnī* script [*q.v.*]. According to a note appended to the work, the printing was done under the supervision of the master (*muʿallim*) Pasquale Eli, a native of Camerino in central Italy. This edition marked a short-lived enterprise. More than a century was to elapse, and numerous unsuccessful attempts were to be made, before the *Shammās* ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir, with his second experiment in typography (the first having been in Aleppo) established a press at the Convent of Mār Yūḥannā al-Ṣābigh in 1734. Subsequently, other presses were founded, invariably among religious communities.

The American Press and the Imprimerie Catholique deserve special mention, particularly for their editing activities. The Protestant Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had installed an Arabic press in Malta, where it functioned from 1822 to 1842. When the Mission transferred its headquarters to Beirut, on 10 July 1823, the decision was taken to move the Arabic press to the Lebanese capital. This was accomplished on 8 May 1834.

The Imprimerie Catholique was founded to some extent with the object of countering the activity of Protestant missionaries. Its operations commenced in 1848, but the press soon developed into one of the best-equipped publishing houses of the Near East. See J. Joseph Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, Beirut 1949, 160.

b. Syria. In Syria, it was the same Melkite Patriarch, Athanasius Dabbās, who, on his return from Europe, undertook to install a press in the city that was his patriarchal seat, Aleppo, and with the aid of the *Shammās* ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir the press operated from 1706 to 1711. More than a century was to pass before a Sardinian printer, Belfante (?), came, in 1841, to establish a lithographic press at Aleppo. Curiously, the first book printed under his supervision was the *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ. See Kh. Ṣābāt, *Taʾrīkh al-Ṭibāʿa*, ch. iv, 96-128, and Wahid Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie*, Tunis 1985.

c. Palestine. Palestine—and Jerusalem in particular—has throughout history been a centre of interest for all the revealed religions. As early as 1830, a Jew, Nessim Bāḳ (?) had opened a press in Jerusalem for the printing of religious texts in Hebrew. (The Jews were the first Ottoman subjects to use printing for this purpose; in Constantinople their typographical activity dates back to 1490 !) In 1848, it was the turn of the Franciscans, encouraged by the

young Emperor of Austria, Franz Josef, through the intermediary of a monk of Austrian origin, Frotchner, to establish the Tipografia dei Padri Francescani di Gerusalemme. Again in 1848, a printing press was founded, called the London Press, by Protestant missionaries whose aim was the propagation of the Gospel among the Jews. Within a short time, the city of Jerusalem was full of presses producing works in Arabic and other oriental languages including Russian, Armenian, Greek and Turkish, invariably operated by religious organisations or on their behalf. See Ṣābāt, *op. cit.*, ch. vii, 319-24.

d. Jordan. Jordan did not become an independent Arab state in the form of an emirate until after the First World War, in 1921 (even though it was subject to British Mandate until 1946). It was in fact in 1922 that a printing-press belonging to the typographer K͟halīl Naṣr, who had founded it in Haifa in 1909, was transferred to Amman. It was used for printing the journal *al-Urdunn*. Three years later, the Government Press was established. See Ṣābāt, *op. cit.*, ch. vii, 325-6.

e. ʿIrāḳ. Historians do not agree as to the date at which printing was introduced to ʿIrāḳ. According to Razūḳ ʿĪsā, the first ʿIrāḳī lithographic works was founded at al-Kāẓimiyya and the first and only work printed was *Dawḥat al-wuzarāʾ fī taʾrīk͟h waḳāʾiʿ al-Zawrāʾ* by the *S͟hayk͟h* Rasūl Efendi al-Kirkūkī, in 1237/1821 or, according to others, in 1246/1830.

Rufaʾīl Buṭī (?), states that Dāwūd Pas͟ha al-Kurd͟jī, the last independent Mamlūk, published in Bag͟hdād in 1816, by means of lithography, an official bilingual Turkish-Arabic journal intitled *D͟jurnāl al-ʿIrāḳ*. Although no copy has survived, Buṭī claims that the existence of the journal was mentioned by foreign travellers who visited ʿIrāḳ in this period.

After the creation of another lithographical press, this time in Karbalāʾ, the first press using mobile characters was established by the Dominican Fathers in Mawṣil in 1859. One year later, it received sets of Arabic, Syriac and Latin types offered by the Imprimerie Nationale of Paris. The latter was the only establishment which possessed machinery for the casting of type.

The first official press was founded by Midḥat Pas͟ha, who used it for the publication of a bilingual Turkish-Arabic journal, *al-Zawrāʾ* (15 June 1869). See Ṣābāt, *op. cit.*, ch. vi, 293-313; K͟hālid Ḥabīb al-Rāwī, *Min taʾrīk͟h al-ṣaḥāfa al-ʿirāḳiyya*, Bag͟hdād 1978.

3. *In the Arabian Peninsula.*

a. Saudi Arabia. The first printing-press introduced in the country was that of the Ottoman *wilāyet* of the Ḥid͟jāz in the year 1300/1882. It was used to print the official journal entitled *al-Ḥid͟jāz*. Two years later, a lithographical press was also introduced. With the creation of the Kingdom of the Ḥid͟jāz, the new king, the *S͟harīf* Ḥusayn, installed a small printing-press at Mecca. This was in 1919, and the press was used to print the official journal *al-Ḳibla*. According to some, the *S͟harīf* personally performed the roles of writer, publisher and printer. See Ṣābāt, *op. cit.*, ch. vii, 331-6.

b. North Yemen. In 1877, the Ottoman Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II ordered the establishment of a press at Ṣanʿāʾ, capital of the Yemen, for the publication of an offical Turkish-Arabic weekly paper intitled *Ṣanʿāʾ* after the name of the city. The same press was put to use by the Imām Yaḥyā after the recognition of the independence of his country in 1923. See Ṣābāt, *op. cit.*, ch. vii, 327-30.

c. Baḥrayn. It was a poet known by the name of *S͟hāʿir al-K͟halīd͟j* ("The Poet of the Gulf"), ʿAbd Allāh ʿAlī al-Zāʾid, who in 1938 purchased a printing press in England and called it *Maṭbaʿat al-Baḥrayn*. The press was used for the printing of material required by local administration and trading-houses, as well as for text-books. In 1939 it began printing the journal *al-Baḥrayn*, published by its proprietor. See Ṣābāt, *op. cit.*, ch. viii, 339-42.

d. Kuwait. Before 1947, Kuwait imported all its printed materials from abroad. The *al-Maʿārif* Press was founded with the importation of a small press and a set of characters bought second-hand in ʿIrāḳ. Three years later, it was repurchased by the *Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif* (a kind of local education authority). In 1954, the Kuwaiti government decided to set up an official organisation for printing and publishing (*Dāʾirat al-maṭbūʿāt wa ʾl-nas͟hr*) equipped with modern machinery. See Ṣābāt, *op. cit.*, ch. viii, 343-6.

e. Ḳaṭar. In spite of its small size, the emirate of Ḳaṭar has, since 1956, possessed a typographical establishment known as *Maṭābiʿ al-ʿurūba*. Since 1961, this has printed *al-D͟jarīda al-rasmiyya* ("The Official Journal") and a monthly information sheet in Arabic intitled *al-Mas͟hʿal*, organ of the Qatar General Petroleum Corporation. See Ṣābāt, *op. cit.*, ch. viii, 347-8.

4. *In the Nile Valley.*

a. Egypt. It was with the expedition of Bonaparte that printing was introduced to Egypt in 1798. The Arabic characters used were those of the official Press of the French Republic, in addition to those of the Arabic Press of the Propaganda of Rome. The latter also supplied a number of its staff, to serve as overseers, typographers and printers. The first French and Arabic printed works were produced on board the flagship *Orient*, the headquarters of Bonaparte and his staff, and bear the mention "printed on board the *Orient* by the naval military press". After disembarkation at Alexandria, a press was installed there and given the name of the "Imprimerie Orientale et Française". A second press was established in Ezbekieh Square in Cairo, and this was known as the Imprimerie Nationale. Alongside the latter, there existed for some time a private press belonging to Joseph Marc Emmanuel Aurel, a printer and bookseller from Valence (France) and a friend of Bonaparte. His press was entrusted with the printing of the *Courrier d'Egypte*, a journal of local information, and of the *Décade Egyptienne*, a literary journal reporting the activities of the Institut des Sciences et des Arts d'Égypte. When the National Press began to operate at full capacity, this put an end to the activity of Marc Aurel, who sold his press and returned to France in 1800.

It should be noted that, among the administrative or political texts published, the orientalist Jean Joseph Marcel, who was responsible for the supervision of these presses, published the Arabic text of the Fables of Luḳmān, accompanied by a French translation. The activities of the expedition's presses ceased in 1801 with the evacuation of the French troops.

Official typographical activity was revived some twenty years later, on the instructions of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas͟ha, with the establishment of a press at Būlāḳ. This began to function *ca.* 1822. The staff consisted partly of Egyptians, including a certain Nicolas Masabki (Masābikī) who had been sent for training to Milan, Italy, and partly of Europeans, among them some Italian typographers who had worked in the presses of the French expedition and remained in the country.

The significance of this event is immense; the inauguration of this "Press of the Pas̲h̲a" in fact marks the beginning of the movement towards the renaissance of the Arab world which has characterised these past two centuries.

Alongside the Būlāḳ Press, which was later to be known by the name of *al-Maṭbaʿa al-amīriyya*, a number of private presses, large and small, were established, usually combined with a publishing house, managed by Egyptians or by Europeans. The history of these presses has yet to be written, but with their publications they contributed in a significant manner to establishing the primacy of Egypt in the great process of evolution which the *Nahḍa* was to be.

See A. Geiss, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en Egypte*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien*, 5th series, i, (1907), 133-57. 2nd part, in *ibid.*, ii (1908), 195-220; on the publications of the expedition's presses, see R. G. Canivet, *L'Imprimerie de l'expédition d'Egypte. Les journaux et les procès-verbaux de l'Institut (1798-1801)*, in *ibid.*, iii (1909), 1-22; on the first publications of the Būlāḳ press, see T. X. Bianchi, *Catalogue général des livres arabes, persans et turcs imprimés à Boulac, en Egypt, depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie dans ce pays*, in *JA*, 4th series, ii (1843), 24-63; on the private presses, see O. Pinto, *Mose Castelli, tipografo italiano al Cairo*, in Univ. di Roma—Studi Orientali pubblicati a cura della Scuola orientale, v. A *Francesco Gabrieli. Studi orientalistici offerti nel sessantesimo compleanno dai suoi colleghi e discepoli*, Rome 1964, 217-23.

b. Sudan. It was during the Turkish-Egyptian occupation of this country (1820-85), at a date which cannot be fixed precisely, that a lithographic work was introduced with the object of responding to the needs of the administration. It is known that it was used by Gordon Pas̲h̲a, when he was appointed Governor of Sudan, to print paper money as a replacement for the metal coinage which gave out during the siege of Khartoum, between the end of 1884 and January 1885. After the capture of the town, the press fell into the hands of the Mahdists [see AL-MAHDIYYA], who used it to print the *k̲h̲iṭābāt al-daʿwa* (messages for religious dissemination) of the Mahdī and other books of a religious nature. See Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, *al-Ḥaraka al-fikriyya fi 'l-Mahdiyya*, Khartoum 1970, 58-62; idem, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-K̲h̲arṭūm*, Khartoum 1971, 212.

5. *In the Mag̲h̲rib.*

a. Libya. The first press was the official one introduced by the governor of the *wilāyet* of Tripoli in 1866. Installed in the fortress of the town, it possessed lithographical and typographical facilities. It was here that the first issue of *Ṭarābulus G̲h̲arb*, the official Turkish-Arabic journal of the local Ottoman administration, was printed. According to R. L. Playfair, *The bibliography of the Barbary States, Pt.I.*, *Tripoli and the Cyrenaica*, London-Royal Geographic Society Suppl. Papers, ii, 1889, 557-614, in 1827, a journal entitled *L'Investigateur Africain* was published in Tripoli. However, researches, especially by E. Rossi, have shown that the work involved was in fact a manuscript journal, a sort of *ante litteram* newsletter, composed by the Swedish Consul, Gråberg de Hemsö, with the collaboration of his European colleagues resident in Tripoli. See also M. Scaparro, *La stampa di Tripoli turca (1866-1911)*, in *Tripolitania*, iii/3-4 (1933), 10-20; idem, *La stampa di Tripoli (1866-1933)*, in *ibid.* iii/7-8, 13-21.

b. Tunisia. Tunisia is one of those instances where printing was not introduced at the official level. Under Aḥmad Bey (1837-55), the Abbé François Bourgade, with the aid of a refugee from Leghorn, Pompeo Sulema, opened in Tunis, in the first months of 1845, the St. Louis College, to which a small lithographical press was attached. It was here that there appeared, in 1849, the first Arabic text printed in Tunisia, a translation into Arabic by Sulaymān al-Ḥarāʾirī, Arab secretary to the French Consulate, of a text by the Abbé Bourgade, of which the French title is *Soirées de Carthage ou dialogue d'un prêtre catholique, un mufti et un cadi.* The subsequent history of this press is not known in detail, but it is known that it was closed by the Ottoman authorities in the wake of a scandal involving forged banknotes.

The official lithographical press was founded in 1857. The first text was, according to Demeerseman, the *ʿAhd al-amān* (see *Dustūr*. i. Tunisia) solemnly promulgated at the Palace of the Bardo by Muḥammad Bey on 9 September 1857.

On 7 November 1859, a decree of the Bey authorised an English merchant, Richard Holt, to establish a press and to publish a gazette in Arabic and Italian which would provide "commercial news, statistical information and extracts from other publications, with the exception of anything of a political nature". Following difficulties raised especially by foreign representatives, Sadok Bey decided on 18 July 1860 to establish an official press. This was to print *al-Rāʾid al-tunisī* (a title rendered in French by *L'indicateur tunisien*), the first issue appearing in fact on 23 July of the same year. See A. Demeerseman, *Une étape importante de la culture islamique. Une parente méconnue de l'imprimerie arabe et tunisienne: la lithographie*, in *IBLA*, xvi/64 (1953), 347-89; idem, *Une étape décisive de la culture et de la psychologie sociale islamique. Les données de la controverse autour du problème de l'imprimerie*, in *ibid.*, xvii (1954), 1-48, 113-40.

c. Algeria. The first journal printed in Algeria was the *Estafette d'Alger*, which first appeared at Sidi Ferruch on 14 June 1830, produced by French troops who had landed in this small bay to the west of Algiers and who used a field printing-press. Apparently the same press was used to print the *Moniteur Algérien*, a bilingual French-Arabic journal, two years later. It is interesting to note that the Arabic text was lithographed. Almost a hundred years were to elapse before, in 1925, the founder of the Islamic orthodox reformist movement in Algeria, Ibn Bādīs, was able to establish an Algerian press in Constantine, *al-Maṭbaʿa al-islāmiyya al-d̲j̲azāʾiriyya*, subsequently known as *Maṭbaʿat al-S̲h̲ihāb*, after the name of the monthly magazine which it published until 1939. See Christiane Souriant-Hoebrechts, *La presse maghrébine*, Paris 1975; ʿAbd al-Malik Murtāḍ, *Maʿālim al-adab al-ʿarabī al-ḥadīth fi 'l-D̲j̲azāʾir*, in *al-Aḳlām*, xiv/11 (1979), 44-51 (*Ins̲h̲āʾ al-maṭābiʿ al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-D̲j̲azāʾir*, 45).

d. Morocco. The first press in Morocco was a state foundation, founded on the instructions of the Filālī *S̲h̲arīf* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1859-73). This was a lithographical press (*maṭbaʿat had̲j̲ar*) supervised by an Egyptian master printer, Muḥammad al-Ḳabbānī, which operated from January to August 1865 at Meknès, and was subsequently transferred to Fās. The first book printed seems to have been *al-S̲h̲amāʾil al-Muḥammadiyya* (according to Ayache, "The portrait of the Prophet") by the author, compiler of one of the six canonical *sunan*, died at the end of the 3rd/9th century, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmid̲h̲ī. See. G. Ayache, *L'apparition de l'imprimerie au Maroc*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, v (1964), 143-61; M. Ben Cheneb and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Essai de répertoire chronologique des éditions de Fès*, Algiers 1922.

General bibliography: There exists no gener-

al work covering all the Arab countries. The most important works concerning the various regions are mentioned at the end of each section. On printing with movable characters, the most complete survey remains that of Khalīl Ṣābāt, *Taʾrīkh al-ṭibāʿa fi 'l-shark al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1966, 378 ff., with an ample bibliography of works in numerous languages; the Maghrib is however completely excluded. Other countries, including Oman, the United Arab Emirates and South Yemen, also pass without mention in this work.

On the question of the slow pace of the diffusion of printing in the Arab countries, see, besides Demeerseman (cited in the bibliography relating to Tunisia), T. F. Carter, *Islam as a barrier to printing*, ch. xv of *The invention of printing in China*, in *MW*, xxxiii (1943), 213-16.

Finally, on the Arabic works published in Europe, reference may be made to the bibliographical works of C. F. de Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, Halle-a.-S. 1811, covering the period from 1505 to 1810, and V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, Liège 1892. (G. Oman)

2. In Turkey

Books in Turkish, primarily grammars and dictionaries and phrase-books, were printed in Western European countries within a century or so from the beginning there of printing in Arabic characters by means of movable type, whilst the Christian (Greek Orthodox and Armenian) and Jewish communities of the Ottoman empire also at an early date took the new invention for the production in their own languages and scripts.

The printing of books in Arabic characters from Italian presses (see section 1 above) soon began to acquire an additional motive to that of the interests of Arabic and Italian scholarship in the West, sc. the hope of finding export markets for the new books in the Islamic East itself, and in particular, in the Ottoman Empire, In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 996/September-October 1588, two merchants, Branton and Orazio Bandini, acquired a *firmān* from Sultan Murād III (982-1003/1574-95) for the import of printed books (this is reproduced at the end of the Arabic text of the mathematical text of Euclid, *K. Taḥrīr uṣūl li-Uklīdis*, produced at the Medici Press in Rome in 1594 from typeface made by Robert Granjon), indicating that official opinion in Istanbul, at this time at least, was not implacably opposed to the new invention (see Bonola Bey, 74-6; Gerçek, 23-4).

The French ambassador to the Porte, François Savary de Brèves (ambassador 1591-1605), had Arabic type cast in Istanbul intended for future use in his own printing house, and these were improved when he returned to Paris by the engraver Guillaume Le Bé the Elder (Bernard, 4; Brun, 170). Then when he was stationed in Rome, he printed at his own house, *Ex Typographia Savariana*, an Arabic version of the Book of Psalms (*al-Mazāmīr*), together with a Latin translation (*Liber Psalmorum Davidi Regis et Prophetae*), but the origins of the type used for printing this Psalter are uncertain (see Vaccari, 37-43). It was Savary de Brèves' diplomatic skill which brought about the agreement on trade, involving a grant of capitulations [see imtiyāzāt], between Sultan Aḥmed I and Henry IV of France, signed on 20 May 1604, and in 1615 Savary de Brèves printed the text of this agreement with the help of the printer Etienne Paulin in Paris, with the Turkish and French versions on alternate pages and with the Turkish title of *Fransa pādishāhi ile āl-i ʿOthmān pādishāhi beyninde munʿaḳid olan ʿaḳidnāmedir ki dhikr olunur.* After Savary de Brèves' death in 1627, the famous printer Antoine Vitré bought his typefaces from his heirs in the name of King Louis XIII (Bernard, 5-6, 8 ff.).

It should be noted that the first work on Turkish grammar printed in the west, at Leipzig in 1612 by Hieronymus Megiser, in Latin with Turkish examples in the Arabic script, *Institutionum linguae turcicae libri quattuor*, dates from this time also.

Jewish presses. The first Jewish press in Istanbul was established by David and Samuel Nahmias, immigrants who had moved into the Ottoman lands from the West, but there are disputes over the date of the first book produced from this press. The date on this book, in letters rather than in numbers, is Friday, 4 Tebet 5254/13 December 1493, but it has been argued (cf. Steinschneider, 17) that this date cannot be right, because (a) it would have been difficult for immigrants from Spain to have established and been able to print books only a year after their arrival in 1492, and (b) there is an otherwise inexplicable gap between this date and that of the printing of the second book at this press, a *Torah* (Nisan 5265/April 1505) (Yaary, 17-18); but the earlier date still has wide acceptance. In any case, it is certain that this first book, whatever its date, the *Arbaʿah Turim* of Rabbi Jacob ben Asher, was the earliest to appear from this press (Posner, 91, no. 126).

Armenian presses. In 1562 the future Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, Michael I of Sivas (Catholicos 1567-76), sent a mission led by Abgar Tibir of Tokat to Pope Pius IV in Rome to discuss certain religious issues. Whilst nothing concrete was in fact achieved by this mission, Abgar Tibir stayed on and subsequently received permission from the Pope and the Doge to visit Venice, with the aim of learning the art of printing in order to produce Armenian books (Zarpanelyan, 43). In 1565, whilst still in Venice, he printed with the aid of his son Sultan Shah (who later took the name of Marc Antonio) the single-paged *Harnapuntur dumari* (perpetual calendar) and the *Sagmos* (Psalter) (Anasyan, 6, nos. 8, 10). In their second book produced, they included an engraving of the Pope with some of his cardinals (Teotik, 41). But Abgar Tibir became estranged from the Pope and found the censorship prevailing in Italy oppressive, hence returned to Istanbul in 1567. He probably set up his printing press in the Church of Surp Nigogos (the present Kefeli Mescid), which was used jointly by the Armenians and the Latin Dominicans, and using the founts brought from Venice and with the help of a monk named Hotor, printed six books between 1567 and 1569 (Ishkhanyan, 212). The first book printed, in 1567, was *Pokir keraganutyan gam ayppenaran* ("Elementary Armenian alphabet") (Anasyan, 6, no. 11). The first Turkish language book printed in the Armenian alphabet came much later, this being Mekhitar of Sivas's (1676-1749) *Turun keraganutyan ashkharapar levzin hayotz* ..., a grammar written in Turkish and teaching spoken Armenian, printed in Italy, at Antonio Bortoli's press in Venice in 1727 with the proviso that the Papal imprimatur, *Con Licenza de' Superiori e Privilegio*, was to be printed on the book's cover (Anasyan, 91, no. 354). However, the first Turkish language book printed in the Armenian alphabet in Istanbul was Bagdasar Tibir's *Bu kitāb oldur ki Krisdoneyaghan ḥayātimiza iḳtiḍālī* ("This is a book containing what is necessary for our Christian life") of 1742 (Anasyan, 115-16, no. 465).

Greek presses. Nicodemus Metaxas of Cephalonia, who graduated from Balliol College,

Oxford, in 1622, started a business in London for printing religious books and with the financial backing of his merchant brother. These books were probably printed under Metaxas's supervision by William Jones or at the Elliot's Court press, and it may be that the first book published by Metaxas in Istanbul was printed in London at the latter press (Roberts, 19-24; Layton, 155). The Oecumenical Patriarch Cyril Lucaris (1572-1638), who held views similar to those of Calvinism, invited Metaxas to Istanbul in order to use his press against Jesuit Roman Catholic propaganda, to educate the Orthodox and to reform his Church (Roberts, 13). Arriving in 1627 on a Levant Company ship, he brought with him his Greek fount, the books he had printed in London and two skilled Dutch printers (Layton, 145). His printing house began in rented premises near to the English and French embassies, and the first book produced there in 1627 was a treatise against the Jews (Legrand, no. 166); but Jesuit intrigue aroused the Janissaries against the innovation of the press, and the latter destroyed it in January 1628 (Hadjiantoniou, 80-3).

The first Turkish text printed in the Greek alphabet (originally written by the Patriarch in Greek and then translated into the Turkish dialect of Ḳaramān, *Ḳaramānlid̲j̲a*), was the profession of faith of the first post-Ottoman conquest Orthodox Patriarch, Gennadios Scolarios, addressed to Sultan Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ, the *Iʿtiḳād-nāme*; the Sultan requested that it be translated into Turkish and it was also printed by Martin Crusius in *Turco-Graeciae libri octo*, Basel 1584, 109-20. Another religious work in *Ḳaramānlid̲j̲a* is the *Gülzār-i īmān-i Mesīḥī*; no press or place of printing is mentioned in it, but it may have been produced at the Armenian press in Istanbul by Panoggiotis Kyriakides (Salaville and Dalleggio, 3-4).

In all these cases, the presses of these minority faiths had to be imported from outside, and none of them were able to construct them within the Ottoman borders.

One inevitably wonders why no Turkish press existed at this time, when printed books imported from Europe were sold in Turkey and when the non-Muslim communities were printing books. A section on printing in Pečewī's *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1283/1866, i, 107, argues that the printing press was no longer an alien thing and that Turkish society was slowly accepting it, because of the great speed with which a large number of books can be produced once the tedious work of type-setting has been done; clearly, this historian approved of printing; yet it was to be 78 years after Pečewī's death before the first Turkish Muslim press was to be established. The reason for the Muslims' aversion from printing doubtless included motives of religious conservatism but also the vested social and economic interests of the professions of calligraphers (*k̲h̲aṭṭāṭ*) [see k̲h̲aṭṭ], book illustrators, binders, etc.; and when printing eventually was established in the 18th century, only small numbers of books were produced and demand remained at a low level.

Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa and his press. Some eight years before the establishment of his press in 1140/1727, Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa had in 1132/1719-20 printed a map of the Sea of Marmara, probably dedicated to the Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a and presented to him, since a note on the map's bottom right-hand corner reads "If Your Excellency my master so commands, larger ones can be produced. [Dated] year 1132". It seems therefore that attempts at setting up a printing press antedated 1132 by some years (see Kortoğlu, 14-15). A second map, of the Black Sea, followed in 1137/1724-5, and a third one, *Memālik-i Īrān*, in 1142/1729-30. A fourth map, *Iḳlīm-i Miṣr*, was known to have existed (Ersoy, 37), but remained lost until it surfaced recently for sale (see Brill's *Turcica catalogue no. 484*, June 1976, 16).

Concerning Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa's Transylvanian origins, his conversion to Islam, his career in the Ottoman service as a diplomat and as an author, see the article ibrāhīm müteferriḳa. Here is mentioned too his written proposal, the *Wesīlet al-ṭibāʿa*, to the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a of 1139/1726-7 on the benefits of printing: the benefits for the masses needing instruction and for the ruling classes alike, the perpetuation of books by printing when manuscripts could and had been destroyed by war (as in the Christian Reconquista of al-Andalus and in the Mongol invasions) and the general usefulness of the new technique for Islam (this opuscule was printed as the first five pages of the first book which he printed, Wānḳulī's Turkish version of al-D̲j̲awharī's famous dictionary, the *Ṣiḥāḥ*). He feared religious opposition, and made a formal approach to the Vizier, requested a *fatwā* from the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām on the licitness of printing and asked Sultan Aḥmed III for a *firmān* authorising him to print books, promising that the first work undertaken would be Wānḳulī's dictionary, enclosing a few specimen pages of this already printed, explaining the process of proof-reading, setting forth how he had been working towards the project for eight years with the patronage and financial assistance of the high official Saʿīd Efendi and promising that at the end of each book printed the sale price would be given (see the specimens from this application at the end of Gerçek, and also Sungu).

With the help of Saʿīd Efendi, the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a and the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām ʿAbd Allāh Efendi's *fatwā*, Aḥmed III was persuaded to issue a *firmān* to Saʿīd and Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1139/1727 authorising the opening of a printing-works and enjoining the printing of books not on such subjects as *fiḳh*, *ḥadīt̲h̲*, *tafsīr*, *kalām*, but on practical subjects like medicine, crafts, geographical guides, etc., based on the authority of the *fatwās* of the former *ḳāḍīs* of Istanbul, Salonica and G̲h̲alaṭa and of the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām (whose names were recorded in the written petition to the sultan); these last are to take charge of the proofreading, for which great care is to be exercised.

With this security behind them, Saʿīd and Ibrāhīm went ahead with the setting-up of the *dār al-ṭibāʿa* (popularly known as the *basma-k̲h̲āne*) in Ibrāhīm's own house in the Sultan Selīm neighbourhood of the Fātiḥ quarter. Documents dated 29 Rabīʿ II 1140/14 December 1727 and 2 D̲j̲umādā I 1140/16 December 1727 show that the press had begun work on Wānḳulī's dictionary, and this was completed and the book ready by 1 Rad̲j̲ab 1141/31 January 1729. In the 16 years up to Ibrāhīm's illness of 1156/1743, only 17 books were produced, explicable partly by his own carefulness but also by an apparent lack of enthusiasm for printed books in Ottoman society. The Patrona K̲h̲alīl revolt of 1143/1730 which led to the Sultan's abdication [see aḥmad iii] did not affect the progress of Ibrāhīm's work, but the idea of printing does not seem to have made a deep impression on society. In this same year, that of the new Sultan Maḥmūd I's [*q.v.*] accession, a pamphlet on military organisation, *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī niẓām al-umam*, was printed, and on 11-20 S̲h̲aʿbān 1144-1145/early February 1732, Maḥmūd renewed the *firmān* originally granted to Saʿīd and Ibrāhīm by Aḥmed III, but this time to Ibrāhīm only. Ibrāhīm's 13th book, the *History* of Naʿīmā

[*q.v.*], was printed in two volumes in 1147/1734-5. Then followed five years of inactivity, till between 1153/1740-1 and 1156/1743 four more books were produced, bringing the total to 17. In this last year, Ibrāhīm fell ill and died in 1158/1745.

The books printed between 1141/1729 and 1156/1743 are as follows:

1. *Kitāb-ī lug͟hat-i Wānḳulī*—1 Rad͟jab 1141/31 January 1729
2. *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*—1 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1141/29 May 1729
3. *Taʾrīk͟h-i sayyāḥ dar bayān-i ẓuhūr-i Ag͟hwāniyān wa sabab-i inhidām-i bināʾ-i dawlat-i s͟hāhān-i Ṣafawiyān*—1 Ṣafar 1142/26 August 1729
4. *Taʾrīk͟h al-Hind al-G͟harbī al-musammā bi-ḥadīt͟h-i naw*—middle third of Ramaḍān 1142/beginning of April 1730 (illustrated)
5. *Taʾrīk͟h-i Tīmūr-i Gurk͟hān*— 1 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1142/18 May 1730
6. *Taʾrīk͟h-i Miṣr al-D͟jadīd, Taʾrīk͟h-i Miṣr al-Ḳadīm*—1 D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 1142/17 June 1730
7. *Gülshan-i k͟hulafāʾ*—1 Ṣafar 1143/16 August 1730
8. *Grammaire turque*—1730
9. *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī niẓām al-umam*—middle third of S͟haʿbān 1144/beginning of February 1732
10. *Fuyūḍāt-i miḳnāṭisiyya*—1 Ramaḍān 1144/27 February 1732
11. *D͟jihān-nümā*—10 Muḥarram 1145/3 July 1732
12. *Taḳwīm al-tawārīk͟h*—1 Muḥarram 1146/14 June 1733
13. *Taʾrīk͟h-i Naʿīmā*—vol. i, middle third of Muḥarram 1147/middle-late June 1734, vol. ii, D͟jumādā I 1147/middle October 1734
14. *Taʾrīk͟h-i Rās͟hid Efendi*—1 D͟hu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1153/17 February 1741
15. *Taʾrīk͟h-i Čelebi-zāde Efendi*—1 D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 1153/17 February 1741
16. *Aḥwāl-i g͟hazawāt dar diyār-i Bosna*—1 Muḥarram 1154/19 March 1741
17. *Farhang-i S͟huʿūrī*—1 S͟haʿbān 1155/1 October 1742

With the exception of no. 8, Holdermann's *Grammaire turque*, the size of the editions of these books printed at the *dār-i ṭibāʿa-yi ʿāmira* is given at the end of the second volume of Naʿīmā's *History:* 1,000 each for nos. 1 and 2; 1,200 for no. 3; and 500 each for the rest.

After Ibrāhīm's death, his foreman Ḳāḍī Ibrāhīm Efendi (who is thought to have been his son-in-law also) and Ḳāḍī Aḥmed Efendi got a *firmān* from Maḥmūd I, but for unknown reasons were unable to start printing (Gerçek, 92). At the beginning of Rabīʿ II 1168/1755 they got a new *firmān* from ʿOt͟hmān III and started printing, their first publication being a second edition of Wānḳulī's dictionary, but soon after this, Ḳāḍī Ibrāhīm Efendi died and the press was abandoned. Subsequently, two secretaries of the Sublime Porte, the *Waḳʿa-nüwīs* Rās͟hid Meḥmed Efendi and the *Waḳʿa-nüwīs* Wāṣif Efendi, bought the press from Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa's heirs, obtained a *firmān* from Sultan ʿAbd al-Med͟jīd I and in 1198/1783-4 printed the histories of Sāmī, Ṣubḥī and S͟hākir in one volume; in the following year they printed the history of ʿIzzī, a sequel to the preceding three ones. After the grammatical work *Iʿrāb al-Kāfiyya* of the next year, no book was printed, and then between 1207/1792-3 and 1209/1794-5 three books on military topics were produced. Rās͟hid Meḥmed Efendi died in 1212/1796-7 and the press was closed down. It had hardly been a shining success in its 64 years of existence; for only 18 of these had it been actually operated, and it had printed just 24 books (including the second edition of Wānḳulī).

The books printed between 1169/1755-6 and 1209/1794-5 are as follows:

1. *Kitāb-ī lug͟hāt-ī Wānḳulī*, 2 vols., the first in 1169/1755-6 and the second in 1170/1756-7
2. *Tawārīk͟h-i Sāmī wa Ṣubḥī wa S͟hākir* — 1198/1783-4
3. *Taʾrīk͟h-i ʿIzzī* — 1199/1784-5
4. *Iʿrāb al-Kāfiyya* — 1200/1785-6
5. *Fann-i ḥarb* — 1207/1792-3
6. *Fann-i lag͟hīm* — 1208/1793-4
7. *Fann-i muḥāṣara* — 1209/1794-5.

In the meantime, another press has been established in the French Embassy in Istanbul, founded by the ambassador, Choiseul-Gouffier, which printed three books, two on military topics and one on Turkish grammar. These books are as follows:

1. *Uṣūl al-maʿārif fī tartīb al-ordū* — 1201/1787
2. *Uṣūl al-maʿārif fī wad͟jh taṣnīf safāʾin-i donanma* ... — 1202/1787-8
3. *Elemens de la langue turque* — March 1790

A second Turkish printing-works was opened in the School of Engineering and Artillery (*Mühendisk͟hāne*) at Hasköy in 1210/1795-6. The state purchased the equipment for this and the books which were in the possession of Rās͟hid Efendi, and appointed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi, a teacher in the School, as director of the press. The first book produced was Aḥmed ʿĀṣim Efendi's translation of the Persian dictionary, the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, entitled *Kitāb-ī tibyān-ī nāfiʿ*, published on 23 Rabīʿ I 1214/25 August 1799 under the supervision of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi and at the *dār al-ṭibāʿa al-maʿmūra*. The first foreign-language book to appear from it was a French manual of the Turkish language for foreigners written by *Reʾīs al-Küttāb* Maḥmūd Rāʾif Efendi, *Tableau des nouveaux règlemens de l'Empire Ottomane*, illustrated, published in 1798 (see Sungu, 9-12).

A third press was opened in 1217/1802-3, again under the supervision of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi but whilst the Mühendis-k͟hāne press was itself still active, at Üsküdār and in the Boyad͟jī K͟hān built by Sultan Selīm III at the head of the slope running up from the Harem pier. The first volume of the third edition of Wānḳulī was printed in 1217/1802 at the Mühendis-k͟hāne press, described as the *dār al-ṭibāʿa*, but the second volume, printed at the Üsküdār one in 1218/1803-4, records this as the *dār al-ṭibāʿa al-d͟jadīda*. The newer press expanded and was used for general printing, whilst the Mühendis-k͟hāne press, after a period of inactivity, was used to print school books, and continued in use till the First World War. The Üsküdār press continued in its original premises till 1247/1831-2, issuing books on language, history and medicine, when Maḥmūd II transferred it to the building known as the Bath of Ḳapudan Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha, which stood where the Central Library of Istanbul University now stands. The house next to this building was also bought, and a fourth press started here under the name of the *Taḳwīm-k͟hāne-yi ʿāmire* to print the official newspaper *Taḳwīm-i waḳāʾiʿ* (1 November 1831).

The Būlāḳ press. During this same period, the governor of Egypt Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] set up the press at Būlāḳ in direct competition with the Istanbul presses, and which was known as the *maṭbaʿa-yi dār al-ṭibāʿa* or *maṭbaʿat ṣāḥib al-saʿāda* or *al-maṭbaʿa al-amīriyya* or simply *maṭbaʿat Būlāḳ*. It issued as its first book Don Rafael's *Dizionario italiano e arabo*, printed in 1822 (Heyworth-Dunne, 333). This press had the responsibility of printing the official newspaper *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*, starting on 25 D͟jumādā I 1244/3 December 1828 (al-Futūḥ, 263), as well as the texts of laws, calendars and general books. It printed books in

Turkish, Arabic and Persian, the majority however being in Turkish (Heyworth-Dunne, 334-5).

Cayol's lithographic press. Lithographic printing, invented in 1798 by Alois Senefelder of Munich (1771-1834) and further developed after Senefelder in 1818 published his technical manual on the process, was in use in Istanbul not much more than 30 years after its invention. Henri Cayol (1805-65) of Marseille and his cousin Jacques Cayol came to Istanbul and under the patronage of Khüsrew Pasha set up a lithographic press in the grounds of the Ministry of War, at a location whose exact spot cannot be traced today (Gerçek, 13), with machinery ordered from Paris. Fifty soldiers were assigned to the Cayols to work with them and learn the trade, and for five years books on military subjects, including drill, were produced, the first book printed by lithography being Meḥmed Khüsrew Pasha's *Nukhbat al-taʿlīm* in 1247/1831-2 and with 79 illustrations.

On Khüsrew Pasha's removal from office, the Cayols moved in 1836 to Kuleḳapī and opened a press there on the basis of a *firmān* from Sultan Maḥmūd II (Zellich, 47). On 27 Rabīʿ II 1267/1 March 1851 Henri Cayol applied to the *Medjlis-i Wālā* Presidency and received permission to print books in any language, as well as printing the Armenian monthly journal *Panacer* ("The Philologist") (Khayr al-Dīn Nedīm, 73-4). In January 1852 he printed the only issue of the *Journal Asiatique de Constantinople* (Bianchi, 248-9), but in mid-1852 the printing-works were burnt down during type-casting. It re-opened on 1 November 1855 in Beyoğlu at the corner of the street leading to the French Embassy (Zellich, 52). Henri Cayol died of cholera on 18 August 1856, and after his death, his family worked the press in his name but under the management of Antoine Zellich.

In 1840 the Djerīd-khāne press was opened to print the official newspaper *Djerīde-yi ḥawādith*; and in 1299/1881-2 the Ebu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ (Ebüzziyā) press, which was to have a special place in the history of Turkish printing, was opened by Ebu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ Meḥmed Tewfīḳ Bey in Ghalaṭa in the Maḥkeme Street. In 1864 the *Dār al-Ṭibāʿa* and the *Taḳwīm-khāne* had been combined and moved to a building within the grounds of the Topḳapī Palace, at first called the *Dār al-Ṭibāʿa al-ʿĀmira*, then up to Republican times as the *Maṭbaʿa-yi ʿĀmire*, and later, the *Millī Maṭbaʿa* and *Dewlet Maṭbaʿasī*; in 1939 it was given over to the Ministry of Education.

With the "alphabet revolution" of 1928 introduced by Kemal Atatürk [*q.v.*] as part of his westernising reforms, and the consequent change from the Arabic to a Latin system for the writing of Turkish, Turkish printing henceforth became divorced, typographically speaking, from the history and development of printing in Arabic characters.

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3. In Persia

1. Under the Mongols.

Wood-block printing was introduced into Persia in 693/1294. In that year Gayk͟hatu K͟hān ordered the printing of paper money (*čaʾo*; Persianised as *čaw*) in imitation of Chinese practice. The paper money was printed in Tabrīz and circulated for the first time on 19 S͟hawwāl 693/12 September 1294. The paper money was probably printed with wooden blocks, which were manufactured by Chinese artisans living in Tabrīz. Despite the threat of capital punishment in case of refusal to accept paper money, the populations's reaction was one of outright rejection. Gayk͟hatu K͟hān was forced to abandon his experiment in D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 693/November 1294, as a result of which the art of printing was momentarily lost to Persia (see Jahn, *Paper currency*, 125-35).

2. Under the Ṣafawids.

Although the Torah was printed in Persian (with Hebrew characters) in Istanbul in 1594, it was not until 1629 that printing was reintroduced to Persia, this time in the form of typography. For in January 1629, Carmelite friars received a printing press from Rome. It had matrices of 349 Arabic letter types and two instruments to set up type. It is not known whether the press produced any actual books. The Carmelites certainly tried, but "because of the dryness of the country" they failed, according to Fr. Angelus (Gazophylacium). Their printing (*basma*, *ṭibāʿa*) experiments took place between 1629 and 1642, when Fr. Bernard of St. Theresia handed the printing press over to the Vicar-General of the Carmelites in Iṣfahān. From 1648 till 1669 the press was kept in storage by the Dutch East Indies Company, which in 1669 handed the press over to Fr. Raphael Du Mans. In 1676 Fr. Angelus reports that the Carmelites still had the press, but from the context it is clear that it had not been used for a long time (Floor, *The first printing press*).

About the same time that the Arabic-Persian printing press was introduced in Persia, an Armenian press also was established in D͟julfā [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the Armenian suburb of Iṣfahān. This was done at the initiative of Bishop Khacʿatur Kesaracʿi in 1637. After 17 months of trial and error he succeeded in printing the Psalms in 1638. The Bishop's main problem was how to produce good quality paper and ink. Moreover, his type was not made out of lead, but of wood, copper and iron. He preserved and printed another two religious books, one in 1641 and the other in 1642. Both the letter types and the books can be seen in the Armenian museum at D͟julfā (see Richard, *Un témoignage...*).

Despite his success, Bishop Kasaracʿi was troubled by technical problems. He therefore sent one of his pupils, Hovhannes, to Europe to obtain the required technical expertise. In 1644 Hovhannes printed a book in Armenian in Leghorn. He returned to Persia in 1646 to continue the work of Bishop Kesaracʿi, who had died in that year. To that end, Hovhannes brought lead types and a printing press with him. It was his intention to print the Bible, but "not having the way of making good Ink, and to avoid the ill consequences of the Invention, he was forc'd to break the press. For on one side the Children refus'd to learn to write, pretending they wrote the Bible themselves, only to get it sooner by heart: on the other side many persons were undone by it, that got their living by writing", according to Tavernier. The latter argument also had constrained the introduction of the art of printing in, for example, the Ottoman empire (see section 2, above). Tavernier was wrong in believing that the Armenian press had been broken, for in 1687 it was used again and this time nine books were printed. For unknown reasons, it fell into disuse again. It was only in 1771 that an Armenian printing press was established in Etchmiadzin, in 1786 in Nak͟hčewān and in 1796 in Astrak͟hān (Rāʾīn, *Armanīhā*).

3. Under the Ḳād͟jārs.

The art of printing was thus lost for a second time. Although the printing of the Armenian language was resumed fairly quickly, printing in Persian took somewhat longer. Persian language books were regularly printed since 1639, when in Leiden the first books in both the Persian language and characters were printed. After that date, both in Europe and towards the end of the 18th century also in India, many books in Persian were printed. The generally accepted date for the first book printed in Ḳād͟jār Persia is 1233/1817, when in Tabrīz the *D͟jihādiyya* by Mīrzā ʿĪsā Ḳāʾim-Maḳām was printed on a typographic press. Because there is no thorough analytical study on Persian incunabula, it is impossible to settle the question of the earliest printing date. The author of the *Maʾāt͟hir al-mamālik* ascribes the introduction of the art of printing (*ʿamal al-ṭibāʿa* or *basma*) to ʿAbbās Mīrzā, the heir-apparent and governor-general of Ād͟harbāyd͟jān. Iʿtimād al-Salṭana (*al-Maʾāt͟hir wa 'l-āt͟har*, 100), mistakenly, ascribes this initiative to Manūčihr K͟hān Muʿtamid al-Dawla, an influential Tehran courtier. The early books were printed by Mullā Muḥammad Bāḳir Tabrīzī, who in 1241/1825 also printed ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Dunbulī's *Maʾāt͟hir al-sulṭāniyya*. In 1825 another printer in Tabrīz, ʿAlī son of Ḥād͟jd͟jī Muḥammad Ḥusayn, printed the *Nasab al-ṣibyān* a well-known school text by Abū Naṣr Farāhī. By 1825, Tabrīz therefore boasted already of at least two typographic printing presses (*čāp-i surbī*).

In that same year, Muʿtamid al-Dawla established a typographic press in Tehran, which was operated by Mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Tabrīzī. With the support of Muʿtamid al-Dawla, who is said to have financed the printing of 8,000 copies, he printed many books, mainly religious, which were known as "Muʿtamadīs". In 1815 ʿAbbās Mīrzā had sent seven students to Great Britain to learn modern techniques. One of these students was Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ S͟hīrāzī, who apprenticed himself in London to a master printer (*čāp-sāz*) who specialised "in printing (*čāp zadan*) the Bible in Persian, Hindi, and Arabic and other languages". Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ returned to Persia in 1234/1819, where he established himself as a printer in Tabrīz. He shortly thereafter (1829) was sent to Russia as member of an embassy, from which he returned with a printing press. He was later engaged in printing in both Tabrīz and Tehran.

Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ in his turn sent a certain Mīrzā Asad Allāh to Russia to learn the printing trade. On his return to Persia in 1835, Mīrzā Asad Allāh stayed in Tabrīz and, together with Āḳā Riḍā, operated the first lithographic press (*čāp-i sangī*) in Iran. In that same year, Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh summoned Mīrzā Asad Allāh to Tehran to start working there.

Because "printing in types is not relished by Persians, the characters being necessarily stiff and uncouth, and very displeasing to an eye accustomed to the flowing written hand" (Binning, i, 312),

lithography became very popular in Iran. Especially, the fact that lithography permitted Iranian artists to practice both calligraphy and illustrations in their normal way was an important advantage. Moreover, illustrated printed books became very popular, of which an increasing number, after the first items printed in 1259/1843, were produced in this way.

By 1850 there were five lithographic presses in Tehran (Sheil, 201) and in 1845 not less than 15 in Tabrīz (Schwarz, 85). However, books also continued to be published "both in types and lithograph; but the execution is rather coarse; in the latter style in particular", Binning observed in 1851 (i, 312, ii, 217). In 1256/March 1840, American missionaries in Urmiya printed the first text in Syriac; moreover, this press could also print Persian and English (Perkins, 456). Other presses followed in S̲h̲īrāz, Iṣfahān, Bushire, Mas̲h̲had, Enzelī, Ras̲h̲t, Ardabīl, Hamadān, K̲h̲ōy, Yazd, Ḳazwīn, Kirmāns̲h̲āh, Garrūs and Kās̲h̲ān (Maḥbūbī Ardakānī, i, 217).

The list of early prints shows that a great variety of books were printed. Apart from religious texts, there were historical texts, popular works such as the *Thousand and one nights*, *Iskandar-nāma*, and a comic text such as *Duzd wa Ḳāḍī*. With the establishment of the *Dār al-Funūn* [*q.v.*] in 1852, a great number of scientific texts were printed on the school's own printing press. The publications were in the field of engineering, chemistry, physics, mathematics, biology, medicine, geography, military science and music. With the establishment of the government press (*dār al-ṭibāʿa*) and the state translation institute (*dār al-tard̲j̲uma*), hundreds of translations were made from European authors. Further, Persian and Arab classics were printed, while contemporary official chronicles were solicited and published, such as the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī* and the *Nāsik̲h̲ al-tawārīk̲h̲*. Under the direction of Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, who was in charge of the state press, translation, and censor's bureau, many of these books were published. He himself also published a great many useful official chronicles, such as the *Mirʾāt al-buldān* (3 vols.), the *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī* (3 vol.), and the *Maṭlaʿ al-s̲h̲ams* (3 vols.).

A separate development was the publication of newspapers (*kāg̲h̲ad̲h̲-i ak̲h̲bār*), of which the first lithographed issue was printed by Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ in Tehran on 25 Muḥarram 1253/1 March 1837. This paper had no special time, but only a long general heading, a shortened rendering of which is "Current news from Tehran" (*Ak̲h̲bār-i Waḳāyiʿ*). The paper, which lasted three years, offered foreign and local news, the latter focussing on the reforms initiating and progress promoted by Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (1834-48). In 1267/February 1851 the second newspaper to appear in Persia was published at the initiative of Mīrzā Taḳī K̲h̲ān Amīr Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. This paper was edited by Edward Burgess and published under the name of *Rūz-nāma-yi Waḳāyiʿ-i Ittifāḳiyya*. Burgess also printed an uncensored newspaper for the eyes of Nāṣir al-Din S̲h̲āh (1848-96) and the Amīr Kabīr. In 1868 Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh ordered the establishment of four newspapers, viz. an official gazette, both with and without illustrations, a semi-official newspaper and a scientific newspaper. Towards the end of the 19th century, many semi-official and private periodicals were published in increasing numbers. In 1874 one issue of a French newspaper, *La Patrie*, was published, which, because of its outspokenness, was immediately forbidden by the S̲h̲āh. It was soon followed by other French newspapers, one of which, *Le Journal de Perse*, was published by Iʿtimād al-Salṭana.

Since the press was mainly an instrument of the government, the latter in the 1850s established a Censor's Bureau (*Idāra-yi Sansūr*). All books and newspapers had to be approved by the censor before these could be printed or imported. Despite this censorship, these newspapers were carriers of some new ideas. Because all government officials were obliged to subscribe to the official papers, new ideas reached all parts of the kingdom. However, in general these "semi-official" newspapers were dull, mainly offering repetitious court activities. More effective in disseminating new political ideas were Persian newspapers printed outside Persia such as *Ḳānūn* (London), *Ak̲h̲tar* (Istanbul), *Ḥabl al-Matīn* (Calcutta) and *T̲h̲urayyā* (Cairo), which often had to be smuggled into Persia because of their unsettling contents. It was only with the advent of the constitutional movement in 1906 that newspapers started to play a very important role in political and cultural life of Persia.

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(W. Floor)

4. In Muslim India

South Asia below the Himalayas remained beyond the diffusion of xylography from the Far East. Printing reached the subcontinent as European movable type technology introduced by Portuguese Jesuits who set up the first press in the College of St. Paul at Goa in 1556. In 1580 the Mug̲h̲al emperor Akbar was presented with a copy of the Royal Polyglot Bible printed by Plantin at Antwerp, one of the finest products of the 16th-century European press, but the Mug̲h̲al court did not adopt printing technology, being well served by its studio of calligraphers and artists. From the 1570s to the 1670s vernacular printing by the Portuguese in India to aid conversion was confined to Tamil, Konkani and Syriac, and that of the German and Dutch missionaries in the 18th century to Tamil and Sinhalese. Until the early 19th century, Christian literature in Arabic, Persian or Urdu was imported from Europe, such as Benjamin Schultze's Urdu New Testament printed at Halle in 1758.

The earliest known specimen of Arabic printing in

India is a small woodcut New Testament quotation on the title-page of *Dialogus inter Moslimum et Christianum*, a Tamil polemic against Islam printed at the Tranquebar Mission Press in 1727. But Arabic, Persian and Urdu printing in India really began in Calcutta under the East India Company from the 1780s onwards. Of the three languages, Persian was paramount to the Company's interests and the medium of the law-courts and the land-revenue system inherited from Mug͟hal Bengal. In the late 1770s the Governor-General Warren Hastings engaged Charles Wilkins, a Company servant with a gift for oriental languages, to manufacture Bengali and Nastaᶜlīḳ types. With the Nastaᶜlīḳ, Wilkins in 1780 printed Francis Gladwin's *A compendious vocabulary, English and Persian* at Malda in north Bengal. In 1781 he became first superintendent of the Honorable Company's Press in Calcutta which issued a plethora of Persian translations of the regulations, notices and blank-forms required for the administration of Bengal. The first of these was a selection of Dīwānī ᶜAdālat regulations translated by William Chambers in 1781. From 1793 until 1837, when Persian ceased to be the language of the courts, Persian translations of Company regulations were reprinted in annual volumes. At Madras also Persian translations of local Company regulations were printed from 1802 onwards. Persian historical works valuable as sources on the Mug͟hal system of government were printed at Calcutta, such as William Davy's edition of *Tūzūkāt-i Tīmūrī* (1785), Muḥammad Sāḳī's *Muntak͟habāt-i ᶜĀlamgīr-nāma* prepared by Henry Vansittart (1785) and Amīr Ḥaydar Bilgrāmī's *Risāla*, a treatise on land-revenue and tenure with Gladwin's translation (1796). A Siyāḳat fount (the earliest such?) was specially cast for printing Gladwin's *A compendious system of Bengal revenue accounts* (1790 and 1796). Some linguistic works were printed to help Company servants master Persian, Gladwin again preeminent with *A vocabulary, English and Persian* (1791, 1800), *The Persian moonshee* (1795, 1799, 1800) and *The Persian guide* (1800). As the classical literary language of Muslim India, Persian was studied by the British orientalists forming the nucleus of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (founded 1784). The first work of Persian literature printed was *Ins͟hā-yi Harkaran* edited by Francis Balfour (1781). Other important texts printed were Gladwin's edition of Saᶜdī's *Pand-nāma* (1788) followed by *Kulliyyāt-i Saᶜdī* prepared by J. H. Harington (1791-5), Sir William Jones' edition of Hātifī's *Laylī Mad͟jnūn* (1788), the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (1791) and Nak͟hs͟habī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma* with Gladwin's translation (1792). Arabic printing was far less extensive, but one important text printed before 1800 was al-Sad͟jāwandī's *al-Sirād͟jiyya* (1792), published as part of Jones' digest of Hindu and Muslim law. A concordance to the Ḳurʾān was printed at Calcutta in 1811, but the Arabic text (together with ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir's Urdu translation) was not printed till 1829. The most famous translation of the Ḳurʾān printed in the subcontinent was S͟hāh Walī Allāh's Persian rendering (Dihlī 1866, etc.). The leading scholar of Urdu in 18th-century Calcutta was John B. Gilchrist, who published *A dictionary, English and Hindoostanee* (1786-7 to 1790), *A grammar of the Hindoostanee language* (1796) and *The Oriental linguist* (1798). In 1789 *The new Asiatick miscellany* contained the first Urdu literary text to be printed, a *rek͟hta* of Walī Dakhanī. In the same year, W. H. Bird's *The oriental miscellany* also printed the words and music of several Urdu songs. From 1793 onwards, Urdu translations of Company regulations in Bengal were required to be printed as well as Persian. At Madras in 1790 the physician Henry Harris published *A dictionary, English and Hindostany*, but his grammar was never printed.

Fort William College, founded at Calcutta in 1800, provided a further stimulus for the printing of Arabic, Persian and particularly Urdu texts needed to instruct Company servants in those languages. Gladwin presented Nastaᶜlīḳ types to the College, and these Gilchrist used as Professor of Urdu to equip the Hindoostanee Press, which issued many celebrated Urdu works: Mīr Ammān's version of "The Four Dervishes", *Bāg͟h-o-bahār* (1802); Mīr Shīr ᶜAlī Afsūs' translation of Saᶜdī's *Gulistān*, *Bāg͟h-i Urdū* (1802); Mīr Ḥasan's *Naṣr-i bī-naẓīr* (1803); Ḥaydar Bak͟hs͟h Ḥaydarī's *Totākahānī* based on the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (1804); etc. The largest book issued by this press was *Kulliyyāt-i Mīr Taḳī* with 1,085 pages (1811). Besides some forty Urdu works, by 1820 about twenty Arabic and another twenty Persian texts were also printed for the College's use at various Calcutta presses: John Baillie's *Arabic syntax* (1801); Joseph Barretto's edition of the *S͟hams al-lughāt* (1806); Walī al-Dīn's *Mis͟hkāt al-maṣābīḥ* (1809); Matthew Lumsden's *A grammar of the Arabic language* (1813) and the *Dīwān al-Mutanabbī* (1814); *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (1805); Lumsden's *A grammar of the Persian language* (1810); Niẓāmī's *Sikandar-nāma* (1812); Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib K͟hān's European travelogue *Masīr-i Ṭālibī* (1812); etc. At Madras, the equivalent College of Fort St. George also stimulated the printing of texts, such as the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* issued by the College Press in 1826.

The *muns͟hīs* of Fort William College and the Rev. Henry Martyn were equally important in early missionary printing in Islamic languages in India. Mīrzā Muḥammad Fiṭrat's translation of St. Matthew into Persian and of the Gospels into Urdu (edited by William Hunter) were both printed at Calcutta in 1805. In 1809 the Persian St. Matthew prepared by Nathaniel Sabat under Martyn's direction was printed at Serampore, the complete New Testament at Calcutta in 1816, and the Old Testament in parts (1828-38) by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. Sabat's Arabic New Testament was printed at Calcutta in 1816. Martyn's own translation of the New Testament into Urdu (the basis for all subsequent editions) was printed in 1814 at Serampore, where the Sindhi St. Matthew was issued in 1825. The mass of early 19th-century evangelical literature in Urdu, Persian, Panjabi, Sindhi, etc., was mainly printed by the various Christian tract and book societies formed (those of Calcutta, Benares, Āgra, North India, Punjab, Madras (for Dakhanī), Bombay, etc.).

The East India Company introduced lithography to India in the early 1820s, which rapidly displaced typography for Islamic printing as presses were established right across Northern India: Patna 1828; Kānpur 1830, Dihlī and Meerut 1834, Āgra 1835, Lūdhiāna 1836, Mīrzāpūr and Allāhābād 1839, Benares 1844, etc. The earliest Urdu works lithographed were medical treatises by Peter Breton, the first being *Bayān zaharōn kā* on poisons (Calcutta 1826), and in Persian editions of Saᶜdī's *Gulistān* and *Būstān* (Calcutta 1827, 1828). The development of Lakhnaw as a major centre of Urdu and Persian printing exemplifies the transition to lithography. Nawwāb G͟hāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar set up the royal press about 1817, its most famous product being the typeset Persian dictionary *Haft ḳulzum* (1820-2). His successor Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḥaydar brought Edward Archer's Asiatic Lithographic Press from nearby Kānpur to Lakhnaw in 1830, and the Arabic dictionary *Tād͟j al-lug͟hāt* begun by typography was then completed (vols.

iv-viii) lithographically. Under Wād̲j̲id ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, all lithographic presses in Lakhnaw were closed because the Nawwāb disliked a history of his family lithographed by one Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar. Some presses moved to Kānpur, while others continued surreptitiously and books were often issued without details of printer, etc., so that many early Lak̲h̲naw and Kānpur imprints are indistinguishable. The single most important Lakhnaw press was that of Muns̲h̲ī Nawal Kis̲h̲ōr founded in 1858. By his death in 1895 he had issued about 500 titles, mainly religious, historical and poetical texts, particularly Urdu translations from Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, subsidised by his newspaper and his printing for government. Sikandar D̲j̲āh, Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād (Deccan), acquired a press as a curiosity of western technology during Lord Minto's vice-royalty (1807-13), but did not apparently use it.

Bombay was not important for Persian printing until the introduction of lithography, although the *Dasātīr* of 1818 printed with Nask̲h̲ types deserves mention. Among the earliest works lithographed there were the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* and the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, both in 1828. Bombay and Karāčī were the twin centres of early Sindhi printing, one of the first Sindhi books lithographed being Sadāsukh Lālā's drawing manual *Citra jī pār* (Karāčī 1852). Karāčī had been the first city in what is modern Pakistan to acquire printing in the mid-1840s. The American Presbyterian Mission Press, Lūdhiāna, printed extensively in Panjabi (as well as Persian and Urdu) from the 1840s, but the main centres of Muslim Panjabi printing were Lāhawr and Siyālkūt, from the 1860s issuing *ḳiṣṣas* and other popular literature. The first press in modern Bangladesh was at Ḍhākā in the 1850s, but printing became widespread in East Bengal by the 1870s at Sylhet, Rajshahi, Barisal, Jessore, etc., and Calcutta also remained an important centre of Muslim Bengali printing. A number of Pas̲h̲to works were printed in Dihlī, Pes̲h̲āwar and Lāhawr in the 1870s.

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5. In Afg̲h̲ānistān

The printing-press was only introduced to Afg̲h̲ānistān, geographically remote and beyond sustained British control, towards the end of the 19th century and then only for printing in Persian, the language of the court and of literature. The national language Pas̲h̲to was therefore first printed, whether from scholarly, evangelical or military and administrative motives, in Europe and, more extensively, in India. With British expansion north-westwards in the subcontinent, printing spread into the regions bordering Afg̲h̲ānistān itself. The first Afg̲h̲ān of note to encounter printing at first hand was the exiled king Shud̲j̲āʿ al-Mulk, who visited the American Presbyterian Mission Press at Lūdhiāna (Pand̲j̲āb) in the mid 1830s.

The pioneer of Pas̲h̲to studies in Europe was Bernhard Dorn of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, whose *Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Afghan language* (St. Petersburg 1847) included selections from poets such as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Mīrzā K̲h̲ān Anṣārī and ʿUbayd Allāh. Other notable early scholars were Ernest Trumpp, whose grammar of Pas̲h̲to was published at London (1873), and James Darmesteter, whose monumental collection of *Chants populaires des Afghans* was issued at Paris (1888-90). Selections from both Pas̲h̲to prose and poetry compiled by H. G. Raverty appeared as *Gulshan-i roh* (London 1860), adopted by the Government of India as the text-book for its Pas̲h̲to examination from 1866 onwards. This work included verses by the national poet K̲h̲us̲h̲ḥāl K̲h̲ān K̲h̲aṭak [*q.v.*], whose complete *dīwān* was lithographed at the Jail Press, Pes̲h̲āwar, in 1869 under the superintendence of H. W. Bellew.

The earliest Pas̲h̲to printing in India was at the Serampore Mission Press in Bengal: the New Testament in 1818 followed by the Pentateuch 1820 and Historical Books (incomplete) about 1832. British occupation of land between the Indus river and the Tak̲h̲t-i Sulaymān mountains in 1849 renewed missionary interest in Pas̲h̲to and in 1856 revision of the Serampore editions began under Isidor Loewenthal of the American Presbyterian Mission. The resulting New Testament was published at Hertford (1863) by the British and Foreign Bible Society. From 1859 onwards Pas̲h̲to tracts were lithographed at the press of the Pes̲h̲āwar Church Mission founded specifically for the conversion of the Afg̲h̲āns, as well as primers such as T. Tuting's *Kitāb al-Durr*. In 1883 a Pas̲h̲to Revision Committee was formed under T. J. L. Mayer of the Church Missionary Society and the translation of the complete Old Testament was published at London (1889-95).

Most early Pas̲h̲to linguistic works were compiled by officers of Pathān troops in India. Lt. Robert Leech, Bombay Engineers, who had accompanied a mission to Kābul, published *A grammar of the Pashtoo or Afghanee language* (Calcutta 1839), describing the Ḳandahārī dialect and including a specimen of verse by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Capt. John Vaughan, who had commanded the 5th Punjab Infantry at Derā G̲h̲āzī K̲h̲ān, compiled *A grammar and vocabulary of the Pooshtoo language* (Calcutta 1854). Most successful of all was Major H. G. Raverty, Bombay Native Infantry, who first studied Pas̲h̲to while stationed at Pes̲h̲āwar 1849-50. His Pas̲h̲to grammar went into three editions (Calcutta 1855; London 1860 and 1867) and he also published a dictionary (London 1867) and *The Pushto manual* (London 1880). All these works were printed using Nask̲h̲ types with extra sorts specially cut for the letters peculiar to Pas̲h̲to. As lithographic presses spread across north-western India, more Pas̲h̲to works began to be printed, e.g. *Ḳānūn al-ḳirāʾa*, rules for Ḳurʾān recitation (Dihlī 1865), *Kalīd-i Afg̲h̲ānī*, verse and prose selections (Pes̲h̲āwar 1872), *Sayr al-sālikīn*, *Pilgrim's progress* (Amritsar 1877), *Ḳiṣṣa-yi ḥirnī*,

Muḥammad and the deer (Abbottābād 1883) and T. C. Plowden's *Idiomatic colloquial sentences, English-Pakkhto* (Jail Press, Derā Ghāzī Khān 1884).

According to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's autobiography, there was no printing-press in Afghānistān before he became Amīr in 1880. But the first lithographic press (Maṭbaʿa-yi Muṣṭafawī) was set up under his predecessor Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān whose Persian polemic against the Wahhābīs, *Risāla-yi shihāb-i thāḳib*, was printed at Kābul in 1288/1871, followed by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Khān's religious tract *Tuḥfat al-ʿulamāʾ* in 1292/1875. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān attributed the introduction of printing to Munshī ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ of Dihlī who trained many Kābulī lithographers before dying of fever. Several of the Amīr's own works in Persian were printed, including *Naṣāʾiḥ-nāmča*, advice on Afghānistān's relations with Russia (1303/1886), and *Mirʾāt al-ʿuḳūl*, on human intelligence (1311/1894). Most famous of all was his tract advocating *djihād*, *Kalimāt Amīr al-bilād fī 'l-targhīb ila 'l-djihād* (1304/1887), printed at the Humāyūn Press which also issued an almanac in the same year. The press was also used to promulgate laws, e.g. *Ḳānūn-i kār-gudhārī* relating to crimes and their punishments (1309/1892) and *Ḳawāʿid-i sirādj al-milla* relating to foreign imports and issued by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's son, Amīr Ḥabīb Allāh Khān [*q.v.*], in 1321/1904. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's desire to modernise his army is reflected in several military tracts printed, e.g. *Mīzak-i ṭūpkhāna* on gunnery manoeuvres (1303/1885) and *Ḳawāʿid-i risāla* on cavalry drill (1304/1887).

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(G. W. Shaw)

MAṬBAKH (a), kitchen, cookhouse, a noun of place, defined by lexicographers as "the cook's house" (*bayt al-ṭabbākh*) from the verbal root meaning "the cooking of flesh meat". The root *ṭ-b-kh* is common to the Semitic family. Already in Akkadian, OT Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic and post-Biblical Hebrew we find the further, related connotation of "slaughtering" in addition to that of "cooking". Undoubtedly, the mediaeval domestic *maṭbakh* combined both these functions. By extension of the root meaning, the *maṭbakh* was the place where every conceivable kind of food, including fleshmeat, was transformed from its raw state for consumption at the table.

1. In the mediaeval caliphate.

The kitchen has been described as the "birthplace" (Forbes) and the "foster home" (Needham) of innumerable terms, operations and apparatuses in the early stage of man's development of technology. Laboratory operations employed by the ancient pharmacist and cosmetician reveal their origin in the preparation of food; so too do the techniques of crushing or disintegration (pressing, grinding, impaction), the technology of fermentation, the methods for the preservation of perishable organic material and, the oven. The chemistry and technology of cooking were thus realms of practical knowledge which the Islamic world inherited from the ancient centres of Middle Eastern civilisation. This inheritance was not, however, shared equally by all the population. Techniques which had perhaps originated or else been refined in the kitchens of the ancient temple and the palace were appropriated by the mediaeval urban cook, whereas the rural and nomadic populations retained the more primitive methods of food preparation. The technological gap between the urban and rural domains can be explained as a function of the distribution of power in the economic sphere and ultimately of social stratification and its ramifications in the political sphere.

Data relating to the kitchen in the classical period (*ca.* 200-800 A.H.) are found most abundantly in the specialist culinary treatises. Few of these, unfortunately, are extant. The social milieu reflected by the cookbook is clearly that of prosperous urban households, although it would be safe to assume that both palace and domestic kitchens shared a culinary lore and a range and type of utensils in common. Apart from this we know little of the operations and personnel of the palace kitchens in particular, except that they were of a far greater scale than those in the domestic sphere. For example, Hilāl al-Ṣābī reports that in the time of al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 289/902) the imperial "cook houses" (*maṭābikh*) were separate from the bakeries (*makhābiz*) and the caliph was served from his own private kitchen while the public's needs were catered to from a different one. (*Tuḥfat al-umarāʾ fī taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Faradj, Cairo 1958, 20-2). Domestic households of a comfortable standard would have had their bread baked and food cooked in the same complex.

The concept and design of the kitchen in a traditional open courtyard house has probably remained unchanged from mediaeval times to the last surviving examples in modern-day Baghdad. Indeed, the essential characteristics of the mediaeval open courtyard house in ʿIrāḳ are said to be the Mesopotamian in origin and inspiration (see Ṣubḥī al-ʿAzzāwī, *A descriptive, analytical and comparative study of traditional courtyard houses and modern courtyard houses in Baghdad*, Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning, University of London Ph.D. thesis, unpubl.). The kitchen (the contemporary expression *bayt al-maṭbakh* being equivalent to the lexicographers' *bayt al-ṭabbākh* and *maṭbakh*) in multi-courtyard dwellings was a whole complex comprising the kitchen proper, opening on to its own courtyard with adjoining ancilliary areas such as store rooms, latrine and bathroom, well and possibly a cook's room. The upper part of the courtyard, level with the first floor of the house, was surrounded by blank walls and open to the sky. The kitchen of a single courtyard house faced directly on to the courtyard itself and had either fewer or no ancilliary areas attached to it. Larger multi-courtyard houses might have a second kitchen adjacent to the rooms where guests were entertained. Palaces of the caliph and the ʿAbbāsid princes were doubtless fashioned on a much larger scale but along essentially similar lines. Contrast this special function kitchen complex with Lane's description of a peasant's house in Lower Egypt in the 19th century, in which one room generally had an oven (Eg. *furn*) "at the end farthest from the entrance and occupying the whole width of the chamber. It resembles a wide bench or seat and is about breast high: it is constructed of brick and mud, the roof arched within and flat on top." During the cold months, the inhabitants would sleep either on top of a warmed oven or on the floor of the same room (*Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1837, i, 30). Along the social spectrum, therefore, food preparation was performed in areas ranging from greater to lesser specialisation: from the separate public and private kitchens and bakehouses of the palaces to the shared kitchen-habitable area of the peasant's dwelling.

The well-equipped kitchen in an urban household generally contained two major appliances. One was the baking oven, the *tannūr*, of Mesopotamian origin (Akkadian *tinūrû*; see A. Salonen, *Die Öfen der alten Mesopotamier*, in *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, iii [1964], 100-24). Cylindrical and bee-hive shaped, it gave the appearance of a large, inverted pot, from which it probably evolved. Fuel, preferably good charcoal, was

inserted through a side opening, ignited, and when the oven was sufficiently hot, baking could commence. The oven's temperature could be adjusted to some extent by closing its open top, the so-called "eye" *ʿayn*, or "mouth" *fam*, and its other apertures, *athkāb* (see Fawzi Rasūl, *al-Tannūr wa-ṣināʿatuhu fi 'l-Kāẓimiyya*, in *al-Turāth al-Shaʿbī*, iii/12 [1972], 95-116). The earliest extant culinary manuscript, of late 4th/10th century ʿIrāḳī provenance, provides a list of implements specifically used in baking bread in a *tannūr* (see *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh wa-iṣlāḥ al-aghdhiya al-maʾkūlāt wa-ṭatyīb al-aṭʿima al-maṣnūʿāt*, by Abū Muḥammad al-Muẓaffar b. Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Warrāḳ, Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Hunt. 187; now ed. K. Öhrnberg and S. Mroueh, Helsinki 1987). These include a dough board (*lawḥ*); a small rolling pin (*shawbak*) for the ordinary loaf (*raghīf*) and a large one for the thin *riḳāḳ*; a feather for coating the dough in certain preparations; a wooden bowl (*djafna* or *miʿdjan*) in which the dough was mixed and a metal scraper (*miḥakk*) for cleaning it afterwards. Yeast was kept in a wooden container called a *miḥlab*. A cloth (*mandīl*) was used to wipe a loaf clean before baking and another was used for wiping down the oven to remove unwanted moisture or condensation. A poker (*ṣinnāra*) was used to remove the loaf from the oven if it fell upon the floor inside, and a metal instrument (*miḥrak*) was used for raking out the embers and ash from the oven when baking was finished.

The *tannūr* was not used exclusively for baking bread. A recipe for a kind of chicken pie made in a pan (*miḳlā*) is described as being lowered into the oven to cook and another dish, a meat, rice and vegetable casserole made in a pot (*ḳidr*) was placed in the oven to finish cooking. Both these dishes were called *tannūriyya*, or oven-dish, which were often left to stew gently overnight in a slowly cooling oven and served the following day (al-Warrāḳ, *bāb* 87).

The second major cooking contrivance found in the kitchen was known simply as the "fire-place", *mustawḳad*. This was designed to accommodate several cooking pots and/or pans side-by-side at the same time. It was erected to about half-a-person's height, giving easy access to the cooking food and was provided with vents allowing for an intake of air over the coals and for the expulsion of smoke. It is evident that many dishes required more than one pot in their preparation, hence several "elements" might be used in the preparation of a single meal. Another, apparently independent, type of *mustawḳad* was recommended for the preparation of sweetmeats. Its single element accommodated a *miḳlā* or *tandjīr*, the vessels in which sweetmeats were commonly made. These dishes required long cooking over a low heat accompanied by vigorous stirring of the pan's contents. The shape and position of this *mustawḳad* would have made it easier to hold the pan and to control the heat (al-Warrāḳ, fol. 13a).

Al-Warrāḳ's depiction of the mediaeval *batterie de cuisine* continues with a list of utensils employed in the preparation of the innumerable main dishes. Cooking pots (*ḳudūr*, sing. *ḳidr*) made of stone, earthenware, copper or lead came in various sizes. The largest pots were reported to hold the careasses of four goats (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 54 = §3173). Such cauldrons, however, were more apt to be found in the palace kitchens or an army field mess than in a domestic kitchen; contemporary recipes do not suggest such crude bulk of ingredients. Judging from certain archaeological evidence, kiln pottery vessels of the "cooking pot" and "casserole" types appear more modest in size. Remains from a Byzantine pottery factory in Cyprus reveal that the largest restored cooking pot item was 0.27 m high and 0.31 m at its greatest diameter; the smallest was 0.135 m high and 0.21 at its greatest diameter. Casseroles with lip-edge type rims which were probably provided with lids were smaller still, the largest restored item being 0.11 m high and 0.27 m in diameter (H. W. Catlong, *An early Byzantine pottery factory at Dhiorios in Cyprus*, in *Levant*, iv [1972], 1-82). These vessel sizes seem appropriate to the needs of even large domestic households.

Pans (sing. *miḳlā* or *miḳlāt*) generally used for frying fish and the like were made of iron. A stone-made *miḳlā* was used for other purposes, although the distinction between it and the former is unclear. Other utensils found in the kitchen were roasting skewers (sing. *saffūd*); a copper basin (*nuḳra*) for washing smaller containers and vessels in hot water; a large copper rod-like instrument (*miḥashsh*) for stuffing intestines; a large knife for jointing meat and smaller ones for cutting up vegetables; several kinds of strainer (*miṣfāt*) made of wood or metal; a ladle (*mighrafa*) and a mallet (*miḍrab*). Spices were crushed or powdered in a mortar (*hāwun*) and kept in glass vessels. A similar but larger stone mortar (*djāwun*) was used for pounding meat or crushing vegetables; while meat was cut up on a wooden table or large wooden surface (*khiwān*).

As with bread-making operations, al-Warrāḳ lists separately implements for making sweetmeats (*ḥalwā*). Frequently these dishes were served shaped in the form of a fish or bird fashioned thus by means of a mould (*ḳālab*, pl. *ḳawālib*). In other cases sweetmeats were presented at a table decorated in a manner appropriate for the occasion. The thick syrupy substance which was the base of many kinds of *ḥalwā* was stirred slowly in a pan over the fire with utensils called an *iṣṭām* and a *ḳasba fārisiyya*. Some preparations were rolled out after cooking on a marble slab (*rukhāma*) before being cut into individual pieces. (The above data may be compared with Athenian household utensils in the classical period in B. A. Sparkes, *The Greek kitchen*, in *J. of Hellenic Studies*, lxxxii [1962], 121-37.)

The separate lists of utensils for different tasks mentioned in al-Warrāḳ's work suggests that at least in the larger, prosperous households both a baker and possibly a sweetmaker might have been retained in addition to a cook and other assistants. It may indeed be the case too, as Pellat has proposed, that the baker's (*khabbāz*) initial function evolved into that of a chief kitchen steward or even household majordomo (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*. tr. Ch. Pellat, *Le livre des avares*, 213, 258). The sweetmaker, on the other hand, may have been more often a market-based specialist commissioned to make his wares in people's kitchens when the need or occasion demanded. By and large, therefore, a household's status was marked socially, in part, by its degree of independence from the commercial cooked food establishments of the market which catered more to the needs of other sections of the population. Despite allusions in the *Thousand and One Nights* to "sending out" for food cooked in the market, the *ḥisba* manuals convey the impression that such fare was to be regarded with some suspicion. This impression is underlined by the existence of one market institution which must have served many urban households. Dishes initially prepared in the kitchen could be taken to the communal oven (*furn*), cooked there and returned to the kitchen to be garnished with chopped vegetable leaves and additional spices. Preparation of such a dish in the kitchen ensured a control over its quality; for its part, the *furn*

served the needs of households which possessed neither adequate kitchen space, equipment or labour for meal preparation or else catered for a household's special festive occasions. In any event, the very affluent establishments would seldom, if ever, require the services of a communal oven manager.

Although we do not possess data on the day-to-day details of kitchen management, food preparation was a time-consuming and labour-intensive process. So too were the efforts to keep the cooking pots and pans clean in order to prevent the food becoming spoiled. Al-Bag̲h̲dādī's instructions in his mid-7th/13th century cookbook run briefly as follows: "The utmost care must be taken when washing the utensils used in cooking and the pans; let them be rubbed with brick dust, then with powdered dry potash and saffron and finally with the fresh leaf of citron" (*A Baghdad cookery book*, tr. A. J. Arberry, in *IC*, xiii [1939], 33). The opening chapter of al-Warrāḳ's work deals with many of the causes of spoiled food and how to avoid such results. Meat must be thoroughly cleaned of any blood and washed in pure cold (not hot) water in a clean bowl; a knife used to cut up vegetables should not be used at the same time to cut up meat; spices which are old, have lost their essential flavour and have become "bitter", should not be used lest they "corrupt the pot". Likewise, salt and oil should be tasted before adding them to the cooking food so as to ensure they are still in good condition; attention must be paid to see that the liquid of stews or bits of onion and the like has not dried on the inside of pots and so might spoil the food when next they were used; and only fuel which does not give off acrid smoke should be used, as the smoke could alter the taste of the food.

Finally, the kitchen or kitchen complex of the single or multi-courtyard house (*bayt maftūḥ*) allowed a sheep or goat and several fowl to occupy the yard awaiting slaughter and the cooking pot; thus meat could be kept and cooked fresh. Fruits, herbs and certain vegetables were also dried and then stored in the kitchen's ancilliary area along with food prepared by pickling and special condiments such as *murrī*. Home-made beer and wine could be stored there as well. The wide range of activities associated with the transformation of food from its "raw to cooked" state (clearly reflected in the treasury of contemporary recipes) indicates the central importance of the kitchen and its management not only to the smooth running of day-to-day family life but also to the broader social and political aspects of food preparation and consumption which existed within the enclosed world of the domestic compound.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, the following items have been selected which contain data more closely related to kitchen technology than to cooking as such: R. J. Forbes, *Food and drink*, in *A history of technology*, ed. C. Singer *et alii*, Oxford 1957, ii, 103-45; idem, *Chemical, culinary and cosmetic arts*, in *ibid.*, i, 270-85; J. Needham, *Science and civilisation in China*, Cambridge 1980, v/4, 1-210; M. M. Ahsan, *Social life under the Abbasids*, London 1979, 76-164; Margaret Arnott (ed.), *Gastronomy: the anthropology of food and food habits*, The Hague 1975; D. Waines, *Prolegomena to the study of cooking in Abbasid times*, in *School of Abbasid Studies, Occasional Papers*, no. 1, St. Andrews University 1986, 30-9.

(D. Waines)

2. In Ottoman Turkey.

In Ottoman society, *maṭbakh*, in vernacular Turkish *mutfak*, the kitchen, had a central importance not only because the members of the ruling élite had to feed their large retinues but also because, as a social institution, it served to establish and symbolise patrimonial bonds in society. Feeding people gave rise to a variety of elaborate organisations related to the Sultan's palace, to the élite and to the charitable institutions. By fulfilling charitable duties as prescribed by Islam and by leading to the accumulation and redistribution of wealth, these organisations played a crucial role in Ottoman social life and in the economy in general.

a. Special feasts and foods. Feeding people or giving public feasts had an important ritualistic-ceremonial and political function among the pastoral nomads of Eurasia. In the Kök-Türk inscriptions dated 732-5 A.D. (ed. H. N. Orkun, IC 10, ID 16, 17), the primary task and accomplishment of a Kag̲h̲an was described as "the feeding and clothing of his people". In the *Ḳutadgu bilig*, a royal advice book written in 1070 in Turkish, being generous and "entertaining people with food and drink" are counted among the chief virtues of a prince (tr. R. Dankoff, 107; İnalcık, *Kutadgu Bilig'de...*, 270).

Later references to this custom indicate that "feeding his people" was institutionalised within the state organisation. To give a public feast was a privilege and a duty of the ruler. The institution was known as *toy* in Turkish (in Mongol *toyilan*: *Mang̲h̲ol-un Niuča Tobčaʾan*, tr. A. Temir, 53), *s̲h̲ölen* (in Mongol, *s̲h̲ulen*: Temir, 202) or *as̲h̲*. It was originally associated with the institution of a potlatch (Abdülkadir İnan, "*Han-i yagma*" *deyiminin kökeni*, in *Türk Dili*, vi, 543-6). Ögedey ordered that one sheep from each herd was to be taken annually and given to the poor. This institution was called *s̲h̲ülen* (A. Temir, *ibid.*). Following his election to the khanate, Čingiz K̲h̲ān had set up a kitchen as part of the state organisation (Temir, 58; cf. ch. on the qualifications of a chief cook in the *Kutadgu bilig*, 133). In the public feast given by the Kag̲h̲an at the meeting of the tribal chiefs, the customarily-determined seat (*orun*) and share of mutton served (*ülüs̲h̲*) to each chief was scrupulously regulated, for this was considered a ceremonial recognition of his rank (see İnan, *Orun ve ülüş meselesi*, in *THIM*, i, 121-33; cf. A. Z. V. Togan, *Oğuz destanı*, Istanbul 1972, 47-48; Abu 'l-G̲h̲āzī Bahādur K̲h̲ān, *S̲h̲ed̲j̲ere-yi Terākime*, ed. R. Nur, Istanbul 1925, 31). Arbitrary change in the order and hierarchy might lead to a rebellion. At such *toy*s or *s̲h̲ülen*s, important issues concerning the khanate were discussed and decisions taken. The practice was apparently introduced into the Islamic world by the Sald̲j̲ūḳs. Niẓām al-Mulk (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Darke, 162) speaks of it as a custom, scrupulously observed by the Sald̲j̲ūḳs; Ṭog̲h̲rïl Beg held an open eating table in his palace every morning. Because it was interpreted as a proof of the ruler's care for his subject, he was personally interested in the quality of the food served. The Ḳarak̲h̲ānids, says Niẓām al-Mulk (*ibid.*), considered *toy* an important state affair. Early Ottoman traditions (see ʿĀs̲h̲ïḳ-Pas̲h̲a-zāde, ed. N. Atsız, 98), tell us that in the Ottoman palace it was the custom for a band to play every afternoon to invite people to come and eat. At any rate, it was a carefully observed custom to offer, in the second court of the Ottoman palace, food to anyone who came to submit a case to the imperial council (see S. Cantacassin, 75).

The Ottomans also followed the Islamicised forms of the ancient Iranian rituals of *Mihragān* [*q.v.*] and *Nawrūz* [*q.v.*] which became occasions for public festivities. The offering of *pīs̲h̲kas̲h̲* or presents by high officials and governors to the Sultan at such times was an occasion for the renewal of bonds of loyalty, as had

been the case in ancient Iran (Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Gāh-shumārī wa djashnhā-yi Īrāniyān*, n.d., n.p., 43-5, 47-51, 55, 81-102; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Saray*, 366, 371, 507). The 21st (in the old calendar, 9th) of March was accepted by the Ottomans as *nevrūz* (*nawrūz*) or the beginning of the new year (for different dates, see Ṣafā, *ibid.*). On that day, it was a widespread custom to eat and offer a special paste, *maᶜdjūn*, called *nevrūziyye* (M. Celâl, *Eski İstanbul*, 99; Uzunçarşılı, *Saray*, 366). *Nawrūz* was also the beginning of the fiscal year in the Ottoman financial calendar.

Festivals of Iranian origin were, in the course of time, identified with the memorable events of Islam. For Bektāshīs, *nawrūz* is the most important festival, celebrated with a special feast, since 9 March is believed to be the birthday of ᶜAlī. It is a religiously meritorious act to celebrate nights of special importance in the history of Islam. The night of the Prophet's birth, 12 Rabīᶜ I, as well as those of *raghāʾib*, 3 Radjab; of the prophet's *miᶜrādj* [*q.v.*], 27 Radjab; of *barāʾa* or *barāt*, 15 Shaᶜbān; and the *laylat al-ḳadr*, 3 Ramaḍān, are celebrated with special prayers. After prayers, special dishes or sweets (*ḥelvā*) are offered which are an important part of the ritual: special *waḳfs* [*q.v.*] called *ṭaᶜāmiyye* were established specifically for the distribution of food in the *zāwiyes* and *ᶜimārets* on these days (examples of Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul vakıfları*, nos. 1788, 1790). The day of *ᶜāshūrā* [*q.v.*], 10 Muḥarram, had special meaning for the *ṭarīḳas* of Shīᶜī tinge. It was the occasion of a ritual at the dervish convents, the elements of which were reminiscent of the ancient Iranian *nawrūz* ritual (cf. Ṣafā, 88, 101). The preparation of a special food for the day called *ashūre* (*ᶜāshūrā*) at the convents had its own elaborate ritual (see Grace M. Smith, *ᶜAshure and, in particular, the ᶜAshure of Muharrem*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, viii, 229-31; *eadem*, *Food customs at the Kadirihane Dergâh*, in *JTS*, vii, 403). The day of *ᶜāshūrā* was observed commonly by all classes of society, including the Sultan's palace.

During the month of Ramaḍān, it was a custom for the Sultan and the principal dignitaries to invite their subordinates to the *ifṭār* meals in the evening, which were occasions for the renewal of the *nisba* or patrimonial relations among the élite (see M. Celâl, 93-5; B. Felek, *Yaşadığım Ramazanlar*, in the newspaper *Hürriyet*, June 1985). Special dishes were expected at the *ifṭār* meals. The introduction of a Western menu in the 19th century drew criticism regarding this. On the *ᶜĪd al-aḍḥā*, Turkish *Ḳurbān bayramī*, thousands of sheep were slaughtered and distributed to the poor by the Sultan and well-to-do citizens. Offering sweets was customary at the *ᶜĪd al-fiṭr* (Ali Riza, *Bir zamanlar İstanbul*, 120-81; M. Celâl, 89-100).

Also on special occasions, such as the Sultan's accession to the throne, a major victory on the battlefield, weddings or burials, elaborate public feasts were given which in their size and character resembled old Turkish *toys* (for the *Sūr-nāmes* which contain full description of the feasts, A. S. Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, 641; Edirne, 265-96; Ö. Nutku, *IV. Mehmed'in Edirne şenligi*; on the *toy* given by Meḥemmed II after the conquest of Constantinople, Ewliyā Čelebī, i, 60-2; the *khwān-i yaghmā* given to the Crimean troops was a typical *toy*, described by Fīndīḳlīlī Meḥmed, *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, ii, 27).

The festival of Khiḍr-Ilyās, in vernacular Turkish *Hidrellez* [see KHIḌR and ILYĀS], celebrated universally in the Ottoman lands, was also an occasion for a communal ritual feast usually called *tafarrudj*. Like *nawrūz*, it was associated with a cult celebrating the beginning of spring with the difference that *Hidrellez* was celebrated on 6 May (or 23 April, O.S.). It is to be noted that the Christian festival of St. George, who was identified with Khiḍr, was held on the same day (Hasluck, i, 48, 319-26).

The *ḥalwā* (Turkish *ḥelvā*) gathering, celebrated on 1 May, is a ritual related rather to the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] tradition of the craft guilds and the *ṭarīḳas* [*q.v.*] (I. Mélikoff, *Le rituel du Helva*; A. Y. Ocak, *Islâm-Türk inanclarında Hızır*). Ritual foods, *tuz-ekmek* (Ş. Elçin, *Tuz-ekmek hakkı deyimi üzerine*), *sherbet*, *loḳma*, *ḥelvā*, were all prepared and served ritually along with suitable prayers (see Grace Smith, *ibid.*).

In general, ritual food signified submission and mystical union in the *ṭarīḳa* ceremonies (see *Hacı Bektaş vilâyetnâmesi*, ed. A. Gölpınarlı, 17-18, 27).

The Janissary [see YENIČERI] corps was symbolically organised on the model of a kitchen. The explanation may lie in the *futuwwa* and Bektāshī connections of the corps, or in the old Turkish custom of *toy* (see above). The *ḳazān-i sharīf*, or sacred cauldron of *čorba* (soup), attributed to Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh [*q.v.*] was the emblem of the whole Janissary corps. The Janissary headgear was ornamented with a spoon. High officers were called *čorbadjī*. Also, each *orta*, or division, had its own *ḳazān*, and the head cook of the *orta* kitchen was the most influential officer in the division. The kitchen was also used as a detention place. Important meetings were held around the *ḳazān-i sharīf*. Overturning it meant rejecting the Sultan's food, i.e. rebellion, whilst to accept one's food meant submission in general (see Ş. Elçin, *Tuz-ekmek hakkı...*).

b. The *Maṭbakh-i ᶜĀmira* or Palace Kitchen. In addition to visitors, there was in the Sultan's palace a large body of palace servants who had to be fed every day. In 933/1527 servants in the *Bīrūn*, Outer Service, alone, numbered 5,457 (*IFM*, xvii, 300). The annual account books of the New Palace (the Ṭopḳapī Palace) (in *Belgeler*, ix, 72-81, 108-49) list separately the following kitchens: the *Maṭbakh-i ᶜĀmira*, or Imperial Kitchen; the *Ḥelwā-khāne* (formerly *sherbet-khāne*, confectioner's kitchen); and the two bake-houses for *simid* and *fodula*. Within the *Maṭbakh-i ᶜĀmira* itself, reference is made to particular kitchens: *Maṭbakh-i Āghā-yi Saray* (K. for the Chief Eunuch of the Palace), the *Maṭbakh-i Āghāyān* (K. for the Chief Eunuchs), and the *Maṭbakh-i Ghulāmān-i Enderūn* (K. for the Palace pages). A special kitchen called *ḳushkhāne* (not to be confused with the Palace aviary) was reserved exclusively for the Sultan himself. The entire southern part of the Second Court in the Palace was occupied by kitchens, storerooms, apartment for the Kitchen personnel and offices (see Plan I, in B. Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, 8). After a destructive fire, ten kitchens were rebuilt under Süleymān I by the architect Sinān [*q.v.*], who created a grandiose construction with domes and chimneys. Each of the ten kitchens served a special group.

There were two storehouses, *kilār* or *kiler*, one in the *Bīrūn*, the other in the *Enderūn (Andarūn)* where provisions for the Palace were stored. The more valuable items such as sugar and spices mainly provided from Egypt (*Mīṣīr irsāliyyesi*) were preserved in the inner *kiler* under the direct supervision of the *kilerdji-bashī*. The bulkier goods were stored in the outer *kiler* under the supervision of the *Maṭbakh kilerdjisi*. Other palaces in Istanbul, such as the Sarāy-i ᶜAtīḳ, Üsküdār Sarāyī and Ghalaṭa Sarāyī, and the palaces in Edirne and Bursa, had their own kitchen organisations similar to those of the Ṭopḳapī Palace.

During the classical period (1400-1600), all the

work involved in the procurement of provisions and the preparation and distribution of food within the Palace was under the responsibility of the *kilerdji-bashi̊*, also known as *sar-kilārī-i khāṣṣa*, or the Head of the Imperial Larder. He was the chief of the third of the Imperial Chambers which were in direct contact with the Sultan. The staff under the *kilerdji-bashi̊* grew considerably over the course of time, from 20 in the early 16th century to 134 in 1090/1679 (Uzunçarşılı, 315).The number of cooks in the ten Imperial Kitchens also increased considerably, as follows:

Table I
Cooks of the Imperial Palace (Ṭopkapi̊)

Date	*Number*	*Salary*	*Source*
916/1510	260 (50 of the *usta*)	—	S. Cantacassin, 74
933/1526	277	654,900	*IFM*, xv, 308-12
978/1570	1570 (includes staff of storerooms and ovens)	2,536,056	*IFM*, xvii, 333-5
ca. 1060/1650	1370	2,500,000	Eyyūbī Efendi

The cooks, *āshdjis* or *ṭabbākhs*, were organised in an *odjak* (corps), which was divided into *bölüks*, in the same way as other military corps at the Porte. The corps was headed by the *sar-ṭabbākhīn-i khāṣṣa*, also known as *bash-āshdji-bashi̊* with the rank of *āghā*. As in other corps, the *āghā* was assisted by a *katkhudā* (lieutenant) and a *kātib*, secretary. As professionals, the cooks were subjected to a hierarchy as in any craft, which consisted of *usta* or *ustād*, *ḳalfa* or *khalīfa*, and *shāgird* (master, foreman and novice). As a rule, a *shāgird* joined the corps from the corps of *ʿadjemī-oghlans* [see ḲAPI̊-ḲULU]. He learned the profession while working under an *usta* or *āshdji̊-bashi̊*, later becoming an *āshdji̊*, then being promoted to *āshdji̊-bashi̊*.

Servants under the *kilerdji-bashi̊* in the storerooms in the *Bīrūn* formed a separate corps in ten *bölüks*. Under him were the following: *khabbāzān* (bakers), *ḳaṣṣābān* (butchers), *ḥalwādjiyān* (*ḥelvā*-makers), *yoghurtdjiyān* (yoghurt-makers), *sebzedjiyān* (keepers of vegetables), *simiddjiyān* (makers of ring bread), *buzdjiyān* and *ḳardjiyān* (keepers of ice and snow), *ʿashshābān* (keepers of herbs), *tavuḳdjiyān* (keepers of poultry), *ḳalaydjiyān* (tinners of the copper ustensils), *mūmdjiyān* (makers of candles), *saḳḳāyān* (water-carriers), *gandum-kūbān* (wheat-pounders). *Čashnīgīrān* (waiters), made a completely independent group under a *čashnīgīr-bashi̊* in the *Bīrūn* section. The Sultan was served by the *kilerdji-bashi̊* and his staff in the *Enderūn*.

Table II
Čashnīgīrs

Date	*Number*	*Source*
900/1494	9	*IFM*, xv, 308
916/1510	31	Cantacassin, 70
ca. 920/1514	24	*IFM*, xv, 313
1018/1609	117	ʿAynī ʿAlī, 97
1079/1668	21	*IFM*, xvii, 228

The Sultan's cooks competed to please the Sultan by preparing special dishes of their own cooking. The Sultan showed his pleasure by giving a reward (*inʿām*) (records in *Belgeler*, ix, 300, 305). Thus the Ottoman palace was considered as a centre where Ottoman Turkish cooking excelled and where creative chefs were trained (see A. Muhtar, *Aş-evi*). Detailed records on the ingredients used are to be found in the kitchen expenditure books (see the registers called *Muḥāsebe-yi ikhrādjāt-i khāṣṣa* published by Ö. L. Barkan, *Belgeler*, ix; and the Başvekâlet Archives, Istanbul, K. Kepeci tasnifi, *Maṭbakh-i ʿĀmira muḥāsebe defterleri*; for Ottoman cookery in the mid-17th century, see Seyyid Meḥmed, *Ṣoḥbet-nāme*, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Hazine K. 1425 and 1418).

Provisions were to be supplied regularly to the imperial kitchens under the supervision of a *maṭbakh emīni*, who organised their delivery. Also responsible for book keeping and accounts, he was assisted by a *katkhudā*, two *kātibs* (scribes) and a larder attendant (*kilerdji*). A bureaucrat of the rank of *khʷādje*, the *emīn* was nevertheless a dependent of the *kilerdji-bashi̊* (for the functions of the *emīn*, see, e.g. *Muḥāsebe defteri*, BA, K. Kepeci no. 7291). Provisions were bought either from the market or as *irsāliyye* or *odjaḳliḳ* [see MUḲĀṬAʿA] procured regularly from the resources under the control of the finance department.

The tremendous amount of meat consumed at the imperial palaces give rise to a vast organisation under a *ḳaṣṣāb-bashi̊*, who was financially dependent on the *maṭbakh emīni*. For the kitchens of the Topkapı Palace alone, the annual consumption of lamb was about 1,270 tons, costing 12 million *aḳčas*. The other three palaces consumed 458 tons annually (*IFM*, xvii, 295-8).

The kitchen expenditures of the temporary embassies were met by the Porte. In 1079/1669, e.g., the Russians received provisions worth 347,000 *aḳčes*.

Table III
The total annual expenditure for the provisions of the Palace Kitchens

	Million aḳčes	*In gold pieces*
Under Süleymān I	4.8	80,000
,, Selīm II	6.3	105,000
,, Murād III	21	175,000
In 1072/1661	44.3	369,000
In 1164/1750	900,000 *ghurush*	328,000

The organisation of the kitchen in the houses of the élite was a miniature replica of the Sultan's one. It included two separate kitchens, one for the lord and the other for the servants. Both had master cooks (*usta*) and apprentices or assistants (*shāgird*). In 1082/1671 a vizier-governor, ʿUmar (ʿÖmer) Pasha's kitchen personnel (see M. Kunt, 15-22) consisted of one *maṭbakh emīni*, also known as *wakīl-khardj*, six cooks, six pantrymen (*kilārī*), two shopping boys and one butler. Expenditure for provisions through the *wakīl-khardj* amounted to about 8,600 gold pieces or 16.7% of the Pasha's total expenditure. Members of the élite spent an unusual amount of money for kitchen expenses, not only because they had large retinues to feed (in ʿUmar Pasha's case, 220 persons) but also because they were expected "to keep the house open" to visitors.

In the houses of the élite and well-to-do, the *maṭbakh* and the *furūn* (oven) were to be found often as separate constructions in the courtyard.

c. The *ʿImāret* and *Zāwiye*. The *ʿimārets* functioned as an extensive network of social aid in Ottoman society, particularly in the cities. Numerous

ʿimārets provided food for thousands of people who did not have an independent source of income. Charity, materialised through the institution of ʿimāret, was accepted as an integral part of the Islamic *wakf* system, but considered extensively, the ʿ*imāret* system might also be related to pre-Islamic Turkish traditions.

Through this system, the immense wealth, which was accumulated in the hands of the ruling élite, was redistributed among the unprivileged and dependent people. Built within a religious complex, an ʿ*imāret* compound usually included a *maṭbakh*, a *taʿām-khāne* or *dār al-ḍiyāfa* (eating hall), *ḥudjras* (rooms for visitors), an *anbār* or *kilār* (larder), a *furūn* (oven), an *iṣṭabl* (stable) and a *maḥṭab* or *odunluḳ* (store for firewood). The entire ʿ*imāret* compound was put under a *shaykh-i* ʿ*imāret*, while each section came under the responsibility of an employee specialising in that service. The *Maṭbakh* personnel of a large ʿ*imāret* (see *Belgeler*, i, 235-377; *Kara Ahmed Paşa vakfiyyesi*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 83-97) included first a *wakīl-khardj* (steward), *kilārī* (larder attendant), *anbārī* (keeper of the storeroom for bulky provisions), *naḳībs* (distributors and supervisors), *ṭabbākhs* (cooks), a head cook, and *khabbāzs* (bakers); in the second category came a *gandum-kūb* (wheat-pounder), a *kāse-shūy* (bowl-washer), *ḥammāls* (porters) and *bostānīs* (gardeners). There were also *ḳapīdjīs* (gate-keepers), *teberdārs* (halberdiers), *ākhūrī* (stable boy), *čirāghdjī* (candle-lighter), *kāse-keskh* (waiter), *ferrāsh* (sweeper) and *mezbele-kesh* (carrier of garbage). At smaller ʿ*imārets* or *zāwiyes*, there were to be found only a *shaykh*, cooks, bakers and a store-keeper. At the derwish *zāwiyes*, the main services were assumed by the *babas* and others by dervishes, in a hierarchical order. According to the Ṣūfī interpretation, each service represented a station in the training of a disciple. In the Bektāshī order, the *ekmekdji-baba* and *āshdjī-baba* came second and third after the *pust-nishīn* in the hierarchy, which corresponded to the *ekmek-evi* and *āsh-evi* in the *tekke* (J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi order*, 175, 250; S. Faroqhi, *Der Bektaschi-Orden*, 105; eadem, *Seyyid Gazi*, in *Turcica*, xiii, 94, 103; A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânadan sonra mevlevîlik*, Istanbul 1953, 391). The administrators comprised a *mutawallī* (trustee and administrator), a *nāẓir* (supervising trustee), a *kātib* (secretary) and *djābīs* (collectors of revenues). All this gives an idea of how an ʿ*imāret* or *zāwiye* was organised and functioned.

The word ʿ*imāret* is sometimes used synonymously with *khānaḳāh* or *zāwiye*; but in all categories, the running of a *maṭbakh* and cooking and distributing food for the needy constituted the most important function.

Imārets founded by the sultans in large cities were the most developed form of public soup kitchen. The ʿ*imāret* of Fātiḥ, part of the charitable complex established by Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*], had an annual income of about 20,000 gold ducats. This income was derived from 57 *wakf* villages and the *djizya* tax of the non-Muslims (8,677 taxpayers) of Istanbul. At least 1,117 persons received food from this ʿ*imāret*. The figure included 957 students, employees and servants of the ʿ*imāret* and 160 travellers (*IFM*, xxiii, 306-41). For better service, a *tawzīʿ-nāma*, or regulation for distribution (ed. A. S. Ünver, *Fâtih aşhânesi tevzi' nâmesi*, Istanbul 1953) was drawn in 952/1545. The food, when left over, was further distributed among the poor in the neighbourhood, with widows and orphans getting priority. Those benefiting from an ʿ*imāret* are listed, in order, as the *fuḳarāʾ* (destitute) coming first, and then *masākīn* (those unable to make a livelihood) and *musāfirīn* (travellers). Sometimes poor orphans (*yatīm*) and school children are also mentioned in the *wakf* deeds among the beneficiaries. Dervish *zāwiyes* are included in the category of establishments which offer food and shelter to travellers and the needy. In the documents granting arable land as *mulk*/*wakf* to the *shaykh* of a *zāwiye*, it is always stipulated that his primary duty is to provide food and shelter to travellers (see *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 304-53). In the countryside, the *zāwiye* was thought indispensable for people travelling and a factor promoting settlement and prosperity. Anyway, helping travellers was included among the *zakāt* [*q.v.*] duties and the performance of this duty in the name of the Sultan was given to the care of a dervish community, as an old Islamic tradition. The *zāwiyes* of the *akhīs* [*q.v.*] were particularly active during the first period of Ottoman expansion and settlement, when hundreds of *zāwiyes* and similar institutions were established throughout the empire; in 936/1530 there were 626 *zāwiyes* and *khānaḳāhs*, 45 ʿ*imārets*, 1 *ḳalender-khāne* and 1 *mevlevī-khāne* in the province of Anatolia (western Asia Minor).

As a rule, a *zāwiye* encompassed two sections, a *tekke* (convent), where the dervishes performed their religious rites, and a *maṭbakh* or *āsh-evi*, where food was prepared and distributed to the dervishes, to travellers and to the needy. The *maṭbakh* was considered so important that usually it dominated the whole *zāwiye* structure, and took up by far the largest share of the *zāwiye*'s revenue (see Faroqhi, *Der Bektashi-Orden*, 48-75). In the urban *zāwiyes*, the residents of the quarter where the *zāwiye* was built set up additional *wakfs* to supplement the salaries of the servants or to pay for the preparation and distribution of food on holy days (*ḳandīls*). Thus the *zāwiye*, like the mosque of the quarter, constituted a common religious centre as well as a charitable institution (see *İstanbul vakıfları*, ed. Ayverdi and Barkan) in the *maḥalla* [*q.v.*].

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(HALIL INALCIK)

3. In Persia [see Suppl.].

4. In Mughal India.

It is not easy to determine to what extent the Mughal commissariat perpetuated earlier Indian models: consistent information comes only from the times of Akbar and his successors, and although there are copious references to banquets from earlier reigns, and some allusions to favourite articles of food, there is almost nothing recorded about kitchen organisation.

Under Akbar, the Imperial kitchen, *maṭbakh* (called in Humāyūn's time *bāwarčī-khāna*), including its dependent branches of *ābdār-khāna* (the court water-supply), *mēwa-khāna* (supply of fruits both fresh and dried) and *rikāb-khāna* (pantry, specially where bread is prepared), was one division of the imperial household under the control of the Khān-i Sāmān. The kitchen itself was controlled by a *mīr bakāwal*, on whose staff were several assistant *bakāwals*, a treasurer and his assistants—for the kitchen estimates and accounts were kept separately—clerks, marketers, a large retinue of cooks "from all countries", food-tasters, table spreaders and servers, and perhaps most important, a large number of storekeepers, for the Imperial Kitchen had to be ready to move a day in advance of the Emperor when he went on tour.

The *mīr bakāwal* was required, according to the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, to prepare both annual and monthly estimates for his department, to determine the rates of materials required, and to make the necesary purchases, entering all these in a day-book; he had also to pay the monthly wages of the staff. Provisions such as rice from various sources, other grains, *ghī* (clarified butter), live goats and sheep, ducks and fowls, etc., were collected at the beginning of each season (doubtless to take advantage of seasonal fluctuations in prices); the livestock would be fattened under the care of the cooks; a kitchen-garden was also

established to provide a continual supply of fresh vegetables. Livestock was slaughtered outside the city or camp by a river or tank, and the meat washed and sent to the kitchen in sealed sacks; within the kitchen it would again be washed in selected water taken from sealed vessels before being cooked. During the cooking processes, in which every dish would be under the supervision of one of the sub-*bakāwal*s, awnings would be spread and lookers-on carefully kept away; the finished dishes, after being tasted by the cooks and the *bakāwal*s, would be served in utensils of gold or silver, tinned copper or earthenware, tasted by the *mīr bakāwal*, tied up in cloths and sealed, with a note of their contents, before being sent to the table; as an additional precaution a storekeeper would send also a list of the vessels used, so that none of the dishes might be substituted by an unauthorised one, and the used vessels had to be checked against the list when they were returned. As the food was carried from the kitchen by the *bakāwal*s, cooks and others, guarded by mace bearers, a similar procession would be sent from the bakery, the *ābdār-khāna*, and the *mēwa-khāna*, all dishes again sealed by a *bakāwal*. Some dishes from the Imperial table might be sent, as a mark of special favour, to the queens and princes; but of course the kitchen was kept busy the whole time, apart from the meals required for the emperor's table, in providing meals for the *zanāna*.

As remarked above, s.v. GANGĀ, the water of the Ganges had a special reputation for purity, and here perhaps pre-Mughal usage is perpetuated in that Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ is known to have used special couriers to bring Ganges water to his court; Akbar while at Āgra or Fatḥpur Sikrī is said to have obtained Ganges water from Sōrōn (miscalled Sarun in Blochmann's tr. of *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, *āʾīn* 22), a town of some antiquity now no longer on the main channel of the Ganges, and while in Lāhawr from Hardwār. His practice was followed by later Mughal rulers. This was used for drinking water; but even water for cooking purposes had a small amount of Ganges water mixed with it. Trustworthy persons drew the water and despatched it to court in sealed jars. Drinking water was at first cooled in sealed containers stirred in a vessel containing a solution of saltpetre, although after the court moved to the Pandjāb, ice was regularly used, brought from the Pandjāb hills by land or water. For all these arrangements the *ābdār-khāna* was responsible, and also for the provision of *sharbat* when required; indeed, in the reign of Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] the *ābdār-khāna* was known as the *sharbat-khāna*. On the march or in camp, drinking water was cooled by being carried in a tinned flask covered with a cloth wrapping which was kept constantly moist, so that the contents were cooled by evaporation from the surface, as in the modern army water-bottle (the evidence of Mughal paintings shows a simpler method, still in use: the water is kept in a large earthenware vessel (*surāhī*), only lightly glazed or unglazed, mounted on a simple stand and placed so as to catch any breeze).

The *mēwa-khāna* received much attention from the Mughal emperors. Bābur, in a touching passage in the *Tūzuk*, recalls the delights of the grapes and melons of his homeland and regrets their absence from India; but such luxuries were later regularly imported after the conquest of Kābul, Ḳandahār and Kashmīr, and Akbar settled horticulturists from "Īrān and Tūrān" for the cultivation of fruit trees in India. Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, *āʾīn* 28, gives a list of some two dozen imported fruits and nuts, three dozen native Indian sweet fruits, and a score of sour and sub-acid fruits. A special "fruit" described in this section is the *pān*, a heart-shaped green leaf smeared with lime and catechu, to which is added slices or granules of betel-nut with aromatic spices, sometimes camphor, musk, or costly perfumes, and rolled into a *bīṛā*, which may then be finished with silver or even gold leaf. A *pān* was often presented to a courtier as a mark of royal favour, and Mughal brass *pāndān*s, with compartments to hold the leaves, nuts and other requisites, were also presented as gifts.

Abu 'l-Faḍl's account shows further what kinds of dishes were prepared for the Imperial table, and he gives thirty specimen receipts—or rather lists of ingredients, since there is no information about the cooking processes involved. These are divided into three categories: *bē-gōsht* (meatless), "commonly called *ṣūfiyāna*"; *gōsht bā-birandj*, meat with rice; and *abāzīr*, spiced dishes. The categories, however, do not seem to be mutually exclusive. There is already ample evidence for the Indianisation of the Mughal fare, in both the ingredients (including cardamoms, cinnamon, saffron, ample fresh ginger root, asafoetida, turmeric and others among the spices; chillis are conspicuously absent, and *summāḳ*, a favourite Persian condiment, appears only once) and the nomenclature (*dāl*, lentils; *sāg*, a spinach dish; *čapātī* among the breads; *khičrī* among the rice dishes). Abu 'l-Faḍl's list of current market prices for common commodities (*āʾīn* 27) refers to many by Indian names (e.g. *mūng* and *mōth* among the lentils) and includes such Indian favourites as mangoes-in-oil and lemons-in-oil, among the pickles.

The large number of meatless dishes calls for comment. Akbar declared a number of *ṣūfiyāna* days in which he ate no meat, including Fridays, Sundays (because, according to Djahāngīr, it was the day of his birth), the first day of each solar month, and throughout the month of Ābān and at least part of Farwārdīn, and on many other days detailed by Abu 'l-Faḍl; he increased the number of *ṣūfiyāna* days each year, and on these days no animals were permitted to be slaughtered. Djahāngīr, whose *Tūzuk* shows him to have been a connoisseur of good food, ate *ṣūfiyāna* meals on Sundays in his father's memory, and on Thursdays to commemorate his own accession.

The kitchen department had also obviously to provide for the wine and other intoxicants used in the court, for although the official chroniclers are understandably reticent on the subject it is inconceivable that similar precautions to those taken for foodstuffs and water should not be applied also to wine. Khʷāndamīr records (*Ḳānūn-i Humāyūnī*, 49) that a *sūčī khāna* issuing wines existed apart from the *ābdār-khāna*. Besides wine from the grape, *ʿaraḳ*, such drugs as opium, *bhāng* (hemp, *Cannabis sativa*) and the electuary *maʿdjūn*, of variable components, were freely used by many of the Mughal rulers and the nobles (too freely, to judge by the fate of Akbar's sons Murād and Dāniyāl, and many others!).

A subordinate kitchen department, not part of the household, existed to provide food in the *langar-khāna*, soup-kitchen, established as a charity around many of the royal courts to provide simple food for the poor.

Bibliography: The most complete information is to be found in Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, *āʾīn*s 22-8. Sporadic information in *Tūzuk-i Bāburī*; Gulbadan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma*; Khʷāndamīr, *Ḳānūn-i Humāyūnī*; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*. Occasional light is thrown by the accounts of European travellers, especially Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*; Monserrate, *Mongolicae legationis commentarius*, Eng. tr. J. S. Hoyland, 1922, 199; Bernier; Tavernier; Peter Mundy; and Sir Thomas Roe, *Embassy ... to*

the court of the Great Moghul, ed. Hakluyt Soc., 1926. M. Azher Ansari, *The diet of the great Mughals*, and *The Abdar Khanah of Mughals*, in *IC*, xxxiii (1959), 219-27 and 151-60 respectively.

(J. Burton-Page)

MATERIALISTS [see dahriyya, māddiyya].

MAṬGHARA, the name of a Berber tribe belonging to the great family of the Butr [*q.v.*]; they were related to the Zanāta and brethren of the Maṭmāṭa, Kūmiya, Lamāya, Ṣaddīna, Madyūna, Maghīla, etc., with whom they form the racial group of the Banū Fātin. Like the other tribes belonging to this group, the Maṭghara originally came from Tripolitania; the most eastern members of the Maṭghara, however, known to al-Bakrī and Ibn Khaldūn were those who lived in the mountainous regions along the Mediterranean from Milyāna and Ténès to the north of Oujda (port of Tābaḥrīt); those of the western part of this zone were allied with the Kūmiya; their mountains rose not far from Nadrūma and the fortress of Tāwunt was in their territory.

Three sections had reached the western Maghrib as early as the 2nd/8th century and formed there an important bloc. These were:

1. The Maṭghara of Fās and the corridor of Taza; al-Bakrī observes that the source of the Wādī Fās was on their territory, in the region where Leo Africanus still mentions the *Sūḳ al-khamīs* of the Maṭghara "fifteen miles west of Fās".

2. The Maṭghara of the Middle Atlas in the Djabal Maṭghara, which Ibn Khaldūn locates to the south-east (*ḳiblī*) of Fās and which Leo Africanus says is five miles from Taza (to the south?). The reference then is to the mountain region now occupied by the Ayt Warayn; an important section of the latter, the Ayt Djellidasen, represents the Banū Gallidāsan whom al-Bakrī gives as a section of the Maṭghara, settled near Ténès in Algeria. We still find among the Ayt Warayn several sections of the Imghilen who represent the Maghīla, brethren of the old Maṭghara. The name of Mṭāghra is today applied to all the eastern splinters of the Ghayyātha tribe; Taza is situated in their territory. In al-Bakrī's time (5th/11th century) these two sections of the Maṭghara had as neighbours in the west the Zawāgha of Fāzāz and of Taza.

3. The Maṭghara of the oases of the Sahara settled in the region of the Sidjilmāssa and in the town itself, in which they constitute the main element of the population, in the region of Fīgīg, in Tuwāt, Tamanṭit and as far away as Wallen (Ouallen).

At the beginning of the Arab conquest, the Maṭghara are represented by Ibn Khaldūn as settled and living in huts built of branches of trees (*khaṣāṣ*); those of the Sahara lived in fortified villages (*ḳuṣūr*) and devoted themselves to growing dates. In the time of Leo Africanus, the Maṭghara of the Central Atlas occupied about fifty large villages.

Like other peoples belonging to the group of the Banū Fātin, the Maṭghara took an active part in the events at the beginning of the Arab conquest and weakened themselves considerably in the fighting. As soon as they had become converted to Islam, a number of groups of Maṭghara went over to Spain and settled there. Later, like their brethren, the Maṭmāṭa [*q.v.*], they adopted the principles of the Ṣufriyya [*q.v.*]; one of their chiefs, Maysara, provoked the famous schismatic rising of 122/740, which was the beginning in Morocco of the Baraghwāṭa heresy [see barghawāṭa]. In a list of the tribes which adopted this heretical teaching, we find the Maṭmāṭa and Maṭghara of the Central Atlas, as well as the Banū Abī Naṣr, the modern Ayt Bū-Nṣar, the eastern section of the Ayt Warayn.

With the rise of Idrīs, the chief of the Maṭghara, Bahlūl, declared himself at first a supporter of the caliph of Baghdād, Hārūn al-Rashīd, then rallied to the new dynasty. Later and down to the 11th/17th century, the Maṭghara of the Central Atlas do not seem to have played any part in politics; but they nevertheless retained their independence. From the 11th/17th century, they seem to have been supplanted on their territory by invaders from the south. As to the Maṭghara of the shore, settled in the region of Nadrūma, their alliance with the Kūmiya gained them considerable political importance, when the latter became supporters of the Almohads. It was at this period that they built the fortress of Tāwunt. They then rallied to the Marīnids [*q.v.*] but this brought upon them the wrath of the ruler of Tlemcen, the celebrated Yaghmurāsen, who finally crushed them.

Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 496, and Ibn Khaldūn use the form *Madghara* instead of *Maṭghara*; in Moroccan texts of late date we also find *Madghara*.

Bibliography: Bakrī and Idrīsī, indices; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, tr. de Slane, i, 237-41; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Épaulard, 303-4, 353 and index. (G. S. Colin)

MATHAL (a., pl. *amthāl*) proverb, popular saying, derives—similarly to Aram. *mathlā*, Hebr. *māshāl* and Ethiop. *mesl*, *mesālē*—from the common Semitic root for "sameness, equality, likeness, equivalent" (cf. Akkad. *mashālum* "equality", *mishlum* "half"). In Arabic, to create a proverb is *fa-arsala(t)hā*, or *djaʿala(t)hu mathal*^{an}, *fa-ḍaraba(t) bihi 'l-mathal*^{a}; to become proverbial is *ḍuriba bihi 'l-mathal*^{u}, *mathal*^{un} *yuḍrabu fa-dhahaba(t)*, or *djarā/djarat mathal*^{an}, or, simply, *fa-ṣāra mathal*^{an}.

1. In Arabic

i. Definition

ii. Arabic proverbs
- (1) Earliest layer
  - (a) fables
  - (b) stories
  - (c) inscriptions, verse
  - (d) *ḥikma*
- (2) Second layer
  - (a) ʿAlī
  - (b) turns of speech
  - (c) Islamic forms
- (3) Third layer
  - (a) mouthes of people
  - (b) parallels
- (4) *afʿal*^{u} *min*
- (5) *muwallada*
- (6) NT and OT, etc.
- (7) stories
- (8) only locally current
- (9) quoted verses
- (10) Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*
  - (a) "wisdom"

iii. Arabic collections
- (1) Abū ʿUbayd
  - (a) al-Mufaḍḍal
  - (b) Muʾarridj
- (2) Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb
- ....
- (18) Ibn ʿĀṣim

iv. Modern collections
- (1) European
- (2) Oriental

Bibliography

i. Definition.

The Arabic philologists have since Abū ʿUbayd (d.224/838) repeatedly defined the concept of mathal.

They have discerned and set forth its three essential characteristics: comparison, sc. the metaphorical way of expression (*tashbīh*); brevity (*īdjāz al-lafẓ*); and familiarity (*sāʾir*). They have established (a) that *amthāl* are based on experience and therefore contain practical commonsense (*ḥikma*); (b) that by their use facts can be stated pointedly and intelligibly in an indirect way (*kināya*); and (c) that by making use of *amthāl* it becomes possible to communicate matters that it would be difficult to communicate in a more straightforward way. This quality of the *mathal* is owing to the fact that it can be used individually to represent all, even only remotely, analogous cases and can always remain unchanged in the process, even though the origin of the *mathal* may long be forgotten. Abū ʿUbayd stresses the fact that the *mathal* "accompanies" the discourse; in doing so he exactly defines the etymological meaning of proverb, παροιμία in Greek (cf. also the more recent παραβολή) and in the Latin *adagio*, *adagium* as well as in the later *proverbium*. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) correctly remarks, that—corresponding to its true etymological meaning—*naẓīr* should be considered to be the basic meaning of *mathal*; cf. R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen, insbesondere die des Abū ʿUbaid*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Frankfurt am Main 1953, The Hague 1954, 8-20; idem, Arabic, revised and enlarged edition, *al-Amthāl al-ʿarabiyya al-ḳadīma*, tr. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Beirut 1391/1971 (repr. 1402/1982 and 1404/1984), ^{2}21-35; W. Heinrichs, *The hand of the north wind*, Wiesbaden 1977, 7.

The totality of these characteristics and qualities do not apply to each and every *mathal*. Many *amthāl* can only lay claim to two of them. This shows that by *mathal* we have to understand something wider than our (1) proverb; *mathal* includes, in addition, the (2) proverbial saying, also comprising the extensive group of comparisons involving a comparative in the form *afʿalu min*, (3) adages (gnomes, dicta), that is, *ḥikam* and *aḳwāl* which, like many a proverb, can also be found among the *aḥādīth* as maxims and saws, including mottoes, personal maxims, apophthegms and aphorisms, (4) set turns of speech, that is *kalimāt* and *muḥāwarāt* (characteristic modes of expression) as used in optative and maledictive exclamation, in address and salutation, in prayer, and in speech generally, and, at some time or other, (5) parable, fable, just as in the Ancient Orient; cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Der Maschal im Alten Testament*, Giessen 1913; K.-M. Beyse, in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum AT*, v (1984), 69ff., E.I. Gordon, in *BiOr*, xvii (1960), 130; O. E. Moll, *Über die ältesten Sprichwörtersammlungen*, in *Proverbium*, vi (1966), 114ff.; ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Fuʾādī, *Baḥth fi 'l-amthāl al-ʿirāḳiyya, dirāsa muḳārana li-amthāl al-mudjtamaʿ al-ʿirāḳī al-ḳadīm wa 'l-muʿāṣir*, in *Sumer*, xxix (1973), 83-106, xxx (1974), 27-46; J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Oriental wisdom, six essays of the sapiental traditions of Eastern Civilisations*, Worcester, Mass. 1981 (= *JAOS*, ci/1 [1981], 1-131).

ii. Arabic proverbs.

The *Kitāb al-Amthāl* of Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838) is the oldest collection of *amthāl* in the form of a genuine book compiled by the author. It contains a little less than 1,400 *amthāl* in systematic order, arranged in 19 chapters with, in all, 259 sub-chapters and 11 more in an appendix. This material can be classed as belonging in three layers: (1) *amthāl* from pre-Islamic times, (2) *amthāl* from the early times of Islam and its religious-political centres, and (3) *amthāl* dating back to the emergence of the Islamic centralised state, chiefly under the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs.

(1) The *amthāl* of the earliest layer in their majority are derived from the narrative tradition of the 2nd/8th century. In the context of a recall of the glorious Arabic past, favoured by early anti-Shuʿūbiyya tendencies, stories (*akhbār*), poems (*ashʿār*) and other relics (*āthār*) of the pre-Islamic times were very much alive in the centres of urban civilisation and much in demand at court and in various offices. Whatever in them ran counter to Islamic notions, laws and bans, was excused as having happened in the Djāhiliyya and as being worth preserving. In the struggle for survival under desert conditions, solidarity at any price among tribesmen is insisted upon: *unṣur akhāka ẓālim^an aw maẓlūm^an* "assist thy brother whether he is right or wrong" (Abū ʿUbayd [see below, iii, 1], no. 397: 519, further references here, as for all the following quotations); the father sets an example for the son: *man ashbaha abāhu fa-mā ẓalama* "who does as his father does, cannot be wrong—whatever be the merits of the deed" (*ibid.*, no. 408; 833), and the daughter admires him and his exploits unreservedly: *kull^u fatāt^in bi-abīhā muʿdjabat^un* (*ibid.*, no. 402). In the permanent search for new pastures for his never-satisfied livestock, the Bedouin must necessarily be irked when he stumbles on pasturages without having his camel with him: *ʿushb^un wa-lā baʿīr^un* "fresh herbage and no camel" (*ibid.*, no. 581); of course, he knows how to appreciate the quality of the fodder, so he measures a normal pasture with the *saʿdān* plant, which is optimal for camels: *marʿan wa-lā ka 'l-saʿdān^i* (*ibid.*, no. 370), Figurative and metaphoric speech has with great tenacity held its ground among the Semites and especially among the Arabs, and plays an important part even in the higher forms of literature. To the Bedouin, illustrations taken from the animal world around him most easily come to mind. He knows the habits and the reactions of wild animals from his own lifelong experience and observation: *mā yadjmaʿu bayna 'l-arwā wa 'l-naʿām^i* "what could bring a mountain goat and an ostrich together?" (*ibid.*, no. 898), if two things are incompatible, for the goat lives among the rocks and the ostrich on the desert plain! Allusions to human beings are expressly added: *innahu la-akhdaʿu min ḍabb^in ḥarashtahu* "he is trickier than a hunted lizard" (*ibid.*, no. 1229; cf. no. 597), or *laysa ḳaṭan mithl^a ḳuṭayy^in* "a ḳaṭā-hen is not like a ḳaṭā-chicken (*ibid.*, no. 953), or *al-dhiʾb^u yaʿdū li 'l-ghazāl^i* "the wolf waylays the gazelle" (*ibid.*, no. 180), or, expressed in the earthy Bedouin style: *la-ḳad dhalla man bālat ʿalayhi 'l-thaʿālib^u* "contemptible is he who is pissed on by foxes" (*ibid.*, no. 319), the comparison involving a comparative (cf. below, ii, 4) as a figure of speech is widely used (*afʿal^u min*): *anwam^u min fahd^in* "sleepier than a cheetah" (*ibid.*, no. 1215 [see FAHD]), or *innahu la-aḥdhar^u, azhā, abṣar^u min ghurāb^in* "more watchful, or shining, or sharp-sighted than a raven" (*ibid.*, no. 1210ff.); cf. T. Fahd, *Psychologie animale et comportement humain dans les proverbes arabes*, in *Revue de Synthèse*, iii série, lxi-lxii (1971), 5-43; lxv-lxvi (1972), 43-63; lxxv-lxxvi (1974), 233-56; xcii (1978), 307-56.

(a) Some such *amthāl* about animals occur in connection with a fable. In these, different kinds of animals customarily are assigned well-defined parts: the hyena (*ḍabuʿ*), e.g., appears as stupid (*ibid.*, nos. 77-80), and the lizard (*ḍabb*) as clever (*ibid.*, nos. 296, 597, 1229); cf. C. Brockelmann, *Fabel und Tiermärchen in der älteren arabischen Literatur*, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 96-128 (cf. below, iii, 1, b); Gholam-Ali Karimi, *Le conte animalier dans la littérature arabe avant la traduction de Kalila wa Dimna*, in *BÉT. Or.*, xxviii (1975), 51-6; M. Ullmann, *Das Gespräch mit dem Wolf*, Munich 1981 (= *SB Bayer. Ak.*, 1981, 2).

(b) Much more numerous than these fables with animals for characters are the stories of the type of the *akhbār* of the *ayyām al-ʿArab*, which are rendered with preference according to al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī or Ibn al-Kalbī; cf. the lists of *ayyām al-ʿArab* in *al-Fākhir* (see below, iii, 4), no. 442 (360), and al-Maydānī (see below, iii, 12), ch. xxix. The "heroes" in these stories are sometimes known from tradition or genealogy, as e.g. al-Basūs [*q.v.*], whose she-camel triggered a forty years' war between the Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*] and their kinsmen, the Banū Taghlib b. Wāʾil (*ibid.*, no. 1280), or al-Mundhir, or al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, the prince of the Lakhmids, who had the innocent poet ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ [*q.v.*] killed in order not to break an oath (*ibid.*, nos. 1048, 1130), or the nameless poor butter dealer, who was violated by a ruffian after he had caused her to close tightly the necks of two butter-filled skins with both her hands at the same time (*ibid.*, no. 1278). Many of these mostly short stories may have originated in an actual happening. Time and place however remain, as a rule, undefined. Their etiological character is obvious: the storyteller is interested in the question of who used the saying first, or of how it came to be coined at all, that is, in the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*] problem. The information which they contain can be exploited to answer questions concerning names and genealogies, but they are not historical, at the most anecdotal; cf. esp. the *Kitāb al-Amthāl* of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (see below, iii, 1, a; Sellheim, *op. cit.*, 47f., [2]73ff., and 27-39, [2]50-63). Many of them are overgrown with myths, legends, and fairy tales; internationally disseminated themes have thus found their way into them, most likely by way of the Lakhhmid court at al-Ḥīra as an intermediary: the letter of Uriah (*ṣaḥīfat al-Mutalammis* [*q.v.*]), the legend of Zenobia, the reward of Sinimmār [see AL-KHAWARNAḲ], "bailment" (Bürgschaft), Gothamites of Arabia, etc.; cf. I. Lichtenstaedter, in *Folk-Lore* (London), li (1940), 195-203 (cf. below, ii, 4 and 7). It is striking that at times these *amthāl* are linked up with the ʿAmālīḳ [*q.v.*]; one of these is, e.g., ʿUrḳūb in Yathrib who makes "empty promises" to his brother, *mawāʿīd*^{u} *ʿUrḳūb*^{in} (Abū ʿUbayd, no. 195)—could this be a reminiscence of the Jacob-Esau story according to Genesis, xxvii (cf. Escorial [Derenbourg], no. 651)? There were Jews in Yathrib! Often stories and explanations about a *mathal* widely or completely diverge from one another, because its origin and its original meaning had long been forgotten, when the paroemiographers collected the material, e.g. in the case of "the gatherer of acacia shoots of the tribe of ʿAnaza" (*ibid.*, no. 1142; al-Bayhaḳī [see below, iii, 14], no. 71), or in that about "the shoes of Ḥunayn" (*ibid.*, no. 779; *al-Fākhir*, no. 159; al-Bayhaḳī, pp. 87ff.), or in that about "the naked warner" (*al-Fākhir*, no. 146; al-Bayhaḳī, no. 261), or in that about "the repentance of al-Kusaʿī" (*ibid.*, no. 155), or in that about the poor Ḳuʿays of whom we know no more than that his aunt once gave him as a surety and never redeemed him (*ibid.*, no. 61), a story called in question by the transmitter. Not infrequently, stories may have been spun out of a *mathal*. Thus the saying *ḥidā ḥidā warāʾaki bunduḳa* (*ibid.*, no. 93) probably only means "O kite, O kite, a pellet (projected from a bow) is behind thee", which Abū ʿUbayda refers to a children's game; Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Sharḳī b. al-Ḳuṭāmī however take *Ḥidā* and *Bunduḳa* as names of South Arabian tribes who had fought with one another. Al-Aṣmaʿī rightly takes the proverb *tarakahu djawf*^{a} *ḥimār*^{in} (*ibid.*, no. 18) at its face value: "he left him like the belly of an ass", i.e. like a useless thing, while again the two genealogists identify *Ḥimār* with an Amalekite or Azdite and *djawf* with *wādī* in the Syrian dialect (cf. Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 287, [2]490).

(c) Beyond any doubt, the proverbs which demonstrably occur in Thamudic inscriptions date back to pre-Islamic times, as e.g. *man ʿazza bazza* "he who overcomes takes the spoil" (Abū ʿUbayd, no. 285). But also *amthāl* in the verse of pre-Islamic poets—assuming they are genuine—can be assigned to this oldest level (cf. below, ii, 9). The question whether the poet created them, or whether—already in current use as *mathal*—they were only adopted by him, as a rule, remains undecided, so e.g. *wa-ḥasbuka min ghinan shibaʿ*^{un} *wa-riyy*^{u} (*ibid.*, no. 479) in a *wāfir* verse of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, or *ayy*^{u} *'l-ridjāl*^{i} *'l-muhadhdhab*^{u} (*ibid.*, no. 67) in a *ṭawīl* verse of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, or *mā ashbaha 'l-laylat*^{a} *bi 'l-bāriḥa*^{h} (*ibid.*, no. 423) in a *sarīʿ* verse of Ṭarafa, or *al-dhiʾb*^{u} *yuknā Abā Djaʿda* (*ibid.*, no. 198) in a *mutaḳārib* verse of ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ, or *innamā yadjzi 'l-fatā laysa 'l-djamal* (*ibid.*, no. 380) in a *ramal* verse of Labīd. In verses of this time, internationally-known proverbs (cf. below, ii, 3, bff.) can also be shown to exist (cf. Sellheim, *op. cit.*, 40, [2]65f.), e.g. the much discussed one of the goat (sheep, bull) who digs up his own slaughtering knife out of the ground with his hooves, in Greek: αἲξ τὴν μάχαιραν. Abū ʿUbayd gives four different versions: *lā takun ka 'l-ʿanz*^{i} *tabḥathu ʿan*^{i} *'l-mudyat*^{i} (Abū ʿUbayd, nos. 1088, 797, 1086f.). Furthermore, *ka-ṭālib*^{i} *'l-ḳarn*^{i} *fa-djudiʿat udhunuhu* "like the one (ostrich) who wanted horns and ended up with cut-off ears" (*ibid.*, no. 796; cf. no. 527 and al-ʿAskarī [see below, iii, 7], no. 47), a *mathal* which has equivalents in Greek (camel): ἡ κάμηλος ἐπιθυμήσασα κεράτων καὶ τὰ ὦτα προσαπώλεσεν, in the Talmud (Sanhedrin, 106a) and in the different versions of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (ch. x, 2: ass for camel). Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā was wont to insert *amthāl* into his verse, and Kaʿb b. Saʿd al-Ghanawī, who already extends into early Islam, was for the same reason called Kaʿb al-Amthāl. In their majority, these *amthāl* belong to the category of gnomic sayings, as e.g. the *ṭawīl* verse of Zuhayr: ... *wa-man lā yaẓlim*^{i} *'l-nas*^{a} *yuẓlam*^{i} "and whoever does not wrong his fellow-men, will be wronged [by them]" (Abū ʿUbayd, in no. 282); cf. A. Bloch, *Zur altarabischen Spruchdichtung*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen (Festschrift R. Tschudi)*, ed. F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1954, 181-224.

(d) *Amthāl* of this kind are likely to have been written down already in ancient times as *ḥikma* on, e.g., small scrolls of leather or parchment (*madjalla*), papyrus, or palm-leaves (*ṣaḥīfa*), bone, wood-tablets, or on stones (see below, iii). In the Ḳurʾān, these dicta of ethic content usually are ascribed to the legendary Luḳmān [*q.v.*] (cf. Sūra XVIII [Luḳmān], 18), and all the more in later literature (cf. Solomon's *Book of Proverbs* in the Old Testament!). The paroemiographers have joined to him the no less legendary umpire of the ancient Arabs Aktham b. Ṣayfī [*q.v.*] (cf. *al-Mawrid*, x/3-4 [1402/1981], 161-8); small collections of his *amthāl* can be found in books on *adab*, e.g. in the *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn* of Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (ed. I. Goldziher, Leiden 1899, 9-18), or, together with *amthāl* of the equally legendary Sāsānid *wazīr* Buzurdjmihr [*q.v.*, see DJĀWĪDHĀN KHIRAD in Suppl.] in the *Kitāb al-ʿIḳd al-farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (ed. A. Amīn *et alii*, Cairo 1372/1952, iii, 76-80; cf. E. García Gómez, in *al-And.*, xxxvii [1972], 249-323). It ought to be stressed that among the sayings of Aktham can be found Matt. vii, 16, *innaka lā tadjnī min*^{a} *'l-shawk*^{i} *'l-ʿinab*^{a} "you cannot pluck grapes from thorns" (Abū ʿUbayd, nos. 849, 870; cf. Ibn Hishām, 124f.). This and related material, e.g., the parable of the "beam in thine own eye" (Matt. vii, 3) quoted by

Abū ʿUbayd (no. 152; cf. below, ii, 6), seems to have been in circulation as *amthāl al-ḥukamāʾ*. In the same direction points, too, the parable of the "camel and the eye of a needle" (Matt. xix, 24; Mark x, 25; Luke xviii, 25; cf. G. Aichler, *Kamel und Nadelöhr*, Münster 1908) in the Ḳurʾān (VII, 40; cf. M. B. Schub, in *Arabica*, xxiii/3 [1976], 311ff.; S. Khalil, in *ibid.*, xxv/1 [1978], 89-94; A. Rippin, *ibid.*, xxvii/2 [1980], 107-13). Concerning the Arabic-Hebrew-Aramaic-correspondences, e.g., *man nahashathu 'l-ḥayyatu ḥadhira 'l-rasana*, "he who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of a rope" (Abū ʿUbayd, no. 686), cf. S. D. Goitein, *The present-day Arabic proverb as a testimony to the social history of the Middle East*, in his *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden 1966, ²1968, 361-79, esp. 375; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 40-9, esp. 42; O. E. Moll, *op. cit.*, 113-20; S. P. Brock, *A piece of wisdom literature in Syriac*, in *JSS*, xiii (1968), 212-17; Anīs Furayḥa (Frayha), *Aḥīkār ḥakīm min al-shark al-adnā al-kadīm*, Beirut 1962; G. E. Bryce, *A legacy of wisdom, the Egyptian contribution to the wisdom of Israel*, Lewisburg-London 1979; esp. D. Gutas, *Classical Arabic wisdom literature: nature and scope*, in *JAOS*, ci (1981), 49-86 (= J. M. Sasson [ed.], *op. cit.*).

(2) The formation of the young Islamic community into a new society was an effect of the word. This process is also reflected in the *amthāl* of the second layer. Here pagan lore was adapted and integrated, old concepts were filled with new meaning, supplemented, changed, or formulated in a different way. The *akh* of the Djāhiliyya, for instance, became a brother in the faith, a brother in Islām. If the formula up to that time was *akhūka man ṣadakaka* "your brother is he who gives you a frank piece of advice", the Prophet now says *al-muʾminu mirʾātu akhīhi* "the believer is the mirror of his brother" (Abū ʿUbayd, no. 530), i.e., he tells him openly what he sees, or, to put it more directly, *raḥima 'llāhu radjulan ahdā ilayya ʿuyūbī* "God be merciful on the man who shows me my faults!" (*ibid.*, no. 531). The ancient Arabic solidarity in right or wrong (cf. above ii, 1) causes was—supposedly by the Prophet, too (cf. al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb* 46 [*al-Maẓālim*], *bāb* 4)—interpreted to the effect that the brother helps his brother when he is in the right but restrains him from doing wrong (*ibid.*, no. 519; cf. e.g. Ḳurʾān, XLII, 39ff. Caetani, *Annali*, x, 45). As this method had thus been authorised by the Prophet, ancient *ḥikma* which he liked (Ibn Hishām, 285 = al-Ṭabarī, i, 1208), could live on to be elaborated by himself, his Companions and his Successors. He knew the power of words: *inna mina 'l-bayāni la-siḥran* "verily there is a kind of eloquence that is enchantment" (*ibid.*, no. 13), also in the negative sense, for instance if the word of a poet hurts or tempts (cf. Ḳurʾān, XXVI, 224; I. Shahid, in *JAL*, xiv [1983], 1-21; below, ii, 10); the great ʿUmar is said to have pronounced the words *walli ḥārrahā man tawallā ḳārrahā* "appoint over what is evil one who has been appointed over what is good" (*ibid.*, nos. 702, 920; cf. Lane and *Dict. arabe-français-anglais*, s.v. *ḥ-r-r*).

(a) The number of *amthāl* like this—mostly maxims and aphorisms—attributed to ʿAlī, is, as is known, great. Most widely spread is a quite recent collection of 100 dicta, also in Persian and Turkish translation; cf. the collection in *al-Tuḥfa al-bahiyya*, Constantinople 1302/1884, 107-114, etc., the latest up to date being A. Zajączkowski, *Sto sentencyj i apoftegmatów arabskich kalifa ʿAlī'ego w parafrazie mamelucko-tureckiej*, Warsaw 1968; al-Ḳuḍāʿī, *Dustūr maʿālim al-ḥikam wa-maʾthūr makārim al-shiyam min kalām amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, Beirut 1401/1981; al-Sharīf al-Raḍī or his brother al-Murtaḍā, *Nahdj al-balāgha*, i-ii, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1383/1963. Al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124), *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, chap. xxx (see below, iii, 12) has compiled dicta (*kalām*) by the Prophet, by the first four caliphs, by Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Masʿūd, and others. Cf. *Oriens*, xxxi (1988), 354-7.

(b) Down to this level in time extend, too, the roots of those numerous *amthāl*—in this case turns of speech in the more restricted sense of the word—which not infrequently contain the name of the Lord, and which in the collections of *amthāl* are usually introduced with the words *min duʿāʾihim*, e.g. *balagha 'llāhu bika aklaʾa 'l-ʿumuri*, "may God grant you an extremely long life" (*ibid.*, no. 132; cf. *WKAS* s.v. *k-l-ʾ*), or, negatively *djadaʿa 'llāhu masāmiʿahu* "may God cut off his organs of hearing" (*ibid.*, no. 166).

(c) The ancient *mathal*: *andjaza ḥurrun mā waʿada* "an ingenuous man fulfils what he promises" (*ibid.*, no. 145), could naturally be maintained in Islām as well as the negative statement *āfatu 'l-murūʾati khulfu 'l-mawʿidi* (*ibid.*, no. 144), but in common speech only as the Islamic form of the same thought: *al-wafāʾu mina 'llāhi bi-makānin* "with God, fulfilling a promise has its worth" (*ibid.*, no. 146; cf. Ḳurʾān, XIX, 54; *WKAS*, s.v. *k-w-n*). Whereas up to then you said *laysa ʿabdun bi-akhin laka* "a slave is not your brother" (*ibid.*, no. 522), that is, treat him as you like!, the Muslim now said, because a believer could happen to be a slave: *ʿabdu ghayrika ḥurrun mithluka* "the slave who is not your slave is a free man like your" (*ibid.*, no. 377), or, similarly, *sawāka ʿabdu ghayrika* (*ibid.*, no. 376), meaning, do not be arrogant, someone else can easily perform this or that! Success and victories won against the infidels made the faithful self-confident: *lā yulsaʿu 'l-muʾminu min djuḥrin marratayni* "the believer is not bitten twice out of the same nest (of snakes)" (*ibid.*, no. 683), a *mathal* that is traced back to the Prophet himself (cf. Ibn Hishām, 591). The more the young community had to face the tasks of political routine, the more often it was forced to make use of its ways and means: *innā la-nakshiru fī wudjūhi akwāmin wa-inna kulūbanā la-taklīhim* "we outwardly smile at people, while inwardly we hate them (*ibid.*, no. 451; *WKAS*, s.v. *k-sh-r*), a statement which the companion of the Prophet Abu 'l-Dardāʾ [*q.v.*] is said to have uttered.

(3) The Arabisation of the ancient civilised areas of the Near East, conquered under the first caliphs, has greatly enriched the treasures of *amthāl*; on the one hand, by new creations, on the other by loans and by newly-developed ones by way of analogies taken from the languages of the aborigines. These *amthāl* form the third layer. Its level extends into the lifetime of Abū ʿUbayd, that is, into the time of the early ʿAbbāsids. Setting apart the popular wisdom expressed in sayings, which are more or less correctly ascribed to currently known personalities of the political or religious sphere, as e.g. Muʿāwiya (d. 60/680), al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714), ʿUmar II (d. 101/720) and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), they are, first of all, proverbs, the "place in life" ("Sitz im Leben") of which is to be looked for in the towns and in the country.

(a) Abū ʿUbayd has heard many of them from the mouth of people engaged in conversation; occasionally he notes *min amthāl al-ʿawāmm* (e.g. no. 779) or *al-ʿāmma* (no. 1141), *ibtadhalathu 'l-ʿawāmm* (no. 1269) or *al-ʿāmma* (no. 81), *mubtadhal fi 'l-ʿāmma* (no. 919) or *al-nās* (no. 524), etc. (nos. 42, 65, 146, 560, 636, 954, 1058, 1068). Some examples: *asmaʿu djaʿdjaʿatan wa-lā arā ṭiḥnan* "I hear a sound of the mill,

but I see no flour" (Abū ʿUbayd, no. 1057), in English "much talk and little wool", or *inna 'l-bulaghāth*^{a} *bi-arḍinā yastansiru* "verily in our land the small bird (e.g. the sparrow) becomes/plays an eagle" (*ibid.*, no. 212), or *biʿtu djārī wa-lam abiʿ dārī* "I sold my neighbour, but not my house" (*ibid.*, no. 894), or *akl*^{an} *wa-dhamm*^{an} "eating and (afterwards) dispraising (the benefactor)" (*ibid.*, no. 861), or *al-nās*^{u} *shadjarat*^{u} *baghy*^{in} "people are the tree on which all evil grows" (*ibid.*, no. 891).

(b) If it can be said in a very general way that parallels to the Arabic proverbs in other languages and related cultures can be shown the more frequently to occur the younger these are, the question whether any particular *mathal* has in fact been newly coined, or borrowed, or modelled on an existing proverb must be left unanswered in most cases; for, as concerns the social surroundings against the background of which the *amthāl* must be observed, there are scarcely any differences any more (cf. above, ii, 1, c). In the case of similes and comparisons which spontaneously offer themselves to the mind, foreign models must not always be sought, much as they may obtrude on our attention, e.g. *man ḥafara mughawwāt*^{an} *wakaʿa fīhā* (*ibid.*, no. 872; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1142), in English "hoist with one's own petard", a proverb which can already be found in Ps. vii, 16 and lvii, 7, as well in Prov. xxvi, 27. In the case of rare metaphors, however, an appropriation of foreign material can be assumed with a greater degree of probability, e.g. *in kunta rīh*^{an} *fa-kad lākayta iʿṣār*^{an} (*ibid.*, no. 225), a proverb—albeit with a slightly different meaning—that can likewise be shown to occur in the Old Testament, Hosea viii, 7: "for they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind", and which probably has an echo in the New Testament, Galatians vi, 7 (cf. below ii, 6). There is a high degree of likelihood that the well-known Latin saying *res ad triarios redit*, *rediit*, or *venit*, that is, in order to arrange a completely bungled affair, is at the bottom of the *mathal*: *ṣāra 'l-amr*^{u} *ila 'l-nazaʿat*^{i} (*ibid.*, no. 438). The question is more difficult to answer in the case of a *mathal* like the following one: *man*^{i} *starʿa 'l-dhiʾb*^{a} *ẓalama* "he who makes the wolf a shepherd, is in the wrong" (*ibid.*, no. 959), a saying familiar to the Greeks as of old: λύκος ποιμήν. The Romans know the simile of the hawk who is entrusted with pigeons: *accipitri columbas credere*; in English it is "to give a wolf the wether to keep", similarly in French "donner la brébis (sheep) à garder au loup", while in German, as in Greek, it is the wolf who becomes a shepherd, or, in a parallel phrase, the ram a gardener. In all these cases we cannot advance much beyond a simple registration of parallels (cf. E. Moll, *op.cit.*, 114f.; Ch. Speroni, "*The beauties of a woman*", in *Proverbium*, vi [1966], 139ff. and ix [1967], 216; below, ii, 5).

The Arabic paroemiographers of the succeeding three centuries augmented Abū ʿUbayd's *amthāl* materials from all three layers and beyond these to five times the original number, i.e. to approximately 7,000 *amthāl*. Among these there are more than 1,200 *amthāl* in the form of a comparison involving the (4) comparative, *afʿal*^{u} *min* (cf. above, ii, 1), and more than 1,500 which are called (5) "new ones", *al-amthāl al-muwallada*. Those of the first group have come to light in their majority in the 3rd/9th century, and those of the second one in the two subsequent centuries. The amount of "wandering" international motifs among them is remarkable.

(4) *Amthāl* in the form of *afʿal*^{u} *min*. Reminiscences of Penelope come to the surface in *akhrak*^{u} *min nākithat*^{in} *ghazlahā* "stupider than a woman who continually undoes her spinning (weaving)" (Ḥamza [see below iii, 6], no. 204), a simile that certainly has its source in Ḳurʾān, XVI, 92, or of Sisyphus, *aṭmaʿ*^{u} *min ḳālib*^{i} *'l-ṣakhrat*^{i} "more covetous than the one who turns over the rock" (Ḥamza, no. 431). As a matter of course, both persons, female and male, from the pre-Islamic past are designated by their names and genealogies! How much or how little account can be taken of this so-called "historical" tradition becomes still more evident in the following instance: *amḥal*^{u} *min ḥadīth*^{i} *Khurāfat*^{a} "fuller of artifices than the stories of Khurāfa" (Ḥamza, no. 641). Here *khurāfa*, "fairy tale" (actually "nonsense", cf. *EI*^{2}, iii, 369 b, s.v. ḤIKĀYA), is personified, as happens, too, in the proverbs and sayings of other peoples (cf. Sellheim, *op.cit.*, 35-8, ^{2}59-62). Even the Prophet is reported to have told his wives the story of Khurāfa (*al-Fākhir*, no. 280: typical fairy tales)! This group of *amthāl* of the *afʿal*^{u} *min* type, in which—like in Greek—attributes from "intelligent" to "stupid", from "clearsighted" to "trusty", etc., and names—among them that of the Owlglass character Djuḥā [*q.v.*] (Ḥamza, no. 125)—pseudo-names, animals, plants, etc. can be exchanged indiscriminately, has proliferated into our own times.

(5) *Amthāl muwallada*. The widely spread Latin saying *lupus in fabula*, that is, "if you talk of the wolf, he is not far off", is probably present in the "new" saying *idhā dhakarta 'l-dhiʾb*^{a} *fa 'ltafit* (al-Maydānī [see below, iii, 12], i, 57u/Freytag, ch. i, no. 436), which already Abū ʿUbayd knows in its abstract form *udhkur*^{i} *'l-ghāʾib*^{a} *yaḳtarib*, or *udhkur ghāʾib*^{an} *tarahu* (Abū ʿUbayd, nos. 140f.), in English "speak of an angel, and you hear his wings". Of internationally-known sayings we may list *inna li 'l-ḥīṭān*^{i} *ādhān*^{an} (al-Maydānī, i, 57, 21/ch. i. no. 427), just as, e.g., in the Midrash, in Persian (cf. M. Grünbaum, *op.cit.*, 43) and in English "walls have ears"; or *idhā kunta sindān*^{an} *fa 'ṣbir wa-idhā kunta miṭraḳat*^{an} *fa-awdjiʿ* (*ibid.*, i, 58, 18/ch. i, no. 465), in English "hammer and anvil"; or *farra min*^{a} *'l-maṭar*^{i} *wa-ḳaʿada taḥta 'l-mīzāb*^{i} "fleeing the rain he is sitting under the drippings (from the roof)" (*ibid.*, ii, 25, 9/ch. xx, no. 112; just as in German; cf. R. Jente, *German proverbs from the Orient*, in *Publs. of the Modern Lang. Assoc. [of America]*, xlviii [1933], 17-37), in English "he jumps out of the frying-pan into the fire"; or *al-ḥarakat*^{u} *barakat*^{un} (*ibid.*, i, 155, 20/ch. vi, no. 244), in English "bliss is in action" (Pope) or "action gives satisfaction" (modern). To this category belong, even if not expressly identified as *amthāl muwallada*, e.g. *in kunta kadhūb*^{an} *fa-kun dhakūr*^{an} (*ibid.*, i, 49, 13/ch. i, no. 366), in English "a liar must have a good memory" (just as in Latin); or *ka 'l-sāḳiṭ*^{i} *bayna 'l-firāshayn*^{i} (*ibid.*, ii, 64, 7/ch. xxii, no. 89), in English "between two stools one sits on the ground" (just as in Latin); or *ka-annahu ḳāʿid*^{un} *ʿala 'l-raḍf*^{i} (*ibid.*, ii, 74, 18/ch. xxii, no. 197), in English "to be on tenterhooks" (cf. above, ii, 1, c; 3, b; 4).

(6) In al-Maydānī's collection of *amthāl* can be found anonymous sayings from the New Testament; mainly taken from the Sermon on the Mount, partly they are very close, corresponding almost literally to the New Testament text, partly they only render its meaning, e.g. Matt. vii, 3; Luke vi, 41, *kayfa tubṣiru 'l-ḳadhā fī ʿayn*^{i} *adhīka watadaʿu 'l-djidhʿa 'l-muʿtariḍ*^{a} *fī ʿaynika* (*ibid.*, ii, 67, 26/ch. xxii, no. 115 = Abū ʿUbayd, cf. above, ii, 1, d), or *yaʿuddu (yaʿkidu) fiyy*^{a} *mithl*^{a} *'l-ṣuʾāb*^{i} *wa-fī ʿaynayhi mithl*^{u} *'l-djarrat*^{i} *('l-djalizzat*^{i}*)* "he counts things (e.g. faults) with regard to me like nits, whilst there is in his own eyes something like a jar" (*ibid.*, ii, 254, 17/ch. xxviii, no. 78),

with a verse that renders the NT text word by word; cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xxxi (1877), 765ff.; idem, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 391; further, A. Müller, in *ZDMG*, xxxi (1877), 513, 519-20, 524. There is Matt. vii, 15, with its generally-known simile of "the wolf in sheep's clothing", in *d͟hiʾbun fī maskⁱ sak͟hlatin* (*ibid.*, i, 192, 23/ch. ix, no. 70). There are several versions of Matt. vii, 16, the parable of "the grapes picked from thorns", an older one (*ibid.*, i, 34, 8/ch. i, no. 210 = Abū ʿUbayd, cf. above; *ibid.*, ii, 120, 8/ch. xxiii, no. 358), and a younger one (*ibid.*, i, 336, 31/ch. xviii, no. 255, according to Ḥamza [no. 498], with further variants, one of them in verse = *ibid.*, ii, 182, 4/ch. xxiv, no. 367). Matt. xix, 24, with its well-known parable of the "camel and the ear of a needle" (*ibid.*, ii, 113, 23/ch. xxiii, no. 316) was known already to Muḥammad (Ḳurʾān, VII, 40; cf. above). Matt. xxiii, 24—the parable of the "straining at gnats and swallowing camels"—is known in a slightly changed form as a *mat͟hal*: *yaʾkulu 'l-fīla wa-yag͟htaṣṣu bi 'l-baḳḳati* "he eats an elephant, but a gnat obstructs his throat" (*ibid.*, ii, 259, 16/ch. xxviii, no. 157). Galatians vi, 7, is there in a literal translation: *kamā tazraʿu taḥṣudu* (ibid., ii, 73, 2/ch. xxii, no. 185; cf. Ibn Hishām, 124f.; cf. above, ii, 3, b). As for wise sayings that can be shown to have parallels in the Old Testament, see above (= al-Maydānī, ii, 168, 11/ch. xxiv, no. 256; i, 20, 14/ch. i, no. 113); there are also reminiscences of Noah's Ark and his raven (*ibid.*, i, 79, 14/ch. ii, no. 168; ii, 9, 29/ch. xix, no. 66; cf. ii, 210, 20/ch. xxv, no. 154), as well as echoes of sayings in Deut. xxxii, 15 (*ibid.*, i, 228, 20/ch. xii, no. 50), and in Ecclesiastes and Proverbs; cf. J. Barth, *Arabische Parallelen zu den Proverbien*, in *Festschrift D. Hoffmann*, Berlin 1914, 38-45; Müller, *op.cit.*, 520, 524.—The Mandaean creator Fiṭaḥl owes his inclusion into a *mat͟hal* probably to two verses of the widely known Rad͟jaz poet Ruʾba (*Dīwān*, ed. W. Ahlwardt, xlvi, 14 = al-Maydānī, i, 334, 26/ch. xviii, no. 246 [= Ḥamza, no. 486]; cf. ii, 169, 25/ch. xxiv, no. 264).

(7) The historical yield of the many stories which the later paroemiographers know how to tell about several *amt͟hāl* is as poor as that of the earlier story-tellers (cf. above, ii, 1, b); for, as a rule, these stories also belong to the realm of worldly or pious legend, fairy-tale, fable, droll tale, and anecdote. Quite frequently they can be traced back—as concerns their central idea—to a "wandering" international motif. On the following occasion we might be reminded of the legend of the Seven Sleepers (*al-Fāk͟hir*, no. 239; al-Ḳālī, *al-Amālī*, Cairo 1344/1926, i, 61) which is already mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (XVIII, 9-12: *aṣḥāb al-kahf* [*q.v.*]; cf. R. Gramlich, in *Asiatische Studien*, xxxiii [1979], 99-152), or of the martyrdom of D͟jurd͟jus (*al-Fāk͟hir*, no. 517). Each of the following reminiscences is attached to a historical personage or occurrence; there is an allusion to Muʿāwiya's delighted shout when he hears of the poisoning of al-As͟htar (Abū ʿUbayd, no. 555; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-ak͟hbār*, Cairo 1343/1925, i, 201; see AL-AS͟HTAR); or to his remark when his ambassador is returning from the Byzantine court (Abū ʿUbayd, no. 1052; Ibn Ḳutayba, *op.cit.*, i, 198; Ibn al-At͟hīr, *al-Nihāya*, s.v. *ḥ-ṣ-ṣ*); or to the fine voices of the beloved girl-singers of the caliph Yazīd II (Ḥamza, no. 624; see YAZĪD B. ʿABD AL-MALIK), or to the defeat and death of the K͟hāḳān of the K͟hazars [*q.v.*] at the hands of His͟hām's governor Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥaras͟hī (*al-Fāk͟hir*, no. 160; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1531; Zambaur, index); or to the assassination of al-Mahdī's governor ʿUḳba b. Salm (*al-Fāk͟hir*, no. 158; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 367f., 520). The realistic account of a devastating nightly storm, which frightened the Bag͟hdādīs out of their wits and provoked the caliph al-Mahdī and his retinue to do such penance (al-Maydānī, i, 176/ch. vii, no. 140), is not reported in other collections. It is a striking fact that the paroemiographers do not record any stories that deal with events after al-Mahdī, except for occasional references to the fact that a certain person used a certain *mat͟hal*; the most recent of these personalities referred to in connection with a *mat͟hal muwallad* (*ibid.*, i, 80, 7/ch. ii, no. 189) is Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908). In this respect, a pupil of al-Maydānī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaḳī, proves a great exception (see below, iii, 14).

(8) At times the paroemiographers make note of the fact that a certain *mat͟hal* is current locally, e.g., in Syria (Abū ʿUbayd, no. 1070), or in ʿUmān (Ḥamza, no. 443), or in Medina (Ḥamza, nos. 56, 224, 340, 397), or in Mecca (Ḥamza, no. 115), or in al-Baṣra (al-Maydānī, i, 145, 16/ch. vi, no. 149; cf. Abū ʿUbayd, no. 1144; below, iii, 8). It is interesting to learn by way that in Syria in the 3rd/9th century the Greek φησίν "says he" was much used by the Arabs (*al-Fāk͟hir*, no. 137), a fashionable expression then, similar to to day's American "O.K." of worldwide acceptance. Already Abū ʿUbayd (no. 1349) has recorded: *ayyu 'l-barnasā*—or *'l-baransāʾi*—*huwa* (cf. al-D͟jawālīḳī, *al-Muʿarrab*, Cairo 1361/1942, 45), in other words, the Aramaic *bar nāshā* "Son of Man" or the obscure *tālaʾmūr* "any one, anything" (Abū ʿUbayd, nos. 1344f.; J. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, Leipzig ²1894, 300; Th. Nöldeke, *Belegwörterbuch*, Berlin 1952, 40b). Actually, at times the collectors admit that the meaning of some *mat͟hal* or other has remained dark to them (*ibid.*, no. 185), or that people in the streets use it but do not correctly understand (*ibid.*, no. 919), or that they had altered an ancient (*ḳadīm*) *mat͟hal* for just this reason. As an example, one may cite *tad͟jūʿu 'l-ḥurratu wa-lā taʾkulu bi-t͟hadyayhā* "a free woman starves herself rather than eats for the price [she is paid for] her breasts" (*ibid.*, no. 569), i.e., she prefers starving to hiring herself out as a wet-nurse, which becomes distorted into the quite meaningless *lā taʾkulu t͟hadyayhā* "and does not eat her breasts". From a misunderstanding of a verse of al-Farazdaḳ in which the way to al-ʿUnṣulayn (*ibid.*, no. 1127; Yāḳūt and Lane, s.v.) is mentioned, this expression became typical of taking the wrong way (cf. *al-Fāk͟hir*, no. 496; Ḥamza, no. 423).

(9) The few examples adduced here show that for the majority of the *amt͟hāl* a certain formative process can be shown at work, and that includes the inner form—the shaping of the thoughts—and an outer form which exists in the shape of linguistic, stylistic, and metrical peculiarities. Both these phenomena cannot be pursued here (cf. al-Dhubaib, *Study* [cf. below, iii, 12]; Ch. Pellat, *Sur la formation de quelques expressions proverbiales en arabe*, in *Arabica*, xxiii [1976], 1-12). Well-known, appreciated and much-quoted verses, so-called *abyāt sāʾira*, were compiled in special collections, e.g. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-Amt͟hāl al-ṣādira ʿan buyūt al-s͟hiʿr* (Brockelmann, I, 152; Sezgin, viii, 200f.; a Cairo edition is under way). Poets like Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs or Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya have also made use of many *amt͟hāl* in their verse (cf. above, ii, 1, c); the figurative sayings which can be found in al-Mutanabbī's *dīwān*, were, e.g., already extracted and arranged in the poet's own century by al-Ṭālaḳānī (d. 385/995). Such *abyāt sāʾira* and countless *amt͟hāl* are spread far and wide across the whole body of Arab literature (cf. Sellheim, *op.cit.*, 21-2, ²39ff.); one finds it richly represented especially in the *adab* literature from al-D͟jāḥiẓ to al-Ābī (cf. Maḥmūd G͟hanāyim, in

al-Karmil, Haifa, vi [1985], 165-87; U. Marzolph, in *OC*, lxix [1985], 81-125) and al-Tha^c^ālibī (regarding his *K. al-Amthāl*, cf. Sezgin, viii, 235, 276; further, A.U.B. Library, ms. no. 398, 9 T.35, cf. *al-Mashrik*, xlvi [1952], 407), from the poets of the *maḳāmāt* to the encyclopaedists of the post-Mongol times like al-Nuwayrī or al-Suyūṭī and Bahā' al-Dīn al-^c^Āmilī. The *amthāl* presented here would be especially numerous, exceptionally so in the case of *al-amthāl al-muwallada* (cf. above, ii, 5), with parallels in other languages, e.g. *^c^uṣfūr^un^ fi 'l-kaffi khayr^un^ min kurkiyy^in^ fi 'l-djawwi* "a sparrow in the fist is better than a crane in the air" (al-Hamadhānī, *Rasā'il*, Constantinople 1298/1881, 44; al-Tha^c^ālibī, *al-Tamthīl*, Cairo 1381/1961, 372; Burckhardt [see below, iv, 1], no. 3 etc.), in English, "a bird in the hand is worth two in a bush".

(10) In the case of *amthāl* contained in the Ḳur'ān and in the tradition (*ḥadīth*)—specifically named *al-amthāl al-nabawiyya*—they were treated in books of their own (cf. R. Sellheim, *op.cit.*, 20f., ²36ff.), e.g. (most recent publications), al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (3rd/9th century), *al-Amthāl min al-Kitāb wa 'l-Sunna*, ed. ^c^Alī M. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo (1395/1975); Abū Muḥammad al-Rāmhurmuzī (d. *ca.* 360/970), *Kitāb al-Amthāl*, ed. Amatulkarim Qureshi, Ph.D. thesis, University of Bonn 1959, Hyderabad-Pakistan 1388/1968; Abu 'l-Shaykh (d. 369/979), *Kitāb al-Amthāl*, ed. Ibrāhīm Yūsuf ^c^Irsān, M.A. thesis, University of Riyāḍ 1403/1983; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350), *al-Amthāl fi 'l-Ḳur'ān al-karīm*, ed. Sa^c^īd M. Nimr al-Khaṭīb, Beirut 1401/1981; ^c^Abd al-Madjīd Maḥmūd, *Amthāl al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1395/1975; Muḥammad al-Gharawī, *al-Amthāl al-nabawiyya*, i-ii, Beirut 1401/1981; L. Pouzet, *Une herméneutique de la tradition islamique: le commentaire des Arba^c^ūn al-Nawawīya de Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Nawawī (m. 676/1277)*, introduction, texte arabe, traduction, notes et index du vocabulaire, Beirut 1982.

(a) For "wisdom" from classical sources, one should refer to the most recent publications: D. Gutas, *op.cit.*, in *JAOS*, ci (1981), 49-86; idem, *Greek wisdom literature in Arabic translation, a study of the Graeco-Arabic gnomologia*, New Haven, Conn. 1975; idem, *The life, works, and sayings of Theophrastus in the Arabic tradition*, in W. W. Fortenbaugh, *Theophrastus of Eresus*, New Brunswick-Oxford 1985, 63-102; I. Alon, *Isocrates' Sayings in Arabic*, in *IOS*, vi (1976), 224-8; J. K. Walsh, *Versiones peninsulares del "Kitab ādāb al-falāsifa" de Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, hacia una reconstrucción del "Libro de los buenos proverbios"*, in *al-And.*, xli (1976), 355-84; Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, *Ādāb al-falāsifa*, ikhtaṣarahu Muḥammad b. ^c^Alī al-Anṣārī (d. before 594/1198), ed. ^c^Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Kuwait, 1406/1985. For Islamic wise sayings (*ḥikma* [*q.v.*]), consult al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), *al-Amthāl wa 'l-ḥikam*, ed. Fu'ād ^c^Abd al-Mun^c^im Aḥmad, Ḳaṭar 1403/1983; P. Nwyia, *Ibn ^c^Aṭā' Allāh (m. 709/1309) et la naissance de la confrérie šāḏilite*, édition critique et traduction des *Ḥikam*, Beirut (1972); V. Danner, *Ibn ^c^Aṭā'illāh's Ṣūfī aphorisms (Kitāb al-Ḥikam)*, translated with an introduction and notes, Leiden 1973, etc.; for personal observations, cf. furthermore the biographical literature from Ibn Sa^c^d (d. 230/845) to al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), from Abū Nu^c^aym (d. 430/1038) to al-Sha^c^rānī (d. 973/1565).

iii. Arabic collections.

In no other branch of classical Arabic Literature can beginning, development and termination be demonstrated as clearly as in its *amthāl* branch. The results up to now will be summed up as follows (cf. Sellheim, *op.cit.*, 45-153, ²71-225; idem, *al-Qālī* [cf. below, iii, 5, a]; idem, *al-Baihaqī* [cf. below iii, 1]; R. Blachère, *Contribution à l'étude de la littérature proverbiale des Arabes à l'époque archaïque*, in *Arabica*, i [1954], 53-83).

The first setting down of *amthāl* and *amthāl* stories in writing occurred at the instigation of the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) in Baghdād by the hand of his tutor al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 536). He had already compiled for him an anthology of 30 ancient Arabic poems, which later on became widely known under the title of *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* [*q.v.*]. Both these works have not been preserved in their original form, but only in late versions, in parts, widely differing from each other. The text of the *amthāl* that has come down to us goes back to al-Ṭūsī, a pupil of Ibn al-A^c^rābī (d. 231/845), the stepson and pupil of the author (d. *ca.* 170/786). This proves that al-Mufaḍḍal left behind him and others no definite edition. Rather, his *amthāl* in conjunction with the stories were handed on by word of mouth in different forms and put down in writing only by pupils or the pupils of pupils, because the booklet, composed for the use at court, was not at the disposal of the transmitters any more than the anthology. Similar was the fate of the *Kitāb al-Amthāl* ascribed to Mu'arridj (d. 204/819?). We have it in a version dictated by his pupil Abū ^c^Alī al-Yazīdī from the year 263/876. These written notes taken down during lectures cannot be said to conform at all with the Mu'arridj quotations in the *amthāl* literature from Abū ^c^Ubayd to al-Maydānī. These two examples—as well as others from other branches of literature—cause us to look at later assertions, as e.g. in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990), that well-known early philologists, as for instance Abū ^c^Amr b. al-^c^Alā', Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī or al-Aṣma^c^ī also wrote books of *amthāl*, with a wary eye. Information of this kind is all the more doubtful, as also later authorities on the matter, as, e.g., al-^c^Irāḳī (Pseudo-al-Wāḳidī; see below, iii, 11), expressly spreak of a book "ascribed" (*al-mansūb*) to him in the case of the *Kitāb al-Amthāl* of al-Aṣma^c^ī (see below, iii, 1, b; 2; 5, a). *Amthāl* become available in book form—and moreover in the original draft of their author himself—only in the *Kitāb al-Amthāl* of Abū ^c^Ubayd (d. 224/838). He is indebted for his plentiful materials—in so far as he has not gathered them himself (cf. above, ii, 3, a)—to the tradition, chiefly according to his teachers, among others, to the above-named philologists. This clearly results from instances where he writes "I do not know from whom I have heard the *mathal* (nos. 349, 1088), or "I have heard it from somebody other than Abū ^c^Ubayda, I think, from Ibn al-Kalbī" (no. 59), or similarly (nos. 1228 and 134, 253, 492, 744). His quotations in the name of al-Mufaḍḍal which he uses to introduce in an impersonal way, e.g. *ḥukiya ^c^an* ..., *ruwiya ^c^an* ..., *mā balaghanī ^c^anhu* ..., or correspondingly, can only partly be found in the *Kitāb al-Amthāl* of the author in the version of al-Ṭūsī (see above); of his quotations in the name of Mu'arridj, whom he always introduces with *ḳāla*—as he also does with the other philologists (see above)—none at all can be exemplified in the *Kitāb al-Amthāl* of that authority in the version of al-Yazīdī (see above). The *kutub al-ḥikma* quoted by Abū ^c^Ubayd once (no. 663; cf. nos. 152, 250 and 48, 250, 271, 658; above, ii, 1, d) probably stand for nothing but loose leaves (*kitāb* [*q.v.*]) on which wise sayings were written, for the purpose, e.g., of being stuck up on the wall of a room. His contemporary al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*] knows a collection like that with sayings of the caliph al-Manṣūr which was familiar to the scribes of Baghdād (*al-Bayān*, Cairo 1368/1949, iii, 367). Ibn al-

Muᶜtazz's collection exists in the form of his *Kitāb al-Ādāb*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, in *Le Monde Oriental*, xviii (1924), 56-121. Wise sayings of this kind were also called *al-āthār*, not only by Abū ᶜUbayd (nos. 153, 704).

After the death of Abū ᶜUbayd in Mecca, one of his pupils, ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Baghawī, who survived his master there for 60 years, had his text glossed by authorities on the Arabic and Islamic past, as, e.g., by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870), or Salama b. ᶜĀṣim, a pupil of al-Farrāʾ. This annotated text he would read and explain to pilgrims in his circles (*ḥalaḳāt*). In consequence, Abū ᶜUbayd's collection of proverbs—in conjunction with these and further glosses—was spread far and wide, in the West as far as al-Andalus, and in the East as far as Khurāsān. His collection has not only been supplemented and commented on six times, but has become, more or less, a point of departure for all subsequent collections. Its materials were adopted, while this fact was frequently not signalised specifically, as well as the glosses, which again and again were added to these copies in their entirety, in selections, or with further additions; in Cordova they were standardised in the form of "editions" in the 4th/10th century by Ḳāsim b. Saᶜdān or integrated into al-Bakrī's commentary in the 5th/11th century. One such "edition" of Ḳāsim's existed in Naysābūr in the 6th/12th century, where al-Maydānī compiled his *Madjmaᶜ al-amthāl*, the most comprehensive of all collections of Arabic proverbs.

At the present moment, the following collections exist in print or are in the press or in preparation:

(1) Abū ᶜUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838), *Kitāb al-Amthāl*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Madjīd al-Ḳaṭāmish, Damascus 1400/1980 (here quoted according to nos.), as to its systematics, see above, ii; parts in print since J. Scaliger and Th. Erpenius, Leiden 1614; etc.; *Libri proverbiorum Abi ᶜObaid elQasimi filii Salami elChuzzami lectiones duae, octava et septima decima* ...., ed. E. Bertheau, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Göttingen 1836; ed. G. W. Freytag, in *Arabum proverbia* (see below, iii, 12), iii; arranged alphabetically according to the first letter (ms. Esat 3542?), in *al-Tuḥfa al-bahiyya wa 'l-ṭurfa al-shahiyya*, Constantinople 1302/1884, 2-16 (repr. Beirut 1401/1981). Abū ᶜUbayd al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) has shortened the text and commented on it on the strength of glosses (see above, and below, iii, 1, b) under the heading of *Faṣl al-maḳāl fī sharḥ Kitāb al-Amthāl*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Madjīd ᶜĀbidīn and Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, Khartoum 1378/1958 (cf. *Oriens*, xiii-xiv [1960-1], 469ff.), new edn. Beirut 1391/1971.

(a) Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, a pupil of Abū ᶜUbayd, who put down in writing a *Kitāb al-Amthāl* of al-Mufaḍḍal [I] b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī (d. *ca.* 170/786) which is lacking any discernible structure, in doing that following al-Mufaḍḍal's stepson and pupil Ibn al-Aᶜrābī (d. 231/845), printed (ms. Esat 3598?) Constantinople 1300/1882 = Cairo 1327/1909; new edition, considerably enlarged and emendated by Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, Beirut 1401/1981. The more than 200 *amthāl* have been ensconced within 88 *akhbār al-ᶜArab* (cf. above, ii, 1, b).

(b) Abū ᶜAlī al-Yazīdī, who dictated more than 100 *amthāl* in the name of his teacher Abū Fayd Muʾarridj al-Sadūsī (d. 204/819?) in the course of a lecture (*madjlis*) in the year 263/876 thus recording in written form a *Kitāb al-Amthāl* by Muʾarridj; ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Ḍubayb, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Riyad, i (1390/1970), 231-345 (cf. *MMLᶜA*, Damascus, xlvi [1391/1971], 786f.); ed. Ramaḍān ᶜAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1391/1971. Also, this text with its stories, among them fables (cf. above, ii, 1, a), and philological explanations, together with verses commenting on the *amthāl* in the stricter sense of the word *muḥāwarāt*, conveys in its loose, unsystematic form the atmosphere of spontaneous lecturing and conservation. In the *madjālis* of this generation, the roots of the pseudepigraphic collections of the time of the Umayyads must be looked for, sc. ᶜAbīd b. Sharya al-Djurhumī, ᶜIlāḳa b. Kurshum (Karīm) al-Kilābī, Ṣuḥār b. al-ᶜAbbās (al-ᶜAyyāsh) al-ᶜAbdī and the somewhat younger al-Sharḳī b. al-Ḳuṭāmī; cf. *Oriens*, ix (1956), 135; below, iii, 12 and 14; to the early philologists, above, iii (rectify Sezgin, i, 260ff. and viii, 7, etc.).

(2) A small fragment containing 7 *amthāl* of the *afᶜal^u min* type, allegedly by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860) of whom—as the literature about proverbs and biographical literature maintains—a *Kitāb al-Amthāl ᶜalā afᶜal min* said to be containing 390 *amthāl*, is known; ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdallāh, in *MMᶜIᶜI*, Baghdād, iv (1956), 44 f. (cf. R. Şeşen, *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, Beirut 1975, i, 68, no. 63). According to Ḥamza (see iii, 6), he owes his materials chiefly to the collection of Abū ᶜUbayd and to the "books" (notes taken down in lectures, cf. iii, 5, a) of al-Aṣmaᶜī and al-Liḥyānī. For two further "quotations", see Abu 'l-ᶜAlāʾ al-Maᶜarrī, *al-Fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt*, Cairo 1356/1938, 61, and al-Khafādjī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, Cairo 1325/1907, 173.

(3) Abū ᶜIkrima ᶜĀmir b. ᶜImrān al-Ḍabbī (d. 250/864), *Kitāb al-Amthāl*, ed. Ramaḍān ᶜAbd al-Tawwāb, Damascus (1394/1974). 111 *amthāl*, chiefly *muḥāwarāt*, with many verses of reference, no system; quotations in the name of al-Mufaḍḍal in only one instance in the text of al-Ṭūsī; judging from the introduction, the booklet was conceived as such and not dictated.

(4) al-Mufaḍḍal [II] b. Salama v. ᶜĀṣim al-Ḍabbī (d. after 290/903), *al-Fākhir*, ed. C. A. Storey, Leiden 1915 (here quoted according to nos.; repr. Cairo 1402/1982); ed. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Nūrī b. al-Ḥasan, Tunis 1353/1934 (?); ed. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlīm al-Ṭaḥāwī and Muḥammad ᶜAlī al-Nadjdjār, Cairo 1380/1960 (nos. identical, exception Storey 442 = Nadjdjār 360; 361-441 = 361-442; 443 = 443; etc.); printed in part, nos. 1-123; *Ghāyat al-arab fī maᶜānī mā yadjrī ᶜalā alsun al-ᶜāmma fī amthālihim wa-muḥāwarātihim min kalām al-ᶜArab*, in *Khams rasāʾil*, Constantinople 1301/1884, 232-63. A total of 521 *amthāl*, partly *muḥāwarāt*, mostly circumstantial *amthāl* stories (cf. above, ii, 1, b); quotations in the name of al-Mufaḍḍal can, as a rule, be demonstrated in the text of al-Ṭūsī (cf. no. 123!), likewise, the only quotation in the name of Muʾarridj in the lecture-notes of 263/876. The author was the son of that Salama who glossed the *amthāl* of Abū ᶜUbayd (see above).

(5) Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/940), *al-Zāhir fī maᶜānī kalimāt al-nās*, ed. Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin, i-ii, Baghdād-Beirut 1399/1979. A total of 896 *amthāl*, similar to iii, 3; authorities are mentioned; the cited materials can, in part, be found in their works, e.g., in Abū ᶜUbayd's *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* and *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*, and in part they are derived from the oral *madjālis*-tradition, e.g., the quotations from Abū ᶜIkrima. Cf. furthermore Ḥusām Saᶜīd al-Nuᶜaymī, in *MMᶜIᶜI*, xxxi/3 (1400/1980), 383-97.

(a) The so-called *Kitāb Afᶜal min kadhā* of Abū ᶜAlī al-Ḳālī (d. 356/967) represents an example of the oral *madjālis* tradition, ed. Muḥammad al-Fāḍil Ibn ᶜĀshūr, Tunis 1392/1972. A total of 363 *amthāl ᶜalā afᶜal min* contained in notes taken in lectures (cf. above), no systematics; quotations, for instance in the name of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (see iii, 2), diverge

widely, in parts completely from the parallel tradition (cf. iii, 6 and 12). This fact shows that the oral handing-on of *amthāl* materials, too, was common practice still in the 4th/10th century, and that it was very variable and loose into the bargain; about particular ones, cf. Sellheim, *Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī*, in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients, Festschrift für Bertold Spuler*, Leiden 1981, 362-74.

(6) Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. between 350/961 and 360/970) [*q.v.*], *Kitāb al-Amthāl ʿalā afʿal min*, or *al-Durra al-fākhira fi 'l-amthāl al-sāʾira*, (i-ii), ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḳaṭāmīsh, Cairo 1391-2/1971-2; supplements in al-Thaʿālibī *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, ch. 3, Cairo 1326/1908, 29-37. The author has enlarged the collection of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb to more than 1,800 *amthāl* of the *afʿal^u min*-type, among them more than 500 *muwallada*, arranged alphabetically according to the first letter, augmented by 500 more linguistically special features (*nawādir*: compounds containing *abū*, *umm*, *ibn* etc., and dual forms); partly circumstantial *amthāl* stories; he distinguishes, occasionally, between *al-mathal al-ḳadīm*, *al-islāmī* and *al-muwallad*.

(7) Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 395/1005), *Djamharat al-amthāl*, Bombay 1307/1889; idem, i-ii (printed in the margin of the text of al-Maydānī [see iii, 12]), Cairo 1310/1893; idem, i-ii, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḳaṭāmish, Cairo 1384/1964 [1389/1969] (quoted here). Barely 2,000 *amthāl*, including approximately 800 *amthāl ʿalā afʿal min*, arranged alphabetically according to the first letter. The author proceeds from Ḥamza's work whom he, being a purist, reproaches with having included too many "new ones" (*muwallada*), and accumulates the materials transmitted from his teachers, and their authorities, in the *madjālis*; the only quotation in the name of Abū ʿIkrima (i, 266) is missing in latter book (see iii, 3); he takes pain to tighten the innumerable philological and "historical" annotations, rejects *amthāl* which are linguistically incorrect and now and then distinguishes between *al-mathal al-ḳadīm* and *al-muwallad* or *al-muḥdath*. The *amthāl* of his collection are largely "literary" ones and have not too much in common any more with everyday life in the streets.

(8) Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl al-Muʾayyadī al-Ṭāl(a)ḳānī, *Risālat al-Amthāl al-baghdādiyya*, ed. L. Massignon, Cairo 1331/1913. The most ancient local collection with more than 600 *amthāl (muwallada)*, in contrast to iii, 7, topical and not literary, arranged alphabetically according to the first letter, as a rule accompanied by short explanations, in many cases for the proper application of the *mathal* in question; forerunner of later collections containing *amthāl* in dialect; compiled by the author and read during lectures in Balkh in 421/1030; cf. too ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd al-Djabbār Ṭālib, in *Sumer*, xxxii (1396/1976), 237-338; al-Ābī, above, ii, 9.

(9) Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī (d. 436/1044) [see MĪKĀLĪS], *Nubadh min amthāl al-amīr al-Mīkālī*, edition in preparation. Small collection (*ca.* 250 nos.), arranged alphabetically, divided up into sub-chapters, each one beginning with one or more sayings from the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth* (cf. *Oriens*, xxxi [1988], 353 and xxxii).

(10) Anonymous (5th/11th cent.), *Kitāb al-Amthāl*, Hyderabad 1351/1932. Just under 1,400 *amthāl*; a "medium-sized al-ʿAskarī" (see iii, 7). For no obvious reason, the catalogue of the Dairatu'l-Maʿarifil-Osmania, and consequently Brockelmann, I, 237, ascribe the book to Zayd b. Rifāʿa (d. *ca.* 400/1010), while Brockelmann, S III, 1195, lists it among the writings of Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 243/857).

(11) Pseudo-al-Wāḥidī (see iii, 15), *al-Wasīṭ fi 'l-amthāl*, ed. ʿAfīf Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Kuwait 1395/1975; cf. Muḥ. Aḥmad al-Dālī, in *MMMʿA* Kuwait, xxix/2 (1405/1985), 781-99.

(12) Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124), *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, i-ii, Būlāḳ 1284/1867; idem, Tehran 1290/1873 (re-arranged in more or less strict alphabetical order by al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Bakr al-Nadjm al-Kirmānī); idem, i-ii, Cairo 1310/1893 (quoted here); idem, i-ii, Cairo 1352-3/1933-4; idem, i-ii, ed. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955 (repr.), ²1378-9/1959 (revised) and ³1393/1972(!) (= ²1 + ¹2!); idem, i-ii, Beirut 1382/1962; idem, i-iv, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1397-9/1977-9 (more or less identical with Muḥyi 'l-Dīn's first edition, including numbering of the *amthāl*; poor index); parts in print since J. Scaliger and Th. Erpenius, Leiden 1614; E. Pocock, Cambridge 1671; etc.: G. W. Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, i-iii, Bonn 1838-43 (i-ii: the complete proverbs according to al-Maydānī in Arabic with Latin translation, shortened and revised commentary in Latin; iii: 3,321 proverbs according to Abū ʿUbayd and others, according to al-Maydānī *ayyām al-ʿArab*, dicta of the Prophet, the first four caliphs, etc., Arabic with Latin translations, alphabetically, useful indices [repr. Osnabrück 1968]); Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab (d. 1308/1891), *Farāʾid al-laʾāl fī Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, i-ii, Beirut 1312/1894 (versification with commentary). The author has, so he maintains in his preface, perused and excerpted more than 50 works containing *amthāl*, among them some pseudepigrapha (cf. iii, 1, b and 14). He has compiled in all just about 6,200 *amthāl* in alphabetical sequence according to the first letter, including about 900 of the *afʿal^u min* type according to Ḥamza (see iii, 6), about 1,000 "new ones" (*muwallada*), more than 200 *ayyām al-ʿArab* and more than 200 sayings of the Prophet and others (cf. ii, 1, b; 2, a). His *Madjmaʿ* was the most comprehensive and therefore most widely spread collection and has remained so to this day, witness the numerous manuscripts, of which the oldest dates from the year 533/1138 (Paris [de Slane] 3958?; cf. Hilāl Nādjī, *ʿAla 'l-hāmish*, Baghdād 1395/1975, 79, no. 16), the abridgements, comments and printings [see AL-MAYDĀNĪ]. A critical edition is still overdue; as to the sources, compare now also ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tikrītī, *Maṣādir al-Maydānī fī kitābihi "Madjmaʿ al-amthāl"*, in *al-Mawrid*, iii/2 and 3 (1394/1974), 11-32 and 99-122 (uncritical compilation); Ahmad M. al-Dhubaib, *A critical and comparative study of the ancient Arabic proverbs contained in al-Maidani's collection*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Leeds 1968; Samīr Kāẓim Khalīl, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, in *al-Mawrid*, xii/3 (1403/1983), 161-78. Cf. Oriens, xxxi (1988), 359.

(13) Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), *al-Mustaḳṣā fī amthāl al-ʿArab*, i-ii, Hyderabad 1381/1962. Nearly 3,500 *amthāl* with good philological and concise "historical" annotations, in strict alphabetical order; in spite of these merits, the work of the great scholar could not emerge from the shadow of the more comprehensive collection—along with favourite "new ones" (*muwallada*)—of his senior colleague al-Maydānī, which overshadowed it from the first. A second work of his is known to us only by its title *Sawāʾir al-amthāl*. His major collection of *adab*, including sayings, *Rabīʿ al-abrār wa-nuṣūṣ al-akhbār*, a source of al-Ibshīhī's (d. after 850/1446) *al-Mustaṭraf*, has been printed repeatedly in an abridgement, newly complete edited by Salīm al-Nuʿaymī, i-iv, Baghdād 1396-1402/1976-82, His minor collections of sayings—with added translations—appeared in print in

Europe already in the 18th and 19th centuries [see AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ].

(14) Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaḳī (d. 565/1169), *Ghurar al-amthāl wa-durar al-aḳwāl*, ed. in part Hussam El-Saghir, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Frankfurt/Main 1984 (complete edition in preparation). About 2,900 *amthāl*, including the "new ones" (*muwallada*), in alphabetical order according to the first letter. Al-Maydānī's pupil has retained a high degree of independence in regard to his teacher, clear grouping: *mathal*, *lugha*, *iʿrāb*, *maʿnā*, *sabab*, *ḍarb*, *ḥall*, *ḥikāya*; good philological comments; many of the *amthāl* are inserted into the context of "world", local and family history and personal experience by lively stories and reports; a revealing document of its time, esp. as regards Khurāsān; at some time or other the author quoted pseudepigrapha (cf. El-Saghir, *op.cit.*, 88-9, 97-8, 116-17; iii, 1, b, and 12) and, like Ḥamza and al-ʿAskarī (see iii, 6 and 7), Persian proverbs. A second work containing *amthāl* in four volumes and two collections of sayings (?), which he itemises in his autobiography (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 212) have not apparently survived; cf. Sellheim, *Eine unbekannte Sprichwörtersammlung*, in *Isl.*, xxxix (1964), 226-32.

(15) Raḍī al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd (Abū ʿAbd Allāh) Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 561/1166), *Nuzhat al-anfus wa-rauḍat al-madjlis*, a collection— disregarded up to now—containing about 900 *amthāl*, partly *muḥāwarāt*, and old, frequently rather long-winded stories dealing with the *awāʾil*-problem (*awwal*[u] *man ḳālahu*) (cf. above, ii, 1, b). It is arranged alphabetically in 29 chapters. The author, a pupil of the well-known philologist Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Tibrīzī [*q.v.*], draws from the ʿIrāḳī *madjālis* tradition. Only one manuscript, damaged at the beginning, is known to exist (Gotha [Pertsch], no. 1250, cf. Brockelmann, I, 333); an edition is being prepared. Al-ʿIrāḳī's *Kitāb al-Wasīṭ fī 'l-amthāl* is mainly only an abridgment of the *Nuzha*, comprising about a quarter of its volume. Its editor (cf. iii, 11) has erroneously ascribed this "median" collection to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076), the teacher of al-Maydānī, following in this (?) the defective unicum in a Maghribī hand (Rabat, al-Khizāna al-ʿāmma, no. 102). In al-ʿIrāḳī's preface to his *Kitāb al-Wasīṭ*, we read that, besides the *Nuzha*, which he repeatedly quotes, he has written two more collections of *amthāl*, to wit, a "large one", *Kitāb al-Basīṭ*, and a "small one", *Kitāb al-Wadjīz*. Of both these works, as far as is known, no manuscripts have come down to us. For details, see Sellheim, in *Oriens*, xxxi (1988), 82-94.

(16) Abu 'l-Maḥāsin al-Shaybī (d. 837/1433), *Timthāl al-amthāl*, i-ii, ed. Asʿad Dhubyān, Ph.D. thesis, Lebanese University, Beirut 1402/1982; printed in part as *First half of the book Timthāl al-amthāl of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shaibī*, ed. Muḥammad Bahāʾ al-Ḥaqq Rānā, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Punjab Univ. Lahore 1961. The majority of the 441 *amthāl* in alphabetical order were extracted by the author from the two collections of al-Maydānī and al-Zamakhsharī; the remainder he owes to literature as, for instance, to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, or to the verses of poets; only in a few cases is the source not mentioned; not infrequently, he reproduces stories at length.

Of other collections of this time and of later times (cf. the list in Ahlwardt [Berlin], no. 8729) little can be expected to be forthcoming in regard to the classical *amthāl*—witness the work of al-Shaybī, or Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm's *Zubdat al-amthāl* of 999/1591 (Brockelmann, II, 557, S II, 631; Flügel [Vienna], no. 339), and Ibrāhīm Sarkīs' (d. 1302/1885) *al-Durra al-yatīma fī 'l-amthāl al-ḳadīma*, Beirut 1288/1871. In any case, the *Madjmaʿ al-aḳwāl fī maʿāni 'l-amthāl* of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abi 'l-Baḳāʾ, hence the grandson of the noted Baghdadian philologist Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ al-ʿUkbarī (d. 616/1219), deserves the attention of the researcher. Of his work in six volumes, parts are preserved in the author's autograph of the year 665/1267; he makes use of 30 sources which are conscientiously identified by characters the meaning of which is given in the preface; cf. A. J. Arberry, in *JAL*, i (1970), 109-12, and in reference to that, Sellheim, in *Isl.*, l (1973), 341ff.

New and revealing are the collections of *amthāl* in dialect form which date from the 7th/13th century onwards:

(17) Abū Yaḥyā al-Zadjdjālī (d. 694/1294), *Amthāl al-ʿawāmm fī 'l-Andalus*, i-ii, ed. Muḥammad b. Sharīfa (M. Bencherifa), Ph.D. thesis, Cairo Univ. 1969, Fās 1391-5/1971-5 (containing further literature on the subject). A total of 2,157 *amthāl* without illustrations, but with extensive explanations, etc. by the editor.

(18) Abū Bakr Ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 829/1426), *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-azhār*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī (who was the teacher of Bencherifa), in *Ilā Ṭāhā Ḥusayn* (*Mélanges T.H.*), Cairo 1382/1962, 235-367, text 295-364. A total of 851 *amthāl* without illustrations.

iv. Modern collections.

In Europe the interest in Arabic proverbs was aroused towards the end of the 16th century (cf. Sellheim, *op.cit.*, 1-7, ²13-20). These literary *amthāl* survived for generations into the 19th century in readers and exercise-books, especially for the supplementation of Hebrew studies. E. Pocock's plan of 1671, to edit the whole of al-Maydānī's collection, was only realised by G. W. Freytag in the years 1838-43 (cf. above, iii, 12). Since that time, European learned travellers and linguists have recorded and published Arabic proverbs—mostly in dialect form—in great numbers. They have been succeeded by Oriental collectors, especially after the end of the Second World War. The following deserve to be quoted:

(1) J. L. Burckhardt, *Arabic proverbs or the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* [Cairo 1817], London 1830, ²1875 (repr. London 1972, paperback ed. 1984), in German, Weimar 1834; A. Socin, *Arabische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, Tübingen 1878 (repr. Wiesbaden 1967); C. de Landberg, *Proverbes et dictons de la province de Syrie, section de Ṣaydâ*, Leiden-Paris 1883; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, The Hague 1886; K. L. Tallqvist, *Arabische Sprichwörter und Spiele*, Helsingfors 1897; M. Ben Cheneb, *Proverbes arabes de l'Algérie et du Maghreb*, i-iii, Paris 1905-7; E. Westermack, *Wit and wisdom in Morocco, a study of native proverbs*, London 1930, New York 1931; E. Littmann, *Arabic proverbs*, collected by Mrs. A. P. Singer, Cairo 1913; idem, *Kairiner Sprichwörter und Rätsel*, Leipzig 1937 (repr. Nendeln 1966); S. D. F. Goitein, *Jemenica: Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen*, Leipzig 1934 (repr. Leiden 1970); Saʿīd ʿAbbūd, G. Kampffmeyer, M. Thilo, *5000 arabische Sprichwörter aus Palästina*, i-iii, Berlin 1933-7; M. Feghali, *Proverbes et dictons Syro-Libanais*, Paris 1938; A. Frayha, *Modern Lebanese proverbs*, i-ii, Beirut 1953 = *A dictionary of modern Lebanese proverbs (Muʿdjam al-amthāl al-lubnāniyya al-ḥadītha)*, i-ii, Beirut 1394/1974; Fatma M. Mahgoub, *A linguistic study of Cairene proverbs*, Bloomington-The Hague 1968 (cf. *Oriens*, xxiii-iv [1974], 551ff.); Omar al Sasi, *Sprichwörter und andere volkskundliche Texte aus Mekka*, Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Münster 1972; R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young, *A collection of Arabic proverbs from Mosul*, in *AIUON*, xxxvi (1976), 317-50; E. García

Gómez, *Hacia un "Refranero" arábigo-andaluz*, I-II, in *al-Andalus*, xxxv (1970), 1-68, 241-314; III: xxxvi (1971), 255-328; IV-V: xxxvii (1972), 1-75, 249-323; cf. xlii (1977), 375-90, 391-408; F.-J. Abela, *Proverbes populaires du Liban Sud, Saïda et ses environs*, i-ii, Paris 1981-5 (3,694 proverbs; bibliography).

(2) Na^cc^ūm Shuḳayr, *Amthāl al-^cawāmm fī Miṣr wa 'l-Sūdān wa 'l-Shām*, Cairo 1302/1894; Maḥmūd Ef. ^cUmar al-Bādjūrī, *Amthāl al-mutakallimīn min ^cawāmm al-miṣriyyīn*, Cairo 1311/1893; Aḥmad Taymūr, *al-Amthāl al-^cāmmiyya*, Cairo 1368/1949, ²1375/1956, ³1390/1970; idem, *al-Kināyāt al-^cāmmiyya*, ³Cairo 1970 (cf. *ZDMG*, cxxiii [1973], 403ff.); Fā'iḳa H. R. Rafīḳ, *Ḥadā'iḳ al-amthāl al-^cāmmiyya*, i-ii, Cairo 1358-62/1939-43; Ibrāhīm A. Sha^clān, *al-Sha^cb al-miṣrī fī amthālihi al-^cāmmiyya*, Cairo 1391/1972; al-Ṭāhir al-Khumayrī (Khmiri), *Muntakhabāt min al-amthāl al-^cāmmiyya al-tūnisiyya*, Tunis 1387/1967; Ismā^cīl b. ^cAlī al-Akwa^c, *al-Amthāl al-yamaniyya*, i-ii, ²Beirut 1405/1984; ^cAbd al-Karīm al-Djuhaymān, *al-Amthāl al-sha^cbiyya fī ḳalb Djazīrat al-^cArab*, i-iii, Beirut 1383/1963, ²i-vi, Riyad 1399-1400/1979-80; Aḥmad al-Sibā^cī, *al-Amthāl al-sha^cbiyya fī mudun al-Ḥidjāz*, Jeddah 1401/1981; Hānī al-^cAmad, *al-Amthāl al-sha^cbiyya al-urdunniyya*, Amman 1398/1978; Nitār Abāẓa, *al-Amthāl al-sha^cbiyya al-shāmiyya*, Beirut (in print); ^cAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Dabbāgh, *Mu^cdjam amthāl al-Mawṣil al-^cāmmiyya*, i-ii, Mosul 1375/1956; Djalāl al-Ḥanafī, *al-Amthāl al-baghdādiyya*, i-ii, Baghdād 1382-4/1962-4; ^cAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tikrītī, *al-Amthāl al-baghdādiyya l-muḳārana*, i-iv, Baghdād 1386-9/1966-9 (containing further literature to the subject); Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Zalzala, *Madjma^c al-amthāl al-^cāmmiyya al-baghdādiyya wa-ḳiṣaṣuhā*, Kuwait 1396/1976; Aḥmad al-Bishr ar-Rūmī and Ṣafwat Kamāl, *al-Amthāl al-kuwaytiyya al-muḳārana*, i-ii, Kuwait 1398-1400/1978-80; etc. A thesaurus of Arabic proverbs is being prepared by ^cAfīf ^cAbd al-Raḥmān (Irbid); until now he has published: *Mu^cdjam al-amthāl al-^carabiyya al-ḳadīma*, i-ii, Riyad 1405/1985; another one by Riyāḍ ^cAbd al-Ḥamīd Murād (Damascus), 4 vols., is under way.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see W. Bonser and T. A. Stephens, *Proverb literature, a bibliography of works relating to proverbs*, London 1930, 355-68, 394-8 (repr. Norwood, Pa. 1977); A. Fischer, in *MSOS As.*, i (1898), 197-201; Ch. A. Ferguson and J. M. Echols, *Critical bibliography of spoken Arabic proverb literature*, in *Journal of American Folklore*, lxv, no. 255 (1952), 67-84; O. E. Moll. *Sprichwörter-Bibliographie*, Frankfurt/Main 1958, 489-502, 573; W. Mieder, *International proverb scholarship, an annotatea bibliography*, New York—London 1982, index s.v. Arabic; ^cAfīf ^cAbd al-Raḥmān, in *al-Mawrid*, ix/3 (1400/1980), 248-52, 260; Pearson, ch. vii, d; E. Rehatsek, *Some parallel proverbs in English, Arabic, and Persian*, in *JBBRAS*, xiv (1878-80), 86-116; C. Brockelmann, *Alttürkestanische Volksweisheit*, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii (1920), 50-73 (with Arabic and other parallels); S. L. Khazradji, *A paroemiological experiment (comparison of Russian proverbs and sayings with Arabian, Tadjiko-Persian and English)*, in *Narody Azii i Afriki*, xx/1 (1974), 147-51 (in Russian); W. P. Zenner, *Ethnic stereotyping in Arabic proverbs*, in *Journal of American Folklore*, lxxxiii (1970), 419-29; R. A. Barakat, *A contextual study of Arabic proverbs*, Helsinki 1980; Anonymi, *al-Ḥikam wa 'l-amthāl* (preface by Ḥannā al-Fākhūrī), Cairo (*ca.* 1956) (Funūn al-adab al-^carabī, al-fann al-ta^clīmī, 3); ^cAbd al-Madjīd ^cĀbidīn, *al-Amthāl fī 'l-nathr al-^carabī al-ḳadīm*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Cairo 1375/1956; Muḥammad Abū Ṣūfa, *al-Amthāl al-^carabiyya wa-maṣādiruhā fī 'l-turāth*, Amman 1402/1982; Yūsuf ^cIzz al-Dīn, *al-Ta^cbīr ^can al-nafs fī 'l-amthāl al-^carabiyya*, in *MM^cI^cI*, xxxi/1 (1400/1980), 149-67; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *Amthāl al-mar'a ^cind al-^cArab*, Beirut 1401/1981; Muḥammad Kāmil ^cAbd al-Ṣamad, *al-Amthāl al-sha^cbiyya allatī tukhālifu mā djā'a fī nuṣūṣ al-Islām wa 'l-rūḥihi*, Cairo 1405/1985; R. C. Trench, *Proverbs and their lessons*, ed. A. Smythe Palmer, London-New York 1905; A. Taylor, *The proverb*, Cambridge, Mass. 1931; idem, *An index to "The proverb"*, Helsinki 1934 (repr. of both, Hatboro, Pa.-Copenhagen 1962); P. Grzybek (ed.), *Semiotische Studien zum Sprichwort, simple forms reconsidered I*, Tübingen-Philadelphia-Amsterdam 1985 (*Kodikal Code, Ars semeiotica*, vii/3-4 [1984]). On a fragment of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī's (d. 215/830) alleged *Kitāb al-Amthāl*, cf. Sellheim, in *Festschrift J. Blau*, Jerusalem 1989, and on al-Yūsī's (d. 1102/1691) collection, cf. *Oriens*, xxxi (1988), 357-9.

(R. Sellheim)

2. In Persian

Persian, despite its elegant literary uses, has always remained a true speech of "the folk", the language (until very modern times) of an essentially simple, unlettered society based on agriculture and pastoralism, crafts and trading. It is therefore hardly surprising that it should be extremely rich in idioms and proverbial expressions. Most of these are brief and pithy, but some are fairly elaborate in both concept and construction. The high-culture literature itself—particularly ethical works and such edifying-entertaining writing as Sa^cdī's *Gulistān*—abounds in proverbial material; and (as, for example, with Shakespeare) it is often virtually impossible to determine if the author himself invented a proverbial story or coined an aphorism which subsequently gained general currency, or whether he merely appropriated anecdotes and saws already in common use. Even such ostensibly remote literature as the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ lend themselves, by their often atomistic, line-by-line structure, to easy sententious quotation or divinatory employment.

Overall, at least until affected by a marked modern tendency towards updating, the corpus contains obviously archaic features of vocabulary, grammar and style, most of which are undoubtedly genuine, though some may have been more or less consciously manufactured in an urge to offer authenticity of the "ye olde" type. Part of the material seems to have been rendered from Arabic (probably in the early centuries of Islam); other items have parallels or equivalents in Turkish, and the traffic may not always have been from Persian to the latter language. A considerably body of proverbs is dialectal, with the most generally attractive and appropriate instances being also rendered into more or less standard Persian at some point. Given all these varied factors, as well as the rapid transformation of Iranian society and the decline of traditional education over the last 50 years, the same tendency has arisen as in Western culture for many proverbs no longer to be perfectly understood, accurately cited, or rightly applied. Fortunately, individual scholarly (and even amateur) initiatives have assured their survival, at least in libraries both in Iran and around the world.

While there must inevitably be a certain common humanity to all proverbial literature, generally considered, it is rarely true that any given adage in Persian will exactly match an item in almost unvaried use

across the broad spectrum of Western languages. A good sampling of the uniquely Persian flavour and idiosyncratic reference-frame can be gained from the following works, where it is possible to compare translations, parallels, and originals: R. Levy, *Persia viewed through its proverbs and apologues*, in *BSOAS*, xiv/3 (1952), 540-9; L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *Persian proverbs*, London 1954; L. Bonelli, *Detti proverbiali persiani*, Rome 1941; S. Haïm, *Amthāl-i Fārsī-Ingilīsī*, Tehran 1334 *sh*/1955. As usual, stupidity, incompetence and dishonesty are deprecated, but the terms used extend to such items as donkeys. Islamic religious functionaries, minarets and water-melons; resignation to modest station is enjoined by the consideration that a grand house demands hard work to clear its vast, flat roof of the winter snows that fall on the Iranian high plateau; everything should be in season, like a sheepskin cloak worn for the month of Day (December-January), and not at the sudden arrival of the Persian spring; and so on. As in other cultures, many of the proverbs contradict each other if taken too literally.

Bibliography: (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): The major Iranian study is still ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Amthāl u ḥikam*, Tehran 1338 *sh*/1959-60 (4 vols.); also Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Andjawī Shīrāzī, *Tamthīl u mathal*, vol. i only, Tehran 1352 *sh*/1973 and again 1357 *sh*/1978; Yūsuf Djamshīdīpūr, *Farhang-i amthāl-i fārsī*, Tehran 1347*sh*/1968; Amīr Ḳulī Amīnī, *Farhang-i ʿawāmm*, n.d., n.p., (but probably Tehran in the 1960s); Kamāl al-Dīn Murtaḍawīyān (Fārsānī), *Dāstānhā-yi amthāl*, Iṣfahān 1340*sh*/1961 (purports to give plausible anecdotal background to many proverbs). For proverbs of dialectal provenance: Maḥmūd Pāyanda, *Mathalhā u iṣṭilāḥāt-i Gīl u Daylam*, Tehran 1352*sh*/1973; ʿAlī Naḳī Bihrūzī, *Wāzhahā u mathalhā-yi Shīrāzī u Kāzirūnī*, Shīrāz 1348*sh*/1969. Additional minor or peripheral items can be found at the head of the article by Levy cited above.

(G. M. Wickens)

3. In Turkish

In Turkish, *Mathal*/Modern Turkish *mesel* is often used in the phrase *ḍarb-ī methel* (pl. *ḍurūb-ī emthāl*); this pedantic form which may be translated as "stated by an example", has also passed into the spoken language.

The terms *mesel* and its variants *metel, matal, metal* are also used to designate a riddle, and *masal* is a story. Other terms attested in the written sources, in oral tradition and in learned terminology to denote a proverb are: *sav* (Ḳarakhānid Turkish), *atalarsözü* (plural *atasözleri*, old Osmanli, Azerbaijani, Turkmen and Ḳarakalpaḳ as well as in the modern terminology of Turkey), *śin-söz* (dialect of Chinese Turkestan), *ülgär-sös* (Altay), *ülgür-söz* (Nogay), *temsil, makal* (Ḳarakalpaḳ), *zarpumesele* (Karayîm of the Crimea), *nakîl* (Turkmen), *ḥikmet* (plural *ḥikām*, Iranian Azerbaijani) and *deyişet* (dialect of Içel in Turkey).

The proverb being the concise and stereotyped enunciation of a rule of conduct, an axiom or a statement and the fruit of long experience, is used as a means of giving speech a greater persuasive force; this being the case, it has no independent existence, but is integrated into speech. Besides its frequent usage in day-to-day conversation, it constitutes a corroborative and ornamental element of literary, scholarly or popular creation. In the epic tradition, for example, a series of linked proverbs, often alliterated or rhymed together and in the metre adopted for the epic narration, serve as a kind of preamble to the story proper. Through this functional characteristic, the proverb is distinguished from the other genres of oral literature. It has been noted, however, that among the Karayîm of the Crimea and in the popular tradition of Içel in Turkey, the proverb is used independently as the essential element of a verbal game. This is in the context of a competition in the course of which two teams (or two persons) confront one another; each in turn utters a proverb beginning with the same letter of the alphabet; the winning team—or person—is the one who succeeds in reciting the greatest number of proverbs.

Classified according to their themes, a first category of proverbs contains those which pronounce a simple judgement; among them, some imply a moral or suggest a rule of conduct. In a second category, are those which make a statement, on daily life, on human nature, on natural phenomena, or on "works and days", sometimes implying criticism or practical advice. Finally, a third category, of exclusively local or regional origin and usage, consists of the opinions regarding one another held by various communities—ethnic, religious, etc.

In the formal and stylistic context, there are four categories to be distinguished: (1) Proverbs stated in simple prose; (2) Proverbs containing prosodic elements. In this category the texts are of various types: in one type, the proverb is stated in the form of a verse or a distich in traditional metre (the two lines are rhymed in the latter case); in a second type, the text is composed with alliterations or internal rhymes between the various component parts. Finally, a third type is that where several proverbs of different themes, rhymed or alliterated together, are joined in sequence, such as are encountered in the epic texts, e.g. in the Oghuz *Kitāb-ī Dede Ḳorḳut* and in the Ḳîrgîz *Manas* [*q.v.*]; (3) Proverbs and proverbial statements which have an anecdotal structure. Sometimes, this is a "miniature narrative" without direct speech; elsewhere, the narrative is reduced to a minimum, or disappears completely, and the text takes the form of a dialogue. (4) The proverbs of this third group are to be distinguished from those which have an anecdotal "origin". The latter allude to a historical event, or to an anecdotal character; such are the proverbs and proverbial sayings which refer to one or another of the facetious stories of Nasreddin Hoca.

From the 2nd/8th century, some proverbs are attested in the Kök Türk inscriptions. Later, after the 4th/10th century, a greater number of examples is found in the Uyghur texts. As many as 290 proverbs, of which a large number have survived into the present day, are contained in the dictionary of Maḥmūd Kāshgharī [*q.v.*] (5th/11th century). The two most ancient Ottoman Turkish collections, both the work of anonymous compilers, are the *Risāle min kelimāt-ī Oghuznāme el-meshhūr bi-atalarsözi*, undated, probably from the 9th/15th century; and the *Kitāb-ī Atalar*, compiled in 885/1480-1. The *Pend-nāme*, by the Ottoman poet Güwāhī (10th/16th century), is a collection of proverbs from oral tradition cast in the form of classical prosody. (For collections of more recent date, still in manuscript, see the bibl. in Aksoy, 1977, 1267-70.)

Numerous poets of the Ottoman era, including Thābit (15th/17th century) and Ḥîfẓî (12th/18th century), have a reputation for embellishing their poetry with proverbs. (For a more complete list of the proverbs used in literary works, see Eyüboğlu, 1973-5.) Others, including Rūḥī of Baghdād (10th/16th century), Nābī (11th/17th century), Rāghib Pasha and Ḳānī (12th/18th century) Ḍiyā' Pasha and Seyrānī (13th/19th century), are, on the contrary, admired for

their verses and couplets which, with the passage of time, have acquired the status and usage of proverbs.

It was in the second half of the 19th century that westernised Turkish intellectuals began to show an interest in the collection and comparative study of proverbs. The first anthology of this type is the *Ḍurūb-i emthāl-i ʿOthmāniyye* (1863) of Shināsī; in the second edition (1870), the number of proverbs and proverbial sayings amounts to 2,500; in the third, edited by Abu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ (Ebüzziya) Tawfīḳ in 1885, 4,000. The collection of Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha, intitled *Muntakhabāt-i ḍurūb-i emthāl-i türkiyye* (1871) contains 4,300 proverbs. (On later collections and studies, see the bibliography of the present article and that of Aksoy, 1977, 1271-1328, which included 716 titles.)

Bibliography: Ömer Asım Aksoy, *Atasözleri ve deyimler*, Ankara 1965; idem, *Bölge agizlarinda atasözleri ve deyimler*, Ankara 1971; idem, *Atasözleri ve deyimler sözlüğü*, i. *Atasözleri sözlüğü*, Ankara 1971; ii. *Deyimler sözlüğü*, Ankara 1976; iii. *Dizin ve kaynakça*, Ankara 1977; İlhan Başgöz and A. Tietze, *Bilmece. A corpus of Turkish riddles*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1973; Ferit Birtek, *Dîvân-i luğât-it Türkten derlemeler.* i. *En eski Türk savları*, Ankara 1944; P. N. Boratav, *Quatre vingt quatorze proverbes turcs du XVème siècle restés inédits*, in *Oriens*, vii/2 (1954), 223-49; idem, *Le «Tekerleme». Contribution à l'étude typologique et stylistique du conte populaire turc*, Paris 1964 (Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, xvii); idem, *Les proverbes*, in *PhTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 67-77; idem, *100 soruda Türk halk edebiyati*[4], Istanbul 1982, 118-25; C. Brockelmann, *Alttürkestanische Volksweisheit*, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii (1911-20), 49-73; Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Orhon âbidelerinde atalarsözü*, in *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri*, i/3 (1930), 43-6; H. F. von Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, i-ii, Berlin 1811; Kemal Eyüboğlu, *On üçüncü yüzyıldan günümüze kadar şiirde ve halk dilinde atasözleri ve deyimler*, i-ii, Istanbul 1973, 1975; A. von Gabain, *Die alttürkische Literatur*, in *PhTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 213-14; Avram Galanti, *Eski sawlarîn eskilighi*, in *Edebiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmūʿasî*, ii/6 (1923); Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Dedem Korkudun kitabı*, Istanbul 1973, pp. cxxix ff., ccxlvii; Velet Izbudak, *Atalarsözü*, Istanbul 1936; Nedjīb ʿĀṣîm, *Eski sawlar*, in *Edebiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmūʿasî*, ii/2, 4, 5, 6 (1922); idem, *Dīwān-î Lughāt-it Türkden meʾkhūdh eski sawlar*, Istanbul 1924; W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, St. Petersburg, i-vii, 1866-96, in viii, 1899 (texts collected by I. Kunos), ix, 1907 (texts collected by N. F. Katanov), x, 1904 (texts collected by V. Moshkov).

(P. N. Boratav)

4. In Urdu

In Urdu, proverbs are variously called *mathal* (*masal*), *ḍarb al-mathal* (*zarb ul-masal*) or *kahāwat*, and they are often associated with *muḥāwarāt* (idioms—proverbial figures of speech). The language is rich in them, and they are used not only in conversation but in official and formal language, and in literature, especially poetry. Yet little has been written about them, and few collections have been published. The pioneer work is by an Englishman, S.W. Fallon, *A dictionary of Hindustani proverbs*, Benares-London 1886. It was published after Fallon's death, edited and revised by Capt. R. C. Temple, with free English translations. About 12,500 proverbs in Romanised Urdu are arranged alphabetically according to their first words, and there is no subject index. Important as it is, it would probably have contained much more information had the author lived to complete it. Many of the proverbs are better set-out in Fallon's earlier *New Hindustani-English dictionary*, Benares-London 1879; and his example has been followed by Urdu-speaking lexicographers in their monolingual Urdu dictionaries, which contain numerous references to proverbs. The best in this respect is Khʷādja ʿAbd al-Madjīd's *Djāmiʿ al-lughāt* (4 vols., Lucknow 1933-5). There is also a section on proverbs in the Introduction (16), while the Bibl. (17-18) gives the titles of several Urdu-Hindi works on proverbs. Unfortunately, neither authors nor publication details are given. But one, *Darb al-amthāl*, may refer to a little book, *Urdu proverbs and idioms*, published in Dihlī, undated and with no author's name, for the benefit of "junior and senior boys, teachers and professors". It contains 1,122 *Urdū ḍarb al-amthāl* and 325 *Urdū muḥāwarāt*. There are English equivalent proverbs and expression—not in any sense translations—on alternate pairs of pages. Other collections of Urdu proverbs include Subḥān Bakhsh, *Muḥāwarāt-i-Hind*, Dihlī 1913, and Sayfī Nawgānwī, *Ḍarb al-amthāl wa muḥāwarāt*, Karachi 1982.

Bibliography: In addition to that *Djāmiʿ al-lughāt* mentioned in the text, proverbs are found in the following general Urdu dictionaries: Khān Ṣāhib Mawlawī Sayyid Aḥmad Dihlawī, *Farhang-i-Āṣafiyya*, 4 vols., Dihlī 1896, repr. 1974; Mawlawī Nūr al-Ḥasan Nayyir Kākōrawī, *Nūr al-lughāt*, 4 vols., Lucknow 1924-5, repr. Karachi 1957; Sayfī Prōmī, *Kahāwat awr kahānī*, Dihlī 1977, contains 110 proverbs and proverbial idioms each amplified by a short story. For an example of a poet (Sawdāʾ) quoting a proverb, see MAẒHAR, MĪRZĀ DJĀNDJĀNĀN.

(J. A. Haywood)

5. In Swahili

In Swahili, the majority of known proverbs have been collected from oral sources, i.e. from the memory of the elders among the people. The most important collection is still W. Taylor's *African aphorisms* of 1891. The written sources will, when tapped, yield an even richer harvest. Most of the written literature in Swahili is poetry, and poets love weaving proverbs into their poems, both religious and secular, both lyrical and epic. Even the political poetry in contemporary Kenya and Tanzania is full of proverbs, behind which the poets conceal their true opinions of the political situation; these are to be guessed only by their close associates and by Swahili scholars who can follow all the allusions. Even love songs and other lyrical songs are full of proverbs; a special type of short (36 syllables) song exists which may be called "proverb song", in which the proverbs actually contain the message of the song to the beloved, concealed from the ears of those whose wrath is to be feared. This type of political poetry composed with proverbs is at least 300 years old, as witness certain allusions to it in the chronicles. If one considers that there are numerous expressions, set phrases, idioms and conventional metaphors in the Swahili language which are to a high degree the building bricks, as it were, of the proverbs, one realises that these same expressions permit the Swahili speakers, and, *a fortiori* the poets, to refer to these proverbs without even mentioning them (e.g. "hen" may refer to a good wife; "kite" to an adulterous visitor; compare the English expression "crocodile's tears" for hypocrisy), showing how Swahili proverbs are enmeshed in the very thoughts of the people. The proverbs from the purely written tradition may include quotations from Islamic sources, often couched in strongly Arabicised Swahili. The two main sources are the Ḳurʾān and the *Ḥadīth*. Scholars will quote the Ḳurʾān in Arabic, then inter-

pret its contents for the people in Swahili. Every quotation from the Ḳur'ān is accepted as an (often ill-understood) proverb. Especially popular are the "forty *ḥadīth*s", of which there is more than one Swahili translation in print.

Bibliography: The classical work on the subject is W. E. Taylor, *African aphorisms. Saws from Swahililand*, London 1891. Most of these proverbs are in the Mombasa dialect, but a few are in the Nyika dialect of the hinterland. For a classification of Swahili proverbs, see J. Knappert, *On Swahili proverbs*, in *African Language Studies*, xvi (1975), 117-46; idem, *Rhyming Swahili proverbs*, in *Afrika und Uebersee*, xlix (1965), 59-68; idem, *Swahili proverb songs*, in *ibid.*, lix (1976), 105-12. A. Scheven, *Swahili proverbs*, is the most important publication to date on the subject; it has a full bibl. including S. S. Farsy's work on proverbs from Zanzibar. The only work that, it seems, escaped Scheven's net, is C. K. Omari, E. Kezilahabi and W. D. Kamera, *Misemo na methali toka Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam 1975-6.

Proverbs of the prophets are very popular; there are various editions of the *Hadithi arobaini* ("Forty *ḥadīth*s") in Swahili. The largest collection is one of 130 *Hadithi* compiled by the famous Mombasa scholar Al Amin Bin Aly El-Mazrui and his cousin M. Kasim Mazrui, published in Zanzibar in 1356/1937-8 in Swahili and Arabic; the Arabic title is *al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtāra al-djāmiʿa al-miʾa wa-thalāthīn ḥadīth^an nabawiyy^an fi 'l-ḥikma wa' 'l-ādāb wa 'l-akhlāḳ al-marḍiyya.* Many of the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad and of other prophets (Yūsuf, Yūnus, Mūsā, ʿĪsā, Zakariyyāʾ) have been woven into the Swahili epics, see Knappert, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967. (J. Knappert)

MATHALIB (a.), pl. of *mathla/uba*, from the root *th.l.b.*, which means "to criticise, to blame, to slander, to point out faults with the intention of being hurtful". Although it is not a Ḳurʾānic term, it is attested from ancient times and has been used continuously until to-day to mean "faults, vices, defects, disgrace, etc." (see further, Wehr).

In earliest times and in the first centuries of Islam, it had a specialised usage, for it was broadly applied to what were regarded as subjects of shame for the tribes, the ethnic groups or even clans, rather than separate individuals. Later, it appeared in the titles of a number of works usually written by genealogists and collectors of historical traditions, but the origin of which the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (ed. Beirut xx, 21) attributes to Ziyād b. Abīh, who indeed is said to have written a *Kitāb al-Mathālib*. The word *mathālib* can be contrasted in meaning with *mafākhir* or *maʾāthir*, "exploits, feats, glorious titles" as well as with *manāḳib* [*q.v.*] in its original meaning (see, for example, al-Djāḥiẓ, in the *Risāla fī manāḳib al-Atrāk*, ed. Hārūn, *Rasāʾil*, i, 22: *lanā al-taʿāyur bi 'l-mathālib wa 'l-tafākhur bi 'l-manāḳib* "we reproach each other for our *faults* and we vie in praising ourselves for our *virtues*"; see also i, 36, 70). It is used in connection with themes in *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] or satire to denigrate an enemy (see for example, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 907-8: *mā yuhdjā bihi*; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 184). it is well known that the pre-Islamic poets never failed to recall the disgrace of the other side (see R. Blachère, *HLA*, index, s.v. *mafāḥir wa-maṯālib*). Since *hidjāʾ* tried to make much of the dishonourable aspects of the group that was under attack, it is possible that *mathālib* is a word indicating an amalgam of these features and that it was used a little indiscriminately, with no special emphasis on one particular shameful matter. This much can be deducted from the examples given of the use of *mathālib* and from many other also.

However, I. Goldziher (*Muh. Studien*, i, 43; Eng. tr. i, 48) stated that the *mathālib* were intended to discredit the enemy, and in particular his ancestors, and that they aimed at casting doubt on the authenticity of his genealogy. The nobility of one's ancestry (*nasab*) was a basic requirement of honour (see B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 84ff.), and it was normal for genealogies to be closely examined, and any weak point would be exploited by the enemy. Furthermore, even if *mathālib* were not exclusively concerned with *ansāb*, it is not surprising that some relatively objective genealogists should be eager to take up the faults mentioned in them and make them more widely known, at the risk of attracting dangerous hostility (see, e.g., the case of ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib, who was keenly disposed to take note of *mathālib*; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 323-4). Those who specialised in such descriptions were accused of nourishing deep hatred, and this became something of a proverbial expression (*daghīnat ḥuffāẓ al-mathālib*, in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Risāla fi 'l-djidd wa 'l-hazl*, ed. Kraus and Ḥādjirī, 65; ed. Hārūn, *Rasāʾil*, i, 236).

Goldziher again refers to the relationship between *mathālib* and genealogies when discussing the famous Daghfal (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index, s.v.). Among the authors of works which contain this term in their titles, he mentions Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Haytham b. ʿAdī; these last remarks appear in the chapter on the Shuʿūbiyya and its different manifestations in *Muh. Studien*, i, 191, Eng. tr. i, 176-7. Although accusations are made against him (see Goldziher, *op.cit.*, i, 187, Eng.tr. i, 173), it would probably be wrong to count as an opponent of the Arabs and a supporter of the ʿAdjam the famous writer Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 [*q.v.*], the author of a *Kitāb Mathālib al-ʿArab* (*Fihrist*, ed., Cairo 141; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xii, 191, where it is stated that ʿAllān (see below) used the same classification of the tribes; Brockelmann, S I, 212; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 270, ii, 61). However, it should be noted that Ibn al-Kalbī had already used the same term as this of a work containing a severe criticism of the three first caliphs, the *Kitāb Mathālib al-Ṣaḥāba*. This pro-ʿAlid manifesto caused "a great stir" and was used by al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325 [*q.v.*]) to defend Shīʿism (see H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'islam*, 78). His contemporary, al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (d. *ca.* 206/821) [*q.v.*], who had an extremely poor reputation, produced for his part another *Kitāb Mathālib al-ʿArab* (Brockelmann, S I, 213; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 272) in two versions (one longer, the other shorter, according to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, Cairo, 145), as well as the *Mathālib Rabīʿa*, the Arabs from the North.

Abū ʿUbayda (d. *ca.* 209/824) [*q.v.*]) was vigorously criticised for having provided the Shuʿūbiyya with arguments for their cause, just as all the other writers of *mathālib* were criticised, and even accused of Shuʿūbī doctrines. However, he does seem to have shown some objective judgement when he wrote not only a *Kitāb Maʾāthir al-ʿArab* and a *Kitāb Maʾāthir Ghaṭafān*, but also the *Manāḳib Bāhila* in opposition to his *Mathālib Bāhila* (*Fihrist*, Cairo, 80; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 61, 321). Al-Masʿūdī (*Murudj*, vii, 80 = § 2765) refers to his *Kitāb al-Mathālib* (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 162), and shows that recording the Arab genealogies with all the vices that were embodied in them naturally led him to make certain serious accusations which, by their very nature, must have displeased a considerable number of individuals and families. In addition, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, v, 480-1 = § 2235) mentions a work

attributed to Abū ʿUbayda, "or to another Shuʿūbī", though the exact title of this work cannot be established. It must presumably have contained the *manāḳib* and the *mathālib* of the Arabs as well as the entitlements to glory and shameful deeds of the various tribes of the north and south of Arabia, as presented by their supporters and by their detractors in the meeting-room of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who apparently inaugurated discussions on these questions in the manner of those which made up the genre of *al-maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* [*q.v.*].

A few decades earlier, Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] could have dedicated his efforts to such an activity; he is credited with having written a book of *mathālib*, which was used by some of the authors already mentioned (see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 261, as well as 249, 257, 265, ii, 24, 60). According to Ḥammād ʿAdjrad [*q.v.*], the *zindīḳ* named Yūnus b. [Abī] Farwa sent a book (or a letter, *kitāb*) to the Emperor of Byzantium about the *mathālib* of the Arabs and the vices (*ʿuyūb*) of Islam (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 448; cf. al-Djahshiyārī, 125; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, 256; al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, i, 90; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisan al-mīzān*, vi, 334; Brockelmann, S I, 109). This appears to be the one real case of treason which has been recorded; since the Persian ʿAllān al-Warrāḳ al-Shuʿūbī, who maintained relations with the Barmakids as well as doing the job of copyist at the Bayt al-Ḥikma [*q.v.*] for al-Rashīd, and subsequently for al-Maʾmūn, cannot really be blamed for his work; he is indeed the author of a *Kitāb al-Maydān* which collects together, tribe by tribe, all the *mathālib* of the Arabs, from Ḳuraysh to the Yemenis. The list of tribes and clans which have their shameful matters recorded occupies a whole page of the *Fihrist* (Cairo, 154), where it is stated that the classification adopted there is the same as that of Ibn al-Kalbī. ʿAllān himself also seems to have been objective in his judgement, for he wrote other works, among which may be mentioned a *Kitāb Faḍāʾil Kināna* and a *Kitāb Faḍāʾil Rabīʿa* (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xii, 191-6, with a passage borrowed from al-Djahshiyārī, which does not appear in the *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, but which has been reproduced by M. ʿAwwād in *Nuṣūṣ dāʾiʿa min Kitāb al-Wuzarā*, Beirut 1384/1964, 49; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 271, ii, 61). Sezgin (i, 603) also mentions a *Kitāb al-Mathālib* of Ibn Bishr al-Ashʿarī (d. 260/874), and (ii, 62) the *Mathālib Thaḳīf wa-sāʾir al-ʿArab* by someone named al-Daymartī.

Although it is possible, it is not likely that later authors continued to use the word *mathālib* in the titles of polemical works against some tribes, for the general situation hardly encouraged this kind of literature to survive. It must have come to an end quite quickly. We have seen that *mathālib* are to be contrasted with *maʾāthir*, *mafākhir* and *manāḳib* (see above); even so, it proved impossible for a parallel to be maintained between works devoted to the praise of groups of people and individuals and those which aimed at discrediting an enemy. The short list that has been given here and what we know of comparable works suggest that Goldziher was correct, for over the centuries the divisions between the tribes weakened so that a growing feeling of fellow-citizenship could develop. Moreover, writers seem to have heeded the *ḥadīth* which condemns *al-ṭaʿn fi 'l-ansāb wa 'l-niyāḥa wa 'l-anwāʾ*, and consequently they avoided the temptation of attacking genealogies. On the other hand, as a result of an understandable semantic evolution the term *mathālib* has been used in a meaning close to that of *hidjāʾ* and has been applied to individuals; see e.g. the *Kitāb Mathālib Abī Nuwās* by Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Thaḳafī (d. 314/926; see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iii, 240) and the famous *Mathālib al-wazīrayn* by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023 [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also J. Sadan, *Pérennité et écarts conceptuels Ǧāhiliyya-Islam à travers les belles-lettres et les recueils de* Mathālib, in *From Jahiliyya to Islam*, Jerusalem 1987.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-MATHĀMINA, the name given by the Yemenite historians to eight noble families of South Arabia who, before Islam, enjoyed important political privileges, either in the kingdom of Ḥimyar (from the end of the 3rd century AD to 520 [or 525]), or under the Abyssinian and Persian régimes which followed. Mathāmina is a plural noun whose singular, which is not attested, could be *Muthamman or *Muthman (since these participles mean "repeated eight times", "to the number eight"). It is certainly from the Arabic number *thamāniya* "eight", and not from the concept of price or value also contained in the root, that the name of these eight families is derived, since they could also be called al-Thamāniya ("the Eight"), as in al-Hamdānī, *al-Dāmigha*, 64.

Mention of the Mathāmina is to be found in the works of only three authors, all Yemenite. The oldest is al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī (280-after 360/893-after 971) [*q.v.*]. Next comes Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, who died in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 573/June 1178 (on this author see al-Akwaʿ, *Naschwān*). The third is the Rasūlid ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf b. Rasūl, who reigned from 694 to 696/1295-7 (Sayyid, *Sources*, 396). It is to be noted that the non-Yemenite Arab historians, notably Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī [*q.v.*] appear to ignore these Mathāmina.

The definitions of the historians. These three authors give somewhat divergent definitions of the Mathāmina. Dealing with the descent of Dhū Djadan, al-Hamdānī (*al-Iklīl*, ii, 283 ff.) mentions incidentally that four of the sons of Shuraḥbīl b. al-Ḥārith belonged to the Mathāmina "eight lineages (*abyāt*) between whom power was shared after the death of Dhū Nuwās" (a phrase follows whose meaning is obscure). This scholar, like the other Yemenite historians knew that Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*] was the nickname of a Ḥimyarite king called Yūsuf (for al-Hamdānī, see for example *al-Dāmigha*, 63-4, and *al-Iklīl*, x, 22; for Nashwān, we may refer to *Mulūk*, 147-8). The full name and exact title of this ruler are known thanks to a South Arabian inscription engraved by the commanders of one of his armies and dated *ḏ-mdr'n* 633 of the Ḥimyarite era (July 518 or July 523 AD, since there is some question as to whether the Ḥimyarite era begins in 115 or 110 before the Christian era): "Yūsuf Asʾar Yathʾar, king of all the tribes" (*Yws'f 's'r Yṯ'r mlk kl 'sʿbn*, in Ja 1028, line 1) (the name of the king should thus be corrected in the article DHŪ NUWĀS).

The dates of the reign of Yūsuf, a ruler especially known for having persecuted the Christians of Nadjrān, which led to an Abyssinian intervention that challenged him and drove him to suicide, are not established with certainty. He came to power between June 516 (or 521) and June 517 (or 522) (according to the evidence of Ry 510 and Ja 1028/8-9) and was overthrown by the Abyssinians shortly after Pentecost 520 (or 525) (Beeston, *Judaism*, 272 ff.; Huxley, *Martyrium*, 51). After the death of Yūsuf, the kingdom of Ḥimyar passed under the tutelage of Abyssinia for fifty years; then, in the year 570, it was conquered by the Sāsānids and remained under Persian domination until it was won over to Islam during the lifetime of Muḥammad. For al-Hamdānī, the Mathāmina were

thus the noble lineages who dominated Yemen after the fall of the Ḥimyarite dynasty, that is, during the Abyssinian occupation and perhaps after that. This scholar in the meantime neglects to mention that the Ḥimyarite throne did not remain vacant; the Abyssinians placed on it a Ḥimyarite Christian, Samyafaᶜ (*Sʲmyfᶜ*), then one of their own people, Abraha [*q.v.*].

The definition of the Ma<u>th</u>āmina that Na<u>sh</u>wān gives differs somewhat from that of al-Hamdānī. In *Mulūk*, 157, he states that "these eight kings and their descendants are eight lines called the Ma<u>th</u>āmina of Ḥimyar; in order for the royal dignity of a king of Ḥimyar to be effective, these eight had to establish him and if they agreed on his removal, they deposed him". In *<u>Sh</u>ams al-ᶜulūm*, 16, under the root <u>Th</u>MN, he adds: "*<u>Th</u>amāniya*: rulers (*amlāk*) descended from Ḥimyar the Younger b. Sabaʾ the Younger, called the Ma<u>th</u>āmina; this is made into a proper noun for them so as to distinguish it from the number eight without the article". For Na<u>sh</u>wān, the Ma<u>th</u>āmina were thus great barons who exercised strict control over the Ḥimyarite ruler, since they confirmed him in office and could also remove him. The reference to such a ruler probably implies an earlier date for the Abyssinian invasion; the Ma<u>th</u>āmina were thus an institution dating from the splendour of the Ḥimyarite kingdom.

A modern Yemenite scholar, Muḥammad Bāfaḳīh, has linked this definition of Na<u>sh</u>wān with a passage of al-Hamdānī (*al-Iklīl*, ii, 114), where it is noted that the Ḥimyarite king was enthroned by a college of 80 *ḳayls* [*q.v.*], supposing that this number 80 should be corrected to eight (which should be another mention of the <u>Th</u>amāniya/Ma<u>th</u>āmina) (Bāfaḳīh, *al-Hamdānī*, 106). This possible correction is not imperative, for it is not necessary for a good understanding of the text, especially as the pre-Islamic inscriptions acquaint us with a number of *ḳayls*, far more than eight.

As for the Rasūlid ruler al-Malik al-A<u>sh</u>raf, he gives two different definitions of the Ma<u>th</u>āmina several pages apart (*Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb*, 73, 77); it is clear that he copied two divergent sources without investigating or succeeding in harmonising them. He states firstly (73): "among (the *ḳayls*), (are counted) the Ma<u>th</u>āmina: these are eight men who belonged to Ḥimyar and who were kings of their people; they were subordinate to the kings of Ḥimyar, and their descendants are the tribes of Ḥimyar; they are called the Ma<u>th</u>āmina; their powers included the fact that a king of Ḥimyar could not reign without their goodwill and, if they agreed on his removal, they deposed him". This text, like the list of the Ma<u>th</u>āmina which follows (see below), is a simple paraphrase of Na<u>sh</u>wān's text, *Mulūk*, 157-8.

Several pages later (77), al-Malik al-A<u>sh</u>raf returns to the subject: "the Ma<u>th</u>āmina — of the Ḥimyarites — are eight *ḳayls* who arose after Sayf b. <u>Dh</u>ī Yazan and to whom the Yemenites gave power". Here is a new evaluation; these Ma<u>th</u>āmina are seen as reigning after the arrival of the Persians, called to Yemen by Sayf b. <u>Dh</u>ī Yazan to chase out the Abyssininans (in the year 570).

V a r i a n t s i n t h e l i s t o f t h e M a <u>th</u> ā m i n a. The list of the Ma<u>th</u>āmina was already disputed in the time of al-Hamdānī, who gives two different versions of it with two of the eight names varying; other variants were defended by later authors. We can sum up these diverse opinions in the following table:

	H1	H2	N1	N2	N3	M1	M2
<u>Dh</u>ū Saḥar	x	xx	xxx		x	(x)	
<u>Dh</u>ū <u>Th</u>aᶜlabān	x	xx	xxx	x	x	x	x
<u>Dh</u>ū <u>Kh</u>alīl	x	xx	xxx	x	x		x
<u>Dh</u>ū ᶜU<u>th</u>kulān	x	xx	xxx	x	x	x	x
<u>Dh</u>ū <u>D</u>jadan	x	xx	xxx	x	x	x	x
<u>Dh</u>ū Manā<u>kh</u>	x						x
<u>Dh</u>ū Ṣirwāḥ	x		xxx	x	x	x	
<u>Dh</u>ū Maḳār	(x)	xx	xxx	x		x	x
<u>Dh</u>ū Ḥazfar		xx	xxx	x	x	x	
<u>Dh</u>ū Ḳayfān		xx					
<u>Dh</u>ū Murā<u>th</u>id				x			
<u>Dh</u>ū Yazan				x			x
<u>Dh</u>ū Maᶜāfir							x

(the crosses indicate the number of occurrences of the list in the work of the author considered)

H1 = al-Hamdānī, list no. 1: see *al-Iklīl*, ii, 294. It is this which the present author takes into account. In the only available edition of *al-Iklīl*, ii, by M. al-Akwaᶜ, it is necessary to correct <u>Dh</u>ū ᶜU<u>sh</u>kulān to <u>Dh</u>ū ᶜU<u>th</u>kulān; besides, the list only consists of seven names (in place of the eight announced in the text), without our knowing whether it is a case of an error by the editor or a deficiency in the unique manuscript. In fact, it is necessary to add <u>Dh</u>ū Maḳār, as is proved by the five verses attributed to ᶜAlḳama b. <u>Dh</u>ī <u>D</u>jadan, which al-Hamdānī cites to justify this list and which he takes from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Maḥābī al-Kalāᶜī. In this fragment of ᶜAlḳama (a great Yemenite poet who was a contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad: *al-Iklīl*, ii, 300-1; on this poet, see also Löfgren, *ᶜAlqama*), the Ma<u>th</u>āmina are treated as if they already belonged to past times. Unfortunately, we cannot conclude anything from this, for the authenticity of these verses seems doubtful; al-Hamdānī himself did not find any trace of them in the work of ᶜAlḳama.

H2 = al-Hamdānī, list no. 2: see *al-Iklīl*, ii, 294-5. It is given in two pieces of verse. The first is that which serves as a justification for H1, but with some variants, notably the replacement of <u>Dh</u>ū Manā<u>kh</u> and <u>Dh</u>ū Ṣirwāḥ by <u>Dh</u>ū Ḥazfar and <u>Dh</u>ū Ḳayfān; al-Hamdānī takes it from an Arab of Ṣanᶜāʾ who attributes it, not to ᶜAlḳama, but to a Ḥimyarite. The second piece, which numbers six verses, is "the famous saying of ᶜAlḳama b. <u>Dh</u>ī <u>D</u>jadan on the Ma<u>th</u>āmina in his poem"; it gives the same names as the preceding.

N1 = Na<u>sh</u>wān, list no. 1: see *Mulūk*,156-7. It is provided by the *Ḳaṣīda ḥimyariyya*, a nostalgic poem that Na<u>sh</u>wān devoted to the annals of the Ḥimyarite Empire. It is a compromise between the H1 and H2 versions: of the two innovations in H2, it retains only the replacement of <u>Dh</u>ū Manā<u>kh</u> by <u>Dh</u>ū Ḥazfar. The author justifies his list by citing, in the commentary on his poem, ᶜAlḳama's verses already encountered with the support of H1 (but attributed in H2's statement to a Ḥimyarite), with new variants. The same list is found in a piece of three verses, without the author's name, that Na<u>sh</u>wān cites in the encyclopaedic dictionary that he composed entitled *<u>Sh</u>ams al-ᶜulūm*, under the root SḤR, 48.

N2 = Na<u>sh</u>wān, list no. 2: see *<u>Sh</u>ams al-ᶜulūm*, under the root <u>Th</u>MN, 16. It follows N1, but replaces <u>Dh</u>ū Saḥar with Āl Murā<u>th</u>id. This list is provided by a poem attributed to an Arab from the North (from the tribe of ᶜAtīk b. Aslam b. Ya<u>dh</u>kur b. ᶜAnaza b. Asd b. Rabīᶜa b. Nizār). It is a variant without real significance, seeing that <u>Dh</u>ū Murā<u>th</u>id is, according to the genealogists, the "son" of <u>Dh</u>ū Saḥar (see notably Na<u>sh</u>wān, *Mulūk*, 158, and al-Hamdānī, *al-*

Iklīl, ii, 317-18). Al-Hamdānī himself (*al-Iklīl*, viii, 159) considers Dhū Murāthid as one of the Mathāmina, although this lineage does not appear in his own lists. The preference shown for Dhū Murāthid in this text of Nashwān may have a personal motive; this author claimed descent from Ḥassān Dhū Murāthid b. Dhī Saḥar (*Shams al-ʿulūm*, under the root RThD, 40).

N3 = Nashwān, list no. 3: see *Shams al-ʿulūm*, on the word *dhū*, 39. It differs from N1 in one name, Dhū Yazan, who takes the place of Dhū Maḳār. It may be a slip by the author for, in his works, he never puts Dhū Yazan among the Mathāmina, not even in the article devoted to this line in the same work (116). All the other names on the list, by contrast, are explicitly described as Mathāmina, when Nashwān discusses them. Moreover, it will be noted that this list is not supported by any poetic reference.

M1 = al-Malik al-Ashraf, list no. 1: see *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb*, 73. The list of the Mathāmina comprised, following the manuscripts used by Zetterstéen: Yazīd, Ṣakhar, Thaʿlabān the Elder, Murra Dhū ʿUthkulān, Maḳār b. Mālik, Dhū Ḥazfar b. Aslam, ʿAlḳama Dhū Djadan and Dhū Ṣirwāḥ. This passage is actually a rather corrupt citation and taken from the commentary of the *Ḳaṣīda ḥimyariyya* of Nashwān (*Mulūk*, 157-8). Also, the two first names ("Yazīd wa-Ṣakhar") may be a corruption of the double name Barīl Dhū Saḥar. When the correct reading is established, the list, a simple repetition of N1, only consists of seven persons. But al-Malik al-Ashraf intended to give eight names, and not seven. So it is probable that the copying error already existed in the source that he used.

M2 = al-Malik al-Ashraf, list no. 2: see *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb*, 77. It takes the name Dhū Yazan, already given in N3, and provides an entirely new name, Dhū Maʿāfir. If comparison is made with H1, these two names take the place of Dhū Saḥar and Dhū Ṣirwāḥ.

The Mathāmina in the pre-Islamic inscriptions and in tradition. Almost all the lines of Mathāmina cited by the traditionists are confirmed in the South Arabian inscriptions. This allows us to determine their origin, which has been totally obscured by tradition. It is established that they were:

— Sabaeans from Maʾrib: Dhū Saḥar, Dhū Khalīl, Dhū ʿUthkulān, Dhū Djadan, Dhū Maḳar, Dhū Ḥazfar.

— Sabaean from a region adjoining Maʾrib: Dhū Ṣirwāḥ, hypothetically since this line has not been attested before Islam with this name; but Dhū Ṣirwāḥ clearly refers to the important ancient site of Ṣirwāḥ, at least 40 km. west of Maʾrib.

— Sabaean from the Highlands (to the north of Ṣanʿāʾ): Dhū Murāthid

— Ḥimyarites: Dhū Manākh and Dhū Maʿāfir

— Ḥaḍramite: Dhū Yazan

— Nadjrānites: Dhū Thaʿlabān and possibly Dhū Ḳayfān.

If we discard from the lists of Mathāmina the most doubtful names, Dhū Murāthid (a doublet of Dhū Saḥar), Dhū Ḳayfān (mentioned in only one list and furthermore a descendant, in the genealogies, of Dhū Djadan), Dhū Yazan and Dhū Maʿāfir (who only appear at a late date), of the 9 remaining names, 6 are of Sabaean lineages of Maʾrib, plus a seventh (Dhū Ṣirwāḥ) who can be assimilated with them. The preponderance of lines originating from the Sabaean capital is overwhelming. On the other hand, it is curious to find so few lines drawn from Ḥimyar and any of the Sabaean tribes of the highlands, whereas the traditionists have preserved the memory of a number from among them. The Mathāmina are thus essentially the old Sabaean nobility of Maʾrib. This observation reminds us that al-Hamdānī mainly invokes the authority of the poet ʿAlḳama b. Dhī Djadan, himself originating from one of these old lines of Maʾrib: it is probable that it is he, and he alone, who is at the origin of this tradition.

It is further to be noted that, in the genealogy of Ḥimyar composed by al-Hamdānī, the great majority of the lines of Mathāmina, and notably all those of Sabaean origin, are grouped in the same branch (see *al-Iklīl*, ii), parallel to that in which are grouped the Ḥimyarite kings (on this, see Bāfaḳīh, *al-Ḥārith*). It would seem that the traditionists had integrated in the same branch of this genealogy two bodies of traditions, on one hand that of the tribe of Ḥimyar in the strict sense, on the other that of the Sabaeans of Maʾrib. Finally, we will observe that in Yemen in the 9th-12th centuries AD, numerous clans, lines and even villages were claiming descent from the Mathāmina; an eloquent picture is supplied by the works of al-Hamdānī, notably in the genealogies of Ḥimyar.

The later vogue of the Mathāmina. The tradition of the Mathāmina is certainly ancient: it is based on some fragments of reputed archaic poetry, whose antiquity can be confirmed by the mention of Dhū ʿUthkulān, an authentic pre-Islamic Sabaean line which is known to the historians only from these fragments. We may assume that it dates back to the Ḥimyarite period (end of the 3rd century AD - beginning of the 6th), after Ḥimyar had annexed Sabaʾ around 275 and at a time when the ancient noble Sabaean lines had to defend an authority that was being increasingly threatened.

Meanwhile, this tradition seems to have been neglected by the earliest of the great traditionists, whose work established the genealogical outline of the Arab tribes, notably Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī (around 120-204 or 206/around 737-819 or 821) and Ibn Durayd al-Azdī (223-321/837-933) [*q.v.*]. Ibn al-Kalbī knew, however, 7 of the 13 lines of Mathāmina recorded above (Caskel, *Ǧamhara*, index): Dhū Shahar (*sic*), Dhū Khalīl, Dhū Djadan, Dhū Manākh, Dhū Ṣirwāḥ, Dhū Ḳayfān and Dhū Yazan, to whom we may add the two tribe names, Thaʿlabān and al-Maʿāfir (without *dhū*).

So it is at a late date that the tradition of the Mathāmina enjoyed a certain vogue, when the Yemenite scholars, beginning with al-Hamdānī, raised it from oblivion. It is probable that they only had at their disposal in order to do this some allusions from archaic poetry, which would explain the notable differences of definition from one author to another.

The interest that the Yemenites showed in these Mathāmina from the 9th-10th centuries onwards probably has a political cause. The dissolution of the ʿAbbāsid empire left the field open to many ambitions, particularly in Yemen where the struggles for power became fierce. In this context, prestigious Ḥimyarite ancestors gave an incontestable historical legitimacy, even if the religious authorities saw in it a manoeuvre against Islam. It was probably impossible to claim a royal ascendancy, whether it was owing to public knowledge that the rulers of Ḥimyar had had no posterity or because their engagement in favour of Judaism had disqualified them. But there were the Mathāmina, mentioned in archaic poetry, and they resorted to this idea which had fallen into oblivion. It is probable that the Djaʿfarids who appealed to Dhū Manākh for their authority and the Yuʿfirids (and perhaps the Zawāḥids) who claimed descent from Dhū

Maḳār owed their success, among others, to the prestige of these ancestors. The addition of Dhū Maᶜāfir in list no. 2 of al-Malik al-Ashraf could be explained in the same way; would the Rasūlids not have needed a prestigious local ancestry in order to establish their power better? Many other lines, even modest ones, attempted to ennoble themselves in the same way, by claiming to have one of the Mathāmina for an ancestor.

To supply arguments for certain princes seeking historical legitimacy and roots, it is probable that some scholars did not hesitate to replace one name with another in the poetical fragments and in the list, to such an extent that the number of variants increased. We know the bad reputation that the genealogists had; was not al-Hamdānī himself accused of falsification for payment (Bāfaḳīh, *al-Ḥārith*, 428)?

Finally, one should mention that the name Mathāmina was also borne by a branch of the ᶜAlids of Yemen (see al-Malik al-Ashraf, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb*, 116).

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(CHR. ROBIN)

AL-MATHĀNĪ [see AL-ḲURʾĀN].

MATHEMATICS [see DJABR, HANDASA, ḤISĀB].

MATHNAWĪ (A.), the name of a poem written in rhyming couplets.

1. In Arabic literature, see MUZDAWIDJ.

2. In Persian.

According to the prosodist Shams-i-Ḳays (7th/13th century), the name refers to "a poem based on independent, internally rhyming lines (*abyāt-i mustaḳill-i muṣarraᶜ*). The Persians call it *mathnawī* because each line requires two rhyming letters.... This kind (*nawᶜ*) is used in extensive narratives and long stories which cannot easily be treated of in poems with one specific rhyming letter" (*al-Muᶜdjam*, ed. Tehran 1338/1959, 418f.). The first part of this definition mentions the single characteristic which separates the *mathnawī* from all other classical verse forms, namely its rhyme scheme *aa bb cc*, etc. Otherwise, the name is given to poems differing greatly in genre as well as in length.

Etymologically, it is often explained as a *nisba* adjective to the Arabic word *mathnā*, "two by two"; but *mathnāt*^{un} (according to al-Djawharī, the equivalent of the Persian *du-baytī*, "which is a song") is mentioned as another possibility in the *Tādj al-ᶜarūs* (cf. Lane, *s.v.*). It is reasonable to think that the term was coined by the Persians in spite of its Arabic derivation. The Arabs used the term *muzdawidj* [*q.v.*] instead. By this they designated poems with rhyming couplets, usually written in the trimeter of the *radjaz* which has either eleven or twelve syllables. Such poems were composed at least since the beginning of the 8th century A.D., but the verse form remained of little importance in Arabic literature (cf. G. E. von Grunebaum, *On the origin and early development of Arabic* muzdawij *poetry*, in *JNES*, iii [1944], 9-13, repr. in *Islam and medieval Hellenism*, London 1976).

The much more successful Persian *mathnawī* is first known from the Sāmānid period (4th/10th century). Although it made its appearance at a much later date than the *muzdawidj*, the *mathnawī* is regarded by nearly all modern scholars as a continuation of an Iranian verse form and not of its Arabic counterpart. Yet this theory meets with a few thorny problems pertaining to the history of prosody in Iran. Prior to the Islamic period, rhyme—the most prominent feature of a *mathnawī*—was apparently not in use as a characteristic of a verse form. The metrical system of pre-Islamic Iranian poetry is still very imperfectly understood. The early opinion of modern scholarship was that it must have been governed by the principle of syllable counting. On the basis of this assumption, an Iranian origin of some Persian metres, which were frequently used in early *mathnawīs*, was held to be likely (cf. G. E. von Grunebaum, *Islam. Essays in the nature and growth of a cultural tradition*, London 1955, 177-80).

The syllabic principle was rejected by W. B. Henning and M. Boyce in favour of the theory that the pre-Islamic metres were accentual and allowed a variable number of syllables within certain limits. It has been shown more recently that a rather great irregularity in the length of verse lines was permitted, probably under the influence of the accompanying music (see S. Shaked, *Specimens of Middle Persian verse*, in *W. B. Henning memorial volume*, London 1970, 395-405, with further references). L. P. Elwell-Sutton, on the other hand, arguing in support of his thesis that the metres of classical poetry continue the system used in pre-Islamic Iran, opted for the principle of syllabic quantity (*Persian metres*, 168ff.). It has often been observed that the Persian *mathnawīs* are written in a restricted number of metres. These metres always have eleven or, more rarely, ten syllables. A verse form marked by such inflexible rules for its rhyme and the number of its syllables can only have developed in the early Islamic period. It is most likely, therefore, that the *mathnawī* came into being through a process of adaptation of pre-Islamic verse forms to the prosody of the Islamic period which was dominated by the

metric principles of Arabic poetry. The stages of this process can no longer be traced from the scant remains of pre-classical Persian poetry which have been preserved (cf. e.g. Chr. Rempis, *Die ältesten Dichtungen in Neupersisch* in *ZDMG*, ci [1951], 235-8; Fr. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī*, Wiesbaden 1963, 9ff.; G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, Paris 1964, 10ff.).

In the view of the classical poets, the *mathnawī* was undoubtedly on a par with other forms of poetry. To Gurgānī [*q.v.*], the treatment in a *mathnawī* of the story about Vīs and Rāmīn, known up to his days only in an unadorned "Pahlawī" form, amounted to bringing it to the level of poetic expression (*Vīs-u Rāmīn*, ed. Tehran 1337/1959, 20). The poems of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] show which heights of stylistic art could be reached in this form. In some respects, however, it was also akin to prose. The narrative and didactic contents of many poems could equally be dealt with in prose works. In principle, there were no limits to the length of a *mathnawī*. A few works of exceptionable size like the *Shāh-nāma*, some of the later heroic poems, and the *Mathnawī-yi maʿnawī* left aside, most of the better-known poems fall within a range of 2,000 to 9,000 *bayts*, but the form was also used for texts of a much lesser extent. Fragments of no more than a few lines with the rhyme scheme of the *mathnawī* can be found as inserted lines in prose works, for example in the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī [*q.v.*], who sometimes wrote an entire story on this scheme in 10 or 12 *bayts*.

Other poems were occasionally inserted into a *mathnawī* text, either with or without the use of their specific rhyme scheme. The first poet to do the former was, to our knowledge, ʿAyyūḳī (*fl.* in the early 5th/11th century), who put short poems in monorhyme into the mouths of the protagonists in his *Warḳa u Gulshāh* (ed. by Dh. Ṣafā, Tehran 1343/1964). This insertion of *ghazals* was also a characteristic of the *Dah-nāma* genre and occurs sometimes in versions of the legend of Madjnūn Laylā [*q.v.*], notably in the poem of Maktabī (9th/15th century). Lyric poems adjusted to the pattern of the *mathnawī* can be found frequently in the works of Firdawsī [*q.v.*], Gurgānī, Niẓāmī and others.

Prose and poetry were in some cases used alternatively, e.g. in the *Walad-nāma* of Sulṭān Walad [*q.v.*]. The *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn* of Khāḳānī [*q.v.*] is in most copies introduced by a prologue in ornate prose; a similar prologue belongs to one of the early versions of the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* of Sanāʾī [*q.v.*], but was certainly not written by the poet himself. Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] added a composition of this kind to each of the six books into which his *Mathnawī* is divided.

The composition of *mathnawīs* shows the same variety as most of their other features. Yet certain conventions can be recognised in a number of poems and can be used therefore as the basis of a classification. A common type is exemplified in *mathnawīs* with a clear distinction between introductory sections and the proper text of the poem concerned. The former (which are often collectively designated as the *dībāča*, a term also applied to prologues in prose) deal with a series of topics, some of which can be regarded as obligatory whereas others were added at the pleasure of the poet. To the first category belonged praise of the One God and prayers (*tawḥīd, munādjāt*), a eulogy of the Prophet (*naʿt*), which usually included the praise of his Family and his Companions, a dedication to the poet's patron, and digressions on the occasion for writing the poem, its subject matter, etc. Reflections of the value of poetry, usually referred to as *sukhan*, meaning both "speech" and "logos" (see e.g. J. Chr. Bürgel, *Niẓāmī über Sprache und Dichtung*, in *Festschrift für Fr. Meier*, Wiesbaden 1974, 9-28), and other sections of a moralising nature have frequently been added. A *dībāča* of this kind can already be found in the *Shāh-nāma* together with a series of sections on the origin of the world which form a prelude to the subject-matter of Firdawsī's epic. The obligatory part of the scheme was further enlarged by Niẓāmī, who added it to the treatment of the *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*] of Muḥammad following upon the *naʿt*. Ṣūfī poets like Amīr Khusraw and Djāmī [*q.vv.*] inserted the praise of their spiritual guides. In some poems, a few sections of the *dībāča* were placed at the end by way of an epilogue.

Less frequently found is a type of poem introduced by the description of one particular object treated as an emblem from which symbolic meanings relevant to the following poem are derived. This device may have been borrowed from the *nasībs* of *ḳaṣīdas*. Such emblems were: the wind in Sanāʾī's *Kār-nāma* and *Sayr al-ʿibād ilā 'l-maʿād*, the sun in *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn*, the flute in the *Mathnawī-yi maʿnawī*, and the *rabāb* in Sulṭān Walad's *Rabāb-nāma*.

A distinction between an introduction and the poem itself cannot always be recognised. This is especially not possible in many of the shorter *mathnawīs* and in some didactic works like the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa*.

Several devices could serve to articulate the contents of poems. Firdawsī inserted passages of various kinds into the *Shāh-nāma* to introduce the major stories contained in the text. The night scene describing how the poet was inspired by a "beloved idol", who brought him a lamp, and the theme of the tale of Bīzhan and Manīzha, is the best known example. The genre of nature poetry provided Niẓāmī with the means to mark transitions in the structure of his romances; reflective intermezzi could fulfil the same purpose. More systematic was his use of short addresses to the cupbearer (*sāḳī*) and the singer (*mughannī*) respectively in the two parts of the *Iskandar-nāma* as introductions to each section of the narrative. Didactic poems were often, like treatises in prose, divided into chapters styled *bāb*, *maḳāla* or otherwise.

The genres cultivated in *mathnawīs* are not restricted to the heroic [see ḤAMĀSA], the romantic and the didactic, the three usually associated with this verse form. Panegyrics and satire, topical events, love and wine, and many others subjects could also be dealt with in a *mathnawī*. The larger poems nearly always contain passages of other genres than the one they are mainly concerned with. Sections dealing with ethical, philosophical or religious themes are hardly ever missing in narrative poems. The didactic poet, on the other hand, used both long and short tales to exemplify the ideas propounded in his works. They can be found already in one of the oldest specimens of the didactic genre, the *Āfarīn-nāma* of Abū Shakūr Balkhī [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

The *mathnawī* was also a useful tool to present factual information on account of its memotechnic advantage. An early example of this is Ḥakīm Maysarī's *Dānish-nāma*, the oldest integral text in rhyming couplets which has been preserved. It was completed in 370/980-1 and treats of medical matters (partial edition and translation by G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, Tehran-Paris 1964, ii, 178-94; i, 163-80, see also 36-40). A wide range of subjects pertaining to the religious and the natural sciences, astrology, occultism and the arts were treated in the same fashion.

The choice of a metre for a *mathnawī* was deter-

mined by convention and not by some intrinsic quality of the metre concerned. A clear example is provided by the metre *mutaḳārib-i muthamman-i maḥdhūf* which, because of its occurrence in the *Shāh-nāma*, was chosen by most poets who subsequently wrote heroic *mathnawīs*. Already in the time of Firdawsī, however, it was used also in a didactic poem by Abū Shakūr and in a love story by ʿAyyūḳī. Similar divergences of use can be noticed in the case of other metres. A decisive factor was the tendency towards the imitation of authoritative models according to their most important characteristics of form and content. The classical poets tried to bring their originality to bear through the emulation of predecessors. This consisted both of repetition and of change. The former made it clear that they were following the example of a great master; the latter that they were clever enough to find new variations on one aspect or the other of their model. The long series of imitations based on the *khamsa* [*q.v.*] of Niẓāmī provides the best-known instance of the workings of this artistic principle. The metre was usually among the features which were retained in an imitating poem. The metre of a genuine work was also carefully maintained in pseudepigraphical forgeries as they were based, e.g., on the works of Sanāʾī' and ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, a change of the metre could also serve to demonstrate a poet's independence with regard to a model followed in other respects, e.g. in the case of Niẓāmī's replacing the *khafīf* of Sanāʾī's *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* for the *sarīʿ* of his own *Makhzan al-asrār* (cf. E. É. Bertel's, *Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 183).

Sometimes the imitation of one particular element of a poem gave rise to an independent genre of *mathnawīs*. The exchange of ten letters between Wīs and Rāmīn in Gurgānī's poem became the source of the *Dah-nāmas*, short works in *mathnawī* and *ghazals*, which were written from the beginning of the 8th/14th century onwards (cf. T. Gandjeï, *The Genesis and definition of a literary composition: the Dah-nāma ("Ten love-letters")*, in *Isl.*, xlvii [1971], 59-66). Another example is the even longer sequence of *Sāḳī-nāmas* which had its origin in the call of the cup-bearer used by Niẓāmī in the first book of his *Iskandar-nāma*. It was a genre of anacreontic verse written in the *mutaḳārib* metre of its original. The authors of *Sāḳī-nāmas* were numerous enough to become the subject of a special *tadhkira*, the *Maykhāna* of ʿAbd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī, completed in 1028/1619 (Storey, i/2, 813; ed. by A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, Tehran 1340/1961).

During the later Middle Ages, new subjects were added to the répertoire of the narrative *mathnawī* by poets like Khʷādjū Kirmānī [*q.v.*], ʿImād al-Dīn Faḳīh-i Kirmānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Djāmī. At the same time, mystical poems continuing the examples set by Sanāʾī, ʿAṭṭār and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī proliferated. The didactic genre includes several masterworks of Persian poetry, such as Saʿdī's *Būstān*, the often-imitated *Makhzan al-asrār* and the didactic poems of Djāmī's *Haft awrang*. Among the many writers of short Ṣūfī *mathnawīs*, Maḥmūd Shabistarī [*q.v.*] and Ḥusaynī Sādāt Amīr [*q.v.*] should be mentioned. The Indo-Persian poet Bīdil [*q.v.*] was the most versatile author of mystical *mathnawīs* in later centuries. The narrative and the didactic strains were intertwined in allegoric poems, for which Fattāḥī [*q.v.*] provided influential models. The great variety of subjects dealt with in shorter poems cannot be completely described here. Mention should be made, however, of a few genres which were fashionable in the 10th-11th/16th-17th century: *shāhrāshub* or *shahrangīz*, poems dealing with the playful description of young craftsmen and artisans which also exist in the form of series of quatrains (cf. A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Shahrāshūb dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1346/1967); *sarāpāy*, devoted to the description of an ideal human body "from top to toe"; *sūz-u gudāz*, the description of painful experiences (see for a specimen, Ṭālib-i Āmulī, *Kulliyyāt-i ashʿār*, ed. Tehran 1346/1967-8, 193-208); and *ḳaḍāʾ u ḳadar*, stories about the workings of fate (cf. *Armaghān*, viii [1306/1927], 120-3; x [1308/1929], 458-64, 554-60: specimens by Ruknā Masīḥ-i Kāshānī and Muḥammad-Ḳulī Salīm). Biblical themes were taken as the subject of *mathnawīs* in Judaeo-Persian literature [*q.v.*].

In modern literature, the *mathnawī* proved still to be a useful medium for the Persian poets as long as they were mainly interested in a renewal of contents. Imitations of the *Shāh-nāma* with a nationalist tendency were the *Nāma-yi bāstān* or *Sālār-nāma* (1313/1895-6) by Āḳā Khān Kirmānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the *Ḳayṣar-nāma* by Adīb Pīshāwarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and the *Pahlawī-nāma*, an unfinished history of Islamic Iran in heroic verses by Nawbakht, published in 1926-8. Social and political criticism was voiced in *mathnawīs* by Amīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Parwīn [*q.v.*]. Īradj Mīrzā (1874-1924) used the form for satire in his *ʿĀrif-nāma* and for a modern love story in *Zuhrā wa Manučihr*. The Indo-Persian poet Muḥammad Iḳbāl [*q.v.*] adopted it for some of his most famous works, like the *Djawīd-nāma* and *Gulshan-i rāz-i djadīd*, an imitation of the short mystical poem of Maḥmūd Shabistarī. The last major *mathnawī* to be written by a Persian poet was the *Kār-nāma-yi zindān* by Malik al-Shuʿarā Bahār [*q.v.*]. It contains the account of the poet's imprisonment and exile during the 1930s in the style of the great didactic poets of the past (*Dīwān-i ashʿār*, ed. Tehran 1345/1966, ii, 2-126).

Other prosodic forms—stanzaic poems and even *ḳaṣīdas*—were however increasingly used for epic poetry, even by poets who remained faithful to the classical canons. The experiment with a *mathnawī-yi mustazād* made by Bahār (*op. cit.*, ii, 234-8) was not pursued. Under the influence of the theories of Nīmā Yūshīdj [*q.v.*], the *shiʿr-i naw* poets of the period after the Second World War abandoned the *mathnawī*, mainly because the rigid isochronism of its verse was considered to be an impediment to the expressive use of metre (see e.g. Mahdī Akhawān-Thālith (M. Umīd), *Bidāʿatha wa badāyiʿ-i Nīmā Yūshīdj*, Tehran 1357/1978, 70 ff.).

Persian literary theory had little to add to the brief definition of the *mathnawī* given by Shams-i Ḳays. A few remarks on the subject by later writers were assembled by H. Blochmann, *The prosody of the Persians*, Calcutta 1872, 87-90. Works on *inshāʾ* [*q.v.*] sometimes pay attention to the corrections of the *dībāča* of a *mathnawī* (one of such works is quoted by Aḥmad ʿAlī, *Haft Āsmān or History of the Masnavī of the Persians*, ed. Blochmann, Calcuta 1873, 41-2; ʿAlī's book contains the introduction to an unfinished work on *mathnawī* poets).

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Tehran 1349/1970 (with an alphabetical list of the opening lines of all the *mathnawīs* mentioned in this catalogus catalogorum); L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres*, Cambridge 1976, 243-5; F. Thiesen, *A manual of classical Persian prosody*, Wiesbaden 1982, *passim*; J. T. P. de Bruijn, *Of piety and poetry*, Leiden 1983, 185ff. (J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

3. In Turkish.

The Turkish *mathnawī* developed late under the influence of that of Persia and alongside it. The oldest monument of Muslim Turkish literature that has chanced to be preserved, the *Ḳutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*], is a long didactic *mathnawī* (R. Dankoff, *Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib. Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig). A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, Chicago 1983). Turkish and Persian *mathnawīs* shared a great stock of authoritative models, ranging from the themes themselves to the choice of the appropriate metres (*mutaḳārib* for the heroic genres [see ḤAMĀSA], *ramal* for the religio-didactic type and *hazadj* for the romance). Up to now, this division into three genres has served as the main principle of organisation. But more attention needs to be paid to the social and cultural context in which these works were written, and to the way in which the three genres overlap. Turkish *mathnawīs* had the same architectural framework as their Persian counterparts [section 2 above]. The authors' possibilities lay in the "internal" significance of the details rather than in the "external" aspects of plot and metre, the choice of the formal means being largely determined by the theme, for which terms as *ḳiṣṣa* [*q.v.*], *dāstān*, or *ḥikāya* [see ḤIKĀYA. iii] were used.

The chief element of the narrative *mathnawī* was the plot, turning on love between two chief characters, male and female, who gave it its title. Opening chapters dealt with the reason for writing and its true purpose, incidentally drawing the patron's attention to his skills as a poet. Structure and contents of the framework could be modelled on that of the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], without the tautness of that form. Changing metres could be used as structural boundaries dividing parts of the prologue. In his religious exordium, an author could combine the praise of the One God with a meditation on the works of creation. The eulogy of the prophet Muḥammad and his heavenly journey [see MIʿRĀDJ] have been treated in all Islamic poetry, whereas the praise of the four first caliphs would only be found in the *mathnawī* of a Sunnī author. In the dedicatory passage, a local patron could be praised next to the ruler. If there was no response, the dedication might be removed and replaced with a complaint to Fate. Since it was the poets' desire to prove their own superiority, they hardly ever felt the need to mention their immediate predecessors. An attitude of reverence for the great classical models was present in the poets' reflections on the value and essence of poetry. A favoured way of expression was that of mystically-coloured love poetry, depicting the author in a dialogue with the "speaker of the heart", the cupbearer, *sāḳī*, or the pen, *ḳalem*. In the epilogue, the date and the author's name could be transmitted. The author would seek to disarm adverse criticism, justifying his adaptation of a foreign classic or an old "native" story in the Turkish of his own time and environment. Disavowal of the vernacular in general need not prevent a poet from praising his own elegant idiom which he had substituted for the obsolete language of the original.

As for his narrative, the themes being familiar and speaking for themselves, a mediaeval author could trust his audience to appreciate the significance of his particular treatment. In this way, the *mathnawī* could combine religious teachings, offer historical truth, serve as tool of learning or simply offer entertainment. Chapter headings divided the more voluminous texts. Short lyrical insertions belonging to *ghazal* [*q.v.*, iii. In Ottoman Turkish literature, in Suppl.] poetry acted as breathing spaces. Without shifting his point of view, the author presented the inmost thoughts of his protagonists, using lyrical monologues, dialogues of the lovers or the old technique of inserting letters; he could also express his own feelings in signed *ghazals*, using mystical images (R. Dankoff, *The lyric in the romance*, in *JNES*, xliii [1984], 9-25). Much research is needed into the great mass of Turkish *mathnawīs* in order to relate them to the social and cultural contexts which define their significance. Most of the old poems did not appear in print before the Republic. Only a fragment of this material has been translated into a modern language.

Mystic-didactic *mathnawīs* were introduced into Anatolia by Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] and his son Sulṭān Walad [*q.v.*]. The short *Čarkh-nāme* seems to have been overvalued as compared with Gülshehrī's [*q.v.*] *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* and ʿĀshiḳ Pasha's [*q.v.*] *Gharīb-nāme*. Süleymān Čelebi's *Wesīlet el-nedjāt (Mewlid)* on the birth and miracles of the Prophet, completed in 1812/1409, has remained immensely popular (N. Pekolcay, art. *Süleyman Çelebi*, in *İA*). *Khusraw and Shīrīn* [see FARHĀD WA-SHĪRĪN], *Madjnūn and Laylā* [*q.v.*] and *Yūsuf and Zulaykhā* were loved as moving romances; such compositions were often religious in their purport, even though the actions and emotions they displayed did not always accord with an orthodox ethical code.

In Čaghatay, Azeri and Ottoman literatures, great poets like Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] and Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*] deployed all the resources of Persian and Turkish literature in the perfection of this form. From the 8th/14th century onwards, Turkish poets supplied inventive translations and adaptations of Persian originals. The anonymous author of the *ʿIshk-nāme* (S. Yüksel, *Mehmed. Işk-Nâme. İnceleme metin*, Ankara 1965) already made satirical use of the stock formulas of the epic with its exciting adventures in strange lands. Ḍarīr [*q.v.*] composed early versions of the Yūsuf-Zulaykhā theme, to which the great *muftī* Kemālpashazāde [*q.v.*] later was to contribute a *mathnawī*; Ḳuṭb and Fakhrī (both 8th/14th century). must now be looked upon as pioneers in the Turkish Khusraw-Shīrīn versions. Weighted with a heavily Persianised vocabulary, Sheykhī's version (F. K. Timurtaş, *Şeyhi'nin Husrev ü Şirin'i*, Istanbul 1963), in which Fakhrī's verses can be traced, had a great influence on later poets. Under the Ottomans, new subjects were added to the répertoire. Dāʿī [*q.v.*] contributed an allegorical *Čeng-nāme*; Lāmiʿī [*q.v.*] dealt with comparatively new (Salāmān and Absāl) or nearly forgotten themes, such as Vīs and Rāmīn [see GURGĀNĪ], and Wāmiḳ and ʿAdhrā. It is doubtful whether he ever saw a complete copy of the latter poem in the version of ʿUnṣurī [*q.v.*], who ultimately drew from a Greek source (see M. Nazif Şahinoğlu, art. *Unsuri*, in *İA*; art. *Vâmik u Azrâ*, in *İA*; B. Utas, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxxiii-xxxv [1984-6]). Lāmiʿī and Dhātī [*q.v.*] both composed a *Shemʿ u Perwāne*; Faḍlī [*q.v.*] introduced the *Gül we Bülbül* theme. Djaʿfar Čelebi [*q.v.*] wrote an original *Heves-nāme*; to Mesīḥī (d. 918/1512 [*q.v.*]) the first Ottoman *shehr-engīz* is attributed, a genre later to be elaborated as a social satire by Faḳīrī [*q.v.*]. Indeed, as in the *ḳaṣīda*, praise could turn into satire and invective; Aḥmadī [*q.v.*] in his medical *Tarwīḥ el-erwāḥ* flung abuse at the people of Bursa who had obstructed his work; the *Khar-nāme*

by Sheykhī [*q.v.*] contains a vigorous satire on the bad luck of a poet who is robbed of his *tīmār* (F. Timurtaş, *Şeyhî'nin Harnâmesi*, Istanbul 1971). In 933/1526 Güwāhī completely rewrote ʿAṭṭār's [*q.v.*] popular moral *Pand-nāma*, using colloquial expressions and a whole collection of Turkish proverbs (P. N. Boratev, in *Oriens*, vii) and fables (R. Anhegger, in *TM*, ix). Aḥmadī appended the first versified chronicle of the Ottomans to his *Iskender-nāme*. The term *ghazāwāt-nāme* is used with reference to narrative poems celebrating the military triumphs of the Ottomans. Epics to honour contemporary sultans in Persian and Turkish in the *shāh-nāme* style, sumptuously produced in the 10th/16th century (see LUḲMĀN; H. Sohrweide, in *Isl.*, xlvi), were already criticised by contemporaries for their lack of literary or historical merit. *Sūr-nāmes* celebrated royal festivities in the capital. Prognostics deduced from meteorological phenomena of the solar year had been the subject of an old *mathnawī* entitled *Shemsiyye* by Yazīdjī Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; the poet-calligrapher Djevrī reworked them in his *Melḥeme* (Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 298; Levend, *Ümmet Çağı Türk edebiyatı*, Ankara 1962, 46-7), Apocalyptic aspects of history [see DJAFR] dominated Mewlānā ʿĪsā's rhymed chronicle *Djāmiʿ el-meknūnāt*, which predicted the advent of the Mahdī after Sultan Süleymān (B. Flemming, in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients* [= *Festschrift Spuler*], ed. H. H. Roemer and A. Noth, Leiden 1981, 79-92).

Not every poet had the time and concentration to work with this epic form; sultans and princes wrote *ghazals*. But an author who had composed one *mathnawī* from hundreds or thousands of *beyts* could go further and compose a set of five [see KHAMSA]; Bihishtī, Ḥamdī, ʿAṭāʾī [*q.vv.*] and others performed this feat. Dukaginzāde Yaḥyā Beg (d. 990/1582), who turned his back on "the dead Persians", brought homoerotic love to the traditionally heterosexual romance by giving the (Persian) theme of the King and the Beggar, *Shāh u Gedā*, an Ottoman background and including it in his *Khamsa* (*İstanbul kütüphaneleri Türkçe Hamseler kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961). By the end of the 10th/16th century, the straightforward versified adventure story seems to have lost its appeal, while allegorical, didactic and descriptive *mathnawīs* remained in demand. Nābī's long didactic *Khayriyye*, addressed to his son in plain Turkish, and his *Khayrābād*, "out-Persianising" the Persians, are typical for the late 11th/17th and early 12th/18th centuries (*HOP*, iii, 370-74), Sheykh Ghālib [*q.v.*] Dede's allegorical subject is the mystic devotion of Beauty and Love. Fāḍīl-i Enderūnī [*q.v.*] described the attractions of young men and women. Subtlety remained the stock-in-trade of the inevitable *Sāḳī-nāme*. But as more people learned to read for themselves, there was a great increase in the quantity of Turkish prose works of all sorts; standard ingredients of the rhymed romances of action found their way into prose; ʿAlī ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] stands out with his famous collection. He is a forerunner of literary westernisation, which led to the introduction of the novel and the drama. In the 19th century, the *mathnawī* form was cultivated for some last *Ẓafer-nāmes* "Books of victory" on the wars with Russia and on uprisings of the Greeks and Serbians. ʿIzzet Mollā [*q.v.*] revived the narrative *mathnawī* for his great autobiographical elegy *Miḥnet-keshān*, completed in 1825. As late as 1874. Ḍiyāʾ (Żiyā) Pasha [*q.v.*] prefaced his *Kharābāt*, a three-volume anthology of classical poetry, with a long and elaborate *mathnawī* in the old manner (*HOP*, v, 78-83); Nāmiḳ Kemāl [see KEMĀL, NĀMIḲ] responded in prose. The vitality of the *mathnawī* was sustained right to the end of Ottoman literature; the Islamist poet Meḥmed ʿĀkif [*q.v.*] Ersoy brought a new ease to it, using it for conversational verses as well as rhetorical passages in his written sermons on religious and moral subjects.

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(B. Flemming)

4. In Urdu.

The development of the Urdu *mathnawī* falls broadly into three periods: early, middle and modern. The early period is associated mainly with the Dakkanī phase of Urdu literature. In Dakkanī verse, the *mathnawī* constitutes the most popular form, and is represented by a large output of both religious and secular poems. Many of these are long pieces comprising several thousand couplets. Often they are translated or adapted from Persian sources, but not a few of them are works of an original character.

The growth of the early *mathnawī* reached its most productive stage in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries with the emergence of Bīdjāpūr and Golkonda as the main centres of Dakkanī literature. Hitherto, the *mathnawīs* were more concerned with religious subjects, but subsequently stories of love and heroism began to find increasing prominence in their content. In Bīdjāpūr, under the enlightened patronage of the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty (895-1097/1490-1686 [*q.v.*]), there flourished many important poets who are known exclusively for their *mathnawīs*. One of them was Mīrzā Muḥammad Muḳīmī (d. *ca.* 1075/1665), author of *Čandarbadan u Mahyār*, which was the first *mathnawī* with a purely literary motif. Its subject deals with a contemporary incident involving the tragic love of a Muslim merchant, Mahyār, for Čandarbadan, daughter of a Hindu rajah. Another poet living at the same time was Kamāl Khān Rustamī, who composed in 1059/1649 the first artistic work of epic poetry in Urdu, the *mathnawī Khāwar-nāma* ("The book of the East"). This poem, written in imitation of Ibn Ḥusām's Persian epic of the same name, follows the model of *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza*, and also borrows some topics from Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*. At the court of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh II (1068-83/1656-73) was the poet laureate Muḥammad Nuṣrat Nuṣratī (d. 1095/1684), who has left behind several *mathnawīs*, the most famous being the *Gulshan-i ʿishḳ* ("The rose-garden of love"). This poem, written in 1067/1657, is a fairy tale describing the love between prince Manohar and princess Madhumāltī. His other notable *mathnawī* is the long historical epic *ʿAlī-nāma* ("The book of ʿAlī"), which contains a narrative of the wars fought by ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh with the Mughals and the Marāthās. He also composed the historical *mathnawī Taʾrīkh-i Iskandarī* ("The history of Iskandar"), a poem dealing with events during the reign of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh's son and successor, Sikandar (1083-97/1673-86). Other commonly known *mathnawīs* produced by ʿĀdil Shāhī poets include *Bahrām u Bāno Ḥusn*, a love poem begun in about 1029/1620 by Amīn and completed in 1049/1639 by Dawlat; *Ḳiṣṣa-yi bēnaẓīr* ("The incomparable story"), written by Ṣanʿatī in 1054/1644 to describe the exploits attributed to Abū Tamīm Anṣārī, a companion of the Prophet Muḥammad; the poetical adaptation of Amīr Khusraw's *mathnawī Hasht bihisht*, executed by Malik Khushnūd in about 1056/1646; and *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, composed in 1098/1687 by the last major poet of the ʿĀdil Shāhī era, Sayyid Mīrān Hāshimī (d. 1108/1697).

Rivalling Bīdjāpūr in the patronage of literature and literary men was the Ḳuṭb Shāhī dynasty (918-1098/1512-1687 [*q.v.*]) of Golkonda. Several of its rulers were poets themselves, and their generous support of literary activities provided encouragement to the development of Dakkanī verse. Many outstanding *mathnawīs* were written during this time. In 1018/1609 Mullā Wadjhī, poet laureate of Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh (988-1020/1580-1611), composed a *mathnawī* entitled *Ḳuṭb u Mushtarī* ("Polar Star and Jupiter"), which allegedly describes the love affair of his patron with a famous courtesan of the day. In 1034/1625 the most outstanding poet of ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh's reign (1034-83/1625-72), Ghawwāṣī, composed for the ruler the *mathnawī Sayf al-Mulūk wa Badīʿ al-Djamāl*, which took its theme from a story of the *Arabian Nights*. Another *mathnawī*, the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* ("The book of the parrot"), which he wrote in 1050/1640, was a poetical rendering of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Nakhshabī's earlier Persian adaptation of the same name. Ghawwāṣī's contemporary, Maẓhar al-Dīn Ibn Nishāṭī, was the author of the *mathnawī Phūlban* ("The flower garden"), which he completed in 1065/1655 and dedicated to ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh. Adapted freely from a lost Persian work, *Basātīn* ("Gardens"), written under Muḥammad Shāh II Tughluḳ (725-52/1325-51), Ibn Nishāṭī's *mathnawī* provides a picture of the life in Deccan in the late 11th/17th century, and is interesting both from a literary as well as historical point of view. During the reign of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh (1085-98/1674-87), who was the last ruler of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī dynasty, two important *mathnawīs* were written. The first was *Bahrām u Gulandām*, composed in 1081/1670 by Ṭabʿī in imitation of Niẓāmī's *Haft Paykar*, and the second was *Riḍwān Shāh u Rūḥafzā*, a romance by Fāʾiz written in 1094/1683 and based upon a Persian prose tale describing the love between the Chinese prince Riḍwān and the princess of the djinns.

The middle period of the Urdu *mathnawī* may be said to begin from the early 12th/18th century, when the language of Urdu poetry acquired an idiom distinct from the Dakkanī. This period, known also for the impetus received in it by the *ghazal* [*q.v.*], witnessed the appearance of some excellent *mathnawīs* which have left their mark on Urdu literature. Heroic *mathnawīs* lost favour during this period, but romantic *mathnawīs* continued to prosper and gained a richness in their diction and approach. Of particular significance was the growth of *mathnawīs* dealing with love themes based upon personal experience.

The poem *Būstān-i khayāl* ("The garden of imagination") must be regarded as the first important *mathnawī* of the middle period. Written in 1160/1747 by Sirādj al-Dīn (1126-76/1714-63) of Awrangābād, it describes a love episode in the life of the poet. The chief distinction of the poem lies in its intimate note and, especially, in its refined language which almost verges on the modern idiom. Personal love found an outspoken exponent in Mīr Athar (d. 1208/1794), best known for his *mathnawī Khwāb u khayāl* ("Dream and imagination"), which represents a plaint by the poet suffering the loss of his mistress. The famous poet Muḥammad Taḳī Mīr (1136-1225/1724-1810 [*q.v.*]), who excelled in the *ghazal*, is equally noted for his *mathnawīs*, some of which express the disappointment of love, and are regarded as autobiographical by the

critics. The *mathnawīs* of Muḥammad Muʾmin Khān Muʾmin (1215-67/1800-51), like those of Mīr, provide a record of the poet's emotional involvements, whether real or imaginary, and have won recognition from literary authorities.

In the poetic creations of Nawwāb Mīrzā Shawḳ (1197-1288/1783-1871), whose real name was Taṣadduḳ Ḥusayn, the Urdu romantic *mathnawī* with a personal motif reached its maturity. Shawḳ, who devoted his talents almost exclusively to the writing of *mathnawīs*, is the author of three works in that genre, namely *Farīb-i ʿishḳ* ("The deception of love"), *Bahār-i ʿishḳ* ("The spring of love") and *Zahr-i ʿishḳ* ("The poison of love"). The last-named poem, written probably in about 1860, is Shawḳ's masterpiece, and indeed stands out as one of the great narrative pieces of Urdu literature. Both in diction as well as theme it displays a level of realism seldom attained by any other Urdu *mathnawī*.

Among the writers of non-personal romantic *mathnawīs*, Mīr Ghulām Ḥasan (d. 1200/1786), generally known as Mīr Ḥasan, holds a distinguished position. He is the author of one dozen known *mathnawīs* of varying length. His reputation rests chiefly on his long *mathnawī Siḥr al-bayān* ("The magic of eloquence"), which was finished in 1199/1784-5, and comprises approximately 2,500 couplets. It is a fairy tale of the conventional type containing a description of the love between prince Bēnaẓīr and princess Badr-i Munīr. Besides its literary qualities, such as simple and elegant language, faithful interpretation of emotions, effective portrayal of nature and convincing characterisation, it also provides details regarding such contemporary topics as people's dress, social etiquette, customs and ceremonies.

Sharing honours with Mīr Ḥasan's *Siḥr al-bayān* is the poem *Gulzār-i Nasīm* ("The rose-garden of Nasīm") written in 1838 by Pandit Dayā Shankar Nasīm (1811-43). This work has left a marked impact on contemporary and later poets, as seen from the *mathnawīs* composed after its example. Its central plot revolves around the adventures of prince Tādj al-Mulūk, whose search takes him into a fairyland where he expects to find the magical flower needed to cure his father's blindness. The poem has been praised for its terse description, its flights of fancy, and its choice of similes, words and idioms.

The Urdu *mathnawī* in its modern phase dates from the latter part of the 19th century, and its origin is linked with the campaign initiated at that time to achieve literary reforms. The reformers, dissatisfied with the *ghazal*, advocated the adoption of the *naẓm* or "thematic poem" patterned after Western models. The *mathnawī*, with its tradition of continuous themes and a comparatively less inhibiting rhyme scheme, provided a ready-made form for the *naẓm*, and it came to be employed by the reformers as an effective literary instrument to popularise the new trends in Urdu poetry.

The predominant theme of the modern Urdu *mathnawī* is social. As such, it differs from the earlier *mathnawī* which was identified with romantic subjects. In other respects also, it evokes differences from older models. Lengthy *mathnawīs* like those composed in the past are now extremely rare, and the restriction imposed by custom on the type of metres to be employed by the *mathnawī* is no longer observed.

It was the poet Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (1837-1914 [*q.v.*]) who critically examined the role of the *mathnawī* in Urdu poetry and laid the foundation for its future development. He pointed out that the *mathnawī* provided a medium best suited for expressing continuous themes. The *mathnawīs* he wrote reflect his social and reformist leanings. Conspicuous among them are *Ḥubb-i waṭan* ("Patriotism"), *Taʿaṣṣub u inṣāf* ("Bigotry and justice") and *Munādjāt-i bēwa* ("The widow's prayer"), which appeared respectively in 1874, 1882 and 1884.

Following the pioneering efforts of Ḥālī, the *mathnawī* acquired a new dimension. It was used by Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Mērathī (1844-1917) for his short, descriptive poems which, written in a simple language and dealing with everyday subjects, represent the first successful attempts in Urdu to compose children's poetry. Aḥmad ʿAlī Shawḳ Ḳidwāʾī (1853-1925) gave special attention to *mathnawīs*, his most famous work being the *ʿĀlam-i khayāl* ("The world of imagination"), a sentimental poem expressing the feelings of a lonely woman whose husband has gone on a journey. Shawḳ's contemporary Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad Shād ʿAẓīmābādī (1846-1927) was an avid *mathnawī* writer displaying a maturity of style. The greatest Urdu poet of the 20th century, Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1877-1938 [*q.v.*]) adopted the *mathnawī* for many of his poems, of which the *Sāḳī-nāma* ("The book of the cup-bearer") is undoubtedly one of the great masterpieces of Urdu literature. Mention must also be made of Ḥafīẓ Djalandharī's (1903-82) *mathnawī*-style narrative *Shāh-nāma-yi Islām*, which appeared in four volumes from 1929 to 1947, and represents a lengthy attempt to record the history of Islam in a versified form.

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(Munibur Rahman)

MATHURĀ (earlier English spelling, now discarded, "Muttra"), an Indian city lying between Dihlī and Āgrā, of considerable antiquity and of high reputation in India as a place of high religious sanctity for Hindūs and, formerly, for Djayns and Buddhists also; it was already a place of some renown when it became the eastern of the two Kushāna capitals.

It is, surprisingly, not mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, and only incidentally by al-Bīrūnī, although for Ptolemy it had been Μόδουρα τῶν Θηῶν. Its great reputation led to its being plundered by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 408/1018 and by many later Muslim rulers, more in an excess of iconoclastic zeal than in a settlement of the district; notably by Sikandar Lōdī *ca.* 905/1500, who is reported to have destroyed many idols and to have prohibited head-shaving and ritual bathing. Some temples were allowed to be built in the tolerant reign of Akbar (the temple of Govind Dēva at Brindāban in the Mathurā district, built by Mān Singh [*q.v.*], even shows architectural borrowings from north Indian Muslim art); but Shāhdjahān in 1046/1636-7 appointed a governor to "extirpate idolatry", Awrangzīb some thirty years later destroyed its finest temple and built a mosque on top of it, and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in 1170/1757 not only plundered the temples but butchered a large group of pilgrims. Otherwise, it saw little of Islam, the Mēwātīs, in whose territories it lay [see MĒWĀT] not being renowned for their orthodoxy. A Djāmiʿ mosque, built in 1071/1660-1 (inscr. chronogram) by ʿAbd al-Nabī, a governor under Awrangzīb, is an excellent building for its period, with fine inlay in encaustic tilework, four tall *mīnārs*, and two side pavilions with the curved-cornice "Bengali" roof flanking the courtyard which stands 4 m. above road level; Awrangzīb's own mosque is rather effete.

Bibliography: F. S. Growse, *Mathura: a district memoir*, Benares 1874 and many subsequent reprints, is highly praised but barely acknowledges the presence of Muslims. The mosque has not been adequately published. (R. F. Chisholm's account of "Tiroomal Naik's palace, Madura", listed in Creswell, *Bibliography*, s.v. Mathura, is not at Mathura at all but at Madurai, the former capital of the Madura sultanate = Maʿbar [*q.v.*].)

(J. Burton-Page)

AL-**MAṬLAʿ** (A.), the rising point of a celestial body, usually a star, on the local horizon. This concept was important in Islamic folk astronomy [see ANWĀʾ and MANĀZIL on some aspects of this tradition], as distinct from mathematical astronomy [see ʿILM AL-HAYʾA], because it was by the risings and settings of the sun and stars that the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] or direction of Mecca was usually determined in popular practice. The terms used for the rising and setting points of the sun were usually *mashriḳ* and *maghrib*, *maṭlaʿ* being generally reserved for stars. The directions of sunrise at the equinoxes and solstices were usually associated with the corresponding zodiacal signs [see MINṬAḲA] or seasons, thus e.g. *mashriḳ al-djady* and *mashriḳ al-shitāʾ* both refer to winter sunrise, since the sun enters the sign of Capricorn at midwinter.

In pre-Islamic Arabian folklore, the directions of the winds (see RĪḤ) were defined in terms of astronomical risings and settings (see Fig. 1) and one such wind scheme is associated with the Kaʿba itself (see Fig. 2). These wind schemes are recorded in later Arabic treatises on lexicography, folk astronomy, cosmography, as well as in encyclopaedias and various legal treatises on the *ḳibla*. The major axis of the rectangular base of the Kaʿba points towards *maṭlaʿ Suhayl*, the rising point of Canopus, and the minor axis roughly towards *mashriḳ al-ṣayf*, the rising point of the sun at midsummer. The later Islamic attempts to define the *ḳibla* for different localities in terms of astronomical risings and settings stem from the fact that these localities were associated with specific segments of the perimeter of the Kaʿba, and the *ḳibla*s adopted were the same as the astronomical directions which one would be facing when standing directly in front of the appropriate part of the Kaʿba [see MAKKA iv].

The term *maṭlaʿ* was also used to denote the "time of rising" in the expression *maṭlaʿ al-fadjr*, daybreak or the beginning of morning twilight.

Bibliography: That given in the article ḲIBLA is to be supplemented with the information con-

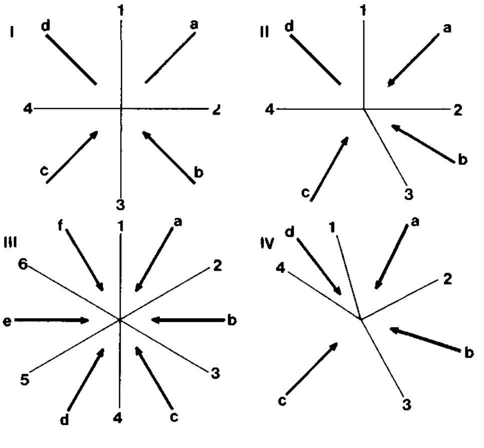

Fig. 1. Four early Arabian wind schemes defined in terms of astronomical risings and settings and attributed to early Muslim authorities.

I Khālid b. Ṣafwān. Limits of winds: 1-4 cardinal directions (defined in terms of the Pole Star and sunrise and sunset at the equinoxes); names of the winds: a *ṣabā*, b *djanūb*, c *dabūr*, d *shamāl*.

II ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Limits: 1, 2, 4 cardinal directions; names: as in I.

III Ibn Djandab. Limits: 1 north, 2 summer sunrise, 3 winter sunrise, 4 south, 5 winter sunset, 6 summer sunset; names: a *nakhbāʾ*, b *ṣabā* or *ḳabūl*, c *maḥwa*, d *djanūb*, e *dabūr*, f *shamāl*.

IV Ibn al-Aʿrābī. Limits: 1 setting (or rising ?) of the Banāt Naʿsh, 2 rising of the Pleiades, 3 rising of Canopus, 4 setting of Vega; names: as in I.

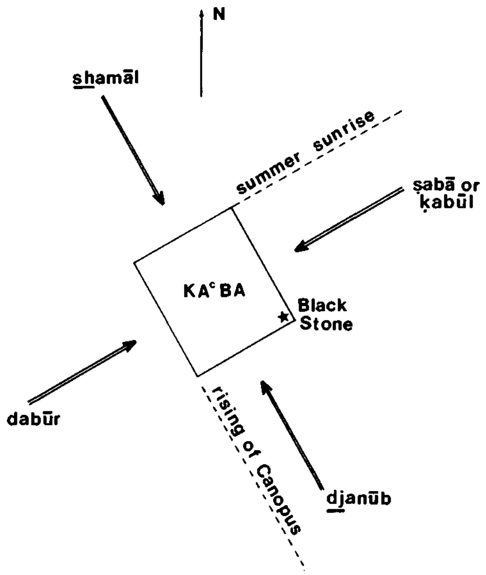

Fig. 2. The most popular early Arabian wind scheme, in which the four winds strike the walls of the Kaᶜba head-on. The rectangular base of the Kaᶜba points in astronomically significant directions, and so the limits of the four winds are likewise astronomically defined. The rising of Canopus and the solstitial risings and settings of the sun were widely used for finding the *ḳibla* in popular practice, in order to ensure that one would be "facing" a particular wall of the Kaᶜba, that is, standing in a direction "parallel" to the appropriate axis of the Kaᶜba.

tained in D. A. King, *Astronomical alignments in medieval religious architecture*, in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, ccclxxxv (1982), 303-12, and *The sacred geography of Islam*, in *Islamic Art*, iii (to appear); G. S. Hawkins and King, *On the orientation of the Kaᶜba*, in *Jnal. for the History of Astronomy*, xiii (1982), 102-9. For a survey of the whole problem, see King, *The world about the Kaᶜba: a study of the sacred direction in Islam* (forthcoming); summaries are given in *Proceedings of the Second International Qurʾān Conference, New Delhi, 1982* and *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, ix (1984), pp. 315-328. See also MAṬĀLIᶜ. (D. A. KING)

MAṬMĀṬA, name of a large Berber people mentioned as early as the middle of the 3rd/9th century in the geographical work of Ibn Khurradādhbih as being among the thirty most important Berber tribes of this period. According to the majority of Berber genealogists cited by Ibn Khaldūn (including Sābiḳ al-Maṭmāṭī), the Maṭmāṭa, who were brothers of the Maṭghara, Ṣadīna, Malzūza, Madyūna and Lamāya, belonged to the great Berber family of the Butr; they constituted, with the above-mentioned tribes, the family of Fāṭin, son of Tamzīt. However, some other genealogists mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn hold that the Maṭmāṭa belonged, along with the Barghawāṭa and Azdādja, to the Berber stock of Barānis (Brānes). There is also another genealogy of the Maṭmāṭa, according to which this tribe is regarded as belonging, along with the Barghawāṭa and Azdādja, to the great Berber family of the Zanāta, being descended from Djānā, ancestor of the Zanāta.

1. Tunisia. It seems that the original homeland of the Maṭmāṭa, a people who were early converts to Islam and who adopted, around the middle of the 2nd/8th century the beliefs of the Ibāḍī sect, was the land situated in the south-east of Tunisia and more exactly to the west and south of the town of Gabès, ancient Tacapae, Ḳābis of the mediaeval Arab geographers. They were called by this name by around 196/811, at the time when the Ibāḍī *imām* of Tāhart ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam sent, on the occasion of his siege of the town of Tripoli, the Ibāḍī general Ḳaṭᶜān b. Salma al-Zawāghī to Ḳābis with orders to besiege it. We owe this information to the Ibāḍī historian Abu ʾl-ᶜAbbās al-Shammākhī (928/1522), who used in his work several much older sources. In speaking of Ḳaṭᶜān b. Salma (in another passage of al-Shammākhī's work this person is called Salma b. Ḳaṭfa), who was appointed governor of Ḳābis in this period by the *imām* ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb, the Ibāḍī historian in question adds that under this governor's régime, the Berber tribes of the Maṭmāṭa, Zanzafa, Dammar, Zawāgha and others were still living outside Gabès. It seems that the Maṭmāṭa in this period were already occupying the mountainous country called Djabal Maṭmāṭa, situated about 30 or 40 km. south of Gabès. This country was also at one time called Djabal Lawāta, owing to the Lawātī population which lived there with the Maṭmāṭa. The survivors of the Maṭmāṭa and Lawāta still live there today. Apart from this area, the Maṭmāṭa also inhabited, in times gone by, the town of al-Ḥāmma (ancient Aquae Tacapitanae), situated 23 km. to the west of Gabès. According to Ibn Khaldūn's *Histoire des Berbères*, al-Ḥāmma was founded by the Maṭmāṭa. According to the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* of *ca.* 587/1191, al-Ḥāmma was a very ancient town inhabited by the Maṭmāṭa. The Tunisian scholar of the 7th-8th/13th-14th century al-Tidjānī mentions, in his account of a journey from Tunis to Tripoli, this place by the name of Ḥāmmat Maṭmāṭa, although in the view of this scholar, the Maṭmāṭa may already have left, ceding the place to the Zanāta who were divided into three groups: the Banū Tūdjīn, Banū Wartadjīn and Awlād Yūsuf.

The later history of the Tunisian Maṭmāṭa (who, apparently having adopted in the 4th/10th century the beliefs of the Ibāḍī sub-sect of the Nukkāriyya [*q.v.*], as had their neighbours the Banū Dammar, established in the south of the area occupied by the Maṭmāṭa in the Djabal Dammar) is little known. It seems that the Maṭmāṭa living in the Djabal of this name recognised the authority of the last representative of the Almoravid family of the Banū Ghāniya, Yaḥyā, who, having his seat and base of operations in the Bilād al-Djarīd, extended his power, around 1200 A.D., over the whole of Ifrīḳiya. In any case, the *sayyid* Abū Isḥāḳ who pursued, in 603/1207, in the name of his brother the Almohad caliph al-Nāṣir, the Almoravid rebels in Ifrīḳiya, subdued the country situated behind Tripoli and chastised, according to Ibn Khaldūn, "the Banū Dammar, the Maṭmāṭa and the Nafūsa", the inhabitants at that time of the vast mountainous crescent which stretches from Gabès to ancient Leptis Magna, on the edge of the plain of Djefāra (Djeffāra). Under the domination of the Turks, the inhabitants of the Djabal Maṭmāṭa and the Djabal Dammar who, until this period, had remained practically independent and had not recognised the authority of the sovereigns of Ifrīḳiya, refused to pay taxes. The Turkish bey of Tunisia, Muḥammad Bey (1631-63 A.D.), had a fort built in the Maṭmāṭa Mts. in order to contain the rebels. We owe this information to the Tunisian historian Ibn Abī Dīnār, who dealt with this event in *al-Muʾnis fī akhbār Ifrīḳiya wa-*

Tūnis, probably written in 1092/1681 or 1100/1698. In the 18th and the first part of the 19th century, in the reign of the Ḥusaynid dynasty (from 1705), there took place various rebellions by Berber and Arab tribes in south-east Tunisia, whose instigators sought refuge in the Maṭmāṭa Mts.

The survivors of the Maṭmāṭa, partially Arabised, still live in their old homeland in south-east Tunisia.

2. Algeria. It seems that at an unknown period, probably in the 2nd/8th century, or perhaps even before this date, one or several important clans of the Maṭmāṭa detached themselves from the main body of this people inhabiting south-east Tunisia and may have come to settle in western Algeria and Morocco. If it is a case of some Maṭmāṭa elements being settled in western Algeria, it is necessary to mention firstly a clan which was settled on the plateaux of Sersū to the north-east of Mindās and to the north of the town of Tāhart and in the Ouarsénis Mts. According to Ibn Khaldūn, these Maṭmāṭa adopted the beliefs of the Ibāḍīs at a time when the Khāridjī doctrine was widespread among the Berbers, i.e. around the middle of the 2nd/8th century. Besides, it is not impossible that the Maṭmāṭa of the Tāhart district may have been settled in this area in the time of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, Ibāḍī *imām* of Tripoli (from 140/757-8), who also seized al-Ḳayrawān and the whole of Ifrīḳiya. This man entrusted the government of al-Ḳayrawān to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam. After the defeat of the Ibāḍi Berber army of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb by the ʿAbbāsid general Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī in 144/761-2, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam then hastened, if we are to believe Ibn Khaldūn, to evacuate al-Ḳayrawān and to take his sons and household to the Ibāḍī Berbers of the central Maghrib. Having reached his old friends and allies the Lamāya, he rallied them to his side and decided to found the town of Tāhart, future capital of the Rustamid imāmate. It is not impossible that a party of the Maṭmāṭa who were neighbours of the Lamāya in south-east Tunisia, original homeland of the first of these peoples, may already have been in the vicinity of the future Tāhart around 144/761-2. In any case, the Maṭmāṭa belonged by the reign of the Rustamid *imām* Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam (*ca.* 308-58/823-71) to the rich and powerful Ibāḍī Berber tribes of the Tāhart district. We owe this information to Ibn Ṣaghīr, historian of this town and of the Rustamid dynasty, who wrote his chronicle *ca.* 290/902-3. After the fall of the Rustamid imāmate, the Maṭmāṭa of the Tāhart district were forced (*ca.* 298/910) to abandon, in the words of Ibn Khaldūn, "for ever" Ibāḍī beliefs and to embrace Shīʿī doctrines. To judge by the Arabic sources, the Maṭmāṭa later rejected Shīʿī doctrines and became Sunnīs.

Some groups of the Maṭmāṭa, having come to settle in the central Maghrib, occupied the plateaux of Sersū in the neighbourhood of Tāhart, in the north-east of the Mindās area, which was inhabited in the first place by a clan of the large Berber tribe of the Hawwāra. Later, these Maṭmāṭa came to settle in the Mindās area, having driven out the Hawwāra in question. Then the Maṭmāṭa were expelled from the plateaux of Sersū by the Zanāta tribe of Banū Tūdjin, and were forced to seek refuge in the mountainous massif of Wānsharīs (present day Ouarsénis), where al-Bakrī mentions them in the 5th/11th century, al-Idrīsī in the 6th/12th century and Ibn Khaldūn in the 8th/14th century.

We know also, thanks to al-Yaʿḳūbī, the name of another clan of Maṭmāṭa living, around the end of the 3rd/9th and beginning of the 4th/10th century, in the central Maghrib. One should mention here a clan of this tribe living to the west of Ouarsénis and Sersū and to the west of the town of Yalal (Hilil of our maps) under the domination of the dynasty descended from Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, related to the Idrīsids of Morocco, who ruled in this period in Tlemcen and the district around it. This clan of the Maṭmāṭa had nothing in common with the Maṭmāṭa of Ouarsénis, who were Ibāḍīs and who recognised the suzerainty of the Rustamid *imāms* of Tāhart. One of the clans of the Maṭmāṭa of Tlemcen was in control of the town of Ayzradj (?) situated near the western fringes of Tlemcen, probably in the area of the modern Algero-Moroccan frontier.

The history of the Maṭmāṭa of the Tāhart district, after the fall of the Rustamid imāmate and the forced conversion of this clan to Shīʿī beliefs at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, is little known to us. We know, however, that they took an active part in the war which broke out between the Zīrid princes Ḥammād b. Buluggīn (405-19/1015-28) and Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (396-406/996-1016), Ibn Khaldūn even mentions a famous *amīr* of the Maṭmāṭa of the Tāhart district; he was called Zīrī and lived towards the end of the 4th/10th century and beginning of the 5th/11th; defeated by the Ṣanhādja Zīrids, he was forced to go to Spain.

The survivors of the powerful Maṭmāṭī clan of the Tāhart district were still living in this area in the 19th century. They were living to the north of the plateau of Sersū, in Thaza (Tāza) and the surrounding district.

3. Morocco. Some advanced groups of the Maṭmāṭa pressed on, probably a little before the 4th/10th century, as far as Morocco. A group of this people settled in the territory of Nukūr, in the eastern Rīf, where they are mentioned by al-Bakrī in the 5th/11th century. Al-Yaʿḳūbī (3rd/9th century) mentions also the clans of Maṭmāṭa settled in the town of Fālūsen (?) situated to the east of the town of Nukūr. Another clan of the Maṭmāṭa lived on the upper course of Wadi Moulouya, in an area called Maṭmāṭa Amaskūr, to the south of Fās. It is mentioned by al-Bakrī and by Ibn Khaldūn. The latter author also speaks of a mountain called Maṭmāṭa situated between Fās and Sefrou (Ṣufrūy). One should add that there were also some Maṭmāṭa between Fās and Tāza; furthermore, a place in this area still bears the name Maṭmāṭa.

Finally, there was also a group of Maṭmāṭa settled in the far west of Morocco, in the region called Tāmasnā, where there existed in the Middle Ages a kingdom founded by the anti-Muslim Berber tribe of Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*]. The Maṭmāṭa of Tāmasnā formed part of the confederation of Barghawāṭa and professed the faith of this tribe. We know of it through the account of Zammūr, sent by the Barghawāṭa to the caliph of Cordova in 352/963, which is cited in the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of al-Bakrī. Zammūr gives in this account two lists of Berber tribes of Tāmasnā under the suzerainty of the Barghawāṭa empire, that is, those who profess the Barghawāṭī faith and the Muslims. The Maṭmāṭa of Tāmasnā are mentioned in the first of these lists. The history of this clan of the Maṭmāṭa is entirely unknown to us; however, we know, thanks to al-Idrīsī, that it still existed in the 6th/12th century.

4. Spain. There were also some Maṭmāṭa groups among the Berber tribes who went across to Spain at different periods. We know this from Ibn Khaldūn, who gives us some details in his *Histoire des Berbères*. We have already mentioned a famous Maṭmāṭi *amīr* of

the central Maghrib called Zīrī, who lived towards the end of the 4th/10th century and beginning of the 5th/11th century; this *amīr* was originally chief of the Maṭmāṭa of the Wānsharīsh (Ouarsénis) plateaux, as well as of Ghazūl, a mountain dominating the country around Tāhart. Defeated by the Ṣanhādja, he crossed into Spain, where he went to see the powerful Umayyad *wazīr* al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], who received him with alacrity and enrolled him among the Berber *amīrs* admitted to his service. It is very likely that Zīrī was accompanied, on his journey to Spain, by members of his household and perhaps by several Maṭmāṭī warriors; he soon became one of the most distinguished officers in al-Manṣūr's Berber corps. After the latter's death in 392/1002, his sons al-Muẓaffar (d. in 398/1008) and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān continued to treat Zīrī with the same favour as their father. However, from the time of the revolt of the Umayyad Muḥammad II b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār (399-400/1008-10), Zīrī and all the other Berber *amīrs* and officers, recognising the lack of ability in their chiefs, went over to the side of Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who had become caliph with the title of al-Mahdī. The end of Zīrī is unknown to us. According to Ibn Khaldūn, he stayed in the service of al-Mahdī until the great revolt of the Berbers in Spain. The year of his death is unknown.

Another great Maṭmāṭī figure, probably originally from Wānsharīsh and Ghazūl and who crossed into Spain, is Kahlān b. Abī Lawā, one of the most famous Berber genealogists. He made his way to al-Nāṣir, first ruler of the Banū Ḥammūd dynasty (is this the Muḥammad, lord of Algeciras who reigned in 428-40/1036-48, or the Ḥammūdid prince ʿAlī, lord of Malaga in 1001-21 and 1022-25?).

Finally, one should add that the greatest Berber genealogist, Sābiḳ b. Sulaymān b. Harāth b. Mūlāt. Ibn Dūnās, who is one of Ibn Khaldūn's sources, belonged to the Maṭmāṭa tribe.

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(T. LEWICKI)

MAṬMŪRA (A), from *ṭamara*, which signifies in particular "to hide", denotes a natural or man-made cavity used for the concealment of victuals (*ṭaʿām*) or of riches (*māl*); such is the definition adopted by the *LA* (s.v.), which specifies that it is the plural *maṭāmīr* which should be applied to underground silos where grain is stored. In fact, the singular currently denotes a silo, and the plural, a group of silos garded by a *ṭammār* and called *mərs* in Morocco (*rətba* in Takrūna, where the guardian is known as *rattāb*; W. Marçais, *Glossaire de Takroûna*, v, 2408-9, with discussion of the figurative expressions drawn from the root).

In the Maghrib, in addition to the communal granaries [see AGADIR], silos were the most usual method of storing cereals. The authorities sometimes dug out such silos, which reached vast sizes. Thus the ʿAlawid sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] caused to be built at Marrakesh, between 1173 and 1181/1760-8, two enormous silos on top of which was an inclined plane from which the grain, brought thither by beasts of burden, was despatched down chutes to the different parts of the subterranean storehouse, which was not visible from the outside (G. Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*, Copenhagen 1781, 75-7; cf. J. Delarozières, *Habs Zebbala à Fès Djedid*, in *IVe Congrès des Soc. savantes*, ii, Algiers 1929; G. Deverdun, *Marrakech*, i, 495). In Algeria, as early as 1848, an officer had presented a project for setting up reserve silos (or "matmores") and this was actually done some years later (see Capasset, *Mémoires sur la colonisation* ..., Algiers 1848). The CNRS has recently organised in Paris a series of conferences on *Les techniques de conservation des grains à long terme*, vol. iii of whose proceedings was published in 1985.

The technique for the excavation of silos differs little from one region to another. In general, the opening is narrow in such a way that it may be hermetically sealed, and the cavity is enlarged lower down, although attaining no great depth. If the nature of the soil requires it, the interior walls are lined with the object of protecting the cereals stored from humidity. But the latter must also be shielded from some subtle dangers, so that ensilage, entry into a silo and the withdrawal of a quantity of grain, are surrounded by precautions of a magical nature which, as regards Berber Morocco, have been fully documented by E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 403-5.

The plural *maṭāmīr* (or *maṭāmir*, from *maṭmar*, which also has the sense of "pit") is a toponym which may be quite frequently encountered (see Le Strange, *Lands*, 138). It is in any case the name of a locality in ʿIrāḳ close to Ḥulwān (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 3597; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 358, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 350; Yāḳūt, iv, 562), while Dhāt al-Maṭāmīr, or simply Maṭāmīr, was the name for homes of cave-dwellers situated in the "Syrian March" (see A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii/1, Brussels 1968, 82; M. Canard, *H'amdanides*, 730; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 200, tr. 194-5; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 151, which seems to give to *maṭmūra* the sense of "village of cave-dwellers"). It should be noted that the (subterranean?) cells of monks are called *maṭāmir* by al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 458-9.

Besides the character from the Spanish comedy (*Matamoros*) whose (masculine) name in French is *Matamore*, the traveller Jean Mocquet has noted in his *Voyages en Afrique*, etc., 1617, 166, a feminine *matamore* denoting a large and deep pit, and C. P. Richelet (*Dictionnaire français*, ed. of 1693) supplies the following definition of the same term: "It is a prison where slaves are confined underground every night ... The matamore is very uncomfortable and cruel, and it seems that it was invented solely with the purpose of tormenting the slaves. A flight of 20 or 30 steps leads down to it. Air and light are supplied only through a

small aperture. The slaves there are horribly overcrowded ... A. Gallard, *Histoire d'une esclave*" (F. Nasser, *Emprunts lexicologiques du français à l'arabe*, Beirut 1966, 472). It is a fact that, among the meanings of *maṭmūra* recounted by Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v.), there figures the sense of "a cave, large or small and very deep, in which prisoners or Christian slaves are confined; in these subterranean prisons, which are beneath fortresses or in the country, the only contact with the world outside is through very narrow ventilators" (see also R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, i, 449-50 about a *maṭmūra* in Tripoli). Dozy's account applies to Muslim Spain, where *maṭmūra* has given rise to the Spanish word *mazmorra* (see J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Berne 1954-7, iii, 306-9), which denotes, like the Portuguese *masmorra* or *matamorra*, a subterranean prison (on those which have been discovered at Granada, see L. Torres Balbás, *Las mazmorras de la Alhambra*, in *al-And.*, ix/1 (1944), 198-218; see also R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, Paris 1973, 322).

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(Ch. Pellat)

MATN (a.), a term with various meanings, of which that of text of a *ḥadīth̲* [*q.v.*] is to be noted. *Matn* already appears with the sense of "text" in pre-Islamic poetry, and has been used thus in Arabic literature up to the present day. It denotes especially the text of a book as distinguished from its oral explanation or its written or printed commentary.

In connection with traditions, *matn* denotes the content or text itself, in distinction from the chain of traditionists who have handed it down (*isnād* [*q.v.*]). The choice of this term to designate the body of a *ḥadīth̲* led Goldziher to put forward the view that the traditions were put into writing at an early date, but he recognised that he was unable to determine the first occurrence of this. However, it should be remarked that the *matn* has rarely been the subject of textual criticism on the part of the *fuḳahā*ʾ and, as G. H. A. Juynboll observes (*The authenticity of the tradition literature*, Leiden 1969, 139), if the criteria which modern authors enumerate had been applied, there would have been very little left of the "authentic" collections.

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(A. J. Wensinck*)

MAṬRAḤ (lat. 23° 38 N., long. 58° 34 E.) the largest city and major port of the Sultanate of ʿUmān. Maṭraḥ was only a small fishing village in September 1507 when Afonso d'Albuquerque anchored his fleet there in preparation for the sacking of Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*]. The Portuguese later fortified Maṭraḥ with one fort on the waterfront and a second on a hill at the southwest corner of the town. The Yaʿāriba *imām* Sulṭān b. Sayf expelled the Portuguese from Maṭraḥ in 1651. During the ʿUmānī civil war of the early 18th century, the city was occupied by Persian troops, who were driven out by Aḥmad b. Saʿīd of the Āl Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] in 1741. Since the establishment of the Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty, Maṭraḥ has been subjected to attacks by opponents of the régime on several occasions.

Maṭraḥ's rise to commercial prominence began during the period of Portuguese occupation. Masḳaṭ was the entrepot for Portugal's trade, but that city was made inaccessible to the rest of ʿUmān by the mountains surrounding it. Maṭraḥ, with its excellent harbour and ease of access to both Masḳaṭ, only 4 km. distant by water, and to the population centres of interior ʿUmān via Wādī Samāʾil, came to dominate the domestic trade. In addition, Maṭraḥ had important weaving and ship-building industries. With Masḳaṭ's decline as an entrepôt during the 19th century, Maṭraḥ's commercial importance increased, and the construction of Mīnā Ḳābūs in the early 1970s has insured the city's dominant position.

Because of its commercial activity, Maṭraḥ historically has had a cosmopolitan population, with Arabs, especially Banū D̲j̲ābir and Banū Ḥasan tribes, Balūčīs, Africans, Persians and Indians all residing there. Among the Indians, the Liwātiyya from Sind are distinctive. The Liwātiyya (sing. Lūtī), who were originally K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a Ismāʿīlīs but converted to It̲h̲nā ʿAs̲h̲arī S̲h̲īʿism in the 1860s, have been in Maṭraḥ for more than 100 years. Although very active in business, the Liwātiyya were, until recent times, socially isolated in a walled portion, probably the original Portuguese fort, of Maṭraḥ known as Sūr Liwātiyya, from which all outsiders were excluded. During the 19th century, many Hindu Banyans began leaving Masḳaṭ and settling in Maṭraḥ to take advantage of the better business opportunities. ʿUmān's recent economic development has served to increase Maṭraḥ's international flavour.

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(C. H. Allen, Jr.)

MAṬRĀḲČĪ, Naṣūḥ al-Silāḥī al-Maṭrāḳī, or Naṣūḥ b. Ḳaragöz b. ʿAbd Allah al-Bōsnawī (?-971/-?1564), outstanding knight, inventor of some new forms of the game of *maṭrāḳ* (a contest with a stick, cudgel or rapier for training and knight-errantry), mathematician, historian, calligrapher and painter of the period of Süleymān the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66).

He was a student in the Palace School during the reign of the Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512). His first book *D̲j̲amāl al-kuttāb wa-kamāl al-ḥussāb* on mathematics was written in 923/1517 and dedicated to Selīm I (918-26/1512-20). He had started by this time also

to distinguish himself as a knight. He began his career as an historian to translate al-Ṭabarī's famous history from Arabic into Turkish in 926/1520. The title of his translation was *Madjma^c al-tawārīkh*, and the manuscripts of this translation constitute three huge volumes. He wrote also a Turkish supplement to his translation as the fourth volume of his work, which includes the history of the Ottomans from the beginning to the year of 958/1551. But we have manuscripts from this period dealing only with the time of Bāyezīd II, Selīm I and Süleymān I, such as *Ta'rīkh-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd wa-Sulṭān Selīm*, the illuminated *Ta'rīkh-i Sulṭān Selīm*, the illuminated *Ta'rīkh Sulṭān Bāyezīd*, the illuminated *Beyān-i menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn* (944/1537), *Süleymān-nāme* (926-44/1520-37), *Fetḥ-nāme-i Ḳara-boghdān* (945/1538), the illuminated *Ta'rīkh-i Fetḥ-i Shiklos* (950/1543), and the second part of the *Süleymān-nāme* (950-8/1543-51).

He was also the painter, with a group of other artists, of his illuminated historical works indicated above. He participated in different expeditions and sketched at least the outlines of his documentary paintings of townscapes in their own localities. Meanwhile, a letter of 936/1529 of Sultan Süleymān praises him as the master knight of his time, incomparable in the whole Ottoman Empire. He completed his *Tuḥfat al-ghuzāt* on the art of using various weapons in 939/1532, and his *ʿUmdat al-ḥisāb* in 940/1533. Finally, he produced a second version of al-Ṭabarī's history, the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, by abridging its original with the encouragement of Rüstem Pasha, the famous Grand Vizier of Süleymān, in 957/1550. The part of the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* which concerns Ottoman history, in one large volume containing the events of the reign of Süleymān until 968/1561, is attributed to Rüstem Pasha himself. When he died on 16 Ramaḍān 971/28 April 1564, he was the head of the office of the *ketkhüdā-yi bārgīr (ketkhüdā-yi iṣṭabl-i ʿāmire)*.

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MAṬRĀN, KHALĪL [see MUṬRĀN].

MATRŪK, a technical term of Ottoman Turkish law concerning a category of land, See MARʿĀ. 3. Turkey.

MATTĀ B. YŪNUS (YŪNĀN) AL-ḲUNNĀ'Ī, ABŪ BISHR, translator of and commentator on Aristotle, was one of the principal initiators of the reception of Peripatetic philosophy through Arabic translations from Syriac in its final phase in the 4th/10th century. He was a Nestorian Christian who studied and taught at Dayr Ḳunnā [*q.v.*] (see also J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, iii, Beirut 1968, 187-93) in the *schola* of the convent of Mār Mārī before he came to Baghdād during the caliphate of al-Rāḍī (i.e., after 322/934). He died on Saturday, 11 Ramaḍān 328/20 June 940.

Among his teachers were some of the Syrian Christians who brought the tradition of the Alexandrian school, which had been continued in Antioch and Ḥarrān, to Baghdād, as reported by al-Fārābī and al-Masʿūdī (see Meyerhof, *Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad*, 19-21, 27-8; Zimmermann, *Al-Farabi's commentary*, pp. cv-cviii): Abū Yaḥyā al-Marwazī, a doctor who taught logic in Syriac (with him Mattā read Aristotle's *Analytica posteriora*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 249_{14}, 263_{16}; Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, 100f.), and Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm Ḳuwayrā (*sic*, i.e. Kyros), who commented on the *Organon* (*Fihrist*, 262; his commentary on the *Sophistici elenchi*, I, 1-11, mentioned in Badawī [ed.], *Manṭiḳ Arisṭū*, 951); also the Muslim Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn b. Isḥāḳ Ibn Karnīb, a *mutakallim* interested in natural philosophy (*Fihrist*, 263).

His own translations—which were all made from Syriac versions of the 8th and 9th centuries—go far beyond the Aristotle reading (confined to elementary logic) of both the Nestorian *scholae*, where the Alexandrian curriculum of Ammonius and his disciples had been all but forgotten, and the medical schools which, for logic, preferred Galen's *De demonstratione* (cf. Zimmermann, *Al-Farabi's commentary*, pp. lxxvi, ciii-cviii). They represent a revival of Aristotelian studies which, relying on the available commentaries of Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius, recovered an Aristotle more complete and more authentic than had been known heretofore to Arabic readers. The works of Aristotle known to Ibn al-Nadīm in Mattā's translation (*Fihrist*, 249-51, 263-4) comprise the *Analytica*

posteriora, including the commentary of Alexander and Themistius's paraphrase, the *Sophistici elenchi* (revision of an older version, cf. Badawī (ed.), *Manṭiḳ Ariṣṭū*, 785 n. 2, 1018), the *Poetica*, *De caelo* ("part of book I") and its paraphrase by Themistus, *De generatione et corruptione* with the commentaries of Alexander and Olympiodorus, the *Meteorologica* with Olympiodorus's commentary, and book *Lambda* of the *Metaphysica* with Alexander's commentary as well as Themistius's paraphase. Only three of these have survived:

(a) The Paris ms. of the Arabic *Organon* (Bibl. nat., ar. 2346) contains the *Analytica posteriora* in Mattā's version as copied from the exemplar of his pupil Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Manṭiḳ Ariṣṭū*, Cairo 1948-52, 309-465); for the revised version of Book I read by Ibn Rus͟hd and translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona, see H. Gätje and G. Schoeler, *Averroes' Schriften zur Logik. Der arabische Text der zweiten Analytiken im Grossen Kommentar des Averroes*, in *ZDMG*, cxxx (1980), 556-85, esp. 564-83.

(b) His version of Alexander's commentary on *Metaph.* Λ, 1-7 (1069 a 18-1072 b 16), including the lemmata of Aristotle's text, served Ibn Rus͟hd as the basis of his *Tafsīr* (ed. M. Bouyges, *Averroès. Tafsîr Mâ baʿd aṭ-ṭabîʿat*, Beirut 1938-52; cf. Notice, pp. cxxx f.); see also the quotations from a commentary of Mattā on *Metaph.* α, B, and Θ in Ps.-Mad͟jrīṭī, *Picatrix. Das Ziel des Weisen*, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig-Berlin 1933, 282-3 = tr. H. Ritter and M. Plessner, London 1962, 290, 292.

(c) Mattā's translation of the *Ars poetica* (edd. D.S. Margoliouth, London 1887; J. Tkatsch, Vienna 1928-32; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1953; S͟hukrī ʿAyyād, Cairo 1967) has become notorious for its inadequacies rather than for its merits [cf. BALĀG͟HA, ḤAMĀSA, ḤIKĀYA, HID͟JĀʾ, ISTIʿĀRA], but it must be kept in mind that the *Poetics*, as well as the *Rhetoric*—both regarded as part of the *Organon* in the Alexandrian curriculum (Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, 129-36)—were read for the study of certain types of "logical" argument, but not with regard to a literary tradition which had become extinct already in late Hellenism.

The commentaries of Mattā and his school, if we may judge from the little that is preserved, were in the form of more or less extensive notes, marginal or annexed to lemmata of the texts (*taʿālīḳ*) and in some cases combined with those of other teachers in the style of the late Patristic *catenae* on the Bible. An important number of such notes is to be found in the Paris *Organon*, referring to *An.pr.* (see Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, 78), *An. post.* (see *ibid.*, 102), the *Topica* (ed. Badawī, *Manṭiḳ Ariṣṭū* 630 n. 3), and Porphyry's *Isagoge* (*ibid.*, 1046 n. 1, 1048, n.1. 3, 1053, n. 2, 1054 n. 1), in a 10th-century *catena* commentary on the *Categories* (see M. [Küyel-] Türker, *El-ʿĀmirî ve Kategoriler'in şerhleriyle ilgili parçalar*, in *Araştırma*, iii [1965], 65-122), and on the margins of Alexander's treatise on the *differentia specifica* (*M. fī 'l-Fuṣūl*, ed. Badawī, *Ariṣṭū ʿind al-ʿArab*, 295-308, cf. J. van Ess, *Über einige neue Fragmente des Alexander*, etc., in *Isl.*, xlii [1966], 146-68, esp. 154-8); others are quoted by his pupil Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (Endress, *The works of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī*, 52, 93) and by Ibn al-Muṭrān (d. 587/1191, see M. Riḍā al-S͟habībī, *Bustān al-aṭibbāʾ wa-rawḍat al-alibbāʾ*, in *MMIA*, iii [1923], 2-8 [p. 7, nos. 9, 19, 20]: notes on *Isag.*, *Cat.*, *De int.*); still others were available to Ibn al-Nadīm (who also mentions two introductory treatises on the *Analytica*, *Fihrist*, 264) and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Bag͟hdādī (*R. fī Mud͟jādalat al-ḥakīmayn al-kīmiyāʾī wa'l-naẓarī*, ms. Bursa, Hüseyin Çelebi 823, fol. 113b 5-7, see S. M. Stern, *A collection of treatises by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī*, in *Islamic Studies*, i [Karachi 1962], 55, 66).—Fairly extensive commentaries of his on the *Physica*, books II, 3-III,4, have survived in ms. Leiden, Or. 1433 (containing Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's Arabic translation and a course on the *Physics* edited in 395/1004 by Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī from the lectures of Abū ʿAlī Ibn al-Samḥ, ed. Badawī, *Ariṣṭūṭālīs. al-Ṭabīʿa*, Cairo 1965-6). His view of Nature as an immanent creative being (*al-ṭabīʿa al-faʿʿāla*, ed. Badawī 151, cf. Ioh. Philoponus, *In Phys.*, ed. Vitelli, 317_{18}) was explicitly attacked by Ibn Sīnā (H.V.B. Brown, *Avicenna and the Christian philosophers in Baghdad*, in *Islamic philosophy and the classical tradition*, Oxford 1972, 35-47, esp. 43-5).

Among his Christian and Muslim contemporaries of the *falāsifa*, he was recognised unanimously as the scholarch of logic in his time (*Fihrist*, 263_{25}; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 122). With him, al-Fārābī [*q.v.*] studied the *Organon*, and the Jacobite Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] transmitted his teaching to the subsequent generation of Muslim and Christian philosophers in Bag͟hdād, notably ʿĪsā b. Zurʿa, al-Ḥasan b. Suwār, and the Muslim Abū Sulaymān al-Sid͟jistānī [*q.v.*]. On the other side, a vehement polemic, surging since the traditionalist reaction of the mid-9th century, was directed by the religious establishment of the *ʿulūm al-s͟harʿiyya* against the claim of Greek logic and philosophy to universal truth, and more especially against the influence of logic apparent in the *uṣūl al-naḥw* of contemporaries like Ibn al-Sarrād͟j [*q.v.*] and his pupil al-Rummānī [*q.v.*] (cf. *Fihrist*, 62; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. Amer, 189). The attack led by Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī against Mattā in the *mad͟jlis* of the vizier Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-Furāt in 326/937-8, as reported by al-Rummānī to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (*al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, i, 107-28), is an impressive illustration. The leader of the logicians (depicted by al-Tawḥīdī's informants as a covetous drunkard who sells his learning for profit) is shown, not without malicious tricks, to be unable to defend the philosophers' claim that logic is a tool necessary "to know truth from falsehood, veracity from lying, good from bad", and to dispute his opponent's argument that the only way to "logical speech" (*nuṭḳ*) is through the grammar of a particular conventional language. But if Mattā had no more to say to his unsympathetic audience than the report credits him with, his pupils al-Fārābī (cf. Zimmermann, *Al-Farabi's commentary*, pp. cxxvi ff.) and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (cf. Endress, *The works of Y. b. ʿA.*, 45f.), defending logic as universal grammar while assigning to grammar the rules peculiar to the utterances (*alfāẓ*) of a particular language, made up for his silence.

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MATTER [see HAYŪLĀ].

AL-**MĀTURĪDĪ**, ABŪ MANṢŪR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD AL-SAMARḲANDĪ, Ḥanafī theologian, jurist, and Ḳur'ān commentator, founder of a doctrinal school which later came to be considered one of the two orthodox Sunnī schools of *kalām* [see MĀTURĪDIYYA].

His *nisba* refers to Māturīd (or Māturīt), a locality in Samarḳand. On the basis of a misunderstood reference of al-Samʿānī (fol. 498b) to his son-in-law, some late sources consider him of distinguished Medinan descent and call him al-Anṣārī. His main teacher, Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. al-ʿAbbās al-ʿIyāḍī, was killed between 261/874 and 279/892, probably closer to the latter date. Al-Māturīdī thus must have been born before 260/873, especially since he is described as having been highly esteemed by his teacher, who would not engage in scholarly debate except in his presence. According to some late authors, al-Māturīdī also studied under al-ʿIyāḍī's teachers Abū Sulaymān al-Djūzdjānī, Nuṣayr b. Yaḥyā al-Balkhī (d. 268/881-2) and Muḥammad b. Muḳātil al-Rāzī (d. 226/841). The latter cannot have been his teacher, and the report is most likely unreliable also in respect of the other two. Not much else is known about his career. He is described as leading an ascetic life and as occasioning miracles (*karāmāt*). The death date given by the later sources, 333/944, may be approximately correct, though the earliest biographer, Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī (d. 508/1114), did not know it. Alternate dates mentioned in two late sources are 336/947 and 332/943. Al-Māturīdī's tomb in the cemetery of Djākardīza in Samarḳand was still known in the 9th/15th century. Among his students were Abū Aḥmad al-ʿIyāḍī, son of his teacher Abū Naṣr, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Rustughfanī, and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Mūsā al-Bazdawī (al-Pazdawī), great-grandfather of Abu 'l-Yusr al-Bazdawī.

Of al-Māturīdī's works, the published text of the *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (ed. F. Kholeif, Beirut 1970) is definitely authentic. The book, however, seems to have existed in different versions since some quotations from it in Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī's *Tabṣirat al-adilla* are missing in the edited text (see D. Gimaret, *Théories de l'Acte humain et théologie musulmane*, Paris 1980, 175-8). Al-Māturīdī's extensive Ḳur'ān commentary *K. Ta'wīlāt al-Ḳur'ān* (vol. i, ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAwaḍayn and al-Sayyid ʿAwaḍayn, Cairo 1391/1971) was, according to its commentator ʿAlā' al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Samarḳandī (d. *ca.* 540/1145), assembled by his pupils and therefore less obscure than his other works which were written by himself. Also attributed to al-Māturīdī are three short published texts, a *Risāla fi 'l-ʿaḳā'id*, a *K. al-Tawḥīd* (both ed. Y. Z. Yörükan, *Islam akaidine dair eski metinler*, Istanbul 1953), and a *sharḥ* on Abū Ḥanīfa's *al-Fiḳh al-akbar*. These works appear to have been composed by later representatives of the school on the basis of his doctrine. Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī does not list them among his works. He mentions, on the other hand, the following, apparently lost, books: *K. al-Maḳālāt*; *K. Bayān wahm al-Muʿtazila*; refutations of three books of the Muʿtazilī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī al-Kaʿbī (d. 319/932), his *K. Awā'il al-adilla*, *K. Tahdhīb al-djadal*, and his *K. fī waʿīd al-fussāḳ*; a refutation of *al-Uṣūl al-khamsa* by the Muʿtazilī Abū ʿUmar al-Bāhilī, a close companion of Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbā'ī; a refutation of a *K. al-Imāma* by an Imāmī Shīʿī author; two refutations of the Ismāʿīlīs (Ḳarāmiṭa); and two books on legal methodology (*Uṣūl al-fiḳh*), *K. Ma'khadh al-sharā'iʿ* and *K. al-djadal.*

In contrast to al-Ashʿarī, the founder of the other Sunnī *kalām* school, who espoused the doctrines of Ḥanbalī traditionalism, al-Māturīdī adhered to the doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa as transmitted and elaborated by the Ḥanafī scholars of Balkh and Transoxania. He developed previous eastern Ḥanafī teaching systematically in arguing against the positions of the Muʿtazila, in particular, their chief representative in the east Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī; of the Karrāmiyya, Sunnī traditionalists (Ḥashwiyya); of the Imāmī Shīʿa; and of the Ismāʿīlīs, represented in Transoxania by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 332/943). Of other religions, he refuted the views of Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, Manichaeans, Bardesanites and Marcionites (see G. Vajda, *Le témoignage d'al-Māturīdī sur la doctrine des Manichéens, des Daysanites et des Marcionites*, in *Arabica*, xii [1966], 1-38, 113-28). His doctrine was in substance generally more rationalist and, with the exception of his Murdji'ī definition of faith (*īmān*), closer to Muʿtazilism than al-Ashʿarī's. In his concepts and technical terminology he was, however, less influenced by the Muʿtazila than al-Ashʿarī, who had been a trained Muʿtazilī before his break with them.

In substantial agreement with the Muʿtazilī position, al-Māturīdī held that man is able and obliged to gain knowledge of God and his obligation to thank Him through reason independent of prophetic revelation. In respect of the attributes of God, he, like the Muʿtazila, allowed and practised metaphorical interpretation of anthropomorphic expressions in the Ḳur'ān, though he rejected some specifically Muʿtazilī interpretations. In other instances he relied on the traditionalist *bilā kayf* formula, insisting on unquestioning acceptance of the revealed text. Against the Muʿtazila, he considered divine attributes like knowledge and power as real and eternally subsisting in his essence (*ḳā'ima bi 'l-dhāt*). Although he accepted the terminological distinction between attributes of essence and attributes of act, he maintained, against the Muʿtazila and al-Ashʿarī, that the attributes of act are equally eternal and subsistent in the divine essence. Thus he insisted that the expressions "God is eternally the Creator" and "God has been creating from eternity (*lam yazal khāliḳ*[an])" are equally valid, even though the created world is temporal. In particular, his doctrine that the *takwīn*, bringing into existence, was eternal and distinct from the *mukawwan*, the existing things, became a famous point of controversy with the Ashʿarīs. Al-Māturīdī affirmed the vision (*ru'ya*) of God by the faithful in the hereafter, but consistently rejected the possibility of *idrāk*, which he understood as grasping, of God by the eyes. He held speech (*kalām*) to be an eternal attribute of God which could, however, not be heard. Like the Muʿtazila, he thus affirmed, in respect to Ḳur'ān, IV, 165, *wa-kallama llāhu Mūsā taklīm*[an], that God created a voice which He made Moses hear.

In regard to predestination and human free will, al-Māturīdī's position was intermediate between the Muʿtazila and al-Ashʿarī. He affirmed that the acts of man are created by God, subject to His will and decree. While they are thus acts of God in one respect

(*djiha*), they are in another respect really, and not metaphorically, man's acts and his free choice (*ikhtiyār*). Al-Māturīdī insisted that God will lead astray (*adalla*) only those who, He knows, will choose the wrong way and will guide only those who, He knows, will choose the straight path. The initial choice is man's, not God's as for al-Ashʿarī. Al-Māturīdī thus also rejected the predestinarian interpretation of the primordial covenant (*mīthāḳ*, according to Ḳurʾān, VII, 137), according to which God separated the chosen from the condemned before creation and the latter confessed belief in His Lordship falsely under duress. Man's power (*ḳudra*), given by God, is valid for opposite acts. Capability (*istiṭāʿa*) is of two kinds, one preceding the act, the other simultaneous with it. The imposition by God of something beyond man's capacity (*taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳ*) is in principle inadmissible.

Faith (*īmān*) was defined by al-Māturīdī essentially as *taṣdīḳ bi 'l-ḳalb*, inner assent, expressed by verbal confession (*iḳrār bi 'l-lisān*). Works (*aʿmāl*) are not part of faith. Faith cannot decrease nor increase in substance, though it may be said to increase through renewal and repetition. Al-Māturīdī condemned *istithnāʾ*, adding the formula "if God will" to the affirmation "I am a believer". The faithful sinner may be punished by God but will eventually enter Paradise. The traditionalist tenet backed by al-Ashʿarī that faith is uncreated was rejected by al-Māturīdī.

Bibliography: Bazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. H. P. Linss, Cairo 1383/1963, index s.v.; Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī, *Tabṣirat al-adilla*, quoted in Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Ṭandjī, *Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī*, in *IFD*, iv/1-2 (1955), 1-12; Ibn Abi 'l-Wafāʾ, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*, Ḥaydarābād 1332/1914, ii, 130-1; Bayāḍī, *Ishārāt al-marām*, ed. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, Cairo 1368/1949, 23; Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-sāda*, Cairo n.d., ii, 5; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya*, Cairo 1924, 195; M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-Ašʿarī*, Beirut 1965, 419-27; M. Götz, *Māturīdī und sein Kitāb Taʾwīlāt al-Qurʾān*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 27-70; H. Daiber, *Zur Erstausgabe von al-Māturīdī, Kitāb al-Tauḥīd*, in *Isl.*, lii (1975), 299-313; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 604-6. Further relevant literature is given under the article on AL-MĀTURĪDIYYA. (W. MADELUNG)

MĀTURĪDIYYA, a theological school named after its founder Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī [*q.v.*] which in the Mamlūk age came to be widely recognised as the second orthodox Sunnī *kalām* school besides the Ashʿariyya. The name Māturīdiyya does not appear to have been current before al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1390), who used it evidently to establish the role of al-Māturīdī as the co-founder of Sunnī *kalām* together with his contemporary al-Ashʿarī. In view of the late appearance of the name, the reality of a theological school founded by al-Māturīdī has been questioned. In earlier times, the school was commonly called that of the scholars of Samarḳand or of Transoxania. It claimed to represent the doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa and sometimes identified itself as the *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa* and "the great mass", *al-sawād al-aʿẓam*. The dominant influence of al-Māturīdī's thought and works on the later representatives of the school is, however, evident, and the latter did not deviate more substantially from his doctrine than did the later Ashʿarīs from the doctrine of al-Ashʿarī. The latter was more readily recognised as the founder of a new school both because he was originally a Muʿtazilī and because he was repudiated by the Ḥanbalī traditionalists whose doctrine he claimed to defend, while al-Māturīdī was considered fully representative of traditional Transoxanian Ḥanafism whose theology he elaborated.

The theological doctrine of the Ḥanafī scholars of Samarḳand spread in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries throughout Transoxania, eastern Khurāsān, Balkh and among the newly converted Turks in the Ḳarakhānid territories of Central Asia. In the 4th/10th century there were some differences on a few theological questions with the Ḥanafī scholars of Bukhārā, who were more strongly influenced by traditionalist, anti-rationalist tendencies. These were mostly harmonised by later Māturīdī scholars with compromise solutions. Māturīdī teaching remained virtually unknown west of Khurāsān, where the Ḥanafīs adhered to other theological schools, many of them to Muʿtazilism. Only the Saldjūḳ expansion into the central Islamic world since the middle of the 5th/11th century brought a radical change. Ashʿarī authors now took note of Māturīdī doctrine concerning the divine attributes, characteristically describing it as an innovation propounded only after the year 400/1009. The militant support of the Turks for eastern Ḥanafism including its theological doctrine led to a major clash with the Shāfiʿīs, now identified with Ashʿarī theology. This is the background of the official cursing of al-Ashʿarī from the pulpits in Khurāsān ordered by the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrīl Beg in 445/1053 and of the persecution of Ashʿarīs and the extensive factional warfare between Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs in the major towns of Iran in the later Saldjūḳ age. Māturīdī works of this period are highly critical of Ashʿarism, excluding the Ashʿariyya from the *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa* and describing some Ashʿarī doctrines as *kufr*. As a result of the Turkish expansion, eastern Ḥanafism and Māturīdī theological doctrine were spread throughout western Persia, ʿIrāḳ, Anatolia, Syria and Egypt. Numerous Transoxanian and other eastern Ḥanafī scholars migrated to these regions and taught there from the late 5th/11th to the 8th/14th century. Māturīdī doctrine thus gradually came to prevail among the Ḥanafī communities everywhere. In Damascus and Syria it was first propagated by Burhān al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Sikilkandī al-Balkhī (d. 548/1153), to whom the Ḥanafī scholars of Samarḳand send a copy of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī's *ʿAḳāʾid* with their explanations, describing it as the creed of the *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa* on which they had agreed.

As the antagonism between the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs subsided in the Mamlūk age, the Ashʿarī Shāfiʿī Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) composed a *nūniyya* poem about the points of difference between al-Ashʿarī and "Abū Ḥanīfa", meaning Māturīdī doctrine. He listed thirteen such points, defining seven of them as merely terminological (*lafẓiyya*) and six as objective (*maʿnawiyya*). The latter were in his view so minor that they could not justify mutual charges of infidelity or heresy (*tabdīʿ*). A commentary on the *Nūniyya* was composed by al-Subkī's student Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-Shīrāzī. This commentary with al-Subkī's thirteen points of difference was largely copied by Abū ʿUdhba, writing *ca.* 1125/1713, in his well-known *K. al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya fī mā bayn al-Ashāʿira wa 'l-Māturīdiyya* (a summary of the thirteen points is given by A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 174-6).

Notable representatives of the school of al-Māturīdī in the later 5th/11th century were Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī al-Kishshī, author of a *K. al-Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd*, and Abu 'l-Yusr al-Bazdawī (d. 593/1099), *ḳāḍī* of Samarḳand and author of the *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*. Most influential in expounding and elaborating the doctrine of al-Māturīdī was, however, Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī al-Makḥūlī (d. 508/1114), who wrote the largest comprehensive work of Māturīdī theology

entitled *K. Tabṣirat al-adilla*, a shorter *K. Baḥr al-kalām* and a *K. al-Tamhīd li-ḳawāʿid al-tawḥīd*.

Most important in the dissemination of Māturīdī dogma was the creed (*ʿAḳāʾid*) of Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142) which closely followed Abu 'l-Muʿīn's formulations in his *Tabṣirat al-adilla*. It received many commentaries and glosses for scholastic teaching and was repeatedly versified. Another popular Māturīdī creed in verses, known as *al-Lāmiyya fi 'l-tawḥīd* or *Badʾ al-amālī*, was composed by ʿAlī b. ʿUt̲h̲mān al-Ūs̲h̲ī (d. 569/1173) and was later explained in numerous commentaries, some in Persian and Turkish. Also in the 6th/12th century, there wrote Nūr al-Dīn al-Ṣābūnī al-Buk̲h̲ārī (d. 580/1184), whose *K. al-Bidāya min al-kifāya*, extracted from his larger *K. al-Kifāya fi 'l-hidāya*, has been published.

Among the later Māturīdī authors, Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310) composed a popular brief treatise *ʿUmdat al-ʿaḳīda li-ahl al-sunna* with his own commentary entitled *K. al-Iʿtimād fi 'l-iʿtiḳad*, both strongly influenced by Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī's *Tabṣirat al-adilla*. A theologian with a more personal profile was ʿUbayd Allāh b. Masʿūd al-Maḥbūbī (d. 747/1346), who dealt with theological questions in the context of both his *K. Taʿdīl al-ʿulūm* and his *K. al-Tawḍīḥ*, a work on legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*). Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1310) wrote the best-known commentary on Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī's *ʿAḳāʾid*. A student of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īd̲j̲ī, representative of the philosophical *kalām* of late As̲h̲ʿarism, he himself seems to have progressively moved towards As̲h̲ʿarī positions. This is apparent in his later *K. al-Maḳāṣid* and his own commentary on it, which were patterned after al-Īd̲j̲ī's *K. al-Mawāḳif*, and its commentary by the S̲h̲arīf al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī. The Egyptian Ḥanafī theologian Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Humān (d. 861/1457), author of a *K. al-Musāyara fi 'l-ʿaḳāʾid al-mund̲j̲iya fi 'l-āk̲h̲ira*, fully accepted the now prevailing view of the equal orthodoxy of As̲h̲ʿarism and Māturīdism, but showed a degree of independence in regard to both schools. In contrast, the Ottoman Ḥanafī Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bayāḍī (d. 1078/1687) in his *K. Is̲h̲ārāt al-marām min ʿibārāt al-imām* emphasised the independence and priority of Māturīdī *kalām*, founded on the teaching of Abū Ḥanīfa, in relation to As̲h̲ʿarism.

Unlike Muʿtazilism and As̲h̲ʿarism, Māturīdī theology always remained associated with only a single legal school, that of Abū Ḥanīfa. It also generally lagged behind the other two *kalām* schools in methodical sophistication and systematisation, especially in the questions of natural science treated by them, and was less subject to the pervasive influence of the terminology and concepts of *falsafa* on later As̲h̲ʿarism and later, particularly Imāmī S̲h̲īʿī, Muʿtazilism. While the conflict of the Māturīdiyya with the Muʿtazila was obviously most fundamental, the differences with the As̲h̲ʿariyya were more substantial than the later harmonising theologians would admit. They involved mainly Māturīdī doctrine affirming the eternity of God's attributes of act subsisting in His essence, the rational basis of good and evil, the reality of free choice (*ik̲h̲tiyār*) of man in his acts, and the Murd̲j̲iʾī definition of faith as assent and confession excluding works (*aʿmāl*). However, other, less significant points of difference dominated at times the controversy between the two schools.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in AL-MĀTURĪDI, see L. Gardet, *De quelques questions posées par l'étude du ʿIlm al-kalām*, in *SI*, xxxii (1970), 135-9; W. Madelung, *The spread of Māturīdism and the Turks*, in *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos Coimbra-Lisboa 1968*, Leiden 1971, 109-68; W. M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 312-16; idem, *The problem of al-Māturīdī*, in *Mélanges d'Islamologie. Volume dédié à ... Armand Abel*, Leiden 1974, 264-9; idem, *The beginnings of the Islamic theological schools*, in *Islam et Occident au Moyen Âge: l'enseignement en Islam et en Occident au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1976, 19-20; D. Gimaret, *Théories de l'Acte humain en théologie musulmane*, Paris 1980, 171-234; J. M. Pessagno, *The uses of evil in Māturīdian thought*, in *SI*, lx (1984), 59-82.

(W. MADELUNG)

MAʿŪNA (A., pl. *maʿūnāt*, *maʿāwin*), "assistance", an administrative term of early Islamic history with several meanings.

In texts relating to the pre-ʿAbbāsid period, it refers to allocations comparable with, but distinct from, stipends (*ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*]) and rations (*rizḳ* [*q.v.*]). *Maʿūna* was sometimes a gratuity paid to those who were not in receipt of stipends (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3410; ii, 1794), sometimes a bonus supplementary to stipends (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 407; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 187-8; cf. idem, *Ansāb*, ivb, 33), and sometimes a regular (more precisely annual) payment made to those in receipt of stipends and rations alike (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2486, 2524; ii, 755; Ibn Saʿd, v, 277); *maʿūnāt* is even used as a global term for private income from public funds (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3026). One would assume the *ʿāmil* or *ṣāḥib al-maʿūna* of this period to have been a fiscal officer, especially as he was often appointed to the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* [*q.v.*] as well, or to the civil administration in general (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 822, 929, 1069; cf. iii, 863); but it is possible that he was an officer charged with the maintenance of law and order (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1470f. could be read in support of either view).

From the 3rd/9th century onwards, there is at any rate no doubt that the leader of the *maʿūna* was charged with police duties. He might be identical with the leader of the *s̲h̲urṭa* (later *s̲h̲iḥna*) [*q.vv.*] or with the military governor (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1816, 1822, 1875). In so far as he was not, he performed functions such as bringing accused persons to court, executing verdicts and collecting fines (Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm dār al-k̲h̲ilāfa*, ed. M. ʿAwwād, Bag̲h̲dād 1964, 9 and n. 3 thereto; A. A. Duri, *Governmental institutions*, in R. B. Serjeant (ed.), *The Islamic city*, Paris 1980, 61; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1969, 332, 381; see also E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1938-43, ii, 69, 365-6; and ʿĀMIL). The actual police building was called *maʿūna* too, at least by the time of the Geniza documents (S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, ii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, 368, cf. also Tyan, *op.cit.*, ii, 401, 432.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P. CRONE)

MAURITANIA [see MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ].

MAURITIUS, an island of the south-western Indian Ocean, one of the three Mascarene Islands (together with Réunion and Rodrigues), located some 2,300 miles (3,680 km) north-west of Cape Town, a similar distance south south-east of Aden, and 2,000 miles (3,200 km) south-west of Colombo.

Although probably known to Arab navigators from as early as the 12th century A.D., none of the Mascarene Islands (or of the more northerly Seychelles) were ever colonised by Muslim—or any other—peoples before their discovery by Europeans in the early 16th century A.D.

During subsequent centuries, the Island of

Mauritius (named by the Dutch, after the *Stadthouder* Maurice of Nassau in 1598) passed successively under Dutch, French and British suzerainty, falling to the latter power during the Napoleonic Wars on 3 December 1810. Whilst the Portuguese discoverers of Mauritius in the early 16th century made no attempt to settle or develop the Mascarenes, Dutch settlers began the colonisation of Mauritius in 1638 when numbers of European convicts, together with slaves from Indonesia and Madagascar, were landed on the island. It is probable that most of the Indonesians, and certainly some of the Madagascans, were Muslims. By 1710, however, Dutch attempts at settling Mauritius ended in failure, and during the subsequent French administration of the island slave labour was imported almost exclusively from Madagascar and the Swahili Coast. Few of these enforced settlers are likely to have been of Muslim origin, however, for the African Muslims of the Swahili Coast tended to be the controllers, rather than the victims, of the Arabian Sea slave traffic.

Muslims, therefore, came to Mauritius in large numbers only after the British seizure of power in 1810 and, more particularly, after the abolition of slavery in 1835 and the introduction of large-scale indentured labour from the Indian subcontinent, for work in the sugar plantations, at about the same time. Indian migrants to Mauritius during the mid-19th century tended to be drawn mainly from the poor labouring classes of Bihar, the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), Orissa and Bengal (migrating via Bombay and Calcutta), or from similar social groups in Tamil Nadu and southern India (migrating via Madras). In this way, nearly 450,000 Indians entered Mauritius between about 1835 and 1907, with a few additional South Asians entering the colony in 1922-3. The indentured labourers who made up the great majority of Indian migrants were generally engaged on five-year contracts, but during the whole period of immigration only 160,000 were returned to India, the great majority remaining beyond the end of their contracts to swell the population of Mauritius. In addition to these poorer, indentured classes, comparatively well-to-do Indians, particularly Muslim traders from Gudjarāt (erroneously known as "Arabs" in contemporaneous Mauritian circles) and *Chettiars* from South India also began to settle in the island, where they soon became to dominate the trade of Port Louis and the outlying provincial centres.

Thus in 1835 Indo-Mauritians numbered a minute and demographically insignificant portion of the Mauritian population, whilst by 1845 their numbers had grown to *ca.* 33%, and by 1861 fully 64% of the total population. The process of Indian migration to Mauritius was officially halted in 1909, but by this time the ethnic composition of the island had been radically transformed, with Indo-Mauritians comprising the overwhelming majority of the population, a situation which continues today; other important sections of the Mauritian population include Creoles, Chinese, and an influential French community.

Among Indo-Mauritians, approximately 25% (or 16% of the total population) are of Muslim faith. They live scattered throughout the island, with about 43% of their number located in urban communities (especially in Port Louis, the capital), and 57% located in smaller rural communities. Within Port Louis, the Gudjarātī Muslims are chiefly engaged in trade, whilst those descended from poorer indentured labourers form an urban labour force.

The great majority of Muslim Mauritians are Sunnīs, especially of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* (83%); Sunnī Shāfiʿīs are also well represented (*ca.* 7%), whilst smaller identifiable groups include the Shīʿa (0.8%), the Bohrās [*q.v.*] (0.3%) and (counted as Muslim for census purposes) a flourishing Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*] community (*ca.* 9%). According to Benedict (1965), in general terms Muslim Mauritians are more highly organised on a religious basis than the Hindu Indo-Mauritians. This is related to their minority status, to the appearance early in Mauritian history of wealthy Muslims who supported their religion through *waḳf* endowments, and "most of all to the nature of Islam itself, which lays down tenets for a religious community". In 1965, there were 65 mosques on the island, governance of each being in the hands of a *mutawali* or manager, usually elected by the congregation. All but one of these mosques have been constituted as a *waḳf* endowment for purposes of support. The mosque is the focal point of Mauritian Muslim society, around which are formed *jammats* or religious associations. In 1952 the total Muslim population of Mauritius was listed as 77,014; by 1962 this had reportedly risen to 110,332.

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

MAWĀKIB (A., sing. *mawkib*), processions.

1. Under the ʿAbbāsids and Fāṭimids

The basic meaning of procession (mounted or unmounted), cortège, is found in *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-khalk*, 6; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 213; al-Dārimī, 2695). This is the precise sense given in the dictionaries, and that used by the Umayyads, ʿAbbāsids and Fāṭimids, often to describe the cortège of an *amīr*, *wazīr*, or other official (see, e.g., al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1731; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, 9-10, 12, 14ff.).

By the 4th/10th century, it had acquired the broader meaning of audience as well as procession. Examples of this usage of *mawkib* abound in the literature. In addition to the references for the ʿAbbāsids in Sourdel, *Vizirat*, ii, 452, 653, 684, 685, see also *Tadjārib al-umam*, 195 (*yawm mawkib wa-dawla djadīda*), and al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 71-2 (under rules for *hidjāba*), 78, 90; for the Fāṭimids, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 481, 494 (*djulūs al-khalīfa fi 'l-mawākib*). The phrase most often designating an audience is *ayyām al-mawākib*. In both ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid sources, this seems to refer specifically to the general audiences held on Mondays and Thursdays (Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Historical remains ...*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1904, 242, 244 (Thursday); *Tadjārib*, 195, refers to a Monday; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 494, 496, 518, 523). For details on audiences, see MARĀSIM).

There was a strict protocol to be observed when accompanying the ruler (*al-musāyara*) in procession. The most important and oft-repeated exhortation was to be vigilant in keeping to one's assigned place (*yalzam al-mawḍiʿ alladhī fīhi rutbatuhu*), reflecting the emphasis on *tartīb*, arrangement of the *mawkib* according to rank. The rider must know the position of the caliph, without, however, turning too often to see him. He must maintain a silent and dignified bearing, speaking only in response to the caliph's questions. He should not ride where the caliph will get wind of his horse or where dust will be kicked up into his face.

He should not enter the caliph's shadow; but he must ride on the sunny side of the *mawkib* to shade the caliph from the sun.

If a person was chosen to accompany the caliph, he was cautioned not to consider this as a permanent position but rather as a privilege granted each time the caliph invited him. If the caliph decided to walk, all had to follow suit. If he were to dismount because of a call of nature, everyone had to dismount because they may not be mounted while he stands on the ground. If he dismounts to prayer, they should pray with him. And if he drinks something, they should avert their glance (further elaboration in al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 86-9; al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb al-Himma*, 116-19; al-Djāhiẓ, *K. al-Tādj*, 72, 77-83).

There are precious little data on the processions of the ʿAbbāsids, almost certainly a reflection of the static and non-processional character of ʿAbbāsid ceremonial. Neither of the two *mawākib* about which we have significant details (al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 9-10, the *mawkib* of Nāzūk; 12-14, Byzantine embassies) describes a caliphal procession.

The Fāṭimids had, perhaps, the most elaborate processions of any of their contemporaries. This has been attributed to the influence of Byzantium (see M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fāṭimide et le cérémonial byzantin: essai de comparaison*, in *Byzantion*, xxi [1951], 408ff.). Where there is a dearth of information for the ʿAbbāsids, there is an abundance for the Fāṭimids. This is probably due largely to the fact that most of the sources for the Fāṭimids were transmitted by Mamlūk authors, reflecting the Mamlūk predilection for elaborate public processions.

The Fāṭimids staged grand processions on the New Year, the first of Ramaḍān, the last three Fridays of Ramaḍān, the Two Festivals and the inundation of the Nile. The most complete descriptions are those of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, the late Fāṭimid-early Ayyūbid historian. Both Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Ḳalḳashandī rely almost exclusively (albeit without attribution) on his undated descriptions. Only al-Maḳrīzī, in the monumental *Khiṭaṭ* and his history of the Fāṭimids, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ* (published in 3 volumes, Cairo 1967-72), relies on the dated accounts of Ibn Zūlāḳ, al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī, in addition to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. These dated accounts reveal considerable changes in processions over the course of time, although many general features remained constant.

Al-Ḳalḳashandī enumerates the insignia of sovereignty (*al-ālāt al-mulūkiyya*) used in processions (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 468-71; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 48-73, and Canard, *Cérémonial fâtimite*, 388-93): crown (*tādj*—not a crown *per se*, but an elaborate turban wound in a particular fashion); sceptre (*ḳaḍīb al-mulk*), held by the caliph during the procession; sword (*al-sayf al-khāṣṣ*); inkstand (*dawāt*); lance (*rumḥ*); shield (*daraḳa*); *ḥāfir*, "horseshoe", a crescent-shaped ruby affixed to a piece of silk and attached to the top of the *tādj*; parasol (*miẓalla*, carried over the head of the caliph); flags (*aʿlām*); fly-swatters (*midhabba*); arms (*silāḥ*); drums (*naḳḳārāt*); and tents (*al-khiyām wa 'l-fasāṭīṭ*).

Not all of these insignia appeared in every procession. For example, on the processions for the *ʿīd al-naḥr* and the anointment of the Nilometer during the time of Ibn al-Maʾmūn, the caliph carried no *ḳaḍīb* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 436, 473). Ibn al-Ṭuwayr notes that the caliph did not have a *miẓalla* on the procession to the anointment (*ibid.*, i, 476). The *miẓalla* was not carried in the palace. When the caliph rode in a procession in which the *miẓalla* was carried, it was customary for him to visit the tomb of his ancestors (*al-turba al-muʿizziyya*) upon his return to the palace (*ibid.*, i, 407). The costumes of the caliph and his retinue, and of the *wazīr*, produced in the *dār al-kiswa* (see *ibid.*, i, 409-13) were different in each procession; the caliph sometimes changed costume for the return to the palace (*ibid.*, i, 436, 471).

The *rukūb* on the New Year (*awwal al-ʿām*) is considered as the prototype for Fāṭimid processions by Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, a claim not made by other historians of the Fāṭimid period, and perhaps representing later practice (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 446-50; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iv, 79-94; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 499-505; and Canard's translation of al-Maḳrīzī's text, *La procession du nouvel an chez les Fatimides*, in *AIEO Alger*, x [1952], 364-98, with copious annotation, based on Inostrantsev, *La sortie solennelle des Califes Fatimides*, St. Petersburg 1905 [in Russian]).

The preparations for the New Year procession began in the last ten days of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, when the arms, swords, saddles, shields, spears, flags, banners, mounts and costumes were brought out of their respective treasuries for inspection. On the 29th, the caliph sat in the *shubbāk* (grilled loge) to review the horses and costumes chosen for the procession.

On Muharram, the caliph's *mawkib* was arranged in *bayn al-ḳaṣrayn*, the parade ground between the two palaces. When the caliph appeared at the gate of the palace, wearing a *mandīl* with the *yatīma*, girded with the *maghribī* sword and holding the sceptre, the drums were struck and trumpets sounded. The *miẓalla*, which matched the costume of the caliph, was unfurled. The caliph's entourage mounted up, and the whole cortège began to move.

The prefect of Cairo (*wālī al-Ḳāhira*) and the *isfahsalār* rode up and down the length of the procession, keeping the route clear and maintaining order. The caliph was surrounded by his *ṣibyān*, who were followed by the *wazīr* and his entourage. Then came the bearer of the lance, detachments of soldiers, standard bearers, and squadrons of the cavalry. The mounted soldiers numbered more than 3,000.

The *mawkib* departed from Bāb al-Naṣr and re-entered through Bāb al-Futūḥ (sometimes vice-versa), returning to *bayn al-ḳaṣrayn*. The procession dispersed, and coins struck for the New Year were distributed.

A procession inaugurated the month of Ramaḍān. The sources provide almost no details other than the fact that the procession was modelled exactly on the *rukūb* of the New Year (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 491; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 509). Only two accounts are imbedded in a historical narrative. Al-Musabbiḥī describes the procession of the caliph al-Ẓāhir and his troops on 1 Ramaḍān 415/6 November 1024 with a *miẓalla* and *rumḥ* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ii, 158-9; al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid and Thierry Bianquis, *IFAO*, 1978, 61). Ibn al-Maʾmūn provides a very brief account of the procession of al-Āmir in 517/23 October 1123 (*Ittiʿāẓ*, iii, 102).

The caliph rode in procession to lead the prayer on three Fridays during Ramaḍān. The locations of the prayers varied somewhat. Ibn al-Ṭuwayr reports Friday prayers at the Anwar, Azhar and ʿAtīḳ mosques. Under al-Ḥākim, the Rāshida mosque was also the site of Friday prayer (see *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 509-12; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iv, 102-4; *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 280-2; *Ittiʿāẓ*, ii, 20, 58, 96-7, 104, 109, 118-19, 160).

The mosque was furnished and carpeted with tapestries and rugs by the *ṣāḥib bayt al-māl* (director of the public treasury). On each side of the *minbar*, curtains embroidered in red silk, containing the *basmala*,

fātiḥa, and Sūra LXII on one and Sūra LXIII on the other, were hung. The caliph delivered the *khuṭba* under a perfumed *ḳubba*, which was fastened to conceal him from view (mentioned as early as 388/998 and 415/1024, al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti*ʿ*āẓ*, ii, 20, 161). Then the caliph descended to the *miḥrāb* and led the prayer from inside the *maḳṣūra* [see MASDJID].

On the ʿ*īd al-fiṭr* and ʿ*īd al-aḍḥā* (or *al-naḥr*), the caliph rode in procession to the *muṣallā* outside of Bāb al-Futūḥ. Muezzins, sitting upon *maṣṭaba*s from Bāb al-ʿĪd to the *muṣallā*, pronounced the *takbīr* continuously while the caliph was en route. The caliph wore his full costume with the *miẓalla* and the *yatīma*. Like prayer during Ramaḍān, the *miḥrāb* was hung with two curtains, the one on the right with the *basmala* and Sūra LXXXVII, on the left with Sūra LXXXVIII (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 451-7; *Itti*ʿ*āẓ*, i, 137-8; ii, 5, 58, 79, 82, 87, 97, 109, 160-1; iii, 60, 83-168-9).

Upon returning from the *muṣallā*, a banquet was held in the *īwān* (in some periods, in the *ḳā*ʿ*at al-dhahab*), when the silver *mā*ʾ*ida* called *al-mudawwara* was set up, covered with magnificent foods, including sugar castles made in the *dār al-fiṭra*. There were two banquets on ʿ*īd al-fiṭr*, one before and one after prayer. People were encouraged to carry food away from the banquet and redistribute it (on banquets, see *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 387-8).

On the ʿ*īd al-naḥr*, the caliph sacrificed animals either in the *muṣallā* or the *manḥar*, which were then distributed to notables of the state (see *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 436-8; *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 523-4; *Nudjūm*, iv, 97-8). Ibn al-Maʾmūn describes in detail the inventory of sacrifices and distributions for the years 515 and 516 (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 437, and *Itti*ʿ*āẓ*, iii, 95-6). Ibn al-Ṭuwayr reports three consecutive *rukūb*s: on the first day to the *muṣallā*; on the second and third to the *manḥar* next to Bāb al-Rīḥ (cf. Ibn al-Ṭuwayr's description of the way the caliph slaughters, with the general rules as described in art. DHABĪḤA]. These rich details about the distribution of portions constitute important data for the as-yet unwritten social history of ritual (for individual years, see *Itti*ʿ*āẓ*, i, 141-2; ii, 7, 37, 41, 59, 79, 83, 88, 91, 104, 110, 124).

Two processions took place at the time of the inundation of the Nile (*wafā*ʾ *al-Nīl*): one to anoint the Nilometer (*takhlīḳ al-miḳyās*) and the other to cut the canal (*kaṣr al-khalīdj, fatḥ al-khalīdj*). When the water reached sixteen cubits, the *ḳayyās*, Ibn Abi 'l-Raddād (always called thus), sent a formal announcement to the caliph. The height of the rising water was measured every day, but a policy established under al-Muʿizz prohibited public announcement until it was only a few marks short of sixteen (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 61; *Itti*ʿ*āẓ*, i, 138-9).

The preparations for the anointment of the Nilometer began as soon as the caliph received word that the water was close to inundation. The *ḳurrā*ʾ spent the night in the Nilometer, reciting the Ḳurʾān continuously. The next day, the caliph went in an ʿ*ushārī* (Nile boat) to the Nilometer (without a *miẓalla*, Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 476, l. 16). He entered along with the *wazīr* and the *muḥannak ustādh*s. The caliph and the *wazīr* each prayed two *rak*ʿ*a*s. Then the director of the public treasury brought out saffron and musk, which the caliph mixed in a vessel and then handed over to Ibn Abi 'l-Raddād. The *ḳayyās* threw himself into the *fisḳiyya*, took hold of the pillar with his feet and left hand, and anointed it with his right hand, while the *ḳurrā*ʾ recited.

The next day, Ibn Abi 'l-Raddād received a robe of honour (*khil*ʿ*a* [*q.v.*]; see an early reference in *Itti*ʿ*āẓ*, ii, 150). On the third or fourth day following the anointment, the caliph went out in procession to the banks of the Nile, passing through Fusṭāṭ (decorated by its residents) and crossing to the west bank, where grand tents had been erected for the occasion. The magnificent *khayma* known as *al-Ḳātūl* (so-called because someone was invariably killed when it was set up) was put up (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 471; *Itti*ʿ*āẓ*, iii, 72-3). The canal was cut and the ʿ*ushārī*s sailed in it. The caliphs used to take up residence in one of two pleasures-houses (*manẓara*s) during the days of these festivities (for complete descriptions, see *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 470-9; *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 518ff.; *Nudjūm*, iv, 99-100; Schefer, *Relation du voyage de Nasiri Khosrau en Syrie, en Palestine, en Egypte, en Arabie*, Paris 1881, 136-7; particular years, in Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, 44; *Itti*ʿ*āẓ*, i, 319, ii, 59, 148-50, iii, 72-3, 81, 108, 129).

These major processions were announced to the provinces in letters from the *dīwān al-inshā*ʾ. A number of these literary specimens remain, most from the pen of the celebrated *kātib* Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (ʿ*Īd al-fiṭr*; *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 456-7 (536/1141-2); *al-Sidjillāt al-mustansiriyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mādjid, Cairo 1954, no. 1 (451/1059), no. 13 (445/1053); *Ṣubḥ*, viii, 320-4. ʿ*Īd al-naḥr*: *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 437-8; *Ṣubḥ*, viii, 324-8; *Sidjillāt*, no. 64 (476/1083). New Year: *Ṣubḥ*, viii, 314-15. Ramaḍān and Friday prayer: *Ṣubḥ*, viii, 316-19. Nile: *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 479; *Ṣubḥ*, viii, 328-9. An unidentified procession is described in *Rasā*ʾ*il al-*ʿ*Āmidī*, ms. 4059 [Cat. 4365], fols. 24-5, in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library).

There were several minor processions, called "abbreviated" (*al-mawākib al-mukhtaṣara*) between the New Year and Ramaḍān, but there are almost no details on them except that they took place on Tuesday and Saturday, four or five times. They were much less elaborate than the major processions (see *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 521-2).

The only Shīʿī holiday marked by a procession was the ʿ*Īd al-ghadīr* on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, commemmorating the *waṣiyya* to ʿAlī by the Prophet [see GHADĪR KHUMM]. In the early part of the Fāṭimid period, it was essentially a popular celebration of the Shīʿī population. During the time of Ibn al-Maʾmūn, it had become a court ceremony modelled on the rituals of ʿ*īd al-naḥr*, with a procession to the *manḥar*. At the end of the Fāṭimid period, it had acquired a much different and complex character. Now an internal palace procession, attended only by professed Ismāʿīlīs, it took place at the Shrine of Ḥusayn and the *īwān*. The caliph delivered a *khuṭba*, but rode without insignia or *miẓalla*. Upon returning to the *īwān*, the text of the *naṣṣ* of ʿAlī was read to the assembly. This late procession was, in fact, a ceremonial polemic against the Ṭayyibīs (on the history of the celebration, see al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti*ʿ*āẓ*, i, 273, 276, 280, 284, ii, 24, 67, 74, 91, 168, iii, 96; *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 388-90, 436, 492-3; al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, 84-5; on the late Fāṭimids, see S. M. Stern, *The succession to the Fāṭimid Imām al-Āmir, the claims of the later Fāṭimids to the Imamate, and the rise of Ṭayyibī Ismailism*, in *Oriens*, iv [1951], 193-255).

Bibliography: In addition to the citations in the text, see the bibliography at the end of MARĀSIM. 1. (P. SANDERS)

2. IN MUSLIM SPAIN

The sovereign power of the *amīr*s and caliphs of al-Andalus showed itself in the etiquette [see MARĀSIM] of public audiences and during their official movements when, surrounded by their processional retinue (*mawkib*), they went into or came out of their residence. This was generally at the departure for a military campaign, to review the troops or to travel from one residence to another.

According to Ibn Khaldūn's *Muḳaddima*, "the

insignia of sovereignty are the displaying of flags, the beating of drums and the sounding of trumpets and horns", but as it happens, the historical sources for Muslim Spain have not preserved any traces of this use of wind instruments. Already under Hishām I (172-80/788-96), "the hubbub and din of the procession (*ladjab al-mawkib*) prevented the complaint of a petitioner being heard" (*Akhbār*, 121). This was the occasion for the people to see the *amīr* ᶜAbd Allāh; the latter was surrounded by cavalrymen at the moment when the future al-Nāṣir's mule bolted; before the battle of Polei, the *amīr* had his canopy (*maẓall*) raised; that of the prince Abān was carried off by a gust of wind at the same time as the *ḳāʾid*'s *ḳubba* (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, iii, 36, 40, 95, 120). These processions were festivals, in the words of Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi (*Crónica anónima*, 40).

The first riding forth of al-Nāṣir was in order to go hunting. In 322/934, it seems, at the time of his departure for the Osma campaign, "dressed in a coat of mail, with his sword at his side, mounted on a chestnut-coloured charger and surrounded by his generals and his troops", this was the first time that "the eagle standard was unfurled". In 326/938, Muḥammad b. Hāshim al-Tudjībī had the honour of accompanying him on horseback from the caliphal palace to the residence at al-Ramla. For the attack on Osma and on Ega, the caliph had his *maẓall* raised. It would thus appear that we have here a tent or a fixed canopy and that the *maẓall* is synonymous with the *ḳubba*. But there was also a mobile "parasol" or sunshade, for at the time of the attack on Calatayud, al-Nāṣir rode along until the evening in full exposure to the sun (*ghayr muẓallal*). The caliph used to travel along surrounded by guards, who on one occasion killed a madman who threw himself at his mount's head. The caliphal procession was regarded as something of a serious occasion, and imitating or parodying it was considered to be a "crime" on the part of al-Nāṣir "when he set astride a mount his female buffoon Rasīs, rigged out in a *ḳalansuwa* and a sword" (*Muḳtabas*, v, 22-3, 34, 109, 124, 225, 269, 287). Kettledrums were known and must have formed an element of the procession since al-Nāṣir sent some of them to the rallied Maghribīs (*ibid.*, 239, 290, 312).

In 361/972, the street of the Furn Burriel proved too narrow for the procession of al-Ḥakam II; it was after one of these march-pasts that he ordered the burning of the Berber saddle of one of his *ghulāms*. Surrounded by his chief *fatās*, his approach was regulated by the *aṣḥāb al-madīna* of Cordova and al-Zahrāʾ, and the people kissed the ground and greeted and blessed the caliph before making known their petitions. The route was always "lined with the troops". To march past was a signal honour which was given to the emigrés Djaᶜfar and Yaḥyā b. ᶜAlī, who marched along preceded by the heads of the fallen Zīrids and by flags and escorted by the troops, Abu 'l-ᶜAysh, the *fatā* Fāʾiḳ and Ghālib, returned victorious from his campaigns in the Maghrib. The *maẓall* continued to be an attribute of the sovereign which he delegated for the expedition against the Madjūs [*q.v.*] in 361/972 or else to the Dhu 'l-Sayfayn Ghālib (*Muḳtabas*, vi, 45, 67, 79, 115, 152, 173, 190, 195-6, 212).

In 387/997, after having thwarted the plot of Ṣubḥ, al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] decided to show to the people the caliph Hishām II "clothed in a *ḳalansuwa* wound round with a white turban, whose ends were flowing free, and with a sceptre in his hand" (*muᶜammam^an^ ᶜalā 'l-ṭawīla sādil^an^ li 'l-dhuʾāba wa 'l-ḳadīb fī yadihi*); to his left rode forward al-Manṣūr, preceded by the *ḥādjib* ᶜAbd al-Malik who went on foot, followed by the army, *djund*, *ghilmān* and *fityān*, "in front of an enormous crowd" (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, vii, 73; *Dhikr*, 156). In 393/1003, al-Muẓaffar went forth "armed from top to toe in a new coat of mail, with a new golden helmet on his head, surrounded by generals, freedmen, etc." (*Bayān*, iii, 5). The assassination of ᶜAlī b. Ḥammūd in his bath was discovered because "the army was waiting for the order to march forth, with its standards unfurled and the kettledrums ready" (*Dhikr*, 170). If Ibn ᶜAmmār [*q.v.*] entered Silves at the head of "a splendid procession, followed by black slaves and guards", al-Muᶜtamid [*q.v.*] mockingly made him enter Cordova "in the most shameful manner, mounted on a mule, between two sacks of straw, bare-headed and loaded with fetters, and having ordered everybody, nobles and plebs, to come out and see the spectacle" (al-Marrākushī, *Muᶜdjib*, 80, 86). When the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Djaḥḥāf [*q.v.*] of Valencia got rid of al-Ḳādir b. Dhi 'l-Nūn [*q.v.*], "he behaved like a sovereign ruler, surrounded by royal pomp ... he only mounted his horse when preceded by black soldiers and guards, escorted by troops, whilst his creatures decorated the streets, shouting out blessings and praises" (Ibn ᶜIdhārī, *Nuevos fragmentos* ..., 69-70).

The processions of the Almohads or Muwaḥḥidūn [*q.v.*] were rich and complex. The caliph rode forth surrounded by the great leaders of the Almohads, preceded by a richly-caparisoned camel bearing the Ḳurʾān of ᶜUthmān and followed by another with that of the Mahdī. The caliph was accompanied by his sons, standard-bearers and a hundred kettledrummers, and followed by the high dignitaries of state. The caliph would mount at the entrance of his tent or his residence, whilst the vizier walked at the side of his stirrup. The order of precedence was immutable and fixed by custom (*ᶜāda*) (Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, *al-Mann bi 'l-imāma*; al-Marrākushī, *Muᶜdjib*; Ibn ᶜIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Huici Miranda, Tetouan 1963). Certain items of clothing were special to the caliph. In 582/1186, during his campaign of Gafsa, "al-Manṣūr inspected his retinue and observed that the majority of his brothers and uncles had distinguished themselves by wearing violet-coloured mantles and musk-coloured burnouses (*libās al-ghafāʾir al-zabībiyya wa 'l-barānis al-miskiyya*). He reproached them for this, since these adornments formed part of the caliph's prerogatives of state, whether he were mounted on horseback or seated in his audience chamber ... he reminded them of the usages of royal power which they should respect and should refrain from imitating the royal privileges and using the royal colours". In 568/1172, during the siege of Huete, Abū Yaᶜḳūb was "surrounded by his guard, accompanied by the sons of the *djamāᶜa* and by those of the Fifty, by the *ahl al-bayt* and by the slaves; behind him came his brother, the Sayyid Abū Ḥafṣ and his other brothers, followed by standards and by a hundred kettledrums playing" (*Mann*, 493). When in 578/1182 his remains were brought from Santarem to Seville, the great men of state, in order to conceal his death, "began to walk, in accordance with the customary procedure, at the side of the animals bearing his litter, then they mounted their horses and the litter was covered with a green flag" (*Muᶜdjib*, 192).

We do not possess any exact information about the processions of the Naṣrids [*q.v.*]; one can only suppose that they were very simple, in view of the exiguousness of their territories. Ibn Khaldūn seems to confirm this, mentioning that "the Banu 'l-Aḥmar used only seven musical instruments in their processions".

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P. CHALMETA)

3. In Iran

From ancient times, processions were connected with court ceremonial. Religious and triumphal processions are illustrated on ancient monuments. In Islamic times, the purpose of processions was mainly to emphasise the glory and power of the ruler. Only those concerned with the ruler and his entourage will be considered in this article. (For the Muḥarram processions see TAʿZIYA.) On the whole, processions do not appear to have been highly organised, but often to have consisted of a great concourse of men, mainly mounted but also on foot. Only in the immediate vicinity of the ruler was there a certain order and discipline. It was customary for the ruler to ride in procession from time to time to the Friday mosque for the performance of the Friday prayers and also to the *muṣallā*, the place outside the town where prayers were held to celebrate the breaking of the fast at the end of Ramaḍān (*ʿīd al-fiṭr*) and on the *ʿīd-i ḳurbān* (*ʿīd al-aḍḥā*). On such occasions, he would be accompanied by a cortège formed by his officials, officers and followers, and standard-bearers would bear his standards before him (*liwāʾ*, *ʿalam* [*q.v.*]; see also Spuler, *Iran*, 349). Sometimes a parasol (*čatr*, see MIẒALLA) would be held over his head.

Whereas the mule was customarily the mount of the caliph and religious dignitaries, the horse was the mount of him who held temporal power. The point at which a visiting ruler or envoy dismounted was a frequent cause of contention and the privilege of remaining mounted when entering the presence of another ruler was eagerly contested (see further Spuler, *Iran*, 343). ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the Būyid, sent a message to the caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ in 367/977-8 asking permission to enter the court (*ṣaḥn*) of the caliph's palace (*dār al-khilāfa*) mounted (Faḳīhī, *Shāhinshahī-i ʿAḍud al-Dawla*, Tehran, AHS 1347/1969, 59; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, 80).

The custom of having a saddled horse (*asb-i nawbatī*, *faras al-nawba*) at the palace gate on which the ruler could mount in an emergency or on other occasions apparently existed from the 2nd century A.H. The practice appears to have been started by Abū Muslim. According to Djūzdjānī, a saddled horse was always kept ready at the gate of the palace which had been built for him in Marw-i Shāh-Djahān until the Mongol invasion in 617/1220-1 (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kābul 1964, i, 107; see also Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, *Asp-i nawbatī bar dar-i kākh-i Abū Muslim*, in *Rāhnamā-yi kitāb*, xii [AHS 1348/1967-8], 225-8). The anonymous author of the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh* states that the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr mounted the *asb-i nawbatī* during operations against the Rāwandīs (ed. Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ Bahār, Tehran AHS 1318/1939-40, 329). The Sāmānid rulers Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl (295-301/907-14) and Naṣr II (301-31/914-43) always had a saddled horse ready at the gate of the palace (Spuler, *Iran*, 352; see also Browne, *LHP*, i, 317). The Saldjūḳs of Kirmān also appear to have kept a saddled horse ready. Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī relates an occasion when Muḥammad b. Arslānshāh (537-51/1142-56) gave the *asb-i nawbatī*—an Arab horse with *maghribī* harness—to one of his intimates, Mukhtaṣṣ al-Dīn ʿUthmān (*Badāyiʿ al-azmān wa waḳāyiʿ Kirmān*, reconstructed text by Mihdī Bayānī, Tehran AHS 1326/1947-8, 26; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Tārīkh-i Saldjūḳiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1886, 31).

Whether the *asb-i nawbatī* was used for processions or not, saddled horses, magnificently caparisoned, were an important part of royal pageantry. They were also often given by rulers, together with *khilʿas* [*q.v.*] to high officials, visiting envoys and others [see MARĀSIM. 3]. The Ghaznawids kept many elephants, and Masʿūd probably more often rode an elephant than a horse on ceremonial occasions. Bayhaḳī states that when Masʿūd went from Ghazna on 5 Shawwāl 422/29 July 1031 to the Dasht-i Shābahār to hold a *maẓālim* court, he was mounted on an elephant. It was an occasion of great pomp and splendour. Three hundred *ghulāms*, magnificently apparelled, and many elephants and led horses, including 30 caparisoned with jewel-encrusted harness and 50 with golden harness, were in his train. The *ghulāms* of the palace, equipped with bows and arrows and golden and silver staffs went on foot in front with armour-bearers from Marw and 3,000 footmen of various origins and other soldiers and the notables and the "pillars of the state" (Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad AHS 1350/1971, 372-3).

When the ruler rode out to a garden or to summer quarters, or made a progress through his domains, he would be accompanied by his retinue. Royal marriages and betrothals, the sending of the marriage portion of the bride (*mahr*, *ṣadāḳ*), and funerals were other occasions for processions. When the daughter of the Ḳarā Khānid Ḳadīr Khān Yūsuf of Turkistān, who had been betrothed to Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd, was brought to Ghazna in Shawwāl 425/August-September 1034, the *martabadārān* (for the meaning of this term, see MARĀSIM. 3), the head of the royal guard (*wālī-yi ḥaras*) and the officials charged with the reception of envoys (*rasūldārān*) went out with led horses to meet the envoys of Ḳadīr Khān, who had come with the bride, and to bring them to Ghazna. The city was decorated from end to end and when the envoys arrived coins were cast at their feet. Then, at the time of the afternoon prayer, the women of the great men of Masʿūd's court, accompanied by eunuchs, set out to greet the bride with a cortège "such as no one could remember" (Bayhaḳī, 548-9).

Processions took place when envoys and others came to the ruler's court. When the caliph's envoy arrived at the court of Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd in Balkh at the end of 422/1032 to announce the death of the caliph al-Ḳādir and the accession of al-Ḳāʾim, he was brought with great ceremony into the presence of Masʿūd on 1 Muḥarram 423/19 December 1031. Four thousand palace *ghulāms*, magnificently attired, were drawn up at the palace in several lines; half of them held silver maces and half were armed with swords and carried bows and three wooden arrows. Three hundred *ghulāms* of the royal bodyguard with golden maces stood near the throne. The great men of the court, provincial governors and chamberlains in their court dresses were also there. The *martabadārān* stood outside the palace. There were also large numbers of elephants [see FĪL. 2. As beasts of war]; soldiers with their arms and standards were drawn up in two lines, between which the envoy was to pass. The *rasūldār* with led horses and a great crowd went to fetch him from his lodging, mounted him on one of these horses and, amid the sound of drums and trumpets, brought him to the palace where Masʿūd was awaiting him (*ibid.*, 382). On the following Friday, Masʿūd went to the Friday mosque for the pronouncement of the *khuṭba* in the name of the new caliph. The scene was again one of great splendour. The procession was led by 4,000 splendidly dressed foot *ghulāms*, followed by the Ghaznawid general Beg Toghdī and the royal *ghulāms* with the ruler's banner, the *martabadārān* and chamberlains. After them Masʿūd, preceded by the chief chamberlain, set out along the road from the palace to the mosque, which

had been decorated on his orders by the notables of the city. Behind him came his chief minister, more chamberlains and the notables of the court. They were followed by the *ra*ʾ*īs*, Khʷādja ʿAlī Mīkālī [see MĪKĀLĪS], with the caliph's envoy on his right, the *ḳāḍīs*, *fuḳahā*ʾ and ʿ*ulamā*ʾ and the headman (*za*ʿ*īm*) of Balkh. As the procession slowly approached the mosque, "no sound was heard except the sound of the whips and the shouts of the *martabadārān* to clear the way" (*ibid.*, 384-5).

The following year when an envoy from al-Ḳāʾim reached Rayy on his way to Masʿūd's court, with a diploma from the caliph, Masʿūd ordered a reception (*istiḳbāl*) to be prepared for him. An escort was sent with him from Rayy and when he reached Nīshāpūr on 8 Rabīʿ I 424/11 February 1033, the *fuḳahā*ʾ, *ḳāḍīs* and notables of the city went out to meet him. On the following day, the *martabadārān* and *rasūldārān* also went to welcome him. The road from the Rayy gate to the Friday mosque was decorated, as also was the bazaar. *Dirhams* and *dīnārs* and valuable objects were scattered before him. A week later, after the envoy had rested from his journey, he was brought to Masʿūd's presence with great ceremony. Crowds assembled along the road from the residence of the envoy to the gate of the garden in Shādyākh, where Masʿūd was to receive him. The soldiers, notables and army leaders were mounted and held standards in their hands. Heavily-armed foot soldiers stood in front of the mounted soldiers. The *martabadārān* were drawn up in two rows. Army leaders (*sālārān*) and chamberlains were also present. A chamberlain, together with several attendants, led horses and a mule, was taken early in the morning by the *rasūldār* with twenty *khil*ʿ*as* to the envoy's residence to bring him to Masʿūd, who was to receive him sitting on his throne on a platform (*ṣuffa*). The *rasūldār* caused the envoy and the eunuch (*khādim*), who accompanied him, to mount and had the *khil*ʿ*as* which the caliph had sent with them put in boxes on mules. The cortège set out amid the sound of drums and trumpets preceded by treasury officials (*shāgirdān-i khazīna*) and eight horses with golden saddles and harness led by their bridles. Then came the envoy, preceded by the royal chamberlains and *martabadārān*, followed by the envoy and behind him two horsemen, one carrying a standard and the other the diploma and letter of the caliph rolled up in black brocade (*ibid.*, 471-2; see also MARĀSIM. 3).

A new feature of royal ceremonial was introduced by the Saldjūḳs, namely the *ghāshiya* [*q.v.*]. This was a kind of saddle-cover, probably covered with precious stones, which was carried before the sultan in processions. This custom appears to have died out in Persia after the Saldjūḳs, but was found later in Egypt (see GHĀSHIYA, and also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, Cambridge 1956-71, iii, 664). When Ṭoghrīl Beg brought the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳāʾim back to Baghdād after he had left the city on the attack of al-Basāsīrī in 450/1059, he dismounted at the gate of Baghdād but was told by the caliph to remount (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, London 1921, 110, and see Spuler, *op.cit.*, 343). On entering Baghdād, it appears that Ṭoghrīl Beg again dismounted and carried the *ghāshiya* in front of the caliph until they came near to the caliph's palace, when Ṭoghrīl took the bridle of the caliph's mule and walked beside him until they entered the Bāb al-Ḥudjra (the Privy Chamber Gate) (Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, Lahore 1933, 21).

On an earlier occasion, when Ṭoghrīl Beg was to have an audience with the caliph in 449/1057-8, the caliph's boat was sent to bring him down the Tigris to the caliph's palace. He was accompanied by his intimates (*khawāṣṣ*), some in boats and some mounted on elephants. Alighting from the boat, Ṭoghrīl mounted one of the caliph's horses which had been sent to meet him and entered the caliph's palace, preceded by the sons of Abū Kālīdjār b. Būya and Ḳutlumush, army leaders and Daylamīs and nearly 500 unarmed Turkish and Gīlānī *ghulāms*. When he reached the gateway of the passage (*dihlīz*) leading to the audience hall, he was kept waiting for a long time on his horse until the gate was opened for him and then he entered on foot (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, ed. Ali Sevim, Ankara 1968, 25). On a subsequent occasion in Muḥarram 455/January 1063 when Ṭoghrīl came to Baghdād, the caliph excused himself from going to meet him and sent instead his *wazīr* Ibn Djahīr, who took with him two horses and other presents. On the following day, Ṭoghrīl entered the Dār al-Mamlaka in a boat sent by the caliph (*ibid.*, 97).

In 480/1087, when the caliph invited Malikshāh to the Dār al-Khilāfa, he sent a boat for him. Disembarking at the Bāb al-Ghurabāʾ, Malikshāh mounted a richly caparisoned horse sent for him by the caliph, which carried him to the gate of the caliph's audience chamber (*ibid.*, 244-5). In Muḥarram of that year, when Malikshāh sent the marriage portion (*djahāz*) of his daughter to the caliph, to whom she had been betrothed, it was carried by 130 camels (a second instalment being apparently carried by 74 mules on the following day), preceded by 30 led horses, all splendidly caparisoned. The cortège was led by Saʿd al-Dawla Gōhar-Āʾīn, the *shiḥna* of Baghdād, and the *amīr* Bursuḳ. The city was decorated for the occasion and as the cortège went through the Nahr Muʿallā quarter the people cast *dīnārs* and precious stuffs before it. The sultan had meanwhile left Baghdād on a hunting trip, and so the caliph sent his *wazīr* Abū Shudjāʿ to Terken Khātūn, Malikshāh's chief wife and mother of the bride, with some 300 men bearing lanterns with a litter to bring the princess to the caliph's palace. She set out by night riding in the litter, surrounded by 200 Turkish slave girls on splendid mounts, preceded by the women of the *amīrs* and others, led by Niẓām al-Mulk, the *mustawfī* Abū Saʿd and the *amīrs*, all bearing lanterns (*ibid.*, 245-6; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 480; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad 1359/1940-1, ix, 36-7).

Processions do not appear to have been a special feature of Ilkhānid or Tīmūrīd ceremony. Women of the royal house took part from time to time in public ceremonies. Clavijo describes the cortège which accompanied Tīmūr's chief wife on the occasion of a public audience which he gave in the Great Pavilion in Samarḳand. She was attended by some 300 women and eunuchs. "Over the head of the princess was borne a parasol, a man holding it, and the stick was a pole the size of a lance. This parasol was of white silk, dome-shaped and round like the top of a tent, with wooden ribs that kept the stuff extended: it was very carefully held over her head as she walked to keep the sun off her face. In front preceding her and the ladies of her suite marched many eunuchs ... Thus the procession advanced entering the Pavilion where Timur was already seated. The Great Khanum now took her place beside his Highness but slightly behind on a low dais" (*Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406*, tr. from the Spanish by G. Le Strange, London 1928, 259-60). Others of the Tīmūrid princesses in succession then came into the pavilion with similar proces-

sions (*ibid.*, 260-1). Clavijo also mentions the presence of elephants at Tīmūr's court. They appear to have been used to entertain visitors (*ibid.*, 257).

Information on processions and court ceremonial in Ṣafawid times is fuller than for earlier periods; and it would seem that both became more elaborate. Much importance was attached to the procedure for welcoming the shah when he returned to his capital after some expedition or when he entered some çity, and similarly for welcoming honoured guests. This ceremony was known by the term *istiḳbāl*. When S͟hāh ʿAbbās returned to Ḳazwīn in 1007/1598 after crushing the Özbegs in K͟hurāsān, Sir Antony Sherley and his party, which included, among others, Abel Pinçon, had already been some three weeks in Ḳazwīn awaiting the return of the shah. When the shah approached within five miles of the city, he encamped. He ordered Sherley and his party to come out two miles outside the gates of the city to meet him. Abel Pinçon describes the shah's triumphal entry in the following words. "When our company had approached to within five or six steps of the King, the steward made a sign to Monsieur Sherley, his brother and myself to dismount in order to kiss His Majesty's feet ..... He was five or six steps ahead of a large squadron of cavalry, and while he stretched out his leg he pretended the whole time to look in another direction. After we had kissed his boot he spurred his horse sharply and, guiding it dexterously, dashed across the camp after the manner of the country .... In his hand he carried a battle-axe, playing with it, carrying it now high, now low, and now and then placing it on his shoulder with rather strange movements.

"In his triumphal entry he caused to be carried on the end of strong and heavy spears twenty thousand heads of Tartars whom he had defeated in Usbeg, which appeared to me a hideous spectacle. After those who carried the heads came young men dressed like women richly decked, who danced in a manner and with movements which we had never seen elsewhere, throwing their arms about and extending them above their heads even more than they raised their legs from the ground, to the sound of *atabales* (sc. drums), flutes and certain instruments which are provided with strings, and to the sound of a song composed on the victory which they had gained, this being sung by four older women. In the midst of these young men were two grown men who carried while dancing, two lanterns like those of the largest galleys at the end of a stick which was attached to their girdle. On these lanterns were painted flowers, crowns, laurel-leaves, and birds, and along the stick hung mirrors and other glittering things. Among all this crowd was a large troop of courtesans, riding astride in disorder, and shouting and crying in every direction as if they had lost their senses, and frequently they approached the person of the King to embrace him. Behind the noble squadron there came on foot a number of pages who carried good bottles and flasks of wine and cups, which they presented very frequently to the King and his nobles. On either flank followed the cavalry, and in the first ranks there were four trumpeters who played on certain trumpets and sackbuts of extraordinary dimensions, which gave a bitter and broken sound very alarming to hear. The cavalry numbered two thousand five hundred horse; the first and those which were near the King were in good condition, covered with large cloths of brocade on which were represented angels and horses and other animals of all kinds, after the manner in which they decorate their materials in this country. All the inhabitants of Casbin and of the neighbourhood were come to receive their King two miles outside the gates of the city. They were separated into two groups between which the King was to pass with his triumphal retinue. And so the King on entering the town would go straight to the Midan (sc. the *maydan*), which is the public square, in which they have horse-races and training and shooting with the bow and other exercises" (*Sir Antony Sherley and his Persian adventure, including some contemporary narratives relating thereto*, ed. E. Denison Ross, London 1933, 153-5. See also the accounts of William Parry, in *ibid.*, 116-7, and George Manwaring, in *ibid.*, 204-6).

Chardin, describing S͟hāh Sulaymān's coronation in Iṣfahān in 1077/1677, states that after the ceremony he sat until 10 o'clock in the Tālār-i Ṭawīla to receive the homage of the grandees of Iṣfahān who came to kiss the ground before him, and then "rising from his Seat took Horse; and that was the first time that ever he rode out of the Place where he was born [having been immured in the *ḥaram*]. And according to the Custom of the *Persians*, he made a Cavalcade round his Palace very leisurely, and with little attendance, riding in the middle of the distance of twenty Paces from them that marched before, and those that followed after, only twelve Footmen went on each side before and behind his Horse; and all this to the end he might be the better seen by the People" (*The coronation of Solyman III. The present king of Persia*, published with *The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East Indies*, London 1691, 56). Normally, however, when the shah rode abroad he was accompanied by a large retinue. Kaempfer describes the procedure under S͟hāh Ṣafī (by which name S͟hāh Sulaymān was known after his second coronation). In the case of his daily ride, when he came out of the *ḥaram* and prepared to proceed along the Čahār Bāg͟h, the master of the horse would lead out three horses, one of which the ruler would choose. Two groups of the bodyguard, on foot and armed, would set out in front, followed by the *is͟hiḳaḳasi-bas͟hi* on horseback and the *ḳurči-bas͟hi*, and behind them some twenty mounted troops with their leader, all wearing red twelve-sided head-dresses, adorned in the case of some by a magnificent plume of feathers. They rode without discipline, but watched over the safety of the shah. The shah followed, surrounded by twelve *s͟hāṭirs* (runners); behind him rode the grand *wazīr* or some other high dignitary. The presence of the shah was indicated by his *čatr* carried by a standard-bearer. Among the retinue, not in any special order, there would also be some twenty eunuchs, some white, some black, who carried the weapons, water-pipe and other paraphernalia of the shah. Then came those courtiers whom the shah had bidden to his table and the sons of the great men, for whom it was considered an honour to be allowed to accompany the shah. When possible, there was also a physician and an astrologer present. Officials armed with axes would be sent in front of the procession to remove any obstacles in the way of the shah's progress (*Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs 1684-1685*, tr. W. Hinz, Tübingen-Basle 1977, 237-8. Cf. also Du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1890, repr. 1969, 33).

On certain special occasions, the shah also rode out. Kaempfer describes the celebration of the *ʿĪd-i ḳurbān* in 1095/1684 in the Hazār D͟jarīb district of Iṣfahān. A large and fine camel was prepared for the sacrifice. For ten days preceding the *ʿīd* on 10 D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja, it was paraded through the different quarters of the town. On the day of the sacrifice it stood in the appointed place, with its feet tied, surrounded by thousands of people, waiting for the arrival of the

shah. As soon as he arrived, he dismounted and was given a lance with which he struck the camel. After its throat had been slit and its head cut off, its corpse was divided into twelve parts, one for each quarter of the city. The shah then remounted and rode back as he had come, while the people of the city assembled round their banners and accompanied their portion of the camel, which was laid on a horse and went before them to their several quarters to the sound of trumpets and drums (*op.cit.*, 239-40; see also Du Mans, *op.cit.*, 74-5; *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenôt into the Levant*, London 1687, 107 (*bis*)-108(*bis*)).

Exceptionally, the shah rode out himself to welcome distinguished guests. In the case of a guest of royal blood, he would go half-a-mile, having sent his representative with a company of *ḳurčis* one *farsakh* (or one hour's ride) in advance. The townspeople, in festal dress, would line the streets and spread precious stuffs in front of the horses of the royal guest. Such was the procedure when the Özbeg khān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz came back after performing the *ḥadjdj* in 1670 and when Akbar the son of Awrangzīb came to Persia in 1099/1688 (Kaempfer, *op.cit.*, 242).

If the shah went out hunting and took his women with him, he was accompanied by a large cavalcade, and when he moved to summer quarters in Māzandarān an enormous train accompanied him. Men would be sent in front to choose a suitable place for the camp. When they came back with their report, if the shah approved, some 7,000 camels with tents, carpets and household equipment would be sent in advance. Some days later the *ḳuruḳčis* would follow to clear all males from the neighbourhood of the road along which the royal cavalcade would travel. The shah's women, or those of them whom he decided to take with him, travelling in litters and accompanied by eunuchs, would follow. After them would come the shah with his retinue. In front would be the master of the horse with his subordinates and five or six led horses richly caparisoned, with sixty or so of the bodyguard, also mounted. Then would come the standard-bearers followed by the *ishikaḳasi-bashi*, the *ḳurči-bashi*, and the master of the hunt (*mīr-shikār*), accompanied by falconers with falcons on their wrists, and the chief kennelman with hunting-dogs led by attendants on foot. Then would come the shah with twelve personal attendants. Immediately behind the shah came the great men of the court, and finally numerous mounted slaves, among them the water-pipe carriers and those in charge of boxes of ice, sugar and other condiments carried on mules, and carpet-spreaders with carpets, mats and cushions for use on the way and light tents, and lastly water-bearers with water-pipes on camels or mules for the use of men and animals. Twelve dancing girls of great beauty, who were always present when the shah went on a journey, followed several hours behind (*ibid.*, 242-5). The *Dastūr al-mulūk* mentions an official called the *ḳurčī-yi rikāb*, who was always in attendance on the shah. When the latter went riding, it was the duty of the *ḳurči-yi rikāb* to hold the bridle of the horse which the shah was to mount with one hand and to help him mount with the other. In the royal assembly, the *ḳurči-yi rikāb* sat below the *muḥtasib al-mamālik* (ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, in *Rev. de la Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines*, Tehran, xvi/3 [1968], 318).

Hanway describes the procession of the Afghān Maḥmūd on his entry to Iṣfahān after Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn had resigned his throne to him on 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1134/11 October 1722): "The procession was opened by ten officers on horseback, and about two thousand cavalry, among whom were several lords of the PERSIAN court. Next came his master of the horse, at the head of fifteen led horses magnificently caparisoned: this officer was followed by some musketeers on foot, and these by a thousand common infantry. Immediately after came the grand master of the ceremonies, in the midst of three hundred negroes dressed in scarlet cloth: these negroes had been chosen from among the slaves of ISFAHAN to compose the conqueror's guard. Forty paces from thence was MAGHMUD, mounted on a horse, of which the VALI of ARABIA had made him a present, on the day of the abdication. The unfortunate HUSSEIN rode on his left. The princes were followed by about three hundred pages on horseback" (*The Revolution of Persia*,[3] London 1762, ii, 182). Maḥmūd's chief officials followed, and behind them came the principal officials of the dethroned monarch. The procession was closed by a hundred camels carrying arquebuses, preceded by a great band of musicians and followed by nearly six thousand horse. Having crossed the Shīrāz bridge, Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn was sent to his place of confinement, and Maḥmūd continued alone. Arriving at the gates of the town the inhabitants laid rich stuffs under his horse's feet and filled their air with perfumes. The guns on the camel's backs were often fired as they marched along; "and in the intervals, the ten AFGHANS who walked at the head of the procession, pronounced loud imprecations against the followers of ALI" (*ibid.*).

The practice of *ḳuruḳ*, i.e. the prohibition of men and boys from any place where the king's wives were to pass, though probably not new, was rigorously enforced under the Ṣafawids and caused great inconvenience to the population. Olearius states that when the shah went hunting, taking his *ḥaram* with him, runners were sent in advance through the streets so that the population remained in their houses and the streets were empty (*Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse*, Schleswig, 1656, ed. Dieter Lohmeier, repr. Tübingen 1971, 529). Chardin claims that Shāh Ṣafī commanded no less than 62 *ḳuruḳs* as he went abroad with his wives visiting places around Iṣfahān during the five months from his coronation till the year 1078/1667 (*Coronation, op.cit.*, 77. Cf, also Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse*, Geneva 1970, 186-7, 188). The custom continued under later rulers. According to Hanway, the consequences to those who failed to get out of the way when notice of Nādir Shāh's approach was given were sometimes fatal (*op.cit.*, i, 169).

Under the Ḳādjārs, processions took place very much on the same sort of occasions as under earlier rulers. Special importance was attached to the ceremony of *istiḳbāl*. This was *de rigueur* when the shah or one of the princes visited some town or village or when he returned to his seat of government after absence on some expedition or other. On these occasions, civil and military officials and local notables would take part in the *istiḳbāl*, while wrestlers, jugglers, tumblers and other would display their skills; the slaughter of oxen, cows and sheep and the breaking of vessels containing sugar candy in the way of the prince was also customary. Morier states that when Fatḥ ʿAlī approached Tehran on his return after an expedition to Khurāsān in 1815, rows of well-dressed men were drawn up at some distance from the road and made low bows as he passed, while members of the religious classes were drawn up nearer the city. Oxen and sheep in great numbers were sacrified as he passed and their heads thrown under his horse's feet. Glass vases, filled with sugar, were broken before him

and their contents strewed on his road. Dervishes made loud exclamations for his prosperity, while wrestlers and dancers twirled their clubs and performed all sorts of antics to the sound of drums. "Amongst the crowd", Morier continues, "I perceived the whole of the Armenians headed by their clergy bearing crosses, painted banners, the Gospels, and long candles. They all began to chant Psalms as His Majesty drew near; and their zeal was only surpassed by that of the Jews, who also had collected themselves into a body, conducted by their rabbis, who raised on high a carved representation of wood of the tabernacle.... In all the bustle I perceived the King constantly looking at the watch carried by Shatir Bashi, anxious that he should enter the gates exactly at a time prescribed by his astrologers" (*A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople 1810-16*, London 1818. 387-8).

Fraser, describing the return of Fatḥ ʿAlī to Tehran in April 1833 after a visit to Ḳumm, states that half the town went out to welcome him, while the other half lined the bazaars to make a show upon his entrance. "A confused assemblage of horsemen of all ranks and distinctions, from whom were continually issuing individual pairs to skirmish and show off, were followed by those of more respectability ... gholaum-peishkhidmats, nassakchees, and personal attendants on his majesty; then a number of shatirs, or running footmen; and then after a long vacant space came Futeh Alee Shah himself, mounted on a horse ... Behind, at a due distance, came a group of princes and nobles ... a dense crowd of horsemen, gholaums, jeloodars, peishkhidmats, and servants of all sorts, brought up the rear, crossing the road and country in a line at right angles to the line of march; from these it was that most of the skirmishers issued ... tearing across the plain, and firing guns at each other or nothing at all, and showing off some very fine horses with great spirit and address (*A winter's journey (Tatar) from Constantinople to Tehran*, London 1838, ii, 76ff.).

It was the custom of Fatḥ ʿAlī to march out of his capital on the Naw Rūz, attended by his ministers and as many of the army as could be assembled [see MARĀSIM. 3]. He would be mounted sometimes on a horse, sometimes on an elephant (cf. Morier, *A journey through Persia*, 210). Among the amusements were horse-racing (Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 405). Naw-Rūz audiences were also held in the capital. Ker Porter describes the royal procession as it came into the audience hall on one such occasion. First, the elder sons of the shah entered, ʿAbbās Mīrzā went to the right side of the throne, followed by his brothers; his younger brothers then took up their places opposite. They were all superbly dressed. Near the front of the palace, mullas and astrologers were drawn up. Fatḥ ʿAlī's entry into the gate of the citadel was announced by a volley fired by the camel corps and the clang of trumpets and "the appalling roar of two huge elephants" (*Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylon*, London 1921, i, 320ff.

The Naw-Rūz races were a state occasion under Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, who would attend them either on horseback or in a carriage drawn by eight horses (Muʿayyir al-Mamālik, *Yāddās̲h̲thā-ī az zindagānī-i k̲h̲uṣūṣī-i Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh*, Tehran n.d., 120-1). When the shah mounted his carriage at the races, or his horse to go to his special stand, the camel corps would fire a volley. Muʿayyir al-Mamālik describes the scene in the following words. "Runners (*s̲h̲āṭirs*) on either side and the camels bearing the ruler's kettle-drums would set off in front followed by the shah in his carriage. Covered in jewels and wearing the aigrette (*d̲j̲īg̲h̲a*) on his headdress, with a red parasol with diamond tassels held over him, he would look out benevolently on the people who hurried forward to welcome him. Thus, surrounded by this pomp and magnificence, he would drive up to the special stand from which he would watch the races, where the great men and ministers would be awaiting the arrival of the royal cortège" (*ibid.*, 121-2).

The reception of foreign envoys was also the occasion for processions and cavalcades. Morier states that at every place through which the Harford Jones' mission passed in 1808 on its way to Tehran, the local people came out to welcome him. They were frequently armed with pikes, matchlocks, swords and shields, and would often fire a volley as a salute (*A Journey into Persia*, 76). At Kāzirūn, "a bottle, which contained sugar candy, was broken under the feet of the Envoy's horse, a ceremony never practiced in Persia to any but royal personages" (*ibid.*, 84-5). Displays of wrestlers, jugglers and tumblers, as in the case of receptions welcoming the shah, often formed part of the *istiḳbāl*. Lady Sheil describes the welcome given to her husband in Tabrīz on his way to Tehran as envoy to the court of Persia in 1849 in the following words: "There were princes and priests, and merchants, and mollas, and mountebanks, and dervishes, and beggars; there were Koordish and Toork horsemen of the tribes, and soldiers, and Ghoolams... The cavalcade began four miles from the town, and each step brought a fresh reinforcement to the procession" (*Glimpses of life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 86). Writing of the procedure for her husband's *istiḳbāl* in Tehran, she states: "The village we were residing in was three miles distant from Tehran, and etiquette requires the ceremony to commence four miles from the city ... A tent was pitched at the requisite distance; and my husband was accordingly obliged to return a mile towards Tabreez, to receive the congratulations of the Shah's representatives" (*ibid.*, 120-1).

The shah or one of the royal princes used to take part in the procession on the *ʿīd-i ḳurbān*. Fraser, describing the celebration in Tehran on 20 April 1833, states: "It was customary for the king himself, or, in his default, for one of the elder princes, with a grand cortège of the rest, and their followers, to superintend the ceremony, which consists of a procession to a particular appointed place, where a camel is provided for the sacrifice. The king or elder prince, taking a knife, draws it across the animal's throat, which is then despatched and cut up on the spot .... On the present occasion not one of the princes attended, except Saheb-keran Meerza (aged about ten) ..... nor was he accompanied by a single person of distinction.

"The first part of the show which issued from the gate was a parcel of ragamuffin musicians with kettle-drums, and horrid screeching pipes, who preceded a number of mules and horses, strangely caparisoned and painted, having tawdry trappings on, and gold and silver tinsel, with ostrich feathers on their heads, and along with these came sundry flags of silk, red, green, and scarlet, and some striped like shawls; and the animals were mounted and ridden to and fro at speed by the fellows who brought them. These, as I understood, were intended to carry away pieces of the unhappy camel when he should be cut up: they were attended also by a number of dervishes, in their caps and patched robes. Next came six of the King's *kernechees*, or trumpeters, in their scarlet coats, with spears and horns; then came three or four led horses; than a couple of hundred *topechees*, or artillerymen, in

two lines, forming a street, through which rushed thirty or forty furoshes with sticks, and gholaums with shields. After these came the little prince, gallantly dressed in a scarlet coat, well bedizened with embroidery of pearls and diamonds, his sword-belt to match, and having handsome diamond ornaments on his cap and on his breast, and a pretty little sabre depending from his side. He was mounted on a fine horse .... Behind the prince at due distance, came a rabble of horsemen, tofungchees, etc...... Before the gates of the Nigaristan ..... the poor camel lay bound and ready" (*A Winter's journey*, ii, 73-5; see also Muʿayyir al-Mamālik, *op.cit.*, 93-5; and for a description of the procession in Iṣfahān, see Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān Taḥwīldār, *Djughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*. ed. Manučihr Sotoodeh, Tehran AHS 1342/1963, 88-90).

Towards the end of the 19th century the tendency was for royal processions to become less elaborate. Curzon writes that formerly the Shah's court ceremonial was a blaze of splendour but that "he now affects a simplicity of costume in striking contrast to his predecessors. The bediamonded sword and the flashing aigrette, which was so familiar on his first visit to England in 1873, had disappeared in 1889; and in Tehran I have seen him walking in the streets in a braid frock coat with prodigious skirts ... holding a walking stick in his hand. Upon other occasions he either appears on horseback, or, more commonly, is driven through the streets of the town in a sort of coach with glass panels drawn by six or eight white horses with henna-dyed tails. In front and behind ride a small detachment of the royal bodyguard or gholams, whose full number stands at 2,000, or two corps of 1,000 apiece, who are recognizable by their gold-braided tunics and by the muskets, wrapped up in red cases, which they wear slung across their shoulders. A number of the liveried harlequins, or royal runners ..... are also in attendance to clear a way, while the less ornamental ferashes, with their long switches, keep back the crowd" (*Persia*, London 1892, i, 396). The royal runners or *shāṭirs* (whose dress was a faithful representation of that worn by the *shāṭirs* of the Ṣafawid kings) preceded the shah whenever he went out riding or in his carriage (*ibid.*, i, 332).

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(A. K. S. Lambton)

4. In the Ottoman empire

Ottoman processions (Tk. *ālāy*) were frequently assembled on festive and solemn occasions. The Ottoman court celebrated the birth and circumcision of a prince, or the marriage of a princess, a victory of the army, a new campaign of a sultan, or his succession to the throne, the arrival of a royal guest, or an important foreign ambassador, with imperial festivities, which sometimes lasted 50 days and nights (like that of the circumcision festival of Prince Meḥmed, later Meḥemmed III, in 990/1582) or more (the festival of 853/1449, under Murād II, to celebrate the wedding of his son, Prince Meḥmed—later Meḥemmed II, the conqueror of Constantinople in 857/1453—and Sitt Khātūn, which continued for three months). Sometimes an occasion for a public rejoicing was created after an unsuccessful campaign or a defeat of the Ottoman army, with the intention of turning the attention of Sultan's subjects elsewhere and to falsify the result of a battle (the best examples of such festivities are in 862/1457, after Meḥemmed II was compelled to draw back from Baghdād; and in 937/1530, when Süleymān the Magnificent had to retreat from the siege of Vienna; and also in 990/1582, after the failure of Murād III in the war against the Persians). The wedding and circumcision ceremonies very often and deliberately coincided with *ḳurbān bayramî* [see ʿĪd]. There were also court festivities, which were organised merely to solemnise the pilgrimage of the Prophet (among others, a recent one was in 1866, under Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz). All these festivals were enriched by spectacular and colourful processions, which consisted *inter alia*, of architectural displays, festival palms, sugar work in figures and of artificial flower gardens; these are considered below. One should note as a preliminary the following three definitions, before proceeding to examine the different types of processions: 1. *Ālāy-ı Hümāyūn*, Imperial procession. A customary procession organised when the Sultan or the Grand-Vizier started for or returned from a campaign, on a route between the palace and the barracks at Dāwūd Pasha (a district in Old Istanbul). 2. *Ālāy Ḳānūnu*, Code for processions: the Ottoman code pertaining to the rules for the arrangement, order and the costuming of the viziers, scholars, high officials, staff and the military personnel, who were prescribed by the government to participate in the imperial processions. 3. *Ālāy Köshkü*, Kiosk for spectacles: a kiosk built especially for the Sultan and his harem, from where they watched the processions, celebrations and the festivities. This kiosk was generally used by the Sultanas and the ladies of the court. The Sultan had a special room with attendants.

Bibliography: A detailed description of such processions is to be found in Djelāl-zāde, (Muṣṭafā b. Djelāl), *Ṭabaḳāt al-memālik ve deredjāt el-mesālik*, ms. Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, H.O. 41; and in Teshrīfātīzādē Meḥmed b. Aḥmed's *Defter-i teshrifāt*, ms. Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften-Sammlung, Mxt. 301; the processions in the festival of 1086/1675, in Edirne, under the reign of Meḥemmed IV, are given by Ḥüseyin Hezār-fenn, *Telkhīṣ al-beyān fī ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ms. B.N., Fonds Turc, 40; ʿAbdī, *Sūr-i pūr sūrūr-i hümāyūn*, ms. Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Ali Emirī Kit. 343; John Covel, *Diary*, ms. B.L., Add. 22,912; vivid sketches of the processions in the 18th century may be seen in *Sūr-nāme*, ms. Nationalbibliothek, Vienna H.O. 95, written for the festival of 1724, under the reign of Aḥmed III, and also in ʿĀkif Bey's *Teshrīfāt-nāme*, Süleymaniye Kit. Esʿad Ef. no. 2108, written for the birth of a prince, during the reign of Muṣṭafā III, modern Tkish. tr., *Beşik Alayı*, by Şevket Rado, in *Tarih Mecmuası*, x (Nov. 1972), 4-5; for the etymology of *alay*, see Fuat Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanli müesseselerine te'siri*, in *Türk hukuku tarihine dair tetkikler*, Istanbul 1931, 277, in which the author indicates that the Byzantine Greek word *alagion* is the source of the Ottoman word *alay*. In the beginning, *alagion* meant a ceremonial detachment of troops in an emperor's suite and later, in the 13th century, it meant a regiment. E. Stern, *Untersuchungen zur Verfassung und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, in *MOG*, ii/1-2, 49, supports Köprülü's statement; an illuminating book about the processions is İ. H. Uzunçarşılı's *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 168-71; also see Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne şenliği*, Ankara 1972, 57-60, 62-76; the basic books on the *Ālāy Köshkü* are by İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Istanbul sarayları*, Istanbul 1942; Oktay Aslanapa, *Edirne'de Osmanlı devri abideleri*, Istanbul 1949; and Rifat Osman, *Edirne sarayı*, ed. Süheyl Ünver, Ankara 1957.

The different types of procession.

1. BAYRAM ĀLĀYĪ, "Holiday procession", traditionally organised to accompany the Sultan to the mosque and back to the palace, on the first days of two religious holidays, *Ḳurbān Bayramī* (festival of sacrifices) and *Sheker Bayramī* (the feast during the first three days after the Ramaḍān fast). The respective order of the participants in this procession was generally as follows:

— the *khōdjas* of the imperial palace, on foot;
— the Chief White Eunuchs, on foot;
— the Director of the Registry of landed property, on horseback;
— the second and third Accountants, on horseback;
— the Finance Minister, on horseback;
— the Master of Orders, on horseback;
— the Steward to the Grand Vizier, on horseback;
— the Grand Vizier and the viziers, on horseback, on both sides the Janissaries, on foot;
— the Steward to the chief white eunuchs, carrying a silver sceptre in his right hand, and wearing a short fur-coat, a *selīmī* turban, Tatar baggy trousers of violet velvet and a pair of Circassian shoes, on foot;
— the first and the second Masters of the horse, on foot;
— the Sultan, on horseback: on each side walked the bodyguards with their red and light brown conical hats and five-edged sceptres in their hands; lackeys and messengers; the clothing masters, wearing large wadded headgears with bejewelled crests;
— the Chief Lifeguard of the Janissaries and the Chief Clothing Master, both wearing bejewelled knitted caps with tassels, loose robes embroidered with gold threads, over it valuable robes of honour, girdles made of pearls and bejewelled daggers;
— the Head of the Black Eunuchs, wearing a *selīmī* turban, an embroidered robe with a bejewelled girdle and a four-sleeved sable skin coat;
— the Masters of the Porte, with *selīmī* turbans;
— the Chief Treasurer and the officials of the palace, wearing headgear, bejewelled daggers and knives and with bracelets of solid gold.

Bibliography: For designs and colours of the costumes, see Johannes Lewenklaw, *Bilder türkischen Herrscher, Soldaten, Hofleute, Städte*, Vienna 1586; anon., *Bilder aus dem türkischen Volksleben*, Vienna 1586; anon., *Türkische Trachten*, Vienna (17th century); anon., *Türkische Trachten*, 3 volumes, Italy (18th century); the most reliable source for the Bayram procession is Ṭayyār-zāde ʿAṭā, *Enderūn taʾrīkhi*, i, Istanbul 1293; a short section in Paul Rycaut's *The present state of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 162-4; a description of such a procession may be seen in Hezār-fenn, *Telkhīṣ*, fols. 32b-33a; a detailed description, with a personal view of an English lady, of Maḥmūd II, may be found in Julie Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, London 1837, ch. vi; for further information, see R. E. Koçu, *Osmanlı sarayında Bayram tebriki ve Bayram Alayı*, in *TM*, xii (Jan. 1972), 6-11; for an extensive article, see *Das Fest des Kurban-Beiram in Konstantinopel*, in *Globus*, xiii (1866), 148-52.

2. BESHIK ĀLĀYĪ, "Cradle procession", customarily organised to conduct the cradle of a new-born prince or a princess through the streets to the birth place of the baby. There were two specific processions for such an occasion: one was the procession disposed by the Sultana-Mother, and the other was arranged by the orders of the Grand-Vizier. The procession of the Sultana-Mother took place subsequent to the birth of the baby. The cradle, the bejewelled quilt and the valuable blanket were all taken from the old Saray and brought to the Ṭopkapī Palace. This procession consisted respectively of the following participants:

— the guide, in uniform;
— the officers of the Harem, two in a row;
— all the stewards of the lady who gave birth to the child, with their ceremonial girdles, equipments and headgears;
— numerous itinerant vendors, carrying trays of fruits, candies, flowers and cakes;
— the master vendors of sweetmeats, carrying the silver cradle;
— numerous coaches with lattice-windows, and two eunuchs at the sides of each coach: in these coaches were the visiting ladies;
— the Messenger to the Chief of the Flag, and the Head of Musicians;
— the musicians.

The procession walked most of the way to the accompaniment of rhythmical beats of a kettledrum. When the procession was over, various presents were given to the participants.

The procession disposed by the Grand Vizier was much more spectacular and crowded. It was a custom to put on this display six days after the birth of the child. The Grand Vizier, immediately after the imperial baby was born, ordered a cradle, a quilt and a blanket, embroidered with pearls, diamonds, emeralds and with other precious stones. The procession comprised the following participants in respective order:

— the guide, together with the attendants of the imperial house;
— the officers of the Grand Vizier's Harem;
— the Clerk of the Attendants and the Superintendent to the Attendants;
— the adjutants and the messengers of the court;
— the Steward to the Chief White Eunuchs of the Grand Vizier, and the Superintendent to the Grand Vizier;
— the vendors, carrying trays of fruits and flowers;
— the *telkhīṣī* (an official charged with making summaries and reports);
— the bodyguards;
— the Assistant of Ceremonies, and the Treasurer of Ceremonies;
— the Master of Ceremonies;
— the stewards to Sultanas;
— the Head of Musicians, carrying the blanket, and the footmen holding the blanket from its four corners;
— the Second Clothing Master, carrying the quilt;
— the First Clothing Master, carrying the cradle;
— the Steward to the Grand Vizier;
— the military band.

When the procession was completed, presents were given to all the participants, according to their ranks. The procession looked like a huge flower garden. The coloured turbans, caps and headgears, various fur-coats, yellow, red, green shoes, light boots, top-boots, etc., the artificial flower gardens, and hundreds of sugar boxes in different colours gave the atmosphere of a spectacular celebration.

Bibliography: The principal source is ʿĀkīf Bey's *Teshrīfāt-nāme*; the author was the master of ceremonies of the court during the reign of Muṣṭafā III (second half of the 18th century), tr. Rado, 4-5; for the festivities of 1189/1775, to celebrate the birth of Khadīdje Sulṭān, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1189/14 February 1775, see Topkapı Archive E. no. 1562; for an illuminating example of a letter of congratulation,

see the letter of the Grand Vizier written for the birth of Khayriyye Sulṭān, the daughter of Maḥmūd II, on 8 Shawwāl 1246/21 March 1830, Topkapı Archive, E. no. 5932, for the celebrations of the birth of Ṣāliḥa Sulṭān, the daughter of Maḥmūd II, see Uzunçarşılı, *op.cit.*, Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem*, ii, Ankara 1971, 78-9.

3. DJĀ'IZ ĀLĀYĪ, "Procession of the trousseau" arranged to transport the trousseau of an imperial bride to the house of the bridegeroom. Before the procession started, the festal palms (*nakhīls*) were brought to the palace very early in the morning, and were included in the procession as symbols of fecundity of the bride; for this reason, the festal palms prepared for a bride should be made of fruits, candies and flowers. The procession started after the prayer for the newly-wedded was completed. The respective order of the participants in this procession was generally as follows:

— the Commander-in-Chief of the Janissaries, with ceremonial dress;
— the Steward to the Commander-in-Chief, with crest;
— the chiefs of various Janissary corps, with crests;
— the Chief of Cavalry and the Chief Lifeguard of Janissaries, with their men;
— the Chief Reciter of the Ḳur'ān, accompanied by his assistants;
— the Chief of Police, accompanied by the policemen;
— the Police Superintendent, with his men;
— the court messengers;
— the court adjutants;
— the court assayers;
— the *khōdjas* and the scholars of the court;
— the Chief of the White Eunuchs;
— the Steward to the Sultana-Mother, and the Steward to the favourite wife of the Sultan;
— the Chief Architect, and the Steward of the Dockyards;
— two artifical sugar gardens with figures made of sugar, and numerous festal palms of gold and silver, adorned with fruits, candies and flowers;
— the vendors and attendants, carrying the boxes containing the trousseau: mosquito-nets with gold lanterns; bejewelled clogs, slippers, boots, shoes; crowns full of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, turquoises, jades; necklaces, bracelets, earrings set with pearls, emeralds and brilliants; trays of precious stones; bejewelled cases for reed pens and ink; hundreds of embroidered cushions. At both sides of the vendors and the attendants, walked the guards to watch over;
— the Chief of Messengers;
— the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the two Chief Military Judges;
— the viziers;
— the Grand Vizier and the *Shaykh al-Islām*;
— the Captain of the festal palms;
— artificial fruit gardens;
— the imperial military band;
— pure-bred rams guarded by the black eunuchs, one at each side;
— the concubines of the trousseau, and the Chief of Palace Guards, accompanied by his men. The furniture and the big pieces were carried by mules, adorned with precious clothes, such as brocade, satin and silk.

When the procession arrived at its destination, the participants were rewarded according to their ranks, with gold coins fur coats and silk robes.

Bibliography: For information on how the payments were realised for transporting a trousseau, see Topkapı Archive, E. no. 7004; for a detailed description of the *djā'iz ālāyi* in the festival of 1086/1675, Hezār-fenn, fols. 174b, 176a, 177b; Covel, *Diary*, fols. 200a, 217b; for such processions in the 18th century, *Sūr-nāme*, ms. Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. H.0.95; there were three different processions of the trousseau in the festivities of 1137/1724, during the reign of Aḥmed III, for princesses Ümm Külthūm, see 7a-10b, Khadīdje, 19a-b, ʿĀtiḳa, 20a-21b; see Topkapı Archive E. no. 7029 for the imperial mandate of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, stating the obligatory trousseau, whatever the economic situation of the bridegroom was; for further information on the obligatory trousseau, Topkapı Archive E. nos. 361, 692, 962; for the gifts given by this same Sultan to the high officials of the state, during the wedding festivities of 1202/1787, Topkapı Archive E. no. 247; for a recent procession of the trousseau, see von Moltke, *Türkiye'deki durum ve olaylar üzerine mektuplar*, Tkish. tr. Hayrullah Örs, Ankara 1960, 46-7; a detailed description of the same procession in 1252/1836, Julie Pardoe, *op.cit.*, ch. xi; another example is the procession of Fāṭima Sulṭān's trousseau, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Medjīd, in 1271/1854, see Topkapı Archive E. no. 8270; Ç. Uluçay, *Fatma ve Safiye Sultanların düğünleri*, in *Istanbul Enstitüsü Mecmuası*, iv (Istanbul 1958); idem, *Harem*, ii, 104; Nutku, *op.cit.*, 63-4.

4. EṢNĀF ĀLĀYĪ, "Procession of the guilds or corporations", held in the presence of the Sultan, where each guild displayed its own profession, as well as acted scenes mostly concerning the special field with which the guild was occupied. Some of the guilds, however, had clowns, rope dancers, illusionists, equilibrists, some others, mimics and actors; and the bigger corporations possessed all of these.

It was a custom in the imperial festivals that the procession of the guilds should take place always in the afternoons, and that they should appear in alphabetical order. Only four or five guilds were allowed each day to have a procession; for example, the processions of 181 guilds in the festival of 990/1582 first started on 11 June and ended on 6 July. Before the procession was over, each guild had to give to the Sultan its gifts, which were determined long before by the treasurer of the court. The representatives of the guilds, after presenting their gifts, would pray for the Sultan. After the ceremony, all members of these guilds would take their seats at dinner tables prepared for them as guests at the feast given by the Sultan.

All the guilds and the corporations had their own pennants; for example, the guild of lady's slipper-makers had a pennant with golden and silver threads and tassels, the cord-makers had a red and a white pennant, and the sword-makers had a red and green one. The weavers had two different pennants: one, red, and the other red, yellow and green. Sometimes these guilds included wild animals in the procession, just for the sake of attracting the interest of the spectators. Some guilds, which preserved the tradition of having warriors, namely swordsmen and archers, would include them into the procession as symbols of traditional combatants; these men walked with their traditional uniforms and demonstrated their skill when the time came.

The representative scenes of each guild, showing the profession, were exhibited on carts, pulled by horses or oxen. The bakers, for instance, while passing ceremonially, displayed their profession on two

successive carts: on the first, the millers ground wheat with an all-functioning miniature mill, while on the next the bakers baked bread in a burning furnace; and the products were presented to the Sultan and given to the spectators. The guild of tailors, in the festival of 990/1582, sewed an interesting and valuable dress, which could be worn on both sides; one side of this dress was red and yellow, the other white and blue.

Another kind of demonstration was either to show skills or to perform farces of mythological stories, in which the actors and clowns generally had stylised phalluses in their hands and wore costumes of cloth, paper and grass.

Most of the guilds presented gifts related to their profession: for example, the weavers presented the cloth they had been weaving during the procession. A few of the guilds presented things other than their profession: the haberdashers, for instance, presented to the Sultan, in the festival of 1086/1675, the following items: 2 silver decanters, 2 silver trays, 4 ornamented silver candlesticks, 8 silver candlesticks, 1 *okka (ūḳiyye*, equivalent to 1283 gr.) of rose-water, 2 plates with a case, 3 plates full of cloves, 4 plates full of walnuts, 3 plates full of coconuts, 2 plates full of cinnamon, 1 tray full of musk-soap, 4 jars of sugar candy, 18 bottles of incense water, 60 bottles of flower-water, 3 trays full of dates, 6 plates full of sugar, 15 plates of candy, 4 plates full of sugar candy (of a different sort) and 7 Kaᶜba glasses.

In every festival, the procession of the guilds were the centre of attraction, with presentations of products, displays of professional occupations, demonstrations of skills and performances of plays.

Bibliography: For the display of professional occupations, see Georges Lebelski, *La Description des yeux et magnifiques representez a Constantinople...*, 1584, 63-4; Nicholas von Haunolt, *Particular Verzeichnuss mit das Ceremonien Gepraeng und Pracht das Fest der Beschneidung...*, in Lewenklaw, *Neuewe Chronica Turkischer Nation...*, Franckfurt am Mayn 1595, 481-509; Hezār-fenn, fols. 154a-172b; Covel, *Diary*, fol. 216a; for the costumes of the furriers, Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires*, ii, Paris 1684, 119; Seyyid Hüseyin Wehbī, *Sūr-nāme*, ms. Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 94, and BL no. Or. 7218: Meḥmed K̲h̲azīn, *Sūr-nāme-i K̲h̲azīn*, ms. Beyazıt Kit., Nurettin Pasha, 10267, fols. 73b-120a; for a detailed description of clowns, ᶜAbdī, fols. 3a, 5b, 7b, 9a; Nabī, *Waḳāyīᶜ-i k̲h̲itān-ī S̲h̲ehzādegān-ī Ḥaḍret-i Sulṭān Meḥemmed-i G̲h̲āzī li-Nabī Efendi*, ed. A. S. Levend, Istanbul 1944, 48, 51; for the farces, see Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of Milady Montagu*, London 1764, 64; a summary description of the procession of guilds may be seen in Tietz, *Ceremonien und Festlichkeiten bei der feierlichen Beschneidung eines türkischen Prinzen von Geblüt in Konstantinopel*, in *Ausland* (22 May 1836), 572-84; G. F. Abbot, *Under the Turk in Constantinople: a record of Sir John Finch's embassy, 1674-1681*, London 1920; for the rules of ceremony, Fīndīḳlīlī Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a, *Silaḥtār taʾrīk̲h̲ī*, ii, Istanbul 1928, 645; further reference to the procession of the guilds is to be found in Nutku, *op.cit.*, 73-6; and in Metin And, *Osmanlı şenliklerinde Türk sanatları*, Ankara 1982, 227-48.

5. GELIN ĀLĀYĪ. "the Procession for the bride", to chaperone the bride to the house of the bridegroom. Up till the 18th century it was deemed lucky to have the bridal procession on Thursdays. This solemnity surpassed the pomp of the procession organised for the transportation of the trousseau. Almost all the viziers, the scholars and the high officials of the state took their places in this ceremony. The respective order of the train was generally as follows:

— the Chief of Police;
— the messengers of the palace;
— the holders of the fief;
— the *k̲h̲ōd̲j̲a*s, the scholars of the court, and the Chief of Artillery, the Chief Armourer and the Steward to the Commander-in-Chief;
— the Master of Janissaries and a commanding officer of a division;
— the chiefs of various Janissary corps, cavalry and the Chief Lifeguard;
— the Chief White Eunuch;
— the Minister of Finance, Master of Orders and the Commander-in-Chief;
— the Chief of Messengers and the memoranda officials;
— the *S̲h̲erīf* of Mecca and the *Ḳāḍī* of Istanbul;
— the Chief Military Judges;
— the pas̲h̲as, who act as intimates of the bridegroom;
— the Grand Vizier and the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām*;
— the Inspector and the Accountant of the Prophet's Tomb at Medina;
— the Revenue-collector and the Senior official of Mecca and Medina;
— the Stewards to the Sultana-Mother and to the bridegroom;
— the Steward to the bride;
— two big festival palms carried by the dockyard stewards, the stewards walking at each side, and the white eunuchs in the middle;
— the Steward to the palace guards and the Secretary to the Chief Black Eunuch of the Sultan's Harem;
— two smaller festal palms of silver carried by the dockyard stewards;
— the guards of the old serail;
— two other silver festal palms, followed by the secretary of the guards of the old serail, on horseback, holding a Ḳurʾān with a bejewelled cover and case;
— the Chief Saddler to the Chief Black Eunuch, leading thoroughbred horses, which were richly equipped;
— the Chief Black Eunuch; the guards of the old serail at each side, and in front of the Chief, the men carrying purses and throwing gold pieces to the spectators;
— the bride in a silver or a bejewelled coach;
— numerous carriages of accompaniment, with the ladies of the court;
— the military band;
— numerous coaches carrying the ladies of the Harem.

The horses of the coaches were generally covered with expensive cloths, such as brocade, silk and satin. All the coaches were surrounded by the black eunuchs on horseback. The stewards, who carried the silver palms were richly dressed. This procession was so long that it usually took one hour or more from the beginning to the end.

Bibliography: A detailed description of the bridal procession of the eldest daughter of Murād III may be seen in von Haunolt, *Verzeichnuss des Hochzeitlichen Fest...*, in *op.cit.*, 532-5; the bridal procession in the festival of 1086/1675, ᶜAbdī, fol. 17a; Hezār-fenn, fols. 177a-178b; Covel, *Diary*, fol. 216a; and also Thomas Coke, *A True Narrative of the Great Solemnity of the circumcision of Mustapha, Prince of Turkie, eldest son of Sultan Mahomed present Emperor of the Turks*, London 1676; *Sūr-i Hümayūn*, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. H.O. 88; *Sūr-nāme*,

Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. H.O. 95, fols. 10a-14b; a brief section on the wedding of Ṣāliḥa Sulṭān, the daughter of Aḥmed III, may be seen in Topkapı Archive, E. no. 277; Ḥas͟hmet, *Velādet-nāme-yi Hibetallāh Sulṭān*, ms. Süleymaniye Kit. Esʿad Efendi, no. 2511/2, İstanbul Üniv. Kit. T. 1940 and Topkapı Sarayı Kit. no. 1603; Pardoe, *op.cit.*, ch. xii, describes in detail the procession of Mihrimāh Sulṭān; for the bridal processions during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, Archive of the Prime Ministry, Cevdet tas. Saray no. 6212, ms., Ankara; Marquis de Nointel, *L'Odyssée d'un ambassadeur, les voyages du Marquis de Nointel 1670-1680*, ed. A. Vandal, Paris 1900; Topkapı Sarayı, ms., new. no. 151; R. Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau,* ii, ed. W. Sahm, Königsberg 1914, 276-82; for further information, Uzunçarşılı, *op.cit.*; Uluçay, *op.cit.*, ii, 105-7; Nutku, *op.cit.*, 63.

6. ḲADĪR ĀLĀYĪ, "Procession for the 'Night of Power'", sc. of Ramaḍān, (*Ḳadīr Ged͟jesi*), because it is the night when the Ḳurʾān was revealed, and it was the custom to organise a procession. One of the squares of the city, where a big mosque existed, was illuminated by lamps and lanterns. The sultanas and the women in the Harem would go to the square with coaches to watch the procession. The black eunuchs offered them light food, fruits, ice cream and coffee on silver trays. In front of each coach two attendants waited, with silver-framed lanterns of camel skin in their hands. The Sultan came to the mosque with a train, resembling that escort of the *Bayram Ālāyī*, with *k͟hōd͟ja*s of the imperial palace, the Chief White Eunuchs, the Minister of Finance, the Master of Orders, the Grand Vizier, the *S͟hayk͟h al-Islām*, the viziers, the Head of the Black Eunuchs, the Master of the Porte, etc., guarded by Janissaries and the cavalry. When the Sultan entered the mosque, *pide* (a kind of bread baked in thin flat strips), candy and *s͟herbet* were distributed to the soldiers. While the procession was on its way back to the palace, fireworks would begin illuminating the sky with various kinds of rockets.

Bibliography: This is only very limited for this procession; see, however, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve ötesi*, ii, Istanbul 1941, 129-34; Leyla Saz, *Saray ve harem hatıraları*, in *Yeni Tarih Dergisi*, ii, Istanbul 1958, 539; Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, Istanbul 1960, 88; Safiye Ünüvar, *Saray hatıralarım*, Istanbul 1964, 110; Uluçay, *op.cit.*, ii, 163.

7. ḲILIČ ĀLĀYĪ, "The Procession to gird on the sword". The Sultan, as Caliph of all Muslims, had to take the oath of allegiance when he succeeded to the throne. The procession would usually take place two weeks later. The place of this ceremony was the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī in Eyüp (a district named after this tomb). The Sultan, with a long train of high officials and soldiers would go to Eyüp either by boat or on horseback. If he went to Eyüp via the sea, then he would return via the land, or vice-versa.

The procession was generally composed of the following persons: the Grand Vizier, the *S͟hayk͟h al-Islām*, the Chief Military judges, the *S͟herīf* of Mecca, the Viziers, and certain number of high officials.

The ceremony was usually directed by the *S͟hayk͟h al-Islām* and sometimes by the *S͟herīf* of Mecca. After the ceremony, the Sultan visited the tombs of his ancestors, and returned to the palace in processional order.

This tradition was started by Selīm I. It was a custom that every Sultan issued money, sacrificed sheep and distributed these to the poor. It was the task of the Steward to the Chief White Eunuch and the First Master of the Horse to take the petitions of the subjects while the procession was on its way to the palace.

Bibliography: Tes͟hrifātī-zāde Meḥmed b. Aḥmed, *Defter-i tes͟hrīfāt*, ms., Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. mixt. 301; *İA*, i, 293; *Meydan-Larousse*, vii, Istanbul 1972, 234-5.

8. MEKTEB (ĀMĪN) ĀLĀYĪ, "School (or Amen) procession", to celebrate the first school day of a prince. In this ceremony, the *S͟hayk͟h al-Islām* and the *k͟hōd͟ja*s of the court would stand on the right side of the throne, and on the left were the Grand Vizier, viziers, chief military judges and the captains of the sea. The prince would come, with his escort, towards the throne and would kiss the skirt of his father, the Sultan. He would then sit on a sofa placed between the throne and the *S͟hayk͟h al-Islām*. After the prayer, the prince was delivered to the *k͟hōd͟ja*s for his education. One such a celebration was ordered by Maḥmūd II for his elder son ʿAbd al-Med͟jīd in 1248/1832, when the Prince was nine years of age.

The procession took place both on the Marmara Sea with war-galleys and on land with the army. The Sultan and the Prince had an escort of high officials and soldiers amounting to 24,000 men. The escort included the infantry, the cavalry and the artillery.

Bibliography: For a vivid description of the procession in 1832, see *Ein Volksfest in Konstantinopel*, in *Magazin für Literatur des Auslands*, Berlin 1833, 531; also Uluçay, *Haremden mektuplar*, Istanbul 1956; Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *op.cit.*, 106; Safiye Ünüvar, *op.cit.*, 27, 88; Uluçay, *Harem*, ii, 87.

9. MEWLID ĀLĀYĪ, "The imperial procession organised to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet", on 12 Rabīʿ al-Awwal, for which the Sultan went to the mosque for the ceremony and returned to his palace. The high officials of the state gathered in the mosque, which was, until the second half of the 18th century, the Blue Mosque (sc. of Sultan Aḥmed), and waited for the Sultan to come. The *S͟hayk͟h al-Islām*, the Chief Military Judges of Rumeli and Anadolu, all provincial *ḳāḍī*s, who were at that time in Istanbul, the scholars and the *k͟hōd͟ja*s, had to take their places on the left side of the pulpit (*minber*) according to their ranks. The viziers had to sit on the prayer rugs on the left side of the niche (*miḥrāb*). Next to them were the Commander-in-Chief of the Janissaries, the Minister of Finance, the First Adjutant, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Steward to the Commander, the second and third accountant, the Chief of the Flag, the Chief of Messengers, the Chief Lifeguard, the First Master of the Horse, the commanding officers of Cavalry, the Chief Armourer, the Chief of Artillery and other high officials in their places. If the Commander-in-Chief were not present, because of a war or of any reason, the senior commanding officer had to represent him in the mosque.

The high officials of the palace, namely, the commanding officers of various regiments, were arranged standing in a line from the door of the pulpit to the desk, and the Janissaries would form a square arranged in rows between the centre columns of the mosque.

The Grand Vizier (wearing his ceremonial *kallāwī* turban) was accompanied by the palace guards to the mosque, where he was to be before the Sultan arrived. The Chief White Eunuch (wearing the ceremonial *selīmī* turban) would go to the palace, in order to escort the Sultan to the mosque, together with the palace guards. This procession was not as spectacular

as the others, but was nevertheless effective and colourful.

On entering the mosque, the Sultan was met by the Commander-in-Chief and the Trustee of the Pious Foundations. It was the duty of the Commander-in-Chief to take off the boots of the Sultan and offer him slippers. It was an honour given to him by the Sultan. If it was the first time that the Commander was doing this, he was rewarded with a dagger with diamonds on the handle. After this welcome, Sultan was escorted to his private pew by the Commander and the Chief Lifeguard. On leaving the mosque, the boots of the Sultan were put on again by the Commander.

In the procession back to the palace, the Commander walked in front of the Sultan's horse and the Trustees, carrying censers at each side, until they were dismissed by the Sultan.

Bibliography: For such a procession, see Hezār-fenn, fols. 170b-171b; Česhmī-zāde Muṣṭafā Reshīd, *Česhmī-zāde taʾrīkhi* (1180-2/1766-8), ed. Bekir Kütükoğlu, Istanbul 1959, 47; a vivid description may be seen in Ayşe Osmanoğlu's autobiography, 59-61; and in Safiye Ünüvar's one, 103; also see, Midhat Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu devrinde mevlid alayı*, in *TM*, iv (April 1976), 45-9; also *op.cit.*, ii, 160.

10. NISHĀN ĀLĀYĪ. "Procession of engagement", held on the engagement of a sultan or a princess. In this procession, the gifts of the bridegroom were taken to the bride's house with an escort, which was generally composed of the following persons:

— the guide;
— the Chief Saddler of the palace;
— the Steward to the Chief White Eunuch;
— the Superintendent to the Grand Vizier;
— the Steward to the Grand Vizier;
— the Steward to the bride;
— the vendors and attendants carrying the gifts;
— twenty festal palms, each carried by two Janissaries;
— thirty large, ornamented trays full of confectionery;
— two artificial gardens made of sugar;
— one silver festal palm, at each side of which silver boxes of jewelry, carried by the attendants;
— bejewelled girdles, diamond rings, earrings with emeralds and diamonds, mirrors covered with precious stones, bejewelled clogs, shoes, light boots, slippers, all carried by the white eunuchs and guarded by palace watchmen;
— the Stewards to the bridegroom;
— the pashas, who act as intimates of the bridegroom;
— the Captain of the Sea, with his men;
— the Janissaries;
— the military band.

The gifts were delivered to the Chief Black Eunuch, who showed them to the Sultan, and upon the Sultan's approval sent them to the Harem with the black eunuchs.

Bibliography: *Sūr-nāme*, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. H.O. 95, fols. 2b-4a; N. M. Penzer, *The Harem*, London 1936; for the values of the gifts, Uluçay, *op.cit.*, 100-1.

11. SÜNNET ĀLĀYĪ, "Procession of circumcision". This escorted the prince, who was going to be circumcised, from his residence to the field where the festivities took place. The respective order of the train was generally as follows:

— the Janissary corps;
— the adjutants, the messengers, and the white eunuchs of the court;
— forty small festal palms, twenty at each side, each carried by three Janissaries;
— the Chief Architect and the Steward to the Dockyards;
— two giant festal palms, "as high as pine trees", each carried by 160 to 200 dockyard slaves, who according to the custom, were released for this occasion. These palms were balanced by the captains of the sea, holding ropes tied to the top of the palms; on each rope hung three different kinds of expensive cloth, each adequate in size for one dress;
— artificial gardens made of sugar: these gardens were full of trees, flowers, birds, domestic and wild animals; and in these gardens were jets of water running from the fountains, with nightingales singing;
— the viziers;
— the Grand Vizier and the *Shaykh-al-Islām*;
— the Master of the Horse, followed by thoroughbred horses, the harnesses of which were adorned with jewels;
— the Prince on horseback, with the private bodyguards on each side of him;
— the Chief Black Eunuch, followed by black eunuchs;
— the gentlemen-in-waiting, and the Chief White Eunuch;
— the Chief Ushers;
— the military band;
— the Chief Lifeguard, followed by the guards;
— the Chief of Cavalry, followed by the cavalry corps;
— the Chief of Artillery, with artillerymen;
— the Chief Armourer, with armourers.

When the procession was over, some of the festal palms would be set up in front of the imperial tent, and the others would be stuck up before the kiosk where the prince was going to be circumcised, as symbols of power and virility.

Bibliography: For the order of this procession, Georges Lebelskı, *A True Description of the Magnificall Tryumphes and Pastimes, represented at Constantinople, at the solemnizing of the Circumcision of the Soldan Maumet, the sonne of Amurath, the thyrd of that name, in the year of our Lorde God 1582, in the Monathes of Maie and June*, in François de Billerberg, *Most Rare and Strange Discourses of Amurathe, the Turkish Emperor that now is*, London 1585 (no page number); Haunolt, *Particular Verzeichnis....*, in *op.cit.*, 468-9, 472-3; Jean Palerne, *Peregrinations du S. Jean Palerne, Foresien Secretaire de François de Valois Duc d'Anjou et d'Alencon. Ensemble un Bref discours des Triomphes et Magnificences faictes a Constantinople en la solennite de la circoncision de Mahomet fils de Sultan Amurath III de ce nom Empereur des Turcs*, Lyons 1606, 465-70; *Sūr-nāme-i Hümāyūn*, ms., Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. H.O.70; Hezār-fenn, fols. 166a-b; Covel, *Diary*, fol. 198a; and also ʿAbdī, fols. 10a-b; for the day of circumcision, apart from the afore-mentioned sources, Thomas Coke, *A True Narrative of the Great Solemnity of the circumcision of Mustapha, Prince of Turkie, eldest son of Sultan Mahomed present Emperor of the Turks. Together with an account of the Marriage of his Daughter to his favorite Mussaip at Adrianople*, London 1676; Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires*, ii, Paris 1684; Wehbī, *Sūr-nāme*, British Museum, ms., cod.Or 7218 and Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, ms., cod. H.O. 94; Khazīn, *Sūr-nāme*, Beyazıt Kit. ms., Nurettin Paşa, no. 10267; Lebīb, *Sūrnāme-yi Lebīb*, ms., İst. Üniv. Kit. T. no. 6197; *Sūr-nāme-yi Khiḍir*, İst. Üniv. Kit. T. ms., no. 6122; Nointel, *L'Odysse d'un Ambas-*

sadeur, 195-6, 197; Lubenau, *op.cit.*, ii, 55-7; Roger North, *The lives of Francis North, Dudley North and John North*, London 1826, 213 (gifts submitted to the Sultan); for the practice of the circumcision, see *Silaḥtār taʾrīkhī*, 645; Nabī, *Sūr-nāme*, ed. A. S. Levend, Istanbul 1944, 39-40; Salih Zorlutuna, *XVII. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Edirne'nin sahne olduğu şahane sünnet ve evlenme düğünleri*, in *Edirne'nin 600. fethi yıldönümü armağan kitabı*, Ankara 1965, 279-80; Nutku, *op.cit.*, 42-62.

12. ṢURRE ĀLĀYĪ, "Procession of the Purse", organised when the donation was sent by the Sultan, as the Caliph of Islam, to the people of Mecca and Medina. This procession took place at the courtyard of the palace. The camel carrying the gift made tours, together with a small group of participants, in the presence of the Sultan and his suite. The procession was directed by the Chief White Eunuch. Before the group set forth on its journey, the Ḳurʾān was recited. After leaving the palace, the crowd waiting for the procession hailed and blessed the small caravan as far as the city limits.

Bibliography: Penzer, *op.cit.*; Česhmī-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 10; Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *op.cit.*; Uluçay, *op.cit.*, ii, 161; *Meydan Larousse*, xi, Istanbul 1973, 628.

13. WĀLIDE ĀLĀYĪ, "Procession of the Sultana-Mother". This had become a custom since the enthronement of Aḥmed I (1012/1603), and with it the Sultana-Mother was brought to the palace. When a Sultan succeeded to the throne, he would invite his mother to the palace; and for this occasion a cortège was organised, the order for it being given a few days before his accession to the throne. It was generally composed of the following officials:

— the messengers of the court;
— the hunters of the court;
— the Chief White Eunuch;
— the trustees of the Sultan's Pious Foundations;
— the high officials of the pious foundations of Mecca and Medina;
— the black eunuchs;
— the palace guards;
— the Chief Black Eunuch;
— the Steward to the Sultana-Mother;
— the Sultana-Mother, formerly on a closed palanquin, and later in a coach with lattice windows;
— the attendants, scattering silver and gold pieces to the crowd;
— the ladies of the court, in 80 to 100 carriages;
— the military band.

Bibliography: For a detailed description of the procession, Waṣīf Efendi, *Waṣīf taʾrīkhi*, Maṭbaʿa-yi ʿĀmire, Istanbul 1219/1804, 42, 44; further, Uzunçarşılı, *op.cit.*, 155-6; and Uluçay, *op.cit.*, ii, 62-3.

Adjuncts of the processions included:

1. NAKHĪL, "Festal palm". This phallophoric symbol sometimes took the form of a wreath or a fir branch, but generally it was made in the form of a cypress. In earlier periods it was in the shape of a date palm decorated with different kinds of ornaments, mouldings, fruits and emblems. We observe such emblems in Anatolia as far back as the Hittites and Phrygians (terracotta panels with reliefs decorated in coloured glaze from the Phrygian city of Pazarlı, near Ankara, show such palms as fertility symbols). The excavations at Altıntepe, situated on the plain of Erzincan (eastern central Anatolia), have revealed panels decorated with palmettes belonging to the period of Urartu in Anatolia; also, the sculptures of the main gallery in Yazılıkaya (east of Ankara) show the Hittite phallophoric symbols. In the region of Afyon and Konya (central Anatolia), during the reign of the Phrygian kings, the symbols headed ritualistic processions, mostly in spring.

In the Ottoman processions, these *nakhīls* had an important place not only in the weddings, but also in the circumcision ceremonies. For the weddings, they were prepared by the bride's family, and in the circumcisions by the parents of the boy. In these ceremonies, the palms were carried in front of the procession, and if it was an imperial celebration, the Grand Vizier, the viziers and the high officials walked behind them. If the *nakhīls* were in various sizes, the biggest would generally be carried first, and it would be followed by other smaller ones, together with gardens of sugar work, sweets in gold, silver and bronze trays, gold and silver decanters of *sherbet* (a sweet, cold drink, made of various fruit juices), bundles of the bride's trousseau, coloured purses full of silver coins, and caskets full of precious stones. Of course, the arrangement of *nakhīls* differed according to the taste of the superintendent of the procession.

There were special craftsmen who constructed these festal palms. Ewliyā described them in his travel journal as *eṣnāf-ī nakhīldjiyān-ī sūr-i hümayūn* ("guild of *nakhīl*-makers for imperial festivities"). According to him, the guild had four workshops in Istanbul, with 55 skilled members in the 17th century. The founder of this guild was Meyser Ezherī. These craftsmen, Ewliyā writes, "constructed *nakhīls* in wax as tall as the minaret of the Süleymāniyye Mosque, with coloured ribbons, silver and golden threads, which could also be illuminated". The iron-structured gigantic *nakhīls* "were carried by hundreds of galley-slaves supervised by guards, who gave with whistles such orders as: 'pull it to the right, to the left,' etc." A similar scene is described in detail by an English priest, Dr. John Covel, who had the occasion to see the festivities of Sultan Meḥmmed IV, in the summer of 1086/1675 in Edirne. He witnessed these guards—generally dockyard stewards—with whistles, directing each group, carrying gigantic *nakhīls*, approximately 25 metres high. The lower end (approximately 4.50 to 5.50 metres in diameter) had eight or ten long parallel bars, and the slaves carried the *nakhīls*, holding these bars. There was someone who directed them: he commanded the slaves to rest or to carry on at the sound of the whistle.

The gigantic *nakhīls* were so big that in order to carry them through the narrow streets of old Istanbul, very often, the projecting parts of the houses, such as eaves and balconies, were pulled down and afterwards rebuilt. Although the rebuilding of the houses required a great deal of money, the value of the *nakhīls* were almost twice the expenses thus incurred. The most important fertility symbols were each a work of art and very expensive. Some of them were entirely in silver and some were adorned with jewelry. At the wedding in 931/1524 of Khadīdje Sulṭān, sister of Süleymān the Magnificent, one of the *nakhīls* consisted of 40,000 and another of 60,000 pieces of handwork; and they were skilfully ornamented with beautiful, precious stones, in the shape of legendary birds.

In sum, the *nakhīls* represented the virility of men and the fecundity of women, as well as the economic power and marks of supremacy in society.

Bibliography: *Sūr-nāme-i hümayūn*, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. H.O.70; Lebelski, *A True Description...*; Palerne, *op.cit.*, 442-88; von Haunolt, *Verzeichnuss des hochzeitlichen Fest....*, in *op.cit.*, 532,

534; idem, *Particular Verzeichnuss*..., 469, 473; Melchior Besolt, *Dess Wolgeborenen Herrn Heinrichs Herrn von Lichtenstein von Nicolspurg u. Röm. Keys. Maiest. Abgesandten Reyss auff Constinopel im 1584*, in Lewenklaw, 515-31; Salomon Schweigger, *Ein newe Reisbeschreibung aus Deutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, Nürnberg 1608; Stephan Gerlach (d. Aeltere), *Tagebuch*..., Franckfurt am Mayn 1674, 265; Hezār-fenn, *op.cit.*, fol. 178a; ʿAbdī, fol. 8a-b; Nāʿīmā writes that, in the festival of 1056/1646 to celebrate the wedding of Fāṭima Sulṭān, the daughter of Sultan Ibrāhīm, who was then four years of age, since the two minarethigh *nakhīls* were too tall and too wide to pass through the streets of Istanbul, terraces, balconies and the eaves of various houses had to be pulled down, and the streets to be widened, see his *Taʾrīkh*, Maṭbaʿa-yi ʿĀmire, Istanbul 1280/1863; the case was the same in the festival of 1086/1675. Dr. Covel witnessed the demolishing process in Edirne: some of the houses were completely pulled down, see his *Diary*, fol. 200a; Wehbī states that in the festival of 1133/1720, the money for the reconstruction was granted to the owners of the houses while the process of demolishing was under way, see his *Sūr-nāme-yi Sulṭān Aḥmed*, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, H.O. 94; Keshfī, *Sūr-nāme*, Nat. bibl. Vienna, H.O.95, fols. 3b, 13a-b; also Haunolt, *Verzeichnuss des Hochzeitlichen Fest*..., 432; he describes some of the expensive *nakhīls* constructed for the wedding of ʿĀʾishe Sulṭān, one of the daughters of Murad III, in 1586, which were decorated with gilded balls, big pieces of turquoise and hundreds of pearls. One such palm cost forty or fifty thousand golden ducats; J. von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, Vienna 1829, 451 (von Hammer is the first Ottoman historian to have drawn attention to the symbolical significance of the *nakhīls*). According to him, the size of these palms implied the power of virility of the bridegroom, and the fruits on their branches alluded to the fecundity of the bride. He indicates that while the *nakhīls* represented the phallophores, the red tulle on the wedding palanquin suggests the flammeum and the torches the flambeau of Cupid and Hymen; here the fescennium and corybantes are replaced by sensual songs and orgiastic dances in unison with the pulsating beats of drums and castanets; he shows 24 kinds of festal palm, see *ibid.*, iv, 312; Ewliyā, *Seyāhāt-nāme*, i, Istanbul 1314/1896, 612; Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen*..., i, 277, ii, 50; Konyalı, *İstanbul sarayları*, Istanbul 1942, 137-8: here the author describes how the Arabic word *nakhl* later became *nahil*, *nakıl* or *nakil* in common Turkish usage; İ. H. Danişmend, *İstanbul sarayları*, Istanbul 1943, ii, 104; Nabī, *Sūr-nāme*, 57-8; Uzunçarşılı, *op.cit.*, 162; M. And, *Osmanlı düğünlerinde nahıllar*, in *TM*, xii (January 1969), 16; Ö. Nutku, *The* Nahıl: *a symbol of fertility in Ottoman festivities*, in *Annales de l'Université d'Ankara*, xii (Ankara 1972), 63-71; And, *Osmanlı şenliklerinde Türk sanatı*, 210-24.

2. SHEKER TAṢWĪRLER, "Sugar figures". The confectionery displayed in various processions was one of the most attractive spectacles in this event. The sugar figures made by skilled confectioners had always been a colourful public attraction. These figures, together with artificial gardens, were almost indispensable parts of the festal palms; and that is why they had always been considered all together. If the festal palms were necessary, so were the sugar figures and the artificial gardens, all being meaningful in the matrimonial and circumcisional processions as symbols of fertility and fecundity.

The confectionery played an important role in the Ottoman celebrations from the beginning. The figures of lions, birds, fishes, peacocks, camels, elephants, gazelles, horses and a variety of monsters made of sugar in different colours and flavours, were generally between 75 cm. and 1.35 m. in size. These and the figures of mermaids, lanterns, ewers, pots, fruits, flowers, festal palms and jugs filled with water were all made by the skilled confectioners. Yet the most astonishing works in sugar were the ones in bigger sizes, such as models of a mosque, a castle, a town, a kiosk, a garden or a fountain with running water.

Apart from these models and the figures, there were also large circular trays or large boxes of confectionery, carried by two attendants and sometimes by three or four. In the festivities of 1086/1675, for instance, there were 200 coffers of confectionery, all distributed to the spectators.

Bibliography: An illuminating description of sugar figures may be seen in Gerlach's *Tagebuch*..., 97, 265; for the confectionery and the confectioner, Haunolt, *Particular Verzeichnuss*..., 472, 476, 489-90; and idem, *Verzeichnuss des Hochzeitlichen Fest*..., 528, 534; ʿAbdī, *Sūr-nāme*, fol. 8b; Covel, *Diary*, fol. 215a; Hezār-fenn, fols. 168a, 174b; *Sūr-nāme* of 1137/1724, ms., Nat. bibl. Vienna, H.O.95, fols. 3b, 7a; for Nointel's letter to his friend Pomponne, de Nointel, *L'Odyssée d'un ambassadeur*, 197; a later description of confectionery may be seen in Lebīb's *Sūr-nāme*, ms. Ist. Üniv. Kit. T. no. 6197, fols. 13b, 89a-90b; for the skill of confectioners, *Beschreibung der Reisen*, ii, 50; a detailed description may be found in Dursun Bey's *Taʾrīkh-i Ebu 'l-Feth*, Istanbul 1330/1911, 80; Nabī, *Sūr-nāme*, 62; for recent information, Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne şenliği*, 72; and And, *Osmanlı şenliklerinde Türk sanatları*, 209-24.

3. YAPMA BAGHČE, "Artificial garden". In the processions organised for weddings, and circumcision celebrations, the artificial gardens were one of the exhibits, which interested the spectators, together with the festal palms and the sugar figures. These models were approximately 2.70 m² or 3.60 m² in size, with fruit trees, flowers, kiosks and fountains. There were nightingales singing on the trees, and water running from the hill tops. If the model was going to be presented to the Sultan, it was decorated with precious stones, mostly turquoise and mother-of-pearls. These artificial gardens moved on four, six or sometimes eight wheels, and each garden were pulled by four or six dockyard slaves, who were later liberated by the Sultan. In some cases, there were also real musicians on these models, playing for the public. In short, the artificial gardens were pieces of artistic composition.

Bibliography: For the miniatures showing the artificial gardens, *Sūr-nāme-i Hümāyūn*, Nat. bibl. Vienna, cod. H.O./70; and Wehbī, *Sūr-nāme*, Nat. bibl. Vienna, H.O. 94; ʿAbdī, *Sūr-nāme*, Millet Kit. no. 277, fol. 10a; Covel, *Diary*, fols. 15b, 215a, 217a; Hezār-fenn, fols. 165a, 166b, 177a; de Nointel, *op.cit.*, 199; Hüseyin Yurdaydın, *Matrakçı Nasuh*, Ankara 1963, 12-5, and for the pictures of the models, see 86; Nutku, *op.cit.*, 73; And, *op.cit.*, 220. (Ö. NUTKU)

5. IN MUSLIM INDIA

Many of the terms used here have already been defined in the account of court ceremonial above, for which see MARĀSIM, 5.

Processions in India are of great popular appeal, from the panache of the simple wedding ceremonies to

the pomp of royal ceremonial; and even these extremes have something in common.

The wedding (for full details see NIKĀḤ) involves a procession to escort the first contractual presents from bridegroom to bride, the preliminary exchange of presents (*sāčaḳ*) between bride and groom, the bride's night procession (*mēhndī*) to anoint the bridegroom with henna, and the bridegroom's procession in which he comes to carry away his bride; even in the simplest forms the bridegroom is mounted on a decorated horse, or the bride carried in a palanquin (*pālkī*) or on a litter (*ḍōlī*) [see NAḲL] accompanied by friends on foot and by a musical escort. The essentials of Muslim weddings in India (which incorporate many details derived from Hindū customs) are described, especially for the Deccan, in D̲j̲aʿfar S̲h̲arīf, ch. viii; but the difference is only one of degree from such an elaborate wedding ceremonial as that of the (Anglo-Muslim) granddaughter of Col. W. L. Gardner at Kāsgand̲j̲ in 1835 to a grandson of S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam II, sultan of Dihlī, described in Fanny Parks, *Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the picturesque*, London 1850 (repr. Karachi 1975), i, 420-50, and similar in its lavish ostentation to the processions, for various purposes, of the royal court: the escort for the bride's dress in *ʿamārīs* on elephants and in covered bullock-carts (*ratha*) and palanquins with 100 trays of presents carried on men's heads; a similar procession to escort the bridegroom's dress; the *sāčaḳ* procession, with fully caparisoned elephants and horses, *nālkīs*, palanquins and *rathas* [see NAḲL], 200 earthen pots, covered with leaf silver, containing sweetmeats and carried on men's heads, "a number of men dressed up as horses ... playing antics", and ten travelling platforms (*tak̲h̲t-i rawān*), each supporting two dancing-girls and a musician, also carried on men's heads and accompanied by kettle-drums; the *mēhndī* procession, the grandest of all, when the road was enclosed with bamboo screens and had triumphal arches at intervals, all lighted with thousands of small lamps, fireworks were let off all along the route, and the usual elephants, horses, *nālkīs*, palanquins, *rathas*, and the portable stages, were lit up by men carrying 5,000 torches; and the bridegroom's procession to carry away his bride (described as an old Tatar, or Tīmūrid, custom; but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 275, tr. Gibb, iii, 687, writes of a similar ceremony at the marriage of the sister of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ), similarly accompanied by many musical bands and innumerable flags, with the young prince at the head on a horse with an ornamental armour made of flowers, flanked by an *āftābgīr* and followed by a gold-embroidered *čhatr*; besides the usual train of elephants and horses, etc., carrying the escort, and the portable stages, there were added a great number of led horses, and a small forest of artificial trees of wax and paper, decorated with gold and silver foil and mica. Not mentioned in the above account, but known from other sources, are the distribution of small copper coins from one of the elephants to the bystanders lining the route, and the liberation of caged birds at frequent intervals.

Descriptions of royal processions are less frequent than notices of other ceremonial observances. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa does, however, describe, sketchily, certain processions in the time of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ: on his return to his palace from a journey, wooden pavilions were set up at intervals on the road from city gate to palace gate, several storeys high with well-dressed singers and dancing girls on each storey; the street walls were hung with silk cloths, and silk cloths carpeted the space between the pavilions for the sultan's horse to walk on. He was preceded by several thousand of his own slaves on foot, sixteen brocaded and jewelled elephants bearing sixteen parasols, and the *g̲h̲ās̲h̲iya*, and followed by mounted troops; three or four small catapults set up on elephants might scatter silver coin among the populace (iii, 237-8, tr. Gibb, iii, 668; another ceremonial entry is described at iii, 395-6, tr. Gibb, iii, 744). At the reception of a person of rank (e.g. the *amīr* G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Muḥammad, descendant of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustanṣir bi'llah) the sultan sent envoys to a distance to meet him, and himself rode out ten miles to greet him personally, dismounting to pay homage and offer a *k̲h̲ilʿa* before both mounted for the journey to the palace shaded by the one royal umbrella (*ibid.*, iii, 260, tr. Gibb, iii, 680). When the sultan rode out to the great festival of the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* [*q.v.*] the procession was headed by the *ḳāḍīs* and by *muʾad̲h̲d̲h̲ins*, calling out *allāhu akbar*, mounted on elephants; then came the slaves and *mamlūks* on foot and some 300 *nāḳibs*, all wearing gold caps and girdles; then the sixteen royal elephants with their sixteen parasols, one of them bearing the sultan himself, preceded by his *g̲h̲ās̲h̲iya*. Foreign dignitaries later in the procession were also mounted on elephants. Behind the sultan were his "honours" [see MARĀTIB] and all the members of his personal entourage, and then his half-brother, his father's adopted son, his nephew Fīrūz b. Rad̲j̲ab, the *wazīr*, and some half-dozen "great *amīrs* who are never separated from his company", all mounted and followed by their *marātib* and troops; other *amīrs* rode without "honours"; those riding in the procession wore armour, both on themselves and on their horses. At the gate of the *ʿīdgāh*, the procession halted and the judges, the principal *amīrs* and the "chiefs of the foreigners" (envoys from other courts?) entered before the sultan; after the prayers and the address by the *imām*, the sultan protected his dress by a silk overall and himself stabbed the sacrificial camel in the throat with a spear before returning to his palace. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also describes (iii, 109ff., tr. Gibb, iii, 600-2) a river-journey with the governor of Lāharī in Sind: the governor rode in a central raised cabin in an *ahawra* (possibly connected with the Hindī *hōlā*, a cargo boat of some 35-55 tonnes; here evidently a state barge) rowed by 40 men; of the fifteen vessels which made up his baggage-train, four flanked the *ahawra*, two carrying his *marātib* and two carrying singers. Singers and the instruments of the *marātib* performed alternately until the midday meal, when the ships closed up and gangways were set between them; at dusk the parties disembarked and set up camp on the river bank. When the procession moved to land, six horsemen rode ahead with drums and reed pipes, followed by the governor's *ḥād̲j̲ibs*, flanked by singers, and his personal troops, and the governor himself.

There is little difference on the composition of royal processions over the years, as far as can be determined from the limited evidence available; certain practices mentioned later, such as water-carriers walking ahead of the procession to lay the dust, may in fact not be innovations. When the Mug̲h̲al ruler moved out of his palace he was accompanied almost always by the bearer of the flywhisk, and invariably by the *ḳur*, as described above s.v. MARĀSIM. 5; the ruler's person would be further guarded by mace-bearers (*gurz-bardār*), who obviously inherited the functions of the *dūrbāsh* [*q.v.*] as described by Amīr K̲h̲usraw and Baranī. Processions are the subject of frequent illustration in Mug̲h̲al painting; the use of the *g̲h̲ās̲h̲iya* seems by now to have been discontinued. There is evidence of some rulers taking part in processions on

foot on grounds of piety; Akbar so covered part of the journey to the shrine of Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī at Adjmēr, and Djahāngīr visited Akbar's tomb on foot in 1017/1608; in 1028/1619, however, he rode to the tomb in full procession, as shown by a superb miniature painting in the Chester Beatty collection. The height of ostentation and opulence is perhaps best expressed in the royal participation in the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* celebrations at Lucknow [see LAKHNAʾŪ] in the first quarter of the 19th century, as described by Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmanns of India*..., [1832], ed. Crooke, London 1917, 142-4; here the procession started with 50 camels carrying swivelguns, each with two gunners and driver, then a body of artillery, two troops of armed cavalry, and a regiment of militia, all in new uniforms of different colours; the horses were caparisoned with embroidered horsecloths, silver ornaments and necklaces, with tails and manes dyed red with henna. These were followed by the mounted kettledrums, these with horse and rider ornamented with the royal fish emblem (representing the *māhī-marātib*; see under MARĀTIB. 5. Fanny Parks remarks, *op.cit.*, i, 178, that the royal pleasure-boat on the river Gōmatī was "made in the shape of a fish, and the golden scales glittered in the sun"). The ruler followed in an open silver carriage drawn by four elephants with costly caparisons, flanked by chowry-bearers and the *āftābgīr* and guarded by cavalry, and followed by the king's horses, led by grooms; other elephant-carriages, with two elephants apiece, conveyed the British Resident, the *wazīr*, and other favoured nobles. The golden *nālkī* followed, with a golden palanquin and a state carriage drawn by eight horses with a European coachman. Some fifty ridden elephants followed, wtih the Europeans of the King's court and the *umarāʾ* and the great officers of state, and the regiments, both horse and foot, marching with their colours unfurled, and their bands "playing English pieces". After the sacrifice at the *ʿīdgāh*, the procession returned to the royal palace in the same order, where the king held court firstly to receive *nadhrs* [*q.v.*], then to garland his favoured guests and to award distinctions and present *khilʿas*; a feast followed, with animal fights, music and dancing, and fireworks. "This magnificent style of celebrating ... is perhaps unequalled by any other Native Court now existing in Hindoostaun."

The royal hunt—highly esteemed in India since it kept the army ready and exercised—involved the sultan and his retinue and troops marching out in battle array; Baranī (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., 55) estimates that the sultan might be accompanied by 500-600 courtiers, 1,000 mounted troops and 1,000 foot-soldiers (the beaters, perhaps 3,000 in number, were probably engaged locally); the trainers of the hunting-leopards [see FAHD], dogs and hawks [see BAYZARA] would also have marched out with the sultan from the *kārkhānas* specialising in breeding and training these animals (Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., 317-18). When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa accompanied Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (iii, 414-15, tr. Gibb, iii, 752-3) the royal procession was similar to those described above, and each traveller of importance had to provide his own camping enclosure (*sarāča*) and tent to be erected within it, carpets, cooking utensils, litter (*dōlā*), and camels and men to carry everything, grass-cutters for fodder for the animals, and torch-bearers for night travel. The sultan selected each camping site, and his own red *sarāča* was erected before any other *sarāčas* (white trimmed with blue) were allowed to be set up. (A story is told of Akbar by Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, i, 87, Eng. tr. W. Irvine, i, 133, who while graciously dismissing a Hindū prince demanded the surrender of his scarlet tents, reserving this colour for himself and for princes of the blood royal.) It is notable that in depictions of the hunt in Mughal painting, the *ḳur* is almost always present, close to the royal person, no matter how attenuated the retinue has become during the chase. (For the royal hunt, see ṢAYD; for the camp, see URDŪ.)

The processions at the Muḥarram are described s.v. TAʿZIYA; certain features of them must however be noticed here. The Muḥarram procession at Lucknow, as described by Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *op.cit.*, 42ff., is scarcely less elaborate than the royal procession described above, except that the ruler himself does not take part; but the royal umbrella is carried over the head of the Duldul, a mule representing that which the Prophet gave to ʿAlī. There is also much distribution of food to the poor as the cavalcade passes along; and the kettledrums are muffled. There are many extraneous events, however, in the Muḥarram processions as celebrated in the Deccan; besides the orthodox *faḳīrs* there are many who personate the *faḳīrs*, and others, such as those intended to represent paddy-birds (the heron *Ardeola grayii*) and the hawk who catches them; the Crow King, who carries a cage of crows and makes jokes; the *ḥādjdjī bī-wuḳūf*, the sham *ḥakīm*, the *sharābī*, the *ḳāḍī bī-dīn*, whose irreverent names reveal their functions, join with men dressed as tigers or camels, or personating Hindū shopkeepers or Djayn moneylenders, in coarse buffoonery all along the procession, rather like the men "dressed as horses and playing antics" mentioned earlier. There are many similar by-plays, nothing at all to do with, or in keeping with, the solemnity of the occasion. (Djaʿfar Sharīf, *Ḳānūn-i Islām*, ed. as *Herklots' Islam in India* by W. Crooke, Oxford 1921, 168-82). The author has observed quarter-staff fights, doubtless derived from the *idea* of the battle of Karbalāʾ, enacted in the Muḥarram procession at Udaypur [*q.v.*] by obviously non-Muslim Rādjpūts, showing the Indian love of turning any procession into a *tamāsha*.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see *Bibl.* to MARĀSIM. 5. Muslim India.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MAWĀLĪ [see MAWLĀ].

MAWĀLIYĀ (A., pl. *mawāliyāt*) or *mawāliyyā*, also reportedly *mawālī* and *muwālayāt*, a non-classical Arabic verse form. Together with the cognate *mawwāl*, this is best considered in three contexts.

1. In written sources.

Among the "seven arts" *al-funūn al-sabʿa* [see KĀN WA-KĀN])—non-classical verse forms are always made to number seven, although the lists are not identical—the *mawāliyā* is given pride of place next to the *muwashshaḥ* and the *zadjal*, on the ground that its metre is classical and its language either classical or colloquial.

Two traditions place its beginnings in ʿIrāḳ in early ʿAbbāsid times. One is that non-Arab (*mawālī*) labourers in the orchards of Wāsiṭ sang it, using the words *yā mawāliyā* ("O, my master!") as a refrain. The other is that a slave-girl of the Barmakīs, herself called Mawāliyā, created the form to circumvent Hārūn al-Rashīd's ban on poetry praising her disgraced masters, the contention being that since the language was uninflected, the composition could not be said to be *shiʿr*. Both accounts are suspect as they occur only in late sources and appear to have been fabricated to account for the otherwise unexplained appellation.

The form was, however, well-established by the

6th/12th century, when it always occurs as four hemistichs of *basīṭ*, all with the same rhyme. Later, perhaps from the 11th/17th century onward, it was elaborated into a variety of multi-rhyme compositions (see section 2, below).

The composer of *mawāliyās* was sometimes called a *mawwāl*.

2. In folk-verse.

The form is a favourite in Arab lands, extending all the way from ʿIrāḳ to North Africa. Variations are almost innumerable, and the observations that follow relate to prevalent practice in Egypt alone.

The terminology is often vague and inconsistent. The word *mawāliyā* itself is still used, especially in writing, but in common parlance the composition itself is almost always called a *mawwāl*, and a master of the art is known as *rayyis il-mawwāl*.

The metre is seldom as regular as the pundits would have it, but if the composition can be scanned at all it is recognisably in the *basīṭ*, with two variations added to those allowed by the classical prosodists: the *fāʿilun* foot is often reduced to two long syllables even in the body of the line, and the *mustafʿilun* foot is occasionally changed to *mutafāʿilun*. It may therefore be scanned:

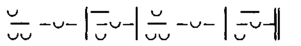

What in classical prosody is a hemistich is here clearly the basic metrical unit, for it is always rhymed, occurs more often in odd than in even numbers, and is never enjambé. In this entry, it will be referred to as a line.

The most marked development has been in rhyme schemes. The monorhyme quatrain (*aaaa*), called *rubāʿī* or *mirabbaʿ*, is now comparatively rare. Variations appear to have been created mostly by insertions between the third line and the last. The first three lines are then called the *ʿataba* ("doorstep")—although the term is also sometimes applied to each of the three lines—or the *farsha* ("spread, mat"), and the last line is then the *ghaṭā* ("cover") or, in longer compositions, the *ṭāḳiyya* ("skull-cap").

The simplest elaboration consists of the addition of an unrhymed line in fourth place: *aaaxa*. This line is said to be *ʿardjā* ("lame"), and the *mawwāl* itself is *aʿradj*.

Another augmented form has the rhyme scheme *aaa zzz a*. The composition is then called *sabʿānī* or *misabbaʿ* ("sevener"), *nuʿmānī*, or *baghdādī*.

Yet another elaboration is brought about by adding a number of lines, usually six, with alternating rhymes after the *farsha*—*aaa bcbcbc zzz a*—the last line also having an internal *z* rhyme. The sestet of alternating rhymes is called *shadjara* ("tree") or *ridfa* ("alternate"), or else each of the two rhymes is called a *ridfa*, and they are distinguished from each other as *dakar* and *intāya* ("male" and "female"). The *mawwāl* is then said to be *mardūf* or *Ṣaʿīdī* ("Upper Egyptian").

By multiplying the number of sestets, or by using any variety of the *mawwāl* as a stanza, the composition can be extended indefinitely, particularly for narrative purposes.

A somewhat rare further refinement is the addition of internal rhymes to some of the lines; these are then called *misakkaf* ("clapping or roofed").

Another feature strongly associated with the folk *mawwāl* but not exclusive to it is the expansion of the rhymes into polysyllabic paronomasias, achieved by deliberate distortion of the normal pronunciation. The art is called *zahr* ("flower'). A *mawwāl* devoid of it is described as *abyaḍ* ("white, blank"); if so ornamented, it is either *aḥmar* ("red") or *akhḍar* ("green"), the distinction most often made—but not consistently applied—between these two being that the first deals with sad themes and the second with joyful ones.

The following illustrates the rhyme scheme, metrical variations, and the *zahr*, with the normal pronunciation of the punning rhymes added between square brackets:

yā dākhil il-karm(i) khud bālak min illī fīh
You who enter the vineyard, beware of what is in it;
wi giss(i) nabḍ il-ʿinab w iḥras min illifīh [līfuh]
Feel the pulse of the grapes, be watchful of its fibres,
w ittabbaʿ il-ʾaṣl(i) law titʿab min illifīh [il-laffa]
And trace back the root, though you weary of the winding trail.
il-ḥilw(i) fōḳ ish-shawāshī w il-wiḥish ʿa l-ʾarḍ
What is good is high on the trellises; what is bad is on the ground.
iʿlam bi ʾinn il-hawā li l-ḥukm(i) ʾawʿādī [ʾawʿad]
Take note that passion is a threat to wisdom.
il-ward(i) lammā zuhī ḳaṭafu l-gabān ʿal-ʾarḍ [ʿalā riḍā]
Roses when deluded consent to being plucked by the unworthy;
khallāni tayhān m aʿraf ʾahli ʾawʿādī [ʾaw ʾaʿādiyya]
They so befuddle me, I make out neither my kinsmen nor my foes.
shuft il-ghazāl māl min ḥubb il-fulūs ʿal-ʾarḍ [ʿalā l-ḳird]
I have seen the gazelle, for love of money, lean towards the monkey.
ya ma ḳult(i) li l-ḳalb(i) buṣṣ(i) w shūf ʾaʿwādī [ʾiwʿa di]
How often have I told my heart: Look! Consider! Guard against this!
bēn il-milīḥ wi l-ḳabīḥ farḳ(i) b-dalīl wisabāt [wi ʾisbāt]
The fair and the ugly differ—for this there is evidence and proof.
wi ṭ-ṭabʿ(i) wi r-rūḥ fi l-gasad is-salīm wisabāt [wasabāt]
In a healthy body, one's nature and spirit leap up.
il-ḥurr(i) ʿanduh shahāmah fi l-karam wi sabāt
The freeborn man is resolute and staunch in his nobility,
wi n-nadl(i) law māt ma ytubshī ʿan illifīh [il-ʾāfa]
Whereas the vile one—though he die—never turns away from shame.

3. In folk music.

The word *mawwāl* stands for an interpretative freesong, with no set tune. The words sung may fall within the norms detailed above, but more often than not metrical regularity and even rhyme are sacrificed to dramatic effect.

Bibliography: For earlier works, see the *Bibl.* to *EI*¹ art. *Mawālīyā* (Moh. Bencheneb). Of more recent ones, see Ṣafiyy ad-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *Die vulgärabische Poetik—al-Kitāb al-ʿAṭil al-Ḥālī wal-Murakhkhaṣ al-Ġālī*, ed. W. Hoenerbach, Wiesbaden 1956; ʿAbd al-Karīm al-ʿAllāf, *al-Mawwāl al-Baghdādī*, Baghdād 1964; Aḥmad Mursī, *al-Ughniya al-shaʿbiyya*, Cairo 1970; P. Cachia, *The Egyptian Mawwāl*, in *JAL*, viii (1977), 77-103; Serafin Fanjul, *El Mawwāl Egipcio*, Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura 1976; Tiberiu Alexandru, *The folk music of Egypt* (booklet and two discs), Cairo, Ministry of Culture n.d. [*ca.* 1970].

(P. Cachia)

At the end of his article in *EI*¹ Mawāliyā, Mawwāl, M. Bencheneb adds numerous bibliographical references, amongst which should be given here the following in particular: Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, tr.

de Slane, iii, 451 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 475 ff.; Sayyid Amīn, *Bulbul al-afrāh* ... *fi 'l-mawāwīl al-khudr wa 'l-humr*, Cairo 1316/1898-9; J. David, *Les Maouals*, Caen 1864. To these may be added Muḥammad b. Abī Shanab, *Tuḥfat al-adab*², Paris 1954, 129-31.

(Ed.)

AL-MĀWARDĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Shāfiʿi *faḳīh*, was born in Baṣra in 364/974 and died in Baghdād on 30 Rabīʿ I 450/27 May 1058, aged 86 years.

After completing his studies in Baṣra and in Baghdād, he became a teacher. The renown which he acquired, owing to the extent and the variety of his knowledge, drew to him the attention of the authorities; he was appointed *ḳāḍī* and fulfilled the responsibilities of this post in various towns, in particular at Ustuwā, near Nishāpūr, before being entrusted with the role in Baghdād itself. In 429/1038, he was awarded the honorific surname (*laḳab*) of *aḳḍā 'l-ḳuḍāt* or supreme *ḳāḍī* in spite of the opinions of eminent jurists, including al-Ṭabarī, who denied the legality of this title. In addition, he was on four occasions chosen by the caliph al-Ḳāʾim (422-67/1031-74) to perform diplomatic missions in 422/1031, 428/1037, 434/1042-3 and 435/1043-4. Anecdotes confirm that his rank and his vast learning did not in any way detract from his modesty and that he was an enthusiastic and eloquent speaker. He was furthermore highly regarded by the preceding caliph al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031), who employed him not only in the conduct of his negotiations with the Būyids who were then the rulers of ʿIrāḳ (al-Māwardī was thus the contemporary of two caliphs known for their pro-Sunnī policy), but also for the purpose of restoring Sunnism, this accounting for the composition of manuals propounding the doctrines of each of the four orthodox schools.

Other details regarding the biography of al-Māwardī are supplied by Arab writers. From the account given by the Shāfiʿī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1072), in his *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, i, 53-4, ix, 358, it is known that his father was a manufacturer and seller of rose-water and that our *faḳīh* was buried in Baghdād. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) in *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya* (xi, 80, xii, 79) says of him that he was gentle, dignified and polite, qualities which had been attributed to him even earlier by the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200) in the *Muntaẓam* (viii, 199-200). Al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) in the *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl fī naḳd al-ridjāl* (no. 342) and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1449) in the *Lisān al-Mīzān* (iv, 260) give examples of the perfect rectitude of al-Māwardī even when confronted by the powerful. The most striking example is that of the *fatwā* declared in 429/1037-8 against the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla, who was demanding from al-Ḳāʾim the right to bear the title of *shāhanshāh*. However, al-Māwardī did not escape the suspicions of the orthodox, and the great Shāfiʿī jurist al-Subkī (d. 756/1355) speaks of Muʿtazilī views for which he was criticised (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, iii, 303, v, 12).

As regards the works of al-Māwardī, the classification followed is that of Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳāʾ, in the introduction to the *Adab al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn*:

1. Religious works: *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, also known as *al-Nukat wa 'l-ʿuyūn* (still in manuscript); *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr fi 'l-furūʿ*, on the legal system of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī, of which the various portions (more than thirty) are scattered throughout the East and the West; *Kitāb al-Iḳnāʿ*, a summary in 40 pages of the preceding, which numbered 4,000 pages, mentioned by Ibn al-Djawzī in *al-Muntaẓam* (viii, 199); *Kitāb Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* (ed. Cairo 1319, 330); *Kitāb Adab al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn* (ed. in the margins of the *Kashkūl* of al-ʿĀmilī, Cairo 1316/1898-9; ed. M. al-Saḳḳāʾ, Cairo 1955).

2. Works of a political and social nature: *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, translated notably by Fagnan (Algiers 1915; new edition, Paris 1982) under the title of *Traité des statuts gouvernementaux* or *Constitutiones politicae*; this is the work which made al-Māwardī known in the West, and it is considered a classic work of public law; *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-wizāra wa-siyāsat al-mulk*, on the *adab* of the vizier (ms. in Vienna); *Kitāb Tashīl al-naẓar wa-taʿdjīl al-ẓafar*, on politics and different forms of government (ms. in Gotha); *Kitāb Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* (ms. in Paris).

3. Studies of language and of *adab*: *Kitāb fi 'l-naḥw*, on grammar (lost); *Kitāb al-Amthāl wa 'l-ḥikam*, collection of 300 traditions, 300 proverbs and 300 verses (ms. Univ. of Leiden); *Kitāb Ādāb al-takallum* (selection from works of al-Māwardī chosen by Muḥammad b. ʿĀli al-Zuhra; ms. Univ. of Leiden, Or. 989-9); *Kitāb Adab al-ḳāḍī*, which in fact represents two of the thirty sections of the *Ḥāwī* (ed. Baghdād 1971); *Kitāb Maʿrifat al-faḍāʾil, Tractatus paroeneticus de virtutibus moralibus*, attributed to al-Māwardī (ms. Escurial).

Bibliography: Besides the sources mentioned, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. Cairo 1299, i, 410, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968-72, iii, 382-4; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xv, 52-5; Brockelmann, I, 386, S I, 668 for the mss.; H. A. R. Gibb, *Al-Mawardī's theory of the Khilafah*, in *IC*, xi (1937), 291-302, repr. in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, Boston 1962, 151-65; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in medieval Islam*, Cambridge 1958, 27-37; H. Laoust, *La pensée et l'action politique d'al-Māwardī*, in *REI* xxxvi (1968), 11-92. See also MAẒĀLIM.

(C. Brockelmann)

MAWĀT (A.), juridical term designating dead lands.

Fiḳh makes the practical distinction between dead land (*arḍ mawāt*) and living land. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, dead land is that which is not well cultivated and is without water; for al-Shāfiʿī, it is all that is neither cultivated nor dependent on a cultivated place. Dead land is of two kinds: that which, from time immemorial, has always been in this state, of a kind that bears no mark of cultivation and concerning which no property right has been established; whereas dead land of the second category is that which, once cultivated, has then been neglected, become dead and allowed to lie fallow.

But dead land can be brought to life. Revivification (*iḥyāʾ*) is a task performed on the land and intended to make it usable. Both near neighbours and those at a greater distance have the right of revivification. For Mālik, however, the nearest neighbours are the most qualified to undertake the work of revivification. Giving value to the land allows the one who has carried out the task of revivification to become a man of property. A piece of dead land that has been revivified becomes the property (*milk*) of the revivifier. According to the Ḥanafīs, revivification of the land is only allowed with the caliph's authorisation, but, according to al-Shāfiʿī, the one who revivifies dead pieces of land becomes the owner with or without the caliph's permission.

On the nature of what constitutes giving value to land so as to create a property right, the different juridical schools are not in agreement: according to the Mālikīs, it is not enough to enclose the land, to sink a well in it or to pasture a flock on it. One must,

for example, find a spring and then exploit the spring by means of water channels, or else clear the land in such a way as to make it usable, or even build; in short, giving value to it must consist of useful and productive work. The Mālikīs, however, appear less demanding than the other juridical schools on the subject of the conditions required to acquire the soil by revivification.

The land surrounding the revivified land (*ḥarīm*) also becomes revivified land, but on this the four juridical schools are not in agreement on the extent of these neighbouring lands which satisfy the juridical condition of revivified land. As for that which has channels dug in it to revivify the dead lands, it becomes the property of those who have them dug, and no-one else has the right to draw water there or to make a side channel leading off from them. It should be noted that the channel or water-pipe, is regarded simply as a hidden water-course.

Dead lands can be made into reserves and charges levied on them. To reserve dead lands is to protect them from revivification and private ownership, so that they may remain accessible to all and so that cattle can be put out to pasture on them. They can also be granted as a concession. A piece of dead land that has been reserved can lose its character as a "reserve", under certain conditions, if someone comes to revivify it. In the same way, if dead land granted as a concession is revivified by an individual who takes possession of it to the detriment of the one who has been granted the concession, the right of the revivifier does not prevail over that of the concessionary; in any case, where dead lands are granted as concessions, the beneficiaries of the concessions do not really become the owners before having revivified them. According to *fiḳh*, this is explained by the Prophet's saying "To the one who quickens a dead piece of land, that land belongs." In practice, one can understand all the importance that could be attached to making an ownerless and abandoned land usable and productive, a fiscal importance especially, since quickening involved the payment to the public treasury of the tax for the land, tithe or *kharādj*, in accordance with regional conditions.

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(A.-M. Delcambre)

MAWĀZĪN [see makāyīl].

MAWDŪD b. ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN ZANKĪ, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, Atabeg [see atabak] of al-Mawṣil.

ʿImād al-Dīn Zankī, on his death on 6 Rabīʿ II 541/15 September 1146, left four heirs: of these Mawdūd b. ʿImād al-Dīn Zankī, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Aʿradj, the youngest of his sons, was only sixteen years old. The eldest, Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī represented his father at al-Mawsīl of which Zankī [*q.v.*] held only the usufruct; the second son, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], twenty-nine years old, accompanied his father in his campaigns; the third, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Amīr-Amīrān was named as heir presumptive when the former was ill, in Ramaḍān 552/October 1157, and later sent to Ḥarrān as governor. Mawdūd also had a sister who married the *amīr* Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṣūrī. The task of appointing Zankī's successor was in the hands of two trusted counsellors: the vizier Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Djawād al-Isfahānī, and the chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yāghīsiyānī, titulary *amīr* of Ḥamāt.

At the time of his illness, Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī I transferred power to his youngest brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd at the request of his loyal counsellors Djamāl al-Dīn and Zayn al-Dīn Küčük, who had previously served Zankī. The young prince was placed under the supervision of the vizier and the Begteginid [*q.v.*] *amīr*. Some weeks later, in Djumādā II 544/October 1149, Sayf al-Dīn died at about forty years old, leaving a son of tender years. Mawdūd, on his succession, maintained in office the two loyal retainers of his father and of his eldest brother. The council was completed with the appointment of the *amīr* ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Dubaysī. Also associated with this triumvirate was another loyal supporter of Zankī, a jurist, the *ḳāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Shahrazūrī. On his assumption of power, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, succeeding to the eldest of the family, took up residence in the governor's palace and ordered the imprisonment of his elder brother Nuṣrat al-Dīn Amīr-Amīrān who had sought to establish a faction of *amīrs*. Nūr al-Dīn, for his part, had favoured the installation of Mawdūd at al-Mawṣil. Recognised by the army and the population as sovereign of the entire Djazīra, his position was confirmed by the investiture of the Saldjūḳ sultan Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] and that of the caliph al-Muḳtafī [*q.v.*]. Shortly after his accession to power, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd married the princess Zumurrud Khātūn, daughter of Tīmurtāsh, the Artuḳid prince of Mardīn [*q.v.*] who had previously offered her to Sayf al-Din as a means of sealing an alliance with the Zankids.

A crisis soon erupted in 544/1149 between Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and his elder brother Nūr al-Dīn regarding the town of Sindjār [*q.v.*], where a third of the treasure of Zankī was stored in the citadel. The *amīr* ʿAbd al-Malik, governor of Sindjār, receiving no reply from Aleppo to the overtures that he had made to Nūr al-Dīn, made his way to al-Mawsīl to pledge allegiance to Mawdūd. Meanwhile, his son Shams al-Dīn had offered Sindjār to Nūr al-Dīn on condition that he himself should retain the treasure. On Monday 10 Radjab 544/13 November 1149, Nūr al-Dīn occupied Sindjār and succeeded in winning over to his side the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳara Arslān b. Dāwūd of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, a rival of Tīmurtāsh of Mārdīn, the father-in-law of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn. Learning of the forthcoming alliance of the Aleppo and the Artuḳid troops, Mawdūd returned to Sindjār. Accused of improperly appropriating the treasure. Nūr al-Dīn was able to argue his right of superior age in his defence; he expressed his wish to discuss with Mawdūd the problems raised by the succession to Sayf al-Dīn, and drew his attention to the considerable number of *amīrs* who had rallied to his cause. Mawdūd's counsellors feared desertions to the side of Nūr al-Dīn and considered that if the ruler of Aleppo were to emerge the victor in the confrontation, the sultan would come to attack al-Mawṣil which, enfeebled, would be incapable of resisting him. On the other hand, if Nūr al-Dīn were to be defeated, the most reliable bastion against the Crusaders would collapse and the Franks would then be able to extend still further. With the threat from common adversaries, the Saldjuḳ sultan to the East and the Crusaders to the West, the only solution was to make peace between the members of the Zankid family. The negotiations, skilfully conducted by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Djawād, led to an agreement between the two brothers. Nūr al-Dīn returned Sindjār in exchange for Ḥimṣ which had been given to his brother Sayf al-Dīn to reward him for his support against the second Crusade. Nūr al-Dīn also received al-Raḥba and al-Raḳḳa on the Euphrates as well as Edessa or al-Ruhā [*q.v.*]. The portion of the treasure

of Zankī stored at Sindjar was to be used to finance the djihād of Nūr al-Dīn.

In 553/1158, when ill, Nūr al-Dīn named his brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd as eventual successor and made his own *amīrs* promise to obey him. Mawdūd, crossing the Euphrates between Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] and al-Raḳḳa, made his way towards Damascus to visit his brother. Meanwhile, having recovered, Nūr al-Dīn had returned to northern Syria; the two Zankid princes set out to take Ḥarrān, which they entrusted to the *isfahsālār* Zayn al-Dīn ᶜAlī Küčük.

In the following year, Mawdūd arrived with powerful reinforcements to assist Nūr al-Dīn, who was threatened at Aleppo by the advance of a Frankish-Byzantine coalition. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 554/December 1159-January 1160, news came of the death of the Saldjūḳ sultan Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] at Hamadhān. This event was of importance to Mawdūd, who was holding prisoner at al-Mawṣil Sulaymān Shāh, one of the candidates for the succession. After long negotiations, Mawdūd agreed to release his prisoner on condition that he be appointed Atabeg of the new sultan and that the latter take Djamāl al-Dīn al-Djawād as vizier and ᶜAlī Küčük as commander of the sultan's armies. Escorted by troops from al-Mawṣil, Sulaymān Shāh set out for Hamadhān, but, the victim of a conspiracy, he was poisoned and died on the way. Mawdūd's troops turned back, and there were no further links between al-Mawṣil and Khurāsān. In Ramaḍān 559/August 1164, Mawdūd received an appeal yet again from Nūr al-Dīn, who wanted the assistance of his allies in causing a diversion in northern Syria with the aim of averting an invasion of Egypt by the Franks. Mawdūd responded by sending considerable contingents which laid siege to Ḥarīm [*q.v.*], but on hearing of the presence in the region of the Byzantine troops of the Emperor Manuel, the army of al-Mawṣil withdrew, linked up with the contingents of Nūr al-Dīn and contributed to the victory of ᶜImm which enabled the Zankid princes to take Ḥarīm.

During the second campaign of the *amīr* Shīrkūh in Egypt, Mawdūd sent, at the request of Nūr al-Dīn, reinforcements to take part in operations against the Count of Tripoli.

At the end of summer 562/1167 he returned to al-Mawṣil with troops exhausted by the campaign and by the fast of Ramaḍān. In token of gratitude to his brother, Nūr al-Dīn ceded al-Raḳḳa to him. Having learned that after the death on 27 Ramaḍān/17 July of Ḳara Arslān, the prince of Ḥiṣn Kayfā and of Diyār Bakr, his succession reverted to his son and designated heir, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (562-81/1167-85), Mawdūd wanted to attack the territories of the young Artuḳid prince; but Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ordered his brother to abstain from any hostile action. In 563/1168, the Begteginid *amīr* Zayn al-Dīn ᶜAlī Küčük, who had served Zankī and then Mawdūd, asked leave to go into retirement; he then returned to his master all the places that he had received in *iḳṭāᶜ* in order to cover the expenses incurred by his professional duties. The *amīr* Ṭāhir, the lieutenant of Zayn al-Dīn at Takrīt [*q.v.*], refused to concede his charge to the representatives of Mawdūd, but promised his continuing loyalty to him. In order to avoid any intervention on the part of the caliph, the Zankid princes accepted the *status quo* at Takrīt. As a replacement for the retired *amīr*, Mawdūd appointed as vizier at al-Mawṣil one of his own *mamlūks*, the eunuch Fakhr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Masīḥ. When Mawdūd's illness worsened, he decided to name as his successor his eldest son ᶜImād al-Dīn Zankī, who had married one of his cousins, the daughter of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Fakhr al-Dīn, who conducted affairs of state at al-Mawṣil, did not approve of this decision, since he wanted to withdraw from the tutelage of the ruler of Aleppo, who did not like him. He decided to engineer the downfall of ᶜImād al-Dīn, and allied himself with one of the wives of Mawdūd, the daughter of the Artuḳid Ḥusām al-Dīn Tīmurtāsh b. Īlghāzī and mother of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī. The vizier succeeded in making his master revoke his decision. Mawdūd, being close to death, summoned his *amīrs* together and made them pledge allegiance to his youngest son. It was thus that the young Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī acceded to the throne as legitimate heir when his father died following his illness on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 565/6 September 1170. Fakhr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Masīḥ continued to administer all the business of al-Mawṣil, while Nūr al-Dīn lost the control which he had exercised over the city during the lifetime of his youngest brother.

One of the daughters of Mawdūd, ᶜAzīzat al-Dīn Akhshāwrā Khātūn, wife of al-Malik al-Muᶜaẓẓam, constructed in 610/1213, on the banks of the river Ṭawra, at Ṣāliḥiyya, the Ḥanafī funerary *madrasa* of al-Māridāniyya. One of his grand-daughters, Tarkan Khātūn, daughter of ᶜIzz al-Dīn Masᶜūd b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, wife of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, who died in 640/1242, constructed at Ḳāsiyūn [*q.v.*] in the same suburb of Damascus the Shāfiᶜī funerary *madrasa* of al-Atābakiyya.

In the writings of western chroniclers of the Crusades the name of Mawdūd is transcribed in such renderings as Malducus, Maldutus or Manduit.

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(N. ELISSÉEFF)

MAWDŪD B. **MASᶜŪD**, ABU 'L-FATḤ, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN WA 'L-DAWLA, ḲUṬB AL-MILLĀ, sultan of the Ghaznawid [*q.v.*] dynasty, reigned 432-40/1041-winter of 1048-9.

He was probably born in 401/1010-11 or 402/1011-12 as the eldest son of Masᶜūd b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], and during his father's reign was closely associated with the sultan on various military expeditions. When Masᶜūd was deposed and then killed in Djumādā I 432/January 1041, Mawdūd made himself the avenger against the rebellious commanders and their puppet, his uncle Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd. He marched from Balkh, secured the capital Ghazna, and met Muḥammad's army coming from India near Djalālābād, at a place subsequently named Fatḥābād, for Mawdūd completely defeated the rebels in Radjab 432/March 1041. Muḥammad and all but one of his sons were executed, and a threat from Mawdūd's younger brother Madjdūd, governor of Multān, scotched by the latter's mysterious death, so that Mawdūd became unchallenged ruler now in Ghazna.

He faced formidable problems in combatting the Saldjūḳs in eastern Khurāsān and Sīstān. He attempted an alliance with the Saldjūḳ's Ḳarakhānid enemies in Transoxania [see ILEK-KHĀNS], and in 435/1043-4 invaded Ṭukhāristān, but was repulsed by Čaghrī Beg's son Alp Arslan. Northern Afghānistān now passed definitively to the Saldjūḳs, and a further endeavour by Mawdūd to organise a grand coalition of anti-Saldjūḳ princes in Transoxania and Persia was cut short by his own death. Early in his reign, Mawdūd sent forces into Sīstān in order to retain Ghaznawid overlordship over the Ṣaffārids there and to exclude Saldjūḳ influence, but the local *amīr* Abu 'l-Faḍl Naṣr b. Aḥmad had to pursue a policy of balance between his two powerful neighbours. The concerns of India had latterly much occupied Masᶜūd, but his violent end provided an opportunity for the reassertion of independence by various Indian tributary rulers. A coalition of *rādjās* recaptured Hānsī, Thānesar, etc., but was however driven back from Lahore in 435/1043-4.

Mawdūd died of an internal complaint just at the beginning of his new attempt at a revanche against the Saldjūḳs, probably in Djumādā II 440/December 1048, although the sources diverge on this. He was clearly a skilful commander and able ruler who managed to pull the empire together after the cataclysms which had come upon it and who withstood the eastwards pressure of the Saldjūḳs; but even had he been granted a long reign, it is doubtful whether he would have been able to recover the lost western provinces.

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MAWDŪDĪ, SAYYID ABU 'L-AᶜLĀ (commonly anglicised to Maudoodi), journalist, fundamentalist theologian, major influence in the politics of Pakistan and one of the leading interpreters of Islam in the twentieth century. He was born on 3 Radjab 1321/25 September 1903 at Aurangabad in India's Hyderabad State. His family claimed direct descent from Khʷādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd Čishtī (d. 577/1181-2); his ancestors migrated to the subcontinent in the later 9th/15th century and produced many spiritual leaders. His father, a lawyer, came from Dihlī and was associated with Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*], but preferred to live in Hyderabad, which was the last significant centre of the Mughal tradition. When young, Mawdūdī was carefully insulated from western culture and the English language; educated at home, and briefly in one of Hyderabad's *madrasas*, he experienced neither the typical schooling of the *ᶜālim* nor that of the British Indian government. After Mawdūdī's father died when he was sixteen, he supported himself for a decade as a journalist, most notably as editor of *al-Djamᶜiyyat* from 1924 to 1927, the organ of the *Djamᶜiyyat-i ᶜUlamāʾ-i Hind.* During this decade he was involved in the *Khilāfat* movement [see KHILĀFA], came to know many *ᶜulamāʾ* and became thoroughly versed in Arabic. He also learned English, went clean-shaven and wore western dress.

In the mid-1920s, Mawdūdī's activities gained a significant new focus. Stung by Hindu accusations that Islam was spread by the sword, after a Muslim assassinated the Arya Samaj leader, Swami Shraddhanand, he embarked on an exhaustive study of the doctrine of *djihād* [*q.v.*]. This work, which was first serialised in *al-Djamᶜiyyat* and then published under the title *al-Djihād fi 'l-Islām*, heralded most elements of his later thought. The effort of composition greatly intensified his understanding of his faith, and in 1928 he retired to Hyderabad to do further research and writing. In 1932 he undertook the editorship of the monthly journal *Tardjumān al-Ḳurʾān*, which was to be the main vehicle of his ideas for the rest of his life. He knew now what he had to do: "The plan of action I had in mind was that I should first break the hold which Western culture and ideas had come to acquire over the Muslim intelligentsia, and to instil in them the fact that Islam has a code of life of its own, its own culture, its own political and economic systems and a philosophy and an educational system which are all superior to anything that Western civilisation could offer. I wanted to rid them of the wrong notion that they needed to borrow from others in the matter of culture and civilisation." (Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi, *Twenty-nine years of the Jamaat-e-Islami*, in *The Criterion*, v/6, 45). The intensity of this feeling runs through the pages of his *Risāla-yi Dīniyyāt* of 1932; the fear of the corrupting influence of western civilisation is manifest in his articles on *pardah* first published in 1935.

The last decade of British rule brought new fears: that independence would bring the absorption of the Muslim identity into a secular Hindu-dominated nation-state, and that the Muslim response of aiming to found a separate Muslim nation-state of Pakistan was not the right one. Mawdūdī now intervened in politics. In a series of articles, later published under the title *Musalmān awr mawdjūda siyāsī kashmakash*, he reminded Muslims that they were a separate nation in the Indian environment, while at the same time emphasising that they were not one in any European sense, as the All-India Muslim League was suggesting. Muslims were in danger of forgetting that they had a message for all humanity. The way to carry this message forward was to establish not a nation state of Muslims but an Islamic state in which every constituent part would reveal Islam in ideal and practice. In August 1941 Mawdūdī founded the *Djamāᶜat-i Islāmī*, a carefully-selected righteous élite of which he was the leader, to put these ideas into effect.

The emergence of Pakistan in 1947 gave Mawdūdī a forum in which he could act. From 1948 to 1956 his writings and deeds, supported by the *Djamāᶜat-i Islāmī*, played the key role in directing Pakistan away from developing the form of the secular state which its founders had in mind towards the goal of an Islamic state. His pressure was primarily responsible for the Islamic content of the "Objectives Resolution" of the Constituent Assembly (March 1949) which laid down the main principles on which Pakistan's constitution

was to be based. His leadership brought the representatives of all groups of *ᶜulamāʾ* to agree in January 1951 on twenty-two principles of an Islamic state, which were to remain for all concerned in constitution-making the benchmark of the "conservative" position. His authority brought him to the fore in the agitation of 1952-3 against the Aḥmadiyya community of Pakistan, which helped to keep these twenty-two principles alive in the constitution-making process. It was in large part his achievement that the first constitution, which was promulgated in 1956, looked towards reconstructing "Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis and revising all existing laws in the light of the Qurʾan and Sunna". In 1953 Mawdūdī was for a period condemned to death; he was imprisoned during the years 1948-50 and 1953-5.

From 1956 the discussion of the role of Islam in the constitution died down and Mawdūdī, until restricted by ill-health in 1969, travelled widely outside Pakistan. He was a particularly frequent visitor to Saudi Arabia, where he took part in both the establishment and the running of Medina's Islamic university and the World Muslim League. Whenever an Islamic issue arose in Pakistan, like the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 or the Aḥmadiyya question in 1974, he was prominent. Throughout he opposed the régimes governing Pakistan and, although he resigned from the headship of the *Dj̲amāᶜat-i Islāmī* in 1972, he was behind its involvement in the movement to overthrow Z. A. Bhutto in 1977. General Ḍiyāʾ (Ziyā) al-Ḥaḳḳ's régime, with its promise of Islamisation, was the first that he felt able to support. When Mawdūdī died on 22 September 1979, he did so knowing that Pakistan was at last ruled by a government that was trying to realise a version of his Islamic order.

Mawdūdī's academic output was voluminous: tradition, law, philosophy, history, politics, economics, sociology and theology being amongst the subjects covered. Many of his works have been translated, some into over a dozen languages. His masterwork is his Ḳurʾān commentary, *Tafhīm al-Ḳurʾān*, which took him thirty years to finish. His Islamic vision, nevertheless, is scattered through many different publications, many of which were written to meet problems of the moment. Good points of access are a series of radio talks he gave in 1948, *Islām kā niẓām-i ḥayāt*, and the collection of his writings on the Islamic state *The Islamic law and constitution.*

Central to Mawdūdī's vision is the belief that God alone is sovereign; man has gone astray because he has accepted sovereigns other than God, for instance, kings, nation states or custom. All the guidance which man needs can be found in the *S̲h̲arīᶜa*, which offers a complete scheme of life where nothing is superfluous and nothing lacking. Political power is essential to put this divinely-ordained pattern into effect; the Islamic state has a missionary purpose. Moreover, because God's guidance extends to all human activity, this state must be universal and all-embracing, and because the state's purpose is to establish Islamic ideology it must be run by those who believe in it and comprehend its spirit—those who do not may just live withing the confines of the state as non-Muslim citizens (*d̲h̲immīs*). Naturally, this state recognises that God not man is the source of all law. The state is merely God's vicegerent (*k̲h̲alīfa*) on earth. It is a vicegerency, however, which is shared by all Muslim citizens of the state with whom, in consequence, the ruler must consult in the process of government. So Mawdūdī describes his policy as a "theo-democracy" in which the whole community of Muslims interpret the law of God within the framework supplied by the *S̲h̲arīᶜa*. The ruler (*amīr*) is to be elected by whatever means are appropriate, providing that they ensure that the man who enjoys the greatest mesure of national confidence is chosen. His legislature (*mad̲j̲lis-i s̲h̲ūrā*) is also to be elected by whatever means are appropriate, provided that they ensure the choice of men with the confidence of the people. Legislation itself takes place in four ways: by interpretation, by analogy, by inference, and, in that area of human affairs about which the *S̲h̲arīᶜa* is silent, by independent judgement.

The major feature of Mawdūdī's thought is to have transformed Islam into an ideology, an integrated and all-embracing system. He aimed to set out the ideal order of the time of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs. The outcome is the most comprehensive statement of the nature of the Islamic state in modern times, and one which, while conjuring an ideal from the past, has been shaped by contemporary concerns and modes of thought. His exposition, as might be expected from a man who was primarily a theologian, is strong on general principles but weak on detail.

Mawdūdī is amongst the most influential of those Muslims who have felt, as the 20th century has progressed, that the answer to western domination need not be formulated in terms of nationalism and secularism but in terms of Islam. Himself inspired by Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh, Muḥammad Iḳbāl and Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ [*q.vv.*], he has influenced in his turn men ranging from the leaders of Islamic movements in Egypt, Syria and Iran to many ordinary Muslims throughout the Islamic world.

Bibliography: A list of Mawdūdī's 138 works, with the details of English translations, and an indication of translations into other languages, plus a list of writings about Mawdūdī, can be found in Khurshid Ahmad and Zafar Ishaq Ansari (eds.), *Islamic perspectives: studies in honour of Mawlana Sayyid Abul Aᶜla Mawdudi*, Leicester 1979, 3-14. Among Mawdūdī's more important publications the following should be noted: *Dīn-i ḥaḳḳ*, Lahore 1952, Eng. tr. *The religion of truth*, Lahore 1967; *Insān kā maᶜās̲h̲ī masʾala awr us kā islāmī ḥall*, Lahore 1941, Eng. tr. *Economic problem of man and its Islamic solution*, Lahore 1947; *Islām kā ak̲h̲lāḳī nuḳta-yi naẓar*, Lahore 1955, Eng. tr. *Ethical viewpoint of Islam*, Lahore 1966; *Islām kā naẓariyya-yi siyāsī*, Lahore 1939, Eng. tr. *Political theory of Islam*, Delhi 1964; *Islām kā niẓām-i ḥayāt*, Lahore 1948, Eng. tr. *Islamic way of life*, Lahore 1950; *The Islamic law and constitution*, ed. and tr. Khurshid Ahmad, Lahore 1955; *al-Dj̲ihād fi 'l-Islām*, Aᶜẓamgaṛh 1930; *K̲h̲uṭbāt*, Lahore 1957, Eng. tr. *Fundamentals of Islam*, Lahore 1975; *Musalmān awr mawd̲j̲ūda siyāsī kas̲h̲makas̲h̲*, 3 vols., Lahore 1937-9; *Pardah*, Lahore 1939, Eng. tr. *Purdah and the status of women in Islam*, Lahore 1972; *Ḳādiyānī masʾala*, Karachi 1953, Eng. tr. *The Qadiani problem*, Karachi 1953; *Risāla-yi dīniyyāt*, Hyderabad, Deccan 1932, Eng. tr. *Towards understanding Islam*, Lahore 1940; *Tafhīm al-Ḳurʾān*, 6 vols., Lahore 1949-72, Eng. tr. *The meaning of the Qurʾān* (incomplete), Lahore 1967-

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(F. C. R. Robinson)

MAWḲIF (a.), nomen loci from *w-ḳ-f* "to stand" hence "place of standing". Of the technical meanings of the term, three may be mentioned here:

(a) The place where the *wuḳūf* [*q.v.*] is held during the pilgrimage, viz. ʿArafāt [*q.v.*] and Muzdalifa [*q.v.*] or Djamʿ. In well-known traditions, Muḥammad declares that all ʿArafāt and all Muzdalifa is *mawḳif* (Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, trad. 149; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik*, bāb 56, 64, etc.; cf. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v. ʿArafa). Snouck Hurgronje (*Het mekkaansche feest*, 150 = *Verspreide Geschriften*, i, 99) has conjectured that these traditions were intended to deprive the hills of ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa of their sacred character, which they doubtless possessed in pre-Islamic times.

(b) The place where, on the day of resurrection, several scenes of the last judgment will take place; cf. al-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed. Gautier, 577, 683,12, 813; cf. *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-ḳiyāma*, ed. M. Wolff, 65ff.

(c) In pre-Islamic times, *mawḳif* was one of the terms (together with *mashʿar*, *nuṣub*, *mansak*, etc.) used to designate the religious shrines, usually in the form of stones, to be found along tracks and at camping sites, of the nomadic Arabs; cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*², 101ff., and T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 238ff.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also ḤADJDJ and ḲIYĀMA. (A. J. Wensinck)

MAWLĀ (a.), pl. *mawālī*, a term of theological, historical and legal usage which had varying meanings in different periods and in different social contexts. Linguistically, it is the noun of place of the verb *waliya*, with the basic meaning of "to be close to, to be connected with someone or something" (see *LA*, xx, 287ff.; *TA*, x, 398-401), whence acquiring the sense "to be close to power, authority" > "to hold power, govern, be in charge of some office" (see Lane, s.v.) and yielding such administrative terms as *wālī* "governor", and *wilāya* [*q.v.*] "the function of governor" or, in a legal context, "sphere of jurisdiction, competence".

I. In the Ḳurʾān and Tradition

Here we find *mawlā* used in two meanings.

(a) Tutor, trustee, helper. In this sense, the word is used in the Ḳurʾān, XLVII, 12: "God is the *mawlā* of the faithful, the unbelievers have no *mawlā* (cf. III, 143; VI, 62; VII, 41; IX, 51; XXII, 78; LXVI, 2). In the same sense, *mawlā* is used in the Shīʿī tradition, in which Muhammad calls ʿAlī the *mawlā* of those whose *mawlā* he is himself. According to the author of the *Lisān*, *mawlā* has the sense of *walī* in this tradition, which is connected with Ghadīr Khumm (*q.v.*; cf. C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische imamaat*, 18, 19). It may be observed that it occurs also in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (i, 84, 118, 119, 152, 330-1; iv, 281, etc.).

(b) Lord. In the Ḳurʾānit it is in this sense (which is synonymous with that of *sayyid*) applied to Allāh (II,286; cf. VI,62; X,31), who is often called *Mawlānā* "our Lord" in Arabic literature. Precisely for this reason, in Tradition the slave is prohibited from calling his lord *mawlā* (al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, *bāb* 165; Muslim, *Alfāẓ*, trad. 15, 16).

It is not in contradiction to this prohibition that Tradition frequently uses *mawlā* in the sense of "lord of a slave", e.g. in the well-known *ḥadīth* "Three categories of people will receive a two-fold reward ... and the slave who fulfils his duty in regard to Allāh as well as to his lords" (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, *bāb* 31; Muslim, *Aymān*, trad. 45).

Composition of *mawlā* and suffixes are frequently used as titles in several parts of the Muslim world, e.g. *mawlāy(a) (mulay)*, "my lord (especially in North Africa and in connection with saints); *mawlawī* (*mullā* [*q.v.*]), "lordship" (especially in India and in connection with scholars or saints).

The term *mawlā* is also applied to the former lord (patron) in his relation to his freedman, e.g. in the tradition "Who clings to a [new] patron without the permission of his [legal] *mawlā*, on him rests the curse of Allāh" (al-Bukhārī, *Djizya*, *bāb 17;* Muslim, *ʿItḳ*, trad. 18, 19).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, Leiden 1927, 148. (A. J. Wensinck*)

II. In Historical and Legal Usage

Here the meaning of *mawlā*, a person linked by *walāʾ* ("proximity") to another person, similarly known as *mawlā*, varies according to the context in which it is found. In pre-Islamic poetry, it usually designates a party to an egalitarian relationship of mutual help, that is, a kinsman (*ibn ʿamm*), confederate (*ḥalīf*), ally or friend, a meaning also attested in the Ḳurʾān (IV, 37; XIX, 5; XLIV, 41) and some later literature (P. Crone, *Slaves on horses*, Cambridge 1980, appendix VI). In later literature, however, it more commonly designates a party to an unequal relationship of assistance, that is a master, manumitter, benefactor or patron on the one hand, and a freedman, protegé or client on the other. This sense too is attested in the Ḳurʾān, where the typical *mawlā* is God (VIII, 41; XXII,78, and *passim*; cf. XXXIII,5, where it means protégé). Applied to the inferior party in an Islamic context, *mawlā* almost always means a client of the type recognised in early Islamic law, though its use in the opposite sense was more flexible. The Islamic world has of course known many other types of client, but not by this name.

The client recognised in early law was a non-Arab freedman, convert or other newcomer in Muslim society. Since non-Arabs could only enter this society as clients, *mawlā* came to be synonymous with "non-Arab Muslim", and the secondary literature usually employs the word in this sense (though the lexicographers fail to list it, cf. *LA* and *TA*, s.v. *w-l-y*). It is also with non-Arab Muslims that this article will be concerned.

1. Pre-Islamic Arabia.

The Islamic institution of *walāʾ* is generally assumed to be of Arabian origin (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, ch. 3; J. Juda, *Die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Aspekte der Mawālī in frühislamischer Zeit*, Tübingen 1983), but this is scarcely correct. Leaving aside

foreign merchants and colonists under imperial protection, the non-Arab population of pre-Islamic Arabia consisted of Jews, slaves and freedmen of African and Middle Eastern extraction, half-bred descendants of colonists, and presumably also ethnic and occupational pariah groups of the type attested in modern times (Ḳawāwila, Bayādīr, Ṣulubbīs, etc.). There is no reason to doubt that all were known as *mawālī* in the sense of "kinsmen", in so far as they were free and came under Arab protection (cf. the modern use of the word *akh* "brother"), but the question is, what this implied. Are we to take it that all non-Arabs were individually assigned to Arab patrons and acquired partial membership of Arab tribes through them, having no social organisation of their own? Or did they form social groups of their own, so that they were collectively placed under the protection of Arab tribes in which they acquired no membership at all, merely becoming their satellites? The first solution is that enshrined in Islamic *walāʾ*, but it is the second which is attested for Arabia.

Thus it is well known that the Jews of Arabia formed tribal groups of their own. In fact, Jewish tribes were sometimes strong enough to escape Arab protection altogether (and thus also the status of *mawālī*). But this was hardly the common pattern. The Jews of Fadak, for example, paid protection money to Kalb (M. J. Kister, *On the wife of the goldsmith from Fadak and her progeny*, in *Muséon*, xcii [1979], 321); the Jews of Wādī 'l-Ḳurā similarly paid what would nowadays be known as *khuwwa* to Arab overlords (al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā istaʿdjam*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1876-7, i, 30); and those of Yathrib were reduced to client status by the Aws and Khazradj [*q.vv.*] some time before the rise of Islam (J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, Berlin 1889, 7ff.). Naturally, client status weakened the tribal organisation of the Jews; the same is true of modern pariah groups. But the Jewish tribes were not dissolved, nor were the Jews assigned to individual patrons: clientage was a relationship between groups. Similarly, the Arabised descendants of the Persian workmen and prostitutes of Hadjar clearly formed a quasi-tribal group of their own under ʿAbdī protection, for all that they adopted the *nisba* of their protectors (al-Ṭabarī, i, 986).

The question is thus, whether freedmen were treated differently? On this point, the evidence is less conclusive. Continuing relations between manumitter and freedman were clearly common, and there is evidence that the pre-Islamic Arabs practised manumission with what the Greeks called *paramonē*, a clause requiring the freedman to stay with the manumitter for a specified number of years or until the latter died (P. Crone, *Roman, provincial and Islamic law*, Princeton 1987). But continuing relations between manumitter and freedman in no way imply that the latter was incorporated in the manumitter's kin; the paramonar freedman only became a member of his household, and then only for a specified time; and one would in general have thought the pre-Islamic Arabs as reluctant to contaminate their agnatic kin with non-Arab freedmen as were their descendants in more recent times. The freedmen (and indeed slaves) of modern Arabia formed lineages of their own, and it was through them, not through their manumitters, that they acquired their rights and duties in respect of marriage, succession and vengeance; and it was to the manumitters' tribe as a political entity that they stood in a relationship of dependence, paying it military assistance and/or *khuwwa* (J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and the Wahábys*, London 1830, i, 181f.; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*[2], Paris 1948, 125f.; cf. A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 276).

It should be noted that non-Arabs were not generally affiliated as confederates. *Ḥilf* [*q.v.*] was a mechanism for the partial or total incorporation of foreigners, individually or as groups, and it is frequently regarded as ancestral to Islamic *walāʾ*. But *ḥilf* was used only for *Arab* foreigners, or more precisely for foreigners with full tribal status. The Jews thus qualified on occasion, as did others such as the Abnāʾ [*q.v.*] but only to the extent that they escaped client status (though there are admittedly ambivalent cases); non-Arab freedmen never qualified (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 106). The *ḥalīf* is thus irrelevant to the question. By the same token, so is most of pre-Islamic poetry. The vast majority of *mawālī* mentioned in this poetry (where the word is exceedingly common) are Arabs from whom help of one sort or another could be expected: real, fictitious or metaphorical kinsmen (cf. *ibid.*, 105 n.; many more examples are given in Crone, *Roman, provincial and Islamic law*). Confederates are occasionally singled out as *mawālī 'l-yamīn*, "kinsmen by oath", as opposed to *mawālī 'l-wilāda* or *ḳarāba*, "kinsmen by birth/kinship" (G. W. Freytag, *Hamasae carmina*, Bonn 1828, 187; C. Lyall, ed. and tr., *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, Oxford 1918-21, no. 12:3; Ibn Hishām, 467; Nābigha al-Djaʿdī, *Dīwān*, ed. and tr. M. Nallino, Rome 1953, no. 12:41). But the distinction is usually quite neutral, and though confederates could obviously find themselves in a subservient position so that the dividing line between them and client groups was blurred (as it is in Nābigha; cf. Juda, *Aspekte*, 14-15) they were followers of a type quite different from that of non-Arab clients. It is only when the poets distinguish between *ṣamīm* (or *ṣarīḥ*) and *mawālī* that the latter would seem regularly to encompass servile and non-Arab elements, and the same is perhaps true when they speak of "tails" and "fins" of tribes (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 105-6); but these passages are perfectly compatible with the proposition that freedmen and other non-Arabs should be seen as members of satellite groups rather than as persons "assimilated to the tribe by affiliation" (Goldziher).

2. The Rāshidūn caliphs and the Umayyads.

With the conquests, the Arabs found themselves in charge of a huge non-Arab population. Given that it was non-Muslim, this population could be awarded a status similar to that of clients in Arabia, retaining its own organisation under Arab control in return for the payment of taxes [see DHIMMA]. But converts posed a novel problem in that, on the one hand they had to be incorporated, not merely accommodated, within Arab society; and on the other hand, they had "forgotten their genealogies", suffered defeat and frequently also enslavement, so that they did not make acceptable *ḥalīfs*; the only non-Arabs to be affiliated as such were the Ḥamrāʾ and Asāwira, Persian soldiers who deserted to the Arabs during the wars of conquest in return for privileged status (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 280, 373). It was in response to this novel problem that Islamic *walāʾ* was evolved, presumably by the authorities and at an early stage, though nothing can be said with certainty about its emergence.

(a) Early Islamic *walāʾ*. What follows is based on a collation of information in classical law (below, section 5), *ḥadīth* and historical sources. All non-Arabs who aspired to membership of Arab society had to

procure a patron (an "upper" *mawlā* in the terminology of the lawyers). Freedmen automatically acquired a patron in their manumitter, unless the latter renounced the tie. Free persons and those freed without *walāʾ* had to acquire one by agreement. Contractual clientage was known as *walāʾ* of *muwālāt* ("inclination", "attachment", the term generally used in Ḥanafī literature), *tibāʿa* ("following", al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1853), *khidma* ("service", *Aghānī*, xii, 48) or *islām*, conversion: whoever converted "at the hands of" another became a client of the other according to a famous *ḥadīth* (*man aslama ʿalā yad ghayrih fa-huwa mawlāhu*). *Walāʾ* was a solution to the problem of affiliating non-tribesmen to a tribal society, and though most such non-tribesmen were clearly converts, conversion was not necessary for the legal validity of the tie. A fair number of non-Muslim clients, both freeborn and freed, are attested (Crone, *Slaves*, n. 358; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3185).

From the point of view of the authorities, the main role of the patron was to provide the client with an *ʿāḳila* [*q.v.*]. The patron and his agnates were required to pay compensation (*ʿaḳl*, *diya* [*q.v.*]) for bodily harm inflicted by the client, to the extent that the latter had no agnates of his own. Refusal to pay seems to have been a common problem (al-Kindī, *The governors and judges of Egypt*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden and London 1912, 333f., 335f.). Conversely, if the client was killed they were entitled to blood-money in compensation for him (cf. al-Kindī, *op.cit.*, 333f.). In return for his obligations, the patron acquired a title to the client's estate, though not an indefeasible one. The classical rules of exclusion are not, on the whole, favourable to the patron, but it is not known whether they applied in pre-classical law. The role of the client, on the other hand, was purely passive. He did not contribute to blood-money payable for damage inflicted by the patron, nor did he share in the receipt of blood-money if the patron was killed or acquire a title to his estate. He was not formally obliged to render *obsequium*. The patron by manumission could make over the patronate to a third party by sale, gift or bequest, and the parties to the contractual relationship could terminate theirs (in which case the client would need a new patron). If not, it would pass to the descendants of the two parties in perpetuity, though it would lose legal (but not necessarily social) importance as the client acquired agnates in Islam, Muslim clients could and frequently did have clients of their own.

From the point of view of the client, the main role of the patron was to provide him with access to a privileged society, and in practice the patron's rewards were far greater than those provided by the authorities. For one thing, the patron might qualify his grant of freedom with stipulations requiring the freedmen to pay regular sums, gifts or labour services to himself or a third party for a specified period, or reserving part or all of the freedman's estate for himself regardless of the presence of heirs (practices condemned in early *ḥadīth*; cf. Crone, *Roman, provincial and Islamic law*). For another thing, freedmen were notoriously loyal. They would stay by their manumitters in danger (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3001f., ii, 1959; cf. Ch. Pellat (tr.), *The life and works of Jāḥiẓ*, London 1969, 215, 260), share their sorrows (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 384), assist them in need (though for one who refused, see *Aghānī*³, xvi, 107), attend to them in death (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3046, ii, 1751) and seek to avenge them (*ibid.*, ii, 1049; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 338). Concerning the services provided by contractual clients, we are less well informed. Like freedmen, they clearly went to swell their patrons' retinues, both military and civilian (M. J. Kister, *The Battle of the Ḥarra*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 44; Crone, *Slaves*, 53f.), and they must have performed other types of *khidma* too. But patrons preferred freedmen to *mawālī tibāʿa* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1852f.).

(b) The *mawālī* in Umayyad society. No formal disabilities seem to have attached to the status of client in public law. In principle, clients were in a dependent position only vis-à-vis their patrons, enjoying the same rights and duties as other Muslims in society at large (*lahum mā lanā wa-ʿalayhim mā ʿalaynā*). In practice, of course, there was massive prejudice against them. The Arabs generally equated them with slaves, partly because they were unwarlike agriculturalists (Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. and tr. H. Hirschfeld, Leiden and London 1910, no. 189:8; cf. Dhu 'l-Rumma, *Dīwān*, ed. C. H. H. Macartney, Cambridge 1919, no. 29:48), partly because they had suffered spectacular military defeat ("O men, do you not see how Persia has been ruined and its inhabitants humiliated? They have become slaves who pasture your sheep, as if their kingdom was a dream", Nābigha al-Djaʿdī, no. 8:12f.), and, finally, because the majority of clients were freedmen. Christian and Muslim sources are agreed that the Arabs took enormous numbers of prisoners-of-war during the wars of conquest. "He killed and took prisoners" is the standard expression for the activities of a conqueror in the Muslim ones (Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1967-8, i, 127, 163, 168, 171, 178, 237, 242; Sebeos, *Histoire d'Héraclius*, tr. F. Macler, Paris 1904, 100f., 110, 146; Bar Penkaye in A. Mingana, ed. and tr., *Sources syriaques*, Leipzig [1907], *147 = *175; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. and tr. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1899-1910, iv, 417 = ii, 422); and the usual fate of prisoners-of-war was enslavement. Moreover, many localities were required by treaty to supply a specified number of slaves to the Arabs, such as 30,000 or 100,000 once and for all or a smaller number annually (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1238, 1245, 1246, 1321, 1329, 1667; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 208; C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, Rome 1968, 17; M. Hinds and H. Sakkout, *A letter from the governor of Egypt to the King of Nubia and Muqurra concerning Egyptian-Nubian relations in 141/758*, in *Studia Arabica et Islamica I. ʿAbbās*, ed. W. al-Qāḍī, Beirut 1981; Juda, *Aspekte*, 64-5). Victims of war and their descendants thus outnumbered freeborn clients, and "slaves" was the standard term of abuse for a client of any kind (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1120, 1431; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iva, 247, v, 356; *Aghānī*³, xvi, 107). Naturally, such men were subject to numerous disabilities in the society of their conquerors. Slaves and clients were "vile" (*TA*, s.v. *h-w-y*), and clients of clients were "the most miserable persons to walk on earth" (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 10; cf. al-Farazdak in *LA* and *TA*, s.v. *w-l-y*). Thus a *mawlā* who married an Arab woman risked both penalties and the dissolution of his marriage (*Aghānī*³, xvi, 106f.; cf. also Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 128ff.), though such marriages are unlikely to have been officially prohibited (below, (d)). A *mawlā*'s life was felt to be worth less than that of an Arab, so that an Arab should not be killed in retaliation for a client (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iva, 220), while conversely, retaliation inflicted upon a client failed to compensate for harm suffered by an Arab (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1849). A *mawlā* was not worth avenging (though Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] invoked a moral obligation to do so in an unusual situation where the client was a Transoxanian prince, al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1249); it was by way of insult to their victim that Arab avengers would claim to have killed so-and-so for a mere *mawlā* or slave (al-

Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, ed. ʿA. Ḥabība, Cairo 1967, 62; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. V. Guirgass, Leiden 1888, 350; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3276, ii, 710). Above all, *mawālī* were felt to be unsuitable for positions of authority, such as that of prayer-leader, judge or governor (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 109 n., 116; Ṣ. A. al-ʿAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāʿiyya wa 'l-iḳtiṣādiyya fi 'l-Baṣra*², Beirut 1969, 96f.; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, ed. T. M. al-Zaynī and others, Cairo 1968-70, vii, 33; Juda, *Aspekte*, 182-4); as late as 133/750-1 the inhabitants of Mawṣil objected to the appointment of a *mawlā* as governor (al-Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 146). Confronted with this prejudice, non-Arab Muslims initially made their careers mainly in the service of their patrons, and the tie between patron and client remained important throughout the Umayyad period; but their education, skills and sheer number was such that they rapidly achieved positions of influence in their own right.

Civilian careers. Many non-Arabs had worked as labourers, craftsmen, traders and shopkeepers while still slaves, and many continued in such occupations on their manumission (cf. Juda, *Aspekte*, 109ff.) But we hear more about those who remained members of their patrons' households, especially those of governors, who would employ them as messengers, spies, executioners and other agents of various kinds (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2138, ii, 40, 246f., 268, 1276, 1649). Governors and caliphs alike also employed their own freedmen as *ḥādjibs* [*q.v.*], see the information at the end of each reign in Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, and al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 284ff.; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 172; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1650). But *mawālī* played a more important role as administrators. Some administered their patron's estate (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 8; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1734; Juda, *Aspekte*, 119-20); a great many administered the empire. Thus a secretary (*kātib* [*q.v.*]) was usually a non-Arab, sometimes a non-Muslim (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 302, 307, 312; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi (= *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, ed. W. Ahlwardt, Greifswald 1883, 343), but more commonly a convert (cf. al-Djahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarāʾ wa 'l-kuttāb*, ed. M. al-Saḳḳāʾ and others, Cairo 1938, 61) or a freedman; being appreciated for their skills rather than their personal loyalties, such men were employed not only by their own patrons (e.g. al-Djahshiyārī, 54, 64; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 837ff.) but also by others (e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 302, 312, 316, 317, etc.; al-Ṭabarī, *loc.cit.*; al-Djahshiyārī, 66).

The various sections of the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] in a particular province, or indeed the entire *dīwān*, were commonly headed by *mawālī* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 837ff., 1649, 1650; al-Djahshiyārī, 42, 69; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 83, 123). Moreover, *mawālī* soon came to be appointed as fiscal governors, sometimes on behalf of top Arab governors, but frequently in their own right. We hear of such appointments in Mecca and Medina (Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstädter, Hyderabad 1942, 379). Transoxania (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1253, 1421, 1509), and ʿIrāḳ, where non-Arab fiscal governors played a major role in Arab politics (*ibid.*, 1282f., 1648; al-Djahshiyārī, 42f., 49, 63; Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 39; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 123), as well as in Egypt, where three non-Arabs rose to the position of effective governor thanks to their control of the taxes, that is Usāma b. Zayd al-Salīḥī, a *mawlā* of Muʿāwiya (al-Djahshiyārī, 51) under Sulaymān, ʿUbayd (or ʿAbd) Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb [*q.v.*], a *mawlā* of Salūl under Hishām, and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, a *mawlā* of Lakhm (or the Umayyads) under Marwān II (al-Kindī, *Governors*, 93). Lesser administrative jobs were also in the hands of *mawālī* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1845; in general, see also Juda, *Aspekte*, 119-20).

Outside the administration, non-Arab Muslims rapidly came to dominate the world of scholarship. *Mawālī*, mainly descendants of captives, played a crucial role in the formation of the Islamic faith [see AL-ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ], Islamic law [see ABŪ ḤANĪFA, AL-AWZĀʿĪ, ṬĀWŪS], Ḳurʾānic studies [see ABŪ ʿUBAYDA] and the Prophet's biography [see IBN ISḤĀḲ], as well as in the collection of pre-Islamic poetry [see ḤAMMĀD AL-RĀWIYA]. They also produced some notable poets [see BASHSHĀR B. BURD]. Contemporaries were well aware of the preponderance of *mawālī* in scholarship (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 114f.), and in the second half of the Umayyad period it was usually *mawālī* who were accorded the role of tutor to the caliph's children (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 476ff.; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1741). In the same period they also began to receive appointment as judges (al-ʿAlī, *Tanẓīmāt*, 96 n).

Careers in the army. Leaving aside the Persian soldiers enrolled during the wars of conquest, non-Arabs initially entered the army only as private servants of their patrons. Every soldier had a number of slaves and freedmen registered under him in the *dīwān*; some governors acquired sizeable bodyguards of slaves and freedmen; and towards the end of the period it was common for governors and generals to have semi-private retinues of freedmen, contractual clients and other protégés (Crone, *Slaves*, 38, 53, 198f.). The *ḥaras*, or palace-guard, of the caliphs and their governors also seems usually to have been composed of and headed by *mawālī*, though not necessarily *mawālī* of the employer (cf. Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, at the end of each reign; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1384, 1499, 1569, 1650; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 172f.). But already Muʿāwiya placed a *mawlā* in command of troops in an expedition against Byzantium (Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 198, cf. 102), an example followed by ʿAbd al-Malik (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1487; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 160f.); and the Second Civil War decisively undermined the Arab monopoly of military power. Non-Arabs being available, everybody made use of them: thus Mukhtār [*q.v.*]; adherents of Ibn al-Zubayr (Kister, *Battle of the Ḥarra*, 44f.); and the Umayyads themselves (Crone, *Slaves*, 198; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 335; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 356ff.), with the result that a *mawlā* became military governor of Medina for ʿAbd al-Malik (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 834, 852, 854). Thereafter, non-Arabs were regularly admitted as soldiers in their own right (cf. the rich documentation in Juda, *Aspekte*, 120ff.). Some were placed in special corps for *mawālī* with native skills of their own, such as the Berber *Waḍḍāḥiyya* or the Indian *Ḳīḳāniyya*. Others joined the ordinary army, *mawlā* divisions being set up for their reception. According to a *Kitāb Mawālī ahl Miṣr* cited by Yāḳūt (i, 734), there were *mawlā* divisions in the Egyptian army already at the end of the First Civil War, when a freedman from Balhīb was made *ʿarīf* [*q.v.*] of the *mawālī* of Tudjīb. But the *ʿarīf* in question belongs to the end of the Second Civil War (cf. al-Kindī, *Governors*, 51), and it is only after the Second Civil War that such divisions are regularly mentioned, be it in Egypt, Khurāsān or elsewhere (Crone, *Slaves*, 38). There were *mawālī* in the Syrian army too, for all that *mawlā* divisions are not mentioned here after ʿAbd al-Malik (cf. *ibid.*, 274); we are incidentally given to understand that the Syrian troops in Egypt in 125/742-3 included *mawālī ahl Ḥimṣ* (al-Kindī, *Governors*, 83), and that those brought to Spain by Baldj b. Bishr [*q.v.*] included *mawālī* of the Umayyads, clearly among others (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp.* mus., i 98;

cf. also Juda, *Aspekte*, 84-5). *Mawālī* also participated in the revolt against al-Walīd II, but whether as regular soldiers or private retainers is not clear (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1800, 1806f., 1809).

The proportion of non-Arabs to Arabs in the late Umayyad armies cannot be estimated. In 96/714-15 the *mawālī* of Khurāsān were numerically on a par with Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*], numbering 7,000 out of a total of 54,000 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1290f.). They must have become more numerous thereafter. Contrary to what is often stated, the Umayyads did not try to keep non-Arabs out of the army (cf. below); and the attempt to show that their numbers decreased after 96, at least in Khurāsān, rests on a misreading of the sources (M. A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 113, 115 and *passim*: the figure of 1,600 given for the rearguard in the Battle of the Pass scarcely refers to *mawālī*, and at all events, not to their total number; we are explicitly told that the governor had dispersed his troops before the battle and that two *mawlā* commanders, one in charge of 10,000, were among those who had gone elsewhere, cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1532f., 1538, 1549, 1551). In fact, *mawālī* must have been particularly numerous in Khurāsān, where they are constantly mentioned and their participation in all military activities is taken for granted, be it in campaigns (*ibid.*, 1023, 1080, 1225, 1447, 1478, 1485, 1516, 1518, 1538, 1630f., cf. 1184f.) feuds (*ibid.*, 1856), or revolts and their suppression (*ibid.*, 1582, 1589, 1605, 1920f., 1926, 1933, cf. 1163, 1867, 1918f., 1922).

Once admitted to the army, *mawālī* began to receive both military *and* fiscal governorship. Thus the governor and general of Ḳinnasrīn in 75/694-5 was a *mawlā* of ʿAbd al-Malik (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 188), and we incidentally learn that the governor of Baʿlabakk in 126/743-4 was also a client of the Umayyads (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1790). The Djazīra received its first non-Arab governor under ʿUmar II and/or Yazīd II in Maymūn b. Mihrān, a *mawlā* of B. Naṣr (or Azd) who had been tutor to ʿUmar II's children and who was later to command the Syrian army against Byzantium (al-Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 37; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 478; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1487). *Mawālī* appear as sub-governors in Transoxania from the time of Ḳutayba onwards (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1206, 1448, 1694f.), and they regularly ruled North Africa. Abu ʾl-Muhādjir, who administered North Africa for ten years under Muʿāwiya, was appointed by his own patron, the governor of Egypt (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 94; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 228). Similarly, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], a *mawlā* of disputed origin who enjoyed the protection of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Malik's governor of Egypt, was appointed by his protector. He in turn appointed a *mawlā* of his own, Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] as commander in the conquest of Spain (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 230f.; Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 39f., 43). Thereafter, a succession of *mawālī* were appointed by the caliphs themselves. Sulaymān chose Muḥammad (or ʿAbd Allāh) b. Yazīd, a *mawlā* of the Umayyads (Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 47). ʿUmar II appointed Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abi ʾl-Muhādjir, a *mawlā* of Makhzūm who had worked as tutor to his children (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 231; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 476). Ismāʿīl was followed by Yazīd b. Abī Muslim, a freeborn *mawlā* of al-Ḥadjdjādj's [*q.v.*] appointed by Yazīd II (al-Djahshiyārī, 42; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 231); and when he in turn was murdered for his harsh policies, a *mawlā* of the Anṣār by the name of Muḥammad b. Yazīd was elevated from the troops by popular choice and, subsequently, caliphal appointment (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1435; al-Djahshiyārī, 57; according to al-Ṭabarī, he was identical with the previous governor of that name). Hishām appointed ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, *mawlā* of Salūl, to Egypt, North Africa and Spain, and ʿUbayd Allāh neatly reversed the pattern by appointing his own patron to Spain (Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 51ff.; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 231).

Local influence. From the Second Civil War onwards, *mawālī* begin to appear in Muslim society and politics as men of local importance. Thus Ḥumrān b. Abān, a captive from ʿAyn al-Tamr [*q.v.*] and former secretary of ʿUthmān's, joined the pro-Umayyad Djufriyya in Baṣra in the Second Civil War and briefly achieved the position of governor there (Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 270, 278; cf. 268, probably a doublet). Similarly, the wealthy family of ʿAbd Allāh b. Hurmuz, *mawālī* of the Umayyads and directors of the Baṣran *dīwān al-djund* from the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj onwards, are said to have been very influential in this city (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 123). In Khurāsān, the B. Ṣuhayb, *mawālī* of the B. Djaḥdar, enjoyed a position of eminence among the Rabīʿa and intervened in the local feuds during the Second Civil War (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 491ff.). In the Third Civil War, a certain Muḥārib b. Mūsā, *mawlā* of the B. Yashkur, emerged as *ʿaẓīm al-ḳadr* in Fārs, where he took to expelling Umayyad governors (*ibid.*, 1976f.). And of Ḥarīsh, a *mawlā* of Khuzāʿa who joined the ʿAbbāsid revolution, we are told that he was *ʿaẓīm ahl Nasā* (al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 341).

All in all, the *mawālī* must thus be said to have penetrated Arab society extremely fast. They played a predominant role in most activities outside the world of politics, controlled the civil administration almost from the start and made their presence felt in military politics within a generation of the conquests. Certainly, the Arabs retained their control of military politics until the end of the Umayyad period, most governorship and other politically influential posts being allocated to them; but the popular image of *mawālī* as an excluded people passively exposed to Arab whim and prejudice is quite wrong. Given the cultural and numerical discrepancy between the conquerors and their subjects, it is not really surprising that the latter acquired influence so fast: the conquerors simply could not govern without non-Arab help, as later Shuʿūbīs were to point out; indeed, they needed their advice even in matters of food and drink (al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, ed. M. B. al-Atharī, Cairo 1341, 193). What is surprising is that the Arab integument of Muslim society withstood the pressure.

(c) Fiscal status. The secondary literature generally associates *mawālī* with fiscal disabilities. Thus all the Umayyads other than ʿUmar II are said wrongfully to have collected poll tax (*djizya* [*q.v.*]) from converts and to have refused them registration in the army, being assisted in this by the leaders of the non-Muslim communities who had an interest in penalising conversion (J. Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, ch. 5; D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and poll-tax in early Islam*, Cambridge Mass. 1950; H. A. R. Gibb, *The fiscal rescript of ʿUmar II*, in *Arabica* ii/1 [1955], 1-16). But this view is in need of modification. On the one hand, the vast majority of *mawālī* were freedmen and descendants of freedmen who had never paid any poll-tax at all; and free converts who acquired a respectable patron also escaped fiscal disabilities (Crone, *Slaves*, 52). The conventional picture applies only to a special type of convert, the fugitive peasant. On the other hand, the Umayyad treatment of such *mawālī* should not be seen as a violation of the law; the law on this question was what the

Umayyads themselves decreed. The fact that the classical rules of taxation have been attributed to ʿUmar I does not mean that they in fact existed so early (cf. K. Morimoto, *The fiscal administration of Egypt in the early Islamic period*, Kyoto 1981); and they would not have helped the Umayyads even if they had. Thus the classical rules lay down that the convert should be freed of his poll-tax, but not of his land-tax (*kharādj* [*q.v.*]). In the Umayyad period, however, no villager converted without leaving his villages and thus also such land as he might possess: the distinction between a *dhimmī* poll-tax and a religiously neutral land-tax was quite irrelevant. Converts invariably left their land because the attraction of conversion lay in its promise of access to the ranks of the conquerors: converting without joining these ranks would have been pointless and, locally, extremely unpleasant. To convert was thus to make a *hidjra* [*q.v.*] from the land of unbelief to the land of Islam, that is, the garrison cities, as ʿUmar II explained (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, ed. A. ʿUbayd, Beirut 1967, 93f.); and the problem confronting the Umayyads was not whether converts should be freed of this or that part of their fiscal burden, but whether they should be allowed to make their *hidjra* and thus escape their fiscal burden altogether. Naturally, Umayyad policies varied. ʿUmar II accepted such converts (his problem was thus the fate of their land, cf. *ibid.*). But most Umayyads adopted a harsh policy vis-à-vis fugitives regardless of whether they claimed conversion or not (cf. Morimoto, *Fiscal administration*, 120ff.; Crone, *Slaves*, 52), resettling them in their villages or at best allowing them to stay where they were in return for continuing fiscal liability. Three points follow from this. First, the fugitives in question were required to pay all their customary taxes, whatever these might be, not merely a religiously neutral land-tax: having been denied access to the conquest society, they were not Muslims at all in the eyes of the authorities; and all their taxes, not merely the poll-tax, were regarded as *dhimmī* taxes at this stage. Secondly, such converts were not eligible for membership of the army. Naturally, when ʿUmar II decided to admit them to Muslim society, he admitted them to the army as well; but the fact that others refused them entry to the army does not mean that *mawālī* as such were kept out of the *dīwān*. The numerous *mawālī* who fought in the army without pay were runaway peasants who were still being held to their fiscal obligations and who fought as volunteers in the hope of being picked up by a patron, as is clear from the story of Yūnus b. ʿAbd Rabbih, who acquired a patron in Nasr b. Sayyār (Crone, *Slaves*, 52f.). Thirdly, it was such converts, not converts in general, who were open to penalisation by the leaders of the Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian communities; had their *hidjra* been accepted, they would of course have been placed under Muslim administration (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1688; Dennett, *Conversion*, 124ff.).

It should be clear that the entire problem of the fiscal treatment of converts was a problem for *dhimmīs*, not for *mawālī*. It was *dhimmīs* who were frustrated by the closure of "the gate of the *hidjra*" (cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīra*, 94); a *mawlā*, by contrast, was somebody already admitted. It was accordingly also *dhimmīs*, not *mawālī*, who would enrol in the service of anyone who promised them tax-relief. "Whoever converts is freed from *kharādj*" is a slogan on a par with that addressed to slaves, "whoever joins us is free" (cf. Crone, *Slaves*, nn. 399-400, 647). Both are addressed, usually by rebels, to malcontents *outside* free Muslim society, not to oppressed elements within in; it was only on responding to such slogans that the non-Muslims and slaves in question acquired client status.

(d) The issue of assimilation. The Umayyads are generally credited with an active policy of discrimination against non-Arab Muslims (cf. most recently, M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history*, i, Cambridge 1971). This impression arises largely from their treatment of fugitive peasants. But though they discouraged flight from the land and no doubt shared the common prejudice against non-Arabs, they do not seem to have had an actual policy of discrimination against accredited members of Muslim society. Practically every Umayyad caliph is known to have appointed a *mawlā* governor. Al-Ḥadjdjādj, a man notorious for his harsh treatment of runaway peasants, appointed the first non-Arab judges in ʿIrāḳ (al-ʿAlī, *Tanẓīmat*, 96 n); he also appointed a *mawlā* to his *shurṭa* (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 328), an unusual step (for a later example, see al-Kindī, *Governors*, 70). ʿUmar II, a caliph famous for his encouragement of conversion, is said to have disapproved of intermarriage between Arabs and *mawālī* (al-ʿAlī, *Tanẓīmāt*, 96 n). But no prohibition of such unions has been recorded, and *mawālī* are known to have married female relatives of other Umayyads (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iva, 247; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1420); the right to repudiate or endorse such unions presumably rested with the guardians of the bride (cf. also Juda, *Aspekte*, 178ff.). The fact that *mawālī* formed quasi-tribal groups of their own in the army reflects the tribal organisation of this army, not a policy of segregation; and it was the Umayyads themselves, not Abū Muslim, who abolished this organisation in Khurāsān (Crone, *Slaves*, 38). The belief that *mawālī* were relegated to the infantry rests on a failure to distinguish *mawālī* inside Muslim society from runaway peasants trying to enter it: governors and generals such as Ṭāriḳ b. ʿAmr, Dīnār b. Dīnār, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād or Ibrāhīm b. Bassām were scarcely disqualified from riding horses. (See also al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1118f., 1599; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 98.) Conversely, the enemies of the Umayyads do not seem to have regarded assimilation as an issue of political opposition. No rebel of the Umayyad period mentioned the treatment of non-Arab Muslims in his proclamations, and the belief that the ʿAbbāsids [*q.v.*] regarded assimilation as their prime objective is gratuitous. Obviously, assimilation accelerated on the fall of the conquest society, but scarcely as a result of official encouragement. The legitimacy of favouring Arabs over non-Arab Muslims in matters of appointment, vengeance and marriage clearly did become an object of debate in the Umayyad period, as did the refusal to accept runaway converts as Muslims, and in principle the question could have been taken up by politicans. In practice, however, the debate remained divorced from politics, and it continued long after the Umayyads had fallen.

(e) *Mawlā* grievances. As the prominence of non-Arab Muslims in Muslim society increased, so did their contribution to revolts. It is customary to interpret their participation in rebellious and/or heterodox movements as an expression of protest against a social inequality which ultimately led to the fall of the Umayyad dynasty. But for one thing, it is by no means clear that *mawālī* were disproportionately represented in movements of protest. For another, they scarcely clamoured for social equality. Not one revolt of the Umayyad period was conducted exclusively by *mawālī* in the name of concerns

exclusive to them; and the only two revolts in which such concerns came to the forefront, revealed somewhat different aims. The first is that of Mukhtār, an Arab opportunist whose non-Arab followers are described as slaves and freedmen (*ʿabīd wa-mawālī*) in the Muslim sources, and as prisoners-of-war in the contemporary Christian work of Bar Penkaye (Mingana, *Sources syriaques*, *156ff. = *183ff.). They were thus captives trying to escape their Arab masters, not converts seeking equality with them (indeed, the extent to which they were Muslims is disputable); and though Mukhtār was of course forced to extend Arab privileges to them in order to gain their co-operation, neither he nor they would seem to have had any views on the position of non-Arab Muslims in general. The second is that of the Berbers, recruited into Khāridjism [see KHĀRIDJITES] by Baṣran missionaries; and Berber Khāridjism did not of course express a desire for social equality, but rather for political independence in Islam. Once more, the conventional picture rests on a failure to distinguish between *dhimmīs* denied recognition as Muslims on the one hand and *mawālī* within Muslim society on the other. The former did indeed clamour for Arab privileges, such privileges being denied them altogether; but the latter clamoured for such privileges (social, cultural or political) as were appropriate to the social group in which they happened to find themselves. The fact that all non-Arabs were exposed to insult and prejudice does not mean that they responded by forming a trade-union. A non-Arab peasant in search of a patron such as Yūnus b. ʿAbd Rabbih had little in common with non-Arabs who had long been members of Muslim society; and of these, a general such as Ibrāhīm b. Bassām had little in common with *mawālī* working as secretaries, scholars or businessmen, let alone as domestic servants. To attribute the fall of the Umayyads to "*mawlā* discontent" is accordingly meaningless; what grievances did Ḥammād al-Rāwiya, an ʿIrāḳī collector of Arabic poetry at home at the Umayyad court, share with an uncouth Berber general such as Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, and what sympathy did either feel for the miserable peasants rounded up by Umayyad governors (Arab *and* non-Arab) throughout the caliphate? Non-Arab Muslims simply did not form a single social group. The fact that numerous *mawālī* participated in the ʿAbbāsid revolution is accordingly also meaningless unless it is specified what kind of *mawālī* they were. In fact, they were of three quite different kinds: long-standing members of Muslim society such as the family of the above-mentioned Ibrāhīm b. Bassām (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1996-7, iii, 17f., 21, 37, 48, 75ff.; for their origin, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 393); freedmen and other clients who automatically followed their (Arab or non-Arab) patrons (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1954); and *dhimmī* villagers for whom joining the rebel armies constituted both conversion and admission to Muslim society, as it did for Sunbādh [*q.v.*] and other recruits of Abū Muslim's who were later to opt out of this society as followers of prophets of their own. The causes of the revolution are clearly to be sought in the first type of *mawlā* and his Arab counterpart (from whom he is frequently indistinguishable), the long-standing member of Khurāsānī society. Such men were subject neither to fiscal disabilities nor to exclusion from the army, the cavalry, high office or general respect. The identification of their aims depends on whether one regards them as coming from inside or outside the local army, the evidence suggesting the former (on this question see Shaban, *ʿAbbāsid revolution*; M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East*, Jerusalem 1983; cf. also E. L. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979).

3. The ʿAbbāsids.

The ʿAbbāsid revolution deprived the Arabs of such social and political privileges as they retained. Access to political office, influence and wealth now rested overwhelmingly on membership of an army recruited mainly in Khurāsān and a bureaucracy recruited mainly in ʿIrāḳ, as well as of the ruler's household. Non-Arab Muslims reached top positions through all three institutions (Crone, *Slaves*, appendix 5; cf. BARĀMIKA), while at the same time the majority of Arabs and *mawālī* found equality as ordinary subjects. Since Muslim society was no longer constituted by Arab privilege, non-Arab Muslims ceased to require a patron for membership of it. Freedmen continued to become clients of their manumitters, but most of the classical schools rejected the patronate over converts as offensive (below, section V), and the careers of free converts and the descendants of freedman ceased to be shaped by *walāʾ*. Yet Arab superiority on the one hand and the institution of *walāʾ* on the other were still to be of major importance in other ways.

(a) The Shuʿūbiyya. In cultural and religious terms, the Arabs continued to be regarded as a superior people, a fact which underlay the so-called Shuʿūbī movement, the "movement of the gentiles". Shuʿūbī sentiments had undoubtedly been common already in the Umayyad period, but it was only in the early ʿAbbāsid period that they came into the open, clearly because the *mawālī* were now in a position to get a hearing for their case: the exponents of Shuʿūbism were drawn primarily from among members of the caliphal bureaucracy and court. Purely literary in manifestation (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, chs. 4-5), the movement campaigned for cultural rather than social or political objectives, its ultimate aim being to break the nexus between Islam and Arabism, partly because this nexus stood in the way of non-Arab self-esteem and more particularly because it obstructed the reception of non-Arab culture. Ultimately, the issue behind the controversy was the cultural orientation of Islam (cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, Princeton 1962, ch. 4). The controversy only petered out in the 6th/12th century (cf. R. P. Mottahedeh, *The Shuʿūbīyah controversy and the social history of early Islamic Iran*, in *IJMES*, vii [1976]), and the issue was never properly resolved, though in practice the Shuʿūbīs lost (cf. P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism*, Cambridge 1977, 102 f.). For further details, see SHUʿŪBIYYA.

(b) *Walāʾ*. Having lost its social importance, the institution of *walāʾ* acquired a new political significance. Unlike the Umayyads, the ʿAbbasids trusted their freedmen and other private servants better than the public servants of the state. Thus al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] is said to have esteemed *mawālī* (in the sense of clients, not non-Arab Muslims) for their loyalty and to have accumulated more of them than any caliph before him, recommending them to his son (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 414, 444, 448). Clients of the caliphal household appear as a separate group at court soon after the revolution, and both al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] selected a fair number of governors from their ranks (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 429, 545, 1027; Crone, *Slaves*, appendix Vb). Al-Mahdī, who similarly expressed a preference for *mawālī* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 531), turned them into an army of their own (*ibid.*, 459). *Mawālī* of domestic origin continued to form troops of their own side by side with Turks and others far into the ʿAbbāsid period, as well as in Ṭūlūnid Egypt

(*ibid.*, 1400, 1501; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 606, 624; cf. *Aghānī*, xii, 52). Already al-Manṣūr, however, recruited non-Muslims for military use, attaching them to the ʿAbbāsid house by contractual *walāʾ*, and this example was followed by Hārūn [*q.v.*] (Crone, *Slaves*, 74). And from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim [*q.v.*] onwards, the core of the caliph's armies typically consisted of men who were both slaves and non-Muslims by origin [(cf. DJAYSH and GHULĀM]; D. Ayalon, *Preliminary remarks on the Mamluk military institution in Islam*, in V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp, eds., *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, Oxford 1975; D. Pipes, *Slave soldiers and Islam*, New Haven 1981; Crone, *Slaves*, ch. 10).

As political power came to rest on private ties with the caliph, the title *mawlā amīr al-muʾminīn* became a common honorific. First attested under al-Manṣūr, it was bestowed on governors and other dignitaries of non-Arab origin regardless of whether they were clients of the caliph in a legal sense. From the time of al-Muʿtaṣim onwards, it was regularly granted to Turkish generals and other favourites. It was also the title usually held by non-Arab rulers of successor states (Crone, *Slaves*, 75, appendix Vb, note 610; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 134, 330; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 597; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. M. ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1964, 122 f.).

4. Muslim Spain.

The relationship between Arab and non-Arab Muslims in Spain differed from that of the east in three major respects. First, *walāʾ* played virtually no role in it. On the one hand, many of the conquerors were Berbers, and such ties of *walāʾ* as they had with Arab patrons lost all significance when they acquired the status of conquerors themselves. On the other hand, the conquerors settled all over the land, not merely in garrison cities. Muslim Spain thus lacked not only the purely Arab conquest élite characteristic of the east, but also the privileged *amṣār* which elsewhere attracted *dhimmī* immigrants and caused the Muslims to exclude from their ranks all converts without a patron. Conversion in Spain did not normally involve either *hidjra* or *walāʾ*, the converts adopting Islam wherever they happened to be. Indeed, they were not normally known as *mawālī* at all, but rather, in the first generation, as *musālima* and thereafter as *muwalladūn* (originally meaning home-born slaves; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 75). Having adopted Islam in their own homes, the non-Arab Muslims of Spain failed to penetrate Arab society. Naturally Spain had its freedmen who, here as elsewhere, entered Arab society as clients. But whereas freedmen of the most diverse origin were exceedingly numerous in the cosmopolitan East, they were relatively few in Spain. Spanish society thus came to be characterised by the coexistence of three quite distinct ethnic groups, Arabs, Berbers and *muwallads*, rather than by relationship of dependence between Arabs and ethnically heterogeneous clients. Furthermore, since Spain escaped Khurāsānī conquest, these groups were able to retain political importance right down to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*].

Secondly, Spain saw armed conflicts between Arabs and indigenous Muslims. Throughout most of the Umayyad period, the *mawālī* of the East were ethnically too diverse and socially too dispersed in Arab society to rebel as *mawālī* against Arabs, while at the same time non-Arabs who had stayed together had also failed to adopt Islam. Only shortly before and after the ʿAbbāsid revolution, when on the one hand whole localities adopted Islam together, while on the other hand government was still identified as Arab, did non-Arab Muslims rebel against Arab rule. They did not, however, rebel as *mawālī*, but rather as heretics (as in North Africa) or even non-Muslims, rejecting the Arabs and Islam together (as in both North Africa and Iran). In Spain, where Arabs and *muwallads* coexisted as distinct groups, such revolts could in principle have erupted any time. In practice, they only came in the 3rd/9th century, perhaps provoked by the growth of the Umayyad state (Arab and Berber leaders also rebelled, and the upshot was the centralised state of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III); and here for once the rebels took action as *mawālī*, explicitly invoking the cause of the non-Arab Muslims (*daʿwat al-muwalladīn wa 'l-ʿadjam*, Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muktabis*, ed. M. M. Antuña, Paris 1937, 24) under the leadership of men such as ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*]. Being short of traditions of their own, partly because they were natives of provincial Spain and partly because they were Muslims of long standing, they had no alternative to Cordovan Islam. Accordingly, they did not deny the legitimacy of the Cordovan state as heretics; and though Ibn Ḥafṣūn did in the end reject Islam for Christianity, few *muwallads* followed suit (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 295 ff.).

Thirdly, there were practically no Shuʿūbīs in Spain. The fact that the *muwallads* did not have much of a cultural legacy to vindicate would hardly in itself have prevented them from adopting Shuʿūbī arguments in response to Arab prejudice: the one Shuʿūbī author attested for Spain, a Slav secretary equally lacking in cultural traditions of his own, simply adopted the arguments of eastern writers (cf. J. T. Monroe, *The Shuʿūbiyya in al-Andalus*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1970). But having avoided enslavement and migration, the *muwallads* had also failed to acquire culture and positions of influence in the society of their conquerors. Where eastern *mawālī* had spokesmen among bureaucrats and courtiers, the leaders of the *muwallads* were country squires more noted for their *virtù* than for their polish; indeed, the smarts and insults suffered by such rural lords at the court of Cordova played a role in the outbreak of several *muwallad* revolts. The *muwallads* thus lacked both the education and the influence required for a literary onslaught on Arab superiority. Instead, however, they were in a position to take up arms in their castles, as they did until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III reduced both them and their opponents to docile subjects.

In political terms, however, the institution of *walāʾ* played much the same role in Spain as it did in the ʿAbbāsid East. Thus ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I [*q.v.*], who relied considerably on freedmen and clients of the Umayyads for the conquest of Spain, is said by some to have recruited an army among non-Arab Muslims; al-Ḥakam I [*q.v.*] expanded this army and created the palatial guard of *khurs* ("mute ones"), i.e. foreign slaves and freedmen as well as local Christians (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 129 f., iii, 71 ff.). The *djund* [*q.v.*], however, survived much longer in Spain than it did elsewhere, being abolished only by Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [see AL-MANṢŪR]; and thanks to the geopolitical position of Spain, it was Berber mercenaries rather than Turkish slaves and freedmen who replaced it.

5. *Walāʾ* in classical law.

(a) Sources of *walāʾ*. All schools accept manumission as a source of *walāʾ*. Only the Ḥanafīs, Imāmīs and Ḳāsimī Zaydīs, however, accept contractual agreement as such, and then in different ways. According to the Ḥanafīs and Imāmīs, contractual clientage (*walāʾ al-muwālāt* or, in the terminology of the Imāmīs, *al-taḍammun bi 'l-djarīra*) arises from a

contractual agreement distinct from the act of conversion at the hands of another; conversion does not in itself give rise to the tie. But according to the Ḳāsimīs, it arises from conversion at the hands of another; mere agreements cannot create *walāʾ*.

(b) *Walāʾ al-ʿitḳ*. All the schools are agreed that *walāʾ* arises automatically on manumission, but they disagree about the invariability with which it does so. According to the Imāmīs, it only arises when the manumission is gratuitous, i.e. not expiatory, not made in fulfilment of a vow or other legal requirement, and not made by *kitāba* [see ʿABD]; and both the Imāmīs and other schools enable the manumitter to exempt himself from *walāʾ* by declaring the freedmen *sāʾiba*, though the Sunnīs disapprove of the practice. In Ḥanafī and S̲h̲āfiʿī law, however, manumission invariably gives rise to *walāʾ*, whatever the circumstances or the inclinations of the manumitter. If the freedman is a non-Muslim, the tie is deprived of most of its legal effects.

The manumitter acquires responsibility for the payment of *diya* on behalf of the freedman and qualifies for the role of marriage guardian to his freedwoman or freedman's daughter. In return, he is granted a title to the freedman's estate in all schools except that of the Ibāḍīs (not that of the Ẓāhirīs, as stated in ʿABD). In Sunnī and Ḳāsimī Zaydī law, he inherits as the remotest agnate of the freedman; he is thus excluded by the freedman's own agnates (e.g. a son), but inherits together with Ḳurʾānic heirs (e.g. a daughter) and himself excludes remoter relatives (*d̲h̲awu ʾl-arḥām*, e.g. a sister's son). In Imāmī, Ismāʿīlī and Nāṣirī Zaydī law he is excluded by any blood relation of the freedman, though he inherits together with the spouse.

The freedman does not, on the whole, acquire any corresponding rights and duties. Only the Ismāʿīlīs call him to succession, and only in default of all other heirs. The Mālikīs do hold him responsible for the payment of *diya* on behalf of the manumitter if the latter has no agnates, *ahl al-dīwān* or patrons of his own; but a similar opinion transmitted from al-S̲h̲āfiʿī failed to become school doctrine, and all other schools exempt him. The possibility that he might act as marriage guardian is not considered.

The relationship survives the death of both parties, passing to their heirs in perpetuity, though it loses practical importance as the client acquires agnates of his own. It also extends to the freedmen of the freedman and their freedmen in perpetuity, again with decreasing practical significance.

(c) *Walāʾ al-muwālāt*. The prospective patron must be a free, male and adult Muslim. The prospective client, according to the Ḥanafīs and Imāmīs, must be a free and adult non-Muslim of either sex who has no agnates or patrons in Islam, that is a *d̲h̲immī*, convert, foundling or (in Imāmī law) a freedman without *walāʾ*; the Ḳāsimīs, however, require him to be a *ḥarbī* convert: conversion of a *d̲h̲immī* does not give rise to *walāʾ*. The patron agrees to pay blood-money on behalf of the client in return for a title to the latter's estate; the parties may stipulate mutual succession. Either way, the heir by contractual *walāʾ* is excluded by any blood-relation of the deceased. Whether the contractual patron may act as marriage guardian is disputed. Unlike *walāʾ al-ʿitḳ*, the contractual relationship may be terminated as long as the patron has not had occasion to pay, but it becomes permanent thereafter.

(d) The nature of *walāʾ*. Practically every lawbook states that *walāʾ* should be regarded as a fictitious kinship tie (*al-walāʾ luḥma ka-luḥmat al-nasab*, as a famous maxim has it), and this view underlies a number of subsidiary rules generally accepted by Sunnīs and non-Sunnīs alike. Thus *walāʾ* cannot be alienated by sale, gift or bequest in classical law, though such transactions were permitted in pre-classical law; one cannot sell or give away *nasab*, as various authorities point out in *ḥadīt̲h̲*. Equally, *walāʾ* cannot be inherited in the strict sense of the word; the devolution of the rights and duties vested in the tie follows special rules ensuring that the relationship functions like an agnatic tie (cf. R. Brunschvig, *Un système peu connu de succession agnatique dans le droit musulman*, in his *Etudes d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976). *Pace* Brunschvig, however, this view of *walāʾ* is not an archaic survival, but on the contrary a juristic interpretation of the late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods. It was adopted with particular forcefulness and consistency by the Sunnīs, to whom the essence of *walāʾ* lies in *taʿṣīb*, "agnatisation".

In fact, however, the legal nature of *walāʾ* is quite different from that of an agnatic tie even in classical law. For one thing, it is only in Sunnī law that the patron inherits as an agnate, and then only if he is a manumitter, not a contractual patron. For another thing, the relationship lacks reciprocity. The client is a purely passive member of the patron's agnatic kin. Indeed, for some purposes he is not a member of it at all. Thus Sunnī lawyers do not usually consider clients of Ḳurays̲h̲ [*q.v.*] eligible for the caliphate; and the question whether clients of the Hās̲h̲imites were excluded from receipt of *zakāt* [*q.v.*] on a par with their patrons remained controversial; as Ibn al-At̲h̲īr pointed out, the maxim *mawlā ʾl-ḳawm minhum* (which originated in this very context) could be interpreted in a purely metaphorical vein (al-*Nihāya*, Cairo 1963, v, 228). In legal terms, *walāʾ* is a tie of dependence which derives its efficacy from the fact that the client is detached from his natal group without acquiring full membership of another. The tie undoubtedly owes its existence primarily to administrative convenience, though the administrators may well have been influenced by the legal institutions of the pre-conquest Near East (see further Crone, *Roman provincial and Islamic law*, with full references).

(e) *Mawālī* and *kafāʾa* [*q.v.*]. Classical law does not in general attach any legal significance to servile and/or non-Arab origin outside the private relationship between patron and client, but there is one major exception. Non-Arabs and freedmen cannot marry Arab women, according to the Ḥanafīs and the S̲h̲āfiʿīs. The same view prevails among the Ḥanbalīs, while contradictory views are found in the Zaydī schools. The Mālikīs, who see no harm in such unions, nonetheless allow an Arab woman to have her marriage dissolved if she marries a freedman in the belief that he is an Arab (as opposed to merely freeborn (K̲h̲alīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Muk̲h̲taṣar*, tr. I. Guidi and D. Santillana, Milan 1919, ii, 37). Only the Ibāḍīs, the Imāmīs and, following them, the Ismāʿīlīs, consistently refuse to distinguish between Arab and non-Arab, freeborn and freed for purposes of marriage [cf. NIKĀḤ]. The complete assimilation of Arab and non-Arab Muslims allegedly brought about by the ʿAbbāsids cannot be said ever to have been achieved.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P. CRONE)

MAWLĀNĀ K̲H̲ŪNKĀR, a title of the head of the Mawlawī order of dervishes [see MAWLAWIYYA]. The second word is the Turkish form of the Persian *k̲h̲udāwandigār*, the equivalent of *mawlā*, which according to Aflākī (*Saints des derviches tourneurs*, i, 59) was bestowed on D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn by his father (the

derivation from *Khūn-kār*, Persian "blood-shedder", must depend on popular etymology). Sāmī in his *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām* states that the word, besides used for "Sultan", "King", is applied to certain saintly personages, in such combinations as *pīr khūnkār* or *mullā khūnkār*. The underlying idea of such a title is probably that the saint has had committed to him the government of the world, if he choose to undertake it, an idea elaborated by Ibn ʿArabī (*Futūḥāt Makkiyya*, i, 262, ii, 407), who regards such a saint as the true *khalīfa*. The title *čelebi* is more generally recognised as that belonging to the head of the Mawlawī order (Sāmī, *op.cit.*, 510a).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(D. S. Margoliouth*)

MAWLAWĪ, Mullā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Taydjawzī, a Kurdish poet who composed an *ʿAḳīda-nāma* and a celebrated *dīwān* in the Hawrāmī dialect of Gūrānī. He was born *ca.* 1222/1807 at Tāwagōz in Djawānrūd and died at Sarshāta, on the river Sīrwān near Ḥalabdja, *ca.* 1300/1883.

Bibliography: V. Minorsky, *The Gūrān*, in *BSOAS*, xi (1943-5), 94; Pīramērd, *Dīwān-i Mawlawī*, 2 vols., Sulaymānīya, 1938-40; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sadjdjādī, *Mēzhū-y adab-ī kurdī*, Baghdād 1952.

(Ed.)

MAWLAWIYYA, a Ṣūfī order or *ṭarīḳa*, in Turkish Mewlewiyye, modern Mevlevî, which takes its name from the Mawlānā ("Our Master"), the sobriquet of Djalal al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]. Although not called by this name, it appears that such a *ṭarīḳa* was formed already in the Mawlānā's time, and this view is reinforced by the existence of a group of disciples around the Mawlānā, by his concern for their education and by his appointment of deputies to carry out this task during his absences. However, like many *ṭuruḳ* (e.g. the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*]), this *ṭarīḳa* acquired its name at a later stage. There is no definite information that the Mawlānā's followers were called Mawlawiyya in his own time, but it is known that already at that time, the epithet Mawlānā had replaced the name Djalāl al-Dīn (see Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1959-61, ii, 597), and it is therefore probable that his followers were even then called Mawlawiyya.

1. Origins and ritual of the order.

An attempt will be made here to demonstrate to what extent the subsequent and relatively developed form of the order is connected with that of the Mawlānā's era. Such a demonstration shows that a great part of the contemporary customs and rules of the order also existed in the time of the Mawlānā (see Yazıcı, *Mevlânâ devrinde semâ'*, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, v [1964], 135-59). In particular, it appears that certain elements of the *samāʿ* [*q.v.*] or musical ceremony, which occupies an important place in the customs and rules of the *ṭarīḳa*, were found in the *samāʿ* gatherings of the Mawlānā's era (Yazıcı, *loc. cit.*). It is known that there was found a special meeting-room which formed the nucleus of the *samāʿ-khāna* of later Mawlawī *tekkes*. It is also known that there was a *djamāʿat-khāna* among the rooms constructed alongside the Mawlānā's *madrasa* by the Saldjūḳ statesman Tādj al-Dīn Muʿtazz, and that the Mawlānā there listened to conversation, men of letters and the playing of the *rabāb*, and in all probability also conducted *samāʿ* (see Aflākī, i, 97, 125, 138, 252, 255). In the same fashion, the *madrasa* at which the Mawlānā taught served at that time as the *ṭarīḳa*'s *tekke*, or as subsequently named, *dargāh*. It is highly probable that the *djamāʿat-khāna* adjacent to the *madrasa* was used during the Mawlānā's lifetime and after his death as a place to train novices or *murīds*, and that a *shaykh* was found there. The first of these *shaykhs* was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb, who was followed by Ḥusām al-Dīn Čelebi, Karīm al-Dīn Bektemur and Sulṭān Walad. Aflākī (i, 232) records that while the Mawlānā was alive he had two *khalīfas* outside Konya, one at Luʾluwe Maʿdeni, the other called Madjd al-Dīn Walad-ī Čagha in the lands of Rūm, and that he gave to them the spiritual genealogy or *shadjara* of the *ṭarīḳa* which he had written. However, the fact that, until Sulṭān Walad, none of these appointees came from the Mawlānā's family suggests that the Mawlānā may not have intended to found an order. For, as frequently occurs in many orders, the successor of the founder of a *ṭarīḳa* is generally a member of his family. Had he had such an intention, there was no reason why he should not have appointed as his successor his son Sulṭān Walad, who possessed all the requisite qualities of a *shaykh* of a *ṭarīḳa*.

There is a great probability that the chief principles of the Mawlawiyya, such as *samāʿ*, were already established in the Mawlānā's era, and that after some further development they took the form they bear today.

After Sulṭān Walad's succession, a new centre for the *ṭarīḳa* was formed with the building of the *türbe*, which survives today, by ʿAlam al-Dīn Ḳayṣar. At this centre—as in a *tekke*—the Ḳurʾān and *Mathnawī* of the Mawlānā were read, prayers were recited and the *samāʿ* was conducted. At this period, as in the Mawlānā's time, *samāʿ* was performed individually and collectively (Aflākī, i, 356, 104, ii, 759 ff.). Such gestures as that of salutation, which occur in today's *samāʿ* ceremony, were also encountered in the Mawlānā's *samāʿ* (*ibid.*, i, 412). This type of element continued under Sulṭān Walad and Ulu ʿĀrif Čelebi (*ibid.*, ii, 613, 795, 892, 966).

However, none of the Mawlawī sources prior to 754/1353 refers to the *naʿt*, *dawr-i waladī*, *pust duʿāsī* and the organised salutation which feature in the *samāʿ* ceremonies of later eras. In sum, at that period there was no *samāʿ* taught in advance. Rather, music or some event bringing a person to ecstasy was the occasion for *samāʿ*. As is apparent from its name, the *dawr-i waladī* was linked to Sulṭān Walad. However, it appears that the reading of the Ḳurʾān and of *ghazals* [*q.v.*] before the *samāʿ* was established in the time of Ulu ʿĀrif Čelebi (Aflākī, ii, 846 ff.). It is most likely that the *samāʿ* took its final form, known as *muḳābala*, in the time of Pīr ʿĀdil Čelebi (d. 864/1460).

In the hope of showing all the characteristics of the Mawlawiyya, an account will be given of its customs and rules, beginning with entry or initiation to the *ṭarīḳa*.

Entry to the Mawlawiyya. Initial entry is as a *muḥibb*, and for this, application is made to a Mawlawī *shaykh*. Having indicated to the candidate that he will be admitted to the *ṭarīḳa*, the *shaykh* instructs him to bathe and appear on an appointed day. The *muḥibb*, that is, the candidate *murīd*, appears on the appointed day with a *sikke* (a type of conical cap). He kisses the *shaykh*'s hand and then sits on his left. With the faces of both turned towards the *ḳibla*, the *shaykh* informs him that they will read together a prayer of repentance (see A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî âdâb ve erkânı*, 133). After the prayer is read, the *shaykh* takes in both hands the *sikke* brought by the candidate *murīd*, and three times—to the right, left and front of the *sikke*—reads the sūra *Ikhlāṣ* (CXII) and blows upon the *sikke*. Then he settles the candidate *murīd*, with his face to the *ḳibla*, down upon his left knee and holds the *sikke* towards the *ḳibla*, and having stated that he is acting on behalf of the Mawlānā, he kisses the *sikke* from the right, left

and front and places it upon the candidate. With his hands upon the *sikke* he pronounces the *takbīr*, and the *sikke* is thus said to be *tekbirlenmish*. The *shaykh* then caresses the back of the candidate, whose head is resting upon his knee, raises him to his feet, and with their right hands held together they kiss. Thus the person whose *sikke* has received the *takbīr* acquires the name of *muhibb*. The *shaykh* takes the *muhibb* to the *dede* in the *matbakh* or kitchen, who will educate him. The *dede* is a person resident in one of the cells (*hüdjre*) of the *dargāh* or *zāwiya*, who has fulfilled his *čile* (period of trial) and been elevated to the rank of *derwīsh*.

The *muhibb*, who is also known as *naw-niyāz*, is informed of the difficulty of the path. The *muhibb* undertakes to devote himself completely to this path, and is then set for three days in the *matbakh* upon a skin known as the *sakkā pustu* which is believed to remove the thirst of those who thirst for the *tarīka*. The *muhibb*, seated upon this skin upon his knees with his head bent, observes the services performed by other *murīds* who are named *djān* (literally "soul"), does not speak without need and when required to urinate, he takes over his shoulders the *khirka* or gown with sleeves of one of the *djāns* and goes to the latrine. When the three days are up, he is taken to the *kazandji dede* (the person responsible for the *murīds*' discipline) and if he declares himself resolved to remain in the *tarīka*, he runs errands for eighteen days in the clothes in which he has come, that is to say, he carries and fetches at the double for the persons of the *tekke*. When this period ends, the position is explained to the *ashčī dede*. Upon his request, the clothes of the *muhibb* are removed and he is dressed in the *matmaᶜ tennüresi*, and over this *tennüre* (or long, sleeveless gown) there is bound a belt called the *elif-i nemed*. Thus the *muhibb* intending to enter the Mawlawiyya order (*soyunan*, "changing his garments for work") is delivered to the *kazandjī*, who explains to him the services which he will perform (errands, floor-sweeping etc.). While these services continue, the *muhibb* is also taught to perform the *samāᶜ*. The *muhibb* may not wear the *sikke* until successful in *samāᶜ*. Once his success in this matter has been demonstrated, he is given a temporary *sikke* and only after participating in the *mübtedī mukābelesi* (a *samāᶜ* ceremony for beginners) does he join in the true ceremony. While participating in the real ceremony, he removes the *tennüre* worn for service (*hizmet tennüresi*) and wears instead the *samāᶜ tennüresi*, with a narrow shirt (*deste-gül*) over it and a *khirka* upon his back.

Upon completing the service of errand-runner, the *muhibb* leaves his service and undertakes the functions of *pazardjilik*, that is to say, he does the *tekke*'s daily shopping. While performing this service he wears a towel on his back, a chain upon his waist and tongs upon his belt (*elif-i nemed*). At prayer times, he goes to the *masdjid* of the *dargāh* or *zāwiya*, and in the mornings joins the circle where the *ism-i djalāl* ("glorious name [of God]") is repeated. He carries out the shopping, sets and clears the table, does internal housework and other services. Thus the *muhibb* completes 1,001 days of service. The *meydāndjī dede* informs him when he has completed his trial (*čile*), and explains that one week later a *samāᶜ* will be performed for this occasion, that *sharbat* will be drunk at this ceremony and gives the name of the *murīd* (*djān*) who will distribute the *sharbat*.

One week later, having completed his trial (*čile*), the *derwīsh* goes to the *hammām* and bathes, and coming to the kitchen, he removes his *tennüre* and puts on the *shalwār* or trousers, while on his upper part he puts on the *derwīsh* costume of *mintan* and *khirka* and again sits upon the *sakkā pustu* in the kitchen. That night a candlestick of 35 or 70 branches is lit. After all but the *derwīsh* performing the trial (*čile*) have eaten, the *sharbatči* serves the prepared *sharbat* to those present. The *čilekesh* (performer of *čile*) converses with the *tarīkatči*, the *ashčī dede* or the *dedes*, and proceeds to the middle and performs a salutation (*niyāz*). The *tarīkatči* or the *ashčī dede* recites the *gülbang* (a prepared prayer) for him (for the text of the *gülbang*, see Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra mevlevîlik*, Istanbul 1953, 393). After all have departed from this ceremony, the *meydāndjī* takes him first to the *türbedār* and then to the kitchen and gives him *sharbat* to drink and food to eat. Then a white skin called *Sulṭān Walad pustu* is spread. The *meydāndjī* seats the *ashčī dede* upon the skin, and brings the *derwīsh* who has completed his trial to him. After praying that he may continue upon the path (reading the *gülbang*), the *ashčī dede* goes to his cell. The new *derwīsh* too is taken to the cell set aside for him. The *dedes* come there to congratulate him, each bringing with him a different present. He does not leave his cell for three days, and his meals are brought to his cell. After this period he is taken by the *meydāndjī dede* to the *shaykh* of the *tekke* and the ceremony of *bayᶜat* is performed (for details, see *ibid.*, 394). The *shaykh* cuts some hairs from the middle of the eyebrow and from the moustache of the *derwīsh* and pronouncing the *takbīr*, he dresses him in the *khirka* of the *derwīsh*. He then tells him to perform the trial of the cell (*hüdjre čilesi*). This trial consists of not leaving the cell for 18 days. When this period, too, has ended he is dressed by the *shaykh* in the *sikke*. With this, he acquires the title of *derwīsh* or simply of *dede* (Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî âdâb ve erkânı*, 135). Thereafter, he begins to teach the knowledge and arts (music, etc.) which he has acquired to date to the *muhibbs* who come after him. A *dede*, depending upon his ability, may become a *shaykh* and *khalīfa* [see KHALIFA. 3. In Islamic mysticism]. The *shaykhs* represent the Mawlawiyya order. If *shaykhs* are not *sayyids*, they wear white turbans; if they are *sayyids*, they wear turbans of a smoky colour close to purple.

Shaykhs dwell in places called *āstāna*, *dargāh* or *zāwiya*. A Mawlawī *dargāh* is composed of a *haram*, *salāmlīk*, *samāᶜ-khāna*, *türbe*, *masdjid*, *maydān*, *matbakh* and *derwīsh* cells. In addition, a room called *maydān-i sharīf* is located close to the *matbakh*. *Muhibbs* may not enter here; the others enter one by one after the morning prayer, the last to do so in Konya being the *tarīkatči* and elsewhere the *ashčī dede*, and having kissed the ground they sit. The *dede* called the *tīsharī meydāndjī* gives to each of those seated a small piece of bread from a tray. After these have been eaten, coffee is drunk and then the *murākaba* ("vigil") is begun. Later, the *tarīkatči* or the *ashčī bashī dede* reads sura CX of the Ḳurʾān and recites the *fātiha*. After the *fātiha* has been read together, all withdraw.

The Mawlawiyya are distinguished from all other orders by the importance which they give to *samāᶜ*. *Samāᶜ* is performed in a circular room called *samāᶜ-khāna*. Its furnishings are covered with unnailed walnut planks, and these planks appear as if polished as a result of the periodic *samāᶜ*. The room is entered through the external main door. The *samāᶜ-khāna* comprises the following sections: the space in which *samāᶜ* is conducted, the side sections reserved for male and female visitors, the *mutrib-khāna* for the musicians, above the door opposite the *shaykh* and approached by steps, or else the section where the musicians and the tombs of the former *shaykhs* are located. This last section is separated from the *samāᶜ-khāna* by a grille which reaches to the roof. At times when the *samāᶜ* is to be performed, the *shaykh*'s skin (sc. hide or rug) is spread

opposite the *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*]; it is assumed that a line stretches from the edge of this skin to the middle of the *khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ*. This line must in no way be stepped upon.

The *samāʿ* ceremony—also known as *muḳābele* (see Anḳarāwī, *Minhādj al-fuḳarāʾ*, 68)—is performed after prayers. Beforehand, the *meydāndjī* who supervises the affairs of the *dargāh* or *meydān* goes to the *samāʿ-khāna* on the day or night when *samāʿ* will be performed, and takes the *shaykh*'s skin which is there to his apartment. With the approval of the *shaykh*, the *meydāndjī dede* stands facing the *ḳibla* opposite the location of the cells, and summons the *derwīsh*s to perform their ablutions and don the *tennūre*. Afterwards he goes to the *samāʿ-khāna* and spreads the skin of the *shaykh*. He emerges to tell the *muʾadhdhin* to call the *adhān* [*q.v.*]. After this person has called the *adhān*, the *dede*s and the *muḥibb*s perform their ablutions, don their *tennūre* and with their *khirḳa* on their backs they proceed to the *samāʿ-khāna*. After the performance of prayer, the *shaykh* sits upon his skin, and those who are to perform the *samāʿ* also sit together with him. After all have taken their places, the band of musicians takes its place. The *Mathnawīkhʷān* reads an extract from the *Mathnawī*, while the *shaykh* reads his *pust duʿāsī*. They then listen to the *naʿt* performed by the musicians, and afterwards the *shaykh* and the *samāʿ-zan*s or participants all rise, striking their hands to the ground. The *shaykh*, in harmony with the music of the musicians, walks very slowly to the right, and once he has taken three steps from the skin, the person behind him takes up a position near the skin and, bowing his head in salutation, passes in front of the skin to the other side without stepping upon the *khaṭṭ-i istiwāʾ* and stands with his face towards the skin. The one who follows him also passes before the skin. These two participants, standing opposite one another, look at one another face to face. They then salute one another, drawing the right hand from above the left from within the *khirḳa* to the heart, and the left hand to the right side. Next, one turns and follows the other who goes in front. All the *djān*s act in this way before the skin. Then they walk in harmony with the tempo. When the *shaykh* comes before the skin, he stops and finds the most senior *naw-niyāz* before him. They exchange mutual salutations. Thus the first *dawra* or sequence is completed. Second and third *dawra*s follow in the same fashion. When the third *dawra* is finished, the *shaykh* goes towards his skin and at this moment a *nay* or flute improvisation begins and continues until the *shaykh* sits upon his skin: once he has done, so the ceremony begins. The *shaykh* and the *samāʿ-zans* salute. The *samāʿ-zan*s remove their *khirḳa*s and place them on the ground. Then, passing the right arm over the left they link arms in a diagonal fashion, with the right hand holding the left shoulder and the left hand holding the right shoulder. The *shaykh* walks in front of the skin, salutes, and the others perform the same movement. Next the *samāʿ-zans*, setting off on the right foot, approach the *shaykh* one by one, salute him and kiss his hand. They then open their arms, the left hand being a little higher, take three short steps and begin to turn. The *samāʿ-zan bashī* or leader of the participants has charge of the *samāʿ*. The first to turn is followed in identical fashion by the others. When the *salām* is to be given, the *shaykh*, who is beside the skin, advances and makes salutation. The *samāʿ-zan*s come together in twos and threes, touching each other's shoulders diagonally, and form groups. The second *dawra* is then begun; this resembles the first. This time, the *samāʿ-zan*s perform a salutation before the *shaykh* and kiss his hand. The third and fourth *dawra*s follow in the same fashion.

According to a tradition among the Mawlawiyya, until the reign of Selīm III (1789-1807 [*q.v.*]) the custom of the Mawlānā's era was maintained and *samāʿ* was performed only at moments of ecstasy; nonetheless, it appears that before this date *samāʿ* was performed on specific days. D'Ohsson (*Tableau général de l'empire Othoman*, Paris 1789, ii, 304) records that Tuesdays and Fridays were chosen for *samāʿ* ceremonies. There is a strong probability that Selīm III's frequent visits to *mawlawī-khāna*s and the need to perform *samāʿ* in his honour led to the ending of this custom, and *samāʿ* began to be performed every day. However, the difficulty of performing *samāʿ* daily in any single *samāʿ-khāna* was recognised, and it became the practice to perform it in a different *mawlawī-khāna* on each day of the week. Yet in cities outside Istanbul, the *samāʿ* ceremony was performed only on Fridays, after Friday prayers. Nowadays, for reasons which are touristic rather than religious, the *samāʿ* ceremony is performed for one week annually in Konya between 11 and 17 December (see H. Ritter, *Die Mevlanafeier in Konya vom 11-17 Dezember 1960*, in *Oriens*, xv, 249-70; cf. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra mevlevîlik*, 371-80, and *Mevlevî âdâb ve erkânı*, 77-89).

The Mawlawiyya have a further *samāʿ* ceremony, called *ʿayn-ī djemʿ* (*ʿayn al-djamʿ*). It is used in the sense of uniting or gathering. This was often performed at night, when the Mawlawī brothers gathered in ecstasy and love in the consciousness of unity with God. This ceremony was performed either to fulfil a condition set by a donator of a *waḳf* [*q.v.*] to the *tekke*, or for the sake of someone who had made a vow, or upon the personal request of an *ʿāshiḳ* or devotee of the Mawlānā. This *samāʿ* was not performed in the *samāʿ-khāna* but in a rectangular room. If the *samāʿ* took place at night, it was performed after the eating of a meal and the performance of the evening prayer (details in Gölpınarlı, *op. cit.*, 101). This ceremony was also performed on the anniversary of the Mawlānā's death (6 Djumādā II 672/17 December 1273). For according to the Mawlawiyya, this day marks the Mawlānā's birth into eternity. As this date changes annually in accordance with the *hidjrī* calendar, when the anniversary occurred in summer or spring rush mats and rugs would be spread on the *türbe*-facing side of the pond which lies outside the *maydān odasī* of the *dargāh* in Konya, and the *ʿayn-ī djemʿ* would be performed in the open air.

The Mawlawiyya have striven to give meanings to the *samāʿ-khāna* and to the gestures made by the *samāʿ-zans* during *samāʿ*. Thus the right-hand arc of the circular *samāʿ-khāna* represents the apparent world, while the left-hand arc represents the unseen world of meaning within the apparent world. Similarly, the right arc represents the descent from absolute being to humanity, the left, spiritual ascent, maturity and the path to God (*sulūk*). The starting-point of the *khaṭṭ-ī istiwāʾ* (i.e. the place of the *shaykh*) is a sign of the world of absolute being, while the point directly opposite is a sign of the rank of humanity.

The *derwīsh* who performs the *samāʿ* is called *samāʿ-zan*. During the *samāʿ*, the *samāʿ-zan*'s hand raised to heaven is a sign of taking from God, while his downward-pointing left hand is a sign that what is taken from God with the right hand is given to the people. The *samāʿ-zan* believes that what has thus been taken from God is given to the people, that he himself exists only in appearance and in reality does not exist, and that he is nothing but an intermediary between God and the people. In this position, his arms resemble a *lām-alif* (لا), while the body between the two arms is like an *alif*, thus giving the form of *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*.

The first *dawra* of the *samā*ᶜ ceremony shows the manifestation of God, in whom all names and qualities are found. At the end of this *dawra*, God is manifested with the name "*salām*". Thus the *sālik*'s knowledge of God's unity reaches the degree of ᶜ*ilm al-yaḳīn*, i.e. his knowledge of God's unity has the degree of certain knowledge. In the second *dawra*, this knowledge reaches the degree of vision (ᶜ*ayn al-yaḳīn*). In the third *dawra* he becomes what he sees, i.e. his knowledge becomes *ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn*. The fourth *dawra* represents God's existence and being (Gölpınarlı, *ibid.*, 107 ff.).

Another characteristic which distinguishes the Mawlawiyya from other orders is *čile* (trial). The Mawlawī *čile* does not, as in other orders, consist of the endurance of such hardships as eating and drinking little, remaining without sleep and the performance of an extreme degree of *dhikr*, all generally in a closed place; instead, it consists of 1,001 days of service, the equivalent in *abdjad* enumeration of the word *riḍā*, particularly in the kitchen of the *tekke*. The *muḥibb* or *naw-niyāz* fulfils his *čile* by assisting those who direct the "eighteen service" and accomplishing the tasks they order (for the services, see Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra mevlevîlik*, 397 ff., and *Mevlevî âdâb ve erkanı*, 45 ff.). Those who principally accomplish this "eighteen service" are the *ḳazandjî dede*, who takes care of the discipline of the *naw-niyāz*, the *khalīfa dede* who instructs them in the customs of the *ṭarīḳa*, the *čamashîrdjî dede* who washes or has washed the linen of the *dedes* and the *naw-niyāz*, the *ābrīzdjî dede* who cleans the latrines, the *bulashîḳčî* (washer-up), the *süpürüdjü* (sweeper), the *pazardjî dede* who does the shopping in the mornings, the *somatčî dede* who lays and clears the table, etc.

The Mawlawiyya have developed in two forms: the Shems ḳolu or branch which takes love and ecstasy as its basis and acts like the Ḳalenderiyya, and the Sulṭān Walad ḳolu which strives to remain attached to the *Sharī*ᶜ*a*. The Shems ḳolu has accepted as a principle the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*]; there is thus a close resemblance between this branch and the Bektashīs [*q.v.*]. This resemblance derives from the fact that both spring from a Ḳalender source. The 10th/16th century Ottoman author Wāḥidī ranks the Shemsī, Bektashī and the Ḳalenderiyya together both on account of their attire and on account of their beliefs (*Manāḳib-i Khʷādja-yi djihān ve natīdja-yi djān*, fols. 65b-75b; cf. Khaṭīb-i Fārsī, *Manāḳib-i Djamāl al-Dīn-i Sāwī*, preface, p. xxi).

The Sulṭān Walad ḳolu has been more influential upon orders which conform to the *Sharī*ᶜ*a*. Amongst these the Gülshaniyya, a branch of the Khalwatiyya, have been considerably influenced by this branch of the Mawlawiyya. The customs of the Gülshaniyya openly reveal this influence (cf., Shemelī-zāde Aḥmed Efendi, *Shīve-yi ṭarīḳat-i Gülshaniyye* (with the *Manāḳib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gülshanī*), 509-44).

In general, the Mawlawiyya show extreme respect and love for all that may be of use to man, whether animate or inanimate, and in this connection they have created a new language. For example, in place of *öpmek* ("to kiss") they use *görüshmek* ("to converse"), in place of *ḳapamaḳ* ("to close") they use *ṣırlamaḳ*, in place of "to eat or drink something" they use *djünbüshlenmek*, in place of *murīd* they use *djān* or *naw-niyāz*; these aside, they employ as technical terms *ayaḳ mühürlemek* for "to place the big toe of the right foot on top of the big toe of the left foot", *direk* for "the *samā*ᶜ*-zan* not to turn with the left foot revolving on its axis", *čivi tutmaḳ* for "to put one's foot down on the spot and turn to make *samā*ᶜ", etc. (see Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî âdâb ve erkânı*, 5-47).

As a result of the efforts of the members of this order, which has enjoyed close links with literature from its inception, a Mawlawī literature has been formed. This has not been confined simply to themselves, but has also left its imprint upon a number of famous poets of the Ottoman *Dīwān* literature. Amongst the poets of this literature, Nefᶜī, Nabī and Shaykh Ghālib [*q.vv.*] were Mawlawīs.

From the Mawlānā's era to most recent times, music has always occupied an important place among the members of this *ṭarīḳa*. To the musical instruments which initially consisted solely of the *nay* and the *rabāb*, there were subsequently added the ᶜ*ūd*, *kaman*, *ḳānūn*, *santūr*, *ṭanbūr*, *kemenče* and *girift*, and most recently the piano and the violincello. The first piano brought to Istanbul was played in the *mawlawīkhāna* at Ḳumḳapîsî. However, the piano and violincello have not won much favour. It is most probable that the musical compositions recited in the Mawlānā's time were anonymous, but later, especially during *samā*ᶜ, the recitations were selected from the poems of the Mawlānā, Sulṭān Walad and Ulu ᶜĀrif Čelebi. The Mawlawis produced a number of composers (see Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan sonra mevlevilik*, 456 ff.).

In conclusion, this order took its basic principles from the Mawlānā. These principles, which rest upon a limitless love of humanity and a moderate permissiveness, secured the *ṭarīḳa*'s popularity within a short period. To these principles should be added the importance given to music and dance, which were not well-viewed in religious circles, but which human beings cannot do without. The considerable interest which was shown by outsiders (*čevre*) for these reasons further developed the order. Just as the customs and rules of the *ṭarīḳa* were from time to time re-ordered on this pretext, so also new ones were added to them. Further, the Mawlawī *tekkes* partook of the nature of schools, in order first to understand the thoughts of the Mawlānā, which are the basis of the order, and also to be of service to society. This ensured that the *ṭarīḳa*'s members were in general literate, and were qualified in one of the fine arts like literature, music and calligraphy. For this reason, this order was popular in intellectual circles.

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For accounts of the Mawlawī ritual and organisation by western travellers and observers, see J. P. Brown, *The dervishes*, Istanbul 1868, 196-206, new ed. by H. A. Rose, London 1927, 250-8; Cl. Huart, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1897 (who also translated Aflākī's *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn* into French as *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918-22); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890, 832; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, 1910, iii, 12; Lucy M. Garnett, *Mysticism and magic in modern Turkey*, London 1912; H. C. Lukach, *The city of dancing dervishes*, London 1914; S. Anderson, *The whirling and howling dervishes*, in *MW*, xiii (1923), 181-92. (T. Yazıcı)

2. Relations with other orders.

Although the earlier mystics, such as al-D̲j̲unayd, Bisṭāmī and al-Ḥallād̲j̲ are mentioned in Aflākīs' *Manāḳib* with profound reverence, the treatment of founders of orders who came near D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn's time is very different. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī is ignored, Ibn ʿArabī mentioned with contempt, and al-Rifāʿī with severe condemnation. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bekṭās̲h̲ is represented as having sent a messenger to inquire into the proceedings of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn and to have acknowledged the supremacy of the latter. At a later period, the rivalry of the Mawlawī with the Bekṭās̲h̲ī order became acute.

It has been shown by F. W. Hasluck (*Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii, 370 ff.) that the environment wherein the Mawlawī order originated was favourable to Christians, and that throughout its history it showed itself tolerant and inclined to regard all religions as reconcilable on a philosophic basis. He suggests that the veneration of the Muslims of Konya for the supposed burial-place of Plato (in a mosque which was once the church of St. Amphilochius) may have been intentionally favoured by the Mawlawī dervishes, or possibly their founder, as providing a cult which Muslim and Christian might share on equal terms. In three other sanctuaries of Konya, one of them the mausoleum of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn himself, he found evidence of a desire to provide an object of veneration to the adherents of both systems. It is not, however, easy to accept his inference that some sort of religious compromise on a philosophic basis was devised between the Sald̲j̲ūḳ Sultan ʿAlā' al-Dīn, D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn, and the local Christian clergy. It appears from Aflākī that the order was frequently exposed to persecution from the *fuḳahā'* in consequence of the music and dancing; and they found an analogy in Christian services to the employment of the former. They were credited in recent times with having restrained the massacres of Armenians.

3. Spread of the order.

Aflākī attributes its propagation outside Konya to D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn's son and second successor, Sulṭān Bahā' al-Dīn Walad who "filled Asia Minor with his lieutenants" (tr. Huart, ii, 262). It would appear, however, from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative (*Riḥla*, ii, 282-4, Eng. tr. Gibb, ii, 430-1) that the order's following was not at that time extensive outside Konya and was largely confined to Anatolia, although it does seem that in the time of Ulu ʿĀrif Čelebī (d. 720/1320) a Mawlawī *dargāh* existed in the Il-K̲h̲ānid centre of Sulṭāniyya in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān (see Aflākī, ii, 896). At this period, *zāwiya*s or *tekke*s were set up in such Anatolian towns as Toḳat, Lāranda and Kütahya, and thanks to the efforts of Dīwāna Maḥmūd Čelebi (d. in the first half of the 10th/16th century), others were founded in Istanbul, Rumelia and other Anatolian towns, and in the Arab lands, at Lād̲h̲aḳiyya and Aleppo and in Egypt and Algiers.

The story told after Saʿd al-Dīn by Von Hammer (*GOR*, i, 147) and others, that as early as 759/1357, Sulaymān son of Ork̲h̲ān received a cap from a Mawlawī dervish at Bulayr, has been shown by Hasluck (ii, 613) to be a fiction. The historians make no allusion to any importance attaching to the Mawlawī chief when Murād I took Konya in 788/1386; but when the city was taken by Murād II in 838/1435, peace was negotiated, according to Saʿd al-Dīn (i, 358) by Mawlānā Ḥamza, but according to Nes̲h̲rī (quoted in *ibid.*) by the descendant of Mawlānā D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, ʿĀrif Čelebi, "who united all the glories of worth and pedigree, and possessed mystic attainments"; the rebellious vassal supposed that a holy man of the family of the Mawlānā would inspire more confidence. The same person performed a similar service in 846/1442 (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 371). According to V. Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 829) Selīm I when passing through Konya in 922/1516 in pursuit of the Persians (?) ordered the destruction of the *Mawlawī-k̲h̲āna*, at the instance of the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām*; and though this command was repealed, the moral and religious authority of the head of the order was gravely compromised. That the saints of Konya were highly reverenced in the Ottoman Empire later in the 10th/16th century appears from the list of graves visited by Sayyid ʿAlī Ḳapūdān in 961/1554, which commences with those of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn, his father and his son (Pečewī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, i, 371). In 1043/1634 Murād IV assigned the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* of Konya to the Čelebi. Yet the first reference to "dancing dervishes" in Istanbul which Hasluck produces is from the time of Sultan Ibrāhīm (1049-58/1640-8).

Mawlawī *tekke*s were divided into two classes, the *āstāna* and the *zāwiya*, the former being considered as more prestigious, with the *čile* (see section 1. above) being performed there. During the high Ottoman period, there were *āstāna*s, apart from the *āstāna-yi ʿaliyya* called Ḥuḍūr-i Pīr at Konya itself, at Bursa, Kütahya, Ḳaraḥiṣār, Manisa, Eskis̲h̲ehir, Ḳasṭamonu and Gelibolu in Anatolia, at Yeñis̲h̲ehir in Rumelia, and at Aleppo and in Egypt, plus the *āstāna* which served as the fourth of the Mawlawī *tekke*s in Istanbul. During this period, there were 76 Mawlawī *zāwiya*s in towns alone (details in A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra mevlevîlik*, 335). Of European authors writing towards the end or just after the Ottoman era, Cuinet mentions three *Mawlawī-k̲h̲āna*s of the first rank and one *tekke* of the second in Istanbul and the neighbourhood; he gives the names of the

saints whose tombs they contain, without dates. He mentions seven other *Mawlawī-khānas* of the first rank, at Konya, Manisa, Ḳaraḥiṣār, Baḥariyya, Egypt (Cairo?) Gallipoli and Bursa; and as the more celebrated of the second rank, that of Shams-i Tabrīzī at Konya, and those in Medina, Damascus and Jerusalem. To these, Hasluck adds *tekkes* at Canea (Crete), founded about 1880, Ḳaramān, Ramla, Tatar (in Thessaly), and possibly Tempe (for one in Izmir, see Anderson, in *MW*, xiii [1922], 161; for one in Salonica, see the work of Garnett, and for one in Cyprus, that of Lukach cited in the *Bibl.* to section 1. above).

In the aftermath of the Kurdish revolt in eastern Anatolia against the new Republican Turkish government in February-April 1925, which had been led by the Naḳshbandī Shaykh Saʿīd of Palu, Kemāl Atatürk decided upon the suppression of all the dervish orders in Turkey. Hence by the decree of 4 September 1925, all the dervish *tekkes* were closed, and the library of the *Mawlawī-khāna* of Konya was transferred to the Museum of that town (see *OM* [1925], 455, [1926], 584).

4. Political importance of the order. Reference may be made to Hasluck's *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ii, 604-5, for refutation of the stories uncritically reproduced by Cuinet and some less authoritative writers. In these "the Shaykh of the Mawlawī becomes first the legitimate successor by blood of the Saldjūḳ dynasty, and finally the real caliph!" Hasluck supposes these tales to be based on the supposed "traditional right" of the Mawlawī Shaykh to gird the new sultan with a sword. This right cannot be traced earlier than 1058/1648, and appears to have obtained recognition in the 19th century. It would seem that reforming sultans used the Mawlawī order as a makeweight against the Bekṭāshīs, who supported the Janissaries, and then against the *ʿulamāʾ*, who supported the treatment of the Muslim community as a privileged community against the *dhimmīs*. In later Ottoman times, Sultans ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Meḥemmed Reshād were members of the order. (D. S. Margoliouth*)

5. The last vestiges of the order in the Arab world and the Balkans. Following the suppression of the Ṣūfī orders in Turkey, the last Čelebi (Muḥammad Bākir) took up residence in the *āsitāna* of the Mawlawiyya in Aleppo (L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman 1954*, Paris 1955, 201). Ritual gatherings were held regularly till the early 1950s, when the last active *shaykh* of this *āsitāna* (Muḥammad Shāhū) died. In the *takiyya* of the Mawlawiyya in Ḥimṣ (last *shaykh*, Nūr ʿUthmān), ritual gatherings were held into the 1940s, and in the *takiyya* in Latakia (last *shaykh*, Bākir Efendi) gatherings continued into the 1950s.

The small but active Mawlawiyya community in Damascus, where the *āsitāna* dates back to the late 10th/16th century (Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, Beirut 1972, vi, 139), disappeared in the 1960s. The last *shaykh* of the order in Damascus, *shaykh* Fāʾiḳ b. Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Mawlawī, died in 1965 (F. de Jong, *Les confréries mystiques musulmanes au Machreq arabe: centres de gravité, signes de déclin et de renaissance*, in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, *Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam. Cheminements et situation actuelle*, Paris 1986, 214). His son, Muḥammad Djalāl, published a new edition of the *awrād* (*Awrād al-sāda al-Mawlawiyya*, Damascus 1395/1975) and tried to revive the order without much success. In Damascus, the Mawlawiyya played a prominent role in the religious celebrations in which the Ṣūfī orders used to participate (cf. Muḥammad Djawād Mashkūr and Ḥasan Ghurawī Iṣfahānī, *Ṣufiyān-i Mawlawī dar Dimashk*, in *Honar va Mardom*, Tehran [April 1976], 2-6, and Munīr Kayyāl, *Ramaḍān wa taḳālīduhu al-Dimashkiyya*, Damascus n.d., 108, 117). The gathering in the Mawlawiyya *āsitāna* on the night of 27 Ramaḍān used to draw large crowds (Kayyāl, 116).

In Lebanon, the Mawlawiyya had *takiyyas* in Tripoli and in Beirut. The *takiyya* in Tripoli still functioned in the 1960s. It fell into a state of dilapidation after the death of its last *shaykh*, Anwar al-Ṭarābulusī. In the early 1970s, the *takiyya* was restored (ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, *Taʾrīkh wa-āthār masādjid wa-madāris madīnat Ṭarābulus fī ʿaṣr al-Mamālīk*, Tripoli 1974, 52-4). In Beirut in the 1960s and 1970s, members of the order gathered in the *takiyya* twice weekly to recite the *awrād* and to study mystical texts; the *samāʿ* was not performed any more. The last *shaykh* of the Mawlawiyya in Beirut, *shaykh* Aḥmad ʿUshshāḳ, lost his life in the Israeli bombardment of the city in May 1982. The *takiyya* in Jerusalem ceased to function at the end of the 19th century (De Jong, *The Sufi orders in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Palestine*, in *SI*, lviii [1983], 171).

In Cairo, the *samāʿ* performed in the *takiyya* (*āsitāna*) of the Mawlawiyya after the Friday worship was a tourist attraction at the end of the 19th and in the early 20th century (cf. De Jong, *Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth-century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, 170). In 1903, the *takiyya* was placed under the jurisdiction of the *Dīwān al-Awḳāf*, which had the right to appoint the *shaykh* of the *takiyya* and administered its *awḳāf* (De Jong, 137). The *takiyya* was closed in December 1954, as were all the *takāyā* in Egypt which fell under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of *Awḳāf* (*al-Ahrām*, 13 Dec. 1954). Subsequently, the Ministry also suspended the regular payments from the revenues of the *awḳāf* established in favour of the Mawlawiyya to the resident dervishes, who then left the *takiyya* and dispersed. Thereafter, the *takiyya* was used as a primary school.

In the Balkans, the Mawlawiyya survived into the post-Ottoman era in Greece and in Yugoslavia only. In Greece, the *tekke* in Thessaloniki seems to have functioned till the exchange of the Orthodox and Muslim populations between Greece and Turkey in 1923-4 (Cf. B. Δημητριάδη, *Τοπογραφία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας*, Thessaloniki 1983, 386 f.). In Yugoslavia, the *tekke* of Sarajevo, known as Tekija na Bendbaši, still functioned in the early 1920s. It was demolished in 1959 (cf. Dž. Ćehajić, *Dželalludin Rumi i Mevlevizam u Bosni i Hercegovini*, in *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, xxiv [1974], 100 ff.). In 1925, *tekkes* still existed in the towns of Štip, Bitola, Veles, Peć and Skopje. Cf. D. Gadžanov, *Mohamedani pravoslavni i mohamedani sektanti v Makedonija*, in *Makedonski pregled*, i/4 (sofia 1925), 63; and N. Hafiz, *Yugoslavya'da Mevlevi tekkeleri*, in Fevzi Halici (ed.), *Mevlâna ve yaşama sevinci*, Ankara 1978, 175 ff. (also published in *Çevren*, vi [Priştine 1978], no. 20, 37-43). The *tekke* in Peć ceased to function in 1941, and the *tekke* in Skopje in 1945 (Hafiz, 40).

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(F. de Jong)

MAWLĀY (a.), "my lord", an honorific title borne by the Moroccan sultans of the Sharīfian dynasties (Saʿdids and ʿAlawids) who were descended from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [see ḥasanī], with the exception of those who were called Muḥammad and whose title was therefore Sayyidī/Sīdī (but the form Maḥammad freely altered does not exclude the usage of Mawlāy in

front of the monarch's name). The articles devoted to the two dynasties considered [see ʿALAWĪS and SAʿDIDS] contain or will contain in general sufficient information on the constituent sultans, but some of these have been or will be the subjects of articles in the alphabetical place of their name (i.e. without Mawlāy or Sayyidī). These include among the Saʿdids: ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib bi-llāh and Aḥmad al-Manṣūr; and among the ʿAlawids: al-Rashīd, ʿAbd Allah b. Ismāʿīl, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, Sulaymān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ [s.v. AL-ḤAFĪẒ], Yūsuf and Muḥammad V. As the result of an error of classification, the biographies of four other sultans will have to appear later. (ED.)

MAWLĀY IDRĪS, ZĀWIYAT MAWLĀY IDRĪS, town in Morocco, an urban settlement of some 10,000 inhabitants situated on the west bank of Djabal Zarhūn and attached to the slopes of the Farṭ al-Bīr. It is a mountain city, in contrast to the ancient Roman city of Volubilis (Walīlā/Walīlī) which stands nearby, in the plain on the north-western side. In spite of this contrast between the two towns, their histories are linked and neither can be studied in isolation.

First of all, it is necessary to dismiss the belief according to which Mawlāy Idrīs was founded by Idrīs I when he came to take refuge in the area accompanied by his freedman Rāshid, fleeing from the Orient where he had drawn upon himself the wrath of the great ʿAbbāsid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. This is, indeed, the version which is given by local guides to visiting tourists, but it is of no relevance for the historian.

For a proper concept of the origin of the Zāwiya, it is to Volubilis that the researchers must turn. In the view of many people, the latter is an essentially and solely Roman town which apparently fell into ruins with the departure of its first inhabitants. The truth is quite otherwise: in fact, Volubilis survived not only the departure of the Romans (early 4th century A.D.) but also the advent of Islam, and was still in existence at the time when Fās was founded jointly by Idrīs I and Idrīs II (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *La fondation de Fès*, in *AIEO Alger*, iv (1938), 23-52; art. repr. in *Islam d'Occident*, Paris 1948, 3-41). The evidence for the survival of Volubilis beyond the Roman period is, in fact, substantial and may appropriately be considered here.

The first indications of the survival of this town are of an archaeological nature. In his work *Essai sur l'histoire du massif de Mawlāy Idrīs* (Rabat 1938), P. Berthier has published 12 photographs which illustrate very clearly, above the Roman stratum, strata of an early period where Roman materials have been re-used for construction purposes; these materials include shafts of columns, counter-weights of oil-presses and even ornamental cornices which have obviously been detached from their original location. Furthermore, it is possible to observe between the Roman stratum and the later strata a considerable difference in base level, amounting in places to 1 m or 1.20 m.

These indications of a prolonged existence after the Roman period are confirmed by more precise evidence: for the first period, between the Imperial reforms of Diocletian and the advent of Islam (early 4th century A.D. to end of 7th century, approximately four centuries), we possess three Christian funeral inscriptions dating from the years 595, 649 and 655 A.D. (see J. Carcopino and R. Thouvenot, in *Hespéris*, 1928/2, 135-45, 1935/3-4, 131-9). It is to be noted that one of these inscriptions has been used for a second time in a later context.

Walīlī, no longer known as Volubilis, continued throughout this long lapse of time to lead an independent existence. This period, corresponding in the general history of Africa to the ascendancy of the Vandals and Byzantium, is one of almost total obscurity with regard to Morocco. All that can be stated with certainty is that this land had facing it, in the Iberian peninsula, the kingdom of the Visigoths, and was inhabited by Christians, Jews (N. Slousch, *Hébréo-Phéniciens et Judéo-Berbères*, in *AM*, xiv [1908], 1-473), and no doubt also by animists and idolators.

This strange gap in our knowledge is one of the most perplexing features of the history of Morocco, in view of the fact that we are relatively well informed as to the history of other North African countries and, in particular, of Tunisia and eastern Numidia.

With the arrival of Islam, according to the Arabic texts, ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ presented himself before Walīlī and there routed a Berber army (cf. Ibn ʿIdhārī, tr. Lévi-Provençal, in *Arabica*, i/1 [1954], 38), but he does not seem to have entered the town, which from this time onward began to serve as a magnet for numerous Muslim arrivals.

It seems that the two Idrīs [*q.vv.*] were not the first Muslims to establish themselves on the site of the former Roman settlement, since Muslim coinage of a time prior to the arrival of the former has been discovered. The tribe of the Awraba, also fugitives from the East, apparently preceded him there. In his *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās* (tr. Beaumier, 24, 29), Ibn Abī Zarʿ indicates also that a mosque, of which no trace has been discovered, existed at Walīlī, and it was there, he says, that Rāshid presented Idrīs, son of Idrīs, to the people in order to have him recognised as sovereign of the Maghrib.

Evidence that all these events did indeed take place on the former site of the Roman town exists in the form of the many coins of the Muslim period which have been discovered there: these discoveries in fact include not only Muslim coins originating in the East, sometimes in the form of treasure, but also products of other Moroccan mints such as Ṭudgha as well as Walīlī itself, which possessed a mint of its own (see P. Berthier, *Essai*, 59; G. S. Colin, *Monnaies de la période idrisside trouvées à Volubilis*, in *Hespéris*, 1936/2, 113-25; D. Eustache, *Monnaies musulmanes trouvées à Volubilis*, in *ibid.*, 1956/1-2, 133-97; idem, *Monnaies musulmanes trouvées dans la maison au compas*, in *Bulletin d'Archéologie marocaine*, vi [1966], 349-64; on the entire question of coinages, idem, *Corpus des dirhams idrissites et contemporains*, Rabat 1970-1, is extremely informative, in particular with regard to Walīlī, 162-9).

Volubilis was still in existence at the time of the foundation of Fās by the two Idrīs since it is known, thanks to the famous article of Lévi-Provençal quoted above, that the two Idrīs participated in the foundation of this capital. To find the demise of the old Roman town, it is apparently necessary to look to the Almohads who, throughout North Africa, brought extinction to towns which had, hitherto, sheltered Christians. According to some historians, this behaviour of the Almohads was a consequence of the tension between Islam and Christianity caused by the Crusades (on the massacres perpetrated by the Almohads, see D. Jacques-Meunié, *Le Maroc saharien des origines à 1670*, Paris 1982, i, 260-1).

There is thus no doubt that the Roman town of Volubilis was the scene upon which the first stage of the Idrīsid drama was performed. It is now necessary to attempt to discover how the events of history have been transferred, no doubt gradually, towards the site of the mountain known today by the name of Mawlāy

Idrīs. First, it should be noted that all the Arabic texts prior to the 9th/15th century declare that both Idrīs died at Walīlī and were buried there, not however within the town but *extra muros:* Ibn Abī Zar^{c}, in the *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, says simply "near Walīlī"; al-Djaznā^{ʾ}ī specifies "outside the gate of Walīlī"; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, "in a guard-tower opposite Walīlī"; and al-Ḥalābī, "in the courtyard of the guard-tower situated at the gate of Walīlī" (see M. Ben Talha, *Mawlāy-Idrīs du Zarhūn, passim*).

It would be inappropriate to give an exhaustive account of the detailed information provided by these authors. The only fact which needs to be stressed is that the burial of the two Idrīs did not take place at Walīlī but in the immediate proximity. It is therefore logical to suppose that it took place, specifically, on the site where the Zāwiya is currently located, i.e. in that fold of land (*al-ḥufra*) between the two heights of Khaybar and Tazgha, upon which the two main quarters of the new town were to be erected. All those who have visited Volubilis know, in fact, that Mawlāy Idrīs is very clearly visible beyond the ruins of the Roman town. This is, furthermore, the conclusion offered by D. Eustache in his *Corpus* (165 n. 5). The names of Khaybar and Tazgha appear for the first time in the writings of Ibn Ghāzī, author in the 9th-10th/15th-16th century of *al-Rawḍ al-hatūn*, though it is impossible to tell whether these are simple place names or the quarters of a town in the process of construction.

The 16th century texts of Leo Africanus and of Marmol are confusing. These two authors describe, in fact, two different sites: Gualili and the Palace of Pharaoh in one case, Tiulit and Caçar Faraon in the other. But none of these descriptions corresponds exactly either to Volubilis or to Mawlāy Idrīs. It is hard to understand, in fact, how these authors were able to speak of towns situated on the "summit of the mountain", a description applying neither to Volubilis nor Mawlāy Idrīs. A further complication is introduced by the existence of the Ḳaṣbat al-Naṣrānī which seems to have been known to these authors and which is also situated "on the summit of the mountain." Possibly the Ḳaṣbat al-Naṣrānī should be located across the Pietra Rossa or Dār al-Ḥamrā^{ʾ}, terms employed by Leo Africanus and Marmol.

Amid all this confusion, which seems to prove that these authors had a very poor knowledge of the region or described it on the basis of hearsay, there nevertheless emerges from a comparison of the two texts a glimmer of light which could provide the key to the mystery that surrounds the origin of the new city. It may be observed that the former, the work of Leo Africanus, mentions only two or three houses around the tomb of the two Idrīs, while the latter, the work of Marmol, who wrote a half-century after him, mentions fifteen to twenty. Circumstantial evidence points to this as the origin of Mawlāy Idrīs, a town which must have begun to develop around a venerated tomb during the 10th/16th century, the period of the great maraboutic movement in Morocco.

This, then, is the time at which the town under discussion began to develop. Obviously, there is a long gap between the 10th/16th century and the end of the 2nd/8th or the beginning of the 3rd/9th. The factor which enables us to fill the space framed between these two dates would be the cult of Idrīs, since Leo Africanus tells us that his grave, at that time separate from any urban settlement, "is venerated and visited by almost all the tribes of Mauritania" (tr. Épaulard, 245).

It is thus from the 10th/16th century onward that the Zāwiya developed. There is nothing surprising in this, since it may be observed that Bū-Dja^{c}d was founded at the end of the same century, Wazzān at the beginning and Mogador or al-Sawīra towards the end of the 18th century.

However, the accelerating impulse seems to have been given during the 12th/18th century by Mawlāy Ismā^{c}īl, who ordered the destruction of an ancient mausoleum and replaced it with the one that still exists today; this, according to the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā^{ʾ}*, in 1132-4/1720-2. There is nothing surprising in this initiative on the part of the great ^{c}Alawid sultan. In fact, it conforms perfectly with his repugnance for the independent and irreverent town of Fās and his preference for Miknās, which he was to make his capital and where he was to erect sumptuous palaces. The Zarhūn, to some extent, must have benefited from the prosperity of Miknās.

It was with Mawlāy Ismā^{c}īl that the Zāwiya of Zarhūn attained its full dimensions and made, so to speak, its début in history. The best evidence attesting to this relatively recent appearance of the urban settlement which bears this name today, consists in the complete silence of Arab or European historians and geographers prior to the 17th century. Here may be added the text of Mouëtte (beginning of the 17th century) declaring that at this time there were, in the Zarhūn, only small villages forming a dispersed habitat "here and there", but "no town" (Mouëtte, *Histoire des conquestes de Mouley Archy*, in *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 2nd series, *France*, ii, 1924, 182-3). On the other hand, with the start of the ^{c}Alawid dynasty, the town entered a phase of lively prosperity.

A curious text contained in the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā^{ʾ}* places it, at this early stage, alongside the most eminent Muslim sanctuaries: the Ka^{c}ba, Jerusalem, the Mausoleum of Sīdī ^{c}Alī Sharīf at Tafilalt and that of Mawlāy Idrīs II at Fās. Its sanctified nature led to the following consequences: (1) all non-Muslims, whether Jews or Christians, were excluded from its territory; (2) this territory, and especially the Zāwiya, became an inviolable place of sanctuary for any political criminal or fugitive from common law; and (3) its prestige, or what might be termed its *baraka*, extended over the entire range of the Zarhūn.

Currently, the exclusion of Jews and Christians is still sanctioned by the law which prohibits them from acquiring property there. The protection of criminals has never been other than relative, even in the most prestigious times of the sanctuary. Some have found there an effective refuge, for others it has proved less advantageous. As for access to the locality for Europeans, although it was rigorously controlled before the Protectorate, as certain travellers discovered to their cost, all restrictions have now ceased to exist, and a visit to Mawlāy Idrīs is recommended to tourists visiting Morocco.

In history, the piety of the sultans is attested not only through pious visits but also through the care shown for the maintenance and embellishment of the sanctuary and the mosques (details may be found in Berthier's *Essai*). These visits sometimes take on a political nature, as to a place of symbolic meetings, where alliances are sealed and treaties or truces concluded. A visit to Mawlāy Idrīs is obligatory for every newly-installed sovereign. In the course of his campaign against Muḥammad V, in 1953, El-Glāwī did not fail to comply with this tradition, and Muḥammad V did likewise on his return from Madagascar. Such evidence shows that the cult of Mawlāy Idrīs has today lost none of its prestige, and it may legitimately be supposed that it could play a similar role in the future.

In the cultural sphere, it is known that distinguished scholars have taught at the Zāwiya. A *madrasa* of some repute exists in the locality, and this has been endowed, quite recently, with a cylindrical minaret, a form most unusual in the Muslim architecture of Morocco. Its decorative frieze, made of green pottery, is inscribed with verses from the Ḳurʾān in a very stylised Kufic script (cf. *Guide bleu, Maroc*, 1975, 206; A. Paccard, *Le Maroc et l'artisanat traditionnel*, i, 315).

Although Idrīs al-Akbar has numerous saintly rivals in the massif of the Zarhūn, such as Sīdī ʿAlī Ibn Ḥamdūsh, Sīdī Aḥmad Dg͟hūg͟hī and Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh al-K͟hayyāṭ of Talag͟hza, in the urban settlement itself his cult is challenged only by that of his barber, Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥad͟jd͟jām, to whom a mosque is dedicated.

The population of the small town consists of a teeming mass of Idrīsid S͟hurfā and ʿAlawids subdivided into a multitude of branches which the author of this article will not attempt to enumerate.

It is necessary, however, to stress the importance not of the moussem (*mawsim* [*q.v.*]) of Mawlāy Idrīs but of the moussems which are conducted there almost daily at certain times of the year. The present writer was able, in 1934, to witness a moussem of the Sūs people, a crowd of two or three thousand, climbing towards the sanctuary and chanting a curious recitative which has been described by A. Chottin (see his *Tableau de la musique marocaine*, Paris 1938).

Naturally enough, there is a vast number of brotherhoods, ranging from the most aristocratic to the most coarse and primitive. The disciples of Sīdī ʿAlī Ibn Ḥamdūs͟h and of Sīdī Aḥmad Dg͟hūg͟hī honour their founders not only on the southern slope of the mountain where their sanctuaries are located, but also in the town of Mawlāy Idrīs itself, and this seven days after the mouloud (*mawlid* [*q.v.*]). In his *Essai* (134-5), the present writer has hesitated to assess the influence from the Roman period which could have stimulated the appearance in Morocco of extravagant rites on the part of certain religious brotherhoods. In his recent article *Le Temple B. de Volubilis*, H. Morestin has prompted the present writer to revive this hypothesis. At the conclusion of his excellent archaeological study, Morestin indicates, in fact, that the sanctity and the mysticisms of the Zarhūn could have preceded Islam. Was Temple B. a temple of Saturn or was it not? Prudently, Morestin refrains from making this identification, which does not prevent him from declaring, in the last sentence of his book, that "indirectly the spiritual heritage of Temple B. could have played a role, at the dawn of the history of Muslim Morocco".

Bibliography: All questions concerning the Zarhūn, the Muslim phase of the history of Volubilis, the mystery surrounding the name of Walīlī (from a Berber word signifying rose-laurel), the history of the Zāwiya, etc., have been examined by the author of this article in his *Essai sur l'histoire du massif de Mawlāy Idrīs*, Rabat 1938; the remarkable preface contributed by H. Terrasse would be sufficient, in its own right, to convey an impression of all these issues. It concentrates, however, on the Zarhūn as a whole rather than on the town of Mawlāy Idrīs in particular. For Terrasse, the Zarhūn represents irrefutable evidence of pre-Hilālian Morocco; in this, he is in agreement with X. de Planhol in his *Fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, 148. More recently, a work by N. Ben Talha, former director of the Museum of Dār D͟jāmaʿ at Miknās, *Mawlāy Idrīs du Zarhūn*, 1965, has provided a very thorough study of daily life in the Holy City; it is to be noted that the closed and unique nature of the milieu examined contributes considerably to the interest of this work. Some useful material is to be found in the works of L. Chatelain and R. Thouvenot on *Le Maroc des Romains*, *Volubilis* and *Banassa*, also in the publications of the Service des Antiquités Marocaines (P.S.A.M.) in the time of the Protectorate, superseded since independence by the *Bulletin d'Archéologie Marocaine*. On the Zarhūn in general, recourse may be had to the doctoral thesis of M. Belarabi, *Etude de géographie rurale*, Bordeaux 1980, which merits only too well the title which the author has given to it.

(P. Berthier)

MAWLĀY ISMĀʿĪL b. al-S͟harīf, Abu 'l-Naṣr, the second ruler of the Moroccan dynasty of the ʿAlawids [see ʿalawīs and ḥasanī].

On the death of sultan Mawlāy al-Ras͟hīd, the empire of Morocco was divided. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, governor of Meknès [see miknās] and brother of the deceased sultan, was proclaimed sultan in this town. He advanced at once on the capital Fās, which had declared against him and seized it. He was proclaimed there on 11 D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 1082/14 April 1672), being then 26 years of age.

But three rivals, his brother Mawlāy al-Ḥarrānī in Tāfīlālt, his nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥriz, proclaimed in Marrakesh and in Sūs, and thirdly the guerilla chief al-K͟hiḍr G͟haylān in the north-west, took the field against him. They were supported by the Turks of the Regency of Algiers, who feared the establishment of a solid power in the west of the Mag͟hrib and endeavoured to make trouble there. Muḥriz Ismāʿīl at first drove his nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥriz out of the town of Marrakesh, defeated G͟haylān to the north of Fās and had him put to death. But Aḥmad b. Muḥriz once more raised the lands of the south and the Atlas. To obtain peace, Ismāʿīl had to recognise his nephew as *amīr* of the lands south of the Atlas and his brother al-Ḥarrānī as *amīr* of Tāfīlālt.

These civil wars, which had lasted five years, had hardly terminated when a descendant of the Marabouts of Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1091/1680), also supported by the Turks of Algiers, fomented a terrible rebellion in the country of Tādla and the provinces of western Morocco. But his Berber troops could not withstand Māwlay Ismāʿīl's disciplined troops, especially his artillery. Marrakesh fell in Rabīʿ II 1088/June 1677. The victorious Ismāʿīl terrorised the people to keep them quiet; more than 10,000 were beheaded; thousands of prisoners of war along with Christian slaves had to help to build the palace of Meknès, which the sultan made his military capital. At the same time, the plague carried off thousands of victims (1090/1679) in the regions of the G͟harb and the Rīf.

The vigorous repression of the Berber revolts and the epidemic afforded Mawlāy Ismāʿīl a certain respite. He took advantage of it to raise a professional army. He enlisted former negro slaves, gave them wives, allotted estates to them, trained them in the use of arms, and made of them the famous Black Guard of the ʿAbīd al-Buk͟hārī (so-called because they took their oath on a copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*) which was to assure him supremacy over all Morocco.

At the same time, allegedly to favour the intransigent religious party, but in reality to watch the dealings of the Turks and Europeans in the seaports, and to counteract the influence of the corsairs, he organised the corps of the *Mud͟jtahidūn* or "volunteers of the faith". The latter corps, the cadre of which was formed by several hundred carefully selected ʿAbīd,

waged an unceasing irregular warfare against the European possessions. They took La Mamora (al-Maʿmūra), the modern al-Mahdiyya, by surprise from the Spaniards, and Mawlāy Ismāʿīl collected over 100 pieces of artillery there (15 Rabīʿ II 1092/4 May 1681). They harassed the English at Tangiers and the latter evacuated the town after blowing up the mole and the fortifications (1 Djumādā I 1095/15 April 1684) (cf. Davis, *The history of the Second Queen's Royal Regiment*, i, London 1883, 118 ff.). Larache (al-ʿArāʾish) also was forced to succumb to the blows of the "volunteers of the faith" in 1689, and Aṣīla in 1691. But all attempts against Melilla and Ceuta failed. It was in vain that Mawlāy Ismāʿīl endeavoured to get Louis XIV to aid him against Spain. French commerce had to suffer for some time as a result.

But the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 raised Louis XIV's prestige considerably above his enemies. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl then sought his alliance against the Turks of Algiers, who were mixed up in all the plots hatched in the Atlas against the *sharīfs* of Fās. An entente between France, the Bey of Tunis and the sultan of Fās was then concluded. The latter even tried to cement it by a matrimonial alliance and demanded the hand of the Princess de Conti (cf. Plantet, *Mouley Ismaïl et la Princesse de Conti*, Paris 1893). In spite of the failure of the latter plan, the entente secured to France great commercial benefits at Salé, Tetouan and Safi. Frenchmen superintended the building of the palaces, roads, and forts of the sultan and sometimes (like Pillet) accompanied his artillery. On his part, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl organised several expeditions against the Turks with the help of France, whose merchants supplied him with arms and munitions. But the slowness of the Moroccan armies did not enable Ismāʿīl to reap the advantages expected. He even allowed his ally, the Bey of Tunis, to be defeated near Constantine, which enabled the Turks of Algiers to come to fight the Moroccans in the west in full strength in 1701 and to drive them back.

The expeditions of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl against the Turks, in spite of their relative lack of success, enabled him to pacify his frontiers where he built or renovated the fortifications. He built the fort of Reggāda in the mountain of the Banū Yaʿlā commanding the high valley of the Wēd Shāref and the lands of the Arab tribes of the High Plateaux. He built the fort of ʿUyūn Sīdī Mallūk in the plain of Angād and that of Salwān in the land of the Ṭrīfa. He thus closed the exits on his north-east frontier. Forts built in the lands of each tribe kept the country quiet, especially the marabouts, the natural allies of the Turks, whose privileges were tending to pass into the hands of the *sharīfs*. The latter gradually took over the direction of the religious elements, which were organised into brotherhoods. Ismāʿīl completed his system of domination by the creation of military zones. Tāza, notably, had its walls rebuilt. This town became the headquarters of the eastern march. A garrison of 2,500 ʿAbīd secured the passage from western to eastern Morocco by the pass of Tāza. It also had to keep in control the Berbers of the Rīf in the north of this ravine and the Berbers of the middle Atlas in the south.

Apart from his constructions of a military nature, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl was very active as a builder in the various towns of Morocco, and especially at Meknès, where thousands or European slaves worked on the erection of palaces, mosques and *madrasas*. In order to raise the resources for all the expenses of the army's upkeep and his building enterprises, he derived money from taxes raised brutally and regardlessly by his agents, from continual raids on the tribes, from custom duties, from the sixth levied on the spoils of the corsairs, from the ransoms of captives and from the presents, often sumptuous, given by foreign ambassadors. The monopoly of trade, by supplying the treasury, prevented moreover the illicit sale of horses and arms.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl was a man of vigorous character, of adroitness and of an uncommon agility and bravery, but these positive qualities were accompanied by an unparalleled cruelty and sadism, many examples of which are given by the chroniclers and writers of memoirs. On the other hand, he gave the appearance of being interested in the intellectual activities of his subjects and showed himself respectful of the external aspects of the Islamic cult; he even went as far as engaging in proselytisation and tried to convert Louis XIV.

In regard to foreign policy, he enjoyed fairly good relations with Britain and France, shown by the despatch of embassies which were more or less successful. The French were thus left with a free hand in the Mediterranean, but he did not utilise profitably this diversion of their energies in order to combat victoriously the Turks of Algiers, the aim of his North African policy. Nevertheless, he was able to reduce considerably the foreign occupation of Moroccan ports. In regard to internal policy, much of his reign was filled with the suppression of tribal revolts, which the army was not always able to contain within bounds, whilst his main effort was involved in consolidating the *makhzan* [*q.v.*], upholding it against the turbulent Berbers through the use of Arab and Negro troops.

He had thus succeeded, as much by the reign of terror which he evoked as by his own skilfulness, in imposing peace on the internal regions of his possessions, when he died, after a reign of 55 years, on 27 Radjab 1139/20 March 1727 at the age of 80. Amongst the several hundred children which his innumerable wives had given him, it was Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Dhahabī who succeeded him.

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(A. COUR*)

MAWLĀY MAḤAMMAD AL-SHAYKH, name of three Moroccan sultans belonging to the dynasty of the Saʿdids [*q.v.*].

I. The first, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who also bore the title of al-Mahdī and is sometimes known as al-Imām, is generally counted second or third in the list of members of the dynasty, but he may to a certain extent be considered its true founder, since it was he who put an end to that of the Marīnids [*q.v.*]. Born probably at Tagmaddart (a district of the Darʿa) in 896/1490-1, he was the younger son of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh, who was proclaimed sultan in 916/1510 and died in 923/1517. According to legend, the great destiny to which he was called was predicted to him in his infancy when, at the Ḳurʾānic school which he attended, a cock came and perched on his head, as well as on that of his elder brother, Aḥmad al-Aʿradj. The two young boys received a quite extensive religious and literary education and were sent on the Pilgrimage to Mecca in *ca.* 911/1506. The lack of precision and the contradictions in the chronology of events found in the sources make any attempt at biography particularly difficult, but it seems clear that al-Aʿradj was appointed by his father governor of the Sus, where he too received the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] in the same year (916/1510). With his younger brother as his subordinate, he waged without much success a holy war against the Christians established in the region, especially at Santa Cruz, the coastal outlet of the Sus which was to become Agadir [*q.v.*]. The two *sharīfs* also profited at this time from the aid of the Waṭṭāsid ruler [*q.v.*] of Marrakesh, who supplied them with arms. Maḥammad al-Shaykh was not slow, however, to free himself from the tutelage of this elder brother and to take into his own hands the administration of the plain and of the southern flank of the High Atlas, over which his authority extended at the time that Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] visited the region (919/1513). Moreover, the entire province came under his control on the death of al-Ḳāʾim. Aḥmad was then in power to the north of the Atlas.

Making his capital at Tarudant [*q.v.*] which he fortified and renamed Maḥammadiyya and where he built the citadel, the great mosque, the *madrasa* and sugar refineries, he was obliged to solve problems of an economic and political, even religious nature, since he needed to trade with the Christians in order to obtain arms and munitions, but resented the fact that Santa Cruz was occupied by the Portuguese, who in addition exercised a monopoly over the export of sugar. As a result of treaties concluded with the Portuguese rulers of Safi and Azemmour in 930/1524, and then renewed in the two following years, and after ill-fated expeditions against Santa Cruz, relative peace reigned in the south of Morocco. On the one hand, Mawlāy Maḥammad remained on good terms with the influential marabout of the locality where his family had resided, Tidsī, and even married his daughter; on the other, he attracted Christian merchants to the Sus in order to develop trade in the leather, wax and sugar produced in the region.

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 930/October 1524, Aḥmad al-Aʿradj had taken Marrakesh from the Waṭṭāsids, and the two brothers had made further attacks on the last sovereigns of this dynasty who ruled at Fās; they had also taken a large quantity of artillery with which they were able once more to undertake an expedition against the port of Funti [see AGADIR], which was besieged and captured on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 947/11 March 1541. The Christian captives were taken to Tarudant, while the arms and munitions seized from the enemy enabled Mawlāy Maḥammad to subdue the Berbers of the region, always an unruly element.

Until this point the two brothers had, apparently, made common cause, but a quarrel broke out between them, the specific grounds of the rift being a dispute over the sharing of the booty. A few months after the capture of Funti, al-Aʿradj attacked and defeated Maḥammad, who was determined to avenge himself and succeeded, in 951/1544, in taking possession of Marrakesh, capturing his elder brother and exiling him to Tafilalt with all his followers. Although theoretically a vassal of his brother for a few months more, Mawlāy Maḥammad al-Shaykh, henceforward sole master of the territory controlled by the Saʿdids, was able to contemplate putting an end to the power of the Waṭṭāsids and unifying Morocco to his own advantage. The outcome of the first encounter, which took place on the Umm al-Rabīʿ, was favourable to him. The treaty concluded on that occasion was, however, soon to be broken, and the Saʿdid called upon his adversary to submit; when the latter refused, Fās was attacked in 952/1545, and the ruler of the town, Aḥmad al-Waṭṭāsī, captured and then released. While his son took possession of numerous towns of the Atlantic coast, Mawlāy Maḥammad, who had lost Fās in the meantime, was obliged to put the place under a prolonged siege, capturing it on 2 Muḥarram 956/31 January 1549. It may be reckoned that this considerable event marks the beginning of the dynasty.

The following year, around the month of Djumādā I 957/June 1550, al-Shaykh sent two of his sons, al-Ḥarrān, governor of the Sus, and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, to conquer Tlemcen; but this enterprise was unsuccessful and al-Ḥarrān fell sick and was forced to return to Fās where he died a few months later.

Meanwhile, an uncle of the defeated Waṭṭāsid, Abū Ḥassān, attempted to revive hostilities; he even went so far as to appeal for aid to the Emperor Charles V (20 Shaʿbān 957/3 September 1550) and, after various vicissitudes, finally obtained from the Janissaries of Algiers an army with which he returned to attack Mawlāy Maḥammad al-Shaykh and to defeat him on a tributary of the Sebou, the Innawen, in Ṣafar 961/January 1554. Forced to leave Fās and to abandon all his property, al-Shaykh rapidly returned to the fray, recaptured the capital which had been pillaged by the Turks and, on 24 Shawwāl 961/22 September 1554, executed Abū Ḥassān, whose head was sent to Marrakesh. He stayed until the end of Ramaḍān 962/beginning of August 1555 at Fās, where he left his heir presumptive, ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib bi 'llāh [*q.v.*] and entrusted the administration of Meknès to another of his numerous sons, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, before setting out once more for the Sus.

In 959/1552, the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī [*q.v.*] (926-74/1520-66) had written to Mawlāy Maḥammad al-Shaykh on the subject of the eastern frontiers of Morocco, but the messenger had been very badly received by the new sultan, who thus

condemned himself to death. Resolved to settle definitively at Marrakesh, he left Fās, but a dozen hired assassins, sent from Algiers to execute him, mingled easily with his entourage which consisted almost wholly of Turks; they performed the deed on 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 964/23 October 1557 and bore his head, so it is said, to Istanbul. His body lies in Marrakesh, among the members of his dynasty, in the hall known as Lālla Masʿūda which contains the famous "Saʿdian tombs", where his epitaph may be seen as well as a long commemorative plaque dedicated to him (see G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions*, nos. 123 and 85, pp. 125, and 82-6); another marble plaque bearing a fairly long inscription (*ibid.*, nos. 127-8, pp. 131-4) extols the merits of the sultan's Berber wife, Masʿūda, who gave birth to Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] and her name to the hall.

Diego de Torres has left a portrait of Mawlāy Maḥammad al-Shaykh from which it emerges that he had a round and pale face, large and vivid eyes, a long grey beard, curly hair and two teeth of great size; of modest stature, but robust, he was unscrupulous by nature, but a bold and valiant fighter (*Histoire des Cherifs*, *apud* Marmol, iii, 212). He was also, according to the least sympathetic Arab sources, a man of piety. He was furthermore a scholar, knowing by heart the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī, and it was he who founded the library of the great mosque of Tarudant and expanded the faculties of *ḥadīth* and of *fiḳh* (teaching the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, the *Risāla* of al-Ḳayrawānī and the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ).

When he was in Fās, he attended certain courses himself, but he did not refrain from inflicting cruel punishment on those *fuḳahā'* whose only crime was to have served the preceding dynasty, such as al-Wansharīsī [*q.v.*], put to death in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 955/January 1549, al-Zaḳḳāḳ and Sīdī ʿAlī Ḥarzūz.

From his life in the south, he had retained simple manners, and many sources recall, not without irony, that a former vizier of the Marīnids, Ḳāsim al-Zarhūnī, and the matron of the harem (*ʿarīfa*) of Fās, were engaged in educating the numerous members of the court in refinement and instructing them on such topics as etiquette, dress, cuisine and even administration.

From an economic and financial point of view, Mawlāy Maḥammad al-Shaykh caused some problems as a result of the weight of taxation that he levied, but he was at pains to increase the wealth of the country and to develop both the cultivation of cane and the manufacture of sugar, constructing seven refineries at Tarudant in 951/1544. In addition, he had ambitions to take possession of the salt mine of Taghāzā situated approximately midway between the estuary of the Niger and the bend of the Drāʿ (Darʿa); he called upon the ruler of Gao to surrender it to him, but the latter sent 2,000 Touaregs to seize the possessions of the Saʿdid as a gesture of defiance. In the year of the sultan's death, his troops killed the governor of Taghāzā and pillaged a caravan of salt, and he himself undertook an expedition to the Sudan, but he was forced to turn back and it fell to his grandson, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*], to conquer the land of gold.

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II. The second, who bore the regal title of al-Ma'mūn, was the grandson of the preceding and the son of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] and a negro woman named Khayzurān. After the battle of Wādī 'l-Makhāzin (or Battle of the Three Kings) which took place on 30 Djumādā I 986/4 August 1578, and the proclamation of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr as sultan, Maḥammad al-Shaykh II was declared heir presumptive by his father who appointed him governor of Fas. But he abandoned himself to debauchery, neglected his religious duties and antagonised the population, to such an extent that the sultan sent him to Sidjilmāsa, whence he was impatient to return. After the death of his father (1012/1603), he was obliged to compete with his brothers who disputed his claim to the throne, raised an army which, under the command of his son ʿAbd Allāh, marched on Marrakesh and captured the town, and he was finally proclaimed sultan at Fās in 1015/1606. The concession of Larache (al-ʿArā'ish [*q.v.*]) to the Spanish on 4 Ramaḍān 1019/20 November 1610 incited the rebel Abū Maḥallī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] to launch an appeal to holy war, and three years later (1022/1613), Maḥammad al-Shaykh II was assassinated near Tetouan.

Bibliography: To the Arab historians of the 11th/17th century and to the comprehensive works cited in the preceding article, the following should be added: R. Le Tourneau, *La décadence saʿdienne et l'anarchie marocaine au XVIIe siècle*, in *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Aix*, xxxii (1960), 187-225. J. M. Gandin, in *Hommes et destins* (Publ. of Acad. des Sciences d'Outre-Mer), Paris-Aix-en-Provence, vii (1986), 369-71, with Bibl. See also the *Bibl.* of the article ABŪ MAḤALLĪ.

III. The third was the nephew of the preceding and the son of Mawlāy Zaydān and of a Spanish woman. He had been imprisoned by his brother al-Walīd, sultan of Marrakesh, who was assassinated on 14 Ramaḍān 1045/21 February 1636; immediately released, he was proclaimed sultan with the title of al-Ṣaghīr or al-Aṣghar = the Young. Shortly after this, the holy man of Tazerwalt named Sīdī ʿAlī, who already occupied the Sus, Tafilalt and Taghāzā, took possession of Agadir, with the result that the territory of the Saʿdid barely extended beyond the suburbs of Marrakesh. In 1048/1638, Mawlāy Maḥammad al-Shaykh III concluded a treaty with King Charles I of England, by which the king's subjects were forbidden to trade with the sultan's enemies, but he does not seem to have derived any great profit from it.

Meanwhile, the *zāwiya* of al-Dilā' [*q.v.* in Suppl.],

which had not recognised the sultan of Marrakesh, had become a temporal power to be reckoned with, at a time when, in addition, the emergence of the sharīfs of Tafilalt began to be a troublesome influence. An important event in the reign of this sultan was the defeat inflicted on him by the army of al-Dilāʾ on the Wādī ʾl-ʿAbīd, on 17 Djumādā II 1048/26 October 1638. In spite of this reverse, he succeeded in reigning for some twenty years and died on 22 Rabīʿ I 1065/30 January 1655 (date indicated, according to an official document, by the *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, which contains effusive eulogies on the conduct of this sultan).

Bibliography: See that of the preceding article. (CH. PELLAT)

MAWLID (A.), or **MAWLŪD** (pl. *mawālid*), is the term for (1) the time, place or celebration of the birth of a person, especially that of the Prophet Muḥammad or of a saint [see WALĪ], and (2) a panegyric poem in honour of the Prophet.

1. Typology of the *mawlid* and its diffusion through the Islamic world.

From the moment when Islam began to bring the personality of Muḥammad within the sphere of the supernatural, the scenes among which his earthly life had been passed naturally began to assume a higher sanctity in the eyes of his followers. Among these, the house in which he was born, the *Mawlid al-Nabī*, in the modern Sūḳ al-Layl in Mecca, the history of which is preserved principally in the chronicles of the town (*Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 422), does not seem at first to have played a part of any note. It was al-Khayzurān (d. 173/789 [*q.v.*]), the mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who first transformed it from a humble dwelling-house to a place of prayer. Just as the pious made pilgrimages to the tomb of the Prophet in Medina, so they now visited the site of his birth to show their reverence for it and to receive a share of its blessings (*li ʾl-tabarruk*). In time, the reverence in which the house was held also found expresssion in its development in a fitting architectural fashion (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 114, 163; and see for a description of the house in the late 19th century, Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 106, ii, 27).

Records of the observation of the birthday of the Prophet as a holy day only begin at a late date; according to the generally accepted view, the day was Monday, 12 Rabīʿ I. The earliest mention of a special public celebration on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday is found in Ibn Djubayr, 113. In his time (late 6th/12th century), a special celebration, as distinct from private observance, was arranged in Mecca. The essential feature of the celebration was however only an increase in the number of visitors to the *mawlid* house, which was open the whole day, as an exception, for this purpose. This visit and the ceremonies associated with it (*masḥ*, etc.) were carried through entirely in forms which are characteristic of the older Muslim cult of saints. But just as the later cult of the Prophet had to be raised above the reverence shown to other holy men, so new and special forms developed for his birthday celebrations, which in spite of minor differences in time and place show the same general features everywhere and are comprised under the name *laylat al-mawlid, mawlid al-nabī*, or *mawlid al-nabawī*.

In Fāṭimid Cairo, the *mawlid* of the Prophet was celebrated by the court, as were the *mawlids* of ʿAlī, Fāṭima and the reigning *khalīfa* [*q.v.*]. Essential elements of these celebrations were the procession of the dignitaries to the palace of the *khalīfa* followed by three sermons, each by one of the three *khuṭabāʾ* [see KHAṬĪB] of Cairo (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 433 ff.; cf. i, 466, for the temporary suspension of the *mawlid* celebrations). These occasions were not festivals of the common people, however, but mainly of the Shīʿī ruling class. This no doubt explains why—except in al-Maḳrīzī and al-Ḳalḳashandī, the great historians of Fāṭimid Cairo—there is hardly any reference to these celebrations in the literature emanating from Sunnī circles.

The memory of these Fāṭimid *mawālid* seems to have almost completely disappeared before the festivals in which Muslim authors unanimously find the origin of the *mawlid*: the *mawlid* which we find first celebrated in Irbil in 604/1207-8 by al-Mālik Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökburi, a brother-in-law of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [see BEGTEGINIDS]. The fullest account is given by the great historian Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), himself a native of Irbil. Later writers base their statements upon his description of the *mawlid* (Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1299, ii, 550 ff.; see G. E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan festivals*, New York 1951, 73-6, for an English translation of the account).

In Cairo, the large-scale participation of the common people and the Ṣūfī orders dates from at least the 7th/13th century. In a comparatively short time thereafter, the observance of the festival spread all through the Muslim World. We have many descriptions of the festival from various parts of the Muslim World in different periods (see *Bibl.*).

In 996/1588 the Ottoman Sultan Murād III introduced the *mawlid* (Tk. *mevlid, mevlūd*) celebration at his court (cf. M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, Paris 1787, i, 255 ff.; Von Hammer, *GOR*, viii, 441). From 1910, it was celebrated as a national festival in the Ottoman Empire. Today, the festival comprises one or more official holidays in the Arab states and in most of the countries where Islam predominates. In many of these countries, an official celebration attended by the head of government or his representatives is held in one of the main mosques in their capitals.

In West Africa, the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday is sometimes associated with pre- or non-Islamic festivals, e.g. among the Nupe in Nigeria, where it is identified with the *gani* age-grade ceremonies (F. Nadel, *Nupe religion*, London 1954, 217), and among the Kotocoli in Northern Togo, where it is associated with "the festival of the knives" (R. Delval, *Les musulmans au Togo*, Paris 1980, 151-3). For some Ṣūfī orders in this area, notably for the Tīdjānī branches in Senegal (in Tivaouane, Dakar and Kaolack), the occasion has become the principal yearly gathering for the members of these orders. Poems exist in Hausa, classed technically as *madīḥ* and *sīra*, which are used as *mawlids* (see M. Hiskett, *A history of Hausa Islamic verse*, London 1975, ch. 5), and in Fulani (Fulfulde), are to be found several panegyrics of the Prophet with phraseology very similar to that of the *mawlids* (see J. Haafkens, *Chants musulmans en Peul*, Leiden 1983, 173-216). In Chad, the Sudan, North-East and East Africa (see below), the feast is regularly celebrated, and indications exist that the occasion is becoming more widely observed throughout West Africa. The celebrations staged on this occasion are more or less identical to the ones known in the Arab lands.

Central to these celebrations is the recitation of a *mawlid*, i.e. of a panegyrical poem of a legendary character. These poems normally follow a standard sequence of introductory praises to God, an invocation, a description of the creation of *al-nūr al-muḥammadī* [*q.v.*], then proceed through various stages and digressions (e.g. on the Prophet's ancestry) to the actual physical birth, which is preceded by an account

of a miraculous announcement to his mother Amina [*q.v.*] that she is bearing the Prophet. In the Arab world, *mawlid* recitation became a common feature of the celebrations in the course of the 9th/15th century and had become universal at the end of the 12th/18th.

The origins of these recitals may be found in the religious addresses in Fāṭimid Cairo and in Irbil. The *K. al-Tanwīr fī mawlid al-sirādj*, which Ibn Diḥya composed during his stay in Irbil at the suggestion of Gökburi, was already famous as a *mawlid* at this period (Brockelmann, *GAL*[1], II, 310). It was not till later times, however, that *mawlids* became a predominant element in the celebration, along with torchlight processions, feasting and the fairs in the street, ever increasing in size. The number of the poems used at *mawlids* is quite considerable. Beside the famous *Bānat Su ʿād* of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr of the older period, the *Burda* and the *Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī and their numerous imitations, there is a whole series of poems regularly employed here, some of which are intended to instruct like that of Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, while others are merely eulogistic.

One of the most widely recited *mawlids* in Arabic at present is one composed by Djaʿfar b. Ḥasan al-Barzandjī (d. 1179/1765). It is also known under the title *ʿIḳd al-djawāhir* and has been published many times (cf. *GAL*[1], II, 384 and see J. Knappert, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden 1971, 48-60, for a slightly abridged English tr.). The most popular of the *mawlids* in Turkish was composed by Süleymān Čelebi (d. 825/1421). It is still recited in mosques throughout Turkey and in mosques of the Turkish-speaking Sunnī community in West and South-Eastern Europe as part of the celebrations for the birthday of the Prophet. This *mawlid* was recited during the official Ottoman court celebrations (for a full translation, see F. Lyman MacCallum, *The Mevlidi Sherif*, London 1943; and E. J. W. Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry*, London 1900, i, 232-48, for a translation of extracts and data on the author). Similar *mawlids* have been composed in Persian, Bengali, Sindhi and other languages of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent (cf. A. Schimmel, *Die Verehrung des Propheten in der islamischen Frömmigkeit*, Düsseldorf-Cologne 1981, 136), and also in Serbian (cf. S. M. Zwemer, *Islam in South Eastern Europe*, in *MW* xvii [1927], 353), Albanian (Hafëz Ali, *Mevludi*, Grosvenor Dale, Conn. 1332/1916, 2nd edition. Waterbury, Conn. 1370/1950) and Swahili (cf. Knappert, *op.cit.*, 276-341).

A *mawlid* of the Imām ʿAlī by Sulaymān Djalāl al-Dīn, *Mawlūd-i Djanāb-i ʿAlī*, Istanbul 1308/1890-1, seems to have had some popularity in ʿAlevī circles in the Ottoman Empire in the last decades of the 19th century.

Apart from the occasion of the Prophet's birthday, a *mawlid* recital is sometimes held as part of the ceremonial of the rites of passage. Occasionally, the recitation of a *mawlid* takes place in fulfilment of a religious vow (T. Canaan, in *Jnal. Pal. Or. Soc.*, vi [1926], 55). When a *mawlid* is recited on any of these occasions, it is normally followed by a *dhikr* [*q.v.*] session. In some Ṣūfī orders (e.g. in the Mīrghaniyya and some branches of the Ḳādiriyya) a *mawlid* is recited as part of the standard liturgical ritual [see ḤAḌRA].

The *mawlid* celebration as an expression of reverence for Muḥammad has found almost general recognition in Islam, partly in consequence of the strength of the Sūfī movement. At all times, however, there has also been vigorous opposition to it by those who considered it to be a *bidʿa* [*q.v.*].

It is significant of the character of the opposition that its opponents object to those very forms which show the influence of Islamic mysticism (dancing, *samāʿ*, ecstatic phenomena, etc.) or of Christianity (processions with lamps, etc.). An interesting document concerning this feud is a kind of *fatwā* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505, Brockelmann, II[1], 157, *Ḥusn al-maḳṣid fī ʿamal al-mawlid*) which gives a brief survey of the history of the festival, then discusses the pros and cons very fully and concludes that the festival deserves approval as *bidʿa ḥasana*, provided that all abuses are avoided. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī in his *Mawlid*, and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (*Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, iii, 439 ff.), take the same view, while Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (d. 737/1336-7), as a more strict Mālikī, condemns it most vehemently (*K. al-Madkhal*, i, 153 ff.).

Although the height of this struggle was apparently reached in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, it did not really die down in later years. Indeed, it received new life with the coming of Wahhābism [see WAHHĀBIYYA]. This movement, while deriving its arguments for their opposition to the *mawlid* celebrations mainly from Ibn Taymiyya, inspired the growth of non- or anti-mystical Islam throughout the Islamic world and of the opposition to reference to the Prophet, including the celebration of his birthday, in consequence. Wahhābī teaching is equally directed against the veneration of saints (*awliyāʾ* [see WALĪ]) and against the *mawlids* held in many parts of the Islamic world in their honour. These *mawlids* normally follow the Islamic calendar, but there are exceptions. Accounts of such *mawlid* celebrations exist from many parts of the Islamic world.

The term *mawlid* (colloquial, *mūlid*) to denote a feast held in honour of a saint is used in Egypt and the Sudan in particular. Elsewhere, different terms are used, e.g. *mawsim* [*q.v.*] (coll. *mūsem*) in the Maghrib and parts of the Middle East, *ḥawliyya* (coll. *ḥōliyya*) in the Sudan and the horn of Africa, *ʿurs* in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and *ḥol* in Malaysia. Everywhere, the characteristics of such celebrations are more or less the same: crowds gather for one or more days, a fair of varying size and importance accompanies the religious celebrations, *dhikr* and/or Ḳurʾān reading sessions take place inside and/or outside the sanctuary of the saint concerned, one or more processions are held in which the keeper of the sanctuary (often the saint's descendant) and (frequently) Ṣūfī orders participate, and the cloth (*kiswa*) covering the saint's shrine is replaced by a new one in the course of the celebrations. Frequently, communal meals are staged and a centrally organised distribution of alms takes place.

In some parts of the Sunnī world, like Afghānistān, no *mawlids* are celebrated, notwithstanding the widespread cult of saints in these areas; in the Shīʿī world no *mawlids* of the type described here seem to be known.

In Egypt, the celebration of the numerous *mawlids* (about 300 *mawlids* of varying size were celebrated yearly with official permission in the 1970s) is centrally co-ordinated and supervised (by the *mashyakhat al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya*, in consultation with the Ministry of Awḳāf), so as to prevent these celebrations from overlapping and to guarantee public order. Some of these *mawlids* were or still are known for special rituals or customs observed as part of the celebrations [see DAWSA]. During most of the *mawlids*, special sugar dolls (*ʿarāʾis*, sing. *ʿarūsa*) are sold (cf. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nabawī al-Shāl, *ʿArūsat al-mawlid*, Cairo 1977). In Egypt, the celebration of *mawlids* is not limited to Islamic saints but extends to Coptic Christian ones as well.

The predominance of *mawlid* celebrations in Egypt

would seem to explain why it is in this country above all that the most abundant polemical literature concerning the religious status of *mawlid* celebrations was produced. Those critical of such celebrations range in their demands from minor reforms of ritual, such as the prohibition of musical instruments in processions and the staging of profane forms of amusement in the *mawlid* grounds, to total abolition. Most of those who have declared against the celebration of *mawlids* in their traditional form seem to have been of Wahhābī inspiration. Some of the most vocal and well-known 20th century critics who deserve mention were Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb al-Subkī and Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī. Elsewhere in the Islamic world, similarly inspired groups and individuals have opposed or are still actively opposing veneration of saints.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, *Taʾrīkh al-Iḥtifāl bi 'l-mawlid al-nabawī*, Cairo 1948 (mainly on the history of the *mawlid* in Cairo, with short excursions on the celebrations in Istanbul, Morocco and Tunisia in different eras; based upon published sources). For descriptions of *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations in different parts of the Islamic world and in various periods, see e.g. Wüstenfeld (ed.), *Chroniken*, iii, 438 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Mawlid* (see Brockelmann, *GAL*¹, II, 389); Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 57 ff., 147 (for Mecca); idem, *The Achenese*, i, 210, 212; idem, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii, 8 ff., 83-5; and R. A. Kern, *De Islam in Indonesië*, The Hague 1947 (for Indonesia); J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, Oxford 1949, 146 f. (for Omdurman), and also von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan festivals*, (a general discussion mainly derived from the article *Mawlid* in *EI*¹).

Works containing descriptions and/or other information concerning the *mawlid al-nabī* and other *mawlids* are e.g. T. Canaan, *Mohammedan saints and sanctuaries in Palestine*, London 1927, 193 ff.; Muṣṭafā Yūsuf Salām al-Shādhilī, *Djawāhir al-iṭlāʿ*, Cairo 1350/1931-2, 241; J. Hornel, *Boat-processions in Egypt*, in *Man*, xxxviii (Sept. 1938), 145-6; J. W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941; Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt wa 'l-taḳālīd wa 'l-taʿābīr al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953, 387-8; R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Berich des Islams. Band I. Wallfahrtswesen und Heiligenverehrung*, Wiesbaden 1960, *passim*; M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt today*, Cambridge 1970, 81-3; M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt. An essay in the sociology of religion*, Oxford 1973, 48-64; P. Rabinow, *Symbolic domination. Cultural form and historical change in Morocco*, Chicago 1975, 89-94; D. F. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam. Tradition and society in a pilgrimage center*, Austin-London 1976, 171-8; P. Shinar, *Traditional and reformist maulid celebrations in the Maghrib*, in M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 371-413; F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth century Egypt. A historical study in organizational dimensions of Islamic mysticism*, Leiden 1978, 61-4 and *passim*; Fārūḳ Aḥmad Muṣṭafā, *al-Mawālid*, Alexandria 1981²; de Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt, 1911-1981* (forthcoming), chs. 3, 7, for a discussion of the conservative versus the reformist orientations and objections concerning the *mawlids* with references to the relevant polemical literature. In addition, see ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya*, i, 90-2 (an enumeration of *mawlids* in Cairo at the end of the 19th century), I. Goldziher, *Le culte des saints chez les Musulmans*, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, ii (1891), 257-351 (for a still valuable general discussion); and E. Sidaway, *Les manifestations religieuses de l'Egypte moderne*, in *Anthropos*, xviii-xix (1923-4), 278-96 (on Coptic *mawlids*). There is no study devoted to the *mawlid* as a literary genre. (H. Fuchs - [F. de Jong])

2. In East Africa.

In a region of the Islamic periphery, such as East Africa, the desire to preserve the communal rituals and devotional ceremonies—of which the *mawlid* is the most popular celebration—is often stronger than in the heartlands of Islam (see Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1975, 216-17; J. Knappert, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, ch. 5). For the masses of people in the fringes, Muḥammad is the personage behind whose banner the faithful will enter Paradise. Numerous popular tales and poems about him raise him almost to a superhuman level of deification, and these form the basis for much *mawlid* material; also, the Prophet's life forms the closing section of the voluminous popular cycle on the lives of the 24 prophets who preceded him (see idem, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden 1971, i, ch. 3; idem, *Islamic legends*, Leiden 1985, i, 56-184; and cf. Th. G. Pigeaud, *The literature of Java*, The Hague 1967, 132).

In East Africa, proper *mawlid* poems contain at least some of the successive episodes of Muḥammad's life, culminating in his death—the date of this being popularly regarded as the same date as his birth—and the *wafāt al-nabī* may comprise an entire book, in prose or verse (see Hemedi bin Abdallah bin Saidi el Buhriy, *Utenzi wa kutawafu nabii*, tr. R. Allen, ed. J. W. T. Allen, Kampala 1956; similar examples can be quoted in Malaysia and Indonesia). Of these *mawlid* texts proper, by far the most popular in Kenya, Tanzania and Somalia (as also in Malaysia and Indonesia) is al-Barzandjī's one (see section 1. above), contained in a book—first printed *ca.* 1885 and noted as a red-bound book by Snouck Hurgronje in Atjèh [*q.v.*] and by Becker in Dar es Salaam—called the *Madjmaʿ mawlid sharaf al-anām*, the best-known single prayer book in the Islamic world. It comprises prose and poetic versions (*nathr* and *naẓm*) of al-Barzandjī's *mawlid* (both also translated into Swahili), the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī and several other prayers. In Somalia, al-Barzandjī's *mawlid* composition is widely recited during the *mawlid* celebrations in Arabic form, although a Somali poetic version exists. In *The library of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Shakūr, Sulṭān of Harar, 1272-92/1856-75*, in *Arabian and Islamic studies ... presented to R. B. Serjeant*, ed. R. L. Bidwell and G. R. Smith, London 1983, 68-79, A. J. Drewes has mentioned three *mawlids*, including apparently Abu 'l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn's *ʿUnwān al-sharīf*. After al-Barzandjī's, the most popular *mawlid* in Kenya and Somalia is the *Mawlid al-sharīf* of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī al-Dībaʿī al-Zabīdī; the printed editions of this, from Cairo and Aden-Singapore respectively, contain at the end a *fatwā* by the *muftī* of Mecca permitting the use of drums at the *mawlid* festival. But the *mawlid* is often performed at other times too, e.g. 14 days after the birth of a child in Tanzania (see C. Velten, *Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli*, Göttingen 1903, ch. 2).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Knappert)

MAWLIDIYYA (a.) (or *mīlādiyya*; dial. *mūlūdiyya*), pl. *-āt*, a poem composed in honour of the Prophet on the occasion of the anniversary of his birth [see mawlid] and recited as a rule before the sovereign

and court after ceremonies marking the *laylat al-mawlid.*

A relatively large number of *mawlidiyyāt* are extant, drawing their inspiration from the famous *Bānat Suʿād* of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] so often imitated by versifiers, of whom the best known is certainly al-Būṣīrī (608-94/1212-97) [*q.v.* in Suppl.], whose poems enjoy a renown which has never diminished, especially the *Burda* [*q.v.*] and, to a lesser extent, the *Hamziyya*, which is recited in mosques and *zāwiyas* during the month of Rabīʿ I, between the *maghrib* and *ʿishāʾ* prayers. Among the mediaeval authors who have left poems classifiable within the category of *mawlidiyyāt* may be cited al-Barʿī (5th/11th century), al-Ṣarṣarī (d. 556/1160), Ibn al-Djawzī (510-97/1116-1200 [*q.v.*]), Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (909-74/1504-67 [*q.v.*]) and al-Barzandjī (1040-1103/1530-91). Furthermore, it is possible to gain an overall idea of this production thanks to the four-volume collection made at the beginning of the century by Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī and published in Beirut in 1320/1902.

In the Islamic West, *mawlidiyyāt* were mainly the work of court poets, but also of administrative officials and viziers for whom the composition of poems of this type constituted a part of their professional education; some well-known personalities figure among them, such as Ibn Marzūḳ (710-81/1310-79 [*q.v.*]), Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713-76/1313-75 [*q.v.*]), and above all, Ibn Zamrak (733-95/1333-93 [*q.v.*]). Due to the occasional nature of this poetry, it is understandable that a large number of poems have not been preserved; the majority of those that survive, thanks, in particular, to al-Maḳḳarī (d. 1041/1632 [*q.v.*]) and to al-Ifrānī (d. 1157/1745 [*q.v.*]), belong to a relatively short period from 761 to 768/1360-7, corresponding to the reigns of the Marīnid Abū Sālim Ibrāhīm (d. 762/1361) in Fās and of the Naṣrid Muḥammad V (d. 793/1391) in Granada; to be sure, al-Fishtālī (956-1031/1549-1633), himself the author of at least one *mawlidiyya*, reproduced in his *Nuzha* (ed. and Fr. tr. Houdas, 149-57), these poems being composed in the reign of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 999/1590.

Generally, the framework of the *ḳaṣīda* is respected, but adapted to suit the fundamental purpose of the poet in the sense that, while the apology of the Prophet is preceded by a *nasīb* and a *raḥīl*, it is followed in the West by a eulogy of the sovereign which is explicable by the circumstances in which these poems were recited.

The *nasīb* contains the traditional recollection of the remains of an encampment, but the author must avoid any allusion to a woman and show the decency appropriate to the situation. He expresses on the contrary the violent passion which he feels for the Prophet, leaving some doubt as to this love, whose true mystical nature is not at all clear. The abandoned encampment is situated on the route that the poet must follow to visit the Holy Places, but, as he is very far distant from them, he calls upon a caravan guide or some pilgrims in order to ask them to bear his greetings to the Prophet and describe to him the ardour of his passion.

This sentimental and moving prologue is followed by a brief lyrical expansion on the theme, or, more frequently, a narrative full of details borrowed from the traditional *raḥīl*, of an imaginary journey across deserts as far as Medina. It goes without saying that this general theme undergoes numerous variants ranging from an account of the pilgrimage to Mecca to the insertion of paranetic verses or commonplaces on the flight of time, white hair, etc. The Spanish *mawlidiyyāt* are always distinguished by a large number of descriptions.

The recollection of the Holy Places introduces the eulogy of the Prophet, which must theoretically be based on reality and never drift into hyperbole. The principal themes concern the birth, foretold by earlier prophets, the signs of prophecy visible from infancy, his mission, etc.; next, the epithets of Muḥammad are enumerated; then come his physical and moral portraits; and finally, the description of the miracles that he performed. In this central part of the *mawlidiyya*, the elements of the panegyric, expressed by means of a profusion of superlatives, are drawn from the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth* as well as popular beliefs which have embellished the life of the Prophet with legendary details. It may be remarked further that the poets, idealising his image, adopt some characteristics taken from the Gospels so as to invest the founder of Islam with an aura of sanctity which makes him vie with Jesus.

After the account of the miracles, the versifiers generally express a wish to be able to visit the Holy Places, offer supplications to their "saviour" and invoke God's blessing on him and his Companions.

This invocation, followed by a similar invocation on behalf of the sovereign and mention of the *laylat al-mawlid*, marks the transition to the third part of the *mawlidiyya* which is often as developed as the second and consists of the panegyric of the reigning prince. This part offers nothing really new corresponding to the classical *madīḥ* [*q.v.*]. The author attributes all the virtues to the *mamdūḥ*, who is the restorer of the kingdom and whose arms are always victorious; but his cardinal virtue is naturally generosity, which is appealed to more or less discreetly. After the sovereign come the turns of the heir presumptive and the royal family. To conclude, the poet wishes that the prince's prosperity may endure.

One can hardly expect to find much originality in these compositions crammed with rhetorical flourishes and adorned with clichés which savour of affectation and artificiality. However, the choice of images, the variety of stylistic devices, the subtle play on vocabulary and the constant appeal to the religious or literary culture of the listener, retain a certain attraction.

As well as some poems in classical Arabic, there are many *mūlūdiyyāt* in dialect which generally contain only the eulogy of the Prophet; among those which have been preserved—or those which are still composed today—some follow the classical tradition and contain moreover the *nasīb* and the *raḥīl*, but the eulogy of the sovereign does not figure at all in them [see MALḤŪN].

Bibliography: A. Salmi, *Le genre des poèmes de nativité (mawlūdiyya-s) dans le royaume de Grenade et au Maroc du XIIIᵉ au XVIIᵉ siècle*, in *Hespéris*, 1956/3-4, 335-435. (A. SALMI)

MAWRŪR, name given to the *kūra* of Morón, currently Morón de la Frontera, in the province of Seville, to the south-east of the latter and of Carmona and to the south-west of Cordova. The Arabo-Islamic conquest of the territory occupied today by Morón and its dependencies must have taken place in 92/714 shortly after that of Shadūna [*q.v.*] by Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*].

Mawrūr is also the name of a *ḥiṣn* of the province of Málaga (see J. Valvé, *De nuevo sobre Bobastro*, in *al-And.*, xxx [1965], 142, no. 11) and of one (known by the name of el-Mauror) of the hills at the foot of which Granada is situated [see GHARNĀṬA].

The population of the *kūra* was constituted of Butr Berbers, or Arabs of the tribe of Djudhām, of neo-Muslims and, to a lesser degree, of Mozarabs, The region combined all the advantages of plain and

mountain. Cereals, olives and fruit-trees were cultivated there, according to al-Rāzī and other writers, who add that the area possessed good wells and substantial fortresses, in particular that of Carpio, which is not easily located today but which some have identified with the Ḳalb which, according to Ibn Ghālib, al-Ḥimyarī and perhaps other writers, was the regional capital (*ḳāʿida*) of the *kūra* and the seat of the *wālī* and which possessed a Great Mosque and a very busy market.

Under the amīrate, Mawrūr seems to have been nothing more than an agricultural region of which the neighbouring territories were subjected to a raid on the part of the Madjūs [*q.v.*], if reliance is to be placed on the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* (text, 64; tr. 51). Mawrūr is also mentioned in connection with events occurring at Seville in the period of Ibrahīm b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (al-ʿUdhrī, 103), and with an invasion mounted by Muṭarrif, son of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh (*ibid.*, 104). In the time of the *amīr* al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], the total sum of taxation contributed by the *kūra* of Mawrūr rose to 21,000 *dīnārs* (al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, text, 186, tr. 227) and the number of horsemen that it supplied for the summer campaigns against the Christians commanded by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, stood at 1403 (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. Makkī, text 272). The fortress of Mawrūr was also affected by the consequences of the rebellion of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], to such an extent that it became necessary to send several expeditions against these territories, which were ultimately subjected to the authority of Cordova in 311/923-4 (Ibn Ḥayyān, *op.cit.*, text 115, 167; tr. 139, 192). During the *fitna*, Mawrūr became the seat of the Berber *ṭāʾifa* of the Banū Dammar or Banū Nūḥ, until the time when, under the third king of the dynasty, Manād b. Muḥammad b. Nūḥ (449-58/1057-66), it was incorporated into the ʿAbbādid kingdom of Seville [see ʿABBĀDIDS and ISHBĪLIYYA] and experienced the same fate as the latter when it was conquered by the Almoravids.

Judging by the silence of the sources, it may be stated with confidence that no event of note took place at Mawrūr and on its territory under the Almoravids and the Almohads. Cordova fell in 1236, and in 1240 in the reign of Fernando III, king of Castile, the *kūra* passed under the domination of the Christians, at the same time as Luque, Aguilar, Ecija, Estepa, Lucena, Marchena and Osuna, and became part of the territory known as Banda Morisca, to the south of the Campiña and to the west of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada. For a period of 529 years, Mawrūr had belonged to the *dār al-Islām*.

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in the article, see ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, 228, no. 3; E. Fagnan, *Extraits*, 210, 211, 213; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 23, 32, 119; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, 113, 214, 220; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 232, 312, 422.

(J. BOSCH VILÁ)

AL-**MAWṢIL**, in European sources usually rendered as Mosul, a city of northern Mesopotamia or ʿIrāḳ, on the west bank of the Tigris and opposite to the ancient Nineveh. In early Islamic times it was the capital of Diyār Rabīʿa [*q.v.*], forming the eastern part of the province of al-Djazīra [*q.v.*]. At the present time, it is the third largest city of the Republic of ʿIrāḳ.

1. History up to 1900.

Al-Mawṣil takes its name from the fact that a number of arms of the river there combine (Arabic, *waṣala*) to form a single stream. The town lies close beside the Tigris on a spur of the western steppe-plateau which juts out into the alluvial plain of the river. Close beside its walls are quarries in which the plaster for the buildings and for the mortar is obtained. The site of the town, almost 3 km² in area and enclosed by the already-mentioned wall and the Tigris, slopes from the old fortress gradually to the south. To the south-east there stretch, as in the Middle Ages, the suburbs surrounded by fertile plants. A little above the spot where the wall joins the river on the south-east is the bridge of boats. All the old buildings and even the court of the Great Mosque lie, according to E. Herzfeld's investigations, below the level of the streets in which the accumulation of mounds of débris from houses is a result of a thousand years of continuous occupation.

Whether the town already existed in antiquity is unknown. E. Herzfeld (*Archäol. Reise*, ii, 207, 259) has suggested that Xenophon's Μέσπιλα, reproduces its old name and that we should read *Μέπσιλα (= *Mawṣil*); but against this view we have the simple fact that this town lay on the east bank of the Tigris (F. H. Weissbach, in Pauly-Wissowa, xv, col. 1164).

The Muslims placed the foundations of the town in mythical antiquity and ascribed it to Rēwand b. Bēwarāsp Adjdahāk. According to another tradition, its earlier name was Khawlān. The Persian satrap of al-Mawṣil bore the title Būdh-Ardashīrānshāh, so that the official name of the town was Būdh-Ardashīr (Le Strange, *Lands*, 87; Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, 208). Lastly, Bar Bahlūl says that an old Persian king gave it the name Bih-Hormiz-Ḳawādh (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyren*, 178).

As the metropolis of the diocese of Āthūr, al-Mawṣil took the place of Nineveh, whither Christianity had penetrated by the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. Rabban Īshōʿ-yahbh, called Bar Ḳūsrā, about 570 A.D. founded on the west bank of the Tigris opposite Niniveh a monastery (still called Mār Īshaʿyā) around which Khusraw II built many buildings. This settlement is probably the fortress mentioned in the Syriac chronicle edited by Guidi as Ḥesnā ʿEbhrāyā (according to Herzfeld, "citadel on the opposite bank") (Nöldeke, in *SB. Ak. Wien*, cxxviii, fasc. 9 [1893], 20; Sachau, *Chronik von Arbela*, ch. iv, 48,1; Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, 208) which later was developed into a town by the Arabs (*Chronicle of Seʿert*, at the end).

Nineveh is attested as a separate Nestorian bishopric from 554 till the early 3rd/9th century, when it was merged with the see of al-Mawṣil, and for roughly the same period, Monophysite bishops are recorded for the monastery of Mar Mattā and Nineveh (later al-Mawṣil) (see J.-M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, Beirut 1968, ii, 344 ff.). The area just to the north of al-Mawṣil was known at this time as Bēth Nūhādhrā, and that to the south-west as Adiabene, in early Islamic parlance, Arḍ Ḥazza (from the village, Syriac Ḥʿzā, which seems to have been the main centre, towards the end of the Sāsānid period, for the administrative division of Nōdh-Ardashīrakan (see M. G. Morony, *Continuity and change in the administrative geography of late Sasanian and early Islamic al-ʿIrāq*, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, xx [1982], 10 ff.).

After the taking of Nineveh by ʿUtba b. Farḳad (20/641) in the reign of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the Arabs crossed the Tigris, whereupon the garrison of the fortress on the west bank surrendered on promising to pay the poll-tax and obtained permission to go where they pleased. Under the same caliph, ʿUtba was dismissed from his post as commander of al-Mawṣil, and Harthama b. ʿArfadja al-Bāriḳī succeeded him. The latter settled Arabs in houses of their own, then allotted them lands and made al-Mawṣil a

camp city (*miṣr*) in which he also built a Friday Mosque (al-Balādhurī, 332). According to al-Wāḳidī, ᶜAbd al-Malik (65-86/685-705) appointed his son Saᶜīd as governor of al-Mawṣil, while he put his brother Muḥammad over Armīniya and al-Djazīra. According to al-Muᶜāfā b. Ṭāwūs on the other hand, Muḥammad was also governor of ᶜĀdharbāydjān and al-Mawṣil, and his chief of police Ibn Talīd paved the town and built a wall round it (al-Balādhurī, *op.cit.*). His son Marwān II is also described as a builder and extender of the town; he is said to have organised its administration and built roads, walls and a bridge of boats over the Tigris (Ibn Faḳīh, 128; Yāḳūt, *Muᶜdjam*, iv, 682-4). The foundation of a Friday Mosque was also ascribed to him. Al-Mawṣil became under him the capital of the province of al-Djazīra.

After al-Mutawakkil's death, the Khāridjī Musāwir seized a part of the territory of al-Mawṣil and made al-Ḥadītha [*q.v.*] his headquarters. The then governor of al-Mawṣil, the Khuzāᶜī ᶜAḳaba b. Muḥammad, was deposed by the Taghlibī Ayyūb b. Aḥmad, who put his own son Ḥasan in his place. Soon afterwards, in 254/868, the ᶜAzdī Allāh b. Sulaymān became the governor of al-Mawṣil. The Kharidjīs took the town from him and Musāwir entered into possession of it. Al-Muᶜtamid appointed the Turkish general Asātigin governor of the town, but in Djumādā I 259/March 873 the latter sent his son Azkūtigīn there as his deputy. The latter was soon driven out by the citizens of the town, who chose Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān as their ruler.

Haytham b. ᶜAbd Allāh, whom Asātigīn then sent to al-Mawṣil, had to return after achieving nothing. The Taghlibī Isḥāḳ b. Ayyūb, whom Asātigīn sent with 20,000 men against the city, among whom was Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, entered it after winning a battle, but was soon driven out again.

In 261/874-5 the Taghlibī Khiḍr b. Aḥmad and in 267/880-1 Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj were appointed governors of al-Mawṣil by al-Muᶜtamid. A year after Isḥāḳ's death, his son Muḥammad sent Hārūn b. Sulaymān to al-Mawṣil (279/892); when he was driven out by the inhabitants, he asked the Banū Shaybān for assistance, and they besieged the town with him. The inhabitants, led by Hārūn b. ᶜAbd Allāh and Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, after an initial victory were surprised and defeated by the Shaybānīs; shortly afterward, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ was deposed by the Kurd ᶜAlī b. Dāwūd.

When al-Muᶜtaḍid became caliph in 279/892, Ḥamdān (the grandfather of Sayf al-Dawla) managed to make himself very popular with him at first, but in 282/895 he rebelled in al-Mawṣil. When an army was sent by the caliph against him under Waṣīf and Naṣr, he escaped while his son Ḥusayn surrendered. The citadel was stormed and destroyed, and Ḥamdān soon afterwards was captured and thrown into prison. Naṣr was then ordered to collect tribute in the city and thus came into conflict with the followers of the Khāridjī Hārūn; Hārūn was defeated and fled into the desert. In place of Tuktamīr, who was imprisoned, the caliph appointed Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī as governor of al-Mawṣil and sent against Hārūn, the main cause of the strife, the Ḥamdānid Ḥusayn, who took him prisoner in 283/896. The family thus regained the caliph's favour.

When after the subjection of the Khāridjīs, raiding Kurds began to disturb the country round al-Mawṣil, al-Muktafī again gave a Ḥamdānid, namely Ḥusayn's brother Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ ᶜAbd Allāh, the task of bringing them to book, as the latter could rely on the assistance of the Taghlibīs settled around the city to whom the Ḥamdānids belonged. Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ came to al-Mawṣil in the beginning of Muḥarram 293/October 906 and in the following year subdued the Kurds, whose leader Muḥammad b. Bilāl submitted and came to live in the city.

From this time, the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] ruled there, first as governors for the caliph, then from 317/929 (Nāṣir al-Dawla Ḥasan) as sovereign rulers.

The ᶜUḳaylids who followed them (386-498/996-1096) belonged to the tribe of the Banū Kaᶜb. Their kingdom, founded by Ḥusām al-Dawla al-Muḳallad, whose independence was recognised by the Būyids, extended as far as Tāʾūḳ (Daḳūḳā), al-Madāʾin and Kūfa. In 489/1095-6, al-Mawṣil passed to the Saldjūḳs.

The town developed considerably under the Atābeg ᶜImād al-Dīn Zangī, who put an end to Saldjūḳ rule in 521/1127-8. The city which was for the most part in ruins, was given splendid buildings by him; the fortifications were restored and flourishing gardens surrounded the town. Under one of his successors, ᶜIzz al-Dīn Masᶜūd I, it was twice unsuccessfully besieged by the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (1182 and 1185 A.D.); after the conclusion of peace, ᶜIzz al-Dīn, however, found himself forced to recognise Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his suzerain.

The town was at this time defended by a strong citadel and a double wall, the towers of which were washed on the east side by the Tigris. To the south lay a great suburb, laid out by the vizier Mudjāhid al-Dīn Ḳāʾimāz (d. 595/1199). From 607/1210-11 his son Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*] ruled over al-Mawṣil first as vizier of the last Zangids and from 631/1234 as an independent ruler. In 642/1244-5 he submitted to Hūlāgū and accompanied him on his campaigns, so that al-Mawṣil was spared the usual sacking. When however his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāᶜīl joined Baybars against the Mongols, the town was plundered in 660/1261-2; the ruler himself fell in battle (van Berchem, in *Festschrift für Th. Nöldeke*, Giessen 1906, 197 ff.).

The Arab geographers compare its plan to a headcloth (*ṭaylasān*), i.e. to an elongated rectangle. Ibn Ḥawḳal, who visited al-Mawṣil in 358/968-9, describes it as a beautiful town with fertile surroundings. The population in his time consisted mainly of Kurds. According to al-Muḳaddasī (*ca.* 375/985-6, the town was very beautifully built. Its plan was in the form of a semi-circle. The citadel was called *al-Murabbaᶜa* and stood where the Nahr Zubayda canal joined the Tigris (now Ič-ḳalᶜa or Bāsh Ṭābiya?; cf. Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, 209). Within its walls were a Wednesday market (*Sūḳ al-Arbaᶜāʾ*), after which it was sometimes called. The Friday Mosque built by Marwān stood on an eminence not far from the Tigris to which steps led up. The streets in the market were for the most part roofed over. The same geographer (136) gives the eight main streets of the town (discussed in Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, 209). The castle of the caliph (*Ḳaṣr al-Khalīfa*) stood on the east bank, half a mile from the town, and commanded Nineveh; in the time of al-Muḳaddasī it was already in ruins, through which the Nahr al-Khawṣar flowed.

Ibn Djubayr visited al-Mawṣil on 22-6 Ṣafar 580/4-8 June 1184. Shortly before, Nūr al-Dīn had built a new Friday Mosque on the market place. At the highest point in the town was the citadel (now Bāsh Ṭābiya); it was known as *al-Ḥadbāʾ* "the hunch-backed", and perhaps as the synonymous *al-Dafaʾā* (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyren*, 178-9; Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, 210), and according to al-Ḳazwīnī was surrounded by a deep ditch and high

walls. The city walls, which had strong towers, ran down to the river and along its bank. A broad highway (*shāriʿ*) connected the upper and lower towns (the north-south road called *Darb Dayr al-Aʿlā*). In front of the walls suburbs stretched into the distance with many smaller mosques, inns and baths. The hospital (*māristān*) and the great covered market (*ḳaysariyya*) were celebrated.

Most houses in al-Mawṣil were built of tufa or marble (from the Djabal Maḳlūb east of the town) and had domed roofs (Yāḳūt, *op.cit.*). Later, it was given a third Friday Mosque which commanded the Tigris and was perhaps the building admired by Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī (*ca.* 740/1339-40).

The site of the ancient Nineveh (Arabic *Nīnaway*) was in al-Muḳadasī's time called Tall al-Tawba and was said to be the place where the prophet Yūnus stayed when he wished to convert the people of Nineveh. There was a mosque there around which the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla built hostels for pilgrims. Half a mile away was the healing spring of ʿAyn Yūnus with a mosque beside it, perhaps also the Shadjarat al-Yaḳṭīn, said to have been planted by the Prophet himself. The tomb of Nabī Djirdjīs [*q.v.*], who according to Muslim legend had suffered martyrdom in al-Mawṣil, was in the east town, as was also that of Nabī Shīth (Seth; cf. Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, 206-7).

The textiles of al-Mawṣil were especially famed, and from the city's name came Eng. *muslin* and Fr. *mousseline*, although it appears from Marco Polo's mention of *mosolino* cloth as made with gold and silver threads that these luxury cloths differed from the present-day thin and delicate cottons (see Sir Henry Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, London 1871, i, 57-9; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 38-9).

The Mongol dynasty of the Djalāʾirids succeeded the Īlkhāns in Baghdād, and Sultan Shaykh Uways in 766/1364-5 incorporated al-Mawṣil in his kingdom. The world-conqueror Tīmūr not only spared the city but gave rich endowments to the tombs of Nabī Yūnus and Nabī Djirdjīs, to which he made a pilgrimage, and restored the bridge of boats between al-Mawṣil and these holy places.

The Turkoman dynasty of the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū, whose founder Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ḳarā ʿUthmān had been appointed governor of Diyārbakr by Tīmūr, was followed by the Ṣafawids, who took over al-Mawṣil after their conquest of Baghdād in 914/late 1508, but lost it again to Sulaymān the Magnificent in 941/1535, who appointed Sayyid Aḥmad of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar as its governor. From the year 1000/1592 onwards, we have lists of the Ottoman *pashas* of the *sandjak* of al-Mawṣil (for long attached to the *eyālet* of Diyārbakr), whose tenure of power was usually short-lived; thus from 1048/1638 to 1111/1699-1700 there were 48 *pashas*. Nādir Shāh besieged it in 1156/1743, but the governor Ḥusayn Djalīlī refortified the city and heroically defended it. It was at this time and thereafter that the *pashalïk* of al-Mawṣil was fairly continuously in the hands of the local family, originally Christians, of ʿAbd al-Djalīl; Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl held this office on eight separate occasions, and the hold of the Djalīlīs was only broken in 1834, when Sultan Maḥmūd II extended his centralising power over the *derebeys* and other previously largely autonomous local potentates and removed Yaḥyā b. Nuʿmān al-Djalīlī.

European travellers frequently passed through al-Mawṣil and mention it in their travel narratives; they often comment unfavourably on the unclean streets and on the sectarian strife there amongst both Muslims and the rival Christian churches. After 1879, the *sandjak* of al-Mawṣil, after being attached to Vān, Hakkārī and then Baghdād, became a separate *wilāyet*. There was a long tradition of French missionary and educational work in the city, by e.g. Carmelites and Dominicans, largely among the indigenous Eastern Christian churches. In the later 19th century, travellers describe al-Mawṣil's mud brick walls, with their seven gates, as largely ruinous, and record the dominant form of domestic architecture as stone-built houses with *sardābs*; the population then was around 40,000, including 7,000 Christians and 1,500 Jews.

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(E. HONIGMANN -[C. E. BOSWORTH])

2. Since 1900.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the prosperity and political importance of al-Mawṣil were evidently waning, largely because the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had occasioned an immediate reduction in the overland trade between the city and its traditional commercial partners, Aleppo and Damascus. Furthermore, the development of the port of Baṣra and of steam navigation on the Tigris gradually had the effect of subordinating the economy of al-Mawṣil to that of Baghdād, which became the entrepot for all the former city's imports and exports.

The effects of the *Tanẓīmāt* were even more lightly felt in the province of al-Mawṣil than in the rest of ʿIrāḳ, and there is no sign that the various administrative changes had any particular effect in curbing the powers of the local notables and tribal leaders. As noted above, in 1879 the city itself became the headquarters of a *wilāyet* of the same name, comprising the *ḳaḍāʾs* of al-Mawṣil, Kirkūk, Arbīl and Sulaymāniyya, but for the rest of the period of Ottoman rule, the state's control over most of what is now ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān was purely nominal, and between 1895 and 1911, one man, Muṣṭafā Čalabi Ṣābūndjī, was virtual dictator of al-Mawṣil town, far more powerful than any of the numerous *wālīs* sent from Istanbul (see Hanna Batatu, *The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq: a study of Iraq's old landed and commercial classes, and of its Communists, Baʿthists and Free Officers*, Princeton 1978, 289-92). Using Ottoman sources, J. McCarthy (*The population of Ottoman Syria and Iraq, 1878-1914*, in *AAS*, xv [1981], 3-44) has calculated that the population of al-Mawṣil *wilāyet* in 1330/1911-12 was about 828,000, which is considerably higher than earlier estimates (e.g., see S. H. Longrigg, *Iraq 1900 to 1950*, London

1953, 7). It is even more difficult to establish an accurate figure for al-Mawṣil town alone; McCarthy (*op.cit.*, 41) suggests 36,500 adult males, which accords with the estimated total of 70,000 inhabitants given in *al-ʿIrāq Yearbook* for 1922 (Batatu, *op.cit.*, 35).

For most of the First World War, the fighting on the ʿIrāḳī front took place in the Baṣra and Baghdād *wilāyets*, with the result that al-Mawṣil town itself was relatively little affected, and was in fact only occupied by British troops some days after the Armistice of Mudros (30 October 1918; see A. T. Wilson, *Mesopotamia 1917-1920: a clash of loyalties*, London 1931, 11). The area had been assigned to France in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, but Clemenceau immediately acquiesced in Lloyd George's request in December 1918 that it should be attached to ʿIrāḳ, and thus to the British sphere of influence, provided that France would be assured of equality in the exploitation of Mesopotamian oil (see J. Nevakivi, *Britain, France and the Arab Middle East 1914-1920*, London 1969, 91-2). Although the mandate for ʿIrāḳ was assigned to Britain under the Treaty of San Remo (April 1920 [see MANDATES]), the Turkish Republican government continued to contest the new ʿIrāḳī state's right to al-Mawṣil and the *wilāyet* was only finally awarded to ʿIrāḳ in 1925 after an enquiry carried out by the League of Nations (for details, see C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs: politics, travel and research in North-eastern Iraq 1919-1925*, London 1957). Oil was struck in commercial quantities near Kirkūk in 1927, and these northern oilfields, exploited until nationalisation in 1973 by the Iraq Petroleum Company, an Anglo-French-Dutch-American consortium, form one of the country's most valuable economic assets.

Under the mandate and monarchy (1920-32; 1932-58) the status of al-Mawṣil continued to decline, partly because the inauguration of the new state and the establishment of Baghdād as its capital inevitably deprived it of its importance as an independent provincial centre, and partly because al-Mawṣil *wilāyet* itself was further sub-divided into four provinces (al-Mawṣil, Sulaymāniyya, Kirkūk and Arbīl). The city maintained its somewhat conservative reputation throughout the period, and in comparison with Baghdād and Baṣra seems to have been relatively little affected by the independence struggles of the 1940s and 1950s. During this period, members of the city's prominent families, notably the Shammar *shaykhs* and members of the Kashmūla, Khudayr and Shallāl families, gradually came to acquire legal ownership of much of the land in the surrounding countryside. Such individuals naturally felt threatened by the avowedly revolutionary aims of the government of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*], which came to power on 14 July 1958, and in particular by its immediate introduction of an agrarian reform law.

In March 1959, some of the landowners and their followers joined together with local Arab nationalists and a number of Ḳāsim's former supporters in the armed forces in an attempt to overthrow his régime, with assistance promised (but not ultimately forthcoming) from Cairo and Damascus. Four days of fighting broke out in the city between the supporters and opponents of Ḳāsim, in which some 200 people were killed. The attempted coup was unsuccessful, but the incident was to be used many times in the future as a rallying cry for revenge on the part of Baʿthists and nationalists against Ḳāsim and his left-wing supporters (see Batatu, *op.cit.*, 58-61, 866-89).

Al-Mawṣil was finally connected with the rest of the ʿIrāḳī railway system in 1939, and served by Iraqi Airways after 1946; the existing tertiary colleges in the city were amalgamated into a university in 1967, which has since been expanded considerably. In the course of a provincial reorganisation in 1969, al-Mawṣil province was divided into two new units, Nineveh (Nīnawā) and Duhūk. In the 1977 census, al-Mawṣil emerged as the third largest city in ʿIrāḳ with a population of 430,000, preceded by Baṣra (450,000) and Baghdād (2.86 million). In spite of attempts on the part of the central government to promote regional economic development, al-Mawṣil is inevitably at a disadvantage through being some distance from the country's main industrial concentrations, 75% of which are located around Baghdād and Baṣra. Its principal industries are agriculturally-based, including food-processing, and leather working, but textiles and cement are also produced, and an oil refinery was opened in 1976. The city retains much of its traditional ethnic and religious heterogeneity, and its mediaeval core still remains clearly distinct, despite the intrusion of various unattractive manifestations of modern town planning.

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(P. SLUGLETT)

AL-**MAWṢILĪ** [see IBRĀHĪM and ISḤĀḲ B. IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ].

AL-**MAWṢILĪ**, BAKR B. AL-ḲĀSIM B. ABĪ THAWR, philosophical writer, is known only as the author of an epistolary philosophical work entitled *Fi 'l-nafs* ("Concerning the soul"). It was written between 278/900 and 328/950 and sent to the distinguished translator and doctor Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Yaʿḳūb al-Dimashḳī. The author seems to have lived in the Mawṣil region, and is not to be confused with another philosopher from that area, Ibn Abī Saʿīd al-Mawṣilī. The text deals not with the soul as such, but only with a part of it, the rational soul (*nafs nāṭiḳa*) or intellect (*ʿaḳl*). His technique is explicitly that of Thābit b. Ḳurra and Plato in analysing the characteristics of the definition of the intellect in order to draw out its essence. The intellect impresses a form upon our sense-data, and what we know can either be acquired (*mustafād*) from outside of ourselves or not. As Aristotle put it, it is a question of whether the intellect which forms all things is part of the soul or rather something outside the soul—the latter being the normal Islamic religious interpretation. Al-Mawṣilī argues that the intellect does not acquire knowledge by means of contact with a transcendent being, but rather by reflection of the intellect upon itself. We can indeed make mistakes (e.g. be misled

by imagination), but not if we reflect rationally upon the first principles (*al-awāʾil*) of logical thought, since they are the grounds upon which the truth or falsity of everything else depends. These universals (*al-umūr al-kulliyya*) are true, real in themselves and their own objects, and are not equivalent to the body, but constitute a substance not susceptible to decay. Thereby al-Mawṣilī elegantly tackles an Aristotelian problem (without mentioning Aristotle) in a Platonic manner, actually referring to the *Phaedo* and its doctrine of reminiscence as the route to genuine knowledge.

Bibliography: Plato, *Phaedo*; Aristotle, *De Anima*, 3.4.429a, 21-22, 429b, 6. 5.430a, 10-15; Bakr al-Mawṣilī, *Fi 'l-nafs*, ms. British Museum, Add. 7473, 6a-12a; S. Pinès, *La doctrine de l'intellect selon Bakr al-Mawṣilī*, in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, Rome 1956, ii, 350-64; H. Davidson, *Alfarabi and Avicenna on the active intellect*, in *Viator*, iii (1972), 109-78.

(O. N. H. LEAMAN)

MAWSIM (A., from the root *w-s-m* "to mark, imprint"), market, festival. In this sense the term is used in *ḥadīth*, especially in connection with the markets of early Arabia, such as those which were held in ʿUkāẓ, Madjanna, Dhu 'l-Madjāz, ʿArafa, etc. (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 150; *Tafsīr*, sūra II, *bāb* 34). At these markets, the worst elements of Arabia gathered (*al-mawsim yadjmaʿ raʿāʿ al-nās*, al-Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 31). Advantage was also taken of these assemblies to make public proclamations and inquiries, e.g. in order to regulate the affairs of deceased persons (al-Bukhārī, *Khums*, *bāb* 13; *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, *bāb* 27). As the pilgrimage was at the same time one of the chief markets of early Arabia, the term *mawāsim* is often combined with it (*mawāsim al-ḥadjdj*, al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 150; *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik*, *bāb* 6). Upon this basis, the term *mawsim* has developed chiefly in two directions.

First, it has acquired the meaning of a festival, generally with a religious basis. When such a festival signifies the birthday of a prophet or local saint, the term more generally used is *mawlid* (dialectically, *mūlid*, etc.) [*q.v.*], but often some other event in a holy man's life, or even his death, may be celebrated, often at a date which shows continuity with some ancient nature festival or other rite. Cf. the *mawsim* of Nabī Mūsā, held between the centres of Jerusalem and the shrine near Jericho from the Friday preceding Good Friday till Maundy Thursday; see G. E. Von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan festivals*, repr. London 1976, 80 ff. A *mawsim* might, however, be a secular occasion, at least in its developed form, such as the festival traditionally held in Cairo during August to celebrate the rising of the Nile waters, the *mawsim al-khalīdj* or *yawm wafāʾ al-Nīl*/*yawm djabr al-baḥr*; see Lane, *The Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. xxvi "Periodical public festivals".

Second, it has come to mean season. Thus in Lebanon, *mawsim* denotes the season of the preparation of silk (al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v.), whilst in India and in European terminology referring to these parts of the world, it has acquired the meaning of "season" in connection with the weatherconditions special to those regions, such as the regularly returning winds and rain periods. *Monsoon*, *mousson*, *moesson* and other corruptions of the term are found in this literature.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the art. cf. *LA*, xvi, 123 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*,[2] Berlin 1897, 84 ff., 246; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. W. Crooke, London 1903, s.v. *monsoon*.

(A. J. WENSINCK -[C. E. BOSWORTH])

MAWSŪʿA (A.), "encyclopaedia".

1. In Arabic.

In the sense of "a work dealing with all the sciences and arts", the idea of an encyclopaedia was not expressed in Classical Arabic, and it was not until the 19th century that the expression *dāʾirat al-maʿārif* "circle of items of knowledge" was coined, corresponding approximately to the etymological meaning of the word current in Western languages, and not until the 20th that a neologism, *mawsūʿa*, emerged, which contains an idea of breadth, of wide coverage, etc. Nevertheless, the absence of a perfectly adequate descriptive term—although we may cite for example *ādāb* or *maʿārif*—does not necessarily imply the non-existence of a tendency to encyclopaedic writing, translated into practice by the composition of general works due to some scholars applying themselves to the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge belonging to a wide range of intellectual and technical disciplines. Indeed, secular *maʿārif* [*q.v.*], as opposed to *ʿulūm* [see ʿILM] of a religious nature, nourished the literary genre designated *adab* [*q.v.*] (pl. *ādāb*), which branched out and became conducive to the moral, cultural and professional formation of the Muslims and consequently presupposed the bringing together of a mass of different notions. The definition of *adab*, which consists of "taking a little of everything" (*al-akhdh min kulli shayʾin bi-ṭaraf*), may mean that, in the traditional and speculative sciences (*ʿulūm naḳliyya wa-ʿaḳliyya*) developed since the beginnings of Islam, one proceeded to a choice which assumed, by force of circumstances, an encyclopaedic aspect and was given shape in works which bear witness to the level of the average culture and the tastes of the public to whom they were addressed. The latter consisted of those who were particularly desirous of being well-informed, but also of the bureaucracy, the *kuttāb* [see KĀTIB], who needed to possess extensive and varied knowledge, within the limits which precisely by their nature were to define the variable content of encyclopaedic works.

In the 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries, "the Arabo-Islamic world, under the thrust of the cultural primacy of ʿIrāḳ, showed its capacity to combine the creation of humanism with that of encyclopaedic activity" (R. Blachère, *Réflexions*, 521) and began to be exposed to beneficial foreign influences which led the most open spirits to inquire into the universe, while respecting as far as possible Ḳurʾānic teachings. At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, a similar attitude found expression in al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9 [*q.v.*]), who dominated *adab* in the broad sense. He restrains himself from adopting a static viewpoint while abstaining from explaining the point of the information, but displays an astonishing dynamism in indicating some directions for investigation and proposing a method of acquisition and enrichment of knowledge by observation, experimentation, reflection, in a huge output covering *de omni re scribili*; this collection, in which the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* stands out, finally assumed an encyclopaedic character clearly illustrated furthermore by the *Kitāb al-Tarbīʿ wa 'l-tadwīr* and evidenced in our own times not only by the indices of the works concerned, but further, notably, by such works as *al-Mawrūth al-shaʿbī fī āthār al-Djāḥiẓ* (anonymous, Baghdād 1396/1976) with regard to folklore, and the *Muʿdjam al-Djāḥiẓ* of Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrāʾī (Baghdād 1982).

Given that the temperament of this author hardly enables him to follow a methodical order, the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* is far from being a zoological dictionary, and one must refer to the excellent index which accom-

panies it in order to locate the details relating to the various animals presented in the body of the text. It is quite different in the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūkāt* of al-Ḳazwīnī (600-82/1203-83 [*q.v.*]), which contains an alphabetical series of notices concerning animals in its section on the description of the universe dealing with terrestrial matters. But the efforts deployed in this field reach their culmination in the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā* of al-Damīrī (742-808/1341-1405 [*q.v.*]), a true zoological encyclopaedia whose great merit is the alphabetical classification adopted by the author and the division of the entries into philological remarks, description of the animal concerned, mentions which are made of it in the Ḳurʾān and Sunna, whether the consumption of its flesh is allowed or forbidden, proverbs concerning it, medicinal qualities and interpretation of dreams in which it appears. The above details show the spirit in which this compilation was conceived: a useful one, but deprived of originality due to a writer of traditional training who had been able to draw on works already founded on the mass of texts written initially in Arabic or translated into that language that the public did not always have the leisure or the taste to procure. In any case, al-Damīrī lived in an age when intellectual curiosity had waned considerably and had largely lost the openness which had marked the century of al-Djāḥiẓ and the Muʿtazila. All the same, shortly after the death of this latter author, the religious policy of the caliphate brought to the forefront Muslims disturbed by the turn taken by the rather anarchic quest for knowledge and by the danger to the integrity of Islam that they perceived to be posed by a curiosity which appeared reprehensible. This resulted in according primacy to the Islamic and Arab sciences, to the detriment of foreign ideas already partly acclimatised. Among those who are noted for their conservative attitude, the most characteristic is certainly Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889 [*q.v.*]), who opposed the liberalism and eclecticism of al-Djāḥiẓ with a programme limited to the needs of various social categories. To the secretaries of the administration, who began to be the real preservers of culture, he proposed a vade-mecum, the *Adab al-kātib*, in which he adopts the following classification of necessary knowledge: philological disciplines, applied sciences, techniques of public works, principles of jurisprudence, history and ethics. When he is concerned with the training of religious scholars, he adds to philology and ethics the Ḳurʾān and Sunna, plus some rudiments of *falsafa* [*q.v.*] by way of documentation and in order to be in a position to refute it. So much for the *kātib* and the *faḳīh*. There remains the *adīb*, for whom are intended the *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, an encyclopaedia of historical knowledge useful to the cultured Muslim, and, especially, the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, in which most of the ideas which should be mastered are grouped under ten headings: the ruler, war, greatness in this world, qualities and faults, rhetoric, oratorical art, piety, how to choose one's friends, how to achieve one's ends, table manners and women (see G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus 1965, 145). The programme recommended by Ibn Ḳutayba appeared not to allow any improvement or amplification.

On this point, some progress was nevertheless achieved by his successor, the Cordovan Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (246-328/860-940 [*q.v.*]), who remarks that each generation leaves its gift of new knowledge and that consequently, one should summarise and complete periodically the elements of the common patrimony that have been accumulated. In his practical encyclopaedia, the *ʿIḳd*, which is richer and more subtle than the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, the subject matter is divided into 25 chapters, each bearing the name of one of the precious stones of which the "necklace" (*ʿiḳd*) is made up. The list is as follows: the ruler, war, generosity, delegations (to the Prophet), addressing kings, *ʿilm* and *adab*, proverbs, moral exhortations, elegies, virtues of the Arabs, language of the Arabs, retorts, speeches, epistles, the caliphs, Ziyād b. Abīhi, the pre-Islamic battles, poetry, metrics, song, false prophets, madmen, misers, human temperaments, food and drink and pleasantries. The coverage of this encyclopaedia, whose popular character is evident, hardly allows us to glimpse the country where it was compiled, Spain, for everything, or almost everything, is borrowed from the Eastern tradition.

After the *ʿIḳd*, the encyclopaedic tendency appears in a more diffuse manner, in the sense that the same writer, when he possesses wide erudition, multiplies the specialised treatises and abstains from proceeding to a synthesis. It is only in the 9th/15th century that the series represented by the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* and the *ʿIḳd* is resumed by a new popular encyclopaedia, the *Mustaṭraf* of the Egyptian al-Ibshīhī (d. after 850/1446 [*q.v.*]), who, claiming to be inspired by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, nevertheless shows a concern for edification and manages to combine, in a manual written on a relatively limited scale, all that a good Muslim ought to know. It is of some value to enumerate the 84 chapters of this work: the edifice of Islam; reason; the Ḳurʾān; religious and secular knowledge; good manners; proverbs; rhetoric; retorts; oratorical art and poetry; trust in God; advice; moral exhortations; modesty, the sovereign; courtiers; ministers; escaping observation; magistrature; justice; injustice; the way of treating the people; the happiness of the people; qualities and faults; social life; concord; simplicity; pride; boastfulness; nobility; saints; miracles; rogues; generosity; avarice; table manners; magnanimity; promises kept; discretion; perfidy; courage; heroes; praises and gratitude; satires; sincerity and falsehood; filial piety; physical beauty; ornaments and care for the body; youth and health; names; journeys; wealth; kinship, the manner of begging; presents; work; acceptance of one's lot; changes of fortune; slavery; early Arabs; soothsaying; tricks; animals; wonders of creation; the djinn; wonders of the waters; wonders of the earth; mines and precious stones; music and song; singers and musicians; singing girls; love; specimens of songs; women; wine; pleasantries; anecdotes; invocations; fate; return to God; illnesses; death; patience; the lower world; prayers upon Muḥammad. It would not be impossible to discover in this sequence of chapters an ordering concept, an effort at logical classification which the apparent disorder of the arrangement belies. Besides, the *adab* which underpins al-Ibshīhī's work is less secular and more ethical. For this author, the best answer for those minds who are profoundly disturbed by the situation of the Arabo-Islamic world is a return to the sources, a recollection of the records of the classical period, which represents a perfect ideal for the average Muslim.

The authors that we are about to cite are not at all concerned with what is happening beyond the frontiers of *dār al-Islām*, and the *Kitāb al-Maʿārif* of Ibn Ḳutayba is, in this respect, characteristic, for it limits the historical ideas that a good Sunnī ought to have: a sacred history from Adam to Jesus followed up by means of traditions relating to the personalities of the "Interval" [see FATRA], genealogies of the Arabs, a somewhat anecdotal history of the caliphs and some celebrities, the religion of the ancient Arabs, sects of

Islam, and finally the kings of Yemen, Syria, al-Ḥīra and Persia. To put it another way, this historian is exclusively concerned—but only in a partial manner—with the Islamised countries.

On the other hand, after the eclipse of Muʿtazilism, openness was the feature of Shīʿīs. If one excludes the work of al-Barḳī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] whose *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin* is too mutilated to be assessed, the first author to cite is al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 284/897 [*q.v.*]), who, in his *Taʾrīkh*, does not fail to devote some chapters not only to the same subjects as Ibn Ḳutayba, but also to the ancient rulers of India, Greece, Rome, Byzantium, Persia and even China. After this attempt at a historical encyclopaedia comes the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ṭabarī (225-310/839-934 [*q.v.*]), which has some of the same character as a universal history, much more developed, but the real successor of al-Yaʿḳūbī is the polygraph al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956 [*q.v.*]) who was led by an extraordinary intellectual curiosity to acquire a truly encyclopaedic knowledge which was able to nourish a series of general works in a historico-geographical framework, of which only some résumés have survived, such as the *Tanbīh* and especially the *Murūdj*. Here, before embarking on his discussion of the history of Muslim rulers also in an anecdotal fashion (this being one of the features of *adab*), al-Masʿūdī presents essential information on the outstanding characters of the world and reproduces lists of kings of peoples foreign to Islam, and notably those of France since Clovis. The encyclopaedic nature of the *Murūdj* is evident from the index in two volumes which the present author has added to his edition of the Arabic text; it is also illustrated by the citations to be found mainly in later encyclopaedists.

The summaries which we have reproduced above reveal a concern for exhaustiveness which is not, however, accompanied by a logical classification, and it is only among the *falāsifa* [*q.v.*], heirs of Greek thought, that one can discover the first attempts if not to establish a hierarchy of the sciences, at least to classify them. Among them, al-Farābī (d. 339/950 [*q.v.*]) covers human knowledge in a rich and diverse work which lies outside Islam and suggests a classification of the sciences well-known in the Western Middle Ages, thanks to the translation made by Gerard of Cremona (*De scientiis*): (i) Linguistic sciences (morphology; lexicography; syntax; art of writing; art of reading well; poetry and metre). (ii) Logic. (iii) Mathematics (arithmetic; geometry; optics; astronomy; music; metrology; mechanics). (iv) Physics and metaphysics. (v) Political science, jurisprudence and theology.

Whereas the concessions of al-Farābī to Arabism and Islam consist merely of expressing in Arabic terms the linguistic sciences and in Islamic terms jurisprudence (*fiḳh*) and theology (*kalām*), al-Khwārazmī (wrote *ca.* 366/976 [*q.v.*]) divides the branches of knowledge into two main categories in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*: sciences of the Islamic law (*sharīʿa*) and subjects connected with it (*fiḳh*; *kalām*; grammar; artistic composition; poetry and prosody; history), and foreign sciences (philosophy; logic; medicine; arithmetic; geometry; astronomy and astrology; music; mechanics; alchemy).

Later, the respective parts of the "Arab" sciences and the "foreign" sciences were to distinguish various classifications, which could be illustrated by more developed encyclopaedias than that of al-Farabī (on the classifications of the sciences, see L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 101 ff.; also Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Risāla fī 'l-ʿulūm*, by M. Bergé, in *BEO Damas*, xviii [1963-4], 240-98; Ibn Ḥazm, *Marātib al-ʿulūm*. For his part, Ibn Khaldūn (732-808/1332-1406 [*q.v.*]) distinguishes two main categories of sciences, the religious and the philosophical, but confines himself to a theoretical discussion without encyclopaedic elaboration).

It is only right that we should regard as an encyclopaedia the collective work of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*] who discuss in 52 treatises or epistles (*risāla* [*q.v.*], pl. *rasāʾil*) all the accessible knowledge of their time (second half of the 4th/10th century). Rationalists and heirs of the Greek philosophers, the Muʿtazilīs and al-Djāḥiẓ, they accept all that can contribute to enrich the cultural patrimony. Their treatises (arranged as follows: 1 to 14: mathematics, logic and ethics; 15 to 30: natural sciences (including philosophy), 31 to 42: metaphysics; and 43 to 52: religion, mysticism, astrology, magic, do not correspond to their own classification which figures in the seventh *risāla*: I. Sciences of *ādāb* (writing and reading; lexicography and grammar; arithmetic and commercial transactions; poetry and prosody; divination, magic; alchemy and mechanics; arts and crafts; commerce, agriculture; animal husbandry; biography and history). II. Positive sciences of the *Sharīʿa* (revelation; interpretation of scriptures; Tradition of the Prophet; jurisprudence; judgments; moral exhortations; preaching; asceticism; Ṣūfism; interpretation of dreams). III. Truly philosophical sciences: mathematics (arithmetic; geometry; astronomy; music); logical sciences (poetics; rhetoric; *topoi*; apodeictic demonstration; sophistry); natural sciences (basic principles, heaven and earth; generation and decay; meteorology; mineralogy; botany; zoology; medicine; veterinary skill; dressage; agriculture; animal husbandry; crafts); divine sciences (knowledge of the Creator; angelology; psychology; politics; eschatology).

This encyclopaedia, written by Shīʿīs, is far from having a disinterested goal, for its authors uphold some kind of a thesis; they advocate indeed a radical reform of Islam in order to establish an extremist Shīʿism combining the *Sharīʿa* and Greek philosophy as well as the wisdom of the Indians and Persians and ancient paganisms. It corresponds to the modern definition of the encyclopaedia in the breadth of its coverage and the collaboration of a number of authors, mainly anonymous.

All the same, it was only favourably received in limited circles of philosophers and Shīʿīs, and provoked in the following century a remarkable reaction from al-Ghazālī (450-505/1058-1111 [*q.v.*]) who, in his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* seeks to defend orthodoxy. For him, there are two kinds of sciences: religious, which are obligatory, and non-religious, which are optional, when they are not harmful. The first comprise the *uṣūl al-dīn* (Ḳurʾān; Tradition; *consensus omnium*; traditions of the Companions) and the *furūʿ* (jurisprudence; sciences of the soul), the propaedeutic sciences (language; grammar; writing) and advanced ones (on the Ḳurʾān, Tradition, etc.); theology and philosophy (geometry and arithmetic; logic; natural theology; sciences of nature) are set in order. The second are sometimes commendable (medicine and calculation for example), sometimes blameworthy (notably magic and talismans; conjuring; spells), sometimes simply allowed (poetry and history for example). This classification appears in the first quarter of the *Iḥyāʾ* on practices of the Islamic cult; it is followed by social customs, causes of perdition and how to ensure one's salvation. It is in respecting an Islamic ethic developed in this large work that the Muslim

can prepare his salvation in the Hereafter. The collections that we have cited are distinguished by a subjectivity which is opposed to the relative objectivity of the bibliographical catalogues, which are in effect encyclopaedic guides. The earliest, the *Fihrist*, was composed in 377/987-8, hence in the period of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, by the Baghdādī librarian Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*], according to a logical plan corresponding to a personal classification of knowledge; generalities on known languages and scripts, materials for writing; revealed books; the Ḳurʾān and Ḳurʾānic sciences; grammar; lexicography; history; poetry and poets; theology according to the various schools and sects, Ṣūfism, Ismāʿīlism; jurisconsults of different schools; ancient and modern philosophers; mathematics; music; medicine; folklore; various anecdotes; conjuring; magic; equitation; engines of war; games; moral exhortations, maxims; interpretation of dreams; cookery; enchantments; religions other than Islam (notably Manichaeism, on which the *Fihrist* is one of the principal sources, and the religions of India and China); and alchemy. After Ibn al-Nadīm, a number of specialised bibliographies were produced, notably the *Fihrist* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (385-460/995-1067 [*q.v.*]) who reviewed the works written by Shīʿīs, up to the compiling of the famous *Kashf al-ẓunūn* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (1017-67/1608-57 [*q.v.*]), which marks the last stage before the modern catalogues of libraries.

Previously, the biographical genre had undergone considerable development, at first in order to meet the need for knowing the life of the transmitters of traditions in order to know whether the chains of guarantors had any gaps in continuity. The logical division of biographies by generation had finally given way to an alphabetical classification and resulted in dictionaries such as the *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ* (to which the *Muʿdjam al-buldān* was added) of Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]), the *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* of Ibn Khallikān (608-81/1211-82 [*q.v.*], the works of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (568-646/1172-1248 [*q.v.*]), and many histories of towns and countries presented in the form of biographies of personalities who were famous in them.

All these works and many others besides, even if it is difficult to regard them as encyclopaedias since they only contain one specific section of information, were to become the instruments of a new form of encyclopaedia born of the vicissitudes of history, particularly of the fear of seeing the disappearance of the vast mass of knowledge accumulated over the centuries and of the concern to salvage at least a part from the irreparable catastrophe represented by the Mongol invasions and the fall of Baghdād in 656/1258. The latter events certainly provoked serious disquiet which was translated into the composition of enormous encyclopaedias intended to some extent to preserve the acquisitions of preceding generations at the moment when the Arabo-Islamic world could be seen as despairing of achieving new progress and felt itself threatened by the worst calamities. In the following centuries, the Black Death (749/1348) was further to aggravate this feeling of insecurity.

Ibn Manẓūr (630-711/1232-1311 [*q.v.*]), who left the most highly-developed dictionary of the Arabic language, already clearly expresses this disquiet and the wish to salvage whatever could be rescued from total destruction, when he writes in the preface of the *Lisān al-ʿArab:* "My sole purpose is to preserve the elements of this language of the Prophet... . I assert indeed that, in our days, the use of the Arabic language is regarded as a vice. The letter writers are better in foreign languages and rival one another in the eloquence in idioms other than Arabic. I have composed the present work in an age in which men boast of [using] a language different from that which I have recorded and *I have built it like Noah built the ark*, enduring the sarcasm of his own people".

What applies to the language also applies to the other cultural elements and, setting aside the stylistic clause about sarcasm, Ibn Manẓūr's enterprise has parallels in other fields. During the "Alexandrine" period (F. Gabrieli, *Storia della litteratura araba*, Milan 1951, 259), the decline of Arabic culture, under the blows of the events which seriously affected ʿIrāḳ, at that point incited the Egyptians, who benefited from the transfer of the caliphate to Cairo, to launch a new encyclopaedic movement whose principal actors were the high-ranking *kuttāb*.

The earliest is al-Nuwayrī (677-732/1279-1332 [*q.v.*]), whose *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* contains all the knowledge that would be necessary for a *kātib* assuming important responsibilities: cosmography, zoology, botany, ethics, history. The materials gathered were summarised and methodically arranged according to an Islamic conception of the world, but in a form that was both literary and practical. Then comes Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (700-49/1301-49 [*q.v.*], author of the *Masālik al-abṣār*, which seems to be intended on the whole for men of culture and constitutes a geographico-historical encyclopaedia containing a cosmography and information of a religious, juridical, political and administrative character. In spite of evident differences, it is tempting to liken the *Masālik* to the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* of al-Ḳazwīnī (see above), who describes the celestial and earthly worlds by borrowing extensively, like al-ʿUmarī, from his predecessors. The last encyclopaedist to be mentioned is al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418 [*q.v.*]), whose huge *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* really places at the disposal of its users all that a good secretary could need to know in order to be able to acquit himself perfectly in his profession as writer in the chancellery (*ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*). In his highly suggestive article on *Les classiques du scribe égyptien* (in *SI*, xviii [1963], 41-80), G. Wiet reproduces the classification of the sciences adopted by al-Ḳalḳashandī: I. Belles lettres (lexicography; morphology; grammar; style; rhetoric; the science of tropes; metrics; rhyme; calligraphy; Ḳurʾān reading). II. Sciences of the law (Ḳurʾān; Sunna; law, etc.). III. Physical sciences (medicine; veterinary skill; falconry; physiognomy; oneiromancy; astrology; magic; talismans; conjuring; alchemy; agriculture; geomancy). IV. Geometry (construction methods; optics; mirrors; centre of gravity; surveying; water-catchment; mechanisms for hoisting objects; water-clocks; engines of war; pneumatic machines). V. Astronomy (astronomical tables; projection of the sphere on a flat surface; sundials). IV. Arithmetic (arithmetic properly so-called; algebra, abacuses, etc.). VII. Practical sciences (politics; ethics; domestic economy). Although these notions did not all undergo considerable development, al-Ḳalḳashandī's encyclopaedia proves that in spite of the reversals experienced by the Islamic world, Arabic culture had lost nothing of its richness in books, but it had exhausted itself since the already distant age of its great prosperity and it was scarcely able to make any more obvious progress. The information gathered scarcely bears, in relation to the preceding centuries, any new features, owing much more to the march of history than to a calculated concern for enrichment.

Thus we have to pass over those authors whose total

work has an encyclopaedic aspect, as for example, al-Suyūṭī (849-911/1445-1505 [*q.v.*]), in order to arrive at the Turk Ṭā*sh*köprüzāde (901-68/1495-1561 [*q.v.*]) who, through his encyclopaedia of arts and letters written in Arabic and then translated into Turkish, aimed to put at the disposal of his compatriots a summary of the knowledge possessed by the Arabic-speakers.

Then we have to wait until the second half of the 19th century in order to encounter the first attempt made in the Near East to offer the educated public a working instrument and reference work meeting modern scientific criteria, the *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif* published in Beirut from 1876 by Buṭrus al-Bustānī and continued by other members of his family [see AL-BUSTĀNĪ in Suppl.]. This encyclopaedia was resumed on a larger scale, from 1956, by F. E. al-Bustānī, who enlisted the collaboration of specialists from all disciplines; the new *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif* is only distinguishable from Western encyclopaedias by language and the place legitimately occupied by the Arabs.

Finally, we should remark that the word *mawsūʿa* has been used correctly to describe dictionaries of a technical nature, such as *al-Mawsūʿa fī ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿa* of E. Ghaleb (Beirut 1965), and also some collections in which each fascicule is devoted to a particular subject, such as *al-Mawsūʿa al-ṣa*g*hīra* published in Ba*gh*dād, which is a "cultural, bi-monthly series dealing with sciences, arts and letters". For example, it contains some studies on "philosophical thought among the Arabs", as well as on "the petrochemical industries and the future of Arab oil".

Bibliography: Apart from the *EI* notices relating to the authors cited, see A. Zaki, *Études bibliographiques sur les encyclopédies arabes*, Būlāḳ 1308 (not seen); Ch. Pellat, *Les encyclopédies dans le monde arabe*, in *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale/Journal of World History/Cuadernos de historia mundial*, UNESCO, ix/3 (1966), 631-58; R. Blachère, *Quelques réflexions sur les formes de l'encyclopédisme en Égypte et en Syrie du VIIIe/XIVe siècle à la fin du IXe/XVe siècle*, in *BEO Damas*, xxiii (1970), 7-19, repr. in R. Blachère, *Analecta*, Damascus 1975, 521-40. For a comparison with the composition of encyclopaedias in Antiquity and the Middle Ages as well as in India and China, see the issue of *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* cited above. (CH. PELLAT)

2. In Persian.

Persian writings of an encyclopaedic character begin to appear about a century after the constituting of Persian as a language of culture. From then onwards they were to enjoy an important florescence until a late date, as much in India as in Persia. According to their contents, they can be divided into different groups. Here, only the major works will be mentioned; for an exhaustive examination of this genre, including the old translations into Persian, see the Persian manuscript catalogues (A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nus*kh*a-hā-yi* kh*aṭṭī-yi fārsī*, i, Tehran 1348/1969, ch. 9; idem, *Fihrist-i nus*kh*a-hā-yi* kh*aṭṭī-yi kitāb*kh*āna-yi Gan*dj*ibakhsh*, i, Islāmābād 1979, ch. 10; Storey, ii, section F; etc.). One should also consult Ž. Vesel, *Les encyclopédies persanes. Essai de typologie et de classification des sciences*, Paris 1986.

The first Persian encyclopaedia of philosophy is Ibn Sīnā's *Dāni*sh*-nāma-yi ʿAlāʾī*, composed between 414-28/1023-37 for the Kākūyid ruler of Iṣfahān ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad b. Du*sh*manziyār. This is a compendium of the Aristotelian speculative sciences laid out here in an order different from that of the *Shifāʾ* and the *Na*dj*āt*: logic, metaphysics, physics and mathematics. The final section, which includes geometry, astronomy, arithmetic and music, was put together on the basis of the Arabic works of Ibn Sīnā and after his death, by his disciple and biographer al-Djuzdjānī. The *Dāni*sh*-nāma*, in which Ibn Sīnā sets forth the hierarchy of the Aristotelian sciences and for the first time elaborates in Persian a vocabulary of philosophical concepts, exercised a great influence on Persian authors (partial edn., *Abū ʿAlī Sīnā, Dāni*sh*-nāma-yi ʿAlāʾī (manṭiḳ, ilāhiyyāt, ṭabīʿiyyāt)*, ed. M. Mi*sh*kat and M. Muʿīn, 3 vols.², Tehran 1353/1974; a tr. of the whole text by M. Achena and H. Massé, *Avicenne, Le livre de science*, Paris 1986, 2nd. edn. revised and corrected by M. Achena). Another encyclopaedia of philosophy of great importance is the *Durrat al-tā*dj* li-*gh*urrat al-Dībā*dj of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn *Sh*īrāzī [*q.v.*], written between 693-705/1294-1306 for the prince of Gīlān Dībādj b. Fil*sh*āh (ed. Mi*sh*kat, 2 vols., Tehran 1317-209/1938-41). In this, the author deals successively with logic, with the first philosophy (*al-falsafa al-ūlā*), with physics, with mathematics (the *quadrivium*) and with metaphysics. In an epilogue, he starts on Islamic theology, practical philosophy (*ḥikmat-i ʿamalī*) and Ṣūfism. The author was a philosopher, mathematician and astronomer who had worked, between 658-63/1259-64, at the Marā*gh*a observatory under the direction of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], and he devoted a large part of his encyclopaedia to the mathematical sciences. Both these encyclopaedias represent a compilation of the Arabic sources for the use of Persian, non-Arabic speaking rulers (for the relationship of the *Dāni*sh*-nāma* and Ibn Sīnā's Arabic works, see *EIr* art. *Avicenna*. xi, by Achena; and for a survey of the Arabic sources of the *Durra*, see Mi*sh*kat's introd., i, pp. xl-xliii).

The Persian encyclopaedias of the religious sciences are relatively numerous. In these, the Islamic religious sciences, including Ṣūfism, have the outstanding role. Following the répertoire of the traditional sciences, the Arabic literary and linguistic sciences and history might be joined with them, and occasionally, the philosophical and such strictly speaking scientific topics like medicine and calculation, as well as the occult sciences, might also figure there. There is frequent allusion to the works of al-*Gh*azālī and Fa*kh*r al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Some authors tackle on a wider scale all the subjects capable of guiding the believer. As a result of this, one often finds chapters on moral and ethical topics drawn from the Persian cultural heritage. Two anonymous works of the 6th/12th century, the *Yawāḳīt al-ʿulūm wa-darārī 'l-nu*dj*ūm* (ed. M. T. Dāni*sh*-Pa*zh*ūh, Tehran 1345/1956) and the *Baḥr al-fawāʾid* (ed. idem, Tehran 1345/1956), give a conspectus of the varied contents of this type of encyclopaedia in the Persia of the pre-Mongol period.

The encyclopaedias of the natural sciences are extremely varied. In general, it is a question of popular compositions put together with a didactic aim, for amusement or to provide a "book of recipes". The authors may treat of Aristotelian physics in the wide sense, beginning with a description of the heavens and ending with the three kingdoms of nature. According to the classification of the sciences in use in the mediaeval Persian world, physics subsumes moreover a great number of subordinate sciences (*furūʿ*). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (cf. Munzawī, *Fihrist ... fārsī*, 689-91; Storey, ii, section D, 129-31) and *Gh*iyā*th* al-Dīn Iṣfahānī (cf. *ibid.*, 357-8) fall into this category. The "books of marvels", such as Muḥammad Ṭūsī's

ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūkāt (see B. Radtke, in Isl., lxiv [1987], 278-88), written in the second half of the 6th/12th century (ed. M. Sutūda, Tehran 1345/1956), similarly adopted this structure broadly speaking. However, sometimes only the three realms of nature are treated, especially when it is a question of the "special properties of things" (khawāṣṣ al-ashyāʾ) used in popular medicine and in occult practices. One example is the *Farrukh-nāma-yi Djamālī* of Abū Bakr Djamālī Yazdī (ed. I. Afshār, Tehran 1346/1957), put together in 580/1185 with the aim of "completing" the *Nuzhat-nāma* (see below). On the other hand, one may have encyclopaedias concerned with divers scientific subjects with a high proportion of subject-matter belonging to physics in the widest sense. A typical example is the *Nuzhat-nāma-yi ʿAlāʾī* of Shahmardān b. Abi 'l-Khayr al-Rāzī (ed. F. Djahānpur, Tehran 1362/1973), written between 506-13/1113-20 for the Kākūyid ruler of Yazd ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Bā Kālīdjār Garshāsp with the aim of amusing. Another work of this type is the *Nawādir al-tabādur li-tuḥfat al-Bahādur* of Shams al-Dīn Dunaysirī (ed. Afshār and Dānish-Pazhūh, Tehran 1350/1971), composed in 699/1299-1300 for an unknown dedicatee. The encyclopaedias of the natural sciences are very revelatory of the spread of scientific knowledge in mediaeval Persia and are an important source for our knowledge of occult practices and technological questions.

The first Persian encyclopaedia in the narrow sense of the term was that of the Ashʿarī theologian Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 606/1210 [*q.v.*]). His *Djāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, also known as the *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-anwār* or *Kitāb-i Sittīnī* and containing sixty sciences (for the different versions, see Munzawī, *op. cit.*, 656-7; Storey, ii, 351-2), was written in 574-5/1179 for the ruler of Khwārazm ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tekesh (facs. edn. of 1906 Bombay lith. by M. Tasbīḥī, Tehran 1346/1967). Rāzī says explicitly in his introduction that he has gathered together there all the sciences of his age in order to establish a répertoire for scholars at the court to use. He begins his work by an exposition of the traditional sciences (*ʿulūm-i naḳlī*) in the following order: Islamic religious sciences, Arabic literary and linguistic sciences, and history. He links this up with an exposition of the Aristotelian rational sciences (*ʿulūm-i ʿaḳlī*); logic, physics, mathematics and metaphysics. A large number of subordinate sciences figure in the framework of physics and mathematics: the medical sciences, the occult ones, technological questions, etc. Then comes an exposition of practical philosophy (ethics, politics, domestic economy). The work's conclusion is devoted to the religious practices, the conduct of rulers (*ādāb al-mulūk*) and to a description of the game of chess.

Comparable to the *Djāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, but more important in its greater size, is the *Nafāʾis al-funūn fī ʿarāʾis al-ʿuyūn* of Shams al-Dīn Āmulī (ed. A. Ḥ. Shaʿrānī, Tehran 1377 AH, 3 vols.). The author was a *mudarris* in Sulṭāniyya under Öldjeytü. His encyclopaedia covers 160 sciences and was put together for the Indjūʾid prince of Shīrāz Abū Isḥāḳ, representing a real climax to the genre by the elegance of its form and the exhaustiveness of its content. Āmulī adopts the same principle for his exposition as Rāzī, dealing first of all with the traditional sciences "originating in Islam" (*ʿulūm-i awākhir*) and then with the philosophical sciences "coming into existence before Islam" (*ʿulūm-i awāʾil*; cf. *Nafāʾis*, i, 16). It does, however, contain some innovations in regard to Rāzī. The internal order of the two main sections is put together differently; a chapter on Ṣūfism appears among the traditional sciences; and the range of the subordinate sciences of physics and mathematics is richer than that of the *Djāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*. Both these encyclopaedias enjoyed wide popularity, and two Persian encyclopaedists tried later to imitate them: Ḥusayn ʿAḳīlī Rustamdārī in his *Riyāḍ al-abrār*, written in 979/1571 (cf. Munzawī, *op. cit.*, 669; Storey, ii, 359), and Muḥammad Fāḍil Samarḳandī in his *Djawāhir al-ʿulūm-i humāyūnī* written in *ca.* 962/1555 (cf. Storey, ii, 358-9). An interesting example of the evolution of the Persian encyclopaedia is provided by Wādjid ʿAlī Khān's *Maṭlaʿ al-ʿulūm wa-madjmaʿ al-funūn*, written in 1261-2/1845-6 (cf. Storey, ii, 366-7).

For other types of encyclopaedic writing in Persian, whether of a specialised nature or from the sphere of *adab* works, see the catalogues of Munzawī, Storey, etc. But regarding the question of the originality of this literature in relation to the Arabic models by which it was largely inspired, this work of evaluation still remains to be done for the majority of the texts.

Bibliography : Given in the text.

(Ž. Vesel)

3. In Turkish. (see Supplement].

4. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, First edition.

The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* owes its existence to the renewed interest in Islam and the Islamic peoples which manifested itself in Europe at the turn of the twentieth century. The idea of such an enterprise, however, dates from a much earlier period. Already in 1697 the French Orientalist Barthélemi d'Herbelot had published in Paris the *Bibliothèque Orientale ou dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des Peuples de l'Orient* (see H. Laurens, *Aux sources de l'Orientalisme, la* Bibliothèque Orientale *de Barthélemi d'Herbelot.* Publications du Département d'Islamologie de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), vi, Paris 1978). It was to be followed by other classics like the *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif* (1876-98) of the Bustānī family [*q.v.* in Suppl.], T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam* (London 1885, 2nd ed. 1896), and W. Beale, *An oriental biographical dictionary* (Calcutta 1881, 2nd ed. by H. G. Keene, 1894). But these publications, notwithstanding their merits, could no longer satisfy the European general public interested in things Islamic, let alone the European scholars.

Around 1890, Messrs. Trübner in Strassburg envisaged a series of monographs on Semitic philology, in the same way as they had done for Iranian and Indian philology. However, the plan could not be carried out because of the untimely death in 1892 of A. Müller, to whom the work had been confided (see *ZDMG*, xlvi [1892], 778).

In the same year 1892, at the International Congress of Orientalists in London (see *Transactions of the IXth International Congress of Orientalists*, i, p. xxxviii), W. Robertson Smith proposed the idea of an *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. The initiative of the man who may be considered as the *auctor intellectualis* of the enterprise was accepted by the members attending the Congress, and an international committee of twelve members was established.

At the International Congress of Orientalists held in Geneva in 1894, it was clear that no progress had been made, the more so because Robertson Smith had meanwhile died. I. Goldziher then proposed to put the direction of the enterprise in the hands of M. J. de Goeje. When the latter declined, the Hungarian orientalist found himself charged with the organisation of *the Encyclopaedia of Islam* (see *Transactions of the IXth International Congress of Orientalists*, 1st part, 105, 1305). However, to the dismay of all those who con-

sidered him as the man able to realise the idea, Goldziher handed in his resignation at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in 1897 (see *Transactions*, 1897, Bulletin no. 11; *ZDMG*, li [1897], 766).

One of the reasons brought forward by Goldziher for his resignation was the decision, taken meanwhile, to have the work printed in Leiden. Consequently, he opined, the editor should reside in Holland. The scientific advisor of Messrs. Brill, Dr. P. Herzsohn, had already started assembling a certain number of entries. A specimen was published in 1897 under the title *Erste Sammlung von Stichwoertern für eine Encyclopaedia des Islâms. Mit orientierenden Bemerkungen. Gedruckt als Manuscript, mit Vorbehalt einer hier und da noch auszuführenden genaueren Verification*, pp. 63, 8°.

At De Goeje's request, Professor Houtsma, notwithstanding a certain scepticism, accepted to replace Goldziher "because I knew to what trouble De Goeje was going to realise the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*".

In 1897 a new international committee had been appointed in Paris, consisting of A. C. Barbier de Meynard (Paris), E. G. Browne (Cambridge), I. Goldziher (Budapest), M. J. de Goeje (Leiden), I. Guidi (Rome), J. Karabacek (Vienna), C. Landberg (Tübzing), V. von Rosen (St. Petersburg), A. Socin (Leipzig) and F. de Stoppelaar (Leiden).

In order to get some idea of the readiness of his colleagues to collaborate, Houtsma asked several of them what kind of articles they were ready to write, and invited them to send one or more articles in order to have them printed at Brill's and to submit them to the opinion of the experts. The answers were positive, and in 1899 Houtsma was able to publish a *Specimen of a Muslim Encyclopaedia by a number of Orientalists*. It consisted of several monographs, arranged alphabetically and written in English, French and German by sixteen future collaborators. In the Preface, Houtsma remarks that no agreement had as yet been reached about the language in which the *Encyclopaedia* was to be published. In the same year 1899, Goldziher presented this *Specimen* to the members of the Committee present at the xiii[th] International Congress of Orientalists in Rome (see *Acta*, i, pp. clxxix ff.), who accepted it favourably. While waiting for the resolution of the financial problems, Houtsma and Herzsohn were correcting and completing the list of entries.

At the first session of the recently-founded International Association of Academies (Paris 1901), a proposition of the Academies of Leipzig, Munich and Vienna for the publication of an *Encyclopaedia of Islam* was admitted into the working plan, after approval by the literary section. Under the presidency of De Goeje, a Committee was appointed in order to study the project of the enterprise, and Houtsma was charged with the editorship. The Committee consisted of Goldziher, Browne, Barbier de Meynard, Von Rosen, Guidi, Karabacek (all already appointed at the Paris Congress of 1897), and Chauvin (Brussels Academy), Buhl (Copenhagen Academy) and Fischer (Leipzig Academy, Socin having died in 1899).

A smaller Committee, consisting of De Goeje, Goldziher and Karabacek, was charged with drafting by-laws, which were completed in 1902. The costs were calculated at 140,000-150,000 marks for ten years. Financial support was promised by the Academies of Amsterdam, Budapest, Christiania, Copenhagen, Lisbon, Madrid, Munich, St. Petersburg, Vienna, the Academy of Saxony, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, the Reale Accademia dei Lincei, the Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, the British Academy, the Dutch Colonial Government, the Italian Government, the Dutch Company of Commerce in Amsterdam, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, the Senate and municipal council of Hamburg, the Egyptian Government, the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore, the Theological Seminary of Hartford, Mr. C. R. Crane in Chicago, the Ministère Français de l'Éducation, the American Oriental Society, the American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions, and the Résidence Générale de France au Maroc. In general, subventions were promised for several years, but in some cases a single gift was granted. The amount of the subventions and gifts was very unequal, and not all subventions were granted immediately; some were only allowed for 1906, 1908 or 1909, others for 1910, 1911 or 1912.

Before the actual printing could start, two other questions had to be solved, that of orthography and that of the language. As for the orthography of Arabic, Persian, Turkish and other Oriental terms, it was decided to follow broadly the one which the Geneva Congress had deemed admissible. The question in which language the articles should be published was more difficult to solve. In the *Specimen*, the articles had appeared in English, French and German, but it seemed undesirable to let the *Encyclopaedia* have such a polyglot appearance. On the other hand, certain subventions had been granted under the express condition that the *EI* should be published in the language of the giver. One of the direct consequences of the decision to publish the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* in English, French and German was that the articles had to appear under headings in oriental languages, generally in Arabic. Furthermore, three separate editions would very probably triple the costs, because the project thus was going to take much more time than the foreseen ten years. Finally, it was necessary to assign an English, French and German editor to assist Houtsma, the editor-in-chief.

In 1906, M. Seligsohn and A. Schaade, who had been meanwhile appointed, arrived in Leiden. The first fascicule, published in 1908, was severely criticised in England, France and also in Leiden because of the rather low standard of Seligsohn's translations of German articles. Nor was the American orthography acceptable on the other side of the North Sea. After the death of De Goeje in 1909, Seligsohn resigned, followed by Schaade a year later. For the latter, R. Hartmann was appointed, but the post of Seligsohn remained vacant: it was practically impossible to find a qualified Orientalist who was able to deal satisfactorily with the three languages. Only after T. W. Arnold of London and R. Basset of Algiers had assumed the editorship of the English and French editions (without remuneration), did the enterprise make good progress. In 1913 the first volume, comprising the letters A-D, was completed. Hartmann, who resigned in the same year, was replaced by H. Bauer. As president of the Executive Committee, De Goeje had been succeeded by Chr. Snouck Hurgronje, who had been able to redress the financial position.

As for the editorial work, Houtsma may be quoted. "Apart from a few exceptions, my collaborators are all Christians, and belong to quite different peoples. It is the Editor's task to maintain the scientific and neutral character of the work on a high and impartial level, and to be very careful not to entrust articles to incompetent hands. On the other hand, a scholar whose scientific qualities are above all suspicion, can-

not be refused the right to publish in all liberty the results of his research, even if occasionally they are provocative. That is "why", remarks Houtsma in a note, "the articles of H. Lammens have been accepted, although personally I can in no way agree with their spirit and tendency. Therefore, from the very beginning, every article of a certain importance has been signed by the author, in order not to extend the responsibility of the Editors beyond what can be reasonably expected".

Houtsma also remarks that he took upon himself the editing of articles which he considered less important but which, on the other hand, could not be left out. He published them without signature, considering that the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is not primarily a collection of basic monographs on a particular subject, but should be a mirror of the progress of research, in such a way that the Orientalist scholar finds rather an impulse there to further research.

In 1922, Bauer handed in his resignation, and Schaade resumed his activities for the *EI*. At the death of R. Basset in 1924, his son H. Basset was found ready to continue temporarily the work of his father. In 1924, following a decision of the Royal Academy of the Netherlands, Professor A. J. Wensinck became editor-in-chief. The publication of the last volume S-Z was started, while work on the letter K was continued. At the death of H. Basset in 1926, his task was taken over by E. Lévi-Provençal and when, in the same year, Schaade handed in his resignation, he was replaced by W. Heffening.

After the death of Arnold in 1929, the editing of the English edition was ensured by Professor H. A. R. Gibb, and afterwards the Editorial Committee remained unchanged until the completion of the *EI* and its Supplements in 1939. As has been said above, from 1924 onwards two volumes were being prepared at the same time. Volume II (E-K) was published in 1927, volume IV (S-Z) in 1934, and volume III (L-R) in 1936.

After 1934, the Editors also envisaged an Index which should contain all names of persons, tribes, clans, the geographical names, etc., which appear in one way or another in the articles. With the help of a few collaborators, Heffening compiled a card index, based on the first three volumes. Unfortunately, the 1939 War put an end to his work.

A final point of the history of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is the *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, begun by Wensinck in 1937. This compendium of articles from the *Encyclopaedia* was to consist of one volume only, containing articles which treat Islam as a religion. However, in many cases it was necessary to complete the bibliography. Besides, some new articles were added while others, considered obsolete, were replaced. After the death of Wensinck in 1939, Professor J. H. Kramers was charged with the work of editing. Because of the financial position, it was decided to finish the German text first, and to shorten some articles, without however reducing their value. Thus in 1941, the *Handwörterbuch des Islam* was published. The change of the title was justified by the fact that quotation from two editions whose titles would practically be identical, might lead to confusion. A German index was added, and the differences with the complete Encyclopaedia indicated.

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(E. van Donzel)

MAWT (a.) is the term employed in Arabic to express the actual notion of death, while synonyms such as *maniyya* and its variant *manūn*, *radā*, *halāk*, *ḥimām*, *ḥayn* and *bilā* convey particular connotations and are less frequently used and regarded as more literary. The term for death *wafāt*, more exactly "accomplishment, fulfilment", i.e. of a man's term of life, is in origin Ḳurʾānic, and stems from the use in the early Medinan period of the verb *tawaffā* for describing how God brings to its close a man's foreordained period of life and gathers the man to Himself; hence the use of the passive form of this verb *tuwuffiya* "his term was brought to an end [by God]" = "he died". The idea behind the use of this verb is closely connected with the use in the Ḳurʾān of other verbs like *ḳaddara* and *ḳaḍā* which carry the sense of God's predetermining a man's lifespan or executing His decree concerning a man's term of life (see T. O'Shaughnessy, *Muhammad's thoughts on death*, Leiden 1969, 37 ff.). In modern Arabic, *wafāt* has a more delicate and euphemistic sense than the stark word *mawt*, something like Eng. "demise, decease" and Fr. "décès", with *al-mutawaffā* therefore meaning "the deceased". The same distinction is made in Turkish between the bald *ölüm* "death" and *wafāt*, modern Turkish *vefat*, and in Persian between *marg* and *wafāt* and such terms as *fawt* (A., literally "passing away, disappearing").

The conception of death held by the Arabs prior to the advent of Islam was deeply rooted in the animist beliefs inherited from their distant past. Taken to be a manifestation of disruptive action on the part of *dahr* [*q.v.*] "time-destiny", death was considered the specific destiny of the animate world, a concept uniting humans and animals as opposed to the physical world, inanimate and therefore imperishable. It was defined, in these terms, as the extinction of the vital spirit which animates beings endowed with life, as the separation of the body and the organic soul. As it is known that the residences most frequently attributed to a man's "double" are the blood and the breath, it may be understood how the Arabs could believe that in the case of violent death, the double (*ḳarīna*) is released through the flowing of the blood and that, in the case of "natural" death, it escapes through the nose; hence the expression *māta ḥatfa anfihi*.

Furthermore, while it is accepted, as stressed by the Ḳurʾān, that the ancient Arabs had no conception either of the resurrection of the dead or of life in the Beyond, they seem nevertheless to have believed in the survival of the dead. Two terms which evoke wandering and thirst, *hāma* and *ṣadā*, denote these spirits of the dead. But, unlike other Semitic peoples, such as the Hebrews for example (cf. A. Lods, *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite*, Paris 1906), the ancient Arabs did not entertain the idea of a special world of the dead, a world of shadows and of gloom. In addition, for them it was inconceivable that their dead might be disgraced.

Only the spirits of the dead deprived of burial and those whose blood had not been avenged were left to wander, thirsting, in desert lands. To abandon its dead to such a destiny was considered the worst ignominy that could befall a tribe. By vengeance in cases of murder and by the scrupulous observance of funeral rites and of burial in particular, the Arabs preserved their dead from such a fate and their society from such a disgrace. Their essential preoccupation was to re-affirm with respect to their dead the validity and permanence of tribal solidarity. But, while doing this, did they not also seek to assure themselves of the protection of these dead?

The existence of a cult of the dead among the ancient Arabs is a much debated question (see in particular: I. Goldziher, *Le culte des ancêtres et le culte des morts chez les Arabes*, Fr. tr., Paris 1885; Lods, *op.cit.*; H. Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut 1928, 151 f.). In spite of differing opinions and the scarcity of reference documents, it seems probable that the Arabs did, at one point in their history, practise the cult of the dead. But this cult, which belongs, as Lods emphasises, to "an inferior stage of religion", seems, in the period immediately before Islam, to have completely disappeared under the combined impact of the sedentarisation of the tribes and the emergence of polytheism. Only the rites rendered to the deceased immediately after death (washing of corpses, mourning and interment) were perpetuated. The other rites, such as sacrifice or offering, were reserved for the gods. (On the funeral rites and their significance, see M. Abdesselem, *Le thème de la mort dans la poésie arabe, des origines à la fin du III/IX siècle*, Tunis 1977, ch. ii).

But this ancient cult of the dead has, by extending beyond death the fulfilment of the duty of tribal solidarity, contributed to the sanctification of blood lineage, thus giving solid foundations to the social system of the Arabs and perpetuating, over the generations, the same moral ideal (cf. B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris, and ʿIRḌ). This ideal enables the Arab to contemplate death without fear and to place the preservation of his honour and the honour of his group above the preservation of his life. This is clearly shown in the themes developed in pre-Islamic poetry and especially in the eulogistic nature of the dirges [see MARTHIYA. 1].

Islam was to appeal to the Arabs to adopt a radically different conception of death. This conception results from a new definition of the soul and of life. According to the Ḳurʾān, man is moved by two distinct principles, one thinking and the other vital: *nafs* and *rūḥ* (see R. Blachère, *Note sur le substantif "nafs"*, in *Semitica*, i [1948], 71). *Nafs* has the sense of "self" in its most conscious and permanent state. *Rūḥ* is the principle of life which proceeds from God and is enlivened and given substance by Him.

Birth and death are divine decrees. Parents do not give life. Events are not the cause of death. These are only the intermediaries through which the will of God is realised.

This new definition of life revolutionised the metaphysical and moral conceptions of the Arabs. Life being no longer immanent, the opposition between the animate and inanimate world loses all foundation and gives way to a new conception whereby God, the creator, source of life, is opposed to everything that is not Him and which, therefore, is the creation, including the physical world whose permanence is only an illusory appearance.

On the other hand, by affirming that life proceeds from God and not from the group and that "the loins of fathers and the womb of mothers are [only] receptacles" (Ḳurʾān, VI, 98), Islam confers on the life of the individual a new significance and on his action a new perspective. First, the life of the individual becomes sacred. "Except with justice, do not kill your fellow-man whom God has declared sacred" (Ḳurʾān, XVII, 33). This is a new precept for the Arabs. Hitherto, only the blood of the group could not be spilled. Henceforward, only those who refuse to recognise the authority of God or seriously contravene His commandments may legitimately be killed. By substituting the notion of the community of faith for that of the community of blood, Islam led the Arabs to liberate themselves from the ascendancy of the clan and to take cognisance of their existence as free and responsible persons. Even though the believers are declared brothers, they are individually responsible for their actions before their judges in this world as well as before God on the final day of judgment.

The echoes of the debates which have brought into prominence these notions and the place occupied by the evocation of the afterlife and the final day of judgement in the Ḳurʾān, show to what an extent such a message would overturn the beliefs of the Arabs. Death is no longer the end of life. It is only the appointed time (*adjal*), decreed by God to conclude the period of man's testing in this world. The *post-mortem* fate of man is no longer dependent on the solidarity of the group, but on the action of the individual and the mercy of God. Eternal happiness or damnation is now the question that each person is required to ask himself and to which none can reply with certainty. This lack of certainty led the Arabs to experience a sentiment which had until then been unknown to them, anguish. This was quite clearly reflected in a new poetic genre, the *zuhdiyyāt* [*q.v.*].

Thus it was not only the beliefs of the Arabs which were revolutionised by the Ḳurʾānic message, but also their attitudes and their behaviour. It may be noted, in this context, that the funeral ceremony, the *djanāza* [*q.v.*], also underwent profound modifications. Certainly, Islam has retained some ancient practices such as the washing of the dead, the shroud and interment; but is has forbidden certain pagan rites such as lamentations or offerings and, above all, it has introduced a new obligation, the prayer for the dead which confers upon the entire funeral ceremony a radically different significance. This is no longer a glorification of the dead but an appeal for divine mercy. For an ethic of exaltation Islam has substituted a morality of humility.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(M. ABDESSELEM)

MAWWĀL [see MAWĀLIYĀ].

AL-**MAWZAʿĪ**, SHAMS AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-ṢAMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL B. ʿABD AL-ṢAMAD (d. after 1031/1621), the author of an important independent chronicle of early Ottoman Yemen to 1031/1621-2, particularly of the south and of the city of Taʿizz. As his *nisba*, al-Mawzaʿī (mistakenly given as al-Manzilī in Brockelmann, S II, 550), indicates, the family originated in the Tihāma town of Mawzaʿ, south of Zabīd; but his residence was at Taʿizz, where, like his father before him, he served as a Shāfiʿī magistrate and teacher. Being a prominent member of the town's Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ*, and closely connected with the region's Ottoman officials, it is not surprising that his chronicle, *al-Iḥsān fī dukhūl mamlakat al-Yaman taḥt ẓill ʿadālat āl ʿUthmān*, which for the later period is rich in precise details, is sympathetic in tone to the Turks and hostile to the Zaydī *imāms*. It is difficult to determine how much, if any, of the work's

content was contributed by the author's father who, it is disclosed, planned a similar chronicle before his death.

Bibliography: As al-Mawzaʿī's name appears in none of the known biographical and other source books for the area and era, we have to rely on what he reveals about himself in his chronicle, and this has been summarised by Muṣṭafā Sālim, *al-Muʾarrikhūn al-Yamaniyyūn*, Cairo 1971, 55-63. For the mss. of *al-Iḥsān* (in particular Paris 5973), consult A. F. Sayyid, *Maṣādir taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1974, 225-6. See also F. Babinger, *GOW*, 150-1.

(J. R. Blackburn)

MAWZŪNA [see sikka].

MAYBUD, a small town in the *shahrastān* of Ardakān [*q.v.*] in the modern Persian *ustān* or province of Yazd, situated 32 miles/48 km. to the north-west of Yazd. The mediaeval geographers (e.g. Ibn Ḥawḳal², 263, 287, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 260, 281; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 29, § 29.45; Le Strange, *Lands*, 285) describe it as being on the Iṣfahān-Yazd road, 10 *farsakhs* from Yazd. Lying as it does on the southern fringe of the Great Desert, its irrigation comes from *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] (see Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*¹, 219). Its population in *ca.* 1950 was 3,798.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, x, 190.

(C. E. Bosworth)

al-**MAYBUDĪ**, the *nisba* of two scholars from the small town of Maybud [*q.v.*] near Yazd in Persia and also of a vizier of the Great Saldjūḳs.

1. Rashīd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, author of an extensive Ḳurʾān commentary in Persian, begun in 520/1126, the *Kashf al-asrār wa-ʿuddat al-abrār*, extant in several mss.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 1190-1; Storey-Bregel, i, 110-11; and on the *nisba* in general, al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, f. 547b.

2. Mīr Ḥusayn b. Muʿīn al-Dīn al-Manṭiḳī, pupil of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī [*q.v.*], *ḳāḍī* and philosopher, author of several works on philosophy and logic, including a *Mukhtaṣar maḳāṣid ḥikmat falāsifat al-ʿArab* and a popular textbook on philosophy, the *Hidāya*, executed by the militant Shīʿī Shāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*] for his strongly-held Sunnī views in 909/1503-4 (Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārikh*, ed. C. N. Seddon, i, Baroda 1931, 82), *pace* the date of *ca.* 904/1498 in Brockelmann, S II, 294.

Bibliography: Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, iv, 57; Brockelmann, II², 272, S II, 294.

3. Khaṭīr al-Mulk Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, first mentioned as vizier to the Saldjūḳ sultan Berk-yaruḳ in 495/1101; then as *mustawfī* to Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh in 500/1106-7 and as vizier in 504/1110-1; and finally as *ṭughrāʾī* to Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh in 512/1118-19, till he was demoted to the post of a provincial vizier in Fārs to the prince Saldjūḳ-Shāh b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh. Khaṭīr al-Mulk seems to have been a mediocre public servant. Anūshīrwān b. Khālid [*q.v.*] was deputy vizier under him during Muḥammad's reign; his relations with him became bad, and he comments unfavourably on Khaṭīr al-Mulk's woeful ignorance of the Ḳurʾān and of the Arabic language, he being a Persian (Bundārī, 104).

Bibliography: Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*; Zambauer, *Manuel*, 224; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Wizārat dar ʿahd-i salāṭīn-i buzurg-i saldjūḳī*, Tehran 1338/1959, 150-4; C. L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vezirate, a study of civil administration 1055-1194*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, index.

(C. E. Bosworth)

MAYDĀN (a., pl. *mayādīn*), masculine noun denoting a large, open, demarcated area, flat and generally rectangular, designed for all kinds of equestrian activity. Arab philologists and lexicographers have differing opinions regarding the root to which *maydān* should be attributed. For al-Zamakhsharī, this term is derived from the root *w-d-n* since, as he explains (*Asās al-balāgha*), the horses "are flogged there severely" (*tūdan bi-hi*). For others, this is the paradigm *faʿlān* from the root *m-y-d* with the sense of urging and manoeuvring of horses. For others, finally, the same paradigm *faʿlān* is allegedly drawn from the root *m-d-y* with metathesis of the last two consonants, *maydān* taking the place of *madyān* with the sense of "pushing to the limit", since the horses perform there to the limits of their strength. Of these three propositions, it seems the attribution of *maydān* to the root *m-y-d* is the most plausible.

According to the sporting activities which took place there, the *maydān* represented the hippodrome or race course (*ḥalba*) when used for horse races (*sibāḳ*), the ring or display ground for equestrian manoeuvres and exercises, the arena or lists for mock-battles, jousts and symbolic armed tournaments between the mounted groups, and the pitch for the ancient and traditional games of polo and "lacrosse", *ṣawladjān*, *čawgān* [*q.v.*] and *djerīd* [*q.v.*] or *burdjās*/*birdjās*. In his *Khiṭaṭ*, al-Maḳrīzī relates, with regard to the ancient site of Santaria in the Oasis district of Egypt, that its founder, the Coptic king Minaḳiyūsh, also founder of the town of Akhmīm [*q.v.*], was the first to construct *maydāns* for the equestrian training of his courtiers; in its use as a drill-ground, the *maydān* soon became indispensable for the training of cavalry, a military element which grew considerably in importance with the rise of Islam.

When not engaged in military campaigns, the Muslim trooper (*djundī*) spent much of his time on the *maydān*, perfecting his skills in mounted archery, shooting either at a target (*burdjās*) placed at the top of a lance or at "gourd-shooting" (*ḳabaḳ*) suspended from the end of a long spar; this latter exercise, introduced by the Turks, became the object of keen competitions. Shooting of the style known as *ulkī* (Turkish *ülkü*) at a large target (*hadaf tamām*) placed at long distance (*maydān ṭawīl*), and with arrows of a specified pattern called *maydānī*, required archers capable of a range of 200 metres and more. Short-range precision shooting (*ulkī ḳaṣīr*) was aimed at a small target at a distance of no more than 70 metres. Pure long-distance shooting without a target (*niḍāl*) was practised only at a fairly late stage by the sultans. To the north of Istanbul there still exists the Ok Meydanı "field of the arrow" founded by sultan Meḥemmed II (855-86/1451-81), at the end of which stand some twenty commemorative plaques marking the record distances achieved since this period; thus it is known that in 1213/1798 sultan Selīm III shot an arrow to a distance of almost 900 metres. It was also at a late stage that there was practised, on the *maydān*, shooting with the crossbow, at a target, with bolts and quarrels.

All these sporting activities had, in fact, no object other than military training, and every town with a Muslim garrison of any importance had one or more *maydāns*; al-Fīrūzābādī mentions in this context (*al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, s.v.) those of Nīshāpūr, Iṣfahān, Khwārazm and Baghdād. In the last-named, the first *maydān*, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, tr. Wiet, 37, 41), extended along the left bank of the Tigris, near the palace of the vizier al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ [*q.v.*].

Under the Mamlūk sultans, the construction of a *maydān* constituted a large-scale project and mobilised

a considerable labour-force; it was necessary, in effect, to level a surface of sufficient size to accommodate the manoeuvring of several hundred horsemen. Enclosures, water-conduits, shelters, stables, studs, personnel quarters, pavilions, baths and other amenities represented enormous expense, and every sultan was eager to establish his own *maydān*, neglecting those already in existence, which rapidly fell into ruin. Thus, in Cairo, during the period of the Baḥrī Mamlūks [*q.v.*], the apotheosis of "chivalry" (*furūsiyya* [*q.v.*]), there were as many as seven *maydān*s, all built between the 7th and 8th/13th-14th centuries. An eighth and last was inaugurated there by the Circassian Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī in 909/1503, but it was quickly abandoned, *furūsiyya* then being in decline as a result of the development of firearms. Sometimes, former *maydān*s were transformed into public squares or fair-grounds.

By metonymy, the term *maydān* (sometimes with the plural *mayādīn*) was applied to the exercises of mounted formations, and works devoted to *furūsiyya* present diagrams of these exercises which were performed by numerous groups of horsemen according to a well-established pattern (*tartīb al-mayādīn*). The major western riding schools, even today, give an accurate impression in public performances of the likely nature of these complex and interwoven movements of squads of troopers with their colourful banners.

In figurative usage, *maydān* evokes the confrontation of two parties, in the expressions *maydān al-ḥarb* ("field of battle"), *ṭalaba li 'l-maydān* ("challenge to combat"), *nahār al-maydān* (the day of battle). Among the Marazig of southern Tunisia, *mādān* (pl. *mwādīn*) denotes "battle", "fray" (see G. Boris, *Lexique...*, Paris 1958, s.v.).

Alongside this limited sense, *maydān* is, like the French "champ", the English "field" and the German "Feld", extended to the broad sense of "domain of activity", physical, intellectual or spiritual.

Finally, al-Maydān is the name of a locality of Fārs [*q.v.*] in the *kūra* of Sābūr, mentioned by Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (*Abrégé du Livre des Pays*, tr. H. Massé, Damascus 1973, 246).

Bibliography: Besides the references mentioned in the text, see D. Ayalon, *Notes on the Furūsiyya exercises and games in the Mamluk sultanate*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix (Jerusalem 1961), 31-62; J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson, *Saracen archery*, London 1970; L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, Paris 1927; Ibn Hudhayl al-Andalusī-L. Mercier, *La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux*, Paris 1924. (F. Viré)

AL-**MAYDĀNĪ**, Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Naysābūrī, Arab philologist, domiciled in Naysābūr in the upper part of the Maydān (square) of Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. In the cemetery of this quarter (al-Maydān) he was buried after his death on Wednesday, 25 Ramaḍān 518/5 November 1124. In his home town, his teachers were the philologists and Ḳurʾān scholars Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076), Yaʿḳūb b. Aḥmad al-Kurdī (d. 470/1078), and ʿAlī al-Mudjāshiʿī al-Farazdaḳī (d. 479/1086), who had seen much of the world. Like them, al-Maydānī was less of an original and perspicacious scholar—comparable to his famous contemporary Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zamakhsharī [see mathal. 1. In Arabic, iii, 13]—than a knowledgeable *adīb* who knew how to condense traditional lore and to arrange it in a practical and pleasing way.

Among the works of his which have been preserved or are known by their titles, his great collection of proverbs, (1) *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, is outstanding. It was created subsequent to a *madjlis* of the *kātib* Muntadjab al-Mulk Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Arslān (d. 534/1139), one of the most influential men at the court of Sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*] in Marw, at about the same time as the collection of al-Zamakhsharī (499/1106). The *Madjmaʿ* has remained the most comprehensive and most popular collection of classical Arabic proverbs up to our days (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 131; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 208). This is proved by the great number of mss. and the numerous prints; the *Madjmaʿ* is also the only collection that has been translated into a European language, to wit, into Latin by G. W. Freytag (Bonn 1838-43; see mathal. 1. In Arabic, iii, 12; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague 1954, 145-51, Arabic enlarged edition Beirut 1391/1971, 209-18; further ancient mss.: Paris [de Slane] no. 3958 [533/1138!]; Chester Beatty [Arberry], no. 3017 [586/1190]; Paris [Blochet], no. 6511 [587/1191], cf. no. 6702; Istanbul, Türk İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no. 2005 [6th/12th century]; Damat İbrahim, no. 957 [601/1204]; Munich [Aumer], no. 643 [603/1206]; Tashkent, no. 1781 [628/1230]; Brit. Mus., Suppl. [Rieu], no. 997 and Berlin [Ahlwardt], no. 8671, 2 [631/1234]; in addition, see N. M. Çetin, in *İA*, viii, 178; R. Şeşen, *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*, Beirut 1400/1980, ii, 458; etc.). In 532/1137, his pupil Yūsuf b. Ṭāhir al-Khuwayyī (Khūwī) arranged an abridged edition under the title of *Farāʾid al-kharāʾid fī 'l-amthāl wa 'l-ḥikam* (Sellheim, *op. cit.*, 145, ²209), and in 1037/1627, from this an anonymous scholar published an extract with annotations in Turkish, entitled *ʿUḳūd al-ʿuḳūl* (Vienna [Flügel], no. 343; cf. Cairo¹ [Turk. mss.], 136); a third abridgement, entitled *Muntakhab Madjmaʿ al-amthāl* (Cairo², iii, 389), originates from a certain al-Mawlā Āḳ Shams al-Dīn (10th/16th century?), and a fourth from Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī al-Bakradjī (d. 1169/1756), entitled *al-Durr al-muntakhab min amthāl al-ʿArab* (Berlin [Ahlwardt], no. 8672; Cairo², iii, 97; cf. Cairo¹ [Turk. mss.], 136). In 1079/1668, an anonymous Ottoman writer turned the *Madjmaʿ* into verse under the title *Naẓm al-amthāl* (Laleli, no. 1953; a fragment at Gotha [Pertsch], in no. 1250), and two hundred years later, the Lebanese Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab (d. 1308/1891), did this also, under the title *Farāʾid al-laʾāl fī Madjmaʿ al-amthāl* (Beirut 1312/1894). A Turkish translation by al-Sayyid al-Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Shākir b. al-Ḥādjdj Ibrāhīm Ḥilmī al-ʿAyntābī of 1294/1877 has survived in the autograph (Istanbul, Üniversite Kütüphanesi, TY, no. 167-70). Al-Maydānī's pupil Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaḳī (d. 565/1169) is the author of an original collection of proverbs which in its explanations and comments is independent of that of his teacher (see mathal. 1. In Arabic, iii, 14).

(2) *Sharḥ al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (mentioned, e.g., by Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 108). (3) *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat al-Nābigha* (Paris [Blochet], no. 6022). (4) *Sharḥ Ḳāfiyyat Ruʾba* (Sezgin, ii, 369). (5) *Munyat al-rāḍī bi-rasāʾil al-ḳāḍī*, a collection of *rasāʾil* by the *ḳāḍī* of Harāt, Manṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Harawī (d. 440/1048; Brockelmann, S I, 154 f.). (6) *Maʾwa 'l-gharīb wa-marʿā 'l-adīb* (mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, s.t.).

(7) *al-Sāmī fi 'l-asāmī*, an Arabic-Persian dictionary of common terms and words, finished in 497/1104, classified in four categories: (a) *sharʿiyyāt* (technical terms of *fiḳh*), (b) *ḥayawānāt* (animate things), (c) *ʿulwiyyāt* (celestial) and (d) *sufliyyāt* (terrestrial things). They are divided up into numerous chapters, and these, in their turn, into further not expressly

characterised sub-chapters, arranged, as a rule, according to the subjects that are treated, and not alphabetically; said to have been lithographed at Tehran 1265/1849, 1267/1851, 1272/1856, 1273 and 1274/1857, 1275/1859, 1294/1877, n.d.; Tabriz n.d.; India 1284/1867; numerous mss. (e.g. Bursa, Haraççızade/oğlu, lugat, no. 15 [565/1169; cf. H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, ii (1949), 239]; Berlin [Ahlwardt], no. 7040 [*ca.* 600/1203]; Chester Beatty [Arberry], no. 3028 [631/1233]; Topkapı Sarayı [Karatay], no. 7556 [633/1235]; Çetin, in *İA*, viii, 178 f.; Şeşen, *op. cit.*, ii, 458; Tehran, Dānishgāh [Dānish Pazhūh], no. 1338,3 [682/1283]; Storey, iii, 81f.). For this, the author composed a commentary, entitled *al-Ibāna fī sharḥ al-Sāmī fi 'l-asāmī* (mss.: Tehran, *op. cit.*, no. 1338,2 [12th/18th century]; Leiden [de Goeje-Houtsma], no. 107 [692/1293]), another one was written by Asʿad b. Masʿūd b. Khalaf al-ʿIdjlī (d. 600/1203), entitled *Sharḥ al-kalimāt al-mushkila fī kitāb al-S.* (mss.: Topkapı Sarayı[Karatay], no. 7557 [7th/13th century]; Leiden [de Goeje-Houtsma], no. 106 [692/1293]). A synopsis prepared by the author's son, Abū Saʿd Saʿīd (d. 539/1145; al-Samʿānī, *al-Taḥbīr*, Baghdād 1395/1975, i, 302-3; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii, 327; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 254, ²i, 582; cf. al-Samʿānī, fol. 548a), in the order of al-Djawharī's (d. 398/1008) *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, entitled *al-Asmāʾ fī 'l-asmāʾ* is preserved perhaps in Leiden (de Goeje-Houtsma), no. 108 (725/1325).

(8) *Ḳayd al-awābid min al-fawāʾid*, a criticism of al-Djawharī's well-known dictionary *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, mainly based on al-Azharī's (d. 370/980) *Tahdhīb al-lugha* (ms.: Berlin [Ahlwardt], no. 6942). (9) *Kitāb al-Maṣādir*, a treatise on infinitives (mentioned, e.g., by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 124); on this work, his pupil, Abū Djaʿfar al-Bayhaḳī (d. 544/1167) has, perhaps, based his *Kitāb Tādj al-maṣādir* (Brockelmann, I, 350, S I, 513; Topkapı Sarayı [Karatay], no. 7565; *RIMA*, xvii [1971], 191). The *Kitāb Gharīb*, or *Gharāʾib al-lugha*, ascribed to him by the author of the *Hadiyya*, i, 82, is likely to be a work of his son Saʿīd of the same title (cf. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xv, 199).

(10) *al-Hādī li 'l-shādī*, a syntax with Persian notes in three parts (nouns, verbs, particles), compiled after his *Kitāb al-Sāmī* (see above, no. 7); printed at Tehran 1374/1954; mss.: see e.g. Çetin, in *İA*, viii, 179; Şeşen, *op. cit.*, ii, 459 with commentary on the verses by the author (= Leiden [de Goeje-Houtsma], no. 162 [692/1293]); Storey, iii, 148. (11) *Nuzhat al-ṭarf fi 'l-ʿilm al-ṣarf*, a treatise on grammatical forms; prints: Constantinople 1299/1882; Tehran 1322/1904; Cairo 1402/1982; mss.: see e.g. Şeşen, *op. cit.*, ii, 458 f. (12) *al-Unmūdhadj fi 'l-naḥw*, and (13) *al-Naḥw al-maydānī*, two grammatical books (mentioned, e.g., by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 124). A minor grammatical treatise on (14) *ṣarf* (Paris [de Slane], no. 4000 [cf. Vajda, 599]), and another on (15) *djumūʿ* and *ḥurūf* (Leiden [de Goeje-Houtsma], no. 163; cf. Berlin [Ahlwardt], no. 7040, fol. 3a; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *op. cit.*, i, 122: *al-Hādī fi 'l-ḥurūf wa 'l-adawāt*; above, nos. 7 and 10).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Brockelmann, I, 344 f., S I, 506 f., 964 (the reference to a *Kitāb Tafṣīl al-nashʾatayn*, Carullah, no. 2078, 42v-77v, should be applied to al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, cf. Brockelmann, S I, 505-6, 9, no. 5; H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xxv [1939], 61); Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, ii, 63 f.; E. Quatremère, *Mémoires sur la vie et les ouvrages de Meïdani*, in *JA*, 2. série, i (1828), 177-233; idem, *Proverbes arabes de Meïdani*, in *JA*, 3. série, iv (1837), 497-543, v (1838), 5-44, 209-58; see MATHAL. 1. In Arabic, iii, 12; his poor biography according to ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī's (d. 529/1134) lost *Kitāb al-Siyāḳ li-taʾrīkh Naysābūr* is preserved in Istanbul, Üniversite Kütüphanesi, FY, no. 695, fol. 128b.

(R. SELLHEIM)

MAYHANA, MĪHANA, a small town of mediaeval Khurāsān, now in the USSR, situated to the east of the Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid range and on the edge of the "Marw desert", the later Ḳara Ḳum [*q.v.*], 40 miles/62 km. to the east-north-east of Ḳalʿat-i Nādirī and 60 miles/93 km. south-east of Mashhad [*q.vv.*]. In mediaeval times, it was the chief settlement of the district of Khāwarān or Khābarān which lay between Abīward and Sarakhs [*q.vv.*]; by Yāḳūt's time, Mayhana itself had largely decayed, though Mustawfī describes Khāwarān as a whole as flourishing, with good crops and cereals and fruit (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, § 23.12; Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 157-8, tr. 155; Le Strange, *Lands*, 394).

Its main historical fame is as the birthplace in 357/967 of the Ṣūfī saint and thaumaturge Abū Saʿīd Faḍl Allāh b. Abi 'l-Khayr, who alternated between residence there and in Nīshāpūr for most of his life till his death at Mayhana in 440/1049 [see ABŪ SAʿĪD B. ABI 'L-KHAYR; to the references there add F. Meier, *Abū Saʿīd-i Abū l-Ḫayr (357-440/967-1049), Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Tehran-Liège 1976]. Mustawfī quotes verses praising the *Shaykh* and other great men from Khāwarān, including the minister of the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrīl Beg, Abū ʿAlī Shādhān, and the poet Anwarī [*q.v.*].

Mayhana is now a town situated some 14 miles/20 km. within the Turkmenistan SSR and appears on modern maps as Meana.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfangen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 83; Meier, *op. cit.*, 39 ff.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**MAYL** (A.), declination, an important notion in spherical astronomy.

Declination is a measure of the distance of a celestial body from the celestial equator. Muslim astronomers tabulated either the declination and right ascensions of stars or their ecliptic coordinates [see MAṬĀLIʿ]. Also of concern to them was the solar declination, *mayl al-shams*. They distinguished two kinds of solar declination, *al-mayl al-awwal*, the distance δ_1 of the sun from the ecliptic measured perpendicular to the celestial equator, and *al-mayl al-thānī*, the distance δ_2 of the sun from the ecliptic measured perpendicular to the ecliptic; see Fig. 1.

Fig. 1.

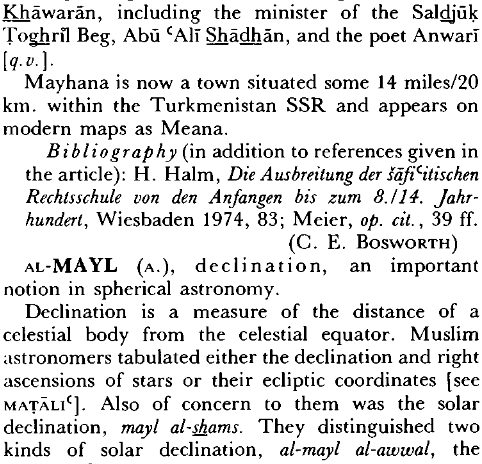

Both functions were tabulated in *zīdjs* [see ZĪDJ], usually for each degree of ecliptic longitude λ. The underlying formulae in modern notation are

$$\delta_1(\lambda) = \text{arc sin} (\sin \lambda \sin \varepsilon)$$

and

$$\delta_2(\lambda) = \text{arc tan} (\sin \lambda \tan \varepsilon),$$

were ε is the obliquity of the ecliptic, called in Arabic *al-mayl al-aʿẓam* or *al-mayl al-kullī*.

The obliquity of the ecliptic is the basic parameter of spherical astronomy. Since it varies with time,

Muslim astronomers over the centuries conducted observations to derive the current value. Most of them did this by means of meridian observations of the sun at the solstices. If h_{min} and h_{max} are the solar meridian altitudes at the winter and summer solstices at a locality with latitude φ, then

$h_{min} = 90° - \varphi - \varepsilon$ and $h_{max} = 90° - \varphi + \varepsilon$

see Fig. 2. Clearly, from such observations ε may be found using

$$\varepsilon = \tfrac{1}{2}(h_{max} - h_{min}).$$

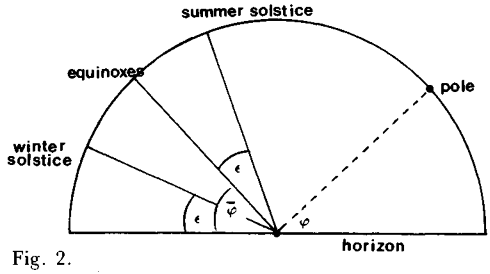

Fig. 2.

Likewise, the local latitude φ can be determined from the same observational data. The most complete discussions of the subject were by Ibn Yūnus and, more especially, al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: E. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. American Philosophical Society*, xlvi/2 (1956), 123-77, esp. 140; D. A. King, *Spherical astronomy in medieval Islam: the Ḥākimī Zīj of Ibn Yūnus*, forthcoming, Part II, Sections 11-12; Kennedy, *A commentary upon al-Bīrūnī's Taḥdīd al-amākin*, Beirut 1973, esp. 16-90. A valuable study which needs updating is 0. Schirmer, *Studien zur Astronomie der Araber: Arabische Bestimmungen der Schiefe der Ekliptik*, in *SBPMS Erl.*, lviii (1926), 43-79. (D. A. KING)

MAYMANA, a town of northwestern Afg͟hānistān (lat. 35° 55' N., long. 64° 67' E.), lying at an altitude of 2,854 feet/870 m. on the upper reaches of the Āb-i Maymana, one of the constituent streams of the Āb-i Ḳayṣar which peters out in the desert beyond Andk͟hūy [*q.v.*] and the sands of the Ḳïzïl Ḳum [*q.v.*].

The site of the settlement seems to be ancient. The *Vendidad* speaks of Nisāya, and the ?8th century Armenian geography of Iran records Nsai-mianak = MP * Nisāk-i Miyānak "the Middle Nisā", possibly identical with Ptolemy's Νισαία in Margiana (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 78-9). This seems to have been where lay the town known in early Islamic times as al-Yahūdiyya (*Ḥudūd al-ʿalām*, tr. Minorsky, 107, § 23.53, cf. comm. 335: D̲jahūd̲hān), indicating a sizeable community of Jews there. Al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 287, tr. Wiet, 99, al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 270, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 442-3, tr. idem and Wiet, 427-9, al-Muḳaddasī, 427-9, describe the town as a flourishing one, with a Friday mosque, and as the seat of the ruler of Faryāb of the principality of Gūzgān, which remained independent till incorporated into the G̲h̲aznawid empire by Sulṭān Maḥmūd [see D̲JŪZD̲JĀN and FARĪG̲H̲ŪNIDS]. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 194, calls it D̲jahūd̲hān al-Kubrā, presumably to distinguish it from the Yahūdiyya of Iṣfahān.

The actual name Maymana "the auspicious, fortunate town" does not occur in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th century texts. It is possible that a form Maymand existed by the 7th/13th century, since it apparently occurs in some manuscripts of D̲jūzd̲jānī's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* (though the latest editor, ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, adopts the reading Maymana for his text, 2nd ed. Kābul 1342-3/1963-4, i, 358, 374, whereas the manuscript(s) which Raverty used for his translation, London 1881-99, ostensibly had Maymand, cf. i, 378, 391, 399); but the Maymand which was the family origin of the great G̲h̲aznawid vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī [*q.v.*] was almost certainly one in Zābulistān, the region around G̲h̲azna. It is certainly the form Maymana which is henceforth used for the town in Afg̲h̲ān Turkistān.

Towards modern times, Maymana was under Uzbek control, being one of the petty, semi-independent k̲h̲ānates (together with Sar-i Pul, S̲h̲ibarg̲h̲ān and Andk̲h̲ūy) known as the Čahār Wilāyat, and oriented essentially towards the Buk̲h̲ārā K̲h̲ānate. The Hungarian traveller Vambéry visited it in 1863 and describes the town as possessing 1,500 mud-brick houses and a dilapidated bazaar. The Afg̲h̲ān *amīr* of Kābul Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*] disputed possession of Maymana with Buk̲h̲ārā in 1855, and only with the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1873 did the four k̲h̲ānates come definitely within the orbit of Kābul; not till 1844 did the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] secure the submission of the *wālī* of Maymana.

At present, Maymana, lying as it does within a fertile agricultural area, and being on the Harāt to Mazār-i S̲h̲arīf road, is a flourishing town, the administrative centre of a *wilāyat* or province (since 1964, called that of Faryāb), and with a population (mainly Uzbek, but with some Tād̲j̲īks and Pus̲h̲tūns) estimated by Humlum at 30,000. It has an airfield and is important for the weaving of fine carpets and for wool and camels'-hair textiles.

Bibliography (in addition to sources mentioned in the article): H. Vambéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, London 1864, 244; C. E. Yates, *Northern Afghanistan or letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission*, Edinburgh and London 1888, 233; Barthold, *Istoriko-geografičeskii obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903 = *Sočineniya*, vi, 57-8, Eng. tr. Princeton 1984, 32-4; Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, 424-5; Sir Thomas Holdich, *The gates of India*, London 1910, 249; J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 132, 148-9; L. Duprée, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, index; J. Lee, *The history of Maimana in northwestern Afghanistan 1731-1893*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the BIPS*, xxv (1987), 107-24. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

MAYMANDĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM AḤMAD B. ḤASAN, called S̲h̲ams al-Kufāt "sun of the capable ones", vizier of sultans Maḥmūd and Masʿūd of G̲h̲azna [*q.vv.*]. He was a foster-brother of Maḥmūd, and had been brought up and educated with him. His father had been *ʿāmil* of Bust under Sebüktigin, and apparently stemmed from Maymand in Zābulistān; but on a charge of misappropriation of the revenue, he was put to death. In 384/994, when the Amīr Nūḥ b. Manṣūr the Sāmānid conferred on Maḥmūd the command of the troops of K̲h̲urāsān, Maḥmūd put Aḥmad at the head of his correspondence department. After this, Aḥmad rapidly rose in the service of his master, and occupied in succession, the posts of *Mustawfī-i Mamlakat* (Accountant General), *Ṣāḥib-i Dīwān-i ʿArḍ* (Head of the War Department), and *ʿāmil* of the provinces of Bust and Ruk̲h̲k̲h̲ad̲j. In 404/1013, Sultan Maḥmūd appointed him *wazīr* in place of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Aḥmad Isfarāʾinī. For twelve years, Aḥmad managed the affairs of the growing empire of Sultan Maḥmūd with great tact and diplomacy. Aḥmad was very strict and exacting, and did not tolerate any evasion of duty or departure from the usual official procedure, with the

result that many of the dignitaries of the Empire became his enemies and worked to bring about his ruin. He was disgraced and dismissed in 415/1024, and sent as a prisoner to the fort of Kālindjar, in the southern Kashmīr hills.

After his accession to the throne in 421/1030, the new sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd, whose cause Aḥmad had always favoured, wished to re-appoint him vizier in 422/1031 in place of the disgraced Ḥasanak [*q.v.*]; ostensibly on account of his age, Aḥmad was reluctant to accept, and before doing so, insisted on a *muwāḍaʿa* [*q.v.*] or contract defining his own duties and rights *vis-à-vis* the sultan and other ministers. He died in Muḥarram 424/December 1032, much mourned, according to Bayhaḳī, by other members of the bureaucracy.

From both his competence and learning, Aḥmad subsequently enjoyed a great reputation as a vizier and stylist; ʿUtbī expressly praises him for his restoration of Arabic as the official language of the *dīwāns*, whereas Isfarāʾinī had—no doubt, more realistically—introduced the use of Persian, so that "the bazaar of eloquence had suffered loss, the traffic in fine expressions and beautiful language had perished, and there was no differentiation between incapacity and capability".

Bibliography: ʿUtbī-Manīnī, *Yamīnī*, Cairo 1286/1869, ii, 166-72, Lahore 1300/1883, 266-74; Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, passim; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, 96, 98-9; Sayf al-Dīn Faḍlī ʿUḳaylī, *Āthār al-wuzarāʾ*, I.O. ms. 1569 fols. 89b-111a, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Urmawī, Tehran 1337/1959, 152-86; Naṣīr al-Dīn Kirmānī, *Nasāʾim al-asḥār*, ed. Urmawī, Tehran 1338/1959, 40-3; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 291; Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 130-1, 135-6.

(M. Nāẓim-[C. E. Bosworth])

AL-MAYMANĪ AL-RĀDJ(A)KŪTĪ, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Indo-Muslim Arabic scholar, known by the name Memon. His family probably came originally from Maymana [*q.v.*], but he was born at Rādj(a)kūt (Kāṭhiyāwāṛ) in 1888 and died at Karachi on 27 October 1978.

The major part of his teaching career was undertaken at the Muslim University of ʿAlīgaṛh, where he was Reader from 1924 to 1942, then Professor until his retirement in 1950; previously, having graduated in Arabic and Persian in 1909, he was Lecturer in Arabic, from 1913 onward, at the Edward College of Peshāwar, before transferring to the Oriental College of Lāhawr. A few years after the creation of Pakistan, he made his way to Karachi where, from 1955 to 1958, he resumed teaching duties at the newly-inaugurated University, and also directed, until 1960, the Central Institute of Islamic Research. At various times he resided in different Arabic-speaking countries and, a pious Muslim, he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca on several occasions.

Primarily a philologist, al-Maymanī possessed a perfect mastery of classical Arabic which enabled him to edit preserved or partially reconstructed *dīwāns* (Ibn ʿUnayn, Ḥumayd b. Thawr al-Hilālī, Suḥaym ʿAbd Bani 'l-Ḥasḥās), works of philology such as the *Thalāth rasāʾil* (by Ibn Fāris, al-Kisāʾī and Ibn ʿArabī), *al-Manḳūṣ wa 'l-mamdūd* by al-Farrāʾ or *Kitāb mā ttafaḳa lafẓuh* by al-Mubarrad, historical texts (*Nasab Ḳaḥṭān wa-ʿAdnān* by al-Mubarrad) or literary texts (*Risālat al-malāʾika* by al-Maʿarrī; *al-Fāḍil* by al-Mubarrad). It should be noted that he took an interest in the literature of the Muslim West and that, in addition to *al-Nutaf min shiʿray Ibn Rashīḳ wa-zamīlih Ibn Sharaf* (Cairo 1343/1925), he wrote a work entitled *Ibn Rashīḳ... wa-tardjamat Ibn Sharaf* (likewise Cairo 1343/1925) and left a highly-esteemed commentary on al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*], *Simṭ al-laʾālī fī sharḥ Amālī 'l-Ḳālī*, Cairo 1354/1936, 3 vols.

A member of the Arabic Academy of Damascus, al-Maymanī contributed actively to the *MMIA*, and it is typical of him that in his capacity as a corresponding member (being of Pakistani nationality) of the recently-created Indian Academy of the Arabic Language, he contributed the first article to the first issue of the *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-Hindī* (i, 1386/1976, 1-19), on the subject of Abū ʿUmar al-Zāhid, better known as Ghulām Thaʿlab [*q.v.*], whose *Kitāb al-Mudākhalāt* he had published.

Bibliography: Obituary notice, by A. S. Bazmee Ansari, in *Hamdard Islamicus*, ii/2 (1979), 113-15.

(Ch. Pellat)

MAYMŪN B. MIHRĀN, Abū Ayyūb, early Islamic *faḳīh* and Umayyad administrator. According to traditional sources he was born in 40/660-1, the son of *mawālī* who were captives from Iṣṭakhr. Maymūn himself evidently grew up in Kūfa where, some say, he was a *mawlā* of the Arab tribe of Hawāzin or Azd; others say that he was the slave of a woman of the Azd, who later manumitted him. After winning his freedom, he remained in Kūfa until the turbulence of the Dayr al-Djamādjim [*q.v.*] episode (82/701), which pitted the ʿIrāḳīs against the Umayyad authorities; presumably because of his neutral or pro-Umayyad sympathies, Maymūn moved at this time to the Djazīra, where he became the leading figure among the local men of religion at Raḳḳa. A few accounts describe him as having made the pilgrimage to Mecca and as having visited Baṣra, where he had an interview with the famous saint al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; but travelling does not seem to have been his main activity, and most sources describe him simply as the sage of Raḳḳa.

Maymūn is remembered in numerous accounts for his religious and ethical maxims. Most of these emphasise such themes as the dangers of wealth and gluttony or the importance of God-fearing piety and of good works, but they also include some which can be considered as at least mildly anti-Shīʿī, while others suggest an effort to strike a politically non-committal pose: "Do not speak about four things: ʿAlī, ʿUthmān, *ḳadar*, and the stars". Although he served as a source of religious and ethical guidance, however, he does not seem to have been much concerned with the transmission of *ḥadīths*, which were just beginning to be circulated widely in his day. As a transmitter of *ḥadīths* he is generally adjudged reliable (*thiḳa*); but among his maxims is one that stresses the primacy of the Ḳurʾān over the "*ḥadīths* of men" as a source of guidance, and only about two dozen *ḥadīths* on his authority (mostly via Ibn ʿAbbās or ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar) are extant. A good number of these *ḥadīths* deal with ritual law; a few deal with sectarian or political issues, some of which are clearly *mawḍūʿ* (e.g. Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, iv, 95 on the Rāfiḍīs), and which generally are slightly anti-ʿAlid in tone. Some of these "*ḥadīths*" are doubtless sayings of Maymūn himself or of his informants, which his pupils "raised" to the status of prophetic utterances. Accounts going back to Maymūn also convey considerable information about several central figures among the Companions of the Prophet and their successors, e.g. ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Muʿāwiya, Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, Ibn Sīrīn, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab—including several significant *awāʾil* (e.g. Muʿāwiya was the first who sat between the two *khuṭbas*; *ʿIḳd al-farīd*, v, 105).

Maymūn's close ties to the Umayyads are reflected both by the fact that he held office for some of them and by his many accounts of the activities of ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz (ruled 99-101/717-20) and some other members of the dynasty. He is first said to have administered the treasury in Ḥarrān for ᶜAbd al-Malik's brother, Muḥammad b. Marwān, who served that caliph and his successor al-Walīd as governor of the Djazīra. Maymūn was then appointed by ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz over the *ḳaḍāʾ* and *kharādj* (judgeship and tax-collection) of the Djazīra—offices he apparently held only with some moral reservations—while his son ᶜAmr ran ᶜUmar's *dīwān* (Ibn Saᶜd, vii/1, 178). After ᶜUmar's death he was retained in his post for a time by Yazīd b. ᶜAbd al-Malik. He was still evidently part of the official establishment in Ḥarrān under Hishām (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Beirut iii, 100), and is also said to have commanded the army of Syria that went to Cyprus in 106/724-5 for Hishām (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1487). Maymūn appears to have been one of ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz's close confidants, and the two were evidently bound by mutual admiration, to judge from the many extant accounts in which one relates anecdotes emphasising the piety and wisdom of the other.

Maymūn died, according to most authorities, in the Djazīra in 117/735-6. He does not seem to have left behind any written works—further evidence, perhaps, that he was primarily a *faḳīh* known for his piety and good judgement in religious matters rather than a *muḥaddith*—but he did bring to Raḳḳa a tradition of religiosity that lived on in his pupils bearing the *nisba* "al-Maymūnī", among them Djaᶜfar b. Burḳān, Abu 'l-Malīḥ, and his own son ᶜAmr b. Maymūn. The esteem in which he was held by later authorities is aptly summed up in a statement ascribed to Sulaymān b. Mūsā (d. 115/733-4 or 119/737): "If knowledge (*ᶜilm*) came to us from the Ḥidjāz on the authority of al-Zuhrī, or from Syria on the authority of Makḥūl, or from ᶜIrāḳ on the authority of al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī], or from the Djazīra on the authority of Maymūn [b. Mihrān], we accepted it" (Abū Zurᶜa, *Taʾrīkh*, 315 [no. 588]).

Bibliography: Abū Zurᶜa al-Dimashḳī, *Taʾrīkh*, Damascus 1980, index; Ibn Saᶜīd, iv/1, 121-2; v, 271-7, 280, 291-2, 296; vii/2, 177-9; viii, 95-6; Ṭabarī, index; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, Cairo 1967, 37; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Beirut 1978-9, iii, 100; iv/1, 566; *ibid.*, Jerusalem 1936-7, iv/l, 54, 130-1; v, 75; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, Hyderabad-Deccan 1942, 347, 478; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maᶜārif*, Cairo 1969, 448-551, 577; Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz*, Cairo 1346/1927, 127-8; Djahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarāʾ wa 'l-kuttāb*, Cairo 1938, 53-4; Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi, *ᶜIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Muḥammad Saᶜīd al-ᶜIryān, n.p. 1953, ii, 241; v, 13, 105, 170-1, 283; Muḥammad b. Saᶜīd b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḳushayrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Raḳḳa*, Ḥamā 1957, esp. 21-38; Ibn ᶜAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ms. Ẓāhiriyya Library, Damascus xviii, fols. 329b-335a; Abū Nuᶜaym Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1351-7/1932-8, iv, 92-7, gives one of the most complete collections of *ḥadīth*s related on Maymūn's authority; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt*, *sub anno* 117; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 164, ii, 198; iii, 100; Wakīᶜ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo 1366-9/1947-50, ii, 66-7; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ᶜAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad 1325-7/1907-10, x, 390-2; Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif fī maᶜrifat man lahu riwāya fi 'l-kutub al-sitta*, Cairo 1972, iii, 193 (no. 5861).

(F. M. Donner)

MAYMŪN b. al-Aswad **al-ḲADDĀḤ**, obscure Meccan transmitter from the *Imām*s Muḥammad al-Bāḳir and Djaᶜfar al-Ṣādiḳ who, two centuries after his death, gained notoriety as the father of the alleged founder of Ismāᶜīlism and ancestor of the Fāṭimid caliphs, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Maymūn [*q.v.*]. According to the Imāmī sources, he was a client of Makhzūm and a shaper of arrow shafts (*yabrī al-ḳidāḥ*). He became a personal servant of al-Bāḳir and al-Ṣādiḳ in Mecca. A few traditions of the two *Imām*s related on his authority are contained in the canonical collections of Imāmī *ḥadīth*. Al-Ṭūsī counts him also among the companions of *Imām* ᶜAlī Zayn al-ᶜĀbidin (d. 95/713-14) (*Ridjāl al-Ṭūsī*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Āl Baḥr al-ᶜUlūm, Nadjaf 1381/1961, 101, 135, 317). He died probably during the imāmate of al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765). W. Ivanow's suggestion that he had, besides ᶜAbd Allāh, another son called Abān (*The alleged founder of Ismailism*, 68) rests on a faulty *isnād* in some copies of al-Kulaynī's *K. al-Kāfī* (see Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Ardabīlī al-Ḥāʾirī, *Djāmiᶜ al-ruwāt*, Ḳumm 1403, ii, 287).

Neither Imāmī nor Sunnī biographical dictionaries and heresiographies of the 3rd/9th century suggest that Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ or his son inclined to Shīᶜī extremism or was involved in the sect backing Ismāᶜīl b. Djaᶜfar. The earliest mention of him as a heresiarch is by the Sunnī polemicist Ibn Rizām (writing *ca.* 340/951) who describes him as a Dayṣānī dualist and founder of a sect called the Maymūniyya which backed the heretic Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], teaching the divinity of ᶜAlī. Later anti-Ismāᶜīlī authors greatly elaborated Ibn Rizām's story and added to the catalogue of his heresies. Akhū Muḥsin (writing *ca.* 373/985) calls him Maymūn b. Dayṣān, making him a son of Bardesanes. Ibn Shaddād (d. *ca.* 509/1115) gives him the *kunya* Abū Shākir, evidently identifying him with a Dayṣānī of the time of al-Ṣādiḳ notorious in Imāmī tradition. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī (writing in 707/1307) calls him Maymūn b. Dayṣān al-Ḳaddāḥ al-Ahwāzī al-Fārisī and asserts that he appeared in Kūfa in 176/792 after having been nominally converted to Islam by al-Ṣādiḳ. All these accounts are obviously pure fiction.

Ibn Rizām's story is based, however, on information from Ḳarmaṭī Ismāᶜīlī sources. There is clear evidence of a wide-spread belief among Ismāᶜīlīs in the pre-Fāṭimid and early Fāṭimid age that the leadership after the disappearance of Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Djaᶜfar had been transferred to one ᶜAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ, who was not of ᶜAlid descent. He and his successors were not *Imāms*, but lieutenants (*khulafāʾ*) of the absent *Imām* pending his return as the Mahdī. Against this, Fāṭimid Ismāᶜīlī tradition maintained that the name Maymūn had been used in the missionary activity for the *Imām* to conceal his identity and that the ancestors of the Fāṭimids, though claiming merely the rank of *ḥudjdjas*, were in fact the *Imāms*.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the article on ᶜAbd Allāh b. Maymūn, see now S. M. Stern, *Heterodox Ismāᶜīlism at the time of al-Muᶜizz*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 10-33; H. F. al-Hamdani, *On the genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs*, Cairo 1958; W. Madelung, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), esp. 73-80; A. Hamdani and F. de Blois, *A re-examination of al-Mahdī's letter to the Yemenites on the genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs*, in *JRAS* (1983), 173-207.

(W. Madelung)

MAYMŪN-DIZ, a castle of the Ismāᶜīlīs [see ismāᶜīliyya] in the Alburz Mountains in north-western Iran, the mediaeval region of Daylam [*q.v.*].

Ras͟hīd al-Dīn states that it was built in 490/1097 by the Grand Master of the Assassins Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ or by his successor Kiyā Buzurg-Ummīd in the early 6th/12th century. Ḏj̲uwaynī, tr. Boyle, II, 621-36, cf. M. G. S. Hodgson, *The order of the Assassins*, The Hague 1955, 265 ff., has a detailed account of the fortress's reduction by the Il-K͟hān Hülegü in S͟hawwāl 654/November 1256. The Mongols besieged it briefly till it was surrendered by the last Grand Master Rukn al-Dīn K͟hūr-S͟hāh, who had latterly resided there with his treasury instead of at Alamūt [*q.v.*]; they then went on to capture the latter fortress.

In expeditions of 1959-61, Willey identified the site as an easily-defensible plateau some 1,500 ft./480 m. by 300 ft./95 m., with extensive caverns and standing buildings, just north of the village of S͟hams-Kilāya in the valley of a right-bank affluent of the Alamūt-Rūd, itself running into the S͟hāh-Rūd/Safīd-Rūd river system (*contra* Ivanow's tentative identification of Maymūn-Diz with the modern place Nawīzār-S͟hāh).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): W. Ivanow, *Alamut and Lamasar, two mediaeval Ismaili strongholds in Iran. An archaeological study*, Tehran 1960, 75-81; P. J. E. Willey, *The castles of the Assassins*, London 1963, 158-92 (with plan and photographs); B. Lewis, *The Assassins, a radical sect in Islam*, London 1967, index. See also LANBASAR. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

MAYMŪNA BINT AL-ḤĀRITH̲, the last wife that Muḥammad married. She stemmed from the Hawāzin tribe of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and was a sister-in-law of al-ʿAbbās. After she had divorced her first husband, a T͟hakafī, and her second, the Kuras͟hī Abū Rukm, had died, she lived as a widow in Mecca where the Prophet wooed her, primarily no doubt for political reasons, on the *ʿumra* allowed to him in the year 7/629. His wish to marry her in Mecca was refused by the Meccans, in order not to prolong his stay there; the marriage therefore took place in Sarif, a village north of Mecca. Her brother-in-law al-ʿAbbās acted as her *walī* or guardian at the ceremony. The question whether the Prophet on this occasion was still in the *iḥrām* or not is a much-disputed and variously-answered question. The bridal gift is said to have been 500 *dirhams*. Married at the age of 27, Maymūna survived the other wives of the Prophet and died in 61/681 in Sarif, where she is said to have been buried on the spot where she was married.

Bibliography : Ibn His͟hām, 790-1; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, viii, 94-100; Ṭabarī, i, 1595-6; Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 772-3; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 66-7; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 397; cf. M. Hamidullah, *Le Prophète de l'Islam*, Paris 1959, 111, 458-9. (FR. BUHL)

MAYSALŪN, a pass in the Anti-Lebanon Mountains where, on 24 July 1920, the French forces under the command of General Henri Gouraud, recently appointed High Commissioner in Beirut, defeated the forces of King Fayṣal of Syria and proceeded to occupy Damascus and establish the French mandatory authority there.

A son of S͟harīf Ḥusayn of Mecca who, prompted by Britain, had revolted against the Turks and proclaimed himself king of the Arab countries in the Ḥidj̲az in 1916, Fayṣal had been allowed by the British to occupy Damascus on 1 October 1918 and establish an Arab régime there as a representative of his father. On 8 March 1920, Fayṣal was proclaimed King of Syria, shortly before the San Remo conference convened in April to assign the territory of Syria and Lebanon as a mandate to France. The French mandatory authority was forthwith established in the Lebanese territory, which had been under French occupation since 1918, and Fayṣal was anxious to negotiate an agreement with Gouraud which would save his Arab régime in Damascus. The French, however, were of a different mind, and as the negotiations between the two sides faltered, Gouraud sent an ultimatum to Damascus, while his forces advanced against the city. Fayṣal's small army, led by his War Minister Yūsuf al-ʿAẓm, a Damascene notable, tried to stop the advance at the Maysalūn pass, but was easily defeated, and al-ʿAẓm was killed in the battle. Thereupon Fayṣal and his government fled Damascus, which was occupied by the French. The British later made him king of ʿIrāḳ.

Modern Arabs regard the battle of Maysalūn as the event that first awakened them to the harsh realities of imperial power politics. The event forms the central theme of a book by Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣarī, a man who served as a minister under Fayṣal in Damascus, called *Yawm Maysalūn* ("The Day of Maysalūn", first published in Beirut in 1947). The village of Maysalūn stands today on the border between Lebanon and Syria, and a monument marks the grave of Yūsuf al-ʿAẓma there. Apart from its modern fame as a battlefield, Maysalūn was known in earlier Islamic times as a horse-post relay station along the Beirut-Damascus highway.

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MAYSĀN, the region along the lower Tigris River in southeastern al-ʿIrāḳ. This region is called Μεσήνη by Strabo, Mēs͟han in the Babylonian Talmud, Mays͟han in Syriac. Mēs͟hān in Middle Persian, Mēs͟hun in Armenian, Maysān in Arabic, and T'iao-tche (Chaldaea) in the Han sources. The earliest references from the first century A.D. indicate that Μεσήνη was an ethnic toponym, the land of the people called Μεσηνός who lived along the Arabian side of the coast at the head of the Persian Gulf (Μαισανιτης κολπος in Ptolemy). Whether or not these people were Arabian themselves, some of them lived at Gerrha, and their land was regarded as lying along the ethnic border with Arabs. Arabic has the *nisbas* Maysānī and Maysanānī, the latter from the Persian plural for people.

Ancient Mesene lay between two branches of the lower Tigris, but its exact extent was subject to change and is therefore difficult to determine. Pliny explicitly states that Mesene extended 125 miles up the Tigris above Babylonian Seleucia to the town of Apamea where overflow water from the Euphrates reached the Tigris, that it adjoined Chalonitis (Ḥulwān), and that the branch of the Tigris along its northeastern border traversed the plains of Cauchae (Ḏj̲uk͟hā, the Diyāla plains). Whether or not this description was meant to reflect a brief extension of the Characene kingdom, which was known to include Apamea, Pliny seems to indicate that Mesene could be defined hydrographically as the territory irrigated by the combined waters of the Tigris and Euphrates. The Apamea in question, however, tends to be identified with Fam al-Ṣilḥ where the Tigris and Sillas divided. Ammianus Marcellinus, in the 4th century A.D., says that Apamea had been called Mesene formerly, but traces

of a more extensive Maysān survive in the Arabic-writing geographers. Ibn Rustah calls Djabbul, at the Tigris end of two large canals coming from Sūrā, one of the cities of Maysān. Yāḳūt describes the district of Kaskar [*q.v.*] as overlapping Maysān and extending from the lower end of the Nahrawān canal to the sea. To the extent that ancient Mesene was identified with Chaldaea, it bordered on Babylonia in the west and the Chaldaean Lakes in the southwest. To the north it overlapped Djukhā [*q.v.*], which normally lay along the left bank of the Tigris, probably as a result of changes in the course of the river. It extended to Elymais (Khūzistān [*q.v.*]) in the east, but this border was also subject to change. The town of Ḥuwayza (modern Ḥawīza [*q.v.*]) was once part of Maysān, but by the 8th/14th century belonged to Khūzistān.

Politically, ancient Mesene was identical with the Hellenistic kingdom of Characene (*ca.* 129 B.C.—*ca.* 224 A.D.). The region between Babylonia and the Gulf coast had formed an administrative division (but not an eparchy) of the Seleucid state in the 3rd century B.C. called the territory of the Erythraean Sea. Alexander the Great had settled Macedonian veterans at a city called Alexandria which he founded above the confluence of a former course of the lower Karkeh River with the Tigris, 1¼ miles from the coast. After this city was destroyed by floods, Antiochus IV (175-164 B.C.) restored it by 166-165 B.C., called it Antiochia, and put Hyspaosines son of Sagdodonacus, king of the neighbouring Arabs, in charge of it and its territory. The latter became independent between 141 and 139 B.C., and in 129 B.C. built new embankments to protect the flood-damaged city, renaming it Charax Spasinou ("the palisade of Hyspaosines") as the capital of Characene. In 127 B.C. he defeated the Arsacid governor of Babylon and occupied Babylon and Seleucia briefly, but was defeated by Mithradates II in 121 B.C., after which he and his successors continued as rulers of Characene subject to the Parthians.

Charax is transcribed as Karak Āspasinā (KRK ʾSPSNʾ) and identified as Karkā dē Mēshan (KRKʾ DY MYŠN) in Palmyrene inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries. It was called Karkhā dhᶜ Mayshan in Syriac and Karkh Maysān in Arabic. Its site, formerly sought in the vicinity of Muḥammara, has been convincingly identified by Hansman with modern Djabal Khayābir near the left bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab. By Pliny's time, Charax was 193 km. from the coast although the tide went upstream far beyond it. The left bank of the lower Tigris was inhabited by Chaldaeans, the right bank by Arabian brigands called Attali beyond whom were nomadic Scenitae. T'iao-Tche is described in Han sources as a hot, low, densly populated, rice-growing region with lions, rhinoceroses, zebu, peacocks, ostriches, and clever jugglers. Strabo adds the production of barley, sesame oil, and dates. By the 1st century B.C., Charax was a major commercial centre where Indian ships met caravans from Petra and Palmyra. In the 1st century A.D., caravans from Petra arrived at the town of Forat 11 or 12 miles downstream from Charax. Its site was either near the modern town of al-Tanūma on the left bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, or, according to Hansman, at Maghlūb, 17.4 km. (10.8 miles) southeast of Djabal Khayābir. Apologos (al-Ubulla) also appears as an emporium on the right bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab opposite Forat at ʿAshshār, the modern port of al-Baṣra, in the 1st century. Copper, sandalwood, teak, ebony, spices and gems were imported from Barygaza in Gudjarāt through Apologos, while Characene merchants exported pearls, clothing, wine, purple, dates, gold and slaves. In the winter of 115-16, Trajan occupied Characene briefly, collecting tribute from Attembelos V, after which it returned to Arsacid rule.

In *ca.* 224 Characene fell to Ardashīr I (*ca.* 226-41), the founder of the Sāsānid dynasty, who killed the king of Characene and made his own son, Mihrshāh, ruler of Maysān. Although it is claimed in Arabic literature that Ardashīr refounded Karkh Maysān as Astarābādh Ardashīr, this name has not been found in Sāsānid inscriptions. Under Shāpūr I (*ca.* 241-73), his eldest son, Shāpūr, and the latter's wife, Dēnak, were king and queen of Māshān. A certain Ātrofarnabag is called Mēshān Shāh in Narseh's inscription at Paikuli, and the Babylonian Talmud mentions a governor (*ōstāndār*) of Meshān. However, Shāpūr I is said to have formed a separate district called Shādh Sābūr in northwestern Maysān around the city of Kaskar which had its own *ōstāndār*.

By the 3rd century, the formerly pagan population of Maysān was mixed with Jews, Magians, gnostics and possibly Christians. The priest Kartīr claimed to have established Magians and sacred fires there, and the title of *magōpat* of Mēshān inscribed on a gem indicates the establishment of the priestly hierarchy. Jews of mixed descent were scattered throughout Maysān, and the gnostic, baptist sect called al-Mughtasila located there was joined by Mānī's father. Mānī [see MĀNĪ B. FĀTTIK] grew up in this sect, and Mihrshāh, the governor, was one of his earliest converts and supporters. Whether or not Christianity was carried to Maysān in the 1st century by the apostle Mārī, as legend claims, by the year 310 Pᵉrāth dᵉ Mayshan (al-Furāt) was the see of the metropolitan bishop of Mayshan. By 410 there were suffragan bishoprics at Karkhā dhᵉ Mayshan, Rīmā and Nahrgūr.

Ammianus Marcellinus describes huge groves of date palms extending from Babylon to Mesene and the sea in the 4th century, and reports that Mesene was included in the province of "Assyria" that embraced all of lower Mesopotamia in the middle Sāsānid period. In the 3rd and 4th centuries, Mēshān remained a centre for the import of spices, drugs and gems from India as well as silk and cotton cloth and steel. Kushān coins found in Mēshān also testify to trade with northern India.

Conditions in Maysān were transformed when the lower Tigris began to shift from its former course below Fam al-Ṣilḥ, which had gone via Bādhibīn and ʿAbdasī to al-Madhār. During floods in the reigns of Bahrām V Gūr (420-38), Ḳubādh b. Fīrūz (488-96, 498/9-531), and under Khusraw II in 7/628, the lower Tigris burst its banks and changed its main course to the Dudjayla/Shaṭṭ al-Akhādhar channel (not the Nahr Gharrāf/Shaṭṭ al-Hayy as formerly thought) which went via Kaskar into the swamps (*al-Baṭāʾiḥ* [*q.v.*]). Western Maysān was turned into swamps, northern Maysān and south-eastern Djukhā into desert, and Maysān was reduced to the territory along the former course of the Tigris below al-Madhār called the Blind or One-Eyed Tigris (Didjlat al-ʿAwrāʾ). What remained of Maysān formed the district of Shādh Bahman and was put in the Quarter of the South when the Sāsānid empire was reorganised in the 6th century. Al-Furāt, said to have been refounded as Bahman Ardashīr I, may have become the capital. By extension, Yāḳūt identifies Bahman Ardashīr, Arabicised as Bahmanshīr, also called Furāt al-Baṣra, as the entire district (*kūra*). The Tigris estuary from al-Maftaḥ and al-Ubulla to ʿAbbādān was also called Bahmanshīr by the Persians, accord-

ing to al-Masʿūdī, similar to Bamis̲h̲īr for a branch of the lower Kārūn [q.v.]. Vahman Ardas̲h̲īr is first attested in 544 as the see of the Nestorian metropolitan bishop of Mays̲h̲an. The bishoprics of Rīmā and Kark̲h̲ā d̲h̲ᵉ Mays̲h̲an are last attested in 605, Nᵉhargūr (as Nᵉhargūl) in ca. 23-5/644-6, although Fiey has argued for the survival of the latter two under other names. None of the late Sāsānid mint-marks ascribed to al-Furat, Kark̲h̲ Maysān or Maysān is conclusive. The subdivisions of this district at the time of the Muslim conquest were Bahman Ardas̲h̲īr around al-Furāt, Maysān, Dast-i Maysān and Abarḳubād̲h̲.

In Ṣafar 12/633, K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd took al-Ubulla, invaded Maysān and defeated Persian forces at al-Mad̲h̲ār. After his victory at Buwayb about two years later, al-Mut̲h̲annā b. Ḥārit̲h̲a also sent forces to Maysān and Dast-i Maysān. The actual conquest was undertaken by ʿUtba b. G̲h̲azwān in 14/635 and the spring of 15/636. ʿUtba defeated and captured the ruler (ṣāḥib) of al-Furāt, took al-Ubulla and al-Furāt, conquered Maysān, defeating and killing the *marzubān* [q.v.] at al-Mad̲h̲ār; Abarḳubād̲h̲; and Dast-i Maysān, defeating its *marzubān*. After ʿUtba withdrew to al-Baṣra, al-Mug̲h̲īra b. S̲h̲uʿba [q.v.] pacified Maysān and Abarḳubād̲h̲ again, killing the *marzubān* or *dihḳān*. The captives taken in Maysān included Yasār, the father of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [q.v.], who was taken to the Ḥid̲j̲āz, and Arṭabān, the grandfather of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn b. Arṭabān, who lived at al-Baṣra. Some captives from Maysān were released at ʿUmar's order. In 18/639 al-Hurmuzān raided Dast-i Maysān and Maysān from K̲h̲ūzistān, taking captive Abraham, Nestorian bishop of Pᵉrāt̲h̲, but was driven out by Abū Mūsā al-As̲h̲ʿarī, the governor of al-Baṣra.

Abū Mūsā is also credited with establishing the Tigris districts (*Kuwar* or *Kūra* Did̲j̲la) along the Did̲j̲lat al-ʿAwrāʾ in S̲h̲ād̲h̲ Bahman/*arḍ* Maysān in 16/637-8, ordering a cadastral survey there and levying taxes according to the degree of productivity. Al-Nuʿman b. ʿAdi collected taxes in the *Kuwar* Did̲j̲la for ʿUmar I, who refused to let him take his wife there. Ḥuṣayn b. Abi 'l-Ḥurr is also said to have been ʿUmar's *ʿāmil* over Maysān until the time of al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ [q.v.]. The *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* of the *Kuwar* Did̲j̲la is given as ten million *dirhams* under Muʿāwiya, and as 900 *kurr* of wheat, 4,000 *kurr* of barley and 430,000 *dirhams* by Ḳudāma in 260/874. All four subdistricts (*ṭasāsīd̲j̲*) of Bahman Ardas̲h̲īr, Maysan, Dast-i Maysān and Abarḳubād̲h̲ lay east of the Tigris, although the entire district is said to have extended to al-Marūmat towards Wāsiṭ and to Dayr Mābanat towards K̲h̲ūzistān. Under ʿUmar I, al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ b. ʿAtīk al-T̲h̲aḳafī collected the taxes of al-Furāt/Bahman Ardas̲h̲īr, and, in 75/695, Kurāz b. Mālik al-Sulamī held combined authority over al-Ubulla and al-Furāt for al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ b. Yūsuf. Although there was clearly a subdistrict (*nāḥiya*) called Maysān in *arḍ* Maysān, the city of Kark̲h̲ Maysān appears to have been replaced by al-Mad̲h̲ār as the most important place by the time of the conquest, and it is often difficult to tell whether unspecified references to Maysān in Islamic times are to this subdistrict, to geographical Maysān, to Kark̲h̲ Maysān or even to Furāt Maysān. In 38/658-9, the Nād̲j̲ī K̲h̲awārid̲j̲ halted at al-Mad̲h̲ār; the K̲h̲awārid̲j̲ under al-Mustawrid b. ʿUllafa fought Kūfan forces there in 43/663-4; and Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr defeated al-Muk̲h̲tār's army under Aḥmad b. Sumayt al-Nak̲h̲lī there in 67/686. Abarḳubād̲h̲ (also Abazḳubād̲h̲, Īzad̲h̲ḳubād̲h̲, Bazḳubād̲h̲ and Azḳubād̲h̲) with the town of Fasā lay near al-Mad̲h̲ār, although it is easily confused with Barḳubād̲h̲/Arrad̲j̲ān. Dast-i Maysān was the plain (Persian *das̲h̲t*) north and northeast of Maysān. Its capital was Basāmatā (possibly also Basāmī and Bāsāmiyya); it included ʿAbdasī on the old course of the Tigris, eight stages (*sikkas*, 51.5 to 64.4 km.) above al-Mad̲h̲ār and it stretched eastwards to K̲h̲uzistān. In 20/641 ʿUmar I instructed D̲j̲azʾ b. Muʿāwiya, governor of Dast-i Maysān and Manād̲h̲ir (on the border with K̲h̲ūzistān) combined, to kill every magician (*sāḥir*) and sorceress, to separate Magians who were married to close relatives (*d̲h̲ū muḥram*), and to forbid Magians to practice ritual murmuring (*zamzama*). Three sorcerers were killed and D̲j̲azʾ had begun to break up families of Magians and to force them to eat without *zamzama* when ʿUmar wrote telling him to collect *d̲j̲izya* [q.v.] from them instead. ʿĀṣim b. Ḳays al-Sulamī also collected taxes in Manād̲h̲ir under ʿUmar I. The *DS̲h̲T* mint-mark on Arab-Sāsānid coins from 52/672 until 67/686 may stand for Das̲h̲t-i Maysān. Post-reform *dirhams* were struck at al-Furāt from 81/700-1 to 97/715-6, in Maysān from 79/698-9 to 97/715-6, Abarḳubād̲h̲ in 83/702 and 96/714-5 and in Das̲h̲t-i Maysān in 80/699-700, followed by Manād̲h̲ir from 81/700 until 96/714-15. By the 3rd/9th century, al-Ubulla was the administrative centre for the *Kūra* Did̲j̲lat, which may be why Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih and Yāḳūt identify Dast-i Maysān with al-Ubulla. The Nestorian metropolitanate of Pᵉrāt̲h̲ dᵉ Mays̲h̲an survived well into the Islamic period, and is first identified as the metropolitanate of al-Baṣra in 174/790. The bishopric of ʿAbdasī, attested in 174/790 and ca. 215/830, however, was in the patriarchal see of Bag̲h̲dād.

Some natives of Maysān, such as ʿAnbasa b. Maʿdān, settled in al-Baṣra shortly after its foundation. They were generally called Banu 'l-ʿAmm and settled with the Banū Tamīm. Maysānī origin (accurate only in the broadest sense) was attributed to the family of Ziyād b. Abīhi [q.v.] in a derogatory way by the poets al-Farazdaḳ and Ibn Mufarrig̲h̲. Al-Ak̲h̲ṭal used attribution to Azḳubād̲h̲ as an insult. However, Sahl b. Hārūn [q.v.], a native of Maysān who settled at al-Baṣra and was a secretary for al-Maʾmūn (197-218/813-33), praised the people of Maysān in a kind of feeling of regional *s̲h̲uʿūbiyya* [q.v.]. The Muslim belief that God exiled Iblīs to Maysān after the temptation of Ādam and Ḥawwāʾ (Eve) may have been related to these attitudes.

Early Islamic land reclamation and development around al-Baṣra extended into Maysān. Ziyād granted an estate on the Gulf coast north of the estuary to Ḥumrān b. Abān, who subsequently gave the western part of it to ʿAbbād b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥibatī, after whom the entire estate and the town that grew there came to be called ʿAbbādān, considered as the southeastern limit of Maysān. Under Sulaymān (96-8/715-17), Yazīd b. al-Muhallab reclaimed land from the *Baṭāʾiḥ* in Kaskar and the *Kūra* Did̲j̲lat with imported Indian labour (Zuṭṭ [q.v.]) and at least 4,000 water buffaloes (*d̲j̲awāmīs*). Under al-Ras̲h̲īd (170-93/786-809), the villagers of al-S̲h̲uʿaybiyya in the subdistrict of al-Furāt turned their property, which then became tithe land, over to the caliph's son ʿAlī, and became sharecroppers paying a lower rate than before. A slave of al-Ras̲h̲īd called G̲h̲asīb is also said to have built a fort (*ḥiṣn*) just west of ʿAbbādān at Brīm (modern Brēm ʿAbbādān or ʿAbbādān al-Ḥadīt̲h̲a). East African slaves (Zand̲j̲ [q.v.]) were also imported as labour by the late 1st/7th century. In 70/689-90 and 75/695 they gathered at al-Furāt, and, joined by people from the river harbour, devastated

the countryside. During the great Zandj revolt in the 3rd/9th century, they were again supported or joined by the people of al-Furāt and the villages of Djubbā and Djaʿfariyya. In 254/868 the Zandj invaded Maysān from Khūzistān, took Djaʿfariyya and Ḳaryat al-Yahūd, and attacked al-Madhār unsuccessfully before turning south-east to ʿAbbādān. In 267/880-1 al-Muwaffaḳ, the brother of the caliph al-Muʿtamid (256-79/870-92), established the city of al-Muwaffaḳiyya on the north bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab facing the Zandj stronghold of al-Mukhtāra, as a military base to pursue the war with them. Al-Muwaffaḳiyya had a treasury, a *masdjid al-djāmiʿ*, and markets, and *dirhams* and *dīnārs* were struck there. A *dīnār* of 270/883 is attested, but al-Muwaffaḳiyya appears to have been abandoned after the fall of al-Mukhtāra in that year. In 287/900 the Ḳarāmiṭa [*q.v.*] ravaged the subdistricts of Maysān.

In spite of such conflicts, in the 4th/10th century ʿAbbādān and al-Madhār were small cities and palm groves extended continuously for over 20 *farāsikh* (241 km.) from ʿAbbādān to ʿAbdasī. A low-grade silk brocade was produced in Maysān; dyed cloth and cushions were exported, and Maysānī clothing was produced at Djabbul. After flowing into the *Baṭāʾiḥ*, Tigris water emptied into the Didjlat al-ʿAwrāʾ via branching channels such as the Nahr Abi 'l-Asad, the Nahr al-Marʾa (possibly the Bathḳ Shīrīn) in the vicinity of al-Madhār, and the Nahr al-Yahūd. The tide came upstream as far as al-Madhār. Nahr Djūr lay on the old course of the Tigris between ʿAbdasī and Darmakān and may have extended eastwards towards Khūzistān. The Mughtasila (now called Ṣābat al-Baṭāʾiḥ) were still numerous in the swamps and may be the same as the Ṣābian sect [*q.v.*] called al-Kīmāriyyūn that al-Masʿūdī says lived in or near the swamps between Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣra. The Mandaean sect, reputedly formed in Maysān in late Sāsānid or early Islamic times, grew out of this milieu.

Al-Madhār remained locally important. In 329/941 the *amīr* Badjkam [*q.v.*] sent Tūzūn there with an army, where he defeated the forces of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Barīdī, while Badjkam himself drove the Kurds from Nahr Djūr. In 331/943 Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] sent Khadjkhadj against the Barīdiyya there. In 409/1018 the Būyid Sulṭān al-Dawla set out from there in pursuit of al-Ḥasan b. Dubays al-Asadī, and when Djalāl al-Dawla's army defeated his rival, Abū Kālīdjār [*q.v.*], there in 421/1030, his partisans took over the town. In about 443/1051, Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] noted that ʿAḳr Maysān (possibly Karkh Maysān) and Mashān were subdistricts of al-Baṣra. Mashān was just above al-Baṣra and was also known as the birthplace, in 446/1054, of the author of the *Maḳāmāt*, al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*], who is said to have died at al-Madhār. A noted family of *ḥadīth* transmitters, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUthmān al-Madhārī (516-85/1122-89), a native of Baghdād, and his two brothers, was identified with al-Madhār in the 6th/12th century. In 591/1195 Maysān is called a subdistrict of Khūzistān ruled by Ḳutlugh Īnāndj b. al-Bahlawān.

According to Yāḳūt in the 7th/13th century, the Tigris divided into five main channels below Wāsiṭ: the Nahr Sāsī (possibly an orthographic error for Basāmī), Nahr Gharrāf, Nahr Djaʿfar, Nahr Daḳla and Nahr Maysān (possibly the Nahr Ṭuhyathā according to El-ʿAlī). They reunited near the village of Maṭāra, one day's journey from al-Baṣra, where the Euphrates joined them. Yāḳūt defined the Didjlat al-ʿAwrāʾ as the combined stream from Maṭāra to the Gulf. He describes Maysān as "an extensive district with numerous villages and palm groves between al-Baṣra and Wāsiṭ." Its main town (*madīna*) was Maysān, and its capital (*ḳaṣaba*) was al-Madhār, four days' journey from al-Baṣra. Al-Haṭra, across the river from al-Madhār, was a well-watered village on solid ground with many date palms, fruit trees, and chickens. Below al-Madhār, on the Nahr Maysān, was the small town (*bulayda*) of al-Bazzāz; al-Furāt lay in ruins. The people of al-Madhār were all *ghulāt* Shīʿīs, and a splendid shrine (*mashhad*) there, where ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was buried, was the object of endowments (*wuḳūf*) and votive gifts (*nudhūr*). This shrine is located on a slight rise east of the Tigris, within a river bend, just below modern Ḳalʿat Ṣāliḥ near the ruins of al-Madhār about 48 km. directly north of modern Ḳurna. In March 1927 Streck found a domed tomb there, visible at a great distance, standing in the southern end of an oblong courtyard that was entered through a door in the north wall. A descendant of the *Imām* Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] is also said to be buried at ʿAlī al-Gharbī, on the west bank of the Tigris 100 km. above al-ʿAmāra, and a descendant of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī at ʿAlī al-Sharḳī, about 38 km. away on the east bank. At an undetermined time, most of the people of ʿAbbādān, having been Shāfiʿī, became Shīʿī. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, the people of Maysān district were fanatical (*tughāt*) Shīʿīs. Yāḳūt also describes the tomb of Ezra (al-ʿUzayr) which he visited at the village of Nahr Samura (popularly called Simmara) in *arḍ* Maysān as tended by Jews and as the object of endowments and votive gifts. Modern al-ʿUzayr is a large village on the west bank of the Tigris about 33 km. south of Ḳalʿat Ṣāliḥ.

Abu 'l-Fidāʾ calls Maysān a small town (*bulayda*) in the lower part of *arḍ* al-Baṣra, but after the 8th/14th century this name passed out of use. Al-ʿAmāra [*q.v.*] was founded in 1277/1860 at a place called al-Awradī from the 10th/16th century onwards. *Ḳanūn* no. 48, in 1969, changed the name of the ʿAmāra Liwāʾ to Maysān.

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(M. Streck-[M. Morony])

MAYSARA, a Berber chief of the Maghrib, who rebelled against Arab authority in 122/739-40. He belonged to the tribe of the Maṭghāra/Madghāra and the historians give him the surname of al-Ḥaḳīr "the low-born" because he was of humble origin and had been before his rebellion a water-seller in the market of al-Ḳayrawān.

After the recall of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] at the end of the 1st/opening of the 8th century in North Africa, under the influence of Khāridjite propaganda, incited by the Arabs' financial exactions, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Murādī, governor of Tangier, and a grandson of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda, governor of Sūs, had received orders from the caliphal representative in Egypt and Ifrīḳiya, ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb [*q.v.*], and were inflicting grievous wrongs on the Berbers by treating them, as regards taxation, as a conquered people not converted to Islam, and by taking the fairest of their women to send as slaves to Damascus. The general Ḥabīb having been sent from Sūs with his troops to the conquest of Sicily, his departure was the signal for insurrection. For the first time in Morocco, a movement on a large scale broke out; at its head the Berbers put Maysara al-Maṭghārī, who assumed the title of caliph. With the related tribes of the Miknāsa and Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*], Maysara advanced on Tangier and seized it, killing the governor ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh. The Arabs tried in vain to withstand him; the governor of Spain, ʿUkba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj, received the order to go and relieve the town, and after the defeat of the contingent which he sent, crossed the straits himself; he massacred the Berbers of the region, but was unable to retake Tangier, where Maysara left ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Ḥudaydj al-Ifrīḳī and went on to seize the Sūs, whose governor Ismāʿīl b. ʿUbayd Allāh he killed.

However, it was not long before Maysara was deposed from the leadership and killed by his followers. His successor, Khālid b. Ḥamīd/Ḥumayd al-Zanātī, inflicted on the Arabs a bloody defeat on the banks of the Wādī Shalīf (Oued Chélif), a battle which took place at the beginning of 123/740 and was known as "the battle of the noble ones" (*ghazwat al-ashrāf*). It required a great expeditionary force to be prepared in the East to put an end, not however without considerable losses, to this general revolt [see BALDJ and KULTHŪM B. ʿIYĀḌ], which had grave repercussions in Spain, where the Berbers in turn rebelled, and in North Africa, where it provoked an intense movement towards Islamisation.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

AL-**MAYSIR** (A.), a noun derived from *y-s-r* "to be easy, simple", a root from which derives, by antiphrasis, a qualificative of the left hand, *al-yusrā*, with which the *ḥurḍa* (cf. Hebrew *ḥ-r-ṣ* and Akkadian *ḥarāṣu* "decide, fix, determine"), the equivalent of the *ṣādin* of the *istiḳsām* [*q.v.*], shot arrows one by one. Hence the term *maysir* could be rendered by "the game of the left-handed", although its present morphological state is inexplicable.

The game consisted of dividing a slaughtered beast into ten parts, for which the game was played: these being the thighs and shins of both fore and rear legs, plus two shoulders. The head and the feet were given back to the butcher and the remaining inferior pieces were added proportionally to the ten parts. The best pieces were called *abdāʾ* or *budūʾ* and the least esteemed were the thighs of the two fore legs, on account of the large number of veins which they contain. The process of the game often required the slaughtering of numerous beasts, generally camels (*djuzur*). In view of the sum total of parts represented by the seven arrows (28), every time that the arrows were drawn, the ten parts were soon exhausted.

Two kinds of arrows were used in this game of chance:

(1) Seven winning arrows (*anṣibāʾ*), each bearing a name and with notches (*farḍ* or *ḥazz*), by which they were identified; and

(2) Three or four white arrows (*ghufl*, *aghfāl*), neither winning nor losing.

The winning arrows were named:

(1) *al-Fadhdh*, "the single (arrow)", bearing one notch and winning or losing a single part (= 1/28).

(2) *al-Tawʾam*, "the twin (arrow)", bearing two notches and winning or losing two parts (= 2/28).

(3) *al-Raḳīb*, also called *al-Ḍarīb*, "the (arrow of the) supervisor" of the game or of the "thrower" of the lots, bearing three notches and winning or losing three parts (= 3/28).
(4) *al-Ḥils* or *al-Ḥalis*, "the dressed" or "equipped" or even "strong (arrow)" (cf. Hebrew *ḥ-l-ṣ* and *ḥemeṣ*), bearing four notches and winning or losing four parts (= 4/28).
(5) *al-Nāfis*, "the precious" or "coveted (arrow)" (name sometimes given to the fourth arrow), bearing five notches and winning or losing five parts (= 5/28).
(6) *al-Mufsaḥ*, "the long and flat (arrow)", also called *al-Musbil*, "the elongated (arrow)", bearing six notches and winning or losing six parts (= 6/28).
(7) *al-Muʿallā*, "the superior (arrow)", also called *al-Mighlaḳ*, "the (arrow) that closes", a name also given to every winning arrow, bearing seven notches and winning or losing seven parts.

The white arrows bore no notches and their purpose consisted in slowing (*yuthakkil*) the game and making it more difficult. They are, in fact, "rivets"; every time that one of them was drawn, it was immediately replaced in the quiver; thus chances for the successive drawing of notched arrows steadily diminished. These were three in number, called:
(1) *al-Safīḥ*, "the profitless (arrow)" (name given to the fourth by al-Liḥyānī, who puts *al-Muṣaddar* in the first place). Considering the root, it seems that the shooter would receive the blood of the victim.
(2) *al-Manīḥ*, "the generous (arrow)", considered to be of good omen; its repeated return to the quiver was a portent of success. The shooter could receive the hide of the victim (cf. *TA*, ii, 234, 11. 21 f.).
(3) *al-Waghd*, "the scoundrel" or "(arrow of) the miser", particularly he who does not take part in the game, afraid of losing; it has the synonym *al-baram.*
(4) Some place a fourth arrow after the first (*TA*) or after the second (al-Liḥyānī, al-Nuwayrī), called *al-Muḍaʿʿaf* "the double (arrow)."

The players could not be more than seven in number; when they were fewer than seven, they needed to buy the remaining parts in order for the game to take place. The player who bought these parts was called *al-Tamīm* "he who completes". When he won twice in succession he was called *mutammim*, generously donating his winnings to his entourage, whence the laudatory title of *muthannā 'l-ayādī* applied to him, as well as to the one who purchased the parts which had not been won to give them to the poor. It is to this charitable act that certain commentators attribute the term *manāfiʿ* "advantages", which the Ḳurʾān uses in speaking of *maysir* and of wine (II, 219).

The players of *maysir* were called *al-aysār* (sing. *yasar*), and those who presided over the division of the parts *al-yāsirūn*. The archer, called *al-ḥurḍa*, had his right hand wrapped in a piece of leather or fabric in order to prevent him identifying the arrows by touch. A piece of white fabric, called *al-midjwāl*, was held above his hands and a *raḳīb* or "supervisor" stood close beside him, passing him the quiver containing the arrows when the face of the *ḥurḍa* was averted. Having taken it, the latter inserted his left hand (*al-yusrā*) under the *midjwāl*, shook (*yunakkir*) the arrows, revealed them to view (*nahada*) one after the other and handed them to the *raḳīb* (for references, see *Bibl.*).

This is the essence of what is known concerning the practice of *maysir*, the details of which had been forgotten by the Bedouins questioned in the first half of the 3rd/9th century by Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām al-Harawī (d. 223/837) (cf. T. Fahd, *Divination*, 208, n. 2). The reason for this forgetting lies in its prohibition by the Ḳurʾān, which, in two instances (II, 219 and V, 90) forbids it together with wine, while acknowledging in both certain "advantages" (*manāfiʿ*). They are seen, primarily, as a diversion from prayer and, subsequently, a factor of divisiveness and a cause of hostility among the faithful (v, 91). But, being condemned along with *anṣāb* (idols) and *azlām* (divining arrows), they are considered "impure" practices (*ridjs*) belonging to pagan cults (v, 90), and thus it may be supposed that the victims divided up for drawing by lot were originally blood-sacrifices offered to deities.

Bibliography: The present article is an abbreviated form of the analysis of *maysir* presented in T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden 1966, 204-13, where the reader will find complete references to the numerous sources and studies used, among which the following are especially worthy of mention: Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-maysir wa 'l-ḳidāḥ*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1342/1923; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, iii, 114-15 (German tr. and comm. by A. Huber, *Über das "Meisir" genannte Spiel der heidnischen Araber*; Arabic text with Latin translation by Rasmussen, *Additamentum*, 67/61); Zabīdī (author of *TA*), *Nashwat al-irtiyāḥ fī bayān ḥaḳīḳat al-maysir wa 'l-ḳidāḥ*, ed. Landberg, in *Primeurs arabes*, i, 29-38; see also *Divination*, 212, n. 6; Freitag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache*, Bonn 1861, 170-83; G. Jacob, *Ramaḍān*, Greifswald 1895, 110-13.

(T. FAHD)

MAYSŪN, daughter of the Kalbī chief Baḥdal b. Unayf [*q.v.*], mother of the caliph Yazīd I. We do not know if after her marriage with Muʿāwiya she retained the Christian religion which had been that of her family and of her tribe. A few verses are attributed to her in which she sighs for the desert and shows very slight attachment for her husband (see Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 25). But the attribution to Maysūn of this fragment of poetry, which is in any case old, has been rightly disputed. She took a great interest in the education of her son Yazīd and accompanied him to the desert of the Kalb where the prince passed a part of his youth; this temporary separation from her husband gave rise to the legend of her repudiation by Muʿāwiya. She must have died before Yazīd became caliph.

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MAYSŪR [see MAHISUR].

MAYTA (A.), feminine of *mayt*, dead (used of irrational beings); as a substantive it means an animal that has died in any way other than by slaughter. In later terminology, the word means firstly an animal that has not been slain in the ritually prescribed fashion, the flesh of which therefore cannot be eaten, and secondly all parts of animals whose flesh cannot be eaten, whether because not properly slaughtered or as a result of a general prohibition against eating them.

In addition to sūra XXXVI, 33, where *mayta* appears as an adjective, the word occurs in the following passages in the Ḳurʾān in the first of these meanings: XXI, 116: "He has forbidden you *mayta*, blood, pork and that over which another than Allāh has been invoked; if however anyone is forced [to eat these] without wishing to transgress or sin, Allāh is merciful and indulgent" (from the third Meccan period, since VI, 119 may refer to this context and the appearance of the same exception for cases of coercion in VI, 146

(cf. below) is then only easily explained in view of the whole trend of the passage, if there were an earlier passage, namely XVI, 116, in which it was given full justification; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 146-7; Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii, 26, transfers the whole sūra to the later Meccan period); VI,140, 146: "They have said: 'What is in the womb of this cattle belongs to the males, and is forbidden to our females'; but if it is *mayta* (stillborn), all have a share in it ... Say: I find in what is revealed to me nothing forbidden, which must not be eaten, except it be *mayta* or congealed blood or pork—for this is filth—or a slaughter at which another than Allāh is invoked, but if anyone is forced [to eat it] without wishing to commit a transgression or sin, thy heart is merciful and indulgent" (of the third Meccan period; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, i, 161; Grimme, ii, 26); II, 168: "He has forbidden you *mayta*, blood, pork and that over which another than Allāh is invoked but if anyone is forced [to eat it] without wishing to commit a sin or transgression, it is not reckoned as a sin against him; Allāh is merciful and indulgent" (from the year 2 of the *hidjra*, before the battle of Badr; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, i, 178; Grimme, ii, 27): vv. 4-5: "Forbidden to you is *mayta*, blood, pork, that over which another than Allāh is invoked, and that which has been strangled, killed by a blow or a fall, or by the horns [of another beast], that which has been eaten by wild beasts—with the exception of what is made pure—and that which has been sacrified to idols ... But if anyone in [his] hunger is forced to eat of them without wishing to commit a sin, Allāh is merciful and indulgent" (in all probability revealed after the valedictory pilgrimage of the year 10; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, i, 227-8; Grimme, ii, 28, dates the sūra to the year 7).

It is quite evident from sūra, XI, 140, that the *mayta* was of some significance for the Meccans in the many laws about food with which Arab paganism was acquainted (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 168 ff.). Although it is no longer possible to define exactly the part it played (even the statements recorded by al-Ṭabarī from the earliest interpreters of this passage, which moreover only refers to a detail, reveal the complete disappearance of any reliable tradition), it may be assumed without misgiving that the Ḳurʾānic prohibition contained a corresponding pre-Islamic prohibition, although it perhaps modified it. Both go back to the religious reluctance to consume the blood of animals, and indeed in all the Ḳurʾān passages quoted, blood is mentioned alongside of *mayta*. It is unnecessary to assume that Muḥammad was influenced by Judaism on this point, and the suggestion may be rejected especially as the prohibition in its stereotyped form occurs again in sūra II, 168, just at the time of vigorous reaction against Judaism, and in sūra VI, 147 (Medinan, a late insertion) which contrasts the prohibition of *mayta*, etc., with the Jewish laws relating to food. The meaning of *mayta* is explained in the latest passage dealing with it, v. 4: in the second half of the verse the principal kinds of *mayta* are given (with the exception of the animal that dies of disease), which had already been mentioned in general terms; the commentators were thus able to interpret the single cases given as examples wrongly as being different from the *mayta* proper. The purification (in the Ḳurʾān only mentioned in this passage) must mean ritual slaughter, by which, even if done at the last moment, the animal does not become *mayta* but can be eaten.

These prescriptions of the Ḳurʾān are further developed in the traditions. According to the latter, it is forbidden to trade in *mayta* or, more accurately, its edible parts; some traditions (mainly on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal) even forbid any use being made of all that comes from *mayta*; others again expressly permit the use of hides of *mayta*. An exception from the prohibition of *mayta* is made in the cases of fish and locusts; these are in general considered as the two kinds of *mayta* that are permitted, i.e. no ritual slaughter is demanded in their case (because they have no "blood", cf. above). While some traditions, extending this permission by the earliest *ḳiyās*, say that all creatures of the sea, not only fishes, can be eaten without ritual slaughter, including even seafowl (in this case it is said that "the sea has performed the ritual slaughter"), others limit the permission to those animals and fishes which the sea casts up on the land or the tide leaves behind, in contrast to those which swim about on the water. But there is also quoted a saying of Abū Bakr expressly declaring what swims on the surface to be permitted. In this connection, we have the story of a monster cast up by the sea (sometimes described as a fish) which fed a Muslim army under the leadership of Abū ʿUbayda when they were in dire straits; but in this tradition and in the interpretation that has been given it (that they only ate of it out of hunger i.e. took advantage of the Ḳurʾānic permission for cases of need) is clearly reflected the uncertainty that prevailed about such questions which were on the border line. In the traditions, we find it first laid down that portions cut out of living animals are also considered *mayta*. The way is at least paved for the declaration that all forbidden animal-dishes are *mayta*. The regulations found in the Ḳurʾān appear again here, e.g. the permission to eat *mayta* in case of need and to slay properly dying animals at the moment to prevent them becoming *mayta*.

Some traditions handed down through Ḥammād from Ibrāhīm al-Nak͟haʿī bring us to a somewhat late period (in the *Kitāb al-Āt͟hār*): one says that of the creatures of the sea, only fishes can be eaten; another, which is found in two versions, limits the permission to what is thrown up by the sea or left behind by the tide; ritual slaughter is not demanded in this case. The question whether the embryo of a slaughtered dam requires a special purification, i.e. ritual slaughter, is raised in one tradition and decided in the affirmative.

The most important regulations of Muslim law about *mayta*, which express the last stage of development, are as follows. It is unanimously agreed that *mayta* in the legal sense is impure and "forbidden" (*ḥarām*), i.e. cannot be eaten, and also that fish are exceptions to this; the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs also except the majority of creatures of the sea, and according to the more correct S͟hāfiʿī view, this applies to all marine creatures (the Ḥanbalīs here hold the opinion of Ibrāhīm al-Nak͟haʿī, except that the two ideas of "thrown up" and "swimming on the surface" are later overlaid and destroyed by the to some extent synonymous phrase "slain by another cause", "died of itself"). The edible parts of *mayta* are also *mayta*, as are the bones, hair etc. among the S͟hāfiʿīs, but not the Ḥanafīs, and among the Mālikīs only the bones; the hide, when tanned, is considered pure and may be used. Emergency slaughter (*d͟hakāt* or *tad͟hkiya*; ritual slaughter in general is *d͟habḥ* or *naḥr*) is, according to the Ḥanafīs and the better-known view of the S͟hāfiʿīs (also according to al-Zuhrī), permitted, even if the animal will certainly die, provided it still shows signs of life at the moment of slaughter. According to the view predominant among the Mālikīs, such slaughter is not valid and the animal becomes *mayta* (in contrast to Mālik's own view). The question of the

embryo (cf. above) is answered in the affirmative by the Ḥanafīs, following Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī and Abū Ḥanīfa (al-Shaybānī himself held the Mālikī view, to be mentioned immediately below) but in the negative by the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs (in this case, it is said that "the ritual slaughter of the dam is also the ritual slaughter of the embryo"), except that the Mālikīs made it a condition that the embryo should be fully developed (Mālik himself also demanded its slaughter "to draw the blood from it" in the case where the embryo had been dropped). That anyone who is forced to eat *mayta* may do so, is the unanimous opinion; only on the questions whether one is bound to eat *mayta* to save his life, whether he should satisfy his hunger completely, or only eat the minimum to keep life alive, etc., is there a difference of opinion. The Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs further demand that one should not have been brought to these straits through illegal action (a different interpretation of the Ḳurʾānic regulations).

A clear definition of *mayta* and its distinction from other kinds of forbidden animal foods was never reached. Sometimes it is separated on the authority of the Ḳurʾānic passage itself from its own four subdivions given in sūra V. Sometimes its validity is extended over extensive allied fields. As is evident from the *fiḳh* books, this terminological uncertainty has not infrequently caused still further confusion in the discussion of differences of opinion.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; the books of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*; Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v.; Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*[3], 169-70; E. Gräf, *Schlachttier und Jagdbeute im islamischen Recht*, Bonn 1959; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 134. (J. Schacht)

MAYŪRḲA, Majorca or Mallorca, name of the largest (*umm*) of the Balearic islands (or eastern islands of al-Andalus: *al-djazāʾir al-sharḳiyya*), the others being Minūrḳa (Minorca or Menorca) and Yābisa (Ibiza). Its name figures as early as the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. D. Catalán, 13. At approximately the same distance from Ibiza to the west and from Minorca to the east, it is situated four days' sailing time from Sardinia (Sardāniya) according to al-Idrīsī (*Maghrib*, text 214, tr. 266) and lies opposite Bougie (al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, text 188-91, tr. 228-31). Al-Ḥimyarī, Ibn Saʿīd (*Mughrib*, ii, 466) and al-Zuhrī (*K. al-Djaʿrāfiya*, 177-9) differ as to the terrain of the island. According to the testimony of this last-named author in particular, and according to the data supplied by Christian sources following the Catalan-Aragonese conquest of the 13th century, the island, which enjoyed a fine climate, was fertile and possessed abundant resources, especially cereals, fruits, trees, pack-animals, sheep and cattle, horses and mules, a few goats, and also, for hunting, hares, rabbits and foxes. Cotton and flax were cultivated there, but silk was an imported commodity (Ibn Saʿīd, in E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits*, 23, 24). Curiously there is no mention of the olive and the raisin, but their existence cannot be doubted, nor that of the fig; cultivation of these products, of little significance during the Islamic occupation, was developed subsequently. A Flemish document of the 13th century mentions rice as one of the principal commodities exported from Majorca to Flanders, but there is no evidence for the cultivation of this product in the Islamic period. From the work of al-Zuhrī (178) and from other sources, it appears that the town and the island were endowed with a good defensive system and substantial buildings.

Nothing is known of the situation of Majorca and its dependencies at the time of the first Arab incursions into the western Mediterranean. It may reasonably be assumed that it comprised a population which was at first Romanised, later Christianised, of Hispano-Roman descent, and possibly some Jews. In the *K. al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa* (ed. Ṭ.M. al-Zaynī, n. p., n.d., i, 73), in the *Annales* of Ibn al-Athīr (33), the *Mughrib* of Ibn Saʿīd (ii, 466) and the *Analectes* of al-Maḳḳarī (i, 177), there is mention of a first incursion carried out in 89/707-8, from the direction of Ifrīḳiya, by the son of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, ʿAbd Allāh, who—according to one of these sources—was the *fātiḥ Mayūrḳa*, who captured its king (*malik*) and who took possession of a rich store of booty. Other sources, including Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, ii, text 89, tr. 145), who speaks of a state of revolt and of a refusal to pay the levies due for the years 234 and 235/846-50, give the impression that, subjected to a treaty and required to pay the *djizya* and possibly other contributions, the Majorcans refused on more than one occasion and lived for a considerable period of time in a state of more or less nominal independence until the conquest of the island in the time of the *amīr* Muḥammad I (al-Zuhrī, 178) or until the arrival, in 290/902-3, of ʿIṣām al-Khawlānī who contributed to the Islamisation of the island by constructing hostelries, baths and mosques (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 164), all this after the island had suffered, in 255/869, the devastating effects of a Norman invasion. Majorca was a constant source of difficulties for the Cordovan administration, to such an extent that in 336/947-8 al-Nāṣir was obliged to send his *kātib* Djaʿfar b. ʿUthmān al-Muṣḥafī to restore order there (*Bayān*, ii, text 215, tr. 356). In the 5th/11th century, there begins a new period in the history of Majorca. Annexed to the kingdom of Mudjāhid [*q.v.*] of Denia (see Clelia Sarnelli Cerqua, *Mudjāhid al-ʿĀmirī ḳāʾid al-usṭūl al-ʿarabī fī gharbī al-baḥr al-mutawassiṭ*, Cairo 1961), the islands became the centre of intense piratical activity. After the disappearance of ʿAlī b. Mudjāhid and the incorporation of Denia, in 468/1076, into the kingdom of the Banū Hūd [*q.v.*] of Saragossa (Afif Turk, *El reino de Zaragoza en el siglo XI de Cristo* (*V de la Hégira*), Madrid 1978, 109-14), there followed, from 480 to 508/1087-1115, some obscure years of independence during which the islands, having undergone a devastating attack on the part of the Pisans and the Catalans, were occupied by the Almoravids. The rule of the latter, continued, after their collapse and their disappearance from the Iberian peninsula and North Africa, with the dynasty of the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*] until the occupation of the island by the Almohads in 599/1202-3 (see especially al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, text 189-91, tr. 228-31). The reign of the Almohads represents a period of obscurity which lasted until the year 627/1229 when James I of Aragon put an end to Islamic domination; the last centre of resistance were crushed in Rabīʿ I 628/January-February 1231.

Majorca was Islamised and Arabised from the 4th to the 6th century/10th to the 12th, and under the Almoravids and the Almohads its ethnic composition became increasingly Berberised, a factor which has left visible traces in the toponomy of the Baleares (M. Barcelo, *De toponimia tribal i clànica berber a les illes orientals d'al-Andalus*, Societat Onomàstica, Buttletí interior, vii Colloqui Mallorca, April 1982, 426; A. Poveda Sánchez, *Introductión al estudio de la toponimia árabe-musulmana de Mayūrqa, según la documentación de los archivos de la ciutat de Mallorca (1232-1276)*, in *Awrāq*, iii [1980], 76-100). Majorca displayed, especially from the 5th to the 7th/11th-13th centuries, an intensive cultural activity (D. Urvoy, *La vie intellectuelle et*

spirituelle dans les Baléares musulmanes, in *And.*, xxxvii [1972], 87-132). The other islands were also conquered by the Catalan-Aragonese: Ibiza in 632/1235 and Minorca in 686/1287.

Bibliography: Besides the works mentioned, see Guillem Roselló Bordoy, *L'Islam a les Illes Balears*, Palma, Majorca 1968, which contains fuller references to the Arabic sources and puts into context the information supplied by the classic work of Alvaro Campaner y Fuertes, *Bosquejo histórico de la dominación islamita en las Islas Baleares*, Palma 1888. Also see the works of Miquel Barcelo (extensive bibliography), A. Poveda Sánchez and Richard Soto, author *inter alia* of *Quan Mallorca era Mayūrqa*, in *L'Avenç*, xvi (May 1979), 25-33 and of *Mesquites urbanes i mesquites rurales a Mayūrqa*, in *Butlletí de la Soc. arqueològica Luliana*, any xcv (1979), no. xxxvii, 114-35. On the subject of Minorca, E. Molina López, *El gobierno independiente de Menorca y sus relaciones con al-Andalus e Ifrīqīya*, in *Revista de Menorca*, Mahón 1982, 5-88. Also recommended is M. de Epalza, *Orígenes de la invasión cordobesa de Mallorca en 902*, in *Estudis de Prehistòria, d'Història de Mayūrqa i d'Història de Mallorca dedicats a Guillem Roselló i Bordoy*, Majorca 1982, 113-129 (these *Estudis* also contain other interesting articles).

(J. Bosch Vilá)

al-**MAYURḲĪ**, the *nisba* of several persons originally from Majorca (Mayurḳa [*q.v.*]) or residents of the island. In his *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, iv, 720-3, s.v. Mayurḳa, Yāḳūt mentions a certain number.

In addition to al-Ḥumaydī [*q.v.*], the best-known person with this last *nisba*, one should mention the name of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṭunayz, who seems to have led quite a lively existence. According to Yāḳūt, iv, 722-3, he was a good grammarian (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 327) who was also concerned with the Ḳurʾān readings; he naturally collected *ḥadīths* at Damascus, Baṣra and elsewhere. He is said to have gone to ʿUmān and the land of the Zandj, where he stayed for some time before returning to die at Kāẓimayn, near Baghdād (rather than at Baṣra, in Yāḳut's second version) in *ca.* 475/1082. Two verses by him are cited by Yāḳūt and al-Suyūṭī, but others are preserved in the Escurial ms. 467/2 (Derenbourg). See Brockelmann, S I, 479.

Another Mayurḳī worthy of notice is a Christian convert to Islam, Fray Anselmo Turmeda, better known under the name of ʿAbd Allāh al-Tardjumān [see al-tardjumān]. (Ed.)

MAYY ZIYĀDA, pen name of Mārī Ilyās Ziyāda, pioneer writer of poetry in prose, essayist, orator and journalist in Arabic, French and English; translator from several European languages; and a zealous feminist who defended the case of Arab women's education and freedom.

Born in Nazareth on 11 February 1886 to a Lebanese Christian father who worked as a teacher and journalist, and a Galilee mother from a village near Nazareth, Mayy received a French education at St. Joseph's School in Nazareth (1892-9), in ʿAyntūra in Lebanon (1900-4), and at the Lazarist Nuns in Beirut (1904-8). In 1908 her parents emigrated to Cairo, where her father was appointed as the editor of the journal *al-Maḥrūsa*. Her first literary work was a booklet of a collection of romantic poems and poems in prose in French, influenced by Lamartine and dedicated to him, entitled *Fleurs de rêve* (Cairo 1911). It was published under the pseudonym of Isis Copia. Djamīl Djabr translated it into Arabic as *Azāhir ḥulm* (Beirut 1952).

In Egypt she studied various European languages and European romantic poets and writers, and became interested in European feminist activities. She also came under the influence of Arabic Islamic culture, especially through Luṭfī al-Sayyid [*q.v.*]. She published in *al-Maḥrūsa* novels by European writers which she translated into Arabic, and later these were published in book form. Some of these were from the French: Brada's novel *Le retour du flot*, which she entitled *Rudjūʿ al-mawdja* (1925); a novel by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Refugees*, which she entitled *al-Ḥubb fi 'l-ʿadhāb* (1925) and from German the novel *Deutsche Liebe* by F. Max Müller under the title *Ibtisāmāt wa-dumūʿ* (Cairo 1911).

In 1916 she joined the Egyptian University (*al-Djāmiʿa al-Miṣriyya*), where she studied literature and philosophy. She also collected her social essays which were published in *al-Mahrūsa* and other Arabic journals under the title *Sawāniḥ fatāt* (Cairo 1922). She took an active part in the social and cultural life in Lebanon and Egypt by lecturing at mixed meetings of men and women in various clubs and societies such as Fatāt Miṣr, where she lectured on *Ghāyat al-ḥayāt* (Cairo 1921). She published articles in various journals—in Arabic, *al-Maḥrūsa*, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, *al-Hilāl*, *al-Ahrām*, and *al-Siyāsa al-Usbūʿiyya*; in French, *Sphynx*, *Le Progrès Égyptien*; and in English, *The Egyptian Mail*—on various cultural subjects such as Arabic language and literature, Arab and Eastern women and the awakening of the Eastern nations such as the Turkish and the Japanese. She defended the "spiritualism of the East" as opposed to the materialism of the West, but condemned the poverty, illiteracy and illness which prevailed in the East. Her lectures were collected in her book *Kalimāt wa-ishārāt*, (Cairo 1922). Her articles on French and Arab personalities she collected in her book *al-Ṣaḥāʾif* (Cairo 1924), and on Arabic language and literature in *Bayn al-djazr wa 'l-madd* (Cairo 1924). Her collection of romantic and lyrical poetry-in-prose (*shiʿr manthūr*) influenced by Khalīl Djabrān [*q.v.*] she published in her book *Ẓulumāt wa-ashiʿʿa* (Cairo 1923) in which she expressed her pantheism.

In her essays she called for brotherhood, justice, mercy and secular humanism. Yet Mayy did not believe in equality in society. She expressed her ideas on aristocracy, slavery, passive and revolutionary socialism, democracy, anarchism and nihilism in her book *al-Musāwāt* (Cairo 1922), where she ended her discussion with a play emphasising that equality in society is impossible.

In various works, Mayy extolled the literary achievements of her contemporary Arab pioneer poetesses and writers such as in *Bāḥithat al-Bādiya* (pseudonym of Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif [*q.v.*]) (Cairo 1920), *Warda al-Yāzidjī* (Cairo 1924), and *ʿĀʾisha al-Taymūriyya*, published in serial form in *al-Muḳtaṭaf* (1923-5) and in book form in 1956.

French literary and cultural life made a great impression on Mayy. She styled her weekly salon according to Mme de Rambouillet. Her circle, which exercised deep influence on Egyptian literary and cultural life, included eminent Egyptian and Syro-Lebanese men and women of the pen such as Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif and Hudā Shaʿrāwī, the poets Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī, Aḥmad Shawḳī, Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, Muṣṭafā Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfiʿī, Walī al-Dīn Yagan and Khalīl Muṭrān, and writers such as Luṭfī al-Sayyid, Shiblī Shumayyil, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, Salīm Sarkīs, Salāma Mūsā, Yaʿḳūb Ṣarrūf, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād. In her salon, literary and cultural questions, and philosophical and scientific trends, were

discussed and poems were read. Many writers said that some of these personalities were in love with Mayy; yet it is agreed that her great love was Djabrān whom, though she corresponded with him, she never met in person.

Mme de Sévigné was her example for literary correspondence. Beside Djabrān and the attendants of her salon, she corresponded also with Salmā Ṣāyigh and Amīn al-Rīḥānī. Some of these letters were collected and published by the Lebanese Djamīl Djabr in his book *Mayy wa-Djabrān* (Beirut 1950), *Rasāʾil Mayy* (2nd ed. Beirut 1954) and by Ṭāhir al-Ṭunnāḥī in *Aṭyāf min ḥayāt Mayy* (Cairo 1974). A common fault among Arab writers is that they have looked at *Rasāʾil Mayy* (1948) by Madeleine Arkash as a collection of Mayy Ziyāda's genuine letters while, in fact, these are imaginary letters giving advice to women on problems of life.

Mayy's style is influenced by Christian Arabic liturgical literature and the French Romantics. She treats her subjects emotionally and metaphorically, loading them with allusions to French and Arabic history and culture.

The deaths of her father in 1930, of Djabrān in 1931 and of her mother in 1932 made her feel lonely and deserted. Her journeys to France and England in 1932 and then to Rome did not release her from her melancholy. In 1935 her relatives suspected her of neurasthenia and hysteria; they lured her back to Lebanon and she was put into a mental hospital for nine months. The Lebanese journal *al-Makshūf* defended her case with the help of her friends Amīn al-Rīḥānī, Charles Mālik and Ḳusṭanṭīn Zurayḳ and Prince ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazāʾirī, and she was released from hospital. Two years later she returned to Cairo, where she died on 19 October 1941. In 1975 Muʾassasat Nawfal in Beirut published all Mayy's works and translations, twelve in number.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): Y. A. Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabiyya*, Beirut 1956, ii, 435-41; Muhammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan, *Ḥayāt Mayy*, Cairo 1942; Amal Dāʿūḳ Saʿd, *Fann al-murāsala ʿinda Mayy Ziyāda*, Beirut 1982; Djamīl Djabr, *Mayy fī ḥayātihā al-muḍṭariba*, Beirut 1953; and *Mayy Ziyāda fī ḥayātihā wa-adabihā*, Beirut 1960; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Sharāra, *Mayy Ziyāda*, Beirut 1965; Manṣūr Fahmī, *Mayy Ziyāda wa-rāʾidāt al-adab al-ʿarabī al-ḥadīth* Cairo 1954; T. Khemiri, *Leaders in contemporary Arabic literature. Pt. 1*, in *WI*, ix/2-4 (1930), 24-7; I. Kratchkovsky, *Proben der neu-arabischen Literatur (1880-1925)*, in *MSOS*, xxxi/2 (1928), 196-7; E. Rossi, *Una scrittrice araba cattolica Mayy (Marie Ziyādah)*, in *OM*, v, no. 11 (Nov. 1925), 604-13; Brockelmann, S III, 259-62; N. K. Kotsarev, *Pisateli Egipta, XX vek*, Moscow 1975, 136-7.

(S. Moreh)

MAYYĀFĀRIḲĪN, a town in the northeast of Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*]. The other Islamic forms of the name are Māfārḳīn, Mafārḳīn, Fārḳīn (whence the name of origin al-Fāriḳī), etc. The town is called in Greek Martyropolis, in Syriac Mīpherḳēt, in Armenian Nphkert (later Muharkin, Muphargin). According to Yāḳūt, iv, 702, the old name of the town was Madūr-ṣālā (read *ḳāla* < **matur-khalakh* in Armenian, "town of the martyrs"). On the identification of Tigranocerta with Mayyāfāriḳīn, see below.

1. *Topography and early history.*

Geography. The town lies to the south of the little range of the Ḥazrō which rises like the first tier of the amphitheatre of the mountains, the higher parts of which consist of the summits (Darkōsh, Antok) rising to the south of Mūsh and separating the course of the eastern Euphrates (Murād čay) from those of the Tigris and its left-bank tributaries.

Mayyāfāriḳīn lies 25 miles north of the Tigris and 12 west of the Baṭmān-Ṣū. It is watered by a little river (now called the Fārḳīn-Ṣū) which flows into the Baṭmān-Ṣū 12 miles to the southeast, an important left-bank tributary of the Tigris which drains the wild and mountainous country south of Mūsh (the cantons of Ḳulp and Sāṣūn). The old names of the Baṭmān-Ṣū are Nicephorius (Roman period), Nymphios (Byzantine period), Syriac Kallath, Arabic Sātīdamā (a word of Aramaic origin transcribed Shithithma in Armenian and explained as "drinker of blood"; Armenian *Geography* of the 7th century = Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 161), Armenian Khalirt and perhaps Mamushel (Faustus of Byzantium). Some of these identifications, as we shall see, are still uncertain.

Mayyāfāriḳīn is the meeting-place of a number of roads from the north following the different streams which go to form the Baṭmān-Ṣū: 1. Čabakhdjūr (on the Murād čay) — Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn — Līdje — Boshāt — Mayyāfāriḳīn; 2. Mūsh — Ḳulp — Pāsūr — Mayyāfāriḳīn; 3. Mūsh — Khoyt — Tingirt (= Ṣāṣūn) — Mayyāfāriḳīn. Routes 3 and 4 passing Ṣāṣūn are still little known. The distance between Diyārbakr and Mayyāfāriḳīn is about 45 miles. The old road Diyārbakr — Bitlīs, which used to run through Mayyāfāriḳīn, now runs farther south and crosses the Baṭmān-Ṣū south of Almadīn (Diyārbakr — Sinān — Zok — Weisiḳaranī — Bitlīs).

Mayyāfāriḳīn has thus lost the advantage of being a stage on the road between Armenia and upper Mesopotamia. Since 1260 it has no longer been a political centre around which gravitated the interests of the surrounding country. It retains only its importance as a market for the produce of the mountainous and pastoral country drained by the Baṭmān-Ṣū.

Ancient history. The mountains to the north of Mayyāfāriḳīn have long sheltered the remnants of ancient aboriginal peoples. About 600 A.D., Georgius Cyprius (ed. Gelzer, 48), mentions the Χοθαῖται and Σαναασουνῖται there who gave their names to the districts of Khoyt and Ṣāṣūn. Marquart (1916) supposes there are elements of the aboriginal language in names like *M-īpher-ḳēt and *Ma-mushel(i) which are, he says, formed with Caucasian ("südkaukasisch"?) prefixes. According to tradition (Yāḳūt, iv, 703), the founder of Martyropolis, Marūthā b. Layūṭā, was the son of a woman on the mountains, and Marquart sees in Layūṭā a mutilated form of the name of the people Urṭā(n) < Urarṭu (*Handes Amsorya* [1915], 96; [1916], 126). The Marwānid Abū Naṣr (see section 2. below) was married to the daughter of Sankharīb, lord of the Sanāsuna; cf. Amedroz, in *JRAS* (1903).

Lehmann-Haupt thought that he could recognise at Mayyāfāriḳīn traces of an ancient Assyrian settlement, "eine von Haus aus assyrische Anlage" (*Armenien*, i, 396, 398).

Tigranocerta = Mayyāfāriḳīn (?). As early as 1838, von Moltke had suggested that Mayyāfāriḳīn was the ancient Tigranocerta, i.e. the new capital founded by Tigranes II about 80 B.C., which was taken by Lucullus after the victory won on the banks of the Nicephorius (6 Oct. 69 B.C.) and again in the reign of Nero by the legate Corbulo (*ca.* 63 A.D.); it is regularly mentioned down to the middle of the 4th century A.D. Other scholars had sought Tigranocerta at Siʿirt (d'Anville), Arzan (H. Kiepert, 1873), near Kefr-Djōz (Kiepert 1875), at Tell-Armen west of

Niṣībīn (E. Sachau; cf. DUNAYSĪR), etc. Late Armenian tradition gives the name Tigranocerta to Diyārbakr. Moltke's idea was taken up vigorously by Lehmann-Haupt and W. Belck after their expedition to Armenia in 1898-9.

On the north wall of Mayyāfāriḳīn is a multilated Greek inscription. It was deciphered and published by Lehmann-Haupt, who attributes it to the Armenian King Pap (369-74), which is quite in keeping with the known facts of the reign of this monarch. In spite of his criticism of the details of Lehmann-Haupt's hypothesis, Marquart (1916) has rather corroborated him by bringing forward new considerations.

In view of the many contradictions found in the classical sources regarding Tigranocerta, the question comes to be, if Mayyāfāriḳīn is not Tigranocerta, what other unknown town existed here in the time of Pap, unless the stones on which the inscription is engraved and which are now hopelessly dissarranged ("in heilloser Verwirrung") were brought from another place when Martyropolis was being built?

The main objection to the identification of Tigranocerta with Mayyāfāriḳīn is that, according to Eutropius, vi, 9, 1 and Faustus, v, 24, Tigranocerta was in Arzanene (Ałdznikh); on the other hand, the river Mamus̲h̲eł seems to have formed in the 4th century the western frontier of this latter province. From this fact (Hübschmann, *Die altarmen. Ortsnamen*, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, Leipzig 1904, 473-5), it seems that Tigranocerta ought to be placed east of the Baṭmān-Ṣū if this river is identical with the Mamus̲h̲eł. This last name was connected by Marquart with the name al-Musūliyāt, which al-Muḳaddasī, 144, gives to one of the tributaries of the Tigris (on the left bank) and apparently corresponding to the Baṭmān-Ṣū. (A district of Musūliya (?) still exists farther east on the upper course of the Bidlīs čay, in the area of the ancient possessions of the Baṭrīḳ Mus̲h̲ālīḳ; cf. Kisrawī, in Yāḳūt, ii, 551-2.)

To reconcile the statements of Faustus, iv, 24, 27, with the position of Mayyāfāriḳīn (12 miles west of the Baṭmān-Ṣū), Marquart proposes to identify the Mamus̲h̲eł = Nicephorius with the Fārḳīn-Ṣū, while the Musūliyāt would be applied to the whole system of the Baṭmān-Ṣū (Nymphios, Sātīdamā, etc.). The insignificance of the Fārḳīn-Ṣū, which rises in the hills about 3 miles north of Mayyāfāriḳīn (Ibn al-Azraḳ calls its source Raʾs al-ʿAyn; the *D̲j̲ihān-numā*, 437, ʿAyn al-Ḥawḍ) and does not suit the description of the hermitage of Mambrē, which, according to Faustus, must have been on the right bank, makes Marquart's hypothesis less attractive. If finally we consider the position of Mayyāfāriḳīn from the point of view of the interests of Tigranes, one is forced to admit that against an enemy coming from the west (Lucullus!) Tigranocerta = Mayyāfāriḳīn was devoid of natural defences, while in the event of an enemy coming from the east it ran the risk of being easily cut off from Armenia on the main road from Bitlīs (the ancient Κλεισοῦρα Βαλαλείσων, cf. Tomaschek, *Sasun* in *SBAW Wien* [Vienna 1895], 8). On the other hand, Mayyāfāriḳīn from its position later played an important part in the defensive system of the Byzantine empire.

In these circumstances and before a more detailed study has been made on the spot, it is a mistake to think that all the difficulties in the identification of Tigranocerta have been cleared up.

Mayyāfāriḳīn = Martyropolis. The identity of these two towns is quite certain. The Christian sources (Syriac, Armenian and Greek) referring to the foundation of Martyropolis are numerous. A Syriac "history" (*tas̲h̲ʿīt̲h̲ā*) kept in the Jacobite church of Mayyāfāriḳīn was translated for the historian of the town Ibn al-Azraḳ and is given in a synopsis in Yāḳūt, iv, 703-7 and al-Ḳazwīnī, ii, 379-80 (tr. with notes by Marquart, in *Handes Amsorya* [1916], 125-35).

The town is said to have been founded on the site of a "large village" (*ḳarya ʿaẓīma*) by the bishop Marūt̲h̲ā) (Mār Marūt̲h̲ā) who had obtained the authority of Yazdigird I of Persia to do so. This ecclesiastic flourished between *ca.* 383 and 420 (on the sources for his biography, cf. Marquart, *op. cit.*, 91-2, 125). The town of Martyropolis to which Marūt̲h̲ā brought the remains of the Christian martyrs of Persia is mentioned for the first time in 410. The etymology of the Syriac name Mīpherḳēṭ is uncertain (cf. above). In Amenian, the town is mentioned for the first time in the *Geography* of the 7th century as Nphrkert (once Nphṛet).

By the peace of 297 with Diocletian, the province of Sophanene, within which Martyropolis lay, had become part of the Roman empire. Even after the disastrous peace made by Jovian in 363, Sophanene remained to the Emperor. Under Theodosius II (401-50), the new town, situated quite near the frontier, acquired considerable importance and became the capital of Sophanene (= Great Tsopkh). The town was still insufficiently fortified, and in 502 the Sāsānian Kawād̲h̲ b. Pērōz seized it and carried the inhabitants off to K̲h̲ūzistān, where he founded for them the town of Abaz-Ḳubād̲h̲ (Yāḳūt, iv, 707) Weh-Āmid̲h̲-Kawād̲h̲ = Arrad̲j̲ān; cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 41, 307). Anastasius began the fortification of Martyropolis but Justinian, after his accession in 527, was the first to reorganise completely the eastern frontier between Dārā and Trebizond. Martyropolis, the headquarters of a commander under the *strategos* of Theodosiopolis (Erzerūm), became one of the most important military centres. Procopius, *De aedificiis*, iii, gives a complete description of the walls of the town, the height and thickness of which were doubled and a full account of the system of defences (outer walls, advanced forts etc.); cf. Adontz, *op.cit.*, 10-12, 140-2. In 589 the town fell into the hands of the Sāsānids, but in 591 came back to the Byzantines in return for the support given by the Emperor Maurice to K̲h̲usraw II. Heraclius held it still the year 18/639 (Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*). (The date is not given in Muralt, *Chronogr. byz.*, i).

The vicissitudes of Martyropolis probably explain the fact that in the Armenian *Geography* of the 7th century (ed. Patkanov, tr. 45; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 18, 161) the Persian province of Ałdznikh (Arzanene) is separated from Tsophkh (Sophanene) by the line of the Khałirt (= Baṭmān-Ṣū) while in the description of parts of Armenia Nphret (= Nphrjert) figures as one of the 10 cantons of Arzanene.

Christian legend as preserved by Ibn al-Azraḳ and Yāḳūt gives very full details of the building of the town in the time of Mār Mārūt̲h̲ā: the arches (*ṭīḳān*) of the walls in which the remains of the martyrs were placed, the eight gates of the town, the names of which are carefully recorded, the convent of SS. Peter and Paul, the buildings erected by the three ministers of the Byzantine emperor, each of whom built a tower and a church. There is still to be seen in Mayyāfāriḳīn the ruins of a magnificent basilica and of the Church of the Virgin (al-ʿAd̲h̲rā). Gertrude Bell dated the basilica "not much later than the beginning of the fifth century", and suggested that the Church of the Virgin was one of the two built by K̲h̲usraw II in recognition of the assistance lent by Maurice; cf. Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲, *Muk̲h̲taṣar*, ed. Pococke, 98.

(V. MINORSKY)

2. *The Islamic period.*

The conquest and caliphal rule. In the wake of the conquest of the Djazīra by ᶜIyāḍ b. Ghanm, Mayyāfāriḳīn fell to him peacefully. The caliph ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had made him governor of the Djazīra in 18/639 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 179). From that time until the early ᶜAbbāsid period, the city was ruled as part of the Djazīra, sometimes jointly with al-Shām and on other occasions with Armenia and Ādharbāydjān. The names of individual governors of Mayyāfāriḳīn for this period are listed by the town chronicler Ibn al-Azraḳ al-Fāriḳī and copied by ᶜIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, the 7th/13th century geographer of the Djazīra.

During the reign of the ᶜAbbāsid caliph al-Muhtadī (255-6/869-70), Mayyāfāriḳīn and Āmid [*q.v.*] were seized by the Shaybānid ᶜĪsā b. al-Shaykh [*q.v.*] (Ibn Shaddād, ms. Oxford, Marsh 333, fol. 10a). The Shaybānids continued to govern the area until its reconquest by the caliph al-Muᶜtaḍid in 286/ 899. The grandson of ᶜĪsā b. al-Shaykh, Muḥammad, built the minaret of the Friday mosque in Mayyāfāriḳīn in 270/883-4 or 273/886-7. His name was inscribed on it (*ibid.*, fol. 69a).

Ḥamdānid and Būyid involvement in Mayyāfāriḳīn. Mayyāfāriḳīn fell under the sway of the Taghlibī Arab family, the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*], after the appointment of Nāṣir al-Dawla al-Ḥasan as governor of Mawṣil in 324/935. His brother, Sayf al-Dawla ᶜAlī (d. 356/967), ruled Aleppo and Diyār Bakr and showed a particular liking for Mayyāfāriḳīn. Sayf al-Dawla repaired its walls and rebuilt the old citadel, where he stayed when visiting the city. He also provided Mayyāfāriḳīn with a proper water supply. The entourage of Sayf al-Dawla at Mayyāfāriḳīn included the famous preacher Ibn Nubāta [*q.v.*], and al-Mutanabbī. The latter recited an elegy over ᶜAbd Allāh b. Sayf al-Dawla, who died in the town in 338/949 (Ibn al-Azraḳ, B.L. Or. 5803, fol. 113b; Ibn Shaddād, fols. 77a-78a).

During the rule of Sayf al-Dawla, the Djazīra was under frequent attack from the Byzantines, whose territorial possessions extended at times almost as far as Āmid. The future Byzantine emperor John Tzimisces besieged Mayyāfāriḳīn in 348/959, and it was on this occasion that Ibn Nubāta began to deliver sermons exhorting the citizens to engage in *djihād* (al-Anṭākī, 774-7; Ibn al-Azraḳ, Or. 5803, fol. 114b). Thereafter Sayf al-Dawla began to strengthen the fortifications of the city (Ibn Shaddād, fol. 78b).

When Sayf al-Dawla died in 367/967, he was buried in the Ḥamdānid family *turba* at Mayyāfāriḳīn (Ibn al-Azraḳ, Or. 5803, fol. 117a; Ibn Shaddād, fol. 78a), a detail which reveals the high esteem in which the city was held by his line. Moreover, Mayyāfāriḳīn was the residence of his wife and children (al-Anṭākī, 807). After the death of Sayf al-Dawla, Mayyāfāriḳīn—along with the rest of Diyār Bakr—fell to the Ḥamdānid ruler of Mawṣil, Abū Taghlib al-Ghaḍanfar. The sister of Sayf al-Dawla stayed on in Mayyāfāriḳīn and in 362/972-3 completed the task of improving the defences of the city. This was probably occasioned by another siege of Mayyāfāriḳīn conducted by John Tzimisces, now elevated to the purple, in 361/972 (Ibn al-Azraḳ, Or. 5803, fol. 118b).

In 368/978-9 Abu 'l-Wafāᵓ, the general of the Būyid ruler ᶜAḍud al-Dawla, took Mayyāfāriḳīn on his behalf (Ibn Miskawayh, ii, 388-90). The name of ᶜAḍud al-Dawla was recorded on the city walls (Ibn Shaddād, fol. 69b).

The Marwānid dynasty, 372-478/983-1085. After the death of ᶜAḍud al-Dawla in 372/983, Bādh, the founder of the Kurdish dynasty of the Marwānids [*q.v.*], seized Mayyāfāriḳīn (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 25; Ibn al-Azraḳ, ed. ᶜAwaḍ, 49-52). Bādh's successors were able to hold on to the city, making it their capital for over a century. The Marwānid period witnessed another cultural flowering in Islamic Mayyāfāriḳīn. The second Marwānid ruler, Mumahhid al-Dawla, repaired the city walls and inscribed his name on them in many places (*ibid.*, 86, 163; Ibn Shaddād, fol. 70a). An inscription of his is illustrated by Lehmann-Haupt (*Armenien*, 424).

The greatest of the Marwānid rulers, Naṣr al-Dawla (ruled 401-53/1011-61), was responsible for much building activity in the city, including a new citadel with gilded walls and ceilings which was completed in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 403/June-July 1013 and which stood on a hill, the site of the Church of the Virgin. The Christian relics were transferred to the Melkite church (Ibn al-Azraḳ, ed. ᶜAwaḍ, 107-8). Naṣr al-Dawla also restored the old observatory (*manẓara*), put a clock (*bankām*) in the Friday mosque, constructed and endowed a hospital (*bīmāristān*), planted the citadel garden and built bridges, public baths and a mosque in the suburb of al-Muḥaddatha (*ibid.*, 123, 138, 141, 143, 145, 163-4, 168). The Marwānid capital attracted prominent religious and literary figures (*ibid.*, 82, 144, 166); from it, for example, ᶜAbd Allāh al-Kāzarūnī spread the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab* in Diyār Bakr (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 52). Shaykh Abū Naṣr al-Manāzī, a high official at the time of Naṣr al-Dawla, collected books and established *waḳfs* for libraries in the mosques of Mayyāfāriḳīn and Āmid (Ibn al-Azraḳ, ed. ᶜAwaḍ, 131). Naṣr al-Dawla died in 453/1061 and was buried in the *turba* of the Banū Marwān at Mayyāfāriḳīn (*ibid.*, 177).

After this, the Marwānids held on to Mayyāfāriḳīn until the town and the rest of Diyār Bakr were taken by the Saldjūḳs in 478/1085 during the campaign conducted by Ibn Djahīr [*q.v.*], the erstwhile vizier of the Marwānids. Ibn Djahīr had persuaded the Saldjūḳ sultan Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*] to authorise him to besiege Mayyāfāriḳīn, and the vizier was able to carry off vast treasures belonging to the Marwānids (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 86-8, 93-4; Ibn al-Azraḳ, ed. ᶜAwaḍ, 208-12).

In the brief quarter-century following the death of Malik-Shāh in 485/1092, Mayyāfāriḳīn changed hands many times and was ruled by a succession of Saldjūḳ princes and other local rulers, including Tutush, Duḳāḳ, Ḳilīdj Arslān and Suḳmān al-Ḳuṭbī of Akhlāṭ.

The Artuḳids. After the death of the Saldjūḳ sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*] in 512/1118, Mayyāfāriḳīn fell under the sway of the Turcoman Artuḳids [*q.v.*]. According to its chronicler Ibn al-Azraḳ, the town was seized in 512/1118-19 by the Artuḳid Nadjm al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī, who had already taken Mārdīn around 502/1108-9 (ms. B.L., Or. 5803, fol. 161a). Ibn al-Athīr puts the Artuḳid capture of Mayyāfāriḳīn three years later, in 515/1121-2 (x, 418), but this is one instance where the dating of the local historian is more likely to be accurate.

After Il-Ghāzī's death in 516/1122, his son Temürtash was able to hold on to Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriḳīn for thirty years and to withstand Zangī's attempts to extend his sphere of influence in Diyār Bakr (Ibn al-Azraḳ, Or. 5803, fols. 169a, 171a; Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, 271; Ibn al-Athīr, *Atabegs*, 79). Temürtash's most ambitious project was the building of the Ḳaramān bridge over the Satidāmā river (the Baṭmān-Ṣū) five miles east of Mayyāfāriḳīn. The work was begun in 541/1146-7 and was completed by his son Nadjm al-Dīn Alpī in 548/1153-4. The stone arch of the bridge

measured more than sixty spans and was "one of the marvels of the age" (Ibn al-Azraḳ, Or. 5803, fols. 171b, 179b). The bridge is described fully by Gabriel (*Voyages*, 236), who notes that Sauvaget read the name Temürtas̲h̲ and the year 542/1147-8 on the bridge (*ibid.*, 345). A copper mine was discovered in the time of Temürtas̲h̲ in the area north of Mayyāfāriḳīn (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 215) and it is noteworthy that Temürtas̲h̲ is known to have minted copper coins (Ibn al-Azraḳ, Or. 5803, fol. 172b).

The Artuḳids held on to Mayyāfāriḳīn after the death of Temürtas̲h̲ in 548/1152; but, unlike the Ḥamdānids and Marwānids, they preferred generally to live at Mārdīn. Continuity in the administration of Mayyāfāriḳīn was provided by the Nubāta family, who are often mentioned as holding the office of *ḳāḍī* (*ibid.*, fols. 161a, 162b, 169b). The third Artuḳid ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Alpī, was responsible for a major reconstruction of the Friday mosque. The *minbar* and arcades of the mosque had collapsed in 547/1152-3, the last year of the reign of his father, Temürtas̲h̲ (*ibid.*, fol. 175a). According to Ibn S̲h̲addād, Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Alpī pulled down the rest of the building (fol. 104b) and it was rebuilt with substantial changes by the year 552/1157-8 (Ibn al-Azraḳ, Or. 5803, fol. 175b). There is an inscription in the name of Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Alpī at the base of the dome (Gabriel, *Voyages*, 227).

The Ayyūbids. After its conquest by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 581/1185, the city walls were decorated with a fine commemorative inscription. This was discovered by Gertrude Bell and analysed by Van Berchem (in Diez, *Baudenkmäler*, 108) and by Flury (*Schriftbänder*, 44-8). It is apparently the only Kūfic inscription in the name of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Minorsky (*EI*[1], art. *Mayyāfāriḳīn*) stated on the authority of Gertrude Bell that this ruler built a mosque at Mayyāfāriḳīn for which the columns of the Byzantine basilica were used. There would appear to be no evidence in the sources for this. Possibly the mosque in question was the one outside the walls, of which only the Ayyūbid minaret remains (Gabriel, *Voyages*, 210, 228).

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn entrusted Mayyāfāriḳīn to his brother Sayf al-Dīn in 591/1195 and the city was ruled by this branch of the Ayyūbid family until the Mongols conquered the city in 658/1260. In addition to the literary record, there is architectural, epigraphic and numismatic evidence of this short-lived Ayyūbid dynasty at Mayyāfāriḳīn. Awḥad Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Ayyūb (596-607/1200-10) left an inscription dated Ramaḍān 599/May-June 1203 on a tower of the eastern inner wall (illustrated and described by Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, 425-6) and the name of his successor, As̲h̲raf Mūsā (607-12/1210-20), is inscribed on a tower to the north (*ibid*). Mūsā's brother, Muẓaffar S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn G̲h̲āzī (617-42/1220-44) built a fine mosque of red baked brick with an inscription dated 624/1227 which was seen and analysed by Taylor (*ibid.*, 428). The inscription on the *miḥrāb* is given by Gabriel (*Voyages*, inscription no. 124). The coins struck by the Ayyūbids of Mayyāfāriḳīn have aroused a certain interest amongst scholars (Grabar, 167-78; Lane-Poole, iv, 122-30; Lowick, 164-5). A series of them minted between 582/1186-7 and 612/1215-6 represent crowned human figures. Some have long locks of hair; others are wearing caps with tassels; sometimes these figures are enthroned (*ibid.*).

The Mongols devastated the area around Mayyāfāriḳīn as early as 628-9/1231. In 638/1240-1 a Mongol embassy reached the town and demanded that it should surrender and that its fortifications be destroyed. On this occasion, Muẓaffar S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn G̲h̲āzī succeeded in deflecting the attentions of the embassy elsewhere. His son, Kāmil Muḥammad (642-58/1244-60), defied the Mongols in a brave stand at Mayyāfāriḳīn, but the city fell in 658/1260 to the Mongol army of Hülegü under the command of Yas̲h̲mūṭ and it was then that this last Ayyūbid ruler was killed (Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, 77-81; Ibn S̲h̲addād, fol. 120a).

Descriptions of Mayyāfāriḳīn in the Muslim geographers. There is some disagreement in the classical Muslim geographical works on the placing of Mayyāfāriḳīn. Al-Muḳaddasī (137) puts it in Diyār Bakr, al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī (188) considers it to be part of Armīniyya, whilst Ibn al-Faḳīh (133) places it in Diyār Rabīʿa. Ibn S̲h̲addād lists Mayyāfāriḳīn as one of the four *amṣār* of Diyār Bakr, the other three being Āmid, Arzan and Mārdīn (fol. 65a).

Al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī (76, n. *k*) describes Mayyāfāriḳīn as having an encircling wall and an abundant water supply, but he comments on the town's unhealthy climate. Al-Muḳaddasī (140) mentions the fortifications, including battlements, an encircling wall and ditch; he also notes that the water there is muddy in winter. According to Ḳudāma (246), the combined revenue of Arzan and Mayyāfāriḳīn in ʿAbbāsid times was 4,100,000 *dirhams*. Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw visited the town in 438/1046-7. He was impressed by the excellent condition of its walls, which seemed as if they had only just been completed (tr. Schefer, 24-5).

Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) praised the city, especially its surrounding wall of white stone and its prosperous suburb (*rabaḍ*) (*Muʿd̲j̲am*, iv, 703-7). When Ibn S̲h̲addād visited Mayyāfāriḳīn in the 7th/13th century, he found thriving *k̲h̲āns* and markets, as well as two *madrasas*, one Ḥanbalī, the other S̲h̲āfiʿī (fol. 71a). Both Ibn S̲h̲addād and Yāḳūt mention eight city gates at Mayyāfāriḳīn, seven of which probably corresponded to those of Byzantine Martyropolis (Gabriel, *Voyages*, 218).

The 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries. In the Ilk̲h̲ānid period (654-754/1256-1353), Mayyāfāriḳīn shared the fate of the rest of Diyār Bakr and was ruled by Mongol *amīrs*. After the collapse of the Ilk̲h̲ānid state, after 736/1336, Diyār Bakr fell into disarray and became the arena for power struggles between rival Turcoman (the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and Ḳara Ḳoyunlu confederations), Kurdish and Arab groups, before falling victim to the depredations of Tīmūr who attacked the area (but not, apparently, Mayyāfāriḳīn) in 796/1394 and 803/1400-1 (Ibn ʿArabs̲h̲āh, 65-6, 164-5). Thereafter, Mayyāfāriḳīn was in the hands of one branch of the mostly nomadic Sulaymānī Kurds [see KURDS] until it was taken in 827/1427 by the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu leader Ḳara ʿUt̲h̲mān (d. 839/1435), who appointed his son Bāyazīd governor of the town and other citadels in the area (Tihrānī, 95).

The Ṣafawid and Ottoman periods. The Ṣafawid S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl I occupied the whole of Diyār Bakr in his campaign against the last Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Murād in 913/1507-8. He then allotted Diyār Bakr to K̲h̲ān Muḥammad Ustād̲j̲lū (Iskandar Beg Muns̲h̲ī, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, i, 32-3). After Ismāʿīl's defeat at Čāldirān [*q.v.*] in 920/1514, Mayyāfāriḳīn was seized by the Kurdish chief Sayyid Aḥmad Beg Rūzakī. The city fell under Ottoman control in 921/1515 after the battle of Kos̲h̲ Ḥiṣār, when the Ṣafawids were forced to cede Diyār Bakr to the Ottomans. In his history of the Kurds, the 10th/16th century writer S̲h̲araf al-Dīn K̲h̲ān Bidlīsī lists the governors of Mayyāfāriḳīn in his own time (*S̲h̲araf-nāma*, 270-2).

Information on Mayyāfāriḳīn in the Ottoman

period is scanty. The Portuguese traveller Tenreyro went there in 936-7/1529 and found it "almost deserted" (*Itinerario*, 406). Ewliyā Čelebī (d. *ca.* 1095/1684) visited the town (*Seyāḥat-nāma*, iv, 76-8) and gave a long laudatory description of the Satidāmā bridge. Von Moltke, who passed through the city in the 19th century, while noting the well-preserved state of its walls and towers, commented on the ruined condition of the rest of the city which he said had been caused by Ottoman-Kurdish struggles in the area (Lehmann-Haupt, 394, 419). Indeed, the city was to remain *de facto* in Kurdish hands until the beginning of this century.

Christianity in Mayyāfāriķīn during the Islamic period. The Arabic sources record little of the transition from Christianity to Islam within Mayyāfāriķīn, a major centre of Oriental Christianity. Isolated references indicate, however, that Christianity continued to prosper after the Muslim conquest until recent times. This evidence is of course corroborated and expanded by surviving Christian architecture in the area. Al-Muķaddasī (146) records without comment that in the monastery of Thomas (*dayr Tūmā*) one *farsakh* from Mayyāfāriķīn there was a mummified corpse; it was allegedly that of one of the disciples [of Jesus]. Ibn al-Azraķ mentions the existence of a Melkite church in the Marwānid period and that Christians held office in the Marwānid government (ed. ʿAwaḍ, 149, 164). The Jacobites had a bishopric in Mayyāfāriķīn by the 5th/11th century (Vryonis, 53), although this is not mentioned in the detailed chronicle of Ibn al-Azraķ. Ibn Shaddād does, however, mention an incident in which a Saldjūķ governor, Ķiwām or Ķawām al-Mulk Abū ʿAlī al-Balkhī, became exasperated by the *nāķūs* from a monastery in Mayyāfāriķīn and, refusing a large sum of money offered him by the Christians if he would leave the building intact, destroyed it (fol. 70b). The same author records that in his own time (the 7th/13th century) there were monasteries on a hill to the north of Mayyāfāriķīn (*ibid.*). In 936-7/1529 Tenreyro describes "beautiful monasteries and churches without roofs, containing sumptuous monuments with inscriptions in Greek letters. On the walls were pictures of apostles and other saints, painted in very fine colours and gold". He remarks that the town had only a small number of inhabitants who were Jacobite Christians and spoke Arabic (*Itinerario*, 376).

Mayyāfāriķīn in recent times. In 1891 the population of the town was 7,000, divided about equally between Muslims and Christians (Cuinet, ii, 470-2). During its occupation by the Sulaymānī Kurds, the name Mayyāfāriķīn had been eclipsed by Silvan (cf. *EI*[1], art. *Maiyāfāriķīn*, and Minorsky's etymology there of Silwān). According to the 1945 census, the population was 2,155. The most recent information indicates that according to the 1980 census, the population of the administrative unit (*idari birim*) of Silvan was 43,624 (*Türkiye istatistik yıllığı*, 39).

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(Carole Hillenbrand)

MAYYĀRA, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Maḥammad b. Aḥmad, Moroccan scholar and teacher, born 15 Ramaḍān 999/7 July 1591 at Fās, where he studied and taught law and *ḥadīth* until his death in the same town on 3 Djumādā II 1071/24 January 1662.

He was the author of several commentaries,

notably on the *Tuḥfa* of Ibn ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*], of which a manuscript exists in the Bibl. Générale, Rabat (D 873), and on the theological poem called *al-Murshid al-muʿīn* of his master Ibn ʿĀshir (d. 1040/1631) completed in 1044/1634-5 and called *al-Durr al-thamīn wa 'l-mawrid al-maʿīn fī sharḥ al-Murshid al-muʿīn ʿalā 'l-ḍarūrī min ʿulūm al-dīn* (lith. Fās, printed Tunis 1293, Cairo 1305, 1306). In 1048, he made an abridgement of it, *Ikhtiṣār al-Durr al-thamīn*, which was lithographed at Fās in 1292 and printed at Cairo in 1301, 1303, 1305 and 1348; it should be noted that in his commentary, he took account of criticisms raised concerning his lack of objectivity and its lacunae (ii, 339-41; cf. Hajji, *Activité intellectuelle*, 202-3). Amongst other works of his extant, as well as the *Naẓm al-laʾālī wa 'l-durar* (mss. Rabat 855 and 3702 Z) which contains a *fahrasa* [*q.v.*] and consequently, autobiographical details, one might mention the *Tuḥfat al-aṣḥāb wa 'l-rufḳa bi-baʿḍ masāʾil al-ṣafḳa* (ms. Rabat 989 D; cf. O. Pesle, *Le contrat de safqa au Maroc*, Rabat 1932, *passim*), and particularly, the *Naṣīḥat al-mughtarrīn wa-kifāyat al-muḍṭarrīn fī 'l-tafrīḳ bayn al-Muslimīn* (ms. Bibl. Royale, Rabat 7248), composed in 1051/1641 in defence of those Muslims of Jewish ancestry who were once more, after the death of sultan al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (1603) the victims of a certain ostracism by traders and scholars in Fās. After the publication of this book, a cabal was formed against Mayyāra, who was the object of violent attacks, but who nevertheless benefited from the protection of Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Dilāʾī, who wrote a *Taḳrīẓ Naṣīḥat al-mughtarrīn* (mss. Bibl. Gén., Rabat 923 K, 125-8), and from a defence by al-ʿAwfī, also the author of a *Taḳrīẓ* (in the text of the *Naṣīḥa*, 126-7). Like Mayyāra's other works, the *Naṣīḥa* contains interesting pieces of historical information which would justify its publication. On account of his Jewish ancestry, this scholar, like al-Mandjūr [*q.v.*], was not allowed to fill any official post of a religious nature, although often described as *imām*, and it is said that he had to make a living by hiring out dresses and ornaments for ladies on the occasion of marriage (see al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, lith. Fās n.d., 140; Hajji, *op.cit.*, 147).

The epithet of "the Elder" (*al-Akbar*) is sometimes appended to his name in order to distinguish him from his grandson, Maḥammad b. Muḥammad (or Aḥmad) al-Ḥafīd or al-Aṣghar, also considered as *imām* of Fās (d. 15 Muḥarram 1144/20 July 1731; see al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, ii, 235; al-Kattānī, *Ṣalwat al-anfās*, i, 167; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 318-19; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, index).

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MAYYŪN, volcanic island of *ca.* 14 km² and 400 inhabitants in the Straits of the Bāb al-Mandab [*q.v.*], off the coast of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (the former Aden Protectorate). Known in classical times as Διοδαρος it became known in the West as Perim, probably from the other Arabic term used for the island *barīm* "rope", possibly connected with the story of the chain at al-Shaykh Saʿīd [see BĀB AL-MANDAB]. Perhaps visited by the French Crusader Reynaud de Chatillon, whose vessels were destroyed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the island was explored by Albuquerque in 1513, who called it Meyo (after Mayyūn), but found it waterless and unsuitable for a fortress. Occupied for a short time by the French in 1738, the British landed there in 1799, but left because of the lack of water. They returned in 1857 from Bombay and established a coaling station, called Brown Bay, which was abandoned however in 1936. In 1915, Turkish troops made an unsuccessful attempt to land on the island. Incorporated into the British Crown Colony of Aden in 1937, Mayyūn became part of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in 1967. With the coastal strip, running up the Red Sea as far as the frontier with Yemen (Ṣanʿāʾ), the islands of Kamarān and Socotra (Suḳuṭrā) [*q.vv.*], Mayyūn forms the so-called first governorate.

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MAʿZ [see GHANAM].

MAZAGAN [see AL-DJADĪDA].

MAẒĀLIM (A.), a word whose sing. *maẓlima* denotes an unjust or oppressive action. Closely related to *ẓulm*, it is an antonym to ʿ*adl* [*q.v.*] and thus signifies basically something "not in its right place" (*LA*). At an early stage in the development of Islamic institutions of government, *maẓālim* came to denote the structure through which the temporal authorities took direct responsibility for dispensing justice.

Precedents for the institution of *maẓālim* can be found in Byzantium and, more particularly, in the Sāsānid bureaucratic office which functioned as a jurisdiction parallel to the ordinary judiciary headed by the *mōbedh-mōbedhān* [*q.v.*] (A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen 1944, 301 f.). It is also suggested that the ideal of open access to tribal leaders in pre-Islamic Arabia was carried over into the early Islamic experience.

The establishment in Medina of the rudiments of an Islamic polity did little to change the situation. Muḥammad combined in himself the rôles both of the traditional tribal chief and of the *ḥakam* [*q.v.*]. The early caliphs and provincial governors inherited this position, where judicial functions were not distinguished from other functions of government. Only in relation to the *dhimmīs* [*q.v.*] did caliph or governor function as an alternative judicial authority (E. Tyan, *Histoire*, 87-98).

The growth in size and complexity of the Muslim community soon obliged caliphs and governors to appoint *ḳāḍīs* [*q.v.*] to whom their judicial functions were delegated. The development of the *sharīʿa* [*q.v.*] as a distinct system of law during the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries, its identification with the office of *ḳāḍī*, and its increasing importance as a test of Islamic legitimacy, combined to form a context in which it becomes possible to identify a discrete *maẓālim* system. Al-Māwardī's suggestion (*Aḥkām*, 65) that the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān [*q.v.*] was the first to arrange for the regular hearing of *maẓālim* petititions seems to be premature.

The ᶜAbbāsid period. More certainty surrounds reports that the caliphs al-Mahdī and al-Hādī [*q.vv.*] ensured the regular holding of *maẓālim* sessions. The practice for the first several decades was usually for the *wazīr* [*q.v.*] to take charge (Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 640-8), and there are indications that the *maẓālim* jurisdiction was regarded both by them and by the *ḳāḍīs* and *ᶜulamāʾ* as a rival to the *sharīᶜa* jurisdiction. Although Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*] suggested to Hārūn al-Rashīd [*q.v.*] that the caliph should personally take charge (*K. al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1352, 111 f.), this seldom happened. In the longer term, *maẓālim* remained a disputed institution. Following the fall of the Barmakids [see BARĀMIKA], more influence was given to the *ḳāḍīs*, culminating when a series of Muᶜtazilī chief *ḳāḍīs* also held responsibility for *maẓālim*.

The end of Muᶜtazilī influence under al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] returned *maẓālim* to the control of the *wazīrs*, where it remained, until the Būyid *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] downgraded the *wazīr* and handed control of *maẓālim* to the Ithnā ᶜAsharī Shīᶜī *naḳīb al-ashrāf* [*q.v.*] (H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Wiesbaden 1969, 286-9).

From a comparatively early date, it became usual for the *wazīr* or *ḳāḍī* in charge to appoint a deputy to take responsibility for the routine management of the institution. On occasions, this official, variously known as *ṣāḥib* or *nāẓir al-maẓālim*, might also be appointed directly by the caliph.

The jurisdiction of *maẓālim* tended to be very wide. Receiving and processing petitions against official and unofficial abuse of power was an important part of its activity, but it also on occasion functioned as a court of appeal against the decisions of *ḳāḍīs*. Additionally, it is evident that, for an early stage, *maẓālim* was often the office through which military and civilian officials and dignitaries applied for the allocation of *iḳṭāᶜ*s and through which such grants might also be confiscated and their holders fined.

Theory. Before the work of al-Māwardī [*q.v.*], little theoretical consideration of *maẓālim* is to be found. Statements in general terms of principle were not developed in detail. Al-Fārābī's view that the head of the just city should "favour justice and the just, hate tyranny and injustice, and give them both their just deserts" (*al-Madīna al-fāḍila*, ed. Dieterici, repr. Leiden 1964, 60), is typical.

Working in the service of the caliphs al-Ḳādir and al-Ḳāʾim, al-Māwardī's object was to restore the authority of the caliphate in preparation for the approaching Saldjūḳs. His work *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* therefore included an extensive chapter on the structure, procedure and jurisdiction of *maẓālim*, which is paralleled with minor differences in Abū Yaᶜlā b. al-Farrāʾ's work of the same title (cf. *Bibl.*).

Supervision of *maẓālim* is the responsibility of the caliph, his viziers and governors, or their appointed deputies, who must have personal qualities combining honesty, power and judiciousness. The *maẓālim* session is duly constituted when the official in charge is assisted by guards, *ḳāḍīs*, *faḳīhs*, secretaries and notaries (*shuhūd*). Ten classes of cases are detailed as coming within the jurisdiction of *maẓālim*, falling into two main categories, namely abuse of official powers and enforcement of *ḳāḍīs*' decisions.

The major difference from the *ḳaḍāʾ*, according to al-Māwardī, lies in the area of procedure. The *ṣāḥib al-maẓālim* has a wide scope for active direction and participation in the proceedings, including powers of coercion, admitting evidence below the standards required by *ḳāḍīs*' courts, subpoena of witnesses and postponement of hearings to allow judicial investigation. Al-Māwardī presents his discussion in terms of a relaxation of the rules of the *sharīᶜa*, with the purpose of controlling powerful officials who otherwise might subvert the normal judicial process. Later writers link *maẓālim* with the concept of *siyāsa sharᶜiyya*. In fact, the theory of *maẓālim*—as also later Ḥanbalī theory of *siyāsa sharᶜiyya*—actually represents an attempt to bring the current practice closer into line with the requirement of the *sharīᶜa*.

Later theory reverts to the common pattern of more general statements of principle, in terms of "helping the weak against the strong", a phrase often appearing in the obituaries of sultans and governors. Expositions in detail are rare and, when they do occur, as in al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270, ii, 207 f.) and al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923-55, vi, 265-90), are based on al-Māwardī.

The mediaeval period. In the event, the hopes of al-Māwardī and his patrons did not materialise, and *maẓālim* continued to develop with little reference to theory. The main feature during this later period is an increased bureaucratisation, a process which took place simultaneously under the Saldjūḳs, under the Khʷārazm-Shāhs in Persia and Central Asia, and under the Fāṭimids in Egypt. The various parts of this development came together under the Ayyūbids and continued with little change through much of the Mamlūk period.

The first step in opening a case was to present a petition (*ruḳᶜa* or *ḳiṣṣa*) drawn up according to detailed formulae (described in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aᶜshā*, Cairo 1913-19, vi, 202 f.). While the ideal remained the personal presentation of the *ḳiṣṣa* in public session, the vast majority were dealt with administratively. Al-Ḳalḳashandī (vi, 206-10) describes six different channels through which the *ḳiṣṣa* could be dealt with, and these procedures are confirmed by other sources. Several different officials are to be found taking decisions, including the sultan, his deputies and provincial governors (*nuwwāb*), and high-ranking military officials (most commonly the *atābak*, *dawādār* and *ḥādjib*). Common to all channels of petition was the central role of the chancery (*dīwān al-inshāʾ*), headed by the *wazīr* or *ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshāʾ*, and from the late 7th/13th century by the *kātib al-sirr*. Oversight of the routine clerical work was handled by a secretary explicitly appointed to deal with *maẓālim* work, called *ṣāḥib* (or *muwaḳḳiᶜ*) *al-ḳalam al-daḳīḳ* under the Fāṭimids and *kātib* (or *muwaḳḳiᶜ*) *al-dast* under the Mamlūks. From the early Fāṭimid period, elaborate rules also determined the form of the decree (*tawḳīᶜ* or *marsūm*) containing the final decision in a case (*Ṣubḥ*, xi, 127-33). Such decrees would normally be signed by the sultan or a high officer of state, regardless of where in the administrative process the decision had been taken.

The site of the public session (*madjlis*) was normally the place where the presiding official conducted his general duties. A departure from this took place when Nūr al-Dīn Zankī established a house of justice (*dār al-ᶜadl*) in Damascus soon after 549/1154, with the specific purpose of providing a setting for *maẓālim*. Situated outside the citadel by the Bāb al-Naṣr [see DIMASHḲ], it became more commonly known as *dār al-saᶜāda* when it was turned into the seat of provincial government in 634/1236. By this time, other provincial capitals in the Ayyūbid state had also acquired a *dār al-ᶜadl*. In Cairo, *maẓālim* sessions were usually held in a Shāfiᶜī *madrasa*. Held twice a week on Mondays and Thursdays, these sessions were associated with an increasing amoung of official ceremonial, as the sultan and his officials went to the *dār al-ᶜadl* in

public procession (*mawkib*) [see MAWĀKIB]. To the *mawkib* and *madjlis* was soon added an official banquet (*simāṭ*), and the whole ceremony was known as *khidma*.

The *khidma* reached its most elaborate form under the early Mamlūks. Baybars I [*q.v.*] transferred the hearing of *maẓālim* petitions to a new *dār al-ʿadl* in Cairo in 662/1264, just below the Citadel, and this also became the site for the *khidma*. The *mawkib* now included a growing number of military officers of state, and the *madjlis* widened its functions to include most official public ceremonial, such as the reception of foreign emissaries, the publication of government decisions, the granting of royal favours, etc. Hearing *maẓālim* cases soon became a minor formality, symbolised by the continuing presence of *ḳāḍīs* and *kātib al-sirr* and the new office of *muftī dār al-ʿadl* in the official seating order (cf. *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 44 f.). Sultan Ḳalāwūn's move of the *khidma* to his new *īwān kabīr* and the demolition of Baybars's *dār al-ʿadl* a few decades later confirmed the position of *maẓālim* as a function of the bureaucracy.

Throughout the early Mamlūk period, the identity of *maẓālim* as a bureaucratic process meant that there was little definition of its jurisdiction. Al-Maḳrīzī's claim (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 220 f.) that it was the forum for the implementation of the Mongol Yāsa can be discounted (cf. D. Ayalon, in *SI*, xxxiii [1971], 97-140). The sources report petitions dealing with every conceivable aspect of government activity, including requests for offices or *iḳṭāʿ*s, the suppression of particular *ʿulamāʾ* and their teachings, the implementation of law and order, as well as appeals for justice and the application of *ḳāḍīs*' decisions. This situation prevailed in all the provinces of the Mamlūk state.

The confusion of *maẓālim* and the general apparatus of government was common in other parts of the pre-Ottoman Arab world, but there were exceptions, such as Ḥafṣid Tunisia (R. Brunschvig, in *SI*, xxiii [1965], 27 ff.), where *maẓālim* remained a more distinct jurisdiction. Towards the end of the 8th/14th century, measures were also taken by the Mamlūks to clarify the situation. In 789/1387, Sultan Barḳūḳ detached *maẓālim* from the *khidma* and moved it to the Royal Equerry (*iṣṭabl al-sulṭān*) [see AL-ḲĀHIRA]. The term *dār al-ʿadl*, however, remained synonymous with the *khidma* in the *īwān*. The jurisdiction of *maẓālim* was likewise clarified, and in the 9th/15th century a distinction is made between petitions for justice in the face of injustice and oppression and petitions requesting *iḳṭāʿ*s or official posts (*al-Ṣāliḥī*, Copenhagen Royal Library ms. 147, fols. 32b-33a).

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(J. S. NIELSEN)

MĀZANDARĀN, a province to the south of the Caspian Sea bounded on the west by Gīlān [*q.v.*] and on the east by what was in Ḳadjār times the province of Astarābād [*q.v.*, formerly Gurgān]; Māzandarān and Gurgān now form the modern *ustān* or province of Māzandarān.

1. The name. If Gurgān to the Iranians was the "land of the wolves" (*vəhrkāna*, the region to its west was peopled by "Māzaynian dēws" (Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterbuch*, col. 1169, under *māzainya daēva*). Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii, 373, n. 32, thought that Māzandarān was a "comparative of direction" (**Mazana-tara*; cf. Shūsh and Shushtar) but Nöldeke's hypothesis is the more probable (*Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 178), who thought that Māzan-dar = "the gate of Māzan" was a particular place, distinct from the part of the country known as Tapuristān. (A village of Mesderan (?) is marked on Stahl's map 12 km. south of Fīrūzkūh!). In any case, the name Māzandarān seems to have no connection with Τοῦ Μασωράνου ὄρος which, according to Ptolemy, vi, ch. v., was situated between Parthia and Areia (Hārī-rūd) and was connected by Olshausen (*Mazdoran und Mazandaran*, in *Monatsberichte Ak. Berlin* [1877], 777-83) with Mazdūrān, a station 12 *farsakh*s west of Sarakhs; cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 24; al-Muḳaddasī, 351 (cf. however the late source of 881/1476 quoted by Dorn, in *Mélanges asiat.*, vii, 42).

The Avestan and Pahlavi quotations given by Darmesteter, *loc. cit.*, show to what degree the people of Mazandarān were regarded by the Persians as a foreign group and little assimilated. According to the *Bundahishn*, xv, 28, tr. West, 58, the "Māzandarān" were descended from a different pair of ancestors to those of the Iranians and Arabs. The *Shāh-nāma* reflects similar ideas (cf. the episode of Kay Kāwūs's war in Māzandarān, and esp. Vullers ed., i, 332, v, 290: the war is waged against Ahriman; 364, vv. 792-3: Mazandarān is contrasted with Iran; 574, v. 925: the bestial appearance of the king of Māzandarān).

Among historical peoples in Māzandarān are the Tapyres (Τάπυροι), who must have occupied the mountains (north of Simnān), and the Amardes (Ἄμαρδοι), who according to Andreas and Marquart, have given their name to the town of Āmul (although the change of *rd* to *l* is rather strange in the north of Persia). These two peoples were defeated by Alexander the Great. The Parthian king Phraates I (in 176 B.C.) transplanted the Mardes (Amardes) to the region of χάραξ (Khʷār to the east of Warāmin) and their place was taken by the Tapyres, whose name came to be applied to the whole province.

The Arabs only knew the region as Ṭabaristān (<Tapurstān, on the Pahlavi coins). The name Māzandarān only reappears in the Saldjūḳ period. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 34, in speaking of the distribution of fiefs by Alp Arslān in 458/1065, says that Māzandarān was given to the *amīr* Inandj Bīghū. Ibn Isfandiyār, 14, and Yāḳūt, iii, 502, 9, think that Māzandarān as a name for Ṭabaristān is only of fairly modern origin (in Arabic?), but according to Zakariyyāʾ Ḳazwīnī, 270, "the Persians call Ṭabaristān Māzandarān". Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī distinguishes between Māzandarān and Ṭabaristān. In his time (1340), the 7 *tūmān*s of the "*wilāyat* of Māzandarān" were Djurdjān, Mūrūstāḳ (?), Astarābād, Āmul and Rustamdār, Dihistān, Rūghad and Siyāh-rustaḳ (?); on the other hand, the *diyār-i Ḳūmis wa-Ṭabaristān* included Simnān, Dāmghān, Fīrūzkūh, a town of

Damāwand, Firrīm, etc. We find a similar distinction in Khwāndamīr, ed. Dorn, 83.

2. Geography: The actual extent of Māzandarān (Rabino) is 300 miles from east to west and 46 to 70 miles from north to south. Except for the strip along the coast—broader in the east than the west—Māzandarān is a very mountainous country. The main range of the Elburz forms barriers parallel to the south of the Caspian, while the ridges running down to the sea cut the country up into a multitude of valleys open on the north only. The principal of the latter ridges is the Mazarčub, which separates Ṭabaristān from Tunakābun. The latter is bordered on the south by the chain of the Elburz in the strict sense, which separates it from the valley of the Shāhrūd (formed by the waters of the Alamūt and Talaḳān and flowing westward into the Safīd-rūd).

To the east of Mazār-čub, a number of ranges run out of the central massif of the Elburz: 1. to the east, the chain of Nūr, which cuts through the Hārāz-pay; and 2. to the south-east, the southern barrier which forms the watershed between the Caspian and the central plateau. Between the two rises in isolation the great volcanic cone of Damāwand [*q.v.*] (5,604 m./18,386 ft.).

To the east of Damāwand, the southern barrier rejoins the continuation of the Nūr and the new line of the watershed of eastern Māzandarān is marked by the ranges of Bānd-i-pay, Sawād-kūh, Shāh-mīrzād (to the south of Simnān), of Hazārdjarīb (to the south of Dāmghān), of Shāh-kūh (to the south of Shāhrūd), etc.

The rivers of Māzandarān are of two kinds. A hundred short streams run straight down into the sea from the outer mountains of Māzandarān. Much more important are the rivers which rise in the interior and after draining many valleys form a single great river when they break through the last barrier. Such are (from west to east); the Sard-ābrūd; the Čālūs; the Harāz-pay, which drains the region of mount Damāwand and then runs past Āmul; the Bābul (the river of Bārfurūsh); the Tālār (river of ʿAlīābād); the Tīdjin (river of Sārī) and the Nīkā (or Äspayzä) which flows from east to west; its valley forms a corner between the southern chain (cf. above) and the mountains which surround the Gulf of Astarābād on the north.

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3. Ethnology. N. Khanykov, *Mémoire sur l'ethnographie de la Perse*, Paris 1866, 116-17; C. Inostrantsev, *The customs of the inhabitants of the Caspian provinces in the tenth century* [in Russian], in *Živaya Starina* (1909), part ii-iii, 125-52.

4. Language. Cf. Geiger, *Die Kaspischen Dialecte*, in *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, i/2, 344-80, where the literature of the subject is given (esp. Dorn's works).

5. Historical geography. This is still full of difficulties, although Vasmer's very full study has considerably reduced their number. The matter is complicated by the fact that certain well-known names are used in different periods for more or less identical districts.

The eastern frontier of Māzandarān (Ṭabaristān) in the strict sense, with Astarābād (Djurdjān) seems to have always run near Kulbād (on the river Kirrind; cf. Ptolemy's Χρίνδοι), where there used to be a wall (*djar-i Kulbād*) which barred the narrow strip of lowland between the Gulf of Astarābād and the mountains; cf. Ibn Rusta, 149, who speaks of the brick wall (*ādjurr*) and of the Gate of Ṭamīs through which travellers had to pass (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 303). To the west, the town of Shālūs (Čālūs) was situated on the frontier of Daylam (Ibn Rusta, 150: *fī naḥw al-ʿaduww*) but later the valley of the Sard-āb-rūd (Kalārdasht) seems to have been annexed to Ṭabaristān. Farther west, the coast of Tunakābun was governed sometimes with Māzandarān and sometimes with Gīlān.

The Arab geographers distinguished between the plain (*al-sahliyya*) and the mountains (*al-djabaliyya*) of Ṭabaristān (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 211, 271). The important towns of Ṭabaristān were in the lowlands: Āmul, Nātil, Shālūs (Čālūs), Kalā (Kalār), Mīla, Tardjī (Tūdjī, Bardjī?), ʿAyn al-Humm, Māmṭīr (= Bārfurūsh), Sārī, Ṭamīsha (cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī. 207; cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 353). The principal town (*madīna*) of Ṭabaristān in the time of al-Yaʿḳūbī, 276, was still Sāriyya [*q.v.*], but in the time of al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 179, Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 211, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, 271, the principal town (*ḳaṣaba*) and the most flourishing one in Ṭabaristān was Āmul (larger than Ḳazwīn).

The mountain area was quite distinct, and its connection with the plain is not very clear in the Arabic texts; cf. the confused summary in al-Iṣṭakhrī, 204. Al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1295, under the year 224/838, distinguishes three mountains in Ṭabaristān: 1. the mountain of Wandā-Hurmuz in the centre (*wasaṭ*); 2. that of his brother Wandāsandjān (*sic*) b. Alandād b. Ḳārin; and 3. that of Sharwīn b. Surkhāb b. Bāb. Now according to Ibn Rusta, 151, [the Ḳārinid] Wandā-Hurmuz lived near Dunbāwand. On the other hand, the same writer, 149, says that during the rule of Ṭabaristān by Djarīr b. Yazīd, Wandā-Hurmuz had bought 1,000 *djarībs* of domain lands (*ṣawāfī*) outside the town of Sārī. These *alf djarīb* seem to correspond to the region round the sources of the rivers Tīdjin and Nīkā, which in Persian is called Hazār-djarīb. Later, the lands of Wandā-Hurmuz included the greater part of eastern Māzandarān. *Wandāspdjān seems to have ruled over the greater part of Māzandarān, for his capital Muzn was the rallying point from which expeditions set out against Daylam. Finally, the mountain of Sharwīn comprised the south-eastern part of Māzandarān, for according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, 305, it was close to Ḳūmis.

In the time of al-Iṣṭakhrī, the three divisions of the mountains specified are: the mountains of Rūbandj, of Fādūsbān and of Ḳārin. "They are high mountains (*djibāl*) and each of them (*djabal*) has a chief".

Rūbandj, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, lay between Rayy and Ṭabaristān. Barthold, *Očerk*, 155, emends the name to *Rūyandj and identifies it with Rūyān. Ibn Rusta, 149, says that Rūyān, near the lands of Rayy, did not form part of Ṭabaristān but formed a special *kūra* with the capital Kadjdja, which was the headquarters of the *wālī* (cf. Kačarustāḳ in the *bulūk* of Kudjūr). According to this, *Rūyand = Rūyān is to be located in the south-western part of Māzandarān (north of Tehrān). In the Mongol period, Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī, 160, is the first to mention Rustamdār (on the Shāh-rūd). As Vasmer, *op.cit.*, 122-5, has shown, Rustamdār later included all western Māzandarān between Sakhtasar (Gīlān) and Āmul. Rustamdar therefore included Rūyān, without the two terms being completely synonymous.

Djibāl Ḳarīn had only one town, Shahmār, a day's journey from Sāriyya. The local chiefs of the

dynasty of Ḳārin lived in the stronghold of Firrīm [*q.v.* in Suppl.] which must have stood on the western branch of the river Tīdjin, which later flows past Sārī. The modern *bulūk* of Firrīm is in the Hazār-Djarīb (more accurately in its western half which is called Dudānga). According to Ibn Isfandiyār, 95, the possessions of the Ḳārinids included the mountains of Wandā-ummīd (*ibid.*, 25; the water supply of the mosque of Āmul came from this mountain), Āmul, Lafūr (on the eastern source of the river Bābul which runs to Bārfurūsh) and Firrīm, "which is called Kūh-i Ḳārin". According to Yāḳūt, iii, 283, the lands of the Ḳārinids included Djibāl Sharwīn (cf. above) which Iᶜtimād al-Salṭana, *Kitāb al-Tadwīn*, 42, identifies with Sawād-kūh i.e. the sources of the Tālār (river of ᶜAlīābād between Āmul and Bārfurūsh); the pass leading to Sawādkūh is still called Shalfīn <Sharwīn.

The Djibāl Pādūspān lay a day's journey from Sārī. The district had no Friday mosque; the chief lived in the village of Uram (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 268, 17: Uram-khāst, Ārum). As Vasmer has shown, 127-30, this must be sought on the middle course of the rivers of Bārfurūsh and ᶜAlīābād (to the north of Lafūr and near Shīrgāh).

Bibliography: *BGA*, s.v. Daylam, Ṭabaristān, Āmul, Sāriyya, etc. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 301-14, in particular, gives very detailed information about Ṭabaristān. Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, index; Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, ii, 169, 179-80, 333, 337-8 (of little originality); Zakariyyāᵓ Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-buldān* (clime iv.): Āmul, 190; Bilād al-Daylam, 221; Rūyān, 260; Ṭabaristān; Yāḳūt, cf. Dorn, *Auszüge*, 1858, 2-45, where are collected all the articles relating to Ṭabaristān (but the text of Wüstenfeld's edition is preferable); Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, GMS, 159, 161; Dorn, *Auszüge aus 14 morgenl. Schriftstellern betreffend d. Kaspische Meer*, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vi, 658, vii, 19-44, 52-92; cf. also the *Bibl.* to section on History below. European works: Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumskunde*, 1871, i, 64-74; Dorn, *Caspia*, 1875 (a mass of rather undigested information); Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 1882, index; Brunnhofer, *Von Pontus bis zum Indus*, Leipzig 1890, 73-93: Albурs and Mazanderan (the author seeks to explain Iranian geography from Sanskrit texts); Barthold, *Istor.-geogr. obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 158-161, Pers. tr., Tehrān 1930, 289-95, Eng. tr. Princeton 1984, 115-20; Le Strange, *The Lands of the eastern caliphate*, 368-76; Vasmer, *Die Eroberung, etc.*

6. History. The local dynasties of Māzandarān fall into three classes: 1. local families of pre-Islamic origin, 2. the ᶜAlid *sayyids*, and 3. local families of secondary importance.

I. At the coming of the Sāsānid dynasty, the king of Ṭabaristān and of Padashwārgar (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 130: "the district opposite the region of Khwār"; Farshuwādgar is a misreading of the name, which is also found in the *Bundahishn*, xii, 17) was Gushnasp, whose ancestors had reigned since the time of Alexander. In 529-36 Ṭabaristān was ruled by the Sāsānid prince Kāwūs son of Kawādh. Anūshirwān put in his place Zarmihr, who traced his descent from the famous smith Kāwa [see KĀWAH]. His dynasty ruled till 645 when Gīl Gawbara (a descendant of the Sāsānid Djamāsp, son of Pērōz) annexed Ṭabaristān to Gīlān. These families, on whom their coins might throw some light (cf. below), had descendants ruling in the Muslim period.

The Bāwandids [see BĀWAND] who claimed descent from Kāwūs) provided three lines: the first 45-397/665-1007 was overthrown on the conquest of Ṭabaristān by the Ziyārid Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr [*q.v.*]; the second reigned from 466/1073 to 606/1210 when Māzandarān was conquered by ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh; the third ruled from 635/1237 to 750/1349 as vassals of the Mongols. The last representative of the Bāwandids was slain by Afrāsiyāb Čulāwī.

The Ḳārinids [*q.v.*] (in the Kūh-i Ḳārin) claimed descent from Ḳārin, brother of Zarmihr (cf. above). Their last representative Māzyār [see ḲĀRINIDS] was put to death in 224/839.

The Pādūspānids or Bādusbānids [*q.v.*] (Rūyān and Rustamdār) claimed descent from the Dābūyids of Gīlān (their eponym was the son of Gīl Gawbāra; cf. above). They came to the front about 40/660 and during the rule of the ᶜAlids were their vassals. Later, they were vassals of the Būyids and Bāwandids, who deposed them in 586/1190. The dynasty, restored in 606/1209-10, survived till the time of Tīmūr; one of its branches (that of Kāwūs b. Kayūmarth) reigned till 975/1567 and the other (that of Iskandar b. Kayūmarth) till 984/1574.

II. Alongside of these native dynasties, the ᶜAlids were able to establish themselves, principally in Ṭabaristān. In 250/864 the people of Rūyān, rebelling against the governor, sent to Rayy for the Zaydī Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, a descendant of the caliph ᶜAlī in the sixth generation. This (Ḥasanid) branch ruled in Ṭabaristān till 316/928. The Ḥusaynid branch ruled from 304/916-17 to 337/948-9 (?). Another dynasty of Marᶜashī Sayyids [*q.v.*] ruled in Māzandarān between 760/1358 and 880/1475. The founder of this dynasty was Ḳiwām al-Dīn, a descendant of ᶜAlī in the twelfth generation. A third family of Murtaḍāᵓī Sayyids is known in Hazār-Djarīb between 760/1359 and 1005/1596-7.

III. The noble families who enjoyed considerable influence, mainly in their fiefs, are very numerous. Rabino mentions the Kiyā of Čulāw (at Āmul, Ṭalaḳān and Rustamdār) between 795/1393 and 909/1503-4; the Kiyā Djalālī of Sārī in 750-63/1349-61; the house of Rūzafzūn of Sawādkūh, 897-923/1492-1517; the Dīw in the period of Shāh Tahmāsp in certain parts of Māzandarān; the Banū Kāwūs 857-957/1453-1550; the Banū Iskandār 857-1006/1453-1598 and the different princes of Tamīsha, of Miyāndūrūd, of Lāridjān, of Māmṭīr, of Lafūr, etc.

Besides this confusion of feudal dynasties, a series of conquerors from outside has ruled in Māzandarān: the Arabs beginning in 22/644, the Ṭāhirids, the Ṣaffārids, the Sāmānids, the Ziyārids, the Ghaznawids, the Saldjūḳs the Khwārazmshāhs, the Mongols, the Sarbadārs, Tīmūr and the Ṣafawids. For the detailed consideration of the period of domination by outside powers from the Arab conquest to the suzerainty of the Saldjūḳs, during which Māzandarān appears in the historical sources as Ṭabaristān, see ṬABARISTĀN.

It is in the Saldjūḳ period, as already noted, that the name Māzandarān reappears in historical literature. Towards the end of the period of Great Saldjūḳ rule in eastern Persia, Māzandarān was ruled by the ambitious and expansionist Bāwandid prince Shāh Ghāzī Rustam I (534-58/1140-63) (see Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 28-9, 156, 185-6). It then passed briefly, after the murder in 606/1209-10 of Shāh Ghāzī Rustam II, into the control of the Khwārazmshāhs, but in 617/1220 was devastated by Mongol incursions under either Djebe or Sübetey (both commanders being mentioned by Djuwaynī as leading the Mongol forces). It was, of course, on an island off the

coast of Māzandarān that the fugitive Khʷārazmian ruler ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad died in this same year [see KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS]. Māzandarān in the Mongol and Il-Khānid periods was frequently a corridor through which Mongol armies passed, but it and Gīlān do not seem ever to have been directly governed by the Mongols, presumably because of their relative inaccessibility and their uncongenial climate. Māzandarān, however, often played a rôle as the winter camping-ground [see ḲĪSHLAḲ] of such Khāns as Abaḳa, Ghazan and Öldjeytü, in conjunction with Khurāsān, which was favoured as a summer pasture ground for the Mongol hordes and their flocks. In the later 8th/14th and the 9th/15th centuries we hear of governors appointed over Māzandarān by the Sarbadārids and then the Tīmūrids, but in practice, the local princes seem largely to have been undisturbed. Also in the period of the Mongols and their successors, we know that trade was carried on across the Caspian Sea to South Russia and the lands of the Golden Horde from the port of Nīm Murdān off the coast from Astarābād (Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 160, tr. 156).

Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī had failed to take over Māzandarān in 909/1503-4 from the local Shīʿī prince Ḥusayn Kiyā Čulawī, who had sheltered fugitive troops of Ismāʿīl's Aḳ Ḳoyunlu opponents. He also sent an expedition into Māzandarān in 923/1517, but it remained substantially independent under its native princes (a Ṣafawid governor ruled part of it 977-84/1569-76) until Shāh ʿAbbās I's definitive annexation in 1005-6/1596-7; he claimed hereditary rights in Māzandarān through his family's connections with the Marʿashī Sayyid Ḳiwām al-Dīn (see Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1350/1971, i, 518-22, 534-7, 542-3, 579-86, tr. R. M. Savory, Boulder, Colorado 1978, ii, 693-8, 713-17, 722-3, 765-73). ʿAbbās's mother Mahd-i ʿUlyā was the daughter of a local Māzandarān chief who claimed descent from the Fourth Shīʿī Imām Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, and the Shāh showed a particular liking for the province, constructing there two winter palaces, which formed a kind of northern Iṣfahān for him. Faraḥābād was founded in 1020/1611 or 1021/1612, and Ashraf in 1021/1612; they were visited and described by European travellers like Pietro della Valle (1618) and Sir Thomas Herbert (1627), and it was at Faraḥābād that the Shāh died in 1038/1629 (cf. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980, 96-100). It was Shāh ʿAbbās who implanted in Māzandarān 30,000 Georgian and Armenian Christian families, many of whom proved unable to survive the unhealthy climate there.

Māzandarān was originally one of the *mamālik*, i.e. *dīwānī* or state land provinces, but under Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66), Māzandarān and Gīlān became *khāṣṣa* or royal domains. It suffered in 1668 from the attack of Stenka Razin and his Cossacks, and in the early decades of the 18th century Māzandarān and Gīlān were coveted by Peter the Great; this was of course the period when the Ṣafawid state was falling into dissension and anarchy under pressure from the Afghāns in the east. Hence the two provinces were in 1723 in principle ceded to the Tsar by the fainéant Ṭahmāsp II (1135-45/1722-32) in return for the promise of help against his rival Ashraf. The plan was cut short by Peter's death in 1725, and the Empress Catherine I offered to abandon the Russian claim on the south Caspian provinces in return for recognition of Russian annexations in Dāghistān and Shirwān. Ṣafawid control over Māzandarān was however established by Ṭahmāsp with the aid of the chief of the Ḳizilbāsh [*q.v.*] Turkmen chief of the Ḳādjār tribe there, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān. The Ḳādjārs now began to consolidate their power in the region, despite Ṭahmāsp's enforced grant of Māzandarān, Khurāsān, Sīstān and Kirmān to Nādir Shāh Afshār after the latter's expulsion of the Afghāns from Persia, and in 1744 the Ḳādjārs of Māzandarān in fact rebelled against Nādir.

Under the Ḳādjār Shahs, Māzandarān and Gurgān continued to be of strategic importance against Turkmen incursions, and were royal governorates. The local economy seems to have flourished, with its staples of rice, cotton, sugar, timber and the fisheries of the Caspian, the latter however leased in the latter part of the 19th century to Russia in return for an annual rent. Curzon noted that the revenue of Māzandarān in 1888-9 was 139,350 *tūmāns* in cash, with government expenditure on public buildings, expenses of collection, etc., amounting to a mere 4,590 *tūmāns* (*Persia and the Persian question*, i, 354 ff.). The ancient town of Sārī declined in the 19th century, whilst Āmul and above all Bārfurūsh [*q.v.*] expanded commercially; much of the trade with Russia went from the port of Bārfurūsh at Mashad-i Sar (later Bābul-i Sar) at the mouth of the Bābul river, and there was a Russian consul for trade in the town. In the middle years of the century, this district was a centre of Bābism, one of whose leaders was Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī Bārfurūshī [*q.v.*]. The convention of Badasht took place in Mazandarān, and a fortified site near Bārfurūsh called Shaykh Ṭabarsī was the centre of the Bābī rising of 1848-9, barbarously suppressed by government forces [see BĀBĪS]. The father of Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī, the later Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*], was a native of Nūr in Māzandarān. In 1889-90 there was a pioneer attempt at railway-building in Persia when a short line was built by Belgian engineers from Āmul to the Caspian coast; a road over the Elburz Mountains from Āmul to Tehran, 120 miles/190 km. long, had already been constructed by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1877-8.

In the present century, with the confusion after the First World War, Māzandarān was, with Gīlān, involved in the Bolshevik rising of 1920-1 in the Caspian provinces under Kūčak Khān [*q.v.*] and Amīr Muʾayyad, in the ending of which the commander of the Cossack Brigade Riḍā Khān, later Shāh, achieved prominence; he was himself a native of Māzandarān, having been born at Elasht in the Elburz mountains (see L. P. Elwell-Sutton, in *Iran under the Pahlavis*, ed. G. Lenczkowski, Stanford 1978, 4-6). After he was made Shāh (December 1925), much of Māzandarān became crown land (*khāliṣa* [*q.v.*]), actually in the form of personal estates (*amlāk-i shāhī*) of the Shāh himself; but these were returned to their original owners in 1941 and subsequently distributed to small proprietors under the land reform policy of Riḍā Shāh's son Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh (see A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1979, 11-12, 120-2, 218-21).

Bibliography: On the campaigns of Alexander the Great and Antiochus III (in 209 B.C.; cf. Polybius, x, 28-31), cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, s.v. Alexander; idem, *Reise*, 156-61; Marquart, *Alexander's Marsch von Persepolis nach Herāt*, in *Untersuch. z. Gesch. von Eran*, ii, 1905, 45-63; Stahl, *Notes on the march of Alexander the Great from Ecbatana to Hyrcania*, in *JRGS* (Oct. 1924), 312-19. On the Arsacid and Sāsānid period: Darmester, *Lettre de Tansar à Jasnasf, roi de Tabaristan*, in *JA* (Jan.-March 1894), 185-250, 502-55 (Tansar [Tūsar?], the priest of the Sāsānid Ardashīr I, exhorts Djushnasf to submit;

the document translated from Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ is given in Persian in Ibn Isfandiyār); Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 430-5 (tables); idem, in *Grund. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 547; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 129-36. For the Muslim period: Balād̲h̲urī, 334-40; Ṭabarī, index; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 329-30, 355, 447, 465, 479, 514, 582; *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, ed. Jong and de Goeje, 399-405, 502-16, 520-3; Ibn al-Fāḳīh; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, index; as well as the local histories given below (an asterisk marks the works which seem to be lost): Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī (d. 225/890), **Kitāb Futūḥ D̲j̲ibāl al-Ṭabaristān*; **Bāwand-nāma* (written for S̲h̲ahriyār b. Ḳārin who reigned 466-503/1072-1109); ʿAbd al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Yazdādī, **ʿUḳūd al-siḥr wa-ḳalāʾid al-durar*; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān* (written in 613/1216) abbr. tr. E. G. Browne, GMS, Leiden-London 1905; the manuscript mentioned by Dorn has been continued to 842/1488; Badr al-Maʿālī Awliyāʾ Allāh Āmulī, **Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān* (written for Fak̲h̲r al-Dawla S̲h̲āh G̲h̲āzī, 761-80/1359-78); ʿAlī b. D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn b. ʿAlī Maḥmūd al-Nad̲j̲ībī Rūyānī, **Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān* (written for the Kārkiyā Mīrzā ʿAlī before 881/1476, used by Ẓahīr al-Dīn); Sayyid Ẓahīr al-Dīn (born in 815/1412) b. Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Marʿas̲h̲ī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān wa-Rūyān wa-Māzandarān*, completed in 881/1476, ed. Dorn, St. Petersburg 1266/1850; Dorn's German tr. was printed in 1885, but only a few copies are known; Ibn Abī Musallim, **Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Māzandarān* (date unknown); *Kitāb-i Gīlān wa-Māzandarān wa-Astarābād wa-Simnān wa-Damg̲h̲ān wa-g̲h̲ayrih* (Pers. ms. of 1275/1859, cf. Dorn, *Bericht*); Muḥammad Ḥasan K̲h̲ān Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Kitāb al-Tadwīn fī aḥwāl D̲j̲ibāl S̲h̲arwīn*, Tehran 1311 (geography and history of Sawād-kūh, lists of the Bāwandids, Pādūspānids, etc.). Cf. also the local histories of Gīlān: Zahīr al-Dīn Marʿas̲h̲ī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Gīlān wa-Daylamistān* (to 1489), ed. Rabino, Ras̲h̲t 1330/1912 (Annex 476-98: correspondence of K̲h̲ān Aḥmad Gīlānī); ʿAlī b. S̲h̲ams al-Dīn, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i K̲h̲ānī* (880-920/1475-1514), ed. Dorn, 1858; ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūmanī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Gīlān* (923-1038/1517-1629), ed. Dorn, 1858; and the local histories of D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān: Abū Saʿīd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (d. 405/1014), **Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Astarābād*, continued by Ibn al-Ḳāsim Ḥamza b. Yūsuf al-Sahmī al-Durd̲j̲ānī (d. 427/1036) who is the author of a *Taʾrīk̲h̲ D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān* or *Kitāb Maʿrifat ʿulamāʾ ahl D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān*, Hyderabad 1369/1950; ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī al-Idrīsī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān* (date unknown). 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Čobān in M.), 726, 730 (Ṭug̲h̲ā Tīmūr), 739 (the Sarbadārs [*q.v.*]); Melgunov, *op. cit.* (lists of the dynasties and governors of Māzandarān); Rehatsek, *The Bāw and Gaobārah sepahbuds*, in *JBBRAS*, xii (1876), 410-45 (according to Ẓahīr al-Dīn, Mīrk̲h̲ʷand and the *Muntak̲h̲ab al-tawārīk̲h̲*); Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, index (publ. in 1927); Horn, in *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 563 (ʿAlids); Lane-Poole, *The Muhamm. dynasties*, cf. the additions by Barthold in the Russ. tr., 1899, 290-3; Casanova, *Les Ispehbeds de Firim*, in *A Volume... presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 117-26 (the identification of Firīm with Fīrūzkūh is wrong); Huart, *Les Ziyārides*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, xlii (Paris 1922), index; Barthold, *The place of the Caspian provinces in the history of the Muslim world* (Russ.), Baku 1925, 90-100 (Tīmūr in Māzandarān); Rabino, *Les dynasties alaouides du Mazandaran*, in *JA*, ccx (1927), 253-77 (lists without references); Zambaur, *Manuel*, ch. ix. and tables C and P; Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns durch die Araber zur Zeit des Chalifen al-Manṣūr*, in *Islamica*, iii (1927), 86-150 (very important analysis of the Islamic sources); Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 133-149 (lists of dynasties and governors: detailed, but without references; idem, *Les dynasties du Māzandaran... d'après les chroniques locales*, in *JA*, ccxxviii (1936), 397-474; idem, *Les préfets du califat au Tabaristan...*, in *JA*, ccxxxi (1939), 237-74; idem, *L'histoire du Mâzandarân*, in *JA*, ccxxxiv (1947-5), 211-43. 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Landschaft Tabaristan (Grabtürme von Mazandaran; Amul; Sari; die Palastanlage von Aschref; Safi-abad; Farah-abad); Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918, 88, inscription of Rādkān of the Ispahbad Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Muḥammad b. Wandarīn Bāwand of 407/1016, see Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1022-3, 1721-3. See also MARʿAS̲H̲Ī SAYYIDS. (V. MINORSKY - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

7. The coins of Māzandarān. The question whether the Sāsānids struck coins in Māzandarān is still an open one and can only be settled when the groups of letters that mark the mints on Sāsānid coins have been properly explained. According to the so far insufficient attempts to explain them, the letters *AM*

found from the time of Fīrūz onwards are an abbreviation for Āmul, but this explanation is quite without proof.

The Dābwayhids and the earlier Arab governors of Ṭabaristān struck in the 2nd/8th century coins of the type of the Sāsānid *dirhams* of Khusraw II; on the obverse, with the bust of the ruler, his name is given in Pahlavi characters and on the reverse is the fire-altar with its two guardians and on the right the mint *Tpurstan* and on the left the year in the Ṭabaristān era (began on 11 June 652). These silver coins average in weight 1.90 gr. = 29.3 grains and are hemidrachms. Of the Dābwayhid rulers, Ferkhwān, Dātbūrdjmatūn and Khūrshīd are mentioned upon them. The coins of the first bear the years 60-77 (711-28), of the second 86-7 (737-8) and of the third 89-115 (740-66); these dates enable us to correct the chronology given by the historians. On some coins with the name Khūrshīd, earlier students read the dates 60-3, but this is to be explained by the similarity of *shast* and *dehsat* in the Pahlavi script and these coins are really of the years 110 and following. The assumption of a Khūrshīd I, who reigned in the sixties of the Ṭabaristān era (Mordtmann), is thus quite unfounded. As Khūrshīd died in 144 A.H. = 110 Ṭabaristān era, and there are coins with the names of Arab governors earlier than the year 116 Ṭab. era, it must be assumed that the Arabs continued to strike coins in the name of the earlier ruler of the land for a period after the conquest of Māzandarān, just as they did after the conquest of Persia under the caliph ʿUmar.

It was not till after Khūrshīd's death in 144/761 that ʿAbbāsid control was established over Ṭabaristān, and after a series of posthumous coins in Khūrshīd's name 110-14 Ṭab. era = 144-8 A.H./761-5 A.D., we get the first coins of the Arab governors, Khālid b. Barmak (coins from 150/767, Pahlavi legend *Halit*), and then ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlāʾ (coins from 155/772, Pahlavi legend *Aumr*). Kūfic legends appear in 122 Ṭab. era = 157/774 under ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlāʾ, and thereafter, governors' names are exclusively in this script (for Saʿīd b. Daʿladj, Yaḥyā b. Mikhnāḳ, etc.). See J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum, i. Arab-Sassanian coins*, London 1941, pp. lxix-lxxx (list of ʿAbbasid governors and their coins at pp. lxxiv-lxxv), 130-61. The issue of these coins with Sāsānid types ended in the year 143 Ṭabaristān era (794, anonymous) but we have a coin of 161/812 on the obverse of which in place of the king's head—as earlier on the coins of the governor Sulaymān (136-7)—there is a rhombus with the puzzling Arabic letters *bḫ* and on the margin al-Faḍl b. Sahl Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn (in Arabic) is named; on the reverse, instead of the altar with its guardians are three parallel designs like fir branches, between them an inscription in four lines giving the Muslim creed in Kūfic and the date and mint in Pahlavi (Tiesenhausen, in *ZVOAO*, ix, 224).

The mint name of these Arab-Sāsānid coins of the Arab governors of Ṭabaristān appears in Pahlavi script as *Tpurstan*, and the name of the actual town is not given. Presumably, it was mostly Āmul, but may have been at times other places, e.g. Sārī/Sāriyya, which was on occasion the capital of the province; only on one coin of the period, a *fals* of 168/784-5, is Āmul mentioned specifically. It should be noted, however, that odd Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid *dirhams* of conventional type are known from 102/720-1 onwards with the Arabicised name of the mint *Ṭabaristān*.

In the 3rd/9th century, in addition to the coins of the caliphal governors, we begin to find coins of the ʿAlid *dāʿīs*, beginning with al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad, al-Dāʿī al-Kabīr [*q.v.*], from 253/867 onwards, and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh al-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] and his successor al-Ḥasan b. Ḳāsim al-Dāʿī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who controlled Āmul at times. From 395/966 onwards, we possess coins of the Zaydī *imām* Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad, al-Thāʾir fi 'llāh [*q.v.*] and his son al-Mahdī, minted at Hawsam or Rūd-i Sar on the borders of Gīlān and Daylam (see S. M. Stern, *The coins of Āmul*, in *Num. Chron.*, 7th ser., vii [1967], 210 ff., 269-77, and HAWSAM in Suppl.). Interspersed with these coins bearing Shīʿī-type legends are found those of Sunnī type acknowledging the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, e.g. those minted by the Sāmānids, who held Āmul from 289/902, and then by the Ziyārid Wushmagīr b. Ziyār, who held it from 323/935, generally as a Sāmānid vassal. With the capture of Rayy in 334/945-6 by the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, there began a long period of rivalry between the Būyids, the Sāmānids and the Ziyārids over possession of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān, reflected in coin issues of all three powers, sometimes with coins with more than one of them from the same year, e.g. 341/952-3 (Sāmānids, and unknown ? ʿAlid prince and Būyids) and 356/967 and 357/968 (Sāmānids and Ziyārids). Also in this period begins the series of coins (353-mid-6th century/964-mid-12th century) of the Bāwandid *ispahbadhs* or local rulers of Firrīm in the highlands of Ṭabaristān [see BĀWAND, and FIRRĪM in Suppl.], minted at first in Firrīm but latterly at Sārī, which bear Shīʿī-type legends which nevertheless acknowledge other suzerains like the Būyids, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the Saldjūḳs, see G. C. Miles, *The coinage of the Bāwandids of Ṭabaristān*, in *Iran and Islam, a volume in memory of Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 443-60. No coins are extant of the Ziyārid *amīr* Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr [*q.v.*] and his descendants (cf. Bosworth, in *Isl.*, xl [1964], 25-6), and coins of the Saldjūḳ sultans who replaced them only appear under Berk-yaruḳ from 481/1095 onwards.

After the Mongol invasions, we find issues of Māzandarān by the Il-Khānids, Sarbardārids, Tīmūrids, Ṣafawids, Afshārids and Ḳādjārs. In Āmul, anonymous copper coins were struck from the 10th/16th century onwards. On several pieces of this period the mint Ṭabaristān occurs. As these are all very rare, the issue must have been an occasional one. The dates are not preserved on any specimens. More common are copper pieces of the value of 4 *ḳāzbekī* (18-22 grammes = 280-340 grains) with the lion and sun and mint Māzandarān, which belong to the 12th/18th century. During the Russian occupation of Gīlān in 1723-32, to meet the shortage of currency provoked by the financial crisis in Russia at this time, Persian copper coins were overstruck with a Russian die (double-eagle) and circulated in the occupied provinces in place of Russian money. These coins are often called Māzandarān pieces, but this is not correct, as only Gīlān and not Māzandarān was occupied.

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Suse, Paris 1938; idem, *Supplementary notes on the coins of Tabaristan*, in *Jnal. Num. Soc. of India*, vi (1944), 37-45; Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 34-5 (Āmul), 136 (Sārī/Sāriyya), 170 (Ṭabaristān), 185 (Firrīm), 221 (Māzandarān); A. H. Morton, *Dinars from western Māzandarān of some vassals of the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xxv (1987), 77-90.

(R. VASMER - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

MĀZAR [see ṢIḲILIYYA].

MAZĀR [see MAḲBARA, ZIYĀRA].

MAZĀR-I SHARĪF, a town in northern Afghānistān, situated in lat. 36° 42' N. and long. 67° 06' E., at an altitude of 1,235 feet/380 m. in the foothills of the northern outliers of the Hindū-Kush [*q.v.*].

The great classical and mediaeval Islamic town of Balkh [*q.v.*], modern Wazīrābād, lay some 14 miles/20 km. to the west of Mazār-i Sharīf, and until the Tīmūrid period was the most important urban centre of the region. Previously to that time, the later Mazār-i Sharīf was marked by the village of Khayr, later called Khōdja Khayrān. On two different occasions, in the 6th/12th century after 530/1135-6 in the time of Sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*], and in 885/1480-1, in the reign of the Tīmūrid Sultan Ḥusayn, the tomb of the caliph ʿAlī was "discovered" here and its genuineness declared to have been proved. A place of pilgrimage (*mazār*) at once arose around the tomb with a considerable market; the second tomb which is still standing (the first is said to have been destroyed by Čingiz-Khān), was built in 886/1481-2. The *mazār* does not seem to have been of any particular importance during the time of the Özbegs and is hardly mentioned, although several Özbeg sultans were buried there. In the first half of the 19th century, the place is usually simply called *mazār* by travellers, the name *Mazār-i Sharīf* seems only to have arisen within the last hundred years. ʿAbd al-Karīm Bukhārī (ed. Schefer, 4) does not mention Mazār at all among the towns of Afghānistān; in 1832 when Alexander Burnes passed through it, it was a little town with about 800 houses. In 1866, the Afghān governor Naʾib ʿĀlim Khān, a Shīʿī, chose Mazār-i Sharīf as his residence; since then Mazār-i Sharīf has been the capital of Afghān Turkistān. In 1878 it was described by the Russian general Marveyev as one of the best towns in Northern Afghānistān with about 30,000 inhabitants (L. F. Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy kray*, St. Petersburg 1880, ii, 157).

It was the selection of Mazār-i Sharīf as the administrative capital of northern Afghānistān which caused the town's fortunes to rise, so that in recent times, it has become a centre for local government as well as continuing to fulfill its old commercial role arising from its position on a route from Kābul to the ferry-point of Pata Kesar on the Oxus [see ĀMŪ-DARYĀ], by means of which goods have for long been exported to Russian Central Asia. In particular, it is a centre for the trade in karakol fur [see ḲARĀ-KÖL]. The visits of pilgrims seeking healing and blessing at the shrine are still important, as are the religious festivals there of the Nawrūz "raising of the standard" and that of its lowering 40 days or so later. Mazār-i Sharīf now has civil and military airfields, a power station and a fertiliser plant. It is the chef-lieu of the province (*wilāyat*) of Balkh; in *ca.* 1959, Humlum estimated its population at 75,000.

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(W. BARTHOLD - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

AL-MĀZARĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, jurist of Ifrīḳiya who was surnamed "al-Imām" on account of his learning and his renown. His *nisba* refers to the Sicilian town of Mazzara (*Māzar* in Arabic), the native place of his family, but it is not known whether the latter had emigrated to Ifrīḳiya before his birth, which may be dated at 453/1061 since he died in Rabīʿ I 536/October 1141, at al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], at the age of 83 lunar years. It was in this last-named town that he settled after completing his traditional studies at Sfax as a pupil of al-Lakhmī (d. 478/1085), and at Sousse, under the guidance of Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh. These two masters, who had left Kairouan (al-Ḳayrawān) after the Hilālian invasion, transferred to the Mediterranean coast the Ifrīḳiyan Mālikī tradition, which was linked to the founder of the *madhhab* by a continuous chain; notable figures belonging to this chain include Saḥnūn, Ibn Abī Zayd, Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī, etc. (see the table in M. M. Ould Bah, *La littérature juridique et l'évolution du Mālikisme en Mauritanie*, Tunis 1981, 25). Al-Māzarī perpetuated this tradition by establishing it at al-Mahdiyya, where he became head of the local judicial school, while representing a link in the chain which came to its end with Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], the supreme authority of Maghribī Mālikism.

Although sympathetic to the doctrine of the Shāfiʿīs, as well as to the opinions of the Ashʿarīs in *kalām*, since he is said to have passed on to posterity the *Tamhīd* of al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]), he founded his numerous and henceforward renowned *fatwās* on strictly Mālikī doctrine, without feeling himself completely bound by the interpretations of his predecessors; in general, he opted for what was *mashhūr*, applied the principle according to which "of two evils, the lesser must be chosen", and, in a sense, tended towards a moderate practice of *idjtihād*. Al-Māzarī attracted a considerable number of disciples and had dealings with other individuals who were to become famous, including Ibn Tūmart (d. 534/1130 [*q.v.*]), whose life he saved when the latter was being chased by the governor of al-Mahdiyya after having broken jars of wine at a market in the town. Ibn al-Abbār (in the *Takmilat al-Ṣila*, ed. Codera, Madrid 1887-9) mentions prominent Andalusians who attended his lectures or corresponded with him, in particular, Ibn al-ʿArabī (Abū Bakr, d. 543/1148 [*q.v.*]); the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149 [*q.v.*]), who nevertheless gives no biography of him in the *Madārik*; Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (d. 575/1179 [*q.v.*]; and Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198 [*q.v.*]).

This jurist seems to have cultivated the humanities and poetry, and to have studied mathematics and medicine, but he does not appear to have excelled in these disciplines, even if the *Kitāb fi 'l-ṭibb* which is attributed to him is indeed his own work. In fact, his name remains linked specifically to the *fatwās* which

may be found in the various mss. of the *Djāmiʿ masāʾil al-aḥkām* by al-Burzulī (d. *ca.* 841/1438 [*q.v.*]), as well as in the *Miʿyār* of al-Wansharīshī (d. 914/1508 [*q.v.*]), lith. Fās 1314-15 (e.g. ii, 192-4, 206-7, 321, iii, 230-1, 234-6, 241-2, 244-7, 249-51, 280, vi, 212, 214, 217, 219, 226-7, vii, 154, viii, 114-5, 130-1, 205, 220, 271, 285, ix, 52-3, 417, 421, 454, x, 245, 291, xii, 233, 243-7). His works numbered about a dozen, but only three of them have survived and not one has been published; they consist after all of commentaries which nevertheless may be regarded as holding a certain interest, since they contain a wealth of documentation and tackle various important questions; this is especially so in the case of *al-Muʿlim bi-fawāʾid Kitāb Muslim*, which appears to be the earliest commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (see the judgment of Ibn Khaldūn in the *Muḳadimma*, ii, 403; tr. de Slane, ii, 475-6; tr. Rosenthal, ii, 459; on the mss. and the sequel attributed to the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ, the *Ikmāl al-Muʿlim*, see Brockelmann, S I, 265): the other works preserved are the *Kitāb Īḍāḥ al-maḥṣūl min Burhān al-uṣūl*, on the *Burhān* of al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085 [*q.v.*]) and the *Sharḥ ʿalā Talḳīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb* [*al-Thaʿlabī*] (d. 422/1031; see Brockelmann, S I, 660).

Bibliography: Two monographs have been devoted to this jurist, one in Arabic, by Ḥ. H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Imām al-Māzarī*, Tunis 1955, and the other, in French, by H. R. Idris, *L'école mālikite de Mahdia: l'imām al-Māzarī (m. 536/1141)*, in *Etudes d'orientalisme ... Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris 1962, 153-63; see also idem, *Essai sur la diffusion de l'asʿarisme en Ifrīqiya*, in *CT*, ii (1953), 12-13; *idem*, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, Paris 1959, index; see also M. Amari, *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, i, 125, 133, 522, 629, ii, 65-8; idem, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed., revised by C. A. Nallino, Catania 1937-9, ii, 544-9; *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, Palermo 1910, i, 384-9, 390-402, ii, 92-4, 217-23, 224-44, 492-3; A. M. Turki, *Consultation juridique d'al-Imām al-Māzarī...*, in *MUSJ* 1/2 (1984), 691-704. Arabic sources: Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 279-81; Ibn Ḳunfudh, *K. al-Wafayāt*, Algiers 1939, 42; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, tr. Fagnan, i, 469; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 114; Makhlūf, *Shadharāt al-nūr al-zakiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-Mālikiyya*, Cairo 1350, i, 127-8.

Two colleagues of this jurist, bearing the same *kunya*, the same *ism* and the same *nisba* are often confused with him, especially since they are practically contemporaries:

The first, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-FARADJ AL-MĀZARĪ, surnamed al-Zakī (d. 512/1118), who was also a native of Mazzara and an Ashʿarī, resided at the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād [*q.v.*], then was taught by numerous masters of Kairouan before going to settle in the East. He is the author of a work on Ḳurʾānic readings, of a treatise on physical contacts effected through error, the *Kashf al-ghiṭāʾ ʿan lams al-khaṭāʾ*, and of an appraisal of certain *ḥadīths* quoted by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]), in the *Iḥyaʾ*, *al-Kashf wa 'l-inbāʾ ʿalā 'l-mutardjam bi 'l-Iḥyāʾ*.

Bibliography: Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-īmān*, iii, 250-2; Amari, *Storia*², ii, 561-2; M. Asín Palacios, *Un faqīh siciliano contradictor de al-Gazzālī*, in *Centenario ... Amari*, i, 380-2, 548, n. 3, ii, 216; H. R. Idris, *Essai sur la diffusion de l'asʿarisme en Ifrîqiya*, in *CT*, ii (1953), 12; idem, *Le crépuscule de l'école mālikite kairouanaise*, in *ibid.*, iv (1956), 505-7; idem, *Quelques juristes ifrîqiyens de la fin du Xᵉ siècle*, in *RAfr.*, c (1956), 361; idem, *Zīrīdes*, ii, 731-2.

The second, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUSLIM B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MĀZARĪ AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-ISKANDARĀNĪ (d. 530/1135), who lived in Alexandria, was also an Ashʿarī, but more of a theologian (*mutakallim*) than a jurist as such, judging from the *Kitāb al-Mihād*, a commentary on the *K. al-Irshād ilā tabyīn ḳawāʿid al-iʿtiḳād* of al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085 [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 280; M. Asín Palacios, *op.cit.*, ii, 216; Amari, *Storia*², ii, 546, 548; H. R. Idris, *A propos d'un extrait du "Kitâb al-Mihâd" d'al-Mâzarî al-Iskandarânî*, in *CT*, ii (1953), 155. (CH. PELLAT)

MAZĀTA, the name of an ancient and powerful Berber people which belonged to the great tribal family of the Lawāta [*q.v.*]. According to Ibn Khaldūn, who makes brief mention of the Mazāta in his *Histoire des Berbères*, they constituted an important branch descended from Zayr, son of Lawā, ancestor of the Lawāta. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal (4th/10th century), the Mazāta and the Lawāta belonged to the major Berber tribal group of the Zanāta. Yet another historian of the Berbers, Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), considers the Mazāta and the Lawāta as belonging to the Coptic, i.e. the Egyptian, race. This conception is to be understood as meaning that the ancestors of the Mazāta (who were, in the opinion of the present writer, the people known to the ancient Egyptians as the Mashawasha) as well as those of the other Libyan tribes (called Lebū or Libū in the hieroglyphic sources) became intermingled, in antiquity, with the true Egyptians. This process of fusion probably took place predominantly in the western part of the Delta.

In considering the name of the tribe of the Mashawasha and its identification with that of the Mazāta, it must be stated that the form of this nomenclature as found in the ancient hieroglyphic sources is a collective noun composed of the singular noun *Masha(wa)*—which is the name of the eponymous founder of the tribe—and the suffix *-sha*, the designation of a collective in Libyan and Old Berber. It appears furthermore that the Libyco-Berber suffix *-sha* (or *-sa*) derives from another language which the linguists call Aegean and which was spoken by certain small tribes belonging, in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C., to the "Peoples of the Sea". It is read, for example, in the Egyptian inscriptions dating from this period that one of the tribes in question, the Achaeans, bore the name of *Akaywasha* and that the tribe of the Siculi which was later to inhabit Sicily was called *Shakalasha* (or *Sakalasa*). The same ethnic suffix was also used in Old Berber. Thus, e.g. it is discovered from the writings of Ibn Khaldūn that the descendants of a certain Ḍarī formed the tribe which bore the name of Ḍarīsa, a collective nomenclature with the collective suffix *-sa*. Returning to the question of the Mashawasha (or Masawasa, i.e. Mazāta), it is to be believed that these two tribes were identical, or rather that the Mazāta were distant descendants of the ancient Mashawasha. In fact, the termination *-āta*, which concludes certain Berber ethnic names (e.g. that of the Law-āta) is composed of two suffixes, of which the first, *-āt-*, which is Berber, added to the eponymous name, makes it a collective noun, and the second, the final *-a* (as in the names of the Lawāt-a and the Mazāt-a) has been added by mediaeval Arab authors to give this noun an Arabic plural (Lawāta, Mazāta). In this manner, the Berber suffix *-āt-* has the same function as the Libyco-Berber suffix *-sha* or *-sa*.

Initially, the Mashawasha inhabited western Libya, in other words Tripolitania and what is now Tunisia. At about the time of the end of the New

Empire, they took the decision to conquer Cyrenaica and Marmarica, lands which had been occupied by other Libyan tribes. The population of these lands offered fierce resistance, but the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a massacred them and subjugated them by force. Since the conquerors brought with them their families and their livestock, this constituted a veritable *Völkerwanderung*. After the conquest of Cyrenaica and Marmarica, the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a resolved to attack Egypt. Their first attempts at conquest took place during the reigns of the Pharaohs Sethi I and Rameses II in the 13th century B.C., and ended in failure. It was only during the reign of the Pharaoh Mineptah that the chieftain of the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a named Meriaï, son of Didi, achieved a degree of success. This chieftain was assured of the support of the "Peoples of the Sea", a federation of tribes originating from southern Europe and western Asia who sowed terror throughout the Near East. With the aid of these peoples the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a succeded, in 1227 B.C., in seizing the oases situated on the Egypt-Libya frontier, as well as part of the western Delta. Later however, the Egyptians struck a terrible blow against the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a and their allies in a major battle which took place at Per-Ir, to the north-west of Memphis. The soldiers of the Pharaoh, riding in chariots, pursued and massacred the fugitives. Among those slain on the battlefield were thousands of Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a, of eastern Libyans and of Aḳaywas̲h̲a, and hundreds of *Tursa* (*Turs̲h̲a*), of *Sakalasa*, of *Sardana* (S̲h̲ardana) and of Lycians. In spite of this defeat the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a, aided by the eastern Libyans, mounted a fresh invasion in 1194 B.C. during the reign of Rameses III. The war was keenly contested, but the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a were eventually defeated and forced to evacuate the western Delta. In the year 1188 B.C., during the reign of the same Pharaoh Rameses III, there was yet a third attempt at the conquest of Egypt on the part of the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a, aided by their Libyan allies, and this too ended with victory going to the Egyptians. But on this occasion the Pharaoh understood that it would be impossible to subdue the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a and the eastern Libyans, who had been driven to despair by the catastrophic state of their country which was becoming an arid wilderness. He therefore permitted the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a and the eastern Libyans to settle in the Delta, in exchange for an undertaking on their part to supply mercenaries to the Egyptian army. In this manner, the military conflict between the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a and the eastern Libyans on the one hand and the Egyptians on the other was concluded in a kind of amicable arrangement. There thus began in the Delta a vigorous process of intermingling between the native Egyptians and the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a and Libyan settlers, facilitated by mixed marriages which became commonplace not only among the lower strata of society, but also among the upper classes, where the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a achieved posts of seniority in the sacerdotal and military hierarchy. In the 11th century B.C. one of these dignitaries, named Sheshonq, married an Egyptian princess of the royal family, and his great-grandson, also named Sheshonq, who was commander of the Egyptian army and bore the title of "Grand Chieftain of the Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a", took over supreme power in the country in the year 950 B.C. and, after the death of the Pharaoh Psousennes II, founded the XXII Egyptian dynasty. The Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a and the Libyans of the Delta and of Libya recognised the authority of Sheshonq. It should be added that until this moment, these two ethnic groups had lived in complete autonomy.

Towards the end of the XXII dynasty, a prince of this dynasty named Pedoubastis founded the XXIII dynasty. It is interesting to note that for a period of time the Libyan Pharaohs of these two dynasties reigned simultaneously, and also maintained the best of mutual relations. Thus there began the partition of the Delta, where in 747-30 B.C. three princes claimed the title of Pharaoh. Ultimately, a Libyan prince of Sais, probably himself a descendant of Sheshonq I, displaced the last Pharaohs of the two rival dynasties and founded the XXIV dynasty, known as the Saite. The Libyan period lasted two centuries, during which Egypt remained under the domination of the minority composed of Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a and of other Libyan tribes.

The Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a and the Egyptianised Libyans were still in evidence in the 2nd century A.D. These are without doubt the Libu-Aegyptii who, according to Ptolemy, constitute the population of Mareotis, territory situated in the western Delta around Lake Mariout.

With regard to the non-Egyptianised Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a, outside Egypt, they may be identified, in all probability, with the nomads of Libya known as Mazues and mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium following Hecateus (6th century B.C.), and are to be distinguished from the Maxues who were established, according to Herodotus (5th century B.C.) in the coastal region of the lesser Syrte. It should be added that the Mazues were nomads while the Maxues were cultivators. Hecateus does not specify which part of Libya they inhabited. It is very likely that they are the ancestors of the Mazāta of Cyrenaica and eastern Tripolitania. As for the name of this tribe, it is composed of the root *Maz-* (singular noun, of which Mazāta is the Berber collective form) with the Greek termination *-ues* (*-yes*).

It also seems necessary to identify with the ancient Mas̲h̲awas̲h̲a (*Mas̲h̲a(wa)-s̲h̲a*) known from the hieroglyphic inscriptions and the mediaeval Mazāta of the Arab authors, the Libyan tribe of the Mastites (*Mas-t-itae*) located by Ptolemy in the province of Mareotis, in the region of Lake Mariout, on the western frontiers of the Delta. In this ethnonym, the termination *-itae* may probably be of Greek origin, and the suffix *-t-* (in place of *-āt*) the sign of the collective in Libyan.

The Arab historians and geographers knew of the Mazāta at a very early date. In fact, when the renowned general ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ set out for the Mag̲h̲rib in 46/666-7, passing through Mag̲h̲madās̲h̲ (formerly Macomades Selorum, currently Marsa Zafran or Medinet es-Soltan), through Waddan (currently the oasis of Djofra) and through the Fazzān as far as the territory of Kawār, he made his return journey through the town of Zawīla, one of the capitals of the Fazzān, whence he made his way towards the territory of the tribe of the Mazāta in eastern Tripolitania. This tribe was, in the 7th century A.D., quite powerful and it possessed a number of fortresses (Ar. *ḳuṣūr*) which ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ captured. This account, which is known to us through the intermediary of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871), is the earliest information available concerning the Mazāta emanating from Arabic sources, being based on the accounts of numerous early informants, the earliest of whom, Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, died in 128/746, only eighty years after the expedition of ʿUkba b. Nafiʿ. The other Arabic references to the Mazāta are of much later date and derive from the period of the 3rd-8th/9th-14th centuries.

According to mediaeval Arab authors, the Mazāta were a very numerous and prosperous people, simultaneously nomadic (or semi-nomadic) stockbreeders

and cultivators, whose centres of population and pastures were dispersed throughout North Africa, from the province of al-Buḥayra (between Alexandria and Old Cairo) to the east as far as the neighbourhood of Tāhart (Tiaret) to the west. They adopted orthodox Islam at a very early stage, but at the time of the Khāridjī revolution which affected all the Berbers of North Africa at about the middle of the 8th century A.D., they went over to Khāridjism. It is not impossible that they initially adopted Ṣufrī doctrines, as did the majority of the Berber tribes. However, some twenty or thirty years later, they were already professing Ibāḍism, sometimes following the very moderate doctrines of the Wahbī branch, sometimes the very extremist doctrines of the Nukkarī branch, which became very popular among the Berbers from the period of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], the "Man on the Donkey", who rebelled in the first half of the 4th/10th century against the Fāṭimid caliphate. It was only at a fairly late date, probably about the 7th/13th century, that the Mazāta began, little by little, to reject Ibāḍī beliefs, turning to Sunnism. The written sources supply little information on this subject. It may be added, furthermore, that according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (4th/10th century), a section of the Mazāta of Ifrīḳiya professed Muʿtazilī doctrines.

The Mazāta were divided into numerous more or less powerful sub-tribes (Ar. *ḳabīla*, *fakhdh*) and many of their names are indicated by Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ibn Khaldūn, an anonymous list from the 7th/13th century of eminent Ibāḍī personalities classified by tribe, and finally the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Shammākhī, an Ibāḍī historian of the 10th/16th century. Among these texts, that of Ibn Ḥawḳal gives a list of the sub-tribes of the Mazāta mingled with those of the Lawāta, in such a way that it is impossible to separate these peoples. The list of the Mazāta sub-tribes presented by Ibn Khaldūn is very incomplete (it includes the names of only six of these segments). As for al-Shammākhī, he supplies the names of the sub-tribes of the Mazāta and the *nisba*s on these names, and they are found dispersed among the biographies of renowned personalities mentioned in his *Kitāb al-Siyar*. It should be added that some sub-tribes of Mazāta are also mentioned in other Ibāḍī works, including the *Kitāb al-Sīra* of Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjalānī (6th/12th century) or the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh* of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Dardjīnī (7th/13th century).

The names of these Mazāta sub-tribes are as follows: — 1. Banū Maṭkūd; 2. Banū Wīslū; 3. Banū Madūna; 4. Zamrata (this name is known only from the *nisba* al-Zamratī; the Berber form of it is Izəmratən and the reading given by Ibn Ḥawḳal is to be thus corrected); 5. Banū Zimmarīn; 6. Banū Ardjān; 7. Banū Dadjma or Dadjama (read Dagma, Dagama); 8. Banū Masāra; 9. Banū Īlayan (in Ibn Khaldūn's work, the incorrect orthography of this name is found: B. Layān); 10. Banū Faṭnāsa; 11. Banū Kazīna; 12. Banū Ḳarna; 13. Banū Madjīdja; 14. Banū Ḥamza (thus according to Ibn Ḥawḳal; Ibn Khaldūn incorrectly writes it as Ḥamra); 15. Awmāsht (also Ūmāsht); this last ethnonym seems to be composed of the prefix *Aw-* (*Ū-*) which signifies "son" in Berber, and of the eponymous name *-mash-*, to which has been added the Berber sign of the collective *-t*; it closely resembles one of the ancient names of the Mazāta, this being *Mas-t-itae*, which has been considered above.

1. *Egypt.* The most easterly settlements of the Mazāta embraced, in the Middle Ages, the Egyptian province called al-Buḥayra [*q.v.*] situated on the western borders of the Delta, between Alexandria and Old Cairo, i.e. the same region previously inhabited by the ancestors of the Mazāta, the Mashawasha of the hieroglyphic sources and the Mastitae of the ancient sources. According to Ibn Khaldūn, there were to be found in the Buḥayra numerous nomadic (or rather semi-nomadic) peoples who belonged to the Berber tribes of the Mazāta, Hawwāra and Zanāta. According to him, these tribes tarried in the Buḥayra to sow their crops but, at the approach of winter, moved to the neighbourhood of al-ʿAḳaba and Barḳa. He adds that the above-mentioned tribes paid a tax (Ar. *kharādj*) to the sultan of Egypt. It is not known which al-ʿAḳaba is in question here, since there are two places with this toponym, al-Aḳaba al-Ṣaghīra ("the small slope, pass", Catabathmus parvus of the ancient sources), forty leagues from Alexandria to the west, and al-ʿAḳaba al-Kabīra ("the great slope, pass", Catabathmus magnus of the ancient sources), forty leagues to the west of the former. Al-Bakrī (5th/11th century) mentions the settlements (or rather the winter habitat) of these Mazāta "at the foot of the slope of al-ʿAḳaba", without specifying whether this is Catabathmus magnus or parvus. It is on this side of Egypt, to the east of al-ʿAḳaba al-Ṣaghīra, that the place known as Rammāda is to be located, a site which according to al-Yaʿḳūbī was inhabited by the Mazāta and other Berber tribes.

2. *Cyrenaica* (Barḳa). If Ibn Khaldūn is to be believed, the regular haunts of these Mazāta who possessed agricultural land in Egypt, in the province of al-Buḥayra, on the Western borders of the Delta, were located in part in Cyrenaica (Barḳa), where this people invariably spent the winter. Arabic sources of information regarding the Mazāta of Cyrenaica are few in number and relatively late. The earliest reference to the Mazāta of Cyrenaica is owed to Ibn Khaldūn. According to this historian, they participated in the Umayyad revolt which took place in Cyrenaica *ca.* 395/1004-5. Al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century) claims that in his time the Mazāta of Barḳa were already Arabised. These courageous horsemen inhabited the regions of Cyrenaica situated between the town of Ṭulmaytha (the ancient Ptolemais) and Laḳḳa (Cape Locco or Luca on modern maps, not far from Tobruk). Two centuries later, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kutubī (Waṭwāṭ, d. 718/1318) locates the settlements of the Mazāta of Barḳa on a mountain (Djabal al-Akhḍar) situated to the west of the town of Barḳa. An analogous reference is also found in the *Cosmography* of al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327).

3. *Tripolitania.* A very significant portion of the Mazāta inhabited the eastern part of what is now Tripolitania, as neighbours of the Lawāta of Barḳa to the east and the Hawwāra of central Tripolitania to the west. The eastern limit of their domain was constituted, at about the end of the 3rd/9th century, by a point situated at one day's journey to the west of Adjdābiya. The western limit of the territory of the Tripolitanian Mazāta passed near Tawargha (Taouordga or Taourga), to the south of Misurata. In the south, the habitat of this tribe extended beyond the Djebel es-Soda, towards the frontier of the Fazzān, the population of which remained, in the 3rd/9th century, in a state of war with the Tripolitanian Mazāta. The Mazāta formerly constituted the majority of the inhabitants of Waddān, ancient provincial capital of the oasis of Djofra, where nevertheless there are also to be noted, in this period, the presence of two Arab tribal groups. The desert town of Tādjrift, situated between Waddān and the town of Surt (currently Medinet es-Soltan) on the coast, three

days' journey from the first-named place, which may be identified with what is now Tagrift (Tagrefet), was populated in the 4th/10th century by inhabitants of Waddān, in other words by Mazāta mingled with Arabs. The oasis of Zalhā (Sella or Zella on modern maps) also formed, in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, part of the territory of the Mazāta, as is revealed by a passage from the writings of al-Bakrī (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, Ibn al-Warrāḳ). Finally, in this period there belonged to the people of Waddān an unnamed *manzil* ("station") situated midway between Tamassā (Tmassa on modern maps, to the northeast of Mourzouk) and Zalhā, and apparently to be identified with what is now el-Fugha or Fogha, a pleasant oasis and a village with ruins probably of Garamantian origin.

In the early Middle Ages, the land of the Mazāta embraced two different districts, these being Surt and Waddān. The district of Surt corresponded to the coastal zone of what is now eastern Tripolitania, and that of Waddān occupied the whole interior of this land. The former of these districts was known, from the year 46/666-7, by the name of Surt or *arḍ Surt* ("land of Surt"). Later, the localities belonging to this territory received the name of Ḳuṣūr Surt ("Castles of Surt"). As for Waddān, which appears for the first time in the same year of 46/666-7 as a country having its own king, it was still considered in the 6th/12th century as an administrative district (A. *ʿamal*, also *arḍ*, "country") apart. It was, furthermore, closely linked to the land of Surt. The district of Waddān embraced, no doubt, all the places in the interior of eastern Tripolitania which were inhabited by Mazāta and by people of Waddān, these being Zalhā (Sella), Tadjrift (Tagrift) and el-Fugha.

The Mazāta of eastern Tripolitania who had probably inhabited this land since earliest times (it is likely that this land was the cradle of the ancient Mashawasha, distant ancestors of the Mazāta) rallied at an early stage to the cause of Ibāḍism. The district of Surt constituted a province of the ephemeral Ibāḍī state of the *imām* Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī (140-4/757-61). Numerous individuals, probably members of the branch of the Mazāta which inhabited eastern Tripolitania, played a significant role in the army of this *imām*. It was also in the territory of Surt, at Maghmadās (in ancient times Macomades Syrtis or Macomades Selorum), that there took place in 141/759 a battle between the army of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and that of the ʿAbbāsid general Abu 'l-Aḥwaṣ ʿUmar b. al-Aḥwaṣ al-ʿIdjlī. After the defeat and death of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb in 144/761, the victorious Arab general Ibn al-Ashʿath took control of the district of Surt and sent troops, in 145/762-3, to conquer the land of Waddān. The capital of this region was taken and its Ibāḍī population put to the sword.

In spite of the defeat of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, Ibāḍism survived for a long period of time in eastern Tripolitania. In fact, the land of Surt appears in the time of the Ibāḍī *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum (168-208/784-823) to be a province of the Rustumid state of Tāhart. The Mazāta of eastern Tripolitania continued to profess Ibāḍī doctrines. In fact, at about the end of the 3rd/9th century, the Mazāta were still independent and governed by an indigenous chieftain, apparently an Ibāḍī. At a later date, al-Dardjīnī (7th/13th century) notes the presence of encampments of Mazāta in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, in the first half of the 5th/11th century, but he considers that the people in question are not the Mazāta of eastern Tripolitania, but the branch of this tribe occupying the region of Ḳābis (Gabès) in south-eastern Tunisia, which will be considered below. Similarly, nothing definite is known regarding the origin of Dūnās b. al-Khayr al-Mazātī who was the chieftain (Ar. *raʾīs*) of the Ibāḍīs of Tripolitania under the dynasty of the Banū Khazrūn (493-540/1100-45). The sources of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th century are almost entirely silent regarding the inhabitants, evidently Mazāta and Ibāḍīs, of eastern Tripolitania. It is known however that the people of Sokna, in the oasis of el-Djofra, recall having formerly been Ibāḍīs, which proves that Ibāḍism has survived in these regions until a relatively recent period.

Remnants of the Mazāta also lived in the Djabal Nafūsa, in the hinterland of western Tripolitania. Thus it is known, from Ibāḍī chronicles, that people originally of the Mazāta tribe of Dadjma (Dagma, Dagama) lived at Didjī (currently Deggui) in the western part of the Djabal Nafūsa. It is also interesting to note that the name of the important village of Ardjān or Arkān (currently Kherbet Ardjan, not far from Mezzou, to the north of Djādū in the eastern part of the Djabal Nafūsa) recalls that of the Banū Ardjān, a sub-tribe of the Mazāta which has been mentioned above.

4. *Tunisia*. A segment of the Mazāta also lived in the mountains of south-eastern Tunisia, alongside tribes of the Lawāta, the Lamāya and the Zanzafa, and not far from the major Berber population of Banū Dammar (Demmer). The Mazāta, the Lawāta, the Lamāya and the Zanzafa lived in the vicinity of a place called Tāmūlast, of which the exact location is not known. It was this place which produced the great Ibāḍī historian, theologian and lawyer Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī (d. 471/1078-9 [*q.v.*], and see below). It was the regional centre of a district called Djabal Tāmūlast, situated "below" the Djabal Dammar.

Another branch of the tribe of the Mazāta resided in the vicinity of the town of Ḳābis (Gabès), alongside other Berber peoples, such as the Lawāta, the Lamāya, the Nafūsa, the Zawāgha and the Zawāra. This is known from a passage of the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of al-Bakrī (5th/11th century). It is interesting to recall that Ibn Ḥawḳal (4th/10th century) mentions the Berber populations living in the neighbourhood of Gabès as tillers of the soil. According to this author, they were heretics, i.e. Ibāḍīs. The chroniclers call this people Mazātat Ḳābis. There were also Ibāḍī Mazāta at Zarīḳ (Zerig el-Barraniya on modern maps), a locality situated close to Kettana, to the south-east of Gabès. Among the residents of this place was the Ibāḍī *shaykh* ʿAbbūd b. Manār al-Mazātī, the maternal uncle of Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī.

Ibn Ḥawḳal also speaks of the large tribe of the Mazāta living in the region of Ḳasṭīliya (Tozeur?), of Ḳafṣa (Gafsa), of Nafzāwa, of al-Ḥammā, of Sumāṭa and of Bishrī (Bechri on modern maps). It is probably among this segment of the Mazāta that there were recruited the *fityān* and the *talāmidha* of Mazāta origin who lived, at about the 5th/11th century, if al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century) is to believed, in the Ḳasṭīliya (here = Bilād al-Djarīd). In the canton of Nafzāwa (Nefzaoua on modern maps) there lived a segment of the Mazātian sub-tribe of the Banū Izəmratən (or Izmərtən) which professed the Ibāḍī-Wahbī faith; according to Ibn Khaldūn this group belonged not to the Mazāta, as stated by Ibāḍī sources, but to the great Berber family of the Zanāta. The town of Faṭnāsa (Fetnassa on modern maps) also owes its name to the homonymous Berber sub-tribe,

a branch of the Mazāta. Between Tawzar (Tozeur) and al-Ḥāmma lived the Mazāta sub-tribe of the Kazīna.

Further to the north-east of the Bilād al-Djarīd and of Ḳafṣa (Gafsa), there were numerous Ibāḍī-Wahbī Mazāta on the plain of Kayrawān (called Faḥṣ al-Ḳayrawān in the Ibāḍī chronicles). It is curious to note that, in spite of their Khāridjī faith, these Mazāta were loyal servants of the Zīrid kings of Ifrīḳiya. A renowned Zīrid general had his origin in this segment of the Mazāta which bore, in the chronicles of this seat, the name of Mazātat al-Ḳayrawān.

In all probability, there were formerly also Ibāḍī Mazāta in the Djebel Ousselet, the Djabal Wasalāt of the Arab geographers, a canton situated to the west of the town of Ḳayrawān. It is no doubt with this name that there should be associated the ethnic al-Wasalātī, applied to numerous Ibāḍī individuals of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, members of the tribe of the Mazāta, including for example of the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Wasalātī al-Mazātī, and the *shaykh* Fatūḥ b. Abī Ḥādjdjī al-Wasalātī al-Mazātī. According to the anonymous list of Ibāḍī *shaykhs* of the 7th/13th century, ʿAbd al-Ghanī belonged to the Mazāta branch of Awmāsht.

According to the Ibāḍī historian Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Dardjīnī, the Mazāta of Ifrīḳiya were very rich (in particular, they possessed a large number of horses) and very warlike.

5. *Algeria.* An important branch of the Mazāta lived in what is now Algeria, in particular in the Zāb and the Hodna, as well as in the region north of Aurès, the Djabal Awrās of the Arabic sources. The mediaeval Arab authors mention there, among others, a segment of the Mazāta in the vicinity of Baghāya (Baghaï on modern maps), in a plain intersected by streams. In speaking of the Berber inhabitants of this region, al-Bakrī (5th/11th century) says that they belonged to the Berber tribes of the Mazāta and the Ḍarīsa and that they professed the doctrines of the Ibāḍī sect. According to this geographer, they were semi-nomads; they spent the winter in desert regions where they bred camels. When the Ibāḍī-Wahbī *shaykh* Abū Khazar al-Wisyānī rebelled, in the middle of the 4th/10th century, against the Fāṭimid government, the Mazāta of Baghāya, of the Zāb and of the Hodna, who were very numerous and then numbered "12,000 horsemen and an incalculable multitude of foot-soldiers", were among the most fervent supporters of this chieftain. Furthermore, the same Mazāta also supported, some years earlier, the Ibāḍī-Nukkārī *imām* Abū Yazīd ("the Man on the Donkey"). These two items of information are owed to the Ibāḍī historian Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjalānī (beginning of the 6th/12 century). When Buluggīn b. Zīrī, chief of the Ṣanhādja and loyal supporter of the Fāṭimid caliphs, took the field to conquer the central Maghrib (in 360/971), according to the Arab historians he exterminated the Mazāta and other Berbers living in the district of Baghāya.

Another group of Mazāta lived further towards the west, in the vicinity of what is now the town of Batna, in a stronghold which al-Bakrī calls Billizma li-Mazāta ("Billizma of the Mazāta"), on territory known today by the name of Djebel Bellezma. Nothing else is known with any certainty concerning this segment of the Mazāta, who were apparently tillers of the soil.

A sizeable Berber population composed of Mazāta, of Zanāta and of Hawwāra, lived, in the mediaeval period, in the town of al-Masīla [*q.v.*] (Msila on modern maps), formerly capital of the canton of the Hodna, as well as in brushwood shacks situated in the suburbs of this town. These Berbers were also massacred by the warriors of Buluggīn b. Zīrī in 360/971. However, the Mazāta of these regions later regained their strength, since the Arab geographer of the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī, refers to this tribe as still inhabiting the territory of al-Masīla, which it shared with the Banū Birzāl, the Zandādj, the Hawwāra and the Ṣadrāta. The Berber tribes in question, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Idrīsī, were engaged in the raising of livestock and in agriculture. Undoubtedly, it is the same segment of the Mazāta of which Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks, locating it between Tifāsh (the ancient Tipasa) and al-Masīla, alongside a branch of the tribe of the Kutāma. Ibn Ḥawḳal also mentions a village named Dakma (Dagma), situated close to al-Masīla, which in the time of this geographer was inhabited by the Kutāma, but the name of which is associated with that of one of the sub-tribes of the Mazāta, this being Dadjma (read Dagma). The same facts were repeated at a later date by al-Idrīsī.

As for the Zāb, the Mazāta of this land lived, being semi-nomadic, in brushwood shacks in the vicinity of the towns of Ṭubna (the ancient Tubunae) and of Biskra. In 360/971, they were massacred by Buluggīn b. Zīrī, but subsequently they regained their strength. Al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century) refers to the Mazāta in question, describing various features of their history during the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. They lived in encampments (Ar. *aḥyāʾ*) and professed the Ibāḍī-Wahbī faith, with a certain tendency towards Nukkārī Ibāḍism. They were, among others, military supporters of the renowned Nukkārī chief Abū Yazīd, mentioned above.

The names of the Mazāta sub-tribes which inhabited the Zāb are not known. It is very likely that it is to these groups that the Madūna belonged, and perhaps also the Awmāsht (Ūmāsht). In fact, the name of this latter people is found in that of the locality, Oumach on modern maps, which is situated midway between Tehouda (the ancient Thabudeos) and Mlili (the ancient Gemellae).

The Mazāta of the Zāb and of the Hodna belonged to very rich tribes which did not use their wealth to support the Rustamid imāmate of Tāhart. The Ibāḍī historians state in this context, quoting the words of one of the Rustamid *imāms*, that the Ibāḍī-Wahbī religion "exists through the swords of the Nafūsa and the possessions of the Mazāta", also alluding to the religious zeal of the former of these tribes. Ibn Ṣaghīr, author of a chronicle of Tāhart composed at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, says of the Mazāta, the Sadrāta and other tribes inhabiting the Zāb and the Hodna, that they "were in the habit, in the season of spring, of leaving the temporary lands that they occupied in the Maghrib or other regions to come to Tāhart or its surrounding areas on account of the pastures that they found there and other advantages which the land offered them... When the nomads arrived to install their encampments, their dignitaries and leaders of groups presented themselves in the town where they were received with kindness and respect (by the *imāms*). Then they returned to their encampments where they remained until the time of their departure".

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(T. Lewicki)

AL-MAZĀTĪ, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf, famous Ibāḍī historian, theologian and jurisconsult. He was a member, as his *nisba* indicates, of the Berber tribe of Mazāta [*q.v.*], probably from the branch who lived in the mountains of south-east Tunisia beside the tribes of the Lawāta and Zanzafa. All these tribes were living around a district which was called Tāmūlast but whose exact location eludes us and which was, in all probability, the place from which Abu 'l-Rabīʿ originated. It is, indeed, in this locality that there lived his paternal uncle Iṣlītan (Yaṣlītan) and it is not far from this place, at a point in the neighbouring desert, called Asarkīm, that his family and herds lived for some time. His maternal uncle, ʿAbbūd b. Manār al-Mazātī, lived not far from there, in Zarīḳ, to the south-east of the town of Gabès. One should add that Abu 'l-Rabīʿ had a brother called ʿAlī.

The date of his birth is uncertain. We know, however, that, as a young man, in the first decade of the 5th/11th century, he studied under the famous Ibāḍī *shaykh* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr in Tīn Yaṣlī (Tīn Iṣlī) in the Oued Righ. He learned from him the fundamental principles of the law. Then, he went to study the law in Djarba [*q.v.*] with several famous *shaykh*s of that island, which was in this period one of the cultural centres of the Ibāḍīs of North Africa.

After having finished his studies in Djarba, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ returned to Tāmūlast, where he was soon surrounded by a wide circle of students whom he taught, among other subjects, *al-āthār*, i.e. the history of the Ibāḍī sect and the biographies of distinguished Ibāḍīs. He was already there at the time of the death of his old master Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr in 440/1048-9. From Tāmūlast, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ set out, before 449/1057-8, for Ḳalʿat ʿAlī (also Ḳalʿat Banī ʿAlī), a place situated in the Djabal Zanzafa, near Tāmūlast; he lived there with his students until 462/1069-70. He felt safer in this place than in Tāmūlast, through which passed the route of some Arab tribes (notably the Banū Hilāl) going from Tripolitania to Ifrīḳiya and returning to Tripolitania. In the same year, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ returned to Tāmūlast, where he stayed for some time, always surrounded by his students. Towards the end of his life, he went to settle in Tūnīn, a desert place situated in the mountains near Tāmūlast, where a *ḥalḳa* or circle of students soon gathered around him. His students were recruited from among the peoples of the Sūf (Oued Souf), Arīgh (Oued Righ), Wārdjlān (Ouargla), Zāb and Ḳasṭīliya. Among those who were specially interested in Ibāḍī history and *siyar*, one should mention principally the famous future historian Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wardjalānī.

According to the old Ibāḍī chronicles, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ died in 471/1070-9 in Tūnīn. However, the Ibāḍī tradition of Ouargla places the tomb and mosque of Shaykh Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān al-Mazātī, who is doubtless none other than Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī, in this latter town.

Abu 'l-Rabīʿ travelled extensively. We have already seen that he had passed his youth in the Oued Righ and on the island of Djarba in order to study there. From the Oued Righ, he went at least twice to Ouargla, once in the company of his master Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr. In 459-60/1057-60 he visited, accompanied by his students, most of the Wahbī Ibāḍī groups of Tunisia and Algeria, passing by Ḳasṭāliya (Ḳasṭīliya), Nafzāwa (Nefzaoua), Asūf (Oued Souf), Waghlāna (Ourlana), Tamāsīn (Temacin) and Ouargla, from where he returned to the Djabal Zanzafa and Tāmūlast.

Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī is the author of three works, of which one is of particular interest for the history of the Ibāḍīs of North Africa; this is the *Kitāb al-Siyar*, a collection of biographies of distinguished Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib. We do not know the date of composition of this work, which appears to have been written after the year 450/1078-9. We know of the existence of two manuscript copies of the *Kitāb al-Siyar*, of which one, apparently complete, is in Mzāb in Beni Isguène, in a library known as *al-Maktaba al-ghannāʾ*, while the other, incomplete, was formerly part of the collection of Ibāḍī manuscripts gathered by Z. Smogorzewski at Lwów (Poland). This work was lithographed in Tunis in 1321/1903-4 in a collection beginning with the *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-ʿUḳbī* of Shaykh Aṭfiyyash. It seems that numerous citations of Abu 'l-Rabīʿ which appear in some later Ibāḍī historical and biographical works in the 5th/11th century come from the *Kitāb al-Siyar*, while it is not impossible that a part of these citations come directly from the mouth of this historian and were noted by his students. This applies especially to the citations of Abu 'l-Rabīʿ inserted in the historical work of Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wardjalānī (6th/12th century) who, as we know, was one, of the students of Abu 'l-Rabīʿ. One also finds several citations of Abu 'l-Rabīʿ in al-Shammākhī's work.

It is curious that the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of Abu 'l-Rabīʿ should not have been cited in the catalogue of Ibāḍī books composed in the 8th/14th century by al-Barrādī, an Ibāḍī scholar who was moreover originally from the same region of Tunisia as Abu 'l-Rabīʿ. Al-Barrādī knows only two other works of this historian which dealt with theology and law.

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MAZDAK (also Mazdaḳ, Mazhdak), the leader of a revolutionary religious movement in Sāsānid Iran, during the reign of Ḳubādh, son of Fīrūz (Kavād, son of Pērōz) 488-96, 498-9 to 531). Klima regarded the name of Mazdak as a conflation of an Iranian name, Mazdak, Mizdak, or Muzhdak ("the justifier"), with a Semitic name, Mazdeḳ, from the root *zdḳ* ("righteous"). Klima also suggested that *mazdak* may have been what the leaders of this movement were called rather than a proper name, or even what its members were called (al-Mazdaḳān, al-Mazādiḳa in Arabic sources as well as al-Mazdaḳiyya).

Almost everything known about this movement comes from hostile sources. The earliest and only contemporary account is in the Syriac *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite (ed. and tr. W. Wright, Cambridge 1882, paras. ix, xx, xxi-xxiv). Subsequent, sixth-century, Greek accounts are given by Procopius (*Persian Wars*, i. v-xi, ii. ix), Agathias (*Histories*, tr. J. D. Frendo, Berlin-New York 1975, iv, chaps. 27-30, pp. 130-4), and Malalas of Antioch (*Chronographia*, in J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Cursus Completus*, Series Graeca, xcviii, Paris 1860, cols. 465, 633, 653). Theophanes (Migne, *op. cit.*, cviii, Paris 1863, col. 396) merely repeats Malalas. There are scattered allusions to Mazdak in Mazdaean Middle Persian literature. Klima suggested that references to Mazdak were deliberately omitted from the original Middle Persian text of the Sāsānid royal chronicle, the *Khwadāy-nāmag*, and credited Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. 143/760 [*q.v.*]) with inserting an account about Mazdak into his Arabic translation of the *Khwadāy-nāmag*. References to the main Arabic and Persian accounts of Mazdak based on this and other translations are given by Yarshater. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ also translated a Middle Persian work of fiction called the *Mazdak-nāmag* into Arabic. This work was also translated into Arabic poetry by Abān b. al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiḳī (d. 200/815-16 [*q.v.*]). According to Yarshater, who identifies the main fictional themes, this work was the basis for the Niẓām al-Mulk's account in the *Siyāsat-nāma* and of the poetic version in Dārāb Hormazdyār's *Rivāyāt*. It was also used by al-Bīrūnī (*Āthār*), Ibn al-Balkhī (*Fārs-nāma*), the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, and Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*). The most important source for Mazdakī doctrine is Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Warrāḳ (d. 247/861), a Manichaean or Mazdaean convert to Islam who seems to have used some authentic Mazdakī work for his religious history (*Kitāb al-Maḳālāt*). His account is al-Shahrastānī's (468-548/1076-1153) source for Mazdakī doctrine in his *Kitāb al-milal wa 'l-niḥal*. The Mazdakī book called the *Dēsnād* cited in Mūbadh Shāh's 11th/17th-century *Dabistān-i madhāhib* [*q.v.*] is generally considered to be a fabrication because everything cited from it can also be found in al-Shahrastānī or other works, although it could be argued on the same basis that this might have been the name of the work used by al-Warrāḳ. Some of the information in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*] appears to be independent and rather neutral.

The Mazdakī movement is said to have been founded by a certain Zarādusht (or Zardusht), son of Khurragān, *mōbadh* or chief *mōbadh* of Fasā in Fārs, after whom its members were called Zarādushtaḳān. Christensen identified this Zarādusht with a Manichaean called Bundos who, according to Malalas, appeared at Rome in the time of Diocletian (245-313), held doctrines opposed to the majority of Manichaeans, and left for Persia where he spread his doctrine. His sect was called "those of the right religion" (τῶν Δαρισθενῶν) from MP *darist-dēnān*), and Malalas says that Ḳubādh himself was a *Dərist-dēn* (ὁ Δαράσθενος for ὁ Δαρίσθενος). Christensen took Bundos to be an honorific title of Zarādusht, from MP *bwyndk* ("the venerable"), and regarded Mazdakism as a reforming Manichaean sect. However, Klima regarded Zarādusht and Bundos as separate persons, and Yarshater puts Zarādusht in the 5th century A.D. According to Arrigoni, Bundos is a mistake for Budos, therefore a fictive re-personalisation of Buddha. Yarshater suggests that the founding of Zarādusht's movement may have coincided with the end of the millennium of Zoroaster, which some calculations would put at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century A.D. It might also have been the doctrine combatted by Adurbād Māraspandān, who underwent an ordeal by fire to refute it in the time of Shāpūr II. The movement seems to have been Zoroastrian rather than Manichaean in origin, although it acquired gnostic features that gave it an affinity to Manichaeism. It may have begun as an attempt to popularise Mazdaism and to spread it in a non-élitist form that would transcend class barriers and appeal to the general population. Textual support for the egalitarian sharing of wealth, women, and wisdom exists in the extant Avesta, such as *Vendidād* iv. 44: "If fellow-believers (*hāmōdaēna*), brothers or friends, come to ask for money, wife, or wisdom, he who asks for money should be given money; he who asks for a wife should be given a wife to marry; he who asks for wisdom should be taught the holy word." Ibn al-Nadīm describes the early Khurramiyya (Mazdakīs) as a Zoroastrian sect founded by a certain Mazdak the Older (*al-Ḳadīm*), who enjoined his followers to enjoy life's pleasures, to satisfy their desire to eat and drink in a spirit of equality, to avoid dominating each other, to share women and family, to try to do good deeds, to avoid shedding blood and harming others and to be hospitable.

In the time of Ḳubādh, the movement of Zarādusht was revived under Mazdak, son of Bāmdādh ("the Sunrise"), called Mazdak the Younger by Ibn al-Nadīm. According to al-Ṭabarī, he was a native of الدريه which tends to be identified with al-Madharayya, near modern Kūt al-ʿAmāra [*q.v.*], although von Wesendonk located it in Khuzistān. Iṣṭakhr and Tabrīz are also given as Mazdak's birthplace. He is said to have been a *mōbadh* and is identified by Christensen with the Manichaean bishop Indarazar, whom Malalas says was killed by the Persian king *ca.* 527. Indarazar (Indazaros in Theophanes) is explained as *andarzgar* ("teacher") by Nöldeke; Klima suggested that the proper name Vindārāzār lies behind it and speculated that if *mazdak* were an epithet, then that might have been his real name.

A series of disasters in the late 5th century increased distress and raised apocalyptic expectations. Iran suffered a seven-year long drought and famine during the reign of Fīrūz. Defeat by the Hephthalites in 484 put the Sāsānids under the burden of paying tribute to them. The Hephthalite and dynastic civil wars also

decimated the military nobility, undermining their ability to preserve their privileged position. The common interest of the monarch and the people in curbing the power of the great nobles may haved led Ḳubādh to identify himself with the Zarādushtakān. He may have seen this movement as a potential base of mass support against the nobles, and its programme as a means of restoring by transforming his kingdom. Nöldeke represented Ḳubādh as a forceful, capable ruler, who, for purely secular motives, favoured Mazdakism as an expedient to reduce the power of the nobles and priests. Christensen argued that Ḳubādh was a sincere convert and humanitarian ruler, motivated by religious belief and a desire for the welfare of his subjects. Pigulevskaya saw Ḳubādh as a sincere Mazdakī rather than a shrewd and subtle politician. Klima rejected Christensen's "humanitarian" characterisation of Ḳubādh based on his behaviour in his wars, although an Arabic source with a hostile bias says that, as a *zandīḳ*, Ḳubādh feared to shed blood. Although there is no way to be certain, Ḳubādh is most likely to have been motivated by a combination of political interests and religious belief.

To the extent that doctrines ascribed to Mazdak himself can be reconstructed from later sources, he seems to have advocated the enjoyment of material things in moderation and a peaceful, egalitarian and non-competitive social and economic order. Miskawayh says that the Mazdakiyya were called "the adherents of justice" (*al-ʿAdliyya*), and they are sometimes compared to the egalitarian, gnostic sect of Carpocratians that also stood for social justice. According to al-Thaʿālibī, Mazdak taught that God had put provisions for livelihood (*arzāḳ*) on earth for people to divide equally among themselves, with no one having more than his share. But people had wronged each other and sought to dominate; the strong had defeated the weak and monopolised the means of livelihood and property. It was necessary to take from the rich and give to the poor for everyone to become equal in wealth. Whoever had a surplus of property, women, or goods had no more right to it than anyone else. In Firdawsī, Mazdak is said to have taught that wealth and women must be shared in order to overcome the five demons of envy, wrath, vengeance, need and greed that turn men from righteousness. This appears to be reflected in the refutation of a sectarian who represents sharing women and property as a remedy for passions in *Dēnkart*, iii. 5.

If authentic, such a positive, anti-élitist attitude toward material possessions could hardly have been Manichaean in origin. Christensen accepted the Manichaean origin of the Mazdakiyya because they are called Manichaeans in the Greek sources. They may have been accused of Manichaeism by their enemies in Iran, and Malalas may simply have repeated the slander or have used the only name for an Iranian sect that he knew. Klima's argument that Mazdak had to use Mazdaean terminology as a vehicle for the mass communication of his propaganda because he was in Iran is based on the assumption that Mazdaism was spread uniformly, socially and geographically, in 5th-century Iran. But it is questionable that the lower classes were already Mazdaean in the 5th century; Mazdakism seems rather to have been a vehicle to spread Mazdaean doctrine among them. Puech regards Mazdakism as an optimistic reform of Manichaeism, but, as Yarshater points out, most sources describe Mazdakism as a reform of Zoroastrianism. What is known about Mazdak's doctrine is dualist and generally gnostic in character rather than specifically Manichaean. The gnostic elements that are claimed as the basis for affinity between Mazdakism and Manichaeism include pacifism, asceticism, fatalism, esoteric interpretation and the antinomian rejection of ritual. The prohibition of bloodshed appears in the context of social concord and is not necessarily either pacifist or vegetarian. The only other basis for claiming an ascetic element in Mazdakism is a hostile gloss to *Vendīdad*, iv. 49 saying that Mazdak, son of Bāmdād, ate fully himself but subjected others to hunger and death. This is just as likely to refer to the consequence for the rich of redistributing property as to refer to Mazdak's regulations for his own followers without additional corroboration. The alleged contrast between ascetic and hedonistic tendencies in Mazdakism is explained by Yarshater, by comparison with gnostic movements, in terms of a self-denying élite and wordly lay members. But this is the reverse of what the gloss suggests, and there is no other evidence for such élitism among the Mazdakiyya. According to al-Shahrastānī, Mazdak's doctrine resembled Mani's except that Darkness did not act of its own will and out of choice (*bi 'l-ḳaṣd wa 'l-ikhtiyār*), but blindly and by chance (*bi 'l-khabṭ wa 'l-ittifāḳ*), and that the mixture of Light with Darkness was produced in this way as will be their separation. Al-Shahrastānī also reports that some Manichaeans believed that mixture was produced *bi 'l-khabṭ wa 'l-ittifāḳ*, in opposition to the others. According to al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, the Ṣābians [*q.v.*] also believed in mixture *bi 'l-khabṭ wa 'l-ittifāḳ*. Although Ṣābians are sometimes mistaken for Manichaeans, belief in a blind fate is central to Zurvanism and thus available in a Zoroastrian context. Regarding esoteric interpretation, al-Masʿūdī says that Mazdak was the first to interpret the Avesta according to its hidden meanings (*bāṭin*). Although this may have been a matter of adjusting Mazdaean doctrine for the masses, it made the Mazdakiyya into *Zindīḳs* [*q.v.*] along with the Manichaeans. According to the 3rd/9th century al-Mutawakkilī, Mazdak is also said to have persuaded Ḳubādh to have all but the three original fires extinguished. Rather than being an attack on cult observance as such, Yarshater interprets this to mean that Mazdak sought to reduce the power of the Mazdaean priesthood and deprive them of property held by fire-temples. There may have been an attempt to found alternative institutions, since the Nestorian *Chronicle of Siʿirt* reports that Ḳubādh ordered temples (*hayākil*) and hospices (*fanādiḳ*) to be built throughout his kingdom where men and women would congregate for adultery.

Beginning with the earliest sources, the Mazdakī ideal of sharing women has been represented in terms of sexual promiscuity with the resulting confusion of paternity. According to Pseudo-Joshua, the Zarādushtakān believed that women should be shared and that every man should have intercourse with whom he pleased. This text also reports that Ḳubādh allowed the wives of the nobles to commit adultery, while Procopius relates that Ḳubādh issued a law that Persians should have intercourse with women in common νόμον ἔγραφεν ἐπὶ κοινὰ ταῖς γυναιξὶ μίγνυσθαι Πέρσας). Although such reports received lurid embellishments in later literature, it is more likely, according to Klima and Yarshater, that the Mazdakiyya advocated the right of each man to have a wife and the abolition of social barriers to marriage between nobles and commoners. They may also have encouraged the marriage of women outside of their immediate families. Klima suggests that famine and

the decimation of the nobility in recent warfare had caused a demographic crisis in Iran, and that Ḳubādh released the wives of nobles and allowed them to marry commoners in order to repopulate the country. How this may have been related to changes in the legal status of women in 5th and 6th century Iran remains unresolved, but the Mazdakiyya apparently regarded women as a form of possession to be shared.

Land was also redistributed to new individual owners, perhaps to help restore agriculture after the famine. Modern Soviet scholars interpret the sharing of property as the restoration of ancient village communes, but there is no direct evidence for this. Whether the sharing of women and property was intended to undermine the position of noble families or whether matters simply got out of control, disorders broke out and granaries were plundered at unspecified places in 494-5. In 496 the Persian nobles deposed and imprisoned Ḳubādh because of his policy toward women and enthroned his brother Djāmāsp. Christensen put the worst of the Mazdakī risings during the reign of Djāmāsp and described them imaginatively as veritable *jacqueries*. Ḳubādh escaped to the Hephthalites, who helped restore him to the throne *ca.* 498-9.

The situation seems to have been stabilised with the Mazdakiyya in control after Ḳubādh's return. The Mazdakī period is generally understood in terms of class conflict and the overturning of the social order. Soviet scholars see the movement as one of peasant protest and identify Mazdak's followers as poor farmers, although Pigulevskaya notes that the sources are not specific in this respect. Al-Ṭabarī calls his followers commoners (*ʿāmma*, while al-Thaʿālibī simply calls them the poor (*fuḳarāʾ*, *masākīn*) or the rabble (*al-ghawghāʾ*). However, some nobles were Mazdakī, such as Siyāvush, who commanded Ḳubādh's army after his restoration, and Ḳubādh's eldest son, Kāwūs, who governed Ṭabaristān as the Padhashkhʷār Shāh. Ḳubādh seems to have favoured the conversion of non-Zoroastrians in order to increase religious conformity. He tried to force the Armenians to convert before he was deposed, and after he was restored, he required the Arab ruler of al-Ḥīra, al-Mundhir III (*ca.* 505-54 [see LAKHMIDS]) to adopt Mazdakī doctrines. When al-Mundhīr refused, Ḳubādh got the ruler of the Kinda, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr, to agree to impose Mazdakism on the Arabs of the Nadjd and the Ḥidjāz. Some Arabs in Mecca are said to have adopted Mazdakism (*tazandaḳa*) at that time, and some *zanādiḳa* are said to have still been there in the time of Muḥammad. Efforts to spread some form of Zoroastrianism lie behind the forced conversion of Jewish children that began under Fīrūz in 474, according to Sherīra, or in 477 according to Ibn Dāwūd. Graetz and others have seen the revolt of the exilarch, Mar Zuṭrā, who is said to have made himself briefly independent at Maḥoza near Ctesiphon in the early 6th century, as a reaction to the Mazdakiyya, although Neusner considers the entire episode implausible.

Since the Mazdakiyya supported the succession of Kāwūs, his younger brother, Khusraw, allied himself with the Mazdaean priests, challenged Mazdak's influence over Ḳubādh, arranged for the Mazdakiyya to assemble at the capital for a religious disputation or for the proclamation of Kāwūs as successor, convinced his father that Mazdak's doctrines were false, and had him executed with thousands of his followers in 528 or early 529. When Khusraw succeeded his father in 531, there may have been a second persecution of Mazdakites; the sect was suppressed and its books destroyed. In reaction to thirty years of Mazdakī ascendancy, the distinction between nobles and commoners was restored. Some indication of what had happened can be seen in the reforms of Khusraw I, who confiscated the property of Mazdakī leaders and gave it to the poor. He executed those who had taken property by force and returned it to its former owners. Those who had damaged property were ordered to pay for it. A child of disputed descent was to belong to the family with which it lived. A man who had seized a woman was to give her a marriage portion that satisfied her family; she could then decide to stay with him or marry someone else, but should return to her former husband if she had one. Khusraw took personal charge of children from noble families without anyone to care for them; he gave the girls dowries and found noble husbands for them, and found noble wives for the youths.

Any Mazdakiyya who survived did so in secret or escaped beyond the Sāsānid borders to Central Asia. There may have been an early centre near Rayy. By the early Islamic period, Neo-Mazdakī groups were scattered throughout Iran; they were called Mazdakiyya around Rayy and Hamadān, "wearers of red" (*Muḥammira*) in Djurdjān, and "wearers of white" (*Sapīd-djāmagān/Asbīdh-djāmakiyya* or *Mubayyiḍa*) in Central Asia. During the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries, they broke up into numerous subsects named after some leader. According to al-Warrāḳ, as cited by al-Shahrastānī, in the 3rd/9th century, Mazdakī doctrine was based on a dualism of Light and Darkness; Light, having knowledge and sensation, acted intentionally, while Darkness, being ignorant and blind, acted randomly. Both their mixtures and separation were accidental. The mingling of the three elements of Water, Fire, and Earth produced two demiurge-like Managers of Good and of Evil. Their object of worship (*maʿbaduhu*) was enthroned in the upper world as the supreme monarch (*khusraw*) was in the lower world. Four spiritual powers (*ḳuwā*) called Discernment (*tamyīz*), Understanding (*fahm*), Preservation (*ḥifẓ*), and Joy (*surūr*) stand before His throne corresponding to the chief judge (*mōbadhān mōbadh*), religious teacher (*hērbadhān hērbadh*), army commander (*sipāhbad*), and entertainment master (*rāmishgar*) who stood before the earthly king. The world was directed by the four powers with the aid of seven *wazīrs* and twelve spiritual forces. Anyone in whom the four, the seven, and the twelve were combined became godly (*rabbānī*) and freed from religious duties. Those who knew the sum of the letters that amounted to the most supreme Name (*al-ism al-aʿẓam*) also knew the greatest secret (*al-sirr al-akbar*). Those who did not know it remained blind and ignorant. The doctrine of correspondence seems to reflect late Sāsānid conditions, but it is difficult to tell whether the rest went back to Mazdak himself or whether it was the result of continuing doctrinal development. The Mazdakiyya tend to be credited with introducing number and letter mysticism, and may have contributed it to the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] Shīʿī groups with which they associated in the 2nd/8th century. The Neo-Mazdakī groups that emerged from this association such as the Abū Muslimiyya, Sunbādhiyya, Muḳannaʿiyya and, above all, the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*] or Khurramdīniyya and its subsect of Kūdhakiyya, seem to have acquired additional gnostic content from *ghulāt* Shīʿī groups as a semi-Islamic disguise. However, both al-Shāfiʿī and al-Maḳdisī regarded the Khurramiyya as a category of Madjūs [*q.v.*]. Mazdakiyya survived in Central Asia as late as the early 6th/12th century living at Kish,

Nakhshab and villages near Bukhārā according to Narshakhī. According to Yāḳūt, they inhabited the village of Dargazīn between Hamadān and Zandjān. The last references to Mazdakiyya occur in the Īlkhānid period, although the Mazdakiyān are listed as the fourteenth Zoroastrian sect in the *Dabistān*, and a Mazdakī community called Marāghiyya reported by Mustawfī as living in the Rūdbar of Ḳazwīn in the 8th/14th century still survived in seven villages there in the 20th century.

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(M. Guidi - [M. Morony])

MAẒHAR (a.), pl. *maẓāhir*, literally "place of outward appearance", hence "manifestation, theophany", a technical term used in a wide variety of contexts in Shīʿism, Ṣūfism, Bābism, and, in particular, Bahāʾism, where it is of central theological importance. At its broadest, the term may be applied to any visible appearance or expression of an invisible reality, reflecting the popular contrast between *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*. In its more limited application, however, it refers to a type of theophany in which the divinity or its attributes are made visible in human form. The term is, therefore, of particular value in those forms of Islam in which the tension between a wholly transcendent and an incarnate God is most keenly felt.

In esoteric Shīʿism, the term is applied to the Prophet and the *imāms* in a variety of applications. Thus, prophets in general and the *imāms* in particular are the *maẓāhir* in which the pre-existent Reality of Muḥammad (*al-ḥaḳīḳa al-Muḥammadiyya*) appears; the human soul is the *maẓhar* of the universal Forms in the next world; the Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) or the *ḥaḳīḳa Muḥammadiyya* is the *maẓhar* of the divine names and attributes; and the individual *imāms* are the *maẓāhir* of the "eternal *imām*" and of the divine attributes. (For these and other uses, see Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, index, s.vv. "*maẓhar*", "théophanie", "théophanies", "théophanique", and "théophanismes".)

It is the *imāms* in particular who function as loci for the visible appearance of the divinity. In a tradition attributed to the fourth *imām*, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, it is claimed that the *imāms* are God's "meanings" and his external presence within creation (*naḥnu maʿānīhi wa ẓāhiruhu fīkum*, quoted in al-Aḥsāʾī, *Sharḥ al-ziyāra*, iv, 269). Similarly, ʿAlī is reported to have said: "My external appearance is that of the imāmate (*al-wilāya*), but inwardly I am that which is unseen and incomprehensible" (quoted in *ibid.*, ii, 135).

In the work of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] the term is closely linked to that of *tadjallī* or divine self-revelation; the *maẓāhir* provide the external loci for the appearance of the *tadjalliyāt* emanating from the Absolute. In this context, the word *maẓhar* is a synonym for *madjlā*, used of an external attribute manifesting a divine name. In his theory of the Perfect Man who acts as a mirror in which the Absolute may see itself manifested, Ibn al-ʿArabī parallels the Shīʿī notion of the *imām*: man is the place of manifestation of the divinity, *huwa madjlā al-ḥaḳḳ*. In this sense, the Perfect Man is the Isthmus or *barzakh* joining the worlds of the Absolute and Creation (See Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.)

The Bāb [*q.v.*] developed a complex theory of theophanies in his later works, notably the *Bayān-i Fārsī* and the *Kitāb-i pandj shaʾn*. The term *ẓuhūr* applies to the self-revelation of God to his creation and to the period in which he is thus manifest, as contrasted with *buṭūn*, the state and period of his concealment. This revelation takes place in the *maẓhar*, a created being in whom the Divinity manifests himself to other created beings: "the hidden reality of the divine unity (*ghayb al-tawḥīd*) is only affirmed through that which is revealed in the outward aspect (*ẓāhir*) of the messenger" (the Bāb, *Pandj shaʾn*. 40); and "God... makes Himself known to his creation in the place of manifestation (*maẓhar*) of his own self, for whenever men have recognised God, their Lord, their recognition of him has only been attained through what their prophet has caused them to know" (*ibid.*, 125).

It is not, strictly speaking, the divine essence but the Primal Will that is manifested to men: "That command (i.e. the *maẓhar*) is not the eternal and hidden essence, but is a Will that was created through and for himself out of nothing" (*ibid.*, 31); and "From the beginning that has no beginning to the end that has no end, there has ever been but a single Will which has shone forth in every age in a manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) (idem, *Bayān-i Fārsī*. 4:6, 120-1).

This *maẓhar* (referred to variously as a "throne" (*ʿarsh*), "seat (*kursī*), "temple" (*haykal*), or "mirror" (*mirʾāt*), or as the "tree of reality" (*shadjarat al-ḥaḳīḳa*) and "primal point" (*nuḳṭa-yi ūlā*) is an ambivalent creature. He is outwardly mortal ("what your eyes behold of the outward form of the thrones is but a handful of clay", *Pandj shaʾn*, 242), but inwardly divine: "Look within them, for God has manifested Himself (*tadjallā*) to them and through them" (*ibid.*). The historical *maẓāhir* are ontologically a single being, often compared to a single sun appearing in different mirrors; their number is incalculable. They are particularly identified with the chief prophetic figures of the past and with the Shīʿī *imāms*.

In the final phase of his career (*ca.* 1848-50), the Bāb himself claimed to be the latest *maẓhar* of the Primal Will, initiating a new religious dispensation and *sharīʿa*. Beyond this, he attributed to many of his followers the status of partial or general manifesta-

tions of the divinity (see MacEoin, *Hierarchy*, 109 ff.). His chief follower, Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḳuddūs, is referred to in one source quite simply as *maẓhar-i khudā* (*ibid.*, 110). In theological terms, this is explained by the concept of an infinite progression of mirrors reflecting the Divine Will and forming a complex descending hierarchy of *maẓāhir*. These secondary, tertiary, and subsequent mirrors appear, not only during the lifetime of the primary mirror, but throughout the period of *buṭūn*, when he is in a state of concealment (*ibid.*, 117-19).

Bahāʾī doctrine follows that of Bābism very closely, but tends to be more restrictive in its attribution of the status of *maẓhariyya*, which is generally limited to the founders of the major religions. The full technical term for such figures is *maẓhar ilāhī* (in English Bahāʾī usage, "Manifestation of God"). At the same time, a broader definition of religious truth allows Bahāʾīs to include among the *maẓāhir* figures such as Buddha and Krishna (whom they regard as the "founder" of Hinduism). Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] is the latest *maẓhar* and will not be followed by another for at least one thousand years. Not only is he accorded a high status with regard to previous and future *maẓāhir* (who have either prepared the way for him or will function under his shadow), but he himself often speaks in terms that are close to those of incarnationism. Thus he is "the creator of all things", in whom "the essence of the pre-existent has appeared"; in one place, he claims that "he has been born who begets not nor is begotten" (see MacEoin, *Charismatic authority*, 168). Modern Bahāʾī doctrine, however, explicitly rejects an incarnationist interpretation of the status of the *maẓāhir*.

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(D. MacEoin)

MAẒHAR, Mīrzā Djāndjānān (1111-95/1700-81), an Urdu poet and eminent Ṣūfī, was born in Tālābāgh, Mālwā. He was received into the Naḳshabandī order by Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad Badāʾūnī, and into the Ḳādirī order by Muḥammad ʿĀbid Sumāmī. He was shot in Dihlī by a Shīʿī fanatic in revenge for his critical remarks about the Muḥarram celebrations, but though he survived three days, he refused to identify his assailant to the Emperor. He was—and remains—a famous religious leader. He had many disciples and was even credited with miracles. As a writer, however, his position is not so clear-cut. His letters, in Persian, have been published together with letters addressed to him: but they shed little, if any, light on his poetry, being mostly concerned with religious and social affairs. In Persian poetry, his *dīwān* is his own selection of 1,000 from 20,000 verses. The same fastidious self-criticism may perhaps explain why so little of his Urdu poetry is extant: what remains is found scattered in *tadhkiras*, anthologies and other books. Yet he has been recognised as one of the four pillars of 18th century Urdu poetry, alongside Sawdāʾ [*q.v.*], Mīr Taḳī Mīr [*q.v.*] and Dard. Sawlā complained that Maẓhar's poetic language was neither Persian nor Rēkhta (Urdu), likening it to the proverbial "*dhobī*'s dog, neither of the house nor the river-side". This remark is unjust, to judge by such of his poetry as remains, which makes us wish there were more.

Bibliography: For short accounts of Maẓhar, see Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London-Karachi, etc. 1964, 81-2 (Sawdāʾ's remarks will be found in Urdu verse and English translation at pp. 74-5); Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 49-51; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i-ḥayāt*, 7th ed. Lahore 1917, 137-41, contains interesting anecdotes but gave offence by its account of the poet's relationship with a handsome young poet, Tābān. Published collections of his correspondence include *Maḳāmāt Maẓharī or Laṭāʾif khamsa*, ed. Muḥammad Bēg b. Raḥīm Bēg, Dihlī 1309/1892; *Lawāyiḥ khānḳāh-i Maẓhariyya*, ed. Ghulām Muṣṭafā Khān, Hyderabad-Sind 1392/1972. Most of the *tadhkiras* include short examples of his poetry, including Shēfta, *Gulshan bēkhār* and Ḳudrat ʿAlī Shawḳ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Lahore 1968, 61-4. See also Karīm al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i shuʿarāʾ-i Urdū*, Dihlī 1848, 105-7; Sprenger, *Oude catalogue*, 488; Rieu, *Cat. Persian mss. British Museum*, i, 363a.

(J. A. Haywood)

MĀZIN, the name of several Arab tribes who are represented in all the great ethnic groupings of the Peninsula; this finds typical expression in the anecdote recorded in *Aghānī*, viii, 141 (= Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 382-3), according to which the caliph al-Wāthiḳ asked the grammarian Abū ʿUthmān al-Māzinī [*q.v.*], who had come to his court, to which Māzin he belonged: whether to the Māzin of the Tamīm, to those of the Ḳays, to those of the Rabīʿa or to those of the Yemen?

The first are the Māzin b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, L. 12; Ibn al-Kalbi, Tab. 82); the second, the Māzin b. Manṣūr (D. 10; Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 92) or the Māzin b. Fazāra (H. 13; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Okasha, 83); the third, the Māzin b. Shaybān b. Dhuhl (C. 19; Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 192); the last, the Māzin b. al-Nadjdjār a clan of the Khazradj Anṣār (19, 24). But alongside of these, many other tribes and clans bore this name. The *Djamharat al-nasab* of Ibn al-Kalbī gives no less than seventy, of whom the best known are the: Māzin b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Bakr b. Saʿd b. Ḍabba (Tab. 89); Māzin b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin (Tab. 92); Māzin b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān (Tab. 92); Māzin b. Rabīʿa b. Zubayd or Māzin Madhḥidj (Tab. 270); Māzin b. al-Azd (Tab. 1761-9). The large number of tribes named Māzin and their distribution over the whole of Arabia makes the hypothesis that we have here a single tribe that had been broken up into small sections impossible and we are led to suppose that the name Māzin is a descriptive rather than a proper name; since the verb *mazana* means to "go away", one might suppose that

Māzin originally meant "the emigrants" and was used in a general way of any ethnic group which became separated from its own tribe and was incorporated in a strange tribe. This etymology, like almost all those of the names of Arab tribes, is of course only a hypothesis.

The sources give a certain number of geographical and historical references to different tribes called Māzin; but they are generally very scanty, none of these tribes having attained sufficient importance to make it independent of the larger body to which it was attached. We have a few details about the Māzin b. al-Nadjdjār (not cited by Ibn al-Kalbī), a fairly important group of Medinan Khazradj (on the part played by them at the beginning of Islam, see Caetani, *Annali*, index to vols. i-ii), as well as about the Māzin b. Fazāra who took part as members of the tribe of Dhubyān, in the war of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl., and see *Aghānī*, xvi, 27]. Ibn Mayyāda, himself a Dhubyānī, directed a violent satire against them at the end of the 1st century A.H. (*Aghānī*, ii, 90, 102). As to the Māzin b. Shaybān b. Dhuhl, to whom the grammarian Abū ʿUthmān belonged, we know from the anecdote above quoted that in their dialect, *m* (initial?) was pronounced like *b* (*baʾsmuka* for *maʾsmuka*, what is your name?), a peculiarity which does not seem to be recorded of the dialect of other Rabīʿa. Lastly the Māzin b. al-Azd, whom tradition makes migrate to the north, changed their name to Ghassān [*q.v.*], under which they became celebrated.

It is only of the Māzin b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm (Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 82) that we have fairly full information. Legend, which has developed with unusual detail around the sons of Tamīm [*q.v.*], gives Māzin a part in the story of his uncle ʿAbd Shams b. Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm's fight against al-ʿAnbar b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm (cf. al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *al-Fākhir*, ed. Storey, 233, and the references given in the note), This tribe of Māzin never left the great group of the ʿAmr b. Tamīm to which it belonged and dwelled with them in the lands in the extreme north-west of Nadjd; their headquarters were around the well of Safāri near Dhū Ḳār (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 48, n. to l. 17; Yāḳūt, iii, 95; Bakrī, 724, l. 1; 787-8); their principal subdivisions were the Banū Ḥurḳūṣ, Khuzāʿī, Rizām, Anmār, Zabīna, Uthātha and Raʾlān. In the Djāhiliyya, the Māzin followed their parent tribe and we find them sharing in the wars of the latter; in rotation with the other Tamīmī tribes, they held the office of *ḥākim* at the fair of ʿUkāẓ (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 438). At the coming of Islam, their chief was Mukhāriḳ b. Shihāb, also known as a poet (cf. especially al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, IV, 41-3; al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, iii, 50; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, vi, 156). Without being particularly zealous partisans of the new religion, they did not take part in the *Ridda* with the other Tamīmī tribes (11 A.H.) and they even drove away the messengers sent them by the prophetess Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*] and made one of them prisoner, the Taghlibī al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān; the latter waited for his revenge till the troubled period that followed the murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān (35/656), of which he took advantage to ravage the district of Safāri; but the Māzin met him and slew him and threw him into the well (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1911, 1915; cf. *Aghānī*, xix, 145-6, tr. in Caetani, *Annali*, x, 552-3; in the last passage, the expedition against the people of Safāri appears to be independent of the events of the *Ridda*).

At a later date, the Māzin settled in large numbers, like the rest of the Tamīm, in Khurāsān and took part in the conquest of Central Asia; among the Māzinīs who distinguished themselves there were Shihāb b. Mukhāriḳ, son of the chief already mentioned (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2569, 2707); Hilāl b. al-Aḥwaz, who in 102/720 slew the members of the family of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab after the defeat of the latter (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1912-13); ʿUmayr b. Sinān, who killed the Persian chief Rutbīl (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab al-khayl*, 30, n. to 11. 3-4). We also find many of the Banū Māzin among the *ḳuwwād* of the ʿAbbāsid army in the time of the rising against the Umayyads. But a no less number went to swell the ranks of the Khāridjīs; the celebrated chief of the Azraḳīs, Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa [*q.v.*], belonged to the Māzinī clan of Kābiya b. Ḥurḳūs.

Very few of the remarkable number of poets produced by the Tamīm belonged to the Māzin. We may note however Hilāl b. Asʿar of the Umayyad period (*Aghānī*, ii, 186); Mālik b. al-Rayb, poet and brigand, contemporary of al-Ḥadjdjādj (*Aghānī*, xix, 162-9; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. de Goeje, 205-7, etc.); Zuhayr b. ʿUrwa al-Sakb (*Aghānī*, xix, 156; the few verses that we have by him, often quoted, are also attributed to his father, ʿUrwa b. Djalham, and even to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit: cf. *Mufaḍḍaliyyat*, ed. Lyall, 249, n. *y*). Lastly, it may be mentioned that the Māzin have given to Arab philology two of its most illustrious masters: Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*], d. 154/771, and al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, whose genealogies are given in Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* (L).

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Register z.d. geneal. Tabellen*, 291; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 36-42, ed. Okasha, 87-115, *et passim*; Ibn Durayd, *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 124-6, 171, 211, 258; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Register, ii, 405a-406b.

(G. Levi Della Vida)

AL-MĀZINĪ, Abū ʿUthmān Bakr b. Muḥammad. Arab philologist and Ḳurʾān reader from al-Baṣra.

Information about his life and works is scarce and partly contradictory. Already discutable is the name of his grandfather and his supposed lineal descent from the Banū Māzin [*q.v.*]; the tradition that he was only a *mawlā* of the Banū Māzin is more likely to be correct. Al-Māzinī uses materials taken from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ, al-Aṣmaʿī and Abū ʿUbayda [*q.vv.*]. Among his disciples, al-Mubarrad (d. 286/900 [*q.v.*]) is to be mentioned in the first place. The stories—some of which refer to his arrival in Baghdād during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42) and connect him with the court of his successors al-Wāthiḳ and al-Mutawakkil in Sāmarrā—are not to be distinguished by their anecdotal character and pointed narration from the numerous comparable *akhbār* of the *adab* and *ṭabaḳāt* literature. Within these traditions, judgements and opinions about al-Māzinī's learning and *madhhab* are interspersed. Al-Mubarrad considered him, next to Sībawayh, as one of the most learned of grammarians; others suggested that he was an adherent of the Imāmiyya or Murdjiʾa, or else of the Ḳadariyya or Muʿtazila. Even the information about the date of his death in his home town is varying. The dates differ by up to 19 years. Preference is to be given to the note that he died in the same year as the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) or—as often quoted—a little later in the year 249/863.

Nothing is preserved of al-Māzinī's supposed works on grammar, lexicography and metrics, of his explanations concerning Sībawayh's *Kitāb* and the Ḳurʾān, books which have been enumerated, e.g. by Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 388. Only one text, the *Kitāb al-*

Taṣrīf, a very significant treatise on morphology, has been transmitted in a *riwāya*, that is to say, lecture notes. The teacher is addressing the student directly; he starts with the question which letters can enlarge an *aṣl*—the basic radicals of a word—and finishes his essay treating the form *ifta^cala* and some of its derivations. Repeatedly he interposes *fa-ʿrifhā*, *wa-ʿlam*, *sa-ukhbiruka*, *sa-ubayyinu*, *katabtu*, *fassartu*, *dhakartu* or *bayyantu laka* (cf. Ibn Djinnī's *Sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb*). Occasionally he quotes his own teachers (see above) or else he refers to the authority of al-Khalīl [*q.v.*]. This treatise, which is subdivided into 18 chapters, was studied and worked on by Ibn Djinnī under the guidance of his teacher al-Fārisī (d. 377/987 [*q.v.*]) in Aleppo. Moreover, he wrote a comprehensive commentary on it called *al-Munṣif* and enlarged it with two appendices (see his preface, i, 1; ii, 208, 261). The first appendix comprises additional lexicographical explanations, including verses of reference to the previous chapters. It is entitled *Tafsīr al-lugha min kitāb Abī ʿUthmān bi-shawāhidihi wa-hudjadjihi wa-innamā dhālika fī 'l-gharīb minhā*. The second appendix, is called *Masāʾil min ʿawīṣ al-Taṣrīf*, deals with 15 specific questions. Ibn Djinnī derives his entire material from the *madjlis* traditions, referring mainly to his teacher al-Fārisī. Besides speculative topics, he inserts numerous observations concerning the use of language, not infrequently embedded in *akhbār* of learned men. These works have been edited under the title *al-Munṣif, sharḥ Abi 'l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān b. Djinnī li-Kitāb al-Taṣrīf li-Abī ʿUthmān al-Māzinī*, by Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā and ʿAbd Allāh Amīn, 3 vols., Cairo 1373-9/1954-60.

Bibliography: Of studies, see G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, repr. Nendeln 1966, 83 f.; O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1933, repr. Osnabrück 1983, ii, 145 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 108, S I, 168; Sezgin, viii, 92, ix, 75 f.; J. R. Guillaume, *Le statut des représentations sous-jacentes en morphophonologie d'après Ibn Ǧinnī*, in *Arabica*, xxviii (1981), 222-41; Sh. Ḍayf, *al-Madāris al-naḥwiyya*, Cairo 1968, 115-22; Rashīd ʿA. al-ʿUbaydī, *Abū ʿUthmān al-Māzinī*, Baghdād 1969; Kh. Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1955, ii, 44; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1959, iii, 71; al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1383/1961, ²xiv, 78-90,. no. 2674; M. ʿA. Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, ²Tabrīz n.d. (*ca.* 1347/1969), v, 149 ff. The main sources are Zadjdjādjī, *Madjālis al-ʿulamāʾ*, Kuwait 1962, index; idem, *Amālī al-Z.*, Cairo 1382/1962, index; Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1955, 77-80, 2nd ed. Cairo 1974, 126-9; Marzubānī, *al-Muktabas*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1964, 220-3; Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn al-baṣriyyīn*, Beirut-Paris 1936; Zubaydī, *Ṭabakāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa 'l-lughawiyyīn*, Cairo 1373/1954, 92-100, 2nd ed. Cairo 1973, 87-93; *Fihrist*, 57; Tanūkhī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿulamāʾ al-naḥwiyyīn*, Riyadh 1401/1981, 65-71; Nadjāshī, *Kitāb al-ridjāl*, n.d., n.p. [Tehran 1337/1959], 85; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 93 f.; Samʿānī, facs. ed. fol. 500b, ed. Hyderabad 1401/1981, xii, 26; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, Cairo 1967, 182-7; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 380-90; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 246-56; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 264-67; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, x, 211-16; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, Cairo-Leipzig 1932, i, 179; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 202 f. (Cairo 1384/1964, i, 463-6); idem, *Muzhir*, Cairo 1378/1958, index.

(R. SELLHEIM)

AL-**MĀZINĪ**, IBRĀHĪM ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR, Egyptian writer, translator, poet and journalist (1890-1949). He was the son of an *ʿālim* of al-Azhar who became a judge at the *sharʿī* tribunal of Cairo; his maternal grandmother came originally from Mecca.

On the completion of his secondary studies, he entered the Teachers' Training College, since his family was not sufficiently wealthy to enable him to pursue any other career. Licensed as a secondary school teacher in 1909, he was appointed teacher of English at the Madrasa Saʿīdiyya where he remained for some ten years. His appointment to the same post at Dār al-ʿUlūm could be considered a promotion, but he himself well knew that he was suffering a penalty. In fact, the Minister of Education had decided to transfer al-Māzinī as a way of punishing him for having published in the press an article severely critical of the poet Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, who was a friend of the Minister. Al-Māzinī resigned his post and abandoned public education in order to teach in private schools. In 1918, his friend, the eminent writer al-ʿAḳḳād [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who was then an editor at *al-Ahālī* of Alexandria, helped him to obtain work as a translator and editor with the review *Wādī 'l-Nīl*.

This was not in fact al-Māzinī's first contact with the press. Since 1907, he had published some poems in *al-Sufūr*, a review then edited by Farīd Wadjdī; subsequently—from 1911 to 1914—also some articles in *al-Djarīda* of Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid and in the *Bayān* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barḳūḳī. It was in the latter monthly that he published in 1913 a series of articles on the ʿAbbāsid poet Ibn al-Rūmī. The library of the review was one of the meeting places for Egyptian intellectuals; al-Māzinī there renewed his acquaintance with al-ʿAḳḳād, whom he had known then for three years, and it was there that he introduced to him the poet Shukrī, who had been his fellow-student at the Teachers' Training College.

But from 1918 onwards, al-Māzinī became a full-time journalist. He collaborated, successively, in the editing of various daily papers (*al-Akhbār*, *al-Balāgh* and *al-Ittiḥād*, which lasted for only a few issues) or weekly publications. In 1926, he even founded a new review, *al-Usbūʿ*. The most recent and most serious study of al-Māzinī reveals that he is credited with more than two thousand titles "of articles, meditations and studies", some of which have never been assembled in book form (Ḥ. al-Sakkūt and J. M. Jones, *Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Māzinī*, Cairo-Beirut 1979). Since he did not confine himself to literary questions but was also concerned with politics, and since, on the other hand, he was a man of frank speech and caustic wit, as a result, he became the object of criticism and even lost his job.

Translation constituted his other major activity. By the end of his life he had translated, from English, eight books as well as five literary texts published in reviews. It is appropriate to mention here that he also worked as an interpreter, both as a press correspondent at the Military Tribunal where the proceedings were conducted in English, and on behalf of various societies.

It is no doubt the press article (*maḳāl* or *maḳāla* [*q.v.*]) which represents the literary genre in which al-Māzinī particularly excelled. But his activity extended over various domains, in all of which he made an impression with his strong personality.

Poetry. He has a place, with al-ʿAḳḳād, at the head of the Egyptian poetic revival, of which the true initiator was however ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shukrī, who acquainted them with English literature and in particular its romantic poets and its literary critics. At the

Teachers' Training College, al-Māzinī had benefited from his readings in English which enabled him to discover Byron, Shelley, the "Lake Poets" Wordsworth and Coleridge, and Browning. Since that time al-Māzinī, captivated by romantic sensibility, felt the need to express melancholy, sadness and the pain of living, the result of which was his *Dīwān* (first section 1913; second 1917; third, posthumously, 1960; published in entirety in 1961).

However, this convinced modernist hardly sanctioned a revolution in poetical forms; his greatest audacity consisted in abandoning the single rhyme in favour of the alternate rhyme. This is no doubt explained by the fact that his discovery of foreign poetry was accompanied by a deepening of his Arabic culture. At this time, the publication of the Arabic classics was in progress, and al-Māzinī thus read the poets al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, Ibn al-Rūmī and al-Maᶜarrī, being also drawn to the prose-writer al-Djāḥiẓ, whose spirit and style left their mark on him. Not all of these published editions were perfect, and it is said that he often went to Dār al-Kutub to consult the manuscript of *al-Aghānī*; it also seems that Shukrī and he spent hours there recopying the manuscript of the *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Rūmī. He was 55 years old when, in an article appearing in *al-Mashriḳ* of December 1944, he announced that he had undertaken a reasoned and systematic study of Arab literature, applying the method which he had acquired from the school of the English writers.

But he quite soon gave up composing poetry. In explaining this decision, he said that he had never been entirely satisfied with his production in this field, even regretting that he had not had the courage to destroy his compositions. On the other hand, his role as a literary critic continued to command respect.

Criticism. In an article appearing in *al-Mustamiᶜ al-ᶜarabī* of 1949, Ṭaha Ḥusayn expressed the opinion that for some twenty years, the Egyptian writer had ceased to limit his horizon to his own country and had begun to take an interest in the outside World. There were in fact two schools of modernists: a French school where, following Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, the most distinguished figures were Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal; and an English school where, following ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Shukrī, the two leaders were al-ᶜAḳḳad and al-Māzinī. This "school" published its manifesto, *al-Dīwān*, in 1921. To be more exact, this was the beginning of an uncompleted critical work. The two writers al-ᶜAḳḳad and al-Māzinī declared their intention to write ten fascicles in which they would show, successively, in what ways the literary celebrations of the time were overrated and what should be the new characteristics of Arabic poetry. Only the first two fascicles appeared, and what is known as the *Dīwān* is thus limited to violent criticism of the contemporary idols, the poet Aḥmad Shawḳī and the prose-writer al-Manfalūṭī. To these two targets, the two iconoclasts added a completely unexpected third, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Shukrī! It is even in reference to him that al-Māzinī—to whom it fell to analyse him—uses the term "idol". It is impossible not to be astonished at this sudden reversal when it is known what close friends the two men were, a friendship which rested in particular on perfect similarity of views in questions of poetry.

Some years before the publication of the *Dīwān*, al-Māzinī had, for the first time, propounded entirely new principles for the criticism of Arabic poetry, principles which he had drawn from his reading of Hazlitt, Arnold and Macaulay. In a small monograph which appeared in 1915 (*al-Shiᶜr, ghāyātuhu wa-wasāʾiṭuh*), he demands of the poet that he should be sincere and that he should not produce work in a mechanical fashion but compose a personal poetry. The same year, under the title *Shiᶜr Ḥāfiẓ*, he reprinted articles which he had devoted to the eminent Egyptian poet and had published in the review *ᶜUkāẓ* in 1913. According to him, Ḥāfiẓ is a charlatan who is capable of composing poetry on subjects which do not genuinely affect him, which are supplied to him by the circumstances of actuality; he is a criminal who perverts the taste of readers, accustoms them to lie and damns them! In order the better to pursue this vulgar versifier (*nāẓim bi 'l-ṣanᶜa*) he compares him with a true poet, a poet of innate talent (*maṭbūᶜ*) ... Shukrī in fact. His method consists in comparing, theme by theme, the verses of each of the two men in order to demonstrate the accuracy of his judgment. But since certain partisans of Ḥāfiẓ reproach him for concentrating on only the worst verses of the poet, he adduces proof to show that his best compositions, for their part, are only plagiarism of the ancients. It may be noted in passing that the modernist al-Māzinī falls into step with the most traditional of Arabic criticism, since he practises parallelism (*muwāzana*) and is concerned to uncover plagiarisms (*sariḳāt*). However, the harmonious relationship between al-Māzinī and Shukrī did not survive an article by the latter published in the *Muḳtaṭaf*, in which he revealed that his colleague had borrowed many of the themes of his *Dīwān*—if not entire verses—from Palgrave's *Golden treasury*, an anthology of English lyric poetry after Shakespeare. Nothing more is needed to explain the sudden antipathy of al-Māzinī with regard to Shukrī in his two fascicles of the *Dīwān*, even though, subsequently, he felt obliged to retract his strictures and to acknowledge, in an article in *al-Siyāsa* of 5 April 1930, that it was to him that he owed his discovery of the essence of poetry.

With regard to ancient Arabic poetry, he is interested particularly in al-Mutanabbī and Ibn al-Rūmī, whom he studies as a priority, as does his companion and model al-ᶜAḳḳād. He seeks to reconsider the question of the scale of traditionally fixed values. Ibn al-Rūmī seems to him to have been unfairly treated, no doubt because he was of Byzantine ancestry (*rūmī*). He considers that this should be in itself a sufficient reason for placing him above other poets. He states: "We do not try to mock the Arabs or to discredit their poetry. We mean only to say that the Arabs are not the most poetic people". According to him, all the human qualities are to be found in Western poetry, and he concludes by declaring himself a fanatical partisan of the West, eulogising the "Aryan peoples". Western theoreticians assist him to make progress in the evaluation of the resources of poetry: the German Lessing enables him to verify, in the work of Ibn al-Rūmī, again, that descriptive poetry, unlike painting on canvas, creates the illusion of movement; the Englishman Locke uncovers for him the possibilities offered by figurative sense (*madjāz*) and symbol (*ramz*). Through contact with European works, he poses in new terms the problem of the imagination. He tends to see here only the faculty of establishing a new combination of given elements from which innovation emerges. If he seems to ignore creative imagination, this is because of his rejection of the implausibilities which sometimes mar classical Arabic poetry. Like al-ᶜAḳḳād, he does not accept gratuitous extravagance, the senseless hyperbole which Arabic poetry shamelessly displays, under the guise of poetic genius.

Al-Māzinī is renowned as being a man of hard judgment, but while he has a grasp of concise for-

mulae, he also possesses an immoderate taste for digression, and it is the middle course, commonplace assessment of the subject under discussion, which is lacking in him, with the result that tangible elements in his critical works are somewhat limited. It is unusual to see him take a precise example, as in the *Dīwān* where he shows that a story of al-Manfalūṭī (*al-Yatīm*) displays well the characteristics which he denounces: hollow and oratorical style, peevish and effeminate writing, coincidences and implausibilities. Most often, he speaks of everything except the book which he is supposed to be examining. His "criticisms" of works by Ṭaha Ḥusayn, Mayy Ziyāda [*q.v.*] and even al-ʿAkkād are astonishing examples of this. Ironical posturing suits him better than demonstration based on analytical argument.

Narrative fiction. When the attempt is made to assess the contribution of al-Māzinī as a novelist, it is appropriate to consider him in the perspective of the time. After the first edition of *Zaynab* by Haykal—which dates from 1914—few works of note appared in the succeeding years: *Thurayyā* (1922) by ʿĪsā ʿUbayd is rather a long short story, and *Ibnat al-mamlūk* (1926) by Ibn Abī Ḥadīd is a historical novel. This being so, chronologically al-Māzinī produced the second novel which had ever appeared in Egypt when he published *Ibrāhīm al-kātib* (1931), the second edition of *Zaynab*, in 1929, having refreshed the already distant memories of the first. It is also appropriate to mention that al-Māzinī had published a version of the first five chapters from the end of 1925 in several issues of the review *Rūz al-Yūsuf*. The author was already known, was even eminent, as an innovating poet counted among the proponents of the modern school of literary criticism, and the role that he played in crossing swords with Ḥāfiẓ, Shawkī and others was not to be forgotten on account of the fact that he renewed his attacks in the columns of the press, also making a name for himself in the discussion of social and political questions in *al-Akhbār*, *al-Ittiḥād* and *al-Siyāsa*, in which his vivid style and caustic tone were widely recognised. On account of all these factors, his novel was eagerly awaited, and it did indeed, in a general sense, achieve real success, for three essential reasons. The leading character who bears the same name as the author is, in fact, his double, and nobody can doubt that they both think, act and feel in the same way; he is charming and impulsive, a sceptic if not a pessimist, considering others and himself with humour. The story related, on the other hand, does not fail to engage curiosity, since the three women with whom Ibrāhīm is romantically involved pose such fundamental questions as the importance of tradition, the role of women and the meaning of marriage. Finally, as to the tone of the novel, its unity is maintained on account of the fact that the narration is in the first person, facilitating the transfer from abstract meditation to lively and satirical description or to vivid dialogue. Al-Māzinī's first contribution to fiction would thus appear to be entirely creditable, leading one to suppose that he would not be slow to repeat this success. However, it was not until 1943 that he added to his corpus, publishing four novels in the same year: *Ibrāhīm al-thānī*, *Thalāthat ridjāl wa-mraʾa*, *ʿAwd ʿalā badʾ*, *Mīdū wa-shurakāhu*. Some have tended to attribute special significance to the first two, linking them with the novel already discussed to constitute a "trilogy" (cf. Ṭāhā Wādī, *Ṣūrat al-marʾa fī 'l-riwāya al-muʿāṣira*, Cairo 1973). This cannot be substantiated except in reference to *Ibrāhīm al-thānī*, which could indeed be taken to represent that which befalls the hero of the earlier novel some years after his marriage, when conjugal monotony begins to weigh upon him and he finds himself dangerously tempted by the young women who surround him. It is true, however, that a certain evolution is perceptible running through the three books in question as regards the role of the wife. Time has passed since *Ibrāhīm al-kātib*, but some ten years more and the equality in principle of the two spouses are not sufficient to make the life of the couple in *Ibrāhīm al-thānī* euphoric. On the other hand, the acquisition by the wife of responsibility in *Thalāthat ridjāl* makes of her a character quite unique, capable of initiatives, and the form accords with the content—it is no longer an account written in the first person.

During the five remaining years of his life, al-Māzinī was not to publish a new novel. It may be mentioned here that he published a single theatrical piece, *Ghazīrat al-marʾa aw ḥukm al-ṭāʿa* (1930), not only to indicate that, on the stage also, the question of feminine rights seems to him to require treatment—like many other intellectuals, he supported the movement for the reform of ideas initiated by Ḳāsim Amīn at the beginning of the century—but also to tackle a question which has taken on a particular importance in the eyes of Egyptian critics studying the works of al-Māzinī. The point at issue is the "borrowings" of this writer. In itself, the subject seems predominantly to concern Egypt, since it sets out to show that the kind of "compulsion to remain at home" (*ḥukm al-ṭāʿa*) which every Egyptian husband has the right to impose on his reputedly disobedient wife is a scandalous sexual privilege, a denial of justice which should not long be tolerated by the legislators. The literary critic of *al-Balāgh* revealed that, in essence, the plot and some of the scenes of the play had been taken from a novel by Galsworthy. It was in 1932 that there took place the polemic between al-Māzinī and his accuser, this being the year that Galsworthy, the famous author of *The Forsyte Saga*, received the Nobel Prize. Although he did not admit his plagiarism, our writer's protestations were far from convincing. The opinion of scholars has been quite united in this regard, just as nobody doubts that al-Māzinī padded out his novel *Ibrāhīm al-kātib* (1931) by incorporating in it five pages from a Russian novel (*Sanine* by Artzybachev) which he himself had translated in 1920 for the *Musāmarāt al-shaʿb*. When challenged on this point, the author did not deny it, contenting himself with a declaration of his good faith (he read a great deal, retained material easily and was ultimately unable to tell what genuinely was his own creation!). Such disarming naïvety is perplexing, all the more so since it is hard to understand what real benefit he could have gained from the practice. One may also ask why—again in his first novel—he is observed to repeat several pages already published some years before in a collection of his articles, *Ḳabḍ al-rīḥ* (1927). In this instance he is plagiarising himself. The answer to this question supplied by a enquirer very favourably disposed towards him is that he is consistent in his ideas which he puts into the mouth of his fictional hero (on this question, cf. Mme Niʿmāt Aḥmad Fuʾād, *Adab al-Māzinī*, Cairo 1961).

If his theatre is almost non-existent and his work as a novelist less significant than might have been hoped, al-Māzinī remains a remarkable storyteller. He is seen fulminating in the *Dīwān* against the morbid, grandiloquent and ultimately dishonest literature of al-Manfalūṭī. The first fruits of Arabic narrative writing, more credible because more in tune with society and people as they are, appear in the short stories of the Taymūr brothers, but are also to be

found among the many texts published by al-Māzinī himself. In fact, alongside his analysis and assessment of works, and his literary studies, alongside his political writings, he published a quantity of stories which may be found today in eight collections, of which the most notable are *Ṣundūḳ al-dunyā* (1929) and *Khuyūṭ al-ʿankabūt* (1935). The bibliography of the work by Sakkut and Jones mentioned above refers to a further 114 "narrative works" which appeared in periodicals, of which 76 have never been reprinted. All these narratives, of variable length, approximate more or less to the living tableau or short story as such, tending rather to resemble what Anglo-Saxons call the "essay" or "sketch". Most often, the fiction is minimal, the author embroidering with humour and fantasy upon a reflection, a memory or an observation. He also enjoys making himself a central figure in the scene that is sketched out or making himself a target for his own jesting, since his small stature and the limp from which he suffered are easily evoked in a few words. Some suppose that this constant jesting is a means of exorcising a sense of shame which could have become a complex. In any event, this quasi-systematic procedure facilitates the establishment of a complicity with his reader which al-Māzinī manifestly seeks. He does not take himself seriously, and treats other writers, whoever they may be, with equal levity. Much affected by reading the Bible and in particular the Book of Job, he has a tendency to agree with the famous line "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity". It is noticeable that each chapter of his *Ibrāhīm al-kātib* bears as a heading a phrase drawn from a verse of the Old Testament and the titles of almost all his collections indicate the illusory nature of human existence and of its works; already there has been observed the illusion of writing symbolised by "the kaleidoscope" (*Ṣundūḳ al-dunyā*) and the incongruity of the "threads of the spider" (*Khuyūṭ al-ʿankabūt*), but to these may be added the mirage of a "harvest of grass" (*Ḥaṣād al-hashīm*, 1924) and the nothingness of a "handful of wind" (*Ḳabḍ al-rīḥ*, 1927). Our writer expresses himself on a very flexible canvas, since all that he hears is his fantasy. Malicious sketches, incidental remarks, paradoxes, aphorisms, follow one another for the enjoyment of the reader. To be sure, not everything is said in a jocular tone, for he has written moving pages describing his mother, whom he adored, or his daughter, who died at an early age. Nor is everything bizarre, and there are times when reality prevails over the "nonsense", in particular when he evokes his childhood, giving the reader the opportunity to imagine a Cairo home at the end of the last century and the life that was lived there. But this is a retrospective view conducted with a sense of the humorous and the unusual. Humour is always in evidence with him, even when he travels to Mecca; his *Riḥla ḥidjāziyya* (1930) contains some excellent jokes. In the attempt to decide with whom to compare this virtuoso of comic prose, this independent spirit hostile to protocol and to the conventional, the names of al-Djāḥiẓ and Mark Twain spring to mind. But al-Māzinī was most certainly both typically Egyptian and tremendously modern. Towards the end of his life, he became a member the Cairo Academy and the speech that he gave on this occasion was striking for its anti-conformism—as might indeed be expected from the man who nicknamed this venerable institution "the cemetery of the immortals".

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in the article, see Ḥāmid ʿAbduh al-Hawwāl, *al-Sukhriyya fī adab al-Māzinī*, Cairo 1972; Muḥammad Mandūr, *al-Shiʿr fī Miṣr baʿd Shawḳī*, Cairo 1944; P. Counillon, *A propos d'une nouvelle d'al-Mâzinî* in *Bull. Et. arabes*, v (January-February 1942), 3-6.

(CH. VIAL)

MAẒLŪM (A.) a technical term of Shīʿī, especially Twelver, Islam, which nevertheless retains its current *ism mafʿūl* meaning from the root *ẓalama*: someone or something "treated or used wrongfully, unjustly, injuriously, or tyrannically" (Lane, 1923). In Persian, a language in which a large part of the literature referred to here mentions it, the word means also *sitam rasīda* (*Farhang-i Ānandarādj*, vi, 4042) or "injured, oppressed, seized forcibly ..." and, consequently, "mild, gentle, modest" (Steingass, 1263).

Maẓlūm is one of the attributes which characterise the *Imāms*, and it is coupled with *shahīd* and sometimes substituted for it. This fits in with the theological and hagiographical vision in the time of the *Imāms*, a vision which claims them as martyrs, pure (*maʿṣūm*) victims because they are pure by definition, their role being to bear a witness which is expressed by means of the conscious sacrifice of their life. Thus they are *maẓlūm* because they have for their opposites those who are *ẓālim*: ... *man aẓlamu mimman katama shahādatan ʿindahu min Allāh*... (Ḳurʾān, II, 140/134, "Who then is more unjust than he who conceals testimony which he possesses from God?"). The testimony in the case of the *Imāms* becomes their *shahāda*, their martyrdom. The full meaning of this testimony depends, moreover, on the fact that they are, vis-à-vis humanity, the *ḥudjdjat Allāh*, the proof of God par excellence, i.e. the proof that man should recognise in order to obtain his eternal salvation.

Until now the discussion has been general, and may perhaps be further generalised, in the sense that all the *ahl al-bayt* are defined as *maẓlūm* according to a famous *ḥadīth*, for which we give here a typical reference, Kāshifī, 170: *naḥnu ḳawm maẓlūmūn, naḥnu ḳawm maṭrūdūn, naḥnu ḳawm makhūrūn*, which indicates in the genealogy of Abū Ṭālib, the "we" in question.

To belong to the "family" means to be ready for martyrdom, to undergo the violence of the *ẓālim* and be destined for exile, as the word *maṭrūd* explains; but the root *ẓalama* also indicates in its primary meaning "to put something in a place which is not its own" (*LA*, *s.v.*) and Shīʿī Persian literature appears moreover to refer to it when it adds to the attributes *maẓlūm* and *shahīd* that of *gharīb*.

Maẓlūm has a particular significance in the case of two *Imāms* who are the symbol of the perfect martyr, being *maʿṣūm* and *maẓlūm*, sc. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and ʿAlī al-Riḍā. The former is often defined as the *maẓlūm-i Karbalāʾ* (Djawharī, 138 ff.), but another important meaning of the word is, in some way, present. *Maẓlūm* (or rather *maẓlūma*) is the adjective for land where rain does not fall, or where it is difficult to sink a well to find water (cf. the Arabic dictionaries s.v. *ẓ-l-m*). Al-Ḥusayn is *maẓlūm* due also to the particular manner of his martyrdom, due to thirst, since his enemies here denied him water. However, in the case of ʿAlī al-Riḍā, *maẓlūm* becomes synonymous rather with *gharīb*, the victim who chooses to die far off, "in the East" and who makes of his "Eastern" exile the testimony of his mission, which, emblematically, contains all the ideas peculiar to the *Imāms*, whether in religious terms or in mythological terms (B. Scarcia Amoretti, *Un interpretazione iranistica di Cor. XXV, 38 e L, 12*, in *RSO*, xliii/ [1968], 46-52).

In present-day Shīʿī thought, the word *maẓlūm* is still in frequent use. When the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn is put forward as the example to follow in

order to be liberated in this world and to find salvation in the next, the matter is clear enough. The history of mankind finds in the life of al-Ḥusayn and in Karbalāʾ its paradigm and a daily proof (*ḥudjdja yawmiyya*). And, in this sense, *maẓlūm* is a word which also defines, in opposition to all that is *ẓālim* (law, existing order, etc.) the man who is *maʿzūl*, oppressed (Shams al-Dīn, 11 ff.), who alone can become what al-Ḥusayn is for the Shīʿī religious conscience.

Bibliography: There is no specific bibliography on the subject. The texts drawn upon for the definition of *maẓlūm* (the parts concerning the *Imām* al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and the *Imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā) are the following: Ibn Babūya al-Ḳummī, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, lith. Tehran 1275/1858-9; Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī, *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ*, Tehran 1334/1962-3; Mīrzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Djawharī, *Ṭūfān al-bukāʾ*, lith. Tehran n.d. As far as contemporary literature is concerned, much has been written on the concept of martyrdom. One may mention in translation: ʿAlī Sharīʿatī, *Martyrdom: arise and bear witness*, Tehran 1981; Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *The martyr*, Tehran 1980; Muḥammad Taḳī Sharīʿatī, *Why Husain took stand*, Tehran n.d. In Persian: ʿAlī Sharīʿatī, *Ḥusayn wārith Ādam*, Tehran n.d.; Maḥmūd Ṭāliḳānī, *Djihād wa shahāda*, Tehran n.d. In Arabic: Shaykh Muḥammad Mahdī Shams al-Dīn, *ʿĀshūrāʾ mawkib al-shahāda* (on the occasion of 10 Muḥarram 1403/1982 in Beirut).

(B. Scarcia Amoretti)

MAZRAʿA (a.), *mazraʿa, mezra* or *ekinlik* in Turkish, means in general arable land, a field; as used in the Ottoman survey registers, it designates a periodic settlement or a deserted village and its fields. According to a regulation, to register a piece of land as *mazraʿa* it was required that it be checked whether the place had a village site in ruins, its own water supply and a cemetery (Barkan, 53, 133, 190). Such a piece of land is occasionally called *matrūk yer*, abandoned land. In the *daftars* [*q.v.*] we often find the following note on *mazraʿas*: "previously it was a village, now its population is scattered and the fields abandoned (*khālī*)". Usually a *mazraʿa* has fixed boundaries. A *mazraʿa* might have gained over time a few families of settlers, but would still be registered as a *mazraʿa*.

Every *mazraʿa* is referred to by a specific name which often reveals its origin or first possessor. In the province of Ḳaramān, for example, many *mazraʿa* names are coupled with *ḥiṣār*, referring probably to abandoned Byzantine castles, or with *aghïl* "sheepfold", or having reference to a nomadic group which used the site as pastureland. A great number of village names in Anatolia bearing the name *vīrān* or *ören* must originally have been *mazraʿas* which over the course of time were transformed into full villages. But when we speak of *mazraʿa* as an abandoned village we mean basically not just the site of the village itself, but rather its fields.

In western Anatolia and the Balkans, the Ottomans inherited the Byzantine rural landscape with its sub-villages and periodic settlements. The earliest reference to a *mazraʿa* appears in Sultan Orkhan's *waḳf* for the bridge he built at Alma-Pïnarï. Under the Byzantines, the *mazraʿa*-type lands as dependencies of a village were known as *agridia* and *proasteia*, the former designating partly settled and the latter unsettled satellite land (Ostrogorsky, 1962, 149). As was the case under the Ottomans, when the village rented such land collectively it paid the rent collectively (*ibid.*, 114), but this special case cannot be used as an argument for the theory that in general village land was subject to collective ownership under the Byzantines.

In the survey registers, abandoned villages or *čiftliks* are shown also as *khālī*, uninhabited, or *kharāb*, in ruins, or *khirbat* (in Syria). In these registers, the deserted or periodically settled and used lands were of different sizes and were shown under different names. Theoretically, the largest one was a *mazraʿa*, sometimes with water and a cemetery, and was always considered capable of being converted into a village, so that all *mazraʿas* were carefully recorded. Other such lands of smaller size are, in order, *čiftlik* [*q.v.*], *zamīn* (in Turkish *zemīn*), *ḳiṭʿa* and *tarla* "individual field". In practice, the word *mazraʿa* was occasionally used for a *čiftlik* or a *zamīn* of a few *dönüm* (1 *dönüm* equals about 920 m^2) or any piece of land not possessed under the *tapu* system.

The abandoned land might be turned into a pasture or a vineyard and still retain the name *mazraʿa*. From the standpoint of land use, a *mazraʿa* is a field for grain production as opposed to pasture, vineyard, orchard, etc.

The hypothesis that in Anatolia the settled population chose to have their settlement sites on the hillsides in order to escape malaria and all kinds of marauders, soldiers, brigands, and passers-by, and maintained as a satellite exploitation a *mazraʿa* down on the flat land (*düzlük, ova*) (Tanoğlu, 1954, 27-8), holds true for many areas. Hütteroth (1968, 36-53) demonstrated it for central Anatolia, and Tanoğlu gives some examples for eastern Anatolia. While on the hillsides viticulture, horticulture, olive growing, and livestock breeding were preponderant, fields for grain production were located in the *mazraʿa* down on the flat land. The Syrian and Palestinian villages with vineyards, orchards and olive groves on the hillsides and *mazraʿa* down on the lowland or in the valleys also provide instances of this pattern (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, 1977; B. Lewis and A. Cohen, 1978). This village-*mazraʿa* pattern develops into an upper village and a lower village when the satellite *mazraʿa* on the lowland is settled. Village names preceded with *zīr-* and *bālā-*, *yuḳarï-* and *ashaghï-*, or in the Balkans *dolni-/dolne-/dolnje-* and *gorni-/gorne-/gornje-* reflect the same process.

The fact that most of the *mazraʿas* were registered as dependent (*tābiʿ*) on a village as its *ekinlik*, reserved fields, can be taken as proof that the Ottoman administration generally recognised the *mazraʿa* as an indivisible part of village economy. Such *mazraʿas* secured an extra source of income for the villagers and provided land for the surplus population. Often villagers cultivated such land without the government's knowledge, arguing that it had always belonged to them. As a result, the rule was made that no abandoned land could be exploited without the Sultan's prior approval (Meḥemmed the Conqueror's *Ḳānūn-nāme*, Barkan 390, art. 16). Because the benefits of such exploitation were vital for the village economy, villagers vigorously contended against *tīmār*-holders or government agents who chose to rent such *mazraʿas* to outsiders. In opposition to such outsiders, including members of the military élite, who were particularly interested in renting *mazraʿas* in order to turn them into big *čiftliks*, villagers often rented them collectively.

Whether a *mazraʿa* was registered in the *daftar* or not determined its status. It could be registered as part of a village or of a *tīmār* or of a *waḳf* or independently in the register. A *mazraʿa*, being abandoned land, quite often escaped the surveyor. When discovered it was called "unregistered *mazraʿa* with no fixed taxes"

(*khāridj az daftar bilā rüsūm olan mazraʿa*). Such *mazraʿas* were rented out and their revenue collected by government agents called *khāridj emīni*. Such lands could also be assigned to a *tīmār*-holder (*Arvanid defteri*, no. 178). This was because the government was concerned that no arable land, however small, be left uncultivated and without bringing in some sort of revenue. Under the *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] system, such abandoned or unregistered lands as *mazraʿa, čiftlik*, or *zamīn* were offered to any bidder, military or townsfolk, Muslim or Christian, or even to a foreigner, anyone who would guarantee to the treasury a steady revenue from it. In 1545 in Bosnia, Venetians were able to rent *mazraʿas* (Gökbilgin, 1964, 208). Otherwise, in principle, the government's policy was ultimately to convert all such lands into villages or *raʿiyyet čiftliks* [see ČIFTLIK] under the *tapu* [*q.v.*] system. In other words, arable lands were basically reserved for the exploitation of the registered peasants, *raʿāyā* [*q.v.*], excluding the townsfolk and the military, and such lands, comprising the great majority of arable land in the empire, were categorised as *tapulu arāḍī*. Under the *tapu* system, the peasants were responsible for paying regular *raʿiyyet* taxes, including *čiftresmi* [*q.v.*]. In contrast, those lands not in the possession of the registered *raʿāyā* were treated fiscally as a separate category under the *muḳāṭaʿa* system, and such lands were called *muḳāṭaʿalu arāḍī* as opposed to the *tapulu arāḍī*.

Newly-conquered and abandoned land, since no previous record was available for its taxation, was also treated as a *mazraʿa* and was submitted to auction in order to achieve the highest possible revenue derivable under the circumstances (*Kanun i Kanunname*, i, 64). It was through an auction that the *muḳāṭaʿa* amount of a *mazraʿa* was determined.

The usual reference, "it is cultivated by those who come from outside" (*khāridjden ekilür*) on *mazraʿas* and *muḳāṭaʿalu čiftliks* indicates a situation in which the land was not possessed and cultivated by *yerlü*, the local *raʿāyā*, under the *tapu* system, but by those *raʿāyā* who were not registered with the land and were consequently considered "outsiders". The latter were normally *khaymānegān*, literally "people living in tents", but in practice meaning any wandering *raʿāyā* who might come and exploit the land on a temporary basis, paying rent or tithes to the "owner", *ṣāhib*, of the *muḳāṭaʿa*, the "owner" being the renter of the land. If the "outsider" settled on a *tīmār*-holder's or on *waḳf* land for three consecutive years he automatically became a *yerlü* and then the land was given to him under the *tapu*.

Thus in principle, *mazraʿas* were fiscally exploited under the *muḳāṭaʿa* system, which consisted simply of renting under a contract, *temessük* or *ḥüdjdjet*. The record of the rental in the register, which specified the possessor and the obligation, had binding force for both the state and the individual. The possessor's payment for the *mazraʿa* consisted either of tithes or of a fixed amount in cash.

When a *mazraʿa* was given in the way of *yurdluk* (*ber vedjh-i yurdluk*), it was possessed as a hereditary freehold property, usually on condition of sending a cavalryman [see ESHKINDJI] to the sultan's campaigns. In some cases, this obligation was forgiven (Konya TT40, 17).

The next question is to determine how *mazraʿas* emerged and under what conditions their number increased or decreased. The peasant populations would abandon their villages, temporarily or permanently, for various reasons. Natural and economic conditions conducive to mass flight included exhaustion of the land, desertification, and epidemics. Social and political conditions were no less important. First and foremost, peasants left their villages en masse to avoid being despoiled by passing troops, brigand bands, or caravans. A particularly important cause of flight was to avoid registration for taxes [see TAḤRĪR] and tax collection. The peasant's most effective means of getting a tax reduced or abolished was the threat of being scattered abroad (*perākende ve perīshān olmaḳ*). Assuming the character of a mass protest, scattering became in effect a peasant strike and was frequently resorted to. What made it more frequent was that peasants did not own the land they cultivated under the *tapu* system, and there were always other lands available. The growing number of villages in the forests is largely due to this situation. On the other hand, the big landowners, and particularly *waḳf* lands, promised better conditions in order to attract the registered *raʿāyā* of the *tapu* lands. Thus the rural population in the Ottoman Empire, especially in Anatolia and the Balkans, became quite a mobile population, which accounts for the unusually large number of deserted villages in the Empire.

The increase or decrease in the number of *mazraʿas* can be taken as an indication of demographic and economic decline or development in a particular region; and the relative number of villages and *mazraʿa* can be determined for most of the provinces through the survey books (see TAḤRĪR, and maps in Tanoğlu, 1954; Hütteroth and Abdülfattah, 1977). In 1597 in some districts in Palestine (Hütteroth and Abdülfattah, 23, 24, and maps nos. 3, 10, and 13) the number of *mazraʿas* was two or three times greater than the number of villages (in the *sandjaḳ* of Ṣafad there were 610 *mazraʿas* as against 282 villages), whereas in the *sandjaḳ* of Aleppo both the villages and the *mazraʿas* numbered about one thousand (Venzke). Hütteroth (1986, 25) estimates that at the turn of the 18th century, about half of the Anatolian population depended on the various types of periodic settlements, and he finds it one of the most important features of the Middle Eastern cultural area.

In the formation of *mazraʿas* conditions other than peasant flight have also to be considered. Sometimes the peasants used nearby marginal land for cultivation, or reclamations were made on wasteland (*mawāt* [*q.v.*]) in the forests or swamps, or pasturelands in the *yayla* were used for cultivation; *mazraʿas* formed in these ways are frequently referred to in the survey registers. Also, conversion of the *tapulu* lands into livestock ranches gave rise to *mazraʿa*-type formations. When the central bureaucracy's control weakened during protracted wars, struggles for succession to the throne, uprisings, etc., the military's acquisition of abandoned lands became widespread. Those who acquired such lands under *muḳāṭaʿa* were called *aṣḥāb-i muḳāṭaʿa*, owners of the *muḳāṭaʿalu* land.

Since the abandoned *mazraʿas* could be given to anybody paying the rent, *muḳāṭaʿa*, including the military, the latter used this loophole in the Ottoman land system to enter into possession of the *mīrī* [*q.v.*] or state-owned lands, and to run the land as an estate. As such *mazraʿas* needed a labour force for their cultivation, the military offered favourable conditions to attract registered *raʿāyā* and thus caused disruption in the *mīrī*-based settlements. At other times, because of the labour shortage, they converted their *mazraʿas* into livestock ranches.

When *mazraʿa* owners were able to attract *raʿāyā* to their lands, they usually had recourse to the method of sharecropping (*ortaḳdjïlïḳ*). They furnished land and often seed, oxen, and domiciles to the sharecroppers.

In Anatolia, large areas of arable land abandoned by villagers were converted into ranches, partly because of the high price of meat in general and partly because of the military's difficulty in finding sufficient labour for cultivation. In any case, the Ottoman military class, unlike western landlords, was not capable, for various reasons, of owning land and organising it as big estates. In the period 1596-1610, the Djelālī [see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.] depredations and insecurity in the countryside caused a tremendous increase of *mazraᶜas* and *mazraᶜa*-type land use throughout Asia Minor, resulting in a great diminution of agricultural land and grain production. A similar usurpation of the small plots of peasant families by "the powerful" in the provinces occurred in Byzantine Asia during the 10th century, and the emperors were forced to take radical measures against this development.

The second method used by the military to provide agricultural labour was the settlement of war prisoners on the land. As early survey registers demonstrate, the first Ottoman sultans as well as the members of the military class, the frontier begs in particular, employed this practice quite extensively.

The sub-village periodic settlements and exploitations could increase or decrease, and thus a pasture (*čayïr, yayla, kïshla*, or *oba*) could become a *mazraᶜa* over the course of time by being converted into fields, or vice-versa. The state took the initiative in promoting settlement and cultivation and in restoring abandoned villages. The grant of land as freehold, *tamlīk* [see MILK] is one method.

In Serbia, abandoned villages were brought back to cultivation by the settlement of the Vlachs in the same way that nomads or wandering peasants (*khaymānegān*) were encouraged to settle *mazraᶜas* in Anatolia. The state also encouraged *tīmār*-holders to assemble dispersed peasants to restore a village, promising them promotion.

Ottoman survey registers show that, besides belonging to villages, a great number of "vacant", *khālī, čiftliks* and *mazraᶜas* were registered as "dependent", *tābiᶜ*, on towns within the boundaries of the central district, *nāhiye(t)* (Faroqhi, 1984, 191-266). This situation reflects the economic dependence of the towns on such agricultural reserve land, without which the towns could not survive. Given the exhorbitant transportation costs of the time, towns had to rely on this hinterland for an important part of the foodstuffs, fuel for their populations and raw materials such as cotton, wood, and hides for their handicrafts. The social and economic dynamics of such villages and sub-village settlements appear to be vivid and complex compared to that of "independent" rural settlements. The villages near towns were transformed into *mazraᶜas* or *čiftliks* probably because the village population, attracted by better opportunities in town, migrated there, and once deserted, the village land was acquired under *mukātaᶜa* by well-to-do town residents and turned into a kind of estate-*čiftlik* (Faroqhi, 1980, 87-99).

As far as present-day Anatolia is concerned, human geographers (A. Tanoğlu, 1954; Hütteroth, 1968, 24-52; Tunçdelik, 1971, 17-55; Hütteroth and Abdülfattah, 1977, 29-32) study *mazraᶜas* among the periodic settlements or small rural settlements on the way to becoming villages—rural *mahalle, yayla(k), kïshla(k), kom, oba,* and *dīwān*. Throughout eastern Anatolia today, a great number of villages with a small settlement and having no formal village institutions such as *mukhtārlïk* come under the name *mezra, mezre,* or *mezri*. Settlement of marginal lands as a result of rural overpopulation is considered to be the underlying reason for such settlements. In the survey books, no mention is made of *kom* or rural *mahalle*, which may be local names for *mazraᶜa* (cf. Tunçdelik, 1971, 43).

Kom is to be found in eastern Anatolia; it differs from a *mazraᶜa* by being a kind of ranch for animal breeding and is usually owned by an absentee landlord. It surrounds sheepfolds and shepherd huts. *Oba* is the grazing area of a nomadic household and should be studied rather within the *yayla* structure (Tunçdelik, 1971, 44). When settled by the nomad households which shift to agriculture as their main occupation, the *oba* assumes rather the character of a *mazraᶜa*. The process is attested from early Ottoman history. At the present time, all *obas* are of this developed type. *Dīvān* was apparently a tribal superstructure over the *obas* (Tunçdelik, 47-8; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 28-32), which disappeared as settlement progressed. Some isolated *čiftliks*, settled by one or a few families devoted to agriculture and livestock breeding, are considered, like the *mazraᶜa*, as a kind of settlement liable to develop into a village (Tunçdilek, 43). In Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria (Hütteroth and Abdülfattah, 1977, 29-32), *mazraᶜas* were "small agricultural areas, dispersed amongst the hills, lying within the village area but apart from the main fields belonging to the village, as is still the case today". According to the regulations and survey registers (*ibid.*, 31), the size of a *mazraᶜa* varies widely. It may consist of only one or two *čiftliks* or have the size of a village, judging from its estimated revenue. However, as was made explicit in some *kānūn-nāmes* [*q.v.*], the typical *mazraᶜa* is a deserted village which always has a large area of arable land, a water source and a cemetery.

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(H. İNALCIK)

MAZRŪᶜĪ (Ar. pl. Mazārīᶜ, Swa. Wamazrui), an Arab tribe found in the Gulf States and in East Africa, where for two centuries they have intermarried with the local population. In the Gulf States they are found in Abu Dhabi, where they are regarded as a section of the Banī Yās. Outside Abu Dhabi, it is uncertain whether they are regarded as a section of the Banī Yās. Some are found in Dubai, in Sharjah, and in various districts and villages of ᶜUmān, their centre being the walled town of al-Alāya, where the

shaykh recognised as head of the family resides. In East Africa, in Kenya and on the island of Pemba (in the present Republic of Tanzania), fourteen lineages are recorded, descended from three lineages which migrated from ʿUmān between *ca.* 1698 and *ca.* 1800. Of these, the most celebrated provided an almost uninterrupted succession of rulers of Mombasa from 1698 until 1837, when twenty-five of the principal males were banished to Bandar ʿAbbās by Sayyid Saʿīd of ʿUmān and Zanzibar, many of them dying unaccountably on the voyage and the remainder in prison. Other Mazrūʿī lineages and the main one also provided subordinate rulers at Takaungu and Gazi, and of Pemba Island, generally with the Swahili title *liwali*, corrupted from Ar. *al-wālī*. In addition, the family produced a remarkable number of men of high ability and personal distinction, *ḳāḍīs* and junior magistrates, lawyers, administrators, historians, genealogists, scholars, poets, merchants and landowners, military commanders, a steamship captain and a harbourmaster, as well as men of religion. The history of the family from 1698 to 1835 is recounted in Shaykh al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿī, *History of the Mazrūʿī dynasty of Mombasa*, a unique Arabic manuscript written in lead pencil on foolscap. The author was Chief *Ḳāḍī* of Kenya 1937-47, a distinguished Islamic scholar, jurist and journalist. Very much other material exists bearing upon the history of the family, in official archives in London, Paris and Zanzibar, in printed primary sources and also in secondary sources, of which the most useful summary is in C. S. Nicholls, *The Swahili coast: politics, diplomacy and trade on the East African littoral, 1798-1856*, London 1971, 390-400. Shaykh al-Amīn's work is notably impartial, and based upon documents in family possession and some European printed works. Nevertheless, it is restricted by his lack of access to much other material, by an understandable leniency in judging his forebears, and also by chronological errors that sometimes lead to confusion. Two of these arise from misreadings of epitaphs in the Mazrūʿī cemetery beside Fort Jesus, Mombasa, in which he appears to have perpetuated the errors of European writers who were using interpreters.

The following table shows the *Liwalis* of Mombasa in order of their succession, with their regnal years.

MAZRŪʿĪ LIWALIS

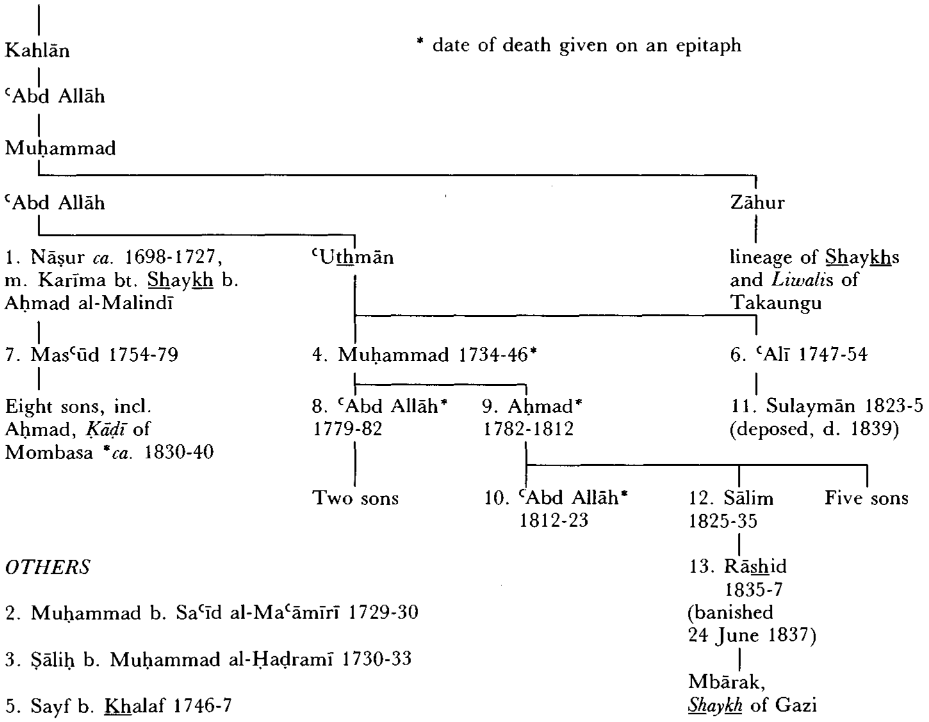

According to Shaykh al-Amīn, the first of the family to come to East Africa, Nāṣur b. ʿAbd Allāh, was appointed *Liwali* of Mombasa at the same time that Mbārak b. Gharīb was appointed commander of the ʿUmānī forces at the siege of Fort Jesus, Mombasa [see MOMBASA], in 1696-8. The actual date of appointment is not known. His remit was as "overseer of all the ʿUmānī possessions in East Africa", an area defined by Shaykh al-Amīn as from Ras Ngomeni, north of Malindi, to the town of Pangani, on the River Ruvu, and including several subordinate rulers of towns and settlements. At the successful conclusion of the siege in December 1696, Nāṣur's appointment was by no means uncontested. The Swahili had, as they saw it, called the ʿUmānīs in as allies; and an important faction, lead by an individual with the strange name of Sese Rumbe, rebelled against the ʿUmānī determination to stay as conquerors. After some fighting, a composition was reached by which Nāṣur was recognised in office and married either a sister or a daughter of a certain Shaykh b. Aḥmad al-Malindī, a member of the former royal family of Malindi [*q.v.*], which the Portuguese had installed as sultans of Mombasa in 1592, when the Shīrāzī dynasty of Mombasa failed for want of heirs. (The word Shaykh is used as a given name quite commonly in East Africa.) This was a political move of profound local significance, with precedents at Kilwa and at Pate [*q.vv.*] at the foundation of both dynasties. Thereafter, apart from Portuguese raids, Nāṣur's

term of office appears to have been peaceable. He died on a visit to ʿUmān.

No concept of a hereditary succession of governors is apparent at this point. Nāṣur had recommended the succession of his nephew Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān, but two other *Liwalis* followed in rapid succession who were not members of the family. It is not known why Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Maʿāmirī was relieved after only a year, but Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī was so harsh in his dealings with the people that he was removed from office when civil war broke out. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān was now proclaimed *Liwali*, and his succession welcomed in Mombasa. He had ruled for ten years when the Yaʿrubī dynasty was deposed in ʿUmān by Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Bū Saʿīdī. This was no clear-cut transition [see ʿUMĀN], for chaos ensued for several years, and ʿUthmān ceased to remit taxes to Maskaṭ. That he said "The Imām has usurped ʿUmān, and I have usurped Mombasa" is a most unlikely use of language that several writers have placed in his mouth. Nevertheless, it reflects local sentiment, in the same way that the Swahili *History of Pate* speaks of Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Bū Saʿīdī as a shopkeeper, with every assumption of an air of aristocratic disdain. Shopkeeper or not, Aḥmad knew how to consolidate power, and he had Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān assassinated, by assassins sent from ʿUmān, but with the support of the faction that had earlier opposed Nāṣur. One of the assassins, Sayf b. Khalaf, was now appointed *Liwali*. Shaykh al-Amīn's account at this point is by no means clear, and by mischance there is no reliable account in any European source. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān's brother ʿAlī was imprisoned by Sayf b. Khalaf, and several accounts exist of his exciting escape from the fort with the connivance of Balūčī soldiers of Aḥmad b. Saʿīd's that, nevertheless, were loyal to the Mazrūʿī. Then, at the critical moment, a European arrived with an armed vessel, which by agreement with ʿAlī, bombarded the fort. Sayf b. Khalaf was taken prisoner and killed, and ʿAlī acclaimed as *Liwali* by those who had supported his brother and uncle. An attempt by Aḥmad b. Saʿīd to install one ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿīd al-Bū Saʿīdī as *Liwali* was frustrated, and ʿAlī now ruled with confidence.

It is a mark of that confidence that was now felt in Mombasa that in 1754 ʿAlī assembled a fleet and an army to take Zanzibar from the Bū Saʿīdī. It is claimed that he went with 80 ships, but we do not know their size or complements. Certainly, they were enough for success to be immediate. At this juncture, however, ʿAlī's nephew Khalaf ran amok and stabbed him in the back. Various reasons have been suggested, that he was mad, that he was possessed by magical powers, or that he had a genuine ambition to seize power from his uncle. Occurrences such as this are paralleled in plenty in the annals of the Gulf States. A son of Nāṣur, Masʿūd, now took power, and led a demoralised army back to Mombasa. There is some argument whether or not a second attack on Zanzibar was to take place, but nothing happened.

By all accounts, Masʿūd was an astute politician, adroit in seeking conciliation. It is in his reign that Mombasa's involvement in the affairs of the sultanate of Pate begins, with a garrison sent to Pate to assist the sultan in keeping out the Bū Saʿīdī. In 1776 the Kilifi faction that had opposed the preceding Mazrūʿī *Liwalis* encouraged certain persons in Pate to attack Mombasa. It was not countenanced by the Sultan of Pate, and amounted to no more than a raid that was easily scotched. A rebellion now took place in Pate against Sultan Bwana Mkuu b. Shehe, and in the mêlée of his assassination the Khalaf who had murdered ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān was himself murdered while attempting to defend the sultan. Then in 1779 Masʿūd died. Shaykh al-Amīn praises him for his cunning—should we not say diplomacy? His days, he says, were days of prosperity, ease and peace, in which he was much engaged in trade. This, perhaps, was the halcyon period of Mazrūʿī rule.

On his death, eleven sons of previous *Liwalis* contested the succession "violently", but within the day they settled upon ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad. Shaykh al-Amīn is silent about his short reign of two years only: "like his predecessor, he was of good character, and far from making war". His next brother, Aḥmad, succeeded him and now ruled for twenty years. Shortly after his accession he had to deal with a rebellion in Tanga. At the end of his reign, war arose between Mombasa and Pate on the one hand, and Lamu on the other [see PATE], with the result that the Mombasa forces were severely defeated at Shela. Very shortly after, Aḥmad died: his epitaph in the Mazrūʿī cemetery describes him as *malik*, the only *liwali* so to describe himself or be so described on an epitaph. It is a reflection, perhaps, of the weakness in East Africa of the earlier part of the reign of Sayyid Saʿīd that a *liwali* should be able to use so uncompromising a title of royalty with impunity.

Aḥmad's son ʿAbd Allāh, the former commander of the Lamu garrison, now succeeded him, without any opposition, as the man with the most experience and competence. His first action was to reorganise the army and the administration, appointing several new subordinate *liwalis*. One of these, Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Buhrī, was murdered by the Digo tribe on his way to take up his post as *Liwali* at Mtang'ata. (His great-grandson, ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd Allāh, of Tanga, was said by the late J. Schacht to be the most learned authority on Islamic law that he had ever encountered.) The murderer was none other than the chief and spiritual head of the Digo, but he was forgiven on payment of the blood price. ʿAbd Allāh now turned his attention to Lamu, and to Sayyid Saʿīd, to whom he sent, as a gesture to show his independence, a coat of mail, a horn for measuring powder, a small quantity of powder and some musket balls, intimating that Saʿīd could come and fight. Here indeed was provocation, and on the monsoon of 1238/1822 Saʿīd's uncle Ḥamad b. Aḥmad al-Bū Saʿīdī came with 4,000 men and thirty ships. At Lamu, he defeated ʿAbd Allāh's son Mbārak, and got possession of Pate as well. He then proceeded to Pemba, which he took after several days' battle. The loss broke ʿAbd Allāh's heart, and he died.

His uncle Sulaymān b. ʿAlī was now elected as a compromise candidate. Shaykh al-Amīn describes him as "an intelligent man, decisive and a lover of peace"; a British official document describes him as "aged and feeble", while Captain W. F. W. Owen, who met him personally, described him as "an old dotard who had outlived every passion except avarice". Fearing to lose Mombasa to Sayyid Saʿīd, a delegation was sent to Bombay to ask for the protection of the British Government. Before a reply could arrive, a letter came to request that the British be permitted to survey Mombasa Island and to purchase cattle. No one could read it. The Mazrūʿī and the people took it as an affirmative answer, and hoisted the Union Flag. On 3 December 1823, H. M. S. *Barracouta*, under the command of Lieutenant Boteler, arrived at Mombasa, as part of Captain Vidal's command engaged in surveying the Indian Ocean. Boteler, joined shortly by Vidal, knew of no reason to

acquire for Britain an unimportant city on the African coast that had no commercial or strategic advantages. They fended the Mazrūʿī off as best they could. But on 7 February, Captain W. F. W. Owen arrived on H. M. S. *Leven*, at the very moment that a fleet sent by Sayyid Saʿīd was bombarding the Mazrūʿī into submission. Owen was a passionate crusader against the slave trade, and believing that Mombasa could be used as a centre from which to destroy it, he acceded to the request for a Protectorate. A treaty was drawn up, of which Shaykh al-Amīn's version differs somewhat, but only in detail, from British sources. It was that:

(1) Great Britain would cause to return to the *Liwali* all the territories he had ruled formerly;
(2) The Chief of the Mazrūʿī should administer the sultanate which would be hereditary in his descendants;
(3) A Commissioner of the Protecting Power would reside with the *Liwali*;
(4) Customs duties would be divided between the contracting powers;
(5) British subjects would have permission to trade in the interior;
(6) An end would be put to the slave trade in Mombasa.

Shaykh al-Amīn claims that ʿAbd Allah b. Sulaym, the commander of Sayyid Saʿīd's forces, was delighted with the treaty, a view wholly contrary to that evidenced in British official documents. Saʿīd, indeed, awaited the reaction of Bombay, which, with Whitehall, took the view that neither Mombasa nor its use, as yet unexplored, to end the slave trade could counterbalance the advantages of good relations with Sayyid Saʿīd in the Gulf. Accordingly, in October 1826, the British were instructed to withdraw. Before this had been done, *Liwali* Sulaymān had been deposed by the sons of *Liwali* Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, chosing instead one of their number, Sālim. Shaykh al-Amīn quotes in full a laudatory *ḳaṣīda* written by Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-Shaykh al-Ḳaḥṭānī al-Barāwī, later Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* of Zanzibar, whose knowledge and learning in Arabic letters was later to be praised by Sir Richard Burton.

Saʿīd himself lost no time. A fleet was assembled immediately in Masḳaṭ, with a substantial army, and he advanced on Mombasa. Nevertheless, he preferred diplomacy, and a judicious bribe led to a treaty of conciliation. It was agreed that:

(1) Fort Jesus was to be surrendered to Sayyid Saʿīd; he would install a garrison limited to fifty, and of a tribe agreeable to the Mazrūʿī;
(2) the *Liwali* would live in the fort with his family as heretofore;
(3) sovereignty should belong to Sayyid Saʿīd, but Sālim would be *Liwali* for life, and his descendants after his death;
(4) customs duties would be divided equally between the contracting powers, and the *Liwali* would have the right to appoint customs officials.

The fort was now garrisoned with Arabs and Balūčīs, and Nāṣur b. Sulaymān al-Ismāʿīlī, formerly *Liwali* of Pemba, put in command. His harshness and insulting behaviour alienated the Mazrūʿī, and led to friction. Sālim determined to refer the matter to ʿUmān, whereon Nāṣur demanded the surrender of the town to him, under pain of war. Sālim then besieged him in the fort, and starved him out, an occasion for yet another lengthy *ḳaṣīda* from the pen of Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn. Sālim returned to the fort. Nevertheless Saʿīd was not satisfied with the Mazrūʿī account of the affair, and came in force on the monsoon of 1245/1829. A six-day battle ensued, in which Saʿīd's forces were soundly defeated. Sālim then fortified Mombasa with a wall, and by 1248/1832 felt strong enough to attempt to regain Pemba. His force was insufficient, and returned defeated. Next year, civil war broke out between Siyu and Pate following a succession dispute in Pate, in the course of which Salim angered Saʿīd by allying with the side opposed to him. On his way to Zanzibar, Saʿīd bombarded Mombasa, but without doing any more than set some houses on fire. For the rest of his reign, Sālim was left in peace. Sālim is the only *Liwali* known to have minted coins, which, Guillain reports, were struck from a bronze cannon on account of a shortage of small currency during his struggle with Sayyid Saʿīd. They bear no date, and only the Arabic words for *O.* "struck" / *R.* "in Mombasa". They were known in Swahili as *buruzuku*, which apparently derives from Portuguese *bazaruco*, small change, a word already currently used in Goa in a different form when the Portuguese occupied it in the 16th century. An almost identical issue was made in Lamu, Lamu being substituted for Mombasa, but so far nothing has been discovered about either of these issues.

In 1835 Sālim was succeeded on his death by his son Rāshid, but he had gained the fort with the support of the townsfolk while the family were still quarrelling about the succession. Returning to Zanzibar in 1837 from ʿUmān, Saʿīd first won over the opponents within the Mazrūʿī family by bribery, and then, changing sides, supported Rāshid on condition that the fort should be surrendered to Zanzibar. Rāshid was left with no choice. Saʿīd then arrested twenty-five of the family by inviting them to Zanzibar, but instead the ship sailed to Bandar ʿAbbās, at this time an ʿUmānī possession; and there those who had not died unaccountably on the voyage died in prison. It was the end of the independence of Mombasa, and the completion of Sayyid Saʿīd's assertion of his suzerainty over the East African coast.

Saʿīd did not, however, destroy the whole family. Mbārak, who had led the siege of the fort, is not to be confused with a younger son of Rāshid b. Sālim, also Mbārak. From Gazi, where he resided, in 1850 he attacked Takaungu, and expelled Rāshid b. Khāmis al-Mazrūʿī, a member of another branch of the family who had just been appointed *Liwali* of Takaungu, a position held by many other members of his lineage. Saʿīd sent troops to aid his nominee, and Mbārak returned to Gazi. Later he was forgiven, and in 1860 appointed *Liwali* of Gazi.

Fort Jesus, where so many of the events described here took place, is now a Museum. From 1895 to 1958 the British Colonial administration used it as a prison, choking the interior with cells and other buildings. These had superseded its use between 1837 and 1895 as the barracks of the ʿUmānī garrison, when it was filled with "mean huts" seen by Guillain, Owen and others. All this was cleared and restored by J. S. Kirkman, F. S. A., with a subvention from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, between 1958 and 1970. The Portuguese Captain's House, which had been occupied later by the Mazrūʿī *Liwali*s, was now rid of later excrescences. Of their period there survived what is known as the Audience Hall of the Mazrūʿī, in fact a *madjlis* (or *selāmlik*) normal in Arab houses. It is decorated with inscriptions, Ḳurʾān verses and poems, and painted decorations surrounding them on the wooden beams. The Pilgrimage to Mecca of the fifth *Liwali*, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, in 1208/1793, is commemorated by an inscription that states that none of the *Liwali*s before him had made

the Pilgrimage. The ornamental decorated roof is mentioned by Owen, together with the stone benches that still remain, and it was here that the negotiations for the British Protectorate Treaty of 1824 took place. Sadly, when the fort was in use as a prison, the madjlis was used as a gaol for women, and the nearby gun platform for lunatics.

Biographical details are lacking for members of the family other than Shaykh al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿī, author of the *History* already cited. Born in 1891, he was brought up in the house of Shaykh Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. Khāmis al-Mazrūʿī, Chief *Ḳāḍī* of Kenya. He studied under him and with *ʿulamāʾ* in Zanzibar, and then himself acquired a reputation as a teacher of Islamic law. Among others, he taught *ʿulamāʾ* from Lamu, Tanga and Zanzibar, among them the famous Shaykh ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd al-Buhrī, the former *ḳāḍī* of Tanga already mentioned. Shaykh al-Amīn was active in starting libraries and Ḳurʾānic schools, and writing religious textbooks, including textbooks for the instruction of children. He was the first to write religious textbooks in Swahili. In 1930 he instituted a Swahili newspaper, dealing with political, social and religious questions; and in 1932 an Arabic and Swahili weekly *al-Iṣlāḥ* ("Reform"). Although he never visited Egypt, he was immersed in the writings of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā, and gave instruction in the Mazrūʿī Mosque in Arabic and other subjects. More conservative persons in Mombasa were highly critical of his attitude, especially towards women, finding his ideas "revolutionary". He was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Mombasa in 1932, and Chief *Ḳāḍī* of Kenya in 1937, dying in office in 1947.

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(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

MAZYAD, Banū, or Mazyadids, an Arab dynasty of central ʿIrāḳ, which stemmed originally from the clan of Nāshira of the Banū Asad [*q.v.*] established in the area between al-Kūfa and Hīt, and which flourished in the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries.

The origins of the Mazyadids, as established by G. Makdisi (see *Bibl.*) *pace* the older view (expressed e.g. in *EI*[1] mazyadīds) that the family did not appear in history till the early years of the 5th/11th century, go back to the period soon after the establishment of Būyid domination in ʿIrāḳ. Ibn al-Djawzī relates that the Būyid *amīr* Muʿizz al-Dawla's vizier Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Muhallabī (in office 345-52/956-63) entrusted to Mazyad (read rather, Ibn Mazyad or ʿAlī b. Mazyad) the protectorate (*ḥimāya* [*q.v.*]) over Sūrā and its vicinity. Sanāʾ al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī's amīrate must have been a lengthy one. The same source mentions that he led a punitive expedition on the Būyids' behalf against the Banū Khafādja [*q.v.*]; that in 393/1003 his jurisdiction over unspecified territories was confirmed by the Buyid governor in ʿIrāḳ, the ʿAmīd al-Djuyūsh al-Ḥasan b. Ustādh Hurmuz; but also that he established a pattern of subsequent Mazyadid attitudes towards their suzerains of alternate submissiveness and defiance according to the degree of control exercised by the squabbling Būyid princes. Indeed, the continuance of the Mazyadids' authority in central ʿIrāḳ was always to depend on a readiness to shift alliances with various contending powers in ʿIrāḳ, aiming at the preservation of a balance of power there between the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the latter's would-be protectors, whether Būyid or Saldjūḳ, and thereby ensuring that one element did not achieve total political domination, an attitude complicated at times by the fact that the Mazyadids, like so many of the Arab tribes of the Syrian desert fringes, were Shīʿīs, with their rule from al-Ḥilla extending over what became the heartland of ʿIrāḳī Shīʿism and what already contained the two great shrines of al-Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ [*q.vv.*].

The dynasty comes more clearly into the light of history with the accession, apparently, at the age of 14 years and with the prospeet before him of a long reign like his father's, of Nūr al-Dawla Abu 'l-Aʿazz Dubays (I) b. ʿAlī in 408/1017-8. Shortly before then, in 397/1006-7, ʿAlī had acquired by grant from the Būyid *amīr* Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.], after its previous tenure by the ʿUḳaylids [*q.v.*] of al-Mawṣil, the town of al-Djāmiʿayn on the Euphrates. During ʿAlī's amirate, mention of al-Djāmiʿayn gradually drops out of the sources by the mid-5th/11th century, and what had apparently been only a temporary encampment (*ḥilla*), either within or adjacent to al-Djāmiʿayn, became more permanent and evolved into an enduring town, increasing in prosperity as the political influence of the Mazyadids grew, and being fortified by a wall and embellished by the greatest ruler of the dynasty, Ṣadaḳa (I) b. Manṣūr (see G. Makdisi, *Notes on Ḥilla and the Mazyadids in medieval Islam*, which should be added to the *Bibl.* for al-ḥilla).

Dubays did not continue the policy of strife with the related tribe of the Banū Dubays on the borders of ʿIrāḳ and al-Ahwāz which had occupied his father's later years. But through his brother al-Muḳallad's designs on the headship of the Mazyadid family, Dubays became embroiled with the ʿUkaylid Ḳirwāsh b. al-Muḳallad, to whom at al-Mawṣil b. ʿAlī had fled after the failure of his last bid for power, and likewise was caught up in the rivalry of the Būyid contenders for power in ʿIrāḳ, Djalāl al-Dawla b. Bahāʾ al-Dawla and his nephew Abū Kālīdjār al-Marzubān b. Sulṭān al-Dawla [*q.vv.*] in the years after 416/1025. Dubays supported Abū Kālīdjār and al-Muḳallad Djalāl al-Dawla, and in 421/1030 Dubays's lands were overrun by his enemies, compelling him to submit and to pay a substantial tribute to Djalāl al-Dawla. He faced fur-

ther trouble from a third brother Thābit, who allied with the Turkish commander Arslān Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], and from the rival Khafādja Bedouins. During the fighting in central ʿIrāḳ which finally led to the establishment of the Saldjūḳ protectorate over Baghdād, Dubays now supported Basāsīrī in proclaiming the cause of the Shīʿī Fāṭimids at Baghdād, espousing what was in the end to prove the losing side, whilst his enemy the ʿUḳaylid Ḳuraysh b. Badrān at first supported Ṭoghrïl Beg. Nevertheless, after the pacification by Ṭoghrïl of ʿIrāḳ, Dubays managed to retain his position, dying in 474/1082 at the age of 80.

After the brief reign of his son Bahāʾ al-Dawla Abū Kāmil Manṣūr, the latter was succeeded in 479/1086-7 by Sayf al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ṣadaḳa (I) b. Manṣūr, who was recognised by the Saldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh as lord of the central ʿIrāḳ lands to the west of the Tigris. In the subsequent struggle for power between Malik Shāh's two sons Berk-Yaruḳ and Muḥammad, Ṣadaḳa at first supported the former, but after a dispute with Berk-Yaruḳ's vizier, in 494/1100-1 switched his allegiance to Muḥammad, at first making the *khuṭba* in al-Ḥilla for Muḥammad but soon afterwards dropping the name of both Saldjūḳs from it and acknowledging only the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaẓhir. It was Ṣadaḳa who, as noted above, launched extensive building operations in his capital. The confused situated in ʿIrāḳ further allowed him to expand Mazyadid influence over a wide sector of the country, including Hīt, Wāsiṭ (in 497/1104), al-Baṣra (499/1106) and Takrīt (500/1106). Muḥammad, by now the sole Saldjūḳ sultan in the west, became alarmed at the rising power of his subject; he set out in 501/1108 with an army from Baghdād, defeated and killed Ṣadaḳa at al-Nuʿmāniyya and captured his son Dubays. Like others of his family, Sadaka had been commonly accorded the title of *Malik al-ʿArab* "Lord of the Arabs" (i.e. of the Bedouins along the ʿIrāḳ desert fringes), *Rex Arabum* in Latin Crusader sources, and contemporaries mourned his passing as a brave and noble figure, uniting the ideals of Bedouin chivalry and Islamic fervour, and as a generous patron of Arabic learning.

The same sort of praise is accorded to his son and successor Nūr al-Dawla Abu 'l-Aʿazz Dubays (II), whom al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*] refers to in his 39th *maḳāma*, that of ʿUmān, as an ideal figure for nobility and piety. He was only able to regain his seat in al-Ḥilla after Muḥammad's death in 511/1118, but soon enjoyed a new authority as a consequence of the rivalry between the two Saldjūḳ contenders for the sultanate, Muḥammad's sons Maḥmūd and Masʿūd, harassing both Maḥmūd and the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustarshid, against whom the Shīʿī Dubays uttered threats of razing Baghdād to the ground. During these years, various reverses at the hands of these rulers nevertheless sent him in temporary flight to the Frankish Crusaders in northern Syria, where in 518/1124 he allied with the King of Jerusalem Baldwin II in a fruitless attack on Aleppo; to his father-in-law the Artuḳid Il-Ghāzī in Mārdīn; and, in alliance with the Saldjūḳ prince Ṭoghrïl b. Muḥammad, to the Saldjūḳ sultan in the east, Sandjar. The reviving power of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate blocked his plans for expansion in ʿIrāḳ, and he had finally to take refuge at Marāgha [*q.v.*] in Ādharbāydjān with the Saldjūḳ Masʿūd, who in 529/1135 treacherously killed both al-Mustarshid and Dubays.

Dubays's son Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaḳa (II) supported Masʿūd's cause against his nephew Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd, but lost his life in the course of this warfare (532/1137-8). His brother Muḥammad was then recognised as lord of al-Ḥilla, but soon afterwards lost the town to his brother ʿAlī (II), and when the latter died in 545/1150-1, control of the town oscillated between the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muḳtafī and Turkish commanders of the Saldjūḳ sultan Muḥammad b. Arslān Shāh. The caliphal troops withdrew from al-Ḥilla in 551/1156-7, but in 558/1163 the caliph al-Mustandjid, whose power in ʿIrāḳ was increasing with the decline of Saldjūḳ authority, sent an army against al-Ḥilla. His troops and their allies of the Banu 'l-Muntafiḳ wrought slaughter amongst the remaining Mazyadids and their Asadī supporters, and expelled those left alive. The hold of the Asad on the town was thus permanently broken.

That the Mazyadids, coming as they did from an untutored Bedouin background, were able to survive for two centuries as a significant force in the intricate politics and changing patterns of alliances in ʿIrāḳ is a tribute to the skill and sagacity of their leaders; and it is probable that their leadership as fervent Shīʿīs furthered the expansion of Shīʿism in central and southern ʿIrāḳ.

Genealogical table of the Mazyadids

Mazyad
1. ʿAlī I
al-Muḳallad — 2. Dubays I — Thābit
3. Manṣūr
4. Ṣadaḳa I
5. Dubays II — Badrān — Manṣūr
6. Ṣadaḳa II — 7. Muḥammad — 8. ʿAlī II

Bibliography: The main primary sources are those for the history of ʿIrāḳ in the Būyid and Saldjūḳ periods, including Rūdhrāwarī, Ibn al-Djawzī, Bundārī and Ibn al-Athīr (follows Ibn al-Djawzī). Ibn Khallikān has biographies of Ṣadaḳa I (ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 490-1, no. 302, tr. de Slane, i, 634-5) and of Dubays II (ii, 263-5, no. 226, tr. i, 504-7). Of secondary sources, see J. von Karabaček, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazjaditen*, Leipzig-Vienna 1874; M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1952, 455-6; G. Makdisi, *Notes on Hilla and the Mazyadids in medieval Islam*, in *JAOS*, lxxiv (1954), 249-62; ʿAbd al-Djabbār Nādjī, *al-Imāra al-Mazyadīyya*, Baṣra 1970; and scattered mentions in histories dealing with the period such as H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq* (945-1055), Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, and Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v. On the relations of Dubays II with the Crusaders, see R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, i, Paris 1934, 625 ff.; S. Runciman, *A history of the Crusades*, ii, Cambridge 1952, 171-3; M. W. Baldwin *et alii* (eds.), *A history of the Crusades. i. The first hundred years*, Philadelphia 1955, 423-5. For chronology, see Zambaur, *Manuel*, 137, and Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 51-2. See also *EI*[1] arts. DUBAIS, MAZYADIS, ṢADAḲA and *EI*[2] art. ASAD.

(C. E. Bosworth)

MĀZYĀR [see ḲĀRINIDS].

MBWENI, a settlement on the East African coast. It lies on the Tanzanian coast north of Dar es Salaam, and has a ruined Friday mosque of 14th or

15th century date divided into two aisles by three central pillars. There is an extensive cemetery, with tombs, some highly decorated with elaborate carvings, of the past five centuries. It includes a pillar tomb [see MANĀRA. 3. In East Africa] decorated with green celadon plates, of date *ante* 1350. A small tomb has an inscription commemorating Masʿūd b. Sulṭān S̲h̲āfiʿ ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Barāwī, who died in 1306/1888. It is the object of a cult, and numerous pottery vessels ranging over most of the past century are to be seen beside the tomb, having held offerings of food and incense. The deceased was a member of a family celebrated for its energy in disseminating the teachings of the Uwaysī branch of the Ḳādiriyya.

Bibliography: G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Medieval history of the coast of Tanganyika*, London 1962, 168; B. G. Martin, *Muslim brotherhoods in nineteenth-century Africa*, Cambridge 1976, 152, 160 ff. (G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

MEʾALĪ, minor Ottoman poet of the first half of the 10th/16th century, known under this *mak̲h̲laṣ* and also as Yarḥiṣār-og̲h̲lï Köse Meʾālī (whilst his given name was Meḥmed). He is one of a considerable number of modestly gifted, as yet imperfectly known poets who share the popular Turkish taste in choice and handling of subject matter. (It is true, perhaps, that Meʾālī led a rather more libertine life than most of his peers.) He is very fond of puns and lavish in his use of idiomatic expressions. At times he has a candid tongue. His sense of humour, though never subtle (and sometimes more than crude), can show an endearing playfulness.

Meʾālī's father was Muṣṭafā b. Ewḥad al-Dīn Yarḥiṣārī, a *müderris* and later *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul; his mother Fāṭima bint Meḥmed Beg was a Fenārī. The date and place of his birth are unknown. He became a *mülāzim* [*q.v.*] of Tād̲j̲ī-zāde D̲j̲aʿfer Čelebi and of Zeyrek-zāde Rükn al-Dīn Efendi and subsequently *ḳāḍī* of Mīk̲h̲ālīd̲j̲-Kebsūd-Firṭ, of Filibe, and lastly of Gelibolu, where he died in 942/1535-6.

Meʾālī's poems are to be found in the one known (incomplete) copy of his *Dīwān* and in various *med̲j̲mūʿas*. The bulk of his *Dīwān* consists of 270 *g̲h̲azels*; of special interest is a *destān* in *hed̲j̲e* metre and a charming *murabbaʿ* on the death of his cat.

Bibliography: Cf. the *ted̲h̲kire*s of Sehī, Laṭīfī, ʿĀs̲h̲ïḳ Čelebi, Ḳïnalï-zāde, Ḥasan Čelebi, ʿĀlī, and Riyāḍī: Hammer-Purgstall, *GOD*. ii, 214-6: Tarlan, *Şiir mecmualarında XVI ve XVII. asır divan şiiri*, Istanbul 1948, 33-44; Kocatürk, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Ankara 1964, 323-4; Ambros, *Candid penstrokes: the lyrics of Meʾālī, an Ottoman poet of the 16th century*, Berlin 1982 (edition of the *Dīwān* with full specification of the relevant *ted̲h̲kire*s). (E.G. AMBROS)

MEASURES [see D̲H̲IRĀʿ; MAKĀYĪL; MISĀḤA].

MECCA [see MAKKA].

MECELLE [see MED̲J̲ELLE].

MECHANICAL TECHNOLOGY [see ḤIYAL].

MĒD, a people who lived in Sind at the time of the early Arab invasions. Arab historians mention the Mēd in their brief descriptions of the battles which the Arabs waged in Sind but fail to furnish us with any substantial information concerning them. Even the form of the name is not certain: the manuscripts read either *m-y-d* or *m-n-d* (cf. al-Balād̲h̲urī, 435 n. *f*; al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 176 n. *c*), and the article on this people appeared in *EI*[1] under MAND. However, some modern ethnographers report that the name is Mēd (H. Risley, *The people of India*, London 1915, 145, 328); this is valuable evidence in support of this version.

Several encounters with the Mēd are reported by al-Balād̲h̲urī. Rās̲h̲id b. ʿAmr al-D̲j̲udaydī, appointed by Ziyād b. Abīhi to rule the area of Makrān [*q.v.*] on the Indian frontier, was killed by them during an incursion into Sind (al-Balād̲h̲urī, 433). An attack perpetrated by the "Mēd of Daybul" [*q.v.*] on a ship bringing Muslim women from "the island of rubies" (*d̲j̲azīrāt al-yāḳūt*; this has been frequently identified with Ceylon, but see S. Q. Fatimi, *The identification of Jazirat al-Yaqut*, in *Jnal. of the Asiatic Soc. of Pakistan*, ix [1964], 19-35, who suggested identifying it with Sumatra) is given as the reason for which al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ decided to launch around 90-2/708-11 a major expedition to Sind (al-Balād̲h̲urī, 435-6; Gabrieli, in *East ad West*, xv [1964-5], 282-3; Friedmann, in M. Rosen-Ayalon, ed., *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 312 n. 19). Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, who commanded this expedition, concluded an armistice with the people of Surast (?), who were "Mēd, pirates of the sea" (*yaḳṭaʿūna fī 'l-baḥr*) (al-Balād̲h̲urī, 440); the name of this place recalls Surās̲h̲tra, i.e., Kāthiāwāŕ (B.C. Law, *Historical geography of ancient India*, Paris 1954, 297-9). In the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim, ʿImrān b. Mūsā attacked the Mēd, killed 3,000 of them and built a dam known as "the dam of the Mēd" (*sakr al-Mēd*), probably to disturb their irrigation (*ibid.*, 445). Then he resumed the campaign against the Mēd with the support of the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], whom he had subjugated; a canal (*nahr*) was dug from the sea and the lagoon (*baṭīḥa*) of the Mēd was inundated with salt water. Later on, a certain Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Māhān launched a naval expedition against "the Mēd of Hind" and conquered a city of theirs (*ibid.*, 446).

Of the geographers, Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih mentions al-Mēd both as a geographical region (56) and as a people who lived about four days' journey to the east of the Indus and were robbers (62). Al-Masʿūdī, who went to India in 304/916-17 (Brockelmann, I, 44) says that the city of al-Manṣūra [*q.v.*] is continually at war with the Mēd (*Murūd̲j̲*, i, 378; cf. also *Tanbīh*, 55). Al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī (176 = Ibn Ḥawḳal, 323-4) says that the infidel peoples of Sind are the Budha and the Mēd. The Mēd lived on the banks of the Indus (*s̲h̲uṭūṭ Mihrān* [see MIHRAN], from Multān [*q.v.*] to the sea, and occupied pasturages in the desert which stretched between the Indus and the city of Ḳāmuhul. According to al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome 1970-8, 170; tr. Jaubert, i, 163), the Mēd dwelt on the borders of the desert of Sind. They were nomads (*raḥḥāla*; Jaubert, *loc. cit.*, seems to have read *rad̲j̲d̲j̲āla* and translated "un peuplade très brave"; cf. S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories as described by ... al-Idrīsī*, Aligarh 1954, 33) and pastured their flocks up to the border of Māmahal (Ḳāmuhul?). They were numerous and owned many horses and camels; their raids extended as far as al-Rūr (cf. Elliot and Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867, i, 363) and sometimes even to Makrān.

The town of Ḳāmuhul, which marks the south-eastern limit of the area inhabited by the Mēd, was identified by Elliot and Dowson (*op. cit.*, i, 363; S. Hodīvālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, Bombay 1939, 38) with Anhalwāra, which is modern Patan in northern Baroda (cf. *EI*[2], III, 407; *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], Oxford 1908, xx); Cunningham (*Report 1863-1864*, 290) places "Māmhal" at ʿUmarkōt; this would place the Mēd much more firmly in Sind.

Of special interest among the Muslim sources is the anonymous *Mud̲j̲mal al-tawārīk̲h̲* (Storey, i, 67). A part of this work seems to be a résumé of the *Mahābhārata*. It begins with a chapter on the Mēd and the Zuṭṭ who

lived in Sind and are said to be descendants of Ḥām, the son of Noah. The two peoples were hostile to each other and fought a number of wars. Having become tired of fighting, they resolved to approach king Daḥūs̲h̲an b. Dahrān (Duryodhana son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra) and asked him to appoint a ruler over them. Daḥūs̲h̲an gave the country to his sister Dusal (Duḥśalā), who married the powerful king D̲j̲andrat (Jayadratha). The country was then divided between the Zuṭṭ and the Mēd (J. Reinaud, *Fragments arabes et persans inédits*, Paris 1845, repr. 1974, 2-3, 25-7). The story reflects an attempt to forge a link between the history of the Mēd and the Zuṭṭ and the Indian tradition. It must be noted, however, that the Sanskrit original of the *Mahābhārata* makes no mention of peoples bearing these names in the passage dealing with Duḥśalā's marriage to Jayadratha, king of Sindhu (*Mahābhārata*, i. 108. 18). Moreover, the Indian tradition does not seem to contain anything definite about the Mēd, with the possible exception of occasional remarks in the *dharmaśāstra* literature about a low caste or, according to some, untouchable people called Meda, of unspecified geographical location or provenance (*Manusmṛti* 10.36, with Medhātithis's remarks; cf. Rai Bahadur B.A. Gupte, *The Meds of Makran*, in *Indian Antiquary*, xl [1941], 147-9).

It seems that the Mēd are not mentioned in later Muslim sources. It is noteworthy that the *Čač-nāma* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], which was written in the 7th/13th century, does not mention the Mēd in the context in which they appear in al-Balād̲h̲urī. In its description of the act of piracy which is said to have caused Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's invasion of Sind, the *Čač-nāma* (ed. Daudpota, New Delhi 1939, 89) mentions a people called *N-k-a-m-r-a* instead of the Mēd. Neither are they mentioned in the *Čač-nāma* version of Rās̲h̲id b. ʿAmr al-D̲j̲udaydī's death (*ibid.*, 81-2). Despite their apparent disappearance from later Muslim sources, the Mēd are reported in existence by some modern ethnographers (Risley, *loc. cit.*, Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, i, 519-31; H.T. Lambrick, *Sind. A general introduction*, Ḥaydarābād (Sind) 1964, 209-10, esp. at n. 17).

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also S. Razia Jafri, *Description of India (Hind and Sind) in the works of al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Maqdisī*, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Islamic Studies* (Aligarh), v (1961), 60-1; al-Bīrūnī, *al-D̲j̲amāhir fī ma-ʿrifat al-d̲j̲awāhir*, Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) 1355/1936-7, 47-8.

(Y. Friedmann and D. Shulman)

MEDAL [see nis̲h̲ān, wisām].

MEDDĀḤ [see maddāḥ].

MEDEA [see al-madiyya].

MEDENIYYET (t.), "civilisation". As a term referring to a political system, *medeniyyet* seems to have been introduced into Ottoman Turkish towards the middle of the 19th century. Before it was coined on the basis of the old Arabic word *madīna*, the French term *civilisation* was used for a short while, and in its French pronunciation written in Arabic letters. In both senses, what was meant was the secular political system believed to be common in Europe. As a polity, *civilisation* or *medeniyyet* was contrasted with the traditional oriental dynastic despotism.

Muṣṭafā Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a used the French word in his official writings in Ottoman Turkish in 1834. Ṣādiḳ Rifʿat Pas̲h̲a did likewise in 1837. Another writer, Muṣṭafā Sāmī, used the same French word written in Arabic letters and according to French pronounciation in his account of his observations in European capitals.

In spite of minor variations in their accounts of the civilisation, the main emphasis of such writers was on pointing out the superiority of the European polities which they named *civilisation* or *mediniyyet*. They were also in a great deal of agreement on identifying the distinguishing features of *medeniyyet*, e.g. enlightenment, rationalism, freedom of conscience, the dissemination of education and the prevalence of literacy, the accumulation of scientific knowledge and its rôle in the advancement of inventions, equality of subjects before the law and orderly application of it by government officials, and economic policies pursued to promote the interests of the people. Ṣādiḳ Rifʿat attempted to go even deeper and to discern that at the basis of these features lay a mode of thinking sharply different from the traditional views held in the East. He spoke of the natural rights of men as the sole basis of legitimacy of government in civilisation, adding that "there the governments are for the people, and not the people for governments".

In truth, similar ideas which may be taken as the sign of a degree of awareness of "the emergence of a new political phenomenon in Europe", as B. Lewis has pointed out, were not unknown to the Turkish reformers even before the outbreak of the French Revolution. Ironically, the very same revolution, with its Napoleonic aftermath, had been responsible, at least partly, for a violent reactionary uprising in 1807 which not only swept away all such new ideas but brought a period of anarchy and indecisiveness lasting until 1839, when a new era of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms was opened. The reformers mentioned above were describing the model to be emulated and were pointing out decisively the desirability of the appropriation of the superior (*merg̲h̲ūb*) methods of civilisation.

The shortcomings of the *Tanẓīmāt* efforts of appropriating the fundamentals of *Medeniyyet* were due to a great extent to the vagueness, devoid of historical and sociological dimensions, and the naïveté displayed in the mechanistic views of these men. A small group of intellectuals (the "New Ottomans" or Yeñi ʿOt̲h̲mānlar), who lived abroad in exile, saw shortcomings in the *medeniyyet* current in Europe. In their criticisms of the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms they made implicit, and sometimes explicit, distinctions between the "material" and the "moral" parts in all civilisations. They too lavished praises on the advancements of material civilisation achieved in Europe, but they were less enthusiastic about the second part.

Thus from the late 1860s onward the word *medeniyyet* ceased to imply a political régime and one peculiar only to Europe. Later years saw the rise of much wider connotations of the term and of controversies, particularly when it was challenged by another term, *ḥart̲h̲*, coined by Ziyā (Ḍiyāʾ) Gökalp to correspond to the much older Western concept of culture.

Though the term *medeniyyet* had lost its early political meaning, it still carried a political tinge in 1920s during the War of Independence. A poem written and intended as the national anthem contained a verse cursing *medeniyyet* as "the monster with one remaining tooth"—an obvious reference to European imperialism. When Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) glorified what he called "contemporary civilisation", he appears to have taken side with those who identified *medeniyyet* only with enlightenment and progress, but not with a political régime.

Bibliography: Ağaoğlu Ahmed, *Üç medeniyet*, Ankara 1928; Yūsuf Akčura, *ʿAṣrī Türk dewleti*, in *Türk Yurdu*, iii/13 (1341/1925), 1-16; Niyazi Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal

1964; idem, *Türkiye'de çağdaşlaşma*², Istanbul 1978; Ziya Gökalp, *Turkish nationalism and western civilization*, essays tr. and ed. N. Berkes, London 1958; Reşat Kaynar, *Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat*, Ankara 1954; Mustafa Kemal, *Atatürk'ün söyler ve demeçleri*, ii, Ankara 1959; B. Lewis, *The impact of the French Revolution on Turkey*, in *Jnal. of World History*, i (January 1953), 105-25; idem, *On some modern Arabic political terms*, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, i, Leiden 1974, 466-71; Aḳyigitzāde Mūsā, *Awrūpā medeniyyetine bir naẓar*, Istanbul 1897; Şerif Mardin, *The genesis of Young Ottoman thought*, Princeton 1962; Ṣādiḳ Rifᶜat, *Muntak̲h̲abat-i āt̲h̲ār*, ii, Istanbul 1844; Muṣṭafā Sāmī, *Awrūpā risālesi*, Istanbul 1840.

(Niyazi Berkes)

MEDḤĪ, the pen name (*mak̲h̲laṣ*) used by a number of Ottoman poets whose poetry is known to date mainly through the samples found in *med̲j̲mūᶜas* and *ted̲h̲kires*. Judging by these, they are all poets of secondary importance at best. Two should be singled out.

1. Maḥmūd Efendi of Gelibolu (Gallipoli), known as Ḳara Maḥmūd (or Ḳara Ḳāḍī-zāde according to Beyānī). A *mülāzim* of *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* Abu 'l-Suᶜūd Efendi [*q.v.*], he first became a *müderris*. After being dismissed from a position with a daily salary of forty *aḳčes*, he was appointed in 984/1576 to the S̲h̲āh K̲h̲ūbān *medrese* in Istanbul (cf. Câhid Baltacı, *XV-XVI. asırlarda Osmanlı medreseleri*, Istanbul 1976, 435). In 987/1579 he became *müftī* of Kefe, in 992/1584 *ḳāḍī* of Marᶜas̲h̲, from 994/1585-6 until 995/1586 he was *ḳāḍī* of Kütahya, from 996/1588 until 998/1590 again *ḳāḍī* of Marᶜas̲h̲, from 1000/1592 until 1002/1594 and from 1003/1595 until 1004/1596 *ḳāḍī* of Gelibolu, and from 1005/1597 until 1006/1597 *ḳāḍī* of Tripoli in Syria. He died in 1006/1597-8 in Gelibolu, and is buried there in the vicinity of the G̲h̲āzī Süleymān Pas̲h̲a mosque. The *tārīk̲h̲* or chronogram *Fātiḥa Maḥmūd Efendi rūḥına* inscribed on his tombstone (as described by Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir), which is by Naᶜtī or according to others by Niᶜmetī, confirms this. A very short passage of his *Ḳalemiyye*, a treatise in Arabic, is quoted by ᶜAṭāʾī. Two mss. of his *Dīwān* are known to exist (Millet Ktp., Emirî, *manzum eserler* 399, and Hüsrev Paşa Ktp., *Mihrişah Sultan* 370).

Bibliography: Cf. the *ted̲h̲kires* of ᶜAhdī, Millet Ktp., Emirî, *tarih*, 774, fol. 177a; Ḳınalı-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, ed. İ. Kutluk, ii, Ankara 1981, 885-6; Beyānī, Millet Ktp., *Emirî*, *tarih*, 757, fols. 94b-95a; Riyāḍī, Nuruosmaniye Ktp., 3724, fol. 133b; Ḳāf-zāde Fāʾiḍī, Millet Ktp., *Emirî*, *manzum*, 1325, fol. 99a; also ᶜAṭāʾī, *D̲h̲eyl-i S̲h̲aḳāyiḳ*, Istanbul 1268, 415-6; M. T̲h̲üreyyā, *Sid̲j̲ill-i ᶜOt̲h̲mānī*, iv, Istanbul 1315, 353; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ᶜOt̲h̲mānlı müʾellifleri*, ii, Istanbul 1333, 384-5.

2. Nūḥ-zāde Seyyid Muṣṭafā Čelebi of Bursa stands out because his name has come down to us also as a *meddāḥ* [*q.v.*]. Actually, he started a career as a *müderris* after being a *mülāzim* of *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* Abū Saᶜīd Efendi. Upon his dismissal from a position with a daily salary of forty *aḳčes*, he aspired to a career as *ḳāḍī*. When, however, he was promised the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Čorlu but the realisation of this promise was delayed, he became a *meddāḥ*. He died on 18 Red̲j̲eb 1091/14 August 1680, and was buried in Bursa in the vicinity of the tomb of Emīr Sulṭān.

Bibliography: *Ṣafāyī ted̲h̲kiresi*, Österr. Nationalbibl., H.O. 139, fol. 250a, Süleymaniye Ktp., *Es'ad Ef.* 2549, fol. 319a (255a); Belīg̲h̲, *Güldeste-i riyāḍ-i ᶜirfān*, Bursa 1302, 531; S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ī, *Waḳāyiᶜ al-fuḍalāʾ*. Österr. Nationalbibl., H.O. 126, fol. 355a-b, Süleymaniye Ktp., *Hamidiye* 941, fol. 361a: *Süleymān Fāʾiḳ Efendi med̲j̲mūᶜasī*, İstanbul Üniv. Ktp. Ty., 3472, fol. 61b.

(E.G. Ambros)

3. Medḥī is the *mak̲h̲laṣ* also of a certain Dervīs̲h̲ Ḥasan, a prolific but obscure prose-writer, who described himself as the panegyrist (*meddāḥ*) of Murād II (982-1003/1574-95). To that sultan he dedicated a Turkish translation, entitled *Ḳiṣṣa-yi newbāwe*, of Abū S̲h̲araf Nāṣiḥ's Persian version of al-ᶜUtbī's *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Yamīnī* (Rieu, *Cat. of Tkish. mss.*, 42-3; cf. Browne, ii, 471), and also a (completely fictional) *Ḥikāyet-i Ebū ᶜAlī-yi Sīnā*, i.e. Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] (Rieu, 231). He served also Murād's successors, up to ᶜOt̲h̲mān II (1027-31/1618-22), at whose command he made a prose translation of the *S̲h̲āh-nāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] (see Blochet, i, 314, with the names of other works he claimed to have written or translated; W.D. Smirnow, *Manuscrits turcs...*, St. Petersburg 1897, 82-7).

(Ed.)

MEDĪḤĪ, the pen name (*mak̲h̲laṣ*) of two Ottoman poets whose poetry is known to date only as far as the samples found in *med̲j̲mūᶜas* and *ted̲h̲kires* allow. On the strength of these, neither appears to be of more than minor importance.

1. Muṣṭafā (according to Ḳınalı-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi and Beyānī, whereas ᶜĀs̲h̲ıḳ Čelebi gives his name as Muṣlī—or Muṣlu, the Turkish abbreviation of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn) Čelebi of Sīrōz (Serres), who lived during the reigns of Süleymān I (926-74/1520-66), Selīm II (974-82/1566-74) and up to the middle of that of Murād III (982-1003/1574-95). A *dānis̲h̲mend* of Ḳāḍī-zāde Aḥmed Efendi (who became *ḳāḍī-ᶜasker* under Selīm II), then a *mülāzim* of ᶜAṭāʾ Allāh Efendi, he served as *ḳāḍī* of a number of *ḳaṣabas*, the last being Sīrōz. He came to be known in the circle of his peers for his numerous servants and attendants and his love of display.

Bibliography: The *ted̲h̲kires* of ᶜĀs̲h̲ıḳ Čelebi, ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971, fol. 121a-b, mss. in Süleymaniye Ktp., Pertev Paşa 440, *Hamidiye* 1064, *Âşir Ef.* 268, Ḳınalı-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, ed. İ. Kutluk, ii, Ankara 1981, 886-7, Beyānī, Millet Ktp., *Emirî*, *tarih*, 757, fol. 95a.

2. Meḥmed of Istanbul was a *mülāzim*, then a *müderris* until he attained a position with a daily salary of forty *aḳčes*. Upon dismissal from this position, he agreed to a career as *ḳāḍī* and went to Egypt (according to the ms. Österr. Nationalbibl., H.O. 139, of Ṣafāyī's *ted̲h̲kire*, he was appointed as *ḳāḍī* to the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Burullus), where he became renowned for his ability for story-telling and his indulgence in the pleasures of life. He died in 1083/1672-3.

Bibliography: *Ṣafāyī ted̲h̲kiresi*, Österr. Nationalbibl., H.O. 139. fol. 248a-b, Millet Ktp., *Emirî*, *tarih*, 771, 367-8; S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ī, *Waḳāyiᶜ al-fuḍalāʾ*, Österr. Nationalbibl., H.O. 126, fol. 355b, Süleymaniye Ktp., *Hamidiye*, 941, fol. 361a.

(E.G. Ambros)

MEDICINE [see ṬIBB].

MEDINA, from Arabic *madīna* "town", is used in French (*médina*) to designate, above all in the Mag̲h̲rib, the ancient part of the great Islamic cities, beyond which have been constructed the modern quarters of the city. Moreover, Medina has survived in Spain in a certain number of toponyms. The main ones of these are: Medina de las Torres, in the province of Badajoz; Medina del Campo and Medina de Rioseco, in that of Valladolid; Medina de Pomar, in that of Burgos; and also, Medinaceli [see MADĪNAT SALĪM] and Medina-Sidonia [see S̲H̲AD̲H̲ŪNA].

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

MEDINA, town in Saudi Arabia [see AL-MADĪNA].

MEDINACELI [see MADĪNAT SĀLIM].

MĒDINĪ RĀʾĪ, a leader, as Rāʾī Čand Pūrbīya, of the Pūrbīya (= "eastern") Rādjpūts, with tribal possessions in the Čāndērī [*q.v.*] district and hence feudatories of the sultans of Mālwā [*q.v.*], who became prominent in Mālwā-Gudjarāt-Mēwār-Dihlī politics early in the 10th/16th century.

The Mālwā succession had been fiercely contested after the death of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Khaldjī in 916/1510, who had designated his third son, Aʿẓam Humāyūn, as his heir. He duly succeeded, as Maḥmūd Shāh Khaldjī II [*q.v.*], with his elder brothers Shihāb al-Dīn and Ṣāḥib Khān as active contenders for the throne in a situation exacerbated by rival factions of Muslim nobles at court; one faction had already compassed the assassination of the strong and competent (Hindū) *wazīr* and the banishment of a second Hindū minister. The perpetrators remained unpunished by Maḥmūd, and their power increased until the leader of the second faction, Muḥāfiẓ Khān, turned the sultan against them. They escaped to Khāndēsh [*q.v.*] to join Shihāb al-Dīn, but the latter died suddenly before any action could be taken. In the meantime, Muḥāfiẓ Khān, now appointed *wazīr*, had become too powerful, and confined Maḥmūd to his palace, proclaiming Ṣāḥib Khan sultan as Muḥammad Shāh in the capital Māndū [*q.v.*]. Maḥmūd managed to escape, chased by his brother, to Čāndērī, where he received no support from the governor Bahdjat Khan, on the pretence that he obeyed only the ruler of Māndū. At this point, Rāʾī Čand Pūrbīya brought his Rādjpūt troops to Maḥmūd's assistance, and, becoming Maḥmūd's adviser, was given the title of Mēdinī Rāʾī. He pursued Ṣāḥib Khān and expelled him from Māndū (917/1512); Ṣāḥib Khān fled to Gudjarāt, accompanied by Muḥāfiẓ Khān.

Mēdinī Rāʾī, appointed *wazīr* at Māndū, strengthened the administration and appointed his own Rādjpūts to some important posts; but there was some opposition from Muslim nobles, increased when Ṣāḥib Khān returned from Gudjarāt without, however, having secured any assistance from its sultan. In 918/1512 the governors of both Satwās (Nēmāwar) and Čāndērī rebelled; Mēdinī Rāʾī quelled the disturbances at Satwās and then, with Maḥmūd, marched on Čāndērī, where Bahdjat Khān (*not* obeying the ruler of Māndū!) had not only proclaimed Ṣāḥib Khān as sultan but also sought help from the Dihlī sultan Sikandar Lōdī, promising to read the *khuṭba* in his name. Sikandar did temporarily annex Čāndērī, but finally Mēdinī Rāʾī and his Rādjpūts recaptured the place in 920/1514. After this, Maḥmūd relied increasingly on Mēdinī, who gradually built up his own position until all administrative power was in his hands, and the sultan virtually a puppet. Maḥmūd tried unsuccessfully to have Mēdinī assassinated, provoking a Pūrbīya Rādjpūt revolt; eventually, Maḥmūd left Māndū secretly in 923/1517 to obtain the assistance of Muẓaffar Shāh II of Gudjarāt. The latter led an attack on, and later a siege of, Māndū, whereupon Mēdinī left the defence of the fort to his troops and sought help from Rānā Sanga of Mēwār at Čitawṛ. Māndū fell to Muẓaffar (924/1518), who expelled the Rādjpūt troops, reinstated Maḥmūd on the Mālwā throne, and left a Gudjarātī body of troops for his protection. Maḥmūd then marched on Mēdinī Rāʾī, then holding Gagrāʾūn, but Rānā Sanga came to Mēdinī's assistance, defeated Maḥmūd's army, and took him prisoner, wounded, to Čitawṛ; Rānā Sanga released him and restored him to his throne after his wounds were healed (926/1520). Maḥmūd, resenting the Gudjarātī bodyguard and the continuing Gudjarātī influence, requested Muẓaffar to recall it; but after this was done, Malwā lost much of its territories to Rānā Sanga or those under his protection, including Mēdinī Rāʾī, who was established in the now independent Čāndērī. He fought with Rānā Sanga against Bābur in the battle of Khānuʾā in 933/1527, and shortly afterwards was killed in Bābur's assault on Čāndērī. He was the most able of the minor Rādjpūt chieftains, as skilful in warfare as in administration; he never abandoned his respect for or courtesy to Maḥmūd Shāh, treating him and his family with consideration and generosity.

Bibliography: Sikandar b. Muḥammad "Mandjhū", *Mirʾāt-i Sikandarī*, ed. S.C. Misra, Baroda 1961, 174 ff.; Niẓām al-Dīn Bakhshī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind. text, Calcutta 1927-35, esp. iii, 383 ff.; Ḳāniʿī, *Taʾrīkh-i Muẓaffar Shāhī*, ed. M. A. Chagtai, Poona 1947 (deals especially with Muẓaffar Shāh's Mālwā campaign in 923/1517); ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Makkī ("Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr"), *Ẓafar al-wālih* (= *Arabic History of Gujarat*, ed. E.D. Ross, London 1921-8), 213; Kavirādja Shyāmaldās, *Vīr-vinōd*, i, 350 ff., confirms much of the Muslim historians' material from the Rādjpūt viewpoint; S.C. Misra, *Gujarat and Malwa in the first half of the 16th century*, in *Procs. Ind. Hist. Congr.*, xvi (1953), 245-8.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MEDJDĪ, MEHMED ČELEBI, an Ottoman littérateur and biographer of the 10th/16th century known by the pen-name of Medjdī, d. 999/1591. He was born the son of a merchant in Edirne (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, Ist. Univ. Lib. TY 5959, fol. 493b). He completed his education at the Bāyezīdiyye *medrese* in Edirne and became the *dānishmend* ("advanced student") of the Bāyezīdiyye *müderris* Ḳāf Aḥmed Čelebi (Medjdī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1269. 503). He served as repetiteur (*muʿīd*) to Ḳaramānī Akhaweyn Meḥmed Čelebi and thereafter entered the judicial career; according to ʿAshiḳ Čelebi (*Meshāʿir ül-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. G.M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971, fol. 117b) and Ḳïnalï-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi (*Tezkiret uṣ-ṣuarā*, ed. İ. Kutluk, Ankara 1981, ii, 854), Medjdī was Akhaweyn's *muʿīd* during the latter's tenure at the Bāyezīdiyye, while Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭāʾī (*Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī takmilat al-Shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1268, 334) states that he became a candidate for office (*mulāzim*) under the quota of nominees allowed Akhaweyn as a *müderris* at the Ṣaḥn, where he taught before being appointed to the Bāyezīdiyye. Medjdī held a number of *ḳāḍīlïḳ*s in Rumeli and reached the rank of 150 aspers' daily salary; he died in Istanbul in 999/1591 while awaiting a new appointment and was buried at the *zāwiye* of Emīr Bukhārī outside the Edirne gate.

As a poet, Medjdī was particularly influenced by Emrī (also a native of Edirne) and by his teacher Akhaweyn, and his contemporaries ʿAhdī (*Gülshen-i shuʿarāʾ*, Ist. Univ. Lib. TY 2604, fols. 110 ff.), and ʿAshiḳ Čelebi, *loc. cit.*, acknowledged him as an accomplished scholar and littérateur known for the perfection of his poetic forms, his mastery of the *ḳaṣīde* and *ghazel*, and his skill in the use of fresh imagery. Selections from his poetry are found in the *tedhkire*s of poets (ʿAhdī, ʿAshiḳ Čelebi, Ḳïnalï-zāde, *locc. cit.*; Riyāḍī Meḥmed, *Tedhkire*, Ist. Univ. Lib. TY 761, fol. 119a; Beyānī Muṣṭafā, *Tedhkire*, Ist. Univ. Lib. TY 2568, fol. 79a; Ḳāfzāde Fāʾiḍī, *Zubdat al-ashʿār*, Ist. Univ. Lib. TY 1646, fols. 97a-98a; ʿAṭāʾī, 335-6) and in the histories of Edirne (Ḥibrī, *Enīs al-musāmirīn*, Millet Lib., Emirî, *tarih* no. 68, fol. 80b; Bādī, *Riyāḍ-i belde-yi Edirne*, Bayezid Devlet Lib. no. 10392, ii, 545-6; O.N. Peremeci, *Edirne tarihi*, Istan-

bul 1940, 216), and his *ghazels* were collected in his *Dīwānče* (Millet Lib., Emîrî, *manzum* no. 398; for a description, see *İstanbul kitaplıkları türkçe yazma divanlar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1947, i, 175). Medjdī demonstrated his ability to compose good Arabic prose with two treatises, the *Sayfiyya* (Süleymaniye Lib., Esad Ef. no. 3416, fols. 28b-30b) and the *Shamʿiyya* (quoted in part by ʿAlī, Ḳînalî-zāde, Beyānī and ʿAṭāʾī, *locc. cit.*).

Medjdī displayed his scholarly and literary ability in the work for which he is justly renowned, his translation of the *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawla al-ʿOthmāniyya*. As previous translations and continuations of Tashköprü-zāde's famous biographical work (see Kātib Čelebi, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Istanbul 1941, ii, 1057-8; B. Gönül (Necatigil), *İstanbul kütüphânelerinde al-Şaḳâʾiḳ al-Nuʿmânîya tercüme ve zeyilleri*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vii-viii [1945], 136 ff.) had been made, some scholars had added explanatory and supplementary notes (*ḥāshiyas* and *taʿlīḳāt*) to the margins of the Arabic text. Medjdī, in order to make the work more widely available, undertook its translation into Turkish, which he completed and dedicated to Murād III in 995/1587. Medjdī compensated for the dry simplicity of the original with a courtly style and ornate language, adorning his translation with poetry, aphorisms, word plays and chronograms. He also used the sources at his disposal to expand and correct the work. These sources included marginal additions to the original *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, such as the notes made by ʿArab-zāde (see Medjdī, 331, 373-4, 385, 486) and Seyrek-zāde (*ibid.*, 494); documents such as *waḳf-nāmes*, *ḥudjdjets* and *temessüks* found in the judicial (*ḳāḍīlīḳ*) archives; authors such as al-Suyūṭī, Ibn ʿArabshāh and Ḥanbalī-zāde; early Ottoman chronicles, particularly the *Hesht bihisht*; *tedhkire* authors such as Sehī, Laṭīfī and ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi; and such works written by the subjects of his biographies as he was able to see plus accounts transmitted by their relatives and students (for an indication of the extent of these additions, which Medjdī labels *tedhyīl*, see A. Subhi Furat's notes to his edition of the original, *eş-Şeḳāʾiḳu n-Nuʿmānīye fī ʿulemāi ʾd-devleti l-Osmānīye*, Istanbul 1985). Thus it can be said that Medjdī's work, which he entitled *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Shaḳāʾiḳ*, rather than being a translation represents an attempt to produce a new work based on the *Shaḳāʾiḳ*. Medjdī's *Ḥadāʾiḳ*, as a complement to the *Shaḳāʾiḳ* which was of high literary quality, became the formal and stylistic model for later continuations, and the edition published in 1269/1852 is a primary reference work for researchers.

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(Bekir Kütükoğlu)

MEDJELLE (A. madjalla). Originally meaning a book or other writing containing wisdom, or even any book or writing, the term refers in its best-known application to the civil code in force in the Ottoman Empire, and briefly in the Turkish republic, from 1285/1869 to 1926.

Known in full as the *Medjelle-yi Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*, this covers contracts, torts and some principles of civil procedure. It reflects Western influence mainly in its division into numbered books, sections and articles, as in European codes. Critics have found a number of flaws in the work, such as the dispersion at times of related subjects in different parts of the code. Nevertheless, the *Medjelle* was extremely important for several reasons. It represents the first attempt by an Islamic state to codify, and to enact as law of the state, part of the *sharīʿa* (Schacht, 92). Further, the code, while derived from the Ḥanafī school of law, which enjoyed official status in the Ottoman Empire, did not always incorporate the dominant opinions of that school. Rather, of all the opinions ever advanced by Ḥanafī jurists, the code incorporated those deemed most suited to the conditions of the times, in accordance with the principle of *takhayyur*. While the justificatory memorandum (*esbāb-i müdjibe maḍbaṭasī*) submitted to the Council of Ministers, said that the authors of the code "never went outside the Ḥanafī rite" (Liebesny, 69; Berki, 12; *Düstūr*¹, i, 27; Aristarchi, vi, 15), some of these opinions had in fact originated with non-Ḥanafī jurists (Anderson, 17, 47-8). Such eclecticism became a major feature of later efforts at reform of *sharīʿa* law and, by nature, provided added impetus for codification (Liebesny, 137-8). Finally, since the *Medjelle* was applied in the secular *niẓāmiyya* courts set up in the period [see maḤkama, 2, ii] as well as in the *sharīʿa* courts, it applied to non-Muslim subjects of the empire as state law (*ḳānūn*), as well as to Muslims, on whom the code's *sharʿī* content would have been binding in any case (Aḥmed Djevdet, *Tezâkir 1-12*, 64; idem, *Maʿrûzât*, 200; Heidborn, i, 387; cf. Schacht, 92-3).

The decision to draft the *Medjelle* grew out of a controversy over whether the Ottomans should simply translate and adopt the French civil code. The Ottoman Council of Ministers decided instead to commission a work based on *fiḳh* and entrusted this task to a commission under the chairmanship of Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*], who had been the leading advocate of this course of action. The commission completed the sixteen books (*kitāb*) of the *Medjelle* over the period from 1285/1869 to 1293/1876 (*Düstūr*¹, i, 20-164; ii, 38-425; iv, 93-125; Berki, *passim*; Aristarchi, vi-vii; Young, vi). The various books were placed in force by decrees (*irāde*) of the sultan, dating from 6 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1286/1870 (Berki, 113) to 26 Shaʿbān 1293/1877 (*ibid.*, 422). In *sharʿī* terms, the *Medjelle* thus acquired legal force from the power of the sultan as *imām al-muslimīn* to order which of several legal opinions should be followed in a given matter (*Düstūr*¹, i, 29; Heidborn, i, 286; Anderson, 48).

The *Medjelle* opens with two sections which define *fiḳh* and its divisions and which state its basic principles largely according to the *Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir* of Ibn Nudjaym (d. 970/1562-3). Following these sections, the sixteen books deal with sales (*buyūʿ*); hire and lease (*idjāra*); guaranty (*kafāla*); transfer of debts (*ḥawāla*); pledge (*rahn*); deposit (*amānāt*); gift (*hiba*); usurpation and property damage (*ghaṣb wa-itlāf*); interdiction, duress, and pre-emption (*ḥadjr, ikrāh, shufʿa*); joint ownership and partnership (*shirka*); agency (*wakāla*); amicable settlement and remission of debt (*ṣulḥ wa-ibrāʾ*); acknowledgment (*iḳrār*); lawsuits (*daʿwā*); evidence and oaths (*bayyināt wa-taḥlīf*); courts and judgeship (*ḳaḍāʾ*) (Velidedeoğlu, 190-6). The drafting commission evidently intended to continue its work by codifying the law on the family and inheritance, but soon found itself paralysed by the suspicions of the new sultan. ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909 [*q.v.*]) (Heidborn, i, 285; Mardin, art. *Mecelle*, 435).

Despite its bases in *fiḳh*, the *Medjelle* differs from traditional *sharīʿa* law in several respects, including its codification and official promulgation and its implicit admission—necessary, given its intended scope of application—of non-Muslims as witnesses (Schacht, 93). The *Medjelle* also differs from European civil codes in omitting non-contractual obligations, types of real property other than freehold (*milk*), family law, and inheritance, as well as in including some *sharʿī* procedural provisions (Liebesny, 65).

The significance of the *Medjelle* can be measured not

only from the respect that it continues to command as evidence of the possibility of achieving its original purpose, that of systematising the *sharīʿa* so as to obviate the adoption of purely secular law codes (Fazlur Rahman, 29), but in a more tangible way, the code's significance also appears from its remarkable afterlife. In the *niẓāmiyya*, though not the *sharīʿa* courts, the Ottoman government did replace the procedural provisions of the *Medjelle* with a Code of Civil Procedure, based on French law, in 1879 (Liebesny, 66; Heidborn, i, 386-7; *Düstūr*¹, iv, 257-317; Young, vii, 171-225). The Turkish republic then abrogated the *Medjelle* in 1926. Yet it remained in force in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the Austrian occupation of 1878, in Albania until 1928, and in Cyprus at least into the 1960s. In the Middle East, the *Medjelle*, though never in force in Egypt, was not replaced by new civil codes until 1932 in Lebanon, 1949 in Syria, and 1953 in ʿIrāḳ, where many elements of it survived in the new civil code of that year. The *Medjelle* has remained basic to the civil law of Israel and Jordan. It has also continued to serve as the civil law of Kuwayt (Schacht, 93; Liebesny, 93, 100, 109).

In terms of the approach to legal reform which it represented, another aspect of the *Medjelle*'s continuing influence appears in the Ottoman Law of Family Rights (*Ḥuḳūḳ-i ʿĀʾile Ḳarārnāmesi*) of 8 Muḥarram 1336/1917 (*Düstūr*², ix, 762-81; x, 52-57; Anderson, 39-40, 48-50; Schacht, 103). Enactment of this law completed what appears to have been the original programme of the drafters of the *Medjelle*. In addition, the new law resembled the *Medjelle* in combining codification with an eclectic approach to *sharʿī* sources, as well as in applying to both Muslim and non-Muslim subjects, a breadth achieved in this case by incorporating provisions drawn from the religious law of the various communities (Shaw and Shaw, 307). The 1917 family law further resembled the *Medjelle* in that it remained in force in various of the successor states much longer than in Ottoman territory, where it was repealed in 1337/1919 (Shaw and Shaw, 333; *Düstūr*², xi, 299-300). For the 1917 law "remained valid in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan (as they then were), and is still part of the family law of the Muslims in Lebanon and in Israel" (Schacht, 1964, 103).

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(C.V. Findley)

MEDJĪDIYYE (Romanian, Medgidia), a small town in eastern Romania, situated in the central Dobrudja [*q.v.*], midway between the Danube and Constanta (Kustendje), and on the site of the earlier Ottoman settlement of Ḳaraṣu, which had served as a relay-station on the old *ṣagh ḳol*, the military road from Istanbul to the lower Danube and the Crimea. The importance of Medjīdiyye stems from its being, in its inception, a mid-19th century Ottoman planned town, founded by the local *wālī*, Saʿīd Pasha, in the course of the Crimean war, to house Ḳrîm Tatar refugees, and named in honour of the reigning sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd. Within a few months of its foundation in 1854 it contained over one thousand completed houses, a *khān* and a bazaar. The large mosque, which still stands, and serves a population still 30% Muslim, is dated 1277/1860-1. In the reorganisation of the provincial administration of Rumeli in 1284/1864, Medjīdiyye, as a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sandjaḳ* of Tuldja (not Varna, as in *EI*², art. *Dobrudja*), formed part of the new Ṭuna *wilāyet* (*Sālnāme 1294*, 432), and its prosperity was subsequently increased by the building of the railway from Bucharest to Constanṭa. By the terms of the Treaty of Berlin (art. xlvi), Medjīdiyye passed from Ottoman into Romanian possession, along with all that part of the Dobrudja north of a line drawn from Silistre to the Black Sea. At the time of the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, the population of Medjīdiyye and its surrounding *ḳaḍāʾ* was estimated at approximately 2,200 Muslim and 1,300 non-Muslim households.

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(C.J. Heywood)

MEDJĪDIYYE [see sikka].

MEDJLIS-I WĀLĀ, in full, the Ottoman Medjlis-i Wālā-yī Aḥkām-ī ʿAdliyye, or Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances.

This was created in 1838 by the reformer Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha for the purpose of taking over the legislative duties of the old *Dīwān-ī Hümāyūn* in order to originate or review proposed legislation and thereby create an "ordered and established" state by means of "beneficent reorderings" (*tanẓīmāt-ī khayriyye*) of state and society, with all other legislation being turned over to a second legislative body, the *Dār-ī Shūrā-yī Bāb-ī ʿĀlī* (Deliberative Council of the Sublime Porte). The *Medjlis-i wālā* hardly had a chance to begin its deliberations when, following the accession of Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd I [*q.v.*] and promulgation of the *Khaṭṭ-ī Hümāyūn* of Gülkhāne which proclaimed the *Tanẓīmāt* reform movement as the

major goal of the new régime, it was expanded into the principal legislative body of state with the abolition of its sister body. Beginning its work on 8 March 1840 in a new building constructed especially for it near the office of the Grand Vizier at the Sublime Porte, it originated most of the *Tanẓīmāt* legislation, though its powers were severely limited by regulations which allowed it only to consider legislation proposed to it by the ministries or the executive. It was supplanted for reform legislation by the *Medjlis-i ʿĀlī-yi Tanẓīmāt* in 1854, but it continued to originate lesser laws and regulations and also to act as supreme court of judicial appeals. Conflicts of jurisdiction between the two bodies, however, and a substantially increasing workload created such a backlog of legislation that in 1861 the two were brought back together into a new *Medjlis-i Wālā-yi Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*, which was divided into departments for Laws and Regulations, which assumed the legislative functions of both councils, Administration and Finance, which investigated complaints against the administrative misconduct, and Judicial Cases, which assumed the old council's judicial functions, acting as a court of appeals for cases decided by the provincial councils of justice and as a court of first instance in cases involving misconduct on the part of higher officials in the central government. Regulations allowing it to originate as well as to review proposed legislation, and to question members of the executive and to try such officials for misdeeds, greatly increased its ability to act decisively in order to meet the problems of the time, with the sultans interfering only rarely to veto or change the results of its work. In 1867, however, in response to complaints about the autocratic nature of the *Tanẓīmāt* system, the *Medjlis-i Wālā* was replaced by separate legislative and judicial bodies, the *Shūrā-yi Dewlet*, or Council of State, whose members were at least partially elected and representative, and the *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*, chaired respectively by the famous *Tanẓīmāt* leaders Midḥat Pasha and Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha.

Bibliography: S.J. Shaw, *The Central Legislative Councils in the nineteenth century Ottoman reform movement before 1876*, in *IJMES*, i (1970), 51-84; S.J. Shaw and E.K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, London and New York 1977, repr. 1985, ii, 38, 76-81; Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Irade, Meclis-i Mahsus*, 79; *Meclis-i Tanzimat*, I, 1-3, 6-10; *Teşkilat-ı Devair* I/25; Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, fol. 29a-b; *Düstūr*, Series 1, i, 703-5. C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire: the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980, 172-9. (S.J. Shaw)

MEERUT [see MĪRATH].

MEHEDAK [see AL-MAHDIYYA].

MEḤEMMED is one of the Turkish forms of the name Muḥammad which, having been borne by the Prophet of Islam, is by far the commonest used name in the Islamic world.

Independent of the modifications which it may undergo from the influence of the speech habits of allophonic groups and the phonetic structure of languages other than Arabic, this name has undergone, in spite of—and perhaps because of—the veneration which it inspires, various deliberate modifications on the part of sincere Muslims who hold fast to what exactly respects the Prophet's memory. If the Turkish form "Meḥemmed" may be explained by the vocalic structure of that language, the form "Maḥammad", widespread in North Africa and distinguished from "Muḥammad" by a *fatḥa* on the first *mīm* or the prefixing of a purely orthographical *alif* (which also serves to indicate the dialectical pronunciation "Mḥammed"), is certainly in fact due to a desire to let the persons thus named share in the *baraka* [*q.v.*] attached to the Prophet's name without risking letting it become profaned, above all by insults and abuse addressed specifically by name to these persons. On the problems posed by alterations of this kind in the sphere of Islam and those which the name of Muḥammad has undergone in the European languages, see G.S. Colin, *Muḥammad-Mahomet*, in *BSLP*, xxvi (1925), 109; J. Mouradian, *Notes sur les altérations du nom de Mohammad chez les Noirs islamisés de l'Afrique Occidentale*, in *Bull. du Comité d'études historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, xxi (1938), 459-62; A. Fischer, *Vergöttlichung und Tabuisierung des Namen Muḥammad's bei den Muslimen* in *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Leipzig 1944, 307-39; F. de la Granja, *A propósito del nombre Muḥammad y sus variantes en Occidente*, in *al-And.*, xxxiii (1968), 231-40 (where Colin's note, mentioned above, is also given); see also, for an example of deliberate alteration (*Mamad*), L.P. Harvey, *Crypto-Islam in sixteenth century Spain*, in *Actas del primer congreso de estudios árabes e islámicos*, Madrid 1964, 169, no. 15, 177, l. 9.

Contemporary Byzantine and European texts indicate that in the 9th/15th century the predominant pronunciation of the name was "Mehemet": F. Babinger, commenting on the form "Memmet" in *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio ... um 1475*, Munich 1957, 29, n. 1 (and there, with further bibliography, proposing "Mehemmed" as the current pronunciation), adduces Angiolello's "Mehemet", and the Μεχεμέτ and similar forms which is regular in Ducas, Sphrantzes and Critoboulos (for these and the other Byzantine texts see G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinotourcica*, ii, s.v. Μουχαμέτης).

In modern Turkey, the name finally appears as "Mehmet", as a consequence of the general phonological principles (J. Deny, *Principes de grammaire turque*, Paris 1955) of the devoicing of a final voiced consonant, the predilection for front vowels in loanwords, the assimilation (progressive and regressive) of vowels, and the fall of an unstressed middle vowel in a tri-syllable.

The Editors, taking the view that to employ the spelling "Muḥammad" in the Ottoman context would be hypercorrect (and "Meḥmed", for the earlier centuries, anachronistic) have adopted the convention that all the relevant Ottoman rulers figuring in the *Encyclopaedia* shall be referred to consistently as "Meḥemmed", whilst lesser personages shall be referred to as "Meḥmed". (Ed.)

MEḤEMMED I, Ottoman sultan, reigned 816-24/1413-21, also known as *Čelebi* (Turkish "of high descent", "prince") or as *Kirishdji* (from *Krytzes*, meaning in Greek "young lord"). During the period of interregnum, 804-16/1402-13, he ruled over Anatolia from Tokat, Amasya, and Bursa while his brothers Süleymān (804-13/1402-11) and Mūsā (813-16/1411-13) had control of Rūmili from Edirne. Meḥemmed brought under his rule Bursa and western Anatolia in the years 805-6/1403-4 and 813-16/1410-13, and finally achieved the unification of the two parts of the Ottoman state under his sole sovereignty in 816/1413. He was the fourth son of Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] by a slave girl Dewlet Khātūn (Uzunçarşılı, in *IA*, viii, 496).

1. *Birth and early years.*

Born in 788/1386 or 789/1387, Meḥemmed was sent when he reached the *Sharʿī* age of adolescence in

Shawwāl 801/June 1399 as governor over the province of Rūm, which included Amasya, Tokat, Sivas and Ankara, formerly the territory of the Eretna [*q.v.*] dynasty. Mehemmed's six brothers were Ertoghrul (died 802/1400, Zachariadou, *Ertogrul*, 157), Muṣṭafā (captured by Tīmūr and taken to Samarḳand in 804/1402; *Dustūr-nāme*, 90), Süleymān (in contemporary sources also known at Muslumān or Amuslumān), ʿĪsā, Mūsā and Ḳāsim. In 804/1402, Ḳāsim, aged under 12, was in Bursa in the palace while Mūsā was captured together with his father by Tīmūr. Süleymān, ʿĪsā, Mehemmed and Mūsā fought to get control of Bursa, still considered as the *Dār al-Salṭana*, and of Edirne, capital city of Rūmili.

2. *The status quo established by Tīmūr in Anatolia.*

During Tīmūr's siege of Izmir (from 6 Djumādā I 805/2 December 1402 until 10 Djumādā II/6 January 1403), Süleymān was given a *yarlīgh* granting him the rule "over all the territories beyond the Bosphorus" (*asra-yaḳa*, Yazdī, fol. 424b). Mehemmed, whom Tīmūr called to come in person to Kütayha, could not or would not obey the order (for details in the *Manāḳib-nāme*, see *Bibl.*).

Mehemmed's first deeds against the Turcoman begs in the Tokat-Amasya region, rendered in an epic style in the *Manāḳib-nāme*, appear actually to have been local clashes which evidently resulted in compromises giving recognition of Mehemmed's overlordship in return for his confirmation of the begs' freehold possession of their lands (cf. Neshrī, ii, 480). In the future, these hereditary *mülk tīmārs* would create problems when Ottoman centralist control was re-established. These local dynasts in control of Turcoman and "Tatar" forces would provide the bulk of Mehemmed's army (cf. divisions of Tatars and Türkmens in the battle against Mūsā in 816/1413; Neshrī, ii, 512-13).

Ḳara Dewletshāh, Ḳubād-oghlu, Mezīd Beg and the family of Tashan (on the family's origin, see *Bazm u razm*, 397) were all local dynasts who after the battle of Ankara accepted Tīmūr's overlordship and challenged Ottoman domination, showing his diplomas (Neshrī, i, 372). Mehemmed, too, was wise enough to accept Tīmūr's suzerainty and thus legitimise his lordship in the region of Tokat-Amasya (for Mehemmed's silver coin bearing Tīmūr's name, see *Table*, no. 3). In his fight to assert his authority against his rivals there, he appears to have been supported by *ʿulemāʾ* and urban notables (see Hüsameddin, iii, 157-98), while local begs, with their Tatar and Türkmen followers, had neither the prestige nor the legitimacy of an Ottoman prince.

In the well-established Turkish tradition, every son of a ruler had the right to succeed his father, and his legitimacy could not be contested since there was no law which regulated succession (see Inalcik, *Verâset*). As the *Menāḳib-nāme* (see Neshrī, ii, 432, 434, 446, 456, 462, 504, 508) makes clear, people at large often told the rival princes struggling for recognition that they had first to win the fight, which was interpreted as a sign of God's favour. The principle of seniority was not decisive, although Mehemmed at the beginning recognised his elder brother Süleymān as representing supreme authority (Anonymous chron. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1047, fol. 29b; ed. Giese, 47).

On the struggle among the Ottoman princes, Čelebis, the account of the *Menāḳib-nāme*, which is actually a contemporary account of the events for the period 1402-13, should be followed. According to this source, in various encounters Mehemmed defeated ʿĪsā and took Bursa, although the latter secured the alliance of the western Anatolian begs and Isfendiyār of Kastamuni (*Menāḳib-nāme*, in Neshrī, ii, 422-50; Idrīs, 263-7). Mehemmed finally captured and killed him at Eskishehir (apparently in 806/403-4; Zachariadou, *Süleymān*, 283-91, believes that ʿĪsā was killed by Süleymān in 1403). Then, in 806 (begins 21 July 1403), Mehemmed lost Bursa and Ankara to Süleymān (Mehemmed minted an *akče* in Bursa in the same Hidjra year, see *Table*, nos. 3, 4). Mehemmed had to retreat to his Tokat-Amasya base, and later encouraged Mūsā to go to Rūmeli (*Menāḳib-nāme*, in Neshrī, ii, 474; Idrīs, 275-6). Accepting the Wallachian Voyvode Mircea's invitation, Mūsā arrived by sea in Wallachia in 809/1406 (A. Dersca

TABLE

Ottoman coins minted during the period 805-822

Ruler and title	*Year*	*Minting place*	*Metal*
1. Amīr Sulaymān b. Bāyazīd	805	—	silver
2. Amīr Sulaymān Bāyazīd	806	—	silver
3. Muhammad b. Bāyazīd Khān/Demür Khān Kurḳān	806	Bursa	silver
4. Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muhammad b. Bāyazīd	806	Bursa	silver
5. Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muhammad b. Bāyazīd	806	Engüriyye	silver
6. al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam Muhammad b. Bāyazīd Khān	808	Amasya	silver
7. Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muhammad b. Bāyāzīd Khān	810	Amasya	silver
8. Djunayd Ghāzī/Muhammad b. Bāyazīd	—	—	silver
9. Amīr Sulaymān b. [......]	813	Edirne	silver
10. al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Aʿẓam Muhammad b. Bāyazīd	813	—	copper
11. Mūsā b. Bāyazīd	813	Edirne	silver
12. Sulṭān b. Sulṭān Muhammad [b.] Bāyazīd Khān	816	Temirhisar	copper
13. Sulṭān b. Sulṭān Muhammad [b.] Bāyazīd Khān	—	Serez	silver
14. Amīr Sulaymān b. Bāyazīd	811	Edirne	silver
15. Sulṭān b. Sulṭān Muhammad [b.] Bāyazīd Khān	816	Edirne, Bursa, Amasya Serez, Ayaṣoluḳ, Balat, Timurhisar, Karahisar	silver
16. Sulṭān b. Sulṭān Muhammad [b.] Bāyazīd Khān	821	Edirne	silver
17. Muhammad b. Bāyazīd Khān	822	Edirne, Bursa, Amasya, Serez, Ayasoluk	silver
18. Muṣṭafā b. Bāyazīd Khān	822	Edirne	silver

Bulgaru, *Les relations*, 116-17, citing Guboglu, gives the year 1406; the date is confirmed by the details in *Manāḳib-nāme*, in Neshrī, ii, 478: ʿAlī Pasha's death which occurred in 17 Radjab 809/28 December 1406; Idrīs, 278). His success in the eastern Balkans finally forced Süleymān to leave Bursa for Rūmili. At first victorious at the battle of Yanbolu (13 February 1410), Mūsā was later twice defeated (June and July 1410, A. Dersca Bulgaru, 122, 123). Finally, by a surprise attack, Mūsā captured Edirne and killed Süleymān (17 February 1411). Upon Süleymān's departure from Anatolia, Meḥemmed re-occupied Bursa (*Menāḳib-nāme*, in Neshrī, ii, 480). Not honouring his agreement with Meḥemmed, Mūsā acted independently, and espousing the frontier begs' aggressive policy, he alienated the vassal states from himself, who now sided with Meḥemmed (*Menāḳib-nāme*, in Neshrī, ii, 486-516; Idrīs, 281-8). After two unsuccessful attempts against Mūsā (*Menāḳib-nāme*, in Neshrī, ii, 490-500; Idrīs, 281-4) in 814 (begins 25 May 1411); these two clashes are confirmed by Ducas, 109-110) Meḥemmed finally overcame his rival and eliminated him, thanks to the alliance of the frontier begs and vassal states (*Menāḳib-nāme*, in Neshrī, ii, 506-16, Idrīs, 286-8; Braun, 47-55) on 5 Rabīʿ II 816/5 July 1413. According to the *Menāḳib-nāme*, in Neshrī, 88, 486, 516, 550, starting from 805/1402, Süleymān reigned 8 years, 10 months and 17 days, Mūsā 2 years, 7 months and 20 days and Meḥemmed 7 years, 11 months and a few days.

The principal Anatolian dynasties, the Djandārids, the Ḳaramānids, the rulers of Germiyān, Ṣarukhān, and Aydïn in Western Anatolia, which had all been restored to their principalities under Tīmūr's overlordship, were actively involved in the struggle between the Ottoman princes for Bursa, still considered the principal capital or *Dār al-Salṭana*. Their policies were basically determined, like those of Byzantium, Wallachia and Serbia, by their concern to maintain the status quo established after the battle of Ankara. Each Ottoman prince, for his part, tried to gain their support or neutrality by showing himself respectful of their autonomy or independence. However, Tīmūr's departure made the Anatolian dynasties realise that Ottoman power and supremacy were still a fact, and some of them, for the sake of survival, recognised the overlordship of whichever Ottoman prince had control of Bursa.

Byzantium and the vassal states in the Balkans, subjected and paying tribute under Murād I [*q.v.*] and Bāyezīd I, were now independent and even recovered some of their territories (see Jorga, *GOR*, i, 325-77; Barker, 200-385; Zachariadou, *Süleyman*; Jirecek, ii, 137-56). They played off one Ottoman prince against another, gave refuge to and used the Ottoman pretenders against any Ottoman prince whenever he became powerful enough to assert his suzerainty over them. Thus the political manœuvres of Mircea and the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II strongly influenced the struggle between the Ottoman princes. Except for Mūsā, who adopted the policy of the frontier begs of recovering lost lands and engaging in raiding, the other princes, Süleymān and Meḥemmed, involved themselves politically with the Christian rulers, often making compromises and concessions to them. All through the Ottoman interregnum, Byzantium played a central role and managed to keep the respect of rival Ottoman princes. This was actually due to the fact that, after the treaty of 1403 (Denis, *Treaty*; Zachariadou, *Süleyman*, 270-83), the Byzantines controlled the sea passage between Anatolia and Rūmeli. Ottoman public opinion (see Anonymous Paris 1047, fol. 29b). interpreted the treaty of 1403 as such. When in 806/1403 Süleymān decided to pass over to Anatolia to march against Meḥemmed in Bursa, he delivered his younger brother Ḳāsim and his sister Fāṭima as hostages to the Emperor. Later, as part of his appeasement policy, Süleymān also sent his son Orkhan as hostage to Manuel II. Against Mūsā, and after his elimination, against Meḥemmed in 1413, the Emperor tried to use Orkhan, who claimed the Ottoman throne as the legitimate successor of Süleymān.

Meḥemmed's final success depended a great deal on his conciliatory and even compliant attitude towards the Emperor, whom he called father (Ducas, iii, 114). Apparently, Mūsā's harsh personality, or rather, his centralist and autocratic policy, which the hereditary frontier begs resented, alienated them from him.

3. *Unification and the resurgence of the Ottoman supremacy.*

In 816/1413, upon his accession to the throne in Edirne as the sole ruler of the Ottoman lands, Meḥemmed I received embassies from tribute-paying vassal countries, including Byzantium, Serbia, Wallachia, Yanina, the Morean despotate and the Prince of Achaia (Athens), and sent them back with strong guarantees of peace and friendship (Ducas, iii; Setton, ii, 6, cf. Anonymous Paris 1047, fol. 33a).

Feeling secure in the Balkans, Meḥemmed made in the following two years a series of campaigns to reassert his sovereignty in Anatolia and to punish those *amīrs* who had helped Mūsā against him, In 817/1414 he made the whole of western Anatolia submit by defeating Djunayd, who, abandoning Mūsā, had returned and revived his emirate of Izmir (Ducas, 115-19). The emirate was invaded and turned into an Ottoman *sandjaḳ*. In this campaign, Germiyān, Menteshe, and the Genoese of Chios, Mytilene and Phocea and the Hospitallers of Rhodes, were allied with Meḥemmed on account of Djunayd's aggressive acts. During this campaign, Meḥemmed demolished the fortress which the Hospitallers had begun to construct again in Izmir. The ruler of Menteshe now recognised Meḥemmed as suzerain (Wittek, *Mentesche*, 97).

In 816/1413, while Meḥemmed was in Rūmili proceeding against Mūsā, the Ḳaramānid Meḥmed II laid siege to Bursa and burned down the quarters around the castle (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, iv, 47a; Neshrī, 141-2). Upon the news of Meḥemmed's victory over Mūsā, the Ḳaramānids retreated after a 31-day siege. Meḥemmed at first proposed a campaign against Isfendiyār of Kastamuni, who however submitted in time, promising to send auxiliary forces to Meḥemmed's planned campaign against Ḳaramān. Germiyān, which had been invaded by the Ḳaramānids, was a natural ally and vassal (Neshrī, ii, 516-34). Prior to the major campaign against Ḳaramān, Meḥemmed sent an embassy with rich presents to the Sultan of Egypt, who was considered a protector of the Ḳaramānids (Ibn Ḥadjar, iii, 518; letter from Inegöl, in Ferīdūn, i, 145, dated *awāsiṭ Dhi 'l-Ḥidjdja* 817/February 1415). Meḥemmed defeated the Ḳaramānids and laid siege to Ḳonya (Muḥarrem 818/13 March-11 April 1415). The Ḥamīd-ili and Saʿīd-ili were annexed to the Ottoman state (*Takvimler*, 20, 56; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 51a).

With the Ottoman re-unification of Anatolia and Rūmili under one ruler and that ruler's attempts at reimposing suzerainty on the former Ottoman vassal states, the Emperor increased his diplomatic activities in conjunction with the Pope and Venice, calling for

a crusade against the Ottomans (Barker, 290-353; Thiriet, ii, no. 1592). Profiting from the Ottoman interregnum, Venice had succeeded in extending her control in Epirus, Albania and the Morea. Negotiation for an agreement with Meḥemmed after his final victory over his brothers dragged on unsuccessfully. During the campaign against Djunayd in 1414, the Venetian Duke of Naxos had not joined the other Aegean Latin rulers in the renewal of submission. So, in 1415, Meḥemmed released the sea *ghāzīs* of western Anatolia against Venetian possessions in the Aegean, and sent his fleet of Gallipoli (112 ships, 13 of them galleys) under Čalï Beg to strike at the Cyclades (Ducas, 119; Thiriet, ii, nos. 1569, 1573, 1584, 1588, 1597, 1598). Venice decided to strike back. A Venetian fleet under Pietro Loredano made a surprise attack and destroyed the Ottoman fleet at Gelibolu (Gallipoli) on 1 Rabīʿ II 819/29 May 1416 (Jorga, i, 372; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 66a).

Released by the Tīmūrid Shāhrūkh, Meḥemmed's brother Muṣṭafā had arrived in Trebizond (January 1415), and his envoy began to negotiate with Venice and with the Emperor (Thiriet, ii, nos. 1563, 1564). Arriving in Ḳonya and then Ḳastamuni, Muṣṭafā went by sea to Wallachia. Djunayd, the former ruler of Izmir, who had been appointed by Meḥemmed governor of Nicopolis, joined him there. The appearance on the scene of Meḥemmed's elder brother Muṣṭafā brought back the internecine war, coupled with a terrible social-religious insurrection and a hostile attitude on the part of the vassal states in Rūmili and Anatolia. Although militarily supported by Mircea, Muṣṭafa and Djunayd failed to attract the frontier forces and had to return to Constantinople. The Emperor this time (spring 819/1416) sent them to Salonica (Jorga, *GOR*, i, 373). Meḥemmed declared war against Byzantium. Muṣṭafā and Djunayd captured Serres and hoped to obtain the support of the Ottoman frontier forces there. They failed, and Meḥemmed forced them to take refuge in Salonica again (autumn 1416, Jorga, i, 374). The Emperor finally agreed to keep them in custody as long as Meḥemmed lived and was to receive an annual compensation of 300,000 *akčes* (about 10,000 gold ducats) for their upkeep (Ducas, 125).

While fighting against Muṣṭafā in Rūmili, Meḥemmed had at the same time to deal with a violent Ṣūfī insurrection fomented by Shaykh Badr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] in western Anatolia and Deli-Orman (summer and autumn of 1416, Filipović, *Princ Musa*; Werner, *Ketzer*; Neshrī, ii, 542-6; Idrīs, 294). Mircea, who had given refuge to the *shaykh* and actively supported him, invaded Deli-Orman on his heels and attacked Silistre (autumn 1416, Jorga, *GOR*, i, 374). Meḥemmed captured the *shaykh* in Zagra and hanged him in Serres on 18 December 1416. While Meḥemmed was kept busy in Rūmili, the Anatolian begs had again become hostile. Meḥemmed marched first against Isfendiyār, who had aided the *shaykh* to pass over to Wallachia (early 1417). Isfendiyār obtained peace by recognising the full suzerainty of Meḥemmed I. Since the latter fell seriously ill in 820/1417, the campaign against Ḳaramān was conducted by Bāyezīd Pasha, who captured the Ḳaramānid ruler (Neshrī, ii, 530-4; Idrīs, 289-91: in the early Ottoman compilations, various campaigns against Ḳaramān are confused).

During the interregnum period, Mircea, supported by the Hungarian King Sigismund, emerged as the principal opponent of Ottoman supremacy in the Balkans. Meḥemmed's 822/1419 campaign against Mircea (for the correct date, see Ibn Ḥadjar, iii, 526; and Meḥemmed's letter to Shāhrūkh in Ferīdūn, i, 164: Shawwāl 822/21 October-18 November 1419) is connected with Sigismund's plans for the invasion of the Balkans.

Meḥemmed's Anatolian vassals, the Ḳaramānid and Djandārid rulers, sent auxiliary forces under their sons to this major campaign. The Ottomans raided Wallachia, and Meḥemmed constructed the fortress of New Giurgiu (later Rusdjuḳ) on the right bank of the Danube; he then invaded "the Hungarian territory" and took Severin (Neshrī, ii, 536; Anonymous, Paris 1047, fol. 34; there, the dates 817/1414 and 819/1416 for this campaign of Meḥemmed I must belong to the frontier beg's earlier raids, cf. Ducas, 125). According to Neshrī, the Wallachian Voyvode (Mircea or Michael I) submitted, paying tribute and sending his three sons to the sultan as hostage.

4. *Tīmūrid intervention, 1416-20.*

The successes of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (Woods, 56-60) in Ādharbāydjān and western Iran and the overthrow of the status quo in Anatolia by Meḥemmed presented a challenge to the Tīmūrids. Shāhrukh [*q.v.*], having established his sovereignty in the east, moved to restore Tīmūrid control in the west. First, he released Muṣṭafā from captivity in Samarḳand, an action which brought back internecine war in the Ottoman domains in 819/1416. That Muṣṭafā's release was connected with a Tīmūrid plan becomes clear in Shāhrukh's protest against Meḥemmed's elimination of his brothers (his letter to Meḥemmed, Ferīdūn, i, 150-1). In his reply, the latter tried to prove that he did not support the Ḳaraḳoyunlu Ḳara Yūsuf, and argued that the division of the Ottoman state only helped the enemies of Islam, many places including Salonica having been lost to Islam because of that division. Shāhrukh's preparations for a large-scale campaign in the west in 822/1419 caused great concern in the Ottoman capital and generated an exchange of embassies between the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and the Ottomans (Ferīdūn, i, 150-7). Invading Ādharbāydjān, Shāhrukh warned Meḥemmed not to give aid to Iskandar, the son of Ḳara Yūsuf, who might take refuge in Ottoman territory (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 823/January 1420. In his reply, Meḥemmed expressed his complete submission (*farmān-bar*). The Ottoman court was meanwhile following in great anxiety the developments on the eastern frontier (see *Takvimler*, 20, 56). Upon Iskandar's victory over the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Ḳara ʿOthmān (Rabīʿ II 824/April 1421), Shāhrukh entered eastern Anatolia and won a crushing victory against Iskandar (Radjab 824/July 1421). All this time, Meḥemmed was maintaining friendly relations with the Mamlūks (Ferīdūn, i, 145-6, 164-7), equally threatened by Shāhrukh.

In his last years, Meḥemmed appears to have fallen ill. Now his great concern was to secure the throne for his eldest son Murād without a crisis. Although Sülaymān's son Orkhan was blinded and kept in custody, Meḥemmed's brother Muṣṭafā was a serious rival, since he had actually been recognised as sultan by some of the Ottoman leaders and could be released by the Emperor at any time. Prince Murād's supporters spread the rumour that Muṣṭafā had died and that the challenger was a false (*düzme*) Muṣṭafā. To make sure of Murād's accession, Meḥemmed showed himself most liberal toward the members of the ruling élite and made an agreement with the Emperor (Ducas, 129; for the agreement of the same nature with Stefan of Serbia, see Braun, 56-8) that Murād

would succeed him in Edirne; his other son Muṣṭafā would remain in Anatolia; the two minor sons Yūsuf (aged 8) and Maḥmūd (aged 7) would be sent to Constantinople to the custody of Manuel II, who in return would not release their uncle Muṣṭafā (see Inalcik, *Murad II*, in *İA*, v, 598-9). The Emperor was to receive a yearly sum for the upkeep of the two Ottoman princes. When Meḥemmed died (5 Radjab 825/25 June 1421) Murād [*q.v.*] succeeded him on the throne in Bursa, refusing to deliver his brothers up to the Emperor.

5. *Conclusion.*

For the reign of Meḥemmed I, the fundamental question is to ascertain how the Ottoman state re-emerged as the dominant power in Anatolia and the Balkans under the most adverse conditions after the disaster of 1402. First of all, it must be noted that, despite military dissolution after the battle of Ankara, the Ottomans continued to be the major military power in both regions. Secondly, the Ottoman dynasty was able to create an imperial tradition which was considered the only source of legitimation for the feudal lords and dynasts in this area. In 1405 and 1413, for example, Serbian princes sought the resolution of differences among themselves through the intervention of the Ottoman ruler (Braun, 27, 55). Perhaps equally important was the fact that the Ottoman military groups of *sipāhīs*, *yaya* and *müsellems*, and the *ḳapî-ḳulus*, as well as the peasantry, saw that the confirmation and legitimation of their status and rights in the land were dependent on the existence and functioning of the Ottoman sultan's centralist government, and we have to remember that the Ottoman survey [see TAḤRĪR] and *tīmār* system was fully developed and widely applied in this period (see Inalcik, *Arvanid*).

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MEḤEMMED II, Ottoman sultan (reigned 848-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81), called *Abu 'l-Fatḥ* or *Fātiḥ* "the Conqueror".

Considered the ultimate founder of the Ottoman Empire, he was born in Edirne on 27 Radjab 835/30 March 1432 as the fourth son of Murād II [*q.v.*] from a slave girl in the harem, and as a youth was sent to the governorship of the province of Amasya with his two *lalas* [*q.v.*] in the spring of 846/1443. In Rabīʿ II 848/July 1444, at the age of twelve, he was recalled and declared sultan by his father, who abdicated in his favour in order to ensure his succession against Orkhan, an Ottoman pretender in Constantinople. Meḥemmed's first sultanate, Rabīʿ II 848/July 1444-Djumādā II 850/August 1448, witnessed a fierce rivalry for power between the grand vizier, Čandarlï Khalīl, and the young sultan's two *lalas*, Zaghanos (Zaghanuz) and Ibrāhīm. While Čandarlï, of *ʿulamā*ʾ background, favoured a foreign policy of peace and compromise, Zaghanos, who belonged to the military faction, advocated a programme of conquest — having particularly in mind the conquest of Constantinople — which would secure full authority to the young sultan and his *lala*. Because of the youth of the sultan and his inability to neutralise the rivalry among the two factions, the Ottoman state could not deal decisively with the fateful internal and external crises facing it (the *Ḥurūfī* uprising in Edirne on 8 Djumādā II 848/22 September 1444 and a Crusader army which crossed the Danube 4-8 Djumāda II 848/18-22 September 1444). Everywhere in the Balkans the vassal rulers and seigneurs set about recovering their independence and lost territories. In panic, many Turks began to emigrate to Anatolia. However, Orkhan's attempt in the summer of 848/1444 to attract the frontier begs and to seize Edirne failed. When the Crusader army came to lay siege to Varna in Radjab 848/November 1444, Čandarlï hastened to call the sultan's father with the Anatolian army to come and take command of the Ottoman forces. The Ottoman victory at Varna (28 Radjab 848/10 November 1444) created an ambiguity about who was really the sultan. Officially, Meḥemmed II was still sultan, but Čandarlï acted as if Murād had resumed the sultanate. Finally, by secretly inciting the Janissaries to rise, Čandarlï brought Murād back to the throne in actuality (9 Djumādā I 850/2 August 1446). Meḥemmed was sent to the governorship of Manisa with his *lalas* Zaghanos and Ibrāhīm. Although deposed, Meḥemmed was treated by his supporters as still having the supreme power (see Inalcik, *Fatih devri*, 102-9). Anxious to ensure his son's succession after his death, Murād II took Meḥemmed with him to his major campaigns in the Balkans — against the Hungarians at Kossova in 852/1448, and against the Albanians in the summer of 854/1450. Murād married his son to Sittī Khātūn, the daughter of the Dhu 'l-Ḳādirid [see dhu 'l-ḳadr] ruler, who was traditionally considered an Ottoman ally against the Ḳaramānids. It was only shortly thereafter that Meḥemmed received the news of the death of his father; he acceded to the Ottoman throne for the second time on 16 Muḥarram 855/18 February 1451.

In order to obtain concessions from Meḥemmed, who was seen as an inexperienced young man, the Byzantine Emperor threatened to release Orkhan, while the Ḳaramānid Ibrāhīm invaded disputed territories in Ḥamīd-ili [*q.v.*]. As a skilful diplomat and statesman, Čandarlï appeased Byzantium and Serbia by territorial concessions so that the young sultan could make his first campaign in Anatolia against the Ḳaramānid. While Meḥemmed was in Anatolia with his army, the Byzantine Emperor attempted to obtain further concessions by a second threat to release Orkhan. Meḥemmed came to an agreement with the Ḳaramānid and quickly returned to Edirne to deal with this new threat. Under the influence of Zaghanos, he decided to put an end to the truncated Byzantine empire and began to make preparations for the conquest of Constantinople, sc. by the construction of the Boghaz-Kesen castle on the Bosphorus. Already agreements with Venice (13 Shaʿbān 855/10 September 1451) and Hungary (25 Shawwāl 855/20 November 1451) secured peace in the west and the hire of Urban, a Hungarian expert, who would make for Meḥemmed the most powerful cannons ever seen in order to batter the city's legendary walls. In an extraordinary meeting in Edirne, where the decision for the siege was taken, Čandarlï drew attention to the impregnability of the walls and the danger of a crusade from the West, while the war party, principally Zaghanos and Shihāb al-Dīn, enthusiastically supporting the sultan's decision, emphasised the constant threat which Byzantium posed to the existence and unity of the Ottoman state. The outcome of the siege depended on the time factor and the efficiency of the Ottoman artillery. A long siege would give the Hungarian and Venetian forces the opportunity to come to the aid of the besieged. Thanks to the bombardment of the Ottoman heavy cannons, which tore down the walls, the whole siege took less than two months (26 Rabīʿ I 857/6 April 1453 until 20 Djumādā I 857/29 May 1453; on the siege itself, now see sources collected and edited by A. Pertusi). The most dramatic moment during the siege was the failure of the Ottoman navy to bar the entry of provision ships into the Golden Horn. At this critical point, defeatist rumours arose among the besiegers, and Čandarlï advised the lifting of the siege. Zaghanos and Aḳ Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.*], Meḥemmed's spiritual mentor, emerged as strong supporters of the young sultan, who was being blamed for lack of resolution by the soldiery. The preparations for the final general assault were made by Zaghanos. On 20 Djumādā I 857/29 May 1453, the city was taken by assault [see istanbul. I] and the consequences of an *ʿanwatan* conquest were inevitable [see ḥarb]. Meḥemmed regretted the ruin of the imperial city, which he immediately declared his capital. Throughout his reign, one of his main concerns was to build and repopulate it [see istanbul. I.]. The Podestà of the Genoese Pera [see ghalata in Suppl.] surrendered *ṣulḥan* on the same day. Meḥemmed granted an *ʿahd-nāme* on 1 June 1453 which guaranteed *amān* [*q.v.*] and certain communal privileges for the indigenous non-Muslim population as *dhimmī* subjects of the Ottoman state and capitulary privileges for the Genoese merchants. Meḥemmed's first acts after the victory were the arrest of Čandarlï and the execution of Prince Orkhan, who had fought against Meḥemmed on the walls. Zaghanos was made grand vizier.

By the conquest of *Ḳusṭanṭīniyya al-ʿUẓmā* [see kusṭanṭīniyya], as it was designated in Islamic tradition, Meḥemmed II assumed an unprecedented charisma and claimed to be the sole "holder of the sword of the *ghazā*ʾ" in the Islamic world (in his *fatḥ-nāme* to the Sultan of Egypt; Ferīdūn, i, 236). *Ghazā*ʾ indeed became the legitimising principle of the Ottoman sultan even against his Islamic rivals. Muslim rulers who resisted or challenged him

(Anatolian Turcoman rulers, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] and the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt) were declared to be acting against the true interests of Islam by hindering his *ghazā*ʾ activities. This assumption would lead the Ottomans to claim supremacy throughout the whole Islamic world in the 10th/16th century (see *Camb. hist. of Islam*, i, 320-3). Also, by declaring himself the *Ḳayṣar*, the sole heir to the Roman Empire, as the possessor of the imperial city, Meḥemmed believed that he could eliminate all the members of the Byzantine imperial families (Ibn Kamāl, vii, 86, 113) and lay claim to all the territories once under the eastern Roman Empire, including the Balkans, the southern coasts of the Crimea and Italy. Following Byzantine tradition, he claimed the supremacy of Constantinople over Rome, and his taking of Otranto in 885/1480 was considered a prelude to the conquest of Italy. The conquest of Rome, symbolised as *Ḳīzīl Elma*, the Golden Globe, remained as the ultimate goal for the Ottoman *ghazā*ʾ ideology. Meḥemmed's use of historical traditions and images served as legitimation of his efforts at conquest. Again, in order to legitimise his campaigns to annex the Serbian despotate, he always cited his inheritance rights through the marriage of his predecessors with Serbian princesses [see BĀYAZĪD I]. On the other hand, the revival of the first Ottoman Empire as founded under Bāyazīd ((791-804/1389-1402) definitely motivated the Conqueror in his conquests (Ibn Kamāl, vii, 288).

Although his conquering activities were determined basically by his plan to build up a centralist empire in the Balkans and Anatolia, the course of his military actions followed historical circumstances (Babinger's work, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, is the latest attempt to establish a chronology of events; for a review of it, see Inalcik, *Mehmed*, in *Speculum*, xxxv [1960], 408-27; A. Pertusi, *La caduta*; Inalcik, art. *Mehmed II*, in *İA*, v, 510-12). In the last analysis, Meḥemmed's wars appear to have been motivated by his plan to establish his control of the Straits, the Black Sea and the Aegean, the Balkans north to the Danube and the principalities in the lower Danubian basin, as well as central Anatolia and the lands west of the Euphrates. His main interest was in the west. During the fourteen-year period after 1453, Meḥemmed made a series of campaigns in Europe to eliminate the Balkan dynasts: the Serbian despot (1454-9), the Greek despots and Latin seigneurs in the Morea and central Greece (1458-60), the Bosnian king (1463-4) and Iskender Beg [*q.v.*] in Albania (1465-7). He was not so successful against the Rumanian principalities beyond the Danube. While Wallachia renewed its submission (866/1462) [see EFLĀḲ], Moldavia (Ḳara-Boghdan [see BOGHDĀN]) under Stephen the Great put up a fierce resistance (881/1476). Meḥemmed's campaigns in the Balkans brought him into confrontation with two powerful rivals, Hungary, which considered Serbia, Bosnia and Wallachia to be under its protection, and Venice, which had extensive territorial and commercial interests in the Aegean basin (where he campaigned in 861-3/1457-9), in the Morea (862/1458 and 864/1460), and in Albania (867-84/1463-79). Constantly attempting to mobilise the whole of Christendom in a crusade in cooperation with the Popes, Venice and Hungary confronted Meḥemmed in Serbia (his defeat at Belgrade, 860/1456) and in Bosnia (Hungarian capture of Jajce, 868/1463). The alliance of Venice and Hungary in 867/1463 resulted in what was known as the Long War against Venice (867-84/1463-79), and hostilities with Hungary lasted until Meḥemmed's death (see Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, ii, 231-363). The Venetian Long War, which cost Venice Euboea (Eğriboz [*q.v.*], 875/1470) and Ishkodra [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (Shkodër), as well as its trade with the Ottoman Empire, ended in a humiliating peace for Venice, which had to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 gold pieces (2 Dhu ʾl-Ḳāʿda 883/25 January 1479). Meḥemmed's complete control of the passage through the Straits, with the construction of Boghaz-Kesen (1452), Ḳalʿa-yi Sulṭāniyye and Kilīdülbaḥr (868/1463-4), and the fortification of Bozdja Ada (Tenedos), which had already enabled him to force the Genoese, Moldavian and Greek rulers to pay tribute (858-60/1454-6), put Istanbul out of reach of Venetian seapower. Later on, taking advantage of anti-Genoese developments in the Crimea, he occupied Amasra (Amastris, 863/1459), Kaffa and Azak (880/1475), Anapa and Copa (884/1479). With the conquest of the Greek empire of Trebizond and the occupation of the Isfendiyārid principality, with Sinope and Kastamoni, in 865/1461, he turned the Black Sea into an Ottoman lake. In 879/1474 his navy consisted of 92 galleys (*ḳadīrgha*), 5 galleots (*ḳalyata*), 59 horse-transports (*at gemileri*) and a number of small boats. Besides these *mīrī* ships which were based at Gelibolu (Gallipoli) [*q.v.*] there were a number of privateers. However, Meḥemmed always felt that his navy could not challenge the Venetian sea power (Babinger, *Mehmed*, 448-50). In 885/1480 his fleet of Gallipoli attacked Rhodes, and that of Avlonya (Vlorë) attacked Otranto. The siege of Rhodes (Muḥarram-Djumādā II 885/May-August 1480) failed, but Otranto was captured (4 Djumādā II 885/11 August 1480).

Keeping Hungary and Venice neutral with peace talks over the period 873-8/1468-73, Meḥemmed focused his attention on central Anatolia, where the dynastic disputes among the Ḳaramānids had given a pretext to the rising Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, 100-14) to extend their influence in the region. The Ottoman-Aḳ Ḳoyunlu rivalry developed into an extremely dangerous crisis for Meḥemmed, since Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] and Venice attempted to make a concerted attack and to bring together all the small states in the Levant into an anti-Ottoman coalition (Inalcik, art. *Mehmed II*, in *İA*, v, 523-9; Babinger, *Mehmed*, 267-327, Setton, *op. cit.*, 315-45). Meḥemmed's victory at Bash-kent (16 Rabīʿ I 878/11 August 1473) was indeed a turning point in his whole career and confirmed the Ottoman annexation of the Ḳaramānid territory (863/1468). However, it took six years to subdue the Turcoman tribes in the Taurus range. This also led to an open rivalry between Meḥemmed and the Mamlūks, who claimed a protectorate over the Ḳaramānids and saw a challenge in Meḥemmed's alliance with and protection of the Dhu'l-Ḳādirids. It was said (Ṭursun Beg, *Taʾrīkh*, text, fols. 157b-158a) that Meḥemmed's last campaign, on which he was engaged when he died (4 Rabīʿ I 886/3 May 1481), was against the Mamlūks rather than against the Hospitallers of Rhodes.

Meḥemmed II is the true founder of the classical Ottoman Empire, establishing its territorial, ideological and economic bases. Territorially, he organised under his autocratic rule the lands between the Danube and the Euphrates as a centralised domain which remained for four centuries afterwards the solid core of the Ottoman Empire. Byzantine tradition and experience taught him to endeavour to establish full control over the Danube, the Straits, the Aegean and the Euphrates as the natural borders of his empire. By fortifying the Dardanelles and the

Bosphorus, he achieved a compact empire, duly taking the title of the sultan of the two continents, Anatolia and Rumili, and the *khākān* of the two seas, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. His centralist empire came into being by the suppression or reduction under central control of the local aristocratic landed families in the Balkans and Anatolia. Such families either became regular Ottoman *tīmār*-holders or were totally replaced by the sultan's *ḳuls* [*q.v.*]. His sweeping "land reform" of 883/1478, in which a great number of the freehold (*mülk*) and *waḳf* lands in the control of such hereditary landlords were turned into state lands (see Inalcik, *op. cit.*, at 533), constituted his major move in this direction. Also, by emerging as the greatest *ghāzī*, he overshadowed and reduced the autonomy of the principal frontier beg families who had thus far played a determining role in the empire's politics [see MEHEMMED I and MURĀD II]. In brief, Meḥemmed II created in his person the typical autocratic Ottoman *Pādishāh*.

In his efforts to establish a bureaucratic machinery, the principal tool of his centralist empire, Meḥemmed employed indiscriminately experts of various origins, Persian Azerīs, Arabs, Greeks, Jews, Italians, as well as native Ottoman Turks (*rūmīs*). In this, as attested by his *ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*] of state organisation and by biographies of the *nishāndjīs* [*q.v.*] and the *defterdārs* [*q.v.*] of his reign, the *ʿulamāʾ* appear to have played a major role, as before. However, such *ʿulamāʾ* only made up a part of his bureaucracy, and were unable to interfere in the sultan's autocratic and independent conduct of state affairs. Meḥemmed appears to have been the first Ottoman, perhaps the first Muslim ruler, to codify state laws based on the ruler's independent law-making power, *ʿurf* [*q.v.*], apparently inspired by a Turko-Mongol tradition. His two codes [see ḲĀNŪNNĀME] dealt with state organisation, penal law, and the relations of the state and the "military" class with the taxpaying subjects, the *raʿāyā*. The latter law code, considered as the basis of a "just rule", strictly defines the impositions upon the *raʿāyā*. Meḥemmed's law codes remained the core and basis of subsequent Ottoman laws to the 11th/17th century.

With the guidance of the great astronomer ʿAlī Ḳūshdjī [*q.v.*], Meḥemmed also organised religious teaching (*tadrīs*, *ḳaḍāʾ*) and the *ʿulamāʾ* hierarchy (*ṭarīḳ*) in the Ottoman Empire. It was his unprecedented charisma as *Abu 'l-Fatḥ* which enabled him, with the help of a host of talented leaders from East and West, to put into place a centralist bureaucratic empire perhaps never before so perfectly accomplished in Islamic history. His rationalistic and practical education under a legist, Mollā Khosrew [*q.v.*], his faith in the support of God and the inspiration of his *shaykh*, Aḳ Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.*], his espousal of a combination of Islamic and Roman imperial traditions, might explain his extraordinary accomplishments. But no less important in the foundation of the empire appears the fact that the peasant masses, exploited by the local rent-gathering landlords, military and religious, who were operating free from any control in the Balkans and Asia Minor, tacitly or openly welcomed the restoration of a strong centralist power as a guarantee of protection. The sultan's edicts always professed that the imperial power was with "the poor" (*yoḳsullar*) against "the powerful" (*kudretlüler*). His bureaucratic apparatus, the land surveys [see TAḤRĪR] and the law codes reveal emphatically the concern to maintain peasant families in possession of small farm exploitations, the so-called *khāne bā čift* units. Meḥemmed's "abrogation", *naskh*, measures with respect to the exploitative *waḳfs* and *mülks*, meant more than just a military reform. It also meant the extension of state ownership and a closer protection and control by the state of the peasant producer and labourer against feudal exploitation.

On the other hand, the native urban populations, Greeks and Slavs, and the Orthodox Church, do not seem to have resented the establishment of the autocratic rule of the Ottoman *pādishāh*, who was seen as, and called, *basileus* or *czar*. But Meḥemmed was only following his predecessors, or in fact the Islamic tradition, when he re-installed the Greek Orthodox Church with all its traditional privileges as an integral part of the Ottoman imperial system (Muḥarram 858/January 1454), while he banned all Latin Catholic organisations, which were under the Roman papacy, from his dominions.

Autocratic principle, which made the sultan's person the one and only source of authority and legitimation and claimed it as the foundation of both state and society (for this political theory expounded by Meḥemmed's contemporary Ṭursun Beg, see text, 2-17), found its full expression under Meḥemmed II. The urban economy and the conditions of craftsmen and merchants, too, were regulated by the sultan through his establishment of bazaars, *bedestāns* (*bazzāzistān*), *ḳapans* (*ḳabbān*), weighing stations (*ḳanṭār*), customs and market regulations, and his periodic issuance of new silver coins, *aḳča*, and prohibition of the use of the old ones, which was tantamount to taxing all cash capital in the hands of individuals, thus making a strong impact on the economy. Turning all rice-growing lands into state-owned properties and organising labour on them under close state control (Inalcik, *Rice cultivation*, 78-113) well demonstrates his autocratic handling of economic issues (for the basic source on his economic regulations, see Anhegger and Inalcik, *Ḳānunnāme*; also ISTANBUL, at IV, 531-4; Inalcik, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî vaziyeti*, 676-84), Meḥemmed fully espoused the theory that the monarch's presuming to organise society and economy as complementary to the state was based on the ruler's ultimate duties of *ghazāʾ*, making God's word, Islam, to rule over the world, and, as *imām*, to guide and take care of his subjects' well-being, conduct and salvation in this and the next world. As is repeatedly underlined in the sultan's edicts, "the *raʿāyā* were a trust (*wadīʿa*) of Allāh to the ruler." The Marxist interpretation, however, is that all these superstructural and ideological assumptions were designed to serve the exploitation of the direct producers by the Ottoman "feudal" state and classes (Moutafchieva, *Agrarian relations*; Werner, *Die Geburt*, 273-358).

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MEHEMMED III, thirteenth Ottoman Sultan (1003-12/1595-1603). He was the son of Murād III [*q.v.*] and his Albanian *khāṣṣekī*, Ṣafiyye [*q.v.*], born early in the first decade of Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 973/20-29 May 1566 in the summer-camp on Bozdğ near Manisa when his father was *sandjak-begi* of Ṣarukhān, his birth being announced to his great-grandfather Sulaymān I [*q.v.*], who named the baby, at Pazardjik as he marched towards Hungary, on 13 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 973/1 June 1566 (Selānīkī, 22).

After his father's accession on 8 Ramaḍān 982/22 December 1574, he lived with his mother and sisters in the New Palace in Istanbul. In 990/1582 his circumcision, to which monarchs of East and West had been invited, was celebrated with feasting and pageants of unrivalled magnificence (splendidly recorded in Topkapı Museum, ms. Hazine 1344), lasting from 6 Djumādā I-3 Radjab/29 May-24 July, the operation being performed by Djerrāḥ Meḥmed Pasha on the fortieth evening. The break-up of Murād's life with Ṣafiyye culminated in the death of his mother Nūr Bānū[*q.v.*] on 22 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 991/7 December 1583 and the departure on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/24 December of Meḥemmed to Manisa, the last heir-apparent to be *sandjak-begi* of Ṣarukhān. During his 11 years' residence there, four of his five sons were born; Selīm in 993/1585, died 3 Ramaḍān 1005/20 April 1597; Maḥmūd in *ca.* 995/1587; the future Aḥmad I [*q.v.*] on 12 Djumādā II 998/18 April 1590; the future Muṣṭafā I [*q.v.*] in 1000/1591. He had a fifth son Djihāngīr, who died young in 1011/1602, and six daughters. Upon Murād III's death on 5 Djumādā I 1003/16 January 1595, in great secrecy Ṣafiyye sent the *Bostāndjī-bashī* Ferhād Agha to Manisa, and Meḥemmed returned to the capital for his accession, followed by his father's funeral, in 16 Djumādā I/27 January. The next day his 19 half-brothers (names listed by Ṣolāḳ-zāde, 621) were executed and laid to rest beside their father. Meḥemmed III was the last Sultan to implement the law of fratricide promulgated by Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] (see H. İnalcik, in *Cambridge history of Islam*, i, 303). Murād's harem, his dwarfs and jesters, were swept away, and Ṣafiyye, as Wālide Sulṭān, took absolute control over her weak and superstitious son. A donative of 660,000 gold pieces was distributed to the Janissaries.

The reign, lying within the Long War (1593-1606) with the Holy Roman Empire, was disastrous, torn by civil and military disturbances, high inflation and insecure government; there were twelve changes of Grand Vizier, of whom three, Ferhād Pasha, Khādīm Ḥasan Pasha Ṣoḳollī and Yemishdji Ḥasan Pasha [*q.vv.*], were executed. During 1003-4/1595 the princedom of Wallachia was occupied and made into an Ottoman voivodeship, and on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/7 August, Esztergom, under the Grand Vizier Ḳodja Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*], fell to the Imperialists. Next year, 1004/1596, Meḥemmed, influenced by his father's tutor Khodja Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi [*q.v.*] and under pressure from the Janissaries, resolved to lead the army into Hungary, a custom abandoned since the reign of Sulaymān I. On 23 Shawwāl/20 June, with the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], he set out for Eğri [*q.v.*], which fell after a siege of three weeks on 19 Ṣafar 1005/12 October 1596. On 3 Rabīʿ I/25 October a great battle was fought on the plain of Mezö-Keresztes [*q.v.*], and the following evening the Ottomans, reinforced by a Tatar army under their Khān Fetḥ Girāy, were victorious almost at the very moment of defeat, thanks to the strategy of Čighāle-zāde Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*], who was promoted Grand Vizier. The English ambassador Edward Barton was present on the campaign; he, his successor Sir Henry Lello, and the French ambassador François Savary de Brèves were playing important roles in Ottoman policies. On the return march, Ibrāhīm Pasha was reinstated as Grand Vizier at the behest of Ṣafiyye. On 2 Djumādā I/22 December the sultan entered Istanbul, with great rejoicing. However, the violence of the Djalālīs [*q.v.* in Supplement], dissatisfied elements who had gathered under Ḳarā Yazīdjī [*q.v.*], a rebellious press-gang leader conscripting for the campaign, together with the Firārīs, Anatolian *sipāhīs* who had fled before the battle and thus had been deprived of their *tīmārs*, raged until 1603, devastating Anatolia. Peace initiatives were rejected by the Imperialists, who regained Raab on 21 Shaʿbān 1006/29 March 1598. During 1008/1599-1600 the deaths occurred of Saʿd al-Dīn and the poet Bāḳī [*q.v.*], and the murder of Ṣafiyye's Jewish Kira Esperanza Malchi on 17 Ramaḍān/1 April in the course of a rising of the *sipāhīs* against the power of the harem. A similar rising in the capital on 23 Radjab 1011/6 January 1603 took as victims two more Palace officials, Ghaḍanfer Agha [see ḳapî aghasî] and ʿOthmān Agha. As the crippling war with the Empire dragged on, with the castle of Kanizsa [*q.v.*] surrendering to the Ottomans on 13 Rabīʿ II 1009/22 October 1600, in 1012/1603 the Persian Shāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] launched an offensive in the east, taking Tabrīz on 19 Rabīʿ II/26 September. On 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1011/7 June 1603 Meḥemmed, in a fit of suspicious rage, ordered the execution of his eldest son Maḥmūd; he lies buried, with his mother, in a mausoleum beside the Sheh-zāde mosque. Consequently, the child Aḥmad was to succeed his father, who died suddenly, probably after a heart-attack, on 17 Radjab 1012/21 December 1603. His mausoleum is beside Aya Sofya. He composed poetry under the *makhlaṣ* ʿAdlī. During his corrupt reign, chronic inflation (the rate of 60 *akčes* to the ducat in 1580 had trebled by 1600) undermined society, and the decline which is evident from the latter years of Sulaymān I reached a critical stage, with the empire close to anarchy.

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(S. A. Skilliter)

MEḤEMMED IV, nineteenth sultan of the Ottoman dynasty in Turkey, known as awdjī "the hunter" from his excessive passion for the chase, reigned 1058-99/1648-87.

Born on 30 Ramaḍān 1051/2 January 1642, he was the son of Sultan Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] and Khadīdja Turkhān Sulṭān. He was placed on the throne in Istanbul at the age of seven after the deposition in 18 Radjab 1058/8 August 1648 of the sensualist and possibly mentally deranged "Deli" Ibrāhīm, at a moment when Ibrāhīm was the sole surviving adult male of the house of ʿOthmān, but in fact, two others of his five or six sons survived also to attain the throne after Meḥemmed, sc. Süleymān II and Aḥmed II [*q.vv.*].

The power in the state was at that time divided between the court, where the old *wālide* Kösem [*q.v.*] and Meḥemmed's mother, the *wālide* Tarkhān, held the reins, and the rebellious soldiery of the Janissaries and the Sipāhīs. The lack of stability in the government at this time is shown by the fact, that, until the nomination of the grand vizier Köprülü Meḥmed [see KÖPRÜLÜ] in 1066/1656, there were no less than thirteen grand viziers. In 1061/1651 the old *wālide* Kösem was strangled and at the same time the resistance of the Janissaries was broken; the régime of the court party that followed under the sultan's mother did not improve the situation. The grand vizierate of Ipshir Muṣṭafā Pasha (1064-5/1654-5 [*q.v.*]), who at first seemed to be the strong man needed, was brought to an early end by his rival Murād Pasha, and in the meantime the Cretan war against Venice was exhausting the resources of the Empire. In Djumādā I 1066/March 1656 a military rebellion forced the sultan to allow the execution of several of his favourite courtiers.

The real strong man proved to be Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha (vizier 1066-72/1656-61), who eliminated immediately the influence of the harem on state affairs and became until his death the real ruler of the empire. His régime began with a Turkish maritime defeat by the Venetians at the Dardanelles, but already in the following year he obtained as *serʿasker* successes in Transylvania and succeeded at the same time in establishing firmly Turkish authority in the Danube principalities; the collaboration with the Khān of the Crimea [see ḲIRĪM] was here of great value. In 1068/1658 and 1069/1659 he was able to suppress rebellions in Anatolia, and in the Venetian war a great fleet of Venetian ships and other Christian allies did not succeed against the Turkish forces on Crete. After his death (1072/1661), he was succeeded in his office by his son Köprülü Aḥmed Pasha, who completed the work of his father by carrying through the final conquest of Crete (surrender of Ḳandiya [*q.v.*] in Rabīʿ II 1080/September 1669) followed by peace with Venice. In 1071/1661 the war with Austria had begun again, where Sultan Meḥemmed took part in several campaigns, notably that of 1073/1663 in which Újvár (Neuhäusel or Nové Zámky) was taken. In 1075/1664 took place the famous battle of St. Gotthard-am-Raab, where the Turks were beaten by an allied army, a part of which was formed by French troops; still, the peace concluded with Austria in 1075/1664 at Vasvár was favourable for Turkey. In 1083/1672 the sultan took part in the campaign against Poland, after the Ukrainian Cossacks had invoked Ottoman aid against the Polish king; the Polish war, ending in a peace treaty of 1087/1676, strengthened still further the empire's position in the north. Köprülü Aḥmed Pasha died in 1087/1676. Though the sultan, who had developed in the meantime a morose and capricious character, never showed him the same deference as to his father, Aḥmed had been easily able to maintain himself against enemies in the interior, not least by forming new troops, the *beshli* and the *gönüllü* [*q.v.*], who were far more reliable than the Janissaries and Sipāhīs. He had not been able, however, to put an end to the extravagant luxury of the court, which wasted enormous sums. The sultan had an abnormal liking for big hunts, that were organised at enormous cost in the environs of Edirne, which town he preferred as a residence to Istanbul [see further, KÖPRÜLÜ].

After Aḥmed's death the sultan did not himself take the affairs of state in hand; he appointed Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha Merzifonlu [*q.v.*] as his grand vizier. The latter continued in an unnecessary way the tradition of warfare; in 1088/1677 and 1089/1678 he obtained successes against the Cossacks, behind whom the Muscovite power now began to gain in importance in Turkish affairs. In 1093/1682 war broke out again with the Austrian monarchy and led to the second Turkish siege of Vienna (18 Radjab-20 Ramaḍān 1094/12 July-12 September 1683), ending in a Turkish débâcle, thanks to the intervention of the Polish king John Sobieski. This disaster cost Ḳara Muṣṭafā his office and his life, and at the same time the influence of the palace became again predominant. The grand viziers now following proved unequal to their task and in the years 1096-8/1685-7 nearly the whole of Hungary was lost to the Austrian armies (Turkish defeat at Mohács [*q.v.*] on 11 Shaʿbān 1098/22 June 1687). At the same time, the

hostilities with Venice had been reopened in the Morea [*q.v.*] and in the Archipelago.

All these disasters caused a revolt of the troops in the field; they marched on the capital in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1098/September 1687 under Siyāwush Pasha of Aleppo. This time the sultan himself fell a victim to them, and was made to bear the responsibility for the defeats. To satisfy popular demands and to forestall further rebellions, Meḥemmed was deposed on 2 Muḥarram 1099/8 November 1687 by the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā Pasha Köprülü, the *Shaykh al-Islām* Dabbāgh-zāde Meḥmed Efendi and other religious dignitaries. He is said to have accepted the decision gracefully, and he retired to his beloved Edirne, dying there on 28 Rabīʿ II 1104/6 January 1693. He was buried in Istanbul by the side of his mother in the Yeñi Djāmiʿ.

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(J. H. Kramers*)

MEHEMMED V RESHĀD, thirty-fifth and penultimate Ottoman Sultan, was born on 2 November 1844, the son of Sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd [*q.v.*].

During the reign of his brother ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] he lived in seclusion: his very existence inspired ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd with such terror that even the mention of the name Reshād had to be avoided in his presence (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, 232). He was a man of mild character, who owed his accession to the throne (27 April 1909) to the victory of the Young Turks (the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI]) over the mutineers who had briefly ejected them from power in "the incident of 31 March" (13 April 1909 in the Gregorian calendar), and to their subsequent decision to depose ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. Meḥemmed Reshād was a pious man; he felt particular sympathy for the Mewlewī Ṣūfī order (Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*, 123); he prized politeness and good food and enjoyed simple pleasures. As the first Ottoman constitutional monarch, he spent most of his reign doing the bidding of the Unionist party, which achieved total power in January 1913. He was twice called upon to second government policy: in 1911 he undertook a tour of Ottoman possessions in the Balkans, but was unable to prevent another Albanian rising; and after the outbreak of the First World War he proclaimed the *djihād* against the Allies, but did not sway their Muslim subjects. It can be said that he exerted no influence on the course of events during his reign. His residence, the Dolmabahçe Palace on the Bosporus, was as empty of visitors as the Yîldîz Palace had been full during the reign of his predecessor (Halid Ziya Uşaklıgıl, *Saray ve ötesi*, 134-6).

At the very beginning of his reign, Turkey lost her last vestige of authority over Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary's annexation, and over Bulgaria by its declaration of independence (5 October 1909). The cabinets under Ḥüseyn Ḥilmī (until 18 January 1910) and Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Pasha [*q.v.*] (until 29 September 1911) were not able to bring about a peaceful situation in the interior (revolts in Albania and Yaman). Ḥaḳḳī Pasha had to resign as a result of the declaration of war by Italy. Under the grand vizierate of Saʿīd Pasha [*q.v.*], the Italian war led to the loss of Tripoli, confirmed by the treaty of Ouchy (15 October 1912). Saʿīd Pasha resigned, and when Sultan Meḥemmed Reshād asked him why he had done so, given that he had won a vote of confidence in the Chamber, he replied "They had confidence in me, but I had no confidence in them" (İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*, vii, 1089). Peace was signed under the anti-Unionist cabinet of Aḥmed Mukhtār Pasha, but in the same month the Balkan states declared war on the Ottoman Empire. As Ottoman armies suffered immediate defeats, Aḥmed Mukhtār Pasha was forced to resign, and his successor, the veteran anti-Unionist statesman Kāmil Pasha soon showed an inclination to conclude a disastrous peace through the mediation of the European powers (Conference of London). Then in January 1913, a coup d'état brought in a Unionist government under Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha [*q.v.*]. Hostilities were reopened unsuccessfully, but the defeat of Bulgaria at the hands of its former Balkan allies allowed the Ottomans to recapture Edirne or Adrianople on 22 July 1913. In the meantime, Maḥmūd Shewket had been murdered (28 June) by anti-Unionists, but this did not loosen the Unionist grip on power; his place was taken by Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha, whose government signed the peace treaties with Bulgaria (29 September 1913), Greece (14 November) and Serbia (14 March 1914). The Ottoman Empire thus lost all its European possessions west of the Meriç [*q.v.*] (Maritza) river, and also the Aegean islands and Crete.

However, it was not the grand vizier, but Unionist leaders like Enwer Bey and Ṭalʿat Bey [*q.vv.*] who came to control the destiny of the Empire. Enwer's pro-German views triumphed over the hesitations of the government, which had decided to stay neutral when the First World War broke out. A secret treaty was signed with Germany; the German battleships *Goeben* and *Breslau* were given refuge in the Straits (where they were formally handed over to the Ottomans); and finally, the Ottoman fleet under the command of the German admiral Souchon bombarded Russian harbours in the Black Sea (29 and 30 October 1914). This led to the Allied declaration of war, in which Enwer Pasha became Deputy Commander-in-Chief (deputising nominally for the Sultan), while Ṭalʿat Pasha became grand vizier in February 1917. Initial Ottoman offensives were repelled (Sarîkamîsh operation against the Russians; Suez operation against the British), but the Turks successfully defended the Dardanelles (the Allied forces which had landed on the Gallipoli peninsula were all withdrawn by January 1916); they were at first successful in ʿIrāḳ (surrender of General Townshend at Kūt al-ʿAmāra [*q.v.*], April 1916), and fought also in Palestine, Macedonia and Galicia. Before the end of the war, as Ottoman armies were being gradually worn down and while the country was prey to increasing privations, Meḥemmed V died on 2 July 1918. His last official functions were to welcome the Austro-

Hungarian Emperor Charles on a state visit to Istanbul in May, and, a few days before his death, to visit the Prophet's relics at the Topkapı Palace. He was a sad and ineffective figure: "Is Edirne ours?", he asked after the city had been recaptured; and his comment on the effects of the Great War was "The Palace excelled in two things: prayers and food. Both have gone off" (*Görüp işittiklerim*, 269, 268).

Bibliography: The events of the reign are related in all standard histories, e.g. S.J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, ii, Cambridge 1977; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, Oxford 1961, and there are references to Meḥemmed V Reshād in many memoirs, especially those of his two Chief Secretaries: Halid Ziya Uşaklıgıl, *Saray ve ötesi*, Istanbul 1965, and Ali Fuad Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*, Ankara 1951, and of his Chief Chamberlain, Lütfi Simavi, *Osmanlı sarayının son günleri*, Istanbul n.d. (the edition in modern Turkish of his *Sultan Mehmet Reşad ve halefinin sarayında gördüklerim*). The Sultan's decrees appointing grand viziers, as well as biographies and evaluations of the latter, are to be found in İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*², Istanbul 1966. See also P. Mansel, *Sultans in their splendour: the last years of the Ottoman world*, London 1988; *İA* art. *Mehmed Reşad* (Enver Ziya Karal). (A. J. Mango)

MEḤEMMED VI WAḤĪD AL-DĪN (Waḥdeddīn), thirty-sixth and last Ottoman Sultan, was born on 14 January 1861.

He was the son of Sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd [*q.v.*] and succeeded to the throne on 3 July 1918, after the death of his brother Meḥemmed V Reshād [*q.v.*], the former heir to the throne Yūsuf ʿIzz al-Dīn, son of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, having died in 1916. In November of the same year, Waḥdeddīn, as the new heir, represented the Sultan at the funeral of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Francis Joseph. In December 1917 he paid an official visit to Germany. On both occasions he made a favourable impression on his suite (on his German visit he was accompanied by Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, the future founder of the Turkish Republic [see ATATÜRK]). Waḥdeddīn was presumed to be critical of the Unionist party, in view of his closeness with his brother-in-law Dāmād Ferīd Pasha [*q.v.*], who was a leading member of the Liberal party (*Iʾtilāf ve Ḥürriyyet*) (Lütfi Simavi, *Osmanlı sarayının son günleri*, 265). Having reappointed the Unionist grand vizier Ṭalʿat Pasha on his accession, Waḥdeddīn accepted his resignation when the collapse of the Macedonian and southern fronts forced the Ottoman empire to seek an armistice with the victorious Allies. He sought to replace him by the veteran statesman Tewfīḳ Pasha, to whom Waḥdeddīn was related by marriage and whose loyalty to the dynasty he therefore trusted. However, as Tewfīḳ Pasha was unable to form a government, the Sultan appointed Marshal Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pasha, a veteran soldier known for his opposition to the war. The new grand vizier rejected Waḥdeddīn's suggestion that Dāmād Ferīd Pasha be included in the Ottoman delegation which signed the armistice agreement at Mudros [see MONDROS] on 30 October 1918. As the Allies prepared to occupy the remnants of the Empire, Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pasha fell foul of the palace and resigned as a result of his refusal to dismiss Unionist sympathisers from the cabinet. He was replaced first by Tewfīḳ Pasha and then on 4 March 1919 by Dāmād Ferīd Pasha, when the former was also seen as insufficiently diligent in rooting out Unionists.

The new grand vizier encouraged the Sultan in a policy of seeking to win the confidence of the Allies by meeting their demands. However, the decision of the Allies to allow Greek forces to land in Izmir on 15 May 1919 led to the growth of a Turkish national resistance movement which opposed the policy of appeasement pursued by the Sultan and his government. Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, who was appointed by the Sultan as Inspector-General of the 9th (later 3rd) Army in Anatolia, and landed in Samsun on 19 May 1919, assumed the leadership of this movement. Having disregarded the order to return to Istanbul and having resigned from the army, Muṣṭafā Kemāl succeeded in cutting off Anatolia from the capital, thus forcing the resignation of Dāmād Ferīd Pasha on 5 October 1919. This was followed on 7 November by the election of a new parliament in which the nationalists were represented. The attempts of two subsequent grand viziers, ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha and Ṣāliḥ Pasha, to reach an accommodation with Muṣṭafā Kemāl's nationalists, who moved their headquarters to Ankara on 27 December, came to an end when the Allies placed Istanbul under military occupation on 16 March, and arrested a number of nationalist sympathisers. On 5 April, Waḥdeddīn re-appointed Dāmād Ferīd Pasha as grand vizier, overruling contrary advice with the words "If I so desire, I can appoint the Greek or the Armenian patriarch, or the Chief Rabbi" (Ali Fuad Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*, 261). On 11 April the Sultan dissolved parliament, which had itself decided to adjourn. On the same day, the *Shaykh al-Islām* ʿAbd Allāh Dürrī-zāde issued a number of *fatwās* outlawing the nationalist resistance in Anatolia (texts in Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*, xiii, 2054-5).

Nevertheless, a number of deputies from the dissolved parliament made their way to Ankara and, together with other nationalist representatives, met as the Grand National Assembly (*Büyük Millet Medjlisi*) on 23 April, which selected its own government (*Idjrāʾ Wekīlleri Heyʾeti*, Committee of Executive Commissioners) from among its own members. However, the Assembly sent a petition to Waḥdeddīn in which it proclaimed its loyalty to the Sultan and Caliph (extracts in Sabahattin Selek, *Anadolu ihtilâli*, Istanbul 1963, 289). As an open clash developed between the governments in Ankara and in Istanbul, the latter trying unsuccessfully to suppress the nationalist movement by sending troops against it and fomenting risings in Anatolia, Waḥdeddīn ratified on 24 May 1920 the death sentence passed *in absentia* on Muṣṭafā Kemāl. The signature by Ottoman delegates of the peace treaty of Sèvres on 10 August 1920 was repudiated by the Grand National Assembly. After the first major nationalist victory against the Greeks at the first battle of Inönü, the GNA voted a new constitution on 29 January 1921 which was based on popular sovereignty. Allied moves to establish contact with the Ankara government led to the resignation and departure for Europe of Dāmād Ferīd Pasha, drawing from the Sultan the comment "The rascal brought the state to these straits and then left" (*Son sadrıazamlar*, xiii, 2067). Tewfīḳ Pasha, who became grand vizier for the last time (21 October 1920), deferred to the representatives of the Ankara government at the unsuccessful London conference in February-March 1921.

The final success of the nationalists, whose forces defeated the Greeks and entered Izmir on 9 September 1922, brought about the armistice of Mudanya [*q.v.*] (11 October 1922), to which the Sultan's government was not a party. A nationalist

commissioner, Reʾfet Pas͟ha, arrived in Istanbul and warned the Sultan to confine himself to the palace and receive no visitors, advice which the Sultan disregarded (*Son sadrıazamlar*, xiv, 2097-8). Matters were brought to a head when the Allies invited the Sultan's government, along with the Ankara government, to send delegates to the peace conference in Lausanne. Rejecting any rival government, the GNA passed a law on 1 November 1922, separating the offices of sultan and caliph, and declaring the Ottoman sultanate abolished from 16 March 1920 (the date of the Allied occupation of Istanbul). Tewfīḳ Pas͟ha resigned accordingly on 4 November. At his last *selāmlīḳ* on 10 November, which was attended by a handful of courtiers, Waḥdeddīn was given only the title of caliph in the *k͟huṭba*. Believing his life to be in danger, he asked the British commander General Sir Charles Harington to arrange his departure abroad. He was smuggled aboard HMS *Malaya* and left Turkey on 17 November 1922. The next day, the GNA divested him of the caliphate, in favour of his uncle ᶜAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd, son of Sultan ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz. Having gone first to Malta, the ex-Sultan proceeded to Mecca as the guest of King Ḥusayn. From here he launched a proclamation to the Islamic world, in which he maintained that the separation of the caliphate from the sultanate was contrary to the *s͟harīᶜa* (text in *OM*, ii, 702-5). This appeal found hardly any response in the Islamic world. The last Ottoman Sultan left Mecca again, and went to live in San Remo, where he died on 16 May 1926. In 1924, he had even recognised King Ḥusayn's claim to the caliphate.

Waḥdeddīn has been described by his courtiers as short-tempered, pious, intelligent, but fearful, hesitant and unwise in his judgments, above all in the trust which he placed in his brother-in-law Dāmād Ferīd Pas͟ha. Throughout his reign he paid lip-service to the Ottoman constitution, while being inspired by a desire to secure the survival of the dynasty. He had not studied Arabic and Persian, but was credited with a knowledge of *fiḳh*. He was fond of music, and composed Turkish songs. His failure to grow a beard after his accession was considered a break with tradition.

Bibliography: See the general histories of the period, especially S. J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Oxford 1961; also Lord Kinross, *Atatürk: the rebirth of a nation*, London 1964, and P. Mansel, *Sultans in splendour*, London 1988. Reminiscences and documents are to be found in İbnülemin Mahmud İnal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*, xi-xiv (esp. xiv, 2095-2104), Istanbul 1965, and in the memoirs of the Sultan's Chief Chamberlain (*Bas͟hmabeyind̲j̲i*) Lütfi Simavi, *Osmanlı sarayının son günleri*, Istanbul n.d., and his Chief Secretary, Ali Fuad Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*, Ankara 1951. See also *İA* art. *Mehmed Vahdettin* (Enver Ziya Karal).

(A. J. Mango)

MEḤKEME [see maḥkama].

MEḤMED, MEHMET. [On the use of these Turkish forms of the name Muḥammad in this *Encyclopaedia* see mehemmed].

MEḤMED ᶜĀKIF, modern Turkish Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873-1936), Turkish poet, patriot and proponent of Pan-Islamism.

He was born in Istanbul of a father, Meḥmed Ṭāhir, originally from Ipek in northern Albania (modern Peć in Yugoslavia) and a mother of Buk͟hāran origin. He was educated in the classical Islamic tongues, Turkish, Arabic and Persian, in Istanbul, graduating from the Fātiḥ *rüs͟hdiyye* or secondary school and continuing his higher education at the School of Political Science and then the Civilian Veterinary School. He served as a veterinary surgeon in the Ministry of Agriculture for 20 years, travelling extensively in Anatolia, the Balkans and the Arab lands, whilst at the same time teaching, including lecturing on literature at Istanbul University; and after his resignation from government service in 1913, he taught in various schools and preached in the mosques of Istanbul.

He had already shown an enthusiasm for Pan-Islamism at the time of the Young Turk Revolution and during the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, hence in 1915, during the First World War, when Turkey had entered the war on the side of the General Powers, ᶜĀkif was invited to visit Germany by the Kaiser's government to study and report on the state of Muslim prisoners-of-war in that country; this trip gave him his first contact with the West and its differing attitudes and conditions from those of the Islamic East. Then in 1917 he was sent by the Committee of Union and Progress [see ittiḥād we teraḳḳī d̲j̲emᶜiyyeti], after the outbreak of the S͟harīf Ḥusayn of Mecca's revolt, on a mission to the pro-Turkish Āl Ras͟hīd of Ḥāʾil in Nad̲j̲d. He further became Secretary-General of the *Dār ül-Ḥikmet ül-Islāmiyye* attached to the *S͟heyk͟h ül-Islām*'s office, but lost his post in 1919 when he called for resistance against the Greek forces entering Anatolia in the wake of the October 1918 Mudros Armistice. He now threw in his lot with the Nationalist cause under Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) [*q.v.*], and joined the Grand National Assembly (GNA) in Ankara in 1920 as deputy for Burdur. In the following year, the Nationalist Minister of Education, Ḥamdullāh Ṣubḥī Tanrıöver (1886-1966), persuaded ᶜĀkif to compose a stirring Independence March (*Istiḳlāl mars͟hī*), which was immediately adopted as the Turkish National anthem. He was still concerned, also, with religious affairs, as a member of an Islamic research committee (*Tedḳīḳat we teʾlīfat-i islāmiyye end̲j̲ümeni*) in the Ministry of *S͟harīᶜa* and *Ewḳāf*. But as a devout Muslim and convinced Pan-Islamist, he became increasingly concerned about the trend of events after the Nationalist triumph, with the abolition of the caliphate in March 1924, the abolition of the office of *S͟heyk͟h ül-Islām*, of the Ministry of *S͟harīᶜa* and *Ewḳāf*, and of the *S͟harīᶜa* itself, and of the closing of all the *madrasas* in the spring of 1924. Unlike the ideologist of Pan-Turkism, Ḍiyāʾ (Ziya) Gök Alp [*q.v.*], ᶜĀkif was unable to adjust his ideas to the new, secularist Nationalist ideals, for he had still hoped that the new Turkey could be the focus of Pan-Islamic aspirations.

In the 1923 elections, he did not get a seat in the GNA, and at the age of 50 was jobless and virtually pensionless. Hence in October of that year, he left for Egypt to stay with an old friend, the Egyptian Prince ᶜAbbās Ḥalīm (d. 1934), and in 1925 settled there, teaching Turkish in Cairo, but by now, as a disappointed man, producing little of his own literary work. He returned to Istanbul after eleven years, a sick man, and died there on 27 December 1936.

Already as a student, ᶜĀkif had been a voracious reader of the Islamic classics, with a particular love for the poetry of Fuḍūlī, Ibn Fāriḍ and above all Saᶜdī, and also of French Romantic literature. He published Turkish translations of the Persian classics in the *T̲h̲erwet-i Fünūn* from 1898 onwards, and his own poetry in the *Resimli Gazete* from 1896 onwards. After 1904, he seems really to have found his artistic feet, and he began to write poetry on social themes, showing a sympathy with the depressed classes of society,

but was unable to publish these in the period of the Ḥamīdian censorship, until the Revolution of July 1908 opened the floodgates for publication. ʿĀkif and his friend Eshref Edīb began to publish the *Ṣirāṭ-i Müstaḳīm*, a conservative journal concentrating on religious and social topics; this periodical soon began to have a wide circulation amongst the Turkish peoples outside the Ottoman lands, including in Russia, and later changed its name to the *Sebīl ür-Reshād*. At the same time as he put forward his ideas of Pan-Islamism, he also acquired an interest in Islamic modernism, studying the works of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.vv.*]. The popularity of new ideas, such as Pan-Turkism and Pan-Turanianism, Ottomanism and Westernism, in the ferment of ideas preceding the First World War, forced him to rethink and clarify his own principles; but he never compromised his view that the unity of Islam came before separate nationalisms.

From 1911 onwards, he began publishing collections of his poetry as *Ṣafaḥāt* ("Phases"), with a total of seven volumes, the last, entitled *Gölgeler* ("Shadows") containing his work done during the years 1918-33. In these collections, he used a simple Turkish style, and often dwelt on such themes as the present state and future destiny of Islam and on contemporary events. In *Ṣafaḥāt*, v, *Khāṭiralar* ("Memories") (1335/1917), he attacked "westernisers" and "progressives" who slavishly imitated everything, good or bad, drawn from the West, and especially the poet Tewfīḳ Fikret (d. 1915), whose atheistic poem *Taʾrīkh-i ḳadīm* ("Ancient history") he regarded as corrupting Turkish youth. ʿĀkif also engaged in translating the Ḳurʾān into Turkish, and this remains a controversial episode in his life. The successor to the Ministry of *Sharīʿa*, the Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Diyānet Ishleri Riyāseti*) decided to commission a new translation of and commentary on the Ḳurʾān. ʿĀkif was persuaded, with some misgivings connected with his firm belief in the basic untranslatability of the Holy Book, to undertake the actual translation, but after spending several years of his stay in Egypt at the task, retracted what he had written, fearing that his translation might be used as part of Atatürk's Turkicisation plans in religious matters; the eventual fate of his translation remains a mystery to this day.

Meḥmed ʿĀkif was thus an enthusiastic Muslim but not a fanatic, a conservative in politics who nevertheless openly proclaimed his detestation of ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II and Meḥemmed VI and who joined the Nationalist cause; nor did his conservative inclinations prevent him from appreciating Western literature and even Western classical music.

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MEḤMED ʿALI PASHA [see MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ PASHA].

MEḤMED ʿĀSHIḲ [see ʿĀSHIḲ].

MEḤMED BĀGHČESARĀYĪ, surnamed Thanāʾī (d. after 13 Shaʿbān 1061/1 August 1651), Crimean Tatar author of the history of Khān Islām Girāy III from his arrival in Kaffa and his enthronement in Bāghčesarāyī (1 and 5 Djumādā I 1054/6 and 10 July 1644 respectively) until the spring of 1651.

He had been formerly *munshī-yi dīwān-i khāḳānī* at the khān's court; the excellent Turkish of his work may be a proof that he was educated in Istanbul and was responsible for the khān's correspondence with the Ottoman court. Charged by Sefer Ghāzī Agha with the task of compiling the history of the khān's successful rule, he created a panegyric adorned with his own Turkish and Persian verses, founded in the historical part on the diaries of the three Tatar-Cossack expeditions against Poland of 1648-9 and other materials given him presumably by this vizier. It was finished on 1 August 1651, but the author did not mention even the preparations for a new Tatar expedition against Poland which ended with the khān's and his Cossack allies' defeat at Beresteczko, 28-30 June of the same year. The information about the very origins of Islām Girāy III's alliance with B. Chmielnicki of 1648 is rather unsatisfactory. The diaries of the expeditions of 1648-9 are additionally important sources of the now forgotten Turkic toponyms, as much in the Crimea as in the steppes and in the Ukraine. This work, hitherto not mentioned in the history of the Crimean Tatar literature, throws a new light on the culture of the khanate of Crimea and on Khān Islām Girāy III's political and cultural aspirations. It is preserved only in a copy from 1092/1681, now in the British Library.

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(Z. Abrahamowicz)

MEḤMED BALṬADJĪ [see MEḤMED PASHA BALṬADJĪ].

MEḤMED ČELEBI [see GHAZĀLĪ, MEḤMED].

MEḤMED EMĪN, in modern Turkish Mehmet Emin Yurdakul (1869-1944), Turkish poet and patriot, the pioneer of modern Turkish poetry in spoken Turkish and syllabic metre. He was born in the Beshiktash district of Istanbul on 13 May 1869. The family originated from Zekeriyyā Köyü, a village near Lake Terkos, in Eastern Thrace, some 30 miles north-west of Istanbul. His grandfather Ḥalīm Agha was a trawler owner. His father Ṣāliḥ Agha, later called Ṣāliḥ Reʾīs (Captain) when he owned a large trawler rowed by several men, was an illiterate fisherman and his mother a peasant woman from a village near Edirne. They both possessed a rich store of oral folk literature which they transmitted to their son. Meḥmed Emīn attended a primary school and the military secondary school (*rüshdiyye-yi ʿaskeriyye*) in Beshiktash, then registered at a civilian *Lycée* (*ʿidādī*)

which he did not finish. He continued his education, as was still possible at that time, by serving, without pay, in the chancery of the office of the grand vizierate (*Ṣadāret Ewrāḳ Ḳalemi*). In 1888 he married Müzeyyen Khānïm, from a notable family of Ḳara-Ḥiṣār-ï Sharḳī (modern Şebinkarahisar), in north-eastern Anatolia, which he visited several times, sometimes for long periods and where he enriched his observations on the plight of the Anatolian peasantry. In 1889 he registered at the School of Law (*Mekteb-i ḥuḳūḳ*) which he abandoned two years later for an opportunity of studying further in America, which did not however materialise. While still a student in the Law School, he published his first book (see below) and sent a copy to the grand vizier Djewād Pasha [*q.v.*], on whose recommendation he was appointed (1890) as a clerk of the secretariat of the Custom's office (*Rüsūmāt emāneti taḥrīrāt ḳalemi*). Two years later he became director of the archives (*ewrāḳ müdīri*) of the same office, where he remained for 15 years. In 1907, he became a member of the secret revolutionary Committee of Union and Progress (CUP [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI]). The same year, he was sent to Erzurum, in Eastern Anatolia, as superintendent of the customs (*rüsūmāt nāẓïrï*) which, under the Ḥamīdian régime, amounted to political exile. The Sultan had become suspicious of his choice of subjects in his poems, particularly his insistence on the poor (see below).

After the restoration of the Constitution in July 1908, he was transferred to Trabzon with the same office. After a short service as counsellor at the Ministry of Marine and as governor (*wālī*) of the Ḥidjāz (1909) and Sivas (1910), he resigned and joined in Istanbul the Turkist movement (see B. Lewis, *Emergence*[2], 343-52 and TÜRKDJÜLÜK) and was made president of the Turkish Hearth [see TÜRK ODJAGHÏ] in 1911. He soon set up another Turkist association, the *Türk Yurdu* ("Turkish Home"). As he was preparing to publish the organ of the association, with the same name, which later became famous as the organ of the Turkish Hearths [see TÜRK YURDU], he was appointed governor of Erzurum. In the meantime, he expressed, in many writings, his disappointment with the CUP and his disagreement with many arbitrary and despotic actions of the administration. He was retired from Government service in 1912. Elected deputy for Mawṣil (Mosul), he settled in Istanbul and continued his literary and patriotic activities. He witnessed the collapse of the Empire and the occupation of Istanbul by the Allies. He joined the Nationalist government of Ankara in April 1921, which sent him on a special mission to Antalya and Adana where he stayed until the end of the War of Liberation, when he went to Izmir to join Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (Atatürk [*q.v.*]) with whom he returned to Ankara (September 1922). He was elected deputy for Sharḳī Ḳaraḥiṣār. Later, he continued to serve in Parliament as deputy for Urfa and Istanbul. He died in Istanbul on 14 January 1944. During the last years of his life, he had been collaborating with the Turkish Historical Society in Ankara (to which he donated all his personal archives) to prepare a revised and critical edition of his complete works (see *Bibl.*).

Meḥmed Emīn who, following the law on surnames, took in 1934 the family name of Yurdakul ("slave of the fatherland"), was known in his lifetime as *Millī shāʿir* or *Türk shāʿiri Meḥmed Emīn* ("Meḥmed Emīn, the national poet or Turkish poet *par excellence*"), as he consistently wrote in the spoken Turkish of ordinary people and used exclusively the syllabic metre of folk poets as opposed to the Arabo-Persian prosody (*ʿarūḍ*) of both old and most modern poets of his day [see BÖLÜKBASHÏ, RIḌĀ TEWFĪḲ, in Suppl.] and devoted all his literary work to his country and its people, their plight, their misfortunes and their glories, completely leaving out his own personality and private life. He published his first book (a short essay), while a law student in 1308 A.H./1891, *Faḍīlet we aṣālet* ("Virtue and nobility)", in which he claims that real virtue and nobility are not necessarily hereditary but are rather obtained by a person's talent, diligence and spiritual maturity. As was customary at the time, he sent the draft to several literary authorities, who all wrote complimentary *taḳrīẓs* (presentation pieces) which were printed with the book. Meḥmed Emīn's first published poem *Köyde fïrtïna* ("Storm in the village") appeared in *Resimli Ghazete* of 5 October 1311 A.H./17 October 1895, which was confiscated before distribution (Aḳčuraoghlu Yūsuf, *Türk yïlï*, Istanbul 1928, 387, where the date is wrongly given as 1903); it was reprinted in *Muḳtebes*, no. 10, 1317 A.H./1900. This remarkable poem, with its social implications and which contains most of the characteristics of his later poems, with typical language, style and content, was written as the height of the famous westernist *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] literary movement, which was linguistically conservative to the degree of preciosity and which disdained the "finger counting" (*parmaḳ ḥisābï*) metre of the "ignorant bards". Although almost all the sources, including the poet himself, assert otherwise, it seems chronologically probable that the young poet read this particular poem to Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*], who recommended him to continue (see below). Several poems of the same type, published in various periodicals, including in the *Therwet-i Fünūn* itself, immediately before and during the April-September 1897 war with Greece, particularly the one called *Anadoludan bir ses yākhud djenge giderken* ("A voice from Anatolia, or Going to war") published previously but in the same year in the newspaper *ʿAṣïr* ("Century") in Salonica, made a sensation in Turkey, among the Muslim Turks in Russia and among orientalists abroad (see *Bibl.*; for a correct text of this poem, see Nüzhet Hāshim, *Millī edebiyyata doghru*, Istanbul 1918, 6).

Although there was a long but often ignored tradition of simple, straightforward Turkish prose (see Fahir İz, *Ottoman and Turkish*, in *Essays in Islamic civilisation presented to Niyazi Berkes*, ed. D. P. Little, Leiden 1976, 118-39), a similar but occasional movement to write simple, pure, common or exclusive Turkish (*basīṭ, sāde, ḳaba, ṣïrf, yalñïz türkdje*) verse always existed also (for a detailed discussion of this subject, see Köprülü-zāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Millī edebiyyāt djereyānïnïn ilk mübeshshirleri we dīwān-ï türkī-yi basīṭ*, Istanbul 1928, Roman script edition in *Edebiyat araştırmaları*, published by T.T.K., Ankara 1966, 271-315). The *Tanẓīmāt* writers claimed that simple, everyday Turkish was necessary to communicate with the public, but did not apply their principle except in a few pieces. The revolutionary and journalist ʿAlī Suʿāwī [*q.v.*] and the publicist and novelist Aḥmed Midḥat [*q.v.*] did write a remarkably simple language, and their associates gave occasional examples of simple Turkish verse. But as the famous lexicographer and writer Shems el-Dīn Sāmī [*q.v.*], who was the most conscious and advanced of them, admitted in an article, greeting the publication of Meḥmed Emīn's first book of poems *Türkdje shiʿrler* ("Poems in Turkish") (see below), "...although they (the *Tanẓīmāt* writers) talked and wished to write in simple Turkish, it was Meḥmed Emīn who carried it out, and

this book was the foundation stone of future Turkish literature" (*Sabah*, 1 March 1313 *Rūmī*/13 March 1899). The British orientalist E.J.W. Gibb congratulated Meḥmed Emīn warmly in a letter in Turkish of 6 June 1899, in which he said "... The Turk has found his natural voice... your predecessors imitated the Persians and the French. You expressed the feeling of your countrymen in their own language... Six centuries have been waiting for you" (the original letter is in the Meḥmed Emīn Archives, in the Turkish Historical Society, Ankara). Like the sporadic examples in the *dīwāns* of the 18th century poets Nedīm [*q.v.*] and Ghālib Dede [*q.v.*] and in most of the 19th century poets, there seems to be a latent desire to express themselves occasionally in everyday Turkish and sometimes in syllabic metre. These examples seem to multiply particularly in the works of minor poets during the last decades of the century [see TURKS. LITERATURE]. However, as Shems el-Dīn Sāmī points out in the above-mentioned article, Meḥmed Emīn's work was not a random experiment. It was the beginning of a conscientious, systematic and lasting movement. So much so that his colleague and biographer Aḳčuraoghlu Yūsuf [see YŪSUF, AḲČURA] says that *A voice from Anatolia* can be called the manifesto of linguistic Turkism (Aḳčuraoghlu, *op. cit.*, 391). This current was enriched with the deeply felt lyricism and more inspired poems of Riḍā Tewfīḳ (Bölükbashī), who, during the ensuing violent controversy between the partisans of simple Turkish and those who supported the fashionable *Mischsprache* of the leading poets and writers, became his most enthusiastic defender (see Nüzhet Hāshim, *op. cit.*, 7-10; Aḳčuraoghlu, *op. cit.*, 387-91). This "simple Turkish" movement spread to the provinces and was supported by several minor writers, including Meḥmed Nedjīb (see Tahir Alangu, *Ömer Seyfettin*, Istanbul 1968, *passim*) who had launched a similar movement independently in Izmir, culminated in April 1911, in Salonica, with the "New language" (*Yeñi lisān*) movement of ʿÖmer Seyf el-Dīn [*q.v.*] which Ḍiyāʾ (Ziya) Gökalp [*q.v.*] espoused and propagated among young poets and writers, setting up a new literary current, the "National literature" (*millī edebiyyāt djereyānī*) [see TURKS. LITERATURE]. Meḥmed Emīn candidly admits his association with Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and the latter's influence on the development of his ideas. The standard biographies of the *Shaykh* are usually silent on his unofficial Turkish connections (see, e.g., Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī", a political biography*, Berkeley, 1972). But this influence has been much exaggerated by later biographers and critics. In the early years of al-Afghānī's second sojourn in Istanbul (July 1892-March 1897), Meḥmed Emīn, then in his mid-twenties, was one of the many young intellectuals—Turks, Persians and Arabs—who flocked twice a week to the Mansion (*köshk*) in Nishāntashī, not far from the Imperial Palace, which the Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II assigned to him, giving also a monthly allowance. Meḥmed ʿĀkif [*q.v.*], M. Shems el-Dīn (Günaltay) [see SHEMS EL-DĪN] and Meḥmed Emīn were among the more assiduous Turks. It is reported in most Turkish sources (see *Bibl.*) and summarised by his close friend Aḳčuraoghlu (*op. cit.*, 374 ff. and *passim*) and the noted educationist Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Baltadjīoghlu [see ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ in Suppl.], who interviewed the poet six months before his death (İ. H. Baltacı-oğlu, *Mehmet Emin Yurdakul ile konuştum*, in *Yeni Adam*, no. 452 [26 August 1943], Istanbul) and repeated by many later authors including Uluğ Iğdemir, F.A. Tansel and Kenan Akyüz (see *Bibl.*), that al-Afghānī told his young circle of friends that the writers of the individual Muslim countries should write with the simple vernacular of their people in order to alert them against despotism, social evils and foreign domination and that he (Meḥmed Emīn), like most young men who frequented al-Afghānī's house, owed much to his illuminating conversation and to his constant encouragement. He adds, however, "I was mainly inspired by my own God on my own Mount Sinai and transferred my revelations to my works" (for al-Afghānī's second sojourn in Turkey, see Keddie, *op. cit.*, ch. "The final years 1892-1897: Istanbul"). The circumstances of the last three years of al-Afghānī's life (he died of cancer of the jaw, after a long illness and three operations, on 9 March 1897) make the close relationship, reported in the sources, during the period when Meḥmed Emīn wrote his most famous poems (April-September 1897), chronologically impossible. It seems that a legend, based on a confusion by the poet, has survived until the present day.

Strictly speaking, Meḥmed Emīn had no literary masters or followers. The movement which he had started, and which was sincerely defended by Riḍā Tewfīḳ, was followed up by the latter and by the next generation, in a new style and inspiration more akin to the technique and spirit of the traditional folk (*saz*, *ʿāshiḳ*) and popular mystic (*derwīsh*) poetry. His own work is to-day appreciated more for its historico-literary importance than its intrinsic value.

Meḥmed Emīn is the author of the following major works:

1. *Türkdje shiʿrler* ("Poems in Turkish") Istanbul 1316 A.H./1898;
2. *Türk sazī* ("Turkish *saz*"), Istanbul 1330 *rūmī*/1914, contains 191 poems written between 1898 and 1914, most of them published previously in different periodicals. Two of them are taken from the preceding. The majority of the poems dwell upon social problems. Some are inspired by the Pan-Turkist movement of the second decade of the century.

The following three works contain patriotic poems written during the First World War:

3. *Ey Türk uyan* ("Turk, wake up), Istanbul 1330 *rūmī*/1914;
4. *Tan sesleri* ("Voices of dawn"), Istanbul 1331 *rūmī*/1915; and
5. *Ordunuñ destānī* ("The epic of the army"), Istanbul 1334 *rūmī*/1918.
6. *Tūrāna doghru* ("Towards Tūrān"), poems written during the last years of the First World War and inspired by Pan-Turanism.

The following two works contain his poems written during the War of Liberation (1919-22):

7. *Aydīn ḳizlarī* ("The daughters of Aydīn"), Ankara 1921, 3rd edn. as *Mustafa Kemal*, Istanbul 1928; and
8. *Ankara*, Istanbul 1939.

Meḥmed Emīn's other poems, published in various periodicals but not included in his books, have been collected in F.A. Tansel (see *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Köprülü-zāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Meḥmed Emīn Beg*, in *Newsāl-i Millī*, Istanbul 1330 *rūmī*/1914, 159-61; Rüshen Eshref, *Diyorlarki*, Istanbul 1918, 157-67 and *passim*; Riḍā Tewfīḳ, *Emīn Beg we Emīn Beg türkdjesi*, in *Türk Yurdu*, i/4 (1912); Uluğ İğdemir, *Mehmet Emin Yurdakul*, in *Aylık Ansiklopedi*, no. 10 (February 1945), 321-3; Ahmet İhsan, *Matbuat hatıralarım*, i, Istanbul 1930, 10 ff.; Kenan Akyüz, *Batı tesirinde Türk şiiri antolojisi*[3], Ankara

1970, 499-533; Agâh Sirri Levend, *Türk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme evreleri*[3] Ankara 1972, index; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*[2], Oxford 1968; Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de çağdaş düşünce tarihi*[2], Istanbul 1979, index; Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, *Mehmed Emin Yurdakul'un eserleri. I. Şiirler*, T.T.K. Ankara 1969 (based on two files, prepared by the poet himself, in collaboration with Uluğ İğdemir of the Turkish Historical Society; contains M.E.'s collected works in verse with his own corrections and alterations. A promised second volume, which should contain a detailed biography, his prose writings and his translations, has not yet [November 1984] been published); for al-Afghānī's Turkish connections, see Osman Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, Istanbul 1939, passim; Osman Keskioğlu, *Cemâleddin Efgânî*, in *İlâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, x (1962), 91-102; Niyazi Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964, index; for translations from M.E.'s works into foreign languages, see O. Spies, *Die moderne türkische Literatur*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, v/1, Leiden 1963, 360 ff. (Fahir İz)

MEḤMED ESʿAD [see esʿad efendi; g͟hālib dede].

MEḤMED GIRĀY, Derwīs͟h Meḥmed Girāy b. Mübārek Girāy Čingizī, member of the Crimean Girāy [*q.v.*] dynasty, probably a brother of K͟hān Murād Girāy (1678-83) and historian. His chronicle, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Meḥmed Girāy*, preserved in the unique ms. H.O. 86, Austrian National Library, Vienna (Flügel, *Catalogue*, ii, 277-8), deals with Ottoman and Crimean history from 1094/1682 to 1115/1703, from Ḳara Muṣṭafā's unsuccessful Viennese campaign to Sultan Aḥmed III's accession to the throne, covering the reigns of the Crimean k͟hāns from Murād Girāy to Selīm I Girāy (third reign, 1702-4); it was finished in Rad͟jab 1115/Nov.-Dec. 1703. Written in clumsy Ottoman Turkish and being of narrow scope, it nevertheless offers an interesting view of Ottoman history in a critical phase by a Crimean prince; some passages, describing events in which the author took part, have the value of a primary source.

Bibliography: Von Hammer, *GOR*, vi, p. VI, ix, 206-7; idem, *Geschichte der Chane der Krim unter osmanischer Herrschaft*, Vienna 1856, 9; Babinger, *GOW*, 235-6; Z. Abrahamowicz, *Kara Mustafa pod Wiedniem*, Cracow 1973; M. Köhbach, *Der Tāriḫ-i Meḥemmed Giray—eine osmanische Quelle zur Belagerung Wiens durch die Türken im Jahre 1683*, in *Studia Austro-Polonica*, iii, Warsaw-Cracow 1983, 137-64. (M. Köhbach)

MEḤMED GIRĀY I, k͟hān of the Crimea from D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 920/Feb. 1515 to D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 929/October-November 1523.

He was the eldest son, heir-apparent (*ḳalg͟hay* [*q.v.*]), and successor of Menglī Girāy I. According to *Gülbün-i k͟hānān*, Istanbul 1287/1870, 11, the title *ḳalg͟hay* goes back to Menglī Girāy I, who appointed Meḥmed Girāy as his deputy. The relationship between the Crimean k͟hānate and the Ottoman Empire was at that time still largely a corollary of the relationship between their respective rulers. Meḥmed Girāy remained k͟hān until his death, although he was an inveterate opponent of his sovereign, Sultan Selīm I [*q.v.*], who was distracted by his wars against Persia and the Mamlūks. The rising Muscovite state under the Grand Prince Vasiliy III (1505-33) had created a new power among the heirs of the Golden Horde. Meḥmed Girāy reacted by alternately allying himself with Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy, and by interfering in the dynastic affairs of Ḳāzān and Astrak͟hān [*q.vv.*]. He also tried to dominate the nomadic Nogay [*q.v.*] tribes of the region. In 1521 he refused Sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnī's [*q.v.*] order to join him in a campaign against Hungary, and instead, led a great expedition against Muscovy, which so far had been on friendly terms with the Ottomans. Meḥmed Girāy's lifelong struggle for a new steppe empire remained without lasting success. He was temporarily able to impose the Crimean claim to the throne of Ḳāzān through his own brother (1521), but lost his life in a plot which he had devised to chase the Muscovite candidate from the throne of Astrak͟hān (1523). Abandoned by the Crimean nobility, whom he had alienated by his ruthlessness, disloyalty and dissolute life, he was massacred by his Nogay allies.

Bibliography: The main source for Meḥmed Girāy I is A. Bennigsen *et alii* (eds.), *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, Paris 1978, with further references; V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe k͟hanstvo pod verk͟hovenstvom otomanskoy porti do načala XVIII veka*, St. Petersburg 1887; S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii s drevneys͟hik͟h vremen*, iii, Moscow 1960, s.v. *Magmet-Girej*, based on N. M. Karamzin's history of the Russian Empire. (B. Kellner-Heinkele)

MEḤMED ḤĀKIM EFENDI, 18th century Ottoman literary personality, statesman and official court chronicler (*waḳʿa-nüwīs*).

Born in Istanbul, his father was *seyyid* K͟halīl Efendi, known as "Emīr Čelebi the knife-maker (*bïčaḳd͟jï*)". Meḥmed pursued his education under well-known scholars such as Yanyalï Esʿad K͟hōd͟ja and Bursalï Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, received a certificate of competence in calligraphy from Suyold͟ju-zāde Ned͟jīb Efendi, author of the *Dewḥat al-küttāb*, spent some fifteen years in Egypt and became an adept of Sezāʾī Ḥasan Efendi, founder of the Sezāʾī branch of the Güls͟henī mystical order (*ṭarīḳat*). Despite having completed a very specialised training, Meḥmed decided to forego a career in the theological field and instead filled successive positions as trainee (*k͟halīfe*) in the secretarial bureau of the Grand Vizierate, beginning in 1155/1742 as assistant to the chief at the Arsenal (*tersāne*), followed in quicker succession by posts such as bureau chief in the treasury department of imperial estates (*k͟hāṣṣlar muḳāṭaʿad͟jïsï*) in 1164/1753, chief secretary of the regiment of the armourers (*d͟jebed͟jiler kātibi*) in 1172/1759, chief secretary of the cavalry regiments (*sipāhiler kātibi*) in 1174/1761, and a second appointment as *d͟jebed͟jiler kātibi* in 1176/1763.

In addition to these secretarial positions in the departments of the treasury, Ḥākim was appointed official court chronicler (*waḳʿa-nüwīs*) from 1 Red͟jeb 1166/4 May 1753, when this position was vacated through the incumbent ʿIzzī Süleymān Efendi's resignation prior to his performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. Ḥākim strove to record all the events from the date of his appointment in 1753 until his resignation in mid-1180/October-November 1766. Four years later, on the night of Reg͟hāʾib 1184/25-6 October 1770, he died and was buried in the cemetery of Ayrïlïḳ Čes͟hmesi in Ḥaydar Pas͟ha (see B. Kütükoğlu, *Müverrih Vâsıf'ın kaynaklarından Hâkim tarihi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, v/8 [1953], 70 ff.).

Meḥmed Ḥākim's command of both Arabic and Persian and his ability of composing poetical and other literary works was recognised by his contemporaries (see the lists of his works in Bursalï Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOt͟hmānlï müʾellifleri*, Istanbul 1333, ii, 142, and Kütükoğlu, *op. cit.*, 74-5. See also *Rūḥī-i Bag͟hdādī terkīb-i bendine naẓīre*, Ist. Univ. Libr. İbnülemin 3352, fols. 100b-105a; the *Nafḥat al-d͟hāt wa 'l-ṣifāt*, a com-

mentary in verse on one of ʿAṭṭār's mystical works, Millet, Emîrî *manzum* 940 (the autograph copy); and the *Miʿrād̲j̲iyye*, Cambridge Or. 1268, and Süleymaniye, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 4477. For two collective works (*med̲j̲mūʿa*) containing poetical works and treatises in Ḥākim's own hand, see İbnülemin 3144 and Süleymaniye, Esad Ef. 3495); but it is nonetheless chiefly through his history writing as official court historian that Ḥākim gained his literary fame. In this, written in a very ornate style and ponderous language, Ḥākim gives special emphasis to events in the capital and the palace, in particular, to audiences with the sultan, court protocol, appointments and dismissals, natural disasters such as fires and earthquakes experienced in the capital and reconstruction efforts after these disasters; but, albeit infrequently, he also touches on developments in the provinces, news of which reached the palace, and reports the content of texts submitted by Ottoman ambassadors on their return from foreign assignments.

Portions of Ḥākim's history are preserved in the form of final revisions in the author's own hand (*tebyīḍ*) in several different locations. The events of 1166-79 are covered in the fourth revision now found in the İbnülemin collection (ms. 2472), while the fifth revision of vol. i covering the years 1166-70 is preserved in the library of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (ms. 483). A continuation in rough draft form covering the years 1171-6 is also found in the same collection (ms. 484). A complete set of volumes covering the entire period from Muḥarrem 1166 to D̲j̲umādā I 1180/November 1752—October 1766 is found in Topkapı Sarayı, Bağdad Köşkü 231 and 233 (fols. 1a-248b; autograph copy). For a description of the Marburg ms. covering the events of 1166-70, see B. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968, i, 150 ff., and for a description of the Uppsala ms., see C.J. Tornberg, *Codices...*, Uppsala 1849, 199.

One of Ḥākim's successors as *waḳʿa-nüvīs*, Aḥmed Wāṣif [*q.v.*], strongly criticised Meḥmed's work, accusing him of failure to concern himself with questions of historical causation and the consequences of events through limiting his coverage only to palace events; he branded his style as "careless" and overly ornate, and his historical sense as lacking in both truthfulness and reliability and precision. When Wāṣif was commissioned in 1216-17/1802 to rewrite the events of the period falling between the *waḳʿa-nüwīs* ʿIzzī and Enwerī, he considered that by reducing Ḥākim's history, whose style he found repellent, to a simple index of events, he had created a new work which could be easily utilised by everybody. However, on comparison of the works, sc. Ḥākim's chronicle and the section of Wāṣif's *Maḥāsin al-āt̲h̲ār* which bases itself upon it (ed. Istanbul, i, 10-280), it becomes clear that Wāṣif's abbreviated version does not provide additional clarification and a wider scope of events, and his over-hasty attempts at simplifying Ḥākim resulted in loss of useful content and at times even in inexactitude and incompleteness; as a result of this, his index of events was not entirely successful in its aim of being universally understandable. It should be further noted that some of the stylistic shortcomings in Ḥākim's history were an inescapable consequence of the limitations imposed by his position as court chronicler (see Kütükoğlu, *art. cit.* in *TD*, vi/9 [1954], 91-122, vii/10 [1954], 79-102).

Bibliography: Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kepeci Tas., Ruus defteri, no. 261-6/61; Müstaḳīmzāde Saʿd el-Dīn (Ḥākim's disciple), *Tuḥfe-yi k̲h̲aṭṭāṭīn*, Istanbul 1928, 408; Ḥüseyin Rāmiz, *Ādāb-ı ẓurefā'*, Esad Ef. 3873, fols. 23a-24a, and Emîrî, *tarih* 762, pp. 66-7; S̲h̲emʿdānī-zāde Süleymān, *Mür'ī al-tewārīk̲h̲*, ed. M. Aktepe, i, 1976, 172, 179, iiA, 1978, 57; Silaḥdār-zāde Meḥmed Emīn, *Ted̲h̲kire*, Ist. Univ. TY 2557, fol. 11b; ʿAbd al-Fettāḥ S̲h̲efḳat, *Ted̲h̲kire*, Emîrî, *tarih* 770, p. 42; Meḥmed Esʿad, *Bag̲h̲če-yi ṣafā-endūz*, Ist. Univ., TY 2095, p. 106; ʿĀrif Ḥikmet, *Ted̲h̲kire*, Emîrî, *tarih* 789, fol. 14a; Dāwūd Faṭīn, *K̲h̲ātimet al-es̲h̲ʿār*, Istanbul 1271, 52-3.

(BEKİR KÜTÜKOĞLU)

MEḤMED K̲H̲ALĪFE B. ḤÜSEYN, Ottoman courtier and historian who flourished under the three sultans Murād IV, Ibrāhīm and Meḥemmed IV [*q.vv.*] (reigned 1032/1623 to 1099/1687).

From Bosnia, he came to Istanbul in 1043/1633-4 as *ič-og̲h̲lan* of Ḳod̲j̲a Kenʿān Gurd̲j̲ī Pas̲h̲a and stayed with him in the Balkans until the Pas̲h̲a was in 1047/1637 appointed to lead an expedition against the prince of Transylvania George Rákoczi [see ERDEL]. Returning to Istanbul, he probably entered Sultan Ibrāhīm's office for diplomatic missions as a *seferli*, and at some unknown date became a *k̲h̲alīfe* at court. He was also a poet, using the *tak̲h̲alluṣ* of Ülfetī; the date of his death is unknown. See Refīḳ, biographical introd. to the *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i G̲h̲ilmānī* edition cited below; Babinger, *GOW*, 209-10, no. 180.

Meḥmed K̲h̲alīfe is best known for a chronicle of his time that he called the *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i G̲h̲ilmānī* because it was written for the personnel of the Inner Palace. In its initial form the work is a disorganised and unsystematic personal memoir which does however reflect the author's own ideas and attitudes and depicts vividly scenes of life in the Ottoman Palace of the 11th/17th century. The first version is represented by an amateurishly-written manuscript that covers the events of the year 1043-70/1633-60; it lacks its final pages (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, H.O. 82; for a description, see G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, ii, 271, no. 1068; for a facsimile, see Bugra Atsız, *Das osmanische Reich um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts nach den Chroniken des Vecîhî (1637-1660) und des Mehmed Halifa (1633-1660)*, Munich 1977; on the value of this manuscript as an historical source and its comparison with the final recension, see B. Kütükoğlu, *Tarih-i Gılmânî'nin ilk redaksiyonuna dâir*, in *Tarih Dergisi* no. 27 [1973], 21-40).

The *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i G̲h̲ilmānī* was given a somewhat more elevated literary form between 1070/1659-60 and 1075/1665 as corrections and additions were made to this first recension; events were arranged in chronological order, the text was divided into sections and subsections (*bābs* and *faṣls*), and occasionally verses and chronograms were inserted. This last recension comprises events from the accession of Murād IV (1032/1623) until the Treaty of Vasvar (1075/1664). Although it does not contain the author's biography and passages that reveal some of his attitudes and concerns which are found in the first recension, this final recension includes an epilogue (*k̲h̲ātime*) dealing with the necessity of mildness in the behaviour of rulers, the special qualities of Sultan Meḥemmed IV and the scholars and craftsmen trained in the Enderūn who were contemporaries of the author.

Meḥmed K̲h̲alīfe's work, which presents the events he experienced from the perspective of a functionary of the inner Palace, was used by ʿAbdī Pas̲h̲a and Naʿīmā (see Atsız, *op. cit.*, pp. CXXVII-CXXVIII). With its publication by Aḥmed Refīḳ (Altınay) as suppl. no. 11 to *TOEM*, nos. 78-83 = N.S. 1-6 (1340-

1/1921-2), based on a manuscript of the final recension (Türk Tarih Kurumu Lib., ms. 509) it has also become one of the sources most frequently referred to by researchers.

Finally, Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlï müʾellifleri*, iii, 142, attributes to a Meḥmed b. Ḥüseyin of Sultan Ibrāhīm's time a translation of the Persian history of ʿAlī b. Shihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī, the *Dhakhīrat al-mulūk*, at the command of the governor of Baghdād, Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], in 10 *bābs*, to which he added two further *bābs* and called the whole the *Tuḥfat al-maʾmūn*. This history must nevertheless be by Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Shaʿbān (d. 969/1561-2) (see Kātib Čelebi (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Istanbul 1941, i, 824, and from it, Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, ii, 226), and this is strengthened by the fact that the *Dhakhīrat al-mulūk*, as described in the above two sources, is not a history but a treatise on political ethics (see Storey, i, 946-7 n. 4).

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the article, see *İA* art. *Mehmed Halife* (Bekir Kütükoğlu). (Bekir Kütükoğlu)

MEḤMED LALA PASHA [see meḥmed pasha, lala].

MEḤMED LĀLEZĀRĪ [see lālezārī].

MEḤMED PASHA, BALṬADJĪ, Teberdār (1071-1124/1660-1 to 1712), Ottoman Grand Vizier under Sultan Aḥmed III [*q.v.*].

Born in Osmancık (Merzifon), as the son of Turkish Muslim parents, he was able to enter the outside service of the Sultan's palace thanks to patronage (*intisāb*). He began his career in a secretarial function. By favour and through the patronage of Ḥabeshī ʿAlī Agha and other *bīrūn aghas*, he entered the service of the *Wālide Sulṭān* Khadīdje Tarkhān, attaining the rank of *khalīfe* in 1099/1687. The prince Aḥmed (the later Aḥmed III) appointed Meḥmed as apprentice to the corps of the "Balṭadjīs of the Old Sarāy", where he became known as the "beautiful muezzin" because of the musical qualities of his voice. When in 1695 Ḥabeshī ʿAlī became *Dār al-Saʿāde Aghasī* to Sultan Muṣṭafā II [*q.v.*], Balṭadjī Meḥmed became personal scribe to his protector and was thus admitted to the proximity of the sultan and of Prince Aḥmed. At the accession of the latter on 10 Rabīʿ II 1115/21 August 1703, Meḥmed, with 9 years' experience of confidential service and having travelled all over the empire, was promoted to the rank of *Mīr Ākhūr*, but his appointment as *taḥṣīldār* of Aleppo removed him from the palace service. The Grand Vizier Ḳalaylïḳoz Aḥmed Pasha promoted him to the rank of vizier (8 Radjab 1116/6 September 1704) with the function of *Ḳapudān Pasha*. Already on 27 Shaʿbān 1116/26 December 1704 he became Grand Vizier (1704-6/1116-18). He had to maintain his position against the rival faction led by Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha and Newshehirli (Dāmād) Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.vv.*]. He made himself indispensable to his monarch by playing upon the latter's constant fear of revolt and deposition. The Grand Vizier managed to free himself from the supervision of financial affairs by means of an intrigue, falsely accusing the *Nishāndjī* Ḥüseyin Pasha of plotting a revolt and consequently sending him into exile at Istanköy Island (Cos). The Sultan for long tolerated his old familiar companion in spite of his marked lack of ability in financial matters.

At last, the Sulṭan decided to replace Balṭadjī Meḥmed Pasha by Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha (19 Muḥarram 1118/3 May 1706), his trusted intimate as well as a competent statesman. The ex-Grand Vizier was honourably exiled with the appointment as *Beglerbegi* of Erzurum. In 1119/1707 he was transferred to Chios (Ott. Saḳïz [*q.v.*]), from which post he went to Aleppo as *Beglerbegi*. In that city, the poet Nābī [*q.v.*] belonged to Balṭadjī Meḥmed Pasha's salon.

On 14 Djumādā II 1122/10 August 1710, Aḥmed III decided to appoint his old companion as Grand Vizier again. The latter actually took office in Istanbul by 3 Shaʿbān/27 September. By this time a "war party," which aimed at a renewal of the war against Russia, had gained the upper hand. The intrigues to that end were assisted by the King of Sweden, "Iron Head" (*Demir Bash*) Charles XII, who had found refuge in Ottoman territory since 1709. His Ottoman ally was the Khān of the Crimea Dawlat Giray II [see giray] (second reign, 1120-5/1708-13) who came to Istanbul in 1122/1710 to further his aims of war against the Russian Tsar Peter. A Council was held in the Sultan's palace (*Meshweret-i ʿAẓīme* of 28 Ramaḍān 1122/21 November 1710) and war was declared on Russia. The new Grand Vizier was to command the army. The so-called Pruth campaign began in the spring of 1123/1711. The Tsar's diplomacy could not curb the Ottoman initiative and the two armies marched towards each other, meeting on 12 Djumādā II/28 July 1711 in Moldavia (Ott. Boghdan [*q.v.*]) near Khān Tepesi (= Stanilesti) on the river Pruth, downstream on the road from Jassy (Ott. Yash [*q.v.*]). Nobody in the Russian army was aware that Balṭadjī Meḥmed Pasha was already close by. The Ottomans, reinforced by a large body of Tatars, Cossacks and Polish troops, totalling 120,000 men and 400 guns, were in perfect condition. The Russian army (40,000 infantry, 14,000 horse and 122 guns) had been suffering from lack of food and forage for three weeks. The support promised in a secret treaty concluded in view of the Russo-Turkish war by the prince of Moldavia Demetrius Cantemir (1673-1723) was not delivered, for the crops had failed as a result of drought and locusts. On 5 Djumādā II/21 July 1711, Balṭadjī Meḥmed's army completely surrounded the Russians and was preparing for the general attack with an artillery barrage. The Tsar Peter, who was with his army, realised that his forces would be annihilated and decided quickly to sue for an armistice and peace. For this move, he found support not only from his Vice-Chancellor Peter Shafirov but also from his wife Catherine. This lady's involvement probably gave rise to the historical legend that the corrupt Ottoman Grand Vizier gave in easily to the Russian proposals, as these were accompanied by the offer of the jewelry and the charms of the Tsarina to his person. In any case, lacking insight into the true situation of the two powers, Balṭadjī Meḥmed was too easily content with the Russian proposals. He was already satisfied with the retrocession of Azov (Ott. Azaḳ [*q.v.*]), the demolition of the newly-built Russian fortresses at Taganrog, Kamenny Zaton and along the Dniepr, the closing of the permanent Russian embassy at the Porte, the evacuation of Polish territory and a guarantee of non-interference in Polish affairs. All Ottoman prisoners were to be set free and the King of Sweden was to be allowed safe passage. The Russian troops were provided with food for their free retreat. A preliminary treaty of peace was hurriedly agreed upon on 6 Djumādā II 1123/23 July 1711 (O.S. 12 July), notwithstanding the protests of Dawlat Giray II Khān and the representative of Charles XII, the Polish general Stanislas Poniatowski. Balṭadjī Meḥmed Pasha seems to have been carried away by his own unexpected success. It must be realised, however, that the Janissaries had little stomach for fighting in this desolate country and that the Sipāhīs were always reluctant to face the costs of

prolonged fighting. Moreover, the Grand Vizier's distrust of the political pressure group around the Swedish King at Bender may have induced him to come to terms before these could interfere on the spot.

The news of the victory and the peace was well received at Istanbul at first. The Sultan, however, became suspicious of his Grand Vizier when the latter postponed his return to the capital because of protracted negotiations with the Russians concerning the implementation of the treaty. Indeed, the absence of direct positive results of the peace caused a general dissatisfaction with the Grand Vizier's policy. The anti-Russian party, joined by the leading *ᶜulamāʾ*, was able to gain the upper hand over those loving peace. After the arrival of the army at Edirne the Commander-in-Chief Balṭadjî Meḥmed was instructed to give up the seal of office. He was put under arrest in the prison of the *Bostāndjîbashî*. An inventory of his possessions and money was ordered. He himself was banished to the islands of Midilli and subsequently to Limni [*q.vv.*]. During his stay there, he learned of the confiscation of all his possessions. The *Wālide Sulṭān* probably interceded to save his life, but two main assistants in office, his *kāhya* ᶜOthmān Agha and his *mektūbču* ᶜÖmer Efendi, were condemned to death. Balṭadjî Meḥmed Pasha died on Limni, after a short illness, in 1124/1712-13. The judgment of him in Ottoman historiography varies between the accusation of high treason against Islam and the Ottoman state and fulsome praise for a victorious Turkish commander. He seems to have been a typical product of the seraglio culture, and according to A.N. Kurat, was a man of the pen rather than a statesman, an Ottoman gentleman rather than a Turkish warrior.

Bibliography: See *İA*, art. s.v. (A.N. Kurat), with an extensive listing of sources and literature; this article forms the basis of the present one; also Kurat, *XII. Karl'in Türkiye'de kalışı ve bu sıralarda Osmanlı Imparatorluğu*, Istanbul 1943; idem, *Ekler I* (documents), Istanbul 1943; *Arşiv kılavuzu*, 1- pl. V. 10 (facs. and summary of Balṭadjî Meḥmed's memorandum to the *Wālide Sulṭān*, 18 August 1711); Silāḥdār Fîndîklîlî Meḥmed Agha, *Nuṣretnāme*, ed. İ. Parmaksızoğlu, (2 pts.), Istanbul 1966-9, ii (index); Voltaire, *Remarques d'un seigneur polonais* [= St. Poniatowski] *sur l'histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède*, The Hague 1741; A.N. Kurat (ed.), *The despatches of Sir Robert Sutton, Ambassador in Constantinople (1710-1714)*, London 1953 (= Camden Soc., 3rd Series, 78); ᶜAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh-i ᶜAṭā*, Istanbul 1291-3, ii, 146-9; *SᶜO*, iv, 208 ff.; Aḥmed Refīḳ (Altınay), *Balṭadjî Meḥmed Pasha ve Büyük Petrū 1711-1911*, Istanbul 1327; idem, *Memālik-i ᶜOthmāniyyede Demirbash Sharl*, Istanbul 1332 (= *TOEM, Küllîyyatî*, i); Kurat and K. V. Zettersteen (eds.), *Türkische Urkunden*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1938 (docs. V, VI, VII); Kurat, *Prut seferi ve Barışı 1123 (1711)*, 2 vols., Ankara 1951-3 (= Ankara Ün. Dil-Tarih ve Coğrafya Fak. Y. 8-9) (the definitive monograph on the subject); idem, *Der Pruthfeldzug und der Pruthfrieden von 1711*, in *Jahrb. f. d. Gesch. Osteuropas*, x (1962), 13-66; idem (ed.), *Hâzine-i bîrûn kâtibi Ahmed b. Mahmud'un 1123-1711 Prut seferine ait defteri* (= ms. Preuss. Stsb. Or. Abt. 1209), in *TED*, iv (Ankara 1966) 261-426; D. Cantemir, *The history of the growth and decay of the Othman Empire*, London 1734-5, 2 vols. in 1, ii, 442-5 n., 450-3; B.H. Sumner, *Peter the Great and the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1949, 37-43; W. Theyls, *Gedenkschriften betreffende het leeven van Karel de XII ... geduurende sijn verblijf in het Ottomannische gebied...*, Leiden 1721, i, 6-29 (Fr. tr., *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de Charles XII*, Leiden 1722); M. Münir Aktepe, *Baltacı Mehmed Paşa'nin 1711 Prut Seferi ile ilgili emirleri*, in *TED*, i (Istanbul 1970), 131-70 (with corrections of Kurat 1951-3); A. K. Anıt, *Baltacı Mehmet Paşa ve Birinci Katerina*, Istanbul 1946 (unscholarly work).

(A. H. de Groot)

MEḤMED PASHA, BÎYÎḲLÎ, ("moustachioed") Ottoman general and administrator, d. 928/1521.

He seems to have been in the service of the Shehzād Selīm b. Bāyazīd II, at the time when the latter was governor of Trebizond. There is evidence that he held the post of Chief Equerry (*amīr-ākhōr-bashî*) from the time of the accession of Selīm I, and he fought alongside him in battles against the Shehzād Aḥmed b. Bāyazīd: near Bursa, where he commanded the vanguard and his force was routed on 7 Ṣafar 919/14 April 1513; then at the battle of Yeñishehir on 24 April. The following year, he took part in the campaign of Čāldîrān [*q.v.*] and, on his return to Tabrīz, was entrusted with the mission of storming the stronghold of Bayburd, which had been unsuccessfully besieged since Djumādā I 920/July 1514 by an Ottoman expeditionary force. The conquest of this fortress earned him the title, granted on 25 October, of *beg* of the *sandjaḳs* of Bayburd, Trebizond, (Shebīn) Ḳara Ḥiṣār and Djānik. In the spring of 1515 he was given the task of laying siege to Kemākh [*q.v.*], and he maintained a blockade on this Ṣafawid-held town until the arrival of the sultan, who took it by assault on 5 Rabīᶜ II 921/19 May 1515. In the course of the summer, Selīm I appointed him commander-in-chief of an army of considerable size (Ottoman troops, volunteers and contingents from the Kurdish principalities) raised for the purpose of conquering western Kurdistan, which was in revolt against the Safawids and where the diplomatic activity of Idrīs Bidlīsī [*q.v.*] had ensured that the territory would affirm its loyalty to the Ottoman government. Meḥmed Pasha entered Āmid on 10 Shaᶜbān 921/19 September 1515, was made *beglerbeg* of Diyār Bakr on 5 November, and completed the conquest of the country by annihilating in Rabīᶜ II 922/May 1516, at Eski Ḳoč Ḥiṣār, near Mārdīn, the last Ṣafawid army still present in the region, that of Ḳara Khān Ustādjalū. When Selīm I marched against the Mamlūks, Meḥmed Pasha joined forces with him at Malaṭya, fought on the left flank at the battle of Mardj Dābîḳ [*q.v.*], then, at Aleppo, was granted authority to undertake the conquest of the fortresses of Mārdīn and Ḥiṣn Kayfa, still held by Ḳîzîlbash garrisons. Shortly after this he took possession of Mawṣil, Kirkūk and Tāwūḳ. Promoted to the rank of vizier, Meḥmed Pasha devoted the remainder of his period of office to the establishment of Ottoman rule in the Kurdish emirates of Diyār Bakr on the one hand, and to the monitoring of the activities of Shāh Ismāᶜīl on the other. He died on 24 Muḥarram 928/24 December 1521 (of dysentery, cf. document E. 6102 of the Archives of Topkapı, and not in battle as claimed by Meḥmed Thüreyyā) and was buried at Āmid, near the Fātiḥ Pasha mosque of which he had laid the foundations.

In spite of the important role which he played and the relatively plentiful documentation concerning him, little research has been so far done on Bîyîklî Meḥmed Pasha. In any case, examination of the sources gives the impression that, under Selīm I, he was one of the few senior Ottoman dignitaries—if not the only one—who, entrusted with a considerable weight of responsibility, enjoyed the unlimited con-

fidence of the sultan and, in return, served him with exemplary loyalty. This loyalty continued to be asserted under the reign of Selīm I's successor, when, as is shown by the still unpublished documents of the Topkapı Archives, Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a remained, against the advice of Süleymān and his advisers, the last supporter of all-out struggle against Ḳïzïlbas̲h̲ Iran, the primary objective of the foreign policy of Selīm I.

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(J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont)

MEḤMED PAS̲H̲A, ČERKES (d. 1034/1625), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Educated in the palace school or Enderūn [*q.v.*], he reached the rank of *silāḥdār* and left the palace with the appointment of *Beglerbegi* of Damascus. In 1621 he is mentioned as the fifth *Ḳubbe Wezīri* (Nāʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1280, ii, 208). Upon the execution of the Grand Vizier Kemānkes̲h̲ ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] (14 D̲j̲umādā II 1033/3 April 1624), Murād IV [*q.v.*] forced him to accept the appointment of himself as successor. Čerkes Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a thus became commander-in-chief of the army sent to suppress the revolt of Abāẓā Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [see abāẓā]. and to reconquer Bag̲h̲dād from the Persians. Passing Konya, he failed to take Niğde from the hands of the rebels. On 21 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1033/3 September 1624, near Kayseri, he found Abāẓā Meḥmed's troops in position at the bridge of Ḳarasu. In a bloody battle, the Grand Vizier, thanks to his field artillery, was able to defeat the rebel forces. Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*], being among the corps of the *silāḥdārs*, witnessed this battle and gives a detailed description (cf. his *Fed̲h̲leke*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 54 ff.). Pursuing Abāẓā's fleeing troops, the Grand Vizier was able to capture Abāẓā Meḥmed's wife and daughter who were escorted by Abāẓā's commander from Niğde to Sivas. Having come as far as Tercan, the Grand Vizier was met by a mission from the rebellious Pas̲h̲a of Erzurum with the request for a pardon. Considering it as being late in the campaigning season, Čerkes Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a accepted this on the condition of a Janissary garrison being placed in the citadel of Erzurum. Following this, the Grand Vizier withdrew the army to Tokat for the winter (December 1624). There he fell ill and died on 17 Rabīʿ II 1034/27 January 1625. His last days are reported by the historian Pečewī Ibrāhīm Efendi, who met Čerkes Meḥmed in Tokat (cf. Pečewī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 401). All Ottoman historians agree on the just and incorruptible character of this old vizier, described as a *pīr-i nūrānī* by Naʿīmā (*Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 296).

Bibliography: See *İA*, art. s.v. (by M.C. Baysun, of which the present article is a summary); Von Hammer, *HEO*, ix, 42-5; *SʿO*, iv, 150; A.H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, Leiden 1978, 76, 286.

(A.H. de Groot)

MEḤMED PAS̲H̲A, ELMĀS (1071-1109/1662-97), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

He was born in Hoşalay (formerly Mesed, to the east of Kerempe Burnu) (Kastamonu), the son of a shipmaster. As a young man (reputedly beautiful, hence his surname *Elmas* "Diamond"), he was taken into the service of the state by a chief inspector of the Sultan's treasury (*Bas̲h̲ Bāḳī Ḳulu*), Divrigili Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a, who was appointed governor of Tripoli in Syria in 1089/1677-8. From the service of the treasury, Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Elmās was soon promoted to the palace service, to the *K̲h̲āṣṣ Oda* [*q.v.*] from where he made quick career as *Riḳābdār*, *Silāḥdār* in 1099/1687-8, *Mīr-i ʿAlem* (Standard-bearer) and *K̲h̲āzine Ketk̲h̲üdāsï*, leaving the palace service with the rank of Beglerbegi to become *Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ï* in 1101/1698-90. Soon afterwards he was made a vizier (*Ḳubbe Wezīri* [*q.v.*]). Sultan Muṣṭafā II (1106-15/1695-1703 [*q.v.*]) appointed him *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* at Istanbul on 23 D̲j̲umādā II 1106/9 February 1695. During the preparations for the campaign against the Emperor in Hungary, the Sultan decided to make him Grand Vizier instead of Sürmeli ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who was executed (4 S̲h̲awwāl 1106/18 May 1695). Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Elmās joined the three campaigns of Sultan Muṣṭafā II and was seen fighting at times. He distinguished himself during his second campaign when on 27 Muḥarram 1108/26 August 1696 the Ottoman army defeated the *Naʿl-Ḳïrān* Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, who had laid siege to Temes̲h̲wār [*q.v.*], in the battle near the Bega River at Cenei (Buldur Köyü Bog̲h̲azï). During the campaign of 1697, he was again accompanied by the Sultan. In the council of war held at Belgrade on 27 Muḥarram 1109/15 August 1697, the Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief followed the advice of the majority of his commanders who agreed with the Vizier Ḳod̲j̲a D̲j̲aʿfer Pas̲h̲a, and ordered his army to march north across the Banat instead of following ʿAmūd̲j̲a-zāde Ḥüseyn Köprülü Pas̲h̲a's [*q.v.*] suggestion to go west in the direction of Peterwardein (Waradin [*q.v.*]). While crossing the Tisza river eastwards, the Grand Vizier's army was surprised by the Imperial army commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy, who had reached this spot by a forced march towards nightfall on 11 September. This was near Zenta [*q.v.*]. A frightful bloodbath was the result of Prince Eugene's immediate attack. The Turks lost about 20,000 killed and 10,000 drowned. The Sultan, who watched the disaster, fled. The Janissaries broke into a mutiny and killed the Grand Vizier and many officers of his staff.

Elmās Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a was a young and elegant man of the palace (*čelebi*), of a lively character, intelligent and with experience in financial affairs, all of which assets made Muṣṭafā II select him for the highest office. However, it seems that he did not make himself popular with the viziers and the army. He left behind a son, Muṣṭafā Bey.

Bibliography: See *İA*, art. s.v. (C. Orhonlu), with a listing *in extenso* of ms. sources and literature; Silāḥdār Fïndïḳlïlï Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a, *Nuṣret-nāme*, ed. İ. Parmaksızoğlu (in simplified version with defective transcriptions), Istanbul 1962-4, i, 177, 188, esp. 277-300; *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen 1663-1736. [Katalog der] Ausstellung zum 300. Geburtstag 9. Oktober bis 31 Dezember 1963*, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna 1963, 32-7, pl. 4 (showing the Seal (*mühr-i hümayūn*) lost by Elmās Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a and now kept in the Vienna Museum of Military History, Inv. N1 2533); L.F. Marsigli, *L'état militaire de l'empire Ottoman*, The Hague 1782, ii, 100-3; Von Hammer, *HEO*, xii, 374-424, 538-9; Temes̲h̲warlï ʿAlī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Waḳʿa-nāme-yi D̲j̲aʿfer Pas̲h̲a*, ed. and tr. R.F. Kreutel and K. Teply, *Der Löwe von Temeschwar. Erinnerungen an Caʿfer Pascha den Älteren, aufgezeichnet von seinem Siegelbewahrer ʿAli*, Graz-Köln 1981 (= Osmanische Geschichts-

schreiber, 10), esp. 161-270 (covering the years 1688-97); *İA*, art. *Zenta* (M. İlgürel).

(A. H. DE GROOT)

MEḤMED PAS̲H̲A, GÜRDJÜ, K̲H̲ĀDİM (I) (d. 1035/1626), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Of Georgian origin, he served among the white eunuchs of the imperial harem under Sultan Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*] (1003-12/1595-1603). He was appointed *K̲h̲āṣṣ-Oda Bas̲h̲i̊* by Sultan Aḥmed I shortly after his accession (2 S̲h̲aʿbān 1012/4 January 1604). Around Rabīʿ II 1013/September 1604, K̲h̲ādim Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a was given the rank of Third Vizier in the *Dīwān*, but already on the 27 Rabīʿ II/22 September was appointed *beglerbegi* of Egypt. He was able to restore order in that province and punished the rebels among the Ottoman regular troops (*ḳul ṭāʾifesi*). Dismissed around Ṣafar 1014/June 1605, he left Egypt for Istanbul and was appointed *beglerbegi* of Bosnia (Ott. Bosna [*q.v.*]) as well as being put in charge of the military government (*muḥāfaẓa*) of Belgrade and the shores of the Danube. In Ṣafar 1018/May 1609, upon appointment as *serdār-i ekrem* (commander-in-chief) of the Grand Vizier Ḳuyudju Murād Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], he was made *ḳāʾimmaḳām* while still at Belgrade. During the next year's campaign, Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Gürdjü was again left in charge as *ḳāʾim-maḳām* in the capital, in which function he continued till the return from the Persian front of the succeeding Grand Vizier Naṣūḥ Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] (1 S̲h̲aʿbān 1021/27 September 1612). During his tenure of this office, he supported the granting of capitulations to the Dutch Republic (6 July 1612). Remaining in the rank of Third Vizier, he had enough support from the palace to be able to refuse to be removed from Istanbul by the Grand Vizier by means of an appointment in a distant province; instead, he was ordered to reside inside the Sultan's palace. On 11 S̲h̲awwāl 1022/24 November 1613, at the departure of the Sultan to Edirne, he was appointed governor of Istanbul. The next Grand Vizier, Öküz Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, made Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Gürdjü Second Vizier and *ḳāʾim-maḳām* for the duration of the campaigning season (Rabīʿ II 1024/May 1615). Later, he joined the K̲h̲otin [*q.v.*] campaign. In October 1619 he was degraded to the rank of Third Vizier, during the disgrace of Mere Ḥüseyn Pas̲h̲a, till July 1620. Before the outbreak of the revolt against Sultan ʿOt̲h̲mān (7 Radjab 1031/18 May 1622), he was made military governor of Edirne by that Sultan.

During Sultan Muṣṭafā I's second reign, the post of Grand Vizier was given to Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Gürdjü on 15 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1031/21 September 1622. At this time of unrest and open revolt in the capital and in the Anatolian provinces, the new Grand Vizier's main task was to restore order, in which he was moderately successful as far as Istanbul was concerned, and this in spite of the fact that the rebellious Abāẓā Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] was the son-in-law of Gürdjü Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a's brother Ḥüseyn Pas̲h̲a. By Rabīʿ I 1032/January 1623, he had been able even to have executed some of those involved in the assassination of ʿOt̲h̲mān II. The military rebels in the capital, at the instigation of Mere Ḥüseyn Pas̲h̲a, sucessfully demanded the dismissal of the Grand Vizier, allegedly on account of his being an incompetent eunuch. He was exiled (to Malḳara [*q.v.*] in Thrace?) till D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1032/September 1623, when after the deposition of Muṣṭafā I, the Grand Vizier Kemānkes̲h̲ Ḳara ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] had both Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Gürdjü and K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a (Ḳayṣariyyeli) [*q.v.*] arrested on the suspicion of collaborating with the rebel Abāẓā Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, since both viziers were personally linked with the latter by family, *intisāb* and *ṭarīḳat* relationships. Gürdjü Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a was one of the favourite targets of the satirical verse of the poet Nefʿī [*q.v.*].

Soon the two prisoners were released again, and Meḥmed was made *ḳāʾim-maḳām* once more by the Grand Vizier Čerkes Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] (April 1624). The lack of success of the seven months' siege of Bag̲h̲dād by the Grand Vizier (Ṣafar-S̲h̲awwāl 1035/November 1625-July 1626) led the Janissary and Sipāhī soldiery at Istanbul to level once more their suspicions of treason or incompetence against Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Gürdjü (D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1035/August 1626). This time the probably unfounded accusations led to the execution of the old statesman who, according to some sources, was 90 years old by this time.

Three water fountains (*čes̲h̲me*) were piously founded by *K̲h̲ādim* Gürdjü Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a in the K̲h̲alīdjilar, K̲h̲irḳa-yi S̲h̲erīf and S̲h̲ehzāde-Bas̲h̲i̊ quarters of Istanbul. His *türbe* is at Eyyūb in the second courtyard of the great mosque.

Bibliography: See *İA* art. s.v. (F.Ç. Derin), of which the present article is a summary; İ.H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, iii², Istanbul 1972, 315, 320, 321, 329; A.H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, Leiden-Istanbul 1978, 107, 119-24, 147, 170, 309, 313; M.O. Bayrak, *Istanbul'da gömülü meşhur adamlar (1453-1978)*, Istanbul 1979, 48 (no. 33); *İA* art. *Nefʿi* (A. Karahan).

(A.H. DE GROOT)

MEḤMED PAS̲H̲A, GÜRDJÜ (II) (d. 1076/1666), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Having been a slave (but not an eunuch) of Ḳodja Sinān Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], he entered the palace service, beginning as an apprentice in the kitchen (*maṭbak̲h̲ emīnliği*) department. By Djumādā II 1023/ July 1614, he reached the rank of a *djebedji bas̲h̲i̊*. While on campaign with Öküz Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in the East, he was appointed *čawus̲h̲ bas̲h̲i̊* [*q.v.*] in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1026/November 1617. In Rabīʿ I 1029/February 1620 he was made *ḳapi̊dji̊ bas̲h̲i̊*, in which function he participated in Sultan ʿOt̲h̲mān II's K̲h̲otin campaign of that year. His career was not affected by the political upheavals of those years, and in Radjab 1032/May 1623 he became *beglerbegi* of Rumeli, the first of a long series of provincial government posts in the Asiatic and European parts of the empire.

Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Gürdjü saw a great deal of active military service, both in the successful suppression of revolts and in the Persian wars. Having reached vizieral rank as *beglerbegi* of Damascus previously, he was made *beglerbegi* of Diyārbekr in 1035/1626 and member of the *Dīwān* in the next year, holding successive provincial appointments next to that office. He joined Sultan Murād IV [*q.v.*] during the Eriwān campaign of 1635 and the Bag̲h̲dād campaign of 1638 in various governmental capacities. After 3 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1049/25 February 1640, he was a *ḳubbe wezīri* once again till he fell out with the Grand Vizier Sulṭānzāde Semīn Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] (Muḥarram 1055/March 1645). At the behest of the all-powerful *Dār al-seʿāde Ag̲h̲asi̊* Uzun Süleymān Ag̲h̲a, Sultan Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*] appointed the old and debilitated Pas̲h̲a, the oldest of all viziers at the time, Grand Vizier on 11 S̲h̲awwāl 1061/27 September 1651, in which function he lasted eight months and twenty-three days. He was unable to turn the campaign in Crete in a favourable direction, and could not dislodge the Venetian fleet from the Dardanelles. Nor were his diplomatic efforts to reach an armistice with Venice in any way effective. On the other hand, he provided posts for his brothers, son and many

friends and relations. His dismissal followed on 13 Radjab 1062/20 June 1652. After a short stay in Yedi Kule prison, he was allowed to live in his private residence in the Eyyūb quarter of the capital till he managed again to secure an appointment as provincial governor successively of Temeshwār and Cyprus (Kubruṣ [*q.v.*]) and Buda (Budun [*q.v.*]). It was probably there that he died of old age before 1 Shawwāl 1076/6 April 1666, when the news of his death reached Istanbul, according to the historian ʿAbdī Pasha (*Wekāyiʿ-nāme*, ms. Beyazid, *Umumi* 5154 946).

Bibliography: See *İA* art. s.v. (F.Ç. Derin), of which the present article is a summary, which gives a full indication of Ottoman sources; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/2, Istanbul 1954, 402-4; Nāʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, v, 168-76, 215-25.

(A.H. de Groot)

MEHMED PASHA, ʿIWAḌ, Hadjdjī (el-Hādjdj) (1085 or 1086-1156/1675-1743), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

He was the son of a descendant of the *Ewlād-i Fātiḥān*, one Naṣr Allāh, a *tīmār* holder at Jagodina. Educated for state service (hence *ʿiwaḍ*), he served with high-placed officials at Belgrade (1100/1689) and at Djudda (1107-8/1696), during which period he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Having returned to Istanbul just before the Patrona Khalīl rebellion of 1730, he acted as *Gümrük Emīni*, Commissioner of the Istanbul customs house, on behalf of Yegen Meḥmed Efendi (Pasha). Later, he served as Treasury Inspector (*Bash-Bāḳī Ḳulu*). The Grand Vizier Ḥekīmoghlu ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] promoted him *Čawush Bashî* [*q.v.*] (1732).

In 1735 he became a vizier and acted for a short time as *ḳāʾim-maḳām* at Istanbul, after which he was sent to govern the *sandjaḳs* of Niğbolu and Vidin. During the war, he for two years successfully defended his area against Austrian attacks. He was able to retake the fortresses of Hirsova and Fethülislam (the Yugoslavian Kladovo) as well as Semendire (the Yugoslavian Smederevo), Mehādiye (the Rumanian Mehadia) and Yeñi Palanka. Meḥmed Pasha ʿIwaḍ served as commander-in-chief (*serdār*) on that front when, at the behest of the powerful *Ḳızlar Aghası* (*Dār al-Seʿāda Aghası*) Ḥadjdjī Beshīr Agha, he was also appointed Grand Vizier (12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1151/23 March 1739) to replace Yegen Meḥmed Pasha, whose policies he continued however along the same lines, on the one hand by opening diplomatic contact with the Austrians, on the other by aiming at the reconquest of Belgrade. He became famous for his splendid defeat of the Austrian army under Field-Marshal Olivier Wallis (56,000 strong plus light cavalry, artillery and irregulars). The Grand Vizier took up a defensive position to the north-west of Grocka (Ott. Ḥiṣārdjīḳ) (on 15 Rabīʿ II 1152/22 July 1739) overlooking the road from Belgrade which went through a defile. After fifteen assaults by the Janissaries, Field-Marshal Wallis retreated at nightfall, losing 3,000 killed and 7,000 wounded. Four days later, Belgrade was laid under siege by the Ottomans. Negotiations led to the conclusion of the peace treaty (1-18 September) between the Sultan, the Austrian Emperor and the Tsar at Belgrade, which meant an important restoration of Ottoman power in the Danube area.

In Rabīʿ 1153/June 1740 a local disturbance in the capital formed the pretext for Beshīr Agha and the *Wālide Sulṭān* to have Meḥmed Pasha ʿIwaḍ dismissed as Grand Vizier, relegating him to the governorship of Djudda, from which place he soon was able to transfer to Canea (Ott. Ḥanya). During the next three years, he successively served as military governor of Salonica, in Herzegovina (Ott. Hersek), Bosnia, Negroponte (Ott. Eghriboz) and in Crete again. He died while acting as military governor of Lepanto (Aynabakhtī [*q.v.*]) in Djumādā I 1156/July 1743. His elder son Ibrāhīm became twice *Sheykh ül-Islām* and his younger son Khalīl became Grand Vizier in 1183/1769.

Bibliography: Meḥmed Ṣubḥī, *Taʾrīkh-i Weḳāʾiʿ*, Istanbul 1198 (*Taʾrīkh-i Sāmī we Shākir we Ṣubḥī*), fols. 72-258, esp. 135, 150, 160 ff. (eye-witness account of the battle of Grocka, 15 Rabīʿ I 1152/22 June 1739; İ.H. Uzuncarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, v/1, Istanbul 1956, 260, 267, 272 f., 281-96, iv/2, Istanbul 1959¹, 350-4; *İA* art. *Belgrad* (M.C. Baysun); *Şemdâni-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Tarihi Mür'i 't-tevârih*, ed. M. M. Aktepe, i, Istanbul 1976, index s.v. "Ivaz Mehmed"; Von Hammer, *HEO*, xiv, 417, 419, 424, 439-70, xv, 1-11, 25 f.; D. Nicolle, *Armies of the Ottoman Turks, 1300-1774*, London 1983, 33 f.; L. Cassels, *The struggle for the Ottoman Empire 1717-1740*, London 1966, 156-96 (based on A. Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient. La mission du marquis de Villeneuve 1728-1741*, Paris 1887, esp. 357-91).(A.H. de Groot)

MEHMED PASHA, KARAMĀNĪ, Nishāndjī, (d. 886/1481), Ottoman Grand Vizier and historian.

A descendant of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], he grew up in Konya where he received his education as an *ʿālim* from Muṣannifak al-Ṣiddīḳī who introduced him into the patronage of Maḥmūd Pasha [*q.v.*]. Meḥmed Pasha served as a clerk in the *dīwān* of that Grand Vizier and later became *müderris* in the *medrese* founded by the same at Istanbul, being at the same time a general adviser to his patron. Thanks to the latter, he became *nishāndji* [*q.v.*] in 869/1464, which high office he kept for about 12 years. From 4 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 862/13 September 1458, he already ranked as a vizier. His appointment as Grand Vizier following the dismissal of Gedik Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] dates from Muḥarram 881/May 1476 (cf. Kiwāmī, *Feth-nāme-yi Sulṭān Meḥemmed*, ed. F. Babinger, Istanbul 1955, 273). In his new position, he became the main author of Sultan Meḥemmed II's [*q.v.*] legislative policy. This statesman, with his years of experience in matters of state and administration, must be seen as the creator of the new state institutions laid down in the the *ḳanūn-nāmes* [*q.v.*] of this period (cf. the editions of *MOG*, i [1922], *TOEM* [1330/1912] and Özcan [1982]). One of his lasting innovations was the division of the judiciary among two *Ḳāḍīʿaskers* , one for Rumeli and one for Anadolu. A great number of *wakf* and private landed properties were converted into state property as a base of the *tīmār* system, which had to support an increasing amount of military personnel. Meḥmed Pasha's full support of the centralising policy of the Sultan caused his unpopularity among his fellow *ʿulamāʾ* and the old-established landowners of the *ghāzī* aristocracy (cf. ʿĀshiḳpashazāde, *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Ç.N. Atsız, Istanbul 1947, 244).

When Grand Vizier, Meḥmed Pasha Karamānī supported Meḥemmed II in furthering the claim to the succession of Prince Djem [*q.v.*] against Prince Bāyezīd. His personal link with the city of Konya must have offered a special opportunity, since Djem Sulṭān was governor of Karamān. Bāyezīd (II) [*q.v.*] counted Karamānī Meḥmed amongst his enemies henceforth (cf. R.C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 21, 72, 144, 199-201). The Grand Vizier accompanied the Sultan at the departure for the campaign of

886/1481. Thus he assisted his monarch during his last illness in camp at Maltepe (cf. Tursun Beg, *Ta'rīkh-i Abu 'l-Fatḥ*, ed. and tr. H. İnalcık and R. Murphey, Minneapolis, etc. 1978, 64, Ay 157 b-158 a). The Grand Vizier kept the death of the Sultan (4 Rabīᶜ I 886/3 May 1481) a secret, but sent the news to both Prince Bāyezīd and Prince Djem. His aim was for Djem to arrive first in Istanbul and to make his accession there a *fait accompli*. For that purpose, the mortal remains of Meḥemmed II were secretly brought back to the capital by the court physicians, and then all communication was cut between the two shores of the Bosphorus. Meḥmed Pasha moved the *ᶜAdjem-oghlans* out of town and had the city gates closed, but his enemies intercepted his men and the news of the Sultan's death spread quickly. The Janissaries managed to cross the water by private means. Public order was utterly disturbed; Meḥmed Pasha could no longer halt the movements of the soldiery; he withdrew to his residence, but the insurgent Janissaries pursued him there and killed him in his private office (5 Rabīᶜ I 886/4 May 1481). Meḥmed Pasha's men reached Ḳonya only on 3 May. The accession of Djem seems to have been doomed from the start, and Ḳaramānī Meḥmed Pasha thus failed to bring about his late Sultan's apparent last wishes.

Meḥmed Pasha Ḳaramānī's importance lies in his institutional and legal work, sc. in building up the state apparatus of what was becoming the Ottoman Empire. He practised his statecraft whilst also being an accomplished master of ornate prose. His *inshā'* writings include a famous letter addressed to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] (see Feridūn, *Münshe'āt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1264/1848, i, 271 ff.). He wrote poetry under the *makhlaṣ* Nishānī. In Arabic, he wrote a history of the Ottoman Empire in the form of two treatises, one dealing with the period from ᶜOthmān I till Meḥemmed II's accession in 855/1451, the other covering the years 855/1451 to early 885/1480, the *Risāla fī tawārīkh al-salāṭīn al-ᶜuthmāniyya* and the *Risāla fī ta'rīkh Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Murād Khān min āl ᶜUthmān*. The latter includes 10 chronograms in verses describing his own deeds:

1. the building of Rumeli Ḥiṣārī (856/1453).
2. the conquest of Albania (871/1466-7).
3. the (re)construction of the *ič-ḳalᶜe* on the castle hill of Ḳonya (872/1467-8).
4. the building of the "New Seraglio" (Ṭopkapī Sarāyī) at Istanbul (873/1468-9).
5. the taking of the fortress of Eghriboz [*q.v.*] (Negroponte) (874/1469-70).
6. the victory over Uzun Ḥasan (877/1472-3).
7. the death of Prince Muṣṭafā (878/1473-4).
8. the taking of Sharḳī Ḳaraḥiṣār (878/1473-4).
9. the building of the wall containing the "New Seraglio" (883/1478-9).
10. the building of the Imperial Stables (*Iṣṭabl-i ᶜāmire* (883/1478-9).

These chronicles seem to be a recasting into Arabic of a simple calendar (*taḳwīm*) to which chronograms and ornate passages of *sadjᶜ* have been added (cf. Ménage, *The beginnings of Ottoman historiography*). Ḳaramānī Meḥmed's text is one of a number of early historical works representing a group of sources distinct from the group of ᶜĀshïḳpasha-zāde, Urudj and the anonymous *Tewārīkh*. This group contains a different tradition about the origin of the Ottomans which is based on an older source than that used by the other group of histories dating from *ca.* 1399 (cf. İnalcık, *Rise*). Minor poets such as Ḳabūlī and Ḥamīdī wrote *ḳaṣīdas* and other poetry in praise of the *nishāndjï* and Grand Vizier.

Meḥmed Pasha Ḳaramānī had two wives. The first was Muṣannifak ᶜAlā' al-Dīn ᶜAlī al-Bisṭāmī's daughter, who gave him a son Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn ᶜAlī Čelebi, who in his turn had a son of some renown, "al-Mawlā Muṣṭafā b. ᶜAlī b. Meḥmed al-Ḳaramānī" (d. 965/1558). His second wife from 1471 was Sittī Shāh, daughter of the ex-Bey of ᶜAlā'iyye (Alanya), Ḳïlïdj Arslan. With the money of his second wife, he was able in addition to his other pious foundations to pay for the building of the mosque he wished to leave behind as a *waḳf*, the Nishāndjï Djāmiᶜi in the Ḳumḳapï quarter of Istanbul. On the *ḳibla* side of it stands the ornamental tomb of the founder, called martyr of the Islamic faith, *shehīd*, in an inscription written by the *sheykh* Abu 'l-Wefā' (896/1491) (cf. tr. İ.H. Konyalı, in *Osmanlı tarihleri*, i/4, esp. 330-6).

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(A.H. de Groot)

MEḤMED PASHA, LĀLĀ, Melek-Nihād (II), Ottoman Grand Vizier, who served Sultān Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*] for ten days only and then died on 19 Rabīᶜ I 1004/22 November 1595. (Ed.)

MEḤMED PASHA, LĀLĀ, Shāhīnoghlu, Bosnalï (d. 1015/1606, Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Born in Jajce as a descendant of the Bosnian Shāhinoghullarï family, he was related to Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]. Taken into Ottoman service as a *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] boy, he was educated in the so-called Palace School [see enderūn]. During those years he was probably engaged in giving lessons in fighting to one or more Ottoman princes, hence his surname of *Lālā* "tutor". Lālā Meḥmed successively held the court functions of *Peshkīr aghasï*, *Küčük Mīr Ākhūr* and *Büyük Mīr Ākhūr* and left the palace service holding the post of Agha of the Janissaries (999?/1590-1?).

It was in this command that he served far away from the court and the Sultan's person on the battlefields in Hungary during the "Long War" (1001-15/1593-1606). Notably, he saw service under the Grand Vizier Ḳodja Sinān Pasha (1001-3/1593-5) before Raab (Ott. Yanïḳ-ḳalᶜe, Hung. Györ) in 1002/1594. Dismissed following the siege of Tata (3 Shawwāl 1002/23 June 1594), he was made successively *beglerbegi* of Ḳaramān of Anadolu and then acted as military governor of the region of Buda (Ott. Budin). In 1003/1595, Lālā Meḥmed Pasha took over the command of the besieged fortress town of

Esztergom [*q.v.*] which he had to surrender to the imperial Commander-in-Chief Peter Ernst, Count Mansfeld (1517-1604). The negotiations were conducted on the Ottoman side by *inter alios* Ibrāhīm Pečewī [*q.v.*], Lālā Meḥmed's trusted secretary, who served him during 15 years of his life (cf. Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 64-6). The next year, Lālā Meḥmed Pasha was ordered to come to the bridge near Eszék [*q.v.*] to join the Ottoman main army and Sultan Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*] in person. He was promoted to vizieral rank. He assisted at the siege of Erlau (Ott. Eğri [*q.v.*]), of which town he was made commander after its fall on 17 Ṣafar 1005/12 October 1596. Lālā Meḥmed Pasha commanded the troops of Rumeli, i.e. the right wing in the battle of Mezö-Keresztes [*q.v.*] (Ott. Hač Owasi̊, 3-4 Rabīʿ I 1005/25-6 October 1596). In 1597 he served again on the front in Hungary. In Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1006/July 1598 he was appointed *Beglerbegi* of Rumeli, a promotion by favour of the Sultan. Lālā Meḥmed Pasha was present at the unsuccessful siege of Gross Wardein (Tk. Warad, now Rumanian Oradea Mare) from 1 October to 3 November 1598. Next year, he served in the army of the new Grand Vizier and *Serdār-i ekrem*, Commander-in-Chief, Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha against Neuhäusel (Hung. Ersekújvār, Ott. Uywar, Czech Nové Zámky). In 1600 Lālā Meḥmed served in the army of the Grand Vizier before (Nagy) Kanisza (Ott. Kaniče). In August, he was commander of the troops of Rumeli again and military governor of Buda. He was present at the 34 days' siege of Stuhlweissenburg (Ott. Ustolni Belgrad), which fortress surrendered to the Ottomans on 17 Ṣafar 1011/6 August 1602 (cf. Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 242 ff.). In November of the same year, he was ordered to succour Buda with 2,000 Janissaries, *djebedjis* and artillery against an imperial army (Pečewī, ii, 250). The Ottoman Commander-in-Chief was defeated at first near Pest on 4 Ṣafar 1012/14 July 1603, but soon afterwards was victorious north of Buda and thus able to carry reinforcements into the besieged fortress. The Imperial Army, commanded by the Archduke Matthias, then withdrew. Lālā Meḥmed Pasha was rewarded with the promotion to Third Vizier and the appointment as *serdār*. As such, he organised the defences of Buda and the bridges at Eszék, putting Murād Pasha, then *Beglerbegi* of Rumeli [see MURĀD PASHA, ḲUYUDJU] and Djelālī Deli Ḥasan Pasha, *Beglerbegi* of Bosnia, in command. He then sent the Anatolian troops on leave and withdrew to Belgrade for the winter (29 Rabīʿ II 1012/6 October 1603). At the death inside Belgrade of the Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief of the Western front Malḳoč ʿAlī Pasha (27-8 Ṣafar 1013/25-6 July 1604), Lālā Meḥmed took his place (cf. Pečewī, ii, 296). During a short campaign, he was able to reoccupy Pest and take the fortress towns of Hatvan and Waitzen (Vác). Esztergom was laid under siege (24 Djumādā I 1013/18 October 1604). The onset of winter made an end to warfare, since the Janissaries were unwilling to fight. Crimean Tatar light horse and the *Aḳi̊ndjis* were left in Hungary.

Alongside the conduct of war, Lālā Meḥmed Pasha also kept up diplomatic contact with the enemy in order to seek a peaceful end to the conflict; Murād Pasha (Ḳuyudju) played an important part in these negotiations. Lālā Meḥmed Pasha left for Istanbul to meet the Sultan in his quality of Grand Vizier and returned to the front again on 3 Muḥarram 1014/21 May 1605 with instructions to end the war by means of a treaty with the Emperor. The Grand Vizier recognised Stephen Bocskai as King of Hungary and invited him to join the army. A council of war was held at Eszék. The taking of Esztergom was declared to be the principal war aim. Párkány (Czech Sturovo, Ott. Čigerdelen) was taken on 29 August and Visegrad on 8 September 1605. Esztergom surrendered on conditions on 20 Djumādā I 1014/3 October 1605 (cf. the eyewitness account of Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 305 f.). The taking of this famous fortress and its surrounding places was followed by the conquest of others: Veszprém and Palota, and Neuhäusel on 9 Radjab 1014/20 November 1605. The Grand Vizier ordered a razzia of Tatar and Hungarian light cavalry into the Austrian lands, Croatia and Styria under the command of his nephew "Sarhosh" Ibrāhīm Pasha, the *Beglerbegi* of Kanisza. At Rakos on 7 Djumādā II 1014/20 October 1605, Lālā Meḥmed Pasha held a coronation ceremony for Stephen Bocskai, proclaimed King of Hungary. A crown had been especially made at Istanbul for this ceremony (this is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna, cf. H. Fillitz, *Die Schatzkammer in Wien*, Vienna 1964, 133, 17). Leaving Murād Pasha in charge, the Grand Vizier departed for Istanbul. It was his intention to exercise the supreme command over both the western and the eastern fronts from there. The Sultan's government, however, insisted on him going in person to the war in the east in the next season. The horse-tails (*tugh* [*q.v.*], were already put out at Üsküdar when the Grand Vizier died suddenly on 15 Ṣafar (or 16 Muḥarram?) 1015/23 June (or 25 May?) 1606. Rumours were current at the time that his rival Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] had made the Sephardic Jewish court physician administer poison. Lālā Meḥmed Pasha was buried next to the mausoleum of his kinsman Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha at Eyyūb.

Bibliography: See *İA* art. s.v. (M.C. Ş. Tekindağ), on which the present article is largely based. A main source is Pečewī's *Taʾrīkh*, whose author personally witnessed the most important years of Lālā Meḥmed Pasha's career as a trusted official: İ.H. Danişmend, *Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1971, iii, index; C. Ballingal Finkel, *The provisioning of the Ottoman Army during the campaigns of 1593-1606*, in *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen. CIEPO Colloque Wien, 26-30 September 1983*, ed. A. Tietze, Vienna 1985, 107-23; Von Hammer, *HEO*, vii, 271 f., viii, 84 f., 97; ʿOthmānzāde Aḥmed Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat ül-wüzerāʾ*, 53 f. (A.H. DE GROOT)

MEḤMED PASHA, MELEK, DĀMĀD (1131-1216/1719-1802), Ottoman Grand Vizier under Sultan Selīm III [*q.v.*].

He was the son of Bosnali̊ Khodja Süleymān Pasha, Vizier and *Ḳapudān-i̊ derya* in 1126/1714 and 1130/1718 till his death in 1133/1721. Born in Istanbul, he followed his father's footsteps in a naval career, becoming commander (*Deryā begi*) in 1736, *Tersāne ketkhüdāsi̊* and *Ḳapudān-i̊ deryā* himself (1165-8/1752-5). Sultan Muṣṭafā III (1171-87/1757-74) appointed him *Nishāndji̊*, and married him to the Princess Zeyneb ʿĀṣima Sulṭān, a daughter of Aḥmed III (1757) (cf. A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*; no. 1268, Table XLI). He was then promoted Vizier and received the title of *Sandjaḳ begi* of Yanya. From 1763 onwards, he received appointments as military governor successively of Vidin and Belgrade, *Beglerbegi* of Anadolu, *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* (1765) *Beglerbegi* of Aydi̊n, of Rumeli and in 1767-9 *Ḳapudān-pasha* again, during which tenure he made one tour through the Archipelago. In 1769 he was made both *Muḥaṣṣil* of Morea and *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* at Istanbul, which function he held during the Russo-Ottoman War (1769-74).

After a spell out of office, he was made *Ḳapudān-*

pās͟ha a third time in 1774. From 1774 to 1776 he served as commander of K͟hotin [*q.v.*], also charged with the exchange of the Russian and Ottoman ambassadors. Governor of Belgrade 1776-9, he again became *Muḥaṣṣil* of Morea, then governor of Egriboz [*q.v.*], Egypt (1781), Belgrade, Candia (Ott. K͟handaḳ), Bender (1784) and Vidin (1786). Sultan Selīm III [*q.v.*] saved him from temporary disgrace, restored his vizier's rank and appointed him governor of Candia. On 12 Ramaḍān 1206/4 May 1792, Melek Meḥmed Pas͟ha received the imperial signet as token of his appointment as Grand Vizier. He stayed in office for two years and five months, being the senior of all viziers then living (*S͟heyk͟h ül-Wüzerā*ʾ).

He did not take part in the policy-making of the reformers around Selīm III, but loyally supported the Sultan's policy with the residual influence which he still had. The reason for his dismissal must have been extreme old age, having served the state for 59 years. Meḥmed Pas͟ha was allowed to retire to his waterside villa at Ortaköy on the Bosphorus, where he died on 16 S͟hawwāl 1216/19 February 1802. His tomb is next to the *türbe* of his wife Zeyneb Sulṭān at the mosque founded by her at Soğukçeşme near the Bāb-i ʿĀlī.

Bibliography: ʿOt͟hmānzāde Tāʾib Aḥmed, *Ḥadīḳat ül-wüzerā*ʾ, continuation of Aḥmed D͟jāwīd, Istanbul 1271, 45-7; İ.H. Danişmend, *Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1971, v, 68; S.J. Shaw, *Between old and new*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 369 f.

(A.H. de Groot)

MEḤMED PAS͟HA, MUḤSIN-ZĀDE (1116?-1188/1704?-74), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Son of the Grand Vizier Muḥsin-zāde ʿAbd Allāh Pas͟ha (held office in 1150/1737) and born in Istanbul, he entered the Palace service as a *Ḳapīd͟jī Bas͟hī*. In 1150/1737 he became *Ḳapīd͟jīlar Ketk͟hudāsī* and in 1151/1738 vizier and *Beglerbegi* of Marʿas͟h. After 10 years of provincial governmental posts he was in 1160/1747 appointed to the reorganised province of Adana with special orders to hunt down the rebellious elements in Anatolia. From 1162/1749 onwards in various provincial posts in the European provinces, he became in 1171/1758 *Beglerbegi* of Aleppo. On this occasion he was married to the princess Esmāʾ Sulṭān (cf. A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, no. 1244, Table XLI), a daughter of Aḥmed III. There followed quickly, one after another, the appointments as *Beglerbegi* of Diyārbekr, Anadolu (at Kütahya) and Bosnia (1760), staying one year with his wife at his palace at Ḳadīrga (Istanbul), before proceeding to his post. From 1175/1762 he occupied the governorships of Rumeli and Bosnia, twice each, before being called to the Grand Vizierate on 7 S͟hawwāl 1178/30 March 1765. During his tenure of office, revolts in Arabia, Egypt and Georgia broke out and Russian pressure increased. The Grand Vizier did not think the Empire could sustain a war with that power, but his opinion did not prevail in the *Dīwān*.

Muḥsin-zāde Meḥmed resigned on 23 Rabīʿ II 1182/6 September 1768 and was ordered to reside in Bozd͟ja-Ada (Tenedos [*q.v.*]), Gallipoli (Gelibolu [*q.v.*]) and Rhodes (Rodos [*q.v.*]). In 1182/1769 appointed military governor (*Muḥāfiẓ*) of the Morea, he was able to defeat the Russian-inspired rebellion there in a battle at Tripolitza (Ott. Tripoliče) in D͟hu l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 1183/April 1770, after which he restored Ottoman authority in the main centres of Patras (Ott. Balya Badra [*q.v.*]), Modon (Ott. Muṭun [*q.v.*]), Navarino (Ott. Navarin [*q.v.*]). In 1185/1771 he went as commander of the Ottoman troops to the Danube front. From S͟haʿban/November 1771, Muḥsin-zāde Meḥmed was Grand Vizier again till his death on 26 D͟jumādā I 1188/4 August 1774. During those three years, Ottoman arms were unsuccessful against the Russians. The Grand Vizier opened peace negotiation again, first with the Austrians and then with the Russians (Bucharest conference, from November 1772 to February 1773). The Russian demands, including the independence of the Khanate of the Crimea [see ḲĪRĪM] and high war indemnities were not yet acceptable to the Ottomans, and peace was not reached till the Russian army under the Field Marshall Peter A. Rumyanṭsev encircled the Grand Vizier at S͟humnu (Bulg. Shumen) and proposed negotiations again.

Muḥsin-zāde Meḥmed Pas͟ha accepted this proposal immediately. The negotiations between the two delegations, the Ottoman one led by his *Ṣadāret-Ketk͟hüdāsī* (afterwards *Nis͟hānd͟jī*) Aḥmed Rasmī Efendi [*q.v.*] (see idem, *K͟hulāṣat ül-iʿtibār*, cf. *GOW*, 288, 309-12), were held at the Russian headquarters 17-21 July 1774 and led to the treaty of Küčük Kaynard͟ja [*q.v.*]. The Grand Vizier became ill soon afterwards and withdrew to return to Istanbul. On the way near Karnobad (Tk. Ḳarīnābād) he died on 26 D͟jumādā I 1188/4 August 1774. On the orders of his widow Esmāʾ Sulṭān, he was buried at Eyyūb next to the gate of the great mausoleum.

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(A. H. de Groot)

MEḤMED PAS͟HA, ÖKÜZ, Dāmād, Ḳara, 964?-1029/1557?-1620) Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Born in Istanbul the son of a Muslim blacksmith, he entered the palace service in spite of the fact of his being of Muslim Turkish origin. After about 40 years service as a *silāḥdār*, he left the Palace with the rank of a Vizier and became *Beglerbegi* of Egypt (D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 1015/April 1607). Arriving there the same year in May (Muḥarram 1016), he became busy with administrative reform. He abolished the illegally-imposed levies of *ṭulba*, *kulfa* and *kus͟hūfiyya*, which formed an excessively heavy burden for the tax-paying population. He was able to suppress a resulting rebellion of the (*ḳul*) *sipāhī*, *tüfenkčis* and *gönüllüs* of the Ottoman garrison, together with the Mamlūk cavalry corps (1017/1608). This "second conquest" of Egypt gained him the epithet *Ḳul-ḳiran* "Breaker of the Slave Soldiers". Thanks to his efficient government, Öküz Meḥmed Pas͟ha was able to send a surprisingly large sum as tribute of Egypt to the Porte. This success brought him 1020/1611 favour from on high. He was made *Ḳapudān Pas͟ha* and Second Vizier instead of K͟halīl Pas͟ha Kayṣariyyeli [*q.v.*]. Sultan Aḥmed I [*q.v.*] gave him his seven-year old daughter D͟jawhar K͟hān Sulṭān in marriage (1020/1612) (cf. A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, Table XXXIV, no. 1154 "Gevherhân"). In spite of his new status, Öküz Meḥmed Pas͟ha was not successful in his opposition to the granting of an *ʿahd-nāme* involving capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT] to the Dutch Republic 1/10 D͟jumādā I 1021/6 July 1612 [see K͟HALĪL PAS͟HA ḲAYṢARIYYELĪ].

In command of a squadron of 30 galleys, he went out to sea in the 1022/1613 season. His aim was to attack Maltese and Tuscan corsairs who had ravaged the southern shores of Anatolia and had raided Agha Limanī (near Silifke). His defeat, however, by the Spanish admiral in the service of the Viceroy of Naples, Ottaviano de Aragon, off Samos [see SUSAM] brought him relative disgrace.

He was made *Ḳāʾim-maḳām*, but after the execution of the Grand Vizier Naṣūḥ Pasha [*q.v.*], he succeeded to the highest office on 13 Ramaḍān 1023/17 October 1614. In this new capacity, he restored the members of his faction to office again. Öküz Meḥmed Pasha was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army formed to counter the aggression of Shāh ʿAbbās I of Persia [*q.v.*], who had violated the treaty concluded with Naṣūḥ Pasha (26 Ramaḍān 1021/20 November 1612). In Djumādā I 1024/June 1615 the Grand Vizier left for Aleppo, too late however for action that year. The army stayed in winter quarters in Marʿash (now Kahramanmaraş), Malaṭya, Sivas and Ḳaramān. In April 1616 Öküz Meḥmed Pasha left Aleppo and marched towards Eriwān to confront the Persian Shāh. The Grand Vizier himself went to Ḳars via Göksün Yayla and Erzurum, despatching important contingents of his large army in the direction of Eriwān and Nihāwand. Having ordered the strengthening of the fortifications of Ḳars, he marched to Eriwān (Ott. Rewān), defeated the Persian forces and laid siege to that fortress. His lack of siege artillery and the strong resistance of the garrison forced him to lift the siege after 60 (or 44?) days, agreeing to a settlement based on the terms of 1021/1612 accepting a reduction by half of the Persian tribute of silk, i.e. to only 100 *yük*. The Ottoman main army then returned to Erzurum (27 Shawwāl 1025/7 November 1616). The Grand Vizier wintered at Ṣoghanlī Yayla. The accusation of neglect of duty levelled at the Grand Vizier after this meagre result of his campaign led the Sultan to dismiss his favourite son-in-law (8 Dhu l-Ḳaʿda 1025/17 November 1616), who nevertheless retained the rank of Second Vizier and was ordered to assist his successor in office, Khalīl Pasha, towards the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace with Shāh ʿAbbās I. Peace was at last concluded on 6 Shawwāl 1027/26 September 1618 in the Ottoman camp in the plain of Sarāb (near Ardabīl), deep inside Ṣafavid territory.

Sultan ʿOthmān II [*q.v.*] appointed Öküz Meḥmed Pasha Grand Vizier again in place of Khalīl Pasha (1 Ṣafar 1028/18 January 1619). In his new quality, he sent the Ottoman ratification of the Sarāb treaty to Shāh ʿAbbās on 13 Shawwāl 1028/23 September 1619 (cf. *Ghazā-nāme-yi Khalīl Pasha*, ms. Es'ad Efendi 2139, fol. 119b; Ferīdūn, *Münsheʾāt*, Istanbul 1275, ii, 325). Later in 1029/1619, a conflict broke out between the Grand Vizier and the then favourite of the Sultan, the *Ḳapudān-pasha*, the Vizier Güzeldje Istanköylü ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], Meḥmed Pasha once again, as in 1021/1612 in his conflict with Khalīl Pasha, tried to use the help of the ambassadors of Venice and France against his rival, but to no avail, since the Sultan dismissed him and made ʿAlī Pasha Grand Vizier instead (16 Muḥarram 1029/23 December 1619). Öküz Meḥmed's private property was confiscated and he himself banished from Istanbul with the appointment as *Beglerbegi* of Aleppo, and it was in that city that he died not long afterwards.

A *türbe* was built inside the *zāwiya* of Shaykh Abū Bakr (cf. Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, i, 402). *Waḳf*s founded by Öküz Meḥmed Pasha included a *külliyye* in the Ḳaragümrük quarter of Istanbul where he was born, and a complex including a great *khān* and a market at Ulukışla (in Niğde province on the road to the Cilician Gates (Gülek Boghazī, see CILICIA) (cf. A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, Paris 1931, i, 156, pl. LV). At Cairo, he built barracks for the Janissary and *ʿAzab* corps and a *zāwiya* with a row of shops for the benefit of the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*] order of dervishes to which he was himself linked. Elsewhere in Egypt and Syria he erected facilities along the main routes to Mecca.

Bibliography: See *İA* art. *Mehmet Paşa Damad* (M.C.Ş. Tekindağ), with a full listing of sources and literature; also, P.M. Holt, *The pattern of Egyptian political history from 1517 to 1789*, in *idem* (ed.), *Political and social change in modern Egypt*, London 1968, 79-90; S.J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt 1517-1798*, Princeton 1962, 40, 89-90, 318; A.H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, Leiden 1978, 67 ff., 120, 160, 164, 314 f.; İ.H. Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, iii, 262-4, 276; Ḥāfiẓ Hüseyin Aywānsarāyī, *Wefeyāt-ī selāṭīn we meshāhīr-i ridjāl*, ed. F.Ç. Derin, Istanbul 1978, 75; İ.H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Istanbul 1954¹, iv/2, 367-70. (A.H. DE GROOT)

MEḤMED PASHA RĀMĪ, Ottoman Grand Vizier and poet, was born in 1065/1655 or 1066/1656 in Eyyūb, a suburb of Istanbul, the son of a certain Ḥasan Agha. He entered the chancellery of the Reʾīs Efendi as a probationer (*shāgird*), and through the poet Yūsuf Nābī [*q.v.*] received an appointment as *maṣraf kātibi*, i.e. secretary for the expenditure of the palace. In1095/1684, through the influence of his patron, the newly appointed *Ḳapudān pasha* [*q.v.*] Muṣṭafā Pasha, he became *dīwān efendi*, i.e. chancellor of the Admiralty. He took part in his chief's journeys and campaigns (against Chios) and on his return to Istanbul became *reʾīs kesedārī*, i.e. pursebearer to the Reʾīs Efendi. In 1102/1690 he was promoted to *beylikdji*, i.e. vice-chancellor, and four years later *Reʾīs Efendi* in place of Abū Bakr, in which office he was succeeded in 1108/1697 by Küčük Meḥmed Čelebi. After the battle of Zenta (12 September 1697), he became *Reʾīs Efendi* for a second time and was one of the plenipotentiaries at the Peace of Carlowitz (Ḳarlofča [*q.v.*]), by the conclusion of which "he put an end to the ravages of the Ten Years' War but also for ever to the conquering power of the Ottomans" (J. von Hammer). As a reward for his services at the peace negotiations he was appointed *ḳubbe wezīri* with 3 horse tails (*tugh*) in 1114/1703 and 6 Ramaḍān 1114/January 24, 1703, appointed to the highest office in the kingdom in succession to the grand vizier Daltaban Muṣṭafā Pasha. In this office he devoted particular attention to the thorough reform of the civil administration, by reform of the civil administration, through the abuses in which he saw the security of the state threatened (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, vii, 64). "By lessening the burden of fortresses on the frontiers in east and west, by raising militia against the rebel Arabs, by securing the pay of the army from the revenues of certain estates, by making aqueducts, by restoring ruined mosques, by taking measures for the safety of the pilgrim caravans and for the security of Asia Minor, by settling Turkmen tribes, by ordering the Jewish cloth manufacturers in Selānik and the Greek silk manufacturers in Bursa in future to make in their factories all the stuffs hitherto imported into Turkey from Europe" (von Hammer), he exercised a most beneficent activity, which however soon aroused envy and hatred, and since Meḥmed Pasha Rāmī was entirely a man of the pen

and not of the sword, he was unpopular with the army, particularly the Janissaries, and this was bound to lead to his fall (cf. *GOR*, vii, 72). In the great rising in Istanbul which lasted four weeks, beginning with the enthronement of Sultan Muṣṭafā II and ending with his deposition (9 Rabīʿ II, 1115/22 August 1703), his career came to an end. He was disgraced, but pardoned in the same year and appointed governor, first of Cyprus, then of Egypt (October 1704). His governorship there terminated as unhappily as his grand viziership (cf. *GOR*, vii, 133, following Rās̲h̲id and La Motraye). In D̲j̲umādā I 1118/September 1706, he was dismissed and sent to the island of Rhodes, where he died in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1119/March 1707, either under torture or a result of it (cf. *GOR*, vii, 134, quoting the *internuntius* Talman). Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Rāmī is regarded as a brilliant stylist, as the two collections of his offical documents (*ins̲h̲āʾ*) containing no less than 1,400 pieces, distinguished by their simple clear and elevated style, amply show (cf. the mss. in Vienna, Nat. Bibl. nos. 296 and 297, in G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Hss.*, i, 271-2). Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Rāmī also left a complete *Dīwān*, of which specimens are available in the *Ted̲h̲kire* of his son-in-law Sālim (cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 272-3; printed Istanbul 1315). His poetical gifts were inherited by his son ʿAbd Allāh Reʾfet (cf. Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOt̲h̲mānlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 187).

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *GOR*, vii, *passim*; the history of the Istanbul rising was written by Meḥmed S̲h̲efīḳ; *ʿOt̲h̲mānlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 186; Sālim, *Ted̲h̲kire*, 252-8; ʿOt̲h̲mānzāde Aḥmad Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat ül-wüzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, at the end; Aḥmad Resmī [*q.v.*], *K̲h̲alīfat al-ruʾasāʾ*, Istanbul 1269, 47; *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*, ii, 367; von Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iv, 26; *İA*, art. *Meḥmed Paşa Râmî* (Bekir Sıtkı Baykal).

(F. Babinger)

MEḤMED PAS̲H̲A, RŪM or Rūmī (d. 883/1478), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Being of *ḳul* status, his origins, whether Greek or Albanian, are obscure. Sultan Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] admitted him into his intimate circle after the unsuccessful Albanian campaign of 870/1466 during which Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a became Second Vizier. In 1468/872 he joined the campaign against Ḳaramān [see ḳaramān-og̲h̲ullarī], during which he manifested his rivalry with the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. Instead of him, Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a was charged with the deportation of selected members of the populations of the cities of Ḳaramān, Ḳonya [*q.v.*] and Laranda [*q.v.*], mainly artisans, other professionals and merchants. The older Ottoman chronicles agree in the disapproval of the Greek's harsh treatment of the Muslim people in question, giving a picture of this Pas̲h̲a as if he were effecting an act of revenge for the Istanbul Greek population's fate (cf. ʿĀs̲h̲ïkpas̲h̲a-zāde, tr. R.F. Kreutel, *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte*, Graz, etc. 1959[1], 201 f., 238, 240 f., see also *idem*, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1332, 143, 170, 191).

As a reward for his zeal in serving his master's policy of repopulating the city of Istanbul, Rūm Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a was appointed Grand Vizier instead of Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a in 873/1468-9. The members of his faction were given important positions too; *inter alios*, Mollā Meḥmed Wildān became *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker*, whilst K̲h̲āṣṣ Murād, Gedik Aḥmed and Özgürog̲h̲lu ʿĪsā Bey all became viziers. His continued harsh policy towards the Muslim population of Ḳaramān, which included the wide-scale confiscation of freehold property and *waḳfs*, caused an armed resistance organised by the Ḳaramānog̲h̲lu princes Pīr Meḥmed and Ḳāsïm, who made themselves masters of the town of Laranda. Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a's counter-offensive was swift. Laranda and Ereğli were destroyed in 874/1469-70. All local *waḳf* and private property was confiscated. Moving to Alanya (ʿAlāʾiyye [*q.v.*]), he was unable to conquer that fortress town. Contemporary sources tried to explain this lack of vigour as due to Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a's being married to a sister of Ḳïlïd̲j̲ Arslan, the last Bey of Alanya. The Grand Vizier continued his punitive expedition by persecuting the Warsak Türkmen tribe, who were able to inflict a defeat on Rūm Meḥmed's forces in the Cilician mountains. Meḥemmed II dismissed his Grand Vizier for this failure (875/1470-1). Rūm Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a was thereupon given a command in the expedition to conquer Negroponte (Eg̲h̲riboz [*q.v.*]) in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 874 and Muḥarram 875/June and July 1470. The rivalry between him and Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a and Ḳaramānī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] must have been the cause of his downfall and execution in 877/1472-3. Some sources cite Rūm Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a's involvement in the repopulation of Istanbul as an example of his talent as a financial administrator. He seems to have introduced the levy of rent on houses (the so-called *muḳāṭaʿa*) from the newly-settled inhabitants of the new capital, who till then had enjoyed their new property rights free of any taxation (cf. *İA* art. *Meḥmed II* (H. İnalcık)). Rūm Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a seems to have been an efficient instrument of Meḥemmed II's centralising policies, especially those of turning private landholdings into state property (*mīrī*) at the expense of the old-established local population, in this way creating *tīmār* estates for the Sultan's servants.

He was the founder of *inter alia* a beautifully situated *külliyye* at Üsküdar, of which the mosque is still standing, overlooking the Bosphorus: one of the few buildings in fact left from the days of the Conqueror. Next to the mosque stands the *türbe* in which the founder lies buried, together with a grandson and his daughter.

Bibliography: *İA* art. *Meḥmed Paşa, Rūm* (M.C.Ş. Tekindağ), where sources and literature are indicated; *İA* art. *Meḥmed II* (H. İnalcik); ʿĀs̲h̲ïkpas̲h̲a-zāde, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, tr. R. F. Kreutel, *Vom Hirtenzelt zur hohen Pforte*, Graz, etc. 1959 (= Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, 3), 201 f., 238, 240 f., F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, ed. W.C. Hickman, tr. R. Manheim, Princeton 1978, 254, 292 f., 286 f., 299, 454; İ.H. Danişmend, *Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1971, i, 266-7, 306-7, 313, 315, 319, 322-3, 337, 354, 377-8 (with different chronology); N. Beldiceanu, *Recherches sur la réforme foncière de Mehmed II*, in *Acta Historica* (*Soc. Acad. Dacoromana*), iv (1965), 27-39; İ.H. Konyalı, *Üsküdar tarihi*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1976, i, 249-52; G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London1971, 114-15 (with wrong date), 283.

(A. H. de Groot)

MEḤMED PAS̲H̲A ṢARÏ, Defterdār, Baḳḳālog̲h̲lu [see ṣarï meḥmed pas̲h̲a]

MEḤMED PAS̲H̲A ṢOḲOLLÏ, Ṭawīl [see ṣoḳollï, ṣoḳollu]

MEḤMED PAS̲H̲A, SULṬĀN-ZĀDE, D̲j̲iwān Ḳapïd̲j̲ï-Bas̲h̲ï, Semīn (1010-56/1602-46), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

He was born in Istanbul as the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bey (himself a son of Semīz Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Grand Vizier 887-8/1579-80, by origin an Albanian *dews̲h̲irme* boy) and of Hümās̲h̲āh ʿĀʾis̲h̲e K̲h̲anïm Sulṭān, a daughter of Čig̲h̲ala-zāde Sinān Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], thus being a grandson of Princess Mihr-i Māh

Sulṭān [*q.v.*], hence his surname Sulṭān-zāde (cf. A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, Table XXX, no. 2128). Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a was educated in the imperial harem and the *K̲h̲āṣṣ Oda* [*q.v.*]. Whilst only 19 years old, he became a *Ḳapîd̲j̲î-Bas̲h̲î* during the K̲h̲otin campaign of Sultan ʿOt̲h̲mān II. Already in 1040/1630-1, because of the highest patronage, he became a *ḳubbe wezīri* [*q.v.*]. In 1042/1633 Sultan Murād IV dismissed him for reasons of incompetence in the preparation of the campaign against Persia, and banished him to Rhodes. In 1047/1637-8, reinstated as Second Vizier, he went for three years to Egypt as *Beglerbegi*. Having been back in Istanbul since 1050/1640, he became *wālī* of Oczakov (Ott. Özü) with the task of retaking Azov [see AZAḲ] (4 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1051/4 February 1642). Thanks to the Don Cossacks having abandoned the fortress previously, Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a became master of Azaḳ without any bloodshed. Upon his return to the capital, the Grand Vizier Kemānkes̲h̲ Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a (1048-52/1638-43) removed him from the centre of power by making him *Beglerbegi* of Damascus (Rad̲j̲ab 1053/October 1643). It was there that he received the seal of office and the appointment as Grand Vizier (21 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1053/31 January 1644), thanks to his collaboration with the faction of D̲j̲ind̲j̲i K̲h̲od̲j̲a [see ḤUSAYN EFENDI], Sultan Ibrāhīm's [*q.v.*] favourite. On 1 Muḥarram 1053/10 March 1644, the new Grand Vizier arrived in the capital.

Next year, he was involved in the preparations of the war against Crete (1055-79/1645-69). He was highly critical of the conduct of the *Ḳapudān-î deryā* and *serdār*, Silāḥdār Yūsuf Pas̲h̲a, whose only success was the taking of Canea (Ott. Ḥanya). The Grand Vizier lost the struggle with this rival when the Sultan justified Yūsuf Pas̲h̲a in all respects, and he was dismissed. In D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1055/January 1646 he was in his turn appointed *serdār* of the Cretan campaign. Outside the Dardanelles, Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a's fleet of galleys encountered the Venetian sailing squadron of Tommaso Morosini off Tenedos (Ott. Bozd̲j̲a Ada [*q.v.*]) and successfully passed the Venetian blockade (19 Rabīʿ II 1056/4 June). Arriving at Crete on 27 D̲j̲umādā II 1056/10 August 1646, he decided to lay siege to the fortresses of Suda and Aprikorno near Canea. Already ill during the voyage thither, Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a died on 28-9 D̲j̲umādā II 1056/11-12 August 1646 in camp before Suda. His body was brought home to be buried next to his mother ʿĀʾis̲h̲e K̲h̲anîm Sulṭān in the cemetry of the *türbe* of ʿAzīz Maḥmūd Hüdāʾī at Üsküdar. A son and grandsons of his are mentioned in *SʿO*, iv, 161 ff.

Bibliography: In addition to the Ottoman and European sources mentioned in *İA* art. s.v. (by M.M. Aktepe, of which the above article is an abridgment), see İ.H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1971, iii, 389, 391-4, 401; Kātib Čelebi, *Tuhfat*, Istanbul 1329/1911, 120 ff.; H.K. Yılmaz, *Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi ve Celvetiyye tarikatı*, Istanbul n.d. (? 1980), 69 f.; E. Eickhoff, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen*, Münich 1970, 27 f., 40, 42, 45 f., 52 f.; M.O. Bayrak, *Istanbul'da gömülü meşhur adamlar* (*1453-1978*), Istanbul 1979, 49; Z. Tezeren, *Seyyid Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi I*, Istanbul 1984, 23, 27, 30, 120. (A.H. DE GROOT)

MEḤMED PAS̲H̲A, TABANÎYASSÎ (997?-1049/1589?-1639), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Of Albanian origin, he was taken from his home at Tas̲h̲lîd̲j̲a as a *devs̲h̲irme* boy and entered the palace service [see ENDERŪN]. The protection of the *Dār al-Saʿāda Ag̲h̲asî* Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ī Muṣṭafā Ag̲h̲a provided him with a quick career from *Mīr Āk̲h̲ūr* to vizier and *Beglerbegi* of Egypt before becoming Grand Vizier on 28 S̲h̲awwāl 1041/18 May 1632. He assisted Sultan Murād IV [*q.v.*] in suppressing opposition forces in the capital, thus making it possible for the sultan to rule in person. Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a favoured a foreign policy of neutrality in the European wars, which implied discreet contacts with Swedish and Transylvanian diplomacy. While on campaign against Persia, the Grand Vizier wintered at Aleppo (1043/1633-4). At the end of the season, he stayed in Diyārbekr (1043-4/1634-5) till 18 S̲h̲awwāl 1044/6 April 1635 in order to meet Murād IV at Erzurum on 17 Muḥarram 1045/3 July 1635, the two of them marching together to Eriwān. This Persian fortress surrendered on 18 Ṣafar/3 August, but was lost again next year (24 S̲h̲awwāl 1045/1 April 1636). Before that date, Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a had been already dismissed (24 S̲h̲aʿbān 1045/2 February 1636). Later the same year, he was military governor of Oczakov (Ott. Özü). In S̲h̲aʿbān 1047/January 1638 he was moved to Buda, but shortly afterwards became *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* at Istanbul. After a short time in disgrace again, Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a was jailed in Yedi Kule prison and killed. His tomb is at Miskinler Tekkesi.

Bibliography: İ.H. Danişmend, *Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1971, iii, 354-62, 367-70, 372; M.I. Kunt, *The Sultan's servants*, New York 1983, 131-3; ʿOt̲h̲mānzāde Tāʾib Aḥmed, *Hadīḳat ül-wüzerāʾ*, repr. Freiburg i. B. 1969; Nāʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, iii, 110-19; Von Hammer, *HEO*, ix, 184, 213 ff., 219 f., 260-4, 277, 286 ff., 298 f. (A.H. DE GROOT)

MEḤMED PAS̲H̲A, TIRYĀḲĪ, ḤADJDJĪ (? 1091-1164/?1680-1751), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

The son of an *Odabas̲h̲î* (Janissary Officer) born in Istanbul, he was himself enrolled in the Janissary Corps, and made a career as a "civil servant", reaching the post of Corps Secretary (*Ag̲h̲a Ḳapîsî Yazîd̲j̲îsî* or *Yeničeri Efendisi*) in 1149/1736. He was removed from that position because of his misappropriations of pay money while serving with the corps on campaign. In fact, he was denounced by the "Corps Merchant", Dāwūd. Thanks to the protection of the *Ketk̲h̲üdā* [*q.v.*] of the Grand Vizier, he was appointed soon afterwards *Süwārî Muḳābeled̲j̲i* (Audit Officer of the Cavalry Corps of the Sublime Porte). This new career made Meḥmed Efendi one of the chief clerks of the Ottoman chancery (*K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲egān-i Dīwān-î Hümayūn* [*q.v.*]). In 1739 he became *Mewḳūfātī*, a high official in the *Defter-k̲h̲āne* [*q.v.*]. In this capacity, Meḥmed Efendi served at the negotiations of the Peace of Belgrade held with the Imperial Austrian and Russian plenipotentiaries. He remained in and around Belgrade till 1154/1741, serving on the mixed Ottoman-Austrian boundary commission with Ḳāḍī Ebū Sehil Nuʿmān Efendi. Later, he was twice made *Yeničeri Efendisi* again. In 1745 he became *Tersāne Emīni* [see TERSĀNE] in which capacity he directed the complete restoration and extension of the Imperial Naval Dockyard at Istanbul after its destruction by fire. He earned Sultan Maḥmūd's [*q.v.*] favour and was promoted to be "General Deputy" (*ketk̲h̲üdā* = *kâhya*) [*q.v.*] of the Grand Vizier on 7 D̲j̲umādā II 1159/27 June 1746. A month and a half later, he succeeded his chief in office as Grand Vizier himself on 21 Rad̲j̲ab 1159/10 August 1746 (cf. *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iv, 237, with wrong date). According to contemporary sources his lifelong habit of taking drugs (*tiryāḳ*) made Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a often behave in an ill-mannered and insulting way towards high officers of state and *ʿulamāʾ*. At the same time, it must be noted, he made a large number of changes in official appointments

while in power (cf. Süleymān ʿIzzī, *Taʾrīkh*, fols. 66a-72a).

During his tenure of office, Ottoman diplomacy saw great events. Peace was made with Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] on 17 Shaʿbān 1159/4 September 1746 (cf. Nāẓif Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Īrān sefāretnāmesi*, in F.R.Unat, *Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefâretnâmeleri*, Ankara 1968, 84 + ill.). In 1160/1747 Meḥmed Pasha rejected the French overtures to make an offensive alliance against Austria; the Porte had not forgotten how France refused the Ottoman offer of mediation in 1158/1745 and remained distrustful of French motives (cf. I. de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte Ottomane*, Paris 1864, ii, 178 f.). On the contrary, Meḥmed Pasha had the peace confirmed with the new Austrian ruler, the Empress Maria Theresa, on 10 April 1747. This agreement was followed up by a treaty of friendship and commerce with Tuscany on 27 May 1747 (cf. *Muʿāhedāt Medjmūʿasī*, Istanbul 1297, iii, 135 ff.; ʿIzzī, *op. cit.*, fols. 114-121).

Sultan Maḥmūd I (1143-68/1730-54)—following his personal policy of maintaining his viziers only during a limited time in office—dismissed Meḥmed Pasha himself on 18 Shaʿbān 1160/24 August 1747. As the reason for this, the imperial *firmān* adduced the Grand Vizier's ill-treatment of persons in high places. Meḥmed Pasha ran into conflict with the *Sheykh ül-Islām* Meḥmed Esʿad Efendi; so much is certain. The ex-Grand Vizier was banished to Rhodes. Soon afterwards he was given the *sandjak* of Ičel [*q.v.*] in *arpalīk*. On 7 Rabīʿ I 1161/7 March 1748, Meḥmed Pasha became *Beglerbegi* of Mawṣil, and eight months later *Beglerbegi* of Baghdād. This latter appointment was made during the interregnum between the *mamlūk* Aḥmed Pasha (d. 1160/1747) and his chosen successor, Süleymān Pasha, "Abū Laylā", who in 1162/1749 was to be the true founder of the Mamlūk dynasty which ruled from Baghdād till 1831. The Ottoman central government tried to reassert its authority in the province by sending thither appointees of its own, but this policy remained unsuccessful. Tiryākī Meḥmed Pasha was not able to establish his authority against the will of the local opposition. He was recalled and appointed *Beglerbegi* of the *eyālet* of Ḥabesh and *Sheykh ül-Ḥarem* of Mecca. He refused to accept this honour, fell into disgrace and lost his vizierial rank and private fortune as a consequence. He was ordered to live in the provincial backwater of Rethymno (Ott. Resmo) on Crete, where he died early in 1164/1751. This news reached Istanbul on 8 Ramaḍān 1164/34 July 1751 (hence an error in *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 38).

The life of Tiryākī Meḥmed Pasha was characteristic of the age. It shows how an able Janissary-born servant of the Sultan (*ḳul*) could enter upon a career in the chancery of the central government, attaining the supreme office of *Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam* [*q.v.*] when he was about 66 years old. The Sultan's policy at this time seems to have been to limit the tenure of his Grand Viziers to only a year or two, so that dismissal did not automatically mean disgrace, although the conflict with the Islamic religious hierarchy must have shortened his tenure in the case of Meḥmed Pasha, and his refusal of office led in the end to his complete undoing.

Bibliography: See *İA*, art. s.v. (M.M. Aktepe); idem (ed.), *Şemdânîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi tarihi. Mürʾi 't-tevârih*, 3 vols. in 4, Istanbul 1976-81, 1, 116, 119, 122, 124-5, 127-34, 138, 141-2, 145-6, 151-2, 156, 159; Dilāwerzāde ʿÖmer Efendi, *Dheyl* to ʿOthmānzāde Tāʾib Aḥmed, *Ḥadīḳat ul-wüzerā*ʾ, Istanbul 1271/1854-5, repr. Freiburg 1969, 73-4, s.v. *el-Ḥādj M.P.*; İ.H. Danişmend, *Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1961, iv, 32-3, v, 59; Hâfiz Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî, *Vefeyât-i selâtîn ve meşâhîr-i ricâl*, ed. F.Ç. Derin, Istanbul 1978, 75; J. Hammer-Purgstall, *HEO*, xv, 110-12, 124-42; Süleymān ʿIzzī, *Taʾrīkh-i Weḳāyiʿ*, Istanbul 1199/1784; E. Prokosch, tr., *Molla und Diplomat. Der Bericht des Ebû Sehil Nuʿmân Efendi über die österreichisch-osmanische Grenzziehung nach dem Belgrader Frieden 1740/41*, Graz, etc. 1972, index s.v.; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, Ankara 1959[1], 1983[3], 363-7 (text of imp. docs.); idem, *Osmanlı imperatorluğu merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 347-8, 425 ff.; idem, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu kapukulu ocakları*, 2 vols., Ankara 1943-4, i, 408-9, 173, 180, 185; V. Aksan, *Ottoman-French relations 1739-1768*, in S. Kuneralp, ed., *Studies on Ottoman diplomatic history*, i, Istanbul 1987, 41-58.

(A.H. de Groot)

MEḤMED PASHA, YEGEN, Gümrükčü (d. 1158/1745), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Son of a sister of the then influential statesman *Defterdār* Kel Yūsuf Efendi (hence the surname "Nephew"), he was born in Antalya and began public life as a *Mültezim* in the region of his origin. He went to Istanbul to take up a career in the secretarial service, becoming a *khadjegān*. From 1140/1728 to 1141/1729 he was Commissioner of the Customs of Istanbul (*Gümrük Emīni*). Around 1144/1732 he became *Ḳapu-Ketkhudāsī* of the *Beglerbegi* of Erzurum, Topal ʿOthmān Pasha, as well. In 1145/1733 he acquired the post of *Mewḳūfātčī* and later again Commissioner of the Customs, leaving that position to become *Ḳapu-Ketkhudāsī* to Köprülü-zāde Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha. In 1737/1150 he was appointed vizier and got the function of *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* (23 (26?) Shaʿbān 1150/16 (19?) December 1737), Shemdāni-zāde, *Mürʾī-i tewārīkh*, 67, 77-85: 29 Shaʿbān 1150/22 December 1737). Yegen Meḥmed then became Grand Vizier. Preparing for war, he desired at the same time the French ambassador Villeneuve to undertake mediation with the Emperor and with Russia. He left Istanbul as *serdār* on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1150/5 April 1738 and moved the army via Edirne and Nish towards Ada-Ḳalʿe [*q.v.*]. After heavy fighting in that area, he was successful in the retaking of Mehādiye, Ada-Ḳalʿe and Semendire (26 Rabīʿ II 1151/13 August 1738). Having returned to Istanbul at the end of the campaigning season, preparations of war were mainly directed towards the reconquest of Belgrade. The Crimean Khān was his main adviser on the conduct of the war against Russia at this time. Through the influence of the powerful *Dār al-Saʿāde Aghasī* Beshīr Agha, Sultan Maḥmūd I [*q.v.*] dismissed his Grand Vizier before he could leave for the front (12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1151/23 March 1739).

Meḥmed Pasha was now exiled to Chios (Ott. Saḳīz [*q.v.*]) for one-and-a-half years. On 19 Rabīʿ II 1153/14 July 1740, Yegen Meḥmed was made military governor of Candia. Afterwards he received the governorates of Negroponte (Ott. Eghriboz [*q.v.*]), Bosnia and (in 1157/1744) Aydīn [*q.v.*]. At the end of the same year, he was made *Beglerbegi* of Anadolu and *serdār*, being sent to Ḳars and the Persian front with a large army. Thanks to the initiative of the Crimean Khan Selīm Giray II (1743-8) and his Tatar troops, the Ottomans attacked the Persian army in its fortified position near Eriwān (12 Radjab 1158/10 August 1745). After a week of fighting, the Grand Vizier fell ill and could not exercise his command any more. Disorder ensued among the Ottoman *Lewend* [*q.v.*] troops, and fighting was

broken off. The Grand Vizier died on 21 Radjab 1158/19 August 1745; his body was brought inside the citadel of Ḳars and buried there.

Bibliography: *İA* art. s.v. (by M.M. Aktepe), of which the present article is a summary; idem (ed.), *Şemdânîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi tarihi. Mür'i-i tevârih*, 3 vols. in 4, Istanbul 1976-81, i, pp. XVII f., 10, 66, 69, 77-85, 87 f., 90, 96, 112 f., 115, 118, 120, 125, 377; Hâfız Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî. Vefeyât-i selâtîn ve *meşâhîr-i ricâl*, ed. F. Ç. Derin, Istanbul 1978, 85, 114; A. Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient*, Paris 1887, 329 ff.

(A.H. de Groot)

MEḤMED PASHA YEGEN, Ḥādjdjī Seyyid (1138-1201/1726-87), Ottoman Grand Vizier from 16 Ramaḍān 1196-25 Muḥarram 1197/25/August-31 December 1782. Of Janissary birth, he died as *Ser-ʿasker* at Köstendje [*q.v.*] on 25 Muḥarram 1202/6 December 1787.

(Ed.)

MEḤMED RAʾŪF, Modern Turkish Mehmet Rauf (1875-1931), Turkish novelist of the late 19th and early 20th century. Born in Istanbul and trained as a naval officer, he entered the navy in 1893, was sent to Crete for further education, served as liaison officer in the launches of Foreign Embassies on the Bosphorus, retiring from the navy in 1908. Apart from publishing various periodicals for ladies and some attempts to carry on trade, he devoted his life to his writing.

Already while a student in the naval college he sent his first literary experiments to Khālid Ḍiyāʾ [*q.v.*] in Izmir, who published them in the newspaper *Khidmet*, Later, he contributed to the periodical *Mekteb* and various daily papers. When in 1895, the leading westernising writers formed a group for modern literature [see turk. Literature] around the periodical *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*], he soon joined them and published most of his writings there. Through Khālid Ḍiyāʾ, now in Istanbul, he met most of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* school. Most of his novels and collection of short stories, numbering a dozen each, are rather superficial, over-sentimental narratives with one remarkable exception, *Eylül* "September" (1900), which is the first example in Turkish literature, of sustained psychological analysis. This novel stands out not only among the works of Meḥmed Raʾūf, but it is also one of the most outstanding prose productions of the whole period.

Eylül is the love story of Suʿād, a married woman and Nedjīb, a relative and family friend. It is set among the semi-westernised, lower-middle class families of Istanbul at the turn of the century. Thüreyyā is the immature, sporty husband who spends most of his time boating and swimming while his wife tries to find consolation in music and plays the piano for hours on end to escape her boring life. A deep platonic relationship develops between Suʿād and Nedjīb, who shares similar tastes with her. Entire chapters of the novel are devoted to a psychological analysis of the lovers, who, because of their strict upbringing, remain faithful to the bounds of morality. A fire breaks out in the sea-side villa (*yalī*) on the Bosphorus where the young married couple live, and Suʿād, together with Nedjīb who tries to save her, both perish in the flames.

Meḥmed Raʾūf is also the author of several plays; see *Bibl.*

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(Fahir İz)

MEḤMED REʾĪS, Ibn Menemenli, Turkish ship's captain and cartographer from an Aegean seafaring family, author of an 81 x 58 cm chart of the Aegean Sea, showing also Greece and the western coast of Asia Minor (Museo Correr, Venice). Dated 999/1590 and with additional title and author's name in Italian (probably from the 17th century), the chart shows rhumbs and 199 names of coastal towns or islands noted in Turkish.

Similar to the Aegean sea-chart in the atlas of ʿAlī Madjar Reʾīs dating from 1567, the above-mentioned belongs to the portolan tradition. It is more exact than the corresponding maps of Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*], although in some cases differing from both in nomenclature. One should note that all Turkish sea-charts of the Aegean not only differ from the European ones in nomenclature but are also not as standardised as these.

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(H. Eisenstein)

MEḤMED SAʿĪD GHĀLIB PASHA, Ottoman statesman.

Born in Istanbul in 1177/1763-4, he was the son of Seyyid Aḥmed Efendi, *bash-khalīfe* in the *mektūbī* office of the Grand Vizier. After the death of his father (1188/1774-5), he entered the same office where he became *bash-khalīfe* in 1210/1795. He was appointed *āmedjī* [*q.v.*] on 15 Ramaḍān 1213/3 February 1798 and was sent to France (April 1802) to negotiate peace, which had been broken by the French expedition to Egypt (July 1798). He succeeded in signing the Treaty of Paris on 25 June 1802 (for the text of this treaty, see G. Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1897-1903, ii, 51-4). Back in Istanbul at the beginning of 1803, he became *büyük tedhkiredji* and was nominated *reʾīs ül-küttab* in September 1806. He followed the Ottoman army in the campaign against Russia, but when the news of Selīm III's deposition on 29 May 1807 reached the army, he took refuge with Muṣṭafā Pasha Bayraḳdār [*q.v.*] at Rusčuk. Meanwhile, a few days later, on 15 Djumādā I 1222/21 July 1807, he was appointed *nishāndjī* and charged with the negotiation of an armistice with the Russians. This resulted in the armistice of Slobosia (24 August). Ghālib Efendi was nominated *reʾīs ül-küttāb* for the second time on 19 Safar 1223/15 April 1808. He maintained his position after Muṣṭafā IV's deposition on 28 July, and remained in charge under Maḥmūd II up to the middle of 1811. Then he became *ketkhüdā* of the Grand Vizier. He headed the Ottoman mission in the negotiations with the Russians, aiming at ending the war which had been resumed again in October 1808. Thus he concluded the treaty of Bucharest on 28 May 1812 (for the text of this treaty, see Noradounghian, II, 86-92). He was appointed *reʾīs ül-küttab* for the third time on 30 Muḥarram 1229/22 January 1814, but was dismissed during the *ewāsiṭ-i Radjab*/22 June-8 July.

Ghālib Efendi remained for the following nine years out of Istanbul. He was charged, with the rank

of *wazīr* and the title of *pasha*, with the administration of different provinces in Anatolia. His banishment was due to Ḥālet Efendi [*q.v.*], a political rival whose influence had become preponderant at the court. He was exiled to Ḳonya in Ramaḍān 1236/June 1827, and could regain favour only after the execution of his rival (during the *ewākhir-i Ṣafar* 1238/7-15 November 1822).

Ghālib Pasha was nominated commandant of the European side of the Bosphorus during the *ewāsiṭ-i Muḥarram* 1239/17-26 September 1823. He returned to Istanbul and soon became Grand Vizier (10 Rabīʿ II/14 December). The main problem with which he had to deal was the Greek revolt in the Morea. He charged the *wālī* of Egypt Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] to crush the revolt by landing troops in the peninsula. He was dismissed from the Grand Vizierate on 20 Muḥarram 1240/14 September 1824. The cause seems to be his reluctance to agree to the proposal of the Sultan for the abolition of the Janissaries [see YEÑI-ČERI]. Appointed *wālī* of Erzurum and *Shark ser-ʿaskeri* in Radjab 1240/19 February-20 March 1825, he tried to resist the Russians during the war of 1828, but was not able to prevent the fall of Ḳars (15 July). He was dismissed on Djumādā II 1244/9 December 1828-6 January 1829 and exiled to Balīkesir, where he died in 1245/1829-30.

Ghālib Pasha was an intelligent and able administrator. His knowledge of international affairs qualified him as the most skilful Ottoman diplomat of his time. He is rightly regarded as the founder of modern Turkish diplomacy.

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(E. KURAN)

MEḤMED ṢĀLIḤ EFENDI (? - 1175/1762), Ottoman *Shaykh al-Islām* of the second half of the 18th century. On his mother's side he was descended from Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUshshākī, the founder of the ʿUshshākiyye *ṭarīḳa*, who died in 1001/1592-93, and who is buried in Istanbul at Ḳāsīmpasha. His father was Ḳirīmī ʿAbd Allāh Efendi-zāde Yaḥyā Efendi, who served as *ḳāḍī* of Ghalaṭa and subsequently of Egypt with the rank (*pāye*) of Edirne, being removed from the latter post on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1126/8 November 1714, and eventually dying in Istanbul in Rabīʿ I 1131/January-February 1719. Ḳirīmī ʿAbd Allāh Efendi-zāde Yaḥyā Efendi is buried at the Sīt *tekke* outside Edirneḳapīsī, close by the Emīr Bukhārī Dergāhī.

As yet we possess no information on the place and date of Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ Efendi's birth. However, it is known that in his youth he attracted the patronage of Yeñishehirli ʿAbd Allāh Efendi, *Shaykh al-Islām* (1130-42/1718-30) under Aḥmed III, that he became his patron's son-in-law, and that he studied the religious sciences. Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ Efendi had the fortune to make rapid progress in his career. After spending some years in the *müfettishliks* of the Ḥaremeyn and the Bāb-ī Fetwā, he became *ḳāḍī* of Ḥaleb (Aleppo) with the rank of *makhredj*. In Muḥarram 1148/May-June 1735 he was appointed to the *ḳāḍīlīḳ* of Shām, and in 1153/1740-1 to the *ḳāḍīlīḳ* of Medina. Having completed the term of his appointment, he returned to Istanbul. On 27 Djumādā II 1159/17 July 1746, he was appointed to the *ḳāḍīlīḳ* of Istanbul. This appointment was terminated on 1 Shaʿbān 1160/8 August 1747, after he had completed the customary term. He was re-appointed *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul in Shawwāl 1163/September 1750, and on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1163/3 November 1750, at the request of the Shaykh al-Islām Sayyid Murtaḍā Efendi, he was additionally granted the rank (*pāye*) of Anadolu by *khaṭṭ-i hümayūn* of Sultan Maḥmūd. On 7 Shaʿbān 1167/30 May 1754 he entered into the functions of *Anadolu ḳāḍī ʿaskeri*, and held this post until 10 Shaʿbān 1168/22 May 1755. On the last day of Ṣafar 1171/12 November 1757 he was appointed *ḳāḍī ʿaskeri* of Rūmeli, and having fulfilled the normal term of the appointment, he was made *Shaykh al-Islām* on 16 Djumāda I 1171/26 January 1758, replacing Dāmād-zāde Fayḍ Allāh Efendi. In this capacity he officiated at the marriage of Muṣṭafā III's sister Ṣāliḥa Sulṭān to the Grand Vizier Ḳodja Rāghib Pasha at the Ṣāliḥa Sulṭān Sāhilsarāyī in Eyyüb. He was finally removed from office on 5 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1172/30 June 1759, and given permission to reside in his villa at Ḳanlīdja.

Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ Efendi died on 1 Shawwāl 1175/25 April 1762, the first day of Sheker Bayrāmī. Funeral prayers were held on the following day at the mosque of Fātiḥ Sulṭān Meḥemmed, and he was buried in the cemetery of the *medrese* of *Ḳāḍīʿasker* Meḥmed Efendi. The cemetery is located in the district of Küčük Muṣṭafā Pasha, alongside the *Fetwā-khānes* of Ḥaydar Maḥallesi, and opposite the mosque of Sinān Aghā. Meḥmed Ṣālīḥ Efendi was a man of good character and distinguished qualities. His son was the *Shaykh al-Islām* Aḥmed Esʿad Efendi.

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(MÜNIR AKTEPE)

MEḤMED YIRMISEKIZ ČELEBI EFENDI, Ottoman statesman renowned for his diplomatic mission to France in 1132-3/ 1720-1 and for the account of the mission (*sefāret-nāme*) which he left behind, a major contribution to the westernising movement in the Ottoman Empire in its early manifestations.

His biography is known only in part. He was about fifty years old at the time of his mission. He was born

at Edirne, and his father was Gürdjü ("the Georgian") Süleymān Agha, *seksondjubashi*, meaning colonel of the 71st regiment of Janissaries. He himself followed a military career, after having, apparently, attended the school for pages of the imperial palace, and he belonged to the 28th regiment, hence the nickname of "Twenty-eight" (*Yirmisekiz*) which he retained. He rose to the rank of *čorbadji*, then to that of *muḥḍir agha*. But having also acquired a scholastic education which earned him the title of *efendi* (and which is illustrated by poems composed under the name of Fāʾizī, as well as by the Persian verses which adorn his travel narrative), he was assigned to administrative and financial responsibilities in the army: in the role of *ṭopkhāne nāẓiri*, he was charged with the management of the Arsenal. His diplomatic role began with the negotiations over the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718), where he was deputy plenipotentiary with the title of "receiver of taxes of the third order" (*shikk-i thālith defterdāri*). In this role he acquired, according to Bonnac, ambassador in Constantinople (1716-24) "a fine reputation among the ministers of the Christian princes who were present there". It was as a result of this experience that he was appointed to undertake the mission to France, raised on this occasion to the rank of "chief accountant" (*bash muḥāsebedji*).

The sending to Paris not of a simple emissary as in previous periods, nor of a permanent representative, but at last of a specially accredited ambassador (*elči* [*q.v.*]), represented a diplomatic innovation, for which the initiative belonged entirely to the Grand Vizier, son-in-law of Aḥmed III, Newshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha. The latter's ulterior motives were kept secret so as to avoid disturbing foreign powers and perhaps also to avoid friction with conservative elements at home. Officially, the ambassador was entrusted with the task of conveying to the French authorities (King Louis XV, still a minor, and the regent Philippe d'Orléans) the sultan's authorisation of repairs to the cupola of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which the French had requested in their role as protectors of the Christians of the East. He was also required to discuss the problem of Maltese piracy and to obtain the release of Ottoman prisoners serving as slaves in the royal galleys. But it is probable that, having experienced the setbacks ratified by the Treaties of Carlowitz (1699 [see KARLOFČA] and Passarowitz, the Grand Vizier in fact envisaged a strengthening of the Ottoman Empire against the Habsburgs by means of a more or less close alliance with France (though the latter had been engaged in a system of alliances with Austria since 1718), and he also hoped to acquire information regarding the scientific and technical advances taking place in western Europe and especially in France. A passage which is often quoted from the instructions given to Meḥmed Efendi, required him "to visit fortresses and factories, to make a detailed study of the means of civilisation and education and to compile a report concerning those which may be applied".

The ambassador's journey, made in the company of his son Saʿīd Efendi (himself a future ambassador to Sweden and France, in 1742, and future Grand Vizier) and an entourage of about a hundred persons, lasted a year, from his departure from Istanbul on 7 October 1720 to his return on 8 October 1721. Although dubious at the very principle of his mission, the French authorities received him with respect and considerable pomp, while his public appearances excited much curiosity which is amply reflected in the writings of the diarists and journalists of the time. Arriving at Toulon on 22 November, he had to spend a period of quarantine at Maguelone, and then reached Paris by a circuitous route through the west of the country, initially following the course of the *Canal du Midi*, in order to avoid the south-east which was then the scene of an outbreak of plaque. Arriving in Paris on 8 March 1721, Meḥmed Efendi remained in the capital and its immediate surroundings until 3 August. Returning to Sète via the Rhône valley, he began there on 7 September, his return journey, with a stop-over at La Goulette.

The *Sefāret-nāme*, which is known through numerous editions in Ottoman and modern Turkish and in the French translation by the "jeune de langues", Julien-Claude Galland (nephew of the translator of the *Thousand and one nights*), has not yet been the object of a proper critical edition (see *Bibl.*). It is known that a first draft was composed during the journey itself, and a version presented to the Grand Vizier immediately after his return, followed two years later by a more extended version; from his version, passages regarded as excessively critical of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Archbishop of Cambrai, Dubois, were excised at the behest of the Marquis de Bonnac. The account with which we have to do may not perhaps respond to all possible *a priori* expectations of this first discovery of France by an educated Ottoman, this spontaneous encounter between two cultures. But it is necessary to take into account the limited types of experience available to an ambassador, as well as the constraints imposed on a report designed simultaneously to be read by senior officials of the state and to be widely available to the general public. Not only has the author not seen everything, but in a more or less deliberate fashion he refrains from mentioning everything which he actually knows. However, his account, such as it is, remains a no less remarkable document, notable for the curiosity, open mindedness, descriptive qualities and aptitude for judgment which it demonstrates and which place it indisputably above the only surviving precedent, the account of Vienna by Ḳara Meḥmed Pasha in 1665; these qualities were to make it the example to be followed by all subsequent *sefāret-nāmes*.

Meḥmed Efendi pays little attention to manners, beyond noting the curiosity of the French, the astonishing freedom of movement of their women and the respect accorded to them. He is also somewhat sparing of political information, in the sense of French institutions, the personalities of the rulers and the content of his negotiations, which led Bonnac to remark that this was not the account of an ambassador. On the other hand, he writes enthusiastically and pertinently concerning natural phenomena and especially—corresponding to the object of his mission, as noted above—the military, scientific and technical achievements that he witnessed. He shows equal interest and discernement in the artistic domain. He thus provides detailed and vivid descriptions of the *Canal du Midi* and its locks, the Invalides (with the organ, the chapel, the veterans' hospital), military parades and manœuvres on the field of the Sablons, the collection of city models or city plans in relief preserved at that time in the Tuileries, the royal manufacturers of the Gobelin tapestries and the Saint-Gobain mirrors, the "king's garden" (the future Museum of Natural History), the Opera, the Paris observatory, the palaces and landscaped gardens of Saint-Cloud, Meudon, Versailles, Marly (with the famous "machine" drawing water from the Seine) and Chantilly. The ambassador never explicitly advocates imitation of the marvels of the France of Louis XIV and of the Regency (the enormous costs of

which he is always at pains to point out), but his role as propagandist is all the more effective in view of his oral commentaries and the numerous artefacts, including 1,000 engravings, which the Grand Vizier sent the dragoman Lenoir to acquire in France following his diplomatic mission, providing a supplement to the information contained in the *sefāret-nāme* and which were addressed moreover to a sympathetic public, the court of Istanbul of the "Age of the tulips" [see LALA DEVRI], which was especially fond of "curiosities" and artistic refinements.

The resulting French influence was manifested most of all in architecture in a style known as *alafranga* (*alla franca*), especially perceptible in the improvements made to the residence of Aḥmed III at the Fresh Waters of Europe, known as Saʿdābād: the construction of a canal on the model of those of Versailles and Fontainebleau along which the houses of the dignitaries were built contiguously, with the aim of imitating a classical disposition (a procedure called *ḥiṣār yalīlarī*). Similarly, the two elegant fountains built by Aḥmed III have a certain rococo character. It is not known whether the example of the *Canal du Midi* is connected with the resumption under Aḥmed III of work on the canal connecting the Black Sea to the Gulf of Izmir by way of the Sakarya (cf. A. Wāṣif, *Meḥāsin ül-āthār we-ḥaḳāʾiḳ ül-akhbār*, i, Istanbul 1219/1804-5, 162-3).

Another marked effect of the diplomatic mission was the establishment, in 1727, of the first printing-press using Arabic characters, at the initiative of Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.*] and Saʿīd Efendi, who was impressed by examples of printing seen in Paris, a fact mentioned by Saint-Simon (ed. Boislisle, xxxviii, 201-4) but not recorded in his father's account [see MAṬBAʿA. 2. In Turkey].

The insurrection of 1730 brought a halt—albeit temporary—to this trend which, despite its superficial and even frivolous aspects, represented an important change in attitude towards the West. Affected by the fall of his patrons, Meḥmed Efendi was nevertheless entrusted with the task of conveying to Poland the letter proclaiming the accession of Maḥmūd I (Topkapı Archives, E. 1654). He ended his career as governor of Cyprus, where he died in 1145/1732.

Bibliography: Numerous mss. of the *Sefāret-nāme-yi Fransa*, see Babinger, *GOW*, 326-7, to be completed by F. R. Unat, *Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefaretnâmeleri*, Ankara 1968, 58, and by B.N. suppl. turc. no. 717. There exist various editions in Ottoman Turkish, though without any scientific character: extracts in *Taʾrīkh-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1282, v, 330-67; *Relation de l'ambassade de Mohammed Efendi (texte turk) à l'usage des élèves de l'École royale et spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*, ed. P.A. Jaubert, Paris 1841; Meḥmed Čelebi, *Sefāret-nāme-yi Fransa*, Istanbul 1283; *Tacryr ou Relation de Mohammed Efendi, ambassadeur de la Porte en France, 1720, à Ibrahim Pacha, édité et accompagné de notes par Suavi Effendi*, Paris 1872; *Paris sefāret-nāmesi*, Istanbul 1306/1888-9; popular editions in modern Turkish: Mehmed Çelebi, *Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi'nin Fransa seyahatnâmesi*, ed. Ş. Rado and T. Toros, Istanbul 1970, and *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi sefâretnâmesi*, ed. A. Uçman, Istanbul 1975. Two contemporary French translations of the travel narrative have been preserved, that of Ph.J. Aubert, French dragoman at Aleppo (*Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, Mémoires et documents, Turquie*, xii, fols. 230-99), and the much superior one of J. Cl. Galland published in *Relation de l'ambassade de Mehmet Effendi à la cour de France en 1721, écrite par lui-même et traduite du turc*, Constantinople-Paris 1757. The author of the present article has given a new edition of this version according to more complete mss., annotated and complemented by contemporary texts, in *Mehmed Efendi, Le paradis des infidèles, un ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence*, Paris 1981. Sources: in addition to the French sources cited in the above edition, see Sāmī, Shākir and Ṣubḥī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1198/1784, 1-6; Küčük Čelebizāde ʿĀṣim, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865-6, 339 ff.; Rāshid, *op. cit.*, v, 29-30, 213-14, 443-9; Meḥmed Süreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, Istanbul 1311, 266; F.R. Unat, *op. cit.*, reproduces some iconographical documents, Studies: Marquis de Bonnac, *Mémoire historique sur l'ambassade de France à Constantinople*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1884; E. d'Aubigny, *Un ambassadeur turc á Paris sous la Régence. Ambassade de Méhemet efendi en France, d'après la relation écrite par lui-même et des documents inédits*, in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, iii/1 (Paris 1889), 78-91, iii/2, 200-35; A. Gaste, *Retour à Constantinople de l'ambassadeur turc Mehmet Effendi: journal de bord du chevalier de Camilly, juillet 1721-mai 1722*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie nationale des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Caen*, Caen 1902, 4-141; S.N. Gerçek, *Türk matbaacılığı, I: Müteferrika matbaası*, Istanbul 1939; E.Z. Karal, *Tanzimattan evvel garplılaşma hareketleri*, in *Tanzimat*, Ankara 1940, 13-30; A.H. Tanpınar, *XIX. asır Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, i, Istanbul 1956; A.V. Vitol, *Iz istorii turetsko-frantsuzskikh svyazey (posol'stvo Žirmisekiz Čelebi Mekhmeda-Efendi vo Frantsiyu v 1720-1721 gg.)*, in *Narodī Azii i Afriki*, iv, Moscow 1976, 123-8; B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, London 1982; E. Esin, *Le maḥbūbiye, un palais ottoman "alla franca"*, in H. Batu and J.L. Bacqué-Grammont (eds.), *L'Empire ottoman, la république de Turquie et la France*, Paris 1986, 73-86; F. Müge Göçek, *East encounters West. France and the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century*, Oxford 1987. (G. VEINSTEIN)

MEḤMED ZAʿĪM, Ottoman Turkish historian.

All that we know of his life has to be gleaned from his works. He was born in 1939/1532, for he tells us that at the accession of Sultan Murād III, i.e. in 982/1574, he was 43. At the early age of eleven he took part in the campaign of 950/1543, along with his elder brother Perwāne Agha, who at that time was *Ḳapudjī Bashī*, to the *Sandjaḳ Beg* of Lepanto, Yaḥyā Pasha-Oghlu Aḥmad Beg. When the latter, after the capture of Stuhlweissenburg, was appointed *Sandjaḳ Beg* there, the brothers seemed to have remained in his service, probably till 952/1545, when Aḥmad Beg was summoned to Istanbul, in connection with the plundering of the Stuhlweissenburg churches. In 961/1554 when Sultan Süleymān took the field against Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, Meḥmed Zaʿīm was a secretary in the service of the governor of Syria, Teki-oghlu Meḥmed, and a year later he was secretary to the powerful grand vizier Meḥmed Soḳollu [*q.v.*] and in this capacity compiled the official report of the death of Selīm II and the accession of Murād III which was sent to the governors of Diyārbakr, Aleppo and Baghdād. This office, to which he perhaps succeeded on the promotion (978/1570) of the famous Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg [*q.v.*], he must have filled till the death of Meḥmed Soḳollu in 987/1579; we hear nothing further about it. He held a great fief (*ziʿāmet*; hence his epithet Zaʿīm); he himself says *zuʿamāʾ-i ʿatebe-i selāṭīn-i āl-i ʿothmāniyyeden Meḥmed ile müteʿāref we shehīr*. Friends requested him to write a history, and he finished it within a year. He began the work in

Muḥarram 985 (beginning of 21 March 1577) and had completed it in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja of the same year (beginning of 9 Feb. 1578). The date of his death and the site of his tomb are not known but he is said to have left charitable endowments in Karaferia near Salonika.

He called his book *Humā-yi djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* and dedicated it to his master Meḥmed Soḳollu. As his sources, he mentions eleven historians from Firdawsī and al-Ṭabarī down to the anonymous *Tawārīkh-i selāṭīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān* and gives as his main source the *Behdjet al-tawārīkh*, from which, as has been proved, he copied out whole pages without a qualm. The book, which is not yet printed, is divided into a preface and five large sections (*aḳsām*, subdivided into *gurūhs* and then again into *maḳālāt*) and concludes with an epilogue. Rieu and others have given an account of the contents from the manuscripts. In the fourth *gurūh* of the 5th *ḳism* he deals with the Ottomans, and here alone do we have statements of any value, when the author describes from his own experience events from 950/1543 onwards. He brought his story down to the time of writing, and the last event that he mentions took place in the month in which the book was finished.

The passages in the book relating to Hungary have been dealt with by Thúry (*Török történtirók*, ii, 364-89), who also collected the above data for his life; the earlier from 1390 to 1476 are given in extracts and the later from 1521 to 1566 translated in full. Of the other less valuable parts of the book, Diez (*Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, i, 212 ff.) has edited a portion of the very early history, dealing with Cain and his descendants, while Von Hammer (*Sur les origines russes*, lxi, 120) edited and translated a portion on the tribal divisions of the Turks, where the Rūs appear as the ninth Turkish tribe. Of the later Ottoman historians, Ibrāhīm Pečewī utilised and quoted from the work of Meḥmed Zaʿīm from the year 949/1542 onwards.

Bibliography: Babinger, *GOW*, 20, 98-9, 193, where further references are given; *İstanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları kataloğu*, Istanbul 1943, 100 ff. (W. Björkman)

MEHTER (P.), a musical ensemble consisting of combinations of double-reed shawms (*zurna*), trumpets (*boru*), double-headed drum (*ṭabl*), kettle-drums (*naḳḳāre*, *kös*) and metallic percussion instruments. The name (P. "greater") apparently denotes "the greater orchestra". Other terms are: Mehterkhāne, Ṭabl-khāne, Ṭabl-u ʿAlem ("drum and standard"), Mehterān-i Ṭabl-u ʿAlem, Djemāʿat-i Mehterān, and Ṭabl-i Āl-i ʿOthmān ("Drum of the Ottoman House"). The Ottoman *mehter* was an analogue of the wind, brass and percussion ensembles used for official, municipal and military purposes in other Islamic states. Traditions current in Ottoman and in earlier Arabic sources (e.g. Ibn Khaldūn) link the *mehter* to the Turkic and Khurasanian elements in the caliphal armies.

The Ottoman *mehter* was outlawed (and physically destroyed) in 1826. Therefore, information about it is derived from written sources, the most important of which is the *Seyāḥat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi (11th/17th century). Prince Cantemir's history contains a few important passages, and short references are found in a variety of Ottoman and European sources. Another important source lies in Ottoman miniatures which frequently portray the *mehter* musicians. The absence of an authentic oral tradition for the *mehter* is partly compensated by the notations found in the 11th/17th century *Medjmūʿa-yi sāz u söz* by ʿAlī Ufḳī Bey (Alberto Bobowsky) and the *Kitāb-i ʿilm al-mūsīḳī ʿalā wedj al-ḥurūfāt* by Prince Dimitrie Cantemir (1700). A few examples were also preserved in the Hamparsum notation in the late 18th and 19th centuries.

In the capital, the *mehter* was part of the Palace service. The musicians appear to have been originally of *devshirme* [*q.v.*] origin, but not after the early 11th/17th century. They were trained in the Palace school. The names of several *mehter* composers of the Palace have been preserved along with their compositions, e.g. Nefīrī Behrān (10th/16th century) and Zurnazenbashı̊ Ibrāhīm Agha (11th/17th century). It appears that the *mehterān* trained in the capital were sent to the provinces. Alongside this official *mehter* was another type of ensemble called the *mehter-i bīrūn* which formed part of the urban musicians' guilds. This *mehter* received no salary, but performed at public and private festivities. The *mehter-i bīrūn* differed somewhat in orchestration and in size from the *ṭabl-u ʿalem*, and its repertoire was somewhat distinct. A well-known composer of the *mehter-i bīrūn* was Zurnazen Edirneli Daghī Aḥmed Čelebi (11th/17th century).

The offical *mehter* had three distinct functions: (1) The *mehter* played continuously during battle. The standard (*ʿalem*) was located near the *mehter*, so that silence from the direction of the *mehter* could lead to the Janissaries' abandoning the field. Certain battle signals were given by the percussion of the *mehter* (e.g. *ṭabl-i asāyish* "the drum of repose" for the cessation of fighting). Although the Janissaries entered battle at the pace of the *mehter* music, the *mehter* was not responsible for regulating the movement of troops outside of battle. The march was not a *mehter* genre.

(2) The sultan was greeted every afternoon by a *mehter* performance which was accompanied by prayers for the ruler and the state. In the course of the Ottoman period, this ceremony seems to have become highly ritualised. In addition, the vizier, provincial governors and vassal rulers (such as the khāns of the Crimea and the *voyvods* of Moldavia) all had their own *mehter* ensembles and were therefore referred to as *ṭabl-u ʿalem ṣāḥibi* (possessor of drum and standard"). The number of musicians in the *mehter* was an indication of the status of the official.

(3) A *mehter* ensemble played every morning and night from a tower within the garden of the Ṭopḳapı̊ Palace, from other towers in the capital and in many other cities of the Empire. These performances occurred before the morning prayer (*ṣabāḥ namāzı̊*) and after the night prayer (*ʿishāʾ namāzı̊*).

The basic melody instrument of the *mehter* was the *zurna*, a double-reed shawm with seven holes (6 in front and 1 behind). The official *mehter* used the large instrument known as *ḳaba zurna* which seems to have been identical to the instrument of the same name played today in rural ensembles in central and western Anatolia and Thrace. The *mehter-i bīrūn* preferred the smaller *djurna zurna*. The *ḳaba zurna* had a range of over two octaves and could produce all the notes needed for pre-19th century Ottoman music. Subsidiary to the *zurna* was the trumpet known as *boru* or *nefīr*. Older *borus* were apparently made of bronze, but by the 10th/16th century brass was in use. The *boru* had no holes and could produce five notes within an ambitus of one and a half octaves. Pieces described as *nefīr-i dem* apparently employed the *borus* to hold the drone.

The basic percussion instrument of the *mehter* was the *ṭabl* or *dawul*, a rather large wooden double-headed drum held slantwise by a strap and beaten with two sticks of uneven dimensions and shape, thus producing the bass *düm* and treble *tek* sounds which are essential to the Ottoman conception of rhythm. The

Ottoman *ṭabl* was the ancestor both of the folkloric drum of the same name (called also *ṭapan*, *kas* or *bubandj* in the Balkans) and of the European military drum, which has however abandoned the bass-treble distinction during the 19th century.

A secondary percussion instrument was the *naḳḳāre*, a medium-sized kettle-drum made of copper. The two parts of the *naḳḳāra* were tuned differently to produce bass and treble tones, and were struck with sticks (*zaḫme*) of uniform shape. A much larger kettledrum was the *kös*, which could measure one-and-a-half metres at the top. It was also made of copper. The *kös* was taken on campaigns and played at official occasions.

The drum of the *mehter* were supported by two types of brass percussion—the *halīle*s or *zīl*s (cymbals) and the *čewgān*, a crescent-shaped, jingling rattle with bells.

These instruments were played in large groups, with the *zurna*s and *dawul*s in equal numbers, and the other instruments somewhat less numerous. In the early 19th century, Von Hammer reports that a vizier's or pasha's *mehter* consisted of 72 pieces: 16 *zurnas*, 16 *ṭabls*, 11 *borus*, 8 *naḳḳāres*, 7 *halīle*s and 4 *kös*. The sultan's *mehter* (called *mehter-khāne-yi khāḳānī* or *mehter-khāne-yi hümayūn*) was twice that during campaigns.

The *mehter* was conducted by the lead *zurna*-player (*zurna-zen-bashi*), who was therefore termed *mehterbashi*. The *mehter* normally performed in a circular formation. During campaigns or processions (*alay*), the musicians were mounted on horses or camels; the *kös* was taken on a camel or an elephant.

The répertoire of the *mehter* was termed *newbet* or *faṣil*. Of this répertoire, approximately sixty pieces have survived. This répertoire was related to the instrumental suite (*faṣil-i sāzendegān*) of Ottoman court music. The dominant forms were the *peshrew* and the *semāʿī*, as well as the improvised *taḳsīm*. The *peshrews* and *semāʿīs* of the *mehter* form separate genres which employed somewhat simpler rhythmic cycles and larger melodic leaps than the contemporaneous court music. One performance practice associated exclusively with the *mehter* was the *ḳarabataḳ*: alternation of soft passages played by a partial ensemble with thunderous tutti passages. The *mehter* répertoire is identified in the sources by the names of individual items, e.g. *sandjaḳ* ("standard") *atlu* ("horseman"), *alay düzen* ("parade order"), *elči* ("ambassador"), or the term *ḥarbī* ("martial"). During the 18th century, the *mehter* répertoire was broadened to include instrumental versions of the classical vocal forms (*beste*, *naḳish*, *semāʿī*), as well as folk tunes (*ezgi*, *türkü*, *ḳalenderī*).

In 1720 the Porte presented the Polish court with a complete *mehter* ensemble. The gift was very much appreciated, and soon after Russia and then Prussia requested similar ensembles. By the 1770s, many European courts had *mehter* bands, and some sent their bandmasters to Istanbul to study the *mehter*. The main musical result of this cross-cultural exchange appears to have been the introduction of several percussion instruments into European military bands and court orchestras, which gradually led to the augmentation of other instrumental sections and hence a change in orchestral texture. Possible influence of the *mehter* melodies themselves upon European military music of the 18th century has not been adequately researched. In addition, in the South-East European territories under Ottoman domination or influence, the music of the *mehter* was an important factor in the diffusion of Ottoman-Islamic musical principles.

The destruction of the Janissary Corps in 1826 led to the neglect of the *mehter* répertoire, which appears to have been completely forgotten by the end of the 19th century. During the First World War, an attempt was made to revive a version of the *mehter* in accordance with the needs of the modernised Turkish army. Hymns and marches (the latter built on a mixture of Turkish and western musical ideas) were commissioned from classical composers such as Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī (d. 1927), Kâzim Uz (d. 1943) and Ali Riza Şengel (d. 1953). Some private *mehter* ensembles were created during the War of Liberation, but these were not institutionalised during the Republic. In 1952, a new *mehterhane* was established in conjunction with the Military Museum in Istanbul. The costumes and some of the performance practices of this new *mehter* are largely authentic, but its répertoire is drawn almost exclusively from the hybrid *mehter* music of the First World War.

Bibliography: Sources for the *mehter* are few. Almost all Ottoman (but almost no Western) sources for the *mehter* are treated by Haydar Sanal in *Mehter musikisi*, Istanbul 1964. Sanal's book is the major point of reference for any study of the *mehter* and its music. In contains transcriptions of virtually the entire authentic répertoire of the *mehter* found in the works of ʿAlī Ufḳī Bey and Cantemir. Abundant references to Ottoman sources may be found in Sanal's book. Of these, the most important is Evliyā Čelebi's *Seyāḥāt-nāme*, i-v. Several aspects of the *mehter* were treated by Zeki Mehmet Pakalın in *Osmanlı Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, ii, Istanbul 1971, 444-51. See also H.G. Farmer, *Turkish influence in military music*, London 1950; K. Signell, *Mozart and the Mehter*, in *The Consort*, no. 24 (1967), 310-22.

(W. Feldman)

MEKNÈS [see miknās].

MELILLA (in modern Arabic: *Mlīlya*, Berber *Tamlilt*, "the white"; in the Arab geographers, *Malīla*), a seaport on the east coast of Morocco on a promontory on the peninsula of Gelʿiyya at the end of which is the Cape Tres Forcas or the Three Forks (*Rās Hurk* of the Arab geographers, now *Rās Werk*).

Melilla probably corresponds to the *Rusadir* of the ancients (cf. *Rhyssadir oppidum et portus* (Pliny, v. 18), *Russadir Colonia* of the Antoninian Itinerary). Leo Africanus says that it had belonged for a time to the Goths and that the Arabs took it from them, but in reality we know nothing of the ancient history of the town.

It is only at the beginning of the 4th/10th century that Melilla appears in the Muslim history of Morocco. In 318/930, the Umayyad Caliph of Spain, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, succeeded in detaching from the Fāṭimids the famous Miknāsa chief Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya, who had established his authority over the basin of the Moulouya and the district of Taza; having seized Melilla, al-Nāṣir built ramparts around it and gave it to his new ally, who thus had at his command a base of defence (*maʿḳil*) against the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya and a port which made communication with Spain easy. Later on, the descendants of his son, al-Būrī b. Mūsā, rebuilt the town, which remained one of the strongholds of the Miknāsa in Morocco down to the time of the decline of the power of the tribe, who were definitively defeated and scattered by the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in 462/1070.

But the Miknāsa must have abandoned it before their dynasty was crushed by the Almoravids, for al-Bakrī shows us that by 459/1067 a descendant of the Ḥammūdid Idrīsids of Spain had been summoned to

Melilla and recognised as ruler by the people of the district.

At the period when al-Bakrī wrote (460/1068), Melilla was a town surrounded by a wall of stone; inside was a very strong citadel, a great mosque, a *ḥammām* and markets. The inhabitants belonged to the tribe of the Banū Wartadī (or B. Wartardā), a branch of the Baṭṭūya group of the Ṣanhādja. Melilla had a harbour which was accessible only in summer. It was the terminus of a trade route which connected Sidjilmāsa with the Mediterranean through the valley of the Moulouya and Agarsīf (French *Guercif*). The trade must have been considerable; the principal exports were no doubt those mentioned by Leo Africanus, sc. iron from the mines of the mountains of the Banū Saʿīd and honey from the Kabdāna country; we may also add pearls which were taken from oysters found in the harbour itself. Al-Bakrī notes that the inhabitants made money by granting protection to merchants. The environs of the town were occupied by the Banū Wartadī (who also occupied the stronghold called Ḳulūʿ Gāret), the Maṭmāṭa, the Ahl Kabdān, the Marnīsa of the "White Hill" (*al-Kudya al-bayḍāʾ*) and the Ghassāsa of the massif which ends in Cape Tres Forcas (*Djabal Hurk*). All this region was then independent and had no political link with the kingdom of Fās or that of Nakūr.

But in 472/1080 the Almoravid sovereign Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn took Melilla and added its territory to the Almoravid empire. In 536/1141-2, in the course of the Almoravid pursuit of the Almohads, a body of the latter set out from Tāmsāmān to lay siege to Melilla, which was taken and plundered. In 671/1272, the Marīnid sultan Yaʿḳūb took Melilla from the Almohads, and Ibn Khaldūn simply mentions it as a fortified place. It seems in fact that these three captures of the town had destroyed its commercial importance to the advantage of another town on the west coast of the peninsula of the Gelʿiyya, sc. Ghassāsa, also called *al-Kudya al-bayḍāʾ*, the *Alcudia* of the Portolans; in the 7th/14th century it is this latter town that appears as the Mediterranean port of Fās and Taza, and it was through it that political and commercial relations with eastern Spain and Italy (Genoa and Venice) were carried on.

Leo Africanus reports that in 895/1490, hearing that an attack on it was planned by the Spaniards, the inhabitants abandoned the town and fled to the mountains of the Baṭṭūya; to punish them for this the Waṭṭāsid sultan had the town burned down; when in Muḥarram 903/September 1497 the Spaniards arrived, they were thus able to disembark without resistance and occupied the town, abandoned and half-destroyed. The occupation of Melilla enabled the Spaniards to attack the port of Ghassāsa by land and it was taken in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 911/April 1506. The Moroccans recaptured it in 940/1533, but the dangerous proximity of Melilla henceforth deprived it of importance. The commercial activity of this region was moved farther west to the port of al-Mazimma [see AL-ḤUṢAYMA in Suppl.], and the centre of Muslim resistance in this part of Morocco was henceforth the stronghold of Tāzūṭā, which after having been the capital of the Marīnid fief of the Banū Waṭṭās, became that of a practically independent leader of holy war. After passing into the hands of the Spaniards, Melilla was continuously besieged by the Muslims, mainly by the forces of the leaders of holy war established at Tāzūṭā and at Mdjāw (the *Meggeo* of Leo Africanus). Occupied by the Christians, the town naturally became one of the places in Morocco in which Muslims pretenders and rebels found asylum and support against the central power, especially at the beginning of the Saʿdian dynasty. In 956/1549, it sheltered the dispossessed Waṭṭāsid Abū Ḥassūn, "king" of Bādis; in 956/1550 it welcomed with his family Mawlāy ʿAmar, "king" of Debdū. It was from Melilla that in 1003/1595, the pretender al-Nāṣir b. al-Ghālib bi'llāh set out against his uncle the sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr.

Later, Melilla only appears in history in connection with sieges which it had to suffer: sieges by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl in 1098/1687 and 1106/1695; siege in 1188/1774 by Mawlāy Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh; Spanish-Moroccan war of 1893 (Sīdī Waryāsh affair). From 1903 to 1908 the region of Melilla was the scene of struggles between the pretender al-Djīlālī al-Rūgī, established in the *ḳaṣba* of Selwān, and the troops of the sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; defeated and receiving no support, the latter had to take refuge in Spanish territory and be repatriated. Still more recently in 1921, the same district witnessed the sanguinary battles between the Spaniards and the Rīfans under ʿAbd al-Karīm (Anwāl disaster) (C.R. Pennell, *A country with a government and a flag. The Rif War in Morocco 1921-1926*, Wisbech, England 1986, 166-70, 198). Melilla is for Spain a "place of sovereignty" administratively dependent on the province of Malaga, like Ceuta [see SABTA], which itself depends on that of Cadiz. Before the establishment of the French protectorate, Melilla, constituted a free port, was the landing-place for all the European merchandise (cotton, sugar, tea) intended not only for eastern Morocco but also for the Saharan regions of Morocco and Orania. It has now lost its commercial importance, but its population has considerably increased: 9,000 inhabitants in 1880, and 86,500 on the eve of Moroccan independence. It is also the seat of an important garrison.

Bibliography: Bakrī, index; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, 289-90; H. de Castries, *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, Espagne*, i, pp. i-xxviii: *Melilla au XVème siècle*.

(G.S. COLIN)

MELLĀḤ [see MALLĀḤ].

MEMDŪḤ SHEWKET ESENDAL [see ESENDAL in Suppl.].

MEMON [see AL-MAYMANĪ].

MEMON, the name of one of the three well-known Muslim trading communities of Gudjarāt, the other two being the Bohorās and Khōdjas [*q.vv.*]. They claim to have embraced Islam around the 6th/12th century. Their name, originally derived from *muʾmin* "believer", was later corrupted to *Memon*. They were converted to Islam from the trading Lohana and Kutch Bania castes living in Sindh and Kaččh (Kutch), either by a son or a descendant of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (d. 561/1166 [*q.v.*]). They are devout Sunnīs and follow the Ḥanafī school of law. Most of them, except those who stayed back in Sindh, speak the Kaččhi dialect of Gudjarātī. Following their pre-conversion practice, they do not allow inheritance to their widows and daughters. The most sacred shrine of their *pīr*, after that of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī in Baghdād, is that of Khwādja Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī [*q.v.*] in Adjmēr (K.B. Faridi, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, ix/2, Gujarat population, Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay 1899, 50-7). They celebrate the first ten days of Rabīʿ II by reciting the life history of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī at a religious gathering known as *ziyāra madjlis* (S. Edwardes, *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Bombay 1909, i, 182-3).

They were a wealthy community living in Surat during the hey-day of the city's prosperity. As Surat

sank into insignificance with the rise of Bombay (during the 19th century), they moved to the new city, attracted by its trade and commercial opportunities. After the famine of 1813 in Gudjarāt and Kaččh, they migrated in large numbers and first began to do business in Bombay by opening tailoring establishments in Lohar Chawl. Their status progressed steadily as Bombay advanced in material prosperity, and they indulged in every kind of trade from shopkeeping, broking and peddling to furniture dealing and timber business and included among their number some of the richest individuals in Bombay (Edwardes, *Gazetteer*, i, 178). The Memon Chamber of Commerce, established in 1929 with a view to promote and protect the interests and rights of members in matter of inland and foreign trade, transport, industry, banking and shipping, had over one hundred members (*Modern Bombay and her patriotic citizens*, Bombay 1941, 110-11). With the partition of India in 1947, a considerable number of them migrated to Pakistan, and now some of these are the leading industrialists and the wealthiest merchants of Karachi. They have trade relations with East Africa, the Persian Gulf and the South-East Asia, especially Malaya and Singapore. A conservative, revivalist movement is currently gaining strong support among the Memons of Gudjarāt and Bombay.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the text, see S. Edwardes, *By-ways of Bombay*, Bombay 1912, 82-7, for a description of middle-class Memon daily life; P. and Oliva Strip, *The peoples of Bombay*, Bombay 1944, 33-4. (I. Poonawala)

MEMPHIS [see manf].

MENDERES, the name of three rivers of Anatolia which are known in modern Turkish by this name, usually preceded by the pertinent epithet: Büyük ("Big"), Küçük ("Little"), and Eski ("Old"). They are the classical Maiandros, Kaystros and Skamandros.

1. *Büyük Menderes*. It is part of the geological and hydrological features of western Anatolia that consist of latitudinal mountain chains flanking long valleys, the latter used and enlarged by rivers that flow into the Aegean Sea. These valleys, the mountain slopes along them and the estuaries have in turn been an inviting ground for habitation and economic and cultural development. Büyük Menderes with ancient Miletus, Küçük Menderes with Ephesus, Gediz [*q.v.*] (ancient Hermos) with Izmir, and Bakır Çayı (ancient Kaykos) with Bergama near their estuaries or courses, are the principal ones.

The exact length of the Büyük Menderes depends on which one of its upper arms should be referred to by this name (up to 529 km; drainage area of some 25,000 km^2). The noteworthy fact is that its headwaters reach into the westernmost extension of the inner Anatolian plateau. The stream usually viewed as the beginning of the Büyük Menderes is fed by springs and brooks in the mountainous vicinity of Dinar (ancient Apameia). As it descends from the plateau, this river receives such tributaries as the Kufi Çayı, Banaz Çayı and finally the Çürük Su (ancient Lykos) near Sarayköy.

After Sarayköy, the Büyük Menderes follows the long, widening valley almost due west, at a slower pace, until it is deflected in the vicinity of the ruins of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander by the south-west oriented coastal range of Gümüş Dağı; it then turns south-westward and, avoiding a second obstacle represented by the Samsun Dağı, it enters the sea some 10 km south-west of Balāṭ [*q.v.*] (ancient Miletus). The mountains flanking the Büyük Menderes on the south are cut by several longitudinal valleys used by its principal tributaries from that side: the Vandalas Çayı (ancient Morsynos), Ak Çay (ancient Harpasos), and Çine Suyu (ancient Marsyas). The lower part of the middle course of the Büyük Menderes, roughly between Nazilli and Söke, flows through an alluvial plain marked by a deep and soft soil layer; this and the mild inclination rate with the resulting slowness of the current produces the winding course that has made the term "meander" better known than the river itself. The large amount of silt brought by the Büyük Menderes causes the coastline at its estuary to advance several metres each year. This is illustrated by the fate of ancient Miletus, which in the first millenium before our era was a port on the Latmikos kolpos, a bay to the south-east of the ancient estuary; by the 4th century A.D., the bar created by the silt turned the bay into a lake (the present-day Bafa Gölü is a remnant of this bay) and the port into a town on the river, but several kilometres from the coast (a similar fate threatened in recent centuries the Gulf of Izmir, saved only by a re-routing of the Gediz estuary further north in 1886).

The Büyük Menderes seems to have been little noticed by Islamic geographers. One exception is al-ʿUmarī (d. 750/1349), whose confusion, however, stresses the unfamiliarity of Islamic scholars with this river; he states that the "Mandarus" flows into the Black Sea and is as large as the Nile. The river is briefly mentioned in Pīrī Reʾīs's portolan *Kitāb-i baḥriyye* as "Mendiraz suyī" in the 927/1521 version (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Bağdat Köşkü ms. 337, fol. 22b, text; on the map, 23a, as "Balāṭ suyī"), and as "Ulu Mendirez" in the 932/1526 version (facsim. ed., Istanbul 1935, 209; text; on the map, p. 190, as "Māʾ-i Mendirez"). Kātib Čelebi's [*q.v.*] *Djihān-nümā* (in the addition by Abū Bakr b. Bahrām al-Dimashḳī, second half of the 11th/17th century) has a map of Anatolia (between pp. 629 and 630) but without any trace of the river; the "Nehr-i Mendirez" is, however, briefly discussed on p. 634 of the text, with more detailed discussions of the general area on pp. 636-8. Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] appears to be the earliest Islamic author who describes the area along the river at some length (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1935, ix, 148-92). He is followed by European travellers and scholars of the 17th to the 20th centuries; the results are perhaps best exemplified by the field trips and publications of A. Philippson (see *Bibl.*).

The importance of the Büyük Menderes valley, dominated by the warm Mediterranean climate yet also well-watered, has persisted, throughout political and ethnic changes, since antiquity. The fertility of the alluvial plain below and of the higher fringes along the parallel mountains combine to yield abundant as well as varied agricultural, horticultural and industrial crops and products, such as raisins, figs, olives, cereals and cotton. This productivity is reflected in a dense agricultural as well as urban population, handicrafts and commerce. The towns and settlements are mostly located at a certain distance from the river in the more salubrious foothills, the majority being on the northern side. That side has always functioned as one of the principal avenues of trade and travel linking the Aegean coast with the Anatolian interior. Miletus and Ephesus were the chief maritime outlets in antiquity. In the Middle Ages, Miletus, known as Palatia and turkicised as Balāṭ, retained some importance, as it could be reached by smaller ships using the Menderes. For some time toward the end of the 7th/13th century, it served as the point of departure

for maritime expeditions of the newly-established Beys of Menteshe [see MENTESHE OGHULLARĪ], but soon trade proved more profitable, and a treaty was concluded with the Venetians by which the latter opened a consulate there (by 1355; the treaty was later confirmed by the Ottoman sultans). Venetians and Genoese sold textiles, soap, tin and lead, and bought such products as alum, rugs, saffron, sesame, honey and wax, nut galls, morocco leather, liquorice, dried raisins, wheat, barley and slaves; they also bought fish, in particular eels from the Bafa lake that could be reached by fishermen (this fishing seems to have survived to this day). Trade at Balāṭ still existed, although at a diminishing rate, in Ewliyā Čelebi's time, when the traveller visited the place in 1082/1671-2; he states that "the saccoleva barges, the barges from Gallipoli and Kos, and the frigates from Syme and Nauplia ... sail into the Menderes river and take on merchandise at this town of Balāṭ" (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 147). Gradually, Balāṭ was abandoned, due to the continuing silting up of the estuary and to the malaria-infested climate. Another reason may have been the rise of Izmir [*q.v.*] or Smyrna, which in the modern period became the chief maritime outlet for the area. Thus the first railway concession in Anatolia, granted in 1857 to a British company, resulted in a line linking Izmir with Aydın and the Büyük Menderes valley. The railway has recently been joined by a modern and denser highway network.

The traditional assets of the Büyük Menderes valley are being enhanced by modern hydraulic works such as dams, canals and drainage systems, leading to an elimination of malaria-infested stretches on its lower course, expansion of cultivable areas and creation of hydro-electric power (the latter characteristic also of some of the tributaries, such as the Kemer Barajı on the Ak Çay). The valley, especially on its middle and lower course, it thus one of the most densely populated areas of Turkey.

2. *Küçük Menderes*. Unlike the Büyük Menderes, this relatively short (145 km; drainage area of 3,140 km^2) river does not originate in the Anatolian plateau but among the latitudinal mountain ridges closer to the Aegean sea, near the Bozdağ just north of the town of Kiraz (ancient Koloë). It flows south until it reaches the valley between the two mountains chains that separate it, on the north, from the valley of the Gediz and, on the south, from that of the Büyük Menderes. There, near the town of Beydağ, it sharply turns west and follows that course until the hills of Alaman Dağ deflect it south-westward. Having crossed the coastal plain, it enters the sea some 5 km west of the town of Selçuk and the ruins of ancient Ephesus. The latter city was one of the principal ports on the Aegean in antiquity, but the river, like the Büyük Menderes in the case of Miletos, brought silt that ultimately made the coast advance to the point of leaving Ephesos landlocked, despite the reported efforts of the Emperor Hadrian (117-38 A.D.) to re-route the estuary in order to save Ephesus as a harbour.

As in terms of physical geography, in those of human geography too, the Küçük Menderes displays both analogies with its larger namesake and differences from it. The alluvial plain of the valley, the higher slopes along the mountains and the warm Mediterranean climate accompanied by an adequate water supply, make this area yield an abundance and variety of agricultural products; this has spurred dense habitation since antiquity, the growth of towns and handicrafts, and a commerce facilitated by the maritime outlets, exemplified by Ephesus in antiquity, its successor Ayasoluk [*q.v.*] and the latter's successful rival Scalanuova (Kuşadası) in the Middle Ages, and Izmir in the modern period. The valley of the Küçük Menderes, however, does not reach deep enough into the Anatolian interior, and today as in antiquity and the Middle Ages, the principal routes in that direction follow the course of the Büyük Menderes or of the Gediz; the modern railway in the Küçük Menderes valley, an offshoot from the Izmir-Selçuk-Aydın line, stops at Ödemiş near the eastern end of the valley.

3. *Eski Menderes*. The sources of this short river (about 75 km) are on the northern slopes of the Kaz Dağı (ancient Mount Ida) north of the Gulf of Edremit. It enters the Çanakkale Boğazı [see ČANAḲ-ḲALᶜE BOGHAZĪ] at its south-western end near Kumkale some 7 km north-west of the ruins of ancient Troy.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see W.M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, index s.v. Maeander; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, in *SBWAW*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., xcciv (1891), 34, 36, 99; G.A. Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, London 1966, 219-20, 225, 232, 245, 253; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, Leipzig 1924-6, i, 170-6; A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, Gotha 1910-15 (in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 167, 172, 180, 183; index s.v. Mäander in Heft 183; excellent maps in Heft 167, 172, 180); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iii, 335-685 ("vilâyet de Smyrne"); Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ᶜUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1929, 34 (Fr. tr. Quatremère, in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 353); Sh. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aᶜlām*, Istanbul 1898, vi, 4446; R. İzbırak, *Türkiye*, Istanbul 1972-3, i, 81-2 and *passim*; D.E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972; W.C. Brice (ed.), *An historical atlas of Islam*, Leiden 1981; *TAVO* (*Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*), Wiesbaden 1977 ff.; *Pauly-Wissowa*, *s.vv.* Maiandros, Kaystros, Skamandros; *İA*, s.vv. Menderes, Ayasoluk, Aydın, Balat, Denizli, İzmir, Tire; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, s.vv. Büyük Menderes, Akçay, Banaz Çayı, Çürük Su, Bafa Gölü, Balat, Aydın, Birgi, Denizli, Kiraz, Kuşadası, Kuyucak, Nazilli, Ödemiş, Sarayköy, Selçuk, Söke, as well as other towns of some importance; *The Times Atlas of the world*, London 1981, ii, plate 36; Ali Tanoğlu, Sırrı Erinç and Erol Tümertekin, *Türkiye atlası*, Istanbul 1961, maps 1/e, 1/f and *passim*.

(S. SOUCEK)

MENDERES, ADNAN (1899-1961), Turkish statesman. Born and educated in Izmir, he studied at the Ankara University Faculty of Law, following service in the First World War and Turkey's War of Independence. His political activity commenced upon his joining Ali Fethi Okyar's Free Party in 1930, when he became this party's chairman in Aydın. When the party was closed down, he joined the People's Party (later called Republican People's Party, RPP) and was elected repeatedly to the Grand National Assembly (GNA) in Aydın from 1931 onwards. By 1945, he was a prominent parliamentarian. He then presented to the RPP's parliamentary group a "Four-man Proposal", signed by himself, Celal Bayar, Fuat Köprülü [*q.v.*] and Refik Koraltan, requesting liberalisation. Menderes, Köprülü and Koraltan were ousted from the party and Bayar resigned; together with other breakaways from RPP, they founded the Democrat Party (DP) [see ḤIZB, ii] on 7 January 1946. The DP won 62 GNA seats in that

year's elections; Menderes entered as member for Kütahya. A member of DP's Executive Council and second in influence only to Bayar, Menderes orated in the GNA and throughout the country; he smoothed over differences in the DP and was instrumental in leading it to victory in the 1950 elections. The party won again in 1954 and 1957, with comfortable majorities, and ruled the state for a decade (1950-60) with Menderes as Prime Minister, successively heading five different Cabinets.

The DP won the 1950 electoral campaign by representing itself as an agent of change and Menderes began to carry our some of its promises, including: (a) Economics and development: Mechanising agriculture, building roads (largely in rural parts), encouraging industry (chiefly consumer industries), erecting dams (for irrigation and energy production), and reconstructing the larger cities. (b) Social services: Increasing the scope of old-age and life insurance payments, building workers' hospitals and encouraging trade union activities. (c) Cultural: Inaugurating the Aegean University in Izmir, the Middle East Technical University in Ankara and the Atatürk University in Erzurum, and expanding the scope of primary and secondary education. However, Menderes' appeal to private initiative (instead of the RPP's étatism) to finance these projects proved only moderately successful. The United States provided tractors and credits, which sufficed only in part; hence Menderes opted for encouraging foreign investments and loans, which eventually increased Turkey's debt and raised inflation. His foreign policies were definitely pro-Western: he sent Turkish forces to Korea (1950) and joined NATO (1952). However, he was also highly aware of Turkey's need for rapprochement with her neighbours: Turkey signed an *entente* with Greece and Yugoslavia (1953), joined the Baghdad Pact (1954) and worked out the Zürich and London agreements on Cyprus (1959-60).

Although modernisation of Turkey continued in the 1950s, Menderes and the DP were strongly criticised throughout by the RPP and other parties, primarily regarding their domestic policies: overemphasis on a liberal economy and private initiative, preference shown to rural elements and allowing the revival of Islam. In the face of a growing political and economic crisis, Menderes had to withdraw, ironically, from his earlier championship of individual and political liberties: martial law was imposed repeatedly, rival political groups were banned or deterred, the press was muzzled and the military became increasingly politicised in the late 1950s. On 27 May 1960, the military intervened, arresting Menderes and the entire DP leadership. They were tried in Yassıada; Menderes was sentenced to death and executed on 17 September 1961. The trials were considered fair, but many Turks thought the sentences too harsh: the Justice Party, set up in 1961 largely as a successor to the banned DP, took its name from a popular demand to rehabilitate Menderes and the other DP leaders. In the late 1980s, Menderes was rehabilitated in Turkey; streets were being named after him in various localities.

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(J.M. Landau)

MENEKSHE, Monemvasia, a largely deserted minor fortress town protecting a magnificent harbour on the eastern "finger" of the Peloponnese, situated on top and beneath an impregnable rock, on all but one side surrounded by the sea and connected with the mainland only through a narrow sand bank, through which a ditch was cut, spanned by a drawbridge; hence its name of Μονεμβασία ("Single Entrance"). The Ottoman form of the name is a corruption of the Greek, which was recognised as such by Pīrī Reʾīs. In 16th century Ottoman accounts, the form Benefshe was used alternately with Menekshe and Monvasya. The town has a rich and very eventful history. In the Middle Ages, Menekshe was an impregnable fortress, the "Sacred Rock of Hellenism", the "Gibraltar of Greece" and a notorious pirate's nest. In Ottoman times it was the seat of a minor administrative unit (*nāḥiye*) and a fortress, principally held because of its military importance.

Menekshe, built near the site of the ancient town of Epidauros Limera, was founded in A.D. 582-3 in the first year of the reign of the Byzantine emperor Maurice. Its great days were to come in the 13th century as the main point of entry of the Byzantine forces coming from Constantinople. After the Frankish conquest of the Peloponnese, Monemvasia/Menekshe held out for more than 30 years, only to capitulate to Guillaume Villehardouin after a siege and blockade of three years (1246-8). Fourteen years later, the town returned to the Byzantines as part of the ransom of Prince William of Achaia, captured by the Byzantines in the fateful battle of Pelagonia (near Bitola-Monastır, 1259). From then onwards, Menekshe became the chief springboard of the Byzantines in their long, drawn-out reconquest of the Peloponnese in the course of which Turkish mercenaries from Asia Minor first set foot in the town. In 1292 the town, prosperous through shipping, trade in the famous "Malmsey" wine and piracy, was sacked by Roger de Lluria, the admiral of King James of Aragon. The population found refuge in the impregnable citadel, leaving the apparently open lower suburb to the enemy.

In 1381-2, during the war between the Byzantine lords Cantacuzene and the Despot Theodore, the town made itself independent under the leadership of one of the local noble families, Mamonas. Theodore regained it between 1391 and 1392 and confirmed the town's privileges, dating from the Comneni emperors. Paul Mamonas briefly reoccupied the town in 1394 with help of Ottoman troops of Yīldīrīm Bāyezīd, than active in Central Greece. The Byzantine period came to an end in the autumn of 1463, when Meḥemmed Fātiḥ had occupied the entire Byzantine Peloponnese. The town had been the seat of a Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church and had produced two men of Byzantine letters, the monk Isidore and the famous historian of the Turkish conquest, George Phrantzes. The Metropolitan see survived till the end of the Ottoman period. After the disappearance of Byzantine rule, the town defied the Ottomans and placed itself briefly under Papal protection. At the outbreak of the Ottoman-Venetian War of 1463-79, the citizens of Menekshe exchanged Papal domination for that of Venice, whose fleets were victorious in the first stage of that war. The Republic placed a strong garrison on the rock. By the Ottoman-Venetian Treaty of 1479, Menekshe was to remain in Venetian hands, together with a strip of land on the Peloponnese and the castle of Vatika, from where the ecclesiastical authorities derived most of their dues

and the inhabitants had much property and where the corn was grown needed to feed the city. The rock itself produced nothing. During the war of Bāyezīd II with the Signoria (1499 to 1502-3), the Ottomans occupied the last Venetian strongholds on the Peloponnese, Koron, Modon and Navarino and the coastal strip in front of Menekshe. Only Nauplion and Menekshe held out for some decades and were left to Venice in the treaty of 1502-3. After that, all food had to be imported from the Ottoman-controlled mainland. Vatika, now Ottoman, was maintained as a stronghold. The census register T.D. 367 of 1528 (pp. 171-3) mentions a garrison of 36 men and a *Dizdār*, all Muslims, and a Greek auxiliary force of 15 men, who were freed from *djizye* and *ispenče* and the extraordinary taxes in exchange for their services.

During the treaty of 1540, which ended the Ottoman-Venetian war of the 1530s, the last remaining Venetian bases on the Peloponnese were ceded to the Ottomans. The Venetian soldiers, the artillery and all inhabitants who wished to leave, left the town on 24 November 1540. On the following day, the Venetian Podesta Antonio Garzoni handed the town over to the Imperial Dragoman Yūnus Bey under command of Ḳāsim Pasha, *Sandjak Begi* of the Morea. The evacuated inhabitants were settled elsewhere on Venetian territory. Scions of the Mamonas family went to Zante-Zakynthos, others were transplanted to Corfu (Körfez), Cephalonia, Crete or Cyprus. Not a few of them returned and became Ottoman subjects. The acquisition of Menekshe is only briefly mentioned by the Ottoman chroniclers, including Luṭfī Pasha, who had a large share in the negotiations of the treaty. After the Ottoman conquest, the town lost its importance as a trading community and outpost of the West. Its population must have been considerably smaller than in the Byzantine-Venetian period, and its importance largely military. The İcmal Defter T.D. 565 (pp. 79-88) of the *sandjak* of Mezistra (Mistra), from 981/1573-4 mentions a force of 104 men under a *Dizdār* and six gunners under a *Ser-i Topčiyān*. The total tax yield of the town, which was an Imperial *khāṣṣ*, was 28,665 *akčes*, of which 6,000 *akčes* came from harbour dues. Between 1540 and 1570 the town was part of the *sandjak* of the Morea but after the last-mentioned date was incorporated in the newly-formed *sandjak* of Mezistra, set up after the disastrous Battle of Lepanto with the intention to react more quickly against raids from overseas. In the 1570s, the town seems to have recovered to some extent. The census register T.D. 603 from 991/1583 mentions it as one of the four *kaḍā*'s of Mezistra, with a total tax yield of 30,000 *akčes* and 320 households of non-Muslims as well as 191 bachelors. This brings us, together with the garrison and their families, at a total population of *ca.* 2,500 people, which is relatively large for the small inhabitable space. Seven local Christians had a special status, delivering gunpowder to the castle in exchange for a tax reduction. Not a single Muslim settler is recorded. The greater part of the tax on economic activities was collected from the harbour dues (7,500) and market dues (5,000) leaving 4,725 *akčes* for all the other activities. The amounts for flax and wine and olive oil tell us something of the importance of these sectors. Grain had almost entirely to be imported from the mainland. The dues on these agricultural products tell us that the town had regained some property on the mainland.

During the Cretan War (1645-69), Venetian forces tried to capture Menekshe but failed (1653). The lower town, on a low plateau on the sea shore, was on that occasion surrounded by new walls, those which we can still see today. Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited the town in 1667 on his way to Crete, describes the new walls with some detail, calling them the work of Sultan Meḥemmed IV. The dangerous situation created by the war is also reflected in the increase of the garrison of the town: 523 men according to the budget of 1079-80/1669-70, with a group of "New Gunners" and soldiers and gunners for the Western and the Eastern Bulwark mentioned explicitly. The yearly expenditure for this large garrison was defrayed by the *djizye* of the district and the harbour dues of Menekshe itself. The budget also mentions a repair of the walls of the lower town. Ewliyā has left a detailed description of the town as it was in his time. He mentions 500 houses in the citadel and another 1,600 small stone-built ones in the lower town, which must be a gross exaggeration; the enclosed space measures only 4 hectares. In the citadel on the rock was the Mosque of Sultan Süleymān, or Fetḥiyye Djāmiʿ, a converted church. This is the 13th century Byzantine church of St. Sophia, built by the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II and still preserved. Besides that one, Ewliyā mentions the Mosque of Derwīsh Meḥmed Agha. In the lower town were another two domed mosques and two *mesdjids*, besides two *medreses*, two *mektebs* and fifty shops. The *medreses* do not appear on the official and contemporary list of *medreses* in European Turkey and must be a mistake; Islamic life was not very developed in this outpost.

During the war of 1683-99 with the Christian Powers, the Ottomans lost Menekshe and the entire Morea to Venice. The town surrendered in August 1690 after a fourteen months' siege, the last stronghold in the Morea to give up. Two thousand Turks came out of the fortress, 300 of them soldiers. During Venetian rule, a large number of churches were built in the town, which still exist today (17 of the 25 preserved churches). The Ottoman buildings were destroyed except the church-mosque on the rock. The Venetian census of 1700 mentions 428 families living in the town of Menekshe, altogether 1,622 souls. According to the same source, the town was the chef-lieu of a district numbering 17 villages and 3 monasteries, with a total population of 2,075 families or 8,366 souls. The Ottomans returned as masters of the Morea in 1715, after the swift campaign of the Grand Vizier Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha. The town surrendered again, although it had two years' provisions. When in 1128/1716 an Ottoman census commission described the town, it had only three Muslim inhabitants, of whom two were converts, and 144 grown-up non-Muslim males (*nefer*) (Kuyudu Kadime no. 20, Ankara). The tax account shows that, on the mainland belonging to the town, a considerable quantity of cotton was produced. Wine is no longer mentioned. The town recovered yet again, remaining the chef-lieu of a *kaḍā*ʾ and seat of the Greek archbishopric. When Pouqueville visited it at the beginning of the 19th century, it had 2,000 Turkish and Greek inhabitants. The *kaḍā*ʾ produced a considerable amount of flax and olive oil for export. Martin Leake, who visited the town in the spring of 1805, mentions that there were 300 houses in the (lower) town and 50 in the castle: all, except about six, were Turkish. Before the Russian invasion of the Morea (1770) there were 150 Greek families, but they, as well as the Greek inhabitants of the villages in the districts, fled after that event to Anatolia (the lands of the Dere Beys) or to the islands. During the Greek War of Independence, Menekshe was starved into submission after a siege of four months (1821). It surrendered on terms. The survivors, some 500 or 700

people, were brought to Asia Minor by ship. After the War and the disappearance of the Muslim community, the town never recovered. Sir Thomas Wyse, British plenipotentiary in Athens, counted during his visit in 1858 no more than a hundred Greek families, half the houses being in ruin. Nowadays, the upper town on the rock is an empty field of ruins, whilst for a long time the lower town was a ghost city in which only a few families lived. The Greek census of 1961 gives only 82 inhabitants. A small fishing village has developed on the mainland, opposite the rock, Recently, tourism has reached the long-isolated place, creating some sort of recovery by rebuilding the ruined houses as holiday homes. Only the mighty walls of Meḥemmed IV and a featureless mosque in the lower town remind one of the Ottoman centuries.

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MENEMEN, a town in western Anatolia (population in 1970: 17,514) and administrative centre of a district (*ilçe*) of the same name. The town lies near the left bank of the Gediz [*q.v.*], some 30 km north-north-west of Izmir [*q.v.*], at the inception of the alluvial lowlands formed by the above-mentioned river. The district flanks the Bay of Izmir on the south and that of Çandarlı on the north, but it is separated from the Aegean coast on the west by the *ilçe* of Foça.

The earliest known mention of Menemen is found in Pachymeres (d. 1315), who states that the "Tourkoi" had moved into the "Mainomenou kampos"; this term is reflected in ʿĀshīḳ-Pashazāde's [*q.v.*] history as "Menemen owasī". The Turks, led by the Beys of Ṣarukhān [*q.v.*], eventually controlled the area, and Menemen became one of this principality's possessions; the earliest dated building in Menemen would appear to be a mosque erected by the Ṣarukhān Bey Isḥāḳ (Ulu cami or Sünbül Paşa camii, inscription dated 759/1357-8). Menemen continued to be a possession of the Ṣarukhān also for some time after the Ottoman conquest effected early in the reign of Murād I (761-91/1360-89).

The name of Menemen was also pronounced and written as Melemen, whereas that of the district (*ḳaḍā'*) appears in Ottoman documents and Ewliyā Čelebi's [*q.v.*] *Seyāḥat-nāme* as Tarḥaniyye or Turḥaniyye (see the latter work for the etymology attributed to these names). Ewliyā Čelebi gives a detailed description of Menemen. The *ḳaḍā'*, administered by a *voyvoda*, was part of the *sandjaḳ* of Sīghla or Sughla; it was a *khāṣṣ* of the *wālide sulṭān* (possibly since Süleymān's mother Ḥafṣa Sulṭān's time), yielding 400 *yüks* annually; the town had 300 shops and a *bezistān*; in summer it suffered from a mosquito infestation that became proverbial (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1935, ix, 84-7). The town also had a Bektāshī tekke with the tomb of Bekrī Bābā.

Prior to the exchanges of the Republican era, the population of both the town and the district was mixed; Greeks predominated in the town itself (4,683 Rūm, 3,606 Muslims), and Muslims in the *ḳaḍā'* as a whole (17,261 Muslims, 7,195 Rūm; there were also smaller numbers of Armenians, Jews, Catholics and "foreigners" (*Sālnāme-yi wilāyet-i Aydīn* for the year 1326 A.H., 416-17 and *passim* for other information).

Menemen's importance lay in its role as an emporium for the agricultural products of its fertile surroundings, and for locally manufactured cloths and rugs. Its market, traditionally held on Mondays, was routinely visited by the merchants of Izmir. The town's strategic location near the convergence of the road (and eventually also a railroad) from Izmir to Manisa and the Anatolian interior, with the coastal

road linking Izmir with Bergama, must have been a further factor. Inversely, the *scala* (port for coastal shipping) of Menemen, still mentioned by Chandler (1764) as "lively", disappeared perhaps even before the re-routing of the Gediz in 1886.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see W.M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 108; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, in *SBWAW*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., xcciv (1891), 28; G.A. Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, London 1966, 42, 97; A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, Gotha 1910 (in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 172, map); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iii, 485-8; Sh. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1898, vi, 4454-55; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, s.v.; F. Giese, *Die altosmanische Chronik des ʿĀşikpaşazāde*, Leipzig 1929, 66; R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor, 1764-1765*, London 1971, 67; M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Saruhan Oğulları ve eserlerine dair vesikalar*, Istanbul 1940-6, ii, 29, 103 n. 402, and *passim*; *The Times Atlas of the World*, London 1981, ii, plate 36; Ali Tanoğlu, Sırrı Erinç and Erol Tümertekin, *Türkiye atlası*, Istanbul 1961, map 1e.

(S. Soucek)

MENEMENLI-ZĀDE MEḤMED ṬĀHIR, minor Turkish poet of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] period (1862-1902). He was born in Adana, into a notable family, the son of Hāshim Ḥabīb, director of the telegraphic department in the office of the Grand Vizierate. He was educated in Istanbul and graduated from the school of Political Science in 1883. After serving as Director of Education in Adana, Izmir and Salonica, where he also taught Turkish literature in the local lycées, he became, in Istanbul, director of the secretariat in the Ministry of Education and, at the same time, he taught in the School of Political Science and in the University. He died suddenly at the age of forty. He collected his poems, which follow the language and style of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* school, in various booklets, the most known of which is *Elḥān* ("Melodies") (1885). His *Edebiyyāt-i ʿothmāniyye* ("Ottoman literature") is a didactic book on the rules and technical terms of Turkish literature. Redjāʾi-zāde Maḥmūd Ekrem [*q.v.*], a later *Tanẓīmāt* writer and critic, who had become the leader of young Westernist writers, published in 1886 his *Taḳdīr-i elḥān* ("Appreciation of the melodies") in praise of Menemenli-zāde, where he severely criticised Muʿallim Nādjī [*q.v.*], the leader of the conservatives, who retorted in his *Demdeme* ("Angry talk", 1887) more violently. This famous controversy made Menemenli-zāde Ṭāhir a well-known poet in the late 1880s.

Bibliography: Nejat Birinci, *Menemenli-zade Tahir*, unpubl. thesis in the Library of the Turcological Institute, University of Istanbul 1981, with a full bibl. (see alphabetical hand-list of the Institute). (Fahir İz)

MENGLI GIRĀY I, one of the greatest khāns of the Crimea (Ḳīrīm [*q.v.*]).

As the contemporary sources are controversial, the chronology of his three reigns up to 883/1478-9 cannot be firmly established. On the death of Ḥādjdjī Girāy Khān I (871/1466 [*q.v.*]), disputes arose among his numerous sons about the succession. Mengli Girāy first succeeded in seizing the throne for several months, but finally had to cede it to his oldest brother Nūr Dewlet. Mengli Girāy's second reign probably lasted from 872/1468 to 879/1474-5, when he had to flee to Mangub (Menküp) or Kafa, while Nūr Dewlet and, later, two other pretenders struggled for primacy. In 833/end of 1478 or beginning of 1479, Mengli Girāy regained power and remained khān until his death in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 920/Feb. 1515. Since the leader of the Shīrīn clan, Eminek, in 879/spring 1475 had sought Ottoman intervention in the Crimea's internal strife and help against the menacing Great Horde [see BĀTŪʾIDS], with the result that the Genoese colonies along the Crimean shores had passed under Ottoman control, the khānate was considered as under Ottoman protection. In 889/1484, Mengli Girāy participated in Sultan Bāyezīd II's successful campaign into Moldavia and was recompensed with territorial gains on the Dniepr and Dniestr [see BUDJĀḲ].

No mere Ottoman vassal, Mengli Girāy generally sought to stay on good terms with Muscovy, which he considered an ally against the Great Horde; while for Muscovy, the khān's friendship meant support against the declining Poland-Lithuania. After Mengli Girāy had subjugated the Great Horde in 908/1502, he demanded the traditional tribute from Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania for himself. A Crimean-Russian confrontation, however, broke out only under Mengli Girāy's successors. Mengli Girāy, who was also a patron of the arts, must be considered as the real founder of the Crimean state. He also played a role in the struggle for the throne of the later Sultan Selīm I, his son-in-law (1511-12).

Bibliography: Esp. important is A. Bennigsen *et alii*, eds., *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, Paris 1978, with further references; the most detailed account to 1502 is B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1502*², Wiesbaden 1965. See also I. Vásáry, *A contract of the Crimean Khan Mängli Giräy and the inhabitants of Qïrq-yer from 1478/79*, in *CAJ*, xxvi (1982), 289-300; A. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, Stanford 1978 (Hoover Institution Publication, 166); S.M. Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremen*, iii, Moscow 1960, s.v. Mengli-Girej.

(B. Kellner-Heinkele)

MENGÜČEK (Mangūdjak), a Turkmen chief who was the eponym of a minor dynasty which appears in history with his son Isḥāḳ in 512/1118 in eastern Anatolia around the town of Erzindjān [*q.v.*], but including also Diwrigi and Koghonia/Colonia-Ḳara Ḥiṣār Sharḳī.

His territory accordingly lay between that of the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] on the west, of the Saltuḳids [*q.v.*] of Erzerum on the east, of the Byzantine province of Trebizond on the north and of the Artuḳid principalities [see ARTUḲIDS] on the south; it thus commanded the traditional highway for invasions from Iran into Anatolia. Hardly anything is known of the history of the Mengüčekids. In 1118, menaced by the Artuḳid Balak, Isḥāḳ allied with the military commander of Trebizond, Theodore Gavras; both of these were taken prisoner by the Dānishmendid Ghāzī, Isḥāḳ's father-in-law, who speedily freed him. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, the Mengüčekid principality was divided between two brothers, the younger one receiving the little town of Diwrigi [*q.v.*]. The elder branch acquired some fame under the long reign of Bahrāmshāh (*ca.* 555-617/1160-1220). He made Erzindjān a cultural centre, for which evidence is provided by his protégés, the Persian poets Niẓāmī and Khāḳānī [*q.vv.*] and the Arab scholar ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], who spent 12 years there. The town was, however, also the greatest Armenian centre of eastern Anatolia, still famed for carpet manufacturing in Marco Polo's time. But after Bahrāmshāh's death, the

Mengüčekids were drawn into the complex happenings linked with Djalāl al-Dīn Mankūbirtī's [*q.v.*] invasion, and the Saldjūk Kaykubād I [*q.v.*] annexed their territory, compensating the Mengüčekids with small *iktā*ʿs. The Diwrigi branch, known through the remarkable mosque constructed by its members, continued there, it seems, till around the time of the Mongol conquest as vassals of the Saldjūks.

Bibliography: Houtsma, in *EI*[1], s.v. and *Bibl.* there; O. Turan, in *İA*, s.v.; Van Berchem, *CIA*, iii, 55 ff., for epigraphy and *awkāf*; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 146; Halil Edhem, *Düwel-i islāmiyye*, 224-6; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, index; M. Mitchiner, *Oriental coins. The world of Islam*, 176. (Cl. Cahen)

MENSŪKHĀT (A.), pl. of *mensūkh* "annulled", an expression used in the Ottoman Empire, after the abolition of certain early Ottoman army units (*yaya, müsellem* [*q.vv.*]), in the 11th/17th century, for the fiefs and other grants these units had previously held. These were referred to as "annulled fiefs" (*mensūkhāt tīmarī*). The Ottoman finance department administering these holdings, the "Bureau of the Annulled [grants]" (*Mensūkhāt kalemi*), allotted them, when needed, as fiefs in return for services. When the Ottoman navy was expanded, such holdings were attached to the Admiralty (*Deryā kalemi* [see DARYĀ BEGI] and assigned by the *Kapudan Pasha* [*q.v.*]. Some appointments were submitted to the Grand Vizier (*Ṣadr-ī Aʿẓam* [*q.v.*]) and marked off in the registers of the naval archives. The possessors of these holdings (*mensūkhat efrādī*) formed a unit whose duties were to guard the coasts and serve on ships. They could pay for exemption from duty when they were called to serve.

Bibliography: İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, Ankara 1948, 19, 240-1, 382, 422; M.Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1951, 476, 608-11, 627-8; M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadi ve ictimai tarihi*, İstanbul 1979, i, 40; M. Sertoğlu, *Resimli osmanlı tarihi ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1958, 206; Gibb and Bowen, i/1, 53-5; Marsigli, *État militaire de l'Empire Ottoman*, i, The Hague 1732, 145, 150-1. (F. Müge Göçek)

MENTESHE-ELI, a region in the south-western part of Anatolia. It derived its name from the Turkish Menteshe-oghullarī [*q.v.*] who established a principality there. There are, however, some claims that the name is of pre-Turkish origin. The region corresponds to classical Caria (today centred on the city of Mughla). There is no doubt that, like other western Anatolian districts, Caria also was occupied by Turkomans towards the end of the 5th/11th century; but later, Byzantine domination was restored there. The Turkomans in the border areas who settled down in Central Anatolia and the western Taurus continued their raids. Moreover, the loss of Rūm Saldjūkid power in Anatolia in the second half of the 7th/13th century after defeats suffered at the hand of Mongols provided a gradually increasing freedom of movement for the tribal groups who gathered in the frontier areas, so that Turkish pressure on the Byzantine defence line was continuously being increased.

After 659/1261, the region of Caria which stretches inland from the coastal areas was occupied by the Turks. The Turkomans who founded the principality of Menteshe and ultimately gave their name to the region first arrived in this region by sea and occupied the shore line. But to maintain their rule in this region it was necessary to cooperate with the Turks who pressed from the interior towards the shore (see P. Wittek, *Menteşe beyliği*, Turkish tr. O.Ş. Gökyay, Ankara 1944, 46). When John, brother of Michael VIII (1259-82), the Emperor of Byzantium, went on a campaign in this region, he forced the Turks who had settled inland to withdraw to their bases in the mountains; but he never thought of eapturing the ports which were held by the Turks in the south-west corner of Caria. It is possible that the founder of the principality of Menteshe was at that time the ruler of the shore region of the Gulf of Makrī (Fethiyye). Although in 1278 the Emperor Michael VIII sent an army under the command of his son Andronicus to Anatolia, the regions of Menderes and Caria had already been captured by the Turks. Andronicus's fortification of Tralles (Aydīn) was therefore rendered useless; the Menteshe Beg who had captured Tralles and Nyssa (Sulṭān ḥiṣār) had annexed the territory to his principality. Upon the Karamānids' siege of Konya, Gaykhatu, the Il-Khānid ruler, came to Anatolia in 690/1291 and punished the Turkish principalities which had revolted against him. During Gaykhatu's punitive campaign, the Il-Khānid army entered Menteshe-eli (*Wilāyet-i Menteshe*) and plundered it (see *Taʾrīkh-i Āl-i Saldjūk dar Anadolu*, ed. F.N. Uzluk, Ankara 1952, 88, Turkish tr. 62). Following the Byzantine Empire's unsuccessful attempts to reconquer the area in 1296 and 1302, the Turks became the unquestioned masters of Caria. In his description of the principality of Menteshe, Münedjdjim-bashī says that the principality consisted of many cities, namely Balāṭ, Bozöyük, Mīlās, Pedjīn (Bardjīn), Mazīn (Mārīn), Čine, Ṭawās, Būrnāz, Makrī, Köydjeghiz (Köyceğiz) and Mughla, which was the capital (see Münedjdjım-Bashī, *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*, Nuruosmaniye Libr. no. 3172, fol. 130b; Wittek, *op. cit.*, 172-3). The Föke (Finike) region of Lycia was also included among these names at the beginning of the history of the principality.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited this part of Anatolia (*Bilād al-Rūm*) in 732/1333, which he also designated by the name Menteshe-eli, says that Mīlās [*q.v.*] was one of the most beautiful cities of Anatolia, and fruit, gardens and water were abundant. At this time, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met with Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Orkhān Beg, the ruler of the principality. He tells us that his residence was at Pedjīn, two miles from Mīlās, and this city, which was rebuilt on a hill, was adorned with beautiful buildings and mosques (see *Riḥla*, ii, 278-80, Eng. tr. Gibb, ii, 428-30, Turkish tr. M. Sharīf, Istanbul 1333-5, i. 321-3). According to Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, there were 50 cities and 200 fortresses under the control of Orkhān Beg (see *Masālik al-abṣār*, Ayasofya Libr. no. 3146, III, fols. 122a-b). Thus it is clear that Menteshe-eli extended over a large area. In his account, al-ʿUmarī says that Orkhān Beg's country was located between Dawaz (Ṭawāz), Sakīz and Istanköy. It is clear, then, that the Föke region was also in Menteshe-eli.

Following Bāyazīd I's succession to the throne in 791/1389, an alliance was formed against the Ottomans at the instance of the Karamānids, and the Menteshe Begs also participated in this. Bāyazīd I had moved into Anatolia, and the regions of Balāṭ and Mughla, which were under the rule of the Menteshe principality, soon passed into the hands of the Ottomans. But a line of the dynasty went on to rule in Mīlās and Pedjīn. Following the battle of Ankara (804/1402), the Menteshe-oghullarī regained at the hands of Tīmūr their previous territories. However, this situation did not last. In 827/1424 Murād II annexed Menteshe-eli to Ottoman territory; later,

Menteshe-eli came to be one of the *sandjaks* of the *eyālet* of Anatolia.

Bibliography: In addition to the works given in the text, see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri*, Ankara 1969², 70-83; idem, art. *Menteşe Oğulları*, in *İA*; Besim Darkot, art. *Menteşe*, in *İA*.

(E. Merçil)

MENTESHE-OGHULLARÎ, a Turkish principality founded in the south-west of Anatolia.

The Turkomans who founded this principality came to this region by sea and settled between the shore and Deñizli. However, it is quite difficult to pinpoint the foundation of the principality and the chronology of the early Begs. The Turkomans had captured the Caria (today Muğla) region after 1261, starting from the shores. Menteshe, the founder of the principality, was perhaps the Beg of the shore regions (*Amīr al-Sawāḥil*) in the bay of Makrī (Fethiye). There are also difficulties in establishing the genealogy of Menteshe Beg. His father was said to be *Amīr al-Sawāḥil* Ḥādjdjī Bahāʾ al-Dīn (Bahādîr), who was one of the *amīrs* of the Saldjūḳs (see Shikārī, *Karaman tarihi*, Konya 1946, 11 ff., and Münedjdjim-Bashî, *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*, Nuruosmaniye no. 3172, fol. 131a). However, in the inscriptions of Aḥmed Ghāzī, one of Menteshe's grandsons, his father is mentioned as Eblistan and the father of the latter as Ḳurî or Ḳara Beg. This region had been given as an *iḳṭāʿ* by the rulers of the Anatolian Saldjūḳs to the ancestors of Menteshe Beg. Although in 1278 the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII sent an army under the command of his son Andronicus and the latter fortified Tralles (Aydın), it was almost useless. In 1282 Menteshe Beg had conquered Tralles and Nyssa (Sulṭān ḥiṣār) and annexed them to his territory. A coin minted in 690/1291 at Mīlās in the name of the Saldjūḳ sultan Masʿūd II leads us to the conclusion that the Menteshe-oghullarî had at first accepted the protection of the Saldjūḳs (see Ismāʿīl Ghālib, *Taḳwīm-i maskūkāt-î Saldjūḳiyya*, Istanbul 1309, 93). Upon the Ḳaramānids' siege of Konya, the Il-Khānid ruler Gaykhatu came to Anatolia to punish them in 690/1291, and during this campaign, the Il-Khānid army plundered the Menteshe-eli. When Alexius Philanthropos, the Byzantine commander, moved south through Menderes (1296), Menteshe Beg was already dead.

After Menteshe Beg, his son Masʿūd became the head of the principality. But his other son Kirmān (Karmān), following or perhaps opposing his brother, continued to rule in Föke (Finike). The historical sources do not clearly explain the relationships between these two brothers. Although in 1300 Masʿūd Beg had seized an important part of Rhodes, later, on 15 August 1308, the Knights Hospitallers recaptured the island (see S. Runciman, *A history of the Crusades*, London 1965, iii, 435; other scholars give the date as 1310). Masʿūd Beg's efforts to regain the island were unsuccessful. His death was probably before 719/1319. Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Orkhān Beg, who inherited the throne after his father, Masʿūd Beg, probably secured power by removing a brother whose name may have been Ibrāhīm. Orkhān Beg was unsuccessful in his struggles against the Knights to capture Rhodes after 1320. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Orkhān Beg in Pedjīn while he was travelling in Anatolia, and has mentioned him as Sultan of Mīlās (see *Riḥla*, ii, 279-80, Eng. tr. Gibb, ii, 429-30, Turkish tr. M. Sharīf, Istanbul 1333-5, i, 321-2). Al-ʿUmarī, on the other hand, gives information about the cities and the number of the soldiers under Orkhān Beg. He also mentions that the Föke branch of the Menteshe principality was in 1330 subject to the Ḥamīd-oghullarî (see *Masālik al-abṣār*, Ayasofya no. 3146, III, fols. 98 a-b and 122 a-b). Orkhān Beg's death was probably before 1344, and his son Ibrāhīm succeeded him.

Ibrāhīm Beg made preparations to help Umur Beg in regaining Izmir, which had fallen into the hands of the Latins, but when Umur Beg fell in battle in 1348, this effort came to nought. The Venetians, with their fleet placed in Balāṭ harbour, threatened Ibrāhīm Beg, who prepared for a campaign against them, but as a result of an agreement made with the assistance of Marino Morosini, the Count of Crete, between the years 1352-5, they were forced to disband. Ibrāhīm Beg died some time before the year 1360. After his death, his three sons reigned in various parts of the principality. It is believed that Mūsā Beg ruled in Pedjīn, Balāṭ and Mīlās; Meḥmed Beg in Mughla and Čine; and Aḥmed Beg ruled, in the south, in Makrī and Marmaris. After Mūsā Beg's death (before 1375), Mīlās and Pedjīn also presumably passed into the hands of Aḥmed Beg. In 1365, as a result of Aḥmed Beg's attacks against the ships between Rhodes and Cyprus, the fleet of Peter I, King of Cyprus, threatened the shores of Aydîn and Menteshe. However, the Venetians, concerned about their people living in Ayasoluḳ and Balāṭ, intervened, and peace was made. Although Aḥmed Beg ruled in Balāṭ for a period, this was not for long. We see that before 1389 Balāṭ and its environment were under the rule of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the son of Meḥmed Beg. However, losing the struggle for sovereignty made against his brother Ilyās Beg, he took refuge with the Ottomans. Following the battle of Kosova (1389), Bāyezīd I ascended the Ottoman throne. With the urging of the Ḳaramānids, Ilyās Beg and his father Meḥmed Beg entered into the alliance arranged against the Ottomans in Anatolia. During Bāyezīd I's Anatolian campaign against his alliance, Balāṭ and the lands of the Menteshe principality in Mughla were occupied. Meḥmed and Ilyās Beg fled to Djandār-oghlu Iskandar Beg (in the winter of 1389-90). During this campaign, Aḥmed Beg continued to reign in Mīlās and Pedjīn. His survival was perhaps due to the rugged topography and comparatively impregnable position of the region. Tādj al-Dīn Aḥmed Ghāzī died in Shaʿban 793/July 1391. His territories were later occupied by the Ottomans. Wittek (*Menteşe beyliği*, 86) accepts that, until the Ottoman occupation, Meḥmed Beg ruled in the Menteshe principality, later fleeing to Djandār-oghlu Isfandiyār Beg.

Following the battle of Ankara, Tīmūr, as he did with most of the other principalities, restored Ilyās Beg's territories (1402). After this restoration of the territory, Ilyās Beg continued for a time as vassal of Tīmūr. In the quarrel for sovereignty among Bāyezīd's sons, he made an alliance with the Aydîn-oghullarî and the Ṣarukhān-oghullarî, supporting ʿĪsā Čelebi against Meḥemmed Čelebi. Following Meḥemmed I's victory against this alliance, Ilyās Beg was forced to recognise the sovereignty of the latter (1405). Because Ilyās Beg was inflicting losses upon the Latins in the islands through maritime warfare, in 1403 the Venetians made an agreement with him through the aid of Marco Falieri, the Count of Crete. But later, conflicts between the two sides continued, and as a result of the Venetians' actions, Ilyās Beg was forced to renew the previous agreement with Admiral Ser Pietro Civrano (17 October 1414). In the same year, Ilyās Beg accepted Ottoman rule and in 1415 he had coins minted in the name of Meḥemmed Čelebi. Moreover, he was compelled to send his two sons,

Layth and Aḥmed, to the Ottoman Palace. After the death in 1421 of Ilyās Beg, his sons managed to flee from Edirne and to take up the rule of the principality in Menteshe-eli. When Sultan Murād II captured the territory of Menteshe, he seized and imprisoned these two brothers, thus putting an end to this principality.

The Menteshe-oghullarî embellished their country with many fine buildings. Among these are the Ḥādjdjī Ilyās Mosque at Mīlās (1330), Aḥmed Beg's Medrese at Pedjīn (1375), and his Great Mosque at Mīlās (1378) and Ilyās Beg's Great Mosque at Balāṭ (1404). The Menteshe-oghullarî patronised scholars and men of letters, and under their patronage some works were translated into Turkish. For example, under the patronage of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the *Bāz-nāma* on falconry was translated from Persian into Turkish. A manuscript of this work, located in Milan, was published by Von Hammer under the name of *Falkner-klee* (Pest 1840). In addition to this, there is a short medical book, the *Ilyāsiyye*, which was also translated under the patronage of Ilyās Beg.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the text): The Menteshe principality has been studied in depth by P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*, Istanbul 1934, repr. 1967, Turkish tr. O.S. Gökyay, *Menteşe beyliği*, Istanbul 1944. See also İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri*, Ankara 1969², 70-83; idem, *Menteşe-Oğulları*, in *İA*; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, Turkish tr. E.Z. Karal, *Yakın-doğu ticaret tarihi*, Ankara 1975; Fr. Babinger, *Menteshe-Oghullarî*, in *EI*¹; idem, *Menteshe-Eli* in *EI*¹; O. Aslanapa, *Türk sanatı*, Istanbul 1973, ii, 226-30; E.A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1450)*, Venice 1983.

(E. Merçil)

MĒʾŌ, a mixed Indian tribe of largely north-eastern Rādjpūt stock, a branch of whom were converted to Islam in the mid-8th/14th century. Their conversion seems to have been nominal, as they are described as offering animal sacrifices to a mother-goddess, worshipping at shrines of the Hindū god of the homestead Bhūmiyā, and following the Pačpiriyā (Pānč Pīr [*q.v.*]), especially Sālār Masʿūd, whose banner was an object of their devotion at the *shab-i barāt* (eve of 14 Shaʿbān), as well as the Khwādja Ṣāḥib of Adjmēr (Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī [*q.v.*]); they celebrated Hindū festivals, and followed Hindū practices of exogamous marriage and male inheritance. The Muslim Mēʾō are frequently called Mēwātī; both they and the Hindū Mēʾō were mostly robbers and freebooters, causing much trouble from the times of the early Dihlī sultanates until quelled under Bābur; but there was a resurgence of their turbulence during the decline of the Mughal empire, and in 1857 they were described as "conspicuous for their readiness to take advantage of disorder". See further mēwāt.

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(J. Burton-Page)

MERCENARY [see djaysh].

MERCİMEK AHMET [see merdjümek].

MERCURY, planet [see ʿuṭārid].

MERCURY, metal [see ziʾbaḳ].

MERDJÜMEK, Aḥmed b. Ilyās (Modern Turkish: Mercimek Ahmed), *fl.* first third of the 9th/15th century, the author of a translation into Old Ottoman of the *Ḳābūs-nāme*, a "mirror for princes" composed in Persian prose and occasional verse by Kay Kāʾūs b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] in 475/1082. Merdjümek mentions himself by this name three times in his work (all references are to British Library ms. Or. 3219): introduction (fol. 1b), chapters 11 (fol. 50a) and 31 (fol. 112b). he is not referred to in pre-modern Ottoman biographical or historical works. From his *Ḳābūs-nāme* translation we can glean very little information (none on how he acquired his strange designation Merdjümek, Persian for "lentil"). He was a servant or courtier of Sultan Murād II (824-55/1421-51), and his writing shows him to have been well versed in the traditional religious and secular learning of his time. We can only deduce that he was moderate in his habits from his remark that Merdjümek never indulged in the "calamitous" practice of morning wine-drinking (fol. 50a).

In Ottoman *akhlāḳ* [*q.v.*] literature, the *Ḳābūs-nāme* held a special place in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. No less than five completely independent Old Ottoman prose versions composed in this period have survived, of which the latest and best is Merdjümek's, completed on 23 Shaʿban 836/26 April 1432. The translator records that while at Philippopolis in Sultan Murād's service, he found the sultan reading the *Ḳābūs-nāme* in Persian. When Murād complained that an existing Turkish version was dull and unclear, Merdjümek immediately undertook a new translation, "complete, without omitting a word; to the best of my ability explaining the more difficult words in it by extended comment so that the readers might enjoy its [full] meaning" (fols. 1b-2a), the book has no independent title; mss. of it are marked by such headings as *Ḳābūs-nāme-yi Türkī* or *Terdjeme-yi Ḳābūs-nāme*.

Merdjümek showed much greater literary skill than his predecessors. Unlike them, he was neither slavishly literal nor given to cavalier omission. He freely added explanatory comments, as he promised, or he paraphrased, when literalism might have concealed the author's purpose. Occasionally, he further enlivened the text by spontaneously inserting apt Turkish proverbs, or verses of his own composition (e.g. ch. 32, fol. 122a-b), in addition to his usual practice of rendering Kay Kāʾūs's illustrative Persian verses into his own Turkish verse.

At a time when literary Turkish was at a crossroads, with some writers developing a complex and bombastic high *inshāʾ* style, full of Persian literary artifices, and reducing the Turkish lexical material to a minimum in favour of Arabic and Persian loan words, Merdjümek chose a manner which was essentially simple, based on spoken Turkish, and lexically mainly Turkish. In subsequent centuries, a minority of writers continued to favour simple Turkish, but most Ottoman writing became increasingly high-flown and Persianised. By the beginning of the 12th/18th century, Merdjümek's simplicity of style and vocabulary had come to be considered archaic and uncouth, and the well-known stylist and historian Naẓmī-zāde Murtaḍā (not Muṣṭafā, as in kay kāʾūs, iv, 815, col. 2, l. 3) of Baghdād was commissioned to revise Merdjümek's *Ḳābūs-nāme* in accord with contemporary literary taste (1117/1705).

Turkish nationalist currents of the 20th century have enhanced the growing interest in the Turkic elements in Turkey's national language, and have brought a renewed and still continuing appreciation of Merdjümek Aḥmed's work.

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(E. Birnbaum)

MERGUEZ [see mirkās].

MERGUI, the name of an archipelago, district and town in southern Burma, on the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, facing the Andaman Sea.

1. Mergui archipelago. This is a large group of islands (said to number 804), commencing in the north with Tavoy Island (*ca*. 13° 13′N.), and stretching southwards beyond Point Victoria into Thai waters, terminating beyond Ko Chan in *ca*. 8° 50′ N. The indigenous population of sea nomads, known to themselves as Moken, to the Burmese as Salôn, to the Thais as Chao Nam or Chao Lay and to the Malays as Oran Laut ("boat people"), numbered 868 according to the 1884 *Mergui District gazetteer*, and were classified as "nature-worshippers" (animistic-shamanistic). Today, they are probably outnumbered by Burmese and Chinese, even on their own islands, and have been partly converted to Theravāda Buddhism in the north of the archipelago, whilst Islam is believed to have made some inroads in the south (Annandale, 1903; Lebar, 1964).

2. Mergui District. This is the southernmost district of Burma and, under the British, of the Tenasserim Division, extending on the mainland from the boundaries of Tavoy District (13° 28′ N.) to the mouth of the Pakchan River (9° 58′ N.) and the Isthmus of Kra in the south, and including the Burmese part of the Mergui Archipelago. The region is covered in dense jungle, and its economic wealth rests on tin, coal and gold reserves, as well as on the fisheries industry. The main townships are Mergui, Palaw, Tenasserim, Bokpyin and Maliwun. According to the 1921 Census (*1924 Mergui District gazetteer*), the total urban population of Mergui District numbered 25,382, of which 11.69%, or 1,679 persons, returned their religion as Muslim. This comparatively low figure, although representative of the position of Islam in the Mergui District during the 20th century, in fact belies the importance of the region as a channel for the spread of Islam to Thailand and northern South-East Asia during earlier centuries.

3. Mergui Township. This is situated in 12° 26′ N. and 98° 36′ E., on the Tenasserim Coast, just outside the principal mouth of the Tenasserim River, and protected by the small, hilly island of Palaw which forms a good natural harbour. In 1921 the total population of Mergui municipality was 17,106, of which Buddhists comprised 65.6%, Muslims 14.2%, Hindus 10.4%, and Christians and animists the remainder. The great majority of Mergui's Muslim population are Zerbadī (of mixed Indian-Burmese descent, but identifying strongly with Burma), though there are also a number claiming Arab descent, whilst in the rural areas, Malay Muslims form a strong contingent, numbering 4,239 in the 1911 Census (Yegar, 1972, 118).

As a port in the 20th century, Mergui has survived on the Burmese coastal trade, exporting tin, rubber, pearls, mother-of-pearl, salted fish, ambergris and edible birds' nests. In the past, however, both Mergui and (more particularly) the neighbouring township of Tenasserim were staging posts on an important overland trade route between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea (Forbes, 1982, *passim*). For several centuries this trade was to be dominated by Muslims, and it was via Mergui and Tenasserim that Islam first penetrated to the heartland of the Thai Kingdom of Ayutthaya (*ca*. 751-1181/1350-1767).

History. The first mention of a trans-peninsular trade route in the Mergui-Tenasserim region occurs in the 1st/7th century *Liang-shu* (Annals of the Liang Dynasty), where reference is made to Tunsun, "an ocean stepping stone" between East and West in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula (Wheatley, 16; Briggs, 257). During this era, the region was chiefly populated by Mons, but trade was apparently dominated by Indian settlers, and was not dependent upon the local inhabitants. Arab shipping is thought to have first penetrated South-East Asian waters during the 5th or 6th centuries A.D. (Tibbetts, 1956, 207), and it is therefore possible that South Arabian voyagers visited the Mergui region even in pre-Islamic times. Early Arab geographical texts, dating from *ca*. 236/850, mention several ports on the western shores of the Malay Peninsula which might possibly be identified with the Mergui region, one of which, Kalāh [see kalah], is described by al-Masʿūdī (in 332/943) as being a "general rendezvous of the Muslim ships of Sīrāf and ʿUmān", and by al-Muhallabī (*ca*. 370/980) as "a prosperous town inhabited by Muslims, Indians and Persians" (Wheatley, 216-20; Tibbetts, 1979, 118-28). Another (perhaps more likely) identification is with Ḳaḳullah,

described by Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286) as standing near a large river "which flows down from a mountain in the north" (the Tenasserim River? - Tibbetts, 1979, 95, 128-35). By the time of Sulaymān al-Mahrī, however, this uncertainty has disappeared, for in his early 10th/16th century *ʿUmda* (Tibbetts, 1979, 229), the master navigator identifies Mergui as the main port for Tenasserim, and explains that from this landfall both local people and Arabs travel overland, via Tenasserim, to *Shahr-i Naw* (the "new city", or Ayutthaya, capital of the Thai Kingdom of the same name, founded by King Rama T'ibodi in 1350 A.D.).

During the first two centuries of Ayutthayan rule, the Tenasserim trade route—which passed under Thai control in or about 775/1373—was frequented by Muslim and Hindu merchants from South Asia, as well as by Arab and Persian merchants from the Middle East. It seems certain that, after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511, Muslim usage of the Tenasserim trade route increased in a partly successful attempt to bypass the Portuguese Catholic stranglehold on trade with the Far East. During this period, Muslim traders from Surat, Dābūl, and increasingly, from the Coromandel Coast, came to dominate Ayutthaya's trade with the Indian Ocean, supplying opium, minerals and dyestuffs, but above all cotton cloth, to the Thai Kingdom. Exports from Ayutthaya to the west via the Tenasserim route included aromatic woods and gums—much of which was destined for Yemen and the Ḥidjāz—spices, tin, ivory and porcelain.

A major factor in the rise of Islamic influences over the Mergui-Ayutthaya trade was the establishment of the Muslim Kingdom of Golconda in the mid-10th/16th century [see GOLKONḌĀ]. Merchants trading from the Golcondan capital and chief port of Machilipatanam (or Masulipatam, commonly known in the region as Bandar or "harbour") came rapidly to dominate the export of Indian cotton fabrics to Ayyuthaya, and by the time of the reign of the Thai monarch Phra Narai (*ca.* 1068-1100/1657-88), foreign Muslims, chiefly of South Asian origin but including numbers of Arabs, Persians and even Turks, had attained to positions of great power and prestige within Siam. Nor was the Mergui-Tenasserim route used purely for commerce; Muslim emissaries from Golconda and Iran (Ibrāhīm, 43-52), and possibly from Acheh (Penth, *passim*), are known to have travelled to Ayutthaya by this route, both with the intention of improving trade and, apparently, in the hope of converting the Thai king to Islam (Graham, ii, 294).

By 1679, the South and West Asian Muslim community in Siam had become so numerous and influential that they had their own quarter in Ayutthaya (as distinct from the various Malay Muslim districts), whilst an English factor of the Honourable East India Company was able to report of the Mergui-Tenasserim region: "The Persians and Moors ... are now in effect masters of that part of the country as well as the commerce ... the colonies they have planted in those parts do almost equal the number of the natives, but far exceed them in wealth and power" (White, *IOR* E/3/40). During this period, the governors of Mergui, Tenasserim, Phetchaburi and Bangkok were all Muslims of West or South Asian origin, as were the captains of Phra Narai's merchant vessels trading with Golconda. Indeed, during the first half of the 11th/17th century, Thai trade with the west (that is, with the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean littoral) was almost entirely in Muslim hands, whilst Phra Narai employed a succession of at least three (ostensibly Persian) Muslims as *phraklang*, or foreign minister (the most powerful position at the Thai Court), and even maintained a squadron of Muslim horse guards (de Choisy, 196).

Islamic influence at Ayutthaya entered into sharp decline during the latter part of Narai's reign, particularly following the rise in power of the Greek adventurer, Constant Phaulkon, who came to dominate the Thai royal court in *ca.* 1090/1679 (Hall, 364-74). Phaulkon perceived the "Moors" as political and commercial rivals, and at his behest their position and influence was gradually diminished, whilst that of the Europeans (and particularly of France) was correspondingly increased. During this period, the Muslim merchants dominating the Mergui-Tenasserim region were gradually displaced, and in 1683 an Englishman, Samuel ("Siamese") White, was appointed *s̲h̲āhbandar* of Mergui, with disastrous consequences for non-European regional commerce as a whole. Two years later, as a result of Phaulkon's commercial and political intrigues, war broke out between Siam and Golconda. Shortly thereafter, in 1687, a final blow was dealt to the Mergui-Machilipatanam trade when Golconda succumbed to the advancing armies of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], and its capital was reduced to the status of a fishing village (Alam, 1959, *passim*).

The Mergui-Tenasserim trade route never fully recovered from these setbacks, although Indian Muslim merchants continued to trade with Ayutthaya via Mergui throughout the first half of the 12th/18th century. In *ca.* 1179/1765, however, even this diminished trade was brought to an abrupt end by the Burmese conquest of both Mergui and Tenasserim. Two years later, in 1767, Ayutthaya was itself captured and sacked by the Burmese armies of King Hsinbyushin.

Following the Burmese conquest, the entire Mergui-Tenasserim region as far south as Point Victoria was incorporated within the Burmese empire. The new frontier between Siam and Burma, now much advanced in the latter's favour, remained sealed to trade (Low, iii, 287, 290); besides, the overland portage route from Mergui to Ayutthaya had become increasingly anachronistic, and regional inter-Asian trade had come to be increasingly dominated by European commerce. With the Burmese conquest of 1765, therefore, Mergui ceased to serve as a channel for Muslim commerce and concepts into Siam, and became instead a Burmese backwater. It still retained a substantial Muslim population, however, and it is interesting to note that indigenous Burmese chronicles possibly dating from the late 12th/18th century describe the rebuilding of Mergui in *ca.* 1770, and record the allocation of a special area (the Kakaung quarter) to the township's Muslim population (Kyaw Din, 252-3).

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(A.D.W. Forbes)

MERIČ, the Turkish name of a river called Hebros in classical Greek and Maritsa in Bulgarian. It is the principal river of the south-eastern Balkans and, under the Ottomans, of the *eyālet* of the Rumeli. Al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, Naples 1977, 796 = 4th section of the 5th climate) mentions it as *nahr Mārisū*; on his map of 1154, however, we read *nahr Akhīlū* (K. Miller, *Mappae arabicae*, Bd. I, pt. 2, Blatt V, Bd. II, 122, 126).

From its source in the north-western spur of the Rhodope mountains south of Sofia, the Merič flows eastwards through Bulgaria, forming a broad valley that separates the Balkan mountains to the north from the Rhodope to the south. It touches Turkish territory 20 km west-south-west of Edirne, and for 14 km it flows along the Turkish-Greek border; after a brief stretch inside the Turkish *il* of Edirne, where it is joined by the Tunca as it skirts the province's capital, the Merič turns southwards, and after 8 more km it again forms the border between Turkey and Greece. After having received the important tributary of Ergene, the river flows into the Aegean through a delta, at the eastern mouth of which is the port city of Enez.

It was the Ottomans who integrated the course of the Merič within the *Dār al-Islām*, but the region had experienced Turkish presence long before that: the Turkic Bulgars, then the Pechenegs and Cumans, and finally the forays of the Aydîn [*q.v.*] chieftain Umur Beg, who sailed upstream with his warships to the level of Dimetika (Didymothike) in late 1343 (I. Melikoff-Sayar, *Le destan d'Umur Pacha*, Paris 1954, 41, 101; P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin: Byzance et l'Occident*, Paris 1957, 169). Unlike the Turks of Aydîn, the Ottomans under Murād I approached the Merič from landwards and subsequently used the avenue presented by the river's valley for their further conquests in the Balkans. The counter-offensive of 766/1364 resulted in a defeat near the left bank of the Merič, during which the fleeing army sought salvation by crossing the river, a pre-dawn rout remembered by the place-name Ṣîrp Ṣîndîghî "Serbian defeat" (*Die Altosmanische Chronik des ʿĀšıkpašazāde*, ed. F. Giese, 51).

Before the conquest of Constantinople, Edirne was the principal residence of the Ottoman sultans, and even later the Merič witnessed some of the pomp of court life. Thus in 861/1456-7 circumcision festivities of the *shehzādes* Bāyezīd and Muṣṭafā were held on the river island Kirishčiler adasî (*ʿĀšıkpašazāde*, ed. Giese, 141).

The broad fertile valley of the Merič was appreciated in Byzantine times as one of the granaries of Constantinople; this role was further increasing during the Ottoman rule after the Turks had introduced there the cultivation of rice in the 9th/15th century. The river itself served as a transportation route for these supplies by boat to Enez, from where they were carried by sea-going craft to Istanbul (this role of the Merič ceased only in the 1870s with the construction of a railway from Istanbul). The economic importance of the Merič valley in the Ottoman period was also demonstrated by the prosperity of such cities as Filibe (Plovdiv), Edirne and Enez, and by the creation of Tatar Pazardjîk; this town, founded in 890/1485, was settled mainly by Bessarabian Tatars and Ottoman *sipāhīs*; its annual fair, held in July, was frequented by merchants from many parts of the empire. The valley represented an age-old route of communications, transportation and troop movements that continued beyond the Merič to Sofia and Belgrade. In the Ottoman postal organisation, the stages along the Merič pertained to the *orta ḳol* system. The effectiveness of the route was enhanced by the construction and endowment of *khāns* and bridges; especially remarkable is the 10th/16th century bridge known as Djisr-i Muṣṭafā Pasha, with a *khān* on either side, in present-day Svilengrad 40 km west of Edirne.

The Merič acquired a special political significance in the final years of the Ottoman empire when the question of the Turkish-Bulgarian and Turkish-Greek borders arose. With the successful completion of the War of Independence in Anatolia, the Turkish demands that the British authorities persuade the Greeks to withdraw their forces beyond the Merič were met, and the Treaty of Lausanne (July 1923) established the river as the definitive border between Turkey and Greece.

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(S. Soucek)

MERIDA [see MĀRIDA].

MERINIDS [see MARĪNIDS].

MERKA, the official spelling of Markah (as in al-Idrīsī *et alii*), a settlement which lies in lat. 1° N and 44° E, south of Maḳdishū [*q.v.*] in the Republic of Somalia. It is mentioned *ca.* 943 A.D. by al-Masʿūdī

among places in Africa inhabited by the descendants of Kūsh [*q.v.*], but the reading must be considered doubtful because the other places enumerated are in western Africa (cf. *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, index, s.v. Maranda). Al-Idrīsī (Climate 1, section 6) mentions it as associated with the Hawiyya, one of the groups of the Somali; Ibn Saʿīd (*apud* Abu 'l-Fidāʾ) states that it was their capital, and that it was inhabited by Muslims. In so far as they can be dated by external features, the mosques appear to be of late 18th century date or later. The Friday Mosque, nevertheless, has a dedicatory inscription equivalent to A.D. 1609, and that of Shaykh ʿUthmān to A.D. 1560. The grave in this structure appears to be older, for it incorporates stonework with a cable pattern that may be compared with that in the *miḥrāb* of the mosque at Kizimkazi [*q.v.*], Zanzibar, where the inscription in floriate Kūfic and other decorations are dated by an inscription equivalent to A.D. 1107.

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(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

MERKEZ, Shaykh Muṣliḥ al-Dīn b. Muṣṭafā, the head of an Ottoman Ṣūfī order and saint.

Merkez Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Mūsā b. Muṣṭafā b. Ḳïlïdj b. Hadjdar belonged to the village of Ṣarï Maḥmūdlu in the Anatolian district of Lādhikiyya. He was at first a pupil of the Mollā Aḥmad Pasha, son of Khiḍr Beg [*q.v.*], and later of the famous Khalwatī Shaykh Sünbül Sinān Efendi, founder of the Sünbüliyya, a branch of the Khalwatiyya, head of the monastery of Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha in Istanbul (see Bursalï Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, i, 78-9). When the latter died in 936/1529, Merkez Efendi succeeded him in the dignity of Pīr. He held the office of head of a monastery for 23 years and died in the odour of sanctity in 959/1552, aged nearly 90. He was buried in Istanbul in the mosque which bears his name (cf. *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 230-1; J. von Hammer, *GOR*, ix, 95, no. 495) before the Yeñi Ḳapu. At the tomb of Merkez Efendi there is a much-visited holy well, an *ayazma*, to which one descends by steps. Its reddish water is said to have the miraculous power of healing those sick of a fever (cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 372; von Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, i, 513; idem, *GOR*, *loc. cit.*, following the *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, *loc. cit.*). Beside it is the cell (*zāwiya*) of Merkez Efendi, of which miraculous stories still circulate among the people. He had many pupils, including his son Aḥmad, famous as the translator of the *Ḳāmūs*, his son-in-law Muṣliḥ al-Dīn (cf. Ewliyā, *loc. cit.*), the poet Ramaḍān Efendi, called Bihishtī, and many others.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see Ṭashköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, tr. Medjdī, 522-3; *ʿOthmānlï müʾellifleri*, i, 160; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 363; F. Babinger, *GOW*, 44, n. 1; Tahsin Yazıcı, *Fetihten sonra İstanbul'da ilk halvetî şeyhleri*, in *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, ii (1956), 104-13; idem, *İA* art. *Merkez Efendi*.

(Fr. Babinger)

MERLIN [see bayzara].

MERSIN, a sea-port on the south coast of Anatolia, capital of the province of Içel with seven districts (1980: 843, 931 inhabitants) and the centre of the Berdan-Ova, where *ca.* 40,000 ha. irrigated fields of cotton, citrus-trees and vegetables are cultivated. These products are exported through an important harbour (1980: 10,452 m³ wood, 331,145 head of livestock, 74,842 passengers). Beside this, there exists an expanding industry (76 factories, 13,439 labourers) in textiles, chemical products (refinery) and building materials. The regularly-built town, now (1980) with 216,308 inhabitants, was founded in 1832 by Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], son of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*]; its name derives from the Greek *myrsini* (μυρσίνη) "myrtle", a tree, which grows in the region. To the north-west of Mersin is situated the Neolithic *höyük* of Yümüktepe, which was well-fortified in the 5th millenium B.C. In Hellenistic-Roman times, the harbour town of Zephirium lay in the neighbourhood; not far away to the south-west, the ruins of Soloi, later Pompeiopolis, are to be seen.

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(W. Röllig)

MERSIYE [see marthiya].

MERTOLA [see mīrtula].

MERV [see marw].

MERV-RŪD [see marw al-rūdh].

MĒRWĀRĀ [see rādjāsthān].

MERZIFŪN, also Mārsiwān, modern Turkish spelling Merzifon, a town of north-central Anatolia, lying in lat. 40°52′ and long. 35°35′E. and at an altitude of 750 m./2.464 ft. It is situated on the southern slopes of the Tavşan Dağı, with a rich and fertile plain, the Sulu Ova, on its south, where fruit, vines, nuts, opium poppies, etc. are cultivated, and with the towns of Çorum [see čorum] at 69 km./42 miles to the south-west and of Amasya [*q.v.*] at 49 km./30 miles to the south-east.

The town most probably occupies the site of the ancient Phazemon (Φαζημών) in the district of Phazemonitis; the name is probably a development of Φαζημών. Ibn Bībī (cf. *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, iv, Leiden 1902, 292, 12) also gives the form Bāzīmūn. Little is known of the early history of the town in the Muslim period. It belonged to the kingdom of the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] and when in 795/1393 Bāyezīd I drove the ruler of Sivas, Mīr Aḥmad, out of the country, the land of "Marsvani", as the Bavarian traveller Hans Schiltenberger (cf. *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, ed. V. Langmantel, Tübingen 1885, 12) called it, passed to the Ottoman empire. Merzifūn plays a notable part in the history of Ottoman culture as the birthplace and scene of the activities of learned men and authors (cf. A.D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, 88); and it was the family place of origin of the celebrated 11th/17th century Ottoman Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha Merzifonlu [*q.v.*].

In Merzifūn there used to be a number of dervish *tekkes* (cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥet-nāme*, ii, 396 below, where several are mentioned). The saint locally reverenced was Pīr Dede Sulṭān, said to be a pupil of Ḥādjdjī Bektash (Ewliyā, ii, 396).

Monuments there include several mosques converted from Byzantine churches, including the so-called Eski Cami, on the walls of which Christian paintings could be seen till at least the later 19th cen-

tury (cf. V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 761); the *madrasa* of Meḥemmed Čelebi (built 817/1414 by one Abū Bekr b. Meḥmed, to which an incongruous clock tower was added in the 19th century); and the complex built by Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, with mosque (built in 1077/1666-7), *madrasa* and caravanserai (see G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 20, 362, 419).

In the 19th century, Merzifūn was the centre of American Protestant missionary enterprise in the *wilāyet* of Sivas (in which Merzifūn was in late Ottoman times situated), with the Anatolia College, a theological seminary, schools and charitable institutions, proselytism being aimed mainly at the local Armenians (Cuinet numbered the town's population at 13,380 Muslims, 5,820 Armenians and 800 Greeks). There were also Roman Catholic Jesuit and Gregorian Armenian schools. Most of these did not survive the First World War and the Armenian massacres, with the consequent liquidation of that ethnic element from the town, as also the Greeks (the 1927 census enumerated only 11,334 inhabitants of Merzifūn), but a small body of American missionaries and a school were still functioning in the late thirties.

Modern Merzifon is the chef-lieu of an *ilçe* or district of the same name in the *il* or province of Amasya, and is noted for its cotton textiles. The population of the town was in 1970 28,210 and that of the district 59,777.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, xix/2, col. 1909, s.v. *Phazemon*; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 396 ff., Eng. tr. Von Hammer, ii, 212 ff.; Sh. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1315, vi, 4259; *Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon..., escript par .... J. Chesneau*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887, 68; J. Morier, *Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, London 1812, 350; *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1859, Heft 12; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Kleinasien*, i, 179 ff.; W. Ainsworth, *Travels in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 33; W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 329; A.D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, ed. F. Babinger, Hanover 1925, 87 ff.; H.J. van Lennep, *Travels in little-known parts of Asia Minor*, London 1870, i, 82; F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, ii, 140; iii, 162; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 758-62; Naval Intelligence Division, *Admiralty Handbook, Turkey*, London 1942-3, ii, 572; *İA* art. *Merzifon* (Besim Darkot).

(F. Babinger-[C.E. Bosworth])

MESHʿALE ("Torch"), a journal published in Turkish, of which eight numbers only appeared between 1 July and 15 October 1928.

It had been founded by Djewdet Ḳudret (Cevdet Kudret Solok), Kenʿān Khulūṣī (Kenan Hulusi Koray), Ṣabrī Esʿad (Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil), Waṣfī Māhir (Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk), Ḍiyāʾ ʿOthmān (Ziya Osman Saba) and Yāshār Nābī (Yaşar Nabi Nayır) after the unexpected success of an anthology (*Yedi meshʿale*, Istanbul 1928) of the above-mentioned authors plus Muʿammar Lüṭfī. These young writers, the *Meshʿaledjiler* (*Meşaleciler*), wished to combat the general, unfavourable judgment pronounced upon the literature of their country through the novel expression of a literary production devoid of the expression of the authors' individual feeling. The contrasting influences, whose action they felt, did not reach maturity, but they certainly felt the need of a call to order, more clearly discernible, it was true, in other Western intellectuals, in order to give a new response to the confused expectations of their national revolution.

Meshʿale had the aim of functioning solely in the sphere of literature and art, but its founders were not unaware of social cares, and a few years later, a journal, *Kadro* (1932-5), was to endeavour to shape, within Kemalism, a new political and ideological milieu. *Meshʿale* lived though the changes and contrasts of the age, even in its external aspect, since in the latter issues, Latin characters began to replace the Arabic ones, and its decorative designs were always in the style of the twenties of the West, the same elegant and objective artistic style desired by the *Meshʿaledjiler* poets, whilst the prose writer Kenʿān Khulūṣī was closer to Symbolism.

Under the patronage of Yūsuf Ḍiyāʾ (Yusuf Ziya Ortaç), *Meshʿale* provides us with a useful panorama of the Turkish literature of its time, and the foreign authors presented in it confirm the French influence on Turkish culture. That some young people, with the help of writers already well-known, should have endeavoured, by means of journals like *Meshʿale* and *Kadro*, to bring about a new cultural atmosphere, shows the desire for social action on the part of the Turkish intellectuals. In their literature, it is always nevertheless more essential to search out the elements of continuity and originality which lie beyond external appearances, together with those enduring elements of faithfulness—sometimes not discernible as such—to tradition.

Bibliography: For the traditional view, see R. Mutluay, *Çağdaş Türk edebiyatı (1908-1972)*, Istanbul 1973; a new interpretation is furnished in G.E. Carretto, *Saggi su Meşale. Un'avanguardia letteraria turca del 1928*, Venice 1979, which develops further two articles of 1976 and 1977. See also the special number of *Varlık* (*50. yılında Yedi Meşale özel sayısı*), no. 847 (April 1978). On *Kadro*, see Carretto, *Polemiche fra kemalismo, fascismo e communismo negli anni '30*, in *Storia contemporanea*, viii/3 (1977), 205-12, Turkish tr. in *Tarih ve Toplum*, nos. 17-18 (1985).

(G.E. Carretto)

MESH(H)ED [see mashhad].

MESH(H)ED ʿALĪ [see al-nadjaf].

MESH(H)ED ḤUSAYN [see karbalāʾ].

MESHRŪṬA, MESHRŪṬIYYET [see dustūr].

MESĪḤ MEḤMED PASHA, Khādim (*ca.* 901-98/*ca.* 1495-1589), Ottoman Grand Vizier under Sultan Murād III [*q.v.*].

Khādim Mesīḥ made his career as one of the white *aghas* in the Sultan's private household (*Enderun* [*q.v.*]) at the time when their influence was still predominant in the palace. At the accession of Murād III (982/1574), he held the office of chief butler (*Kilārdjibashi*). He left the palace service to become *Beglerbegi* of Egypt. He governed that province for five years. His successful administration brought him the appointment as Third Vizier and the recall to Istanbul (989/1581). When the Grand Vizier Özdemiroghlu ʿOthmān Pasha [*q.v.*] left the capital as *Serdār* (20 Radjab 992/28 July 1584), Mesīḥ Pasha was made Second Vizier and *Ḳāʾimmaḳām*. Upon the death of the Grand Vizier in 993/1585, Mesīḥ Pasha became Grand Vizier, then being about ninety years old. After little more than four months in office he resigned because of a disagreement with the sultan, who refused to replace the *Reʾīs ül-küttāb* Ḥamza Efendi by Küčük Ḥasan Bey, as was the wish of the Grand Vizier (24 Rabīʿ II 994/14 April 1586). Mesīḥ Pasha retired from public life. He died three years later and lies buried in the *türbe* in front of the mosque founded by him in 994/1585 in the Karagümrük quarter of Istanbul.

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(A.H. de Groot)

MESĪḤ PAS̲H̲A, Ottoman Grand Vizier in 906/1501. Mesīḥ and his elder brother K̲h̲āṣṣ Murād were sons of a brother of Constantine IX Palaeologus (Babinger, *Eine Verfügung*). Apparently Mesīḥ and Murād were captured during the conquest of Constantinople and brought up as pages in Meḥemmed II's seraglio.

The Greek faction under this Sultan first came to power when he decided to conquer the Greek island of Euboea (Eg̲h̲riboz) in 875/1470. Mesīḥ distinguished himself for the first time during this campaign as *sand̲j̲aḳ begi* of Gelibolu [*q.v.*] and admiral of the navy. But soon afterwards he offered, as Venetian documents testify, to surrender Gelibolu, the Ottoman naval base, and the fleet to the Venetians in return for 40,000 gold ducats, aspiring to become ruler over the Morea (Babinger, *Mehmed*, 290). Mesīḥ appears to have been a vizier in late autumn 1476, or in early 1477 (see discussion in Reindl, 280). Two documents (Gökbilgin, 138, 148 n. 153) indicate that he was already second vizier on 19 S̲h̲aʿbān 882/26 November 1477 and also in 883/1478, Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Ḳaramānī [*q.v.*] being Grand Vizier in both cases. A contemporary source (Donado da Lezze, 112) states that he was a newly-appointed fourth vizier when he was made commander-in-chief of the army and navy against Rhodes in the spring of 995/1480. Having failed at the siege, he was dismissed from the vizierate (Ibn Kemāl, cited by Reindl, 281), but apparently left with the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Gelibolu as admiral of the navy. During the indecisive period after the death of Meḥemmed II (3 May 1481) Mesīḥ, who belonged to the military *dews̲h̲irme* [*q.v.*] group of Gedik Aḥmed, appeared as a vizier in the *Dīwān*. Bringing Bāyezīd II to the throne, the military *dews̲h̲irme* faction had then full control of the government.

While Gedik Aḥmed, with the support of the Janissaries, acted too independently, Mesīḥ won the trust of the Sultan as an opponent of D̲j̲em [*q.v.*]: when in early summer 887/1482 Gedik Aḥmed, suspected of being pro-D̲j̲em, was imprisoned in the Seraglio, the Janissaries invaded the palace and threatened the Sultan, who sent a group of dignitaries, including Mesīḥ, to negotiate. He succeeded in appeasing the soldiery by accepting all their demands including the promise never to appoint viziers outside the *dews̲h̲irme* (da Lezze, 179-80). This convinced Bāyezīd that he was completely dependent, for his safety on the throne, on the military faction. Mesīḥ, closely co-operating with the seraglio, demonstrated his diplomatic ability and loyalty once again when D̲j̲em took refuge with the Hospitallers of Rhodes. During negotiations, while Gedik Aḥmed proved to be uncompromising, Mesīḥ achieved an agreement to the satisfaction of Bāyezīd, thus becoming the architect of Bāyezīd's policy in respect of the D̲j̲em question. Now members of the military *dews̲h̲irme* (Dāwūd, Mesīḥ and Hersek-og̲h̲lu Aḥmed) dominated the *Dīwān*, while Bāyezīd sent to the most sensitive governorships his eunuch *ḳapî-ag̲h̲as* from the seraglio (Yaḥyā, Yaʿḳūb, ʿAlī, K̲h̲alīl and Fīrūz). Supported by the seraglio, Mesīḥ managed to survive Bāyezīd's bold decision to eliminate Gedik Aḥmed, whom he believed to be a threat to his throne. After his execution (18 November 1482), a new era, that of the seraglio's direct control of government, began. Mesīḥ was second vizier in the *Dīwān* in 888/beg. 9 February 1483 (*Anonymous chronicle*, B.N. Paris, suppl. 1047, fol. 93a; also Yaʿḳūb Pas̲h̲a's *waḳfiyya* dated *awāʾil* Muḥarram 888/mid-February 1483, in Epstein, 290). Mesīḥ had replaced in this post D̲j̲azarī Ḳāsîm Pas̲h̲a, a bureaucrat famous as "the founder of the Ottoman bureaucratic tradition". When Isḥāḳ Pas̲h̲a, Grand Vizier and supporter of Gedik Aḥmed, had to leave the *Dīwān* (in the summer or early autumn 888/1483, see Reindl, 171, 236, 283), Dāwūd Pas̲h̲a, who was already second vizier in 887/beg. 20 February 1482, and apparently favoured by the seraglio faction, became Grand Vizier. It is suggested that Mesīḥ succeeded Isḥāḳ in the grand vizierate (Reindl, 171, 236, 283, on the authority of the contemporary historian Ibn Kemāl), and kept the position until 890/1485. But Mesīḥ is shown in the *Anonymous chronicle*, fol. 93b, as second vizier and Dāwūd as Grand Vizier in 889/beg. 30 January 1484.

In 890/beg. 18 January 1485, Mesīḥ was suddenly dismissed from the vizierate by the sultan, who was infuriated at something which we cannot determine (Ibn Kemāl, cited by Reindl, 283). He was first banished to Filibe as its *subas̲h̲î*, and then was transferred to Kaffa [*q.v.*] as its *sand̲j̲aḳ begi* in 892/1487 (Kaffa, like Salonica, had become an exile for demoted viziers). The customs register of Kaffa dated 892/1487 shows that Mesīḥ then owned a ship which was active in the traffic between Istanbul and Kaffa and at that time his *ketk̲h̲üdā* took for him slaves at Azaḳ. Mesīḥ apparently left Kaffa when Prince Meḥemmed was sent as its governor toward the end of 895/1489 (Reindl, 284). Next we find him in our sources as *sand̲j̲aḳ begi* of Akkerman (Akkerme) in Rabīʿ II 903/beg. 27 November 1497. According to the *Anonymous chronicle*, fols. 118b-121a, he played a major role in stopping a Polish army which invaded Moldavia in 1496-7, in cooperation with the Rumelian and frontier forces and with the Moldavian Voyvode Stephen. Mesīḥ took advantage of this achievement to gain the sultan's favour, sending him 29 standards and enslaved Polish nobles.

The news was welcomed in Istanbul, and Venice was informed as a warning (Sanuto, *I Diarii*, i, 845; Fisher, 56). Mesīḥ's pilgrimage in the summer of 904/1499 seems to be a calculated move to go to Istanbul and exploit his recent success in Moldavia. Actually, considering his experience in naval affairs, his knowledge of western politics and his family connections with Venice (Reindl, 279), he was a man who would be most useful in the war against Venice, which began in June 1499. Shortly after his return from Mecca he was appointed a vizier (*bassà* in Sanuto, quoted by Reindl 285, does not mean necessarily Grand Vizier). In fact, in Rad̲j̲ab 905/February 1500, the Grand Vizier was Yaʿḳūb Pas̲h̲a, Bāyezīd II's first Grand Vizier of palace eunuchs, who came to this post following the death of Čandarlî Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a at the end of Muḥarram 905/August 1499. Mesīḥ entered the *Dīwān* as second vizier while his friend Hersek-og̲h̲lu occupied the post of third vizier (*Anonymous chronicle*, fols. 124a). Eunuchs (*ṭawās̲h̲ī*) were never welcomed by the bureaucratic and military factions, but they estab-

lished supreme authority over government affairs and were particularly favoured by Bāyezīd II. In Muḥarram 906/July-August 1500, Mesīḥ was still mentioned as second vizier (Reindl, 221-2, 354, believes Mesīḥ was made Grand Vizier immediately after Ibrāhīm's death in 1499), and in Ramaḍān 906/March-April 1501 he left Istanbul for Tas͟h-ili in Ḳaramān to quell the rebellion of the Warsak tribes which were supporting a Ḳaramānid pretender by the name of Muṣṭafā. There is no doubt that in the spring of 1501 Mesīḥ was appointed Grand Vizier for the first time to lead this important campaign (details in Idrīs Bidlīsī, *Hes͟ht bihis͟ht*, TKP Library, Hazine 1655). Combining the skills of a general and diplomat, Mesīḥ was able to persuade the tribal chieftains not to give their support to the Ḳaramānid pretender. Soon after his return to Istanbul, a joint Franco-Venetian invasion of the island of Mytilene (Midilli [*q.v.*]) infuriated the sultan, who struck his Grand Vizier with his bow (September 1501). Soon afterwards, Mesīḥ was wounded attending a fire in G͟halaṭa, and died five days later (D̲jumāda I 907/November 1501). The mosque bearing his name in Istanbul was converted from a church and is at present in need of repair. Its *waḳfiyya* is dated Rabīʿ I 907/October 1501 (Ayverdi and Barkan, 142, no. 799). For the *awḳāf* for his mosque and *madrasa* in Gelibolu, see Gölbilgin, 439. Its *waḳfiyya* is dated 888/1478. The names of his three sons, ʿAlī Beg, Maḥmūd Čelebi and Bali Beg, are known. The latter was *sand̲jaḳ begi* of Vulčitrin in Rabīʿ I 909/ August-September 1503.

Bibliography: Anonymous, *Tawārīk͟h-i Āl-i ʿOt͟hmān*, B.N. ms. Supplément turc 1047; Donado da Lezze (J. Maria-Angiolello), *Historia Turchesca*, ed. I. Ursu, Bucharest 1910, 106, 112, 179, 259, 260 (Misit Bassa); Ibn Kemāl (Kemāl Pas͟ha-zāde), see Reindl, 19; S.N. Fisher, *The foreign relations of Turkey, 1481-1512*, Urbana 1948; Idrīs-i Bidlīsī, *Hes͟ht bihis͟ht*, TKP, Hazine 1655; M.T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa lıvâsı*, Istanbul 1952; F. Babinger, *Eine Verfügung des Paläologen Chāṣṣ-Murād*, in *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, i, Munich 1962, 344-54; E.H. Ayverdi and Ö.L. Barkan, *Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 1970; F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, ed. W.C. Hickman, Princeton 1978; R.F. Kreutel, *Der Fromme Sultan Bāyezīd*, Graz, Vienna and Cologne 1978; M.A. Epstein, *The Ottoman Jewish communities and their role in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Freiburg 1980; H. Reindl, *Männer um Bayezid. Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Bāyezīds II. (1481-1512)*, Berlin 1983.

(Halil Inalcik)

MESĪḤĪ, an important Ottoman poet of Bāyezīd II's time (886-918/1481-1512), who died after 918/1512, possibly even after 924/1518 (see V.L. Ménage, *An Ottoman manual of provincial correspondence*, in *WZKM*, lxviii [1976], 3-45, and idem, art. on *Gül-i ṣad-berg* in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, forthcoming). His given name was ʿĪsā. Born in Priştina, he came in his youth to Istanbul, where he became a *medrese* student and also soon distinguished himself as a calligrapher. He was able to find favour with the Grand Vizier K͟hādim ʿAlī Pas͟ha, whose *dīwān* secretary he became. However, his patron had frequent cause to be annoyed with him because of his undisciplined, pleasure-oriented life and his lack of conscientiousness in the performance of his official duties, and is reported to have spoken of him as a *s͟heher og͟hlanī* ("street arab"). He nevertheless held this position until K͟hādim ʿAlī Pas͟ha fell in 917/1511 fighting the S͟hīʿī rebels under S͟hāh Ḳulī. Mesīḥī composed a deeply-felt elegy on his death but, having need of a new protector, ended with a mention of *yeñičeri ag͟hasī* Yūnus Pas͟ha (cf. İ. Morina, *Mesihi'nin Hadim Ali Paşa'ya yazdığı mersiyesi*, in *Çevren*, viii [1981], no. 31, 55-63). Based on the information given by ʿĀs͟hıḳ Čelebi, it was formerly accepted that Mesīḥī did not succeed in gaining the protection of either Yūnus Pas͟ha or the *Nis͟hānd̲jī* Tād̲jī-zāde D̲jaʿfer Čelebi, that he had to be content with a small fief in Bosnia and that his attempts to gain the patronage of Selīm I failed likewise. This assumption should now be revised insofar as Sehī's statement that Mesīḥī was in the service of Yūnus Pas͟ha has been shown by Ménage to be the more reliable.

Mesīḥī's place in Ottoman *dīwān* poetry is that of a highly gifted and original poet without an extensive œuvre. His language is relatively plain and clear, his manner devoid of affectation. Some poems and passages of his captivate through their lyricism. There is wealth of charming new images, associations and ideas. A touch of Rumelian dialect here and there is of linguistic interest.

Mesīḥī's lifework comprises: (1) His not especially voluminous *Dīwān* has not yet been printed. Critical editions in typescript form exist, however: Mine Özoğul, *The Divan of the 15th century Ottoman poet Mesīḥī*, Ph. D. thesis, Edinburgh University 1969, and S. Jaber, *Mesîhî'nin hayatı ve dîvânının tenkitli metni*, Ph.D. thesis, Istanbul 1953. Best known in Europe is his *murabbaʿ* on spring which Sir William Jones published with a Latin translation in *Poeseos Asiaticae commentariorum libri sex*, Leipzig 1774, and which was thereafter repeatedly translated into German, French, Italian, English, Russian and Serbian (cf. F. Bayraktareviç, *Mesihi'nin dünya edebiyatında yer alan "Bahariye"si*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, xxii [1974-6], 213-9; İ. Eren, *"Bahariye"nin Fransizca, Rusça ve Sırpça çevirileri*, in *ibid.*, 221-7. (2) The *met͟hnewī S͟hehr-engīz* ("rouser of the city") is Mesīḥī's most original work. It is a humorous description of the handsome youths of Edirne, all of whom have Muslim names and are of the lower middle class, with mention of their or their father's profession. (Except for four of the total of 47, two verses are dedicated to each youth.) Cf. on the text, İ. Morina, *XV y.y. büyük Türk şairi Priştine'li Mesihi (1470-1513)* [*sic*], in *Çevren*, viii (1981), no. 30, 39-56. Its language is plain, unpretentious and easily understandable. Mesīḥī's *S͟hehr-engīz* became popular and he had numerous followers in this poetic genre. It is generally but not unanimously accepted that the *s͟hehr-engīz* by D͟hātī would appear to date from just about the same time, and that it had no Persian model (cf. Mine Mengi, *Mesîhî'nin hayatı, şairliği ve eserleri*, in *Türkoloji Dergisi*, vi [1974], no. 1, 109-19; A.S. Levend, *Türk edebiyatında şehr-engizler ve şehr-engizlerde İstanbul*, Istanbul 1958; and M. İzzet, *Türk edebiyatında şehrengîzler*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Istanbul 1936). (3) *Gül-i ṣad-berg* ("the many-petalled rose") is an *ins͟hāʾ* collection of elegant stylistic samples not without historic interest. Only a very few mss. of this have been reported to exist (cf. the article by Ménage cited above).

Bibliography (in addition to the titles cited above): The *ted͟hkires* of Sehī, Laṭīfī, ʿĀs͟hıḳ Čelebi, Ḳınalı-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, Beyānī and Riyāḍī; ʿĀlī, *Künh al-ak͟hbār*; *Sid̲jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, iv, 369; Ḥ. Ḥüsām al-Dīn, *Amasya tārīk͟hi*, Istanbul 1927, iii, 260; Müstaḳīm-zāde, *Tuḥfe-yi k͟haṭṭāṭīn*, Istanbul 1928, 566; Ned̲jīb ʿĀṣim, *Mesīḥī dīwānī*, in *TOEM*, i (1911), 300-8; *ʿOt͟hmānlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 410; Hammer, *Geschichte der osman. Dichtkunst*, i, 297-302; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, ii, 226-56; Nesrin, *Mesîhî*,

hayatı ve eserleri, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Istanbul 1940; A. Karahan, in *İA*, s.v. *Mesîhî*.

(Th. Menzel — [E.G. Ambros])

MESOPOTAMIA [see al-djazīra; al-ʿirāḳ].

MESSENGER [see rasūl].

MESSIAH [see masīḥ].

METALLURGY [see maʿdin].

METAMORPHOSIS [see maskh].

METAPHOR [see istiʿāra].

METAPHYSICS [see mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa].

MÉTAYAGE [see khamāsa; muzāraʿa].

METEMPSYCHOSIS [see tanāsukh].

METEOROLOGY [see anwāʾ; āthār ʿulwiyya].

METONYMY [see kināya].

METRICS [see ʿarūḍ].

METROLOGY [see makāyīl; misāḥa; mīzān].

METROPOLIS [see miṣr. b].

MĒWĀŔ, the name given in the Indian chronicles to the south-western region of Rādjāsthān [*q.v.*]: approximately the region now known, from its principal town, as Udaypur (although the town of Udaypur [*q.v.*] was not founded until 966/1559), hilly with considerable forest tracts, separated from its Rādjpūt neighbour Mārwāŕ on the west by the Aravallī hills, and bordered on the south by Gudjarāt, on the south-east and east by Mālwā, on the north-east by the Dihlī sultanate (see Map s.v. rādjāsthān). The region is more celebrated for its defences against Islamic forces than for any lasting status as a region under Islamic rule until Bābur's victory at Khānuʾā in 933/1527 over the combined Rādjpūt armies under the Mēwāŕ ruler, and Akbar's conquest of the fort of Čitawŕ forty years later, initiated a period of Mughal sovereignty that was to last for over 200 years.

The first ruling dynasty, the Guhilōt Rādjpūts, is said to have entered Mēwāŕ from Gudjarāt and dominated the region in the 1st/7th century, ruling from the (now derelict) town of Nāgdā some 20 km north of the present Udaypur from where Čitawŕ was conquered; a bardic account credits an early ruler with a successful defence against a powerful Arab general, probably al-Djunayd b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], if the chronology can be relied on. A descendant is said to have joined with the Hindū rulers of Gudjarāt in resisting the expansion of the Arab caliphate of Sindh [*q.v.*] beyond Multān [*q.v.*] in the 3rd/9th century. But Mēwāŕ resistance was not only against the Muslim powers: the Čawhāns of Sambhar, the Paramāras of Mālwā, and the Čawlukyas of Gudjarāt were all powerful neighbours who more than once made forays into Mēwāŕ. The Guhilōts stood firm, gradually gaining strength, until the Ghūrid conquest in the north broke the power of the Čawhāns; Mēwāŕ overcame the pretensions of the rival Hindū dynasties, but met with less success against the new Muslim power of Dihlī, for Iltutmish marched on and destroyed Nāgdā, and Čitawŕ became the new Mēwāŕ capital.

By the early 8th/14th century Mēwāŕ was seen as the most powerful of the Rādjpūt states, and its independence as a threat to the prestige of Dihlī; its conquest was undertaken by ʿAlāʾ al-Din Khaldjī, probably partly for strategic reasons and partly in the quest of plunder, although a later age assigned a romantic reason, the outstanding beauty of Ratansen's queen Padminī/Padmāvatī. (Malik Muḥammad Djāyasī [*q.v.*], writing early in the 10th/16th century, made an outstanding love-story of this first sack of Čitawŕ, often interpreted as a Ṣūfistic allegory of the soul; though when he writes *djawhār bhain istirī, purukh bhaé sangrām/pātsāhi gaḍh čūrā, čitawr bhā islām* "the women performed the *djawhār*, the men became warriors (sc. to the death); the king crushed the fort, and Čitawŕ became Islām", he may not be historically accurate (*Padmāvat*, ed. V.S. Agrawal, verse 651), for Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*], who was present with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, makes no mention of the *djawhār*, the mass self-immolation of the womenfolk). Čitawŕ fell in 702/1303, by what seems to have been peaceful surrender (epidemic or famine in the garrison have been suggested as the reasons), Ratansen delivering himself personally to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn; Čitawŕ was then renamed Khiḍrābād and assigned to the young heir-apparent Khiḍr Khān, although the administration lay in the able hands of Maladeva, a Čawhān Rādjpūt in ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's service who was connected by marriage to the Guhilōt house. Ratansen was dethroned and the succession passed to a cadet branch of the Guhilōts, the Sisodiyas, several princes of whom died in attempting to regain Čitawŕ. After Maladeva's death in 721/1321, the sequence of events is not clear, as the bardic chronicles present a garbled account, often conflating events of the 8th/14th and 10th/16th centuries in a romantic medley. The ruler who emerged was Hammīr, in whose reign Sisodiya rule was restored at Čitawŕ (probably profiting from either the dynastic change at Dihlī from Khaldjīs to Tughluḳids, or from the disaffections *ca.* 739/1338 under Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's rule); his heroism and chivalry are much extolled, but the Rādjpūt traditions are so much at variance with one another, none of them being compatible with either the few inscriptions or the exiguous references in the Muslim historians, that the chronology of Mēwāŕ until *ca.* 823/1420 must be regarded as obscure; but certainly Hammīr's successor Kshetrasingh successfully withstood an attack by the Mālwā [*q.v.*] ruler Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī.

Early in the 9th/15th century, the discovery of silver and lead mines increased Mēwāŕ's prosperity, and many defensive works were constructed. The long reign of Rāṇā Kumbha, 836-73/1433-68, saw a state at first weakened by interference from the Rāthoŕs of Mārwāŕ in Mēwāŕ affairs (although chronologies are again doubtful, since the bardic accounts of Mēwāŕ do not tally with one another), and by a conflict between Kumbha and his brother Khēm (Kshēma) Karan; nevertheless, some border territories were brought under tribute and garrisoned. Some of these lands had previously acknowledged the suzerainty of Mālwā, which had grown to considerable strength under Maḥmūd Khaldjī I, and which had long annoyed Mēwāŕ by harbouring disaffected Mēwāŕ chieftains and courtiers; but Mēwāŕ had similarly given refuge to ʿUmar Khān, the pretender to Maḥmūd's throne. Conflict between Mēwāŕ and Mālwā was inevitable, and Mālwā forces (often joined by Khēm Karan with an army of Rādjpūt followers) invaded Mēwāŕ on many occasions with varying success (the assertion, however, that Maḥmūd's forces were routed in a battle at Sārangpur [*q.v.*] in 840/1437, and that he himself was taken prisoner to Čitawŕ, does not bear examination), each state erecting a column in token of victory over the other. The Čitawŕ *Kīrttistambhā* inscription, however, seems to refer more to the campaigns against Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh of Gudjarāt; these were occasioned both by border disputes and by Mēwāŕ attacks on Nāgawr [*q.v.*], a pre-conquest site of Islamic learning, for long under the Dihlī sultanate but by now under the rule of the descendants of Shams al-Dīn Dandānī, brother of the first sultan of Gudjarāt. Mālwā and Gudjarāt acted jointly against Mēwāŕ in 861/1457, but without pronounced success; the Rāthoŕs of Mārwāŕ, and Khēm Karan, added to

Mēwāŕ's difficulties by campaigning against Kumbha at the same time. Further forays by the Muslim armies took place over the next few years, with some regions being overrun and laid waste, but little more, and there were no major incursions until after Kumbha's death.

Kumbha was succeeded by the parricide Udaya, who was poorly supported in the state and hence tried to curry favour with his Muslim neighbours by ceding certain border territories; then, less popular than ever, having apparently disorganised the whole state, he was deposed in favour of his younger brother Rāyamalla, 878-915/1473-1509, who was faced with the task of reorganisation while contending with civil war (a renewed attempt by Khēm Karan to come to power), further attacks by Mālwā, now under Ghiyāth al-Dīh Khaldjī, and an insurrection by certain aboriginal tribes. The Mālwā army was worsted, and Mālwā invaded in its turn, Mēwāŕ occupying the Khērwāŕā district. A quarrel between Rāyamalla's sons developed into a war of succession, resolved by the eventual accession of the capable and ambitious Rāṇā Sanga [*q.v.*], 915-35/1509-28. In his first 15 years of rule he consolidated the state; in this time the ascendancy in Mālwā of Mēdinī Rāʾī [*q.v.*] led to Mēwāŕ's involvement against sultan Muẓaffar II of Gudjarāt, who moved to support and reinstate Maḥmūd Khaldjī II. The latter attacked Mēwāŕ in 925/1519, but was badly defeated, taken prisoner to Čitawŕ, and released only after the payment of a large indemnity and the surrender of a son as hostage to the Mēwāŕ court. Next an incident at Īdar [*q.v.*] drew Mēwāŕ into war with Gudjarāt; but Sanga, strengthened by having secured the support of Mālwā by releasing the royal hostage, was apparently able to come to some conciliatory agreement with Gudjarāt. This left him free to pursue his ambitions against the sultanate of Dihlī under Ibrāhīm Lōdī [see LŌDĪS], against whom he had a series of successes and was enabled to enlarge the boundaries of his domains as far as Kalpī and Čāndērī [*q.vv.*]; he or his vassals held lands extending deep into Mālwā; and apparently his authority was acknowledged even by the Rādjpūt rulers of Mārwāŕ and Ambēr. His ambitions towards the conquest of the Dihlī sultanate led him to propose to the Mughal Bābur a simultaneous attack on Ibrāhīm Lōdī. Bābur, of course, carried out his part of the undertaking by his defeat of Ibrāhīm Lōdī at Pānipat in 932/1526, but, contrary to Sanga's expectation, showed every sign of remaining in India. Sanga, by managing to secure the Gudjarāt throne for the exiled prince Bahādur, drove a wedge between Dihlī and Gudjarāt, and it was accordingly against Sanga that Bābur's efforts were now directed, culminating in the battle of Khānuʾā in 933/1527 in which Sanga with a confederated Rādjput army was completely routed. Mēwāŕ as an independently acting kingdom thus lost its power; the subsequent activities of the region are described s.v. RĀDJĀSTHĀN.

Bibliography: The difficulty of reconciling the various bardic accounts has been mentioned in the text; of the many *khyāt*, that of Muhanote Nainsī, in Hindī translation and ed. G.H. Ojha, Banāras 1982, is perhaps the most acceptable. J. Tod, *Annuals and antiquities of Rajasthan*, 3 vols., ed. W. Crooke, Oxford 1920, gives the Mēwāŕ traditions *in extenso* but uncritically. A failure to assess the Mēwāŕ histories *vis-à-vis* the Muslim chronicles appears also in G.H. Ojha, *Rādjpūtānā kā itihās* [in Hindī], Adjmēr 1936-7, and in H.B. Sarda's *Mahārāṇā Sanga*, Adjmēr 1918, and *Mahārāṇā Kumbha*, Adjmēr 1932. For the Muslim sources, see *Bibls.* to GUDJARĀT and MĀLWĀ; also to ĪDAR and MĒDINĪ RĀʾĪ. See also BĀBUR and RĀDJĀSTHĀN.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MĒWĀT, a generally imprecisely defined region of India to the south and south-west of Dihlī, the broken country around Alwar, Tidjārā, Bharatpur, Dīg, Rēwāŕī, Mathurā and Gurgāʾōn, "land of the Mēʾō" [*q.v.*], robbers, marauders and cattle thieves.

Punitive excursions under Iltutmish, *ca.* 620/1223, and Balban as *nāʾib* of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd in 646/1249 and 658/1260, had only a temporary effect, and Mēwāt was not effectively pacified and controlled until Balban's first regnal year as sultan, 665/1267 (full account in Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. Bibl. Ind., 56 ff.). In the following century, a branch of the Mēʾō were converted to Islam, and their leader Bahādur Nāhar, from his strong *Kōtlā* near Tidjārā, came to be recognised as a powerful noble in the Dihlī court; he supported Abū Bakr, a grandson of Fīrūz Shāh, in the succession struggles after that sultan's death, and was treated as a rebel by later Tughlukid sultans, although when in 798/1395-6 Khiḍr Khān took refuge with him in Mēwāt he is described as the *muktaʿ*. Bahādur Nāhar later opposed Khiḍr when he became suzerain after Tīmūr's invasion, and Mēwāt under him and his successors (now usually known as Khān-zādas) again became a rebel area. The "Sayyid" ruler Mubārak Shāh made attempts to suppress revolt in Mēwāt in 829/1425 and 831/1428 under the twin grandsons of Bahādur, Djalāl Khān and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Khān ("Djallū" and "Ḳaddū"); Ḳaddū was captured and executed for complicity with the Sharḳī forces of Djawnpur [*q.v.*], but Djallū, after again harrying the Dihlī forces, was eventually compelled to submit and render tribute the following year; a similar sequence of events followed in 836/1432, and on both occasions the Mēwātīs pursued a "scorched earth" policy (fullest account of this period in Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, ed. Bibl. Ind., 148-230 *passim*). Bahlūl Lōdī [*q.v.*] was similarly troubled by Aḥmad Khān Mēwātī both during his struggle to rise to power and after his accession to the Dihlī throne; Aḥmad, compelled to submit, was deprived of seven *parganas* of his *iḳtāʿ* and compelled to send his uncle Mubārak Khān to Bahlūl's court. In 872/1468 he deserted Bahlūl and allied himself with Ḥusayn Shāh Sharḳī of Djawnpur, although Mēwāt itself remained virtually independent of both sultanates. It remained peaceful for some years thereafter and ʿĀlam Khān Mēwātī served happily under Sikandar Lōdī, even in 908/1502 leading forces against Dholpur in Sikandar's campaign against Gwāliyar, although Mēwāt was not counted as part of the Dihlī sultanate; but in Ibrāhīm Lōdī's reign (923-32/1517-26), when many of his own nobles were in rebellion against him and the hand of the Mughal Bābur was about to fall upon the Dihlī sultanate, Ḥasan Khān of Mēwāt declared his independence. He joined Rāṇā Sanga of Čitawr against Bābur's advance (the *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 523) refers to Ḥasan Khān as an "impious mannikin" and "the sole leader of the trouble and mischief"), and was killed in the battle of Khānuʾā in 933/1527; after this Bābur reduced Mēwāt and entered Alwar; some *parganas* were assigned to Nāhar Khān, Ḥasan's son, who swore allegiance to Bābur, after which Mēwāt seems to have had no further power as a political force, and the strong forts of Alwar and Tidjārā were controlled by Mughal officers. There is no account of Mēwātī intransigence even at the time of Humāyūn's dispossession by Shēr Shāh; the latter struck coin at Alwar.

Mēwāt seems to have remained quiet under Mughal rule in the 11th/17th century. Humāyūn had contracted a matrimonial alliance with a daughter of Djalāl Khān, a cousin of Ḥasan, and another daughter was married to Bayram Khān; Djalāl is described by Abu 'l-Faḍl as a leading *zamīndār* of Hindustān (*Akbar-nāma*, ii, 48 f.). The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* enumerates 19 *parganas* held by the Khān-zādas in Alwar and Tidjārā (Bibl. Ind. text, ii, 91-3). Early in the 18th century the Djāṭs [*q.v.*] had occupied the southern part of Mēwāt in their rise to power and their assault on Āgrā and Dihlī, as did the Marāthās [*q.v.*] later, and henceforth the history of the region is largely subsumed in that of Alwar and Bharatpur [*q.vv.*].

There seems to be no record of coins struck by the Khān-zādas. Of their few monuments in and around Alwar and Tidjārā, the tomb of Fatḥ Djang in Alwar is of some distinction (954/1547; inscription in the Nāgarī script, which may point to consciousness of Hindū connexions).

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(J. Burton-Page)

MĒWĀTĪ [see Meʾō].

MEWḲŪFĀTČI or mewḳūfātī, title given to the director of the "Bureau of Retained Revenues" (*Mewḳūfāt ḳalemi*) in the Ottoman finance department. His main task was to manage the *mewḳūf akče*, money accruing from unused state expense allocations, and from vacant fiefs and other grants. The bureau under him also confiscated land not registered in land surveys, allocated depots for state purchases, kept records of contribution units (*ʿawāriḍ-khāne* [see ʿawāriḍ], registered relay stations, maintained military depots at all frontiers, allotted food rations and forage, straw and hay rations to soldiers in military campaigns, and provided money to civil servants accompanying the army. In the 12th/18th century, this bureau had four departments: (i) *Ḳalemiyye dāʾiresi*, which collected a 10% registration fee (*ḳalemiyye*) from farmed-out lands; (ii) *Nawul khalīfesi*, which kept the books of food depots and of duties paid by bakers in Istanbul; (iii) *Menzil khalīfesi*, which managed the relay service; and (iv) *Ghanem kitābeti* which was responsible for the collection of the sheep-tax (*ʿādet-i aghnām*).

The *Mewḳūfāt emīni*, a commissioner from the bureau in each *sandjaḳ* [*q.v.*], was assigned by the *mewḳūfātčī* to gather the yearly revenues accruing from vacant fiefs and other grants, and from fief holders who did not join military campaigns. The *emīn* had agents, *mewḳūfčus*, who went from village to village collecting these revenues. In 1838, after the establishment of the Ottoman finance ministry, the *Mewḳūfāt ḳalemi* was annexed to the bureau handling treasury issues, *Eshām muḥāsebesi ḳalemi* [see ashām].

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(F. Müge Göçek)

MEWLĀNĀ KHŪNKĀR [see mawlānā khūnkār].

MEWLEWIYYET or Mollalïḳ, title given to certain judicial districts in the Ottoman Empire. İ.H. Uzunçarşılı located the earliest reference in the 9th/15th century, when *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*] posts with the highest fee of 500 *akčes* [*q.v.*] were defined as *beshyüz akče mewlewiyyetleri*. These posts consisted of Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa, Filibe, Salonika and Sofia. Until the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, these *mewlewiyyets* were not ranked. This practice was introduced in the late 10th/16th century after the *shaykh al-islām* [*q.v.*] formally became the head of the Ottoman religious hierarchy. The *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul came fourth in rank after the *shaykh al-islām* and the Anadolu and Rumeli judges of the army, *ḳāḍī ʿasker* [*q.v.*]. The other *mewlewiyyets* were unranked.

During the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, as the empire expanded, many new *mewlewiyyets* were formed. With minor exceptions, their relative ranks did not change after the 12th/18th century. Uzunçarşılı lists five ranks of *mewlewiyyets* in decreasing importance: (i) *Istanbul ḳāḍīlïghï*, the judicial district of Istanbul; (ii) *Ḥaremeyn mewlewiyyetleri*, judicial districts of the two Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina; (iii) *Bilād-ï khamse mewlewiyyetleri*, judicial districts of the Five Cities, Edirne, Bursa, Damascus, Egypt and Filibe; (iv) *Bilād-ï ʿashere mewlewiyyetleri*, judicial districts of the Ten Cities, to which an eleventh was later added: Jerusalem, Aleppo, Tïrhala Yeñishehri, Galata, Izmir, Salonika, Eyüb, Üsküdar, Sofia, Crete and Trebizond. (v) *Dewriyye mewlewiyyetleri*, judicial districts held in rotation by *ḳāḍīs* of Marʿash, Baghdād, Bosnia, Belgrade, Antioch, Kütahya, Beirut, Adana, Van, Rusčuk, Sivas and Čankïrï.

For a *mewlewiyyet* appointment, an applicant was required to graduate from a *madrasa* [*q.v.*], and obtain a license, *idjāzet-nāme* [see idjāza]. He could then either teach through all *madrasa* grades or become a *ḳāḍī* in the smallest judicial unit, *ḳaḍāʾ* [*q.v.*], rise to the larger judicial unit of a *sandjaḳ* [*q.v.*], and then go back and teach through the highest *madrasa* grades. He would then become a candidate for *bilād-ï ʿashere mewlewiyyetleri*, which were also called *makhredj mewlewiyyetleri* [see makhredj], judicial districts whe.e scholars just "going out" from teaching at *madrasas* were appointed. Appointments were usually for a year. *Mewlewiyyet* appointments were proposed to the Sultan by the Grand Vizier, *ṣadr-ï aʿẓam* [*q.v.*]. Before the 10th/16th century, the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* supplied names of candidates to the Grand Vizier; after then, the *shaykh al-islām* provided the list of names.

After the 10th/16th century, the term of the appointment was extended when the number of candidates began to exceed that of available posts in the empire. The title was therefore separated from the post itself. A candidate held the title of *mewlewiyyet pāyesi* for a year before he was appointed to the post itself, *mewlewiyyet manṣïbï*. Some who were assigned these posts preferred to reside in the capital, and sent deputies, *nāʾib*, to represent them. During later centuries, titles given without appointments, assignments to sons and to household members of influential families who had not been through the educational system, together with the sale of licenses, brought about a deterioration in *mewlewiyyet* appointments.

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(F. Müge Göçek)

MEZÖKERESZTES, the Battle of Mezőkeresztes (Turkish: *Hāčova* or *Ṭābūr muḥārebesi*), the most important encounter between the Habsburg-Hungarian and Ottoman troops during the "long" or 15-years' war.

This took place near a village, south-east of Eger [*q.v.*] in Hungary on 5 Rābīʿ I 1005/26 October 1596. Its immediate antecedent was the capture of Eger by the forces of Meḥemmed III, the first sultan who personally took the field in war after Süleymān I's death. The Imperial troops, which had originally been sent to relieve this important city under attack, now wished to attempt the reconquest of the castle. After some hesitation, a pitched battle was decided on. The Habsburg soldiers were headed by the Archduke Maximilian, but the prince of Transylvania, Zsigmond Báthori, also took part with a considerable army. The number of the confronting soldiers has been exaggerated on both sides. The most realistic figures seem to be 50,000 for the Christian and 100,000 for the Muslim army (possibly varying to a maximum of equal forces on both parts). Technical superiority was on the European side, due to more numerous infantry and more powerful artillery. After some preliminary clashes on 22 and 25 October, the decisive battle was fought on the afternoon of 26 October. As previously, the Christian forces seemed to get the upper hand, but they committed a serious fault by following the fleeing Ottomans and, in the hope of booty, penetrated into their camp. The Turks were thereby able to change the tide of events and in the end secure a victory.

While Meḥemmed III failed further to exploit his favourable position, the Habsburgs were forced to realise that no quick result could be hoped for against the Ottomans. Consequently, warfare continued for several more years. Further events effected the Ottomans adversely. Since many *tīmār* holders did not comply with their duty to arrive at this battle, and some others deserted, the treasury had a good pretext for confiscating *tīmār*s and granting them anew. According to a list of deserters, some 120 *ziʿāmet*s and 550 *tīmār*s passed into the hands of other owners in Rumelia and Hungary (Istanbul, Başbakanlık arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi, 347). Replaced timariots could well be ready to join the D̲j̲elālī rebels [see d̲j̲alālī in Suppl.] thus creating new and lasting difficulties for the state.

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(G. Dávid)

MEZZOMORTO [see ḥusayn pas̲h̲a].

MIʾĀN BHUʾĀ, Masnad-i ʿAlī, the *wazīr* and *ṣadr* of the Dihlī sultanate during the reign of sultan Sikandar S̲h̲āh Lōdī (894-923/1489-1517).

He was the eldest son of *Masnad-i ʿAlī* K̲h̲awwāṣ K̲h̲ān, who belonged to an old aristocratic family of north India. K̲h̲awwāṣ K̲h̲ān seems to have been elevated to the posts of *wazīr* and *ṣadr* by Sultan Sikandar at the beginning of his reign. Upon his death, sometime towards the close of the 9th/15th century, Miʾān Bhuʾā, who was also adept in learning and statesmanship, was allowed by the sultan to take up the combined charge of the *wizārat* and *ṣadārat* with the specific order that he would retain and take care of the old staff maintained by his late father.

Miʾān Bhuʾā not only came up to the sultan's expectations but also soon began to enjoy great prestige for his administrative talent, strong sense of justice, and patronage of learning and men of piety. As *wazīr* or revenue minister, he ably implemented Sikandar's agrarian policy, which led to the rapid progress of agriculture in the Lōdī lands; peasants were provided with incentives to bring virgin land under the plough (in the words of the contemporary writer, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Rizḳ Allāh Mus̲h̲tāḳī, even an inch of land was not left lying fallow) and were protected against exploitation by the state officials, who were forbidden to stay with them and enjoy their hospitability. Forced labour (*bēgār*) was also abolished. As a result, conditions improved in the countryside, and grain and other necessities became cheap.

Since the 9th/15th century, the *ṣadr* (minister for religious affairs) also held the charge of the office of *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* (Chief Justice). Contemporary evidence tends to show that there were two appellate courts in the metropolitan city of Āgra: the first was presided over by the *wazīr*, while the second, being the supreme court, functioned under the personal supervision of the sultan. Generally, the appellant moved to the Supreme Court, if he was not satisified with the judgment given by Miʾān Bhuʾā. The anecdotes contained in the *Wāḳiʿāt-i Mus̲h̲tāḳī* and *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* cast light on the interest that the *wazīr* and the sultan took in dispensing justice, irrespective of creed, or birth and status of people.

Miʾān Bhuʾā encouraged, in his capacity of *ṣadr*, the scholars and intellectuals who came from abroad to settle in Āgra and Dihlī on a permanent basis and made land-grants to them for their maintenance. Himself interested in learning, he also gathered a fairly large sprinkling of these scholars in his own service and thus emulated his master Sultan Sikandar S̲h̲āh. They undertook at his instance the compilation of works on various themes, literary as well as scientific. The Arabic and Sanskrit classics were collected and transcribed by expert calligraphists and then translated into Persian by capable scholars with the help of Brahmans. Of these translations, the *Maʿdan al-s̲h̲ifāʾ-i-Sikandar S̲h̲āhī*, based on Sanskrit classics such as *Sasrāt*, *Jā Deo karat*, *Rās Ratnāko*, *Suangdhar*, *Čintāma*, etc., is considered an important work on medicine, compiled by Miʾān Bhuʾā himself. The terms and names of the herbs and plants were translated into Persian and, if the equivalent of any term was not found in the Persian language, it was simply transliterated with the necessary explanation. Indirectly emphasising the importance of his work, the Miʾān says in the preface that the medical science imported from the Muslim countries did not suit the constitution of the Indians, due to climatic dif-

ferences, and he had undertaken the compilation of the work with royal permission, for the Indian system of medicine had been found more effective.

Unfortunately, other books, with the exception of the *Lahdjāt-i Sikandar Shāhī*, compiled by ʿUmar b. Yaḥyā al-Kābulī, a Persian translation of Sanskrit classics and one dealing with Indian music, produced by different scholars employed by Miʾān Bhuʾā, have not survived.

Miʾān Bhuʾā, as a pious Muslim, constructed mosques and made endowments for the benefit of public; the beautiful mosque in Dihlī, popularly known as *mōth kī masdjid*, was constructed at his cost and is known for its attractive features. The shape and proportion of the five main arches of the façade and the domes, the design and grandeur of the doorway and projecting balconies at the sides show that a talented group of craftsmen was employed for its completion. The evidence of the *Maktūbāt-i ḳuddūsī* reveals that its ample facilities included arrangements for students, travellers, teachers and Ṣūfī saints, all of whom got food from the kitchen maintained with the money endowed by Miʾān Bhuʾā.

The followers of Miʾān Bhuʾā also enjoyed prestige in the city. The newly-recruited soldier, no matter whether he was a *suwār* or a foot-soldier, could approach any *ṣarrāf* or money changer and borrow money from him for one or two years, after showing him the *parwāna* or letter of appointment. According to the custom, he was assigned agricultural land in lieu of a cash salary. Miʾān Bhuʾā is said to have had villages and *parganās* of his maintenance *iḳṭāʿ* scattered in different *sarkārs* around Dihlī and Āgra, so that it was possible for him to assign to his retainer maintenance-land in the village of the latter's choice.

Miʾān Bhuʾā retained his position after the death of Sultan Sikandar Lōdī, but subsequently failed to enjoy the confidence of the new Sultan Ibrāhīm Lōdī (923-32/1517-26), who ordered him to be put under arrest and handed over to Malik Ādam Kākar, one of the confidants of the late Sultan and friend of Miʾān Bhuʾā; this was a mild punishment for the aged *wazīr*, for many of his companions were subjected to torture on account of the royal displeaure. Of the mediaeval writers, Shaykh Kabīr Bāṭinī says that the *wazīr* was punished because he did not comply with the royal *farmān* about the grant of money to the royal favourite, the Rāʾī of Gwālior. It may be that, owing to old age, he had become negligent of his duties and the Sultan had become doubtful of his loyalty. This seems to be near the truth, because Mushtāḳī's reference to Miʾān Bhuʾā's imprisonment implies that it occurred before the annexation of Gwālior to the Lōdī empire. On his dismissal, the *ṣadārat* was separated from the *wizārat*; Miʾān Bhuʾā's eldest son, Dilāwar Khān, was assigned the *wizārat*, while Shaykh Farīd Bukhārī, an *ʿālim* and the sultan's teacher, took over as *ṣadr*.

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(I.H. Siddiqui)

MIDĀD, the common Arabic word, together with its synonym *ḥibr*, for ink. Derived from the root *m-d-d*, it originally meant "anything that is added to a thing, because of its utility", and therefore one of its more specific meanings is "that with which one writes" (Lane, *Lexicon*, *s.v.*), or "that with which the writer is provided" (*LA*, *s.v.*). There is a single Ḳurʾānic mention of *midād*: "If the sea were ink for the Words of my Lord, the sea would be spent before the Words of my Lord are spent" (XVIII, 109). Tradition has is that on the Day of Judgment, the ink of scholars will be measured with the blood of martyrs, and that both scales of the balance will then be in equilibrium (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 461).

In Middle Eastern manuscripts, two types of black ink were generally used, both of which date from pre-Islamic times. One was prepared on the basis of carbon and oil, and the other one from gall-nuts and ferrous components, the former originally being designated as *midād*, the latter as *ḥibr*. Later, the two words were used as synonyms (Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, i, 127). A considerable number of recipes for ink have survived from mediaeval times, many devised by scribes for their personal use and improved for their purpose by trial and error. Numerous recipes have been transmitted by al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (d. 453/1061 [*q.v.*]) in his *ʿUmdat al-kuttāb*, especially in chs. 2-10. Grohmann (i, 127-131) mentions some from other sources as well. For coloured inks and inks used in secret writings, a whole range of natural ingredients was used, but it is often difficult exactly to identify these ingredients from the literary sources.

As Middle Eastern manuscripts continued to be made till well into the 19th century, it may be assumed that in more recent times imported ink, like imported paper, was used as well. The rise of polychrome manuscripts in the Maghrib in the second half of the 19th century may be explained from such imports. A systematical chemical analysis of the inks used in Middle Eastern manuscripts, both in mediaeval and recent times, has not been undertaken so far. An account of the survival of mediaeval practices in bookmaking, including the handling of ink, in recent times, albeit in a Christian environment , has been given by H.S. Sergew (see Bibl.).

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(J.J. Witkam)

MIʾDHANA [see MANĀRA].

MIDḤAT PASHA (1822-84), Ottoman provincial governor, twice grand vizier, and father of the 1876 constitution.

Midḥat was born in Istanbul in Ṣafar 1238/October-November 1822, the son of Rusčuklu Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Efendi-zāde Ḥādjdjī Ḥāfiẓ Meḥmed

Es͟hrefEfendi. He was named Aḥmed S͟hefīḳ. Having memorised the Ḳurʾān at 10, he was then called Ḥāfiẓ S͟hefīḳ. In 1833 he moved with his family to Vidin, where his father was an assistant judge. When his family returned to Istanbul the next year, he became an apprentice in the secretariat of the imperial *dīwān*. His talent earned him the name Midḥat, which thereafter replaced his given names. In 1835-6 Midḥat was in Lofča, where his father held another judicial post, before returning to Istanbul in 1836-7. Midḥat had already begun to study Arabic; he now began Persian and attended courses at the Fātiḥ mosque while again working in the secretariat. In 1840 he was transferred to the grand vizier's office.

The bureaucratic career on which Midḥat was now launched falls into four phases: 1840-61, increasingly responsible posts as staff member of commissions and councils and as special investigator; 1861-72, three provincial governorships; 1872-7, two grand-vizierates and constitution-making; 1877-84, exile, two governorships, trial, exile and death. The second and third phases show Midḥat at his most influential.

In 1842-4 Midḥat held a secretarial post in Damascus. Thereafter he was secretary to one of the "commissions of improvement" sent out to the provinces in 1845-7, first in Ḳonya, then Ḳasṭamonu, under Sāmī Baḳir Pas͟ha. During this period, he came on the payroll of the protocol office (*madbaṭa odasi̊*) of the *med͟jlis-i wālā-yi aḥkām-i ʿadliyye*, the influential Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances, and remained in its employ to 1859, even while undertaking special assignments. In 1848 he married. He became chief clerk in the protocol office in 1851. For six months, probably in 1852, Midḥat was in Damascus as commisioner to investigate a dispute between two *ṣarrāfs* over the farm of customs revenues, and to look into alleged misconduct by Ḳi̊bri̊sli̊ Meḥmed Pas͟ha, commander of the army of Arabia. Midḥat settled the revenue question advantageously to the Treasury. He found misdeeds by Ḳi̊bri̊sli̊ Meḥmed in relation to the Druze that led to the commander's removal from his post. When the Supreme Council's paperwork was split in two, Midḥat became second secretary of the Anatolian section.

During the Crimean War, in 1854-5, Midḥat was sent as investigator to the Rumeli *eyālet*. Ḳi̊bri̊sli̊ Meḥmed, now grand vizier, may have sent him thither to get his revenge by putting Midḥat in a difficult situation. But Midḥat, working out of Edirne, successfully curbed depredations by *bās͟hi̊-bozuḳs* and brigands. On return to Istanbul, Midḥat gave the new grand vizier Res͟hīd Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] a memorandum containing his ideas on provincial reform. Again in 1855 Midḥat was sent out, this time to Bursa on earthquake relief. In 1856-7, after successfully defending himself against a false charge of illegal participation in the farm of Istanbul fishmarkets, Midḥat was despatched to investigate administration by the *wālīs* of Silistre and Vidin. His vigorous actions in those *eyālets* led to dismissals of officials, whose friends in the palace got a new investigator appointed. Midḥat, in protest, asked for leave, which was granted by the grand vizier ʿĀlī Pas͟ha [*q.v.*]. He then spent six months of 1858 in Paris, London, Brussels and Vienna, improving the French he had recently begun to study, and finally gaining some first-hand knowledge of western Europe. In September 1859 Midḥat became chief secretary of the Supreme Council itself. While in this post he served on the commission to investigate the Ḳuleli affair, an abortive conspiracy in Istanbul against *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] westernisation.

Midḥat entered on the second phase of his career when he was promoted to vizier and appointed *wālī* of the *eyālet* of Nis͟h on 29 January 1861. During his three years in Nis͟h, Midḥat displayed the energy, the brusqueness, the secular-mindedness, the egalitarian attitude, the Ottoman patriotism and the honesty that characterised his activity in all posts thereafter. His programme of action was also characteristic. He sought the cooperation of local notables of all creeds. He created a gendarmerie, curbed banditry, and tried also to curb nascent nationalism among the Bulgars. He deferred collection of some onerous taxes. He built roads and bridges, in part by requiring several days of unpaid labour from peasants in the locality. He built barracks, in part with convict labour. He started schools. Because of his success, the Porte joined the Prizren *eyālet* to Nis͟h for Midḥat to administer.

The success also led the grand vizier Fuʾād Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] to bring Midḥat back to Istanbul in 1864 to draft, with him, a new plan for provincial organisation. The *wilāyet* system, modelled somewhat on French practice, was embodied in a law promulgated on 8 November 1864. It was to be tested in one sizable *wilāyet*, named Tuna (Danube), newly formed of the old *eyālets* of Silistre, Vidin and Nis͟h. Midḥat was appointed its governor on 13 October 1864, even before the new system was official.

Midḥat organised the seven *sand͟jaḳs* and 48 *ḳaḍāʾs* of the Tuna *wilāyet*, including the local *med͟jliss*, each containing some non-Muslims, at each administrative level [see BULGARIA]. He embarked on a public works programme, which in his three years produced 3,000 km. of roads and 1,400 bridges by his count; various public buildings, including schools, model farms with imported European machinery, industrial arts training schools for the poor and service on the Danube, and harbour works at the port of Rusčuk, the seat of *wilāyet* government. Tatar and Circassian refugees from Russia were successfully settled in the *wilāyet*, though not without some problems. A modest economic development was aided by such measures, as well as by the increased security which Midḥat established through a gendarmerie and occasional use of regular troops. Midḥat started a few small factories. He wore homespun clothes to boost local products. The measure with the longest lasting consequences was his creation of agricultural credit cooperatives, *menāfiʿ ṣandi̊ḳlari̊*, to lend to peasants at low interest rates. Modern Turkey's Ziraat Bankası is a descendant. Midḥat also created the first official provincial newspaper in the Empire, the *Tuna*, published in Turkish and Bulgarian and beginning on 10 S͟hawwāl 1281/8 March 1865; Aḥmed Midḥat [*q.v.*] soon became its editor. Midḥat hoped to win the Bulgarians to Ottomanism through just administration and mixed schools, but the developing Bulgarian nationalism was barely blunted. Midḥat dealt severely with rebels; in 1866 he repressed a premature Russian-financed Bulgarian revolutionary rising. On the whole, the *wilāyet* system had proved workable. In 1867 it was extended to most of the Empire, Midḥat again being brought to Istanbul to consult on revising the regulations.

When in 1868 the Supreme Council was replaced by a Council of State (*S͟hūrā-yi Dewlet*) and a Judicial Council, Midḥat was appointed, on 5 March, to head the former. Its function was to discuss and draft laws. Under Midḥat it elaborated regulations on adoption of the metric system, on nationality, on mining and on a real estate credit bank for small employers. Friction arose between Midḥat and the grand vizier ʿĀlī Pas͟ha on both legislative and personal levels. The

result was Midḥat's transfer on 27 February 1869 out of his first high national office to the *wilāyet* governorship of Baghdād. He had already in the autumn of 1868 been sent back to Bulgaria by the sultan on an interim 20-day mission to subdue another rebellion.

In ʿIrāḳ, Midḥat's activity, although similar in many ways to that in Bulgaria, was circumscribed by the local tribalism. Midḥat, however, was not only *wālī* but also, extraordinarily, commander of the Sixth Army. He used military force when needed to subdue tribes, to collect taxes and to impose conscription. Success was partial. Midḥat tried to induce tribes to settle. At least one *shaykh* exchanged that title for the new one, under the *wilāyet* plan, of *mutaṣarrif* of a *sandjak*. Settling tribes was also part of Midḥat's process for bringing land under state control. He applied the Ottoman land code of 1858, furnishing *tapu* deeds that gave freehold right to the cultivator; most such deeds, however, came into the possession of tribal *shaykhs*, city merchants or former tax-farmers rather than of ordinary tribesmen or peasants. The marshlands of southern ʿIrāḳ, and date-palm culture, became more prosperous with pacification and settlement. Ottoman control was even extended over Kuwayt and, precariously, into al-Ḥasā and part of Nadjd.

Midḥat organised the councils of the *wilāyet* system, and a municipal council for Baghdād also. He appointed a good many ʿIrāḳīs to government offices. He tore down some of the old Baghdād wall to allow city expansion, introduced some paving and street lights, procured fire engines, started a water supply system, and built the only bridge the city possessed before the 20th century. He started wool and cotton mills and an army clothing factory. He established schools, including a military school and a craft training school for orphans, a savings bank, a hospital, and a tramway utilising horse cars to the Kāẓimayn suburb. He promoted regular steamer service on the Euphrates and shipping in the Gulf. The first newspaper in ʿIrāḳ, the official *Zawrāʾ*, in Turkish and Arabic, appeared on 16 June 1869 and semi-weekly thereafter. Midḥat also eased relations with Iran concerning border tribes and currency circulation.

After ʿĀlī Pasha's death, Midḥat clashed with the new grand vizier, Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha [*q.v.*], especially over the use of *wilāyet* revenues. Midḥat resigned, starting back to Istanbul in May 1872. Maḥmūd Nedīm failed to get Midḥat rusticated to Sivas, but on 26 July got him appointed *wālī* of Edirne in order to keep him out of the capital. Midḥat however obtained an audience of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] and, supported by other statesmen, persuaded the ruler to oust Maḥmūd Nedīm. Midḥat was appointed grand vizier on 31 July 1872.

Now at the pinnacle of the bureaucracy, Midḥat entered on the third phase of his career. But this grand vizierate lasted only 80 days. From the start, Midḥat was opposed by the Russian ambassador Ignatyev and by the Khedive Ismāʿīl of Egypt, who wanted the privilege of contracting independent foreign loans. Midḥat would not grant it, but ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz did so when bribed. Moreover, Midḥat was impolitic. He implicated the palace and sultan in financial scandals. He once rode on horseback into the third court of the palace, unheard of for any but the sultan. His vigorous action on salary reform, railroad construction, education extension and metric system enforcement remained only beginnings. With his foreign minister Khalīl Sherīf Pasha, Midḥat gave thought both to a plan for a constitution and to a plan for federal imperial organisation respecting some of the Balkan lands; but his enemies soon procured his dismissal on 18 October 1872.

For nearly four years, Midḥat was in office only for brief periods: as minister of justice, 12 March to 21 September 1873; as *wālī* of Salonika, 15 October 1873 to 16 February 1874; and as minister of justice again, 21 August to 28 November 1875. He was dismissed from the first two posts; in 1873 this occurred because of revelations that he and the grand vizier of the time, Shīrwānī-zāde Meḥmed Rüshdü, were discussing the need for a constitution and a parliament to curb excessive spending, the sultan's included. But in 1875 Midḥat himself resigned as justice minister, with a memorandum to Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz condemning the administrative confusion under Maḥmūd Nedīm, who was again grand vizier, the financial chaos and default on Ottoman bond interest, and the ineffectual military response to the growing revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the winter of 1875-6, Midḥat was in touch with groups and individuals in Istanbul who desired change, including members of the *ʿulamāʾ*. On 9 March 1876, a "Manifesto of the Muslim Patriots", probably by Midḥat or his adviser Odian Efendi, went out to European statesmen and was circulated privately in Istanbul; it called for a representative, consultative assembly.

As public discontent mounted in 1876, Midḥat became one of the principal movers of political change. He may have helped to spark demonstrations in Istanbul by *softa*s or religious students on 10 and 11 May which resulted in the dismissal of Maḥmūd Nedīm and appointment of Müterdjim Meḥmed Rüshdü Pasha as grand vizier. On 19 May, Midḥat was made minister without portfolio. Along with the minister of war Hüseyn ʿAwnī Pasha [*q.v.*] and the military academy director Süleymān Pasha, Midḥat plotted the deposition of the erratic and spendthrift ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. It was effected, bloodlessly, on 30 May, and Murād V received the oath of homage. Immediately, Midḥat, who on 5 June again became president of the Council of State, began pressing for the elaboration of a constitution. Ḥüseyn ʿAwnī and others opposed him. Serious impediments arose also from unsettling events: the suicide of the ex-sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz on 4 June, the murder by a Circassian officer of Hüseyn ʿAwnī and the foreign minister Rāshid at a meeting at Midḥat's house on 15 June, the expanding war against Serbia and Montenegro, and, above all, the nervous breakdown of Murād V, who was never girded. Despite discussions of a constitutional draft by ministers and a *medjlis-i ʿumūmī*, progress was minimal. The ministers finally decided that Murād V would have to be replaced by his younger brother, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. On about August 27 Midḥat got from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd a promise that, if enthroned, he would promulgate the constitution without delay. On 31 August Murād was deposed, and was succeeded by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*].

The new sultan was, however, slow to redeem his promise. On 8 October he approved a constitutional commission of leading Muslim and Christian officials, with Midḥat as chairman. The commission considered many models and drafts, including one by Midḥat himself. The draft submitted to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd in late November incorporated Midḥat's proposal for a prime minister instead of a grand vizier. The sultan was unenthusiastic, and his objections were supported by other ministers and officials, including Aḥmed Djewdet [*q.v.*]. Finally, on 6 December the council of ministers approved a revised draft by the commission, which enlarged the sultan's powers and restored the office of grand vizier. ʿAbd

al-Ḥamīd accepted the constitution when a clause empowering the sultan to exile dangerous individuals was added. Meḥmed Rüs̲h̲dü then resigned, the sultan appointed Midḥat grand vizier on 19 December, and the constitution was ceremoniously promulgated on 23 December 1876.

Midḥat hoped that the act of promulgation might induce the great-power conference on plans for restructuring Ottoman administration in the Balkans, then meeting in Istanbul, to agree that the new constitutional régime should do it instead. He wanted the powers not only to accept but also to guarantee the constitution, and sent Odian secretly to London to ask support. But the powers treated the constitution as if it were a sham. The conference went ahead to propose drastic changes. Because the election process for the chamber of deputies was not nearly completed, Midḥat convened on 18 January 1877 an unusually large *med̲j̲lis-i ʿumūmī*, which with patriotic emotion rejected the Constantinople Conference scheme. Midḥat has been blamed for pursuing a hard line with the powers that eventuated in a Russian invasion in late April 1877. But Midḥat sought further negotiation, not war; had he remained in office, he might have avoided war, but he was grand vizier for only 49 days. From the start he and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd were on a collision course. The sultan rejected proposals by Midḥat; Midḥat failed to carry out orders of the sultan, one of which was to send his constitutionalist friends Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] and Ḍiyā out of the capital. Those two and others started recruiting a volunteer guard unit that worried the sultan. But basically, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd feared Midḥat as one who had deposed two sultans and who might try it again. Further, Midḥat conducted himself as if he were a prime minister answerable more to the nation than to the monarch. The sultan also was answerable to the nation, Midḥat believed, and this view was incorporated in the famous letter of 30 January 1877 which Midḥat is said to have written to the sultan, although its authenticity is debated. The sultan may even have believed charges that Midḥat leaned to republicanism. Hence on 5 February, Midḥat was abruptly dismissed and sent in exile to Brindisi on the imperial yacht.

Midḥat visited Naples, Rome, Marseilles, Andalusia, Paris, Plombières, London, Vienna and Scotland. He wrote memoranda to European statesmen, especially British ones, supporting the Ottoman cause in the Russian war of 1877-8. He collected funds for the relief of Muslim refugees from the Balkans. He courted European opinion with a pamphlet defending Ottoman reforms and attacking Russian subversion. Because Midḥat was so popular in Europe, and because of British pressure, ʿAbd al-Hamīd allowed his return to forced residence. Midḥat arrived in Crete on 26 September 1878, going to live with his family in Halepa, outside Ḥanya (Canea). Probably owing to representations by the British ambassador Layard, Midḥat was soon named *wālī* of Syria. He was transported directly there, without being allowed a visit to Istanbul, and arrived on 28 November.

In his nearly two years as governor of the Syrian *wilāyet* [see DIMAS̲H̲Ḳ], Midḥat acted much as in Tuna and Bag̲h̲dād. He started schools, including a vocational school, built roads, built a tramway from Tripoli to its port, created a stronger gendarmerie and appointed some Christians to it, appointed some Syrians to the bureaucracy, founded a theatre and a public library, etc. He was less successful in settling tribes and quieting rebellions. With the Druze, he achieved a standoff; he made the D̲j̲abal Durūz into a new *ḳaḍā*ʾ with its own Druze *ḳāʾimaḳām*. Midḥat felt that he needed authority over the military and the courts, as well as over the bureaucracy and finance, to be effective. But his requests for broader powers and approval of extensive reforms were refused by the sultan. Twice Midḥat resigned, on 23 October 1879 and 30 May 1880, but the sultan refused consent. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was, however, receiving *z̲h̲urnals* from informers stating that Midḥat sought to be ruler or khedive in an autonomous Syria and was currying local favour to that end. Midḥat in fact opposed any Arab or Syrian separatism, but he may have countenanced some anti-Ottoman agitation to persuade ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd that he needed broader powers. The sultan evidently decided that Midḥat might be a danger in Damascus, and so ordered his transfer to Izmir on 4 August 1880. Midḥat left Syria on 31 August, and again was not allowed a visit to Istanbul.

Midḥat's governorship of Izmir lasted less than a year. It was unremarkable, except for warnings which he received from friends in Istanbul that he might be charged with complicity in the alleged murder of the ex-sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Midḥat declined, however, to flee to Europe. At about 2 a.m. on 17 May 1881, troops entered his house to arrest him. Midḥat escaped through a garden gate to the French consulate. The next day, the Paris government refused asylum, and Midḥat agreed to arrest provided that his trial were public, and such an assurance was given. Midḥat was taken by ship to Istanbul and interrogated on board by D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a, the justice minister, who willingly undertook this mission to apprehend his opponent. Midḥat was confined in the Malta Kiosk in the Yïldïz Palace grounds.

The Yïldïz trial, though semi-public, was a travesty of justice. The case against Midḥat and nine others was built on weak testimony, presumably obtained through torture, bribery and sycophancy. The trial of the ten began on 27 June 1881. On 28 June, all of them, including Midḥat were found guilty. On 29 June, Midḥat and seven others were sentenced to death. An appeals court, obviously under Palace instructions, confirmed the sentences. But widespread Ottoman and European opinion urged leniency, as did a minority of a special *med̲j̲lis* convened for review. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd thereupon converted Midḥat's sentence to life banishment. On 28 July 1881 Midḥat and others were hustled aboard the yacht "ʿIzz ad-Dīn" without even a change of clothing, transported to D̲j̲idda, and thence to imprisonment in a fort in al-Ṭāʾif. There, Midḥat suffered increasingly harsh treatment, and in the early hours of 8 May 1884, he was strangled by soldiers, evidently acting on ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's orders. His death was reported as due to a carbuncle and other abscesses. He left two widows, three daughters and a son, ʿAlī Ḥaydar. In 1951 his bones were repatriated to Turkey.

Midḥat Pas̲h̲a had proved to be one of the ablest Ottoman administrators of the 19th century. His energy and creativity were most effective in provincial governorships where he had wide authority, although some of his measures were obviously hasty and some were superficial. His forthrightness and arrogance hampered him as grand vizier, especially in dealings with the palace. For his day, he was a liberal; he shared many views with the Yeñi ʿOt̲h̲mānlïlar or Young Turks, especially on the desirability of a parliament. Without Midḥat, the constitution of 1876 would not have come into existence. Although ambitious for himself, Midḥat fundamentally acted on

his belief that the task of a government official was to serve the people and the fatherland.

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(R.H. Davison)

MIDILLI (Turkish form of Μυτιλήνη, Mytilene, the Greek name of its capital), the island of Lesbos in the eastern Aegean alongside the Turkish coast near the entrance to the Gulf of Edremit [*q.v.*] and the town of Ayvalık (Aywalīḳ [*q.v.*]); the straits of Müsellim and Mytilene that separate it from Turkey on the north and east average 10 and 16 km in width.

With an area of 1614 km², Lesbos is the third largest Greek island after Crete and Euboea, and the seventh largest of the Mediterranean. It has a roughly triangular shape, its broad base, *ca.* 70 km long, running from east-south-east to west-north-west, while the line from its apex in the north to the middle of this base measures 47 km. The relatively straight lines of its coast are interrupted by two gulfs on the south and south-east, that of Kallonis (also known by its classical name of Pyrrha), 21 km long, and that of Yeras, 14 km long. The island is well-watered by numerous streams flowing from three groups of mountains, of which Mt. Lepetimnos in the north and Mt. Olympos in the south-east both reach the elevation of 968 m (chart. N.O. 54380, U.S. Naval Oceanographic Office); on days of good visibility, not only Chios to the south, but even Samothrace and Mt. Athos to the north-west can be seen from the former. The geological composition of Lesbos consists partly of volcanic elements, and the island is earthquake-prone; it contains many springs, some hot with beneficial mineral content; several of the latter have been valued since antiquity. The dense oak and pine forests that once grew on Lesbos had dwindled to scattered remnants already in Hellenistic times.

Classical Lesbos was famous for its ideal climate and fertile soil; these assets, combined with an advantageous position near strategic commercial and maritime routes and an enterprising population, led to a remarkable prosperity and to political and cultural achievements (for the island's long and rich classical history, see *Pauly-Wissowa*, xii, 1925, 2107-33, s.v.; *Der Kleine Pauly-Wissowa*, iii, 1969, 585-87, s.v.; A. Philippson, *Die Griechischen Landschaften*, iv, 1959, 233-44; I.D. Kontes, *Lésvos kai he Mikrasiatiké tès perioché*, Athens 1978).

The principal city and port of Lesbos, Mytilene (a name of probably pre-Greek origin), first developed on an islet connected with the island's eastern coast by a possibly man-made isthmus. The city spread to this connecting neck and eventually also to the adjacent coast (see the engraving facing p. 390 of J. Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, i, Amsterdam 1718). In the Middle Ages, Lesbos came to be known by the name of its capital as the island of Mytilene or, through a metathesis, Melitene; this sometimes caused its confusion with the island of Malta or Melita (as shown by the association of the legend about St. Paul and the serpent with Lesbos).

Lesbos seems to have escaped the attention of early Islamic geographers, and it does not appear among the islands of the Aegean on either of al-Idrīsī's maps. On the other hand, Shuʿayb I b. ʿUmar (241-66/855-80) of Crete (Iḳrītish [*q.v.*]) raided the island as part

of his forays throughout the Aegean all the way to the Propontis (the Sea of Marmara, Marmara Denizi [*q.v.*]) to the point of making the inhabitants of Eressos (legendary home of the poetess Sappho) abandon their city and move to Mount Athos (A.A. Vasil'ev, *Vizantiya i Arabî*, St. Petersburg 1910, ii, 46-7; French tr. *Byzance et les Arabes*, Brussels 1968, ii/1, 53).

Lesbos came under Muslim rule for the first time in or soon after 1089 and remained so until 1093 as part of the brilliant but short-lived successes of the Turkish *amīr* Čaḳa or Čaḳan (reconstructed from the Greek Tzachas), who founded the earliest Turkish maritime power from his base at Izmir. This Turkish threat was the principal cause of a renaissance of the Byzantine navy, rebuilt by Alexis I Comnenos; Čaḳa himself, however, fell victim to Byzantine diplomacy that contrived his assassination in league with the emperor's relative, the Saldjūḳ sultan Ḳîlîdj Arslān I, in 1093 (H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, Paris 1966, 184-9; S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley 1971, 115; A.N. Kurat, *Çaka*, Istanbul 1936).

By the time that the Aydîn *beg* Umur (1334-48; see P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin*, Paris 1957; I. Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha*, Paris 1954; and AYDÎN-OGHLU) repeated and surpassed Čaḳa's exploits (without, however, occupying Lesbos), the growth of Turkish and Latin power in the area made Byzantine hold on the island, among other places, precarious. Thus in 1355 the emperor John V Paleologus gave Lesbos, his sister Mary's dowry, in an act of gratitude and as a practical solution, to his brother-in-law, the Genoese Francesco Gattilusi. This family then ruled Lesbos until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1462 (W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge 1921, 313-53, ch. "The Gattilusi of Lesbos"; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1885, i, 510-12; E. Armao, *Il giro per il Mar Egeo con Vincenzo Coronelli*, Florence 1951, 110-11). The rule of the Gattilusi was characterised by the pragmatic, commerce-minded goals of Latin, mainly Italian, possessions in the Aegean. Thus when Tīmūr [*q.v.*] occupied Izmir in 1403, the Gattilusis hastened, like the Genoese company of the Mahone on Chios, to send presents and proclaim their loyalty. On the other hand, these Catholic overlords do not seem to have been fully accepted by the mainly Greek Orthodox population, a circumstance that may have facilitated the gradual spread of the Turkish domination.

After the conquest of Constantinople by Meḥemmed II, Dorino Gattiluso (1426-55) managed to conserve his possession by means of a tribute of 3,000 ducats (a sum raised at the accession of Dorino's son Domenico in 1455 to 7,000 ducats). In 1458 Domenico was imprisoned and subsequently murdered by his brother Niccolò. This, as well as irritation at the refuge which both Domenico and Niccolò gave to Catalan corsairs, is often cited as the cause of Meḥemmed's displeasure and eventual conquest, but a more decisive factor may have been the island's economic and strategic importance. Thus in the late summer of 1462, a Turkish fleet under Maḥmūd Pasha [*q.v.*] anchored off Mytilene, while the sultan set up camp on the mainland near Aywalîḳ. Niccolò refused to surrender, but did so after a siege of three weeks. The richer inhabitants were then moved to Istanbul, a number of boys and girls were chosen for imperial service, and the rest of the natives were allowed to stay. The island was surveyed and the population was recorded in Ottoman fiscal registers. Turks, mainly Janissaries who then married local women, were encouraged to settle in the island (Miller, *op. cit.*; F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, Princeton 1978, 210-12, and *passim*; ʿĀshîḳ-pasha-zāde, ed. Giese, 156-57; Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, ii, 280-1; Katib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, Istanbul 1141, 61b). Lesbos became a *sandjaḳ* in the *eyālet* of Rūmili, and an important link in the framework of Ottoman maritime expansion. A minor but significant outcome of the conquest and repopulation of this island was the birth there of the Barbarossa brothers, who later initiated the Ottoman conquest of North Africa [see KHAYR AL-DĪN].

Ottoman rule on Lesbos lasted from 1462 to 1912. It was disturbed, though not disrupted, only at the beginning during the Turco-Venetian wars of 1463-79 and 1499-1502, and again toward the end, when in 1905 four European powers seized its customs and telegraph services in order to pressure the Ottoman government to accept their financial supervision of the *vilāyets* of Selānik, Kosova and Monastir.

In 1434, Lesbos became a *sandjaḳ* in the newly formed *eyālet* of Djazāʾir-i Baḥr-i Safīd [*q.v.*], a province under the jurisdiction of the commander of the Ottoman navy [see KAPUDAN PASHA]. This *eyālet* was formed at the appointment of the above-mentioned Khayr al-Dīn to that post. The island maintained this administrative status throughout the history of the *eyālet*—later called *vilāyet*—until the latter's demise concurrent with the end of the Turkish rule on Lesbos in 1912.

The life of the inhabitants does not seem to have been particularly affected by the Turkish rule. The majority remained Greek-speaking and Orthodox, and retained their way of life and religious traditions. European travellers who visited Lesbos during the centuries of the "Tourkokratia" were struck both by the island's features identical with those mentioned in classical sources and by some contrasts. The city of Mytilene, which together with Ephesus, Rodos and Corinth had had the reputation of being among the most beautiful cities of the Greek world, is described by Charles Thomas Newton (1852) as a "strappling, dirty village, the houses much like those of Constantinople constructed of wood on account of earthquakes, with roofs of red tile" (*Travels and discoveries in the Levant*, London 1865, i, 54). The Turkish governor resided with his garrison within the precincts of the citadel on the rocky peninsula; this fortress of Byzantine construction and Genoese additions, on the site of the ancient acropolis, reflected the city's and island's more recent history: according to H.F. Tozer (1886), "in the neighborhood of the entrance, at the summit of the hill, ... a Byzantine eagle, a Frankish coat of arms, and a Turkish inscription are built into the wall close together" (*The islands of the Aegean*, repr. Chicago 1976, 135). Newton (58) estimated the city's population at 8,500, of whom 2,000 were Muslims; there were also two to three hundred foreigners, protected by their diplomatic representatives. The presence of European vice-consuls is already reported by Tournefort (1700; i, 392) and Pococke (1739; *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii, 16). According to Newton, they resided in the "Frankish quarter" near the isthmus; the *sālnāme* of the *vilāyet* of Djazāʾir-i Baḥr-i Safīd, no. 20, for 1321/March 1905-Febr. 1906, 162, lists representatives (mostly vice-consuls acting for their consulates at Izmir) of Great Britain, Austro-Hungary, the United States, Sweden-Norway, Belgium, Greece, Holland, Iran, Spain, France, Italy and Germany. Their presence was due both to the economic importance of the island and to its position on crucial shipping routes. The port of

Mytilene, the busiest of the archipelago, consisted, as in antiquity, of two harbours separated by the isthmus, a northern and a southern one; the northern harbour, protected by a long mole, was the principal one. In 1305/March 1889-Febr. 1890 3,462 ships called there (V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* Paris 1894, i, 469). The ratio of the Greek to the Turkish population on the island was about 4 : 1; the *sālnāme*, no. 10 for 1310/March 1894-Febr. 1895, 241, lists 98,882 Ottoman subjects besides a small number of foreigners; of the Ottoman ones, 85,328 were Greek Orthodox and 13,554 were Muslims. In the capital itself, the Turks were, according to Newton, "a decaying and decreasing population" (i, 57); there were, according to him, no very rich Turks except for the Pasha and his son, for the wealthy Lesbiots were the rich landowners of the Greek bourgeoisie. Other sources mention also Greek merchants and bankers. The island's principal source of wealth and article of export were, throughout its history, olives and olive oil, although the fertility of its soil could have yielded an abundance of cereals as well; olive growing was favoured, according to Pococke, because it required little labour, which in turn could be done by women and children, and grain had thus to be imported. Nevertheless, the cultivation of wheat, famous in antiquity, again expanded in the final decades of the Ottoman rule, so that flour mills were second in importance only to olive oil presses (Cuinet, i, 455). Grapes, raisins and wines, as well as figs were also renowned; products derived from sheep and goats, and fishing enriched the Lesbiots' diet; the sardines, molluscs and shellfish of the bay of Kalloni had a specially high reputation. Besides oil pressed from olives and olive stones, the articles of export included soap, valonia, pitch, leather and hides, sponges and salt, and a delicious type of cheese popular in Istanbul. Small-scale shipbuilding and coastal shipping also occupied some inhabitants despite, and in some respects connected with the piracy and brigandage endemic in the Aegean (D.A. Zakythenos, *Corsaires et pirates dans les mers grecques au temps de la domination turque*, Athens 1939). No wheeled carriages were used in the island, transportation being done on pack animals (horses, donkeys, but especially sturdy mules, appreciated for their reliability in the mountainous terrain). A curiosity was small herds of little ponies that lived freely in the interior and were on occasion exported to Istanbul.

The port of Mytilene overshadowed the island's other harbours; from among the latter, the gulf of Yeras, called by Europeans Olivieri, had the reputation of being one of the vastest natural harbours of the Mediterranean. Equally favoured, but of more difficult access, was the gulf of Kalloni. The harbours of Plomari and Sigri on the southern and western coasts, and Molyvo with neighbouring Petra just west of the northern tip of the island, were also active.

There was a Greek Orthodox archbishop in Mytilene, and another in the island's second largest city, Molyvo (Methymna). The Turkish population lived throughout the island in their own quarters and in scattered villages. Numerous mosques and *tekkes*, churches and monasteries are mentioned in the *sālnāmes*. Relations between the two communities were good, and bilingualism was not uncommon. The awareness, among the Greeks, of their history and culture, always maintained by the ecclesiastic élite, spread among the population toward the end of the Ottoman period through an increasing number of schools, some teachers receiving their training also in Athens. Cuinet (i, 450) mentions 157 schools with 7,635 students; there were two high schools in Mytilene, a Greek one with 97 students and a Turkish one with 40 students.

Visitors praised the fresh air of the island enriched with the fragrance of its Mediterranean vegetation, and the climate was salubrious. The only serious ailment was tuberculosis, chiefly limited to the wives, sequestered in their women's quarters, of the more opulent Greek and Turkish inhabitants (Cuinet, i, 451).

In the final decades of the Ottoman period, the *vilāyet* of Djazā'ir-i Baḥr-i Safīd (which had by then lost any connection with the office of the commander of the Ottoman navy) consisted of four *sandjaks*: Rodos [*q.v.*], Chios (Saḳīz [*q.v.*]), Lesbos and Lemnos (Limni[*q.v.*]). That of Lesbos was divided into four *ḳaḍā*'s: of Midilli, Molyvo (Methymna), Pilmar (Plomari) and Yunda; the last-named, known in Greek as Moskonesia or Kekatonesia, consisted of a group of small islets dominated by the larger Alibay Adasī facing Aywalīḳ; this *ḳaḍā*' was the only part of the *sandjak* that remained Turkish at the conclusion of the Balkan War. The title of the *sandjak*'s governor was *mutesarrif*, while the *ḳaḍā*'s were administered by *ḳaymaḳāms*, and the *nāḥiyes* by *müdürs*. Lists of government officials in the *sālnāmes* show that majority were Turks, but that Greeks also participated in the administration.

Ottoman rule on Lesbos ended in December 1912, when a Greek fleet landed troops on the island and took control of it (Ali Haydar Emir [Alpagur], *Balkan harbinde Türk filosu*, Istanbul 1932, 249-53). Greek annexation was ratified by the London Conference in May 1913. The Turkish inhabitants left Lesbos as part of the population exchange between the two countries in the 1920s.

Bibliography (apart from works cited in the text): B. Darkot, *İA*, art. *Midilli*; numerous European travel accounts, for whose bibliography see Pauly-Wissowa, cited in the text; numerous portolan texts and charts, best discussed by E. Armao, cited in the text; Pīrī Re'īs, *Kitāb-i Bahriyye*, Istanbul 1935, 130-9, and German tr. of the first version by P. Kahle, *Pīrī Re'īs; Bahrīje. ii. Übersetzung*, Berlin 1926, 32-42; A. Delatte, *Les Portulans grecs*, Liège 1947, index s.v. *Mytilene*; Ilyās b. Khiḍr (Uzun Firdewsī), *Ḳuṭb-nāme, ḳiṣṣa-yi Midilli*, ed. İ. Olgun and İ. Parmaksızoğlu, Ankara 1980; the *ḳānūn-nāmes* listed on p. 66 of H.W. Lowry, *The Ottoman Liva Kanunnames contained in the Defter-i Hakani*, in *Osmanlı araştırmaları. The Journal of Ottoman studies*, ii (Istanbul 1981) (*ḳānūn-nāmes* TT264 from 1548, TT598 from 1581, TT803 from 1671, and TK 2 from 1709; the last-named was published by Ö.L. Barkan, *XV ve XVIıncı asırlarda Osmanlı imperatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları, birinci cilt: Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 332-8, and by H. Tuncer, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda toprak hukuku, arazî kanunları ve kanun açıklamaları*, Ankara 1962, 315-19); İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 420-2; Sh. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-a'lām*, Istanbul 1898, vi, 4242-3, s.v. *Midilli*; D.E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman empire*, Leiden 1972; A.E. Bakalopoulos, *The Greek nation, 1453-1669*, New Brunswick 1976, index s.vv. *Lesbos* and *Mytilene*; F.W. Hasluck, *Depopulation in the Aegean Islands and the Turkish Conquest*, in the *Annual of the British School of Athens*, xvii (1910-11), 151-81; U.S. Naval Oceanographic Office, *Sailing directions for the Mediterranean*, Publ. no. 132, *Sailing directions for the Eastern Mediterranean*, 303-6. (S. Soucek)

MIDRĀR (Banū) or Midrārids, minor Berber dynasty which was established in Sidjilmās(s)a [*q.v.*] and which enjoyed relative independence until its final collapse in 366/976-7.

The history of this dynasty can be briefly outlined, thanks to al-Bakrī [*q.v.*], who lived in the 5th/11th century and thus possessed quite recent information in order to write the chapter that he devotes to it (*Mughrib*, 148 ff., Fr. tr. 282 ff.), before Ibn ʿIdhārī (7th-8th/13th-14th century [*q.v.*]), Ibn Khaldūn (8th/14th century [*q.v.*]) and several historians of the Maghrib and Mashrik were able to take their turn at tackling this; but a number of important episodes of this period were recorded in the works of the *kādī* al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] available today, in particular the *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa* and the *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt*, as well as in the *Autobiography* of the chamberlain Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī (see *Bibl.*), although the latter sources, contemporaneous with the events which they relate, express the often biased point of view of the Fāṭimids.

From the start, it is difficult to date the birth of the dynasty which, despite appearances, does not seem to coincide with the foundation of Sidjilmāsa, itself not well established. One tradition links the foundation with a member of the tribe of Miknāsa [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Kāsim Samdjū/Samghū/Samghūn (i.e. Samgū or Samgūn) b. Wāsūl al-Miknāsī, who had adopted the doctrine of the Ṣufrī [*q.v.*] Khāridjites; this man is said to have gathered *ḥadīths*, in Ifrīkiya, from ʿIkrima [*q.v.*], the famous *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās, whom legend depicts as the propagator of Khāridjism in the Maghrib, a region where he probably never set foot. The Samgū/Samgūn in question, who, it is said, pastured his flocks on the site of the future town of Sidjilmāsa, gathered around him some Ṣufrīs, and, as soon as the group numbered 40, set out, in 140/757-8, to build houses; the small community surprisingly chose as its chief a negro by the name of ʿĪsā b. Mazyad (rather than Yazīd) al-Aswad, whose father had been converted to Islam, but his conduct so offended those he governed that they tied him to a tree and left him to die in 155/772; he had reigned 15 years (al-Bakrī, 148/286; *Berbères*, i, 261). According to the sources, his successor was the first-mentioned personage, Abu 'l-Kāsim Samgū/Samgūn, who reigned 13 years and died in 168/784-5. This tradition, which traces back the foundation of the town and, consequently, of the dynasty, if not of the family, to 140/757-8, is preferred by our first informant, al-Bakrī (149/284); Ibn ʿIdhārī (i, 157) and Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, i, 261) only know of it, while the *Mafākhir al-Barbar* [*q.v.*] (48) reports on the authority of ʿArīb b. Saʿd [*q.v.*] that Abu 'l-Kāsim Samkū ruled over Sidjilmāsa, founded in 140 by his grandfather (*sic*) ʿĪsā b. Yazīd. Al-Bakrī reproduces in any case a second tradition, according to which a smith from Cordova called Midrār, who had taken part in the Revolt of the Suburb (in 202/818 [see kurṭuba]) and was consequently a Rabaḍī, was able to escape and came to settle near the market whose site was to be occupied by the capital of the Midrārids; while suggesting that the first of the two accounts is "more in conformity with the truth", this author nevertheless asserts (149/285) that the rulers of Sidjilmāsa are descendants of the smith Midrār, since they "were subjected to satirical insults on this subject." The *Istibṣār* (204), for its part, draws on the two traditions, which it moreover mixes; it calls Midrār b. ʿAbd Allāh the alleged disciple of ʿIkrima, and says that the Midrār who escaped from Cordova was black, a fact which earned for his descendants gibes or epigrams. As for E. Lévi-Provençal, he admits the Cordovan origin of the founder of Sidjilmāsa (*Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 170, n. 1).

This latter tradition, which appears seductive in the form in which it is presented by al-Bakrī, does not, however, elude the problem of chronology which is posed, for the impression is given that the town existed as early as the end of the 2nd/ 8th century. In fact, after 168/784-5, al-Bakrī (150/286) and Ibn Khaldūn (i, 262) have a son of Samgū/Samgūn mentioned as reigning by the name of Abu 'l-Wazīr al-Yās b. Abi 'l-Kāsim, who was dethroned in 174/790-1 (the date of 170 mentioned by Ibn ʿIdhārī is to be corrected) by his brother Abu 'l-Muntaṣir (sometimes Abū 'l-Manṣūr, but probably wrongly) al-Yasaʿ, who remained on the throne until his death in 208/823-4. This long reign was to be quite brilliant and beneficial, for al-Yasaʿ, who is said to have been of a particularly violent and despotic character, subjugated all the Berbers of the region who resisted him, levied the fifth on the mines of Darʿa [*q.v.*] and had built in 199/814-15 (al-Bakrī, 148/282-3; Jacques-Meunié, i, 201) the town wall with 12 gates in it, of which eight were covered in iron so that the enemy could not set fire to them. It is stated that this wall, the lower part in stone and the upper in unfired brick (Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 157), was undertaken entirely at his own expense, and that the work force cost him 1,000 measures of grain (*ṭaʿām*) a day. He also adorned the town with a certain number of palaces and public buildings, notably the Friday mosque (al-Bakrī, 148/283; *Berbères*, i, 262; Jacques-Meunié, i, 201).

Given, on the one hand, that the total duration of the dynasty is reckoned at 160 years (al-Bakrī, 149/284; Ibn Idhārī, i, 157; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, i, 191-2) and that, on the other hand, disregarding the Rabaḍī mentioned above, the first Midrār cited is the son of al-Yasaʿ, al-Muntaṣir, who ascended the throne in 208/823-4 (al-Bakrī, 150/286; *Berbères*, i, 262), it is perhaps from this year that we have to date the birth of the Midrārid line, in spite of the fact that, in general, the eponym of dynasties may be the father of the first of their members, that Ibn ʿIdhārī (i, 157) clearly states that it came to an end in 296 after approximately 160 years of rule, that Ibn Khaldūn (i, 260) gives it the name of Banū Wāsūl, which would also take it back to the year 140, and that G.-S. Colin, in the article sidjilmāsa in *EI*[1], makes "the Miknāsī dynasty of the Banū Midrār" begin in 155/771-2, i.e. with the immediate successor of the first ruler of the town, which is in conformity with al-Bakrī's opinion and calculation, but completely disregards the figure of 160 years and the absence of a person called Midrār before 208/823-4. For this reason, we will begin arbitrarily with:

i. Abū Mālik al-Muntaṣir b. al-Yasaʿ, whose surname Midrār (= "one who produces much milk or pours forth abundant rain", etc.), which had no doubt been given him as a title of good omen, served to designate the ruling family whom al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 39 = § 1367) further named as the Banu 'l-Muntaṣir, which justifies the decision taken. This author estimates the extent of the amīr's dominions—one would wish to know on what basis—at 400 *farsakhs* by 80 (!), and makes one Aḥmad b. al-Muntaṣir the ruler of the land of Asṭūlā (?) which measured, according to him, 400 *farsakhs* by 250. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih (ed. and Fr. tr. M. Hadj-Sadok, 9), the territory of the Banū Midrār included the Darʿa, where a silver mine was located, and the town of Zīz, i.e. it probably exceeded present-day Tafilalt.

Midrār, a nominal vassal of the ʿAbbāsids (in

Tentative genealogy of the Midrārids

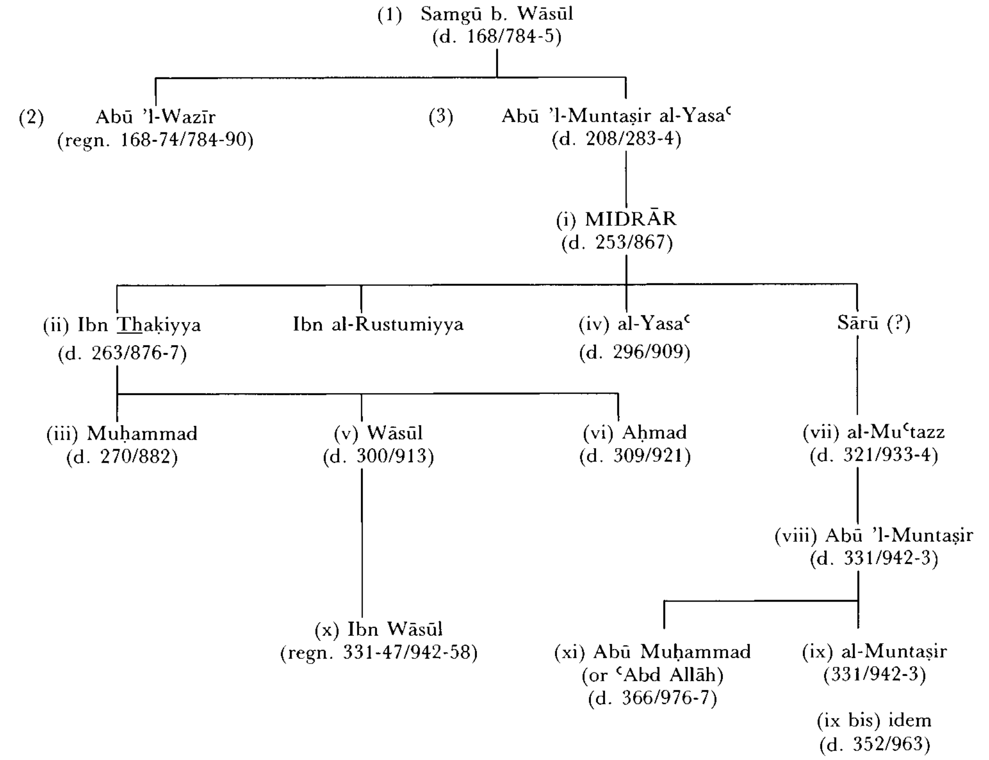

whose name the *khuṭba* had been pronounced, at least in the time of the caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī, i.e. from 140 to 169/758-85, if we are to believe Ibn Khaldūn, i, 262) may have acknowledged a certain dependence on Cordova, but no doubt one much less strict, as E. Lévy-Provençal says (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 281-2), than that of the Rustamids of Tāhart [*q.vv.*], with whom he had moreover some affinities, since, like them, he was a Khāridjite; he had even married Arwā bint ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam (al-Bakrī, 150/287; *Berbères*, i, 262; G. Marçais, 103-4; Jacques-Meunié, i, 201). It so happens that his reign was troubled by the rivalry of his two sons, both of them with the first name of Maymūn, born to him by the Rustamiyya and another woman by the name of Thaḳiyya (? Baḳiyya in Ibn ᶜIdhārī, i, 157). After having endured three years of dispute, Midrār, who was inclined to favour the former, banished the latter, but was himself dispossessed by the son to whom he had given preference. The population of the town then rebelled, offered the throne to the son of Thaḳiyya, who refused it and gave it to Midrār, who made the mistake of appearing firm in his intention to entrust it to Maymūn Ibn al-Rustamiyya. This time, the inhabitants of Sidjilmāsa besieged their sovereign in his palace and gave their allegiance as chief to

ii. Maymūn b. Thaḳiyya, called al-Amīr. The deposed dynast died in 253/867, while his son ruled until his death, in 263/876-7, and was succeeded by

iii. his son Muḥammad, who died in Ṣafar 270/August-September 884 (al-Bakrī, 150/287; *Berbères*, i, 263; cf. Ibn ᶜIdhārī, who does not follow exactly the same order).

It was not long before the principality of Sidjilmāsa, whose tranquility until then appears to have been disturbed only by some purely internal dissensions, entered into the general history of the Maghrib and Islam, at the same time losing the autonomy that it had preserved vis-à-vis the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] of Ḳayrawān and the ᶜAbbāsids of Baghdād, of whom the Midrārids were still nominal vassals, as is proved by the letter sent, at the time when the Mahdī ᶜUbayd Allāh was being sought after, most likely not by al-Muᶜtaḍid (279-89/892-902), as is stated by Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, i, 30; Fr. tr. de Slane, i, 40-1) and the author of the *Istibṣār* (204), but more probably by his successor al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8), to the following *amīr*,

iv. al-Yasaᶜ (sometimes erroneously: ᶜĪsā) b. al-Muntaṣir (or b. Midrār), son of the no. 1 above, who occupied the throne from 270 to 296/882-909.

In fact, on 1 Shawwāl 292/7 July 905 (see *Autobiography*, 297), following a prediction according to which the awaited Mahdī [*q.v.*] is to appear in Sidjilmāsa, the future founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty, al-Mahdī ᶜUbayd Allāh [*q.v.*] set out in the direction of this small capital with his young son al-Ḳāsim (*Istibṣār*, 204; *Berbères*, i, 263; Terrasse, i, 140; Jacques-Meunié, i, 202). He rented a house there, the Dār Abī Ḥabasha (*Autobiogr.*, 302), succeeded in concealing his identity for almost four years and received good treatment from al-Yasaᶜ b. al-Muntaṣir, possibly owing to the presents that he had given him. Besides, he had no doubt been able to make friends among the flourishing ᶜIrāḳī colony resident in the town (cf. Dachraoui, *Califat*, 122, 311). The circumstances in which his true identity was revealed are differently reported by the sources. According to the *Autobiography* of Djaᶜfar b. ᶜAlī (303-4), his son miraculously caused a spring to gush forth in a garden next to his house, and the secret was thus divulged. According to the *Istibṣār* (204), however, he had been

denounced by a Jew, while Dachraoui (*Califat*, 123) asserts that al-Yasaʿ was informed of his presence by a letter from Ziyādat Allāh [see AGHLABIDS]. According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Mukaddima*, i, 30, 33-4; Fr. tr. de Slane, i, 40-1, 45), the letter from Baghdād mentioned above was addressed to the Aghlabids of Kayrawān and the Midrārids of Sidjilmāsa ordering them to close their land to ʿUbayd Allāh and his son (whose genealogy, in the opinion of Ibn Khaldūn, was by this act recognised as authentic); al-Yasaʿ then discovered the truth and had the two fugitives imprisoned. Whatever the facts of the matter, at one time or another, the Midrārid put ʿUbayd Allāh, if not in prison, (*Istibṣār*, 202), at least under house arrest in his sister's house and separated him from his son, with whom he could, however, communicate through an intermediary, a young eunuch originally from Aleppo called Ṣandal, whom he had bought locally (*Autobiogr.*, 307 and n. 3). Acting through a Shīʿī from Kayrawān in whose company he had travelled (*Autobiogr.*, 305) and who had been authorised to return to Kayrawān, he was able to inform of his situation the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, who had just seized Rakkāda [*q.v.*]. This *dāʿī* was eager to recruit supporters, hence set out for the West, subdued on his way the Rustamids of Tāhart and arrived before Sidjilmāsa on 6 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 296/26 August 909 (Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 159; Dachraoui, *Califat*, 122). Abū ʿAbd Allāh scarcely appeared aggressive, and even advised al-Yasaʿ of his peaceful intentions; however, as the latter had had his messengers put to death, he finally took the town by storm. Meanwhile, the Midrārid *amīr* fled, but, on his being caught after a few days, he was killed by his own subjects or died of wounds that he had received (*Autobiogr.*, 319; *Iftitāḥ*, §§ 243-52; *Istibṣār*, 204; *Berbères*, i, 263; Marçais, 134; Terrasse, i, 140; Dachraoui, *Califat*, 124; Jacques-Meunié, i, 202). All the events that are summarised here are recounted in detail in a letter which the *dāʿī* is said to have addressed to Rakkāda and which is reproduced in the *Iftitāḥ* (§§ 253-7; see also *Madjālis*, 214). According to the *Autobiography* of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī (312), al-Yasaʿ took out of the town ʿUbayd Allāh, who himself gave to Abū ʿAbd Allāh the order to seize it, but the chamberlain was then imprisoned, as were all the members of the eminent Shīʿī's entourage; his evidence has however no great value on this point. Once ʿUbayd Allāh and his son had been rescued, Abū ʿAbd Allāh pillaged the town and is said to have dealt severely with the Jews, whom he stripped of their goods and drove out of Sidjilmāsa (but he does appear to have condemned those of them who wished to stay to become cesspool cleaners (*kannāfūn*) and masons (*bannāʾūn*), as the *Istibṣār* (202) reports, for al-Bakrī mentions (149/284) that the former occupation was reserved for lepers). The rest of the population endured a similar fate to such an extent that the *dāʿī* was able to leave for Rakkāda carrying with him 120 loads of gold and precious merchandise (*Istibṣār*, 204; Jacques-Meunié, i, 203).

It was in Sidjilmāsa that ʿUbayd Allāh was proclaimed *Imām* (*Autobiogr.*, 316); he stayed there for another 40 days before departing for Ifrīkiya (Dachraoui, *Califat*, 124). Before his departure, Abū ʿAbd Allāh had designated as governor of the town an officer of the Mazāta [*q.v.*] called Ibrāhīm b. Ghālib (*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, 24-5; al-Bakrī, 150/288; *Berbères*, i, 263; cf. Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 206), leaving at his disposal a garrison of 2,000 Kutāma; this figure, mentioned by Dachraoui (124), appears, however, rather exaggerated as, according to al-Bakrī (150/288), this governor was massacred 50 days later, with all his soldiers, by the rebellious townspeople. The latter author (150/287) dates from Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 297/August-September 910 the end of the reign of al-Yasaʿ, i.e. there is a difference of a whole year from the date given by the contemporary Shīʿī sources, which is perhaps more reliable; for him (150/288) and for Ibn Khaldūn (i, 263), it was in Rabīʿ I 298/November-December 910 that the rebellious population put on the throne

v. WĀSŪL, i.e. al-Fatḥ (Abu 'l-Fatḥ in Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 206), son of (ii) Maymūn al-Amīr, who died in Radjab 300/February-March 913 and was succeeded by his brother

vi. AḤMAD, killed in Muḥarram 309/May-June 921, by the governor of Tāhart on behalf of the Mahdī, Maṣāla b. Ḥab(b)ūs, who came to besiege Sidjilmāsa, seized it and installed on the throne a Midrārid prince who was totally devoted to his cause,

vii. AL-MUʿTAZZ, Muḥammad b. Sārū (?) b. Midrār (al-Bakrī, 151/288; *Berbères*, i, 264; Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 179, 183; Dachraoui, *Califat*, 151). On his death (321/933-4), his son

viii. ABU 'L-MUNTAṢIR (al-Manṣūr in Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 206) Muḥammad succeeded him and spent the rest of his life in power; he died in 331/942-3 (cf. *Berbères*, i, 264) and his son

ix. AL-MUNTAṢIR Samgū b. (viii) Muḥammad, who was only 13 years old, took his place, but entrusted state affairs to his grandmother, who administered the state for only two months, for a son of (v) Wāsūl,

x. MUḤAMMAD b. (v) al-Fatḥ Wāsūl b. (ii) Maymūn al-Amīr, seized power by force and put the incumbent ruler in prison (*Madjālis*, 389).

The new master of Sidjilmāsa had apparently developed fairly close ties with the Umayyads of Cordova, since he was present in the midst of their troops on 11 Shawwāl 327/1 August 939 at the Battle of Simancas (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 58). Thus it is not astonishing that he had repudiated the Ṣufrī Khāridjism to which his ancestors adhered, so as to be converted to the Mālikī Sunnism in force in al-Andalus (al-Bakrī, 151/288). This decision was bound to displease his Fāṭimid suzerain, who endured Khāridjism by force of circumstances and possibly also accepted, however dubious this may be, that the *khuṭba* should be pronounced in the name of the ʿAbbāsids (*Berbères*, i, 264), but was unable to allow a more or less declared allegiance to the Umayyad régime. It is said that he was nevertheless able to govern his principality and to exercise justice there; however, from the testimony of Ibn Ḥawkal (83/Fr. tr. 79), who was present in Sidjilmāsa in 340/951 and had some dealings with him, "while he called for war [...], he was unable to obtain from the Berbers what he wanted, because those whom he invited to join him on campaign were disinclined to do so, fearing a trick to harm them". There is no mention of whether it was the Fāṭimids against whom he was directing his attack, but it is known that the rulers of Ifrīkiya grew very angry in 342/953-4, when he had the audacity to proclaim himself caliph, take the title of *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* and the ruling name of al-Shākir li-llāh (*Berbères*, i, 264; Jacques-Meunié, i, 203) and to mint coins (the *mathākīl shākiriyya* cited by Ibn Ḥazm, *Nakṭ al-ʿarūs*, 76; see Colin, in *Hespéris* [1936], 122; Brèthes, 96, no. 773; Jacques-Meunié, i, 226). The Fāṭimid Caliph al-Muʿizz li-dīn Allāh, unable to bear such a mark of insubordination, ordered the general Djawhar [*q.v.*] to go and force the recalcitrant prince to see reason. According to the Shīʿī tradition (*Madjālis*, 338), Djawhar, on arriving near Sidjilmāsa,

wrote to the population asking them to surrender Ibn Wāsūl, but they refused. This attitude did nothing to relieve the anxiety of the *amīr*, who hastened to leave the town with his family, his treasures and supporters to go to seek refuge in the neighbouring fortress of Tasegdelt (?); Djawhar then entered the Midrārids' capital, where he had coins minted to replace the *mathākil shākiriyya* (Dachraoui, *Califat*, 232, 344). Ibn Wāsūl, having left his refuge to find out what was happening in the town, was recognised by some members of the Maṭghara [*q.v.*] tribe, who gave him up to Djawhar (on these events, see al-Bakrī, 151/289; *Berbères* i, 264; Jacques-Meunié, i, 203). Contrary to what is said in the art. DJAWHAR, Ibn Wāsūl was not put to death, but made a prisoner (*Mafākhir al-Barbar*, 4) and brought to al-Manṣūriyya, together with the *amīr* of Fās, Aḥmad b. Bakr, captured in the same period, and some sons of notables of Sidjilmāsa (*Madjālis*, 483) taken as hostages. The attack on the town and the capture of Ibn Wāsūl took place in Radjab 347/September-October 958 (al-Bakrī, 151/289). The arrival at al-Manṣūriyya is dated by the *ḳāḍī* al-Nuʿmān (*Madjālis*, 458) to the end of Shaʿban [348?]/November 959, but the dates mentioned by this author do not always appear to be exact. In any case, we are quite well informed on the prisoner's stay with the Fāṭimid caliph, on his internment in a part of the castle (*saḳīfat al-ḳaṣr*), on the ignominious treatment that he experienced when he was taken around in a cage, and also on the *ḳāḍī*'s attempts to convert him, as well as the tenor of the conversations that took place between al-Muʿizz and Ibn Wāsūl (see *Madjālis*, 411-12, 434-5, 458, 460; Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 222; *Berbères*, i, 263; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 354; Dachraoui, *Captivité*).

Before leaving Sidjilmāsa, Djawhar had appointed a governor there, but the population were not slow to rebel again and to restore to the throne

ix (for the second time). AL-MUNTAṢIR BI-LLĀH b. (viii) Muḥammad b. (vii) al-Muʿtazz, whose father and grandfather had not been appointed by the Fāṭimid caliph, as al-Nuʿmān (*Madjālis*, 388) claims, but put in power by Maṣāla (see above). According to the same author (*Madjālis*, 389-93), the population, who had killed the governor imposed by Djawhar, made their excuses to al-Muʿizz, but he did not accept them at all and summoned al-Muntaṣir, who made his way to him with 200 men. After a severe reprimand, the caliph nevertheless sent him to govern his town. In 352/963, al-Muntaṣir was dethroned and, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (107/104), put to death, with the help of a group of twelve men, by his brother

xi. Abū Muḥammad ʿABD ALLĀH (?) b. (viii) Muḥammad b. (vii) al-Muʿtazz, who recognised the suzerainty of the Fāṭimid caliph. This situation lasted until the year 366/976-7, when the chief of the Maghrāwa, Khazrūn b. Falfūl [see MAGHRĀWA], who fought on behalf of Cordova, put an end to the dynasty of the Banū Midrār; the last prince still in power fell on the battlefield, and his head was sent to Cordova (*Berbères*, i, 264-5; Terrasse, i, 169; Jacques-Meunié, i, 206). Lévi Provençal (*Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 261), places this event in 369/980, which corresponds better to the total of 160 years proposed by al-Bakrī for the duration of the dynasty.

The descendants of Khazrūn were to be put under the suzerainty of Cordova, to remain then at the head of an independent principality in Arcos [see ARKŪSH] until its annexation by Sevilla.

We have seen that one observer interested in the social and economic situation of the land through which he travelled, Ibn Ḥawḳal, was in 340/951 in Sidjilmāsa, and it is probable that he kept in touch with the course of events that then took place. He states (99-100/98; cf. Jacques-Meunié, i, 203) that in the period when (vii) al-Muʿtazz reigned over the principality, he "levied tariffs on the caravans travelling to the country of the Blacks, as well as the tithe, the land tax and some ancient taxes on the sale and purchase of camels, sheep, cattle, in addition to dues on all merchandise being exported to or imported from Ifrīḳiya, Fās, Spain, Sūs and Aghmāt, and finally other revenues dependent on the administration of the mint. All this amounted to about 400,000 *dīnārs* for the capital and the province". According to this author, the revenue from the town and its province, an area of five days' journey by three, was equal to half of that of the whole Maghrib, and one can understand the interest that the great powers of the period took in the principality. The importance that Ibn Ḥawḳal attributes to the town itself is further reflected by the fact that he calculates the distances from it to other places (91-3/89-92). He passes very favourable judgment on the inhabitants, upon whose commercial activity and wealth he remarks (99-100/97-8); and he is astonished to see "a recognition of debt by which a merchant of Awdaghust admitted himself in debt to an inhabitant of Sidjilmāsa for a sum of 42,000 *dīnārs*" (cf. 61/58, where this observation is already mentioned). Reckoned at 4,06g a *dīnār*, this sum represents a weight in gold of 170.520 kg (Jacques-Meunié, i, 224). One can deduce from the comments of Ibn Ḥawḳal that Sidjilmāsa was, under the Midrārids, the most important caravan centre on the route passing round the desert through the West; the ruler of Egypt, Ibn Ṭūlūn (249-69/863-83 [*q.v.*]) having forbidden caravans and single travellers to follow the routes which led directly to the western Sudan, the eastern merchants passed by Sidjilmāsa, which also benefited from the advantages of eastern and western civilisation, without however leaving behind, at least in this period, the recollection of a really intense cultural activity.

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MIDYŪNA (also Madyūna or Medyūna), an important Berber tribe, belonging to the major branch of Butr and descended from the family of Fāṭin, son of Tamzīt (or Tamṣīt), son of Ḍarīs, son of Zaḥīk (Zadjīk), son of Mādghis al-Abtar. According to Ibn ʿIdhārī, Madyūna was said to be the son of Tamzīt, son of Ḍarī and brother of Maṭmāṭa, Madhghara, Ṣadīna, Maghīla and Malzūza. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Midyūna (Medyūna) were related to the Maṭghara, Ṣadīna, Lamāya, Kūmiya, Maghīla, Dūna, Maṭmaṭa, Malzūza, Kashāna (Kashāta) and Ḍarīsa.

Little is known of the history of the Midyūna. It is very likely that the tribe is derived from the Numidian tribe of Mideni, mentioned by Ptolemy and, if J. Desanges is to believed, resident in Khoumiria at the beginning of the Christian era. Judging from Islamic sources, the Midyūna as such appear only at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century. According to a statement in Ibn Khaldūn's *Histoire des Berbères*, all of the Midyūna were resident, at this period, in the province of Tlemcen. However, from the start of the 2nd/8th century, various segments of this tribe are encountered, dispersed throughout North Africa, from Libya to Morocco. The earliest mention of the Midyūna found in Arabic sources relates to a significant portion of this clan which, according to Ibn Khaldūn, moved into Spain "at the time of the first invasion of that country". The historian no doubt refers here to the major expedition of Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], who marched into Spain in 92/711 at the head of 12,000 Berbers and conquered the country in the name of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. Now, if Ibn Khaldūn is to be believed, a large proportion of these conquerors was composed of Midyūna warriors, no doubt accompanied by their families. It is for this reason, presumably, that Ibn Khaldūn states, in this regard, that they soon became very powerful.

Further information regarding the early Midyūna dates from the second half of the 8th century A.D. and relates to certain sections of this tribe inhabiting present-day Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. This is the case of a Midyūna chieftain named Djarīr b. Masʿūd who took part, with a detachment of the Midyūna, in a major Berber revolt which erupted in 151/168-9 and which was directed against the Arab governor of the Maghrib, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ Hazārmard. Among the Berber groups taking part in this revolt, one of the most important was that of Abū Ḳurra al-Īfranī, at the head of 40,000 Ṣufrīs belonging, for the most part, to the Zanātī tribe of the Banū Īfran. The last-named inhabited the western part of Algeria. Originating from the same region were the 6,000 Ibāḍīs commanded by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam of Tāhert (Tiaret) who were among the groups fighting ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ. Also belonging to these troops were al-Miswar b. Hanī, another Ibāḍī chieftain with a force of 6,000 partisans, and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Sakardīd al-Ṣanhādjī, who brought his 2,000 Ṣufrīs into this coalition. All these detachments laid siege to ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ at his headquarters in the town of Ṭubna. Jointing the Berber rebels at a later stage was Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī [*q.v.*], leader of the Ibāḍīs of Tripolitania. The latter succeeded in capturing the town of Ṭubna in 154/771, subsequently setting out in pursuit of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ Hazārmard, who made his way towards the east. Abū Ḥātim was preceded by an advance party commanded by Djarīr b. Masʿūd al-Midyūnī. The latter caught up with ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ at Djīdjil (the present-day Djidjelli) in the land of the Ketāma; in the ensuing battle, Djarīr b. Masʿūd and his partisans perished, and Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī retreated to Tripoli.

Despite the defeat of Djarīr b. Masʿūd in 754/771 and despite the emigration of a large proportion of the Midyūna of Morocco to Spain with the troops of Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād in 90-2/709-11, numerous sections of this tribe survived in North Africa, at least until the 8th/14th century, if not later.

The following is the information provided by Arab authors of the Middle Ages regarding these sections:

Morocco: Mention has been made above of the significant group of newly Islamised Midyūna who, taking part in the conquest of Spain by Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād in 92/711, settled in south-eastern Spain. It is probable that the Midyūna who inhabited the Djabal Midyūna, a mountain situated to the south of Fās, between this city and that of Ṣufrūy [*q.v.*, present-day Sefrou], and are mentioned by al-Bakrī (5th/11th century), belonged to the same clan. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (8th/14th century) mentions in his geographical work a Djabal Midyūna situated to the east of Fās. Could this be the same place as the Djabal Midyūna situated between Fās and Sefrou? These Midyūna of the region of Fās are also mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn among numerous other Berber tribes of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā (the Bahlūla, the Fazāz, the Ghiyātha, etc.) as professing Judaism at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. Later, they converted to Islam, accepting Ṣufrī doctrines at a very early stage. In the second half of this century, during the reign of ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, the Idrīsid prince of Fās, a Khāridjī Ṣufrī named ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, a native of the town of Washḳa [*q.v.*, i.e. Huesca] situated in the north-east of Muslim Spain, settled among the Ṣufrī Midyūna inhabiting the mountain of this name to the south of Fās. There he gained numerous partisans. He had courted for his cause numerous neighbouring Berber tribes, for example the Ghiyātha. He had also constructed on the mountain of Salā in the territory of the Midyūna (to the south of Fās) a powerful stronghold, to which he gave the name of Washḳa, in memory of his native city in Spain. According to the author of the *Ḳirṭās* (8th/14th century), this castle was still in existence in 726/1325-6. Subsequently, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ rebelled against ʿAlī b. ʿUmar. After a number of battles with this prince, he inflicted a decisive victory on him and

forced him to abandon the city of Fās and to take refuge in the territory of the Berber tribe of the Awraba, the tribe most loyal to the Idrīsids. The inhabitants of the Andalus quarter of Fās submitted to ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ, but those of the Ḳayrawān quarter refused to heed his demands and brought in, to command them, a son of the Idrīsid prince Yaḥyā b. al-Ḳāsim, surnamed ᶜAddām. Nothing is known of the subsequent fate of ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ and his descendents. All that is known is that the latter remained for a period of time faithful to Ṣufrī doctrines and that they also bore the name of Banū Wākil. This family lived for some time in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā and governed, in all probability, the Midyūna of the region of Fās.

If Ibn Khaldūn is to be believed, the Midyūna of the region of Fās rebelled, in 614-20/1217-23, against the Marīnid prince Abū ᶜUthmān Saᶜīd, but they were soon defeated by the Marīnids and pledged allegiance to this dynasty.

Besides this fact, nothing definite is known concerning the history of this section of the Midyūna living between Fās and Sefrou, at least as regards the 4th-8th/10th-14th centuries. The last item of information available concerning the Moroccan Midyūna dates from the time of Ibn Khaldūn, who mentions a section of this tribe, still present between Fās and Sefrou, in the vicinity of the important Berber tribe of the Maghīla [*q.v.*] and under its protection.

Algeria: According to Ibn Khaldūn, the original homeland of the Midyūna was located in the central Maghrib, in the province of Tilimsān (Tlemcen). The Midyūna occupied the portion of territory which extends from the Djabal Banī Rāshid (currently Djebel Amour), in the south-east of the High Plateau region, the east of Geryville and north-west of Laghouat, as far as the mountain which stands to the south of Oudjda (west-south-west of Tlemcen) and which still bears the name of Djebel Midïouna. In this early period, that is before the conquest of the central Maghrib by the Zanāta tribes of the Banū Tūdjīn and the Banū Rāshid, the Midyūna of this part of the Maghrib roamed, in nomadic fashion, "the plains and other localities of this region". According to other statements of Ibn Khaldūn, this section of the Midyūna was bordered, to the south-east, by the Banū Īlūmī and the Banū Īfran, to the west, by the Miknāsa, and between them and the sea were the Kūmiya and the Banū Walhāṣa (in the neighbourhood of the town of Ḥunayn). At the time of the conquest of the central Maghrib by the Banū Tūdjīn and the Banū Rāshid, the Midyūna were, says Ibn Khaldūn, much reduced in number; they were also expelled by the invaders from the countryside of Tlemcen and forced to withdraw to the strongholds which they possessed in the Djabal Tasāla and to the south of this mountain (to the south of Oran and to the north-east of Sidi Bel Abbas) and also in the Djabal Midyūna (to the south of Oudjda). A section of the Midyūna is also found in the territory of the tribe of the Beni Khalled (Khelled) in the region of the town of Nedroma. In this area, a village still exists called Dar Midiouna.

In the same region of the province of Tlemcen there existed, in the Middle Ages, another section of the Midyūna. It was based at Tafesra, formerly Tifsart of the Midyūna, a town known from the *Description of Africa* by Leo Africanus (first half of the 16th century). This locality was situated, according to this author, some 15 miles (approx. 27 km) to the south of Tlemcen.

Another canton occupied by the Midyūna is mentioned by de Slane in his *Table géographique* which appears as a supplement to the French translation of the *Histoire des Berbères* of Ibn Khaldūn. It was located to the north-west of the town of Mazouna (east-north-east of Mostaganem). A little to the east of this region, al-Bakrī places the town of al-Khaḍrāʾ, surrounded on all sides by Berber tribes, amongst which this geographer mentions the Midyūna. Al-Khaḍrāʾ was situated on the Chélif, a day's march to the west of the town of Miliana. Al-Bakrī places it in the neighbourhood of Ténès.

Tunisia: An insignificant section of the Midyūna probably inhabited at one time the desert of Ifrīḳiya, in what is now Tunisia. In fact, the Ibāḍī historian and biographer al-Shammākhī (19th/16th century) mentions an Ibāḍī scholar named ᶜĪsā b. Ḥamdūn al-Midyūnī al-Hawwārī who lived, during the 5th/11th century, in the *bādiya* (desert) of this country. It seems that this section of Midyūna belonged to the major Berber tribe of Hawwāra [*q.v.*].

Libya: Another section of the tribe of the Midyūna also lived in the canton of Yefren (in the ancient Arab sources: Yafran) situated to the east of Djabal Nafūsa in northern Tripolitania. In fact, in his *Kitāb al-Siyar*, al-Shammākhī speaks of people belonging to the tribe of the Midyūna inhabiting this district in the Middle Ages. Among these people, al-Shammākhī mentions an Ibāḍī Wahbī *shaykh* Abū Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Yafranī al-Midyūni who died in 894/1488-9. The same author also says that numerous persons belonging to the tribe of the Midyūna lived, in the 2nd/8th century, among the Berbers of Fazzān. Among these, al-Shammākhī mentions a certain Abu 'l-Ḥasan Djanāw b. Fatā al-Midyūnī who was an Ibāḍī *muftī*.

Spain: It has been noted above that a large number of the Midyūna entered Spain at the time of the first Muslim invasion of Spain led by the Berber Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād in 92/711. Becoming very powerful and very numerous, the Midyūna of Spain enjoyed considerable influence there and, in 151/768, a group from this tribe embraced the cause of the Berber pretender Shākiyā al-Miknāsī who claimed to be the grandson of Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī. In fact, one of the Midyūna *amīrs* of Spain named Hilāl b. Abziya rose in rebellion at Shantamariyat al-Sharḳ (Santa Maria or Albarracin in south-eastern Spain) against the Umayyad ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil. After the death of Shākiyā, whose revolt lasted nine years, Hilāl b. Abziya pledged submission to ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil and obtained from this *amīr* a commission appointing him chief of the Midyūna of Spain. His power extended over the Berbers established in eastern Spain and in Santa Maria or Albarracin. He was succeeded by Nabith, one of his kinsmen.

Sicily: A section of the Midyūna settled, probably in the 3rd/9th century, on the banks of the river called Selinus in antiquity in south-western Sicily. In fact, this river was later known as *Modiuni*, from the ancient tribal name Madyūna or Midyūna. The relevant group here is probably that section of the tribe of the Midyūna which was formerly resident in Ifrīḳiya and which took part in the conquest of Sicily undertaken in 218/826 by the *ḳāḍī* Asad b. Furāt b. Sinān. Initially Ibāḍīs, these Midyūna were subsequently converted to orthodox doctrines after the death of the *Imām* Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī.

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P. 194ᵃ, **ĀDHARI** (AZERI), *add to Bibl.*: Sakina Berengian, *Azeri and Persian literary works in twentieth century Iranian Azerbaijan*, Berlin 1988.

P. 486ᵇ, AL-**ANDALUS**, (i), *add to Bibl.*: H. Halm, *Al-Andalus und Gothica sors*, in *Isl.*, lxvi (1989), 252-63.

P. 1277ᵇ, **BOṢRĀ**, *add to Bibl.*: F. Aalund, M. Meinecke and Riyadh Sulaiman al-Muqdad, *Islamic Bosra, a brief guide*, German Archaeological Institute, Damascus 1990.

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P. 810ᵃ, **FARRUKHĪ**, *add to Bibl.*: Julie S. Meisami, *Medieval Persian court poetry*, Princeton 1987; C.E. Bosworth, *Farrukhī's elegy on Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xxix (1991), 43-9.

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P. 86ᵇ, **ʿĪSĀ**, *add to Bibl.*: Jane D. McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic Christians, an analysis of classical and modern exegesis*, Cambridge 1991.

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P. 765ᵇ, AL-**ḲAṬĪF**, *add to Bibl.*: J.R.I. Cole, *Rival empires of trade and Imami Shiʿism in Eastern Arabia, 1300-1800*, in *IJMES*, xix (1987), 177-203; Mehmet Mehdi İlhan, *The Ḳatif district (livā) during the first few years of Ottoman rule: a study of the 1551 Ottoman cadastral survey*, in *Belleten*, li, no. 200 (1987), 781-800.

P. 1026ᵇ, **KHĀNḲĀH**, *add to Bibl.*: Leonor Fernandes, *The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah*, Berlin 1988.

P. 1069ᵇ, AL-**KHʷĀRAZMĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, *add to Bibl.*: C.E. Bosworth, *Al-Khwārazmī on the secular and religious titles of the Byzantines and Christians*, in *CT*, xxxv, no. 139-40 (1987), 28-36 [= *Numéro spécial. Mélanges Ch. Pellat*]; idem, *Al-Khwārazmī on various faiths and sects, chiefly Iranian*, in *Textes et Mémoires*, Vol. XVI. *Iranica varia: Papers in honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater*, Leiden 1990, 164-6; W. Fischer, *The chapter on grammar in the Kitāb Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, in *Zeitschr. für Arab. Linguistik*, xv (1985), 94-103.

P. 1181ᵇ, **KHAZAR**, *add to Bibl.*: P.B. Golden, *The peoples of the south Russian steppes*, in D. Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*, Cambridge 1990, 263-70; A.P. Novoselčev, *Hazarskoe gosudarstvo i ego rolʹ v istorii vostočnoi Evropïï i Kavkaza* ("The Khazar state and its role in the history of eastern Europe and the Caucasus"), Moscow 1990.

VOLUME V

P. 428ᵇ, AL-**ḲURʾĀN**, *add to Bibl.*, section Other works in Arabic: R. Bell, *A commentary on the Qurʾān*, 2 vols., Manchester 1991.

P. 956ᵃ, **MADĪḤ**. 2. In Persian, *add to Bibl.*: Julie S. Meisami, *Medieval Persian court poetry*, Princeton 1987.

VOLUME VI

P. 342ᵇ, **MĀN SINGH**, l. 6, *for* Mali, *read* Mall.

P. 453ᵇ, **MANŪČIHRĪ**, *add to Bibl.*: W.L. Hanaway, *Blood and wine: sacrifice and celebration in Manūchihrī's wine poetry*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xxvi (1988), 69-80.

P. 537ᵃ, **MARĀTIB**, l. 39, *for* Ṣafdār, *read* Ṣafdar.
ll. 42 and 51, *for* Laknaʾū, *read* Lakhnaʾū.

P. 730ᵃ, **MASJUMI**, l. 1, *for Madjelis Sjuro Indonesia*, read *Madjelis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia.*

P. 801ᵃ, **MAṬBAʿA**, l. 60, *for* Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd I, *read* Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I.

P. 801ᵇ, l. 22, *for* 1210/1795-6, *read* 1211/1797.
l. 37, *for* 1217/1802-3, *read* 1218/1803.
l. 52, *for* 1247/1831-32, *read* 1239/1824.

P. 913ᵇ, **MAYDĀN**, *add to Bibl.*: A. Northedge, *The racecourses at Sāmarrāʾ*, in *BSOAS*, liii (1990), 31-56.

P. 942ᵇ, **MAZĀR-I SHARĪF**, *add to Bibl.*: R.D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia. Four hundred years in the history of a Muslim shrine, 1480-1889*, Princeton 1991.

P. 1018ᵃ, **MENTESHE-OGHULLARĬ**, l. 46, *for* (1296), *read* (1293-5, see Angeliki Laiou, *Some observations on Alexios Philanthropenos and Maximos Planoudes*, in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, iv [1978], 89-99).

P. 1018ᵇ, ll. 3-4, *for* Orkhān Beg's death was probably before 1344, and his son Ibrāhīm succeeded him., *read* Orkhān Beg's death was before 1337, for in that year his son and successor Ibrāhīm Beg concluded a treaty with the *Duca di Candia* or Venetian governor of Crete.
ll. 10-14, *for* but as a result of an agreement made with the assistance of Marino Morosini, the Count of Crete, between the years 1332-5, they were forced to disband. Ibrāhīm Beg died some time before the year 1360., *read* but treaties were concluded in 1353 between Marino Morosini, the *Duca di Candia*, and the *amīrs* of Aydĭn [*q.v.*] and Menteshe and the Venetian forces were disbanded. Ibrāhīm Beg died at some point before 1358, because in that year his successor Mūsā (see below) concluded a treaty with the *Duca di Candia* (see on these treaties and their texts, which have survived, E.A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade, Venetian Crete and the emirates of Menteshe and Aydin, 1300-1415*, 217-18,

the earliest treaty between one of the Menteshe *amīrs* and a Venetian *Duca di Candia* being that of the year 1331).
l. 41, *for* Djandār-oghlu Iskandar Beg, *read* Djandār-oghlu Iskandar (? Isfandiyār) Beg (see Y. Yücel, *XIII-XV. yüzyıllar Kuzey-Bati tarihi Çoban-Ogulları Candar-ogulları beylikleri*, Ankara 1980).
l. 8 from bottom, *for* Count of Crete, *read Duca di Candia.*

P. 1019[a], *add to Bibl.*: Barbara Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1964; A. Luttrell, *Venice and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes in the fourteenth century*, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xxvi, N.S. xiii (1958), 195-212; idem, *Greeks, Latins and Turks on late mediaeval Rhodes*, in *Byzantinische forschungen*, xi (1987), 357-74.

P. 1026[b], **MESĪḤĪ**, 2nd paragraph, l. 29, *replace* It is generally accepted ... no Persian model, *by* It is generally accepted that in Ottoman poetry the *shehr-engīz* genre started with Mesīḥī (a *shehr-engīz* by Dhātī would appear to date from just about the same time); it did have Persian forerunners, though. (Cf. Michael Glünz, *Ṣāfīs Šahrangīz, ein persisches Maṯnawī über die schönen Berufsleute von Istanbul*, in *Asiatische Studien/Etudes Asiatiques*, xl/2 (1986), 133-45.)

VOLUME VII

Pp. 81-87, **MINṬAKAT AL-BURŪDJ**:

P. 81[b], ll. 35-36, after *minṭakat falak al-burūdj*, add or (more rarely) *niṭāk al-burūdj*,.
l. 59, *for niṭāk, read niṭāk.*

P. 82[a], l. 56, *read* δωδεκατημόρια.

P. 82[b], l. 27, *for* 26, 27, *read* 36,27.
l. 44, *for* 174, 3/2, *read* 174, -3/2.
l. 45, *after* from *alāburūdj*, *add* which means *al-ẓuhūr* (i.e. *al-burūdj*,.

P. 83[a], l. 51, *read* οἱ Δίδυμοι.
l. 67, *for* translation from Greek, *read* translated from Greek.

P. 83[b], l. 35, *read* Χηλαί.
l. 67, *for* ξ^2, ο, π, δ, ρ, υ, *read* ξ^2, ο, π, d, ρ, υ.

P. 84[a], l. 48, *read* Ὑδροχόος.
l. 50, *for idhrūkh'ūs, read idhrūkhu'ūs.*

P. 84[b], l. 8, *for al-risha', read al-rishā'.*
l. 11, *for al-Mukhaṣṣas, read al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ.*
l. 50, *read* ζῴδια δίωμα.
l. 57, *for triplicates, read triplicitates.*
l. 63, *read* τριγωνοκράτορες.

P. 85[a], l. 19, *read* τετράβιβλος.
for οἶκοι, *read* οἶκοι.

P. 85[b], l. 47, *for akwāl, read aṭwāl.*
l. 58, *for* circles at longitude, *read* circles of longitude.
l. 60, *for al-kawakib, read al-kawākib.*

P. 86[a], l. 8, *for* 417½, *read* 4171½.
l. 12, *read* ἀποτελεσματικοί.
in the *Comparative table*:
entry no. 1 (Eratostehenes), last column, *for* + 7″ 35″, *read* + 7′ 35″.
entry no. 8, name, *for* Banū Amdjūr, *read* Banū Amādjūr.

P. 86[a], *Bibliography*, l. 5, *read al-bāḳiya.*
Bibliography, ll. 14-15, *read* ed. Ḥ. Ṣ. al-Ḍāmin.

P. 138[a], **MISĀḤA**. 1., *add* at end of the article: In the Yemen, the normal measurement of surface area was the *ma'ād*, a large, square surface which has two *ḳaṣaba* per side or two *ḥabl*, a unit of measurement equal to 50 cubits. The *ma'ād* is subdivided into *ḳīrāṭ*, which is a square with a side of 25 cubits; it is thus equivalent to 625 square cubits. There are 16 *ḳīrāṭs* in a *ma'ād*, which contains 10,000 *libna*, a unit of surface measurement which has a side of one cubit.

The cubit of the surveyor is, in the Yemen, appreciably longer than that of the trader. This last contains 24 *iṣba's* or fingers, equivalent each one to 6 *sha'īras*. But the surveyors' cubit in use at Wādī Zabīd contained 6 *ḳabḍas*, to which there was added a seventh *ḳabḍa* minus the thumb, which would make a total of 40 *iṣba's* or about 83 cm (cf. Ibn al-Dayba', *al-Faṣl al-mazīd*, ed. J. Chelhod, Arabic introd., 12 ff.). (J. CHELHOD)

P. 253[b], **MU'ĀHADA**, *add to Bibl.*: Texts of Ottoman treaties, translations and comments can be found in Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Yıldız Tasnifi series, Kısım 25 — Evrak: 184, 346, 377, 407, 1289, 2098, 2175, 2316, 2336; Kısım 28 — Evrak: 22, 2338; Kısım 31 — Evrak: 1925 Mükerrer; Kısım 33 — Evrak: 33/21, 33/39; Kısım 35 — Evrak: 2209, 2568, 2569, 35/20; Kısım 36 — Evrak: 169, 139/2; Kısım 37 — Evrak: 378.

P. 261[b], **MU'ĀRAḌA**, ll. 5-8, *for* (see Lidia Bettini ... *U.E.A.I.*)), *read* (see Lidia Bettini, *Langue et rhétorique au Ve siècle*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, v-vi (1987-8) (= *Atti del XIII Congresso dell' U.E.A.I.*), 91-104). *Add to Bibl.*: M. Guidi, *La lotta tra l'Islam e il Manicheismo, un libro di Ibn al-Muqaffa' contro il Corano confutato da al-Qāsim ibn Ibrahim*, Rome 1927; J. van Ess, *Some fragments of the mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, in *Studia Arabica et Islamica, festschrift for Iḥsān 'Abbās on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍi, Beirut 1981, 151-63; L. Bettini, *Studi sulla teoria letteraria araba*, Florence 1981, 14, n. 31; U. Haxen, *The Mu'āraḍa concept and its musico-rhythmical implications*, in *Al-Andalus*, xliii (1978), 113-24.

P. 303[a], **MUDJTAHID**, l. 25, *add* A very paradoxical interpretation of the concept of *idjtihād* can already be found in the thought of Mollā Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680), for whom the true *mudjtahids* are those who follow the Akhbārī school (see Kohlberg, 143).

P. 303[b], l. 61, *after* E. Kedourie [1987]..., *add* E. Kohlberg, *Aspects of Akhbari thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in N. Levtzion and J. Voll (eds.), *Eighteenth-century renewal and reform in Islam*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1987, 133-60;

P. 441[a], **MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN HAYKAL**, *add to Bibl.*: Baber Johansen, *M. Ḥ. Haikal. Europa und der Orient im Weltbild einer ägyptischen Liberalen*, Beirut/Wiesbaden 1967 (*BTS*, vol. 5); Charles D. Smith, *Islam and the search for social order in modern Egypt. A biography of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haikal*, Albany, N.Y. 1983.

P. 631[a], **MURSAL**. The first three lines of the Bibliography should read as follows:
Bibliography: Given in the article; see further Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Marāsīl*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ, Beirut 1988; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Marāsīl*, ed. S.B. al-Samarrāʾī, Baghdād 1388; idem, ed. Sh.N. Ḳūčānī, Beirut 1977;

P. 654[a], **MUṢADDIK**, 4th l. from bottom, *for* negotiations on new occasions..., *read* negotiations on new concessions...

P. 655[b], *add to Bibl.*: H. Katouzian (ed.), *Musaddiq's Memoirs*, London 1988; idem, *Musaddiq and the struggle for power in Iran*, London 1990; F. Azimi, *Iran: the crisis of democracy, 1941/53*, London 1989.

Plate XLII, *for Ca.* 1680-90, *read* The first quarter of the 18th century.

SUPPLEMENT

P. 387[a], **IBN FARĪGHŪN**, *add to Bibl.*: H.H. Biesterfeldt, *Ibn Farīgūn's chapter on Arabic grammar in his* Compendium of the Sciences, in K. Versteegh and M.G. Carter (eds.), *Studies in the history of Arabic grammar II. Procs. of the 2nd Symposium on the history of Arabic grammar, Nijmegen, 27 April-1 May 1987*, Amsterdam 1990, 49-56.

M

CONTINUATION

MIFRASH̲ (A.), more usually in its Persian form *mafras̲h̲*, or the Ottoman *mifres̲h̲*, denotes a travelling pack for bedding. Derived from the Arabic verb *faras̲h̲a* "to spread out or furnish a house or tent", it is thus cognate with *mafrūs̲h̲āt* [*q.v.*] in the sense of "bedding".

Two early examples made from waxed canvas, reinforced with patterns of brass studs, are preserved in the harem of the Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul (8/460 and 8/465 *k̲h̲urd̲j̲*). These are flat-bottomed, 90 x 55 cm, with D-shaped ends 30 cm high around which the long sides curve inwards. A grip was fitted at each end, and the pack was secured by seven straps buckled from side to side and one lengthwise. The original colour seems to have been vine green.

The term is now generally applied to the woven rectangular bedding packs still used by nomads, and normally made in pairs to balance on either side of the camel carrying them. It appears in the following variants: Āzäri (lit.) *mäfräs̲h̲*, (Pus̲h̲kin, Nak̲h̲čivān, D̲j̲ebrāyil, and S̲h̲us̲h̲a, also Ḳarapapak̲h̲ in Kars province) *farmas̲h̲*, (S̲h̲ahsevän and Ḳaradag̲h̲i) *färmäs̲h̲* or *fermes̲h̲*; Kurdish (D̲j̲alālī) *mas̲h̲raf* or *mafras̲h̲*; Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī Türki *mäfred̲j̲* or (Farsimadan) *märfäd̲j̲*; Özbek (lit.) *mapramač*, (Ḳaučin) *naprač*, (Ḳungrat of the Surk̲h̲ān-daryā) *napramač*, (Laḳay) *mepremeč*, (Aḳs̲h̲a and Ṭas̲h̲kürg̲h̲ān) *mapramač*. The Ḳaraḳalpaḳ equivalent is called *ḳars̲h̲īn*. It is not clear whether *mafras̲h̲* as attributed to the Türkmen is due only to Iranian dealers; it does not appear in Baskakov's dictionary, nor is it usual among the Yomut of Iran. It is applied only to a small pouch. The term survives in various parts of Anatolia as *mafrač* (*Derleme sözlüğü*, ix, 1977), and among the Türkmen of Kayseri (Akkışla) and the Karadağli of Afyon as *mavras̲h̲*, but in the latter two cases it is used for a woven pouch for soft goods.

In Iran, the form is particularly developed among the S̲h̲ahsevän [*q.v.*] and Ḳaradag̲h̲lï, not only in Mūg̲h̲ān and Arasbārān, but among the outlying tribes in Has̲h̲trūd and Miyāna, Bīd̲j̲ār, Ḳazwīn and Sāwa, and Miyāndōāb; since substantial parts of the K̲h̲araḳān groups appear to have been moved there from northeast Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān under Nādir S̲h̲āh or later in the 12th/18th century, it was quite probably known to the main body of S̲h̲ahsevän there by 1700, that is from the beginning of the federation (cf. Tapper in *Bibl.*, 804 ff.). Its use in Fārs is typical of the Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī, and it seems not to be known among the tribes of Kirmān; it may therefore have been brought south by those elements of the Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī who came from Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān in Ṣafavid times or earlier. In both regions the packs are usually flat-woven, though those of the S̲h̲ahsevän are woven on a vertical loom, while those in Fārs are woven on a ground loom; the usual technique is progressive weft float brocading (*soumak*), though examples in pilework can also be found. The S̲h̲ahsevän also use tapestry weave. Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī packs are characterised by leather binding along all the edges, a handle at either end, three straps across the width, and one lengthwise, with buckles, and flaps to close the top: they are thus close to the Ottoman model. They measure about 120 cm long, 40 cm wide and 55 cm high. Mūg̲h̲ān S̲h̲ahsevän packs are slightly smaller, at about 100 x 50 x 50 cm, and generally lack both straps and flaps, though the latter are occasionally provided. Instead, the open top is provided with rings at the edges through which lacing can be passed. In both cases the woven design appears on all four sides, the bottom being simply in plain weave. In brocaded packs from Miyāna, the design is sometimes on three sides only, whereas in those from Has̲h̲trūd, K̲h̲amsa and Bīd̲j̲ār, only one face is decorated (Tanavoli, in *Bibl.*, 161 ff.). Tapestry-woven packs are, however, four-faced in all regions. Both types are some 10 cm lower than in Mūg̲h̲ān, as are those from Kars. Kurdish packs in both Turkey and Iran, are used by the D̲j̲alālī and Mīlān, resemble the Mūg̲h̲ān format in size and in tending to have three bands of ornament continuous on all faces, but the handling of the motifs is more compact, and a technique of reversed extra-weft knotted wrapping is sometimes used. A few packs of the Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī format were made by the Bak̲h̲tiyārī and other Lur, but with Luri ornament: these too were usually in progressive brocading.

Laḳay *mepremeč* are also small in format, up to 95 x 30 x 40 cm, and are decorated with pilework or embroidery on one long side and the ends only; they are fitted with five or six loops on each of the long top edges. It is said that staves are passed through these to stiffen the pack as it is packed up, a procedure absent among nomads in Iran. Such packs appear to be associated particularly with the Ḳïpčaḳ group of Özbek. They are also found among some Iranian-speaking groups in southern Tād̲j̲ikistān, including the ʿArab and Lark̲h̲ābī. Somewhat similar packs, called *teng-tük* (100 x 60 x 30) are used by some Ḳazak (Ḳïzïl Orda *oblast*), and may be compared to the felt covers, *sandïḳ ḳap*, used to house their chests.

Bedding packs hold a complete bed, of mattress, quilt and pillow, rolled up, or even two, and can be lifted by two people with difficulty when full. They are ranged along the rear wall of the tent, forming the basis of the baggage pile, *yük*, where the decorated face can be displayed to advantage.

The equivalent Persian term is *rak̲h̲t-i k̲h̲ʷāb-pīč*. In northern India the same function is performed by the bedding roll, *bistarāband* or "holder";

Bibliography: Some Āzāri variants of the term can be found in R. Ä. Rüstämov and M. Sh. Shiraliyev, *Azärbaydjan dilinin dialektolozhi lüghäti*, Baku 1964; see also W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, repr. The Hague 1960, and B. Kh. Karmuisheva, *Lokayskie "mapramači"*, in *Soobshčeniya Respublikanskogo Istoriko-Kraevedčeskogo Muzeya*, vuip. ii, Stalinabad 1955, 122 n. 6. Other variants are recorded from the author's fieldwork. Shahsevän packs are discussed in J. Housego, *Some flat weaves of Azerbaijan*, in *Hali*, iv/2 (1981), 118-23; eadem, *Tribal rugs*, London 1978; S. Azadi and P.A. Andrews, *Mafrash*, Berlin and Munich 1985 (also showing a Kashkā'ī pack, pl. facing p. 256, and two attributed to the Lur, facing pp. 242-4), and P. Tanavoli, *Shahsavan*, New York 1985 (also in German, Fribourg 1985). For the technique, see also R.L. and N. Tapper and P.A. Andrews, *Farmash weaving among the Shahsevan*, in *Oriental carpet and textile studies*, i, London 1985, 124-30. For Shahsevän history, see R.L.Tapper, *The Shahsavan of Azarbaijan*, London Ph.D. thesis, 1971, unpubl., Appendix iii. For a Lurī example and discussion, see A. de Franchis and J.T. Wertime, *Lori and Bakhtiyari flatweaves*, exhibition catalogue, Tehran 1976, 16 and pl. 26 A. For Özbek packs, see Karmuisheva, *op. cit.*, 121-45, and for the Kazak types, M.S. Mukanov, *Kazakhskaya yurtas*, Alma Ata 1981, pls. 36-86. (P.A. Andrews)

MIHMINDĀR (p.), the title of the 18th dignity, out of the 25 at the Mamlūk sultan's court; succeeding to the duties of the Fāṭimid *nā'ib ṣāḥib al-bāb* (see M. Canard, *Le ceremonial fâtimite et le ceremonial byzantin*, in *Byzantion*, xxi [1951], 371, 377, 412), he was in charge of receiving ambassadors and delegations of Bedouins (*ʿurbān*), of providing them with accommodation suitable to their rank, of providing for their needs during their stay and of presenting them, at the appropriate moment, in the audience chamber of the ruler. Whilst the *nā'ib* was an official of the pen (*min arbāb al-aḳlām*), the office of *mihmindāriyya* was reserved for an official of the sword (*min arbāb al-suyūf*) in the public service (see esp. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 484, iv, 187, 218 and index).

It is under his title of al-Mihmindār that al-Amīr al-Ḥamdānī, Badr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. Sayf al-Dawla b. Zammākh b. Thumāma al-Thaʿlabī/al-Taghlibī, author of a work on genealogy and a treatise on rhetoric, who claimed to belong to the Banū Ḥamdān and be the descendant of Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*], is best known. He was born in 602/1205 and probably died towards the end of the 7th/13th century, after having held the post of *mihmindār* under the last Ayyūbid and then in the reign of the Mamlūk al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]. Since he was constantly in contact with the Bedouins, from whom he himself sprang, he put into a *Kitāb al-Ansāb* all the items of knowledge about their genealogies and histories, which earned him the sobriquet of *al-Nassāba* ("the genealogist"). This work has not survived, but its subject-matter is in part preserved by later authors, amongst whom one should mention al-Ḳalḳashandī, in the *Nihāyat al-arab*, the *Ḳalā'id al-djumān* and even the *Ṣubḥ*, when he deals with the Bedouins and the Arab tribes. Al-Maḳrīzī also utilised al-Mihmindār's work, but without acknowledging it.

Al-Mihmindār was furthermore a poet and littérateur. The only work of his to survive is his *Izālat al-iltibās fi 'l-farḳ bayn al-ishtiḳāḳ wa 'l-djinās* (ms. in Cairo, see *Fihrist-al kutub al-ʿarabiyya al-maḥfūẓa bi 'l-kutubkhāna al-miṣriyya*, 1306/1888-9, iv, 122, 1926, ii, 175).

Bibliography: ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, ms. Istanbul, Ahmet III 2797, iii; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, iv, 349-51; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, x, Wiesbaden 1980, 334; Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1959; idem, *Ḳalā'id al-djumān*, Cairo 1963; *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubḥ*, Cairo 1966; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/2, 637-8 where the verses are transposed, see the correct version in *al-Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya* of Baybars al-Manṣūrī, ms. Vienna, Flügel 905, fol. 22a; idem, *al-Bayān wa'l-iʿrāb*, ed. ʿAbdīn, Cairo 1961, 53, no. 87; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Cairo n.d., v, 231, n. 3, 232; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1967, i, 569, biogr. no. 61 (correct Rabbāḥ into Zammākh); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Istanbul, i, 158; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1951-5, ii, 555, where the date of his death is placed around 670 (?); Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik al-dhahab*, Cairo n.d.; Brockelmann, I, 283, S I, 499; Björkmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Aegypten*, Hamburg 1928, 82; Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, *Ḳabā'il al-ʿArab fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1934, 82; A. ʿAbdīn, in the introd. to the ed. of *al-Bayān wa 'l-iʿrāb* of Maḳrīzī, 5; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-mu'allifīn*, Damascus 1961, xiii, s.v. Yūsuf al-Ḥamdānī; M. Ḥiyārī, *al-Imāra al-ṭā'iyya fī bilād al-Shām*, ʿAmmān 1977, 16; A.H. Saleh, *Quelques remarques sur les Bédouins d'Égypte au Moyen-Âge*, in *SI*, xlviii (1978), 63. (A. Saleh)

MIḤNA [see ṣināʿa, ṣinf].

MIḤNA (a.), a term meaning in general usage a "testing" or "trial", whether by the accidents of fortune or the actions of men (Patton, 1). This general sense is reflected in the *Kitāb al-Miḥan* by Abu 'l-ʿArab [*q.v.*] where the author sets out to give an account of "those who have been afflicted (*ubtuliya*) by being killed, imprisoned, flogged, or threatened..." (47). More particularly, the term (together with its counterpart *imtiḥān*) signifies the procedure adopted by the caliph al-Ma'mūn [*q.v.*], and officially applied under his two immediate successors, for the purpose of imposing the view that the Ḳur'ān had been created.

1. *The course of historical events*. The circumstances of this initiative, which was set in motion by al-Ma'mūn in a letter written in Rabīʿ I 218/April 833, four months before his death, are most fully described by al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1112 ff.) and have been examined in detail by Patton (56 ff.). In the first instance, al-Ma'mūn, who was at al-Raḳḳa (or Damascus, according to al-Yaʿḳūbi, ii, 571), desired his deputy in Baghdād, Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm, to test the *ḳāḍīs* in his jurisdiction concerning God's creation of the Ḳur'ān. The language of his letter to this effect is powerful and direct: God has the right to have His religion carried out properly, and the great mass of the common people, who know no better, being without the light of knowledge, are mistaken when they espouse the view that the Ḳur'ān is eternal (*ḳadīm awwal*); for God has said in the Ḳur'ān "We have made it (*djaʿalnāhu*) an Arabic Ḳur'ān" (XKIII, 3), and everything He has made (*djaʿala*) He has created (*khalaḳa*). In addition, they have made a fallacious link between themselves and the *sunna*, making themselves out to be "the people of truth, religion and unity" and characterising those who do not agree with them as "people of falsehood, unbelief and schism", but in reality they are, *inter alia*, "the worst of the *umma*" and "the tongue of the Devil" and are in no way to be trusted. The Commander of the Faithful will not rely on anyone who does not conform in this regard, nor are *ḳāḍīs* to accept the testimony of such people.

This letter to Isḥāḳ was followed by another instructing him to send to al-Ma'mūn seven named

individuals, including the traditionists Ibn Saʿd, Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn and Zuhayr b. Ḥarb [*q.vv.*]. All seven were tested and, having acknowledged the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān, were returned to Bag̲h̲dād where their acknowledgement was publicised. By this time, too, *miḥna* letters from al-Maʾmūn were reaching other centres: the text of the letter which reached Miṣr in D̲j̲umādā II 218/July 833 was closely modelled on, or identical with, the first letter to Isḥāḳ (Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, ed. Cairo, ii, 218 f.; cf. al-Kindī, 193, 445 ff.). But it was at Bag̲h̲dād that the impact of the *miḥna* was felt most at this time: in response to further instructions from al-Maʾmūn, Isḥāḳ went on to test about thirty leading *fuḳahāʾ* and *ḥadīth* specialists, who, with only two exceptions, and in certain cases under some duress, acknowledged the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān. The exceptions, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad b. Nūḥ al-ʿId̲j̲lī, were despatched in irons to be dealt with by al-Maʾmūn at Tarsus on his return from Byzantine territory, but the sudden death of the caliph (mid-Rad̲j̲ab 218/mid-August 833) saved them from this particular predicament and they were sent back. Muḥammad b. Nūḥ died on the return journey, and Aḥmad was kept in detention after reaching Bag̲h̲dād.

Al-Maʾmūn had set in motion in the last four months of his life something which his brother and successor as caliph, al-Muʿtaṣim, was left to cope with. He had moreover stipulated in his last will and testament that al-Muʿtaṣim should, *inter alia*, hold to his policy on the Ḳurʾān and make (the Muʿtazilī) Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*] his closest confidant (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1137, 1139; al-Subkī, ii, 59); and al-Subkī with some justification advances this as the reason why, for all that al-Muʿtaṣim himself was destitute of *ʿilm*, he nonetheless required adherence to the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān. Concerning the question of how this was achieved, it would seem that a distinction should be made between *miḥna* as a regular formality in courts of law and *miḥna* as a "test" applied beyond the confines of the courtroom: as an example of *miḥna* in the first of these senses, we are told that in Miṣr the *ḳāḍī* would accept the testimony only of those witnesses who acknowledged that the Ḳurʾān had been created and that "this [type of] *miḥna* lasted from 218 until [after] the accession of al-Mutawakkil in 232" (al-Kindī, 447). On the matter of where the *miḥna* was applied, the evidence points to Bag̲h̲dād, Kūfa, Baṣra, Damascus, Mecca and Medina (Patton, 62 f.; Abu ʾl-ʿArab, 448 ff.; Ḥanbal b. Isḥāḳ, 38 f.; Wakīʿ, i, 268 f.; also Ifrīḳiya, see below) in addition to Miṣr. The situation in the Ṭāhirid-controlled East is not clear: the *ḳāḍī* of Balk̲h̲ is reported to have objected to a *miḥna* letter which stated that the Ḳurʾān had been created (al-Balk̲h̲ī, *Faḍāʾil*, 210), and the author of the *Tārīk̲h̲-i Sīstān* says that, after the flogging of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Muʿtaṣim circulated letters to each community calling upon people to believe in the created Ḳurʾān (185 f.; Eng. tr. Gold, 147: one may suspect here a fusion of al-Maʾmūn's letters with al-Muʿtaṣim's treatment of Aḥmad); but that appears to be the sum total of our present knowledge about the matter as far as the East is concerned.

The sources give the impression that al-Muʿtaṣim himself was in general predisposed to settle for *miḥna* as no more than a courtroom formality, and al-Kindī even remarks that "the matter of the *miḥna* was easy (*sahl^an^*) during the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim" (451), but there are nonetheless two instances early in his reign where it was applied outside the courtroom. The first of these does not seem to have been particularly important: al-Muʿtaṣim wrote to his governor of Miṣr, Muẓaffar b. Kaydur (held office Rabīʿ II-S̲h̲aʿbān 219/May-Sept. 834), instructing him to test the *ʿulamāʾ* on the creation of the Ḳurʾān and he tested a group of them (Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, ii, 230; al-Kindī makes no mention of this, and it is possible that Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī is misrepresenting the al-Maʾmūn letter transmitted by the future caliph al-Muʿtaṣim to Muẓaffar's father Kaydur, when the latter was governor of Egypt and al-Maʾmūn was still caliph, al-Kindī, 193, 445 ff.). The second instance, the matter of the unfinished business of what should be done with Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, was far more significant: indeed, the story of the *miḥna* of the *Imām* Aḥmad at the hands of al-Muʿtaṣim looms large in later Sunnī hagiography. Abū Nuʿaym, Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, al-Subkī and others, drawing freely on material transmitted by members of Aḥmad's family, regale us with the details of how the courageous and intransigent *Imām* resisted all attempts to make him acknowledge the created Ḳurʾān, was ultimately flogged on al-Muʿtaṣim's orders until he was unconscious (but cf. the alternative version given by Abū Nuʿaym, ix, 205 f.), and was released shortly afterwards when commotion among the population of Bag̲h̲dād threatened to get out of hand. These accounts include some striking embellishments, e.g. how Aḥmad's *sarāwīl* were supernaturally restored to their proper place (by a golden hand in some versions) when they were in the process of slipping off while he was being flogged. In sum, what is portrayed is an archetypal Sunnī hero, quietist by disposition but resolute when pressed to espouse a view he regards as religiously improper; there is no room for *taḳiyya* here (for a detailed treatment of all this, see Patton, 93 ff.).

That Aḥmad was flogged is not in doubt, for all that the incident is ignored by al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Miskawayh; the sources give as the date of this event both Ramaḍān 219/Sept. 834 and Ramaḍān 220/Sept. 835, the second of which is to be preferred if it is correct that the total period of his detention was about two-and-a-half years (see e.g., Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad, 278; Ḥanbal b. Isḥāḳ, 42). There are, however, certain respects in which the received Sunnī account may in fact be questioned, in view of what some of the sources have to say. In the first place, these sources are under the impression that Aḥmad was flogged until he actually acknowledged the created Ḳurʾān: al-Yaʿḳūbī knew this to be the case (ii, 577), and Aḥmad's contemporary al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ tells us that it took only 30 strokes (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, 152); al-Masʿūdī thought that it took 38 strokes (*Murūd̲j̲*, § 2797), while Ibn al-Murtaḍā opts for 68 (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, 125). Secondly, these sources know nothing about Aḥmad's release having been occasioned by a public commotion; for them, his release was the consequence of his acknowledgement, although Ibn al-Murtaḍā would have us believe that it took place only after he had acknowledged the created Ḳurʾān before the assembled population of Bag̲h̲dād. Thirdly, what these sources have to say provides an alternative explanation of why Aḥmad was subsequently left alone by the authorities; it was not because they lacked the nerve to test him again, but because he had capitulated. None of these sources can be regarded as other than more or less hostile to Aḥmad, but even so it is difficult to explain away the essence of what they have to say. The *en passant* remark by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, in particular, with its casual and matter-of-fact tone, has a convincing ring to it; Ibn al-Murtaḍā's reference to Aḥmad's public acknowledgement of defeat may well be dismissed as an embellishment, although it would have made good sense from the point of view of Ibn

Abī Duʾād, who was by this time *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* and thus in effect chief inquisitor; and even Ibn al-Djawzī was aware of such accounts, for all that he eschewed them (337: *ḥikāyāt fī ḳiṣṣat ḍarbihi lam yathbut ʿindanā siḥḥatuhā fa-tanakkabnāhā*).

However the case of Aḥmad is to be viewed, it is apparent that this was the last occasion on which al-Muʿtaṣim involved himself in any conspicuous way with the prosecution of the *miḥna*. Thereafter he was preoccupied with moving his capital to Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*], dealing with the rebel Bābak [*q.v.*], mounting his celebrated offensive against Amorium [see ʿAMMŪRIYA], coping with the revolt of Māzyār [*q.v.*], and in 226/841, the year before his death, overseeing the trial and execution of Afshīn [*q.v.*]. Although al-Kindī is (presumably) referring only to Miṣr when he says that the matter of the *miḥna* was easy during the rule of al-Muʿtaṣim (see above), his remark appears also to be true more generally; Ibn Taghrībirdī even goes so far as to suggest that al-Muʿtaṣim at some point banned the testing of *ʿulamāʾ* (ii, 259); and the relative inactivity of Ibn Abī Duʾād during these years remains in need of explanation. Not until the last year of al-Muʿtaṣim's reign can any changes be observed in respect of the application of the *miḥna*, at Miṣr in one case and Baghdād in another. The first of these changes came when the Mālikī *ḳāḍī* of Miṣr, Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zuhrī, who had accepted the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān since the time of al-Maʾmūn and had henceforward tested witnesses in court, baulked at transporting *fuḳahāʾ* (sc. to ʿIrāḳ) for testing and was suspended from duty in Ṣafar 226/Dec. 840 (al-Kindī, 447, 449). Ibn Abī Duʾād immediately put in charge of the *miḥna* in Miṣr a certain Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Layth al-Aṣamm, who was a *faḳīh* according to the "*madhhab* of the Kūfans" (al-Kindī, 449) and is identified as a Muʿtazilī (al-Kindī, 467). He set about transporting people to ʿIrāḳ for interrogation, among them the traditionist Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād and al-Shāfiʿī's discipline Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Buwayṭī (al-Kindī, 447), both of whom later died there in prison (Patton, 119; Ibn al-Djawzī, 397 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 460 ff., xi, 427 ff.). Two months later, Ibn Abi 'l-Layth was formally appointed *ḳāḍī* of Miṣr (al-Kindī, 449). Secondly, there were the activities of Shuʿayb b. Sahl, one of the Baghdād *ḳāḍīs*, who "tested" people and adorned the mosque of al-Ruṣāfa with writing to the effect that the Ḳurʾān had been created. In Rabīʿ I 227/Jan. 842, only days after the death of al-Muʿtaṣim and the accession of his son al-Wāthiḳ, Shuʿayb's residence was plundered and he himself was obliged to flee (Wakīʿ, iii, 277; cf; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 243). This too would seem to be indicative of an intensification of *miḥna* activity on the part of Ibn Abī Duʾād, and that at a time when al-Muʿtaṣim had fallen ill (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1323).

According to al-Kindī's account, al-Wāthiḳ wrote immediately after his accession to Ibn Abi 'l-Layth in Miṣr instructing him to prosecute the *miḥna* with vigour, and the energetic *ḳāḍī* "left no *faḳīh, muḥaddith, muʾadhdhin* or *muʿallim* untested. Many people fled and the prisons were full of those who had denied the *miḥna*"; he ordered that the words "There is no god but God, the Lord of the created Ḳurʾān" be inscribed on the mosques of Fusṭāṭ; and he denied Mālikī and Shāfiʿī *fuḳahāʾ* access, or even proximity, to the [main] mosque (al-Kindī, 451; cf. Abu 'l-ʿArab, 253). In recognition of his efforts, the poet al-Djamal al-Akbar praised him for having "protected" the *ḳawl* of Abū Ḥanīfa and having "smashed" the *ḳawl* of the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs (al-Kindī, 452); and it was this same *ḳāḍī* who is reported to have tested the Mālikī Muḥammad (or ʿAbd al-Ḥakam) b. ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and to have had him flogged in the *masdjid* of Miṣr clad only in his underwear (Abu 'l-ʿArab, 437, cf. 253).

Ibn Taghrībirdī, on the other hand, says it was in 231/845-6 that the caliph wrote to the provinces (*aʿmāl*) instructing that the *ʿulamāʾ* be tested with regard to the created Ḳurʾān (ii, 259), and this apparently included the people of the marches (*ahl al-thughūr*) (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1352); in the same year, he declined to ransom those Muslims held by the Byzantines who would acknowledge that the Ḳurʾān had been created (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1353 f; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 589; Patton, 120). In this same year, too, Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzāʿī became involved in a planned uprising in Baghdād that misfired. This Aḥmad, the scion of a distinguished partisan of the ʿAbbāsids in the day of the coup that brought them to power, opposed the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān and was much frequented by the Baghdādī *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*. On being brought before al-Wāthiḳ, he was questioned not about the uprising but about the Ḳurʾān, and his responses drove the enraged caliph to make a personal start on decapitating him; his head was thenceforward placed on public view in Baghdad as a grisly warning to potential nonconformists, while his cadaver stayed in Sāmarrāʾ, also on display (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1342-9; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 589; Patton, 116-18). Coincidentally, it was also in the year 231/846 that Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab seized power in Ifrīḳiya from his brother Muḥammad (briefly, as it turned out), proclaimed the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān, instituted a *miḥna*, and had the distinguished Mālikī jurist Saḥnūn [*q.v.*] arraigned at al-Ḳayrawān before the Muʿtazilī *ḳāḍī* Ibn Abi 'l-Djawād; Saḥnūn held to the view that the Ḳurʾān was "the speech of God and not created" and was sentenced to house arrest (Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide*, 228; Abu 'l-ʿArab, 454 ff., can be added to Talbi's references).

Al-Wāthiḳ is said to have left off the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān after a *shaykh* from Adana, who was one of *ahl al-fiḳh wa 'l-ḥadīth*, bested Ibn Abī Duʾād in argument on the subject (Patton, 121 ff.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §§ 3132-8, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 151 f., and Ibn al-Djawzī, 350 ff. can be added to Patton's references). But it was his brother al-Mutawakkil, who succeeded him in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 232/August 847, who put an end to the *miḥna*. Al-Subkī tells us (ii, 54) that this happened in 234/848-9, and Patton (122) concurs. Certainly, it appears to have been in Djumādā I-II 234/Jan.-Feb. 849 that al-Mutawakkil prohibited argument about the Ḳurʾān and sent instructions to this effect throughout his domains (al-Kindī, 197; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1412 (*lammā afḍat ilayhi 'l-khilāfa*); Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 275); and this decision may well have been facilitated by the fact that Ibn Abī Duʾād had become paralysed in the preceding year (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1379). But there are grounds for holding the view that it was not until 237/851-2 that the *miḥna* episode was completely phased out. In the first place, it was in that year that the mortal remains of Aḥmad b. Naṣr were taken down and given over to his relatives and that those who had been imprisoned on account of the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān were released (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1412 f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 290; cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 592, which implies that the prisoners were released earlier); it was in that year too that Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād and his sons were deprived of all influence, together with their estates and most of their wealth, and were sent by al-Mutawakkil away from Sāmarrāʾ to Baghdād (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1410 f.).

Secondly, it is instructive to take note of the dates

when ḳāḍīs who had implemented the *miḥna* were replaced: Ibn Abi 'l-Layth was dismissed as ḳāḍī of Miṣr in Shaʿbān 235/Feb.-March 850 at the order of al-Mutawakkil, who instructed that he be cursed from the *minbar* (al-Kindī, 463), and his replacement was appointed in Djumādā I 237/Nov. 851 (al-Kindī, 467); the ḳāḍī of Mecca throughout the *miḥna* period, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanẓala al-Makhzūmī (who was "doctrinally corrupt (*khabīth al-raʾy*) and used to test the people and frighten them"), was dismissed at an unspecified date and his replacement was appointed in 238/852-3 (Wakīʿ, i, 268 f.); the ḳāḍī of Kūfa for practically the whole of the *miḥna* period, Ghassān b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī (who "used to test the people ... and was one of the *aṣḥāb* of Ibn Abī Duʾād"), was dismissed by al-Mutawakkil in 235/849-50 and his replacement was appointed in the same year (Wakīʿ, iii, 194); and one of the Baghdad ḳāḍīs, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ghālib (who was one of the *aṣḥāb* of Ibn Abī Duʾād), was dismissed by al-Mutawakkil in 234/848-9 (Wakīʿ, iii, 277; Ibn Abi 'l-Wafāʾ, i, 237), while another, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Yazīd al-Khalandjī ("one of the *aṣḥāb* of Ibn Abī Duʾād who used to test the people"), was dismissed at an unspecified date (probably 237) and his replacement was appointed in 237/851-2 (Wakīʿ, iii, 291 f., which reads "al-Khalīdjī"; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1411. Cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Wafāʾ, i, 290, no. 764 ("al-Khalīdjī") and ii, 304, no. 397 ("al-Khalandjī")). In short, al-Mutawakkil apparently thought it prudent to proceed cautiously in bringing the *miḥna* period to an end; the beginning of the end was the edict of 234; the end of the end was the deportation of Ibn Abī Duʾād and his sons in 237.

2. *Theological aspects.* Why should al-Maʾmūn have wished to institute a *miḥna* at all and why should the issue have been the createdness of the Ḳurʾān? In attempting to answer these questions, we should first note that the prevailing view among early traditionists was an insistence that the Ḳurʾān was truly the speech of God and a denial that it had been created, "without turning this denial into a positive doctrine affirming its eternity of pre-existence" (Madelung, *Controversy*, 513). In other words, in opposing the view that the Ḳurʾān had been created, such people were not saying that it was uncreated but simply that it was God's personal speech, a view that was usually accompanied by a more general anthropomorphism and ran counter to the notion of stripping God of His attributes (*taʿṭīl*); as God's personal speech, the Ḳurʾān was perceived as an expression of the essence of God and was "associated with God much more closely than any part of his creation" (Madelung, 511). It is also clear, however, that, during at least part of his career, Abū Ḥanīfa had taught that the Ḳurʾān had been created (Madelung, 509 f.), and that this contributed to serious differences of opinion within the ranks of his followers (see, e.g., Watt, *Formative period*, 197-285), notably as between, on the one hand, those who were tradition-minded and adhered to the notions of the Ḳurʾān as the speech of God, "neither creator nor created" (Madelung, 508), and, on the other hand, those who were robustly critical of *ḥadīth* and held the view that the Ḳurʾān had been created. Thus in the course of the *miḥna*, we find followers of Abū Ḥanīfa among both the "testers" and the "tested" (Watt, 286).

Al-Maʾmūn himself, we are told, "excelled in *fiḳh* according to the *madhhab* of Abū Ḥanīfa" (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 225). At the same time, his views on the Ḳurʾān, as spelled out in his *miḥna* letters/edicts, are quite unambiguous: he accused the objects of his odium of putting God and the Ḳurʾān on an equal level, of claiming that it is eternal and primordial, and that God has not created, originated or produced it; they are like the Christians, who claim that Jesus was not created because he is the Word of God (Madelung, 517, citing al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1113, 1118). What was he trying to achieve? According to Sourdel, "jamais auparavant on n'avait vu un calife se présenter comme un 'docteur', chargé par Dieu d'éclairer la communauté et de lui communiquer la science qui lui avait été confiée" (*Politique religieuse*, 44); Lapidus, on the other hand, sees the *miḥna* as part of a general effort to restore (*sic*) the ideological authority of the caliphate (*Separation*, 379); and this idea is taken further by Crone and Hinds (*God's Caliph*, ch. v,) who propose that the type of caliphal religious authority which al-Maʾmūn sought to re-establish was one which had indeed been familiar in the time of the Umayyad caliphate. Whether he would have succeeded if he had lived longer is one of the great questions of counterfactual history, although the odds were certainly against him: for he had to contend not only with the choice of his ʿAbbāsid predecessors to play up their roles as kinsmen of the Prophet (at the expense of their role as deputies of God) but also with the fact that by his time the transformation of *sunna* into Prophetic *Sunna* documented by *ḥadīth* had gone a long way.

According to Watt, the point of insisting on a created Ḳurʾān as the central feature of the *miḥna* was that it had less prestige than an uncreated Ḳurʾān (since God might have created it otherwise), and "there could not be the same objections to its provisions being overruled by the decree of an inspired imam. Thus the doctrine of createdness enhanced the power of the caliph and the secretaries, that of uncreatedness the power of the ulama" (*Formative period*, 179). But this misses the point: for one thing, the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān is a doctrine about God, and more specifically about God's unity, rather than a doctrine about the Ḳurʾān, and there is in any case no evidence whatsoever to support the view that al-Maʾmūn wanted to overrule the Ḳurʾān; for another, it is clear that it was the populist *ḥadīth* enthusiasts who were al-Maʾmūn's target. What al-Maʾmūn in fact appears to have been doing is espousing that form of what may be called "hardline" Ḥanafī thinking which was cautious about *ḥadīth* and held to the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān, and which to that extent had an affinity with the early Muʿtazilī insistence that the Ḳurʾān be "the only basis for their system of religious doctrine ... [an insistence which] led them to the rejection of most traditions and, by implication, of legal doctrines based on traditions" (Schacht, *Origins*, 258). This is not to say that the inspiration for the *miḥna* necessarily came from Muʿtazilīs or that its initial purpose was the imposition of Muʿtazilī doctrine; indeed, van Ess (*Ḍirār*, 34) has drawn attention to Ibn Ṭayfūr's important indications (i) that the truly influential figure behind al-Maʾmūn was the Djahmite Ḥanafī Bishr al-Marīsī [*q.v.*], who, while he shared with the Muʿtazila a belief in the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān, did not hold with their doctrine of free will; and (ii) that al-Maʾmūn himself also left off *al-ḳawl bi 'l-ḳadar*. But this would appear to have been the only point of major difference between the two stances. Otherwise, there are simply further similarities. For example, Abu 'l-ʿArab (451) knew of a *miḥna* letter from al-Maʾmūn to Isḥāḳ which stipulated not only the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān but also the denial of *ʿadhāb al-ḳabr* [*q.v.*] and other aspects of popular eschatology: this

was very much in line with Muʿtazilī thinking. In addition, there is the striking association of many Muʿtazilīs of the period with Ḥanafī *fiḳh* (e.g. Watt, 286); and since the Muʿtazilīs never elaborated a system of legal doctrine of their own, it can be concluded that such people found "hardline" Ḥanafī *fiḳh* perfectly congenial. In short, in the context of the *miḥna*, Muʿtazilī interests overlapped considerably with those of al-Maʾmūn, for all that they were not identical; and this is reflected in al-Maʾmūn's testamentary stipulation that al-Muʿtaṣim should make Ibn Abī Duʾād his closest confidant.

Al-Maʾmūn's own commitment to vigorous prosecution of the *miḥna* comes across strongly in his letters/edicts on the subject. In the case of his successors al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāth̲iḳ, however, no evidence attests to the same degree of commitment, and it would seem to be fair to conclude that they simply did not share al-Maʾmūn's vision in this regard. They were in addition functioning in the new military environment of Sāmarrāʾ and were thus more remote than al-Maʾmūn had been from the civilian Muslim population; al-Muʿtaṣim in particular was preoccupied with other important matters; and al-Wāth̲iḳ, for all his early enthusiasm, may in the end have convinced himself that the *miḥna*, on any level beyond that of a courtroom formality, was simply not going to work. The tradition-minded *fuḳahāʾ* and the *muḥaddith̲ūn* and their constituencies among the *ʿāmma* were manifesting seemingly inexhaustible dumb insolence in defence of their personal God and the lowbrow accretions that went with Him. With the advent of the apoplexy of Ibn Abī Duʾād, al-Mutawakkil can only have felt that he had more to gain than to lose by putting an end to the whole unfortunate affair.

The principal consequences of the failure of the *miḥna* are clear enough: it brought to a decisive end any notion of a caliphal role in the definition of Islam and it permitted the unchecked development of what in due course would become recognisable as Sunnism. The Muʿtazila and what they stood for were discredited, while populist sentiments and what passed as Prophetic *ḥadīth̲* were the order of the day. It was now unquestionably the *ʿulamāʾ*, rather than the caliphs, who were "the legatees of the prophets" (*warath̲at al-anbiyāʾ*); and henceforward it would be they who, armed with this spiritual authority, and at a distance from those who held temporal power, elaborated classical Islam.

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(M. Hinds)

MIHR [see taʾrīk̲h̲].

MIHR-I MĀH SULṬĀN, daughter of the Ottoman sultan Süleymān II the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66). Mihr-i Māh (sometimes also written Mihr-ü-māh: cf. Ḳaračelebi-zāde, *Rawḍat ul-ebrār*, 458) was the only daughter of Süleymān *q.v.*, as well as F. Babinger, in *Meister der Politik*, ii², Berlin 1923, 39-63).

While still quite young she was married to the grand vizier Rüstem Pas̲h̲a (cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 81-2) at the beginning of December 1539 (cf. J.H. Mordtmann, in *MSOS*, xxxii, Part 2, 37), but the marriage does not seem to have been a happy one. She used her enormous wealth—St. Gerlach in 1576 estimated her daily income at not less than 2,000 ducats (cf. *Tagebuch*, Frankfurt, 1674, 266)—for many pious endowments. Among these the most important were the two mosques built by her, one in Istanbul at the Adrianople gate (*Edirne Ḳapusu D̲j̲āmiʿi*; cf. Ewliyā, *Seyāḥet-nāme*, i, 165; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥüseyin, *Ḥadīkat al-d̲j̲awāmiʿ*, i, 24, and J. von Hammer, *GOR*, ix, 50, no. 1) and the other (*Mihr-i Māh Sulṭān D̲j̲āmiʿi*; cf. Ewliyā, *op. cit.*, i, 472-3; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥüseyin, *op. cit.*, ii, 186, and von Hammer, *GOR*, ix, 128, no. 741) near the landing stage in Üsküdār. The second was the work of the great architect Sinān [*q.v.*], who built it in 954/1547 and also erected a palace for Mihr-i Māh in Üsküdār near this mosque. After her husband's death (8 July 1561), Mihr-i Māh Sulṭān intervened in political matters on several occasions; for example, she continually urged upon her father that the conquest of Malta should be one of the main undertakings of the Holy War and offered to equip 400 galleys for this campaign at her own expense. She was still alive at the reconciliation with her brother Selīm and

his accession. The correct date for her death, 25 Jan. 1578, is given only by Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, 449; the date in Karačelebi-zāde, *op. cit.*, 458, namely Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 984/20 January-18 February 1577, is a whole year off. She was buried beside her father in his *türbe* (tomb-mosque) in Istanbul. From her marriage with Rüstem Pasha, two sons and a daughter ʿĀʾishe Khānum were born; the latter married the grand vizier Semīr Aḥmed Pasha and then the *Nishāndjī* Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg (see A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, Table XXX).

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(F. Babinger*)

MIḤRĀB (a.), pl. *maḥārīb*, the prayer niche in the mosque.

Etymological origin of the word. In Islamic religious practice and in Islamic architecture, the word denotes "the highest place in a mosque", a "niche" which shows the direction of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*], or "the station of the *Imām* in a mosque" (Lane, 1865, 541). The word includes the radicals *ḥ-r-b*, from which comes the verb *ḥariba*, which in Form I means "to be violently angry", "to be affected by canine madness"; in Form II "to provoke", "to sharpen", or "to excite s.o."; in Form III "to fight", "to wage war with ...", or "to battle with..." and in Form VI "to make war", or "to wage war with one another". Due to these definitions, some scholars expressed their doubts that *miḥrāb* derives from the above verb. Lane put forward "... that the explanation of this is because the person praying wars with the devil and with himself by causing the attention of his heart" (*loc. cit.*). A similar interpretation was offered by Goldziher when he suggested that the *miḥrāb* was a "place of struggle", a "battlefield", and he referred to the Prophet Muḥammad who said that "as blood circulates in people, likewise Satan circulates around them" (Goldziher, 1872, 220). The above explanations are clearly not satisfactory. It was because of this difficulty that some scholars surmised that it was a loan-word in Arabic. Dillman tried to connect it with the Ethiopian *mekʷerab* (Dillman, 1865. 836). The possible Ethiopian origin of the word and its connexion with *mekʷerab* was refuted by Praetorius who, after studying some early South Arabian inscriptions, concluded that the word *miḥrāb* at that time meant some kind of a building, but conceded that the origin of the word was still obscure (Praetorius, 1907, 621). Others, as e.g. Beer (1895, 19) and Daiches (1908, 637-9) tried to connect it with Hebrew *ḥorbôt* which occurs several times in the Old Testament and means "ruins", "ruined cities", "ruined dwellings" or even "palaces" or "fortified buildings". This theory was again considered to be very unlikely by Nöldeke (1910, 52).

The majority of scholars have never doubted that the word is Arabic and, accordingly, have tried to find its provenance and original meaning by examining pre-Islamic Arab literature and one of the earliest and most important sources of the Islamic period, the Ḳurʾān. Rhodokanakis was one of the first scholars to study these early sources and to publish his observations in two articles. In the first article he concluded that the word in pre-Islamic literature meant a "palace", a "niche", a "recess" or a "room", a "balcony" or a "gallery". Then he quoted a sentence from the *ḥadīth* where the word can be interpreted as "sanctuary" (Rhodokanakis, 1905, 296). In his second article, Rhodokanakis narrowed down the meaning of the word and suggested that it actually referred to a part of a king's or a prince's building, namely to a "meeting-room", or more precisely to a "throne-recess" within such a room, as mentioned in Ḳurʾān, XXXIV, 12. Such throne-recesses can be found, Rhodokanakis continued, in the Umayyad palaces such as Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra and Mshattā (we can now add also Khirbat al-Mafdjar). In other verses of the Ḳurʾān, namely in XIX, 12, it refers to a "sanctuary", while in III, 36, the word is used for "a lady's private chamber" (see also Dozy, 1927, i, 265). Rhodokanakis mentions that in XXVIII, 21, it was not clear whether the Prophet meant a complete "palace" or only a "chamber" (Rhodokanakis, 1911, 71). Horovitz referred to some of the occurrences in pre-Islamic poetry, among them one of al-Aʿshā's poems (al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, CDIV, 4) where the word, he claimed, meant a "throne-recess" (Horovitz, 1927, 260). In a more recent article, Serjeant explained that the basic meaning was a "row of columns with their intervening spaces". He also suggested that under the Umayyads, "while retaining its other senses, it was the name given to the *maḳṣūra* [*q.v.*] (Serjeant, 1959. 453). Maḥmūd ʿAlī Ghūl claimed that the ancient South Arabian *midhkān* was almost identical in usage with the *miḥrāb*. It was a kind of *masdjid* or *muṣallā* [*q.vv.*], or even a "burial place in the shape of a portico, place for prayers, and services for the dead" (Ghūl, 1962, 331-5). In connexion with this last interpretation, the present author in an article called attention to the fact that flat marble, stucco, stone, or faience *maḥārīb* strongly resemble tombstones. Tombstones from early Islamic times onward frequently depict a *miḥrāb* design. He re-examined one of al-Aʿshā's poems (al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, CDIV, 4) where the word *miḥrāb* occurs and suggested that it can be interpreted as a "burial place", as opposed to Horovitz's explanation as a "throne-recess". Other literary examples also use the word in the same context (Fehérvári, 1972, 241-54; also, idem, 1961, 32 f.). From these interpretations it would appear that in pre- and in early Islamic times, the word *miḥrāb* was basically used for a special place within a "palace" or in a "room"; it was "the highest", "the first" and "the most important place". At the same time it also denoted "the space between columns" and was equally used for a "burial place". Its architectural origin and introduction into Islamic religious practices as the most prominent feature in a mosque should be examined from these various angles.

Architectural origin. In his *EI*[1] article on the *miḥrāb*, Diez mentioned that orientalists and art historians give a twofold origin for the *miḥrāb*: the Christian apse and the Buddhist niche (Diez, 1936, iii, 485). Both features were alien to the Arabs and were not required by Islamic religious practices. Thus it could never have been introduced and accepted by the early Muslims without an adequate theological explanation. As an architectural feature, the *miḥrāb* is made up of three basic elements: an arch, the supporting columns and capitals, and the space between them. Whether in a flat or in a recessed form, the *miḥrāb* gives the impression of a door or a doorway.

The application of this feature can be as varied as the pre- and early Islamic meaning of the word suggests. The idea of a decorated recess or a doorway in the form of what we know and accept today as a *miḥrāb* goes back to remote antiquity in the Near East. In its secular sense it was used in palaces as a raised platform with a dome above supported by four columns under which the divine ruler carried out his most important functions (Smith, 1956, 197). It was a royal baldachin, "the first place" in a *madjlis*, a "throne-recess". In its religious context it was a "sanctuary", fixed or portable, under which the cult images were placed and were provided with a shelter. The tradition of these domical shelters can be traced back to some of the tent traditions of the Near East, particularly to those among the Semitic people (Smith, 1950, 43; idem, 1956, 197). Such domical tents or structures were also used over burial places. These ancient oriental traditions were later adopted by Judaism and Christianity. The direction of prayer and divine service in ancient religions, particularly in Judaism, added greater importance and widened the scope of these antique traditions. Orientation was especially important among the Semitic peoples and it was not a matter of choice. The Jews turned towards Jerusalem, and in this respect all monotheistic people looked up to the Jews and followed their practice (Krauss, 1922, 317). Early synagogues, however, had no orientation; only the prayer was directed towards Jerusalem. The Ark of the Law, the *ʾaron ha-kodesh*, had no permanent place in the building. It was only in the second phase of the development of synagogue architecture that it received a permanent station within the building, an apse or a niche which was orientated towards Jerusalem (Sukenik, 1934, 27). The earliest known synagogue with such an apse was excavated at Dura-Europos dating from the 3rd century A.D. (Lambert, 1950, 67-72; Goodenough, 1953, figs. 594-5, 599). From subsequent centuries there are several other examples known, some of these depicting the Ark in mosaic decoration on the floor of the apse (Hachlili, 1976, 43-53). The essential part of these decorations include a pair (or two pairs) of columns supporting a semicircular arch framing a conch, while below, within the columns, the Ark is shown as a pair of doors, thus symbolising a doorway, the portal of the life beyond, or the "portal of the dead" (Goldman, 1966, 101 f.). Christianity followed the same tradition. Early churches had an east-west orientation, the entrance was facing the east and the altar was towards the west. There was usually an apse, a *haykal*, with a pulpit. Churches and funerary chapels (*martyria*) generally had a large dome in Syria and in Palestine, not because of the structural function but rather because of the importance attached to this form (Smith, 1950, 92). The domical form with a portal below was frequently depicted on coins from the 4th century A.D. onwards (Smith, 1950, figs. 17-21), and later appears on tombstones (Goldman, 1966, 105). The form of the Christian and Coptic apse was so strikingly similar to a *miḥrāb* that it was not surprising that Arabic sources mention it as a feature borrowed from Christian churches (Lammens, 1912, 246; Creswell, 1932, 98).

The form was, however, not unfamiliar to the Arabs. Pre-Islamic sanctuaries in Arabia had a round tent, a *ḳubba* [*q.v.*] over their idols or over some of their burials (Lammens, 1920, 39-101; idem, 1926, 39-173). It seems reasonable to surmise that the Arabs wanted to preserve this ancient Semitic Arabian custom, but intended to dress it in an Islamic garb by offering a new interpretation to the pagan tradition. By examining the life of the first Muslim community in Medina we may understand how and why this feature was adopted and introduced into Muslim religious practices. During his lifetime the Prophet was not only a religious leader, but also a statesman who used the first primitive mosque in Medina not only as a place for communal prayer but also for public ceremonies where he received delegations and delivered judgements. He used to sit on his *minbar* [*q.v.*] which was set against the *ḳibla* wall. Thus in the strictest contemporary interpretation of the word, the place was a *miḥrāb*. When the Prophet died he was buried in a room next to the *ḳibla* wall, whereby in every sense his grave was in a *miḥrāb*, coinciding with the definition of a "burial place". His grave was most probably marked, we may presume, with a stone which included in its decoration all the elements already known from Judaic and Christian funerary art. That this must have been the case is perhaps attested by the references given by Ibn Rusta and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Fehérvári, 1972, 252). Furthermore, there is ample evidence suggesting that early *maḥārīb* were not recessed niches but flat panels reminiscent of tombstones.

History. Primitive Islam and the Umayyad period. After the Prophet's death, in the early primitive mosques the *miḥrāb* was indicated by a stripe of paint or by a block of stone embedded in the *ḳibla* wall. It appears that this practice was followed for a considerable time, since al-Maḳrīzī informs us that when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ built his mosque at Fusṭāṭ in the winter of 20/641-2, he placed "no hollow *miḥrāb*" in it (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 247). In the Prophet's mosque at Medina, the *ḳibla* was indicated by a large block of stone which was first placed to the north, i.e. towards Jerusalem, but in the second year of the *Hidjra* was moved to the south side, facing Mecca (Burton, 1893, 361). In the earliest mosque at Wāsiṭ, built by al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], the excavators found no *miḥrāb* recess (Safar, 1945, 20). This was also the case in the mosque of Banbhore in Pakistan, built at the end of the 1st/early 8th century (anon., in *Pakistan Archaeology*, i [1964], 52). That must indicate that in both cases the *ḳibla* was most likely marked either by a flat stone or by a stripe of paint.

The earliest known surviving *miḥrāb* is a marble panel known as the *miḥrāb* of Sulaymān in the rock-cut chamber under the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem (Pl. I, 1). Creswell has already indicated that this was most likely the earliest surviving *miḥrāb*. His argument was based on the shape of the arch, on the primitive Kūfic inscription on the lintel, and the simple scroll motif on the arch and the rectangular frame (Creswell, 1932, i, 70, pl. 120a in ii; idem, 1969, i/1, 100, fig. 374). Several other points can now be added to Creswell's remarks. The crenellations and pearl motifs on top of the panel recall pre-Islamic, i.e. Sāsānid, monuments with identical decorations. The vertical bands down the pilasters are similar to those on the mosaics of the circular arcade and on the drum of the dome (Creswell, 1932, figs. 189-9, 201, 205, pls. 33b, 37b). Further evidence is provided by coins depicting *miḥrāb* designs on their reverse, most likely accepting the *miḥrāb* of Sulaymān as their model (Miles, 1952, 156-71; idem, 1957, 187-209, nos. 7-8; idem, 1959, 208, pl. I/1; Fehérvári, 1961, 90-105). All of these coins are attributed to the period when ʿAbd al-Malik introduced his financial reforms in 75/694-5.

The first concave *miḥrāb*, i.e. *miḥrāb mudjawwaf*, was introduced by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, governor of Medina, when he rebuilt the Prophet's Mosque in 87-

8/706-7 (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 247; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, i, 76). It was richly decorated with precious material (Sauvaget, 1947, 83-4). After that, semicircular *maḥārīb* rapidly spread throughout the Muslim world. Such a *miḥrāb* was introduced into the Great or Umayyad Mosque at Damascus when al-Walīd I took over the entire building and rebuilt it between 87/706 and 96/714-15. According to early accounts, it was set with jewels and precious stones. This *miḥrāb* was destroyed in 475/1082 and then was subsequently rebuilt but destroyed again by fire in 1893. The third concave *miḥrāb* was built in the Mosque of ᶜAmr at Fusṭāṭ in 92/710. Semicircular *maḥārīb* flanked by pairs of columns were found in almost all of the Umayyad desert palaces (Creswell, 1932, fig. 438, pl. 120b, e; idem, 1969, i/2, figs. 538, 638, pls. 66 f., 103e and 115b). The earliest surviving concave *miḥrāb* in a mosque is, according to Cresswell, in the Mosque of ᶜUmar at Boṣrā, built during the late Umayyad period (1969 i/2, 489, fig. 544, pl. 809).

ᶜIrāḳ. The Khāṣṣakī *miḥrāb* in Baghdād (Pl. I, 2) is the earliest known surviving example in the country, as it may date from the end of the Umayyad or from the beginning of the ᶜAbbāsid period (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1920, ii, 139-45, Abb. 185-7, Taf. XLV-XLVIa-d; Creswell, 1940, 35-6, fig. 26, pl. Ia-c; al-Tutunčī, 54-62, figs. 3-5, pl. 4). It was carved out of a simple block of marble in a shallow semi-elliptical form. The spiral columns are crowned by acanthus capitals which support the bell-shaped niche-head, which is framed by a frieze of acanthus leafs, followed by a narrow stripe of astragals and a band of palmettes alternating with bunches of grapes. A vertical ornamental band runs down at the back, the lower part of which is missing. The most interesting part of the design is the shell which is contained within a horseshoe shape. The shell as niche-head occurred for the first time in a grotto at Bāniyās in Syria, dating from the 1st century B.C. (Wheeler, 1857, 37). Later, it was frequently used in classical art but was more popular in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. The motif was associated with funerary monuments and as such was often depicted in Jewish and in early Christian sepulchral art. The rounded shape of this *miḥrāb* and the fact that it was made of marble, which was not available in ᶜIrāḳ, may indicate that it was imported from Syria or from the southern part of Asia Minor. As a rule, *miḥrāb* niches are rectangular in ᶜIrāḳ and in Persia. The origin of this form may be found either in the rectangular recesses of Nestorian churches in ᶜIrāḳ or in the Persian *īwān* [*q.v.*]. The earliest known rectangular *miḥrāb* in the country survives in the fortress palace of Ukhayḍir, dating from the latter half of the 2nd/8th century (Creswell, 1940, pl. 120e; al-Tutunčī, figs. 6-9, pl. 5). *Maḥārīb* which were erected in mosques, palaces and in private houses at Sāmarrā mark the first turning point in the development of this feature in Islamic religious architecture. The significant role of the *maḥārīb* was emphasised by their size, which became considerably larger during the 3rd/9th century, e.g. in the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā (Creswell, 1940, pl. 66c) or in the Mosque of Abū Dulaf, where the excavators discovered two *miḥrābs*, one within the other (Francis, 1947, pls. 5/1-2; al-Tutunčī, figs. 15-7, pl. 9). By then, they were more lavishly decorated with carved stucco. A large *miḥrāb* with stucco decoration was excavated in the Djawsak al-Khāḳānī palace in Sāmarrā, built by the caliph al-Muᶜtaṣim between 224/838 and 228/842, close to his throne-room. The niche was more than one metre deep and was flanked by two pairs of columns. The walls of the niche and the columns were coated with stucco (Herzfeld, 1923, Abb. 132; Creswell, 1940, fig. 191). Flat *miḥrāb* panels were used in smaller mosques, mausolea and in private houses. The prototype for these flat *maḥārīb* was clearly provided by the *miḥrāb* of Sulaymān in Jerusalem. Evidence for this is to be found in the *miḥrāb* of the Djāmiᶜ al-ᶜUmariyya at Mawṣil. It is made up of six panels, the lowest central one being the earliest, probably of the 3rd/9th century, and a close copy of Jerusalem flat *miḥrāb* (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, ii, 285-6, Abb. 275, Taf. CXXXV). Several stucco flat *maḥārīb* were discovered in private houses in Sāmarrā, presenting all the three styles of the Sāmarrā stucco decorations (Herzfeld, 1923, Abb. 167-70, 269-60, 316, Taf. LXII and XCVII). An interesting combination of flat *maḥārīb* can be seen in two small mausolea in Mawṣil, the Mausoleum of Yaḥyā b. Ḳāsim (Pl. II, 3) and in the Mausoleum of *Imām* ᶜAwn al-Dīn (al Tutunčī, fig. 59, pl. 34), both erected during the 7th/13th century (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, 249, 263-8, Taf. CXXXV). These two *maḥārīb* are almost identical. They are made up of two flat panels showing the correct *ḳibla* direction. In each of these two *miḥrābs* there is a mosque-lamp hanging down from the pointed arch.

Out of the later rectangular *maḥārīb* in ᶜIrāḳ, mention should be made of the main prayer niche of the Great Mosque in Mawṣil which appears to be a combination of flat and rectangular types (al-Tutunčī, figs. 34-6, pls. 17-9). It is flanked by a pair of octagonal pilasters decorated by intertwined scrolls and crowned by what Herzfeld called "lyra" capitals (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, ii, Abb. 230-3). The spandrels and the canopy have rich arabesque decoration. Below, at the back of the recess there is a decorated panel showing a pair of spiral pilasters on bell-shaped bases and topped by identical capitals supporting the arabesque-decorated spandrels and canopy. This *miḥrāb* may also be regarded as a transitional form between the simple and multi-recessed *maḥārīb* that played an important role later in Persian religious architecture. The inscription round the niche bears the signature of the artist, one Muṣṭafā from Baghdād, and the date 543/1148 (Van Berchem in Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, i, 17; Herzfeld, 1911, ii, 216-24). There was a free-standing *miḥrāb* built of stone in the courtyard of this Great Mosque in Mawṣil, but it was moved to the ᶜAbbāsid Palace Museum in Baghdād. It was attributed to Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh I (589-607/1193-1211). It has two recesses, the outer one being rectangular in plan while the inner one set back from it is pentagonal. There is an interesting innovation here, namely, the frame is composed of small compartments (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, i, 18, ii, 227, Taf. V; Francis, 1951, pl. 3, no. 10; al-Tutunčī, fig. 38, pl. 20). A similar frame, but decorated with human figures, appears around a niche that was discovered near Sindjār on the site of Gū Kummat and which might have been a *miḥrāb* (Reitlinger, 1938, 151-3, figs. 14-7; Francis, 1951, pl. 5, no. 16; al-Tutunčī, figs. 39-9, pls. 29-30). The marble *miḥrāb* of the Pandja ᶜAlī in Mawṣil (built in 686/1287) can be regarded almost as a triple *miḥrāb* since the central pentagonal recess is flanked by a small niche on either side. All three recesses are crowned by *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*] semi-domes, while each panel in the central niche is decorated by a hanging mosque-lamp (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, ii, 270-8, fig. 268, Taf. VII; Francis, 1951, pl. 2, no. 5).

Syria and Palestine. *Maḥārīb* were usually concave in these countries, but flat panels were used from time to time. A small and somewhat simple marble

miḥrāb panel decorates the first pilaster under the western portico in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. It is attributed to the Ṭūlūnid period (Creswell, 1940, ii, pl. 123c). Another flat *miḥrāb*, a stucco panel, probably of the same period, is in the Maḳām ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz at al-Gharrā. Two pairs of pilasters support the rectangular frame which surrounds the richly decorated canopy and spandrels (Herzfeld, 1910, 53-6, Abb. 18, Taf. IV-V; idem, 1923, Taf. LXXVIII; Creswell, 1940, 356, pl. 121c). Rectangular *maḥārīb* with stucco decoration came to light during the excavations at Meskene, ancient Bālis [see MASKANA]. One of these was in the central room of the Great Mosque. Another triple *miḥrāb* with a central deeper rectangular recess flanked by shallow openings was found in room no. 1, while a third one was in room no. 2 (Salles, 1939, 221-4, pls. XCIXa-b, Ca). Two stucco *miḥrābs*, almost identical in shape and decoration were discovered at Palmyra. The shallow semicircular niches are flanked by pairs of pilasters supporting round arches, with shell-shaped canopies inside. The spandrels have arabesque decoration and the panels are surrounded by floriated Kūfic inscriptions. Marble coating for *maḥārīb* was first introduced in Syria, which was always rich in this material. As one of the possible prototypes and earliest examples for these polychrome marble-lined *maḥārīb*, the one in the Madrasa Shādbakhtiyya in Aleppo, made of polychrome stones, should be considered. An interesting innovation can be observed here: the upper part of the *miḥrāb*, namely the rectangular frame surrounding the spandrels, is much wider than the lower part (Herzfeld, 1942, fig. 72; Sauvaget, 1931, 79, no. 21; Creswell, 1959, 103). The same form can be observed in the polychrome marble-lined *miḥrāb* of the Madrasa Sulṭāniyya in Aleppo, dated 620/1223 (Herzfeld, 1921, 144; Creswell, 1959, 102). A slightly earlier and similar example can be found in the Madrasa Ashrafiyya (607/1210). Polychrome marble work, however, reached its apogee in the *miḥrāb* of the Madrasa al-Firdaws, erected in 633/1235 (Pl. II, 4). It is the most developed and the largest of the polychrome marble prayer niches. The spandrels depict skilfully interlaced ornaments, the lines of which also form the frame of the upper part. Above there is a semi-circular panel filled by three coloured interlacing patterns and framed by an inscription. This type of marble-work found its way to Egypt and greatly influenced the decoration of later Ayyūbid and Mamlūk *maḥārīb* in Cairo. An interesting example of polychrome marble-work is a small flat *miḥrāb* in the courtyard of the Bimāristān Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus which was built in 549/1152. It is of white marble, but the arch and the spandrels have polychrome marble decoration. Creswell attributed it to Maḥmūd b. Zankī b. Aḳsunḳur, whose name appears in an inscription on the building and the date of construction. Creswell has also suggested that this was the earliest marble mosaic work (Creswell, 1959, 202). On stylistic grounds, however, Herzfeld claimed that it must have been erected at least a century later, possibly in the late 7th/13th century (Herzfeld, 1942, 10).

Egypt. The first concave *miḥrāb* in the country was built by Ḳurra b. Sharīk [*q.v.*], governor of Egypt, in 92/710-11, in the Mosque of ᶜAmr at Fusṭāṭ. The structure of the main *miḥrāb* in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (265/878-9) is original and so are its four flanking columns and capitals. The polychrome marble of the recess and the wooden lining of the canopy and that on the archivolt are later in date (Creswell, 1940, 348-9, pl. 122; Fattal, 1960, 22-4, pls. 10-11). There are five flat *maḥārīb* in the mosque, two of which are contemporary with the building. They are placed on piers in the fourth arcade of the sanctuary. One of them is badly damaged, but the other one is well preserved (Creswell, 1940, 349, pls. 123a-b; Fattal, 1960, 24-5, pls. 17, 18 and 29). The two panels must have been almost identical. A pair of pilasters on bell-shaped bases and topped by identical capitals support a pointed arch, the outline of which can also be observed on the damaged panel. A row of pearl motifs provides the border for both and an inscription runs across on top. A difference can be noted in the decoration of the spandrels and in the spaces below the arches within the pilasters. In both instances the influence of Sāmarrā is obvious, just as it is evident in the overall plan and decoration of the mosque. The main *miḥrāb* of the Mosque of al-Azhar, built between 359/969-70 and 361/971-2, although several times altered and restored, still retains some of its original decoration. The canopy with its elaborate and deeply-cut floral design, the soffit of its arch covered by finely executed scrollwork, together with the floriated Kūfic inscription on the archivolt, are most probably of the same period as the mosque (Creswell, 1952, 55-6, pls. 4a, 7c; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 1976, fig. 22). This original stucco work was covered by a wooden lining until 1933 (for a picture of this, see Hautecour and Wiet, 1932, ii, pl. 91). The marble lining of the niche and the flanking columns are much later in date.

One of the finest stucco *maḥārīb* in Cairo which survives in its original form, is that of the Mosque of al-Djuyūshī, built in 478/1085 (Pl. III, 5). Its stucco decoration, after that of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, and that of the al-Azhar, is the third outstanding example in Egypt. The design here is nevertheless richer and more refined (Creswell, 1952, 157-9, fig. 80, pls. 48c, 116a; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 80, figs. 31-2). None of the prayer niches built in Egypt in the following two centuries has ever surpassed it. The decoration of the Sayyida ᶜĀtika, built during the first quarter of the 6th/12th century, is more restrained but presents some new ideas. The frame, which is an epigraphic band, does not surround the entire niche, but only its stilted and pointed arch; then it turns at right angles and runs all around the interior. Furthermore, in the spandrels there are large fluted paterae in high relief surrounded by pearl motifs. Finally, above there is a geometric band of overlapping ovals (Creswell, 1952, 229-30, pls. 80e, 117b). Somewhat similar but more elaborate patterns appear above the *maḥārīb* of the Mausoleum of Sayyida Ruḳayya, built in 527/1133 (Pl. III, 6). The horizontal panel over these *maḥārīb* recall the Sāmarrā ornaments (Creswell, 1952, 249, fig. 143, pls. 87b, 119c-d, 120a; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 82, figs. 37-8). All the recesses in this building have scalloped canopies. Three phases can be observed in the development of these canopies. In the first phase, the slightly projecting frame follows the outline of the scallop. One of the earliest examples of this is the *miḥrāb* of Umm Kulthūm, built in 516/1122 (Creswell, 1952, 239-40, fig. 135, pls. 82b, 118b). The second phase of the development is connected with the *muḳarnas*, where the frame of the scallop is combined with *muḳarnas* cones, placed in one, two or three lines above the other (e.g. the *maḥārīb* of the Sayyida Ruḳayya). The third phase was used in Turkey and will be discussed further below. There are two stucco *miḥrābs* in Cairo which present a special group. They are triple-recessed. The earlier of these two is in the mausoleum of Ikhwat Yūsuf, built during the last

quarter of the 6th/12th century (Creswell, 1952, 235-6, pl. 118a). These recesses here are plain, but their upper parts are surrounded by a continuous band of floriated Kūfic which runs all around the interior of the building. The spandrels are filled by carefully-executed arabesques which are comparable to earlier stucco work in Cairo and accordingly may indicate an earlier date for this *miḥrāb*. The decoration of the second triple-*miḥrāb*, in the mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a (middle of the 7th/13th century), is so deeply cut that it looks like openwork. The recesses here have keel-arches which most probably originated in Egypt and were widely used there during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries (Creswell, 1959, 178-80, pls. 57c, 107c). An interesting and somewhat bold experiment can be observed in the *miḥrāb* of the mausoleum of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Rifāʿī, erected in 690/1291 (Pl. IV, 7). The *ḳibla* wall has pieces of glass embedded in the stucco background and these are painted in green (Creswell, 1959, 220-1, pl. 109c; Lamm, 1927, 36-43). The experiment was not successful and was never attempted again.

It has already been pointed out that the polychrome marble-work of Syria had greatly influenced *miḥrāb* decorations in Egypt from the mid-7th/13th century onwards. One of the earliest examples is the comparatively simple but very large *miḥrāb* in the mausoleum of Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn, built in 647-8/1249-50 (Creswell, 1959, 102, pl. 106c). A marble lining for the main *miḥrāb* of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was executed at the order of Lād̲j̲īn [*q.v.*] in the same year, and that of the Mosque of al-Azhar in 665/1266. The *miḥrāb* of the Madrasa of Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] and the almost identical one in his mausoleum, both erected in 684/1285 (Pl. IV, 8), are perhaps the most outstanding examples of polychrome marble work in Egypt. Both niches are of horseshoe shape instead of the conventional concave one. Inside of the *miḥrāb* in the mausoleum there are four rows of small arcades, each crowned by a shell, while in that of the *madrasa* there are only two rows. The canopies and the spandrels of these two *miḥrāb*s are covered with gold mosaic, showing grapes and vine leaves. The arches are also horseshoe-shaped, being made up of white and coloured voussoirs. The influence of the Mag̲h̲rib is well demonstrated here in the shape of the niches and the arches and the coloured voussoirs, while the row of small arcades reveals Syrian traditions (Creswell, 1959, 202, pls. 108b, c).

Mag̲h̲rib. The earliest known surviving *miḥrāb* in the Mag̲h̲rib is in the Mosque of Bū Fatātā at Sūsa in Tunisia, erected between 223/838 and 226/841. It is a low plain niche of horseshoe form with an arch of the same shape (Creswell, 1940, 247, pls. 58e, 121a; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, fig. 129). In the Great Mosque of Sūsa we find for the first time a *miḥrāb* in front of which a dome was built (Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 100-1, figs. 140-1). This example was shortly followed in the Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān, when it was rebuilt by Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad II. He was also responsible for the decoration of the new *miḥrāb*. The niche has a horseshoe form flanked by a pair of marble columns crowned by Byzantine-style capitals supporting a horseshoe arch (Creswell, 1940, 308-14, fig. 232, pl. 121b; Marçais, 1926, i, 19-22, 68 f., figs. 7, 36; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 92-3, figs. 96-9). The canopy has wooden panelling which was most probably added later. The walls of the niche are covered with marble openwork. The archivolt and the surface of the *miḥrāb* are adorned with polychrome and monochrome lustre tiles imported from ʿIrāḳ in 248/862-3 (Marçais, 1928). The date of these tiles and the introduction of lustre has recently been questioned; nevertheless, it is clear that stylistically these tiles are related to those excavated at Sāmarrā. Another horseshoe-shaped *miḥrāb* is that in the Great Mosque of Cordova (Pl. V, 9), which was erected and decorated at the order of al-Ḥakam II in 354/965 (Marçais, 1926, i, 222 f., 264-66, figs. 146, 154; Creswell, 1940, 143). This *miḥrāb* is remarkable in its size and in its extremely rich decoration of polychrome marble and gold mosaics. Several new decorative features which appeared here for the first time were accepted and applied to later *maḥārīb* in the Mag̲h̲rib. The niche itself is very spacious and high, crowned by a complete dome, the earliest such example in a *miḥrāb* niche. The lower part of the niche has plain marble panels, followed by a cornice with a Kūfic inscription. Above there are seven trefoil arches supported by marble columns with gold capitals. These arches are almost identical to those which decorate the upper part of the *miḥrāb*. Inside the arcade there are floral decorations in Byzantine style. The horseshoe arch rests on the wall and on two pairs of marble columns, one behind the other. The archivolt is decorated with voussoir stones, all with rich floral designs, and in white and in polychrome alternately. Acanthus scrolls with a rosette decorate the spandrels. The cusped arcades inside the niche and on top of the *miḥrāb* are most probably imitations of the false window-openings found over the library portal in the Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān (Terrasse, 1932, 110); but as Marçais once suggested, they can ultimately be traced back to Syria (Marçais, 1926, i, 266, n. 1, fig. 147). The *miḥrāb* is one of the most beautiful examples in the whole Muslim world. Its form and decorative style has several times been copied, but its fineness and richness has never been surpassed. Certain elements in this *miḥrāb* like the horseshoe form of the recess, the cusped arches inside and on top of the *miḥrāb*, the broad archivolt with voussoir stones and floral decorations became the accepted features of later *maḥārīb* in the Mag̲h̲rib.

The *miḥrāb* in the Great Mosque of Tlemcen in Algeria is one which reveals close connexions to that in Cordova. It was built in 530/1135. The decorated and cusped archivolt closely resembles that of Cordova but is more elaborate, although executed only in stucco. The arch and the spandrels are surrounded, as in Cordova, with an epigraphic band of floriated Kūfic. The niche itself is pentagonal, a form that was to be frequently used in the Mag̲h̲rib and also in Turkey. The niche is flanked by an opening on either side giving access all round the *miḥrāb* (W. and G. Marçais, 1903, 140 f.; Marçais, 1926, i, 313 f., figs. 213-4, 381-5; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 111, figs. 208-9). This *miḥrāb* in Tlemcen is clearly a deliberate copy of the Cordova *miḥrāb*, albeit executed in cheaper material. Some architectural and decorative details which were new elements in Cordova appeared here, but in more developed forms, and were used again in later examples. These can be best observed in the *miḥrāb* of the Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrākes̲h̲, built *ca.* 541/1146 (Marçais, 1926, i, 321 f., fig. 179; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 125: Basset and Terrasse, 1926, 119). The canopy here is decorated with a *muḳarnas*, as is the large dome in front of the *miḥrāb*. The *muḳarnas* was a new feature in the architecture of the Mag̲h̲rib and was introduced there during the first half of the 6th/12th century. The horseshoe arch of the niche rests on three pairs of engaged columns. The broad and cusped archivolt is decorated with trefoil arcaded compartments. A frame filled with geometrical and star patterns surrounds the arch,

while above there are five blind window-openings with lobed arches. In the Great Mosque of Tinmāl in the High Atlas, the *miḥrāb*, built in 548/1153, closely resembles that of the Kutubiyya. The same arrangements, sc. a *muḳarnas* canopy inside the pentagonal niche, a similarly decorated dome in front of the *miḥrāb*, and a horseshoe arch supported by three pairs of pilasters and a frame not unlike that in the Kutubiyya, can be observed here. Again there are flanking niches and an open path behind, once more presenting a free-standing *miḥrāb* (Marçais, 1926, i, 323, 385, figs. 181, 216-17; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 128, figs. 472-3). There is another *miḥrāb* in the Mosque of Ya^cḳūb al-Manṣūr (also known as the Mosque of the Ḳaṣba) in Marrākesh, which stylistically is related to this group. This is perhaps the latest example of this type. It was built in 592/1195 (Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, fig. 413).

In southern Tunisia, at Tozeur, the *miḥrāb* built in 592/1195 represents an entirely different type. The pentagonal recess is considerably smaller than any of the previous examples, and is crowned by a semi-dome coated with carefully-carved stucco decoration of floral designs and epigraphic bands. The horseshoe arch has an incomplete double archivolt interrupted by the attached rectangular frame. Once again the floral decoration of the wedge-shaped compartments on the archivolt recalls Cordova (Marçais, 1926, i, 385-94, fig. 218; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 107, figs. 174-6). The unusual form and decoration of this *miḥrāb* was due to an Almoravid patron and to the presence of Andalusian craftsmen.

Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia. During the last two or three decades, several new monuments, among them mosques and mausolea, have been discovered and excavated in this area. The mosque known as the Tārī Khāna in Dāmghān, built probably during the latter half of the 2nd/8th century, no longer stands alone as an early mosque in Iran. The comparatively deep rectangular recess with an oblique wall at its back for correcting the *ḳibla* direction, may be regarded as the original *miḥrāb* in this mosque. It has no decoration now, but we may presume that once it was coated with stucco (Godard, 1934, 226; *Survey*, 933-4). The recently-excavated Great Mosque in Sīrāf (late 2nd/8th or early 3rd/9th century) had a rectangular *miḥrāb* but only the foundation walls were discovered *in situ* (Whitehouse, 1970, 2 f., figs. 1-2). The Masdjid-i Djāmi^c in Fahradj near Yazd (probably of the 3rd/9th century) has its main *miḥrāb* in the original place but the walls are of more recent date (Pirniyā, 1349/1970, 2-13; Alfieri, 1977, 65-76, pls. X, XIa, b; Shokoohy, 1978, 67, pl. 106). In the old part of the Masdjid-i Djāmi^c in Shīrāz the tilted back wall of the niche, together with the horseshoe arch and the fragmentary stucco decoration on its soffit were regarded as original and dated to the end of the 3rd/9th century (Pope, 1934, 324; idem, *Survey*, 1264-6, fig. 455, pls. 259A-B; idem, 1965, 80-1, fig. 75). As far as it is known today, the *miḥrāb* of the Masdjid-i Djāmi^c of Nāyin is the earliest example surviving in its original form (Pl. V, 10). It is a double-recessed rectangular niche, the prototype of which may be found in the Djawsaḳ al-Khāḳānī, mentioned above. The canopies, frame, columns and capitals are covered with stucco. Unfortunately, the decoration is missing from the lower part of the inner pair of columns and from the back wall of the niche. Stylistically, this *miḥrāb* was dated to the latter part of the 4th/10th century (Flury, 1921, 230-4, 305-16; *Survey*, fig. 921, pls. 265B, 267, 269A-D, 511B-C; Pope, 1965, 84, fig. 76). Details of the stucco patterns can be traced back to Sāmarrā, but here they appear in a more developed form.

Later *maḥārīb* were double- or triple-recessed, e.g. like that in Mashhad-i Miṣriyān [*q.v.*] in Soviet Central Asia, dated to the end of the 5th/11th century (Kotov, 1939, 10-8, pls. XLV-XLVIII; *Survey*, 2721-5, figs. 922-4; Pugačenkova, 1958, 169-74). The decorative patterns are similar to those of Nāyin. Stucco *maḥārīb* have also been discovered in Afghānistān. One of them was excavated in the Audience Hall in the Great Palace at Lashkarī Bāzār [*q.v.*] (Schlumberger and Sourdel-Thomine, 1978, i/B, 39 f., pls. 73d, 147-9), and it was attributed to the Ghaznavid period. Two small mausolea at Sar-i Pul in northern Afghanistan had fine stucco *miḥrābs* with inscriptions. These inscriptions were published by Bivar, who suggested that one of these two mausolea, namely the Imām-i Khurd and its *miḥrāb* (Pl. VI, 11) cannot be earlier than 450/1058-9, while the second one in the Ziyārat of Imām-i Kalān most likely dates from the 6th/12th century (Bivar, 1966, 57-63). Unfortunately, both *miḥrābs* have disappeared during the last few years (Shokoohy, 1978, 110-11, figs. 88-94, pls. 193-4, colour pl. 47). The *miḥrāb* of the Masdjid-i Djāmi^c of Zawāra, dated 551/1156-7 (Godard, 1936, fig. 199) and those in the Masdjid-i Djāmi^c in Ardistān (553-5/1158-60); Godard, 1936, fig. 195; *Survey*, pls. 322-4) may be regarded as combinations of flat and multi-recessed *maḥārīb*. The *miḥrāb* of the Imāmzāda Karrār at Buzān (now in the Archaeological Museum in Tehran, acc. no. 3268) should also be mentioned. The niche is very deep like an *īwān*, and it is covered by a vault instead of a semi-dome. A floriated Kūfic inscription in the frame gives the date of construction as 528/1143. This inscription is very interesting since the *hastae* of the letters end in human heads. The stucco work here is richer and more refined than in any of the previous examples, showing the wide scope of this technique (Pope, 1934, 114; Smith, 1935, 65-81; *Survey*, pls. 331A-C, 312A). The two most outstanding stucco *miḥrābs* in Iran are those in the Madrasa Ḥaydariyya in Ḳazwīn and in the Gunbad-i ^cAlawiyān in Hamadān. Both are remarkable not only because of their enormous size, but mainly because of the extreme refinement of the stucco decoration. The designs appear as if superimposed in two or three layers. In Ḳazwīn, the lower part of the *miḥrāb* is missing, but the remaining upper half indicates that stucco work may very well have been at its finest here (Godard, 1936, 200, fig. 136; *Survey*, pls. 313A, 316A-C, 512D). The *miḥrāb* in the Gunbad-i ^cAlawiyān in Hamadān perhaps does not surpass that of Ḳazwīn, but certainly comes close to it (Herzfeld, 1922, 86-99; *Survey*, pls. 330, 331A-B; Wilber, 1959, 151-2, fig. 116, cat. no. 55). Herzfeld and Wilber attributed this latter *miḥrāb* to the Il-Khānid period, while Pope dated it to the end of the 6th/12th century (*Survey*, 1301; idem, 1965, fig. 186). It seems most likely that both *miḥrābs* were erected about the same time, before the Mongol invasion of Iran in 617/1220. With the coming of the Mongols, the style slowly changed, and that change is already apparent in the stucco *miḥrāb* of the Imāmzāda Abu 'l-Faḍl wa-Yaḥyā in Maḥallat Bālā, dated to 700/1300 (Wilber, 137, pl. 67, cat. no. 44), and in two others, one of them in an *īwān* outside Shīrāz (Fehérvári, 1969, 3-11; idem, 1972, fig. 8) and the other one in the Pārs Museum (Fehérvári, 1972, fig. 7). The finest example of Il-Khānid stucco *miḥrābs* are in the Masdjid-i Djāmi^c in Reza'iye (Riḍā'iyya) (Wilber, 112-3, pl. 9, cat. no. 16), dated 676/1277 and in the Masdjid-i Djāmi^c of Iṣfahān, built at the order of

Öldjeytü Muḥammad Khudābanda in 714/1314 (Wilber, 141, pls. 87-8, cat. no. 48; *Survey*, pls. 396-397A-B; Pope, 1965, fig. 189. In both *miḥrābs*, the stucco work is of superb quality and is executed in openwork. The gradual change in taste and style resulted in the application of two new techniques in the decoration of *maḥārīb*: the usage of mosaic faience and the application of lustre tiles.

Mosaic faience originated in Iran, and the earliest examples are to be found in the monuments of Khurāsān and Central Asia dating from the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries. The technique was, however, perfected and first applied in the decoration of *maḥārīb* in Turkey (see below). Mosaic faience decoration in Iran was not introduced in *miḥrābs* before the 8th/14th century. The earliest known such *miḥrāb* is in the Imāmzāda Shāh Ḥusayn in Warāmīn, erected *ca.* 730/1330 (Wilber, 1955, cat. no. 86, 177-8, pl. 184). Two other outstanding examples are in the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ of Yazd, dated 777/1375 (Pl. VI, 12; *Survey*, pl. 443; Pope, 1965, 185, colour pl. VII and fig. 246), and the second one is in the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ in Kirmān, dated *ca.* 957/1550 (*Survey*, pls. 401, 540).

Flat *maḥārīb* were also used in Iran. At first, these were of carved stone or alabaster. By the 6th/12th century faience tiles were used, with the decoration in relief painted in cobalt blue or turquoise under the glaze. During the early 7th/13th century lustre painting was introduced on these tiles. Occasionally cobalt blue and turquoise colours were added. There are some ten such large lustre *maḥārīb* known today which were made up of several tiles. All of these were made in Ḳāshān. One of the earliest dated large lustre *maḥārīb* is preserved in the shrine of Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, dated Rabīᶜ II 612/July 1215 (Donaldson, 1935, 125-7; Bahrami, 1944-5, 37-8, pls. 20-1). These lustre tiles have recently been studied by O. Watson in great detail (see Watson, 1985). A somewhat unusual *miḥrāb* is the Masdjid-i ᶜAlī in Ḳuhrūd [*q.v.*] near Ḳāshān (Pl. VII, 13). The recess and the lower part of the *ḳibla* wall are covered with monochrome-glazed and with some hundred lustre-painted tiles. Although the *miḥrāb* in its present form was built probably during the last century, some of its lustre tiles bear the date of 700/1300. At the back of the rectangular recess there is a monochrome-glazed *miḥrāb* tile, slightly tilted for correcting the *ḳibla* direction, dated 708/1308 (Watson, 1975, 59-74, pls. Ia-c, Vd).

Turkey. Early *maḥārīb* in Anatolia were constructed of stone with a comparatively small and shallow recess which could be three-sided, such as the *miḥrāb* of the Ulu Cami in Erzurum, dated 575/1179 (Ünal, 1968, 31, fig. 20). Others are pentagonal, like that of the ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Mosque in Niğde (620/1223), which is a double-recessed *miḥrāb* with both recesses crowned by *muḳarnas* canopies (Gabriel, 1931, i, 120, pl. XXXVI). *Maḥārīb* with *muḳarnas* canopies became popular in the country, and they were equally used in stone and in faience, and later in the Ottoman period in marble. Scalloped canopies were also used in Turkey, and here we find them in the third phase of their development (for the earlier two phases, see above, under Egypt); they are all double-recessed, the inner recess is crowned by a scallop, while the arch of the outer niche is cusped. One such *miḥrāb* was placed in the Ulu Cami of Kızıltepe (Dunaysir), dated to 601/1204 (Gabriel, 1937; idem, 1940, i, 51, ii, pls. XXXI/1-2, XXXII/1-3). The second such *miḥrāb* is in the Madrasa Masᶜūdiyya in Diyarbakir, which is similar to the previous example (Gabriel, 1940, i, 197, ii, pl. LXXIII/3; Bakirer, *Kat.* no. 20, 143-4, res. 55-7, şek. 20).

The second decorative technique applied for *maḥārīb* in Turkey was mosaic faience. There are more than twenty such *maḥārīb* known in the country (for a complete list of these, see Meinecke, 1976, and for tile work in Turkey, Öney, 1976). The tiles were coloured in cobalt blue, turquoise, black, aubergine and white. They form epigraphic and geometric bands round the niches and cover the walls, the *muḳarnas* canopy and the spandrels. The most beautiful of these faience *maḥārīb* are in Konya, which was the capital of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm. One such *miḥrāb* was installed in the Sadrettin Konevi, dated 673/1274-5 (Pl. VII, 14; Meinecke, 1976, cat. no. 85, i, 64, ii, 352-5, Taf. 36/4; Bakirer, *Kat.* no. 49, 182-3, res. 111-13, şek. 49). Towards the end of the 7th/13th century, tiles were used together with stucco and terracotta, as is the case in the *miḥrāb* of the Arslanhane Cami in Ankara, built in 689/1290 (Otto-Dorn, 1957; Akurgal, Mango and Ettinghausen, 1966, 149, colour pl. on p. 132; Aslanapa, 1971, 121; Meinecke, cat. no. 18, i, 41-3, ii, 66-74, Taf. 8/3; Bakirer, *Kat.* no. 58, 196-8, res. 132-4, şek. 58). In the 9th/15th century, faience mosaic is replaced by the *cuerda seca* technique, and perhaps one of the most beautiful *maḥārīb* with such decoration is that of the Green Mosque in Bursa, dated 824/1421 (Öney, 1976, 62; Goodwin, 1971, 66, fig. 60; Aslanapa, 1971, fig. 214). Simultaneously with the *cuerda seca*, underglaze-painted tiles were also introduced during the 9th/15th century. At first, these were painted in blue and white and later in polychrome.

India. The earliest known and reported *miḥrāb* in India which survives is in the so-called Arhai-din-ka-Jhompra Mosque at Adjmēr, completed in 596/1199-1200. It reveals strong Hindu and Buddhist elements in its decoration and in its arch, which is cusped and is carved out of a single block of marble (Nath, 1978, 17, pl. XXI). Three *maḥārīb* in the tomb of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (died in 633/1235) are more in the traditional Islamic styles and in a way serve as models for later Indian prayer niches. The central *miḥrāb* here (Pl. VIII, 15) is a combination of a rectangular and a flat *miḥrāb*. The frame is filled by an epigraphic band. The pair of polygonal and richly decorated columns and capitals support the cusped arch. The canopy of the recess, just like that of the *miḥrāb* panel at the back, is filled with plaited Kūfic. In the centre of the back panel there is a rosette in relief. Such patterns can be observed in the centres of several Indian *maḥārīb*. It is possible that the architects tried to imitate, either consciously or not, the black meteorite stone which is in the centre of the *miḥrāb* of Sulaymān in Jerusalem.

One of the characteristics of Indo-Muslim architecture was to place three or more *maḥārīb* in the *ḳibla* wall, as it had already been done in Iltutmish's tomb, where this principle was applied perhaps for the first time. The lotus flower, a hanging mosque-lamp or a vase from which a scroll emerges, become permanent decorative features of the back panels of later prayer niches. Such decorations appear in the five *maḥārīb* of the Royal Mosque, the Ḳila-yi Kuhna in Dihlī, which was built by Shēr Shāh Sūr in about 949/1542. The *maḥārīb* of the Ḳila-yi Kuhna are enormous in size. They are multi-recessed, with a cusped arch over the outer recesses, and a *miḥrāb* panel at the back of each one decorated with a hanging mosque-lamp (Brown, 1964, 93, pl. LXII/2). By the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, Persian influence becomes stronger and more apparent in Indo-Muslim architec-

ture. It was perhaps most obvious in the decoration of prayer niches. Most of the Indian elements were omitted and were replaced by Persian motifs. The cusped arch, however, remains. A good example for this strong Persian influence is the *miḥrāb* of the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid in Fatḥpur Sikrī which is decorated with polychrome inlaid stonework and which reminds us of contemporary Ṣafawid faience-tiled *maḥārīb* (Brown, pl. LXXII/1). Later prayer niches in Āgra and Dihlī are built of marble and decorated in polychrome in the *pietra dura* technique.

Wooden and portable *maḥārīb*. *Maḥārīb* either as large niches or small portable wooden panels appeared during the Fāṭimid period in Egypt. They were found in excavations in Fusṭāṭ, but several others are known from later periods and are preserved in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (Weill, 1936, pl. X). Large wooden *miḥrābs* were also introduced and these were popular all over the Islamic world. One of the earliest of these large wooden *maḥārīb* is from the Masdjid-i Maydān in Abyāna in Iran, dated 497/1103 (Ettinghausen, 1952, 77, pl. XII). An interesting wooden *miḥrāb* was discovered in Afghānistān in the upper Logar Valley in the village of Čarkh, in the Mosque of Shāh Muḥyī al-Dīn. It has an overall geometrical decoration and an inscription in Kūfic (Pl. VIII, 16). It is dated to the 6th/12th century (Bombaci, 1959, figs. 13-4; Rogers, 1973, 249, no. 82). The wooden *miḥrāb* of the Madrasa Halawiyya in Aleppo (dated 643/1245) is considerable in size, measuring 350 cm. in height and well over 100 cm. in width. It is richly decorated with geometrical patterns and is inlaid with ivory (Guyer, 1914, 217-31; Sauvaget, 1931, no. 15).

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(G. Fehérvári)

MIHRAGĀN (p. *Mihragān/Mehregān*; a. *Mihradjān*; *Meherangān* among the Parsees), name of an Iranian Mazdaean festival dedicated to Mithra/Mihr, traditionally celebrated in Iran around the autumn equinox. Its origins, its place in the calendar, its duration, its rituals and the beliefs connected with it, its diffusion in other cultural areas and its survivals in the Islamic period present several problems which are the subject of discussions and controversies. It is also a word used in toponymy, patronymy and music (see below, iv).

i. The name of the festival. It comes from the Pahlavi *mihrakān/mihragān*, ancient *mithrakāna* (Darmesteter, ii, 443), a noun derived from a proper noun, i.e. Mithra (Benveniste, 1966, 14; on the suffix *akāna* becoming *agān*, of Parthian origin, see Gignoux, 1979, 43 ff.). According to another attractive but faulty interpretation, the *kāna* component (no longer *akāna*) is a variant of *ghna* (Vedic *han*, Old Persian *jan*) meaning to strike or kill; *mithrakāna* is then the killing (or sacrifice) for Mithra, the expression being parallel to that designating the Indo-Iranian god Verethragna (Campbell, 235; on Verethragna, slayer of dragons, and its dialectal variants, see Benveniste and Renou, 68-90; Skjaervø, 192). In the Islamic period there no longer appears to be any reference to Mithra. The most prolific author on the pre-Islamic festival, al-Bīrūnī, thinks that the Arabised form *mihradjān* means love (*mihr*) of the spirit or the soul (*djān*; *Āthār*, 223, tr. 209; the majority of Muslim authors followed his interpretation, and the Persian poets often make *mihrdjān* rhyme with *mihrbān*, friendly, benevolent). However, the meaning "sun" has also been given for *mihr* and several myths which are associated with it (see below). Other interpretations which connect this name with death (*mīr*) are equally erroneous (on traditions and anecdotes reported by al-Bīrūnī and other authors, see Ṣafā, 30; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 404 = § 1287), as is also the view that it is a form of plural in the suffix *gān/djān* coupled with a noun of divinity given to the months and days of the Mazdaean months or of ceremonies forming the names of festivals (an error of the Persian editor of the *Tafhīm* of al-Bīrūnī, 254, n. 1).

ii. Problems of calendars. The historical evolution of the various types of calendars used by the Iranians, notably under the influence of the Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks and the Arabs, is difficult to trace, but it determined the place and duration of their ceremonies and periodic festivals. The festivals celebrated at the solstice assumed a particular importance among the Indo-Iranians. They may have begun the year with the autumn equinox although, as for example among the Jews, several "beginnings" of the year could have been recognised simultaneously (Boyce, *HZ*, i, 174). The Achaemenid administration used a "luni-solar" year beginning with the spring equinox, similar to, but different from, that of the Babylonian calendar (Hartner, 747). This practice was taken over by the Seleucids, then by the Arsacid Parthians, at least as far as royal chronology was concerned (Bickerman, 778 ff.; see also below). Alongside the "Old Persian" calendar, we should take note of an "Old Avestan" calendar beginning the year in mid-summer. Both were abandoned for an "Egyptian" or "New Avestan" calendar (around 510 B.C.?; on the first reform see Taḳīzāda, *Maḳālāt*, vi, 77 ff.; Hartner, 749 ff.). Another difficulty arises from the adjustment of time between the Zoroastrian calendar of 360 days and the solar year of 365 days and a quarter. This problem, never solved in a satisfactory manner, led, under the Sāsānids, to a resort to "epagomenes" i.e. intercalary or "stolen" days (*duzdīda*), at the end of the year and one month every 120 years to recover the quarter of an annual day (see Taḳīzāda, *ibid.*, 85 ff.; Bickerman, 786 ff.). Not well received by the faithful, this Sāsānid reform led to a duplication of Zoroastrian religious festivals: *Naw-rūz*, *Mihragān* and the six *Gāhāmbārs* (Christensen, *Types*, ii, 143 ff.; Boyce, 1970, 513 ff.). Today, the Iranians use, alongside the lunar *hidjrī* calendar, a solar calendar beginning the year from the spring equinox (*Naw-rūz*), based on the *Djalālī* [*q.v.*] calendar inaugurated under the Saldjūḳ sultan Djalāl al-Dīn Malikshāh (465-85/1073-92 (cf. Hartner, 772 f., 784 f.).

Until the Sāsānids, *Mithrakāna/Mihragān* remained, at least officially, a single day (Boyce, 1970, 518 f.; idem, *HZ*, ii, 34). Celebrated in autumn, the seventh month of the year, under the Achaemenids (6th/4th century B.C.), the festival was, inexplicably, observed in the spring, and *Naw-rūz* in autumn, under the Arsacid Parthians (3rd century B.C.-2nd century A.D.) who, following the Macedonian calendar established under the Seleucids, made the year begin with the autumn equinox (Boyce, 1975, 107; idem, 1976, 106). The introduction of the reform under the Sāsānids (who inherited the Parthian system) led, at

1. Jerusalem, *Miḥrāb* of Sulaymān under the Ḳubbat al-Ṣa<u>kh</u>ra, 72/962.

2. Ba<u>gh</u>dād, The <u>Kh</u>āṣṣakī *miḥrāb*, late Umayyad or early ʿAbbāsid period.

3. Mawṣil, Corner *miḥrāb* in the Mausoleum of Imām Yaḥyā b. Ḳāsim, 7th/13th century.

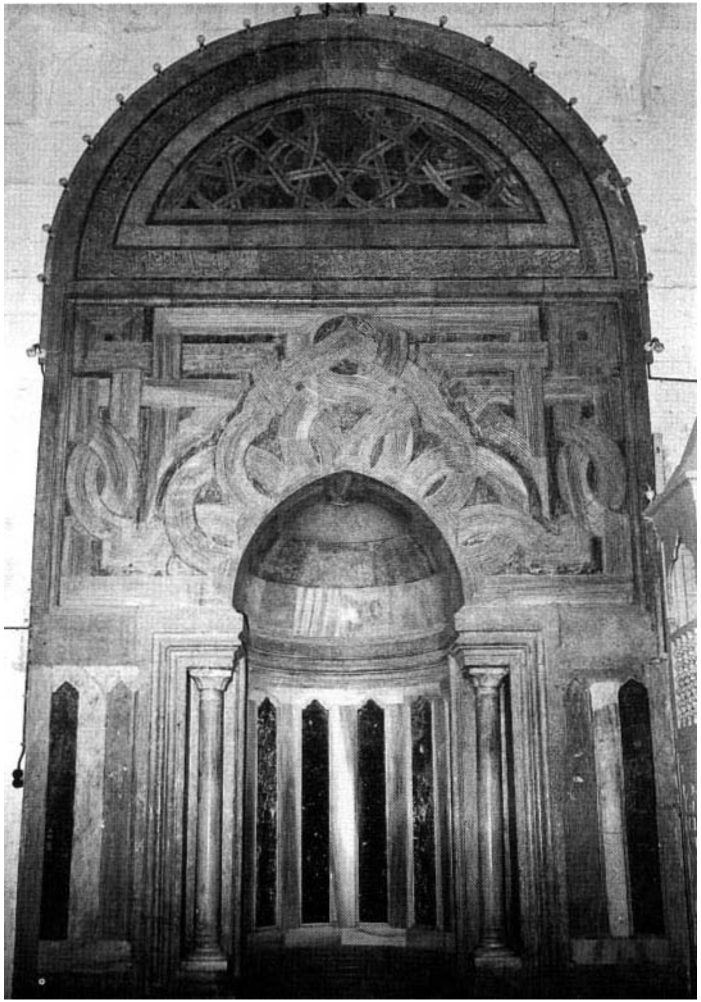

4. Aleppo, marble *miḥrāb* in the Madrasa al-Firdaws, 633/1235.

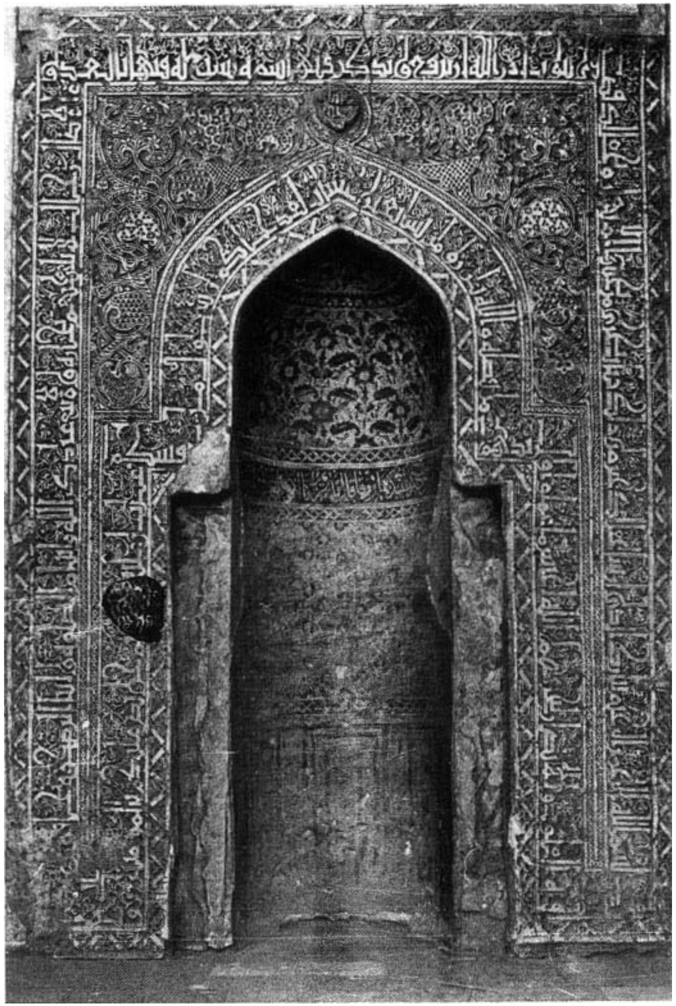

6. Cairo, stucco *miḥrāb* in the Mausoleum of Sayyida Rukayya, 527/1133.

5. Cairo, stucco *miḥrāb* in the Mosque of al-Djuyūshī, 478/1085.

MIḤRĀB

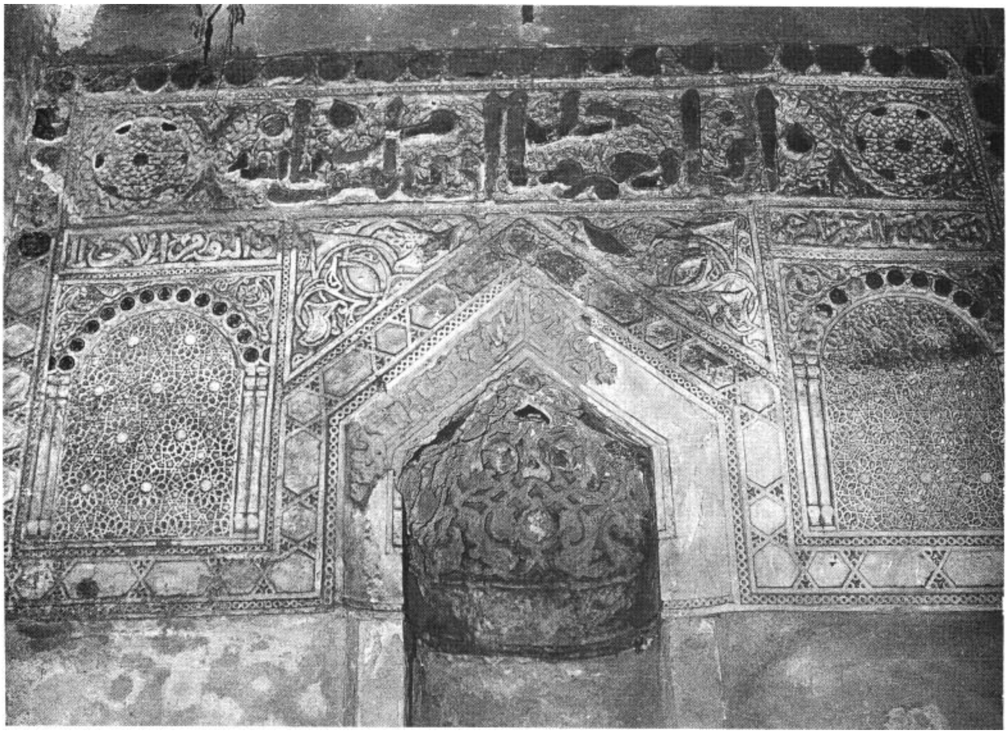

7. Cairo, stucco and glass *miḥrāb* in the Mausoleum of Sulaymān al-Rifāᶜī, 690/1291.

8. Cairo, marble *miḥrāb* in the Mausoleum of Ḳalāwūn, 684/1285.

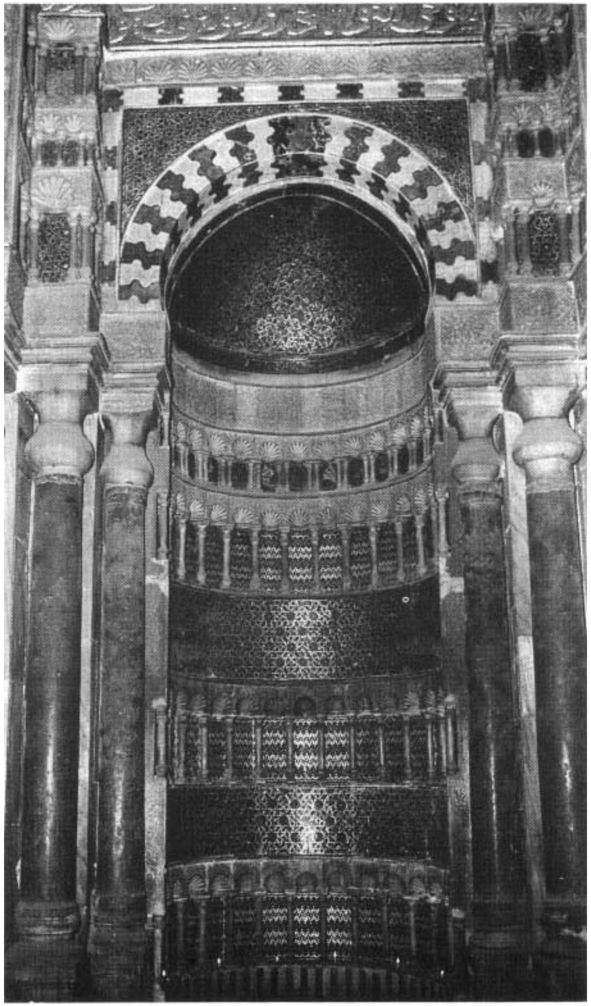

9. Cordova, *miḥrāb* in the Great Mosque, 354/965.

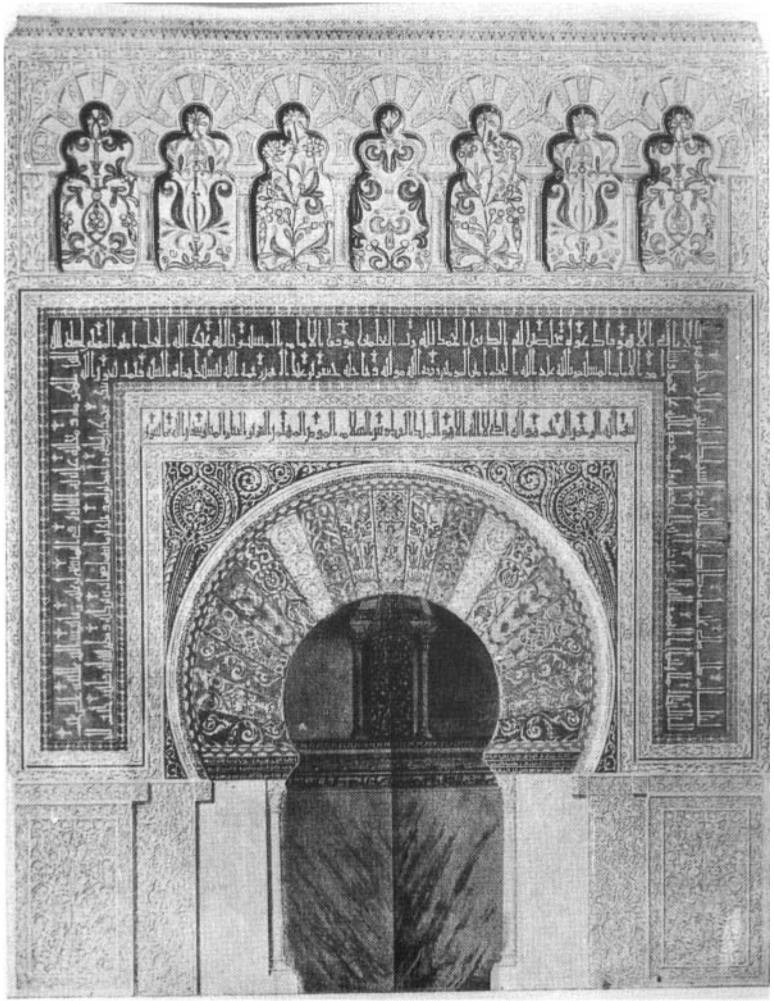

10. Nāyin, stucco *miḥrāb* in the Masdjid-i Djāmi[c], second half of 4th/10th century.

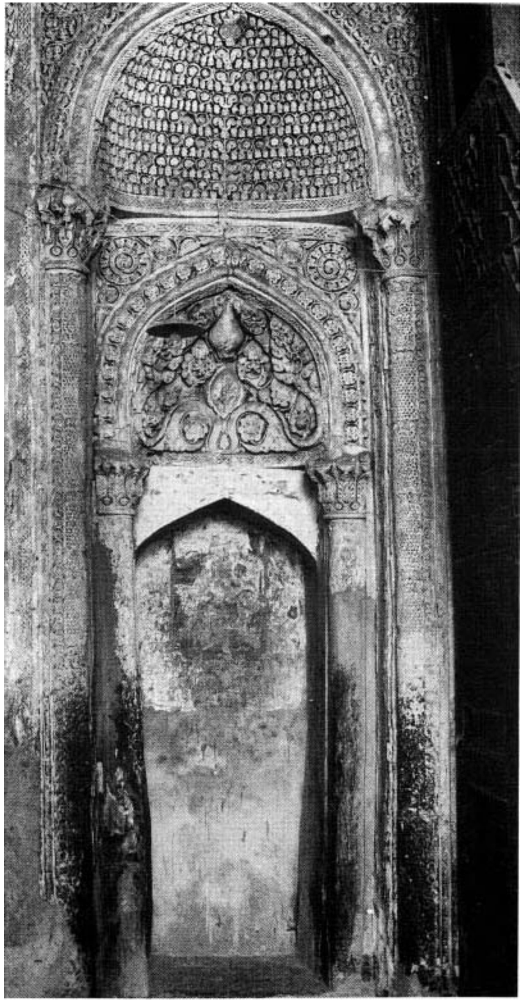

11. Sar-i Pul, Afg͟hānistān. Stucco *miḥrāb* which was standing until recently in the *Ziyārat* of Imām-i K͟hurd, 6th/12th century. (Photographed and reproduced courtesy of Prof. A.D.H. Bivar).

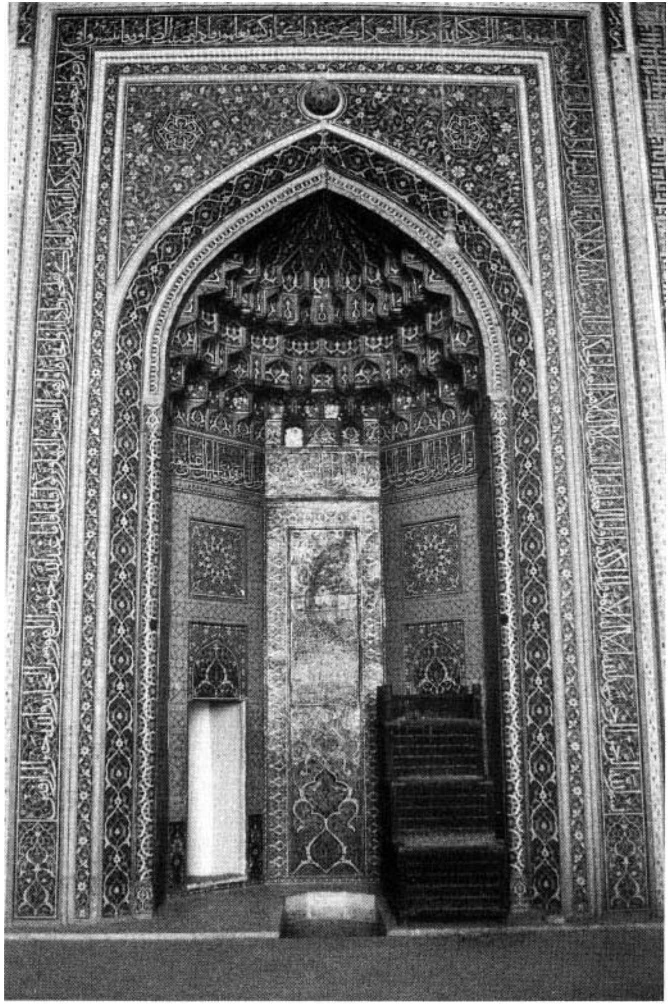

12. Yazd, faience *miḥrāb* in the Masd͟jid-i D͟jāmiʿ.

13. Ḳuhrūd, Iran, *miḥrāb* in the Masdjid-i ʿAlī, lustre-painted and monochrome glazed tiles, 700-8/1300-8.

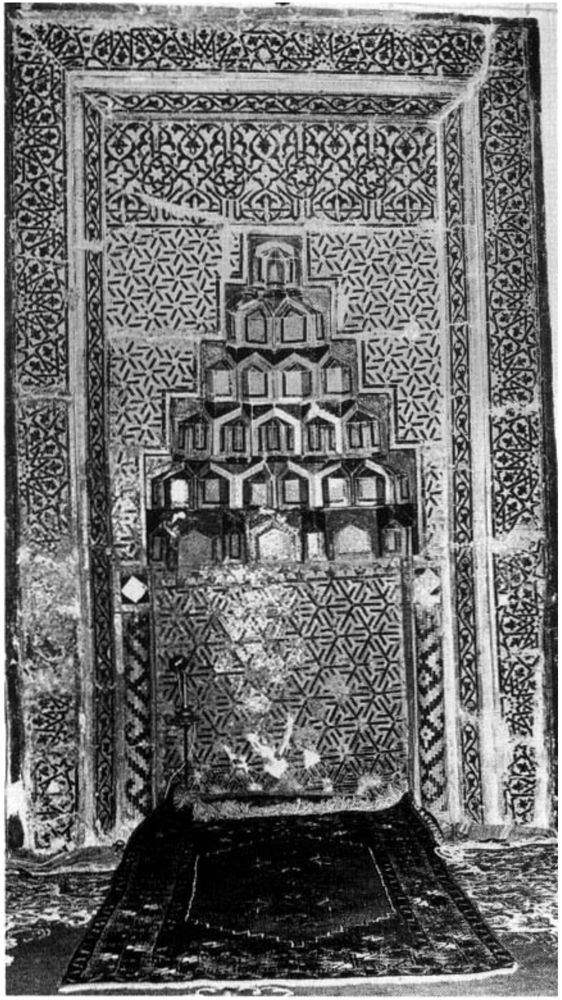

14. Konya, faience *miḥrāb* in the Sadrettin Konevi, 673/1274-5. (Photographed and reproduced courtesy of Mr. H. Dewenter)

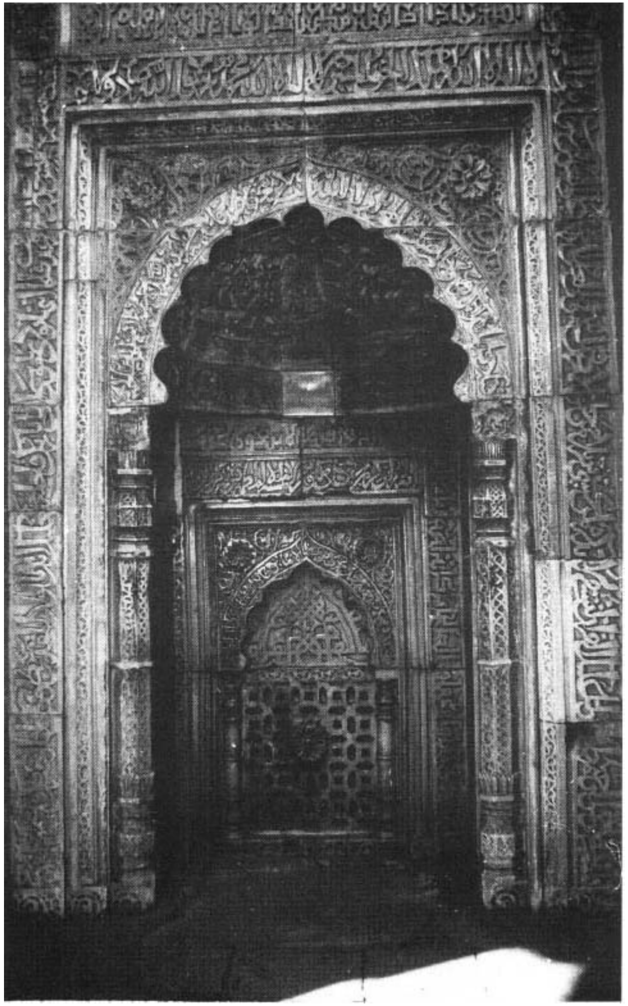

15. Dihlī, *miḥrāb* in the tomb of S͟hams al-Dīn Iltutmis͟h, *ca.* 633/1235. (Photographed and reproduced courtesy of Mr. J. Burton-Page)

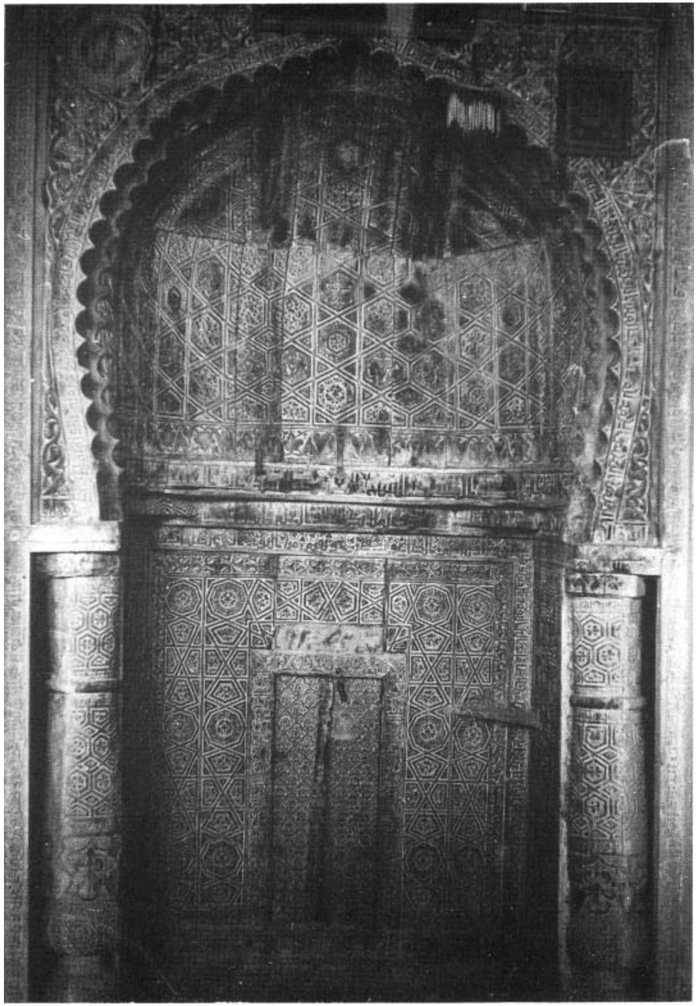

16. Čark͟h-Afg͟hānistān, wooden *miḥrāb* in the Mosque of S͟hāh Muḥyī al-Dīn, 6th/12th century. (Photographed and reproduced courtesy of Prof. A.D.H. Bivar).

least in popular practice, to the duplication of the festival: the 16th day (*mihr rūz*) of the seventh month (*mihr māh*), was celebrated as the "little" (*khurdak* or *kūček*) or "general" (*ʿāmma*) *Mihragān* and the 21st day (*rām rūz*), as the "great" (*buzurg*) or "special" (*khāṣṣa*) Mihragān. According to al-Bīrūnī, the Sāsānid king Hormizd I (272-3 A.D.), joined together the festival days of *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* which were observed respectively over six days. Then, the kings and people of Iran celebrated the two festivals over thirty days (al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 223 f., tr. 208 f.; idem, *Tafhīm*, 254 f.). The whole month of Farwardīn (that of *Naw-rūz*) had been consecrated to a festival divided into six sets of five days, respectively for the princes, nobles, servants of princes, the people, the shepherds and stock-breeders (after Djamshīd, according to al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 218, tr. 203; under Djamshīd, according to Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin*, 360, tr. 97, with some variants as to the social groups.) But the circumstances concerning the duration of the festival remain vague (al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, also mentions for the Sāsānid *Naw-rūz* a duration of five days for the reception by the king of the people of all ranks and a sixth day of private royal celebration). One thing remains certain; the Zoroastrians festivals were still being adjusted for time in relation to the solar year, to keep them at a normal date, a second reform of the calendar was undertaken under the Sāsānids between 507 and 511. At first, *Mihragān* apparently continued to be celebrated for six days by the Zoroastrians until after the 10th century A.D.; the Zoroastrian festivals were then reduced to five days, *Mihragān* also losing the *rām rūz* which represented for the Zoroastrian faithful the authentic ancient day of the festival (Boyce, 1975, 106 f.; idem, 1983, 807 f.). The Parsees of India and the Zoroastrians of Iran use different calendars for their periodic festivals (see below). After Islamisation, some caliphs and Muslim rulers celebrated *Nay-rūz/Naw-rūz* and *Mihradjān* at the spring and autumn equinoxes (see below).

iii. Evolution and diffusion of the ritual. This festival probably represents a pre-Zoroastrian Iranian new year celebrated in autumn. It seems also that before the adoption of Zoroastrianism, the Iranians established, by contact with the Babylonians, their new year (**Navasarda*, then *Nō-rōz/Naw-rūz*) in the spring, while preserving their autumn festival which they then called *Mithrakāna* (Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 34), celebrated on the 16th day of the 7th month according to the calendar introduced by the Zoroastrian magi (between 457 and 454 B.C. and not, as Taḳīzāda states, in 441 B.C.; see Hartner, 776 f.). From then on, the characteristics of the festival were influenced by the multiple aspects of Mithra, which involve a simple concept (friend, alliance, friendship, love, contract, etc.) of the Vedic Mitra, a divinity with the juridico-priestly, beneficent, conciliatory, luminous, etc. aspect, often associated with Varuna, of the Avestan *yazata* (not known by Zoroaster but integrated in *yasht* 10: see Zaehner, 98 f.; see also Boyce, 1969, 14 ff.), similar to Verethragna, *yazata* of victory, and the Vedic Indra, the Mithra-Ahura syzygy, later Ahura-Mithra, corresponding to the Vedic-Mithra-Varuna (on Mithra and his place in Zoroastrianism, see Boyce, 1969; idem, *HZ*, i, 24 ff. and index; concise account in Turcan, 5 ff. and bibliography.)

Mithrakāna was celebrated in the 7th month of the ancient Achaemenid year called *Bāgayādish* (Hartner, 746), supposedly as this name was taken to mean (the month of) the cult of Baga, assimilated with Mithra (Taḳīzāda, *op. cit.*, 98 ff.). This interpretation has now been rejected for philological reasons and because the festival was established, in Mesopotamia, under foreign influences (see below), well after the ancient Iranian names had been given for the first time to the months (Boyce, 1981, 67 f.; idem, *HZ*, ii, 16 ff., 24 ff.; on the name Baga, see also Gignoux, 1979, 88-90). Another problem arises from the fact that on 10 *Bāgayādish* the festival *Magophonia* was celebrated, a commemoration of the murder of the magi (or "of the magus", Gaumāta) under Darius I (on *Magophonia*, some of whose rites may have influenced *Mithrakāna*, see Henning; Taḳīzāda, *op. cit.*, 99 ff.; Dandamaev, 138 f., 575 f.; Widengren, *Religions*, 163 ff.; Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 86-89; Hartner, 749).

Mithrakāna may have been established in Mesopotmia under the influence of a Babylonian autumn festival placed under the protection of Shamash, the equivalent of Mithra, this influence having developed the solar aspect of this myth. It was apparently the first time that the Iranians dedicated a festival to a single god (Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 35). Its rites have been made known to us especially by the Greek authors and, in their later elaborated form, by the authors writing in Arabic. The dominant aspect is that of a royal festival of a new year or renewal, celebrated by festivities, present-giving, animal sacrifices. The numerous features common to this festival and *Naw-rūz* show that the two festivals may have been treated together (notably by Ps.-Djāḥiẓ). According to the epic-religious tradition, the festival was founded by the hero-king Thraētaona/Frētōn/Farīdūn who killed with his bull-headed club the dragon Azhdahāk/Dahāka/Ḍaḥḥāk; (Widengren, *Religions*, 60 f., 68 f., 258 f.; see also G. Dumézil, *Le problème des centaures*, Paris 1929, 72f.; according to the tradition of Ṭabaristān/Māzandarān, Farīdūn was brought up in the north of Lārīdjān [*q.v.*] where he used to hunt mounted on a cow). The myth has been historicised in the Iranian epic in which the legitimate king Farīdūn institutes the festival of *Mihragān* to celebrate his triumph over the usurping tyrant Ḍaḥḥāk whom he chains to Mt. Dunbāwand/Damāvand. He inaugurates the month of *Mihr* by putting the crown on his head; the nobles perform libations. He introduces the practice of celebrating *Mihragān* with rest, festivities and banquets. He is remembered in the month of *Mihr* in which one should not wear a worried and sad expression (Firdawsī, ed. Mohl, i, 114; ed. Moscow, i, 9-10; Asadī, 329, 474 f., Fr. tr., ii, 164, 271 f.). The hero-smith Kāva [see KĀWAH], after having triumphed over Bēvarasp/Ḍaḥḥāk, asks the people to pay homage to Farīdūn (al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 222, tr. 207 f.).

The dominant feature of the festival was its royal and solar aspect. Mithra being the mediator between Ohrmazd and Ahriman. According to various traditions, the sun appeared for the first time on the day of *Mihragān*; God made the contract between light and darkness on the day of *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* (al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 222, tr. 208; Widengren, *Hochgott*, 94, 99 f., 158). According to other traditions, on the day of *Mihragān*, God created the earth and bodies; he illuminated the moon which was until then a sphere without light. *Mihragān* is regarded as a sign of resurrection and the end of the world, for everything which grows then reaches its perfection (al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*). The rituals are still little known. According to the Greek sources, the Achaemenids apparently celebrated *Mithrakāna* more than *Navasarda/Naw-rūz* at Persepolis, the autumn season being pleasanter there and more convenient for bringing tribute (Nylander, 143, citing Athenaeus; Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 110). It seems

that they also used to sacrifice horses to Mithra there; the satrap of Armenia sent them annually 20,000 colts for the *Mithrakāna* (Boyce, *HZ*, i, 173; ii, 110, according to Strabo). *Mithrakāna* was celebrated joyfully, notably with dances (according to Duris); it was the only annual occasion on which the king of Persia became inebriated (according to Ctesis, physician to Artaxerxes II); cf. Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 35. It is thought that *soma/haoma* was used for these libations (Boyce, *HZ*, i, 173; Turcan, 9; and see below).

We have little information as to the diffusion, in eastern Iran, of *Mithrakāna*, whose Sogdian counterpart may have been *Bagakāna*, a contracted form of *Bagamithrakāna*, celebrated on the 16th day of the 7th month (Boyce, 1981, 68 f.). The name *mihrakān/ mihragān* is to be found in the Jerusalem Talmud (*moharnakī*) and in that of Babylon (*muharnekai*); see Taḳīzāda, *op. cit.*, 192. The Seleucid and Arsacid periods are much less documented. According to the epic tradition, the festivals of *Mihragān* and *Sada* were revived by the last Arsacid, Ardavān, and by the first Sāsānid, Arda<u>sh</u>īr-i Pāpakān (Firdawsī, ed. Mohl, v, 302, 328; ed. Moscow, vii, 442, 769). Although apparently more orthodox Zoroastrians than their Sāsānid successors, the Arsacids transposed *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* (see above, and Boyce, 1983, 805). Under their influence, some Iranian cults and sanctuaries, some of which were dedicated to Mithra, were introduced into Armenia. With Christianisation, the great *Mihragān* (Arm. *Mehekan*, 21 *Mehek* = *Mihr*) was reconsecrated to St. George the Soldier (Taḳīzāda, *op. cit.*, 194 ff.; Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 89; eadem, 1981, 67; eadem, 1983, 804 f.; Turcan, 17). As far as we can see, it was in Asia Minor, rather than in Mesopotamia, that Greco-Roman contacts were established out of which arose the mysteries of Mithra (Turcan, 18). It is also possible to interpret the identification of Mithra with Helios-Apollo as more of a symbiosis than a syncretism (at least at Sardis; Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 268 f.). But the Mithra of the mysteries is very different from the Median-Persian Mithra and the diffusion in the Greco-Roman world of the rituals of *Mithrakāna* (across Armenia?) remains conjectural, notably inasmuch as we are concerned with their direct influence on the Mithraic celebration, then the Christian one of *Natalis invicti* on 25 December (Cumont, 167) or of *Mithrakāna* celebrated in Phrygia, at the time of the wine-harvest, with libations of wine and animal sacrifices (Campbell, 239 f.). The epic legends and heroic character attached to the ritual of *Mihragān*, celebrated especially by men, have supplied more definite links with Roman Mithraism (Boyce, 1966, 107, n. 3; idem, 1969, 26, n. 83; idem, 1983, 802).

With the Sāsānid reform, the religious calendar consisted of seven obligatory festivals: the *Gāhāmbārs* (instituted, according to tradition, by Zoroaster; see al-Bīrūnī, *Ā<u>th</u>ār*, 219, tr. 205) and *Naw-rūz* (Boyce, 1983, 794 f.). Despite its optional character, *Mihragān* preserved all its prestige. Some preferred it, just as they preferred the autumn to the spring (al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 223, tr. 208 f.). *Mihragān* was also regarded as the beginning of winter (al-Mas^cūdī, *Tanbīh*, 216, Fr. tr. 289; idem, *Murū<u>dj</u>*, iii, 404 f. = § 1287). The mythological elements, beliefs and rituals connected with *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* mentioned in the Islamic sources seem nevertheless to date back to earlier periods or even to refer to Iranian customs held in honour under some caliphs (see below). While the connections between Zoroastrian festivals and epic tradition are probably ancient (according to Ps.-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, "*Naw-rūz* belongs to <u>Dj</u>am and *Mihra<u>dj</u>ān* to Afrīdūn", *Maḥāsin*, 360, tr. 97), their duplication leads to a re-elaboration of the epic traditions; the little *Mihragān* commemorates the joy of all human beings when they heard tell of Farīdūn's expedition, whereas on the great *Mihragān* he triumphed over Ḍaḥḥāk and bound him (al-Bīrūnī, *Ā<u>th</u>ār*, 222 f., tr. 207 ff.; al-Ḳazwīnī, 123; Boyce, 1983, 807). According to various traditions, on the day of *Mihragān* the kings of Persia used to wear (in the manner of Farīdūn?) a crown on which was engraved the image of the sun and the wheel on which he turns. A valiant warrior would stand at the gate of the palace to invoke the aid of the angels (who came to the help of Farīdūn?): al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.* According to Ps.-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, the bearer of good omen, at *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān*, was said to come through the agency of two spirits (according to Inostrantzeff, the *ame<u>sh</u>a spentas* or "archangels" Haurvatat and Ameretat connected respectively with water and plants): *Maḥāsin*, 361, tr. 97, 3. Then, expressing his good wishes, he would place before the king, on a silver table, cakes prepared with different grains; seven grains of each kind; seven branches of an auspicious tree (and auspicious inscriptions), seven white earthenware plates, seven silver-*dirhams* minted that year, a new *dīnār* and a bouquet of wild rue. On this day, the king would abstain from discussing any matter. The first thing that was presented to him was a gold or silver vase containing white sugar, Indian nuts and silver or gold cups. He would then drink fresh milk in which dates had been soaked. He would give the dates to his favourites and sample whatever sweets he liked (*ibid.*, 361 f.; tr. 98 f.).

Although *Naw-rūz* may have been more important than *Mihragān* in certain respects (welcoming the New Year, collecting the land-tax, nominating governors, transferring posts, minting coins, etc.), it was a right of the ruler to receive presents and his courtiers, relatives and dependents on the two festivals. Each one gave what he liked best or something in which he excelled. The donors were able to record the value of the gift in the *dīwān*. The king had to remunerate these presents with gifts or rewards. On the day of *Mihragān*, he would wear new clothes of poplin (*<u>kh</u>azz*), silk or closely-woven fabric. He would distribute to his courtiers and relatives, at *Naw-rūz*, their winter clothes and, at *Mihragān*, their summer clothes (Ps.-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Tā<u>dj</u>*, 146 ff., Fr. tr. 165 ff.; these gifts of clothing were called *āyēn*, Christensen, *Sassanides*, 125, 407 ff.; on the presents that the king of Persia received from all quarters, see also Ps.-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin*, 367-8, tr. 100-1).

At *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān*, the king held a public audience to which all, great and small, had access (Ps.-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Tā<u>dj</u>*, 159-60, Fr. tr. 178-9; Niẓām al-Mulk, 57, tr. 42 f.; al-<u>Gh</u>azālī, *Naṣīḥa*, 167 ff., tr. 102 ff.). These audiences were abolished by Yazdgard I (399-421) or Bahrām Gūr (421-39) and his son Yazdgard II (439-57); see Ps.-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Tā<u>dj</u>*, 163-4, Fr. tr. 181-2; al-<u>Gh</u>azālī, *ibid.* and tr. 103, n. 3; Christensen, *op. cit.*, 283, 303. This custom may have been borrowed by *Naw-rūz* from *Mihragān*, the festival of Mithra Lover of Justice (*Dāvar Mihr*): Boyce, 1975, 110, n. 18. The ruler could grant forgiveness for an offence committed at *Naw-rūz* or *Mihragān* (Ps.-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Tā<u>dj</u>*, 101-2, Fr. tr. 126-7, anecdote concerning <u>Kh</u>usraw I Anū<u>sh</u>irwān and Mu^cāwiya). Moreover, it was at *Mihragān* that Kavād I (488-531) organised, in 528-9, a massacre of the Mazdakites (just as Darius I had massacred the magus Gaumāta and his followers at the *Mithrakāna*): Ibn al-Bal<u>kh</u>ī, 90; cf. Widengren, *Religions*, 343.

As at *Naw-rūz*, a fair was held at *Mihragān*. The Persians wished to live for a thousand years (in the manner of Ḍaḥḥāk). Eating pomegranate and smelling the perfume of rose-water secured them against illness (al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*). During the festivities of *Mihragān*, particular musical tunes were played (see below, iv).

With the installation of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate in the ancient Sāsānid territory, socio-cultural life was strongly influenced by Iranian traditions in Baghdād and in the provinces. While the Zoroastrians continued to celebrate their ceremonies according to their own practices (see below), *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* survived, deprived of their original religious functions, in an Islamic context. Presents had been sent to the caliphs on these occasions before the ᶜAbbāsid period. Muᶜāwiya had imposed heavy contributions at *Naw-rūz* and al-Ḥadjdjādj had attempted to re-establish the Sāsānid custom of obligatory presents at the two festivals; this was abolished by ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz (see Ṣafā, 51 f.). With other borrowings from the Sāsānid fiscal system, the ᶜAbbāsids also adopted the contributions in the form of presents. They celebrated *Naw-rūz* at their court with wine and music (al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 277 f. = § 2962). According to some poetic fragments attributed to the caliphs (al-Ma'mūn, al-Mutawakkil) and various poets writing in Arabic, these same festivities were to develop into *yawm al-mihradjān* (see Ṣafā, 52 f., and Sādāt Nāṣirī, 4, 426 ff., following Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin*, and Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ, *Bulūgh al-arab*; al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 340 f. = § 3502).

From the time of the appearance of the first dynasties more or less independent of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate, the celebration of *Mihragān* assumed, until the Mongol invasion, great importance at the courts of most princes, great and small, in the Turko-Iranian environment. The Ṭāhirid ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir arranged for the distribution of clothing at *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* (Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Tādj*, 149, Fr. tr. 169). ᶜUbayd Allāh b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir wrote some verses in Arabic on *Mihradjān* (Sādāt Nāṣirī, *Mihragān*). The sultans of Khurāsān arranged for the distribution of autumn and winter clothes to their soldiers at *Mihradjān* (al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 223, tr. 209). Some contributions at *Naw-rūz* and *Mihradjān* were imposed in Ḳum on the *bāzār* folk; they were suppressed (in Ḳum, then in Āba) from the reign of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla (335-66/947-77); Ḳumī, 164 f.).

By comparison with those *bayts* in Arabic of which we are aware, the poetic production in Persian on *Mihragān* is considerable. *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān*, often synonyms of spring and autumn, form a part of the nature themes celebrated by Persian poets. Among the best known who wrote poetry on *Mihragān* we may cite (excluding the epic poets such as Firdawsī and Asadī):

	died around or in	*patronised by*	*references**
Rūdakī	329/940	Sāmānids	*LN*; SN, 4, 427; DS, 46.
Daḳīḳī	368/978	*eidem*	*ibid.*.
Mundjik Tirmidhī	370/980 or 380/990	Āl-i Muḥtādj, Čaghāniyān	SN, 4, 428.
Farrukhī	429/1037	Prince of Čaghāniyān; Ghaznawids: Maḥmūd and Masᶜūd	*LN*; SN, 4, 429-32; 5, 458; DS, 50-54.
ᶜUnṣurī	431/1039	Maḥmūd and Masᶜūd	*LN*; SN, 5, 458-9; DS, 46-7
Manūčihrī	432/1040	Princes of Dāmghān and Rayy; Masᶜūd	*LN*; SN, 5, 459-62; DS, 47-50; Hanaway.
Azraḳī	before 465/1072	Saldjūḳs of Harāt and Kirmān	*LN*; SN, 9, 206-7; 10, 266-69.
Ḳatrān	after 465/1072	Princes of Tabrīz, Gandja and Nakhdjawān	*LN*; SN, 6, 34-38; DS, 46.
Djurdjānī/ Gurgānī	after 466/1073	Contemporary of the Saldjūḳs Ṭoghrïl and Alp Arslan	SN, 6, 34
Nāṣir-i Khusraw	481/1088	(Ismāᶜīlī)	*LN*.
Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd-i Salmān	515/1122	Ghaznawids of Lāhawr	SN, 6, 38-9; 91-4.
Muᶜizzī	between 519-21/1125-8	Saldjūḳids Malikshāh and Sandjar	
Ṣābir Tirmidhī	between 538-42/1143-47	Sandjar and Khʷārazmshāh Atsïz	SN, 10, 269.
Mukhtārī	544/1149	Saldjūḳs of Kirmān	SN, 11, 325-6; DS, 46.
Sūzanī	562/1166 or 569/1173	Princes of Bukhārā and Samarḳand	*LN*
Rashīd al-dīn Waṭwāṭ	573/1178 or 578/1182	Khʷārazmshāhs	*LN*.
Anwarī	after 585/1189	Sandjar, then various princes	SB, 11, 325-6.
Khāḳānī	595/1199	Shirwānshāh Manūčihr, then various princes	*LN*.

* Abbreviations: DS = Dabīr Siyāḳī *LN* = *Lughat-nāma* SN = Sādāt Nāṣirī

Apart from the usual themes (nature, love and wine), these poetic evocations contain numerous mentions of and allusions to the celebration of *Mihragān*, the happy autumn festival of good omen, which takes the place of spring, with wine and the flute replacing the rose and nightingale. It was also the festival of Farīdūn and the great festival of the kings (Fouchécour, 24 f., citing Muʿizzī, Manūčihrī, ʿUnṣurī and Farrukhī). Although this kind of information may be quite rare in the narrative sources, the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī* supplies us with complementary information on the festival (*djashn*) and the custom (*rasm*) of *Mihradjān* at the court of the Ghaznawid Masʿūd [*q.v.*], observed around the autumn equinox. The celebration of Ramaḍān may have provided an obstacle for that of *Mihragān* (see Farrukhī, for the years 419-21/1028-30: cited by Dabīr-Siyāḳī, 53 ff.; Fouchécour, 25 f.). In 422, Masʿūd received the presents of the princes and governors, many of them horses, on the day of *Mihragān* (28 Ramaḍān/18 September 1031). He celebrated the festival with great pomp two days later, on the breaking of the fast (*fiṭr*). He organised a reception "such as no-one had ever seen". The sultan and his entourage were inebriated. Musicians and poets enlivened the festivities at the court and outside. Considerable rewards were distributed: 1,000 *dīnārs* for ʿUnṣurī; 20,000 *dirhams* for the foreign poets at the court, 50,000 for Zaynabī ʿAlawī; 30,000 for the musicians and jesters (*Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, 359 f.; Bosworth, 132). This celebration is mentioned more briefly for the years 426/1035, 429 (9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/12 September 1038!) and 430/1039 (at that time he sent to India Masʿūd-i Rāzī who ventured to advise him in a *ḳaṣīda*): *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, 642 f., 734 f.

It seems that the celebration of *Mihragān*, like that of *Sadak*/*Sada* [*q.v.*], had been abandoned, in its Islamic context, after the rupturing of traditions provoked in Iran by the Mongol invasion (Ṣafā, 58, 118). This theme, however, continued to inspire poets (e.g. Ḍamīrī, d. 973/1565, a contemporary of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I: *LN*). It has been suggested that some Shīʿī festivals following their solar computation may be survivals of *Mihragān* (e.g. in the ceremonies of *ḳālī-shūyān*/*shūrān* at Mashhad-i Ardahāl, near Kāshān, celebrated in the month of Mihr; see Āl-i Aḥmad, 200 ff.; A. Bouloukbachi, in *Objets et Mondes*, xi, Paris 1971, 133-40). There is also continuity in the celebration of *Mihragān* by the Zoroastrians, who use different calendars in Iran and India (Boyce, 1968, 213, n. 86; eadem, *Stronghold*, 164 ff. and index; eadem, *Zoroastrians*, 221 and index). Although the Parsees of India seem to have stopped observing this non-obligatory festival during the 19th century (Boyce, 1969, 32), they retained the ritual (Dhabhar, *Rivayats*, 343; *Mehr and Jashne Meherangan*, Bombay 1889; idem, *LN*; *Ceremonies*, 429 ff.). One of the causes of their neglect of *Mihragān* is probably, under pressure from their Hindu surroundings, the opposition to animal sacrifice which they were still practising in the 18th century (witnessed by Anquetil-Duperron; cf. Boyce, 1966, 197; eadem, 1975, 106). Their celebration is now limited to a cult restricted to 16 Mihr (Boyce, 1969, 32). By contrast, the Zoroastrians of Iran have continued to observe this festival. At the beginning of the 20th century, those of Yazd used to celebrate it (from 16 to 20 Mihr), in February-March according to the time adjustment of the *ḳadīmī* calendar of 365 days, with notably, in each house, the sacrifice of an animal: sheep, goat, poultry for the very poor, and the eating of unleavened bread. Despite the objections of their coreligionists in Tehran and Bombay, the Zoroastrians of the villages of Yazd were still celebrating it for five days in 1960, under the name *Djashn-i Mihrīzed*. It was a joyful and convivial festival, to which the "migrants" from Tehran were invited, the principal elements of the ritual still being the cult of Mihr, to whom the animal sacrifice was dedicated (essentially a sheep or goat, whose flesh was roasted, shared out and eaten) and the offerings of products of the season preserved and brought for the festival (Boyce, 1975, 108 ff.; eadem, *Stronghold*, 54 ff., 83ff., 200 ff.). These rituals were probably survivals of *Mithrakāna*, the sacrifice of livestock symbolising the immolation of the primordial bull (Boyce, 1975, 108, 117 f.). A large sanctuary of Kirmān is dedicated to "Shāh Mihr Ized" (Boyce, *Stronghold*, 83).

iv. Other usages of the noun.

(1) As a toponym, Mihragān designates, in a compound or adjoining forms, various localities and districts:

Mihradjān, ancient name of Isfarāyin [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān. According to Yāḳūt (7th/13th century), it was still a village near the ruined town; 51 villages were under its control. It was also a small town between Iṣfahān and Ṭabas (Yāḳūt, v, 233; Barbier de Meynard, 552; Le Strange, 393).

Mihradjānāvādh (= Mihradjānābād), a town in Fars (Le Strange, 283; Schwarz, i, 30, iii, 180).

Mihradjān-ḳadhaḳ/Mihradjān-kadak (Mihradjān-ḳudhaḳ), a densely populated and very fertile district in the 4th/10th century in Djibāl, near Ṣaymara (Yāḳūt and Barbier de Meynard; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, Fr. tr. 74, 453; Le Strange, 202; Schwarz, iv, 470 and index).

Mihriḳān, one of the villages in the region of Rayy (Yāḳūt, 233; Barbier de Meynard, 552; Schwarz, vi, 805).

Mihrkān, a village in Fārs (Schwarz, i 37).

Mihrīdjān, a small town in the country of Marw; a major village in Fārs, near Kāzarūn [*q.v.*] (Yāḳūt, 234; Barbier de Meynard, 553).

Without being able to establish their antiquity, some of these toponyms are still attested. There are also, according to *Farhang-i djughrāfyāʾī-yi Īrān* (ed. Razmārā, Tehran 1949-53), the following villages:

Mihrakān, a region in Linga, Lāristān (vii, 229).

Mihraŋdjān, two villages, region of Kāzarūn, Fārs *ibid.*.

Mihrgān, two villages, region of Bandar ʿAbbās (viii, 400).

Mihrgān, region of Nāyīn; Mihrgān, Mihrandjān-i arāmītra, in ruins, and Mihradjānī turkhā, region of Isfahan (x, 88).

(2) As a personal name. Mihradjān was given rarely as a patronym (see e.g. Mihradjān b. Rūzbih; Schwarz, iii, 136, n. 3). However, there exist many proper Persian names derived from Mihr. According to a Zoroastrian custom, a name with Mihr was given to a child born on this day (Farevashi, 306). As well as names such as Mihrān, Mihrbān, Mihrdād, etc., many female names are also formed, such as Mihrbānū, Mihrdukht, Mihrmāh/Mihr-i māh [*q.v.*], Mihrvash, etc. Several people were also known by their *nisbas* derived from toponyms (Mihradjānī, Mihrdjānī, Mihrīdjānī, Mihriḳānī, etc.).

(3) Mihragān and music. As with *Naw-rūz*, *Mihragān* also gave its name to some musical themes whose origin goes back to the Sāsānid period (see Christensen, 1918, 376). Several names were given to these tunes (*āvāz, dastgāh, laḥn, naghma, navā, parda*), whose tenor is not known in the general body of *maḳāms* [*q.v.*]. We can distinguish essentially *mihragān-i buzurg*, the eleventh of the twelve *maḳāms* according

to al-Farābī; *mihragān-i khurdak* or *kūčik*, a *parda* or a *makām (LN*; Dabīr-Siyākī, citing Manūčihrī).

(4) Apart from its use for *nisbas* and music, the adjective of relationship *mihragānī/mihradjānī* is also used in Persian to designate anything which relates to the festival, the season and its products, with the meaning of autumnal or wintry, especially in poetry (*LN*, s.v.).

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(J. CALMARD)

MIHRĀN, the name generally given by the classical Islamic geographers to the Indus river (Skr. Sindhu, Grk Σίνθος, Ἴνδος, Lat. Sindus, Indus), but Nahr al-Sind, Sind-Rūdh, Nahr Multān, etc. were also used by them.

There was, in fact, considerable confusion over the precise nomenclature of the Indus and its constituents, with, in particular, uncertainty over what was to be regarded as the main river channel. Thus al-Iṣṭakhrī, followed by Ibn Ḥawḳal, records the Nahr Multān or Mihrān as rising in the mountains of Central Asia. They compare it to the Nile, in its breadth, its becoming swollen seasonally with waters which flood and fertilise the agricultural areas along its banks and its having crocodiles; together with this river are the Sind-Rūdh, situated three days' journey from Multān [*q.v.*], and the Djandrāwar, which joins the Indus lower than the Sind-Rūdh (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 322, 328, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 315, 320-1; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 372-3, 377-8 = §§ 412-13, 419; al-Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. Sachau, i, 259-60). Al-Muḳaddasī, 482-3, resumes this information: that the Mihrān is the main river, and the Nahr Sindarūd a tributary flowing at a distance three stages from Multān. As Marquart pointed out, *Ērānšahr*, 258-61, the Sind-Rūdh is in fact the genuine Indus, but the geographers took the system of the Chenab-Ravi-

Jhelum, on which Multān was situated and which formed part of the Pančanada or Pandjnad "Five rivers" [see PANDJĀB], as the main stream, whose waters unite near modern Ucch and then join the Indus proper near Mithankot, about 100 miles/160 km. below Multān. The Djandrāwar must have been one of the main arms of the lower Indus within the province of Sind [*q.v.*] just below the town of Rōr or Arūr/al-Rūr [*q.v.*], modern Rohri. Likewise, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 6. 13-15, cf. Minorsky's comm., 209-10, 371-2, regards the Indus river system as essentially comprising three streams: the Sindh-Rūdh (= the modern upper Indus, north of Atak [*q.v.*] or Attock), the river of Lamghān (= the Kābul river, which the author considers to be the principal channel of the Indus) and the Hīvān (apparently the Sutlej, the longest affluent of the Indus). After the junction of these three, the author says, the river is called the Mihrān, and empties into the "Great Sea" at Kūlī (= the Kori creek, the ancient estuary of the Indus, now in the Rann of Cutch); he also mentions (§ 6.16) a "Lesser Mihrān" to the east, perhaps the Narbadā of central India, which flows into the Gulf of Cambay. Al-Idrīsī uses only the term Mihrān, and describes the main course of its lower reaches in Sind as flowing in his time near al-Manṣūra; cf. S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in ... al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, text 41, etc., comm. 111.

Of the historians, al-Balādhurī uses the term Mihrān in his account of Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's conquest of Sind (*Futūḥ*, 438). The Ghaznawid chroniclers al-ʿUtbī and Gardīzī, if they give the Indus a specific name at all, use that of Sayḥūn, normally used by the geographers for the Sīr Daryā or Jaxartes, in parallel to the name Djayḥūn for the Amū Daryā or Oxus; its application to the Indus is presumably by analogy with the Central Asian river, both being long and wide and both marking the frontier zone between Islam and the lands of paganism (cf. ʿUtbī-Manīnī, *Yamīnī*, ii, 67, 72, etc.; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 87, 88, 89). The later traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 91, 93, speaks of the Indus as the Nahr/Māʾ/Wādī al-Sind, "called Pandj Āb", lumping the Indus and its major tributaries together under the Persian name; cf. also i, 79.

The Indus is approximately 1,800 miles/2,900 km. long. It rises in western Tibet in lat. 31°25′ N. and long. 81°30′ E., flows through Kashmīr State of the Indian Union and then enters Pakistani (Āzād) Kashmīr and completes the rest of its course within Pakistan. The main rivers of the Indus system are fed by the snows of the Inner Asian mountain massif, and the Indus water level rises in the spring to a peak around early August, bringing down silt, so that Sind is largely an alluvial plain built up by the very wide, slow-flowing river. The river has always been used for irrigation. An extensive canal system was constructed in British Indian times, and since 1947, various barrages have been made on the main river and its affluents both for irrigation and for hydro-electric power, with the Indus Waters Agreement of 1960 allotting the flow of the western rivers (Indus, Jhelum and Chenab) to Pakistan and that of the eastern ones (Ravi, Sutlej and Beas) to India. Until the advent of railways and the extension of irrigation projects, i.e. till *ca.* 1880, the Indus and the other Pandjāb rivers had been used for a certain amount of navigation; in mediaeval times, the Ghaznawid sultan Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] had sent a large fleet downriver from Multān to attack the Djāts [*q.v.*], and sharp clashes had taken place between the opposing sides (see M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 121-2).

The channels of the lower Indus, in the plains of Sind below Rohri, have changed considerably in the course of recorded history. Formerly, it followed a more easterly course than at present, the Eastern Nava riverbed, emptying into the Kori creek; but already in the 2nd/8th century, the time of the Islamic conquest of Sind, the Arabs found it flowing further westwards, past Brahmanābād or al-Manṣūra [*q.v.*], though still to the east of its present course. The questions involved are studied, with relevant maps, by H.G. Raverty, *The Mihrān of Sind and its tributaries*, in *JASB*, lxi (1892), 155-297; H. Cousens, *The antiquities of Sind = Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, xlvi, Calcutta 1929; and H.T. Lambrick, *Sind, a general introduction*, Hyderabad, Sind 1964. Finally, one should mention that the lower course and the delta region of Sind were the home of the Jhāts, Arabic Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], who played a certain role in the early history of the caliphate as well as a local, Indian one (see above).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MIḤRĀTH (A.) and its plur. *maḥārīth* are used more frequently than the doublet *miḥrath*, plur. *maḥārith*, to designate today a plough, but these terms are applied more specifically, in mediaeval literature, to the tiller, which is not equipped with wheels or a mould-board or a coulter, but consists essentially of a ploughshare, a crossbeam, a handle and a pole (or beam). Although it goes back to the earliest antiquity, this agricultural implement is still in use, without modification of note, throughout the Islamic world.

While *miḥrāth*, unknown in the Ḳurʾān, appears in classical dictionaries only in the sense of "poker", or figuratively, of "kindler of war", it was not unknown to agronomists, notably Andalusians, who, nevertheless, tended to consider it as colloquial (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.); for his part, Ibn Khaldūn is prepared to use it, especially with reference to a famous *ḥadīth* which bears witness after all to the existence of the tiller in ancient Arabia. Having seen in the house of one of his Companions a ploughshare (*sikka*) and other parts of a ploughing implement, the Prophet is said to have exclaimed: "These things do not enter a house (*dār*) without also bringing in debasement" (see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, k. al-wakāla, mā djāʾa fi 'l-ḥarth wa 'l-muzāraʿa*, ed. Ḥalabī, Cairo n.d., iii, 135; cf. Houdas et Marçais, *Les traditions musulmanes*, ii, 91). Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, i, 258, Fr. tr. de Slane, i, 297, Eng. tr. Rosenthal, i, 289-90), specifies that, in the *ḥadīth* in question, it is a tiller's ploughshare (*sikkat miḥrāth*), and, without dwelling on the interpretations that could be put on it so as to mitigate the effect, he goes on to show that taxes (payable on products of the land) degrade people.

The use of the tiller at an early date is further attested, but less clearly, by the use that the classical lexicographers make of terms that designate it, although possessing a much less exact and certain meaning than *miḥrāth*; this is the case with *luʾamal luʾmal laʾma* (see below) and especially of a word that seems to have been applied at the same time to the yoke, to the pair of oxen and to the implement that they pull to till the land and that the *Lisān* (s.v. *s-k-k*) uses, exactly like *miḥrāth* in Ibn Khaldūn, to define *sikka* in the preceeding *ḥadīth*: *fadān*^{un} (see *LA*, s.v. *f-d-n*); in fact, it is this term that most regularly designates the tiller. An evolved form, *faddān*^{un}

(comp. in dialect *dukhān*>*dukhkhān* "smoke, etc."), by quite an expected extension of meaning, came to designate also the area that a pair of oxen could till in a given time [see MISĀḤA].

By force of circumstances, the mediaeval philologists inevitably concerned themselves with the tiller and noted its terminology; but, cut off from rural realities, doubtless embarrassed by the diversity of the terms attested in different regions and perhaps also hindered by the *ḥadīth* cited above, they do not seem to have possessed a very clear idea of the structure and function of an implement that they could not, however, neglect. It is thus that we find a rather obscure and fairly contradictory account of a lexicographical character, for the elements were drawn from various sources and probably concern slightly different types, in the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīduh (x, 152-4) and a brief description in the *Lisān* (s.v. *d-dj-r*). There follows an attempt at translating the passage in question of the *LA*; "*Dadjr*, *dudjr* and *dudjūr*, the name of the piece of wood (*khashaba*) to which is fixed the iron (*ḥadīda*) of the tiller (*faddān*); some use the dual (*dadjrānⁱ*), as if they were speaking of two ears (*udhunānⁱ*); the iron is called *sunba* (*sic*; read *sinna?*), *Fad(d)ān* is the name of all assembled parts (*adawāt*) of the implement. The *khashaba* placed on the neck (*ʿunuḳ*) of the ox (*sic*) is the *nīr*. The two *samīḳs* are pieces of wood attached to the neck. To the pole which [ends in] the centre [of the yoke], is fixed the strap (read *ʿiyān* instead of *ʿinān*) of the *waydj*, i.e. the *ḳunnāḥa*. *Waydj* and *mays* (read *hays* as in the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and in *LA*, s.v. *h-y-s*) in Yemeni are the name of the long *khashaba* which passes between the two oxen. The piece of wood that the ploughman holds is the *miḳwam*."

The preceding description is not of blinding clarity, but by means of the terminology retained by the author of the *Lisān* and with the help of the list supplied by Ibn Sīduh, it nevertheless allows us to form an idea of the elements constituting the tillers at an early date.

The ploughshare (*sikka*, but also *sinn, sinna, naʿl*) was joined by means of a strap (*ʿiyān*) of iron to the crossbeam, which could also be called *dadjr* (and vars.), sometimes used in the dual (*dadjrānⁱ*) because

Fig. 1
Possible sketch of the ancient tiller

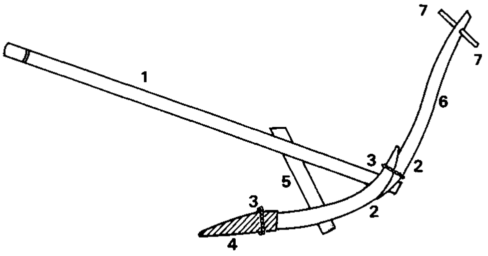

1. *silb* = beam
2. *dadjr* = cross-beam
3. *ʿiyān* = strap
4. *sikka* = ploughshare
5. *ḳunnāḥa* = joining pin
6. *miḳwam* = handle
7. *sayfānⁱ* = holding bar

it was in two parts with one joined to the other by another strap and/or a cord (*fatīl*), which could indicate that the transition from the tied object to the object fitted together had still not been totally achieved (?). The *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* says also that the two *dadjrs* were placed at the meeting point of the *luʾama* and the *silb*, and defines this last as being the piece of wood whose end (one should probably read *fī ṭarafih* instead of *fī ṭaraf*) joins on to the ploughshare; but as it says that the *silb* is the longest element of the tiller, it is clearly the pole (or beam) called *waydj* and *hays* in Yemen or in ʿUmān) and to which it also gives the name *luʾama*; the *Lisān* (s.v. *s-l-b*) specifies that the end of this part was driven into the hole pierced in the beginning of the *luʾama*; this last, rather imprecise, term would designate on the one hand all the parts of the tiller, whether of wood or iron, and on the other only the ploughshare—which is not very likely—or, more probably, like *silb*, the beam tied to the cross-beam at a point called *djidār*. *Ḳunnāḥa*, for its part, presents a difficulty; the *Lisān* (s.v. *ḳ-n-ḥ*) explains this word as designating a polo-stick and, in general, a curved piece of wood, whereas, according to Ibn Sīduh, it is a kind of joining pin used to connect the ploughshare (or rather the cross-beam) to the beam.

The ploughman ensures the proper functioning of the tiller and drives the ploughshare in the earth by putting pressure on the handle (*miḳwam*; Ibn Sīduh also gives *dastaḳ*, from Persian *dastah*; cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. *dastadj*); this part has not been double for a long time, but it doubtless has a holding bar, which is what the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* calls *sayfānⁱ*.

The team itself is not described very exactly, and we know simply that the beam was attached to the centre of the yoke by means of a trace called *djarr*. Regarding the yoke, the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* supplies a list of terms supposedly synonymous, of which *nīr* is the best known today; it also cites *nīra, arʿuwwa* (which designates a pair of ploughing oxen) and *miḍmad/miḍmada*, of which the *Lisān* (s.v. *ḍ-m-d*) gives an explanation which is lacking in clarity. However, we understand that yokes could assume various forms, one of which seems to consist of two yokelets (*samīḳānⁱ*) which, according to the *Lisān* (s.v. *s-m-ḳ*), are "two pieces of wood [each] encircling the neck of the ox like a collar and joining under the animal's dewlap (*ghabghab*); they are then attached (*usirā*, but *shuddā* in the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*) to each other by means of a rope". Other terms are also cited, notably the *miḳran* which designates a piece of wood fixed on the oxen's head, when they plough, by means of a rope called *tawthīḳ*. No pole under the belly is mentioned, but there is mention of a *ḳirān* or *ḳaran*, which is a rope passing over the oxen's neck and attached to the *luʾama*, here the beam.

The two principal sources used mention, immediately after enumerating the parts of the tiller, a still more rudimentary implement for levelling the earth after ploughing and burying completely the seed which was sown there before the ploughshare had turned over the soil; this is the *mālaḳ* or *mimlaḳa*, a wide board that the ploughman presses on with all his weight and was pulled along by two oxen (which is rather the Egyptian *zaḥḥāfa*).

As W. Marçais (*Takroûna*, i, 88-9) remarks, the terminology that can be noted in the work of the classical lexicographers "probably contains a certain proportion of inexactitudes and errors"; not only is it not uniform, but furthermore, agriculture being left to slaves and foreign elements, loan words have been detected (see Fraenkel, *Aramäische Fremdwörter*, 131 ff.; cf. M. Feghali, *Étude sur les emprunts syriaques dans les parlers du Liban*, 93) which risked increasing the confusion. In addition, several types of tiller were bound to exist, to judge by mediaeval practice [see FILĀḤA] that the Andalusian agronomists, in particular, describe (see L. Bolens, 97 ff.) and by the present or recent situation. In fact, in detail, the forms and parts of the various implements that can be seen today present perceptible differences, and the corresponding ter-

minology is itself too dissimilar, both in Arabic dialects and in Berber—for the use of the tiller is still widespread in Barbary—for one to consider giving even a rough idea of it here. So we will merely repeat the brief description given by Ayrout (*Fellahs*, 59) of the tiller used in Egypt and in other countries of the East. This implement, which weighs about 40 kg, "consists of a wooden cross-beam fitted with a flat, ogival-shaped ploughshare of about 25 cm and a long beam of about 3,50 m to which the harnessed animals are attached by means of a straight yoke resting on the withers and not, as in Europe, on the brow. Two water buffaloes are used or the smallholder's water buffalo and donkey, or two camels hired for the occasion, or even a camel and a donkey. The ploughman leans on the single handle to drive in the ploughshare and follows the walking animals, guiding them with his voice and hand, for he does not use reins or a whip."

The tiller thus described does not differ fundamentally from that which was in use in ancient Arabia, where the very best team consisted of two oxen, just as the description of *fad(d)ān* implies. It is possible that the Arabs, who no doubt did not have to respect the prohibition of Deuteronomy (xxii, 10: "You shall not plough with a donkey and an ox yoked together") any more than do the Egyptians of today, used some ill-matched teams, but we do not have any immediately usable evidence.

No more do we have information at our disposal on the use of camels [see IBIL] for ploughing in ancient Arabia. Nevertheless, the use of a single camel appears characteristic of southern Tunisia and Libya (see W. Marçais, *Takroûna*, i, 182, 189-90). In this case, the tiller is somewhat different, in that the beam is shorter and that a swingle-bar is attached to the ends, traces leading from them to a collar (or half-collar) held in place, on the withers, by a system of

Fig. 2

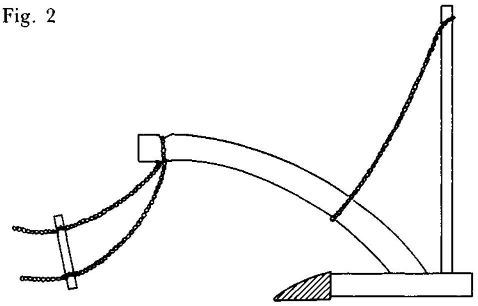

Tiller drawn by a camel

ropes passing over the neck, as well as behind the hump and on the crupper; long reins allow the animal to be driven (see the detail and local terminology in G. Boris, *Documents linguistiques et ethnographiques sur une région du Sud Tunisien (Nefzaoua)*, Paris 1951, 19). After rejecting (in *Mots et choses berbères*, 290) the current assertion that the Berber peasant sometimes makes his wife and donkey draw the tiller, and on the whole doubting the evidence of Pliny who claimed to have observed such a team, E. Laoust considers (in *Hespéris*, x/1 [1930], 47) that it is advisable not to impugn it, for he has meanwhile been able to study a very similar implement used in the east of Barbary and to establish that it is both rudimentary and light. Just as the terminology of the ancient Arab's tiller is partially borrowed from Aramaic, so, in Berber, that which relates to the team is partly adapted from Latin, showing a Roman influence, but not prejudging at all the origin of the North African types, which may well be considered autochthonous.

In the opinion of specialists (e.g. V. Mosséri and C. Audebeau, *Le labourage en Égypte*, in *BIE*, 5th series, x [1916], 83-127), the tiller in use "constitutes the implement par excellence of regions where it is sufficient to scratch the ground in order to bury the seed and allow it to germinate before the top soil dries out. This tiller is also all that is needed when, owing to a limited water supply, it is necessary to prevent the rapid evaporation of the soil." The tiller with a light ploughshare has moreover been used until recently in Spain for ploughing on the flat, and it has not been entirely replaced by modern ploughs in the regions of North Africa where the peasants have to be satisfied with it and where the arable land bed will not support deep ploughing.

Bibliography: Apart from the reference cited, the classic study of the plough is that of A.G. Haudricourt and M.J.B. Delamare, *L'homme et la charrue à travers le monde*, Paris, 1955; a short article by the first of these authors appears in the *Dictionnaire archéologique des techniques*, Paris, 1963, i, 263-5. The terminology of the tiller in Arabic-speaking countries has been made the subject of a certain number of research studies enumerated in a long critical note by W. Marçais in his *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, i, Paris, 1925, 187-90. As far as the Berber region is concerned, an excellent monograph by E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris, 1920, 275-301, was completed in an article by the same author, *Au sujet de la charrue berbère*, in *Hespéris*, x/1 (1930), 37-47. The account of H.H. Ayrout, *Moeurs et coutumes des fellahs*, Paris, 1938, has been consulted with profit. For Islamic Spain, the work of Lucie Bolens, *Agronomes andalous du Moyen Âge*, Geneva-Paris, 1981, 97 ff. and bibl. cited, contains an interesting chapter on ploughing. See also P. Behnstedt and M. Woidich, *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte* (Wiesbaden, 1985), i, 62-3, 91-2, ii, maps 474-510. (CH. PELLAT)

MIHRGĀN [see MIHRAGĀN].

MIHRĪ KHĀTŪN, an important Turkish poetess of the end of the 9th/15th and beginning of the 10th/16th centuries. Although ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi clearly states that Mihrī was her given name as well as her *makhlaṣ*, later on Ewliyā Čelebi writes (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 192) that it was Mihrmāh. (It is possibly as her cognomen that Fakhr al-nisāʾ is mentioned in *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*.) Mihrī Khātūn was a descendant of Pīr Ilyās, the Khalwetī *sheykh* of Amasya. Her father was a *ḳāḍī* who wrote poetry under the *makhlaṣ* Belāyī. Mihrī Khātūn herself spent her whole life, about which very little is known, in and around Amasya. She belonged to the literary circle of prince Aḥmed, son of Bāyezīd II, during his governorship of Amasya in the years 886/1481 (or possibly 890/1485, according to Reindl, *op. cit.* below, 80) to 919/1513. Indeed, almost all of the *ḳaṣīdes* in her *Dīwān* are addressed to him.

Mihrī Khātūn is known to have fallen in love repeatedly, her best documented loves being Müʾeyyed-zāde ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Čelebi, who was born in Amasya in 860/1456, later became *ḳāḍī ʿasker*, and wrote poetry under the *makhlaṣ* Khātemī, and Iskender Čelebi, son of Sinān Pasha. She sang of her loves in her *ghazels*, and the *tedhkiredjis* recorded this, especially citing a *ghazel* on Iskender Čelebi in which she names him through *īhām* (allusion). Yet, at the same time, they all agree in emphasing her chastity and virtuousness, reiterating that these were innocent

loves and that she lived a blameless life. In fact, she is reported to have remained unmarried in spite of being blessed with beauty, an ardent temperament, and no lack of wooers.

Mihrī Khātūn died in Amasya after 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 917/16 March 1512 and, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, was buried in her ancestor Pīr Ilyās's *tekye* in Amasya.

Mihrī Khātūn was well educated for her sex and day, being sufficiently versed in Persian poetic imagery and the art of rhetorical embellishment to venture on writing *Dīwān* poetry. (According to Ewliyā Čelebi, she even wrote treatises on matters related to *fikh* and *farā'iḍ*.) She made the poet Nedjātī (d. 914/1509) her chief model and many of her poems are *naẓīre*s (parallels) to his. It is said that this irritated him somewhat, especially as her manner could at times be rather self-congratulatory. However, Mihrī Khātūn did not reach his level of accomplishment. What she did achieve in her poems was a striking naturalness, a freshness and directness, and an often remarkable impact of feeling. In keeping with the effect of spontaneity and sincerity given by many of her lines, her language is not rhetorically overburdened but rather simple. It is true, however, that her images do not display originality, her metaphors and similes being mostly the conventional ones.

Mihrī Khātūn left a not particularly voluminous *Dīwān* and at least one treatise in rhyme. A number of her poems had been made accessible by Smirnov and translated by Gibb (*op. cit.* below) before a critical edition of the *Dīwān* based on four mss. was published by E.I. Mashtakova (*Mikhri Khātūn. Divan. Kritičeskiy tekst i vstupitel'naya stat'ya*, Moscow 1967). This contains 208 *ghazel*s, 11 *kaṣīde*s, a *müstezād* and a *terdjīʿ-i bend*, 7 *murabbaʿ*s and a *mukhammes* as well as 4 *naẓm*s and 6 *müfred*s. These poems are preceded in the *Dīwān* by a *tewḥīd* in the form of a *methnewī* of 29 *beyt*s (which start with the Arabic letters in their alphabetical order) and, more importantly, by her *risāle* in verse, *Taḍarruʿ-nāme*. Composed mainly in the form of a *methnewī*, but interspersed with about ten poems in the form of a *ghazel* as well as one *kaṣīde* and one *murabbaʿ*, this contains *münādjāt*s, *naʿt*s, *mewʿiẓe*s, etc. The whole *risāle* totals about 460 *beyt*s and ends with a touching *khātime*, which includes a few lines which Mihrī Khātūn said in defence of women.

Bibliography (in addition to the titles cited above): The *tedhkire*s of Sehī, Laṭīfī, ʿĀshīk Čelebi, Kinalī-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, Beyānī, Ḳāf-zāde Fā'iḍī; ʿĀlī's *Künh al-akhbār*; Ewliyā Čelebi's *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i. 342; Medjdī, *Terceme-yi Shaḳā'iḳ-i nuʿmāniyya*, Istanbul 1269, 93 f., 308 f.; Meḥmed Dhihnī, *Meshāhīr al-nisā'*, Istanbul 1295, ii, 240 f.; Muʿallim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, Istanbul 1308, 310; Aḥmed Mukhtār Ḥādjdjī-bey-zāde, *Shāʿir khanīmlarīmiz*, Istanbul 1311, 59 f.; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 527; Fā'iḳ Reshād, *Tārīkh-i edebiyyāt-i ʿothmāniyye*, Istanbul 1327 (*rūmī*) 195 f.; Shihāb al-Dīn Süleymān and Köprülüzāde M. Fu'ād, *Yeñi ʿOthmānlī tārīkh-i edebiyyātī*, Istanbul 1332, 248-53; *ʿOthmānlī müellifleri*, ii, 408 f.; ʿAlī Emīrī, *Tārīkh we edebiyyāt medjmūʿasī*, ii, Istanbul 1335, 508 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, i, 306-9; V.D. Smirnov, *Očerk istorii turetskoy literaturī*, in *Vseobshčaya istoriya literaturī*, pod red. V.F. Korsha i A.I. Kirpičinkova, iv, St. Petersburg 1892, 478-81; idem, *Obraztsovīe proizvedeniya osmanskoy literaturī*, St. Petersburg 1891, 432-42, and 1903, 449-53; Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 123-35; Ḥüseyin Ḥüsām al-Dīn, *Amasya tārīkhi*, Istanbul 1330, i, 217-18, Istanbul 1927, iii, 249; T. Ay, *Türk kadın şairleri*, Istanbul 1934, 52-4; M. Uraz, *Kadın şair ve muharrirlerimiz*, Istanbul 1941, 16 ff.; B. Ferman, *Mihrī Hanım, hayatı ve dîvânı* (unpubl. thesis, Istanbul 1951, Üniversite kütüphanesi, tez no. 1976); A. Karahan, in *İA*, s.v. *Mihrî Hatun*; E.I. Mashtakova, *K izdaniyu Divana Mikhri Khatun*, in *Kratkie Soobshčeniya Instituta Narodov Azii*, lxiii (1963), 124-35; idem, *Ob odnoy rukopisi stikhov Mikhri-Khatun*, in *Pis'mennie Pamyatniki Vostoka*, 1969, 208-19; P. Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Istanbul 1976; C.P. Akhaladze, *K ponimaniyu lyubovnoy liriki Mihri Khatun*, in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoy SSR, seriya Yazîka i Literaturî*, 1980/4, 79-89; Ismail E. Erünsal, *Türk edebiyatı tarihine kaynak olarak arşivlerin değeri*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, xix (1980), 213-22; idem, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi'nin arşiv kaynakları I. II. Bâyezid devrine ait bir İn'âmât Defteri*, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, x-xi (1979-80), 303-42; H. Reindl, *Männer um Bāyezīd. Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bāyezīds II. (1481-1512)*, Berlin 1983, 79-99. (TH. MENZEL-[E.G. AMBROS])

MIHTAR [see MEHTER].

MIHYĀR B. MARZAWAYH (Marzōye) AL-DAYLAMĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (Ibn Khallikān) or Abu 'l-Ḥasan (other sources), poet who used the Arabic language, originally a Zoroastrian but becoming a convert to Islam in 394/1004 at the hands of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (359-406/970-1016 [*q.v.*]), dying in 428/1037.

The famous Shīʿī poet and *naḳīb* of the descendants of the Prophet took charge of the education of his protégé, into whom he inculcated not only the basic principles of Shīʿism but also the necessary skills for him to act as a secretary in the administration. He naturally took care also to teach him the rules of versification, but his pupil very soon showed the natural talents which were to make him one of the most famed poets of the 5th/11th century.

Apart from the items of information concerning his relations with the Sharīf, under whose protection he seems to have lived, we have virtually no other biographical information about Mihyār, whose extensive *Dīwān* nevertheless in itself supplies material for a substantial study.

This poet, who amply copied his master, attempted almost all the poetic genres, but did not display an equal talent for all of them. Thus his descriptions were considered to be prosaic, as also his eulogies, which seem lengthy; but on the other hand, he excelled in the sphere of the *ghazal* [*q.v.*], friendly or amorous reproach (*ʿitāb*), versified epistles addressed to his friends (*ikhwāniyyāt*) and above all in the funeral eulogy or elegy or *rithā'* [see MARTHIYA]. As a good disciple of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, he successfully celebrated the memories of ʿAlī and al-Ḥusayn (see e.g. *Dīwān*, Cairo 1344-50/1925-31, ii, 259-62, 367-70, iii, 109, etc.), and his poems of condolence (*taʿāzī*; *Dīwān*, i, 72-4, iii, 6-8, 54-8, etc.) are highly appreciated; but the poem in *-mīm* (*Dīwān*, iii, 366-70), in which he laments the death of his master, is considered to be a masterpiece and is used as a basis for comparison. The Sunnī sources, which naturally blame him for his Rāfiḍī beliefs and which cite a witticism according to which his conversion to Islam merely transferred him from one corner of Hell to another, nevertheless adjudge his poetry to be of an "extreme beauty" (e.g. Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, v, 26-7), and even the Spaniard Ibn Bassām (in Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 243) is said to have praised him highly. A critic like ʿAlī Dj. al-Ṭāhir (*al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa-bilād al-ʿAdjam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdād 1958-61, ii, 205, 209) considers that the decline of Arabic poetry begins

after Mihyār and that the Saldjūḳ period is characterised by a tendency towards imitation and even towards making a pastiche of al-Raḍī and his pupil.

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MĪKĀL, the archangel Michael [see also malāʾika], whose name occurs once in the Ḳurʾān, viz. in II, 92: "Whosoever is an enemy to God, or his angels, or his apostles, or to Gabriel or to Michael, verily God is an enemy to the unbelievers." In explanation of this verse two stories are told. According to the first, the Jews, wishing to test the veracity of the mission of Muḥammad, asked him several questions, to all of which he gave the true answer. Finally, they asked him, who transmitted the revelations to him? When he answered, Gabriel, the Jews declared that this angel was their enemy and the angel of destruction and penury, in opposition to Michael whom they said to be their protector and the angel of fertility and salvation (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 324 ff.). According to the second story, ʿUmar once entered the synagogue (*midrās*) of Medina and asked the Jews questions concerning Gabriel. They gave an account of that angel as well as of Michael similar to the one mentioned above, whereupon ʿUmar asked: What is the position of those two angels with God? They replied: Gabriel is to His right and Michael to His left hand, and there is enmity between the two. Whereupon ʿUmar answered: If they have that position with God, there can be no enmity between them. But you are unbelievers more than asses are, and whosoever is an enemy to one of the two, is an enemy to God. Thereupon ʿUmar went to meet Muḥammad, who received him with the words: Gabriel has anticipated you by the revelation of "Whosoever is an enemy", etc. (sūra II, 92; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 327; al-Zamakhsharī, 92; al-Bayḍāwī *ad* sūra II, 91).

We do not know of any Jewish traditions which ascribe to Gabriel a hostile attitude towards the Jews. For the statements regarding Michael as communicated above, there is sufficient literary evidence. In Daniel, xii, 1, Michael is called the great prince, the protector of the people of Israel; cf. *Targum Canticum*, viii, 9: "Michael, the lord of Israel"; Daniel x, 13, 21, where Michael is said to have protected the Jews against the kings of Persia and Greece; further I Enoch, xx, 5, where he is called the protector of the best part of mankind; *Testamentum Levi*, xv, 6; *Test. Dan.*, vi, 2.

In *Vita Adami et Evae*, ch. xii ff., it is Michael who orders Satan and the other angels to worship Adam. Although the story is mentioned several times in the Ḳurʾān [see iblīs], there is no trace in Muslim literature of the role ascribed to Michael in *Vita Adami et Evae*; the only mention of Michael in the Muslim legend is that he and Gabriel were the first to worship Adam, in opposition to Iblīs who refused to do so (al-Kisāʾī, 27).

Neither does Muslim literature seem to have preserved other features ascribed to Michael in Jewish Apocrypha (mediator between God and mankind, I Enoch xl, 9; *Test. Dan.*, vi, 2; 3 Baruch, xl, 2), or in the New Testament (*Jude*, v. 9: Michael disputing with the devil about the body of Moses; Revelation, xii, 7 ff.: Michael and his angels fighting against the dragon and the final discomfiture of the latter). Perhaps a faint recollection of Michael as the protector of mankind (the Jews, the Christians) may be found in the tradition according to which Michael has never laughed since the creation of Hell (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 224). Further, however, Michael is rarely mentioned in *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-khalk*, *bāb* 7, where he, together with Mālik, the guardian of Hell, and Gabriel, appears to Muḥammad in a dream; al-Nasāʾī, *Iftitāḥ*, *bāb* 37, where Michael incites Gabriel to urge Muḥammad to recite the Ḳurʾān according to seven *aḥruf*).

Al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions a story of which we have no counterpart in Jewish or Christian literature either, which is not surprising, the story bearing an outspoken Shīʿī tendency. One day, God announced to Gabriel and Michael that one of them must die. Neither, however, was willing to sacrifice himself on behalf of his partner, whereupon God said to them: Take ʿAlī as an example, who was willing to give his life on behalf of Muḥammad (sc. on the night before the *hidjra*; al-Yaʿḳubī, ii, 39).

Michael is further mentioned by name as one of the angels who opened the breast of Muḥammad before his night journey (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1157-9; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 36-7), and as one of those who came to the aid of the Muslims in the battle of Badr (Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 9, 18).

In the text of the Ḳurʾān, as well as in a verse cited by al-Ṭabarī (i, 329), the form of the name is Mīkāl as if it were a *mifʿāl* form from *wakala* (Horovitz). A direct reminiscence of the Greek, probably also of the Hebrew and Aramaic, forms of the name is to be found in the tradition preserved by al-Kisāʾī (12), which calls Mīkhāʾīl the attendant of the second heaven, in contradistinction to Mīkāʾīl, who is the guardian of the sea in the seventh heavens (15). Other forms of the name are Mīkaʾil, Mīkāʾil, Mīkaʾīl, Mīkāʾīn and Mīkāʾill. It is hardly necessary to say that, in the magical use of the names of the archangels, that of Mīkāʾīl is on the same level as that of his companions (see e.g. S.M. Zwemer, *The influence of animism on Islam*, 193, 197).

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MĪKĀLĪS, an Iranian family of Khurāsān prominent in the cultural and social worlds there and also active as local administrators and town officials under the Sāmānids and early Ghaznawids [*q.vv.*].

They were apparently of Soghdian origin, and amongst their pre-Islamic forebears is mentioned the Prince of Pandjkent Shīr Dīvāstič, killed at Mount Mugh by the Arabs in 104/722-3 [see mā warāʾ al-nahr. 2. History]; al-Samʿānī traces the family back to the Sāsānids Yazdagird II and Bahrām Gūr (*K. al-Ansāb*, facs. edn., fols. 548b-549b). It must nevertheless have become Muslim, for Islamic names now appear in its genealogy, and like many other families

from Khurāsān and the far eastern fringes of the Islamic world, its members were drawn westwards to the new capital Baghdād by the early ʿAbbāsids. Shāh b. Mīkāl (d. 302/914-15) was a protégé of the Ṭāhirids and the *mamdūḥ* of the poet al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*]. Shāh b. Mīkāl's nephew ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad began in the service of the Ṣaffārids [*q.v.*] and became governor of Ahwāz. His son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ismāʿīl had the philologist Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*] as his tutor, and the latter wrote for him his great dictionary, the *Djamharat al-lugha*, and dedicated to him his *Maḳṣūra* poem [*q.v.*].

Under Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ismāʿīl, the family moved back to Khurāsān and settled in Nīshāpūr. He himself was given the headship of the *Dīwān al-rasāʾil* or chancery in 347/958 by the Sāmānid vizier Abū Djaʿfar al-ʿUtbī, holding this post till his death in 362/973, and was also apparently the first Mīkālī *raʾīs* (i.e. municipal head and representative of the town notables *vis-à-vis* the central government; see on this office, C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 184-5; A.K.S. Lambton, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 279-81; and R.M. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 66-8), corresponding as such with the author and stylist Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*]. His son Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh (d. 379/989-90) followed his father in these offices, and was known as an authority on *fiḳh* and as a fine poet, specimens of whose verses are given by al-Thaʿālibī (*Yatīmat al-dahr*, Damascus, iv, 397-8, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iv, 417-18); the geographer al-Muḳaddasī [*q.v.*] stayed with him when visiting Nīshāpūr and participated in his *madjālis* (see A. Miquel, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm (La meilleure répartition* ...), Damascus 1963, 350 and refs. there). Another son Abū Djaʿfar also became *raʾīs* and was praised as a poet and traditionist by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*], with whom he frequently corresponded.

With the decay and collapse of the Sāmānid amīrate in Khurāsān, the Mīkālīs subsequently transferred their allegiance to the new masters of the province, the Ghaznawids. Abū Djaʿfar's grandson, Khwādja Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī, is often mentioned by the historian Bayhaḳī in his *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī* as *raʾīs* of Nīshāpūr; sultans Maḥmūd and Masʿūd employed him as a high-level diplomatic envoy, and in 423/1032 he led the glittering pilgrimage caravan of Transoxania and Khurāsān to the Holy Cities.

A parallel line of the Mīkālīs was that of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh's elder brother Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī (d. 376/986-7), known from his love of *djihād* as al-Muṭṭawwiʿ; he fought against the Byzantines in Cilicia and against the pagan Turks on the Central Asian desert fringes, founding *ribāṭs* at Farāwa and endowing them with *awḳāf* (al-Muḳaddasī, 320 n. *s*). His son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn was *katkhudā* or quartermaster of the Ghaznawid army in Khurāsān during its campaigns to stem the tide of Oghuz incursions; captured by the Turkmens in 426/1035, he went over to the Saldjūḳ side, and Ibn al-Athīr lists him as Ṭoghrïl Beg's second vizier, the *Raʾīs al-ruʾasāʾ* the Ṣāḥib Ibn Mīkāl (see H. Bowen, *Notes on some early Seljuqid viziers*, in *BSOAS*, xx [1957], 107-8; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Wizārat dar ʿahd-i salāṭīn-i buzurg-i Saldjūḳī*, Tehran 1338/1959, 39-40). Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn's nephew Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿUbayd Allāh (d. 436/1044-5) was perhaps the Mīkālī who enjoyed the greatest literary reputation as poet, stylist and traditionist, friend of the anthologist ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbdalkānī, author of a (lost) commentary on the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, compiler of anthologies, including *al-Muntakhab al-Mīkālī* (extant in an Istanbul ms.), and composer of epistles and poetry (the latter edited by A. Moberg, *Die Gedichte* ..., Leipzig 1908). See Brockelmann, I², 340-1, S I, 503 (where the names given as ʿAbd al-Raḥīm and/or ʿAbd Allāh are to be corrected); Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 70, 77-8, 642-3; al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr*, Aleppo 1348/1930, 122-3, Cairo 1388/1968, ii, 147-52; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 52-8, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, ii, 428-33.

Yet another collateral branch of the Mīkālīs was that whose best-known representative was Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, called Ḥasanak [*q.v.*], vizier and favourite of sultan Maḥmūd, but to be executed by Masʿūd in 432/1031 on a trumped-up charge of Ismāʿīlī sympathies. He, like other members of his family, had the reputation of a maecenas, being the *mamdūḥ* of the Ghaznawid court poet Farrukhī [*q.v.*], and was active in public and charitable works in Nīshāpūr. There seems to have been a feud between Ḥasanak and the sons of Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Mīkālī, father of the Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿUbayd Allāh mentioned above, for Ḥasanak dispossessed them of lands and rights in Nīshāpūr, and all these were only restored to them in 424/1033 by the Ghaznawid vizier Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Shīrāzī.

Finally, it should be noted that the Mīkālīs exercised political and social influence beyond the confines of Nīshāpūr itself: Ibn Funduḳ devotes a section of his local history of Bayhaḳ to the Mīkāliyān (*Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317/1938, 117).

We lack information on the family after the mid-5th/11th century; it seems improbable that their influence could disappear abruptly, though it may well be that Saldjūḳ domination in Khurāsān was, in the long term, unfavourable to the maintenance of their social and political power in Nīshāpūr.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Muhammad, Shafi, *The sons of Mīkāl*, in *Procs. of the Idara-i Maarit-i Islamia, Lahore 1933, first session*, Lahore 1935, 107-68; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 179-85, and R.W. Bulliet, art. *Āl-e Mīkāl*, in *Encycl. Iranica*. Saʿid Nafīsi gathered together uncritically much information on the Mīkālīs in the notes to his edition of Bayhaḳī, Tehran 1319-32/1940-53, ii. 969-1009, with a genealogical table at p. 1008; according to Bulliett, *Patricians*, 67 n. 23, the biographical historian of Nīshāpūr ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī mentions several further Mīkālīs not recorded by Nafīsī. See also H. Ritter, *Die Geheimnisse des Wortkunst des ʿAbdalgāhir al-Curcānī*, Wiesbaden 1959, 27-32 (= n. 17) [with family tree].

(C.E. Bosworth)

MĪḲĀT (A., *mifʿāl* form from *w-ḳ-t*, plural *mawāḳīt*) appointed or exact time. In this sense the term occurs several times in the Ḳurʾān (II, 185; VII, 138, 139, 154; XXVI, 37; XLIV, 40; LVI, 50; LXXVIII, 17).

1. Legal aspects. In *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, the term is applied to the times of prayer and to the places where those who enter the *ḥaram* are bound to put on the *iḥrām*. For the latter meaning of the term, see iḥrām.

Although some general indications for the times at which some *ṣalāts* are to be performed occur in the Ḳurʾān (cf. II, 239; XI, 116; XVII, 80; XXIV, 29), it may be considered above doubt that during Muḥammad's lifetime neither the number of the daily *ṣalāts* nor their exact times had been fixed and that this happened in the first decades after his death.

A reminiscence of that period of uncertainty may be preserved in those traditions which apply a deviating nomenclature to some of the *ṣalāts*. The *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*, e.g., is called *al-hadjīr al-ūlā*; the *ṣalāt al-maghrib*, *ʿishāʾ*;

the *ṣalāt al-ʿis̲h̲āʾ*, *ʿatama*; the *ṣalāt al-fad̲j̲r*, *g̲h̲adāt* (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt al-ṣalāt*, *bāb* 13, 19). In other traditions, the term *al-ʿatama* as applied to the *ṣalāt al-ʿis̲h̲āʾ* is ascribed to the Bedouins and prohibited (Muslim, *Masād̲j̲id*, trads. 228, 229; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 78; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 11, 10, etc.); cf. on the other hand, al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb* 20; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 129, etc., where the term *ʿatama* is used without censure.

From some traditions so much may be gathered, that the—or at least some of the—Umayyads showed a predelection for postponing the times of the *ṣalāt* (al-Buk̲h̲āri, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb* 7; Muslim, *Masād̲j̲id*, trads. 166, 167; al-Nasāʾī, *Imāma*, *bāb* 18, 55; Zayd b. ʿAlī, *Mad̲j̲mūʿ al-fiḳh*, no. 113).

In opposition to this, a *ṣalāt* in due time is declared the best of works (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *D̲j̲ihād*, *bāb* 1; *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb* 5; Muslim, *Īmān*, trads. 138, 139; al-Tirmid̲h̲ī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 13; *Birr*, *bāb* 2). In other traditions, this is said of a *ṣalāt* at its earliest time (al-Tirmid̲h̲ī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 13).

This early state of things is reflected in several respects in a tradition according to which ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz once postponed one of the *ṣalāt*s and was rebuked for this by ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who related to him that al-Mug̲h̲īra b. S̲h̲uʿba had once been rebuked for the same reason by Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣārī, on account of the fact that Gabriel himself had descended five times in order to perform the five *ṣalāt*s at their exact times in the presence of Muḥammad. Thereupon ʿUmar admonished ʿUrwa to be careful in his statements (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb* 1; Muslim, *Masād̲j̲id*, trads. 166, 167; al-Nasāʾī, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb* 10).

Some early groups of traditions affect to reproduce reminiscences of the practice in Medina in Muḥammad's lifetime.

a. The *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* was performed at noon, when the sun was beginning to decline (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb* 11);

b. the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* when the sun was shining into ʿĀʾis̲h̲a's room, no shadows being yet cast there (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb* 13; Muslim, *Masād̲j̲id*, trad. 168). After this *ṣalāt*, people had still time to visit the remotest parts of the town, while the sun was still "alive" or "pure" (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb*s 1, 13, 14, 18, 21);

c. the *ṣalāt al-mag̲h̲rib* was finished at a time when people could still perceive the places where their arrows fell down (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb* 21);

d. the *ṣalāt al-ʿis̲h̲āʾ* was sometimes postponed till a late hour, sometimes till the first third of the night had passed (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb*s 11, 20, 21, 24);

e. the *ṣalāt al-fad̲j̲r* was performed by Muḥammad at a time when a man could discern his neighbour (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb* 13); but the women on their way home could not yet be recognised (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb* 27).

In a second layer of traditions, these general indications are specified by the mention of the first and the last limits allowed for the different prayers (cf. e.g. Muslim, *Masād̲j̲id*, trads. 176, 177). On one day, Muḥammad performed:

a. the *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* when the sun began to decline;

b. the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* when the sun was still high, white and pure;

c. the *ṣalāt al-mag̲h̲rib* immediately after sunset;

d. the *ṣalāt al-ʿis̲h̲āʾ* when the twilight had disappeared;

e. the *ṣalāt al-fad̲j̲r* at daybreak.

On the following day Muḥammad performed:

a. the *ẓuhr* later than the day before;

b. the *ʿaṣr* later than the day before, the sun being still high up;

c. the *mag̲h̲rib* before the twilight had disappeared;

d. the *ʿis̲h̲āʾ* when the first of the night had passed;

e. the *fad̲j̲r* when sunrise was near (*asfara bihā*).

In a tradition communicated by al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (*Kitāb al-Umm*, i, 62), the fixing of the *mawāḳīt* just mentioned is ascribed to the example of Gabriel (cf. Zayd b. ʿAlī, *Mad̲j̲mūʿ al-fiḳh*, no. 109). These *mawāḳīt* have for the most passed into the books of *fiḳh*. We cannot reproduce all details here. The following scheme may suffice:

a. *ẓuhr*: from the time when the sun begins to decline till the time when shadows are of equal length with the objects by which they are cast, apart from their shadows at noon. The Ḥanafīs alone deviate in one of their branches, in so far as they replace the ultimate term by the time when the shadows are twice as large as their objects. In times of great heat, it is recommended to postpone the *ẓuhr* as late as possible;

b. *ʿaṣr*: from the last time allowed for *ẓuhr* till before sunset. According to Mālik, the first term begins somewhat later;

c. *mag̲h̲rib*: from the time after sunset till the time when the red twilight has disappeared. Small deviations only, in connection with a predilection for the first term;

d. *ʿis̲h̲āʾ*: from the last term mentioned for the *ṣalāt al-mag̲h̲rib* till when a third, or half of the night has passed, or till daybreak;

e. *fad̲j̲r*: from daybreak till before sunrise.

Side-by-side with these *mawāḳīt*, we find in the books of Tradition and of Law the times at which it is not allowed to perform prayer, viz. sunrise, noon, and sunset (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt*, *bāb*s 30-2; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, trads. 285-94; cf. al-Nawawī's commentary for controversies regarding this point, and further Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muh. trad.*, 192a). According to ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, it is only forbidden to await sunrise and sunset for prayer (Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, trad. 296). In Mecca, prayer is allowed at all times (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, *bāb* 42).

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited, see Zayd b. ʿAlī, *Mad̲j̲mūʿ al-fiḳh*, ed. Griffini, Milan 1919, 23-6; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *Kitāb S̲h̲arāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, 26; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, 50 ff.; Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, ch. *Wuḳūt al-ṣalāt*, i, 12 ff.; K̲h̲alīl b. Isḥāḳ, *al-Muk̲h̲taṣar fi 'l-fiḳh*, Paris 1318/1900, 13 f.; I. Guidi and D. Santillana, *Il Muḫtaṣar o sommario del diritto malechita di Ḫalīl ibn Isḥāq*, Milan 1919, i, 45 ff.; S̲h̲āfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321-5, i, 61 ff.; Th.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh. Wet*, Leiden 1925, 53 f.; Burhān al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Marg̲h̲īnānī, *al-Hidāya wa 'l-kifāya*, Bombay 1280, i, 83-9; al-S̲h̲aʿrānī, *al-Mīzān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1279, i, 158-60.

(A.J.WENSINCK)

2. Astronomical aspects. *ʿIlm al-mīḳāt* is the science of astronomical timekeeping by the sun and stars and the determination of the times (*mawāḳīt*) of the five prayers. Since the limits of the permitted intervals for the prayers are defined in terms of the apparent position of the sun in the sky relative to the local horizon, their times vary throughout the year and are dependent upon the terrestrial latitude. When reckoned in terms of a meridian other than the local meridian, the times of prayer are also dependent upon terrestrial longitude.

The definitions of the times of prayer outlined in the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt̲h̲* [see 1, Legal aspects] were standardised in the 2nd/8th century and have been used ever since. According to these standard definitions, the Islamic day and the interval for the *mag̲h̲rib* prayer begin when the disc of the sun has set over the

horizon. The intervals for the ʿis̲h̲āʾ and fad̲j̲r prayers begin at nightfall and daybreak. The permitted time for the ẓuhr begins either when the sun has crossed the meridian, or when the shadow of any object has been observed to increase, or, in mediaeval Andalusian and Mag̲h̲ribī practice, when the shadow of any vertical object or gnomon has increased over its midday minimum by one-quarter of the length of the object. The interval for the ʿaṣr begins when the shadow increase equals the length of the gnomon and ends either when the shadow increase is twice the length of the gnomon or at sunset. See Figs. 1 and 2.

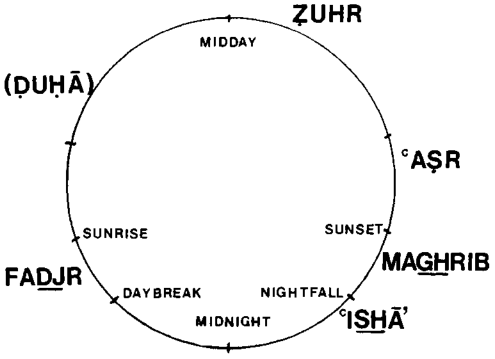

Fig. 1. The Islamic day.

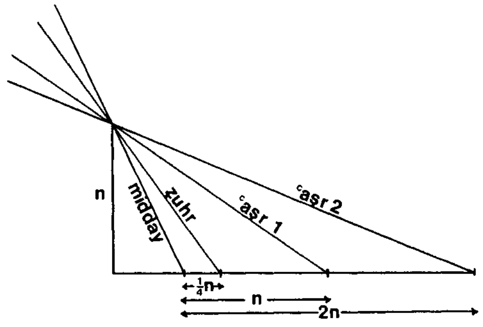

Fig. 2. Shadow increases at the *ẓuhr* (Andalusī/ Mag̲h̲ribī definition) and at the beginning and end of the *ʿaṣr*.

The names of the prayers are derived from the names of the corresponding seasonal hours [see SĀʿA] in pre-Islamic classical Arabic, the seasonal hours (*al-sāʿāt al-zamāniyya*) being one-twelfth divisions of the day and night. The definitions of the times of the daylight prayers in terms of shadow increases (as opposed to shadow lengths in the *ḥadīt̲h̲*) represent a practical means of regulating the prayers in terms of the seasonal hours.

In some circles, a sixth prayer, the *ḍuḥā*, was performed at the same time before midday as the *ʿaṣr* was performed after midday. These definitions of the *ḍuḥā*, *ẓuhr*, and *ʿaṣr* correspond to the third, sixth and ninth seasonal hours, the links being provided by an approximate Indian formula relating shadow increases to the seasonal hours (see below). The Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] is reported to have used a (Graeco-Roman) sundial (marked with the seasonal hours) for regulating his prayers. The early ʿAbbāsid astronomer al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī [*q.v.*] was still toying with different definitions of the *ẓuhr* intended to associate it with the sixth and the seventh seasonal hours.

The regulation of the times of prayer was conducted at two different levels. At the popular level, the simple techniques of folk astronomy were used. Muslim astronomers, on the other hand, used sophisticated tables and instruments for timekeeping.

As we see from treatises on folk astronomy and on the sacred law, in popular practice the daylight prayers were regulated by simple arithmetical shadow schemes of the kind also attested in earlier Hellenistic and Byzantine folk astronomy. The night prayers were regulated by observation of the lunar mansions [see MANĀZIL]. As the 7th/13th century Yemeni legal scholar al-Aṣbaḥī wrote in his treatise on folk astronomy: "The times of prayer are not to be found by the degrees (marked) on an astrolabe and not by calculation using the science of the astronomers; they are to be found only by direct observation ... The astronomers took their knowledge from Euclid and the *Sindhind*, and from Aristotle and other philosophers; all of them were infidels."

Some twenty different shadow schemes have been located in the Arabic sources. In most cases, they are not the result of any careful observations. Usually a single one-digit value for the midday shadow of a man 7 *ḳadams* ("feet") tall is given for each month of the year. One such scheme, attested in several sources, is (starting with a value for January):

9 7 5 3 2 1 1 2 4 5 (or 6) 8 10.

The corresponding values for the shadow length at the beginning of the *ʿaṣr* prayer are 7 units more for each month.

Other arithmetical schemes are sometimes presented in order to find the shadow length at each seasonal hour of day. The most popular formula advocated in order to find the increase (Δs) of the shadow over its midday minimum at $T\,(<6)$ seasonal hours after sunrise or before sunset is:

$$T = 6\ n\ /\ (\Delta s + n),$$

where n is the length of the gnomon. This is the formula which was first used to establish the values $\Delta s = n$ for the 3rd and the 9th seasonal hours of daylight, the beginnings of the *ḍuḥā* and *ʿaṣr* ($T = 3$), and $\Delta s = 2n$ for the 10th hour, sometimes taken as the end of the *ʿaṣr* ($T = 2$).

The Muslim astronomers had a passion for compiling tables, and some of these were specifically for the purpose of timekeeping. Al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī prepared the first known tables for regulating the times of the daylight prayers. Computed for the latitude of Bag̲h̲dād, his tables display the shadow lengths at the *ẓuhr* and the beginning and end of the *ʿaṣr*, with values for each 6° of solar longitude (corresponding roughly to each six days of the year): see Pl. IX, 1. He also compiled some simple tables displaying the time of day in seasonal hours in terms of the observed solar altitude.

The 3rd/9th century astronomer ʿAlī b. Amād̲j̲ūr compiled a more extensive table for timekeeping based on a simple approximate formula which serves all latitudes. The underlying formula is

$$T = 1/15 \text{ arc sin } (\sin h\ /\ \sin H),$$

where h is the observed altitude and H is the meridian altitude. (Note that $T = 0$ when $h = 0$ and $T = 6$ when $h = H$, as required for the cases when the sun is on the horizon and the meridian; in fact this formula is accurate only when the sun is at the equinoxes.) Ibn Amād̲j̲ūr simply tabulated $T(h, H)$ for each degree of both arguments ($h \leq H$).

In astronomical handbooks [see ZĪD̲J̲] from the 3rd/9th century onwards, we find descriptions of an

accurate method for finding $T(h, H)$. These involve the semi-diurnal arc D and the use of the versed sine function (vers $\theta = 1 - \cos\theta$). The standard mediaeval formula is (in modern notation):

$$\text{vers}(D-T) = \text{vers}\, D - \sin h\ \text{vers}\, D / \sin H,$$

which can be derived with facility by means of an analemma construction applied to the celestial sphere. This formula was adopted by Muslim astronomers from Indian sources.

The modern formula for the hour-angle t ($= D - T$) can also be derived by these procedures. It is:

$$\cos t = (\sin h - \sin\delta \sin\varphi) / (\cos\delta \cos\varphi),$$

where δ is the solar declination and φ is the local latitude (note that $H = 90° - \varphi + \delta$), and is used in this form by later Muslim astronomers (see al-Khalīlī, below).

Likewise, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, we find descriptions of how to find the time of day or night using an analogue computer such as an astrolabe [see ASṬURLĀB] or using a calculating device such as a sine quadrant [see RUBʿ]. In the first case, there is no need to know the formula; in the second case, one uses the formula to compute specific examples.

ʿAlī b. Amādjūr also compiled a table of $T(h, H)$ for Baghdād based on an accurate trigonometric formula. Some prayer-tables for Baghdād preserved in the *Zīdj* of the 7th/13th century astronomer al-Ḳāsim b. Maḥfūẓ al-Baghdādī, which display, for example, the duration of twilight for each day of the year, were probably another early ʿAbbāsid production. Quantitative estimates of the angle of depression of the sun at nightfall and daybreak occur in the *Zīdj* of the 3rd/9th century astronomer Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib [*q.v.*]. Quantitative estimates of the effect of refraction at the horizon were first made in the 4th/10th century by the Cairene astronomer Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*]. Isolated tables displaying the altitudes of the sun at the *ẓuhr* and *ʿaṣr* prayers and the duration of morning and evening twilight occur in several early mediaeval Islamic astronomical works, usually of the genre known as *zīdj*. Several early examples of extensive tables for reckoning time by day from the solar altitude or for reckoning time of night from altitudes of certain prominent fixed stars have come to light. All of these tables were computed for a specific locality, and to use any of them one needed an instrument, such as an astrolabe, to measure celestial altitudes or the passage of time. There is no evidence that these tables were widely used.

In practice, at least before the 7th/13th century, the regulation of the prayer-times was the duty of the *muʾadhdhin* or muezzin [see ADHĀN and MASDJID]. The muezzins were appointed for the excellence of their voices and their character, and they needed to be proficient only in the rudiments of folk astronomy. They had to know the shadows at the *ẓuhr* and the *ʿaṣr* for each month, and which lunar mansion was rising at daybreak and setting at nightfall, information which was conveniently expressed in the form of mnemonics. They did not need astronomical tables or instruments. The necessary techniques are outlined in the chapters on prayer in the books of sacred law [see FIḲH], and the qualifications of the muezzin are sometimes detailed in works on public order [see ḤISBA and IḤTISĀB]. See, for example, the discussion of their responsibilities by Ibn al-Ukhuwwa [*q.v.*] (ed. R. Levy, text, 176-8, tr. 63-5) and the criticism of their mentality by the scientist al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] (E.S. Kennedy, *Shadows*, i, 75-6, 226-30, and ii, 28-9, 142-3).

In the 7th/13th century, there occurred a new development whose origins are obscure. In Egypt we find the first mention of the institution of the *muwaḳḳit* [*q.v.*], a professional astronomer associated with a religious institution, whose primary responsibility was the regulation of the times of prayer. Simultaneously, there appeared astronomers with the epithet *mīḳātī* who specialised in spherical astronomy and astronomical timekeeping (*ʿilm al-mīḳāt*), but who were not necessarily associated with any religious institution.

In Cairo later in that century, a *mīḳātī* named Abū ʿAlī al-Marrākushī [*q.v.*] compiled a compendium of spherical astronomy and instruments from earlier sources which was to set the tone of *ʿilm al-mīḳāt* for several centuries. His treatise, appropriately entitled *Djāmiʿ al-mabādiʾ wa-'l-ghāyāt fī ʿilm al-mīḳāt* ("An A to Z of astronomical timekeeping"), was investigated by the Sédillots *père et fils* in the 19th century.

Al-Marrākushī's contemporary, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḳsī, compiled a set of tables displaying the time since sunrise as a function of solar altitude h and solar longitude λ for the latitude of Cairo (based on an earlier set by the 4th/10th century astronomer Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*]), which in the 8th/14th century was expanded and developed into a corpus of tables covering some 200 manuscript folios and containing over 30,000 entries. The Cairo corpus of tables for timekeeping was used for several centuries and survives in numerous copies, no two of which contain the same tables. Besides tables displaying the time since sunrise / hour-angle (time remaining until midday) / solar azimuth for each degree of solar altitude, which make up the bulk of the corpus (see Pl. X, 3), there are other tables displaying the solar altitude and hour-angle as the *ʿaṣr*, the solar altitude and hour-angle when the sun is in the direction of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*], and the duration of morning and evening twilight. In some later copies of the corpus, there are tables for regulating the time when the lamps on minarets during Ramaḍān should be extinguished (*ṭafy al-ḳanādīl*) and when the muezzin should pronounce a blessing (*salām*) on the Prophet Muḥammad: see Pl. X, 4. In some copies, early and late, there is a table for orienting the large ventilators (*bādahandj* [see BĀDGĪR in Suppl.]) on Cairo rooftops so that their south-eastern sides face winter sunrise [see MAKKA. 4. As the centre of the world].

Al-Maḳsī also compiled an extensive treatise on sundial theory, including tables of coordinates for marking the curves on horizontal sundials for different latitudes and vertical sundials for Cairo with any inclination to the local meridian [see MIZWALA]. The latter were particularly useful for constructing sundials on the walls of mosques in Cairo, and the special curves for the *ẓuhr* and *ʿaṣr* enabled the faithful to see how much time remained until the muezzin would announce the call to prayer.

A contemporary of al-Marrākushī and of al-Maḳsī named Nadjm al-Dīn al-Miṣrī was clearly disturbed by the fact that the available tables for timekeeping served only specific latitudes and that they were either for timekeeping by day of for timekeeping by night. He compiled a table for timekeeping which served all latitudes and could be used for timekeeping by the sun or by the stars. In his table, one feeds in the instantaneous altitude of the sun or any star, as well as the meridian latitude and half arc of visibility of the sun or of that star, and simply reads off the time since rising of the sun or of the star. The table contains over 250,000 entries and survives in a unique manuscript probably copied by Nadjm al-Dīn himself.

Another region of the Islamic world in which the writings of al-Marrākushī and the output of the early

Cairo *muwaḳḳits* were influential was the Yemen. Under the Rasūlids [*q.v.*], mathematical astronomy was practiced and patronised. In particular, the Sultan al-As̲h̲raf (1295-6) compiled a treatise on instrumentation inspired by that of al-Marrākus̲h̲ī. The Yemeni astronomer Abu 'l-ʿUḳūl, who worked for the Sultan al-Muʾayyad in Taʿizz, compiled a corpus of tables for timekeeping by day and night which is the largest such corpus compiled by any Muslim astronomer, containing over 100,000 entries.

In Cairo in the 8th/14th century there were several *muwaḳḳits* producing works of scientific merit but the major scene of *ʿilm al-mīḳāt* was Syria. The Aleppo astronomer Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲, who is known to have visited Egypt, devised a series of special quadrants and universal astrolabes and trigonometric grids; his works represent the culmination of the Islamic achievement in astronomical instrumentation.

Two other major Syrian astronomers, al-Mizzī and Ibn al-S̲h̲āṭir, studied astronomy in Egypt under Ibn al-Akfānī [*q.v.*] and others. Al-Mizzī returned to Syria and compiled a set of hour-angle tables and prayer-tables for Damascus modelled after the Cairo corpus. Ibn al-S̲h̲āṭir compiled some prayer-tables for an unspecified locality with latitude 34° (the new Mamlūk city of Tripoli?). Al-Mizzī also compiled various treatises on instruments, but Ibn al-S̲h̲āṭir turned his attention to theoretical astronomy and devised a new series of models which represent the culmination of the Islamic endeavour in this field [see ʿILM AL-HAYʾA]. This notwithstanding, he also devised the most splendid sundial known from the Islamic Middle Ages, the fragments of which are preserved in the garden of the Archaeological Museum in Damascus; a replica made in the late 19th century by the last Syrian *muwaḳḳit* of any reknown, al-Ṭanṭāwī, is still *in situ* on the main minaret of the Umayyad Mosque [see MIZWALA].

It was a colleague of al-Mizzī and Ibn al-S̲h̲āṭir named S̲h̲ams al-Dīn al-K̲h̲alīlī who made the most significant advances in *ʿilm al-mīḳāt*. Al-K̲h̲alīlī recomputed the tables of al-Mizzī for the new parameters (local altitude and obliquity of the ecliptic [see MAYL]) derived by Ibn al-S̲h̲āṭir. His corpus of tables for timekeeping by the sun (*i.e.* functions $t(h,\lambda)$ and $T(h,\lambda)$) and for regulating the times of prayer for Damascus was used there until the 13th/19th century: see Pl. XI, 5. In addition, he compiled some tables of auxiliary trigonometric functions for solving all of the standard problems of spherical astronomy for any latitude. The functions tabulated are:

$$f(\varphi,\theta) = R \text{ Sin } \theta \ / \text{ Cos } \varphi,$$
$$g(\varphi,\theta) = \text{Sin } \theta \text{ Tan } \varphi \ / \ R, \text{ and}$$
$$K(x,y) = \text{arc Cos } (R\ x \ / \ y),$$

where the trigonometric functions are to base $R = 60$. Values are given to two sexagesimal digits and are invariably computed accurately. Using these tables, the hour-angle can be found with a minimum of calculation. Al-K̲h̲alīlī describes a procedure equivalent to:

$$t(h,\ \delta,\ \varphi) = K\{\ [f(\varphi,h) - g(\varphi,\delta)],\ \delta\ \}$$

which is mathematically equivalent to the modern formula noted above. Al-K̲h̲alīlī also compiled a table displaying the *ḳibla* or local direction of Mecca as a function of terrestrial longitude and latitude [see ḲIBLA]. These tables represent the culmination of the Muslim achievement in the computation of tables for spherical astronomy.

Some of the activities of the Damascus school became known in Tunis in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries. Extensive auxiliary tables and prayer tables for the latitude of Tunis were compiled there by astronomers whose names are not known to us. Prayer-tables were also prepared for various latitudes in the Mag̲h̲rib.

More significant was the influence of the Cairo and Damascus schools on the development of *ʿilm al-mīḳāt* in Ottoman Turkey. Cairene and Damascene astronomers of the 8th/14th century had already prepared sets of prayer-tables for the latitude of Istanbul, as well as for Jerusalem, Mecca, and Aleppo, but several new sets of tables were prepared by Ottoman astronomers for Istanbul and elsewhere in Turkey after the model of the corpora for Cairo and Damascus. Prayer-tables for Istanbul are contained in the very popular almanac [see RŪZNĀMA] of the 9th/15th Ṣūfī S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Wefāʾ (see Pl. IX, 2), and in the less widely distributed almanac of the 10th/16th century scholar Darendeli. These remained in use until the 19th century.

Large sets of tables for timekeeping by the sun and/or stars were prepared for Istanbul and for Edirne. One set for the sun was compiled by Taḳī 'l-Dīn b. Maʿrūf [*q.v.*], director of the short-lived Istanbul Observatory in the late 10th/16th century. In the 12th/18th century, the architect Ṣāliḥ Efendī produced an enormous corpus of tables for timekeeping which was very popular amongst the *muwaḳḳits* of Istanbul. A feature distinguishing some of these Ottoman tables from the earlier Egyptian and Syrian tables is that values of the time of day are based on the convention that sunset is 12 o'clock. This convention, inspired by the fact that the Islamic day begins at sunset (because the calendar is lunar and the months begin with the sighting of the crescent shortly after sunset), has the disadvantage that clocks registering "Turkish" time need to be adjusted by a few minutes each few days. Prayer-tables based on this convention were compiled all over the Ottoman Empire and beyond; examples have been found in the manuscript sources for localities as far apart as Algiers and Yarkand, and Crete and Ṣanʿāʾ: see Pl. XI, 6.

In the 19th/20th centuries, the times of prayer were and are tabulated in annual almanacs, wall calendars and pocket diaries, and the times for each day are listed in newspapers. In Ramaḍān, special sets for the whole month are distributed. These are called *imsākiyyas* and indicate in addition to the times of prayer, the time of the early morning meal (*suḥūr*) and the time before daybreak—called the *imsāk*—when the fast should begin. Modern tables are usually prepared by the local survey department or observatory or some other agency approved by the religious authorities (see Fig. 3). Recently, electronic clocks and watches have appeared on the market which are programmed to beep at the prayer times for different localities, and to pronounce a recorded prayer-call [see AD̲H̲ĀN].

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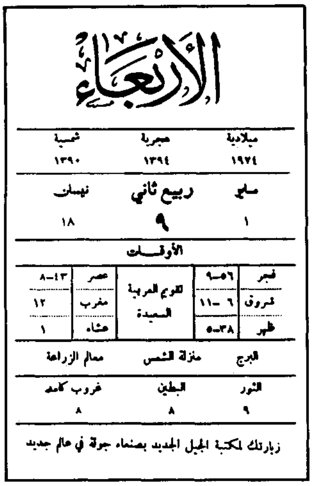

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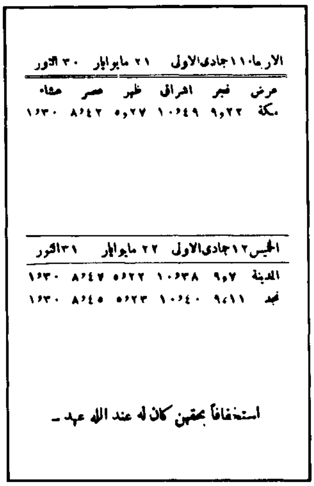

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٨) شعبان (برائت) آیی

٢٩ کون (١–١٥ گیجه)

١٤٠٤ نچی هجری سنه 1984 نچی میلادی ییلی

عشاء خفتن م	عشاء خفتن س	مغرب کون باتیش م	مغرب کون باتیش س	عصر نماز دیگر م	عصر نماز دیگر س	قیام توش م	قیام توش س	طلوع کون چیقیش م	طلوع کون چیقیش س	صبح تانگ م	صبح تانگ س	Mart	هفته کونلری	شعبان
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٥٣	٩	٢٤	٨	٢٤	٦	٢٠	١	١٧	٦	٤٣	٤	4	جمعه	٤
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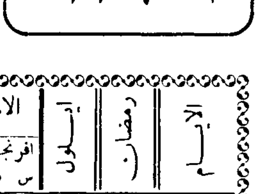

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٢٣	٢٦	٤		١٠	١٤	٣٦	٤٠	١٣	١٧	٤٠	٤٤	٢٠	٢٤	٨	٣	الاثنين
٢٣	٢٥	٣		١١	١٤	٣٧	٤٠	١٥	١٨	٤٢	٤٥	٢٢	٢٥	٩	٤	الثلاثاء

Fig. 3. Extracts from some modern tables for regulating the times of prayer for different localities. The examples shown serve (a) Yemen; (b) Mecca (?); (c) Tunis; (d) Tashkent; (e) Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Erzerum; and (f) Nābulus (for Ramaḍān, 1396/1975).

Spherical astronomy in medieval Islam: the Ḥākimī Zīj *of Ibn Yūnus* (forthcoming), and M.-Th. Debarnot, *La trigonométrie sphérique chez les Arabes de l'est à la fin du Xᵉ siècle*, Damascus 1985. On al-Marrākus͟hī and his treatise, and the rise of the institution of the *muwaḳḳit*, see King, *The astronomy of the Mamluks*, in *Isis*, lxxiv (1983), 531-55, esp. 539-40 and 534-5, repr. in idem, *Islamic mathematical astronomy* (hereafter *IMA*), London 1986, III. On the earliest known tables for regulating the prayer times and reckoning time of day from solar altitude, see King, *Al-Khwārizmī and new trends in mathematical astronomy in the ninth century*, in *Occasional Papers on the Near East* (New York University, Hagop Kervorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies), ii (1983), 7-11. On the corpora of tables for Cairo, Taᶜizz, Damascus and Jerusalem, Tunis and Istanbul, see respectively, King, *Ibn Yūnus'* Very Useful Tables *for reckoning time by the sun*, in *Archive for history of exact sciences*, x (1973), 342-94, repr. in idem, *IMA*, IX; *Mathematical astronomy in medieval Yemen* ..., Malibu, Calif. 1983, 31-2; *Astronomical timekeeping in fourteenth-century Syria*, in *Procs. of the First International Symposium for the History of Arabic Science (Aleppo, 1976)*, ii, 75-84 and plates, repr. in idem, *IMA*, X; (with E.S. Kennedy) *Indian astronomy in fourteenth-century Fez* ..., in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, vi (1982), 3-45, repr. in idem, *IMA*, VIII, esp. 8-9; and *Astronomical timekeeping in Ottoman Turkey*, in *Procs. of the International Symposium on the Observatories in Islam (Istanbul, 1977)*, 245-69, repr. in idem, *IMA*, XII. Three sets of auxiliary tables are analysed in R.A.K. Irani, *The* Jadwal al-taqwīm *of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib*, unpubl. Master's diss., American University of Beirut 1956; C. Jensen, *Abū Naṣr's approach to spherical astronomy as developed in his treatise* The Table of Minutes, in *Centaurus*, xvi (1972), 1-19; and King, *Al-K͟halīlī's auxiliary tables for solving problems of spherical astronomy*, in *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, iv (1973), 99-110, repr. in idem, *IMA*, XI. See further King, *Studies in astronomical timekeeping in Islam, I. A survey of tables for reckoning time by the sun and stars*; *II. A survey of tables for regulating the times of prayer; III. A survey of shadow schemes for simple time-reckoning; IV. On the origin of the prayers in Islam;* and *V. On the role of the Muezzin and the Muwaqqit in medieval Islamic society* (forthcoming, I-II with Springer-Verlag, New York, III-IV in *Oriens*). On the Ottoman convention of reckoning sunset as 12 o'clock, see J. Würschmidt, *Die Zeitrechnung im Osmanischen Reich*, in *Deutsche optische Wochenschrift* (1917), 88-100. On the *muwaḳḳit-k͟hānas*, the buildings adjacent to the major Ottoman mosques which were used by the *muwaḳḳits*, see A.S. Ünver, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim tarihinde muvakkithaneler*, in *Atatürk konferensları*, v (1975), 217-57. See also the *Bibl.* to MIZWALA. (D.A. KING)

AL-MIḲDĀD B. ᶜ**AMR** b. T͟HAᶜLABA AL-BAHRĀʾĪ, a well-known Companion of the Prophet. He is attested in all the available historical sources, which more or less concur that his father ᶜAmr fled to the Kinda [*q.v.*] tribe after he had become involved in a blood feud in his own tribe of Bahrāʾ [*q.v.*], a group of Ḳuḍāᶜa. There, in Kinda, al-Miḳdād was born *ca.* 585 A.D. Then al-Miḳdād, in his turn, had to flee Kinda after he had wounded a fellow-tribesman in the foot. He made good his escape to Mecca. Having been adopted by al-Aswad b. ᶜAbd Yag͟hūt͟h al-Zuhrī, he became a *ḥalīf* (confederate) of the Banū Zuhra. It is reported that he used to be called al-Miḳdād b. al-Aswad until Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 5, declaring adoption in Islam illegal, was revealed, whereupon he once more became known as the son of ᶜAmr b. T͟haᶜlaba. He is listed among the first seven persons who openly professed Islam (al-D͟hahabī, *Siyar*, i, 251), but, initially, the *mus͟hrikūn* may have forced him to recant. Then al-Miḳdād participated in the emigration to Abyssinia (the second wave, cf. Watt, *Mecca*, 111f.), from where he returned just before the *hid͟jra* to accompany Muḥammad to Medina (contrary to what is implied in Watt, *Medina*, 3). As part of the *muʾākhāt* [*q.v.*] or "brothering" measures, Muḥammad paired him with D͟jabr b. ᶜAtīk (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 73), but we also find D͟jabbār b. Ṣak͟hr (Ibn Saᶜd, iii/2, 115).

During a raid under the leadership of ᶜUbayda b. al-Ḥārit͟h in the year 1/623, al-Miḳdād and another man sought to curry favour with the Meccans, but their intentions seem to have been thwarted and they had to fall back on the Muslims. Then al-Miḳdād is recorded as having fought at Badr, where he was the only one, or one of the very few, who rode his own horse. He is said to have participated in all the other campaigns launched during the Prophet's lifetime. Al-Miḳdād was one of Muḥammad's archers. On subsequent raids he was given several commands, e.g. at Uḥud he was the commander of the main body of the army together with Ḥamza b. ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib [*q.v.*], and at the G͟hazwat al-G͟hāba he commanded the cavalry. When a delegation of his South Arabian tribe came to Medina, they were lodged by him (Ibn Saᶜd, i/2, 66).

After the Prophet's death, al-Miḳdād is listed among those who took part in the conquest of Syria and his name is mentioned particularly in connection with Ḥimṣ. The people of Ḥimṣ used to rely on al-Miḳdād's Ḳurʾān recitation (cf. Ibn al-At͟hīr, iii, 86), a report rejected by Bergsträsser (*G. des Q.*, iii, 172), but which could conceivably be read in connection with his having been appointed as the official Ḳurʾān reciter of the army fighting in Syria in the year 13/634 (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2059). Then the sources depict al-Miḳdād as the commander of a force of one thousand men sent by 'Umar in aid of ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ, who dispatched him to Dimyāṭ. Al-Miḳdād conquered it. It is also alleged that he was present at a raid into Ifrīḳiya. He supposedly was one of eighty people who helped in establishing the *ḳibla* in the mosque said to have been built at the instigation of ᶜAmr in Fusṭāṭ. His last military activities seem to have been displayed during a raid on Cyprus in 28/649 under Muᶜāwiya.

After ᶜUmar's assassination, al-Miḳdād is said to have actively been engaged in the organisation of the *s͟hūrā* [*q.v.*], the electoral body which was to determine ᶜUmar's successor. Al-Miḳdād is recorded as having been a staunch adherent of ᶜAlī, so much so in fact that this earned him the esteem of the later Imāmiyya [*q.v.*], who declared him to be one of the few Companions who had not become unbelievers when ᶜUt͟hmān, and not ᶜAlī, received the nomination.

Al-Miḳdād seems to have become a man of affluence. Not only is it reported that he acquired some possessions at K͟haybar at one time, but he also had an estate built for himself three miles outside Medina at a place called al-D͟juruf. Here he died, possibly as the result of an unsuccessful medical operation performed by a Byzantine servant of his who had sought to rid his master of his obesity. According to another account he died after drinking a potion made of the castor-oil plant. As seems to have been the custom with other people who died in al-D͟juruf (e.g. Usāma b. Zayd, cf. Ibn Saᶜd, iv/1, 51), his body is said to have been carried to Medina, where

1. Al-Khwārazmī's prayer-tables for latitude 33° (Baghdād). For each 6° of solar longitude the lengths of the shadow of a gnomon of length 12 units are tabulated for the beginning of the *ẓuhr* and for the beginning and end of the *ʿaṣr*. Note that some entries are written in Hindu-Arabic numerals [see HISĀB] and others in the more usual alpha-numerical system [see ABDJAD]. Taken from Ms Berlin Ahlwardt 5793 (Landberg 56), fol. 94a, with kind permission of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

2. An extract from some anonymous prayer-tables for an unspecified latitude (about 40°). The function tabulated is the ascendant at ten different times of the day and night, and values are given for each 6° of solar longitude. The times served are dusk (*mughīb al-shafaḳ*) and daybreak (*al-fadjr al-ṣādiḳ* and *al-fadjr al-kādhib*) and the seven moments which divide the length of daylight into eight equal parts. The table is evidence of a survival of the early tradition of associating the *ḍuḥā* and the *ʿaṣr* with the seasonal hours. Taken from Ms Cambridge U.L. O.1, fol. 179a, with kind permission of Cambridge University Library.

3. An extract from the corpus of tables used for timekeeping in mediaeval Cairo. These tables display the time since sunrise (*al-dāʾir*), the hour-angle (*faḍl al-dāʾir*) and the solar azimuth (*al-samt*) as a function of solar altitude (here 15°) and each degree of solar longitude (*al-ʿadad*). Time is reckoned in equatorial degrees (1° = 4 minutes since 360° = 24 hours). Taken from Ms Cairo Dār al-Kutub *mīḳāt* 690, fols. 15b-16a, with kind permission of the Egyptian National Library.

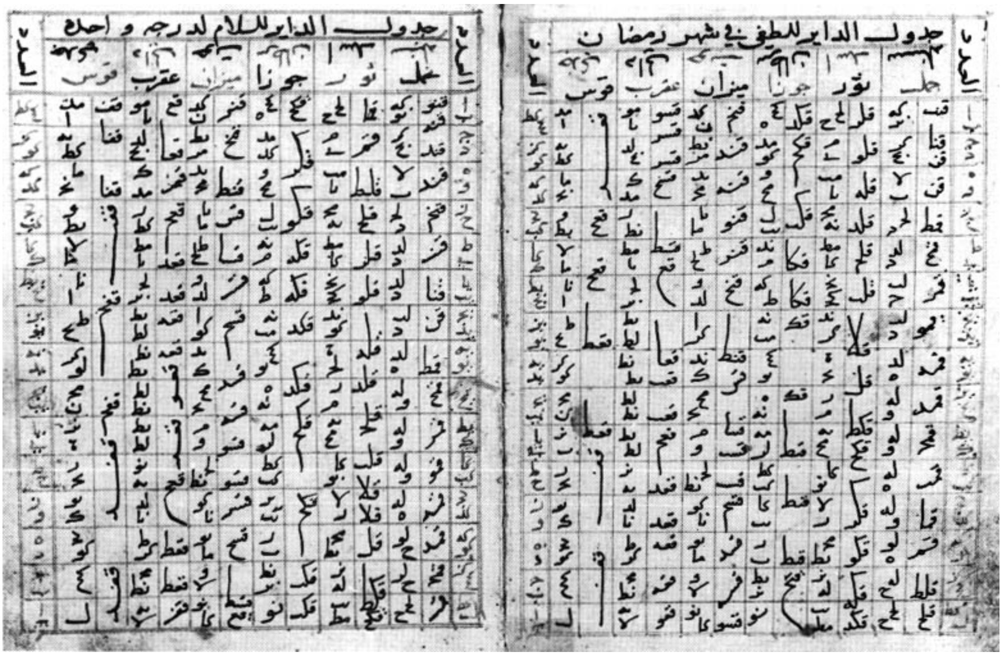

4. Another extract from the tables in the Cairo corpus displaying the times since sunrise up to the prescribed moments for the *muʾadhdhin* to extinguish the lamps on the minarets during Ramaḍān and to announce a benediction on the Prophet Muḥammad. Taken from Ms Cairo Dār al-Kutub *mīḳāt* 954,2, fols. 3b-4a, with kind permission of the Egyptian National Library.

5. An extract from al-Khalīlī's corpus of tables for Damascus showing some 12 functions for regulating the times of prayer. Values are displayed for each degree of solar longitude (this extract serves the first few degrees of Aquarius). Taken from Ms Paris B.N. ar. 2558, fols. 10b-11a, with kind permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

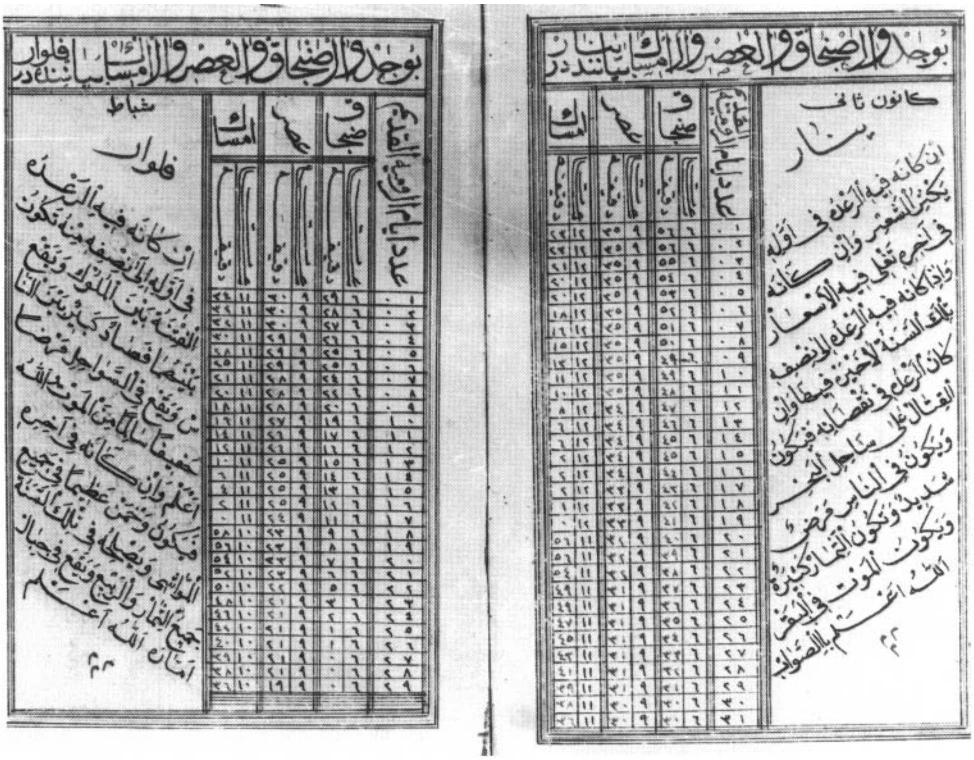

6. An extract from some Ottoman prayer-tables for the latitude of Algiers. For each day of each month (here February) the times of the *ḍuḥā* (here called *ṣadjāḳ*), the *ʿaṣr* and the *imsāk* are tabulated. The times are expressed in hours and minutes and are reckoned according to the Ottoman convention that sunset is 12 o'clock. Taken from Ms Cairo Ṭalʿat *falak turkī* 9, fol. 41a, with kind permission of the Egyptian National Library.

ʿUthmān performed the funeral *ṣalāt* for him. This was in 33/653-4, when al-Miḳdād was allegedly some 70 (lunar) years old (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 115).

Al-Miḳdād is supposed to have transmitted a few traditions from the Prophet. An analysis of the *isnāds* seems to suggest that his role in these traditions is to be regarded as fictitious, the majority of these *isnāds* showing up "common links" who may be held responsible for the *matns* attached to these *isnāds*. Thus al-Miḳdād is said to have lost a hand in the fighting at Badr, a report which, after analysis, is most likely due to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (cf. al-Bukhārī, *diyāt* 1 = ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv, 314 f., and al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf*, viii, no. 11547); then there is the story of how he was on one occasion tempted by the Devil (cf. Muslim, *ashriba* 174, and al-Mizzī, viii, no. 11546). Perhaps the best-known report featuring al-Miḳdād is the one in which he maintains that sycophants deserve no more than having earth thrown in their faces (apparently a severe humiliation, cf. Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 93). This report seems to have later been raised to the level of a Prophetic *ḥadīth* at the hands of Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*], imitated by Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *Siyar*, index; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 285 ff.; idem, *Iṣāba*, vi, 202ff.; Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; idem, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, index; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, index; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, index; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Madjd al-Dīn al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*, index; Fasawī, *K. al-maʿrifa wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 368; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, index; Maḳdisī, *K. al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, v, 132 of the French text; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 1582, 1599; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 576; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 213, 289, 295, ii, 247; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, index; Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf*, viii, nos. 11542-51; al-Miḳdād's *musnad* in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* is in vol, vi, 2-6, and 8. (G.H.A. Juynboll)

MĪKHĀʾĪL al-ṢABBĀGH, Arab scholar and littérateur. He was born *ca.* 1775 (thus acc. to Shaykhū, in *Mashriḳ*, viii [1905], 29) in Acre, Palestine, into a Melkite family, and died in 1816 in Paris. His grandfather was Ibrāhīm al-Ṣabbāgh, the personal physician and steward of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, ruler of ʿAkkā (so Shaykhū, *op. cit.*, 27), and also his secretary and minister (so al-Khūrī Ḳusṭanṭīn al-Bāshā al-Mukhalliṣī in his introduction to M. al-Ṣabbāgh, *Taʾrīkh al-Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar al-Zaydānī*, 5).

Mīkhāʾīl spent his early years in Damascus, from where he and his family fled to Egypt, and he then pursued his studies there. He returned to Syria in 1792, but had to leave again in 1794. The French invasion of Egypt in 1798 offered him new opportunities. He served General Reynier as secretary, and accompanied him to France in 1801. Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh found employment there as a compositor and corrector of oriental languages at the State Printing House until the government elected him to become one of the secretaries of the Royal Library (Bibliothèque du Roi), charged with the preservation and restoration of Oriental manuscripts. In this latter function, he copied some 60 mss., among them Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa* and the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. He was praised for his work by orientalists like A.I. Sylvestre de Sacy, L.M. Langlès, H.G.L. Kosegarten, C.F. von Schnurrer and J. Humbert. Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh's own writings consist of a curious book about the use and training of carrier-pigeons, a number of historical works, which, with one exception, have remained in manuscript form, an essay on poetry, a number of poems in honour of Pope Pius VII, in honour of Napoleon on the occasion of his marriage, and again on the occasion of the birth of the King of Rome, and one congratulating Louis XVIII. All were translated into French and published in booklets containing both versions. There is also a study of the Arabic vernaculars, published by H. Thorbecke in 1886.

Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh's works comprise: 1. *Kitāb Musābaḳat al-bark wa 'l-ghamām fī suʿāt al-ḥamām*, tr. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris 1805, as *La colombe, messagère plus rapide que l'éclair, plus prompte que la nue.* Other translations mentioned by Shaykhū (*op. cit.*, 30) and by Graf (*GCAL*, iii, 250) are an Italian one by A. Cattaneo, Milan 1822, and a German one by Lorsbach, 1806, not mentioned by Graf), repr. with appendices by G. Löper, Strassburg 1879. 2. *Taʾrīkh al-shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar al-Zaydānī ḥākim ʿAkkā wa-bilād Ṣafad ʿuniya bi-nashrihi wa-taʿlīḳ hawāshīhi al-Khūrī Ḳusṭanṭīn al-Bāshā al-Mukhalliṣī*, Ḥarīṣa [*ca.* 1928]. In this, Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh describes the rise and fall of Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, whom Mīkhāʾīl's grandfather had served as a physician; this concern "prevails over the traditional pattern used for annals" (T. Philipp, in *IJMES*, xvi [1984], 161-75, esp. 168). "In his unpublished history of Ibrahīm aṣ-Ṣabbāgh and his family, Mīkhāʾīl did not even try to uphold the form of annals" (*loc. cit.*). The manuscript of the *Taʾrīkh* is in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Cod. Arab. 901). The same collection also comprises literary selections by Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh (Munich, Cod. Arab. 899) as well as the manuscript of his "*Short history of the Melkites*" (Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh ṭāʾifat al-Rūm al-Kāthūlīk) (Shaykhū, *op. cit.*, 31 ff.). Al-Khūrī Isḥāḳ Armala (*Mashriḳ*, xxxiv, 381) mentions two more "histories": *Taʾrīkh Ḳabāʾil ahl al-bādiya* ("History of Bedouin tribes"), and *Taʾrīkh al-Shām wa-Miṣr* ("History of Syria and Egypt"). 3. His *Risāla al-tāmma fī kalām al-ʿāmma wa 'l-manāhidj fī aḥwāl al-kalām al-dāridj* (Munich, cod. Arab. 880, 644-80) was published by H. Thorbecke under the title *Mîḫâʾîl Ṣabbâġ's Grammatik der arabischen Umgangssprache in Syrien und Aegypten*, Strassburg 1886. The author writes that he had to rely on actual speech only, written documentation on the subject being non-existent and the field until then unexplored. The first chapter deals with the Arab language as it was "before and immediately after Islam", the beginning of its corruption, the intrusion of alien matter and the diversification of the present vernaculars in the various countries. Then follow chapters on elisions, additions and contractions, on pronouns, nouns, verbs, and particles. The ninth chapter deals with inversions, and the tenth with loanwords and their origins. Thorbecke describes the manuscript as an unfinished draft, with many corrections, additions and deletions, written in a scrawling, barely legible hand (pp. III-X). 4. The *Kitāb fi 'l-Shiʿr wa-fi 'l-arūd wa-mulhaḳātihi ka 'l-zadjal wa 'l-muwashshaḥ wa 'l-mawāliyā*, a study of poetry and its metres, is mentioned by Freytag in his *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, 458-61. Freytag writes that this study is of little value and unreliable in detail, but interesting since it describes poetical forms such as the *mawwāl*, the *zadjal* and the *kān wa-kān*. 5. The *Nashīd ḳaṣīdat tahānī li-saʿādat al-Ḳayṣar al-muʿaẓẓam Nābūliyyūn* has been translated into French by Silvestre de Sacy as *Cantique à S.M. Napoléon le grand, empereur des Français et roi d'Italie, à l'occasion de la naissance de son fils Napoléon II, Roi de Rome. Allégorie sur le bonheur futur de la France*

et la paix de l'univers, Paris, Imprimerie impériale, 1811; and the *Nashīd tahānī li-saʿādat al-kullī al-diyāna Lūʾīs al-thāmin ʿashar malik Faransā wa Nāwār* by Grangeret de Lagrange, as *Cantique de félicitation à sa M. très-chrétienne Louis le Désiré, Roi de France et de Navarre*, Paris 1814. Humbert, *Anthologie arabe*, 293, mentions three more poems: *Hommage au Grand-juge Ministre de la justice, visitant l'Imprimerie de la république*, 1803; *Vers à la louange du Souverain Pontife Pie VII*, 1805; and *Vers à l'occasion du mariage de Napoléon*, 1810.

Bibliography: G.W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, repr. Osnabrück 1968, 458-61; J. Humbert, *Anthologie arabe*, Paris 1819, 174-8, 291-3; H.G.L. Kosegarten, *Carminum orientalium triga*, Stralsund, 34 ff., 41; L.M. Langlès, *Voyages de Sind-Bad le Marin*, Paris, 1814, p. xxiii; Th. Philipp, *Class, community and Arab historiography in the early nineteenth century. The dawn of a new era*, in *IJMES*, xvi (1984), 161-75; C.F. von Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, Halle 1811, 491; A.I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, iii, Paris, 1806, 349, 362, 363, 519; H. Thorbecke, *Miḫâʾîl Ṣabbâġ's Grammatik der arabischen Umgangssprache in Syrien und Aegypten*, Strassburg 1886, pp. iii-x; L. Shaykhū, *Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh wa-usratuhu*, in *Mashrik*, viii (1905), 24-34; idem, *al-Ādāb al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-karn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*, in *ibid.* (1907), 469-73; idem, *al-Ādāb al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-karn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar. Al-djuzʾ al-awwal*, Beirut 1924, 15, 22-3, 34-5; Al-Khūrī Isḥāḳ Armala, *al-Malakiyyūn*, in *Mashrik*, xxxiv (1936), 381.

(C. Nijland)

MĪKHĀL-OGHLU, an old Ottoman noble family.

This family traced its descent to the feudal lord Köse Mīkhāl ʿAbd Allāh, originally a Greek (cf. F.-A. Geuffroy, in Ch. Schefer, *Petit traicte de l'origine des Turcqz par Th. Spandouyn Cantacasin*, Paris 1696, 267: *L'ung desdictz Grecz estoit nommé Michaeli ... Dudict Michali sont descenduz les Michalogli*), who appears in the reign of ʿOthmān I as lord of Chirmenkia (Khirmendjik) at the foot of Mount Olympus near Edrenos, and later as an ally of the first Ottoman ruler earned great merit for his share in aiding the latter's expansion (cf. J. von Hammer, in *GOR*, i, 48, 57, following Idrīs Bidlīsī and Neshrī). Converted to Islam, Köse Mīkhāl appears again in the reign of ʿOthmān's son Orkhan. The rank of commander of the *akindjis* [*q.v.*] became hereditary in the family of Köse Mīkhāl, which is even said to have been related to the royal house of Savoy and of France (cf. Paolo Giovio, *Michalogli di sangue Turcheco e per via di donna si fa parente del Duca di Savoia e del Re di Francia*; in this case Mīkhāl [Μιχαήλ], alias Köse Mīkhāl, must have been descended from the Palaeologi; cf. *GOR*, i, 572), and along with the Malkoč-oghlu (properly Malkovič, i.e. Markovič), the Ewrenos-oghlu [*q.v.*], Tīmūrtash-oghlu [*q.v.*] and Turakhan-oghlu [*q.v.*], was among the most celebrated of the noble familes of the early Ottoman empire. Köse Mīkhāl, called ʿAbd Allāh, died in Edirne and was buried in the mosque founded there by him in the western Yildirim quarter. As Edirne was certainly not conquered till 763/1362 (see F. Babinger, in *MOG*, ii, 311), he must therefore have lived into the reign of Murād I and had a remarkably long life.

Köse Mīkhāl had two sons, namely Meḥmed Beg and Yakhshī (Bakhshī?), of whom only the former acquired some renown. He was vizier under Mūsā Čelebi and a close friend of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn of Simaw [*q.v.*]. Under Mūsā he was *Beglerbeg* of Rūmeli, and died in 825/1422 at Isnīḳ at the hand of the judge Tādj al-Dīn-oghlu and is said to have been buried at Plevna in Bulgaria (cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 305), after being previously (816/1413) detained as a state prisoner in the prison of Bedewī Čardak near Toḳat. His son was Khiḍr Beg, who distinguished himself in the wars of Murād II's reign. He died in 870/1465 and was buried at Edirne beside his ancestor Köse Mīkhāl. Khiḍr Beg seems to have had three sons, namely Ghāzī ʿAlī Beg, Ghāzī Iskandar Beg and Ghāzī Balī Beg, of whom only the first two are of any historical importance. Ghāzī ʿAlī Beg in 865/1461 distinguished himself in the battle against Vlad (see *GOR*, ii, 64), in 878/1473 ravaged the lands of Uzun Ḥasan (*ibid.*, ii, 118), invaded Hungary in 880/1475 (*ibid.*, ii, 144) with his brother Iskandar Beg, in 881/1476 (*ibid.*, ii, 156) was in command of the *akindjis* before Scutari in Albania, and appears once again in Transylvania (*ibid.*, ii, 172); but in the next 13 years nothing is heard of him. In 897/1492 he seems to have met his death at Villach in Carinthia, defeated by Count Khevenhüller, although other sources mention him at a still later date. According to them, he died in Plevna. His brother Iskandar Beg in 881/1476 commanded the light cavalry at the siege of Scutari, as *sandjak beg* of Bosnia (880/1475, 885/1480 and 890/1485, *GOR*, ii, 156); and in 895/1490 in the Ḳaramān campaign, in which he lost his son, the governor of Ḳayṣariyye Mīkhāl Beg (see *GOR*, ii, 300), who was taken prisoner and sent to Egypt. He seems to have lived till 903/1498. The military exploits of Ghāzī ʿAlī Beg were celebrated by Sūzī Čelebi (d. 930/1534 at Prizren; cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 34-5) in a long epic (said to have been 15,000 couplets), fragments of which have recently been discovered (one in Berlin, ms. Or., no. 1468 containing 1,700 *bayts* and the other in Zagreb, South Slav Academy of Sciences, Coll. Babinger, no. 535, i, with 212 *bayts*). In some sources, a Meḥmed Beg, who was distinguishing himself at that time, is described as a fourth son of Ghāzī Khiḍr Beg; in others, however, he appears as the son of Ghāzī ʿAlī Beg, which is not at all probable if he really was twice governor of Bosnia, namely as early as 897/1492 and again in 949/1542, and did not die till 950/1543.

The family of the Mīkhāl-oghlu now begins to fall into the background. About the middle of the 10th/16th century, an Aḥmad Beg is again mentioned, perhaps as the last of the Mīkhāl-oghlu holding the hereditary office in the family of leader of a body of *akindjis* (see *GOR*, iii, 293); and lastly, a Khiḍr Pasha is mentioned in a history as a descendant of Köse Mīkhāl (see *GOR*, iv, 512). The family at a later date had estates in Bulgaria (around Ihtiman, cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, iii, 390, and C. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Vienna 1891, 138, and at Filibe, Ewliyā Čelebi, iii, 379-80) and survived down to modern times. As we learn, however, from the *Sālnāme* of Edirne for 1309, 82 ff., the Mīkhāl-oghlus had already at an early date large estates around Edirne. They had the country round Buñar-Ḥiṣār, Tirnovo, Ḳirḳ Kilīse and Wīze as a hereditary fief. The Anatolian district of Mīkhālidj (Μιχαηλίτζη, Μιχαλιχίου in Chalkondyles, 225; Ewliyā Čelebi, v. 293-4; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, in *SBAK. Wien*, Phil-hist. Cl., cxxiv [Vienna 1891], 95 and J.H. Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, lxv [1911], 101) seems to be connected with the family of the Mīkhāl-oghlu. Ewliyā, *loc. cit.*, further mentions estates and *awḳāf* of the family in the Amasya and Bursa regions.

Bibliography: The well-known histories of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga. Under the title *Aḥwāl-i Ghāzī Mīkhāl* (Istanbul 1315; cf. Babinger,

GOW, 35, n. 1), Nuzhet Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a published a work glorifying Köse Mīk̲h̲āl and his descendants. See also *İA* art. *Mihal-Oğulları* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin), with a detailed genealogical tree.

(Fr. Babinger)

MIK̲H̲LĀF (a., pl. *mak̲h̲ālīf*), a term of mediaeval Islamic administrative geography used particularly in Yemen. The sources usually state that it is the equivalent of Arabic *kūra* [*q.v.*]"administrative province" (Nas̲h̲wān al-Ḥimyarī, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben im Šams al-ʿulūm*, Leiden-London 1916, 34) or Persian *rustāḳ* [*q.v.*] "rural area" (al-K̲h̲alīl b. Aḥmad, cited by Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, i, 37, tr. Wadie Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-buldān*, Leiden 1959, 56-7), with a fanciful explanation that the progeny of Ḳaḥṭān, the Yemen, remained behind (*tak̲h̲allafa*) in the region of that name, hence the district of each tribe was called its *mik̲h̲lāf*. The term may be tenuously related to Sabaic *k̲h̲.l.f* "vicinity of a town", cf. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, Rome 1931, 136. Al-Yaʿḳūbī states in his *K. al-Buldān*, 317-19, tr. 156-8, that Yemen comprises 84 *mak̲h̲ālīf*, with a list, and in his *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, i, 227-9, gives a further one; however, the total number of names amounts to only 74, and some of these are tribal and not geographical names.

From the period of Ayyūbid rule in Yemen onwards, the term gradually falls out of use there and is no longer used at the present time, although Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwir (early 6th/13th century) defined it in his *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Mustabṣir* (ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1954, ii, 170) as having the restricted sense of the settled and cultivated lands around a fortress as well as having the larger one of a district or province, and noted that the term was only used in the mountain zone of Yemen and not in the coastal Tihāma.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MIKINDANI (in Swahili, "the places of young coconut trees") a small East African port which has now yielded in importance to its modern neighbour of Mtwara.

It lies near the Tanzanian border with Mozambique. The nearby coast is thick with mangrove plantations, whose wood is the principal attraction today for Arab dhow traffic from ʿUmān and the Gulf. The Swahili traditional history *Asili ya Mikindani* ("The origin of Mikindani") states that it began as a centre for the slave and gum copal trades, in exchange for grain and cloth, for which Sayyid Barg̲h̲as̲h̲ of Zanzibar (1870-88) established a customs post. Before this there was a resident local "sultan"—in Swahili the word *sultani* need not mean more than a headman—of Arab descent, but intermarried with the Makonde tribe, with the result that the descent and succession of the ruler was reckoned matrilineally. Alexander Dalrymple, hydrographer to the East India Company, mentions the sultanic residence on a chart dated 1796. Lt. Thomas Boteler, who visited Mikindani in H.M.S. *Barracouta* in 1824, says that the place consisted of three "neat and extensive villages" inhabited by Arabs. On a nearby hill there were the remains of a fort, which he ascribes to the Portuguese, albeit Portuguese records do not record one here. Rather, it may have been an Arab slave barracoon, of which no trace now remains. Livingstone began his last journey from here in 1866. Boteler's villages had now become six. Livingstone hired a house in Pemba village which still exists; it had ninety houses and a ruined mosque of coral and lime. There was another Arab stone ruin on the other side of the bay. He formed a poor opinion of the local Arabs: "The Arabs here are a wretched lot physically, thin, washed-out creatures—many with bleared eyes ... They are low coast Arabs, three-quarters African, and, as usual, possess the bad without the good qualities of both parents. Many of them came and begged brandy, and laughed when they remarked that they could drink it in secret, but not openly." A report by a naval officer in 1874 mentions three villages only. By then there was a prosperous trade in wild rubber, gum copal, millet, rice, ivory and, surreptitiously, in slaves.

Bibliography: Sir J.M. Gray, *Mikindani Bay before 1887*, in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, no. 28 (1950), 29-37; D. Livingstone, *Last journey*, i, 15, 17; *Asili ya Mikindani*, in C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*, Berlin 1907. 273-8.

(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

MIKNĀS and Miknās al-Zaytūn, French form meknès, a town of Morocco which is one of the traditional residences of the ruler (long. 5° 32′ W., lat. 33° 53′ N.; average altitude 1,700 feet/520 m.), situated 80 miles/130 km. to the east of Rabat and 40 miles/60 km. to the south-west of Fās.

It occupies the centre of the transitional zone which lies between the Middle Atlas, 30 miles/50 km to the south, and the Sebū. It commands the exit towards the G̲h̲arb of the depression which separates the massif of the Zarhūn from the plateau of al-Ḥad̲j̲ib. At Meknès intersect the roads from Rabat to Fās, from Tāfīlālt through the land of the Benī Mgīld and Azrū, from Marrākus̲h̲ through the Tādlā.

The temperature rarely exceeds 30° C. or falls below 5°. The rainfall is remarkably equal from one year to the other. The excellent water supply of the plain of Meknès and the quality of its light soil, resting on a subsoil of permeable limestone, make it one of the best agricultural districts of Morocco.

The population in 1902 was estimated at 20,000, of whom 9,000 were Bwāk̲h̲er and 5,000 Jews, but it grew considerably during the Protectorate (175,900 inhabitants in 1960).

Meknès is built on the flank of a mountain spur. Beyond the ravine dug out by the Wādī Bū Fekrān, the modern town has been built. The houses of the *mdīna*, often substantial, are always very simple. There are only fifteen or so houses of an artistic interest. They date for the most part from the reigns of the sultans Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Mawlāy al-Ḥasan. The *sūḳs*, which lie between the Madrasa Bū ʿInāniyya and the D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ārīn (*sūḳs* of the jewellers, carpenters and curiosity shops), have no remarkable features except the covered *ḳayṣariyya* [*q.v.*], the booths of which were ornamented with shutters of painted wood. The *mellāḥ* [*q.v.*] of Meknès is to the south of the *mdīna*. A new *mellāḥ*, three times the extent of the old one, has been occupied since 1925. The *mdīna* of Meknès is one of those which have retained their local character most unaffected. Only one artery, the Rouāmzīn (<*rwābziyyīn* "bellows-makers") street, is accessible to European trade and traffic. The centre of the town's activity is the Hedīm square. To the south-east lie the vast ruins of the *ḳaṣba* of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. They now reveal nothing but chaos and disorder, but surround the Djinān Ben Ḥalīma, a charming garden, and the Dār al-Bayḍāʾ which is now a school for Moroccan officers. The Dār al-Mak̲h̲zen is sometimes used as a royal residence. Begun at the end of the 17th century, this palace was built in several periods. The Bāb Dār al-Mak̲h̲zen dates from 1889. In the old Agdāl of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, among waste lands, an

ostrich farm, the origin of which goes back to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, has been laid out, beside an experimental garden. Farther on there is a horse-breeding establishment. The visitor goes along miles of massive walls and finds enormous ruins: the Herī 'l-Manṣūr (used as a stable and storehouse for forage), the stables, the granary and the ornamental waterbasin left to go to ruins.

There is very little industry in Meknès: only carpentry and particularly weaving, already noted by al-Idrīsī. The most notable artistic industries are the many coloured embroideries of large irregular point lace and painted wood. The public services endeavour to keep these trades going, in which purely Berber influence is marked. European competition is severely affecting, at Meknès as elsewhere, some classes of artisans, like the tailors, smiths and potters. The building trades, on the other hand, are flourishing. *Sūḳs* are held outside the town and are attended by the country people: the Sūḳ of Bāb Jdīd, before the gate on which the heads of rebels used to be placed for the edification of the tribes, the Sūḳ al-Khamīs and that of the Lanterns. The market of Meknès does not extend beyond the environs of the town; it exports nothing except in years of abundant harvest. The region was already famed in the last century for its fruits, its vines, its gardens and its vegetables. The mills, four or five of which are still working, date from the same period. During the French occupation, colonisation developed considerably. The colonists, most of whom came from Algeria, cultivated mainly wheat, of which they obtained increasing yields. The cultivation of the vine is increasing each year.

The government of Meknès, which is a *makhzaniyya* town, was in the hands of a *bāshā*. He was also *bāshā* of the Bwākher, who till 1912 provided the garrison of the town (800 men according to Le Chatelier). In the administrative organisation of the protectorate, Meknès was made the capital of a very considerable area.

The population of Meknès consists of many distinct elements: Shorfāʾ, Bwākher, Berbers and Jews. The Idrīsid Shorfāʾ, who have played their part in the history of the town and retain privileges (of the numerous descendants of Mawlāy Idrīs, only the families residing in Fās and Meknès are allowed to share in the income of the *zāwiya* of Fās), and the Ḥasanī Shorfāʾ, who have many privileges of their own, form a kind of aristocracy, generally penurious. The Bwākher, descendants of the *ʿabīd al-Bukhārī*, a black guard of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, up till 1912 formed an unreliable element, which was always a nucleus of trouble. Since that date they have been taking up the trades of mat-makers and farriers. They lived close to the town of old *ḳaṣbas* and gardens which belong to the Makhzen, and in the old *ḳaṣba* of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl in the Bāb Mrāḥ quarter. Their houses, roofed with thatch, looked like African encampments. But it is the Berber (*Brāber*) element which predominated at Meknès and gave it its desire for independence, a feature of which has for centuries been a jealousy of Fās. It is the Berbers of the mountains who gave it its tone; when they come down to the town, their women give colour to the streets of the *mdīna* with their short skirts, their leather gaiters and their wide-brimmed hats. The Berber elements of the plain are much more mixed, having undergone many vicissitudes since the day when Mawlāy Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh inaugurated the policy, considerably practised by his successors, of transferring tribes. A considerable part of the population of Meknès consists of transient elements who come, usually between harvests, to work as artisans. These immigrants almost all come from the south, from Tāfīlālt in particular (potters, tanners and porters), from Sūs (grocers), from Tuwāt (oil-makers), from Figīg and Darʿa (masons). The Rīfans and Jbāla supply most of the agricultural labourers. A small number of Fāsīs, who have in recent years merged into the population of the town, are cloth-merchants, dealers in old clothes and shoemakers.

Jews formed a quarter of the native population. Père Ch. de Foucauld estimated the *mellāḥ* of Meknès to be half that of Fās. Chénier remarked on its prosperity.

Religious life. From the presence of the Idrīsid and Ḥasanid *Shorfāʾ*, the proximity of the sanctuary of Mawlāy Idrīs and the religious event of the celebrations of his *mūsem* (class. *mawsim* [*q.v.*]) every year, Meknès is one of the most important centres of Sharīfism. At the same time, for the Berber population it is a centre of marabout rites of the most elementary kind. All the brotherhoods that have *zāwiyas* in Morocco are represented in Meknès. The most important are those of the Ḳādiriyya, Tīdjāniyya, and especially Ḥmādsha [see ḤAMĀDISHA in Suppl.] and the largest, the ʿIsāwa, to which half the population are attached. Meknès, whose patron saint is Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā and which contains his tomb under the *ḳubba* erected by Mawlāy Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, is the centre of the order. This saint came here at the end of the 9th/15th century. His teaching at first met with a vigorous resistance, which he overcame so completely that, when the governor of the town sought to take steps against him, the people protected him. Before his death he acquired an estate, constituted in *ḥubūs*, and men of religion are buried there. The celebration of his *mūsem* on the first day of the *mūlūd* (*mawlid* [*q.v.*]) festival is the great event of the year. The preparations for it begin forty days before. On the day before or on the preceding day of the festival, delegations flock in from all parts of Morocco, following the traditional routes. The most generous hospitality is given to the pilgrims by the descendants of Shaykh al-Kāmil, who have the *niḳāba* (Brunel). The excesses committed on the occasion of ths pilgrimage have been frequently described. Many other special cults are observed in Meknès, including that of a contemporary holy man, Mawlāy Aḥmad Wazzānī. As it was his custom to wear simple dress and to sit by the highway, he was in 1917 granted clothes and a *ḳubba* at the request of Mawlāy Yūsuf. The *ḳubba* is at the entrance to a dispensary, and the admirers of the saint came there daily to keep him company.

History. We know nothing certain about the history of the region in the Roman period nor in the centuries which followed. The most advanced Roman stations were on the slopes of the Zarhūn guarding the plain, out of which the warriors of the Central Atlas might debouch, and perhaps throwing out a screen as far as the plateau of al-Ḥādjib.

We do not know at what date the people here had their first contact with Islam, nor even if it was not till the Hilālī invasion that Islām became securely established here. The Berber tribes of the Sāʾis and Sebū made the most of the fertility of their country. A tradition records that a fire destroyed the gardens there in 305/917. It was at this period that the country was covered, from Tāzā to Meknès, by the migration of a Zenāta tribe, the Miknāsa, a section of whom, who received the name of Miknāsa al-Zaytūn to distinguish them from the Miknāsa Tāzā, who lived father to the east, established themselves securely in

the plain. The Idrīsids met with a vigorous resistance from the Miknāsa. They always found in them opponents whom they could not overcome in spite of several campaigns, and who were the instigators of Umayyad intervention.

At this date, a few villages stood on the site of Meknès. One cannot say at what date, perhaps in the 4th/10th century, they were grouped together to form the Tāḳrart (Tagrart) mentioned by al-Idrīsī (*Opus geogr.*, iii, 244, 245). The population seems to have been more numerous in the Almoravid period than later, and prosperous. Enclosed by a wall, Meknès looked like a pleasure resort, with its gardens, cultivated fields, its mosques, its baths and water channels.

The Miknāsa vigorously opposed the Almohad onslaught. When passing through this region in 514/1120-1, Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] preached here but he was not well received. Twenty years later, ᶜAbd al-Muʾmin laid siege to Meknès, but it was not he who took it. He left it to enter Fās, leaving the conduct of the siege in the hands of Yaḥyā b. Ya<u>gh</u>mur. The *Ḳirṭās* says the siege lasted seven years. The town fell in 545/1150. It was plundered, the defences dismantled, a part of its wealth confiscated and all its garrison put to death, except the governor, who is said to have escaped. On the site, or beside the ruins, Meknès rapidly rose again under the shelter of the fortifications built by the Almohads. At the end of the century, it had regained some importance and the mosque of al-Na<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>ārīn was finished. This is the oldest monument in Meknès: in 1170/1756-7 Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh had it restored and built the present minaret. The Almohads brought water hither from Ta<u>dj</u>enna, five miles away. In 578/1182 the *<u>kh</u>uṭba* was said in five different places in Meknès and there were six gates in the wall which surrounded the town.

In the course of the following century, the intrigues of the Marīnids [*q.v.*] disturbed the country, where the fighting that accompanied the fall of the Almohads was particularly lively. In 629/1231-2, al-Maʾmūn had to intervene against the Banū Fāzāz and Meklāta, who were ravaging Meknès. In 634/1236-7, as a result of the Marīnid success in the battle in which al-Saᶜīd's son was slain, Abū Bakr entered the town. This occupation was only temporary, but the Almohad restoration was not secure. In 643/1245-6, the governor left there by al-Saᶜīd was slain in a rising in the town in favour of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyāʾ. Al-Saᶜīd again returned victorious, causing Yaḥyā b. ᶜAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ to fly to Tāzā. The Marīnid had only two years to wait; after the death of the Almohad governor, he returned to Meknès to occupy it definitely.

The first period of greatness for Meknès dates from the Marīnids. They set out to make it beautiful like Rabat and Fās. Abū Yūsuf moved from Fās Jdīd to Meknès, which owed to him a *ḳaṣba* and a mosque (675/1276). Abu 'l-Ḥasan improved its water supply, built bridges on the road to Fās and began the *Madrasa <u>Dj</u>adīda* which Abū ᶜInān was to finish. It bears the latter's name and is still the most notable building in Meknès, in spite of the indiscreet restorations carried out in 1917-22. Other *madrasas*, the ᶜAṭṭārīn and Filāla, were built by the Marīnids.

During this period the politieal organisation of the country was developing in quite a different direction. The Idrīsid <u>Sh</u>orfāʾ, having assisted the Marīnids to gain power, prepared to take advantage of the organisation which the latter had given them. Thus the foundations were laid for the movement which was to end in the partition of Morocco in the last years of the 9th/15th century into practically independent divisions. The <u>Sh</u>orfāʾ were numerous in Meknès. When the weakening of the Marīnids and the decline of their prestige made it possible, the <u>Sh</u>orfāʾ supplied leaders. History has preserved the name of Mawlāy Zayyān. The Waṭṭāsids only intervened, it appears, when at the beginning of the 10th/16th century Masᶜūd b. al-Nāṣir, having rebelled against Muḥammad al-Burtuḳālī, found an asylum at Meknès. The Sultan besieged the town and took it, then installed his brother al-Nāṣir al-Ḳiddīd there, who however did not prove faithful to him. The few years of independence enjoyed by Meknès were not particularly glorious. They mark, however, an epoch in the history of the town destined at other periods to be only the prey of anarchy or the plaything of a tyrant.

The rise of the brotherhoods of the 9th/15th century found a favourable soil among the Miknāsa. The *zāwiya* of the <u>Dj</u>azūliyya was established there, as in other places in Morocco. A few years later, Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā was teaching there.

Meknès was thus well prepared to welcome the Saᶜdids [*q.v.*]. When Maḥammad al-<u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> approached in 955/1548 he entered the town without much trouble. The Marīnid al-Nāṣir al-Ḳaṣrī is said to have agreed to hand over the town in return for the liberty of his father Aḥmad Bū Zekrī, and the marabouts to have demanded the conclusion of such an agreement. Maḥammad al-<u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> however took a sufficiently sure method to establish his authority; when the *<u>kh</u>aṭīb* Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. Ḥarzūz began to preach against him, he had him scourged to death. When he returned two years later, he was welcomed with gifts. The estimates of travellers of this time put the population of the town at 6-8,000 hearths. It was the only town in the region. The Saᶜdids took little interest in Meknès, which never attracted their attention. The country was well in hand and the Berber tribes peaceful to such a degree that the road from Marrāku<u>sh</u> by the Tādlā was regularly used. It was the practice to make Meknès the residence of one of the sons of the Sultan. There was, however, no important command attached to it. Leo Africanus credits it with a revenue equal to half that of the viceroyalty of Fās, which is astonishing. Under Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī lived there and then after the second partition, Zaydān and, lastly Mawlāy al-<u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>, but as a prisoner in the last years of his father's life.

The civil war which broke out on the death of al-Manṣūr placed Meknès at the mercy of the Berber risings and marabout intrigues. In the midst of this disorder an authority gradually made itself felt, that of the *zāwiyas*, and especially the Zāwiya of Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 1023/1640-1, Muḥammad al-Ḥā<u>dj</u><u>dj</u> was even able to seize the sovereign power and get himself recognised by Fās and Meknès after his victory over Mawlāy Maḥammad al-<u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> b. Zaydān. He won over the Berber tribes, and Mawlāy al-Ra<u>sh</u>īd in 1076/1666 found the Banī Mṭīr against him, allied with the Dilāʾī Abū ᶜAbd Allāh, and he had to fight them again in 1076/1668.

Mawlāy al-Ra<u>sh</u>īd seems to have been interested in Meknès, the *ḳaṣba* of which he restored. In burying him in the mausoleum of al-Ma<u>dj</u><u>dh</u>ūb [*q.v.*], Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl said he was fulfilling the last wishes of the deceased. But the most important event was that al-Ra<u>sh</u>īd sent Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl to Meknès. The latter lived before his accession in the Almohad *ḳaṣba*, as a landed proprietor managing his estates. In his choice of a capital, we see the attraction of a rich district like

this. He wished it to be in his own image and realised his desire. For fifty years, Meknès was simply the framework for his splendour, the scene of his extravagances.

He at once decided to build himself a palace, and a grandiose scheme was projected. He began by clearing a space. The houses adjoining the Almohad wall east of the town were destroyed and their owners forced to carry the débris off to a site which has retained the name of Hedīm, then to rebuild on a site which the *sharīf* enclosed by a wall to the north-west of the *mdīna*. The site which he chose for himself was also separate from the town. His palace was built, and another one even more splendid for his women. This first edifice, Dār Kbīra, was finished in 1090/1679. It was a series, without intelligible plan, of *riyāḍs* embellished with fountains, paved with marble, surrounded by galleries which were supported by columns of marble; the apartments opened on to three galleries. The sovereign's palace was in two suites, that of his ladies in four and larger than his. His four wives and his favourites were equally splendidly housed. The other concubines, of whom he had 500 of all nations, were housed in rooms along the passage. At the end was a common hall, on a higher level, which gave a view over the gardens through iron grilles. The reception pavilions were planned on the same scale; one of them had forty rooms. The palace contained in all 45 pavilions and twenty *ḳubbas*. The whole was surrounded by a crenelated wall, pierced by twenty gates. It was triple in the north-east with a road round it and it could be defended equally well against the interior of the *ḳaṣba*. The bastions supported batteries of guns and mortars. The women being subject to rigorous confinement and Mawlāy Ismāʿīl being very meticulous in the performance of the duties of religion, a mosque was set aside for them. Another had been begun in 1083/1672, communicating with the town by the Bāb ʿĪsā. Lastly, the palace with its dependencies contained four mosques; two are still in use, the Djāmiʿ al-Akhḍar and in the quarter of the mews, very broken down, the Djāmiʿ al-Ruwā. To the south was a garden, the area of which is equal to that of the present *mdīna*, an orchard in which olive trees predominated. Farther on were the stables to which the sultan admitted only picked horses, to the number of 1,200: two parallel rows of arcades about 100 feet apart. In the centre ran running water. Each animal had its stall and a shelter for its equipment. Opposite was a storehouse, the *herī*, which supported a supplementary palace with twenty pavilions. Between the palace and the stables was the granary, forty feet high and big enough, it was said, to contain the whole harvest of Morocco. At the side was a pond for irrigation purposes and also subterranean reserves of water in case of a siege.

The buildings did not stop here. To the south-west of the town lay a city of pleasure, Madīnat al-Riyāḍ, where the officials had palaces, where Mawlāy Ismāʿīl himself had his mosque, his *madrasa*, his *ḥammām*, his *funduḳs* and the offices of the *umanāʾ* of the Treasury, with the shops of the Sharīfian tailors. In 1145/1732-3 Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh on returning from an unsuccessful expedition into the Sūs, had the Madīnat al-Riyāḍ destroyed by Christian slaves. There is nothing left of it to-day except the Bāb al-Khamīs, dated 1078/1667, one of the finest and best proportioned gates in the city.

Lastly, a site was reserved for the troops. To the west of Meknès a large *duwwār* was settled with *ʿAbīd* and their families. To the east of the Dār al-Makhzen, five *ḳaṣbas* for the 130,000 men of the *gīsh* were gradually incorporated in the great *ḳaṣba*.

After fifty years of unorganised but superhuman effort, the buildings were not yet completed. It was in 1144/1731-2 that Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh finished the surrounding wall and the Bāb Manṣūr, the most finished example of the Ismāʿīlian gateway, ponderous, of proportions by no means perfect but imposing, of which the Bāb al-Bardāʿīn and the Bāb al-Nuwwār are the two other finest examples at Meknès at the present day. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl directed all the operations himself. During the first twenty-four years of his reign, he never spent twelve months on end at Meknès. But he returned there after each expedition; in proportion as his ambition and his power increased, his despotism and the needs of his government, his army and his family grew, his scheme became more and more grandiose; the work done was found unsatisfactory, modifications were made, buildings taken down and the work began all over again. The result certainly was sumptuous and imposing but also odd and varied.

All the country helped in the work. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl collected materials wherever he could. Volubilis, Chella and Marrākush were plundered. If he destroyed al-Badīʿ, it was perhaps out of jealousy of Saʿdid work, or perhaps simply to get material. Like Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, he procured marble from Pisa. One day when a corsair ship had become stranded near Tangier, he ordered the Ghumāra to bring the cannon from it by unaided manual labour. When he died the columns of marble which were still on their way were left at the roadside.

Labour was recruited by a similar means. The Sultan imposed days of labour on the tribes, levied forced labour as he pleased, sent his ministers to the workshops, but relied mainly on renegades and Christian slaves who were his permanent workmen. From 1091/1680 the work was pushed on frantically. All the Christians in Morocco were collected there and were at first housed in siloes [see MAṬMŪRA] near the building-yards, then they were moved to the Dār al-Makhzen, then to near the stables, under the arches of a bridge, where their lot was particularly miserable, finally to lodgings built from mud brick along the north wall of the Dār al-Makhzen. They were able to organise themselves a little there, to build themselves a church, to have chapels, a convent and infirmaries. A pharmacist monk made up a medicine, the "Christian decoction"; this was the means by which humane relations were established with the local people, even with the dwellers in the palace. Their latest historian has reduced the number of Christian prisoners in the service of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl to its real figure: they did not as a rule reach a thousand, and the Sultan, in the course of over fifty years, himself killed only one hundred and nine (Koehler).

The Sultan revealed in his palaces his extravagance and his cupidity; he accumulated wealth as he did buildings, but not only to hide it. The consuls and ambassadors, who came to negotiate the ransom of captives, he received with a mixture of buffoonery and splendour. Frequent mention is made of the cruelty and the terror which this ruler inspired; he loved to torture his wives and cut off heads to show his skill. His amusements were of a similar character; he liked to shoot with his *ḳāʾids* at the deer in his menageries then to finish them off with spear thrusts. "Let us avert our eyes from all these horrors which make nature shudder," says Chénier.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl was buried like his brother in the mausoleum of Sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb. His sons, the rebel Mawlāy Muḥammad, killed at Tārūdānt in 1118/1706, and Mawlāy Zaydān in 1191/707, had already joined Mawlāy Rashīd. In

1859 the ashes of Mawlāy ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān were also deposited there.

On the death of Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl, the Bwāḵẖer and the soldiers of the *gīsh* stirred up a palace war which lasted twenty years. Mawlāy ᶜAbd Allāh lost and regained his throne six times. The civil war extended to the tribes of the plain and the garrisons of Fās, especially in the Ūdāya; pretenders stirred up the flames, readily giving the signal to plunder and, in the rivalries of races and tribes, easily finding a party to support them. Gradually the Bwāḵẖer sank into misfortune. It was in vain that Mawlāy ᶜAbd Allāh and his sons expended the treasure of Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl for them. The worst of it for Meknès was that every one ended or began by plundering it.

Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh almost re-established order and restored to the town its past glory. He did a great deal for it; his palace of Dār al-Bayḍā᾽, the severe architecture of which, not without charm, can still be seen in a part of the olive grove of al-Ḥamriyya; in the *ḳaṣba*, he built the portal of the Djāmiᶜ al-Anwār and in the *mdīna*, the minaret of the Djāmiᶜ al-Badjdjārīn, the *ḳubba* of Sīdī Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā, and several mosques (al-Azhar, al-Bardāᶜīn, Bāb Mrāḥ, Berrīma and Sīdī Bū ᶜUthmān). It was he who made the 12,000 books of the library of Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl *ḥubūs* for the benefit of all the mosques of Morocco. As regards the tribes, his policy was to break them up. He transplanted many of them and tried several repressive measures. The end of his reign was marked by the success of the Berbers, whose attacks had been resumed about 1189/1775.

Soon nothing was left of the work of Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl. The Christian community lost its Franciscan mission in the reign of Mawlāy Yazīd and did not survive the persecution of this *sharīf*. The earthquake of 1168/1755 had destroyed their church, convent and hospice. The renegades, who had gathered together at Ḳaṣba Agūrāy, were gradually absorbed.

The Berber crisis was again acute from 1811. Communication with Fās was continually being cut and it was something to boast about for the sultan to go out of Meknès. Mawlāy Slīmān (Sulaymān), who had undertaken to restore the *ḳaṣba* and rebuild the bridges on the road to Fās and who would have liked to get rid of the Bwāḵẖer, decided to settle in Fās. Mawlāy ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, whom Delacroix saw there and who built a *ḳubba* in Jnān Ben Ḥalīma, left the Berbers in semi-independence and at last disbanded the *ᶜabīd* without even granting those who remained in Meknès the character of Makhzen troops. His son carefully avoided all quarrels.

Mawlāy al-Ḥasan revived the tradition of the great sultans and made his authority felt. He was able to enter Meknès after his accession only by crushing the power of the tribes. In 1879 he conducted a campaign against the Benī Mṭīr. In 1887 he forced his way through the country of the Benī Mgild in his campaign towards the Nūn. On his death, the Berbers regained their independence. After the fall of Mawlāy ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, Meknès recognised all the competitors in succession. It was Meknès that proclaimed ᶜAbd al-Ḥafīẓ, who had come via the Berbers of Tādlā in 1908; in 1909 it summoned the *sharīf* al-Kattānī; and in 1911 rallied to Mawlāy Zayn. It was in this year that General Moinier entered Meknès.

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(C. Funck-Brentano)

MIḲYĀS (A.), measurement, means of measuring, any simple measuring instrument; in Egypt the name of the Nilometer, i.e. the gauge in which the annual rise of the river can be measured.

Originally the rising of the Nile was measured by the gauge (*al-raṣāṣa*). According to Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, al-Ḳuḍāᶜī, and others, Joseph, the son of Jacob, built the first Nilometer at Memphis; at a later date, the "aged Dalūka" built Nilometers in Akhmīm and Anṣinā (Antinoë). These were the Nilometers in use throughout the Hellenistic period till the conquest of Egypt by ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ. The latter erected a Nilometer at Assuan and a second at Dendera. Others were built in the reigns of Muᶜāwiya and al-Walīd b. ᶜAbd al-Malik. Finally, the caliph al-Mutawakkil had a large Nilometer built on the island of Rawḍa at Fusṭāṭ on the site of a Nilometer built in the reign of al-Walīd, which had subsequently been swept away by floods. This Nilometer, which still exists, was completed in 247/861-2 by Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib according to the inscription around the top of the pit. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa (i, 207-8) says that the construction was supervised by Aḥmad b. Kathīr al-Farghānī but speaks disparagingly of his technical ability, so it may well be that al-Farghānī acted simply as the caliph's representative and had little to do with the actual con-

struction of the instrument. When it was complete, al-Mutawakkil appointed Abu 'l-Raddād to look after it, and the office remained hereditary in his family down to the time of al-Maḳrīzī, who died in 846/1442 (*Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāk, 1270, i, 57 ff.).

The Nilometer was surveyed and described by K.A.C. Creswell (*A short account of early Muslim architecture*, Harmondsworth 1958, 292-6, with a diagram at p. 293). It consits of a tall graduated octagonal column, which serves as a measuring gauge, standing in a stone-lined pit, roughly 6.20 metres square, with a staircase running down to the bottom. Below this is a cylindrical section with steps cut into its masonry walls. The four sides of the square pit are relieved by recesses, each covered by a pointed arch vault resting on a pair of engaged colonettes with clock-formed capitals and bases. This type of arch was, of course, an essential part of Gothic architecture, but the arches in the Nilometer are three centuries older than any Gothic example. The measuring column is a tall octagonal shaft measured into 16 cubits, averaging 54.05 cm, by transverse lines, and the ten uppermost are each subdivided into 24 "fingers" by 24 divisions, grouped four by four alternately on either side of a vertical line. Creswell then mentions that the column has been broken in two places: "(1) in the twelfth cubit, the length of which has been reduced, between 1798 and 1853, to 22.5 cm (9 in.), and (2) at the junction of the 16th and 17th (*sic*), the length of the cubits remaining unchanged." The column rests on a pedestal 83 cm square and 1.17 metres in height and this rests on a millstone 1.50 metres in diameter and 32 cm thick. The length of the column before it was broken, including these supports, was 19 cubits. The millstone rests on a floor of wooden planking supported by four heavy timber beams. Connection to the Nile is made by three tunnels, all opening into the east side.

Descriptions by Arab writers agree essentially with the foregoing details given by Creswell, except for the length of the column. According to Ibn Djubayr (ed. Wright-de Goeje, 54-5), this was 22 cubits; a water-level of 17 cubits was most beneficial for agriculture but up to 19 was acceptable; the sultan was entitled to levy *kharādj* if the level reached 16 cubits and the actual amount of tax levied depended upon the measured level above that point. Al-Idrīsī, writing perhaps three decades earlier than Ibn Djubayr, has much the same information, including the fact that the sultan could levy *kharādj* once the level had reached 16 cubits. If the level exceeded 20 cubits it was detrimental because trees were uprooted and houses ruined, while a maximum level below 12 means a year of drought and sterility (ed. Dozy-de Goeje, Arabic, 144, French tr. 173). There is therefore an indication that the column was longer in the 6th/12th century than it is today.

Al-Muḳaddasī (206) gives little information about the construction of the Nilometer, saying simply that it was a pit in the centre of which was a long column divided into cubits and fingers. He tells us something, however, about the importance of the device to the people of the Nile Delta. When the water started to rise, the supervisor reported daily to the sultan the mark reached by the water on the measuring column. No public annoucements were made until the level reached 12 cubits. Thereafter the crier made his rounds every day, announcing "Allah increased the blessed Nile today by such-and-such an amount." The people rejoiced when the water level reached 16 cubits, since they knew it would be a good year.

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(J. Ruska-[D.R. Hill])

MĪLĀD (a.). According to some Arabic lexicographers, the meaning of this term is time of birth in contradistinction to *mawlid*, which may denote also "place of birth". The latter is the usual term for birthday, especially in connection with the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad and Muslim saints [see MAWLID]; *mīlād* denotes also Christmas. For other special meanings, cf. Dozy, *Supplément, s.v.*

Bibliography: See the Arabic lexicons.

(A.J. Wensinck)

MILĀḤA (a.) "navigation, seamanship; seafaring". Like its English and French counterparts, *navigation*, the Arabic term has both a narrower and a broader connotation. The former refers to the mariner's art of determining the ship's position, charting her course and assuring that her progress and ultimate arrival is performed efficiently and safely; the latter, to seafaring in general. The term is attested in its *faᶜᶜāl* form, *mallāḥ*, at least since the ᶜAbbāsid period (Lane, vii, 2733); it appears to go back to Akkadian and ultimately Sumerian (*Chicago Akkadian dictionary, Letter M,* Part 1, Chicago 1977, 149-52: Akk. *malāḫu* "sailor, boatman"; R. Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*[2], Paris 1976, 93: MÁ "boat", MÁ.LAḪ$_4$ ("boatman"), no doubt via Hebrew (*mallāḥ*) and Aramaic. Association of the term with *milḥ* "salt [water]", already proposed by early Arabic lexicographers (Lane, citing the *Tahdhīb* of al-Azharī, the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and the *Ḳāmūs*), as also by the Hebrew Bible commentators, would thus probably be a case of popular etymology. (S. Soucek)

1. In the pre-Islamic and early mediaeval periods.

I. NAVIGATION IN PRE-ISLAMIC TIMES. The early Near Eastern civilisations. In spite of the geopolitical position of the Arabs, with the Arabian peninsula being bounded by the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, they were not among the first seafaring nations of the Near East, like the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, because most of their ports were not accessible for navigation in ancient times (G.F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring*, New York 1975, 5 ff.).

In Mesopotamia, swimming floats or float-supported rafts were used on the Euphrates, as appears from Assyrian reliefs of the 4th millennium. The first Mesopotamian vessels were rivercraft, and even when the inflated skins were replaced by a line of pots the hulls were not constructed with any pre-erect inner structure, but instead they had a "backbone" (a prominent keel plank) and "ribs" (inserted frames) (L. Casson, *Ships and seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, 27; and for the Islamic descendant of the inflated skin craft, see KELEK).

It seems that the Mesopotamian vessels in ancient times carried no sails and were only propelled by oars. They were used for carrying timber, etc., but depictions on Assyrian reliefs show that such vessels could also become warships and carry soldiers.

The artistic evidence from Egypt is especially rich and offers ample light on the types of the Egyptian vessels of ancient times. Again, the shell-of-planks technique is used for the construction of ships. By the year 3100 B.C. a sail appears in an Egyptian drawing of a vessel, while a great number of drawings of Egyptian ships offer us detailed depictions of masts, oars, steering oars and spoon-shaped hulls (C. Lefebvre des Noëttes, *De la marine antique à la marine moderne*, Paris 1935, Pls. III ff.). The Egyptian depictions reveal that

Egyptian vessels were used as cargo ships and warships as well. The vessels which the Egyptians used in the Red Sea were constructed on the River Nile, then dismantled and reassembled on the Red Sea (Abdel M.A.H. Sayed, *New light on the recently-discovered port on the Red Sea Shore*, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, lviii [1983], fasc. 115-16, 23).

It is likely that ancient Egyptian vessels sailed coastwise to avoid the dangers of the open sea, and that the lengths of voyages were limited, going as far as Punt, i.e. Somaliland and Ḥaḍramawt, whence the Egyptians imported such products as ebony, myrrh, ivory, gold and wild animals (see Casson, *The ancient mariners*, London 1960, 12-13). Vessels were also used for warfare in Egypt, as is shown by a relief of the Pharaoh Sahure's pyramid (*ca.* 2550 B.C.), depicting ships carrying troops.

The mariners *par excellence* of the Near East were, however, the Phoenicians. Phoenician ships appear already in a relief of the third millennium B.C. at the time of the Pharaoh Snefru, sailing to Egypt loaded with cedar trees, but their maritime strength reached its peak in the first millennium, when they replaced the naval dominance of the Minoans and Greeks who had first dominated the Mediterranean.

In contrast to Egyptian naval architecture, which was based on riverboats, the vessels of the Phoenicians were from the beginning intended for seafaring, being half-moon in shape with high stern, and with bows distinguished by a wide beam. Phoenician galleys were surmounted by broad square sails and were often two or three-banked. Phoenician ships were propelled by oars and/or sails and two huge oars were used as rudders.

The Phoenicians firmly established the spice route to be followed for centuries later by the Persians and Arabs. Already at the time of King Solomon, Hiram, the Phoenician king from Tyre, sent his sailors to serve Solomon's newly-established fleet in Ezion Geber. King Solomon's fleet, as stated in I Kings, ix, 26-8, was manned by Phoenicians and sailed as far as Ophir, by which it is understood Oman and India. Gold, myrrh, parrots and other goods were thus transported by the Phoenicians from India and South Arabia to Palestine (see V. Christides, *L'énigme d'Ophir*, in *Revue Biblique*, lxxvii [1970], 240-7).

After the 9th century B.C., the Greeks started taking the upper hand in navigation in the Mediterranean, so that by the 5th century B.C., the Mediterranean had become a Greek lake and later a Roman one.

The pre-Islamic Arabs. The role which the pre-Islamic Arabs played in navigation in this early period was marginal, but should not be ignored. Certain Arabs used float-supported rafts in the Red Sea and appear in Greek sources as Ἀσχῖται. From such primitive rafts—whose model should be traced to Mesopotamia—boats sewn together with fibre, whose flat bottom consisted of a single plank, developed for navigation on the Red Sea.

In order to safeguard sea traffic, the Ptolemies had planted a number of coastal towns—or renewed and renamed old ports—on both sides of the upper part of the Red Sea: Clysma-Cleopatra, Arsinoe, Philothera, Myos Hormos, Berenice and Leuke Kome.

Goods from the Orient were unloaded in Myos Hormos on the African coast, from where they were transmitted, via the river Nile, to Koptos (Strabo, 780, 781), whilst Leuke Kome on the Arabian side of the Red Sea served as a port of discharge for these goods. With the advent of the Romans, Leuke Kome diminished in importance and the little island Iotabe at the entrance of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba acquired great importance, serving as a customs clearing-house for the ships which headed towards Ayla [*q.v.*], which developed into an important emporium in the 4th century A.D.

Meanwhile, the participation of Arab vessels, merchants, shipowners and seamen in the Red Sea traffic is explicitly attested in the Greek and Latin sources of the Hellenistic and Roman period. As pirates, some Arab tribes, living on the coastline of the Red Sea, forced the Romans to embark guards in their merchant ships (Pliny, *Natural History*, vi, 173). But it was mainly as sailing traders that they were known; Strabo reports that the Arabs of South Arabia used float-supported rafts (δερματίνοις πλόιοις) to sail across the Red Sea towards the African coast in order to trade with the African (Strabo, xvi, 4, 19).

The best information about Arabian ports, trade and seamen is found in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, written in the early Christian era, which mentions that Muzza at the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula, not far from the inland capital of the Ḥimyarites, Ẓafār, and the nearby port of Okelis, were the most important starting points for sailing to Western India.

For the 6th century, two contemporary Byzantine sources give information on Arab seafaring. The first, the *Martyrium of Arethas* (ed. Boissonade, in *Anecdota Graeca*, v, Paris 1833, 44-5), refers to Indian ships; since we know that Indian ships usually did not sail beyond the island of Ceylon or the Bāb al-Mandab, we should probably understand by the term "Indian" "South Arabian" vessels. In the second source, the *Acts of Gregentius*, there are also references to Arabian ports (see Christides, *The Himyarite-Ethiopian war and the Ethiopian occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius* [*ca. 530 A.D.*], in *Annales d'Éthiopie*, ix [1972], 115-46).

Arabic sources have only scanty references to Arab navigation in pre-Islamic times. The nautical terminology found in the Ḳurʾān and in the Arab lexicographers is exigous, but betrays a triple influence, i.e. Persian, Indian and Graeco-Roman, on Arab navigation. Thus the word *nāk͟hudāh* "captain" comes from the Hindi *nāo* and the Persian *k͟hudā* (cf. S.S. Nadvi, *Arab navigation*, in *IC*, xv [1941], 437, and for the Ḳurʾānic evidence, W. Barthold, *Der Koran und das Meer*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxiii [1929], 37-43).

Sea traffic in the Red Sea from the 4th to the middle of the 7th centuries A.D. The period from the 4th to the middle of the 7th century A.D. marks the most intensive sea traffic in the Red Sea and its extension on the one hand towards the Indian Ocean and on the other—through Egypt and Syria—towards Constantinople. At this time, Persian ships dominated in this busy traffic; Byzantine ships held the second place in this traffic, while there was also participation of Arab and Ethiopian ships.

The hagiographical works of the 5th and 6th centuries describe how the spices and aromatics from the Orient, along with Chinese silk, were sent to Tyre and Sidon and then forwarded to Constantinople via Rhodes and the coast of Asia Minor (see H. Magoulias, *The lives of the saints as sources of data for the history of commerce in the Byzantine Empire in the VIth and VIIth centuries*, in Κληρονομία, iii [1971], 303-30). This was the time of the florescence of Byzantine navigation and its international sea trade, and Byzantine shipowners enjoyed great freedom and prestige, one never to be repeated in later times when strict state controls were imposed.

The Red Sea traffic reached its peak in the reigns of the emperors Justin I (518-27) and Justinian (527-

65), with commercial competition in this area among the rival powers of the Persians and the Byzantines. There was no direct confrontation between Byzantines and Persians at sea or on land, but the Persians tried to infiltrate Yemen in order to support the local pagans and the Jewish Ḥimyarite rulers, while the Byzantines through their allies, the Christian Ethiopians, strongly supported the Christian Ḥimyarites.

Justin I, taking profit from the upheaval in Yemen, allied with the most important powers in the southern part of the Red Sea on both sides of the coast: the Ethiopians and the Blemmyes, who extended in a loose confederation from ᶜAydhāb [*q.v.*] as far as Ethiopia, hoping to use his Christian Ḥimyarite allies in order to extend his power as far as Aden, transforming the Red Sea into a Byzantine lake (see Christides, *Ethnic movements in southern Egypt and northern Sudan: Blemmyes-Beja in late antique and early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.*,, in *Listy Filologicke*, ciii [1980], 136).

Unfortunately for the Emperor, the situation was reversed when the Persians occupied Yemen, and his successor Justinian I failed equally in his attempt to persuade the Ethiopians to try to undertake the sailing to India in order to gain control of the silk trade with China and to exclude the Persian intermediaries.

Thus in practice, Persian cargo ships dominated the navigation, sailing side-by-side with the Byzantine ships; the 6th-century author Cosmas Indicopleustes informs us that Byzantine ships dared to sail as far as Ceylon, where again they competed with the Persian ships, and Greek inscriptions discovered in various parts of the Arabian and African coasts of the Red Sea and numerous coins discovered in Ceylon attest to the activities of Byzantine traders in these areas (N. Ahmad, *The Arabs' knowledge of Ceylon*, in *IC*, xix [1945], 224-5; B.J. Perera, *The foreign trade and commerce of ancient Ceylon*, in *Ceylon Historical Journal* [1951],, 110 ff.). During the time of Khusraw I (531-78) the Persians imposed their rule on Yemen and their ships based on the port of Aden, controlled the Bāb al-Mandab, the entrance to the Red Sea, and nearly shut off the Byzantine route to the East (D. Whitehouse and A. Williamson, *Sasanian maritime trade*, in *Iran*, xi [1973], 44).

II. NAVIGATION IN ISLAMIC TIMES. Although the newly-established Islamic caliphate did not possess any ample reservoir of trained navigators, it did control the Egyptian shipyards and their workers; it inherited the Phoenician tradition from the conquered Byzantine Orient; and there were a number of Arabs living on the southern coasts of the Arabian peninsula who were experienced sailors and skilful ship caulkers.

We know something of the nature of the ships sailing from the Phoenician shores in the period preceding Islam from e.g. the depiction of a Phoenician cargo ship incised on the wall of a burial chamber in the catacombs of Beth-Sheʾarim, between Haifa and Nazareth, dating between *ca.* the 2nd and 4th centuries A.D., in which this ship strongly resembles the late Roman vessels (see R.L. Bowen, *A Roman merchantman from Israel*, in *The Mariner's Mirror*, xlviii/1 [1962], 68-70); and the Phoenician tradition of the stern post ending in a horse's head was transmitted to Muslim naval architecture.

However, the construction of Muslim merchant ships owes also certain of its features to pre-Islamic Arab naval traditions; thus the imitation of the sewn boat—common in the Arabian Gulf from the pre-Islamic period until the present day—in the construction of Arab cargo ships can be easily understood (see Bowen, *Primitive watercraft of Arabia*, in *The American Neptune*, xii [1952], 196 ff.). The average mediaeval Arab dhow had a length of about 75 feet with a displacement of about 100 tons. Modern Arab dhows can be as small as 1-10 tons (*būt*) and as big as 100-200 tons (*būm*) (M. Lesourd, *Notes sur les nawakhid, navigateurs de la mer Rouge*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Arch. Naut.*, xxxii, ser. B, no. 25/1-2 [1960], 352).

The Umayyad period (661-750). After the most important Islamic conquests were accomplished in land warfare, the Umayyads eagerly undertook the development of the Islamic navy. The Umayyad period is characterised by efforts of the Arabs to construct warships; they realised that the consolidation of the rapidly acquired Islamic conquests and further expansion could not be achieved without a strong navy. But although there is ample information about the construction of ships and the recruitment of sailors at this period, little is known about attempts to build cargo ships and about the encouragement of the sea trade and activities of merchant shipping.

The recruitment of sailors in the Umayyad period, at least in Egypt, is recorded meticulously. Requisitions by the central government were addressed to the community, which had collectively the responsibility to recruit its share of sailors. The draftees were not forced to serve without pay, but received regular wages (H.I. Bell, *Greek papyri in the British Museum. The Aphrodito Papyri*, iv, London 1910, pp. xxxi ff.). The wages of the recruited crews were not, however, uniform. The marines who functioned as fighting men (μάχοι) received higher salaries than the sailors (ναῦται), and even among the marines, the *muhājirūn* (μωαγαρῖται) were paid higher salaries than the *mawālī* (Muslims of non-Arab descent) (μαυλοῖς) (Bell, *op. cit.*, Papyrus no. 2 1447). In addition, the bread which was prepared for the marines, as one Arabic papyrus states, was of better quality than that of the sailors (Christides, *The conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). A turning point in the struggle between Byzantium and Islam*, Athens 1984, 54 ff.). During the Umayyad period, most of the skilful sailors of Egypt were Christians, while the marines were Muslims; but by the end of this period, the situation gradually changed.

We do not have much information about the recruitment of sailors in Syria during the Umayyad period. Undoubtedly, a number of the inhabitants of the coastal towns were drafted into the Syrian fleets. There was, nevertheless, a considerable reshuffling of this population, famous from ancient times for its expertise in naval activities; Muᶜāwiya (41-60/661-80) transferred many Persian workers from Baᶜlabakk to the Syrian coastal towns of Tyre and Acre to be used for ship building, perhaps an indication of the diminishing number of the Christian, Phoenician, shipbuilding workers.

Dockyards and naval bases; Muslim naval expeditions. After the conquest of Egypt, the Arabs continued the use of the Byzantines' dockyards [see DĀR AL-ṢINĀᶜA] in Alexandria and Clysma in Egypt as well as those in Syrian, that of Clysma (Ḳulzum [*q.v.*]) being of particular importance.

Trajan's canal, uniting Egyptian Babylon with Ḳulzum, had become silted up, but was cleaned and used before 23/644 for the corn fleet which now, instead of going to Constantinople, was diverted to Djār, the port of Medina, to feed the inhabitants of the holy cities. Later Jedda (Djudda [*q.v.*]), the port of Mecca used for the pilgrims, replaced Djār. On their way to Mecca, the pilgrims stopped in ᶜAydhāb, the port controlled by the Sudanese people of the Bedja [*q.v.*]. Thus the corn trade and the pilgrimage traffic contributed to the sea traffic on both sides of the

upper part of the Red Sea, whilst at the same time, the old incense route to the ports in the southern part of the Arabian Gulf and the Indian ports was also maintained. The Greek papyri of Aphrodito, in addition to the numerous references which they make to the construction and repairing of ships in Ḳulzum, report that Ḳulzum was also used as a naval military base, no doubt against the Red Sea pirates, whose activities had been notorious since Roman times.

The port of Alexandria still retained its fame in the Islamic period, though to a diminishing extent. Most of the Byzantines left Alexandria after its conquest by the Arabs, but a strong Jewish community, composed mainly of traders, remained there; moreover, the skilful Egyptian craftsmen continued the Byzantine tradition (see M. Rodziewicz, *Graeco-Islamic elements at Kom el Dikka in the light of new discoveries*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, i [1982], 44). The landmark of Hellenism, the Pharos (lighthouse) [see AL-ISKANDARIYYA and MANĀRA], was partly preserved during the Umayyad period; and even three centuries later, the Persian author Nāṣir-i Kh̲usraw describes the torches which were lit at night and which led safely the ships to the port of Alexandria. It is not, therefore, surprising that already from the time of Muʿāwiya, a great number of ships were constructed and repaired in Alexandria, and it was also from there that the most important Muslim sea raids originated.

While Alexandria in the Islamic period lost ground as a great entrepôt, the port of al-Faramā acquired great prominence. The group of Jewish merchants, known as al-Rād̲h̲āniyya [*q.v.*] sailed from southern France, carrying merchandise which was unloaded in al-Faramā, from where it was transported on the back of camels as far as Ḳulzum, thence by ship to the Orient.

Meanwhile, naval bases were established in other parts of Egypt, e.g. at Rosetta and Damietta [see DIMYĀṬ] at the mouths of the river Nile in the Mediterranean, and at Tinnis. Damietta, in particular, on the eastern arm of the Nile delta, acquires great importance in the ʿAbbāsid period, whilst the Tinnis base near Damietta was founded on a little island. Moreover, in 94/713, a base was also established in the Pentapolis of Cyrenaica [see BARḲA].

Syria also acquired bases from the beginning of the Umayyad period; the first dockyards started operating in ʿAkkā (Acre) in 49/669, while those of Ṣūr (Tyre) were also busy shortly afterwards (A.H. Fahmy, *Muslim sea power in the eastern Mediterranean*, London 1950, 52-3). The Syrian dockyards had the great advantage of drawing timber from the Syro-Lebanese forests, which also exported timber to Egypt, while iron was imported from the Sudan. These dockyards functioned also as bases from where naval expeditions originated, these being launched from the time of the governorship in Syria of Muʿāwiya, in 27/648 or 28/649 onwards. For details, see BAḤRIYYA. I. The navy of the Arabs up to 1250, in Suppl., and for the great naval battle off the Lycian coast in 31/651-2 or shortly afterwards between the Arabs and Byzantines, the so-called "Battle of the Masts", see D̲H̲ĀT AL-ṢAWĀRĪ in Suppl. To the bibliographies given there and in ḲUBRUS should be added, for the Arab attacks on Cyprus, R. Browning, *Byzantium and Islam in Cyprus in the early Middle Ages*, in *Ἐπετηρίς Κέντρου Ἐπιστη Ονιχῶν Ἐρευνῶν*, ix (1977-9), 101-16; C.P. Kyrris, *The nature of the Arab-Byzantine relations in Cyprus from the middle of the 7th to the middle of the 10th century A.D.*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii (1984), 149-75; and for the "Battle of the Masts", the not very satisfying study by A.N. Stratos, *The naval engagement at Phoenix*, in *Charanis studies*, New Brunswick 1980, 229-47; and V. Christides, *The naval engagement of Dhāt aṣ-Ṣawārī A.H. 34/A.D. 655-656, a classical example of naval warfare incompetence*, in Βυζαντινά, xiii (1985), 1331-45. For the Arab naval attacks on Constantinople, see AL-ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA, to the bibliography of which should be added, for the image of Constantinople in the popular Islamic mind, M. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende*, repr. in *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche-Orient*, London 1973, 80 ff.

The ʿAbbāsid period (750-1258). It was not until well into the ʿAbbāsid period at the turn of the 3rd/9th century that the Byzantine supremacy at sea was seriously challenged, and during the early ʿAbbāsid centuries there was a gradual development of the Muslim merchant and war fleets, reaching its peak in the 4th/10th century. The Arabs' land victories, in e.g. Sicily and Crete, were the result of a patient and persistent military preparation, backed by scientific progress in such fields as nautical instruments, efficient war machines and weapons. Also, the formation of large commercial Arab fleets was completed by this time, so that Muslim ships not only sailed side-by-side with the Byzantine vessels in the Mediterranean but dared to reach as far as India, South-East Asia and China (see S.M. Yusuf, *Al-Ranaj, the route of Arab mariners across the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam*, in *IC*, xxix/1 [1955], 75-103). One should also note that in Egypt, the semi-independent dynasty of the Ṭūlūnids [*q.v.*] paid special attention to their navy, and the Egyptian fleet in its attacks on the Byzantines, often cooperted with the Syrian fleets, i.e. those of the semi-independent naval states of Tarsus and Tripoli.

Arabic manuals of seafaring and warfare. The early Arabic manuals of navigational science are all lost. In his navigational text *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid fī uṣūl ʿilm al-baḥr wa 'l-ḳawāʿid*, written in 895/1490, Ibn Mād̲j̲id [*q.v.*], a pilot as well as an author, mentions that the earliest dated pilots were Aḥmad b. Tabarūya and Kh̲wās̲h̲ b. Yūsuf (both apparently Persians) who sailed in *ca.* 400/1009-10 and were also authors of navigational texts. In addition, Ibn Mād̲j̲id informs us that one hundred years later three writers appeared, known as the "three lions" (*luyūt̲h̲*), whose texts were read by him but which are no longer extant (see further below, 3. Muslim navigation in the Indian Ocean).

Information on Arabic naval warfare was usually incorporated into more general manuals of warfare, of which a certain number existed by the 4th/10th century. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions in his *Fihrist* two such war manuals composed at the time of the caliphs al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) and al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) respectively (cf. J.T. Reinaud, *De l'art militaire chez les Arabes*, in *JA* [Sept. 1848], 195 ff.; Christides, *The conquest of Crete*, 29-31). Special mention should be made of the works of the Mamlūk author Ibn Manglī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], whose works are a mine of information about Muslim ships, their technology, "Greek fire", etc. Most of his works are still unpublished, but his treatise *al-Aḥkām al-mulūkiyya fī fann al-ḳitāl fī 'l-baḥr wa 'l-ḍawābiṭ al-nāmūsiyya*, has been recently published by M. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm in a typewritten dissertation of the University of Cairo (n.d.). In this treatise there are explicit references to and fragments of an Arabic translation of Leo VI's *Tactica* (see Christides, *Naval warfare in the eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th centuries): an Arabic translation of Leo VI's Naumachica*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], 137-48). Information about navigation is also found abun-

dantly in the Arab geographers from Ibn Khurradādhbih onwards, and also in al-Masʿūdī, in whose *Murūdj al-dhahab* there is ample information about the seas, sailors and navigation in general [see further, DJUGHRĀFIYA], and in such material as that of the Cairo Geniza (see S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967 ff.).

The replacement of the Byzantine merchant fleet by Muslim fleets in the Mediterranean. During the ʿAbbāsid period, although Arab navigation developed in the Mediterranean, the Byzantine long-distance navigation and trade heavily diminished. This is less to be attributed, according to H. Pirenne's theory, to the Muslim conquests which supposedly shattered the commercial unity of the Mediterranean (cf. A. Riising, *The fate of Henri Pirenne's theses on the consequences of the Islamic expansion*, in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, xiii [1952], 87-130; R. Lopez, *Beati monoculi: the Byzantine economy in early Middle Ages*, in *Cultus et cognitio, Festschrift Alexander Gieysztor*, Warsaw 1976, 341-52) than to the effects of the strictly-controlled Byzantine financial system and the loss of several important Byzantine ports in the Near East and North Africa. Heavy taxation and strictly-controlled profits choked the maritime activities of the Byzantines, leaving little room for personal incentive; and simultaneously, the activities of foreign ships in the territorial Byzantine waters were heavily curtailed, limited, out of fear of spying, to restricted areas and compulsory lodging houses known as μιτατα. Thus the great maritime Byzantine boom of the 7th century suffered a mortal blow, never to recover. Previously, at the end of the 6th and in the first half of the 7th century, Byzantine merchant ships had been very active in long-distance voyages. At this time, the word ναύκληρος was used almost interchangeably for "captain" and "shipowner", manifesting the participation of captains in the profits, and Byzantine hagiographical works describe the financial support of these long-distance voyages by the Patriarch of Alexandria and the great prestige which the shipping magnates enjoyed (see Magoulis, *op. cit.*, 303-30). But after this time, the land-bound Byzantine aristocracy showed little interest in investment in maritime ventures. Short-distance sailing uniting the various parts of the Empire continued, but this was a pale echo of former activities, and it was only in the second half of the 14th century that the Byzantine aristocracy, having lost its lands to the Turks, invested again its capital in maritime ventures (see N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins en Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*, Montreal 1979; A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis places this new tendency somewhat earlier in *The Greek merchant of the Palaeologan period, a collective portrait*, in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, lvii [1982], 105).

Nevertheless, some Byzantine ships continued to visit the Arabian ports; Ibn Ḥawḳal (4th/10th century) complains that, from the time when the Byzantine merchants were allowed to frequent the Muslim Mediterranean ports, the Muslims were exposed to dangerous Byzantine spying.

Muslim commercial navigation in the Mediterranean reached its peak in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, when vessels plied as far as Spain [see TIDJĀRA]. The most important trade routes at this period were those connecting the Egyptian port of al-Faramā with Constaninople; al-Faramā with southern France; al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] in Ifrīḳiya with Sicily and Italy; and two maritime routes connecting Algeria with Spain (see T. Lewicki, *Les voies maritimes de la Méditerranée dans le haut moyen âge d'après les sources arabes*, in *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo*, in *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 1977*, xxv [1978], 439-80).

Nautical instruments. During the ʿAbbāsid period, the Muslims invented or improved some important nautical instruments—astrolabes were already used by them by the 4th/10th century—and their legacy contributed to the discoveries of the new lands by the Portuguese and other European nations in the 15th century (T.A. Shumovsky, *A fifteenth century Arabian marine encyclopaedia*, in *Procs. of the 25th Internat. Congress of Orientalists*, Moscow 1960; for the Arab astrolabes, see ASTURLĀB). They also used detailed sailing directories (*dafātir*) and charts (*ṣuwar*). In contrast to our scanty knowledge of Byzantine maps and portolans, of which little has remained, there is ample information about the cartography of the Arabs, with many Arabic maps preserved [see KHARĪTA].

Ships and crews; naval tactics. Like the regular Byzantine type of warship called *dromon*, the average Muslim warship, the *shīnī*, carried a crew of about 140 to 180 oarsmen. The *shīnī* was a two-banked vessel, with a special officer in charge of each bank. The Arab warships were still equipped with the ram, but it was not used for sinking enemy ships; it was used for inflicting minor blows on them and for immobilising them in order to hit them with projectiles. The main characteristic of Arab warships was the use of superstructures on the ships, a sort of forecastle, which transformed the ships into fortified towns. Mariners, taking protection under them, engaged in throwing various types of missiles, e.g. heavy stones, pieces of iron, etc. Moreover, flame throwers, usually mounted in the bows, launched "Greek fire" onto the enemy ships [see NAFṬ].

The recruitment of sailors and marines, as recorded mainly in the papyri of Egypt, was done very carefully. Theoretically, men from various social classes and professions were liable to maritime service, but personal service could be usually replaced by a money compensation, and many recruits must have been experienced sailors. Thus the maritime expenses fell upon the entire population of Egypt, but the actual duties were performed mainly by professionals. It was not till the Fāṭimid and especially the Mamlūk periods that this system was changed, and non-professional sailors were recruited (Y. Lev, *The Fāṭimid navy, Byzantium and the Mediterranean Sea 909-1036 C.E./297-427 A.H.*, in *Byzantium*, liv [1984], 250).

Within the crews of ships, there was a rigid differentiation between oarsmen and marines. Ibn Manglī mentions ten officers who ran the ship (*al-Aḥkām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, 39), among them the officer in charge of weather observations, the pilot and two lieutenants. There was also a clear distinction between the military commander of a warship (*ḳāʾid* or *muḳaddam*), in charge of the marines, and the captain (*raʾīs al-milāḥa*); and at the top, the Egyptian fleet had an *amīr* of the water (*amīr al-māʾ*) or the *amīr* of the sea (*amīr al-baḥr*). The numbers of ships employed in operations were not usually large, and as tactics, the Arabs, as their naval manuals advised them, generally preferred to fight in a crescent formation and less often in a compact one, trying to outmanœuvre the enemy by using various stratagems such as feigned flights, etc. Weapons employed are described in detail by Ibn Manglī, who further adds information about "Greek fire" and its use by the Arabs (*al-Aḥkām*, 54 ff.).

The decay of Muslim naval power. At the end of the 4th/10th century, there was an obvious decay of

Muslim naval power in the Mediterranean, signalled by the Byzantine reconquest of Crete (962) and Tarsus (965), and that of Sicily by the Normans (1090). In Spain, the reign of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III (300-50/912-61) marks the turning-point in the development of its naval power. By the 4th/10th century, the Muslims of Spain had constructed formidable war flotillas in their shipyards as well as merchant ships whose naval architecture influenced the Western European equivalents (for the types of Spanish Muslim ships, see G. Oman, section "Imbarcazioni: tipi, costruzione", in his *Voci marinaresche usate dal geografo arabo al-Idrīsī (XII secolo) nelle sue descrizioni delle coste settentrionali dell'Africa*, in *AIUON*, xiii [1963], 9-13). The historian Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*] describes in his *Muḳtabas* (*ca.* 450/1057) the activities of the Spanish Muslim ships against the "Franks", and also the commercial relations between al-Andalus and Italy (*Muḳtabas*, v, ed. P. Chalmeta and M. Ṣulḥ, Madrid 1979). But after 'Abd al-Raḥmān's death, the palmy days of the Spanish Muslim navy were over.

A similar decline is visible in commercial navigation. All this was not due to any single factor such as severe depletion of the forests of the Mediterranean Muslim countries, as is sometimes suggested, but mainly to internal weaknesses of the Islamic states system, and to the rise of new powers, i.e. those of the Italian towns of Pisa, Venice and Genoa which became the dominant powers in both merchantile navigation and naval warfare (see A.R. Lewis, *Naval power and trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100*, Princeton 1951, 183).

The decadence of Muslim navigation was accelerated by the Crusaders' seizure of such Syrian ports as Tyre and Acre, although Alexandria still remained a trade centre where foreign ships were allowed to approach and passengers were permitted to remain in the *funduḳs* [*q.v.*], whilst the Franks in the Latin Orient established their own *funduḳs* in which foreigners were allowed to remain.

While at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, Muslim ships were still sailing as far as the Maghrib and Italy, by the end of this century most of the sailing between Western Europe and the Muslim Orient had fallen into the hands of the Italians (Cl. Cahen, *Orient et Occident au temps des Croisades*, Paris 1983, 137 ff.). Meanwhile, the Crusaders' conquest of Ayla opened up the Red Sea to the Franks, until it was retaken by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1170, who transported thither dismantled ships on camel-back (see A.S. Ehrenkreutz, *The place of Saladin in the naval history of the Mediterranean Sea in the Middle Ages*, in *JAOS*, lxxv [1955], 104). It was he who gave to the Egyptian navy a last ephemeral glory, using it in his reconquest of the coastal towns in Palestine and Syria in 583/1187, being the last mediaeval Arab ruler who understood the importance of the navy in military affairs.

The coming of the Mamlūks in the 7th/13th century marks the end of Muslim naval power. The Mamlūks' naval policy was marked by two actions which brought about the destruction of Muslim naval power. After their conquest of the Frankish cities in the Levant, they applied a deliberate policy of destroying the Syrian ports in order to make them unattractive to any further Crusades (see D. Ayalon, *The Mamluks and naval power*, in *Procs. of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, i/8 [1965], 7-12; D. Baraq, *A new source concerning the ultimate borders of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, in *Israel Exploration Jnal.*, xxix [1979], 213); and the system of recruiting for the navy was altered. Al-Maḳrīzī laments that, while in the 4th/10th century the best were selected for naval service, which was considered an honour, now only the wretched served. Simultaneously, Muslim merchant ships lost their leading role not only in the Mediterranean but also in the Red Sea, where they were replaced after the 9th/15th century by the Portuguese.

The newly-developed science of underwater archaeology has yielded important information concerning navigation in the Mediterranean and Arab shipping activities in this sea. The recently-discovered ship wreck, dating to *ca.* 1025 A.D., at Serçe Liman off the southern coast of Asia Minor, just opposite Rhodes, is the most eloquent example of the invaluable services which underwater archaeology can offer.

The Serçe Liman wreck furnishes concrete evidence of an important change on the technology of shipbuilding in the early 5th/11th century. It is the earliest example we know of a seagoing ship, constructed in the modern skeleton-first manner (see G.F. Bass and F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *An 11th century shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey*, in *International Jnal. of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, vii/2 [1978], 119-32; J.R. Steffy, *The reconstruction of the 11th century Serçe Liman vessel*, in *ibid.*, xi/1 [1982], 13-14; Bass, *The nature of the Serçe Limani glass*, in *Jnal. of Glass Studies*, xxvi [1984], 64; van Doorninck Jr., *The Medieval shipwreck at Serçe Limani: an early 11th century Fatimid-Byzantine commercial voyage*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iv [1986].

Moreover, the shipwreck of Serçe Liman reveals that by the 11th century A.D. an international flavour prevailed in the composition of the crews of the merchant ships in the Mediterranean and that their cargoes could easily consist of objects originating from both the Byzantine and the Arab worlds. Some of the objects which were found in the Serçe Liman wreck, such as cooking utensils, remains of food, arms and luxury items, betray that there were, side-by-side, both Muslims and Christians among the members of the crew and passengers. The origin of the owner of the shipwreck of Serçe Liman cannot be identified, but most probably he was from Fāṭimid Egypt. It should be noted that this vessel, before its sinking at Serçe Liman, had headed freely towards the Byzantine ports of Asia Minor. Thus the evidence of underwater archaeology corroborates the information of the Greek and Arab literary sources, as well as that of the Geniza documents, that freedom of navigation for Arab and Byzantine cargo ships in the Mediterranean reached its peak at the turn of the 5th/11th century.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, Paris 1966; Suᶜād Māhir, *al-Baḥriyya fī Miṣr al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo 1967; W. Hoenerbach, *Araber und Mittelmeer, Anfänge und Probleme arabischer Seegeschichte*, Kiel 1967; A.M. Abbady and E.A.A. Salem, *Taʾrīkh al-baḥriyya al-Islāmiyya fī Miṣr wa'l-Shām*, Beirut 1972; J. Vernet, *La navegación en la alta edad media*, in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo, La Navigazione mediterranea nell'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto 1977)*, xxv (1978), 323-88; J. Desange, *Recherches sur l'activité des Mediterranéens aux confins de l'Afrique*, Rome 1978; G.W.B. Huntingford, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1980; I. Shahid, *Byzantium in South Arabia*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxxiii (1980), 23-94; M. Tolmacheva, *On the Arab system of nautical orientation*, in *Arabica*, xxvii (1980), 180-9; J.H. Pryor, *Transportation of horses by sea during the era of the Crusades, eighth century to 1285 A.D.*, in *The Mariner's Mirror*, lxiv/1 (1982), 9-25; Christides, *Two parallel naval guides of the tenth century:*

Qudāma's document and Leo VI's Naumachica. A study on Byzantine and Moslem naval preparedness, in *Graeco-Arabica* i (1982), 51-103; T.G. Kolias, *The Taktika of Leo VI the Wise and the Arabs*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iv (1984), 129-35. (V. Christides)

2. In the later mediaeval and early modern periods.

This section will deal with both aspects of *milāḥa*, the mariner's art and seafaring in general, as they developed, chiefly among the Muslims of the Mediterranean, in the later Middle Ages and the early modern period; the treatment will also endeavour to reflect two stages, the earlier Arab one and the later Turkish one: although partly overlapping, they were distinctive in emphasis and intrinsic achievements.

The decline of Arab seafaring in the Mediterranean, mentioned in section 1 above of the article as beginning in the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods, became pronounced under the Mamlūks, and encompassed its three main aspects: military-naval, merchant shipping and corsair. It was contemporary with and partly due to the dramatic rise of European shipping in the Mediterranean that gained momentum in the 11th century.

An eventual result of the decline of Arab merchant shipping was the lack of Muslim participation in the new stage of improved navigational methods that characterised Mediterranean seafaring from the 13th century onwards. Three interrelated innovations marked these methods: the mariner's compass, the portolan chart, and an improved and expanded type of sailing directions.

The mariner's compass is first attested for 1187, and its perfection and widespread use became the domain of the Europeans. The term, of Latin derivation, only marginally appeared in Arabic (*kunbāṣ*: as in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, Cairo n.d., 54; tr. Rosenthal, i, 117), and then only with a shift in the meaning characteristic also of contemporary Italian, where it referred not to the instrument but to the portolan chart. The name of the instrument itself was replaced in the Mediterranean *lingua franca* by the Italian word *bussola* ("small box", on account of this improvement on the older unprotected magnetic needle; a "compass card", a windrose indicating four, eight or sixteen or thirty-two points of compass, attached to the needle and revolving with it, further characterised this improvement). This term does not appear to have been current in pre-modern Arabic, a symptom of the little use which the instrument received on the part of seafaring Arabs in the Mediterranean; on the other hand, it later became the standard term in Turkish, where its form *pusul* or *pusla* is attested from 1513 onwards (R. Kahane-A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant: Turkish nautical terms of Italian and Greek origin*, Urbana 1957, no. 133).

The portolan chart—also called compass chart—was a map of the Mediterranean, or of one part of it, produced specifically for use by mariners. It differed from contemporary land maps in several respects, the most prominent being a network of rhumb lines (lines indicating the points of compass) emanating from one or more centres, usually emphasised by a more or less elaborate windrose. The portolan charts, drawn with the help of the compass, reached a higher degree of accuracy than contemporary land maps, a fact of obvious importance to sailors; the rhumb lines had the additional function of facilitating the seaman's task of charting the ship's course. The earliest known portolan charts date from the 13th century; by the 15th they proliferated, and dominated the Mediterranean scene until the 17th. Most were produced by Italians and Catalans. Arabic portolan charts are known to have existed, but the small number of the extant ones, as well as the fact that they appear to be visual copies and lexical adaptations of the European ones, once more reflect the domination of Mediterranean seafaring, in the later Middle Ages, by the Christian half of that sea. The oldest known specimen dates from the 14th century and covers the western half of the Mediterranean (J. Vernet-Ginés, *The Maghreb chart in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, in *Imago Mundi*, xvi [1962], 1-16). A case apart is a group of atlases produced during the 16th and 17th centuries at the Tunisian workshop of the Safāḳusī family. They are a hybrid between the Italian portolan chart type and the world maps made by al-Idrīsī. Here, the non-functional (as far as use by mariners was concerned), mainly intellectual and aesthetical purpose, was carried to the extreme.

In addition to the portolan chart, there appeared the portolan proper: a text of sailing directions for a smaller or larger portion of the Mediterranean, as a verbal reflection and development in detail of the chart. Like the portolan chart, the portolan became possible only in the 13th century with the spread of the magnetic needle, for its essential feature was the indication of respective positions according to the points of compass. Here, the imbalance between the Christian and Arab Muslim halves of the Mediterranean is even more striking: in contrast to the great number of Christian portolans—again, chiefly Italian and Catalan—that have come down to us, not a single Arab one is known to have existed. The often mentioned "rutters", sailing directions included in the works of al-Bakrī (ed. de Slane, 81-6) and al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, 257-309 = 3rd climate, sections 1-3) belong to an earlier, pre-compass method of navigation that went back all the way to classical antiquity.

Aside from using the above-mentioned three types of tools—mariner's compass, portolan chart and portolan text—Mediterranean seamen of the later Middle Ages continued to avoid availing themselves of the more sophisticated though still rudimentary instruments of incipient astronomical navigation such as the astrolabe [see asṭurlāb and section 3. below], characteristic of Muslim seafaring in the Indian Ocean. This was due, on the part of the Christians, not only to unfamiliarity with the methods of a different tradition, language and culture, but also to the reduced size of the Mediterranean where, unlike on the oceans, coasts and landmarks were never too far away; relative position according to the points of compass rather than latitude and longitude was the chief determining factor.

When viewed from a broader perspective, Muslim *milāḥa*, seafaring, in these final centuries of the Middle Ages lacked the rest of the growth features characteristic of the Christian one. A rapid evolution in ship-building technology was one of them. Enriched by elements introduced from the Atlantic, this technology developed newer and larger types of sailing ships driven by square sails and later by a combination of lateen and square sails; it remained the domain of the Christians and further contributed to the domination of long-distance Mediterranean shipping by them. The large Genoese and other Frankish (sailing) ships, called in the *lingua franca* simply that—a gamut of variations on the Romance terms derived from the Latin *navis*—or given more specific names such as adaptations of the Germanic "cog" or the

etymologically intriguing "carrack", became the great freighters of east-west trade, and their arrivals and departures were among the memorable events in the economic life of such ports as Alexandria. Venetian galleys, however, tenaciously endured the competition, partly by pushing their volume capacity to the limit, at which point they became the *gallere grosse di mercato*, the great merchant galleys of the Republic's convoys. We see nothing of the sort on the Muslim side. Although Arab coastal shipping must have retained its local vigour and importance, the galley—*shīnī* or *ḳiṭʿa* in Arabic (cf. H. Kindermann, *"Schiff" im Arabischen*, Zwickau 1934, s.vv.)—did not develop into a large commercial vessel but remained essentially the traditional warship. Arab long-distance shipping between Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian coast on one hand and the Maghrib and Spain on the other, still vigorous in the Fātimid period, appears to have receded under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks. Characteristic of this are the voyages of Ibn Djubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Ibn Djubayr, the pious Muslim from Granada whose principal purpose was the *ḥadjdj*, nevertheless crossed the entire length of the Mediterranean on Christian ships (in 1183, Ceuta-Alexandria, in 1184-5, ʿAkkā-Cartagena; cf. *Riḥla*[2], ed. Wright and de Goeje, Leiden 1907, 35, 312); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sailed in the 1330s from Lādhiḳiyya to Alanya on a large Genoese *ḳurḳūra* (probably a carrack), and from Sinope to Kefe on a Greek (*Rūm*) ship (*Riḥla*, ii, 254, 354).

This imbalance manifested itself not only in peaceful commercial relations between the Christian and Muslim halves of the Mediterranean, but also in their confrontational aspect: Muslim coasts and coastal cities suffered considerably more from Christian naval raids than Christian coasts did from the Muslim ones, a situation of which the Crusades were a component, a partial cause and a symptom. On rare occasions, one of the Muslim states would muster enough determination to give an effective naval response to the Christians, e.g. the Mamlūk attack on Cyprus in 1425 in retaliation for the 1365 sack of Alexandria.

The naval imbalance was up to a point compensated by the activities of Muslim corsairs, especially in the western Mediterranean [see ḲURṢĀN]. In the latter zone, Muslim refugees from Spain swelled the ranks of local corsairs, making especially the harbours of Algeria bases for efficient pirate fleets that were using small and fast types of galleys. Even their activities, however, lacked the magnitude of "Sarasin" corsair fleets of the early centuries of Islam, and did not match the grand scale of the contemporary semi-official Christian, especially Catalan, piracy.

The later Middle Ages were thus marked in the Mediterranean by a relative Arab passivity on all maritime fronts: navigational techniques, shipbuilding technology, merchant shipping, military-naval enterprises. This situation changed up to a point with the expansion of the Ottoman Turks in the course of the 15th century.

Like the Arabs of the first decades of Islamic expansion, the pre-Ottoman Turks who spread over Anatolia in the last decades of the 11th century were nomads unfamiliar with the sea. Again like the Arabs of the 7th century, some of these Turks proceeded forthwith (perhaps—as in the case of the Arabs—due to a predisposition derived from the nomad's mobility and reliance on his *markab*) to learn the seafarer's art: the *ghazāʾ* of the Turkish horsemen quickly changed into a maritime *ghazāʾ*. It was led by the Saldjūḳid prince Čaḳa Bey and his followers in the bay of Izmir: the conquests of the islands of Lesbos [see MIDILLI] and Chios [see SAḲĪZ] during the 1080s and 1090s were examples of their signal, though only ephemeral, achievements (see A.N. Kurat, *Çaka Bey*, Ankara 1966).

After a few years, the Turks withdrew from the Aegean coast, but filtered back in the course of the 13th and 14th centuries when they formed the coastal principalities of Ḳarasī, Ṣarukhān, Aydīn and Menteshe [*q.vv.*]. Some of them—especially those of Aydīn—launched a maritime *ghazā* that rivalled in scope and energy the Umayyad and Cretan Arabs' campaigns against Byzantium. The exploits of Umur Beg of Aydīn (1328-48 [*q.v.*]) became legendary to the point of being evoked, a century later, by the epic of Enverī (see I. Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha*, Paris 1953; P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"*, Paris 1957). The Anatolian coasts and nearby islands of the Aegean were the principal area of the Turks' contact with the sea. It was there that they first learned the mariner's trade, and their teachers were the indigenous Greeks who had been practising this art since antiquity. Conversion to Islam, intermarriage, turkicisation, all converged to produce a special seafaring population whose maritime vocation reflected this fusion in many ways. Turkish maritime terminology is one eloquent example. Thus the most characteristic type of the Mediterranean ships, the galley, became known in Turkish by its Greek loan-word, *ḳadīrgha* (Kahane and Tietze, no. 785).

Vigorous though it was, pre-Ottoman Turkish seafaring remained confined to the Aegean part of the Mediterranean. Turkish expansion over the rest of that sea took place only under the Ottomans, and became one of the most dramatic and noteworthy features of late 15th and 16th century Mediterranean history. Commensurably, Turkish maritime terminology further grew and absorbed much of the special professional vocabulary of Mediterranean seamen—the *lingua franca* that was based mainly on Italian but also included other components from Greek to Albanian and Arabic; this Turkish dimension of the Mediterranean *lingua franca* has been the subject of an outstanding scholarly study, the above-mentioned work by Kahane and Tietze.

The Ottoman Turkish *milāḥa* thus eclipsed the earlier achievements of the Mediterranean Arabs, but it retained some of the basic aspects of their seafaring that distinguished it from the Christian one. Thus in addition to its above-mentioned initial derivativeness from pre-Islamic elements, a characteristic feature of the Turkish *milāḥa* was its being based on the intimate relationship between the military-naval and corsair dimensions of seafaring; Ottoman merchant shipping, especially long-distance merchant shipping that crossed the boundaries between the Muslim and Christian halves of the Mediterranean, remained as restricted as it had been in the case of the Arabs.

The Ottoman Turks caught up with the Christians in those aspects of *milāḥa* where the Arabs had slipped behind since the Mamlūk period: in the art of navigation itself, in using and producing the principal types of nautical instruments, and in familiarising themselves with some of the newer types of ships and shipbuilding navigation technology. The Italian portolan chart and portolan text found their Turkish counterpart in the *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, a book where the two principles became combined so as to produce a unique type of navigational tool that also asserted the Turkish individuality within the framework of Mediterranean seafaring. Its author, Pīrī Reʾīs (*q.v.*; see also P.

Kahle, *Pīrī Reʾīs, Bahrije*, Berlin 1926; S. Soucek, *A propos du Livre d'Instructions Nautiques de Pīrī Reʾīs*, in *REI*, xli [1973] 241-55), compiled it in two versions (926/1520 and 932/1526 respectively), producing a navigational description of the entire Mediterranean; the book is divided into a number of chapters of text, each of which is accompanied by a chart of the respective segment. Moreover, the second and longer version (one of whose manuscripts has been published in facsimile by the Türk Tarih Kurumu, Piri Reis, *Kitabı Bahriye*, 1935) is preceded by a versified introduction where the author expounds in considerable detail the art of navigation besides describing in broad terms the world's oceans and the ongoing voyages of Great Discoveries. As a book of sailing directions encompassing the entire Mediterranean and an atlas of enlarged charts of smaller segments of that sea, the *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye* is unique in portolan literature; and as a text that includes, in the second version, the latest information about the discovery of America and another great voyages, it stands out in contemporary Islamic literature.

Pīrī Reʾīs is also characteristic of the Ottoman *milāḥa* in another sense. His early training and vocation was that of a maritime *ghāzī*, whose trade combined piracy in quest of booty with the conviction of performing the *ghazāʾ*, Holy War for Islam, whenever the target was the Christian elements of the Mediterranean; intermittently, and especially in his later years, he also served the Ottoman sultan by joining the fleet on its naval campaigns. This double nature of the Ottoman *milāḥa*, sc. the individual, private one as an assortment of Turkish corsairs in constant struggle with the Christians, and the organised, governmental one as the *donanma-yi hümayūn*, the Imperial Fleet, represented two faces of the same coin, and carried to its extreme a phenomenon that was universal (cf. for example the role—not devoid of a religious hue whenever the Catholic Spanish were the target—of Sir Francis Drake in Queen Elizabeth's time). It was its degree and exclusiveness that set the Ottoman case apart from the rest. Another and steadily revitalising and growing source of strength for contemporary and early modern navies of the Christian powers, sc. the merchant marine, remained negligible in the Ottoman empire.

Corsair participation thus played an often decisive role in most of the naval campaigns of the Turkish fleet, in the extension of the Ottoman maritime frontier all the way to the western Mediterranean, and in the occupation of the post of chief admiral [see KAPUDĀN PASHA]. The case of Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [see KHAYR AL-DĪN] illustrates and combines all these three elements. In 1520, he presented Algiers to the Ottoman sultan as the nucleus of a new *eyālet*; in 1534 he was appointed to the upgraded post of *ḳapudān pasha*; in 1538, he led the Turkish fleet to the victory at Preveza that gave the Ottoman empire its reputation of naval invincibility which lasted until the battle of Lepanto [see AYNABAKHTĪ] in 1571.

Although the Ottoman fleet was rebuilt remarkably rapidly after Lepanto, the decline—of which that battle was an incipient symptom—became accentuated in the course of the 17th century. The chief cause was the overall decline of the empire's earlier vigour, but among the contributing factors was the loss of ability to keep in step with the Christian powers' continuing modernisation of nautical sciences. Thus the shift from oar-driven galleys to sailing ships as the lynchpin of 16th and 17th century European war fleets only belatedly ocurred in the Ottoman navy, and then again due to the efforts of a former pirate and governor of Algiers, Mezzomorto Hüseyn Pasha [*q.v.*]. This seaman, appointed *ḳapudān pasha* in 1689, introduced this aspect of modernisation that had spread among the Algerian corsairs since 1605. The improvement bore fruit in two naval victories over the Venetians a few years later (1695). The inability to keep modernising on a par with European navies subsequently reasserted itself, however, and contributed to the destruction of the Ottoman fleet by a Russian one at the battle of Češhme [*q.v.*] in 1770.

The Turkish polygraph Kātib Čelebi (1609-57 [*q.v.*]) wrote a history of the Ottoman naval campaigns (*Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*; 1st printing, Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa Press, Istanbul 1141/1728-9), where he also recorded the organisation and structure of the Ottoman navy. The time of this compilation, mid-17th century, coincided with the first low ebb of the Ottoman Turkish sea power, exemplified by the recurrent Venetian blockade of the Dardanelles during the protracted conquest of Crete (1645-69), and the difficulties of the Ottoman fleet to break through it. This naval intrusion of a Christian war fleet into the Ottoman home waters was paralleled by a growing dependence on Christian merchant shipping. If in the Middle Ages and early modern period Christian shipping dominated only that part of the traffic that crossed the boundaries between Islam and Christendom, by the 18th century it began to assume an ever greater share of the Ottoman carrying trade as well, when European, especially French, vessels circulated along the entire stretch between Istanbul, Izmir and Alexandria (D. Panzac, *Les échanges maritimes dans l'Empire Ottoman au XVIIIe siècle*, in *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 39 [1985], 7-34).

In the final decades of the 18th century, there began efforts to embark on a fundamental modernisation of the Ottoman navy that included the unprecedented novelty of theoretical training in naval schools established with the help of French and other European experts (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 507-11; S.J. Shaw, *Between old and new: the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 160-6). It was at this point that a counterpart to the term "navigation" in the narrow sense appeared, probably for the first time, in an Islamic language: *sayr-i sufun* or *sayr-i safāʾin*, no doubt a calque on the French model, as in a report of 1211/1797 to the sultan (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 535). These efforts heralded a growing awareness at the centre of the state that adoption of European scientific methods was a prerequisite for the empire's survival; a realisation of Turkey's potential, based on her strategic maritime-economic position, to develop a strong merchant marine, however, occurred more gradually and only in the 20th century.

Navigation in the Indian Ocean and its Persian Gulf and Red Sea ramifications is covered in section 3 below, chiefly in the specific sense of the word; it may thus be appropriate to add a brief survey of Muslim seafaring there during the later Middle Ages and the early modern period as a counterpart to the sketch of its development in the Mediterranean.

The radical and all-embracing difference between the Muslim *milāḥa*s of the Mediterranean and of the Indian Ocean could hardly be over-emphasised, and is one of the intriguing aspects of Islamic history. Real enough since the appearance of Islam and during the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods, it became even more pronounced in the later Middle Ages. An almost total absence of military navies and naval warfare, in

contrast to their importance in the Mediterranean, continued to mark the oriental dimension until the arrival of the Europeans in 1498. Another difference was the complete mutuality of Muslim and non-Muslim merchant shipping in the Indian Ocean, in contrast to its increasing one-sidedness in the Mediterranean; this mutuality was compounded and in a sense caused by remarkably peaceful relations, in fact, the coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims in India. The western coast of the Indian subcontinent could be compared in the maritime sense to that of southern Europe; but whereas the Arabs and Turks of the Mediterranean rarely and reluctantly crossed the religious boundary as merchant shippers, their Arab and Persian coreligionists of the Indian Ocean kept sailing to India and East Africa just as their ancestors had done before Islam. This activity had two significant results. One was the "maritime" spread of Islam to the Malabar [*q.v.*] region of India, East Africa and, eventually, also Indonesia; the other, more directly relevant to our subject, was a certain degree of "Islamisation" of seafaring in the Indian Ocean. If in the early ʿAbbāsid period Arab or Persian shippers calling at such ports as K͟hambāyat [*q.v.*; anglicised as Cabay] were Muslims, the Indians sailing to Aden or other Near Eastern ports were not; by the time the Mamlūks ruled in Egypt, K͟hambāyat had become the most important port of Muslim-ruled north-western India (a good example of the two stages are the accounts of al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, i, 253-4 = § 269) and of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 53), who visited K͟hambāyat in the 4th/10th and 8th/14th centuries respectively); its Gud̲j̲arātī sailors and merchants became the third group of Muslim seafarers, after the Arabs and Persians, characteristic of the Indian Ocean *milāḥa*. The Arabs and Persians retained primacy as the seafarers of the western Indian Ocean; in its eastern half and beyond to Indonesia, on the other hand, Gud̲j̲arātī Muslims appear to have played the principal role, especially when the Chinese in the post-Yung-lo (ruled 1403-24) period and after the final expedition of 1433 withdrew from those waters and chose Malacca, instead of such South Indian ports as Kūlam and Kalikat [*q.vv.*], as the western terminus of their voyages. Alongside the Gud̲j̲arātīs, the Māppilas [*q.v.*] of Malabar deserve mention as a prominent Muslim seafaring people of the Indian Ocean from the late Middle Ages onwards. In a sense relevant to our subject, the Māppilas stand out among all others, for they were formed as a distinct human group directly through the effect of Arab and Persian sailors and merchants visiting this part of the Indian coast, often settling there and intermarrying with certain castes of the Hindu population. This integration of Muslim seafaring and maritime trade with the non-Muslim ones in the Indian Ocean, in contrast to the rigid separation in the Mediterranean, is further exemplified by the fact that the Gud̲j̲arātīs pursued their maritime enterprise alongside the Hindu Vanyas (or Banyas), while both groups were subjects of an Indian Ocean sultanate (and eventually, of the Mug͟hal empire), and that the Māppilas never rose to the positions of the ruling class, but in this early period lived peacefully alongside the dominant Brahmi, Nayar and other Hindu groups (as well as the Christians of Malabar) and were well treated and in fact favoured by the Hindu rulers of Kalikat, the "Zamorin" (al-Sāmarī, in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 88, who gives an excellent account of this situation).

One of the significant results of this purely commercial nature of seafaring (except for the often bothersome piracy, endemic on most seas) in the Indian Ocean was the above-mentioned lack of a military-naval tradition. This circumstance, no doubt beneficial for centuries, had near-catastrophic consequences when the Europeans made their entry on the scene once Vasco da Gama, guided by the Arab *muʿallim* Ibn Mād̲j̲id, crossed the Indian Ocean from Malindi [*q.v.*] to Kalikat in 1498. The Portuguese immediately began to suppress native seafaring between India and the ports of the Near East both for economic reasons—re-routing the Spice Route trade around the Cape of Good Hope to Lisbon was the goal—and religious ones, especially when the target of their attack was Muslim ships or those whose destination was the Islamic Near East. Eventually, native seafaring recovered from the initial shock and by the 1540s, through its sheer volume and resilience, broke the Portuguese blockade; it was this vitality of the chiefly Muslim merchant marines of the Indian Ocean, rather than the sometimes over-emphasised effect of the entry of the Ottoman naval power on the scene, that caused the recovery of the Spice Route traffic through the Near Eastern ports. On the other hand, the natives never managed to create navies that could seriously challenge those of the Europeans; after the failure of the Mamlūks and Ottomans to defeat the Portuguese in the western Indian Ocean (roughly between 1508 and 1552), and of the Javanese to wrest Malacca from the Portuguese in 1541, all the major naval battles were fought among the Europeans themselves once the British, Dutch and French joined the fray in the 17th century. This inability appears to have been caused by the absence of a native naval tradition rather than by a lack of the appropriate ship-building technology: for the natives, especially Indian shipwrights, had both the skill and resources to build large and sturdy sailing ships in no way inferior to European ones like the Portuguese carracks.

Finally, mention must be made of an aspect of commercial seafaring in the Indian Ocean whose effect was powerful and lasting: the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* or pilgrimage traffic to Mecca. Despite the perils of sea voyages, the maritime route was the only really feasible way for most Muslims of peninsular India, Malaysia, Indonesia and East Africa, and the large numbers of pilgrims from such ports as Surat or Acheh contributed to the economic vigour and resiliency of Muslim *milāḥa* in the Indian Ocean.

The Arab-Persian inspiration of Muslim navigation in the Indian Ocean also left its permanent stamp on the maritime vocabulary of the seafaring peoples all the way to Indonesia. Thus *muʿallim* (whose principal connotation is "teacher"), the standard Arabic word for ship's captain or pilot, spread in this connotation over the entire span of the Indian Ocean; similarly, the Persian word *nāk͟hudhā* "ship's master, owner" (G. Ferrand, *L'élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des XVe et XVIe siècles*, in *JA* [1924], 238-9), also found universal application all the way to Indonesia.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see S. Soucek, *Certain types of ships in Ottoman-Turkish terminology*, in *Turcica*, vii (1975), 233-49; C.H. Imber, *The navy of Süleyman the Magnificent*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 211-82; J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, *Soutien logistique et présence navale ottomane en Méditerranée en 1517*, in *ROMM*, xxxix (1985), 7-34; R. Mantran, *La navigation vénitienne et ses concurrents en Méditerranée orientale aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, in *Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime*, 1962, 375-91; M. S͟hukrī, *Esfār-i baḥriyye-yi ʿUt͟hmāniyye*, Istanbul 1306; F. Kurtoğlu, *Türklerin deniz muharebeleri*, Istanbul 1932; H. Tezel, *Anadolu Türklerinin deniz tarihi*, Istanbul 1973; D.A.

Zakythinos, *Corsaires et pirates dans les mers grecques au temps de la domination turque*, Athens 1939; S. Soucek, *The "Ali Macar Reis Atlas" and the Deniz Kitabı: their place in the genre of portolan charts and atlases*, in *Imago Mundi* (1971), 17-27; W. Brice, C. Imber and R. Lorch, *The Aegean sea-chart of Mehmed Reis ibn Menemenli, A.D. 1590/1*, University of Manchester Seminar on Early Islamic Science, Monograph no. 2 (1977).

Literature on Muslim navigation south and east of Suez is vast, and only a brief typology combined with a few examples can be attempted here. The most important and directly relevant primary sources are the Indian Ocean/Red Sea/Persian Gulf counterparts of the Mediterranean portolans, the sailing directions by Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī discussed in section 3 below. Travel accounts are the next fundamental source; the Muslim ones are relatively few, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's is probably the single most valuable source. European travellers, whose testimony chronologically coincides with the period discussed in this section (13th century onwards) are truly remarkable, not only for their multitude but frequently also for their power of observation and comprehension of an initially alien world. The earliest generation, in which Marco Polo and Odoric of Pordenone stand out, is accessible in Sir Henry Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*; a later generation has recorded the situation at the inception of the Great Discoveries; here, the Bolognese Ludovico di Varthema and the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires (English trs., the Hakluyt Society, 1863, 1921 and 1944 respectively) tower above all the others. Finally, the British, French and Dutch accounts compiled in the 17th and 18th centuries gradually evolved into reports by employees of the semi-official trading companies and eventually of the incipient colonial administrations now often integrated in governmental archives; Alexander Hamilton's *A New Account of The East Indies*, 1st ed. Edinburgh 1727, new ed. William Foster, London 1930, can serve as an example. Official documents in the archives of European powers have been fairly exhaustively used by historians, but those of Ottoman Turkey, relevant for the period of the Great Discoveries, have only recently begun to be studied. Aside from the pioneering essays by Ṣafvet (for example *Bir ʿothmānlī filosunun Sumatra seferi*, in *TOEM*, i [1327], 606-9, 680), it has been chiefly the late C. Orhonlu (*Hint kaptanlığı ve Piri Reis*, in *Belleten*, xxxiv [1970], or his *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun siyaseti: Habeş eyâleti*, Istanbul 1974) and S. Özbaran who have worked on this subject; the latter's concomitant use of Portuguese and other European archival documents (his ongoing research is at this point exemplified by *Osmanlı imparatorluğu ve Hindistan yolu*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 31 [1977]) complements J. Aubin's recourse to Portuguese, Persian and Arabic sources (see e.g. his *Les Princes d'Ormuz du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, in *JA* [1953], 77-138, and *Le royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVIe siècle*, in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, ii [1972], 77-179). The brief but significant "report" by Selmān Reʾīs published by M. Lesure, *Un document ottoman de 1525 sur l'Inde portugaise et les pays de la Mer Rouge*, in *ibid.*, iii (1976), 137-60, is revealing for an Ottoman naval commander's perception of seafaring in the Indian Ocean. The usefulness of Arabic sources in conjunction with the European ones has also been demonstrated by R.B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast: Hadrami chronicles, with Yemeni and European accounts of Dutch pirates off Mocha in the seventeenth century*, Oxford 1963. The extensive secondary literature has so far focused chiefly on the European dimension of seafaring in the Indian Ocean; here, C.R. Boxer's *Dutch seaborne empire*, New York 1965, and *Portuguese seaborne empire 1415-1825*, London 1969, alongside his articles such as *A note on the Portuguese reactions to the revival of the Red Sea spice trade and the rise of Atjeh, 1550-1600*, in *Jnal. of Southeast Asian History*, xxv (1969), as well as V. Magalhaes-Godinho's *L'Économie de l'Empire Portugais aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris 1969 (and the still more recent expanded editions of the Portuguese original), stand foremost. The more specifically Islamic or Asian focus is best represented by such works as W. Moreland, *The ships of the Arabian Sea about 1500 A.D.*, in *JRAS* (1939); A.R. Lewis, *Maritime skills in the Indian Ocean, 1358-1500*, in *Islam and the trade of Asia*, Oxford 1970, 238-64; A.C. Hess, *The evolution of the Ottoman seaborne empire in the age of the oceanic discoveries, 1453-1525*, in *American Historical Review*, lxxv (1970), 1892-1919; K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and civilization in the Indian Ocean. An economic history from the rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge 1985, M.A.M. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian trade and European influence in the Indonesian archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague 1962; A. Das Gupta, *Indian merchants and the decline of Surat, c. 1700-1750*, Wiesbaden 1979; A. Jan Qaisir, *Merchant shipping in India during the 17th century*, in *Medieval India: a miscellany*, ii, Aligarh 1972; M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and rulers in Gujarat: the response to the Portuguese in the 16th century*, Berkeley 1976; S.D. Dale, *Islamic society on the South Asian frontier. The Mappilas of Malabar, 1498-1922*, Oxford 1980; T. Raychaudhuri, ch. "Foreign trade" in *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, i (1982), 382-433. Finally, the contributions published as a result of the meetings of the *Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime*, which convened under the leadership of Michel Mollat for the first time in Paris in 1956, should also be mentioned (especially the eighth *Colloque*, Beirut 1966, with the theme "Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient dans l'Océan indien", and the tenth *Colloque*, Brussels 1968, with the theme "Les Grandes Escales").

(S. Soucek)

3. In the Indian Ocean.

Navigation was well developed in the Indian Ocean by mediaeval times, and utilised the regular monsoon winds of that Ocean. These winds and the general shape and situation of the Indian Ocean encouraged homogeneity in nautical matters throughout the whole area, and the techniques of navigation were probably common throughout the Ocean in spite of the different cultures which could be found around its coasts. However, our knowledge of Indian Ocean methods comes almost entirely from Muslim sources, hence it is difficult to generalise. These navigational techniques differed considerably from those used in the Mediterranean, which were again common throughout that Sea, and Muslim sailors were usually conversant with the techniques used in their own sea and were not normally capable of navigating in both seas.

Quite a corpus of Middle Eastern navigational literature has survived in Arabic and Turkish relating to the Indian Ocean, so that we are able to reconstruct easily and in some detail the methods used. The earliest navigational texts to survive are those of Aḥmad b. Mādjid [see IBN MĀDJID], who was also the most prolific and most important writer of such

works. He was an Arab from Djulfār, who lived in the second half of the 9th/15th century, and his dated works range from 866/1462 to *ca.* 1500. About forty of his writings are extant (although not all navigational), and most are short treatises in rhyme used for mnemonic purposes. His longest poem, the *Ḥāwiya*, and his large prose work, the *Fawāʾid*, are mines of information regarding Indian Ocean navigation.

Ibn Mādjid was followed by Sulaymān al-Mahrī from Shiḥr, who wrote around 917/1511 and died some time before 960/1553. His works are arranged more clearly than those of his predecessor, and deal systematically with theory and with practical results. It is from his works that the principles of mediaeval Arab navigation can be extracted and formulated. The details can then be filled in from the more verbose works of Ibn Mādjid.

Finally, the Turkish naval commander Sīdī ʿAlī Čelebi wrote a work on navigation in 961/1554 entitled *al-Muḥīṭ* which is a compilation of material translated directly from the Arabic of the two preceding authors (mainly from Sulaymān al-Mahrī).

The art of navigation was known as *ʿilm al-baḥr* or *al-ʿulūm al-baḥriyya*. Arab sailors and ocean pilots (*muʿallimūn*) presumably learned their profession through a long apprenticeship, and much of their art was learned by rote through the medium of *radjaz* poems. It is these poems, written down by the more literary Ibn Mādjid, which form the basis of the surviving literature. Ibn Mādjid then devoted himself to writing navigational poems in *ḳaṣīda* and other forms, finally attempting his long prose work as a sort of navigational encylopaedia.

As all the precepts of this art were committed to memory, no actual recording or logging of information was regarded as necessary. No charts of the oceans seem to have been kept; at least, charts are never mentioned by the writers. Measurements were taken, but the only instrument for measurement used was a plate of wood through which a knotted string was threaded. This is called a *khashaba* by Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, and in the Turkish of Sīdī Čelebi, a *lawḥ*. The *khashaba* was used for measuring the altitude of a star above the horizon. It was held at fixed distances from the eye using the knots placed on the string, and this enabled the height of the plate to measure different angular altitudes. Some models, however, had strings of different length for the different measurements, and some had several different-sized plates. The latitude of the observer could then be estimated from the altitudes of certain stars. Latitudes of well-known ports, as well as the latitude of the observer, were given in terms of the height of the Pole Star (*al-Djāh*) above the horizon, and when the Pole Star was out of sight, the Guards of the Little Bear (*al-Farḳadān*) (Bγ Ursae Minoris) were used and after them the handle of the Plough (δεζη Ursae Majoris) (*Banāt Naʿsh*). Measurements were taken on many bright stars and often on combinations of stars, and the readings were usually converted to a figure representing one of the groups given above. However, some altitudes like those of the Southern Cross (*al-Murabbaʿ*) were memorised as they were and not converted.

The *khashaba* originally represented the hand of the navigator held at arms' length and the unity of measurement was a finger (*iṣbaʿ*) [*q.v.*]. The standard *khashaba* was four *iṣbaʿ*s wide, i.e. a handbreadth, and this angular distance was known as a *dhubbān*. This art of measurement (*ḳiyās*) of stellar altitudes became very involved. The navigators took into account the variation in the height of the Pole Star at certain seasons (*bāshī*) and many other refinements (see Tibbetts, *Arab navigation*, 312-53).

In addition to the *khashaba*, in the later Middle Ages the Indian Ocean sailors used the magnetic compass [see MAGHNĀṬĪS. 2]. At the time of Ibn Mādjid, the compass was so well-known to the ordinary navigator and its use was so self-explanatory that the texts have very little to say about it. It was known in Arabic as *al-ḥuḳḳa*, with the compass needle as *al-ibra*. The latter was re-magnetised by a loadstone (*al-maghnāṭīs* [see MAGHNĀṬĪS. 1.]). One must possibly imagine some form of a dry compass, perhaps with the needle fixed to a pivoted card. However, this is by no means certain from the text. The compass rose, known as *bayt al-ibra*, consisted of a circle divided into thirty-two rhumbs (*akhnān*) and these were named after prominent stars whose risings (*maṭlaʿ*) and settings (*maghīb*) were approximately on these rhumbs. Thus each star name was used twice, e.g. *maṭlaʿ Suhayl* and *maghīb Suhayl*, the rising and setting of Canopus for SSE and SSW respectively. In addition, the North Pole was *ḳuṭb al-Djāh* (Polaris) and the South Pole *ḳuṭb Suhayl*, so that the latter star (Canopus) was used three times in the system. The finer points of compass work, like the recognition of magnetic variation, were hinted at by the Arab authors but were probably circumvented by them in practice. Bearings (*madjrā*) were known for all well-known routes, and as bearings were never read off a chart, magnetic variations would be incorporated into the bearing. As the risings and settings of stars were used for the equidistant rhumb system in conjunction with the magnetic compass, it seems certain that a system based on these risings and settings was used in earlier times before the compass was available. Polynesian sailors used a similar system in much more recent times, and traces of this system occur in Arabic classical literature, when al-Masʿūdī speaks of *ḳuṭb Suhayl* and al-Hamdānī uses *maṭlaʿ Suhayl*. Other stars are occasionally mentioned by Ibn Mādjid in connection with bearings, and these may be survivals from an earlier period.

These two components, stellar altitude (*ḳiyās*) and bearings (*madjrā*), enabled the Indian Ocean navigator to make a course across the ocean, but there were other fundamental tenets of their art. *Ishārāt* were landmarks and signs in the sea such as fish life, sea snakes and the occurrence of certain weeds. All this was important for locating one's position, especially as, with only stellar altitude available for position finding, one could only find one's position latitudinally and could not pinpoint it accurately. *Masāfāt* were distances; but technically, only distances which were due east-west along a latitude line. How they were measured practically is not given, although much is said about measuring them theoretically, using departures (*tirfāt*) and working by triangulation. They were measured in watches (*zām*) and the difference between practical and theoretical *zām*s were given prominence in the texts. *Siyāsāt* was the art of dealing with the crew and the passengers, and was regarded as a serious part of navigational practice. Legally, the navigator was responsible for maintaining order and seeing that the ship and its contents, human and material, arrived safely at its destination.

Finally, the theory of the monsoon [see MAWSIM] and also of irregular winds was an important part of navigational technique. It involved a knowledge of the calendar, using the stars as a guide, i.e. a knowledge of what the position of the heavens was at any date and time. A corollary of this was the use of the Great Bear as a clock for calling the watches during the night. The calendar was based on 365 days counted

from the new year (*Nayrūz*) which was originally the Sāsānid year of Yazdagird III. However, as this had no intercalation, the *Nayrūz* made a slow retrograde movement through the solar year until it appeared in November in the time of Ibn Mād̲j̲id and Sulaymān. In more modern times, it reached mid-September, when it coincided with the beginning of the South Arabia-India sailing season and at that date became fixed.

Using this calendar, the navigator memorised the correct times for starting any major voyage so as to coincide with the correct monsoon wind, the word monsoon itself being derived from the Arab word used for these sailing seasons, sc. *mawsim*, pl. *mawāsim*. *Mawsim* was actually the time for setting out on a particular voyage. The navigational texts give long and detailed lists of these *mawāsim*, divided into three sailing seasons, one with the north-east wind (*azyab*) and two with the south-west monsoon (*kaws*). There was a closed period (*g̲h̲alḳ*) during the middle of the *kaws* season, because of the height of the swell and generally heavy seas. Before this was the *awwal al-kaws* and after it the *dāmānī* seasons.

How much of the Indian Ocean was covered by this system of navigation, and for how long a period of time, is difficult to determine, as the detailed texts come only from the Arabian peninsula shores and from the mid-9th/15th century to the mid-10th/16th century. As shown above, al-Masʿūdī uses a term common in the navigational texts, and he claimed to have interrogated sailors in the Persian Gulf. These sailors sailed during the heyday of Sīrāf [*q.v.*] when there was considerable trade between the Persian Gulf and China, and there is no reason to suppose that the same navigational techniques were not used then as were used in the time of Ibn Mād̲j̲id, except for the use of the magnetic compass (which first appear around 1230 A.D. in the western Indian Ocean). This same tradition could have gone back to the beginning of Muslim trading journeys, but the close relationship between the Indian navigators' code of the *D̲j̲atakamāla* dating from the 1st century A.D. and Ibn Mād̲j̲id's section on *siyāsāt* would incline one to believe that navigation almost a millennium back was based on the same principles, although we have no proof for the more practical side of the art.

The Arab texts refer to navigation from D̲j̲idda as far east as Formosa and the Banda Islands and from Hormuz to Sofala and Madagascar. Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲-bih (272/885) mentions trading almost as far south and south-east, but in the China region his text covers as far as Silla (Korea?). Thus for most of the mediaeval period, Muslim ships sailed to the majority of the ports of the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, but there is a fringe area where navigational details are sparse and where only general directions are given. This is the area where other races probably had the sailing monopoly and Arab knowledge was second-hand, but alternatively, it may be direct knowledge remembered indistinctly from an earlier period. Such areas were beyond Kilwa [*q.v.*] on the coast of Africa and beyond Malacca and Fanṣūr (Barus) in South-East Asia. Peculiar omissions in the more important navigational texts are the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea north of Djidda. There is, however, a separate poem by Ibn Mād̲j̲id dealing with the Persian Gulf alone.

The end of this navigational tradition began with the arrival of the Portuguese. The Arabs were not slow to pick up information from Europeans. Sulaymān al-Mahrī already quotes them concerning the route round South Africa, and Sīdī Čelebi, being brought up as a Mediterranean sailor, was well-acquainted with European methods, although it is doubtful if his work had any influence on Indian Ocean practice. Among other things, the Arabs soon learnt from the Portuguese how to use the sun for navigation. However, there is a gap in Arab navigational literature until the 19th century when the few surviving pilot guides were written, and these are based completely on European guides of the same sort. Surviving examples of Ibn Mād̲j̲id's *k̲h̲as̲h̲aba* were found in the Maldives in the early 19th century and were known there as a *kamal*, and the same century produced examples of a compass rose on which appear the mediaeval names for the rhumbs. There are little beyond these few traces, and the dhow captains of the 20th century have forgotten even these, so that Ibn Mād̲j̲id's methods of navigation have become a lost art.

Bibliography: A guide to the publications relating to this subject can be found in G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, General introd. pp. xi-xv. There is also a bibliography of works on the subject, pp. xix-xxvi. This work was based on the manuscripts from the Bibliothèque Nationale given by G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, 3 vols., Paris 1921-8, and those from Leningrad given by T.A. S̲h̲umovski, *Tri neizvestnie lotzii Aḥmada ibn Mād̲j̲ida*, Moscow 1957, together with a manuscript which is now in the library of the Arab Academy in Damascus.

While this work was in the press, an edition of the Arabic texts was prepared by Ibrahim Khouri, *Arab nautical sciences: navigational texts and their analysis (al-ʿUlūm al-baḥriyya ʿind al-ʿarab)*, 3 vols., Damascus 1970-1. For this edition, another text from Baḥrayn was used in conjunction with the preceding. He also mentions another manuscript existing in Baḥrayn and several other navigational manuscripts.

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them into Russian in *Kniga pol'z ob osnovakh i pravilakh morskoy nauki*, Moscow 1985 (this work contains a full bibliography). Grosset-Grange has also produced *Les manuscrits nautiques anciens (Ocean Indien). Considérations relatives à certains termes particuliers*, in *Arabica*, xxvi (1979), 90-9, and *Les marins arabes de l'Océan Indien* in *Jeune Marine*, xlvii-xlviii (1983). (G.R. TIBBETTS)

4. In modern times.

There exist at least four lists of names of boats of the historical past: Gildemeister 1882, Kindermann 1934, Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt 1949 and Darwīsh al-Nukhaylī 1974. The number of the Arabic names for boats ranges from Gildemeister's 40 to al-Nukhaylī's 247 [see SAFĪNA]. It should be noted that these lists were probably put together by combing through the literary sources. Consequently, they do not usually have any mention of technical details, such as tonnage, length, breadth or crew, which might give a clue to what type of vessel is involved. Also, in the second place, these names have no geographical locus and appear to be hard to date; taking into account their number, one might imagine that these names vary according to the place of construction. In this section of the article, the region under consideration is restricted to the seas around the Arabian peninsula; the terminology has been brought into prominence by specialists, and its chronological stretch is, *grosso modo*, from 1900 to 1980.

The geographical conditions along the coasts of the Arabian peninsula washed by the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the Red Sea would not appear very much to favour human settlement. In fact, the number of ports there is relatively limited. In the Red Sea, along the Saudi coasts which stretch for about 2,000 km, there are only six ports, only two of which are important. Along the 640 km of the Sudan coast, there is practically only one port, Port Soudan, since Sawākin was abandoned. In Ẓufār (Dhofar), there exist two ports, Raysūt and Mirbāṭ [*q.v.*], and this last is virtually just an anchorage. In the north, apart from Masḳaṭ and Maṭraḥ [*q.vv.*] there are Sūr, once upon a time famed for its shipyards, and Shinās.

It is extremely difficult to estimate the proportion of the human population engaged in nautical activities, since in certain areas of the Gulf, in particular, some types of fishing activity have almost disappeared. Boat building has equally ceased with the adoption of vessels constructed from plastic materials or aluminium. In 1942, Hornell mentioned 17 centres of boat building: In the Gulf, Kuwayt and Baḥrayn; in the Arabian Sea, Masḳaṭ and Sūr (ʿUmān) and Mukallā and Aden (South Yemen), and in the Red Sea, Ḥudayda and Djudda. To these, six more in Africa should be added: Sawākin and Port Soudan in the Sudan; Maṣawwaʿ (Massawa) in Eritrea; Djibouti and Ras Aloula in Somalia; and finally, Zanzibar. These centres of construction, rather than shipyards, owe their fame to the master carpenters and certainly not to the tools used, which are restricted to the simplest of instruments: saws, a plane, an adze, a bow drill, a hammer and nails. This makes it possible to set up a workshop on any coast, provided that there is a master carpenter and a certain amount of wood available.

Regarding the description of boats, these are all fairly brief and lack, above all, any sort of uniformity. One element which seems to be common to every type of boat and on which the authors all seem to be in agreement, is the sails (A. *shirāʿ*, pl. *ashriʿa*). The wooden boats of the seas around the Arabian peninsula hoist on their masts a sort of lateen sail, but one which is not exactly triangular because the lower, external end is cut off to form more precisely a rectangular trapezoid. The proportion between the two parallel sides is in general 1:6. The sails are made locally from canvas of cotton generally imported from India. Yet there existed at Ṣuḥār and Madjis some manufacturing involving the weaving of canvas. Occasionally one finds some indications about the functions of the various members of the crews, but usually, their number is only rarely mentioned. Moreover, the number of sailors may be increased according to the function of the boat, e.g. those used for pearl fishing.

The criteria for classification of the boats are based either on their use (pearl fishing, ordinary fishing, the transportation of people or goods) or on the type of construction (square or pointed poop). Amongst the boats typical of local use, one should mention: (1) the open boats made from palm fibres, known in Kuwayt by he name *wardjiyya* (see Al Saidan, *Encyclopedia*), simplified into *wariyya* or *huwayriyya* (see Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*) and in ʿUmān and the United Arab Emirates as *shāsha* (see Lorimer, *Gazetteer*); (2) dug-out canoes, carved out of a tree-trunk, generally known as *hūrī*, which seems to be of Indian origin; (3) rafts or sorts of rafts made up of tree trunks or lengthy pieces of wood tied together by coconut fibre, and called *ramath* (vars. *ramas* at Massawa and Port Soudan, *ramaṣ* at Ghardaḳa in Upper Egypt); at ʿAḳaba, in Jordan, the raft is called *safīna*, a classical term which is used for ships in general.

Boats driven by a motor include: (1) *abū būz* (= "having a snout"), a simple but functional transport vessel with a prow which resembles that of a schooner and with a square stern, built at Sūr in ʿUmān; (2) *landj* or *lansh* (<Eng. "launch"), in Kuwayt, a motor launch, provided with one or two sails, and employed, though not a great deal, along the Bāṭina, whereas in the Red Sea, the term is found from ʿAḳaba to as far as Ghardaḳa and Port Soudan; (3) *balāns* and (4) *māʿūna*, which according to Cifoletti, *La terminologia*, are large boats with motor drive.

The two generic terms which are most frequently applied to "local" type boats are, for French speakers, *sambouc* and for English ones, *dhow*. In fact, there still exist some thirty names, several of which refer to types of boat which have at present completely disappeared. Amongst those still in use, two further types may be mentioned, the *balam* and the *badan*, as being, in some ways, model types, representing precisely-defined sectors. *Balam* is a typically ʿIrāḳī term for a barque which has both bows and stern pointed in shape, with a flat deck and a capacity of transporting from 5 to 10 tonnes, and used on the Euphrates river. The *badan* is typical of northern ʿUmān, and is constructed according to two models, one for fishing (*badan ṣayyād*), and the other for the transportation of goods and for cabotage (*badan saffār*). This is the typical boat with an entirely sewn hull, a procedure which is resorted to in order to avoid damage to the hull in case of a collision with reefs at water level; it is however a procedure which appears to have been completely abandoned at the opening of the present century.

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al-MILAL wa 'L-NIḤAL (a.), "the religions and the sects", one of the stock phrases employed, in the literature known as "heresiographical" (which would be more accurately described as "doxographical"), to denote an enumeration of religious and occasionally philosophical doctrines, as well as the various groups or schools which profess them.

The origin of the expression is obscure, and its meaning is imprecise and variable. On the general sense of the first term, see milla. Al-S̲h̲ahrastānī claims, in one passage, to establish a distinction between *milla* and *dīn*, the latter signifying religion as such while the former would represent a certain "form of society" (*ṣūrat al-id̲j̲timāʿ*), in other words, the community of adherents of this religion (*al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. Badrān, Cairo 1951-5, 48, ll. 13-16). In fact, the usage current in the classical period does not seem to make this distinction, seeing *milla* simply as an equivalent of *dīn* or *s̲h̲arīʿa*, as is attested, *inter alia*, by various formulae of al-Masʿūdī, such as *al-s̲h̲arāʾiʿ wa 'l-milal, al-mad̲h̲āhib wa 'l-milal, al-ārāʾ wa 'l-milal* (*al-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, 4, ll. 2 and 19; 155, l. 10; 334, l. 18). As for the adherents of a given religion, thery are called *ahl millat* (*kad̲h̲ā*): thus Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Tad̲j̲addud, Tehran 1971, 411-12 (on the various faiths of India), Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, i, 98, l. 19 (on the Jews); *ahl al-milla* without further qualification being the Muslims (cf., for example, al-Bāḳillānī, *al-Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, 358, l. 8 and 359, l. 4).

While *milla* is widely represented in the Ḳurʾān, *niḥla* occurs there only once, in the verse IV, 4: *wa ātū 'l-nisāʾa ṣaduḳātihinna niḥlat^an^*, and its interpretation is controversial; see especially the commentary of al-Rāzī. One of the meanings accepted by the exegetes makes it an equivalent of *dīn, diyāna, milla* and *s̲h̲arīʿa*. The only distinction normally established by the "heresiographers" seems to be that *niḥla* is said to be a concept of narrower scope than *milla; al-niḥal* is said to denote the various doctrinal trends within a particular religion. In any case, this is the sense in which it is quite clearly meant by Ibn Ḥazm (cf. *al-Fiṣal*, i, 98, ll. 19-20; ii, 110, l. 11, and 111, ll. 2-6 on the *niḥal ahl al-Islām*); the same applies apparently to al-Nās̲h̲iʾ al-Akbar, presumed author of the book published by J. van Ess under the title *K. Uṣūl al-niḥal (Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1971, Arabic text, 9, § 2), and also to al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ. *al-Ḥayawān*, i, 9, l. 8, and iv, 206, l. 12.

The expression *ahl al-milal* is attested in *ḥadīt̲h̲* (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *s̲h̲ahādāt*, 29, in a formula attributed to al-S̲h̲aʿbī; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 410, l. 1 and 17), to denote the followers of religions other than Islam, essentially, no doubt, Jews and Christians. Among the works of the Muʿtazilī theologian Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, there is mention of a refutation of the *ahl al-milal* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 215, ll. 4-5).

It is not known how the expression *al-milal wa 'l-niḥal*, which hardly seems to have been used before the end of the 4th/10th century, came to be constituted. It is found (for the first time?) in the *K. Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-K̲h̲^w^ārazmī, ed. G. van Vloten, 35, l. 12: *al-faṣl al-k̲h̲āmis fī asāmī arbāb al-milal wa 'l-niḥal al-muk̲h̲talifa*. Under this heading, al-K̲h̲^w^ārazmī describes the followers of religions other than Islam, Christianity and Judaism (which form the subject of the three preceding chapters), these being atheists, Buddhists and Brahmans, Sabians, Mazdaeans, dualists of various persuasions and "sophists".

The first work to have born the title of *K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal* is that of the As̲h̲ʿarī theologian and "heresiographer" Abū Manṣūr al-Bag̲h̲dādī [*q.v.*]. This book, unfortunately, has not been preserved. Albert N. Nader claims to have rediscovered it, following information from the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* al-Kawt̲h̲arī, in an unheaded ms. of Bag̲h̲dād, which he has published under this title (Beirut, Dār al-Mas̲h̲riḳ, 1970); but in the opinion of the present writer, examination of the text shows that this identification is mistaken (see on this point, Gimaret-Monnot, *Shahrastani, Livre des religions et des sectes*, i, Peeters/Unesco 1986, 11, n. 2). As for the ms. of Istanbul mentioned by Brockelmann, S. I, 667, this is in fact a copy of the *K. al-Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm (information supplied by S. Yıldırım). However, from various references made to it by al-Bag̲h̲dādī in his *K. al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 109, l. 15, 230, ll. 9-11, 272, ll. 1-2, 276, ll. 20-1, 334, ll. 2-3, 358, ll. 22 ff.) as well as in his *Tafsīr asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā* (ms. B.L., Or. 7547, fol. 273b, ll. 1-3), it emerges that the work in question dealt with all religions and doctrines without exception: Muslims of all sects, adepts of metempsychosis, philosophers, "astrologers" and other varieties of *mulḥidūn*. The work seems also to have contained (as is implied by *Farḳ*, 334, ll. 2-3) considerations comparable to those of *Tafsīr*, fols. 257a-273a, concerning dualists, Mazdaeans, Sabians, etc. The fact remains that it is not known exactly what al-Bag̲h̲dādī means by the two words *milal* and *niḥal* and how he distinguishes between them.

Well-known, on the other hand, is the work of Ibn

Ḥazm [*q.v.*] entitled *K. al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal*. Although the author does not explain the precise meaning of his title, it may be assumed that the first element, *al-milal*, corresponds to the first part of the book, i.e. as far as ii, 110 (cf. ii, 111 ll. 2-3: *ḳad akmalnā... al-kalām fi 'l-milal*), where there is discussion of religions and doctrines other than Islam: "sophists", *Dahriyya*, philosophers, Mazdaeans, dualists, Brahmans, Jews and Christians; and that the second element, *al-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal*, corresponds to the second part, from ii, 111, to iv, 227 (cf. iv, 227 l. 21: *tamma 'l-kalām fī shunaᶜ al-mubtadiᶜa ahl al-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal al-muḍilla)*, which deals with heresies internal to Islam.

A disciple of Ibn Ḥazm, Ṣāᶜid al-Andalusī [*q.v.*] refers in his *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* (Cairo ed. Maṭbaᶜat al-Saᶜāda n.d., 18, ll. 15-16), in the context of the religions of the Indians, to a book which he says he has written *fī maḳālāt ahl al-milal wa 'l-niḥal*.

Al-Shahrastānī [*q.v.*], author of a very famous *K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, gives, for his part, a new sense to these conventional terms. Linking *diyānāt* with *milal* and *ahwā'* with *niḥal* (in the context of the formula *arbāb al-diyānāt wa 'l-milal wa-ahl al-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal*, cf. ed. Badrān, 1. ll. 8-9, 6, ll. 18-19, 44, ll. 3-5), he compares these two pairs of terms as representing two contrary types of doctrines: on the one hand, revealed religions, based on obedience to a Book, authentic or otherwise; on the other hand, doctrines of purely human origin, the product of "free thought" (*al-istibdād bi 'l-ra'y*, cf. *ibid.*, 45-6, 659-60, 666, ll. 5-6). It is to these major categories that the two parts of the work correspond: (1) *arbāb al-diyānāt wa 'l-milal* (47 ff.), dealing with, in this order, Muslims, Jews, Christians, then Mazdaeans and dualists, labelled as disciples of a "pseudo-Book" *shubhat kitāb*); (2) *ahl al-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal* (659 ff.), where there is consideration of Sabians, philosophers, pre-Islamic Arabs, and then Indians.

In the bibliography of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa and al-Ṣafadī mention a *K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*; the reference is apparently—although these terms do not appear in it—to a monograph otherwise known, and edited, under the title *Iᶜtiḳādāt firaḳ al-Muslimīn wa 'l-mushrikīn* (cf. Fathalla Kholeif, *A study on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī...*, Beirut 1966, 193, no. 38). In an extremely condensed fashion, al-Rāzī deals here successively with the whole range of religions or doctrines (Muslims, Jews, Christians, Mazdaeans, dualists, Sabians and philosophers), without taking account of the distinction proposed by al-Shahrastānī, whose work, in fact, he criticises very severely (cf. F. Kholeif, *op. cit.*, text of the *Munāẓarāt*, §§ 98-100).

To be mentioned in conclusion is a *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal* by the Zaydī Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1437), placed at the head of the corpus entitled *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār...*; to this there corresponds, at the head of the second corpus of the same author (and commentary on the first) entitled *Ghāyāt al-afkār...*, a commentary bearing the title *K. al-Munya wa 'l-amal fī sharḥ Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*. The two works have recently been published by Djawād Mashkūr (Beirut, Dār al-Fikr 1399/1979). It is from the second of these, it may be recalled, that there are drawn the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muᶜtazila*, definitively edited by S. Diwald-Wilzer (Beirut-Wiesbaden 1961).

Bibliography: Given in the article, with the addition of G. Monnot, *Les écrits musulmans sur les religions non-bibliques*, in *MIDEO*, xi (1972), 5-48.

(D. Gimaret)

MĪLĀS, modern Turkish spelling Milas, in mediaeval and modern Western sources Milaso, Milaxo, Melaso, Melaxo, the classical Mylasa, capital of Caria, a town in south-western Anatolia and an important centre of the *beylik* of Menteshe [see MENTESHE-ELI and MENTESHE OGHULLARĪ] in pre-Ottoman times. It lies at an altitude of 60 m./185 feet in lat. 37°19′ N. and long. 27°48′ E. and is 25 km./15 miles inland from its seaport Güllük on the Gulf of Mendelia (Mandalya Körfezi).

1. Geography and history. Mīlās lies on a low eastern spur of the Sodra Dağı (Gr. St. Elias) in the centre of a very fertile plain surrounded on all sides by hills, and watered by the Sarı Çay which flows round the Sodra Dağı on the north and west. The road to the sea, however, does not follow this marshy watercourse but crosses the hills south of the Sodra Dağı, here commanded by the once powerful mediaeval fortress of Pečin (three miles south of Mīlās). The bay itself was in the Middle Ages defended by the island citadel of Asīn Ḳalᶜesi (Judeich, Iasos; *Athen. Mitteil.*, xv, 139) and later by a castle at the harbour built by Meḥemmed II (Pīrī Re'īs, *Baḥriyye*, ed. P. Kahle, ch. 21). At Milas met the old, and although difficult, only roads to the west to the important mediaeval port of Balāṭ [*q.v.*] (Miletus), to the north into the fertile plain of Karpuzlu Ovası and Çine and into the Maeander valley, and eastward to Mughla [*q.v.*], the other important town of the district. This, and its protected situation near the sea within a broad fertile plain, destined the town to be once more a capital when the region again attained political independence under the Turkish dynasty of the Menteshe-Oghullarī.

The region first passed temporarily under Turkish rule when after the victory of the Saldjūḳs at Mantzikert in 463/1071 [see MALĀZGIRD], the western Anatolian coast with Nicaea, Smyrna and Ephesus and even islands like Samos and Rhodes were occupied by the Turks. Although we have no definite information about Mīlās itself, we know that the monks of the neighbouring Patmos had to leave their monasteries on account of the Turks (in 1079; cf. Th. Wiegand, *Milet*, iii/1, 185). But Byzantine rule was soon restored. It was only when the centre of the imperial government was withdrawn to Constantinople after the victory over the Latins in 1261 that this region finally passed into Turkish hands. When and how the final conquest took place we do not exactly know. Melanudion, which with Mīlās formed a theme from the period of the Comnenoi (W. Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie Kleinasiens im Mittelalter*, in *Abh. Wiener Ak. W* (1891), 38), and is therefore to be located in the neighbourhood of Mīlās and was Byzantine till 1273 at least, was again taken for a time from the Turks of Menteshe in 1296, so that it must have been occupied by them a few years before (Wiegand, *op. cit.*). That Menteshe is called Σαλπάχις (= Sāḥil Begi, Amīr al-Sawāḥil) in Pachymeres (i, 472; Bonn ed. ii, 211), in Sanudo (Hopf, *Chron. gréco-romaines*, 145) Turquenodomar (read: Turqmenodomar = "Turkoman of the sea") suggests a conquest from the sea. There is no longer any record at this period of the bishopric of Mīlās, which as a church of the eparchy of Caria (see G. Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecdemus et notitiae graecae episcopatuum*, 32, 112, etc.) was under the metropolis of Stavrupolis, which still existed in the 14th century (A. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrh.*, 34 ff.) (Stavrupolis, the ancient Aphrodisias, at the village of Gere, twenty miles west of Denizli).

Mīlās appears as the capital of the principality of Menteshe about 730/1330 in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ᶜUmarī (ed. Taeschner, 21: رملاس, corrupted from

ملاس, while Fōkeh = Phocaea which appears as a capital in the Genoese report, *ibid.*, 47, is probably an error of the writer and is not to be corrected to Mug͟hla) and in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, 278-80, Eng. tr. Gibb, ii, 428-9) also, who here enjoyed the hospitality of the Ak͟hī [*q.v.*] gild (on a *Futuwwet-nāme* written in Mīlās at the end of the 8th/14th century, see Taeschner, in *Islamica*, iv, 40) and who admires the wealth of the town in gardens and orchards and gives the name of the lord of the country as S͟hudjāʿ al-Dīn Ork͟han b. Mentes͟he, whom he visited in his capital Pečin, not far away. The Mentes͟he-Og͟hullarī built very little in Mīlās, as they were engaged in embellishing their residence. It is noteworthy that the two mosques of this period lie outside the old town, still largely enclosed in its old walls; one to the south, in the Ḥādjdjī Ilyās quarter, the little Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Djāmiʿi with outer court and stepped minaret, built under Ork͟han Bey in 730/1330; the other just outside the walls to the east, the mosque of Aḥmed G͟hāzī, built in 780/1378, which with its entrance in the narrow side (without an outer court) and the stepped minaret built above it (Ismail Hakkı, *Kitabeler*, Istanbul 1929, fig. 47) looks as if it had once been a church (cf. Wulzinger, *Die Piruz-Moschee zu Milas*, in *Festschr. d. Techn. Hochschule in Karlsruhe*, 1925, p. 10 of the reprint). The *minbar* of this mosque, also dated 780/1378, is now in the Çinili Kiosk in Istanbul. From the position of these mosques, it may be deduced that the old town remained in the occupation of the Christians, who still held most of it in quite recent times. The only mosque in the old town, just in its centre, and in the highest part of it, the Bülend Djāmiʿ, seems also to have been a church and was probably used by the garrison, if it is old. The *madrasa* of K͟hōdja Bedr al-Dīn, which dates from the period of the Mentes͟he-Og͟hullarī, unfortunately cannot be exactly dated (*TOEM*, v, 58).

Mīlās received its first important building from the first Ottoman governor Fīrūz, whom Bāyezīd I appointed over Mentes͟he-ili (*Düsturnāme-i Enwerī*, ed. Mükrimin Halil, Istanbul 1928, 88) after the conquest (792/1390) (the date given by most Turkish sources is supported by Bāyezīd's confirmation of the Venetian privileges for Balāṭ of 21 May 1390, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, Venice 1899, ii, no. 134). The Mentes͟he who fled to Egypt (*Düsturnāme, l.c.*) was probably the prince of the house ruling in Balāṭ, while the senior Aḥmed G͟hāzī may have held out in Mīlās and Pečin till July 1391 (according to his tombstone, he died in Pečin in S͟haʿbān 793 as a *s͟hahīd*). In 796/1394, Fīrūz built to the north of the old town and outside of it a splendid mosque in the style of the Bursa private mosques (cf. Wulzinger's monograph). Ottoman rule was interrupted by Tīmūr, who passed through Mīlās on his return from Izmir in the winter after the battle of Ankara (1402) (Ducas, Bonn ed., 76), for about twenty years by the restoration of the former dynasty. This last period of the Mentes͟he-Og͟hullarī has left no memorials in Mīlās or Pečin. The Ottoman commanders then made their headquarters in Pečin, after which this *ḳaḍāʾ* of the Mentes͟he *sandjak* was long called (Abū Bakr b. Bahrām, in Ḥādjdjī K͟halīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 638, i.e. in the second half of the 11th/17th century) and only moved to Mīlās at a later date, when a magnificent official residence was erected, with defensive towers, which is still partly inhabited.

From the second half of the 11th/17th century we have Ewliyā's description of the town (in vol. ix of his *Siyāḥet-nāme*, ms. Beşir Ağa, no. 452, fol. 51 = ed. Istanbul 1935, 208-11). He says the town had 4 mosques, 3 *masdjids* and two large *k͟hāns*. At this time, the garrison was still in Pečin. He praises the gardens of the town but rightly describes the climate as unhealthy. Among the products, he mentions tobacco, with which Mīlās supplied the whole of Anatolia. Among the holy places mentioned by him, we may note that of S͟hayk͟h S͟hus͟htarī because it probably belongs to the Baba al-S͟hus͟htarī met here by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Ewliyā's description of the old ruins is much exaggerated, although he saw a good deal more than now exists. Pococke (*Travels*, ii/2, ch. 6) at the end of the 18th century was still able to sketch a temple of Augustus and Roma here. All that now survives in addition to the town walls is the Balṭa Ḳapu (a Corinthian gateway with the Carian double axe) and a mausoleum called Gümüs͟hkesen (filigree worker) (Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman*, i, 234 ff., pls. 85-92). In the adjacent village of S͟hayk͟h Köy is the *türbe* of S͟hayk͟h Bedr al-Dīn b. S͟hayk͟h Ḳāsim, who died at Bursa in 884/1479 and is buried here, a *k͟halīfa* of Sayyid Muḥammad al-Buk͟hārī (see *TOEM*, v. 311 ff.), on the site of a church of St. Xene, who died here (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, xiv, 616-17).

In late Ottoman times, Mīlās was the chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the same name in the *wilāyet* of Mug͟hla, earlier the *sandjak* of Mentes͟he; it is now the chef-lieu of an *ilçe* or district in the *il* or province of Muğla. Towards the end of the 19th century, Cuinet numbered the town's population at 9,373 Muslim Turks and 1,930 Greeks, but the *Sālnāme-yi Aydīn* of 1326/1908 gave a total population of 7,261, including 3,200 Greeks and 739 Jews. The Greeks were removed in the exchange of populations of 1922, and the urban population in 1955 was 10,145, which has grown now (1985 final census reports) to 23,622 for the town itself and 67,765 for the surrounding rural area, marking a grand total for the *ilçe* of 91,387.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891-5, iii, 666 ff.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1872, 648; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*[2], Paris 1923, i, 535; Sir William Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, index; S͟hayk͟h Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1315/1897-8, vi, 4521; Pauly-Wissowa, cvi/1, cols. 1046-64; *Baedekers Konstantinopel, Kleinasien, Balkanstaaten*, Leipzig 1914, 387; P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche. Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13-15 Jh.*, Istanbul 1934, repr. Amsterdam 1967, 125 ff. and index; Naval intelligence Division, *Admiralty Handbook, Turkey*, London 1942-3, ii, 573; Aşkidil and Türkân Akarca, *Milâs cografyası, tarihi ve arkeolojisi*, Istanbul 1954; *İA* art. *Milas* (Besim Darkot). For the Islamic inscriptions of Mīlās, see Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, ii, 761, iii, 1146; Ḥāfiẓ Ḳadrī, in *ibid.*, v, 57, 309-9; İsmail Hakkı, *Kitabeler*, Istanbul 1929, 155 ff. (P. Wittek*)

2. Mīlās rugs. A notable product of Mīlās has for centuries been fine rugs (used in the modern definition of small pile objects, "carpets" being larger ones). They are predominantly village products of medium size, made in the hinterland of the town. The three main types are *Ada Milas* ("island", after an offshore island), *Tahtacı* (after the Türkmen group called "woodmen") and *Karaova* (after a village to the southwest of the town). Warp, weft and pile are of wool. and the symmetric or "Turkish" knot is used for the medium-to-coarse pile. Most surviving examples date from the late 18th century, though earlier ones are known, but the largest output was during the middle

to late 19th century. Like other provincial Turkish rugs, including those of Gördes and Bergama, they show the influence of 17th century Uşak and Transylvanian carpets, particularly in the borders of meandering plant ornament. Mīlās knotters used only plant and geometric ornament, and these are stylised, with flattened palmettes, serrated leaves, carnations and rosettes. A features of Mīlās rugs is the choice of soft yellow as the second colour to red instead of the more common blue. Ivory and aubergine are used for detail. "Traditional" floor rugs are distinguished by very narrow central fields, the so-called "stripe" group, or the less common square boxes or "compartments" with wide borders which predominate in late 19th century pieces. A later "Baroque" or "Medjīdian" style is a Europeanised one popularised by Sultan ᶜAbd al-Medjīd (1839-61 [*q.v.*]), builder of the Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul. The most distinctive type is the prayer rug, which retains the *miḥrāb* arch and columns of earlier Ottoman prayer rugs but in different detail. The distinctive Mīlās type has an angular, waisted arch, supposedly derived from the horseshoe arch, on a ground of sharp red, the "columns" made up of floral ornament, and ivory spandrels filled with plant detail. The wide floral borders are generally on a yellow ground.

Bibliography: Celal Esad Arseven, *Les arts decoratifs turcs*, Istanbul n.d., 282, 290; The Textile Museum, Washington, Prayer rugs, Washington D.C. 1974; R. Hubel, *The book of carpets*, 2nd English edn., London 1977; U. Schürmann, *Ullstein Teppichbuch*, Berlin 1964, Eng. tr. *Oriental carpets*, London 1979; P. Bensoussan, *Melas rugs from Asian Minor*, in *Hali*, v/2 (1982), 120-4.

(JOAN ALLGROVE)

MILETUS [see BALĀṬ].

MILḤ (A.), salt.

1. In the mediaeval Islamic world. In pre-Islamic times, the ancient Arabs were already familiar with salt and used it, not only for seasoning their food but also in certain rites, e.g. for the oath which cemented an alliance, made around a fire (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 472-3; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ᶜUyūn*, iii, 39; al-Nadjīramī, *Aymān*, 1924, 30-1; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, ii, 623; al-Marzūḳī, *Amkina*, ii, 155; cf. T. Fahd, *Le feu chez les anciens Arabes*, in *Le feu dans le Proche-Orient antique*, Leiden 1973, 61). But it appears that certain tribes were not able, or did not want, to utilise salt for these rites, Now following their custom, even when the salt used symbolically to seal this alliance was substituted by milk, the latter substance continued to bear the name of *milḥ*.

The two types of salt known in the Islamic world were sea salt (*milḥ baḥrī*) and rock salt (*milḥ barrī*, lit. "earth salt") (see Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Dj. Djabbūr after the 1593 edn., Beirut 1980, 196). Certain salt mines were well-known: e.g. in Africa, Awlīl was called "the salt town" (see Gaden, *Les salines d'Aoulil*, in *RMM*, xii, 436-43); on the trade in salt within the Sahara, see AZALAY. In the Persian province of Fārs, salt was produced; thus it was extracted from the fringes of the Djankan lake. Mountains of salt which remained unexploited are mentioned in the sources, near the Dead Sea, whilst near Dārābdjird in Persia, the "salt mountain" was situated; its deposits contained salt (probably in a sense wider than that of table salt, see below) in a very solid form, from which various objects were carved, e.g. trays, platters, etc., which were exported to other countries (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 300/294; *Ḥudūd al-ᶜālam*, Tehran 1963, 134, tr. Minorsky, 128; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 560; al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, Beirut 1983, ii, 314). Speaking of these deposits, Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, explains that, in all the mines of other countries, fairly deep mining was necessary to reach and extract the salt; the author thus reveals to us a very important factor regarding the exploitation of rock salt. Salt was also obtained from certain salt marshes (*sibākh*, sing. *sabkha*) near al-Baṣra, where a great number of slaves were employed in the production of salt (Yāḳūt, iii, 30; Sontheimer, *Ebn Baithar*, ii, 531. *sandjī*; Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 625: *milḥ sabkhī*). Near Alexandria, on the sea coasts, according to a 17th century traveller, "holes and channels were made into which the sea water ran, and then the sun's heat evaporated this water and in the end turned it into salt", whilst another traveller in the same century describes how quantities of salt were derived from the Nile's bed (probably in the Delta; the exact region is not pinpointed), for "when the Nile recedes, one finds salt on the surface of the ground like a white covering". He adds that Egyptian salt is the best in the world and is cheap (J. Wild, in the series *Voyage en Égypte*, Fr. tr., 152 [298], and E. Brown, in ibid., 160 [310-11]). Alpin (*Hist. naturelle d'Égypte*, Fr. tr. 21 [14] and n. 36, 270 [140] in the 16th century and G. de Nerval in the 19th one (*Voyage*, 1, 286) praise the Delta salt, above all that called *rashīdī*, i.e. of Rosetta, which was very cheap. In 1320 the Egyptian authorities levied a tax on the sale of salt (E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 323). Despite its low price, it is related that a certain person gave a box full of salt to someone as a present, but it appears that the originality of the idea was much more important than the present itself and indicates that it was an isolated case (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ᶜUyūn*, 111, 39; al-Khālidiyyān, *Tuḥaf*, ed. S. Dahhān, 120, 192, 207; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, i, 261; al-Waṭwāṭ, *Ghurar*, Cairo 1248/1832-3, 448).

As in other languages, the word denoting salt contains several senses in Arabic: not only that of table salt (sodium chloride, see A. Siggel, *Ǧābir*, Wiesbaden 1968, 215) but also several kinds of natron and other substances resembling salt. There is found tanners' salt (*milḥ al-dabbāgha*), naphtha salt, goldsmiths' salt (*milḥ al-ṣāgha*), etc. (Thābit b. Ḳurra, ed. Sobhy, 39; Sontheimer, *op. cit.*, ii, 531; Meyerhof, *Maïmonide*, glossary; Anawati, *Drogues*, 142). The medical qualities of salt, with or without garlic, etc., are well-known in medical literature and in *ḥadīth* (al-Rāzī, *Manāfiᶜ al-aghdhiya*, Beirut 1982, 203; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, Cairo 1957, 309-10; *al-Raḥma fi 'l-ṭibb*, attributed to al-Suyūṭī, Beirut n.d., ch. 85; Sontheimer, *loc. cit.*; and see section 2 below); It is called "the king of spices" (Ibn Ḳayyim, *loc. cit.*); it was added to several items of food and used to preserve the freshness of fish and other products (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāᵓ*, ed. al-Ḥādjirī, 120; Rodinson, in *REI* [1949], 141, 152, 154), and mixtures of salt and spices were prepared called *milḥ muṭayyab* (lit. "perfumed salt") (*K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ms. Oxford, Hunt. 187, fols. 33a ff. = Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ, *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. Kaj Öhrnberg and Sahban Mroueh, Helsinki 1987).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also H. Kindermann, *Über die guten Sitten*, Leiden 1964, 308-9.

(J. SADAN)

2. In medicine. Knowledge of the manifold healing powers of salt, already praised by Dioscurides, was taken over by the Arabs and enlarged by their own observations. Together with common salt, rock-salt (ἅλες ὀρυκτόν), to which probably corresponded Ar. *milḥ andarānī*, was considered to be the most valuable. Distinction was also made between salt

smelling of naptha (*al-nafṭī*) and of boiled eggs (*al-bayḍī*), the black Indian salt, uric salt (*milḥ al-bawl*), potassium salt (*al-ḳily*), and others. All salts have astringent power, while many are effective as emetics and laxatives, dissolve viscous phlegm and purge the bowels. Salt stimulates the appetite and aids the digestion, but excessive use heats the blood, weakens the power of vision, diminishes potency and causes itching and scabies. Bitter salt (*al-milḥ al-murr*) purges black bile, Indian salt the gastric juices. Wool saturated in a salt solution, if put on a fresh wound, stops the bleeding. According to the *K. al-Tadjribatayn ʿalā adwiyat Ibn Wāfid* of Avempace [see IBN BĀDJDJA], the manuscript of which has been lost but which is quoted at length by Ibn al-Bayṭār, salt also plays an important rôle in dentistry: dissolved in vinegar and used as mouthwash, it stops the bleeding of the gums and of open wounds after an extraction; the same solution, if heated, soothes teeth and, used as gargle, removes phlegm from the mouth.

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3. The salt trade in the Ottoman empire. Salt was a very significant contributor to Ottoman state treasury revenues, both from taxation (*resm-i milḥ*) and through export to foreign countries. Although Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ [*q.v.*] distinguishes seven distinct types and grades of salt in his *Menāẓir al-ʿawālim* (ms. Topkapı Saray, III. Ahmed 1578, fol. 369b), his categories may be simplified to two basic ones: salt produced through evaporation in above-ground pools (*mamlaḥa tuzu*), and subterranean deposits of crystallised or rock salt (*maʿden tuzu*). Based on Ḥüseyn Hezārfenn's [*q.v.*] description of goods supplied in 1071/1671 to the palace kitchens as part of the housekeeping funds (*odjāklïḳ*), sent in cash and kind from various part of the empire (Barkan, in *IFM*, xvii, 335), it may be inferred that salt from three different regions was regarded as top grade:

provenance	*quantity supplied in 1071/1661*
1. *nemek-i Eflāḳ* (Wallachian or Transylvanian rock salt)	460 *kiles* = 11.8 tons
2. *nemek-i Akhyolu* (sea salt from the Black Sea coast)	2,295 *kiles* = 58.9 tons
3. *nemek-i Ḳočḥiṣār* (lake salt from the central Anatolian salt flats near Sherefli Ḳočḥiṣār)	2,000 *okkas* (100 *kiles*) = 2.6 tons

Like other minerals, salt was subject to the assessment of a one-fifth tithe, the *khums-i sharʿī*, and the state typically farmed out the management of salt works to private interests and collected its share by means of the *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] mechanism. However, in order to ensure maximum profitability and productivity of this resource, the government imposed special conditions on the operation of salt works. A detailed description of the terms of leasing and conditions of operation at a salt bed in Zwornik province (Handžić, in *Prilozi...*, 171-3) provides a solid framework for analysing state concerns. From this document, we learn that to prevent the works from remaining idle due to lack of sufficient fuel to operate the crystallising pans, the state ensured that the available wood supplies should first be distributed for use on the days devoted exclusively to the production of treasury salt (*mīrī tuz*), and only if any surplus should remain was it to be made available for production benefitting the mine workers and shareholders (*rendjberān*) at the salt works. Furthermore, to prevent loss of revenues due to price competition, government regulations provided that all treasury salt had to be sold first before the shareholders' salt could be put on to the market. These measures helped to ensure a regular and steady income to the treasury from its tax-farm leases for salt production. The location and level of production of some of the principal sites in Anatolia and Rumelia as indicated by the *aḳče*-value of a one-year's lease of the tax-farm are shown in Tables A and B below.

Table A: Anatolia

Location (province name)	*Annual Valuation of the tax farm in* aḳčes
1. Belas (Ḥaleb)	30,000
2. Djabbūl (Ḥaleb)	1,800,000
3. Ḳočḥiṣār (Ḳïrshehir)	450,000
4. Ṣarïḳamïsh of Čorūm (Ankara)	100,000
4. Khorkhūn (Sivas)	230,000
6. Ḥïnïs (Erẓurūm)	66,640
7. Ṭortūm (Erẓurūm)	84.252
8. Čanḳïrï (Ankara)	117,879
9. Batnos (Aydïn)	505,000
10. Pečin (Mughla)	333,328
11. Ḳaresi province	40,000
Total for Anatolia and northern Syria	3,757,099*

Source: Başbakanlık Arşivi, MM 7075, summary tax-farm register for Anatolia and parts of northern Syria for the year 1046/1636-7.

* cf. the figure of 12,000 ducats (× 50 = 600,000 *aḳčes*) given in Iacopo de Promontorio's account of 1475 (Babinger, in *SB Bayr. Ak.* [1956], 68). Note that this earlier figure excludes both eastern Anatolia and northern Syria, which at that time had not as yet been made part of the empire.

Table B: Rumelia

Location (province name)	*Annual Valuation of the tax-farm in* aḳčes
1. Aḵẖyolu/Pomorie (Edirne)	3,300,000
2. Avlonya/Valona (Elbaṣān)	1,500,000
3. Enez and Ḳavāḳ (Edirne)	1,901,501
4. ʿUrfān/ʿOrfāni (Selānik)*	586,000
Total for the four sites in Rumelia	7,207,501**

Source: Aḵẖyolu—Istanbul, BBA, KK 2024, 127; entry dated 1051/1641. Avlonya, etc.—State treasury budget for the year 1079-80/1669-70; Barkan, in *IFM*, xvii, 210; notations dated 1101/1690-1.

* The salt works at ʿUrfān situated east of Thessaloniki on the Gulf of Stromonikos (Mostras, *Dict. Géographique*, 34; Inciciyan, *Osmanli Rumelisi*, 37) is also singled out for mention in the *Menaẓir al-ʿawālim, loc. cit.*, as one of the empire's most important sources of sea salt, a concentrated form extensively used for both industrial and domestic purposes.

** cf. the figure of 92,000 ducats (× 50 = 4,600,000 *aḳčes*) in Iacopo de Promontorio's account (Babinger, *op. cit.*, 63). Güčer (in *IFM*, xxiii, table at 130-1) calculates the composite revenues derived from 27 separate Rumelian and Anatolian *muḳāṭaʿas*, dating mostly from the late 10th/16th century and about equally distributed between the two halves of the empire, as having yielded an annual revenue of 8,387,943 *aḳčes*.

Although the combined production of these scattered salt works in the Anatolian and Rumelian provinces was by no means inconsequential, major concentrations of salt lay in areas outside the sphere of direct Ottoman administrative control. Large quantities of salt entered the Ottoman territories via the Danubian ports from Wallachia. According to the data presented by Güčer (in *IFM*, xxiii, 115) a yearly quantity amounting to some 4,000 wagon loads of salt entered Ottoman lands as a commodity of trade, and it is known that still further amounts were sent as part of a yearly tribute to the Ottoman sultan, both from the voyvodas of Wallachia and from the *ḵẖāns* of the Crimea. According to a document housed in the Istanbul archives (BBA, KK 5024, 122), the annual contribution of the *ḵẖāns* was set at the level of 40,000 *kiles* which, using the conversion rate of 32 *oḳḳas* per *kile* or 41 kg. specified in the document, equalled 1,640 tons. Of the several sites in the Crimea which were exploited for purposes of salt extraction, Perekop (Or-ḳapî) was the most productive. The vital importance of the salt trade to the *ḵẖāns* as a source of revenue was already noted in the mid-13th century account of William of Rubruck (*Hakluyt Soc.*, 2nd Series, iv, 52), and the continuing large scale of operations at Perekop is indicated in a succession of later sources as well. Ewliyā Čelebi estimated the value of the state-operated concession at Perekop in the mid-11th/17th century as 10,000 *guruṣẖ* (× 100 = 1,000,000 *aḳčes*) (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii, 561), but this clearly only represented a fraction of the total production which was estimated *ca.* 1900 to have been in the neighbourhood of 759 million pounds or 345,000 metric tons (Rubruck, *loc. cit.*). A large proportion of this was consumed internally and used for preservation of the fish catch and as an important element in regulating the diet of the sheep flocks, both mainstays of the Crimean economy (on the use of salt to help maintain the body weight of sheep, administered on a regular basis after their return from evening pasture, see Peysonnel, *Traité*, i, 172-3; and S. Parkes, *A letter to farmers...*, 50-2, 66-7). The extent of the export trade in salt in the 10th/16th century may be gauged from the figure of 4,000 wagon loads referred to above. While a "wagon load" constitutes a rather imprecise basis for measurement, and varied from as little as 1,000 to as much as 8,000 *oḳḳas*, if we take the conservative value of 1,500 *oḳḳas* or 1,942 tons to represent the average *araba*, and use it as a basis for estimating the proportion of total production destined for export, the 4,000 *araba* figure corresponds to about 7,768 tons, only a small fraction of what was consumed locally. This situation, in fact, matches rather well with what we know of the strictly-controlled system of market distribution, both for salt and for other minerals, which was based on spatially-confined production districts known as *örü* [see MAʿDIN. 3]. As was the case with other forms of mining, the method of labour organisation involved registration of elements among the population of villages near the centres of salt production as *tuzdju reʿāyā*. For salt production, the labour force was divided, according to the scale of production at each evaporation pond (*gölek*), into work crews of various sizes with 30, 50, 60 or even 80 members, each group under its individual foreman called *reʾīs*, each of whom in turn reported to their common administrative director, either a tax-farmer (*ʿāmil*) or the sultan's commissioner (*emīn*) (for further details and examples, see Güčer, in *IFM*, xxiii, 101-8).

On the celebrated salt mines of Wallachia and Transylvania, we have information dating from a variety of different periods which indicates a continuous, intensive production of salt throughout the Ottoman period. Fichtel's classic account of the late 12th/18th century refers to the operation of as many as 120 separate mines in Transylvania alone, while from the mines centred around Targu-Ocna on the eastern skirts of the Carpathian mountains (presumably the same as the "Hosni" mentioned in Peysonnel's account, i, 188), the annual production of the five principal state-operated mines approached the 100,000 ton mark (detailed figures for the years 1887 and 1888 may be found in Istrati, *Steinsalzwerke...*, 423).

After the state monopoly (*inḥiṣār*) on salt production in the Ottoman empire passed to the jurisdiction of the Public Debt Administration in 1882, a more centralised system of accounting was introduced to replace the system of individual taxfarm leases (*muḳāṭaʿa*). Under the new system, the empire was divided into regional and provincial bureaux (*müdüriyyets*), each of which regularly reported its production statistics to the central office in Istanbul (for a report of one of the roving treasury inspectors (*māliyye müfettiṣẖi*) named ʿAlī Bey on the operations of the salt flats at Ḏjabbūl and at Siirt in the late 19th century, see his *Seyāḥat ẕhurnalî*, 6, 15-16). As a consequence of these administrative changes, very detailed and accurate figures are available, both for overall salt

production, and for export destinations in the post-*Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period. From figures for the first decade of the 20th century, it appears that, despite the existence of much greater potential reserves, production of salt was deliberately limited to about one-half of full capacity, presumably in part to maintain a resonably high price on the international market. The regular annual production of all mines and salt ponds in the empire at this time varied between 230,000 tons (table in the *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt-i māliyye* for 1325 A.H., 192-3) and 300,000 tons (table in Solakian, 83). In contrast to the situation of the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, a very large proportion of this increased production, ranging from one-third (Solakian, 3) to almost one-half (*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 194: 114,000 tons exported out of a total production of 240,000 tons) was set aside for export, especially to the Muslim East (on this, see *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt, loc. cit.*; 114,000 tons were sent to the following destinations:

India	79,000 tons
Singapore	23,000 tons
Rangoon	9,500 tons
Montenegro	2,500 tons
Total exports	114,000 tons).

The explanation for this reversal of traditional patterns is clearly to be sought in the compelling necessity, especially after the fiscal crisis of the 1870s, of generating expanded sources for revenues in cash in order to help reduce the national debt. As part of this process, production of salt at certain sites was greatly increased over former levels in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The largest contributor for export to the Indian market was the Yemen, where the salt works at Salif alone sent a quantity of 40,000 tons in 1324/1906 (*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 191). This quantity represented nearly 40% of the total production of the Yemen for that year (Solakian, 83; the Yemen's total production for 1908 was 100,500 tons).

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MILIANA [see MILYĀNA].

MILITIA, MILITARY [see DJAYSH; DJUND].

MILK (A.), a legal term denoting ownership.

One must not expect to find in the earliest *fiḳh* texts a definition of ownership. Certainly, the term *milk* is found, but forms part of such expressions as *fī milkihi* "in his ownership", *fī ghayr milkihi* "not in his ownership" and *kharadja min milkihi* "it left his ownership". The verb "to own", *malaka*, is often used, and the phrase *malaka ʿalayhi* is employed when the object in question passes from one person's ownership into another's. Ownership (*milk*) is to be distinguished from possession (*yad*). The characteristic feature of ownership is its perpetual nature. If a tenant or lessee has only temporary possession, the ownership itself cannot be the subject of an act of relinquishment (*isḳāṭ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]).

The person exercising ownership is the owner or proprietor. The term *mālik* is very little used; *rabb al-māl* or *ṣāḥib* is prefered to it.

The object of ownership is the thing taken into ownership, *mamlūk*. Slaves, landed estates, houses, etc., can be the subject of this.

Ways of acquiring ownership. The thing, the object of ownership, can be acquired or become the property of a person by means of purchase (*shirāʾ*), of a gift (*hiba*), an act of charity (*ṣadaḳa*) or of a testamentary disposition (*waṣiyya*).

Confusion between the right of ownership

and the thing or object of ownership. Al-Djurdjānī defines the term *milk* thus: "It is a legal relationship (*ittiṣāl sharʿi*) between a person (*insān*) and a thing (*shayʾ*) which allows that person to dispose of it to the exclusion of everyone else". Yet for the classical Muslim jurists, the right of ownership became confused with the thing which is its object. For them, ownership is not a right (*ḥaḳḳ*) but a piece of property (*māl*) which has become ownership. Moreover, *milk* is so typically a material thing forming part of a person's patrimony that the question arose whether *milk* could have as its object an immaterial thing. The difficulty arises in effect from the fact that in Islamic law, a piece of property can only be corporeal and material, and a thing which is not considered to be a piece of property cannot be the object of an act of disposition. This is the reason why claims are not transmissible. By a kind of legal fiction, certain departures from this principle are admitted in practice. Ḥanafī law, for example, allows ownership of a tenure. On the other hand, the term *milk* is sometimes applied to an obligation (*dayn* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). In any case, the ideal of ownership (*milk*) predominates over that of obligation (*dayn*), and in certain texts, one even reaches a point where the obligation is reduced to a kind of ownership whose object is a piece of property taken in a figurative sense (*māl ḥukmī*).

Bibliography: Chafik Chehata, *Études de droit musulman*, Paris 1973, Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 100; Māwardī, *Adab al-ḳāḍī*, i, 229 no. 340.

(A.M. Delcambre)

MILLA (a.), religion, sect.

Although the Arab philologists claim this term as a native Arabic word (cf. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, lvii [1903], 413), their explanations are so farfetched as to render it almost certain that the term stems from Hebrew and Jewish and Christian Aramaic *milla*, Syriac *mellṯā* "utterance, word", translating the Greek *logos*. It does not seem to have any pre-Islamic attestations, hence may have been a borrowing by Muḥammad himself. In the Ḳurʾān, it always means "religion". It occurs fifteen times, including three times for the heathen religions (VII, 86-7/88-9; XIV, 16; XVIII, 19/20), once for the religion of the Christians and Jews (II, 14/15) and twice for the religion of former prophets (XIV, 6, and ? XXXVIII, 6/7). The word acquired a special significance in the Medinan period, in which the Ḳurʾān speaks no fewer than eight times of the "religion of Abraham", the *millat Ibrāhīm* [see ibrāhīm] (II, 124/130, 129/135; III, 89/95; IV, 124/125; VI, 162/161; XII, 38; XVI, 124/123; XXII, 77/78). Islamic literature follows this Ḳurʾānic usage, but the word is not in frequent use. With the article, *al-milla* means the true religion revealed by Muḥammad and is occasionally used elliptically for *ahl al-milla*, the followers of the Islamic religion (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 813, 15, 883, 4), just as its opposite *al-dhimma* is an abbreviation for *ahl al-dhimma*, the non-Muslims who are under the protection of Islam; e.g., Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 238, 21; cf. also the derivative *millī* opposed to *dhimmī*, client (al-Bayhaḳī, *K. al-Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 121).

In more recent and modern Arabic, *milla* still means "religion, confession, religious community", although the word is largely obsolete; but in Persian and Turkish, it has undergone semantic change. In modern Persian, *millat* means "people, nation", and the adjective from it, *millī*, means "national". In Ottoman Turkish, *millet* [*q.v.*] became a technical term and came latterly to denote the internally-autonomous religious groups within the Ottoman empire (Jews, Armenians, Greek Orthodox, etc.); but in 20th century Turkish it has come rather to mean (as in Persian) "nation, people", with *millî* meaning "national", *milliyet* "nationality" and *milliyetçi* "nationalist".

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, p. CDXC; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden 1880, 30 ff.; T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, 248-9: Th. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, Berlin 1892, 40, Eng. tr. *Sketches from eastern history*, London 1892, 38; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 268-9; B. Lewis, *The political language of Islam*, Chicago and London 1988, 38-9, 41-2, 131-2 n. 27. See also al-milal wa 'l-niḥal.

(F. Buhl [-C.E. Bosworth])

MILLET (Tkish. rendering of A. *milla* [*q.v.*]) indicates religion, religious community, and nation. These three basic meanings of the term were used in the Ottoman empire concurrently until the *Tanẓīmāt* period and afterwards.

(1) Religion, confession, rite. In the Ḳurʾān, *milla* is largely identical with *dīn* and in fact only to be translated with "religion" (R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, 30-1). The term occurs here most frequently as the *millat Ibrāhīm*, "the religion of Abraham", i.e. "the only true, monotheistic religion" and less frequently *milla* refers to the religion of the heathens; only rarely does it indicate the Christian and Jewish religions (in contrast with the confession of Muḥammad, 120). For further details, see milla. No example in the Ḳurʾān suggests the translation of *milla* as "congregation, people, nation".

In post-Ḳurʾānic usage, *milla/millet/millat* (the latter being the Persian form) appears in the meaning of "religion" or has this as it sole legitimate meaning. Whenever *al-milla* (with the article) indicates "the followers of the religion (of Muḥammad)" (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 813, 883), it is used as an ellipse for *ahl al-milla* [cf. milla]. Documentary evidence for this is found in a decree of Ṭalāʾiʿ, a vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Fāʾiz, dated 593/1158, *al-milla wa 'l-dhimma* stands here for "Muslims and non-Muslims" (S.M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees*, 76 ff.). *Milla/millet/millat* in the (Ḳurʾānic) meaning of "religion, confession, rite" is still recorded in the 19th century. The term appears here primarily in the language of official documents, such as those of the Ottoman empire and neighbouring Muslim states, including Mamlūk Egypt and Ṣafawid Persia, and in particular, when they are intended for (prominent) Christians (and occasionally Jews). Such documents are not necessarily limited to the international correspondence between states; they can also originate from internal administration. For example, a letter of Ḳāʾit Bāy to the Doge Nicolo Trono, dated 10 Shaʿban 877/10 January 1473, is addressed to the "Glory of the Christian religion" (*madjd al-milla al-masīḥiyya*), an expression which, in the contemporary Venetian translation, is rendered by "Honor de la fede de christiani" (J. Wansbrough, in *BSOAS*, xxiv/2 [1961], 204-5). A permit for the Carmelites of Iṣfahān of 1052/1642, issued by Shāh ʿAbbās II, speaks of the Pope as "Chief and leader of the followers of the Christian religion" (*muḳaddam wa muḳtadā-yi tābiʿān-i millat-i masīḥiyya*) (H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, 191). In a *ḥüküm*, containing the answer to a petition of the Armenians of Istanbul and dated 1108/1697, the *dhimmīs* (whose names are listed) are said "to have abandoned their old customs and to be now ready to follow the papal rite" (*kadimi âyinlerin terk idüb papa milletine mütabaat eylediklerinden*) (A. Refiḳ [Altınay],

Istanbul hayatı 1100-1200, 21-2, no. 34). Parallel to *papa milleti*, the same text uses *firenk me<u>dh</u>hebi* with the meaning of "Latin rite". Likewise, *millat* and *ma<u>dh</u>hab* are used analogously in an undated charter which <u>Sh</u>āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn adressed to Pope Innocent XII (*ca.* 1113/1701-2, see L. Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie*, 543-8, no. 99). The formula *īn millat-i bayḍā*ʾ is here found in parallel to the expression *īn ma<u>dh</u>hab-i <u>gh</u>arrā*ʾ, both meaning something like "this shining, radiating confession". Fekete-Lorenz's translation of *millat* by "people" does not seem acceptable, because the meaning "religion, confession" (see Wansbrough, quoted above) can also be based on lexicographical sources of approximately the same period. Bernardo di Parici, for example, in his *Vocabulario Italiani-Turchesco* (1665) renders *millet* with "religione", and *millet-il-mesīḥiyye* with "religione di Christo" (this was followed by Meninski and other lexicographers, see B. Braude, *Foundation myths*, 72). The formula *ḳudwet ümerā*ʾ *el-millet el-mesīḥiyye*, often used and enlarged upon in Ottoman chancelleries at the reception of high-ranking Christians, is translated by Zenker with "Model of the chiefs of the Christian religion" (J. Zenker, *Türkisch-Arabisch-Persisches Handwörterbuch*, 876). Examples of early usage of this formula are found in a *firmān* and a *ni<u>sh</u>ān* of Bāyazīd II, both of 891/1486, for Mara Branković, stepmother of Meḥemmed II (see Boškov, in *Hilandarski zbornik*, v, 208 f.; however, he interprets *millet* as "people"). *Millet-i mesīḥiyye* in the meaning of "Christian creed" is still part of the formula used in a *berāt* for the metropolitan bishop of Manāstīr (Bitola), Gerasimos, of the year 1249/1833 (see P. Džambazovski (ed.), *Turski dokumenti za makedonskata istorija V (1827-1839)*, 71, no. 230). It should be pointed out here that the expression *millet-i mesīḥiyye* is also the equivalent of "Christianity", and not only in documents originating from Ottoman chancelleries. A document to be dated before November 1650, issued by Islām Girāy III, ruler of the Crimean Tatars, and addressed to the Polish king, mentions John Casimir IV as "the noble ruler of the entire Christianity" (*barča millet-i mesīḥiyyeniñ ulu<u>gh</u> pādī<u>sh</u>āhī*; T. Gemil (ed.), *Relaţiile Ţărilor Române cu Poarta Otomam în Documente Turceşti 1601-1712*, Bucharest 1984, 274-5, no. 123).

(2) When *millet* is mentioned in the meaning of "religious community, community of the same confession or the same rite", the question whether those who are designated in this way are (Ottoman) *<u>dh</u>immīs* is important in view of the discussion around the so-called *millet* system. For, on the one hand, this system is traditionally understood as being the structural framework which was destined specifically for the Ottoman *<u>dh</u>immīs* whereas, on the other hand, it has been maintained that *millet*, in one of its traditional meanings, indicated "the Christians outside the (Ottoman) empire", and that it was not typically used to indicate the *ahl al-<u>dh</u>imma* specifically until the 19th century (Braude, *Foundation myths*, 73-3). It has rightly been pointed out that *millet* may very well also denote the Islamic religious community. But it is not correct that, before the beginning of the period of reform, the notion has been used in Ottoman-Turkish sources mainly in the meaning of "the community of Muslims" (Braude, *op. cit.*, 79). The documents from the *mühimme defterleri* of the *dīwān-i hümāyūn*, published by Refīḳ in *Istanbul ḥayātī*, which are informative for the Ottoman practice, rather bear witness of the opposite. Wherever the term *millet* is used here in the meaning of "religious or confessional community" (at least fifty times in eleven documents dating from before the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt*: 1689-1785, nos. 34, 194, 223, 224, 249, 264, 265, 268; 1786-1839, nos. 20-2), it refers invariably to non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman empire (Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Roman Catholic Christians as well as Jews with the status of *<u>dh</u>immīs*). A few examples may illustrate this. In the above-mentioned document of 1108/1697, the activities of Latin missionaries are described as follows: "they travelled from province to province and instigated the Greek Orthodox, Armenian and (many) other Christian religious communities to give up their former practices and to submit to the Latin rite, while sowing discord and trying to divert them from the right path" (*vilâyet vilâyet gezüb gerek Rum ve gerek Ermeni ve gerek sair milleti nasarayı idlal ve ifsad ile kadimî âyinlerinden döndürüb firenk mezhebine mütabaat itdirüb*). The formulation used here proves that, at least from the end of the 17th century onwards, the Orthodox and Armenian religious communities, comprising Ottoman *<u>dh</u>immīs*, were known as *millets* to the Ottoman authorities in the capital of the empire, or at least to the inditer of the document. Even if this document does not indeed give information about whether and to what extent such a *millet* was already understood as being an empire-wide corporation (i.e. as a religious community holding the same status throughout the entire empire and as such deserving the same protection everywhere), yet such a claim is already clearly expressed here by part of the members of the *millet*, namely the Armenians of Istanbul, who request the same position, and consequently the same treatment, as was given to their co-religionists in the province of Ṭarābulus al-<u>Sh</u>ām.

In another document from the *mühimme defterleri*, dated 1591/746, the *millet-i Ermeniyan* is already designated as an empire-wide religious community (*memaliki mahrusede sakin milleti Ermeniyān*) (see Refīḳ, *op. cit.*, 160 ff., no. 194). In the same *mühimme defterleri*, the Greek-Orthodox *millet* is mentioned as *millet-i Rūm* for the first time in a document of 1170/1757 (*ibid.*, 183 ff., no. 223; other examples of *millet-i Rūm/Rūm milleti* in 184 ff., no. 224, 205-6, no. 249, 219 ff., no. 264, 227 ff., no. 268), while the notion *Yahūd milleti* (religious community of the Jews) and *Katolik milleti* (religious community of the Roman Catholics) occurs here only in 1255/1839 (Refīḳ, 31 ff., no. 22). Towards the end of the 18th century, the Ottoman fiscal administration even used the collective notion of "the three (non-Muslim) religious communities" (*milel-i <u>th</u>elā<u>th</u>e*; see Y. Cezar, *Osmanlı maliyesinde bunalım ve değişim dönemi*, 185). Evidently, Muslims cannot be meant here, for the subject is the dues on alcoholic beverages (*ze<u>dj</u>riyye*). The term thus can refer only to the Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish *millets*, and should be considered as an indication that the notion *millet* had become an accepted element in the administrative language of the central bureaucracy to indicate the non-Muslim religious communities of the Ottoman empire before the 19th century had even begun.

On the analogy of the above-mentioned communities of Ottoman *<u>dh</u>immīs* of the same confession, *mustaʾmina* of the same nationality, living in the Ottoman empire under the Capitulation Treaties, have apparently been indicated as both a *ṭāʾife* and a *millet* [see IMTIYĀZĀT]. Even non-Muslim religious communities who did not live (or no longer lived) under Islamic rule, such as the Ḳipčaḳ Turkish-speaking Armenians in the kingdom of Poland, occasionally indicated themselves and others as *millets* (or as *ṭāʾifes*) (J. Deny, *L'Arméno-Coman et les "Ephémérides" de Kamieniec 1604-1613*, 62: *Ermeni*

mivlati [for *Ermenī millati*]). They also indicated "nations" or "peoples" with these terms, e.g. *Olakh millati* "la nation valaque (ici: moldave)" (*ibid.*, cf. *Noms propres*, 85 ff.: Alans, Syrian Christians, Abyssinians, Hellenes, Indians, Huns, Goths, Medes, Persians and Egyptians were all designated as *millets*). This use of the term may have been influenced by the notion of *nationes* in the Middle Ages, if *millet* is not simply the translation of *natio*. This observation leads to a third use of the term.

(3) Millet in the meaning of "[sovereign] nation, part of a people". In various Ottoman documents of the period between 1652 and 1687, the so-called Transylvanian "three nations", called Madjar, Sigel and Saz in the Turkish sources, are indicated as the *üč millet*. Here are meant "nations" as the term is used in the context of estates whose delegates, together with the ruler of Transylvania, represented the territory which was a vassal state (*Erdel* [*q.v.*] in Turkish) of the Ottoman empire, until it was officially annexed by the Ottomans in 1691 (Gemil (ed.), *op. cit.*, 40, and nos. 126, 175, 178). *Millet* in the meaning of "peoples under direct Islamic rule" occurs in translations from western languages. In the Turkish translation of a document issued by George Rájozcy I, Prince of Transylvania, dated 4 Radjab 1046/2 December 1636, the peoples ("Nations") of the Ottoman empire are designated as *ʿOthmānlu milletleri* (*ibid.*, 233, no. 101). In the Turkish text of the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynarča (1774), the European nations (i.e. England and France) which are provided with commercial privileges, are occasionally designated as *millets*. art. xi of the Treaty in Aḥmed Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, 1st ed., i, 283). From the Islamic point of view, these states belong to the *dār al-ḥarb* [*q.v.*] and thus the term *millet* means something like "a sovereign nation in the enemy's territory". The rebellious Serbs who, as Ottoman *reʿāyā*, had risen in armed revolt against Ottoman rule, were also considered as *ḥarbīs* (*memleketleri dār ül-ḥarb we kendüleri ḥarbī*, in *Manāstir sidjilli*, no. 82, fol. 27a, dated *ewāʾil-i Ṣafer* 1222/10-19 April 1807), because they had forfeited the protection which had been granted to them and lost their *dhimmī* status. Some years later, the Porte commented upon this by saying that the Serbs had claimed to form a "separate nation (*bashkadja bir millet*) with Belgrade and the other fortresses and fortified places under their own control, with Ḳara Yorgi as chief of all of them" (S. Kemura, *Prvi Srpski Ustanak pod Karagjorgjem*, Sarajevo 1332/1914, 314). In the official correspondence with the Bosnian governors after the Peace of Bucharest (28 May 1812), published in Kemura's work, the Serbs are indeed more often than not mentioned as "the Serbian nation" (*ṣirb milleti*) (*ibid.*, 313-25), and it is repeatedly emphasised that one should try at any price to bring the Serbs back into the *raʿiyyet* relationship. After this had been realised, the same documents, inasmuch as discernible, speak only of "Serbs" (*ṣirblu* or *ṣirb ṭāʾifesi*), "Serbian rebels" (*ṣirb ʿuṣātī*) or "Serbian traitors" (*ṣirb khawenesi*). As in the case of the Serbs, the Porte began to speak of the rebellious Greeks of the Peloponnesus as "nation, group of people" (*millet*) only after it had become clear that the "treaty of protection" (*dhimma*) had to be considered as definitely retracted. In November 1827, one-and-a-half years after the fall of Missolonghi, representatives of the Porte indignantly stated that the Greeks "by having infringed upon the frontiers established by the *raʿiyyet* relation, finally had begun to call for (the status of an independent) group of people (*millet*)" (*ḥadd-i raʿiyyeti tedjāwüz ile millet daʿwāsina čiḳub*; Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 330) (quoted after the Ottoman text of the minutes of a confidential discussion between the Porte and the representatives of the great powers in the office of the Reʾīs Efendi on 5 Djumādā I 1243/24 November 1827. This text contains important information about the way the Ottomans understood *millet* before the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt*). An undated document from the *sidjills* of Manāstir (*ca.* Shaʿbān 1243/February 1828) says that both England and France, in collaboration with Russia, "would try to tear the people of the Greeks (of the Peloponnesus) completely away from their *raʿiyyet* relation (with the Porte) and to establish them as an independent power" (*Rūm milletini külliyyen raʿiyyetden čiḳarub ḥükūmet-i mustaḳilla ṣūretine ḳonmaḳ üzere*; no. 97, fol. 81-b). Yet, until long afterwards it was being argued on the Ottoman side that "all the Greeks (including those of the Peloponnesus) form one (single) *millet*, because even their rites and their patriarch are one and the same" (*Rūmlarin djümlesi bir millet olub ḥattā āyīnleri we paṭrīḳlari dakhī bir oldighindan*; Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 332). Here, in the uniform garment of *Rūm milleti*, the meanings of *millet* as given above under (2) and (3) are irreconcilably opposed to one another.

Some general remarks may follow the expositions given above of the three basic meanings of *millet* until the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt*. From the apparent "lack of a general administrative term" for the non-Muslim religious communities of the Ottoman empire (Braude, *op. cit.*, 74), it has been concluded—though in unawareness of the evidence given above under (2)—"that there was no overall administrative system, structure, or set of institutions for dealings with non-Muslims.... As for the so-called *millet* system, or, perhaps better, the communal system, it was not an institution or even a group of institutions, but rather it was a set of arrangements, largely social, with considerable variation over time and place" (*ibid.*). Although the premise for such a conclusion cannot be considered unlimitedly valid any more, it remains nevertheless true that the term *millet*, in the meaning of "non-Muslim religious community (in the Ottoman empire)", was by no means used exclusively or at all consistently before the 19th century. This turns out to be true even in documents where the notion occurs more or less regularly. So far, this regular use can only be demonstrated in some central organisations of the Ottoman empire, but not in provincial or local administrations, *ṭāʾife*, for example, being a frequently used alternative in the latter. Occasionally, *millet* and *ṭāʾife* are found in the same document next to one another with the same meaning, or also in combination: *millet-i mezbūre ṭāʾifesi* (see Refīḳ, *op. cit.*, no. 194). Sometimes, in writings of the same date, the *reʾīs ül-küttāb* used *millet*, the Grand Vizier on the other hand *ṭāʾife* (*ibid.*, no. 268). It is in any case noteworthy that, even when the documents of the sultan do not shrink from using the notion *millet* (see the charters published by Kemura, mentioned above), the term is missing in the corresponding documents issued by governors and *ḳāḍīs*. This state of affairs reflects certainly more than just the inadequate stage of research. It rather looks as if the individual religious communities, which, on the local level, had to live under conditions which were varying according to place and time, in the perspective of the central government were seen as parts of religious and juridical communities which, under the leadership of their (ecclesiastical) heads, ideally had an empire-wide dimension. At a period as yet to be determined more closely, the term *millet*, probably current in the office of the *reʾīs ül-küttāb* in the first place, was used for this

viewpoint of the central authorities. It is perhaps permitted to interpret the material provided by Refīḳ's *Istanbul ḥayātī* in such a way that the term *millet* was given the above-mentioned meaning only after the religious regulations of the empire became increasingly threatened by the intensified missionary activities from the West in the 17th century. The consequence of the latter may have been that the central government, as the guarantor of the existing order, saw itself more and more forced to interfere in extensive parts of the empire in order to protect the traditional religious communities (for the missions of Jesuits, Lutherans, Calvinists and Anglicans in the Ottoman empire, and the attitude of the Porte towards them, see S. Runciman, *The Great Church in captivity*, 226-319). It is conceivable that the idea of describing as empire-wide *millets* traditional religious communities based on identity of confession may only have emerged in the course of the development of this kind of empire-wide "religious policy" of the Porte.

Bibliography: An extremely informative collection of sources for the use of the notion *millet* in Ottoman administration is Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altinay]'s work in 4 vols. on life in Istanbul: vol. i. *On altinci ʿaṣirda Istanbul ḥayātī (1553-1591)*, Istanbul 1917; vol. ii: *Hicrî on birinci asırda İstanbul hayatı (1000-1100)*, Istanbul 1931; vol. iii: *Hicrî on ikinci asırda İstanbul hayatı (1100-1200)*, Istanbul 1930; vol. iv: *Hicrî on üçüncü asırda İstanbul hayatı (1200-1255)*, Istanbul 1932 (reprint of all four volumes, Enderun Kitabevi, Istanbul 1988, under slightly different titles). The most comprehensive and critical discussions on the notion and the phenomenon of *millet* are found in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The functioning of a plural society*, New York-London 1982, in particular, Braude, *Foundation myths of the Millet system*, i, 69-88, containing the severest criticism so far of the traditional concept of the Ottoman *millet* system. From the point of view of legal history, serious doubts of the traditional interpretation, overlooked in the above-mentioned discussions, had already been formulated by H. Scheel, *Die staats-rechtliche Stellung der ökumenischen Kirchenfürsten in der alten Türkei*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.* (1942), Phil.-hist. Kl., no. 9, Berlin 1943. (M.O.H. Ursinus)

MILYĀNA, Miliana, a town of Algeria, situated 56 miles/91 km to the southwest of Algiers. It is built on a raised plateau at an altitude of 2,361 ft./720 m. on the side of the Zakkār Gharbī (5,179 ft./1,579 m.) and dominates to the east and south the valley in which an important river, the Chélif, flows and drives numerous mills. The comparative freshness of the temperature and the abundance of flowing streams support a rich vegetation. The town itself is surrounded by gardens and orchards cultivated by the indigenous people, whilst European colonists raised on the nearby slopes vines with notable products. Miliana is an agricultural and market centre for the peoples, mainly Berber, who occupy the Zakkār massif, and has acquired a certain importance as a centre for mineral exploitation, sc. for the iron extracted near to the town itself. Moreover, it is a centre of pilgrimage for the Muslims of the region and even for those of the Mitidja and Algiers, who come to visit the tomb of Sīdī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, a marabout who lived at the beginning of the 8th/14th century and who was famed for his satirical pronouncements about the towns of Algeria. In *ca.* 1930, the town had some 12,000 inhabitants.

Miliana has grown up on the site of the Roman town of Zucchabar, whose ruins were still visible in the time of al-Bakrī and of which some traces, noted by Schaw in the 18th century, still existed at the time of the French occupation. The actual town dates from the 4th/10th century, its foundation being attributed by al-Bakrī to the Ṣanhādjī chief Zīrī b. Manād, who assigned it to his son Buluggīn. The same author mentions it as a prosperous, well-populated town, well-supplied with foodstuffs and with a well-frequented market. Al-Idrīsī records the many streams there and the fertility of the surrounding countryside. After the fall of the Ḥammādid dynasty, Miliana passed into the power of the Almohads, was temporarily occupied by ʿAlī and Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya, and was then, for a century and a half, disputed by the Ḥafṣids, the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen and the Marīnids.

In the 9th/15th century, Miliana, together with Médéa and Tenès, formed part of an independent principality founded by a Zayyānid pretender; it became once again dependent on Tlemcen when this pretender's son brought together under his own control the united principality. Nevertheless, Leo Africanus states that the inhabitants enjoyed a virtually complete independence. But they lost this when the Turks arrived, for ʿArūdj [*q.v.*] seized control of Miliana soon after the capture of Algiers. Under the Turkish rule, the town came within the *dār al-sulṭān*, sc. the territory directly administered by the Pasha of Algiers. Various Turkish officials resided there, one of them having the job of going round the tribes each year and extracting taxation with the aid of troops specially sent for this task from the capital. After the capture of Algiers by the French, Miliana was for a while independent, and was then occupied in 1834 by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], who installed there a bey. The French in turn took control of the town on 8 June 1840, but were closely blockaded within it by the *amīr*'s partisans until 1842, when operations conducted in the western part of the Mitidja, in the district of Médéa and in the Chélif valley, assured freedom of communications.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Afrique septentrionale*, 61/127; *K. al-Istibṣār*, ed. S.Z. Abdul-Hamid, Alexandria 1958, 171; Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, 253; Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 88; *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, iii, 147; Yāḳūt, iv, 639; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Épaulard, 345; Julienne, *Les R'ira de la subdivision de Miliana*, in *RAfr.* (1857); Lebrun, *Miliana*, in *ibid.* (1864); Schaw, *Travels*, Oxford 1738, 62; Trumelet, *L'Algérie légendaire*, Algiers 1892, 399. (G. Yver)

MĪM, the twenty-fourth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transliterated as *m*, with the numerical value of 40 according to the eastern order [see abdjad].

Definition: *occlusive, bilabial, voiced, nasal* (Cantineau, *Études*, 28; Fleisch, *Traité*, i, 58). For Sībawayh (*Kitāb*, ii, 454), its place of articulation is situated between the lips; it is an "open sound" (*madjhūr*), emitted from a base in the mouth and the nasal cavities (*khayāshīm*), where nasalisation (*ghunna*) is produced; it is also a "hard sound" (*shadīd*), by means of which the sound (*ṣawt*) is transmitted. As for al-Khalīl, he calls this letter "occlusive" (*muṭbiḳ*), because it closes the mouth when one articulates it (*K. al-ʿAyn*, 65). For Ibn Sīnā, the place of articulation of *mīm* is partly between the lips and partly the nasal region, so that the air, when it passes through the nasal cavities and the open space there, produces a humming sound (*dawī*) (Roman, *Étude*, i, 263).

In phonology, the phoneme *m* is defined by the oppositions *m-f*, *m-b* and *m-n* (Cantineau, 167).

Alterations: in final place in a word, *-m* in Semitic tends to pass into *-n* in Arabic. Between the final place in a word and the initial of the following one, one finds either the assimilation *-mb*>*bb* or its disappearance (*ikhfāʾ*) leaving just nasalisation. Before a dental, palatal or velar, one has the assimilation *m*>*n*. In the neighbourhood of a nasal *n* or *m* of the bilabial *w*, one finds the dissimilation *m*>*b* (Cantineau, 29-30; Fleisch, i, 74, 80, 94).

Bibliography: J. Cantineau, *Études de linguistique arabe*, Paris 1960; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961; A. Roman, *Étude de la phonologie et de la morphologie de la Koiné arabe*, Aix-Marseilles 1983; Khalīl, in *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, ed. Darwīsh, Baghdād 1967; Sībawayh, *al-Kitāb*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1889. (G. Troupeau)

MIME, MIMIC [see ḥikāya].

MĪMIYYA [see muḥammadiyya].

MINĀ, later often pronounced *Munā*, a place in the hills east of Mecca on the road from it to ʿArafa [*q.v.*]. The distance between the two is given by al-Muḳaddasī as one *farsakh*, while Wavell calls it five miles and says the continuation to ʿArafa is nine miles. Minā lies in a narrow valley running from west to east, 1,500 paces long according to Burckhardt, surrounded by steep barren granite cliffs. On the north side rises a hill called Thabīr. Travellers from Mecca come down into the valley by a hill path with steps in it; this is the *ʿAḳaba* [*q.v.*] which became famous in connection with Muḥammad's negotiations with the Medinans. The town consists of stone houses of fair size which form two long streets. Close beside the ʿAḳaba is a rudely-hewn short pillar leaning against a wall: this is the "great *djamra*" or the "ʿAḳaba *djamra*", at which the pilgrims cast stones [see djamra]. A little to the east in the middle of the street is the "middle *djamra*" also marked by a pillar and lastly at a similar distance the third (the so-called "first *djamra*"). As one approaches the east end of the valley, there is on the right of the road a square mosque surrounded by a wall, the Masdjid al-Khayf, which was rebuilt by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and in 874/1467 reconstructed by the Mamlūk Sultan Ḳāʾit Bey. Along the west side of the surrounding wall is a colonnade with three rows of pillars, but there is none on the other sides. It was different earlier, for Ibn Rusta (*ca.* 300/912-13) tells us that the mosque had 168 pillars, of which only 78 supported the west wing. The north side of the wall is pierced by several doors. In the centre of the court of the mosque is a little domed building with a minaret built over a fountain. There is another dome over the colonnade on the west side.

The most striking feature of Minā is the very great difference, noted already by al-Muḳaddasī, between the quiet and empty streets of the greater part of the year and the tremendous throng and bustle of the pilgrimage month when, as Wavell says, half a million people with heavily laden beasts of burden hope to cover nine miles in the period between sunrise and 10 a.m. Every spot in the valley is then covered with tents in which the pilgrims spend the night. Al-Muḳaddasī talks of fine houses built of teak and stone (among them was a frequently-mentioned *Dār al-Imāra*), and large stone buildings are still to be found in Minā; but these are usually empty and are only let at the pilgrimage to the more wealthy pilgrims and even among these many prefer to live in tents. This depopulation of the city has been a subject for discussion among the legists, for some held that this circumstance enables Minā and Mecca to be regarded as one city (*miṣr*), a view which others reject. But another circumstance must have contributed to prevent a permanent settlement of the town, which is also true of other places on the pilgrims' route, namely the incredible filth and dreadful stench which is caused by such masses of humanity at the Ḥadjdj. Complaints are made even of the uncleanness of the Masdjid al-Khayf, and at Minā there are further the decomposing remains of the countless animals sacrificed.

The Ḥadjdj ceremonies in Minā date back to the old pagan period [see ḥadjdj], for Muḥammad, as usual in taking over old customs, contented himself with cutting out the too obviously pagan elements, the result being that we can no longer reconstruct the old forms with certainty. The old poets make only passing references to them [see djamra]; that they were similar to the Muslim practices is evident, for example, from an interesting passage in the Medinan poet Ḳays b. Khaṭīm (ed. Kowalski, no. 4, pp. i ff.), where there is a reference to the "three days in Minā" and where we further learn that the festival held there offered an occasion for entering into and carrying on love-affairs. The stone throwing is certainly very ancient; its significance is quite unintelligible in Islam, although it is doubtful if there were already three heaps of stones in the pre-Islamic period [see djamra]. It is also clear that the ceremonies in Minā formed the conclusion of the Ḥadjdj even in ancient times. Muḥammad, however, made some serious alterations here, for he inserted a visit to Mecca before the stay in Minā, whereby the ceremony first received its legitimate Islamic character; but the old elements remained the important factors, for the Ḥadjdj ends not in Mecca but, as before, in Minā, to which the pilgrims return after the digression to Mecca. A survival of the pagan period probably exists in the slaughtering place preferred by the majority on the southern slopes of Thabīr "the place of sacrifice of the ram" (cf. sūra XXXVII, 101 ff.), as its association with the story of Abraham probably enabled an old pagan sacred spot to be adopted into Islam. From Burton's description, it is a square rocky platform reached by a few steps. Muḥammad himself did not directly forbid the use of the pagan place of slaughter, but deprived it of its importance by saying that all Minā is a place of sacrifice: a clever procedure which he also followed at ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa.

According to the law of Islam, pilgrims who arrive in Mecca on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja should leave this town in time to be able to perform the mid-day *ṣalāt* in Minā and remain there till sunrise on the 9th and only then go on to ʿArafāt. The majority, however, do not do this but go on the 8th straight on to ʿArafāt where they arrive in the evening. After performing the ceremonies of the pilgrimage in ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa [*q.v.*], they go before sunrise on the 10th to Minā to celebrate the day of the great sacrifice (*yawm al-aḍḥā* or *yawm al-naḥr*) (in contrast to the pre-Islamic practice, which was to start only after sunrise). Here the concluding rites are gone through, the slaughtering, the clipping of the hair and nails and the lapidation. There is not complete agreement on the order of these ceremonies, which one tradition (al-Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 429) makes Muḥammad declare to be quite irrelevant. The modification of the stone throwing is noteworthy, for on the day of sacrifice it is only done at the ʿAḳaba heap, while on the three following days each pilgrim daily throws seven little stones on all three heaps (see Burton, ii, 205). The conclusion of the whole pilgrimage is the three Minā or *tashrīḳ* days, the 11th, 12th and 13th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja [see tashrīḳ]. They are days of rejoicing which are celebrated with great jubilation, illumination and the firing of shots. All the pilgrims, however, do not wait for these three days but set off on their return journey before then.

Bibliography: Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 423, 426, 428; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, i/2, 125; Muḳaddasī, 76; Ibn Rusta, 55; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 642-3; J.L. Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, 415-31; Sir Richard Burton, *A pilgrimage to al-Madīnah and Meccah*, Memorial Edition 1893, ii, 203-22; Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjaziyya*, Cairo 1329; A.J.B. Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim*, 153-71; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 80, 88; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden 1880, esp. 158-67; T. Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 151-7; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 1923, 238-95; see the *Bibl.* to DJAMRA, and add: M.T. Houtsma, *Het Skopelisme en het Steenwerpen te Minā*, in *Versl. Med. Ak. Amst.*, *Afd. Letterkunde*, 4. Reeks, vi, 104-217; V. Chauvin, *Le jet de pierres et le pèlerinage de Mecque*, in *Annales de l'Acad. d'Archéologie de Belgique*, ser. 5, vol. iv, 272 ff.; A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muh. tradition*, *s.v.* where also are given the passages from *ḥadīth* referring to the prohibition of fasting during the days of Minā, and to the order to stay in Minā during the "nights of Minā"; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, London 1931, 74-5, 96, 241.

(FR. BUHL)

MĪNĀʾ (A.), port, harbour.

(a) *The term*. Arabic *mīnāʾ* has been little used in either Persian or Turkish, although it is routinely listed in their dictionaries (thus J.W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English lexicon*, 205; F. Steingass, *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary*, 1364; ʿAlī-Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran n.d., s.v.).

In Persian, the standard term is *bandar* [*q.v.*], in Turkish, *liman*. *Bandar* was widely used in Ottoman Turkish and, in later centuries, also in Arabic (thus Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 89, in reference to Ḳāliḳūṭ, has *iḥdā 'l-banādir al-ʿiẓām*; Ibn Mādjid: *bandar Djudda*, in G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XVᵉ et XVIᵉ siècles*, Paris 1921-23, i, fol. 78b; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris 1827, iii, 132, in a late 18th century reference: *bandar Masḳaṭ*).

Mīnāʾ itself is attested since the 3rd/9th century (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. Munadjdjid, 151; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 327), and appears to be of non-Arabic origin, derived either from the accusative of the Greek *limen* (Nöldeke), or from ancient Egyptian; if the latter is the case, the word would have entered Arabic either via the above-mentioned *limena*, or directly through Egyptian's Coptic stage (M. Lubetski, *The early bronze age origin of Greek and Hebrew liman, "Harbor"*, in *JQR*, n.s., lxix/3 [Jan. 1979], 158-68). The non-Arabic origin of *mīnāʾ* is also suggested by the hesitancy of classical Arab authors whether to treat this word as a masculine or a feminine, and whether to write it with or without a *hamza*. Moreover, a passage in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Safar-nāma*, ed. Wazīnpūr, Tehran 1350/1971, 20, shows that the term was new to this author otherwise familiar with Arabic, and that he understood it to denote a special type of harbour along the Syro-Palestinian coast, the region where the borrowing is believed to have taken place.

Mīnāʾ has become the comprehensive term for both nuances expressed by the English words "port" and "harbour", at the expense of the classical terms *marsā*, *furḍa* and *marfaʾ*, of which the first two were common in the early centuries and expressed the two nuances: *marsā* (as well as *mīnāʾ*) referring more specifically to the maritime aspect implied by "harbour", *furḍa* to the economic function implied by "port" (thus Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 248: *Bayrūt furḍat Dimashḳ* ... *wa-lahā mīnāʾ djalīl* = "Beirut is the port of Damascus, and has a fine harbour". Moreover, *marsā* is attested in the Ḳurʾān, XI, 41, in the passage *Irkabū fīhā bismi 'l-Lāhi madjrīhā wa-mursāhā* = "Embark in it! In God's name shall be its course and its berthing."

In contrast to this relative proliferation and differentiation in Arabic, *bandar* remained the only widely used term in Persian; on the other hand, Ottoman Turkish, in addition to *liman* and *bandar*, also used *iskele*, a Mediterranean word that has been used both in the general sense and for designating the specific landing place rendered in English as pier, wharf or quay (thus Meḥemmed II orders Yūnus to go to the *iskele* [of Istanbul] and sail with ten ships to the *limun* of Enoz (Enez); cf. ʿĀshiḳ-Pasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. F. Giese, 135-6; see also A. Tietze and A. Kahane, *The lingua franca in the Levant*, Urbana 1958, no. 801 (*liman*), no. 841 (*iskele*); the broader meaning approached the connotation of Arabic *furḍa*, as in Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 803, *Mekke'nin iskelesi Djiddedir* "Djudda is the port of Mecca."

(b) *Historical survey*. A general distinction can be made between the Islamic ports of the Mediterranean basin and those on the other side of the isthmus of Suez. The harbours of the Mediterranean often displayed a sophisticated building technique, a bequest of their Phoenician or Roman past: those of the Syro-Palestinian coast, the prime examples, found their counterparts in Carthage and Izmir. The distinctive feature was that of an inner harbour, partly man-made, and an outer one, as a rule a natural harbour formed by a bay or just an adequate anchorage. The inner harbour was symptomatic of the military dimension of the Mediterranean where ships had to be shielded not only from natural elements but also from enemy fleets. Inner harbours often had a special entry gate formed by guard-towers on either side; the entrance was further protected by a chain stretched at will, especially at night, between the two towers. In contrast, the ports south and east of Suez lacked such features and were as a rule natural bays or inlets, coastal or island anchorages, or river estuaries: Ubulla, Sīrāf, Ṣuḥār, Aden, Djudda, for example, although some of them did have fortifications protecting them from landward. This was due to a relative absence, in comparison with the Mediterranean, of naval warfare in those seas until the arrival of the Europeans and Ottomans in the 16th century.

It is worth nothing that this dichotomy, which antedates Islam, was reinforced and received a special character due to the confrontational nature of the Islamic and Christian halves of the Mediterranean; Muslims displayed a lasting reluctance to frequent Christian ports as cargo shippers and traders, whereas Christians seldom suffered from reciprocal inhibitions (in this respect, a *fatwā* given by a *faḳīh* of Mahdiyya in 484-6/1091-3 is significant; see H.R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale*, 664). In eastern waters, on the other hand, no religious confrontation of such magnitude and nature occurred, and Arab and Persian Muslims kept sailing, chiefly as merchants, to India and East Africa. As a result, a number of harbours along the western coast of India became regular ports of call of these Muslims, some of whom proceeded further east to the ports of Malaya and Indonesia, a penetration that proved of capital importance for the eventual Islamisation of those regions.

1. *The ports of Arabia*. The ports of the Arabian peninsula—from ʿUmān in the east to those of Ḥidjāz in the west—were those from where the Arab seafaring tradition had issued well before the appearance of Islam. It was at the same time an international tradition: Persians, Ethiopians, Indians had a share in

it as well. Persian participation was the strongest; some of the basic Arabic maritime terminology is of Persian origin, and Persian was the language of one of the principal ports of ʿUmān in the ʿAbbāsid period, Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*]. To quote the 4th/10th century geographer al-Muḳaddasī, "The language of this province (i.e. ʿUmān) is Arabic except in Ṣuḥār, where they speak Persian; the majority of the people of ʿAdan and Djudda are Persians [too] but [now] they speak Arabic..." (96). The Arab mariners of Ṣuḥār and Masḳaṭ, as well as their companions from the ports of the southern coast, acquired a remarkable skill at exploiting the seasonal monsoon winds for voyages to India and East Africa.

The ports of Arabia were connected by caravan routes with inland market towns such as Mecca, or by coastal shipping with ports in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. These market towns and ports in turn often functioned as relay posts for goods that ultimately reached the Mediterranean ports of the Syro-Palestinian coast and Egypt. At the height of the prosperity of ʿIrāḳ in the ʿAbbāsid period, however, the Persian Gulf ports rose proportionately in importance and some of the Orient trade passed directly to Sīrāf, Ubulla and Baṣra; at other times, Aden may have been bypassed by ships that proceeded directly to Djudda. However, both the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea were fraught with navigational problems and dangers different from those of the Indian Ocean, and it seems that except for the three centuries of ʿAbbāsid prosperity, during which Baghdād and Baṣra resembled magnets attracting "China ships" to their outposts of Sīrāf and Ubulla, most of this long-distance ocean traffic preferred to use the more familiar termini along the coast of ʿUmān, Ḥaḍramawt and Yemen. In the later Middle Ages, Aden [see ʿADAN] became the most important trans-shipment port for the Orient trade, much like Alexandria did for Mediterranean trade. The two ports, linked by a combination of local maritime, overland and river connections, functioned in tandem as the two termini of the Spice Route, the maritime counterpart of the transcontinental Silk Road. The heyday of Aden's supremacy coincided with the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, but the port stood out already in the early ʿAbbāsid centuries. Thus al-Yaʿḳūbī (319) mentions it as "the port of the China [traffic] ships"; al-Muḳaddasī (97), describing its trade, speaks of the wealth of its merchants much as other contemporary authors do of the wealth of those of Sīrāf [*q.v.*], stating that "the wealth of its merchants has become proverbial." Aden may have been the most international of Arab ports. Its principal direct partners overseas were the ports of India, and Indians as well as Egyptians seem to have formed a sizeable proportion of Aden merchants, judging from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description (ii, 177-9). Another important segment of the business people of Aden in this period were Jews, who stood out among all others on account of their far-flung connections from Europe to India (S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, see *Bibl.*).

2. *Baṣra and the Persian Gulf.* Baṣra, founded by Muslims in 17/638 on the order of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, lay some 4 *farsakhs* (about 24 km) west of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 235), with which it was connected by two canals, the Nahr al-Ubulla on the south and the Nahr al-Maʿḳil on the north. These two, issuing from the Shaṭṭ, formed a semi-circle and met in the vicinity of Baṣra, ramifying into a network of smaller canals that criss-crossed the city. The two principal canals were affected by the tide and ebb which, if expertly exploited, allowed sea-going ships of lesser tonnage to reach Baṣra's harbour quarter of al-Kallāʾ (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 57; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *loc. cit.*, and map on p. 20; this map shows a third canal to the south of the Nahr al-Ubulla, not mentioned in the text). The large merchantmen did not proceed to Baṣra but stopped at Ubulla, situated on the Shaṭṭ's western bank, or at Sīrāf on the Persian coast; these two ports were the termini of the ships that came from India and China (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 323, 365; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2384). Islamic al-Ubulla was the classical Apologos, the port of the maritime merchant kingdom of Mesene or Characene [see MAYSĀN], thus suggesting a continuity in the role played by the Shaṭṭ in long-distance maritime and caravan trade. The importance of Sīrāf, despite the obvious convenience of Ubulla as a place of trans-shipment closer to Baṣra, may be sought in two factors. One was the difficulty of approach and entry into the Shaṭṭ's estuary. The dangers facing ships heading for Ubulla were first of all treacherous shoals, whose avoidance was sought by means of wooden scaffoldings, the *khashabāt* [*q.v.*], some distance offshore, with guards and fires lit at night forewarning the arriving ships (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 230 = §242); the other danger was a whirlpool (*khūr*) inside the Shaṭṭ close to Ubulla's harbour itself, where many ships met their doom until an ʿAbbāsid princess reportedly solved the problem, at her own expense, by dumping large quantities of rubble on the site (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 237). The other reason for Sīrāf's prosperity was its additional function as a terminus for caravan routes linking it with Shīrāz and other centres of Iran's interior.

The fact that large sea-going ships could not proceed beyond Ubulla was no obstacle. Goods were transferred on to smaller craft that could reach not only Baṣra but also Baghdād and even proceed further north; in any case, the river harbour of al-Kallāʾ on the eastern side of Baṣra was paralleled by the caravan quarter of al-Mirbad [*q.v.*] on the west, just as the river harbour of Baghdād was near the place where the Tigris communicated with the Euphrates by means of the ʿĪsā canal. All these factors combined to form an interdependent network of maritime, river and caravan routes between Sīrāf, Ubulla, Baṣra and Baghdād, playing an essential role in the vast dimension of East-West trade. Classical Arab historians and geographers recorded this in their works, e.g. al-Ṭabarī, who makes the caliph al-Manṣūr, while founding Baghdād in 145/762, assess the role of its location in the following manner; "This is the Tigris: there is no obstacle between it and China; everything that is overseas (lit. "in the sea") comes to us by it. And the provisions from al-Djazīra and Armenia and from what lies beyond them come to us [here]. And this is the Euphrates: everything from Damascus and al-Raḳḳa and from what lies beyond them comes to us by it" (iii, 272).

The first three ʿAbbāsid centuries thus witnessed the primacy of the Persian Gulf ports as the great stages on the route that linked the Islamic Near East and the Mediterranean with the Orient; it was at this time that Muslim ships may have sailed as far as China itself. Khānfū, usually identified as Canton, was the Far Eastern terminus of these Muslim mariners and merchants of Sīrāf, Ubulla, Baṣra and Baghdād, while Sīrāf may have been the regular port of call of their Chinese counterparts, if this is how we are to understand the *marākib al-ṣīniyya* of the Arab authors of the period. This remarkable direct connection between the ports of the Islamic Near East and China has not only been duly recorded by Muslim historians and geographers (J. Sauvaget, *Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn*

wa l-Hind: Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde rédigée en 851, Paris 1948), but it has also been paraphrased in the bellelettristic vein of Sindbad's voyages in the *Alf layla wa-layla* cycle (a remarkable demonstration of both the feasibility and dangers of such voyages was carried out in 1980-1 by T. Severin; see his *The Sindbad voyage*, London and New York 1983, and *In the wake of Sindbad*, in *National Geographic Magazine*, vol. 162, no. 1 [July 1982], 2-40). However, a political and economic decline of ʿAbbāsid ʿIrāḳ that began in the 4th/10th century eventually led to a collapse of this role. By the 5th/11th century, Baghdād and Baṣra shrank to a pale reflection of their former selves, and Ubulla and Sīrāf ceased functioning altogether. These factors may have contributed to a partial re-orientation of the maritime route to the ports of southern Arabia and of the Red Sea, a change that led to a re-emergence of the Egyptian ports, especially Alexandria, as the main emporia of East-West trade.

The ports of ʿUmān and of the Persian Gulf did retain some of this traffic, however. Sīrāf was to some degree replaced by the island port of Kīsh (its Persian name; the Arabic name was Ḳays [*q.v.*]) and by Hurmuz. There developed an intense rivalry between Kīsh and Hurmuz; at first, however, the ruler of Kīsh placed emphasis on the piratical potentials of his location and of the large fleet he owned; the activities of this fleet, reported by al-Idrīsī (2nd climate, part 6, 156-7) contributed to a progressive deflection of the maritime routes from the Persian Gulf to Aden and the Red Sea (activities that found a latter-day analogue in the effect the Raʾs al-Khayma Arabs had on British shipping in the Persian Gulf in the 18th and early 19th centuries, before the "Pirate coast" was transformed into the "Trucial coast" [see AL-ḲAWĀSIM]). The rulers of Hurmuz eventually gained the upper hand, and their possessions intermittently straddled the sea so as to include also ports of ʿUmān and Baḥrayn. The international prominence of Hurmuz continued even after the arrival of Europeans in the Indian Ocean and the eagerness of Ṣafawid rulers to trade with them. As the Portuguese for a brief period in the 16th century, and others, especially the British, lastingly in the 17th, captured much of the Indian Ocean trade, they added to their mainstream routes along the Cape of Good Hope the route to the ports of the Near East; there, those of the Persian Gulf were favoured over those of southern Arabia and of the Red Sea. Hurmuz [*q.v.*] succeeded in the 17th century by Bandar ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], thus came to play a role similar to that of Sīrāf half-a-millennium earlier; Baṣra left its former location (marked today by the town of Zubayr) and moved eastward towards the Shaṭṭ, where it combined the functions of its ancestor and of the defunct Ubulla; and Baghdād again received and dispatched fleets of river craft and caravans. This renascence of the Persian Gulf ports contributed to an enhancement of their inland partners such as Aleppo and Tabrīz and, ultimately, of such ports as Iskenderun, Trebizond and Izmir.

3. *Alexandria and other ports of Egypt.* Alexandria's [see AL-ISKANDARIYYA] role as the greatest emporium of East-West trade coincided with the later Middle Ages, mainly the 5th-9th/11th-15th centuries, but it functioned as the principal Egyptian port ever since its its foundation by Alexander the Great in 332 BC. From among the factors that caused Alexandria's dominating position in the later Middle Ages, one may have been the above-mentioned decline of the Persian Gulf ports, and the other the phenomenal growth of the European economy with the concomitant expansion of Italian, French and Catalan shipping from the 5th/11th century onwards. The manner in which Alexandria received spices and other products of the Orient varied in the course of the centuries, but it retained certain constant features. One was the prevalent use of the Nile as part of the route: goods were unloaded at such Red Sea ports as ʿAydhāb or Ḳusayr, transported by caravans to the river ports of Aswān, Ḳūs or Ḳunā, and thence carried on barges to the Mediterranean coast; in addition, the ports at the northern end of the Red Sea (Ḳulzum and its successor Suez, Ṭūr, Ayla) were also used. The fact that the westernmost branch of the Nile did not extend to Alexandria never prevented it from overshadowing the ports at the estuaries—Rosetta, Damietta, Tinnīs. The reason for this was the vastness of Alexandria's two harbours, as well as other factors such as the canal that branched off at Fuwwa and connected the Nile with Alexandria; this canal, intermittently silting up and being dredged and repaired, may have been used as a waterway during the Nile flooding in the early centuries (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 140), but later, judging from the testimonies of European travellers, the standard mode of transportation between Alexandria and the Nile was the short overland march to the Rosetta estuary. Overland transportation on pack animals to points further south or to Cairo itself became exceptional: the cheapness of water transport (thus Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 53, where he states that one river barge carried a load equivalent to that of 200 mule-loads), combined with the difficulty of fording or crossing the numerous canals of the Delta, especially in the flood season, led to the almost exclusive use of the Alexandria-Rosetta route.

The harbours of Alexandria were a product, as in many other cases, of both natural and man-made features, but the former predominated. A narrow peninsula, protruding northward, had a tip that extended eastward and westward, thus creating two large and somewhat sheltered bays: these were the sites of the two harbours of Alexandria, the eastern and western (see for example Pīrī Reʾīs, *Kitāb-i baḥriyye*, 700-3, and map on 704-5). The western side of the eastern harbour was the main international port and the only one accessible to non-Muslim ships; the western harbour, also called Old Harbour, was reserved for Muslim ships. The famous lighthouse built in antiquity, that stood on the peninsula, still evoked the marvel of classical Arab geographers and gave rise to such legends as that of the magic mirror, but it was ruined by the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's second visit in 1349 (i, 30). The Mamlūk sultan Ḳāʾit Bāy built a guard-tower on the ruins of this lighthouse in 877/1472-3, and the Ottoman sultans Selīm I and Süleymān the Magnificent further fortified it and equipped it with heavy cannon (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 691).

At the height of Alexandria's prosperity, William of Tyre (1130-86) calls it "the mart of the two worlds" and states that "all the aromatics, jewels and other precious objects that Europe lacks are brought from the two Indias, from Saba, Arabia, the two Ethiopias, Persia and neighbouring countries, by sea and by the Nile to Alexandria..." (*Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, in *RHC*, i [1844], xix, 26,27). The sultan's customs house levied various types of taxes on ships, goods and passengers, and the inspection of both in- and out-bound traffic was thorough, without much distinction between Christians and Muslims, or merchants and pilgrims, judging by such testimonies as Ibn Djubayr's, who passed through this port in 579/1183 (*Riḥla*, 40-5). The revenue to the sultan's treasury must have been considerable, but the

scattered nature of the reports makes it difficult to form a consistent picture; thus in 703/1303 a Frankish ship paid 40,000 *dīnārs'* duty on its cargo; in the entire year of 721/1321, the revenue was 50,000 *dīnārs*; a governor in the 9th/15th century assessed Alexandria to be worth 1,000 *frinti* (*dīnārs*) a day [see AL-ISKANDARIYYA]. In any case, customs revenues were only one part of the asset to Egypt represented by Alexandria as a port; the main benefit rested in the role it played for trade and economic activity in general. Moreover, at least in the initial centuries of the boom characteristic of the later Middle Ages, the ships owned by the sultan as well as by other high officials on a private basis also participated in this trade. Traffic between Alexandria and the main ports of Christian Europe, however, appears to have been assured chiefly by Christian merchants and ships. Moreover, the principal trading partners such as Venice, Genoa, Marseilles or Barcelona established permanent commercial missions and facilities usually referred to as *fondacchi* (*funduḳ*s [*q.v.*] in Arabic) in Alexandria as well as in some other Muslim ports. The goods passing through Alexandria were of various kinds, but the single most important article was spices from the Orient on the way to Europe; an always coveted type of imports from Europe was strategic materials such as timber, iron, pitch and weapons—all subject to frequent papal interdictions and exemptions. Importation of slaves, chiefly from the Pontic and Caucasus regions via Turkey, also figured prominently. Furthermore, a special and lasting type of traffic through the port of Alexandria was that of pilgrims, both Muslim and Christian. Muslim pilgrims from the Maghrib often arrived by sea to Alexandria and thence proceeded on the Nile to such river ports as Ḳūs or Aswān, then overland to Ḳusayr or ʿAydhāb in order to cross over to Djudda, the port of Mecca; others crossed lower Egypt to Ḳulzum, and from there they either continued overland or again embarked and sailed to Djār or Djudda. Christian pilgrims, although they more commonly sailed to Jaffa or other ports closer to Jerusalem, also often passed through Alexandria: this applied especially to those who added a visit to Mount Sinai to their pilgrimage.

The discovery of the Cape route proved fatal to Alexandria's pre-eminence as the foremost port of East-West trade, but this happened only gradually; moreover, Alexandria did retain some importance in all respects, and only the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 may be considered as the terminal date of this port's function as a hub of transit trade and travel. Thus in the 11th/17th century, Ewliyā Čelebi describes Alexandria as a large port frequented each year by some three to four hundred Frankish ships, and as a place where there reside consuls of several (lit. "seven") [Christian] kings (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 678-9; Ewliyā's description of Alexandria, 668-707, is especially thorough and informative).

Cairo functioned in combination with Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta and Tinnīs as a river port, not unlike Baghdād in combination with Baṣra, Ubulla and Sīrāf. This function shifted in the Ottoman period to Cairo's suburb of Būlāḳ, whose role is vividly portrayed by such observers as Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] and Ewliyā. According to the former, one could sometimes see as many as one thousand barges in the harbour of Būlāḳ, and a certain number of the sultan's customs officials were stationed there (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1958, 508-9). Ewliyā Čelebi mentions it as a port whither converge goods "from the seven climates", which is annually visited by ten thousand ships of various kinds, and where there is the sultan's arsenal; moreover, the records and administration of the traffic passing through other Egyptian ports such as Damietta, Rosetta and Aswān were located in Būlāḳ. Ewliyā also states that there were in Būlāḳ 73 *khāns* belonging to rich merchants who had partners in India, Yemen, Europe and Turkey (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 291-4). Nevertheless, Būlāḳ did not really function as a full-fledged maritime port in the proper sense of the word; all the evidence suggests that most goods were transferred at the Rosetta or Damietta estuaries on to such river craft as *djarīms* for further transportation.

Other busy ports of Egypt's Mediterranean coast were Rosetta [see RASHĪD], Damietta [see DIMYĀṬ], and Tinnīs [*q.v.*]. Rosetta, long a military port, became open to foreign shipping only towards the end of the Mamlūk period (Heyd, ii, 428-9, see *Bibl.*; for the Ottoman period, see Ewliyā, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 707-16). Damietta declined after the 7th/13th century, when Crusaders' attacks and Mamlūk countermeasures blocked its harbour to sea-going ships; nevertheless, the town, which moved further upstream, did continue to function as a port, even though goods had to be hauled from ships anchored at the estuary by means of small boats (for the Ottoman period, see *Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 737-45). Tinnīs, situated on an island in Lake Manzala connected with the Damietta branch of the Nile, also functioned as a port; Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions as many as 1,000 ships mooring there (*Safar-nāma*, 50). Tinnīs, however, eventually disappeared because of repeated attacks by Christian warships and pirates.

A special case was that of al-Faramā (or al-Farmā), the ancient Pelusium, which still functioned as a port in the first Islamic centuries. Its location on the coast due north of al-Ḳulzum [*q.v.*] offered the shortest overland connection between the Mediterranean and Red Seas. Al-Faramā is singled out by Ibn Khurradādhbih (153-4) as the port used by the Radhāniyya Jewish merchants, who arrived there from western Europe (Firandja) with their goods and transported them across the distance of 25 *farsakh*s to al-Ḳulzum; there, they re-embarked and sailed to Djār, the port of Medina, and Djudda, the port of Mecca; from these ports, they would then sail to India and China. Likewise on their return trips, they brought oriental goods to al-Ḳulzum, transported them to al-Faramā, and re-embarked for western Europe or Constantinople. Al-Faramā, however, ceased to function by the end of the 4th/10th century, in part due to the drying-up of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.

4. *The ports of the Syro-Palestine coast.* The ports along this coast can be divided into three groups: those in the south that communicated mainly with Jerusalem, those in the middle that connected with Damascus, and those in the north that served mainly Aleppo. The principal ports of the southern group were Ghazza [*q.v.*], Ascalon [ʿASḲALĀN] and Jaffa [see YĀFĀ]; of the middle group, Acre [see ʿAKKĀ], Tyre [see ṢŪR], Sidon [see ṢAYDĀ], Beirut [see BAYRŪT], and Tripoli; of the northern group, Lādhiḳiyya, Ṭarṭūs [*q.v.*], Antioch [see ANṬĀKIYA], Iskenderun [see ISKANDARŪN] and Payas. Coastal roads also linked these ports with each other and with Egypt and Anatolia at the two ends. It was here that Muslims initially and lastingly came into contact with the Mediterranean Sea, although this contact received a traumatic upheaval during the two centuries of Crusaders' principalities. It is difficult to single out any one of these ports as surpassing the others in importance, but certain general trends can be discerned. Jaffa stood out as the Jerusalem-

bound pilgrim's port. The role of Damascus as one of the major inland termini of that part of the Spice Route which proceeded from Aden or Djudda northward through Arabia instead of swerving, across the Red Sea, to Egyptian ports, enhanced the role of the ports of the middle groups such as Beirut, Tyre and Acre. In the Ottoman period, the northern group gained prominence; this was due to the growth of Aleppo as an entrepôt of long-distance trade resulting from the renascence of the Persian Gulf and Iran routes, as well as to the proximity of the route from the Ottoman capital to Aleppo and ʿIrāḳ.

The fate of the above-mentioned inner harbours of many of these ports displays an evolution characteristic of much of the Islamic Mediterranean. Those of the inner harbours which relied on man-made structures such as walls in the sea declined, because that technology, chiefly of Roman origin, gradually became forgotten; an example of this process is cited by al-Muḳaddasī in his description of Acre (162-4). He narrates how Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn (254-70/868-84) wished to have the breakwater wall of Acre strengthened, but was told that architects expert in such techniques no longer existed; eventually, one—the geographer's own grandfather—who still knew the art, was found. On the other hand, harbour fortifications flourished throughout the Islamic period: the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) had a whole series of Mediterranean harbours further fortified, in order to counter devastating raids by Byzantine fleets. The inner harbours continued to decline, however, and judging by Pīrī Reʾīs's *Kitāb-i baḥriyye*, by the 10th/16th century most were silted up or accessible only to small vessels.

5. *The ports of Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib.* Both historical continuity and dramatic change due to partly external circumstances marked especially these ports. Continuity was dominant throughout the Middle Ages, when such ports as Bougie (Bidjāwa), Tunis, al-Mahdiyya, and Tripoli functioned much as their direct or indirect predecessors had done since antiquity, namely as commercial ports, naval bases and centres of pirate activities. Commercial links with the Islamic East and Christian Europe remained the dominant feature, despite the above-mentioned confrontational nature of the two sides of the Mediterranean. The change occurred in the 10th/16th century, when the transformation of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli into corsair principalities, nominally subordinate to Istanbul as *eyālet*s but in fact independent [see ḲURṢĀN], reversed that order and made the confrontation the chief theme. The purpose was again economic, but the religious zeal of these initially Turkish maritime *ghāzīs* played a catalytic role in the formation of the three principalities.

In Umayyad Spain, both its economic prosperity and the need for a war fleet stimulated the development of busy ports, especially on the Mediterranean coast. Almeria (from Mariyyat Badjdjāna, or just al-Mariyya [*q.v.*]), the principal naval base and site of the caliph's arsenal, was also the busiest commercial port; its overseas connections included Alexandria and the ports of the Syro-Palestinian coast; ships sailing between it and Alexandria often did so directly without stopping (Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, 302). From among the other ports, that of Denia [see DĀNIYA] deserves mentioning as the seat of the principality of Mudjāhid [*q.v.*], whose maritime *ghazwa* in the 5th/11th century presaged the formation of the Turkish principalities in North Africa half a millennium later. Finally, Cordova and Seville, both on the Guadalquivir, played some role as river ports. The gradual completion of the Reconquista eventually put an end to the functioning of all these harbours as Muslim ports, a situation not without effect on the configuration of Muslim shipping in the Mediterranean.

In conclusion, one general observation can be made in respect to the ports of the Islamic West. In comparison with those of the eastern Mediterranean, they played a secondary role. The reason may be sought in the fact that those of the East occupied a vital position on the hub of long-distance East-West trade, travel and, eventually, European expansion. The ports of the West, on the other hand, fulfilled only a local role, however important it often was; the trans-Saharan movement of gold and slaves through these ports never approached the magnitude of the Orient trade.

6. *The ports of Turkey and of the Black Sea.* In pre-Ottoman Anatolia, the ports of the south and north coasts had a significant share in transit trade that linked the Pontic regions of Russia, the Caucasus and Inner Asia with the Mediterranean and Europe. Mention should also be made of Tarsus [see ṬARSŪS], the principal naval base of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the Mediterranean during its first three centuries. That role, however, was extinct by the time much of Anatolia entered the *Dār al-Islām* through Saldjūḳid conquests. It was under this dynasty that Alanya and Antalya on the south coast rapidly developed and became connected by caravan routes with Samsun and Sinope on the north coast; the latter two in turn had as their main partners the ports of Sudaḳ, Kefe and Tana (Azaḳ in Turkish, present-day Azov) on the north side of the Black Sea. Lajazzo (Ayas in Turkish; the site, on the north-western coast of the bay of Iskenderun, is marked today by the settlement of Yumurtalık) and Trebizond, longer in Christian hands than the others, played a parallel role and also received a greater share of the Silk or Spice Routes traffic coming from Central Asia or from the Persian Gulf. Among the goods passing through the ports of the Black Sea, slaves from southern Russia and the Caucasus were the most valuable and constant commodity: this trade lasted well into the Ottoman period and flowed toward the Turkish and Egyptian capitals as well as toward other countries, including Italy.

The ports of western Anatolia such as Balat, Ephesus, Izmir or Foča played a relatively secondary role in pre-Ottoman times. The dramatic rise of Izmir (Izmīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) to a position of primacy in the Levant and possibly the entire eastern Mediterranean occurred only toward the end of the 10th/16th century. This prosperity, which peaked in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, was partly due to the above-mentioned renascence of the Persian Gulf route, for which Izmir became one of the Mediterranean outlets; another cause seems to have been the hitherto underestimated economic strength of 11th/17th century Anatolia itself. Izmir functioned as the terminus of a latter-day silk route, or silk-and-mohair route, for the silks from Iran and mohair from Anatolia formed a valuable portion of exports to Europe. Ewliyā Čelebi mentions large and frequent caravans that kept arriving from Iran, and ships from a whole gamut of European countries that called regularly—some 1,000 ships annually. The inner harbour had long silted up, but the large bay offered a comfortable anchorage. A European merchant colony became permanently established in Izmir to the point where "one would think one found oneself in Frengistan." The Franks had their own quarter along the harbour waterfront, and small boats handled the loading and unloading of goods, for large ships had to anchor some distance off

shore (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 96-7). From among the European merchants, consular representatives and visiting ships, those of England, France and Holland were the foremost: the supremacy of Italian and Catalan ships and merchants was by then a thing of the past. As for the Ottoman subjects, alongside Muslims, an active role was also played by Armenians, Jews and Greeks.

While Izmir was the principal international port of Ottoman Turkey, Istanbul [*q.v.*] as a port functioned mainly as the receiving end of a traffic designed to sustain the imperial capital. This alone sufficed to make its harbour, situated along both sides of the Golden Horn, a busy place. The northern side, whose main part in fact extended along the Bosphorus, served international shipping; the southern side with its many *iskeles* was reserved for Ottoman ships. Further west toward the end of the Golden Horn, on its northern side, was the imperial arsenal of Ḳāsim Pas̲h̲a (a description of these features can be found in Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, Turkish tr. H. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1952, 15-19, 37-9).

7. *Ports of the Caspian Sea.* The ports of the landlocked Caspian [see BAḤR AL-K̲H̲AZAR] played a naturally restricted role, without the magnitude of maritime trade, naval warfare or piracy affecting other seas. Nevertheless, there was a lively local traffic since the early centuries of Islam (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 25 = § 463). Thus Abaskūn [*q.v.*] situated in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian (near the location of present-day Bandar S̲h̲āh, the northern terminus of the Trans-Iranian railway), functioned as an outlet (*furḍa*) for the towns and regions of Astarābād̲h̲ and Gurgān, with ships leaving from it for Khazaria and Bāb al-Abwāb (al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 213-14). The prosperity of Abaskūn in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries made it the target of piratical raids by the still heathen Russians (or, more exactly, Rūs [*q.v.*]); two such raids, between 250-70/864-84 and in 297/909, are reported in Ibn Isfandiyār's *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān* (ed. A. Eghbal, 266; tr. E.G. Browne, 199; see also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 19-25 = §§ 458-61, and B. Dorn, *Caspia. Über die Einfälle der alten Russen in Tabaristan*, St. Petersburg, 1875 = *Académie Impériale des Sciences, Mémoires*, xxiii/1). Another Caspian port, raided in 301/913-4 by Rūs pirates, was Bākū [*q.v.*] (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 21 = § 460); Bākū was also one of the earliest oil-exporting ports, a role which it conserved throughout the subsequent centuries. Thus ʿAbd al-Ras̲h̲īd Ṣāliḥ al-Bākuwī (*fl.* 806/1402) reports how the inhabitants made seal-skin bags from seals (*kilāb al-māʾ*) which they hunted on a nearby island; they filled these bags with oil, and had them exported by ships to various other ports of the Caspian (*Kitāb Talk̲h̲īṣ al-āthār wa-ʿad̲j̲āʾib al-malik al-ḳahhār*, ed. and tr. Z.M. Buniyatov, Moscow 1971, Arabic text 122, Russian tr. 89). Finally, Derbend [*q.v.*], called in Classical Arabic texts Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*], had a harbour similar to those of the Mediterranean with seaside walls and an entrance gate protected by two guard-towers and a chain (al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 184-5; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 145).

8. *Ports of the Islamic Orient.* Two groups of ports ruled or used by Muslims can be distinguished here: those of the Indian subcontinent, and those of Malaysia and Indonesia. From among the former, Daybul, Ṣūrat and Ḳāliḳūt can serve as characteristic examples. Daybul [*q.v.*] situated in the delta of the Indus not far from modern Karachi, was won for Islam by conquest in 92/711-12; the other ports received their Muslim populations chiefly through emigration and proselytisation that travelled along the sea-trade routes. Daybul combined the industry of trade and piracy both in the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods, and its merchants were an example of those Indians who reciprocated the enterprising spirit of the Arabs and Persians by sailing to the ports of Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and East Africa. Ṣūrat, located on the eastern side of the entry into the Gulf of Cambay [see K̲H̲AMBĀYAT], added to its commercial role that of a favourite gateway of Mecca-bound pilgrims. Ḳāliḳūt [*q.v.* in Suppl.] owed its eminence in part to a strategic position in the southern part of the Malabar coast, where it functioned not only as an Indian port but also as a relay post and exchange mart for trade with Indonesia and China. It rose to prominence in the later Middle Ages and surpassed Kūlam Malāy (Quilon) [see KŪLAM], a port still closer to the southern tip of India, which had a similar function in early ʿAbbāsid times (Sauvaget, *Ak̲h̲bār*, 8, 42-3). Ma Huan, the chronicler of Chinese maritime expeditions of the early 15th century, mentions Ḳāliḳūt as the usual goal of Chinese fleets arriving from the east, and as a point of departure on their further sailings to such ports as Aden, Ẓafār or Hurmuz (Ma Huan, *Ying-yai sheng-lan*, "*The overall survey of the ocean's shores" (1433)*, tr. Feng Ch'eng-chun, Cambridge 1970 (Hakluyt Society, Extra series, xlii, 151-71). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sailed in April-May 1347 from Ḳāliḳūt to Ẓafār (iv, 310-11); and it was at Ḳāliḳūt that Vasco Da Gama, reportedly guided by the Arab pilot Ibn Mād̲j̲id [*q.v.*], arrived in 1498, after having crossed the Indian Ocean from the East African port of Malindi [*q.v.*].

The final group of important harbours of the Islamic world begins with Atjèh [*q.v.*] of Northern Sumatra and extends through the archipelago all the way to Sulawesi (Celebes). Their Islamisation had begun by the time Marco Polo and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sailed through these waters in the 13th and 14th centuries, and was well-nigh complete when European penetration and colonisation started gaining momentum in the 16th and 17th centuries. In northern Sumatra, the ports of Pedir, Lamuri (Lambri), Pasei and Perlak were among the earliest exporters of spices and receptors of Islam. They were by the 16th century eclipsed by Atjèh, the chief port and capital (also known in the latter capacity as Kutaraja, a name that reveals the older pre-Islamic Indian influence) of a sultanate whose prosperity and might rested on spice—mainly pepper—exports and piracy. Atjèh lay at the northern tip of Sumatra; across the narrowing strait further south, the port of Malacca [*q.v.*] became the seat of a sultanate on Malay peninsula. Like the ports of Sumatra, Malacca was useful as a relay station along the strategic passage through the strait of Malaysia on the route to other Indonesian ports such as the pepper-exporting port of Bantam at the western tip of Java, and to China. In early ʿAbbāsid times, a role similar to that of Malacca had been played by Kalāh [*q.v.*] further north near the narrow neck of the peninsula (Sauvaget, *Ak̲h̲bār*, 8, 43).

Once converted, Indonesians and Malays became fervent Muslims, and such ports as Atjèh served as the principal gateways on their pilgrimage to Mecca, and in general as the points of communication with the centres of Islam further west. The rise of Atjèh in the 16th century coincided with two dramatic developments in the Indian ocean: the arrival of the Europeans, and the attempts of the Ottomans to stave off the consequences of that event. One quaint result of this clash was an embassy sent by the third sultan of Atjèh, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Riʿāyat S̲h̲āh al-Ḳahhār (1573-71) to Istanbul in 973/1563, requesting military aid from Süleymān the Magnificent. Eventually, a fleet of nineteen vessels left the Ottoman naval base at Suez,

but most remained in Yemen. Two ships did reach Atjèh, however, and delivered cannon and other ammunition as well as gunnery experts (Saffet, *Bir ʿOthmānli filosunun Sumatra seferi*, in *TOEM*, x [Oct. 1911], 604-14; xi [Dec. 1911], 678-83).

9. *Khānfū and Zaytūn.* These two ports, identified with Canton and Ch'üan-chou (the latter located at the level of Taiwan), never came within the *Dār al-Islām*, but their special role as the Oriental termini of Muslim sea-farers and traders should allow us to include them in this discussion. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 69, mentions Khānfū as the greatest *markā* (port of call) [of China]. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 302-3 = § 329) states that Khānfū lay on a river which was the destination of ships coming from Baṣra, Sīrāf, ʿUmān, India and other countries, and adds that there lived in Khānfū colonies of Muslims, Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians. One of al-Masʿūdī's sources was the above-mentioned *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*, dated 236/851, which refers to Khānfū as a port of call of ships and a market place of Arabs and Chinese (ed. and tr. Sauvaget, *Akhbār*, 6-7). Moreover, the interior of T'ang China was open to Muslim merchants if provided with a passport issued by Chinese authorities; there was also a Muslim colony in the T'ang capital city of Chańgan, the eastern terminus of the transcontinental Silk Road. The simultaneous presence of Muslim and other Near Eastern traders in both Changan and Canton may then have resulted in some linkage between the overland Silk Road and the maritime Spice Route (Rita Rose di Meglio, *Il commercio arabo con la Cina della Ǧāhiliyya al X secolo*, in *AIUON*, n.s., xiv [1964], 523-52). Disturbances that accompanied the final decades of T'ang rule also proved fatal to the Muslim colony in Khānfū/Canton: the death-blow was dealt by a rebellion in 879 A.D., when the entire colony was reported destroyed or driven out; some merchants then adopted the above-mentioned Kalāh in Malaysia as their base of operations. The long-range effect of this upheaval, however, cannot have been absolute, for western visitors such as Marco Polo and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa speak of Yüan Zaytūn in terms not unlike those of the *Akhbār* and al-Masʿūdī about T'ang Khānfū: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found there a thriving Arabo-Persian merchant colony, up to a point self-governing; he also states that Zaytūn was one of the largest, if not the largest, ports of the world (iv, 269).

Bibliography: For the pre-modern period, the main scope of this article, few specific studies of ports and harbours exist, and information must be culled from a variety of sources. Only examples of especially helpful or representative titles can be mentioned here. The Mediterranean: A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge*, Munich-Berlin 1906, esp. 122-222; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, Leipzig 1885-6; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, Berkeley 1970-84, 4 vols., esp. i, ii; S. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter, 1171-1517*, Wiesbaden 1965; H.R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides, Xe-XIIe siècles*, Paris 1962; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1940-7; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, Paris-Leiden 1950; Ch.-E. Dufourq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Paris 1966; F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris 1966; Cl. Cahen, *Ports et chantiers navals dans le monde méditerraneen musulman jusqu'aux Croisades*, in *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo*, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, Settimane di Studio, xxv, 14-20 aprile 1977, Spoleto 1978, 299-319; idem, *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale d'après le Minhādj d'al-Makhzūmī*, in *JESHO*, vii (1964), 218-314; J. Aubin, *La ruine de Siraf et les routes du Golfe Persique aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, ii/3 (1959), 295-301; idem, *La survie de Shilau et la route du Khunj-o-fāl*, in *Iran*, vii (1969), 21-37; idem, *Le royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVIe siècle*, in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, ii (1972), 77-179. From among the primary sources, the standard geographers and historians such as Idrīsī, Yāḳūt and Maḳrīzī are indispensable; to these, the special category of portolans and portolan charts should be added; a fundamental study of the Italian ones is K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1909; of the Greek ones, A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs*, Liège-Paris 1947; the Muslim side is represented by the unique case of Pīrī Reʾīs, *Kitāb-i baḥriyye*, facs. ed. Istanbul 1935; see also S. Soucek, *À propos du Livre d'Instructions Nautiques de Pīrī Reʾīs*, in *REI*, xli (1973) 241-55. From among the travel accounts, Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314-1938, 10 vols., is invaluable for the Ottoman period. The Red Sea, Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean: Some of the above-mentioned studies, especially Heyd, Goitein and Labib; A. Kammerer, *La mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'antiquité*, Cairo 1929-50; G.F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early Islamic times*, Princeton 1951; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864, esp. 79-91; O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte zur Kenttnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, Uppsala 1936-50, esp. i, 56-7; G. Le Strange, *Lands*; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*; W. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984; A. Iḳtidārī Lāristānī, *Āthār-i shahrhā-yi bāstānī-yi sawāḥil wa djazāyir-i khalīdj-i Fārs wa daryā-yi ʿUmān*, Tehran 1348/1969-70; C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun güney siyaseti: Habeş eyâleti*, Istanbul 1974; N. Steensgard, *The Asian trade revolution of the seventeenth century*, Chicago-London 1974; K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and civilisation in the Indian Ocean. An economic history from the rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge 1985. From among the primary sources, Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, the Indian Ocean counterparts to Pīrī Reʾīs, deserve special mention; see also G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris 1921-3 and G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971.

(S. Soucek)

MINĀʾĪ, a term used by modern authors to describe a type of ceramics with polychrome under- and over-glaze painting produced during the late 12th and early 13th centuries. Figural decoration which depicts stories from the Persian epic tradition is characteristic of some *mināʾī* wares.

When these objects first became known in the late 19th century they were described as "Rhages Polychrome Ware" because they were said to come from the ruins of mediaeval Rayy on the outskirts of modern Tehran, but this link was not substantiated by textual documentation or archaeological evidence. More recently, O. Watson has suggested that *mināʾī* vessels were produced in Kāshān [*q.v.*] by the group of potters who also made lustre-painted vessels and architectural revetments. Fragments of *mināʾī* vessels and tiles have been found in Turkey and Syria, but it is unclear where these objects were produced.

The designation of this polychrome painted ware as

mināʾī began only in the 1930s. A.U. Pope, writing in the *Survey of Persian art* (1939-40), describes *mināʾī* as "simply a name given currency by the Persian dealers." Other authors of this period such as K. Erdmann and R. Ettinghausen use the term in quotations marks or qualify it as "so-called Mināʾī faience." More recently, however, the term *mināʾī* has gained acceptance among both scholars and their public, and qualifications are seldom used.

The precise mediaeval name of this ware is uncertain. It may have been "seven-colour ware", a term used by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Kās̲h̲ānī, a member of the family of potters who are thought to have produced both *mināʾī* and lustre-painted ceramics.

Certain examples of this ware have been repeatedly published, and a substantial quantity of it is found in public and private collections; overall, however, it is poorly documented. Only a few signed pieces have been noted: two by "ʿAlī b. Yūsuf" and two by "Abū Zayd al-Kās̲h̲ānī". Dated pieces are also rare, and curiously, four of the six published examples are dated to either Muḥarram 582/1186-7 or Muḥarram 583/1187-8. The authenticity of those dates was questioned already in 1939 by R. Ettinghausen, who noted that the dates were written over the glaze and should be subjected to technical examination before they were accepted as fact. Similar reservations were voiced by A. Lane. These caveats, however, have seemingly been largely ignored, for the objects continue to be cited in current publications and used as the foundation for a wider chronology.

Iranian authors of the 11th/14th centuries link the terms *mināʾī* and *mināʾ* to translucent or luminous substances such as the sky or wine vessels. Often, *mināʾī* is said to be blue. *Mināʾ* is also used as a technical term to describe a type of glass. The most detailed references are found in the *Tansūk̲h̲-nāma-yi Īlk̲h̲ānī* by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, who describes *mināʾ* as a type of lead glass of which the best quality is made in Syria, Egypt and the Mag̲h̲rib. Green *mināʾ* was most prized and was used to imitate emeralds as well as to make vessels that were sometimes decorated with inlays in precious materials. This suggests that *mināʾ* was cast rather than blown and worked as if it were stone.

Later authors use the terms *mināʾ* and *mināʾī* to describe glass vessels that had been painted and gilded. During the 18th and 19th centuries vessels of this type appear to have reached Iran from India or Europe, although some were also made locally. It is probable that the description of emerald glass as *mināʾ* led to the designation of polychrome glazed ceramics as *mināʾī*.

Bibliography: Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Tansūk̲h̲-nāma-yi Īlk̲h̲ānī*, Tehran 1348, 58, 59, 148, 218; A.A. Dehkhoda, *Lug̲h̲at-nāma*, s.v. *mināʾ*, *mināʾī*; F. Sarre, *Persisch-islamische Keramik des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts*, in *Amtl. Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, xxx (1908), 70-1; H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre and R. Winderlick, *Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayencetechnik*, Istanbul 1935, 27-8, 45; K. Erdmann, *A note on so-called Mina'i Faience*, in *Bull. of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, iii (1935), 80-2; R. Ettinghausen, *Two signed mina'i bowls*, in *ibid.*, v (1937), 29-32; idem, *Ceramic art in Islamic times. B. Dated faience*, in *Survey of Persian art*, ed. A.U. Pope, New York 1939-40, 1688-9; Pope, *Ceramic art in Islamic times*, in *SPA*, esp. 1596-8, 1627-9; A. Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, New York 1948, 41-3; J.W. Allan, *Abu 'l-Qasim's treatise on ceramics*, in *Iran*, xi (1973), 115, 120; O. Watson, *Persian lustre ware*, London 1985, 23-5, 36-44, 60, 79, 84. See also k̲h̲azaf. (P. Soucek)

MINANGKABAU or menangkabau, the most numerous of the peoples of the island of Sumatra [*q.v.*] in the Indonesian Republic (1980 population estimate, 6 million). They inhabit the Padang highlands of west-central Sumatra, but there are also appreciable numbers of Minangkabau emigrants, including to Negro Sembilan in the Malay peninsula [*q.v.*]. Originally under Indonesian cultural and religious influence, as the centre of the Hindu-Malayan empire of Malayu, by the early 17th century much of their land had become Muslim through the influence of the Sultanate of Atjèh [*q.v.*] at the northern tip of the island. Although the Minangkabau are enthusiastic Muslims, they retain many of their former matrilineal practices in the reckoning of genealogies, marriage and inheritance, in flat contradiction to the *S̲h̲arīʿa*. They are also skilled farmers, with terraced agriculture on the hill slopes, and notable woodcarvers, metalworkers and traders, in this last respect rivaling the Chinese. In the movement for Indonesian independence in the earlier half of this century, they played a significant rôle, and several of the Minangkabau filled important government positions in the post-1949 republican period.

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MĪNĀR, MINARET [see manāra].

MINBAR (a.), the raised structure or pulpit from which solemn announcements to the Muslim community were made and from which sermons were preached.

1. Early historical evolution and place in the Islamic cult.

In contrast to the *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*], the *minbar* was introduced in the time of the Prophet himself. The word, often pronounced *mimbar* (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i, 161), comes from the root *n-b-r* "high"; it could be derived from the Arabic quite easily with the meaning "elevation, stand", but is more probably a loanword from the Ethiopic (Schwally, in *ZDMG*, lii [1898], 146-8; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachw.*, Strassburg 1910, 49). Its case is therefore somewhat similar to that of *masd̲j̲id*. It means "seat, chair" (e.g. Wüstenfeld, *Chron. Mekka*, ii, 8; *Ag̲h̲ānī*², xiv, 75) and is used, for example, for saddle (al-Ṭabarī, *Gloss.*) and of a litter (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, xiii, 158; cf. Schwally). It is therefore identical with *mad̲j̲lis* (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *D̲j̲umʿa*, *bāb* 23), with *sarīr* (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 20; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, iii, 3), *tak̲h̲t* or *kursī* (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Usd al-g̲h̲aba*, i, 214; cf. also Becker, *Kanzel*, 8). The use of the word for the pulpit is in keeping with its history.

When the *k̲h̲aṭīb* [*q.v.*] spoke among the Arabs, he usually did so standing (cf. *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, xci²³; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1332, i, 129, ii, 143) frequently beating the ground with bow and lance (*ibid.*, i, 198; Labīd, 7, 15, 9, 45); or he sat on his mount as did e.g. Ḳuss b. Sāʿida (*Bayān*, i, 25, 31, ii, 141). The Prophet did both of these things. In ʿArafa he sat on his camel during his *k̲h̲uṭba* and on other occasions, when addressing the community during the early period, even as late as the day of the capture of Mecca, he stood (cf. Ḳurʾān, LXII, 11). The people sat on the ground around him (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *D̲j̲umʿa*, *bāb* 28; *ʿĪdayn*, *bāb* 6). In the mosque in Medina, he had a particular place, as is mentioned in the stories

of the introduction of the *minbar*. Sometimes, we are told, he stood beside a tree or a palm-tree (al-Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, *bāb* 25; ed. Krehl, ii, 400); as a rule however, beside a palm-trunk (*djidh*ᶜ, so Ibn Saᶜd, i/1, 9, 10, 11, 12) and on a few occasions beside one of the pillars (al-Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, *bāb* 25, ed. Krehl, ii, 401; al-Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, ii, 75). This is undoubtedly the original tradition: the Prophet stood beside one of the palm-tree trunks used as pillars in the mosque. For "beside" (usually *ḳāma ilā*; al-Bukhārī, *Buyūᶜ*, *bāb* 32: *ᶜinda*) "up against" (*ḳāma ᶜalā*; already in al-Bukhārī, *Djumᶜa*, *bāb* 26) is sometimes found later and for the column or trunk, we find a stump on which he sat.

Various passages record how the *minbar* was introduced, notably the following: Ibn Saᶜd, i/1, 9-12; al-Bukhhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 18, 64, 91; *Djumᶜa*, *bāb* 26; *Buyūᶜ*, *bāb* 32; *Hiba*, *bāb* 3; *Manāḳib*, *bāb* 25; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 10; see also Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *Pulpit*; *Usd al-ghāba*, i, 43 below, 214; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 62-3; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 275-6; the whole material is in al-Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, i, 129, ii, 75-6, and *Sīrat al-ḥalabī*, ii, 146-7. The details are variously given. The *minbar*, we are told, was built of *ṭarfā* wood or tamarisk from the woods near Medina; the builder was a Byzantine or a Copt and was called Bāḳūm or Bāḳūl, but the names Ibrāhīm (*Usd*, i, 43), Maymūn, Ṣabāḥ, Kulāb and Minā are also given. He was a carpenter, but a slave of the wife of one of the Anṣār or (al-Bukhārī, *Hiba*, *bāb* 3) of the Muhādjirūn. Others say he belonged to al-ᶜAbbās. The suggestion is sometimes credited to the Prophet and sometimes to others. The palm-trunk is said to have whined like a camel or a child when the Prophet mounted his new seat, but was calmed by stroking and kind words from the Prophet. Most stories take it for granted that the *minbar* was primarily intended for the *khuṭba*; in some it is added that the object was to enable the large assembly to hear him (Ibn Saᶜd, i/1, 10, 11). We are told also that the Prophet performed the *ṣalāt* on it and, during the *sudjūd*, he came down from it. He also took care that the people could see his *ṣalāt* and follow him (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 18; *Djumᶜa*, *bāb* 26). This last tradition however presupposes the later custom of standing upon the *minbar* (note that the same idea of the palm-stump occurs in *Djumᶜa*, *bāb* 26).

In this connection, it is interesting to note a tradition in Ibn al-Athīr according to which the Companions asked the Prophet to take up a raised position, as many *wufūd* were coming (*Usd al-ghāba*, i, 43). Another tradition is in keeping with this, according to which the Prophet, when he was visited by a man named Tamīm, stood on a *kursī* and addressed him from it (*ibid.*, 214; cf. Lammens, *Moᶜāwia*, 204, n. 5). Here we have a seat of honour on which the ruler sits. This is undoubtedly in keeping with the character of the *minbar*; while the raised seat was in general use among the northern Semites, the Arabs usually sat on the ground, often leaning against a saddle. The raised seat was the special mark of the ruler or, what is the same thing, of the judge. We are told that Rabīᶜa b. Mukhāshin was the first to sit on a *minbar* or *sarīr* when acting as judge (*Aghānī*², iii, 3; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 6-7). Al-Ḥadjdjādj, for example, when he addressed the people (hardly in the mosque) sat on a chair which belonged to him (*kursī lahu:* al-Ṭabarī, ii, 959) and when he tried and condemned his enemies, a *sarīr* was erected for him (*ibid.*, 1119); in the same way a *kursī* was placed for Yazīd b. al-Muhallab when he issued his orders for a battle (*ibid.*, ii, 1107; see also Becker, *Kanzel*, 8).

If tradition usually suggests that the *minbar* was introduced exclusively for the *khuṭba*, this seems to be a somewhat one-sided view. The *minbar* was primarily, as Becker was the first to point out, the throne of the mighty Prophet in his capacity as a ruler. In keeping with this is the tradition that it was introduced in the year 7, 8 or 9 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1591; al-Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, ii, 75; *Usd al-ghāba*, i, 23). The Prophet used it for the publication of important announcements, for example, the prohibition of wine. That he should also make his public speeches to the community from the new seat was only natural. His *khuṭbas*, however, were not confined to the Friday worship, and he could still deliver a *khuṭba* without a *minbar*, e.g. at the festival on the *muṣallā* [*q.v.*], where Marwān was the first to put up a *minbar* (al-Bukhārī, *ᶜĪdayn*, *bāb* 6), and beside the Kaᶜba after the capture of Mecca (Ibn Hishām, 823).

The Prophet's *minbar* is often called *aᶜwād* from its material (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 64; *Djumᶜa*, *bāb* 26). It consisted of two steps and a seat (*madjlis:* al-Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, ii, 75; al-Bukhārī, *Djumᶜa*, *bāb* 23; *maḳᶜad:* al-Ṭabarī, i, 1591). After the time of the Prophet, it was used in the same way by Abū Bakr, ᶜUmar and ᶜUthmān (see below). Its significance as a throne is seen from the fact that in the year 50, Muᶜāwiya wanted to take it to Syria with him; he was not allowed to do so but he raised it by 6 steps. At a later date, ᶜAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd are said to have wanted to take the Prophet's *minbar* to Damascus (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 92-3; *Khamīs*, ii, 75; Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 283; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 23-4; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 63). In the time of the Prophet, it stood against the wall so that a sheep could just get past (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, 91). In the time of al-Muḳaddasī, in the centre of the Mughaṭṭā there was pointed out the position of the old *minbar*, above which Muᶜāwiya was said to have built his new one (82; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 26, and al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 71). According to some *ḥadīths*, it was over the *ḥawḍ* of the Prophet (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt fī Makka*, *bab* 5; *Faḍāʾil al-Madīna*, *bāb* 5, 12 and *passim*). At a later date, new *minbars* were erected in the mosque (see Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 64, 96).

That the Umayyads should have a *minbar* of their own was natural; they sat on it, just as their predecessors had done (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 42). Muᶜāwiya took it with him on his journey to Mecca (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 333); he also had taken it to the festivals on the *muṣallā* (al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 265), just as Marwān used to do in Medina (see above); it was therefore still portable and indispensable for the sovereign when he wished to make a public appearance as such. In Ibn Djubayr's time, the *minbar al-khuṭba* in Damascus was in the central *maḳṣūra* (*Riḥla*, 265). According to Ibn Khaldūn, Muᶜāwiya was the first in Islam to use the throne (*sarīr*, *minbar*, *takht*, *kursī*) but he is clearly not referring to the *minbar* of the mosque (*Muḳaddima*, Cairo 1322, 205-6, *faṣl* 3, 37).

The *minbar* taken to Mecca by Muᶜāwiya remained there till the time of al-Rashīd; when the latter visited Mecca on his Pilgrimage in the year 170/786-7 or 174/790-1 a *minbar manḳūsh* with nine steps was presented to him by the *amīr* of Egypt and the old one was put up in ᶜArafa. At a later date, al-Wāthiḳ made *minbars* for Mecca, ᶜArafa and Minā (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 333, iii, 114). The Meccan *minbar* was a portable one. It usually stood beside the *maḳām* but was put beside the Kaᶜba during the *khuṭba* (Ibn Djubayr, 95, 97; cf. *Chron. Mekka*, iii, 429). According to al-Batanūnī, this custom was kept up until Sultan Sülaymān Ḳānūnī (926-74/1520-66) built a marble *minbar*, north of the *maḳām* (*al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*, 100).

It seems at first to have been doubtful whether

manābir should be put up in the provinces or not. According to al-Ḳuḍāʿī, ʿAmr had a *minbar* made in al-Fusṭāṭ but ʿUmar ordered him to take it away: he was not to raise himself above the Muslims so that they would have to sit below his heels (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 6-7; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 76; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 63, ii, 135). The idea obviously was that the throne belonged to the caliph alone. After ʿUmar's death, however, ʿAmr is said to have used a *minbar* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 8, 27). It stood there till Ḳurra b. S͟harīk [*q.v.*] rebuilt the mosque. During the rebuilding, it was put in the Ḳaysāriyya, which was used as a mosque; only when the mosque was completed in the year 92/711 did Ḳurra put up a new *minbar*. Tradition, however, is uncertain. The *minbar* removed by Ḳurra perhaps dated from the time of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, who had taken it from a church or had been presented with it by the Nubian king (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 8; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 78). Ḳurra's *minbar* remained till 379/989, when the Fāṭimid vizier Yaʿḳūb b. Killis replaced it by a gilded one. A large new *minbar* was placed in the mosque of ʿAmr in 405/1014-15 by al-Ḥākim (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 8; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 78-9).

We hear of no objections in other places to the *manābir* in the *amṣār*. In Madāʾin as early as the year 16/637, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ erected a *minbar* in the mosque improvised in the Īwān of Kisrā (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2451, 9). In Baṣra, Abū Mūsā put up a *minbar* in the middle of the mosque. This was, however, found inconvenient because the imām had to cross from the *minbar* to the *ḳibla* "over the necks" of the (seated) believers. Ziyād then placed the *minbar* against the south wall (Yāḳūt, i, 642). On the other hand, we are told that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (governor of Baṣra 36-40/656-60) was the first to mount the *minbar* in Baṣra (al-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 179). When Ziyād had to fly from Baṣra, he saved the *minbar* which he put up in his Masd͟jid al-Ḥuddān (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3414-15). The *minbar* was the symbol of the ruler, and the governor sat upon it as representative of the ruler. It therefore formed a feature of the Masd͟jid al-D͟jamāʿa, where the community was officially addressed. In the year 64/683-4, therefore, there were *minbars* in all the provinces. In this year, homage was paid to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam not only in the capital but in the other *manābir* in the Ḥid͟jāz, Miṣr, S͟haʾm, D͟jazīra, ʿIrāḳ, K͟hurāsān, and other *amṣār* (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 307). Special mention is made of the fact that Ṭabariyya had no *minbar*.

In the 1st century and beginning of the 2nd one, we find the *wālī* in the smaller towns delivering the *k͟huṭba* standing, with the staff only. But in 132/749-50 the governor ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān had *manābir* put up in the *ḳurā* of Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 8, 17 ff.; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 350-1). When the *k͟huṭba* became purely a religious exhortation and the ruler was no longer the *k͟haṭīb*, the *minbar* became the pulpit of the spiritual preacher, and every mosque in which the Friday service was celebrated was given a *minbar*. At the same time, i.e. after al-Ras͟hīd, the change was gradually completed and the preacher spoke, standing on the pulpit. *Ḥadīt͟hs* therefore came into existence, according to which the Prophet used to deliver two *k͟huṭbas* on Friday, standing "just as is done to-day" (al-Buk͟hārī, *D͟jumʿa*, *bābs* 27, 30) and ʿUmar (*ibid.*, *bāb* 2).

The *minbar* was thus now quite analogous to the Christian pulpit. It is very probable that this latter also influenced its form. We have already noted above, regarding a *minbar* in the mosque of ʿAmr, that it was said to be of Christian origin. The same thing came to be said of the Prophet's *minbar* (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 63). Muʿāwiya made the Medina *minbar* larger, while the one brought by him to Mecca had only three steps and was of course portable. We again hear of portable *minbars* later, which did not exclude their being large (cf. above, on the *minbar* of Mecca). Thus the *manābir* in al-Mag͟hrib are said to have been portable. Ibn al-Ḥād͟jd͟j regards this (the oldest) custom as *bidʿa* and therefore ascribes it to al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j (*Madk͟hal*, ii, 47, 13 ff.). The oldest *minbars* were all of wood. There is, however, one *ḥadīt͟h* which says that the Prophet had a *kursī* of wood with iron legs made for the reception of Tamīm (*Usd*, i, 214, 8 from below; cf. Lammens, *Moʿāwia*, 273, n. 3); it is however uncertain what relation this had to the *minbar*. A *minbar* of iron was made as early as the Umayyad period (Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 78, 8: *al-minbar al-ḥadīd*, probably correct in spite of Becker, *Kanzel*, 10, n.; cf. 79, 4, and see below); and also of stone (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 42, n. 5, with a reference to Ibn Ḥad͟jar); later, they were also built of brick (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 64, 96). As a rule, the *minbar* stood against the *ḳibla* wall beside the *miḥrāb*. Al-Mahdī had tried to reduce the *manābir* to their original small size (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 486, 12; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 12, 13 ff.), but he could not arrest the development. In the larger mosques several *manābir* were even built. Ibn al-Faḳīh, in about 300/912-13, already mentions five *minbars* in the mosque in Jerusalem (100, 8 f.). In the Sulṭān Ḥasan mosque in Cairo, four were planned and three erected, when a minaret fell down in 762/1361 and diverted attention to other work (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 117, 18 f.).

The importance which the *minbar* already had in the time of the Prophet caused special reverence to be paid to it, and the sanctity of the mosque was concentrated round this and around the *miḥrāb*. The governor of Kūfa, K͟hālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (105-20/723-38), received a letter of censure from the caliph because he had prayed for water on the *minbar* (*Kāmil*, 20, 15). A false oath taken on or beside the *minbar* of the Prophet absolutely led to hell (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 10, 3 f., 12, 19 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 329; cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 144, 147). Legends grew up which represented the Prophet seeing into the future from the *minbar* (al-Buk͟hārī, *D͟jumʿa*, *bāb* 29) and being able to follow the battle of Muʾta [*q.v.*] from it (cf. al-Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 311; Ibn His͟hām, 796) and also telling how his prayers on the *minbar* were specially efficacious.

Just as the Kaʿba was covered (*kasā*), so was the same thing done to the *minbar*. ʿUt͟hmān is said to have been the first to cover the *minbar* of the Prophet with a *ḳaṭīfa* (*K͟hamīs*, ii, 75, 1 from below). Muʿāwiya did the same thing when he had to give up his attempt to abolish it (*ibid.*, 76, 4; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 92, 4). It was not quite the same thing when al-Ḥākim rediscovered the already-mentioned iron *minbar* and covered it with gilded leather because it was covered with dirt (read: *ḳad͟har*) i.e. rust (Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 79, 5 f.). Under the ʿAbbāsids, a new *kiswa* was sent every year for the *minbar* of the Prophet from Bag͟hdād; the sultans later did not renew it so frequently (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 64). We find other references to the covering of the *minbar* on special occasions (Ibn D͟jubayr, 149, 16). Ibn al-Ḥād͟jd͟j (*Madk͟hal*, ii, 74) demands that the *imām* should put a stop to the custom of putting carpets on the *minbar*.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see C.H. Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islām*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 331-51 = *Islamstudien*, i,

450-71; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i, 533, 739, ii, 68-9, 87, 213-14; H. Lammens, *Mo^cāwia*, 63, 204-8, 273; J. Horovitz, in *Isl.*, xvi (1927), 257-60).

(J. Pedersen)

2. Architectural features: the Arab, Persian and Turkish lands.

As noted in 1. above, the *minbar* was in early times used as a seat by the ruler or his governor, from which he addressed the Muslims at the Friday worship, consonant with the use of mosques in the Umayyad period as places of political assembly also (see MASDJID. I. E. 1, and J. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine*, Paris 1947, 134-5, 142-4). According to C.H. Becker, the change in the purpose of the *minbar* from the ruler's or governor's seat to the purely religious pulpit occurred towards the end of the Umayyad period (*Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 344-7). Unfortunately, we do not have any examples or even descriptions of how *minbars* looked during the Umayyad period. Evidently it took some time before *minbars* were generally in use. In 132/749-50 provincial cities in Egypt were provided with *minbars* by order of Marwān II, and we may therefore presume that they became standard mosque furniture in other parts of the Islamic world as well.

Little is known of *minbars* during the ᶜAbbāsid period. It is reported that the caliph al-Mahdī ordered Muḥammad b. Abī Djaᶜfar al-Manṣūr in 161/777-8 to reduce the height of *minbars* to make them the same size as that of the Prophet (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1853, ii, 247). This incident would suggest that *minbars* at that time were high, a possibility borne out by the fact that the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā had, according to its *ḳibla* wall plan, a *minbar* which, on architectural evidence, was about 3.90 m high (J. Schacht, *An unknown type of Minbar and its historical significance*, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii [1957], 156). The only surviving *minbar* from the early period of Islam is in the Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān in Tunisia. Made of teak and measuring 3.31 m with eleven steps, it is a magnificent example of carved woodwork. It is said to have been brought from Baghdād by the Aghlabid *amīr* Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (242-249/856-63), and was probably completed in 248/862-3 (K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1940, ii, 314, 317-19, pls. 89, 90). It is the earliest extant example to have the basic elements of a wooden *minbar*, that is, a platform with steps and a portal without a door at the entrance to the steps. The framework consists of upright and transverse strips of wood with rectangular and triangular panels fitted in by the tongue-and-groove technique. The framework is decorated with vine tendrils forming circular loops enclosing a vine leaf and bunch of grapes, a composition found in the tie beams of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Most of the panels on the *minbar* are geometric grilles, but on the eastern side there are ten very beautiful panels carved in arabesque. The naturalistic style of the design on these ten panels and, in particular, the pine cones encircled by vines, recall wooden panels found near Baghdād. In Creswell's view, the resemblance strongly suggests that the ten panels were carved there. E. Kühnel has pointed out that their ornamentation resembles that of the Umayyad palace at Mushattā [*q.v.*] (*Die Islamische Kunst*, in A. Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig 1929, vi, 385). E. Diez remarked on the dissimilarity of the style of the naturalistic panels to the more abstract style of the early ᶜAbbāsid period typified in the stucco and wood decoration in Sāmarrā, and believed that some of the carved strips and panels may have belonged to an Umayyad *minbar* before being assembled in the present structure (*EI*[1], MINBAR, at iii, 500). The *minbar* has been subjected to damage and restoration and, particularly, it must have been restored after Ḳayrawān was sacked by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir in 441/1049-50 (H. Saladin, *La Mosquée de Sidi Okba à Kairouan*, Paris 1899, 8, 104). According to Creswell, in the repairs of 1907 the panels were replaced in a new order. The rectangular panels with geometric designs, which are of varying quality, are difficult to date, and whilst some are more recent, others appear to have been made at an early period (L. Golvin, *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse musulmane*, Paris 1970, 228).

In early Islamic times, some *minbars* were movable, which would at once indicate that they were made of very light material, probably wood. Judging from the form and size of the *ḳibla* wall in the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā, it must have had a movable *minbar* which was kept in a special room close to the *miḥrāb* (Schacht, *op. cit.*, 156). The *minbar* of the Kaᶜba in Mecca was on wheels and was normally kept in the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* [*q.v.*], but was pushed out to stand beside the Kaᶜba for the Friday sermon (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*[2], ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden and London 1907, 95, 97). This was presumably the *minbar* donated by the ᶜAbbāsid caliph al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/841-7) (Schacht, *op. cit.*, 157). The practice of moving *minbars* in and out of the assembly area has actually survived in certain parts of the Islamic world, mainly in North Africa. Few early ones remain, but the existence of a recess to the right of the *ḳibla* wall of some Friday Mosques proves that the original *minbars* of these mosques were movable. The series of movable *minbars* begins with that of the Great Mosque of Sfax built in 235/849, which has a recess for the *minbar* (see Schacht, *op. cit.*, 149 ff., for this and further examples).

Since the *minbar* was a symbol of authority, where the governor sat as representative of the ruling power, it was therefore an important feature of the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ when the community gathered to be officially addressed. Al-Muḳaddasī refers to the *minbar* as an object of high regard in Muslim communities. A township, for instance, could only be called a city if it enjoyed the right to possess a *minbar* and held public assemblies. He frequently categorises towns according to whether they had a *minbar* or not. The significance of a *minbar* was such that in Iran townships fought hard for the right to have one. Several references from al-Muḳaddasī indicate that the number of *minbars* in a city was a sign of its prosperity (193, 261-2, 267, 273, 282, 306, 309).

No *minbar* survives from the early period in Iran, but Ibn Funduḳ mentions that he saw a *minbar* in the Ādīna Mosque in Sabzawār dated 266/879 (*Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. K.S.K. Ḥusaynī, Hyderabad 1968, 86). He also adds that the name of the ruler of Khurāsān, Aḥmad al-Khudjistānī, who held power there during the reign of the caliph al-Muᶜtamid [see KHUDJISTĀN], was written on it. The earliest surviving *minbar* in Iran is in the Djāmiᶜ Mosque of Shushtar and is dated Ṣafar 445/May-June 1053 (N. Meshkati, *A list of the historical sites and ancient monuments of Iran*, tr. H.A. Pessyan, Tehran 1974, 109). It is an early example of a *minbar* decorated with star- and polygon-shaped panels, filled with arabesque interlace pattern, fitted by the tongue-and-groove technique covering the sides, a type of decoration which became popular in Egypt, Syria, Turkey and other parts of the Islamic world from the 5th/11th century onwards. No other *minbar* with this type of decoration is known in Iran

from the Saldjūḳ period. In central Iran, five *minbars* survive from the period of Saldjūḳ rule. All of these reveal the same structure as that at Ḳayrawān, namely, a flight of steps with posts at their entrance leading up to the speaker's seat, which consists of a platform supported on four posts. The *minbars* are on a smaller scale than that of Ḳayrawān, but the sides, consisting of carved rectangular panels, are similar (for a detailed description and analysis of these Iranian *minbars*, see J. Golmohammadi, *Wooden religious buildings and carved woodwork in central Iran*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London 1988, unpubl.). One of the earliest of these five is the *minbar* in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ in Abyāna, dated 466/1077. The second, dated 543/1148, is in the Imāmzāda Ismāʿīl in Barz, and the third, dated 583/1187, is in the Masdjid-i Pāʾīn in Farīzhand. All these three *minbars* are in the Natanz region. The *minbar* in the Masdjid-i Djamiʿ in Muḥammadiyya near Nāʾīn, and that called the Ṣāḥib-i Minbar in a building attached to the Ḥusayniyya in Farīzhand, have no dates, but they may be attributed to the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries on account of the use of the bevelled technique of carving in the arabesque decoration, and in the case of the Ṣāḥib-i Minbar, the style of the Kūfic inscription. A notable and important feature of these five Iranian *minbars* is the application of a so-called "bevelled" style of carving. This particular decorative technique was identified by E. Herzfeld as found on the stucco decoration of Sāmarrā (*Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, i, Berlin 1923, 5-8, 10-14). It consists of patterns cut at a deep slant giving contrast of light and shade. The patterns, often repeated and separated by curving lines, were covered with dots, notches and slits and rows of beads or pearls were frequently used as a decorative border. While this style and technique was first used in Sāmarrā during the 3rd/9th century, it survived in Iran, as R. Ettinghausen has pointed out, in a somewhat modified form, losing its repetitive arrangements, during the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries (*The "Beveled Style" in the post-Samarra period*, in *Archaeologica orientalia in memoriam Ernest Herzfeld*, New York 1952, 76-81). This style of carving was outmoded in Egypt by the late 5th/11th century, but we can still observe it in other parts of the Islamic world right up to the end of the 6th-12th century, although the bevelling tended to be considerably shallower.

The *minbar* of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ in Abyāna is perhaps one of the most outstanding works of the bevelled style still surviving in Iran. Its panels are carved with deeply bevelled patterns, including abstract leaves with spiral tips, which can be traced back to the stucco decoration of Sāmarrā. Also noticeable on it is the use of the tongue-and-groove technique, which existed in the early days of Islam (see E. Pauty, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque Ayyoubide*, in *Catalogue général du Musée Arabe du Caire*, 1931, pl. II, nos. 4627, 4630, and pl. IV, no. 4739).

Although the Barz *minbar* has bevelled panels, the decoration is mainly arabesque interlace, showing the influence of new decorative trends. This *minbar* is also notable for its balustrade, which is composed of a lattice grille made up of geometric patterns formed by small pieces of turned wood fixed to each other by the technique that is well-known in the *mashrabiyya* [*q.v.*] work of Egypt; this is the earliest known dated example of such work in Iran. The existence of these *minbars* is significant, since they pre-date the Mongol invasion; it was previously thought that all Saldjūḳ *minbars* were destroyed by the Mongols.

The bevelled style of carving can further be observed on the *minbar* in the Great Mosque of ʿAmādiyya in ʿIrāḳ, dated 548/1153 (Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, 74, Pl. X). Here polygonal panels set in a plain frame are decorated with semi-palmettes with spiral tips within curving scrolls. In Turkey there is a *minbar* from Malatya, which is now preserved in the Ethnographic Museum in Ankara (G. Öney, *Anadolu Selçuklu mimarisinde süsleme ve el sanatlari*, Ankara 1978, 115). It has small polygonal pieces set in a plain framework carved in the bevelled style. The field of the panels is made up of deeply incised small scale arabesques with bevelled surfaces. It has been attributed to the 7th/13th century, but Ettinghausen has correctly pointed out that it must be earlier, namely dating from the 6th/12th century (*op. cit.*, 82). So far no other dated piece of woodwork carved with the bevelled style is known from the 7th/13th century; Ettinghausen's dating appears therefore justified.

The structure and decoration of the sides of *minbars* began to change towards the end of the 5th/11th century, when there appeared a new method of construction and design. This was to cover the sides with small pieces of wood in the shape of stars and polygons. The earliest known example of this type is the *minbar* of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ in Shushtar already mentioned. The new composition appears in its fully developed form on the Fāṭimid *minbar* of the Shrine of al-Ḥusayn at Askelon, now preserved in the Museum of Hebron (L.H. Vincent and E.J.H. Mackay, *Le Haram el Khalil, sépulture des patriarches*, Paris 1923, 219-25, pls. XXV-XXVII). It is dated 484/1091-2. The entire surface of the sides is covered with elaborate geometrical patterns composed of small polygonal pieces of wood fitted into incised strapwork by the tongue and groove technique. The main elements of the pattern consist of hexagons, polygons and six-pointed stars. Each of the polygonal pieces is filled with interlaced arabesque designs. The carving, however, is no longer in the bevelled style, but executed in deep straight cuttings. Another interesting feature of this *minbar* is its balustrade grille composed as a *mashrabiyya*, making it a very early dated example of such work. The present canopy and door of the *minbar* are later, probably of the Mamlūk period.

During the Fāṭimid period in Egypt, the system of decoration was to continue appearing in two early *minbars*, that in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai dated 500/1106, and that in the Mosque of ʿAmr in Ḳūs dated 550/1155 (C.J. Lamm, *Fatimid woodwork, its style and chronology*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte*, xviii [1935-6], 78). The latter example has a pavilion over the speaker's seat, and the decoration at the back of the seat recalls a *miḥrāb*. From the Fāṭimid period onwards, the *minbar* developed its standard form, having a domed canopy over the speaker's seat, a doorway and decorative elements consisting of stars and polygons made up of small carved pieces of wood. This form was to become standard in Syria and Turkey as well as Egypt. A good example of this type is the *minbar* of the Aḳṣā Mosque in Jerusalem, which was donated in 564/1168 by Nūr al-Dīn to Aleppo and later taken by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to Jerusalem (*ibid.*, 88).

A popular decorative feature of the 6th/12th century onwards, inlay work of ivory and mother of pearl, appears on this same *minbar* (M.S. Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, New York 1974, 216). Later on, Mamlūk *minbars* were noted for their elaborate inlay work, which included not only ivory and mother-of-pearls, but also ebony and bone. Such *minbars* are to be found in the mosques of Ibn Ṭūlūn and Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ in Cairo (L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, pls. 82, 85). Towards the end of the Mamlūk

period, we witness the decline of both carved and inlay decoration. The *minbar* from the Mosque of Ḳāʾit-Bay, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, dated 872/1468-9, is a good example of these late Mamlūk works (V. and A., no. 1050-1869).

In Iran, star and polygon decoration was slow to become popular. Thus the *minbar* of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ in Nāʾīn dated 711/1311-12 has sides still constructed with rectangular panels rather than stars and polygons (M.B. Smith, *The wood minbar in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ, Nāʾīn*, in *Ars Islamica*, v[1938], 21-2, figs. 1-7). Part of its carved decoration consists of chains of lozenges or leaves, filled with comma-like volutes, which reflect a style that became popular in Iran during the 8th/14th century. It also has a lattice-work balustrade with a geometrical design made up of slats. This is an early example of this type of lattice-work in Iran, which was used for screens, windows, gateways and balcony balustrades. Another outstanding *minbar* from this post-Mongol period in Iran is that of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ of Sūryān in Fārs, now preserved in the Irān-Bāstān Museum in Tehran (S.M.T. Muṣṭafawī, *Iklīm-i Pārs*, Tehran 1343 *sh*/1964, tr. R.N. Sharp, *The land of Pars*, Chippenham 1978, 5). According to its inscription, it was made in 771/1369. It is distinguished by the use on its sides of the star and polygon style, which was by that time applied in woodwork in Iran. Another feature of this *minbar* is the distinctly floral element of its carved decoration, which was later to become characteristic of the Tīmūrid period. The *minbar* of the Mosque of Gawhar Shād in the sanctuary of the Imām Riḍā in Mashhad made in 840-50/1436-46 is a fine Tīmūrid piece. It is distinguished by profuse ornamentation of star and polygon patterns with tendrils carved in relief in the Tīmūrid style (Diez, *op. cit.*, 500). This *minbar* is unusual in Iran in having a canopy, in this case surmounted by a crown of stalactites (*EI*[1], *Miḥrāb*, fig. 8, which shows the *minbar*).

Wooden *minbars* carved to a very high standard were also produced in Anatolia. Wood was plentiful there, so its use for mosque furniture is easily understandable. One of the earliest wooden *minbars* in Anatolia is in the Alaeddin Mosque, Konya, and is dated 550/1155 (J.H. Loytved, *Konia. Inschriften der Seldschukidischen Bauten*, Berlin 1907, 22-4). It is made of walnut wood, and apart from its intricately carved star and polygon decoration it has a balustrade grille with a Ḳurʾānic inscription on the rails and a cusped arch with panels over the entrance. It bears no particular resemblance, either in structure or decoration, to the Saldjūḳ *minbars* in Iran, and in fact is in the Syro-Egyptian form. *Minbars* of the Alaeddin type became increasingly popular in Anatolia during the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. A good example of these is the *minbar* of the Ulu Cami of Siirt, now in the Ethnographic Museum in Ankara, which is carved to a very high standard (E. Akurgal, *The art and architecture of Turkey*, Oxford 1980, 202). Similar *minbars* still kept in their original places are those of the Ulu Cami of Sivrihisar dated 670/1272, and that of the Eşrefoğlu Cami in Beyşehir dated 696-8/1297-9. The tongue-and-groove technique, which is called *kündekārī* in Turkish, was applied to a full extent in the decoration of these *minbars*. It is remarkable, however, that in Anatolia a kind of false *kündekārī* was also frequently used, most likely for the reason that it cut the cost. Large panels were carved in polygonal patterns and mounted on the skeleton structure of the *minbar*. Sometimes the geometric patterns were made separately and glued on to the background. Small strips of incised wood were nailed between them to give the appearance of strapwork and also to hide the joins in the panels. This method, however, does not prevent warping, and in time slits appeared between the panels. Examples of such false *kündekārī* technique can be seen on the *minbars* of the Alaeddin Mosque, Ankara (594/1197-8), the Ulu Cami, Divriği (626/1228-9), and the Ahi Elvan Mosque, Ankara 784/1382 (Akurgal, *op. cit.*, 202).

Although *minbars* were most commonly made of wood, they were also constructed of other materials, such as brick, ceramic and stone. Al-Muḳaddasī, 77, mentions one in ʿArafa (in the Ḥidjāz) which was made of bricks. There is also an undated brick *minbar* in the 4th/10th century Tārīkhāna Mosque in Dāmghān, though it appears to be much later than the building itself. (R. Hillenbrand, *The mosque in the medieval Islamic world*, in *Architecture in continuity. Building in the Islamic world today. The Aga Khan Award for Architecture*, ed. S. Cantacuzino, New York 1985, 37). In central Iran, there are five known examples of ceramic tiled *minbars* dating from the period *ca.* 1445-1525 A.D. (B. O'Kane, *The tiled Minbars of Iran*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xxii [1986], 133-53, pls. XXXVI-XLIII). All are decorated with variations on a design of eight and twelve pointed stars, which include patterns of light blue stems with amber and white flowers, and floral arabesques of amber and light blue on a dark blue ground. Some have inscriptions giving the name of the donor, or of holy figures or religious texts. The finest is in the Masdjid-i Maydān in Kāshān and is decorated with mosaic faience of a standard far above average. One inscription on the left-hand side gives the name of the craftsman as Ḥaydar, the tile-cutter, and another inscription states the time of construction as being in the reign of Sultan Abū Saʿīd Gūrgān, which has led O'Kane to date the *minbar* to the year before Sultan Abū Saʿīd's death in 874/1469, when he was briefly ruler of the area. The *minbar* of the mosque of the *khānagāh* of Bundirābād is the largest of the five, and is dated by O'Kane to about the time of the repair works to the mosque itself, carried out in 848/1473. These tiled *minbars* belong to a period of growing use of tiles and mosaic faience in Iranian architecture. The taste for them did not last for long, probably because there was a need to retain mobility in certain circumstances. There are two late examples of tiled *minbars* from Khīwa, one in the summer mosque of the Old Arg, which is datable to the 1820s and the other in an unidentifiable building also probably 19th century. Both are low with four steps (O'Kane, *op. cit.*, 153).

There are a number of stone *minbars* in the Islamic world, such as those of the Shaykhū, Aḳsunḳur and Khāṭirī Mosques in Egypt. Perhaps the most famous is in the mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan dated 757-64/-1356-63 (Hautecoeur and Wiet, *op. cit.*, 103, 300, pls. 119, 132). The Mosque of Barḳūḳ in the Cemetery of the Caliphs, dated 806-13/1403-10, has a fine stone *minbar* carved with intricate geometric patterns, the sides in particular having star and polygon designs similar to those on woodwork. It resembles the carved stone *minbar* in the Mosque of Shaykhū dated 750/1349 in having a door with a stalactite portal and canopy surmounted by an onion-shaped dome (*ibid.*, 261, 300, 314, 334, pls. 119, 157).

The Friday mosque of Harāt had a marble *minbar* of great beauty, which now no longer exists, carved for it at the end of the 9th/15th century by the stonemason Shams al-Dīn (*Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, part of Khwāndamīr's general history describing Harāt, ed. G. Iʿtimādī, Kābul 1345 *sh*/1966, 12). A.D.H. Bivar

has drawn attention to the stone *minbar* of the Muẓaffarid Aḥmad dated 789/1387-8 in Sīrdjān (see KITĀBĀT, pl. XXIII, 29).

The earliest stone *minbar* in Anatolia is in the Alaeddin Mosque in Niğde dated 620/1223. The *minbar* is simple with no decoration except arabesques carved on the stone balustrade (A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie, Kayseri-Niğde*, Paris 1931, i, 120, 122, pl. XXXVI). Marble and stone *minbars* were mainly popular in the Ottoman period. The Mosques of Bāyazīd and Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a in Amasya, both dated 891/1486, have fine marble *minbars* of high-quality workmanship. The *minbar* of the latter is particularly notable for its rich floriated decoration (Gabriel, *op. cit.*, ii, 37-8, 43, pls. VI-2, VII-2). The most interesting *minbar* is in the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne dated 961/1574, and is superior in its size, beauty and the quality of its workmanship. It is carved from a single block of stone, and the side is dominated by an equilateral triangle containing a sun disc. The fretted border and balustrade are composed of traditional polygonal designs and the conical canopy decorated with ceramic tiles. The stone *minbar* in the Sokollu Mosque in Istanbul dated 980/1572 also has a tiled canopy, as well as a lattice balustrade in stone imitating those in woodwork (G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 264-5, 274, pls. 253, 261; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish art and architecture*, London 1971, 223, 225, pls. 174, 178).

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(J. GOLMOHAMMADI)

3. In India.

In the various building styles of India (as defined in HIND, vii) the typology of the *minbar* is very variable, from a crude construction of three simple stone steps to elaborately carved canopied structures of nine steps or more. Stone is always the preferred material, even in the brick-building region of Bengal; however, the absence of any structural *minbar* in many well-preserved old mosques may suggest that wooden *minbars* were also known, although no early examples have survived.

Dihlī sultanate. In none of the earliest mosques is there an original *minbar* (that in the D̲j̲amāʿat-K̲h̲āna at Nizamuddin, the oldest mosque still in worship, is a modern replacement; old photographs, however, show a simple *minbar* of three stone slabs). This pattern is maintained up to the Lodī period, to judge by a very few extant examples in Dihlī (e.g. mosque at Baṙā gumbad; mosque at the *bāʾolī* known as Rād̲j̲on kī bāʾīn); only in the special case of the *ʿīdgāh* attributed to Mullā Iḳbāl K̲h̲an is there a more elaborate structure, a tall stone platform level with the top of the *miḥrāb* arch whence the voice of the *k̲h̲aṭīb* might reach the great concourse gathered for the *ʿīd* assembly. Outside Dihlī itself, the *minbar* of the D̲j̲āmiʿ mosque of Irič, 815/1412, is a massive stone structure of seven steps, the last extended to a square platform supported on pillars.

Among the regional styles, no early mosques remain in the Pand̲j̲āb.

Bengal shows excellent early examples of canopied *minbars*; the earliest, in carved basalt, in the Baṙī *masd̲j̲id* in Čhōṭā Panḍuʾā [see PANḌUʾĀ, Čhōṭā] of the early 8th/14th century, has nine steps leading to a domed upper chamber, with arched openings on three sides and what appears to be a *miḥrāb* representation against the western wall of the prayer-chamber. This design was followed in the great Ādīna masd̲j̲id of Ḥaḍrat Panḍuʾā [see PANḌUʾĀ] of 776/1374-5, where as Ravenshaw's photograph shows (J.H. Ravenshaw, *Gaur: its ruins and inscriptions*, London 1878) the *miḥrāb*-like decoration on the western wall is carved with the representation of a hanging lamp, and the outer surface carved with geometrical diaper patterns. Similar but plainer is the *minbar* of the nearby Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī (Ravenshaw's "Golden") mosque, 993/1585. Further instances of this type occur; but there are also many simple *minbars* of three simple stone slabs. One late aberrant *minbar*, in the mosque of Muḥammad b. Tipū Sulṭān, 1258/1842, consists of three polished stone steps occupying half of the central *miḥrāb*, space having been severely limited by the neo-Palladian design of this building.

In the few remaining buildings of the D̲j̲awnpur sultanate, in D̲j̲awnpur itself, in the D̲j̲āmiʿ mosque at Itāwā, and in the Aṙhāʾī kangūra mosque at Kās̲h̲ī, Banāras, the *minbar* takes the form of a massive stone structure of nine steps up to a square stone platform, with no trace of there ever having been a canopy. The typological similarity to the Irič example mentioned above points to a geographical rather than a dynastic determinant of style.

The favourite style of *minbar* in the Gud̲j̲arāt sultanate is again the massive stone nine-stepped structure, although as Aḥmad S̲h̲āh's mosque, the earliest in Aḥmadābād (816/1414), shows, the upper platform was covered by a canopy; the canopy may be taken entirely from a Hindu temple *mandapa*, supported by pillaged pillars, although even when purpose-quarried stones are used they are often elaborately carved in accordance with the characteristic richness of the Gud̲j̲arāt style. The steps may further be enclosed by stone sides to form handrails, again with carved surfaces. In many mosques the canopies have been removed, probably when many fine stone buildings were plundered during the early years of Marāṫhā rule in the early 12th/18th century. A feature found in many Gud̲j̲arāt mosques is the presence of a low square platform in front of the lowest step of the *minbar*; its original purpose is not clear, but it is not uncommon now to see it covered with mats and used to seat young students when the mosque is in use as a Ḳurʾānic school.

In Mālwā the canopied *minbar* is again the preferred style, as exemplified in that of the early mosque of Malik Mug̲h̲īt̲h̲ at Mānḍū, 835/1432, where the upper platform is surmounted by a square roof resting on pillars which appears to be temple spoil, with projecting eaves and a parapet surmounted by a row of shield-shaped merlons; to the west the wall takes the form of a *miḥrāb* of black polished basalt, with the characteristic Mālwā row of merlons in low relief. This is surpassed by the magnificient *minbar* of the D̲j̲āmiʿ mosque (completed 858/1454), perhaps the finest in the sub-continent: eleven steps lead to the upper platform, originally railed on north and south; the three open sides are of the same shape as the arches of the *miḥrābs*, slightly ogival; the canopy itself has its eaves supported by sinous brackets, of the same shape as those in the D̲j̲āmiʿ mosque of Dhār and of Hūs̲h̲ang's tomb in Mānḍū; above the row of merlons there is a marble dome of the characteristic Mālwā shape, i.e. stilted below the haunch by being raised on a cylindrical drum. Here, as in the Gud̲j̲arāt mosques, there is again a square low platform at the foot of the *minbar* steps. At Čanderī [*q.v.*] the *minbar* of the D̲j̲āmiʿ mosque is typologically similar, but without the sinuous brackets and more solidly built (now whitewashed); that of the great *ʿīdgāh* similar but plainer, and of only eight massive steps (the even number is unusual).

In the Deccan, however, the *minbar* is usually of

the plain pattern of three modest stone steps; so at the first Bahmanī mosque, the Djāmiᶜ mosque of Gulbarga (769/1367), and others in Bidar. In the massive *ᶜīdgāh* at Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*], certainly of Bahmanī date, the *minbar* has nine stone steps leading to an open platform; in the arched opening of the west wall behind it is a flight of smaller steps leading to the top of the wall. In the buildings at Bīdjāpur (and Gōgī) of the ᶜĀdil Shāhīs, the most ornate of the Deccan styles, the *minbar* remains of the simple pattern of three (occasionally five) stone steps, and the same is true of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī mosques of Ḥaydarābād.

Throughout the Mughal period, the *minbar* is of the stepped uncovered type. Sometimes, as at the Djāmiᶜ mosque in Fatḥpur Sīkrī, the massive red sandstone steps have small pierced screens at their sides; in the time of Shāhdjahān, when many modifications were also made to earlier buildings, the *minbar* is often a simple structure of three steps but built of polished, sometimes also inlaid, marble, and a few have a chair-like back slab which may carry a brief inscription. The Djāmiᶜ mosques of Dihlī (Shāhdjahānābād) and Āgrā each have a central platform, approached by steps, in the *ṣaḥn*, outside the prayer-chamber, which may fulfil the functional purpose of the *minbar* when there is a vast concourse of worshippers to be addressed, even though there is a *minbar* in its normal position within the prayer-chamber.

Bibliography: For general stylistic discussion, and for many illustrations, see *Bibl.* to HIND, vii, above. To this should now be added T. Yamamoto, M. Ara and T. Tsukinowa, *Delhi: architectural remains of the Delhi sultanate period*, i, Tokyo 1967 (in Japanese); Catherine B. Asher, *Inventory of key monuments*, in G. Michell (ed.), *The Islamic heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO, Paris 1984; J. Burton-Page, *Mosques and tombs*, in *Medieval Ahmadabad = Marg*, xxxix/3, 30-119. For Irič, see J.F. Blakison, *The Jami Masjid at Budaun and other buildings in the United Provinces* = MASI, xix, Calcutta 1926. Information on Itāwā and Banāras from personal photographic collection. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

4. In East Africa.

Several different types of *minbar* are to be found on the East African coast. One type is apparently peculiar to it. In the Middle Ages and up to the 19th century the greatest number of Friday mosques had a stone *minbar* consisting of two steps and a seat. At Kisimkazi, Zanzibar, there is only one step and a seat, while at Kua, Juani Island, Mafia, and at Mgao Mwanya, on the Tanzanian mainland, there are three steps and a seat. In all these cases the lowest step is very shallow, and is known in Swahili as *kiapo*, or place for taking solemn oaths. The person taking the oath stands on the lowest step, and touches the *minbar*. A brief account of Swahili oaths is given by Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari of Bagamoyo, Tanzania, in C. Velten, *Desturi za Wasuaheli*, Göttingen 1903, 273-7, but without explanation of the ritual.

The later Friday mosque at Ungwana, Kenya, built *ca.* 1500-50, is alone in its period in having seven stone steps and a seat at the top, with masonry sides formerly surmounted by a wooden handrail. In recent times similar stone *minbars* have been constructed in mosques in the Lamu archipelago.

Only two wooden *minbars* are known. This does not arise from any distase for wood, but because it is vulnerable to the white ant, ubiquitous in eastern Africa. The wooden *minbar* in the Friday mosque at Lamu is dated by an inscription 917/1511, and that at Siu 930/1523, both of these being in Kenya. At Magogoni, a small village near Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, a portable *minbar* is used on feast days. It consists of a simple wooden upright chair constructed on a flat pedestal, the latter projecting to form a step in front, and the space between the legs being enclosed to form a cupboard. It is of recent and rough construction.

In a number of Friday mosques, however, the *minbar* takes the form of a recess, or of a raised platform within a recess built out behind the *ḳibla* wall. It may be reached by a staircase within its recess, or by a staircase from inside the *miḥrāb*. The *minbar* thus resembles a window on the right-hand side of the *miḥrāb*. It is sometimes provided with a balustrade for the preacher to lean on. Where the staircase leads out of the *miḥrāb*, it is sometimes connected with a room or office for the use of the *imām*, for whom often an external door is also provided. The dating of *minbars* of this type is uncertain, but local tradition, which is probably correct, assigns their construction to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

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MINDANAO [see PHILIPPINES].

MINE, MINERAL, MINERALOGY [see MAᶜDIN].

MINAEANS [see MAᶜĪN].

MINGLĪ GIRĀY KHAN [see MENGLĪ GIRĀY].

MINIATURE [see TAṢWĪR].

MINICOY, an isolated coral atoll, the southernmost of the Indian Lakshadvīp group [see LACCADIVES], situated in the south-eastern Arabian Sea, off the coast of Malabar [*q.v.*] in lat. 8°7′N, long. 73°19′E. The atoll comprises two islands—the main, inhabited island of Minicoy (known to its inhabitants as Maliku), and the much smaller, uninhabited islet of Vilingili, marked on British Admiralty maps as "Small-pox Island" (a reference to its former use by the islanders as a quarantine station)—as well as extensive coral reefs enclosing a broad lagoon. Maliku Island, an elongated crescent forming the southern and eastern rim of the atoll, is just over 6 miles/9.6 km long, but only half-a-mile/0.8 km across at its widest point; the total land area is about 1,120 acres/500 hectares, whilst according to the 1971 *Census of India*, the population totalled 5.342 persons (2,433 male and 2,909 female).

Little is known of the early history of Minicoy, which—in contrast to the more northerly, Malayalam-speaking, Dravidian-populated islands of the Lakshadvīp group—was settled by Indo-European, Divēhi-speaking Maldivian people, probably in the first centuries A.D., though whether these early settlers migrated directly from Malabar, or via Sri Lanka and the neighbouring Maldive Islands [*q.v.*] remains uncertain. It is clear, however, that until the mid-10th/16th century the people of Minicoy remained culturally and politically attached to the Maldives, sharing a common ethnic origin, language, script, and religion; thus archaeological evidence indicates the former presence of Hinduism and Bud-

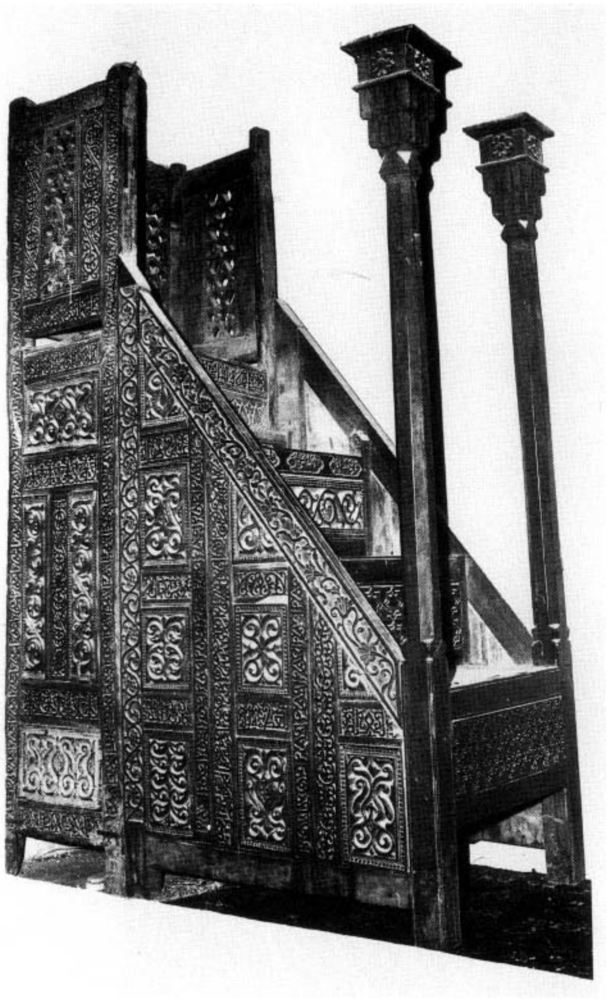

1. *Minbar* of the Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲āmiʿ, Abyāna (Photo.: J. Golmohammadi)

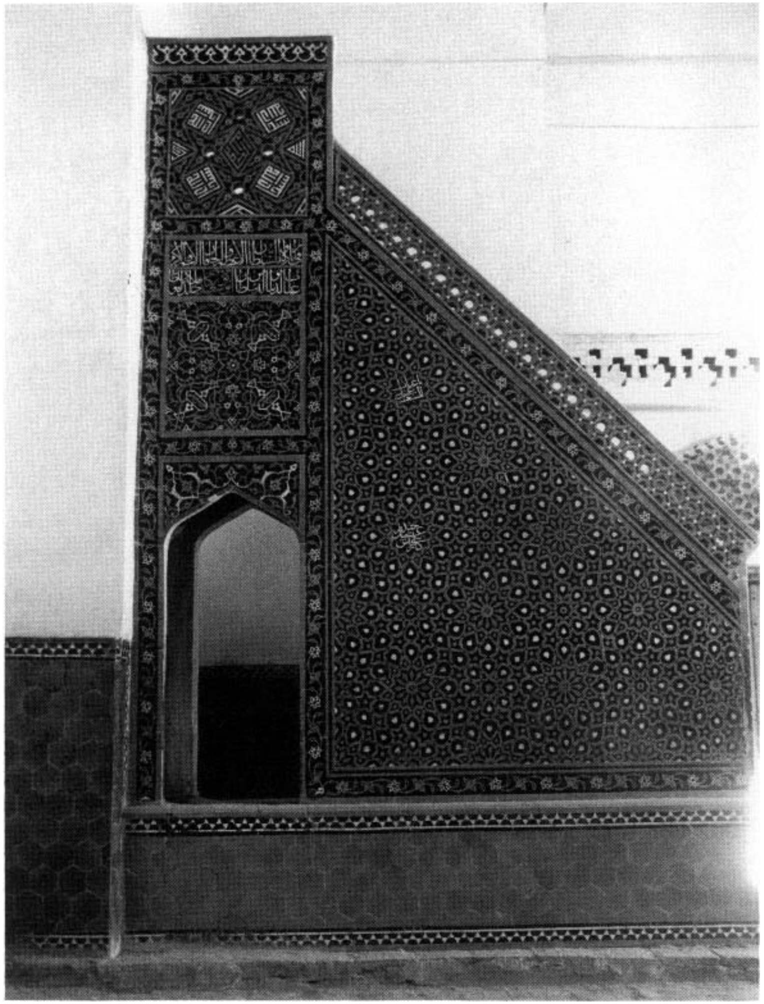

2. Ceramic *minbar* of the Masd̲j̲id-i Maydān, Kās̲h̲ān (Photo.: B. O'Kane)

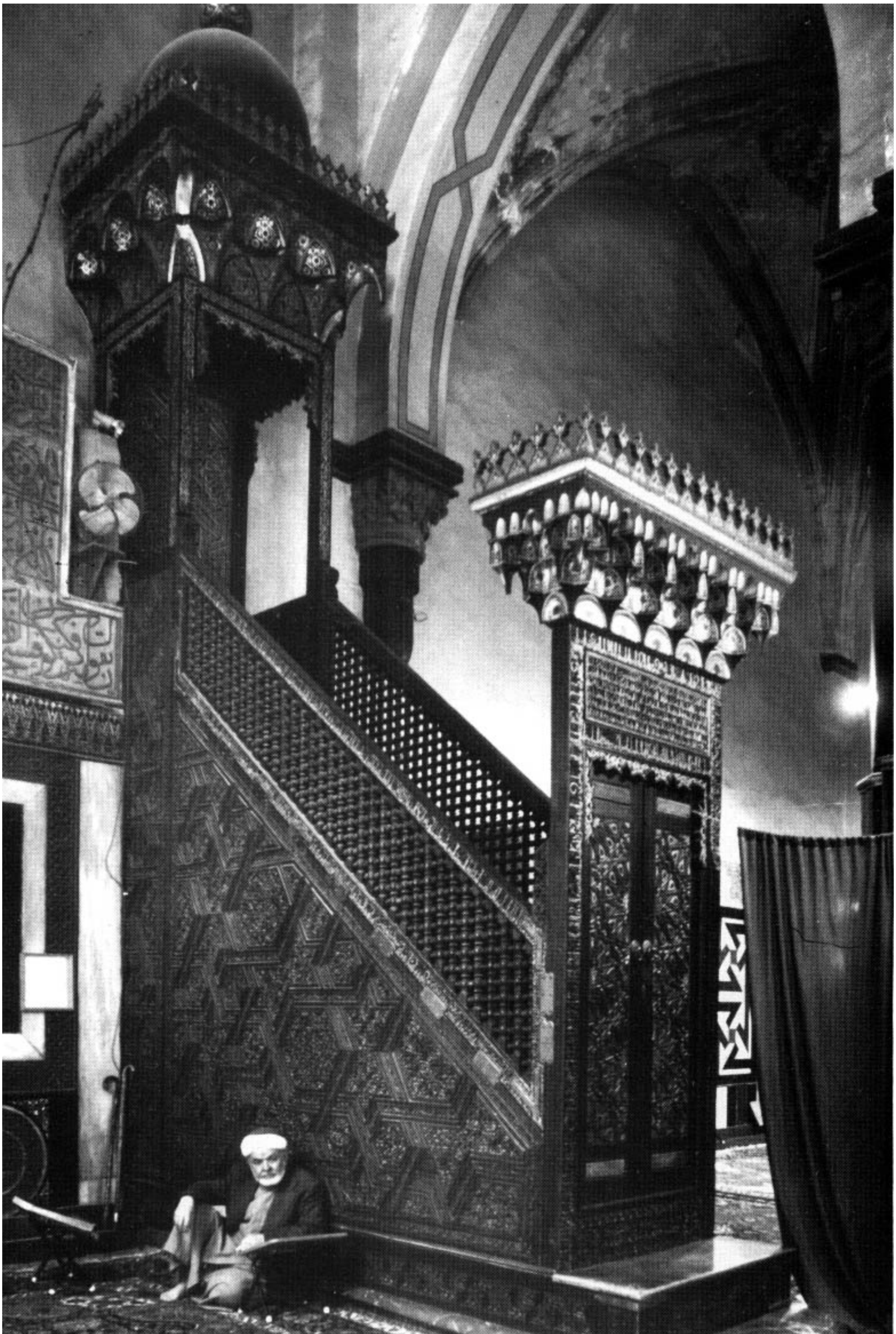

3. *Minbar* of the Shrine of al-Ḥusayn at ʿAsḳalān (Photo.: B. O'Kane)

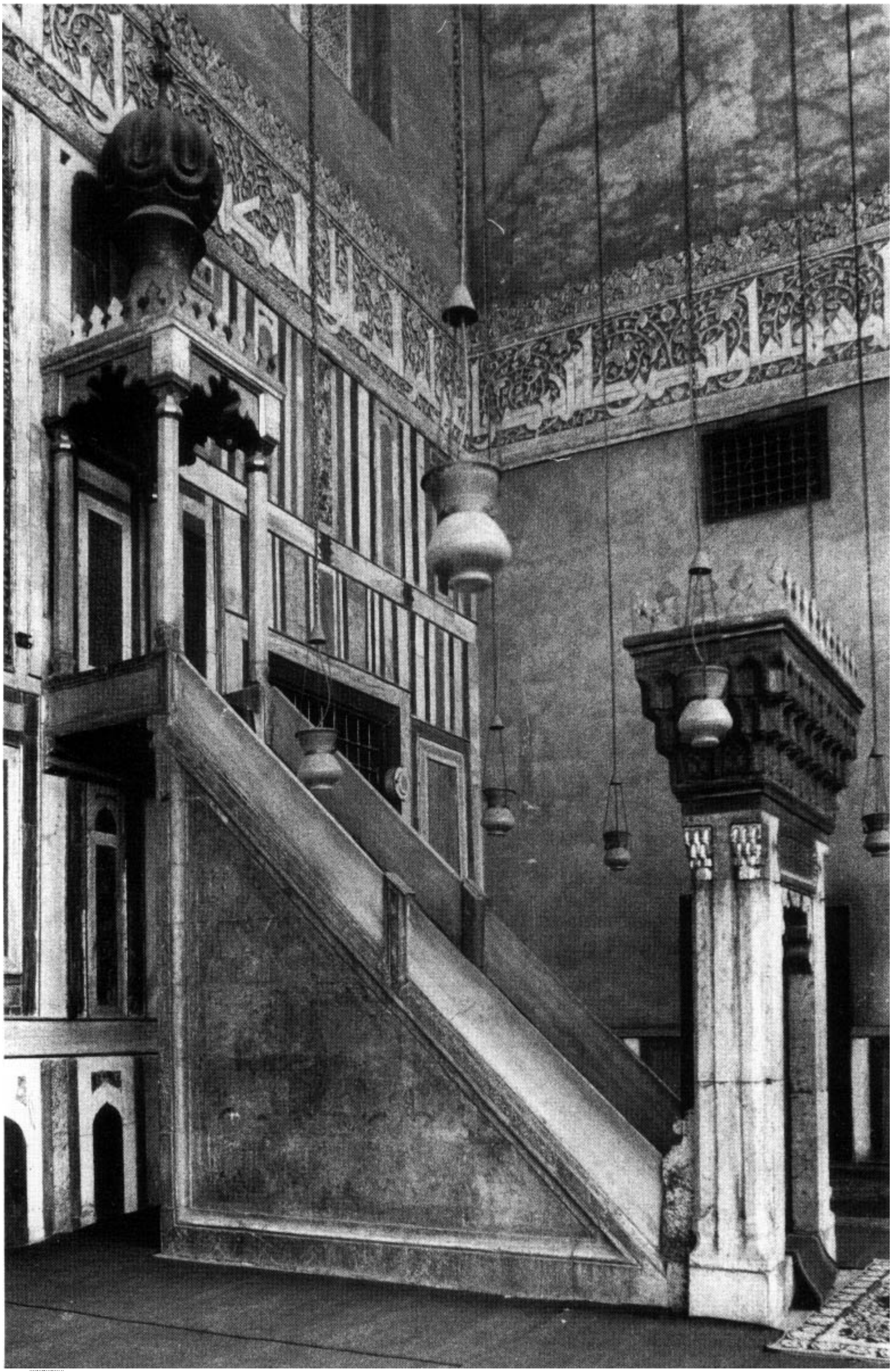

4. *Minbar* of the Sulṭān Ḥasan Mosque, Cairo (Photo.: B. O'Kane)

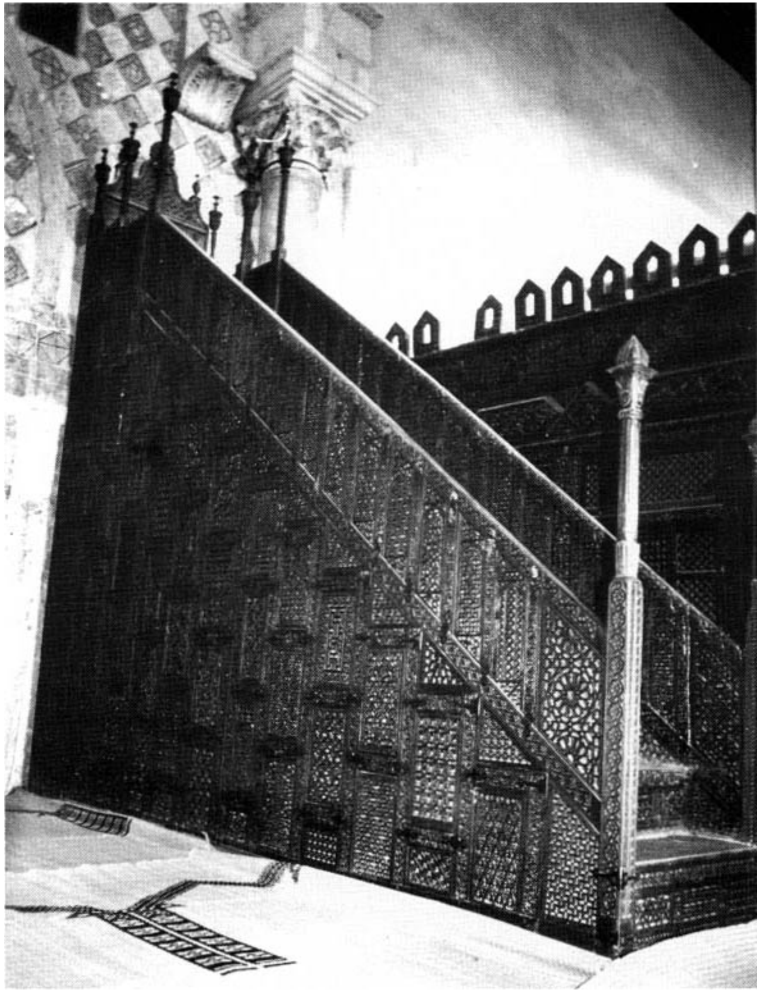

5. *Minbar* of the Sīdī ᶜUḳba Mosque, Ḳayrawān (Photo.: J. Golmohammadi)

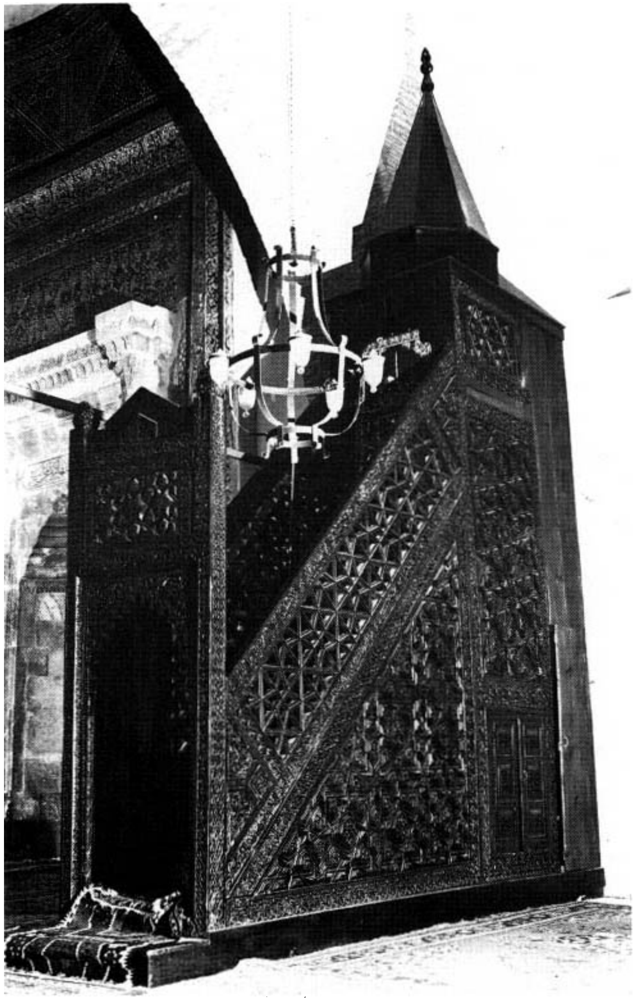

6. *Minbar* of the ᶜAlā' al-Dīn Mosque, Konya (Photo.: Mevlana Museum, Konya)

dhism in the atoll, faiths which were fairly rapidly eclipsed by the introduction of Islam in the late 6th/12th century, probably some years after the conversion of the Maldivian Sultan Muḥammad al-ʿĀdil in 548/1153.

Minicoy's political link with the Maldives became increasingly tenuous from the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries onwards when certain of the northern Maldivian atolls (including, most certainly, Minicoy, the most isolated area from Māle and closest to India of the various Maldivian atolls) came under the influence of the Malabar principality of Kaṇṇaṇūr [*q.v.*]. The process of Minicoy's detachment from the Maldives was completed by *ca.* 973/1565, at which time (according to the Maldivian *Taʾrīkh*, corroborated by Pyrard and Zayn al-Din) the atoll had passed under the rule of the Ālī Rādjā (or "Āzhi-Rādjā", Malayalam: "Sea King") of Kaṇṇaṇūr. For the next three-and-a-half centuries, Minicoy remained attached to the Arakkal rulers of Kaṇṇaṇūr. By the mid-19th century, however, Arakkal rule had become increasingly a legal fiction, with the British authorities sequestrating the atoll in 1861 for a period of five years, and again in 1875, on this occasion permanently. In 1908, together with the more southerly islands of the Laccadives group, Minicoy was formally ceded by the Bībī of Kaṇṇaṇūr to the British Indian Empire. British rule was maintained until Indian independence in 1947. Most recently, in 1956, the atoll was incorporated within the Indian Union Territory of Lakshadweep (Lakshadvīp).

The indigenous inhabitants of Minicoy (excluding only members of the expatriate mainland, predominantly Malayali, administration) are, like the inhabitants of the Maldive Islands, uniformly Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. Religious observances and customs—including widespread belief in spirits and black and white magic, as well as the institution of *namād-ge* or prayer houses for women—are similar to those in the Maldives. Literacy is high (practically universal), and most islanders are conversant with Arabic script, as well as with their own Maldivian language (Divēhi, known on Minicoy as "Māhl") and Tāna script. As in traditional Maldivian society, the people of Minicoy are divided into four caste-like groups, or classes, viz. *Malikhan* (the highest group, predominantly landowners); *Mālimi* (the second highest group, expert sailors and navigators, cf. Ar. *muʿallim*); *Takkru* (the third group, less specialised fishermen); and finally *Rāveri* (the lowest group, specialising in tending coconut plantations). In isolated Minicoy, caste-like differentiations have persisted longer than in the Maldives; thus in Minicoy, the first two classes may intermarry, as may the last two, the child of such a marriage belonging to the class of whichever parent is higher. Similarly, the first two classes may eat together, as may the last two. Doubtless similar restrictions once existed in the Maldives, but these have long since disappeared.

The economy of the island rests on fishing and agriculture (predominantly coconut farming), whilst a substantial supplementary income is remitted to the island by sailors working for the Indian merchant navy; the men of Minicoy have long enjoyed a well-founded reputation for their seafaring expertise, and the widespread and long-standing practice of leaving the island to find such work has frequently led to the suggestion that Minicoy, bereft of many of its sons at work on the high seas, whilst the women traditionally till the land, might be identified with Marco Polo's "Female Island".

The people of Minicoy live in one large settlement spanning the centre of the island at its broadest point. This village, with its *Djāmiʿ Masdjid* (Ml. *Hukuri Miskit*) and a number of lesser mosques and *namād-ge*, is divided into nine wards (Ml. *atiri*), each under its own headman (Ml. *mūppan*), the whole island being traditionally administered by an *amīn*. Maliku Village is remarkable for its cleanliness and order, each *atiri* having its own mosque, bathing tank and cemetery. To the north of the village lies the Central and North *Paṇḍāram* lands (formerly the property of the Arakkal Rādjās, but now common land) as well as a former leper colony. To the south and west lies the "Big South Paṇḍāram" as well as, near the westernmost point of the island, Minicoy lighthouse (constructed in 1882-4), a major navigation point for shipping using the Eight Degree and Nine Degree Channels.

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MINISTER, MINISTRY [see WAZĪR].

AL-**MINḲARĪ** [see NAṢR B. MUZĀḤIM].

MINṬAḲAT AL-**BURŪDJ**, also *minṭaḳat falak al-burūdj*, are all used in Arabic to designate both the zodiac and the ecliptic. Strictly speaking, the zodiac is a "belt", or "zone", of the sky extending up to 6° (more correctly, 7°) north and south of the ecliptic due to the inclination of the orbits of the planets from the latter, while the ecliptic is a great circle in the sky running through the middle of the zodiacal belt and representing the path of the sun (*ṭarīḳ/ṭarīḳat al-shams*) in her apparent annual revolution. The knowledge of both the zodiac and the ecliptic was received by the Arabic-Islamic culture, through translations of scientific writings, from classical antiquity.

The ambiguity in the term—it being used for the zodiacal belt as well as for the ecliptic circle—existed already in antiquity; for greater exactness, therefore, the ecliptic specifically was sometimes called "the circle running through the middle of the zodiac" (cf. *RE*, art. *Zodiakos*, ii; iii; v, 1), a formula which is also reflected in some Arabic texts (see, e.g., the Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium*, ms. Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2671, fols. 81b, 82a, 83b, etc.: *al-dāʾira allatī tamurru bi-wasaṭ al-burūdj*; cf. also al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 221, 6-7: *minṭaḳat al-burūdj hiya niṭāḳ al-burūdj wa-wasaṭ al-burūdj alladhī fīhi masīr al-shams*).

Other terms for the ecliptic, in Arabic astronomical writings, are also *falak al-burūdj* and *dāʾirat falak al-burūdj*. While in antiquity the zodiacal belt was indiscriminately called a "circle" (κύκλος), in the Islamic period *minṭaḳa* (lit. "belt") was also used for a [great] circle, such as the ecliptic and also the equator (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Ḳānūn*, i, 54, 14). This use of *minṭaḳa* in the sense of "[great] circle" seems to derive from antiquity, perhaps through Syriac mediation (cf. Severus Sebokht, *ca.* 660 A.D.: *hudhrē awketh zonas*, using the Greek word ζώνη, *Le Traité sur les Constellations*, ed. F. Nau, *ROC*, xxvii [1929-30],

395,9 = Syriac ms. Paris B.N. 346, fol. 103a, 15 f.; see also the same author's *Traité sur l'astrolabe plan*, ed. and tr. F. Nau, in *JA* [1899], where the zodiac is often called "the zone of the zodiac", *zona d-zodiaḳon*, always using the Greek words, and ch. xxii, where the ecliptic and other circles are also called *zona*, ζώνη). Arabic *minṭaḳa* (in both senses, as "belt" and "circle"), of course, is derived from Greek ζώνη. A very peculiar explanation for the use of *minṭaḳa* (as "great circle") is given by al-Bīrūnī, *Ḳānūn*, i, 54, 14-15: it [sc. a great circle] is called *minṭaḳa* [lit. "belt, girdle"!] by comparison, because its location is in the middle [i.e. between two poles, just as a girdle is in the middle of a person, between head and feet].

Babylonia may with great probability be assumed to be the original home of the zodiacal circle. The period of its origin cannot be fixed with certainty: the first attempts at a grouping of the constellations on the path of the sun and the planets, however, date from before the period of Hammurabi and in any case into the third millennium B.C. Almost all the names familiar to us are already found in Sumerian inscriptions. The Bog̲h̲az-Köy list of about 1300 B.C. gives all the signs of the zodiac with the exception of Leo and Libra. The [mul]APIN series (*ca.* 700 B.C.) shows a list of 17 or 18 "constellations in the path of the moon", among which all the twelve zodiacal constellations of later times were contained. The formation of the systematic zodiac (and ecliptic), subdivided into twelve equal sections of 30° length each, has followed some time later (van der Waerden; for the subsequent Greek reception of the zodiac, cf. *RE*, art. *Zodiakos*, and Scherer).

The only pictorial representation of the starry heavens of the early Muslim period, the fresco on the dome of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra [see ARCHITECTURE], shows the ecliptic as a broad band, along which are arranged the twelve *burūdj*; it also shows the pole of the ecliptic and the 12 (ecliptical) degrees of longitude, as well as the equator and a series of parallel circles. The peculiarity of the arrangement of the heavens with considerable southern latitudes shown beyond the equator on the hemispherical inner surface of the dome results in the equator and ecliptic not being shown as the largest circles. The method of representing the separate constellations on the fresco, especially the *minṭaḳa*, is, broadly speaking, the same as that on the Atlas Farnese. (N.B. It should be noted that the fresco of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra represents the heavens as seen on a celestial globe.) For more details, see Saxl and also Beer.

The twelve *burūdj*. For exact astronomical and astrological observations and calculations, the zodiac and the ecliptic are both divided into 12 equal sections of 30° length each, the so-called zodiacal signs (Greek δωδεκατημόρια), each of which was named in antiquity after the constellation lying next to it. Thus besides the twelve zodiacal signs (each of equal length, and invariably fixed in their location with respect to the vernal equinox), we have the twelve zodiacal constellations which are of various dimensions and are subject to precession. Due to the effect of precession, the vernal equinox, from which the division of the twelve signs begins, moves westward on the ecliptic at a rate of 50,37″ per year (modern value). Therefore, the constellations fall back eastward from the vernal equinox about one sign in 2,140 years. Thus the vernal equinox (i.e. the beginning of the sign of Aries), which in antiquity was situated between the constellations of Pisces and Aries, in our days falls between Aquarius and Pisces; that means that in our days the zodiacal constellations are eastward roughly by one sign from the signs carrying their names, as, e.g., the constellation of Aries which nowadays falls into the sign of Pisces.

In Arabic, the zodiacal constellations and the signs are both called by the same word *burūdj* (sing. *burdj*). This term was already known to the Arabs before their acquaintance with the scientific Greek astronomy. In the Ḳurʾān, the term occurs three times: XV, 16; XXV, 61; and LXXXV, title and v. 1. As a common noun, *burdj* [*q.v.*] means "a fortress, or a tower" and is assumed to derive from Greek πύργος (of the same meaning). A reminiscence of this is found in some Arabic philologists who explain the word (in astronomical context) in that sense, cf. Ḳuṭrub (d. after 210/825-6): *wa 'l-burdj ayḍ^an al-ḳaṣr al-mustaṭīl* (a "lengthy fortress", perhaps with the intended meaning, lengthy in vertical direction, i.e. a tower; see his *K. al-Azmina*, 133,3); Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889): *al-burūdj al-ḥuṣūn wa 'l-ḳuṣūr* (*K. al-Anwāʾ*, 120,5); ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀṣim (d. 403/1013): *wa-aṣl al-burūdj al-ḥuṣūn* (*K. al-Anwāʾ*, fol. 3a,-2). There are only a few instances in Greek where the *burūdj* are really called πύργοι, mostly in late mss. of the 14th and 15th centuries (cf. the places quoted in O. Neugebauer, *Ethiopic astronomy and computus*, Vienna 1979, 232 n. 4; D. Pingree (ed.), *The astronomical works of Gregory Chioniades*, i, Amsterdam 1985, 26, 27 and 399); the current term in classical Greek texts is τὸ ζῴδιον, apart from some other less frequent forms (cf. *RE*, art. *Zodiakos*, ii; v, 6; Scherer, 42-4). The exact reason and point of the borrowing of *burdj*, in the astronomical sense, from Greek remain, therefore, uncertain. An interesting suggestion was made by F. Hommel (in *ZDMG*, xlv [1891], 607 n. 2), that *burdj* = πύργος, in the astronomical-astrological sense, might be related to Babylonian *parakku* (= Sumerian *barag*), "a chapel, sanctuary", citing a passage "The Gods in the sky have settled down in their stations (*manzalti-shunû*) [cf. the Arabic *manāzil* !], their *parakkî* ... are visible," where the reference is obviously to the zodiacal constellations. Another, obviously speculative explanation of the term *al-burūdj* is given by al-Tīfās̲h̲ī (d. 651/1263; *Surūr*, 199, 14 = Ibn Manẓūr [d. 711/1311], *Nit̲h̲ār*, 174,3/2): the term *burdj* in the language of the Arabs is derived from *al-burūdj*, infinitive of the verb *baradja*, meaning "to become visible, apparent", like the verb *ẓahara*). (The word *al-burūdj* is also used once in the more common sense of "tower" in Ḳurʾān, IV, 78: *fī burūdj^in mus̲h̲ayyada.*)

The old Arabs, before their acquaintance with Greek astronomy, did not know the zodiac as a complete system. But, as it seems, some of the twelve zodiacal constellations had become known to them, most probably, through channels as yet unknown, from Mesopotamia. These few constellation names are occasionally used in poetry, and—what is of great interest—many of the lunar mansions [see AL-MANĀZIL] have been related to them (cf. the table given by al-Bīrūnī, *Āt̲h̲ār*, 349 f. = tr. 350. The table is not correct in some of the details). Later, when Greek astronomical and astrological texts were translated into Arabic, most of these constellations were assigned new names formed after their Greek models. Also, it became apparent that the astronomical location of several of the older Arabic constellations had shifted from those places in the sky which they occupied in Greek tradition. So it would seem that here we have a testimony of two branches of development in the transmission of the zodiacal constellations: a northern branch reaching from Mesopotamia to the Greeks (and hence into modern astronomy), and a southern branch reaching into the

Arabian peninsula (rather fragmentary, and obscured in the course of time).

After the introduction of Greek astronomy, the Arabic-Islamic culture adopted and continuously applied the Greek distribution of constellations and the fixed stars, and it came to know and use the zodiac and the ecliptic as a system of astronomical and astrological reference (cf. the ed. of the star catalogue from Ptolemy's *Almagest*, in the two surviving Arabic versions of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar and of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn, with amendments by Thābit b. Ḳurra, where the descriptions of the twelve zodiacal constellations and all their individual stars are given and which have served as the basic source for all the astronomers and astrologers of the Islamic period). Most of the Arabic philologists, in their *kutub al-anwā*ʾ [see ANWĀʾ; AL-MANĀZIL], give a description of the *burūdj*. But since all of them lived in the time after the introduction of Greek science, it came about that they usually give the complete list of twelve *burūdj* (which, as stated before, were not completely known to the old Arabs), thus mixing up foreign knowledge and indigenous Arabic traditions.

Now follows a list of the twelve *burūdj*:

1. Aries. *al-ḥamal* (lit. "the lamb"). The name seems to be of indigenous Arabic tradition, since the three lunar mansions nos. 1, 2 and 3 (*al-sharaṭān* or *al-naṭḥ*, *al-buṭayn* and *al-thurayyā* [the Pleiades]) are usually identified as the horns, the belly and the fat tail (*alya*) of the animal. Some Arabic authors have proposed, because of these "horns", that the constellation should be rather called *al-kabsh* ("the ram"), a name which, subsequently, was occasionally used instead of *al-ḥamal*. Note that the location of this Arabic *ḥamal* extends into the Greek Taurus (the Pleiades !). In the translations from the Greek, the same name *al-ḥamal* was retained for Greek ὁ Κριός.

2. Taurus. *al-thawr*. This name seems to be of scientific origin, translated from Greek ὁ Ταῦρος, since no indigenous asterism (from among the lunar mansions) has ever been related to it.

3. Gemini. In the indigenous Arabic tradition, the corresponding constellation is *al-djawzā*ʾ (of unknown meaning), frequently used in poetry and old texts. As a constellation, however, the old Arabic *al-djawzā*ʾ was located in the stellar figure called by the Greeks (and so on further in modern astronomy) Orion. The lunar mansion no. 5 (*al-haḳʿa*) is understood as the head of *al-djawzā*ʾ. The scientific translations from the Greek added the new name *al-tawʾamān* ("the twins"), after Greek οἵ Δίδυμοι. (For Orion, the translators introduced *al-djabbār*, "the Giant", perhaps adopting an older Syriac designation, *gabbārā*.) Subsequently, very often (and especially so in the mediaeval Latin translations from the Arabic) there arose confusion, since the Arabic-Islamic astrologers and astronomers continued to use al-*djawzā*ʾ in its two notions, as a name for Gemini (within the zodiacal constellations and signs) and for Orion, while otherwise the two could be distinguished as *al-tawʾamān* (Gemini) and *al-djabbār* (Orion). In all texts, therefore, special caution is required with regard to the name *al-djawzā*ʾ in order to distinguish whether the zodiacal sign is intended or the southern constellation of Orion, outside the zodiac.

4. Cancer. Arabic *al-saraṭān*. Like no. 4, it seems to be of scientific origin, translation from Greek ὁ Καρκίνος. No indigenous Arabic asterisms have been related to it.

5. Leo. *al-asad*. The name belongs to the indigenous Arabic tradition. Not less than eight (or even nine) lunar mansions (nos. 7 to 14, or 15) have been related to *al-asad* which, therefore, in modern research literature, became famous as "the huge Arabic Lion". It is to be noted that the indigenous Arabic Lion figure, in location, is again different from the Greek tradition in that it stretches from αβ Geminorum to α or even ικλ Virginis. In the translations from the Greek, the traditional name *al-asad* was retained.

6. Virgo. Indigenous Arabic *al-sunbula* ("the ear of corn"). This "ear" seems to be of Mesopotamian origin, since this section of the zodiac was already called by a name of that meaning in the Babylonian texts. The name has migrated to the Greeks, where ὁ Στάχυς became the proper name of the star α Virginis while the constellation as such was developed into a maiden (Παρθένος) carrying the ear in her hand. With the Arabs, on the other hand, the knowledge of the stellar object named *al-sunbula* became obscured, and while, in consistency with the zodiacal series, it stands for Virgo, it was explained by some philologists as a name given by the common people (*al-ʿāmma*) to the asterism otherwise called *al-hulba* ("the hair", sc. on the tip of the Lion's tail) and located in what in modern astronomy is called Coma Berenices, i.e. considerably far away north of the ecliptic (cf. Kunitzsch, *Unters.*, nos. 117a/b and 275). This, therefore, is another remarkable case of dislocation. Later, in translating the Almagest, the constellation was termed *al-ʿadhrā*ʾ (from ἡ Παρθένος), while the proper name of the star α Virginis (ὁ Στάχυς) was translated as *al-sunbula* (but here, different from the indigenous Arabic *al-sunbula* !).

7. Libra. *al-mīzān*, translated from Greek ὁ Ζυγός. As constellation title, Ptolemy in the Almagest had retained an older designation, αἱ Χηλαί ("the claws", i.e. of Scorpius). Already in Babylonian texts this section of the zodiac was called *zibānītu* ("balance") and was equally understood as the "horns" of Scorpius. On the other hand, the 16th lunar mansion of the Arabs, *al-zubānā*, is understood as the claws of the scorpion. As it seems, there exists a relation between Babyl. *zibānītu* and Ar. *al-zubānā* (although the meaning, for the Arabs, has become obscured and they now understood what formerly meant "balance" as the "claws" of Scorpius). In translating Ptolemy's Χηλαί, both Arabic translators supplied the indigenous Arabic name *al-zubānā*, whereas the Ζυγός used elsewhere in the *Almagest*, and also in the latitude column in the star catalogue, was rendered into *al-mīzān*.

8. Scorpius. Here we have a case among the (zodiacal) constellations where a constellation is transmitted with the same name, and in the same location, continuously from the Babylonians both to the Greeks (and hence into modern astronomy) and to the old Arabs. Arabic *al-ʿaḳrab* was already known in pre-scientific times, and four lunar mansions (nos. 16 to 19; by one author also no. 15, as a fifth) have been related to Scorpius. It should be kept in mind that originally Libra, before made into an independent constellation of its own, was included, as the "claws", into the constellation of a major Scorpius. The translators from the Greek afterwards retained the older name *al-ʿaḳrab for* ὁ Σκορπίος.

9. Sagittarius. In old Arabic tradition, *al-ḳaws* ("the bow"). In indigenous Arabic stellar lore there existed an asterism called *al-ḳaws*, consisting of the six stars ξ^2,ο,π,δ,ρ,υ Sagittarii (otherwise also called *al-ḳilāda*, "the necklace", or *al-udḥiyy*, "the ostrich nest", cf. Kunitzsch, *Unters.* nos. 224, 229 and 307) which might be a remnant of the fuller constellation of the Archer. According to al-Ṣūfī, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. *ca.* 282/895) assumed that the zodiacal

constellation received its (old Arabic) name *al-ḳaws* from this asterism. The translators later introduced *al-rāmī* ("the archer"), from Greek ὁ Τοξότης.

10. Capricornus. Arabic *al-djady* (lit. "the kid"). The Arabic philologists occasionally report that there are two kids in the sky (*al-djadyān*), one of which is in the zodiac, while the other one rotates (about the North Pole) together with (the asterism) *banāt naʿsh*, i.e. the seven stars of "Charles' Wain". (This second one is the star α Ursae Minoris, which in the time of the early Arabs was not yet the "Pole Star"; in contrast to the *djady* in the zodiac, this second one is often called *al-djudayy*, in the diminutive.) It is, however, not clear whether *al-djady* (in the zodiac) is really an old Arabic name. At least, no other asterisms and no lunar mansions have ever been related to it. The translators of the *Almagest* retained the name *al-djady*; only Isḥāḳ added a tentative paraphrase of the Greek Αἰγόκερως, as *dhū ḳarnay al-ʿanz* ("the one having a goat's horns"). (His transliteration of the Greek name, *aghūḳāris*, corrupted to *al-ḳawḳāris*, was re-transliterated in the mediaeval West into Latin as *alcaucarus* and is sometimes mentioned in modern books among the names of Capricornus as a pseudo-Arabic name, even degenerated into *Alcantarus*.)

11. Aquarius. In indigenous Arabic tradition, this was *al-dalw* ("the water bucket"), obtaining—in the series of the zodiacal constellations—the place of Aquarius, but as an asterism located in what Ptolemy (and hence modern astronomy) call Pegasus, more exactly in the big Pegasus-square formed by the four stars α Andromedae and αβγ Pegasi. The western two of these four stars form the 26th lunar mansion, *al-fargh al-muḳaddam* (or *al-awwal*), and the eastern two the 27th lunar mansion, *al-fargh al-muʾakhkhar* (or *al-thānī*); the two *fargh* ("outlets") are related to the zodiacal "bucket" (*dalw*). As it seems, of the former Babylonian figure of a man holding a vessel, the Arabs have only retained the vessel (cf. above, Virgo). But note again the displacement of the figure outside the zodiac, in the Arabic tradition! The Greeks, on the other hand, had retained the human figure together with the vessel (κάλπις, not mentioned in the star catalogue of the *Almagest*). As with Capricornus, the Arabic translators of the *Almagest* also here retained the older Arabic name, *al-dalw*. Only Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn added a tentative paraphrase of the Greek Ὑδροχόος ("Water pourer"), as *sāḳib al-māʾ* ("the pourer of the water"). (His transliteration of the Greek name, *idhrūkhʾūs*, misspelled as *ʾdhrwdhrws*, etc., was re-transliterated by the mediaeval Latin translator as *ydrudurus*, thus suggesting, in the first two syllables, a reminiscence of the Greek ὑδρο-.) Other recent Arabic forms, all subsequent to the Greek name, were *al-sāḳī*, *al-dālī*, and even *ḥāmil al-dalw* ("the carrier of the bucket", developed on the basis of the old Arabic name and the Greek conception of a man carrying a vessel).

12. Pisces. The indigenous Arabic tradition has only one fish, *al-ḥūt*, located north of the ecliptic in Andromeda. The 28th lunar mansion, *baṭn al-ḥūt* (β Andromedae), is regarded the belly of that Fish. This is another case of reminiscence of a zodiacal constellation with the old Arabs, and also another case of displacement of the respective figure to a place outside the zodiac. The translators of the *Almagest* retained the older name *al-ḥūt*; only Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn translated the Greek Ἰχθύες as *al-samakatān* ("the two fishes"). (His transliteration of the Greek name, *ikthuwās*, misspelled as *ʾkywʾn*, was re-transliterated into *echiguen* in mediaeval Europe and became one of the many rarer names of Pisces in modern astronomical works.)

For some of the *burūdj*, the authors of the *anwāʾ* books mention certain alternative names which, however, might be mostly purely poetical or else speculative philological variants of the reported basic names, as *al-layth* for *al-asad* (no. 5); *al-tays* ("the he-goat") for *al-djady* (no. 10); and *al-samaka* for *al-ḥūt* (no. 12). Of a more peculiar character is *al-ṣūra* ("the figure"; later commonly used for "constellation") for *al-ʿaḳrab* (no. 8). *al-rishaʾ* for *al-ḥūt* (no. 12) seems merely to be a confusion with one of the names of the 28th lunar mansion. A special case is *al-djawzāʾ* (no. 3) for which Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066; *K. al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 12, 16—on the authority of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī) cites the alternative name *al-ṣūra* ("the figure"), while ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀṣim (*K. al-Anwāʾ*, fol. 3, 5) reports that the Arabs called *al-tawʾamān* [*sic*, as the basic name !] also *al-djawzāʾ* and *al-ṣūra* and *al-djabbār*. Both these statements are utterly mutilated; the fuller and correct wording is found in al-Tīfāshī (*Surūr*, 198, last two lines = Ibn Manẓūr, *Nithār*, 174, 6-7): ... *al-djawzāʾ wa-tusammīha ʾl-munadjdjimūn al-tawʾamayn fa-ammā ʾl-ṣūra fa-yusammūnahā al-djabbār wa ʾl-bashar wa-laysa humā ʿinda ʾl-ʿarab* ("... al-*djawzāʾ*, and the astronomers of Greek-based scientific profession call her 'the Twins'; however, the figure [i.e. the asterism, or constellation figure, obtained by *al-djawzāʾ* in the sky, i.e. Orion] they call *al-djabbār* [= Orion] and *al-bashar* ['the human figure'—not found elsewhere in the texts], but these two are not found among the Arabs").

In Persian, the common names of the zodiacal constellations are: 1 - *barra* ("lamb"); 2 - *gāw*; 3 - *du paykar*; 4 - *kharčang*; 5 - *shīr*; 6 - *khūsha* ("ear of corn"); 7 - *tarāzū*; 8 - *kazhdum*; 9 - *kamān* ("bow"); 10 - *buzghāla* ("kid"); 11 - *dūl* ("bucket"); and 12 - *māhī* ("fish", sing.).

It may be added that, through Latin translations of Arabic works on astronomy and astrology, the Arabic names of the twelve zodiacal constellations and signs also became known in mediaeval Europe. But these names did not gain the same popularity as the individual star names and never came into actual use in Europe.

Minṭaḳa in Astrology. The zodiacal figures no. 1, *al-Ḥamal*, no. 4, *al-Saraṭān*, no. 7, *al-Mīzān* and no. 10, *al-Djady* are known together as *burūdj munḳaliba*, Greek ζῴδια τροπικά; no. 2, *al-Thawr*, no. 5, *al-Asad*, no. 8, *al-ʿAḳrab* and no. 11, *al-Dalw* under *burūdj thābita*, ζῴδια στερεά; no. 3, *al-Djawzāʾ*, no. 6, *al-ʿAdhrāʾ*, no. 9, *al-Rāmī* and no. 12, *al-Samakatān* under *burūdj dhawāt al-djasadayn*, ζῴδια δίσωμα (i.e. "Signa bicorpora", "Double figures": Twins, Virgin and Ear of corn, Archer with Horse's body and the two Fishes).

Muthallathāt. By *al-muthallathāt* (sing. *al-muthallatha*) are meant in Arab astrology the Greek τρίγωνα, Lat. *trigona* or *triquetra*, which in the Middle Ages were usually translated by *triplicates*.

The twelve signs of the zodiac are here arranged in threes at the angles of four intersecting equilateral triangles of which one is allotted to each of the four elements. Each triangle is given two of the seven planets as its rulers (*rabb*, pl. *arbāb*, Greek οἰκοδεσπόται or τριγωνοκράτορες), one for the day and another for the night; a third is associated with the two others as "companion".

The arrangement is as follows:

1. *Muthallatha* - Element: Fire.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Ḥamal*, *al-Asad* and *al-Rāmī* (nos. 1, 5 and 9).

Ruler: by day *al-Shams* (Sun), by night *al-Mushtarī* (Jupiter).

Companion: *Zuḥal* (Saturn).

2. *Muthallatha* - Element: Earth.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Thawr*, *al-ʿAdhrāʾ* and *al-Djady* (no. 2, 6 and 10).
Ruler: by day *al-Zuhara* (Venus), by night *al-Ḳamar* (Moon).
Companion: *al-Mirrīkh* (Mars).
3. *Muthallatha* - Element: Air.
Zodiacal sign: *al-Djawzāʾ*, *al-Mīzān* and *al-Dalw* (nos. 3, 7 and 11).
Ruler: by day *Zuḥal* (Saturn), by night *ʿUṭārid* (Mercury).
Companion: *al-Mushtarī* (Jupiter).
4. *Muthallatha* - Element: Water.
Zodiacal sign: *al-Saraṭān*, *al-ʿAḳrab* and *al-Samakatān* (nos. 4, 8 and 12).
Ruler: by day *al-Zuhara* (Venus), by night *al-Mirrīkh* (Mars).
Companion: *al-Ḳamar* (Moon).

The distribution of the *Muthallathat* has been settled since the time of Ptolemy (*τετράβιβλος*).

Wudjūh or *Ṣuwar*. By dividing each *burdj* into three we get 36 decans each of 10°, which in Arabic are called *wudjūh* (sing. *wadjh*), *ṣuwar* (sing. *ṣūra*) or *darīdjān* (from the Indian *drekkāṇa*, a loanword from the Greek) or *dahadj* (Pers.), in Greek *δεκανοί* or *πρόσωπα*, in mediaeval Latin *facies*, more rarely *decani*. The astrological significance is the same as with the Greeks, who in their turn go back to Egyptian models. The decans are not mentioned in Ptolemy. *Al-Ṣuwar* means properly the *paranatellonta* of the Babylonian Teukros, the constellations which rise at the same time as the separate decans according to his list. Abū Maʿshar and other Arab authors took over the list of the *paranatellonta* from Teukros unaltered, but not the astrological interpretations associated with them.

Buyūt. The Greek *οἶκοι* or *τόποι*, Lat. *domicilia* or (mediaeval) *domus*, are called in Arabic *buyūt* (sing. *bayt*). The sun and moon are each ruler (*ṣāḥib*, *rabb*, Greek *οἰκοδεσπότης* [cf. above *muthallathāt*]) over one sign of the zodiac; each of the other five planets rules over two signs at the same time, according to the following scheme, also already laid down in the *τετράβιβλος*:

Planet	day-house	night-house
Sun	Leo	—
Moon	—	Cancer
Saturn	Capricornus	Aquarius
Jupiter	Sagittarius	Pisces
Mars	Scorpius	Aries
Venus	Libra	Taurus
Mercury	Virgo	Gemini

If a planet is in its day-house during the hours of day or in its night-house at night, it is credited with particularly powerful astrological influence.

Sharaf and *Hubūṭ*. By *sharaf* (pl. *ashrāf*) we understand the *ὕψωμα* of the Greeks, *sublimitas* of Pliny, *altitudo* of Firmicus Maternus, *exaltatio* in mediaeval Latin; *hubūṭ* is the Greek *ταπείνωσις*, *ταπείνωμα*, more rarely *κοίχωμα*, class. Lat. *deiectio*, med. Lat. *casus*.

A planet attains its maximum astrological influence in its *sharaf*; its influence is least in the *hubūṭ*, i.e. the point in the heavens diametrically opposite the *sharaf* on the circle of the ecliptic.

Planet	*Sharaf*	*Hubūṭ*
Sun	Aries 19°	Libra 19°
Moon	Taurus 3°	Scorpius 3°
Saturn	Libra 21° (20°)	Aries 21°
Jupiter	Cancer 15°	Capricornus 15°
Mars	Capricornus 28°	Cancer 28°
Venus	Pisces 27°	Virgo 27°
Mercury	Virgo 15°	Pisces 15°

The only inaccuracy in the list of exaltations, already fixed in ancient times, is giving 20° instead of 21° to Libra for Saturn, which however goes back to a very old error; it is also found in Pliny, Firmicus and the Hindu astronomer Varāha-Mihira.

Al-Balʿamī assumed that at the time of the creation of the world the planets were in their *ashrāf*.

Various Arab writers since Abū Maʿshar also ascribe exaltations and dejections to the nodes of the moon (*ʿaḳdān* or *ʿuḳdatān*, sc. *al-ḳamar*):

ascending node (*raʾs*) as *sharaf* Gemini 3°, and as *hubūṭ*, Sagittarius 3°; *vice versa* to the descending node (*dhanab*) as *sharaf* Sagittarius 3°; as *hubūṭ* Gemini 3°. This allocation is not known to the Greek astrologers.

Ḥudūd. Each of the five planets (excluding the sun and moon) possesses in each of the 12 *burūdj* a field of influence covering several degrees (Arab. *ḥadd*, pl. *ḥudūd*, Greek *ὅριον*, Lat. *fines*, med. Latin *terminus*) which has the same astrological significance as the planet itself and can represent it at any time in horoscopes. On the distribution of these fields of influence within the zodiacal circle, opinions differed widely and unanimity could never be attained. Ptolemy added one more to the Egyptian and Chaldaean divisions already in existence. (The various systems are fully expounded in the *τετράβιβλος*, i. 20, fol. 43: Boll has studied this question very fully in *Neues zur babylonischen Planetenordnung*, in *ZA*, xxxviii [1913], 340 ff.) The Arab astrologers used almost exclusively the Egyptian system, which makes the different fields of very unequal sizes. (For the classical astrological doctrines, cf. Bouché-Leclerq.)

Minṭaḳa in Astronomy. The *minṭaḳa* is, as in the Greek astronomy, the fundamental basis for all calculations. It is divided into 360° degrees (*djuzʾ*, pl. *adjzāʾ* or *daradja*, coll. *daradj*, pl. *daradjāt*), each degree into 60 minutes (*daḳīḳa*, pl. *daḳāʾiḳ*), each minute into 60 seconds (*thāniya*, pl. *thawānī*), each second into 60 thirds (*thālitha*, pl. *thawālith*), and so on.

The points of intersection of the ecliptic with the equator (*dāʾirat* or *falak muʿaddil al-nahār*) define the two equinoxes (*al-iʿtidālān*), the points of the greatest northerly and southerly declination the two solstices (*al-inḳilābān*). The position of a fixed star or planet with respect to the *minṭaḳa* is defined by giving its longitude (*ṭūl*, pl. *aḳwāl*, or in al-Battānī *al-djuzʾ alladhī fīhi al-kawkab*) and latitude (*ʿarḍ*, pl. *ʿurūḍ*). The longitudes are numbered from the vernal point (*al-nuḳṭa al-rabīʿiyya*). The axis erected perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic meets the sphere of the fixed stars in the two poles of the ecliptic (*ḳuṭbā dāʾirat* [or *falak*] *al-burūdj*).

On Arab star-maps and star-globes, we frequently find a mixed ecliptical and equatorial system of coordinates used (cf. the remarks above on the fresco on the dome at Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra), which consists of ecliptical circles at longitude through the poles of the ecliptic and equatorial parallel circles.

Precession (in al-Battānī, *ḥarakat al-kawākib al-thābita*, in later authors more precisely *mubādarat nuḳṭat al-iʿtidāl*). Among the Arab astronomers, supporters were found for the theory of Ptolemy, who explained the precession as a continual revolution of the whole heavens around the pole of the ecliptic with a period of 36,000 years, as well as for that handed down by Theon of Alexandria (Thāwun al-Iskandarānī) from older sources, according to which the process of the precession consisted of an oscillation to and from around the "nodes of the path of the sun" (the so-called trepidation). The greatest amount of the precession according to this theory is 8° west or east of the nodes; the retrogression amounts to 1° in 80

years so that the whole phenomenon repeats itself after 2,560 years. The latter theory found particular approval in India and was further developed there. Thābit b. Ķurra gave an explanation for it which at the same time took into account the (more suspected than observed) diminution in the obliquity of the ecliptic and calculated the length of the period at 417½ years. (Recently, J. Ragep has shown that Thābit cannot really have been involved in the transmission of the theory of trepidation.) Al-Battānī attacked and refuted this oscillation hypothesis of Theon and of the *Aṣḥāb al-ṭilsamāt* (ἀποτελεσματικοί); on a basis of new and comparative observations he found that the precession amounted to 1° in 66 years, which corresponds to a period of 23,760 years, which is roughly 10% too small. A more accurate rate of 1° in 70 years is given by several other Arabic-Islamic astronomers (cf. the survey in Nallino, *al-Battānī, Opus astronomicum*, i, 292 f.).

Obliquity (*Mayl falak al-burūdj*, very frequently *al-mayl kulluhu* or *al-kullī* in contrast to *al-mayl al-djuz'ī*, "declination of the separate points in the *minṭaķa*", cf. al-Aghzāwī, 21). The problem of estimating the obliquity of the ecliptic was during the classical period a centre of interest for the Muslim astronomers. As a first attempt at an exact estimate in the Muslim period, Ibn Yūnus (ch. ix, p. 222, of the Leiden Codex or of the Paris Codex, no. 2475) mentions an observation of the period between 778 and 786 which gave the value ε = 23°31′. We have an unusually large number of observations of later dates. (For details, see Nallino's notes on al-Battānī's *Opus astronomicum*, i, 157 ff.).

Al-Battānī in his observations used a parallactic ruler (triquetrum, *ʿiḍāda ṭawīla*) as well as a finely-divided wall quadrant (*libna*). He ascertained with these instruments in al-Raķķa the smallest zenith distance of the sun at 12°26′, the greatest at 59°36′; this gave $\varepsilon = \frac{47°10'}{2} = 23°35'$. This value is at the basis of all al-Battānī's calculations and tables and has been adopted by many other Arab astronomers.

The question whether the amount of obliquity remains constant at all times or is subject to a secular diminution was answered in different ways by different students. As a matter of fact, the degree of accuracy of observation was not sufficient to settle this point and the old Hindu value of ε = 24°, on which these investigations were often based, was based not on observations but only on a statement of Euclid's according to which astrologers of his time used to estimate the obliquity as a fifteenth part of the circumference of the circle.

The following table gives a survey of the Arab values for the obliquity of the ecliptic (cf. Nallino, *al-Battānī, Opus astronomicum, loc. cit.*). The column "average obliquity" gives by Bessel's formula: ε = 23°28′ 18″.0 - 0″.48 368.t - 0″.000 002 722 95. t^2 (t = years after 1750) the true values calculated for the periods in question. The years given in brackets are only approximate, i.e. not given by the authors themselves.

Comparative table of the Arab values for the Obliquity of the Ecliptic

Observer	Place	Year	Obliquity observed	Average obliquity	Error
Eratosthenes	Alexandria	(230 B.C.)	23°51′20″	23°43′45″	+ 7″35″
Hipparchus	Rhodes	(130 B.C.)		42′57″	+ 8′23″
Ptolemy	Alexandria	(140 A.D.)		41′10″	+10′10″
Tabulae probatae (*al-Zīdj al-mumtaḥan*)	Baghād	829	33′	35′41″	- 2′41″
Other observers under al-Ma'mūn	Damascus	832	33′52″	35′40″	- 1′48″
Banū Mūsā	Baghdād	(860)	35′	35′26″	- 0′26″
al-Battānī	al-Raķķa	(880)	35′	35′17″	- 0′17″
Banū Amdjūr	?	(918)	35′	35′0″	0′0″
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī	Baghdād ?	(965)	33′45″	34′35″	- 0′50″
Abu 'l-Wafā'	Baghdād	987	35′	34′25″	+ 0′35″
Wīdjān b. Rustam al-Kūhī	Baghdād	988	51′1″	34′25″	+16′36″
Ibn Yūnus	Cairo	1001	34′52″	34′19″	+ 0′33″
al-Bīrūnī	Ghaznī	(1019)	35′	34′10″	+ 0′50″
Alphonsine Tables	Toledo	(1250)	32′29″	32′19″	+ 0′10″
Ibn al-Shāṭir	Damascus	(1363)	31′	31′25″	- 0′25″
Ulugh Beg	Samarķand	(1437)	30′17″	30′49″	- 0′32″

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(W. Hartner-[P. Kunitzsch])

MINŪČIHRĪ [see manūčihrī].

MINŪF, MINŪFĪ [see manūf, manūfī].

MINŪRḲA, Minorca, name of the easternmost of the Balearic islands; it lies about 40 km east-north-east of Majorca [see mayūrḳa]. Its area of 669 km² is dwarfed by that of the centrally located Majorca (3,640 km²), but it slightly surpasses that of Ibiza (572 km² [see yābisa]). Minorca's elongated latitudinal shape is marked by two excellent harbours, at its western and south-eastern extremities, Ciudadela and Mahón, both of Carthaginian date.

For the greater part of the four centuries or more of Islamic rule on the islands, Minorca was politically and culturally eclipsed by Majorca. Like the other islands, it benefited from some of the agricultural innovations such as irrigation and windmills characteristic of Muslim Spain. It also participated in Majorca's corsair activities and shared its fate when in 1116 a combined Pisan-Catalan punitive expedition attacked the two islands and freed a great number of Christian prisoners. On the other hand, its easternmost position may have contributed to growing contacts with Christian maritime powers such as Genoa and Pisa, as reflected in the commercial treaties of 1177, 1181, 1184 and 1188. The island's special place in Islamic history, however, is due to the virtual independence its rulers enjoyed under the suzerainty of the kings of Catalonia-Aragon between 1231 and 1287. This happened when James I annexed the rest of the archipelago, but concluded two consecutive treaties with Abū ᶜUthmān b. Saᶜīd b. al-Ḥakam by which the latter conserved autonomy in return for the presentation of an annual *djizya* and of a few other symbols of vassalage. Saᶜīd b. al-Ḥakam, given in the sources such simple titles as *al-Raʾīs* "Chief" or *al-Mushrif*, a title that expressed one of his earlier functions as tax collector and that became his Spanish epithet as *Almojarife*, proved to be an able ruler (although often a harsh one, on religious grounds) and a cultivated man. Minorca attained under his half-a-century long rule (1231-82) the reputation of a prosperous island with a strong fleet, but it became especially renowned as a place where refined literary culture flourished and Islamic religious sciences were honoured; it also served as a refuge or point of transit for Muslims fleeing the Reconquista in Spain. Saᶜīd b. al-Ḥakam, an accomplished poet himself, maintained a lively correspondence with men of letters and science in other Islamic centres, but above all with those of the Western Mediterranean: Tunis, Bougie, Murcia and Granada.

Islamic Minorca's autonomy collapsed soon after Saᶜīd b. al-Ḥakam's death. From among the reasons proposed for this collapse, one would have been the weak personality of the ruler, al-Ḥakam b. Saᶜīd, who lacked his father's statesmanship; another would have been the irritation of al-Ḥakam's suzerain, Alfonso III of Catalonia-Aragon, by the warning which the Minorcan vassal had sent to Collo when in 1282 a Catalan fleet called at Mahón on its way to raid that North African port. The basic reason, however, should be sought in the historical inevitability of this stage of the Reconquista: the Christian suzerain, for once freed of the usual commitments to wars in the Iberian peninsula, put an end to an anomalous situation. A large fleet left the Catalan port of Salo and, after spending Christmas of 1286 in Majorca, anchored near Mahón in January 1287. Alfonso himself, displaying a Crusader's paraphernalia and bravura, took part in the ensuing battles. The Muslims put up a brave resistance but eventually had to surrender. The outcome presaged the events of 1492 for Granada. The ruler, his family and retinue were allowed to leave for Muslim-held territory; they embarked in a Genoese ship that took them to Almeria. Eventually they moved to Ceuta, where al-Ḥakam buried the remains of his father, and whence he and his family sailed to Tunis. They all perished in a storm off the coast of Algiers. As for the rest of Minorcan Muslims, about one-third chose to emigrate as well.

In subsequent centuries, Minorca, like the rest of the Balearics, was both a participant and a victim in the see-saw contest of Christian and Muslim corsairs. Thus Pīrī Reʾīs (*fl. ca.* 1526) mentions frequent visits by Arab and Turkish (corsair) boats, and the presence of a great number of Arab and Turkish prisoners put to work on the salines of Ibiza. In 1535 Barbarossa [see khayr al-dīn] briefly seized Mahón, and Ciudadela was attacked during the 1558 expedition of the Ottoman fleet under Piyāle Pasha in the Western Mediterranean.

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(S. Soucek)

MĪR, a Persian title abbreviated from the Arab *amīr* and approximating in meaning both to it and to the title *mīrzā* [*q.v.*]. (For the dropping of the initial *alif*, cf. Bū Sahl for Abū Sahl, etc.). Like *amīr* the title is applied to princes (Manūčihrī, ed. A. de Biberstein-

Kazimirsky, *Menoutchehri, poète persan du onzième siècle de notre ère*, Paris 1886, 96, speaks of Sultan Masʿūd of Ghazna, as "Mīr"), but it is also borne by poets and other men of letters (e.g. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, Mīr Khʷānd, Mīr Muḥsin; cf. the following arts.). In India and Pakistan, Sayyids sometimes call themselves by the title. As a common noun, it is used as an equivalent of *ṣāḥib*, e.g. *mīr pandj*, *mīr ākhūr*.

It occurs also in official titles in both the Dihlī Sultanate and in Mughal administration: *mīr ātish* "chief of artillery"; *mīr baḥr* "naval commander", "chief of river police"; *mīri ʿimārat* "controller of building operations"; *mīri sāmān* "chief of the commissariat"; etc. *Mīr-i farsh* is the term usually applied to stone weights—often of marble carved and inlaid with semi-precious stones—used to hold down a pall over a grave.

In Turkish there was derived from it the colloquial adjective *mīrī* [*q.v.*] ("belonging to the government"), which gave rise to *al-mīrī* ("the government") in the colloquial Arabic of ʿIrāḳ.

(R. Levy [-J. Burton-Page])

MĪR-ĀKHŪR (p.) In the Ottoman empire, the *mīr-ākhūr* or Master of the Stables was the official given charge of all aspects relating to the supply and maintenance of the Ottoman sultan's stables, the *iṣṭabl-i ʿāmire*. The wide-ranging services connected with the imperial stables were divided between two chief officials, the *küčük mīr-ākhūr* or Master of the Lesser Stable, and the *büyük mīr-ākhūr* or Master of the Great Stable, both of whom were high officers in the Palace Outer Service with the rank of Aghas of the Stirrup (*rikāb aghalarī*) (Gibb and Bowen, i, 82-3, 355). While all matters relating to the administration of the stables were referred to the Grand Master as senior officer, it seems that the *küčük mīr-ākhūr* was primarily charged with the care and maintenance of the sultan's privy stable or *khāṣṣ ākhūr* located in the second court of the Topkapî Palace opposite the kitchens. On the ground level of the privy stable a small number of exceptional show horses belonging to the sultan personally (25-30, according to Baudier, 21-2; 40-50 according to Blaise de Vigenère, 346) were kept, while the lower story housed the valuable silver bridles and other equestrian paraphernalia which formed the contents of a separate treasury called the *khāṣṣ ākhūr khazīnesi*. The *küčük mīr-ākhūr* was also responsible for the upkeep of the sultans' carriages. The Great Stable (*büyük ākhūr*) consisted of seventeen separate buildings adjacent to the outer wall of the Palace along the Marmara Sea coast (Baudier, 22), where some one thousand horses were kept, principally for the use of members of the sultan's household on festive occasions such as state processions (*alāy-i hümāyūn*), or at the reception of a foreign ambassador. Horses from the imperial stables were also distributed to members of the sultan's household for use during military campaigns. Each spring the horses belonging to the imperial stables in Istanbul were taken to the meadows of Kāghid-Khāne for pasturing, and the *mīr-ākhūr* himself resided there during the summer months (Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 480-2).

The *büyük mīr-ākhūr* was also responsible for pack animals and camels belonging to the state for use during military campaigns, and had to supervise the stable-related services both within and without the Palace. The staff within the Palace included principally the saddlers' guild (*sarrādjīn-i khāṣṣa*), who numbered 230 men (in addition, 120 men were assigned as saddlers for the draught animals *bārgīr sarrādjīlar*, *Kanūn-nāme*, Veliyyüdin, no. 1970, f. 107a), the camel-drivers (*shütürbānān*) responsible for the care of the animals during campaign, and the grooms (*sāʾisān*) and others who cared for the animals in the stables. While some observers estimated the numbers of Palace stable employees as between 10,000 and 12,000 (d'Aramon, 44; Blaise de Vigenère, 348), the following table based on official registers gives more precise information as to their actual numbers:

Date	No. of employees	Yearly wages in *akčas*
933/1527	2,830	5,133,000
975/1567	4,321	7,457,540
1018/1609	4,322	8,405,196
1038/1629	4,246	9,304,888

(Sources for table in order given: Barkan, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuasi*, xv [1953-4], 300; Barkan, in *IFM*, xix [1957-58], 305-6; ʿAyn-ʿAlī, *Risāle*, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, 99; Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Maliyeden müdevver*, no. 794.)

Outside the Palace, the *mīr-ākhūr* employed Bulgarian Christians called *voynuḳs* numbering about 900-1,000 (Blaise de Vigenère, 347), some of whom were given exemption from certain taxes in return for their services, and others of whom got *timar* benefices (ʿAlī Čawush, *Ḳānūn-nāme*, 155-6). Apart from the breeding and raising of horses on the stud farms (*harā*) and in the sultanic parks (*khāṣṣa ḳoru*), the *voynuḳs* also had to cut grass and hay in the sultan's meadows (*khāṣṣa čayïr*) for delivery to the *mīr-ākhūr*. In these tasks the *voynuḳs* were assisted by the keepers of the brood mares (*yund oghlanī*) and the keepers of the colts (*taydjī*) who were expected to raise, feed, shoe, and equip two colts for each *čiftlik* [*q.v.*] of land assigned to them (Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Maliyeden müdevver*, no. 740).

The *voynuḳ* organisation was designed primarily for the purpose of maintaining a good breeding stock for the imperial stables, but purchase and maintenance of the herd of pack animals including camels (*deve*), geldings (*bārgīr*) and mules (*ester*) and others, was also part of the purview of the *mīr-ākhūr*. Stables had to be built and forage provided over the winter months for all of the animals belonging to the state (*mīrī dawar*). Sometimes special collections were taken up under the name of the campaign provisions tax (*bedel-i nüzūl*) (for an example, see *Mühimme*, vol. 87 [1046/1636-7], 18, an order providing that each train of five camels (*ḳaṭar*) wintering in the environs of Zile should be supplied each day with one *kile* (25.656 kg) of barley and 50 *wuḳiyye* (64.14 kg) of straw), but the animals within the imperial stables in Istanbul or Edirne were provided for by a special fund allocated to the barley commissioner (*amīn-i djaw*). The amount of cash allocated in the year 1070/1660 for the forage of those animals in the imperial stables alone was 11,816,379 *aḳčas* (Ḥüseyn Hezārfen, *Talkhīṣ al-bayān*, figures published by Barkan, in *IFM*, xvii [1955-6]; 344-5). Apart from the cash allocation, an additional 302,692 *kile* (7,766 metric tons) of barley and 104,942.5 *ḳanṭar* (5,923 metric tons) of straw were provided in kind (*ibid.*, 344). For information on prices for both thoroughbreds and common work-horses, the *tereke defterleri* are a most useful source (for two representative examples, see Barkan, in *Belgeler*, iii, 136, listing sixteen individual animals of varying prices valued at a total of 37,290 *aḳčas*, and *ibid.*, 404, listing several prize horses, including one valued at 18,000 *aḳčas*). Most commonly the price for sound draught horses or pack animals was around 1,000-1,200 *aḳčas* (H. Inalcik, in V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp (eds.), *War, technology and Society*, 198; C. White, *Three years in Constantinople*, iii, 286).

Horse breeding was a matter of prime concern to

the Ottomans. For some sultans, the collection of prize horses became almost an obsession, as was the case with Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*] (reigned 1058-99/1648-87), who came to be known as *Awdjī* Meḥemmed or Meḥemmed the huntsman. Edward Brown, an English traveller who visited Meḥemmed's camp during an imperial residence at Larissa in the summer of 1669, remarked that having seen the stables of the great princes of Christendom in Paris, Naples, Dresden and Prague, he found that none of them could compare in their variety and brilliance to those of the sultan's court (Brown, *Travels*, 40). But apart from their value for sport, sound breeds were a military necessity. According to Marsigli (*Stato militare*, 41-2), the horses bred in Transylvania from Moldavian mares were prized for their stamina during long marches, and the Tatar horses, though somewhat smaller in stature, were equally indefatigable. Besides the Moldavian and Tatar horses, the sultan's stables were supplied with Turcoman breeds. Horse breeding and horse trading were established economic activities in central Anatolia from ancient times (F. Taeschner, ANADOLU, at i, 476). An Arab traveller of the 8th/14th century singled out the horses raised by the Turcoman tribes of Germiyān and Ḳasṭamonu for especial praise (al-ʿUmarī, cited by Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, 408). During the Ottoman period, the province of Ḳaramān was a particularly active centre for horse breeding. The herds were raised under the care of a group of Turcomans known as the *esb-keshān ṭāʾifesi*. In exchange for exemption from other taxes, the *esb-keshān* of Ḳaramān were expected to provide a number of horses each year (for an example, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Maliyeden müdevver*, no. 7528, 116, which records a revenue of 458,980 *aḳčas* deriving from the *esb-keshān muḳāṭaʿasī* for the year 1057/1649. At a rate of 300 *aḳčas* per head [*Kanūn-nāme*, in *TOEM*, Suppl. for 1329/1911, 63], this represents 1,530 horses). In addition, the stables of Bursa, Manisa and Edirne are mentioned as producing breeds of superior quality (Barozzi and Berchet, *Relazioni*, i/1, 100). The show horses and studs kept in the sultan's privy stable were mostly given to him as gifts from governors in the Arabian provinces or from state grandees. Camels came primarily from the Turcoman tribes, particularly those in the *sandjaḳs* of Yeñi-il in the province of Rūm-i Ḳadīm (Sivas) and of Ḥalab (Aleppo) in Syria (for an example, see Kātib Čelebi, *Fadhlaka-yi tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1269-70/1853-4 ii, 115).

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(R. MURPHEY)

MĪR ʿALĪ SHĪR NAWĀʾĪ, Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlī Shīr, later called Mīr ʿAlī Shīr or ʿAlī Shīr Beg, with the pen-name (*takhalluṣ*) of Nawāʾī (844-906/1441-1501), outstanding 9th/15th century Čaghatāy poet and important Central Asian cultural and political figure of the reign of the Tīmūrid *sulṭān* Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā (873-911/1469-1506 [*q.v.*]).

He was born in Harāt (Herat) on 17 Ramaḍān 844/9 February 1441, the scion of a cultured Turkic family of Uyghūr *bakhshīs*, hereditary chancellery scribes, who had long been in the service of the Tīmūrid family. ʿAlī Shīr's father, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kīčkīna, also called Kīčkīna Bakhshī, was in the service of Abū Saʿīd, the grandson of Mīrānshāh, as well as of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur, Shāhrukh's grandson, and at one time was the governor (*ḥākim*) of Sabzawār. ʿAlī Shīr's maternal grandfather, Bū Saʿīd Čang, had been an *amīr* of Mīrza Bāyḳarā's, the son of ʿUmar Shaykh and grandfather of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā. Moreover, the family of ʿAlī Shīr was intimately connected to that of ʿUmar Shaykh by ties of foster-brotherhood (*kūkältāshī*) and ʿAlī Shīr was himself the foster-brother of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā. Although he never bore the title *kūkältāsh*, it was always appended to the name of his brother, Darwīsh ʿAlī. Because the families of ʿAlī Shīr and Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā were closely related and the two were almost the same age (Bāyḳarā being only two years older), they were educated together as children. The fact that ʿAlī Shīr received a good education is emphasised by Dawlatshāh and would have been in keeping with the value placed on a universal education by the highly literate Central Asian *bakhshgīs*.

As a result of the unstable political situation created by the death of Shāhrukh in 850/1447, ʿAlī Shīr's family was forced to flee Harāt until the restoration of order in the early 1450s enabled it to return to Khurāsān. The chronology of ʿAlī Shīr's life before he joined Ḥusayn Baykarā at the time of the latter's accession to power in Harāt in 873/1469 is not entirely clear. His first patron appears to have been Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur, whose service he entered in Harat together with Ḥusayn Baykarā sometime before 860/1456. But, as Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā had earlier been in the service of Abū Saʿīd (with whom he soon fell out of favour, however, and remained on inimical terms), it is possible that ʿAlī Shīr, or at least his father, also accompanied Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā when he entered the service of this Tīmūrid prince in 858/1454.

ʿAlī Shīr and Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā both accompanied Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur to Mashhad in 860/1456, but after the latter's death in 861/1457, they parted ways for twelve years. Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā then entered upon a period of *ḳazāḳlīḳ* during which he struggled to establish himself politically, while ʿAlī Shīr pursued his studies in Mashhad, Harāt and Samarḳand. Although the dates of Ālī Shīr's movements between these cities are not stated explicitly in the sources, it is clear that he studied in Samarḳand under Khʷādja Faḍl Allāh Abu 'l-Laythī, an expert in *fiḳh* and Arabic, for a period of two years. It is however not clear whether he came to Samarḳand solely for the purpose of studying or because he was banished from Harāt by Abū Saʿīd, whose service he entered, according to V.V. Bartol'd, sometime after 868/1464. Both Bartol'd and E.É. Bertel's held the view that he was banished, arguing that, in those days, no one left Harāt to study in Samarḳand, which had become a provincial town in comparison with the capital (for a refutation of this view, see É.R. Rustamov, *Stranitsi iz biografii Alishera Navoi* ("Pages from the biography of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī"), in *Kratkie soobshčeniya Instituta narodov Azii*, Moscow, lxiii [1963], 80-6). It is likely that ʿAlī Shīr was in Samarḳand on two occasions—the first in 862-3/1458-9 to pursue his studies and the second around 871/1467 after he encountered political troubles at the court of Abū Saʿīd in Harāt. He also appears to have been in Mashhad twice during this period of his life. In Samarḳand he was aided by two mentors—Darwīsh Muḥammad Tarkhān, the brother-in-law of Abū Saʿīd, and Aḥmad Ḥādjdjī Beg, the powerful governor of the city, who was also a poet with the pen-name Wafāʾī.

After the death of Abū Saʿīd in 873/1468 and Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's subsequent seizure of power in Harāt on 10 Ramaḍān 873/24 March 1469, ʿAlī Shīr left Samarḳand, where he had been in the retinue of Aḥmad Ḥādjdjī Beg, in order to enter Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's service and, on Bayram 873/14 April 1469, presented him with his famous *ḳaṣīda* entitled *Hilāliyya*. He remained in the service of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, who ruled Khurāsān from Harāt uninterruptedly for almost forty years (with the exception of the brief interregnum of Shāhrukh's great-grandson, Muḥammad Yādgār, in 875/1470), until his death on 12 Djumādā 1906/3 January 1501. He was buried in Harāt.

Although he held several offices, such as that of keeper of the seal (*muhrdār*), to which he was appointed by Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā in 873/1469 and from which he soon resigned, ʿAlī Shīr tried as a rule to avoid political office. Since he was not a member of one of the paramount Čaghatāy clans that constituted the Tīmūrid military élite, he was not by birth an *amīr* or beg and he was aware of the precariousness of his position at court compared with that of the hereditary begs on whom Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's power depended. He was, however, officially elevated to the rank of *amīr* of the *dīwān-i aʿlā* or *Türk dīwānī* (council concerned with matters pertaining to the Tīmūrids' Turkic subjects and matters of a military nature) by Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā in 876/1472. In connection with this appointment, he was granted precedence in affixing his seal over that of all other *amīrs* with the sole exception of Muẓaffar Barlās, one of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's companions from his *ḳazāḳlīḳ* days. In late 894/1488 he asked to be relieved of his position as governor (*ḥākim*) of Astarābād, to which he had been appointed the previous year (for a refutation of Bartol'd's idea that ʿAlī Shīr was banished here by Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, see A.A. Semenov, *Vzaimootnosheniya Alishera Navoi i Sultan Khuseyn-Mirzi* ("Relations between ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā"), in *Issledovaniya po istorii kul'turi narodov vostoka. Sbornik v čest' akad. I.A. Orbeli*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, 237-49). At the same time, he resigned from the office of *amīr* (*amr-i imārat*) or, as Bābur put it, gave up "military duties" altogether, that is, the duties associated with the title, although he continued to retain the title itself.

The strength of ʿAlī Shīr's position at the court of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā derived from his personal service to him based on their relationship as foster-brothers, rather than from any official positions held by him. ʿAlī Shīr belonged to the inner circle of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's courtiers (*īčkīyān*) and, in his own words, stood closer to the throne than any of the great *amīrs*. The honorific title that was bestowed upon him by Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā and by which he is referred to in the contemporary sources was *muḳarrab-i ḥaḍrat-i sulṭānī* ("the sultan's intimate"). As a result of his unique position at court. ʿAlī Shīr was often entrusted with important matters of state, such as acting as intermediary in the frequent conflicts between Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā and his sons or governing Harāt in

the *sulṭān*'s absence. It ought to be noted that ᶜAlī Shīr was never Ḥusayn Bāykarā's *wazīr* (an error perpetuated in the secondary literature) nor could he have possessed this title, since, in the dual administrative structure of the Tīmūrid government, it was reserved exclusively for officials of the *Sart dīwāni* which dealt with non-Turkic, that is, sedentary Iranian matters, such as finance, and its holders were as a rule non-Turks.

ᶜAlī Shīr's primary historical importance lies in his literary activity. He is universally considered as the greatest representative of Čaghatāy Turkish literature which, thanks to him, reached its apogee in the second half of the 9th/15th century at the court of Ḥusayn Bāykarā in Harāt. He was already regarded by his contemporaries as the greatest poet ever to have written in the Turkish language. Indeed, his family background seemed to predispose him to the poetic art as two of his maternal uncles were poets with the pen-names Kabūlī and Gharībī, as was his cousin, Amīr Ḥaydar, who wrote under the name of Ṣabūḥī.

Despite the fact that Persian had traditionally been regarded as the literary language par excellence in Central Asia since the 4th/10th century, ᶜAlī Shīr championed the cause of the Čaghatāy, or Eastern Turkic, literary language (usually referred to by contemporaries simply as *Türkī*) which represented a continuation of such Middle Turkic language as Karākhānid (5th-7th/11th-13th centuries) and Khʷārazmian (8th/14th century). He argued that not only could it vie with Persian but that it was also superior to it as a language for poetry. Following the lead of earlier Čaghatāy poets of the Tīmūrid period, such as Luṭfī [*q.v.*], Sakkākī and Gadāʾī, ᶜAlī Shīr forged Čaghatāy into a supple instrument of poetic expression and, in so doing, endowed it with its classical form.

He composed almost thirty works under the pen-name Nawāʾī, trying his hand at all the literary genres practised in his day. His chief models were, by his own admission, the Persian masters, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī—probably the most admired and widely imitated poet in the late 9th/15th century—Niẓāmī, Ḥāfiẓ and Djāmī. His fame rests mainly on his poetical works which constitute the bulk of his literary output. The most important of these, written in Čaghatāy, are:

(i) *Khazāʾin al-maᶜānī*, being the final edition of his four *dīwāns*, arranged by him shortly before his death and entitled respectively *Gharāʾib al-ṣighar* ("Curiosities of Childhood"), *Nawādir al-shabāb* ("Marvels of Youth"), *Badāʾiᶜ al-wasaṭ* ("Wonders of Middle Age") and *Fawāʾid al-kibar* ("Advantages of Old Age"), corresponding to the four ages of his life, but in fact material in each is not restricted to any particular period. This collection contains mainly *ghazals*, but also some *tuyūghs*, the Eastern Turkic quatrain with homonymic end-rhyme.

(ii) *Khamsa*, or Quintet, modelled on the *Khamsas* of Niẓāmī, Amīr Khusraw and Djāmī, although often with a very different emphasis or interpretation and reflecting his personal ideals, such as his concern with justice. It comprises: (a) *Ḥayrat al-abrār* (completed 888/1483), a didactic *mathnawī* modelled on Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār*, Amīr Khusraw's *Maṭlaᶜ al-anwār* and Djāmī's *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār*; (b) *Farhād u Shīrīn* (completed 889/1484), a romantic *mathnawī* modelled on Niẓāmī's *Khusraw u Shīrīn* and Amīr Khusraw's *Shīrīn u Khusraw*; (c) *Laylī u Madjnūn*, a romantic *mathnawī* modelled on Niẓāmī's and Amīr Khusraw's *mathnawīs* of the same name; (d) *Sabᶜa-yi sayyār* (completed about 889/1483), a romantic *mathnawī* modelled on Niẓāmī's *Haft paykar* and Amir Khusraw's *Hasht bihisht*; and (e) *Sadd-i Iskandarī* (completed about 890/1485), a didactic *mathnawī* modelled on Niẓāmī's *Iskandar-nama* and Amīr Khusraw's *Āyina-yi Iskandarī*.

(iii) Lisān al-ṭayr (completed 904/1498-9), a mystical *mathnawī* based on ᶜAṭṭār's *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* and written under the pen-name Fānī.

Among Nawāʾī's prose works in Čaghatāy may be mentioned:

(iv) *Madjālis al-nafāʾis* (completed 897/1491-2 but some manuscripts contain information up to 904/1498-9), the first *tadhkira*, or literary historical work, in Turkish and the first that dealt almost exclusively with contemporary poets.

(v) *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn* (completed 905/1499), a treatise comparing the relative merits of the Persian and Čaghatāy languages.

(vi) *Mīzān al-awzān* (completed after 898/1499), a treatise on the Arab-Persian prosodic system, but also containing information on some characteristically Turkic verse forms.

(vii) *Maḥbūb al-ḳulūb* (completed 906/1500-1), Nawāʾī's final work of a didactic nature written in rhymed prose with verses interspersed, and modelled on Saᶜdī's *Gulistān* and Djāmī's *Bahāristān*.

(viii) *Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirīn* (composed after 898/1492), a prose work interspersed with verses and dedicated to Djāmī.

(ix) *Nasāʾim al-maḥabba* (completed 901/1495-6), a translation and expansion of Djāmī's collected biographies of Ṣūfī saints, entitled *Nafaḥāt al-uns*.

Nawāʾī also wrote several works in Persian: a *Dīwān* (completed 902/1496) in imitation mainly of Ḥāfiẓ, in which he used the pen-name Fānī; *Risāla-yi muᶜammā* (completed some time before 898/1492), a treatise on the enigma; and a collection of model letters.

Other works in Čaghatāy of secondary significance are the biographies of two of Nawāʾī's close companions, *Ḥālāt-i Pahlawān Muḥammad*; two short histories, *Tārīkh-i mulūki ᶜAdjam* and *Tārīkh-i anbiyāʾ wa ḥukamāʾ*; *Naẓm al-djawāhir*, a translation of aphorisms ascribed to ᶜAlī, entitled *Nathr al-laᶜālī*; a verse translation of Djāmī's work, *Čihil ḥadīth*; a collection of model letters; and a *Wakfiyya* (completed 886/1481-2).

The impact of Nawāʾī's works on all Turkic peoples and languages cannot be overestimated. He exerted a profound influence not only on later Central Asian authors who wrote in Čaghatāy up until the beginning of the 20th century, but also on the development of Azeri (especially on the poetry of Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*] of Baghdād d. 963/1556), Turkmen (the 12th/18th century poet Makhdūm Ḳuli [*q.v.*]), Uyghur, Tatar and Ottoman Turkish literatures. Ottoman poets continued to write imitations of his poems in Čaghatāy until the 19th century (see E. Birnbaum, *The Ottomans and Chagatay literature*, in *CAJ*, xx/3 [1976], 157-90). Soviet scholarship, which has termed Čaghatāy "Old Uzbek", considers him the founder of literary Uzbek (A.K. Borovkov, *Alisher Navoi kak osnovopoložnik uzbekskogo literaturnogo yazika* ("ᶜAlī Shīr Nawāʾī as the founder of the literary Uzbek language"), in *Alisher Navoi. Sbornik statey*, ed. Borovkov, Moscow-Leningrad 1946, 92-174). Proof of the tremendous interest in the works of Nawāʾī among not only the Turkic but also the Iranian-speaking peoples are the many specialised dictionaries that were written on the basis of his works, such as Ṭāliᶜ Īmānī's Čaghatāy-Persian dictionary, *Badāʾiᶜ al-lughat*, composed during the reign of Ḥusayn Bāykarā (see Borovkov, "*Badāʾiᶜ al-lugat*": *slovar Ṭāliᶜ Īmānī geratskogo k sočineniyam*

Alishera Navoi ("Ṭāliᶜ Īmānī of Harāt's dictionary to the works of ᶜAlī Shīr Nawāʾī"), Moscow 1961), the anonymous Čaghatāy-Ottoman dictionary, *Abushka* (mid-16th century) and Mīrzā Mahdī Khān's Čaghatāy-Persian dictionary, *Sanglakh* (mid-18th century).

Apart from his linguistic and literary contributions, ᶜAlī Shīr's historical significance also lies in his extensive patronage activities. The fact that, in the second half of the 9th/15th century, almost all literary, artistic and cultural life in the eastern Islamic lands was concentrated in Tīmūrid Harāt was due as much to his personal efforts as a pre-eminent patron as it was to his own artistic example and inspiration. With an interest not only in poetry, but also in music, calligraphy, painting and architecture, he oversaw the activities of virtually all artists and literati in Khurāsān, according to Muḥammad Ḥaydar. Among the many who benefited directly from his financial support were the historians, Mīrkhʷānd and Khʷāndamīr; the literary historian, Dawlatshāh; the poets, Djāmī, ᶜAṣafī, Sayfī Bukhārī, Hātifī and Hilālī; the composers of *muᶜammā* (a favourite genre of his), Ḥusayn Muᶜammāʾī and Muḥammad Badakhshī; and the musicians Shaykhī Nāʾī and Ḥusayn ᶜŪdī. His support of artists of the royal atelier (*kitābkhāna*), such as the painters, Bihzād, Shāh Muẓaffar, Ḳāsim ᶜAlī and Ḥadjdjī Muḥammad (the latter tentatively identified by E. Esin as Siyāh Ḳalam), and the calligraphers, Sulṭān ᶜAlī Mashhadī and Sulṭān Muḥammad Khandān, helped make the second half of the 9th/15th century the highpoint of miniature painting and book production in Central Asia and have earned for it the appellation "Tīmūrid Renaissance" in Western scholarship. Many of the finest illuminated manuscripts of the period are in fact of Nawāʾī's works, particularly of his *Khamsa* and *Dīwāns*. The tradition of producing richly decorated manuscripts of his works continued until the 19th century in Central Asia (see *Alisher Navoiy asarlariga ishlangan rasmlar XV-XIX asrlar* ("Miniature paintings illustrating the works of ᶜAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, XV-XIX centuries") [text in Uzbek, Russian and English], comp. Kh. Sulaymon and F. Sulaymonova, Tashkent 1982).

ᶜAlī Shīr's patronage activities included the donation and endowment of about 370 buildings, architectural ensembles and public works in Khurāsān, especially in and around Harāt. Among these was the huge Ikhlāṣiyya complex to the north of the city, which contained a mosque, *madrasa*, *khānḳāh*, hospital, bath and ᶜAlī Shīr's principal residence. Khʷāndamīr enumerates about 50 *ribāṭs* which he donated throughout Khurāsān, about 20 reservoirs (*ḥawḍ*) in Harāt, 15 bridges, nine public baths, and 14 mosques in Harāt and other cities, such as Isfizār, Sarakhs and Astarābād. In many cases, pious endowments which he made provided for the maintenance of scholars, students and the poor. He was also involved in restoration work and was responsible for the reconstruction of, among other monuments, the Friday mosque of Harāt which dated back to Ghūrid times (early 7th/13th century) (see L. Golombek, *The resilience of the Friday mosque: the case of Herat*, in *Muqarnas*, i [1983], 95-102).

ᶜAlī Shīr's patronage activities were financed from personal sources of revenue derived from landholdings throughout Khurāsān (but particularly in the region north of Harāt) or connected with his appointment as *amīr*, such as the royal mint and royal workshops. Various estimates of his daily income indicate that he was one of the wealthiest men of his time.

Despite a certain idealisation of ᶜAlī Shīr in the writings of his contemporaries (such as Khʷāndamīr's *Makārim al-akhlāḳ* and Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-shuᶜarāʾ*) as well as in the early secondary literature (e.g., F.A. Belin's *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir Ali-Chîr Névâii*, in *JA*, 5ᵉ série, xvii [1861], 175-256), which stress such positive aspects of his character as his integrity, refinement, charitable works, patronage, etc., it is possible from other sources to form a more rounded opinion of him. The single negative character trait which is mentioned by later authors such as Muḥammad Ḥaydar and Bābur is his hypersensitivity, which, coupled with the high moral and artistic standards which he set both for himself and for others, made him a demanding and difficult person. In describing his exclusive literary audiences, Wāṣifī offers a glimpse of this less attractive side of his character, which often manifested itself as impatience or even sarcasm (see A.N. Boldïrev, *Alisher Navoi v rasskazakh sovremennikov* ("ᶜAlī Shīr Nawāʾī according to his contemporaries"), in *Alisher Navoi*, ed. Borovkov, 121-52).

In his personal life, ᶜAlī Shīr maintained an ascetic lifestyle, never marrying or having concubines or children. Although initiated into the Naḳshbandiyya order by his spiritual master and lifelong friend, the great Persian poet and mystic, Djāmī, in 881/1476-7, his brand of mysticism was not of the "intoxicated", but rather of the more worldly variety practised by the order as a whole. Much has been made of his purported inclination toward Shīᶜism, but there is no evidence that this went beyond reverence for the person of ᶜAlī, a feature of Central Asian Islam in general.

The complex figure of ᶜAlī Shīr sparked the popular imagination of many Turkic peoples. Turkmen folktales, for example, depict him as the clever *wazīr*, Mirali, who always comes to the defence of the poor before his extravagant and misguided sultan, while Uzbek legends revolve around the mysterious reasons for his celibacy. Many of his *ghazals* have become popular Uzbek folk songs and some of his works have been staged as dramatic plays by modern Uzbek playwrights.

Bibliography: The chief primary sources for the life of ᶜAlī Shīr Nawāʾī are: Khʷāndamīr, *Makārim al-akhlāḳ*, ed. T. Gandjeï, GMS (n.s.) xxvii, [Cambridge] 1979; idem, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1333 sh. 1954, iv, 137 ff.; Dawlatshah, 494-509; ᶜAbd Allāh Marwārīd, *Sharaf-nāma* (*Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit: Das Šaraf-nāmä des ᶜAbdallāh Marwārīd in kritischer Auswertung*), ed. and tr. H.R. Roemer, Wiesbaden 1952, 27b-28a, 43b; Bābur, *The Bábar-náma*, ed. A.S. Beveridge, GMS, i, Leiden 1905, 170b-171b; Wāṣifī, *Badāyiᶜ al-waḳāyiᶜ*, ed. A.N. Boldïrev, Moscow 1961, i, 484-632; Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Tārīkh-i rashīdī* (still unpublished, but the biographical section of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's reign, which was not included by E. Denison Ross in his English translation, is extracted in *Iḳtibās az Tārīkh-i rashīdī*, ed. M. Shafīᶜ, in *Oriental College Magazine*, x/3 [1934], 155-7); Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, ed. W. Dastgirdī, Tehran 1314 sh./1936, 179-81; Fakhrī Harawī, *Laṭāʾif-nāma* (in *The Majalis-un-Nafaʾis*, "*Galaxy Poets*", *of Mir ᶜAli Shir Navaʾi: Two 16th century Persian translations*, ed. A.A. Hekmat, Tehran 1223 sh./1945), 133-6. Manuscripts of Nawāʾī's works abound in libraries throughout the world, particularly in Istanbul, London, Paris, Leningrad and Tashkent. For references to descriptions of major collections, see J. Eckmann, *Die tschagataische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 352-3. In the Soviet Union alone there are over a

thousand manuscripts (based mainly on the count made by Kh. Sulaymon[ov]), the great majority of which are of the *Dīwāns* and *Khamsa*. For a description not mentioned by Eckmann, see *Alisher Navoiy asarlarining UzSSR fanlar akademiyasi sharkshunoslik-instituti tŭplamidagi kŭlëzmalari* ("Manuscripts of the works of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek S.S.R."), comp. K.M. Munirov and A. Nasirov, Tashkent 1970.

There are a great many published editions of Nawāʾī's works, and the secondary literature on him is voluminous, particularly in Soviet scholarship. The following bibliographical works may be consulted: A.A. Semenov, *Materialī k bibliografičeskomu ukazatelyu pečatnīkh proizvedeniy Alishera Navoi i literaturī o nem* ("Materials for a bibliography of the published works of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī and the secondary literature on him"), Tashkent 1940; Eckmann, *op. cit.*, 352-7; E.D. Svidina, *Alisher Navoi. Biobibliografiya (1917-1966 gg.)*, Tashkent 1968; B.V. Lunin, *Istoriya, kul'tura i iskusstvo vremeni timuridov v sovetskoy literature* ("The history, culture and art of the Timurid period in Soviet secondary literature"), in *Obshčestvennīe nauki v Uzbekistane*, viii-ix (1969), 108-13. The most complete published edition of his works is Alisher Navoi, *Asarlar* (in Cyrillic characters), 15 vols., Tashkent 1963-8. For a complete Russian translation, see Alisher Navoi, *Sočineniya*, 10 vols., Tashkent 1968-70. The main secondary works (in addition to those mentioned in the text) are the monographs by V.V. Bartolʾd, *Mir Ali-Shir i političeskaya žizn'* ("Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and political life") in his *Sočineniya*, ii/2, Moscow 1964, 197-260 (originally publ. 1928; German tr. W. Hinz, *Herat unter Husein Baiqara dem Timuriden*, Leipzig 1938; English tr. V. and T. Minorsky, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii, Leiden 1962, 1-72); E.E. Bertel's, *Izbrannīe trudī*, iv: *Navoi i Džami*, Moscow 1965, 13-206 (originally publ. 1948); Agâh Sırri Levend, *Ali Şir Nevai*, 4 vols., Ankara 1965-8 (contains transcriptions of some of his works in Latin characters). The most valuable collections of articles are: *Mir-Ali-Shir. Sbornik k. pyatsotletiyu so dnya roždeniya* ("Collection of articles on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of his birth"), ed. V.V. Bartol'd, Leningrad 1928 (see in particular the article by Bertel's, *Nevai i ʿAttar*); "*Rodonačal'nik uzbekskoy literaturī. Sbornik statey ob Alishere Navoi* ("The Founder of Uzbek literature"), Tashkent 1940 [see the interesting article by M. Sal'e, "*Kniga blagorodnīkh kačestv*" *i ee avtor* ("The *Makārim al-akhlāk* and its author")]; *Alisher Navoi. Sbornik statey*, ed. A.K. Borovkov, Moscow-Leningrad 1946 [see the articles by Bertel's, *Navoi i Nizami*, 68-91; A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Čertī obshčestvennoy i kul'turnoy žizni epokhi Alishera Navoi* ("Features of the social and cultural life of the era of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī"), 5-30, which contains information on building activity; and A. Belenitskiy, *Istoričeskaya topografiya Gerata XV v.* ("The historical topography of 15th century Herat"), 175-202, based on information from Khʷāndamīr's *Khulāṣat al-akhbār*]; and *Velikiy uzbekskiy poet. Sbornik statey* ("The great Uzbek poet") ed. M.T. Aybek, Tashkent 1948 (contains a critique of Belenitskiy's article mentioned above, by M.E. Masson, *K istoričeskoy topografii gerata XV veka*, 120-45).

For works of a more general nature, see A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Ali Şir*, in *IA*, i, 349-57 (but note that all source references are to an unpublished collection of extracts made by Togan himself); Eckmann, *op. cit.*, 304-402; A. Bombaci, *Histoire de la littérature turque*, tr. I. Mélikoff, Paris 1968, 118-35. Most of the recent work has been done in the Uzbek S.S.R. Of note is *Adabiy meros* ("Literary heritage"), a publication (since 1968) of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences (articles in Uzbek with brief English summaries). For a recent article in English, see M.E. Subtelny, *ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī, bakhshī and beg*, in *Eucharisterion. Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his sixtieth birthday* [= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, iii-iv (1979-80)], pt. 2, 797-807. (M.E. Subtelny)

MĪR AMĀN [see amān, mīr].

MĪR BABAR ʿALĪ [see anīs].

MĪR DĀMĀD ASTARĀBĀDĪ [see al-dāmād].

MĪR DJAʿFAR [see djaʿfar, mīr].

MĪR DJUMLA, Muḥammad Saʿīd, prominent minister and military commander in 11th/17th century Muslim India, first in the service of the Ķuṭb-Shāhī ruler of Golkondā ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [see ķuṭb-shāhīs] and then in that of the Mughals Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb [*q.vv.*], died in 1073/1663.

Stemming originally from Persia, he was at the outset a diamond merchant and accumulated a vast private fortune in the Carnatic, the region around Madras, from these dealings and from Hindu temple treasures, having his own private army of 5,000 cavalrymen and using European help and expertise for his artillery. But after the defeat of the Ķuṭb-Shāh at Golkondā in Rabīʿ II 1066/February 1656 at the hands of the prince Awrangzīb, viceroy of the Deccan, Mīr Djumla went over to the Mughals, who honoured him and gave him the title of Muʿaẓẓam Khān. He commanded the Mughal troops against the ʿĀdil-Shāhīs [*q.v.*] of Bidjāpur in Muḥarram 1067/November 1656, and then in Shawwāl 1070/June 1660 became governor of Bengal, campaigning against the *rādjās* of Kaččh Bihār (Cooch Behar) and Assam [*q.v.*] immediately on appointment and in the period Djumādā I-Radjab 1072/January-March 1662, the latter campaign culminating in the capture of the Āhom *rādjā* of Assam's capital of Garhgāon. But the rainy season and outbreaks of disease in his army compelled him to return to Bengal, and he himself died of dysentery in spring 1073/1663 at Khiḍrpur just before reaching Dacca, leaving behind him a reputation of having been the greatest general of his age.

Bibliography: Awrangābādī, *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ* iii, 530-55; H. Blochmann, in *JASB*, xl, 51; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vii, 199; Mountstuart Elphinstone, *History of India*, London 1889, 588-613; *Camb. hist. of India. iv. The Mughul period*, 207-9, 234-5; Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Awrangzeb, mainly based on Persian sources*, Calcutta 1912-24, i, 216-28, 345-6, 351 ff., ii, 242-5, 252-82, 287; iii, 156-85; A.T. Roy, *History of Bengal, Mughal period (1526-1765 A.D.)*, Calcutta 1968, 137-8, 164-9, 243-55; Sarkar, *The history of Bengal, Muslim period 1200-1757*, Patna 1973, 339-50; R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people. vii. The Mughul empire*, Bombay 1974, 210-11, 227-8, 475-7, 515, 517, 520; M. Athar Ali, *The apparatus of empire. Awards of ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal nobility (1574-1658)*, Dihlī 1985, index s.v. Mīr Muḥammad Saʿīd, Muʿaẓẓam Khan, Mīr Jumla.

(M. Hidayet Hosain [— C.E. Bosworth])

MĪR GHULĀM ḤASAN [see ḥasan, mīr ghulām].

MĪR ĶĀSIM ʿALĪ, Indo-Muslim commander and *Nawwāb* [*q.v.*] of Bengal 1760-4, died in 1777.

Mīr Ḳāsim's rise to power was an episode in the British East Indian Company's extension of power in eastern India in the latter decades of the 18th century. Since the *Nawwāb* of Bengal Mīr D̲j̲aʿfar [see D̲J̲AʿFAR, MĪR] was unable to fulfill financial obligations contracted to the Company, he was in October 1760 deposed in favour of his son-in-law Mīr Ḳāsim, who now became *Nawwāb* but had to cede the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong to the British. However, he now attempted to build up for himself an independent state in Upper Bengal and Bihār, abandoning Lower Bengal to the British, moving his capital to the less accessible Mungīr [*q.v.*] in Bihar and forming an army on European lines trained by an Armenian, Gurgīn (Gregorios) K̲h̲ān. Relations with Britain became strained over the question of private trading within India, for Europeans trading inland claimed exemption from duties, thus diminishing the *Nawwāb*'s revenues. War broke out in Bihār in July 1763. Mīr Ḳāsim's new army proved ineffective; Mungīr and Patna were captured; and Mīr Ḳāsim fled to Awadh (Oudh) [*q.v.*] and sought the alliance of the *Nawwāb-wazīr* of Awadh S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla and the Mug̲h̲al Emperor in Dihlī, S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam II. The allies were nevertheless defeated at Baksar (Buxar [*q.v.*]) on 23 October 1764 by Major Hector Munro, but Mīr Ḳāsim had already been stripped of his possessions and imprisoned by S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla. He now escaped, led a wandering life and died near Dihlī in 1777. Mīr D̲j̲aʿfar had been briefly restored in Bengal till his death in 1765, with British control there firmly established.

Bibliography: T.W. Haig (ed.), *The Cambridge history of India*, v, *British India 1497-1858*, Cambridge 1929, 167-174; R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people. The Maratha supremacy*, Bombay 1977, 343-9; P.J. Marshall, *The new Cambridge history of India. II. 2. Bengal: the British bridgehead. Eastern India 1740-1828*, Cambridge 1987, 84-8. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MĪR LAWḤĪ, SAYYID MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, referred to also by his nickname as "muṭahhar" and nom-de-plume as "Naḳībī", a noted S̲h̲īʿī religious scholar of Sabzwārī origin, but resident in Iṣfahān during the Ṣafawid period, *flor.* during the 11th/17th century. He has not received any attention from biographers (and Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, who secured him an entry of a few lines in his *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarād̲j̲im al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, vi, Tabrīz n.d., 235-6, seems to be an exception), because Mīr Lawḥī proved to be an outspoken critic of two overwhelmingly-recognised religious leaders of his time, Muḥammad Bāḳir Mad̲j̲lisī and his father Muḥammad Taḳī, known as Mad̲j̲lisī-yi Awwal [*q.v.*]. As a matter of fact, his name has been referred to mostly in association with his criticism of the Mad̲j̲lisīs; see, for instance, Ḥusayn Nūrī, *al-Fayḍ al-ḳudsī fī tard̲j̲amat al-ʿAllāma al-Mad̲j̲lisī*, Tehran 1887, 22 (attached to the first volume of the old edition of Muḥammad Bāḳir Mad̲j̲lisī's *Biḥār al-anwār*), though the same author also mentions him solely as one of the authors who wrote on the Twelfth Imām (idem, *Nad̲j̲m al-t̲h̲āḳib dar aḥwāl-i Imām-i g̲h̲āʾib*, Tehran n.d., 5).

The principal source of information on Mīr Lawḥī is his own polemical book written in 1081-3/1670-2 and entitled *Kifāyat al-muhtadī fī maʿrifat al-Mahdī*, from which a few facts about his life may be learnt. The book, for instance, indicates that Mīr Lawḥī was an advanced student of religious subjects under such well-known S̲h̲īʿī authorities as S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī (d. *ca.* 1031/1621 [*q.v.*] and Mīr Muḥammad Bāḳir Dāmād (d. *ca.* 1041/1631) (*Kifāyat*, ms. no. 1121, Faculty of Theology, University of Mas̲h̲had, 65; this is an abridged copy of his book made in 1083/1672 by one of his friends, who also included in it a number of his own viewpoints and factual stories about Mad̲j̲lisī; for a complete version of Mīr Lawḥī's book consult that of the Mad̲j̲lis Library, Tehran, no. 833, introduced with some detail in Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ḥadāʾiḳ Ibn Yūsuf S̲h̲īrāzī, *Fihrist-i kitābk̲h̲āna-yi mad̲j̲lis-i s̲h̲ūrā-yi millī*, edited and enlarged by Abdol Hossein Haeri, Tehran 1974, 54-9; our references here are only to the abridged copy.) The fact that Mīr Lawḥī was an advanced student in or before 1031/1621 suggests that he could not have been less than 20 years at age at that time and consequently his date of birth must have been *ca.* 1010/1601. The book also shows that Mīr Lawḥī's areas of intellectual interests were S̲h̲īʿī theology, the Imāmate, especially the questions relative to the Twelfth *Imām*, and the refutation of all forms of Ṣūfism. The other books he ascribed to himself, such as *Aʿlām al-muḥibbīn*, *Idrāʾ al-ʿāḳilīn wa-ik̲h̲zāʾ al-mad̲j̲ānīn*, *Zād al-ʿuḳbā fī manāḳib al-aʾimma wa 'l-awṣiyā*, and even his *Riyāḍ al-muʾminīn wa-ḥadāʾiḳ al-muttaḳīn*, which he wrote during his youth, were written on those subjects; the latter books, however, do not seem to have been available to the authors in the field.

Mīr Lawḥī was also interested in Islamic history and wrote a controversial book, in or sometime before 1043/1633, on the problem of Abū Muslim al-K̲h̲urāsānī's rising against the Umayyads. According to a note written by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥasīb al-Ḥusaynī in 1063/1654, Mīr Lawḥī argues in his book that Abū Muslim (d. 137/754) [*q.v.*] whose origin from K̲h̲urāsān, Marw, or Iṣfahān has not been determined, did actually win the caliphate for the tyrannical ʿAbbāsids, but was never a friend of the S̲h̲īʿi *Imāms*, and was murdered for his evil deeds by the then 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Manṣūr (d. 158/774), who was more wicked than himself. Some people did not tolerate Mīr Lawḥī's condemnation of Abū Muslim, and troubled him with all their effort and power (*bi-kull d̲j̲idd wa-ḳuwwa.*) A number of Mīr Lawḥī's contemporary *ʿulamāʾ*, however, defended his argumentation by writing numerous books and treatises on the subject, and one of them was the *Iẓhār al-ḥaḳḳ wa-miʿyār al-ṣidḳ* written in 1043/1633 by al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī al-ʿĀmilī, the father of ʿAbd al-Ḥasīb (Muḥammad Muḥsin Āg̲h̲ā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-D̲h̲arīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-S̲h̲īʿa*, iv, Tehran 1941, 150-1, where there can also be found a list of seventeen books written in support of Mīr Lawḥī's position on the problem.)

The reasons behind this confusion and controversy, which involved the common people as well as a number of religious authorities, seem to be found mainly in Mīr Lawḥī's ideological difference with the Ṣūfīs, whom Mad̲j̲lisī-yi Awwal stoutly supported. Mīr Lawḥī himself alludes to the story, saying that since Mad̲j̲lisī-yi Awwal used to praise "Abū Muslim Marwazī [sc. of Marw] and the sorcerer, the evil-doer [and the famous Ṣūfī Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr] al-Ḥallād̲j̲ (d. 309/922)", he said something against them, but "the ignorant people" became hostile against him and even planned to murder him (Muḥammad Taḳī Dānis̲h̲paz̲h̲ūh, *Fihrist-i kitābk̲h̲āna-yi ihdāʾī-yi Aḳā-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Mis̲h̲kʷāt bi kitābk̲h̲āna-yi dānis̲h̲gāh-i Tihrān*, iii/3, Tehran 1956, 1497.) Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad al-Miḳdādī, who refuted the Ṣūfīs in a treatise written in 1060/1650, thus elaborated on the matter: "Due to the hostility and mischievousness of the Ṣūfīs, the helpless Sayyid [Mīr Lawḥī], who prohibited the common people from loving Abū Muslim,

had no peace even for a moment, and the Ṣūfīs, both their élite and the common followers, hurt him a great deal" (cited in *al-Dharīʿa*, iv, 151.)

Owing to this unhappy experience, Mīr Lawḥī was reluctant to oppose the popular Madjlisīs, notwithstanding the fact that he had found Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī's book on *radjʿa* (the returning, according to Shīʿī belief, of some dead persons to his world) quite harmful to the beliefs of the common believers, and that some people had also asked him to refute it. Since, however, Mīr Lawḥī saw a dream, after which he felt himself appointed (*maʾmūr*) to refute Madjlisī, he wrote his *Kifāyat al-muhtadī* (*Kifāyat*, 5-19), in which he not only refuted many of Madjlisī's interpretations of the *ḥadīth*, but also divulged a number of eyewitness facts about him and his father that have been rarely quoted by other authors. In defiance of the fact that the two Madjlisīs have been truly recognised as prominent *mudjtahid*s, who greatly contributed to Shīʿī theology, culture and tradition, Mīr Lawḥī believed that they were gathering the ordinary and ignorant people (*ʿawāmm*) on Iṣfahān round themselves, and for this reason no one dared "to give them advice or to ascribe any wrongdoing to any of them" (*Kifāyat*, 1-2.)

Mīr Lawḥī directed his sharp criticism particularly against Madjlisī's interpretation of a *ḥadīth* in which Madjlisī wanted people to believe that the fifth *Imām* of the Shīʿa, Muḥammad al-Bāḳir (d. 114/732, [*q.v.*]), had foretold that the Ṣafawid monarchs would appear in the east to promote the true religion and that they would retain rulership until they would finally transfer their power to no-one but the Twelfth *Imām* (Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī [*Tardjama-yi čahārdah ḥadīth*], ms. no. 69, Faculty of Theology, University of Mashhad, 4-6; this treatise, which is dedicated to the Ṣafawid monarch Shāh Sulaymān (d. 1106/1694), is also referred to as *Risāla fī 'l-radjʿa* and *Risālat al-radjʿa*, and was published under the title of *Ithbāt al-radjʿa* in Bombay in 1888; the printed copy of the book has not been available to this author; for more information on the contents of this treatise, with references to Mīr Lawḥī's accounts, see *Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-yi ihdāʾī-yi Āḳā Sayyid Muḥammad Mishkʷāt*, iii/3, 1203-12.). Mīr Lawḥī points out that in dealing with the *ḥadīth* in question, which has been classified as "rare and weak" (*shādhdh-i ḍaʿīf*), Madjlisī committed these blameworthy acts: (1) interpreting the *ḥadīth* according to his own wish and distorting its sense for gaining worldly interests (*barā-yi dunyā va djarr-i manfaʿat*); (2) mistranslating the text; (3) using defective grammar; (4) deceiving "the king of the Shīʿa" and the illiterate general public (*ʿawāmm*); and (5) making some geographical errors (*Kifāyat*, 21-5).

In his book, Mīr Lawḥī also criticises Madjlisī-yi Awwal on various matters. He refers, for instance, to this story that Madjlisī-yi Awwal has revealed (paraphrasing): "In the beginnings of my search for the truths of the Ḳurʾān, one night I had a short nap (*sina*), during which I saw the Prophet Muḥammad, in whose presence I felt that I should think on his perfection. After that, I began to think deeply about the meanings of the Ḳurʾān until I gained an incalculable extent of knowledge, of which I cannot describe even a little, though I spend all my life" (Muḥammad Taḳī Madjlisī, *Lawāmiʿ-i ṣāḥibkirānī al-mushtahar bi-sharḥ al-faḳīh*, new ed. Tehran n.d., i, 100.) Mīr Lawḥī argues that in the Shīʿī belief, ordinary human beings can earn limited knowledge only through the teachings of other human beings. Madjlisī-yi Awwal's claim of having learnt "an incalculable extent of knowledge" through supernatural means, which is simply a piece of boasting (*lāf gazāf*) which he learnt from the well-known Ṣūfī Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), certainly contradicts Shīʿī belief and even places him higher than the first Shīʿī *Imām*, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (*Kifāyat*, 115-7.)

Mīr Lawḥī says that Madjlisī-yi Awwal's connections with Ṣūfism are indisputable, and adds that, as a Ṣūfī, he held the Ṣūfī types of gatherings in which songs were sung by singers such as Shāh Mīrzā Zarkash, that he used to ascribe great miracles to the Ṣūfīs, such as al-Ḥallādj and Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874), from the pulpit, and that he in turn enjoyed the support of the followers of those Ṣūfīs and of the common people. Mīr Lawḥī even held a public debate with Madjlisī-yi Awwal in the latter's mosque; the proceedings of the debate have been reportedly recorded in a book (*Kifāyat*, 111-20.) On the basis of his eye-witness information, Mīr Lawḥī comes to the conclusion that Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī's attempt to deny his father's ties with Ṣūfism is useless and wrong (on Madjlisī's defence of his father, see Muḥammad Bāḳir Nadjafī Yazdī, *Sharḥ-i kitāb-i iʿtiḳādāt-i Islām bi kalam-i ʿAllāma Madjlisī*, Tehran 1975, 393-4, and MADJLISĪ-YI AWWAL, MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ.)

Some authors have reported that Mīr Lawḥī, out of hostility to Madjlisī, demolished the grave of the well-known religious authority Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), who is reportedly claimed by Madjlisī to have been his Shīʿī ancestor (Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Mūsawī al-Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-sādat*, Tehran 1947, 75; anon., *Nāma-yi dānishwarān dar sharḥ-i ḥāl-i shishṣad tan az dānishmandān-i nāmī*, vii, Ḳum n.d., 6). This allegation is hard to believe, because it is quite improbable that Mīr Lawḥī could have taken such an action in Iṣfahān, either before the Afghān invasion in 1135/1722, when the Madjlisī family was enjoying great popularity, power and influence, or afterwards, since we would have to attribute to Mīr Lawḥī an age of over 120 years. Besides, he himself makes reference to some of Abū Nuʿaym's writings with relative respect (*Kifāyat*, 90-1.) It may be worth noting that authors such as Ibn Khallikān, despite Madjlisī's claim, make no mention of Abū Nuʿaym's Shīʿī religious convictions (*Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968-72, i, 91-2.) More details on the question can be found in *Nāma-yi dānishwarān*, vii, 1-21.

At present, we have no detailed knowledge of Mīr Lawḥī's family and descendants. We know, however, that he had a son, Sayyid Muḥammad Hādī b. al-Lawḥī al-Mūsawī al-Ḥusaynī, who has left some writings in Persian under the titles of *Uṣūl al-ʿaḳāʾid* and *Arbaʿīn* (*al-Dharīʿa*, i, Nadjaf 1936, 431), and that he was the ancestor of the Sayyids of Durča such as the recently-deceased *mudjtahid*s, Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Durčaʾī (d. 1342/1923) and his brother Sayyid Mahdī Durčaʾī (d. 1364/1944) (ʿAbd al-Karīm Djazī, *Ridjāl-i Iṣfahān yā tadhkirat al-kubūr*, 1949, 67-8, 122.)

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article, see *Bibl.* to MADJLISĪ, MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

MĪR-I MĪRĀN (P.) "supreme commander", a military and political term used in 18th century Ottoman Turkish administrative practice as being virtually synonymous with *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*] "provincial governor", and then increasingly used to denote the honorary rank of *beglerbegi*, although this last title was considered as somewhat superior to that of *mīr-i mīrān*. Holders of the rank of *mīr-i mīrān* enjoyed the designation of Pasha, and were entitled to be addressed as

Saʿādetlü Efendim Ḥaḍretleri. In the 19th century, it also became a civil service rank. Before the administrative reforms of 1259/1843, civil officials held military ranks, such as *ferīḳ* "divisional commander" and *mīr-i liwā* "brigadier". The award of military ranks for them now ceased, and the equivalent ranks of *mīr-i mīrān* and *emīr ül-umerā*ʾ were given to them.

Bibliography: M.Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, ii, Istanbul 1953, on whose material this article is based.

(F.A.K. Yasamee)

MĪR MUḤAMMAD MAʿṢŪM, known as Nāmī, historian of Sind in the Mug̲h̲al period. He was the son of a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* from the island in the Indus river in Sind of Bhakkar [see bakkar], born in the middle years of the 10th/16th century. After a stay in Gud̲j̲arāt, he entered the service of the Mug̲h̲al emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] in 1003-4/1595-6 and received a *manṣab* [*q.v.*] or land-grant of 250, being employed on a diplomatic mission to the court of the Ṣafavid S̲h̲ah ʿAbbās I of Persia. He returned to Bhakkar in 1015/1606-7 and died there soon afterwards.

His Persian *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Sind*, often referred to as the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Maʿṣūmī*, deals with the Islamic history of his home province, and was edited by U.M. Daudpota, Poona 1938; see on it Storey, 651-3, 1324.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Extracts from the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Sind* were tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, i, 215-52. (Ed.)

MĪR MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ (1125-1223/1713-1810), leading Urdu g̲h̲azal poet.

He was born in Akbarābād (Āgra), the son of a Ṣūfī *darwīsh* who impressed on him the importance of divine love and the unreliability of this world, ideas which he was later to stress in his poetry. Biographical details are difficult to date, but he must have been about 15 years old when, following his father's early death, he went to Dihlī to seek a livelihood. There he found a patron who, however, soon died, and he returned to Akbarābād. Little is known of his activities there, but it appears that he caused a family scandal by an affair with the wife of a relative. He returned to Dihlī *ca.* 1152/1739, and stayed with an uncle of his stepbrother, the well-known Urdu poet Khān Ārzū. He studied Arabic and Persian and the poetic art, and commenced a career as an Urdu poet. Despite the usettled situation in Dihlī and the poet's own pride and independence, he was supported by various patrons, and became well-known as both a poet and an eccentric. There was, however, some instability in his make-up; indeed, he had a severe mental breakdown, which was exacerbated, and perhaps partially caused, by his step-brother's intrigues against him with Ārzū, and the latter's insensitivity. But as Ṣiddīḳī points out (*op. cit.*. in *Bibl.*, 141), one of Mīr's uncles had died young of brain disease. The poet recovered, but the effect of this illness can be seen in his autobiography (*D̲h̲ikr-i-Mīr*), and in one of his *mat̲h̲nawīs*, *K̲h̲ʷāb k̲h̲ayāl-i-Mīr* (*Kulliyyāt*, 974 ff.). Ultimately, however, instability in Dihlī due to Afg̲h̲ān and Marāthā incursions led Mīr to quit the city, like other poets before and after him. This was in 1190/1776 or thereabouts, when he was welcomed by the Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla and given a pension. Nevertheless, he was not happy there; perhaps his nature was such that he could never be happy anywhere for long. His pre-eminence in *g̲h̲azal* was recognised; but he was not influenced by the Lucknow style, nor is he generally believed to have influenced the Lucknow School, at any rate during his life-time. His leanings towards simplicity accorded ill with the Lucknow love of embellishment. He lived a further 30 or so years, but his last years were gloomy even by his own sorrowful standards, and he looked forward to death with equanimity.

Mīr's literary output is considerable. The core of his Urdu poetry, roughly two-thirds of it, consists of *g̲h̲azals* collected in six *dīwāns*, and these constitute his main contribution to Urdu poetry. Next in importance come his twelve erotic *mat̲h̲nawīs*. Many other *mat̲h̲nawīs* are devoted to satire and eulogy, and there are a few *ḳaṣīdas* [see madīḥ. 4. In Urdu]. To these should be added over 30 *mart̲h̲iyas*, some stanza poetry and other miscellaneous verse. In Persian, his *dīwān* has attracted little interest. But his *tad̲h̲kira* of Urdu poets, *Nikāt al-s̲h̲uʿarā*ʾ (1165/1752) is a pioneer work. Again in Persian, his autobiography *D̲h̲ikr-i-Mīr* (1169/1756) is important, not only as an account of his life before leaving Dihlī and a key to his personality, but also for the light it sheds on Dihlī life in those years.

Since his Dihlī years, Mīr has been widely acclaimed as a great—possibly the greatest—Urdu *g̲h̲azal* poet. As Brēlwī puts it (*Kulliyyāt*, Introd., 48), "he made *g̲h̲azal* what it is" (lit. "he made *g̲h̲azal g̲h̲azal*"). Even the poetry he wrote in other forms is largely *g̲h̲azal* in spirit. At the same time, excessive praise, due perhaps to oriental exaggeration, has not always been helpful. Even a reliable critic like Ṣiddīḳī (*op. cit.*, 140) begins a short account of him: "Mīr Taḳī Mīr is not merely the Emperor, but the God of poetry." Elsewhere, Brēlwī aptly describes an important facet of the *g̲h̲azals* when he says that "the secret of Mīr's renown and popularity is that he turned poetry into pain and pain into poetry." The pessimism in his *g̲h̲azals* might perhaps become boring, but for the fact that he invests it with a sort of universality, so that the reader or listener can identify himself with it. Mīr expects nothing of this life, which is deception and dream, with death just around the corner. Naturally, love and beauty are the main themes of the *g̲h̲azals*. The love is largely earthly, though there are Ṣūfī overtones; but to him love is not merely pleasure, but also a trial (*āzmāʾis̲h̲*) and an affliction (*balā*), since it ends in disappointment. Yet throughout his poetry are remarks clearly referring to the Ṣūfī concept of love, e.g.

How shall I say in truth what is love!
To the righteous people (*ḥaḳḳ-s̲h̲inās*)
God is love.

At times his statement about love reminds one of Muḥammad Iḳbāl [*q.v.*].

Much has been written about Mīr's language and style, and the word *sādagī* ("simplicity") recurs. And indeed, there are many verses which are almost conversational in language. To him, meaning was all-important. His simplicity is most effective in short metres. Sadiq, a less than enthusiastic critic, describes his style (*op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 99) as "bare even to nakedness". But though Mīr avoids gaudy description, his diction is rich, with many Persian words. His similes and metaphors are telling, but, like other *ṣanāʿī-badāʿī*, they are employed as means rather than ends. The final section of his *tad̲h̲kira* should be read to appreciate his attitude to the use of foreign (i.e. Persian) vocabulary and idioms. He objected to them only where the grammar was foreign and not *rēk̲h̲ta* (= Urdu). Another feature of his *g̲h̲azals* is their musical effect. L.C. Randhir (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 177-212) has written about music and *g̲h̲azal*; but the music in Mīr's poetry does not need singing or instrumental accompaniment—it is achieved by felicitous choice of metre and language. The harmonious use of consonants and vowels, *tad̲j̲nīs* and word repetition are

among the elements involved. But it must not be forgotten that Mīr writes about life from personal experience. As Brēlwī puts it (*op. cit.*, 250), his poetry is a perfect amalgam of life and art. As for his short erotic *mat̲h̲nawīs*, whilst not without narrative, they are far removed from the more familiar long heroic *mat̲h̲nawī* typified by *Siḥr al-bayān* [see ḤASAN, MĪR G̲H̲ULĀM]. But they are historically important.

High praise of Mīr as a poet has led to a reaction, more especially since Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād (*Āb-i-ḥayāt*, 203-31). In his lifetime, critics praised his 72 outstanding verses ("lancets"): but some more recent critics have maintained that "his high is very high, but his low is very low." Writing in 1964, Sadiq (*op. cit.*, 90) complains that there is nothing tragic or heroic about him, and that he is often "morbid, unhealthy and pathological". Even so, in 1973 Ahmed Ali (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 53) could describe him as a great Romantic who reached heights not attained by Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats. However, in 1982, Randhir (*op. cit.*, 60), after describing him as "a poet with a tearful eye...always gloomy... a realist" concludes that "some of his critics have been too generous in praise."

Mīr's Persian *tad̲h̲kira* of Urdu poets, *Nikāt al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, has been described as no less important than his *g̲h̲azal*s (ʿAbd Allāh, *S̲h̲uʿarāʾ-yi-Urdū*, 14). The *tad̲h̲kira* form [*q.v.*] may be described as a collection of specimen verses of a number of poets, with very brief biographical information and critical remarks. There was no standard arrangement: poets might be listed alphabetically, chronologically, by "schools", with or without dates. Mīr's *tad̲h̲kira* is the oldest extant for Urdu poets, and one of the earliest. It has been strongly attacked for its hostile assessment of poets, especially by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād [*q.v.*] in his *Āb-i-ḥayāt*, which is itself essentially a large-scale *tad̲h̲kira*, written, however, in Urdu, whereas originally they were in Persian. Whilst Āzād's criticisms have some substance, they are exaggerated. He also makes a number of statements which are factually erroneous, unless he has had access to some unknown variant manuscript. A more important blemish is Mīr's extraordinary arrangement, which is a mixture of the chronological and alphabetical.

Bibliography: The most recent of several editions of Mīr's collected poetry is *Kulliyyāt-i-Mīr*, ed. ʿIbādat Brēlwī, Karachi-Lahore 1958, with a 100-page introduction. Some, however, prefer the edn. of ʿAbd al-Bārī Āsī, Lucknow 1941, which though less complete, is said to be more accurate. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh, *Naḳd-i-Mīr*, Lahore 1964, is a full study of the poet in 14 essays. Brēlwī's *S̲h̲āʿirī awr s̲h̲āʿirī kī tanḳīd*, Karachi 1965, contains three essays on respectively the poet's *g̲h̲azal* (179-212), his thought (213-36) and his art (237-50). The longest and best account of the poet in English is in R. Russell and Khurshidul Islam, *Three Mughal poets: Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan*, London 1969, 95-277. Farmān Fataḥpūrī's *Daryāʾi-ʿis̲h̲ḳ awr baḥr al-maḥabbat kā taḳābulī mutālaʿa*, Lahore 1972, compares a *mat̲h̲nawī* by Mīr with a similar one by Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*] with the full text of each. The following are more general works with useful sections on Mīr: Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 70-80; Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London etc., 1964, 94-101, generally hostile in tone; Ahmed Ali, *The golden tradition*, New York-London 1973, is a general account of Urdu poetry, with many poems in English translation (23-54, 134-76). L.C. Randhir, *Ghazal - the beauty eternal*, Delhi 1982, is also useful, though little is said about Mīr (60-3, 146). All poetical extracts are given in the Devanagari script, Roman Urdū, and English translation. See further Abu 'l-Layt̲h̲ Ṣiddīḳī, *Lakhnāʾū kā dabistān-i-s̲h̲āʿirī*, Lahore 1955, 140-9. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i-ḥayāt*,[9] Lahore 19917, 203-31 (N.B. the various editions, or more correctly reprints, seem to be identical in pagination); Ḳāsim (Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Mīr Ḳudrat Allāh Ḳāsim) *Mad̲j̲mūʿa-yi-nag̲h̲z*, Lahore 1933, 229-54. Mīr's autobiography was published as *D̲h̲ikr-i-Mīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Awrangābād 1928. His *tad̲h̲kira*, *Nikāt al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān K̲h̲ān S̲h̲irwānī, has been published with no date or place of publication. Finally, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh, *S̲h̲uʿarāʾ-yi-Urdū kē tad̲h̲kirē awr tad̲h̲kira-nigārī kā fann*, Lahore 1952, is a general account of the *tad̲h̲kira* form, with references to Mīr at 14-35, 74-5. (J.A. HAYWOOD)

MĪR MUHANNĀ [see ḲURṢĀN. iii. In the Persian Gulf].

MĪRĀB [see MĀʾ, Iran].

MIRACLE [see KARĀMA, MUʿD̲J̲IZA].

MIʿRĀD̲J̲ (A.), originally designates "a ladder", and then "an ascent", and in particular, the Prophet's ascension to Heaven.

1. In Islamic exegesis and in the popular and mystical tradition of the Arab world.

The Ḳurʾān (LXXXI, 19-25, LIII, 1-21) describes a vision in which a divine messenger appears to Muḥammad, and LIII, 12-18, treats of a second mission of a similar kind. In both cases, the Prophet sees a heavenly figure approach him from the distance, but there is no suggestion that he himself was carried away to Heaven. However, it is otherwise with the experience alluded to in XVII, 1, "Glory be to Him who transported His servant by night (*asrā bi-ʿabdihi laylan*) from the Masd̲j̲id al-Ḥarām to the Masd̲j̲id al-Aḳṣā which We have surrounded with blessing, in order to show him one of our signs." For this verse, tradition gives three interpretations:

(1) The oldest one, which disappears from the more recent commentaries, detects an allusion to Muḥammad's Ascension to Heaven. This is the more interesting, as these traditions (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, Cairo 1278, ii, 185, *Bāb kāna 'l-nabiyyu tanāmu ʿaynuhu wa-lā yanāmu ḳalbuhu*, no. 2; Muslim, Būlāḳ, 1290, i, 59; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*[1], xv, 3, cf. B. Schrieke, *Die Himmelreise Muhammad's*, in *Isl.*, vi [1915-16], 12, 14) retain also the original signification of the story of Ascension (A.A. Bevan, *Mohammed's Ascension to Heaven*, in *Beihefte zur Zeitschr. für die Alttestam. Wissensch.*, xxvii = *Studien ... Julius Wellhausen ... gewidmet*, Giessen 1914, 56; Schrieke, *op. cit.*). This explanation interprets the expression *al-masd̲j̲id al-aḳṣā*, "the further place of worship" in the sense of "Heaven" and, in fact, in the older tradition *isrāʾ* is often used as synonymous with *miʿrād̲j̲* (see *Isl.*, vi, 14). One would thus have, in this verse, witness to the nocturnal ascension of the Prophet to the heavenly spheres (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, 13 ff.; J. Horovitz, *Muhammeds Himmelfahrt*, in *Isl.*, ix [1919], 161 ff.), but a witness limited merely to an allusion to the adventure, without saying anything about the manner in which it developed.

(2) The second explanation, the only one given in all the more modern commentaries, interprets *al-masd̲j̲id al-aḳṣā* as "Jerusalem" and this for no very apparent reason. It seems to have been an Umayyad device intended to further the glorification of Jerusalem as against that of the holy territory (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 55-6; *Isl.*, vi, 13 ff.), then ruled by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Al-Ṭabarī seems to

reject it. He does not mention it in his *History* and seems rather to adopt the first explanation (see *Isl.*, vi, 2, 5, 6, 12, 14; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1157 ff., a passage which appears to represent the historian's final verdict formed on full consideration of the evidence before him, cf. Bevan, *op. cit.*, 57).

Explanations 1 and 2 concur in interpreting *ʿabd* in XVII, 1, by Muḥammad, and this seems to be right (*Isl.*, vi, 13, n. 6). The *idjmāʿ* admitted both interpretations and, when the Umayyad version had arisen, harmonised the two by assigning to *isrāʾ* the special sense of night journey to Jerusalem. The Ascension, having lost its original meaning, was altered in date, being made to fall at a later period, as appears, in fact, to have been done previously by Ibn Isḥāḳ in the oldest extant biography of Muḥammad (Bevan, *op. cit.*, 54).

The story of the night journey to Jerusalem runs as follows:

One night, as Muḥammad was sleeping in the neighbourhood of the Kaʿba at Mecca (or in the house of Umm Hāniʾ, *Isl.*, vi, 11) he was awakened by the angel Gabriel who conducted him to a winged animal called Burāḳ [*q.v.*], and with Muḥammad mounted on this animal they journeyed together to Jerusalem. On the way thither they encounter several good and several wicked powers (*Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ* , Dihlī 1268, 521-2; al-Baghawī, *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, Cairo 1294, ii, 179, with a harmonising interpolation) and visit Hebron and Bethlehem (al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, Cairo 1312, i, 77-8; al-Nuwayri, ms. Warner 2a, p. 93, 11. 7-10). At Jerusalem, they meet Abraham, Moses and Jesus, of whom a description is given (e.g. al-Bukhārī, Cairo 1278, ii, 147). The *ṣalāt* is performed, Muḥammad acting as *imām* and thereby taking precedence of all the other prophets there assembled. This meeting with the prophets at Jerusalem resembles and may well have been modelled on the transfiguration of Jesus on Mount Tabor (Matt. xviii, 1; Mark ix, 1; Luke ix, 28), cf. *Isl.*, vi, 15, and Goldziher, in *RHR*, xxxi, 308.

(3) The third interpretation of XVII, 1, is based on XVII, 62, where *ruʾyā* "vision" is explained as *isrāʾ*. This implies that the night journey was not a real journey but a vision. Standing at the *ḥidjr*, Muḥammad saw Jerusalem and described it to the unbelieving Ḳurayshites (al-Bukhārī, ii, 221, iii, 102; Muslim, i, 62; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 5, l. 14 ff., etc.). The story is woven into a connected whole as follows: Muḥammad journeys by night to Jerusalem, returns and at Mecca describes his adventures; the Ḳuraysh disbelieve him and Muslims apostasise; Muḥammad seeks to defend the truth of his story, but he has forgotten the particulars; whereupon God causes him actually to behold Jerusalem (see *Isl.*, vi, 15-16).

In the more modern and longer narratives, the story is further amplified (see e.g. A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 86). The Prophet is said to have held 70,000 conversations with God, although the whole journey proceeded so quickly that, when he returned, his bed was still warm and the water cup which he had overthrown with his foot at his hurried departure, was not yet empty. By Muslim theologians the question has been discussed, whether the *isrāʾ* happened while Muḥammad was asleep or awake and whether it was his spirit or his body which journeyed. The orthodox opinion is that the journey was performed by Muḥammad with his body and awake. Al-Ṭabarī in his commentary (xv, 13) very decidedly supports this meaning for the following reasons: (1) If the Prophet had not been carried away in a corporeal sense, the event would afford no proof of his divine mission and those who disbelieved the story could not be accused of infidelity. (2) It is stated in the Ḳurʾān that God caused His servant to journey, not that He caused His servant's spirit to journey. (3) If the Prophet had been carried away in spirit only, the services of Burāḳ would not have been required, since animals are used for carrying bodies not for carrying spirits (Bevan, *op. cit.*, 60; Schrieke, *op. cit.*, 13; al-Ṭabarī, al-Bayḍāwī, and al-Baghawī, *Tafsīr*, *ad* XVII, 1). Mystics and philosophers often favour an allegorical interpretation (Goldziher, *Geschichte der Philosphie im Mittelalter*, in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i/5, 319).

The question of the possibility of an ascent to Heaven is several times touched on in the Ḳurʾān. In XL, 38, Firʿawn gives Hāmān orders to build a palace so that he can reach the cords of Heaven and climb up to the god of Mūsā (cf. also XXVIII, 3). In LIII, 38, the calumniators are asked whether they had perchance a ladder (*sullam*) so that they could hear the heavenly voice, and in VI, 35, the consequences are considered which the signs brought by the Prophet with the help of a ladder to Heaven might have on his hearers. The old poets also talk of ascending to Heaven by a ladder, as a means of escaping something one wants to avoid (Zuhayr, *Muʿallaḳa*, 54; al-Aʿshā, no. XV, 32).

Ḥadīth gives further details of the Prophet's ascension. Here the ascension is usually associated with the nocturnal journey to Jerusalem, so that the ascent to Heaven takes place from this sanctuary. We also have accounts preserved which make the ascension start from Mecca and make no mention of the journey to Jerusalem. In one of these, the ascension takes place immediately after the "purification of the heart" (see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 1; *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 76; *Manāḳib*, *bāb* 42; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 207, v, 143; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1157-8). In the last-mentioned passage we read: "When the Prophet had received his revelation and was sleeping at the Kaʿba, as the Ḳuraysh used to do, the angels Gabriel and Michael came to him and said: With regard to whom have we received the order? Whereupon they themselves answered: With regard to their lord. Thereupon they went away, but came back the next night, three of them. When they found him sleeping, they laid him on his back, opened his body, brought water from the Zamzam well and washed away all that they found within his body of doubt, idolatry, paganism and error. They then brought a golden vessel which was filled with wisdom and belief. Thereupon he was taken up to the lowest heaven." The other versions of the same story show many additions and variants; according to one, for example, Gabriel came to Muḥammad through the roof of his house which opened to receive him; according to another, it was Gabriel alone who appeared to him and there are many similar variants. All these versions, however, put Muḥammad's ascension at an early period and make it a kind of dedication of him as a Prophet, for which the purification of the heart had paved the way. Ethnographical parallels (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, 2-4) show other instances of a purification being preliminary to an ascension. Similar stories are found in pagan Arabia (Horowitz, in *Isl.*, ix, 171 ff.) and also in Christian legends (*op. cit.*, 170 ff.). Another story (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 143) says that the ascension took place from Mecca although it does not associate it with "the purification of the heart" which it puts back to the childhood of the Prophet [see ḤALĪMA].

How did it come about, however, that this, obviously the earlier, tradition of Mecca as the starting point of the ascension, was ousted by the other

which made it take place from Jerusalem? The localisation of the Ḳurʾānic al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā in Jerusalem is by some connected with the efforts of ʿAbd al-Malik to raise Jerusalem to a place of special esteem in the eyes of believers (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, 13; Horovitz, *op. cit.*, 165 ff.; idem, *The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors*, in *IC*, ii [1928], 35 ff.), and in any case it cannot be proved that this identification is older than the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. It might all the easier obtain currency as Jerusalem to the Christians was the starting point of Christ's ascension, and from the 4th century Jesus's footprint had been shown to pilgrims in the Basilica of the Ascension; and now, perhaps as early as the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, that of their Prophet was shown to Muslim pilgrims (Horovitz, *Muhammeds Himmelfahrt*, 167-8). The idea of the "heavenly Jerusalem" may have had some influence on the development of the *isrāʾ* legends; when Muḥammad meets Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and ʿĪsā in Jerusalem, the presence of these prophets in the earthly Jerusalem is not at once intelligible, but it loses any remarkable features if Bayt al-Maḳdis (Ibn Hishām, 267) from the first meant the "Heavenly Jerusalem" (Horovitz, *op. cit.*, 168, another explanation, see above). Perhaps also the phrase *alladhī bāraknā ḥawlahu* was taken to support the reference to Jerusalem; when these words occur elsewhere in the Ḳurʾān they refer to sites in the holy land (H. Lammens, *Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale*, in *MFOB*, xi [1926], 72). While the stories quoted above only say that Gabriel took the Prophet up to the heights of Heaven, but are silent as to how, others add that a ladder (*miʿrādj*) was used for the ascent (see Ibn Hishām, 268; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 10; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 143); this ladder was of splendid appearance; it is the one to which the dying turn their eyes and with the help of which the souls of men ascend to Heaven. The ladder is probably identical with Jacob's ladder in Genesis, xxviii, 12; the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees, xxvii, 21, calls this *maʿāreg*, and sūra LXX, 3,4, calls God *Dhu 'l-Maʿāridj* "to whom the angels and the spirit ascend" (*taʿrudj*). According to XXXII, 4, the *amr* rises to God; according to LVII, 4, and XXXIV, 2, God knows "what descends from Heaven and what ascends to it", and in XLIII, 32, there is a reference to steps (*maʿāridj*) in the houses of men. The term was already known, and is presumably taken from Ethiopic (Horovitz, *op. cit.*, 174 ff.). Among the Mandaeans, also, the ladder (*sumbilta*) is the means of ascending to Heaven (*Ginza*, tr. M. Lidzbarski, 49, 208, 490), and there are parallels to the ladder of the dead in the mysteries of Mithras (see Tor Andrae, *Die Person Mohammeds*, 45; Wetter, *Phos*, 114, n. 2); the Manichaean *ʿamūd al-sabḥ* (*Fihrist*, 335, 10), by means of which the dead man is taken to the sphere of the moon is a more distant parallel (Bevan, *op. cit.*, 59).

Just as the *miʿrādj* is associated with the ascension, so al-Burāḳ is originally connected with the night journey to Jerusalem; it found its way, however, at an early date into the legend of the ascension (see al-Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, *bāb* 42; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 207; v, 387; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 12).

At the gate of each of the seven heavens through which he wanders with the Prophet, Gabriel is asked for his own name and that of his companion (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 1; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 4; idem, *Annales*, i, 1157). After he gives these, he is next asked if Muḥammad has already been sent as a prophet (*a-wa-ḳad buʿitha ilayhi*, correction for the original *a-wa-ḳad buʿitha* found in al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1158; see Snouck Hurgronje, in *Isl.*, vi, 5, n. 4); this also indicates that the ascension originally belonged to the period immediately after his call (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, 6). In each heaven they meet one of the earlier messengers of God, usually Adam in the first, Yaḥyā and ʿĪsā in the second, Yūsuf in the third, Idrīs in the fourth, Hārūn in the fifth, Mūsā in the sixth and Ibrāhīm in the seventh heaven; there are also variations and Adam appears as judge over the spirits of the dead (Andrae, 44-5; Schrieke, 17; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 143; cf. *Apoc. Mosis*, 37). Of the other messengers of God we are only told—in addition to being given a description of their personal appearance—that they greeted Muḥammad; Mūsā is an exception, who expressly says that Muḥammad is higher in the esteem of God than himself and that the number of his followers surpasses his own (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 11). On another occasion, Muḥammad engages in a conversation with Mūsā after God had imposed upon him 50 *ṣalāts* a day as obligatory prayers for the faithful. On Mūsā's advice, Muḥammad asks several times for an alleviation, and each time God grants it; but when Mūsā says 5 *ṣalāts* are still too many, the Prophet refuses to ask for less (on *Genesis*, xviii, 23 ff., as the prototype of this episode; cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 36; Schrieke, 19; Andrae, 82). According to some versions, Mūsā dwells in the seventh heaven and the conversation seems to be more natural there. To the ascension belong the visits to Paradise and to Hell. Paradise, according to others in the first; in some it is not mentioned at all. The statements about its rivers are contradictory (Schrieke, 19; cf. KAWTHAR), the *sidrat al-muntahā* is usually placed in the seventh heaven (Bevan, 59; Schrieke, 18). In one description, Hell is put below the first heaven (Ibn Hishām, 269; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iv, 10). According to another, the place of punishment of the damned is on the way between Heaven and earth, and Muḥammad sees it on his journey to the Bayt al-Maḳdis (al-Ṭabarī, xv, 101, also Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 257; ii, 353; iii, 120, 182, 224, 231, 239). On the punishment in Hell, cf. Schrieke, 17; Andrae, 44; Horovitz, 173; Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch der Grösse*, 81 ff.; Lidzbarski, *Johannisbuch*, 98 ff.; *Ginza*, 183.

That Muḥammad appeared before God's throne in the seventh heaven and that the conversation about the obligatory prayers took place there, is already recorded in the oldest stories (see above), but only rarely do they extend the conversation between God and the Prophet to other subjects (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxvii, 26; *Musnad*, iv, 66, as a dream; Andrae, 70). But objection was raised to the assertion that Muḥammad on this occasion saw God face-to-face (Andrae, 71 ff.), and the question was also raised at an early date whether the ascension was a dream or a reality, whether only the soul of the Prophet was carried up or also his body (L. Caetani, *Annali*, Intr. § 320; Andrae, 72; Bevan, 60; Schrieke, 13, n. 1).

The *ḥadīth* contains, besides these, other details which Asín (*Escatologia*, Madrid 1919, 7-52; idem, *Dante y el Islam*, Madrid 1927, 25-71) discussed. In developing the story of the Prophet's ascension, Muslim writers have used models afforded them by the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. A few features may also come from the Zoroastrians from the *Arda Viraf*; cf. the works already mentioned by Andrae, Bevan, Schrieke, Horovitz and W. Bousset, in *ARW*, iv, 136-69.

Later accounts (see section 2 below).

The ascension of the Prophet later served as a model for the description of the journey of the soul of the deceased to the throne of the divine judge (Asín, *Escatologia*, 59-60); for the Ṣūfīs, however, it is a sym-

bol of the rise of the soul from the bonds of sensuality to the heights of mystic knowledge. Ibn al-ʿArabī thus expounds it in his work *Kitāb al-Isrāʾ ilā maḳām al-asrā* (Asín, 61 ff.; Andrae, 81-2), and in his *Futūḥāt*, ii, 356-75, he makes a believer and a philosopher make the journey together but the philosopher only reaches the seventh heaven, while no secret remains hidden from the pious Muslim (Asín, 63 ff.). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī's *Risālat al-Ghufrān* is a parody on the traditional accounts of the *miʿrādj* (Asín, 71 ff.). Asín in his two books quoted has dealt with the knowledge of Muslim legends of the ascension posssessed by the Christian Middle Ages and their influence on Dante. In a separate work (*La escatologia musulmana en la divina comedia*, Madrid 1924), he has collected and discussed the literature produced by his *Escatologia* down to 1923; on later works, see M. Rodinson, *Dante et l'Islam...*, in *RHR*, lxxxix (1951), 203-35.

According to Ibn Saʿd, id1, 147, the *isrāʾ* took place on 17 Rabīʿ I, the ascension on 17 Ramaḍān. For centuries, however, the night before 27 Radjab—a date also significant in the history of Mecca (see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 71)—has been regarded by the pious as the *Laylat al-Miʿrādj*, and the eve is, like the *Mawlid al-Nabī*, devoted to reading the legend of the feast (see al-ʿAbdarī, *Madkhal*, i, 143 ff.; G.A. Herklots, *Qanoon-e Islam*², 165; E.W. Lane, *Manners and customs*, London 1896, 474-6; Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 219; Asín, *Escatologia*, 97).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also R. Hartmann, in *Bibliothek-Warburg*, *Vorträge 1928-1929*, Leipzig 1930, 42-65; Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, *Muhammad the Holy Prophet*, Lahore 1967, ch. viii; Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1975, 219-21; eadem, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1985, 159-75. (B. SCHRIEKE-[J. HOROVITZ])

2. In Arabic literature.

In writing as well as in speech, the miraculous apocalyptic phenomenon has undergone a development which it is not always convenient to confine within the limits of theological analysis. The literature of the *miʿrādj* must be understood as meaning all the accounts by known or unknown authors devoted to Muḥammad's ascension.

Unlike the idea of the *isrāʾ*, recorded as being in a horizontal plane, the idea of the exaltation of a non-angelic being is not attested in the Ḳurʾān. Thus it was at a later date that the miracle came to be recounted. We are not in a position to establish the chronology of this process. Study of the portrayals of the nocturnal journey remains to be done. Analysis of *ḥadīths*, disentangled from theological refutation, could provide an interesting contribution to the study of the imaginary in Islam.

Some accounts of the *miʿrādj* are by known authors, but the most widely circulated, attributed to the *Imām* Ibn ʿAbbās, cousin of the Prophet, has often been regarded as apocryphal. It remains nevertheless a decisive text. Ibn ʿAbbās, at once a historical and a mythical personality, has indeed become "the interpreter of the community, the prototype of its expounder, since he is assigned to the origins of the group, at the moment of its foundation" (Cl. Gilliot, *Portrait "mythique" d'Ibn ʿAbbās*, in *Arabica*, xxxii [1985], 127-84).

This account must be viewed as "a text which combines an openness to the depictions of the imagination with a respect for the basic provisions of the Law" (J.E. Bencheikh, *Le voyage nocturne de Mahomet*, Paris 1988).

The other authors are scholars who took over the literature of the *Miʿrādj*, probably so as not to allow it to develop embarrassing efflorescences. The following list enables us to verify this:

— al-Ḳushayrī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm, d. 465/1073 [*q.v.*], whose *Kitāb al-Miʿrādj* was published in 1964. He was actually an Ashʿarī Shāfiʿī theologian and author of the famous *Risāla*.

— al-Bakrī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], a highly controversial personality who appears to have lived in the last half of the 7th/13th century. It was allegedly forbidden to read his *Life of the Prophet*. The manuscript of his *Kitāb Ḳiṣṣat al-miʿrādj* offers a version very close to that of Ibn ʿAbbās.

— al-Ghayṭī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, d. 984/1576, Shāfiʿī traditionist, author of *al-Ibtihādj bi 'l-kalām ʿalā 'l-isrāʾ wa 'l-miʿrādj*, printed in 1970.

— al-Barzandjī, Shāfiʿī *muftī* of Medina and preacher, author of a *Ḳiṣṣat al-Miʿrādj*. His grandson, Djaʿfar b. Ismāʿīl, d. 1317/1899), jurisconsult and specialist in the *Sīra* of the Prophet, was also Shāfiʿī *muftī* in Medina; he is the author of *Tādj al-Ibtihādj ʿalā 'l-nūr al-wahhādj fī 'l-isrāʾ wa 'l-miʿrādj*, printed in Cairo in 1314 with the *Ḳiṣṣat al-miʿrādj* of his grandfather in the margin. Al-Barzandjī's version differs perceptibly from that of Ibn ʿAbbās both in its very mannered language and in the structure of the account. We are dealing here with a very dry, spare version, which is clearly that of a scholar anxious to contain imagination within acceptable bounds.

— We cannot supply dates for Muḥammad Ẓalām al-Bābilī al-Ḥalabī, author of *al-Sirādj al-wahhādj fī laylat al-isrāʾ wa-ḳiṣṣat al-miʿrādj*, printed at an unspecified date in Aleppo, which its author holds to be better than any version that had ever been made before. He states that, out of a concern to lighten the text, he omitted every *isnād*. He adds nevertheless that he composed it by relying on "works held in esteem and famous versions of the *miʿrādj*". According to all the evidence, it is in fact a late version which retains the essentials of Ibn ʿAbbās, enriching them with details. Furthermore, we can easily understand why the author neglects to supply his references: he is handling narratives which are, in a sense, public property. He expresses the imaginary vision of the group and stretches its credibility.

The literature of the *miʿrādj* develops into an amalgamation of three miraculous accounts concerning the Prophet:

(a) That of his purification by the angels, who open his chest and cleanse his heart of all sin. It was at a late date that this act was sometimes regarded as a kind of preparation for the ascension. The idealisation of his personality was carried to its limit. Only al-Barzandjī's version mentions the opening of his chest. The other authors confine themselves to an ablution.

(b) That of the nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem on al-Burāḳ [*q.v.*]. This account was subjected to a process of amplification before being attached to the *miʿrādj*, although different dates were cited for the two events. In some accounts, Muḥammad actually meets on his journey some of those being punished in Hell (cf. al-Ṭabarī's commentary on sūra XVII).

(c) Finally, that of the ascension properly so-called which includes the visit to the seven heavens, with a glimpse of Hell, the arrival at the Throne, the dialogue with God, the visit to Paradise and the return to Mecca.

A narrative organisation was progressively established according to four essential sequences: an initial miraculous union, an initiatory raising to Heaven, a

glorifying appearance before God and a return to mankind. Elucidating the series of sequences could be of help in the search for an underlying plan providing the background for the imagination of the text. It happens that some works of a varied nature depict the same subjects as the *miʿrādj* account; those depictions are concerned with the constitution of the heavens and the fringes of Hell, description of the Throne, the dwellings in Paradise and angelology.

These are to be found in three categories of works:
(a) The *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*] or legends of the prophets, the first of which are devoted to the origin of the universe.
(b) General histories, whose first chapters contain numerous elements of cosmology and cosmogony. A comparative study of the use that is made of certain themes by historians and *miʿrādj* accounts would be very significant.
(c) The resurrection literature, which brings together the texts devoted to the *ḳiyāma* [*q.v.*]. This literature of "news purveying" consists of edifying opuscula which make no precise reference to canonical texts and provide an account of what happens to the believer from the time of his death until his appearance before God. We find here descriptions of the angels, Paradise and Hell. Some descriptive and narrative elements, independent of one another in their origin, are joined together. The Prophet himself is included in this universal destiny and, awakened from the rest of death, "he mounts al-Burāḳ a second time to head for the Rock at Jerusalem and finally appear before the Lord" (Bencheikh, *op. cit.*).

The accounts of the *miʿrādj* and *ḳiyāma* are clearly related. The same working of the imagination, the same process for setting the portrayals, led to the production of the two texts.

One should mention here besides that the frontiers of writing have not prevented the migration of legends. The *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* of al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] devotes a long section to angelology; the story of Ḥāsib Karīm al-Dīn in the *Thousand and one nights* contains the cosmogonic account of Buluḳiyya possibly borrowed from al-Thaʿlabī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*. We are dealing here with what we should call preconstituted bodies of writings regarding Heaven, Hell, Paradise, the Throne and angels. Each of these bodies of writings has been given an independent setting following a long process of elaboration during which all kinds of pre-Islamic and Islamic themes have been gathered together. Only detailed analysis of this process will allow us to establish a reliable chronology for this literature.

One should note in addition that we cannot totally isolate the *miʿrādj* accounts from the great visionary texts of Ibn ʿArabī, Ibn Sīnā and al-Suhrawardī [*q.vv.*]. The remarkable *Kitāb al-Tawahhum*, if it is the work of a mystic, al-Muḥāsibī, preserves just as many of these themes as are connected with the literature with which we are concerned (French tr. Roman, Paris 1978).

But one must realise that the imaginary aspect of the *miʿrādj* is also nourished by the pronouncements of speech. The *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] or preacher is to be found at the heart of religious observance. "With him we leave learned discourse and mystical meditation to follow the dialogue between a desire and a function: the desire of the believer who needs to believe, the function of the one who gives him something to believe and undertakes to supply him with imaginative depictions in order to do this" (Bencheikh, *op. cit.*, Introd.).

The oral legend of the *miʿrādj* has not been collected. The narrative structure laid down in the texts considered to be canonical has taken over depictions of diverse origin. The texts have been given an iconography to respond to the need of their listeners for marvels. This need the theologians regard with suspicion. The inventors of fabulous tales were pursued and treated severely by Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn al-Djawzī, al-Ghazālī and al-Suyūṭī. The establishment of collections of apocryphal *ḥadīths* for the denunciation of forgeries, if it is informative on the orthodoxy of their thought, is just as helpful in interpreting the ramblings of the imagination.

In fact, the same questions posed by the theologians on the subject of the *miʿrādj*, have determined the direction of the flow of the imagination. There has been lively argument concerning the idea which it was necessary to have of the ascension. We must also review the possible interpretations of this miraculous deed:
(a) The ascension took place in spirit; it is a question of a vision that occurred during the Prophet's sleep. In a sense it was Heaven that visited Muḥammad. It was an illumination, and the physical person was not concerned: the *miʿrādj* annuls the human condition and registers itself in an unhinging of the intellect. The soul, purified, traverses Heaven as far as God in a trajectory of which the traces remain only in the Prophetic witness. The outburst of faith on the part of the Believer will repeat the movement.
(b) The *isrāʾ* was really performed by Muḥammad while awake, but the ascension took place only in the spirit. This artificial distinction is useful: it bears witness to a process of linking the *isrāʾ*, at first independent, with the *miʿrādj* (cf. H. Birkeland, *The legend of the opening of Muhammad's breast*, Oslo 1955).
(c) The ascension was really effected, body and soul, by a Prophet who was in a full state of consciousness. This interpretation lays the foundations of the miracle, which becomes a theological argument.

In this way there becomes authenticated a willingness to attribute to the Prophet a dimension which goes beyond his historicity: progressively, the opening of the breast at the end of the purification, the *isrāʾ* and the *miʿrādj* constitute a unique account which offers the advantage of crossing important zones of the religious imagination.

This interpretation de-spiritualises the ascension, without removing its character of a supreme initation. Whilst refusing to see in it an internal impetus, a wandering of the spirit, it affords free range to imaginative portrayals. The account gives formal licence to imagine the unthinkable. Revelation triumphs out of ecstasy. The brilliant but solitary illumination of an individual is abandoned for the benefit of the communal initiation of a prophet. The latter is charged to inform his people of the answers that, in the course of his journey, he is entrusted to communicate.

From that time on, the difference can be seen between Ḳurʾānic utterance reduced to a mention and the speech of "literature" charged with illustrating the former. A modern application of this splitting of writings is attested; in Radjab 1387/October 1967 Egyptian State Television broadcast a film on the *isrāʾ* and *miʿrādj* under the responsibility of the al-Azhar authorities. The process of image production is allowed, but controlled.

The literature of the *miʿrādj* is then embodied in an act of adoration. For one who takes neither the path of thought nor that of spirituality, there remains the portrayal, at the risk of blasphemy. Behind Muḥammad, the only one authorised to travel to the forbid-

den space, imagination is set free. A whole community accompanies its prophet on his initiatory journey. Thus the act of faith is progressively established in an account destined to arouse visions. The image here is effective; it revives confidence and provokes fear. In this way the delights of Paradise materialise and the tortures of Hell are displayed to view at the cost, furthermore, of a decisive anticipation of theology, since God will only deliver His sentences on the Day of the Last Judgment.

Here appear the two essential functions of the *miʿrād̲j̲* literature: it verifies in advance divine justice, and it responds to a deep-seated need for the marvellous. The image goes beyond efficacy in order to touch on the aesthetic. Happiness lies not only in the distant reward of virtue, it also finds its source in the spectacle offered. The text is adorned with illuminations: from al-Burāḳ to the Throne of God, from the seven heavens to the sojourn in Paradise, then to Hell; the marvellous spans the space that separates thought from desire.

But it asserts its humanity and does not profane the sacred. In addition, imaginative use is made of the real. The topography of the places uses language without any surprises: we climb to Heaven with a ladder, we skirt the walls, we pass through doors: here mountains, rivers, seas, gardens are lost to view. "The highest place is just a throne, a common attribute of sovereignty, men's destinies are written with a pen, an ordinary instrument for writing. Gold, silver, pearls, gems abound in our markets, darkness, smoke, ice have their place in our environment" (Bencheikh, *op. cit.*).

It was probably difficult to represent the unimaginable without profaning it. Only the obligation of reserve ensured the survival of the myth. The encounter with the Creator shows us how blasphemy was avoided; all the dialogue between God and Muḥammad is made up of the last verses of *Sūrat al-Baḳara*, put alternately into the mouths of the two interlocutors. Furthermore, this is not the only way of using verses or *ḥadīt̲h̲s* which are often solicited. The text then becomes a commentary full of their imagery and is legitimised. It is woven into an irrefutable writing and takes on the authenticity of a sacred iconography. For the listener, the *miʿrād̲j̲* celebrates the prophetic mission and offers the account of an apocalypse populated with Ḳurʾānic resonances.

Called to appear before God, the Prophet receives along his way the homage due to the last of the Messengers. Islam relies on and celebrates at the same time its primacy. It lays hold of the future and reconquers time past; Muḥammad passes through the heavens accompanied by all the great witnesses of the universal faith.

The ritual of adoration is then written down in an outburst of beauty! The heavens are successively of smoke, copper, silver, corindum and pearl. The trajectory of the symbol accompanies the ascension journey; the beauty of the spectacle declares the proximity of God. Each year millions of Muslims devote themselves to the spectacle of their faith.

Finally, how can we forget that the *miʿrād̲j̲* has entered into universal literature, thanks to the *Book of Mahomet's Ladder*. This translation in Latin of a text in Castilian, itself translated from Arabic, had indeed become famous, thanks to the furious polemic to which it has given rise; and indeed, Dante was actually able to be inspired by it for his *Divine Comedy*.

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(J.E. Bencheikh)

The Editors regret that they have failed to provide for a section on the *miʿrādj* in Persian literature. Whilst they anticipate that they will be able to repair this omission, they would refer the reader to the article by A.M. Piemontese, *Una versione persana della storia del "Miʿrāğ"*, in *OM* lx/1-6 (1980), 225-43, which offers a translation of a passage of the Shīʿite commentary of sūra xvii by Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī (ca. 480-525/1087-1131).

3. *Miʿrādj* literature in East and West Africa.

The celebration of the *miʿrādj* has here given rise to an extensive popular literature. Among the Shāfiʿī communities, from Egypt down to the East African coastlands, the most widely-used text is al-Barzandjī's *Ḳiṣṣat al-miʿrādj* or, in a later edition, *al-Isrāʾ wa 'l-miʿrādj*, available in Haji Mohamed's bookshop in Mombasa together with the same author's *Mawlid* [see MAWLID. 2. In East Africa].

In Swahili, there are two translations in prose and several versified elaborations; for the oldest known version in the *ukawafi* metre usually reserved for liturgical hymns, and which can still be sung, see Knappert, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, iii, Leiden 1971, 227-75; the same text but with long comments and notes, is given by idem, *Miiraji, the Swahili legend of Mohammed's Ascension*, in *Swahili*, *Jnal. of the Inst. for Swahili Research* (Dar es Salaam), xxxvi (1966), 105-56. A different poem, written before 1922, is given by idem, *Utenzi wa miiraji by Mohamed Jambeini*, in *Afrika und Uebersee*, xlviii (1966), 241-74, and another by Yusuf Ulenge (perhaps from an older oral text) is printed in *Swahili*, xxxviii (1968), with the title *Utenzi wa Miraji*.

A much longer poem, published by E. Dammann in his *Dichtungen in der Lamu Mundart des Suaheli*, Hamburg 1940, 1-72, was written down for Dammann by the poet Muhammad b. Abubakari Kijuma, who was probably also its author; see Muhammad b. Ibrahim Abou Egl, *Life and works of Muhammad Kijuma*, Ph.D. thesis, London Univ., 1984, unpubl.

In the mosques of East Africa, the *laylat al-miʿrādj* is celebrated after the night worship by singing these hymns, after which the *imām* explains its significance to the congregation.

In Hausaland (Northern Nigeria), poetic versions of the *miʿrādj* narrative were first discovered by M. Hiskett, see his *A history of Hausa Islamic verse*, London 1975, 48-62. Here the theme of the *miʿrādj* is part of the *muʿdjizāt* literature, poems written by scholars in praise of Muḥammad which can be sung or read. These are called *madahu*, from *madḥ* "praise". They are very popular and often recited during Ramaḍān when the people are in a receptive mood. A detailed description can be found in the thesis of Abdullahi Bayaro Yahya, *The Hausa verse category of Madahu, with special reference to theme, style and the background of Islamic sources and belief*, Univ. of Sokoto, Nigeria 1987, unpubl.; it includes Hausa texts and translations, and the place of the *miʿrādj* as one of the themes of *madahu* is comprehensively discussed.

In Ghana, the *miʿrādj* theme forms part of the *Mawlid* (as it does in East Africa) and is celebrated in the north of the country, in Kumasi and along the coast.

In the Gambia, the theme of the *miʿrādj* appears to have penetrated into the pre-Islamic Mandinka epic of Sunjata. In G. Innes' edition (*Sunjata*, London 1974, 156-7, l. 287), the diviner Siise, before answering the king's question, "goes into retreat" like a shaman, and states that "for forty days I saw the seven layers of the sky." This is clearly taken from the *miʿrādj*, in which Muḥammad himself claims the same; see Knappert, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, 152.

In Peul or Fulani [see FULBE], there is a long section on the *miʿrādj* in an important long poem edited by J. Haafkens in his *Chants musulmans en Peul*, Leiden 1983, 193-203. The long poem *Busarau* (from Arabic *busharāʾ*, pl. of *bashīr*, "bringers of good tidings", *ibid.*, 144-335), was heard sung and recorded from manuscripts by Haafkens in northern Cameroon, where it is extremely popular.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Knappert)

4. *Miʿrādj* literature in Indonesia.

In West Java the celebration of the *miʿrādj* is still very popular; it takes place in the mosque, in the home or in the *langgar*, the little prayer-cabin near the house. On the eve of 27 Radjab, or in some places even on the preceding evening, people come together in families, or invite friends, usually the men and the women separately. The men do not smoke, since

smoke is disliked by the angels. The proceedings begin after the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* and are concluded by a *selataman*, a festive meal, around midnight, after the *ṣalāt al-ishā*ʾ. "Those who know stories" will tell them, about the life of Muḥammad and his night journey. Customarily, one who is qualified reads from *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī aṭwār Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, by Sayyid ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAḳil b. Yaḥyā (Jakarta 1342/1924, pp. 80), in Malay. During the reading *gaharu* or aloes wood is burnt as incense. If someone is present who can read Arabic (normally only in the towns), he will be asked to read the *Ḥāshiyat al-imām al-ʿārif biʾllāh taʿālā Abi 'l-Barakāt Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Dardīr ʿalā Ḳiṣṣat al-Miʿrādj liʾl-ʿallāma al-hammām barakat al-anām Nadjm ad-Dīn al-Ghayṭī*, Cairo n.d., pp. 27. This work is known generally as *Dardīr*. A poetic rendering of the *miʿrādj* was written in Malay by Hadji Adam b. Hadji Kasman, the *Syair Mi'raj Nabi Muhammad*, Jakarta 1926. Another very popular Arabic booklet here is al-Barzandjī's *Ḳiṣṣat al-miʿrādj*.

In the mosque, the preacher will begin with prayers, then launch into a *naṣīḥa*, an admonishing sermon. He will explain the passages Ḳurʾān XVII, 1, and LIII, 9, in the light of the well-known commentaries. He may also quote the even better known *Mawlid* of al-Barzandjī, usually referred to as *Sharaf al-anām* (see MAWLID, and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Leiden 1906, 209-14). In this *Mawlid* (as in most) there is a section on the *miʿrādj*, section XIV (see for a translation, J. Knappert, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden 1971, i, 57-8). The recital is terminated with the salutation to the Prophet, again from the *Mawlid* of al-Barzandjī; it begins: *Yā Nabī, salāmu ʿalayka*... (for a translation see Knappert, *op. cit.*, iii, 322, v. 31). All the worshippers present sing this passage with the preacher, while standing up, as the text prescribes, out of respect for Muḥammad. It is customary for the *imām* to commemorate the *miʿrādj* also in his *khuṭba* on the Friday before as well as the Friday after 27 Radjab. In some districts of West Java, gambling is strictly prohibited during the entire month.

At night the mosque may be illuminated, and even fireworks are set off by some; houses, too, keep a lamp burning all night. The celebration may last until the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*; this is doubtless in memory of Muḥammad's return from the heavens before dawn (Knappert, *op. cit.*, iii, 271, v. 96). The religious teacher (in West Java, the Kiyai) will embellish the legend, weaving moral lessons into it for the edification of his flock. In the Periangan, he will speak in Sundanese, after the prayers in Arabic; there is a Sundanese poem describing the *miʿrādj* which can be sung that night. Some people fast during 27 Radjab, others fast for nine days, not consecutively but in sets of three at the beginning, middle and end of Radjab, which was already a holy month in ancient Arabia. Between the two World Wars, processions came into fashion, especially among the younger generation in Indonesia. Various Islamic groups have different opinions about the desirability of celebrating the *miʿrādj*. Modernists explain it totally symbolically as a spiritual development. Reformists want to abolish *miʿrādj* celebrations as a *bidʿa* which smacks of worshipping the Prophet rather than God alone. The conservatives however, cling to the *ʿādat* and take the *miʿrādj* literally, namely that Muḥammad saw God "with the eyes of his head" (al-Barzandjī).

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(J. KNAPPERT)

5. The *Miʿrādj* in Islamic art.

In the spirit of the Second Commandment, strict Muslims have always frowned on the portrayal of humans and other living creatures in painting and sculpture, and this antipathy is naturally strongest when the depiction of the Prophet Muḥammad is in question. But this peculiarly Semitic prejudice was never fully shared by the Aryan Persians, and it is thus primarily in the miniature painting of Persia that we must look for representations of the *miʿrādj*. As Sir Thomas Arnold wrote, "It was a frequent practice of the poets... to include in the Preface... a lyrical outburst on the theme of Muḥammad's Ascension... No incident in the religious history of Islam is more commonly represented in Muslim art than this of the Ascension of the Prophet."

There were, indeed, a number of works, poetical and otherwise, devoted entirely to the *miʿrādj* and its attendant circumstances (see 2. above). These are represented in painting, firstly, by the fragments of a large 8th/14th century manuscript preserved in Topkapı album H. 2154, the miniatures being attributed to Aḥmad Mūsā, and secondly, by the celebrated Paris manuscript of 840/1436 (Suppl. turc 190) written at Herat in the Uighur language, and illustrated by one of the finest and most original sets of miniatures in the whole of Persian painting. But these are special cases, and we are more concerned here with *miʿrādj* miniatures occurring in manuscripts of the classical poets.

The earliest of these date from the opening years of the 9th/15th century. In the *Miscellany* of Iskandar Sulṭān (British Library Add. 27261, dated 813-14/1410-11, fol. 6a) the *miʿrādj* is represented with the Prophet, mounted on Burāḳ, surrounded by angels, and conducted by Gabriel, soaring above the Kaʿba enclosure at Mecca, and this scheme of representation is closely followed in a detached double-page miniature of much the same date in the Chester Beatty Library (Cat. 292. i, ii). In both these (as in the Paris manuscript of 1436) the Prophet is shown unveiled, but in the latter, as in many subsequent examples, the face has been partially obliterated and repainted. This same basic composition, i.e. with the Kaʿba below and the Prophet unveiled, is followed in "main line" Persian painting of the later Tīmūrid period, as in the Niẓāmī of 900/1494 in the British Library (Or. 6810, fol. 5b), and is continued in the Keir Collection miniature (Cat. III. 207) dated 910/1505, which is one of those added under Shāh Ismāʿīl to the Niẓāmī of Yaʿḳūb Beg Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (Topkapı, H. 762), and may well be an early work of Sulṭān Muḥammad. This latter miniature is among the most striking and original treatments of the subject, the ascent, accompanied by innumerable angels and observed by others through a circular "hole in Heaven", being enclosed in a rectangular frame with the Kaʿba enclosure below and little desert villages with palm trees occupying the margins.

The *miʿrādj* is of frequent occurrence in Shīrāz manuscripts of the Tīmūrid period (though, curiously enough, hardly ever found in the mass of manuscripts illustrated in the Commercial Turkman style), but in

these, as in the numerous Ṣafawid examples, the Kaʿba is omitted, only the Prophet, now veiled, and accompanying angels being shown. Perhaps the finest of all is in the great Niẓāmī of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (British Library Or. 2265, fol. 195a) which is almost certainly the work of Sulṭān Muḥammad, and probably represents his swan-song.

Exceptional portrayals are occasionally encountered. Thus in the Topkapı Niẓāmī of 844/1441 (H. 774), probably of western Indian origin, the Prophet is depicted as a golden disc inscribed with his name; and in the British Library copy of 1075/1665 (Add. 6613, fol. 3b) the ascent is made against a background of concentric circles with the symbols of the planets revolving round the sun.

In post-Ṣarawid painting, the theme becomes somewhat vulgarised; Burāḳ may sport a peacock's tail and a clumsy Ḳādjār crown, and the Prophet is sometimes reduced to a sort of shapeless bundle. But on a fine painted lacquer mirror-case of 1288/1871 in the Bern Historical Museum, Muḥammad Ismāʿīl depicts the scene in traditional manner, though on a miniature scale.

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(B.W. Robinson)

MĪRĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH I, of Khāndēsh [*q.v.*] in western India, was the eleventh prince of the Fārūḳī dynasty (regn. 926-43/1520-37). He belonged to the younger branch of that line, which had taken refuge in Gudjarāt, and his ancestors had lived in that kingdom and had married princesses of the Muẓaffarī family until Maḥmūd I of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] had, on the extinction of the elder branch of the Fārūḳīs, placed ʿĀdil Khān III, Muḥammad's father, on the throne of Khāndēsh. Muḥammad, who was, through his mother, the great-grandson of Maḥmūd, and the grandson of his son, Muẓaffar II, succeeded his father in Khāndēsh in 926/1520, and in 933/1527 incautiously intervened in the cause of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād Shāh of Berār [*q.v.*] by aiding him against his enemy, Burhān Niẓām Shāh I of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.* and niẓām-shāhīs]. He was defeated and driven back into Khāndēsh, but succeeded in persuading his uncle, Bahādur of Gudjarāt, to intervene, and with him invaded the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar. The campaign was only partially successful, but Muḥammad was indemnified by Burhān I for his losses. He accompanied his uncle in the campaign which ended, in 937/1531, in the capture of Māndū [*q.v.*] and the annexation of Mālwa to Gudjarāt, and on Bahādur's death in 944/1537, was summoned, in his mother's right, to the throne of Gudjarāt, but died on his way to Aḥmadābād.

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(T.W. Haig*)

MĪRĀNDJĪ [see miyān mīr, miyāndjī].

MĪRĀNSHĀH b. TĪMŪR (*ca.* 768-810/*ca.* 1367-1408), the third son of Tīmūr [*q.v.*] (Tamerlane), born of a concubine named Mengliček. Due to his marriage to two Činggisid princesses, he bore the title *güregen* ("royal son-in-law"). In 782/1380-1, he was appointed governor of Khurāsān, shortly before its full conquest. He shared power there with several of Tīmūr's senior commanders, and spent much of his time outside the province, accompanying Tīmūr to western Persia in 786-7/1384-5, to Khwārazm and the Ḳïpčaḳ steppe in 790/1388-9 and 792-3/1390-1, and on the "five-year campaign" to Persia in 794-8/1392-6, returning to Khurāsān only to put down local rebellions.

In 795/1393 Mīrānshāh became governor of Ādharbāydjān and western Persia. He did not immediately transfer his dependents, but first campaigned with Tīmūr in the Ḳïpčaḳ steppe in 797-8/1395-6. As governor, he executed the founder of the Ḥurūfī sect [see ḥurūfiyya], Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī, in 796/1394. The Ḥurūfī considered him an anti-Christ and referred to him as Mārānshāh ("snake king"). During Tīmūr's Indian campaign of 800-1/1398-9, Mīrānshāh remained in Ādharbāydjān, and according to the histories, fell from his horse and became temporarily insane; this was probably an attempt at independence. He distributed public money, besieged Baghdād, destroyed buildings in Tabrīz and Sulṭāniyya, and persecuted his wife and *amīrs*. In documents of this period he apparently omitted Tīmūr's name. Tīmūr removed Mīrānshāh from his position, kept him close to himself and meted out severe punishment to his retinue. In Shawwāl 806/April-May 1404, Tīmūr allowed Mīrānshāh to leave for Baghdād with his son Abā Bakr.

Mīrānshāh and his sons were active in the succession struggle after Tīmūr's death. His son Khalīl Sulṭān held Transoxania until 811/1409; Abā Bakr and Mīrānshāh disputed Ādharbāydjān with ʿUmar b. Mīrānshāh and the Ḳaraḳoyunlu Turkmen. Mīrānshāh died fighting with Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳaraḳoyunlu in 810/1408.

Sīdī Aḥmad b. Mīrānshāh married Ruḳiyya Sulṭān bt. Ḳara ʿUthmān Aḳḳoyunlu, and his descendants remained in Ādharbāydjān as the Mīrānshāhī clan, holding an important position within the Aḳḳoyunlu. Mīrānshāh's grandson Abū Saʿīd b. Sulṭān Muḥammad gained power over the northeastern Tīmūrid realm in 855/1451; Abū Saʿīd's grandson, Bābur b. ʿUmar Shaykh [*q.v.*], founded the Mughal dynasty in 932/1526.

Bibliography: Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. M. ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1336/1957; Tādj al-Dīn Salmānī, *Shams al-ḥusn*, ed. and tr. H.R. Roemer, *Šams al-ḥusn. Eine Chronik vom Tode Tīmūrs bis zum Jahre 1409*, Wiesbaden 1956; Thomas of Metsopʿ, *History of Tīmūr*, Russian tr. T.I. Ter-Grigorian, Baku 1957; J.E. Woods, *Turco-Iranica II. Notes on a Timurid decree of 1396/798*, in *JNES*, xliii; idem, *The Aqqoyunlu. Clan, confederation, empire*, Minneapolis-Chicago 1976; H. Ritter, *Die Anfänge der Ḥurūfīsekte*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954).

(Beatrice Forbes Manz)

MIRʾĀT (a.) "mirror", pl. *marāʾī*, the noun of instrument from *raʾā* "to see".

The mirrors used by the Muslims were generally of polished metal, and specimens of these can be seen in museum collections [see MAʿDIN. 4. In Islamic art, (3)], but they do not seem to have been made the object of particular studies by historians of Islamic art. A long-lived tradition keeps up the remembrance of "burning mirrors" (*marāyā muḥriḳa* in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 217) as legendary as the revolving mirror which was set up on the Muḳaṭṭam hills [*q.v.*] in order to allow an official to follow the movements of Pharaoh between Heliopolis and Memphis (see al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, 325, ll. 6 ff., and see MANŪF). The mirror placed on top of the Pharos of Alexandria was designed to give information about enemies approaching by sea (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 439 = §841, and cf. MANĀR).

Within Islam, mirrors posed problems which belonged not only to the science of optics properly speaking, but also to philosophy, to such an extent that they early attracted the attention of scholars, thinkers and even of simple observers of natural phenomena. One of the first authors to have tackled this question was, it seems, al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9 [*q.v.*]), who, in his *K. al-Tarbīʿ wa ʾl-tadwīr*, ed. Pellat, §§ 167 ff., puts a series of questions to his correspondent about mirrors and reflecting surfaces; he asks him why running water does not retain images and why certain mirrors gave back a reversed image; he further questions him about the nature of these images and begs him to inform him whether it is a question here of accidents or substances, of real objects or those produced by imagination, and further, whether these images blot out the shape and colour of the surface which they occupy on the mirror. These topics have arisen in the author's mind partly through his adhesion to the Muʿtazilī doctrine which holds that two bodies cannot occupy the same space (see e.g. A.N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956, 166-7) and partly through his desire to place the person challenged who, being a Shīʿī, is required to put forward a similar view. In addition, for the Shīʿa, the comparison between the epiphanic (*maẓhariyya*) function and that "of a mirror where the image appears but does not have substance" (H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 94-5) seems to hold a certain importance (see the translation of the *Tarbīʿ* in *Arabica*, xiv [1967], by M. Adad, 306 n. 2, who cites this last passage and another text by Corbin).

Al-Djaḥiẓ does not provide any answers to the questions which he poses and it would probably be difficult to find any precise information on them, but some indications can be found in later works, especially in the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* of al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283 [*q.v.*]), who gives the impression of echoing current conceptions whilst at the same time having in mind the problems set forth in the *Tarbīʿ* (see ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849, 95-7, ed. Cairo 1376/1956, 64-5). For this author, "what one sees in a mirror does not have any reality, for if this were the case, an observer who moves his position would see the object in question stay in the same place, whereas this is not in fact what happens ... It is thus established that what one sees in a mirror ... comes under the heading of an illusion (*khayāl*); here the *khayāl* consists in seeing the image of an object mixed up with that of another thing, deriving from it the illusion that one of them is penetrating into the other, whilst in reality, it is nothing of the sort; in reality, one of them is seen through the mediation of the other without being fixed in it." Al-Ḳazwīnī does not use the words *ʿaraḍ* "accident" and *djawhar* "substance", but he gives a clear reply to the questions put by al-Djāḥiẓ in this connection.

From the optical point of view, the mathematician and physicist Ibn al-Haytham (d. 430/1039 [*q.v.*]) devoted several works to the scientific problems posed by mirrors and, in a general manner, made some progress in the study of optics without, however, modifying the popular conceptions which were current at his time. Certainly, al-Ḳazwīnī explains exactly how a ray of light emanating from a luminous body falls on to a polished object, from which it is reflected and goes on to touch another object whose position, in relation to the reflecting surface, is the same as that of the luminous body, but from the opposite side; in these conditions, the angle of reflections is equal to that of incidence.

Likewise, the object and the observer who wishes to see it in a mirror must be symmetrically placed so that *the first is reached by a ray leaving the eye of the second.* The Muslims in effect adopted this conception which the mathematician and physicist Ibn al-Haytham (d. 430/1039 [*q.v.*]) had however refuted long before al-Ḳazwīnī's time. The latter nevertheless remarks that the ray in question is purely imaginary, whilst that emanating from a luminous object is in fact real, but the persistence of the idea of the ray of vision is probably due in part to the belief in the evil eye [see ʿAYN].

Lecanomancy (see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, index, s.v.) was practised by diviners who, according to Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 194, tr. de Slane, i, 221-2, tr. Rosenthal, i, 216-17), occupied an inferior rank, since they were forced to concentrate all their perceptions into one sense. They stare fixedly at a mirror until a screen appears on which are pictured the forms which they desire to see and which allow them to give indications about what they wish to know. In this condition, they do not see what is in reality depicted in the mirror, and the new manner of perception which originates in them operates "not by means of vision, but in the psyche".

Finally, one may note that the word *mirʾāt* figures in a fairly considerable number of titles of works (from *Mirʾāt al-ʿadjāʾib* to *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, amounting to more than a column in the index of book titles in Brockelmann), with a meaning fairly close to that of *speculum* in mediaeval European times. Similarly, the daily and the periodical press uses this term which, in 1947, formed part of at least seven titles (see Ch. Pellat, *Note sur les titres des périodiques arabes*, in *En Terre d'Islam*, 1947/2, 144).

Bibliography: Given in the article. The work by Diocles on burning mirrors, the Greek original of which is lost, has been preserved in Arabic translation (see Diocles, *On burning mirrors*, ed. with tr. and comm. by G.J. Toomer, 1976). (CH. PELLAT)

MĪRĀTH (A.), Inheritance (pl. *mawārīth*); *wārith* the heir, *mūrith* the person leaving the estate. This branch of Islamic law is also called *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ* "the science of the ordained quotas" (cf. sūra IV, II) after its most important and most difficult part.

1. In pre-modern times

i. In keeping with the patriarchal system prevailing among the Arabs, the estate of a deceased tribesman went *ab intestato* to the nearest male relative(s); the order of succession in which these relatives, the so-called *ʿaṣaba* (corresponding to *agnati*), were called upon to inherit survives and is systematised in Muslim law. Minors—being incapable of bearing arms—were excluded from the succession, as were female relatives; widows also were not entitled to inherit, and originally presumably themselves formed a part of the

estate, a view which survived in the levirate marriage usual among the Arabs, to which sūra IV, 19, refers in forbidding it. There is no evidence of any preferential treatment of the first-born, which we find elsewhere in Semitic law. This, the original legal position, had by Muḥammad's time certainly altered somewhat in favour of women; in cases where the deceased left no male relatives, his daughters seem frequently to have obtained the estate; but woman had by no means equal treatment with man, as is clear from the Ḳurʾānic regulations. In addition to these principal heirs, the pre-Islamic Arabs had also secondary heirs who correspond to the later so-called quota-heirs (*dhawu 'l-farāʾiḍ*) and received a part of the estate, the bulk of which went to the *ʿaṣaba*. From sūras II, 180, and IV, 33, which confirm this arrangement, we can see that these included the parents, the "relatives"—apparently so far as they were not *ʿaṣaba*—and the so-called confederates (*ḥalīf*, plur. *ḥulafāʾ*); the settlement of the portions falling to them was done—at least in part—according to the last will of the testator. All this has its parallels in the development of a "mitigated agnatic succession" among other peoples.

ii. The Ḳurʾān modified this system considerably in details, the main point being the improvement in the treatment of women here as well as with regard to the laws of family life generally; at the same time, there is a clear endeavour to fix in legal form the practice which had varied considerably in heathen times. One provision which had been made under special circumstances was abandoned later on: immediately after the *hidjra*, it had been ordered that those who migrated with the Prophet (the *muhādjirūn*) and the believers in Medina (the *anṣār*) should regard themselves as brethren and therefore inherit from one another [see MUʾĀKHĀT], while all bonds of relationship between the *muhādjirūn* and their relatives left in Mecca, even if they were believers, were to be regarded as broken (sūra VIII, 72, with the limitation imposed in VIII, 75); but this was expressly revoked by XXXIII, 6. Tradition regards this fraternisation as a special case of confederacy (*ḥilf*). For the rest, the Ḳurʾān in the first Medina period confirmed the system of secondary heirs and the whole general practice in regard to inheritance (sūra II, 180, is probably to be dated before Ramaḍān of the year 2, and IV, 33, cannot be much later); that II, 180, expressly makes the fair treatment of the secondary heirs a duty, already reveals the direction which later ordinances were to take. Connected with this is the probably contemporary II, 240, which secures the wife, if she survives her husband, a legacy of maintenance for a year. Not much later, about the year 3, is IV, 19: "Ye who believe, it is not lawful for you to inherit women against their will"; this is not meant as a regular legal ordinance, but is part of the Ḳurʾānic endeavour to improve the position of women. Very soon after the battle of Uḥud, when numerous Muslims had fallen, we have—as a result of it—the final Ḳurʾānic ordinance of IV, 7-14: "To the men belongs a share of what their parents and kindred leave, and to the women belongs a share of what their parents and kindred leave—whether it be little or much—as a determined share. 8. If the next of kin (not entitled to inherit), the orphans and the poor are present at the division, give them some of it and speak kindly to them (verses 9-10 go on to deal with the treatment of orphans). 11. Allāh ordains for you, concerning your children, (as follows): for the male the like of the portion of two females; but if there are (only) females (and) more than two, two-thirds of the estate belongs to them and if there is (but) one (female) to her belongs the half. And the parents shall each have a sixth of the estate if (the deceased) has children, and if he has no children and (only) his parents inherit from him, his mother shall have a third. But if he has brothers, his mother shall have a sixth. (All this) after deducting a bequest he may have made or a debt. Ye know not whether your parents or your children be nearest to you in usefulness. (This is) an ordinance of Allāh, and Allāh is knowing and wise. 12. To you belongs the half of the estate of your wives, if they have no children; but if they have children, a fourth of their estate belongs to you—after deducting a bequest they may have made or a debt. To them belongs a fourth of your estate, if you have no children; but if you have children an eighth of your estate belongs to them—after deducting a bequest you may have made or a debt. If a man or a woman leaves an estate without having a direct heir (i.e. son or father), but has a brother or a sister, each shall have a sixth; but if there are more than that, they shall share a third after deducting a bequest he may have made or debt, without prejudice. (This is) an ordinance of Allāh, and Allāh is knowing and gracious" (vv. 13-14 contain promises and threats). As the settlement of the succession in indirect lines left questions undecided, IV, 176, supplemented the above: "They will ask thee for a decision. Say: Allāh gives you the following decision concerning the succession of those who have died without direct heirs: if a man dies and has no children, but has a sister, half of the estate belongs to her and he is her heir if she has no children; if there be two sisters, two-thirds of the estate belongs to them; but if there be both brothers and sisters, the male shall have like the portion of two females."

The object of these regulations is simply to supplement the law regarding the rights of the *ʿaṣaba*; they are not a reorganisation of the whole law. Each of the persons named is therefore only allotted a definite portion; the remainder, and this, as a rule the major portion, of the estate, falls as before to the *ʿaṣaba*. Female relatives thus generally receive half the share of male relatives of the same degree. The quotas here given abolished the testamentary settlement of the portions usual in the heathen period, which was still approved by II, 180; this is the historical starting point for the tradition—early interpreted in another sense—that a legacy in favour of the heirs is not valid. II, 240, is probably rightly regarded as abrogated by the settling of the widow's portion. There is a slight difficulty in interpretation only in IV, 12; but there can be no doubt that this passage refers to half-sisters on the mother's side, as indeed it has always been interpreted; the text of Ubayy even inserts an addition to this effect. The verse IV, 176, on the other hand refers to full sisters. In IV, II, "more than two" is to be interpreted, as the sense requires, as "two and more".

iii. The full details which tradition is able to give regarding the causes of the revelation of the regulations on the law of inheritance are not historical; on internal grounds, all we can say is that it took place soon after the battle of Uḥud. The numerous *ḥadīths* which simply repeat the Ḳurʾānic regulations may be neglected here. Tradition can only record very few actual divergences from the prescriptions of the Ḳurʾān; one of these is that a woman received back as her inheritance a slave whom she had presented to her mother and who represented the latter's whole estate. According to another story, the Prophet is said to have laid down that the wives of the *muhādjirūn* should inherit the house of their husbands. While nothing

can be quoted in favour of the first *ḥadīth*, the second, which does not seem to be intended as a foundation for any legal clause, may have a kernel of historical truth in it.

iv. The prescriptions of the Ḳurʾān are supplemented and developed in countless traditions, among which a comparatively large number relate not to decisions of the Prophet himself, but of his Companions; in reality they must not even be regarded as that, but only as anonymous evidence of the first developments of the Ḳurʾānic law of inheritance. At this stage of development, it is already firmly established that an unbeliever cannot inherit from a Muslim; the right of a Muslim to inherit from an unbeliever is finally also denied, although there is some opposition to this view. Excluded from the right of inheritance is also one who has killed the proprietor of the estate, at least if the slaying was deliberate (with *ʿamd*; cf. KATL). That a slave has no right of inheritance is taken for granted. Legal relationship is necessary for the right of inheritance; thus illegitimate children or those whose paternity has been disputed by *liʿān* [*q.v.*] have no legal claim on the estates of their father and his relations. The *mawlā* [*q.v.*] is annexed to the *ʿaṣaba*: the patron and the manumitted slave inherit from one another, and according to one view, the same right is even granted to the man before whom the person concerned has adopted Islam, who is also called *mawlā*. After the *mawlā* come—although some oppose this—the *dhawu ʾl-arḥām*, i.e. persons related to the legator in the female line, whose representative is usually the *khāl* or maternal uncle. In case all these heirs should not exist, the fellow-tribesmen are named. With certain modifications which occur again in the later teaching, a son's daughters are treated like daughters, and grandparents like parents, but this regulation only won recognition after opposition and varying practice in details. There arises the problem of the share of the grandfather beside the brothers, which goes back to his varying position in the series of the *ʿaṣaba*; along with other views, we find quoted also the one that later prevailed, but it does not seem to be the earliest. The Ḳurʾān lays down that before dividing the estate the amount of any legacies and debts should be deducted; in early times—probably in literal interpretation of the Ḳurʾānic passages—the legacies were often given preference to debts; after some opposition, the opposite teaching prevailed. The *diya* [*q.v.*] to be paid for a slain man should be subject to the usual rules as part of his estate; but in early times, the wife was not allowed a share in the *diya* of her slain husband, which goes back to old Arab conceptions of the family; the other view ultimately prevailed. The eager interest taken in early Islam in the law of inheritance is reflected in *ḥadīth*; there are traditions in which the Prophet orders the law of inheritance to be taught and learned, calls it "the half of knowledge" on account of its difficulty, and expresses the fear that this subject, so difficult to remember, might disappear from the memory of his community.

v. The following are the principles of the law of inheritance in the fully-developed *fiḳh* according to the Shāfiʿī teaching.

a. The law of intestacy in general. There is no fusion between the property of the deceased and that of the heir; the creditors of the estate can therefore only assert their claims against the estate. In addition to obligations entered into by the deceased, the debts of the estate include the funeral expenses and the religious duties omitted by the deceased, so far as they consist of concrete things (e.g. neglected fasts [*ṣawm*]) or can be carried through at the expense of the estate by a deputy (e.g. the *ḥadjdj* omitted without good reason). After the debts any legacies have to be paid [see WAṢIYYA]; the remainder passes to the heirs. A necessary condition for inheriting is that the heir has survived the deceased; in doubtful cases, when persons who would inherit from one another have died without its being certain who died first, as a rule no inheritance passes between them. The heir must also have existed when the testator died; only in the case where a man leaves a pregnant widow or *umm al-walad*, is a child's share reserved for the unborn child. Excluded from succession are the following: one who has caused the death of the deceased, the *murtadd*, an unbeliever from the succession to a Muslim and vice-versa, the *ḥarbī* (the unbelieving member of a state with which the Muslim stands in no treaty relation) and the slave. The *ʿaṣaba* are the normal heirs; inheritance by others is only an exception; so the *ʿaṣaba* receive the whole estate after the deduction of the portions for the quota-heirs. If there are no *ʿaṣaba*, the remainder of the estate goes to the state treasury (*bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*]; a notable change from the view found in traditions), on the condition that it is administered according to law for the benefit of the Muslims; otherwise, the quota-heirs receive the remainder of the estate in proportion to their quotas by the so-called law of reversion (*radd*), with the exception of the widower or widow. Only if there are neither *ʿaṣaba* nor quota-heirs and the state treasury is not being administered in accordance with the law are the *dhawu ʾl-arḥām*—i.e. persons related to the deceased in the female line as well as those female relatives who cannot be quota-heirs—called upon to inherit. If there are none of these relatives, any Muslim may take possession of the estate if he is capable and ready to administer it for the general good of Muslims.

b. Succession of the *ʿaṣaba*. The *ʿaṣaba* are called upon to inherit in the following order: 1. The male descendants of the deceased in the male line, a nearer excluding the more distant relatives from the succession. 2. The nearest male relative in the ascending male line with the provision that the father, but not the grandfather (and the remoter ascendant) of the deceased inherits before his brothers. 3. The nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the father: first the full brother, then the half-brother on the father's side, then the descendants of the full brother, then those of the half-brother on the father's side. 4. The nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the grandfather (as under 3), etc. 5. Lastly, the *mawlā*, i.e. the patron (or patroness), if the deceased was a freedman, and then his *ʿaṣaba*.—The brothers of the deceased inherit along with the grandfather as *ʿaṣaba* in equal shares, but if there are more than two brothers, the grandfather receives not less than one-third of what is to be divided between him and the brothers. If there are also quota-heirs, the grandfather is allowed in addition at least a sixth of the estate (which he would inherit as a quota-heir; cf. *c*, below). He can then choose the most favourable of the three arrangements.—Female *ʿaṣaba*. If the deceased left sons as well as daughters, they inherit jointly, the share of a son being twice as large as that of a daughter while the quota allotted to the daughters is dropped, as is intended by the spirit of the Ḳurʾānic law. The daughter who inherits along with a son is therefore also called *ʿaṣaba*. The daughter of a son of the legator is similarly treated, inheriting along with the son of a son; and likewise the full sister, who inherits along with a full brother; finally, also the

half-sister on the father's side, who inherits with a half-brother on the father's side.—If the full sister inherits along with a daughter of the deceased or of his son, they do not receive their quota, which in this case goes to the daughter or son's daughter, but the rest of the estate after deduction of all quotas that have to be paid.

c. Shares of the quota-heirs (*dhawu 'l-farā'iḍ*; cf. FARĀ'IḌ). It is true that in the Ḳur'ān only the daughters, parents, husband and wife, and brothers and sisters are allotted a quota, but the rules holding for the daughters have been extended to the daughters of the son and those for the parents to the grandparent; in addition, a distinction has been made among the sisters between the full sister, the half-sister on the father's side and the half-sister on the mother's side. The total number of quota-heirs has thus been raised to twelve: 1. The daughter is entitled to half the estate, two or more daughters get two-thirds, but if daughters inherit along with sons, they become *ʿaṣaba* (cf. *b*, above). 2. The daughter of a son is subject to the same rules as a daughter and takes her place in default of her; inheriting along with the son of a son, she becomes *ʿaṣaba*. As the son's daughter is related to the deceased through his son, she is excluded from participation when the son of a deceased inherits. A daughter, on the other hand, does not exclude directly a son's daughter from the succession; as however daughters and son's daughters together have only two-thirds of the estate as their quota, a son's daughter has only a sixth if there is one daughter, and nothing if there are two or more, unless she inherits in these cases along with a son's son as *ʿaṣaba*. 3. The father's quota is always a sixth of the estate; in addition, he is *ʿaṣaba* and receives also any residuum of the estate after deducting all quotas, unless there are male descendants of the deceased. 4. The paternal grandfather (in default of him, the remoter ascendant) also receives one-sixth of the estate as his quota, but is excluded by the father; he is also *ʿaṣaba* if there are no male descendants nor father of the deceased. But if, in this case, there are also brothers of the legator, he becomes *ʿaṣaba* along with them (on the share which falls to the grandfather in this case and in the case where there are also quota-heirs, cf. *b*, above). 5. The mother receives one-sixth of the estate if there are children, son's children or two or more brothers or sisters of the deceased; otherwise a third (in practice, the father in this case as a rule receives two-thirds, i.e. one-sixth as quota-heir and the rest as *ʿaṣaba*; in an exceptional case, cf. *d*, below). 6. The quota of the grandmother is always a sixth; from this, the mother's mother is excluded by the mother, and the father's mother by the father and mother; in default of grandmother, their place is taken by the remoter female ascendants of the deceased, so far as they are not related to him by a male descendant not entitled to inherit. 7. A full sister receives half, two or more such sisters receive together two-thirds of the estate; along with a full brother or the grandfather she becomes *ʿaṣaba* and receives the half of the brother's share; along with the daughter or son's daughter she becomes also *ʿaṣaba* (cf. *b*); sons, sons' sons and the father exclude her from succession. 8. The treatment of the half-sister on the father's side is similar to that of the full sister; along with a half-brother on the father's side or the grandfather, she becomes *ʿaṣaba*, and likewise with the daughter or son's daughter (cf. *b*); sons, sons' sons, father and full brothers exclude her from the succession. Full sisters exclude her only so far as daughters exclude son's daughters (cf. no. 2). 9 and 10. Each of the half-brothers on the mother's side receives a sixth, two or more together share a third among them; they are excluded from the succession by descendants and male ascendants. 11. The widower receives half of the estate, but only a quarter if there is a child or son's child; it is indifferent whether these are his own descendants or not. 12. The widow receives the half of what a widower would receive under the same circumstances; if the deceased leaves more than one widow, they share equally the quota allotted to the widow. During the *ʿidda* (period of waiting [*q.v.*]) after a revocable divorce or *ṭalāḳ* [*q.v.*], a man and woman are still regarded as man and wife for purposes of inheritance.

d. Exceptions from the general rules. Although the quota-heirs can never all inherit together and, in particular, most of the collateral relatives are excluded by those in the direct line, the number of qualified quota-heirs may sometimes be so large that the sum of their shares is larger than the whole estate; in this case, their shares are proportionately reduced (by *ʿawl*). Otherwise, the concurrence of a number of heirs necessitates no change from the main rules, except in a few particular cases which have special names; these are cases in which, if the main rules were strictly carried through, the inheritances would be in a proportion to one another which would be contrary to the spirit of the law. E.g. in the case of the so-called *gharībatān:* if someone dies leaving a husband or wife and both parents, the mother would receive in any case a third, the father's share however, which is usually two-thirds (cf. *c*, 5, above), would be here reduced by the quota either of the widow or of the widower; according to tradition, it was ʿUmar who decided in this case that father and mother should share, in the proportion of two to one, what remains after deducting the portion of the widow or widower. Another case, the so-called *musharraka*, is that in which a wife leaves her husband, her mother, two or more half-brothers on the mother's side and also one or more full brothers; as the quotas in this case make up the whole estate, nothing would be left for the full brothers as *ʿaṣaba* in this case, which is also said to have been decided by ʿUmar; the law lays down that the full brothers have the same rights as the half-brothers so that all inherit in equal shares the third originally set aside for the half-brothers.

vi. The most important points of difference among the *madhāhib* are the following. Unbelievers who belong to different religions cannot inherit from one another according to Mālik and Ibn Ḥanbal, but they can according to Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī. There are contradicting views regarding inheritance from the *murtadd*. One who has deliberately (with *ʿamd*) and illegally killed the proprietor of the estate, is, by unanimous agreement, excluded from inheriting. Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Ḥanbal, but not Malīk, also exclude one who has killed him without design (with *khaṭaʾ* [*q.v.*]. One who is partly a slave can, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, neither inherit nor be inherited from; according to Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Yūsuf, al-Shaybānī and al-Muzanī, he does so in the proportion he is free. The so-called law of reversion to the quota-heirs if there are no *ʿaṣaba* (cf. v *a*, above), as well as the precedence of the *dhawu 'l-arḥām* and the treasury if there are no quota-heirs, is disputed among the *madhāhib*. The paternal grandmother is not excluded from the succession by the father, according to Ibn Ḥanbal only; in his view, in this case she inherits a sixth either alone or shared equally with the mother. There are delicate points of difference regarding the succession of the remote female ascendants. One who is entitled to receive a

quota from more than one side inherits, according to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, only on ground of "stronger" relationship, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Ibn Ḥanbal on ground of both respects; in the case of two cousins on the father's side, of which one is also the brother on the mother's side, the latter, it is unanimously agreed, receives a sixth and the remainder falls to the two as *ʿaṣaba* in equal portions, while Abū Thawr makes him inherit the whole. In the special case of the so-called *musharraka*, Mālik's view agrees with that of al-Shāfiʿī (cf. v *d*, above), according to Abū Ḥanīfa and his fellows, Ibn Ḥanbal and Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī, the full brothers actually receive nothing.

vii. *a.* The law of inheritance with the Imāmīs (Twelver Shīʿīs) is based on the same principles as that of the Sunnīs, but in its final development shows a number of quite important features of its own, which for the greatest part are but the consequences of their dogmatic-political doctrines (ʿAlī and Fāṭima had to be the only heirs of the Prophet, excluding Ibn ʿAbbās), and partly already expressed in the traditions or result from the rejection of certain *ḥadīths* by the Shīʿa. Among the main divergences are the ignoring of the *ʿaṣaba* and the constitution of one group of "heirs by relationship", which is divided into three classes: 1. the ascendants in the first degree and the descendants; 2. the other ascendants in the first degree; 3. the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts. Each of these classes excludes the following ones from the succession, and within the two categories of the two first classes, the relative of the nearer degree excludes all others of a remoter degree of relationship, i.e. for example, the daughter excludes the son's son; within the third class, a distinction into degrees is made between the uncles and aunts of the deceased himself and their descendants, the uncles and aunts of his parents and their descendants, etc., and here also the member of a nearer degree excludes those of a remoter degree. An exception which finds its explanation only in the individual case of the heirs of the Prophet, is that the son of the father's full brother excludes one (but no more than one) half-brother (on the father's side) of the father, if there are no other uncles. Within the same degree, the full relatives (male or female) exclude all relatives on the father's (not the mother's) side, e.g. full sisters exclude half-brothers; the relatives on the mother's side are excluded by all other relatives of the same degree only from a share in the "reversion" of the estate. If relatives, whose relationships with the deceased are traced through different persons, inherit jointly, the proportion of their shares is settled by the (hypothetical) shares of the persons through whom they are related to the deceased; if, for example, paternal and maternal uncles inherit together, the former divide two-thirds of the estate (i.e. the father's hypothetical share), the latter a third (i.e. the mother's hypothetical share). This idea of "representation" reappears in one of the Sunnī theories on the succession of the *dhawu 'l-arḥām*. The rules applying to the brothers and sisters of the deceased are also applied to his father's brothers and sisters and so on, if the latter are called upon to inherit; if, for example, father's full brothers and sisters, and father's brothers and sisters on the mother's side exist together, the latter are not excluded by the former but receive a third which is divided equally among them (if there is only one, a sixth), and the former receive the remaining two-thirds (or five-sixths as the case may be), of which each uncle gets twice the share of an aunt; the process is similar when their children take the place of uncles and aunts. The grandfather (and if the case arises the remoter ascendants) always inherits equally with the brothers of the legator. Within homogeneous groups, the male inherits double as much as the female, so far as there are no special regulations to the contrary; for the rest, the male relative on the father's side is not especially privileged before the others, as among the Sunnīs. Besides these "heirs by relationship", there are "heirs for special reasons", i.e. husband and wife, and the patron (*mawlā*), namely 1. a patron who has freed the deceased from slavery; 2. a patron before whom the legator has become a Muslim, or who has pledged himself to pay the *diya* for him (this idea is also attested in the traditions and is to be found sporadically among the Sunnī authorities); 3. the *imām*, who here takes the place of the state treasury, and who, as the general patron of all Muslims, is entitled to inherit in the last resort.—In both main groups there are "simple" heirs, and such as have a claim to a Ḳurʾānic quota. If the estate does not suffice to satisfy all the quotas, the shares are correspondingly reduced to the paternal relatives only, never to the maternal. What is left over after satisfying the quotas is given to the simple "heirs by relationship" according to the above rules; if they do not exist, the quota-heirs, with the exception of the husband or wife, receive the residuum also; if there are no "heirs by relationship" at all, the patrons come in, in the order given.

These general rules are sufficient to cause the distribution of an estate often to look very different among the Shīʿīs from among the Sunnīs. There are in addition differences in detail, of which the most important are the following. The Muslim does inherit from the unbeliever; unbelievers of all sects inherit from one another. In determining the portion of the childless widow, the landed property of the deceased is not taken into account. If the sole existing heir is a slave, he is purchased at the expense of the estate (his owner cannot refuse to sell him), and thus becomes free and inherits what is left; if the parents of the deceased are slaves, they must in all cases be purchased at the expense of the estate, and according to some, the children also. The part-slave inherits to the degree in which he is free. One who has a claim to an inheritance from two sides inherits on both grounds. There are no legal relationships between an illegitimate child and his mother and her relatives, only between him and his descendants; if there are none, the estate goes to the *imām*. In the special case of the so-called *gharībatān* (cf. above, v *d*), there is no divergence from the general principles.—On the whole, the Shīʿī law of inheritance diverges further from the old Arab pre-Islamic principles than the Sunnī doctrine in opposition to which it has been elaborated.

b. The law of inheritance of the Shīʿī Zaydīs resembles rather closely the system of the Sunnīs, which has influenced its origins.

c. The most important peculiarities of the law of inheritance among the Khāridjī Ibāḍīs are the following: the paternal grandfather inherits as quota-heir a sixth of the estate if there are descendants of the deceased; otherwise, he inherits as *ʿaṣaba*, thus excluding the brothers. The half-sister on the mother's side is assimilated to the half-sister on the father's side if neither this relative nor a full sister exists. The grandmother is only excluded by the mother. Female descendants, like husband or wife, have no share in the "reversion" of the estate. Manumission confers no rights of inheritance. If there

are no heirs at all, the estate is given away in charity. The special case of the so-called *musharraka* is settled as among the Shāfiʿīs (cf. v *d*, above).—The dependence of this system on the Sunnī one is apparent.

viii. The law of inheritance, as a branch of family law and as possessing a peculiarly religious character from its very full regulation in the Ḳurʾān, has always been one of the chapters of Muslim law most carefully observed in practice [see ʿĀDA and SHARĪʿA]. As in the long run it must lead inevitably to the splitting up of even the largest estates, various endeavours have been made to avoid this result, which was considered undesirable. A method, frequently adopted, was to constitute considerable portions of the estate as religious endowments [see WAḲF], the proceeds of which could be disposed of by the grantor as he pleased; but most endowments in course of time became much broken up or were completely alienated. Another way adopted, for instance in Indonesia, is, in keeping with the local *ʿāda*, to admit only a portion of the actual estate to division among the heirs; sometimes an estate is divided already during the lifetime of its possessor by gift or friendly arrangement, and not infrequently some member of the family, according to circumstances, simply takes over the estate and obligations of the deceased. In particular, landed property is often taken out of the control of Muslim law. Women are excluded from inheritance by customary law in many Muslim countries, as among the Berbers, in parts of India and in China. Different expedients (*ḥiyal* [*q.v.*]) which might serve to evade the Muslim rules of inheritance found their way into literature already at an early period.

Bibliography: For section 1: Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage*, 2nd ed., 65 ff. — For section 2 (chronology of the Ḳurʾān verses): Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i (partly different from the explanations given above); F. Peltier and G.-H. Bousquet, *Les successions agnatiques mitigées* (also for the subsequent development). — For sections 3 and 4: Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v. HEIRS; Peltier, *Le Livre des Testaments du "Çaḥîḥ" d'el-Bokhârî*; al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, in the *Kitāb al-farāʾiḍ*. — For sections 5 and 6 (for the older period, the two recensions of Mālik's *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* are an especially valuable source): Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche wet*, 3rd ed., 241 ff.; Sachau, *Muhammedanische Recht*, 181 ff. (Shāfiʿī); Baillie, *The Moohummudan law of inheritance*; idem, *A digest of Moohummudan law*, i, 2nd ed.; G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, 90 ff. (Ḥanafī); Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Guidi and Santillana; Sánchez Pérez, *Partición de herencias entre los Musulmanes* (Mālikī); Hirsch, *Abd ul Kadir Muhammad: Wissenschaft des Erbrechts* (Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī). — For sections 5-7: Vesey-Fitzgerald, *Muhammadan law*, 111 ff. — For section 7*a*: Querry, *Droit musulman*, ii, 326 ff.; Baillie, *Digest*, ii. — For section 7*b*: Bergsträsser, in *OLZ*, xxv, 124; Strothmann, in *Isl.* xiii, 36 ff. — For section 7*c*: Sachau, in *SB Pr.Ak.W.* (1894), 159 ff. — For section 8: Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 250 ff.; *REI*, i, 47 ff.; ii, 502 ff.; v, 1 ff.; vi, 158 ff.; *OM* (1937), 541; Hamid Ali, in *IC*, xi, 354 ff., 444 ff. — On the topic in general, see also Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. 3 "Religion and laws"; T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, 207-11; W. Marçais, *Les parents et alliés successibles en droit musulman*, Rennes 1898; E. Viala, *Le mécanisme du partage des successions en droit musulman*, Alger 1917; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*[2], Paris 1948, 20 ff.; A. Kennett, *Bedouin justice, law and customs among the Egyptian Bedouin*, Cambridge 1925, 98-106; R. Roberts, *The social laws of the Qoran*, London 1925, 61-9; A.D. Russell and A.M. Suhrawardy, *An historical introduction to the law of inheritance*, London n.d.; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Muslim institutions*, London 1950, 139-43; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 144-9, 191; I. Mahmud, *Muslim law of succession and administration*, Karachi 1958; A.A.A. Fyzee, *The Fatimid law of inheritance*, in *SI*, ix (1958), 61-9; G.-H. Bousquet, *Le droit musulman*, Paris 1963, 147-59; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 169-74 and bibl. at 280-1; N.J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, index.

(J. SCHACHT)

2. In modern Islamic countries.

i. In recent years, dissatisfaction with the traditional law of inheritance has increased, the main criticism being lack of harmony between the legal norm, adapted to the patrilineal extended family, and changing social conditions; discrimination, as to rights in the estate, against women and cognates; and rigidity of the Sunnī system of inheritance, which does not allow one to freely dispose of one's estate after one's death. Recent reforms are mainly inspired by a desire to strengthen the rights of succession of heirs within the nuclear family.

The juristic basis of the reforms was provided by a wide gamut of methods, the most important of which were the "selection" device (*takhayyur* and its extension, *talfīḳ*) and "modernistic" interpretation (neo-*idjtihād*) of the textual sources [see MAḤKAMA, section 4.X].

Relevant legislation: *Sudan* - Judicial circulars of 1925, 1939, 1945; *Egypt* - Law of Inheritance, 1943; Law of Testamentary Dispositions, 1946; *Syria* - Law of Personal Status, 1953; *Iraq* - Law of Personal Status, 1959, amendments thereto, 1963, 1978; *Jordan* - Law of Personal Status, 1976; *Palestine and Israel* - Succession Ordinance, 1923; Women's Equal Rights Law, 1951; Succession Law, 1965; *Tunisia* - Law of Personal Status, 1956; supplement thereto, 1959; *Morocco* - Code of Personal Status, 1958; *Pakistan* - Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961; *Somalia* - Family Law, 1975.

ii. The rights of the heirs within the nuclear family have been strengthened. India (after partition Pakistan), the Sudan (1925) and Jordan adopted the rule that the spouse relict should take the whole estate, by way of *radd* "return", in the absence of any other legal heir, while Egypt (1943) and Syria give the spouse relict priority also over relatives of the outer family. Tunisia adopted the doctrine of *radd* with important deviations: the spouse relict is entitled to participate in the residual estate along with other Ḳurʾānic heirs, provided no male agnate, daughter or agnatic granddaughter survives (but she is still not debarred from *radd* in the presence of a relative of the outer family). The same rule, with minor variations, was adopted in Jordan. In Israel (1965), the spouse relict has priority over all other heirs.

In ʿIrāḳ and Tunisia, a daughter excludes the deceased's collateral from the succession. In ʿIrāḳ (1963), this was the result of the application of the Shīʿī system of priorities to all ʿIrāḳīs. The Sunnīs, however, still apply their own principles of distribution within the Shīʿī order of priorities.

In both ʿIrāḳ (1978) and Tunisia (1959), if the deceased leaves no son, the daughter alone, when in competition with other Ḳurʾānic heirs, is entitled to

take the residue of the estate by *radd*. In their absence, she takes the whole estate. In Tunisia, she maintains this preferential right even in the presence of collaterals.

Jordan has adopted the rule that germane brothers participate in the uterine brothers' third of the estate if the estate is exhausted by the Ḳurʾānic heirs (the "case of the donkey").

The Sudan (1939, 1945), Egypt (1943) and Syria (with some variations) adopted a system which admits agnatic brothers and sisters to the succession along with the grandfather. ʿIrāḳ (1959) adopted a European system of succession under which any brother or sister of the deceased totally excluded the grandfather. This system was abolished in 1963.

iii. The most important reform in the position of the heirs of the outer family was introduced in ʿIrāḳ (1963) when the S͟hīʿī law of inheritance, which has a totally different order of priorities, was made applicable to all ʿIrāḳīs. Other important reforms have been effected through the device of "obligatory bequests" and the principle of representation succession (see section iv, below). Further minor reforms were introduced in Egypt (1943) and Syria following the adoption of the *per capita* doctrine.

iv. Unlike the traditional formalities, Egypt (1946), Syria, Tunisia (1956) and ʿIrāḳ (1959) made it obligatory to prove bequests by documentary evidence; the age of capacity for making a bequest has been raised in those countries and also in India and Pakistan; both Egypt and Syria permit bequests in favour of legatees not yet born at the time of the testator's death; they also adopt a more restrictive attitude as to stipulations which the testator may impose with regard to the conduct of a beneficiary.

One of the most significant reforms departing from the Sunnī philosophy of succession is the rule, so far adopted only by the Sudan (1945), Egypt (1946) and ʿIrāḳ, that a bequest in favour of a legal heir is no longer *ultra vires* provided it does not exceed the "bequeathable third". This rule fits in with the S͟hīʿī doctrine. Syria has merely permitted a testator validly to apportion particular items of his estate to his heirs within the value of their shares in the inheritance.

Tunisia (1956) adopted a very bold innovation (as regards Mālikī law) by permitting a person who leaves no heir to bequeath the whole of his estate notwithstanding the succession rights of the Treasury. ʿIrāḳ (1959), on the other hand, enacted that the state was the sole heir under such circumstances.

The absence of the principle of representation, which under traditional law resulted in the total exclusion of orphaned grandchildren from the estate by any surviving son of the grandparent, has been remedied. In Egypt (1946), Syria, Morocco, Tunisia (1959) and Jordan it has been circumvented by the device of the "obligatory bequest" to orphaned grandchildren of what their deceased parent would have inherited had he (in Egypt and Tunisia, he or she) survived, provided that it does not exceed the "bequeathable third". Pakistan has solved the problem by adopting a comprehensive system of representation.

v. In Egypt (1943), Syria and Tunisia (1956, with minor variations), but not in ʿIrāḳ (1963) as far as the Sunnīs are concerned, deliberate homicide is now a bar to inheritance and testamentary succession. In Pakistan, homicide constitutes an impediment to inheritance only if it amounts to a criminal offence.

Difference of religion has ceased to be a bar to succession in British India (1850) and, following this lead, in Tanganyika (1923, 1947) and Nyasaland (1929), but not in the Middle East. It has never been a bar to the validity of a bequest. Apostasy is no longer a capital offence, but it is still a bar to inheritance, except in India and Pakistan (1850).

In Egypt (1943), difference of domicile is no longer a bar to inheritance between non-Muslim—and in Syria also Muslim—relatives unless the law of the non-Muslim state bars foreigners from inheriting from its nationals. The principle of reciprocity, in cases of difference of religion and nationality, has been extended to testamentary succession in Egypt (1946), Syria, Tunisia (1956) and ʿIrāḳ (1959).

vi. Since the Sunnī will is subject to the *ultra vires* doctrine, the family *waḳf* has become the chief instrument for circumventing the law of inheritance: Ḳurʾānic heirs are almost totally excluded from the estate; entitlement is transmitted according to the principle of representation; preference is given to agnates over cognates; the female in every generation benefits but may not transmit her share in the entitlement to her descendants.

Under these circumstances, Egypt (1946) and Lebanon (1947) have introduced the "obligatory entitlement" of legal heirs, equal to their rights of inheritance, to any *waḳf* in excess of one-third of the estate, the purpose being to bring the *waḳf* into greater conformity with the law of testate and intestate succession. The family *waḳf* was reduced to two series of beneficiaries and finally abolished altogether in Egypt, Syria and Tunisia [see WAḲF].

vii. Though some of the changes in the law of intestate and testate succession are of considerable importance, the major achievement has been the mere fact of codification. Some countries have effected revolutionary reforms, to the extent of complete equality of men and women and of agnates and cognates. But this legislation is a complete departure from the *s͟harīʿa*. It was brought about by adopting comprehensive systems of succession of European origin. The Ottoman Law of Succession, 1913, of German origin, at first applicable only to *mīrī* property, was adopted in Palestine (1923), Israel (1951, with the inclusion of *mulk* and movables) and ʿIrāḳ (1959-63). The Israeli Law of Succession, 1965, is applicable only in the civil courts. The Somalian Family Law, 1975, in inspired by Marxist ideology.

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(A. Layish)

MĪRATH (old Anglicised spelling Meerut), (i) a district in the modern province of Uttar Pradesh, India, immediately to the north-east of Dihlī, and entirely within the Djamnā-Ganges *dō'āb*. Its principal towns are Mīrath city itself; Sardhānā (the chief residence of the Begam Samrū, widow of the adventurer Walter Reinhardt called "Sombre"; see samrū); Ghāzīābād; Bafnāwā; and Hāpur, an important grain market. (ii) Mīrath city (29°0'N., 77°43'E.), a town of considerable antiquity.

The city was the site of a pillar of Ashoka, one of the two taken by Fīrūz Shāh the Tughluḳid to Dihlī, and within the town are Buddhist remains dating from the 3rd century B.C.; but since these are not mentioned by the Chinese travellers Fa-hsien (4th century) and Hsüan-tsang (7th century), there had probably been an early decay of Buddhist influence. A strong fort was built here in the 11th century by the Hindū ruler of Baran (= Bulandshahr), originally surrounded by a moat and a wall with eight gates (other gates were added in Muslim times); this was the fort captured from the Ḍoŕ Rādjpūts by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak in 588/1192, using this and the fort of Baran from which to overthrow the Gahaḍawāla Rādjpūts and make his assault on Dihlī. Mīrath remained in Muslim control through the early sultanate of Dihlī (the names of several *iḳṭā'dārs* are recorded by the chroniclers Minhādj, 'Iṣāmī, and Baranī); in 727/1326-7 the forces of the Mongol invader Tarmashīrīn were defeated at Mīrath; but by 802/1399 the city had been sacked and destroyed by Tīmūr.

There seems to have been some return to prosperity in Mughal times: the fort is mentioned in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. Mīrath was briefly a copper mint under Akbar, and the Mughal emperors seem to have taken some interest in the buildings (repair of Djāmi' mosque by Humāyūn; a couple of *dargāhs*, of Abū Yār Muḥammad Khān (1039/1629) and Abū Muḥammad Khān (1099/1688); the *maḳbara* of Shāh Pīr of 1038/1628 erected by the order of Nūr Djahān, a red sandstone bulding with the characteristic wide four-centred Mughal arch (photograph in *Meerut gazetteer*, UP Govt., Lucknow 1963); the presence of a *karbalā*, *ca.* 1009/1600, and two *imāmbārās*, indicates that some Shī'a settlement had taken place. In the early 12th/18th century, with the rise of the Sayyid brothers as kingmakers, there were many grants of land made in the Mīrath area, and there was some industry in the form of indigo-processing and in the manufacture of the fine lambswool *sānslā* blankets; but after the invasion of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], 1152/1739, the land fell into anarchy, and by the early years of the 19th century Mīrath was ruinous and depopulated. The considerable gain in British prestige after Lord Lake's success in the battle of Dihlī, 1803, led to the establishment of an extensive military cantonment at Mīrath (a tactical mistake, according to P. Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, OUP India 1973, 145, in that Dihlī itself was not strongly garrisoned and held), whereby the city regained its prosperity to the extent of securing a reputation as one of the best laid-out towns in Upper India. The events of 1857, when the mutiny of the Bengal army started in Mīrath, leading to the final loss of all power by the ruling Mughal house, do not concern us here. Many Muslims migrated to Pākistān after Partition in 1947, and the 1961 Census of India showed Mīrath with a Muslim population of only 20%, mostly Sunnī.

Monuments. Apart from those mentioned above, there are a few Muslim monuments, some of considerable antiquity, which have been but poorly described, and no photographs are available. The Djāmi' mosque, on the site of a former Buddhist temple, is said to have been erected in 410/1019 by Ḥasan Mahdī, a *wazīr* of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī; the *dargāh* of Makhdūm Shāh Wilāyat in the reign of Shihāb al-Dīn (= Mu'izz al-Dīn) Ghūrī; and the *maḳbara* of Sālār Mas'ūd by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak at the end of the 6th/12th century (since he was killed in battle at Bahrayč in 425/1034, and has cenotaphs in other Indian towns, this *maḳbara* may refer rather to his cult as a folk-divinity; see pandj pīr). The gazetteers mention some "scores of other temples and mosques, of no particular interest", but no-one seems to have looked at them to see: Mīrath, although only some 40 miles from Dihlī, seems to have been badly served by archaeologists. Other buildings within the district include the Begam Samrū's palace (Dilkusha Kōthī) of 1822, at Sardhānā; at Bafnāwā, on a (pre-Muslim) mound south of the town, are the *dargāhs* of Badr al-Dīn Shāh and Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn (undescribed) and the *maḳbara* of Pīr Sarwār, Persian inscr. dated 948 (= 1541-2).

Bibliography: There are sporadic references to Mīrath city and district in Minhādj-i Sirādj Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*; 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*; Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; information on all aspects of the city and district in the *District gazetteer of the United Provinces*, Meerut vol., and the corresponding vol. of the Uttar Pradesh Government, 1963. Useful account of city and district under the latter Mughals in Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, Cambridge 1951, repr. with new introd. OUP India 1973. Monuments: a few mentioned in A. Führer, *The monumental antiquities and inscriptions of the North-West provinces and Oudh* (= *ASI*, N.S. ii), 1891, s.v. Mīrath.

(J. Burton-Page)

al-**MIRBAD**, the name of a celebrated public place in al-Baṣra [*q.v.*] which, although situated outside the metropolis of southern 'Irāḳ, played an outstanding role in the economic life of that town as well as in the shaping of the specifically Arabic culture.

Etymologically, the term could be a noun of place anomalously formed from the root *r-b-d* which implies, amongst other things, the meaning of "to halt, make a stop" and could thus designate a spot where nomads encamp, and then, by extension, where camels and sheep are penned up. The various denotations of the word nevertheless cause a problem, since it is difficult to reduce them to a common element, even if the sense of "an open space where one puts out dates to dry" which it has at Medina (see Yāḳūt, iv, 484; *TA* and *LA* s.v.; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, tr. Huart, iv, 80) suggests one, which could possibly be that of "a flat piece of ground of varying size". But it may nevertheless be a simple proper noun, more or less artificially attached to a well-known root.

At Baṣra, the Mirbad was a market outside the town which formed the oldest commercial centre of the town; it extended along the edge of the desert, to the west of the urban agglomeration, and was originally separated from it by stretches of waste, empty land at a distance of 3 or 4 km away. However, the rampart built in 155/771-2 by Abū Dja'far al-Manṣūr (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 473-4) left it outside the town, but since Baṣra developed westwards in the normal course of events, the open space was fairly rapidly filled up, and the extensive open area, whilst retaining

its original character, became transformed into a flourishing suburb, which was connected by a wide street, along which lay buildings and which was oriented from west to east, via the Bāb al-Bādiya, to the town's centre and the port along the river (al-Furḍa). Whilst the Mirbad formed a market where the Bedouins came to sell their camels and sheep and a halting-place for the caravans which raised up clouds of dust, it appears that merchandise was forwarded via this street, intensifying an economic activity which had very quickly made necessary the construction, on the fringes of the market, of shops and workshops (such as those of the tanners on the desert side; see al-Ṭabarī, i, 3120).

Since the first ᶜAbbāsid governors of Baṣra had no suitable residence at their disposal, Sulaymān b. ᶜAlī, who was governor 133-9/781-6, went and took up his residence in the Mirbad (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 349; Yāḳūt, i, 643-4), an act which inevitably came to modify the appearance and the functions of the area, since other dwellings were now built. It was Djaᶜfar b. Sulaymān (governor *ca.* 176/792-3) who is said to have uttered this memorable saying: "ᶜIrāḳ is the heart (lit. "eye", *ᶜayn*) of the world, Baṣra is the heart of ᶜIrāḳ, the Mirbad is the heart of Baṣra, and my house is the heart of the Mirbad" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Buldān*, ed. Pellat 196, ed. Ṣ. al-ᶜAlī, 498, ed. Hārūn, *Rasāʾil*, iv, 139; Pellat, *Milieu*, 11 and refs. cited there). In the shadow of this dwelling, which must therefore have been in the southeastern part of the tract, the lizards' market (*sūḳ al-ḍibāb*) was held, which attracted the persons who loved these reptiles as delicacies (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 78), whilst behind it lay the house of Abū ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜAlāʾ (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 321).

This famous philologist (d. *ca.* 154/770 [*q.v.*]) was thus right on the spot for making linguistic enquiries from his informants, Bedouins who were either passing through or who had been recently sedentarised. It was in effect at this place that, during the very first centuries of Islam, a good part of the Arabic vocabulary was recorded, that the grammatical doctrines adopted by the Baṣran school were formulated and, in a more general fashion, that the "Arab humanities" were put together, since the poetical and historical traditions on which they were based were in major part gathered there. In this connection, al-Djāḥiẓ, in a well-known passage of his *Bayān* (iv, 23), notes the diversity of the texts gathered from their informants (*ruwāt*) by those enquirers installed either at the Mirbad (the *Mirbadiyyūn*) or in the Friday mosque (the *Masdjidiyyūn*), and stresses the variations of literary taste.

It was also there that, at an early date, poets whose talent posterity was subsequently to recognise, notably Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ (or also Dhū 'l-Rumma; see Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, Tunis 1386/1966, 32; idem, *Maṭmaḥ*, Beirut 1404/1983, 57), came to declaim their works and to engage in contests which delighted and informed a public of good judges. Al-Djāḥiẓ, in his *Ḥayawān* (vi, 239), informs us that Abū Nuwās himself used to come early in the morning to the Mirbad with his writing-tablet in the hope of meeting there some Bedouin who could communicate to him some vocabulary and some verses, and he was probably not the only person to adopt this course. Each poet or orator who was well-known had a special reserved place around which a regular group of hearers formed an attentive circle, one which was always ready to show its approval or its criticisms. In the absence of an official educational system, the Mirbad thus formed a kind of public educational establishment where not only philologists and poets presided but also traditionists, *muḥaddithūn*, who thereby earned through their assiduous attendance the *nisba* of al-Mirbadī (see Yāḳūt, iv, 484-5, and al-Samᶜānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, xii, 180-1, who mention several with this name).

At all events, one can easily picture the instructive spectacle which was offered to Baṣrans of an enquiring and observant nature by "the motley crowd of Bedouins and city-dwellers who busied themselves with their affairs, gave judgements in poetic contests or slipped themselves into the circles which grew up around scholars. It was probably there also [that one] could be present at performances of snake charmers and mountebanks of all kinds" (Pellat, *Milieu*, 245). The chief of the ᶜAbd al-Ḳays, al-Djārūd b. Abī Sabra, summed up in his own way the advantages of the Mirbad in strongly advising people to go there, since, he said (*Bayān*, i, 345), "it gives one ideas, clarifies one's vision, provides items of information and brings together Rabīᶜa and Muḍar."

It is a fact that the Mirbad was rarely the theatre for fights between different tribes or factions of Baṣra, and the confrontations which are mentioned do not seem to have been bloody. In 64/683, after the killing of Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr al-ᶜAtakī, who had been appointed governor over the town by ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, the combattants were prepared to fight there, but the paying out of the blood-price prevented the situation from deteriorating (version of al-Mubarrad, in *Kāmil*, i, 121 ff.; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 454; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivB, 98; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, 731). In 81 or 82/701-2, an episode in the struggle between al-Ḥadjdjādj and Ibn al-Ashᶜath [*q.vv.*] took place at the Mirbad, but of this, historical accounts have primarily preserved a speech of the rebel's (*Bayān*, ii, 155). Concerning the revolt of Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd Allāh (145/762 [*q.v.*]), there is mentioned in al-Djāḥiẓ's *K. al-Burṣān*, 100-1, a *yawm al-Mirbad*, otherwise unknown.

The decline of Baṣra, which began to be apparent from the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, does not seem gravely to have affected the Mirbad, where the various activities which had contributed to its fame still retained a certain vitality for a long time afterwards. Although this suburb was one of the points through which the Zandj [*q.v.*] attacked Baṣra in 257/871 and the place where they committed incendiary acts and pillaging (see A. Popovic, *La révolte des esclaves en Iraq au IIIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1976, 99), the rebels' depredations did not stop it from continuing to play its former role, as is particularly illustrated by the example of the baker-poet al-Khubzaʾaruzzī (d. 327-938 [*q.v.*]), whose shop was the place where a group of admirers met. It is even possible that this state of affairs lasted for several centuries, since Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) describes the Mirbads as forming in his time a kind of island in the midst of the desert, whilst the street which had formerly linked it with the town centre and the port was now, for the whole three miles of its length, nothing but a field of ruins.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the text, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 45; Ṣ.A. al-ᶜAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāᶜiyya wa 'l-iḳtiṣādiyya fi 'l-Baṣra*, Baghdād 1953, index; O. Scemama, *Le rôle du Mirbad de Bassora dans le conservatisme poétique jusqu'au début du IIIᵉ siècles*, in *IBLA*, xx (1957), 369-79; Ch. Pellat, *al-Djāḥiẓ wa 'l-Mirbad*, to appear.

(Ch. Pellat)

al-**MIRBĀṬ** (a. "place of securing, tying up, i.e. anchorage), a port of the South Arabian coast in Ẓufār [*q.v.*] (Dhofar), lying in 17°00'N. and 54°41'E., some 40 miles/70 km east of the modern town of Salāla [*q.v.*] in the Sultanate of Oman. Yāḳūt,

Buldān, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, v, 97, describes it as being five *farsakhs* from the town of Ẓufār (i.e. the modern al-Balīd) and as the only port of the coast of the region of Ẓufār; it had an independent *sulṭān*, and its hilly hinterland produced frankincense [see LUBĀN). In the early 19th century, its ruler was a corsair chief, Muḥammad b. ʿAḳīl, and the ruins of a fort built by him in 1806 were mentioned by J.G. Lorimer as still visible (*Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Oman and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, *IIB Geographical and statistical*, 1274-5). The population of the anchorage, well sheltered from the north-east monsoon, includes a high proportion of *sayyids*, and a notable feature of the place today is the shrine of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, *Ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ*, ancestor of the Bā ʿAlawī [*q.v.*] Ḥusaynī *sayyids* of Ḥaḍramawt; see G. Oman, *The burial stelae of Muhammad «Ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ»*, in *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, Naples 1982, 397-401.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MIRDĀS, BANŪ or **MIRDĀSIDS**, an Arab dynasty of Kilābī origin, founded by Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās. The latter and some of his descendants were, on several occasions between 415/1024 and 473/1080, either tolerated or recognised as princes of Aleppo. In succession to the Ḥamdānids, they maintained a tradition of autonomy in northern Syria, thanks to the tacit protection of the Byzantine Empire, which they accepted in order to ward off pressure from the Būyids of Baghdād and the Fāṭimids of Egypt. However, they did not hesitate on various occasions to launch a frontal attack, in general victoriously, on the heavily-laden Byzantine army and notably on the nearby garrison of Antioch, under Christian domination until 477/1084. The Turkish seizure of the region after 463/1071 was harsher for the Muslim Arabs than it was for the Christians.

From the Umayyad period, among the Ḳays tribes of Syria, the Banū Kilāb occupied an original place, both on account of their military ability and their wish to participate in maintaining order and administering the regions in which they lived. In 215/830, it was a *mawlā* of Kilāb whom the caliph al-Maʾmūn designated as *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo. In 328/939, the Ikhshīd Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj chose Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Kilābī as governor of Aleppo. The Kilāb of Nadjd then flooded into northern Syria and took possession of the region of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. In 333/944 the Ikhshīd appointed Aḥmad to Antioch and his brother Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān to Aleppo, provoking the jealousy of the other Kilāb chiefs who asked Sayf al-Dawla to come and install himself in Aleppo. ʿUthmān greeted Sayf al-Dawla and, sitting by his side in his *ʿammāriyya*, he presented him, village by village, with the country that he knew perfectly. The Kilāb fought alongside the ʿUḳayl, Kalb and Numayr in the Ḥamdānid ranks against the Ikhshīd Ibn Ṭughdj in 335/946.

In association with other tribes belonging to Ḳays, ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, ʿUḳayl, Numayr, Ḳushayr, Kināna, ʿAdjlān and Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir, in the 4th/10th century the Kilāb held the Syrian steppe lying between the loop of the Euphrates and the Aleppo-Ḳinnasrīn-Ḥamāt-Ḥimṣ highway, while tribes of Yemeni origin, such as the Kalb, held sway further south over the Raḥba-Tadmur-Ḥimṣ-Damascus route. The Arab tribes of Syria, who were experiencing considerable demographic growth and were hit by the rise in grain prices, were susceptible to Ḳarmaṭī propaganda denouncing the wealth of the urban Sunnī population and the luxury of the pilgrimage caravans. In northern Syria, the Arab tribes regularly invaded the cultivated lands around Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Ḥamāt and Salamiyya in order to seize cereals and wood for fuel and to pasture their flocks. Despite these exactions, their integration in the region was easy, for they shared the Shīʿī sympathies of the local population.

Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] the Ḥamdānid prince of Aleppo, succeeded, thanks to his light cavalry, in containing these attacks and repulsing the Bedouin in the steppe; by destroying their encampments and filling up their wells, he forced most of the tribes to cross the Euphrates and seek refuge in the Djazīra. Kilāb seems to have been the only tribe authorised to stay in the Aleppo region. Sayf al-Dawla was then able to devote himself to the defence of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and the western Djazīra against the Byzantine threat.

Sayf al-Dawla had just granted *amān* to the Kilāb when he died in 356/967. The Byzantines profited from his death to occupy Antioch in 358/969, and the Fāṭimids, who were installing themselves in Egypt, in 360/971 led a short-lived expedition into northern Syria. The power of Saʿd al-Dawla, Sayf al-Dawla's son, was even contested by his *ghulāms*. However, the peripheral position of the principality of Aleppo, at a distance from the three principal power centres of the age, Baghdād, Cairo and Constantinople, allowed the dynasty to survive for a half-century after the disappearance of its founder. The Kilāb took part, in one camp or another, in various military operations oppositing the Ḥamdānid princes and their competitors. In the event of victory, they expected their ally to award them *iḳṭāʿs* [*q.v.*] for their personal use. Ibn al-Ḳalānisī mentions some Kilāb warriors in the army of Bakdjūr who, in 381/991, confronted Saʿd al-Dawla's army near Aleppo. As for the prince of Aleppo, he was accompanied by a contingent of 500 élite soldiers of the ʿAmr b. Kilāb. Before the emergence of the Mirdās family, the Kilāb Arabs in Syria already represented an organised military force, with powerful cavalry trained in mounted swordmanship and not fearing to confront a government army on the field of battle. While other tribes were happy to give themselves up to pillage with consequences as damaging for the Bedouin as for the sedentary population, the wish to gain access to the state revenues in return for participating in the activities of maintaining order characterised the political goal of the Kilāb until the end of the 5th/11th century.

The history of Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās and his descendants is relatively well-known. The three principal sources are the Egyptian historian al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029), whose chronicle has only come down to us for 414-15/1023-4; another historian who was also Egyptian, but Christian and resident in Antioch, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, whose chronicle is preserved up to 425/1034; and finally the historian of Aleppo Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, who, although he died in 660/1262 devotes numerous pages of his chronological history as well as those of his biographical dictionary of the city of Aleppo to the exploits of the Kilāb. Indeed, three of his ancestors had successively held the post of *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo for some fifty years in the 5th/11th century. Ibn al-ʿAdīm was very sensitive to the legend which idealised several Mirdāsid princes. According to his accounts, they, following the example of Sayf al-Dawla, were *amīrs* in the noblest Arab tradition, strong and courageous, expert in the skills of *adab* as well as in those of war, using the finest blades, mounting the noblest horses and husbands of the most beautiful women in the East. Their mothers, admirable for devotion and political intelligence, were ready to confront the world and the great in order to

defend and to promote the political careers of their progeny.

All the Arab historians who have dealt with this age have mentioned the role of the Mirdāsids, who also appear in the accounts concerning Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī and the *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyid li-Dīn Allāh (see M. Saleh, *Abû l-ʿAlâʾ al-Maʿarrî, bibliographie critique*, in *BEO*, xxi [1969] and xxiii [1970], and Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *L'épître du pardon*, Fr. tr. V.-M. Monteil, Paris 1984; idem, *R. al-Ṣāhil wa 'l-s͟hāhid͟j*, ed. Bint al-S͟hāṭiʾ, Cairo 1975. See also AL-MAʿARRĪ and other works of P. Smoor).

The historian of the Mirdāsids experiences some difficulties in identifying personalities. Indeed, a certain number of *isms* borne by the Kilāb, such as T͟himāl, Mukallad, Manīʿ and Wat͟ht͟hāb, are from the Ḳaysī tradition and recur in the allied or neighbouring tribes of Numayr, Ḳus͟hayr, ʿUḳayl, Asad and Kināna. When matrimonial alliances united these tribes, the younger sons often received the *ism* of the maternal grandfather or one of the mother's brothers. Similarly, the *laḳabs* which the Banū Mirdās received or which they gave themselves could be confusing, for they made frequent allusion to their perseverance and temper by the use of the names of animals of the steppe, persistent and tenacious, dogs, wolves and wolf cubs, lions and lion cubs. Finally, at a late date, the copyists of manuscripts confused their *nisba* (Kilābī) with that of their neighbours (Kalbī).

Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās al-Kilābī appears in the texts as *amīr* of Raḥba in 399/1009. In that period, the Kilāb were in firm control of the steppe of northern Syria. Luʾluʾ, the old Ḥamdānid *g͟hulām* who had usurped power at Aleppo, died in the same year; his son Murtaḍā al-Dawla Manṣūr succeeded him and was recognised by the Fāṭimid Imām al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh. The Byzantine Emperor Basil II then allowed the master of Diyār Bakr, Mumahhid al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Marwān, to attempt to reinstall at Aleppo, with the help of the Kilāb, a Ḥamdānid in the person of Abu 'l-Hayd͟jāʾ b. Saʿd al-Dawla. Fāṭimid diplomacy, supported by a military expedition which set out from Tripoli, caused the plan to miscarry by obtaining from the Kilāb a disguised act of treason. In 402/1011-12, the Fāṭimids attempted a Ḥamdānid restoration, in their turn, with the help of a grandson of Saʿd al-Dawla; an act of treachery by the Kilāb also brought about the failure of this operation. Having saved Manṣūr b. Luʾluʾ on two occasions by their inaction, the Kilāb demanded from him the grant of *iḳṭāʿ*s in fertile regions to pasture their sheep and war horses. To rid himself of them, the master of Aleppo resorted to a well-known trick and invited a thousand Arab warriors to a feast; as soon as they were giddy with good cheer and drink, they were either massacred or thrown into the dungeons. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās figured among the number of the prisoners, and was subjected to the roughest treatment by Murtaḍā al-Dawla Manṣūr, who seized from him his splendid sabre and forced him to repudiate to his advantage his wife Ṭarūd, the most beautiful woman of the age. But in 405/1014 Ṣāliḥ managed to escape by acrobatic means. Some days later, having recovered his sabre, he raised an army, hastily levied in Aleppo, bringing together professional *g͟hulāms*, roughs and Christian and Jewish citizens. The *d͟himmīs* were massacred and the warriors, including Murtaḍā al-Dawla, were captured.

Tough negotiations took place between Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, whose brothers were captives in the citadel, and the representatives of the people of Aleppo, whose master was in the hands of the Kilāb. Manṣūr repudiated Ṭarūd, promised Ṣāliḥ the hand of his daughter and a very heavy ransom, and above all agreed to hand over to the Kilāb half of the fiscal revenues of the principality of Aleppo. After he was freed, he only partially kept his promises. The lands around Aleppo were therefore ravaged by the Arabs who had been deceived, while there were mutterings of revolt in the town. Fearing betrayal by Fatḥ al-Kalʿī, the governor of the citadel, Manṣūr fled to the nearby Byzantine territory, where in 406/1016 he received a fief and built a fortress.

Ṣāliḥ showed his good sense after his victory. He arranged to have join Manṣūr the wives and daughters whom he had forgotten in Aleppo in his hasty flight, only deflowering the one who had been promised to him. He obtained from the Byzantines, at first hostile towards him, the maintenance of the commercial traffic across the region that he controlled. He advised Fatḥ, the new master of Aleppo, to respect the promises made by Manṣūr to the Kilāb. However, despite his advice, negotiations were conducted with the Fāṭimids who, since the death of Ibn Killis, had coveted northern Syria. The envoys of al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*] persuaded Fatḥ to yield to them first the town and then the citadel. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās did not yet control an adequate military force to drive out the Egyptian army.

The new Fāṭimid governor ʿAzīz al-Dawla Fātik was given the citadel of Aleppo in 407/1017, and swiftly made himself an autonomous prince; as master of the city, he ceded control of the plain to the Kilāb. Enjoying good relations with the Byzantines, he thus maintained peace in the region. Such independence was unacceptable to the Fāṭimids, and, in 413/1022, the regent Sitt al-Mulk, sister of the *Imām* al-Ḥākim, who had vanished, had Fātik assassinated and put two Fāṭimid officials in charge of both the citadel and the town.

In order to counter this attempt at direct Fāṭimid administration, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, who at that time controlled Raḥba, Raḳḳa, Bālis, Manbid͟j and Rafaniyya, found allies among the Kalb of central Syria and the Ṭayyiʾ of Transjordan, who were very hostile to the Fāṭimids. From 390/1000 onwards, violent movements in Western Asia and North Africa were stirring up not only Ḳaysī and Yemeni Arab tribes, but also nomadic groups of Berbers and even disbanded black military slaves, driven to despair by the rise in prices and the scarcity of grain. The nomads, threatened by famine, resorted to violence in order to gain access to the cultivated lands.

In the spring of 1024, the death of Sitt al-Mulk, while Egypt was entering a serious corn crisis, brutally interrupted a planned rapprochement with the Byzantines, who resumed an offensive action to the south of Antioch. In the months that followed, the majority of Fāṭimid officials of proven authority posted in Syria were replaced by barely competent newcomers. In the reign of al-Ḥākim, and then under the regency of Sitt al-Mulk, the Arab tribes of Syria had already contemplated an alliance to chase out the Fāṭimid army. The Byzantine Basil II, made aware of the plan, was opposed to it, an opposition which collapsed on the death of the Christian regent. During the summer of 415/1024, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās began hostilities in northern Syria and entered the town of Aleppo, which the former *ḳāʾid* of Murtaḍā al-Dawla, Sālim b. Mustafād, surrendered to him. He entrusted to him the continuation of the siege of the citadel and the administration of the city to his secretary Sulaymān b. Ṭawḳ; then he reached central Syria, besieged Baʿlabakk and joined up with his allies, the

Kalbī Sinān b. ʿUlayyān and the Ṭāʾī Ḥassān b. al-Djarrāḥ. He sent the first to attack Damascus and the second to attack Ramla. The *dīwāns* of Cairo did not lend much support to the Turkish general Anūshtigin al-Duzbarī, who had been entrusted with the defence of Palestine. Distrusting him, they negotiated behind his back with the Ṭayyiʾ who, at the same time, established secret alliances with the Banū Ḳurra of Libya so as to create a united front hostile to the Fāṭimids from Aleppo to Tripoli in North Africa.

Ramla was pillaged and burnt by Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, but then al-Duzbarī regained the military advantage in Palestine. Damascus, defended by its population and by the Fāṭimid army, repelled the Kalb. In the course of the year 415/1024-5, the population of Aleppo opened its gates to the Kilāb. The Fāṭimid garrison defended itself for some time in the citadel, taking advantage of the misgivings of the city's Muslims over the Byzantine sympathies of Ibn Mirdās. Underground mining led to the destruction of the well which supplied the citadel with water and, in Djumādā I 416/June 1025, the Kilāb finally gained access to it. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās was in central Syria at that time and only took possession of Aleppo three months later. He allowed the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* and governor of the town to go free, but had the military governor of the citadel executed and immured the old *ḳāḍī* alive. His action had allowed him to include Aleppo and Ḥimṣ in his domain of north Syria and to extend his rule in central Syria to Baʿlabakk, Ḥiṣn (Ibn) ʿAkkār and Ṣaydā.

Having brought to success the plan which had guided his forebears for a century, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās gave to his principality the attributes of a mediaeval Islamic state, a fiscal apparatus, a vizier described as *ṣāḥib al-sayf wa 'l-ḳalam* and a *ḳāḍī*. His concern for order and respectability, once victory was won, contrasted with the behaviour of Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, a cowardly and cruel ruffian. But al-Duzbarī, nominated Fāṭimid governor of Damascus and Syria in 419/1028, could not tolerate Mirdāsid control over the cities of central Syria while Ḥassān b. al-Djarrāḥ continued to ravage Palestine. The Ṭāʾī, having lost the aid of the Kalb since the death of Sinān b. ʿUlayyān, appealed to Ṣāliḥ to defend Arab autonomy in Syria. The battle of al-Uḳḥuwāna, on the eastern shore of Lake Tiberias in Rabīʿ II 420/May 1029, saw the total defeat of the tribes. The Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ took to flight, and Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās and his younger son as well as his vizier, the Christian Tādrus b. al-Ḥasan, were killed. The body of Ṣāliḥ was nailed to the gate of the town of Ṣaydā where he had enjoyed residing.

Two very young sons of Ṣāliḥ, Shibl al-Dawla Naṣr and Muʿizz al-Dawla Thimāl, shared power in Aleppo, the first holding the city, the second the citadel. They abandoned central Syria, Ḥiṣn ʿAkkār, Baʿlabakk, Ḥimṣ and Rafaniyya and regrouped all their forces in the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and to the west of Diyār Muḍar. The Byzantine *catapanus* of Antioch, provoked by incidents which had brought the Christians and Muslims of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān into conflict in the time of Ṣāliḥ and by the construction of fortresses by Muslim families in the coastal zone without his agreement, wanted to profit from the inexperience of the two princes in order to impose a protectorate on them. Refusing all conciliation and without notifying the Emperor, he sent into battle an army which was wiped out by the Kilāb at Ḳaybar in Djumādā II 420/July 1029. The reconstitution of a force capable of defeating the Byzantines in a pitched battle, two months after a total defeat in Palestine, demonstrates the rare military ability of this tribe, the importance of its manpower and the great number of its mounts, even if the valour of this cavalry is explicable in part by the abundance in northern Syria of pasturage permitting the keeping of powerful war horses. The following year, on learning that the Emperor Romanus III was arriving with a powerful army to avenge his *catapanus*, the two brothers tried in vain to negotiate. Faced with the refusal of Romanus III to accept anything other than the surrender of Aleppo, they decided to fight again. A modest squadron of Arab cavalry inflicted in the heat of Shaʿbān 421/July 1030 near ʿAzāz a memorable defeat on the huge Byzantine coalition. The booty was considerable; their allies, the Numayr, seized 300 mules loaded with gold denarii.

In this period, Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ seized the citadel during the absence of his brother and became the sole master of Aleppo. He chose a new vizier, who was popular although he was a Christian. The latter, with the help of his brother, presided over the urbanisation of the town's suburbs which were bursting out from the confines of its walls and had a mosque built there to facilitate the integration of the newly-settled population, who were very hostile to the non-Muslims. By relying on the old Aleppo citizens and using trickery and cold-blooded violence, Naṣr had quelled a dangerous revolt. Sālim b. Mustafād, *raʾīs* of the town and *muḳaddam al-aḥdāth* [see AḤDĀTH], from his house in the glassmakers' souk, was preaching hatred of the Byzantines and had stirred up the rabble; he was caught and put to death.

In Djumādā I 422/April-May 1031, in order to protect himself against a possible attack from his brother Thimāl, Naṣr concluded peace with the Byzantines. Yaḥyā's text describes in detail the symbolic gestures which demonstrated the rapprochement between the two parties as well as embodying the clauses of the treaty. Recognising the protection exercised by the Byzantines over his principality, Naṣr undertook to pay them 500,000 *dirhams* annually. The following year, together with the new *catapanus* of Antioch, the eunuch Niḳita, he mounted an expedition to exterminate the Ḥākimī Druzes who had become numerous in the Djabal Summāḳ. He did not stand in the way of Niḳita at all when the latter occupied or rased in a few months' time the fortifications built, without the approval of Romanus III, by some autonomous Muslim families on the slope of Djabal Bahrāʾ to the east of Bāniyās and Latakya. He allowed the Ṭayyiʾ to pass in their mass emigration from southern Syria into Byzantine territory. Romanus III was wanting to use them to put pressure on al-Duzbarī and obtain from the Fāṭimids the renewal of the traditional decennial truce suspended since 415/1024. Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ did not intercede either on behalf of his allies of Numayr, who had to cede to the Byzantines some places in the Djazīra. He behaved in every respect as a vassal of the Emperor.

Al-Duzbarī, disturbed by the presence of the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ close to Antioch, was unable to accept the alignment of Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ with Byzantium. He made several incursions into northern Syria, trying to rouse the Kilāb notables against Mirdāsid preponderance. Being increasingly repulsed, the Fāṭimid governor of Syria had spread in the region a call to *djihād*. Niḳita replied that he was ready to defend the Byzantine territory but also prepared to negotiate a new truce. Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ was afraid of being sacrificed for an agreement between Constantinople and Cairo, and sent an envoy to the Byzantine capital, bearing a hair of John the Baptist, a venerable relic, henceforth preserved in the Palace of the Basileus. The Numayr of Djazīra,

badly situated for a new Byzantine campaign, Ibn Marwān, the master of Diyār Bakr ([see MARWĀNIDS], the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ and the Kalb, also made for Constantinople in order to take part in the conference which was to decide the fate of the borders between the Muslim and Christian domains in northern Syria and Djazīra.

The negotiations lasted for nearly four years. Romanus III died in 425/1034 and Michael IV replaced him. The truce was not definitely concluded until 429/1038-9. Among the numerous points which were discussed, one concerned Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ, who had straight away given allegiance to Romanus III and claimed a royal Byzantine dignity which would distinguish him from the mere tribal leaders. Romanus III seized this opportunity to have Aleppo included in a specific treaty, apart from the treaty which he was proposing to the Fāṭimids. Al-Ẓāhir refused to see Aleppo, a noble Islamic frontier post, figuring in the Byzantine domain (*ḥawz*). After the death of Romanus III, Michael IV was more conciliatory, and advised Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ to recognise his allegiance to the Fāṭimids, but since Yaḥyā's text for this period is lacking, we do not know the details of the treaties.

The periphery of the Syrian steppe was held by dynasties who all, with the exception of the Marwānid Kurds [see MARWĀNIDS] of Diyār Bakr, were descendants of Ḳays tribes. The chiefs of Numayr spread out their castles over the territory of Ḥarrān and Edessa to the north-east of that of Kilāb; the region of Mawṣil, to the south-east of Marwānid Diyār Bakr, was administered by Ḳirwāsh b. Muḳallad, a prince of ʿUḳayl; further south, the Asad of Dubays b. ʿAlī b. Mazyad controlled the outlet into Mesopotamia of the Tigris and Euphrates, disputing their territory with the Khafādja who were regrouping, even further south, on the west bank of the Euphrates towards Kūfa. The degree to which each of these chieftainships reached the level of actual states was very problematical, and the Mirdāsids were among the most favourable towards traditional Islamic urban institutions. This choice of theirs contrasted with that of other tribes in southern Syria and Egypt, who were more given to pillage than to administration.

The head of the *dīwān* in Cairo, al-Djardjarāʾī [*q.v.*], distrusted al-Duzbarī and looked favourably on the action of Naṣr b. Mirdās. The latter made a gift to al-Ẓāhir of the booty gathered at the time of the battle of ʿAzāz, and was authorised to annex Ḥimṣ to his principality, and his *laḳab* was inflated. The governor of Ḥimṣ, Djaʿfar b. Kulayd al-Kutāmī, claimed the help of al-Duzbarī, who could not accept a destabilising encroachment of the Kilāb in a region traditionally Yemeni. He wrote to the Byzantines asking them for authorisation to relieve them of Naṣr, who had just married the daughter of Shabīb b. Waththāb, their enemy, the Numayrī prince of Ḥarrān. The alliance between the Mirdāsids and Numayr, added to a possible seizure of Ḥimṣ, would have given this Arab coalition control of all the lowland roads between ʿIrāḳ and the Mediterranean or Byzantine world. Without waiting for agreement to come from Cairo, al-Duzbarī and Ibn Kulayd set out for the north. At Tall Fās, near Laṭmīn, in Shaʿbān 429/May 1038, Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ was killed and his brother Thimāl fled to Aleppo in the company of Shabīb b. Waththāb al-Numayrī.

Thimāl set off again with his brother's children, while Shabīb b. Waththāb took along his sister, Naṣr's widow. Muḳallad b. Kāmil b. Mirdās was holding the citadel. When al-Duzbarī entered the town of Aleppo in Ramaḍān 429/June 1038, he was well received by the population, who was still hostile to the alliance between the Mirdāsids and Byzantium. Muḳallad negotiated his own departure and was able to carry off an important part of the citadel's treasure. Al-Duzbarī attacked Thimāl's principality, capturing Bālis and Manbidj but failing before Raḥba.

In 431/1039-40, Shabīb b. Waththāb al-Numayrī died and was replaced by his brother Muṭāʿin. Their sister, the Numayrī princess al-Sayyida al-ʿAlawiyya, Naṣr's widow, received Rāfiḳa-Raḳḳa which she gave, with the middle Euphrates, to her new husband, her brother-in-law Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ. Al-Duzbarī, still in his post at Damascus, then acquired Ḳalʿat Dawsar, the future Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar, in order to protect Aleppo against an attempt at a Mirdāsid restoration, and against the advice of Cairo began a rapprochement with the Marwānid ruler in Mayyāfāriḳīn.

The Byzantines broke the truce in 431 or 432/1039-41 and attacked northern Syria with some success, obtaining from Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ and his cousin Muḳallad offers of tribute or even of the sale of the town of Raḳḳa. Al-Duzbarī tried to play a game of his own by relying on the Banū Djaʿfar section of the Kilāb, settled in the Mudīḳ of Apamea and hostile to the Banū Mirdās as well as to the Byzantines. The tension between Cairo and al-Duzbarī intensified. The vizier al-Djardjarāʾī had the military governor of Damascus and Fāṭimid Syria publicly condemned, whereupon the army of Syria abandoned its commander-in-chief. Accompanied by ten faithful *ghulāms*, al-Duzbarī took refuge in Aleppo. Al-Djardjarāʾī asked Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ to go and attack him, but this proved useless, for al-Duzbarī, in despair, died at Aleppo in Djumādā I 433/January 1042. The following month, after one or two spells of indecision, the citizens of Aleppo opened their gates to Muḳallad and Thimāl. The siege of the citadel in which the Fāṭimid *ghulāms* had taken refuge lasted for six months.

Thimāl's seizure of Aleppo had immediately been recognised by the Empress Theodora, who awarded him the title of *magistros* and that of patrician for his wife, and admitted into the imperial hierarchy six of his brothers, cousins and nephews. The development of commercial exchanges actually led to fierce competition between Muslim and Christian merchants, notably at Aleppo, where the Christians were better protected by a Mirdāsid prince than by a Fāṭimid governor. In 436/1045, the year of the death of al-Djardjarāʾī, a diploma from al-Mustanṣir confirmed Thimāl's investiture in Aleppo; however, relations remained strained, notably because the four to six hundred thousand dinars of al-Duzbarī seized in the citadel had only been partially returned to Cairo. In 439/1047-48, the decennial truce was renewed by the Byzantines, who were confronting in Armenia and Trebizond the first Turcoman bands as well as an inciter to *djihād* near Raʾs al-ʿAyn.

Nāṣir al-Dawla Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamdān, governor of Damascus, and Ibn Kulayd, governor of Ḥimṣ, attacked Aleppo in 440/1048. Thimāl, at the head of several thousand men, resisted the great Fāṭimid army which, having lost its equipment and mounts in one night following the flooding of the Ḳuwayḳ river, retreated to Damascus. Thimāl, worried about the outcome of events, negotiated successively with the Fāṭimid vizier Ṣadāḳa b. Yūsuf al-Falāḥī, an Aleppo Jew, and after the latter's execution, with another Jew, Abū Saʿd, official in charge of the private treasury, who was also executed. Once his cousin, Djaʿfar b. Kāmil b. Mirdās, had killed Ibn

GENEALOGY OF THE MIRDĀSIDS

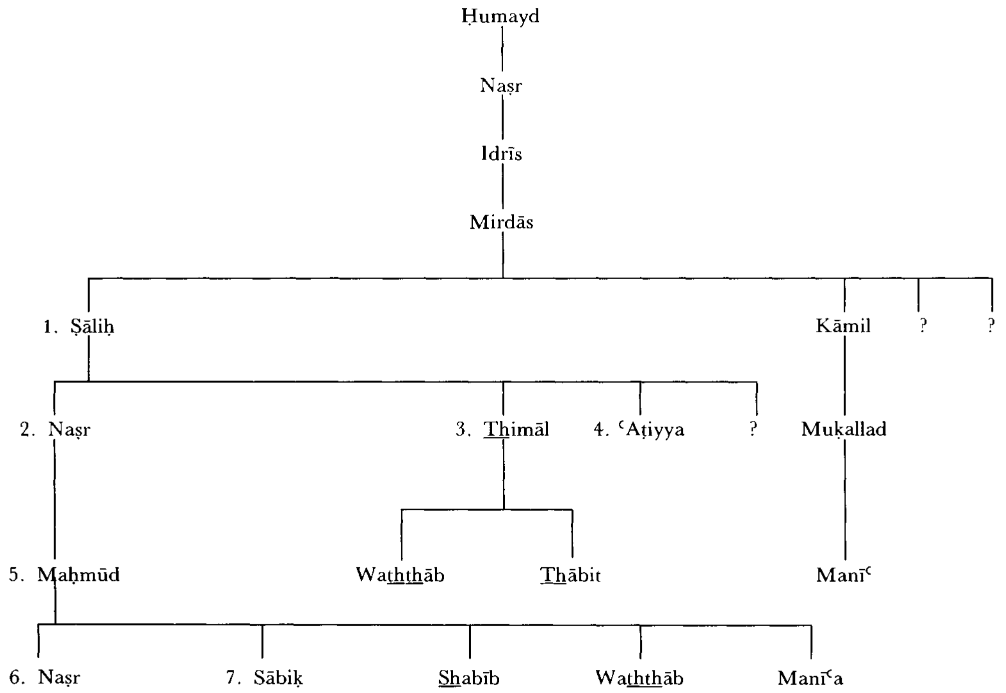

Nos. 1-7 = order of succession of the Banū Mirdās, Kilābī princes of Aleppo.
The mother of Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās was Rabāb al-Rawkaliyya or al-Zawkaliyya.
The mother of ᶜAṭiyya was the beautiful Ṭarūd.
The mother of Maḥmūd b. Naṣr was Manīᶜa al-Sayyida al-ᶜAlawiyya, princess of Numayr.
Naṣr b. Maḥmūd's mother was the daughter of al-Malik al-ᶜAzīz b. Djalāl al-Dawla the Buwayhid.
Manīᶜa b. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr married Muslim b. Kuraysh, an ᶜUkaylid prince and successor to the Mirdāsids in Aleppo.

Kulayd at Kafar Ṭāb, a new military expedition on a grand scale was launched against Thimāl, involving 400,000 *dīnārs* and 30,000 men, and entrusted to the elderly eunuch Rifk. The Emperor Constantine IX, having proposed his mediation to the Fāṭimids in vain, sent two armies to keep a watch over northern Syria. Mukallad b. Kāmil b. Mirdās destroyed the fortifications of Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān and Ḥamāt, and the Mirdāsid troops assembled before Aleppo. The Fāṭimid army, in which there coexisted with great difficulty regular soldiers, either Berbers, blacks or Turks, together with Kalbī and Djarrāḥī Bedouins, was wiped out on the Djabal Djawshīn near Aleppo in Rabīᶜ I 442/August 1050 by the ever-effective cavalry of the Kilāb. Rifk, wounded, was taken prisoner and died with his mind unhinged three days later. Thimāl, embarrassed by the unexpected scale of his victory, sent to Cairo his young son and his tireless wife, al-Sayyida al-ᶜAlawiyya, whose political intelligence and pertinent remarks charmed the Fāṭimid *Imām* al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*]; the latter recognised as being in fief to Thimāl Aleppo and all the lands which he effectively held.

From 442/1050 to 449/1057-8, Muᶜizz al-Dawla Thimāl administered his principality peacefully, with the help of his successive viziers, Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd al-Karīm al-Anbārī, then Fakhr al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Djahīr [see DJAHĪR, BANŪ], and finally Sadīd al-Dawla Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Raᶜbānī al-Raḥbī. The two last were experts in public finance who, before or after their stay in Aleppo, performed the same function for other rulers. Aleppo enjoyed at that time low prices and great prosperity; numerous houses built in this period were still in existence two centuries later. External relations were peaceful. A tribute was conveyed each year by Ibn al-Aysar to the Byzantine Emperor who, for his part, promoted the Mirdāsid notables in the imperial hierarchy. At the same time, relations with al-Mustanṣir, to whom the above Ibn al-Aysar regularly brought a gift (*al-kisṭ*), were good. Thimāl supported al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] at the beginning of his revolt against the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate and gave him the town of Raḥba.

However, from 449/1057-8 onwards, Thimāl had to face the jealousy of his Kilāb supporters, who reproached him for treating them less well than his Numayrī allies. In exasperation, he arranged with al-Mustanṣir to exchange Aleppo for Djubayl, Bayrūt and ᶜAkkā, far from Kilābī agitation, and a Fāṭimid governor was installed at Aleppo. In 451/1060 the defeat and death of al-Basāsīrī lessened Fāṭimid prestige in eastern Syria, and Asad al-Dawla ᶜAṭiyya b. Ṣāliḥ, Thimāl's brother, occupied Raḥba, capturing the treasure and weapons which had been stored there in preparation for an expedition against ᶜIrāk. The Kilāb entrusted to the young prince Maḥmūd b. Shibl al-Dawla Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās and his cousin Manīᶜ b. Mukallad b. Kāmil b. Mirdās the task of regaining possession of Aleppo. After a first unsuccessful attempt, they received the support of the *aḥdāth* of the town as well as the notables, whereas the rich

ashrāf of the ʿAlids remained once again the most faithful to the Fāṭimid power. In Djumādā II 452/July 1060, Aleppo opened its gates to the Kilāb. The Fāṭimid governor, entrenched in the citadel, asked for help from Cairo, who commanded the governor of Damascus, Nāṣir al-Dawla Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, to go to Aleppo, where he was however coldly received. In Radjab 452/August 1060, he confronted the Kilābī army and in his turn experienced defeat at al-Funaydiḳ. Abandoned by his Kalb, Ṭayyiʾ and Kilāb allies and overcome by thirst, he was taken prisoner together with the majority of the Fāṭimid commanders. The next day, ʿAṭiyya b. Ṣāliḥ took possession of Aleppo, which two days later fell into the hands of Maḥmūd b. Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ. Ten days later, the last Fāṭimid troops surrendered the citadel to him and left northern Syria for good.

Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ was meanwhile staying in Cairo. Al-Mustanṣir informed him that since the town of Aleppo had eluded him, he was resuming possession of the coastal towns. Thimāl then decided to return to Aleppo. But his nephew Maḥmūd, relying on his Numayrī allies, refused to give up the city to him, sent the poet Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī to ask for help from Byzantium, and freed Nāṣir al-Dawla and the other Fāṭimid prisoners in order to conciliate al-Mustanṣir. After some military operations in which Maḥmūd, supported by the *aḥdāth* of Aleppo, had the worst of it, the Kilābī *shaykhs* imposed an agreement: the uncle Thimāl received Aleppo whilst the nephew Maḥmūd had the right to compensation in cash and grain. In Rabīʿ II 453/April 1061, Thimāl entered Aleppo once more, and was soon joined there by Maḥmūd and by the clan of the Numayr, thanks to the political genius of his wife al-Sayyida al-ʿAlawiyya. ʿAṭiyya, Thimāl's brother, the master of Raḥba, had proclaimed himself independent.

Thimāl died at the end of 454/1062 after leading several victorious operations against Byzantine encroachments, in the mountains and plateaux situated between Antioch and Aleppo. Contrary to all expectations, he had nominated his brother ʿAṭiyya to succeed him in Aleppo. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr protested and obtained the support of the Kilābī notables. In Radjab 455/July 1063, uncle and nephew started fighting each other, with varied fortunes for each. The following year, a truce was established. ʿAṭiyya was to keep Aleppo and the eastern part of the principality, from Raḥba to Ḳinnasrīn and ʿAzāz. The western part was assigned to Maḥmūd. But ʿAṭiyya did not accept this division, and took the dangerous decision to call upon a thousand Turcoman archers who were established in Diyār Bakr. Led by their chief, Ibn Khān or Ibn Khāḳān, they were the first Turks to enter Syria as free men. Maḥmūd was forced to conclude a new truce, and ʿAṭiyya, who in the end would be embarassed by the presence of the Turcomans, had their camp pillaged by the *aḥdāth* of Aleppo. Some Turcomans were killed, others scattered but, out of vexation, Ibn Khān placed himself at the service of Maḥmūd. The latter, after a victory at Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] and a three-months' siege, was finally able, in Ramaḍān 457/August 1065, to enter into possession of Aleppo which he had conquered in 452/1060. The *de facto* division of the principality into an eastern domain situated on the Euphrates and assigned to ʿAṭiyya, and a western domain, comprising Aleppo and the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn as well as a large part of the *djund* of Ḥimṣ, and assigned to Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, was accepted by all.

The period of relative peace and autonomy which northern Syria and the Djazīra had enjoyed was now coming to an end. Indeed, the equilibrium between Baghdād, Constantinople and Cairo was upset. Cairo, struck by famine, could no longer intervene in northern Syria. Byzantium was devoting all its forces to resisting the deadly Turcoman infiltrations. On the other hand, the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had recovered a formidable vigour thanks to Saldjūḳ protection. Sultan Alp Arslān [*q.v.*], who in 455/1063 had succeeded his uncle Ṭoghrïl Beg [*q.v.*], was ready to use the disorder created by the undisciplined Turcomans in order to intervene in northern Syria.

In 459-60/1067-68, the Turcomans ravaged all the Byzantine territory from the Orontes to the Euphrates, and 70,000 Christian captives were recorded as being sold in the Aleppo markets. In the same year, Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, with Ibn Khān and his men, reached Ḥamāt and Ḥimṣ to the south of his principality; it was believed that he was about to cross the steppe in order to attack, in Raḥba, his uncle ʿAṭiyya, whom the Fāṭimids were inciting to intervene against him. The *ḳāḍī* Ibn ʿAmmār, master of Tripoli, was able to reconcile the uncle and nephew and arrange for Cairo once more to recognise the partition of 457/1065. But when ʿAṭiyya set out for Ḥimṣ or Damascus, a town to which he put forward a claim, the prince of Mawṣil, Muslim b. Ḳuraysh al-ʿUḳaylī, took advantage of the opportunity to seize Raḥba where the Mirdāsid was unpopular. The Sunnī *khuṭba* in favour of the ʿAbbāsids was re-established there.

The Byzantines could not tolerate the deadly raids led against them by the Turcomans from Mirdāsid territory. The town of Aleppo was profiting from the sales of booty and captives each time an expedition returned. In 461-2/1069-70, they occupied Manbidj, then launched several operations in order to weaken the Turcomans. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr began a riposte, then concluded a truce, pledging 40,000 *dīnārs* which Constantinople agreed to lend him against the security as a hostage of his son Naṣr. The Turcomans, constantly increasing in numbers, presented for him, in 462/1070, a more serious threat than Byzantium. In Aleppo, they became involved in fights with the citizens; in the plain, they pillaged the granaries and held the peasants to ransom. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr could not hope for help from the Fāṭimids. Only the Saldjūḳ sultan was able to restore order in northern Syria. But it was necessary to pay the price and abandon the Shīʿī *adhān* and the *khuṭba* in favour of the Fāṭimid *Imām*. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr spoke realistically to the *shaykhs* of Aleppo; if he did not yield to the Saldjūḳs, he would be smashed by them. Unhappy, but convinced, the *shaykhs* came round to his point of view. In Shawwāl 462/July 1070, the Friday prayer in the great mosque of Aleppo displayed the new attachment of the town to Sunnism and the ʿAbbāsids. There were some reactions of popular opposition; the mosque's mats disappeared, for they belonged to ʿAlī and not ʿUmar. The same year, Mecca and Medina rallied to the ʿAbbāsids, while Yemen had abandoned Fāṭimid allegiance in 459/1066. In Cairo, the old loser of Aleppo, Nāṣir al-Dawla, the strong man of the military rebellion, had offered his services to the Saldjūḳ.

The Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslān asked Maḥmūd b. Naṣr to follow the example of the Ḳaysī and Kurdish princes of the Djazīra and steppe, and to come and tread on his carpets as a token of submission. As the Mirdāsid was wavering, Alp Arslān camped in the spring of 463/1071 with his formidable army in front of Aleppo on a hill known from that time as Tall al-Sulṭān. But, despite a torrent of arrows and the damage which his mangonels inflicted on the walls,

Alp Arslān could not stamp out the brave and resourceful resistance of the people of Aleppo. Negotiating with the other chiefs of Kilāb factions, the sultan publicly offered to let them name a replacement for Maḥmūd b. Naṣr. The latter, having more faith in the courage of the Aleppo citizens than in the loyalty of his fellow-tribesmen, left the town. Together with his mother al-Sayyida al-ʿAlawiyya, they trod on the sultan's carpet. The Numayrī princess, wife of two Kilābī princes and mother of a third, adopted in the face of the Sunnī Turk an attitude of vanquished pride, quite different from the respectful humility which she had displayed, twenty years earlier, before the Fāṭimid *Imām*. Alp Arslān, recovering his equanimity, confirmed Maḥmūd b. Naṣr in his territories and entrusted to him the task of chasing the Fāṭimids out of central Syria, the first stage before the destruction of the Ismaʿīlī caliphate. Then the sultan went to confront the Byzantine army which had penetrated into Armenia.

Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, at the head of an army composed of Kilāb and Turcomans, went therefore to Baʿlabakk and was about to besiege Damascus when he learnt that his uncle ʿAṭiyya had left the territory of Antioch, where he had found refuge, in order to attack Maʿarrat Maṣrīn to the south-west of Aleppo. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr returned to his principality and gathered some Turkish contingents to confront an imminent Byzantine attack, but the complete victory that Alp Arslān achieved at Malāzgird [*q.v.*] in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 463/August 1071 marked the final close of the offensive that the Byzantines had been conducting in Syria for a century. ʿAṭiyya having died in Constantinople, Maḥmūd b. Naṣr in 465/1072-3 took Raḥba for the ʿUḳaylids. At the end of his reign, having become distrustful and mean, Maḥmūd b. Naṣr showed himself cruel to his entourage. He had both the son and brother of his vizier, the Christian Abū Bishr, who had always helped him in hard times, beheaded and forced the latter to carry these two heads tied together around his neck; then, on a false charge, he had him killed in his turn and thrown into the well of the citadel. He quarrelled with the Kinānī *amīr* Sadīd al-Mulk ʿAlī b. Muḳallad Ibn Munḳidh [see MUNḲIDH, BANŪ], who left Aleppo for Tripoli, still a Shīʿī centre, and was able to carve out for himself, to the detriment of the Kilāb, a lordship over the middle Orontes. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr died in 467 or 468/1075, leaving an inheritance valued at one-and-a-half million *dīnārs*. He had retaken from the Byzantines the castle of Sinn in Rabīʿ II 467/end of 1074. He had designated as his successor his youngest son Shabīb, but the eldest, Naṣr, a descendant of the Būyids through his mother, was recognised as prince of Aleppo. Naṣr b. Maḥmūd showed himself to be more peaceful and more generous than his father. His army, led by the Turcoman Aḥmad Shāh, retook Manbidj from the Byzantines in Ṣafar 468/September-October 1075. The same year, Atsïz b. Uvak al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam [*q.v.*], the Turkish master of Damascus, penetrated the Mirdāsid domain and pillaged the middle valley of the Orontes, installing his brother Djawālī or Čawlī in Rafaniyya. After a first attempt, which failed, Aḥmad Shāh managed to expel Djawālī to Damascus. On the day of the *Fiṭr* 468, Naṣr b. Maḥmūd, completely drunk, put Aḥmad Shāh in prison and attacked his Turkish troops who were stationed in the Ḥāḍir of Aleppo; a Turkish archer killed him with an arrow.

Sadīd al-Mulk Ibn Munḳidh, having returned from Tripoli, had Sābiḳ, Naṣr's brother, designated *amīr* of Aleppo. He was hoisted with a rope along the citadel wall, for he also was dead drunk. Aḥmad Shāh received, in addition to the *laḳab* of ʿIzz al-Mulk Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil, a purse of 1,000 *dīnārs* and the promise of a monthly allowance of 30 *dīnārs*. He pacified his fellow Turks. The Kilāb of the plain proclaimed as their *amīr* Waththāb, brother of Naṣr and Sābiḳ, and the fourth brother Shabīb gave him his support, as did their cousin Mubārak b. Shibl.

Aḥmad Shāh, at the head of 1,000 cavalry, accompanied by an allied Turkish contingent commanded by Muḥammad b. Dumlādj, easily dispersed the Kilāb coalition, 70,000 cavalry and infantry, assembled near Ḳinnasrīn. The Turks captured 100,000 camels and 400,000 sheep as well as a large number of Kilābī wives and concubines. Ten thousand military slaves of Kilāb were counted. Aḥmad Shāh returned to Aleppo with all the booty taken in the tents and all the prisoners. Sābiḳ gave the order to free the prisoners and brought to live with him his sister, wife of Mubārak b. Shibl, who was one of the captives.

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 469, Ibn Dumlādj took Aḥmad Shāh prisoner by surprise and sold him for 100,000 *dīnārs* and twenty horses back to Sābiḳ b. Maḥmūd. At the beginning of 470/summer of 1077, three leaders of the Kilāb rebellion, Waththāb b. Maḥmūd, Mubārak b. Shibl and Ḥāmid b. Zughayb, went to complain about Sābiḳ to Alp Arslān, who offered them fiefs in Syria, entrusting the whole of Syria in appanage to his brother Tādj al-Dawla Tutush. Accompanied by some Turkish leaders (Afshīn b. Bakdjī, Ṣandūḳ al-Turkī, Muḥammad b. Dumlādj, Ibn Ṭūṭū and Ibn Burayk), Tutush reached Diyār Bakr with the opposition Mirdāsids. During this time, Aḥmad Shāh, having been freed, had attacked Antioch, reduced to famine, then agreed to lift the siege in return for 5,000 *dīnārs*. Fearing Tutush who was approaching Aleppo, the Turks who dwelt with Aḥmad Shāh outside the walls in the Ḥāḍir went, with Sābiḳ's authorisation, to put their wives in safety in the Castle of the Bridge over the Orontes whch Ibn Munḳidh had restored; but they could not endure the change of climate and succumbed to sickness. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 471/May 1079, Sharaf al-Dawla Abu 'l-Makārim Muslim b. Kuraysh, *amīr* of the Banū ʿUḳayl of Mawṣil, came on the orders of Malik Shāh to join forces with Kilāb and with Tutush, who were besieging Aleppo. Aḥmad Shāh was killed in the fighting.

Muslim was maintaining secret connections with Sābiḳ, of whom he was fond, and blamed the Kilāb for having called in the Turks against their own prince. Although he obtained permission to withdraw from the siege, he discreetly arranged for his soldiers to sell to the people of Aleppo all that they needed in order to subsist. His departure was followed by that of most of the Kilāb. As the Turks committed atrocities, the last Kilāb who were still participating in the siege rallied to Sābiḳ. On learning that an *amīr* from Khurāsān, al-Turkmān al-Turkī, was coming to help Tādj al-Dawla in the siege, Sābiḳ handed on to his cousin Manṣūr b. Kāmil a poem in which he implored the Kilābī *amīr* Abū Zāʾida Muḥammad b. Zāʾida to save from the Turks the last Arab principality in Syria. More than a thousand cavalry and five hundred infantry from Numayr, Ḳushayr, Kilāb and ʿUḳayl assembled with the approval of Sharaf al-Dawla. They defeated al-Turkmān in the Wādī Buṭnān and pillaged the goods of a caravan of merchants who were accompanying him. Tādj al-Dawla Tutush, in a difficult position before Aleppo, withdrew to the Euphrates and Diyār Bakr in order to pass the winter.

In spring, he resumed the campaign, conquered Manbidj and attacked a certain number of castles belonging to the Kilāb, notably the fortified town of ᶜAzāz. At the same time Abū Zāʾida was massacring any isolated groups of Turkish cavalry whom he took by surprise. It was a very hard war, paid for by the peasants and merchants. Finally, Tutush undertook a forced march on Aleppo to take it by surprise, but the Kilāb were victorious. Tutush then left northern Syria and set out for Damascus, which Atsïz surrendered to him, since he was in difficulties facing a Fāṭimid counter-offensive.

According to Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, Tutush then entrusted the main part of his army to his general, the Turk Afshīn, who returned northwards, pillaging the villages around Baᶜlabakk and attacking Rafaniyya. Some caravans of merchants, coming from or going to Tripoli, were there; Afshīn and his men massacred the merchants, raped the women, pillaged the merchandise, with the carnage lasting for ten days or more.

Afshīn was received by the lord of the Castle of the Bridge Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Munḳidh, and promised to spare Kafar Ṭāb which belonged to the latter. Afshīn resumed his march and, thanks to mangonels which accompanied him, was able to capture by bombardment or assault all the fortified towns and all the defensive towers of the Djabal Summāḳ, as well as some villages lying to the east of Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān. The populated areas were pillaged, sometimes burnt along with their inhabitants, the women and children who had escaped were raped or captured, and the men killed. But failing before Tall Mannas, Afshīn was satisfied with imposing on its inhabitants a tribute of 5,000 *dīnārs*.

Tutush, on being informed of what was happening, made for Kafar Ṭāb, but the army had left the region to go to ravage the Byzantine lands around Antioch. Tutush returned to Damascus, attempting to reassure the people on his way. When Afshīn and his men left for the east, the plain of northern Syria no longer had a single village intact. Famine was widespread. Wheat was selling for a *dīnār* for six *raṭls* and cases of cannibalism were recorded. The inhabitants were leaving to seek refuge in the Djazīra in the ᶜUḳaylid lands.

In Ramaḍān 472/March 1080, Sharaf al-Mulk b. Ḳuraysh al-ᶜUḳaylī, informed of the situation in northern Syria, judged the moment to be propitious for intervention. A letter from Sābiḳ b. Maḥmūd proposed giving up Aleppo to him. Accompanied by a convoy of provisions, he marched on Bālis and then on Aleppo, but Sābiḳ refused to open the gates of the town to him. Thanks to the help of the *aḥdāth*, and especially of the starving population, Muslim was able to enter without a fight at the end of the year 472/June 1080. Muslim found such a state of famine in Aleppo that he wanted to leave the town, but Ibn Munḳidh persuaded him to stay. Sābiḳ had taken refuge in the citadel, but his brothers Shabīb and Waththāb, entrenched in the palace, succeeded in winning back the favour of the citadel's garrison. Sābiḳ was handed over to his brothers and Shabīb became master of the citadel. Negotiations took place with Sharaf al-Mulk, with Ibn Munḳidh as intermediary. Muslim undertook to marry Manīᶜa, daughter of Maḥmūd and sister of Sābiḳ, and to give important fiefs in the region of ᶜAzāz to Shabīb and Waththāb and in that of Raḥba to Sābiḳ. The three brothers left the citadel, where there was no water, and thus the Mirdāsid state came to an end in 472/1080.

The three brothers continued to play a role as local lords in northern Syria, still changing sides as easily as ever, first helping Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, then allying themselves with his enemies. At the time of the Franks' arrival in Syria in 491/1098, Waththāb b. Maḥmūd was leading a contingent of Kilāb who tried to block their advance.

The Banū Mirdās offer an example of those Ḳaysī princes of the Syro-ᶜIrāḳī steppe who succeeded in implanting within a sedentary territory an ordinary state structure which functioned for half-a-century in the manner of the quasi-autonomous provinces of the caliphate. The agricultural richness of the plateaux and valleys of northern Syria and the intensive trade between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean via the Euphrates and Aleppo assured them of good revenues. They were helped in the management of the public finances by viziers, often Christians, and in meting out justice by Imāmī Shīᶜī *ḳāḍīs*, chosen from great ᶜAlid or simply Ḳaysī families. They were able, in case of necessity, to gather an army of quality, comprising Kilābī contingents of lightly-armoured cavalry but also *aḥdāth* of Aleppo, whose militias had acquired an institutional character and whose commander was one of the principal notables of the town. They conducted a skilful diplomacy of maintaining a balance between the declared ambitions of the Byzantines and Fāṭimids regarding northern Syria, depending for support alternately on one or the other when they were forced to meet an invasion with military resistance. This policy was more suitable for Aleppo than that of Sayf al-Dawla and his successors. The town experienced under the Kilābī princes some years of great prosperity, and on this point we cannot follow the contemporary historians who reduce their action to a Bedouinisation of the city and its region. This was, furthermore, a very productive period for Arabic poetry both at the court of Aleppo and in cities such as Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān, where one must remember that Abu'l-ᶜAlāʾ was only the most brilliant representative of a pleiade of men of letters.

But, later on, the weakness of the Fāṭimids, facing in Egypt a serious financial and grain crisis, the incapacity of the Byzantines to resist the Turcoman infiltrations, then the defeat of the Basileus by the Saldjūḳs, broke this skilful balance, and the Mirdāsids were forced to recruit Turcomans in their turn and to create for themselves an army of slaves and mercenaries. An analysis of the changes that took place in the tactics of swordmanship on horseback and in weapon technology would enable us to understand how the Mirdāsids were easily able to overcome heavy Byzantine armies and why they succumbed in their turn under the blows of small Turcoman contingents.

From then on, the power of the dynasty was shown to be fragile. Old causes of weakness were still present: jealousy of the Banū Mirdās among other Kilāb groups, even though each was given a domain around a stronghold; disputes between Mirdāsid princes; and intervention of their allies from Numayr, ᶜUḳayl and Kināna in the affairs of Aleppo. To these was added the behaviour of the Turcomans, who ruined the countryside and trade. No longer being able to maintain order in the province, the Mirdāsids lost their legitimacy in the eyes of the inhabitants and had to yield their principality to the ᶜUḳaylids. The new Turkish and Kurdish military dynasties were not slow to take over. However, the fact that until the Crusades, some Mirdāsid fiefs had survived in northern Syria shows how deeply rooted this dynasty was in a region where the Kilāb had been established for several centuries.

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(TH. BIANQUIS)

On the coins of the Mirdāsids, see S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the B.M.*, x, 275; idem, *Catalogue of the coins in the Khedivial Library*, 337; E. von Zambaur, *Nouvelles contributions à la numismatique orientale*, in *WNZ*, xlvii (1914); L.A. Mayer, *Bibliography of Moslem numismatics*², index; N.D. Nicol, Raafat el-Nabrawy and J.L. Bacharach, *Catalog of the Islamic coins, glass weights, dies and medals in the Egyptian National Library*, Malibu, Calif., nos. 2262-3. (SAMIR SHAMMA)

MIRDĀS B. UDAYYA, Khāridjī leader in Baṣra, killed in 61/680-1. He belonged to the Rabīʿa b. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt (called Rabīʿa al-Wusṭā, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 185, 5 = 699, l. 11; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, 123, l. 12, 772, l. 8), a branch of the tribe of Tamīm which supplied so many leaders to the Khāridjī movement. His father was called Ḥudayr b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd b. Kaʿb and Udayya was his mother's or grandmother's name; she belonged to the tribe of Muḥārib b. Khaṣafa (Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 134; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 209; al-Ṭabarī; Mubarrad; al-Balādhurī; cf. *Bibl.*). He is often called by his *kunya* Abū Bilāl.

His brother ʿUrwa b. Udayya had been one of the instigators of the Khāridjī movement of secession at the battle of Ṣiffīn; he himself had taken part in the movement and had fought against ʿAlī at al-Nahrawān (38/658 [*q.v.*]); after this defeat he gave up all political activity although, like his brother, he remained faithful to his old opinions; but he declared himself against armed insurrection, political assassination (*istiʿrāḍ* [*q.v.*]) and the participation of women in the Khāridjī movement. These moderate views, which Mirdās retained till the end of the caliphate of Muʿāwiya and which caused the extremists to class him among the *ḳaʿada* (quietists) of the Khāridjīs, made it all the more remarkable when he came out openly and actively against the excesses of the governor of Baṣra, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, in his repression of Khāridjism. A women named al-Baldjāʾ (see *Folia Orientalia*, xii [1979], 203-4) had been cruelly martyred by the governor. Mirdās's indignation was so aroused that he left Baṣra with 40 of his followers and went to al-Ahwāz on the Fārs frontier, where he held out for a long time without committing any of those acts of fanaticism usual among the Khāridjīs and confined himself to imposing a levy equal in value to the stipend (*ʿaṭāʾ*) which was legally due to him and his companions (60/680). ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād sent against Mirdās the Kilābī chief Aslam b. Zurʿa at the head of 2,000 men. They met near a village called Āsak (or Mīdjās, according to a verse quoted by Yāḳūt, iv, 712-13) but the Khāridjīs, in spite of their greatly inferior numbers, defeated him. In the following year, a second expedition of 4,000 men under the Tamīmī ʿAbbād b. Akhḍar was organised by Ibn Ziyād; he found the Khāridjīs encamped in front of Darābdjird. It was a Friday, and the two parties agreed to finish their prayers before fighting. But the government troops, breaking the oath they had sworn, fell upon the Khāridjīs while they were still praying and massacred them. Mirdās's head was cut off and taken to Ibn Ziyād.

This episode, insignificant in itself, provoked a tremendous reaction throughout ʿIrāḳ in view of the fame which the piety and moderation of Mirdās had brought him. His death was promptly avenged by ʿUbayda b. Hilāl, who was later to become one of the leaders of the Azraḳī rising, and it was in the name of Mirdās that Khāridjīs rebelled again on the death of Yazīd I (64/683). The heroism and death of Mirdās were sung by several poets, notably the famous ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān [*q.v.*]; his memory was cherished for long in Khāridjī circles and especially in ʿUmān, the centre of the Ṣufriyya (al-Mubarrad, 533, l. 14 = *Aghānī*¹, xvi, 154). The latter, whose intransigeance is much less marked than that of the Azraḳīs, may rightly regard Mirdās as their predecessor (cf. Haarbrücker, *Asch-Scharastânî's Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, ii, 406, from the *Kitāb al-Tabṣīr fī 'l-dīn* of Shahfūr b. Ṭāhir al-Isfarāʾīnī (Brockelmann, I², 484, S I, 669); on the other hand, the Muʿtazilīs held that Mirdās had only rebelled under compulsion (*munkir*^{an}) and the Shīʿīs even denied that he was a true Khāridjī (al-Mubarrad, 560-1).

Mirdās's brother, ʿUrwa b. Udayya, does not seem to have taken part in the insurrection; but this did not save him from persecution by Ibn Ziyād, who had him arrested and executed shortly after the death of Mirdās; the version which puts his execution before the rising of Mirdās in 58/678 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 185) is less probable.

Bibliography: The fullest and most complete account is that of Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 584-96, without indication of source; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Istanbul ms. ʿĀshir Efendi, fols.

386a-387b, is very close to but not identical with Mubarrad's and quotes a large number of verses. He also omits the *isnād*. Ṭabarī, ii, 186-7, 390-1 relies on two sources, Wahb b. Djarīr and an anonymous one, of which the former does not seem very reliable and the latter follows Mubarrad and Balādhurī, but is much shorter; Yāḳūt, i, 61-2 (cf. also ii, 434, l. 1) seems to have used an independent source. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, iii, 428-30, iv, 81-2, harmonises Ṭabarī and Balādhurī, and follows Mubarrad. Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 278-9, knows the episode, but wrongly attributes it to the Azraḳīs (*sic*) and does not even mention Mirdās. See also Wellhausen, *Die rel.-pol. Oppositionsparteien*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, phil.-hist. Kl., N.S. v/2 (1901), 25-7.

(G. Levi Della Vida)

MĪRGHANIYYA or KHATMIYYA, the dervish order or *ṭariḳa* founded by Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī, more commonly called the *Khatmiyya* from its founder's claim that it is the seal (*khatm*) of all *ṭarīḳas*. The *nisba* of the founder does not appear in such works as al-Samʿānī's *K. al-Ansāb* or al-Suyūṭī's *Lubb al-albāb*, but may be derived from the place-name Marghan in Ghūr, for family traditions attest to a long residence in Central Asia. The prefixed *A-* is a Western form due to a supposed derivation from *al-amīr al-ghanī*.

Towards the end of the 18th century, the family, after a short residence in India, drifted back to Mecca, whose *shurafāʾ* recognised their claim to descent from the Prophet. Muḥammad ʿUthmān's grandfather, ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḥdjūb (d. 1207/1792), was a well-known Ṣūfī, and Muḥammad ʿUthmān followed in his footsteps. He was initiated into the Ḳādiriyya, Shādhiliyya, Naḳshbandiyya, Djunaydiyya and the Mīrghaniyya of his grandfather, whence his later claims to have gathered up all the *ṭarīḳas* into his own. His *shaykh* was pre-eminently that remarkable man, Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsī (1173-1253/1760-1837 [see AḤMAD B. IDRĪS]), to whose teaching and inspiration was due the reawakening of the *ṭarīḳas* at the beginning of the 19th century. Aḥmad sent him as his propagandist to Egypt and the Eastern Sudan (1817) just before the Turko-Egyptian occupation. He was acclaimed in Nubia and Dongola, but was not well received by the heads of the old orders in the Fundj kingdom. On his return to Mecca, he continued to serve Aḥmad, following him into exile at Ṣabyā in ʿAsīr until after his death, when he returned to Mecca. There followed a period of rivalry with Aḥmad's most famous pupil, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (1792-1859 [*q.v.*]), and Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd (d. 1874), founder of the Rashīdiyya, each of the three claiming to be Aḥmad's successor and founding independent *ṭarīḳas*. Muḥammad ʿUthmān won the support of the *shurafāʾ* of Mecca and developed his own rule on different lines to that of his master. He belonged to the class of ecstatic mystics and was more influenced by the Naḳshbandiyya than by the orthodox doctrinal and reformist ideas of Aḥmad b. Idrīs. The formula NAḲSHDJAM was adopted as mystic symbol of the various *silsilas*, "chains", concentrated into himself. He sent his sons into different countries, South Arabia, Egypt, Eastern Sudan and India, in each of which a nucleus of followers had been formed before his death (1268/1851) at al-Ṭāʾif, to which he had withdrawn in consequence of the hostility of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Mecca.

His eldest son, Muḥammad Sirr al-Khatm, succeeded him as *Shaykh al-Ṭarīḳa*, but his death shortly afterwards initiated a period of family rivalry and dissensions which was not brought to an end until the rise of the Mahdī [see AL-MAHDIYYA]. Another son, al-Ḥasan (d. 1869), had settled at Kasala, where he founded the township of Khatmiyya which soon eclipsed all other centres as the seat of the order (on his authority among the eastern tribes, see Münzinger's account quoted in *Sudan Notes and Records* [1940], 47-50).

When Muḥammad Aḥmad proclaimed himself the Mahdī of the Sudan in 1881, the Mīrghaniyya, like other established *ṭarīḳas* which had vested interests in the maintenance of the Egyptian régime, strongly opposed his claims (see ʿUthmān Diḳna's letter to the Mahdī, in Wingate, *Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan*, 1891, repr. London 1968, 529). Al-Ḥasan's son, Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Ṣaghīr (d. 1886), excommunicated the Mahdī and headed the Banī ʿĀmir, Shukriyya and other eastern tribes in their resistance, until Kasala fell in 1885 to ʿUthmān Diḳna, who burnt the *zāwiya* and tomb of al-Ḥasan.

After the reoccupation in 1898, the new government sought the reconsolidation of Mīrghanī authority. They sent to Egypt for Muḥammad ʿUthmān's sons, Aḥmad and ʿAlī, and rebuilt the tomb of al-Ḥasan. Although the role of the Mīrghaniyya in aiding the Egyptians and English had alienated many, and they were opposed by the Mahdī's adherents, the leaders were able to regain their power and increase their following, owing to the influence which their hereditary *baraka* exercised upon the populace. Aḥmad's death in 1928 left ʿAlī as the undisputed head of the order, although other regional heads were technically equal in status.

When the Mīrghaniyya was at the height of its influence, the government's recognition of the Mahdī's son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, during the First World War, which was followed by the reconstitution of the Mahdiyya sect, inaugurated an era of rivalry between the two religious movements in which their political role came to assume predominance. The elections of November 1953 for a Sudan Parliament resulted in the victory of the National Unionist Party supported by the Mīrghaniyya over the *Umma* Party supported by the Mahdiyya.

Distribution. The main expansion of the order has been in the Eastern Sudan, where it is the predominant *ṭarīḳa*. It is strong among the merchant communities and educated classes throughout the whole country, whence its power in politics. Among the ordinary population, whilst groups will be found all over the country, it is strongest in the north (Donḳola and Ḥalfa Provinces), among the Djaʿliyyīn, and in the east and Eritrea, especially among the Badja tribes (ʿAbābda, Ḥalanḳa, Ammarʾar, Banī ʿĀmir and Ḥabāb). In Kordofān there is a branch order, the Ismāʿīliyya. It was propagated in Egypt by Abū Ḥurayba, an Egyptian pupil of the founder, under whose name the *ṭarīḳa* is sometimes known, and has *zāwiyas* in the chief towns. It has followers in Abyssinia (Addis Ababa and among the Guma), whilst in Arabia only small groups survive in the Ḥidjāz, ʿAsīr and Yemen.

Bibliography: For the works of ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḥdjūb, see Brockelmann, S II, 523; for those of Muḥammad ʿUthmān, *op. cit.*, S II, 809; for those of Djaʿfar b. M. ʿUthmān, *op. cit.*, S II, 810. *Al-Madjmūʿa al-Mīrghaniyya* (various eds.) includes the most important devotional works of these, *al-Rasāʾil al-Mīrghaniyya* (1939), a collection of 12 essays dealing with the rules of the order and methods of performing of the *dhikr*, the *Minḥat al-aṣḥāb* by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ruṭbī being especially

valuable. See also A. Le Chatelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, 226-48; J.S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, 1949, London 215-17, 231-5. (Ed.)

MĪRĪ (a.), a shortened form of *amīrī*, in Ottoman Turkish *emīrī*, literally, "pertaining to the commander or governor, the *amīr*". Although in early Islam this latter title [*q.v.*] used to denote the head of the Muslim community, it was downgraded over the ages, and during Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times was given to military officers, including low-ranking ones. Under the Ottomans, the term resumed its initial importance and was singled out to designate assets that belong of right to the highest Muslim authority, the Sultan. Throughout Ottoman history, it was used as a noun meaning "lands belonging to the government", "land tax" levied from them, as well as "the public treasury".

Muslim jurisprudence drew a distinction between privately-owned lands, *mulk* (either *ᶜushr* or *kharādj* land, possessed by Muslims or by non-believers, respectively) and state property, *arḍ al-mamlaka*. In earlier years, the latter was designated by several names (e.g. *khāṣṣ*), and it was only under the Ottomans that it assumed the name *mīrī*. Since the absolute ownership, the *raḳaba*, belonged to the *bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*], *mīrī* lands could only be leased by the peasants who enjoyed the rights of usufruct, the *taṣarruf*, and paid the land-tax in return. They could neither sell or grant nor endow these lands, although in later years ways were elaborated to circumvent these restrictions, e.g. the establishment of *wakf ghayr ṣaḥīḥ*.

Upon the conquest of a given area by the Ottomans its agricultural lands, the most promising source of income, were declared *mīrī*. This was explicitly stated in the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of the *wilāyet* (e.g. Wilāyet-i Mora, in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 326), then recorded by the land registration (*taḥrīr*) committee in the relevant *daftar-i khāḳānī* [*q.v.*]. As long as the peasants tilled the land and paid its taxes (e.g. the *čift resmi*, *ᶜushr*) no one could interfere with their holdings or with the right of their descendants to inherit them.

The taxes that accrued from these lands were assigned as salaries for the upkeep of the Ottoman army, either directly (the *tīmār* system) or through the *emānet* [see emīn] levying system that accrued to the treasury. As late as the 10th/16th century, the administration tried to overcome the deterioration that occurred in these systems. Vacant *tīmār*s as well as ordinary *mīrī* villages were in the various forms of *khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] leased out to *multazim* tax farmers. The taxation unit (*muḳāṭaᶜa*) was farmed out, and in return the lease holder was expected to convey to the state treasury the annual *mīrī* tax (*māl-i mīrī*, *aṣl-i māl*, etc.) due. Two ways were resorted to in order to compensate the treasure for the depreciation in the actual value of the *mīrī*: the tax farmer had to pay an advance, *māl-i muᶜadjele*, upon his nomination, very often at a higher rate than the original tax returns. Secondly, there were other sums that were added over the years under various names (*fāʾid*, *ḍamāʾim*, etc.), and gradually became part of the established tax. The *multazim* or the *muḳāṭaᶜadjī* were granted their lease for a limited period of one to three years, and although the *iltizām* system replaced the *emānet*, toward the end of the 11th/17th century it underwent certain modifications. The relatively short term of office of the tax farmers prevented any meaningful interest in the well-being of the peasants who cultivated the *mīrī* plots under their control. A third method was then introduced by the Treasury, the life-long lease or *mālikāne* [*q.v.*]. Here, too, the *multazim* undertook to pay the annual *mīrī* due and he retained the surplus amount which he had collected. He did not, however, have to apply for renewal, hence the *mīrī* became more reminiscent of *mulk*. During the 12th/18th century, although the notion of state absolute ownership over all *mīrī* lands prevailed, its actual control over the tenants and lease holders diminished as the empire declined.

During the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period, an overall attempt was made to redress this situation by way of re-establishing the state's authority over the *mīrī* holders. Many of the rights which they had gradually usurped were legitimised and codified, whereas future attempts to impair the status of the *mīrī* became contingent upon the specific consent of the central government. The construction of new buildings or the planting of trees on *mīrī* land, which might *ipso facto* grant full ownership rights, was forbidden (unless specifically authorised) by the land law of April 21, 1858 (articles 25, 31); official permission became imperative to enable the sale of *mīrī* plots, and so was the division of *mīrī* lands held in partnership or their mortgaging (articles 36, 17, 116, respectively). *Mīrī* lands left fallow for over three years would be confiscated by the state (articles 68-71).

The distinct and clear establishment of the differences between *mīrī* and *mulk* could not change the historical trend involving the transformation of the former into the latter. This tendency reached fruition in Egypt, where close links with the world economy brought about a rapid increase of *mulk* properties to almost one-third of the land by the end of the 19th century. At that point, the Egyptian *mīrī* (referred to as *kharādjiyya*) was ultimately incorporated into the *mulk*. In the Fertile Crescent, this process was much slower; *mulk* lands hardly increased, and in a series of laws passed in 1913, and then in Syria and ᶜIrāḳ in the early 1930s, ownership rights over *mīrī* were extended, although certain restrictions remained valid well into modern times. Thus in the middle of the 20th century, most lands of the Fertile Crescent (with the exception of Lebanon) were still *mīrī*. Moreover, although the 1858 law explicitly prohibited any collective ownership (*mushāᶜ* [*q.v.*]), this clause was also evaded. No general registration was carried out (in southern ᶜIrāḳ, not even theoretically), and the villagers, fearing conscription and taxation, registered their land in the name of tribal heads or city notables. In practice, however, they continued to cultivate their land according to the traditional ways. Unlike Egypt, where a full land census was completed just after the turn of the century, a state of anarchy persisted in the Fertile Crescent in this field up until 1914. Land settlement and registration of titles progressed very slowly during the Mandatory period and in the independent succession states. Even when the status of *mīrī* was abolished (e.g. in Israel from 1 January 1970), it still remains valid in unsettled lands. Even the term "pure *mīrī*" (*mīrī ṣirf*), referred to by the registration commissions of the 19th century in the Fertile Crescent, has not disappeared. In contemporary ᶜIrāḳ, where modern legislation introduced separate categories for *mīrī* turned almost fully to private ownership (*lazma*, *tapu*), *mīrī ṣirf* still exists for unsettled lands which are still within the realm of state formal ownership.

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(A. Cohen)

MIRKĀS or Mirḳās (a.), a kind of mutton sausage. There would probably be no reason to devote an article to this culinary speciality had it not enjoyed for some time in Europe, and especially in France, an unexpected success, being known as "merguez", after the arrival of a considerable number of Mag̲h̲ribī immigrants and above all, repatriates from the lands of North Africa, where the word and the thing itself were not widespread, it seems, until a relatively recent period. Thus there is a problem worthy of examination.

Sausages are not unknown in the East, where they are called by the Turkish name *sud̲j̲uḳ*, or the Latin *laḳāniḳ/maḳāniḳ/naḳāniḳ* which Dozy has already mentioned (*Suppl.*, s.vv.), tracing them back to *lucanica*, which shows a Roman influence, and remarking that Ibn al-Ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾ's gloss on the *Manṣūrī* of al-Rāzī explains the first of these three words as the Mag̲h̲ribī *mirkās*. In the West also, E. Laoust notes (in *Mots et choses berbères*, 79 and n. 7) the existence, in Berber lands, of sausages, the word for which varies according to the local dialects. In any case, M. Beaussier, whose *Dictionnaire* dates from 1887, records, under the radical *r-k-z*, a word **mərkāza*, coll. **mərkāz*, but adds that it is Tunisian; Marcel Cohen, in *Le parler des Juifs d'Alger*, Paris 1912, 82, notes the same word with a *-g-*, as also David Cohen who, in his monograph on *Le parler des Juifs de Tunis*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 152-3, has *mərgāž* in a colourful text which provides information on the preparation of these sausages with mutton, fennel seeds, garlic and a paste made from red peppers. G.-S. Colin (in his ed., with E. Lévi-Provençal, of al-Saḳaṭī, 33-4) observes on the one hand that the writing of the word with *-k-* or *-ḳ-* in the ms. used shows the difficulty caused by the wish to render a *-g-* and, on the other hand, since it is obviously not a Bedouin word, that it is possible to regard *mirkās/mirḳās*, whose origin is unknown, as a Roman borrowing which has been preserved in Mag̲h̲ribī dialects under strong Spanish influence. It may furthermore be remarked that, under the radical *r-k-s*, Dozy had already noted that *mirkās*, pl. *marākis*, means "in the Mag̲h̲rib, sausage, chitterlings, black pudding"; he refers in this connection to several sources, among which the *Vocabulista* of Pedro de Alcala translates (295) *merqûze* [pl.], *merĭquiç*, as *longanizo* (= sausage) and (315) *merqûz al-kanzîr* [pl.] *merĭquiç al-kanzîr*, as *morcilla* (= black pudding or chitterlings). This latter expression probably relates to a preparation in use among the Mozarabs and not among the Muslims, since Islam not only forbids the consumption of pork (*k̲h̲inzīr* [*q.v.*]) but also of blood that has been shed [see dam in Suppl.]. In Muslim circles, **mirgāz* thus meant, as *mərgāz* does today, sausages prepared entirely with mutton. Moreover, the *Kitāb al-Ṭabīk̲h̲*, an anonymous work published in 1965 at Madrid by A. Huici Miranda, under a significant title *La cocina hispano-magrebi en la época almohade*, contains in the first lines of the ms. the recipe for the ordinary *mirkās*, which is considered very digestible. It is made from minced leg of mutton, kneaded with a little oil and with the addition of various spices and ingredients: pickle, pimento, dried coriander, nard and cinnamon. There is then added to it 3/4 of its weight in fat, which it is sufficient to cut into small pieces, without grinding or mincing, for they must be melted on the stove; everything is kneaded once more and put into skins from the intestines of mutton washed as a preliminary. The sausages are fried in a mild oil, then sprinkled with an oil and vinegar dressing or a more elaborate sauce. A little dried cheese and some eggs can also be added to the meat itself (*op. cit.*, 24). Other recipes were certainly in use.

These "merguez" were not only prepared in private homes; they were also sold outside, in the shopping streets and on stalls, as appears in works of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*], which especially enjoin the *muḥtasib* to watch the *ṭabbāk̲h̲ūn* (whom one hesitates to describe as "caterers") and ensure that they use fresh products and not (like so many sellers of merguez today) spoiled meat which is cheaper (Ibn ʿAbdūn, 45; Fr. tr., 124) and oblige them to work in public view (*fī mawḍiʿ ẓāhir*), using very smooth chopping boards so as to avoid splinters penetrating the sausage meat; during preparation, the *ṭabbāk̲h̲ūn* must drive away the flies with fans; some advice is also given them on the details of preparation, the proportions to observe and the ingredients to use (al-Saḳaṭī, Ar. text, 31, 36; Fr. tr. 165, 175-6, based on a corrected and extended text).

Literature does not appear to make frequent allusion to these "merguez", and H. Pérès has only found a few lines to cite (*La poésie andalouse, en arabe classique, au XIe siècle*, Paris 1953, 315-16), where the *mirkās* gives rise to a macabre comparison with the fingers of a crucified man.

Bibliography: Apart from the complete references appearing in the text, see Ibn ʿAbdūn, *Risāla fī 'l-ḳaḍāʾ wa 'l-ḥisba*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1955 (tr. *idem*, in *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947); Saḳaṭī, *Kitāb fī ādāb al-ḥisba*, ed. G.-S. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931 (Span. tr. P. Chalmeta, in *al-And.*, xxxii/1-2 [1967], 125-62, 359-97, xxxiii/1-2 [1968], 143-95, 367-420).

(Ch. Pellat)

MĪRK̲H̲WĀND, Muḥammad b. K̲h̲wāndshāh b. Maḥmūd, (836-7 to 903/1433-4 to 1498), Tīmūrid historian under Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara in Harāt, author of the universal history *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ fī sīrat al-anbiyāʾ wa 'l mulūk wa 'l k̲h̲ulafāʾ*, written in Persian.

He was born in 836-7/1433-4 into a Buk̲h̲āran *sayyid* family. His father Burhān al-Dīn K̲h̲wānds̲h̲āh spent most of his career in Balk̲h̲, with a sojourn also in Harāt where he was connected with the eminent scholar and *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām*, Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿUmar D̲j̲ag̲h̲āraʾī. Mīrk̲h̲wānd received a comprehensive education and early became interested in history, but produced nothing until he won the patronage of Mīr ʿAlī S̲h̲īr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], who gave him quarters at the Ik̲h̲lāṣiyya *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*, part of the complex which Nawāʾī began in 880/1475-6. Mīrk̲h̲wānd's brother, Sayyid Niẓām al-Dīn Sulṭān Aḥmad, served as *ṣadr* for Badīʿ al-Zamān b. Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā in Astarābād.

Mīrk̲h̲wānd had poor health, and part of his history was written on his sickbed. Near the end of his life, he withdrew from society to the Gāzargāh shrine, but due to a wasting illness he returned to Harāt city in Ramaḍān 902/May 1497, and died on 2 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 903/22 June 1498 (sometimes erroneously given as 2 Rad̲j̲ab). He was buried in the cemetery of Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿUmar.

The *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ* is arranged in seven volumes, with an epilogue (*khātima*) on geography:

1. From the creation to Yazdagird
2. Muḥammad and the Rāshidūn caliphs
3. The twelve Imāms, the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids
4. Dynasties contemporary with the ʿAbbāsids
5. Čingiz Khān and his successors
6. Tīmūr and his successors to the death of Abū Saʿīd
7. Sultan Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā and his sons up to 1522-3
8. *Khātima*.

The seventh volume was written after Mīrkhʷānd's death by his daughter's son Khʷāndamīr [*q.v.*], who also completed the *khātima*, finished apparently after 907/1502. The history is based on a large number of Persian and Arabic works, some mentioned in the preface, others in the text. It enjoyed exceptional popularity throughout the Turco-Iranian regions, was used in many later historical compilations and translated several times into Turkish: into Ottoman in the 10th/16th and 12th/18th centuries, and into eastern literary Turkish in the 12th/18th and 13th/19th. It was widely used by European historians from the 17th century, and until the late 19th century remained a major source for the history of mediaeval Iran. The seventh volume, almost identical with the corresponding part of Khʷāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, is still useful, as are some earlier sections based on works now lost, notably the Saldjūḳid *Malik-nāma* and the 8th/14th century *Tārīkh-i Sarbadārān*. Volume vi also contains occasional information from the author's own observation.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 92-101, 1236; Storey-Bregel, 361-78; N.D. Miklukho-Maklai, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopisei instituta vostokovedenii*, vypusk 3 (Moscow 1975), 87-90; *IA*, viii (1960), art. *Mîrhond*; for the use of Mīrkhʷānd in the West, H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India*, London 1872, iv, 127-40. For biographical information, see Khʷāndamīr, Tehran 1333/1954-5, iv, 105, 339-40; Mīrkhʷānd, Tehran 1960, i, 4-8, v, 68-9, vi, 747-8, 819-20, 873-5. Editions: Bombay, 1271/1855; Tehran. 1270-4/1853-7, with continuation by Riḍā Ḳulī Khān; Lucknow 1874; Tehran, 1338/1960 with continuation, no critical apparatus or index.

(A. Beveridge — [Beatrice Forbes Manz])

MĪRMĪRĀN [see mīr-i mīrān].

al-**MIRRĪKH**, the planet Mars. The etymology of the name is unknown. The sphere of Mars is the fifth sphere of the planets. It is bounded on the inner side by the sphere of the sun and on the outer side by the sphere of Jupiter, and its breadth is according to Ptolemy (xx, 376) 998 miles. Its period of revolution is estimated at 1 year, 10 months and 22 days. In about 17 years, after 9 revolutions, Mars comes back to the same spot in the heavens; it spends about 40 days in each sign of the zodiac and covers about 40 minutes each day. It is said to be one-and-a-half times the size of the earth.

Astrologers call Mars *al-Naḥs al-aṣghar*, "the minor misfortune." It is the planet, which next to Saturn, is credited with the most ominous omens and effects, war, revolutions, death, conflagrations, etc. The character of those born under Mars is in keeping with this.

Bibliography: Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 26; A. Hauber, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder*, Strasbourg 1916, *passim*; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, sections, iii, iv. (J. Ruska)

MĪRTULA or Mārtula/Martula, Arabic forms of the name Mertola (Span. Mértola), a small town of southern Portugal, situated on the Guadiana (Wādī Ana) at 35 miles/55 km. from the mouth of that river. This place, the ancient Myrtilis of the Romans, enjoyed a certain importance during the period of Islamic domination. It depended administratively on Béja [see bādja] and, according to Yāḳūt and other geographers, was the best-defended stronghold of all the west of the Iberian peninsula. At the end of the 3rd/9th century, it was the headquarters of an independent chieftain, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abi 'l-Djawād who, in alliance with the lords of Badajoz [see baṭalyaws] and of Ocsonoba [see ukhshūnuba], stood out against the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh of Cordova. At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, it constituted a petty principality (*ṭāʾifa*) which was annexed however to Seville in 436/1044. It was from Mertola in particular that one of the main revolts against the Almoravids, the *thawrat al-murīdīn*, spread forth; indeed, the *murīds* [*q.v.*] of Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*], commanded by a certain Ibn al-Ḳābila, seized the fortress on 12 Ṣafar 539/14 August 1144 and facilitated the arrival of the Almohads in that region. After various vicissitudes, the place was definitively reconquered by the Christians towards the end of that same century.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed.-tr. Dozy and De Goeje, 175/211, 179/217; idem, *Opus geographicum*, 538, 542-3, 545, 550; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, ii, 198; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmal al-aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut 1956, 248-52; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ii, 140/223; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭar*, nos. 165, 183, pp. 125, 191; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, 134, 211, 374; Fagnan, *Extraits inedits*, Algiers 1924, 84, 86-7, 138; Lévi-Provençal, *La «description de l'Espagne» d'Aḥmad al-Rāzī*, in *And.*, xviii/1 (1953), § 49; idem, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 340; Ḥ. Muʾnis, *Nuṣūṣ siyāsiyya...*, in *Madjallat al-Maʿhad al-Miṣrī*, iii (1955), 101-3; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 55; J. Bosch-Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, Tetouan 1956, 152, 287-8, 290, 293; D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings*, Princeton 1985, 91; J. Dreher, *L'imāmat d'Ibn Qasī à Mertola (automne 1144-été 1145). Légitimité d'une domination soufie?*, in *MIDEO*, xviii (1988), 195-210 (a résumé of part of the unpublished Bonn thesis of 1985, *Das Imāmat des islamischen Mystikers Abūlqāsim Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Qasī*). (E. Lévi-Provençal*)

MIRWAḤA (a.), "fan, vane".

1. General aspects. In the Muslim East, from the Middle Ages to the present day, fans of various sizes have been simply a means of resisting the heat. Good ventilation and, where possible, reduction of the temperature are vital for the improvement of living conditions in regions where intense heat prevails throughout the summer. The civilisations preceding that of the Muslims were aware of some reasonably effective solutions to this problem, and it seems that the Muslims continued to apply them, to perfect them and to supplement them with inventions of their own. These techniques include, besides small hand-held fans and larger ones operated by servants, the construction of windows and skylights which may be opened for ventilation, the elaboration of systems directing every breath of air towards the interior of the building and the skill necessary to construct veritable machines (or rather, installations) based on a process of humidification and ventilation and capable of freshening the air.

2. Pools, hydraulic wheels and gardens. It is possible to enjoy wind and fresh air without needing to resort to any particular machinery. During the

summer, it may be convenient to sleep, at night, on the roof or on a terrace (in the 4th/10th century: Mez, *Renaissance*, 360; later, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 30, relates that it is general practice to sleep "on the roof", but in their translation Defrémery and Sanguinetti add, in parentheses, that this should be understood as meaning "on the terrace"). During the day, it is possible to recline comfortably in a garden, near an artifical lake (*birka*, *fiskiyya* and *faskiyya*) or in places close to running water, near pools and fountains (*nāfūra*, *nawfara*, *fawwāra*, *fiskiyya* and *faskiyya*) and hydraulic wheels (*nāʿūra* = noria; the more commonly found form is *dawlab* = wheel for raising water), which freshens all the ambient air. Waterwheels were designed to raise the water (from one canal to the other, in the open air, or from a river to some kind of building); some wheels of this type were constructed in such a way that their upper part was located in the basement of the houses of the wealthy, built on the bank of a river, while the base of each wheel dipped in the water. Although the principal role of such a wheel was the provision of water, it also served as an instrument for freshening the air in the house and, as is shown by a miniature of the 7th/13th century (see below, Farès), people enjoyed sitting around it. Similarly, the entire garden could lend its freshness to the house or the palace when the architect took the trouble to incorporate the garden within the perimeter wall or when the architectural concept consisted of small pavilions spreading across a large garden. Another example would be a simple interior court converted into a vaulted space and incorporated into the house, often containing a small ornamental pool and a fountain. On water-wheels, pools in gardens and the architectural techniques which had as their sole purpose the bestowing of their benefits on the house, see al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *Dīwān*, new ed. 1981, i, 326, 362, 438-9, ii, 129, 278, 316, 822; Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tashbīhāt*, 254-5; al-Nawādjī, *Ḥalba*, 286-95; al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, i, 35-40, 41-5; al-Badrī al-Dimashḳi, *Nuzha*, *passim*; Lane, *Manners*, 10, 14 (in the Islamic Museum of Cairo there is a reconstruction of an ancient pool of the same type, supplemented by a water-jet); Le Lortet, *Syrie*, 575, 578; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, 279-82; H. Pérès, *Poésie*, 150, 152, 202-5, J. Dickie, in *BSOAS*, xxxi, 240-1; A. Lézine, in *BEO*, xxiv, 11-2; A. Mazahéri, *Vie quotidienne*, 75, 82-4; al-Hānī, *Ṣuwar ʿabbāsiyya*, 51, 55, 61, 65 (!), and the miniature found in B. Farès, *Vision*, Plate ii (wheel "entering" a princely residence; there is no need to take seriously the interpretations of the author, refuted elsewhere by D.S. Rice, in *Burlington Mag.* [April 1953]); cf. Ettinghausen, *Peinture arabe*, 127; Titley, *Minatures from Persian manuscripts*, 545 (index) "Wheels", "Water-wheels"; idem, *Plants and gardens*, *passim*, especially 8-9.

3. Wind vents, *bādhhandj* and methods of humidification. In the court of the ʿAbbāsids, a technique was invented for the use of tightly stretched screens of coarse linen fabric [see KHAYSH] which were sprayed with water (al-Thaʿālabī, *Laṭāʾif*, ed. De Jong, 14-15, tr. Bosworth, 48; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil* ed. ʿA.-S. Hārūn, states that the Sāsānid kings were unaware of this technique; al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *op. cit.*, i, 272, 426, ii, 106, 205, describes a kind of cabin-pavilion (*bayt* and cf. below, the more complicated constructions) in *khaysh* (or in *kittān* = in linen); for other forms and sources, see KHAYSH). On the ventilation chimneys called *bādhhandj* or *bādgīr*, see BĀDGĪR in Suppl. For illustrations, see figs. 1-6.

4. Fans. In order to distinguish between small individual fans (see figs. 8-9) and the large fans

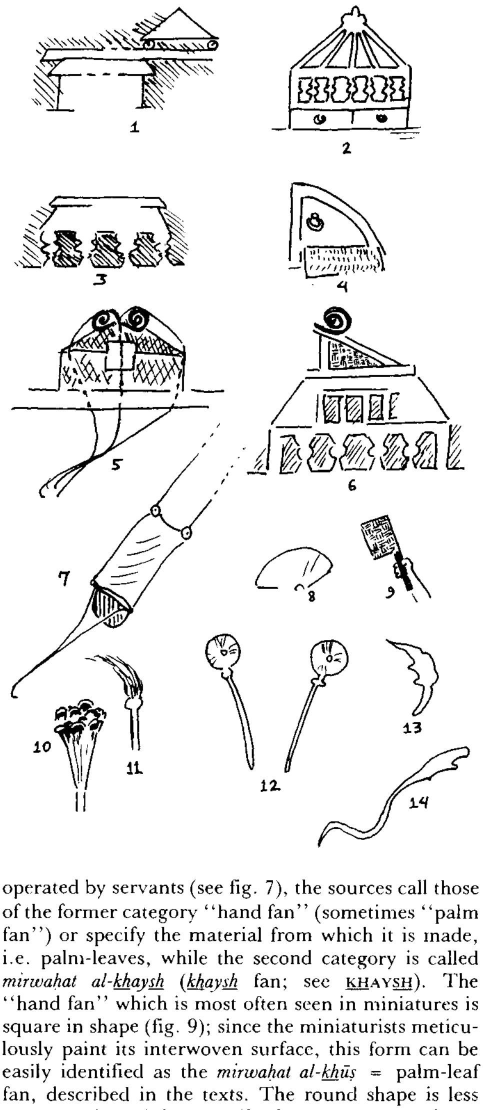

operated by servants (see fig. 7), the sources call those of the former category "hand fan" (sometimes "palm fan") or specify the material from which it is made, i.e. palm-leaves, while the second category is called *mirwaḥat al-khaysh* (*khaysh* fan; see KHAYSH). The "hand fan" which is most often seen in miniatures is square in shape (fig. 9); since the miniaturists meticulously paint its interwoven surface, this form can be easily identified as the *mirwaḥat al-khūṣ* = palm-leaf fan, described in the texts. The round shape is less common in miniatures (furthermore, one of the Ottoman miniatures which depicts it belongs to a series devoted to women of diverse ethnics origins, and the lady in question is, in fact Spanish, see fig. 8), but the existence of round fans, made of leather, is attested by the written sources. As for the large fan operated by servants (fig. 7), certain authors, including al-Sharīshī and al-Ghuzūlī (see references given below), who talk of the *mirwaḥat al-khaysh* in ʿIrāḳ, are referring to a large linen cloth which is sprayed with water (sometimes perfumed) and which is attached to the ceiling with cords, which may be unfolded as they are pulled; the wet cloth, continuing to move automatically, freshens a small amount of air. It is quite possible that the miniatures which vouch for the presence of a servant who operates the large "fan" reflect the situation in wealthy homes more accurately than does al-Sharīshī (copied by other authors, see Mez, *loc. cit.*; al-Djāḥiẓ, tr. Pellat, *Le livre des avares*, 316-17; and KHAYSH); even the analogies in verse which these authors quote refer to a person or to the hand of a person. Similarly, it was not necessary to moisten this large fan; in some circles, or in a certain period, the combination of fan/*khaysh* consisted of two

separable elements: an apparatus of *khaysh*, which was moistened and which freshened the air in the room, and a large fan (not wet, apparently) which the servants (*farrāshūn*) operated to spread the fresh air throughout the house (al-Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, ed. al-Shāldjī, i, 390). N. Titley (see below) describes certain kinds of fans, represented in Persian miniatures, as being made of feathers. It seems that the distinction between fans and fly-whisks is unclear (this "confusion" existed even in ancient times; see Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, under *flabellum* and *muscarium*; even al-Shaldjī, *loc. cit.*, makes no distinction in his commentary between *mirwaḥa* and *midhabba*; see also *Mi'at layla wa-layla*, ed. Ṭarshūna, 78: *al-madhānib wa 'l-mazāwiḥ* to be read *al-madhābib wa 'l-narāwīḥ marāwiḥ*). Thus the identification of feathers, in the sense of primary material, could refer to a wide range of fans/fly-whisks. Furthermore, fly-whisks (and possibly fans, at the same time, see figs. 10-14) could themselves, in turn, be mistaken for regal accoutrements (see especially, fig. 12, in which the objects in question are held in a heraldic manner, as it were, on either side of a prince), but the presence of a servant (or two), standing behind the prince or at his side, holding a fly-whisk, in order to throw into relief the royal appearance of the person, does not mean that the object cannot also serve a useful purpose (on fans and fly-whisks in the written sources [for iconographic sources, see below] see: Kushādjim, *Dīwān*, 8; al-Sarī al-Raffā', *op. cit.*, i, 426, ii, 290, 556; al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 185; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, ii, 381; al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. de Sacy, 544; al-Warrāḳ al-Ḥaẓīrī, *Aḥādjī*, ms. Topkapı Sarayı, A. 2419, fol. 12a-b; al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, ed. M. Ibrāhīm, v, 57-8; al-Nawādjī, *op. cit.*,176; al-Ghuzūlī, *op. cit.*, i, 64-5).

These methods of cooling and ventilation (such as the use of fans of various sizes and wetted fibres) are still in use, but with the introduction of modern air conditioning, they are gradually disappearing.

5. Iconography. Sources of the figs.: ms. Leningrad, Acad. des Sc., S. 23, pp. 27, 29, 30, 32, 44, 46, 49, 89, 90, 93, 95, 103, 318 (see also the handwritten remarks in D.S. Rice's bequest at the Mayer Institute); mss. Paris, B.N., Ar. 3929, fols. 120a, 157a, 173a, 179a; Ar.5847, fols. 42a, 148b, 152a; Ar. 6094, fols. 31a, 133b; mss. Istanbul, Esad Ef. 3683, fols. 4a, and Revan, 1062, fol. 153a; mss. London, B.L., Add. 7293, fol. 87a, Turk. 7094, fol. 7a (Ottoman art); ms. Vienna, N.B., Af. 9. fols. 8b, 20b; Blochet, *Painting*, fig. clxxxvii; B.W. Robinson *et alii*, *Islamic painting and the art of the book*, pls. 46, 124; Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish mss.*, 78: *yelpaze*; idem, *Miniatures from Persian mss.*, 248 (index): s.v. "fans"; R. Hattox, *Coffee and coffee houses*, pl. 6 (see in the centre, to the right; photo taken from the Turkish ms., Chester Beatty, 439, fol. 9); see also A.V.W. Jackson, *Cat. of Persian miniatures*, section v, first plate (Persian-Indian art).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Sadan)

MIRYAM [see MARYAM].

MĪRZĀ or Mirzā, a Persian title, from *Mīr-zāda* or *Amīr-zāda*, and originally meaning "born of a prince" (cf. *Malik-zāda* and *Sarhang-zāda*, which occur in Sa'dī, etc.).

1. In Persian usage. The title, in addition to bearing its original significance, was also given to noblemen and others of good birth, thus corresponding to the Turkish Āghā. Since the time of Nādir Shāh's conquest of India, it has been further applied to educated men outside of the class of *mullās* or *'ulamā'*. In modern times, but not formerly, the title is placed after the name of a prince, and before the name of other persons bearing it: e.g. *Ḥusayn Mīrzā* "Prince Husayn", whereas Mīrzā Ḥusayn is practically equivalent to "Mr. Ḥusayn". (R. Levy)

2. In Indian usage. The title Mīrzā is accorded by Indian historians, not before Mughal times, to (a) close kinsmen of the Mughal ruling house, such as the brothers of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar (later princes tend to have the title *sulṭān*); Gulbadan Bēgam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, ed. and tr. A.S. Beveridge, text 9, tr. 90, speaks of Bābur's order to address him as a *bādshāh* after the birth of Humāyūn rather than as "Mīrzā Bābur", for previously "all kings' sons were called *mīrzās*" (*hama bādshahzādhā'ī-rā mīrzā mīguftand*); (b) others in the Tīmūrid line, for example Ḥusayn Mīrzā = [Sultan] Ḥusayn Mīrzā b. Manṣūr b. Bāyḳarā [*q.v.*], of Khurasān; the turbulent group who opposed Akbar in Gudjarāt, and the Mīrzās of Badakhshān, both referred to in the article MĪRZĀS; (c) some descendants of the Ṣafawid house, e.g. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn son of Bahrām son of Shāh Ismā'īl I of Persia, who joined Akbar at the cession of Ḳandahar 1003/1595; and his (abler) brother Rustam Mīrzā, who joined Akbar in 1001/1593, and held several appointments under Akbar, Djahāngīr and Shāhdjahān before his death in 1051/1641; (d) members of other royal houses: the title Mīrzā was held by the Arghūn house, the sultans of Sindh and their successors: Mīrzā Djānī Bēg was governor of Sindh under Akbar, his son Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg under Akbar and Djahāngīr [see ARGHŪN; also SINDH; TARKHĀN; ṬHAṬṬHĀ]; (e) certain Mughal nobles, apparently merely as a mark of royal favour: the Khān-i Khānān, 'Abd al-Raḥīm [*q.v.*], son of Bayram Khān, was known first as Mīrzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm, and later entitled Mīrzā Khān; his four sons bore the title Mīrzā; Mīrzā Yūsuf Khan [see YŪSUF KHĀN], son of Mīr Aḥmad-i Raḍawī, who from 995/1587 was governor of Kashmīr; Akbar's foster-brother Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka [*q.v.*], whose father was certainly not of noble birth, and his five sons; even favoured Hindūs bore the title: Mān Singh [*q.v.*] was familiarly referred to as Mīrzā Rādjā. A mosque inscription in Mungēr [*q.v.*] of 1074/1663-4 uses the rare feminine form *mīrzānī* in describing its foundress (Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian inscriptions in Bihar*, Patna 1973, 269-70).

In modern times in India and Pakistan, the prefixed *Mīrzā* is particularly used by men of the Mughal division of Ashraf Muslims.

Bibliography: See those to the various MĪRZĀS.

(J. Burton-Page)

MĪRZĀ AḤMAD KHĀN, Indian Muslim noble and traveller to the West, the son of Nawwāb Mu'azzaz Khān (Nawwāb in 1769), descended from 'Abd Allāh Beg, the Mughal governor of Broach, a town in Gudjarāt [see BHAROČ], situated on the right bank of the Narbada river about 30 miles from its mouth.

Since the town of Broach was an important trading and manufacturing centre and the Nawwāb would not allow the English to establish a factory there, the governor of Bombay decided to seize it. Under the pretext that the Nawwāb had violated the treaty with the East India Company and insulted Morley, its representative, Broach was attacked and stormed on 18 November 1772, and the state was annexed. As the Nawwāb died soon afterwards, four of his sons decided to proceed to England and petition the Courth of Directors for the redress of the injustice done to their family. The governor of Bombay,

having come to know of this, ordered their movements to be watched and later detained them. In spite of this, after five months, they managed to escape and boarded a ship which took them to Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*] in ʿUmān. From there they went to Baṣra and, following the overland route via Baghdād, they arrived in Istanbul, where two of the brothers, Mīrzā Anwār ʿAlī Khān and Mīrzā Waḥīd al-Dīn Khān, decided to settle and gave up the idea of going to England. The other two, Mīrzā Nawāzish Khān, the eldest, and Mīrzā Aḥmad Khān, made up their minds to continue the journey. Accordingly, they left Istanbul for Marseilles. On arriving there, early in 1794, the town authorities provided them with a carriage which took them to Lyons. Here Mīrzā Nawāzish Khān fell ill and died after a prolonged illness. As by this time Mīrzā Aḥmad's money had run out, he appealed to the town authorities for help. He was given money for his journey to Paris and, since he did not know French, he was given a companion named François who could converse a little in Persian.

When Mīrzā Aḥmad arrived in Paris in May 1794, the town was in the full grip of revolutionary fervour; so Mīrzā Aḥmad appealed to the Committee of Public Safety for financial help and for news of his two brothers who were living in Istanbul, either at the *Khānḳāh* of Nuʿmān Beg or with Darwīsh ʿAbd Allāh Hindī. Since the Committee was anxious "to fulfil towards this foreigner the duty of hospitality", because the "French nation honours the unfortunate", it instructed the French ambassador in Istanbul to obtain information about Mīrzā Aḥmad's brothers and to convey to them news of their eldest brother's death. It also authorised the Minister of External Affairs to give Mīrzā Aḥmad 1,200 livres so that he might be able to continue his journey to England. Furthermore, the Committee ordered that François, who, out of goodness of heart, had accompanied Mīrzā Aḥmad to Paris, should be sent back to his home in Lyons at the expense of government.

Later, the Committee issued instructions to the Commissaire of External Affairs that, since the date of Mīrzā Aḥmad's departure was uncertain, his stay in Paris must be made agreeable, and since he did not know French, Ruffin, Government Interpreter of Oriental Languages, should be asked to keep him in his house at Versailles as a paying guest and teach him French, which he was so anxious to learn. This would make him useful to the Republic. Ruffin was greatly impressed by Mīrzā Aḥmad's intelligence, good education, frankness and honesty, and it was due to his suggestion that Mīrzā Aḥmad's allowance was fixed at 360 livres per month, excluding the expenses for board and lodging.

Mīrzā Aḥmad learnt French in three months, and in gratitude for what the Republic had done for him, he paid his homage to it by translating the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* into Persian. He then presented it to the Committee of Public Safety, which by order of Robespierre and Danton, sent it to be deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It was felt that the learning and use of French language by a Muslim was a victory of French culture. This translation of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* was the first to have been made in any Oriental language. Unfortunately, this document is not now traceable in the Oriental Section of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Although the Revolutionary government of France was opposed to kings, princes and nobles, it adopted an extremely generous attitude towards Mīrzā Aḥmad. This was due partly to the ill-treatment he had received from their enemies and partly to the ideals of the French Revolution to help the underdog, the oppressed and the wronged.

Meanwhile, before Mīrzā Aḥmad was able to leave Paris, Mīrza Waḥīd al-Dīn Khān, one of his brothers whom he had left behind in Istanbul, arrived in London and claimed certain rights from the Company on behalf of himself and his brothers. All of his claims were not granted, but each brother was granted a stipend of Rs. 200.00 monthly.

After this, Mīrzā Aḥmad visited London and secured funds from the Company for carrying the body of his brother, who had died at Lyons, to India overland for burial beside his father's tomb. He was already suspected by the British authorities to be pro-French. The British Chargé d'Affaires in Istanbul was firmly convinced that he was not only pro-French in his sympathies but was actively working as an agent on behalf of France. When, therefore, he reached Baṣra, the English Resident was suspicious and persuaded him to embark on a ship for Bombay. On arrival at Bombay, Mīrzā Aḥmad was handed over to the police "as a spy inimical to the British interests, and in collusion with our enemies". In 1798 he petitioned the Company which ordered the Bombay government to "examine his allegations and report thereon". It is not known what happened to him afterwards. Probably he died in obscurity, unable to do anything to promote the cause of the French Revolution in India.

Bibliography: *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Archives et Documentation*: Memoirs and Documents, vol. xviii, 20; Archives Nationales: Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Vol. xx; India Office, Despatch to Bombay (Public Department), 30 May 1794; Despatch to Bombay (Public Department), 17 February 1797 (paras. 28 and 29); Despatch to Bombay (Political Department), 20 March 1799 (para. 7); Despatch to Bombay (Public Department), 20 May 1799 (para. 30); Letter received from Bombay (Public Department), 19 January 1796 (paras. 173a to 183); Letters received from Bombay, 22 August 1796, Public Consultations; Letters received from Bombay (Political Department), 18 December 1796 (para. 27); G.W. Forrest (ed.), *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat*, Home Series, i, 389; M.S., Commissariat, *A history of Gujarāt*, 2 vols., i, 1938, ii, 1957.

(Mohibbul Hasan)

MĪRZĀ ʿASKARĪ, Mughal prince, the third son (neglecting infant deaths), of the emperor Bābur [*q.v.*], full brother of Kāmrān Mīrzā [*q.v.*] and half-brother of the emperor Humāyūn [*q.v.*] and Hindāl Mīrzā [*q.v.*], born 922/1516 in camp, as his sobriquet indicates, died 965/1558.

He received his first military command at the age of 12, during Bābur's eastern campaigns beyond the Ganges. After Humāyūn's succession in 937/1530, Kāmrān was assigned Ḳandahār, but left ʿAskarī in command there when he moved to attack Humāyūn's possessions in Lāhawr; but a couple of years later we find ʿAskarī in Āgrā, whence he was sent against the Gudjarātī invaders under Tātār Khān Lōdī, and had some success against a weakened force at Mandrayl south-west of Āgrā. He accompanied Humāyūn on the conquest of Gudjarāt in 942/1535, and was appointed governor of Aḥmadābād; but after Humāyūn had left to quell disturbances in the recently-acquired Māndū, the Gudjarātī army regrouped and ʿAskarī abandoned his camp, hoping to capture the treasury at Čāmpānēr before making for Āgrā, where his advisers had suggested that he

declare his independence. The Mug͟hal governor of Čāmpānēr was, however, loyal to Humāyūn, withstood ʿAskarī's army, and advised Humāyūn of the state of affairs. Since rebellion had broken out in the eastern provinces, Humāyūn greeted ʿAskarī with a show of forgiveness, and they moved together towards Bengal; but they were outgeneralled by S͟hīr K͟hān (946/1539) and only with difficulty made their way back to Āgrā. Pursued by S͟hīr's army, the Mug͟hals were forced into exile, and Kāmrān, having shown his treachery to Humāyūn by entering into negotiations with S͟hīr K͟hān, resumed his governorship at Kābul accompanied by ʿAskarī. After Humāyūn's abortive Sind campaign with Mīrzā Hindāl, Kāmrān attacked Badak͟hs͟hān; the governor of Ḳandahār made the town over to Hindāl, whereupon Kāmrān took Ḳandahār and sent Hindāl prisoner to Kabūl, where he appointed ʿAskarī as governor. ʿAskarī restored the defences of Ḳandahār, and instigated the Balūč chiefs to attack Humāyūn. Kāmrān proclaimed himself emperor and struck coins in Kābul and Ḳandahār; when eventually he was captured (956/1549) at Kābul, ʿAskarī, who had sided with his full brother, was also taken, and after a period of confinement was sent to Mecca on pilgrimage in 958/1551, and died between there and Damascus in 965/1558. He was a weak creature, easily led (he was much in Kāmrān's shadow), of no great courage; Gulbadan Bēgam merely calls him "unjust" (*bī-inṣāf*).

Bibliography: Gulbadan Bēgam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, text and Eng. tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1902, index; *Tūzuk-i Bāburī*, Eng. tr. Beveridge, London 1922, index; Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dug͟hlāt, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ras͟hīdī, passim*; Badāʾūnī, *Muntak͟hab al-tawārīk͟h*, index; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, must be used with caution, as he is a partisan of ʿAskarī, his father having been ʿAskarī's *wazīr*; Aḥmad Yādgār, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Salāṭīn-i Afāg͟hina*, is derivative, almost entirely copied from *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*.

(J. Burton-Page)

MĪRZĀ ʿAZĪZ "KŌKA" (*ca.* 949-1033/*ca.* 1542-1624) (the sobriquet occurs also in the Turkī form *kokaltas͟h* or *kokaldas͟h*, "foster-brother"), the son of the Mug͟hal Emperor Akbar's wet-nurse D͟jīd͟jī Anaga, who rose to prominence in the Mug͟hal court, army and administration. His exact date of birth is not recorded, but it must have been within a month or two of Akbar's in 949/1542; his father was S͟hams al-Dīn Aḥmad G͟haznawī, who had been advanced to favour after saving Humāyūn's life in the river crossing at the battle of Kanawd͟j. When D͟jīd͟jī Anaga was entrusted with the infant Akbar, S͟hams al-Dīn received the title of Ātga K͟hān, and was thereafter prominent in the Mug͟hal court, eventually becoming chief minister. ʿAzīz would therefore have been brought up in the court with his play-fellow Akbar, and certainly became Akbar's favourite foster-brother.

Like many others of the "foster-father cohort" (*ātga k͟hayl*) ʿAzīz had held an assignment in the Pand͟jāb; when, after the murder of Ātga K͟hān, Akbar decided to disperse the *ātga k͟hayl* to distant assignments in 976/1568, ʿAzīz was the only courtier to retain one in the Pand͟jāb, at Dīpalpur. After Akbar's conquest of 980/1573, when Gud͟jarāt [*q.v.*] had become a Mug͟hal *ṣūba*, ʿAzīz was appointed its first *ṣūbadār*. His first viceregal period was distinguished by the cadastral survey and settlement of Gud͟jarāt under Ṭōdar Mall [*q.v.*], and by further disaffection of the Mīrzās [*q.v.*], firstly in Pāṭan, quelled by ʿAzīz with the Mālwā army, and then Khambāyat (Cambay); the Mīrzās finally besieged ʿAzīz in Aḥmadābād when Akbar himself arrived from Fatḥpur Sīkrī rapidly, by forced marches, and raised the siege. ʿAzīz was recalled to the Mug͟hal court after two years, to join a projected expedition to Badak͟hs͟hān; but when it was discovered that he had made no attempt to enforce Akbar's new regulation on branding the cavalry horses (*āʾīn-i dāg͟h*, in *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ch. 7), and remained antagonistic to it, he was deprived of his office and confined to his house at Āgrā. He was pardoned in 986/1578, and sent two years later, with an increased *manṣab* [*q.v.*] and the title of K͟hān-i Aʿẓam, to quell disturbances in Bihār and Bengal where local officials had inflamed resentment against Akbar on hearing of his vacillating attitude towards Islam. After he had restored order he returned to Āgrā in 989/1581; but his absence led to a recrudescence of rebellion in Bihār and he was forced to return.

In Gud͟jarāt the ex-sultan Muẓaffar III had raised an army (including disaffected Mug͟hals in protest at the branding regulation) and had occupied Aḥmadābād in 991/1583, and the suppression of this revolt was the first duty to fall to ʿAzīz on his second appointment as *ṣūbadār* of Gud͟jarāt in 998/1590; his brilliant success next year at the battle of Bhūčar Mōrī, near Dhrōl in Sōraṭh, effectively ended the rebellion, and ʿAzīz went on to subjugate the chiefs of Kaččh, although Muẓaffar continued to evade ʿAzīz's troops until his final capture and suicide in 1001/1593 (full details in J. Burton-Page, *ʿAzīz and the sack of Dwārkā...*, in *BSOAS*, xx [1957], 145-57). By this time ʿAzīz had brought all of Sōraṭh, formerly feudatory, under full Mug͟hal control. He was recalled to court; but by this time Akbar had promulgated his new "divine faith" [see DĪN-I ILĀHĪ], and rather than subscribe to it he made a pretence of marching on Dīw, where in fact he joined a pilgrim vessel for the *Ḥad͟jd͟j*, with a vast retinue including his six younger sons; but he was so fleeced in Mecca that he became lukewarm towards Islam, and rejoined Akbar in India in early 1003/1594. He accepted the Dīn-i Ilāhī, became governor of Bihār, and the next year was appointed *wakīl* of the empire. In 1008/1599 he was appointed to Gud͟jarāt for a third term of office; but he remained at Āgrā, governing the province through his two eldest sons Mīrzā S͟hams al-Dīn and Mīrzā S͟hādmān (and other sons held *d͟jāgīrs*, or were appointed to minor offices, elsewhere in Gud͟jarāt), and remained in office until Akbar's death in 1014/1605.

Salīm, Akbar's eldest son, succeeded to the throne as D͟jahāngīr, although some of the court nobles, including ʿAzīz and Mān Singh [*q.v.*], had been anxious to proclaim Salīm's son K͟husraw; the latter broke away from his confinement and went into open rebellion, but in spite of his popularity he was no match for the imperial forces, and was captured easily and blinded. ʿAzīz's disgrace was compounded by the production of a letter he had written some years before in severe condemnation of Akbar's religious innovations; he was deprived of all offices and imprisoned. However, in 1017/1609, he was restored to his rank and appointed in the *ṣūba* of Gud͟jarāt for a fourth term, with the proviso that he should govern through his eldest son S͟hams al-Dīn, who had received the title of D͟jahāngīr Ḳulī K͟hān; two years later he was sent to the Deccan campaigns, but the jealousy of Prince K͟hurram (later S͟hāhd͟jahān) resulted in his recall and imprisonment in Gwāliyar; again restored to his rank, he served again in Gud͟jarāt in a subordinate capacity, and died in Aḥmadābād in 1033/1624.

ʿAzīz is celebrated as a scholar and a wit, a poet, and a distinguished general, honest, fearless, but short-tempered and outspoken. He is remembered for the construction of a great water-tank, the Khān Sarōwar, at Pāṭan in Gudjarāt, and is buried within a great marble pavilion (Čawnsaṭh Khambe) inside the complex at the shrine of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ at Dihlī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: The fullest account of the life of ʿAzīz is in *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, Bibl. Ind. ed., i; copious references in Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, index. H. Beveridge, *ʿAziz Koka*, in *JRAS* (1921), 205-8, is a mere short character sketch. Background to ʿAzīz's viceregal periods in Gudjarāt is well covered in M.S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, ii, Bombay, etc. 1957. See also *Bibl.* to AKBAR, and other references in the article.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MĪRZĀ GHULĀM AḤMAD ḲĀDIYĀNĪ [see AḤMADIYYA].

MĪRZĀ ḤAYDAR DUGHLĀT [see ḤAYDAR MĪRZĀ].

MĪRZĀ HINDĀL [see HINDĀL MĪRZĀ].

MĪRZĀ KĀMRĀN [see KĀMRĀN MĪRZĀ].

MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD ḤAKĪM, brother of Akbar [see MUḤAMMAD ḤAKĪM, MĪRZĀ].

MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD ZAMĀN, brother-in-law of Humāyūn [see MUḤAMMAD ZAMĀN, MĪRZĀ].

MĪRZĀ RAFĪʿA, MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAYDAR, Ḥusaynī Ṭabāṭabāʾī Nāʾīnī (988-1083/1580-1673), Persian scholar of the time of the Ṣafawid Shāhs Sulaymān I and Ṣafī II (1077-1105/1666-92). He was versed in the Shīʿī religious jurisprudence, theology and literature as well as in the current philosophy of his time, and was regarded as the master of the philosophers and theologians of his time. He lived about 95 years and died in Iṣfahān on 3 Shawwāl 1083/22 January 1673, and was buried in the Takht-i Fūlād, the famous cemetery of the city.

He was a pupil of Mullā ʿAbd Allāh Shūshtarī (d. 10 Muḥarram 1020/25 March 1611), Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad ʿĀmilī (953-1031/1546-1622) and Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Findiriskī Astarābādī (d. 1049 or 1050/1639-40). Muḥammad Ḥurr ʿĀmilī (1033-1104/1624-93) and Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī (1027-1110/1618-98) were among his famous pupils. Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḥasan Djilwa (1238-1314/1823-96), a philosopher of the Ḳādjār period, regarded himself as a descendant of Mīrzā Rafīʿā and as his follower.

Mīrzā Rafīʿā wrote both in Arabic and Persian. Among his works in Arabic, the following may be mentioned: (1) A commentary on Kulīnī's *Kāfī*, which he started writing but failed to complete. He seems to have been engaged in this work till 1069/1658-9. His theological and literary method can be seen in this commentary. (2) A treatise on the analogy of the essentialities, in which he criticises Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī's ideas. (3) A commentary on Ṭūsī's *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*. (4-5) Commentaries on the *Ḳawāʿid al-aḥkām* and *al-Mukhtalif*, both by ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī. (6) A commentary on Ibn al-Ḥādjib's *al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-uṣūl*. (7) A commentary on *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sadjdjādiyya*.

Apart from the above-mentioned works, he wrote three books in Persian: (1) A catechism in which he replied to the questions put forward by Sayyid Mahdī b. Sayyid Riḍā Ḥusaynī on jurisprudence. (2) The *Shadjara al-ilāhiyya* on Shīʿī theology written in 1047/1637-8 and dedicated to Shāh Sulaymān. It has an introduction, consisting of two chapters, and eight subjects (*maṭlab*) (published in *Djāwīdān Khirad*, ii/2 [1970], 38-61); a summary of the preceding named *Thamara-yi Shadjariyya al-ilāhiyya* was written in 1070/1659, consisting of an introduction, five subjects (*maḳṣad*) and a conclusion (published in *ʿĀmirī-nāma*, Tehran 1353/1974, 274-321). Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Adham (11th/17th century) has a eulogy in prose about Mīrzā Rafīʿā, the manuscript of which is in the Central Library of Tehran University (no. 3294/4).

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ardabīlī, *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, Tehran 1956; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khātūnābādī, *Manāḳib al-fuḍalāʾ fī riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehran, Madjlis Library ms. 5501/6; Muḥammad Bāḳir Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, Tehran 1850, 360, 613; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, Tehran 1903; idem, *al-Fayḍ al-ḳudsī*, Tehran 1887; Āḳā Buzurg Tihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, Tehran 1968, xvi, 404, 1974, xxii, 333; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Djawāhir al-Kalām, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Maʿārif (Millī)*, Tehran 1934, i; Ibn Yūsuf Shīrāzī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Sipahsālar*, Tehran 1936, i; Walāʾī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Āstān-i Ḳuds-i Raḍawī (Mashhad)*, Mashhad 1950, v, 109, 335, 414.

(M.T. DANESH PAJUH)

MĪRZĀ TAḲĪ KHĀN [see AMĪR KABĪR, in Suppl.].

MĪRZĀʾĪ, an appellation, somewhat contemptuous, given in India to a follower of Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad of Ḳādiyān; see AḤMADIYYA.

MĪRZĀPUR, a district and town in the Uttar Pradesh province, formerly the United Provinces, of the Indian Union, forming a district in the Benares division of that province, with an area of 5,238 sq. miles, and with a population (1971 census) of 731,403 for the district and 80,768 for the town. Some 7% of the population are Muslims, and have shown a tendency to increase in proportion to the Hindus, owing to their greater vitality, containing as they do a smaller proportion of the very poor. The district is however a stronghold of Hinduism, and Islam makes little progress by conversion. Nothing is known of the early history of the district. It was occupied by the Rādjputs in the 11th century A.D. and in the next century passed into the power of the Muslim rulers of Djawnpur [*q.v.*]. Down to the Mughal conquest, the district played an important part in the military history of India, as it contained the great stronghold of Čunār which guarded the gateway of the east.

At Rasūlpur near Ahraura is the tomb of a Muslim martyr called Sayyid Ashrāf ʿAlī which is a place of pilgrimage. Near the gateway of the fort of Bidjaigaṛh is shown the tomb of Sayyid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, the saint who miraculously took the stronghold for Shēr Shāh. The town of Čunār contains two mosques, at one of which are preserved garments said to have belonged to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The tomb of the Afghān saint Shāh Ḳāsim Sulaymānī (952-1015/1545-1606) with those of his family forms a group of buildings of architectural interest. His festival is celebrated on 17-21 Djumādā I of each year.

Mīrzāpur city (lat. 25°9′ N., long. 82°35′ E.) is the capital of the district of the same name; of its population, a sixth are Muslims. It is a Mughal foundation dating from late in the 11th/17th century: in the 12th/18th and early 19th centuries it attained great prosperity as a trading centre, being at the junction of important roads and at the highest point of the Ganges reached by the larger ships. During the Mutiny of 1857-8, it remained quiet under a garrison of loyal troops. In 1864 the opening of the East India Railway left the town isolated; after then it declined, as the railway then carried the trade with which it used to deal.

Among the mosques is one founded in the middle

of the 19th century by a Muslim lady named Ganga Bībī, who also left funds to build a *sarāy*. The town contains the celebrated Hindu shrine of Vindheśvarī, much visited by pilgrims and formerly held in special veneration by thugs.

Bibliography: D.L. Drake-Brockman, *District gazetteer of Mirzapur*, Allahabad 1911; *Imperial gazeteer of India*[2], xvii, 366-77. (J. ALLAN*)

MĪRZĀS, the name commonly given by Indian historians to a turbulent family of Tīmūrid descent, troublesome especially in the 10th/16th century, in the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar, to whom they were mostly sixth cousins, as descendants of ʿUmar Shaykh Mīrzā, the second son of Tīmūr (Akbar was descended from Djalāl al-Dīn Mīrān Shāh, the third son of Tīmūr). Abu 'l-Faḍl and Badāuʾnī refer to them as *mīrzāyān*, and Ḥādjdjī al-Dābir as *awlād Mīrzā Muḥammad Tīmūr Sulṭān*. There may be confusion in the texts when one of them is spoken of in the singular, since any of the personages spoken of in MĪRZĀ above may also be commonly referred to as "the Mīrzā" (*mīrzāʾī*). The Mīrzās of Badakhshān are also considered here, but only with regard to their involvement in Indian affairs.

1. The Mīrzās of Gudjarāt.

The accompanying *stemma* makes their relationship clear; it might be added that Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā was married to Gulrukh Bēgam, daughter of Mīrzā Kamrān; and that Uways Mīrzā was married to the daughter of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, the ruler of Khurāsān.

The six sons of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā had all been provided with *iḳṭāʿ*s in the Sambhal and Aʿẓampur districts; but (probably presuming too much on their royal kinship, and profiting from Akbar's absence from the capital to repel the advance of Muḥammad Ḥākim from Kābul to Lāhawr) they spread outside their own *iḳṭāʿ*s and attempted to occupy crown (*khāliṣa*) lands. From these they were dispossessed by the Mughal general Munʿim Khān [*q.v.*], and fled first to Mālwā, in 974/1567 (whose governor was absent with Akbar in the north) and occupied some important towns and districts. They were pursued to Māndū, and thence fled to Gudjarāt early in 975/1567. Akbar punished their revolt by imprisoning their father Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā at Bayānā, where he died within a short time. By the end of the year it was reported that these Mīrzās, with the two sons of Ulugh Mīrzā, had again invaded Mālwā and were besieging Udjdjayn. Reports of the disturbed conditions under the collapsing Gudjarāt sultanate caused their return to Gudjarāt, where they consolidated their hold over the next two years [see GUDJARĀT for a general description of the situation during the following years and for the conditions of the decline from which the Mīrzās sought to profit].

Here they assisted Čingiz Khān, most able of the Gudjarātī nobles, who at that time held Sūrat, Nan-

GENEALOGY OF THE MĪRZĀS OF GUDJARĀT

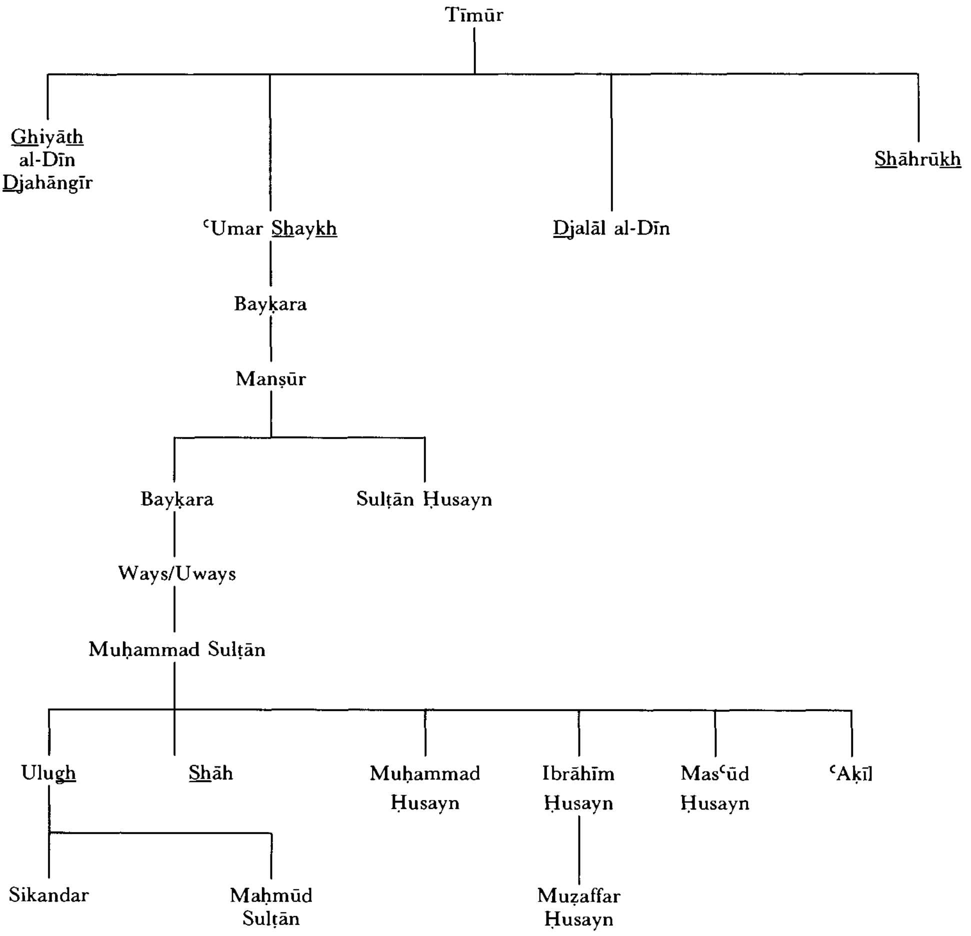

dōd and Čāmpānēr (while his brother-in-law, Rustam Khān, held Bharōč), in raising an army against Iʿtimād Khān (the local king-maker, regent for the minor puppet king Muẓaffar III), and were rewarded by *iḳṭāʿ*s around Bharōč; Iʿtimād Khān thereupon invited Akbar, then at Čitawr, to invade Gudjarāt. On the invasion of Gudjarāt by Muḥammad II of Khāndēsh, asserting his claim to the throne, Muḥammad's armies were defeated by the combined forces of Činghiz Khān and the Mīrzās; the latter were rewarded by the grant of further *iḳṭāʿ*s, but unfortunately, as had happened before, they encroached on their neighbours' estates, and earned an unenviable reputation for their cruelty in Bharōč, so that Činghiz Khān sent a force against them; they defeated it, but removed themselves temporarily into Khāndēsh, where they plundered Burhānpur before retiring into Mālwā. They were attacked here by forces under several Mughal generals, were besieged in Ranthambhōr, which they had occupied, and were pursued to the river Narmadā, where many of the Mīrzās' army died during the crossing. However, they soon returned to take over their Bharōč lands. Činghiz Khān, who was by now virtually in command of Aḥmadābād, was assassinated by a Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] faction in 975/1567; after his death all the country south of the river Mahī fell to the Mīrzās, who took over not only Bharōč but also Sūrat, Barōdā and Čāmpānēr.

After Akbar's conquest of Gudjarāt he decided in 980/1572 to expel the Mīrzās from southern Gudjarāt. At this time, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā was established in Barōdā (dissensions having broken out between the Mīrzās in Bharōč), Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā in Sūrat and Shāh Mīrzā in Čampānēr. Akbar's troops defeated Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā, who fled towards Āgrā, though his wife Gulrukh Bēgam fled with her son Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā to the Deccan. Akbar moved on to invest Sūrat, leaving Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōka [*q.v.*] in charge of Aḥmadābād; when Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, having joined Shēr Khān Fulādī, a disaffected Gudjarātī noble, moved to besiege Pāṭan, 'Azīz attacked and defeated them, whereupon Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā fled to the Deccan. Meanwhile, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā, with his younger brother Masʿūd Ḥusayn Mīrzā, at first tried unsuccessfully to take Nāgawr [*q.v.*] in Rādjāsthān, and then invaded the Pandjāb; the local governor defeated the Mīrzās' forces, capturing Masʿūd Ḥusayn Mīrzā. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā fled south to Multān, and was soon afterwards wounded and captured by some Balūčī tribesmen; he was delivered into the hands of Mughal officials, and died of his wounds.

After Akbar's return to Āgrā, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā left the Deccan, and joined the conspiracy with some of the old nobles, the rebel Ḥabshīs, and the Rādjā of Īdar [*q.v.*]. When they marched against Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōka in Aḥmadābād, Akbar returned in his famous "forced march" of nine days, and routed the rebels in the battle of Aḥmadābād in 981/1573. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā was captured in the battle and, while Akbar was pursuing the remainder of the rebel forces, the Mīrzā was executed by his custodians.

In 985/1577 the young Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā invaded Gudjarāt from the Deccan, but was first defeated by Rādjā Ṭōdar Mall [*q.v.*]; escaping to Djunāgaṛh, he rallied his forces and again attacked Aḥmadābād, but withdrew and was shortly afterwards captured by Rādjā ʿAlī of Khāndēsh and handed over to Akbar. He was imprisoned for some 12 years, when Akbar released him, and appointed him in charge of Kanawdj; but he was unstable, and after two further terms of imprisonment he died a natural death some ten years later. This is the last account of Mīrzā disturbances in Gudjarāt, which thereafter remained largely peaceful under Mughal rule.

2. The Mīrzās of Badakhshān in India.

The earlier history of this small house has been treated above under BADAKHSHĀN, at Vol. I, p. 852b. Its members were never a thorn in the flesh of the early Mughals as were their kinsmen in Gudjarāt, and they are considered here only with regard to their relations with the Mughal power. A *stemma* indicates their relationship.

The sultans Abū Bakr Mīrzā and Maḥmūd Mīrzā, the sons of Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā, were dispossessed by an

GENEALOGY OF THE MĪRZĀS OF BADAKHSHĀN

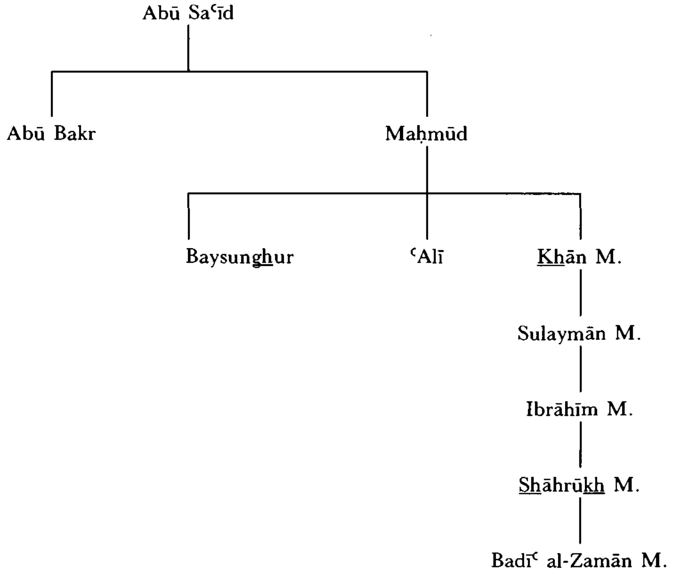

usurper, who however submitted to the Mug͟hal Bābur [*q.v.*] in 910/1504-5. Bābur then appointed K͟hān Mīrzā, son of Maḥmūd Mīrzā, as governor of Badak͟hs͟hān; his son Sulaymān Mīrzā (b. 920/1514, d. Lahawr 997/1589) later also served as governor of Badak͟hs͟hān, but he and his son Ibrāhīm Mīrzā had to surrender to Mīrzā Kamrān [*q.v.*]; he was, however, released on Bābur's orders, and reinstated. After some disagreement with Humāyūn [*q.v.*], he eventually held Badak͟hs͟hān until 983/1575. In 967/1560 he had invaded Balk͟h, when Ibrāhīm Mīrzā was killed. In early 983/1575 he was driven out of Badak͟hs͟hān by S͟hāhrūk͟h Mīrzā, son of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, and went first to India and thence to Mecca, but later returned. With the fall of Badak͟hs͟hān to the Özbegs under ᶜAbd Allāh K͟hān in 992/1584, Sulaymān Mīrzā and S͟hāhrūk͟h Mīrzā fled to India and joined Akbar's court. S͟hāhrūk͟h Mīrzā later became governor of Mālwā and distinguished himself in the Deccan campaigns before his death in 1016/1607. His son Badīᶜ al-Zamān Mīrzā instigated a brief insurrection in Badak͟hs͟hān early in the 11th/17th century, which was quickly suppressed.

Bibliography: For the general background to the Mīrzās in Gud͟jarāt, see that article, its map, and its *Bibl.*, especially M.S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, i, London 1938; Abu 'l-Faḍl ᶜAllāmī, *Akbar-nāma*, especially the 11th, 12th, 13th and 17th regnal years; for Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā and his later career, 22nd, 36th and 45th regnal years also; ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾunī, *Muntak͟hab al-tawārīk͟h*, and Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, *passim*, and indexes to both in the Bibl. Ind. editions. See also *Bibl. to* AKBAR and MUG͟HALS. History. For the Mīrzās of Badak͟hs͟hān, see *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, London-Leiden 1905, index, and *Bibl.* to BADAK͟HS͟HĀN. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

MISĀḤA, ᶜILM AL-, the science of measurement, plane and solid geometry, is the name given by the Muslims to the science of comparing magnitudes and its methods. In the wider sense it covers the measurement of all things which can or need be measured, mainly lengths, areas, volumes, weights and numbers; in particular, however, the *ᶜilm al-misāḥa* deals with geometry, with definitions of solids and geometrical figures as well as the laying down of rules for the calculation of lengths, areas and volumes of the different figures in elementary plane and solid geometry. The conception *misāḥa* therefore includes only a portion of what we call measurement in the wider sense, or practical or technical geometry (i.e. the measurement of things having length, breadth and volume); in particular, it excludes mensuration in the narrow sense, geodesy. The Arabs possessed special treatises dealing with the problems of geodesy. They therefore make the same distinction between theoretical and applied measurement, which had developed among the Greeks from the time of Aristotle and is most clearly expressed by Hero in his *Metrica* and *Dioptra*.

The definitions given by the Muslims themselves of the conception *misāḥa* are very varied. Some authors give a very wide one (e.g. al-ᶜUmawī: "Measurement consists in ascertaining an unknown quantity by means of a known one. The result gives the amount of the unknown quantity in units of the quantity used for measuring"); most of them mean by it the measurement of length, area and volume. Al-S͟hins͟hawrī makes a clear distinction between direct measurement, "the test of coincidence" (*taṭbīḳ*), and indirect measurement by calculating from certain formulae.

We find treatises on geometry throughout the whole period in which the Muslims acted as the transmitters of the ancient culture with which they had become acquainted, from the earliest beginnings of their literary activity at the beginning of the 9th century A.D. to the decline of Arab mathematics in about 1600. The purpose of such works was to give the future surveyor, architect or soldier the necessary equipment, the theoretical foundation for his profession. Three groups of these treatises can be distinguished according to their method of treatment:

(a) those which are quite like our modern collection of formulae, are made as brief as possible, give only the usual methods of calculation and contain no examples (e.g. that of Ibn al-Bannāʾ);

(b) those which contain examples, completely worked out, illustrating the process of calculation (e.g. that of al-Bag͟hdādī);

(c) those which only contain a series of fully worked out problems, and are a kind of book of exercises (e.g. that of Abū Bakr).

On the method of exposition in these works, it should be noted that we cannot of course speak of mathematical formulae in our sense of the word among the Arabs. They, especially the eastern Arabs, had no language of mathematical formulae; it was only late among the western Arabs, and probably only in the field of algebra, that a technical language was developed. The rules for measuring were always written out fully in words, sometimes even the figures occurring in the text.

The matter of the works on *misāḥa*, especially the larger ones, as a rule comprise introductory remarks, rules for calculating areas and volumes and the most important lengths found on them, and occasionally also practical exercises.

A. Introductory remarks. These are as a rule:

1. Definition of the term *misāḥa*.

2. Explanation, description and systematic classification of the geometrical figures to be discussed.

3. Definition and list of the most common units of measurement.

B. Rules for calculation.

I. Plane surfaces (and the lengths occurring on them).

1. Quadrilaterals (square, rectangle, rhomboid trapezium, trapezoid, quadrilateral with salient angle).

2. Triangles (equilateral, isosceles, scalene, right angled, acute-angled and obtuse-angled).

3. Polygons (regular, irregular, "drum-shaped figure" (*muṭabbal*), "hollow figure" (*mud͟jawwif*) "step-shaped figure" (*mudarrad͟j*).

"Drum-shaped" and "hollow" figures are formed by the combination of two congruent trapeziums in such a way that in the former the shorter, in the latter, the longer parallel sides coincide; a number of varieties are distinguished. The step-shaped figure is formed by placing together a number of rectangles of the same length but different breadth, in which the proportions of the breadths form an arithmetical progression.

4. Circle, segments of a circle (semi-circle, segment, sector, circumference) and related areas (horseshoe or crescent [*hilālī*], egg-shape, bean- or lentil-shaped, or oval figures).

The crescent is formed by the subtraction of two segments of circles of different radius with a common chord, egg-shape and bean-shape by the addition of two congruous segments which in the egg-shape are less, in the bean-shape greater than the semi-circle.

The area of the oval (ellipse) is given by Savasorda as $\frac{1}{4}(a+b)^2\pi$.

II. Solids (and the areas, especially superficies, and lengths that occur on them).

1. Prism (ordinary straight and oblique prism, square column, rectangular column, dice, triangular prism, obliquely cut prism, *corpus simile domui* in Abū Bakr as translated by Gerard of Cremona).
2. Cylinder.
3. Pyramids (straight and oblique pyramids, sections of pyramids).
4. Cones (straight and oblique cone, section of cone).
5. Sphere and section of a sphere, hemisphere, segment, sector and zone.
6. Regular and semi-regular bodies (the five Platonic and two Archimedean are treated at any length only in al-Kās̲h̲ī).
7. Other bodies, sc. cylindrical vault (*azād̲j̲* and *ṭiḳān*; the only difference between them is the length), hollow dome (*ḳubba*), roof-shape (*corpus simile caburi* in Abū Bakr), wreaths and discus (hollow cylinder), and terrace-shaped figures.

C. Practical exercises.

These are, generally speaking, rare in works on *misāḥa*. We frequently find exercises in dividing fields modelled on Hero and Euclid. Savasorda has a number of exercises on fields on slopes, in hollows and on summits and on the calculation of the height of hills; al-Ḥanbalī has some on the measurement of inaccessible pieces of ground, the depth of wells and breadth of rivers. Of other problems, there may be mentioned, for example, the calculation of the number of pieces of stone or bricks required to build a house or a roof, and the ascertainment of the height of a wall.

It must not, however, be supposed that the subject-matter as above described is fully contained in any work on *misāḥa*. The individual works differ in subject matter according to the inclinations and abilities of their authors, just as our text-books of geometry do at the present day. We find works planned on a very comprehensive scale (by al-Ḥanbalī and al-Kās̲h̲ī), alongside of very brief ones, often dealing only with portions of the subject (e.g. the anonymous Berlin ms. no. 5954, which contains only formulae for calculating plane surfaces), or even only a single problem (like the treatise by al-S̲h̲ins̲h̲awrī). We therefore often find expositions which are only put into works on geometry in order to show the author's special knowledge or results of his research in a particular field.

Among remarkable examples of this kind are the insertion by D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd al-Kās̲h̲ī [*q.v.*] in a work on *misāḥa* of a treatment of regular and some semi-regular bodies (the calculations worked out by him in sexagesimal fractions to the fifths is so accurate that it only begins to differ from the correct figure in the tenth decimal place); the formulae for the area of a surface given by al-Umawī $F = \sqrt{a\ b\ c\ d}$ for trapezoids with a right angle and his improvement of Hero's formulae for the segments of a circle; the formula for an arc given by al-Karkhī; the formula $d^2 = 1/9\ [n(n\text{-}1) + 6)a^2$ where d is the diameter of the circle around a regular polygon of n sides of length a given by the same author and al-Bag̲h̲dādī (the same formula is found in Nemorarius and Regiomontanus and attributed by the latter to the Hindus; it is, however, so far as we know, not found in any Hindu mathematical work yet published); and also the application of algebra to geometry by Abū Bakr and Ibn al-Bannāʾ. The former uses the algebraical solution for problems of areas in order to show the application of equations of the first and second degree to the six cases distinguished by al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī [*q.v.*]; the latter uses combinatorial analysis to investigate the different possibilities of stating the problem.

The methods of calculating volume are the same as we find among the Greeks and Egyptians. When it is not a question of matter that has been taken over from them, in which case the formulae are directly adopted, the obtaining of results is purely inductive and empirical. Al-Karkhī, for example, gives for the volume of a sphere, in addition to the formulae $d^3\ (11/14)^2$, on the method of obtaining which he says nothing, also $d^3\ (28/45)$, which he gets by comparing the weight of a cube of wax with the weight of a sphere, which is made out of the cube of wax and whose diameter is equal to the edge of the cube. Al-Bag̲h̲dādī deals with a method of ascertaining the volume from the weight and specific gravity. Al-Kās̲h̲ī knows the method of immersion of Archimedes mentioned by Hero. The direct method of measuring the length of areas by laying a thread along them is still recommended as the most reliable by al-Karkhī and Bahāʾ al-Dīn. It is evident that such methods must lead to approximative results, and formulae of approximation, the typical feature of practical geometry, continue to be used by the Arabs in measuring long after they obviously knew of their inaccuracy. Ibn Mammātī [*q.v.*] criticises the usual formulae for the area of a triangle 1/2 (a + b) 3/4 c and 1/2 $(a + b)$ 2/3 c, al-Bag̲h̲dādī the formulae for a quadrilateral 1/2 $(a + c)$ 1/2 $(b + d)$ which comes from the Egyptians.

The reasons for the long survival of such rules are partly that the formulae gave in practice quite useful results and partly that the practical men who were concerned with measurement in the exercise of their trade wanted values easy to calculate rather than great mathematical accuracy, and took no note of slight errors, especially if they thereby avoided calculations with roots. For similar reasons and in keeping with the traditional practice, almost all works of *misāḥa* give no scientific geometrical proofs of the accuracy of the formulae they quote. Only the book of the Jew Abraham Savasorda, who may be reckoned among the western Arabs, gives logically worked-out proofs in any number; we occasionally find references to early mathematicians (especially Euclid) in Ibn al-Bannāʾ and Ibn al-Ḥanbalī. Probably inspection was quite sufficient (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, for example, draws plane figures in a network of squares each of one unit and counts the squares and their parts within this area), or a simple demonstration in some form or a calculation to prove the correctness of the procedure, which was frequently illustrated also by examples completely worked out.

A further peculiarity of Arabic authors was to give formulae which agree completely in substance in different algebraical forms. The Berlin ms. no. 5954 gives, for example, for the calculation of the section of the hypotenuse q in the right-angled triangle the following formulae: $q = 1/2\ [a + (c^2\text{-}b^2): a] = 1/2\ [a + (c + b)(c\text{-}b): a] = 1/2\ [a + (c + b): \frac{a}{c\text{-}b}] = 1/2\ [a^2 + (c^2\text{-}b^2)]: a$. This differentiation was probably only intended to give as many forms as possible of the relations between the known and unknown magnitudes so as to afford the practical man a choice of different correct formulae, of which one might suit the special case better than another.

The sources of Arab geometry are to be sought among the Greeks and Hindus. The form and

substance of the rules are almost entirely Greek, especially in the older authors. Hero's "elaborations", in particular, which in turn go back to Egypt, seem to have been the model for Arab works on geometry. To Egypt may be traced the prefacing of a metrological section (found in many books on *misāḥa*), the problems on dividing fields, the formula for the trapezoid, the special name for the upper side of a quadrilateral (*raʾs al-ʿarīḍ*). Hindu are the values for π in al-Khwārazmī, the formula $\sqrt{a\ b\ c\ d}$, for the quadrilateral inscribed in a circle, the terms are, perpendicular from the summit of an arc and chord, the marking of lengths in Hindu figures, the use of algebra to solve geometrical problems (equations, method of double error, combinatorial analysis). The chief teachers were, however, the Greeks, whose achievements the Arabs generally speaking never surpassed; the requirements of practical mensuration gave them no new problems, and practical geometry remained down to quite modern times elementary, the majority of the problems of which had been finally settled long ago by the Greeks.

The services of the Arabs to geometry lie less in the extension of the field by ascertaining new, hitherto unknown facts (although in the *misāḥa* works we do find a series of new and novel rules) than in their enrichment of this science by new methods of calculation and teaching, and especially in their preserving the inheritance of the ancients and handing it down to the western world. Although Hero's geometry first became known in north-western Europe through Roman surveyors, it was mainly the Arab sources which gave new life to this subject which had become stagnant in its old form. Arabic original works were made accessible to the west in Latin translations. Leonardo of Pisa in his *Practica geometrica*, which remained a standard work for three centuries, depended closely on Savasorda, who most probably owed a great deal to Abū Bakr since there are striking similarities between the *Liber embadorum* and the *Liber mensurationis*; down to late in the 16th century, we continually come across writings on practical geometry which in form and content show to what originals they go back.

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(H. Schirmer)

MISĀḤA (a.), the measurement of plane surfaces, also in modern usage, survey, the technique of surveying. In this article, measures of length and area will be considered, those of capacity, volume and weight having been dealt with under makāyīl wa-mawāzīn. For the technique of surveying, see misāḥa, ʿilm al-.

1. In the central Islamic lands. In pre-modern times, there were a bewildering array of measures for length and superficial area, often with the same name but differing locally in size and extent. As Lane despairingly noted, "Of the measures and weights used in Egypt I am not able to give an exact account; for, after diligent search, I have not succeeded in finding any two specimens of the same denomination perfectly agreeing with each other, and generally the difference has been very considerable" (*The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, Appx., "Egyptian weights and measures"). Measures of capacity and weight, being much more intensively used in everyday commercial transactions, tended to be more closely defined and regulated either by the governing authority or by the local market inspector or *muḥtasib* [see ḥisba]; those of length and area were more the concern of the officials making cadastral surveys for taxation puposes [see ḳānūn. ii. Cadaster] or else estimating the value of growing crops (*takhmīn*), especially for the type of tax collection involving a share-out of the crop (*muḳāsama*) [see kharādj. I].

(a) The basic measures of length related, as in many other cultures, to various parts of the body and positions of the limbs. An *iṣbaʿ* [*q.v.*] "finger" was the breadth of the middle joint of the middle finger, conventionally 1/24 of the *dhirāʿ* [*q.v.*] or cubit, itself originally the length of the arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. The *ḳabḍa* "fist's width" was the breadth of the four fingers of one hand put together. The *shibr* "span" was the span of the hand, from the thumb to the little finger. The *bāʿ* or *ḳāma* was the width of the two arms outstretched, i.e. a fathom, canonically equal to four *dhirāʿ*s. The *ḳaṣaba*

"pole, shaft" equalled a number of *dhirā*ᶜs varying between five and eight, but giving an average length of four m. In the Persian lands, the *gaz* was the equivalent of the Arabic *dhirā*ᶜ; in the 17th century, Chardin stated that the "royal" *gaz, gaz-i shāhī*, was "trois pieds moins un pouce", i.e. 94.745 cm., and it seems to have been on average 95 cm. In 1926, soon after Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī's accession to the throne, an attempt was made to equate the traditional Persian measures with the metric system, so that the *gaz* was fixed at 1 m; and after 1933, the metric system was introduced, the older measures nevertheless remaining in popular use.

(b) The basic measure of area in earlier Islamic times was the *djarīb*, which, as well as being a measure of capacity for grain, etc., equal to four *ḳafīz*s [see MAKĀYĪL WA-MAWĀZĪN], became a measure of surface area, originally the amount of agricultural land which could be sown with a *djarīb*'s measure of seed. The extent of the *djarīb* of area varied widely. Canonically, it was made up of 100 *ḳaṣabas*, hence approx. 1,600 m^2. In Fārs, this was known as the "small *djarīb*", the "large *djarīb*" being 5,837 m^2, but in later mediaeval times, the *djarīb* of the Persian lands was by the 11th/17th century reduced to 958 m^2. In modern Iran, since 1926, the *djarīb* has equalled one hectare, but in local usage, the *djarīb* can still represent an area ranging from 400 m^2 to approx. 1,450 m^2. This reflects in part farming practice, a *djarīb* of unirrigated land being larger in area than one of irrigated land, since the amount of seed sown over a given area of irrigated land is greater than that sown over unirrigated land.

In Egypt, the standard measure of land has been the *faddān* "yoke of oxen" (pl. *fadādīn*), defined by al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*] (9th/15th century) as equalling 400 square *ḳaṣabas*, i.e. 6,368 m^2. The official reckoning of this measure decreased from the equivalent of 1 1/10 English acres to less than one acre (1 acre = 0.4046 hectare). Since 1830, the *faddān* has corresponded to 4200.833 m^2 (1.038 English acres).

In the Turkish lands of the Ottoman Empire, and the Arab lands of ᶜIrāḳ, Syria and Palestine directly under Ottoman rule till 1918, the standard measure of area was the *dönüm* ("turn, turning"), Arabic *dūnam*, the area which originally was considered to equal one day's ploughing. In Turkey it equalled 939 m^2 (i.e. approx. 1,000 sq. yards), but the "new" (*yeñi*) *dönüm* was in the 19th century equated with the hectare; and in 1934 the metric system of weights and measures was officially adopted by the Turkish Republic. In Syria and Palestine in recent times, the *dūnam* is one of 1,000 m^2 = 0.247 acres, whilst in ᶜIrāḳ a larger one of 2,500 m^2 is used, despite the official adoption in ᶜIrāḳ of the metric system in 1931. In any case, in all these lands, the traditional measures have remained in daily use side-by-side with the newer metric ones.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Muslim India. (a) Measures of length. In traveller's accounts, distances are frequently stated in "days", *marḥala*: "Fulānshahr is two days' journey from Fulānānad." The practical convenience of this method should not be underestimated; it remains in use at the present day for travellers in the high hills who may expect to find a shelter, stabling, water and possibly even minimal provisions at a convenient end of a day's march, whose physical length may be very variable depending on the nature of the terrain to be crossed. The principle of the convenient day's march has of course been a determining factor in the siting of *sarā*ʾīs along major-routes [see MANZIL, SARĀʾĪ, ṬARĪḲ; on the difficulties of interpretation, see especially S.H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, Bombay 1939, comment on distances in al-Iṣṭakhrī *et alii*, 30 ff.). Other travellers, including al-Bīrūnī, describe distances in terms of the parasang or *farsakh* [*q.v.*], but since al-Bīrūnī uses the term to interpret information which he obviously received in terms of Hindū units of length, his figures are far from reliable (useful discussion in Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 42-5). He and others occasionally use the word *mīl*, the Arab mile, which later becomes a source of confusion, as it may be used as a synonym of *farsakh*; *mīl* rather than *mā*ʾ*il* persists in modern Indian languages for the English mile, possibly helped through Portuguese.

The Hindu unit of distance which misled al-Bīrūnī is the Skrt. *yodjana* "league", a distance of four *goruta* "cow-roar", the length at which a cow's lowing can be heard, or *krośa* "earshot". The *yodjana*, later *djodjan*, is rarely used by Muslim writers, but the *krośa*, later *kōs* (or the Persian cognate *karōh*), becomes the standard term for describing distance. This has been differently reckoned at different periods and in different regions and, like the *sēr* and the *man* [see MAKĀYIL WA-MAWĀZĪN], has almost everywhere a distinction between a larger and a smaller measure, the *pakkā kōs* and the *kaččā kōs*.

New imperial standards were introduced in the heyday of the Mughals with bewildering frequency, but the surviving records, and the references to foreign standards, allow a reasonably sure interpretation. These standards may be considered under the significant reigns.

1. Bābur (932-7/1526-30), in a mnemonic rhyme under the year 935/1528, establishes that the Indian league, *kurōh*, of 100 "ropes", *ṭanāb*, each of 40 paces, *ḳadam*, was thus of 4,000 paces, each being of one-and-a-half cubits, *ḳārī*; a cubit was of six hand-breadths, *tūtām*, each of four "hands", *ēlīg*, each of six barleycorns, *djaw*. He thus refers to Čaghatāy and Persian units, explaining that the *kurōh* is equivalent to a *mīl* (*Bābur-nāma*, fol. 351a-b). The "hand" is evidently a digit in fact.

A thorough inquiry into the value of both digit and hand-breadth was made by Col. J.A. Hodgson, Surveyor General of India, in 1843, measuring the hands of 76 men twice; the width at the knuckles (the root of the fingers) averaged 3.2287″ (8.20 cm), and that across the mid-joint 3.078″ (7.82 cm). These averages yielded finger widths of 0.8053″ (in reality, 0.8077″) (205 cm) and 0.769″ (1.95 cm) respectively (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 46 ff.). The former is probably correct (see below, 4 and 5), though he took the latter. He cited experiments by Halhed in 1824, whereby a digit of six barleycorns arranged breadthways was found to be 0.7766″ (1.97 cm) (*ibid.*, 49-50).

Bābur's cubit, if we take the hand width at the knuckles, would be 19.37″ (49.20 cm), the pace 29.06″ (73.80 cm), the cable 96′10.3″ (29.52 m), and the league 3228×2′1.2″ (2,952 m).

2. Shēr Shāh (947-52/1540-45) and Humāyūn (937-47, 962-3/1530-40, 1555-6). Shēr Khān fixed the *kōs*, or league, at 60 *djarīb*, each of 60 *sikandarī gaz*; this *gaz* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], or cubit, had been introduced by

Sikandar Lōdī (894-923/1489-1517), being reckoned at 41½ *iskandarī/sikandarī* (sc. *tanka*). This was a round billon coin struck in great numbers (Sikandar Lōdī struck in billon only), which continued in circulation well into Mug̲h̲al times; its average diameter was 0.7" (1.78 cm); a half-*tanka* of 0.55" (1.40 cm) was also known, with quarter and eighth *tanka*s known in small numbers. (H.N. Wright, *Coinage and metrology of the sultans of Dehlī*, Delhi 1936, 250-4, 260-1). Humāyūn is reported to have added half an *iskandarī* (half the diameter of an *iskandarī*, or the diameter of a half-*tanka*?) to the length of the *gaz*, bringing the number to 42. Thus Humāyūn's cubit would be of 29.4" (74.67 cm). However, the remark in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, iii, 296, that this length was equivalent to 32 *angus̲h̲t*, "fingers'-breadth") would lead to an impossibly large *angus̲h̲t* of 0.92" (2.34 cm); if, however, the diameter of the *half-tanka* (0.55") be taken, the *angus̲h̲t* would be of only 0.72", too small (and in any case the half-*tanka* could not have been referred to as an *iskandarī*). This unsatisfactory explanation must be attributed to an error on Abu 'l-Faḍl's part.

3. Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605). At his accession, three parallel systems were in use throughout Hindūstān. In each the cubit, *gaz*, was of 24 digits, *tassūdj̲*, but the latter were designated long, medium, or short (*darāz, miyāna, kutāh*) according to whether they equalled 8, 7, or 6 barleycorns placed breadthways. The first was used in surveying land, the second in building, and the third for furniture and soft goods (*Āʾīn*, iii, 294). They were thus related in principle to the *d̲h̲irāʿ al-s̲h̲arʿiyya* of 24 digits, which is occasionally referred to in India. The *iskandarī gaz* was retained for agriculture and building, and an *akbar-s̲h̲āhī gaz* of 46 *angus̲h̲t* was used for cloth (*Āʾīn*, iii, 296; cf. i, 170-1). In the 19th year of the Divine Era (1575), Akbar had a new standard pole, *dj̲arīb*, made up of canes joined by iron rings. to obviate the moisture movement which made the hemp cable unreliable. On 22 Rabīʿ II 996/21 March 1588 he introduced his new standard *gaz*, to be known as the *gaz-i ilāhī*, of 41 digits, to replace all others; this appears to have been 32.82" (83.36 cm), about the same as 41 of Hodgson's larger digits. He then re-established the land measure, the *ṭanāb*, at 60 of these new *gaz*; the squared area was known as a *bīg̲h̲a* (*Āʾīn*, iii, 296). Subsequently, however, the *kurōh* is defined as of 100 *ṭanāb* each of 50 *ilāhī gaz*; the resulting 5,000 *ilāhī gaz* could also be measured with 400 poles, *bāns*, each of 12½ *gaz*: it seems that a further revision had taken place (*Āʾīn*, iii, 597).

4. Dj̲ahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27) in turn revised the scale, making the *ilāhī gaz* of 40 digits, and the *gaz-i s̲h̲arʿī* of 24; he used the terms *gaz* and *dirʿa* (*sic*) interchangeably. In his memoirs he states that the *kurōh* used in his reign was the same as that of Akbar, and that like it, it was of 5,000 *dirʿa* (*Tūzuk-i Dj̲ahāngīrī*, 298, cf. 234). The *gaz* itself must therefore have remained unchanged. His purpose in altering the number of digits is clear in his practice of giving small measurements in quarters, *pā* or *pāw*, and eighths, *nīm-pāw* of a cubit: he had simply found the 41 digits indivisible. Measurements given for buildings at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, when compared with their present dimensions, suggest values for the *gaz* of between 30" (76.2 cm) and 32" (81.3 cm)—the lower values, being taken from longer measurements, are subject to greater error. Experiments in measuring the intervals between the *kōs mīnārs*, as reported by Elliot (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 194-6), gave an average of 4,558ˣ (4,167.83 m) along the road, which at 5,000 *gaz* to the *kōs* yields a *gaz* of 32.818" (83.35 cm). A *gaz* was also divided into 16 *girih* (*Tūzuk*, 175).

5. S̲h̲āh Dj̲ahān (1037-68/1628-57). Under the year 1046/1636-7, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī states that all measurements are given in a *d̲h̲irāʿ-i pāds̲h̲āhī* of 40 *angus̲h̲t* (*Bāds̲h̲āh-nāma*, i/2, 237). Muḥammad Ṭāhir confirms that the *kurūh-i pāds̲h̲āhī* is of 200 *dj̲arīb*, the *dj̲arīb* of 25 *dirāʿ* (*sic*), and these each of 40 *angus̲h̲t*. (*Mulak̲h̲k̲h̲aṣ*, fol. 107a). Thus it appears either that the value of the *dj̲arīb* had been halved or that it was no longer synonymous with the *ṭanāb*. As Ṭāhir refers later to the *dj̲arībī kōs*, it seems the latter is probable. This explains why the rods in Akbar's reign were of 12 1/2 *gaz*, as half a *dj̲arīb*: it seems that the *ṭanāb* continued to be associated with the old multiple of 60. An English letter from Āgra dated 24 April 1647 explains that the Āgra cubit had been shortened by 2.5%, or 1/3 *girih*, to conform with the Lāhawr cubit, by royal decree. The Lāhawr unit must be the *d̲h̲irāʿ-i pāds̲h̲āhī*, and the Āgra cubit must be Akbar's *ilāhī gaz*: the difference represents a reduction from 41 to 40 digits (Moreland, *op. cit.*, 102). A second letter of 6 January 1648 refers to an Āgra cubit, presumably the reformed unit, as 32" (81.28 cm) long (Foster, 1646-50, 122, 190). In this case the old Agra cubit would be 32.82"/83.36 cm). Tavernier printed a scale (*op. cit.*, ii/2, 236) which shows that the Sūrat cubit was 27.30" (69.34 cm), thus tending to corroborate Fryer's 28" (71.12 cm); another English letter of 12 November 1645, before the reform, equates 10.5 Āgra *girih* with 19 Sūrat *tassūdj̲*, so that from Tavernier's scale the Āgra cubit can be calculated as 32.99" (83.79 cm), not far from the values established above (Foster, 1642-45, 299-300). Hodgson, with the measurement across the knuckles, had arrived at an *ilāhī gaz* of 33.018" (83.86 cm); his measurements at the Tādj̲ Maḥall and other buildings of this reign in Āgra, when referred to figures in the *S̲h̲āh-Dj̲ahānnāma* of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, suggested a *dj̲irāʿ-i pāds̲h̲āhī* of 31.79" (80.75 cm) (Hodgson, 50-3: he was mistaken in thinking this cubit to be of 42 digits). These royal works were apparently measured in the new unit, regardless of the conservatism of the merchants in the same city. S̲h̲āh Dj̲ahān's reform can only be explained as an attempt to combine the advantage of a division into 40 units with Akbar's, rather than Dj̲ahāngīr's, digit. This may have been because the latter had proved larger than most fingers!

As well as the variations of the *kōs* to the smaller units within the Mughal heartland, provincial standards also varied. The *kōs* in use in Mālwā was of 90 *ṭanābs* of 60 *gaz*, according to the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*; in Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, London 1886, with Crooke's additions of 1902, the estimated *kōs* in the Bengal Presidency was "about 2 miles, much less as you approach the N.W."; in the upper [Ganges-Dj̲amnā] Dōʾāb 1 1/4 miles, in Bundelkhand "nearly 3m or ... even 4", in Madras 2 1/4, and a *sulṭānī kōs* in Mysore "about 4 miles". The terms *ṭanāb* and *dj̲arīb* seem to have become interchangeable, although obviously variable in terms of the *gaz*, variable itself. The determination of the Mug̲h̲al "imperial" *gaz* became a matter of concern to the British when their own revenue surveys were begun in the first quarter of the 19th century; results were so discrepant that an arbitrary value of 33 inches (= 83.82 cm) was assigned.

It should be noted that the term *d̲h̲irāʿ* [*q.v.*] "cubit" is occasionally used, with no great precision, by Indian Muslim authors, either for the *gaz* or for the *hāth*, lit. "hand", the distance between the elbow and top of the middle finger, sometimes used as a cloth measure (Buchanan's *Eastern India*, quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Haut*); but the common cloth measure was the *gaz* in the form of an iron rod marked into

quarters. This implement was certainly still in use in Lucknow in 1955.

(b) Measure of an area. The units of area measurement for land were mostly the *bīgha̱* and its twentieth part the *bīswā*. The *bīgha̱* again varied considerably by region, with the usual distinction of *kaččā* and *pakkā* (some examples in Jarrett's footnote to the term *ṭanāb* in his tr. of *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, 61). Again Akbar's regulations of the 31st regnal year provide a point of reference: he fixed the *bīgha̱* as a square *dja̱rīb*, i.e. 60 × 60 *Ilāhī gaz*, directing that for measurement purposes the old hempen *ṭanāb*, lit. "tent-rope" of sixty *gaz* be replaced by a *dja̱rīb* of bamboo rods joined by iron rings—the former having lent itself too easily to fraud by being left out to collect the dew and therefore shrinking from 60 *gaz* to as little as 56; this could cause a mismeasurement of up to thirteen *bīgha̱* in a hundred (one *madad-i maʿāsh farmān* of 989/1581, doc. 1 in B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, Simla 1967, equates 200 *bīgha̱*-by-the-hemp-rope with 170 *bīgha̱*-by-the-bamboo, a difference of 15%). This standardised "imperial" *bīgha̱* of 3,600 *ilāhī gaz* was therefore (at the rate of the *gaz* as calculated above) 0.5427 acres = 0.2196 ha. (in the British revenue surveys, taking the *gaz* as 33 inches, the *bīgha̱* was fixed at 5/8 acre = 0.253 ha.). The *bīswā* was thus of 131.33 sq. yds. = 109.8 sq. m.; a smaller measure, the *bīswānsā*, one-twentieth of the *bīswā*, is also mentioned by Abu 'l-Faḍl, who states that anything under the *bīswānsā* was ignored for revenue purposes. Three smaller divisions by twenties are mentioned, which would seem to be of no practical account. Local units are occasionally encountered in *farmāns*, such as the Pandjāb *kanāl*, a quarter of a *bīgha̱*, or *ghumāʾō*, generally 8 *kanāls* in the Pandjāb but as little as one-fifth of a *bīgha̱* elsewhere in north India, and in the extreme east and north-east, the *hāl/hār* of some 7 to 8 *bīgha̱*.

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(J. Burton-Page and P.A. Andrews)

3. Finally, one should note that the word *misāḥa* is also used as a technical term of the financial department to denote not only surveying as such, but also the land-tax [see KHARĀDJ] calculated, probably on the Byzantine model according to the surface area of the cultivated lands, or else, perhaps on the Sāsānid model, according to the surface area adjusted in regard to the nature of the soil, methods of irrigation and, in general, yield.

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(Ed.)

MISALLA (a., pl. *masāll*), lit. "large needle", obelisk. The mediaeval Arab authors speak with awe of the wondrous two obelisks of ʿAyn Shams [*q.v.*], Heliopolis, the old Egyptian Ōn. Al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. G. Wiet, vol. iv, ch. lxvi, § 1, p. 89) gives the biblical name Raʿamsās, and Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī (*Anwār ʿulwī al-adjrām fi 'l-kashf ʿan asrār al-ahrām*, ed. U. Haarmann, Beirut 1990, 80, l. 5) the variant Raʿamsīs, for the ancient city which is occasionally (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, v, 43 ult.) identified with the village al-Maṭariyya. The two obelisks had formed part of the vast sun temple (*haykal al-shams*) already in ruins when the Arab conquerors arrived in Egypt. Different lexical terms are used to introduce the obelisks: the early Muslim geographers Ibn Khurradādhbih (161, ll. 5-9) and Ibn Rusta (80, ll. 9-13) speak of "columns" (*usṭuwānatān*ⁱ). Numerous later authors (Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, al-Ḳuḍāʿī, Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī, Yāḳūt, Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, al-Maḳrīzī, Ibn Duḳmāḳ and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī) simply denote them as "pillars" (*aʿmida*, *ʿamūdān*ⁱ), whereas al-Muḳaddasī (210; cf. A. Miquel, *L'Égypte vue par un géographe arabe: al-Muqaddasī*, in *AI*, xi [1972], 134), the Iranian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in his description of his visit to the *bāgh-i Firʿawn* in ʿAyn al-Shams [!] (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, 49, 142 f.), and Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī (*Tuḥfat al-albāb*, ed. G. Ferrand, in *JA*, [July-September 1925], 73-4) use the term minaret/beacon (*manār*, *manārān*ⁱ). The popular designation, however, was, as we learn from Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 179a), *masāll/misallatā Firʿawn*.

When ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī visited Heliopolis at the end of the 6th/12th century, one of the two mighty obelisks had already collapsed: "It was broken in two pieces by the fall, owing to its excessive weight. The copper which had covered the top had been taken away" (cf. the Arabic text of *al-Ifāda wa 'l-iʿtibār*, as well as an English tr., in K.H. Zand and J.A. and I.E. Videan, *The Eastern Key*, London 1965, 126-9; for the French and German renderings of this famous description of the obelisks, which passed into later Arab compendia such as Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī's *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-buldān* (see *Khiṭaṭ*, § 15, 95-6), see Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-allatif médecin arabe de Bagdad*, Paris 1810, 181, and Else Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter aus den geographischen Werken der Araber*, Leipzig 1903, 102-3). The exact date when this obelisk fell down is unclear. Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, who visited Egypt around 512/1118, also mentions only one obelisk, of which de Sacy (*op. cit.*, 228), however, thought that it was this one which collapsed at a later time, i.e. between 1118

and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's visit around 1195. Certainly, the historian Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Djazarī (d. 739/1338 [*q.v.*]) is not correct when dating this event as late as 6 Ramaḍān 656/6 September 1258 (see the interesting quotation from his unpublished chronicle *Ḥawādith al-zamān*, in *Khiṭaṭ*, § 16, pp. 96-7; the report of this year in the Gotha autograph of *Ḥawādith al-zamān* is fragmentary, cf. U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg 1969-70, 44). Perhaps de Sacy was correct (*op. cit.*, 229) in his conjecture that the right year should be 556/1161, and that some scribal error could be responsible for this false chronology to be found also in later authors such as al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāya*, i, 394, l. 7).

The two obelisks of Heliopolis were unanimously counted among the outstanding *ʿadjāʾib* of Egypt. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī (= Ps. Ibn Ẓahīra) names them as the key monuments of Heliopolis, the second item in his list of a total of twenty Egyptian miracles (*al-Faḍāʾil al-bāhira fī maḥāsin Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, ed. M. al-Saḳḳā and K. al-Muhandis, Cairo 1969, 150; the text is taken from Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, who again quotes al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī). Their fame is founded not only on their awesome dimensions and weight, but also on the perfect craftsmanship on an exceptionally difficult material (granite), and the multitude of hieroglyphic inscriptions, including the relief of someone on a riding beast (cf. al-Ḳuḍāʿī in *Khiṭaṭ*, § 20, p. 97, see also Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*; in Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib, al-Nudjūm al-zāhira fī ḥulā ḥaḍrat al-Ḳāhira*, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Cairo 1970, in a special book on Heliopolis—the *K. Ladhdhat al-lams fī ḥulā kūrat ʿAyn Shams*, quoted also by Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, v, 44, l. 1—we read wrongly of this statue as standing between the two obelisks!, cf. 375, l. 2). Particular fascination was caused by the precious copper caps of the two needles, for which various Arabic terms ((1) *ḳalansuwwa* "hood", see ʿAbd al-Laṭīf and Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī; (2) *ṣawmaʿa* "[monk's] cell", see al-Ḳuḍāʿī and Yāḳūt and their respective followers al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 325, l. 4; al-Maḳrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, § 20, p. 97; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, 375; Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī, *Faḍāʾil*, 150; and (3) *ṭawḳ* "collar", see Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn Rusta and Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī) are used. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf speaks with the exactitude of the scientist about the effect which verdigris had on the copper of this cap. Several authors, among them also Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Heliopolis in the time of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] in the mid-5th/11th century, mention the moisture from condensation that could be observed flowing constantly, in all seasons, from beneath the copper top of the obelisk and causing moss and other vegetation to grow miraculously high above the soil on the barren granite of the monument (cf. esp. Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī's *Tuḥfa*, as well as the French and German translations of his remarks by Ferrand in *Les monuments de l'Égypte au XII siècle d'après Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, Cairo 1935-40 [= *MIFAO*, lxviii], 61, and G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, iii, Berlin 1892, 86-7). Al-Ḳuḍāʿī, as well as Yāḳūt, Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, and al-Ḳalḳashandī, speak of a connection between the annual rise of the Nile and the flow of moisture from the obelisk. The value of the copper found both on top of, and inside, the fallen obelisk was enormous; al-Djazarī, and following him both al-Maḳrīzī and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī (*Faḍāʾil*, 151, ll. 2-3), mention a figure of 10,000 *dīnārs*.

Since the living tradition of Pharaonic Egypt had forever ceased in Islamic times, the function of the obelisks—as well as the identity of those who erected them—was free for an intrinsically Islamic or a fantastic interpretation. Ibn Khurradādhbih names the legendary Iranian king Hūshang as their builder (161; see also *Khiṭaṭ*, § 26, p. 99, ll. 5-9). In the apocryphal Hermetic history of al-Waṣīfī/Ibn Waṣīf Shāh, *Akhbār al-zamān*, the "two pillars" of Heliopolis are the work of the postdiluvian Pharaoh M-n-ḳāwus (ed. ʿA. al-Ṣāwī, ⁴Beirut 1980, 200, ll. 11-13; see also *Khiṭaṭ*, § 11, p. 93), who is said to have inscribed the date of their erection into the stone. Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (*op. cit.*, 376, ll. 3-5) mentions the Amalekite al-Rayyān b. al-Walīd b. Dūmaʿ/Dūmagh, Joseph's Pharaoh, as their builder. Al-Muḳaddasī (211), one of our earliest witnesses in Islamic times, surmises, on the basis of a book on talismans, that the obelisks served an apotropaic function against the crocodiles, still a menace at the time of their construction.

The less conspicuous obelisks on Egyptian soil are also mentioned here and there in the mediaeval Islamic sources. In the context of the two obelisks of Heliopolis, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (and those following him) mention the two needles of Cleopatra in Alexandria (now on the Embankment of the River Thames in London and in Central Park, New York) as being considerably bigger than the numerous small obelisks in ʿAyn Shams yet as being well inferior in size to the two big ones. That these two Alexandrian obelisks had originally also stood in Heliopolis, and had been transferred to the Ptolemaic capital only in Roman times, was evidently unknown to the mediaeval Islamic authors.

There is also a brief reference to the unfinished obelisk in the quarry of Aswān. In the anonymous Berlin manuscript 8503 (Petermann, i, 684, no. 12, fol. 13a, written after 814/1411), the author states that he himself found in the "mountain of Assuan" this pillar, all designed and carved (*wa-ḳad hundisa wa-nuḳira*), yet not yet separated from the rock; what its destination was to be remained unknown, he adds.

A few monuments are mentioned in direct connection with the obelisks of ʿAyn Shams, such as the large statue of Isis in Fusṭāṭ, called either the "lady" (*al-sayyida*) (see al-Harawī, *al-Ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 40, ll. 14-15) or the laundry-woman of Pharaoh's kin (*al-ghassāla li-āl-Firʿawn*) (al-Muḳaddasī, 211), or the idol of firm white limestone, allegedly depriving him who saw it of his office, which was therefore destroyed by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn in 258/871-2 (Ibn al-Dāya, *al-Sīra al-Ṭūlūniyya*, quoted by al-Makrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ*, § 23, p. 98).

Bibliography: Besides the works mentioned in the text, see the titles given by J. Maspéro and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1919, 131-2; Wiet in his ed. of Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, ch. 66, § 15, p. 96, n. 2; idem, *L'Égypte de Murtadi fils du Gaphiphe. Introduction, traduction, et notes*, Paris 1953, 97 (les merveilles d'Alexandrie).

(U. Haarmann)

MISʿAR B. MUHALHIL [see abū dulaf].

MIṢBĀḤ [see sirādj].

MISBAḤA [see subḥa].

MISHMISH (a., more rarely *mushmush*, in the Maghrib *mishmāsh*), a masc. sing. noun with a collective meaning (singulative *mishmisha*), the apricot-tree and its fruit (*Prunus armeniaca*), of the Rosaceae family, and corresponding to Persian *zardālū, zardālūk* and Turkish *kayısı*.

It was for long considered as indigenous to Armenia (whence its scientific name), but in fact has been cultivated in China for about two millennia before our era and reached the Mediterranean region of the West

in the historical ages of Athens and Rome via India, Persia, Iraq and Turkey. In Greece, Italy, North Africa and Spain it was soon acclimatised under the name of "Armenian apple" (ἀρμενιακὸν μῆλον, *armeniacum malum*) and "golden apple" (χρυσομῆλον, *chrysomelum*), this last appellation being given also to the quince (*safardjal*). Nevertheless, in Greece it was more commonly called by the adjective "early" (πραικόκιον, *praecox*), since it is one of the first of the juicy fruits (*fākiha*, pl. *fawākih*) to ripen in the spring; and it was from this Greco-Latin denomination that Arabic derived *barkūk* which, according to region, is also applied to the plum (*idjdjās, ʿayn al-baḳar*). This loan-word *al-barkūk* yields in Kabyle *aberkok*, in Mozarabic *albericoque* and in Catalan *abercoc*, whence Old Fr. *aubercot* (12th century) and then modern Fr. abricot, Eng. apricot, Ger. Aprikose.

As early as the high Middle Ages, the Islamic lands which cultivated the apricot distinguished two categories of this fruit: on one hand, the varieties the kernel of whose stone was sweet and edible (*mishmish lawzī*) and on the other, those where it was bitter (*mishmish kilābī*). In the first category, by far the most sought-after and best-named variety was that called *ḳamar al-dīn* ("moon of religion") and *ḳaysī*, which had large juicy fruits perfectly suited for drying. In the 8th/14th century, the famous traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] on several occasions vaunts their excellence. He first tasted them at Ḥamāt in Syria (the *ḥamawī* variety), then at Iṣfahān and finally, in Anatolia where they are singled out as a speciality of the towns of Konya (*Ḳūniya*), Antalia (*Anṭāliya*) and Kastamonu (*Ḳasṭamūniya*). After drying, these fruits were exported to Syria and, above all, to Egypt (*Riḥla*, i, 142, ii, 44, 259, 281, 336, tr. Gibb, i, 91, ii, 295, 418, 430, 459). As foodstuffs, these dried apricots offered several advantages since, as well as keeping well, they also produced, after maceration in water (*naḳūʿ*) overnight, a refreshing and sweet-smelling drink and a tasty side-dish. It would be impossible to enumerate the many dainties (*ḥalwiyyāt*), including pastries, confections of sugar, sweets and syrups, in whose composition apricots were used. In connection with dishes of cooked meat, Arabic works on the culinary art mention two recipes for stews involving apricots (*mushmushiyya*; see M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI* [1949], 131-8). Finally, in the pharmacopeia, the sweet or bitter kernel of the stone of the apricot yielded an "oil" (*duhn lubb nawā al-mishmish*) beneficial for the treatment of haemorrhoids, anal tumours and dysentery (see Ibn al-Bayṭār-Leclerc, *Traité des simples*, Paris 1877-83, ii, 929). In the Middle East at the present day, among the numerous varieties of apricots obtained by grafting, one sees always in the markets the *ḥamawī* and the *mishmish lawzī*, whose name has become by abbreviations *mishlawz*. Also to be found, according to region, are the *basūsī*, the *sindiyānī*, the *baladī* and the *ʿadjamī*, all with a sweet kernel (see E. Ghaleb, *al-Mawsūʿa fī ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿa*, Beirut 1965, s.v. *mishmish*).

In Syria, the name of *mushmush barrī* is given to the arbutus (*Arbutus unedo*) regarded as a kind of wild apricot because of the reddish tinge of its fruits; and, in botany, modern Arabic calls *mishmish Amīrikā* the Mammea or Santo Domingo apricot (*Mammea americana*) and *mishmish al-Yābān* "apricot of Japan" the Kaki (*Diospyros kaki*).

Bibliography: Given in article. (F. Viré)

MISK (A.), musk, the gland secretion of the male musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus* L., *Cervidae*), discharged from the musk pouch (*Moschus in vesicis*), the prepucial bag-like formation near the navel of small deer resembling roes or gazelles. According to a tradition, "musk is the best and strongest smelling perfume" (Wensinck, *Concordance*, vi, 224a, 10-1; idem, *Handbook*, 184b). In antiquity, musk was not known. In Byzantium, it turns up in the 6th century (Cosmas Indicopleustes).

Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ed. and tr. Pellat, §§ 391, 392, 393, 407, 434, 902), also quoted by Ibn al-Bayṭār (see *Bibl.*) after Ibn Wāfid, reports on the homeland and extraction of this highly appreciated perfume. According to him, the "musk gazelle" (*ghazāl, ẓaby*) lives in a region belonging partly to Tibet, partly to China. For two reasons, the Tibetan musk is of higher quality than the Chinese one: firstly because the gazelles in Tibet graze the fragrant spikenard (*sunbul*, not lavender, Pellat § 391), whereas in China, other herbs; secondly, because the Tibetans leave the musk pouch as it is, while the Chinese take the secretion out of the pouches and add blood, or tamper with it in another way. Besides, the Chinese musk loses part of its quality because of humidity and climatic changes on the long sea journey from China to Near East. In Tibet, the musk gazelles are caught in nets, or killed with arrows. In size, colour and form of the horns, the animals resemble the Arabic gazelle. If the pouch is cut off before the secretion is ripe, the latter gives off an unpleasant smell which, after some time, under the influence of the air, takes on the real musk scent. The best musk is obtained when the secretion ripens completely inside the pouch. In this case, the animal senses a strong itching, from which it frees itself by grating against stones until the pouch bursts open and the contents come out. The Tibetans then go to look for the discharged secretion which has dried up in the air, put it in the musk pouch and take it to their princes. This high-quality musk is reserved for princes, who give it to each other as a present.

Others authors essentially affirm al-Masʿūdī's report, adding further data about the lands of origin. As such, India is mentioned, above all the kingdom of Mūdja (perhaps Arakan, the coastal region of Western Burma), and also Further India, Ceylon and Java. From Central Asia, the musk came into the Islamic lands by the great caravan routes, and from East and South Asia by way of the sea, through the ports of Dārīn (al-Baḥrayn) and Aden. Even in far-away Spain, musk was the most important perfume (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 407).

The most detailed report on musk is given by al-Nuwayrī (see *Bibl.*). His main source is the *Kitāb al-ʿArūs* of al-Tamīmī, but he also quotes al-Yaʿḳūbī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās al-Miskī, al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Sīrāfī and Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh, who give more accurate data about the places of origin, the transportation and the entrepôts, as well as about the various qualities of the musk. Musk was very often tampered with, as may be seen from the substitutes quoted by al-Kindī (or one of his pupils) in his *Kitāb fī Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿiṭr wa 'l-taṣʿīdāt* and the list thereof composed by the editor K. Garbers (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxx, Leipzig 1948, 272-4).

Musk also played an important role in medicine. According to Arab physicians, musk intensifies and stimulates the senses, and dispels trouble and affliction. This is in line with the fact that musk, destined by nature to attract the female animal, with human beings has the effect of an aphrodisiac (H. Schindler and H. Frank, *Tiere in Pharmazie und Medizin*, Stuttgart 1961, 288-92). It further strengthens the brains and eyes, is good for heart palpitation, is an antidote against venomous stings, against the deadly alkaloid

of aconite and against ergot (*kurūn al-sunbul*), *secale cornutum*).

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MISKAWAYH, philosopher and historian who wrote in Arabic, born in Rayy around 320/932. His full name was Abū ^cAlī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya^cḳūb, which seems to refute Yāḳūt, who describes him as "Mazdaean converted to Islam", whereas it was probably one of his ancestors who was converted. Miskawayh (Miskōye/Mushkōye), and not Ibn Miskawayh as he is commonly designated, performed the tasks of secretary and librarian under the viziers al-Muhallabī (340-52/950-63) [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Faḍl (353-60/951-70) and Abu 'l-Fatḥ (360-6/970-6) [see ibn al-^camīd] and finally under the Būyid ^cAḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/983 [*q.v.*]); he also frequented not only the Arabo-Persian aristocracy of the age, but also the most remarkable representatives of Islamic culture such as al-Tawḥīdī, al-^cĀmirī, Ibn Sa^cdān, al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ^cAbbād, Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī, Badī^c al-Zamān, Abū Bakr al-Kh^wārazmī and many others; he studied in particular the work of al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*] under the direction of Ibn Kāmil, who was a pupil of the famous historian, which perhaps explains his interests in universal history. If we are to believe Yāḳūt, he died on 9 Ṣafar 421/16 February 1030, aged then a hundred. (Ed.)

As both philosopher and historian, he is, in fact, one of the very rare intellectuals in the Arabic language who is known to have practised the two disciplines with competence and with a resolve to embark on the most complex ethico-political reflection. This is why it would be arbitrary today to separate, on the pretext of specialisation, what the author combined and practised in a single intellectual endeavour.

It is true, however, that the philosophical work is more abundant and better elaborated than the *Tadjārib al-umam* (partial ed. L. Caetani, Leiden 1909-17, 3 vols.; with the continuation of Abū Shudjā^c al-Rūdhrāwarī, ed.-tr. H.F. Amedroz and D.S. Margoliouth, *The experiences of nations*, 7 vols., in their series *The eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford-London 1920-1), a universal history from the Flood to the year 369/980, whose originality only appears in the last part dealing with the Būyids.

As a philosopher, Miskawayh is distinguished by the central importance he attached to ethics. In his *Treatise on ethics* (*Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ wa-taṭhīr al-a^crāḳ*, ed. C. Zurayḳ, Beirut 1967, Fr. tr. M. Arkoun, 2nd ed. Damascus 1988), he pleaded with conviction for the organising of philosophical education around and beginning with ethics. In fact, this work compels recognition in Arabic literature as the most didactic, the fullest and most open to the Greek, Iranian, Arab, Muslim traditions, which Miskawayh knew perfectly, as is confirmed by his anthology *al-Ḥikma al-khālida* "The eternal wisdom" (ed. ^cA. Badawī, Cairo 1952) or *Djawīdhān khirad* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Al-Ghazālī was largely inspired by it in his *Mīzān al-^camal* and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) summarised it in Persian in his *Akhlaḳ-i Naṣīrī*, as did al-Dawwānī or al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502 [*q.v.*]) in his *Akhlaḳ-i Djalālī*. Nearer our own time, Muḥammad ^cAbduh used the *Tahdhīb* in his teaching. We will also remark that no equivalent treatise was composed in Arabic until our own age. This is explained by the abandonment of the philosophical perspective in Arabic thought after Ibn Rushd (the *Ishrāḳī* line followed by the Shī^cī thinkers did not respect the classical philosophical attitude as much as the *falāsifa* did).

In order the better to appreciate the contribution and originality of Miskawayh, we must set his activity within the particularly brilliant intellectual generation who worked in Būyid Persia and ^cIrāḳ from 350 to about 430/961-1039. We know the lifelike and interesting portrait that al-Tawḥīdī has left us of this generation; Būyid princes, viziers and intellectuals of all schools and all conditions were participating in the liveliness of a cultural and intellectual life which in many of its aspects contributed to the humanism of the Renaissance in the West (see J.L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam. The cultural revival during the Buyid age*, Leiden 1986). The salient fact is the emergence of a philosophical *adab*; one reads a large number of works composed directly in Arabic in addition to the major texts translated from Greek and Syriac. The reader is less delayed by philosophical and technical analyses; the abstract themes of metaphysics are less deeply explored, but by contrast, there is a larger number of didactic, popularly accessible accounts on the practical problems of the search for supreme happiness, the administration of the city, domestic economy, the education of children, the struggle against sadness, spiritual medicine and preparation for death. In an exchange of questions (*al-Hawāmil*) and answers (al-*Shawāmil*), Miskawayh and al-Tawḥīdī demonstrate the diversity and extent of the horizons of knowledge, always cultivated in a philosophical setting. Recourse to an autonomous reason, the mistress of categories, concepts and methods for establishing the profound realities (*ḥaḳā'iḳ al-umūr*), contrasts with religious reason, subject to revealed evidence, in the religious sciences. The "humanists" extol autonomous reason for going beyond blind passions and partisan struggles which split the numerous confessional groups. Miskawayh led the struggle with the constancy and serenity of the sage. His privileged position in the rich library of Abu

'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd allowed him to extend his information and look at the society of his time lucidly, and less indignantly, than al-Tawḥīdī.

In a consistently very didactic style, he is equally interested in three main metaphysical questions in a more modest work than the *Tahd̲h̲īb*, his *al-Fawz al-aṣg̲h̲ar*, ed. Ṣāliḥ ʿUdayma, Fr. tr. R. Arnaldez, Tunis 1987, demonstrating the existence of God; the soul and its states; and the prophets. In some still briefer epistles, he dealt with the intellect and the soul (ed. Arkoun, in *BEO*, Damascus 1961-2), the intellect and the intelligible (ed. Arkoun, in *Arabica*, 1964/1), and justice (ed. M.S. Khan, Leiden 1964).

The global vision held by Miskawayh is that of the *Nicomachean ethics* linked with the Psychology of Plato, the ideas of Galen on the relationship between psychology and physiology, and of Bryson on domestic economy and the education of children. Psychosomatic considerations, cosmology, the theory of climates and alchemy all supply an arsenal of arguments whose articulation leads to this unity (*al-waḥda*) which inspired all the sages nourished on Greek science, Persian *adab* and monotheistic religious sensibility.

The pictures of virtues and vices that he gives in his *Tahd̲h̲īb al-ak̲h̲lāḳ* brings together in a systematic form the four cardinal virtues (wisdom, temperance, courage and justice) defined as the just means (*wasaṭ*) between two extremes representing the vices (*rad̲h̲āʾil*). He also invents a technical lexicon of ethics in which the definitions of the virtues and vices known in the Arab tradition come to be joined with those, more philosophically elaborated, of the *Nicomachean ethics*. Justice (*ʿadāla*, *ʿadl*) and love and friendship (*maḥabba*) are the subject of particularly elaborate chapters. The idea governing all the analyses is that the reasoning faculty (*ʿaḳl*) should achieve the maintenance of equilibrium (*iʿtidāl*) between the irascible (*ḳuwwa g̲h̲aḍabiyya*) and lustful (*s̲h̲ahawāniyya*) faculties so as to ensure man's certain advance towards supreme happiness (*al-saʿāda al-ḳuṣwā*) the object of the wise man's quest. This advance is at one and the same time commanded by philosophical knowledge and the ethical conduct that illuminates it.

One is always agreeably struck by the serenity of Miskawayh's tone, by a very clear, very accessible and at the same time very rigorous style. When he describes the social and economic consequences of Būyid policy, or when he reports an abstract philosophical theory, he always succeeds in avoiding the use of technicalities which discourage the reader and the pedantry which obscures the subject. He also combines philosophical seriousness, scientific competence and concern with didactic communication, to the point that all these writings recall those of the best modern Arab prose writers. It may be objected that he loses in profundity and acuteness what he gains in explanatory, and even persuasive, effectiveness; but one should not lose sight of the fact that the socio-political functions of philosophical *adab* are as necessary and fruitful as the deeper, but less accessible, research of the great names of *falsafa*. It is through philosophical *adab* that religious reason was able to assimilate certain contributions of philosophical knowledge without provoking the rejection constantly repeated by the jurist-theologians who were champions of "orthodoxy". From this point of view, Miskawayh and the intellectuals of his generation remain of current importance in Arabic and Islamic thought; faced with the militants of religious orthodoxy who are more numerous than ever, the philosophical attitude and knowledge, as in the 4th/10th century in Bag̲h̲dād, Rayy and Iṣfahān, would allow one to pass by dogmatic conflicts whose religious vocabulary conceals principally political stakes. (M. ARKOUN)

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irs̲h̲ād*, ii, 89 ff. = *Udabāʾ*, v, 5-19; Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, 331; Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 35-6, 136, ii, 39, iii, 227 and *passim*; idem, *Ṣadāḳa*, ed. Kaylānī, Damascus 1964, 67-8; idem, *Mat̲h̲ālib*, ed. Kaylānī, Damascus 1961, 18-19, 228, 306 and *passim*; K̲h̲ʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-d̲j̲annāt*, Tehran 1307, 70-1; Amedroz, *Note on the historian*, in the Caetani ed. of the *Tad̲j̲ārib al-umam*, i, xvii ff.; idem, in *Isl.*, v (1914), 335-57; Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic historians*, Calcutta 1930, 128-37; M.S. Khan, *Miskawayh's use of the Taʾrīk̲h̲ of T̲h̲ābit b. Sinān*, in *Bull. Inst. Isl. Studies*, vi-vii (1962-3), 49-57; B.H. Siddiqi, *Ibn Miskawayh's theory of history*, in *Iqbal*, xii (1963), 71-80; De Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, 116 ff.; Brockelmann, S I, 582-4 (with list of the works of Miskawayh); Abdul Haq Ansari, *The ethical philosophy of Miskawayh*, Aligarh 1964; M. ʿIzzat, *Ibn Miskawayh: falsafatuh al-ak̲h̲lāḳiyya wa-maṣādiruhā*, Cairo 1946; M. Arkoun, *Deux epîtres de Miskawayh*, ed. in *BEO Damas* (1961); idem, *Contribution à l'étude de l'humanisme arabe ay IVᵉ/Xᵉ siècle: Miskawayh philosophe et historien* 2, Paris 1982; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 141-2; J.L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam*; idem, *Philosophy in the renaissance of Islam. Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī and his circle*, Leiden 1986. (ED.)

MISKĪN (A.), pl. *masākīn*, *miskīnūn*, "poor, destitute". The word is an ancient Semitic one. In Akkadian, *muškēnu*/*maškēnu* apparently in the first place designated a social class between the full citizens and the slaves, and thence acquired the sense of "poor, destitute" (see E.A. Speiser, *The muškēnum*, in *Orientalia*, N.S. xxvii [1958], 19-28; *Chicago Akkadian dictionary, Letter M*, Part ii, 272-6; Von Soden, *Akkadisches Wörterbuch*, ii, 8641; idem, *Muškenum und die Mawālī des frühen Islam*, in *ZA*, N.F. xxii [1964], 133-41). In the latter sense, it appears in Aramaic as *meskīnā* and in OT Hebrew as *miskēn*. In Epigraphic South Arabian, we find *ms²kmy-m* only in Qatabanian, in a funerary inscription, apparently here denoting an inferior class not to be buried in the same tomb as the tomb's more aristocratic owner (see J. Walker, *A South Arabian inscription in the Baroda State Museum*, in *Le Muséon*, lix [1946], 159-62, and G. Ryckman's *Note additionnelle*, 162-3).

As also with the Ethiopic form *meskān*, the word must have passed into Classical Arabic from the Aramaic, according to Fraenckel (cf. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 264-5; A. Hebbo, *Die fremdwörter in der arabischen Propheten-biographie des Ibn Hischām (gest. 218/834)*, Frankfort 1984, 340-3). Here, on analogy with the intensive adjective *mifʿīl* form, *miskīn* is usually of common gender (cf. Wright, *Grammar*, 186), but the feminine *miskīna* is found with the sound pl. *miskīnāt*. In the Arabic of recent times, it has the connotation of "wretched, miserable", see e.g. Spiro, 567, and Hinds and Badawi, 823, for Egyptian colloquial, and Barthélemy, 350, for Syrian, passing into Italian as *meschino* and into French as *mesquin* "mean, shabby, stingy".

In the Ḳurʾān, it is very frequent, with the abstract *maskana* "poverty, indigence", appearing in II, 58, III, 108, and is often found in lists of the classes whose support was a duty for the Muslims. As in sūra IX, 60, it is found alongside of *fuḳarāʾ*, commentators and jurists have felt that some distinction must be made between the two. They usually explain *miskīn* as

needy, but not absolutely without possessions like the *fuḳarā*ʾ, and refer to sūra XVIII, 78, where there is a reference to poor people who possess a ship among them. How uncertain this is, is however evident from the fact that the Mālikīs in opposition to the Shāfiʿīs take the other view and regard the *miskīnūn* as the most needy; cf. also the quotations from *ḥadīth* in Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*, Cairo 1383/1963, ii, 385-6, and the definitions collected in Lane, *Lexicon*, i, 1395. The *miskīn*[an] *dhā matraba* of XC, 16, does not help us.

From the meaning "poor" gradually developed that of "base, miserable", also in the moral sense, cf. e.g. Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 6 ult. where Abū Sufyān's wife Hind is called *al-Miskīna*. On the other hand, the word can mean "humble" as in the words attributed to Muḥammad: "Let me live as a *miskīn* and die as a *miskīn* and include me among the *miskīnūn*."

In modern South Arabia, e.g. in Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the term *miskīn* denotes the top layer of the population subject to the tribesmen, comprising the petty traders and artisans, constituting the layer above the *ḍuʿafāʾ* (sing. *ḍaʿīf*), who are not physically weak but are non-arms bearing, comprising builders, potters and field workers. Here, then, *miskīn* seems not to convey the idea of "poor, wretched", but to be connected with the root *s-k-n* "to settle" (in modern South Arabian, *sākin* = "camp, village", cf. Landberg, *Glossaire datînois*, iii, 1958). See R.B. Serjeant, *South Arabian poetry. I. Prose and poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*, London 1951, 27 ff., 47; idem, *South Arabia*, in C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, ed., *Commoners, climbers and notables*, Leiden 1977, 230 ff.; idem, *Studies on Arabian history and civilisation*, London 1981, IX. It is further interesting that the term *miskēn* turns up again in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistan, where in e.g. the Kirkūk and Bulaymāniyya regions it denotes villagers who do not claim tribal origin, a class of lowly social status and often oppressed by tribal neighbours; see C.J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London 1957, 12, 14.

Bibliography: Given in the article, and see also, for *ḥadīth* citations, Wensinck, *Concordance*, vi, 225-7. (F. Buhl [- C.E. Bosworth])

MISKĪN AL-DĀRIMĪ, the sobriquet and *nisba* of a poet from Tamīm of ʿIrāḳ, whose real name was Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Unayf b. Shurayḥ ... b. Dārim (see his genealogy in Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 60, and Register, ii, 409) and who lived in the 1st/7th century (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 132, fixes the date of his death in 89/708).

The biographical notices which concern him tell us that he was very dark, handsome, courageous, and eloquent, but they give little information about his family and his offspring (he is said to have had a son called ʿUtba or ʿUḳba but Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, Cairo ed. i, 530, states that he left behind no progeny, nor does Ibn al-Kalbī ascribe any to him). They continue mainly with some items of information about the origin of his sobriquet, on his clashes with al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*] and on his relations with the Umayyads. The surviving remains of his poetic output amount to some 300 verses, amongst which one may note a certain number which are attributed to several poets.

His name is said to have been due to certain verses (e.g. rhyme *-ik*, metre *ramal*) in which he describes himself as destitute (*miskīn* [*q.v.*]) but draws out of his misery and his personal virtues — of which the principal was probably his self-respect and pride — glory, and at the same time vaunts the nobility of his family, which seems to have had a fairly exalted place in his tribe. An exchange of invective with al-Farazdaḳ appears to have begun — or to have intensified — at the death of Ziyād b. Abīhi (53/673 [*q.v.*]). Since the governor of ʿIrāḳ had displayed a certain amount of generosity towards Miskīn and, in particular, had allowed him to utilise, for his herds, one of the protected extents of pasturage (*ḥimā* [*q.v.*]), the poet wrote an elegy at his death which immediately aroused al-Farazdaḳ; the latter nevertheless was afraid lest his adversary should ally with Djarīr [*q.v.*], so that the two enemies very soon made peace with each other.

Miskīn was on good terms with the Umayyad representatives in ʿIrāḳ, and made his way, according to his biographers, to Muʿāwiya in order to seek a pension from him, but met with a refusal and composed a poem (rhyme *-āhī*, metre *ṭawīl*) in which there appears a verse (the *shāhid* 167 of al-Baghdādī in the *Khizāna*) beginning with a phrase (*akhāka akhāka*) which the grammarians explain but criticise. The caliph, who relied for support on the Yemenis, tended to favour them at the expense of the North Arabs [see ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN] in order to detach them from the partisans of both ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and of Ibn al-Zubayr; but, in the face of the arrogance of the Yemenis, decided to recruit a detachment of Ḳaysīs and at the same time to allot a stipend to Miskīn, who was to receive it even though he continued to live in ʿIrāḳ. Muʿāwiya used the poet in order to float a "trial balloon" at the point when he had the idea of designating his son Yazīd as heir presumptive (although it would strongly appear that Yazīd himself was behind this manoeuvre). Miskīn accordingly recited before the ruler, who then promised to "reflect on the question", a poem in which he was able to say, without provoking a reaction from those persons present, "When the throne of the West shall become vacant, it is Yāzid who will become Commander of the Faithful." This piece of verse (rhyme *-īlūdū*, metre *ṭawīl*) was sufficiently famous to be set to music. The poet was likewise on good terms with another Umayyad, Bishr b. Marwān [*q.v.*], who appreciated his poetry.

The poetic work of Miskīn al-Darimī does not seem to have been collected together in the mediaeval period. Hāshim al-Ṭaʿʿān is said to have collected together the remaining verses in a *Dīwān* published in Baghdād, but the author of this article has not seen this; he has however been able to consult a *Dīwān* of 55 fragments gathered together by ʿAbd Allāh al-Djubūrī and Khalīl I. al-ʿAṭiyya and printed at Baghdād in 1389/1970. These surviving fragments reveal in Miskīn a poet of the classical type endowed with sufficient talent to arouse disquiet in al-Farazdaḳ; they show him as generous, proud and inclined, like so many others, to personal glorification, but somewhat moralising (a verse in the rhyme *-ar* and the *mutaḳārib* metre, given in the *Dīwān*, no. 36, and also in *Aghānī*, xx, 170, is said to be the best ever composed on the topic of jealousy). A poem in which several of the ancient poets are passed in review and their places of birth and burial indicated, with the aim of mourning their passing (rhyme *aʿū*, metre *ṭawīl*; *Dīwān*, no. 41; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, ii, 116-17 = Cairo, iv, 74-6), develops a fairly frequent theme [see MARTHIYA]), but is probably not written by him.

Bibliography: The main biographies are in *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xx, 167-78; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, 1907 ed., 119-35; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, v, 300-3; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 200-4 = *Udabāʾ*, xi, 126-32; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, i, 465-70, ii, 116-17 = Cairo, iii, 57-75, iv, 74-6. The editors of the

Dīwān have gone through a large number of works; one may note Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; idem, *Burṣān*, index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamasā*, index; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa ʾl-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 347-8 = Cairo, i, 529-30; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, index s.v. Rabīʿa; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 259, 261; Dj. Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh al-ādāb*, i, 448; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 318; *ZDMG*, liv (1900), 448 ff.; see also Marzūḳ b. Tunbāk, *al-Tasāmuḥ fī ʾl-ghayra fī shiʿr Miskin al-Dārimī*, in *al-Dāra*, xiii/3 (1408/1987, 69-97.) (CH. PELLAT)

MIṢR, Egypt

A. The eponym of Egypt
B. The early Islamic settlements developing out of the armed camps and the metropolises of the conquered provinces
C. The land of Egypt: the name in early Islamic times
  1. Miṣr as the capital of Egypt: the name in early Islamic times
  2. The historical development of the capital of Egypt
    i. The first three centuries. [see AL-FUSṬĀṬ]
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D. History of the Islamic province and modern state of Egypt
  1. The Byzantine background, the Arab conquest and the Umayyad period 602-750
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  8. The British Protectorate and the end of the monarchy 1882-1952. [see Suppl.]
  9. Republican Egypt 1952-1990. [see Suppl.]

A. As a proper noun in Arabic, diptote in inflexion and masculine in gender, Miṣr denotes the eponym of Egypt, the ancestor of the Berbers and the Copts. In accordance with the Biblical genealogy (Genesis x. 1 ff.), Miṣr is called the son of Ḥām, the son of Nūḥ. The biblical origin of the pedigree appears clearly in the form Miṣrāʾim or Miṣrām (cf. Hebrew *Miṣraim*) which is found side by side with Miṣr.

In some genealogies, between Ḥām and Miṣr there is inserted Bayṣar, a name of which the origin is unknown to me.

There exists, however, also quite a different genealogy, according to which Miṣrām is a son of Tablīl, one of the early heroes (*djabābira*), who ruled Egypt after the Deluge.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 217; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 210; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, ii, 394 = § 806; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 80; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 58; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Būlāḳ, 15; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī al-Manūfī, *Kitāb Akhbār al-duwal*, Cairo 1311/1893-4, 5; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, Paris 1953, 16. (A.J. WENSINCK)

B. As an Arabic common noun, triptote and masculine in gender, pl. *amṣār, miṣr* denotes, in earliest Islam, the settlements developing out of the armed encampments established by the Arabs in the conquered provinces outside Arabia and then, subsequently, the capital towns or metropolises of the conquered provinces (e.g. in the tradition of Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, *bāb* 28, "The *amṣār* will be conquered at your hands"; but furthermore, in *ḥadīth*, any town may be called a *miṣr*, e.g. in al-Bukhārī, *Dhabāʾiḥ*, *bāb* 2, *Aḍāḥī*, *bāb* 15, *ʿĪdayn*, *bāb* 25, and in al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 32, etc.). The word is of ancient Semitic origin; in Akkadian, the noun *miṣru* denotes "frontier, frontier marker, territory", whence *maṣṣartu* "watch, guard, guard-house, defence" verb *muṣṣuru* "to fix a border" (W. van Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, ii, 619-21, 659; *Chicago Assyrian dictionary, letter M*, Pt. I, 333-44, Pt. II, 113-15, 245); in Jewish Aramaic, *miṣr, meṣrānā* denote a house or field as an exactly delineated and demarcated territory (J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*; idem, *Neuhebräisches-talmudisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.).

The classical dictionaries (e.g. *LA*, vii, 23-4) give the meaning of *miṣr* as a frontier outpost and border (*ḥadd*) and as something which separates two regions, like Baṣra and Raḳḳa; the classical Arabic geographers (e.g. Ibn al-Faḳīh and al-Muḳaddasī) stress its more developed usage as a large urban centre where a ruler or governor resides and which has located there the administrative organs, treasury, etc., of its province. Al-Muḳaddasī (47, tr. A. Miquel, *La meilleure répartition...*, Damascus 1963, 122, § 92) has the metaphor of a hierarchy of administrative units, in descending order, with the *miṣr* as the *malik* or king, followed by the *ḳaṣaba* as the *ḥādjib* or chamberlain, the *madīna* as the *djund* or army, etc., but notes also the definition of the jurists that a *miṣr* is any populous urban centre where an *amīr* or governor resides and where the Ḳurʾānic penalties (*ḥudūd*) are applied (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 2-3 n. 5).

Thus the term *miṣr* was first used for the encampments of the Arab *muḳātila* or warriors in places like Baṣra and Kūfa (often called *al-miṣrān*, the two encampments par excellence, e.g. in al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 13; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 454) when these temporary bases, from which the conquests were extended into e.g. Persia and Armenia, were placed on a more permanent basis by being divided into quarters for different tribal groups (the process of *tamṣīr* or *takhṭīṭ* [see KHIṬṬA]); for examples of this, see AL-BAṢRA and AL-KŪFA. The same process took place at e.g. Fusṭāṭ in Egypt (see below, section C. 2) and doubtless at al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] in Ifrīḳiya. Then within a century or two it became a more general term for the larger urban centres of the Islamic lands, as used e.g. by al-Djāḥiẓ in the title of his *Kitāb al-Amṣār wa-ʿadjāʾib al-buldān* (ed. Pellat, in *Machriq* [1966], 169-205) [see AL-DJĀḤIẒ], until al-Muḳaddasī can give a list of the *amṣār*, on the authority of al-Djāḥiẓ, as comprising ten, sc. Baghdād, Kūfa, Baṣra, Miṣr (= Fusṭāṭ), Rayy, Naysābūr, Marw, Balkh and Samarḳand (the tenth one having been apparently omitted by al-Djāḥiẓ or by a copyist) (33, tr. Miquel, 76, § 61).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, i, Paris-The Hague 1967, 48-9, 67, 324. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

C. As a proper noun in Arabic, diptote but feminine in gender, Miṣr further denotes the land of Egypt and its capital city.

1. Miṣr as the capital of Egypt: the name in early Islamic times. At present, and since its foundation over 1,000 years ago, the city of Cairo (al-

Ḳāhira) has been known thus, in full, Miṣr al-Ḳāhira. Miṣr occurs, however, already as the name of the city or the cities situated south-west of later Cairo, when the name had been transferred to this city, the name Miṣr al-ḳadīma (Old Miṣr) clung to the old settlement, situated between the mosque of ᶜAmr and the right bank of the Nile (cf. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, 16).

In the period between the Arab conquest and the foundation of Cairo, the name Miṣr was regularly applied to the settlement just mentioned (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 247, 251; Ibn Rusta, 115 ff.; al-Bukhārī, *Farḍ al-khums*, *bāb*, 13; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 74). We are, however, not able to decide which of its parts (Babylon, Fusṭāṭ or the Ṭūlūnid capital) is especially denoted by it. It may be supposed that the combination of Fusṭāṭ Miṣr "Fusṭāṭ in Egypt" (cf. e.g. al-Masᶜūdī, *Tanbīh*, 358; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 285, opposes Fusṭāṭ Miṣr to *arḍ Miṣr*) forms the link between the application of the name Miṣr to the country and to the capital. After the conquest of Egypt by the Muslims there were two settlements only on the right bank of the Nile where it divides, viz. Babylon and Fusṭāṭ. The papyri never mention Miṣr as the name of either of these settlements. Yet in the latter part of the 7th century A.D., the application of the name Miṣr to one or to the other or to both must have begun, as is attested by John of Nikiu, who at least once uses Mesr as the name of a city, where he speaks of "The gates of Mesr" (25). In other passages, Mesr appears as the name of the country (201, 209).

The statement that the name Miṣr as the name of a town arose after the Muslim conquest only, is in opposition to Butler, who maintains that at least since the age of Diocletian there existed on the right bank of the Nile, to the south of the later Babylon, a city called Miṣr (cf. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, 15; idem, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, 221 note). Caetani (*Annali*, A.H. 19, § 47) has already pointed to the fact that the traditions concerning the Arab conquest of Egypt do not give the slightest credit to the existence of a city bearing the name of Miṣr. Butler's reference to the Synaxary proves nothing, as this work was composed many centuries after the conquest. Finally, it may be noted that the Coptic name of Babylon was Keme.

Bibliography: A.J. Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the last thirty years of the Roman dominion*, Oxford 1902, ²1978; idem, *Babylon of Egypt*, Oxford 1924; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, in *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 168 ff.; *Chronique de Jean évêque de Nikiou, texte éthiopien publié et trad. par H. Zotenberg*, Paris 1883, index.

(A.J. Wensinck)

2. The historical development of the capital of Egypt.

i. The first three centuries. See for this al-fusṭāṭ.

ii. The Nile banks, the island of Rawḍa and the adjacent settlement of Djīza (Gīza).

The task of clearing up the historical topography of Cairo and the neighbourhood is very much complicated by the fact that the Nile has several times changed its bed since the conquest. At that time, its waters washed the Ḳaṣr al-Shamᶜ and the Mosque of ᶜAmr, but only a few decades later it had retreated so far back that there was sufficient land left dry between the castle and the new bank to be worth utilising. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. Marwān erected buildings here. The struggle with the Nile went on through the whole mediaeval period in the history of Cairo. Any methods of controlling the river were at this time quite unknown to the Muslims, and their amateurish efforts in this direction had at most but a very temporary success. The Nile then flowed much further east than at the present day and must also have taken a considerable turn to the east in the north of Fusṭāṭ so that great areas of the modern Cairo were then portions of the river-bed. The name al-Kabsh (*Ḳalᶜat al-Kabsh*) is given to that quarter of the town near the Ṭūlūnid Mosque. This Kabsh lay immediately to the west of the Djabal Yashkur and was a favourite resort since it lay on the Nile. At the present day, it is more than ¾ mile distant from the river; and this is a good deal in the plan of a town. The many dried-up pools (*birka*) within the modern city also remind one of the gradual shifting to the west of the Nile. First of all, islands arose in the river-bed, then the water-courses which separated them from the banks were cut off from the mainbed; these were only filled with water at periods of flood, then they became *birka*s, till they finally dried up altogether. The areas gained from the river were first of all used as gardens, then finally built on, till now only the ancient name reminds one of the change they have undergone. It is in this way that the whole area between the modern bed of the Nile and the ancient settlements has arisen within the Islamic period. It is evident that this constant process of change does not facilitate the identification of localities.

At the period of the conquest, there was only one island in the Nile in this neighbourhood, called Djazīrat Miṣr or simply al-Djazīra. This island is in its nucleus identical with the modern island of Rawḍa. With Babylon [see bābalyūn] it formed a single strong fortress and guarded the passage of the Nile. We have no definite information as to whether the Djazīra was already connected with Djīza also by a bridge in the time of the conquest or only with Babylon. In the time of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) —this is the earliest date known— there was a bridge over the whole Nile which was even then known as "the Old" and replaced by a new one. This old bridge must therefore —as is *a priori* probable— date back to the beginnings of Arab rule. In all the centuries following, this bridge crossed the whole Nile. It was a bridge of boats. According to some statements, the Djazīra was at first practically in the centre of the river. The arm which separated it from Babylon soon became silted up, however. In the year 336/947 the Nile had retreated so far that the inhabitants of Fusṭāṭ had to get their water from the Djīza arm of the Nile. It was at this period under Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī [*q.v.*] that the deepening of the eastern arm of the Nile was carried out, to be repeated several times in the 7th/13th century under the Ayyūbids. In 600/1203, it was possible to walk dryshod to the Nilometer (*Mikyās* [*q.v.*]) on the Djazīra. In 628/1230, the energy of al-Malik al-Kāmil brought about a permanent improvement, though al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ also annually took advantage of the period of low water to deepen the arm of the Nile which gradually became a canal. Why did they wish to preserve this particular channel? The reason is to be found in the military importance of the Djazīra. At the conquest, the Arabs found a castle here; the Byzantines, who were shut in by the Arabs, were able to escape over the Djazīra. After the fall of Babylon, we hear nothing further of the island fortress. In the year 54/683, the naval arsenal (*al-ṣināᶜa*), a dock for warships, was laid down here. This arsenal is mentioned in the papyri of the 1st century A.H.; it was also a kind of naval base. Ibn Ṭūlūn was the first to make the island a regular fortress again, when he thought his power was threatened (263/876); but the Nile was more powerful than the will of Ibn Ṭūlūn,

and his fortress in the Nile gradually fell into the waters; the remainder was destroyed by Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj Ikhshīd in 323/934; two years later, this prince removed the arsenal also to Fusṭāṭ and the Djazīra became a royal country residence. The island appears to have become larger in course of time and more people came to settle on it. Under the Fāṭimids, it was a flourishing town and one talked of the trio of towns, Cairo, Fusṭāṭ and Djazīra. Al-Afḍal, the son of the Fāṭimid general Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] built a pleasure palace with large gardens in the north of the island and called it Rawḍa. This name was gradually extended to the whole island which has retained it to the present day. Later, under the Ayyūbids, the island became a *wakf*. This *wakf* land was rented by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, who built the third great Nile fortress on it. This new fortress was called *Kalʿat al-Rawḍa* or *Kalʿat al-Mikyās*. Al-Malik al Ṣāliḥ evicted all the inhabitants of the island and razed a church and 33 mosques to the ground. In their place, he built 60 towers and made the island the bulwark of his power; this was the reason of his regular dredging operations to deepen the canal separating the island from the mainland. There, surrounded by the Nile (*Baḥr*), he dwelled with his Mamlūks who became known as Baḥrī Mamlūks from their citadel [see AL-BAḤRIYYA and MAMLŪKS]: but even this stronghold in the Nile did not ensure his safety. After the fall of the Ayyūbids, the Mamlūk Aybak destroyed the fortress; Baybars rebuilt it, but later Mamlūks like Kalāwūn and his son Muḥammad used it as a quarry for their buildings in Fusṭāṭ. In the 9th/15th century the proud citadel of the Nile had fallen to pieces and another dynasty was building on its ruins. Rawḍa never again took a prominent part in history.

At the present day the most remarkable sight in Rawḍa is the Nilometer (*Mikyās* [*q.v.*]) which dates from the time of the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

At the present day, Rawḍa is much built upon and only in the north, adjacent to Cairo University Hospital, do any gardens remain. Nothing came of the French expedition's plan of laying out a European quarter here. Before the regulating of the Nile this would have been a dangerous undertaking, for mediaeval writers tell us of occasional inundations of the island, when the Nile was exceptionally high. The idea, which was good in itself, was put into practice in a still better situation farther north on the Djazīrat Būlāk, the modern residential area of Zamālik.

From the historical point of view, Rawḍa is inseparably connected with Djīza (Gīza), with which it formed a defence of the passage up the Nile at the time of the conquest, and during the Middle Ages. Djīza was certainly not a foundation of the Arabs, but portions of the conquering army planted their *khiṭaṭ* there as did their companions in Fusṭāṭ. On account of its exposed situation to attack from the other side of the river, the caliph ʿUmar ordered Djīza to be fortified. The defences were completed by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in the year 22/643. It was probably only a case of restoring or extending Byzantine fortifications. The *khiṭaṭ* of the tribes were partly outside the fortress, which was probably merely a stronghold at the entrance to the bridge. The strongest tribes settled here were the Ḥimyar and Hamdān; in the *masdjid* of the latter the Friday service was held; it was only under the Ikhshīdids that a Friday Mosque was built in Djīza in 350/961. Its military importance naturally went parallel with that of Rawḍa and the bridge over the Nile. This bridge collapsed in Ottoman times and was only rebuilt by the French. It was afterwards removed, and in 1907 the ʿAbbās Bridge was built, connecting the western edge of Rawḍa island with the west bank of the Nile at Djīza. In 1958 the new Djāmiʿa Bridge connected northern Rawḍa and the University on the west bank. Djīza is, of course, the site of one of the most imposing groups of pyramids, containing notably those of Cheops and Chefren, in Arabic *al-ahrām* [see HARAM], and of the Sphinx, in Arabic Abu 'l-Hawl [*q.v.*]. The main road from Djīza to the foot of the Great Pyramid of Cheops and the Mena House Hotel was built for the Empress Eugénie of France when she came to open the Suez Canal in 1869.

Djīza already had in the 19th century the Orman Gardens and the Djīza Palace built by the Khedive Ismāʿīl. By the early 20th century the Gardens came to house in part a zoo, and in 1925 the University of Cairo, originally Fuʾād al-Awwal University, established its campus there. In recent decades, extensive residential areas have grown up to the north of Djīza on the west bank at Dukkī and al-ʿAdjūza. Djīza has been the chef-lieu of a province of the same name or *mudīriyya* since the 19th century, comprising the west-bank districts of Imbāba, Djīza itself and al-ʿAyyāṭ and the east-bank one of al-Ṣaff, with the governorate covering in 1965 1,009.5 km^2. Djīza itself had in 1929 a population of 26,773, a figure now vastly swollen with the recent suburban spread of metropolitan Cairo and the influx of incomers from the countryside (see Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Kāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953-68, ii/3, 8-10)

iii. The Fāṭimid City, Miṣr al-Kāhira, and the development of Cairo till the end of the 18th century.

The modern Cairo was originally only a military centre, like al-ʿAskar and al-Kaṭāʾī, north of the great capital of Miṣr al-Fusṭāṭ. When the Fāṭimids in al-Kayrawān saw the precarious position of Egypt under the later Ikhshīds, they felt the time had come to put into operation their long cherished wish to occupy the Nile valley. On 11 Shaʿbān 358/1 July 969, their general Djawhar [*q.v.*] overcame the feeble resistance which the weak government was able to offer him at Djīza, and entered Fusṭāṭ on the day following. He pitched his camp north of the city and for seven days his troops poured in through the city. When on 18 Shaʿbān/9 July the whole army had collected around him, he gave orders for a new city to be planned. Such an important undertaking could not be carried out in those days without first consulting the astrologers as to what would be the propitious hour to begin. The historians tell us that a suitable area had been marked off and all the more distant parts of it connected with a bell-pull, so that the given moment at a sign from the astrologers work might begin everywhere at the same distant. The bell-rope was, however, pulled before the auspicious moment by a raven and the building began at a moment when the unlucky planet Mars, the Kāhir al-Falak, governed the heavens. This calamity could not be undone, so they sought to deprive the evil omen of its malignance by giving the new town the name of Manṣūriyya. As a matter of fact, Cairo does appear to have borne this name till the caliph al-Muʿizz himself came to Egypt and from his own interpretation of the horoscope saw a favourable omen in the rising of the planet Mars. The new foundation thus received the name al-Kāhira al-Muʿizziyya (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 377).

The process of expansion of the old city of the Fāṭimids can be reconstructed even at the present day without difficulty on a plan. The best is the French plan of the year 1798 in the *Description de l'Égypte*,

because it was prepared before Cairo had been modernised; see also the various maps and plans in Abu-Lughod, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*. In the centre between the northern boundary of Fusṭāṭ and Heliopolis (ʿAyn Shams), there lay at this time the little village of Munyat al-Aṣbagh, where the caravans for Syria used to assemble. Munyat al-Aṣbagh lay on the Khalīdj, a canal which traversed the whole length of the plain, leaving the Nile to the north of Fusṭāṭ, passing the ancient Heliopolis and finally entering the sea at the modern Suez. This canal was probably originally a silted-up branch of the Nile, which had been excavated for use as a canal even in ancient times. After the Arab conquest, it was again cleaned out by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to make a navigable waterway between Fusṭāṭ and the Holy Cities in order to supply the latter with corn. It then received the name of Khalīdj Amīr al-Muʾminīn. This Khalīdj was closed in 69/688 to cut off the corn supply of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Medina and finally abandoned as a waterway to the Red Sea in 145/762 in the reign of al-Manṣūr. It was still to remain for a thousand years the water supply of the plain north of Fusṭāṭ and formed the water-road, so famed in song, on the west side and at a later period in the centre of Cairo. After the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim, who did much for it, it bore the name of Khalīdj al-Ḥākimī; at a still later period it was called by a host of names of different stretches of it, which are given on the French map of 1798. Instead of flowing to the sea, in the latter centuries of its existence it ended in the Birkat al-Djubb in the north of Cairo and in its neighbourhood. It is only quite recently (the end of the 19th century) that it has vanished from the plan of Cairo. Its course is still clearly recognisable; it corresponds to the broad road followed at the present day by the electric tram from the Mosque of Sayyida Zaynab, or rather from a farther point in the south of Cairo to the northern suburb of ʿAbbāsiyya (Shāriʿ Ḥalwān).

The Fāṭimid city lay immediately south of Munyat al-Aṣbagh between this canal and the Muḳaṭṭam hill. Its northern and southern limits are still defined by the Bāb al-Futūḥ and the Bāb Zuwayla. The town founded by Djawhar was rather smaller in compass than the Cairo of the later Fāṭimid period. At first, the open space in the south, where the Muʾayyad Mosque now stands, and the Mosque of the Ḥākim in the north were both outside the walls. In the west, the Khalīdj for centuries formed the natural boundary, as did the heights in the east. The main part of the Fāṭimid city was defined by a series of streets running north and south parallel to the Khalīdj, connecting the two gates just mentioned with one another and dividing the city into two large sections not quite equal in size. This series of streets is also clearly defined at the present day, though it must have been broader originally. It is still known by different names in the various sections, of which the best known is Shāriʿ al-Naḥḥāsīn. This is crossed at right angles by al-Sikka al-Djadīda, the continuation of the Muskī. Its name "New" Street proves what must be particularly emphasised to avoid misconceptions, viz. that the Fāṭimid city had no such main street running from east to west. It only arose in the 19th century.

If Fusṭāṭ had been divided into *khiṭaṭ*, Cairo was divided into *ḥāras* or quarters, which is really only another name for the same thing, exept that Cairo was intended to be a city from the beginning, while Fusṭāṭ grew out of the chance arrangement of a camp. The altered conditions of the period are shown in the fact that the quarters were no longer allotted to different Arab tribes but to quite different peoples and races. In the north and south lay the quarters of the Greeks (*Rūm*), to whom Djawhar himself possibly belonged. His settling his countrymen near the main gate of the city was probably intentional. Berbers, Kurds, Turks, Armenians, etc. were allotted other portions of the town. Some late-comers were settled in the Ḥārat al-Bāṭiliyya outside the first walls of the city between it and al-Muḳaṭṭam. Lastly, the negroes, called briefly *al-ʿAbīd*, who formed a rather undisciplined body, were settled north of the Bāb al-Futūḥ beside a great ditch which Djawhar had dug to defend the city against attacks from Syria. This part of the town came to be called *Khandaḳ al-ʿAbīd* from the ditch and those who dwelled near it.

The splendid places of the caliphs formed the central portion of the town. We must be careful to distinguish between a large eastern palace (*al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr al-Sharḳī*) and a smaller western one (*al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr al-Gharbī*). Their sites had previously been occupied, to the west of the main series of streets, by the large gardens of Kāfūr, to the east by a Coptic monastery (*Dayr al-ʿIẓām*) and a small fortress (*Ḳuṣayr al-Shawk*), which were used for the building of the palaces. The East Palace was the first to be built immediately after the foundation of the city. On 23 Ramaḍān 362/28 June 993, the caliph al-Muʿizz was able to enter it in state. It was a splendid building with nine doors, of which three opened on the west part of the main street. This part was 1,264 feet in length and the palace covered an area of 116,844 square yards; it lay 30 yards back from the present street, from which one may gather how much broader the latter must have been. On the other side of the street lay the Garden of Kāfūr, which stretched to the Khalīdj. In it al-ʿAzīz (365-86/975-96) built the smaller western Palace also called *al-ʿAzīzī* after him—the exact year is unknown—and its two wings stretched up to the street enclosing a broad square into which the street here expanded. As this series of streets passed between the two palaces in the centre of the town here, it was called *Raḥbat bayn al-Ḳaṣrayn*, a name which survived the palaces themselves for centuries and was still in use at the time of the French expedition. The whole street was also known more briefly as *Ḳaṣabat al-Ḳāhira*. The two palaces began to fall into ruins in the Ayyūbid period. The history of this part of the town, and of the great palace in particular, of which some fragments still survive built into other houses, has been most carefully dealt with by Ravaisse in the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, i, iii.

As Cairo was from the beginning a military and at first not a commercial city at all, even Djawhar must have taken care to fortify it with walls. These walls were afterwards extended in the reign of the caliph al-Mustanṣir by the commander-in-chief Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] and the gates built in the form in which they have survived to the present day. That Badr built all the walls, was disputed—perhaps wrongly—by Casanova. Mention is made in later times of a third building of walls in the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Djawhar's walls were of brick; no trace of them has survived. Even al-Maḳrīzī knew only of a few unimportant fragments, and says that the last remaining portions of them were destroyed in 803/1400. In spite of al-Maḳrīzī's admiring statements (i, 377), Djawhar's wall cannot have survived for any great length of time, for as early a traveller as Nāṣir-i Khusraw (ed. Schefer, 131) describes Cairo as unfortified. Badr's defences, which were begun in 480/1087, consisted of a brick wall with strong gateways of stone, the portions of the walls adjacent to

them being of stone also. Max van Berchem (*Notes d'archéologie arabe. 1. Monuments et inscriptions fatimites*, in *JA*, ser. 8, vol. xvii [1891], 443 ff.) exhaustively studied these walls and gates and called particular attention to the fact that the great gates, which still command admiration at the present day, the Bāb al-Futūḥ, Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb Zuwayla, were built by architects from Edessa and differ in a rather marked degree from the later fortifications of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, which appear to be influenced by the Frankish style of the Crusading period. We also owe to van Berchem an accurate delineation of those portions of the walls which still survive at the present day and which date from the Fāṭimid period. The picture we have of the two walls of the Fāṭimid period is as follows. In the west, the town was bounded by the Khalīdj which ran below the walls for 1300 yards and served as a moat. It is a debatable point whether we may conclude from the street name Bayn al-Sūrayn, which is still in use, that two walls existed here one behind the other. Djawhar's walls were certainly a fair distance from the canal, the space being large enough to allow of pleasure palaces being built on it. There were three (according to Casanova, only two) gates here, from south to north, the Bāb al-Saʿāda, Bāb al-Faradj and the Bāb al-Ḳanṭara. At the latter, near the north-western stretch of the walls, there was, as the name shows, a bridge over the canal. This connected the town with the suburb and harbour of al-Maks, on the Nile, the ancient Umm Dunayn. On al-Maks, cf. *Papyri Schott Reinhardt*, i, 53 ff.; the name appears in the Graeco-Arabic papyri of the 1st/7th century; even before the foundation of Cairo, therefore, this was the harbour at which the customs were collected. Al-Maks must have comprised the modern Ezbekiyye and the area adjoining it on the north. The northern side of the town must naturally have been the most strongly fortified. Djawhar had a ditch dug here along the wall. The two gates, Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb al-Naṣr, built by him, lay more within the town than the modern gates of the same name which only date from Badr's time. The Mosque of al-Ḥākim was originally built outside the walls and was first included within the fortified area by Badr. There seem, however, to be reasons for believing that al-Ḥākim was the first to advance the line of fortifications here as well as in the south and to build new gates (al-Ḳalḳashandī, tr. Wüstenfeld, 70; Salmon (see *Bibl.*), 50). The wall had two gates on the east, the Bāb al-Ḳarrāṭīn (afterwards al-Maḥrūḳ) and the Bāb al-Barḳiyya. In this locality, Badr's fortification also included the quarters which had arisen after the erection of Djawhar's wall. Finally, Badr moved the Zuwayla gate somewhat farther to the south. There were originally two gates. The town as extended by Badr was still anything but large. It may have been about $^2/_3$ of a square mile in area.

The intellectual and religious life of Cairo was concentrated in the great Mosque, the Djāmiʿ al-Azhar, in which the first act of worship was held on 7 Ramaḍān 361/30 October 971. On the history and importance of this mosque, see AL-AZHAR. The erection of the above-mentioned mosque outside the northern gates had already been begun in the reign of al-ʿAzīz and was completed by his successor, after whom it was called the Mosque of al-Ḥākim. The building operations lasted from 393/1002 to 403/1012. After an earthquake, it was entirely restored by Baybars II in 703/1303, who added the minarets. It was used by the French as a fortress and at the present day is in ruins. Of the other religious buildings of the Fāṭimids, only two deserve particular mention: the Mosque of Aḳmar, with its charming stone façade, so important in the history of art (Franz Pasha, *Kairo*, 29). It was finished in 519/1125, but it was only under the Mamlūks that it received the right of the khuṭba [*q.v.*] being delivered there in 801/1398. The second of these monuments is the older Djuyūshī Mosque, built quite outside of Cairo on the summit of al-Muḳaṭṭam [*q.v.*], which was built in 478/1085 by Badr al-Djamālī (van Berchem, *CIA, Egypte*, no. 32; idem, *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, ii). On other buildings and inscriptions of the Fāṭimids, cf. the works of van Berchem just quoted. It is impossible to detail here all their buildings, etc. mentioned in literature; see further on these AL-ḲĀHIRA. Monuments. Most of them did not survive the dynasty or survived it for a brief period only.

During the Fāṭimid period, Cairo was not yet the economic centre for all Egypt which it was to become under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks. This role was first held, as we have seen, by Fusṭāṭ. On the other hand, Cairo was pre-eminently the seat of a splendid court with all its military pageantry. Ibn Ṭuwayr and others have given us vivid pictures, preserved in al-Ḳalḳashandī and others, of the ceremonial processions and festivals, the magazines, treasuries and stables, the banners and insignia, the members of the royal household, the various classes of officers of state and court officials with all their punctilious ceremonial [see MAWĀKIB. 1. Under the ʿAbbāsids and Fāṭimids, and also 6. In the Mamlūk Sultanate, in Suppl.]. Eye-witnesses, like Nāṣir-i Khusraw, confirm these accounts. It must have been a glorious period for Cairo, but was soon followed in al-Mustanṣir's time by a desolate epoch of anarchy when the economic foundations of its prosperity were destroyed by famine and unrest. A better era dawned on Cairo with the accession to power of Badr al-Djamālī. Cairo now began slowly to gain over Fusṭāṭ in economic importance, a process which gradually became more definite in succeeding centuries.

iv. The Citadel and post-Fāṭimid Cairo. Quite a new epoch in the history of Cairo, as in that of Egypt as a whole, dawns with the accession of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (Saladin) in 564/1169 and the advent of the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*] (see on these historical events in Egypt, below, section D). The history of the growth of the city only can be briefly discussed here. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn twice played a part in this development by erecting large buildings. P. Casanova has thoroughly dealt with this process in his *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire* (*Mém. de la Miss. Arch. Franç. au Caire*, vi), though his conclusions cannot perhaps be regarded as final on all points. The material is too imperfect. At any rate he is probably right in saying that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the first instance in 565/1170 only restored and improved the fortifications erected by Djawhar and Badr. It was only after his return from Syria, when he was at the height of his power, that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn conceived the colossal plan of enclosing the whole complex of buildings forming the two towns of Fusṭāṭ and Cairo within one strong line of fortifications (572/1179). This new foundation was to be commanded by a fortress (*ḳalʿa*) after the fashion of the strongholds of the Crusaders. This fortress is the modern Citadel or, to be more accurate, its northern part. In the northwest, Cairo was to be protected by this strong fortress and in the south-west, by Fusṭāṭ. The east wall of Cairo was to be advanced farther east to al-Muḳaṭṭam and the entrance for inroads from Syria was to be definitely closed. A new wall ran along the hills from the new tower in the north-east, the Burdj al-Ẓafar, of which traces still exist. It then took

a turn westward towards the old city wall, the fortifications of which were to be extended farther south to the citadel. The north wall of Cairo was to be advanced westwards up to the Nile and to run along it to near the Ḳaṣr al-S̲h̲amʿ, which was the extreme southern point of the whole system. A wall was to run thence in the east of Fusṭāṭ directly to the citadel. The citadel itself was to be the residence of the sovereign. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's trusted eunuch Ḳaraḳus̲h̲ [*q.v.*] was entrusted with the task of carrying out this gigantic undertaking; he had previously carried out building operations for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The huge undertaking was never completed nor did Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn avail himself of the citadel, but when in Cairo, as a rule he lived in the old vizier's palace of the Fāṭimid city. The most important part was the completion of the north wall, which was actually built eastwards as far as the Burd̲j̲ al-Ẓafar and westwards as far as al-Maks on the Nile. The portion connecting the eastern wall of the Fāṭimid city with the citadel was not completed. The names of several gates in the great wall which was to run from the citadel to the south of Fusṭāṭ, have been handed down, but it can hardly be assumed that they were ever built. The wall along the Nile was never begun at all; but it was probably the least urgently required.

These buildings had considerable influence in two directions. After the north wall had been advanced up to the Nile, the broad stretch of land between the K̲h̲alīd̲j̲ and the Nile was secure from invasion and the way was paved for an extension of the city in this direction. The K̲h̲alīd̲j̲ thus gradually came to be in the centre of this extended city. Through the removal of the forces of defence and later of the court itself to the Citadel, Cairo began to develop in the south also and the union with the northern suburbs of Fusṭāṭ [see AL-FUSṬĀṬ] thus came about. This process was not however completed till the Mamlūk period (al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, i, 378 ff.).

The Citadel was first appropriated for the use to which it was originally intended as the residence for the sovereign by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's nephew al-Malik al-Kāmil, who was also the first to build a palatial residence here. He entered the new palace in 604/1207. From this time onwards, with the exception of the reign of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, whom we have already become aquainted with as the builder of the fortress and royal residence of Rawḍa in the Nile, the citadel remained the abode of all the princes and pas̲h̲as who ruled Egypt till the K̲h̲edives went to live in various palaces which they had built for themselves in the plain again. It is difficult, however, to draw a picture of the gradual transformation of the Citadel, as the most radical changes were made in the Mamlūk period. The present walls still show that we must divide the whole area into two sections, the original north or north-east citadel, the Ḳalʿat al-D̲j̲abal proper of the Ayyūbid period, which was and is still separated from al-Muḳaṭṭam by a deep ditch, and, in the south extending towards the town, the Citadel of the palaces where the Mamlūks built a complicated entanglement of palaces, audience-chambers, stables and mosques. We must therefore distinguish between the Citadel proper and the royal town which adjoined the Citadel. Of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's buildings, which lasted seven years, there remains today only a portion of the wall and the so-called Joseph's Well (*Bīr Yūsuf*); the latter is a deep shaft from which Ḳaraḳus̲h̲, the architect of the fortress, obtained water. The machinery for raising the water was driven by oxen. A pathway hewn out of the rock leads down to the bottom of the well. The name Yūsuf is not of course the praenomen of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn but commemorates the Joseph of the Bible, legends of whom are attached to other portions of the Citadel also. Great alterations were made in the citadel by Baybars and his successors and their buildings again were completely altered by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, many of whose buildings have still survived, as for example the mosque wrongly called after Ḳalāwūn (erected in 718/1318) and remains of his palace in black and white, hence called al-Ḳaṣr al-Ablaḳ (built 713-14/1313-14). The same prince also laid down great aqueducts to bring the water of the Nile to the Citadel, as the wells were not sufficient to supply the increasing numbers of military personnel quartered there. At a later period Ḳāʾit Bey took an interest in the Citadel again and Ḳānṣawh al-G̲h̲awrī [*q.v.*] also laid out a garden here. The Ottoman Pas̲h̲as built a good deal here also, but they allowed more to fall into ruins. Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] was the first to take an energetic interest in the Citadel again; he repaired some of the ancient palaces and built the so-called Alabaster Mosque, the D̲j̲āmiʿ Muḥammad ʿAlī, in the Turkish cupola style, the minarets of which give the present citadel its characteristic outlines. It was begun in 1829 and finished in 1857 by Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a. The restoration of the walls also dates back to Muḥammad ʿAlī.

It was not only in the Citadel but in the city lying at their feet also that the Mamlūks erected numerous fine buildings. The Cairo created by them was practically the Cairo that existed when the French expedition arrived there. A vivid picture of the home of the Mamlūks in the period of their splendour may be obtained from the plan of 1798. A series of splendid monuments stood here partly built on the ruins of Fāṭimid buildings. We will only mention a few that still exist: on the site of the ʿAzīzī palace stood Ḳalāwūn's hospital, the *Madrasa* and tomb of his son Muḥammad al-Nāṣir and Barḳūḳ's *Madrasa*. There were also numerous Mamlūk buildings on the site of the great East Palace, including the K̲h̲ān al-K̲h̲alīlī, well-known at the present day. Of other large buildings at this period, there may also be mentioned the Mosque of Ẓāhir, built by Baybars I, of which the massive walls still survive at the entrance to the ʿAbbāsiyya, the Mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan at the foot of the citadel (cf. Herz Bey, *La Mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire*, Cairo 1895), of great importance in the history of art, the Muʾayyad Mosque at the Bāb Zuwayla, only completed after the death of its founder, and Ḳāʾit Bey's *Madrasa*; we cannot detail the numerous tombs outside the town proper nor the many other smaller buildings. What a lamentable contrast to this period of activity in architecture is afforded by what was done in the Turkish period (since 923/1517) in the city of the Mamlūks; only a few *Konaks* or residences for Pas̲h̲as were built, a few *Sabīls* or fountains and one or two smaller mosques and *tekkes*. The configuration of the town did not, however, change so much between 1500 and 1800 as in any earlier period of the same length. In spite of the ravages of their soldiers, the city must have flourished and increased under the warrior princes of the Mamlūk period. It must have been a busy and splendid city. But the grave damage done by the Mamlūk system could only be repaired by strong rulers. The Ottoman Pas̲h̲as were not fit for the task and so Cairo slowly declined till Muḥammad ʿAlī and his successors created a new Cairo which gradually became Europeanised.

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Maḳrīzī, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ*; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*;

and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*. There are occasional mentions of the city in most of the Arab geographers and travellers and in the travel narrative of the Persian Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Many European travellers and visitors have given accounts of the city: see on these P.-H. Dopp, *Le Caire vu par les voyageurs occidentaux du Moyen Age*, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale de Géographie d'Égypte*, xxiii (1949-50), 117-49. Of secondary sources, in addition to references given in the text, see *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne* (text and atlas); *Murray's Handbook for Egypt*, 7th ed., London 1888; S. Lane Poole, *Cairo, sketches of its history, monuments and social life*, London 1895; A.R. Guest and E.T. Richmond, *Misr in the fifteenth century*, in *JRAS* (1903), 49-83; D.S. Margoliouth, *Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus, three chief cities of the Sultans*, London 1907; Baedeker's *Egypt and the Sûdân*, 8th ed., Leipzig 1929; M. Clerget, *Le Caire: étude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire économique*, Cairo 1934; Dorothea Russell, *Mediaeval Cairo and the monasteries of the Wādi Natrūn*, London 1962; G. Wiet, *Cairo, city of art and commerce*, Norman, Okla. 1964; I.M. Lapidus, *Muslim cities in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967; A. Raymond, *Quartiers et mouvements populaires au Caire au XVIIIième siècle*, in *Political and social change in modern Egypt*, ed. P.M. Holt, London 1968, 104-16; Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo, 1001 years of The City Victorious*, Princeton 1971; Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, Damascus 1973-4; Susan S. Staffa, *Conquest and fusion, the social evolution of Cairo A.D. 642-1850*, Leiden 1977. (C.H. BECKER*)

v. Monuments. See for these AL-ḲĀHIRA.

vi. The city from 1798 till the present day. [see Supplement.]

D. HISTORY OF THE ISLAMIC PROVINCE AND MODERN STATE OF EGYPT.

1. The Byzantine background, the Arab conquest and the Umayyad period 602-750.

(a) Byzantine Egypt. Byzantine Egypt continued for a long time the Graeco-Roman traditional patterns in culture and administration, but by the time of the Arab conquest some important changes had taken place which had drastically altered its social structure. A great number of Byzantine institutions survived in Arab Egypt for about one century.

Hellenism, paganism and Christianity. During the Byzantine period, Greek was the language of administration in which most of the official documents were written, and was moreover a living language used, side-by-side with Coptic, as a language of the upper Egyptian class, as manifested by the peculiar alterations in the Greek language of the Egyptian papyri. On the other hand, as in older times, a large number of Egyptians did not know Greek (J.R. Rea, *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*, li, London 1984, 41).

Greek literary texts were used at schools, and a few Egyptian poets wrote Greek verses in florid style, manifesting an extensive though pedantic knowledge of Greek poetry and metre (M. Hamdi, Ἡ ἑλληνορρωμαϊκὴ παιδεία ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀπό τοῦ Α' ἕως τοῦ Δ' μ.Χ. αἰῶνος κατὰ τοὺς παπύρους, Athens 1972; H. Livrea, ed. and tr. *Blemmyomachia* [P. Berol. 5003], Rome 1978). But it is noteworthy that one of the best Byzantine historians of the 4th-5th century, Olymiodorus, who wrote in a humble and precise style, was Egyptian (V. Christides, *The image of the Sudanese in the Byzantine sources*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, xliii [1982], 8-97).

Hellenism in Egypt was closely connected with paganism which, in spite of the triumph of Christianity, continued to survive, especially in Upper Egypt, until the Arab conquest. In Upper Egypt the Egyptian monks were in constant struggle with the pagan Sudanese tribes of the Beja-Blemmyes, the last standard-bearers of the Greek cult, who had encroached deeply into the land of southern Egypt (Christides, *Ethnic movements in southern Egypt and northern Sudan: Blemmyes-Beja in Late Antique and Early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.*, in *Listy Filologicke*, ciii/3 [1980], 135 ff.; and see BEDJA).

The church in Egypt was constantly involved in religious controversies, and the problem of the relationship between the divine and human nature in Christ, which shook the Byzantine Empire at large, was stubbornly discussed in Egypt and divided the Church there, especially after the Council of Chalcedon (451) which condemned the Monophysites. While the Byzantine Emperors supported the Orthodox party in Egypt, the Melkites, it is an exaggeration to say that "what the Egyptians [i.e. Monophysites] wanted was to oppose Constantinople" (H.I. Bell, *Egypt*, Oxford 1941, 131). The Monophysites were divided themselves into numerous sects, and many Egyptians did not actually blame the Byzantine state for the persecution of the Monophysites but attributed it to the evil nature of the religious leaders appointed by the Byzantines (F. Winkelmann, *Ägypten und Byzanz vor der arabischen Eroberung*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, xl [1979], 161-81).

On the eve of the Arab conquest, the Monophysites of Egypt suffered a heavy blow when the Byzantines removed the Monophysite Archbishop of Alexandria, Benjamin, and enthroned in his place the Orthodox Cyrus. The removal of Benjamin had grave consequences, not only because he was the head of the Monophysites, but because he moreover belonged to a wealthy family of landed magnates. The wealthy landlords were closely connected with the Egyptian Church, which was mainly supported by their donations (Ewa Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du VIe au VIIIe siècle*, Brussels 1972, 84 ff.). Thus the Byzantine position was weakened with Benjamin's removal and the consequent dissatisfaction in Egypt.

A feature of the economic and social development of Egypt in the 6th century was the growth of large private estates on a scale greater than previously (see E.R. Hardy, *The large estates of Byzantine Egypt*, New York 1931; M. Gelzer, *Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Aegyptens*, Leipziger historischen Abhandlungen, xiii, Leipzig 1909), to the point that certain scholars have termed Byzantine Egyptian society of the time feudal, and have compared the landowners, with their hordes of retainers, *bucellarii*, with Western feudal barons (see e.g. H. MacLennan, *Oxyrhynchus, an economic and social study*, Amsterdam 1968, 63 ff.; I.F. Fikhman, *On the structure of the Egyptian large estate in the sixth century*, in *Procs. of the XIIth Internat. Congress of Papyrology*, Toronto 1970, 129-32); this view has however been combatted, e.g. by B. Bachrach, *Was there feudalism in Byzantine Egypt?*, in *Jnal. Amer. Research Center in Egypt*, iv (1967), 163-6, and J. Gascou, *L'institution des bucellaires*, in *BIFAO*, lxxvi (1976), 143-56, who consider this society to be at most only semi-feudal. A feature which in fact separated it from western feudal societies of the Dark Ages was the presence in Egypt of a bourgeoisie, an active commercial class, engaged in shipping activities in both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; the importance of these maritime activities can be seen e.g. in Byzantine hagiographical works (see H. Magoulias, *The Lives of the Saints as sources of data for the history of commerce in the*

Byzantine Empire in the VIth and VIIth cent., in Κληρονομία, iii [1971], 303-30; M.J. Hollerich, *The Alexandrian bishops and the grain trade: ecclesiastical commerce in late Roman Egypt*, in *JESHO*, xxv [1982], 187-207; and also MILĀḤA. i. In the pre-Islamic and early mediaeval periods.

At the turn of the 7th century Egypt suffered from many evils, especially at the time of the "tyrant" emperor Phocas (602-10). In the strife between Phocas and his successor Heraclius, it became the battleground of the two rivals (Z. Borkowski, *Alexandrie II. Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie*, Warsaw 1981, 23 ff.). Anarchy prevailed, and Egypt's shattered monetary system reached its lowest ebb (P. Grierson, *The Consular coinage of Heraclius and the revolt against Phocas of 608-610*, in *NC* [1950], 71-93). In this period of anarchy, the activities of the circus factions, known as "Greens" and "Blues", which were not mere sporting clubs, exercised a detrimental element on the administrative structure and social life of Byzantine Egypt, in particular in Alexandria. Heraclius's victory was followed by a period of pacification and consolidation in Egypt which was again interrupted by the Persian conquest of Egypt (619-29 or 630), about which little is known (E.K. Chrysos, *The date of Papyrus SB 4483 and the Persian occupation of Egypt*, in *Dodone*, iv [1975], 343-48; L.S.B. MacCoul, *Coptic Egypt during the Persian occupation*, in *Studi Classici e Orientali*, xxxvi [1986], 307-13).

The Emperor Heraclius (d. 641) took great pains to restore order in Egypt, but it was still in disarray when the Arabs attacked it. Yet in spite of their dissatisfaction with the Byzantine administration, the Egyptians did not form a monolithic anti-Byzantine block as has been often suggested. Winkelmann, *op. cit.*, has correctly pointed out that there were different layers in the structure of the Egyptian society and that the attitude of each of them varied towards the Byzantine government. Moreover, it should be emphasised that there was no clear separation between Coptic and Greek ethnic elements in Egypt on the eve of the Arab invasion, as wrongly suggested by some scholars (see e.g. the simplistic view expressed by S. Vryonis, *Byzantine circus factions and Islamic Futuwwa organizations*, in *BZ* [1965], 39 n. 49; and for the earlier period, A. Lazarou, *Présence hellénique en Égypte romaine*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], 51-76).

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(b) Islamic Egypt.

The Conquest of Egypt.

The study of the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs bristles with many problems because of the confused and controversial accounts of the various sources. There is no comprehensive work to deal with this topic *in toto*, and A.J. Butler's *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the latest thirty years in the Roman dominion*, Oxford 1902, ²Oxford 1978 ed. by P.M. Fraser, contains valuable material, but certain parts of it have become obsolete (see the review by R.S. Bagnall in *Classical Jnal.*, lxxv [1979], 247-8).

The Byzantine sources, mainly Theophanes and Nicephorus, are vague and fragmentary. The Arabic sources are also fragmentary with many contradictory accounts. The most trustworthy Arab author is Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871 [*q.v.*]), while *The history of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church* (10th century) includes certain valuable material of an earlier chronicle written by Abba George at the end of the 8th century. The chronicle of the contemporary Egyptian author, John, Bishop of Nikiu, has been preserved only in a partial Ethiopian version and its valuable material has been distorted. Most of the Arabic accounts and the relevant passages of Nikiu's chronicle have been collected and presented in English by D.R. Hill in his *The termination of hostilities in the early Arab conquests*, London 1971.

From the labyrinth of the conflicting descriptions of the Arab conquest of Egypt, we can discern with a certain clarity the following outline. The expedition against Egypt was undertaken by the Arab general ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ [*q.v.*]. Many Arabic sources describe ᶜAmr's expedition against Egypt as a spontaneous action with the reluctant approval of the caliph ᶜUmar. M. Ibrahim has correctly pointed out that ᶜAmr decided to undertake the Egyptian campaign because he had traded in Egypt during pre-Islamic times and was familiar with its importance as an international trade centre (*The social and economic background of the Umayyad Caliphate: the role of Muᶜāwiya Ibn Abī Sufyān*, diss., UCLA 1981, unpubl., 192 ff.). While this statement is valid, Ibrahim's assertion that ᶜAmr acted as an agent of the merchant class of Mecca (*op. cit.*, 198) is farfetched.

ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ reached the frontier town of Egypt, al-ᶜArīsh [*q.v.*], on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 18/12 December 639 (Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. C.C. Torrey, New Haven 1922, repr. Baghdād n.d.). ᶜAmr's army was composed of about 4,000 men, mainly horsemen, and carried no siege machines. From al-ᶜArīsh he headed towards the important port of Pelusium (Faramāᵓ), which fell to the Arabs after a one-month siege. ᶜAmr's army, following thereafter the traditional invasion route, headed towards Bilbays, ancient Φέλβης and modern El-Ḳanṭara, the key town on the way to Miṣr, which fell into Arab hands after another month of siege [see BILBAYS].

The events that followed are somewhat confusing and there are many conflicting reports on the further march of the Arab army (cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A history of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1901, 2 ff., and especially Hill, *op. cit.*, 34 ff.). It seems that ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ arrested his march when he arrived near the strong fortress of Babylon, at the edge of the town Miṣr, old Memphis, at the head of the Delta of the Nile, and appealed to the caliph for reinforcements. About 4,000 men under al-Zubayr arrived in June 640 and joined ᶜAmr's army. In Heliopolis, later called ᶜAyn Shams, a battle took place between the Arabs and the Byzantines in July 640, in which the Byzantines suffered a crushing defeat. The fall of Miṣr followed, and afterwards the Arabs stubbornly besieged the strong fortress of Babylon. Its defenders resisted bravely, but the death of the Emperor Heraclius inflicted a heavy blow on their morale and

on 21 Rabīʿ II 20/9 April 641, they abandoned the fortress and sailed to Alexandria via the river Nile.

It seems that Fayyūm was raided after the fall of Babylon and before the conquest of Miṣr (John of Nikiu's *Chronicle*, Eng. tr. R.H. Charles, London 1916, 178 ff.). We do not know the exact date when ʿAmr's army conquered Fayyūm, proceeded towards Bahnasā in middle Egypt, and subdued the entire southern part of Egypt (the Ṣaʿīd). Most probably, the conquest of middle and southern Egypt started immediately after the conquest of Babylon and was accomplished at the time the Arabs were engaged in their last endeavour, i.e. the siege of Alexandria (*ca.* 641).

According to John of Nikiu (*Chronicle*, 181), following the capture of Miṣr by the Arabs, the governor of Arcadia, Dometianus, escaped secretly from his capital Fayyūm and went to Nikiu; Fayyūm became an easy prey to the Arabs, who slaughtered its defenders. Dometianus was later forced to abandon Nikiu, which was then captured. The conquest of the other towns in middle and southern Egypt, i.e. Bahnasā, Ahnas and the others, is only briefly described in al-Balād̲h̲urī and John of Nikiu (Hill, *op. cit.*, 43 ff.).

There is, nevertheless, an epic romance written by an unknown author, the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā*, which in spite of certain legendary elements offers us valuable information. Its author mentions as his main sources al-Wāḳidī, al-Ṭabarī and Ibn K̲h̲allikān, and his work contains material which has not been preserved in other sources (the text has not yet been published: French tr. by M.E. Galtier, *Foutouh al-Bahnasā*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, xxii, Cairo 1900). The Byzantine resistance in Bahnasā, as described in detail in the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā*, mirrors the general manner in which the warfare between Byzantines and Arabs took place as well as the attitude of the local Coptic population (see J. Jarry, *La conquête du Fayoum par les Musulmans d'après le Futūḥ al-Bahnasā*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, ix [1970], 9-20; Christides, *Sudanese at the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt*, in *BZ*, lxxv [1982], 10 ff.). The Copts often assisted the Byzantines vigorously, but sometimes sided with the Arabs. In addition, the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā* reveals that a certain number of the Sudanese tribes, the Beja-Blemmyes and Nubians, rushed from Nubia to the assistance of the Byzantines (Galtier, 60 ff.). In order to check the continuous harassment by the Sudanese, who even after the conquest of the Ṣaʿīd continued their raids, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ sent his half-brother Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳays al-Fihrī against them in a punitive expedition (641) (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 169-70, 174). But the restless Sudanese were only stopped by ʿAmr's successor ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ [*q.v.*], who concluded with them the famous treaty known as the *baḳt* in 652 [see BAḲT].

While ʿAmr was besieging Babylon, he started negotiations with the patriarch and governor of Egypt Cyrus in order to conclude a treaty, but Cyrus was recalled to Constantinople and reprimanded by the Emperor Heraclius for these negotiations. After the failure of these last, ʿAmr continued his march and the Byzantines, following a last engagement in Kayrun, withdrew within the strong walls of Alexandria. The capture of the heavily-fortified Alexandria by the Arabs without any actual resistance by the Byzantines was due to the morale of the latter, which had reached its lowest ebb after so many defeats, and to the internal disputes of the Byzantine authorities. Theodore, the Augustal prefect, was absent and Dometianus, who replaced him, was more interested in fighting against Menas, the Prefect of Lower Egypt, than resisting the Arabs. Furthermore, constant riots of the opportunist parties of the Greens and Blues in Alexandria, whose main interest was the disturbance of the existing order, created a chaotic situation in this city.

Cyrus, the Melkite patriarch who had returned to Egypt, invested this time with full authority by the Byzantines to negotiate, went to Babylon to conclude a peace treaty with ʿAmr. ʿAmr received him in a friendly way and a final treaty on the surrender of Egypt was signed (see E. Amélineau, *Vie Copte de Samuel de Ḳalamūn*, in *JA*, ser. 8, vol. xii [1888], 367; Theophanes, *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, 338).

The Melkite patriarch and governor of Egypt Cyrus often appears in the Arabic sources under the name of al-Muḳawḳis [*q.v.* for a detailed discussion of the problems concerning him and his role].

Before ʿAmr made the final treaty with the representatives of Egypt, he concluded some minor treaties as occasion arose in the various stages of his conquest. The most important local treaty was concluded when ʿAmr sacked the fortress of Babylon; an agreement was reached between him and the Byzantine garrison, according to which the Byzantines left unhurt, leaving behind their military supplies. All the minor treaties eventually merged into a final settlement. The Muslim jurists disagree whether Egypt was taken by force (*ʿanwat^an^*) or by treaty (*ṣulḥ^an^*), an important difference since in the former case Egypt would have been considered as spoils of war and its inhabitants would have been deprived of the right of protection (*d̲h̲imma*). Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's brief statement illuminates the problem clearly: "some of Egypt was conquered by *ʿahd* and some was *ʿanwa*. ʿUmar made it all *d̲h̲imma* and that has lasted to this day" (for all relevant traditions, see Hill. *op. cit.*, 34 ff.).

Behind the theoretical dispute of the Arab jurists concerning the conquest of Egypt *ʿanwat^an^* or *ṣulḥ^an^* lay the practical problem of how to legitimise any Muslim demands for increasing taxes without violating Islamic law. If Egypt was captured *in toto ʿanwat^an^*, then the whole country would be considered *fayʾ* [*q.v.*], i.e. conquered land distributed to the fighting soldiers.

The original text of the final treaty of Egypt has not been preserved. Al-Ṭabarī has reproduced a comprehensive account, while John of Nikiu, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and the other Arab authors supplement it. Al-Ṭabarī calls it the treaty of ʿAyn S̲h̲ams. Cyrus concluded the final treaty with ʿAmr in Babylon and therefore it is incorrect to call it the "Treaty of Alexandria" (J. Gascou, *Miscellanea. De Byzance à l'Islam, les impôts en Égypte après la conquête arabe*, in *JESHO*, xxvi [1983], 98-9).

The treaty was concluded between the Byzantines (*Rūm*) and the Arabs. The Byzantines were the first party representing the Byzantine emperor, the only legal party recognised by the Arabs. It is therefore absurd, as correctly pointed out by Butler, to say that "this is a treaty with the Copts not with the Romans... The people of Miṣr not the Roman army of occupation, still less the emperor Heraclius were the contracting parties on the other side..." (Lane Poole, 241 ff.; cf. Butler, *The Treaty of Miṣr in Ṭabarī*, Oxford 1913, 24 ff.).

As has been said in the previous section, by the 7th century a mixed race of Hellenes-Egyptians had developed in the towns and frontiers of Egypt, where there was no distinction between Hellenised Egyptians and Egyptianised Greeks. Thus the first term of the agreement, which was actually a pledge of security

for the defeated (*amān*) and not an agreement between equal parties, specified that ᶜAmr granted his security to all inhabitants of Egypt.

Under the term *al-Miṣr* "people of Egypt", all inhabitants of Egypt are included regardless of origin and religious beliefs. No special reference to Jews is made in the treaty, as preserved by al-Ṭabarī, but two ethnic groups are mentioned in a peculiar way which required special attention. First the *Nūb(a)*, a word which applies to two Sudanese groups which were in constant relations with southern Egypt, i.e. the Nubians as well as the Beja-Blemmyes. The seventh section of the final treaty mentions explicitly that the Nubians have the same rights as the rest of the ethnic groups of Egypt. In contrast, the first section mentions that the Nūb shall not be allowed to dwell along with the Egyptians. The apparent contradiction can be understood if we take into consideration that the seventh section refers to those Nubians who had already settled in Egypt and lived with the natives peacefully, while the first one refers to Nubians of Nubia outside Egypt, whose movements towards Egypt were restricted (Christides, *Ethnic movements in southern Egypt and northern Sudan: Blemmyes-Beja in Late Antique and Early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.*, 129-43).

As for the term *Rūm* of the seventh section in al-Ṭabarī's extract of the treaty, it does not refer to the Graeco-Egyptian town dwellers, but to the Byzantines who were fresh settlers, army officers, many of barbarian origin, who chose to remain in Egypt after their retirement, or other Byzantine officials who were sent from Constantinople (for these soldiers, see Gascou, *Militaires étrangers en Égypte Byzantine*, in *BIFAO*, lxxv [1975], 206).

Of the other terms, the most important is the one which refers to the poll-tax paid by those bound to the treaty. Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam and others report that this poll-tax amounted to two *dīnārs* per male adult, and John of Nikiu states that the safety of the Jews of Egypt was also secured.

In 645 the Byzantines, taking advantage of the uncertainty after the murder of ᶜUmar (644), about which they were well-informed (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 343) sent an expedition under Manuel against the Muslims of Egypt. This was a blunder by the Emperor Constans II, who was later responsible for the defeat of the Byzantine fleet in the naval battle of D͟hāt al-Ṣawārī (*q.v.* in Suppl., and see Christides, *The naval engagement of D͟hāt aṣ-Ṣawārī A.H. 34/A.D. 655-656. A classical example of naval warfare incompetence*, in Βυζαντινά, xiii [1985], 1331-45). The Byzantines landed in Alexandria easily, since the Muslims had no fleet, killed the garrison and conquered some town in the Delta. However, they were utterly routed by ᶜAmr and a second evacuation took place; see the various Arab traditions in Hill, 39 ff.. Manuel's reconquest of Alexandria forced the Muslim conquerors to proceed rapidly to the recruitment of Egyptian sailors and use of Egyptian ships. In fact, these participated in the second full-scale expedition of the Muslims against Libya in *ca.* 645, five years before the first Muslim raid against Cyprus (Severus, in *PO*, i, 497 ff.).

Causes of the fall of Egypt.

Certain general conditions, which facilitated the sweeping conquests of the Arabs over the whole Middle East, can also be discerned in the Arab conquest of Egypt; but the latter presents its own peculiarities. A salient characteristic which we meet in the first Arab conquests is the assistance of the nomad Arabs of the conquered lands to the Muslim invaders. This factor has acquired particular importance after recent studies which have convincingly shown that the Byzantines did not establish in Egypt and the other areas of the Eastern frontier a rigid chain of fortifications, but rather, fortified positions in which the nomads held a key position and freedom of movement (M. Sharon, *The military reforms of Abū Muslim, their background and consequences*, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization*, ed. Sharon, Leiden 1986, 108; Ph. Mayerson, *The Saracens and the Limes*, in *BASOR*, cclxii [1986], 35-47).

The Byzantine hagiographical sources mention repeated raids by Arab nomads against the monasteries of Sinai, but they also report that there were certain Arab tribes allied with the monks. These Bedouin Arabs had settled in various places of Sinai, probably already from the first century A.D. (Cl. Bailey, *Bedouin place-names in Sinai: towards understanding a desert map*, in *Palestine Exploration Fund Qtly.*, xvi [1984], 42-57, and idem, *Dating the arrival of the Bedouin tribes in Sinai and the Negev*, in *JESHO*, xxviii [1985], 20-49). For the Arab tribes which protected the Byzantines in Sinai at the time of Justinian, there is new information derived from the Arabic manuscripts of St. Catherine (*ibid.*, 33; al-Ṭabarī, Cairo 1326, iii, 107).

In general, although our information is fragmentary, the overall impression is that the nomad Arabs did not play as prominent a role in the Arab conquest of Egypt as they did in Syria. Al-Ṭabarī confirms the information of the Byzantine hagiographical works that the Bedouin tribes of Sinai assisted the Byzantines against the invading Arab army, but on the other hand, al-Ḳalḳas͟handī reports the speedy alliance of other Arab tribes with ᶜAmr (*Nihāyat al-ᶜarab*, Cairo 1958, 193). Of course, we must also take into consideration that the inefficient payment of the allied Arab tribes of Egypt, as in other areas of the eastern frontier, by the Byzantines on the eve of the Arab conquest may have been a detrimental factor in the Byzantine defence of Egypt (W.E. Kaegi, *Heraklios and the Arabs*, in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, xxvii [1982], 116 ff.).

The Byzantines' exhaustion because of their continuous struggle with Persia in the Near East was particularly apparent in Egypt, which was occupied by the Persians just a few years before the Arab conquest. It is true that the Egyptians' dissatisfaction with oppressive Byzantine religious policies against the Monophysites cannot be denied, but this factor has been grossly exaggerated by many scholars who have not taken into consideration the multitude of the rival heresies within the Monophysite movement and the lack of any concerted resistance by all Egyptian Monophysites against the central Orthodox authority. In contrast, little attention has been paid to some Christian leaders, who, whether converted to Islam or not, offered actual assistance to the Arabs, motivated in the first place by personal ambitions. A typical case is Sanutius, appointed by ᶜAmr as governor of the province of Rīf (Delta), who vigorously helped ᶜAmr in his expedition against Libya.

Heavy taxation and corrupt administration were worse in Egypt than in any other of the eastern parts of the Byzantine Empire; but above all, it was the disunity which prevailed in the Egyptian administration after Justinian's reforms and the rivalry between the multitude of authorities that created a chaotic situation there.

In contrast, under the leadership of ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ, the invading Arab forces demonstrated coordination and unity. ᶜAmr often consulted with the caliph and kept his army informed before any important decisions were made, as he did before the capitulation of

Alexandria. He cautiously counterbalanced the superiority in numbers and equipment of the Byzantine army by applying skilful military tactics. The Byzantines had constructed many well-fortified fortresses in Egypt, of which the most conspicuous was that of Babylon. ʿAmr, who did not possess any siege equipment, besieged Babylon patiently for a long time, cutting its supply lines and engaging the Byzantines in a continuous war of attrition.

Most of his army was composed of cavalry, which moved at ease across the terrain of the Egyptian deserts and oases. There were no definite, prepared, long-term plans, but the Arab army moved with great flexibility as the occasion arose. The existence of nomads and sedentary people among the ranks of ʿAmr's army, the former expert in hit-and-run attacks, and the latter more skilful and patient in the siege of towns, offered the Arabs a great advantage (Hill, *The role of the camel and the horse in the early Arab conquests*, in *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp, London 1975, 39).

We have also to take into consideration that the Arab conquest of Egypt was facilitated by the favourable situation for the Arabs which was created in Constantinople at the most critical moments of their invasion. After the death of Heraclius and of his son Heraclius Junior Constantine, Heraclonas reigned, along with his mother Martina. The policy of Heraclonas and Martina towards the Arabs, in contrast to Heraclius's aggressive strategy, was that of pacification and surrender. They reinstated Cyrus and sent him back with full power to conclude a treaty of surrender with the Arabs (Dionysia Misiou, *The will of Heraclios I and the crisis of 641*, Thessaloniki 1985, 232 [in Greek]).

Administrative, fiscal and social changes during early Muslim rule until ʿAbd al-Malik.

From the conquest until the turn of the 8th century A.D., there were no abrupt and conspicuous changes in the lower levels of the administration. Simultaneously, a dual system of administration was imposed, one for the Muslims and another for the Christians, and an extreme centralisation replaced the loose Byzantine administrative system. The meticulous control of every facet of the administrative and fiscal machinery during this period strongly resembled the Ptolemaic one (see H. Cadell, *Problèmes relatifs au sel*, in *Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Milan 1966, 284). But while in Ptolemaic times Egypt was an independent entity and no local resources were wasted, the Arabs continued the Byzantine policy of shipment of corn and tribute outside the country, now from Fusṭāṭ via Suez to D̲j̲udda and Medina instead of via the former route Alexandria-Constantinople.

At the top of the new administrative machinery there was now the governor of Egypt, who held the title of *wālī* (σύμβουλος, usually called πανεύφημος σύμβουλος) and was directly responsible to the caliph; he also held absolute judicial authority. The Arabs continued in Egypt, as well as in their other provinces, the Byzantine tradition of combining administrative and judicial power in the same hands (E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*², Leiden 1960; Aik. Christophilopoulou, Τὰ βυζαντινὰ δικαστήρια κατὰ τοὺς αἰῶνες Ι-ΙΑ, in Δίπτυχα ix [1986], 164).

At the turn of the 7th century A.D., Egypt was subdivided into two geographical units, a division which continued for centuries. The first (Upper Egypt) included the old Byzantine provinces of Arcadia and Thebais and the latter Augustamnica and Egypt proper. It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that the old Byzantine division of southern Egypt into two provinces bearing the name of Thebais and a third called Arcadia reappeared in later times, i.e. the Upper Ṣaʿīd from Aswān to Ak̲h̲mīm, the second Ṣaʿīd from Ak̲h̲mīm to Bahnasā and the Lower Ṣaʿīd from Bahnasā to Fusṭāṭ (see Remondon, *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônos Anô*, Paris-Cairo 1953, 21). The governors of these provinces bore the title of *amīr* in Arabic, rendered as ἀμίρ, ἀμιρᾶς or δούξ in Greek (see J. Maspero-G.Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, in *MIFAO*, xxxvi [1919], 227 ff.; H.I. Bell, *The administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs*, in *BZ*, xxviii [1929], 278-86; K. Sayyida, *Miṣr fī ʿaṣr al-wulāt*, Cairo n.d.; ʿAbd al-Munʿim Muk̲h̲tār, *On the survival of the Byzantine administration in Egypt during the first century of the Arab rule*, in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, xxvii [1973], 309-19. There is a certain confusion in this article in the use of titles as, for example, the identification of τοπάρχης and πάγαρχος, who were different administrators, etc.).

ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, who succeeded the first governor ʿAmr *ca.* 25/645-6, was responsible for the organisation of the office of finances (*dīwān al-k̲h̲arād̲j̲*) in Islamic Egypt. The taxation system which was immediately applied after the conquest is not well documented, while for the following period there are still many unanswered questions (the main work is still D.C. Dennett's *Conversion and the poll tax in early Islam*, Cambridge, Mass. 1959; useful are A. Grohmann's studies, *Probleme der arabischen Papyrusforschung. II*, in *ArO*, v [1933], 273-83, and *Zum Steuerwesen Arabischen Aegyptens*, in *Actes du Vᵉ congrès international de papyrologie*, Brussels 1938, 123-34; Bell, *op. cit.*; see also L. Casson, *Tax collection problems in early Arab Egypt*, in *TAPA*, lxix [1938], 274-91; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, *Landlord and peasant in early Islam*, in *Isl.*, lvi [1979], 97-105; of particular importance are Kosei Morimoto's studies *Land tenure in Egypt during the early Islamic period*, in *Orient*, xi [1975], 109-53, and idem, *The fiscal administration of Egypt in the early Islamic period*, Tokyo 1981, in spite of their bibliographical gaps. See a thorough but occasionally severe review by Gascou, *Miscellanea*, 97-109; G. Frantz-Murphy, *Land tenure and social transformation in early Islamic Egypt*, in *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi, Beirut 1984, 131-9, and the arts. FAYʾ, G̲H̲ANĪMA and ḌARĪBA; brief but useful remarks are also found in F. Donner, *The formation of the Islamic state*, in *JAOS*, cvi [1986], 283-95).

According to the so-called treaty of ʿAmr, the inhabitants of Egypt were supposed to pay a poll-tax of two *dīnārs* (not including women, children, slaves and beggars); but naturally, this left open the problem of a practical and fair distribution of the tax burden. Meanwhile, most of the Arab conquerors were given no land for cultivation but resided in the *amṣār* (garrison towns), mainly in Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria. Cash stipends, *ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*], were regularly paid to them and their families (see Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 368-417; A.S. Tritton, *Notes on the Muslim system of pensions*, in *BSOAS*, xvi [1954], 1702; G.-R. Puin, *Der Dīwān von ʿUmar ibn al-Ḫaṭṭāb. Ein Beitrag zur frühislamischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 1970).

Morimoto states that there were only a few early cases of land granted to Muslims, who acquired substantial land estates only after the 1st/7th century (*Land tenure in Egypt*, 112). While there is no doubt that the conditions which prevailed in Egypt after the 1st century accelerated the acquisition of land for the Muslims, the question that has remained unanswered is, who obtained the land abandoned by those who left

Egypt after its conquest and how much of the unclaimed land (*mawāt*) was taken by the community and/or the warriors (*muḳātila*)? The inhabitants were also obliged to offer supplies and hospitality to the conquerors. The *PEPF* 555, written in the first decade of the Arab conquest, reveals the beginning of the obligatory three-day hospitality offered to Muslim travellers by the local people.

From the Aphrodito and Edfu papyri we learn that less than half-a-century after the conquest of Egypt, an elaborate system of taxation was established. According to this, at first a specially selected group of prominent citizens of every *kūra*, the smallest financial district, was selected to prepare the cadaster (κατάγραφου), with a list of the taxpayers and the tax to be imposed on them. This register was sent to the treasury in Fusṭāṭ (the *bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*]). Afterwards, the governors sent demand notes (ἐντάγου) defining the amount of money taxes and *embole* (tax in kind to be paid) [see DJIZYA and KHARĀDJ]. In addition to these main taxes, a variety of other ones were also imposed (Donner, *Formation*, 287, n. 18). As in Byzantine times, the special grain tax known as ἐμβολή was regularly applied to the farmers. Part of the ἐμβολή was the ρουζικὸ (*rizḳ*) which was given not only in grain but also in various other kinds (oil, textiles, hides for the ships, etc.) (*PEPF* 557, Pap. Rem 94; see A. Grohmann's remarks in *Aperçu de papyrologie arabe*, in *Études de Papyrologie*, i [1932], 44, 59).

The Egyptians were again asked to offer forced labour services (ἀγγαρία) for the construction and repairing of bridges, canals and other public works; and an additional obligation was now their participation in the κοῦρσα, naval expeditions against the Byzantines.

The frantic efforts by the Arab authorities in Umayyad Egypt to construct ships and to equip them properly with sailors and marines are vividly described in the papyri. The *amīrs* constantly sent the local authorities threatening letters, demanding simple workers (ἐργάται or ἀγγαρευταί) and specialised technicians (τεχνῖται or χαλαφάται) (cf. Pap. Lond. 1334; Pap. Apoll. Anô, 29, 5-6). The sailors (ναῦται) were recruited from each pagarchy or district in accordance with a well-defined quota system; the pagarchies undertook, moreover, the maintenance (δαπάνη) of the sailors and supplied them with farina (ἄλευρον), bread (ψωμίον) or wheat (σῖτον) and other staple provisions. They also provided all the equipment of the ships (ἀρμαμέντον) (Gascou, *Papyrus grecs inédits d'Appolônos Anô*, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, ii, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1979, 27).

These raids against Byzantium (κοῦρσα) took place following a stereotyped pattern. Orders were sent by the *amīr* to each pagarch to recruit Christian sailors and send them to the meeting points (ἐξπελλεύειν = *expellere*), while the Muslim marines were separately dispatched from their garrisons in Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria. The marines (μάχοι) formed two classes: the *muhādjirūn* (μωαγαρῖται), who were Muslims of Arab origin, and the newly-converted *mawālī* (μαυλεῖς). An Arabic papyrus informs us that even the quality of bread prepared for the marines (*muḳātila*) was better than that of the sailors (*nawātiyya*) Yūsuf Rāgib, *Lettres nouvelles de Qurra b. Šarīk*, in *JNES* [1981], 173 ff.). Egyptian workers and technicians were also recruited by the Arabs and sent out of the country to participate in the construction of mosques; for example, the P. Lond. 1403 informs us about a recruitment of such labour force, which was sent to Jerusalem for the construction of its mosque.

The early Islamic taxation system secured the continuation of the Coptic communities in the countryside and the preservation of the status of certain leading families, as is attested from the papyri of Aphrodito and Edfu. The nobility in the village communities, possessing the power of assessment of the taxes and holding important positions, including the post of pagarchus in the administration, exercised great power over the Christian population. Simultaneously, the Egyptian artisans who formed powerful guilds in Byzantine times did not disappear. In Pap. Rem. 75, dated by the editor to *ca.* 703, we meet a long list of professionals in Apollonopolis who belong to the guilds of sailors, fishermen, builders, pot makers, etc. Among them there is also a reference (l. 12) to the guild of the salaried farmers (μισθίων γεωργῶν) who worked under contracts. Such salaried farmers and salaried pot makers worked in the great estate of the pagarch Pappas in Apollonopolis (Pap. Rem. 98). Pappas was not the only wealthy landlord, and references to other great estates appear in Apollonopolis (see e.g. Pap. Rem. 78). Of course, these great estates were smaller than those of the Byzantine times, but the landlords still possessed their own bakeries, a number of camels, horses and numerous personnel (Pap. Rem. 98, l. 5: μάγκιψι εἰς τὸ οἶκον, l. 36: ἀλόγων; l. 33: καμήλων). Therefore, Dennett's statement (*Conversion*, 90) that in early Islamic Egypt "private ownership of land does not seem to have existed" is incorrect.

The artisans who worked in early Islamic Egypt were eagerly protected by the still powerful nobility of the preserved οἶκοι (great estates of the nobility). In the Byzantine period, the artisans were free to choose to work either for their sake in their workshops or under contract with the proprietors of the great estates and few were slaves (see F. Fikhman, *op. cit.*, where the author, based on the Greek papyri, deals extensively and in depth, with the problem of the Byzantine guilds of Egypt, and the excellent review article by E. Wipszycka, *Jnal. of Juristic Papyrology*, xvi-xvii [1971], 217-36). In early Islamic Egypt, their activities were restricted because of the lack of manpower, λειψανδρία (Pap. Rem. 26, l. 4).

In this period, conversion to Islam took place on a very limited scale. Since the new converts to Islam were not automatically relieved of the land tax, there were few incentives for the Egyptians to abandon their religion and traditions. It is only after ʿUmar II's policies, as demonstrated in his famous edict of 100/718, in which he encouraged fiscal relief for the newly-converted Egyptians, that such incentives were introduced.

For the Muslims in Egypt, the most important office after that of the governor of Egypt was that of the police commander. From the time of ʿAmr, a police force, *shurṭa* [*q.v.*], was established in Egypt to protect the governor and keep the order in towns (Tyan, *op. cit.*). This police force was actually part of the military; its chief, the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*, was appointed by the governor until late Umayyad times, but his authority was in fact better established than that of the governor, for whom he acted as deputy when the latter was absent or ill. While theoretically he was under the jurisdiction of the governor, since he was selected from the local aristocracy, the *wudjūh*, he had grass-roots local support which could withstand the whim of all governors. They usually held office longer than the governors and were succeeded by members of their own families, creating powerful dynasties (H. Kennedy, *Central government and provincial elites*, in *BSOAS*, xliv [1981], 35 ff.). While the

authority of the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* was restricted in Fusṭāṭ and the Arab settlements, the enforcement of order in Coptic provincial communities was left in the hands of the local administrators who, under the authority of the pagarch, could arrest and imprison the culprits (Pap. Rem. 63-69). The duties of the *bucellarii* as a sort of gendarmerie still continued in the Arab period but were greatly curtailed. While in the Byzantine period the *bucellarii* often undertook the important task of collecting taxes (see Pap. Oxy. 2480, l. 29, 35, dating from 565 A.D., πρὸς ἐξάνυσιν τῶν δημοσίων), such duties were now performed by the *muhādjirūn* Arabs (μωαγαρῖται) and the *bucellarii* were reduced to doing minor tasks.

The Arab administration had another powerful official who acted as a watchdog, the *ṣāḥib al-barīd* or chief of posts and intelligence [see BARĪD], at whose disposal were the treasury officials (*ʿummāl al-amīr*) who secured the public safety of the individuals (*APEL*, vii, nos. 174-5; Donner, *op. cit.*, 286).

Justice for the Muslims was in the hands of the office of the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* (Chief Judge), and the *ḳāḍīs* [*q.v.*] acquired great power. As for the Christians, the chief judicial power was in the hands of the bishops, who in the early Umayyad period had retained at least partly some of their old civil administrative functions. According to the Justinian legislation (*C.J.I,* 55, 8) the bishops of the town participated in the supervision of sureties and in a number of other administrative functions. In the Pap. Oxy. XVI 1848 (6th-7th century) there is mention of a bishop advising on behalf of a tax payer. In Pap. Apoll. 46 (703-15 A.D.), a bishop appears participating in a committee of sureties. In the same papyrus there is the mention of ὁσπίδια, i.e. houses for the poor and/or sick, which continued to be under the supervision of bishops and the church in the Egyptian towns. Justice was also administered in the Christian communities of Egypt by the pagarch (πάγαρχος) (M.A. Cheira, *Le pagarque au Ier siècle P.H. d'après les papyrus d'Aphrodito*, in *King Farouk Univ., Bull. of Fac. of Arts*, i [1943], 105-18). In Byzantine Egypt after the 5th century A.D., there appears the administrative unit known as the pagarchia, a subdivision of the nome which included rural areas, i.e. districts financially administrated by pagarchs; these became the *kuwar* (sing. *kūra*) in Arabic. In addition to the pagarch there was another administrative high official, the toparch (τοπάρχης) who often replaced him.

While some of the Greek titles of officials found in the papyri of early Islamic Egypt show that certain Byzantine administrative officers continued to function, one should note that the same Byzantine titles frequently denote different functions in the Arab period, something which is often forgotten by scholars who simply accept the Arab adoption of an almost uninterrupted Byzantine administration.

The most conspicuous example of the use of a Greek title for an official whose function was greatly diminished in early Islamic Egypt was that of the βουκελλάριος. In the late Byzantine times, the βουκελλάριοι of Egypt were a sort of gendarmerie spread over various parts of the country, ready to repel any attacks by the Saracens or the Blemmyes, and simultaneously enforcing law and order in the countryside. Their latter function was often at the disposal of the great landlords, although they remained under the jurisdiction of the public administration. In the early Arab period, the term βουκελλάριος was restricted to a number of money carriers or messengers (Pap. Rem. 30.1) and nothing remained of their lofty Byzantine status (see Gascou, *L'institution des bucellaires*, 144 ff.) Thus Bell's theory (*The administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs*, 280) that the *bucellarii* under the Arab period were simply an adaption of the Byzantine *bucellarii* cannot be accepted. A number of other armed or unarmed messengers carrying old Byzantine titles also appear in many other papyri. It should be noticed that in early Islamic Egypt, above all the various *servi armati* stood a new genre, that of the μωαγαρῖται (*muhādjirūn*), while that of Σαρακηνοὶ and βερεδάριοι (from Ar. *barīd*) was also added.

The most impressive innovation at this time was the creation of a new office, that of the "commissioner" of the fugitives, ἐπικείμενος τῶν φυγάδων. In contrast to the ponderous administration of the late Byzantine times, this official, cutting through the hierarchy, nullified the power of the pagarchs—who were liable to capital punishment for neglect of their duties towards the fugitives—and being responsible only to the governor, the *amīr*, checked the proper application of his orders concerning the arrest and return of the fugitives to their homeland. Thus in Inv. nos. 1332, 1333, it is stated that the governor Ḳurra b. Sharīk [*q.v.*] sent from Fusṭāṭ six guards to Basil, the pagarch of Aphroditopolis, in order to search for fugitives, overriding the latter's authority.

There are numerous references to the fugitives (Greek φυγάδες, Arabic *djāliya*) in the Greek, Arabic and Coptic papyri of early Arab Egypt. The great number of all these fugitives puzzled Bell, who attributed their flight to the perennial dissatisfaction of the Egyptian peasants over their exploitation (*The administration of Egypt*, 284). Nevertheless, neither his explanations nor the statement of the biassed Coptic author, Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ, in the life of patriarch Alexander II (*PO*, v, 64), that men began to flee from place to place because of the harsh rule of Ḳurra b. Sharīk, sheds light on the actual reasons for the general phenomenon of the flights in various parts of Egypt (for references to the fugitives in the Greek and Arabic papyri, see Cadell, *op. cit.*, 118, n. 1; for the problem of the fugitives, see also N. Abbott, *The Ḳurrah papyri*, 67, 97; and on Ḳurra b. Sharīk, the art. s.v.). Bell and other authors associated the phenomenon of the great increase in flights at this time to the allure which Fusṭāṭ, the new capital of Egypt, exercised upon the peasants; but in reality, the opposite happened, and the novelty in early Islamic Egypt is the mass flight of town dwellers back to their villages, abandoning Fusṭāṭ.

The new capital Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*] was chosen by the Arabs because of its geographical location, which was more convenient to them than that of the famous city of Alexandria: it stood in a key position between Upper and Lower Egypt and on a convenient route linked with the Red Sea. According to John of Nikiu, the ancient canal connecting Babylon with the Red Sea at al-Ḳulzum [*q.v.*] (near modern Suez), which had been silted up, was cleared out by the Muslims and reopened (*Chronicle*, 195). Thus the corn and tribute previously sent to Constantinople via Alexandria could be shipped by the Muslims through the Red Sea to Djudda and then to Mecca. Of course, such use of the canal must have been limited in scope and impractical, because of the labour involved in keeping it navigable; instead, the traditional camel route continued to be used. Fusṭāṭ, established outside the walls of the fortress of Babylon in the early years of the Arab conquest of Egypt, remained mainly a military camp where the Arab clans were grouped in well-defined tribal quarters. The *khiṭṭat ahl al-rāya* was located at the centre and the other tribes of the Arabs

developed around it, while a separate quarter outside, *khiṭṭat ahl al-ẓāhir*, was reserved for those who had no kinsmen (A.R. Guest, *The foundation of Fustat and the Khittahs of that town*, in *JRAS* [1907], 49-83; S.J. Staffa, *Conquest and fusion, the social evolution of Cairo A.D. 642-1850*, Leiden 1977, 18).

It can be understood that this new capital, where ʿAmr's mosque was erected and where the religion of Islam and Arab tribalism were so conspicuous, was unlikely to lure any great number of Copts in early Islamic Egypt, thus risking their freedom and abandoning their traditional villages.

The problem of fugitives reveals a serious pattern of socio-economic change, as is pointed out by Morimoto (*The fiscal administration*, 120 ff.), and it does not have simply a legal and fiscal aspect, as asserted by Gascou (*Miscellanea*, 106 ff.). A careful study of the papyri reveals that there were two categories of fugitives caused by two different reasons. In the first category, the peasants' flight was due to dissatisfaction with their poverty created by overtaxation, a typical reaction of the Egyptian fellahin from the Pharaonic period, and continuing in the Hellenistic and later periods (see A.E. Samuel, *The money economy and the Ptolemaic peasantry*, in *Bull. of the American Soc. of Papyrologists*, xxxi [1984], 196). In the second category, we notice the flight of unskilled labourers from Fusṭāṭ or other towns back to their villages, a unique event in the previous history of Egypt. It is for them that the most severe punishments were reserved, and any neglect of the proper authorities—including the pagarch—to catch fugitive labourers could even draw capital punishment upon them.

An Arabic papyrus from Aphroditopolis, dating from *ca.* 710 A.D. (P. Sorbonne INV, 2343), written in obscure style, describes some trade dealings of a fugitive with the pagarch Basil and the governor Ḳurra (Rāgib, *Lettres nouvelles de Qurra b. Šarīk*, 178 ff.). The mild treatment of this fugitive (*djāliya*) by the authorities is explained by the fact that he was not a labourer. By contrast, in Pap. Remond. 9, which describes the flight of skilled workers from the shipyards of Fusṭāṭ back to their villages, the pagarch is threatened with death if he fails to arrest the fugitives. This constant recruitment of unskilled and skilled labourers, who were asked to serve in the shipyards with their own tools and were considered as state servants (Pap. Remond. 52, ἐργατῶν δημοσίν ἐν Βαβυλῶν[ι]) deprived the villages of their most valuable and skilled manpower. In addition to the constant state demands for labourers, another unspecified number of builders was recruited from the villages and these were sent abroad to help the construction of mosques in other places of the Arab caliphate. This was not a novelty in Egypt, since in the *Life* of St. John of Alexandria (ed. Gelzer, 37), it stated that the Patriarch of Alexandria had sent one thousand Egyptian workers for the rebuilding of the church in Jerusalem; but now the demand for workers in the newly-established caliphate exceeded by far the previous requisitions (for the chronic problem of shortage of skilled manpower in late Roman and Byzantine Egypt, see *Greek papyri in the collection of New York University*, ed. N. Lewis, i, 1967, no. 25).

The drain of manpower from the villages did not only create serious economic problems in the Egyptian provinces but also caused social upheavals. The resettlement of Christian labourers from their village communities to Fusṭāṭ and the other towns, to a largely Muslim environment, created great dissatisfaction and forced them to abandon *en masse* the towns and return to the provinces. In order to deal with this serious problem, the state not only created the office of the commissioner of the fugitives, as noted above, but also ordered the issue of passports for all Egyptians who travelled (*PEPF*, 601-3). The problem of the fugitives is also related to the taxation of the monks. The financial burdens of the Coptic church until the mid-Umayyad period were somewhat heavier than in the previous Byzantine period. From Severus's *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, which covers the period from Benjamin I (622-61) to that of Michael IV (1092-1102), as well as from a number of Greek papyri, we learn that tax-exempt monasteries outnumbered by far those which paid taxes (Morimoto, *Land tenure in Egypt during the early Islamic period*, 121). Certainly, at the beginning of Arab rule, the monks were exempt from the poll-tax which was imposed on them later, after a great number of peasants had fled to them in order to avoid the burden of taxes.

The later period up to 750 A.D.

It seems that it was at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik that the monks, who hitherto paid no poll-tax, were obliged to pay this tax regularly. Meanwhile, the governor of Fusṭāṭ, ʿAbd al-ʾAzīz, applied stricter financial controls in the countryside (Eutychius, *Annales*, ed. Cheikho *et al.*, 41; Dennett, 81). At the same period, another change was completed; the Christian designs and inscriptions on coins were replaced with purely epigraphic designs and Ḳurʾānic inscriptions. Actually, there was a transitional period preceded by minor alterations in the Byzantine coins, but it was in ʿAbd al-Malik's time that the great reform was completed. See P. Grierson, *The monetary reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik*, in *JESHO*, iii [1960], 241-24; N.M. Lowick, *Early Arab figure types*, in *The Numismatic Circular*, lxxviii/3 [1970]; R.J. Hebert, *The early coinage of Bilād ash-Shām*, in *Procs. of the 4th International Congress of Bilād al-Shām, Amman 1985*, Amman 1987, 133-54.

ʿAbd al-Malik's first important changes were followed by some sweeping further ones which cannot be easily traced. Christians could no longer become higher officials, the language of the administration was changed from Greek to Arabic, and Muslims replaced the Christian notables who assessed the taxes (J. Gascou-K.A. Worp, *Problèmes de documentation apollonopolite*, in *Zeitschr. für Papyrologie*, xlix [1982], 83-95; Frantz-Murphy, *op. cit.*, 131 ff.). One of the most sweeping changes which took place at the end of Umayyad Egypt, in order to increase the revenue of Egypt by any means, was the new status acquired by the director of finances (*ʿāmil*), who became responsible directly to the caliph in Damascus. For this purpose, a trusted and efficient person, ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, was appointed in this position (*ca.* 106/724) by the caliph Hishām (for a brilliant presentation of his personality and activities, see Abbott, *A new papyrus and a review of the administration of ʿUbaid Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb*, in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 21-35, who somewhat underplays the bad consequences of his policies in Egypt caused by his financial system). ʿUbayd Allāh immediately ordered a new land survey, followed by an abrupt increase of taxation. According to the Patriarch Severus, the new measures of ʿUbayd Allāh doubled the revenue in Egypt (*PO*, v, 86). The tax rise caused immediately the first Coptic revolt in 107/725-26 (al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, ed. Guest, 73; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Cairo, i, 79, ii, 492). ʿUbayd Allāh in 109/727-8 took another drastic action which greatly contributed to the

arabisation and islamisation of Egypt, i.e. he settled 3,000 Arabs from the tribe of Ḳays near Bilbays in the Eastern Delta and transferred their Arab-Muslim registration from the *dīwān* of Syria to that of Egypt.

By the end of the Umayyad period, Fusṭāṭ changed from a military town into a prosperous active city. While initially the peasant Copts strove to abandon Fusṭāṭ and return to their villages, the growth of the city now attracted many adventurous Christian merchants, artisans and newly-converted Egyptians (*mawālī*). In 114/732 ʿUbayd Allāh at another stroke brought 5,000 Arabs, again from the Ḳays group, and settled them in the Ḥawf, to the northeast of Fusṭāṭ, a turbulent area, to outbalance the power of the Copts who lived there (al-Kindī, 76).

In spite of the rapid arabisation of Egypt in the last quarter of the Umayyad period in Egypt, it should be noted that the Coptic language continued to be used by a number of Egyptians as late as the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries. Thus in some Arabic contracts of the period, most of which come from Fayyūm, it is stated that certain Egyptians, Christians and/or recent converts to Islam, did not know even oral Arabic and the contracts were read and explained to them in the "foreign language", i.e. Egyptian (Frantz-Murphy, *A comparison of the Arabic and earlier Egyptian contract formularies. Part I. The Arabic contracts from Egypt (3rd/9th-5th/11th centuries)*, in *JNES*, xl [1981], 212, 223).

The last important trend begun in late Umayyad Egypt and completed in the early ʿAbbāsid period was the replacement of the Egyptian notables who had the task of collecting taxes, by persons appointed by the government; this was a heavy blow to the leading rôle of the Copts in their rural communities, and enhanced islamisation in these areas (Frantz-Murphy, *op. cit.*, 133).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, Paris 1937; H.A.R. Gibb, *The final rescript of ʿUmar II*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 6-11; W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theben*, Vienna 1962; F. Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, *Die arabische Eroberung Aegyptens nach Iohannes von Nikiu*, in eidem, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, Wiesbaden 1971, 356-89; P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Der Pagarch Petterios*, in *JOB*, xxx (1981), 57-61; Gladys Frantz-Murphy, *Agricultural tax assessment and liability in the documents from Islamic Egypt*, in *Procs. of the XVII International Congress of Papyrology, Naples, May 19-26*, 1983.

(V. Christides)

2. From the ʿAbbāsids to the Fāṭimids 750-969.

Miṣr at the time of the ʿAbbāsid take-over in 132/750 was a country in which Islam and Arab culture were still confined to the ruling élite, the vast majority of the population still being Coptic Christians. Fusṭāṭ was the capital and centre of the Arab population, with the mosque of ʿAmr being the main place of worship. The leaders of Arab society were the group known as the *wudjūh*, the élite. They were mostly descended from families who had settled in Egypt after the original Muslim conquest and they occupied a privileged position, forming the local, inefficient militia which constituted the only standing military force in the country, and being paid *ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*] accordingly. The *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* [see shurṭa] was usually chosen from their ranks. There also seems to have been an urban Muslim population at Alexandria who may have formed their own military force. In addition there were Arab tribes, notably in the Ḥawf deserts to the east and west of the Nile Delta.

The history of Miṣr in this period can be divided into a number of distinct phases. The first, which lasted until the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in 193/809, was essentially a continuation of the Umayyad pattern, with governors sent from Baghdād rather than Damascus, and there seems to have been little change in the population or political structure and no settlement of ʿAbbāsid supporters from the East. The political history of the period was marked by frequent changes of governor and sporadic rebellions. Of the governors, only Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (142-52/759-69) [see muhallabids] remained in office for more than a few years and none were able to attain any independent status; in the twelve years 170 to 182 (787-99) there were sixteen changes of governor. Continuity was provided by the *aṣḥāb al-shurṭa*, who were effectively deputy governors.

The most significant events were the attempted ʿAlid rebellion of 145/763, which was frustrated by the governor Yazīd b. Ḥātim in its early stages, and the more wide-ranging revolt of 168/785 against the governorate of Muṣʿab, whose evil reputation as governor of the Djazīra is well known from the *Chronicle* of the Pseudo-Dionysus of Tall-Mahré. This revolt united the discontented Arabs of the Ḥawf behind Diḥya b. Muṣʿab, a descendant of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān. The trouble became a crisis when the *djund* of Fusṭāṭ refused to support Muṣʿab and he was killed by the rebels. It was left to his *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* ʿAmr al-Maʿāfirī to restore order. This period also saw continuing uprisings of Coptic peasants, protesting against fiscal actions.

In the late 2nd/8th century, however, this system came under increasing pressure from Baghdād, anxious to extract ever-increasing sums of money from the province. This resulted in a variety of measures such as appointing special financial investigators like ʿUmar b. Mihrān in 176/792 and the summoning of the governor to Baghdād to present the accounts in person, as happened in 183/799 and 185/801, but inevitably much of the taxation was never recovered and after the fall of the Barmakids in 186/803 these attempts at fiscal discipline seem to have been relaxed.

As elsewhere in the Muslim world, the civil war which followed the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 193/809 marked the end of the early Islamic polity. The collapse of central government led to a battle for power within the Muslim community and laid the country open to outside adventurers. Shortly before Hārūn's death, a detachment of Khurāsānī troops under al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam arrived in the country. They seized power in Fusṭāṭ in 200/815, destroying the local militia under the control of the *wudjūh*, but they were opposed in the north of the country by a local leader, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Djarawī. To complicate matters further, Alexandria was taken over by refugees from al-Andalus who had been driven out by the Umayyad *amīr* al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*]. It was not until 211/826 that ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [*q.v.*] finally returned the country to ʿAbbāsid rule: the Andalusīs were expelled and went to settle in Crete [see iḳrīṭish] and compromises were made with the other leaders, al-Sarī's son ʿUbayd Allāh being settled in Sāmarrā with a large cash payment.

The civil war profoundly affected Muslim Egypt. The power of the local *wudjūh* was destroyed, the process being completed when Arabs were dropped from the *dīwān* and so ceased to receive the *ʿaṭāʾ*. Power lay with a succession of military figures, all outsiders, and their military escorts. These men, some of Turkish or Armenian origin, served as deputies for important figures at the court in Sāmarrā, lacking in prestige and enjoying only short periods in office. The long-

term result was that Egypt no longer had a native Muslim élite and this wealthy country was in future ruled by groups from outside, either Turks from ʿIrāḳ and further east, or Berbers from the west.

It is probable that the governors who followed ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir ensured that Egypt became firmly incorporated into the highly centralised middle ʿAbbāsid state. With no local militia to demand a share, revenue could be despatched straight to the capital. The financial administrators, like the hated and ruthless Ibn al-Mudabbir [*q.v.*], became key figures in local politics. This fiscal centralisation carried within it the seeds of its own decline, and in Egypt as elsewhere the problem of the government in Sāmarrā gave ambitious governors the chance to keep the revenues for themselves and to use them to build up their own military power. It was in this way that Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, originally deputy governor for his uncle, who remained in Sāmarrā, assumed authority.

The rule of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (254-70/868-84 [*q.v.*]) was in the main a period of peace and prosperity, if only because revenues which had previously been paid to the caliphs were now retained in the country. Ibn Ṭūlūn recruited a new army, mostly comprised of Greeks and black slaves with which to maintain his power. In order to house them he constructed a new suburb to the north of the old city of Fusṭāṭ, called al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ, with its own congregational mosque, known to this day as the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, and governor's palace.

His rule saw the beginning of Egyptian involvement in Syrian affairs. There were a number of reasons for this continuous preoccupation, among them the need to ensure alternative food supplies in case of a failure of the Nile, when popular discontent could prove dangerous, and also the problem of security, since Egypt could be invaded from Palestine if that were to be in hostile hands. There was also the attraction of the Byzantine frontier, especially for Ibn Ṭūlūn who took over responsibility for defence from the feeble ʿAbbāsid caliphs, thereby giving his régime both prestige and legitimacy. This preoccupation with Syria was to be one of the major issues in Egyptian history as long as the country remained independent under its own rulers. There were two possible policies. One was the advanced policy espoused by Ibn Ṭūlūn which held that the frontiers of Egypt lay at the Taurus and the Euphrates and that Aleppo, Antioch and all northern Syria should be under Egyptian control. The alternative was the more modest policy of the Ikhshīdids in the next century, whose ambitions were restricted to ruling Palestine and Damascus and to remaining on friendly terms with the rulers of northern Syria. Both Fāṭimids and Mamlūks were to pursue one or other of these policies.

Neither Ibn Ṭūlūn and his son Khumārawayh nor the Ikhshīdids attempted to break away from the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. They retained political and financial independence, but allowed a constitutional dependence which gave their rule legitimacy. Both Ibn Ṭūlūn in 269/882 and Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*] in 333/944 tried, without success, to persuade the ʿAbbāsid caliphs of the day to come and establish themselves in Fusṭāṭ.

Ṭūlūnid power ended with the occupation of the country by an ʿAbbāsid army in 292/905, and the country was to remain a province of the caliphate until 323/935. This spell of ʿAbbāsid rule was not particularly effective. Despite sporadic attempts, it seems that very little revenue was forwarded to Baghdād. This period saw the beginning of two new developments. The first was the Fāṭimid seizure of power in 297/909, which meant that Egypt became a frontier province. The Aghlabids had ruled Ifrīḳiya as independent sovereigns before, but they had no pretensions to expand their influence to the East. The Fāṭimids claimed to be the rightful rulers of the whole Muslim world and made no secret of their determination to take Egypt as the next stage of their progress. In 301-2/913-15 and 307-9/919-21 there were serious Fāṭimid attacks, which entailed the sending of forces from ʿIrāḳ to support the local governor. Although the threat was repelled, it meant that Egypt was more of a liability than asset to the caliphate, and the ʿAbbāsids were prepared to allow it to pass into the hands of anyone who could keep the Fāṭimids out (see further on these attacks, FĀṬIMIDS).

The second important development was increasing immigration from ʿIrāḳ. The 4th/10th century saw a prolonged economic and political crisis in ʿIrāḳ and many felt that the calmer conditions of Egypt offered more opportunities. Among these were professional bureaucrats, like the Mādharāʾī family [see AL-MĀDHARĀʾĪ]. The collapsing ʿAbbāsid administration had little use for their skills, but these were much appreciated in Egypt. The migration of these people was gradual but steady, and it led to the emergence of a Muslim civilian élite in Egypt for the first time. The administration became thoroughly arabised, although Coptic Christians continued to play an important rôle. It is probable that the arrival of these people was an important factor in the increased pace of conversion to Islam at this period (see on this process, AL-ḲIBṬ). Although there had been textile manufacture in early Islamic Egypt, notably the production of *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] for the government, immigrants from ʿIrāḳ at this time may have been responsible for the growth of the industry in the 4th/10th century.

Other immigrants included many Jews. It does not seem that early Islamic Egypt had a Jewish community of any great importance, but this changed with the immigration of many Babylonian Jews, like the family of the future *wazīr* Yaʿḳūb b. Killis [see IBN KILLIS] to the country and it was at this time that the flourishing Jewish community which we find described in the Geniza documents developed.

In 323/935 power in Egypt passed into the hands of another military man of eastern Iranian origin, Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj, later given the honorific title of al-Ikhshīd [*q.v.*], after the rulers of his ancestral home at Farghānā. In many ways, Ikhshīdid rule resembled the Ṭūlūnid one but it was less ambitious. None of the rulers built anything of note nor do they seem to have added new quarters to the capital city. Under the rule of the black eunuch Kāfūr [*q.v.*], who achieved effective power after Ibn Ṭughdj's death in 334/946 and remained as ruler, first in the name of Ibn Ṭughdj's son Unūdjūr and later in his own right until his death in 357/968, the Egyptian court became something of a culture centre with his patronage of the poet al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*] and others.

On the eve of the Fāṭimid conquest, Muslim Egypt was still far from achieving its potential as a great power. Ikhshīdid rule was conservative, more concerned with securing what it held and keen to maintain good relations with potential rivals like the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] in northern Syria if possible. The dynasty had no distinctive ideology and no significant body of supporters. Compared with Egypt at the time of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, the proportion of Muslims in the population had certainly increased but they were still not a majority in the country. The early Muslim élite had disappeared and a new one was only slowly forming and the economy was developing. All

the potential was there for Egypt to take its rightful place among the Muslim powers.

Bibliography: The main source for the early part of this period is Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt* (to 334/946) and its companion, *Kitāb al-Ḳuḍāt* (to 246/861) both ed. R. Guest, Leiden-London 1912. For the later period, see *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā 'l-Maghrib* of the Andalusī Ibn Saʿīd [*q.v.*] (the Egyptian sections ed. Zaky M. Hassan, Cairo 1953), whose work incorporates earlier, now lost chronicles. See also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo, ii-iii; C.H. Becker, *Beitrage zur Geschichte Ägyptens*; G. Wiet, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iv; Zaky M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, Paris 1937; H. Kennedy, *Central government and provincial élites in the early ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, in *BSOAS*, xliv (1981), 26-38; H. Gottschalk, *Die Mādarā'ijjūn*, Berlin and Leipzig 1931; J.L. Bacharach, *The career of Muhammad ibn Ṭughj al-Ikhshīd*, in *Speculum*, 1 (1975), 586-612; T. Bianquis, *La prise du pouvoir par les Fatimides en Égypte*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xi (1972), 49-109. (H. Kennedy)

3. The Fāṭimid period 969-1171.

The political and economic situation in Egypt following the death of Kāfūr was so chaotic that the leading citizens of al-Fusṭāṭ took the decision to recognise as their sovereign the Fāṭimid caliph of North Africa, despite his Ismāʿīlī persuasion. Encountering no resistance, the army of the Fāṭimid general Djawhar [*q.v.*] occupied the Nile Delta in the spring of 358/969; in Shaʿbān 358/July 969, al-Fusṭāṭ capitulated, in return for a guarantee of security (*amān*) which stipulated the reform of the monetary system, the restoration of public safety—in particular, protection of the pilgrimage routes—the resumption of Holy War against the infidels and toleration of the Sunnī cult (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, i, 103-6).

To the north-east of al-Fusṭāṭ, Djawhar founded a garrison town which, after the example of the Fāṭimid residence near al-Ḳayrawān, was called al-Manṣūriyya; it was only in Ramaḍān 362/June 973, when the caliph al-Muʿizz li-dīn Allāh [*q.v.*] had just established it as his headquarters that it was re-named *al-Ḳāhira* [*q.v.*], "the Victorious". In its capacity as "a place of exile" (*dār al-hidjra*) of the Prophet's legitimate successor, the town of Cairo was the exclusive property of the Fāṭimid caliph, of his court, his administration and his army; the new al-Azhar mosque founded by Djawhar was the centre of Ismāʿīlism, while the town of al-Fusṭāṭ, with the old mosque of ʿAmr, remained the citadel of Sunnī orthodoxy.

The majority of the rural population of Egypt was still Christian and Coptic-speaking, Christian clerks (*kuttāb*) occupied the majority of administrative posts; Christian and Jewish officials made a career in the central administration, especially during the reign of the caliph al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh (365-86/975-96 [*q.v.*]). An attempt by the caliph al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh (386-411/996-1021 [*q.v.*]) to purge the ranks of the civil service and replace the Christian *kuttāb* with Muslims was doomed to failure.

Throughout his reign, the caliph al-Ḥākim was at pains to put into effect the discriminatory regulations attibuted by Islamic tradition to the caliph ʿUmar I, according to which non-Muslims were required to wear distinctive clothing and signs (belts, black turbans, small crosses, etc.) [see GHIYĀR]. These measures, the significance of which has been considerably exaggerated by Christian and Sunnī authors, seem to have been effected only in a very liberal manner, judging by the numerous renewals of edicts relating to the subject. Between 398 and 410/1009-19, al-Ḥākim ordered the pillaging and destruction of a number of churches, monasteries and synagogues, evidently with the object of paying his troops (Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, ed. Cheikho, 204, l. 9 ff., and 231, l. 13) and of restoring mosques which had fallen into ruins (al-Musabbiḥī, quoted by al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ii, 96, ll. 11 ff.; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 295, ll. 16-20). But this policy was abandoned by al-Ḥākim himself and, under his successors, the Christians regained their former influence (cf. H. Halm, *Der Treuhänder Gottes. Die Edikte des Kalifen al-Ḥākim*, in *Isl.*, lxiii [1986], 11-72).

The Sunnīs were not inconvenienced by the Ismāʿīlī régime, even though the guarantees of the *amān* of Djawhar were not all observed. In particular, the obligatory introduction of the specifically Shīʿī formula of the call to prayer [see ADHĀN] with the supplementary phrase "Let us go to the best of works" (*ḥayya ʿalā khayr al-ʿamal*), the prohibition of prayers traditionally offered during the nights of Ramaḍān (*tarāwīḥ*), and the Ismāʿīlī method of determining the end of the fast of Ramaḍān by calculation (*ʿadad*) and not by observation (*ruʾya*) of the moon, provoked constant tension between Ismāʿīlīs and Sunnīs. Al-Ḥākim temporarily pursued a policy of reconciliation between the Islamic persuasions, guaranteeing to the Sunnīs, by two edicts of toleration (397/1006 and 399/1009), unrestricted practice of their cultic rituals in accordance with the *amān* of Djawhar (Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vi, 293; Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, ed. Cheikho, 195; al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ii, 78).

The Fāṭimids never attempted the forcible imposition of the Ismāʿīlī faith on their subjects, but they preached it systematically in all the provinces of the empire. Alongside every judge (*ḳāḍī*) responsible for the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) sense of the *sharīʿa*, there was a missionary (*dāʿī*) who initiated novices in the secrets of the esoteric (*bāṭin*) sense reserved for Ismāʿīlīs alone; the "sessions of wisdom" (*madjālis al-ḥikma*, see MADJLIS, ii) were accessible to everyone. However, the success of Ismāʿīlī propaganda seems to have been quite ephemeral; after the fall of the Fāṭimid dynasty, Ismāʿīlism rapidly disappeared.

The claim of the Fāṭimid caliph to universal sovereignty was soon confronted with the reality of the international political situation. Fāṭimid power proved too weak to overthrow the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of Baghdād, as it was likewise incapable of maintaining long-term control of North Africa and Sicily. Nevertheless, under the caliphs al-ʿAzīz, al-Ḥākim, al-Ẓāhir (411-27/1021-36) and al-Mustanṣir (427-87/1036-94 [*q.vv.*]) Egypt played the role of a major Mediterranean power which competed successfully with the Byzantine empire on land and at sea, in southern Italy as well as in northern Syria. The Fāṭimids resisted repeated attempts on the part of the Byzantines to recover control of Syria (from 354/965 onward); in 429/1038 a thirty-year treaty was concluded and this was renewed in 440/1048. Although North Africa succeeded, from 443/1051 onward, in withdrawing from Fāṭimid authority in favour of the Zīrids [*q.v.*], Egypt maintained control of the Red Sea. The Holy Cities were under the domination of the dynasty since its inception, being dependent on deliveries of Egyptian corn. Just as in the period of the Eastern Roman Empire the land of the Nile had fed Constantinople, it now fed Mecca and Medina. Furthermore, there were in Upper Egypt major religious endowments (*awḳāf*) in favour of religious institutions of the Holy Cities, and the caliph of Cairo had supplanted his counterpart in Baghdād as protector of the Holy Places and as the one responsible for the rites of pilgrimage.

From 439/1047 onward, the Fāṭimids also

dominated the Yemen in support of a dynasty of Ismāʿīlī missionaries, the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*], in such a way that they controlled all trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean via the Red Sea. Egypt thus became the pivot of international commerce. After land-tax (*kharādj*), the revenues derived from customs fees levied on spices and luxury articles emanating from India and the Far East constituted the most important element of the budget of the Fāṭimid state. In addition, Egypt controlled the supply of Sudanese gold and exported raw materials which were in great demand in Europe, such as alum, and products of high quality, for example woolen fabrics (Upper Egypt) and linen (Dimyāṭ, Tinnīs), brocades and items of precious glassware which were subsequently to be found in great quantity in the museums and church-owned treasures of Europe. An eye-witness of the prosperity of Egypt is the Persian Ismāʿīlī missionary (*dāʿī*) Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], who visited Cairo in 439/1047 and has left us a description of the town at the height of its splendour (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, repr. 1970, tr. W.M. Thackston Jr., *Naser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, New York 1986).

The dominant position of Egypt in international commerce led to an influx of European traders. As early as 828 the Venetians had bought (or rather stolen) the relics of Saint Mark held in Alexandria. In 386/996, merchants from Amalfi (*al-Malāfiṭa*) maintained a trading-post in the Cairo arsenal (Yaḥyā al-Antākī, ed. Cheikho, 178), and their hospital and their church in Jerusalem are attested from about 1061 onward. From the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the Genoese were present in Alexandria: the *fondaco* of the Pisans in Alexandria is mentioned for the first time in the period of the caliph al-Ẓāfir (544-49/1149-54); in 537/1143, the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] concluded a commercial treaty with the Norman king of Sicily, Roger II.

The precarious stability of the economy of Egypt and the vulnerability of its prosperity was revealed, however, when, from 444/1052 onward and again from 457/1065 onward, the flooding of the Nile failed repeatedly to reach adequate proportions, causing shortages and famine, following which the country was ravaged by epidemics. The ever-growing demands of the armies had exhausted the treasury reserves; poorly paid soldiers roamed the land as highway robbers; in 464/1072, the caliph al-Mustanṣir was besieged by rioters in his abandoned and looted palace in Cairo. The Fāṭimid dynasty was saved by the general Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*], a Christian Armenian who was summoned by the caliph from St. John of Acre to Cairo in the winter of 466/1073-4 and entrusted with the re-establishment of order in the land. It was Badr who ensured the security of the capital with the construction in 480/1087 of the new stone fortifications with the three great gates (which still survive) of Bāb Zuwayla to the south and Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Futūḥ to the north. For almost half a century, from 466 to 515/1074-1121, Badr al-Djamālī (d. 487/1094) and his son and successor al-Afḍal [*q.v.*] governed Egypt with virtually unlimited power, combining the functions of supreme head of the civil administration (*wazīr*) and of commander-in-chief of the armies (*amīr al-djuyūsh*). The two military dictators attracted a large number of Armenian Christians, accompanied by their clergy, who augmented the influence of the Armenian church to the detriment of the Coptic church; new military units composed of Armenians were mobilised. A whole series of reforms relating to the treasury, the monetary system and the administration brought a final phase of stability to the Fāṭimid régime, whose religious aura had long since been extinguished, and gave Egypt a new period of internal peace and economic prosperity. With Badr in control, the revenues of land-tax (*kharādj*) increased from 2,800,000 *dīnārs* in 463/1070-1 to 3,100,000 in 478/1085-6 (al-Makhzūmī, *Minhādj*, quoted by al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 68) and, under the government of his son al-Afḍal, they even reached a total of 5,000,000 *dīnārs* (Ibn Muyassar, quoted by al-Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*). In all probability, it was the period of Badr al-Djamālī which saw the re-organisation of the provinces of Egypt, a division which has largely subsisted into the modern age. The former districts (*kuwar*, sing. *kūra*), corresponding to the pagarchies of the Byzantine period which, according to al-Ḳuḍāʿī, were 89 in number under the Fāṭimids (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 309-11; Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 175 f.) were replaced by 23 provinces (*aʿmāl*, sing. *ʿamal*) of much greater size, 9 in Upper Egypt and 14 in the Delta (Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. and tr. Evetts, *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, Oxford 1895, 17-19, Arabic text 10-12; Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 187 f.; *Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients*, map B vii 13 "Ägypten unter den Fatimiden"). According to al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029), quoted by al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 309), the villages of Upper Egypt numbered 2,395, and those of the Delta 1,439.

The Saldjūḳid invasion of Syria, from 462/1069-70 onward, and the establishment of Crusader principalities along the Syrian coast and in Palestine (1098/99) deprived Egypt of its Syrian provinces and its natural defensive bulwark. In 526/1132, a religious schism caused the defection of the Ṣulayḥids in the Yemen; from 462/1070 onward (and finally in 473/1081) Mecca was subjected to the control of the Saldjūḳids and recognised the sovereignty of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. The Fāṭimid state was thus confined to the natural frontiers of Egypt and experienced a rapid diminution of its power. Following the assassination of the dictator al-Afḍal on the orders of the caliph al-Āmir (515/1121 [*q.v.*]), the land was rent by internal disorders; ministers, governors and generals competed for power, and at the same time Egypt was the object of the ambitions of its Christian and Muslim neighbours. The Byzantine emperor Manuel negotiated with the Christian king of Jerusalem an agreement allowing for the joint occupation of Egypt, a project which was not however realised; on three occasions, Amalric, King of Jerusalem, intervened in Egypt with a Crusader army to prevent the seizure of the country by the *amīr* of Aleppo Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (1162, 1164, 1167); during this period, Egypt was nothing more than a Frankish protectorate. But when the King appeared in Egypt for the fourth time, with the object of occupying the land definitively, the Syrians gained the upper hand; in 564/1169 the general Shīrkūh entered Cairo at the head of a Syrian army and appointed himself vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph. After his sudden death, which took place on 22 Djumādā II 564/23 March 1169, his nephew Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb [*q.v.*] succeeded him as vizier; it was he who, on 7 Muḥarram 567/10 September 1171, deposed the last Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid [*q.v.*], who was then nine years old, and proclaimed the *khuṭba* in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ. The Ismāʿīlī call to prayer was abolished, the *madjālis al-ḥikma* suspended, and Sunnism restored throughout the land.

Among the sources of information relating to Egypt in the Fāṭimid period, the most important are the chronicles of the court. Although none of these have

survived in other than fragmentary form, substantial quotations from the works of Ibn Zūlāḳ (d. 387/997), al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029), Ibn Muhadhdhab, al-Rūdhabārī (born 363/973-4) and al-Baṭāʾiḥī (d. 588/1192) have been preserved in the works of later historians, in particular, in al-Maḳrīzī. The contribution of Christian writers is important: the Arabic chronicle of the Melkite John of Antioch (Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, d. 458/1065) and the history of the Coptic patriarchs attributed to Sāwīrus (Severus) b. al-Muḳaffaʿ (4th/10th century) and his continuator Michael of Tinnīs (up to 437/1046). The Fāṭimid official al-Ḳuḍāʿī (d. 454/1062) was the first to describe the national geography of Egypt; his *Khiṭaṭ* were the model and the principal source of material for the work of the same title by al-Maḳrīzī. The manual of administration genre is represented for the first time by the *Kitāb al-Minhādj fī ʿilm al-kharādj* of al-Makhzūmī (d. 585/1189); although surviving only in fragmentary form, the *Minhādj* is an invaluable source of information concerning the administration, agriculture and fiscal system of Egypt in the 6th/12th century.

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4. The Ayyūbid period 1171-1250.

Under the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), Damascus was the first capital of the Ayyūbid empire. The Fāṭimid palatine city of Cairo was abandoned, and when the sultan visited Cairo, he resided in the citadel constructed after 579/1183-4. After the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (589/1193), Egypt was governed by a branch of the Ayyūbid family. The different Ayyūbid principalities in Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt remained only by virtue of family ties, and the Ayyūbid empire constituted a kind of "dynastic confederation" (Gottschalk) or "semi-feudal family federation" (Cahen, *Ayyūbides*).

The most radical innovation effected by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was the introduction of the system of the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] or military fief employed in Syria since the Saldjūḳ period. In 572/1176, the sultan ordered a new *rōk* (a term probably of demotic origin: *rukh* "redistribution of land"), a kind of cadastral revision, of which the object was to measure the surface area of all the lands in Egypt, to assess their value in terms of *kharādj* and to distribute them to officers and soldiers as *iḳṭāʿ*s, as a substitute for salaries. The system of *ḳabāla* of the Fāṭimid period was totally abolished: the civilian tax farmer (*muḳabbil*), paying to the treasury a proportion of the *kharādj* levied on his concession, was replaced by the military *muḳṭaʿ*, who retained the entire *kharādj* of his *iḳṭāʿ*, as compensation for his military service and for the equipment that he provided. The *rōk* of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was put into effect in 577/1181 (Halm, *Ägypten* i, 14 ff.); according to the accounts (*Mutadjaddidāt*) of his vizier, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*], the value in *kharādj* of land ceded as *iḳṭāʿ* in that year amounted to 3,670,500 *dīnārs* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 17 ed. Būlāḳ i, 82).

The division of the provinces of Egypt established by the Fāṭimids was retained by the Ayyūbids; the manual of administration of Ibn Mammātī provides a complete list of the provinces and villages of the country (*Ḳawānīn*, 84-200). In 585/1189 al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil drew up a list of the respective fiscal yield of the provinces of Egypt, the total amounting to 4,653,019 *dīnārs* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 17-19, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 87; Halm, *Ägypten* i, 33). Since the revenues of *kharādj* were now removed from the direct control of the treasury, the central power was obliged to reserve a proportion of the territories of *iḳṭāʿ* which was regarded as crown property (*al-khāṣṣ al-malikī*). Al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil listed the revenues of these lands in the two last years of the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (587-9/1191-3); they amounted to 354,450 and 354,444 *dīnārs* respectively (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 19 f.).

The army of cavalry mobilised by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was composed of free mercenaries who were, for the most part, of Kurdish origin like the sultan himself. The Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣalīḥ began purchasing young Turkish slaves who were quartered in barracks on the island of Rawḍa to undergo military training and to serve as élite troops. These were the military slaves (*mamālīk*, sing *mamlūk*, "property") who, in 650/1252, put an end to the dynasty of the Ayyūbid sultans [see MAMLŪKS and 5. below].

Like the Fāṭimids, the Ayyūbids controlled commerce between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. However, the presence of the Crusaders in Palestine and Transjordan threatened the naval routes of the Red Sea as well as the routes of pilgrimage. This led to the prosperity of the anchorage of ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*] on the coast of the Red Sea (opposite Djudda), which was linked to Egypt by a track crossing the desert and ending, in the Nile Valley, first at Aswān and later at Ḳūṣ. In 578/1183, the Andalusian pilgrim Ibn Djubayr used this much-frequented route and left a detailed description (*Riḥla*, ed. Wright, 66-9, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 75-8).

Commercial relations between Egypt and the West increased still further in the Ayyūbid period. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn conceded to the Venetian Doge Sebastiano Zani (1172-8) the right to open a *fondaco* in Alexandria; in 1177, he concluded a commercial treaty with the republic of Genoa which was henceforward represented in Alexandria by a consul; and in 1207, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil negotiated a treaty with the city of Pisa. But in 615-18/1218-21 the three Italian republics

supported the Crusade of Damietta which had the object of conquering Egypt and imposing direct control on trade between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; the failure of the enterprise put an end to these projects.

One of the most important sources of the period, the *Mutadjaddidāt* ("News") of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200), survives only in the form of quotations in the *Khiṭāṭ* of al-Maḳrīzī (which are thus our principal source). Besides the above-mentioned account by Ibn Djubayr, there exists a description of Egypt written by the Baghdādī doctor ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (*ca.* 1200). The manual of administration genre is represented by the *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn* of the official of Coptic origin Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209) who dedicated his book to the Sultan al-Malik al-ʿAzīz (589-96/1193-8). The *Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm* of al-Nābulusī gives us a complete list of the villages of this province with a detailed account of their crops and the duties levied on them in 641/1243-4.

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5. The Mamlūk period 1250-1517.

Ingeniously, the 9th/15th century Egyptian jurist and historian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī (d. 888/1483) summarises the status of Egypt within the contemporary world as it had evolved in the by then two centuries of Mamlūk rule: Egypt is the "heartland" (*bayḍa*) of Islam and the legitimate "Seat of the imāmate" (*al-Faḍāʾil al-bāhira fī maḥāsin Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1969, 80, 185). In this brief and rather casual statement the author implicitly summarises three important developments in the history of the country that are all to be connected with the establishment of Mamlūk sway in the mid-7th/13th century.

(1) Egypt rose to become, at the expense of Syria, the unsatisfied hegemonial power in the Near East. The gradual shift of gravity from Syria to Egypt, discernible already in the changing territorial designs of the Crusaders from Jerusalem to Damietta, culminated in the marginalisation of Syria in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion to the Middle East in 656-8/1258-60. Northern Syria became the fortified fringe of the Cairo-based new polity. The remaining Ayyūbid domains were either subjugated or assimilated to Mamlūk rule. The Syrian Desert now became a border almost in the modern sense of the word, separating most effectively the world that had hitherto been closely connected: Irāḳ and the Levant. In Arabia, Egypt resumed, in the two-and-a-half centuries of Mamlūk rule, its traditional protectorate over the Holy Cities. After century-long immobility an active expansionist Egyptian policy was resumed both to the west, against the Bedouins of Barḳa, and especially to the south, into Nubia.

(2) Egypt established itself, much more than Syria with more diverse cultural élites, as the bulwark of orthodox cultural and religious conservatism. The acute consciousness of having been spared the catastrophe of Mongol pagan domination that was reflected in numerous popular sayings and tales, nurtured the conviction that it was Egypt's hallowed rule and obligation to preserve the bases of Sunnī public order as well as the traditional religious culture in its Arab garb. Anti-sectarian sentiment and moral rigorism, visible in a rich anti-*bidaʿ* literature, stood in sharp contrast to the continuing exuberant frolic, levity and pageantry of popular culture of both rural and urban Egypt. A keen sense of history, and of historical responsibility, manifested itself, during the Mamlūk era, in an unprecedented plethora of chronicles and other works of history. This spirit was essentially defensive: the system so benignly saved from destruction by the unbelievers was to be maintained and buttressed, not to be reformed or even questioned. The challenges and creative impulses which Mongol and post-Mongol turmoil brought to the artistic, literary and scholarly worlds of Eastern (Iranian, Central Asian, Anatolian) Islam never affected or infecundated the land of Egypt.

The Mamlūk period saw the transfer of the defunct caliphate from the ruins of Baghdād to Cairo. This "shadow-caliphate" was to assume a double nature. It represented the retrograde orientation of the Mamlūk state and society, an Arab-Islamic Byzantium, as has most felicitously been said. At the same time, it served to legitimise the novel and most unorthodox ruling system of the Mamlūks. If the Saldjūḳs and Ayyūbids had had, in the first phases of their domination, their problems in justifying their accession to power, this problem was nevertheless far more pressing for the Mamlūks, who came as nobodies from the Eurasian steppes via the slave markets of Syria, Cairo and Alexandria into the highest echelons of government. They did not obtain this political ascendency as members of a homogeneous nomadic clan or confederation led by valiant or even charismatic leaders, as had been the case with Ṭoghrīl Beg or Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī [*q.vv.*]. They came rather to the Middle East as individuals with the social stigma of slavedom and a pagan birth.

After the Mamlūks had established their domination, they put forward these tokens of their original social inferiority as signs of military nobility; their pagan Turkish names were preserved as symbols of their élite status and also as a means to demonstrate the social apartheid between themselves and the autochtonous Arab-speaking Egyptian populace. For the surrounding world, however, at least in the critical first half-century of Mamlūk rule between 1250 and 1300, there remained a glaring deficit of conventional, i.e. Islamic, legitimisation for government. The careful imitation of the court rituals and offices of the preceding Ayyūbid (and Saldjūḳ) dynasties, the adoption of the regnal (*Malik*) titles by the Mamlūk sultans, and the demonstrative take-over of the tradi-

tional *nobile officium* of warden of the Holy Sites in the Ḥidjāz, were designed to reduce this deficit of standing among fellow Muslim rulers. The re-instalment of a fugitive ʿAbbāsid scion as caliph under the tutelage and increasingly arbitrary disposition of the Mamlūk sultan was even more effective. By this action, legitimacy was acquired by the Mamlūk sultan and at the same time demonstrated to be of little relevance in the categories of effective power. The most important means, though, towards gaining and securing recognition against all the prejudice and feelings of superiority among the established Islamic dynasties of the time was the stupendous Mamlūk success on the battlefield. Bravely and, as contemporary authors noted with awe and admiration, unselfishly these alien barbarians stood up to protect the defenseless *raʿiyya* of Egypt and Syria against the pagan foe. Even later authors such as Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406 [*q.v.*]) invoke the unique blend of "nomadic virtues and the firm resolve of true Muslim believers" among the Mamlūks. They spared the Egyptians the tragic fate which fellow-Muslims in so many other countries had suffered under the Mongol yoke. The capacity of the Mamlūks for extinguishing the last traces of the Frankish-Christian presence in Syria and Palestine was another significant source of respect. This achievement enhanced their claim to be full heirs to their Zangid and Ayyūbid predecessors who had rekindled the spirit of *djihād* against the Crusading invaders to the region.

Old as the system of Mamlūks, military slaves, was in Islam [see GHULĀM; MAMLŪK], it rose to respectable quantitative significance under the last Egyptian Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. He recruited Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.*] slaves from the lands to the north and east of the Black Sea in large numbers, garrisoned them on the well-protected island of al-Rawḍa in the Nile, where he had erected his new palace fortress, and thus created for himself a loyal body of troops—loyal to him personally and not to the Ayyūbid dynasty at large that was divided into rival factions ever since Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death.

In 648/1250 the Mamlūks, in an unexpected and certainly also largely unpremeditated development, found themselves holders of supreme political responsibility in Egypt. One event had precipitated this process. It was the hardy Mamlūk praetorians of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ who annihilated the advance guard of St. Louis, led by Robert of Artois, in the narrow streets of al-Manṣūra in spring 648/1250, thus turning the initial success of the Christian invaders into defeat. This first striking Mamlūk military triumph happened right in the critical interval between the death of al-Ṣāliḥ, kept secret from friend and foe alike, and the desperately awaited arrival on the battlefield in the Nile Delta of his son and prospective political heir al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh from the remote Ayyūbid province of Ḥiṣn Kayfā on the Tigris. There ensued Tūrānshāh's victory over the weakened Christian army, the capturing of the French king and, on 2 May 1250, the decisive incident leading to the establishment of Mamlūk rule over Egypt: Sultan Tūrānshāh, who had brought with him his own entourage from Ḥiṣn Kayfā to the Nile, systematically estranged the Mamlūk grandees of his late father who had just demonstrated their superb martial aptitude. Pre-empting a similar fate to themselves, a few leading Mamlūk officers decided to kill the Ayyūbid ruler under the eyes of the Frankish enemy.

From this moment on, the Mamlūks were no longer solely servants to a Muslim ruler with an undisputed juridical standing, but rather they usurped the sovereignty in their own right. The recruiting modalities of the new ruling caste were to remain the same: Mamlūk sultans and *amīrs* imported, trained, and affranchised (*mamlūk*) military slaves as had been the case under al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. From Mamlūk ranks alone, sultans and the key military and also administrative personnel were supposed to be chosen. Tensions were inevitable (and proved concomitant to Mamlūk history at least to the early 9th/15th century) between, first, the dynastic tradition inherited from the Ayyūbids and copied by successful Mamlūk sultans, and second, the intrinsically Mamlūk principles of the ever-renewed selection of the most able candidates for high and highest offices from genuine Mamlūks, i.e. first generation aliens who had been born pagan, then been brought to Egypt, trained in the chivalrous arts, Islamised, and finally released into the exclusivity of a Mamlūk career.

Mamlūk sway in its earliest phase immediately after the killing of Tūrānshāh was more than precarious. No-one proved prepared, nor was really willing, to take over the reins of government. As an interim ruler, homage as sultan was paid to al-Ṣāliḥ's energetic and pragmatic widow Shadjar al-Durr [*q.v.*]. Under the pressure of the Syrian Ayyūbids who felt summoned to liberate Egypt—their own domain, as they were prone to see it—from the hands of these slaves, and of a woman into the bargain, Shadjar al-Durr formally gave way to her *atābak* and new husband, Aybak al-Turkmānī, one of al-Ṣāliḥ's leading Mamlūk generals. Most historians of late mediaeval Egypt regard Aybak as the first Mamlūk sultan of the country. With him the *dawla turkiyya* is claimed to have begun. Yet Mamlūk control remained extremely fragile. Only by stating that Egypt was the proper domain of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim bi'llāh could Aybak bring his own army to pay fealty to him. Soon Aybak, at least *pro forma*, was even forced to step aside and to give way to an Ayyūbid figurehead as sultan. Thus the continuing general demand, both inside and outside of Egypt, for a fully legitimised government after the sudden disappearance of the house of Ayyūb from the country, was satisfied.

The first decade of Mamlūk rule over Egypt is a story of inter-factional strife and of unrelenting, if in the long run futile, attempts on the part of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II of Aleppo (and by now also of Damascus) to conquer Egypt. The leader of the mighty Baḥriyya regiment, al-Fāris Aḳṭāy, whose men had contracted an ominous reputation as a brutal marauding gang of soldiers assailing the population of Cairo, was killed, at Aybak's instigation, by the Khʷārazm Mamlūk Ḳuṭuz. Aḳṭāy's comrades were either caught or they managed to flee the country, among them Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī, the famous future al-Malik al-Ẓāhir and real founder of the Mamlūk polity [see BAYBARS I]. Changing sides and protectors (Damascus, Karak) several times, Baybars and his men proved a wily, courageous and unscrupulous free-lance contingent, reminiscent of the equally irregular Khʷārazmian and Kurdish contingents filling the chronicles of the period with their actions. Baybars' support was feared and coveted at the same time by the diverse Ayyūbid rulers of Syria.

The Mongol advance to ʿIrāḳ and the Fertile Crescent, the fall of Baghdād and of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and the imminent destruction of Syria, however, facilitated the closing of ranks between the rival Mamlūk groups. Ḳuṭuz [*q.v.*], the energetic and uncompromising new Mamlūk sultan in Cairo, accepted Baybars and his companions with their legendary repute of military prowess back into the

Egyptian Mamlūk army. The Mongol envoys, demanding Ḳuṭuz's surrender, were executed. In the famous battle of ʿAyn Djālūt (25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260 [*q.v.*]) in Palestine, the united Mamlūk army, led by Ḳuṭuz and Baybars, won the day against the Mongols, commanded by Hülägü's general Ketbogha Noyon. As a result, Damascus was liberated where already a Mongol viceroy had been installed. The Mongol invasion of Egypt was once and for all averted.

Yet more than the Mamlūk exploits in the streets of al-Manṣūra, ten years earlier, the victory of ʿAyn Djālūt became the symbol of Mamlūk strength, resilience, and sacrificial spirit. Even a monument was erected on the site of the successful battle to commemorate this historic event. Even though this victory meant only a first respite for the new lords of Egypt and Syria—many more Mongol attacks on Syria were to follow until 713/1313—the psychological effect of this triumph was enormous. The familiarity of the Mamlūks' cavalry with the fighting techniques of the Mongols certainly had influenced the outcome of this first Mamlūk-Mongol showdown. Contemporary chroniclers such as the Syrian Abū Shāma clearly saw the connection: "It is verily remarkable that the Tatars were broken and destroyed by their own kinsmen, the Turks" (*al-Dhayl ʿalā 'l-rawḍatayn*, [2]Beirut 1974, 208). Mamlūk-Mongol relations were, for this very reason, bound to be contradictory on the emotional level. The Mongol arch-enemy was at the same time a model. The Mongol military success was to be a constant source of inspiration for the early Mamlūks. Mongol habits and even institutions (courtly ceremonial; application of the *yāsa* for inter-Mamlūk litigation in lieu of the *sharīʿa*) were emulated. In the Egyptian perspective, this split attitude is lucidly reflected. A historian like Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī (died after 736/1336), in his volume on the Ayyūbids and on Čingiz Khān, reports thrilling legends on the ethonogenesis of the Mongols and of the Turks, stories that had found their way from East and Central Asia through northwestern Persia to Egypt. Yet at the same time, in the context of these traditions, he makes a point of stressing, both symbolically and in the narrative itself, that the grand scheme of the Mongol conqueror for universal rule found its limits in the west: Egypt and the Maghrib were destined not to succumb to the otherwise indomitable Mongol conquering armies.

Ḳuṭuz could not harvest the fruits of his secular victory. Baybars, who saw in him last but not least the murderer of Aḳṭāy, the former chief of his own regiment, arranged—in collusion with a few other malcontents, among them Ḳuṭuz's sword-bearer—the assassination of the sultan, perhaps, again, in order to avoid similar action against himself. The exact circumstances of this dastardly deed cannot easily be reconstructed. The victorious Baybars did everything to obliterate its traces, including—in a very literal sense—even the grave of Ḳuṭuz. Baybars was now given homage as the new sultan, although initially, as it seems, only in partnership with the mighty *amīr* al-Fāris Aḳṭāy al-Mustaʿrib, who had paved the way for Baybars to receive the *bayʿa* of the assembled *amīrs*. For the most part, they were deeply estranged by the brutal killing of the hero of ʿAyn Djālūt and most resentful towards the murderer. In this context, the argument proferred by the 8th/14th century historian Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī is interesting. It says that in the absence of a son of Ḳuṭuz, Baybars was to succeed in the throne by virtue of his (allegedly) being the regicide, because this was "the tradition of the Turks (*ʿādat al-Turk*)" (*Ḥusn al-manāḳib al-sirriyya al-muntazaʿa min al-sīra al-Ẓāhiriyya*, al-Riyāḍ 1976, 32, 155). Also, on the occasion of the murder of Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl in 693/1293 this principle is alluded by contemporary observers.

It was during Baybars' sultanate from 658/1260 to 676/1277 that the Mamlūk polity began to assert itself. The institutional foundations of the new centralised state were laid. The insecure frontiers to the north-east were gradually strengthened. The Frankish-Christian dominions in the Syrian and Palestinian coastland shrank under the relentless military as well as diplomatic pressure of the sultan. The internal opposition to Baybars, both by Mamlūk rivals (who fill the chronicles on the occasion of their detention, release from jail, or execution) and the Ayyūbid princes in Syria, had to be reconciled with the new order or to be suppressed by force. Whereas al-Malik al-Mughīth of Karak, Baybars' former host, was deprived of his realm and life by cunning and treachery, much to the wrath of contemporary witnesses, the Ayyūbids of Ḥimṣ died out and their principality fell to the Mamlūks. Ḥamāt remained a special case. Ever since the inception of the Ayyūbid confederacy, the rulers of Ḥamāt had sided with their mighty cousins on the Nile, often against the interests of their immediate neighbours in Damascus or Aleppo. This loyalty to Egypt was also conferred upon the Mamlūks. At ʿAyn Djālūt and in the numerous later encounters between Mamlūks and Mongols, the contingent of Ḥamāt played an important and consistently loyal role. The razzias into the land of Lesser Armenia (*bilād Sīs* in the Arabic sources) in the second half of the 7th/13th century were largely the responsibility of the Ayyūbids of Ḥamāt, who contrived to secure their semi-independence well into the 8th/14th century. One of the last Ayyūbids of Ḥamāt was the famed historian and geographer Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331 [*q.v.*]); he even bore the prestigious title of sultan as proof of the standing and respect which the Egyptian sultan paid to his house. Shortly after Abu 'l-Fidāʾ's death, Ḥamāt lost its independence and became a province under the control of a Mamlūk governor.

The installation of an ʿAbbāsid refugee as caliph in Cairo in 659/1261 has already been mentioned (on this subject, see now the comprehensive article by P.M. Holt, *Some observations on the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of Cairo*, in *BSOAS*, xlvii [1984], 501-7). The first "shadow" caliph with the throne name of al-Mustanṣir proved insufficiently susceptible to Baybars' hegemonial claims. After a rule of only a few weeks he was despatched, together with some other princes whose kingdoms had been conquered by the Mongols, to ʿIrāḳ in order to recover the lands of his ancestors. He perished in an encounter with a Mongol army even before he could reach Baghdād. When a second ʿAbbāsid claimant turned up and was installed as the caliph al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh, Baybars made sure that his own superior status as sultan was not imperilled. Until the end of the Mamlūk sultanate in 923/1517, al-Ḥākim's descendants were to reign as figureheads at the discretion of the Mamlūk ruler. Their public functions were strictly ceremonial, their political power nil. The caliph had hardly more prestige than the four supreme *ḳāḍīs* of the orthodox *madhāhib*, as contemporary critics remarked. He accompanied the sultan during his campaigns as pawn and legitimator alike. From 700/1300 onwards the caliphs publicly legitimated the newly-elected sultan by their presence and by a diploma of investiture. They stood on slippery ground. They could easily be

dragged into inter-Mamlūk controversies about the apt candidate for the vacant sultanate. As symbols of the Islamic *umma* they also proved indispensable allies to the sultan in his dealings with foreign powers. The continuing prestige of their lofty office enhanced also the repute of their Egyptian hosts and protectors. Muslim rulers in India, South Arabia and Upper Mesopotamia solicited their own official investiture by the caliphs, as if one still wrote in the year 1220 when the ʿAbbāsids had managed to re-assert their political independence in ʿIrāḳ. Also, in Baybars' strategic alliance with the Khān Berke [*q.v.*] of the Golden Horde against the Īl-Khāns of Persia in 661/1263, the recently-installed caliph al-Ḥākim played a crucial role.

Whereas in the early phase of Mamlūk history, the sultan continued to perform the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] to the caliph as head of the Muslim community, this established ritual of pre-Mamlūk times was abandoned by the mid-8th/14th century. From now on it was the caliph who paid homage to the Mamlūk sovereign. Political theorists of the period such as Ibn Djamāʿa (d. 733/1333 [*q.v.*]) (but also jurists beyond the Egyptian and Syrian borders) accepted the absorption of the functions and prerogatives of the caliph by the sultanate as a necessary given fact, for it was the sultan who had proven himself the sole and effective vanguard and defender of the *umma* against its deadly enemies.

In 815/1412 a shadow caliph, al-Mustaʿīn, was even to assume the sultanate. The political context of this episode of a few months was exceptional. Barḳūḳ's son and successor, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faradj, had been deposed. The succession of the caliph to the office of sultan (according to the rules of the Mamlūk polity, a non-Mamlūk, "non-Turk", was barred from this office!) may have appeared as an acceptable makeshift solution in an otherwise deadlocked situation: al-Mustaʿīn was not entangled in the deep factional strife and ethnic rivalries (Turks/Ḳïpčaḳs *vs.* Circassians/Abkhāz) among the Mamlūk oligarchs of these days in the early 9th/15th century. Once, however, the strong man—in this case al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (815-24/1412-21 [*q.v.*])—had secured his leadership among the grandees, the sultan al-Mustaʿīn was instantaneously removed. He even lost ignominiously the office of caliph; it was granted to his brother. By this time, the dividing lines between sultanate and caliphate had long since been blurred in favour of the sultanate. When the Ottomans conquered Cairo in 923/1517, they took with them the last ʿAbbāsid caliph to Istanbul, where his traces were lost. The merger of the functions of *imām*-caliph and sultan both in political practice and theory that can be observed in Mamlūk times may well be seen as a model for the formation of the idea (and ideal) of the Ottoman sultan-caliph as it emerges at the latest by the 18th century.

The main stage of Mamlūk policy in the second half of the 7th/13th century was Syria. Egypt remained in the quiet shadow of the violent events that characterised the history of the Middle East between the Mongols' arrival in the region and the final pacification of Syria after the extinction of the last Crusaders in the Levant and the conclusion of a first treaty between Mamlūks and Mongols in 723/1323. Syria was downgraded to serve as Egypt's *glacis* and dependent territory.

This tranquility, as well as the shrinking menace from the outside, made it possible for the first Mamlūk rulers to consolidate their régime in Egypt. Reminding us of Hārūn al-Rashīd, Baybars is also credited with *incognito* nocturnal walks through the streets of his capital when the world believed him to be campaigning in Syria; it was his aim to remain judicially informed about malcontent groups and their concerns and to check the efficacy of his political measures. The frontiers of Egypt were gradually pushed west and south. When the unfortunate Crusader king Louis IX sailed to Tunis in 668-9/1270 and the local Ḥafṣid ruler asked for help from the Mamlūks, initial preparations were made to establish support lines for an Egyptian army marching westward. In the Nubian kingdom [see NŪBA], inter-dynastic troubles gave Baybars a chance to intervene and to subjugate the lands at the second cataract of the Nile to vassal status. From now on, one reads in the chronicles of the time the proud formula of the Mamlūk realm as stretching from the Euphrates (the common border with the Īl-Khānate) to Dunḳula (Dongola).

To forestall any repetition of the twice-successful Frankish invasion of Egypt from the north by the sea and the river Nile, the harbour of Damietta was blocked and the control over the *thughūr* at the Mediterranean coast, notably the important trading centre of Alexandria, increased. The Mamlūk capital was adorned with the spoils of the successful campaigns in the east: the wood and marble of the citadel of Yāfā (captured by the Mamlūks in 666/1268) was used in Baybars' own splendid mosque in the quarter of al-Ḥusayniyya. And after ʿAkkā, the seat of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, had finally been captured by the Mamlūks under al-Ashraf Khalīl, the son of Baybars' *de facto* successor al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn, in 690/1291, the ornate Gothic portal of the cathedral of the city was carried as a trophy to the heart of Cairo, where it was integrated into the *madrasa* of Khalīl's successors al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b, Ḳalāwūn.

After Baybars' death in 676/1277, his successful policy was continued without any significant rupture. Sultan Ḳalāwūn (678-89/1279-90) [*q.v.*] especially—who thwarted the hopes of Baybars' sons to inherit the sultanate—helped to consolidate the Mamlūk political and military system. During his energetic rule important changes took place. He was the last Ṣāliḥī ruler, i.e. the last sultan to have served the Ayyūbids. His successors only knew the Mamlūk ruling system as a self-perpetuating vehicle. On the other hand, he was the first to import Circassian Mamlūks; they soon—even before the brief sultanate of the Circassian Baybars II Djāshnikīr [*q.v.*] in 708-9/1309-10—claimed their share of the key positions in army and state.

Ḳalāwūn and his son al-Ashraf Khalīl (689-93/1290-3) took the last fortresses of the crusaders, Tripoli and ʿAkkā. Also, on the frontiers facing the shrinking kingdom of Cicilian Armenia and facing the Īl-Khānid empire on the Euphrates, further advances were made. In the army and in the administration the Mamlūk element was vigorously and systematically strengthened to the detriment of the traditional élites. The *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*], e.g., a non-Mamlūk socio-military unit that had constituted the most respected part of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī's army, began to lose its privileges and gradually deteriorated. It was composed of numerous subgroups, such as the offspring of Mamlūk officers (*awlād al-nās*), of free Turcoman and Mongol immigrants (*wāfidiyya*), of Bedouin chieftains of the deserts along the Nile delta and in Syria (whose loyalty and logistic support was vital for the communications within the empire), of eunuchs and even of Ayyūbid princes and meritorious civilians for whom

the lucrative membership in the *ḥalḳa* was little more than a sinecure. Under Ḳalāwūn, offices that had been traditionally held by civilians (like the vizierate) were for the first time (sometimes tentatively, sometimes definitively) entrusted to officers. The *mukalwat*, the bearer of the *kal(l)awta*, the typical Mamlūk headgear, took over the functions of the *muta*ᶜ*ammim* "turban bearer", the civil (or religious) official, as contemporary observers metonymically described this momentous change. Otherwise, Ḳalāwūn took his duties as an Islamic ruler very seriously. His reign saw the persecution of Christians, but also the erection of his famous hospital, *al-bīmāristān al-manṣūrī*, on the ruins of one of the Fāṭimid palaces right in the centre of Cairo.

Like Baybars and so many of his successors in the sultanate also, Ḳalāwūn had to face a rebellion of the strong man of Damascus upon his accession to power. Yet whereas in early Mamlūk history such insubordination of the Syrian governor was also designed to achieve the restitution of Syria as a separate polity, this was decidedly different in later years. The unity of the Mamlūk state was no longer questioned. In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries successful Syrian insurgents coveted the sultanate of Cairo for themselves. Al-Muʾayyad Shaykh is the most famous example. It was only under the Ottoman successors to the Mamlūks that Syria re-emerged as a separate territorial unit.

The decade following the assassination of al-Ashraf Khalīl by the ambitious (and cultured) *amīr* Baydarā in the hunting grounds of Djīza in winter 693/1293 ushered in a period of unrest and peril for the young Mamlūk state. The conversion of the Īl-Khān Ghāzān Khān [*q.v.*] to Islam (694/1295) increased rather than reduced the pressure by the Mongols on the Mamlūk frontier. New justifications for an assault on the old enemy, now consistent with the *sharī*ᶜ*a*, were sought and found. In 699/1299-1300 Syria was invaded and Damascus taken by Ghāzān's forces. The defection of the Mamlūk governor of Damascus to the Mongols had paved their way to this triumph. Yet the Mongol hold on Syria proved untenable. After several battles stretching into the year 702/1303, they finally gave up their intentions.

Also, inside the Mamlūk domains there was sedition and unrest in this critical period, much of it of a socio-religious nature. After Baybars, upon his accession in 658/1260, had faced urban riots in Cairo by people of inferior social status (peddlars, pages and negroes) who had shouted the name of ᶜAlī, the scene now moved to Upper Egypt. In 697/1297-8 a Fāṭimid-Ismāᶜīlī contender rebelled, for a last time, in Edfu against the government in Cairo. He had the backing of the unruly Bedouins of the region, who were enjoying more and more freedom of action as a consequence of the gradual "méditerranéisation" (J.-Cl. Garcin) of Egypt, i.e. the abandonment of the old trade route Ḳūṣ-ᶜAydhāb, the demise of the river port of al-Fusṭāṭ, and the ensuing provincialisation of central and southern Egypt. At the same period, around the turn of the 8th/14th century, radical Shīᶜis defied Mamlūk authority in Mount Lebanon. Only in 699-70/1271 had the last Syrian fortresses of the once indomitable Assassins been taken by Baybars.

Against such heretics, the Mamlūk religious policies were clear and unequivocal. Both the Mamlūk governing caste, and the religious leaders whom the Mamlūk authorities tried to canvass as civil and native spokesmen for their own designs, declared the battle against the *rawāfiḍ* the prime duty of all those responsible in the state—*umarā*ʾ and ᶜ*ulamā*ʾ— once the external menace exercised by Christian and Mongol infidels had been contained. The historian al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442 [*q.v.*]) proudly declares that in his own days all vestiges of the Shīᶜa had been effaced from the Egyptian lands. The public execution of the Imāmī theologian Ibn Makkī al-ᶜĀmilī, the "first martyr" of the Twelver Shīᶜa, in Damascus in 786/1384 at Sultan Barḳūḳ's order, attests to this uncompromising attitude. Nevertheless, the antisectarian Mamlūk policy was not free from contradictions. The pugnacious and upright Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]), e.g., was at the same time appreciated as a popular tribune against the temptations of heresy and persecuted because of his diatribes against the corrupt and timid religious establishment in Egypt and Syria. Ibn Taymiyya's attacks were in considerable measure directed against the ubiquitous illicit popular religious practices and the pervasive Ṣūfī spirit to which the Mamlūk rulers of the country proved also susceptible. He contemptuously degraded the mystics as "but a class of lazy people whose lives were spent in idleness but rewarded with generous monthly salaries from *waḳfs*" (Leonor Fernandes, *The evolution of a Ṣūfī institution in Mamlūk Egypt: the Khānqāh*, Berlin 1988, 98). The veneration of holy men (*mu*ᶜ*taḳadūn*) as well as the lavish support granted to the nascent Ṣūfī *khānaḳāhs* were characteristic of the nonconformist approach the Mamlūks tended to take for themselves towards religion, especially in the first years of Mamlūk history. Vestiges of the shamanistic tradition in which they had grown up as children before their arrival in Egypt, and perhaps also their personal uprootedness in a remote and foreign country, may well have prompted their attachment to strong religious personalities, particularly if these came from the "old country", i.e. the Turkish-speaking lands to the north. Baybars' scandalously uncritical loyalty to the criminal *shaykh* Khaḍir al-Mihrānī has puzzled contemporary witnesses and modern historians alike.

The period of crisis after the premature death of al-Ashraf Khalīl also saw the temporary institutionalisation of the dynastic principle of succession to the sultanate. Al-Ashraf Khalīl was followed on the throne by his young brother al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, born in 684/1285. After the bleak and brief sultanates of al-ᶜĀdil Kitbughā (during his rule a dramatic famine struck Egypt with all the concomitant hardship and popular discontent) and al-Manṣūr Lādjīn [*q.v.*] (he was killed because he had imprudently provoked the apprehensions of some of the key magnates of the state), al-Malik al-Nāṣir was reinstated (698/1299). Once more he had to abdicate (in 708/1309 to give way to the cultured sultan Baybars II al-Djāshenkīr) before he could finally establish himself as autocrat during his long third reign (709-41/1310-41). In the office of sultan at least, one continued to tolerate an exception to the Mamlūk principle of the perpetual renewal and rejuvenation of the élite from the outside. The non-Mamlūk, pre-Mamlūk, element of the dynastic charisma still prevailed.

At this juncture, one should mention that never again would a "non-Mamlūk" sultan claim general recognition within the Mamlūk ruling caste with so little opposition as was the case with al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He carefully presented himself as a scion of genuine Ḳipčaḳ background. He had been raised together with the élite corps of his father. As if to compensate for his "illegitimate" standing within the Mamlūk military aristocracy, he imported more Mamlūks for himself than any other sultan before or

after him. All the necessary facilities and means were provided for his royal Mamlūks (*mamālīk sulṭāniyya*) in order to guarantee the excellence of their training.

The third sultanate of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appears as the apogee of Mamlūk history altogether. The twenty years' crisis of the state between 693/1293 and 713/1313 (the year of the last Īl-Khānid attack on Mamlūk Syria) had been successfully mastered. The Mamlūk borders were secured. In 723/1323, with the help of the long-distance merchant Madjd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī, a treaty was concluded between the Mamlūks and the Īl-Khān Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*]. Both sides had come to realise (the Mamlūks as early as 675/1277 when Baybars launched his costly and, in the long run, futile invasion into Anatolia) that no permanent territorial gains from their neighbour were feasible. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir, instead, systematically extended Egyptian influence into Arabia. Not only the Sharīfs of Medina and of Mecca but also the Rasūlid lords of Yaman were forced to accept Mamlūk suzerainty. Mamlūk detachments were stationed in strategic locations in the peninsula. Three times al-Malik al-Nāṣir personally performed the pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz, thus demonstrating the stability of his régime. It was during his rule that the office of plenipotentiary deputy sultan was abolished, another indication of his absolute power.

In Egypt itself, al-Malik al-Nāṣir's policies of increasing the position of the active Mamlūk élite and also of securing for himself an adequate share in the riches of the country were equally successful. In the so-called *al-rawk al-nāṣirī* of 715-16/1315-16 he achieved what his predecessor Lādjīn had tried in vain to do. The *ḥalḳa* soldiers and officers lost most of their feudal land in this new cadastral scheme. It was transformed into *iḳṭāʿ*s for the royal Mamlūks or reverted to the royal fisc, whose share in the aggregate agricultural yield of Egypt rose from one-sixth to five-twelfths. The feudal lands granted to the new beneficiaries were, however, consistently divided up into comparatively small lots (not more than a few neighbouring villages at most; often condominia with more than one other *muḳṭaʿ*) and distributed all over Egypt in order to prevent the formation of a rural aristocracy and of a territorial basis for political opponents. Thus the governor (*wālī*) of the Delta province of al-Daḳahliyya had his official *iḳṭāʿ*s in Bahnasā in Middle Egypt and in Ushmūnayn even further south. The province of Manfalūṭ and most of the environment of Cairo were under direct control of the sultan.

There was much anger among all those groups that had been displaced or at least harmed by al-Malik al-Nāṣir's large-scale redistribution of land. In order to divert this wrath, violent anti-Christian campaigns were kindled. Copts [see AL-ḲIBṬ] had always played a key role in the central bureaucracy and could thus be shrewdly presented as responsible for whatever distress had happened in this situation. With the applause of the frustrated Muslim majority, the discriminating sumptuary regulations were enforced against Christians, Jews and Samaritans in these years. It was during this period of economic suffocation and general persecution that a large percentage of the Coptic families, who for centuries had remained faithful to their religious belief, finally succumbed and adopted Islam. The disappearance of Coptic as a spoken language also falls within this period. First or second-generation Coptic converts to Islam who, thanks to their professional experience in the administration of the arable and irrigated lands had always been favourite candidates for the superintendence of the army bureau (where the *iḳṭāʿ*s were registered and reassigned) or of the royal fisc, now two of the most powerful, responsible and vulnerable positions in the state, could easily find themselves victims too to this spirit of religious intolerance. When the financial expectations of the mighty beneficiaries could not be met, for whatever reasons, the sultan could present them as the facile culprits who—owing to their suspect religious background—could not count on any corporate help. Some of them were brutally sacrificed to the mob in these years.

With the new affluence in the privy budget of the sultan and with the diminishing expenditure for military campaigns, more funds could be invested into the amelioration of the economic infrastructure of Egypt. Large sums were spent for the repair of irrigation works. New canals were dug both in the Delta and in Cairo where *al-khalīdj al-nāṣirī* created a waterway to Siryāḳūs, the site of al-Malik al-Nāṣir's new *khānaḳāh*, and opened new lands for cultivation. The agricultural production of Egypt, the internal and external trade, both with Syria and with abroad, and also the population, grew rapidly during this period. In retrospect, it was to turn into the golden years of Mamlūk history. The *libido aedificandi*, the exorbitant building activities of al-Malik al-Nāṣir mainly, yet not exclusively, in Cairo, have left impressive traces of this era. To secure the supply of the citadel with water, new aqueducts were built. On the Cairo citadel, his majestic new mosque with tiles from Persian workshops and more than a hundred columns, all of a different provenance, attests to his imperial designs. A contemporary eulogist went so far as to hail him as another Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, as the future conqueror of Baghdād, chosen to redeem the injustice wrought upon Islam by the vile Mongol foe. Certainly, one must not interpret this encomium as a reflexion of the sober political judgement of the sultan himself, who in these very years was probably relieved to conclude the peace treaty with Persia. It rather mirrors the esteem which he had contrived to attract in Egypt thanks to his personal achievement and the propitious conditions surrounding him. Towards the end of his rule, this blissful image began to wane. When, full of distrust, he put his mighty, most successful and most popular Syrian governor Tankiz under surveillance, then detained and finally killed him, contemporaries were shocked. They keenly sensed that an exceptionally prosperous and happy chapter of the history of Egypt was coming to a swift end.

In rapid sequence now, eight sons, two grandsons, and two great-grandsons of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad followed on the throne (from 741/1341 to 784/1382 or 792/1392 respectively). Many of them were under age and never ruled effectively. For the most part they were mere toys in the hands of powerful generals like Ḳawsūn, Arghūn al-ʿAlāʾī, Ṣarghitmish, Yalbughā or Minṭāsh, although endowed with opulent allodial and feudal holdings, especially in the vicinity of the capital and in the far south. 14.5% of the tax yield of the province of Ḳūṣ, 12% of Ushmūnayn, 39% of *ḍawāḥī al-Ḳāhira*, 22% of Ḳalyūb and as much as 10% of the huge province of al-Gharbiyya, were the personal fiefs of the sons and brothers of the ruling sultan alone, according to data from the year 777/1376. Popular opinion still held the progeny of al-Malik al-Nāṣir in high esteem, as we can learn from Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, the invaluable—although hardly exploited—main source for this period (cf. *al-*

Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt, xvi, ed. W. al-Ḳāḍī, Wiesbaden-Beirut 1402/1982, 440).

Only al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (who ruled twice, the first time during the horrible first visitation of the plague to Egypt in 747-50/1347-49) seems to have shared the capacities and instincts of his father. His political philosophy was, however, pronouncedly different. Ḥasan disdained the Mamlūk ambience and perhaps, the whole Mamlūk system. He solemnly renounced his Turkish name Ḳumārī (to be found often in the bibliographical dictionaries of the time as a Mamlūk name) and raised consistently non-Mamlūk groups, especially *awlād al-nās* and eunuchs, to high and highest posts in the state. Also, women were among the chief beneficiaries of his policies. As has recently been remarked, it was not by chance that during his reign no rebel appeared in Syria. The key positions in the realm were in non-Mamlūk hands. Yet sultan Ḥasan thus jeopardised the whole Mamlūk system. It should be seen in this context that Yalbug̲h̲ā al-ʿUmarī, one of Ḥasan's favourites, killed his own master, breaking a hitherto carefully-protected taboo. Under Yalbug̲h̲ā's effective rule (his regency lasted until 768/1366, when sultan al-As̲h̲raf S̲h̲aʿbān, with the support of discontented Mamlūks, took a vigorous hand in politics himself) the (re-) Mamlūkisation of state and military was to make rapid progress. Ḥasan is best known for the magnificent *madrasa* beneath the Cairo citadel, one of the most lavish monuments of Mamluk architecture. It contained separate *īwāns* for the four orthodox *mad̲h̲āhib*. Even though, ever since the Ayyūbid era, nominally equal status was granted to all four schools, it was the Ḥanafī *mad̲h̲hab* of the Turks (this term means "white military slaves" in the broadest sense in the Mamlūk period, i.e. it encompasses also Circassians) that received privileged support by the Mamlūk patrons of pious and scholarly endowments. With this policy of favouritism towards their Ḥanafī brethren, the Mamlūk sultans and *amīrs* tried to build up a counterpoise to the influential and self-assured local S̲h̲āfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ* with their widespread and inveterate anti-Mamlūk bias. In this respect also, Ḥasan seems to have had his own ideas. Correspondingly, the Arab authors of the time liked him; he seemed to combine the necessary political craftsmanship with an understanding for the needs and sensitivities of the Egyptian populace. Ḥasan had even studied theology and *tafsīr*; he had had a chance to do so when he was kept in prison by his adversaries for some time.

The second half of the 8th/14th century remained a comparatively peaceful period for Egypt and for the Mamlūk state as a whole in their relations with foreign powers. The increasing turmoil in the Īl-K̲h̲ānate and its successor states further reduced the pressure on the Mamlūk borders. In 776/1374 the kingdom of Cicilian Armenia fell to the Mamlūks. Its last king, Leon V, was taken to Cairo where he was kept in honourable captivity until Barḳūḳ's accession in 784/1382, when he was released to Europe. A few years earlier, however, in 767/1365, a dramatic incident happened that for a moment seemed to imperil the achievements of the first Mamlūk sultans in their campaigns against the Christians of the Levant. King Peter I of Lusignan, the ruler of Cyprus and titular king of Jerusalem, sacked Alexandria with his fleet. Chaos ensued in the city, thousands of prisoners were taken, and many inhabitants perished. The Mamlūk authorities, both Yalbug̲h̲ā and his governor Ibn ʿArrām, had proved totally unprepared for such an attack. Even though the Cypriots withdrew after only a week "like thieves in the night", as the disturbed witnesses bitterly remarked, this invasion profoundly shocked the contemporaries. For, once more, the preordained course of history, the inevitable triumph of Islam over Christianity, seemed upset. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī (d. after 775/1374), in his voluminous treatise compiled around this event, is guided by the urge to make understandable to himself and to his avid readers how such a catastrophe could have happened. Cyprus was to pay a high price for this short-lived victory. Ever since this humiliating experience the Mamlūks had schemed for revenge; Sultan Barsbay, in 829/1426, eventually invaded the island, took King Janus captive home to Cairo, and made Cyprus a vassal to the Mamlūks.

A far greater threat to the external and internal stability of the Mamlūk domains was, once more, to come from the east with the advent of the Central Asian conqueror Tīmūr [*q.v.*] to Syria in the autumn of 803/1400. Tīmūr took Aleppo, Ḥamā and even Damascus without any major resistance. Fear and hatred against the *aʿād̲j̲im* spread in Cairo in the aftermath of this defeat (Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *Nud̲j̲ūm*, xii, 253). The great historian Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, who served the Mamlūks in Cairo as Mālikī supreme *ḳāḍī* and coined the famous dictum of the blessing which Mamlūk servitude meant for the Islamic community, met Tīmūr in his camp outside Damascus yet could do little more than plead for clemency. The *ʿulamāʾ* of the city had already paid fealty to Tīmūr. That Tīmūr did not compound his victory by marching further to Egypt but rather withdrew from Syria to fight and defeat the Ottomans in Central Anatolia, was not because of the merit of the Mamlūks. This benign turn of events notwithstanding, the results of Tīmūr's invasion into the Mamlūk territories were far-reaching and disastrous. Syria was, once more, devastated. Syrian artisans were deported to Tīmūr's capital Samarḳand. The necessity to raise and pay fresh contingents of troops further undermined the already frail economic foundations of the whole state. Syria, and as a corollary Egypt also, never fully recovered from Tīmūr's onslaught. It proved a significant first step towards the final collapse of the Mamlūk kingdom.

Besides other factors, notably the hospitality granted to Tīmūr's arch-enemy Aḥmad b. Uways, the D̲j̲alāyirid ruler of Bag̲h̲dād, in Cairo, it was the evident weakness and discord of the Mamlūk leadership that had invited Tīmūr to attack Syria. In 784/1382 Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*], the Circassian *atābak al-ʿasākir* of the Ḳalāwūnid child sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī, had wrested the sultanate from his nominal lord. To be sure, heavy opposition from Ḳalāwūnid loyalists and the defection of the Syrian governors forced Barḳūḳ to abscond soon after his coup and to allow Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī to return to the throne, this time with the new and programmatic regnal title *al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, "the one God has led to victory". Yet in 792/1390 al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ had finally asserted himself. The powerful coalition of his adversaries was brutally broken up; some of the most horrible incidents of torturing and execution in Mamlūk history, a period so rich in such sinister occurrences, happened during this fierce civil war on both sides. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī was deposed again, this time for good. He was to live until the year 814/1412 in respectful though humble confinement on the Cairo citadel, not unlike the ʿAbbāsid shadow caliph.

Barḳūḳ's achievement was considerable. He had faced and defeated the largest and best equipped coalition of Mamlūk rebels ever. Upon this experience he decided to build for himself a powerful household of his own Mamlūks, on whose loyalty he could

absolutely rely. It was from this Ẓāhiriyya household that all future sultans were recruited, either directly or indirectly as *mamlūks* or Ẓāhiriyya *mamlūks*, or, in the last decades of Mamlūk history, as *mamlūks* of *mamlūks* of Barḳūḳ. In a specifically Mamlūk metaphorical sense, Barḳūḳ can so be defined as the founding "father" of the Circassian sultanate.

The contemporaries realised that a momentous change took place with Barḳūḳ's seizure of power. The chronicles of the time—and modern historians in their suit—customarily draw a distinct line between the first, the Ḳîpčaḳ Turkish, and the second, the Circassian, era of Mamlūk history. The reasons for this strict bifurcation can only be guessed. The racial provenance of the new sultans and their pronounced Circassian (Abkhāz), anti-Ḳîpčaḳ *djinsiyya* must have been of importance (although at least two of them were not Circassians but rather Albanian or Greek), as well as the gradual abandonment of the dynastic principle of succession to the sultanate. Barḳūḳ himself (like his Ḳîpčaḳ predecessors and almost all the future Circassian sultans) had, quite understandably, tried to reserve the prestigious office of sultan for his own family. Yet under his rule this claim was evidently no longer accepted as a natural gift. He himself may have prompted this development. When his first son died prematurely, funds set aside for him were transferred to the coffers of the newly-founded *dīwān al-mufrad*, an additional source of revenue for the badly needed royal *mamlūks* (797/1395). To be true, Barḳūḳ could extract the *bayʿa* of the Mamlūk grandees for his second son, the youthful and impetuous al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faradj, yet unmistakably the automaticness of such a succession was becoming increasingly questionable. There is also economic evidence for these subtle changes. During Barḳūḳ's rule the so-called *sīdīs*, i.e. the male relatives of the sultan, who did not serve a productive function in the state, forfeited their *iḳṭāʿ*s in Egypt.

When Barḳūḳ died in 801/1399, Tīmūr must have been fully aware of the crisis and the ubiquitous tensions within the Mamlūk military aristocracy. He used the propitious moment to attack Syria when the young Faradj (801-8/1399-1405, 808-15/1405-12 [*q.v.*]) was trying to find firm ground in his new role as sovereign.

Faradj was unquestionably one of the most interesting personalities on the throne of Cairo in the Mamlūk period. He did his best to lead and to defend the country under the most adverse circumstances. Under the impact of the Syrian disaster he was ready to look for unconventional solutions to the most pressing problems of the state. He even awarded the highest military rank of *amīr miʾa* to a civilian, his exceptionally capable and resourceful secretary Ibrāhīm b. Ghurāb. This man had largely borne the burden of reconstructing the empire and its economic foundations after Tīmūr had left behind him Syria in waste. Yet Faradj, to whom we owe three religious buildings (one, the white mosque on the citadel, is no longer extant), was not a very prudent politician. He was rash in his decisions and supplied his adversaries with facile arguments. His inconsiderate moves, e.g. in confiscating the endowments of one of his mighty enemies, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār (and even to delete the founder's name from the inscription slab in order to put his own in its stead), served to undermine his status among the *ʿulamāʾ* upon whom he might otherwise have relied. He became, indeed, as al-Maḳrīzī writes so poignantly, the "most tragic (*ashʾam*) king of Egypt". In one of his numerous campaigns against rebellious Syrian grandees, Faradj fell into the hands of his enemies. In the presence of the cowardly caliph and various *ʿulamāʾ*, Faradj was tried and mercilessly sentenced to death, even though he had surrendered on terms.

As has already been briefly discussed, the new sultan was to be the caliph al-Mustaʿīn, at least, until al-Muʾayyad Shaykh [*q.v.*], one of Faradj's Syrian foes, was generally acclaimed as the new sovereign. After al-Mustaʿīn was deposed by Shaykh, he stayed detained in the Cairo citadel for many months before he had to accompany the minor sons of the poor sultan Faradj to the infamous state dungeons in Alexandria, a place of no return for so many prisoners before and after him.

Faradj was, it should be repeated here, the last son of a sultan to rule effectively and for more than just a few months. From 815/1412 onwards the dynastic succession was no longer truly accepted. Thus at last even the sultanate had to accommodate to the Mamlūk system of recruiting only outsiders, newcomers, to the disadvantage of those born in the country. After 815/1412, until the downfall of the Mamlūk empire, the sons of deceased sultans were allowed to mount the throne only temporarily until a strong man had been found among the various contenders. Actors and spectators alike seem to have known and accepted these new rules of the game. Therefore, when in the very final phase of Mamlūk history, Muḥammad b. Ḳāyitbāy (901-4/1496-8), for whom his father had vacated the throne, tried to assert and buttress his position, he not only failed politically and militarily; this was to be expected. More to the point, contemporary judges, both inside and outside Egypt, regarded his attempt as outright illegal, as contravening the Egyptian political tradition, according to which, as a Christian observer said, ever since the days of Joseph immigrant slaves, and not natives of the country, were supposed to wield power.

Al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's political designs were well calculated. Having broken up the allied Syrian opposition (from whose ranks he himself had attained the sultanate), he extended the Mamlūk sphere of influence far north into central Anatolia. His ambitious military and administrative reforms, designed to imbue the Mamlūk system with new strength, never achieved fruition. He was also a very religious man, devoid of culture though he was. On the spot where he had languished in jail, i.e. directly in the neighbourhood of the Bāb Zuwayla, he had his impressive *khānaḳāh* erected. This building was to become a focus for Turkish literary activities well beyond the Mamlūk period. Shaykh himself sought the company of dervishes, preferably from the regions to the north of Syria. His capable successor Ṭaṭar did not however live long enough to justify the high-flying expectations he had aroused among his contemporaries. The panegyric vitae of Shaykh and Ṭaṭar written by the bilingual (Arabic and Turkish) historian, traditionist and jurist Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (from ʿAyntāb) (d. 855/1451 [*q.v.*]) not only tell us much about Circassian genealogy (and about the popular cabbalistic play with letters and figures, current in these genres of writing) but also about the dire need of legitimacy which Mamlūk sultans seem to have felt in these years after the fall of the houses of Ḳalāwūn and Barḳūḳ. Another scholar of great repute who flourished in this very period should be mentioned here, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin b. Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470 [*q.v.*]). His father, a seasoned Mamlūk *amīr*, had served sultan Faradj during his short reign, both as governor and as father-in-law. The son personifies the limits and opportunities of the Mamlūk second

generation. He owned considerable property in Egypt (his endowment deed is preserved) and was at the same time a crafty and ingenious interpreter of Mamlūk lore and Turkish language to the Egyptian audience of his time. He wrote a special treatise on the phonological and orthographic problems which the Arabs had with Turkish names. He rejected violently al-Maḳrīzī's unjust and "racist" attacks against the appointment of a non-native, non-Arab (*ʿadjamī*) *shaykh* to the office of private secretary in Egypt (*Nudjūm*, xiv, 265-6; see L. Fernandes, *Mamluk politics and education*, in *Annales Isl.*, xxiii [1987], 95). His numerous enemies in the local academic institutions used his Turkish background in order to denigrate him and to question his scholarly acumen. Two of the richest historical sources of the time, especially on Mamlūk affairs, go back to Ibn Taghrībirdī.

With al-Ashraf Barsbāy's reign (825-41/1422-38 [*q.v.*]) the "Indian summer of the Mamlūk sultanate" (P.M. Holt) is associated. Major achievements in foreign relations are connected with this ruler. Cyprus was reduced to tributary status. The attempts of a leading *amīr*, Djānī Beg, to dislodge the sultan with the help of allies from among the Turcoman confederations in the Djazīra and Eastern Anatolia were frustrated even before the rebel re-entered Mamlūk territory. Furthermore, the shrewd scheme of the Tīmūrid ruler Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] to gain at first only symbolic, and then tangible political influence in the Ḥidjāz by sending a *kiswa* to Mecca to cover the Kaʿba, was rejected by Barsbāy. He had the Ḥanafī chief judge of Egypt confirm the prerogative of the Mamlūk sultan in supplying this precious textile. The Egyptian control of Western Arabia, re-established by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad a century earlier, was further strengthened when the harbour (*bandar*) of Djudda [*q.v.*]—instead of ʿAdan—was made the main emporium for the ships bringing the precious goods of India and the Far East to Egypt. Barsbāy occupied Djudda and put it under direct Mamlūk control. A garrison and a chief accountant were stationed there to safeguard the control and proper fiscal exploitation of the profitable Red Sea trade.

Ever since the Fāṭimid era the "rich trades" (Immanuel Wallerstein) with the East, directed through the Red Sea and Cairo, had been a central source of wealth for the Egyptian authorities. During the *pax mongolica* of one century, this trade route had temporarily fallen into neglect, to the benefit of the ancient silk-route through Transoxania and Iran. With the gradual disintegration of the Īl-Khānate during the 8th/14th century, however, the maritime route through the Indian Ocean had regained its old importance. Since the Ayyūbid period, the so-called Kārimī merchants [*q.v.*] of Egypt controlled this lucrative international trade from their commercial headquarters in Cairo and in the great ports of the Red Sea. This changed under Barsbāy's rule. In order to increase the depleted finances of the state, he removed his merchant advisers from the court and brought the spice trade under state monopoly. By this short-sighted move he forced the European customers in Alexandria to buy the precious commodities of the East at the prices (and with the quantitive limitations) decreed by the sultan and his bureaucracy. Complaints came not only from western quarters but also from the rulers of Persia. As early as 825/1423, Barsbāy had brought the Egyptian sugar industry under state control. The results of this policy were deleterious. With the Kārimī merchants also, their entrepreneurism and vigilance in the highly vulnerable, long-distance trade disappeared. After a brief increase in state revenue, demand fell, with a consequential negative impact on the Egyptian budget, which was already overburdened with high state expenditure on luxury goods (e.g. costly East European furs for Mamlūk robes) and, most importantly, slaves to replenish the Mamlūk ranks that were depleted by the plague and by constant and internecine warfare.

The decades following Barsbāy's death saw the brief sultanates of two old gentlemen, Djaḳmaḳ and Īnāl (841-65/1438-61), the last generation of Barḳūḳ's own Mamlūks. In these years, the Mamlūks gradually slipped into the defensive in their dealings with Anatolia and the borderlands to the northeast. The Ottomans, whose triumphal conquest of Constantinople in 857/1453 was duly celebrated also in Cairo during Īnāl's sultanate, began to annex the buffer principalities (the Dulghadīrs, Ramaḍānids and Ḳaramānids) which the Mamlūks regarded as their proper sphere of influence. From the mid-9th/15th century onwards, Mamlūk-Ottoman relations were strained. In a first Ottoman-Mamluk war (during sultan Ḳāʾitbāy's long rule, 872-901/1468-96 [*q.v.*]), in which the Ottoman ruler Bāyezīd did not commit all his forces, neither side was victorious. Relations improved again. Only two years before the collapse of the Mamlūk state upon the Ottoman invasion of Syria, the Ottomans sent navigation personnel to support the Mamlūks in their endeavours to contain the dangerous Portuguese expansion in the Indian Ocean and into the Red Sea. Even Mecca and Medina were threatened at this critical moment.

In their dealings with the other neighbours to the north and east also, the Mamlūks were by no means the clear masters of the situation. The campaign of the *dawādār* Yashbak al-Ẓāhirī (incidentally a much-praised patron of Arabic and Turkish letters whose private library was hailed by contemporary authors, cf. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, x, 274, and is at least partially preserved at present in Istanbul) against the White Horde (Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu) in 885/1480 was a disaster. Yashbak was caught and executed in al-Ruhā (Edessa) at the command of Yaʿḳūb Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu like a common criminal. Also, the success of Yaʿḳūb's father, Uzun Ḥasan, "Ḥasan al-Ṭawīl", in having his name recognised in Medina, if only for a very brief interval, in 877/1473 was symptomatic of the gradual loss of control which the Mamlūks had so long been able to exercise on this front.

There was a direct connection between the decreasing prestige of the Mamlūk state in the concert of regional powers and the gradual, yet in the end, alarming deterioration of the Mamlūk military organisation, prowess and ethos. Hallowed rules of recruitment and promotion had been allowed to pass into oblivion. No longer were Mamlūks imported as malleable youngsters, ready to follow their master's commands without second thoughts and imbued with a deep sense of solidarity with their immediate comrades. Now, middle-aged Mamlūks were canvassed who often brought with them professional skills, e.g. in carpentry. They were no longer able and ready, either culturally and linguistically, to adapt themselves easily to the Egyptian environment. They could no longer be moulded into a homogeneous military household in which no member would have dared betraying his fellow-Mamlūk (*khushdāsh*) or their common master (*ustādh*). In the final years of Mamlūk history this philosophy had lost its overall validity. The grandees of sultan Ḳāʾitbāy's household schemed against each other without evident restraint. Four of them succeeded each other on the throne in brief

sequence between 904/1498 and 906/1501. Mamlūk factionalism and the deplorable economic foundations of the Mamlūk ruling class aggravated each other in a rapidly turning vicious circle. The principles of military training that had been held in esteem during the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries—continuous exercise, advancement in rank only on the basis of proven merits, no sale of benefices reserved for Mamlūks to non-Mamlūks—had been allowed to lapse during the 9th/15th century, whilst the hippodromes [see MAYDĀN) lay in ruins. More significantly, the Mamlūk military system proved immune against the blatantly necessary technological modernisation. The use of gunpowder remained categorically limited to siege warfare during the 9th/15th century, at a time when the Ottoman Janissaries (who were to rout the Mamlūk army in 922/1516) acquired multifarious expertise with muskets and arquebuses. Handguns were regarded as incompatible with the lofty Mamlūk chivalrous spirit demanding the direct contest and confrontation with the enemy. When, in the last years of Mamlūk independence (for the first time under sultan Muḥammad b. Ḳāʾitbāy), the first tests were made with field artillery, non-Mamlūk troops (blacks and *awlād al-nās*, the commanders of the *ḥalḳa*) were charged with this despised new weaponry. For the Mamlūk knight, used to fighting on horseback with the cross-bow, like in the glorious old days of ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt, such service was beneath his dignity [see BĀRŪD. iii. The Mamlūks]. In naval warfare the Mamlūks had likewise not kept themselves abreast with new developments. As has already been mentioned, they depended on Ottoman logistic assistance when the Portuguese began to threaten the Indian trade routes and even the holy sites of Islam in Arabia [see BAḤRIYYA. II].

Although Egypt continued to be guarded by its *cordon sanitaire* in Syria from any major threat from the east, now problems became acute inside the country. In 876/1472 nomadic tribesmen from the eastern rim of the delta boldly entered the northern suburbs of Cairo and looted the shops. Upper Egypt, remote from the capital and correspondingly vulnerable, was in a chronic state of turmoil. The office of the *dawādār* [*q.v.*], lit. "holder of the inkwell" (in principle designed to supervise diplomatic and foreign relations) degenerated, so it appears, into the military governorship of the Ṣaʿīd. Bedouin revolts became a regular feature. Before campaigning against the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, the above-mentioned Yas̲h̲bak, Ḳāʾitbāy's chief *dawādār*, had won a dubious reputation by his brutal punitive actions against the unruly Hawwāra Bedouins, who ever since the late 8th/14th century were the true masters of the Egyptian south. The growing importance of the security of Upper Egypt, the granary of the country, and, concomitantly, of the office of the *dawādār*, is best documented by the fact that the last Mamlūk ruler, Ṭūmānbāy, rose from this position to the sultanate, an unprecedented career.

The economic situation of the whole of Egypt had detoriated dramatically during the 9th/15th century, indeed ever since the first arrival of the Black Death in the country in the middle of the 8th/14th century. The demographic effects were disastrous. Whole regions, especially in the Nile delta, were depopulated. In cities like Alexandria and Maḥalla, the population dropped to a fraction of its former size. The crop yield of Egypt shrank from nine to less than two million *dīnār*s in the course of the 9th/15th century. Twelve more waves of the bubonic plague were to afflict Egypt before 1500. In the obituaries listed in the numerous historical works of the period, for the most part arranged by years (*ḥawādit̲h̲ wa-wafayāt*), countless military, religious, and scholarly luminaries are recorded as victims of the plague. The Mamlūks, as a social and ethnic group, seem to have been hit with particular severity by the plague. Why this was the case has been the subject of heated debates. Were they especially vulnerable because they, who came from the cold steppes and mountainous regions of the north, lacked the physical stamina and resilience of native Egyptians against such infections? Or was it rather the hermetic living quarters that promoted the rapid spread of such a highly contagious disease? Certainly, from the early 9th/15th century onwards, the rigid residential requirements for Mamlūks were loosened. Many officers moved to the city, married Egyptian women and allowed their children to grow up as natives with all the accompanying career options. Yet one should also realise that owing to the privileged status of the Mamlūks, who literally possessed the country, they could afford a satisfactory diet, still the best panacea against malnutrition and the ensuing illnesses.

The plague was pernicious also for the economic survival of the Mamlūk caste. The reasons are patent. The personal wealth of the Mamlūks rested on the *iḳṭāʿ* system, the allotment of one or several tax districts (*d̲j̲iha*) (often spread all over Egypt) with a fixed tax yield (*ʿibra*), commensurate to the military or administrative duties of the beneficiary. In the *dīwān al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲*, the army bureau, headed by a civilian, often a Copt or recent convert (see above), with the indispensable expertise in the agricultural geography of Egypt, these allotments were recorded, collected, re-issued and exchanged. From his assignment, the Mamlūk beneficiary had to cover his personal expenses as well as all the expenditures in connection with the army unit under his command, i.e. weapons, horses, fodder, equipment and personal gratuities. Even in the bleak days of Mamlūk decline, the army bureau seems to have continued working efficiently and rigorously. Upon the death, demotion, or promotion of a *muḳtaʿ*, his assignment reverted to the central bureaucracy. It could not be passed on to the heirs of the holder, natural and consistent as the efforts of Mamlūk beneficiaries were to circumvent this iron law. Pious endowments were, owing to this impasse, increasingly discovered as a device to compensate for this drawback. The money invested into *waḳf* could now at least partially be stipulated to be made available to the well-paid *nāẓir*, the supervisor, of the endowment. Moreover, this office was, in most cases, reserved for the Mamlūk founder, his progeny and his freedmen, although this was a legally dubious procedure.

With the wholesale collapse of Egyptian agriculture, the basis of Mamlūk personal material welfare was thus eroded. Land was abandoned. Large parts of the delta, notably the provinces of al-Buḥayra to the south of Alexandria, of al-S̲h̲arḳiyya (on the south-eastern edge of the delta around the vital communication lines from Cairo to Syria) and al-G̲h̲arbiyya (the central delta), let alone the Ṣaʿīd, returned to tribal control. One can follow this process of gradual (re-)Bedouinisation of major parts of Egypt in this period when one compares the data in the different cadastral surveys that were made of the country in the years 777/1376, *ca.* 800/1397 and 885/1480. The entries in the *d̲j̲arīda iḳṭāʿiyya* for these three dates are more or less completely preserved in the works of Ibn Duḳmāḳ (d. 809/1407) and Ibn al-D̲j̲īʿān (d. 885/1480). In these lists usually, albeit not con-

sistently, the legal status of the land (state land; royal land or *khāṣṣ*; allodial land or *milk*; *iḳṭāʿ* land; *waḳf*) as well as the individual and group identity of the holders (unspecified *muḳṭaʿ*s; royal *mamlūk*s; eunuchs; *sīdī*s and other members of the sultan's families, such as daughters, sisters and widows; caliphs; civilians; Bedouin chiefs) are indicated.

A Mamlūk officer whose tax district lay waste and no longer produced the grain whose sale was necessary for his own upkeep was bound to look for alternative sources of income. Urban commerce, a sphere that had hitherto not suffered all that much from Mamlūk infringements, indeed suggested itself as such an outlet. For trade and urban manufacturing flourished despite, or even because of, the general malaise. As has been mentioned before, the lucrative spice trade returned to Egypt as early as 745/1345. As A.L. Udovitch has plausibly suggested, the first generation of urban plague survivors benefitted from an enormous inheritance effect. Their business expanded rather than shrank in the decades after 750/1350 and thus provoked outright state intervention. All economic drawbacks notwithstanding, demand for luxury goods on the markets of Cairo not only did not decrease but instead grew considerably. Besides Russian furs needed for ceremonial Mamlūk costume (mentioned above), spices (by no means all re-exported to Europe) should be singled out as such precious commodities. It was all-too-inviting for the impoverished Mamlūks, whose rural fiefs no longer allowed for the customary sumptuous life style (visible primarily in the number of personal *mamlūk*s), to begin filling their pockets with the arbitrary exploitation of the commercially active urban élite. The notoriously rapacious Mamlūk who populates the chronicles of Circassian history (and served to rationalise the more deeply seated racial and cultural prejudices of the native Egyptian *ʿulamāʾ* against the barbarian military) must be seen against this background.

Not only the Mamlūks but also the civil population of the major Egyptian centres suffered from this breakdown of the rural economy. It is true that prices for wheat and barley remained more or less the same. The decrease in production was matched by a decrease in demand. Yet all the labour attached to food production, i.e. the services of millers, bakers, boatmen, etc., became significantly more expensive. And of course all the stipends and salaries provided for in the pious endowments for pupils, students, professors, Ṣūfīs, architects, physicians, food-purveyors and janitors alike, were impaired by the shrinking of the economic resources of urban *awḳāf*. During the whole of the 9th/15th century, the administrators of these endowments were gravely at odds how to balance these losses of agricultural revenue and how to establish negative lists of priority of the services (as laid down in the *waḳfiyya*) that could be curtailed or even sacrificed. The great polymath al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), himself overseer of the Baybarsiyya *madrasa*, got entangled in these everyday problems so far aloof from the world of theological, juridical and grammatical speculation for which he is famed.

This growing economic tightness in the institutions of higher learning was aggravated by a consistently high number of scholars in Cairo, the shining capital city of orthodox Islam during all the Mamlūk period, with the ensuing qualitative (though not quantitative!) decline in learned output. In the second half of the 9th/15th century we still have 130 colleges in Cairo alone, with some 3,000 students, compared to 6,000 in the previous century. And since the endowments with their fiscal immunity still fared comparatively well in juxtaposition with the state finances that no longer sufficed to pay for the campaigns inside, and beyond, the borders of Egypt, the sultans and their aides did not hesitate to infringe upon the (in principle) inviolable stipulations of *awḳāf* and confiscated part of their annual income to fill the gaps of the treasury. Even pious sultans like Ḳāʾitbāy (who did not desist from taking a pronounced personal stand in the scholarly religious controversies of the time) did not hesitate to break the *waḳf* laws. In public opinion they had lost their stringency long before. The sale of *awḳāf* and especially the exchange of mediocre for valuable *mawḳūf* (urban property and agricultural lands) had long ago become an established practice. The private documents of the last eighty years of Mamlūk history that have recently been made available, at least cursorily, by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn make clear that by this time endowments were anything but unalienable. They changed owners and legal qualifications at rapid speed, if the pressure upon the venal judiciary was only strong enough.

To contemporary authors, a rather contradictory image of rulers emerged in these critical last years of Mamlūk history. On the one hand, there were arbitrary confiscations and brutal exactions (one need only name the forced purchases, *ṭarḥ* or *rimāya*, imposed upon the civilians) by the sultans and their generals, who desperately tried to keep the system in abeyance. On the other hand, there was a last efflorescence of religious culture at and around the Mamlūk court. Many sultans impressed the populace, including the otherwise very haughty and critical scholarly observers, with their personal piety and devotion. The Egyptian "national" saint Aḥmad al-Badawī [*q.v.*] of Ṭanṭā was the object also of Mamlūk veneration. Religious sessions were held in the citadel, in the cemeteries among the tombs and convents of late rulers, and in the halls of Mamlūk grandees such as Yas̲h̲bak al-Ẓāhirī, who wrote Turkish poems and an Arabic treatise on the descent of the Prophet Muḥammad. Numerous prized translations from Persian and Arabic into Old Anatolian Turkish were produced with the encouragement of Mamlūk dignitaries. With one exception, the curious author Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī, mentioned at the beginning, these achievements were not, or at least not readily, recorded by the Arab contemporaries, for whom the Turks, with their political and military superiority, were difficult enough to tolerate. They were not supposed to be versatile in the Arabs' own domains, i.e. the arts, writing and scholarship. The sultans Ḳāʾitbāy (872-901/1468-96), Muḥammad b. Ḳāʾitbāy (901-4/1496-9), and Ḳānṣawh al-G̲h̲awrī (906-22/1501-16 [*q.v.*]) have left us Turkish *dīwān*s of their own. At Ḳānṣawh's *madj̲ālis* on the citadel, religious and juridical texts were discussed by an impressive circle of learned men, some of them from regions far away. The sultan himself was polyglot, demonstrating the cosmopolitan atmosphere in Mamlūk quarters that contrasts favourably with the parochial and self-sufficient narrowness of the local Egyptian academe.

The relationship between the Mamlūk military aristocracy and the local population in all its different layers, both in the cities and in the countryside, had always been contradictory. The Mamlūks were the lords of the country and their autocratic powers were more or less unrestricted. They controlled the Egyptian economy through the *iḳṭāʿ* system, or, the further we advance in history, increasingly through the fun-

nelling of public funds into *awkāf* of which they could, as has been said, dispose at liberty. Not without good reason, religious critics rebuked the liberality with which Mamlūk magnates spent their allegedly personal funds for endowments. These *awkāf* were, it was said, to perpetuate the name of the *wākif* and otherwise to serve the needs of the sons and grandsons, to whom otherwise no privileges could be bequeathed; thus this sanctimonious behaviour was vituperatively brought into relief.

As founders and administrators of *awkāf*, the Mamlūks also exercised great influence upon the civilian élites. It was within their prerogatives to dismiss professors or *shaykhs* who displeased them. In the *khānakāh* [*q.v.*], the Ṣūfī convent (an institution going back to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī's days and actively promoted especially by Baybars II Djāshenkīr and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn), the Mamlūks found a vehicle to exercise at least some influence upon the religious classes. On the one hand, they staffed these Ṣūfī establishments with men in their confidence—preferably, as has been mentioned, of Ḥanafī *madhhab* and often of foreign background (the *khawānik* were interesting centres for the study of Persian and Turkish in Mamlūk Egypt). On the other hand, by stipulating a strictly orthodox curriculum and by gradually merging the functions of the *khānakāh* with those of the *madrasa* and Friday mosque, they secured the grudging approval of their potentially sharpest critics, the Shāfiʿī legists of autochtonous Egyptian origin. The celebrated al-Suyūṭī was one of the few who adamantly resisted any such temptations by the Mamlūk court. His prestige was so high that the sultan could not afford to punish him for his obstinate refusal to pay even minimal honours to the ruler.

The question to which degree, if at all, Mamlūk autocracy was intrinsically limited, has been discussed in recent research, but the time for a conclusive answer has not yet come. Certainly, the Mamlūks who were transplanted from an alien world into the tightly-knit web of Egyptian society, could not simply rule in splendid isolation in the Cairo citadel aloof from the *misera plebs*. The irritation with which the Egyptian *ʿulamāʾ* registered Mamlūk inroads into their own domains; the numerous bonds established between the military and the judiciary by marriage and patronage; the Mamlūk and civilian joint ownership of land and urban property to be gained from the documents; and last but not least the interesting mediating role played by Mamlūk offspring, who were not supposed to inherit the functions and privileges of their fathers and were thus enticed into looking for opportunities in the civil sphere—all these phenomena (that still require careful and copious future research) attest to a heterogeneous, but by no means totally segregated or polarised society. Certain groups within the civilian élite were, as Carl. F. Petry has shown, even very closely tied to the Mamlūks. One can single out the foreigners whom the sultans (and grandees) had brought with them from Syria to Egypt. And there were, as has been mentioned, neo-Muslims of Christian background whose loyalty appeared dubious to the Egyptian Muslims and Christians alike and who were therefore bound to tie all their fortunes to their Mamlūk lords. Furthermore, the merchant class had (at least until Barsbāy established his state monopolies) free access to the rulers. Successful long-distance merchants such as Madjd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī, the father of the Mongol-Mamlūk rapprochement, and the numerous representatives of the merchant community of Isʿird or Siirt in northern Syria, were helpful diplomatic envoys and agents. Much to the annoyance of conservative Mamlūks, funds supposed to be spent for military purposes sometimes found their way into the pockets of civilians whose support was important for the ruler. We already mentioned Ibrāhīm b. Ghurāb, a civilian bureaucrat, whose services to sultan Faradj were honoured with the highest military rank.

We know lamentably little of the lower classes of the Egyptian population, fascinating as this topic is to the social historian. During the incessant Mamlūk uprisings and factional wars in the latter day of the sultanate, we hear again and again of the lumpenproletariat siding with one Mamlūk protector (and patron) or the other. In such critical situations, these *zuʿr* and *ḥarāfīsh* [see ḤARFŪSH] were enlisted as vehicles to spread fright and threats. The main victims of these odd alliances were the small craftsmen, traders and shopkeepers whose property was destroyed or robbed, and who had to fear for their lives.

Yet when the final downfall of the Mamlūk sultanate came, the same people soon seem to have sensed that this régime had not been just a gang of marauders and oppressors. "Rather the tyranny of the Turks than the self-righteousness of the Arabs" (*djawr al-Turk wa-lā ʿadl al-ʿArab*) seems to have been a current slogan in the streets of Cairo as early as the late 9th/15th century, as we read in one of the works by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī (d. 888/1483). One had to acknowledge the services which the Mamlūks had rendered to Egypt and to Islam. It is not altogether meaningful and promising to ask, as has been done in the recent past, whether it was the Mamlūk foreign and praetorian régime that was instrumental in barring Egypt from the miraculous developments that brought Western Europe, in the following centuries, the blessings of capitalism, enlightenment, industrialisation and modern thought. Keeping in mind the almost insurmountable ethnic and bureaucratic tensions in this policy, it is not cogent to deny Mamlūk Egypt the character of an organic state.

The end of Mamlūk power and splendour, so vividly depicted also in European travel narratives, consular reports and paintings, was quick and, despite all signs of internal weakness and increasing external vulnerability, unexpected. The mounting pressure on the part of the Ottomans after the accession of the bellicose sultan Selīm I Yavuz (918/1512), the imprudent Mamlūk vacillations in their relationship with the Ottomans' arch-enemy, the heretic Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī of Persia, and the picture of complete discord presented to the outside, induced Selīm to invade Syria in 922/1516. Largely thanks to the high treason and defection of the Mamlūk governor of Aleppo, Khāʾir Bey, but also the superior fighting power of the Ottoman army with their muskets, the Mamlūks with all their outmoded knightly ethos were utterly defeated. Sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī, eighty years old, died of an apoplectic stroke during the battle. His royal standard and other spoils of this crucial battle of Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] today adorn the War Museum in the Topkapı palace in Istanbul. Incited, invited, and almost driven by the ambitious Mamlūk traitors headed by Khāʾir Bey, Selīm followed the defeated Mamlūk army into Egypt. Here Ṭūmān Bāy had been elected new sultan in the hour of affliction. But his troops had no chance either. They lost twice to the Ottomans, at al-Raydāniyya before the gates of Cairo, and then finally close to Djīza, i.e. at a site where so many battles were fought that became decisive for the history of Egypt. Ṭūmān Bāy was cap-

tured and mercilessly hanged on the Bāb Zuwayla by the Ottoman invader, to the intense despair of the population of Cairo. Reports of the mid- and late-10th/16th century still echo the sadness with which this tragic end of the Mamlūk kingdom was registered by the people of Egypt. A splendid chapter in the history of the country had come to an end. The unique Mamlūk system with its chivalrous ethos and its peculiar morale, that combined the utmost brutality in its internal controversies and its sacrificial spirit for Muslim and Egyptian interests; a flourishing cultural, scholarly, and religious life; the impressive architectural heritage that continues to characterise mediaeval Cairo to our days; the conservative tranquillity of life, at least in the good days of Mamlūk history—all these and many more reminiscences may have contributed to keep this outlandish régime in a far from solely negative memory. Many institutions of Mamlūk Egypt, including the principle of recruiting Caucasian, white slaves, were to survive the Ottoman conquest. It was only in those ensuing decades that the term Mamlūk received its exclusively bleak connotations that are prevalent into our own time.

Bibliography: The vast primary and secondary literature on Mamlūk Egypt until 1967 has been brought together in I.M. Lapidus, *Muslim cities in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967, 217-42 (a total of 573 entries, many of which deal with Syria). An important supplement to this list is contained in the new edition of this work, Cambridge, England 1984, 192-7. One may also consult the appendix on sources and studies in U. Haarmann, ed., *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, Munich 1987, ch. "Der arabische Osten im Mittelalter" (U. Haarmann), 640-7.

Monographic descriptions of the history of Mamlūk Egypt of recent vintage are P.M. Holt: *The age of the Crusades. The Near East from the eleventh century to 1517*, London 1986 (see esp. the bibliographical essay on the primary sources at 207-16) and R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages. The early Mamluk sultanate 1250-1382*, London 1986 (a second volume on the Circassian régime is announced). (U. HAARMANN)

6. The Ottoman period 1517-1798.

On 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 922/23 January 1517 the Ottoman army under Selīm I annihilated the last Mamlūk field force at al-Raydāniyya outside Cairo. Al-Ashraf Ṭūmān Bāy, the fugitive Mamlūk sultan, was betrayed to the Ottomans and hanged at the Zuwayla Gate of his former capital 22 Rabīʿ I 923/14 April 1517. To the Ottomans, a potentially dangerous rival power had been eliminated, and the extensive territories of Syria and Egypt had been annexed. To some Mamlūks, however, Selīm had been a useful ally in their inveterate factional politics. The Ottoman victory at Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] had at least been facilitated by the defection of the Mamlūk governor of Aleppo, Khāʾir Bey, who, after the occupation of Syria, had urged Selīm to advance on Cairo and overthrow Ṭūmān Bāy. Probably Selīm would have left Ṭūmān Bāy as a vassal ruler, but the Mamlūk sultan's own partisans rendered such an accommodation impossible. The outcome of the conquest was not the destruction of the Mamlūks and their institutions but a developing symbiosis of Mamlūk and Ottoman elements, which evolved into a curious and anomalous policy within the Ottoman imperial system.

The triumph of Khāʾir Bey's faction was consummated when he was left as viceroy, bearing the old Mamlūk title of *malik al-umarāʾ* and residing like the former sultans in the Citadel of Cairo. Under him, the proscription of the Mamlūks soon ended; they, as well as the bureaucrats of the old régime, returned to comfort, dignity and office. Selīm had however left an Ottoman presence in the form of garrison troops: the two infantry formations of the Janissaries (*Mustaḥfiẓān*) and the *ʿAzebān*, and the two cavalry corps of *Gönülliyān* and *Tüfengdjiyān*. To these were added by 1524 two other cavalry corps: the *Čerākise* (recruited from Circassian Mamlūks) and the *Čawushān*, and in 1554 a third, the *Müteferriḳa*, the viceroy's bodyguard. Khāʾir Bey's successors were Ottomans from Istanbul. One of them, Ibrāhīm Pasha (931/1525) was also the grand *wezīr*, and was responsible for the promulgation of the *ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*], which regulated the administrative system of Ottoman Egypt. The Mamlūk territorial divisions remained as subprovinces under governors designated, as in the past, *kāshifs*, who were also perhaps usually of Mamlūk origin. Upper Egypt was dominated, as it had been under the last Mamlūk sultans, by a clan of Hawwāra [*q.v.*], the Banū ʿUmar, who ruled the region until 1015/1606-7. An Ottoman reform, at first of great significance, was the ending of the Mamlūk system of assignments of revenue (sing. *iḳṭāʿ*) as remuneration. A new cadastral survey was made in 933/1526-7. The intention was, it seems, to substitute a salaried military and civil establishment for the *muḳṭaʿ*s of the old régime.

These steps towards the ottomanisation of Egypt followed a time of troubles. Shortly after Khāʾir Bey's death (928/1522), a revolt broke out, headed by two survivors of the old régime, Djānim and Ināl, who now held office as *kāshifs*. Their rebellion was suppressed by Ottoman troops under the Ottoman viceroy. In 930/1524 a more serious challenge was offered by a later viceroy, Aḥmad Pasha (*al-Khāʾin*, "the Traitor"), who although not himself a Mamlūk, recruited a private army mainly from Mamlūks and usurped the sultanate of Egypt. Expelled from Cairo by a loyalist counter-group, he was shortly afterwards captured and executed.

The ensuing period of about 60 years was uneventful. Egypt was administered according to the *ḳānūn-nāme* by a succession of viceroys in consultation with the council of notables, the *Dīwān*, which met four times weekly. Nevertheless, developments during this time were to produce the troubled history of Egypt in the next 200 years. An important factor was a shift in the financial system, as tax-farmers (sing. *multazim*) increasingly took over the rural and urban sources of revenue. These *iltizām*s passed into the hands of the Ottoman and Mamlūk grandees, and formed the financial basis of their power. The landed *iltizām*s, like the *iḳṭāʿ*s of the old régime, were technically sources of revenue, but in practice (if never in law) they gave rise to a species of rural (but not feudal) lordship controlling the agrarian administration of the villages.

Meanwhile, Egyptian society, formally divided into an Ottoman-Mamlūk ruling group and a mass of subjects (*reʿāyā*), was becoming increasingly complex and, in the towns at least, curiously homogeneous. The Ottoman garrison corps (sing. *ōdjāḳ*), permanently stationed in Egypt, soon ceased to be aliens. Intermarriage with Egyptian women (although repeatedly and ineffectually forbidden), and the abandonment of *devshirme* recruitment, opened the corps to men of Ottoman-Egyptian descent, the *Misirliyya*. The occasional arrival of fresh detachments of Ottoman troops does not seem to have provoked the polarisation and conflict which occurred between the local (*yerliyya*) and imperial Janissaries in Damascus. Moreover, the

distinction between the Ottoman military and Egyptian civilians broke down. Probably from about the middle of the 10th/16th century, merchants and artisans of Cairo enrolled increasingly, particularly in the Janissaries and *ʿAzebān*. Their military service was only nominally required; their financial contributions bought them the protection (*ḥimāya*) of their corps in a society where the formal structure of Ottoman government was breaking down. Reciprocally, "military" members of the corps participated in the commercial life of Cairo, and again the later 10th/16th century appears to have seen the increase of this movement.

This beylicate in Egypt presents some unusual features. Although personal or institutional continuity cannot be traced, it seems likely that the *sandjak beyis* of Egypt were the ottomanised successors of the high *amīrs* of the Mamlūk sultanate. No longer maintained by *iḳṭāʿ*s, they were originally salaried officers, although later they drew their great wealth from *iltizāms*. They stood apart from the command-structure of the garrison corps. In the 10th/16th century they were not all Mamlūks, and service in Egypt might be only an episode in their careers. In the following two centuries the beylicate became almost exclusively the preserve of Circassian Mamlūks, members of powerful military households, notably the (Dhu 'l-) Faḳāriyya, Ḳāsimiyya and Ḳāzdughliyya [*q.vv.*, also MAMLŪKS. (i)(f), (ii)(b)]. By this time, the whole of their careers from the command of expeditionary forces as *serdārs*, normally passed in Egypt, where they became governors of the sub-provinces, and acquired a prescriptive right to the great and profitable offices of *defterdār*, *amīr al-ḥādjdj* and interim viceroy (*ḳāʾim maḳām*). The neo-Mamlūk households included hereditary and *mamlūk* members, as well as free-born armed retainers (sing. *sarrādj*). The original demarcation between the military corps and the beylicate broke down as corps officers founded *mamlūk* households (notably the Ḳāzdughliyya), while Mamlūk chiefs enrolled their free-born retainers in the corps. In the 12th/18th century the links of patronage and clientage were far more important than the formal structure of Ottoman-Egyptian administration.

In that formal structure, the weakest element was the Ottoman viceroy at its head. Holding office briefly and precariously, usually a stranger to the province which he governed, the viceroy endeavoured to secure the transmission of the annual tribute (*irsāliyye* [*q.v.*]) to the sultan's treasury, and to acquire a personal fortune sufficient to defray his own expenses in obtaining the post. Both his public and his private interests therefore ran counter to those of the *multazims*, who were concerned to secure as large a share as possible of the revenues they farmed. The end of the 60 peaceful years of Ottoman administration came in 994/1586, when a military revolt was provoked by an inquiry into a deficiency of the *irsāliyye*. The viceroy, formerly an Ottoman treasury official, was brought down from the Citadel and deposed by the troops. This was the first of a series of revolts, which culminated in the killing of a viceroy by rebels in 1013/1605. Although severe repressive measures were taken between 1016/1607 and 1020/1611, they did not result in any permanent restoration of the viceroys' authority. Henceforward with rare exceptions, they gained what influence they could by playing off rival grandees against one another. During the 12th/18th century they became virtually prisoners in the Citadel, pompously received by the grandees, and sometimes ignominiously deposed by them.

In the middle decades of the 11th/17th century, the dominant figures in Egyptian politics were the beys. In 1040/1631 they removed a viceroy who had procured the murder of one of their number, invested a bey as *ḳāʾim maḳām*, and reported the matter to the sultan's government, which confirmed their action, thereby setting an important precedent for the next century. The beylicate was at this time divided between the households of the Faḳāriyya and the Ḳāsimiyya, between whom there may have been some degree of ethnic rivalry, the former being Circassians and the latter apparently in part Bosniak. The head of the Faḳāriyya, Riḍwān Bey, was *amīr al-ḥādjdj* almost continuously from 1041/1631 to 1066/1656. A curious genealogical work of these years suggests that he regarded himself as the lineal and lawful successor of Barḳūḳ and Barsbāy. If, however, he nourished plans for a revival of the Mamlūk sultanate, he died with them unrealised. Thereafter, the fortunes of the Faḳāriyya quickly declined. The turning-point was an episode known as "the Conflict of the Beys" (*wāḳiʿat al-ṣanādjiḳ*) in 1071/1660. The incident which set off the crisis was significant in itself. It began as no more than a rural affray between the peasants of two *multazims*, but one of them was a Janissary officer and the other was supported by the rival *ʿAzebān*. The backing given by the Faḳāriyya to the Janissary *multazim* involved them in resistance to the viceroy, who was inevitably brought into alliance with Aḥmad Bey the Bosniak, the chief of the Ḳāsimiyya. The Faḳāriyya were proscribed and almost annihilated. This episode was an early manifestation of a polarisation which ran through the Egyptian society of the period: the Mamlūk Faḳāriyya and Ḳāsimiyya households were linked (not always in a stable coalition) with the rival Janissary and *ʿAzebān* corps, and there was a further link with a more ancient popular schism, originally of Arab tribal origin, between two groups designated Saʿd and Ḥarām.

The Ḳāsimiyya had broken the Faḳārī ascendancy but their triumph was brief. The next viceroy procured Aḥmad Bey's assassination, and the beys, while retaining their hold on the great offices and fulfilling their military functions, ceased to challenge the viceregal authority and relapsed for some decades into political obscurity. During these years the power of the Janissaries was at its height, but the corps, like the beylicate, was a faction-ridden body, as the events of 1087/1676-94 were to show. In these years a turbulent junior officer (*bāsh odā bāshi*), Küčük Meḥmed, repeatedly made himself the most powerful man in the corps. At the end of his career he assumed the role of a popular tribune. In 1103/1692, after a successful coup, he compelled the commanding officers of the seven corps to abolish the protection dues (*ḥimāyāt*) levied on the tradespeople of Cairo; and in 1106/1694, when the city was threatened by dearth and famine after the failure of the Nile flood, he intervened vigorously to hold down the price of the grain. This measure offended not only the dealers but also their patrons among the Janissary officers. At this point, Küčük Meḥmed was murdered, grain-prices rose immediately, and Cairo experienced a dreadful famine. The instigator of the murder was almost certainly a high officer of the Janissaries, Muṣṭafā Kʾahyā al-Ḳāzdughlī.

The coup of 1103/1692 has further political significance in that it marks the revival of the political activity of the Faḳāriyya. In the 32 years since the Conflict of the Beys, the household had been refounded and at this time it held most of the great offices. The Faḳārī chief Ibrāhīm Bey was seeking to

gain control of the Janissaries in collusion with Küčük Meḥmed. The attempt collapsed with Küčük Meḥmed's death, but ironically his opponent Muṣṭafā al-Ḳāzdughlī had also been an associate of Ibrāhīm Bey in the coup and was the founder of a Mamlūk household allied to the Faḳāriyya.

The next major political crisis, the Great Insurrection (*al-fitna al-kubrā*) of 1123/1711, also began with a Janissary boss, the *bāsh ōdā bāshī* Afrandj Aḥmad. His activities set the Janissaries against the other six corps, headed by the *ʿAzebān*, who were supported by the Ḳāsimiyya, while the Faḳāriyya were on this occasion divided. At the end of the episode the Ḳāsimiyya were completely victorious. Afrandj Aḥmad had been put to death, and the site of political power had moved to the Mamlūk households. While the old constitutional structure remained, with the viceroy at its head and his *Dīwān* as his council of state, the *de facto* supremacy (*riʾāsa*) was held by the head of the dominant household. When, as always after 1168/1754, the holder of the *riʾāsa* was a bey, he came to be called *shaykh al-balad*. An assembly of the grandees (*djamʿiyya*) appears to have superseded the *Dīwān* as the effective consultative body. Meanwhile Upper Egypt, the granary of Cairo, reverted to tribal rule, the various chiefs being allied to the Faḳāriyya or the Ḳāsimiyya. From about 1153/1740-1 onwards, the paramountcy was held by Shaykh Humām b. Yūsuf, who came from a section of Hawwāra.

The ascendancy of the Ḳāsimiyya ended in 1142/1730. Their chief opponents were now the Ḳāzdughliyya, headed by Ibrāhīm Kʸahyā, a corps officer like the founder, and the last to play a major political role. Although henceforward until the coming of Bonaparte the Ḳāzdughliyya virtually monopolised the *mashyakhat al-balad* and the great offices, they in turn split into rival households. The ultimate victor in a power-struggle after the death of Ibrāhīm Kʸahyā (1168/1754) was ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*], who ruled Egypt autocratically as *shaykh al-balad*, broke the power of Humām in 1183/1769, and as the sultan's delegate intervened to install a Hāshimite protégé as *amīr* of Mecca in 1184/1770-1. The expeditionary force was commanded by his favourite *mamlūk*, Muḥammad Abu 'l-Dhahab [*q.v.*], who was then sent to invade Syria as the ally of Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, the Arab ruler of Galilee. After taking Damascus, however, he returned to Egypt, and drove ʿAlī Bey into exile in Syria (1186/1772). ʿAlī attempted to regain power, but was intercepted and died of his wounds (1187/1773).

Like Riḍwān Bey in the previous century, ʿAlī Bey had given indications of an ambition to restore an independent Mamlūk sultanate over Egypt and its dependencies. Abu 'l-Dhahab made no such challenge to Ottoman overlordship, and was on campaign against Shaykh Ẓāhir when he died in 1189/1775. The ensuing decade was a miserable period for Egypt. There was a recurrent power-struggle, in which Ismāʿīl Bey, a survivor of Ibrāhīm Kʸahyā's household, was pitted against two of Abu 'l-Dhahab's *mamlūks*, Ibrāhīm Bey and Murād Bey, who together formed a reluctant and unstable duumvirate. Extortion, oppression and anarchy meanwhile reigned in the countryside, while the administration, such as it was, defaulted on the payment of tribute to Istanbul.

This last consideration in particular prompted the sultan's government to make a determined effort to break the power of the Mamlūk beys and to bring Egypt again under effective Ottoman control. An expeditionary force under Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] arrived at Alexandria in Shawwāl 1200/August 1786. Proclamations in Arabic promised the reduction of taxes and the restoration of the *ḳānūn-nāme*. The Ottoman forces occupied Cairo and Lower Egypt, but Murād and Ibrāhīm held out in Upper Egypt. The situation was thus at deadlock when Ḥasan Pasha was recalled in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1201/October 1787, as war with Russia was imminent. The makeshift settlement on his departure left Ismāʿīl Bey as *shaykh al-balad* in Cairo with a small Ottoman supporting force, and Ibrāhīm and Murād nominally confined to the territory they held in Upper Egypt. When Ismāʿīl died of plague on 16 Shaʿbān 1205/20 April 1791, they came back to Cairo and restored their duumvirate. They retained power until another expeditionary force, composed this time of French troops under General Bonaparte, occupied Egypt in 1213/1798.

The high politics of Egypt during this period of nearly 300 years thus consisted largely of a prolonged struggle for power and the control of the revenues, in which the main contenders were the Ottoman viceroy, the Janissaries and *ʿAzebān* corps, and the beys. At the same time, there was a parallel but more obscure movement of low politics: popular movements of one kind or another, stimulated by the recurrent natural cycle of low Nile, dearth and epidemic, and aggravated by the unconscionable exactions of the grandees and their agents. An early phase of this is probably to be found in the revolts in the late 10th-early 11th/late 16th-early 17th centuries, which although ostensibly military rebellions seem to have been produced largely by the rural cavalry corps who lacked the privileges and corporate strength of the Janissaries and *ʿAzebān* in Cairo. A second phase may be observed about a hundred years later, when between 1089/1678 and 1149/1736 repeated episodes of dearth aggravated by monetary crises resulted in a series of popular risings in the capital. The years of oppression and anarchy following the death of Abu 'l-Dhahab in 1189/1775 form a third such phase. Here again the populace of Cairo were the agents of revolt, but associated with them, and giving legitimacy to their actions, were the *ʿulamāʾ*. Al-Azhar became as it were the citadel of resistance to oppression, anticipating the part it was to play during the French occupation.

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7. The early modern period 1798-1882.

(*a*) *The French occupation, 1798-1801.*

In the night of 1-2 July 1798, a French expeditionary corps under the command of General Napoléon Bonaparte disembarked west of Alexandria, with the aim of threatening the British position in India by occupying Egypt. The Mamlūk army under Murād Bey was defeated (Battle of the Pyramids, 21 July) and Mamlūk rule was ended. The French established a new administration, while seeking to win the cooperation of the Egyptians through a system of *dīwāns* of notables in Cairo and the provinces. Yet the population of Cairo revolted for a first time on 21 October 1798, and there were occasional risings all over the country.

French rule in Egypt was never consolidated. After a campaign into Syria had achieved no decisive result, Bonaparte returned to France on 23 August 1799, leaving the command, successively, to generals Jean-Baptiste Kléber (assassinated on 14 June 1800) and ʿAbd Allāh Menou, a convert to Islam. While from now on the ultimate aim of the French had become to bring their troops safely back to France, they did not give way easily to efforts of the Ottoman Empire, assisted by Mamlūk groups and by Great Britain, at recapturing Egypt. An offensive of Turkish and Mamlūk forces was defeated in the Battle of Heliopolis (al-Maṭariyya) on 20 March 1800, and the consequent second revolt in Cairo was suppressed. In 1801 British landing forces intervened. Now a honourable capitulation was achieved; the French withdrew from the Cairo area in July, and from Alexandria on 2 September 1801.

The three years of French occupation brought Egypt considerable hardship and disruption. The occupiers raised high taxes and interfered with many traditional concepts and institutions. But they introduced new ones in their place. With the troops, an impressive team of French scholars from various disciplines had come, who founded on 23 August 1798 the *Institut d'Égypte* for the purpose of "le progrès et la propagation des lumières". They prepared an encyclopaedic survey of the country which they found, the admirable *Description de l'Égypte*, and prompted innovations in many fields. Some of them may have had no immediate effect on the Egyptian public, but others—e.g., medical work—were certainly noticed. To sum up, it may be stated that the French expedition did not set in motion all modern developments in Egypt, as has sometimes been claimed, but that it brought the country in direct contact with European culture and drew it into the power-play of European politics.

(*b*) *The Ottoman interlude; Muḥammad ʿAlī* (*1805-48*)

After the withdrawal of the French, the Ottoman Empire on the one hand and several Mamlūk factions on the other tried to re-establish their rule, while Britain sought to maintain influence by playing off these groups against each other. An additional intervening group were the *ʿulamāʾ* of Cairo, who during the French occupation had developed increased self-confidence as leaders of the populace. They found an ally in the person of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], an ambitious officer from Macedonia who had come to Egypt with the Ottoman forces in 1801 and taken command of their Albanian contingent in 1803. An agreement between Muḥammad ʿAlī and the *ʿulamāʾ*, led by al-Sayyid ʿUmar Makram, the *naḳīb al-as̲h̲rāf*, served as a basis for a rising against the Ottoman *wālī*, K̲h̲urs̲h̲īd Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a. On 13 May 1805 the *ʿulamāʾ* declared K̲h̲urs̲h̲īd deposed; Makram and ʿAbd Allāh al-S̲h̲arḳāwī, the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Azhar* who under the French had presided over the *dīwān*, invested Muḥammad ʿAlī with viceregal powers. The event is important for Egyptian historical consciousness; while some scholars regard it as lying in the tradition of the *ʿulamāʾ*, who were supposed to intervene against unjust rulers and used to safeguard the interests of the Muslim community by supporting the strongest contender for

power, national-minded Egyptians tend to value it as an act of popular sovereignty at the beginning of the modern Egyptian state. In fact, it cannot be denied that by concluding an agreement with the *ᶜulamāʾ*, Muḥammad ᶜAlī accepted some sort of constitutional limits to his power.

After the Porte had recognised Muḥammad ᶜAlī Pas͟ha as *wālī*, he was obliged to share power with the *ᶜulamāʾ* for some time, but the banishment of ᶜUmar Makram in 1809 marked the end of their political influence. Meanwhile, the British, then at war with the Ottoman Empire, had once more landed troops in March 1807, but in September had been forced to withdraw. Muḥammad ᶜAlī succeeded also in breaking the power which the Mamlūks had regained in the provinces, and finally destroyed this military caste by massacring several hundreds of them in the citadel of Cairo on 1 March 1811. From now on he was the undisputed master of Egypt.

For the outside world, Muḥammad ᶜAlī's rule was notable mainly for a number of military campaigns, which he undertook at first on behalf of his sovereign, the Ottoman Sultan, but gradually more and more for the purpose of enlarging and strengthening his own domain.

Immediately after getting rid of the Mamlūks, Muḥammad ᶜAlī in 1811 opened a campaign against the Wahhābī movement [see WAHHĀBIYYA], which since the beginning of the century had developed into a permanent menace of the Ottoman provinces surrounding Arabia. After many ups and downs, the Saᶜūdī capital, al-Dirᶜiyya [*q.v.*], was conquered in 1818, and Egyptian control over the Arabian Peninsula was maintained in varying degrees till the early forties.

After securing the oasis of Sīwa in February 1820, Muḥammad ᶜAlī began expansion in the Sudan by occupying Dongola, Berber, Sennar and Kordofan in 1820-1; in 1840 al-Tāka, extending towards the Red Sea, was included, and the ports of Suakin and Massawa were leased from the Ottoman Sultan in 1846. The Sudanese possessions were organised under a governor-general (*ḥukmdār*) in *mudīriyyas* in conformity with the Egyptian administrative system.

When the Greek War of Independence began in 1821, the Sultan called once more for the help of his Egyptian henchman. Egyptian troops put down rebellions in Crete and Cyprus in 1822-3, and in February 1825 landed on the Morea [*q.v.*], which they occupied almost completely till the end of the year. In 1826 they took part in the capture of Missolonghi north of the Gulf of Corinth. After British, French and Russian squadrons destroyed the Turkish-Egyptian fleet in the Battle of Navarino on 20 October 1827, Muḥammad ᶜAlī decided to terminate his participation in the war. On 6 August 1828 he concluded an agreement with Britain on the withdrawal of the Egyptian forces from the Morea. Crete remained under Egyptian administration till 1840.

The withdrawal from the Greek War marked the beginning of a new phase in which Muḥammad ᶜAlī's ambitions turned openly against the Ottoman Empire. For a long time, he had regarded Syria as a desirable accretion to his domain. Using a quarrel with the *wālī* of Ṣaydā as a pretext, he started against him in late October 1831 a campaign which soon induced the Sultan to send his own troops into the fray. After a difficult siege, the Egyptians, under the command of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's son Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], captured ᶜAkkāʾ on 27 May 1832 and then took Damascus on 16 June. A victory at Baylān on 30 July opened for them the way across the Amanus mountains to Adana and into Anatolia. At Konya, on 21 December, they won a decisive victory over the Turkish army, taking its commander, the Grand Vezir Res͟hīd Meḥmed, prisoner. On 2 February 1833 Ibrāhīm's forces reached Kütahiyya, about 200 km only from Istanbul. Now the European powers intervened in order to save the Empire. Early in May a settlement was achieved, obliging the Egyptians to withdraw from central Anatolia, but giving Muḥammad ᶜAlī the *eyālet*s of Saydā, Ṭarābulus, Damascus and Aleppo; Ibrāhīm was appointed *muḥaṣṣil* of the *eyālet* of Adana.

During the nine years of their presence in Syria, the Egyptians initiated important modern developments in the fields of politics and economics, but of course the occupation also brought interference and hardships, which caused various rebellions of the population. In 1839 an Ottoman army marched against the Egyptians, yet it was once more defeated in the battle of Nizip (Nuṣaybīn), west of the upper Euphrates, on 24 June. As at the same time, a change of the Sultan's throne (death of Maḥmūd II on 30 June and accession of ᶜAbd al-Madj͟īd) and the desertion of the entire Ottoman fleet to Muḥammad ᶜAlī increased the threat to the Empire even more, the European powers intervened again in order to prevent the Porte from making too great concessions; only France took the side of Egypt. When Muḥammad ᶜAlī refused the conditions offered to him by the London Convention of 15 July 1840, British and Turkish troops landed near Bayrūt on 11 September. Their advance and a rising of the Maronites of Lebanon forced Muḥammad ᶜAlī to sign an armistice convention with the British on 27 November. In February 1841, the last Eyptian troops left Syria.

With his Syrian policy, Muḥammad ᶜAlī had obviously pursued wider-reaching plans; there had been indications that he thought of substituting an Arab empire for the Ottoman one, or at least of taking over the role of the Sultan's guardian and tutor. After the European powers had stopped him at Kütahiyya he had considered proclaiming his independence. Now he was forced to give up such ambitions. In a final settlement with the Sultan which Muḥammad ᶜAlī accepted on 10 June 1841, he had to abandon all his territorial acquisitions except the Sudanese provinces, and to agree to a limitation of his armed forces and the regular payment of tribute to the Porte (set, however, not as a percentage of Egypt's revenues but as a fixed amount). On the other hand he secured the viceregency of Egypt not only for himself but also for his male descendents according to seniority, i.e. the oldest member of the family would be the successor, just like in the Ottoman dynasty. It was also important that the European powers, by assenting to this settlement, guaranteed it. Muḥammad ᶜAlī had submitted to the sovereignty of the Sultan, yet had won concessions which prepared Egypt to become a state in its own right.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī gained the means for realising his ambitions by a purposeful policy directed towards monopolisation and modernisation. Soon after becoming *wālī*, he abolished the *iltizām* system and confiscated the *rizaḳ aḥbāsiyya* (agricultural *waḳf* estates), thus assuming control of all agricultural land (when from 1829 onwards, he began creating a landed aristocracy by granting uncultivated land to members of his family and to his favourites, they remained initially under his influence, even if these measures prepared the introduction of a system of private property later on). In this way, he could decide in detail what Egyptian agriculture produced. At the same

time, he monopolised the entire trade. As the industries which he created remained state enterprises, it can be said that he controlled the economic life of the country completely. In conjunction with a rigorous tax policy, monopolisation was laid out to finance the foreign enterprises of the ruler, but also to give him a strong centralised power.

All this implied the creation of a modern state apparatus. A new administration was established. The central government was organised on the principle of official deliberation, with the various departments entrusted to *dīwāns*; from 1829 onwards a larger consultative assembly was convened, comprising provincial notables as well as representatives of the *ʿulamāʾ* and, later on, of the merchants. The state organ to which most attention was devoted was, of course, the army; it was no longer recruited from the Mamlūk caste or from mercenaries but raised from the country by conscription. In addition, a navy was built up.

As the bureaucracy and the armed forced needed, above all, qualified people, great efforts had to be made in the fields of training and education. Since 1809 young men had been sent to Europe for studying the military sciences, navigation, shipbuilding, engineering, printing, etc.; the range of subjects was gradually widened, and from 1826 the students went mainly to France. Simultaneously, schools were founded in Egypt (e.g., a land surveyors' school 1816; various officers' schools from 1821; a school of medicine 1827; a school of agriculture and administration 1829; a school of midwifery 1832, being the first girls' school; a polytechnic 1834; a school for languages and translation 1835). Soon the government became aware of the necessity to prepare the students for the technical instruction dispensed by these institutes; so a preparatory school (*madrasa tadjhīziyya*) was opened in 1825, and primary schools (*makātib mubtadiyān*) followed in 1833.

These modernising efforts naturally extended to the economy. In the agricultural sector, new cash-crops (most importantly, long-staple cotton) and new techniques were introduced; irrigation was improved. In the industrial sector, Muḥammad ʿAlī pursued a systematic policy of founding modern factories. At first the production of weapons and ships had priority, but in the 1820s so many textile mills were established that a more general import substitution must have been the aim. In the labour force, foreigners played a considerable role; yet more and more Egyptians were recruited and trained for the factories. Even if the results were far from satisfying, the experiment was remarkable.

The failure of Muḥammad ʿAlī's attempt at empire-building forced him to abandon many of his modernisation plans and to curtail the others. In the economic field, the Anglo-Turkish commercial convention of 1838, and the treaties with other European powers following it, contributed to the decline when the stipulations banning all monopolies and setting a low tariff for imports were applied to Egypt in the 1840s.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's ambitious policies, involving harsh taxation, conscription and other government interference, were painful for the Egyptian people, but they served a grand design for establishing in the East, at an early time, a modern state capable of winning and maintaining political and economic independence. In the end, the attempt was wrecked by European intervention. Yet Muḥammad ʿAlī left the country free of debt and had also avoided granting concessions to foreigners. In addition, many developments pointing towards a modern Egypt had been set in motion. Although Muḥammad ʿAlī, himself a foreigner to the country, relied to a large extent upon military and civilian functionaries from other parts of the Ottoman Empire and upon European advisers, he could not do without the Egyptians. Thus his rule caused or accelerated deep socio-economic and cultural changes. In particular, a new middle class began to rise, trained for service in the modern state by modern schools, dispensing secular education where so far Islamic education had dominated. The necessity of expressing the new knowledge imported from the West in the vernacular set off a revival of the Arabic language and literature [see ʿARABIYYA. ii. 4. Modern written Arabic, and NAHḌA].

When old age made Muḥammad ʿAlī incapable of ruling, his son Ibrāhīm took over the government in April 1848; he was confirmed as *wālī* by a *firmān* of the Sultan on 2 September. But Ibrāhīm died before his father, on 10 November 1848, and a grandson of Muḥammad ʿAlī, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I, became viceregent. Muḥammad ʿAlī died on 2 August 1849; see further on him, MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ.

(*c*) *ʿAbbās I* (*1848-54*), *Saʿīd* (*1854-63*) *and Ismāʿīl* (*1863-79*).

After an interval of a few years, the policy of modernisation was resumed by Muḥammad ʿAlī's successors. Now, however, it took place under different conditions. Egypt opened itself to overwhelming foreign influences which were no longer firmly channelled by its government. As a result, the country was led to apparent prosperity but then to financial ruin, dependence and, in the end, foreign occupation.

The interval consisted of the reign of ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I, commonly just called ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], who, widely reputed to be hostile to modernisation, in fact continued the course of retrenchment to which his grandfather had turned after 1841. ʿAbbās was murdered in obscure circumstances on 13 July 1854. The two viceregents succeeding him, Muḥammad ʿAlī's son Muḥammad Saʿīd [*q.v.*], who died on 18 January 1863, and Ibrāhīm's son Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], were responsible for the opening of Egypt to foreign penetration.

It is undeniable that they brought Egypt considerable material advancement. Their large programs of public works improved the infrastructure. As his only major project in this field, ʿAbbās already began the construction of the Alexandria-Cairo railway, the first in Africa and the Near East (contract with the British engineer Robert Stephenson, 1851). When Ismāʿīl was deposed in 1879 he left a rail network of 1,881 km, covering the Delta and reaching Suez as well as Asyūṭ. Numerous bridges were constructed. The harbours of Alexandria and Suez were extended and modernised. The cities of Cairo and Alexandria profited from generous programs of sanitation, embellishment and extension. Irrigation canals were excavated or improved on an immense scale.

The project which received most attention was the Suez Canal. Shortly after his accession, Saʿīd granted the concession for the building of this waterway connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to the French diplomat Ferdinand de Lesseps on 30 November 1854. Great difficulties of financing and diplomacy hampered its realisation, but construction work started on 25 April 1859, the Porte at last gave its assent in 1866, and on 17 November 1869 the opening of the canal for navigation was celebrated in the presence of an illustrious crowd of international guests.

The focus of economic development lay in agriculture. Beside the great landowners from the viceregal family and the upper stratum, a new class of provincial notables acquired larger estates, after a law enacted by Saʿīd in 1858 had introduced full private property for one category of land and rights close to this status for another. Having established direct relations with the merchants and through them with the international market, these landowners strongly expanded the production of cotton, which was in great demand because of the decline of supply from America during the Civil War. So there was a period of prosperity, even if poor peasants and agricultural labourers did not benefit much. When, however, the cotton boom came to an end in 1866, profits fell and debts grew in the farm sector as a whole. At the same time, this sector had to carry the main burden of the taxes which the government strove to raise continuously. A revival of industrial activities did not go far. State factories, mainly working for the armed forces, suffered under the increasing shortage of funds. Private enterprises remained mostly limited to processing agricultural products (cotton ginning, oil extraction etc.); a considerable number of sugar mills was established on Ismāʿīl's own estates.

In education, also, a new effort was started. A primary school law of 1868 set the aim of integrating the traditional Koran schools, the *katātīb*, into the system of modern state schools. In 1871, the *Dār al-ʿulūm* was founded for the purpose of preparing students of al-Azhar University to teach in the modern schools. In 1873 and 1874 the first regular girls' schoools were opened. The growing number of people who had to some degree received a modern education began to form a stratum from which new intellectual movements could rise.

As far as the government was concerned, economic growth never brought in enough revenue to cover expenditure. The solution was borrowing. Of course, it had always been done, but until ʿAbbās it had not reached important proportions. Then Saʿīd incurred such large obligations that he was forced vastly to increase the floating debt. In 1860 he obtained his first foreign loan on a personal basis, and two years later the first public loan. Ismāʿīl continued in the same way. European capitalists were always ready to lend, but, taking advantage of the privileges granted to foreigners by the capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT] and the political influence of their governments, they provided money only under conditions extremely unfavourable to Egypt, which had not only to pay high interest but also to concede even higher deductions from the nominal value of the loans. At the end of Ismāʿīl's reign, the total funded and floating debt came close to £ 100 million. Furthermore, many national assets had passed into foreign ownership; e.g., in 1875 Ismāʿīl had sold his Suez Canal Company shares to the British government. In addition to financial and economic dependence, the result was political interference by the European powers.

The successors of Muḥammad ʿAlī were always eager to preserve and, if possible, to increase the degree of independence with Egypt had reached within the Ottoman Empire. They fulfilled their military obligations toward the Sultan by sending troops when asked (Crimean War 1853-6; suppression of risings in ʿAsīr 1864-65 and Crete 1866; Balkan War 1876-77) and sought to influence the Porte by official and unofficial payments. Ismāʿīl achieved the most noticeable concessions. By a *firmān* of 27 May 1866, the succession of the Egyptian viceregents was changed from the principle of seniority to that of primogeniture. A *firmān* of 8 June 1867 granted Ismāʿīl the title Khedive (*khidīw* [*q.v.*]), newly-created in order to distinguish the viceregent of Egypt formally from the *wālī*s of ordinary provinces; at the same time, he was authorised to issue regulations for the internal affairs of Egypt and to conclude agreements with foreign agents, below the level of international treaties, on matters concerning customs, foreigners' police, transit and mails. Finally, a *firmān* of 8 June 1873 recapitulated and supplemented all the rights which Egypt had obtained, including agreements with foreign states on all matters of commerce as well as the contracting of foreign loans; in addition, the number of the armed forces would no longer be limited. Egypt had come close to formal independence from its old sovereign.

Ismāʿīl was also aware of the legal handicaps which the capitulations put on Egypt's dealings with foreigners, and started an important effort to overcome them. Meeting the refusal of Europeans to submit to local jurisdiction and their insistence to have their cases heard before their consular courts, Muḥammad ʿAlī had founded special commercial courts in Alexandria and Cairo consisting of Egyptian and foreign judges. Ismāʿīl took up this idea and, benefiting from the newly-won right of negotiation with foreign governments, in 1867 proposed a judicial reform according to which all cases involving foreigners would be judged by such mixed courts. After difficult negotiations with the capitulatory powers, and after special civil, penal, commercial and procedural codes, founded mainly on French law, had been promulgated in 1875, the Mixed Courts (*al-maḥākim al-mukhtaliṭa*) were established in the following year, with the serious restriction that the powers deprived them of almost all criminal jurisdiction [see also MAḤKAMA. 4. i. Egypt].

Yet another policy, intended to emphasise Egypt's development as an independent and modern state, was directed toward representation of the people and at least formal restrictions on the absolute power of the ruler. On 25 November 1866 Ismāʿīl inaugurated the Consultative Chamber of Delegates (*Madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*), based upon laws issued on 22 October. Its 75 members were elected by the village *shaykh*s; it met once a year. On 28 August 1878 the Khedive declared: "Je veux dorénavant gouverner avec et par mon conseil des ministres," establishing the principle of ministerial responsibility; he did so, however, under the pressure of the European powers keen on using the council of ministers for strengthening their control of Egypt [see also MADJLIS AL-SHŪRĀ].

For, in the meantime, Egypt's growing difficulties in meeting its financial obligations had raised fears among the European creditors of a complete insolvency, and they urged their governments to intervene. On 2 May 1876 Ismāʿīl was forced to establish a *Caisse de la Dette publique*, comprising a French, a British, an Italian and an Austrian commissioner, to receive those revenues assigned directly for interest and debt repayment. As this did not seem sufficient, on 18 November 1876 the "dual control" was created, through which a Briton and a Frenchman as controllers-general assumed supervision of government revenue and expenditure as a whole. From now on, an increasing number of Europeans were employed in all branches of the administration. An even higher level of foreign involvement was reached when a Briton became minister of finance and a Frenchman minister of public works in the government formed in August-September 1878 under the principle of ministerial responsibility.

In these years, a public opinion had begun to stir, expressing itself in a number of independent newspapers which appeared since 1876 and in discussion circles like that formed around Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*], who had settled in Cairo in 1871, encouraged by the Egyptian government. At last the Khedive chose to mobilise influential groups of the local society, Turco-Circassians as well as Egyptians, as his allies against foreign control. Early in April 1879, more than three hundred civil officials, army officers, *ʿulamāʾ*, urban and rural notables signed a statement of national demands (*al-lāʾiḥa al-waṭaniyya*). On 7 April Ismāʿīl dismissed the ministry comprising the European ministers and the next day had a national government formed. Feverish diplomatic activity between the European capitals and Istanbul followed. In the end, the Sultan deposed Ismāʿīl on 26 June 1879, appointing his son Muḥammad Tawfīḳ [*q.v.*] as his successor.

(*d*) *The early part of Tawfīḳ's reign* (*1879-82*) *and the ʿUrābī movement.*

Under the new Khedive, the dual control over Egypt's finances was re-established, even if foreigners did not become government ministers again. A final settlement between the country and its creditors was drawn up in the law of liquidation of 17 July 1880, which set the total consolidated debt at £ 98,378,000 and earmarked more than half of all state revenues for interest and repayment. While thus achieving collaboration with the European powers, and while domestic opposition was suppressed, the government made a serious effort at reforms, particularly after Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ Pasha had become prime minister on 21 September 1879. Although obliged to keep state revenues high, Riyāḍ gave orders to collect taxes from the farmers by reasonable methods, without jeopardising anybody's existence; on the other hand he put the screw on the big landowners and reduced their tax privileges. The use of the *kurbādj* or knout by tax-collectors was forbidden and the corvée (*sukhra*) for other than public purposes abolished. But these reform policies were not given time to bear fruit.

Elements of a true national movement were now assembling, consisting of three distinct groups: merchants and rural notables of native stock who, although many of them had been elected to the *Madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*, still felt excluded from real power by the old, mainly Turco-Circassian, élite attached to the ruling dynasty; the native officers, who had been admitted to the army in large numbers since Saʿīd's time, yet were prevented from rising to the higher ranks by Turco-Circassian superiors; and intellectuals, mostly those affected by modern education, including technocrats as well as pious Muslims turning towards religious reform, but also conservative *ʿulamāʾ*.

The first to come to the fore were the military. Already on 18 February 1879 a riot of officers discharged for budgetary reasons had played a role in Ismāʿīl's action against foreign control. In January 1881 discontent among the Egyptian officers arose again, as the Turco-Circassian minister of war had retired many of them while sparing those of his own ilk. When the officers asked for the dismissal of the minister, he tried to courtmartial them, thus setting off a general mutiny on 1 February. Tawfīḳ was indeed forced to exchange the minister for one acceptable to the Egyptians, Maḥmūd Sāmī Pasha al-Bārūdī [*q.v.*]. The officers' movement, whose leadership was taken over by colonel (*mīr-alāy*) Aḥmad ʿUrābī Bey, then gained strength by forming an alliance with the rural notables led by Muḥammad Sulṭān Pasha. On 9 September a military demonstration in front of the Khedive's palace in Cairo obtained the dismissal of Riyāḍ Pasha, the formation of a new government under Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha and the election of a new chamber, whose president became Muḥammad Sulṭān. While there was agreement on the need to improve the constitutional system, the chamber clashed with the government over the details. It forced the Khedive to appoint a new ministry on 4 February 1882 under al-Bārūdī, with ʿUrābī as minister of war. Three days later, Tawfīḳ enacted the new basic law for the chamber, now called *Madjlis al-nuwwāb* only; although leaving large powers to the Khedive and the government, it established a certain constitutional control over them by the elected delegates, including the participation of the latter in the budgetary process.

Britain and France, who had been following the rise of the national movement in Egypt with misgivings, on 8 January 1882 had begun a policy of open intervention by proclaiming, in identical notes presented to the Khedive, that they intended to support him and maintain the existing system of financial control. On 15 May they announced the imminent arrival of a combined naval squadron in Alexandria, and on 25 May they demanded the resignation of al-Bārūdī's ministry and ʿUrābī's banishment from Egypt. The ministry resigned indeed, but Tawfīḳ was forced to reinstate ʿUrābī as minister of war. On 11 June there was an outbreak of popular violence in Alexandria in which about forty Europeans were killed, in spite of the presence of the Anglo-French squadron. Meanwhile, international diplomacy and Egypt's Ottoman suzerain had been brought into the drama; but a conference of the powers, opened at Istanbul on 23 June, achieved nothing, and Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*], who would of course have liked to use the chance for reinforcing his influence in Egypt, could only send emissaries there. In the end, the decisive intervention fell upon Britain which, although with great reluctance on the part of the Gladstone government, wanted to prevent France from winning preponderance on the Nile. So it acted on its own by having its ships bombard Alexandria on 11-12 July, on the pretext of keeping the Egyptians from further fortifying the harbour.

This brought about the final break between the Khedive and ʿUrābī, who had remained minister of war when a successor government had been formed after al-Bārūdī's resignation. When Tawfīḳ now sought the protection of British troops in his palace in Alexandria, ʿUrābī proclaimed himself responsible for the defence of the country, demanding that henceforth only his orders shoulf be followed. In Cairo an "emergency council" (*al-madjlis al-ʿurfī*) was established to serve as a provisional government. Consisting of officers and officials, among them some Copts, it made a remarkable effort to mobilise the resources of the country for fighting, but also to maintain order and to protect the European residents.

Up to its end, the ʿUrābī movement enjoyed the moral support of the large majority of the Egyptians, to whom it explained itself in terms of a *djihād* against the domination of infidels. On the other hand, most of the notables who had been its allies abandoned it, as they thought it unreasonable to fight against the Khedive and the British at the same time; and even part of its intellectual supporters withdrew. *Al-Madjlis al-ʿurfī* never succeeded in controlling the whole of the country. Yet British military might was needed to bring the movement down. In August a British

expeditionary corps occupied the Suez Canal and on 13 September 1882 beat the Egyptian army at al-Tall al-Kabīr. *Al-Madjlis al-ʿurfī* capitulated to the Khedive, and ʿUrābī rendered his sword to the British. The leaders and many participants of the movement were tried by military courts; ʿUrābī was sentenced to death, but on British urging the sentence was commuted to exile for life (in 1901 he was allowed to return to Egypt).

The ʿUrābī movement had not aimed at a political or a social revolution. Although refusing obedience to the Khedive, it had never made concrete plans to depose him, and it had always asserted its loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan. As to structural changes in Egyptian society, it had never gone beyond promising more social justice and diminishing the role of the Turco-Circassian aristocracy. Yet it represented a serious endeavour of some important Egyptian groups to decide on their own how Egypt's problems should be solved, and in the *Madjlis al-nuwwāb* it had created an institution for achieving this purpose. Even if the struggle for independence had failed, the foundations of a national consciousness had been laid on which future generations could build.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE DYNASTY FOUNDED BY MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ

- 1. Muḥammad ʿAlī (ruled 1805-48)
  - 2. Ibrāhīm (ruled 1848)
    - 5. Ismāʿīl (ruled 1863-79)
      - 6. Muḥammad Tawfīḳ (ruled 1879-92)
        - 7. ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II (ruled 1892-1914)
      - 8. Ḥusayn Kāmil (ruled 1914-17)
      - 9. Aḥmad Fuʾād Ier (ruled 1917-36)
        - 10. Fārūḳ (ruled 1936-52)
          - 11. Aḥmad Fuʾād II (nominal rule 1952-3)
  - Aḥmad Ṭūsūn
    - 3. ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I (ruled 1848-54)
  - 4. Muḥammad Saʿīd (ruled 1854-63)

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MIṢRĀᶜ [see ᶜarūḍ].

MISRĀTA or misrāta, also Mesrāta, important Berber tribe belonging to the branch of the Hawwāra [*q.v.*] of the Barānis (Brānès) group.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, to whom most of the information concerning this people is owed, the Misrāta derived their origin from a certain Meld, who was the son of Awrīgh, son of Barānis and the brother of the Hawwāra. According to Ibn Ḥazm, and also according to the Berber genealogist Sābiḳ b. Sulaymān, both quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, the Misrāta and other families descended from Meld, including the Saṭaṭ, the Warfal and the Wasīl, had a common grandsire in Lahān, and for this reason they were collectively designated by the name Lahāna. These Lahāna are believed to be identical to the ancient *Laganiki* or *Lasaniki*, a Lybian tribe mentioned by Ptolemy which inhabited the axis Ptolemais (Tolmeta)—Cyrene in Cyrenaica (called Barḳa [*q.v.*] by the ancient Arab authors). The French historian J. Desanges locates this small tribe, whose true name should be read Lasaniki, between 35 and 40 km to the west of Cyrene. It is probably in the same region, or in the mediaeval province of Barḳa in general, that Ibn Khaldūn locates the tribe of the Banū Djaᶜfar which claimed to be of Arab origin, but which was descended, if the genealogists of this tribe quoted by Ibn Khaldūn are to believed, "from the family of Misrāta, a branch of the Berber tribe of Hawwāra". The tribe of the Banū Djaᶜfar, according to Ibn Khaldūn, was still occupying in the 8th/14th century its ancient sites near (the town of) Barḳa, currently al-Mardj. Apparently it is here that the earliest homeland of the family of Misrāta should be sought, as also that of the ancient *Lasaniki*. Later, but evidently still before the Arab conquest of North Africa, this tribe moved further west, occupying the most eastern sector of the coastal zone of the future *arḍ Hawwāra* in central Tripolitania. Muḥammad al-ᶜAbdarī, a traveller and native of Valencia in Spain, who made his pilgrimage to Mecca in 688/1289, on leaving the territory of the Berber tribe of the Ḥāha, near Mogador in Morocco, where his family resided, passed through the *balad* of Misrāta situated in the coastal region of central Tripolitania. According to this traveller, this was an oasis, poor and thinly inhabited. Al-ᶜAbdarī's account does not accord with that of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (d. 731/1331) who provides a totally different description of the *ḳuṣūr Misrāta*, written on the basis of the geographical work of Ibn Saᶜīd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286) a contemporary of al-ᶜAbdarī. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ states, speaking of the *ḳuṣūr Misrāta*, that "the land is planted with olives and palms. The inhabitants export horses to Alexandria. Pilgrims on their way (from the Maghrib) to Mecca are treated by them (i.e. by the inhabitants of the *ḳuṣūr Misrāta*) with the utmost courtesy."

In the period of Ibn Khaldūn, who wrote at about the turn of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, the condition of the canton of Misrāta became still more prosperous. The naming of the town of Misrāta (currently Misurata), borrowed from the name of the tribe, gradually supplanted the usage of Suwayḳat Ibn Mathkūd which had designated, at least from the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th century, the most western conurbation of the oasis of Misrāta. The tribe of Misrāta of Tripolitania, still very numerous in the period of Ibn Khaldūn, was active in commerce. Misrāta merchants visited the Bilād al-Djarīd and the Sudan. A distance of 16 days' march separated Suwayḳat Ibn Mathkūd (or the town of Misrāta) from Zāwilat Ibn Khaṭṭāb in the Fezzan (currently Zouila), which gave access to most parts of the Sudan.

The economic situation of the land of Misrāta remained the same or even improved further towards the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the period of the descriptions of North Africa supplied by Leo Africanus. According to this traveller and writer, Mesrate (i.e. Misrāta) was a canton on the Mediterranean coast which contained numerous castles and villages, some on the plain, the others in the mountains. The inhabitants were, on the evidence of Leo, very wealthy because they paid no tribute and because they were active in commerce. They handled the goods which arrived in their country by Venetian galleys and transported them to Numidia, in other words into the interior of North Africa, where they were exchanged for slaves and other goods coming from Ethiopia and the Sudan. These varied goods, including slaves, were exported to Turkey.

A certain proportion of the tribe of the Misrāta took part in the migrations of its sister tribe the Hawwāra, of which various segments made their way, through Ifrīḳiya, towards what are now Algeria and Morocco. A group of Misrāta which accompanied these segments settled in the central Maghrib, on the mountain of Djabal Hawwāra which dominates the town of Baṭhāʾ. According to A. Épaulard, the town of Baṭhāʾ (whose precise location is unknown) was probably situated on the left bank of the Mina, in the region of the present-day town of Relizane, on the main route from Tlemcen to Algiers. Today, only a few ruins remain. Leo Africanus states that in his time, that is about the beginning of the 10th/16th century, al-Baṭhāʾ was "a large town, very civilised and very populous... built recently by the Africans (Berbers)". According to Épaulard again, it was probably built at the beginning of the 8th/14th century. Later, it was destroyed and, in Leo's time, only the foundations remained.

It may be added that a diminutive group of Misrāta, probably natives of the oasis of Misrāta, arrived at an uncertain period, possibly at the time of the conquest of Sicily by the *ḳāḍī* Asad b. Furāt in 218/826 or shortly afterwards, in the region of the town of Catania, where there were observed (during the period 468-519/1075-1125) peasants belonging to the diocese of this town and descended from the tribe of Misrātah (Misrāta).

Bibliography: The main source is Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*[2], Fr. tr. de Slane, i, 8, 170, 274, 280, 281, iv, 493 (geographical table); ᶜAbdarī, *al-Riḥla al-maghribiyya*, ed. Mohammed El Fasi, Rabat 1968, 85,236,284; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, Ar. text, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 147, Fr. tr. Reinaud, ii/1, Paris 1848, 202; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, Fr. tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 339-41 (339, n. 87), 414; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, i, Paris 1940, 321-2; M. Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*[2], iii/1, Catania

1937, 217; T. Lewicki, *La répartition géographique des groupements ibāḍites dans l'Afrique du Nord au Moyen Age*, in *RO*, xxi (1957), 321; J. Desanges, *Catalogue des tribus africaines de l'Antiquité classique à l'Ouest du Nil*, Dakar 1962, 140, 151, 155. (T. Lewicki)

MIṢRĪ EFENDI [see niyāzī].

MIṢṢĪṢ, MIṢṢĪṢA [see maṣṣīṣa].

MISURATA [see misrāta].

MISWĀK (a.), a term denoting the toothbrush as well as the tooth-pick. The more usual word is *siwāk* (plural *suwuk*) which denotes also the act of cleansing the teeth. Neither of the two terms occurs in the Ḳurʾān. In *Ḥadīth*, *miswāk* is not used, *siwāk*, on the other hand, frequently. In order to understand its use, it is necessary to know that the instrument consists of a piece of smooth wood, the end of which is incised so as to make it similar to a brush to some extent. The piece of wood used as a tooth-pick must have been smaller and thinner, as appears e.g. from the tradition in which it is related that Muḥammad one day received a visitor and kept the tooth-pick "at the end of his tongue".

Concerning Zayd b. Khālid, it is related that he used to sit in the mosque keeping the tooth-pick behind his ear, "just as a writer will keep his pen" (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 25; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 18). When Muḥammad was in his last hours, there entered a man with a piece of wood fit for a *siwāk*; ʿĀʾisha took and chewed it, so as to make it smooth (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 83).

In general, *Ḥadīth* emphasises the value attached by Muḥammad to the *siwāk*. When he entered his house, his first movement was towards it (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 43; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 27). His servant ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd received the epithet of *ṣāḥib al-siwāk* because he used to take care of Muḥammad's *siwāk* (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥāba*, *bāb* 20). When Muḥammad woke at night, he cleansed his mouth by means of the *siwāk* before he washed himself and performed the worship (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 8; *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 73; *Tahadjdjud*, *bāb* 9; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 30; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trads. 46, 47). When fasting, Muḥammad also made use of the *siwāk* (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 445, 446).

The *miswāk* is chiefly used before the *wuḍūʾ* as a preparation before the *ṣalāt*. It is said that this was the practice of Muḥammad (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 48), who attached so great a value to it that he would have declared it obligatory before every *ṣalāt* were it not that he feared thereby to overburden his community (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 8; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 42; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 25; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 18). In one tradition it is said, as a matter of fact, that the obligatory use of the *siwāk* before every *ṣalāt* was introduced by Muḥammad as a compensation for the abolition of the obligatory *wuḍūʾ* before every *ṣalāt* (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 25). In another tradition (al-Nasāʾī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 66) the use of the *siwāk* is called obligatory before the Friday worship.

The appreciation of the *miswāk* which appears from all these traditions culminates in the fact that it belongs to the customs of the "natural religion" (*fiṭra*: Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 29) or to the ordinances of the Apostles (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 1).

Nevertheless, *Fiḳh* does not declare the use of the *miswāk* obligatory in any case. There is general agreement on this point. According to some traditions, however, the Ẓāhirīs did declare the use of the *miswāk* obligatory before the *ṣalāt*, but these traditions are not generally accepted. According to *Fiḳh*, the use of the *miswāk* is recommended at all times, especially in five cases: in connection with the *ṣalāt*, under all circumstances; in connection with the *wuḍūʾ*, with the recitation of the Ḳurʾān; after sleep; and as often as the mouth has lost its freshness, e.g. after long silence.

According to the school of al-Shāfiʿī, the use of the *miswāk* is blamable (*makrūh*) between noon and sunset at the time of fasting, for the foetid smell (*khalūf*) of the faster's breath is beloved by Allāh (cf. al-Nasāʾī, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 6).

It is recommended to use a *miswāk* of *arāk* wood of medium hardness, neither too dry nor too moist; to cleanse the palate as well as all sides of the teeth, beginning from the right side of the mouth, moving the *miswāk* upwards and downwards in order not to hurt the sockets of the teeth.

Bibliography: References to the *Ḥadīth* literature in Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v. Tooth-brush; the juridical points of view in al-Nawawī's commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, Būlāḳ 1290, 873-4, i, 325; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 172; Goldziher, in *RHR* (1902), xliii, 15-16; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 354 n. 94. (A.J. Wensinck)

MĪTHĀḲ (a., the noun of instrument from *wathiḳa* "to trust, have confidence in", or *wathuḳa* "to be firm", in usage the equivalent of the *maṣdar mīmī* or noun of place and time *mawthiḳ*), covenant, agreement, used 25 times in the Ḳurʾān and often linked with its synonym *ʿahd* [*q.v.*].

In a few places, it refers to political compacts (IV, 92/90, 94/92, VIII, 73/72, and cf. the use of *ʿāhada* in VIII, 58/56), and once to the compact between husband and wife (IV, 25/21), but the majority of usages relate to compacts between God and various members of His human creation, the unilateral imposition of a covenant by God upon Man. Thus we have the *mīthāḳ* with the prophets (III, 75/81, XXXIII, 7; cf. VII, 131/134-5); the *mīthāḳ* with Muḥammad himself when he was at Medina (II, 78/84); the *mīthāḳ* with the People of the Book (III, 184/187), once specifically with the Christians (V, 17/14), but most frequently in reference to God's covenant with the Children of Israel at Sinai, subsequently broken by them (II, 25/24, 60/67, 77/83, 87/93, IV, 153-4/154-5, V, 10/7, 15-16/12-13, 74/70). The source of the concept of covenant, and the imagery associated with it, is clearly Biblical, going back to the Pentateuchal *bᵉrīt* (see J. Wansbrough, *Quranic studies. Sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, London 1977, 8-12). Noteworthy, however, are references to God's *mīthāḳ* or *ʿahd* with the believers (XIII, 20,25,LVII, 8) and the *mīthāḳ* of the Book (VII, 168/169), which link up with the idea which grew as part of the Islamic Creation story of a primordial compact: that God, according to predestinarian interpretations found e.g. in al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], separated the future elect from the damned before Man was actually created. Likewise, in a Shīʿī work which apparently stems from the early 4th/10th century and may be from the hand of the historian al-Masʿūdī [*q.v.*], and which aims at proving ʿAlī's role as the *waṣiyy* and the repository of the Prophet's thoughts, the *K. Ithbāt al-waṣiyya li 'l-Imām ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, we have retailed the story that, in the act of creation, God took a lump of clay, from which were formed the Prophet, the *Ahl al-Bayt* [*q.v.*], etc., and then passed them through the flame unharmed; after this, God concluded with them a *mīthāḳ* involving *tawḥīd*, *risāla*, *imāma*, etc., and then He went on to create Adam (cited by Ch. Pellat, in *Le Shīʿisme imâmite, colloque de Strasbourg (6-9 mai 1968)*, Paris 1970, 78-9).

Muslim lore, building on Ḳurʾān, VII, 171/172, also applied the idea of a covenant (*mīthāḳ*, *ʿahd*), a

pledge (*amāna*) and a promise (*wa*ʿ*d*) between God and Man to subsequent events, the covenant of Adam and of Adam's progeny [see ĀDAM]; see al-Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*ʾ, ed. I. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922-3, 33-5, tr. in A. Jeffery, *A reader on Islam*, The Hague 1962, 187-8. These concepts were frequently to figure in later Ṣūfī literature; cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane²*, Paris 1954, 194, and G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam. The Qur'ānic hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl at-Tustarī (d. 283/896)*, Berlin 1980, 154-6. The Muʿtazila, however, regarded the *mīthāḳ* of pre-eternity as being only a symbolic (*madjāzī*) representation of what actually happened; cf. L. Gardet and M.M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 218 n. 4, 397.

In modern Arabic political and diplomatic parlance, *mīthāḳ* denotes a treaty, pact or agreement.

Finally, one might note that the cognate form *mawthiḳ* is used in the Ḳurʾān, XII, 66, 80, for the assurance from God taken by Jacob upon his sons for their safely bringing back Joseph.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, 61; H.U.W. Stanton, *The teaching of the Qur'ān*, London 1919, 80; Wensinck, *Concordance*, vii, 134-5; A. Jeffery, *The Qur'ān as scripture*, in *MW*, xl (1950), 119 ff. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MĪTHĀḲ-I MILLĪ (T.), the "National Pact", a proclamation voted by the last Ottoman Parliament which met in Istanbul in January 1920. Essentially, the National Pact proclaimed the territorial integrity of the remaining non-Arab heartlands of the Ottoman Empire. It was passed at a time when, after defeat in the First World War, the Ottoman Empire was threatened by the dismemberment of Anatolia and Rumelia which was provided for in the abortive Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920). Under the terms of that treaty, Greece was to receive a large portion of Thrace and the Dodecanese Islands, whilst there was a distinct possibility that Izmir and its environs would eventually become Greek. Armenia was recognised as an independent state and the Kurds were granted autonomy with the right to choose independence within a year. As early as 1918, alarmed by the threat of dismemberment, societies for the defence of rights were formed in Thrace, Istanbul, Izmir and Manisa, and also in the east of Anatolia.

A meeting of the Society for the Defence of the Rights of Eastern Anatolia which was arranged for July 1919 in Erzurum was used by Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk [*q.v.*]) to mobilise support from military and local personages for action against the Allies, whose partial occupation of Anatolia was made more obnoxious by the landing of Greek troops in Izmir on 14 May 1919. The Erzurum Regional Congress preceded the National Congress, which was planned to be held in Sivas in September and was announced in a document known as the Amasya Proclamation (21 June 1919), the first call for a national assertion of independence. Although originally called together for regional purposes, the Erzurum Congress soon addressed itself to the national situation. The Congress resolved to maintain the unity of the country, to set up a national government to do so, to rely on the national will, to prevent the Christian population from enjoying privileges which would compromise the political rights and upset social equilibrium, not to accept a mandate, and to bring about the immediate convening of a national assembly. These principles were broadened into a Declaration which, with very few changes made by the National Congress at Sivas, formed a broad basis for the independence proclaimed in the National Pact in 1920. The Sivas Congress (4-12 September 1919) gave the Erzurum Declaration a more national tone by stressing the independence of all Ottoman territories within the borders established by the armistice agreement of 1918, and did not restrict itself to expressing that specific concern about the six eastern provinces, where the Armenian threat in particular was felt, which was evident in the Erzurum Declaration. The Sivas Declaration is also rather stronger in its refusal of privileges to Christians in a way which would alter political control and upset social harmony, and specifically speaks of determination to resist a Greek state in the vicinity of Izmir. In the Sivas Declaration, reference is made to the sentiments of respect and fraternity of all Muslims within the armistice boundary of 30 October 1918—sentiments which could be seen to make concern for Kurdish autonomy unnecessary.

In October 1919 a change of government in Istanbul allowed negotiations to take place in Amasya between Muṣṭafā Kemāl and the Navy Minister, Ṣāliḥ Pasha. At this meeting, which resulted in what has become known as the second Amasya Declaration, there was agreement on the Erzurum and Sivas Declarations. Paricular reference was made to the need to make no new concessions to non-Muslims that would undermine national sovereignty; to cede no provinces to the Allies that were inhabited by Ottoman Muslims; and to call together a freely-elected parliament outside Istanbul, and thus outside Allied influence. The decisions at Amasya were not ratified by the Istanbul government and the parliament met in Istanbul in January 1920, though without the participation of Muṣṭafā Kemāl, who foresaw that he would be in danger. The National Pact was voted on 28 January.

Article 1 of the National Pact went beyond the Sivas Declaration by stipulating that all the territories occupied by an Ottoman Muslim majority formed an indivisible whole whether or not, it is implied, those Muslims lived within or outside the lines of the Armistice Agreement. The Sivas Declaration had only demanded recognition of the indivisibility of territory on the Ottoman Muslim side of the armistice line. Although it seems that this wording reflected pressures to include Syria within the national boundaries, it was recognised in the National Pact that those portions of the Ottoman Empire with a majority Arab population *and* under Allied occupation after 30 October 1918 were to decide their fate by free vote. The Arabs had not been mentioned in the Sivas Declaration.

Article 2 allowed the three *sandjaḳs* (subprovinces) of Kars, Ardahan and Batum, which were adjacent to the Soviet Union, to decide their own future by free vote. (A free vote had already been taken in 1918, under the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk when the inhabitants had decided to join the Ottoman Empire.) Article 3 required the legal status of Western Thrace to be decided by the free vote of the inhabitants. Article 4 required the security of Istanbul and implied free passage for commerce through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Article 54 ambiguously, but shrewdly, guaranteed the rights of minorities "as defined in the treaties concluded between the Entente Powers and their enemies", implying that the new state would be in good company in denying autonomy to minorities. This article expressed, though in much more general terms, the attitudes towards minorities evident in the Erzurum and Sivas Declarations. But at no point in the

Erzurum and Sivas Declarations, nor in the National Pact, is there any reference to Turks, only to Ottoman Muslims. Although the National Pact clearly did not include areas where there were Arab majorities within its scope, it was not overtly a declaration of *Turkish* independence, however much it came to be regarded as such later. Article 6 declared that no restriction was accepted on political, financial and judicial development—an all-embracing article which does not directly derive from the Erzurum and Sivas Declarations. In short, the National Pact expresses the resolutions of the two congresses in much more general terms, making no specific mention of Christian minorities. It also addresses itself to new problems, sc. those of Western Thrace, Istanbul and the Straits. It was clearly a document for international attention. Ignored at Sèvres, it became nevertheless the basis of the settlement in the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on 24 July 1923.

Bibliography: The text of the National Pact is in M. Goloğlu, *Üçüncü Meşrutiyet, 1920*, Ankara 1970, 80-1; English tr. in S.J. and E.K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey. ii. The rise of Modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1977, 347-8. For the antecedents of the National Pact, M. Goloğlu, *Erzurum Kongresi*, Ankara 1968; idem, *Sivas Kongresi*, Ankara 1969; Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk), *Nuṭuḳ*, 2 vols., Ankara 1927, 64 ff. (English tr., *Speech*, Leipzig 1929, 57 ff.); G. Jäschke, *Zur Geschichte des türkischen Nationalpakts*, in *MSOS*, xxxvi/2 (1933), 101-16. More generally, E.Z. Karal, *Türk Cümhuriyeti tarihi, 1968-62*, Ankara 1962; S. Kili, *Türk devrim tarihi*, Istanbul 1980; Lord Kinross, *Atatürk: a biography of Mustafa Kemal, father of modern Turkey*, London and New York 1965; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1958 (additional bibl. on 1919-20, at 248-50). Other works: F. Belen, *Türk kurtuluş savaşı*, Ankara 1983; A.F. Cebesoy, *Milli mücadele hatıları*, i, Istanbul 1953; K. Karabekir, *İstiklâl harbimiz*, Istanbul 1960; S. Kili, *Kemalism*, Istanbul 1969; E.D. Smith, *Turkey: origins of the Kemalist movement (1919-23)*, Washington 1959; D.E. Webster, *The Turkey of Atatürk: social process in the Turkish transformation*, Philadelphia 1939; A. Emin Yalman, *Turkey in the World War*, New Haven 1930.

(C.H. Dodd)

MITHḲĀL [see DĪNĀR].

MIʿWADH [see ḤAMĀʾIL].

MIYĀN MĪR, MIYĀDJĪ, Bālā Pīr, popular names of the Indian Ṣūfī saint Mīr Muḥammad or Shaykh Muḥammad Mīr, son of Ḳāḍī Ḳalandar. He was born most probably in 957/1550 at Sīwistān (Sehwan) in Sind. His father died when he was 7 years old, and he received Ḳādiriyya instruction from his mother until the age of 12. He then became a *murīd* and *khalīfa* of Shaykh Khiḍr in the mountains of Sīwistān (said to have died in 994/1586). Miyān Mīr is also said to have maintained an Uwaysī [see UWAYS] contact with the spirit of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Djīlānī. At the age of 25, Miyān Mīr came to Lahore, where he enjoyed a reputation for austerities and spiritual powers, including *kashf* and foreknowledge, healing and resuscitation, converse with beasts and trees and nocturnal transport to the cave on Mount Ḥirāʾ [*q.v.*] near Mecca. He received attention from the emperors Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān [*q.vv.*], and the eldest son of the latter, Muḥammad Dārā Shukūh [*q.v.*] became his discipline and composed a *tadhkira* which is our main source regarding Miyān Mīr. Mullā Shāh Badakhshī, also a subject of this prince's attention, was a principal *khalīfa*. Miyān Mīr was also resorted to by Mughal soldiers and other Central Asian immigrants for healing or the resolution of difficulties. He died at the age of 87 Muslim years, of which more than 60 had been passed in Lahore, on 7 Rabīʿ I 1045/21 August 1635. Nawwāb Wazīr Khān erected Miyān Mīr's fine tomb and its precinct, which stand in the suburb of Lahore (formerly the cantonment) which bears his name.

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(S. Digby)

MIYĀNA, in the early Islamic souces more usually Miyānidj, a town of Persia situated on the Ḳizil-Üzen [*q.v.*] affluent of the Safīd-Rūd which drains southeastern Ādharbāydjān [*q.v.*]. The modern town lies in lat. 37°20′ N. and long. 47°45′ E. at an altitude of 1,100 m./3,514 ft.

Being at the confluence of several rivers on the section of the Ḳizil-Üzen known in mediaeval Islamic times as the "river of Miyānidj" (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 224, tr. 216), Miyāna (literally, "middle place", cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, v, 240) was in mediaeval times an important place on the route connecting Tabrīz with northern Persia and that connecting Marāgha with Ardabīl. It is mentioned in the accounts of the Arab conquest of Ādharbāydjān under Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān al-ʿAbsī (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 326), but the settlement of Arabs there does not appear to have taken place till early ʿAbbāsid times, when al-Manṣūr's governor Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī established there members of the South Arabian tribe of Hamdān (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 331; Ibn al-Faḳīh. 285). The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century describe Miyāna as a moderate-sized but prosperous and fertile place, producing cereals and fruit (al-Muḳaddasī, 378; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 333, 353. tr. Kramers and Wiet, 329, 346; cf. also *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 142, § 35.2; Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*). A considerable number of *ʿulamāʾ* traced their origin to it (al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, xiii, 514-16, s.v. *al-Mayānadjī*). Although no coins ever seem to have been minted there, the place retained some importance into Mongol times, and a battle between the Īl-Khānid Abū Saʿīd and his rebellious *amīrs* was fought near it in 719/1319 (*Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 409); but in Mustawfī's time it was only a village, together with its dependencies yielding an annual revenue of 25,800 *dīnārs* (*Nuzha*, 86, tr. 88).

At the present time, Miyāna, with a population of 28,447 by the 1970s, is the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* of the same name, which comprises 290 villages and a population of 173,998, in the province of East Ādharbāydjān. It is a station on the railway line from Tehran to the Russian frontier at Djulfa, opened to Miyāna in 1942. It is described as getting its water from the river and from four *ḳanāts* and as possessing in its Friday mosque the tomb of a grandson of the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ called Ismāʿīl (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, iv, 515-16).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

MIʿZAF, Miʿzafa (A., pl. *maʿāzif*), a term denoting today any string or wind instrument or even, more restrictedly, a piano, but one which was

employed in mediaeval Islamic times to instruments with "open strings" (*awtār muṭlaḳa*). Al-Djawharī (d. before 400/1010 [*q.v.*]) and al-Ṣaghānī (d. 659/1261 [*q.v.*]) define them as being "musical instruments which you beat upon like the *ʿūd* (lute), the *ṭunbūr* (pandore) and suchlike", meaning by this that *maʿāzif* were played with the fingers or a plectrum in the same way as the *ʿūd* and *ṭunbūr* were. The *Tādj al-ʿarūs* includes the tambourine among the *maʿāzif*, but it is an erroneous deduction from the saying of ʿUmar, *marra bi-ʿazfi duffin* ("he passed by the sounding of the *duff*"), which has misled many writers (cf. Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, s.v.). Al-Khwarazmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 237 (4th/10th century), states that the *miʿzafa* was "a stringed instrument belonging to the people of ʿIrāḳ" whilst al-Muṭarrizī (6th/12th century) says that the *miʿzaf* was "made by the people of Yaman", a provenance which Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. before 300/912) also gives the instrument (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 93 = § 3219). A more precise classification is allowed by al-Shalāḥī who includes the *miʿzaf* among barbitons (*barābiṭ*) and lyres (*layrān*), which agrees with our oldest authority, al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar (2nd/8th century), who says that both *miʿzaf* and *miʿzafa* were terms given to "an instrument of many strings", whilst al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) specifically denominates *maʿāzif* as instruments of "open strings" (Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, 77, 110). In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the *miʿzafa* is rarely placed in the hands of the minstrels, probably because it was of inartistic merit. One performer on the instrument, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith b. Baskhīr (3rd/9th century), was asked sarcastically if it were a rat-trap (*Aghānī*[2], x, 153).

Tradition avers that *maʿāzif* were "invented" by Ḍilāl (*sic*) the daughter of Lamak [*q.v.*] (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 89 = § 3213, where has been read Ṣillā, the name of Lamak's wife). Since there was a *ḥadīth* condemning *maʿāzif* as signs of the end of the world (al-Tirmidhī, ii, 33) it is quite likely that the *fuḳahā*ʾ thought it consistent with policy to make Ḍilāl or Ḍalāl ("error, destruction") the originator of these *malāhī* or "forbidden pleasures". On the other hand, we read that "David the Prophet had a *miʿzafa* on which he used to play when he recited the psalms" (*ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iii, 189), which was an echo of the Jewish tradition that he was an adept on the *kinnōr* (I Samuel, xvi, 16,23). The name may be a survival from the days of belief in sympathetic magic. The voice of the *djinn* was termed *ʿazf*, and the spiritual world could be conjured by the sounds of the *miʿzaf*. In Islamic times, musicians claimed that their music was inspired by the *djinn*. The Greek μάγαδις was an instrument of the same class as the *miʿzaf*. It was of Lydian origin and the name is suspiciously like the Semitic one.

Lyre and cithara. Although we see these instruments in the hands of the ancient Semites on the monuments, they do not appear to have had acceptance among the musicians of Islamic times except with the *fallāḥīn*, unless the seven-stringed *wanadj* (= *zanadj*) of Khurāsān was such an instrument (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 90 = § 3214). Both words are of Greek origin and they appear in Arabic as *lūr* and *ḳīṭāra* generally. In Palestine and Egypt to-day, a primitive type of lyre is known under the name of *ṭunbūra barbariyya* or *ḳīṭāra (kissara) barbariyya*. Villoteau (*Descr. de l'Egypte, état moderne*, i, 918) and Saint Saëns (Lavignac, *Encycl. de la musique*, i, 528) have shown that much of the ancient Greek method of lyre-playing still obtains in the modern Egyptian *ḳīṭāra* playing. It is worthy of notice that the Arabic word for striking the *ḳīṭāra* strings is *ḥarraka*, and this is practically identical with the Greek χρέκω.

Harp. Whilst we possess an actual example of a Sumerian harp with the sound-chest below the strings, this type does not seem to have had any vogue with the Arabs or Persians in artistic music, and is only found among the peasantry. In Palestine and Upper Egypt to-day it is called the *ṭunbūra sūdānī* and *nanga*. The harp with the sound-chest above the strings has been a far more important instrument with the Semites and is to be found in the Assyrian sculptures (cf. Assyr. *sanaku* and Ethiopic *sanḳo*). Ewliyāʾ Čelebī says that this instrument, which the Persians called the *čang*, was "invented" by Pythagoras to solace Solomon (*Travels*, i/2, 227), and even al-Shalāḥī says that it was of Byzantine (*Rūmī*) origin (fol. 15). Yet Ibn Khurradādhbih and al-Djawharī show that it was peculiar to the Persians and, indeed, the type may be found on the Sāsānid sculptures (Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii, 175). The Arabs called it the *djank* or *ṣandj* (cf. al-Djawālīḳī, ed. Sachau, 97). It may be that the *djank* and *ṣandj* were different types of harp, the Persian and Arabian. There were certainly two types, the straight sound-chest and the crooked. In the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, the Byzantine *salbāḳ* (σαμβύκη) and *lūr* (λύρα) are likened to the *djank* and *ṣandj* respectively. Among the Arabs, the *djank* is mentioned as early as al-Aʿshā (Maymūn, d. *ca.* 8/629). Al-Fārābī devotes a section in his *Kitāb al-Mūsīḳī* to *maʿāzif*, *djunūk* or *ṣunūdj*, and other instruments "in which there is made to every note, according to its state, a solitary string", and he shows them strung with both fifteen (diatonic) and twenty-five (chromatic) strings (Kosegarten, *loc. cit.*). Both Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Zayla (d. 440/1048) deal with the *ṣandj*, whilst in the *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* (8th/ 14th century) and the works of Ibn Ghaybī (d. 839/1435) the *čang* is fully described. The oblique sound-chest was 109 cm. long, and the handle (*dasta*) 81 cm. long. From the sound-chest to the horizontal bar below, twenty-four or twenty-five strings of goat's hair were stretched, being fastened to metal pegs (*malāwī*). Some players even used thirty-five strings so as to embrace the scale of the Systematists. The face of the sound-chest was of skin, but the remainder of the framework was of vine or plum tree wood. The handle was placed under the left arm (cf. the pictures in the mss.) and the fingers of both hands were used in performance, plectra (*zakhamāt*) being fastened to the finger tips. Nowadays, the harp has fallen into complete desuetude among the Arabs and Turks. Even among the Persians it has become rare, and in its modern form it was little different from the occidental instrument (Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans*, 13), whilst the instrument shown by Kaempfer (16th century) under this name was a zither. In 1638 Ewliyāʾ Čelebī found only twelve players of the *čang* in Istanbul because, he said, it was a difficult instrument to play (*Travels*, i/2, 234). At this time, the Turkish *čang* had forty strings, and a very large instrument of the 16th (not 17th) century is given by Engel (*Mus. instrs. in the South Kensington Museum*, 59).

Although the "humped back" of the *čang* or *djank* became a favourite theme for poets, and it was certainly the best known type, yet an instrument with a "straight back" was also to be found. A more pronounced "hump" existed in a type mentioned by Ibn Ghaybī and called, probably on account of this feature, the *agrī*. It was strung similarly to the *čang* but had a wooden instead of a skin face on the sound-chest, and its tuning-pegs were also of wood.

A Byzantine harp called the *salbāḳ* (erroneously written *salyāḳ*, *shalyāḳ* [cf. SHALYĀḲ in *EI*[1], which clashes with the opinion of the present writer], or *salbān* in most dictionaries and manuscripts) was also known to the Arabs. It was actually a survival of the

old Greek σαμβύκη, and is described in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 236, as "an instrument of the Greeks (*Yūnāniyyūn*) and Byzantium (*Rūm*) resembling the *dj̲ank*). According to Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, it had twenty-four strings (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 91 = § 3216; cf. Farmer, *Byzantine musical instruments in the ninth century*, 4 ff.). Ibn Sīnā classes it with the *ṣandj̲* among the instruments with "open strings" stretched across a space.

Psaltery. In describing those instruments with "open strings" stretched across a surface, both Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla mention a particular type named the *ʿanḳāʾ*. Whilst the name suggests a "long-necked" instrument, the details given of strings of different lengths but identically situated bridges (*ḥamilāt*), compel one to recognise in it a trapezoidal psaltery, one species of which was known later as the *ḳānūn*. The word *ʿanḳāʾ* also stood for "phoenix" and we know that the Greeks of old had an instrument called the φοίνιξ. This may account for both the instrument and the name among the Arabs. It is not mentioned, however, after the 11th century.

The *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*], the present-day psaltery of the Arabs and Turks, is said by Ibn G̲h̲aybī to have been invented by Plato, although the instrument as known in the 4th/10th century is attributed to al-Fārābī (Ibn K̲h̲allikān, *Biog. dict.*, iii, 309). The word itself is derived from the Greek χανόυν. Although the instrument is delineated in the various mss. of the Syriac lexicon of Bar Bahlūl (4th/10th century) *sub kit̲h̲ara*, yet the name *ḳānūn* is not given. It is mentioned in the *Thousand and one nights* (ed. Macnaghten, 49th and 149th nights), and in one place is designated the *ḳānūn miṣrī* ("Egyptian psaltery"). In Spain it was particularly favoured, and al-S̲h̲aḳundī (d. 628/1231) includes it among the Andalusian instruments manufactured at Seville (al-Makkarī, *Analectes*), ii, 142,4). In the Persian *Kanz al-tuḥaf* and in Ibn G̲h̲aybī it is described in detail. The shallow, flat, trapezoidal sound-chest, 9 cm. deep, was made of vine or plum tree wood. The lengths of the bass and treble sides were 81 and 40.5 cm. respectively, whilst the oblique side was 74.25 cm. It was mounted with sixty-four strings (seventy-two? thus in Ibn G̲h̲aybī), arranged trichordally. Although the *ḳānūn* has fallen into disuse in Persia, it is still a great favourite in the Mag̲h̲rib, Egypt, Syria and Turkey, where it is to be found strung trichordally with from fifty-one to seventy-five strings.

A rectangular type of psaltery of greater compass was the *nuzha*. It was invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 693/1294) and a design is sometimes to be found in his *Kitāb al-Adwār* (see Farmer, *Arabic musical mss. in the Bodleian Library*, frontispiece). Its features are also fully discussed in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* and by Ibn G̲h̲aybī. Its dimensions were 74.25 × 54 cm., whilst the depth of the sound-chest was 27 cm.; 108 strings were mounted in the instrument.

Dulcimer. Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla describe an instrument with "open strings" played on with beating rods (*maṭāriḳ*) which is called the *ṣandj̲ ṣīnī* ("Chinese *ṣandj̲*"). This is clearly the dulcimer, later to be generally known as the *sinṭīr* and *sanṭūr* (also written *ṣanṭūr*, *sinṭīr* and *ṣanṭīr*), a word derived immediately from the Aramaic, but probably traceable to the Greek ψαλτήριον. Indeed, it is invariably found in the hands of Jews and Greeks. It is of similar structure to the *ḳānūn*, but with two of its sides oblique instead of one. The strings, which are mounted dichordally in Egypt, are of metal and are beaten with sticks (*maḍārib*) instead of plectra as in the *ḳānūn*. We find it mentioned by Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (d. 808/1406) and al-Hayt̲h̲amī (d. 970/1563), but its popularity was but fitful among the Arabs. In the 18th century it is doubtfully acknowledged by Russell (i, 152) and Niehbur (*tumpanon*). In Egypt, both Villoteau and Lane show that it was only to be found in the hands of Jews, Greeks and other foreign residents, whilst native writers like Mus̲h̲āḳa and Darwīs̲h̲ Muḥammad make no mention of it. To-day it is practically unknown in Syria and Egypt. In the Mag̲h̲rib it is unnoticed by Höst, Christianowitsch and Salvador-Daniel, and although it is dealt with by Delphin and Guin, it is scarcely known to-day. In Persia, however, it obtained greater recognition. In the 17th century it is mentioned by Chardin but not by Kaempfer, whilst Advielle in the 19th century gives both a design and a description. In Turkey, whilst the word is registered in the 17th century by Meninski, it is not mentioned by Ḥadj̲dj̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, nor described by Ewliyāʾ Čelebī, in their lists of Turkish musical instruments. In the next century, however, it is recognised by Toderini, and to-day the *sanṭūr* is one of the most esteemed instruments in the country, where it may be seen in two forms: the *sanṭūr turkī* and the *sanṭūr fransiz*. The former, exclusively used by the Jews, has 160 strings, grouped in fives, giving thirty-two notes, a two octave chromatic scale. The latter, which is confined to the Turks, was introduced from the West about the middle of the last century by a certain Ḥilmī Bey. It is mounted with 105 strings, also grouped in fives, which are placed on the sound-chest in the Occidental way.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see H.G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, London 1929; idem, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, London 1931; idem, *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London 1931; J.P. Kosegarten, *Alii Ispahanensis liber cantilenarum magnus*, Greifswald 1840-2; Land, *Recherches sur l'Histoire de la gamme arabe*, Leiden 1884; Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i, *al-Fārābī*, Paris 1930; Ibn Sīnā, *S̲h̲ifāʾ*, India Office ms. 1811, fol. 173; Ibn Zayla, B.L. ms. Or 2361, fol. 235b; *Kanz al-tuḥaf*, B.L. ms. Or. 2361, fols. 263-4; Ibn G̲h̲aybī, ms. Oxford, Marsh 828, fol. 78; S̲h̲alāḥī, ms. Madrid 603; *ZDPV* (1927), c, 19; Hayt̲h̲amī, ms. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin 5517, fol. 24b; C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1776-80, 143; E. Kaempfer, *Amoenitates exoticae*, Lemgo 1712; Russell, *Natural history of Aleppo*, London 1794; A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings (c. 900-1900)*, in *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, x, Munich 1979, index s.v. instruments/*miʿzafa*.

(H.G. FARMER)

MIẒALLA (A.), lit. "an instrument or apparatus for providing shade, *ẓill*," apparently synonymous with the *s̲h̲amsa*, *s̲h̲amsiyya*, lit. "an instrument or apparatus for providing shelter from the sun", probably therefore referring to the sunshade or parasol born on ceremonial occasions and processions [see MAWĀKIB] over early Islamic rulers.

1. In the ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid caliphates.

The historical sources provide a few references on practice in the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Thus the official Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt [see IBN AL-ZAYYĀT] was responsible in al-Muʿtaṣim's time for the manufacture of *inter alia* the *m.s̲h̲.m.s* (? *mus̲h̲ammas*, *mis̲h̲mas*) (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1183). During al-Mustaʿīn's reign, control of the caliphal *s̲h̲amsa* was disputed by the Turkish generals, and at one point it was held by al-Yīnūḳ al-Farg̲h̲ānī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1553). The troops accompanying al-Muḳtadir in 294/906-7 and protecting the Pilgrimage caravan against the Car-

mathians of Zakarawayh had a *shamsa* which had been set with jewels by al-Muʿtaḍid (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2274; ʿArīb, 16). In 320/932 al-Muḳtadir marched on his fatal expedition against Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*] wearing a *ṭākhtadj* coat, a black turban and with his head shaded by a *shamsa* (ʿArīb, 167).

Whether this *shamsa*, etc., really was a parasol is thus not entirely clear from the contexts, but whatever it was exactly, it passed also to the Fāṭimids, and one of those caliphs' Ṣaḳlabī soldiers had the duty of functioning as *ṣāḥib al-miẓalla*; see A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 131, Eng. tr. 133; I. Hrbek, *Die Slawen im Dienst der Fāṭimiden*, in *ArO*, xxi (1953), 572.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 786, ii, 84; *Glossarium* to Ṭabarī, p. CCCXVI; M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantine, essai de comparaison*, in *Byzantion*, xxi (1951), 388-9.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. In the Mamlūk sultanate. In Mamlūk sources this appears as *djitr*, *shitr*, from Pers. *čitr*, denoting the parasol as one of the insignia of royalty (cf. the canopy borne over the monarch at the English coronation). Although of widespread use by oriental rulers, including the Saldjūḳids (cf. E. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, 206, n. 57), al-Ḳalḳashandī states that in the Mamlūk sultanate it was a survival from the Fāṭimid caliphate. According to this statement (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 7, 8, 46, based on al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Aymān Fuʾād Sayyid, Cairo 1985, 32-3), it was made of yellow silk with gold brocade, and the staff was surmounted by a silver-gilt bird, whence its usual name in this period of *al-ḳubba wa 'l-ṭayr*. In processions at the two ʿ*īd*s, it was carried by an *amīr* of the highest rank, who rode beside the sultan, and was remunerated with a robe of honour. In several respects the Mamlūk *miẓalla* differed from its Fāṭimid prototype as described by al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 469). The latter appears to have lacked the bird, to have varied in colour according to the caliph's robes, and to have been carried in processions generally.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P.M. Holt)

3. In the Islamic West. Here it would seem that a certain imprecision, hence variability, existed in the meaning of two words derived from the same root and designating "shades". Properly speaking, the *maẓall* is a canopy and also the general's tent, insignia of command, rallying point and headquarters on campaign. In this sense, it is a synonym of *ḳubba*. The *miẓalla*/*maẓalla*, however, is a parasol. Lévi-Provençal let himself be caught in this confusion between *maẓall* and *miẓalla* (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 14, 111). We may note that the *Vocabulista* had *maẓall*/*galerus*, *capel de sol*, and P. de Alcalá, *medel*, *medelit*/*ramada*, *sombra de ramos*.

Technically speaking, as against *maẓall*, a portable but firm construction—at least for the daytime and whose sudden removal provoked many a rout—and quite spacious (the commander withdrew there, slept there and met his officers in council there), the *miẓalla*/parasol constitutes a movable piece of equipment whose ultimate purpose is to accompany a particular person during his diurnal travels in order to protect him from the sun. The use of the parasol constituted one of the special privileges of the sovereign, at least under the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*; see also Ibn Hamado, *Hist. des rois Obaidides*, 14-15/27-8; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 448, 451, 455, 456, 477: al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 473]. It has still to be demonstrated that the Umayyads made use of it in the East. As for al-Andalus, the only indisputable mentions are references to fixed canopies, supported by several posts, that one drives into the ground and arranges to pitch them [cf. MAWĀKIB]. The use of the parasol did not constitute one of the external insignia of the caliph's power. Ibn Khaldūn never mentions it in his enumeration of the "sovereign's attributes". Nor is it to be found in the descriptions of processions as being part of the etiquette displayed [see MARĀSIM]. In this sense, it is striking to record that no reference to a normal use of this parasol during the Umayyad caliphate appears to have come down to us. The poets speak of the *ḳubba* [*q.v.*], real or metaphorical, the chronicles of the *ḳubba* and *maẓall*, but never of the *miẓalla*. It seems, however, that the sporadic (and non-"official") use of this apparatus was not totally unknown. On the contrary, it would be difficult to understand the emphasis with which al-Rāzī stresses the fact that, during the capture of Calatayud, in 325/937, "the caliph al-Nāṣir rode from one point of the town to another, until dusk, without protecting himself from the sun (*ghayr muẓalla*)" (*Muḳtabas*, v, 269).

The use of the parasol by the Almoravid, Almohad, Marīnid and Naṣrid rulers is not attested either by the chronicles or the geographers' accounts. When Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Khaṭrat al-ṭayf*, 44) described a *miẓalla*, in 755/1354, it was not actually a sunshade but a fixed canopy. In fact, he tells us that it was supported by poles of plane tree wood, ʿ*alā* ʿ*umūd al-sādj* (which is quite different from a parasol which only has one stem). This canopy had been erected by the Genoese merchants (*tudjdjār al-Rūm*) of Almeria. The fact that Ibn al-Khaṭīb lingers on it would tend to prove that it was an exceptional object, whose use was unknown in Granada and which constituted an import. One may add that Leo Africanus does not mention the use of the parasol in Fez, Tlemcen or Tunis. Thus it would seem that its use in the Maghrib may not be earlier than the Saʿdids. The first known mention is that of the *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, 116, "When the Sultan al-Manṣūr rode with his royal retinue, the sunshade was carried by the officer whose rank was closest to that of the caid Ebruiz.... When the sultan went on foot to the *masdjid*.... the sunshade was carried by Ebruiz himself."

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P. Chalmeta)

4. In the Persian, Indian and Turkish lands. Although in the Arabic cultural context *miẓalla* denotes both a parasol considered as one of the insignia of rank and also a large tent, in the Iranian cultural sphere this term is usually replaced by Pers. *čatr*, also in Urdu in the form *čhatar* (Skr. *čhattra*). The use of a parasol held over the sovereign long antedates Islam not only in the Middle East, as noted by Laylard (*Nineveh*, ii, 327) but also in China; a parasol hub and a hooked bronze ferrule found in the Hsiung-nu burials at Noin Ula (see Rudenko, *Kul'tura*, fig. 42) are probably of Han manufacture. Concomitant use in religious contexts is already attested on a coin of Caracalla (*r.* A.D.211-17), where two parasols flank a *baetyl* at the temple of Jupiter Sol at Emesa (Ḥimṣ) in Syria; both royal and devotional use are shown in the art of Gandhara, Ajanta, Sanchi, Amaravati and Dunhuang (the Buddhist use extends to Thailand and Burma), in either an umbrella shape, or a more mushroom-like form with downward-curving edges, often elaborated with fringes and pendants. A heavy stone umbrella forms the crowning member of the Djayn and Buddhist *stupas*. This dual significance is resumed in the Muslim Persian concept of the *sāya-yi Ẓill Allāh*, "shade of the Shadow of God".

The existence of the *čatr* among the Sāmānids in the 4th/10th century is attested by Manūčihrī [*q.v.*] without further detail (de Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Menoutchehri, poète persan*, 13, tr. 166). Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, 639) refers under the year 431/1039-40 to black *čatr*s and a black standard with short shafts, all in cases of black silk: the Ghaznavids had used this colour since the reign of Maḥmūd, though their founder Sevük-Tigin had a red parasol, *čatr-i laʿl*. The close association of *čatr* and standard in colour was to remain typical of following dynasties; in this case black may have been adopted from ʿAbbāsids, though it is noteworthy that Firdawsī attributes it to the Tūrānians—possibly an anachronism. By the time of Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd (acceded 459/1059) the *čatr* was surmounted by the jewelled figure of a falcon. The office of its bearer, *čatr-dār*, was among the highest that a *ghulām* could attain, with the standard bearer, the master of the wardrobe, and the armour-bearer (*ibid.*, 410; Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-mulūk*, fol. 15b, tr. Shafi, 200). Correspondingly the capture of a parasol is deemed by Fakhr-i Mudabbir to be worthy of special reward (*op. cit.*, fol. 126b ff.).

For the Ḳarakhānids, Maḥmud al-Kāshgharī (wrote 466/1072-3) (*Dīwān lughat al-Turk*, facs. edn., fol. 106) cites both the horsetail *tūgh* and a curved parasol as set up on the battlefield as the emblems of war, *ʿalāmāt al-ḥarb*: the parasol (A. *ḳubba*) is defined as of silk, made for the kings of the Turks to protect them from summer heat or rain and snow; the Khāḳāni term given, *čowač* (also denoting "crown" in Khʷārazm Turkic), was still current in the time of Rabghūzī (wrote 710/1310), referring symbolically to the vault of heaven (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, cited Radloff, *Versuch*, iv, 59). A black silk *čowač* is the single emblem of rank attributed to the chief minister, *yughrush* (Kāshgharī, 462), with the same practical purpose; it seems that orange, *āl*, may have been reserved for the sovereign and his family (cf. *ibid.*, 53). These *čowač* could be folded (*ibid.*, 470). Illustrations of parasols used by the roughly contemporary Khitan, both open and folded, survive in the Wen-chi scrolls (*op. cit.* scenes 2, 14-8): that of the *khān* is red, like a shallow, ribbed umbrella about 1 m across, with a double-edge flounce and a reinforcement round the gilt finial, the shaft being about 3.0 m high, carried by a bearer walking beside his horse. It appears only during journeys. These traditions appear to have been continued by the Saldjūḳs: thus Ṭoghrīl first entered Nīshāpūr under a red parasol, while that of Kāwurd, governor of Kirmān, carried the figure of a bow and arrow, and that of Sandjar was black. The Saldjūḳs of Rūm, once under the hegemony of the Īlkhāns, are likely to have employed their black parasols, also used by the Khʷārazm Shāhs, though Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II changed the colour to blue to indicate his opposition to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Rashīd al-Dīn refers specifically to the *sarāparda* [*q.v.*] and *čatr* as the *ālat-i salṭanat* in the reign of Berkyārūḳ (487-98/1094-1104) (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Ateş, *Selçuklar tarihi*, 65). Such *čatr*s, like the standards, were placed as a mark of respect on the tomb of a deceased ruler, and the possession of a *čatr* was tantamount to the possession of the throne, as when Baybars marched on Anatolia (676/1277). Both the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks used yellow for their *čatr* and standards, as heirs to the Fāṭimids. According to the Chinese *Meng-ta pei-lu* (*ca.* 1221), Čingiz Khān used only a red and yellow parasol besides his nine-tailed standard (tr. Olbricht and Pinks, 72). An early 8th/14th century illustration (Staatsbibl., Berlin, Diez'sche Klebebände A, fol. 71, s. 50) shows an Īl-Khānid prince riding below a red parasol held on an angled staff by the mounted bearer. Though the top is cut by the picture frame, the *čatr* appears to have a shallow concave slope; it is cut in gores, which continue into the plain vertical flounce.

Under the Tīmūrids, the *čatr* seems to have been known in Čaghatay as *shögür*, a term which spread to Ḳalmaḳ Mongolian as *shükr*. A painting in the *Ẓafar-nāma* of *ca.* 1434 (Freer Gallery, Washington, no. 4/18) shows Tīmūr entering Samarḳand under a parasol of dark red brocade semé with small gold motifs, formed in a shallow concave curve from the central hub, *ca.* 1 m in diameter, with an edge flounce 20 cm deep and thus similar to the Īl-Khānid version. An example in the Gulbenkian Anthology of Iskandar Sulṭān (177) of 813/1410-11 is the same shape, scarlet with gold arabesques, but the spirally gilded pole is set at an angle to the parasol itself, as though adjustable (see Gray, *Persian painting*, 74,97); in both cases the bearer is mounted as well as the monarch, and this remains the pattern in bookpainting. Gonçalez de Clavijo records that in 807/1404 Sarāy-Mulk Khātūn, Tīmūr's first wife, made her court entry shaded by a white silk parasol "like the dome of a round tent", and made to stay open by a round wooden hoop (? *arco*) raised on a lance-like shaft (*Historia*, fol. 62a). Following the contemporary emphasis on their practical function, the *čatr*s shown in Türkmen and Ṣafawid paintings are depicted almost exclusively in outdoor scenes of battle, hunting, games or royal encounters and travel. The Ṣafawid type resembles the Tīmūrid in being conical, with the shaft set at a variable angle, probably as an adjustment to its use from horseback, but the cone is steeper, at *ca.* 40°, and is of the characteristic arabesque brocade with a red flounce, and sometimes a macramé fringe; a gilded bird may be set on top (see the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī of 946/1539, BL ms. Or. 2265, fol. 18a, or the Houghton *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī, fol. 182b).

India. The use of parasols under the Dihlī Mamlūks is remarkable for the number of colours referred to, each apparently associated with a particular rank or individual. Thus Iltutmish rewarded his victorious son Maḥmūd with a red parasol, *čatr-i laʿl*, in 623/1226, and his younger brother Rukn al-Dīn with a green one, *čatr-i sabz*, on his appointment to the fief of Badāʾūn. In 658/1260 the throne at the Ḳaṣr-i Sabz at Dihlī was flanked by a red parasol and a black one, both set with costly jewels. Malik Yūz Beg, when claiming royal status, assumed three, sc. red, black, and white (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, text 181, 318, 263). The white was used by Balbān (ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ*, 150-3), framed with willow. Amīr Khusraw writes of black, red, white, green and tamarisk *čatr*s at Nawrūz in Dihlī in 686/1287, and extolls their qualities (*Ḳirān*, 57-9). For the Khaldjīs, too, the royal parasol was black, *čatr-i siyāh-i sulṭānī* (idem, *Khazāʾin*, 65) or white, to be raised at dawn (*ibid.*, 66), whereas the Rāʾī of Deogīr was given a blue one, *saḳf-rang* (*ibid.*, 72); yet Baranī calls the red one presented by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn to his son Khiḍr Khān on his appointment to Čitōṛ in 703/1303 *čatr-i bādshāhī* (*ibid.*, 68, cf. Baranī, *Taʾrīkh*, 367). It appears that the *čatr* directly represented the ruler or his deputy, according to its colour, whereas the awning, *sāyabān*, was the symbol of royal authority even when the ruler was not present. "The mighty sovereign at the centre of the blackness of his parasol is like the 'vision of man', for the eye of God is over him," *bādshāh ba-niyā ki miyān-i siyāh-i čatr bi 'l-ʿayn-i insān ʿayn ast: ʿayn allāh ʿalayhi* (Khusraw, *Khazāʾin*, 64). The black parasol remained the principal one under the Tughluḳ dynasty,

though Ibn Baṭṭūṭa records that in 734-42/1333-42 Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] had no less than sixteen *čatr* (spelled *shaṭr*), some gilded, and some set with jewels (*Riḥla*, iii, 415), and al-ʿUmarī reports seven as carried over the sultan's head as he rode to war, of which two were set with gems (*Masālik*, 19, l. 20). Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1890, 107-8, lists the black umbrella among the 21 royal prerogatives maintained by Fīrūz Shāh. The conferring of a *čatr* as a non-hereditary privilege was characteristic of the reward through status rather than monetary benefit practised under the Sultanate.

Reference to the earlier Mughal book paintings such as the *Bābur-nāma* of *ca.* 999/1590 (BL ms. Or. 3714, fols. 52a, 94b, 273b, 274a, 306a) show the *čatr* used, as before, to shade the ruler in the field; the form, like that of the Ṣafawids, is conical, with a deep flounce, a gilt pear-and-ball finial, and an angled shaft borne by a horseman. In some cases the surface is of blue flowered brocade, and in others red (e.g. fol. 274a); the rim is emphasised, with either a gilt border, or an intended, coronet-like golden trim, sometimes with a row of pearls. The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* lists the *čatr* second after the throne among the insignia of royalty (*āʾīn* 19), specifying "it is adorned with the most precious jewels, and there may not be less than seven (*čatr* or jewels?)." Another type is shown with a convex dome supported by a system of curved stays from the shaft (*Bābur-nāma* fol. 94b). Nevertheless, *čatrs* do not appear prominently until the reign of Djahāngīr, when a pair of the conical type is set either side of the throne in a carefully composed court scene below a three-tiered tent (Leningrad *Muraḳḳaʿ*, no. e 14, fol. 22); thereafter, they are used regularly in similarly symmetrical tented settings by Shāh Djahān for court appearances, where golden parasols have the gently convex profile still to be seen at Rādjpūt palace museums (cf. the ex-Vever coll. court scene of 1037/1627-8, Freer S86.0406). Later, a *čatr* is shown surmounting the peacock throne (court scene at Āgrā, 1048/1638, by ʿĀbid, *Binney coll.*, 58). Contemporary court literature confirms this use, the parasols being set on a dais below the audience tent, *aspak*, used at festivals: they were jewelled, and hung with pendants, strings and fringes of pearls (cf. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū, *ʿAmal-i ṣāliḥ*, i, 282-3, and Muḥammad Wārith, *Pādshāh-nāma*, fols. 406b-407a). They do not, however, appear in tentless palace settings (see the Windsor *Shāh Djahān-nāma*, *passim.*). In *ca.* 1070/1660 Awrangzīb was depicted with a single golden *čatr*, fringed with pearls and set with squared rubies and emeralds, but one of the older Tīmūrid shape (Welch, *Imperial Mughal painting*, 57).

The Ottomans seem to have used the parasol neither at court nor in the field, except for a version too large, at 3 m across, to be carried, set up to shade the royal tent on state occasions (see *Süleymān-nāme*, fols. 297a, 346a, 441a, cf. 550a, for Ṣafawid equivalent).

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(P.A. Andrews)

5. In Indo-Muslim architecture. An architec-

tural form of the *miẓalla* is known in India as *čhatrī*, diminutive of the Skt. *čhattra*, sc. small, canopied structures placed at the junctions of the *chemin de ronde* of a fortification, or as decorative elements at roof level on mosque, tomb or other building, or as simple cover of an inhumation less imposing than a tomb proper [see MAḲBARA. 5]. In certain architectural styles (e.g. Bengal, Mālwā) a *čhatrī* may cover a *minbar* [*q.v.*] or, as in the Red Fort in Dihlī, a baldachino intended as the ruler's seat.

The earliest uses seem to be in fortification, where a *čhatrī* at the angles of a wall-walk affords protection from the elements for the guard; heavy domed rooms, with almost solid sides, often as the upper part of a *burdj* [*q.v.*]. The best existing example is in the corner towers of the fortified Khirkī mosque in Dihlī (Yamamoto *et alii*, *Architectural remains of the Delhi Sultanate period*, pl. M.7); by the time of the fortified Ḳadam-i Sharīf [see DIHLĪ. Monuments], the *čhatrī* has assumed its characteristic form of a domed canopy supported on four strong pillars, with heavy protecting eaves (Yamamoto, pl. 0.8); thereafter it continues as a regular feature, on four, six or even eight supports, on buildings of the Dihlī sultanate, whence it spreads to most of the provincial styles [see HIND. vii]. Among the earliest royal tombs at Dihlī are the *čhatrīs* over the graves of Rukn al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh and Muʿizz al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh at Malikpur outside the complex known as Sulṭān Ghārī (S.A.A. Naqvi, *Sultan Ghari, Delhi*, in *Ancient India*, iii [1947], pl.). There are sporadic uses of the *čhatrī* in the "Sayyid" and Lōdī periods as a sort of lantern crowning the dome of a tomb, e.g. in the "Pōtī" of the "Dādī-Pōtī" complex near Ḥawḍ Khāṣṣ, the tomb of Mubārak Shāh in Mubārakpur, and (according to old illustrations) in the tomb of Shēr Shāh in Sahsarām [*q.v.*] (H.H. Cole, *Preservation of national monuments. Report for...1882-3*, Calcutta 1883, two pls.; also in J. Ferguson, *History of Indian and eastern architecture*, London 1876, ill. 288; this was later replaced, by a British engineer, with an incongruous heavy stone *kalaśa-and-amalaka* finial). In Lōdī times the pillars supporting the dome become much thinner (e.g. in the Djahāz Maḥall at Mihrawlī, south of Dihlī; Yamamoto *et alii*, pl. O. 22), and this tendency persists into the Mughal period. *Čhatrīs* are used with great freedom on all roofs, and with the reintroduction of the minaret [see MANĀRA] under the Mughals, invariably form its topmost storey, or crown corner turrets as in the tomb of Iʿtimād al-Dawla in Āgrā, or the tomb of Mīrzā Muḳīm Abu'l Manṣūr Khān (Ṣafdar Djang) in Dihlī. In Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, outside Āgrā, is first seen the expedient of uniting two *čhatrīs*, at the corners of the building, under one common projecting eaves-pent, leading to the common Mughal practice of a string of conjoined *čhatrīs* as a feature above doorways, etc.: a row of seven above the Lahawrī gate of Dihlī fort, thirteen surmounting the central arch of the Buland Darwāza in Fatḥpur Sīkrī, eleven over both front and rear elevations of the ornamental gateway to the Tādj Maḥall, nine over the central arch on each face of the tomb of "Ṣafdar Djang", which is directly modelled on the Tādj gateway, etc. The cupola over the baldachino (*nashīman-i ẓill-i Ilāhī*) in the Dīwān-i ʿAmm in the Red Fort of Dihlī is unusual in having a "Bengali" roof with curved cornices, an innovation made popular in Shāh Djahān's reign.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see T. Yamamoto, M. Ara and T. Tsukinowa, *Delhi: architectural remains of the Delhi sultanate period*, i, Tokyo 1967, for a complete photographic corpus of sultanate buildings in the Dihlī region; good illustrations for Fatḥpur Sīkrī in S.A.A. Rizvi and V.J.A. Flynn, *Fatḥpur-Sīkrī*, Bombay 1975, or in the *Marg* special Fatḥpur Sīkrī volume, Bombay 1987; the Tādj Maḥall is best illustrated in M. Bussagli, *Il Taj mahall* (*Forma e colore* series), Florence 1965, and now in W. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *The Tāj Maḥall: the illumined tomb*, Seattle-London 1989. But adequate illustrations abound in all works of Indian architecture, for which see *Bibl.* to HIND. vi. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

AL-**MĪZĀN** (A.) balance, is the *nomen instrumenti* from *wazana* "to weigh", which means to weigh in the ordinary sense and also to test the level of something, like the Latin *librare*. Here we shall discuss:

1. The various instruments used for weighing in the ordinary sense; brief notes are added on the ascertainment of specific gravities.
2. Levelling instruments.
3. Aspects of the balance in Indian Muslim art.

1. BALANCES.

The steelyard (*al-ḳarasṭūn* [*q.v.*]) has already been dealt with, and the general principles of the balance are also discussed in that article.—The usual balance with two arms of equal length had the same shape among the Muslims as in ancient times and at all periods in the West; this we know from extant specimens and illustrations in various works, notably in al-Khāzinī, in a manuscript of al-Ḳazwīnī with reference to the constellation Libra (fig. 1), in a manuscript of al-Ḥarīrī, in the *ʿĀʾīn-i ʿAkbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl (fig. 2). In the beautiful manuscript from which Ch. Schefer published the *Safar-nāma* of Naṣīr-i Khusraw, on p. 88, in the illustration of the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā, there is a balance labelled *terazu* (*Sefer Nameh, Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, ed. Ch. Schefer, *Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* ii/1,

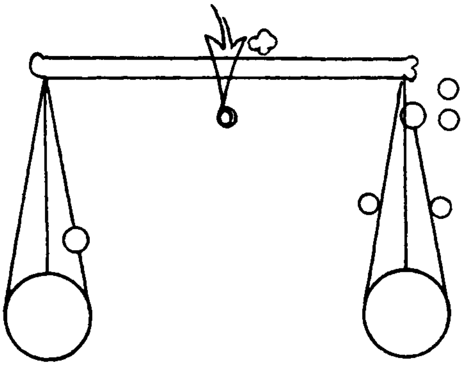

Fig. 1

Paris 1881). The common balance is called *mīzān*, but in the Ḳurʾān we also find *ḳisṭās*, which, according to al-Thaʿlabī, is a loanword (in fact, from Greek or Aramaic, see A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 238-9). Other names are *shāhīn*, which does not only mean the beam and tongue of the balance and is contrasted by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ to the *ḳabbān* (steelyard), also *taris* from the Persian *tarāzū*, then *miḥmal* for scales for gold and *ḳubba* for beam and tongue. *Mindjam* means the tongs and also the beam. According to J. Ruska, *ḥabbāba* seems to be used for scales (for gold). On the expressions connected with *ḳarasṭūn*, see that article. Al-Muḳaddasī, 141, mentions Ḥarrān as a place where balances were made; in this town, many very skilful mechanics were

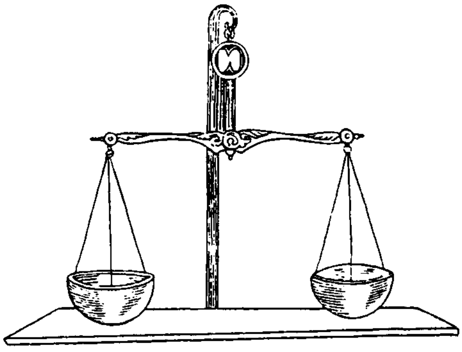

Fig. 2

engaged in making astronomical instruments. The accuracy of the balances made in Ḥarrān was proverbial.

The Arabs devoted special attention to the construction of balances used to identify metals and jewels for their specific gravity, to distinguish false from genuine and pure and to ascertain the composition of alloys of two metals by the use of the principle of Archimedes. They called these balances *mīzān al-mā*ʾ, "water" (hydrostatic) balances. Of makers of these, al-K͟hāzinī (*flor.* early 6th/12th century [*q.v.*]) mentions Sanad (Sind) b. ʿAlī (*ca.* 250/864), Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (320/932-3), Ibn al-ʿAmīd (359/969-70), Yuḥannā b. Yūsuf (perhaps al-Ḳāṣṣ, d. *ca.* 370/980-1), Ibn Sīnā (428/1037), Aḥmad al-Faḍl al-Massāḥ (the "measurer, also mentioned by al-Bīrūnī without the "Massāḥ") and Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-K͟hayyāmī (as the celebrated mathematician is never called Abū Ḥafṣ, it is doubtful whether he is the individual mentioned by al-K͟hāzinī). The balances made by these names are still fairly simple as only two, or at most three, scales were used in them. A contemporary of al-K͟hāzinī, namely Abū Ḥākim al-Muẓaffar b. Ismāʿīl al-Asfizārī (d. before 515/1121), added two more scales; these and other improvements made the scales much more convenient to use. Of him, al-Bayhaḳī says (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xx. *Einige Biographien nach al-Baihaḳī*, in *SPMSE*, xlii [1910], 17): "He constructed the balance of Archimedes with which one ascertains forgeries. The treasurer of the Great Sultan feared that his frauds would thus be discovered. He therefore broke the balance and destroyed its parts. Al-Muẓaffar died of grief as a result." Al-K͟hāzinī then took up al-Muẓaffar's work and made the balance a most accurate means of measuring; he called it the univer-

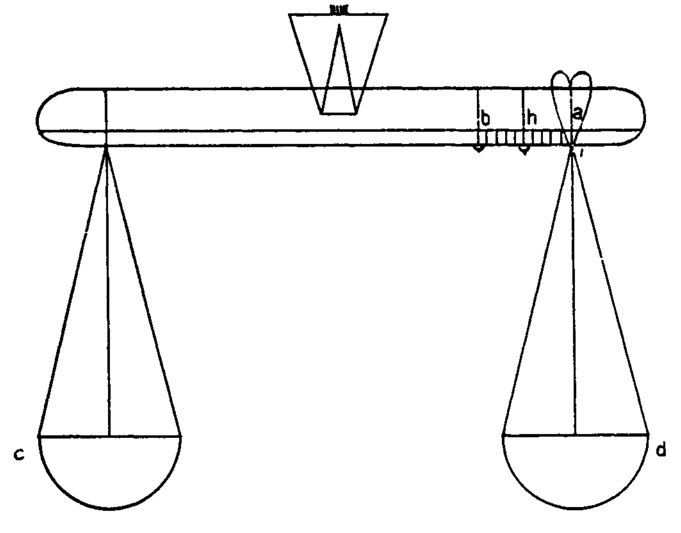

Fig. 3

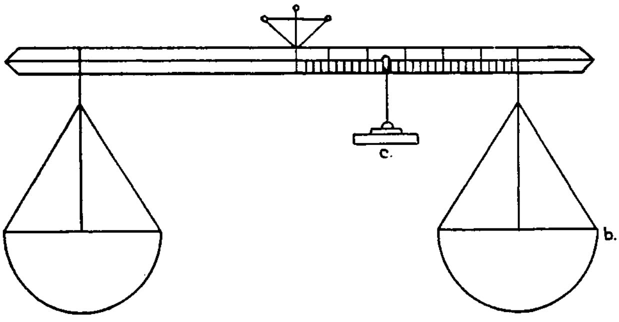

Fig. 4

sal balance, *al-mīzān al-djāmiʿ*. But, no doubt in memory of his predecessor, he called his book *Kitāb Mīzān al-ḥikma*. For special purposes such as the examination of gold and silver and their alloys, many contrivances were made with balances and the movable scales and running weights on the beams, for example in the physical (*ṭabīʿī*) balance of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (fig. 3); it goes back to Greek models, e.g. of Archimedes (fig. 4; cf. al-Khāzinī, *op. cit.*).

Here we shall describe somewhat more fully the "balance of wisdom" of al-Khāzinī. (H. Bauerreis, *Zur Geschichte des spez. Gewichtes im Altertum und Mittelalter*, diss., Erlangen 1913, has reconstructed the "balance of wisdom" as nearly as possible following the data of the original. Reproductions are in Erlangen and the German Museum in Munich. The illustration is taken from a photograph. In the original right and left are reversed.)

Al-Khāzinī gives the beam *A* of the balance (fig. 5) a thickness of 6 cm. and a length of 2 m. In the centre it is strengthened by an additional piece *C*, obviously intended to avoid any bending at this point. A cross-piece *B* (*ʿarīḍa*) is let in here. Corresponding to it is a similar cross-piece *F* on the lower part of the tongs, in which moves the tongue *D*, itself about 50 cm. long. The upper cross-piece *E* is hung by rings to a rod which is fastened somewhere. Pegs or small holes are placed at exactly opposite places of the crosspieces *B* and *F* to which threads are tied or drawn through. The friction at an axis is thus avoided, which, in view of the great weight of the beam, is quite considerable. The knob visible below the beam under its centre is used to secure the tongue to the beam or to take it out in order to adjust it evenly. The tongue has for this purpose a peg at the foot which goes through a hole in the beam. Al-Khāzinī also observes that one could also take shorter beams, but then all the other dimensions must be proportionately smaller. The beam is divided not on one side only, as in the illustration, but on both. The scales are hung on very delicate rings of steel (*ghurāb* "ravens"), the points of which fit into little niches on the upper surface of the beam.

Five scales are used in ascertaining specific gravities, i.e. in investigating alloys and examining precious stones. Of these, the scale *H* (fig. 5a) is called the cone-shaped or *al-ḥākim*, "the judge", as it is used to distinguish false from true. It goes into the water, and in order to meet less resistance in sinking, is cone-shaped and pointed below. The scale *J* is called the winged (*mudjannaḥ*, figs. 5b and 5c, side and top view). It has indented sides so that it can be brought very close to the adjoining scales. It is also called the movable (*munakkal*). There is also a movable running weight *K* (*al-rummāna al-sayyāra*) which serves, if necessary, to adjust the weight of the lighter beam; it is therefore also called the *rummāna* of the adjustment (*al-taʿdīl*). The other scales are used to hold weights.

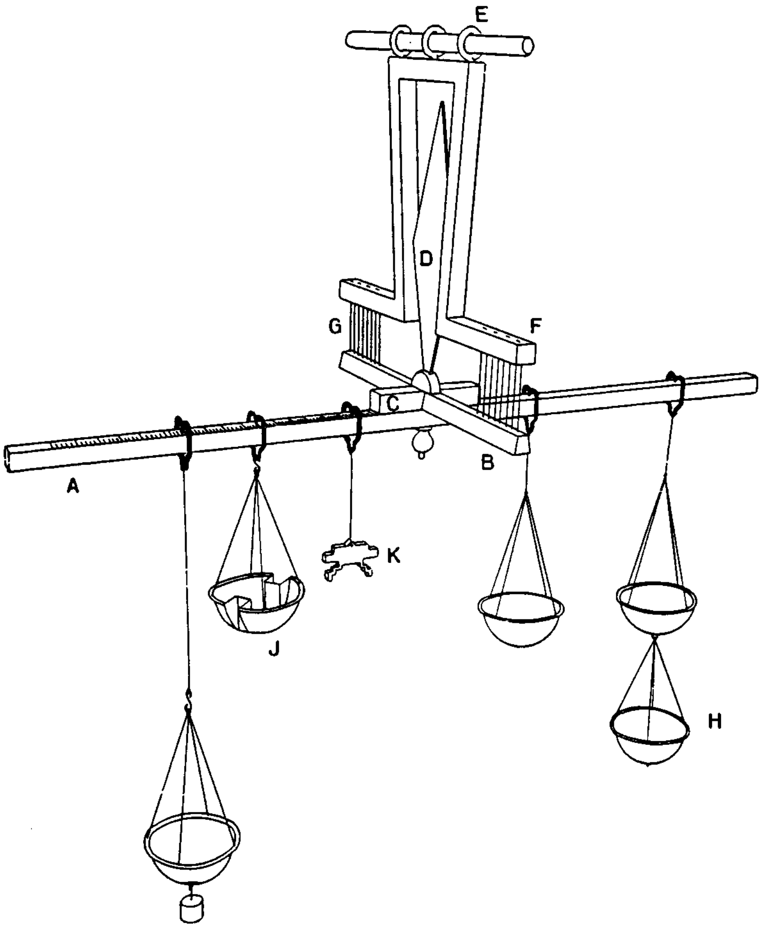

Fig. 5.

Al-Khāzinī attained an extraordinary degree of accuracy with his balance. This was the result of the length of the beam, the peculiar method of suspension, the fact that the centre of gravity and axis of oscillation were very close to each other, and of the obviously very accurate construction of the whole. Al-Khāzinī himself says that when the instrument was weighing 1,000 *mithkāls*, it could show a difference of 1 *ḥabba* = 1/68 *mithkāl*, i.e. about 75 cg. in 4.5 kg. We thus have accuracy to 1/60,000.

Al-Khāzinī used his scales for the most varied purposes. Firstly, for ordinary weighing, then for all purposes connected with the taking of specific gravities, distinguishing of genuine (*ṣamīm*) and false metals, examining the composition of alloys, changing of *dirhams* to *dīnārs* and countless other business transactions. In all these processes, the scales are moved about until equilibrium is obtained and the desired magnitudes in many cases can at once be read on the divisions on the beam.

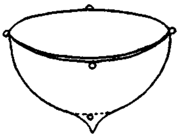

Fig. 5a.

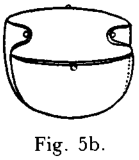

Fig. 5b.

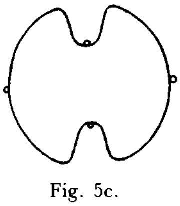

Fig. 5c.

False balances. That as early as the time of Muḥammad balances showing false weights were used for fraudulent purposes is shown by various passages in the Ḳurʾān (Sūra XXVI, 182; VII, 13; XVII, 37). We read, for example, "Weigh with the just (or upright, *mustaḳīm*) balance." Al-Djawbarī (*flor.* 1st half of the 7th/13th century; Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, iv. *Über Wagen bei den Arabern*, in *SPMSE*, xxxvii [1905], 388 and Suppl. art. AL-DJAWBARĪ) describes two such arrangements. In the one, the beam of the balance consisted of a hollow reed closed at the ends, in which there was some quicksilver; by a slight inclination of the beam, this could be made to flow as desired to the side of the weights or of the articles and thus make the one or other appear heavier. A balance like that was used in Cairo in the time of E.W. Lane by a dishonest market inspector (*muḥtasib*). In the second pair of scales, the tongue was of iron and the merchant had a ring with a magnetic stone. By bringing the ring close to it the balance went down to the right or left.

The balance or the principles applying to it were used for many purposes besides weighing. Contrivances turning on an axis in which sometimes one and sometimes the other side becomes lighter or heavier, especially by the admission or release of water, were used to produce automatic movements; they are often called *mīzān* (cf. e.g. the writings of the Banū Mūsā and of al-Djazarī; e.g. in F. Hauser, *Über das Kitāb al-Ḥiyal. Das Werk über die sinnreichen Anordnungen der Banū Mūsā*, Abh. 2, *Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft und Med.*, Heft ii [1922]; E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, in *Nova Acta der Kais. Leop. Carol. Akademie*, c [1915], no. 5, and other passages). In the hour balance used to measure time, a container filled with sand or water is hung at one end of a lever poised with arms of equal length and has a hole in the bottom. The equilibrium disturbed by the gradual loss of sand or water is compensated for by weights which move along the other arm. From their weight and position one can calculate the time that has passed (Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xxxvii, *Über die Stundenwage*, in *SPMSE*, xlvi [1914], 27; a full description is given by F. Hauser in E. von Basserman-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*).

Most artisans also describe as "scales" *al-misṭara*, i.e. ruler, *al-barkaz*, compass, *al-ḳūniyā*, setsquare and level, as they serve to show lapses from the straight etc. *Miḳyāl*, ell, *shāhīn* and *ḳubbān* are "scales" with which one measures whether things are correct or excessive measure in business transactions (*Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1305, i/2, 128). For a few further meanings of *al-mīzān*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *wazana*.

In mathematics, the balance is used to eludicate certain mathematical processes. The steelyard is used to illustrate the inversed relation; the weights are in inverse proportion to the length of the arms (cf. e.g. Th. Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum und Mittelalter*, in *Programm Forchheim* [1905-6], 93; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, i/2, 10, and other places). Al-Bīrūnī uses the balance to explain the procedure in solving equations (*al-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala*) (*Kitāb al-Tafhīm*, ms. Berlin, 5665, fol. 9b). The method of the double error is also called the "process with the use of the beam".

One knows whether a number is divisible by nine by casting out the nines: to do this one adds up the figures in a number and takes away nines from the total until 9 or another number is left; the number left is called *mīzān*. The word *mīzān* also means testing the correctness of any calculation (cf. Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Khulāṣāt al-ḥisāb*, ed. G.H.F. Nesselmann, Berlin 1843).

In magic squares, the sum of the largest and smallest figures is called *al-mīzān*; it is half the total of the vertical row, horizontal row or of the diagonals (G. Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten*, in *Isl.*, xiii [1922], 223).

Alchemy is often called *ʿilm al-mīzān*, the science of the scales, or of accurate measurement, as in the preparation of the elixir, etc., the choice of the right proportion of the ingredients is an important matter.

Among other uses of the word *mīzān*, it may be mentioned that a tree on a boundary near Bāniyās at the source of the Jordan was called "tree of the balance" (*mīzān*). We may also note that on the day of judgement a balance with a very long beam will be erected (on it, cf. e.g. M. Wolff, *Muhammadanische Eschatologie*, Leipzig 1872, text, 81, tr. 148, and al-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-fākhira fī kashf ʿulūm al-ākhira*, ed. L. Gautier, Leipzig 1878, text, 67, tr. 79).

Specific gravity. We have already mentioned that the "balance of wisdom" and other scales were used to test the purity of metals, etc. and to ascertain the composition of alloys; we shall now briefly discuss the work of the Arabs on this subject. Two magnitudes have to be considered. The weights of equal volumes are compared, which corresponds to an investigation of the specific gravities. (It is to be noted that expressions like specific gravity and specific volume, which refer to the unit of weight and the unit of volume, are not found among the Arabs. Al-Bīrūnī, for example, gives the amount of water displaced by 100 *mithḳāls* of various substances corresponding to their volume, and the weights of the metals which

have the same volume as 100 *mithkāls* of gold, and in the case of other substances the same volume as 100 *mithkāls* of blue *yākūt*.) Al-Bīrūnī, for example, takes hemispheres of the different metals or rods of equal size and compares their weights, or the volumes of equal weights are compared by finding those of any weights and then comparing the specific volumes (i.e. the volumes of the unit of weight). For these measurements, one either used methods based on the principle of Archimedes, according to which a body loses in a liquid as much weight as the volume of the fluid displaced by it, or one measures the fluid displaced by the body itself. For this purpose al-Bīrūnī constructed a cone-shaped vessel (*al-āla al-makhrūṭiyya*) (fig. 6). This vessel is filled with water until it begins to run out by a pipe at the side; then a definite mass, as large as possible, of the substance (weight P_1) is weighed, as is the scale P_2 that is placed under the outlet pipe. The substance is then put in the vessel and the pan with the water displaced weighed (P_3), so that from P_3-P_2 we get the volume of water corresponding to the mass P_1, which is then calculated by al-Bīrūnī for a weight of 100 *mithkāls*. As almost always, in ascertaining the specific gravity, the Arabs rely on the ancients, particularly on the work of Menelaus "on the artifice by which one ascertains the quantity of each of a number of mixed bodies", *fī ḥīla allatī yuʿrafu bi-hā miḳdar kull wāḥid min ʿidda adjsām mukhtaliṭa* (from the Escorial ms.) and *maʿrifat kammiyyat tamayyuz al-adjrām al-mukhtaliṭa* (according to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 321). In al-Bīrūnī's word, Archimedes himself is mentioned

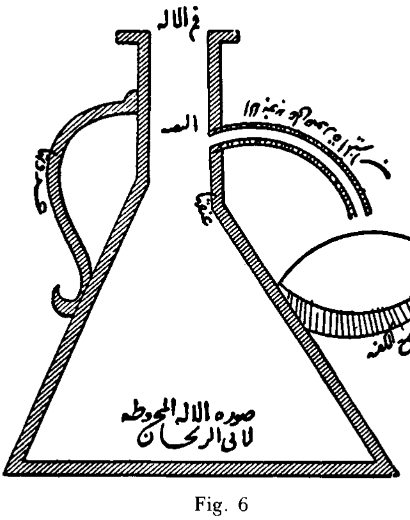

Fig. 6

and a certain Manāṭiyūs (according to Nöldeke, probably Μαντίας). The Muslims, however, did not slavishly take over the statements of the ancients. Al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, for example emphasises that one can ascertain the composition of an alloy of two components but not one of three, as Menelaus says. Among the Muslims it was certainly al-Bīrūnī who did most in this field, in his work "on the relations which exist between metals and jewels in volume" (*Maḳāla fī 'l-nisab allatī bayn al-filizzāt wa 'l-djawāhir fī 'l-ḥadjm*, cf. also al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, text, p. xxxxiv), which still exists, and also in another work, which only survives in fragments quoted by al-Khāzinī. Al-Bīrūnī was induced to compose the first-named by the difficulties encountered by goldsmiths in ascertaining the quantities of metals necessary to copy a given article. As predecessors, he mentions

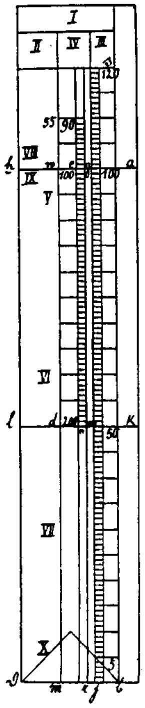

Fig. 7

Sanad b. ʿAlī, Yuḥanna b. Yūsuf and Aḥmad al-Faḍl al-Bukhārī. So far as we know he was followed and his results were used by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Khayyāmī (see above), al-Isfizārī (see above), al-Khāzinī (see above), Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210, Suter, no. 328), and Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, Eliyā Misrākhī, a work ascribed to Plato which was composed in the time of Bāyazīd by a slave of a son of Sinān, a Turkish work by al-Ghaffarī, and a Persian one by Muḥammad b. Manṣūr (on these works, as on mineralogical literature in general, see Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xxx, *Zur Mineralogie des Islam*, in *SPMSE*, xliv [1912], 205). We must also mention the study by Abū Manṣūr al-Nayrīzī, who is not to be confused with the commentator on Euclid, and the work on the measurement of bodies which are compounded of other substances, in order to ascertain the unknown amounts of the separate constituents: *Minbar fī misāḥat al-adjsām al-mukhtaliṭa li 'stikhrādj miḳdār madjhūlihā* by Samūʾīl b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbās al-Maghribī al-Andalusī (d. 570/1174-5 at Maghāra; see Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 209; Suter, no, 302).

The statements on specific gravities refer to: A. Metals: gold, mercury, bronze (*ṣifr*), copper, brass (*shibh*), iron, tin (*raṣāṣ*), lead (*usruf* and *usrub*). B. Precious stones: blue *yāḳūt*, red *yāḳūt*, ruby, emerald, lapis lazuli, pearl, coral, cornelian, onyx and rock crystal. C. Other substances: Pharaonic glass, clay from Siminyān, pure salt, salt earth (*sabakh*), sandarch, enamel (*mīnā*), amber, pitch, wax, ivory, bakkam wood and willow wood.

The weights of equal volumes of liquids and the volumes of equal weights of liquid are sometimes found directly, sometimes ascertained with the araeometer of Pappus. The former magnitude plays an important part in the liquids used in everyday life like oil and wine. The second was of more scientific interest. It is especially interesting that the Arabs found that hot water and hot urine had a larger

volume than equal weights cold. They also knew that ice had a larger volume than the same weight of water.

The facts ascertained with the araeometer of Pappus for fluids refer to cold fresh water, hot water, ice (which does not properly belong to this connection), sea water, vinegar, wine, sesame oil, olive oil, cow's milk, hen's egg, blood of a healthy man, warm and cold urine.

Fig. 7 shows the araeometer reconstructed by H. Bauerreiss from al-Khāzinī. *X* is a massive cone used to make the instrument heavy. There are inscriptions corresponding to the Roman numerals. For details, the reader may be referred to H. Bauerreiss's article. The principle that floating bodies of the same weight sink in water to the same depth finds application in a juristic trick cited in the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal fi 'l-fiḳh* of Abū Ḥātim al-Ḳazwīnī. The weight of a camel is ascertained by putting it in a boat and noting how deep the boat sinks. The camel is then replaced by iron weights until the boat sinks to the same level (cf. J. Schacht, in G. Bergsträsser, *Beitr. zur semitischen Philologie und Linguistik*).

In medical works and treatises on weights and measures, figures are given for the weights of equal volumes of wine, oil and honey (cf. Bauerreiss, *op. cit.*).

So far as it is a question of particular bodies, the values as ascertained by the Arabs agree very well with those obtained by modern science and even surpass in accuracy those obtained by it up till the beginning of the last century.

Bibliography: Given in AL-ḲARASṬŪN.

2. LEVELLING (*wazana*, to weigh, corresponding to Latin *librare*).

The Arabs certainly adopted a large number of methods of levelling and testing levels from other peoples, either the Byzantines or the Persians. The statements in Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*] (see below) about the making of canals, etc., agree with those of Vitruvius, who in turn drew on Greek sources. The Arabs learned partly from Greek works; for example, we are told that according to Philemon (according to M. Steinschneider, Philo), the incline in canals must be at least 5 : 1,000; but they also utilised data gained from the practical experience of landowners, canal builders, etc. Whether the Arabs were acquainted with the standard works of Hero on this subject, the *Metrica* and the "On the Dioptra" (Hero, *Opera omnia*, ed. H. Schöne, iii, Leipzig 1903), is not known, for no corresponding title is found in the biographical or bibliographical works. But the writing mentioned in the *Fihrist* "On the use of the astrolabe" may have dealt with geodetic problems. Many problems in the Arabic sources are very similar to those dealt with in the work "On the Dioptra"; only the Arabs use the astrolabe or quadrant instead of the dioptra. Whether one or other of the methods described below was discovered independently by the Arabs, and by whom, cannot be established from the authors on the subject, who were mainly practical men. They are described in the most different places.

In levelling, one is faced with two problems: firstly to make a surface exactly perpendicular, and secondly to ascertain the point on the same level as a given one, or to ascertain the difference in height between two points.

1. A surface is made level and horizontal in the following way:

A ruler with a straight edge is moved over the surface and one sees whether it touches it everywhere so perfectly that no light penetrates between ruler and surface; in this case the surface is perfectly smooth (al-Shīrāzī, see below). That the ruler itself is straight is ascertained by seeing whether a thread stretched along it and fastened to it at one end can be lifted the same height from the ruler along its whole length. Whether three rulers are straight is tested by putting them side by side and exchanging their sides (Ibn Yūnus, in K. Schoy, see below).

To examine whether a surface was perfectly horizontal, the following tests were adopted:

Water is poured over the surface and it is observed whether this flows equally in all directions; this is one of the most usual methods. The same plan is given by Proclus in his *Hypotyposis* (ed. K. Manitius, Leipzig 1909, 50, 51). According to him, one pushes supports under a level surface on all sides till it shows no slope anywhere; this is the case when water poured on it remains standing without running to one side.

2. An object which can roll is placed on one side; if it does not roll off but only oscillates, the surface is horizontal (al-Shīrāzī, see below).

3. Water is poured onto a plate or dish (*djafna*, fig. 8) with an edge which is parallel to the surface and of

Fig. 8

the same height all the way round, and it is observed whether the water comes exactly up to the edges on all sides (Ibn Luyūn, see below). An exactly straight ruler is laid on the plate and one looks over this.

Ibn Sīnā (ms. Leiden, no. 1061), in order to test whether the upper surface of the base of a theodolite is horizontal, makes a cavity in it with exactly perpendicular walls, pours water in and proceeds as in the case of the plate. To test whether a large ring is absolutely smooth, al-ʿUrḍī used a process which he called *al-afādayn*. This is not a ready-made instrument, but an apparatus to be put together from case to case. The ring to be tested is first of all placed exactly horizontal with the ground by means of the level (fig. 9). Inside the ring on its concave side, a circular gutter of potter's clay is built. Its outer edge comes up to the level of the surface of the ring while its inner edge is a little higher. The gutter is filled with water and some light ashes are scattered on it. If the water flows over

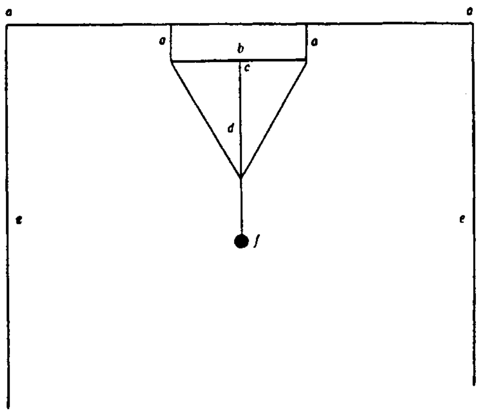

Fig. 9

In the original the rod is at *e*, the rope at *a*, at *b c* is the *murdjiḳāl*, a triangle of wood, at *d* thread, at *f* *thaḳḳāla*, weight.

the ring the depressions in the ring are filled with it, while the ashes remain on the raised parts of it. The inequalities in the surface of the ring are thus brought out (fig. 10). Al-ᶜUrḍī emphasises that the test must be made in absolute calm.

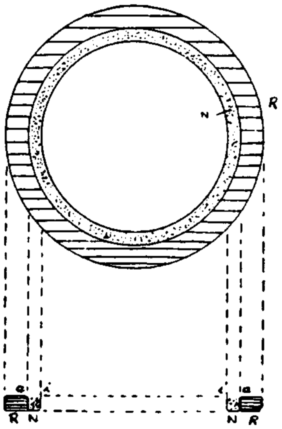

Fig. 10

Al-ᶜUrḍī also used the same method in order to see whether the outlets for water in a distribution system at Damascus were all of the same level. In the centre of the reservoir he put a gutter like this and deepened or raised the bottoms of the channels running out of it until the water from the gutter spread equally over the channels which revealed any inequalities (fig. 11). Cf. H.J. Seemann, in *SPMSE*, lx, 1928), 49, 81 and J. Frank, in *Zeitschr. f. Instrumentkunde*, xlviii [1929].

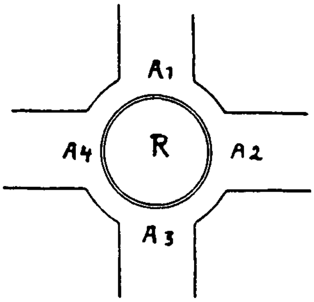

Fig. 11

4. A plumb-line (*shāḳūl*, *buld*, *balad* [from βόλις], *thakkāla*) is dropped from the apex (fig. 12) of an isosceles triangle, made for example of wood, with its perpendicular marked; a piece is sometimes left open in the centre of the under side for the weight of the plumb-line. If the plumb-line coincides with the perpendicular, the surface is horizontal (the figures go back to al-Shīrāzī and al-Khalkhālī). Such drawings have led to the erroneous idea that Muslim students were already acquainted with the pendulum (cf. E. Wiedemann, in *Verhandl. d. d. phys. Ges.* [1919], 663; the apparatus is called *al-fādin* [e.g. in al-Shīrāzī and al-ᶜUrḍī, see below], Dozy, *op. cit.*, also *al-ḳādin*).

In the architect's balance (fig. 13), according to Ibn Luyūn or al-Ṭighnārī (see below), a quadrangular piece of wood is placed on the beam *a a* to be examined; in the middle of it, a perpendicular line *b a* is drawn before which a plumb-line is hung; according to the original figure, it seems to be two parallel lines between which the plumb-line hangs.

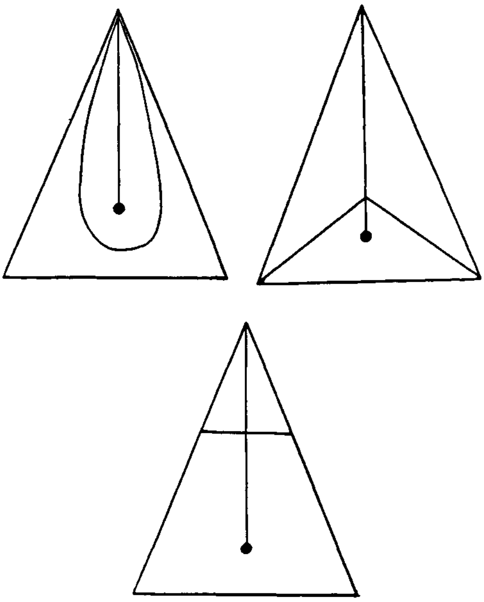

Fig. 12

Al-Marrākushī (*flor.* later 7th/13th century [*q.v.*]) has described a more perfect form (fig. 14). In the figure *a b*, *a c* and *d e* are rods, and *a b* = *a c* and *a d e* is an equilateral triangle; *d e* is pierced in the centre. A plumb-line is hung from *a* through the hole. If the surface on which *b* and *c* are put is horizontal, the thread of the plumb-line goes through the centre of the hole.

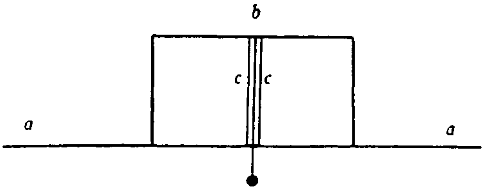

Fig. 13

Whether the levels and other instruments are themselves correct, whether for example the plumb-line from the apex to the base is perpendicular, is tested in this way. After the plumb-line comes to rest in one position of the level, the latter is put in various positions on some horizontal surface, particularly in one

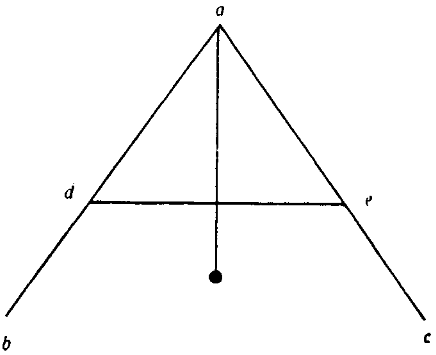

Fig. 14

perpendicular to the first, and in one in which left and right have places exchanged. If the plumb-line always comes to rest, the level is correct but if it only does so in the former case the error can be corrected by adjusting the position of the surface and that of the level.

The level here described is usually called *kūniya* (γωνία); the word, however, is also used for the wooden setsquare, as used by carpenters (see *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 255) and land surveyors like Abu 'l-Wafāʾ (see *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft und Medizin*, Heft iv [1922], 98). A synonym is *afāḏān*, according to al-Shīrāzī (*Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk, Maḳ*. 2, ch. 13). From the same root we have in Ibn Waḥshiyya (ms. Leiden no. 1279, 527) *fawdān*, in Dozy (*Supplément*, ii, 246) *fādin* and *fādim*. Connected with this is *fawdān*, dual of *fawd*.

Sometimes one finds it stated that levelling is done with the *shāḳūl*; e.g. in al-Battānī (ed. Nallino, text, 1903, 137), *mawzūn bi 'l-shāḳūl*, and an exactly similar statement is made by Ibn Sīnā (ms. Leiden no. 1061). A setsquare is either brought up to the plumb-line and a perpendicular dropped on the surface from it, or the *shāḳūl* is used for the level, the essential part of which is the plummet.

On larger surfaces, such as roofs, etc., a long rod (*kubṭāl* = *cubitale*) is first of all laid down, and on it the apparatus for testing the level is placed; this is called *mīzān al-izur* (or *al-bannāʾīn*, that of the architects; cf. Ibn Luyūn, see below).

5. At the apex A and B (fig. 15) of two sharp-pointed tetrahedra of equal height $A\ I\ H\ K$ and $B\ L\ M\ N$, a rod of some length $A\ B$ is laid, on which is fixed a triangle with a plumb-line hanging from it or an arrangement such as is already described for the scale-beam. If the plumb-line or the tongue comes to rest, the rod and therefore the surface is horizontal (al-Marrākushī).

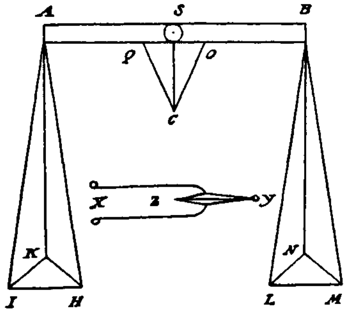

Fig. 15

The necessity of making surfaces exactly level continually crops up in building, and also in setting up astronomical instruments, and in constructing the Indian circle with which the meridian and then the direction of the *ḳibla* is ascertained. In this case, the level surface is usually not prepared on the ground but on a firm foundation, perhaps of stone. The construction for the Indian circle is already described in the *Hypotyposis* of Proclus (*loc. cit.*) in the same way as by the Arabs.

We now deal with the tests used to see if a thing is perpendicular:

1. The simplest method is to hang a plumb-line beside it. In the case of level perpendicular surfaces, this must touch it all the way down if its point of suspension is on it. This method is always recommended in working with the quadrant (see also below).

2. If the point of suspension is a little in front of the surface, the thread must be equidistant from it all the way down.

3. In the side of the gnomon, a perpendicular rod, often with a cone-shaped top, Ibn Yūnus (see below) cut out a groove which ended in a hemispherical cavity. In the groove a thread is hung from the top of the gnomon with a ball-shaped weight. If this comes to rest in the hollow, the gnomon is perpendicular.

4. The gnomon is moved backwards and forwards (turned about on its foot: *muḳbal wa-mudbar*); its shadow must only move so far on the level surface, on which it stands, as is in keeping with the movement of the sun during the turning (Ibn Yūnus, see below).

5. A circle is described at the foot of the rod and a pair of compasses used to test whether the distance of the top of the gnomon is the same from all points of the circle.

6. Ibn Sīnā drills a small hole through the gnomon parallel to its base, puts it in a vessel with a horizontal bottom which is filled with muddy water and examines whether the surface exactly coincides with the level of the hole.

7. In order to examine whether a level surface is standing exactly perpendicular, two exactly equal parallelepipedal blocks of wood (fig. 16) are placed on it, L_1 and L_2, one above the other. From the upper edge of L_1 a plumb-line is hung; one watches whether its thread exactly touches L_2; the best plan is to place a very thin ruler between L_1 and the plummet and test the position of the thread with respect to L_2 (al-Marrākushī, see below).

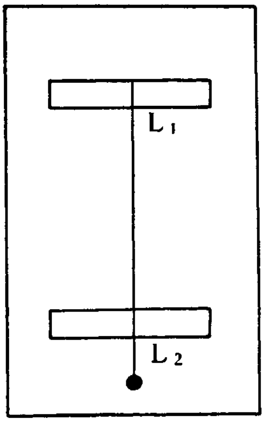

Fig. 16

2. In order to ascertain the difference in height between two points s_1 and s_2 which are at a distance from one another, as is necessary in making a canal for example, one looks horizontally from s_1 with a apparatus which is at a height h from the ground to a vertical rod at s_2 and ascertains the height h_1 at which the point observed is above the ground. A mark can be made on it (in modern mensuration, the rod at s_2 has divisions marked on it); the difference in height is h_1-h. According to fig. 19, the Arabs, like Hero, seem to have used something similar. Ibn al-ʿAwwām (see below) uses a square board on which are marked a number of circles touching one another, which are distinguished by different colours or have different centres. In order to place the rods absolutely

perpendicular, plumb-lines are hung beside them (fig. 17).

The horizontal line of vision is obtained in various ways:

1. A rod (e.g. an ell long) with square sides is put up in such a way that the upper surface appears horizontal to the eye and one looks along this surface.

2. The rod (*kubṭāl*) is put on the above-mentioned dish or plate (fig. 8) and one looks along it.

3. At the end of the rod, nails are fastened at the same height and their heads are pierced and one looks through the holes.

4. For a rough examination, one can put, at two places, two tub-shaped bricks which for convenience may be made each out of two half-pipes (Ibn al-ᶜAwwām, see below).

5. An astrolabe is put in a horizontal place such as the edge of a well or on its cover, and one looks through the eyepiece.

Other methods of ascertaining differences of level are as follows:

1. An assistant is sent from the higher positions to the lower holding a rod of a known length *l* vertically until one sees just the end of it; if *h* then is the level of the eye, *l-h* is the difference in height. If the distance is too great for the top of the rod to be distinguished, a light is put on it, e.g. a lighted candle, and the observation is made by night.

2. If it is a question of ascertaining whether a place outside a well is lower than the level of water in the well, the distance of the latter from the surface of the ground or from the edge is ascertained by letting a rod and thread down with a shining heavy object at the end and used in calculation.

Two apparatuses, closely connected with each other, are the following:

3. To a rod (fig. 17) the triangle with the plumb-line is attached. To its two ends, two threads with weights at the ends are attached, *a* and *b*. Two posts *1* and *2* are erected at the points, the difference in level of which is to be ascertained. The one thread is fastened to the end of the lower post *1* and the other hung along and over the post *2* until its weight comes to rest. The amount of shifting of the thread measures the difference in height (al-Khāzinī, see below).

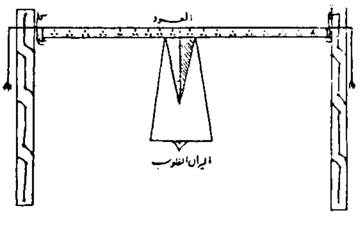

Fig. 17

4. The *murdjikāl* (the bat, fig. 18) consists of an equilateral triangle with a plumb-line which hangs from the middle of one side. The triangle is suspended by this side. Two rods, an ell in length, are erected to 10 ells apart; a rope is passed from the rop of one to the top of the other and by two threads *a a* the *murdjikāl* is suspended in its centre. If the plumb-line goes through the triangle, both places are on the same level; if not, one is raised by putting stones below it for example. The end of the rope can, as in 3, be moved along (Ibn Luyūn, see below).

5. In the Paris manuscript no. 2468, an unknown author describes 3 apparatuses for levelling (figs. 19a-c). In the first (*al-mashhūr*, the known) a rod of wood

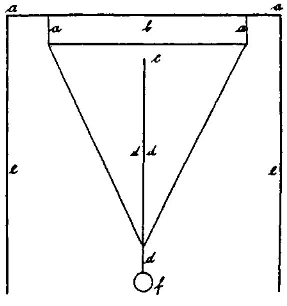

Fig. 18

an ell in length is bored through its entire length and tongs with a tongue are suspended from its centre (fig. 19a). Through the hole, a rope some 15 ells long is drawn which is fastened to the two vertical rods already mentioned. The second apparatus (fig. 19b: *al-shabīha*, the "similar") corresponds to the *murdjikāl*; only the two threads *a a* are replaced by rings which are put over the long rope *a a* . The third arrangement (fig. 19c: *al-anbūb*, the pipe) is also mentioned by al-Karkhī and Bahā᾽ al-Dīn al-ᶜĀmilī but not described;

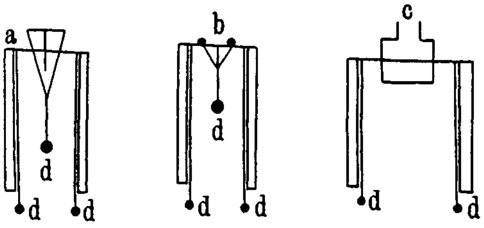

Fig. 19a Fig. 19b Fig. 19c

(From the ms. Paris no. 1417, *a* is the known, *b* is the similar, *c* the pipe, *d* the weight.)

it probably corresponds to our canal-level, a communicating pipe filled with water, such as is very fully described by Hero (*Dioptra*, 197 and *loc. cit.*), but he gives it no particular name, probably because it is associated with a dioptra. On the plumb-line of the figure is written *thakkāla* (cf. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xxxv, see below).

Al-Ṭighnārī mentions another instrument called *mīzān al-kaṭᶜ*, and Ibn Waḥshiyya (see below), one of brass called *kafar* or *kakar*. Neither are described, however. Arab authors who give fuller descriptions of Arab instruments are the following:

1. Ibn Waḥshiyya (or Abū Ṭālib al-Zayyāt) [*q.v.*], in *Kitāb al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*, "the Book of Nabataean Agriculture" (cf. H. Schmeller, in *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der Naturwissensch. und Medizin*, Erlangen 1922, Heft iv, 26). His data are supplemented by those of numerous commentators.

2. Al-Khāzinī, in the *Kitāb Mīzān al-ḥikma*; cf. Th. Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum u. Mittelalter*, diss. Erlangen 1908, 159 ff.

3. Ibn al-ᶜAwwām (*ca.* 524/1130) in *Kitāb al-Filāḥa* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x, see below).

4. Abū ᶜUthmān b. Luyūn (d. 740/1349) in his *Radjaz fi 'l-filāḥa*, deals with levelling ground, etc., and gives notes on al-Ṭighnārī [see FILĀḤA. ii] and others (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x, 317, and Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 302, 579).

5. Bahā᾽ al-Dīn al-ᶜĀmilī (953/1547-1030/1622),

Essenz der Rechenkunst, ed. F. Nesselmann, see Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x, 319).

Full details of levelling are given in the astronomical books in the treatment of the ascertainment of the meridian, e.g. in Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311 [*q.v.*]; cf. E. Wiedemann, in *Zeitschr. für Physik*, x [1922], 267), al-Khalkhālī, etc. Many books on the astrolabe give information on the subject in their treatment of surveying problems, e.g. in al-Bīrūnī (cf. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xviii, 59 ff.).

Once again are given here the names of the levelling instruments: *mīzān*, *mīzān al-bannāʾīn*, *mīzān al-ḳaṭʿ*, *mīzān al-izur*, *ḳubṭāl*, *kūniyya*, *fādin*, *ḳādin*, *afādayn*, *djafna*, *murdjiḳāl*, *kakar*.

The writer knows no comprehensive treatise on levelling in connection with canal building, etc., in the early Muslim period. For the literature, see Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, iii, 229; xviii, 26, and H. Schmeller, *op. cit.*, 41. For knowledge of these matters in ancient times, see C. Merkel, *Die Ingenieurtechnik im Altertum*, and H. Diels, *Antike Technik*², Leipzig 1920.

Bibliography: Lerchundi and Simonet, *Crestomatía arábigo española*, Granada 1881, 138-9 (see also Ibn Luyūn, i.e. of Léon); cf. also Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii, Leipzig 1888, 187-98; K. Schoy, *Die Gnomonik der Araber* (Ibn Yūnus), 6-7; E. von Bassermann-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*, i, fasc. F, 1923; Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x. *Zur Technik der Araber*; iii. *Über Nivellieren und Vermessen*, in *SPMSE*, xxxviii (1906), 310-21; idem, *Beiträge*, xviii, no. 3, *Geodaetische Messungen*, in *ibid.*, xli (1909), 59-78; idem, *Beiträge*, xxxv. *Über Nivellieren*, in *ibid.*, xlv (1914), 15-16; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk* (cf. Wiedemann, in *Zeitschr. für Physik*, x, (1922), 267; idem, in *Verhandlungen der deutschen Physik. Gesellsch.* (1919), 663); al-Marrākushī, *Traité des instruments astronomiques*, ed. L.A. Sédillot, i, 376; Ibn Sīnā, *Fī ittikhādh al-ālāt al-raṣdiyya* (ms. Leiden no. 1961); cf. also Wiedemann, *Über ein von Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) hergestelltes Beobachtungsinstrument*, in *Zeitschr. für Instrumentenkunde* (1925), 269-75; Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Khalkhālī, *Risāla fī 'l-dāʾira al-hindiyya*, *Abhandlung* (ms. Gotha, 1417); Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī, *Risāla fī kayfiyāt al-irṣād wa-mā yuḥtādju ilā ʿilmihi wa-ʿamalihi min al-ṭuruḳ al-muʾaddiya ilā maʿrifat ʿawdāt al-kawākib*, etc. (ms. Paris, no. 2544; also contains descriptions of the instruments in the observatory at Marāgha [*q.v.*]; see H.J. Seemann, *loc. cit.*). See also DJĀBIR B. ḤAYYĀN and MISĀḤA.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

3. ASPECTS OF THE BALANCE IN INDIAN MUSLIM ART.

The "Straightforward" sense, the balance (centrally) pivoted (there seem to be no depictions of the steelyard), is shown in certain Mughal miniature paintings; e.g. in fol. 245 (artist: Mukund) of the Chester Beatty *Akbar-nāma*. Akbar is being weighed against silver and gold, seated on a square cushion occupying one of the balance-pans, on a large balance suspended from the roof of a pavilion (an occasion of court ceremony, with the *magas rān* and the *ḳur* conspicuous; see MARĀSIM. 5; the incidents are described in *Akbar-nāma*, iii, 177-8; tr. iii, 304). There is a similar incident of Djahāngīr's time where the young Prince Khurram is being similarly weighed against gold and silver on the anniversary of Djahāngīr's date of accession in the Ūrta garden at Kābul; the (unsigned) miniature is on a leaf which presumably formed part of the projected *Djahāngīr-nāma*, and refers to an incident of 1016/1607, although the painting is of some twelve years later (BM 1948-10-1069). The balance is shown also in some of Djahāngīr's commissioned "allegorical" paintings (to use the terminology of Asok Das for some paintings which seem to have been inspired by Djahāngīr's dreams, see *Bibl.*), always empty and level, and representing the "scales of justice" in the *ʿadl-i Djahāngīr*; there is an extraordinary scene in a miniature by Abu 'l-Ḥasan in the Chester Beatty Djahāngīr album (*Catalogue*, pl. 62) where Djahāngīr, standing on a globe in a (European) wooden stand atop an ox standing on a fish, transfixes the severed head of Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*], which stands on a spear fixed in the ground, with an arrow (European *putti* wait above him with spare arrows). Between the stand of the globe and the shaft of the spear is a chain of twelve bells running obliquely, from the middle of which is a balance; a Persian verse on the miniature refers to the "justice of Djahāngīr". The chain of bells represents the *zandjīr-i ʿadl* which Djahāngīr had directed to be suspended from the battlements of the Āgrā fort so that suppliants might advert him of their grievances (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, i, 7). See Chester Beatty Catalogue, i, 3, for Wilkinson's interpretation, and tr. of the verses.

Also in the Chester Beatty collection (*Catalogue*, iii, pl. 86), the young Shāhdjahān is depicted standing on a globe (a direct reminiscence of Djahāngīr's "allegorical" paintings) which bears the representations of a lion and a lamb; over the beasts, directly under Shāhdjahān's feet, is an empty level balance (another version appears in the Kevorkian album, ? Hāshim, 1038/1628). A level balance appears also in a *darbār* scene in another Shāhdjahān album, where it figures as a device on the front of the throne; and, perhaps the most familiar example, carved on the translucent marble screen in the Red Fort in Dihlī between the Khʷābgāh and the Rang Maḥall, the *mīzān-i ʿadl* straddling the ornamental water-channel known as the Nahr-i bihisht. The intention again seems to have been to depict the emperor as the dispenser of Justice, following Djahāngīr's precedent.

Bibliography: T.W. Arnold, rev. and ed. J.V.S. Wilkinson, *The library of A. Chester Beatty: catalogue of the Indian miniatures*, Oxford 1936; Asok Kumar Das, *Mughal painting in Jahangir's time*, London Ph.D. thesis 1967, later publ. Delhi 1978. There is a full description of the weighing of Djahāngīr against various commodities on his birthday (29 Shaʿbān 1026/1 September 1617) in Māndū, with a description of the balance, in J.M. Campbell, *Mandu*, in *JBBRAS*, xix (1896), 194-5, based on statements by the travellers Roe, Terry and Coryat.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MĪZĀN ("balance"), an Ottoman political weekly (later daily), published in Istanbul, Cairo, Paris, Geneva and again in Istanbul between 1886 and 1909 (with interruptions). Founded, owned and edited by Mīzāndjī Meḥmed Murād [*q.v.*], it "contained nothing beyond the personal opinions of Mourad Bey" (Ahmed Emin). It described itself as "A Turkish Newspaper", but also stressed its "Muslim and Ottoman" character. The history of *Mīzān* reflects the main stages in the journalistic and political life of its founder. First published in Istanbul where it had to conform to the Ḥamīdian censorship requirements (nos. 1-158, October 1886-December 1890), *Mīzān* was re-established outside Ottoman control after Murād had fled to Europe and had eventually decided to publish his newspaper in Cairo, this time as a more polemical and combattive paper (nos. 159-84, January-July 1896). Following Murād's move to Paris in late summer 1896, *Mīzān* was re-

founded in the French capital as the official organ of the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Terakkī Djemᶜiyyeti* [*q.v.*] besides *Mechveret* (nos. 1-18, from December 1896), only to be transferred to Geneva a few months later (nos. 19-29, May-July 1897). Murād's final return to the Ottoman empire resulted, after the proclamation of the Constitutional Period, in yet another re-foundation of *Mīzān* in Istanbul in July 1908, now published as a daily and progressively critical of the ruling *Ittiḥād we Terakkī Djemᶜiyyeti* (nos. 1-135, until April 1909). *Mīzān* was finally suspended soon after the incident known as the *31 Mārt wakᶜasi*.

Bibliography: An invaluable source lies in Meḥmed Murād's autobiographical works [see MĪZĀNDJĪ MEḤMED MURĀD. 2. Works, 1]. For a selection of leading articles from the *Mīzān* of the Egyptian and French-Swiss periods, see ᶜÖmer Fārūḳ (ed.), *Ether-i Meḥmed Murād, taḥarrī-yi istiḳbāl. Mīṣirda ve Avrūpāda neshr olunan "Mīzān"dan muḳtebesdir*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1329-30/1911-12. At present, the most detailed general account is Birol Emil, *Mizancı Murad Bey. Hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1979, ch. 2, *Mizan*, 227-399.

(M.O.H. URSINUS)

AL-**MĪZĀN** [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ].

MĪZĀNDJĪ MEḤMED MURĀD, Ottoman politician, official and journalist: editor of the weekly (later daily) *Mīzān* [*q.v.*] and for some time leader of the *Ittiḥad we Terakkī Djemᶜiyyeti* [*q.v.*]; lecturer in history at the Mekteb-i Mülkiyye and in the Dār al-Muᶜallimīn, commisioner in the Public Debt administration and member of the Shūrā-yi Dewlet [*q.v.*]; political essayist, author of several history books, novelist and playwright (1854-1917). Murād is one of the most colourful, and controversial, figures of the Ḥamīdian era: a radical idealist in much of his political writings from the period of exile, but a moderate reformist when presiding over the Young Turk party; as an official in the service of the Sultan he was ambitious and reportedly "never content with the position he held, even if elevated to the highest rank" (ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, according to Ali Haydar Yücebaş). The historian Murād was sometimes compared with Treitschke (Yaḥyā Kemāl). As a Muslim, he did not hesitate to demonstrate his sympathies with Shaykh Badr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and the Wahhābī [*q.v.*] movement (*Tārīkh-i Ebū 'l-Fārūḳ*, i, 262-7). Of the leading political intellectuals of his time, Murād is one of the most communicative with regard to his own person (cf. his 5-volume autobiography!), probably the result of his desire to explain and justify some of his most controversial moves.

1. Life. Mīzāndjī Meḥmed Murād (alias Emīrōf Murād, Ebū 'l-Fārūḳ) was born in 1270/1854 as the son of Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḳāḍī Ṭāhā, *ḳāḍī* of Ḥurāḳī in the republic of Dārghū, Dāghistān, and head of a local family of (Shāfiᶜī?) *ᶜulamā*ʾ. He received a traditional education in Arabic and Ḳurʾānic studies until the age of ten, when he himself decided to be taught in Western subjects instead. Murād registered at a Russian school in the provincial capital where he soon acquired a profound knowledge of the Russian language, whereupon he was sent to Stavropol to continue his studies in a lycée at the expense of the Russian government. Here he found the opportunity to read Draper and Guizot as well as Rousseau and Montesquieu and to satisfy his interest in world politics by following the news in various Russian and French newspapers. It was during this period that Murād began publishing essays in Russian papers and periodicals, and regularly putting down notes in his *Defter-i khāṭirāt* (see below, 2. Works, *Alter Ego*). The news of the promotion of the liberal Aḥmed Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*] to the rank of vizier, together with the tragic death of his best friend Ḥaydar Bāmātōf in 1288/1872, led Murād to leave Russia for Istanbul (according to his memoirs, the focus of all his hopes and dreams from early childhood). He arrived there in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1289/February 1873. After a prompt conversation with Midḥat Pasha (conducted in French as Murād—in his own words-"did not have any Turkish" at that time) and an audience with the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Esᶜad Pasha, Murād was introduced to Shīrwānīzāde Meḥmed Rüshdī Pasha who became Grand Vizier the very day Murād was his guest (17 Ṣafar 1290/16 April 1873). This and the fact that Rüshdī Pasha saw Murād as his compatriot secured the latter a prominent place in the pasha's *ḳonaḳ*. Having been given an apprenticeship in the Maṭbūᶜāt Ḳalemi of the Foreign Ministry instead of a military post offered to him at the instigation of Esᶜad Pasha (which he refused), Murād was then additionally appointed *mühürdār* (private secretary) of the Grand Vizier. But the dismissal from the Grand Vizierate and subsequent death of Shīrwānīzāde Rüshdī Pasha on 11 Shaᶜbān 1291/23 September 1874 suddenly left Murād without his patron, leaving him no other choice than to retreat from the inner circle of power. During the subsequent years of political instability, Murād lived through a personal crisis which came to an end only with his marriage in 1294/1877 and his appointment to a lectureship in the newly re-opened Mekteb-i Mülkiyye the same year. Teaching general history and geography, political and Ottoman history, "he made world history an Ottoman discipline" (Yaḥyā Kemāl). For use as a textbook in history classes, Murād compiled the first comprehensive modern *History of the Romans* to be written in Ottoman-Turkish (vol. ii of his *Tārīkh-i ᶜumūmī*). His appointment to an additional lectureship in the Dār al-Muᶜallimīn in Shawwāl 1297/October 1880 was followed by his installation as a member of the Inspection Committee of the Ministry of Education (Ṣafar 1299/January 1882, re-appointed Djumādā II 1305/February 1888), and by his promotion as director of the Dār al-Muᶜallimīn on 9 Radjab 1299/ 27 May 1882. This marks the zenith of Murād's career in the Ottoman educational system; his manifest belief in the political press as a particularly suitable means of enlightening people and influencing politics soon led him to reduce his commitments as a history teacher and to establish a newspaper of his own: the first issue of *Mīzān* appeared on 22 Muḥarram 1304/20 October (*sic*) 1886. Although he had resigned from all his functions in the Dār al-Muᶜallimīn by Rabīᶜ I 1303/January 1886, he continued teaching history and geography in the Mekteb-i Mülkiyye until 1313/1895. Tensions between Murād and the central authorities arose after he had frankly commented in *Mīzān* on the Armenian question and had advocated the abolition of tax privileges for the Sultan's estates. The last issues of *Mīzān* appeared in Djumādā I 1308/December 1890 after the newspaper had been suspended several times. In 23 Shaᶜbān 1308/4 April 1891, however, the Sultan appointed Murād commissioner of the Public Debt administration as some kind of douceur. An encounter between Murād and ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II in Rabīᶜ I 1313/September 1895 took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, and gave rise to expectations on Murād's side that he had a real chance to be appointed to a high-ranking post close to the Sultan

(whom he described at this occasion as "like an angel"). But as these hopes did not materialise, Murād finally decided to leave the country. He resigned from his functions in the Public Debt administration on 1 Djumādā II 1313/19 November 1895 and embarked on a Russian steamer later the same day, leaving his family behind. Travelling to Western Europe via the Crimea, Kiev and Vienna, Murād arrived in Paris early in December 1895. After a cool encounter with Aḥmed Riḍā, the leader of the Society of Union and Progress in France, and with Lord Salisbury in London shortly thereafter, Murād decided to re-establish his newspaper in Cairo, under some kind of British protection. As Murād's exodus on a Russian steamer seemed to have confirmed widespread suspicions that he was a Russian spy, Murād was sentenced to death *in absentia*. The fear of being abducted by agents of the Porte, together with the fact that he was separated from his family, contributed seriously to the deterioration of his health. Suffering from nervous tension, Murād was declared mentally ill by many of his enemies who thus found an easy explanation for the increasingly radical stance of *Mīzān*. After Ottoman pressure on the British and Egyptian governments for his extradition, Murād was requested to leave Egypt. On 30 Muḥarram 1314/10 July 1896 he left Alexandria for Paris. Back in the French capital, Murād—despite several reservations—became a member of the Society of Union and Progress and was soon elected its leader. *Mīzān* was re-established again, this time as the official organ of the Society besides *Mechveret*. But tensions between Murād and Aḥmed Riḍā resulted in the splitting-up of the Society, and in the transfer of its headquarters to Geneva on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1314/24 April 1897. After continued disputes with Aḥmed Riḍā, Murād resigned from the leadership on 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1314/31 May 1897. Less than two months later, he suddenly decided to return to Istanbul. The decisive factor in his decision appears to have been Aḥmed Djelāl al-Dīn Pasha, head of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's intelligence service, who met Murād in Paris and Geneva to convey the Sultan's conditions under which he could be pardoned. Murād boarded the train for Istanbul on 12 Rabīʿ I 1315/11 August 1897. But in spite of being promised an immediate audience with the Sultan on his return, Murād was refused entry and put under surveillance, eventually being offered a function in the intelligence service (which he appears to have refused). Almost two years passed until he was appointed a member of the Financial Department of the Council of State (Shūrā-yi Dewlet). Murād remained in this office until the beginning of the Second Constitutional Period, when he resigned, devoting himself again to the publication of *Mīzān* which was then refounded for the fourth and last time. Continuing the tradition of being an opposition paper, *Mīzān* soon turned against the now ruling *Ittiḥād we Terraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti*. As a result, in Ramaḍān 1326/October 1908 Murād was taken into the custody of the Ministry of War for about a week, and his newspaper shut down. During the disturbances which followed the so-called *31 Mārt Waḳʿasi*, Murād was accused of being a partisan, if not a prominent figure, of the political reaction, whereupon he was arrested on 3 Rabīʿ II 1327/24 April 1909. After a badly-conducted trial, Murād was sentenced to life confinement in a fortress, the first two years of which he spent on Rhodes where he began to work on his famous multi-volume Ottoman history. In Rabīʿ II 1329/April 1911, he was transferred to the island of Lesbos or Midilli [*q.v.*]. Being pardoned by the cabinet of Ḥüseyin Ḥilmī Pasha, Murād returned to Istanbul in Djumādā I 1330/April 1912. Together with his son ʿÖmer Fārūḳ, he travelled to France and Switzerland for medical treatment in the summer of 1913. Murād died in his house at Anadolu Ḥiṣārī on 21 Djumādā II 1335/15 April 1917.

2. Works. 1. *Autobiographical*: *Khayāl ve ḥaḳīḳat-i ḥāl*, unpublished ms. (extensively used by B. Emil, see *Bibl.* below); *Alter Ego*, a "*defter-i khāṭirāt*" composed in Russian (known so far only through a quotation in *Meskenet*, 21); *Meskenet maʿdheret teshkīl eder mi?*, Istanbul 1329/1911 (covering Murād's early life until 1895); *Müdjāhede-i milliyye*. *Ghurbet we ʿawdet devirleri*, Istanbul 1326/1908; *Ḥürriyyet wādīsinde bir pence-yi istibdād*, Istanbul 1326/1908 (covering most of the year 1908); *Tatlī emeller adjī ḥaḳīḳatlar*, ed. Ṭahazāde ʿÖmer Fārūḳ, Istanbul 1330/1911-12 (from the *31 Mārt Waḳʿasī* to Murād's banishment to Rhodes); *Enḳāḍ-i Istibdād ičinde zügürdün tesellīsi*, Istanbul 1329/1911 (largely overlapping with the preceding). 2. *Historical*: Some of the following titles were composed primarily as textbooks for use in the Mekteb-i Mülkiyye. The earliest of these is *Rōma tārīkhi*, first published in 1297/1879-80 as vol. ii of the following: *Tārīkh-i ʿumūmī*, 6 vols. Istanbul 1297-9/1879-80 to 1881-2 (first impression; fourth and last: 1327/1911); *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh-i ʿumūmī*. Istanbul 1302/1884-5; *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh-i Islām*, Baghčesarāy 1890; *Dewr-i Ḥamīdī āthārī*, Istanbul 1308/1890-1 (a bibliography for part of the Ḥamīdian period); *Tārīkh-i Ebü 'l-Fārūḳ*, *Tārīkh-i ʿOthmānīde siyāset we medeniyyet iʿtibāriyle ḥikmet-i aṣliyye taḥarrīsine teshebbüth*, ed. Ṭahazāde ʿÖmer Fārūḳ, 7 vols., Istanbul 1325-32/1909-16 (vol. i with another impression in 1330/1914). This remarkable Ottoman history has remained a torso; of the originally planned twelve vols. (see *muḥīṭ-i ether* on p. 2 of vol. i) only the vols. i-vii (the latter dealing with the Köprülü era) have been published. 3. *Political essays*: *Le Palais de Yildiz et la Sublime Porte*, Paris 1896; *Yildīz Sarāy-i Hümāyūnī ve Bāb-i ʿĀlī*, Cairo 1313/1895-6; *Müdāfaʿa niyyetinde bir tedjāvüz*, Paris 1314/1896-97; *La force et la faiblesse de la Turquie*, Geneva 1897; a good deal of Murād's political writings first published in *Mīzān* (Egyptian and European periods) can be found reprinted in *Taḥarrī-yi istiḳbāl*. *Miṣīrda we Avrūpāda neshr olunan "Mīzān"dan muḳtebesdir*, 2 vols. Istanbul 1329-30/1911-12. 4. *Novels*: *Ṭurfanda mī yoḳsa ṭurfa mī?*, Istanbul 1308/1890-1 ("the way I spent the first months of employment in the Sublime Porte is accurately illustrated at the beginning of the novel *Ṭurfanda*" [Meḥmed Murād, in *Meskenet*, 40]). 5. *Plays*: *Tendjere yuwarlandī ḳapaghīnī buldī*, Istanbul 1325/1909.

Bibliography: By far the best general study of the life and works of Meḥmed Murād is Birol Emil, *Mizancı Murad Bey. Hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1979.

(M.O.H. Ursinus)

MIZMĀR (A.) means literally "an instrument of piping". In the generic sense, it refers to any instrument of the "wood-wind" family, i.e. a reed-pipe or a flute. In the specific sense, it refers to a reed-pipe (i.e. a pipe played with a reed) as distinct from a flute, as we know from Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) who describes the *mizmār*—a reed pipe—as an instrument "which you blow into from its end which you swallow", as distinct from an instrument like the *yarāʿ*—a flute—"which you blow into from a hole". Ibn Zayla (d. 439/1048) writes similarly, but substitutes the Persian word *nāy* for the Arabic word *mizmār*. In Ibn Sīnā's Arabic treatise *al-Nadjāt*, we read of the *mizmār*, but in the identical passage in his Persian *Dānish-nāma* the word is *nāy*. Further, the

Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm, 236, says, "the *mizmār* is the *nāy*." For the present purpose, "wood-wind" instruments (*mazāmīr*) may be divided into. 1. reed-blown types; and 2. pipe-blown types. Among the former we have single reed-pipes of the clarinet, oboe and saxophone types, as well as double reed-pipes, the bagpipe, and the *chĕng*. Among the latter, we have the flute and recorder, as well as the pan-pipes.

a. Reed-blown types.—Single reed-pipes occur in ancient Semitic art and literary remains (Lavignac, i, 35 ff.). Hoary gossip attributes the "invention" to the Persians (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 90 = § 3214), whilst Djamshīd himself is claimed to have been the actual "inventor" (Ewliyā Čelebī, i, 641). With Islamic peoples, reed-pipes are found with a conical or cylindrical tube (*unbūb*) pierced with finger-holes (*thukūb*), and played with a single or double beating reed (*kaṣaba*, *kashsha*). Among the Arabs of the 6th century A.D., the *mizmār* finds a place at convivial parties (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, xvii), and in the 1st/7th century, it is one of the martial instruments of the Jewish tribes of the Ḥidjāz (*Aghānī*, ii, 172). When Islam came, an anathema was placed on reed-pipes, mainly, it would seem, on account of the female reed-pipe player (*zammāra*) who, as was common in the East, was looked upon as a courtesan, and, indeed, the terms *zammāra* and *zāniya* became almost synonymous. It is improbable that the Prophet Muḥammad could have referred to a reed-pipe (*mizmār*) in a well-known *ḥadīth* in praise of the chanting (*ḳirāʾa*) of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī. The reference was rather to "a *mazmūr* (Hebr. *mizmōr* "psalm") from the *mazāmīr* of the House of David" (cf. Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian music*, 33). In early days, what the Arabs called the *mizmār* the Persians called the *nāy*, and the latter distinguished the flute by the name *nāy narm* (soft *nāy*). Later, they called the reed-pipe the *nāy siyāh* (black *nāy*) and the flute the *nāy safīd* (white *nāy*) because of the colour of the instruments. About the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, a musician at the ʿAbbāsid court named Zunām invented a reed-pipe which was named after him the *nāy zunāmī* or simply *zunāmī* (TʿA). What the invention was we can only conjecture. It may have been the cylinder used for altering the pitch of the instrument, or perhaps it was the introduction of a conical tube (see Farmer, *Studies*, 79, 92). At this period we have no information whether the various reed-pipes had cylindrical or conical tubes or whether they were played with single or double beating reeds. The word *zunāmī* was accorded little recognition in the East, whatever favour the invention itself found. In the West, where the name eventually became vulgarised into *zullāmī*, it became the most important reed-pipe not only in Spain, as we know from al-Shaḳundī (d. 628/1231; al-Maḳḳarī, *Moh. dyn.*, i, 59), but also in the Maghrib (Ibn Khaldūn, ii, 353). It became the *xelami* of the Spaniards (see also Schiaparelli, s.v.).

The *mizmār* (= *mizmār wāḥid*) is described and delineated by al-Fārābī (d. 339/950). It had eight holes for fingering, giving a complete octave. He also describes a smaller reed-pipe called the *suryānay* (Kosegarten, 95; Land, 122; D'Erlanger, 262). One special feature of this instrument was called the *shaʿīra*. In the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 237, we read: "The *shaʿīra* of the *mizmār* is its head, and it is that by which is made narrow and wide [in compass]." It was actually the cylinder inserted into the head of the instrument which lowered the pitch when required (see Farmer, *Studies*, 82), a device called later the *ṭawḳ* (*Kanz al-tuḥaf*) or *faṣl* (Villoteau). It was called the *shaʿīra* perhaps on account of the button at the top of the cylinder which was turned round. The word *suryānay* came to be modified into *surnāy* and then *surnā*. Popular etymology opined that the word was derived from *sūr* "festivity" and *nāy* "reed", but this form only appears in the lexicons (*Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*). Some moderns even write *ṣūrnāy*. The *surnāy* found its way into martial music as early as the beginning of the 3rd/9th century (*Aghānī*, xvi, 139: the text has *surnāb*).

In the 5th/11th century, Ibn Zayla shows how, by devices in the fingering and embouchure, other notes were obtained on the reed-pipe (Pers. *nāy*). In the Persian *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (9th-15th cent.) the *mizmār*, also called the *nāy siyāh*, is both described and delineated. More valuable is the explanation of the actual making of the beating reed with which the instrument was played, from which we learn that it was a double reed. In the next century, a Turkish author Aḥmad-oghlu Shukr Allāh copied extensively from his work (Lavignac, i, 3012). Ibn Ghaybī (d. 838/1435) says that all the notes could be obtained on the *zamr siyāh nāy* by accommodating the fingering and the embouchure. The smaller instrument, the *surnā*, was defective in the upper octave, he says. A similar type of reed-pipe to the latter called the *balabān* is also mentioned by him. Ewliyā Čelebī says that it came from Shīrāz. In the treatise of Muḥammad b. Murād (9th/15th century), we learn that the *nāy aswad* (= *nāy siyāh* = *mizmār*) was 27 cm. long.

With the Turks, the Persian word *surnā* had been altered to *zūrnā* and the term had become common to both the *zamr* (= *mizmār*) and *surnā* in the East. Ewliyā Čelebī (11th/17th century) mentions among the Turkish reed-pipes of his day the *ḳabā zūrnā* or *ʿadjamī zūrnā*, the *ʿarabī zūrnā*, the *aṣafī zūrnā*, and the *shihābī zūrnā* (a Moroccan reed-pipe). He also speaks of the *ḳurnāṭa* which, he says, was an English invention (i, 642). If this is the same as the *ḳurnayṭa*, it was the clarinet, an instrument which Denner is said to have "invented" about 1690, which is after its mention by Ewliyā Čelebī. The Persians still continued to call their reed-pipe the *surnā*, and a 11th/17th century design of the instrument is given by Kaempfer. Both Russell in Syria (i, 155) and Villoteau in Egypt (i, 356-7) refer to several kinds of reed-pipes in use in the 18th century.

The latter delineates these and describes them fully. They are three, the *ḳabā zūrnā* or *zamr al-kabīr*, the *zamr* or *zūrnā*, and the *zūrnā djurā* or *zamr al-ṣughayyir*, the first being 58.3 cm. and the last 31.2 cm. in length. The modern instrument is also delineated by Lavignac, 2793; and Sachs, 428. For specimens, see Brussels, nos. 122, 355, 357; New York, no. 1331.

In the West also we find a new name, or instrument, the *ghayṭa* or *ghāyṭa* [*q.v.*]. It is said to have been introduced by the Turks (Delphin and Guin, 48), but the name is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377), who likens the Mesopotamian *surnāy* to the Maghribī *ghayṭa* (ii, 126). There are, however, two kinds of *ghayṭa*, one being a cylindrical tube blown with a single reed, and another being a conical tube blown with a double reed. This may explain why *ghayṭa* does not always equate with *surnāy* and *mizmār* in the West (*Tadhkirat al-nisyān*, 93; Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr, 34). The cylindrical tube instrument is known in Egypt as the *ghīṭa*. For details, see Bū ʿAlī, 103; Delphin and Guin, 47. For specimens and designs, see Höst, 261, tab. xxxi; Brussels, no. 351; New York, nos. 402, 2824; Lavignac, 2921.

A reed-pipe that became quite famous in Western Europe was the *būḳ* played with a reed. The original *būḳ* [*q.v.*] was a horn or clarion, and was made of horn or metal. Pierced with holes for fingering, and played

with a reed, a new type of instrument, somewhat similar to the modern saxophone, was evolved. In the 4th/10th century, this *būḳ* was "improved" by the Andalusian caliph al-Ḥakam II (*Bibl. de autores Españ.*, li, 410). Ibn Khaldūn, who describes it, says that it was the best instrument of the *zamr* family (ii, 353). Ibn Ghaybī, in his holograph ms. in the Bodleian Library, writes *bāḳ*, but adds "also called *būḳ*", but the latter remark has been deleted. It appears to be delineated in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Riaño, fig. 41, b.).

Another interesting instrument is the *ʿirāḳiyya* or *ʿirāḳya*, which may have been the forerunner of the European rackett. It has a cylindrical pipe and is played with a double reed. It is probably the descendant of the *nāy al-ʿirāḳī* that al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) speaks of. It is delineated and fully described by Villoteau (i, 943 f.). Examples are given at Brussels, no. 124; New York, no. 2861.

With Islamic peoples, reed-pipes belong to outdoor music. Just as we see them in the *Alf layla wa-layla* as being essential to folk, ceremonial, processional, and martial music, so they are today, and probably have always been.

Double reed-pipes. Ibn Khurradādhbih says that the Persians "invented" the double reed-pipe called the *diyānay* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, *loc. cit.*), the earliest instrument of this type that we know by name in Arabic literature, although it appears in the 2nd/8th century frescoes at Ḳusayr ʿAmrā (Musil, pl. xxiv). It has been suggested that the word should be *dūnāy*, but *diyānay* is also given by al-Fārābī (see Farmer, *Studies*, 57), who describes and delineates the instrument which, he says, was also called the *mizmār al-muthannā* or *muzāwadj*. The two pipes were of equal length and each was pierced by five finger-holes, which gave an octave between them. Probably the instrument known in the Middle Ages as the *zammāra* (vulg. *zummāra*) was actually the old *diyānay*, although it merely equates with *fistula* in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (5th/11th century) and the *Vocabulista* (7th/13th century). As early as the 7th/13th century we read of the *mawṣūl* in Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, i/1, 136). The name itself means "joined" (see *Studies*, 78), and it was doubtless a double reed-pipe. Since the 18th century at least, *zummāra* has been the name for this instrument in the East (cf. Niebuhr, i, 145), and Lane (367) describes and delineates it. It has cylindrical tubes and is played with single beating reeds. It is to be found with a varying number of finger-holes and is named accordingly (Sachs, 433). In the Maghrib, it is called the *maḳrūn* and *maḳrūna* (Lavignac, 2793: *RA*, 1866), whilst in Syria it is given a vulgarised or metathetical form of the old *muzāwadj* (cf. Sachs, 257; Dalman, *Pal. Divan*). For specimens and descriptions, see Brussels, nos. 115-18; New York, nos. 2167, 2633; and *ZDPV* [1927], 19. Specimens in the collection of Farmer range from 18 to 43 cm. in length.

Another type of double reed-pipe has only one pipe pierced with finger-holes, whilst the other serves as a drone. This also carries the name of *zummāra* when the two pipes are of the same length (cf. Niebuhr, i, 145). When the drone pipe is longer than the chanter pipe it is known as the *arghūl* (*arghun*, Mushāḳa, 29; *ʿarḳūn*, Lavignac, 2812) in modern times (cf. Freytag, *Chrest. Arab.*, 1834, 34) in Egypt and Syria. Villoteau (i, 962) gives a detailed description with scales and designs of three sizes, 107, 82.6 and 38.6 cm. in length (in the South Kensington Museum, there is one 144 cm. long). Like the preceeding instrument, it is played with single beating reeds. The drone pipe is furnished with additional tubes (*ziyādāt*) which are affixed to lower the pitch. In Syria the smaller type of *arghūl* is named the *masḥūra*, a most significant name, in spite of it being ignored in the lexicons. Lane, 367, figures a six-finger holed instrument which, he says, was used at *dhikrs* and by Nile boatmen. For specimens see Brussels, nos. 342-6; *ZDPV* [1927], pl. 2.

Bagpipe. An ancient instrument in the Orient. Just prior to Islam we have it figured on Sāsānid sculptures (Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii, pl. 64). We do not know its ancient Semitic name, but Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla mention it as the *mizmār al-djirāb*, describing it as being played by "an artificial contrivance". Although Niebuhr (i, 146) calls it the *zummārat al-ḳirba*, and Lane, 386, names it the *zummāra bi-suʿn*, the more general term used in Arabic speaking countries is *zukra*, although we find *mezwed*, pl. *mzāwd*, used in Tunisia (Von Hornböstl, 4) and in Algeria. The word *zukra* is given variations by some European authors, as in the *zūḳḳara* of Villoteau (i, 970) and the *suḳḳara* of Rouanet (Lavignac, 2812). In Persia, the bagpipe has long been known as the *nāy anbān* and *nāy mashk* or *mashkak* (*Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*), whence the Hindūstānī name *mashk* or *mushuk* (Tagore, 24; Day, 151). In Turkey, the older word was *ṭūlum*, *ṭulūm* or *tulūm* (Meninski, Sachs; cf. Ewliyā Čelebī, i, 642: *ṭulūm dūdūk*), but *ghaydā* would appear to be equally popular, and this name is to be found throughout the Balkan countries (cf. Arab. *ghayṭa*; Span. *gaita*; Eng. *wayghte*).

The bagpipe used by Islamic peoples is generally equipped with a chanter pipe (with five or six finger-holes) and mouthpiece, but rarely with a drone pipe. The chanter, terminating in a horn bell (*Schallstück*), is often double, a feature which was probably the original reason for the term *zummāra* being used with the bagpipe. The woodwork is sometimes inlaid with metal, whilst another feature is the adornment of the instrument with tassels, beads, shells, and other frippery. Designs may be found in Niebuhr (tab. xxvi) and Sachs (434), and actual specimens in Brussels, no. 372.

Instruments of free reeds. The Chinese *chĕng* is such an instrument. Probably it was not used by Islamic peoples, although known to them. The *chĕng* is described in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* as follows: "The *mustaḳ* is a musical instrument of the Chinese. It is made of compounded tubes (*anābīb*), and its name in Persian is *bīsha mushta*" (237). We get a little more information from Ibn Ghaybī, who informs us that the *čubčīḳ* or *mūsīḳār-i khaṭāy* was made of tubes of reed joined together. It was blown through a tube and the notes were obtained by fingerholes. For description and designs, see Van Aalst, *Chinese music*, 80.

b. Pipe-blown types. —The flutes of the Arabs, Persians and Turks, unlike those of Western Europe, are played vertically, a current of air being blown across the orifice (*manfakh*) at its head. Ewliyā Čelebī (i, 623, 636, 642 read قوال, not قول) is not sure whether it was Pythagoras or Moses who "invented" the first instrument of this type, the shepherd's flute, called the *ḳawāl* (cf. καυδός). Ibn Khurradādhbih says that it originated with the Kurds (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 90 = § 3214), and Ibn Ghaybī (*Sharḥ al-adwār*) says that this instrument was the *nāy abyaḍ* (white *nāy*). We know from Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231/846) that the Arabs called this flute or reed-pipe the *shiyāʿ*. A characteristic of the Arab flute was its length, hence the ancient Greek proverb which likened a talkative person to an Arabian flute (*Menandri Fragm.*).

In the early days of Islam, the Arabs called their flute the *ḳuṣṣāba* (later modified into *ḳaṣaba*), and this is the name used by the poets al-Aʿshā (d. 8/629) and Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj (2nd/8th century). These terms

fell into desuetude in the East when Persian musical influence were at their height. The Persians called their flute the *nāy narm* (soft *nāy*) so as to distinguish it from the *nāy* proper and the *surnāy*, which were reed-pipes, and so the Arabs of the East called their flute the *nāy*, although in the West the old word *ḳuṣṣāba* or *ḳaṣaba* was retained. Another term for the flute in early days, perhaps a different kind, was *yarāᶜ* (*Mafātīḥ al-ᶜulūm*, 236), and in the 5th/11th century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* it equates with *calamaula*. In the 7th/13th century, it was still a common name with Ṣafī al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Muᵓmin in the East, and with al-Shaḳundī in the West (al-Maḳḳarī, i, 59: read *yarāᶜ* not *barāᶜ*). In the contemporary *Vocabulista in Arabico*, it (*yarāᶜ*) agrees with *fistula*. The words *hayraᶜa* and *hariᶜa* (al-Djawharī, al-Fīrūzbādī) would appear to be vulgar forms of *yarāᶜ*.

Whilst the diminutive *ḳaṣība* (*ḳuṣayba*) sometimes occurs in reference to a small flute, *shabbāba* and *shabāb* (√*shabba* "to grow up") were the more general terms used in ᶜIrāḳ (Ikhwān al-Ṣafāᵓ, i, 97), Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 136), Spain (al-Shalāḥī, *Voc. in Arab.*), and the Maghrib (Ibn Khaldūn, ii, 352). It became the *exabeba* of Western Europe. Another name for a small flute was *djuwāḳ*, and this word also found a place with the Latins as the *joch* (Du Cange). In Persia, the small flute was called the *pīsha* (*Kanz al-tuḥaf*), hence the Balkan *piscoiu* and *pisak*.

We read of the *nāy* in the *Aghānī* (ix, 71), but we cannot be sure whether it was a flute or a reed-pipe. Al-Fārābī (Kosegarten, 45) ignores the flute (*nāy*) and says that it was inferior (*ukhur*) to the *mizmār* (reed-pipe), but it soon gained wide recognition in chamber music probably by reason of Ṣūfī appreciation and the *dhikr* of the *darwīsh*. Ṣafī al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Muᵓmin (d. 693/1294) describes the *nāy* with eight holes for fingering, the thumb-hole at the back being called the *shudjāᶜ* ("vehement"), its name revealing its function. In the Persian *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (8th/14th century) we find two very small flutes mentioned, but in the *Sharḥ al-adwār* (9th/15th century) we find that the *nāy abyaḍ* was normally 63 cm. long. Five larger sizes are given, the longest being 99 cm., with two smaller sizes, the limit being 31.5 cm. Ibn Ghaybī also registers several varieties including the *nāy bamm* of 67.5 cm. approximating in pitch to the *bamm* string of the lute, and the *nāy zīr* of 33.75 cm. approximating to the *zīmr* string. Ewliyā Čelebī (12th/18th cent.) gives the names of a number of Turkish flutes (i, 623) including the *shāh manṣūr*, the *dāwūdī*, and the *bolāheng*. Villoteau (i, 954) describes and delineates the Egyptian instruments of the late 12th/18th century. The largest, 77 cm. long, was the *nāy shāh* (= *shāh nāy*), and the smallest, 48.8 cm. long, was the *nāy djiraf*, the *kiraft* of modern Syria (Mushāḳa, 29). Other flutes named by him are the *nāy kushuk*, the *nāy sufurdja* (? *supurda*), the *nāy muṭlaḳ*, and the *nāy ḥusaynī*. In Turkey the *supurda* is the smallest flute used in chamber music (Lavignac, 3019). Turkish and Egyptian flutes are usually well made, with a head to support the lips. In Palestine and the Maghrib they still retain, more or less, a primitive appearance, and although the seven-holed flute is common (Christianowitsch, pl. 2), the five- and six-holed instrument has acceptance (Delphin and Guin, 45; *ZDPV* [1927], pl. 1). In the Maghrib, the flutes in the orchestras still retain the name of the *ḳaṣaba* (vulg. *ḳaṣba*), and they are generally about 40 cm. long, whilst the *djuwāḳ* or *shabbāba* (*shabāb*) is smaller. In the interior, longer flutes like the *giblī* and *sudāsī* may be found. Delphin and Guin give an account of these.

The recorder, or flûte à bec, also found favour in the East. This is the Arabic *nāy labak* (mouth *nāy*), the Persian *sūt*, the Turkish *dūduk*, and the Hindustānī *alghūza*. As early as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāᵓ and the *Mafātīḥ al-ᶜulūm* (4th/10th century) we read of the *ṣaffāra*, which was doubtless a flûte à bec (see Farmer, *Studies*, 83). Villoteau (i, 951) says that it was an instrument of this type in his day in Egypt. The *dūduk* or *dūdūk* is mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebī in nine different species (i, 642), and is also mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (i, 400). The *shāhīn* would appear to have been a small three-holed recorder such as was common with pipe and tabor players in mediaeval Western Europe. It was played with the fingers of one hand, the other hand being used for beating the *ṭabl* or drum, hence the phrase in al-Ghazālī: "The *shāhīn* of the drummer (*ṭabbāl*)."

Pan pipes are also common to folk usage. Both Pythagoras and Moses are credited by Ewliyā Čelebī (i, 624, 636) with the "invention" of the *mūsīḳār* or pan pipes. Although the word stands for "a composer of melodies" in the *Mafātīḥ al-ᶜulūm* (see also Meninski), it referred to a musical instrument in the 9th/15th century (*N. et E.*, xiv, 312). A contemporary writer, Ibn Ghaybī, says that "the *mūsīḳār* is one of the [wind instruments with] free pipes. Its notes are determined by size [of pipes]. The longest have the low notes, and the shortest the high notes." We find the instrument called *mūsīḳal* (*Farhang-i shuᶜūrī*), whilst Ḥādjdjī Khalīfā (i, 400) has *mithḳāl*, and Toderini (i, 237) *mescal*, which probably gave birth to the Romanian *muscal*. The term *mūsīḳāl* survived up to modern times (Villoteau, i, 963), but the more general word used today (Mushāḳa, 29) is *djanāḥ*. (Pedro de Alcala [1503] mentions a harp by this name, but perhaps he confused the name with *djank*.) Russell (*The natural history of Aleppo*, i, 156), writing in Syria in the 18th century, says that pan pipes were to be found with from three to twenty-three pipes. Kaempfer, 743, delineates an 11th/17th century Persian instrument.

The names of instruments in the *mazāmir* group in Arabic are legion. Many of those not mentioned in this article are regional and are of folk origin, their source being often discernible, such as in the *zamdjara* and *zamkhar*, to name only two. More interesting however, are the older words like *hunbūka*, *naḳīb* and *zanbāḳ*. The first two occur in al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1414), and *naḳīb*, which equates with *mizmār*, reminds us of the much debated passage in Ezekiel, xxviii, 13. *Zanbaḳ* occurs in al-Azharī (d. 370/980) and even earlier (cf. Lane). The Greek σαμβύκη and the Latin *sambuca* were stringed instruments, and Isidore of Seville's *sambuca* as a "wood-wind" instrument has long been suspect, but since *zanbaḳ* is to be found in Arabic equating with *zammāra* and *mizmār* there would appear to be good reason for accepting Isidore of Seville.

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Kanz al-tuḥaf, B.L. ms. Or., 2361; Ibn Zayla, *Kitāb al-Kāfī fi 'l-mūsīḳī*, B.L. ms. Or., 2361; Muḥammad b. Murād, *Treatise*, B.L. ms. 2361; Ibn Ghaybī, *Djāmiʿ al-alḥān*, Bodleian ms. Marsh 828; Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum....*; Villoteau, *Descr. de l'Égypte, état mod.*; Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*; Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et de la musique arabes*; Bū ʿAlī, *Kitāb Kashf al-ḳināʿ*; Höst, *Nachrichten von Maroko und Fes*, Riaño, ...*Notes on early Spanish music*; Ghazālī, in *JRAS* (1901-2); Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*; Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des sultans mamlouks*, tr. Quatremère; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, 1776; Mushāḳa, in *MFOB*, vi; Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (5th ed.); Von Hornbostel, in *SIMG*, viii/i; *Rasāʾil... Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay ed.; Shalāḥī, *Kitāb al-Imtāʿ*, Madrid ms., no. 603; Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, *al-Sharafiyya*, Bodleian ms., Marsh 115; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel; Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca*; Christianowitsch, *Equisse historique de la musique arabe*; A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings (c. 900-1900)*, RISM, Bx, Munich 1979, index, 488 b.

For specimens of instruments: Brussels, *Catalogue descr.... du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire royal de Musique*; New York, *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown collection of musical instruments*, 1st ed.

(H.G. Farmer)

MIZWALA (a.), sundial. This term and *sāʿa shamsiyya* are used in modern Arabic, but in mediaeval Islamic times horizontal sundials were referred to either as *rukhāma*, lit. "marble" or *basīṭa*, lit. "flat", and vertical sundials as *munḥarifa*, lit. "inclined". The gnomon was usually called *shakhṣ*, *shākhiṣ* or *miḳyās*. One expression of the Muslim concern with timekeeping and regulating the times of prayer [see mīḳāt] was an avid interest in gnomonics, the theory and practice of sundial construction. Muslim astronomers made substantial contributions to both aspects of the subject, and by the late mediaeval period there were sundials of one form or another in most of the major mosques in the Islamic world. Those which survived usually bear markings for the hours (seasonal or equinoctial) and for the midday (*ẓuhr*) and afternoon (*ʿaṣr*) prayers. Since the beginnings of the permitted intervals for these two prayers were defined in terms of shadow lengths, their regulation by means of sundials was singularly appropriate.

The earliest surviving Arabic treatise on sundials deals with their construction and is attributed to al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*], active in Baghdād in the early 3rd/9th century. The work consists mainly of a set of tables of coordinates for constructing horizontal sundials serving 12 different latitudes. Each of al-Khwārazmī's sub-tables for a specific latitude displays for both of the solstices the solar altitude, the shadow of a standard gnomon, and the solar azimuth (see Pl. XVI, fig. 1). With these functions tabulated, construction of the sundial would have been almost routine. A 4th/10th-century treatise on the construction of vertical sundials has also survived. This is by one of the two Baghdād astronomers Ibn al-Ādamī or Saʿīd ibn Khafīf al-Samarḳandī (the copyist of the unique manuscript was not sure). Two auxiliary functions are tabulated with which one can generate pairs of orthogonal coordinates useful for marking vertical sundials serving any terrestrial latitude and inclined at any angle to the local meridian. Also from the ʿAbbāsid period, probably the 3rd/9th century, is the earliest text on the portable conical sundial.

Thābit b. Ḳurra (fl. Baghdād, *ca.* 300/900 [*q.v.*]) wrote a comprehensive work on sundial theory dealing with the transformation of coordinates between different orthogonal systems based on three planes: (1) the horizon, (2) the celestial equator, and (3) the variable plane of the sundial. As far as we know, Thābit's treatise, despite its merits, was not influential. Later Muslim astronomers were more interested in the practical side of gnomonics.

The major work on spherical astronomy and instrumentation in the later period of Islamic astronomy was the compendium by Abū ʿAlī al-Marrākushī [*q.v.*], who worked in Cairo *ca.* 680/1280. There are lengthy sections on sundials, with numerous tables and diagrams. The discussion concentrates on descriptions of the mode of construction; there is little underlying theory. The text deals with horizontal, vertical, cylindrical and conical sundials as well as simple, portable vertical sundials, in plane, cylindrical or conical format. Al-Marrākushī's treatise was widely influential in later astronomical circles in Egypt, Syria and Turkey.

A contemporary of al-Marrākushī in Cairo, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḳsī, prepared a set of tables for marking vertical sundials for the latitude of that city. For each degree of inclination to the local meridian he tabulated the coordinates of the points of intersection of the lines for the seasonal hours and the *ʿaṣr* curve with the shadow traces at the equinoxes and the solstices (see Pl. XVII, fig. 2). The astronomer Ibn al-Sarrādj, active in Aleppo some fifty years later, devised several ingenious sundials for all latitudes.

Only a few sundials survive from the mediaeval period. Hundreds or even thousands must have been constructed from the 3rd/9th century onwards, but the vast majority have disappeared without trace. The oldest surviving Islamic sundial (see Pl. XVIII, fig. 3) was made by Ibn al-Ṣaffār, an astronomer of some renown who worked in Cordova about the year 400/1000. Only one-half of the instrument survives, but the remains are adequate to establish that gnomonics was not the maker's *forte*. The sundial is of the horizontal variety and there are lines for each of the seasonal hours and the *ẓuhr* prayer; there would also have been markings for the *ʿaṣr*. The gnomon is now missing, but its length is indicated as the radius of a circle engraved on the sundial. Several other, later Andalusī sundials which survive are singularly poor testimonials to their makers' abilities; yet proper sundials must have existed in mediaeval al-Andalus.

The Tunisian sundial shown in Pl. XVIII, fig. 4 is a much neater production. It was made in 746/1345-6 by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḥasan al-Shaddād, and it is of considerable historical interest because its markings display only the times of day with religious significance. For the afternoon (right-hand side) the curves for the *ẓuhr* and *ʿaṣr* are marked according to the standard Andalusī/Maghribī definitions. For the morning there is a curve for the *ḍuḥā*, symmetrical with the *ʿaṣr* curve with respect to the meridian, and a line for the time of the *taʾhīb* one equinoctial hour before midday, this institution being associated with the communal worship on Friday [see djumʿa]. It was the symmetry of the *ḍuḥā* and *ʿaṣr* on this sundial that first led to an understanding of the definitions of the times of the daylight prayers in Islam.

The astronomer Ibn al-Shāṭir, chief *muwaḳḳit* of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, constructed in 773/1371-2 a horizontal sundial, some 2 m × 1 m in size, which is undoubtedly the most splendid sundial of the Middle Ages (see Pl. XIX, fig. 5). It was erected on a platform on the southern side of the main minaret of the Mosque. It could be used to measure time after sunrise in the morning and time before

sunset in the afternoon, as well as time before and after midday. This means that it measured time relative to the *ẓuhr* and *maghrib* prayers, and the *ᶜaṣr* curve enabled regulation of time relative to that prayer also.

No vertical sundials survive from the first few centuries of Islamic astronomy, but we know they were made because of the treatises on their use which were compiled from the 3rd/9th century onwards. The *munḥarifa*, meaning simply "vertical and inclined to the meridian", usually bore markings for each seasonal hour and the *ᶜaṣr* prayer bounded by two hyperbolic shadow-traces for the solstices. Tables such as those of al-Maḳsī (see above) would be particularly useful for constructing such sundials on the walls of mosques.

Numerous sundials from the period after the 10th/16th century survive in mosques from Morocco to India. No inventory of these instruments has been made, beyond non-technical surveys of those in Istanbul. In any case, they constitute but a modest testimonial to a millennium of Muslim activity in gnomonics.

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On a sundial used by Umayyad caliph ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz [*q.v.*] and other instruments which attest to the original association of the times of prayers with seasonal hours, see King, *On the origin of the prayers in Islam*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii (1990).

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MIZWĀR, arabicised form of the Berber *amzwaru*, "he who precedes, he who is placed at the head", equivalent to the Arabic *muḳaddam* and, like this, frequently has in North Africa the meaning of chief of a religious brotherhood (*ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*], the superintendent of a *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] or the chief of a body of *shorfā* [*q.v.*]. In those districts of the Maghrib where the old Berber organisation has survived, mainly in the Great Atlas and Central Atlas, *amzwār* is sometimes the equivalent of *anflūs*, the political adviser to a body (cf. R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930, 222).

The term *mizwār* (or *mazwār*) is found early in the histories of the Maghrib in connection with Almohad institutions. There it means the head of a faction, and the corresponding office seems at this time to be often confused with those of *ḥāfiẓ* and *muḥtasib* [*q.v.*]. In the time of the Muʾminid caliph Abū Yūsuf Yaᶜḳūb al-Manṣūr, each of the twenty-one Almohad tribes had two *mizwārs*, "one for the first rank of the hierarchy, i.e. the earliest recruits of the Almohads, and another for those who had joined them later (*ghuzāt*)" (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*, in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, 70; cf. also 63-4, and M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, introduction to the translation of the *Masālik al-abṣār* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ᶜUmarī, Paris 1927, p. xxxvi). *Mazwār* was in constant use in Fās for the *naḳīb* [*q.v.*] of the principal Sharīfian groups who lived in this capital (see R. le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 489). In Marrakech, the same title was borne, under the Almohads, by the head of a kind of guild of physicians in the town (see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, 251).

1. An extract from al-Khʷārazmī's tables for sundial construction showing two pairs of sub-tables for each of latitudes 21°, 28°, 33°, 35° and 40°, based on obliquity 23;51° [see MAYL]. The final pair of tables is for latitude 29;30° but with obliquity 23;35°. These tables occur here in a treatise on astrolables and sundials by al-Sidjzī (*fl.* Iran, *ca.* 975). Taken from ms. Istanbul Topkapı 3342, 8 + 9, with kind permission of the Director of the Topkapı Library.

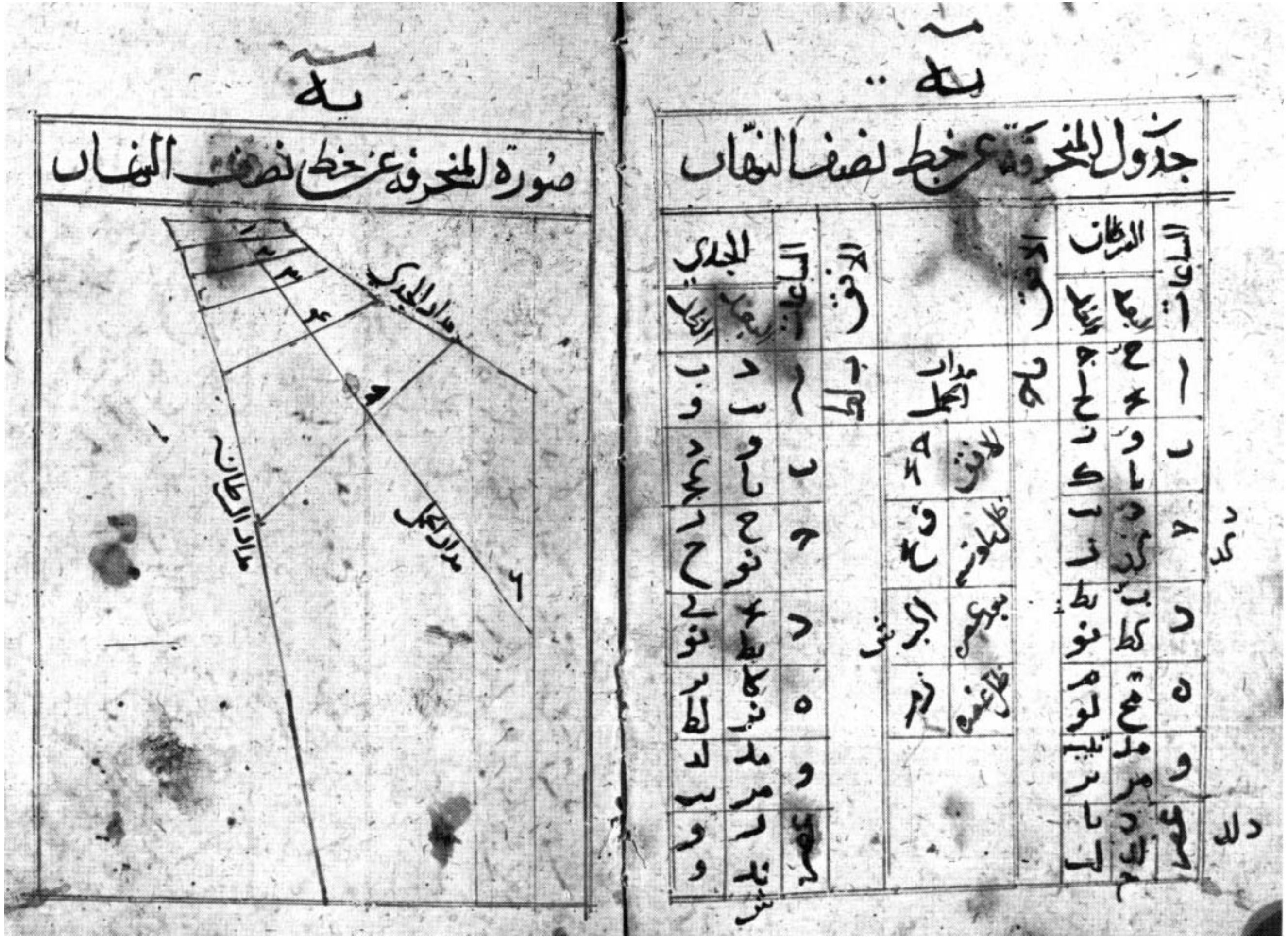

2. An extract from al-Maḳsī's tables for constructing vertical sundials for the latitude of Cairo. This particular sub-table serves an inclination of 15° to the meridian. Taken from ms. Cairo Dār al-Kutub *mīḳāt* 103, fols. 68b-69a, with kind permission of the Director of the Egyptian National Library.

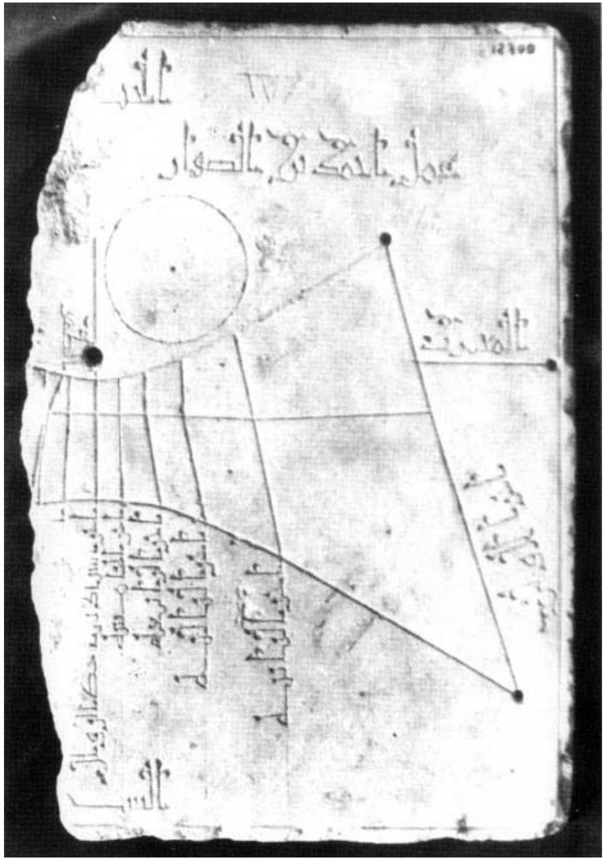

3. The oldest surviving Islamic sundial, made about the year 400/1000 in Cordova by Ibn al-Ṣaffār. The curve for the *ẓuhr* is just visible on this fragment, and there would have been curves for the beginning and end of the *ʿaṣr* as well. Photo courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba.

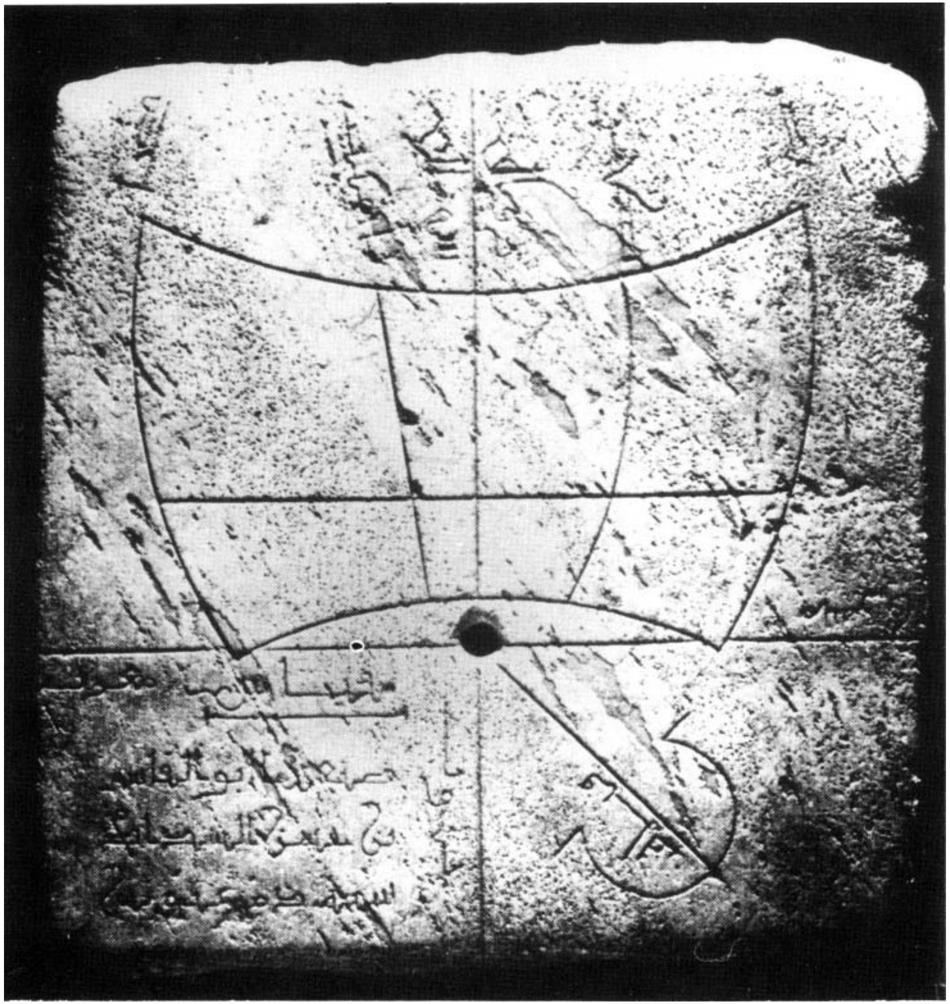

4. A 8th/14th-century Tunisian sundial indicating four times of day with religious significance: the *ḍuḥā* and the *taʾhīb* before midday, and the *ẓuhr* and the *ʿaṣr* after it. Property of the National Museum of Carthage; photo courtesy of the late M. Alain Brieux, Paris.

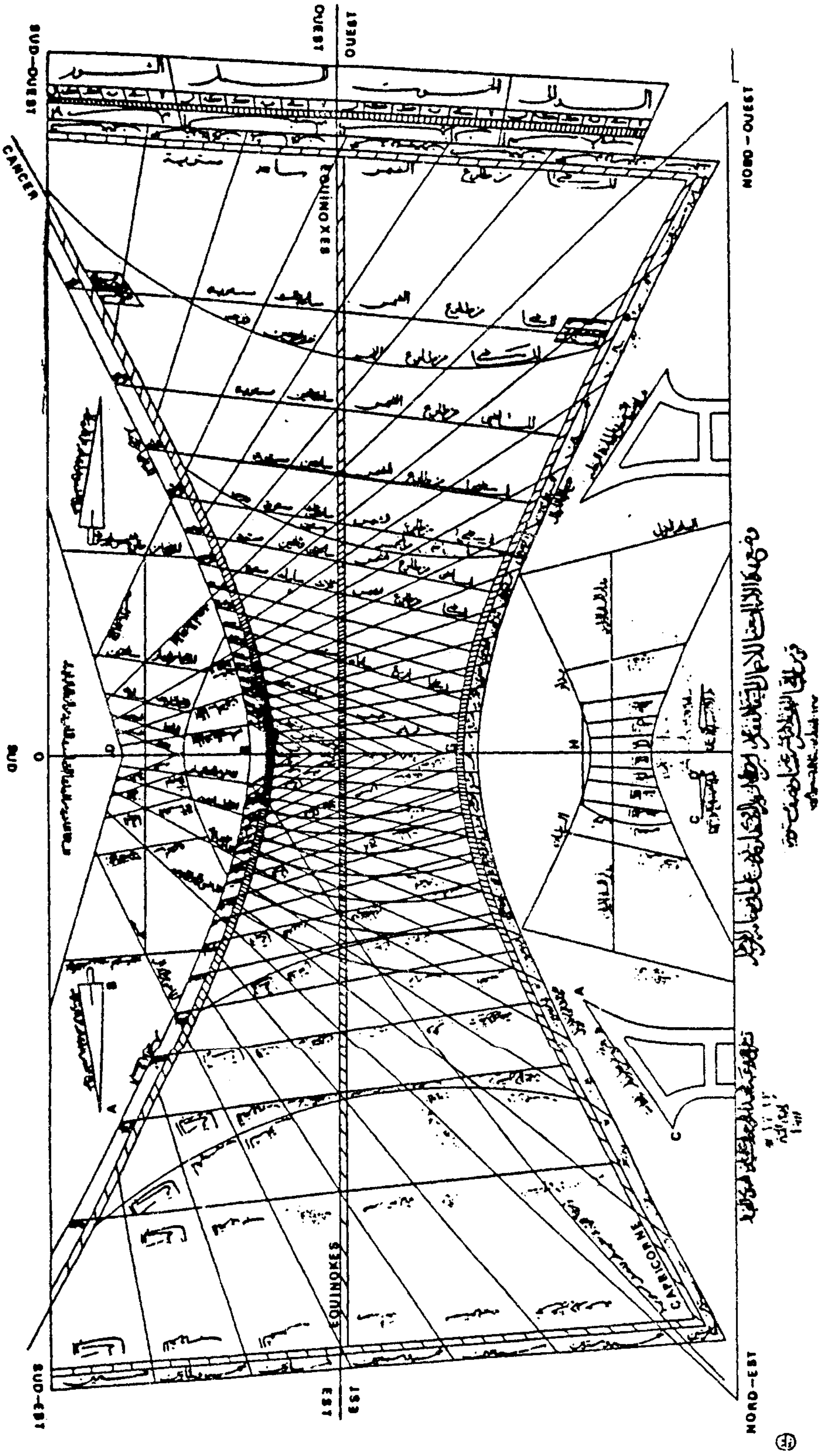

5. The markings of the splendid sundial of Ibn al-Shāṭir which once graced the main minaret of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. The original sundial is in fragments, preserved in the garden of the nearby Archeological Museum. This copy is made from an exact replica made by the 13th/19th-century *muwakkit* al-Tanṭāwī which is still *in situ* on the minaret. Courtesy of the Syrian Department of Antiquities and the late M. Alain Brieux, Paris.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL*)

AL-**MIZZA**, modern form Mezzé, a village lying, according to the mediaeval geographers, half-a-*farsakh* (i.e. about 4 km./2½ miles) to the west of Damascus [see DIMASHK], described as extensive, populous and agriculturally rich, being irrigated by one of the streams of the Baradā river. It was also known as Mizzat Kalb, having been in the Umayyad period a locality heavily settled by South Arabian, Kalbī supporters of the Sufyānids, and being also the spot where the Companion of the Prophet Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī was reputedly buried (al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 11/27). In historical accounts of the Umayyads, it is mentioned several times as a centre of the Kalb, especially in the confused last years of the dynasty; thus in 127/745 Marwān II after suppressing the revolt of Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] sent a force against his opponents in the Damascus area, and the properties of the Yamāniyya at al-Mizza were burnt down (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1894; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, v, 329; cf. G.R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam, the Umayyad caliphate AD 661-750*, London 1986, 98).

By Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times, however, it is again described as flourishing. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 236, tr. Gibb, i, 148; cf. also Ibn Djubayr, 277, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst, London 1952, 288) found it to be one of the largest villages of the Ghūṭa [*q.v.*], famed *inter alia* for its *ʿulamāʾ*, including the traditionist Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Zakī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341-2 [*q.v.*]). Al-Dimashkī (*Nukhba*, tr. Mehren, 265-6) mentions the renown of its rose water. The expanding modern city of Damascus has now crept towards al-Mizza, and the city's airport is located there.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Yākūt, ed. Beirut, v, 122; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 508; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 38, 47; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 307-8.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**MIZZĪ**, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤADJDJĀDJ YŪSUF B. AL-ZAKĪ ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Yūsuf al-Kalbī al-Kuḍāʿī, famous Syrian traditionist. Born near Aleppo in 654/1256 of Arab stock, he moved early in life with his parents to al-Mizza [*q.v.*], a rich village just outside Damascus where he received a traditional education in Kurʾān and some *fikh*. When he was in his early twenties he embarked upon a career as a traditionist hearing *ḥadīth*s with the masters of his time. One of his fellow pupils was Taki 'l-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya (661-728/1263-1328 [*q.v.*]), who remained a life-long friend. Al-Mizzī travelled extensively in search of traditions in Syria, Palestine, Egypt and the Ḥijāz and developed into the greatest *ridjāl* expert the Muslim world had ever seen. Furthermore, he acquired a mastery in Arabic language and grammar. When he was still a young man, he had some contacts with controversial Ṣūfī circles but he soon discontinued these, probably as a result of Ibn Taymiyya's warnings against them. A Shāfiʿī as to his legal preference, he nevertheless wholeheartedly espoused the new ideas and the creed proposed by Ibn Taymiyya, something which even landed him for a short time in jail.

From 718/1319 onwards, al-Mizzī became the head of one of the major *ḥadīth* academies of Damascus, the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyya, which was in a fact a *wakf*. Before entering this *madrasa* he had to profess that he upheld the creed of al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], but in spite of his pledge to this effect, he had many adversaries who doubted his sincerity and who suspected him of having been "corrupted" by Ibn Taymiyya's creed. Even so, he taught *ḥadīth* in this academy until his death in 742/1341.

Among his students we find, apart from Ibn Taymiyya, such scholars as al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347 [*q.v.*]), ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī (d. 771/1369 [*q.v.*]), the author of the *Ṭabakāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, and his son-in-law Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372 [*q.v.*]), the author of *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*.

Al-Mizzī's fame as a *muḥaddith* rests mainly in two voluminous works:

I. *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, a biographical lexicon listing all the transmitters of the *isnād*s occurring in the "Six" canonical collections as well as in some other minor tradition collections. It constitutes a milestone in the *ʿilm al-ridjāl* in that it is the first comprehensive lexicon that aims at being exhaustive, much more so than any of its predecessors. As Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, the modern editor of the *Tahdhib*, points out, it not only comprises the biographical material collected in earlier works of that kind, but al-Mizzī has also brought together virtually every scrap of information on the *ruwāt kutub al-sitta* that he could lay his hands on (see Maʿrūf's introduction to his edition in progress, i, 41-9). Various scholars have produced compendia of al-Mizzī's original, none being more famous than the *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī (d. 852/1448) [*q.v.*], which with its twelve volumes amounts to approximately one-third of the unwieldy original. For a survey of all the reworkings of the *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, see Maʿrūf's introduction, i, 51-71.

II. *Tuḥfat al-ashraf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf*, which is available in the complete and reliable edition of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Sharaf al-Dīn. This work contains the *musnad*s of all those first generation transmitters, the Companions of the Prophet, arranged in alphabetical order, who, after the Prophet, had the *isnād*s of the "Six Books" and a few other minor collections. (In the final part of vol. xiii, the so-called *mursal* traditions [see ḤADĪTH] headed by the Successors are brought together.) The individual *musnad*s comprise complete *isnād*s or *isnād* bundles but do not contain the complete *matn*s supported by these *isnād*s. Only the *ṭaraf* (plural *aṭrāf*), a technical term which indicates the "gist" or an epitomising phrase of each *matn*, precedes the sometimes substantial list of names from the *isnād* as it occurs in the various collections. Within each Companion's *musnad* the material is presented in the alphabetical order of the second link after the Prophet, the Successors, and in large *musnad*s it is in turn divided up into material presented in the alphabetical order of the third and sometimes fourth links in the *isnād*s. The edition currently available is especially helpful in that it presents this complex material in an array of different letter sizes with many appropriate modern symbols, easily recognisable abbreviations and a variety of numberings inserted, thus greatly facilitating the use of an otherwise awesome textbook.

In the study of Muslim tradition, al-Mizzī's *Tuḥfa* is indispensable and this for the following reasons:

1. It is the only work of its kind which comprises also al-Nasāʾī's *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, a collection which that collector later excerpted to produce his *Sunan* as we know it today (also known by the name *al-Mudjtabā*). *Al-Sunan al-kubrā* was never edited, and although the *Tuḥfa*'s editor once announced that he was going to undertake a complete edition, except for one slim volume containing the chapter on *ṭahāra*, his plans have not yet been carried out. An analysis of al-Nasāʾī's *Kubrā isnād*s shows how that collector added masses of single strand *isnād*s to already existing *isnād*

bundles collected by his predecessors, strands which he diligently left unmentioned in his later, excerpted *Sunan*. Sezgin's *GAS*, i, does not yet know of any mss. of the *Kubrā*.

2. Repeated use of the *Tuḥfa* provides the analyst of *isnāds* with a host of important data which are otherwise difficult and time-consuming to unearth. Thus the *Tuḥfa* enables the user in the case of *ḥadīth*s supported by a sizable number of different *isnād* strands to determine at one glance the "common link", that is, the possible originator or (the proto-version of) the *matn*. For example, if one wishes to know the possible provenance and authorship of a certain canonical tradition quoted somewhere without *isnād*, the subsequent procedure could be followed. The tradition is first traced in Wensinck's *Concordance* and hence in any of the available collections listed there from where the Companion and the two or three oldest transmitters of its *isnād* can be gleaned. Then, consulting the extensive alphabetical lists of transmitters at the beginning of each volume of the *Tuḥfa*, the Companion's name is located, after that, within this Companion's *musnad*, that of the Successor whose name is always preceded by *, and, when necessary, within the collection of that Successor the name of the next transmitter which is always preceded by **. In some very large *musnads*, e.g. those of Anas b. Mālik and Abū Hurayra, in order to facilitate the search, one may want to trace also the name of the next transmitter preceded by ***. At this point, spotting the *ṭaraf* and tracing the *isnād* (bundle) is easy and hence the identification of its "common link", if there is one.

The *Tuḥfa*'s editor has, furthermore, obliged the users of this work by compiling a list (entitled *al-Kashshāf*, see *Bibl.*) of all the titles of the *bābs* of all the different chapters of all the collections lying at the base of the *Tuḥfa*. Since Wensinck's at times idiosyncratic division of the canonical collections into *kitābs* (and sometimes also *bābs*), made before compiling his *Concordance*, never fails to bewilder users, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's *Kashshāf* constitutes a welcome additional tool for tracing traditions to their sources. In brief, the publication of the *Tuḥfa* from the 8th/14th century together with the *Kashshāf* from the 20th century have initiated a totally new and time-saving method of *ḥadīth* analysis.

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(G.H.A. Juynboll)

MKWAJA, a settlement on the modern Tanzanian coast of East Africa. Traditions of Shīrāzī descent are found along the whole eastern African coast from Somalia southward as far as Kilwa and Lindi [see SHĪRĀZĪ]. Investigation carried out in 1922-3 by E.C. Baker brought to light the existence in former times of a federation of fifteen small chiefdoms in the then Tanga District whose rulers were known as *jumbe*, pl. *majumbe*; and five similar chiefdoms in the Pangani District, and twelve in the Bagamoyo District. By that date colonial rule had reduced the former powers of these chiefs to a virtual nullity. All of these chiefs claimed Shīrāzī descent.

At this period, chiefs were notably cautious when approached by strangers who asked to see their *shajara*, pl. *mashajara* (Swa. from Ar., genealogical tree), but Baker succeeded in obtaining permission to copy that of Mkwaja, the principal jumbeate in the Pangani group, some twenty miles south of the R. Pangani. In the face of the claim of Shīrāzī or Persian descent, it states that the first ancestor of the *jumbes* of Mkwaja was an Arab from Baghdād, by name Aman. The *shajara* contains no dates of birth or death, but mentions fifteen generations, that is, at thirty years each, 450 years back from 1922 or 1472 for the birth of the first-named. This Aman left Baghdād and first resided in Zanzibar, before founding a settlement on the mainland at Uzimia, whence, at an unknown date, his descendants extended to Ushongo, Buyuni, Mkwaja, Kipumbwe, Bweni and Pangani. Later there was a further, northward extension. Of this, Kipumbwe was the principal seat, where the mosque is said to have been built in 1789. Shortly after, the *Diwan*, as the Jumbe of Mkwaja was also called, moved to Mkwaja, where in 1954 there were visible the remains of a ruined 18th century mosque adjacent to the modern mosque. In the region about Mkwaja there are cemeteries at Kisikimto and Bimbuli, and at Mafui an elaborately decorated small mosque of 18th century date, and one 19th century tomb. The occupants of the tombs are all said to be named in the *shajara*, so that from its information it would be possible to establish some rough sort of sequence for the tombs. The earlier ones have intricate carvings in coral limestone, the later, more crudely, in plaster. Most of them also have Chinese porcelain plates let into them as a decoration, as also does the *miḥrāb* of the mosque at Mafui.

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(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

MŌBADH "chief of the Madjūs", the Farsi form of MP *magupat* (OP **magupati*). This title occurs in Manichaean Parthian as *magbed*, in Armenian as *mogpet* or *movpet*, in Syriac as *mōpaṭā* and *mōhpaṭē*, in Greek as μαυῖπτάς, μαυπιτάς, μαύτης, μαύπησ and μάπτα, and in Arabic as *mawbadh* or *mūbadh* with the plural *mawābidha*. The reputation of this Zoroastrian priest for religious learning and legal responsibility led al-Yaʿḳūbī to explain this term as *ʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, while al-Masʿūdī explained it as *ḥāfiẓ al-dīn* and derived it from *mu* = "religion" and *badh* = "protector". The lexicographers add that it meant "learned" (*dānishmand*), someone who answered questions put to him, a judge (*ḳāḍī*), and a *faḳīh*.

The theory of Wikander that the *magupat* originally predominated in Media and Ādharbāydjān, while the *ērpat* (*hirbadh*) predominated in Fārs, and that the former was imposed over the latter at the beginning of the Sāsānid period, was based on Kartīr's description

of his career advancing from *ērpat* to *magupat*. This was refuted by de Menasce, based on the lack of evidence for a hierarchy among different kinds of priests in the 3rd century. Although the existence of *mōbadhs* is sometimes retrojected back to earlier times, as in the *Ardā Vīrāz Nāmag* (i, 9), where Alexander is said to have killed many *magupatān*, the earliest attested use of this title is in the inscriptions of Kartīr (Kirdēr) in the reign of Bahrām II (276-93). Although Kartīr claims to have been both *magupat* and *ērpat* under Shāpūr I (*ca.* 241-72) in his inscription at Naksh-i Rustam (l. 28), in those at Sar Mashhad (l. 4) and the Kaᶜba of Zoroaster (l. 3), he says that he signed contracts which he sealed for the fires and for the Magians under Shāpūr I as Kirdēr, *ēhrpat*. Under Ohrmazd I (272-3) he was made Ohrmazd *magupat* (sc. of the god Ohrmazd), which position he held under Bahrām I (273-76) and Bahrām II. As such he was in charge of the divine ceremonies which he increased, founded Vahrān fires and sealed contracts for the fires and testaments, contracts and documents for the Magians at court and throughout the state. Bahrām II made him *magupat* and judge (*datōbar*) of the entire state.

Whether or not a hierarchy of priests was established under Kartīr, the title of *magupat* is hierarchic in nature, meaning that one magus (*magomart*) is in charge of others. Although Herzfeld ascribes a *magupat* of Mēshān engraved on a gem to the 3rd century, local *magupats*, mainly of Adiabene, begin to be attested in Christian martyrologies during the reign of Shāpūr II (309-79). Their role in apprehending and executing Christians is emphasised, but one of them is said to have entered the fire temple to perform the cult, while another, Ādur-Ohrmazd (d. 407), is said to have recited the Avesta, Yashts and Drōn night and day as *mōbadh* of Balāshfarr. By the 4th or 5th century a three-level hierarchy had developed of local *mōbadhs*, grand *mōbadhs* of provinces or regions and a supreme *mōbadh* over the entire state. Expressions such as *rēshā dᵉmagoshē* (head of the Magians) in Syriac corresponding to the Greek ἀρχίμαγος, ἄρχων τῶν μάγον and ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν μάγων generally refer to local *mōbadhs*, while *mohpatā rabbā* would refer to a higher priest. The existence of a supreme *mōbadh* seems to be indicated in 358 when Ādur-Shābuh, the superior of the *mōbadh* of Adiabene, is called "head of the *mōbadhs*" (*rēshā dᵉ maupatē*) of the entire East. Under Yazdagird I (399-421), Ādur-Bōzīd, the *rēshā dᵉmagoshē* at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, was probably the head of the priestly hierarchy, while Ādur-Frāzgird, the grand Magian (*magoshā rabbā*) in 408, made subordinate appointments.

According to Wikander, the earliest attestation of the title of *magupatān magupat* for the office of supreme *mōbadh* occurs during the reign of Bahrām V (421-39) for Mihr-Shāpūr in a Christian source. The NP form of this title, *mōbedhān mōbedh*, was used in Arabic. The earlier Armenian form, *movpetan movpet*, comes from MP, while the later Armenian form, *mubitan mubit*, comes from NP. According to Wiessner, this title first appears in Syriac in the time of Mār Abā (540-52). Later sources use this title from the time of Shāpūr II and imply that he appointed the supreme *mōbadh*. Al-Bīrūnī claims that Shāpūr II made the descendants of Āturpāt Mihraspandān *mōbadhān mōbadhs*. According to al-Masᶜūdī, there was a *mōbadhān mōbadh* under Yazdagird II (439-57), and the 6th century *Mātakdān* names Martbūt as *magupatān magupat* under Fīrūz (457-83). In Mazdakī doctrine as reported by al-Shahrastānī, the *mōbadhān mōbadh* (understood as the chief judge) was one of the four highest officials in the royal court. Zarādusht b. Khurragān, the founder of the Mazdakī movement, is said to have been a *mōbadh* or chief *mōbadh* from Fasā in Fārs, but the claim that Mazdak himself was *mōbadh mōbadhān* (*sic*) has been denied by Klima. Vēh-Shapuhr, the *magupatān magupat* of Khusraw I (531-79), is mentionded in the *Mātakdān*, as is the *magupatān magupat* Āturpāt-i Zartushtān, who is said to have lived 150 years and been supreme *mōbadh*. There is a list of supreme *mōbadhs* of the Sāsānid period and of *mōbadhs* contemporary with the last editors of the book in ch. 33 of the *Bundahishn*, in which it is claimed that all surviving *mōbadhs* were descended from the same family.

As head of the priestly hierarchy, the *magupatān magupat* was a member of the royal court, where he presided over a supreme council of *mōbadhs* and *hirbadhs*. He was also counsellor to the king, a source of wisdom, and shared the king's meals in wartime. However, his role in deciding the royal succession is exaggerated in the *Letter of Tansar*, according to which he and two other officials should be given sealed letters by the king to be opened on the latter's death. If his choice agreed with the other's choice, it was to be announced. If not, nothing should be divulged, he should spend a day in worship and the choice should be resolved by "whatever God has put into the *mōbadh*'s mind". According to the *Testament* of Ardashīr, the king was to name his successor in four signed, sealed documents given to four high officials, who were to open them at his death and compare them to determine his successor. Neither procedure is confirmed by historical accounts of Sāsānid succession, but the *mōbadhān mōbadh* is frequently described in the *Shāh-nāma* as placing the crown on the ruler's head. Islamic sources also describe the bi-annual court of justice held on the festivals of Nawrūz and Mihrdjān when the king held public audiences for complaints brought by commoners. Any charges against the king were heard first by the supreme *mōbadh*, the chief secretary, and the director of the fire temples. The supreme *mōbadh* judged the charges against the king, who rose and knelt before him without wearing his crown.

As the supreme religious and judicial authority, the *magupatān magupat* was supposed to indict enemies of God, enemies of the king and heretics, according to the *Mātakdān*. In exceptional cases he judged lawsuits from which appeals had been made to him without seeing the plaintiff or defendant. His decisions were above review, being considered more trustworthy than the ordeal. Vēh-Shāpūr, whose archives contained wills, promulgated a memorandum dealing with legal procedure, specifically on keeping records of the interrogation in capital crimes. Copies, authenticated by his seal, were circulated to the provinces. It was natural for Muslim writers, such as al-Masᶜūdī, to translate *mōbadhān mōbadh* as supreme judge (*kādī 'l-kudāt*) and to say that his rank was almost equal to that of a prophet.

At the lower levels of the judicial hierarchy, *mōbadhs* were judges of first instance and of two degrees (*kas* lower, *mas* higher), above whom was the *mōbadh* of the district. The *Mātakdān* defines the function of the *magupat* as sealing documents in his district and says that Kubādh I (488-96, 499-531) introduced the use of an official seal for them. In the 6th century, the title of *magupat* was replaced by "advocate of the poor" on the seals of the *magupat* of Fārs, and this is attested on bullae. Although *mōbadhs* depended on secular officials to enforce their judgments, they were expected to act as a check in local tax collectors. The legal and administrative responsibilities of *mōbadhs* that are prominent in the sources were combined with ritual

responsibilities, such as reciting the liturgy and performing sacrifices, tending the fire temples and their endowments and religious education. They were repositories of sacred and secular learning. Their functions sometimes overlapped those of secular officials and other kinds of priests. It is not always clear whether *mōbadhs* included other forms of priestly dignity (such as *dastūr*), to what extent they were hereditary or what their position was relative to the *hirbadhs*. After Hurmizd IV (579-90) abolished the judgments and regulations of the *mōbadhān [mōbadh]*, *hirbadhs* appear to have been predominant at the end of the Sāsānid period, during the Muslim conquest and for a while afterwards.

In any case, *mōbadhs*, together with other priests, lost political support when the Sāsānids fell to the Muslims. The upper levels of the priestly hierarchy disappeared; there was no longer a unitary body of priests; and authority devolved on provincial and local priests, including *mōbadhs*. It is not always clear whether *mōbadh* is used as a generic term for any priest or is used in a specifically technical sense in sources referring to Islamic Iran, and this term is also used somewhat loosely in modern scholarship for Zoroastrian priests in early Islamic times. There was both a chief *hirbadh* and a *mōbadh mōbadhān* (*sic*) in Sīstān at the time of the conquest in 31/651-2. The latter is considered to be either the supreme *mōbadh* who had fled there (Sadighi) or a lower priest (Bosworth). There was also a *mōbadhān mōbadh* at the house of al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān in the late 2nd/early 9th century who explained Nawrūz and Mihrdjān to al-Maʾmūn's general, Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Rustamī. By the 3rd/9th century, a succession of priests exercised religious authority at least over Fārs and Kirmān, although Āturfarnbag son of Farrukhzāt, Zartōkhsht son of Āturfarnbag, and Āturpāt son of Ēmēt, are called *Hudinan peshobay* ("leader of those of the Good Religion") in Book 3 of the *Dēnkart* rather than *mōbadh*. They may, however, also have been *mōbadhs*. Manushčihr son of Goshn-Yam, a descendant of Āturfarnbag, who was chief of the Zoroastrians of Fārs and Kirmān in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, was either a *mōbadh* (de Menasce) or the chief *hirbadh* (Sadighi). His nephew, Ēmēt son of Ashavahisht, who succeeded him in the first half of the 4th/10th century, and Ēmēt's son and successor, Āturpāt, who edited Book 3 of the *Dēnkart*, are regarded as *mōbadhs* by de Menasce. The 6th/12th century *Kitāb-i ʿUlamāʾi Islām* purports to contain the replies of a *mōbadhān mōbadh* from an earlier MP work and remarks that only a few *mōbadhs* were left.

There are scattered references to local *mōbadhs* in early Islamic Iran. A *mōbadh* at Marw is said to have advised the governor Māhūya not to kill Yazdagird III in 31/651-2. The local *mōbadhs* and *hirbadhs* at Nīshāpūr asked Abū Muslim to suppress the revolt of Bihāfarīd b. Māhfurūdīn in 131/748-9. A *mōbadh* participated in Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak's session on love, and another explained the Iranian calendar to the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61). Al-Mutawakkil is also said to have sent a *mōbadh* to Fārs. Zātspram, the brother of Manushčihr, was *mōbadh* of Sīradjān in Kirmān in 267/880-1 and contested his brother's authority over the liturgy. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī quotes a list of Sāsānid kings compiled by the *mōbadh* Bahrām son of Mardanshāh. Marasfand, a *mōbadh* from Kāzarūn in Fārs, read the MP inscriptions at Persepolis for ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 344/955. Marasfand's son Ādurbad was a famous *mōbadh* of Fārs. Farnbag, who wrote the *Bundahishn* in 493/1098, was descended from the family of Manushčihr and Ēmēt son of Ashavahisht, and included a section in his work on the genealogy of major *mōbadh* families. *Mōbadhs* are also said to have preserved copies of the Sāsānid register of offices (*Gāh-nāma*) which was part of the *Āʾīn-nāma* (an *Āʾīn-nāma* was translated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ with the title *Kitāb al-Rusūm*).

As the Zoroastrian community contracted, *mōbadhs* as such decreased in number and in qualifications and shared their authority with other kinds of priests. *Dastūr* came to be used for higher priests. The priest of the small community at Rayy in the 7th/13th century was called *mōbadhān mōbadh*, but in the mid-7th/13th century, according to local tradition, the community at Kirmān invited to lead them a great *dastūr* from Khurāsān who claimed descent from the *mōbadhān mōbadh* of Khusraw II (591-628). In the late 7th/13th century or early 8th/14th century the leader of the community at Turkābād in northwestern Yazd was called *dastūrān dastūr*.

It is only in the Persian *Riwāyāts* of the Ṣafawid period that precise definitions of different kinds of priests are given, presumably in ascending order. The *herbed* is one who knows the Avesta and has been initiated as a priest. The *mōbed* is one who recites the *Zend-Avesta* continually and performs the Yasna service. The *dastūr* is one who knows the Avesta and the Zand, the MP literature, and has the authority to command Behdīns to do religious works. A *dahmōbed* is defined as a chief *mōbed* who is in charge of the ceremonies for the dead. In 1020/1611 there were *dastūrs* and *dahmōbeds* at Kīrman and a high priest, *dastūrs* and *dahmōbeds* at Yazd.

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(M. Guidi [—M. Morony])

MODES, Musical [see MAḲĀM].

MODON, a town in the Morea [*q.v.*] on the south-west point of Messenia, about 20 miles northwest of Cape Akritas, opposite the island of Sapienza at the foot of Mount Tomeus. Modon is frequently mentioned in ancient times under the names Μεθώνη and Μοδώνη; from the latter comes the Italian name of the town, Modon, under which it has been

known since the Middle Ages in Europe. In the Middle Ages it was of much greater importance than in antiquity. The good harbour of the town, sheltered by cliffs of varying heights, has long been a haven of refuge and of supply for ships going from the West to the Levant. Hence pilgrims frequently mention the town and their accounts of their travels even contain maps.

Mentioned by al-Idrīsī as a fortified town with a citadel (*Opus geographicum*, Naples and Rome 1970 ff., 638: M.th̲ūniya; cf. *Géographie*, tr. Jaubert, Paris 1846, 305), Modon fell to the Venetians after the Latin capture of Constantinople in 1204 and remained in their possession for nearly three centuries; this was a golden age for the town, which became an important centre for trade with Egypt and Syria. During the second half of the 14th century, the population of Modon, already a mixture of Greeks, Jews, Albanians and Latins, increased considerably as many Christians and Jews of the Peloponnesus migrated thither to escape Turkish rule. The Ottomans raided the lands outside Modon, and in 1499-1500 launched naval attacks on Modon whilst Sultan Bāyezīd II advanced on the town by land. After a siege of 28 days, the outnumbered Venetians had to surrender (9 August 1500); the populace was now massacred or enslaved, and the Latin cathedral of St. John turned into a mosque.

In 1531 the Knights of St. John almost recaptured Modon, and carried off 1,600 Muslim prisoners. Ewliyā Čelebī visited the Morea 1667-8 and gives valuable information on Modon and its vicinity (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vii, Istanbul 1928, 334 ff.). During the War of the Holy League against Turkey, which broke out in 1684, the Venetian commander Francesco Morosini recaptured Modon with the help of Greek and German troops, and the treaty of Carlowitz [see ḲARLOFČA] confirmed the Venetians' possession. Venetian census records from this time show that Modon and its district had become very depopulated, and Modon itself, including the citadel, had only 236 inhabitants, of whom some must have been Muslims.

The town remained for some nineteen years under Venetian rule. In 1715 the grand vizier Dāmād ʿAlī S̲h̲ehīd with the help of a number of Greeks took not only Modon but almost the whole of the Morea from the Venetians in a very short time [see MORA. 2]. The Venetian garrisons of Navarino and Coroni as well as the inhabitants abandoned them when the Turkish army approached in the summer of 1715, in order to take refuge in Modon, which was much more strongly fortified. Soon afterwards the Turkish fleet and army began the siege of the town. After a brief resistance Modon surrendered voluntarily. After the capture of the town, the grand vizier ordered a general slaughter of the Christians. Many in the district thereupon adopted Islam in order to save life and property in this way. The Turks who had formerly owned property in Modon or the neighbourhood were allowed by imperial edict to resume possession of it. The Peace of Passarowitz (1718) finally ceded Modon to Turkey. The town recovered from the catastrophe of 1715. From 1725 onwards a busy trade developed between Modon and the lands of North Africa, especially Algeria and Tunis. Modon played a certain part during the war between Turkey and Russia in 1768-74. The Russian vice-general Dolgoraki in 1769 besieged Modon. The siege lasted a long time; the fighting was conducted mainly by the artillery on both sides. The Russians had also two warships co-operating on the sea. At the end of May 1769, Turks and Albanians from the interior of the Morea came to the help of the besieged. In the battle that now developed the Russians suffered heavily. They were forced to abandon most of their artillery and to escape to Navarino, from which they sailed with the rest of the Russian army and a few Greek notables. According to reliable sources, the Turkish population of Modon about 1820 was four to five hundred fighting men. About the same time, ʿAlī Ag̲h̲a was prominent among the Turks of the town for his wealth and in other respects also. The vicinity of Modon was almost exclusively inhabited by Greeks who cultivated the land, which mainly belonged to the Turks. During the Greek War of Independence of 1821-7, all the attempts of the Greeks to take the town failed. At the end of March 1821, a Peloponnesian force led by the Orthodox Patriarch of Methone and other notables, besieged Modon and the adjoining towns of Koroni and Neokastron. The besiegers were joined in the spring by Greeks from the Ionian islands and later by Philhellenes from Europe. On 18 May 1821, Greek ships blockaded Modon, and many fierce encounters took place between the Turks of Modon and their besiegers. In July 1821, Turkish ships re-provisioned Modon but they were not successful in their attempt to reprovision Neokastron, the garrison of which was in dire straits from want of food and even water. In August 1821, the Turks of Modon decided to attempt the relief of their compatriots in Neokastron, who had in the meanwhile been forced to capitulate to their Greek besiegers. On the road between Modon and Neokastron a battle was fought on 8 August 1821. On the same day, the Greeks took Neokastron; but they gradually abandoned the siege of Modon. The town was able to continue to hold out, only, however, with the frequent help of the Turkish fleet.

When the Egyptian Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] undertook to suppress the Greek rising for the sultan and to pacify the Morea, Modon and its neighbourhood formed his main base. There he landed troops on 24 February 1825 and dug entrenchments. Modon became an important base for Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a's operations. On 8 October 1828 the town was taken from him by the French General Maison. The French left in 1833, and Modon has since then belonged to Greece. According to the 1981 census, the population of Methōne was 1,251; the population has been dwindling over recent decades.

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MOGADISCIO, MOGADISHU [see MAḲDISHŪ].

MOGADOR [see AL-ṢAWĪRA].

MOGHOLISTĀN "the land of the Mongols", the name used from the time of the Mongols (13th century) onwards to designate the steppe, plateau and mountain region of Inner Asia lying to the north of Transoxania or Mā warāʾ al-nahr [*q.v.*] and the Syr Darya, hence including *inter alia* the region of Semirečiye, Turkish Yeti-su "the land of seven rivers", which comprised the basins of the Ili and Ču rivers [*q.vv.*]; this part of Mogholistān corresponds in large measure with the modern Kazakh SSR. But the region also extended eastwards across the Tien Shan and Ala Tau ranges into the northern part of Eastern Turkestan and into Dzhungaria (the modern Uyghur Autonomous Region of Hsin-Chiang or Sin-Kiang in China). The term reflects the fact that under the Čaghatayids [see ČAGHATAY KHĀNATE] these lands were mostly taken over by the Turcol-Mongol nomadic hordes of the Khāns, the denasalised form Moghol being the usual one of the Islamic sources for the original Monggol.

The term became the standard one for the whole region up to modern times. It is used e.g. by Bābur [*q.v.*] in his memoirs (early 16th century) and by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlat in his *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (mid-16th century). This latter author (whose original Mongol tribe of Dughlat nomadised across Mogholistān) defines it in detail as including the lakes Balkhash and Issïk Köl [*q.vv.*], with the upper basin of the Irtïsh river [*q.v.* in Suppl.] to its north and "Uzbekistan" to its south and the Tarim basin to its east (now often called "Uyghuristān" or Altï shahr "the land of the six towns", sc. Beshbalïḳ, Kuča, Ḳaraḳočo or Turfan, etc.). But the boundaries of Mogholistān were inevitably somewhat fluid, for its prime characteristic was that it was essentially a region for pastoral nomadism, with virtually no towns proper by that time unruined, and only semi-permanent nomadic encampments. The nomadic nature of its sparse population, composed of Turco-Mongols organised into confederations but with many splinter-groups, explains also certain other names given to the tribal peoples of Mogholistān, such as Djete (apparently "lawless ones, brigands") and Ḳarawnas/Ḳaraʾunas , Marco Polo's Caraunes (probably "people of mixed origin, métis", cf. H. Yule, ed. and tr., *The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, London 1871, i, 92-3, 94-6, P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, Paris 1959, 184-96, and J. Aubin, *L'ethnogénèse des Qaraunas*, in *Turcica*, i [1969], 65-94).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

MOGHOLS, an ethnic and, until recently, a linguistic group originally concentrated in west-central Afghānistān, in the modern province of Ghōrāt, and carrying on there a semi-pastoral and semi-agricultural way of life; now however groups of them have become dispersed throughout northern and central Afghānistān. They number at most 10,000 souls. For other communities in Afghānistān of mixed Turkish-Mongol origin, see HAZĀRAS in Suppl. Unlike the Shīʿī Hazāras, the Moghols are Sunnī.

The origins of these Moghols probably lie in the appearance in Afghānistān of mixed Mongol-Turkish elements in the wake of the Čingizid invasions of Western Asia, in particular, of the military following of Hülegü's general Nīkūdār, the so-called Nīkūdārīs or Ḳarawnas. Subsequently allied with the Kart [*q.v.*] of Kurt rulers of Harāt, certain of the Mongol elements of these retreated into southern Ghūr around their stronghold of Ḳayṣar, and have apparently lived there since then as a distinct group, their Mongol language and their physical features preserved until recently by strict endogamy. The language first attracted the attention of British observers from India in the early 19th century (see R. Leech, *A vocabulary of the Moghal Aimaks*, in *JASB*, vii [1838], 785-7) but linguistic missions of the last three or so decades have found the language almost forgotten even by the elderly, although the Mongoloid physical appearance of the people still remains clearly discernible. Today, most of the Moghols are Darī (i.e. Persian) speakers, whilst some on the southern fringes of Ghūr have adopted Pashto. Within two or three generations, it is likely that the Moghols will have been totally assimilated to their Tādjīk and Pashtūn surrounding environment.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

MOGHUL [see MUGHAL].

MOHÁCS (Ottoman Mihāč), a town in the county of Baranya, in southern Hungary. In its vicinity two important battles (a, b) took place, while the settlement itself gave name to an Ottoman *sandjak* (c) in the 16th-17th centuries.

(a) The first battle of Mohács, the more decisive of the two, was fought on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 932/August 1526. With Süleymān I's accession to the throne in 926/1520, a new era started in the western politics of the Ottoman Empire. While Selīm I had had mainly eastern targets, his son turned towards

Europe. Hungary, which had formerly been a strong and centralised kingdom under Matthias Corvinus (1458-90), gradually lost her wealth and political power under the Jagellons, mainly due to the heavy burdens of continuous warfare with the Ottomans. Seeking a way out from this situation, Louis II did not sign a renewed peace-treaty with Süleymān and detained his envoy. This led to the siege and capture of Belgrade, the key-fortress of the southern marches. For the following five years, the king and his entourage were unable to secure the necessary international help. and the country had to confront the Ottomans almost wholly by her own means (a fairly considerable monetary aid was, however, given by the Pope and Venice).

In the battle, the sovereigns of the two countries headed their armies. The actual leadership was in the hand of Pál Tomori, the Archbishop of Kalocsa, chief commandant of Lower Hungary, a well-proven soldier, and of Ibrāhīm, the new Grand Vizier, on the Ottoman side.

Since no muster was made on either side, the number of participants can only be estimated. This can be done with more accuracy for the Turks, thanks to figures in the 931/1525 state budget (the date of the pertinent manuscript was rectified by G. Káldy-Nagy, *Suleimans Angriff auf Europa*, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xxviii [1974], 170-1, n. 34). These suggest that an approximate total of 60,000 regular soldiers and timariots could be mobilised. To this, an equal amount of irregular and non-military elements can be added as a possible maximum. The lowest—but still generally accepted—value for the Hungarian contingents is 25,000 men, while others argue that 40,000 or even more troops are also conceivable. At any rate, the Ottoman army was superior in discipline and training. One important element was nevertheless absent from the Turkish forces, i.e. heavy cavalry, which they therefore feared.

The exact place of confrontation in unknown (only some thousand Hungarian skeletons have been found in one group, and almost none of the Ottomans). Tomori decided on a mounted attack against the Turks, who were descending a slope. This caused serious confusion for a short time, but the steadiness of the Janissaries and the unexpected side attack by Bali Beg's forces gave a new turn to the events. In one-and-a-half hours, the Hungarian army was completely defeated, losing its most prominent ecclesiastic and political leaders, including the king, who was drowned in the Csele stream.

Süleymān himself was surprised at his success. He was even able to enter the capital Buda without encountering resistance. Although he did not attach Hungary to his empire, he considered it his own possessions from that time onwards. This agrees with the general Ottoman ideology and method of conquest, and not even the fact that he accepted John I on the Hungarian throne as a vassal soon afterwards seems to contradict this concept (cf. Pál Fodor, *Magyarország és Bécs az oszmán hódító ideológiában* ["Hungary and Vienna in the Ottoman ideology of conquest"], in *Keletkutatás*, 1987 tavasz, 20-38).

The defeat was a turning-point in Hungarian history. The king's death gave rise to a long period of anarchy, while the loss of the Szerémség (Sirmium) made it impossible to defend the borders, and the country became the battlefield of two world powers. The splitting-up of her territory into three zones (i.e. Ottoman, Habsburg and Transylvanian [for this last, see ERDEL]) lasted for more than 150 years, hindering development in many spheres.

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(b) The place of the—less correctly—so-called "second battle of Mohács" was between the Harsány Mountain and Villány, a district 20 to 25 km. southwest of Mohács itself. It was fought between the forces of the Grand Vizier Süleymān Pas͟ha and Charles of Lotharingia, head of the Holy League's army, on 12 August 1687. With approximately 60,000 men on both sides, the fight ended with an Ottoman defeat, a result of the European superiority in warfare (mainly in fire-arms) by this time. Soon after this Christian success, their contingents easily took many smaller fortresses, so that the population of Slavonia pledged allegiance to Leopold I at the end of October. The Grand Vizier, on the other hand, was dismissed and later executed, while the Sultan, Meḥemmed IV, was replaced by Süleymān II [*q.vv*].

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(c) The *sanḏjaḳ* of Mohács [Mihāč]—alternatively also called Pécs (Pečūy) and Szekcsö (Sekčōy), of which the former was more often considered as a separate unit—was rather large at the beginning. Later, it was partly divided (e.g. after 1552 most of the *sanḏjaḳ* of Koppány (Ḳōpān) was carved out from its territories), and partly diminished, losing villages to the *sanḏjaḳs* of Simontornya

(Shimōnṭōrna) and Szigetvár (Sigetvār). It belonged to the *wilāyet* of Budin (Buda) and consisted of 10 *nāḥiyes* in 1546 and 1552 (cf. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, tahrir defteri 441, 443), but only 3 in 1580 and 1590 (Tahrir defteri 583, 632), and of one *ḳaḍā*ʾ. The first active *sandjaḳ-begi* here, Ḳāsîm, is known from 1543 onwards.

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MOHMAND, the name of a Paṭhān or Afghān tribe on the North-West Frontier of what was formerly British India, now forming the boundary between Pakistan and Afghānistān. The Mohmands in fact straddle the frontier, and their members, estimated at *ca.* 400,000, are divided between the two countries. The Mohmand territories extend from northwest of the Peshāwar district, with Mālākand and the Yūsufzay territories on the east, up to and beyond the Afghan frontier on the west, and northwards towards the princely state of Dīr [*q.v.*]. The Mohmand Agency, created by Pakistan (see below), has an area of 750 sq. miles, with a population estimated at *ca.* 250,000, and included in the extreme northwest the mountainous district of Badjawr [*q.v.*], home of the Tarkanrī Paṭhāns, ostensibly related to the Yūsufzays.

According to traditional genealogical lore, enshrined for instance in Niʿmat Allāh's *Makhzan-i Afghānī* (early 17th century), the Mohmands are descendants of a legendary ancestor Kharshbūn and his son Kand through the Ghōriya Khēl, a parallel line to that of the Yūsufzays [see AFGHĀN. i. The people]. Local tribal tradition says that the Ghōriya Khēl and their kinsmen the Khakhay migrated from Afghānistān in the late 15th century, and by the early 16th century the Mohmands had reached the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR] region. They were for long a thorn in the flesh of successive rulers of India. Until 1552 they supported Kāmrān, brother and rival of Humāyūn [*q.v.*] in his attempt to re-establish his father Bābur's power in India, and they resisted Akbar in 1586 when he campaigned in the Frontier region. The Rōshāniyya religious movement [*q.v.*] of Bāyezīd, Pīr Rōshān, was influential amongst them also. In 1672, they helped to block the passage through the Khyber of Awrangzīb's general Uyghur Khān, and even the powerful Afghān leader Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] had in the 18th century to conciliate them and the Yūsufzay tribal chiefs with grants of *djāgīrs* [*q.v.*].

As noted above, like many other frontier tribes, such as the Mamands, Bangash, and the Darwēsh Khēl Wazīrīs, the Mohmands are to be found both in Afghānistān and in Pakistani territory. Those within the latter sphere on influence can be divided into the Kuz (plain) Mohmands, whose lands lie to the south of Peshāwar within the old British administrative border, and the Bar (hill) Mohmands of the semi-independent hills to the north-west. The Mohmands of the settled districts represent one of the many cases of fission, where a branch of section of the tribe has broken off from the parent stock and lost all connection with it. The Mohmands across the administrative border can be divided into three chief clans: the Tarakzay, Baezay, and the Khwaezay. In the thirty years following the annexation of the Pandjāb, no less than six punitive expeditions were required to punish them for raiding into British territory. By the Durand Agreement of 1893, certain Mohmand clans were definitely placed within the British sphere of influence, and by the year 1896 the Halīmzay, Kamali, Dawezay, Utmanzay and Tarakzay, afterwards known as the eastern or "assured" clans, had accepted the political control of the Government of India (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1908, Cd. 4,201, p. 123). But this did not prevent them from joining in the Paṭhān revolt of 1897, when under their leader, Nadjm al-Dīn, the Adda Mulla, they attacked the village of Shankargah and the neighbouring fort of Shabḳadar in the Peshāwar district.

The factors underlying Mohmand unrest were geographical, economic, and political. The barren nature of their stony hills and almost waterless holdings forced them to raid the settled districts in order to obtain the necessaries of life. Their position on the flank of the Khyber Pass was a standing invitation to plunder the caravans passing between Peshāwar and Kābul. There was considerable uncertainty as to the exact location of the Indo-Afghān boundary near Smatzay and Shinpokh. Afghān intrigues also played their part, and much of the unrest can be traced to anti-British propaganda emanating from Kābul.

At the close of the Zakka Khēl expedition of 1908, the Mohmands joined in the fighting but they were easily defeated, the eighteen-pounder quick-firing gun being used for the first time to disperse hostile *lashkars*. In April 1915, the Mohmands once more invaded British territory but were eventually dispersed and forced to pay a heavy fine. In August 1916, some Turkish emissaries arrived in the Mohmand country with money for the notorious Ḥādjdjī Ṣāḥib of Turangzay, one of whose counsellors was Muḥammad ʿAkī [*q.v.*], a graduate of Cambridge and a teacher in the Amīr's college at Kābul. In 1919, during the Third Afghān War, when the Amīr Amān Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] proclaimed a *djihād* against the British, the Mohmands flocked to join his standards.

During the 1930s, the Mohmand country was in a state of chronic disaffection. In 1930, when the so-called "Frontier Gandhi" ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Khān [see KHĀN, ʿABD AL-GHAFFĀR, in Suppl.], was arrested by the British authorities for fomenting unrest, the Mohmands, under his kinsman by marriage, the Ḥādjdjī of Turangzay, were in a disturbed state. Soon afterwards, there was an internecine warfare within the tribe, with the British supporting the Lower Mohmands against the Upper Mohmands, the latter led by the Ḥādjdjī and by the Faḳīr of ʿĀlamgīr. After the establishment of Pakistan, the new government set up a special Mohmand Political Agency, in addition to the five previously existing; the Mohmands had in British India come within the Khyber Agency. During the Pushtūnistān agitation, the Mohmands were especially susceptible to propaganda from Kābul, with their tribal *malik* Mīrza Djān, famed as a poet under the *takhalluṣ* of Siyāl, prominent in advocating the idea of a Pushtūnistān. The aridity and poverty of the Mohmand country has meant that in recent decades Mohmands have often migrated to work in the Peshāwar region, whence they send back remittances to their families, or else they practice a seasonal migration pattern, usually in winter.

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(C. Collin-Davies [-C.E. Bosworth])

MOHUR, an Indian gold coin. The name is the Persian *muhr*, which is a loanword from the Sanskrit *mudrā*, seal or die. The earliest occurence of the word on coins is on the forced currency of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ where it has the literal meaning of "sealed" or "stamped". By the 10th/16th century it had come to be used as a popular rather than precise name for gold coins in general.

Very little gold had been issued in India for two centuries before the reign of Akbar. One of his reforms was the issue of an extensive coinage in gold. In addition to many pieces which had only a brief circulation, he revived the old gold tanka of the sultans of Dihlī on a standard of 170 grains (11.02 gr.) to which he gave the name *muhr*. That the name at first could be applied to any gold coin is shown by D̲j̲ahāngīr's reference in his *Tuzuk* or *Memoirs* (tr. A. Rogers, Oriental Translation Fund, xix, 10) to *muhr*s of 100, 50, 20, 10, 5 and 1 *tola*. After the numismatic experiments of Akbar and D̲j̲ahāngīr, only one gold piece was struck, occasionally with subdivisions, so that the general name acquired a particular meaning, especially among the English merchants in India. *Muhurs* continued to be struck to the end of the Mug̲h̲al Empire and by the states into which it broke up in the 18th and 19th centuries. Akbar and D̲j̲ahāngīr issued square as well as round pieces and the former also struck a few *miḥrābī* pieces, so-called from their shape. Of the numerous large denominations recorded by Abu 'l-Faḍl and D̲j̲ahāngīr, only 5 *muhr* pieces of Akbar and of D̲j̲ahāngīr are known to exist.

As the silver rupee was the standard coin of India, the value of the *mohur* fluctuated with the price of gold. In the latter half of the 18th and early 19th centuries, the East India Company endeavoured to make gold the standard of India and issued *mohurs* (called gold rupees in Bombay) with the legends of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor. None of their attempts to keep gold and silver in a currency at a fixed rate was successful. When in 1835 a uniform currency was introduced for British India, a gold *mohur* or 15 rupee piece with English types was struck in name of William IV but never attained general circulation; this was the last attempt to restore the *mohur* to circulation. The *mohurs* occasionally seen of Victoria of 1861, 1862 and other dates are patterns.

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(J. Allan)

MOK̲H̲Ā [see mук̲h̲ā].

MOLDAVIA [see bog̲h̲dān].

MOLLĀ, a title derived from the Arabic *mawlā* [*q.v.*] in its sense of "lord" or "master", employed currently with composite forms of *mawlā*, incorporating pronominal or adjectival suffixes, in use in various periods and regions of the Muslim world: *mawlāy* [*q.v.*]/*mūlāy*, "my lord" among the S̲h̲arīfī sovereigns of Morocco (Saʿdids, ʿAlawids), the Naṣrids and the Ḥafṣids [see also laḳab]; *mawlānā*/(Turkish) *mewlānā*, "our master", a title very widespread in the Turco-Iranian world, and still in use today, especially in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent where it denotes Muslims of high rank (*ʿulamā*ʾ and Ṣūfīs) in parallel with the traditional form of *mawlwī*, a popular derivation of *mawlawī*, this last term signifying both "my master" (a familiar designation applied by the Persians to Mawlānā D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]) and that which pertains to the *mawlā* (hence the *ṭarīḳa* of the Mawlawī/Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*]).

As a Persian derivation from the Arabic *mawlā* (*TA*, *apud* Dihk̲h̲udā, *Lug̲h̲at-nāma*, s.v. *Mollā*), the term *mollā* exists in various forms and spellings. A derivation from the Turkish pronunciation of *mawlā* mutated into *mevlā* has also been suggested (cf. Popper). Turkish is also familiar with the pronunciation *munlā*/*monlā* (Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 608; *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, ed. M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1330 p., iv, 2030) or *menlā* (J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English lexicon*, 1074, 2014). *Mollā* and *monlā* could be (independently) derived from *mawlā*/*mawlānā* (Dihk̲h̲udā, *loc. cit.*). A derivation from the Arabic verb *malaʾa* "to fill", whereby the *mollā* is a sage "full" of knowledge (Muḥammad G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn, *G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-lug̲h̲at*, Calcutta 1327/1909, 495), is a whimsical notion. The same applies to direct mutation from Arabic to Hindi (proposed by Yule, followed by P. Hardy, *Glossary*). The pronunciation *mollā* or *mawlā* has been noted in Bag̲h̲dād with its former sense of "slave", sometimes applied to freed white eunuchs (Kazimirsky, *Dict. arabe-français*, ii, 1609). In European languages, the term exists with various spellings: in French *mollah*/*molla*, in English *mullah*/*mulla*, formerly *moolah* (Yule, s.v.).

In its primary usage, *mollā* is simultaneously a title of function (*ʿuhda*), of dignity or profession (*manṣab*) and of rank (*martaba*): cf. the classification of Garcin de Tassy revised by Gaborieau (1985), 14 ff. Although possessing various connotations in usage, this term indicates in the first instance any Muslim scholar who has acquired a certain degree of religious education and the aptitude to communicate it. In this sense, it is often confused with the term *ʿālim*/*ʿulamā*ʾ which denotes the totality of Muslim religious persons who have been seen, especially in the Imāmī S̲h̲īʿī context, as constituting a kind of "clergy", endowed with prerogatives on the spiritual and material planes. Distinguished by their clothing and physical appearance (in Iran: the turban (*ʿimāma*, popularly *ʿammāme*), black for the *sayyids*, white for others; a long and ample cloak, *ʿabā*; sandals, *naʿlayn*, easily removed for ablutions and prayers; a relatively long beard, a trimmed moustache), their prestige and their claims to knowledge, the *mollās* have succeeded in occupying a wide range of functions at many different levels. Later to appear (9th/15th century?), the title *mollā* is limited, with a few exceptions, to the Turco-Iranian and Indian World. Of circumscribed use in non-S̲h̲īʿī Arab countries, it may designate religious dignitaries such as *Mollā* of Jerusalem, of Cairo, or of Medina (cf. Popper). But in current usage it is most often applied to the *ʿulamā*ʾ drawn from the lower and middle strata of soceity. Having completed their elementary classes (*maktab*), the students (*ṭullāb*), between the ages of eleven and fifteen years, are

admitted as novices to the *madrasa* [*q.v.*], where they pursue a traditional education. Few among them succeed in completing the full *cursus* of fifteen to eighteen years which will lead them to the superior rank (among the Shīʿīs) of *mudjtahid* [*q.v.*].

Whatever may be the level of education of its holder, the title of *mollā* confers certain privileges and "reserved" occupations which vary according to periods and regions. In the Ottoman Empire, the positions held by the *mollās* in civil and religious administration were known under the generic term of *mewlewiyyet* [*q.v.*] which embraces simultaneously the rank, the duties or jurisdiction and the tutorial functions of the *mollās* (see R. Repp in *Scholars*, 18; there is also the term *mollālik*, cf. Redhouse, 2035). With the employment of the title of *khwādja* [*q.v.*], from the 10th/16th century onward denoting senior Ottoman dignitaries, *khwadjegān-i dīwān-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*], the term *mollā* loses some of its prestige. While continuing to be used, it tends to be supplanted by *khwādja/khodja*, modern Turkish *hoca*, which is applied, among others, to the totality of the *ʿulamāʾ*. The two titles can furthermore co-exist, prefixed and affixed to elements of the name. But the subject of amusing tales (*Mollā*) Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja (modern Turkish, Nasreddin Hoca) continues to be called Mollā Naṣr al-Dīn in the Iranian world.

In Mughal India and Ṣafawid Iran, religious Muslims are often designated under the generic term *ʿulamāʾ wa-mashāyikh*, including scholars, theologians and Ṣūfīs without any clear distinction between *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfīs (for the latter, see Gaborieau (1989) 1199 f.). But here the title *mollā* embraces different values. Influenced by the caste system, Indian Islam is more hierarchical. The need to assert social position renders Muslim onomastic very emphatic (Gaborieau (1985), 18) and the most prestigious titles tend to replace those that have fallen into disuse. Until the beginning of the 19th century, with the exception of the Ṣūfīs who often prefer to describe themselves otherwise (*shāh, khwādja, pīr*, less frequently *shaykh*) numerous *ʿulamāʾ*, Sunnī and Shīʿī alike, bore the title of *mollā*, but also that of *mawlawī/mawlwī*. Besides its general sense of learned or scholarly, the title of *mollā* tends to be restricted to the occupations of an educator (of a *maktab*, occasionally of a *madrasa*; or of a teacher in the upper levels of society), of a jurist or a judge (sometimes as deputy of a *ḳāḍī*), of a preacher in mosques or at Shīʿī funeral gatherings. In the capacity of a schoolmaster, he was often responsible for the mosque of the village where he sometimes performed the profession of a butcher (Wilson, 354). The term *mollāgarī* or *mollāʾī* was used to denote the duties and the teaching of the *mollās*. *Mollānī/mollānnī* (Hindi derivation) denoted the wife of a *mollā* or a learned woman, a school-mistress (Platts, ii, 1063). Although causing no fundamental disruption to Muslim religious life, the arrival of the British led, in 1772, to the replacement of the *ḳāḍī* by a tribunal supervised by a *muftī*, a situation which continued until 1864 (Yule, 510 ff.; Gaborieau (1989), 1190). The *mollāyi ḳurʾānī* is charged with the duty of taking oaths sworn on the Ḳurʾān by Muslim witnesses (Wilson, *ibid.*; Platts, *ibid.*; Yule, 579). The magistrate entrusted with the interpretation of Islamic law is called *mawlā* (Garcin de Tassy, 86-7). While continuing to be employed in India during the 19th century, the term *mollā* is gradually supplanted by *mawlawī/mawlwī* which could also be applied to *mollās* of inferior rank (Popper). But it is most of all the prestigious title of *mawlānā* which replaces the "obsolete" *mollā* (Gaborieau (1989), 1195). Of relatively ancient usage in India (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 218), *mawlānā* has also come to denote a village school-teacher (Wilson, *ibid.*). A remarkable exception to the devaluation of the title *mollā* is supplied by the family of Ḥanafī theologians and *ṣūfīs* of the Farangī Maḥall, eminent members of which have borne this title from the 16th century to the end of the 19th century (F. Robinson, FARANGĪ MAḤALL, in Suppl.; idem, *The ʿulamāʾ of Farangī Maḥall and their adab*, in B. Metcalf (ed.), *Moral conduct and authority. The place of* adab *in South Asian Islam*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1984, 152-83); see also below.

Stripped of its prestige, *mollā* has reached the point where it is applied to religious agitators (those who proclaim themselves *mahdīs* in India and in the Sudan have been given the epithet "mad mullah" by the British), bigots, soothsayers (Platts, ii, 1962). The term becomes entirely pejorative and even vulgar in metaphors such as *mollā-zāda/ḳalandar-bač* (for *membrum virile*: cf. Vullers, *Lexicon Perso-Latinum*, 1864, ii, 1208). The equivalent Urdu expression *mollā kā beṭā* "son of a *mollā*" is now employed in the sense of ruffian, hooligan, in a rural context. *Mollās* are often regarded as hidebound theologians, clinging to the literal sense of the *sharīʿa*. The poet Muḥammad Iḳbāl [*q.v.*] denounced the baneful influence of the spiritual master (*pīr*) and of the *mollā*, the narrow-minded theologian who had forgotten the dynamic message of the Ḳurʾān (cf. A. Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian subcontinent*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden-Cologne 1980, 230). But, despite its devaluation, the title of *mollā* continued to enjoy a certain prestige among scholars and religious persons. Thus the *dāʿī* of the Ismāʿīlī community of the Bohoras [*q.v.*], known respectfully by the old title of *sayyidnā*, is also called more familiarly *Mullā-djī ṣāḥib*, (*ibid.*, 71). Some Parsees have borne the title of *mollā*, and the name of one of them has been given to a *madrasa*, the "Mulla Feroze Madressa", founded in Bombay in 1854 (E. Kulke, *The Parsis in India*, Delhi 1974, 95). The "Parsee Panchayat" charitable foundation has been directed since 1962 by Seth Nadirshah Rustomji Mulla (*ibid.*, 70). The attribution of the title may denote lowly origins. Thus Sir Dinshah F. Mulla (1868-1934) was the son of Fardoonji Kavasji Mulla, an impoverished Parsee priest who became a solicitor and founded his own firm in Bombay, still known by the name of "Mulla and Mulla" (Piloo Nanavutty, *The Parsis*, New Delhi 1980, 108 f.). Even Hindu scholars currently bear the title of *mollā*.

Widespread throughout the territories living under the Iranian cultural influence, the title of *mollā* has naturally been diffused to the greatest extent in Iran. In the Ṣafawid period (1501-1722), it denoted *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfīs of all ranks. Under Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-35/1694-1722), the office of *mollā-bāshīgarī*, held by the *mollā-bāshī* (chief of the *mollās*), was instituted. The first occupant of this office, Mollā Muḥammad Bāḳir Khātūnābādī, had been the Shāh's tutor. The prerogatives of the *mollā-bāshī* attained their most prestigious level under Nādir Shāh Afshār (1148-60/1736-47). Under the Ḳādjārs (1794-1925 [*q.v.*]), his role was limited to that of tutor to the royal household. In the provincial courts, since the Afshārid period, the princes had also appointed their own *mollā-bāshī*. The office remained a respectable sinecure until the middle of the 19th century, when it degenerated into frivolity, like other courtly functions (see Arjomand (1983) and (1988)).

In Ḳādjār Iran, the title of *mollā* referred both to theologians who had not attained the level of *mudjtahid* and to scholars irrespective of status. But certain *mudjtahids* retained their title of *mollā*, sometimes in

combination with others such as *āḳā* or *ākhūnd*. There were also female *mollās* and some non-Muslims bearing this title (see below).

Exercising the basic prerogatives in matters of education, ritual functions (prayers, marriages, funerals, etc.) and judicial functions, the *mollās* constitute the basis of what has been called, erroneously in the view of some, a veritable clergy. The *mollā* teaches at the primary school, *maktab*, also called *mollā-khāna/khāna-yi mollā* (house of the *mollā*), or as a tutor in the upper levels of society. Being of inferior knowledge, the Shīʿī *mollā* must be the emulator (*muḳallid*) of a *mudjtahid* who is *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]. Educating the faithful of his entourage, he occupies an intermediate position between the *mudjtahid* and the simple faithful whose material circumstances are similar to his. However, like the majority of Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*, the *mollās* benefit from revenues which, though sometimes modest, guarantee them a degree of independence. They may receive gratuities by acting as representative (*nāʾib*) of a *mudjtahid* (certification of documents, collection of taxes), enjoy the benefits of pious foundations (*awḳāf*), receive free lodging, gifts or honoraria for their services as preachers (*wāʿiẓ, rawḍa-khwān*) at Shīʿī funeral gatherings, etc. They can also supplement their income by activity in commerce or in agriculture. The *mollās* can even render physical support to the power of the *mudjtahids*, who sometimes have armed bands at their disposal. Composed initially of brigands or urban ruffians (*lūṭīs* [*q.v.*]), enjoying the protection of sanctuaries or of the homes of *ʿulamāʾ*; towards the end of the 19th century, these militias, joined by true or false *sayyids*, were composed to an increasing extent of *ṭullāb*, whose agitation was a crucial factor in the events leading to the constitutional revolution of 1905-11 (see especially, Algar, 185 ff.; BAST, and J. Calmard, s.v. in *Encycl. Iranica*; DUSTŪR, iv., ĪRĀN).

Like Imāmī religious persons in general, the *mollās* are exempt from military service (see Richard (ed.) (1989), 45, 54-5). In the context of religious practice, it is their duty to enforce respect for the precepts of the *sharīʿa*. This often pedantic exercise of a censor's role and the privileges which they enjoy have had the effect of making them unpopular. The title of *mollā* becomes the subject of banter in numerous proverbs (cf. Dihkhudā, *Amthāl u ḥikam*, Tehran 1338 p., 4 vols.; proverbs, sayings, etc., quoted in *Lughat-nāma*, *loc. cit.*, with additions; see also MATHAL, ii, *Bibl.*). According to one popular belief, the *mollā* is somebody who is capable of reading but incapable of writing, in contrast to the *mīrzā* [*q.v.*] who possesses both literacy and knowledge (Djamālzāda, 405, who quotes the proverb *Mollā shudan če āsān, ādām shudan če mushkil*, "It is easy to become a *mollā*, difficult to become a man!"). During the 19th century, the term *mollā* tends to be supplanted by *ākhūnd* [*q.v.*], which in its turn takes on a pejorative connotation. But before being devalued, *ākhūnd* is frequently used in combination with *mollā*. The two terms are seen in parity in the expression *ākhūndbāzī/mollābāzī*, trickery or strategem of a *mollā*, i.e., recourse to means permitted by the letter of the *sharīʿa* but not by its spirit, associated with suspect practices or activities of the *mollās* (Algar, 21, quoting Dihkhudā; idem, *Āḳund*, in *Encycl. Iranica*). In response to the devaluation of this terminology as occasioned by the circumstances of the modern world, the generic term of *rūḥāniyyat* was created by Riḍā Shāh (1925-41) to designate the entire community of Iranian *ʿulamāʾ* in the capacity of a "clergy" (Richard, (1983), 11). Certain terms, however, have not been devalued as, for example, the title *āḳā*, formerly used sometimes in combination with *mollā* or *ākhūnd*, given by his associates to the Āyatallāh Khumaynī.

The status of the *mollās* in a Sunnī socio-religious context (Central Asia, Afghanistan, western India) in the early 19th century, reveals numerous points in common with their postion in Shīʿī Iran, especially as regards their means of subsistence (including lending money at interest), their role as censors (they organise armed bands, break musical instruments), their educational activities (in every village or nomad camp, a *mollā* school-teacher is given a portion of land and receives a contribution from his pupils; *mollās* also teach in wealthy circles): see Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the Kingdom of Caubol*, London 1819, i, 299 ff., 340 ff.

Despite the conservative character of the Iranian *ʿulamāʾ*, "reformers of a non-secular type rather than social revolutionaries" (W. Floor in *Religion and politics*, 94), since the constitutional revolution, their influence among the mass of faithful Shīʿī has grown continuously, leading ultimately to the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979. Although they are divided into various tendencies (cf. Akhavi, 100 ff.), their prerogatives have been extended to all sectors of religious and social life, including economic and military matters. Their influence and its consequences have to a great extent overstepped the frontiers of Iran, emerging on the international scene in the context of recent events. Alongside the "Reign of the Ayatollahs" the expression "Iran of the Mullahs" is also used in a pejorative sense. This quasi-general disapproval takes little account of the courageous stance of some of them, for example Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris, a brave and incorruptible man, compaigner for a genuine constitutional régime, opponent of Riḍā Shāh, and mysteriously assassinated in 1938 (Algar, in *Scholars*, 240; Mottahedeh, 224). In the confusion of the current political situation (end of 1989), a global evaluation of the role of the *mollās* in Iran and the neighbouring countries, Shīʿī and non-Shīʿī, is a subject to be approached with caution, being open to varieties of speculation. Thus, although the *mollās* have been vehemently opposed to the efforts in the direction of secularisation by the Literacy Corps, *sipāh-i dānish*, since 1963 (see V. Garoussian, *The ulema and secularization in contemporary Iran*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Southern Illinois University 1974, 130 f.), this has not everywhere contributed to their popularity. A detailed anthropological survey conducted in an Iranian village has revealed a negative image of the Shīʿī clergy in evidence during the 1970s. This was scarcely improved following the eviction and replacement of the *mollā*, imprisoned as a member of SAVAK by the authorities of the Islamic Republic (see R. Loeffler, *Islam in practice. Religious beliefs in a Persian village*, Albany 1988, 17 ff., 227). As for the figures put forward for the number of *mollās* in Iran (180,000 or 120,000 in 1979 for a population of 37 million) compared with a much smaller number in ʿIrāḳ, these are not easily verified (cf. H. Batatu, in *Shīʿism and social protest*, 193).

In the specific context of Shīʿī Iran, female Muslims educated in the theological disciplines have been entitled to gain the title of *mollā* and even the rank of *mudjtahid* (on a work concerning the Imām ʿAlī written by Ḥādjdjiyya Khānum Amīn, a *mudjtahid* of Iṣfahān, see *Abstracta Iranica* [1982], v, 547). Disagreement exists, however, among the *ʿulamāʾ* regarding the attribution of the title *mudjtahid* to female *mollās* (N. Yeganeh and N. R. Keddie, in *Shīʿism and social protest*, 119). Some of them have gained renown as

preachers in female gatherings of Shīʿī mourning [see AL-MARʾA, iii, a; on Mollā Kulthūm, an eminent *rawda khʷān* of the Ḳādjār period, see ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagānī-i man*, Tehran n.d., i, 526). *Mollā-bādjīs*, teachers in schools reserved for girls, are sometimes tutors in the upper levels of society (Muʿīn, *Farhang-i fārsī*, s.v.; Thaiss, 77 f., underline the negative connotation of *bādjī*, from the Turkish "sister" or "servant"). The term *Mollā-bādjī čundak* refers to a very sorrowful woman who laments incessantly over her misfortunes and those of others (Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*). In the Shīʿī communities of southern ʿIrāḳ, female *mollās* officiate in Shīʿī rituals. This vocation is often handed down within a family. Widows or girls who see no prospect of marrying choose to become a *mollā*—a respected and lucrative profession—follow a Ḳurʾānic education and learn to recite and sing the *ḳrāyāt* "recitations", equivalents of the *rawḍa-khʷānīs* which they interpret at female funeral gatherings in Muḥarram and Ramaḍān (R. and E. Fernea, in *Scholars*, 391 ff., 399; P. Chelkowski, *Popular Shīʿī mourning rituals*, in *Alserāt*, xii (London 1986), 209-26, esp. 221).

In the Iranian world, the term *mollā* has also been adopted by Jewish and Zoroastrian scholars (Dihkhudā, *loc. cit.*, following Nafīsī, *Nāẓim al-aṭibbā*). Since the Ṣafawid period, numerous Jewish scholars and theologians have borne this title. The situation of the Jews of Iran became critical under Shāh ʿAbbās I (996-1038/1588-1629 [*q.v.*]), when a Jewish butcher of Lār, Abū Ḥasan Lārī, a convert to Islam, organised the imposition of discriminatory measures against the Jews (see LĀR and LARISTĀN; L. Loeb, *The Jews of Southwest Iran: a study of cultural persistence*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Columbia Univ. 1970, 315 ff., 423; Ḥabīb Liwī (Levy), *Tārīkh-i Yāhūd-i Īrān*, Tehran 1339 p., 224 ff.; V. B. Moreen, *Iranian Jewry's hour of peril and heroism. A study of Bābāʾī Ibn Luṭf's chronicle (1617-1662)*, New York-Jerusalem 1987, 80 ff.). Some Jewish *mollās* who refused to convert to Islam were devoured by dogs before Shāh ʿAbbās I (Moreen, 162, tr., 173 ff.; the testimony of Babāʾī ibn Luṭf is corroborated by Pietro della Valle). Persecutions continued under Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66) and beyond (Liwī, *ibid.*, 291 ff.; Loeb, 61 ff., 423 ff.). The status of these Jewish *mollās* in the social hierarchy of their communities varied according to regions and periods. Some of those made martyrs under Shāh ʿAbbās I must have been rabbis (Moreen, 150). In order to escape the forced conversions of the Ṣafawids, some Jews left to join their communities in Central Asia, the most important of these since the turn of the 11th/17th century being that of Bukhārā. On the eve of the Russian conquest of the khānate of Bukhārā (1285/1868), the Jewish community was governed by a *kalāntar*, chief administrator, and a *mollā-yi kalān* or Chief Rabbi (lit. "Grand *Mollā*"). The supreme authority in matters of religion, the latter presided over the court of religious justice, directed the theological academy, appointed rabbis and ritual butchers. A *khāmlā* (from the Persian *khāna-yi mollā*), a primary school for boys under thirteen years of age, was affiliated to each synanogue (see M. Zand, *Bukhara. vii. Bukharan Jews*, in *Encycl. Iranica*, iv, 530-45, esp. at 535-6). A study of the Jewish community of Shīrāz, carried out in 1967-8, shows the persistence of the title *mollā* in Jewish nomenclature. As in the case of the Muslim *mollā*, there exists a distinction between the honorary nature of the term (denoting a teacher of theology or a Jew educated in his own religion, irrespective of status) and its application to religious "officials". More specifically, the *mollā* is a synagogue official of humble rank, inferior to the *ḥazzān* (steward), superior to the *shamash* (beadle, attendant) and to the *morde shūr* (corpse washer (see Loeb, 339 ff.). One may wonder whether these *mollās* are so-called out of politeness or derision. They read Hebrew but barely understand it, earn a little money as payment for reading prayers at funerals, singing psalms for the sick, reading the penitential prayers for Israel (*ibid.*, 334). Through mockery or derision, the Persian expression *Mollā Pīnās* denotes a miserly individual, of slovenly and ragged appearance, probably by allusion to the Jewish *mollās* (Djamālzāda).

Bibliography and abbreviations (in view of its ambivalent nature, the term *mollā* touches numerous aspects of the religious, social and economic life of the Muslim world over a vast cultural area, according to a chronology to a large extent overlapping contemporary history. All that are supplied here are general references comprising significant bibliographies. For sources and edited works on the Iranian domain, see *Abstracta Iranica*, Suppl. to *Studia Iranica*, since 1978, with references to the Shīʿī communities of ʿIrāḳ, of Lebanon, of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, etc.): Sh. Akhavi, *Religion and politics in contemporary Iran*, New York 1980; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1795-1906*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1969; S.A. Arjomand, *The office of Mulla Bashi in Shiʿite Iran*, in *SI*, lvii (1983), 135-46; idem, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago-London 1984; idem, *The Mudjtahid of the Age and the Mullā-bāshī*... in Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and political culture in Shiʿism*, New York 1988, 80-97; Sh. Bakhash, *The reign of the Ayatollahs*, New York 1984; M.ʿA. Djamālzāda, *Farhang-i lughat-i ʿāmiyāna*, Tehran 1341 p.; E.W. Fernea, *Guests of the Sheikh*, New York 1965 (not seen); M. Fisher, *Iran. From religious dispute to revolution*, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1980; M. Gaborieau, *L'onomastique moderne chez les musulmans du sous-continent indien*, in *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe 1982-1984*, Paris 1985, 9-50; idem, *Les oulémas-soufis dans l'Inde moghole: anthropologie historique de religieux musulmans*, in *Annales ESC*, 1989/5, 1185-1204; J. Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur les noms propres et les titres musulmans*², Paris 1878 (see also Gaborieau (1985)); P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge 1972; L. Loeb, *Outcast: Jewish life in southern Iran*, New York etc. 1977 (not seen); Djalāl Matīnī, *Baḥthī dar bāra-i sābiḳa-i tārīkhī-yi alḳāb wa ʿanāwīn-i ʿulamāʾ dar madhhab-i shīʿa*, in *Iran Nameh*, i/4 (1983), 506-608; Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussalmans of India*, London, etc. 1832, repr. 1917, 1978; M. Momen, *An Introduction to Shiʿi Islam*, New Haven-London 1985; R. Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet. Religion and politics in Iran*, London 1986; J.T. Platts, *A dictionary of Urdu, classical Hindi and English*, 2 vols., London 1884, repr. Moscow 1959; W. Popper, art. *Mullā*, in *ERE*, viii, 909-10; *Religion and Politics* = N.R. Keddie, ed., *Religion and politics in Iran. Shiʿism from quietism to revolution*, New Haven-London 1983; Y. Richard, *Le rôle du clergé. Tendances contradictoires du chiʿisme iranien contemporain*, in *Archives de Sciences sociales des Religions*, lv/1 (1983), 5-27; idem (ed.), *Entre l'Iran et l'Occident*, Paris 1989; *Scholars* = N.R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, saints and Sufis. Muslim religious institutions since 1500*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1972; Djaʿfar Sharif, tr. G.A. Herklots, ed. W. Crooke, *Islam in India*, repr. New Delhi 1972; J.R.I. Cole and N.R. Keddie (eds.), *Shiʿism and social protest*, New Haven-London 1986; G.E.

Thaiss, *Religion, symbolism and social change: the drama of Husain*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Washington 1973; H.H. Wilson, *Glossary of judicial and revenue terms*..., London 1855, repr. New Delhi 1968; Yule = H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*. (J. Calmard)

MOLLĀ BĀDJĪ, MOLLĀ BĀSHĪ, MOLLĀ BĀSHĪGARĪ [see MOLLĀ].

MOLLĀ ḲĀBIḌ (?-934/1527), a member of the Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ* executed for heresy in Ṣafar 934/October-November 1527. Djalālzāde Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*], who was at this time Secretary to the *Dīwān* [*q.v.*] and private secretary to the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], gives the earliest account of the case. He states that "some zealous *ʿulamāʾ*" brought Ḳābiḍ before the Imperial *Dīwān* for preaching in public that Jesus was superior to Muḥammad. The *wazīrs* made the case over to the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* [*q.v.*] of Rumelia, Fenārīzāde Muḥyī al-Dīn Čelebī and the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Anatolia, Ḳādirī Čelebī. These two men were unable to refute Ḳābiḍ's beliefs, which he supported with *ḥadīths* and Ḳurʾānic verses, and, "with gestures full of rage", they condemned him to death by extra-canonical (*ʿörfī*) decree. The Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha was unable to accept this outcome, which was not in conformity with the *sharīʿa*, and dismissed Ḳābiḍ, his case apparently vindicated. Sultan Süleymān I [*q.v.*] had had an enclosed balcony built to overlook the *Dīwān*-room, from which he had witnessed the trial unobserved. When the *wazīrs* entered his presence, he reproached them for allowing the heretic Ḳābiḍ to go unpunished. Ibrāhīm Pasha replied that the *ḳāḍī ʿaskers* had been unable to refute Ḳābiḍ by the *sharīʿa* and had given their reply in anger. The Sultan ordered a retrial before the *shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*] Kemāl Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*] and the *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul Mewlānā Saʿd al-Dīn. The *wazīrs* despatched *čāvūshs* to arrest Ḳābiḍ. On the following day, when Kemāl Pasha-zāde and Mewlāna Saʿd al-Dīn appeared in the *Dīwān*, the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumelia fled, ostensibly because the *shaykh al-Islām* had precedence over him, but actually so as not to display his own ignorance. Kemāl Pasha-zāde sat on the Grand Vizier's left, with Mewlānā Saʿd al-Dīn in front. When Kemāl Pasha-zāde questioned Ḳābiḍ, he repeated his beliefs, "adducing proofs which he took from ... the Ḳurʾān and the *ḥadīth*", and refused to recant when his two interrogators told him "the true meaning of the verses ... and ... *ḥadīths*", and asked him, "Do you abandon your false creed? Do you accept the truth?" At this, Kemāl Pasha-zāde pronounced a *fatwā* authorising his execution and handed his case to the *ḳāḍī*. He was executed when he again refused to renounce his beliefs.

It was in response to this case that Kemāl Pasha-zāde wrote his *Risāla fī taḥḳīḳ lafẓ al-zindīḳ*, which defines a *zindīḳ* as a heretic who, like Ḳābiḍ, uses the "Truth"—that is, the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*—to vindicate heresy.

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(C.H. Imber)

MOLLĀ KHUSREW [see KHUSREW MOLLĀ].

MOLLĀ KURĀNĪ [see GURĀNĪ, SHARAF AL-DĪN].

MOLLĀ ṢADRĀ [see MULLĀ ṢADRĀ].

MOMBASA (in Arabic script *Manbasa*, Swa. Mvita), an island and town on the east coast of Africa, lying in lat. 4° S. and long. 39° E. The island is about 3 miles in length from north to south, and nearly the same from east to west. It is so placed in the deep inlet formed by the convergence of several creeks as to be almost wholly surrounded by mainland, only the southeastern angle being exposed to the Indian Ocean. This peculiarity of situation suggested to W.E. Taylor the derivation of the name Mvita "the curtained headland", from Swa. *n(ta)* "point". The more usual derivation from *vita* "war", seems inadmissible on phonetic grounds. A 19th century traditional *History of Pate* connects it with *fita* "hidden", either from its hidden position, or from the inhabitants, as it is said, having hidden themselves in the bush during a raid from Pate.

Mombasa town is at the eastern end of the island, and, being at the terminus of the Uganda railway and the only modern port in the Republic of Kenya, is of considerable commercial importance. The latest figure available for the population (1978) is 246,000. The permanent residents are chiefly Swahili and a floating population of labourers from inland tribes. No precise figures are available for the small number of Arabs, Indians and Europeans. The Arabs, Swahili and many Indians are Muslims, the two former being chiefly Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī rite. There are a number of mosques, very plain buildings, and without minarets; the *muʾadhdhin* stands on the flat roof to give the call to prayer.

The origin of Mombasa is obscure. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*ca.* A.D. 106) records Arab trading stations on the East African coast where the traders intermarried with local women. The race of the native people is unknown, for the Bantu ancestors of the present Swahili population do not appear to have reached the coast before the 5th century A.D. There is no recorded local tradition of the date of foundation of the town, but Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, 29) reports a Pate tradition which states that the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/685-705) sent out Syrians, who "built the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa". There is no evidence, either documentary or archaeological, to support this view. The first documentary record is a somewhat confused report by al-Idrīsī, who speaks of it as a small place whose inhabitants work in iron mines and hunt tigers (sc. leopards, for there are no tigers in Africa). Nor are there any iron mines as such, but pig iron is recoverable from numerous nearby beaches. Here the King of the Zunūdj had his residence. Some recent excavations on the Coast General Hospital site (1976) produced some ceramic evidence that is dated to *ca.* 1180-1280, but nothing demonstrably earlier. Because the modern town overlies the ancient town site, little excavation has so far been possible. The town was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 1331. Fruit, bananas, lemons and oranges were plentiful, but agriculture was not practised: grain was imported from the coast. The people were of the Shāfiʿī rite, "devout, chaste and pious", and their mosques were contructed of wood.

The Swahili of Mombasa, both traditionally and at the present day, are divided into the *Thenashara Taifa*, the Twelve Tribes. Some also identify themselves as Shīrāzī, claiming Persian descent, and most probably have a thin line of descent from traders from the Gulf. Five of the *mataifa* are named from localities near Mombasa, the remaining seven from towns and islands to the north, as far as southern Somalia. There is little evidence of migration from Pemba, Zanzibar or the Tanzanian coast. There seem, however, to have been some connections with Kilwa, for a report made in 1506 by Diogo de Alcaçova to the King of

Portugal states that the *sulṭān* of Kilwa collected customs dues at Mombasa from vessels that had sailed past Kilwa. Whatever their origin, the *Thenashara Taifa* speak a distinct dialect of Swahili, *Kimvita*, which is the dominant form of the language from Malindi in the north to Gazi in the south. Two of the *taifa*, the Jomvu and the Changamwe, speak slightly differentiated subdialects. It is with curious prescience, as it might seem, that in 1776 a Mwinyi (or Prince) Kombo of Mombasa wrote to the French Governor of Île de France of Swahili as "my national language". In structure, the *Thenashara Taifa* group divided themselves into *Thelatha Taifa* (Three Tribes) and *Tisa Taifa* (Nine Tribes). In the 19th century, the ᶜUmānī sulṭāns recognised these political groupings by accepting a *tamim* (Swa. spokesman; pl. *matamim*), from each of the two. These offices still exist under the present republic, but are largely honorific. Their origins and antiquity are unknown.

There are several recognisable stages in the development of the town. The first is a tradition of a queen, Mwana Mkisi. Then followed a "Shīrāzī" dynasty founded by Shehe Mvita, who gave his name to the town. This dynasty died out in the late 16th century, when the Portuguese filled the vacancy by bringing from Malindi a *sulṭān* of a "Shīrāzī" dynasty. The last of these, Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan, after rebelling against the Portuguese in 1631, fled in the following year. The Portuguese then ruled directly until 1698, when the town was taken by the ᶜUmānī Arabs, who ruled until 1890, when the British Protectorate (1890-1963) was proclaimed. This was ended when the Republic of Kenya was proclaimed on 12 December 1963.

Of the first stage we know nothing. Of the "Shīrāzī" dynasty, the *History of Mombasa*, a Swahili traditional history translated into Arabic in 1824, and which now exists only in English, French and German translations, records nothing but the name of the last ruler, Shahu Misham. It is equally taciturn about the Portuguese occupation. Vasco da Gama reached Mombasa on 7 April 1498, but did not land for fear of treachery. He then went on to Malindi, the traditional enemy of Mombasa, whose ruler hoped to find in him a useful ally against Mombasa. Mombasa town was taken and sacked by the Portuguese in 1505 by Francisco d'Almeida, in 1528 by Nuno da Cunha, and in 1588 by Tomé de Sousa Coutinho. The reason for the last of these sacks was that in 1585 the town had declared its allegiance to the Ottoman Sultan when the Turkish *amīr* ᶜAlī Bey came down to the coast. He returned in 1588, at the same time as a land invasion of the Zimba, a warlike tribe that had made its way up from south of the River Zambezi, killing and pillaging as it went. From Mombasa the Zimba went on to Malindi, where the Portuguese were assisted by a war-party of the Segeju tribe. Together they annihilated the Zimba, who then disappear from history. But the two Turkish incursions, even if they were unsuccessful, determined the Portuguese to transfer the seat of their Captain from Malindi to Mombasa, and to erect the fortress there known by them as Fort Jesus, and by the Swahili as *ngome* ("fortified enclosure"). The architect was an Italian, Giovanni Batista Cairati, but the work-force was principally provided by the Swahili. It is constructed of cut coral, the most copiously available local building stone. The work began in 1592 and was largely complete by 1596, although additions and alterations were made long after. It was at this time that the "Shīrāzī" dynasty failed, and the *sulṭān* of Malindi was brought in to fill the vacancy in 1592. By a settlement made in 1594 the island was divided into two equal parts; it was grossly favourable to the Portuguese because the part to the *sulṭān* was in the interior of the island, without access to the sea. This was modified in 1596, the *sulṭān* being given land near the modern harbour of Kilindini and one-third of the customs revenue. The *sulṭān* then applied for permission to send trading voyages to China, to send a vessel annually to the Red Sea for the pilgrimage to Mecca, and to be made ruler of Pemba. He seized the latter without further ado. He died in 1609, being succeeded by a son, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad. He quarrelled with the Portuguese over Pemba; they retorted by demanding the deposit of his entire stock of grain in Fort Jesus. He refused, and was forced to flee to Kilifi [*q.v.*]; after a brief return to Mombasa, he fled again and was treacherously murdered.

His brother Muḥammad was then installed as regent, and his son, Yūsuf, was sent to Goa to be educated as a Christian by the Augustinian Order, who had started a mission in Mombasa in 1597. Yūsuf was baptised as Dom Jerónimo Chingulia. In 1626 (as recently discovered manuscripts have made clear) he returned to Mombasa. He had had a period of service in the Portuguese fleet, had married a Portuguese wife, and had been solemnly with her in Goa. A considerable body of evidence sustains his complaints of the gratuitous insults, affronts and injustices of the Portuguese Captains. In 1631, with the aid of pagan tribesmen known as Mozungulos, he murdered the Captain Leitāc de Gamboa, and fired on the Portuguese town, an area separate, as a map of 1635 shows, from that of the Swahili. Portuguese, both men and women, fled to the Augustinian monastery. At the same time, Dom Jerónimo returned to the Islamic faith as Sultan Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan, and he gave the Augustinian clergy, and to the Christians in the monastery, Africans, Goans, Indians and Portuguese, men, women and children, all told some 250, the choice between Islam or death. The Augustinian Postulature Archives in Rome preserve the *processus* or ecclesiastical judicial inquiry into their deaths, with a view to their canonisation as saints: it contains the evidence of twenty-three witnesses. At the same time there were minor uprisings elsewhere on the coast, but there was nothing to suggest a systematically-organised revolt. In 1632, when the Portuguese fleet arrived from Goa to recover the town, some 1,000 men were said to be under arms, The Portuguese besieged the town until May 1633 and then withdrew. Sultan Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan had ostensibly succeeded. But then, quite abruptly, he withdrew to the Red Sea, taking to a life of piracy and pillage. Likewise, the inhabitants fled, and later the Portuguese returned to an empty town. What had started as an anti-colonial uprising with religious overtones ended like a damp squib.

In 1650 the ᶜUmānīs succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*]. A Mombasan delegation shortly sailed for Masḳaṭ, asking for aid. During the next half-century the ᶜUmānīs frequently raided the eastern African coast, even reaching as far as Mozambique. Their aim was by no means altruistic; it was to break the Portuguese monopoly of the ivory trade in which Arabs and the coastal folk had collaborated since before the time of the *Periplus*. These raids culminated in the ᶜUmānī siege of Fort Jesus in March 1696. We possess two detailed accounts of the siege. The Portuguese were assisted by Swahili from Pate, jealous of Mombasa. When defeat was at last acknowledged in December 1698, there were only eleven survivors from what had been a force of some

3,000. The ᶜUmānīs then extended along the coast as far as Tungi, just south of the River Ruvuma. Governors were placed at Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and other principal towns. When internal dissension rent Mombasa in 1728-9, the Portuguese made a brief comeback. They were expelled by a popular insurrection. The history of the next 140 years is of sporadic and disorganised resistance to the ᶜUmānīs. In Mombasa the Mazrui (Swa., Ar. Mazraᶜi) virtually became hereditary governors (Swa. *liwali*) after 1734, with Fort Jesus as their residence. In 1749, when Aḥmad b. Saᶜīd seized ᶜUmān from the Yaᶜāriba, the Mazrui proclaimed themselves independent. This was soon stopped, but it did not prevent another attempt *ca.* 1815. An uneasy tension persisted until 1823, when, at their request, British protection was asked from Captain W.F.W. Owen. This he granted provisionally, in the belief that it would assist in putting down the slave trade. A British Protectorate was proclaimed (1824-6), but shortly afterwards disowned by Whitehall. The British Government by no means wished to quarrel with Sayyid Saᶜīd of ᶜUmān, whose state lay athwart communications with India. Saᶜīd made his first visit to the coast in 1827, but it was ten years before he was able to gain control of Mombasa from the Mazrui. Soon afterwards he made Zanzibar his principal residence, and from there Mombasa and its coast was controlled until it was leased to the British East Africa Company in 1887. From then on it shared the history of what was to become Kenya after the First World War.

In the 19th century Mombasa was the centre of a circle of a number of distinguished Swahili poets. Amongst these were Mād̲j̲id b. D̲j̲ābir al-Rijeby (*ca.* 1800-8), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Mambassī (*fl.* 1865-90), Suᶜūd b. Baᶜīd al-Maᶜāmirī (*ca.* 1810-78), and the well-known Muyaka b. Mwinyi Haji. The late S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Amīn b. ᶜAlī al-Mazrui, for many years *ḳāḍī* of Mombasa, was also the author of an Arabic history of his family, as yet unpublished. For an understanding of modern times, the work by Hyder Kindy, one of the *matamim, Life and politics in Mombasa* (1972), is valuable and illuminating.

In the sphere of archaeology, there is still much to be learnt in Mombasa. J.S. Kirkman's excavations and clearing of Fort Jesus during 1958-69 are important not only for the study of the fort but because it resulted in a study of imported ceramics, Islamic and Far Eastern, from the 17th to 19th centuries. This work was begun by him at Gedi in 1948, and a complete and reliable picture of East African imports is now available from the 12th to the 19th centuries. But this does not affect the historical archaeology of Mombasa before the 12th century, now begun by H. Sassoon. Outside Fort Jesus, it remains to recover the archaeological story of an Islamic town which in mediaeval eastern Africa was second only to Kilwa.

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(A. Werner-[G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville])

MONARCHY [see mamlaka; mulk; salṭana].

MONASTERY [see dayr; k̲h̲ānḳāh].

MONASTIR (classical orthography, Munastīr, popular pronunciation Mnestīr, Mestīr; *nisba* Mestīrī), a town and port in the Sahel, the eastern coast of Tunisia, near the site of the ancient Ruspina at the end of a cape which runs out to the south-east of Sūsa.

Due to the proximity and special position of three little islands, the anchorage of Monastir is considered the best on the east coast of Tunisia (U.S. Hydrographic Office, *Sailing directions for the Mediterranean*, i, 9F-16; France, Service hydrographique de la marine, *Instructions nautiques*, série D (II), Paris 1958, 347). This circumstance contributed to the site's long history and special rôle which it on occasion played. Originally selected and named by the Phoenicians as Ruspina, it witnessed in 46 BC the anchoring of the Roman fleet and Caesar's encampment during the final stage of the consul's drive against his opponents in the civil war (*Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v. *Ruspina*).

After the Arab conquest of the area in the second half of the 1st/7th century, increasing raids by Byzantine fleets as well as by those of the newly established maritime powers of the Central Mediterranean such as Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta, prompted the caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd to instruct the governor Hart̲h̲ama b. Aᶜyan [*q.v.*] to fortify the coast; the *ribāṭ* of Monastir is usually mentioned as the first such fortification (founded 180/796; according to M. Talbi, *L'Émirat ag̲h̲labide*, Paris 1966, 394, the *ribāṭ* of Sūsa, founded during the governorship of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (155-71/772-88), would have been the earliest; Sūsa's routine later dating may be due to an inscription on its guard tower commemorating this portion's construction in 206/821-2. Monastir, in addition to its function as a maritime frontier fortification, formed a link in the chain of signal towers that stretched from Alexandria all the way to Tangiers (Talbi, *loc. cit.*).

The name may indicate the presence of an earlier, Christian monastery (Ch.-J. Tissot, *Exploration scientifique de la Tunisie*, Paris 1884-91, ii, 165-6), but equally plausible is the suggestion that the local population, still partly Christian or using older terminology, applied the Graeco-Roman term to the superficially similar Muslim institution (S.M. Zbiss, *al-Munastīr: maᶜālimuhā al-āt̲h̲āriyya*, Tunis n.d., 3). In subsequent centuries the original *ribāṭ* was joined by two or more additional ones, hence the frequent way of referring to the site as *Ḳuṣūr al-Munastīr* (al-Muḳaddasī, 4-5; Yāḳūt, iv, 661, mentions five *ḳaṣrs* enclosed by a wall, and al-Bakrī, 36, asserts the existence of five *mahāris* in the main *ribāṭ*'s vicinity). Subsequently, houses and land were given in *ḥubus* (*waḳf*) endowment to the *murābiṭūn*. Service in the *ribāṭ* of Monastir came to be considered especially meritorious and gave rise to such *ḥadīt̲h̲s* as "He who keeps watch in the frontier town of Monastir for three

days has the right to Paradise" (Abu 'l-ʿArab Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Tamīm al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya wa-Tūnus*, ed. and tr. Mohammed Ben Cheneb, *Classes des savants de l'Ifriqiya*, Algiers 1920, 5, 7, 9, 14, 15; ed. ʿAlī al-Shābbī and Nuʿaym Ḥasan al-Yafī, Tunis 1968, 47-8; Tidjanī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, 30-2). Monastir's fame as the most venerated *ribāṭ* of the Maghrib was less due to its military or political assets, in which the neighbouring Sūsa and Mahdiyya gained primacy, than to this intrinsic religious reputation that made it the permanent home of holy anchorites as well as a temporary religious retreat of the people of Ifrīḳiya (Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 73) and a favourite burial ground; the last-named function is mentioned especially in connection with Mahdiyya (al-Idrīsī, 3rd climate, 2nd section, see *Opus geographicum*, 282), and more specifically with the last members of the Zīrid dynasty, who were upon their deaths and after the initial ceremonies in the capital transported by sea here to their final resting place (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310/1892-3, ii, 241; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut 1966, x, 512-113). An especially revered sanctuary became the tomb of the Mālikī *imām* al-Māzarī [*q.v.*], a native of Sicily subsequently active in Mahdiyya and ultimately buried in Monastir (d. 536/1141; H.H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Imām al-Māzarī*, Tunis 1955; H.R. Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, 691-2). The integrity of the principal *ribāṭ*'s occupants in performing their avowed mission had declined by the time this *imām* was charged by the Zīrid sultan to inspect Monastir, and Māzarī described in his *fatwā* the situation: many of the *murābiṭūn* no longer lived inside the *ribāṭ* but nevertheless kept receiving the alms (*maʿrūf*); the countryside became more cultivated, and some of the *murābiṭūn* had become hereditary landowners; the people of Monastir engaged in certain practices, reminiscent of those of Christian monks, that were qualified by him as *bidʿa* (al-Wansharīshī, *al-Miʿyar*, *fatwās* of al-Māzarī: vii, 119-22, xii, 243-7, cited by Idris, *op. cit.*, 691). Al-Māzarī's strictures nevertheless reveal a certain prosperity; Monastir's fields and orchards, whose yield was in large part sent to Mahdiyya thus reflecting the intimate relationship of the two cities, indeed appear to have been spared by the Hilālī Arabs on religious grounds (al-Idrīsī, *loc. cit.*; M. Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-dhakiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-mālikiyya*, Cairo 1250/1834-5, ii, 193, cited by Idris, 447); moreover, the *imām*'s own tomb eventually contributed to the continuing religious role and reputation of Monastir.

The principal *ribāṭ* of Monastir, called al-Ribāṭ al-Kabīr (G. Marcais, *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, index s.v. *Monastir*; A. Lézine, *Le ribat de Sousse suivi de notes sur le ribat de Monastir*, Tunis 1956, 35-43 and pls. xxxi-xli; G. Marçais, review of this book, in *CT* [1956], 127-35), considerably modified and expanded in the course of time, still presents its imposing façade with crenellated walls rising above the site's shoreline. Al-Bakrī's 5th/11th century book describes, according to Lézine (*Architecture de l'Ifriqiya*, Paris 1966, 122-6), the same structure but, utilising two consecutive sources, captures both its initial and later, expanded, state. The earlier source reflects the original *ribāṭ*: a lofty and solid citadel (*ḥiṣn ʿālī 'l-bināʾ mutḳan al-ʿamal*), enclosing a rectangular courtyard lined by two storeys of cells; in the middle of the southern row's upper level was a mosque (in fact, a prayer hall of no great height with cradle vaulting) where an ever-present virtuous *shaykh* presided over the occupants: the latter were a community of holy men and anchorites (*djamāʿa min al-ṣāliḥīn wa 'l-murābiṭīn*) who had left the world and committed their lives [to service in this *ribāṭ*]. The whole represented a complex that included rooms and cells (*buyūt*, *ḥudjar*), Persian mills (*ṭawāḥīn al-fārisiyya*) and cisterns (*mawādjil*), and where a great fair (*mawsim ʿaẓīm*) took place on the day of *ʿĀshūrā*. Of this original *ribāṭ*, only the round guard-tower—the *nāḍōr*—in the south-eastern corner, a remnant of the ancient wall attached to this tower, and the above-mentioned southern row with the mosque on the upper floor (which now serves as a museum), are preserved. The actual state of the *ribāṭ*, with an expanded surface and a second generation of walls, would reflect the *ribāṭ* as it was described, according to Marçais, by al-Warrāḳ (d. 973), al-Bakrī's later source. Al-Bakrī's subsequent description would pertain to this expanded *ribāṭ*: a great citadel (*ḥiṣn*) with many dwellings (*buyūt*), mosques and fortifications (*ḳiṣāb*) in several storeys; al-Bakrī also mentions a *rabaḍ*, which should mean here the new space created between the two generations of walls. To the south of this *ribāṭ* and directly attached to it was another courtyard with lofty and solid pavilions (*ḳibāb ʿāliya mutḳana*), occupied by female anchorites (*al-nisāʾ al-murābiṭāt*); these pavilions were known as domes of the mosque (*ḳibāb djāmiʿ*), because of the proximity of the Friday mosque. This mosque, dated to about 1000 A.D., as well as the small mosque of Sayyida to the west of it, have conserved *miḥrābs* of an unusual transitional type. As to the above-mentioned round guard-tower, the *nāḍōr*: of the same type as the *nāḍōr* of Sūsa, its form is characteristic of the fortifications of Ifrikiyya's coastline (G. Marçais, *Note sur les ribâṭs en Berbérie*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, ii, 430; *nāḍōr*, dialectal for *nāẓūr*, would be the local synonym of *manār* [*q.v.*]. Al-Bakrī's later source also mentions numerous baths of the city and a feature showing that Monastir's religious importance spanned the full range of society: besides functioning as a burial ground of the dynasty ruling from Mahdiyya, it enjoyed the veneration of people from other places such as al-Ḳayrawān who regularly came there as an act of devotion with goods and fine offerings (*ṣadaḳāt djazīla*).

Monastir conserved its religious significance also in later centuries. Thus Pīrī Reʾīs mentions it as a town with a *zāwiya* inhabited by *murābiṭs* and students (*murābiṭlar olur we oghlandjïḳlar oḳurlar; Kitāb-i baḥriyye*, version of 926/1520, ms. Topkapı Sarayı, Bagdat 337, fol. 112a); Lanfreducci and Bosio in their report of 1587 state that Turkish corsairs kept visiting Monastir out of devotion for its *murābiṭs* (*Costa e discorsi di Barberia*, ed. and tr. Ch. Monchicourt and P. Grandchamp, in *R. Afr.* [1925], 450, 512). Equally characteristic are such legends as that narrated by Pīrī Reʾīs (*Kitāb-i baḥriyye*, version of 932/1526, facs. ed., Istanbul 1935, 656) and the Flemish traveller Adorne (R. Brunschvig, *Deux récits*, Paris 1936, 178) about a raiding Christian galley that was transformed into a rocky islet through the intercession of the *murābiṭs*. Also worthy of mention are architectural additions carried out in the *ribāṭ* and the town by the Ḥafṣids and Turks. Moreover, in the Turkish period Monastir's walls were modified so as to accommodate artillery.

Modern Monastir has the distinction of being the birthplace of Habib Bourguiba, first president of independent Tunisia. This circumstance is responsible for the construction of two remarkable monuments of contemporary Islamic architecture: the mosque of Bourguiba (*Djāmiʿ Burḳība*) and the mausoleum of the president's family (*Turbat Āl Burḳība*). The economy of

Monastir, whose traditional forms referred to in the article included a nearby saline whose salt was exported by sea (al-Bakrī, 36), also benefited from sardine and tunny fishing and the olive tree; the last-named became in recent centuries dominant to the point of being qualified as "monoculture" (X. Thyssen, *Des manières d'habiter dans le Sahel tunisien*, Paris 1983, 10), and made Monastir, together with Sūsa, a busy olive oil exporting port (L. Valensi, *Tunisian peasants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, Cambridge 1985, 255-6). Since the 1960s, the town and the area have acquired an unprecedented but characteristic dimension with a growing tourist industry, exemplified by the development of beaches and construction of numerous hotels; in the 1970s Monastir also became a university town, the seat of such new establishments as a faculty of medicine (F. Stambouli, *Urbanisme et développement en Tunisie*, in *Revue tunisienne des sciences sociales* [March 1967], 98).

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(S. Soucek)

MONASTIR in Yugoslavia [see MANĀSTĪR].

MONDROS, the Turkish name of a harbour on the Aegean island of Limnī [*q.v.*] or Lemnos; it is alternatively known by its Greek name of MUDROS or Moudros.

Mondros's claim to fame is that it was the site of the armistice of 30 October 1918 which ended the Ottoman Empire's participation in the First World War. The decision of the Unionist cabinet of Meḥmed Ṭalʿat Pasha [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI] to seek an armistice was prompted by the rapidly deteriorating military position of the Ottoman Empire and its German and Austro-Hungarian allies. By the end of September 1918, Ottoman armies on the Syrian and Mesopotamian fronts had effectively collapsed, while Bulgaria's acceptance of a separate armistice had exposed the Empire to the threat of Entente attack in Thrace; in Western Europe, the armies of Germany and Austria-Hungary were in full retreat. On 4 and 5 October 1918 the Ottoman, German and Austro-Hungarian governments addressed identically worded armistice appeals to President Wilson of the USA; this proved to be the last manifestation of their wartime alliance. Ṭalʿat's cabinet resigned on 13 October; his successor Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pasha established direct contact with Entente commanders, and on 27 October armistice negotiations opened at Mondros on board the British warship *Agamemnon*. The Ottoman delegation was led by the Navy Minister Ḥüseyin Raʾūf Bey; the Entente Powers were represented by Vice-Admiral Calthorpe, the commander of British forces in the Aegean. The negotiations were brief: Calthorpe was bound by terms previously agreed between Britain and her allies, and the Ottoman side obtained few modifications. The armistice was signed on 30 October, and came into effect on the following day. It was followed within a fortnight by the Austro-Hungarian and German armistices.

The Mondros armistice comprised twenty-five articles, whose chief provisions may be divided into three groups. The first provided for an immediate cessation of hostilities between the Ottoman Empire and the Entente Powers, the demobilisation of the Ottoman army and the surrender of the fleet, the withdrawal of Ottoman forces from Trans-Caucasia and north-west Persia, the surrender of garrisons in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia and North Africa, the cessation of all relations between the Ottoman Empire and its erstwhile allies and the expulsion of all German and Austro-Hungarian personnel from its territory (arts. 5, 6, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23). The second group provided for the opening of the Dardanelles and Black Sea Straits, for the occupation by the Entente Powers of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus forts and the Taurus tunnel system, and for the future occupation of any other strategic points if the security of the Entente Powers were threatened (arts. 1, 7, 10). The third group gave the Entente Powers access to all Ottoman naval facilities and supplies of fuel and other *matériel*, together with control of all railway and cable and wireless stations (arts. 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21).

In theory, the armistice was a ceasefire only and did not prejudge the terms of an eventual peace settlement; in practice, this proved questionable. First, the armistice violated previous Anglo-French understandings in not insisting on a complete evacuation of Ottoman forces from Cilicia; this provoked a suspicion that Britain had taken the opportunity to strike a blow at French aspirations in Cilicia, a suspicion reinforced by the fact that the British government had instructed Calthorpe to exclude French representatives from the Mondros negotiations. Second, British forces in Mesopotamia occupied Mawṣil after the conclusion of the armistice, thus eventually causing a serious territorial dispute between the Turkish Republic and the British-mandated territory of ʿIrāḳ which was not resolved until 1925. Finally, the exigent fashion in which Britain and her Entente partners attempted to enforce the provisions for demobilisation and the surrender of strategic points in the months following the armistice gave rise to Turkish fears that the real aim was the dismemberment of what was left of the Ottoman Empire in Thrace and Anatolia, and these in turn played a large part in the rise of the Turkish nationalist movement from the spring of 1919 onwards. In the event, the nationalists successfully resisted the armistice's provisions for demobilisation and a withdrawal of Ottoman forces from territories conquered in eastern Anatolia.

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(F.A.K. Yasamee)

MÖNGKE, fourth Great Khān of the Mongol Empire. He was the son of Čingiz Khān's youngest son Toluy, the eldest of four by Toluy's chief wife Sorḳoḳtani Beki (the other being Ḳubilay [*q.v.*], Hülegü [*q.v.*] and Arigh-böke). He was born on 10 January 1209, according to the Chinese dynastic history of the Mongols, the *Yüan-shih* (W. Abramowski, *Die Chinesisichen Annalen des Möngke: Übersetzung des 3. Kapitels des YUAN-SHIH*, in *Zentralasiatische Studien*, xiii [1979], 7-71, at p. 16). His principal significance in the history of the Muslim world lies in the fact that it was at his behest that Hülegü mounted the expedition that resulted in the establishment of the Īlkhānate.

His fortunes were linked with those of Batu [*q.v.*], under whose command he served in at least the early stages of the great invasion of Russia and eastern Europe in 1237-42. On the death of the Great Khān Ögedey in 1241, a long interregnum followed. Ögedey's son Güyük only gained recognition as his successor in 1246; he and Batu had been enemies since the Russian campaign. Open conflict between them was averted only by Güyük's sudden death in 1248. A further interregnum lasted until 1251, when it was brought to an end by a coup d'état on the part of Batu and Möngke. In this the senior (Djočid) and junior (Toluyid) branches of the Čingizid house prevailed over the other two branches, the Caghatayids and the Ögedeyids, many of whom were killed in the aftermath of Möngke's "election" and enthronement, which occurred on 1 July 1251. Batu himself had declined election, preferring to remain in his own lands of the Golden Horde; but the price of his support was autonomy in those lands. The Mongol Empire became a Batu-Möngke condominium, though see, for a different view, T.A. Allsen, *Mongol imperialism: the policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic lands*, Berkeley, etc. 1987, 54-63.

After ascending the throne, Möngke despatched major military forces in two directions. His brother Ḳubilay was sent to begin the subjugation of the Sung Empire in South China, while Hülegü was commissioned to march west against the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia and the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Each of the expeditions, according to the Persian historian Djuwaynī, was granted two out of every ten soldiers available in the empire (Djuwaynī, iii, 90; Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 607). Both of these campaigns were still under way when Möngke died in China, according to the *Yüan-shih* in August 1259 (Abramowski, 33). His death precipitated a civil war over the succession to the Great Khānate between Ḳubilay and Arigh-böke, in which the former was victorious in 1264. It was possibly during Möngke's reign that the Islamic lands under Mongol control first had imposed on them the new "poll-tax" variety of *ḳübčür* [*q.v.*], though this may have begun earlier (Allsen, *op. cit.*, 147-9).

Möngke, though apparently remaining personally attached to his ancestral Shamanism, was notable for his interest in and tolerance of a wide range of religions. The Franciscan missionary William of Rubruck travelled to Mongolia in 1253-5 and visited Möngke's court at Ḳaraḳorum, at which he was a participant in a religious debate between Christians, Muslims and Buddhists. He also gives an account of the dramatic events of 1251 which is strikingly similar to Djuwaynī's and which like his own one doubtless reflects the version propagated by the victorious side in the dynastic conflict.

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(D.O. MORGAN)

MONGOLIA. Muslims in the modern Mongolian People's Republic.

The sole Muslim communities of the Republic live today within the Turkish-speaking Kazakh [see ḲAZAḲ] (Mo. *Hasag*) and Choton (Mo. *Hoton*) groups.

According to the 1960 census, 36,700 Kazakhs lived in the westernmost *aimak* or administrative division of the Republic, that is in existence since 1940 as the Bayan Ölgiy *aimak*; the *aimak* is also called Hasag *aimak*, "that of the Kazakhs". These Kazakhs of Mongolia are linguistically, culturally and historically closely linked with the Kazakhs of the Kazakh SSR or the Soviet Union, but at present only partially acknowledge themselves as Sunnī Muslims. The mosque (Mo. *lalyn süm*) of the Kazakh Muslims (Mo. *lal*ʿ, Tibetan *kla-klo* "barbarians, Muslims") in the administrative centre of the *aimak*, Ölgiy, is now no longer used for religious purposes. The Muslim ethnic group of the Chotons (no census figures are available) are settled to the south of the Uvsnuur lake in the Uvs *aimak* in existence since 1931 in the northwestern part of the Republic. The ancestors of the Chotons probably belonged to the section of the Muslim Turkish population of Eastern Turkestan (modern Sinkiang or Xinjiang in western China) who were in the 18th century deported by the West Mongolian Oirat-Dörbet and who settled in Mongolia. To what extent the Chotons are practising Muslims today is unknown.

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(M. WEIERS)

Finally, it may be noted that there are Muslims of Mongolian stock and speaking languages of the Mongolian family—presumably the remnants of ethnic migrations or deportations of earlier times—in the province of Kansu [*q.v.*] or Gansu in the Chinese People's Republic. These comprise the small group of Baoʾan (*ca.* 9,000) in north central Kansu, and the more numerous Dongxiang (*ca.* 300,000) in the autonomous country of that name in northwestern Kansu (see R. V. Weekes (ed.), *Muslim peoples, a world ethnographic survey*², London 1984, i, 167, 236).

(ED.)

MONGOLS, the name of a tribe whose original home was in the eastern part of the present-day Mongolian Peoples' Republic. In the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, under Čingiz-Khān [*q.v.*] and his successors, they established by military conquest the most extensive continuous land empire known to history. At its greatest extent, it stretched from Korea to Hungary, including most of the mainland of Asia apart from India and the south-east of the continent. What is perhaps a form of the Mongol name has been found in Chinese sources of the Tʾang Dynasty (A.D.

618-907), but they became prominent only in the 6th/12th century, when north China was ruled by the Chin Dynasty, of Tungus origin. The Mongols' definitive formation as a people appears to date from the time of the Liao Dynasty (A.D. 907-1125), who ruled in Eastern Mongolia and north China. The Liao emperors were Khitans, related ethnically and linguistically to the Mongols (on the Liao, see K.A. Wittfogel and C. Fêng, *History of Chinese society: Liao 907-1125*, Philadelphia 1949, and on the Mongols in this period, O. Lattimore, *The geography of Chingis Khan*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, cxxix/1 [1963], 1-7). The sequence of political events in the history of the Mongol Empire is dealt with in other articles: see especially ČINGIZ-KHĀN; ČINGIZIDS; BATU; BATUʾIDS; ČAGHATAY KHĀN; ČAGHATAY KHĀNATE; HŪLĀGŪ; ĪLKHĀNS; GHĀZĀN. This article is concerned with more general themes: the effects of the conquests, particularly in the Islamic world; institutions; and organisation.

1. *Effects of the Mongol conquests.*

The testimony of contemporary writers is unanimous when it describes the horrors that accompanied the Mongol invasion of the Khwārazm-Shāh's empire in 616-20/1219-23. The most important of these historians are Ibn al-Athīr (in vol. xii), Nasawī (*Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, ed. and tr. O. Houdas, 2 vols., Paris 1891-5) and Djūzdjānī (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. ʿA.Ḥ. Ḥabībī, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Kabul 1342-3/1964-5; tr. H.G. Raverty, 2 vols., London 1881). These are supplemented by local histories such as Sayfī's *Taʾrīkh-nāma-yi Harāt* (ed. M.Z. al-Ṣiddīḳī, Calcutta 1944). Staggeringly high figures are quoted for the numbers of people alleged to have been massacred by the Mongols when they sacked the great cities of Khurāsān: Harāt—1,600,000 (Sayfī, 60) or 2,400,000 (Djūzdjānī, text, ii, 121); Nīshāpūr—1,747,000 (Sayfī, 63). Such examples are typical. They should not, however, be interpreted literally. Considerable uncertainty exists over the possible size of the populations of such cities in the mediaeval period, but it seems unlikely that Khurāsān could have possessed cities that were so much larger than the capital of the Sung Empire in South China, Hangchou, which contained perhaps a million inhabitants in the mid-7th/13th century (see J. Gernet, *Daily life in China on the eve of the Mongol invasion*, London 1962). It is probable that the normal population of the cities of Khurāsān was considerably swollen at the last minute by influxes of refugees from the countryside. But even if the chroniclers' fingers ought not to be approached as though they were statistics arrived at scientifically, they are certainly evidence of the state of mind created by the character of the Mongol invasion. The shock induced by the scale of the catastrophe had no precedent; this must imply that the death and destruction which produced that shock had no precedent either. Immediate shock will not suffice as a total explanation, however. Later writers such as Djuwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, recounting events of which they were not themselves contemporaries, do not attempt to minimise the extent of the disaster. Nor, despite the fact that they were all officials in the Mongol government of the Īlkhānate, do they suggest that their predecessors had exaggerated the degree of Mongol destructiveness.

The sources naturally concentrate their attention on the massacres in the cities. The effect of the Mongol invasions on agriculture, especially in Persia, is likely in the long run to have been more serious. Persian agriculture was, in the absence of great rivers on the plateau, heavily dependent on irrigation by means of *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*]. Some of these underground water channels were destroyed during the invasions, but more significant is the fact that a *ḳanāt* quickly ceases to operate if it is not constantly maintained. Hence if peasants were killed in large numbers, or fled from their land and stayed away, that land could well suffer substantial damage simply through neglect of the *ḳanāts*. If the agricultural hinterland of the cities was markedly reduced in extent as a result of destruction, neglect or a permanent reduction in the labour force, it might prove difficult to support those cities adequately and therefore to rebuild them to anything approaching their size. The question of the impact of the later invasion by Hülegü on the agriculture of ʿIrāḳ is a rather different one, since ʿIrāḳī irrigation was river-based. The part played by the Mongols in the decline of the fertility of the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates has been much discussed (see e.g. R.M. Adams, *Land behind Baghdad*, Chicago and London 1965, and the reservations on Adams's methodology expressed by A.M. Watson, *A medieval green revolution: new crops and farming techniques in the early Islamic world*, in A.L. Udovitch (ed.), *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900: studies in economic and social history*, Princeton 1981, 53, n. 29). But whatever may be laid at the door of the Mongols' predecessors and successors as rulers of ʿIrāḳ, the Īlkhāns may well have contributed much to decay by allowing the irrigation canals to be neglected. In terms of actual loss of life, there seems no reason to doubt that Hülegü's invasion of the Islamic lands was a much less severe blow that Čingiz-Khān's had been. Again it is impossible to arrive at reliable figures. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's estimate of the death toll (800,000) at the sack of Baghdād in 656/1258 is often quoted (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿA. Nawāʾī, Tehran 1336-9/1958-61, 589); but this seems improbably high, and is perhaps refuted by Hülegü's own estimate, in a letter of 660/1262 to King Louis IX of France, of more than 200,000 (P. Meyvaert, *An unknown letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France*, in *Viator*, xi [1980], 256).

It seems likely, then, that the traditional view of the appalling immediate effects of the Mongol invasions should be accepted, at least as far as Transoxania and Khurāsān are concerned (for the contrary view, using 20th century parallels to suggest that the destructive impact of the Mongols has been much exaggerated, see B. Lewis, *The Mongols, the Turks and the Muslim polity*, in his *Islam in history*, London 1973, 179-98 and 324-5). The devastation was not, however, universal. South Persia, possibly unattractive to the Mongols because of its climate and, in terms of Mongol demand, the limited areas of pasture to be found there, escaped virtually unscathed. Similarly, it is now thought that the destruction resulting from the Mongol invasion of Russia in 635-9/1237-41, though serious, was patchy in its distribution, some areas sustaining little if any damage (see J.L.I. Fennell, *The crisis of medieval Russia 1200-1304*, London 1983, 86-9). It is clear that the havoc wrought by the Mongol campaigns in the lands of the Chin Empire of north China was not matched when, under the Great Khāns Möngke and Ḳubilay, they conquered the Sung Empire to the south. There they were concerned to acquire new territory as far as possible undamaged. Nevertheless, the following population figures for China, if they are accurate, remain to be explained: over 100 million in Sung and Chin times, declining to 70 million in the 1290s and 60 million a century later (J.D. Langlois, Jr. (ed.), *China under Mongol rule*, Princeton 1981, 20).

The more long-term effects of the period of Mongol

rule in the Islamic world are likely to have been, for the most part, deleterious. The 40 years of pagan Īlkhānid government before the accession of Ghazan in 694/1295 seem to have been characterised by ruthless and short-sighted exploitation, if the testimony of Rashīd al-Dīn, the principal authority, is to be accepted. There are perhaps some grounds for reserving judgment on this point, since Rashīd al-Dīn was chief minister to the reforming Ghazan, and hence may have had an interest in overstating the disorders of the preceding decades. Other contemporary writers such as Waṣṣāf do, however, confirm Rashīd al-Dīn, at least in general terms. The administration appears to have lurched from one financial crisis to another, with some taxes being levied 20 or 30 times each year. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the results of such maladministration were a general flight from the land on the part of the peasantry and the reduction of nine-tenths of the cultivable land to waste (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, iii, ed. A.A. Alizade, Baku 1957, 457, 558). A low point was reached during the reign of Gaykhatu (690-4/1291-5) with the attempt by his minister Ṣadr al-Dīn to solve the Īlkhānate's economic problems by the introduction of paper money, *čāw*, on the Chinese model. The expedient was a disastrous failure (see K. Jahn, *Paper currency in Iran*, in *Jnal. of Asian History* iv/2 [1970], 101-35).

Ghazan on his accession declared his conversion to Islam, and the Mongols of Persia duly followed his example, at least in name. The shock which the Islamic world had suffered, in that the Mongol conquests had brought infidel rule over a large part of the *Dār al-Islām*, was thus alleviated. (Indeed, one ultimate result of the conquest, following the conversion of other Mongol rulers to Islam, was an extension of the boundaries of the *Dār al-Islām*, notably in the lands of the Golden Horde and in Central Asia.) Ghazan's conversion, coupled with the celebrated programme of administrative reforms which he promptly initiated, no doubt marked a considerable improvement in Persia's fortunes. The reforms dealt with such matters as the rates and methods of payment of taxes; the reorganisation of the *Yam*, the postal courier system; the reformation of the coinage and of weights and measures; the activities and payment of *ḳāḍīs*; the offer of incentives to encourage the recultivation of land that had fallen out of use; and the employment of a form of the *iḳṭāʿ* to provide a means of paying the army (on Ghazan's reforms see A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, ch. 4; Spuler, *Mongolen*[4], Leiden 1985, I.P. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, ed. J.A. Boyle, Cambridge 1968, 494-500; and idem, *Zemledelie i agrarnie otnosheniya v Irane XIII-XIVvv.*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, 55-62). The texts of many of the reforming edicts (*yarlighs*) are preserved by Rashīd al-Dīn. They are certainly convincing evidence that Ghazan was aware of which abuses required the attention of the government. What cannot be stated with any degree of certainly is the extent to which, and for how long, the reforms were actually implemented. It is probable that the reforms had at least some beneficial effect, and that that effect, albeit decreasingly, continued to be felt after Ghazan's early death. But throughout the Īlkhānid period, increasingly substantial quantities of property were made into *awḳāf*, which may suggest both that there was a lack of real security of tenure (despite Ghazan's efforts) and that people had little confidence in the justness of Mongol government even after it had become Muslim.

2. *The Mongol army.*

The central and most essential institution of the Mongol Empire was its army. The nature of steppe nomadic society was such that normal life doubled as a process of military training: e.g. Mongol hunting practices were reflected in military tactics (see Djuwaynī, i, 21). All adult male Mongols below the age of 60 were liable for military service; there were in principle no Mongol civilians. The Mongols were thus able to mobilise a force, composed exclusively of cavalry, which was highly trained and could consist of an extremely high proportion of the available Mongol manpower. This is part of the explanation for the very large numbers given by contemporary sources for the size of Mongol armies. Nevertheless, there are other relevant factors. The extreme manœuvrability of the Mongol forces may have caused observers to exaggerate the numbers involved, as may such expedients as the mounting of dummies on spare horses (each Mongol soldier went on campaign with a string of five or more horses). The *Secret history of the Mongols* estimates that in 1206 Čingiz-Khān had an army of around 105,000 men; and according to Rashīd al-Dīn (drawing on a now lost Mongolian source, the *Altan debter*), the army in Mongolia proper at the death of Čingiz included some 129,000 men (see D.O. Morgan, *The Mongol armies in Persia*, in *Isl.*, lvi/1 [1979], 83). These figures may bear some relation to reality, which is unlikely to be true of such estimates as those of Djūzdjānī, who claims that the army that invaded the Khʷārazm-Shāh's empire was 700,000 or 800,000 strong (ed. Ḥabībī, i, 311, ii, 104). On the other hand, the Mamlūk writer al-ʿUmarī's statement that in the 8th/14th century there were 2-300,000 men on the *dīwān* registers of the Īlkhānate is not implausible if this is taken to mean that there were in the kingdom that number of Mongol and Turkish adult males who could be called on to act as troops (K. Lech (ed. and tr.), *Das mongolische Weltreich*, Wiesbaden 1968, text, 79, tr., 145). The main objection to acceptance of very high estimates for the size of the Mongol army, aside from the difficulties of organising such huge forces in pre-modern conditions, lies in the question of how their animals could have been fed while on campaign; an army of 800,000 might have marched with 4 million or more horses, to say nothing of sheep and goats. Hülegü alleged that lack of adequate fodder and grazing forced his withdrawal from Syria in 658/1260 (Meyvaert, *op. cit.*, 258), and similar problems may help to explain the failure of the Īlkhāns in subsequent decades to incorporate Syria into the Mongol Empire (see Morgan, *The Mongols in Syria, 1260-1300*, in P.W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and settlement*, Cardiff 1985, 231-5). The Mongols, then, were effective militarily because of their competence rather than as a result of the sheer weight of numbers (for this view, see Morgan, *Mongol armies*). For the argument that the chroniclers' high figures should be taken seriously, and that the Mongol conquests were won by huge numbers rather than by military efficiency, see J.M. Smith Jr., *Mongol manpower and Persian population*, in *JESHO* xviii/3 [1975], 271-99; idem, *ʿAyn Jālūt: Mamlūk success or Mongol failure?*, in *HJAS*, xliv/2 [1984], 307-45).

Organisationally, the Mongol soldiers were grouped in multiples of 10, rising to the *tümen* (*tūmān*) of 10,000—a system that had long been conventional in Asian steppe armies. It is not probable that *tümens* usually had as many soldiers as the theoretical number would suggest (see e.g. C. Hsiao, *The military establishment of the Yuan dynasty*, Cambridge, Mass.

1978, 170-1, n. 27). Čingiz-Khān appears to have utilised the military decimal system to bring about a radical reorganisation of the Turco-Mongolian tribal structure; defeated tribes were broken up and their surviving manpower distributed among other units. Hence something like an artificial new tribal structure was created, thus manufacturing new foci of loyalty and possibly helping to avert any attempt on the part of another tribe to overthrow the supremacy of the Čingizids. The élite force was the imperial guard, 10,000 strong in 1206, which was recruited across tribal boundaries and, forming as it did Čingiz's household, provided the personnel through whom the empire was administered in its early stages.

The Mongol cavalryman relied chiefly on the standard horn and sinew compound bow of the steppes, which had impressive range and power of penetration. Conquest of the cities of the sedentary empires required also the enlistment of siege engineers from both China and the Islamic lands. Auxiliary troops of non-Mongol origin were used, especially in China. After the conquest of China, they provided infantry and garrison troops. In Persia, native soldiers were made use of for such duties as the provision of garrisons and the guarding of passes: Ghazan is said to have organised them decimally (Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, ed. Alizade, 518).

Forces known as *tamma* or *tanma* were contingents selected from the total available Mongol power. Their purpose was to maintain and extend Mongol rule, and they were initially stationed on the steppe-sedentary borders. Some *tamma* units later formed the bases of the permanent armies of the subsidiary khānates into which the Mongol Empire was divided (P.D. Buell, *Kalmyk Tanggaci people: thoughts on the mechanics and impact of Mongol expansion*, in *Mongolian Studies*, vi [1980], 41-59). The puzzling Ḳarawnas or Negüderis (Nīkūdarīs) of the Indian borderlands have been shown to have originated in a *tamma* formation (J. Aubin, *L'ethnogénèse des Qaraunas*, in *Turcica* i [1969], 65-94).

3. *Law.*

One of the indispensable institutional foundations of the Mongol Empire is generally said to have been the "Great *Yasa* of Čingiz-Khān", allegedly a comprehensive legal code laid down, in all probability, in 1206, though perhaps supplemented later. The custody of this code was entrusted by Čingiz-Khān to his adopted brother Shigi-ḳutuḳu. The code has not survived, but it may be reconstructed, it has been believed, from fragments that are quoted in a variety of sources (see especially V.A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental principles of Mongol law*, The Hague 1965). Many difficulties are, however, involved in holding this view. The main primary source, the *Secret history of the Mongols*, appears in the relevant passage to be concerned with the keeping of a record of *ad hoc* judicial decisions and with the beginnings of a kind of case law rather than with the creation of a legal code; and it does not use the term *yasa* (*jasaq*: *Secret history*, §203, tr. F.W. Cleaves, Cambridge, Mass., 1982, 143-4. Elsewhere in the *Secret history*, *jasaq* means an individual order or decree). So far as the supposed fragments are concerned, it has been shown that all those of significance derive ultimately from one source, Djuwaynī (see D. Ayalon, *The Great* Yāsa *of Chingiz Khān: a reexamination. A*, in *SI*, xxxiii [1971], 97-140). Examination of Djuwaynī's material (i, especially 17-18) shows that he was recording the writing down for consultation of Čingiz-Khān's precepts on such matters as military training, communications and taxation; there is no reference to a general legal code.

The belief—certainly to be found reflected in later sources—in the existence of the Great *Yasa* is probably to be explained as having been founded on a knowledge of the unwritten Mongol customary law, the evolution of which began long before the time of Čingiz-Khān and continued after his death. In addition, there may well have been some recollection of Čingiz's maxims (*billig, bīlīk*), which were preserved and respected; Rashīd al-Dīn records them at length, though he has nothing at all to offer on the contents of the "Great *Yasa*". One further possibility is that written records of certain legal cases (*yarghu-nāma*), which we know to have been made and preserved for future reference (see Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, ii, ed. A.A. Alizade, Moscow 1976, 29-35) may have given rise to the notion that Mongol law was written down, despite the absence of convincing contemporary evidence that anything of the kind was in fact done. Mongol customary law was no doubt enforced, and in the Islamic world continued in uneasy co-existence with the *sharīʿa*, but precisely how this worked is difficult to recover from our sources (for the above view, see Morgan, *The "Great* Yāsā *of Chingiz Khān" and Mongol law in the Īlkhānate*, in *BSOAS*, xlix/1 [1986], 163-76; the more usual opinion is well represented by P. Ratchnevsky, *Die Yasa (Jasaq) Činggis-khans und ihre Problematik*, in *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients*. v. *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker*, Berlin 1974, 471-87; idem, *Činggis-Khan, sein Leben und Wirken*, Wiesbaden 1983, 164-72).

4. *Taxation.*

This may be dealt with briefly, see KHARĀDJ. II. In Persia, and ḲÜBČÜR. Many terms are used in the sources for taxation, but the principal taxes of Mongol origin seem to have been three in number. *Ḳübčür* [*q.v.*] was at first a 1% levy on the nomads' flocks and herds, but later the term is used to denote a poll-tax payable by the conquered sedentary population. It is possible that the Mongols may have derived this latter usage from the Uyghur Turks, who exercised a pervasive influence on the administration of the early Mongol Empire (see T.A. Allsen, *The Yüan Dynasty and the Uigurs of Turfan in the 13th century*, in M. Rossabi (ed.), *China among equals: the middle kingdom and its neighbors 10th-14th centuries*, Berkeley 1983, 263, 278 n. 141). The precise meaning of *ḳalan*, the other Mongol tax most commonly mentioned (and abused) in the Persian sources, remains unclear (for an attempt at definition, seeking to show that *ḳalan* was a general term used to cover pre-Mongol, Islamic taxation, see J.M. Smith Jr., *Mongol and nomadic taxation*, in *JHAS*, xxx [1970], 46-85). The most likely explanation would seem to be that it was in fact a general term for occasional exactions of a specifically Mongol rather than Islamic character, imposed on the sedentary population by the Mongols and including some kind of corvée. The third of the most important taxes was *tamgha*, a levy on commercial transactions whose prominence testifies to the importance in Mongol eyes of trade.

The purpose of such taxes was the maximum possible degree of exploitation of the conquered population. This exploitation was normally limited, if at all, only by the common-sense consideration that enough should be left to the peasants to permit their survival and thus a further year's payment of taxes. Mongol taxation was more a pragmatic series of exactions, as seemed appropriate and profitable, than a fixed

system, despite the willingness of some modern historians to discern the existence of such a system. The burden imposed by the specifically "Mongol" taxes was the greater in that the conquered people of the Islamic lands were also required to continue payment of the old pre-Mongol taxes. As in other fields, the burden may well have become for a time more supportable as a result of the reforms of Ghazan.

5. *Communications.*

The vast extent of the Mongol's empire made it necessary for them to establish an effective network of communications. Such a network, the *Yam*, was duly set up: according to the sources by the second Great Khān, Ögedey, rather than by Čingiz-Khān himself (*Secret history*, §279, tr. Cleaves, 225; Rashīd al-Dīn, ii/1, ed. Alizade, Moscow 1980, 121-2, 143-4). The *Yam* was designed to facilitate the travels of envoys going to and from the Mongol courts; for the transportation of goods (especially on the route between North China and Mongolia); for the speedy transmission of royal orders; and to provide a framework whereby the Mongol rulers could receive intelligence. It was also frequently, if illegitimately, used by officials and private individuals of influence, a practice that was forbidden so often as to suggest that such prohibitions were of limited and temporary effect.

Post stations were erected throughout the empire at stages equivalent to a day's journey: about every 25 or 30 miles, or more in desolate areas, according to Marco Polo (*Travels*, tr. A. Ricci, London 1931, 153). Responsibility for the maintenance of the facilities fell to the local army units; horses and supplies were contributed by the population of the area, the incidence of exactions being determined on the basis of the census returns which also regulated the imposition of poll-tax, *ḳūbčūr*. Urgent messages could travel very much faster than 25 miles a day: Marco Polo (tr. Ricci, 157) speaks of 2-300 miles, and Rashīd al-Dīn (iii, ed. Alizade, 484) of 60 *farsakhs*. The traveller's authorisation took the form of a wooden or metal tablet (*paiza*; Chinese *p'ai-tse*, Mongolian *gerege*). The efficiency of the system impressed European observers, and although Rashīd al-Dīn has much to say of the abuses to which it was subjected in the Ilkhānate, it seems on the whole to have worked well. The *barīd* of the Mamlūk state may have been influenced by its example (J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941, 13), as was the later *ulak* system of the Ottoman Empire. The search for influences on the Mongols themselves leads to China; the courier system of the Liao Dynasty had too many similarities to the Mongol *Yam* for them to have been entirely coincidental (see e.g. I. de Rachewiltz, *Personnel and personalities in north China in the early Mongol period*, in *JESHO*, ix [1966], 111-2. On the *Yam* in China, see P. Olbricht, *Das Postwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft im 13 und 14 Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1954. There is no detailed study for any other part of the empire).

6. *Administration.*

In general terms, the Mongols' approach towards the administration of their empire was a pragmatic one. They were prepared to learn from other peoples, especially those who had both a respectable steppe pedigree and experience in the techniques necessary for the government of an empire that included a large sedentary sector. The most marked influence in the empire's early decades was exercised by the Uyghurs and the Khitans. The Mongols speedily adopted both the Uyghur alphabet for the writing of Mongolian (previously an unwritten language) and elements of Uyghur chancery practice. The Khitans were probably even more influential. During the initial stages of the empire's administrative evolution, the most important all-purpose Mongol official was the *darughači*. Study of his role (see e.g. Buell, *Sino-Khitan administration in Mongol Bukhara*, in *Jnal. of Asian History* xiii/2 [1979]) has left little doubt about its Khitan origin. This is merely one example of such institutional borrowing (see further Morgan, *Who ran the Mongol Empire?*, in *JRAS* [1982], 124-36). The Khitans provided personnel as well as administrative machinery; the careers of a number of them who entered Mongol service have been traced (see de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*; Buell, *Sino-Khitan administration*).

After they had conquered Persia and China, the Mongols became the rulers of great sedentary societies that possessed complex administrative traditions of long standing. In Persia, the Mongols permitted a considerable degree of administrative continuity with the past to be maintained. Prior to the setting up of the Ilkhānate, non-Persians frequently held the highest governmental offices, and even after the time of Hülegü, members of minority groups, such as the Jew Saʿd al-Dawla, were influential at times, their promotion causing resentment among the Muslim population. But throughout the period of the Ilkhānate, the administration of Persia seems to have rested largely in the hands of members of the established Muslim Persian bureaucracy. The most conspicuous example of this was the Djuwaynī family. When the *ṣāḥib-dīwān* Shams al-Dīn Djuwaynī was executed in 683/1284 (his brother the historian having died of natural causes in the previous year), members of the family had held high governmental offices virtually without a break for around 80 years, serving Khwārazm-Shāhs and Mongols in turn. Our sources leave us with the impression that, by and large, the administrative machine continued to work in the traditional fashion, and that the Mongols were reasonably content to leave the task of administration to their Persian officials, so long as they showed themselves capable of securing the requisite revenue from taxation. It should however be remembered that this impression is based largely on the works of Djuwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn, Waṣṣāf and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, all of whom were Persians and members of that same bureaucracy. The Mongols themselves left no written sources on the history of their rule in Persia.

The administration of China was not left in the hands of native officials to the same extent as was that of the Ilkhānate. Lower-ranking officials were retained in office, but there were no Chinese equivalents to Shams al-Din Djuwaynī or Rashīd al-Dīn. The Chinese were excluded from the highest positions, which were reserved for foreigners: Middle Eastern and Central Asian Muslims, Khitans, Uyghurs, Europeans. This policy may have been adopted (as Marco Polo, himself one of its beneficiaries, suggested) because the Great Khāns regarded foreigners as more trustworthy than the Chinese since they had no local loyalties (*Travels*, tr. Ricci, 127). The traditional civil service examinations, which tested candidates' knowledge of the Chinese classics, were not held until 715/1315; and they never, under the Mongols, recovered their former importance as a road to high office in the state.

Overall, it may be said that the Mongols were prepared to adopt almost any institutional arrangements and to employ any potential servant, as

long as this appeared likely to facilitate the maintenance of effective government. This effectiveness was measured chiefly by the revenue receipts. There is little that is identifiably "Mongol" in the governmental institutions of the Mongols' empire, except the way in which they made so extraordinary disparate an assemblage work. The principal constraint was always the consideration that nothing should be done that might endanger Mongol military supremacy, on which in the last analysis the perpetuation of Mongol rule depended.

Bibliography: The primary and secondary sources for the history of the Mongols are extant in great bulk and in numerous languages. It is possible here to list only a selection. Primary sources: (i) Mongolian. There are several editions of the text of the *Secret history of the Mongols*, and English translations by F.W. Cleaves (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) and I. de Rachewiltz (*Papers in Far Eastern History*, 1971-85), French translation by P. Pelliot, Paris 1949. (ii) Chinese. The principal source is the official dynastic history, the *Yüan-shih*. Only parts of this have been translated, e.g. on genealogies and appanages by L. Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan-che* and *Le chapitre CVIII du Yuan-che*, Leiden 1945, 1954; on the economy by H.F. Schurmann, *Economic structure of the Yüan Dynasty*, Cambridge, Mass. 1956; on military organisation by C. Hsiao, *The military establishment of the Yuan Dynasty*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978. For Chinese travellers, see the account of the journey of the Taoist Chʾang Chʾun, *The travels of an alchemist*, tr. A. Waley, London 1931, and of two Sung embassies to the Mongols, P. Olbricht and E. Pinks, *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*, Wiesbaden 1980. (iii) Persian. Djūzdjānī, ed. and tr. as in the article; Djuwaynī, and tr. Djuwaynī-Boyle; Waṣṣāf, ed. M.M. Iṣfahānī, Bombay 1269/1852-3; convenient modern Persian abridgement by ʿA. Āyatī, *Taḥrīr-i Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, Tehran 1346/1968; Rashīd al-Dīn: numerous editions and translations of sections of the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, e.g. vol. i, part 1 (Tribes), ed. A.A. Romaskevič, L.A. Khetagurov and A.A. Alizade, Moscow 1965; vol. ii, ed. E. Blochet, GMS, Leiden and London 1911, tr. J.A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971; vol. ii, part 1, ed. Alizade, Moscow 1980; vol. iii (Īlkhāns), ed. Alizade, Baku 1957 (also contains a Russian translation); vol. iii is also covered by the following three publications: *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. E. Quatremère (reign of Hülegü; also includes the general introduction to the work, and valuable annotation), Paris 1836, Abaḳa-Gaykhatu, ed. K. Jahn, The Hague 1957, and reign of Ghazan, ed. Jahn, GMS, London 1940. Jahn has also edited and translated several sections of the "Universal History" part of the work. See also Rashīd al-Dīn's letters (possibly spurious), ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1945, new ed. by M.T. Dānishpazhūh as *Sawāniḥ al-afkār-i Rashīdī*, Tehran 1358/1980-1; Ḳāshānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Üldjāytū*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1348/1969; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat*; idem, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿA. Nawāʾī, Tehran 1336-9/1958-61. There is a wealth of Persian local histories; one of the most interesting (on Kirmān) is the anonymous *Taʾrīkh-i shāhī*, ed. M. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran 2535 Sh/1976-7. (iv) Arabic. Especially on the first Mongol invasions: Ibn al-Athīr, xii; Nasawī, ed. and tr. as in the article, see also the early Persian translation, ed. M. Minovi, Tehran 1344/1965. On the later period, there is much valuable information in Mamlūk sources [see MAMLŪKS]. (v) Armenian. J.A. Boyle, *Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols*, in *CAJ*, viii (1963), and the references cited there; Grigor of Akner, *The history of the nation of the archers*, ed. and tr. R.P. Blake and R.N. Frye, Cambridge, Mass. 1954. (vi) Syriac. Bar Hebraeus, *The chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj... commonly known as Bar Hebraeus*, ed. and tr. E.A. Wallis Budge, 2 vols., London 1932; also an Arabic version, *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī, Beirut 1890; *Histoire de Mar Jab-alaha, patriarche, et de Rabban Sauma*, ed. P. Bedjān, 2nd ed., Paris 1895, tr. Wallis Budge, *The monks of Ḳūblāi Khān, emperor of China*, London 1928. (vii) European. The most important sources are travel narratives. Those of the Franciscan emissaries are collected in *Sinica Franciscana*, i, ed. A. van den Wyngaert, Quaracchi-Florence 1929. Most are translated in *The Mongol mission*, ed. C. Dawson, London and New York 1955; Marco Polo, tr. A. Ricci, London 1931, tr. A.C. Moule and P. Pelliot, 2 vols., London 1938. A large body of correspondence is extant: letters between Mongol rulers and the Popes are collected in K. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*, Vatican City 1981. Secondary sources: The best general account is J.J. Saunders, *The history of the Mongol conquests*, London 1971. See also D.O. Morgan, *The Mongols*, Oxford 1986, for a more detailed justification of the views expressed in the article. J.F. Fletcher, *The Mongols: ecological and social perspectives*, in *HJAS*, xlvi/1 (1986), 11-50, is the best introduction to the Mongol phenomenon as a whole. Čingiz-Khān: P. Ratchnevsky, *Činggis-Khan, sein Leben und Wirken*, Wiesbaden 1983, supersedes earlier studies; but see also H.D. Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of north China*, Baltimore 1950. China: see J.D. Langlois Jr. (ed.), *China under Mongol rule*, Princeton 1981. Islamic world: Barthold, *Turkestan*[4], London 1977, retains its importance; Spuler, *Mongolen*[4], Leiden 1985; Boyle (ed.), *Camb. hist of Iran. v. The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, Cambridge 1968; A.K.S. Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, New York 1987. Golden Horde: Spuler, *Horde*[2], Wiesbaden 1965; see also J.L.I. Fennell, *The crisis of medieval Russia 1200-1304*, London 1983, and C.J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde*, Bloomington 1985. Many of the above works contain good bibliographies. Further secondary studies are cited in the article.

(D.O. MORGAN)

MONEY [see NAḲD; SIKKA].

MONK [see RĀHIB].

MONKEY [see ḲIRD].

MONOGAMY [see NIKĀḤ; ZAWĀDJ].

MONOPHYSITES [see NAṢĀRĀ].

MONOPOLY [see RÉGIE].

MONOTHEISM [see TAWḤĪD].

MONSOON [see MAWSIM].

MONTENEGRO [see ḲARA DAGH].

MONTH [see TAʾRĪKH].

MOORS, in Arabic *al-Mār*, a rather vague term, used until the 19th century in virtually all Western European languages, to indicate the ancient Muslims of Spain and the inhabitants of the Mediterranean ports of North Africa. The origin of the term is not yet clear. It derives either from Semitic *mahourím* "the people of the West", or from Berber (Rinn, in *RAfr.*, xxix, 244 ff.). The Greek word Μαύροίςτιος appears for the first time in

Polybius (iii, 33,15), in earlier times the term Λίβυες having been used to indicate all inhabitants of North Africa [see LĪBIYĀ. I.]. After the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C., the Latin word *Mauri* indicates a group of relatively sedentary tribes who lived between the Atlantic and the rivers Moulouya and Chélif in the Roman provinces of *Mauretania Caesariensis* and *Mauretania Tingitana* [see ṬANDJA]. Later, the Latin word *Maurus* passed into Greek in the form of Μαυρος (Pauly-Wissowa, xiv [1930], cols. 2348-51), and both terms were then used to indicate, in a rather general way, the Berbers. In Spain, *Mauri* became *Moros*, and it was under this name that the inhabitants of the Peninsula designed the Muslim conquerors during the whole period of the Muslim domination (711-1492). The term *Moros*, which has been adopted into the various languages of Western Europe (Mauren, Maures, Mauri, Mohren, Moors, Moren, etc.), thus has a geographical meaning, i.e. indicating the people coming from the African coast, rather than an ethnographical one, for the conquerors were Arabs and Berbers, the latter both arabicised and non-arabicised. The arabisation of the latter took place in Spain, where the mixture of Roman and Arab elements led to a kind of symbiosis which expressed itself in a true bilingualism, which in its turn created an Arabo-Christian literature [see MOZARABS] on the one hand, and an Arabo-Islamo-Spanish literature, using the Arabic script and the Romanesque language [see ALJAMÍA] on the other. Yet the *Moros* were in general considered as conquerors, and the religious differences have contributed to a rather hostile attitude on the part of the inhabitants of the Peninsula. Consequently, the term Moors, in the various Western languages, was not dissociated from a certain depreciatory connotation, even when the Moor was represented as "noble", like Othello. In some translations of the Bible (e.g. Isa., xi, 12), the term "land of the Moors" indicates Ethiopia, and it was perhaps under such influences that in mediaeval Europe the term was also used for all those whose colour lay somewhere between light-brown and black. In heraldry, Moor indicated a black, and everyday life knew expressions like Moorish coffee, etc.

On the other hand, the adjective "Moorish" indicated also, in a vague but recognisable way, an artistic style which was thought to have originated from the Arabs, or even from the Muslims in general. In architecture, the Moorish art could indicate the Alhambra in Granada [see GHARNĀṬA], the Giralda in Sevilla [see ISHBĪLIYA], and the mosque in Marrakech [see MARRĀKUSH]. The earliest phase of Renaissance architecture in Spain, usually called the Plateresque (from *platero* "silversmith", because its rich ornamentation resembles silversmith's work) is said to have been influenced by Moorish art. In other fields, the term referred to miniatures in Arabic manuscripts, like those of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*], to lustre faïence and, in general, to art objects fashioned in Muslim countries of European countries under Arabo-Muslim influence, like Sicily, the Balkans, and especially Spain. During the long Arab occupation, furniture in the so-called Mudéjar style evolved, in which the form was essentially European but the decoration oriental. A type of cabinet known as *vargueno* was often inlaid with ivory in a Moorish manner.

In modern times, the term Moors is also found outside of Mauretania [*q.v.*]. In Mali [*q.v.*] the word is used to indicate the Arabo-Berber group. In northern Senegal [*q.v.*] there are stock-raisers or traders known by this name. The Muslims of Sri Lanka (Ceylon [*q.v.*]), estimated at about 900,000 out of a total population of 13 million, are often named "the Ceylon Moors". They are partly descended from Arab seafarers who, some time during the 2nd/8th century, settled at a place near the site of the modern port of Colombo, called Calembon by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Until the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505, the Arabs had enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the foreign trade of Ceylon. In the Philippines [*q.v.*], more precisely on the island of Mindanao, the term "Moro Wars" (1901-13) is used for a series of scattered battles which took place between American troops and Muslim groups, who were fighting for religious rather than for political reasons. Finally, the Spanish word *Moros* designates the various Muslim populations of the Southern Philippines, especially in the Sulu archipelago and on Mindanao. By extension, the term is also used for any of the Austronesian languages of the Moro peoples.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Enciclopedia Italiana*, s.vv. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL-[E. VAN DONZEL])

MORA, Turkish for Morea, the usual name in mediaeval and modern times for the peninsula of the Peloponnesus (which itself appears in Arabic geographical sources in forms like the *B.L.būn.s* of Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 194, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 189), regarded in ancient times as the heartland of Greece. For the various forms of the name, see Bées, *EI*[1], s.v.

1. The pre-Ottoman period to 1460.

This may subdivided into (a) the Byzantine period to 1204 and the Frankish one to 1262 (or to the late early 16th century for certain areas); and (b) the Byzantine despotate of Morea to 1458/1460.

(a) The pre-1262 period. There may be a reference to Muslims from Ifrīḳiya (*Aphrikous Sarakenous*) aiding the Slav besiegers of Patras in 805-6 or 806-7 (cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De admin. imp.*, ed. Moravcsik-Eng. tr. Jenkins, 288-9, cf. comm., 184); and it has been proposed that the *Kaphēroi* then settled by the Emperor Nicephorus I after the Patras victory over the Slavs were, conceivably, Anatolian frontier peoples of Muslim origin who had come over to Christianity (the name from *kāfir*, pl. *kafara*, "infidel"?). During the naval conflicts of the Byzantines and Arabs in the 9th and 10th centuries, there were frequent raids on the Morea by Arab corsairs from the amīrate of Crete [see IḲRĪTISH and ḲURṢĀN. i], especially on coastal regions like Corinthia, where Islamic coins from Crete and pottery fragments with Kūfic designs have been found (see Miles, in *DOP*, xviii [1964], 5-6 and fig. 93; Christides, *The conquest of Crete*, 119, 127, 162). At various dates in the later 9th century, defeats of the Arabs by the Byzantine navy are recorded in Greek sources. The Arab geographers were well-informed on the topography of the Morea, including Ibn Ḥawḳal (who *inter alia* mentions the *zanaḳa* "narrow place", i.e. the isthmus canal), al-Idrīsī, Ibn Saʿīd and Abu 'l-Fidā, with the name Morea appearing in the last three authors in forms like Lamariyā and al-Muriya (see N. Oikonomakes, *Athens and Peloponnesus in the 10th century according to temporary information provided by Arab authors* [in Greek], in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], 123-4; Manuela Marín, *"Rūm" in the works of three Spanish Muslim geographers*, in *ibid.*, 115 ff.).

(b) the period of the Morean despotate and the Turkish conquest. The connections of the Morea with the Turks go back to the later 13th century, for the *Morea chronicle* records the arrival in

spring 1263 of 6,000 Turkish mercenary cavalrymen in the service of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus's step-brother, the *sebastocrator* Constantine (whose troops also included Christianised Muslim mercenaries, *tourkopoloi* [*q.v.*], used against the Frankish occupiers of the Morea (see A. Savvides, *Late Byzantine and Western historiographers on Turkish mercenaries in Greek and Latin armies*, in *Festschrift for D.M. Nicol*; idem, *The origins and role of the Turcophone mercenaries in the Morea in the course of the Byzantine-Frankish war of 1263-4* [in Greek], in *Acts of the Fourth Internat. Pelop. Congr.*, Corinth 1990). Troops like these often returned to Anatolia, but over the years some of them settled down in Morea and became Christians. In the early 14th century there are mentions of combined Catalan-Turkish raids on the Morean coasts, and there can be little doubt that the Turks stemmed from the maritime principalities (*beyliks*) of western Anatolia [see AYDÎN; MENTESHE-OGHULLARÎ].

Ottoman incursions began from *ca.* 1358 onwards, but definite progress by the Ottomans began in 1387-8 and is associated with the *ghāzī* leader, possibly himself of Greek descent, Ewrenos Beg [*q.v.*], during the reigns of sultans Murād I and Bāyezīd I [*q.vv.*]. At the outset, Ewrenos roamed the Morea with the consent of the despot of Mystras [see MEZISTRE in Suppl.] Theodore I Palaeologus, in the hope of dislodging the Frankish Navarese Military Company, but soon changed sides in the continually-changing pattern of Byzantine-Frankish relations there. By the end of the century, both Theodore and the Navarese had to acknowledge Ottoman suzerainty and pay tribute to Bāyezīd. However, in the years after the latter's defeat at the hands of Tīmūr [*q.v.*] at Ankara in 1402, the sultans Sülaymān I and Meḥemmed I Čelebi [*q.vv.*] maintained peaceful relations with Manuel II Palaeologus. But fresh devastations of the Morea began in 1423 under Turakhan Beg, sent by Murād II to invade it as a punishment for Manuel's support of the "false" (*Düzme*) Muṣṭafā Čelebi [*q.v.*]; the *Hexamilion*, Manuel's six-mile long rampart across the mouth of the isthmus, with the fortifications known to the Turks as the Česhme Ḥiṣārî, failed to keep back the invaders.

Over the following years, the Byzantines strengthened their position in the north of the Morea and the Venetians in the south at Navarino, Modon and Koron [*q.vv.*]. The crusade of Varna in 1444 emboldened the despot Constantine Palaeologus, the future last Byzantine Emperor, to refortify the *Hexamilion*, but in 1446 it was again breached by Murād's artillery and stormed by the Janissaries; it was never again repaired, and the despotate of Morea became an Ottoman vassal state. The Morea was again invaded by Turakhan in 1452, with the aim of preventing the despots from sending aid to the beleaguered Constantinople (for the conquest of which, see MEḤEMMED II), and in 1456, tribute owed to the Ottomans having fallen into arrears, Meḥemmed and his commander ʿÖmer Beg annexed the Florentine duchy of Athens. Two years later, in 1458, the sultan decided to send a massive army into the Morea, occupying one-third of the peninsula, now placed under the governorship of ʿÖmer, and imposing an even heavier tribute on the Palaeologi. Meḥemmed's final invasion of 1460 is recorded in great detail by the Greek and Turkish sources. In the spring, the Greek renegade Zaghanos Pasha [*q.v.*] was sent to raid Patras and Achaia, and gradually, the Byzantine towns all fell, the last stronghold to surrender being Salmenikon under Constantine Graetzas Palaeologus (July 1461), who then sought refuge in Naupactus (cf. Savvides, *Naupactus from the early Byzantine years to the Ottoman conquest of 1499* [in Greek], in *Acts First Aetolian-Akarnanian Congr.*, Agrinion 1988).

Through the mediation of the historian Critobulus, Meḥemmed acted with clemency towards the despot Demetrius, brother of the emperor Constantine XII, and assigned to him the revenues of the islands of Thasos [see TASHÖZ], Samothrace [see SEMENDIREK] and Lemnos [see LIMNI]. Only the fortress of Monemvasia [see MENEKSHE], which placed itself under the protection of the Pope and of Venice, was not Ottoman by the late 1460s, together with the Venetian acquisitions of Modon, Koron, Navarino, Argos and Nauplion, plus the interior parts of the Mainote peninsula where in *ca.* 1465 the local chieftain Corcodeilus Cladas began an insurrection against the Ottoman conquerors.

Bibliography: For older references, see N. Bees in *EI*[1]. Further detailed references in A. Savvides, *The Morea and Islam, 8th-15th century: a survey*, in *Jnal. of Oriental and African Studies* (Athens), ii (1990). On the period of the Arab raids (8th-11th cent.), see A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i, 53, ii/1, 55, 158; A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204*, Paris 1951, 76 ff.; J. Papadopoulos, *Crete under the Saracens* [in Greek], Athens 1948, 79 ff.; G.C. Miles, *Byzantium and the Arabs. Relations in Crete and the Aegean area*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xviii (1964), 5 ff.; E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland. Das Mittelmeer unter byzantinischer und arabischer Hegemonie (650-1040)*, Berlin 1955, 55 ff., 204 f., 208 f.; V. Christides, *The raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea, piracy and conquest*, in *Byzantion*, li (1981), 82, 86, 87, 93, 96, n. 122, 107; idem, *The conquest of Crete by the Arabs, c. 824...*, Athens 1984, 37, 61, 92 (map), 158, 162, 163, 166, 219; V. Kalaitzakes, *Crete and the Saracens* [in Greek], Athens 1984, 62 ff., 153, 157; G.L. Huxley, *Monemvasia and the Slavs*, Athens 1988, 9 f.; D. Tsougarakes, *Byzantine Crete...*, diss., Athens 1988, 55 ff.

On the Turcoman presence in 13th-14th century Morea, inclusive of the raids of the Emirates, see D. Zakythenos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*[2], rev. ed. Chryssa Maltezou, i, London 1975, 39 ff., 70 ff.; J. Longnon, *L'Empire Latin de Constantinople et la Principauté de Morée*, Paris 1949, 232 f., P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin*, Paris 1957, 89 f., 102 ff., 116 ff.; D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus...*, Cambridge, Mass. repr. 1973, 171 ff.; Setton, i, 187 f., 451, n. 67; Eliz. Zachariadou, in *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., xxi/2 (1980), 834 f.; eadem, *Trade and Crusade... (1300-1415)*, Venice 1983, 17, 31, 37, 42, 60, 66, 95, 101; H. Inalcık, in *Byzant. Forsch.*, ix (1985), 190 f., 201.

On the period of the Ottoman incursions until the conquest of 1458/60, see the relevant refs. in the following: Miller-Lampros, i-ii; H.A. Gibbons, *The foundation of the Ottoman Empire... (1300-1403)*, Oxford 1916; Zakythenos, *Despotat...*, i-ii; Ch. Mijatović, *Constantine. The last Emperor of the Greeks (1448-53)*, London 1892, repr. 1968; R.-J. Loenerts, *Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse au 14e s. (1382-1404)*, in *Rev. Ét. Byz.*, i (1943); C. Amantos, *Relations between Greeks and Turks* [in Greek], i, Athens 1955; S. Runciman, *The fall of Constantinople (1453)*, Cambridge 1954; idem, *Mistra, Byzantine capital of the Peloponnese*, London 1980; E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht. Die Osmanen (1300-1481)*, Berlin 1966, Ostrogorsky, *History*[2]; J. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-*

1425)..., New Brunswick, N.J. 1969; D. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*..., Leiden 1972 (with excellent maps); D. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium (1261-1453)*, London 1972; A. Vakalopoulos, *The origins of the Greek nation. The Byzantine period (1204-1461)*, New Brunswick 1970; S. Shaw, *Hist. of the Ottoman Empire*, i, Cambridge 1976; K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, i-ii, Philadelphia 1976-8; I. Djurić, *Vrem Jovana VIII Palaeoga (1392-1448)*, Belgrade 1984; A. Savvides, *Byzantium's relations with the Ottomans and other Turcophone peoples according to the Kleinchroniken, A.D. c. 1300-1461*, Engl. tr. and comm. (forthcoming). (A. Savvides)

2. Turkish domination (1460-1821) and the Greek War of Independence (1821-33).

The plan which Meḥemmed had decided on when he entered Morea, was carried through. Except for a few places, the peninsula was now Turkish territory. Zag̲h̲anos Pas̲h̲a was installed as governor of the Morea by the sultan and entrusted with the reorganisation of the peninsula, which had become much depopulated and was a great deal poorer economically. In 1458 and again in 1460 the sultan temporarily combined the Morea with Thessaly for administrative purposes. The Morea now became a *sand̲j̲aḳ* by itself with 109 *ziʿāmets* and 342 *tīmārs*. Down to about 1570, the residence of the governor was by turns in Corinth, Londari (Leontari) or Mystra, then in Nauplion and in 1786-1821 in Tripolitza (cf. T. Gritsopoulos, *History of Tripolitsa* [in Greek], i-ii, Athens 1972-6; M. Lamprynides, *Nauplia*[3] [in Greek], Nauplion 1975; S. Runciman, *Mistra*, London 1980). The division of the country under Turkish rule, usual from the middle of the 17th century, into 22 or 25 provinces or *beyliks* is partly suggested by nature and partly a survival of the older Byzantine organisation.

The Turks introduced their own feudal system after their occupation of the Morea so that the Turkish-Muslim element in the country was thus able to expand. Even during the first period of Turkish rule (1458-1687), other factors contributed to this, like the immigration into the Morea of Muslims from other parts of the Ottoman empire, the conversion of Christian Moreots to Islam, etc. While in the north of the Balkan Peninsula and in Asia minor countless Christians adopted Islam either voluntarily or under compulsion, the Christian element in the Morea at the time of the Turkish conquest in the mass remained faithful to the Christian religion. Comparatively few Moreots became Muslims, and these were principally Albanians, who always adopted Islam more readily (cf. thereon: C. Jireček, *Studien zur Geschichte und Geographie Albaniens im Mittelalter*, Budapest 1916, and also M. Lamprynides, *The Albanians in mainland Greece and the Peloponnese, 1320-1821* [in Greek], Athens 1907, repr. 1987; on the Lalian "Turkish Albanians", cf. J. Vosdravelles, *Information on the Turkish-Albanian Laliots from the Turkish Archives of Macedonia* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st Pelopon. Congr.*, iii, Athens 1981-2, 381 ff.; A. Photopoulos, *The Lalian Turkish Albanians* [in Greek], in *Epiteris Hetaureias Eleiakon Meleton*, [1983], 419 ff.). As in Asia Minor, Bosnia, Crete, etc., so in the Morea also, members of the nobility and middle classes, especially those of Frankish origin, adopted Islam in order to retain possession of their estates. There were also in the Morea crypto-Christians, as well as people whose Islam was very superficial. These were usually called *murdat* (impure) in the Morea. The Barduniots were also for the most part superficially Muslims (cf. G. Kapsales, *Bardounia and the Turkish Bardouniots* [in Greek], in *Peleponnesiaka*, ii [1957]). As to the survival of the Greek Moreot element, it has been said, e.g., that Meḥemmed II's ordinance regulating the relations of the Christian subjects to the Ottoman empire benefited also the Christian Moreots; yet it is wrong to credit him with any such ordinance (cf. Fr. Giese, in *Isl.*, xix [1931], 264 ff.). It is, however, a historical fact that the Greek Orthodox Church contributed a great deal to maintain the Christian element in the Morea, as in the East generally (see Runciman, *The Great Church in captivity*, Cambridge 1968). The Christian clergy of the Morea were frequently able to maintain a privileged attitude towards the Turkish officials and thus to further the interests of their co-religionists (on the privileges [Greek *pronomoia*] of Meḥemmed to the Patriarchate, cf. C. Amantos, *Islam's privileges in favour of Christianity* [in Greek], in *Hellenika*, ix [1936], 140 ff.; Runciman, *op. cit.*, 165 ff.; refs. in A. Vakalopoulos, *History of Modern Hellenism*[2] [in Greek], Thessalonica 1976, 164 ff.). The Christian Moreots were also often able to avoid having their children taken by the Turks for the *devs̲h̲irme* [*q.v.*]. After the death of Süleymān the Magnificent (1566), the lot of the Christian Moreots gradually became worse. Ownerless lands were confiscated by the sultan and given to his soldiers or allotted to the mosques as *waḳfs* or given to private individuals as gifts. During the long period of Turkish rule in the Morea, the largest and best part of the land was in Turkish hands, and as a rule, Christians were not allowed to own large estates. The peasants had to pay over annually the fifth of the produce of the land and pay all kinds of annual taxes.

In the view of the abuses of the Turkish authorities, the Christian Moreots preferred to abandon the fertile regions and retire to barren lands and into the mountains, hence within the period 1460-1821 the mountains of the Morea were predominantly inhabited by Christians. Of the factors which contributed to the survival of Greek culture in the Morea during Turkish rule, special stress must be laid on the political concessions which were made to them by the Ottomans. These lay mainly in the freedom to govern their own communities, although, especially after 1715, the freedom of the Greek community was not infrequently limited by the Turkish authorities, who interfered indirectly in the appointment of local officials. Undoubtedly, those Moreots were better off who lived in towns or villages which were allotted to the Holy Shrines of Islam or to members of the Ottoman ruling family. The town of Dimitzana in Gortynia for example was originally a *waḳf* of Mecca under the protection of the sultan's mother (see P. Kontoes-A. Iliopoulos, *Album of Gortynia* [in Greek], Athens 1937; T. Gritsopoulos, *Gortynia Arachova and the popular song of Demos the Klepht* [in Greek], 1948; *The Archbishopric of Demetsana and Argyrokastron* [in Greek], in *Epeteris Hetaureias Byzantinon Spoudon*, xx, 1950; *Varia Arcadica* [in Greek], *Gortyniaka*, i, 1972; J. Gianniaropoulou, *Various notes on Gortynian Codices* [in Greek], in *ibid.*; G. Karvelas, *History of Demetsana* [in Greek], i-ii, Athens 1972-8; A. Petronotes, *Settlements and architectural monuments in mountainous Grotynia* [in Greek], 1975).

The peace between their Turkish rulers and Christians could only be an uneasy one. In the Morea also there were the so-called "Klephts" who would not submit to the existing government and took up arms against it. Against them the Turks used the Armatoli force, a gendarmerie of Christians organised on military lines (cf. T. Kandeloros, *Peloponnesian*

Armatolism, 1500-1821 [in Greek], Athens 1924; G. Vlachoyannes, *Moreot Klephts* [in Greek], 1935, P. Rodakes, *Klephts and Armatoloi*[2] [in Greek], i-ii, 1975). In the period 1715-1821 the Turks for the security of the country built watchhouses (*derbent*) in which a garrison was stationed to watch those who passed, especially at the passes. The Derbanekia (*küčük derbent*) between Corinth and Argos and the Derbenia of Lontari, the passes between Arcadia and Messenia (Makryplagi; cf. above) were all very important. The Mainots in their wild mountains felt little of the Turkish yoke, and were from 1460 to 1821 in constant rebellion against every foreign power (cf. D. Mexes, *Maina and the Mainots* [in Greek], Athens 1977). The Porte found itself forced to recognise officially the independence of Maina, in return for which the Mainots were supposed to pay tribute (cf. A. Daskalakes, *Maina and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1821* [in Greek], Athens 1923; C. Passayannes, *Mainot dirges and songs* [in Greek], 1928; P. Lee Fermor, *Mani*, London 1959; S. Kougeas, *Historical sources for Mainot hegemony, 1774-1821* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, v [1962]; id. (ed.) *Niketas Nephakos, Mainot historical verses* [in Greek], 1964; E. Alexakes, *Clans and family in Maina's traditional society* [in Greek], Athens 1980; D. Vayakakos, *The Mainots of diaspora* [in Greek], i-ii, 1980; *War and family love in Maina* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st Pelopon. Congr.*, iii, 302 ff.; C. Mertzios, *Maina in the Venetian Archives, 1611-74* [in Greek], in *Lakonikai Spoudai*, i, [1972]; J. Kiskiras, *Dirges as a source of Mainot jurisprudence* [in Greek], in *ibid.*, ii [1975]; Th. Papadopoulos, *Mainot immigrants to Italy in the 17th century*, in *ibid.*, vi [1982]).

For a long period after 1460, when Meḥemmed II had made the greater part of the Morea a province of his empire, it became the scene of desperate fighting between Turks and Venetians (cf. A. Monferratos, *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta. Venetian-Turkish war in Peloponnesos, 1463-6* [in Greek], Athens 1914; also the information in J. Alexandropoulos, *Two Ottoman registers of the Morea, 1460-3* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, suppl. v [1987], 339 ff.). The Albanian national hero Skanderbeg [see ISKENDER BEG], the leader of the Venetian mercenaries, died in 1468. Two years later, Turkish rule over Euboea was firmly established and they could record further successes in the Morea.

In the spring of 1499 a new war between Venice and Turkey broke out, and Lepanto had to surrender to the Turks (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Un registre de dépenses de Bayazid II durant la campagne de Lépante de 1499*, in *Turcica*, v [1975], 80 ff.; other refs. in A. Savvides, *Naupaktos... until the Ottoman conquest of 1499* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st Aetolian-Akarnanian Congr.*, Agronion 1988-9). In 1500 Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] ordered Yaʿḳūb Pas̲h̲a to blockade Modon [*q.v.*] with his fleet, while he himself set out by land from Istanbul for the Morea. Modon fell after a long siege in the presence of the sultan. Bāyezīd II turned the cathedrals at Modon and Koron [*q.v.*] into mosques and offered up thanks in them, and gave these towns to Mecca as *waḳfs*. In 1502-3 Venice concluded a treaty of peace with Turkey in which he surrendered her Messenian colonies and also Maina (cf. G. Ploumides, *Venetian-occupied Greek lands between the 2nd and 3rd Turkish-Venetian Wars, 1503-37* [in Greek], Ioannina 1974; Irène Mélikoff, *Bayezid II et Venise. Cinq lettres imperiales (Name-i Hümayun) provenant de l'Archivio di stato di Venezia*, in *Turcica*, i [1969], 123 ff.). In 1532 the Morea became the scene of notable battles, The Emperor Charles V decided to intervene in the Morea (cf. J. Chasiotes, *Peloponnesos in the framework of Charles V's Mediterranean policy* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, xv [1984], 187 ff.). A considerable fleet assembled in Messina in June 1532. The Pope and the Knights of St. John, the Genoese and the Sicilians also showed a readiness to join in the expedition, the leader of which was the Genoese Andrea Doria (Turkish: Andrevirius) (cf. details in K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, iii-iv, Philadelphia 1984, *passim.*). The allies succeeded in taking a considerable part of the lower town of Koron, the citadel, and also Patras (cf. A. Moustoxydes, *Fall, defence and abandonment of Korone by the forces of Emperor Charles V* [in Greek], in *Hellenomnemon*, i [1843-53], 142 ff.). He then returned with rich booty. Sultan Süleymān, who was now on the throne, gave the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of the Morea to Beg, a son of Yaḥyā Pas̲h̲a, and commissioned him in 1537 to reconquer the fortresses taken by Andrea Doria. Ḳāsim Pas̲h̲a, the *sand̲j̲aḳ beg* of the Morea, was commissioned to conquer the Venetian colonies there. K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] had inflicted several defeats on Venice in her colonies, and in the summer of 1540 Venice made peace in order to save what was left of her possessions. The majority of the Venetian colonies in the East, including Nauplion and Monemvasia, was the price paid (for the historical background, cf. R. Cessi, *Venezia e l'acquisto di Nauplia ed Argo*, in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, xxx [1915]). The Turks endeavoured to populate once more their new possessions in the Morea (cf. T. Vrokines, *The emigration of Naupliotes and Monemvasiotes in Corfu, mid-16th century* [in Greek], Corfu 1905; M. Kolyva-Karaleka and E. Moatsou, *Settlement of Naupliote and Monemvasiote fugitives on Crete in 1548* [in Greek], in *Byzant.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, xxii [1985], 375 ff.). About 1550, there were about 42,000 Christian families in the whole Morea. We know nothing definite of the Muslim population at this time, but it may be assumed, however, that, then as later, Muslims were in a minority. On the other hand, rich references concerning the Ottoman Morea's economic conditions during Süleymān II's time are provided by several western travellers (cf. Constantina Philopoulou-Desylla, *Western Travellers as a source for the Ottoman Empire's economic life in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent, 1520-66* [in Greek], Univ. of Athens 1984, 124 ff.). Two Turkish sources of the 17th century are of considerable importance for the history of the Morea. These are the *D̲j̲ihān-numā* of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa [*q.v.*] and the *Siyāḥet-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebī [*q.v.*] who visited the Morea in 1668 and 1670. The latter's narrative was based on personal observation and enquiry, and what he tells us about Muslim buildings and religious orders and of the Christians is of importance (cf. *Siyāḥet-nāme*, viii, Istandbul 1928; Fr. Babinger, *GOW*, 219 ff.; Fr. Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xviii [1928], 299 ff.). When Ewliyā Čelebī visited the Morea, various Muslim orders and corporations had settled there, including Ṣūfī orders such as the Bektas̲h̲īs [*q.v.*] (cf. F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929; also refs. in K. Simopoulos, *Foreign travellers in Greece* [in Greek], i-iii, Athens 1970-5).

At the end of 1683 another coalition against the Porte, the so-called "Holy League", was formed by Venice, Poland, Germany, Russia and the Pope. Francesco Morosini was given command of the allied naval forces, capturing Koron. During 1685-6 Old and New Navarino, Kalamata, Modon, Zarnata, Passava, Celefa and Vitilo as well as other fortified places in southern Morea were taken from the Turks. The *Serʿasker* Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a was defeated in several battles and had to retire to the interior of the Morea. Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a, who was in Maina, negotiated with

Morosini and surrendered voluntarily. The Turkish garrisons of many towns, on the other hand, offered a desperate resistance. It cost the Venetians and their allies much time and heavy sacrifices to take Nauplion, but by the end of 1687 the Morea up to Monemvasia was Venetian. By the peace of Carlowitz or Karlovča [*q.v.*] (26 Jan. 1699), the Porte had to cede the Morea to Venice. For the last period of Venetian rule in the Morea (1699-1715 or 1718), see L. Ranke, *Die Venezianer in Morea (1685-1715)*, repr. in his *Zur venetianischen Geschichte*, Leipzig 1878, 277-361 (cf. also Th. Krimpas, *Venetian rule in Peloponnesos, 1685-1715* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, i, 1956; C. Dokos, *Peloponnesian ecclesiastical property during the 2nd Venetian rule. Unedited documents from Venetian Archives* [in Greek], in *Byz. Neugr. Jahrb.*, xxi [1971-27]; P. Topping, *Studies on Latin Greece, 1205-1715*, London 1977, Variorum Reprints, nos. IX: *Domenico Gritti's Relation on the organization of Venetian Morea, 1688-91* [1974], and X: *Premodern Peloponnesus: the land and the people under Venetian rule, 1685-1715* [1976]).

The Turkish empire, which had been able to profit a good deal by the warfare in Europe at the beginning of the 18th century, resolved at the end of 1714 to reconquer the Morea. Many Greeks felt that the Venetians had not respected their rights in religious and family matters, were hostile to their own government and even wanted the Turks back again (cf. De la Montray, *Voyage*, i, 462). Except for a few larger towns which offered a resistance, the land was easily taken by the Turks and so the Morea once again became Turkish (cf. M. Sakellariou, *The recapture of Peloponnesos by the Turks in 1715* [in Greek], in *Hellenika*, vi [1936]; *Peloponnesos during the 2nd Turkish Domination, 1715-1821* [in Greek], Athens 1939, repr. 1978; also S. Deviazes, *Historical notes on Westerners in Peloponnesos during Turkish Domination* [in Greek], in *Harmonia*, iii [1902]; A. Photopoulos, *Contributions of Peloponnesian land tenure during the 2nd Turkish Domination* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st Pelopon. Congr.*, iii, Athens 1981-2, 168 ff.).

The peace of Passarowitz (10 June 1718) ceded Morea finally to the Turks. We are most fully informed about their rule from 1718 to 1821 (see refs. above). The extant sources, especially in Greek, enable us to study the period down to the smallest detail. After 1715 many Christians again adopted Islam. A census taken in 1720 gave 60,000 male Christians of 11 years of age and over, whilst the Muslim inhabitants are said to have been in the minority at this time. On the other hand, the Turkish element increased in the period 1769-80, while the number of Christians diminished considerably, as did the total number of the population (cf. P. Topping, *The Population of the Morea, 1685-1715*, in *Acts 1st Pelop. Congr.*, i, 1976, 119 ff.; V. Panayotopoulos, *Population and settlements of Peloponnesos, 13th-18th century* [in Greek], Athens 1985; J. Wagstaff, *Settlement in the southcentral Peloponnesos, c. 1618*, in F. Carter (ed.), *Hist. geography of the Balkans*, London 1977, 1977 ff.; idem and Helen Frangaki, *Settlement pattern change in the Morea, c. 1700-1830*, in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, xi [1987], 163 ff.; cf. also Panayotopoulos, *The Venetian census of Peloponnesos in 1700* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st. Pelop. Congr.*, iii, 203 ff.; *Family extent and synthesis in Peloponnesos, c. 1700* [in Greek], in *Ta Historika*, i [1983]). From 1715 to *ca.* 1780 the Morea was governed by a Pas͟ha, the Morowalesi, who had three *ṭug͟hs* and the title of *wazīr*; his period of office was indefinite. He was usually assisted by two other Pas͟has, who were under him and were granted two *ṭug͟hs*. A change was made in 1780. From this date to 1821, the government of the Morea was no longer given to a particular Pas͟ha but to a simple *muḥaṣṣil* of the Porte, who was, however, given the title of Pas͟ha. The higher offices were held by a *muḳābeled͟ji*, a *defterkahya* and a Christian dragoman (= "translator"), the senior Christian official in the Morea, whose main duty was participation to the Ottoman governor's (*pas͟ha*'s) council and the administration of local issues in collaboration with the Greek notables (*ḳod͟jabas͟his*) (cf. A. Photopoulos, *The Dragomans of the Morea* [in Greek], in *Journal of Oriental and African Studies*, i [Athens 1989], 49 ff.; also B. Slot, *Foreign diplomatic protection of locals in Turkish-dominated Morea. The Dragomans of the Low Countries of Mystras* [in Greek], in *Lakonikai Spoudai*, iii [1977]). Under the official system of administrative divisions, the Morea was divided into 22 districts. The Moreots now came to look to Russia to liberate them from the Turkish yoke. From the time of Peter the Great, the bonds between Greeks and Russians had been growing stronger, and in the middle of the 18th century, Russian propaganda increased very much among the Orthodox of the Balkans. Under Catherine II, the Russians easily succeeded by 1767-8, with the help of Greek agents, in stirring up Greek notables and clergy in the Morea to rebel against the Turks. On 15 October 1768, Turkey declared war on Russia, and Russian fleets appeared in the Mediterranean, but those appearing at Vitylo in 1770 had neither sufficient men, gun or munitions (cf. S. Kougeas, *Contributions to the history of the Peloponnesian Revolution under the Orloffs, 1770* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, i [1956]; T. Gritsopoulos, *The Orloffika. The Peloponnesian Revolution of 1770 and its consequences* [in Greek], Athens 1967; B. Slot, *Orloffika out of Dutch Archives* [in Greek], in *Lakonikai Spoudai*, ii [1975]). In 1774, a treaty of peace was concluded at Küčük Ḳaynard͟jî [*q.v.*] between Russian and Turkey. Full religious liberty and other concessions were granted to the Christian subjects of the Turks. About three months later, the Porte granted a general amnesty to the Christians of the Morea and resolved to clear the land of Albanian bandits. After 1770 the Porte had confiscated a number of Christian estates in the Morea and granted them to mosques and *ʿimārets*. The Turks now promised to return these or to compensate their owners, but the promises were not kept. Nevertheless, the Moreot Christians benefited considerably by the treaties between Russia and Turkey; the right given the Christians of the Morea to trade under the Russian flag contributed to their economic expansion in the period 1775-1821 (cf. relevant pts. in S. Asdrachas, ed., *Economic structures of the Balkan countries, 15th-19th centuries* [in Greek], Athens 1979; *Mechanisms of rural economy during the Turkish Domination, 15th-16th century* [in Greek], 1978; also V. Kremmydas, *An attempt toward the setting-up of soap industries at Korone in the 18th century* [in Greek], 1968; *Peloponnesian trade in the 18th century, 1715-92* [in Greek], 1972; V. Panayotopoulos, *Au 18e s. en Péloponnèse: l'absorption des ressources économiques et humaines par le développement de l'agriculture*, in *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* [Nice 1975], 111 ff.). Intellectual relations between western Europe and the Greeks of the Morea became closer after 1790. Since the peace of Paris of 1815, the Moreots and other Greeks had become convinced that only their own efforts could relieve them of the Turkish yoke. In the spring of 1821 open rebellion broke out among the Greeks of the Morea, when the Turkish governor K͟hurs͟hīd Pas͟ha was besieging the rebel ʿAlī Pas͟ha Tepedelenli [*q.v.*] at Yanina (see C.M. Woodhouse, *The Greek war of independence*, London 1952; D. Dakin, *The Greek*

struggle for independence (1821-33), London 1973). Soon after the beginning of the rising, the Moreots were masters of the lowlands and even occupied several strongholds. At the end of 1824, however, the Porte commissioned Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha of Egypt [*q.v.*] to put down the Greek rising. Ibrāhīm was able to restore Turkish rule over most of Morea, but he failed to put down the rebellion (cf. Durant-Viel, *Les campagnes navales de Mohammed Aly et d'Ibrahim*, Paris 1935; E. Prevelakes, *Ibrahim Pas͟ha's campaign in Argolis* [in Greek], Athens 1950; D. Vayakos, *Ibrahim against Maina, 1826* [in Greek], 1961; C. Kotsonis, *Ibrahim's 1st campaign in Lakonia, Sept. 1825* [in Greek], in *Lakonikai Spoudai*, iii [1977]). In the meanwhile, philhellenism had made progress in Europe and America, and it thus came about that the cabinets of Europe began to take an interest in the question of Greek freedom (see Woodhouse, *The Philhellenes*, London 1969, and the bibls. in L. Droulia, *Philhellénisme... Répertoire bibliographique*, Athens 1973). On 6 July 1827, England, France and Russia concluded a treaty in London by which the Morea and other parts of the Greek mainland were to form an independent principality but to pay tribute to the Porte. The Turks insisted on their point of view and declined the intercession of the great powers as regards the rebel Greeks. On 20 Oct. 1827, the combined fleets of the above-mentioned powers destroyed the Turco-Egyptian fleet at Navarino (see Woodhouse, *The Battle of Navarino*, London 1965). On 18 January 1828, Johannes Kapodistrias came to Nauplion, having been elected President of the Greek Free State by the National Assembly at Troezene (see Woodhouse, *Capodistria, the founder of Greek independence*, Oxford 1973; Helen Koukkou, *I. Kapodistrias, man and diplomat* [in Greek], Athens 1988). On 6 August 1828, England concluded a treaty with Meḥmed ʿAlī of Egypt for the evacuation of the Morea by the Egyptian troops. French troops, led by General N.J. Maison, soon afterwards landed in Messina by order of Charles X to drive the Turco-Egyptian troops out of the Morea (cf. P. Perrotes, *The campaign of Maison in Peloponnesos* [in Greek], in *Hellenika*, ix [1936]). In the autumn of 1828 Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha withdrew to Egypt. After long diplomatic negotiations, Prince Otto, the second son of the philhellene Ludwig of Bavaria, landed at Nauplion on 6 February 1833 as the first king of Greece. Henceforth the Morea formed a part of the kingdom of Greece (cf. Dakin, *The unification of Greece, 1770-1923*, London 1972). During the rising of 1821-7 and later, many Moreot Muslims adopted Christianity. To this day, many buildings and inscriptions, and especially place-names, recall the days when the Morea was under the Crescent.

Bibliography: Most of the refs. relating to Morea's connections with Islam (Turkish domination) are given in the article. For earlier bibl., see N. Bees, *EI*[1], s.v. On the post-Byzantine period (Tourkokratia) until 1821 and the era of the Greek Revolution until 1833, see the detailed accounts and bibls. in vols. ii-viii of A. Vakalopoulos' *History of modern Hellenism* [in Greek] and vols. x-xii of the collective *Hist. of the Greek nation* [in Gr.] by Ekdotike Athenon, 1974-5; cf. also the detailed bibliographical appendix compiled by S. Asdrachas in N. Svoronos, *Survey of modern Greek history* [in Greek], Athens 1976, repr. 1986, esp. 197 f. Of particular importance to Moreot history (1460-1833) are also the following (selective): J. Alexandropoulos, *Toward a history of post-Byzantine Greece: the Ottoman Kanunnames for the Greek lands, c. 1500-c. 1600*, Athens 1985; Sophia Antoniadou, *A contribution to the 17th-century Peloponnesian history. The Grimani Archives* [in Greek], *In honour of A. Orlandos*, iii, 1966, 153 ff.; N. Beldiceanu-Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur la Morée*, in *Südost-Forschungen*, xxxix (1980); A. Carile, *Una lista toponomastica di Morea de 1469*, in *Studi Veneziani*, xii (1970); G. Chryssanthakopoulos, *Elia during the Tourkokratia* [in Greek], Athens 1950; A. Daskalakes, *The beginnings of the Revolution and the initial events in Lakonia* [in Greek], in *Lakonikai Spoudai*, ii (1975); T. Gritsopoulos, *The Venetian Grimani Archives regarding the Peloponnesos* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, vii (1969-70); idem, *Statistical information regarding Peloponnesos* [in Greek], *ibid.*, viii, 1971; idem, *History of Geraki* [in Greek], Athens 1982; idem, *The Church of the Peloponnesus after the fall (of Constantinople)*, in *Pelopon.*, xvii (1987-8); A. Karatanasses, *Revolutionary movements in Peloponnesos in 1659* [in Greek], in *Pelopon.*, vii (1971); *Revolutionary movements by Peloponnesians in 1659. The participation of the Kalmatan Logothetes family* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st Pelop. Congr.*, iii (1976-8), 196 ff.; M. Loskares, *The Maina bishop Neophytus' pleas to the Spaniards (1612-13) for the liberation of Peloponnesos* [in Greek], in *Hellenika*, xx (1957); W. McLeod, *Castles of the Morea in 1467*, in *BZ*, lxv (1972); G. Metallenos, *The Tourkokratia. The Greeks in the Ottoman Empire* [in Greek], Athens 1988; P. Papadopoulos, *Franks, Venetians and Turks in Peloponnesos, 1204-1821* [in Greek], Athens 1969; D. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman empire... to the 16th century*, Leiden 1972 (with detailed maps); J. Sengones, *Argos through the centuries*[2] [in Greek], Univ. of Athens 1975; C. Thomopoulos, *Hist. of the city of Patras*[2], ed. C. Triantaphyllou, Patras 1950; N. Tomadakes, *The Ecumenical Patriarch Joannikios II... during the Cretan War (1657-9). His participation in the Maina campaign* [in Greek], in *Lak. Spoud.*, ii (1975); C. Triantaphyllou, *A historical lexicon of Patras*[2], Patras 1980; A. Vakalopoulos, *Modern Greek tradition: on the privileges of the Dervenochoritans of Corinth during the Tourkokratia* [in Greek], Thessalonica 1941; D. Vayakakos, *Maina and Zakynthos* [in Greek], in *Acts 3rd Panionian Congr.*, i, 1969, 16 ff.; *Elias Petrombeis Mavromichales* [in Greek], in *Lak. Spoud.*, ii (1975); idem, *Common linguistic phenomena of the Maina dialect with those of Zakynthos and Kythera* [in Greek], in *ibid.*, ix, 1988; idem, *Emigration of Mainots to Genoa in the 17th century* [in Greek], in *ibid.* D. Zakythenos, *The Tourkokratia. An introduction to the modern history of Hellenism* [in Greek], Athens 1957. idem, *The making of modern Greece. From Byzantium to independence*, Oxford 1976; P. Zepos, *Two pre-revolutionary plans for the liberation of Peloponnesos* [in Greek], in *Pelopon.*, vii (1969-70). And finally, among recent contributions in *Lak. Spoud.*, ix (1988), see C. Komes, *The Stephanopouloi of E. Maina. New sources and approaches* [in Greek]; G. Kotsones, *Nikolaas Pierrakes Mavromichales. Revolution and Capodistrian period* [in Greek]; Sp. Loukatos, *George Mavromichales and Ibrahim Pasha* [in Greek]; C. Mertzios-Th. Papadopoulos, *Mystras and its vicinity in the Venetian Archives during Venetian rule, 1687-1715* [in Greek]; A. Stavropoulos, *The journey of the English missionary John Hartley in Lakonia* [in Greek].

(N.A. Bées-[A. Savvides])

MORĀ [see MUK͟HĀRAD̲J̲A].

MORĀDĀBĀD [see MURĀDĀBĀD].

MORALS [see AK͟HLĀḲ].

MORDVINS [see BURTĀS].

MORISCOS, in modern historical terminology is

used to refer (a) to those Spanish Muslims who under various degrees of duress, were, between 1499 and 1526, converted to Christianity and (b) to their descendants who continued to live in Spain until the Expulsion of 1609-14. Spanish authors at first referred to them as *nuevos cristianos/convertidos de moros*, etc., New Christians or converts of Moorish origin, and it is not until the second half of the century that the term Morisco became current in this specific historical sense (it always continued to have its general sense of Moorish, as in *traje morisco* "Moorish dress"). Sometimes the term Morisco is also applied to refugees after their arrival in North Africa and other Islamic lands, where they resumed their Islamic religion, although to a certain extent they retained for some generations a distinct identity. In Arabic such people were described as *Andalus* (*sic*); the term *Muriskiyyūn* is a 20th-century loan word.

History. The first conversions occurred some years after the fall of Granada in 897/1492. The capitulation (publ. by M.A. Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, Valladolid 1969, doc. 50) seemed to guarantee the coming into being of a stable Mudéjar [*q.v.*] minority, such as had existed for centuries elsewhere in Spain. This, however, was not to be. At first, under the first Archbishop of Granada Hernando de Talavera, the settlement was in general respected (although some capitulations were violated, e.g. prohibition on the bearing of arms, fiscal policy). A rapid and massive emigration of the upper classes to North Africa (perhaps under the influence of *fatwās*, e.g. by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Wans̲h̲arīsī [*q.v.*] (*al-Miʿyār al-muʿrib wa 'l-d̲j̲āmiʿ al-mug̲h̲rib ʿan fatāwā ahl Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Andalus wa 'l-Mag̲h̲rib* (Rabat 1401/1981), ii, 119-41) started. The arrival of the Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, in 1498 marked the abandonment of the initial policy (change of laws of heritage in 1499), and an energetic drive to achieve conversions. Converts to Islam from Christianity and their descendants (*elches*, A. *ʿild̲j̲*) had had their rights guaranteed in the capitulation, but it seems that Cisneros' methods to secure their return to Christianity led in December 1499 to a revolt in the Albaicín (a quarter in Granada [see G̲H̲ARNĀṬA]) (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 812-15) which spread to the Alpujarras and had to be put down by military force (1501). Massive conversions followed, while many continued to emigrate. In February 1502 the Mudéjares of Castile (which included Granada) were offered the choice between conversion, emigration or death (Ladero Quesada, *op. cit.*, doc. 148). We may conclude, from the difficulties placed in the way of those who opted for emigration (they could only leave via the harbours in the Bay of Biscay and had to abandon most of their possessions) that conversion was what the Castilian authorities sought to achieve. In 1515 the new Castilian legislation was made applicable to Navarre when that was incorporated into the Spanish crown. Many Navarrese Mudéjar communities took refuge in Aragonese territory, but the lands of the crown of Aragon (Aragon, Valencia) were not to remain long as a refuge. In 1521-2 during the disorders of the *Germanía*, the mob turned against Mudéjar vassals who had remained steadfastly loyal to their Christian lords and subjected them to forcible baptism. The validity of such baptism was contested, but a *Junta* of theologians confirmed it in 1525. In 1526 the general conversion order of all Muslims in Aragon and Valencia was decreed. Risings in the Sierra de Espadán and Benaguacil were suppressed. Circumstances in the lands of the crown of Aragon differed from Castile, where Muslims were only a small, highly assimilated and mainly urban minority, estimated as 20,000 persons at the end of the 15th century. In Valencia they numbered approximately 30% of the population. They were mainly concentrated on secano (non-irrigated) estates belonging to the nobility, although they also occupied some irrigated land (*regadío*, esp. the *huertas*). The majority lived in rural areas, often isolated from the Christian population. In Aragon they numbered about 21%. Here too many worked in agriculture, often on *regadío* along the Ebro. In the towns many worked as craftsmen. In Catalonia numbers were small. The Moriscos in general belonged to the lower strata of society, although some, such as physicians, merchants and master builders, were able (despite the *limpieza de sangre* policy) to attain a certain well-being. Christianisation was pursued by means of evangelisation, legislation and ecclesiastical organisation. Until 1568 efforts were concentrated on the kingdom of Granada, where they numbered about 40% of the population. The possession of Islamic books was prohibited, followed by prohibitions of customs which were supposed to be connected with Islam, such as bathing, etc. The Moriscos of Granada (and Valencia) were able to negotiate postponement of interference from the Inquisition for several decades. It is not clear how far either State or Church backed the policy of assimilation and acculturation which apparently prevailed at this stage; at all events, the implementation of the policy was, for a variety of reasons, much circumscribed. Moreover, many Moriscos, especially those in the service of lords, remained subjected to taxes which they had paid as Mudéjares, to which now were added the taxes which corresponded to their new status. In Granada a new tax, the *farda*, which was to be paid by the new Christians only, was introduced before 1510. This fiscal inequality turned these lords eventually into protectors of Morisco Islam and the Moriscos into their dependants. At the beginning of the second half of the 16th century Christianisation had made little progress. In 1567 new legislation in Granada was directed not only against religion but against all manifestations of traditional culture, such as all oral and written use of Arabic, traditional dances (*zambras*), etc. At the same time, a crisis in the silk industry (aggravated by the Crown's fiscal policy) affected many Granadan Moriscos adversely. The Morisco Francisco Nuñez Muley officially put the fierce protests into words. At the end of 1568 a revolt broke out in the Alpujarras and spread throughout the kingdom of Granada. After its suppression in 1570, about 84,000 Moriscos were deported and scattered throughout Castile (some subsequently returned clandestinely). As a consequence, phenomena such as banditry, e.g. of the *monfíes* (A. *munfī*) and other manifestations of tension between the two communities, hitherto virtually unknown in Castile, became a cause of concern. Fear of contacts between Moriscos and foreign powers such as Morocco, France, the Ottoman Empire and the North African pirates, led to a ban on Moriscos residing near to the coasts. After 1570, we have to distinguish in Castile Moriscos Antiguos and Granadinos. These latter did not easily integrate into Castilian society. From 1570 onwards several radical repressive solutions were advanced, and there was in government circles already by 1582 a preference for expulsion, but the economic consequences were feared. Some individual members of the clergy, such as the Valencian Archbishop Ribera, also favoured (partial) expulsion. However, other important elements among the ecclesiastical leadership, such as

the Valencian bishops in their meeting of 1608-9, refused to declare the Moriscos collectively apostates and opted for a renewed effort to convert them. It seems that the Vatican did not approve of drastic measures. When the final decision to expel all Moriscos was taken in 1609 (doc. publ. in M. García Arenal, *Los Moriscos*, Madrid 1975, 251-5) by the Spanish authorities, it was mainly justified on grounds of national security (an alleged Morisco conspiracy with foreign powers). Moriscos at that time numbered about 320,000, probably 3% of the population. Christian lords were indemnified for the losses caused by the departure of their workforce. Between 1609 and 1614 the Moriscos were expelled in phases. Some communities were directly transported via the harbours in the south to North Africa, others crossed to France, and went — sometimes via Italy — to the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Algeria, but above all to Morocco and Tunisia. (It is known that some Moriscos escaped expulsion and remained in Spain.) Moriscos from Hornachos founded a pirate republic in Salé which was for some time independent. Tunisia was the prefered place of exile. Important here was the favourable policy of the dey [*q.v.*] ʿU<u>th</u>mān. In Portugal, from which the Mudéjares had been expelled (to Castile!) in 1497, no native crypto-Muslim population has been attested.

Religious life. In Ra<u>dj</u>ab 910/December 1504, ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥmad b. Bū <u>Dj</u>umʿa al-Ma<u>gh</u>rāwī *<u>th</u>umma* al-Wahrānī allowed the Moriscos in a *fatwā* to practise *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*] (see L.P. Harvey, *Crypto-Islam in sixteenth-century Spain*, in *Actas primer congreso de estudios árabes e islámicos*, Madrid 1964, 163-78). This *fatwā* was later translated into Spanish and copied out in *aljamía* [*q.v.*], which implies that it also circulated among the Hispanophone Moriscos of Castile and Aragon. Among the Arabic literature available to Moriscos one finds mainly simple, older works on the religious sciences and Arabic grammar (see P.S. van Koningsveld, *Andalusian-Arabic manuscripts from Christian Spain*, in *IOS* [1990]). Most works in *aljamía* are anonymous (see A. Galmés de Fuentes, *La literatura española aljamiado-morisca*, in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, ix/1, fasc. 4, Heidelberg 1985, 117-32). Aljamiado literature almost certainly flourished exclusively among the Hispanophone Moriscos (A. Labarta pointed out that an allegedly Granadan Aljamiado document should be localised in Aragon or Toledo, see *Al-Qanṭara*, ix [1988], 137-49). Some religious sciences, such as *fiḳh* and *tafsīr*, were continued in Romance, though on a basic level (see C. López Morillas, *The Qurʾān in sixteenth-century Spain*, London 1982). A number of important religious works in Romance show the influence of a *faḳīh* from Segovia, ʿĪsā b. <u>Dj</u>ābir (*ca.* 1460). Among these are the works of the Mancebo de Arévalo Harvey, *El Mancebo de Arévalo y la literatura aljamiada*, in *Actas del coloquio internacional sobre literatura aljamiada y morisca*, Madrid 1978, 21-42). This author adapted for Islamic devotional purposes extensive passages from Thomas à Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi* (in his *Sumario de la relacion y ejercicio espiritual*, see G. Fonseca Antuña, unpubl. thesis, Univ. of Oviedo 1987). Some acculturation seems to appear from the fact that at the end of the 16th century works in Arabic script were transcribed in Latin script (e.g. Toledo, *Biblioteca Pública*, ms. 235, cf. Harvey, *La leyenda morisca de Ibrahim*, in *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispànica*, xxx [1981], 1-20). The pressure of Christian society on religious life is reflected in the Inquisition documents (e.g. J. Vidal, *Quand on brûlait les Morisques (1514-1621)*, Nîmes 1986). Also connected with Christian influence are the syncretistic ideas of the Lead Books, which were from 1595 onwards discovered in the Sacramonte in Granada. It is assumed that the Moriscos Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo, interpreters in the service of Philip II, were involved in the fabrication of these lead tablets written in Arabic, which claimed to be early Christian documents (D. Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Intento de supervivencia en el ocaso de une cultura*, in *NRFH*, xxx [1981], 334-58). After the expulsion, the use of Spanish and Arabic continued, although from then onwards Spanish was almost exclusively written in Latin characters (an exception is Florence, *B.N. Centrale*, ms. II, IV, 701-1, probably copied in Salonica in 1021/1612). The majority of religious works written after the expulsion have an anti-Christian character (see on religious polemic, L. Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens. Un affrontement polémique (1492-1640)*, Paris 1977). Aḥmad b. Ḳāsim al-Ḥa<u>dj</u>arī al-Andalusī became after his flight from Spain in *ca.* 1599 interpreter at the Moroccan court. He also was a scholar and a diplomat who visited Northern Europe and wrote a *riḥla*, of which a summary, entitled *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā 'l-ḳawm al-kāfirīn*, is extant.

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MORÓN [see MAWRŪR].

MORRA [see MUKHĀRADJA].

MOSAIC [see FUSAYFISĀʾ].

MOSQUE [see MASDJID].

MOSTAGANEM [see MUSTAGHĀNIM].

MOSTAR, town and centre of a district in Herzegovina, the southern part of the Yugoslav republic of Bosna i Hercegovina (population 1895: 17,010; 1921: 18,176; 1961: 35,242; 1971: 47,600). With a yearly precipitation of 14.14 cm and an average temperature in July of 26.9 °C, Mostar is the most arid place in Yugoslavia. As a town, it is one of the relatively few clearly Ottoman foundations.

During the last decades preceding the first occupation of the Dukedom of St. Java (In Turkish, Hersek Ili) by the forces of the *sandjaḳ begi* of Bosnia, ʿĪsā Beg b. Isḥāḳ, in 871/1467 or, at the latest, early in the following year, Mostar had been a small settlement by a wooden bridge guarded by two fortification towers which spanned the river Neretva (Narenta). As a stronghold, Mostar is first mentioned in a letter dated April 1452 which, it is true, does not reveal its toponym ("do castelli al ponte de Neretua"). The earliest reference to the settlement itself and its name is an abridged (*idjmāl*) *taḥrīr defteri* of the *wilāyet-i Bosna* (Atatürk Kitaplığı, former Belediye Kütüphanesi, Cevdet Yazmaları, 0-76) which is dated, according to Šabanović, to the period from 26 January 1468 to 12 May 1469. In the *defter* Mostar is listed as a market (*bāzār*) with the alternative names of "Mosdar" and "Köprülü Ḥiṣār", and with a total of 16 (non-Muslim) households. Mostar's territory (*wilāyet*) at that time numbered 30 villages. Unlike nearby Blagaj, which had been the administrative centre of the dukedom in the pre-Ottoman period and which, together with Drin and Foča, had become a major Herzegovinian *ḳāḍīlīk* by the early 1470s, Mostar was only the seat of a *nāʾib* under the authority of the *ḳāḍī* of Foča (from 877/1473). It became an independent *ḳaḍāʾ* only after 911/1505-6, but before 925/1519 (Šabanović). From 1522 until 1522 Mostar was the seat of the *sandjaḳ begi* of Hersek Ili, who earlier had resided in Foča. By this time, the formerly small market had developed into a major commercial and administrative centre in the *sandjaḳ* of Herzegovina.

Originally, Mostar was confined to a central area on the left bank of the Neretva (around the present-day Stari grad). The oldest *maḥalle*, the nucleus of Ottoman Mostar, appears to be that of Sinān Pasha, with its Friday mosque and probably also its *ḥammām* built in 878/1474 (both buildings have not been preserved; the oldest surviving mosque being the *mesdjid* of Sultan Selīm I). The first *maḥkeme* was situated here too. By 925/1519, according to Šabanović, Mostar had 75 Christian and 19 Muslim households. The town's urban growth accelerated dramatically from about the middle of the 10th/16th century: the *djāmiʿ* around which the *maḥalle* of Geyvān Ketkhudā developed was erected in 960/1552 (to which was added a *mekteb* in 1554, a *khān* before 1558 and a *medrese* after 1558); that of Karagöz Meḥmed Beg dates from 965/1557-8 (the *maḥalle* was given a *medrese* and a *khān* before 1570, and a library in that year). Only now did Mostar begin to extend across the river to the right bank of the Neretva (*djāmiʿ* of Dizdār Naṣūḥ, middle of the 16th century), which was accompanied by the construction of two stone bridges ("Kriva ćuprija" and "Stari most"). Despite its modern name, the famous Stari most appears to be the later of the two, erected in 974/1566-7 (dated by chronograms and an inscription) as a replacement for its wooden predecessor. By 993/1585, Mostar had 14 Muslim and two Christian *maḥallāt*, one of which (Zahum) possessed a Catholic church. The earliest extant *sidjill* from Mostar contains a list of 22 Muslim and two Christian quarters (1041/1631-2). After more than a century of intense development, little was added after *ca.* 1060/1650. However, the fortified town walls were extended to include the *maḥallāt* on the right bank of the Neretva (after 1699). In the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries, the judicial and fiscal district of Mostar, excluding the *nāḥiye* of Libuška, comprised *ca.* 60 villages. During this period, Mostar developed into an important *ḳapudanlïḳ* (by 1829 there were twelve towns in the *sandjaḳ* of Herzegovina headed by a *ḳapudan* [from Italian *capitano*]). From 1248/1833 Mostar was the centre of the *mutaṣarrïflïḳ* of Hersek under its *wālī* ʿAlī Pasha Rizvanbegović (until 1851). A new complex of governmental and residential buildings (Pasha Sarāyï, erected from 1833) as well as a summer residence (completed after 1844) are the architectural expression of ʿAlī Pasha's high-flying political ambitions. Significantly, he also built a *mesdjid* (1847), founded a (Nakshbandī) dervish convent and erected a *türbe* (Šejh-Jujino turbe) over the supposed grave of a *sheykh* who had died more than a century before. With the establishment of a municipal administration (*baladiyya* [*q.v.*]), new street names (1867) and, for the first time, house numbers were introduced. Mostar became the centre of the newly-created *Hersek wilāyeti* in 1292/1875, and during the year 1293/1876 an official provincial newspaper ("Neretva") was published in Mostar. It ceased to appear when the *wilāyet* of Hersek was abolished by the end of the same year. Herzegovina again became part of the *wilāyet* of Bosna. On 5 August 1878, Austro-Hungarian troops occupied the town without firing a shot. Mostar

regained its central function when it became the administrative centre of the "Kreis" Herzegovina ("Occupationsgebiet"). In 1884, the railway line from Metkocić (Dalmatia) reached the town. Mostar's last two traditional *medreses* closed their gates in 1924, and its *rüshdiyye* school ceased operation in 1925.

Mostar houses three institutions where documents and manuscripts in oriental languages are kept (Arhiv Herzegovine [see H. Hasandedić, *Katalog arapskih, turskih i perzijskih rukopisa Arhiva Hercegovine*, Mostar 1977]; Zavičajni muzej hercegovine; and Provincijalat hercegovačkig franjevaca). A small collection of *sidjills* from Mostar is preserved in the Orijentalni Institut (Sarajevo).

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(M.O.H. Ursinus)

MOSUL [see al-mawṣil].

MOULAY [see mawlāy].

MOUNTAIN [see djabal].

MOVEMENT [see ḥaraka].

MOZAMBIQUE, in origin the name of a town, is the legal name of the People's Republic of Moçambique in south-east Africa. It lies south of Tanzania, and borders on Malawi, Zimbabwe, the Republic of South Africa and Swaziland. The state became independent from Portugal in 1975, and is formally Marxist and atheist, but the constitution "guarantees the freedom of citizens to practise or not to practise a religion". In 1980 the population was *ca.* 12.5 m., of whom 13.5%, or 1,685,000, were Muslims, 15 to 20% Roman Catholics, 5% Protestants, and the rest pagan. The Muslims are found chiefly among the coast from the R. Ruvuma to *ca.* 25°S, and are Swahili-speakers, and inland in the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Nampula, being mostly members of the Makua and Yao tribes, each of which has its own language. Disregarding Portuguese orthography, the form of Swahili is close to the Standard Swahili of Zanzibar.

The name Mozambique does not occur in Arabic literature before Aḥmad b. Mādjid (end of 9th/15th century) who writes it as *Musanbīdj*; we find it next in the *History of Kilwa* as *Musanbīh*, a work now ascribed to *ca.* 1550. In Swahili, it is *Musambiki* or *Msambiki*. In Arabic literature, and in the 16th and 17th century Portuguese writers, it is simply the name of one town among others, and never the name of the country. The practice of ascribing the name first to the coast and then to the whole area grew only slowly after Mozambique Island became the principal Portuguese settlement in 1568. The earlier name was *Bilād al-Sufāla*, as explained below.

The statement in the *Area handbook for Mozambique*, 1977 edn., that Roman coins of the 3rd and 4th centuries have been found on the coast is without foundation, and has been omitted from the 1985 edition. There is no literary or archaeological evidence for Greek, Roman or Arab visitors or of imported artefacts antedating al-Masʿūdī's voyage of 304/916, when he visited Ḳanbalū in the Bilād al-Zandj, that is to say, Pemba [*q.v.*]. He uses the term *sufāla* in a general manner, speaking of the Sufālas of the *Zandj* as the limit of the Bilād al-Sūdān; and, elsewhere, that "the sailors of ʿUmān ... travel on the Sea of the Zandj as far as the island of Ḳanbalū and Sufāla and the Waḳwaḳ." In these contexts, *sufāla* may be interpreted as "low-land" or "shoal". Al-Masʿūdī's contemporary Buzurg b. Shahriyār appears also to think of it as an area rather than what later was the settlement of Sofala, south of the present city of Beira, which at the turn of the 9th/15th century was ruled by a *shaykh* appointed by the Sultan of Kilwa [*q.v.*]. The distinctions become yet clearer in al-Idrīsī, who divides the eastern African coast into four sectors: Bilād al-Barbarā (or Barābara), the present Somali coast [see somalia]; Bilād al-Zandj [see zandj], the present coasts of Kenya and Tanzania, and the islands opposite them, with a capital at Mombasa. Bilād al-Sufāla, also known as Sufāla of the Zandj, Arḍ al-Tibr or Arḍ al-Dhahab, the "Land of Gold" par excellence; and finally Arḍ al-Waḳwaḳ, presumably an onomatopoeic word to describe a land of click-speakers such as the Bushmen (Khoisan). He lists a number of towns on the Mozambique coast, but the names are very distorted. The only one which has survived the mangling of the copyists is Ṣayūna/Ṣafūna, which is presumably the Sena of the Portuguese. This, he says, is the capital of the Sufāliyyūn, who are pagan Zandj.

The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, *ca.* 372/982-3, did not separate the Zandj from the Waḳwaḳ, but combines them as *Zangiyān-i Waḳwaḳī*. It relates that Chinese merchants go there in great numbers to barter for gold, using sign language. Reciprocally, the Sung Annals speak of the reception of envoys from the area in 1071 and again in 1083, apparently with Persian interpreters, and describe their animals, domestic products and coinage. The description of their dress is very similar to that given by the Portuguese 400 years later, as mentioned below. We do not know in detail how the gold trade developed from the hinterland of the Mozambique coast, the present Zimbabwe. The *History of Kilwa* claims that it was first controlled from Mogadishu [see maḳdishū], but that Kilwa obtained the monopoly in the 12th eentury A.D. It is not until the 16th century that Duarte Barbosa's *Book* (*ca.* 1517-18) provides us with a description of the coastal trade place by place. The southernmost settlement of "Moors"—presumably Swahili—was on the Bazaruta Islands. It traded with the mainland, collecting ambergris, pearls and seed pearls for export. Farther north at Sofala, the "Moors" spoke Arabic and had been settled for a long time. Coasting vessels from Kilwa, Mombasa [*q.v.*] and Malindi [*q.v.*] brought them cotton and silk cloths and beads; they exchanged them for gold "at such a price that those merchants departed well pleased", and for ivory and ambergris. The local people wore silk or cotton loin-cloths, with cloths over their shoulders like capes, and turbans or caps. This Sofala has long since been eroded and swept away by the sea. Inland lay the great Kingdom of the Mwene Mutapa, and his great town of Zimbaoche (Zimbabwe), the source of the gold. There were further trading centres on the River Cuama and the town of Mangaló, to which much gold came, and the great town of Angoya, now Angoche. Here there were many merchants, who traded in the same way as at Sofala. The natives spoke their own language,

"that of the heathen", "but some speak Arabic". Still farther along was Mozambique, a city on three islands and with a very good harbour, with a *sharīf* as governor, presumably an appointee of Kilwa.

In 1505 Dom Manuel I had forts built at Sofala and Kilwa, to control the coastal trade and to provide refreshment stations on the way to India. Sofala had an undue reputation for wealth: Camões speaks of *a rica Sofala*, and Milton of "Sofala, thought Ophir", a false stress as well as a misleading statement. In 1554 Portuguese establishments were set up at Sena, Tete and Quelimane, where Muslims had long been settled as traders, but outside these settlements and the Fortress of São Sebastião, which the Portuguese had built on Mozambique Island in 1568, the Portuguese writ never ran more than feebly. An attempt to conquer the Mwene Mutapa in 1570 was a disaster. In the 16th century, he was paramount in the interior, which in the 17th and 18th centuries came to be dominated by the Maravi. On the coast, hereditary chiefs, almost all Muslims, ruled a number of chiefdoms; the most important were at Quitangonha, Sancul, Sangage and Angoche. The Portuguese paid the chiefs salaries as vassals, while the chiefs regarded their salaries as tribute paid by the King of Portugal. The Portuguese were never more than few in number, as the accounts of the forts at Sofala and Mozambique, published by A. da Silva Rego up to 1588, show. When the Makua tribesmen came down and attacked Mozambique in 1750, the Portuguese could muster only thirty defenders, and in reality, the Portuguese were dependent upon the chiefs for armed support in times of friction or minor war. It was not until 1895, under international pressure, that the Portuguese instituted an effective occupation of what became known as Portuguese East Africa, until 1975 the official name for Mozambique.

Lack of materials, none known in Arabic or Swahili, and exiguous in Portuguese, makes it difficult to gauge the religious situation. There is no evidence for when Islam percolated down the coast beyond a statement in João de Barros that it came "like a slow plague". In the absence of literary evidence, a thorough archaeological survey could offer the only prospect of a solution. Francisco Raymundo Moraes Pereira, who conducted an administrative survey along the coast in 1752, and has left a unique thumb-nail sketch of coastal life at that time, missed the sailing season, and so made the journey from Quibungo to Mozambique town on foot. He found the small settlements of Portuguese and "Kafirs" to be "more Moorish than pagan". There was not much evidence of religion, and cultivation included the preparation of *nipa* brandy from wild palms. The Chief of Inhamarungo "follows the Mohammedan religion, of which he gives no indication beyond not eating pork". Only at Angoche did he find an Islam worthy of the name. A powerful chief received him, dressed in silken robes and with a gold-fringed head-dress. He spoke passable Portuguese and excellent Arabic. Throughout his chiefdom, there were public schools where the Ḳurʾān was taught and the mosques used daily.

Inland, the first conversions to Islam amongst the Makua were noted in 1771, with an increase after 1839. After 1880, two Muslim fraternities, based on the Comoro Islands [see KUMR], made progress in eastern Africa, the Shādhiliyya and the Ḳādiriyya. A Comorian author records the migration of "learned men" to Angoche to teach Arabic and Islamic law. In 1905 a Portuguese account records *côteries* of devout Muslims in the extreme north of Mozambique, who practised Islam strictly and were assiduous in attending the mosques. By 1906 Islam had reached the northern shores of Lake Malawi, within Mozambique. The conversion of the Yao seems to have taken place between 1870 and 1910. It is not known which Ṣūfī fraternity was responsible, nor do we know of the motives, general or individual, for the conversions. An account survives of the installation of a chief at Quitangonha in 1874 which suggest a high degree of syncretism. The ceremony combined Islamic, Makua, Portuguese and Swahili rituals. The Portuguese official dignitaries arrived by boat. Two lines of women, singing and dancing, and playing *cuche-cuches* (wooden spoons), walked into the water to greet them. A procession formed, and the Portuguese Army played the National Anthem, Catholic hymns and patriotic marches. There followed a service of prayers in the mosque. Flour was then placed on the new chief's head. Seven months later the Makua shot him in the back.

At the present time (1990) the disturbed state of the country and the fact that the nominal government is not in full control makes any research or accurate assessment of the situation impossible.

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

MOZARAB, Spanish *mozarabe*, Portuguese *moçarabe*, Catalan *mossarab*, a word of uncertain origin for which two etymologies have been propounded. In the 13th century, the Archbishop Rodrigo Ximenez (*De rebus Hispaniae*, iii, 22) declared

that the Christians living under Muslim rule after the conquest of 92/711 "Dicti sunt *mixti arabes*, eo quod mixti Arabibus convivebant". This Latin-based interpretation is the earliest known etymology of the word Mozarab. However, Arabist scholars of the 19th century (following F.J. Simonet) considered it an arabism, derived from *musta*ʿ*rab*, *musta*ʿ*rib* with the sense of "arabised, one who becomes arabised", an opinion generally accepted.

It is however disturbing to note that Hispano-Arabic texts are quite unaware of this term and never use it to describe the indigenous Christians, who are designated by the names *ʿadjam*, *naṣrānī*, *dhimmī*, *muʿāhid*, *mushrik* or *rūmī*. The first known reference is in a document from Léon *ca.* 1024, which mentions "muzaraves de rex tiraceros". It would seem appropriate to deduce from this that the name in question is not an original nomenclature, conveyed by emigrants themselves, but a sobriquet. It would thus be an insult, cast by the Christian conquerors against those who preferred to stay rather than flee from the invader and were thus open to the charge of "collaborating" with the occupying power. The Mozarab was thereby considered a dubious element, having suffered the contagion of the Arabo-Muslim enemy; in other words, he was "arabised", "impure", a type of hybrid, of mixed blood hence *mixti arabes*. This interpretation has the advantage of clarifying the "severe" policy of Alfonso VI towards this group, after the conquest of Toledo in 1085, according in this respect with the directives of the monks of Cluny and the position of Pope Gregory VII who had decided to extirpate the "superstitio Toletanae".

The term Mozarab (variants: *muzaraves*, *muztarabes*, *moçarabes* and *mozarabos*) would therefore have originated in Christian territory and not in the Arab-Islamic zone. It is thus perfectly legitimate to apply it to their artistic manifestations outside the frontiers of al-Andalus (illumination of the manuscripts of the *Beatus*, chapels constructed in the kingdom of Léon during the 9-10th centuries, etc.) and to their liturgy, which is preserved at Toledo. On the other hand, to insist (as with Simonet, Cagigas, Lévi-Provençal and others) on accepting as authentic Mozarabs only the Christians of al-Andalus, is paradoxical. This approach, running counter to the attitude of historians of art, music and literature, has the effect of limiting the study of Mozarabism to the *naṣārā dhimmiyyūn* alone, hindering the understanding and appreciation of the breadth of the historical phenomenon.

The existence and continuing presence of Christians in al-Andalus were among the consequences of the Arabo-Muslim occupation of 92/711 and the manner in which the latter was administered. It is now generally accepted that it is not appropriate to talk of conquest, but rather of the political submission of the inhabitants, there being virtually no resistance, with the exception of the battle of the Wādī Lakko [*q.v.*]. The absence of resistance and the fact of capitulation imply the preservation of former structures (capped by an Islamic political superstructure) in the sense of *muʿāhidūn* and *dhimmiyyūn* [see MUʿĀHADA and DHIMMA]. We are fortunate in knowing the text of the "treaty of Tudmīr", dated 94/713, which guaranteed the maintenance of the previous order (non-intervention in internal affairs, protection of property, freedom of worship and freedom from enslavement). Those who were covered by the *dhimmat Allāh* were bound not to give sanctuary to fugitive slaves or to enemies, not to conceal information concerning adversaries and to pay annually a *djizya* [*q.v.*], a sum calculated partly in gold and partly in kind. The maintenance of property in the ownership of those who capitulated is a fact known and confirmed by the case of the possessions of Tudmīr, the Bānū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] of Aragon, the descendants of Witiza, etc.

The indigenous Christians also retained their administrative, judicial and religious structures. It is thus that we find a *comes*/*ḳūmis* [*q.v.*] acting as chief representative of his community in dealing with the Islamic state. In view of the fact that the state did not deal directly with individuals as such, but with their community, considered responsible for the economic status of each of its members, the *comes* found himself invested with fiscal functions (*exceptor*/*mustakhridj*) and judicial functions (*censor*/*ḳāḍī 'l-naṣārā, ḳāḍī 'l-ʿadjam*) which he could either exercise personally or delegate. The preservation of religious structures is evident from our knowledge of the existence of numerous churches and convents, the maintenance of the episcopal sees of Toledo, Saragossa, Seville, Cordova, Mérida, Malaga, Ecija, Péchina and Elvira, the "voluntary martyrdom" movement, the expedition of Alphonso I of Aragon in 1125-6 against Granada, from which he withdrew followed by 10,000 Mozarabs and the *fatwā* [*q.v.*] of Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd justifying the deportation to the Maghrib ordered by the Almoravid ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, as well as the conversion decreed by the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin.

It is indisputable that in the 2nd/8th century the overwhelming majority of the population of al-Andalus was composed of indigenous Christians. But the Muslim community very quickly added to its strength through a combined programme of immigration, mixed marriages (Muslim and *dhimmiyya*), and, especially, through the conversion of numerous native *musālima* [*q.v.*] and through the *muwallad* [*q.v.*] descendants of mixed marriages. Conversions were conducted, after renunciation of the former faith, according to precise legal formulae, of which we possess examples from the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries for Christians, Jews and Madjūs [*q.v.*] (*Le passage à l'Islam dans al-Andalus*, in *Actes UEAI* [1986], 161-83). This explains the numerical diminution of the *naṣārā dhimmiyyūn*, coinciding with a significant cultural erosion (absence of creativity, isolation, simple repetition of meagre Visigothic patterns of learning which had fallen into disuse, etc.) as the Christians found themselves in a position of inferiority, confronted with a brilliant world-wide civilisation which was, furthermore, occupying a status of political and socio-economic dominion. To this may be added the weight of oppressive taxation, which was applied in particular to the Christian subjects of the state. In the 3rd/9th century, during the emirate of Muḥammad I, it is known that the latter paid three-and-a-half times more than the Muslims (M. Barcelo, *Estudio sobre la estructura fiscal...*, in *Acta Mediaevalia*, vi [1985], 45-72). This oppressive taxation did not fail to accelerate the process of conversion to Islam.

It was thus in a climate of economic crisis, demographic recession and cultural erosion that there came into being the extremist movement of "provocative martyrdom", which Simonet and his followers regard as the symbol of Mozarabism. In fact, in sociological terms, we are confronted with a violent reaction in face of a loss of cultural identity. It is a case of forward-looking defiance, seeking, by the use of "suicide martyrs" to provoke an irreversible rupture of Islamo-Christian coexistence in al-Andalus, a coexistence which implied, within a relatively short period—according to the analysis of the agitators themselves—the disappearance of the

Romano-Christian personality and its assimilation into Arabo-Muslim society. In this sense, there has been misunderstanding of the testimony provided in 854 by the *Indiculus luminosus* (constantly repeated) regarding the increasing ignorance of Latin. The emphasis and the anguish of Alvarus were not concentrated on this point but, judging by the length and the violence of the paragraph, on Islamisation, and, in a subsidiary fashion, on its historical corollary, arabisation. The real danger felt was cultural: the adoption of clothing, hair-styles, fashions, circumcision, polygamy, dietary restrictions, music, literature, etc.

The technique followed by the "suicide martyrs" was simple. In the majority of cases there was first a "provocation", consisting in insulting in a manifest and public manner either the person of the Prophet, or the Islamic religion, or both. These actions took place preferably during the communal Friday prayers, or even before the bench of the *ḳāḍī*. This constituted the legal crime of blasphemy (*istikhfāf*) requiring the execution of the culprit. Four-fifths of the 51 cases recorded belong expressly to this genre. The eight other cases are technically apostasies, the consequences of "conversion by consanguinity", the *sharīʿa* stipulating that minors become Muslims *ipso facto* with the conversion of the father. It was among these former minors who, on attaining their majority, sought to reclaim their Christianity, that there were recruited the majority of lay persons executed for the crime of apostasy (*irtidād* [see MURTADD]). It may be noted that at least 75% of those condemned were priests or monks and that cases of *istikhfāf* were an almost exclusively male phenomenon. With three exceptions, all the known cases took place at Cordova. This is explained by the nature of the available sources (all emanating from Cordova) and, especially, by the fact that the centre of agitation was located in the capital.

It is clear that the ideologue was the priest Spera in Deo (the principal actors were all his disciples or had been in contact with them). The focus of the movement was located in the monastery of Tabanos (the activity ended of its own accord following the destruction of the monastery by Muḥammad I). The agitator and propagandist was, indisputably, Eulogius, who composed the *Memoriale sanctorum* (during the latter's absence from Cordova, agitation eased, fading away definitively after his execution). Finally, there is the apologist and historian of the movement, Alvarus, author of the *Vita Eulogii* and *Indiculus luminosus*. Naturally, such an extremist attitude could not fail to polarise opinions. On the one hand, there was the small activist group of potential "suicide martyrs", and on the other, the overwhelming majority of Christians, supporters of the *status quo*, wanting only to live their lives, if possible without drawing attention to themselves and thus causing problems.

The latter position was also that of the Umayyad amīrate, seeking, politically, to maintain public order (at the least expense) and, fiscally, to retain the value of its tax levies undiminished. It was in this spirit of continuity that the Council of Cordova was convened in 852, presided over by Recafred, Bishop of Seville, and the *exceptor* Gomez, representing the Islamic administration. The Council (with the single exception of Saul, bishop of Cordova) condemned voluntary sacrifice as a form of disguised suicide. The dissidents were imprisoned by the ecclesiastical authorities. The execution in 858 of Eulogius marks the end of the "martyrdom" movement.

During the amīrate of Muḥammad I, the pressure of taxation was intensified considerably. As a result of the new census carried out by the Bishop Hostegesis, it extended to all parishes, even the most remote. There was thus a new reaction against Muslim society but, this time, discontent was to be expressed differently. The movement benefited from the instability caused by the crisis of adaptation of the structures of the primitive Arabo-Muslim conquering society to the conditions of a new situation, the situation created by the growing number of neo-Muslims (*muwallad, muladi*) and their need for integration. There was a series of widespread rebellions, and the Christians seized the opportunity to express their separatist tendencies. It may be noted that the "martyrs" had constituted an urban and religious reaction; now it was the rural areas which were affected, and the manifestations of revolt of a political nature (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muktabas*, iii; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*). In this sense it is symptomatic that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, during his first campaigns to recapture rebel-held fortresses (e.g. Juviles), executed only their Christian defenders, no doubt considered "incorrigible". But the fact should not be ignored that there was, within Bobastro itself, a significant group of supporters of the *pax islamica*, led by the bishop Ibn Maḳsim and other Christian dignitaries (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, v, 74, 92, 92, 119, 135) and clearly opposed to the rebellious Ḥafṣūnid policy since 300/912 at least.

Simonet sought to make of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*] the "symbol and champion of Christian nationalism", whereas in fact this was a simple political revolt. The conversion of ʿUmar is far from being historically proved (*Precisiones acerca de ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn*, in *Actas Jornadas Cultura Arabe* [1985], 163-75); in addition, he never sought to ally himself with the Christian kingdoms of Spain and remained under Islamic (ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid) sovereignty. His capitulation to the Umayyad caliphate in 303/915 and the surrender of the last Ḥafṣūnids in 315/927 marked the end of Christian political movements.

Henceforward, there was room for only two tendencies: integration of the *naṣārā dhimmiyyūn* into Muslim society or emigration towards the Christian zones. Very soon, the *naṣārā* are seen acting as aides to the policies of the the caliphate. Thus in 329/941, the bishops of Seville, Péchina and Elvira were sent to the court of Ramiro II with the object of obtaining the release of Muḥammad b. Hāshim al-Tudjībī. Thus in 955 Bishop Recemundus (alias Rabīʿ b. Zayd) was *inter palatina offitia*, ambassador to the court of Emperor Otto I; a little later he was sent on a similar mission to Constantinople. The same Recemundus served as interpreter to John of Gorza and Walīd b. Khayzurān for Ordoño IV; and it was Aṣbagh b. Nabīl who, in 394/1004, arbitrated in the dispute between Menendo Gonzales and the Castilian Count Sancho Garcia. These Mozarabs also participated in the cultural movement; Rabīʿ b. Zayd composed in 350/961 the *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ/Calendar of Cordova*, and other indigenous Christians collaborated in the translation of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides. There is much discussion regarding a supposed Mozarabic Romance lyric which allegedly led, by means of the *khardja* [*q.v.*], to the appearance of strophic forms such as the *zadjal* and the *muwashshaḥ* [*q.vv.*]. Later, the *dhimmīs* are found acting (for political and fiscal reasons) as the indispensable administrative assistants of the petty monarchs of the *ṭāʾifas* [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF. 2. In Spain].

The other alternative was emigration from Andalusian territory. Evidently, for ideological reasons, the *naṣārā dhimmiyyūn* were drawn towards their co-religionists of the north, but there were other motives

too. The Christian kingdoms could only continue to expand by successfully colonising the territories that they had occupied to the north of the Douro. These territories were virtually uninhabited, and it was therefore necessary to repopulate them. One method used was to induce the Asturian mountain-dwellers to leave their traditional homes and settle the land (guaranteeing to them their own law, tax exemptions, rights of tenure and agriculture); the other was to attract immigrants from al-Andalus. Such was the policy which enabled Alfonso III to colonise the conquered territories and to rebuild fortresses (Zamora 893), designed to protect the new "frontier". Naturally, the Christian appeal worked most strongly on monks and those with religious vocations, and among the emigrants one was to become Bishop of Orense and others were to found monasteries (San Miguel de Escalada in 913, San Cebrian de Mazote in 916, San Martín de Castañeda in 921, San Facundus/Sahagún in 935) which consituted typical examples of Mozarabic architecture. These emigrants brought with them their knowledge of the language (writing Arabic glosses on Latin manuscripts, disseminating Arabo-Islamic works and composing the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* of Leiden), constituted the base of the intellectual movement of the "School of Translators of Toledo", introduced Arabo-Islamic tastes, usages, crafts and official posts (for example the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ/çavaçougue* who appears from 1020 onward in the *fuero* of Léon). In this sense, it is undeniable that they contributed powerfully to the intellectual and cultural arabisation of the Christian kingdoms.

These emigrants were well aware of the internal political situation of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*. They thus had an innate vocation as "experts on Islamic affairs" and as such, were bound to exert a certain influence over Christian policy in the 11th century. It is thus that we see Sisnando Dividiz (Amīr ʿAbd Allāh, *Tibyān*; García Gómez and Menéndez Pidal, *El conde Sisnando Davidiz y la política de Alfonso VI con los Taifas*, in *al-Andalus*, xii [1947], 24-41), a native of Tentugal, in the service of al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*], and later in that of Ferdinand I, to whom in 1064 he recommended the conquest of Coimbra, of which he was the first governor: "Ego Sesnandu gratia Dei *consul* conimbriensis... et *alvacilem* dominum Sisnandum Colimbricensem." He subsequently became assistant and adviser on Islamic affairs to Alfonso VI, and the one responsible for his policy of economic harassment against the Andalusian petty monarchs (the *parias*). It is evidently he who was behind the surrender of Toledo and the conditions stipulated for nascent Mudéjarism. This is clearly the case, since the firm and intransigent line taken by the monks of Cluny and Queen Constance were to lead to his replacement as governor of Toledo by Pedro Ansurez.

The Mozarabs were by this time no longer indispensable, being replaced demographically by the influx of European emigrants, and the land being no longer neglected but cultivated by the Mudéjars [*q.v.*]. Culturally, they were to be replaced in the future by Cluny and the French influence. It was during this period that Pope Gregory VII decided to extirpate what he called the "superstitio Toletanae" (which was nothing other than the ancient Visigothic liturgy and chant). In order to do this, in 1077, Alfonso VI resorted to a double ordeal (by fire and judicial combat), of which he did not accept the result, suppressing the ancient Hispanic rite in his dominions in 1080 "for all those who were not Mozarabs or their descendants". (The Mozarabic rite was to be revived in Toledo in 1500 by Cardinal Cisneros.) Paradoxically, following the seizure of Toledo, it was no longer the kingdom of Castile-Léon which was the centre of the Mozarab movement, the latter migrating towards the Levant (where the Cid exercised a rather more tolerant policy) and Aragon, where Alfonso I was to concede to them the *fuero* of 1126 (imitated in 1156 by Alfonso VII of Castile).

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(P. Chalmeta)

MSHATTA [see al-mu̱s̱ẖattā].

MSĪD [see kuttāb].

MSĪLA [see masīla].

MTAMBWE MKUU, an islet off Weti, Pemba Island, Tanzania, is in all probability mentioned twice by al-Dj̲āḥiẓ, and is given as one of the two independent cities mentioned on the island by Yāḳūt, s.v. *al-Dj̲azīra al-K̲h̲aḍrāʾ*, the ordinary name for Pemba in Arabic. He records the name as متنبى *M.T.N.BY*, and the second city as مكنبلوا *M.K.NB.LŪ*, the Ḳanbalū mentioned by al-Dj̲āḥiẓ, al-Masʿūdī and numerous others. Yāḳūt reports that the sultan was an Arab from al-Kūfa who had emigrated in order to settle there, which might suggest that the settlement was of no great antiquity; but al-Dj̲āḥiẓ's reference would suggest that it was already in existence in the 9th century, and that perhaps in Yāḳūt's time it had undergone a change of government. The toponym *M.T.N.BY* does not occur earlier than al-Dj̲āḥiẓ. The site was investigated in 1984-6 by Dr M.C. Horton, and covers 800 x 400 yards. There are the remains of stone buildings and fortifications. Ceramic finds so far have not antedated *ca.* 1050, and continue to the 19th century. On the surface, however, an ʿAbbāsid *dīnār* and a Fāṭimid *dīnār*, together with a fragment of an Axumite gold piece, possibly of the 6th century ruler Joal, have been found, and, some 40 yards away, some 2,000 silver pieces loose in sand. With them were seven Fāṭimid gold pieces, ranging from 969 to 1065, and three imitations, together with a cloth pouch in which the whole hoard had evidently been contained before it was disturbed by agricultural operations. This remarkable find, the first such of silver south of the Equator, disclosed the

names of nine Muslim rulers hitherto unknown. They are clearly local, and in the style described by J. Walker as Kilwa type. The obverses have a pious expression with one of the Beautiful Names of God (or a similar epithet), chosen to rhyme with the name of the ruler on the reverse. The script, in floriated Kūfic of great delicacy and refinement, resembles certain of the issues of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan of Kilwa and of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī of Zanzibar, as hitherto described. Together with copper pieces of other rulers, it is possible to reconstruct a genealogy that covers four or five generations. The other finds, which vary in quantity from place to place all the way from Shanga in the Lamu archipelago to Kilwa in Tanzania, and including Pemba, Zanzibar and Mafia, suggest a local dynasty somewhat resembling the Ayyūbids, who ruled contemporaneously with different members of the family in different capitals. The close resemblance of the coins, scarcely distinguishable in style from one another without close inspection, suggests a single workshop and a short-lived dynasty. Their high standard of craftsmanship may be taken as a reflection of the local standard of civilisation. That the ceramic does not antedate *ca.* 1050 provides a certain difficulty, that can be overcome if it is accepted that the capital may then have recently moved.

The name Mtambwe is of special interest, because the Bantu root—*tamb*—is recorded otherwise only in connection with a secret witchcraft cult and with sacrifices for the dead. For such a cult, or cults, Pemba is celebrated (or notorious) throughout eastern Africa, and as far away as Zaïre.

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(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

MUʾADHDHIN [see adhān; masdjid. I. G. 4].

MUʾADHDHIN [see adhān; masdjid. I.C.3, D.2.b,e].

MUʿĀHADA (a.) treaty, agreement: 1. In earlier times: See for this, ʿahd; baḳṭ; imtiyāzāt.

2. In modern times. We find *muʿāhede* or *muʿāhedet* in Ottoman Turkish: *moʿāhede, moʿāhedat*, in Persian and Urdu.

The Ottoman official term for "treaty" was either *muʿāhede*, borrowed from the Arabic, or *ʿahd-nāme*, borrowed from the Persian. At the height of Ottoman power, most treaties constituted one-sided proclamations, phrased as expressions of the Sultan's own will to grant privileges to foreign states or their subjects. These were generally called *ʿahd-nāme* [see imtiyāzāt, esp. at iii, 1189 ff.], such as the 1604 agreement of Aḥmed I with Henry IV of France; and the treaty with Spain (reprinted in Ferīdūn's collection, ii, 389). More rarely, treaties were known as *muʿāhede*, e.g. Süleymān's agreement with Austria in 970/1563. Treaties (both bilateral and multilateral) were often imposed on the Ottoman Empire, as its political and military power declined, particularly since the end of the 11th/17th century. Their style changed, accordingly, from proclamations to negotiated documents, of which the first was probably the agreement drawn up at the Peace of Carlowitz [see karlofča] in 1699. This and subsequent treaties were contracted in the spirit of Hugo Grotius's *Law of Nations*, which was considered neutral by both Islam and Christendom. After that, the term *muʿāhede* was increasingly employed, although *ʿahd-nāme* was still used at times. The general structure of these treaties, however, remained constant (as did other Ottoman documents; see diplomatic, esp. at ii, 314-15); (a) Praise to Allāh; (b) Blessing of the Prophet Muḥammad; (c) The scope and importance of the treaty; (d) Declaration of intent to refrain from any action contrary to the treaty; (e) A detailed explanation of the nature of the treaty; (f) Why the treaty must be observed; (g) Beseeching Allāh to aid the contracting parties in remaining loyal to one another; and (h) Date.

These changes in substance and style were reflected in dictionaries of the Ottoman and Turkish Republican eras. Those of Meninski (1680 and 1780) and even Bianchi (1837) merely mentioned that *muʿāhede* meant "treaty", whereas later dictionaries, such as those of Redhouse (1890), the *Ḳāmūs-u Türkī* of Sāmī and the *Lughat-i Nādjī* (both 1318/1900-1) emphasised bilateral features. Official and private usage continued to employ the term *muʿāhede* during the 1920s and early 1930s (see examples in the *Bibl.*, below). In 1935, the Türk Dil Kurumu's *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye cep kılavuzu* translated *muʿāhede* as *antlaşma*; the latter term (sometimes written *andlaşma*) generally superseded the former. Still, in 1944, the Türk Hukuk Kurumu's *Türk hukuk lûgatı* listed the following uses: *muahede*—treaty; *hakem muahedesi*—bond of arbitration; *ittifak muahedesi*—alliance agreement; *ticaret muahedesi*—commercial convention; *ikamet muahedesi*—convention respecting conditions of residence and business; *sulh muahedesi*—treaty of peace; and *dostluk muahedesi*—treaty of friendship. According to V. Heyd (*Language reform in modern Turkey*, Jerusalem 1954, 99), on the same day in 1953, three different newspapers in Istanbul used, respectively, *muahede, andlaşma* and *pakt* for the same agreement. While Ottoman treaties were always in Turkish, they were usually accompanied by versions in European languages, generally French, although English, Italian and other languages were also used at times. Those of the Turkish Republic were in Turkish, frequently accompanied by a translation: into French in the early years, subsequently into the languages relevant to the signatories.

In Arabic, *muʿāhada* or *ʿahd* has sometimes been used interchangeably with *ittifāḳ* or *ittifāḳiyya* (the former may also mean "contract", while the latter means, more strictly, "agreement"). Its employment in the sense of "treaty" appears to have been borrowed from 19th century Ottoman usage by officials, scholars and journals concerned with international relations. Al-Ṭahṭāwī, *al-Taʿrībāt al-ṣāfiya*, Cairo 1834, i, 77, and Ḥasan Ḳāsim, *Taʾrīkh mulūk fransā*, Cairo 1264, 305, use *muʿāhada* to describe the Swiss confederation; but *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya* (Cairo), no. 92 (1847), 2, employs the term for a commercial agreement, and no. 126 (1848), 3, uses *muʿāhadat al-ṣulḥ* for peace treaty. In 1870, Buṭrus al-Bustānī's *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* (ii, 1491) defined *muʿāhada* as follows: "The *muʿāhada*, as used by politicians, is a contract (*ittifāḳ*) undertaken by two states, generally referring to defined aspects of commerce, politics (*siyāsa*), or other matters; also known as *ʿahidnāme*." A collection of documents, chiefly from the Arabic-language periodical *al-Djawāʾib*, published in Istanbul in seven volumes and entitled *Kanz al-raghāʾib fī muntakhabāt al-Djawāʾib*, included (v, 1294/1877, 6-15) the text of the

1856 Paris Peace Treaty, rendered as *Muʿāhadat sanat 1856*. The term *muʿāhada*, as employed by officials and journalists in the late 19th century, apparently first achieved widespread usage in a collection of official documents, not coincidentally comprising Ottoman treaties since 1740, in an Arabic translation, entitled *al-Muʿāhadāt al-dawliyya 'llatī ʿaḳadathā 'l-dawla al-ʿaliyya* (Cairo 1896).

Later, the term was increasingly employed by Arab states achieving independence or a semi-independent status, as in the 1915 agreements between Great Britain, al-Idrīsī, and Ibn Saʿūd (texts in ʿAlam al-Dīn's *ʿUhūd*, 62-3 and 64-6). Since the end of the First World War, the term was employed both for bilateral treaties between Arab states themselves (e.g. the 1931 treaty for the extradition of offenders between ʿIrāḳ and Egypt) and with the Powers (as in the 1930 Treaty of Alliance between ʿIrāḳ and Great Britain, or between Egypt and Great Britain in 1936), as well as for mutilateral treaties (e.g. the Convention and Statute of Freedom of Transit, Barcelona 1921, or the Convention and Statute on the International Régime of Maritime Ports, Geneva 1923). The same applied to Arabic collections of treaties (e.g. by D̲j̲ānā, 1355/1937) or studies in international law (e.g. by G̲h̲ānim, 1961). The term was also referred to by *ʿulamāʾ*, particularly in connection with secular politics: the authorities of al-Azhar, after due consideration, published a lengthy statement supporting the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty (*al-Muʿāhada taḳūm fī ḥudūd al-ḥukm al-Islāmī*, in *al-Ahrām*, 10 May 1979, 1, 10). Arabic treaties are frequently accompanied by translations, generally in French or English.

In Persian, *moʿāhedeh* or *ʿahd-nāmeh* has been sometimes used interchangeably with *ḳarārdād* (which also means "contract"), *paymān* (often employed in the sense of "pact" as well) and recently *muwāfaḳat-nāmeh* (which also means "agreement"). The term appears in sources of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries in the sense of "alliance" or "agreement" (Nīs̲h̲ābūrī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Bayhaḳī*, etc.) and was later adopted to mean "treaty". By the 19th century, these terms were used in common; the dictionaries of Charles Wilkins (1806) and Francis Johnson (1852) render *moʿāhedeh* as "agreement" and *ʿahd-nāmeh* as "letters of agreement".

As a long-standing independent state, Persia has contracted numerous treaties over the years. In 969/1561-2, a mission from the Ottoman Sultan Süleymān came to the Ṣafavid court of S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp I and contracted a treaty (*ʿahd-nāmeh*) of friendship and an agreement for extradition of political criminals, as a result of which Bāyezīd, son of Süleymān, who had found refuge in Persia, was handed over to the Sultan's representatives. In April 1617, a commercial treaty was signed between S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I and King James I of England. The first treaty with France was signed at Versailles in 1664, followed by a second in 1708. In 1148/1735-6, Nādir S̲h̲āh contracted a peace treaty with the Russian Government, according to which the cities of Derbend and Baku were returned to Persia. In the 19th century, several treaties were contracted with Great Britain (political and commercial agreements in 1801, a definitive treaty of friendship and alliance in 1812 and many others) and with Russia (Treaty of Gulistān, 1813; of Türkmančāy, 1828; Peace and Friendship, 1828; and numerous others)—these being the two Powers most actively interested in Persia at the time. However, while most earlier treaties were freely negotiated, the treaty of Türkmančāy with Russia was signed under duress and granted to Russia extraterritorial rights, similar to the capitulations in the Ottoman Empire [see IMTIYĀZĀT, esp. at iii, 1191-2). As Persia commenced modernisation, numerous other treaties were drawn up; in 1857 alone, treaties were contracted with Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Sweden, to which treaties of friendship and commerce with other states were added subsequently. Such treaties were usually written in Persian and French and later—since the end of the Second World War—in Persian and English. Traditionally, treaties contracted by Persia had the following general structure: (a) Praise to Allāh; (b) A preamble, presenting the signatories and noting the intent of the treaty; (c) The treaty itself; (d) Ratification and validity; and (e) Place and date.

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(J.M. Landau)

MUʾĀKHĀT (a.) "brothering", is a practice found in the early days of Islam by which two men became "brothers".

The best-known example is the "brothering" by Muḥammad of Emigrants from Mecca with Muslims from Medina. This may have happened soon after he reached Medina, but is placed by Ibn Isḥāḳ just before the battle of Badr, accompanied by a list of thirteen such pairs (Ibn Hishām, 344-6). It is clear, however, from Ibn Ḥabīb (*Muḥabbar*, 70 f.) that there had previously been some "brothering" at Mecca, and he gives a list of nine pairs. This is confirmed partly by Ibn Isḥāḳ's statement that Muḥammad himself was "brothered" with ʿAlī and his uncle Ḥamza with Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and also by a number of statements in the notices of individual Meccan

Muslims in Ibn Saᶜd's *Ṭabaḳāt*, even though there are some discrepancies. Ibn Ḥabīb goes on to speak of "brotherings" at Medina between an Emigrant and an Anṣārī, and has a list of over fifty pairs. He says this "brothering" was made on the basis "of right (?) and of sharing" (*ᶜalā 'l-ḥaḳḳ wa 'l-muʾāsāt*), and implied that, if a man died, his "brother" was to inherit from him in preference to his kinsmen. This arrangement may be referred to in the first part of Ḳurʾān, VIII, 72, though it only speaks of the Emigrants and Anṣār as *awliyāʾ*, presumably in the sense of giving mutual protection. The right of inheritance by a "brother" is said to have been abrogated by VIII, 75 (or IV, 33 or XXXIII, 6); and Ibn Ḥabīb says VIII, 75, was revealed before any one had inherited in this way. There are several accounts of how the wealthy Anṣārī Saᶜd b. Rabīᶜ gave his "brother" ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAwf not only half of his property but also one of his two wives. The statement of Ibn Hishām (933) that Muḥammad "brothered" the later caliph Muᶜāwiya [*q.v.*] with a man of Tamīm (which must have been about the year 10/631) remains mysterious, though when the man died during Muᶜāwiya's caliphate the latter claimed his inheritance. Al-Wāḳidī (724, 778) mentions leaders of expeditions pairing men and telling them not to separate from one another in battle, but the word he uses is *allafa.*

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al-**MUʾALLAFA ḲULŪBUHUM** (a.), lit. "those whose hearts are won over", the term applied to those former opponents of the Prophet Muḥammad who are said to have been reconciled to the cause of Islam by presents of 100 or 50 camels from Muḥammad's share (the fifth or *khums* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) of the spoils of the battle of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*], after Muḥammad's forces had defeated the Hawāzin [*q.v.*] confederation, and divided out at al-Djiᶜrāna. The list (given in Ibn Hishām, 880-1, tr. Guillaume, 594-5; al-Wāḳidī, ed. J.M.B. Jones, 939 ff., tr. Wellhausen, 373 ff.; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 1679-80) included the Meccan leader Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] and his sons Muᶜāwiya [*q.v.*] and Yazīd and various Bedouin chiefs from the tribes of western Arabia. The actual phrase is connected with Ḳurʾān, IX, 60, which W.M. Watt has, however, shown to refer to gifts from the *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*] to two Bedouin chiefs on a previous occasion, the two incidents having been subsequently conflated by tendentious opponents of the Umayyads (see his *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 73-5, 348-53; cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*[2], Paris 1969, 182-4).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also all the *fiḳh* books, in the sections on *zakāt*. (Ed.)

al-**MUᶜALLAḲĀT** (a.) a collection of pre-Islamic Arabic poems, generally numbered at seven. The tradition of poetical anthologies is old, and has left traces in every aspect of later poetic criticism. The *Muᶜallaḳāt* form the most celebrated of these, and the place assigned to them by Arab literary men has not been without a certain overshadowing effect on western criticism in its turn.

It seems that the anthology was, like several others, put together towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century by the transmitter Ḥammād [*q.v.*], called "al-Rāwiya"; it seems to have been already known to Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*] in the next century not under that title but as "the Seven" (*Shiᶜr*, ed. Shākir, i, 188). The qualification of *muᶜallaḳāt*, of uncertain origin, probably appears around this time. Among the proposed etymologies, the oldest, and probably the one most to be regarded with caution, claims that the universal admiration for these poems led the ancients to write them on cloth in letters of gold (whence the other appellation of *mudhahhabāt*, applied to collections which contain all or a part of these same poems) and to suspend them (*ᶜallaḳa*) on the walls of the Kaᶜba. Among those giving this explanation, one might mention Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi (d. 329/940), Ibn Rashīḳ (mid-5th/11th century), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) and some modern critics who are little affected by knowledge of criticism. Others, such as Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950), reject this without being able to substitute for it any more satisfactory etymology. Modern Arabists, since the time of Lyall (*Ancient Arabian poetry*, London 1885), hold the more feasible view that the connection with the use of *ᶜilḳ*, pl. *aᶜlāḳ* in the sense of "necklace, ornament" often found in the titles of old works of the anthology or collection type, makes a rendering with the meaning of "collars" or "hanging jewels" more likely.

Since the time of the origins of the poems, the number and identity of the authors of the *Muᶜallaḳāt* have themselves varied. The present-day observer, whose own subjective choice naturally has no validity here, can only take cognisance of the lists successively put forward through the ages. Al-Aṣmaᶜī (d. 213/828) seems already to have gathered together six poems under the title of *K. al-Ḳaṣāʾid al-sitt*, according to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, Cairo n.d., 88). Abū ᶜUbayda (d. 209/824) and then Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) knew of a collection of seven poems, a tradition which seems to take fixed shape with the *Djamhara* of Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī (end of the 3rd/9th century), which contains the names of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, al-Aᶜshā Maymūn b. Ḳays, Labīd b. Rabīᶜa, ᶜAmr b. Kulthūm and Ṭarafa b. al-ᶜAbd. Ibn al-Naḥḥās for his part lists Imruʾ al-Ḳays, Ṭarafa, Zuhayr, Labīd, ᶜAmr, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza and ᶜAntara b. Shaddād. These fairly varying lists are perhaps to be explained in certain cases by the evolution of cricitism, but more likely from combinations of circumstances involving tribal rivalries. All these persons lived substantially before the coming of Islam, in highly diverse and often antagonistic changes of circumstance: Christian, Jewish, Ghassānid environments, tribal confederations, etc., whose tensions must only have become gradually relaxed, leaving their traces in the literary judgments of the earliest, and often in much later, times.

Moreover, around the same time there appeared the collection of nine poems, adding to Ibn al-Naḥḥās's selection the names of al-Nābigha and al-Aᶜshā (e.g. in al-Zawzanī, 5th/11th century).

Finally, another critic of the opening years of the 6th/12th century, al-Tibrīzī, enumerates ten *Muᶜallaḳāt* by adding to the previous names that of ᶜAbīd b. al-Abraṣ. Clearly, the only names common to all the lists are those of Imruʾ al-Ḳays. Ṭarafa, Zuhayr, Labīd and ᶜAmr.

The personality of each of all these authors is delineated, as far as the evidence allows, and their work analysed in the individual *EI* articles on them. In general, other poems are attributed to them as well as their *Muᶜallaḳa*, sometimes collected together into a *dīwān.*

Here we will note only the problems raised by these famous poems, beginning with that regarding their authenticity. The personality of the "transmitters"

such as Ḥammād, the presumed "originator" of the *Muʿallaḳāt*, and the uncertainties which surround their actions lead one to think that the attribution of these poems to persons duly classified and identified should be strongly regarded with caution. The faculties of adaptation, even of imagination, by these intermediaries—themselves poets—do not authorise us to see in the "official" anthologies anything more than the reflection of an ancient poetical situation, expressing itself by poems more or less arbitrarily taken from a much greater and more varied production, at least as representative in any case of the ancient poetic genius.

Out of the lively debate raised up by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn in the nineteen-twenties when, as the first person in the Arabic-speaking environment, he cast doubt on the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry, a middle position has emerged which is also that of the orientalists: in their form and content, and given that they comprise in part elements almost certainly apocryphal, the *Muʿallaḳāt* must be considered as fixed, if not stereotyped, specimens of a poetic tradition—already very old—vigorously flourishing in different parts of the Arabian peninsula. This tradition was made up of the *ḳaṣīda*, comparatively lengthy, with a monorhyme, in the long metres which became classical, and dealing with the limited themes, in various proportions, which are described in the article ḳaṣīda.

Bibliography: This is considerable. See Sarkīs, 1127; Brockelmann, I², 13 ff., S I, 44 ff.; Blachère, *HLA*, esp. i, 147-8; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 46 ff. — T. Arnold, *Septem muʿallaqât, carmina antiquissima Arabum*, Leipzig 1850, ed. of text and comm.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1369/1950, i, notices on most of the authors of the *Muʿallaḳāt*; Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī, *Djamharat ashʿar al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1963; Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Muʿallaḳāt*, Cairo, several edns.; Naʿsānī, *Sharḥ Muʿallaḳāt al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1324; Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ al-Muʿallaḳāt al-ʿashr*, ed. C.J. Lyall, Calcutta 1894, repr. Ridgewood N.J. 1965 — W. Ahlwardt, *The diwans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870; W. Muir, *Ancient Arabic poetry: its genuineness and authenticity*, in *JRAS* (1875), 75-92; L. Cheikho, *Poètes arabes chrétiens avant l'Islam*, Beirut 1890; D.S. Margoliouth, *The origins of the Arabic poetry*, in *JRAS* (1925), 417-49; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Fi 'l-adab al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1345/1927; G. Richter, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, in *ZDMG*, xcii (1938), 552-69; Abdulla El Tayib and A.F.L. Beeston, in *Camb. hist. of Arabic lit.*, i, Cambridge 1983, 27-113.

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(G. Lecomte)

MUʿALLIM NĀDJĪ, Ottoman Turkish poet, born in Istanbul in 1850 and died there in 1893. He had a career as a school teacher, state employee and journalist, and later in his life was appointed official historian by the sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*].

Nādjī's father died when he was very young, hence he was brought up by relatives and had to earn his living at a very early age. The little education which he received was a highly traditional one. Then he came into contact with the modern writers of his time, Aḥmed Midḥat, Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem and Nāmīḳ Kemāl [*q.vv.*]. Aḥmed Midḥat, Nādjī's father-in-law, put him in charge of the literary section of the newspaper which he owned, *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat*. There, Nādjī seemed to support the poets following the old tradition and clashed with those upholding modern poetry, and after some clashes between him and the modernists, Aḥmed Midḥat released him from his duties on the newspaper.

At the beginning of his career as a poet, Nādjī wrote modern poetry in a simple language, but then he turned to classical *Dīwān* poetry and excelled in its techniques, especially in the use of the *ʿarūḍ* metre. Although he seemed to be siding with the old, he was actually caught up between the old and the new trends in Turkish literature, himself writing both modern and classical poetry. He believed that there was no difference between what was good in the East and the West, except that for him, the Turkish national spirit entailed upholding the traditions which included classical poetry.

Some of the themes in his poems are very modern in that they are about common people within everyday surroundings, and in such poems he uses everyday language. Most of his poems reflect his own feelings, with such themes as loneliness, alienation and escape. Although his poems are usually good in structure, with perfect metre, rhyme and harmony, the content is trivial; he lacked imagination and was very simplistic in his views, being only concerned with poetic style. As a reaction to *Tanẓīmāt* poetry that stressed content, Nādjī stressed structure, foreshadowing the *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] school of writers.

He was highly concerned about the Ottoman Turkish language, and regretted the deterioration of the language in the name of simplification and modernisation. He was likewise concerned about the relations between *ʿarūḍ* metre and the Turkish language, and worked on harmonising them.

His works include collections of his poems *Āteshpāre* (1883), *Sherāre* (1884) and *Fürūzan* (1885); essays, *Muʿallim* (1886) and *Demdeme* (1887); memoirs; *ʿÖmer'in čodjuḳlughu* (1889); a play, *Heder* (1920); a book on literary terms, *Iṣlāḥat-i edebiyye* (1889); and an unfinished dictionary, *Lughat-i Nādjī* (1890).

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MUʿĀMALĀT (A.), a term which designates in works of *fiḳh* the bilateral contracts as opposed to the *ʿibādāt* [*q.v.*] which constitute the "ritual of Islamic law". Also, in its strict and first sense *muʿāmalāt* are supposed to mean transactions concerning credit granted by a donor to a beneficiary (al-Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, iii, 239 f.).

More generally, within *fiḳh* understood as the deontology forced upon the Muslim, the *muʿāmalāt* "preside over the relations of men among themselves" (H. Laoust). In other words, they define juridico-human relations and ensure that the Muslim's behaviour conforms to juridico-moral theories (R. Brunschvig). Here we are in the field of *kalām fiḳhī* and, more precisely, *ʿamalī*, dealing with problems of conduct, as opposed to *kalām naẓarī* which is the branch that treats of dogmatic theology dealt with in *ʿilm* of *mukāshafa* (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*). But it is still actually *kalām*, in the sense that the *muʿāmalāt* were established by a process of reflection which aims to regulate the conduct of Muslims in their communal

relations. Also, we can read in the *Lumaᶜ*, 68, of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, the Shāfiᶜī and Ashᶜarī author (d. 476/1083), that the *muᶜāmalāt* in their detailed prescriptions (*furūᶜ al-muᶜāmalāt*) are dependent on rational examination (*naẓar*) and argumentation (*istidlāl*). However, the decisions with regard to this regulation are dependent on *idjmāᶜ*.

The concept of *ᶜamal* is often attested in the Ḳurʾān, but that of *muᶜāmala* is absent. If we have recourse to the *LA*, xi, 476, we read there that *muᶜāmala* in the language of the people of ᶜIrāḳ is *musāḳāt* [*q.v.*] in the language of the people of the Ḥidjāz. The *Lisān* thus retains the meaning relating to transactional relations in agriculture as being specific to the term *muᶜāmala*. In other words, a practice concerning lands acquired as shared allotments and kept up by the community is seen as originating in an Islamic ethic governing the behaviour of the members of the *umma* and as having its basis in a certain way of conceiving relations between farming partners (*muzāraᶜa* [*q.v.*]). In its original meaning, the term *muᶜāmala* thus reflects the community's way of life at the beginning of Islam. We will see that with the development of Islamic civilisation, the concept was to become diversified and to develop its areas of application.

According to Mālik (d. 179/795), according to al-Shāfiᶜī, and in general according to the *fuḳahāʾ*, the original and technical meaning of *muᶜāmala* is constantly attested (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*; *K. al-Umm*; al-Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf*). In their works of *fiḳh*, these authors use this term to express their dominant preoccupation, i.e. the arithmetical determination of transactions and credit operations concerning the cultivations of the Arabic regions inhabited by the *umma*. In relation to this problem, Schacht demonstrated that *muᶜāmala*, understood in the strict sense of transaction, is a subterfuge (*ḥīla*) allowing them to bypass the prohibition on taking interest (*ribā* [*q.v.*]). It is a euphemistic name adopted as a modest word for *mukhāṭara*, more commonly called *inaʾ*. In this sense *muᶜāmala* appears to be a credit agreed by a lender called *tādjir* or merchant (note that *muᶜāmala* in this sense of the term is retained in the modern language). In fact, the merchant operates as a lender. This custom, Schacht states, was practised in Medina and goes back to the time of Mālik b. Anas (*Introduction*, 79, 151-3). To sum up, already in this period, at least in the Ḥidjāz, the term *muᶜāmala* extended beyond contracts of cultivation (*muzāraᶜa*) and designated a whole body of rental transactions governing employer-employee relations.

With the humanist al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), the concept took on a psycho-social significance and took on a cultural colouring in the broad sense of the term. The word *muᶜāmala* designates in this author's writing the behaviour dictated by a body of moral rules (*ādāb*; cf. *Risāla fi 'l-maᶜāsh wa 'l-maᶜād*). According to these ethics, spiritual behaviour and material behaviour are governed by rules "established in terms of basic material elements" which are the same for both types of behaviour (Fr. tr. Ch. Vial).

In the classical period, the *muᶜāmalāt* were supposed to be contained in a body of knowledge which had as its subject juridical human relations and the deontological rules of a disciplinary ethic. Keeping the quantitative aspect of this discipline, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ were to categorise the *muᶜāmalāt* into disciplinary (*riyāḍiyya*) sciences and moralising sciences (*ᶜilm al-ādāb*). This category of knowledge is treated with that of arithmetic (*ᶜilm al-ḥisāb wa 'l-muᶜāmalāt*; Ikhwān, *Rasāʾil*, ii, 266). According to the Ikhwān, the science of *muᶜāmalāt* depends on the knowledge of others; it implies a pragmatic psychology.

In the Iḥyāʾ of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), the study of *muᶜāmalāt* is contained in that of *fiḳh*. God's right forms the basis for the ritual obligations (*al-ᶜibādāt*), such as purification, prayer, legal alms, etc. The right of created beings forms the basis for the "customs (*al-ᶜādāt*) that can be looked at from two viewpoints: (a) exchanges (*al-muᶜāmalāt*), such as buying, selling, association, giving, lending, debt, etc. (b) contracts (*al-muᶜāḳada*), such as marriage, divorce, emancipation, slavery, rights of succession, etc." (Gardet-Anawati, 119). Here *fiḳh* forms part of the *ᶜādāt* or community customs which themselves are nothing but the translation into concrete form of the concept of *ādāb*. In this context, the *muᶜāmalāt* are the manifestations of a certain etiquette regulated by a deontology in response to juridico-moral considerations. This deontology supplies solutions to the problems of conduct posed by socio-economic situations. There is, according to al-Ghazālī, continuity between the cultural concept of *ādāb* and the juridico-religious (*fiḳhī*) concept of *muᶜāmalāt*. It is the subject of the second *rubᶜ* of the *Iḥyāʾ*, the first dealing with the *ᶜibādāt*, the third with the *muhlikāt* and the fourth with the *mundjiyāt*. Also, the *muᶜāmalāt* are integrated into a rigorously structured body of ethics. Finally, the constitution of this code of conduct of the Muslim calls for knowledge of the states of the soul (*ḥāl*) which condition actions and the qualification (*Iḥyāʾ*, iv, 306; Laoust, *Politique*).

Ibn Khaldūn himself was to stress the sociological aspect of the question, insisting on the fact that this problematic situation is dependent on reasoning. According to this author, the science of *muᶜāmalāt* represents a branch (*farᶜ*) of *ᶜilm al-ḥisāb* which forms part of rational, positive (*ᶜaḳliyya, ṭabīᶜiyya*) knowledge as opposed to traditional, scriptural (*ᶜaḳliyya waḍᶜiyya*) knowledge, in which Ibn Khaldūn ranks *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *kalām* (*Muḳaddima*, 129 f. and especially 484). These two types of knowledge are diversified and refined in proportion to the development of civilisations. In this sense, Ibn Khaldūn is a forerunner of the modern theories on the matter.

According to the former Muḥammad ᶜAbduh (d. 1905 [*q.v.*]), followed in this by his disciple Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935 [*q.v.*]), only the general principles of *muᶜāmalāt* were revealed. Also in Ḳurʾān, II, 188, and IV, 29, God forbids men from mutually robbing one another. The jurists derived detailed consequences from it (Arnaldez, 27). This way of looking at things is adopted by the moderns, both Sunnī and Shīᶜī. The latter also have their reformers, represented by al-Wāḥid al-Bihbahānī, who are reacting against the Akhbārī school. This viewpoint is taken up by contemporary authors such as the Pakistanis Muḥammad Iqbal and K. Faruki and only recently by the Egyptian judge M. al-ᶜAshmawī. Reviving the tradition of Shaykh ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Rāziḳ (d. 1965), al-ᶜAshmawī published a short work entitled *al-Islām al-siyāsī*. The fundamental idea of this work is to distinguish clearly between the perennial value of cultic prescriptions (*ᶜibādāt*) established by revelation and the relative character of juridical relations betwen men (*muᶜāmalāt*) subject to the requirements of history (cf. Anawati, unpubl. communication to the UEAI Congress, Budapest 1988). Despite the attempts of certain contemporary jurists to return to an obscurantist literalism, we may say that in all the Islamic countries there is a clear tendency to revive religious jurisdiction with regard to *muᶜāmalāt* (*Colloques*, 118-19).

As for that which related to the manner in which this discipline is conceived by the different juridical schools, we can say that, if the divergences regarding

the ʿibādāt are very few between Sunnī and Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs, they are well-known as regards the muʿāmalāt. This is especially true for the transactions dealing with marriage, divorce and inheritance. It will be noted in this regard that the Ismāʿīlī practice differs as much from the Sunnī as from the Twelver Shīʿī ones (*Iḳtiṣār*, xxxviii).

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(M. BERNAND)

MUʿAMMĀ (A.), literally, "something made obscure, hidden".

1. In the sense of word puzzle, riddle [see LUGHZ].

2. In the sense of secret writing, code. Codes were regularly used in classical Antiquity. Thus the *skytalē* of the Spartans, mentioned by Plutarch, in which a message was written on a parchment or leather ribbon which was wrapped round a tapered wooden baton for purposes of writing and then could only be read by a recipient possessing a baton of the same shape and size, is an early example of a typical transposition cipher. But the Greeks also used more scientific, numerical ciphers based on the substitution principle, and it was a Greek author, Aeneas Tacticus (4th century BC) who wrote the earliest discussion of cryptography so far known in a larger work of his on military techniques. Within the Near East, the ancient Egyptians certainly used cryptography, and Talmudic scholars were interested in secret writing and used certain techniques of a cryptographic nature in their cabbalistic writings.

Mediaeval Islamic society was heir to much of the heritage of previous cultures like these, seen in a marked interest of antiquarian scholars in secret writings, unknown scripts and numerology. This is exemplified at an early date in the *K. Shawḳ al-mustahām fī maʿrifat rumūz al-aḳlām* attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya (*flor.* 3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]); some of the alphabets which he describes may have been used as ciphers, according to T. Fahd (*loc. cit.*). But the genius of Islamic civilisation itself and its strong literary bias, brought a concern with word games, literary conceits, paronomasia, riddles, acrostics, etc. [see LUGHZ]. Out of all these strands arose an interest in and an employment of codes for secret communication within the caliphate, at a period when distances were great, roads were dangerous and messages could not safely be left *en clair*. Handling secret messages and codes, the use of invisible inks and other methods of concealment, must have been part of the training of the secretary or *kātib* [*q.v.*], and we know, for instance, that the Ghaznawid chancery under Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd sent letters (*muʿammā-nāma*) in code (Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 318). It was not, however, apparently until Mamlūk times that we have a work specifically devoted to such topics, a work mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flugel, vi, 30, no. 12603) as the *Miftāḥ al-rumūz fī īḍāḥ al-marmūz* of Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī (712-62/1312-61, known also as the author of a theological work, see Brockelmann, II², 214, S II, 213). This is lost, but seems to be the basis of what the slightly later writer al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*] has to say in his monumental manual for secretaries, the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (ix, 229-48). This last author writes in detail about the chemical processes involved in recording and revealing secret messages; about cryptography proper (*taʿmiya*), including methods for enciphering a message, either by using an ancient and obscure script or by using a transposition cipher; and about cryptanalysis (*ḥall al-mutardjam*), dealing in practice only with codes in Arabic and enunciating such basic principles as counting letter frequencies and taking into account the characteristic combinations of letters in Arabic words, according to the phonetic structure of the language (see C.E. Bosworth, *The section on codes and their decipherment in Qalqashandī's* Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā, in *JSS*, viii [1963], 17-33, also in idem, *Medieval Arabic culture and administration*, London 1982, xiii).

What might be termed modern cryptography begins in late mediaeval and Renaissance Italy, and soon becomes part of the common stock of diplomacy and intelligence-gathering. The Ottomans used codes and secret writing, as did the rulers of Persia. Thus a work on codes and secret writing, called *al-Durar al-muntakhaba*, was published at Istanbul in 1221/1806-7 by one Meḥmed Ḥafīd; whilst three works on cryptography, cryptanalysis and the use of codes for private and state correspondence respectively, were composed in the late 19th and early 20th century Persia by Mīrzā Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf (the *Miftāḥ al-rumūz*, the *Kashf al-asrār-i Nāṣirī* and the *K. Nāsikh al-rumūz wa-ramz-i Maḥmūdī*, Tehran 1313, 1319, 1320 AH), who was awarded the *laḳab* [*q.v.*] of Miftāḥ al-Mulk by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Ḳādjār for his services to the government as an encoder and decipherer (see Cl. Huart, review in *JA*, Ser. 10, vol. ix [March-April 1907], 360-2).

Bibliography: Given in the article. For an excellent general work on codes and the history of

their use, see D. Kahn, *The codebreakers*, New York and London 1967. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUᶜAMMAR (a.), appellative of legendary as well as historical people who are alleged to have lived to an exceptionally great age.

Like Judaism and other ancient religions, Islam knows a category of people, almost always men, who are characterised by extreme longevity granted by God. These persons walked the earth immediately following the Creation and are believed to have done so intermittently until today (for a 20th century example, see H. St. John B. Philby, *Arabian days*, London 1948, the 23rd photograph between pp. 224 and 225). Whereas for Jews Methuselah is the longest living patriarch, for Muslims this is Noah. Definitions of how old a person must be to deserve the appellative differ widely. Since the Prophet Muḥammad is credited with the statement that people who reach the age of seventy are especially blessed, this age is sometimes taken as starting point for the appellative to be applicable (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii, pp. xxix f.), although the lower limit of eighty years is also given. Usually the lower limits fluctuate between one hundred and one hundred and twenty, while there is not really an upper limit. Various *muᶜammarūn* are believed to have reached ages of three to six hundred years, but reports about still longer living persons have emerged through the centuries in all the regions of the Islamic world.

Still the most complete survey of *muᶜammarūn* today is I. Goldziher's study with which he introduced his edition of one of the oldest collections of poetry attributed to various long-lived poets, sc. Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, d. 255/869 [*q.v.*], *Kitāb al-Muᶜammarīn*, in his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, ii, Leiden 1889. (Abū Ḥātim's is not the oldest work on this subject; al-Haytham b. ᶜAdī, d. 206/821 [*q.v.*], is also credited with a book on *muᶜammarūn*.) The poems preserved in this anthology deal with descriptions of the hardships of old age—often heralded by the greying of hair and beard—mixed with outbursts of nostalgia about lost youth and vigour. Verses of this sort constitute a separate genre in Arabic poetry practised by many poets of all times, also by those who do not (yet) deserve the appellative of *muᶜammarūn*.

Apart from the richly annotated edition of this poetry and the accompanying *akhbār*, Goldziher gives a general introduction to the phenomenon which can be summarised under the following headings: a survey of the oldest *muᶜammarūn* from pre-Islamic history: tribal patriarchs, princes, heroes and sages; the different ways in which old age is said to debilitate; a list of works written and compiled after Abū Ḥātim in which there are occasional references to, as well as special chapters about, *muᶜammarūn* and their poetry; and the alleged role played by *muᶜammarūn* in the evolution of guilds (*futuwwa* [*q.v.*]) in Islam, which by means of long-lived patrons seek to project their origins back to a time long before the advent of Islam.

Goldziher also devotes space to the position of alleged *muᶜammarūn* in the religious theorising of Sunnī and Shīᶜī scholars. For the Shīᶜa, this boils down to the spreading of the belief in a hidden place from where he will emerge one day as the expected *mahdī* [*q.v.*] to rule the world once more with justice. The *muᶜammar* phenomenon is adduced here to bolster the doctrine and to lend the alleged re-emergence plausibility (cf. *Abhandlungen*, ii, pp. lxii ff.). In this way Shīᶜa doctrine benefitted from the ancient lore of the *muᶜammarūn*, doctrine and folklore mutually strengthening each other.

Sunnī Muslims have also made considerable use of the belief in the existence of the long-lived. *Muᶜammarūn*, legendary as well as historical persons—the latter not necessarily themselves responsible for the advanced ages they are alleged to have attained—are depicted as having played an important role as transmitters of Prophetic traditions. This is especially attested in the earliest development of Kūfan *isnāds*, but on a lesser scale also in that of Baṣran *isnāds*. From the canonical collections it appears that *ḥadīth* transmission in Kūfa is connected in particular with Companions whose names are closely linked to Kūfa, among whom Ibn Masᶜūd [*q.v.*] is the most famous and prolific. Well, in the *isnād* strands from the Prophet, whose words are transmitted by a Companion via one or two other authorities, to the "common link" (for this term, see *Bibl.*), Ibn Masᶜūd's traditions required the names of two or three of Kūfa's distinguished jurisconsults, e.g. Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaᶜī (d. 96/714 [*q.v.*]) before the time gap between Prophet and "common link" was properly bridged. Ibrāhīm was born too late (*ca.* 50/670) to assume—or be placed in—the position of direct pupil of Ibn Masᶜūd (d. 32-3/652-3), so one more transmitter had to be inserted between them to create an uninterrupted *isnād*: this position was mostly filled by a member of Ibn Masᶜūd's so-called "circle", e.g. ᶜAlḳama, Masrūḳ, al-Aswad b. Yazīd and several others. It is here that *muᶜammarūn* make their entrance: the strands: Prophet > Ibn Masᶜūd > one of his circle > Ibrāhīm > "common link" acquired eventually large numbers of alternative strands supporting more or less the same *matns*, parading instead of five names only four: Prophet > Ibn Masᶜūd > a *muᶜammar* > "common link". Sometimes this *muᶜammar* was a historical person who claimed to have reached an advanced age, this claim being eagerly emphasised after his death by his pupil, the "common link", who profited from this age. At other times the *muᶜammar* was a fictitious person, wholly invented, complete with his allegedly advanced age at death, by the "common link" who pretended to have heard his traditions. The early sources yield in all a dozen or so names of persons populating Kūfan *isnāds* whose ages at death mark them as *muᶜammarūn*, two of whom may have been historical personalities, the rest fictitious. In Baṣran *isnāds* there are only two such *muᶜammarūn*, but both were probably historical while one of these was even a "common link" in his own right. For their names and dates, see al-Dhahabī's *Ahl al-miʾa fa-ṣāᶜidan*, and *WZKM* (1991).

In the course of the 2nd/8th century the *muᶜammar* phenomenon lost its usefulness and popularity, but it never died out completely. There is even one legend about a *muᶜammar* who was some 700 years old when he died, Bābā Ratan [*q.v.*] (cf. J. Horovitz, *Bābā Ratan, the Saint of Bhatinda*, in *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, ii [1913-14], 97-117, an Indian saint revered by adherents of several local religions. The Muslims of the region maintain that he was already alive at the time of Muḥammad and once did him a good turn. Ibn Ḥadjar (*Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. Badjāwī, ii, 523-39) duly included him among the Companions.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Fundamental is Goldziher's work. Virtually all centenarians from ancient times until his own day are mentioned by Dhahabī, *Ahl al-miʾa fa-ṣāᶜidan*, ed. J. Sublet, in *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe*, i (1979), 99-159; G.H.A. Juynboll, *The role of* muᶜammarūn *in the earthly development of the* isnād, in *WZKM* (1991); for the technical *ḥadīth* term "common link", see idem, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and*

authorship of early ḥadīt̲h̲, Cambridge 1983, 206-17; idem, *Some* isnād-*analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman-demeaning sayings from* ḥadīt̲h̲ *literature*, in *al-Qanṭara*, x (1989), 343-83; idem, *Analysing* isnāds *in* ḥadīt̲h̲ *and* ak̲h̲bār *literature*, in Lawrence I. Conrad (ed.), *Early Arabic historiography. New perspectives and methodologies*, Princeton 1991; idem, *Muslim's introduction to his* Ṣaḥīḥ, *translated and annotated with an excursus on the chronology of* fitna *and* bidᶜa, in *JSAI*, v (1984), 303-8, especially for a chronology of the origins of the *isnād*. (G.H.A. Juynboll)

MUᶜAMMAR b. ᶜABBĀD al-Sulamī, Abū ᶜAmr or Abu 'l-Muᶜtamir, a leading Muᶜtazilī theologian from Baṣra who lived during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (reigned 170-93/786-809) and died in 215/830.

According to Ibn Ḥazm (*al-Fiṣal*, iv, 194, 1 f.) he was a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū Sulaymān and seems to have earned his livelihood as a druggist (*ᶜaṭṭār*). Apparently for his doctrine of endless *maᶜānī*, he was accused by his Muᶜtazilī colleagues before the governor of Baṣra and fled to Bag̲h̲dād. There he appears to have hidden in the house of Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī [*q.v.*], the son of the Police Chief al-Sindī b. S̲h̲āhik. Not reliable is the report that Muᶜammar was sent by Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd to the Indian king for discussions of theological questions and was poisoned on the way. Among his pupils are mentioned His̲h̲ām b. ᶜAmr al-Fuwaṭī [*q.v.*] and above all Bis̲h̲r b. al-Muᶜtamir [*q.v.*], the founder of the Muᶜtazilī school in Bag̲h̲dād. One of his famous disputants was al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*]. According to the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, he wrote four treatises on central themes of his philosophy (*Kitāb al-Maᶜānī; Kitāb al-Istiṭāᶜa; Kitāb al-d̲j̲uzʾ allad̲h̲ī lā yatad̲j̲azzaʾ; al-Ḳawl bi 'l-aᶜrāḍ wa 'l-d̲j̲awāhir*), but also on natural sciences (*Kitāb ᶜIllat al-ḳarasṭūn wa 'l-mirʾāt*, "On the principle of the steelyard and the mirror"; *Kitāb al-Layl wa 'l-nahār wa 'l-amwāl*, "On night and day and their end (?)").

The only sources on Muᶜammar's philosophy are preserved in later sources which give us a fragmentary idea of his doctrine, which is not yet clear in all details. They reflect the continuing discussions of his time, especially of Ḍirār b. ᶜAmr [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and al-Naẓẓām, on God, His creation and man. Like Ḍirār and other Muᶜtazilīs, he presupposes the concept of God's transcendence; however, he refrained from the systematic development of a negative theology as we find it in Ḍirār. God's willing and knowing is endlessly effective and not determinable or definable as something effected by God. Against Abu 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl al-ᶜAllāf [*q.v.*], they cannot even be identified with God himself. Muᶜammar's doctrine of God as endless active power which is not reflected in His creation is taken over by his pupil His̲h̲ām b. ᶜAmr al-Fuwaṭī. It was the starting-point of his theories on substance (*d̲j̲awhar, d̲j̲ism*), accidents (*aᶜrāḍ*), nature (*ṭabᶜ, ṭabīᶜa*) and *maᶜānī*. As God's endless power is not reflected in the visible world, he has not created the accidents, the phenomena, but the substrates, the substances in which by nature inhere the accidents. Contrary to Ḍirār and similar to al-Naẓẓām, who here replaces the doctrine of the God-created "cause" (*sabab*) as taught by the S̲h̲īᶜī His̲h̲ām al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], nature appears to be a causal principle which causes "accidents", the "generations" (*mutawallidāt*) and "forms" (*hayʾāt*) of substances. Different from al-Naẓẓām, who interprets nature as something imposed on the substances by God, Muᶜammar considers nature as an independent factor, as a determinating element which makes superfluous any involvement of the transcendent deity in the world of phenomena.

This idea of God's unconcernedness with the visible world is further developed in a unique manner in Muᶜammar's theory of the *maᶜānī*, determinant factors which themselves are determined by other determinant factors *ad infinitum*. If we implicate in this endless series of *maᶜānī* the notion of God as first determinant Who Himself is not determined by another determinant, we may detect here parallels with Aristotle's doctrine of the πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον and of the ἄνθρωπος-ἄνθρωπον-γεννᾷ argument. However, the emphasis of Muᶜammar is different: *maᶜānī* are determinating causes of similarity and dissimilarity between two things and guarantee the undeterminedness of God's endless dynamis. Muᶜammar does not give a solution of the problem of how determinating *maᶜānī* at the same time can be determined entities (and in this are similar to the accidents). His doctrine appears to be a strange mixture of "Platonising" ideas, preformations and "Aristotelian" conceptions of matter, of substance void of εἶδος.

This becomes evident in Muᶜammar's definition of the primary substance, the atom: it already contains eidetically three dimensions, length, breadth and depth, which become visible in the combination of eight to each other identical atoms to a cube. This is a further development of Ḍirār's explanation of substances as a conglomeration of "accidents", of "parts"; apparently it was not taken up by later Muᶜtazilīs (cf. Daiber, *Muᶜammar*, 333 ff.).

The theory here described of determinating *maᶜānī* as constituents of God-created substances and their accidents which inhere in them by "nature" becomes the basis for Muᶜammar's theodicy and his doctrine of free will. The evil in the world is a causal effect of nature and not based on God's predestination. Consequently, man is gifted with free will: he can decide about his actions which, however, are determined by the causality of nature. Man's actions appear to be accidents of his God-created substance. Here, too, Muᶜammar differs from the more "materialistic" explanation by Ḍirār and his "school" of man as a conglomerate of perceivable accidents. We find some similarities to al-Naẓẓām and his pupils (cf. Daiber, *op. cit.*, 342 ff.). Muᶜammar's theory of free will appears to be more expanded in the teaching of his pupil Bis̲h̲r b. al-Muᶜtamir (cf. Daiber, *op. cit.*, 399 ff.); it is already a serious attempt to develop the theory of His̲h̲ām b. al-Ḥakam and his contemporary Ḍirār concerning man's actions as created by God and "acquired" by man who has freedom of choice, to a more complex doctrine which differentiates between man's free will, the causality of nature and the createdness of substances in which accidents inhere by the necessity of nature. Al-Naẓẓām considered nature as something created by God; Muᶜammar, however, could classify nature as an independent factor, as a principle which regulates the causality between the "forms" (*hayʾāt*) of substances, their accidents on the one hand and the determining-determined endless chain of *maᶜānī* on the other hand.

Muᶜammar's doctrine is a lively mirror-picture of continuing discussions on the relation between God, man and world; it influenced the Muᶜtazilī school of Bag̲h̲dād in a decisive manner and contributed to the development of the Muᶜtazilī theory of the createdness of the Ḳurʾān which during the reign of al-Maʾmūn was propagated as official dogma of the state [see miḥna]. God's word as every attribute cannot be defined and appears as endless power of acting which is not reflectable in actions, accidental realisations; it is not identical with the spoken or written

word, the Ḳurʾān, which can only be classified as an accident, as accidental action of that substance in which it inheres as heard or written word.

In his theory of the Imāmate, Muʿammar follows the neutral attitude of his contemporaries Ḍirār b. ʿAmr and Abu ʾl-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf; ultimately it can be traced back to Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (on whom cf. now Daiber, *Wāṣil Ibn ʿAṭāʾ als Prediger und Theologe*, Leiden 1988, 8, 14 ff.). Muʿammar refrains from any judgment on the question which party of the participants in the Battle of the Camel was right; at the same time he follows the pro-ʿAlid tendencies of the ʿAbbāsids.

Bibliography: For the sources, more details and older studies, see H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar Ibn ʿAbbad as-Sulami (gest. 830 n. Chr.)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1975 (= Beiruter Texte und Studien 19); J. van Ess, in *Isl.*, lviii (1981), 293-309; Daiber, *ibid.*, 310-20; R.M. Frank in *BiOr*, xxxviii (1981), cols. 737-58; Daiber, *Gott, Natur und menschlicher Wille im frühen islamischen Denken* (Inaugural lecture, Free University Amsterdam 1978); idem, in *Saeculum*, xxix (1978), 361-3; W. Montgomery Watt, *Der Islam*, ii, Stuttgart, etc. 1985 (= Die Religionen der Menschheit 25,2), index s.n.; and idem, *Islamic philosophy and theology, an extended survey*, Edinburgh 1985, 47, 52-3. (H. Daiber)

MUʿAMMIR [see muʿammar].

al-**MUʿAMMARIYYA** [see al-khaṭṭābiyya].

MUʿANʿAN (a.), a technical term in the science of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]. It is used to indicate that established transmission methods, e.g. as indicated by terms such as *ḥaddathanī*, *akhbaranī* or *samiʿtu*, are not known to have occurred, or have not been observed, between the transmitters of one or more links in an *isnād* [*q.v.*]. The method described by the term *muʿanʿan* solely consists of the preposition *ʿan* "on the authority of". *Isnāds* with one or more times the preposition *ʿan* between two transmitters are called *muʿanʿan isnāds*. Closely connected with this sort of *isnād* and often dealt with in the same breath is the so-called *muʾannan isnād*, which introduces the information transmitted by an older to a younger authority simply by means of the conjunction *anna*, "that", similarly without indications such as *ḥaddathanī* etc. In al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, 407, Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]) is mentioned as probably the first to equate both *isnāds* (see also Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuh*, 236).

The term *muʿanʿan*, or at least discussions about the phenomenon, can be traced to relatively early times. Allegedly the first great *ridjāl* expert, Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/777 [*q.v.*]) from Baṣra, is reported to have said *Fulān ʿan fulān laysa bi-ḥadīth* ("Someone *on the authority of* someone [else] does not constitute a [proper] *ḥadīth*", see Ibn Radjab, *Sharḥ ʿilal al-Tirmidhī*, 269). It is also alluded to in the *Risāla* of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]) (ed. A. M. Shākir, 378-80).

The *ʿanʿana* issue first receives a good deal of attention in discussions among *ḥadīth* experts referred to in the introductory chapter with which Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 261/875 [*q.v.*]) begins his tradition collection, the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The third and final part of this introduction (ed. M.F. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, i, 29-35, translated in *JSAI*, v [1984], 293-302) is devoted to a discussion on the admissibility of *isnāds* with one or more links being described merely by *ʿan*. Muslim mentions one self-styled *ḥadīth* expert (*baʿḍ muntaḥilī al-ḥadīth*), whom he does not identify, as having stipulated that the mere use of *ʿan* is not sufficient to assert the reliability of the transmission procedure between each pair of transmitters in an *isnād*. Rather, this expert insists that *samāʿ*, "hearing", should be established between pairs of transmitters in the case of every single *isnād* in which *ʿan* occurs. Muslim, on the other hand, declares himself to be content with *ʿan*, as long as contemporaneity (*muʿāṣara*), and hence even encounter (*liḳāʾ*), may be deemed likely on the basis of the fact that both transmitters are known to have been reliable (*thiḳa*) and as long as no-one is suspected of having committed *tadlīs* [*q.v.*], a rather vague term indicating a wide range of different ways of deceit in tradition transmission. Muslim's argument in favour of his lenient stance vis-à-vis *muʿanʿan isnāds* is simple and direct: none of the recognised *ḥadīth* experts of old has ever stipulated the discarding of such *isnāds*, as can be proven by the occurrence of dozens and dozens of traditions supported by such *isnāds* in all the prestigious collections known at the time he makes the statement, traditions which have never caused anyone to doubt their historicity. He has this argument followed by an extensive list of such traditions.

The "pseudo-traditionist", as Muslims calls his anonymous opponent, was tentatively identified by mediaeval Muslim scholars as Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 239/853 [*q.v.*]) and/or al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]) (see for instance Ibn Radjab, *op. cit.*, 272; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, 158; cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 248, Eng. tr., ii, 228-9), but this seems unlikely for three reasons: *firstly*, because the text in Muslim's introduction speaks consistently of only one man who propagated these ideas and not more than one; *secondly*, because all the tradition collections preceding that of al-Bukhārī, as well as al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* itself, in addition to those collections compiled later, are riddled with *muʿanʿan isnāds*; and *thirdly*, because it is hard to accept that rivalry such as there may have been among collectors like Muslim and al-Bukhārī would have been of the magnitude that the former called the latter a "pseudo-expert". There are reports which claim that Muslim felt respect for his older colleague (see al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Imlāʾ wa ʾl-istimlāʾ*, 136). Besides, there are good grounds for assuming that the "pseudo-expert" taken to task by Muslim in his introduction was somebody else. A case could be made for al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Karābīsī (d. 245/859 [*q.v.*]) (for arguments supporting this surmise, see Juynboll in *JSAI*, v, 293 f.).

The matter of admissibility of *muʿanʿan isnāds* never seems to have been settled definitively, but the overall majority of *ḥadīth* scholars bracketed them with *muttaṣil* (uninterrupted) *isnāds*. On the other hand, the phenomenon has never again given rise to wide-ranging discussions violent enough to upset the applecart. Until the present day, these *isnāds* are dealt with in books dealing with technical terms in the science of tradition and are invariably marked as acceptable, as long as the conditions, also formulated by Muslim, are met: *thiḳas* who are each other's contemporaries, on whom there rests no suspicion of *tadlīs*, can be considered to be honest when they claim that they have something "on the authority of" someone else; *muʿāṣara* is then almost a guarantee for *liḳāʾ*, It must be realised that if those rejecting the admissibility of *muʿanʿan isnāds* had had their way, Islam's canonical tradition literature would have attained a mere fraction of the bulk it actually did attain. Reading between the lines of Muslim's chapter of his introduction on this issue leaves the reader with the impression that Muslim himself was aware that that might have happened.

Bibliography: Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. M. F. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1955-6, i, 29-35; *Muslim's introduction to his* Ṣaḥīḥ. *Translated and*

annotated with an excursus on the chronology of fitna *and* bidᶜa, by G. H. A. Juynboll in *JSAI*, v (1984) esp. 293-302; al-Ḥākim al-Naysabūrī, *Maᶜrifat ᶜulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muᶜaẓẓam Ḥusayn, Cairo-Hyderabad 1937, 34-5; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya fī ᶜilm al-riwāya*, Hyderabad 1357, 291; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, ed. ᶜĀᵓisha ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, Cairo 1974, 152 ff.; Nawawī, *Taḳrīb*, tr. W. Marçais, in *JA*, 9th series, xvi (1900), 522 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ taḳrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. ᶜA. ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf, i, 214-7. (G.H.A. Juynboll)

MUᵓANNATH [see mudhakkar].

MUᶜĀRAḌA (a.) "opposition". This term indicates in Arabic literature imitation or emulation; the poet composes his work in the same rhyme and metre, and in doing so, often tries to surpass the original. The imitating of someone's work was also used sometimes as a deliberate act of hommage. The concept of *naḳāᵓiḍ* ("polemic or contest or repartee poems" by, among others, Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*]), however, is not regarded as an emulation or imitation, although poems which are based on this idea are often composed in the same rhyme and metre. In his book concerning the history of *naḳāᵓiḍ* in Arabic literature, Aḥmad al-Shāyib (6 ff.) attempts to delineate the various, related concepts of *muᶜāraḍa*, *naḳīḍa* [*q.v.*], *mufākhara* [*q.v.*] and *munāfara*. A synonymous term is perhaps *muḥādhā* (see al-Ḥātimī, *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, Baghdād 1979, ii, 28 ff.). The concept of *muᶜāraḍa* was in use as early as the period of the *Djāhiliyya*, when the two poets Imruᵓ al-Ḳays and Ṭarafa b. al-ᶜAbd [*q.vv.*] competed with each other in their description of a horse (two poems in the rhyme *b*). One Umm Djundad acted as their arbiter (*Aghānī*[1], vii, 128, and [3], viii, 194).

A separate place is occupied by the *muᶜāraḍa* of the Ḳurᵓān. It is likely that the imitating of the Ḳurᵓān in this manner was regarded by most Arabs as a blasphemy. One such imitation of the Ḳurᵓān, by al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], relates to his supposed pretentions to being a prophet. The seventeen-year old poet composed, in the year 332/943, a large number of *ᶜibar* ("admonitions"), which imitated Ḳurᵓānic verses from the Meccan period. One verse appears to have been preserved (F. Gabrieli, *Studi su al-Mutanabbi*, Rome 1972, 5-6; R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IVième siècle: Abou ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbi*, Paris 1935, 67; al-Badīᶜī, *al-Ṣubḥ al-munabbī ᶜan ḥaythiyyat al-Mutanabbī*, Cairo 1963, 55 ff.). Another poet, al-Maᶜarrī [*q.v.*], is rebuked for imitating the Ḳurᵓān. His *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt*, which relates cryptic verses and allegories, caused his contemporaries to accuse the poet of attempting to criticise the Ḳurᵓān. (Moustapha Saleh, in *BÉt. Or.*, xxii [1969], 142, 146; P. Smoor, *Kings and Bedouins in the palace of Aleppo*, Manchester 1985, 215-16). On the other hand, many poets are said to have imitated another work by al-Maᶜarrī, called the *Mulḳā al-sabīl*, and written in rhymed prose. In this context, we may point to the *Aḥkām ṣanᶜat al-kalām* by Ibn al-Ghafūr al-Kalāᶜī (see Saleh, *op. cit.*, 150-1; Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, *Taᵓrīkh al-Naḳd al-adabī ᶜind al-ᶜArab*, Beirut 1978², 509 ff.). This author realised that he could not surpass his example.

In the field of literary theory, ᶜAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in his *Dalāᵓil al-iᶜdjāz* is generally regarded as the first to have developed original ideas about the *muᶜāraḍa*. Von Grünebaum (*Kritik und Dichtkunst*, 112, see also 120) says that Djurdjānī interprets the concept of *muᶜāraḍa* as a stylistic imitation of a certain passage with the purpose of surpassing the predecessor. According to Djurdjānī, the explanation which says that *muᶜāraḍa* intends the substitution of every word by a synonym is to be rejected. At present, however, the originality of Djurdjānī's remarks is given a more limited value, since his thoughts are to be placed within the context of his time (see Lidia Bettini, *Lingua e retorica nel V secolo*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, vi [1988] (*Atti del XIII Congresso dell 'U.E.A.I.*)).

E. Wagner (*Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 246 and 333) gives examples of *muᶜāraḍa* by the ᶜAbbāsid poet Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] and of those taken from him.

The concept of *muᶜāraḍa* is also frequently found in Andalusian poetry, e.g. in the work of Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*]; apart from quotations of complete hemistichs (*muḍammanāt*), especially from the Eastern poets, he also uses real *muᶜāraḍāt* in which he imitates Andalusian poets such as Ibn Ṣāra (*Dīwān*, ed. Ghāzī, 366, no. 306). The Hebrew Andalusian poets also imitated Eastern Arabic poetry. In this respect we can draw attention to the "fever poem" of Moses ben Ezra, which is composed in the same rhyme and metre as the "fever poem" by al-Mutanabbī (see D. Ṣemaḥ, in *Tarbīṣ*, xxviii [1959], 397 ff.). There are also Hebrew imitations of Arabic *muwashshaḥāt* [*q.v.*].

In his book *Das Muwaššaḥ* (Weimar 1897, 227-8), M. Hartmann showed that in the 7th/13th century especially, the *muᶜāraḍa* was a popular form of art among the Arabic *muwashshaḥ* poets.

Bibliography: Bāḳillānī, *Iᶜdjāz al-Ḳurᵓān*, Cairo 1349, 130, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1977⁴, 159 [243]; ᶜAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, *Dalāᵓil al-iᶜdjāz*, Cairo 1331, 199-200, Cairo 1977, 269, and 12-44; G.E. von Grünebaum, *Kritik und Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1955, 112-20; idem, in *JNES*, iii (1944), 242; idem, *A tenth century document of Arabic literary theory and criticism*, Chicago 1950, 59; K. Abu Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī's theory of poetic imagery*, Warminster 1979, 275; Aḥmad al-Shāyib, *Taᵓrīkh al-Naḳāᵓiḍ fī 'l-shiᶜr al-ᶜArabī*, Cairo 1954, 6-8: S.M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, ed. L.P. Harvey, Oxford 1974, 45-9 *et passim.*; Ibn Khafādja, *Dīwān*, ed. Ghāzī, Alexandria 1960, 402; G. Schoeler, *Ibn Quzmān's Metrik*, in *BO*, xl (1983), 311-32; M. Guidi, *La lotta tra l'Islam e il Manicheismo, un libro di Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ contro il Corano confutato da al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Rome 1927; J. van Ess, *Some fragments of the muᶜāraḍat al-Qurᵓān attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ*, in *Studia Arabica et Islamica. Festschrift for Iḥsān ᶜAbbās on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī, Beirut 1981, 151-63; L. Bettini, *Studi sulla teoria letteraria araba*, Florence 1981, 14 n. 31; U. Haxen, *The Muᶜāraḍa concept and its musico-rhythmical implications*, in *Al-Andalus*, xliii (1978), 113-24. (A. Schippers)

MUᶜĀRAḌA (a.) "collation" [see muḳābala].

MUᶜARRAB (a.) denotes an arabicised loan or foreign word. During their intensive study of the Arabic language, the Arab philologists did not fail to notice that numerous lexemes in Arabic are of foreign origin. They were called *muᶜarrab* (from *ᶜarraba* "to arabicise"; *aᶜraba*, with the same meaning, occurs also), and often also *dakhīl* "intruded, penetrated". A difference between the two terms cannot be determined. In its literal meaning, *muᶜarrab* comprises only the loan words which were integrated into the Arabic of pre- and early Islamic times (*kalām al-ᶜarab al-fuṣaḥāᵓ*), while those of the post-classical period are called *muwallad*. However, the term *muwallad* does not only refer to loan words, but to all kinds of linguistic neologisms which came up in post-classical Arabic. The difference between *muᶜarrab* and *muwallad* is not taken into consideration by all philologists, and so *muᶜarrab* often is the general term for "loan word, foreign word". Al-Suyūṭī, in his *Muzhir*, consistently

classifies the Arabic lexicon, with the exception of the truly Arabic lexemes which were passed down, into three periods: *al-muᶜarrab*, i.e. loan words which have penetrated into Arabic during pre- and early Islamic times (*Muzhir, al nawᶜ* 19); *al-alfāẓ al-islamiyya*, i.e. neologisms and loan words originating from Islam (*al-nawᶜ* 20), and *al-muwallad*, i.e. neologisms and loan words of the post-classical period (*al-nawᶜ* 21).

Even the oldest Ḳurʾān interpreters, Ibn ᶜAbbās and his pupils, are said to have recognised the foreign origin of words which occur in the Ḳurʾān, like *sidjdjīl, mishkāt, yamm, ṭūr, abārīḳ, istabraḳ* (al-Djawālīḳī, *Muᶜarrab*, 5,1). More or less elaborate statements about the *muᶜarrab* are given by almost all philological authorities, in the first place al-Khalīl, who already expounds criteria to identify foreign words. In his *Kitāb* (Būlāḳ 1316/17, ii, 342 f.: *mā uᶜriba min al-aᶜdjamiyya*, and *iṭṭirād al-ibdāl fi 'l-fārisiyya*), Sībawayh devotes two chapters to the loan words from Persian. Authors who deal in greater detail with the *muᶜarrab* problem, include Abū ᶜUbayd (*al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*, cf. Ramadan Abdel-Tawab, 169 ff.), Ibn Durayd (*Djamhara*, iii, 499-503), al-Thaᶜālibī (*Fiḳh al-lugha*, Cairo 1954, 285-6), and in particular, al-Djawālīḳī, who summarises the knowledge of his predecessors in his *Kitāb al-Muᶜarrab min al-kalām al-aᶜdjamī*. Of the later philologists may be mentioned Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī and al-Suyūṭī, who deal with the theme in several of their works, as well as the Ottoman scholar Aḥmad Kamāl Bāshāzāda and the Egyptian Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafādjī, each of whom composed a work on loan words in Arabic. The loan words which have penetrated into post-classical Arabic (*muwallad*) are occasionally treated in the works that deal with the "language errors of the common people" (*laḥn al-ᶜawāmm*). Here, too, al-Djawālīḳī must be brought into prominence with his work *Takmilat iṣlāḥ mā taghlaṭu fi 'l-ᶜāmma*, but Ibn Ḳutayba too devotes a chapter of his *Adab al-kātib* (526 ff.) to this theme.

The Arab scholars deal with the question from which languages the loan words originate—especially mentioned are Persian, Syriac, Greek (*rūmiyya*), Ethiopic, Hebrew, Coptic and Nabataean (?)—and with the degree and way in which they were integrated. They distinguish phonemic and morphemic aspects. Sībawayh states that Persian *g* is represented in Arabic by *dj* or *ḳ*, Persian *p* by *b* or *f*, and Persian *sh* by *s*. He notes that the ending *-ah*, which goes back to Middle Persian *-ak*, occurs in Arabic as *-adj* or *-aḳ*. He also distinguishes between loan words which were borrowed unchanged (like *ibrīsam, ādjurr*) and others which were adapted to the noun system (like *dirham, djawrab*). From the methodological viewpoint, later scholars hardly surpassed Sībawayh since they, because of their one-sided orientation towards Arabic, did not lend enough weight to the knowledge of the languages of origin. Most of them were familiar with Persian only, and consequently wrong judgments are often found. The Arabic philologists mention three criteria to determine the foreign origin of a lexeme: it has not been integrated into the noun system; it shows certain phonematic combinations which are excluded in authentic Arabic roots, a viewpoint which had already been discovered by al-Khalīl (cf. *Muzhir*, i, 270, 6 ff.); and finally, can it be derived from a verbal root? In the latter case, some philologists consider the integration of a loan word as completed, so that it has become part of the *ᶜarabiyya* (cf. Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 357: *mā ḳīsa ᶜalā kalām al-ᶜarab fa-huwa min kalām al-ᶜarab*). The Baṣran scholar Abū ᶜUbayda is said to have upheld the opinion that the Ḳurʾān cannot contain any foreign element, because, according to sūra XXVI, 195, it was composed "in pure Arabic" (*bi-lisānin ᶜarabiyyin mubīn*). The other scholars do not take over this view and point out that foreign words, through arabicisation, have become an integral element of the *ᶜarabiyya* (cf. Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiḳh al-lugha*, 59; al-Djawālīḳī, *Muᶜarrab*, 5, 7).

The numerous loan words existing in Arabic already in pre-Islamic times originate mainly from Aramaic or Persian. It is occasionally difficult to determine whether loan words come from Semitic languages which are older than Arabic, because formally they cannot be distinguished from lexemes which are genuinely Arabic, cf. *kataba* "to write", which, as a cultural term, is of Northwestern Semitic origin, while *kataba* in the meaning of "to sew together" may belong to the authentic Arabic lexicon. Borrowings from Greek or Latin have usually come into Arabic through Aramaic, cf. *zawdj*<Aram. *zawgā*<Greek ζεῦγος; *Ḳaṣr*<Aram. *ḳaṣtrā*<Lat. *castra*. Iranian words too have often reached Arabic via Aramaic. With Islam, there came a series of Judaeo-Christian religious terms, originating from Hebrew, cf. *ṣalāt, zakāt* and *ṣadaka*. Christian religious notions were taken from Ethiopic, too, from which derive however also many a word of everyday language, e.g. *khubz* and *baghl*. A new epoch began when Arabic developed into the cultural language of the Islamic world. The classical cultural heritage, appropriated through the translation of Greek words into Arabic, brought a great number of loan words, like *djughrāfiyā, mūsīḳī, hayūlā* and *athīr*, used until today. The rise of Turkish dynasties has left relatively few traces in Arabic, with the exception of the Ottoman domination whose influence is shown by a greater number of borrowings. The basic truth for all loan words is that those which do not fit into the morphemic system of the Arabic language show in the long run the tendency of being replaced by Arabic neologisms. Thus *arithmātīḳī*, "arithmetic", was replaced at an early stage by *ᶜilm al-ḥisāb*, in the same way as *utumūbīl*, "automobile", is in our days replaced by *sayyāra*, whereas *falsafa*, "philosophy", (with *faylasūf*<Greek φιλόσοφος) or *talfan*, "to phone", (with *tilīfūn*) have become integral elements of the lexicon.

Bibliography: Abū Manṣūr al-Djawālīḳī, *Kitāb al-Muᶜarrab min al-kalām al-aᶜdjamī*, ed. A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1361/1942; Suyūṭī, *al-Muhadhdhab fīmā waḳaᶜ fī 'l-Ḳurʾān min al-muᶜarrab*; idem, *al-Mutawakkilī* (excerpt from *al-Muhadhdhab*), Cairo 1926; Khafādjī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fīmā waḳaᶜ fī kalām al-ᶜArab min al-dakhīl*, Cairo 1325/1907; Ṣ. Munadjdjid, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī 'l-alfāẓ al-fārisiyya al-muᶜarraba*, Beirut 1398/1978; Aḥmad Kamāl Bāshāzāda, *Fī 'l-taᶜrīb*, Djāmiᶜat al-Mawṣil, Kulliyyat al-Ādāb 1403/1983; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die Persischen Fremdwörter im Klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919; L. Kopf, *The treatment of foreign words in mediaeval Arabic lexicology* in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix (1960) 191-205; Ramadan Abdel-Tawab, *Das Kitāb al-Garīb al-Muṣannaf und seine Bedeutung für die nationalarabische Lexikographie*, diss. Munich 1962; A. Schall, *Geschichte des Arabischen Wortschatzes—Lehn- und Fremdwörter im Klassischen Arabisch*, in *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie*. Bd. I. *Sprachwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1982, 142-53.

(W. Fischer)

AL-**MUᶜASKAR** (Mᶜaskar in the local pronunciation; in French, Mascara), Arabic "military encampment", a town of Algeria, situated in lat.

35°26′ N. and long. 4°32′ W. at a distance of 60 miles/96 km. to the south-east of Oran (Wahrān).

It lies on the southern slope of the Beni Chougran (Banū Shuḳrān) range (which rise to 3,054 feet/900 m.), called by the local people *Shāreb erriḥ* "drinker of the wind", and is built on the edge of a ravine at the bottom of which flows the Wādī Sīdī Tūdjimān and on the other side of which there stretches towards the north-west the suburb of Bāb ᶜAlī. Mascara dominates one of the most fertile plains of Algeria, one which measures 25 to 30 miles/40 to 50 km. from west to east and 10 to 12 miles/15 to 20 km. from north to south. Here, the people have from earliest times grown cereals, whilst the Europeans introduced here the cultivation of tobacco and created vineyards whose product is renowned. As the market centre for a prosperous region, Mascara had in 1926 30,660 inhabitants, including 13,237 Europeans and 4,481 Jews; since then, the population has considerably increased, whilst the extraneous elements have been reduced to a negligible number.

Mascara is a small Berber town of considerable antiquity. According to al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, tr. de Slane, rev. Fagnan, 160), it included among its inhabitants people who came from Tahert (Tiaret), some of whom went and settled at Ifgan, a day's journey to the south-east when this town was founded by Yaᶜlā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ifrānī, in 338/949-50. Ibn Ḥawḳal (tr. Kramers-Wiet, 87) and al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, 251) mention Mascara as a large, well-watered village rich in fruits. The Almohads seem to have built a fortress there. The Zayyānids of Tlemcen kept a governor and a garrison there. Leo Africanus (tr. Epaulard, 338) notes the importance of the market which was held at Mascara, "one of the towns of the Beni Rasid" (Banū Rāshid), where one could buy, along with cereals in large quantities, cloth and articles of harness manufactured in the country. The rulers of Tlemcen drew considerable revenues from it: 25,000 ducats according to Leo, 40,000 pistoles, according to Marmol (*Africa*, ii, 356).

The Turks established themselves at Mascara in the 16th century and placed a garrison there. In 1701 they made it the capital of the *beylik* of the west, which had hitherto been Mazūna in Dahra. The beys lived there till Oran was reoccupied by the Algerians in 1792. During this period, Mascara, which had hitherto only been an insignificant place, began to look like a regular town. The beys built two mosques and a *madrasa*, a wall and a *ḳaṣba* and brought in a water-supply. The manufacture of burnuses and *ḥāʾiks*, celebrated throughout the Regency, enriched the inhabitants. This prosperity began to decline after the beys left Mascara and especially after the risings, which broke out in the province of the West in the beginning of the 19th century. The Darkāwī Ibn Sharīf seized the town in 1805 and held it for a time. In 1827 it was attacked by the marabout Muḥammad al-Tidjānī. Supported by the Hāshim, he gained possession of the suburb of Bāb ᶜAlī, but was killed by the Turks when preparing to storm the town itself. At the end of the Turkish rule, ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] who had been proclaimed Sultan by the tribes of the plain of Ghrīs, established his seat of government at Mascara, but rarely lived there. A French expedition in December 1836, led by Marshal Clauzel, occupied Mascara, which the French abandoned next day, after burning down part of it. The *amīr* returned to the town and held it till 30 May 1841, when a column under Bugeaud occupied it finally for the French. Mascara, then half in ruins, had only a population of 2,840 inhabitants.

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MUᶜAṬṬILA [see TAᶜṬĪL].

MUᶜĀWAḌA (A.), barter, exchange.

1. *Muᶜāwaḍa*, barter, is historically an early form of the exchange of commodities between two parties and the predecessor of buying and selling (*bayᶜ*; Roman law, *emptio-venditio*). In course of time, sale developed out of exchange when, with the coming of money, a sum was given in place of the goods which the other party had to give in return. In Islamic law we find the following four kinds of sale:

a. Exchange of one thing for another. This is the primitive method of exchange (*muᶜāwaḍa*). Exchange is a transaction in kind. Payment takes place "hand upon hand" (*yadan bi-yadin*).

b. Exchange of a thing for a definite sum (*thaman*). By *thaman* (gold or silver) a sum of money is meant. Here we have a sale in the proper sense of the word [see BAYᶜ].

c. Exchange of one definite sum (*thaman*) for another; this is the case of gold or silver being exchanged for each or one another. This is called *ṣarf* (money-changing).

d. Exchange of a claim (*dayn*, debt) for a definite sum. The main business under this head is the *salam* or *salaf* [*q.v.*].

2. *Muᶜāwaḍa* is a subdivision of the form of agreement called *ṣulḥ*. According to Ibn al-Ḳāsim's definition, 338, and other *fuḳahāʾ*, such an agreement is either *ṣulḥ al-ibrāʾ*, reduction of debt (not wiping it out), or *ṣulḥ al-muᶜāwaḍa*, exchange of debts. Ibn al-Ḳāsim thus defines the latter: "And the exchange, i.e. the composition, is the ceding of one's right to a third person, e.g. when someone claims a house or a part of it and he allows this claim and concludes an agreement with him by which the debt is paid in some definite thing, e.g. in clothes." In this case the creditor, instead of the thing claimed by him which the debtor is unwilling to give up, takes another to wipe out the disputed debt. An agreement may also be made about a legal claim instead of a thing. The following is a practical illustration. Zayd has a legal claim against ᶜAmr. ᶜAmr raises a claim against Zayd. Each of them abandons his claim in *ṣulḥ al-muᶜāwaḍa* and the demands are cancelled.

3. Lastly, *muᶜāwaḍa* is a technical term in the general Islamic law of contract, on which there is no comprehensive study taking full account of the sources. A contract (*ᶜaḳd*) may be based on a one-sided or a mutual obligation (*contractus unilateralis* or *bilateralis*). The latter form, which is the basis for mutual obligations, claim and counterclaim, is called *muᶜāwaḍa* in Islamic law. Examples of contract of this sort are those of sale, lease, marriage, etc.

Bibliography: L.W.C. van den Berg, *De Contractu "do ut des"*, Leiden 1868, 29; Aḥmad Abu 'l-Fatḥ, *al-Muᶜāmalāt*, Cairo 1340, i, 41, 187 ff.; al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, Leiden 1879, pp. xi, xlviii, xiv; R. Grasshoff, *Die allgemeinen Lehren des Obligationenrechts*, Göttingen 1895; see also the usual works on *fiḳh*.

(O. Spies)

MUᶜĀWIYA I b. Abī Sufyān, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of caliphs based in Syria (although not, as is often asserted, the first Umayyad caliph: that was ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAffān [*q.v.*], his second

cousin), ruled as generally acknowledged caliph from 41/661 to 60/680. His father was Abū Sufyān (Ṣakhr) b. Ḥarb b. Umayya al-Akbar b. ᶜAbd Shams [*q.v.*] and his mother was Hint bint ᶜUtba b. Rabīᶜa [*q.v.*], on account of whom Muᶜāwiya is sometimes referred to as Ibn Hind and *Ibn ākilat al-akbād*, "the son of the liver-eater" (cf. below).

The sources provide conflicting reports of the date of Muᶜāwiya's birth and of his age when he died: he is said to have been born 5, 7 or 13 years before Muḥammad's call to prophethood, conventionally set in 610 A.D. (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1328, iii, 433), and to have been aged 73, 75, 78, 80 or 85 years when he died in Radjab 60/April-May 680 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 198, 199-200; see also Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 139. Several different dates in Radjab are proposed; it can be added that Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 356, believed him to have died on 6 Artemisios, May). His father, a prominent figure in pre-Islamic Mecca, being the leader of ᶜAbd Shams there, acted as the leader of the Meccans at the battle of Uḥud [*q.v.*] in 3/625 (in the course of which Hind mutilated the corpse of the Prophet's uncle, Ḥamza, and chewed his liver as an act of vengeance), and organised the confederacy that unsuccessfully besieged Medina in 5/627. Thereafter, however, he ceased to figure as a leading member of the Meccan opposition to Muḥammad. In 7/629 his widowed daughter, Muᶜāwiya's sister Umm Ḥabība, married the Prophet; in 8/630 Abū Sufyān went to Medina to negotiate with him; and when in the same year Muḥammad entered Mecca, Abū Sufyān submitted and became a Muslim. According to Ibn Ḥadjar (*Iṣāba*, iii, 433, where the information is ascribed to al-Wāḳidī and preferred to a variant account), Muᶜāwiya also made his Islam manifest at this time (thus too al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 473), but in fact had been a crypto-Muslim since the treaty of Ḥudaybiyya [*q.v.*] in late 6/628. Both he and his father were nonetheless reckoned among the *ṭulaḳā*ʾ and *ᶜutaḳā*ʾ, enemies of the Prophet who had fallen into his hands, either at al-Ḥudaybiyya (al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmiᶜ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1953-60, xvi, 281, *ad* Ḳurʾān, XLVIII, 24) or by virtue of the conquest of Mecca, and who had been released by him (cf. Ibn Hishām, 821; A.J. Wensinck *et alii*, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, Leiden 1936-69, s.v. *ṭalīḳ*). They were also among "those whose hearts [were] reconciled", as was Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān (W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 73; and see AL-MUʾALLAFA ḲULŪBUHUM). Muᶜāwiya went on to serve as one of the Prophet's scribes (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1782; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 473), being—so it is said—one of the seventeen literate Ḳurashīs at the time (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 471-2).

In 13/634 the caliph Abū Bakr sent Muᶜāwiya to Syria, where he functioned as the commander of the vanguard of the Arab army led by his brother Yazīd in various operations against the Byzantines (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2085, 2090; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 108, 117, 119, 126); and, according to Sayf b. ᶜUmar, he was present when the Arabs occupied Jerusalem in 16/637 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2406, wrongly dated). When Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān died in the plague of ᶜAmwās [*q.v.*] in 18/639, the caliph ᶜUmar put Muᶜāwiya in his brother's place (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2520 [*sub anno* 17]; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 141; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. al-ᶜUmarī, Nadjaf 1967, 109), and in the following year Muᶜāwiya was in command of the Arab conquest of Ḳaysariyya (*q.v.* for details; and note in particular al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 142, ll. 14-17). The extent of the responsibilities assigned to Muᶜāwiya when his brother died is not entirely clear. According to one report, ᶜUmar put him in charge of the *djund* of Dimashḳ and its *kharādj*, and assigned the *djund* and *kharādj* of al-Urdunn to someone else (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2520, citing Ibn Isḥāḳ, who also provides a confusing report at p. 2646 in respect of the year 21); but according to another, ᶜUmar put him over both Dimashḳ and al-Urdunn (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2866, citing Sayf); and a third says that he appointed him over "Syria", apparently in the sense of Dimashḳ, al-Urdunn, Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrīn to the exclusion of Filasṭīn (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 141, citing Hishām b. ᶜAmmār; cf. also 172, l. 5; and Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 340, where the whole of the greater Syria is included). The situation is hardly any clearer in respect of 23/644, the year of ᶜUmar's death, or the arrangements made by ᶜUthmān; on the one hand, Muᶜāwiya was ᶜUmar's governor of Dimashḳ (or Dimashḳ and al-Urdunn) in 23, the governor of Ḥimṣ (or Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrīn) being ᶜUmayr b. Saᶜd al-Anṣārī (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2737 [note e], 2798, 2866); but on the other hand, ᶜUthmān put Muᶜāwiya and ᶜUmayr b. Saᶜd in charge of (? confirmed their appointment over) "Syria" and al-Djazīra respectively (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 183). The solution seems to be that Ḥimṣ, Ḳinnasrīn and al-Djazīra were distinct from "Syria" at this stage (*pace* Hishām b. ᶜAmmār, cited above) and formed an entity of their own, just as they had in 18/639 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 172, l. 16, citing al-Wāḳidī); they did not lie within Muᶜāwiya's remit until ᶜUmayr stood down or was dismissed, when they were made over to Muᶜāwiya by ᶜUthmān (who had by then also made Filasṭīn over to him) (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2866 f., citing Sayf; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 183-4). According to Sayf, this bringing together of Syria (now in the conventional sense) and al-Djazīra under the sole control of Muᶜāwiya took place two years after ᶜUthmān's accession (*idjtamaᶜa ʾl-Shaʾm ᶜalā Muᶜāwiya li-sanatayn min imārat ᶜUthmān*; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2867), which would give us late 25/646 or early 26/647; and al-Wāḳidī knew that it had taken place by 31/651-2 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2865).

While expressions of discontent with ᶜUthmān and the representatives of his caliphal authority became increasingly manifest in ᶜIrāḳ, Egypt and Medina in the course of the early 30s/650s, Muᶜāwiya's Syro-Djazīran domain remained immune from such inconveniences, with the single exception of Abū Dharr [*q.v.*], who was quickly stifled. This was a front where there was plenty to do: Muᶜāwiya had held it energetically against the Byzantines, establishing strong garrisons along the coast and instituting Arab maritime warfare in the Mediterranean—an activity earlier forbidden by ᶜUmar (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2820-4; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 152-3). His firm government and continuing presence in Syria provided an element of stability. In addition, Syria had been the main Arab front in the time of Abū Bakr and, for much of the time, of ᶜUmar, with the result that the fighting men sent there were made up largely of cohesive Arab clan groups keen to campaign; by contrast, those whom it had been possible to muster for the secondary front of ᶜIrāḳ had for the most part been a miscellany of tribal oddments. This, together with the retention of the existing *djund* system in Syria, and the abandonment of any idea of establishing a single garrison city at al-Djābiya [*q.v.*] (or anywhere else) meant that each administrative unit was occupied by cohesive groups, whereas there was a mélange of diverse groups in Kūfa (see M. Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments*, in *IJMES*, ii [1971]). Arab newcomers could be accommodated in the appropriate *djunds*, and tensions of the

kind arising in Kūfa were obviated by the fact that the position of the tribal leaders was already established. In addition, it is possible that Muᶜāwiya may have taken the opportunity to station in Cyprus some of those Syrian early-comers whose standing was "Islamic" rather than tribal (al-Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Futūḥ*, 153-4).

Thus, when the caliph ᶜU<u>th</u>mān was besieged in his Medinan residence by discontented provincials and others in 35/656, these elements did not include Arabs from Syria (Hinds, *The murder of the Caliph ᶜU<u>th</u>mān*, in *IJMES*, iii [1972], 464). Muᶜāwiya was among those governors to whom ᶜU<u>th</u>mān sent word, asking for help, and (perhaps after some extemporising) he did indeed despatch a relief force, which turned back at Wādī 'l-Ḳurā on learning that ᶜU<u>th</u>mān had been killed (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2959, 2985 [inconsistency in respect of the name of the leader]; al-Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Futūḥ*, 204-5). Thereafter, Muᶜāwiya simply bided his time in Syria while ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] sought to establish himself as leader and had to deal with Meccan-led opposition at the Battle of the Camel [see AL-<u>DJ</u>AMAL] at Baṣra in 36/late 656. ᶜAlī made no secret of his intention to dismiss Muᶜāwiya from office in Syria (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3085-6), and Muᶜāwiya studiously avoided paying any allegiance to him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3089-90). By the time when, after the Battle of the Camel, ᶜAlī sent a representative to elicit Muᶜāwiya's oath of allegiance (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3254), there was mounting Syrian resistance to him, coupled with a desire to hold him responsible for the murder of the dead caliph (Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 74-5); and, crucially, it was at this point too that ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ [*q.v.*] agreed to support Muᶜāwiya in return for a promise of Egypt when it could be detached from ᶜAlī's control (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3249-54, 3397). It was ᶜAmr who advised Muᶜāwiya to rally the notables (*wu<u>dj</u>ūh*) of Syria by pinning the responsibility for ᶜU<u>th</u>mān's death on ᶜAlī (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3255); they were called upon to fight for *<u>sh</u>ūrā* (i.e. the appointment of the caliph by consultation, as had been the case with ᶜU<u>th</u>mān) and vengeance for ᶜU<u>th</u>mān; and they responded by swearing allegiance to Muᶜāwiya in those terms, in his capacity of *amīr* (not caliph) (al-Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Ansāb al-a<u>sh</u>rāf*, ii, ed. Maḥmūdī, Beirut 1974, 300, 327). ᶜAlī's representative returned without Muᶜāwiya's oath of allegiance to him, bearing instead the information that the Syrians had resolved to fight him on the grounds that he had killed ᶜU<u>th</u>mān and harboured his [other] killers (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3255). The confrontation at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] ensued in late 36 and early 37/657 (see Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 77-83; Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments*, 362-5).

Concerning the battle itself, it will be sufficient here to note that, against the widely reported view that the Syrians were losing, whereupon Muᶜāwiya ordered the raising of the *maṣāḥif* and the call for a cessation of hostilities (Hinds, *The Siffin arbitration agreement*, in *JSS*, xvii [1972], 93-4), there can be set the non-Muslim contention that it was the Syrians who won this battle, a contention which is moreover corroborated by Umayyad court poetry (P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph*, Cambridge 1986, 69). As for the subsequent arbitration (see ᶜALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, at I, 383-4; Hinds, *The Siffin arbitration agreement*), it is best summed up by <u>Kh</u>alīfa b, <u>Kh</u>ayyāṭ in one sentence: "the arbiters agreed on nothing" (*Taʾrī<u>kh</u>*, 174). In <u>Dh</u>u 'l-Ḳaᶜda 37/April-May 658 ᶜAmr and the Syrians acknowledged Muᶜāwiya as caliph (*sallamū ᶜalayhi bi 'l-<u>kh</u>ilāfa*: al-Ṭabarī, i, 3359 ult., 3396; ii, 199).

Four more years were to pass, however, before Muᶜāwiya was able to enjoy general recognition as caliph. His immediate goal was achieved relatively easily; Egypt was taken in Ṣafar 38/July 658 and ᶜAmr formally took over as governor there two months later (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3407; al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt wa 'l-ḳuḍāt*, 31; Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 93-8). This constituted a blow to the prestige of ᶜAlī, who was by then preoccupied with <u>Kh</u>āri<u>dj</u>ites [*q.v.*] in ᶜIrāḳ; and although Muᶜāwiya's attempt to subvert Baṣra in the same year through the agency of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī [*q.v.*] failed, ᶜAlī's position in ᶜIrāḳ grew weaker, while his control of territories further east was largely non-existent (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 99, and note in particular al-Ṭabarī, i, 3449). Muᶜāwiya waited, limiting his activities to small roving expeditions against the fringes of ᶜIrāḳ and into the Ḥi<u>dj</u>āz and the Yemen (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 100), and may have gone so far as to make a truce with ᶜAlī in 40/660-1 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3453; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 101); if so, it was presumably at the very beginning of that year (May 660), for in July 660 there took place at Jerusalem a formal ceremony of allegiance to him as caliph (T. Nöldeke, *Zur Geschichte der Araber im 1. Jahr. d. H. aus syrischen Quellen*, in *ZDMG* xxix [1875], 95-6; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 4; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 101-2). Any plans ᶜAlī may have had to march against Muᶜāwiya were cut short in Ramaḍān 40/January 661, when he was struck with a poisoned sword in Kūfa by the <u>Kh</u>āri<u>dj</u>ite Ibn Mul<u>dj</u>am [*q.v.*] and died some days later (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 102-4).The subsequent succession of al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] was a short-lived affair, for Muᶜāwiya now moved on ᶜIrāḳ with an army; al-Ḥasan settled for compensation in return for abdication and Muᶜāwiya entered Kūfa in Rabīᶜ I or <u>Dj</u>umādā I 41/July or September 661 (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 104-12). It is this year, the so-called *ᶜām* or *sanat al-<u>dj</u>amāᶜa*, "the year of [unification of] the community" (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 199; <u>Kh</u>alīfa, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>*, 187), that is conventionally regarded as having marked the beginning of Muᶜāwiya's caliphate.

Thereafter, Muᶜāwiya had much to do in order to consolidate Sufyānid rule. Externally, there was above all the matter of Byzantium. In the Mediterranean he had already successfully challenged Byzantine seapower: in addition to having dealt with Cyprus [see KUBRUS] and raided Rhodes and Sicily, he had in 655 been in command of an Arab fleet of 200 vessels that had resoundingly defeated Constans II's fleet of 700-1000 vessels at the Battle of the Masts (on this and other operations against the Byzantines, see <u>DH</u>ĀT AL-ṢAWĀRĪ in Suppl. and R.-J. Lilie, *Die Byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber*, Munich 1976, 60 ff.). On the land frontier to the north, he had, as early as 646, advanced into Anatolia as far as Amorium [see ᶜAMMŪRIYA], but further progress had been limited and the actual frontier had been more in the area of Adana by the time the onset of war with ᶜAlī had forced Muᶜāwiya to come to terms with the Byzantines on the basis of payment of tribute (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 347). Now, however, he busied himself with settling Syrian coastal towns and improving their fortifications; Alexandria too was completely fortified (the work was completed by 670), and Egypt once more became the springboard of expansion into North Africa. The land offensive westwards was accompanied by an aggressive Arab policy at sea following the death of Constans II in 668. An expanded Arab navy raided as far as Sicily in 669, while the army in North Africa established al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] as a base and forayed into what is now Algeria. Rhodes and Crete were overrun in 672 and 674 respectively and

the naval expeditions that followed amounted to a seven-year blockade of Marmora and Constantinople—a blockade that came to an end shortly before Muᶜāwiya's death, when the Arab fleet was beaten off with Greek fire in 679. The same period witnessed regular annual incursions by land into Anatolia—incursions that had the advantage of providing booty and keeping the Arab army in trim. But late in his reign, Muᶜāwiya once more may have had to enter into arrangements involving the payment of tribute to the Byzantines, this time in order to cope with the Mardaites (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 355) [see DJARĀDJIMA].

Internally, Muᶜāwiya was faced with the task of defining and running a Syria-based caliphate capable of pulling together the sundered parts of the Arab domain and maintaining authority over an unruly tribal soldiery. In the Djazīra and the East, matters were particularly complex because the first conquests there had involved a double invasion of Arabs. The relatively united troops that resided in garrison cities under leaders backed by Medina were mainly Arabs from settled and semi-settled backgrounds; but their conquests were paralleled or, at times, even spearheaded by incursions of nomadic Arabs over whom the military leaders appointed by the caliphs had little or no control. In the Djazīra, the nomadic Sulamīs and other Ḳaysīs had enjoyed a free run for many decades, though Muᶜāwiya had settled tribesmen of Muḍar and Rabīᶜa on abandoned land in that region, permitting them to engage in agriculture, during the caliphate of ᶜUthmān (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 178); and the situation had been further complicated by the influx of Kūfans and Baṣrans hostile to ᶜAlī who "abandoned their *hidjra*" in favour of the Djazīra in the course of the civil war (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2673; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ii, 297-8; al-Minḳarī, *Waḳᶜat Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382, 12, 146; al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 218; al-Ḳushayrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Raḳḳa*, ed. al-Niᶜsānī, Ḥamā 1387, 43; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 222; P. Crone, *Slaves on horses*, Cambridge 1980, appendix I, nos. 13, 14, 16, 19). According to Sayf, Muᶜāwiya responded by detaching Ḳinnasrīn-Djazīra from Ḥimṣ and setting it up as a *djund* of its own (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2673). The *tadjnīd* of Ḳinnasrīn-Djazīra is, however, attributed to Yazīd I elsewhere (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 132).

In the case of ᶜIrāḳ, few of the Tamīmīs and Bakrīs who had participated in the conquests settled at Kūfa and only relatively small numbers settled at Baṣra; for the most part they either returned to their own neighbouring pastures or pushed on into the remoter parts of ᶜIrāḳ or beyond, into Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān and Sīstān. They had neither the desire nor the need to settle in garrison cities or other centres; and they were decidedly against any authority seeking to impose itself from outside. But the tightening up of control over the garrison cities themselves was also problematic. The basic problem here was that there were too many Arabs competing for too few resources, the lack of immigration controls having produced Arab over-population. Ziyād b. Abīhī [*q.v.*], Muᶜāwiya's virtually autonomous viceroy in the East, dealt with this problem in a way which permitted him also to consolidate the conquests made in Khurāsān. He weeded out the *dīwān* lists of Kūfa and Baṣra, reorganised the tribal groupings, and moved an estimated 50,000 tribesmen and their families to Khurāsān in 51/671; these tribesmen were settled in the villages of the Marw oasis and were used to extend the Arab conquests in Khurāsān as far as the river Oxus (M.A. Shaban, *The ᶜAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 31 ff.). Within ᶜIrāḳ, Ziyād presided over a reorganisation which included confiscation of the *ṣawāfī*, erstwhile Sāsānid crown lands and other lands that had since the time of ᶜUmar been locally regarded as the collective property of the original conquerors (Ṣ.A. al-ᶜAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāᶜiyya wa 'l-iḳtiṣādiyya fi 'l-Baṣra*, 2nd edn., Beirut 1969, 141; Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments*, 350, 367); and old-guard opposition to this was stifled by the exemplary execution of the veteran Ḥudjr b. ᶜAdī [*q.v.*]. At the same time, tribal leaders (*ashrāf*) who were ready to toe the Sufyānid line formed the base of the power structure.

The nature of this *ashrāf*-based power structure has been best described by Crone (*Slaves on horses*, 31-3, and, in more detail, *The Mawālī in the Umayyad period*, Univ. of London Ph.D. diss. 1973, unpubl., 27 ff.). Their *sharaf* was usually carried over from the Djāhilī period and they therefore represented "the continued efficacy of pre-Islamic tribal stratification"; since individual *ᶜashīras* [*q.v.*] were too small to function as autonomous units, some re-shaping had been essential: the tribal groupings at Kūfa had originally been *aᶜshār*, then they were *asbāᶜ*, and under Ziyād they were turned into *arbāᶜ*; at Baṣra they were *akhmās*. Sometimes existing confederacies accounted for these divisions and sometimes the divisions were organised specifically in order to break up such confederacies. The divisions themselves were like semi-artificial *ḳabāʾil* and, indeed, the *ashrāf* of the Umayyad period are sometimes styled *ruʾūs al-ḳabāʾil*. The creation of these divisions engendered much rivalry for leadership, both between the divisions and within them, and also refusals to submit to particular leaders, as for example by the early Khāridjites or Ḥudjr b. ᶜAdī. The balance was thus a delicate one. Equally delicate was the role of the individual *sharīf* as an intermediary in the Sufyānid power structure, supporting and in turn being supported by the ruling authorities. The *ashrāf* would come together in the governor's *madjlis* and would be present at the Friday worship when the governor came face-to-face with the tribesmen; the governor's own *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] was drawn from the tribesmen, apparently by vote.

The governors of the provinces were drawn from among kinsmen of the caliph and people who were otherwise close to the caliphal family circle. In Medina, the governors were Umayyads: in Mecca, Umayyads and then a Makhzūmī; in Egypt, ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ and then notably Maslama b. Mukhallad [*q.v.*], who was one of the more important Anṣārīs who had stuck with Muᶜāwiya; in ᶜIrāḳ there was in particular Ziyād, whom Muᶜāwiya had adopted as his brother by the process of *istilḥāḳ* (Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 121). The governors functioned as the link between the caliph and the *ashrāf* of the provinces, and the preference for kinsmen helped "to secure the impermeability of the state...vis-à-vis the *qabīla*s" (Crone, *Mawālī*, 29). The principle, in short, was one of indirect rule, with a good deal of provincial autonomy. The governors of the Sufyānid period had full civil and military authority within their huge provinces: the *amīr* or *ᶜāmil* (the terms seem to have been indistinguishable at this time) organised the army, conducted expeditions, led the worship, built mosques, administered justice, maintained order, ran the information network, appointed sub-governors (also called *amīrs* or *ᶜāmils*), supervised the entire taxation system and (in principle at least) sent the surplus to Damascus. The use of pre-existing bureaucratic machinery, run by indigenous elements, meant that

the revenues were kept separate from the tribal framework; payments were made to tribesmen via the *ashrāf*, who themselves received stipends at the highest level (*sharaf al-ᶜaṭāʾ*). The *amīr* himself received a salary and allowances, while also being in a position to acquire riches from gifts, speculation in the sale of crops, trade and general appropriation of revenues. It was only in his person that the military and fiscal arms of the provincial administration met.

There was virtually no central bureaucracy, as distinct from the provincial bureaucracy of Syria. Muᶜāwiya is said to have set up a *dīwān al-rasāʾil* and a *dīwān al-khātam* (chancellery), as well as a *dīwān al-barīd* [see DĪWĀN. i); and he also compelled the provinces to contribute to the central treasury. But the evidence suggests a central administration of the most rudimentary kind, and the contributions of the provinces were not impressive. Out of an annual Egyptian revenue of three or five million *dīnārs*, Muᶜāwiya is said to have received a balance of only 600,000 *dīnārs* (thus Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 102, in conjunction with al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 61, and al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Buldān*, 339; differently al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 277); and out of an annual ᶜIrāḳī revenue of 100 million *dirhams* (120 million according to al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 277) he received no more than 6.66 million *dirhams* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iv/1, ed. ᶜAbbās, 218-19). He was thus heavily dependent upon the revenues of his own province of Syria, the income from the *ṣawāfī* he had taken over in ᶜIrāḳ and elsewhere (al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 258-9, 277-8), the fifth of the booty made over to him at times of conquest, and other irregular income. There was no imperial body of troops. The caliph's troops were the Syrian troops, and the capital in effect moved around with the caliph.

Like his predecessor ᶜUthmān, Muᶜāwiya adopted the title *khalīfat Allāh*, "deputy of God" (Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 6-7). But despite the claim to divine sanction and religious authority implied by this title, the caliphate was still a fluid institution. When Muᶜāwiya took over, there had been (we are told) four caliphs, only three of whom had gained general recognition, but each of whom had attained the caliphate by different means and three of whom had been murdered: the rights and duties of the caliph, the mode of succession and the general character of the power structure were matters that were neither spelt out nor agreed upon.

In practice, Muᶜāwiya does not seem to have pressed the divine sanction for his rule very far. He operated the system of clan and tribe—albeit within the changed conditions of life in ᶜIrāḳī cantonments and Syrian towns—as being the only viable form of Arab social order; his was a style that involved indirect rule through the *ashrāf*, supplemented by his own personal touch with delegations (*wufūd*) and, not least, by his *ḥilm* [*q.v.*], "the patient and tireless cunning in the manipulation of men through knowledge of their interests and passions" (M. Rodinson, *Muhammad*, London 1971, 221), which in his case included "the prudent mildness by which he disarmed and shamed the opposition, slowness to anger, and the most absolute self-command" (Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 138). In one of those semi-apocryphal stories with which Arabic literature is so rich, Muᶜāwiya is quoted as having said, "If there were but a single hair between myself and my people, it would never be severed.... I would let it go slack if ever they tugged it, and I would tug it myself if ever they slackened it" (thus, e.g., al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 283). Muᶜāwiya's success at this style of rule is attested by the fact that he managed to hold his kingdom together without ever having to resort to using his Syrian troops; and his contemporary John of Phenek, a Nestorian monk of north Mesopotamia, gives impressive testimony when he says, "Justice flourished in his time, and there was great peace in the regions under his control.... Once Mᶜawyā had come to the throne, the peace throughout the world was such that we have never heard, either from our fathers or from our grandparents, or seen that there had ever been any like it" (S. Brock, *North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century. Book XV of John Bar Penkāyē's Rīš Mellē*, in *JSAI*, ix [1987], 61). The fact that his system of indirect control was "vulnerable in both structural and temporal terms" (Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 33) is more apparent to the modern historian than it was to contemporaries.

In Syria itself, Muᶜāwiya's position was underpinned by his troops, who were above all from the confederacy of Ḳuḍāᶜa [*q.v.*]. The leading tribe of Ḳuḍāᶜa was Kalb [see KALB B. WABARA] camel-breeding nomads of the Syrian desert who had earlier been employed by the Byzantines under Ghassānid leadership to defend the Syrian *limes* against the Sāsānids and the Lakhmids; they were accustomed to military discipline and had become Monophysite Christians. They stood aside when the Arab conquest of Syria took place, however, and were brought into the Arab power structure by Muᶜāwiya, who married Maysūn bint Baḥdal al-Kalbiyya [*q.v.*], the daughter of Baḥdal b. ᶜUnayf [*q.v.*] of the Ḥāritha b. Djanāb clan, which was the *bayt* of Kalb; this Maysūn became the mother of Muᶜāwiya's son Yazīd [*q.v.*]. On this basis, Muᶜāwiya built up a strong confederacy in which his Kalbī and other Ḳuḍāᶜī support was welded with that of immigrant tribesmen stationed in central and southern Syria, mainly Kindīs from the *wādīs* of southern Arabia. The leaders of the resultant confederacy were successively Mālik b. Baḥdal and his son Ḥassān b. Mālik [*q.v.*], and the arrangements included the awarding of stipends at the highest level to each of 2,000 men, together with privileges of consultation and precedence in the *madjlis* (*al-amr wa'l-nahy wa-ṣadr al-madjlis*: al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 200 = §1963).

Towards the end of his life, Muᶜāwiya had the oath of allegiance taken to his son Yazīd as his successor (see Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, 140-3; Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, in *MFOB*, v/1 [1911], ch. vi). It was not simply that Yazīd was of noble birth, mature years and acknowledged judgment; most important of all was the fact that he represented a continuation of the link with Kalb and so a continuation of the Kalb-led confederacy on which Sufyānid power ultimately rested (a point overlooked by Ibn Khaldūn in his celebrated defence of Muᶜāwiya's action, *ᶜIbar*, i, 175). From the main elements that made up the confederacy there was, understandably enough, no sign of protest that such an oath of allegiance marked a break with past Arab practice of choice by acclaim, and Muᶜāwiya did his best to grease the palms of others—notably members of Banū Hāshim—who might have been assailed by qualms. Nonetheless, his initiative met with resistance, notably on the part of ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] and al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī [*q.v.*] in the Ḥidjāz. The resistance increased when Yazīd succeeded his father in 60/680; and with his early death in 64/683, civil war broke out again.

To posterity, Muᶜāwiya's accession marked the end of the rightly-guided caliphate. "It was as if Muhammad had worked and preached all for the greater glory and profit of his enemies. He had conquered an

empire for those who had rejected him, the Quraysh" (Rodinson, *Muhammad*, 295). At the same time, the transfer of the caliphate from Medina to Syria, the introduction of hereditary succession and the growth, however modest, of the state apparatus suggested that Muᶜāwiya had transformed the caliphate into a monarchic institution of the Persian or Byzantine type, the very institution that the Muslims had been sent to destroy (Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Omaiyade Moᶜâwia Ier*, Paris, London and Leipzig 1908, 191-5; Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 115). But even so, Muᶜāwiya's image is ambivalent (G.R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam*, London 1986, 42); he was seen, not just as the man who perverted the caliphate into kingship, but also as a clever and successful ruler, and there is considerable admiration for him in the sources. Attempts at dispassionate analysis of his reign were rare, however. To Ibn Rushd, his caliphate represented a shift from the ideal constitution to a timocratic one (*Averroes' commentary on Plato's Republic*, tr. E.I.J. Rosenthal, Cambridge 1956, 223); and to Ibn Khaldūn it was a stage in the inevitable transformation of *ᶜaṣabiyya* into *mulk* (*ᶜIbar*, i, 176). But more commonly, Muᶜāwiya was either cursed or venerated, the legitimacy of his caliphate being a far more important issue than its historical nature (cf. Pellat, *Le culte de Muᶜāwiya*, in *SI*, vi [1956]; M.A.J. Beg, *The reign of Muᶜāwiya*, in *IC*, li [1977], 84). Modern Muslim writings on Muᶜāwiya and the Umayyads are also highly *parti pris* (see W. Ende, *Arabische Nation und islamische Geschichte*, Beirut 1977).

Bibliography: Basically given in the article. See also H. Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930: ᶜU. Abu 'l-Naṣr, *Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān wa-ᶜaṣruhu*, Beirut 1962; E. Ladewig Petersen, *ᶜAlī and Muᶜāwiya in early Arabic tradition*, Copenhagen 1964; I. Hassan, *Recherches sur Muᶜāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān*, Jerusalem 1982 (in Hebrew, unpublished). (M. Hinds)

MUᶜĀWIYA II b. Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiya I, last caliph of the Sufyānid line of the Umayyads, reigned briefly in 64/683-4.

When Yazīd I b. Muᶜāwiya [*q.v.*] died at Ḥuwwārīn in the Syrian Desert in Rabīᶜ I 64/November 683, he left behind three young sons by free mothers; Muᶜāwiya and his brother Khālid b. Yazīd [*q.v.*] cannot have been much more than 20 years old, Muᶜāwiya's age being given by the sources variously at between 17 and 23. Most of the surviving Sufyānids were in fact young and inexperienced, with their leadership qualities unproven. Yazīd had had the *bayᶜa* [*q.v.*] made to Muᶜāwiya before his death (see Lammens, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, Beirut 1921, 112, 425 ff.), and Muᶜāwiya succeeded in Damascus with Kalbī support, but was not recognised in the lands acknowledging the anti-caliph ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. The name of Muᶜāwiya's mother is not recorded, but she was a member of the powerful Kalb group; those sources (e.g. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 22; etc.) making him the son of Umm Hāshim Fākhita bt. Abī Hāshim confuse Muᶜāwiya's mother with that of his half-brother Khālid.

The length of Muᶜāwiya's reign is given in the sources as from 20 days up to 4 months, but given the fact that virtually nothing is known of his reign, a duration of at most one or two months seems likely. It is known that the Christian Sardjūn b. Manṣūr continued to serve the new caliph as head of the *dīwān*, as he had done in the previous two reigns (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 837), and Muᶜāwiya's closest adviser seems to have been the Ḳurashī head of the Ḳays group, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī [*q.v.*], subsequently to be vanquished at Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and al-Walīd b. ᶜUtba, son of Muᶜāwiya I's only full brother and probably the eldest living Sufyānid.

Some of the very few incidents recounted for his reign by the historians must be regarded as fabricated for political or sectarian aims, hence unreliable. Thus the report of ᶜAwāna in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 468 (but not in al-Wāḳidī's account at ii, 577) and in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 229, that he abdicated the throne (*tabarraʾa min al-khilāfa*) before his actual death, stems from subsequent Marwānid propaganda to confuse the fact that the Marwānids supplanted the Sufyānids; it was probably for this reason that Muᶜāwiya's name does not appear in some of the lists of caliphs, e.g. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus 1387-8/1967-8, i, 318. Likewise, the assertion that he was an adherent of the Ḳadariyya sect may have resulted from a later belief in an abdication, which would have been in accord with Ḳadarī beliefs on human responsibility as a factor in political behaviour [see ḳadariyya, at IV, 369b]. Of Shīᶜī inspiration is the report in al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 302-3, that, at the meeting of Syrian leaders at the opening of his reign, Muᶜāwiya denounced the tyranny and perfidiousness of his own father and grandfather and their maltreatment of the ᶜAlids, the true inheritors of the Prophet (see Lammens, *Moᶜâwia II*, in *Études*, 192-202). The attribution to Muᶜāwiya of the *kunya* Abū Laylā, given ironically because, as several sources explain (e.g. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maᶜārif*, ed. ᶜUkkāsha, 352; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 428-9; al-Masᶜūdī, v, 168-9 = §1932), it was especially applied to weak persons, is equally suspect; Muᶜāwiya does not in any case seem to have left behind any progeny.

What seems definite is that, on his accession, Muᶜāwiya remitted one-third of the taxation due, and a Latin chronicle of the Byzantine period states that Muᶜāwiya followed in the same commendable ways of conduct as his father Yazīd (Lammens, *Moᶜâwiya II*, 177-8, 179). But his ill-health compelled him to remain within the palace of al-Khaḍrāʾ, the *dār al-imāra* of Damascus constructed by Muᶜāwiya I (see Ibn ᶜAsākir, tr. N. Elisséeff, *La description de Damas d'Ibn ᶜAsākir*, Damascus 1959, 228), leaving the practical conduct of affairs to al-Ḍaḥḥāk and not emerging from his residence till he died. It seems likely that his authority was only recognised in Damascus and southern Syria, and even possible that, already before his death, some of the partisans of the Umayyads may have started to look elsewhere for a more energetic ruler.

The exact cause of Muᶜāwiya's death is unclear. It may have resulted from jaundice (*al-ṣufār*), indicating a liver complaint, or it may have been the result of a sharp outbreak of plague which ravaged ᶜIrāḳ and Syria at this time and which could also have carried off al-Walīd b. ᶜUtba (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 468; Ibn ᶜAsākir, ms. Ẓāhiriyya, notice on Muᶜāwiya b. Yazīd). Muᶜāwiya had either refused to nominate a successor (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 577) or, more probably, had never had time to hold a ceremony of *bayᶜa*. Al-Walīd b. ᶜUtba recited the funeral prayers over Muᶜāwiya but seems himself to have died before he could assert a claim to the throne; and Muᶜāwiya's uncle ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAnbasa b. Abī Sufyān, who enjoyed some support among the Kalb of the province of Jordan, went to join his mother's brother ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in the Ḥidjāz, where his claim to the caliphate had already been raised. Muᶜāwiya's death thus not only meant a complete cessation of the military operations begun in the Ḥidjāz by Yazīd against the rebels but led also to the temporary collapse of Umayyad power

in its own heartland of Syria, where only the resolute behaviour of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], from a parallel branch of the Umayyad family, was to secure the situation for the dynasty.

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MUᶜĀWIYA b. **HISHĀM** b. ᶜAbd al-Malik, Umayyad prince. As the eldest son of Hishām [*q.v.*], caliph from 105 to 125/724-43, he was designated heir presumptive by his father, but died prematurely, at a date variously located between 117 and 119/735-7, at about thirty years of age. Although he did not himself accede to the throne, he was the father of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*], known as al-Dākhil, who fled to Spain where he restored the dynasty founded in Damascus by Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.v.*]. Muᶜāwiya b. Hishām, who had thirteen sons, was thus the ancestor of the *amīrs* and caliphs who reigned at Cordova until the 5th/11th century [see umayyads of spain].

Bibliographical information concerning him is scanty. His mother was probably an *umm walad*, and his father had him participate in about a dozen summer expeditions (*ṣāʾifa*) from 106/724 onwards.

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MUᶜĀWIYA b. **ḤUDAYDJ** (Khadīdj in the *Djamhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 240) b. Djafna al-Sakūnī al-Tudjībī, Abū Nuᶜaym or Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, Companion of the Prophet who took part in the conquest of Egypt and remained in the country with the Muslim occupying forces.

He was an ᶜUthmānī, much attached to the memory of ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAffān and hostile to ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; also, when Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*], who had been involved in the murder of ᶜUthmān, arrived at Fusṭāṭ in mid-Ramaḍān 37/24 February 658, in order to govern Egypt in the name of ᶜAlī, Ibn Ḥudaydj showed him violent hostility, in which he was joined by Maslama b. Mukhallad [*q.v.*] who was, like him, the leader of a powerful contingent ready to lend support to potential rebels. Meanwhile, Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, still merely the governor of Syria, but pre-empting the decision of the two arbitrators appointed after Ṣiffīn and engaged in the effort to avenge the murder of ᶜUthmān, appointed ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ [*q.v.*], governor of Egypt. To prevent him accomplishing his mission, the son of Abū Bakr mobilised his troops, among whom was the actual murderer of ᶜUthmān, Kināna b. Bishr, who was killed in battle; abandoned by his army, the titular governor took flight, so that ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ was able to enter Fusṭāṭ. Ibn Ḥudaydj took part in the hunt for the fugitive, whom he discovered in hiding; he received orders from ᶜAmr to conduct him to Fusṭāṭ out of respect for his brother ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, who was among his ranks, but he refused and killed his adversary, placing his skin in the hide of a donkey and setting fire to it; it is also said that he sent his head to Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān and that the latter paraded it through the streets of Damascus.

These events, which took place in 38/658, have engaged the main interest of historians and biographers, but Muᶜāwiya b. Ḥudaydj also achieved renown through actions concerning the Maghrib. He is in fact credited with three expeditions in Ifrīḳiya. In the course of the first, which took place in 34/654-5, he "took possession of numerous fortresses and gained a considerable quantity of booty. He established a garrison-camp near al-Ḳarn and resided there until his return to Egypt" (Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, partial ed.-tr. A. Gateau, Algiers² 1957, 56/57); it was on this occasion that he awarded his troops "in the form of a special gratuity (*nafala*), half of the booty, having taken a fifth for himself" [see ghanīma]. The site of al-Ḳarn, which is a hill 171 m. in height "12 km. to the north-west of the present town of al-Ḳayrawān on the road from Djalūlā" [see al-ḳayrawān. i] may be considered as having determined the choice of location of the capital of Ifrīḳiya. The early historians—such as Ibn ᶜAbd al Ḥakam or al-Bakrī—describe with fantastic details the miraculous capture of Djalūlā by ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān or by the leader of the expedition himself. The other mission, which took place in 40/660-1 (or 41, with the conquest of Bizerta [see banzart], or 45) and finally in 50/670, with the support of a contingent from Medina commanded by ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, again led Muᶜāwiya b. Ḥudaydj to al-Ḳarn, which was to some extent his operational base. Al-Ṭabarī (ii/1, 84, 93) states that he was appointed governor of Egypt in 47/667 and dismissed in 50/670, but in fact it was his comrade-in-arms Maslama b. Mukhallad who held this function. He died shortly afterwards, in 52/672, but historians such as Ibn al-Athīr (*s.a.* 58) or Ibn Taghrībardī (*Nudjūm*, i, 151) describe him receiving bountiful honours, in Damascus in 58/678, from Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, to whom he explained his refusal to accept appointment by the nephew of the caliph, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam, as governor of Egypt; there is evidently some confusion here, the cause of which is unclear.

Bibliography: Besides the sources quoted, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 221, 227, 228, 235, 237; Ṭabarī, i, 3404 ff.; Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 421-3 = §1726; Ibn ᶜAbd al-Barr, *Istīᶜāb*, commentary on the *Iṣāba*, iii, 406; Ibn ᶜIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, 15, 16; Bakrī, *Mughrib*, ed.-tr. de Slane, index; ᶜAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, no. 8062; Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, ed. Muʾnis, Cairo 1951, i, 17-18; Ibn Nādjī, *Maᶜālim al-īmān*, i, 39-40; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 298; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, i, 110 ff., 139; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, i, 210, 307, 308, 315, 324; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 54, 57. (Ch. Pellat)

MUᶜĀWIYA b. **ᶜUBAYD ALLĀH** [see abū ᶜubayd allāh].

al-**MUᶜAWWIDHATĀNⁱ**, "the two sūras of taking refuge [from evil]", the name given to the two last sūras (CXIII and CXIV) of the Ḳurʾān, because they both begin with the words *ḳul: aᶜūdhu bi-rabbi* ... *min* ..., "Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of ... against ...", and are pronounced as prayers intended to dispel the evils engendered by the devil, evil spirits, the practice of magic, etc. The plural *al-muᶜawwidhāt* is also found equally applied to these two sūras and to

the preceding one, set forth in the form of a *credo*; this plural appears especially in al-Bukhārī (*daʿawāt, bāb* 12) in regard to the Prophet, who recited these sūras when he was about to go to sleep.

The *muʿawwidhatāni* are considered to be Meccan, although they are also considered as having been revealed at Medina in order to frustrate an attempt to lay a spell on the Prophet (on the use which he made of them, see al-Bukhārī, *loc. cit.*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 155). They have continued to be employed, especially to avert the evil eye (Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1899, 259).

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AL-**MUʾAYYAD** [see HISHĀM II].

AL-**MUʾAYYAD BI'LLĀH MUḤAMMAD**, the name of two Ḳāsimī Zaydī *imāms* of Yemen.

1. Ibn al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi'llāh al-Ḳāsim, known best as the *imām* in whose time the Ottoman Turks were expelled from Yemen after a continuous presence of a century (945-1045/1538-1635).

Born in 990/1582, widespread recognition of his scholarly and leadership capabilities assured him unchallenged election to the imāmate upon his illustrious father's death in Rabīʿ I 1029/February 1620. One of *Imām* Muḥammad's first acts was to renew the ten-year truce which his father had latterly concluded with Meḥmed Pasha, the governor of the Ottoman Turks still occupying numerous centres in Yemen. This agreement was upheld until early 1036/late 1626 when, following the execution of an eminent supporter of the *imām* by Ḥaydar Pasha, the current Ottoman governor, assaults on several Ottoman strongholds were mounted by the *imām*'s forces. Indigenous support for *Imām* Muḥammad proved considerable, and before the year's end the Turks had lost all of their holdings in the central and northern highlands except Ṣanʿāʾ, their main base, which was under close investment. With the surrender of both Ṣanʿāʾ and Taʿizz during 1038/1629, the Ottoman forces remained confined to Zabīd and Mocha in the Tihāma, despite their substantial augmentation with reinforcements. A series of short truces with the *imām* enabled the strife-torn Ottoman garrison to survive at Zabīd until mid-1045/late 1635, when Ḳānṣūh Pasha, the last Ottoman governor, capitulated and departed from Yemen, followed shortly by most of the remaining Ottoman soldiery. *Imām* Muḥammad died at Shahāra, his capital, in Radjab 1054/September 1644, the sources reporting no significant events during his final years.

Although during his time Yemen freed itself from foreign rule, thereby becoming the first Arab country to secede from the Ottoman empire, *Imām* Muḥammad entrusted all military affairs to his capable brothers, principally to al-Ḥasan (d. 1048/1639), al-Ḥusayn (d. 1050/1640) and Aḥmad (d. *ca.* 1060/1650), while he devoted himself to scholarship and to leading the Zaydī community. Al-Ḥibshī (*Muʾallafāt*, 137-9) has identified and located thirteen works of his authorship, mainly legal opinions and interpretations based on Zaydī dogma.

2. Ibn al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llah Ismāʿīl b. al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi'llāh al-Ḳāsim, who succeeded *Imām* al-Mahdī Aḥmad (d. Djumādā II 1092/June-July 1681) and held the imāmate until his death on 3 Djumādā II 1097/27 April 1686, possibly from poisoning. Unwarlike, and distinguished by his extreme ascetism, piety and devotion to learning, this incumbent, who was *imām* in little more than name only, was initially challenged and later largely disregarded by several aggressive competitors among his brothers and cousins.

Bibliography (combined): 1. Primary sources. An extant biography of *Imām* Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim is *al-Djawhara al-munīra* by Djurmūzī (d. 1077/1666-7), yet unpublished. Other ms. sources include the *Sīrat al-Manṣūr bi'llāh al-Ḳāsim*, of unknown authorship, described by A. Sayyid (*Maṣādir taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1974, 332) as a history of Yemen 985-1085/1577-1674; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. *ca.* 1100/1689), *Bahdjat al-zaman*, the *dhayl* to his *Anbāʾ al-zaman* chronicling events in Yemen between 1046/1636-7 and 1099/1687-8; Ḥasanī (d. 1104/1692-3), *Takmilat Kitāb al-ifāda*; ʿĀmir b. Muḥammad al-Rashīd (d. 1135/1722-3), *Bughyat al-murīd*. Two useful published chronicles are Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī* (the abridgement of his *Anbāʾ al-zaman*), ed. S. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1968, ii, 813-39 (to 1045/1635-6) and Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 1147/1734-5), *Ṭabaḳ al-ḥalwā*, ed. Djāzim, Ṣanʿāʾ 1405/1985, which treats events in Yemen from 1045-90/1635-80.

2. Published secondary materials include Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, ii, 445-7, iii, 153-62; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284/1867-8, iii, 297-9, 396 f., iv, 122 f., 297 f.; Aḥmed Rāshid, *Tārīkh-i Yemen*, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 222-58; Wüstenfeld, *Jemen*, Göttingen 1884, 48-56, 60-3; ʿĀṭıf Pasha, *Yemen tārīkhi*, Istanbul 1326/1908, i, 96-104; Zabāra, *Itḥāf al-muhtadīn*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1343/1924-5, 80, 84; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, ii. 139 f., 238-40; ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. Karmalī, Cairo 1939, 66-8; Djurāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 145-55, 169 f.; Muṣṭafā Sālim, *al-Fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, Cairo 1969, 369-89; Bayḥānī, *Ashiʿʿat al-anwār*, Cairo 1391/1971-2, ii, 245-9; Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 136-9, 143-5.

(J.R. Blackburn)

AL-**MUʾAYYAD FI 'L-DĪN** ABŪ NAṢR HIBAT ALLĀH B. ABĪ ʿIMRĀN MŪSĀ B. DĀWŪD AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, an eminent Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*, who played a leading role as an intermediary between the Fāṭimids and AL-BASĀSĪRĪ [*q.vv.*] in the famous campaign against the Saldjūḳs. He was born in Shīrāz during the eighties of the 4th/nineties of the 10th century (*Dīwān al-Muʾayyad*, ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949, 21-2, 234-5, 253, 282). His father, also an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*, was a prominent man in the Būyid court circle, and Abū Ghālib Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Wāsiṭī, the vizier of Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] used to visit him frequently (*Sīrat al-Muʾayyad*, ed. Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949, 15). He probably succeeded his father in the headship of the *daʿwa* in Fārs. In 429/1038, the administration became alarmed at his rising influence over the Daylamīs, one of the main groups in the Būyid army, and over the people of Shīrāz, and wanted him deported. Al-Muʾayyad, who was on good terms with the vizier al-ʿĀdil, contrived to buy time and arranged a meeting with the young prince Abū Kālīdjār [*q.v.*]. The story of his life and adventures thenceforth until the year 450/1058 are well documented in his autobiography, whereas the preceding and following periods of his life remain somewhat obscure.

Through his wits, learning, and eloquence, al-Muʾayyad succeeded in winning the sympathies of Abū Kālīdjār and eventually converted him to the Ismāʿīlī faith. The favour shown to him by the prince aroused envy at court, but al-Muʾayyad was not deterred from propagating the Fāṭimid doctrine publicly. After the vizier al-ʿĀdil's death in 433/1041-

2 he journeyed to Ahwāz, restored an old mosque, inscribed the names of the Fāṭimid *imāms* on the *miḥrāb*, and read the *khuṭba* in name of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir (*Sīrat al-Muʾayyad*, 54-5). On his return to Shīrāz he found a hostile reception from the new vizier. Finally, on account of the ʿAbbāsid caliph's pressure and of intrigue at his own court against al-Muʾayyad, Abū Kālīdjār was obliged to withdraw his support and advised him to leave the city. Probably at the beginning of 435/1043, he migrated secretly to Ahwāz and stayed with *amīr* Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asadī on his estate for seven months. The *amīr*'s intervention on behalf of al-Muʾayyad might have reconciled the prince, who was also in Ahwāz, but the death of Djalāl al-Dawla in Shaʿbān of the same year made it impossible, as Abū Kālīdjār renewed his claims to the throne in Baghdād. Consequently, al-Muʾayyad left for Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ. After spending a year in al-Mawṣil, he arrived in Cairo in 438/1046, but failed to get an audience with the *imām* until Shaʿbān 29, 439/February 18, 1048.

Despite his superior accomplishment and great literary ability, al-Muʾayyad did not find favour with the courtiers until 444/1052-3 when he was appointed to the chancery. In 446/1054-5, after receiving information through a Byzantine source that Ṭoghrıl Beg had entered into a secret agreement with the Byzantines against the Fāṭimids, he corresponded with al-Basāsīrī, a Turkish slave who had become a military commander in the last years of the Būyid dynasty, promising Fāṭimid aid and encouraging him to conquer Baghdād. The following year he was sent as a Fāṭimid plenipotentiary in this matter to ʿIrāḳ with money, exquisite robes, horses and weapons. By way of Damascus and Aleppo he went to al-Raḥba and handed over to al-Basāsīrī an investiture from al-Mustanṣir. His intense efforts at dealing with numerous *amīrs* and military leaders resulted in the formation of a coalition under the leadership of al-Basāsīrī which inflicted a bloody defeat on the Saldjūḳ army at Sindjār in 448/1057, and al-Mustanṣir was acknowledged in al-Mawṣil. However, a lack of further support from Cairo and the greed of military leaders led al-Muʾayyad to withdraw to Aleppo.

He returned to Cairo in 450/1058 and became *dāʿī al-duʿāt*, but his good fortune did not last long and he was briefly vanished by a vizier to Jerusalem. He was in direct communication with the Yamanī *daʿwa*, since the Yamanī *dāʿī* al-Ḳāḍī Lamak b. Mālik, the Ṣulayḥid emissary in Cairo, had stayed with him during his sojourn (454-9/1062-7) in Cairo and had received special instructions from him. He died in 470/1077 and was buried in the Dār al-ʿIlm.

His *al-Madjālis al-Muʾayyadiyya* (vol. i ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Beirut 1974; a compendium compiled by *dāʿī* Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, Cairo 1975) in 8 vols. is considered to be the apogee of Ismāʿīlī learning.

Bibliography: For a full description of his works and sources, see I Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 103-9.

(I. POONAWALA)

AL-**MUʾAYYAD SHAYKH** (AL-MALIK), Circassian Mamlūk sultan. He was brought to Egypt by the *khʷādjā* Maḥmūd Shāh (732/1380-1), and bought by al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*] whence his *nisbas* of al-Maḥmūdī al-Ẓāhirī.

He was then about 12 or possibly (following Ibn Taghrībirdī) some 10 years older, and was in due course emancipated and promoted in the sultan's entourage. In 802/1400 he was appointed governor of Tripoli by al-Nāṣir Faradj [*q.v.*], and spent the next 12 years in Syria, holding various appointments. He was deeply involved in the factional politics in which the Ẓāhiriyya, while generally opposed to Faradj and his Nāṣiriyya household, were also at odds amongst themselves. In 812/1410 Shaykh allied with his rival, Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī al-Ẓāhirī, and ultimately they defeated and deposed Faradj (Muḥarram 815/May 1412). With the caliph al-Mustaʿīn as nominal sultan, the realm was partitioned, Nawrūz retaining Syria, while Shaykh ruled Egypt as *atābak al-ʿasākir*. This settlement was overturned when Shaykh usurped the sultanate (Shaʿbān 815/November 1412). Nawrūz refused to recognise his title, and endeavoured to organise the Syrian governors against him.

This led to Shaykh's first Syrian campaign (817/1414), when Nawrūz was lured out of the citadel of Damascus to his death. The ensuing settlement of Syria proved ephemeral, as the governors appointed by Shaykh conspired against him, and the sultan led a second campaign (818/1415) to suppress their revolt. The third campaign (820/1417) was very different in its purpose and scope. Shaykh advanced to Aleppo, which became his base for operations in the northern marches. Two Turcoman principalities were here the immediate neighbours of the sultanate: the Ramaḍānids (Ramaḍān-oghulları [*q.v.*]) dominated Cilicia [*q.v.*] from Adana [*q.v.*], while to their east were the Dulḳādirids (Dhu 'l-Ḳadr [*q.v.*]) of Elbistan [*q.v.*] with their other principal towns at Marʿash and Malaṭya [*q.vv.*]. Greater powers flanked these client-states: westwards the Ḳaramānids (Ḳaramān-oghulları [*q.v.*]), and eastwards the Turcoman confederacies of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu and the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu [*q.vv.*]. Shaykh's immediate aim was to capture Ṭarsūs, which had been taken from his Ramaḍānid client by the Ḳaramānid Nāṣir al-Dīn Meḥmed Beg. This was achieved, while the main thrust of the expedition was developed towards the east with an offensive against Elbistan and the Dulḳādirid fortresses, most of which surrendered, at least temporarily. The Ḳaramānids and the growing power of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu under their greatest chief, Ḳara Yūsuf, continued to be Shaykh's chief anxieties. In 812/1418, fearing that fighting between the two Turcoman confederacies threatened Aleppo, he obtained a *fatwā* justifying *djihād* against Ḳara Yūsuf, who however withdrew. An expedition accompanied by Shaykh's son, Ṣārim al-Dīn (al-Ṣārimī) Ibrāhīm, invaded Ḳaramānid territory in 822/1419. Kayseri surrendered, and Shaykh's suzerainty was recognised. Meḥmed Beg withdrew as the sultan's army advanced to Konya, Niğde and Laranda. Here, however, the decision was taken to return to Aleppo. The expedition, like that of Baybars in 675/1276, had demonstrated the limitations and impermanency of Mamlūk ascendancy in Anatolia. There were no further campaigns in Shaykh's reign, although in his last months he was again preparing an expedition against Ḳara Yūsuf.

These transient victories partially masked the unsound condition of Egypt. The currency was unstable. Epidemics of plague were recurrent. A serious dearth resulting in bread riots occurred in 818/1415-16, while in 820/1417-18 the *ustādār* Fakhr al-Dīn b. Abi 'l-Faradj carried out extortionate levies in Lower Egypt, which he followed with a punitive expedition against the Arabs of Upper Egypt. The booty then acquired (including enslaved free women) was disposed of by enforced purchase at arbitrarily fixed prices (*ṭarḥ*).

Shaykh suffered from a condition in his legs which

at times made walking impossible, and his health deteriorated throughout 823/1420. On 15 Djumādā II 823/27 June 1420, al-Ṣārimī Ibrāhīm died, leaving no obvious successor to the sultanate. Shaykh designated his infant son, Aḥmad (born 2 Djumādā I 822/27 May 1419) as his heir. Shaykh himself died on 9 Muḥarram 824/14 January 1421, and was buried in the Muʾayyadī mosque, which he had built by the Zuwayla Gate. Less than a year later, al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad was deposed by the usurper Ṭaṭar al-Ẓāhirī.

Bibliography: There are two contemporary accounts of the reign: by Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442), *K. al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, iv/1, 243-551, Cairo 1972; and by his younger contemporary, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, xiv, 1-166 (Cairo edn.) = Popper, vi/2, 322-431; tr. iii, 15-120. A later account is given by Ibn Iyās (b. 852/1448), *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ii, 3-63, Wiesbaden 1972 (translation by G. Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, Paris 1955-60, index).

(P.M. Holt)

MUʾAYYAD-ZĀDE or Müʾeyyed-zāde, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Čelebī, an important Ottoman theologian and legist.

Born in 860/1456 in Amasya of the family of Muʾayyad-zāde (his father ʿAlī was one of the three sons of Diwrigli-zāde Shams al-Dīn Muʾayyad Čelebī, d. 851/1447, Shaykh of the Yaʿḳūb Pasha *zāwiye* in Amasya), he became, as a young student of theology, acquainted with prince Bāyezīd, the younger son of Sultan Meḥemmed Fātiḥ and afterwards Sultan, who had been appointed *wālī* of Amasya as a seven year-old boy, and became a member of his circle. It is to this period that his relations with the famous poetess Mihrī Khātūn [*q.v.*] belong. The relations between the gifted youth and the prince, who was about 9 years older than he (born 851/1447), became so intimate that Muʾayyad soon became the inseparable comrade of Bāyezīd. When Sultan Meḥemmed heard from various sources, especially from a complaint in verse by Ḥalīmī Luṭf ʿAllāh, *ḳāḍī* of Sīwās, who had been gravely insulted by the entourage of the prince, of alleged abuses at the prince's court, especially the orgies of drug-taking (*mukeyyefāt: bersh, afyūn, maʿdjūn*), he sent a commission of enquiry which arrived in Amasya when the prince was with Muʾayyad on a pleasure trip to Ladik. The result of the enquiry was the issue of an order for the execution of the two chief culprits, one of whom was Muʾayyad (this *ḥükm-i sherīf* is given in Ferīdūn, *Medjmūʿa-yi münsheʾāt*², Istanbul 1274/1857-8, i, 270-1). From a note by Muʾayyad in a book bought by him during his stay in Ladik in Rabīʿ I 882/June 1477 (the *Zīdj* of Shems al-Dīn) the date is exactly fixed (the date in Ferīdūn should therefore be altered from 884 to 883; cf. Ḥusām al-Dīn, *Amasya taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1927, iii, 230 n. 1). Muʾayyad, receiving timely warning of the fate threatening him, escaped from Amasya, provided with everything necessary by Bāyezīd, and after a short stay in Ḥalab or Aleppo went to Shīrāz, where he completed his theological studies under the celebrated Djalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī [*q.v.*].

When Muʾayyad returned home, on hearing of Bāyezīd's accession, he received an *idjāza* (teacher's diploma) from al-Dawwānī. In 887/1482 he reached Amasya, where his father had died three months earlier. After staying six weeks here, he went to Istanbul, where his extensive learning soon gained him a reputation among the theologians. Bāyezīd appointed him *müderris* at the Ḳalender-khāne *medrese* in Istanbul. In 891/1486 Muʾayyad married the daughter of the famous legist Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Kasṭallānī (Mawlāna Kestellī) who was the last *ḳāḍī-ʿasker*-general of the Turkish empire, and after the reforms by which this office was divided, became *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Rumelia. Muʾayyad had a brilliant career: in 899/1494 he became *ḳāḍī* of Edirne; in 907/1501 *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anatolia; in 910/1504-5, *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Rumelia and head of all the *ʿulamāʾ*. In 917/1511 the Janissaries who had taken the part of prince Selīm plundered his house because his sympathies were with Aḥmad, the favourite son of Bāyezīd. He himself was dismissed by the now-senile sultan under pressure from the Janissaries. Selīm I soon after his accession recalled him, however, to his old office, as he saw in him the right man to carry through the important duties of a *ḳāḍī-ʿasker*. Selīm took him with him on his campaign to Persia against Shāh Ismāʿīl. But on the way back, Muʾayyad was deprived of his office in Čoban Köprü, as symptoms of a mental breakdown had begun to show themselves (920/1514). He died in 922/1516 in Istanbul and was buried in Eyyūb.

Muʾayyad wrote a number of treatises on law and theology, especially on Ḳurʾānic exegesis. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II², 293-4, S II, 319, and Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmanlı müʾellifleri*, Istanbul 1333/1915, i, 355, give a list of his works that survive in ms. Under the nom-de-plume of Khātimī, Muʾayyad also wrote poetry in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. His great service to Turkish literature lies, however, less in his own original work than in the magnificent liberality with which he encouraged rising young talent, like the poets Nedjātī and Dhātī, the historians Kemāl-Pasha-Zāde and Muḥyī al-Dīn Meḥmed, the jurist Abu 'l-Suʿūd, and others. Muʾayyad was also famed as a calligraphist. He was the first Ottoman to form a private library of over 7,000 volumes, a huge figure for the time.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted: Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ-i nuʿmāniyye*, Istanbul 1269/1852-3, 308-11; German tr. O. Rescher, Istanbul 1927, 191-4, 86; Sehī, *Hesht bihisht*, Istanbul 1325/1907-8, 27-8; Laṭīfī, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 238; Ḥabīb, *Khaṭṭ u-khaṭṭāṭān*, Istanbul 1306/1888-9, 116; M. Shemʿī, *ʿIlāwe li-ethmār el-tewārīkh*, Istanbul 1295/1878, 165; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii, 310; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iv, 30, 70-1; von Hammer, *Gesch. der Osm. Dichtkunst*, i, 305; Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 29-31; *İA*, art. Müeyyed-zade (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin).

(Th. Menzel)

MUʾAYYID al-DAWLA, Abū Manṣūr Būya b. Rukn al-Dawla Ḥasan, Būyid ruler in Iṣfahān, Rayy and most of Djibāl 366-73/976-84. His father Rukn al-Dawla had before his death partitioned his lands between Muʾayyid al-Dawla (in Iṣfahān, Rayy and their dependencies) and another son Fakhr al-Dawla ʿAlī [*q.v.*] (in Hamadān and Kurdish Djibāl). In the event, Muʾayyid al-Dawla acknowledged the overlordship of their other brother, ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] of Fārs, and with the latter's support prevented Fakhr al-Dawla from assuming control in the greater part of his allotted territories. Coins minted at Rayy during the years 366 to 373 bearing the names of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and Muʾayyid al-Dawla show that the latter generally controlled this city. Only after Muʾayyid al-Dawla's death in Djurdjān whilst campaigning against Fakhr al-Dawla's allies the Ziyārids and Sāmānids (Shaʿbān 373/January 984) was Fakhr al-Dawla able to recover his patrimony and control the whole of the northern Būyid amīrate.

Muʾayyid al-Dawla had as his secretary and then

vizier the famous Ṣāḥib Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], and the latter is said to have got his sobriquet "the companion" from his long contact with the Būyid prince [see IBN ʿABBĀD].

Bibliography: See the general sources for Būyid history (Miskawayh, Rūdhrāwarī, Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Athīr); G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 166-70; Zambauer, *Manuel*, 213. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**MUʿAẒẒAM**, AL-MALIK, the title of several Ayyūbid princes. Among these the most important and intriguing figure is doubtless al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abī Bakr b. Ayyūb b. Shādhī b. Marwān. Born in Cairo in 576/1180, he was made ruler of Damascus in 594/1198, a position which he retained until his death from natural causes in 624/1227. Al-Muʿaẓẓam's career as prince of Damascus, especially its last six years, illustrates with extraordinary clarity the political dynamics of the Ayyūbid confederation's middle phase between the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] in 589/1193 and the rise of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb after 637/1240.

Al-Muʿaẓẓam's career falls into four phases: his youth (576-94/1180-98); his rulership in Damascus under the tutelage of his father al-ʿĀdil (594-615/1198-1218); the crisis of the Fifth Crusade (615-18/1218-21); finally, the struggle against his brothers al-Kāmil Muḥammad [*q.v.*] and al-Ashraf Mūsā to secure his position in Syria (618-24/1221-7).

His early youth, passed during the heyday of his uncle Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's wars against the Crusaders and the Ayyūbid succession crisis (589-92/1193-6), is naturally obscure. But the political events of the time must have left a deep impression, and he received the foundations of a thorough education in Arabic letters and the Islamic sciences. He emerged into public life when he became prince of Damascus in 594/1198, but for the next twenty years he was under the close (not to say oppressive) tutelage of his redoutable father al-ʿĀdil. These years were far from wasted, to be sure: he completed his education, he undertook an ambitious program of construction and restoration in Jerusalem, and he was handed a growing number of important political and military assignments by his father.

The training he had received during the previous two decades was put to a severe test immediately on al-ʿĀdil's death, when he was called upon to play a major role during the Fifth Crusade. Indeed, al-Muʿaẓẓam's decisiveness and unwavering support for his elder brother al-Kāmil Muḥammad, now the head of the Ayyūbid confederation, perhaps spelled the difference between victory and catastrophe in this long crisis. In the winter of 615/1219, al-Muʿaẓẓam nipped in the bud a conspiracy among al-Kāmil's *amīrs* which aimed to replace the sultan with one of his brothers. He was also instrumental in inducing al-Ashraf Mūsā, very much preoccupied with Djazīran and North Syrian affairs during these years, to come to Egypt and help repel the Crusaders during the critical summer of 618/1221. Perhaps most significantly, al-Muʿaẓẓam concurred in al-Kāmil's offer (made on three separate occasions) to return Jerusalem and much of Palestine to the Franks in exchange for their withdrawal from Egypt. Al-Muʿaẓẓam's willingness to go along with this proposal is astonishing; not only did the regions in question represent a substantial part of his own appanage, but he had devoted great sums to the defence and beautification of Jerusalem.

The final phase in his career began with the departure of the Crusaders from Egypt in 618/1221. Al-Muʿaẓẓam, determined to defend his autonomy and interests in Syria, embarked on a stubborn and daring campaign to undercut all efforts by the sultan al-Kāmil to assert his own authority as head of the confederation there. Gottschalk argues that al-Muʿaẓẓam was aiming at supremacy within the entire Ayyūbid confederation, but this surely exaggerates his ambitions. Rather, his goal was paramountcy in Syria and Palestine, in order to secure his appanage from the political and military threat posed by his brothers al-Ashraf Mūsā (al-Djazīra and Armenia) and al-Kāmil of Egypt. The six years between the end of the Fifth Crusade (autumn 618/1221) and al-Muʿaẓẓam's death (autumn 624/1227) were filled with constantly shifting alliances. But in all the confusion there are some constants. (1) Al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf were allied throughout this period against al-Muʿaẓẓam; al-Kāmil never took the field, but the mere existence of his 12,000 regular cavalry—a force four times the size of al-Muʿaẓẓam's—severely limited the latter's freedom of action. (2) Unable to face Egypt directly, al-Muʿaẓẓam focused on undercutting al-Ashraf's hegemony in Djazīra by constructing alliances with local rulers' discontent with the status quo in that region. His most consistent ally was Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökböri of Irbil, but he also drew in the Artuḳid [*q.v.*] princes of Āmid and Mārdīn and al-Ashraf's (and his own) younger brother al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī. (3) Al-Muʿaẓẓam's own direct aims were limited to establishing a kind of protectorate over the autonomous Ayyūbid appanages of Ḥimṣ and Hamāt, an achievement which would have secured his paramountcy in Syria. But however modest, this goal persistently eluded him. (4) The dynamics of the situation inevitably led to the calling in of powerful outsiders: The Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu [*q.v.*] by al-Muʿaẓẓam, the Rūm Saldjūḳid sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubādh [*q.v.*] by al-Ashraf, and the Emperor Frederick II by al-Kāmil. These men of course had ambitions of their own, and their intervention came near to undermining Ayyūbid rule throughout Syria and al-Djazīra. The threat which they posed was resolved only after al-Muʿaẓẓam's demise.

Al-Muʿaẓẓam made an abortive effort to seize Ḥamāt in 619-20/1223, but this was frustrated by the opposition of al-Ashraf and al-Kāmil. Realising that he lacked the resources to act alone, al-Muʿaẓẓam formed an alliance against al-Ashraf with al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī and Gökböri in 621/1224, but this achieved nothing; indeed, al-Ashraf's domination of North Syria and al-Djazīra was only strengthened. In the following year (622/1225), al-Muʿaẓẓam took advantage of the sudden appearance in ʿIrāḳ of the Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn to frame a new alliance with him. Al-Muʿaẓẓam went so far as to accept robes of honor from the Khwārazmshāh, but the statement of al-Maḳrīzī that the Khwārazmshāh's name was substituted for al-Kāmil's in the *khuṭba* and *sikka* finds no support in surviving coinage or contemporary texts. Al-Muʿaẓẓam wanted Djalāl al-Dīn as an ally, not as a suzerain. Hostilities opened in Djumādā II 623/June 1226; fighting throughout the summer and autumn was severe and widespread, but again it led to little. Al-Ashraf meantime countered by calling in the Rūm Saldjūḳid Kayḳubādh, while al-Kāmil secretly opened negotiations with Emperor Frederick II, who was known to be planning a new Crusade. By now the situation was nearly out of control. Finally, in Ramaḍān 623/September 1226 al-Ashraf travelled to Damascus to try to negotiate an end to the spiraling conflict. His hopes were quickly disappointed; al-

Muᶜaẓẓam in effect detained him as a hostage for nearly ten months (Djumādā II 624/May-June 1227), until al-Ashraf conceded a free hand in Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt to him. Upon his release, of course, al-Ashraf at once denounced this agreement. The struggle was now reopened, complicated all the more by the arrival of Frederick II's advance forces in Acre in Shawwāl 624/October 1227. Al-Muᶜaẓẓam seemed cornered, but he was as bold and resourceful as ever, and he had maintained his alliance with the Khʷārazmshāh. Only his unexpected death in Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 624/November 1227 averted open civil war, and perhaps catastrophe for the Ayyūbid confederation.

With a sudden power vacuum in Damascus, which al-Muᶜaẓẓam's son and successor al-Nāṣir Dāwūd could not fill, al-Kāmil, al-Ashraf, and Frederick were quickly able to settle matters to their mutual satisfaction. Jerusalem was turned over to the Emperor under the terms of a ten-year truce, the hapless al-Nāṣir Dāwūd was evicted from Damascus in 626/1229 and made lord of Transjordan, and al-Ashraf avenged his humiliation at the hands of his late brother by becoming prince of Damascus. Finally, as the guiding force behind this settlement, al-Kāmil for the first time achieved uncontested (though hardly unlimited) authority over all the princes of the Ayyūbid confederation.

However turbulent al-Muᶜaẓẓam's relations with his fellow princes, his administration of his own territories seems to have been remarkably stable. In contrast to his father al-ᶜĀdil, his reign was untroubled by turbulence among his senior *amīrs*—in large part, no doubt, because he had been able to replace the old guard with his own men during the years he had ruled Damascus under al-ᶜĀdil's firm guidance. Some of al-Muᶜaẓẓam's territories had been assigned in hereditary *iḳṭāᶜ* to various younger brothers—e.g. Bānyās to al-ᶜAzīz ᶜUthmān and Buṣrā to al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāᶜīl—but these men were firmly under his thumb. Likewise, the important town and fortress of Ṣalkhad was held in *iḳṭāᶜ* by his *mamlūk* ᶜIzz-al-Dīn Aybak al-Muᶜaẓẓamī. For the most part, however, al-Muᶜaẓẓam governed his principality through almost anonymous lieutenants (*nuwwāb*) whom he could rotate or replace at will. During the summer of 622/1225, he did face an uprising in the Ghūṭa led by a rural bandit named Shams al-Dīn b. al-Kaᶜkī, but this was quickly suppressed. Other signs of social unrest are conspicuous by their absence.

The tortuous political history of al-Muᶜaẓẓam's reign gives a very partial and distorted picture of his character and achievements, for he was himself a learned man and a committed patron of literature, the Islamic sciences, and architecture. He sponsored an Arabic translation of the *Shāh-nāme*, he ordered the Ḥanbalī scholar Djamāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Ghanī to reorganise the traditions in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad* according to topic, and he had a ten-volume compilation of Ḥanafī *fiḳh* made up for his personal use. Al-Muᶜaẓẓam, an ardent Ḥanafī, took an active part in polemical disputations among the schools. He regarded himself as a *faḳīh*, and his entourage perforce agreed with him.

Al-Muᶜaẓẓam's architectural patronage in Damascus was limited to a modest contribution to the Citadel, work on two of the city's gates (Bāb al-Sharḳī and Bāb Shāghūr) in the crisis year of 623/1226, the completion of the Madrasa ᶜĀdiliyya in 619/1222, and a great funerary *madrasa* (no longer extant) in the Ḥanbalī suburb of al-Ṣāliḥiyya. Outside Damascus, however, there was a great deal. He undertook (though he could not complete) a massive project to equip the pilgrimage route between Damascus and Mecca with baths, wells, and caravanserais at each stopping point. His father put him in charge of completing the vast fortress at Mt. Tabor, and towards the end of his reign al-Muᶜaẓẓam ordered the construction of the impressive citadel at al-Ṣubayba overlooking Bañyās. But Jerusalem was the real focus of his attentions; during the long years of tutelage under his father, he sponsored numerous restorations in the *Ḥaram* and major additions to the city's fortifications. Predictably, he also endowed a Ḥanafī *madrasa* there.

Al-Muᶜaẓẓam was remarkable in one further respect; with the exception of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself, no other Ayyūbid prince (and few Muslim rulers of any period) won such popular support and even affection among his own subjects. With members of the political élite he could be harsh and vindictive, but he knew how to mingle with his subjects without losing the fear and respect essential to government in those times.

Bibliography: The principal sources are the chronicles of Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, iii-iv, Cairo 1960, 1972, and Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān fī taʾrīkh al-aᶜyān*, viii (no critical edition; facsimile ed. by J.R. Jewett, Chicago 1907; Hyderabad 1952—a printed version of Jewett); both chroniclers are sympathetic to al-Muᶜaẓẓam. Les detailed but crucial for the regional context of al-Muᶜaẓẓam's reign is Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Beirut, xii. See also Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, iii, Damascus 1968; Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, Moscow 1963; ᶜIzz al-Dīn b.Shaddād, *al-Aᶜlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shām wa 'l-Djazīra*, especially the two vols. on Damascus, Damascus 1956, and Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine, Damascus 1963; Nuᶜaymī, *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris* (2 vols., Damascus 1948-51). The inscriptions for this period are extremely important; most can be found in *RCEA*, x; in addition see *CIA, Jerusalem*, Paris 1922-7; N. Elisséeff, *A propos d'une inscription d'al-malik al-Muᶜaẓẓam ᶜĪsā*, in *AAS*, iv-v [1954-5]; M. Sharon, *The Ayyubid walls of Jerusalem*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977; R. Ellenblum and R. Amitai, *Who built Qalᶜat al-Ṣubayba?*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 43 (1989). The coinage of the period is analysed in P. Balog, *The coinage of the Ayyubids*, London 1980; the fact that there are no known issues in al-Muᶜaẓẓam's name is significant.

As always with the Ayyūbids after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the literature is modest. The most detailed accounts of al-Muᶜaẓẓam's policy and regime are H.L. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, and R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260*, Albany, NY 1977. They agree on most matters of fact but not on interpretation. On the first part of his reign, F.J. Dahlmanns, *Al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil, Ägypten und der Vordere Orient in den Jahren 589/1193 bis 615/1218*, diss., Giessen 1975, unpubl. Al-Muᶜaẓẓam figures prominently in L. Pouzet, *Damas au VIIᵉ/XIIIᵉ s. Vie et structures religieuses dans une métropole islamique*, Beirut 1988, richly documented but hostile to al-Muᶜaẓẓam. At least one major incident, the affair of Ibn al-Kaᶜkī, is seriously misconstrued. On his patronage of learning, see A.A. Badawī, *Maʾmūn Banī Ayyūb: al-Muᶜaẓẓam ᶜĪsā*, Cairo 1953. Al-Muᶜaẓẓam's reign was much affected by the Crusades; most of the relevant bibliography can be found in Gottschalk and Humphreys, *op. cit.* See also E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade*, Paris 1968. (R.S. HUMPHREYS)

AL-MUᶜAẒẒAM [see TŪRĀNSHĀH].

MÜBĀDELE (A. *mubādala*, "exchange"), a term used in Ottoman Turkish with various meanings: (i) *exchange of commodities and exchange of values.* This usage can be seen in the rendering during the 19th century, into Turkish and other Oriental languages, of concepts used in economics (see Ortaylı, *Osmanlılarda ilk bilinen telif iktisat yazması*, in *Yapit* [Oct. 1983], 41-2). (ii) *exchange of prisoners of war.* These exchanges took place under more regular and formal bases specially after the treaties of Carlowitz [see KARLOFČA] and Passarowitz signed between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers. (iii) *exchange of ambassadors* between the Ottoman empire and foreign powers. (iv) *exchange of populations* as the result of the break-up of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I, which took place between Turkey and its Balkan neighbours (*ahālī mübadelesı*). Since it was regulated by international conventions, it falls in this sense without the scope of Islamic history and legal institutions; see further, MUHĀDJIR. 1. In Turkey and the Ottoman lands. The second and third of these denotations will be treated here.

Exchange of prisoners of war. Such exchanges occurred on a large scale between the Ottoman empire and the Habsburgs after the treaties of Carlowitz and Passarowitz. For more than twenty years, the Sublime Porte continuously sent *firmāns* to all corners of Rumelia and Anatolia ordering local authorities to release captives in exchange for moderate ransoms (BA *Nemče ahkâm*, no. 58, 1154-8/1741-5, and no. 60, 1176-7/1762-4; and Ortaylı, *Ottoman-Habsburg relations (1740-1770) and structural changes in the international affairs of the Ottoman state,* in *Festschrift Robert Anhegger-Türkische Miszellen, Varia Turcica* ix [1987], 297-98). In the 18th century, treaties and conventions between the Ottoman Empire and Austria provided that prisoners could be granted enfranchisement certificates (*ʿitāḳ-nāmes*) and be released more easily than in the past (K. Jahn, *Türkische Freilassungserklärungen des 18. Jahrhunderts (1702-1711)*, Naples 1963, 10-11).

Exchange of ambassadors. Ottoman envoys to foreign courts and their counterparts from foreign states met at the border, and after a ceremony on the spot, the latter proceeded to the Ottoman capital while the former would pursue their way to the place where their embassy took them. Embassies sent to announce the accession to the throne of a new monarch did not fall into this category. Embassies were more usually exchanged on the occasion of renewal of treaties and negotiations pursuant to it. Great care was taken that the strictest reciprocity was applied in the matter of gifts to the sovereigns and leading dignitaries, the size and composition of the retinue of the ambassadors and the way they were received at court. The truce of al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] arranged by the Prophet with the Meccans does not include any provision concerning the exchange of legates. The first information of an exchange of envoys between an Islamic state and a people from the *dār al-ḥarb* goes back to the 3rd/9th century when the Vikings [see AL-MADJŪS] sent an embassy to the *amīr* of Cordova ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II and Muslim emissaries were dispatched in return under al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*]. The ambassador of the *amīr* was one Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam al-Bakrī of Jaén, known as al-Ghazāl. He was sent in 845 either to Ireland or Denmark (B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, London and New York, 93, 305; cf. also E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IXᵉ siècle*, in *Byzantion*, xii [1937], 1-24).

The Ottoman Empire had no permanent resident envoys in foreign countries till the reign of Selīm III (1203-22/1789-1807). Embassies were sent abroad on a temporary basis, and in response to similar foreign missions. For the organisation of these temporary embassies and the reception of foreign envoys, see Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *18. yüzyılda Osmanlı devletinde fevkalade elçilerin ağırlanması*, in *Ercümend Kuran'a armağan*, Ankara 1989, 201-31. Expenses of these missions were covered partly by the Treasury in Istanbul and partly by the inhabitants of the cities the embassy travelled through.

Great pomp and pageantry were displayed on the arrival of Austrian and Persian embassies, and Ottoman missions sent to these courts were expected to be treated with the same ceremonial. The accounts of Busbecq and Dernschwam give an accurate image of the reception of Imperial embassies in 16th century Istanbul. For Russian embassies of the 18th century, the most important sources are the diaries of Repin (N. Izkowitz and M. Note, *Mübadele, an Ottoman-Russian exchange of ambassadors*, Chicago 1970, 125 ff.), and those of P.A. Tolstoy. Ewliyā Čelebi describes the entrance to Vienna of the embassy of Ḳara Meḥmed Pasha in April 1665 (see R.F. Kreutel, *Im Reiche des goldenes Apfels*, Vienna 1957, 31-9).

At an appointed place on the border, the two embassies were exchanged according to an established ritual, and the number of their suites, their expenditures and livelihood on their way to and from the capital cities were determined. Presents brought by the two ambassadors and the letters which they carried were punctiously presented. The *ʿahd-nāme* dated 15 Radjab 972/16 February 1565 to the Emperor of Austria indicates that the Imperial ambassadors could be accompanied by as many interpreters as they wished and specifies the immunities from which these may benefit during their residence in Istanbul (A.C. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleyman des Praechtigen an Karl V, Ferdinand I und Maximillian II*, Vienna 1983, Urkunde 32, p. 89).

If they were not carrying any letters from their own sovereign to the Sultan, foreign envoys were received in Istanbul only by the Grand Vizier. The Ottoman envoy sent in 1070/1660 on the occasion of the renewal of a peace treaty was not allowed to meet with his Austrian counterpart at the exchange place on the border nor to proceed to Vienna, on the grounds that the letter from the Sultan to the Emperor had not been couched in terms respectful enough. The Emperor had been addressed in the singular form (*sen*) and had not been given his proper title (*kral* instead of *imperator*). The letter had to be rewritten following the intervention of Siyāwush Pasha in Budin and Murād Pasha in Edirne (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, v, 21). The Ottoman sultans felt responsible for the immunity and personal safety of the foreign envoys who, heading towards Istanbul, had to travel through third countries. In a letter to the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand dated 21 September 1541, the latter is requested to secure the release of a French envoy who had been detained in Italy on his way to Istanbul by officials of Ferdinand's brother Charles V (Schaendlinger, *op. cit.*, Urkunde 3, p. 7).

The most detailed study of *mübādele* in this sense is by Itzkowitz and Note. ʿAbd al-Kerīm Pasha and Repnin were sent in 1775-6 respectively to Moscow and Istanbul on the occasion of the ratification of the treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja [*q.v.*]. The exchange took place at Khotin [*q.v.*] after the crossing of the Dnieper. The ceremony and the negotiations are described in detail, based on a comparative study of the diaries of the two envoys. During the exchange, a gun salute from each side greeted the two envoys. From that point onwards, an escort concomitant with the

envoy's rank accompanied him along the itinerary. Requirements in food and carriage were taken care of locally. The embassies were received in state in the cities and settlements on the way to the two capitals. The financial strain caused by the need to supply means of transportation and food proved too much for some of these localities, and the intinerary was occasionally changed and some exemptions were granted. The practice of paying for the expenses of foreign missions was, however, discontinued after 1792 when Yūsuf Āgāh Efendi was sent to London as the first Ottoman resident envoy abroad, when it became apparent that this usage was not enforced by foreign states.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also V. Kopcan, *Osmanische Kriegsgefangene auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei in 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xix (1983), 197-211.

(İLBER ORTAYLI)

MUBĀḤ (A.) "licit, authorised", one of the five juridical qualifications [see AḤKĀM] of human acts [see SHARĪʿA].

MUBĀHALA (A.), synonym *mulāʿana*, literally "mutual imprecation, curse" (e.g. "may God's curse over the one of us who is wrong, who lies"), implies swearing a conditional curse (e.g. "may God's punishment hit me, may I be cursed if...") and a purifying oath (cf. *b-h-l* VIII: *nabtahil*).

In fact, the term indicates: (1) spontaneously swearing a curse in order to strengthen an assertion or to find the truth; (2) a kind of ordeal, invoked for the same purpose, between disputing individuals or parties, in which the instigation or call to the ordeal is more important than the execution. Originally, both forms may have been some sacred elevation of the more profane *taḥkīm* [*q.v.*], or of some sacred, magical features of this or any other primitive way of performing divination. This is also clear from the fact that the term equally implies (3) a reference to a "historical" ordeal, the *mubāhala* (in a second instance also recognised as a legal remedy by adherents of the Sunna and Shīʿa), which, according to Sunnī and Shīʿī tradition, was proposed in the year 10/632-3 by the Prophet to a deputation of the Christian Balḥārith b. Kaʿb from Nadjrān [see ḤĀRITH B. KAʿB]. This took place during a dispute on Christology and prophetology through examination of the "truthful" and the "liar", at the order of the apparently *ad hoc* revealed verse III, 54, of the Ḳurʾān which ostensibly suggested the "historical" ordeal (the *ʿilm asbāb al-nuzūl* and the *ʿilm al-tafsīr* in general relate the first 70-80 verses of Sūrat ʿImrān to this dispute). The Nadjrānīs, who had been summoned to this and had had second thoughts, are said to have been given a respite for reflection and deliberation. Under the impression of the presumed calamity which most certainly was going to hit their community and native town, and of the increasingly growing certainty that Muḥammad indeed was the promised Prophet and an authorised messenger of God, they decided to request him to postpone the threatening curse. After an intermission for deliberation, both sworn groups, with their followers, met at a remote place (according to some, the Red Dune, *kathīb aḥmar*, later called *djabal al-mubāhala*, in the cemetery of Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad) where the ordeal was to be executed. According to the majority of the traditions, from which the very original ones, like those of Ibn Isḥāḳ and Ibn Saʿd, must be excluded, both parties sent from their midst prominent personalities as sureties and witnesses to the place of the trial of strength. Fortunately for the Christians, it was, however, averted. Instead, the Nadjrānīs requested and received confirmed agreement, namely, an indissoluble treaty of protection (*ṣulḥ, muṣālaḥa; ʿahd, dhimma* [*q.v.*]), with most closely defined rights and duties of the *dhimmīs*.

The *mubāhala* account (perhaps through exegesis grown out of the abstract proposal to the ordeal as found in the Ḳurʾān rather than vice-versa), which is still fragmentary in Ibn Isḥāḳ and others, soon became subject to enlargement and transformation as regards form and content. This certainly began during the lifetime of Ibn Hishām. In particular, it also underwent Shīʿī influence which is, in some features, even present in the accounts of the *ahl al-sunna*. Frame stories, earlier histories, interludes and after-pieces fill up the thin, original corpus and underline both the wondrous and the ominous elements of the *mubāhala*: prophecies, with eschatological perspectives, about the coming test of strength which were already pronounced during the council-meeting held by the Nadjrānīs in their home town; ominous events during the journey; picture of the mimicry and gesticulation at the ordeal; interpolations in the deliberations, in the explanation of the moments of cession and of the hypothetical effects of the curse in case the ordeal should be put into practice. The *tafsīr* of the motivation, given by Ibn Isḥāḳ (in Ibn Hishām), still unequivocally dominant before the *mubāhala* story had been arranged, decreases. The prelude to the ordeal, and especially the processing leading to it, obtains as much place as does the outfit of the persons on the stage of the ordeal, in particular the emphasis on the distinction of the sureties who, in the Sunnī tradition, are performers but who, in the Shīʿī tradition, even have a decisive role in the ordeal. Their number, at first probably limited, grows to four or five "people of the garment" (*aṣḥāb al-kisāʾ, ahl al-ʿabāʾ* [see AHL AL-KISĀʾ]). The Ḳurʾānic centre-piece, "Come here! We want to call together our sons and yours, our wives and yours, ourselves and yourselves", become for the Shīʿīs the corner-stone of their own tradition and interpretation of the ordeal. The nomination, function and position of the group of guarantors and witnesses become the centre of interest. To ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn is opposed an equally prominent group of Nadjrānīs, who are, however, not of the same quality as the first-mentioned. In addition, there takes place, in theory at least, an obvious association with the Shīʿī *tafsīr* of Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 33, where the purification of the *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*] is mentioned: their purity, also brought forward in the *mubāhala*, liberates from guilt and protects from curse. Thus the highly-renowned Shīʿī garment traditions are fed from both sources. However, the Shīʿī development of the reports on the *mubāhala* and the garment are generally aimed at underscoring, through a suggestive investiture scene and its theological implication, the fact that the *ahl al-bayt* and their descendants have been chosen from eternity and that this has been confirmed over time more than once. Thus are emphasised their primal rights on the leadership of the community of the believers, that is to say, the principle of legitimacy, while at the same time the auguration and legitimisation of the Ghadīr Khumm [*q.v.*] episode is effectively completed (cf. the Shīʿī feast of *mubāhala*, mostly celebrated on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja in connection with the remembrance of Ghadīr Khumm on the 18th of the same "holy" Shīʿī month). Finally, in the esoteric doctrine of the extremist Shīʿī *ghuluww* [*q.v.*], the *mubāhala* is completely transposed into the mythical world, with replaced or doubled actors, linked together through a cosmic identity.

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2. Studies. L. Massignon, *La Mubāhala de Médine et l'hyperdulie de Fāṭima*, in *Opera minora*, Beirut 1963, i, 550 ff.; R. Strothmann, *Die Mubāhala in Tradition und Liturgie*, in *Isl.*, xxxiii (1958), 5 ff.; W. Schmucker, *Die christliche Minderheit von Nağrān und die Problematik ihrer Beziehungen zum frühen Islam*, in *Bonner Or. Studien*, N.S., xxvii/1, 183 ff. (W. Schmucker)

MUBĀLAGHA (a.), verbal noun of the form III verb *bālagha* (*fī*), with the two related meanings of "to do the utmost [in s.th.]" and "to overdo [s.th.]"), technical term in (a) grammar ("intensiveness") and (b) literary theory ("emphasis" and, more particularly, "hyperbole").

(a) In grammar. Already in Sībawayh, the term *mubālagha* is used to denote the intensive meaning of a number of morphemes and syntagmas (see G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976, 41). Most consistently it is henceforth applied to the intensive participles of the forms *faᶜūl*, *faᶜᶜāl*, etc. Al-Sidjilmāsī (wrote *ca.* 704/1304) enumerates no less than 21 patterns for them under the general heading *ᶜadl*, the term referring to nouns that are "diverged" (*maᶜdūl*) from the active participle (*Manzaᶜ*, 272-3). When used for God's attributes, these forms are, according to some, not intensive per se, but refer to the multiplicity of their objects, while others consider their form to be non-literal (*madjāz*), according to al-Tahānawī (*Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, i, 140).

(b) In literary theory. Although in the classical system of *ᶜilm al-balāgha* the term *mubālagha* did come to mean "hyperbole", earlier theorists often protest against this narrow use and maintain that it means "emphasis, strengthening, heightening" in general, thus comprising "hyperbole" as one of its subcategories. At the outset the situation is, however, rather confusing: the earliest writers do not use the term *mubālagha* at all, though they are quite aware of the existence of "hyperbole", which they call by various names (Thaᶜlab [d. 291/904]: *al-ifrāṭ fi 'l-ighrāḳ* [*Ḳawāᶜid*, 49], Ibn al-Muᶜtazz [d. 296/908]: *al-ifrāṭ fi 'l-ṣifa* [*Badīᶜ*, 65], Ibn Ṭabāṭabā [d. 322/934]: *al-abyāt allatī aghraḳa ḳāʾiluhā fī maᶜānīhā* [*ᶜIyār*, 76]). Ḳudāma (d. 337/948) introduces the term *mubālagha*, though not in the sense of "hyperbole", for which he uses *ghulūw*, but to denote a very specialised type of emphasising (*īghāl* with later authors) in which a poetic idea is rounded out by a pertinent little exaggeration at the end of the line (*Naḳd*, 77). He does, however, use *mubālagha* also in an untechnical way to describe the mechanism of *ghulūw*: the intention of hyperbole is "emphasis and image-forming (*tamthīl*, not the [literal] truth of a thing" (*Naḳd*, 31, cf. also 27). Starting here, the "hyperbole" idea gradually spills over into *mubālagha*, although a man like Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1063 or later) still defends the old meaning: those who reject "hyperbole" because of the untruth it entails mean *ghulūw* rather than *mubālagha*, because, he says, "if all *mubālagha* were worthless and blameworthy, even simile would be worthless and metaphor would be blameworthy as well as the other beauties" (*ᶜUmda*, ii, 85); obviously, all these figures serve to emphasise the poetic ideas to which they are applied. In Ibn Rashīḳ we also find the first systematic ordering of terms: *mubālagha*, now more narrowly understood as "intensification," comprises subcategories, such as *taḳaṣṣī* ("going to the limit"), *tarāduf al-ṣifāt* ("piling of descriptions one over the other), and *ghulūw*. The enumeration is somewhat haphazard and probably not meant to be exhaustive. With the classical system of al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338), logical stringency is achieved: *mubālagha* is defined as "claiming that a certain quality, in intensity or weakness, attains an unthinkable or improbable degree", and it is subdivided, in accordance with the philosophical distinctions *mumkin-mumtaniᶜ-mustaḥīl*, "possible-impossible-unthinkable", into *tablīgh*, *ighrāḳ*, and *ghulūw*, of which the second is possible in the mind, but not according to everyday experience, while the first and third are possible in both or neither, respectively (*Īḍāḥ*, 514-16, *Talkhīṣ*, 370-1). This is the system represented in the nineteenth-century Western handbooks still in use (see Rückert, Mehren and Garcin de Tassy), which are based on al-Ḳazwīnī and later Arabic and Persian works.

Due to the inherent absurdity (*iḥāla*) of many hyperboles, *ghulūw* became a matter of dispute within the larger framework of untruth (*kadhib*) in poetry. Ḳudāma testifies to the existence of this literary feud in his time and opts for the permissibility of hyperbole by applying to it the adage *aḥsanu 'l-shiᶜri akdhabuh* (*Naḳd*, 34-8). Others differ, and a sort of compromise emerges by postulating that a given hyperbole must survive the *kāda* test to be acceptable (thus already Ḳudāma, *Naḳd*, 133, cf. Abū Hilāl al-ᶜAskarī, *Ṣināᶜatayn*, 375, Ibn Rashīḳ, *ᶜUmda*, ii, 65), i.e., the hyperbole in question must admit of being rewritten with an explicit form of the verb *kāda* "to be close to [doing s.th.]" or some word to the same effect. There is no question that hyperboles were of great importance in *muḥdath* poetry and in its Persian and Persianate successors, and the critics, even when averse to "lies" in poetry, had to come to terms with them. A conservative authority anonymously quoted by Ibn Rathīḳ says: "If poetry were [identical with] hyperbole (*mubālagha*) [apparently some went so far as to allege this], the sedentary people and the Moderns would be better poets than the Ancients" (*ᶜUmda*, ii, 84). Others used the typical legitimising procedure of saying that the (or some) Moderns followed the Ancients in this respect (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ᶜIyār*, 81, al-Ḳāḍī al-Djurdjānī, *Wasāṭa*, 420-3). In any case, the idea that hyperbole was of the essence in traditional Islamic poetry became so engrained that in our time the Turkish poet Orhan Veli, in a poem critical of the old Dīwān poetry, referred to the latter as *mübalâğa sanatı* "the art of hyperbole" (*Bütün şiirleri*, Istanbul 1966, 80).

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(W. Heinrichs)

MUBALLIGH [see dikka; masdjid I.D.2.e].

MUBĀRAK GHĀZĪ, an Indian Ṣūfī saint of Bengal.

In all parts of the Sundarbun, the Muslim woodcutters invoke certain mythical beings to protect them from tigers and crocodiles. In the 24 *pargānas* it is Mubārak Ghāzī who, in the eastern parts of the Ganges Delta, goes by the name of Zinda Ghāzī, the living warrior. Mubārak Ghāzī is said to have been a *faḳīr* (mendicant) who reclaimed the jungle tracts along the left bank of the river Hoogly. Every village has an altar dedicated to him, and no-one enters the forest nor do any of the boat's crew, who might sail through the districts, pass without first making offerings at one of these shrines. The *faḳīrs* in these dangerous forests, who claim to be lineally descended from the Ghāzī, indicate with pieces of wood called *sang* the precise limits within which the forest has to be felled. Mubārak Ghāzī, so the legend goes, came to Bengal when Rādjā Matak ruled over the Sundarbun. The saint happened to have a dispute with the chief, who thought himself to be in the right, upon which the latter agreed to give his only daughter Shushila in marriage to the former, should his own opinion be proved wrong. This the Ghāzī succeeded in doing and won his bride in consequence. Since no man saw him die, he is believed to reside in the depths of the forest, to ride about on tigers, and to keep them so obedient to his will that they dare not touch a human being without his express desire. Before entering a jungle or sailing through the narrow channels whose shady banks are infested by tigers, boatmen and woodcutters, both Hindus and Muslims, raise little mounds of earth and on them make offerings of rice, plantains, and sweetmeats to Mubārak Ghāzī, after which they fearlessly cut the brushwood and linger in the most dangerous spots.

This strange myth, there cannot be any doubt, is borrowed from Hindus to suit the taste of the superstitious boatmen and woodcutters.

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(M. Hidayet Hosain)

MUBĀRAK SHĀH, Muʿizz al-Dīn, the second king of the Sayyid dynasty of Dihlī, was the son of Khiḍr Khān [*q.v.*], the first king, and succeeded his father on 19 Djumādā I 824/22 May 1421.

The limits of his kingdom were then restricted to a few districts of Hindūstān proper and Multān, and he was obliged to desist from an attempt to establish his authority in the Pandjāb by the necessity of relieving Gwalior, menaced by Hūshang of Mālwa [*q.v.*], who raised the siege and met him, but after an indecisive action came to terms and retired to Mālwa. From 828/1425 to 830/1427 he was engaged in attempting to restore order in Mēwāt [*q.v.*], and received the formal submission of the *rādjās* of Gwalior and Čandwār (Fīrūzābād); but Muḥammad Khān Awḥadī of Bayāna, whom he had taken prisoner, escaped and took refuge in Mēwāt, and the work there had to be done again. Muḥammad Awḥadī, on being hard pressed in Bayāna, fled to the Sharḳī sultan Ibrāhīm Shāh of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*], and as the latter marched against Kālpī [*q.v.*], Mubārak marched to meet him. Ibrāhīm, who had been plundering Mubārak's dominions, avoided a conflict for some time, but on 16 Djumādā II 831/2 April 1428, the armies met near Čandwār, and Ibrāhīm, though not decisively

defeated, retired the next day to Djawnpūr. Mubārak then collected revenue in the neighbourhood of Gwalior and retired by way of Bayāna, which was evacuated by Muḥammad Awḥadī, who had returned thither. For the rest of the year, his officers were engaged in restoring order in the Pandjāb, ravaged by Djasrath the Khokar, and he in a similar task in Mēwāt, and in collecting revenue by force. In 833/1430 Fūlād Turkbačča successfully defied the royal authority in Bhātinda, and in 834/1431 a rebellion broke out in Multān and had no sooner been suppressed than Djasrath renewed his activity in the Pandjāb. The chronicle of the rest of the reign is a record of rebellions in the Pandjāb, Multān, Sāmāna, Mēwāt, Bayāna, Gwalior, Tidjāra and Itāwa; also, a rebel captured Lāhawr and attacked Dīpālpūr. Lāhawr was eventually recovered, but the whole country remained in a disturbed condition.

War broke out between Ibrāhīm of Djawnpūr and Hūshang of Mālwa in connection with Kālpī, the suzerainty over which belonged to neither and was claimed by both, and Mubārak, marching thither, turned aside to inspect Mubārakābād which he was building; but then, on 9 Radjab 837/19 February 1434, he was assassinated at the instance of Sarwar al-Mulk, whom he had dismissed from the post of minister in the preceding year.

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(T.W. HAIG)

MUBĀRIZ AL-DĪN [see MUẒAFFARIDS].

AL-**MUBARḲAᶜ** ("the veiled one"), the *laḳab* [*q.v.*] of Abū Ḥarb al-Yamānī (according to al-Yaᶜḳūbī: Tamīm al-Lakhmī, known as Abū Ḥarb), a rebel in Palestine 227/841-2 against the caliph al-Muᶜtaṣim.

The most detailed source referring to the events of his uprising is the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1319-22; cf. E. Marin, *The reign of al-Muᶜtaṣim*, New Haven 1951, 124-6), followed by the works of Ibn al-Athīr (vi, 522-3) and Ibn Khaldūn (*al-ᶜIbar*, Beirut 1956-9, iii, 572-3). The *Ta'rīkh* of al-Yaᶜḳūbī, however, presents the most independent description of the events (ii, 586).

The revolt involved (according to al-Yaᶜḳūbī) the Lakhm, Djudhām, ᶜĀmila and Balḳayn [*q.vv.*] (M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii, Leipzig 1943, 7, 78, points out that the events concerning this revolt were still preserved in the memory of the Kaᶜābene of Hebron). A conflict concerning a soldier, whom Abū Ḥarb had put to death for personal reasons, caused his revolt and made him take refuge in the mountains of al-Urdunn. As he used to wear a veil (*burḳuᶜ*) covering his face, he became known as al-Mubarḳaᶜ ("The Veiled One"). He was joined by malcontent peasants, and when he claimed Umayyad descent, his supporters considered him to be the Sufyānī (for whose origin, cf. W. Madelung, *The Sufyānī between tradition and history*, in *SI*, lxiii [1986], 5-48, with further references). He gathered numerous followers, even persons from noble families (according to al-Ṭabarī, including Ibn Bayhas, one of the notables of the Yamāniyya).

Al-Muᶜtaṣim sent an army against the rebel, which was commanded by Radjā' b. Ayyūb al-Ḥiḍārī (to whom Ibn ᶜAsākir refers in *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1911-32, v, 311-2), but his troops were numerically inferior to the rebel's army. His acumen made him wait for the time when al-Mubarḳaᶜ's peasant supporters would have to retreat to till their soils. According to some of the sources (e.g. Ibn Khaldūn), al-Muᶜtaṣim died during the course of the events and his successor al-Wāthiḳ (but according to al-Ṭabarī, al-Muᶜtaṣim) sent Radjā' against Ibn Bayhas, the leader of an insurrection in Damascus. Radjā' defeated the Damascene rebels and then returned to Palestine to fight al-Mubarḳaᶜ. Al-Ṭabarī states that the battle took place near al-Ramla, where al-Mubarḳaᶜ was taken prisoner; he was then brought to Sāmarrā and cast in prison. His further fate remains unknown.

For al-Ṭabarī (and his account appears to be the most reliable one), all events of the uprising of al-Mubarḳaᶜ took place during the reign of al-Muᶜtaṣim, who died on 18 Rabīᶜ 227/5 January 842. Divergently, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Khaldūn, as well as al-Yaᶜḳūbī, place the end of the revolt in the reign of al-Wāthiḳ. It must be added that the Arabic sources leave some circumstances unexplained, especially the connection between Ibn Bayhas and al-Mubarḳaᶜ (if indeed one existed).

Bibliography: Accounts derived from the sources cited in the article and from further historians are given by H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 109-10; H. Eisenstein, *Die Erhebung des Mubarqaᶜ in Palästina*, in *Orientalia*, lv (1986), 454-8.

(H. EISENSTEIN)

AL-**MUBARRAD**, ABU 'L-ᶜABBĀS MUḤAMMAD B. YAZĪD b. ᶜAbd al-Akbar al-Thumālī al-Azdī (his genealogy reaches back to the Djāhiliyya; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, no. 10; Caskel, *Tafeln*, no. 210), celebrated philologist, was born in al-Baṣra on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 210/24 March 826 (or between 2 and 5 years earlier).

As tradition tells us, it was in the circles (*ḥalaḳāt*) of Abū ᶜUmar al-Djarmī (d. 225/839) and Abū ᶜUthmān al-Māzinī [*q.v.*] that he came into close contact with the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh; moreover, he took part in the scholarly discussions between Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. 255/869), who was a pupil of al-Aṣmaᶜī, and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Riyāshī (d. 257/871) on philological questions concerning Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*, poetry and *adab*. The participants in these discussions were impressed both by his demeanour and appearance and by his pure language and convincing argumentation. It is probably in these surroundings that he received his rather uncommon *laḳab*. Among several widely differing attempts to explain the genesis of this *laḳab* by way of anecdotes, the most realistic one tells us that Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās was called *al-mubarrid*, i.e. *al-muthbit li 'l-ḥaḳḳ*, "he who affirms truth", because of his ingenious way of giving pertinent answers, and that others changed this name into *al-mubarrad*, "the cooled one". This distorted name finally stuck to him, as may be observed in other cases. In al-Baṣra he also met al-Tawwazī (d. 233/847) and al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], and he repeatedly refers to both of them. According to his own testimony, he was called, in 246/860, to Sāmarrā and the court of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (reigned 232-47/847-61). Subsequently, he settled down in Baghdād, where his reputation as a great authority in matters of *ᶜarabiyya* had already been established. There he committed himself to widespread teaching activities until his death on 28 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 286/4 January 900 (or a year earlier). He was buried in the cemetery near Bāb al-Kūfa in a "house". Among his pupils were: Nifṭawayh, Ibn Kaysān, Mabramān and Ibn Durustawayh, as well as al-Zadjdjādj, al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar, Ibn al-Sarrādj and al-Ṣūlī; for two *warrāḳs* see *Fihrist*, 60, 1f., and for an alleged *mustamlī*, see al-

Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 104, [2]242; Brockelmann, S I, 250.

In Baghdād, the *madjlis* of philologists received its classical form through the disputes (*munāẓarāt* [*q.v.*]) between al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab [*q.v.*]. These scholarly discussions took place in mosques and in public squares, attended by a large number of pupils and interested listeners. The rivalries between these two great scholars—in ability and style, al-Mubarrad surpassed his opponent—led to the formation of the two famous schools of philologists: the *madhhab* of the Baṣrans and that of the Kūfans. As a native of al-Baṣra, al-Mubarrad had been familiar with the traditions of the Baṣrans since childhood, and as far as we can judge, he deliberately and emphatically cultivated them. As we can see from the fact that he compiled a book of biographies of Baṣran scholars, entitled *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-akhbāruhum*, which has not survived, he investigated in them beyond his teachers and Sībawayh, going back as far as ʿAlī and his *ḳāḍī* in al-Baṣra, Abu ʾl-Aswad al-Duʾalī [*q.v.*], the two legendary inventors of Arabic grammar (cf. R. Talmon, in *Stud. Isl.*, lxv [1987], 42 ff.; R. Sellheim, in *Oriens*, viii [1955], 350). Thaʿlab, a native of Baghdād, who was an authority on the traditions of the Kūfan al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*] and of his teacher al-Kisāʾī [*q.v.*], was inevitably pushed into the role of a representative of Kūfan traditions—which, as it seems to us, have never existed as a living doctrine. Later scholars have made of al-Ruʾāsī, from whom al-Kisāʾī transmitted, the founder of the Kūfan *madhhab* (cf. G. Weil's introd. to his edition of Ibn al-Anbārī's *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, Leiden 1913, 83 ff.; H.M. Versteegh, in *Grundriss der Arab. Philologie*, ii, Wiesbaden 1987, 156-9).

Al-Mubarrad's most famous work, his (1) *K. al-Kāmil fī ʾl-adab*, also called *K. al-Kāmil fī ʾl-lugha wa ʾl-adab wa ʾl-naḥw wa ʾl-taṣrīf*, is the classical *adab* work par excellence. It originated in public, i.e. during the author's teaching activities, from lectures and dictation. Traces of this atmosphere, as well as of the conversation between teacher/author and pupil/scribe, are perceptible (cf. pp. 549, 16 f.; 602, 14; 650, 2 and 15; 735, 2; etc.). The form of the work, as we know it today, goes back to al-Mubarrad's pupil Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d. 315/927) [*q.v.*]. The arrangement by chapters (*bāb*) is irregular, sometimes even rather arbitrary. The first editor of the work, W. Wright (ed. in 12 fascicules, with good extensive indices, Leipzig 1864-92), enumerates 61 chapters. In colourful succession, usually by means of association, an extensive range of themes concerning *adab* are treated in prose as well as in poetry, starting, of course, with—alleged—sayings of the Prophet, and ending with verses from the Ḳurʾān, in the interpretation of which even grammarians sometimes tend to make mistakes (p. 795). As is still the practice of present-day teaching, numerous references to the subject in question are to help the reader to follow the red thread through the abundant mass of material. There are hardly any *isnāds*, and later authors have criticised al-Mubarrad for that (cf. H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, ii [1949], 279, and vi [1953], 67). Occasionally he (or his pupil al-Akhfash, who arranged the material) expresses himself as follows (p. 409): "In this chapter we shall mention something of everything, in order to prevent the reader from being wearied, and mix a little jest with the earnest, so that heart and soul may be refreshed." Such a remark fittingly describes the character of the whole book, especially so in connection with the author's intention (*niyya*), as stated in the short preface, to select and arrange the material in a way—always from the point of view of *adab*—that offers the reader philologically interesting themes and subjects of a high standard (cf. also pp. 581, 12 ff. and 793, 7 ff.), followed by a useful commentary. It may be added that sometimes these interpretations form detailed digressions, e.g. on the three species of *kināya*, "allusion, metonymy" (pp. 412 ff.), on different functions of the particle *lām* (pp. 601 f.), or on the *ism al-ishāra*, "noun of indication" (pp. 499 f.). Alongside with traditions of the Prophet (*aḥādīth*), sayings (*aḳwāl*), stories (*akhbār*) of famous and less famous personalities of the Islamic past, especially of its glorious early period, and several categories of wisdom (*ḥikam*) and proverbs (*amthāl*), we find there a large number of verses and poems (*muḳaṭṭaʿāt*), some even belonging to the pre-Islamic period, and informative historical accounts in the style of the *ayyām al-ʿArab*. Special mention should be made of the highly illuminating chapters on the Khāridjīs (chs. 49, 51 and 54 [pp. 527-703 in Wright's edition]), consisting of loosely arranged reports, without any visible structural intention (cf. pp. 581, 12 ff. and 703, 1 ff.), again and again interrupted by excursions on grammatical and lexicographical questions; now and then, these sections form short independent chapters (cf. chs. 50 and 52-3). Mention should also be made of al-Mubarrad's predilection for verses containing a comparison/simile (*tashbīh*), to which he repeatedly dedicates whole passages (pp. 447-64 and 494-522; etc.), as well as of the chapter entitled "Laments for the dead and consolation" (*taʿāzī*) towards the end of the book (pp. 713-70, or, if we add the poems of more recent periods and of the author's own time, until p. 777). A large part of these mourning verses and mourning poems appear again in his late work, the *K. al-Taʿāzī* (see below, no. 3), where he refers to his *K. al-Kāmil* (p. 301). The elegy on the caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861) may serve as a *terminus post quem* for the genesis of the work (pp. 775-6), in which occasionally his *K. al-Muḳtaḍab* (p. 535, 2) and his *K. al-Ikhtiyār* (p. 760, 4) are referred to for further commentaries (see below, nos. 4 and 12).—O. Rescher has published a partial German translation, *Die Kharidschitenkapitel aus dem Kâmil (nach der Ausgabe William Wright's), ein Specimen der älteren arabischen Adab-Litteratur*, Stuttgart 1922. For the older Oriental prints, see Brockelmann, I, 109, S I, 168. On the basis of Wright's edition, a new edition with enlarged indices (by Muḥammad Sayyid Kaylānī) has been initiated by Muḥammad Zakī ʿAbd al-Salām Mubārak, continued from p. 433 onwards by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, 3 vols., Cairo 1356-76/1937-56; the new edition by Muḥammad Abu ʾl-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and al-Sayyid Shaḥāta, in 4 vols., Cairo 1376/1956 ff., is no improvement. The most recent edition has been published by Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Dālī, in 4 vols., Beirut 1406/1986, followed by an extract, Damascus 1407/1987. There are two useful modern commentaries: one by al-Sibāʿī al-Bayyūmī, *Tahdhīb al-Kāmil*, 2 vols., Cairo 1341/1923, and above all *Raghbat al-āmil min kitāb al-Kāmil*, by Sayyid b. ʿAlī al-Marṣafī, 8 vols., Cairo 1346-8/1927-30; for the glosses and critical remarks by an anonymous author, following Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 494/1101) and Abu ʾl-Walīd al-Waḳḳashī/Waḳshī (d. 489/1096), see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, ii [1949], 275-6, and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ ʿUḍayma in the introduction, pp. 54-5, to his edition of al-Mubarrad's *al-Muḳtaḍab* (see below, no. 4).

(2) *K. al-Fāḍil* (*wa ʾl-mafḍūl*), another *adab*-work, though of much smaller size (*ca.* 1/10). It is better structured, but this is not consistently maintained; it is divided into 15 chapters (*bāb*) and a final one, consisting of 7 sections (*faṣl*). The preface is, considering

the early date of the work, remarkably abundant; it contains e.g. *akhbār* about the rise of Arabic grammar, a number of sayings and a play on words with the root *f-ḍ-l* and its derivations, followed by an elegant transition to the main subject, sc. *adab*. Besides the excellence of poetry, mostly embedded in pointed stories from the time of the Umayyads, further subjects are: generosity, grief, youth and old age, gratitude, envy, eloquence, and beauty; and, as in *al-Kāmil* (see above, no. 1), we find several casual remarks concerning the character and aim of the small treatise (pp. 68, 86 and 99). His principal authorities are al-Māzinī, al-Riyāshī, and al-Tawwazī, three scholars to whom he also refers in *al-Kāmil*. No sources are mentioned, nor does he refer to his own works or to the works of other authors. Part of the material is familiar to us from *al-Kāmil*, and in both works he scarcely uses *isnāds*. In contrast to *al-Kāmil*, lexicographical or grammatical explanations are rarely given here. In *al-Fāḍil*, the hand of the author, deliberately shaping the book, is clearly perceptible. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī has edited the text from a *unicum*, Cairo 1375/1956 (see also H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, vi [1953], 67).

(3) *K. al-Taʿāzī wa 'l-marāthī*, a voluminous collection of poems on condolence and mourning, with appropriate stories added to them. The text can be precisely dated to the period between the end of 282/beginning of 896 and 284/897. The core of the book consists of verses and poems, together with "historical" explanations which had already been quoted by the author in *al-Kāmil* and in *al-Fāḍil*. He also draws on tradition following al-Madāʾinī (d. 228/842, cf. his *K. al-Taʿāzī*, Nadjaf 1391/1971; see also Borni el-Ouni's edition [from the same *unicum*], and his German translation, Ph.D thesis, University of Göttingen 1984, *passim*), and, without mentioning a name, following authorities such as Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. 255/869; cf. his *K. al-Waṣāyā*, Cairo 1961, 148 ff. *ad* 116 ff.). Muḥammad al-Dībādjī has edited the text in Damascus in 1396/1976 (cf. *Akhbār al-Turāth al-ʿArabī* [Kuwait], i [1402/1982], 28, and *al-Mawrid* [Baghdād], iii, 4 [1394/1974], 311 ff.).

(4) *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, a voluminous and unsystematic collection of particular questions concerning morphology (*ṣarf*) and syntax (*naḥw*), as the title puts it, an extemporised (*muḳtaḍab*) work. The *unicum* Köprülü 1507-8, dated 347/958, revised by the well-known grammarian Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/979), has no preface. After the *basmala*, the text runs *hādhā tafsīr wudjūh al-ʿarabiyya*, then follows *iʿrāb al-asmāʾ wa 'l-afʿāl*. The character of lecture notes becomes even more evident here than in *al-Kāmil*, which is less voluminous (cf. i, 22,2; 84,8; 98,6; 157,1; 239,10; etc.). Traces of such notes may also be recognised in repeated, indistinct references to matters treated before or after (cf. i, 36,7; 62,4; 220,1 f.; 254,10 f; 255,15; etc.); on the basis of such references, occasional omissions in the text can be detected (cf. i, 55,8; 95 below; 126 below; 130 below; 139,11; etc.). There are frequent direct or indirect references to the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh and to his teacher al-Khalīl [*q.v.*], as well as to the scholarly discussions of the Baṣriyyīn (e.g., i, 102,4; 107,5; cf. ii, 155,6: al-Kūfiyyūn!) or, in a more general sense, to those of the *naḥwiyyīn* (e.g., i, 115, 14; 126,18; 223,12). This reinforces the impression of a lively teaching atmosphere (cf. below, no. 11). From this background, we can understand why, in later times, this work was judged to be of little use (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 143), and in fact, it is only usable when equipped with a good index. This has been added by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ ʿUḍayma in his edition in 4 vols., Cairo 1383-8/1963-8 (repr. Beirut 1986). In his introduction, he calls our attention to differences and contradictions within the traditions going back to al-Mubarrad (cf. i, 119 ff.; iv, indices; for further material, see Sezgin, ix, 243, and R. Talmon, in *ZDMG*, cxxxviii [1988], 93 ff.). This again shows us, firstly, that at that time discussion on Arabic grammar was in full swing and far from being ossified, and secondly, that alleged quotations from al-Mubarrad, following a *ḳāla*, were not necessarily genuine; on the contrary, probably most of them merely represent the so-called official Baṣran doctrine (*madhhab*), with the name of al-Mubarrad added. Detailed investigation is necessary before we can say more on these topics. Of the four commentaries on *al-Muḳtaḍab* known to have existed, only that by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Fāriḳī (d. 391/1001) has survived (see iv, index, 219; Sezgin, ix, 79 and 201).

The short treatises by, or, more precisely, transmitted from al-Mubarrad and dealing with isolated questions relating to the fields of grammar, lexicography, and *adab*, such as *nasab* (genealogy), are mere lecture-notes; this can be concluded, among other things, from the fact that they have no prefaces. They originated in the *madjlis*, either at the time of *al-Muḳtaḍab* and *al-Kāmil*, or a little later, but in any case more or less in the background of these two works, and they have been called, more or less correctly, booklets by al-Mubarrad. Their titles are as follows: (5) *K. al-Mudhakkar wa 'l-muʾannath*, ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Hādī, Cairo 1970 (cf. *al-Muḳtaḍab*, iv, index, 107 ff.); (6) *K. al-Ḳawāfī wa-mā 'shtuḳḳat alḳābuhā minhu*, ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1972; (7) *K. Mā 'ttafaḳa lafẓuhu wa 'khtalafa maʿnāhu min al-Ḳurʾān al-madjīd*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, Cairo 1350/1931 (cf. *Akhbār* [Kuwayt], nos. 40-1 [1409/1989], 8); (8) *Risāla fī aʿdjāz buyūt tughnī fī 'l-tamthīl ʿan ṣudūrihā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, i, Cairo 1370/1951, 161-73; (9) *K. Nasab ʿAdnān wa-Ḳaḥṭān*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, Cairo 1354/1936.—From the point of view of language and style, also his brief *risāla*, entitled (10) al-Balādja, which was written for Aḥmad, the son of the caliph al-Wāthiḳ (reigned 227-32/842-7), forms part of this group (cf. e.g. *al-Muḳtaḍab*, iv, index, 218). There are three editions of it, each one based on the only complete manuscript (Munich [Aumer], no. 791) written by the famous calligrapher Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]); one by G. von Grünebaum, in *Orientalia*, x [1941], 372-82, one by Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1965, ²1985, and one by Mukhtār al-Dīn Aḥmad, Aligarh 1968.—Other works transmitted from al-Mubarrad and known from numerous quotations, such as his (11) *Sharḥ* with critical remarks on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh, are of a similar quality, cf. *al-Muḳtaḍab*, iv, index, 220-6, and i, introduction, 87 ff.; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Mayman (al-Maymanī), *Iklīd al-khizāna*, Lahore 1927, 89; also called (?) *K. al-Ziyāda al-muntazaʿa min Kitāb Sībawayh*, ms. Konya, Yusuf Ağa, no. 4914,2 (cf. A. Ateş, in *Belleten*, xvi [1952], 59 f.); also Muḥammad al-Fāḍil Ibn ʿĀshūr, in *MMʿIʿA*, xl [1385/1965], 30-45, and the lists in Sezgin, viii, 98 and ix, 79 f.

For further works whose titles are mentioned in the sources, such as (12) *al-Ikhtiyār*, (13) *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, (14) *al-Iʿtinān*, (15) *Ṣifāt Allāh* (cf. P. Sbath, *Choix des livres ... d'Alep*, Cairo 1946, index), (16) *Ḳawāʾid al-shiʿr* (*op. cit.*), and (17) *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-akhbāruhum* (*op. cit.*), see especially Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, in his introduction to al-Mubarrad's *al-Mudhakkar* (see above, no. 5), who also gives the most

complete list of works, containing all together 54 titles, each one provided with a commentary.—Al-Mubarrad's (18) *K. al-Rawḍa*, a collection of poems by contemporary poets beginning with Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], has been used by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī in his edition of *al-Fāḍil* (see above, no. 2) in a manuscript of which he gives us no further details (cf. p. 162b s.t.).—The contents of a (19) *Khuṭbat taḳrīʿ li 'l-Mubarrad* (?) contained in a *madjmūʿa* in al-Mawṣil (catalogue 1346/1927, no. 56, 13, not registered in Mawṣil², iii [1396/1976]), are unknown to us.—The (20) *Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* attributed to him is probably the work of one of his younger contemporaries, namely his pupil al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (see above); in his small treatise, consisting exclusively of glosses—a feature typical of this author—he refers not only to Abu 'l-ʿAbbās [al-Mubarrad], but also to Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā [Thaʿlab], Faḍl al-Yazīdī and al-Aḥwal, all authorities known to have been his teachers (cf. Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 224,5 [Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 93, 11 f.] and vi, 482,19.—Brockelmann, S I, 53 f.; Sezgin, ii, 135; F. Krenkow, *EI*¹, AL-SHANFARĀ, etc., should all be corrected accordingly).

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AL-MUBARRAZ, an oasis town in the region of al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*] in eastern Arabia located at latitude 25°55′N, longitude 49°36′E. The origin of the name is uncertain. Philby's suggestion that it derives from the root *baraza* "go forth, appear"—as the town is only some three miles north of al-Hufūf [*q.v.*] and was usually the first halting-place for caravans leaving that place—has not been substantiated.

Al-Mubarraz was for many centuries the most important agricultural centre in al-Ḥasā after al-Hufūf, with which it was then connected by a raised causeway running through cultivated fields. The weekly market attracted people from a wide area and Sadleir, who visited the town in 1819, describes it as having an excellent water supply. It then had some 10,000 inhabitants and was defended by a mudbrick wall and a ditch. At the end of the 19th century the wall lay in ruins and the only military building was a small fort to the west at Ḳaṣr Sāhūd. According to the 1917 *Gazetteer of Arabia*, the Ottomans kept a small force of one company of infantry there.

The same report states that the population, all of whom were Arabs, was 80% Sunnī. Philby, who visited the town in 1917, estimated the population at 20,000; some forty years later Vidal put the total at about 28,000. In recent years al-Hufūf has expanded greatly and it now embraces al-Mubarraz.

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(R.M. BURRELL)

AL-MUBASHSHIR B. FĀTIK, ABU 'L-WAFĀʾ, 5th/11th century Egyptian historian and savant. Said to have been of Syrian origin, he apparently spent all of his long life in Egypt. He possibly lived and worked as a private scholar, and he may have had ties with the ruling circles of the country. In addition to history, his many interests included philosophy and medicine. He supposedly studied with such leaders in their fields as Ibn al-Haytham and Ibn Riḍwān; a certain Jewish physician named Ibn Raḥmūn was his only known student. While reliable data on his life are extremely scarce, he emerges from what we know as an outstanding representative of the intellectualism that to some degree dominated life in Fāṭimid Egypt. An anecdote, which is undoubtedly apocryphal, brings to life for us the type of individual he appears to have been: when he died, his wife had all his books, for which he had always neglected her, thrown into the pool in the courtyard of their house.

Only one of his writings is preserved. The loss of his historical writings is particularly regrettable. He himself refers to his "Great History". This work was probably not identical with his three-volume biography of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, which, if preserved, would be a source of inestimable value for us. His surviving work, composed in 440/1048-9, is entitled *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim*, "Choice wise sayings and fine statements" (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Madrid 1377/1958). It was uniquely successful and secured lasting fame for him. The work naturally shares some of its material with earlier gnomologia, but no scheme of dependency has so far been securely established. It deals with ancient, almost exclusively Greek, sages, described by a combination of biographical sketches and collections of saying. It starts with chapters on legendary "sages" from the Egyptian Hermetic tradition, namely, Seth,

Hermes and Ṭāṭ (or Ṣāb, apparently, the Hermetic Tat somehow equated with the fictitious eponym of the Ṣābians). They are followed by Asclepius, who signals the transition to the general Greek tradition. Entries are devoted to Homer, Solon, Zeno of Elea, Hippocrates, Pythagoras, Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, King Alexander, Ptolemy, Syros (?), Luḳmān [*q.v.*], Ainesios (i.e. Aesop?) Mahādardjīs (not yet definitely identified), the Church Fathers Basilios and Gregorios, and finally Galen. The work ends with a chapter on sayings of various sages and one containing anonymous sayings. The biographical information is often more detailed than anything that was ordinarily available in mediaeval times; some of it reflects otherwise lost sources. As an entertaining mirror of the best that Classical Antiquity had to offer in ethical thought and moral behaviour, the *Mukhtār* enjoyed great popularity in the Muslim world, as evidenced by the number of preserved manuscripts and its frequent use by later writers. A special recension of the text circulated in the Muslim West. It was translated into Spanish about 1250. The translation dropped al-Mubashshir's name, which was thus lost to the old European tradition. The Spanish translation was followed by translations into Latin and then into some European vernaculars—French, Provençal and English. Its title of *Bocados d'oro* was not adopted by subsequent translations; they preferred titles on the order of *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum* or *Dicts and sayings of the philosophers*. After the invention of printing, editions of the Spanish, French and English versions appeared in large numbers. The English text printed by Caxton in 1477 is believed to have been the first English book printed in England. The last time one of the translations was printed in Renaissance Europe was in 1533, the date of a French edition. The growing acquaintance with Greek literature then made the work obsolete until Orientalist scholarship began to pay attention to it in the early 17th century.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 600, S I, 829: F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 132-58, giving most of the earlier literature; on further ms., idem, in *JAOS*, lxxxiii (1963), 456 f., xcv (1975), 211-13, xcix (1979), 91-3; idem, tr. of the chapter on the sayings of various sages, in *The classical heritage in Islam*, 118-44, London 1975; Mechthild Crombach, *"Bocados d'oro", Ausgabe des altspanischen Textes*, Bonn 1971. (F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-**MUBAYYIḌA** [see AL-MUḲANNAʿ].

MUBTADAʾ (A.) 1. As a technical term of Arabic grammar. Here it is generally translated as "inchoative". It designates the first component part with which one begins (*yubtadaʾu bihi*) the nominal phrase, whose second component is the predicate (*khabar*) [*q.v.*]. Sībawayhi defined it as being "every noun with which one begins in order to construct a statement (*kalām*) upon it; the introductory noun is the first and the construction built upon it comes after; the first is 'that which is connected' (*musnad*) and the other 'that to which it is connected' (*musnad ilayhi*) (*Kitāb*, i, 239); the introductory noun cannot do without (*lā yastaghnī*) that which is constructed upon it and, to make the statement, the first noun needs (*yaḥtādj*) the other" (*Kitāb*, i, 6).

As regards inflexion, the introductory noun is marked by the final vowel (*u*). The government of this vowel is the subject of a difference of opinion (*ikhtilāf*) among the grammarians. Following Sībawayh, the grammarians of Baṣra consider that this vowel is governed by the introduction, i.e. the fact that the introductory noun is divested (*mudjarrad, muʿarrā*) of any regent (*ʿāmil*). On the other hand, the grammarians of Kūfa claim that the final vowel of the introductory noun is governed by the predicate, the two terms mutually governing each other. When it is preceded by one of the six particles *anna, inna, lakinna, layta, laʿalla* and *kaʾanna*, the introductory noun is marked by the vowel (*a*), being governed by these particles in the same way as by the verb.

As regards determination, all the grammarians are in agreement in stating that the introductory noun ought to be a known thing (*maʿrifa*), for the purpose of the information is to obtain for the hearer (*sāmiʿ*) the benefit (*ifāda*) of knowledge that he does not have. Information provided with regard to an unknown thing (*nakira*) is of no benefit. "A man [is] learned" is a statement which is of no benefit, because the hearer does not deny the existence of a learned man among those whom he does not know. But when the speaker (*mutukallim*) introduces a noun that the hearer knows and says "Zayd", the hearer expects (*yatawakkaʿ*) something that he does not know; and when the speaker says "[is] learned", he informs the hearer of something which he did not know. However, the grammarians admit that the introductory noun may be an unknown thing, on condition that it is closely connected with the known, such as an unknown thing which is qualified (*mawṣūf*), for the quality particularises it.

As for the possibility of moving back (*taʾkhīr*) the introductory noun and bringing forward (*taḳdīm*) the predicate, it was also the subject of a difference of opinion among the early grammarians; those of Baṣra allowed it, whereas those of Kūfa rejected it and, in the case where the predicate that has been brought forward is an adverb (*ẓarf*), they consider that the noun that has been moved back is no longer "introductory".

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2. In history. The term is employed in historical works, in particular with regard to the beginning of the creation and also to biblical history in general. In his *Fihrist*, 94 ll. 8-9. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions a *K. al-Mubtadaʾ* which he attributed to ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. Idrīs (d. 228/842) and which allegedly went back to that author's maternal grandfather Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728 or 114/732). This work, which deals with the history of the prophets (*ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*), is the first of its type in Islamic culture. At the same time, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 3 ll. 7 ff., and al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035), *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 65 ll. 11 ff., after him, speak of an *al-Mubtadaʾ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, attributing it to Wahb. The same title was used by Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ (d. 150/767 or 151/768) in the first part of his *K. al-Maghāzī*, where he frequently cites Ibn Munabbih, who influenced him considerably in regard to enlarging his historical perspectives (see Brockelmann, S I, 205; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 289, and their references; R.G. Khoury, *Les sources islamiques de la "Sīra"*, 24 ff.). Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 127 = § 126, uses the same word in regard to Ibn Munabbih and others, with a difference however in the second part of the title: *K. al-Mubtadaʾ wa 'l-siyar*. The word is also to be found in the long title of the *History* of Ibn Khaldūn.

Other later compilations, beginning with earlier oral or written versions, including that of Ibn Munabbih, use rather the synonym *badʾ*, such as

ʿUmara b. Wat̲h̲īma b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt al-Fārisī (d. 289/902) in his *K. Badʾ al-k̲h̲alḳ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, which he transmitted from his father Wat̲h̲īma (d. 237/851), and the latter from several authors beginning with Wahb again; and also al-Maḳdisī (d. 355/966), who called his own work *K. al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīk̲h̲*. Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Kisāʾī also followed this tradition in certain versions of his book on the history of the prophets in Islam (see Brockelmann, S I, 592). With Ibn Kat̲h̲īr (d. 774/1373), there appears a third variant of *Mubtabaʾ*, sc. *al-Bidāya*, in his *History* called *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*. For more detail on the different works mentioned above, see the articles on their respective authors.

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MUDANYA, a Turkish town located on the Gulf of Gemlik on the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmara, now in the *ilçe* or district of the same name and in the *il* or province of Bursa [*q.v.*]. In early Ottoman times, it came within the *liwāʾ* of K̲h̲udāwendigār [*q.v.*]. In late Ottoman times it was a port of regional importance, exporting the olive oil, fruit, wines and other agricultural produce of the fertile surrounding region; it also served as the port of transit for the manufactures of Bursa, the provincial capital, to which it was linked in 1892 by a narrow-gauge railway. The inhabitants of Mudanya were a mixture of Turks and Greeks; Ottoman statistics set the population of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Mudanya at 17,395 in 1893 and at 24,233 in 1907; according to the 1985 census, the town of Mudanya had 12,152 inhabitants and the *ilçe* 32,042.

The main event of the present century affecting Mudanya has been the fact that the Turkish War of Independence was brought to a practical end by an armistice concluded at Mudanya on 11 October 1922 by representatives of the Government of the Grand Natonial Assembly of Turkey and the Allied Powers Great Britain, France and Italy. The armistice arose from the situation created by the Turks' expulsion of Greek forces from Anatolia in September 1922, and the subsequent advance of Turkish troops up to and into the "neutral zone" around the Dardanelles which was occupied by detachments of the three Allied Powers. The Turks indicated that it was their intention to cross the neutral zone and expel Greek forces from Eastern Thrace; the Allied Powers refused to let them pass, and for some days war threatened. On 23 September the Allied Powers offered to negotiate an armistice on the basis that Greece should evacuate Eastern Thrace and that Turkey should respect the neutral zone; the Turkish Commander-in-Chief Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pas̲h̲a [see ATATÜRK] accepted the offer of negotiation, and discussions commenced at Mudanya on 3 October, the Turks being represented by ʿIṣmet Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the commander of their forces on the western front, and the Allied Powers by Generals Harington, Charpy and Mombelli. A Greek delegation was present at Mudanya, but did not enter the negotiations.

These in fact proved difficult. The Turkish delegation initially refused to recognise the neutral zone, and insisted that Eastern Thrace be recognised as Turkish sovereign territory and placed under Turkish control. A breakdown was narrowly averted; in the end the Allied Powers agreed to recognise full Turkish sovereignty in Eastern Thrace and to accept the entry of Turkish officials and gendarmes into the province within thirty days of Greek evacuation, which itself should be completed within fifteen days. In return, the Turks agreed to respect the neutral zone pending the outcome of a peace conference. They also agreed to a cessation of hostilities with Greece. The armistice came into force at midnight on 14-15 October 1922; Greece did not sign it, but announced her adherence on 14 October.

The armistice was therefore more than a ceasefire. By recognising full Ottoman sovereignty in Eastern Thrace it resolved one of the principal political issues between Turkey, Greece and the Allied Powers; the others were dealt with at the peace conference held at Lausanne (November 1922-July 1923). Allied forces remained in the neutral zone and Istanbul until the conclusion of the peace conference; all were evacuated by 1 October 1923. The Government of the Grand National Assembly had long since asserted its own political authority in Istanbul: some three weeks after the Mudanya armistice, it abolished the Sultanate and the Sultan's government which had hitherto survived under Allied protection, and installed its own men in charge of the capital.

Bibliography: Data on various aspects of Mudanya's history may be gleaned from *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1981-4, iii, 1611-1801 *passim*; ʿAlī D̲j̲ewād, *Memālik-i ʿUt̲h̲māniyye'niñ d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfīyā lug̲h̲ātī*, i, Istanbul 1313, 735-6; S̲h̲ems ed-Dīn Sāmī [*Fras̲h̲ërī*], *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1306-16, 4237-8; *Géographie de Busching*, viii, Lausanne 1780, 212-13; J. Thobie, *Intérêts et impérialisme français dans l'empire ottoman (1895-1914)*, Paris 1977, 139-41. For the Mudanya armistice of 1922, see Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türkiye devletinin dış siyasası*, Ankara 1973, 117-19; Tevfik Bıyıkıoğlu, *Trakya'da millî mücadele*, i, Ankara 1955, 433-63; S.F. Evans, *The slow rapprochement: Britain and Turkey in the age of Kemal Atatürk 1919-1938*, Hull 1982, 51-68; A.-F. Frangulis, *La Grèce et la crise mondiale*, ii, Paris 1926, 440-60; Lord Kinross, *Ataturk. The rebirth of a nation*, London 1964, 330-9; Salahi Ramsdan Sonyel, *Turkish diplomacy 1918-1923*, London 1975, 173-82; Âli Türkgeldi, *Mondros ve Mudanya mütarekelerinin tarihi*, Ankara 1948, 148-88; W.N. Medlicott, D. Dakin and M.E. Lambert (eds.), *Documents on British foreign policy 1919-1939, First Series, vol. xvii, Greece and Turkey 1922-1923.* (F.A.K. Yasamee)

MUḌAR [see RABĪʿA].

MUḌĀRABA (A.) (also, in S̲h̲āfiʿī and Mālikī sources, *ḳirāḍ* and *muḳāraḍa*), a commercial association whereby an investor (*rabb al-māl*) entrusts capital to an agent (*muḍārib, ʿāmil*) who trades with it and shares with the investor a pre-determined proportion of the profits. Losses incurred in the venture are the responsibility of the investor; the agent loses his time and effort, and any profit he would have gained were it successful. Most schools of law require that the capital be entirely provided by the investor and the labour entirely by the agent, otherwise the arrangement is transformed into another kind of contract (e.g., loan, investment of merchandise, or partnership with unequal shares (*ʿinān*)) with different incidents. Thus strictly speaking, the *muḍāraba* contract is a fiduciary relationship (*amāna*) combined with agency

and becomes a partnership only with the division of the profits.

The capital for the formation of the *muḍāraba* must consist of currency. Chattels (*ʿurūḍ*) and real property are ineligible on grounds of uncertainty and risk (*gharar*) because their value may fluctuate before they are converted into cash, leaving the subject matter of the *muḍāraba* undefined and undetermined. However, the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools permit the formation of a *muḍāraba* with a pre-condition, so that once specific chattels or real property have been sold, the proceeds may finance the *muḍāraba*. Subject to controversy also is whether the *muḍāraba* can be financed by a debt (the creditor asks the debtor to assign what he owes as a *muḍāraba* investment), by a third-party debt (which the agent is charged to collect), by money held on deposit or owed from unlawful appropriation (*ghaṣb*).

The rights of the agent include a previously agreed proportions of the profit (neither party can stipulate a specific sum). He may deduct all legitimate business expenses from the capital to the extent that customary practice dictates; and he may usually deduct personal living expenses, but only if he is travelling. The Ḥanbalī school, by allowing all matters of personal expenses to be the subject of agreement between the parties, permits greater flexibility. Although the investor has the right to impose certain restrictions, the agent is given considerable freedom of action to conduct business and achieve a profit. Does the agent have the right to mix his own capital in the venture? Only the Ḥanbalī school permits the association of capital of both and the labour of one of the parties, provided that this is understood as both a *muḍāraba* and a partnership in property, and also provided that the profits be shared equally (*Mughnī*, v, 136). Again, further latitude is envisioned only by the Ḥanbalīs, who also permit an association of labour, where the capital is contributed by one party while both parties conduct trade together (*Mughnī*, v, 137). Such a *muḍāraba* is not permitted by the other schools, who insist that the capital be placed in the absolute possession of the agent.

The liquidation of the *muḍāraba*, i.e. conversion of the *muḍāraba* properties back to currency, is the duty of the agent, although there is considerable discussion as to the degree each party is entitled to decide the most profitable (or least harmful) time to do so. The recognised duty of the agent to buy and sell at the most profitable time conflicts, of course, with the notion of a fiduciary and non-binding contract which normally either party can dissolve at will. The inconsistency was noted by all schools and various rules attempt to resolve the conflict. In addition, in contrast to the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, the Ḥanbalī and Ḥanafī schools permit a *muḍāraba* contract to be formed with a pre-determined time limit, after which the agent could no longer engage in trade on behalf of the *muḍāraba*.

The *muḍāraba* is treated at length in the classical *fikh* works as a contract distinct from other partnerships, reflecting the important role it played in medieval long distance trade. For this aspect, see KIRĀḌ. The contract was also a device to lend money with interest while circumventing the prohibition of unlawful gain [see RIBĀ]. In handing over money to the agent, the investor was liable only for the loss of the capital; but if the commercial venture were successful, the share of the profits he received (in addition to the capital) was tantamount to the interest on a loan.

In the contemporary Muslim world, the *muḍāraba* is the centrepiece of an anticipated system of interest-free banking. Briefly, funds mobilised by the bank from depositors on the basis of one *muḍāraba* contract can provide funds to entrepreneurs on the basis of another *muḍāraba*. The bank's income would be the difference between the share of profit it receives from entrepreneurs and the share of profit it gives to the depositors (Saleh, 101). Not only is the *muḍāraba* a versatile contract, but it also enjoyed the detailed attention and unanimous approval of the classical Muslim jurists.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳudāma, *K. al-Mughnī*, Beirut 1392/1972, v, 134-201; Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1331/1912, xxii, 17-187; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Cairo 1386/1966, ii, 258-67; Ṭaḥāwī, *K. al-Shurūṭ al-ṣaghīr*, Istanbul, ms. Murad Molla 997, fols. 107a-110a (contract of *muḍāraba*); C.A. Hooper, *The Civil Law of Palestine and Trans-Jordan* (Eng. tr. of the *Madjalla*), Jerusalem 1933, i, arts. 1404-30; A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in medieval Islam*, Princeton 1970; J.A. Wakin, *The function of documents in Islamic law*, Albany 1972 (contract of purchase by *muḍārib*, 130-1); N. Saleh, *Unlawful gain and legitimate partnership in Islamic law*, Cambridge and New York 1986; Abdullah Alwi bin Haji Hasan, *Al-Mudārabah (dormant partnership) and its identical Islamic partnerships in early Islam*, in *Hamdard Islamicus*, xii/2 (1989), 11-38.

(JEANETTE A. WAKIN)

MUḌĀRIʿ (A.), "similar", a technical term of Arabic grammar to designate the verbal form characterised by the prefixing of one of four augments (*zawāʾid*), marks of the person, *hamza, tāʾ, yāʾ and nūn*. As regards time, the "similar" verb is allocated to the expression of the present (*ḥāl, ḥāḍir*) and the future (*mustaḳbal, ātī*). It is the opposite of the *māḍī* [*q.v.*], characterised by the suffixing of personal markings and allocated to the expression of the past.

The grammarians call this verbal form "similar" because of the similarity (*muḍāraʿa*) that they establish between it and the noun, in three ways: 1. the "similar" verb, like the noun, is undefined (*mubham*), for both the article *al-* is prefixed to the noun to distinguish the indefinite (*radjul^{un}*) from the definite (*al-radjulu*), and a particle, *sa-* or *sawfa*, should be prefixed to the "similar" verb to distinguish between the present (*yaktubu*) and the future (*sa-yaktubu*); 2. the "similar" verb can replace the noun of the agent (*ism al-fāʿil*) and express the same meaning: *Zaydun kātibun* has the same significance as *Zaydun yaktubu*; 3. one can prefix the *lām* of the confirmation (*taʾkīd*) to the similar verb (*la-yaktubu*), just as one can with the noun of the agent (*la-kātibun*).

On account of the similarity established between this verbal form and the noun, the Arab grammarians consider the "similar" verb to be inflected (*muʿrab*) like the noun. It can be inflected in three ways: (a) by suffixing the final vowel *-u* (*marfūʿ*), governed by the fact that it can occupy the position of a noun. (b) by suffixing the final vowel *-a* (*manṣūb*), governed by four particles, *an, lan, kay, idhan*, and five other particles, *ḥattā, li-, fa-, wa-* and *aw*, in which the particle *an* is implicit (*muḍmar*); (c) by the elision of the final vowel (*madjzūm*), governed by a certain number of particles such as *lam* and *lammā* of negation, *lā* of prohibition, *li-* of injunction and *in* of recompense (*djazāʾ*). As regards the expression of time, the Arab grammarians state, without explanation, the fact that the two negative particles *lam* and *lammā* transfer (*tanḳulu*) the "similar" verb into the past.

Bibliography: Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg, i, 2-3, 361-84; Mubarrad, *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, ed. ʿUḍayma, iv, 80-5; Ibn al-Sarrādj, *K. al-Uṣūl fī*

'l-naḥw, ed. Fatlī, i, 39-40, ii, 145-63; Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. Asrār al-ʿarabiyya*, ed. Seybold, 124-34; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo, vii, 6-58; G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976, 129; idem, *La "Risālāt al-Kitāb" de Sībawayhi*, in *MUSJ*, xlviii (1973-4), 321-38.

(G. Troupeau)

al-**MUDAWWANA**, Mālik treatise [see saḥnūn].

al-**MUDAWWANA**, Ibīḍī treatise [see abū ghānim].

al-**MUDAWWAR** (a.) "that which is round", has given, under the form almodovar, the name to a small river of the province of Cadiz which flows from the south-east into the Laguna de la Janda, and also to several places in Spain and Portugal: Almodovar del Rio, below Cordova; Almodovar del Campo (or de Calatrava), to the south-west of Ciudad Real; Almodovar del Pinar, in the province of Cunenca; and Almodovar to the west of Mértola in southern Portugal.

(C.F. Seybold)

MUDAWWARA (a.), lit. "something circular", a term used in the central and western parts of the Arab world in the later Middle Ages to denote a large tent of rulers and great men, used especially when the army was on the march.

Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (*Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, ed. R. Ravaisse, Paris 1894, 136-7, tr. Venture de Paradis, Beirut 1950, 228) states that when the Mamlūk sultan sent out a powerful military expedition, the order of the commander's tents, when encamped, is that the highest-ranking officer's tent (*waṭāḳ*) is set up at the end of the formation, with the sultan's *mudawwara* (of such a size that its components had to be carried on 120 camels) right at the end of the line. The information of al-Ḳalḳashandī confirms that the *mudawwara* was a very large tent or pavilion. When the army of the Moroccan Marīnids [*q.v.*] was on the march, the city-like formation of the encampment (*shiḳḳa*, in Mamlūk parlance, *ḥawsh*) included a lofty tent intended as the sultan's public audience hall, the *ḳubbat al-sāḳa*, which al-Ḳalḳashandī says was called a *mudawwara* in Egypt (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 208-9).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Quatremère, *Hist. des sultans mamlouks*, i/1, 192, ii/2, 212, and Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 475.

(Ed.)

al-**MUDDATHTHIR** and al-**MUZZAMMIL**, the titles respectively of the 74th and 73rd sūras of the Ḳurʾān, derived from the first verse of each one of them which may be translated "O you covered in a cloak!" The first term is the active participle of a form V, *tadaththara*, denominative verb from *dithār* "over garment", and the second, also an active participle, from form V, *tazammala* "to wrap oneself [in a garment]", the infix *t* of *mutadaththir* and *mutazammil* being simply assimilated to the first radical. The two sūras are Meccan, and the opening verses of the first sūra may well be the opening of the entire revelation. The exegetes offer several explanations for the two expressions, which obviously designate in both cases the Prophet in an ecstatic condition, probably with his head covered in the fashion of the diviners of former times. The variant *al-muzammal*, passive participle of form II, would imply the intervention of another person, in this case Khadīdja [*q.v.*], whom Muḥammad must have asked to cover him when he felt that a revelation was at hand.

Bibliography: In addition to the classical commentaries, see in particular, Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 98; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*², Paris 1969, 72-3.

(Ed.)

MUDÉJAR (Spanish; in Catalan *mudèixar*), from the Arabic *mudadjdjan* or *ahl al-dadjn*, a term to designate the Muslim who, in return for the payment of tribute, continued to live in territories conquered by the Christians. The word covers the double sense of "one who remains behind, a laggard", and of *tributarius*, which is the translation of the *Vocabulista in arabico*. In fact, there is a correlation between the fact of not emigrating before the Christian advance and that of becoming subject to a new jurisdiction which is no longer Islamic. The term is also used to characterise the manifestations relative to this culture; thus there is reference to Mudéjar architecture, literature, etc. It should be stressed that, before the 15th century, the Mudéjars are generally called *mauri/moros* (often, more specifically, *moros de paz*), *sarraceni/sarrahins*, and that the term *mudéjar* only appears in Spanish texts *ca.* 1462, "eran de intención que se diesen al rey nuestro señor, e biviesen por modejares en aquella çibdad e su tierra" (*Crónica condestable Lucas de Iranzo*). The surrender of Purchena (1489) stipulates "...que Nos tomamos e recibimos por nuestros *vasallos mudexares*..." and the "alfaqui Yuzaf el Mudexar" was one of the administrators of Grenada in 1491.

It is possible to identify the status of being a Mudéjar: (a) of individuals, (b) of communities and (c) of political formations. These last may be "external" (i.e. not included geographically in the Christian zone). Thus it seems appropriate to speak of the Mudéjar status of the Naṣrid sultanate of Granada, politically subordinate to the Castilians to whom it paid tribute (the *parias* [*q.v.*]) and even to extend it to European colonialism and protectorates when exercised at the expense of Islamic states.

(a) Individual Mudéjar status is produced—at least sporadically—when an expedition launched from the *dār al-ḥarb* has successfully occupied a part of the *dār al-Islām* whose inhabitants have not retreated. There is also an implicit notion of the possibility of choice of residence, and a Muslim prisoner could not be considered a Mudéjar unless, when freed, he chose to stay (his status from the point of view of *fiḳh* is a subject to which we shall return). In this sense, the status of Mudéjar existed on almost all the frontiers (*thughūr* [*q.v.*]), the first cases occurring in Asia Minor, with the Byzantine counter-offensive of the 8th-9th centuries.

(b) The Mudéjar status of communities. This appears, in the sense of a widescale phenomenon giving its name to the process, in Spain only in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries (the Maghribī jurist al-Wansharīsī (d. 915/1509) considered it to have begun *ca.* 503/1100). It also came about in Sicily with the Norman conquest of the 11th century; in Syria-Palestine with the creation of the Latin Kingdom in the 12th century; in Russia with the Muscovite expansion of the 15th-16th centuries, and in the Balkans with the decline of the Ottomans in the 18th-19th centuries. The phenomenon has received no specific designation in these regions, and no scholar has yet undertaken a global and comparative study either of this historical process or of its evolution.

In all cases, this was a process affecting organised and close-knit (usually urban) groups who—having the option of emigration—preserved, in return for a formal capitulation, their religious, judicial, administrative, fiscal, linguistic and other structures. It also constituted the application to conquered Muslims of the status of *dhimmī* [*q.v.*]. That seems to be the opinion of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh when using the term *djizya* for the tribute paid to Alfonso VI of Castile. Ibn al-Kardabūs also uses it when speaking of

the tribute levied by the King of Castile, the Cid and Alfonso I of Aragon. Al-Wans̲h̲arīsī spoke of *al-muslimīn al-d̲h̲immiyyīn* and *bayn al-ṭāg̲h̲iya wa-ahl d̲h̲immatihi min al-dad̲j̲n*. Mediaeval European societies, having no experience of co-existence with communities belonging to other faiths, confined themselves to copying a "model". It is this which explains and justifies, in 1665, the demand addressed by the Sublime Porte to the Tsar of Muscovy "that he treat his Muslim subjects in reciprocity with the status accorded by the Sultan to his own Christian subjects." But there was one essential difference: the status of *d̲h̲immī* was—as stipulated by the capitulation of Tudmīr—"covered by the divine pact and guarantee" (*ʿahd wa-mīt̲h̲āḳ Allāh*). The vassal acquired "the protection (*d̲h̲imma*) of God and of Muḥammad." And divine decisions are, essentially, immutable. On the other hand, the Mudéjar was covered only by a diplomatic accord, granted by a (Christian) conquering power to the (Muslim) vanquished, where the former political sovereignty was transferred to the victors.

The condition of the *mudad̲j̲d̲j̲an* declined very quickly, since the balance of forces no longer required adherence to the spirit and the letter of the signed treaties, while the fiscal needs of the Spanish kings led them to increase—to intolerable degrees—the burdens imposed (forced labour, military conscription) and the taxed levied (*peyta, cena, censal, morabetin, lezda, questia*, tithes, etc.). The situation was aggravated by the growing weight of Christian social pressure and the injunctions of the Lateran Council in 1215, of the Popes Honorius III and Gregory IX, requiring them to wear distinctive signs, or the ban, imposed by Clement V in 1311 and revived by the Bishop of Tortosa in 1359, on invoking the name of Muḥammad and on praying in public. In fact, the faith given and sworn *in perpetuum*, the word of honour of "sus Altezas e sus descendientes, para siempre jamas..." was of shortlived duration. Hence it was not long before it was violated, in part (two months at Toledo, after which they were deprived of use of the Great Mosque) or in total (eight years at Granada). It is therefore essential to distinguish the periods, since vast differences separate the politico-socio-economic context of the day of surrender from that where the marginal status of the Christians is no more than a vague memory. The treaties were full of provisions aimed at retaining a large Arabo-Muslim majority, not yet deprived of its ruling élites and structures, in contact with other Muslim states from which it could receive aid and support, and to which it could emigrate. Such provisions vanished without trace when the conquering power, having pushed back the frontiers and colonised the land, "interiorised" the Mudéjars, reducing their initial autonomy (to the advantage of monarchs or nobility), overseeing and exploiting the *aljamas*, isolated amid the Christian tide and no longer constituting a coherent group, its members suffering pressure, discrimination and contempt, their loyalty considered suspect. In this context it seems more appropriate to think in terms of the privileges, rather than of the rights, of the Mudéjars; for example, sexual contact with a Christian was not punishable by death.

The first known situation involving Mudéjars was apparently of 188/803-4. The capture of Barcelona by Louis the Pious guaranteed to "suum principem Amir et civitatem concessa facultate sedendi". The capture of Cea, Viseo, Alafoens and Lamego in 1038 by Ferdinand I of Léon, specified "...eo pacto, ut incolae remanerent et essent subditi sub tributo/fincassen los moros por sus vassallos...obtento loco habitanti." The capture of Toledo in 1085 stipulated that the Muslims would retain their property and their mosques and that their taxes would not be increased. That of Valencia by the Cid in 1094 was to mark the culminating point of Christian-Muslim co-existence. It was also to serve as a model for the surrenders of Tudela (1115), Saragossa (1118), Tortosa (1148), as well as for the last ones, Purchena (1489), Almeria (1490) and Granada (1491), which guaranteed freedom of emigration, the maintenance of religion, local authorities, properties, exemption from forced labour and the payment of tithes only.

Thus the terms of surrender of Tudela stipulated:

...volendo Deo ut affirmat illo alcadii in suo honore et in sua iustitia et suo filio, salvet illum Deus, in suo honore et in suo mandamento, et totos illos alguaçiros et alfachis et maiorales quod teneat eos in suos fueros, et totos illos alios moros quod stent in lures casas intra in illa civitate, de isto uno anno completo de ista carta; et infer tantum quod faciant et indreçent casas in illos arrabales de foras, et quod remaneat illa metzchida maiore in lurs manus usque ad isto anno completo, quod levent illos in lur fuero de lures hereditates que habent in Tortoxa, et in suas villas per direito et per iusticia sic est fuero in lure lege, id est, quod donent decima ad comes Raymundus Berengarii de totos lures fructos et totos lures alçatas, et qui voluerit ex eis sua alode vendere, qui non illi devetet aliquis, et vendat ubi potuerit, et qui voluerit ex illis exire de Tortoxa per ad alias terras aut per terra vel per aqua, vadat solutus cum suo toto avere, et cum filios et mulieres, qua hora voluerint prope vel tarde, et vadat de salvetate, si voluerit, sine consilio de nullo homine. Et totos illos mauros quod stent in lures fueros et in lures iusticias, et non inde illos dissolvat nullus homo, et stet super illos lure iudice cum suos castigamentos, sicut est in lure lege, et in via de lure iudicio...et quod non sedeat forçato nullo mauro per andare ad expugnandos alios mauros, et quod non moret nullo christiano per força in sua casa vel in suo orto. Et si cadigit iura super mauro circa christiano, quod iuret sicut est in sua lege, et non illos forçet, per alia iura facere. Et qui voluerit habitare de illis in sua almunia vel in suo orto, foras illa civitate, quod non ei devetet aliquis. Et non faciant illos de Tortoxa nulla açofra, nec illos homines, nec suas bestias. Et non ponant super illos iudicem in nulla baiulia, nec in ullas suas faciendas, et quod non demandent nullam occasionem super nullo servitiale, qui antea tenuit aliquod servitium regale, et sedeant comendatas totas causas de homines de Tortoxa ad alguaçir, vel quem ei elegerit. Et quod levent ad illos alcaides de illos moros super lures usaticos, et suos fueros in quantum tenent in manu, et quod sedeant honoratos in lures usaticos, sicut fuerunt in tempus de suos alios reges, et non inde illos tragat nullus. Et quod posent lures mercatos, ubi fuit suo fuero, in illos alfondechs de saputos de posare, et veniant illas arrafachas totas terras ad fidelitate, et non illas sachet, nec tragat nullus de suos fueros. Et quantas maluras fuerint facta inter nos usque ad isto tempus, quod totas sedeant finitas. Et affidiavit comes ad alguaciles, et alcadis, et alfachis in lures animas et in lures hereditates, et illos quod sedeant suos fideles vasallos, sicut illos alios bonos homines de Tortoxa...

The capitulation of Granada guaranteed:

... Item es asentado e concordado que sus Altezas e sus decendientes para siempre jamás dejarán vivir

al dicho Rey Muley Baaudili e á los dichos alcaides, e alcadís, e sabios, e moftíes, e alfaquíes, e alguaciles, e caballeros e escuderos, e viejos e buenos hombres, e comunidad, chicos e grandes, e estar en su ley, e non les mandarán quitar sus algimas e zumaas, e almuédanos, e torres de los dichos almuédanos, para que llamen á sus azalaes, e dejarán e mandarán dejar á la dichas algimas sus propios e rentas como agora los tienen, e que sean juzgados por su ley xaraçina con consejo de sus alcadís, segund costumbre de los moros, y les guardarán e mandarán guardar sus buenos usos e costumbres...serán honrados e mirados de sus altezas, e sus dichos oidos, e guardados sus buenos usos e costumbres; e que sean pagados á los alcadís e alfaquíes sus quitaciones, e derechos, e franquezas e todas las otras cosas e cada una dellas, segund e en la manera que lo hoy tienen e gozan e deben gozar.

Item es asentado e concordado que si debate ó quistión hobiere entre los dichos moros, que sean juzgados por su ley xaracima e por sus alcadís segund costumbre de los moros...

Item es asentado e concordado que las rentas de las dichas algimas, e cofradías, e otras cosas dadas para limosnas, e las rentas de las escuelas de abezar mochachos, queden á la gobernación de los alfaquíes; e que las dichas limosnas las puedan gastar e distribuir como los dichos alfaquíes vieren que conviene e es menester; e que sus Altezas non se entremetan en cosa alguna de las dichas limosnas, nin gelas manden tomar nin embargar agora nin en tiempo alguno para siempre jamás...

It is evident that, far from seeking their departure, these conditions were intended to retain and even to attract the Muslims. It is thus that the stipulations of the treaties (and of the *Cartas pueblas* of Chivert, Eslida, Uxó, etc.) all tend to preserve a status acceptable to the Muslims, and also to cancel the Almoravid fiscal inducement, taxes being reduced to a tithe. During the 14th century, when the Castile-Aragon wars ravaged the kingdom of Valencia, Pedro IV ("the Ceremonious") made a determined effort to persuade the Mudéjar emigrants to return to their former *aljamas*. It should however be noted that, from the 12th century onward, and this for reasons of security, the replacement of Muslim citizens by Christian residents was to become the rule (regulated over a year), the dispossessed then becoming concentrated in a single and separate quarter, the future *moreria*. On the other hand, the conquests of Cordova (1236), Valencia (1238), Seville (1247) and Marbella (1485) followed a different pattern: the immediate and total expulsion of the urban populations (rural populations always being retained for obvious fiscal reasons, especially on land requiring irrigated agriculture).

The economic importance of the Mudéjars needs no further demonstration, since J. Boswell has characterised it as "the royal treasure", adapting the popular wisdom which affirmed that "a más moro, más oro". Demographically, their number was considerable: 30% of the Aragonese population and the vast majority of Valencians in the 14th century. In Castile, although definite statistics are not available, the great Mudéjar revolt of the 13th century constituted quite a serious danger.

But it was most of all the emigration of the political leadership circles, the disruption of judicial, administrative and economic structures, and cultural erosion which dilated the Islam of the Mudéjars. To stay in Christian territory was reckoned a sin by such different authors as Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Rus͟hd (d. 594/1198 [*q.v.*] and al-Wans͟harīsī (d. 915/1509), and there were many *fatwās* declaring it the duty of the Andalusians to abandon the land of the infidels (*Miʿyār*, ii, 119-51).

The Christian occupation was accompanied by the disappearance of Arabo-Muslim political and cultural élites. Even such an educated and intellectually "pro-Arab" monarch as Alfonso X of Castile did not succeed in retaining the services of the celebrated Muḥammad al-Tiḳutī. It followed from this that there could be no elaborate training nor future for the Mudéjar *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ*, which explains the lack of creativity and the erosion of linguistic knowledge. Grammatical errors and an increasing impoverishment of vocabulary led eventually to a total and widespread ignorance of the Arabic language. This explains the emergence of *aljamiado* [*q.v.*] which is nothing other than Castilian written in Arabic characters. In the 14th century, the *Leyes de moros* were composed purely in Castilian and, in 1462, Içe de Gebir published the *Suma de los principales mandamientos de la Ley y Çunna*, evidently intended for a population which considered itself Muslim but which was no longer Arabic-speaking. On the other hand, the Mudéjars of Aragon and especially those of Valencia maintained the use of Arabic (spoken and written) until the time of their expulsion—as the Moriscos [*q.v.*]—in 1611-14.

The skill, high degree of specialisation and cheapness of Mudéjar handcrafts led to the continuation of such activity, thus perpetuating Arabo-Muslim techniques and decorative designs. This was particularly true in the context of ceramics (*loza dorada*), sculpted and painted ceilings (*artesonados*), decoration in stucco and, most of all, the use of brick for construction. It was in this period and in this context that there appeared the famous steeples of the Aragonese churches of the 14th-15th centuries (art historians speak of "ladrillo gothic"), steeples whose construction and embellishment are extremely reminiscent of the Giralda of Seville. Mudéjarism, which respected the religion and culture of the vanquished, was abruptly ended by the compulsory conversion decreed by the Catholic Kings in 1502 for the Castilian domains, and by the Emperor Charles V in 1526 for the Kingdom of Aragon. Following these dates, there existed no more Mudéjars in the strict sense of the term. Their place was taken by the "christianos nuevos" (officially Christian but crypto-Muslim in belief and culture); these were the Moriscos.

(c) The Mudéjar status of political groupings. It seems that it would be in order to speak of state Mudéjarism every time that an Andalusian political grouping declared itself—paying tribute (sometimes half of its revenues, as at Murcia)—as the vassal of a Christian kingdom. This type of Mudéjarism was always episodic and temporary. Within a fairly short period of time, it became internalised and finally blended into Mudéjarism of a community. Disregarding the disputable cases of Toledo, Saragossa and Tudela under Lubb b. Mūsā b. Ḳasī (*ca.* 863), and Toledo (1080-5) and Valencia (1086-92) under al-Ḳādir b. D͟hi 'l-Nūn, there exist others, indubitable and well-known: those of the kingdoms of Minorca (1231-87), Murcia (1243-66), Granada (1245 and at intervals until 1490), Niebla (1257-63) and Crévillente (1296-1316).

Bibliography: The basic authority (which gathers together and publishes numerous documents) continues to be Fr. Fernandez y Gonzalez, *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla*, Madrid 1866; Isidoro de las Cagigas, *Los mudéjares*,

Madrid 1948-9, has unfortunately remained unfinished. For the Kingdom of Aragon, see Fr. Macho y Ortega, *Condición social y jurídica de los mudéjares aragoneses*, in *Mem. Fac. Fª Letras Zaragoza*, i (1923), 137-319; the studies of R.I. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders: colonial survival in the XIIIth century Kingdom of Valencia*, Princeton 1974, *Medieval colonialism: Postcrusade exploitation of Islamic Valencia*, Princeton 1975 and *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: societies in symbiosis*, Cambridge 1984; J. Boswell, *The royal treasure. Muslim communities under the Crown of Aragon in the XIVth century*, Newhaven 1977; see also M.C. Barceló Torres, *Minorías islámicas en el país valenciano. Historia y dialecto*, Valencia 1984; G.M. Borras Qualis, *Arte mudéjar aragonés*, Saragossa 1985; Wansharīsī, *al-Miʿyār...fatāwī ahl Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, Muḥammadiyya 1981-3. To these should be added the thesis of P. Guichard, *La société musulmane valencienne et sa destruction à l'époque de la reconquête*, University of Toulouse 1987.

(P. CHALMETA)

MUDGAL, ancient fort in India situated in 13°5′ N., 75° E., in the modern state of Karnāṭaka; together with Rāyčūr [*q.v.*], it formed a principal defence of the Rāyčūr *dōʾāb*, i.e. that between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra, that continuous bone of contention between the Hindū kingdom of Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*] and the Deccan sultanates. The date of its foundation is unknown, but it seems to have passed from the possession of the Yādava rulers of Dēwgir [see DAWLATĀBĀD] to the Kākatīya kings of Warangal, and from the appearance of the cyclopean masonry of parts of the outer wall, it could well have been established under the former. It came first to the attention of a Muslim sultanate after the conquest of Dēwgir (694/1295), when Malik Kāfūr [*q.v.*] captured and garrisoned both Mudgal and Rāyčūr when on his way to attack the Kākatīya capital of Warangal; but there are no records of how long Muslim sway was then maintained. After the establishment of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] sultanate in Gulbargā, Mudgal frequently changed hands between that sultanate and Vidjayanagara; thus under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the founder of the sultanate, it formed, with Rāyčūr, part of the Aḥsanābād-Gulbargā *ṭaraf* under the able *wazīr* Sayf al-Dīn Ghūrī; it was lost for a time to the Vidjayanagara ruler Bukka I, but recaptured in the wars of 767/1366 when the Bahmanīs used cannon for the first time, and it was presumably about this time that the defences of the fort were adapted for artillery.

The reign of Dēvarāya I in Vidjayanagara, 808/1406, saw a renewal of hostilities brought about by the notorious "war of the goldsmith's daughter", an accomplished young lady whom the Rādja coveted; the Bahmanīs under Fīrūz were victorious, Dēvarāya had to pay a large indemnity, marry a daughter to Fīrūz, and cede the fortress of Bankāpūr, in the west of the *dōʾāb*, as a bridal gift. But the continual withholding of tribute from Vidjayanagara led to more fighting in the *dōʾāb* when Dēvarāya II, anxious to enlarge his dominions, again took Mudgal in *ca.* 846/1442-3, only to lose it again shortly.

The decline of the Bahmanī sultanate under Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, with the incipient Barīd-Shāhī and ʿĀdil-Shāhī powers now gaining in strength, left Mudgal under ʿĀdil-Shāhī control, again with constant harrying from Vidjayanagara; but the *dōʾāb* did not come finally under Muslim control until the confederacy of the four Deccan sultans crushed the Vidjayanagara armies decisively at the (so-called) battle of Tālikōṭa in 972/1565. The seven inscriptions at Mudgal are all of the ʿĀdil-Shāhī period. The fort with its ponderous walls is defended by a wide moat (sometimes as much as 50 m in width), with a bastioned scarp, a covert way, and a heavily bastioned counterscarp with round and square towers alternating, much as in Golkondā); the towers show signs of having been rebuilt for artillery. A range of hills defends the fort to the south-west. The Fatḥ *darwāza* to the north is defended by a strong barbican (again as in Golkondā), with an inscription of 996/1588, after ʿĀdil-Shāh's death, although it has been suggested that the victory commemorated is the battle of Tālikōṭa of twenty-three years before; a bastion inscription of 982/1574 records the conquest of Bankāpur. The southern gate is interesting as showing three gateways of different periods, the inner one of beam-and-bracket construction with small trefoil arches in the guards' rooms; this is of the Hindū period, and there are many Hindū sculptures in the vicinity. The middle gateway, however, is arched, and the outer gate (*Kāntī darwāza*) is, as the name implies, heavily studded with iron spikes as a defence against elephants. There are several buildings in the fort, now somewhat ruined: a central mound (*Balā ḥiṣār*) held the royal buildings, of which a roofless *bārādarī* remains; an inscription of Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh of 1053/1643 records the building of a marble palace, called Ghagan (?) maḥall—the reading *maḥall-i khakan* is presumably for *gagan* "sky", as in Bīdjāpur. An *ʿashur-khāna*, a *nawbat-khāna*, some powder magazines, and an early mosque constructed of plundered Hindū pillars have been identified, and water for the garrison is provided by a large *bāʾōlī* (Hikranī b.) in the west of the fort.

Bibliography: G. Yazdani, *Notes on the survey of the Mudgal fort*, in *ARADHyd.*, 1345F/1935-6, 25-7, plates IXa and b, Xa; idem, *Inscriptions from Mudgal*, in *EIM* (1935-6), 14-19 and plates ix-xi; minor emendations to these in *EIAPS* for 1963, 1964 and 1965. For the historical information, see *Bibls.* to BAHMANĪ, RAYČUR and VIDJAYANAGARA. H. K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan*, i, Hyderabad 1973, is well-documented.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MUDHAKKAR (A.) "masculine", a technical term of Arabic grammar which is the opposite of MUʾANNATH "feminine". These two words are the passive participles of denominative verbs derived from *dhakar* ("male") and *unthā* ("female"): *dhakkara* "to consider as male", and *annatha* "to consider as female".

For the Arab grammarians, the masculine is the basic state (*aṣl*) of the noun, because the word *shayʾ* "thing" which is common (*ʿamm*) to the masculine and the feminine, is a masculine noun; it does not require a mark (*ʿalāma*) to indicate it (*dalla*); on the other hand, the feminine, which is secondary (*farʿ*, *thānī*) in its relation to the masculine, requires a mark to indicate it, as a sign (*amāra*).

Considered as masculine is every noun which is devoid (*khalā*) of the suffix *tāʾ/-at* which is transformed (*inḳalaba*) into *hāʾ/ah* in pause, or of the suffix *alif*, whether it is abbreviated (*maḳṣūra*) *-a* or prolonged (*mamdūda*) *-āʾ*.

The grammarians distinguish between two types of feminine: the genuine (*ḥaḳīḳī*) feminine, that which has a male counterpart among living beings (*ḥayawān*), such as *radjul* "man" who has a sex (*fardj*) different from that of *marʾa* "woman", and the non-genuine (*ghayr ḥaḳīḳī*) feminine, that which is governed (*radjaʿa*) by pronunciation (*lafẓ*) and which depends

(*ta*ᶜ*allaḳa*) on convention (*iṣṭilāḥ*) and on specific usage (*waḍ*ᶜ), such as *bus̲h̲rā* "good news", *ṣaḥrā*ʾ "desert" and *g̲h̲urfa* "room".

But there are feminine nouns in which the mark of the feminine is intended (*murāda*) and implied (*muḳaddara*), such as *na*ᶜ*l* "shoe", *ḳidr* "cooking-pot" and *s̲h̲ams* "sun"; in these nouns, the mark of the feminine is suppressed (*ḥud̲h̲ifa*) in pronunciation and the practice is to dispense with (*istag̲h̲nā*) the fact of their particular classification (*ik̲h̲tiṣāṣ*) as feminine.

There are also adjectives which qualify as feminine nouns, although devoid of the mark of the feminine: they are those which express a durable (*t̲h̲ābit*) and not accidental (*ḥādit̲h̲*) quality, such as ᶜ*āḳir* "sterile". Conversely, there are adjectives possessing the mark of the feminine, which qualify as masculine nouns: they are those which express an excess (*mubālagha*) in the quality, such as ᶜ*allāma* "greatly learned". Finally, there are nouns which are considered sometimes as masculine, sometimes as feminine, such as *lisān* "tongue".

Bibliography: Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲, *K. al-Mūd̲j̲az*, ed. Chouémi, 94-6; idem, *K. al-Uṣūl fi 'l-naḥw*, ed. al-Fatlī, ii, 407-15; Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ī, *K. al-D̲j̲umal*, ed. Ben Cheneb, 285-90; Abū ᶜAlī al-Fārisī, *K. al-Takmila*, ed. S̲h̲ād̲h̲lī Farhūd, 86-146; Ibn Yaᶜīs̲h̲, *S̲h̲arḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo, v, 88-113; Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Bulg̲h̲a fi l'-farḳ bayn al-mud̲h̲akkar wa 'l-mu*ʾ*annat̲h̲*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Tawwāb; G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sibawayhi*, Paris 1976, 34, 94-5.

(G. Troupeau)

MUDĪR (A.), the title of governors of the provinces of Egypt, called *mudīriyya*. The use of the word *mudīr* in this meaning is no doubt of Turkish origin. The office was created by Muḥammad ᶜAlī, when, shortly after 1813, he reorganised the administrative structure of Egypt, instituting seven *mudīriyyas*; this number has been changed several times. The chief task of the *mudīr* is the controlling of the industrial and agricultural administration and of the irrigation, as executed by his subordinates, viz. the *ma*ʾ*mūr*, who administers a *markaz*, and the *nāẓir* who controls the *ḳism*, which is again a subdivision of the *markaz*. Under Saᶜīd Pas̲h̲a (1854-63) the office of *mudīr* was temporarily abolished with a view to preventing oppression. Until that time they had been without exception Turks, but under the Khedive Ismāᶜīl (1863-79) when the function was instituted again, this high administrative position was opened also to native Egyptians.

At the present time, Egypt comprises 25 *mudīriyyas* or governorates; some are comparatively small in area, being essentially urban (e.g. Port Said, Damietta, Cairo and Aswan), whilst at the other end of the spectrum, those covering the deserts of which the land mass of Egypt is largely composed (e.g. al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar, al-Wādī al-D̲j̲adīd and Mersa Matruh) are enormous in extent.

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(J.H. Kramers*)

MUD̲J̲ADDID (A.) "renewer [of the century]". In his *Mug̲h̲nī* (Brockelmann, II, 65; S I, 749, 19) Zayd al-Dīn al-ᶜIrāḳī (d. 806/1404) quotes a tradition according to which the Prophet had said that, at the beginning of each century, God will send a man, a descendant of his family, who will explain the matters of religion. Because of the lethargy in which Islamic science found itself since the 8th/14th century, no such renewer was expected for the 9th. This view was contested by D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]). In his *Kas̲h̲f* ᶜ*an mud̲j̲āwaza hād̲h̲ihi 'l-umma 'l-alfa* (Brockelmann, II, 151, 35; S II, 187; *Cat. Cod. Bibl. Acad. Lugd. Bat.*, iv, 273), written in 898/1492, al-Suyūṭī hopes that it is to him that his contemporaries will grant the title of *mud̲j̲addid al-dīn*, or also of *muḥyī al-islām* "renovator of Islam", for the coming 10th century.

In the title of the work mentioned above, al-Suyūṭī refers to the belief, current in certain circles, that Islam would not outlive a thousand years. This belief apparently was also spread in the Yemen, for S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir, in his *Futūḥ al-Ḥabas̲h̲a*, written shortly after 967/1559-60, speaks of ignoramuses and stupid people who, relying on apocryphal traditions, pretend that the last days have arrived, since the 10th century is already at hand. According to al-Suyūṭī, quoted by S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn, the reliable traditions of the Prophet mean that the Islamic *milla* will outlast one thousand years, but not five hundred more years; "What comes afterwards, only God knows."

The *laḳab* [*q.v.*] *mud̲j̲addid* was, among others, given to the Umayyad caliph ᶜUmar II (Ibn Saᶜd, v, 245), since he was particularly guided by God. The best known *mud̲j̲addid* of later times was the great theologian al-G̲h̲azālī [*q.v.*], who was also given the honorific title *muḥyī al-dīn* "renovator of religion". The latter *laḳab* was given much more frequently, both to scholars and rulers. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] was generally known as *mud̲j̲addid-i alf t̲h̲ānī* "renovator of the second millennium".

On the Naḳs̲h̲bandī Mud̲j̲addidīs, see Hamid Algar, *The Naqshbandi Order: a preliminary survey of its history and significance*, in *SI*, xliv [1976], 123-51.

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(E. van Donzel)

MUD̲J̲ĀHID [see rasūl, banū].

MUD̲J̲ĀHID (A.), the active participle of the form III verb *d̲j̲āhada* "to strive" (of which the verbal noun is *d̲j̲ihād* [*q.v.*]), hence acquiring the technical religious meaning of "fighter for the faith, one who wages war against the unbelievers."

1. In classical legal theory and in early Islam. See for this d̲j̲ihād.

2. In Muslim Indian usage.

In the subcontinent, the term *mud̲j̲āhid* has been associated with Islamic revivalist movements there, and especially with the more militant ones which arose from the late 18th century onwards in response to threats to the waning power of the Mug̲h̲als in Dihlī and other Muslim sultanates from the increased pressures of the Marāthās, the Sikhs and the British.

The revivalist and reformer S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1703-63 [*q.v.*]) stressed the duty of *d̲j̲ihād* and played a role in the inviting of the Afg̲h̲ān *amīr* Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Durrānī [*q.v.*] into India in order to curb the Marāthās and D̲j̲āts [*q.vv.*]. S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh's ideas much influenced Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [see aḥmad brēlwī] of Bareilly (1786-1831) who in the early years of the 19th century formed the *Ṭarīḳa-yi Muḥammadiyya* movement, basically Ṣūfī-inspired but with some parallel motivation from the contemporary

Wahhābī movement [*q.v.*] in Arabia. In Sayyid Aḥmad's movement, *djihād* was viewed as the means to establish an independent Muslim state in the subcontinent, and his *mudjāhidūn* first turned their attention to the Sikhs' power in the Pandjāb (in the struggle against whom Sayyid Aḥmad was himself killed at Bālākot). His surviving *mudjāhidūn*, and more particularly the activist wing under Sayyid Aḥmad's main successor Mawlāwī Wilāyat ʿAlī (d. 1853) and the latter's brother ʿInāyat ʿAlī (d. 1858), centred on Pātna, fought on in the 1830s and 1840s, but now against the British after they had succeeded to the Sikh empire in the Pandjāb and had tried to extend northwestwards into Afghānistān. In the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, they allied themselves with the rebels, but their headquarters at Sithana were sacked by British forces in 1858, and they further suffered during the Ambāla campaign of 1863 and in the so-called "Wahhābī trials" of the 1860s. Parallel *mudjāhid*-type movements also occurred in the rural Muslim regions of Bengal in the early decades of the 19th century, such as that of the Farāʾiḍiyya [*q.v.*] of Ḥādjdjī Sharīʿat Allāh (d. 1839) and his more militant son Dhūdhū Miyān (d. 1860) and that of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī's disciple Tītū [*q.v.*] or Mīr Mithar ʿAlī (d. 1831), and in the extreme southwestern tip of India among the Muslim Māpilla [*q.v.*] or Moplah peasantry.

Enthusiasm for *djihād* remained strongest in the North-West frontier region of India. *Mudjāhidūn* participated in the frontier rising of 1897-8, and in the early 20th century they allied themselves with the Khilāfat movement [*q.v.*] in India. The Third Afghān War of 1919 was launched by King Amān Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of Afghanistan as a *djihād* against the British. During the events of 1947, when Indian forces moved into the predominantly Muslim-populated princely state of Djammū and Kashmīr [*q.vv.*] in order to prevent the population from acceding to Pakistan, *mudjāhidūn* from the Pathan areas of the North-West Frontier Providence and also from Afghānistān flocked thither in autumn of that year, attempting to establish Muslim rule there.

In recent years, since the setting-up in Kābul of the Soviet-supported régime of Babrak Karmal in December 1979, the anti-Communist resistance within Afghānistān has termed itself that of the *mudjāhidīn*.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

3. In modern Arab usage.

Many Muslims in the contemporary Arab world (and also outside this area) have come increasingly to regard all rulers who do not rule according to Islamic law as unbelievers (*kāfirūn*) [see KĀFIR] and thus, when born as Muslims, as apostates from Islam (*murtaddūn*) who according to Islamic law merit the death penalty [see MURTADD; RIDDA].

A scriptural basis for this theory is found in, e.g., Ḳurʾān V, 44: "Whosoever does not rule (*yaḥkum*) according to what God has sent down, they are the unbelievers." Hence war against unbelievers has become more and more directed against rulers who are not in favour of immediate and complete application of Islamic law in all its details both in private and in public life.

This militant view is usually designated as the *takfīr al-ḥākim* ("regarding the ruler as an unbeliever") theory. Even Muslims who are not ready to join the different activist groups are rarely willing to deny publicly that Muslim law has to be applied, and hence contribute to the creation of a general atmosphere in which anything that helps to introduce its application meets with approval or passive support.

Muslims, so the activists and extremists argue, have the duty to execute the prescriptions of Islamic law in all its details, since according to Muslims those prescripts are the command of God. Total and general application of these prescripts (or any other system of law) is, however, not possible without the active support of the power of the state. Hence, the establishment of an Islamic state which applies Islamic law is—according to many militant Muslims—an Islamic religious obligation as well.

Since no state can be established without the use of force, to participate in the violence, the use of force and possibly even the civil wars which are necessary to bring about the establishment of such a Muslim state, are equally a Muslim religious obligation. Hence a Muslim who participates in acts of terrorism which aim at the introduction of Islamic law in public life or the establishment of an Islamic state, may have good reason to regard himself as a true *mudjāhid*.

According to e.g. Dr. Yūsuf al-Ḳardāwī (see *Bibl.*), this way of thought came into being in the harsh atmosphere of the prison camps in which many members of the Muslim Brothers [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] were held during the power struggle between the Brothers and the Nasser régime in the sixties [see ʿABD AL-NĀṢIR, DJAMĀL, in Suppl.]; certainly, the growing general support for the idea that Islamic law has to be applied both privately and publicly seems to be largely due to the efforts of the organisation of the Muslim Brothers.

Self-testimonies from Muslim extremist *mudjāhidūn* circles are rare. It seems that Shukrī Muṣṭafā (executed in 1978 for his role in the abduction and murder of Shaykh al-Dhahabī in Cairo in 1977) wrote a book entitled *Kitāb al-Khilāfa*, but up to now this book has not been made accessible.

A member of the group that assassinated President Anwar al-Sādāt in October 1981, a certain Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām Faradj (executed in 1982), wrote an internal memorandum, entitled *al-Farīḍa al-ghāʾiba* ("The neglected duty"), which was published for the first time in the Cairo weekly *al-Aḥrār* on 14 December 1981, while its author was on trial for his role in al-Sādāt's assassination. This document has been reprinted, and translated into English (see *Bibl.*). Up to now (1986), it is by far the best primary source for modern Islamic activism and extremism.

The title of this brochure, "The neglected duty", refers to the neglect into which the Islamic religious duty of waging *djihād* against unbelievers has fallen. Islam, so its author argues, not only involves praying and fasting, but equally prescribes fighting for the cause of God.

The *Farīḍa* document quotes a large number of Muslim authorities to prove the existence of a general Muslim consensus (*idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*]) which prescribes "taking Islam as a whole", *al-islām ka-kull*, including the duty of waging war against unbelievers (cf. Ḳurʾān II, 85: "Do ye believe in part of the Book and disbelieve (*takfurūna*) in [another] part?").

The most often and most extensively quoted authority, however, is the Ḥanbalī *faḳīh* Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]), especially his anti-Mongol *fatāwā* which emphasize that the Mongol rulers, by not applying Islamic law after their conversion to Islam, had become apostates from Islam who had to be fought by the Sunnī Mamlūk Muslims and

their armies. Many modern *mudjāhidūn* believe that Ibn Taymiyya's anti-Mongol *théologie de guerre* from the 7th/13th century is, however, valid for all times and all places.

Many observers, both inside the Arab world and outside, think that even if the answers which the author of the *Farīda* document supplies to his readers are not correct, the questions he asks are the very questions which modern Muslims will have to find an answer to.

The ideals and aspirations of the modern *mudjāhidūn* are extremely attractive to large groups of middle-class university graduates, who have little hope of material bliss in this world and who have great expectations of the wholesome effects on economic and social justice of the introduction of Islamic law. Especially, of course, the Islamic ban on interest, *ribā* [*q.v.*], is seen as one of the few possibilities of making the world more Islamic and more liveable at the same time.

Much of the religious discussion going on in the contemporary Arab world, whether in newspaper and journals or on television, refers implicitly or explicitly to the theories and aspirations of the modern *mudjāhidūn*. Much of this discussion is hardly intelligible to someone who is not acquainted with these theories. Hence even though the number of people actually willing to die for them may be small, these theories are of extreme importance.

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(J.J.G. JANSEN)

MUDJĀHID, AL-MUWAFFAḲ B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ʿĀMIRI, Abu 'l-Djaysh, ruler of Denia (Dāniya [*q.v.*]) and the Balearics from early 405/late 1014 until 436/1044-5.

Mudjāhid was a "Slav" (A. *ṣaḳlabī* [*q.v.*]), bought, converted to Islam (his patronymic "b. ʿAbd Allāh" represents a semi-legal formality, not his real father) and given an education by al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], the great *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*] of Hishām II [*q.v.*] al-Muʾayyad, the third Umayyad caliph in al-Andalus [*q.v.*] at the end of the 4th/10th century. He entered the service of the ʿĀmirids, and may have been governor of Denia under the two sons of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir towards the end of the 4th century/early 11th century. On the collapse of the Umayyad state, following the death of the third ʿĀmirid in 399/1009, Mudjāhid, like a number of others, set himself up as an independent ruler, gradually consolidating for himself a state in Denia and the Balearics, on the eastern seaboard of Spain. Within a few months of the beginning of his rule there, he set up a caliph of his own, a distant relative of the Umayyad house (the only Umayyad pretender to the caliphate in Spain, incidentally, not to be descended from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*]), known as al-Muʿayṭī, with the title al-Muntaṣir bi'llāh. Leaving him in nominal charge in Denia, he set off, in 406/1015-16, to conquer Sardinia. Although initially successful, he was quickly ejected from there by the combined fleets of Pisa and Genoa, and even left his son (and eventual successor), ʿAlī, later known as Iḳbāl al-Dawla, as a prisoner in Christian hands, where he remained for many years. During Mudjāhid's absence, al-Muʿayṭī seems to have tried to take power in Denia for himself (possibly encouraged by reports of Mudjāhid's difficulties during his campaign); he was sent to an obscure exile in north Africa by Mudjāhid as soon as he returned.

For the next thirty years, Mudjāhid ruled with apparent success, keeping Denia (relatively isolated geographically) out of the mainstream of Iberian politics; he seems to have occupied Murcia temporarily at the very end of his life, but otherwise seems not to have entertained any ambitions for territorial aggrandisement within the peninsula after the consolidation of his rule. The numismatic material suggests some possible political difficulties with a son, Ḥasan, towards the end of his life (well discussed by Prieto; see *Bibl.*), but the evidence remains inconclusive. It is striking that we have no surviving dated coins at all for most of his long reign, from 407/1016-17 to 434/1042-3; a couple of coins at the very beginning of his reign (discussed by Miles; see *Bibl.*) are followed by a long silence until the penultimate year of his reign. In the last decade of his reign, Mudjāhid gave nominal recognition to the puppet caliph, said to be Hishām II al-Muʾayyad, set up by the ʿAbbādids of Seville [*q.v.*]. Mudjāhid seems also to have established ties of marriage with this dynasty, strengthening the links between Slav and Andalusian in the peninsula, as against the Berbers), but this recognition amounted to nothing in practical terms (it is discussed in Wasserstein, *Rise and fall*, 120-1).

For the long middle period of his reign, we know almost nothing in political terms, but we are relatively well informed about the cultural life of his court. Like many others of the Taifa monarchs, Mudjāhid was anxious to present himself as a Maecenas, and, unusually, was well placed, as an educated Slav, to encourage genuinely scholarly, as well as literary, activities: Denia became well-known as a centre for theological studies (Urvoy suggests that the entire eastern seaboard area was home to a more serious, religious form of culture in al-Andalus at this time than, say, Cordoba (Ḳurṭuba [*q.v.*]) or Seville (Ishbīliyya [*q.v.*]); see *Bibl.*), with a particular concentration on the study of the *kirāʾāt* [*q.v.*]. (It is intriguing to speculate whether Mudjāhid's interest in and encouragement of this particular branch of learning may not have been connected with his name, Mudjāhid: one of the best-known students of this subject was the famous Ibn Mudjāhid [*q.v.*] of the previous century.) But scholars in many fields, as well as poets and littérateurs, came to enjoy the patronage of the Denian ruler: Ibn Gharsiya [*q.v.*] wrote his well-known *shuʿūbī* [see SHUʿŪBIYYA] *risāla* at his court; Ibn Burd al-Aṣghar dedicated to him his *Risālat al-Sayf wa 'l-ḳalam* (text in Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1399/1979, i, 523-28; tr. in F. de la Granja, *Dos epistolas de Aḥmad ibn Burd al-Aṣghar*, in *And.*, xxv [1960], 383-418), and other works were composed there and elsewhere under his patronage. Mudjāhid himself is said to have written a work on metre (*ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*]), but nothing of this is known to survive. Ibn

Ḥazm and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr [*q.vv.*] also spent time at his court (see the works by Sarnelli Cerqua and Urvoy listed in the *Bibl.*). The character of Mudjāhid's court lasted beyond his death, as is shown by the fact that Ibn Ḥazm and al-Bādjī carried out their disputation at the court of his son ʿAlī Iḳbāl al-Dawla, in Majorca (Mayūrḳa [*q.v.*]), around 439/1047-8.

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(D.J. Wasserstein)

MUDJĀHID b. **DJABR** al-**MAKKĪ**, Abu l-Ḥadjdjādj, a Successor, born 21/642, died between 100/718 and 104/722 in Mecca, *mawla* of al-Sāʾib (or ʿAbd Allāh or Ḳays) b. Abi 'l-Sāʾib al-Makhzūmī. Famed as a *muḳriʾ* and as a source of *tafsīr*, he is connected to the school of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], but is said to have studied with many other companions as well (al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn*, ii, 306). A report is found that he read the Ḳurʾān with Ibn ʿAbbās three times, stopping each time after each verse and asking about its interpretation, specifically concerning what it was revealed about and how it came to be so. He was proclaimed the most knowledgable in *tafsīr* in his age. Some of his information was said to have come from Jews and Christians, thus making some wary of his work (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 467); he is also said to have searched the world for wonders spoken of in the Ḳurʾān, for example, meeting Hārūt and Mārūt at Babel (al-Dhahabī, ii, 307-8). On the other hand, he is associated with a rationalist approach to Ḳurʾān interpretation (Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 107-10) and with *raʾy* in *fiḳh*. Certainly, no clear, consistent picture emerges out of the biographical anecdotes of an exegetical activity which can be connected to a single historical persona.

Much exegetical material is found in al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, attributed to Mudjāhid (see H. Horst, *Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentars aṭ-Ṭabarīs* in *ZDMG*, ciii, 295-8); there also exists a manuscript entitled *Tafsīr Mudjāhid*, Cairo Dār al-Kutub, *tafsīr* 1075 (now published, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sūrtī, Islāmābād 1975). The text may well represent one of the interpretative strands connected to the name Mudjāhid, but it has been shown by Stauth and Leemhuis to have been neither a source for, nor an extract from, al-Ṭabarī. It consists of primarily periphrastic comments with some narrative embellishment; it appears to be theologically neutral and not marked by over de-anthropomorphism.

Bibliography: Biographical anecdotes in the edition of *Tafsīr Mudjāhid*, 39-53; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, iii, 279-310, no. 243, and other sources mentioned in Sezgin, i, 29 (also viii, 22). For the *Tafsīr*, see G. Stauth, *Die Überlieferung des Korankommentars Muǧāhid b. Ǧabrs*, thesis, Giessen 1969; İsmail Cerrahoğlu, *Tefsirde Mücâhid ve ona isnad edilen tefsir*, in *Ankara Üniversitesi İlâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, xxiii (1978), 31-50; F. Leemhuis, *Ms. 1075 tafsīr of the Cairene Dār al-Kutub and Muǧāhid's Tafsīr*, in R. Peters, *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Leiden 1981, 169-80; idem, *Origins and development of the tafsīr tradition*, in A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qurʾan*, Oxford 1987, ch. 1. (A. Rippin)

MUʿDJAM [see ḳāmūs].

MUDJASSIMA [see tashbīh].

MUDJĀWIR, f. *mudjāwira* (a.), active participle of the form III verb *djāwara* in the meaning of neighbour [see also djiwār]. In the restricted sense, the term indicates, as does the synonym *djār allāh*, a person who, for a shorter or longer period of time, settles in a holy place in order to lead a life of ascetism and religious contemplation and to receive the *baraka* of that place. Such places are the Kaʿba in Mecca, the *ḥaram* in Jerusalem and the Prophet's tomb in Medina, but also the tombs of earlier prophets [see al-khalīl], of the companions of Muḥammad, of the Imāms and their descendants (especially with the Shīʿīs [see imāmzāda]), and in general the tombs of highly venerated Muslims, theologians as well as Ṣūfīs.

Already in early times, *zāwiya*s and *madrasa*s [*q.vv.*] arose in the neighbourhood of such places, in or near which *mudjāwirūn* settled in order to receive religious instruction from saints and scholars who were living there, or to be teachers themselves, to show the holy places to visitors (*zuwwār*) and to give them religious instruction. A subsidiary meaning of the term, used in Egypt until today, arose in connection with the *madrasas*: *mudjāwir* may indicate there any student of the Azhar [*q.v.*] who comes from outside and lives in the premises of al-Azhar (Lane, i/2, 483, s.v. *dj-w-r* (3); idem, *The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1895, 213; H. Wehr, *Dictionary of modern written Arabic*, s.v.).

The Prophet himself is the example of the *mudjāwir*. From a certain moment in his life onwards, he used to withdraw every year in the solitude of Mount Ḥirāʾ in order to lead a life of religious contemplation there (*kāna yudjāwiru*; Ibn Hishām, Sīra, i, 152, and see ḥirāʾ). This practice, together with the specific significance of the *Ḥaramayn* in the Ḥidjāz, have caused the term *mudjāwir* to be associated in the first place with those who have taken up their "pious residence" (*mudjāwara*, also *djiwār*) in Mecca or Medina (Lane, *loc. cit.*, and Redhouse, *Yeni Türkçe-Ingilizce sözlük*, s.v. *mücaveret*, *mücavir*). The term is used in the same way by the Shīʿīs, except that for them *mudjāwara* at the tombs of the Imāms in ʿIrāḳ [see ʿatabāt in Suppl.] is of hardly less importance.

Many pious Muslims considered *mudjāwara* in Medina, at the tomb of the Prophet and the resting-

places of many of his Companions, as even more meritorious than that in Mecca. This opinion was, among other things, influenced by the fact that apparently none of the Companions of the Prophet had expressed the wish to remain in Mecca as a *mudjāwir* after having performed the smaller or greater pilgrimage (Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1955, i, 50-1).

Some theologians, among whom Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], warned against the danger which might arise from a permanent stay in the neighbourhood of the *Ḥaramayn* (especially Mecca) for people who were not firmly established in their religion. Becoming too familiar with the holy places could easily lead to carelessness and even to distaste and arrogance, and finally to desecration of the sanctity of these places. Only a very few persons would be immune from this weakness or from the sins emanating from it. To this small number of believers alone, *mudjāwara* at the *Ḥaramayn* might be recommended without limits, and for them it might really bring great profit. All others, for the sake of their spiritual welfare, should avoid *mudjāwara* (Raḥmat Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sindī (d. 1585), *Djamʿ al-manāsik wa-nafʿ al-nāṣir*, in the margins of Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Kumushkhānawī, *Djāmiʿ al-manāsik ʿalā aḥsan al-masālik*, Istanbul 1289/1872, 387-8).

The position and pattern of behaviour of the *mudjāwir* stand in the same relation to the activities of the *ḥādjdj* or the visitor of another holy place (*zāʾir*) as that which exists between the *murābiṭ* and the *mudjāhid*; with the *mudjāwir* and the *murābiṭ*, the element of quiet and contemplation, of waiting and watching is predominant, while with the *ḥādjdj* and the *mudjāhid*, involvement in activities prevails (see F. Meier, in *WI*, xxi [1981], 81, 90-1).

Not seldom a pilgrimage to Mecca, followed by *mudjāwara* there or in Medina, was made use of as a means of exile or banishment. One out of many examples is the vizier Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī, who, after his fall, lived in Medina as a *mudjāwir* and died there in 488/1095 (H. Laoust, *La politique de Ghazālī*, Paris 1970, 56). Apparently because of such cases, the Persian verb *mudjāwarat dāshtan* can also mean "to banish" (like *nafy-i balad kardan*, see *Dictionnaire Ghaffari Persan-Français*, v, Tehran 1957, 806).

People of highly different classes could be *mudjāwirūn* or *mudjāwirāt*: distinguished widows or superannuated officials, socially uprooted individuals, poor Ṣūfīs, merchants, young divinity students, or old people from all strata of society who were awaiting death in a holy place. Many *mudjāwirūn* left substantial fortunes to the sanctuary with which they were connected or to the *madrasa* attached to it. Likewise, it was always meritorious to support the living of the *mudjāwirūn* of a certain holy place by founding *awḳāf*, by single donations or by collecting such donations (for this, see, e.g., F. Meier, *Die Vita des Scheich Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī*, Leipzig 1948 = Bibliotheca Islamica, xiv, 49-51). Thus important *awḳāf* in India were destined for pious Shīʿīs who had gone to Karbalāʾ or Nadjaf with the aim of *mudjāwara*.

In the holy places, the *mudjāwirūn* often, but not necessarily, lived together in specific quarters, like the *Maghāriba* [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem. Their descendants, if any, were usually absorbed very soon into the local population, who often designated the *mudjāwirūn* quite summarily, like in Mecca, where almost all those coming from Central Asia were called *Bukhāriyyūn*, and those belonging to the various peoples of southeast Asia were in general indicated as *Djāwa* (Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥidjāziyya*[2], Cairo 1339/1920-1, 40 f.; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, The Hague 1889, 295 ff., who devoted a whole chapter to the *Djāwa*; and see DJĀWĪ).

The local people (*al-ahālī*) of Mecca and Medina tended to indicate as *mudjāwirūn* all persons who, for a longer period of time, were living in the *Ḥaramayn* without having been born there, even if their status and way of life was not in accordance with *mudjāwara* in a narrow sense (R.F. Burton, *A pilgrimage to Al-Madīna and Mecca*, London 1893, ii, 7).

In more recent times, the term *mudjāwir* has gradually become used to indicate permanently-appointed personnel of places of pilgrimage (guards, cleaners, guides of the *zuwwār*, etc.), who in general belong to the local population (see e.g. H. Einzmann, *Religiöses Volksbrauchtum in Afghanistan*, Wiesbaden 1977, 75-7). The coming into existence of national states in the Islamic world and the regulation of travelling that has gone with it, have increasingly hampered the believers in making a free choice of a place in which they might settle as *mudjāwirūn*. To this must be added the decline of the *awḳāf* and the loss of other subsidies which in the past gave the *mudjāwirūn* the possibility of finding a living.

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(W. ENDE)

MUDJAWWAZA [see TÜLBEND].

MUDJBIRA [see DJABRIYYA].

MUDJĪR AL-DĪN AL-ʿULAYMĪ, Abu l'-Yumn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanbalī al-Maḳdisī, Arab historian, born in Jerusalem in 810/1456. After his studies in Cairo, he was first appointed judge in Ramla, then became *ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt* in Jerusalem, which office he held until 922/1516. He died in the town of his birth in 928/1522. He is the author of a commentary on the Ḳurʾān (*Fatḥ al-Raḥmān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*) in two volumes, of a collection of biographies of Ḥanbalī *fuḳahāʾ* (*al-Manhadj al-aḥmad fī tarādjim aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad*), probably also of a guide for the visiting of the Prophet's tomb in Medina (*Itḥāf al-zāʾir wa-iṭrāf al-muḳīm al-musāfir*), and of a general history until 896/1491 and dealing with Jerusalem in particular (*al-Taʾrīkh al-muʿtabar fī anbāʾ man ʿabara fī ʾl-taʾrīkh*). This latter work may be identical with the ms. B.N. Suppl. no. 488, which has no title.

Mudjīr al-Dīn's principal work is a history in two volumes of Jerusalem and Hebron, entitled *al-Uns al-djalīl fī taʾrīkh al-Ḳuds wa ʾl-Khalīl*, the only extant history concerned with Jerusalem and some of the holy places of Palestine. As he states in his preface, the author had no predecessor; however, in i, 296 (in this article, references are to the 1973 ʿAmmān edition), he mentions the Shāfiʿ *faḳīh* Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Makkī (born in 432/1040-1, taken prisoner by the Crusaders and stoned for being unable to pay the ransom), who had begun a history of Jerusalem and had gathered a large amount of material, which suggests that this work was not finished (al-Makkī is cited by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. *Bayt Laḥm*). Apparently, Mudjīr al-Dīn had no further successor, for the rich historiography of the Ayyūbid period, especially in local history, ended abruptly, here as elsewhere, after the arrival of the Ottomans.

Mudjīr al-Dīn puts Palestine, with Jerusalem and Hebron, on the same level as the Ḥidjāz with its Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. It is significant that he begins, citing sūra XVII, 1, with a reference to the *isrāʾ* (and *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*]). In a sometimes rather mixed order, he discusses, after some introductory remarks, the following subjects: (1) The most important

moments in sacred history, where he also discusses the history of the sanctuaries of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Hebron, until "the third foundation of Jerusalem (*bayt al-maḳdis*)" under the Emperor Constantine (i, 5-172); (2) Episodes in the life of Muḥammad relating to the Kaʿba and the mosque of Medina (i, 172-224); (3) Rites performed at the time of visiting the Prophet's tomb in Medina and the *faḍāʾil* of al-Aḳṣā Mosque in Jerusalem (i, 224-44); (4) The conquest of Jerusalem by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and construction of al-Aḳṣā Mosque (i, 244-85); (5) Biographies of *tābiʿūn*, scholars and pious persons of Jerusalem until the time of the Crusades (i, 285-303); (6) Events that took place between the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh (398/1007-8) and the definitive reconquest of Jerusalem by the Ayyūbids (642/1244) (i, 303-ii, 10); (7) Description of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf and the city, including the buildings and streets as well as the churches and monasteries (ii, 11-65); (8) Short notices on the most important towns in Palestine, Hebron in particular (ii, 65-85); (9) Lists of rulers, governors and officials, as well as *fuḳahāʾ* from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Ḳāʾit Bāy (ii, 85-282); (10) Annals of Jerusalem during the reign of Ḳāʾit Bāy until 900/1494-5 (ii, 282-377); (11) Biography of Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. *al-amīr* Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, born in 822/1420 (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 944 no. 147, without biographical information), the master of the author who, in the end, was the head of al-Khānaḳāh al-Ṣalāḥiyya (ii, 377-82); and (12) Colophon.

In the preface, the author names his sources: works on the *faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds*, the conquest of the city by ʿUmar, the Umayyad buildings and the conquest by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, as well as biographical and other works. At suitable places in the text, the authors and titles of the works used are named, including Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Musharraf b. al-Muradjdjā, *Kitāb Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maḳdis* and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḳdisī, *Muthīr al-gharām*. Mudjīr al-Dīn also made use of official documents belonging to Jerusalem institutions. From the fact that the subjects of some chapters correspond with the titles of Mudjīr al-Dīn's other works, mentioned above, one can deduce that he also used them.

The large number of manuscripts shows that the work attracted attention, as one can ascertain from the following selection, taken from recent catalogues (in addition to those mentioned in Brockelmann): Cairo, Maʿhad al-makhṭūṭāt, Fuʾād Sayyid, iii, no. 962 (974/1566-7); Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Karatay, iii, nos. 6128-32 (981-1149/1573-1736); Princeton, Garrett (Yahuda section), Mach, no. 4422 (980/1572); Lebanon, ʿĪsā Iskandar Maʿlūf, Nasrallah, no. 93 (1087/1676-7); Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya, Khālid al-Rayyān, no. 240 (12th/18th century); Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Fuʾād Sayyid, i, 82 (n.d.). The work was printed in Cairo (1283/1866-7), Nadjaf (1968) and ʿAmmān (1973), but no critical edition exists. A partial French translation, based on the Cairo edition of 1283, is to be found in H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, Paris 1876 (following the Cairo edition of 1283). A sequel to the work is announced in the colophon. In any case, one of these last has come down to us in several manuscripts, taking the work to 914/1508-9.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, 512; Brockelmann, S II, 42; idem, in *EI*[1], s.v. *al-ʿOlaimī*; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, v, 177; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 108; S.D. Goitein, *Jerusalem in the Arab period (638-1099)*, in *The Jerusalem Cathedra*, ii (1982), 199 f. nn. 2 and 3; Huda Lutfi, *al-Quds al-mamlūkiyya. A History of Mamluk Jerusalem based on the Ḥaram documents*, Berlin 1985, 72 ff.

(H. Busse)

MUʿDJIZA (A.), active participle of Form IV of the root ʿ-*dj*-*z*, lit. "that by means of which [the Prophet] confounds, overwhelms, his opponents", has become the technical term for miracle. It does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, which denies miracles in connection with Muḥammad, whereas it emphasises his "signs", *āyāt*, later taken to mean the verses of the Ḳurʾān [see ḲURʾĀN. 1]. Even in later literature, Muḥammad's chief miracle is the Ḳurʾān (cf. Abū Nuʿaym, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 74). *Muʿdjiza* and *aya* have become synonyms; they denote the miracles performed by Allāh in order to prove the sincerity of His apostles. The term *karāma* [*q.v.*] is used in connection with the saints; it differs from *muʿdjiza* in so far as it denotes nothing but a personal distinction granted by God to a saint.

Miracles of Apostles and Prophets, especially those of Muḥammad, occur in the *sīra* and in *ḥadīth*. Yet in this literature the term *muʿdjiza* is still lacking, as it is in the oldest forms of the creed. The *Fiḳh akbar*, ii, art. 16, mentions the *āyāt* of the prophets and the *karāmāt* of the saints. *Muʿdjiza* occurs in the creed of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī (ed. Cureton, 4; ed. al-Taftāzānī, 165): "And He has fortified them (sc. the apostles) by miracles contradicting the usual course of things."

Al-Taftāzānī explains it in this way: a thing deviating from the usual course of things, appearing at the hands of him who pretends to be a prophet, as a challenge to those who deny this, of such a nature that it makes it impossible for them to produce the like of it. It is God's testimony to the sincerity of His apostles.

A very complete and systematic description occurs in al-Īdjī's *Mawāḳif*. He gives the following definition of *muʿdjiza*: it is meant to prove the sincerity of him who pretends to be an apostle of God. Further, he enumerates the following conditions: (1) it must be an act of God; (2) it must be contrary to the usual course of things; (3) contradiction to it must be impossible; (4) it must happen at the hands of him who claims to be an apostle, so that it appears as a confirmation of his sincerity; (5) it must be in conformity with his announcement of it, and the miracle itself must not be a disavowal of his claim (*daʿwā*); (6) it must follow on his *daʿwā*.

Further, according to al-Īdjī, the miracle happens in this way that God produces it at the hands of him whose sincerity he wishes to show, in order to realise His will, viz. the salvation of men through the preaching of His apostle. Finally, as to its effect, it produces, in accordance with God's custom, in those who witness it, the conviction of the apostle's being sincere.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥanīfa, *Fiḳh akbar*, with the commentary of ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Ḳārī, Cairo 1327/1909, 69; Abu 'l-Barakāt ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, *ʿUmda*, ed. Cureton, 15 ff.; Abū Ḥafṣ Nasafī, ed. Taftāzānī, Constantinople 1313/1895-6, 165-7; Muḥammad Aʿlā al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1862, 975 ff.; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, Ḥaydarābād 1320/1902-3; D.B. Macdonald, *The religious attitude and life in Islam*, Chicago 1909, 49-52; A.J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 224-8; L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 359. (A.J. Wensinck)

MUDJTAHID (A.) denotes, in contemporary usage, one who possesses the aptitude to form

his own judgement on questions concerning the *sharīʿa*, using personal effort (*idjtihād* [*q.v.*]) in the interpretation of the fundamental principles (*uṣūl* [*q.v.*]) of the *sharīʿa*. The prerogatives of *mudjtahids* are thus essentially linked to the diverse connotations of the term *idjtihād* which have varied in the course of time and according to schools. Its application to the field of jurisprudence is in fact a narrowing of the concept, the terms *idjtahada/idjtihād* signifying originally, in various contexts: to exert oneself, using one's intellectual faculties, for (the good of) the Muslim community or of Islam (see Bravmann, 188 ff., who criticises Schacht's interpretation). Employed in a broader sense, this concept embraced that of piety or of mysticism. The cognomen *mudjtahid fi 'l-ʿibāda* is in fact frequently encountered in the biographies of the early ascetics (Laoust (1958), index). But it is especially in its technical jurisprudential sense that the term *mudjtahīd* is currently utilised, with variants or extrapolations, in contexts specific to Sunnism, to Shīʿism and to movements evolved from Shīʿism.

I. In Sunnī Circles.

Until quite recently, numerous authors have reckoned that, towards the end of the 3rd/9th century or the beginning of the 4th/10th, when the *sharīʿa* had been elaborated in detail, a consensus was gradually established among the scholar-jurists of all the Sunnī schools, considering that *idjtihād* could no longer be practised. In this context, only the founders of the four schools of law (Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī) and certain of their contemporaries or immediate successors could be regarded as *mudjtahids* in the strict sense (*muṭlaḳ*). Henceforward, jurists, like other devout Muslims, were obliged to practise *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*], thus becoming plain *muḳallids*. The great *mudjtahids* of the past were succeeded by those who could only be considered as *muftīs* (the *prudentes* of Roman law) or as *mudjtahid bi 'l-fatwā* (by judicial opinion), sometimes called *mudjtahid fi 'l-madhhab* (according to the jurisprudence of each school). This notion of the closure of the door of *idjtihād* (*insidād bāb al-idjtihād*) and its logical consequence, i.e. the disappearance of *mudjtahids*, has been vehemently opposed by certain scholar-jurists. A critical re-appraisal of the question, based on primary sources from the 4th/10th century, shows that jurists capable of *idjtihād* existed almost all the time, that *idjtihād* was used to develop the law after the formation of the judicial schools, that until *ca.* 500 A.H. there was no mention of closure of the door of *idjtihād*, and that controversy over this closure and the extinction of the *mudjtahids* prevented jurists from reaching a consensus on this subject (see Hallaq (1984), who calls into question the positions adopted by Schacht, Anderson, Khadduri, Rahman, Gibb, Coulson, Lewis, etc.; idem (1986), 130, nn. 4 and 5). Movements opposed to *idjtihād* (such as the Ẓāhiriyya or *Ḥashwiyya*) being excluded from Sunnism, there was "no school or branch of a school within the Sunnī Muslim community which could have opposed *idjtihād* as a point of principle" (Hallaq (1984), 9, quoting Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr). From the time of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922) onwards, a consensus was established on the validity of the existing Sunnī schools, with the exception of the Ẓāhirīs. However, in the 4th/10th century, *mudjtahids*, independent or affiliated to the schools, sometimes in disharmony with them, continued to elaborate the *sharīʿa* (idem, 10f.).

The jurists of the 5th/11th century also practised *idjtihād*, leaving *taḳlīd* to the simply devout (*ʿāmmī*). With their emergence as the sole unifying element of the Muslim community, the *ʿulamāʾ* wielded ever more influence over the holders of political and military power who sought their advice. Henceforward, the questionable nature of *idjtihād* and the competence or authority of *mudjtahids* is an issue in the works of all authors dealing with theories of power and the sovereignty exercised by the *Imām* or the caliph, in particular al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085), al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Ibn al-ʿAḳīl (d. 513/1120). According to al-Baghdādī, al-Māwardī and al-Djuwaynī, the *Imām* must be capable of *idjtihād* (idem, 13 ff.; Lambton (1985), 89, 105). Nevertheless, the controversy over the existence of *mudjtahids* takes on a polemical tone with Āmidī (d. 631/1233) and Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 646/1249), and is revived by al-Subkī (d. 771/1369) followed by others. Only the Ḥanbalīs and certain Shāfiʿīs denied the possibility of the extinction of the *mudjtahids* even in theory (Hallaq (1984), 22 ff.) Despite his original notions, the neo-Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) recognises the indispensable role of the *mudjtahids* as partners in political power (Hallaq (1986), 136).

The development of the notion of *tadjdīd* (renovation, restoration) according to which, at the turn of each century. God will send a renovator (*mudjaddid* [*q.v.*]) to the Muslim community, in its turn influenced the concept of *idjtihād*. Initially employed to legitimise the innovatory teaching of al-Shāfiʿī, the *mudjaddid ḥadīth* also provides an argument in proving the persistence of *idjtihād*, the *mudjaddids* necessarily being *mudjtahids* of superior rank, the majority of whom were Shāfiʿīs (Hallaq (1984), 28; Landau-Tasseron (1989), 83, 113). But while *idjtihād* is extensively discussed in jurisprudential and doctrinal literature, *tadjdīd* is not a central concept in the evolution of mediaeval Muslim thought. It is above all else an honorific title applied to strong personalities (idem, 83-4). The degree of importance of each *mudjtahid/mudjaddid* thus depends most of all on his own pretensions, the appreciation accorded him by his contemporaries or by posterity. Thus, al-Ghazālī, while implicitly declaring himself the *mudjaddid* of the 6th/12th century (idem, 86), also seems to consider himself plain *mudjtahid fi 'l-madhhab*, i.e. of the Shāfiʿī school. In addition he recognises two types of *mudjtahids*, independent (*muṭlaḳ*) and limited (*muḳayyad*) (Hallaq (1984), 17).

Until the end of the 8th/14th century, nobody was to dispute the claims of *mudjtahids* to practise *idjtihād* within the framework of their *madhhab*. However, in the 9th/15th century, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) claimed to exercise *idjtihād* in its highest degree, his ultimate ambition being to have himself recognised as *mudjaddid*. Although considered as such by some, he was vigorously opposed, especially by his adversary al-Sakhāwī. The later *ʿulamāʾ* remained divided on his claims (Hallaq (1984), 27-8; Landau-Tasseron (1989), 87-8). Following the departure of this great *mudjtahid*, there was a marked reduction in the number of Sunnī jurists capable of exercising *idjtihād* or claiming this right for themselves. This situation is reflected in the belated grading of *mudjtahids* in categories of excellence (*ṭabaḳāt*) which ultimately led, in the 10th/16th century, to a classification of jurists in seven grades of which only the two or three highest were developed upon *mudjtahids*, the lower grades being applied, in diminishing order of competence, to the *muḳallids* (Hallaq (1984), 29-30). This need for the classification of jurists is most in evidence in the writings of Ḥanafīs who, convinced that *mudjtahids* have ceased to exist, deny the right of *idjtihād* to latter-day jurists, and even ignore *idjtihād* when it is prac-

tised. In fact, although not known as *mudjtahids*, numerous jurists continued to practise the methodology of *idjtihād*, expecially in the Ottoman empire (idem, 30-1).

From the 12th/18th century onwards, increasing numbers of Muslims, expecially in the Ottoman empire and in Mughal India, while rejecting traditional *taklīd*, launched an offensive against those who proclaimed the closure of the door of *idjtihād* and the extinction of *mudjtahids*. This resurgence of *idjtihād* owes much to the attitude of Ḥanbalīs, especially that of Ibn Taymiyya, who influenced the thinking of pre-modern reformists who, from North Africa to India, advocated the practice of a new and free *idjtihād*, going much further than what had been permitted at the time of the formulation of Islamic law (idem, 30 ff.; Schacht, 72-3, tr., 65; Coulson, 202-3). This resurgence of *idjtihād* owes much to the persistence of renovatory or reformist themes (*tadjdīd, iṣlāḥ*). The right to *idjtihād* is also clearly claimed by movements or *ṭuruk* such as the Sanūsiyya or the Wahhābiyya as well as by modern reformists such as Muḥammad Abdūh (Voll, 35 ff.; on the Sanūsiyya, see also Evans-Pritchard (1954); Ziadeh (1958); and Laoust (1965), 353). This need for renewal of *idjtihād* has also been advocated, for Muslims, by a modern humanist (Gardet (1962), 31).

This re-appraisal of *idjtihād* was particularly vigorous in India where, alongside the persistence of the tradition of cyclical renovation (since the time of Aḥmad Sirhindī, d. 1034/1624 [*q.v.*], the *mudjaddid-i alf-i thānī*, i.e. of the second millennium) the *ahl al-ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], influenced by Ibn Taymiyya and al-Shawkānī (d. 1255/1839), preached the necessity of rediscovering *idjtihād* beyond the confines of the constituted schools (Laoust (1965), 358; Hallaq (1984), 32-3). The reformist Muḥammad Iḳbāl (d. 1938 [*q.v.*]) recommended a kind of collective *idjtihād* (Esposito (1983), 187).

Controversies over *idjtihād, taklīd, kiyās, idjmāʿ, tadjdīd*, etc. have also been fuelled by the nature and the limits of the influence and power of *mudjtahids*. The problem of their training and their qualifications, their precise role indeed, seems to have been addressed at a very early stage (for al-Ghazālī, see Laoust (1970), 179-80; Hallaq (1984), 6-7). Their responsibility has been partially relieved by their right to be in error, since even one who commits a fault of judgement (*khaṭaʾ* [*q.v.*]) is entitled to a reward in Paradise, one who expresses correct judgement being doubly rewarded (Hallaq, *ibid.*). But, in spite of these divergencies of opinion or appreciation (*ikhtilāf* [*q.v.*]), numerous jurists give their support to the practical formula according to which every *mudjtahid* has reason (*kullu mudjtahid muṣīb*) which derives from the thought of al-Shāfiʿī (see refs. in Calder (1983), 66-7).

II. In Shīʿī Twelver Imāmī Circles

A. Doctrinal and historio-geographical evolution.

Formation and diffusion. Unlike other branches of Shīʿism, especially Zaydism and Ismāʿīlism, Twelver Imāmism has retained the notion of the absence or the concealment (*ghayba* [*q.v.*]) of the Imām of the Time. The lasting success of the traditional Imāmī formulation is linked to the activities of an élite of scholars who elaborated this theory with the object of exploiting loyalty towards the ʿAlids, while controlling the revolutionary element inherent in Shīʿism. Following the concealment of the twelfth Imām (*ghayba: al-ṣughrā*, 260/874; *al-kubrā*, approx. 329/940), authority was centred on the Imāmi *ʿulamāʾ* who, at a time when the Sunnī schools were already constituted, soon succeeded in establishing a corpus of Imāmī *ḥadīths* and formulating their own principles, both religious (*uṣūl al-dīn*) and judicial (*uṣūl al-fikh*): see Sachedina (1988), 57; Calder (1989), 57-8).

The elaboration of the doctrinal positions of Imāmism on *idjtihād* and *taklīd*, as well as the bases and extent of the influence of the Imāmī *mudjtahids* have been tackled elsewhere [see MARDJAʿ-I TAḲLĪD]; we shall confine ourselves to presenting, in the context of doctrinal, historio-geographical and socio-economic aspects, the new elements brought to bear upon these ever controversial questions by the most recent studies.

The first Imāmī doctrinal formulation was produced in the era of the Būyids/Buwayhids [*q.v.*] in an atmosphere of polemical opposition to the Sunnīs and the Muʿtazilīs, each group considering that, unlike its opponent, it had a basis in knowledge (*ʿilm*) and not in personal opinion (*ẓann*). In this context, the *ʿulamāʾ* rejected *kiyās* (reasoning by analogy [*q.v.*]), *idjtihād* and *khabar wāḥid*, i.e. the unique, isolated tradition, emanating from a single transmitter, as opposed to tradition attested in a continuous manner (*mutawātir*). While criticising the Sunnī slogan *kullu mudjtahid muṣīb*, al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) justified his acceptance of *khabar wāḥid* by employing the concept of divergence of opinion (*ikhtilāf* [*q.v.*]), by means of which al-Shāfiʿī had succeeded in establishing the authority of the Sunnī religious class (Calder (1983); idem (1989), 62 ff.) This recognition of choice in matters of opinion introduced doubt as to the establishment of judicial values and reconciled the Imāmīs to the theory of *idjtihād*, previously rejected in the name of tradition. With the accession of the Saldjūḳids, intellectual activity and the elaboration of Imāmī *uṣūl* entered a period of stagnation, as did *taklīd*, i.e. imitation of al-Ṭūsī (idem, 63-4).

The renewal of Imāmī thinking at the end of the Saldjūḳid era is marked by the affirmation of Uṣūlī doctrines, especially in the controversy of the *Kitāb al-nakḍ* (see Calmard (1971), Scarcia Amoretti (1981); on the origin of the *akhbārī/uṣūlī* controversy, see also Calder (1989), 68, n. 31). This resurgence was dominated from an early stage by Imāmī jurists established at Ḥilla [*q.v.*], which was to become an important Imāmī theological centre after the destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols. It is with the leading jurists of the school of Ḥilla, Ibn Idrīs (d. 596/1201), al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ (d. 676/1277) and al-ʿAllāma (d. 726/1325), that an Imāmī theory of *idjtihād* gradually evolves (Calder (1989), 64 ff.) Constantly discussed, the thorny problem of the legitimacy of the power and authority of the Imāmī jurists during the *ghayba* remains at the heart of the debate on *idjtihād* and *taklīd* (on this question, see Madelung (1982), Sachedina (1988)). The Imāmī *fukahāʾ* are conventionally divided into two groups, ancient (*mutakaddimūn*) and modern (*mutaʾkhkhirūn*), the latter being considered "superior" by Ibn Idrīs (Calder (1989), 65; Sachedina, *op. cit.* 16, accords the leading role to ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī). Already recognised by al-Ṭūsī, the division of the faithful between *muftīs* and *mukallids* led to the emergence of a charismatic concept of the religious class which appears in the writings of al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ and al-ʿAllāma, the latter borrowing widely from Sunnī judicial sources and methods (idem, 75-6). However, Imāmī methodology remains broadly anchored in *al-idjtihād al-sharʿī*, based on revelation and on the sciences of *ḥadīth* and its major authorities (*ridjāl*), and not on *al-idjtihād al-ʿaklī*, related to *kiyās* (see Sachedina (1988), 19-20). In such

a context, the qualifications required for *mudjtahids* do not differ from those demanded by al-Ṭūsī for a *muftī* or a *ḳāḍī* (Calder (1979); idem (1989), 76). The decisive evolution is constituted above all by the prerogatives of the *mudjtahids* in the capacity of representatives (sing. *nā'ib*) of the Hidden Imām and by the need for the *muḳallids* to choose the wisest among them. Having regard to the mass of traditions and exegeses, the diverse factors (social, political, economic, personal) affecting the choice of a *mudjtahid* are not easily appreciated. However, the Imāmī theory of *idjtihād* is formulated most authoritatively in the *Maʿālim al-dīn* of Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1011/1602-3), a work which provided "the clearest expression of a possible methodology of doubt" and was to be attacked by the traditionalist Muḥammad Amīn Astarābādī (d. 1036/1626), at the outset of the polemic between *akhbārīs* and *uṣūlīs* which would henceforward dominate Imāmī jurisprudence (Calder (1989), 76-7).

In Ṣafawid Persia (1501-1722), Imāmī *mudjtahids* "imported" from Arab countries, charged with developing and imposing the doctrine, succeeded in establishing their authority to the detriment of Persian religious dignitaries. Their influence is particularly evident in the distinguished position attained by al-Karakī (d. 940/1534), given the titles of *mudjtahid al-zamān* and *khātam al-mudjtahidīn* by Shāh Ṭahmāsp (1524-76). Although the title of *mudjtahid al-zamān* was retained by the al-Karakī family in the 10th/16th century, this expression implied neither doctrinal justification of a supremacy of religious authority nor the control of this authority over the higher echelons of religious administration (*ṣidārat*), the latter remaining in the hands of the *ṣadrs*, subordinate only to the Shāh. While the al-Karakī family retained its importance in the reign of Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631 [see AL-DĀMĀD]), and major *mudjtahids* continued to exert their influence, not one of them bore the title of *mudjtahid al-zamān* in the 11th/17th century. With many religious Imāmīs taking refuge in Ṣūfism or philosophy, religious authority became diffuse and tended to be devolved to the *shaykh al-Islām* of the major cities.

Under ʿAbbās I (1587-1629) the *shaykh al-Islām* of Iṣfahān became the most powerful religious authority in the kingdom. This post was to be occupied by Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī (d. 1111/1699 [*q.v.*]), who decisively consolidated the influence of the Imāmī hierocracy by preparing the way for the creation of the office of *mullā-bāshī* (Arjomand (1988 A), 81 ff.; see also MOLLĀ). But, in spite of its importance, this office could be considered as a "patrimonial" solution for institutionalisation of supreme religious authority in the Shīʿī state, the increasing authority of the *mudjtahids* resulting, under the Ḳādjārs (1794-1925), in the emergence of a dichotomy between the State and an ever more autonomous Shīʿī hierarchy (idem, 83 ff.). The institutionalisation of a centralised Shīʿī authority according to the principles of Imāmī jurisprudence (revised and revived) was not to take place until after the Islamic Revolution in 1979 (idem, 93, 191 ff.).

While the triumph of Uṣūlism over Akhbārism was affirmed, problems of sovereignty, or of a sovereign considered just according to Imāmism, persisted in the Ḳādjār era, the concern for legitimacy being of primal importance for the sovereigns as much as for the *ʿulamā'*. Although their historiographers did not go so far as to accept the myth of their Ṣafawid connection, the Ḳādjārs obtained a certain degree of legitimacy on the part of leading *mudjtahids* such as Shaykh Djaʿfar al-Nadjafī, Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (d. 1227/1812 [*q.v.*]), Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳummī (d. 1231/1816), Sayyid Djaʿfar Kashfī (d. 1267/1850): see Arjomand (1984), 221 ff.; Hairi (1988), 272 ff. This problem of legitimacy became crucial with the proclamation of *djihād* against the Russians which enabled Shaykh Djaʿfar, doyen of the *mudjtahids* (*shaykh al-mudjtahidīn*), to authorise in the name of the hidden Imām, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834), the exercise of this *djihād*. (See references in Arjomand (1984), 221 ff.; Hairi, *ibid.*.)

In spite of this level of power of the *mudjtahids*, the opinion according to which the emergence of the institution of *mardjaʿiyyat-i taḳlīd* constitutes, *de facto*, the establishment of an Imāmī hierarchy under a single authority, has been reconsidered. In fact, although theoretically founded on superiority of knowledge (*aʿlamiyyat*) the effective hierarchy of the *mudjtahids* depended largely on the degree of their respective influence over the *muḳallids*. It was above all established on the basis of leadership (*riyāsat*) recognised by popular acclamation and by the payment of religious taxes. This concept of *riyāsat*, which can be traced back to the Imāms, has evolved with political and socio-economic changes. Throughout the 19th century, it was in particular linked to the control exercised by the *mudjtahids* over socio-professional and ethnic communities (Arabs, Persians, Turks or Turkish-speakers): see Amanat (1988), 98 ff.

This delay in the structuring of the Imāmī hierarchy (already mentioned: see Calmard (1982)) is also linked to the controversies over sovereignty which persisted in spite of the formulation by Mollā Aḥmad Narāghī (d. 1245/1829) of the doctrine of delegation of authority (*wilāyat*) devolved to the *fuḳahā'*/*mudjtahids*. Often contradictory *ḥadīths* concerning the legitimacy of the power of *mudjtahids* or the illegitimacy of non-*mudjtahid* sovereigns remain variously interpreted, each scholar-jurist being obliged to exert his own *idjtihād* on each particular case, the *taḳlīd* of the opinion of another *mudjtahid*, however eminent he may be, being forbidden him (see Modarressi (1984), 143; Hairi (1988), 277 ff.). With the final elaboration of the doctrine of *wilāyat-i faḳīh*, by Āyatullāh Khumaynī (d. 4 June 1989), there has been a departure from the traditional elements of prudent reserve and casuistry (see below).

A little-known aspect of the growth in the influence of the *mudjtahids* remains the basis of their economic power. Those residing in the *ʿatabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] enjoyed, from the end of the 18th century, the support of the Shīʿī merchants of Baghdād and of certain pro-Shīʿī elements in the local administration. After the accession of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, they turned towards Persia, where they could benefit from royal patronage. In spite of the deterioration of the politico-economic situation (the sack of Karbalā' by the Wahhābīs in 1802, the hardening of Ottoman control, tribal conflicts, factionalism and instability lasting until 1843), the *mudjtahids* gained by their administration of the increasingly substantial sums of money emanating from Persia, India and elsewhere. With the re-emergence of the ancient Imāmī notions of *niyābat-i ʿāmma*/*wilāyat-i ʿāmma*, initially serving the interests of Shaykh Djaʿfar Nadjafī, the *mudjtahids* could reclaim their right to the administration of religious taxes, in particular the *khums*, a part of which (*sahm-i imām*) was their due (Calder (1982); Amanat (1988), 103-4; for Sachedina (1988), 245, it is the precepts of Imāmī jurisprudence concerning "*al-khums, al-idjtihād* and *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*" which establish the role of the Imāmī jurists, culminating in the

"government of the jurist", i.e. *wilāyat-i faḳīh*). Although the *mudjtahids* of the educational establishments of the *ʿatabāt* were, in principle, considered their superiors, those residing in Persia saw their authority reinforced by their political and economic successes. Their principal source of income was for a long time the administration of mortmain property (*waḳf/awḳāf/mawḳūfa*) which had been withdrawn from them under Nādir Shāh (1736-47 [*q.v.*]) the most important endowment being that of the sanctuary of Imām Riḍā at Mashhad [*q.v.*]. They could also reap the benefits of ownerless property, and participate in commercial and agricultural activities. But it was in particular the unprecedented endowments and bounties lavished upon them by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh which enabled them to extend their influence materially as well as spiritually over the whole of the Imāmi community. While profiting by their financial support, the *ṭullāb* of the *madrasas* increased the influence of the *mudjtahids* who in their turn enjoyed the support of certain urban groups. Some *mudjtahids* exercised genuine political power as patrons and protectors of *sayyids* (self-styled or authentic) and of *lūṭīs* ("marginal" types degraded to the status of urban brigands [*q.v.*]) who constituted formidable armed bands. With all these sources of support, the *mudjtahids* could deal on equal terms with governments, dignitaries, other *mudjtahids*, etc. Their influence and their independence were boosted considerably with the weakening of Ḳādjār power at the end of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and under Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48 [*q.v.*]). Despite their reputation for integrity, deserved in some cases, other *mudjtahids* amassed vast fortunes by illicit methods, in particular by speculating on the price of cereals in times of famine. Their greed, comparable to that of the holders of power, contributed to the rise of anti-clerical sentiment, before and after the constitutional revolution of 1905-11 (on the income of Imāmī *mudjtahids*, see Algar (1969), 14 ff., 46 ff., 172 ff.; Momen (1985), 206-7; Amanat (1989), 103 ff.; see also section B below).

It is possible to present the evolution of Imāmī religious leadership, from the end of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th, as a shifting of the authority of the *madrasa* towards the socio-economic life of the *bāzār*. "In this process, academic seniority was transformed in a collective direction, without giving way to a supreme collective authority" (Amanat (1988), 111). Although the *mudjtahids* became more autonomous, internal dangers (the rise of messianic tendencies derived from Shīʿism and finding expression in the Shaykhī and Bābī movements [*q.vv.*]) constrained them to remain loyal to the state with which they shared a common interest in preservation of the status quo. The Bābī experience compelled them to reform their hierarchy through the elaboration of the doctrine of *mardjaʿiyyat* to the advantage of the great charismatic chief Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864) whose leadership, exerted over all the Imāmī communities, was based on the re-assertion of the major Imāmī values (piety, equity and learning). With the repression of Bābism and the elimination of the reformist anti-clerical Grand Vizier Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Amīr Kabīr (d. 1268/1852 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), the precarious equilibrium between the state and the *ʿulamāʾ* was restored. Private and official funds converged on Nadjaf, the importance of which over other educational centres was established, with, however, a rift between ethno-linguistic groups, Turks and Persians, who claimed the leadership. The successor to Anṣārī, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Shīrāzī (d. 1312/1895), saw his authority disputed at Nadjaf by Ḥādjdj Sayyid Ḥusayn Kūh-Kamaraʾī (d. 1299/1881-2) and his Turkish-speaking disciples. In 1874, he emigrated to Sāmarrāʾ (near the catacomb of the hidden Imām), a town dominated by Sunnīs. Associated with the commercial circles of southern Persia, Shīrāzī played a crucial role in the revolt of the tobacco-growers (1891-2). Some of the *ṭullāb* who had followed him to Sāmarrāʾ had an important role in the constitutionalist revolution of 1905-11 (Amanat (1988), 109 ff.; idem (1989), 405 ff.).

The problem of the Imāmī leadership remained unsolved after the death of Shīrāzī. In the *ʿatabāt*, various *mudjtahids* argued over the patronage of Turkish-speaking and Persian-speaking *ṭullāb* and the rank of *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*. In Persia and elsewhere, the *mudjtahids* remained divided, not only on the question of *riyāsat* but also on the attitude to be adopted in the constitutionalist revolution, in which they played important and contradictory roles which have been variously interpreted by posterity. While certain authors (Algar in particular) have considered this "revolution" as the culmination of a long period of conflict between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the state which they regarded as illegitimate, a recent study tends to minimise the role of the *ʿulamāʾ*, at least in the initial phase of conflict, which is viewed especially from the socio-economic angle (see Martin (1989), 64). In a general manner, the leadership of the *ʿulamāʾ/mudjtahids*, candidates in most cases being pushed forward by their faithful adherents, has been reconsidered (see Lahidji (1988), 133 ff.). In another sociological analysis, the *ʿulamāʾ/mudjtahids* have been divided, according to their varied attitudes, into four groups, the first being that of the old-style unconditional traditionalists who refused to join in the anti-monarchical demonstrations of 1905 but allied themselves in 1907 to the anti-constitutionalist movement launched by Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (executed in 1909). Those who had at first accepted constitutional reform as a possible means of preserving Islamic values were divided into three groups when, in 1907, the principles of the parliamentary régime became known and were discussed. Some, alarmed by what they saw as the destruction of Islam by secular reformists, placed themselves under the leadership of Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī; this group gained in strength and included most of the *ʿulamāʾ* at the time of the brief restoration of autocracy in June 1908. Although succeeding in retaining recognition of their judicial authority, those who, conditionally, remained loyal to the constitution were generally unappreciated. Finally, a group of unconditional constitutionalists, composed in the main of young *ʿulamāʾ*, who included the *ṭullāb* of Ākhūnd Khurāsānī (d. 1911), considered that threats to their prerogatives were the price to be paid for reinforcing "the Shīʿī nation" of Persia (see Arjomand (1988 A), 34 ff., 78 ff.; idem (1988 C), 179 ff.; Lahidji (1988), 134 ff.; the opposing theories of Nūrī and of the constitutionalist Khalkhālī are revealed in texts translated and annotated by H. Dabashi (1988), 334-70; on the constitutionalist views of Nāʾīnī, see Hairi (1977)).

During his rise to power and in the early years of his reign, Riḍā Khān (ruled 1925-41 [*q.v.*]), apparently maintained good relations with the *mudjtahids* who saw in the preservation of the monarchy a bulwark against the foundation of a secular republic on the Turkish model. But his policies of centralisation, modernisation and secularisation, which tended to separate political and religious powers, revived the conflict between the state and the *ʿulamāʾ*, whose leadership remained divided, with divergent political attitudes. The courageous opposition to Riḍā

Khān (later Shāh) on the part of Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris, exiled and killed in 1936, may be compared with the collaborationist position adopted by the Āyatullāhs Kāshānī (d. 1962) and Sayyid Muḥammad Bihbahānī (son of the great constitutionalist leader Bihbahānī) towards Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī (1941-79 [*q.v.*]). Finally, after the rebirth of Ḳum [*q.v.*] as an educational centre in the 1920s, the Imāmī hierarchy was re-structured around a politically neutral figure, Āyatullāh Burūdjirdī (d. 1961 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), who became the sole *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*. After his death, and the disintegration of the *mardjaʿiyyat*, the Imāmī leadership was once more strongly politicised with the emergence in 1962 of Khumaynī as a powerful opponent of the Pahlavī régime. The policy of modernisation and secularisation, which was accompanied by repressive measures against the *mudjtahids* and the educational centres of Ḳum and Mashhad, strengthened the hand of Khumaynī, who could present himself as the avenger of the Imāmī hierocracy, crusading against the Pahlavī dynasty. After the victory of the Islamic revolution, he ultimately turned his back on the intellectuals ("westerners", including those who had rejected westernisation) who, according to him, had incessantly duped the *ʿulamāʾ*, and he conducted a massive cultural offensive against them (Akhavi (1980), 25 ff.; Bakhash (1986²), 35 ff.; Arjomand (1988 A), 80 ff.). Nor were the *ʿulamāʾ/mudjtahids* to be spared. Largely dependent on the personal opinion of its author, the doctrine of *wilāyat-i faḳīh*, formulated by Khumaynī and enshrined as an institution in the Islamic Republic of Iran, where it is taught in colleges, may be considered a veritable ideological revolution in Shīʿism. Objections formulated by certain *mudjtahids* led in 1982 to an unprecedented crisis in the Imāmī leadership: the removal of Sharīʿat-Madārī from his position as *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd/āyatullāh al-ʿuẓmāʾ*; the purge of his supporters among the *ʿulamāʾ* and of others opposed to the *wilāyat-i faḳīh* (Arjomand (1988 C), 196-7). Since the end of the Iran-ʿIrāḳ war (1980-8) and the death of Āyatullāh/Imām Khumaynī, power has remained in dispute; there has been the influential role of Hāshimī-Rafsandjānī, president of the *madjlis*, and the promotion of Khameneʾī, president of the Islamic Republic, as *walī-i faḳīh*, after the removal of the successor designated by Khumaynī, Āyatullāh Muntaẓirī, confirmation of this appointment by the assembly of experts (*madjlis-i khibrigān*) in 1985 having been far from clear.

Imāmī mudjtahids *in India*. The activity of Imāmī *mudjtahids*, often of Persian origin, as was particularly significant in the Shīʿī kingdoms of India after the disintegration of the Bahmanids (748-933/1347-1527 [*q.v.*]). As a repercussion of the proclamation of Shīʿism as the state religion by Shāh Ismāʿīl al-Ṣafawī, the dynasty of the ʿĀdilshāhīs of Bīdjāpūr (895-1097/1490-1686) became, in 908/1503, the first Shīʿī state of India (see ʿĀDELŠĀHĪS, in *EIr*). The most important of these dynasties was that of the Ḳuṭbshāhīs (901-1496/1098-1687 [*q.v.*]) of Golkondā, which developed a specifically Indo-Muslim culture (Rizvi, i, 292 ff.). Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* who were emigrants or fugitives from Ṣafawid Persia propagated Shīʿism in India. Among the most important are the following: Shāh Ṭāhir b. Shāh Rāḍī al-Dīn Ḳazwīnī (d. 946/1549) who converted Burhān Niẓām Shāh, who in his turn proclaimed Shīʿism the state religion at Aḥmadnagar (Rizvi, i, 282 ff.; AḤMADNAGAR, in *EIr*); the great *mudjtahid ḳāḍī* Nūr Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿashī al-Shūshtarī, the "third martyr" (executed in 1019/1610), who exercised official functions at the Mughal court and whose activity and writings had a profound influence among the Shīʿīs of India, who considered him their greatest *ʿālim* (Rizvi, i, 342 ff.; see also MARʿASHĪS).

Shīʿī influence is also encountered in the north, in Mughal India. Adherents of the Nurbakhshiyya [*q.v.*], emigrating to Kashmīr shortly before the accession to power of the Ṣafawids, embraced Shīʿism, which was adopted by the Čak ruling family (969-94/1561-86: see Rizvi, i, 167 f.; Momen (1985), 129-30; Cole (1988), 25). The most influential dynasty was that of the Nawwābs of Awadh/Oudh [*q.v.*], descended from a family of *ḳāḍīs* of Nīshāpūr of ʿIrāḳī origin (the Kingdom of Awadh was sometimes called Nishāpūrī). A vassal state before becoming independent of the Mughals, the Shīʿī kingdom of Awadh (1132-1272/1714-1856) was richly endowed by the Nawwābs with important cultural and educational centres at Fayḍābād [*q.v.*] and at Lakhnaw/Lucknow [*q.v.*].

Despite its idiosyncrasies, the Shīʿism of Awadh was founded on Middle Eastern roots and was subject to a powerful Persian influence, manifested, from the start, by the teaching of the poet-*mudjtahid* Shaykh ʿAlī Ḥazīn Gīlānī (d. 1180/1766 [*q.v.*]), a fugitive from Persia, then in the last throes of Ṣafawid power-struggles, who ultimately took up residence in Benares under the protection of the Hindu Rādjā (Rizvi, ii, 107 ff.; Cole (1988), 13 ff.). Enjoying the patronage of the powerful and often holding important posts (*manṣab-dārīs*), the Imāmī *mudjtahids* maintained sometimes strained relations with the socio-religious milieu: Hindus, Sunnīs and *ʿulamāʾ*/Ṣūfīs, including the eminent family of Ḥanafī theologians of the Farangī Maḥall [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The *mudjtahids* were also obliged to assert themselves in opposition to the Akhbārīs, who remained influential. As had been the case on many occasions in Persia in the 18th century, it was desertion from Akhbārism which laid the foundations for the growing influence of an Imāmī "clergy" at Lakhnaw. In fact, after his return from the *ʿatabāt* where he had been converted to Uṣūlism, the *mudjtahid* Mawlānā Sayyid Dildār ʿAlī Naṣīrābādī "Ghufrān Maʿāb" (d. 1235/1820), in spite of the opposition of Sunnī and Akhbārī *ʿulamāʾ*, led the Friday prayers in the palace of the Nawwāb. The initiatives of Sayyid Dildār, combined with those of other *ʿulamāʾ*, did much to increase the influence of the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*, especially by assuring them of the support of the governing power. In the following generation, the sons and pupils of Naṣīrābādī taught hundreds of students and, in the 1840s, the Nawwāb founded a *madrasa*. The educational network extended throughout India and beyond, towards ʿIrāḳ and Persia. From the end of the 18th century, initially on the advice of Sayyid Dildār, the Nawwāb endowed the *ʿatabāt* with lavish donations (Cole (1988), 50 ff.; on Sayyid Dildār, see Rizvi, ii, 128 ff.).

Provided with official posts and holdings of land, the Naṣīrābādī family increased its influence. In the second generation, the *uṣūlī mudjtahids* asserted their hegemony, often acting in concert with their former teachers in the *ʿatabāt* or in opposition to recently-arrived Persian Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*. The Naṣīrābādī family played a leading role in the foundation of cultic sites (mosques, *imāmbaras* [*q.v.*]) and educational establishments, a court of justice, etc. The elder son of Sayyid Dildār, Sayyid Muḥammad (d. 1284/1867), and his younger son Sayyid Ḥusayn (d. 1273/1856) presided jointly over the supreme court of appeal of the *muftīs*. On the strength of a vision seen by his

father, Sayyid Muḥammad declared himself adoptive son of the Twelfth Imām and engaged in conflict with the Nawwāb Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaydar (1827-37), who did not succeed in imposing control over the Imāmī hierocracy in his capacity as "royal" representative of the Twelfth Imām. Sayyid Dildār was to be credited (posthumously, in the *ʿatabāt*) with the title of *khātam al-mudjtahidīn*. The Nawwāb Amdjad ʿAlī Shāh (1842-7) conferred on Sayyid Muḥammad the titles of *mudjtahid al-ʿaṣr* and *sulṭān* al-*ʿulamāʾ* (Cole (1988), 173 ff.; on the descendents of Sayyid Dildār, see Rizvi, ii, 139 ff.).

In the third generation of *uṣūlī ʿulamāʾ*, the influence of the Naṣīrābādī family was maintained at Lakhnaw, where the supervision of the *madrasa* was entrusted to Sayyid Muḥammad Taḳī (d. 1289/1872), younger son of Sayyid Ḥusayn. Applying to their own advantage the principle of accommodation with ruling powers, the *ʿulamāʾ/mudjtahids* seldom showed hostility towards the British until the 1840s and 1850s, when they engaged in conflict with a British administration intent on annexing Awadh or transforming it into a protectorate. Like the majority of Imāmīs, a number of *ʿulamāʾ* joined in the great Mutiny of 1857-8, but they subsequently were at pains to minimise the extent of their involvement. Although several of his sons participated actively in the revolt, the leader of the *mudjtahids*, Sayyid Muḥammad Naṣīrābādī, prudently remained aloof. When the British sought reconciliation with local élites, some Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*, including Sayyid ʿAlī Akbar (d. 1909), sixth son of Sayyid Muḥammad, entered the British administration (Cole (1988), 251 ff.).

Despite certain positive aspects (the development and diffusion of Shīʿī culture, in particular through proselytism), the activities of the *mudjtahids* of Awadh had the effect of creating a "social closure" of the Shīʿī community which, with its own particular rituals (especially in the celebration of Shīʿī funereal rites), came to resemble a caste. This also encouraged the rise of "communalism" (struggles between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, with the Hindus siding with one faction or the other) and ultimately assisted movements aimed at restoring Sunnī control and creating structures designed to further Muslim separatism, given substantive reality by the formation of national states (although the Shīʿīs of India were, in the main, opposed to the creation of a State of Pakistan dominated by Sunnīs, many emigrated to Pakistan, unlike the Sunnīs: see refs. in Momen (1985), 276 ff.: Cole (1988), 283 ff.).

Imāmī mudjtahids *in the Arab countries: recent politico-religious developments*. In the states which emerged following the collapse of the Ottoman empire, Imāmī communities and *mudjtahids* have played very varied roles, ranging from traditional quietism to the most violent political activism. In ʿIrāḳ, the *mudjtahids* of the *ʿatabāt* opposed the British occupation against which they issued *fatwās*. Certain eminent *mudjtahids*, including Nāʾīnī (d. 1936) and Iṣfahānī (d. 1946), took temporary refuge in Ḳum (1923-4). Although constituting a majority and despite its involvement in political life, the Shīʿī community of ʿIrāḳ has seen its situation deteriorate since the fall of the monarchy (1958) and especially since the coming to power of the Baʿth party in 1963. The visit of Khumaynī to ʿIrāḳ (1965) inspired the Shīʿī opposition, which became radicalised in activist movements, of which the most important were *al-Daʿwa al-Islāmiyya* (formed in the 1960s) and *al-Mudjāhidīn* (established in 1979 under Persian influence), while the leadership (*mardjaʿiyyat*) continued in dispute between the Āyatullāhs Muḥsin al-Ḥākim, Khūʾī, Khumaynī and Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Ṣadr. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran (1979), the Shīʿī resistance was brutally repressed by the régime of Ṣaddām Ḥusayn (with the execution of Shīʿī dignitaries, including Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Ṣadr in 1980). This repression increased during the Iran-ʿIrāḳ war (1980-8) with the execution of numerous Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* in June 1984 (on the situation of Shīʿīs and *mudjtahids* in ʿIrāḳ, see Momen (1985), 261 ff.; Batatu (1986); Ramazani (1986), 39 ff.; Kedourie (1987)).

At the same time as the *mudjtahids* of ʿIrāḳ were opposing the British, the Shīʿīs of Baḥrayn considered the latter their protectors against oppression on the part of the Sunnī tribal hierarchy. Sporadic sectarian violence occurred, even after independence (1970), in spite of elections favourable to the Shīʿīs who were suspected of supporting the Shāh's claims to Baḥrayn (formally abandoned in 1971). Tensions between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs were revived after the Iranian Revolution of 1979, with the authorities taking steps to protect their majority Shīʿī population from Iranian influence (Momen (1985), 272 ff.; Ramazani (1986), 48 ff.).

Although indigenous Imāmī communities, sometimes augmented by recent immigration, exist in other states of the Arabo-Persian Gulf, particularly in Saudi Arabia (notably in al-Ḳaṭīf and al-Ḥasā), in Ḳaṭar, in the United Arab Emirates (Dubai in particular), and Oman, no eminent *mudjtahid* seems to have emerged in these regions. The same applies to the North African countries, where the Imāmī population is estimated at 40,000 (for a worldwide assessment of Shīʿī populations in 1980, see Momen (1985), 280 ff.).

The Shīʿī community of Lebanon, established at a very early stage and essentially rural, has played an important role in the development of Imāmism. Its great *mudjtahids*, originally from the Djabal ʿĀmil, were the driving force behind the elaboration and diffusion of Shīʿism in Ṣafawid Persia (see Hourani (1986)). But, although a certain Uṣūlī tradition was maintained in the region, under Ottoman control the Imāmīs, like the other communities (Sunnīs, Druses and Christians), were worn out by the internecine factional struggles which continued after effective independence (in 1943). On the initiative of the leader of the Shīʿī community, Ḥādjdj Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 1957), trained at Nadjaf, a revival of Imāmī teaching took place in Tyre. In 1959, the senior *mudjtahid* Imām Mūsā al-Ṣadr—coming from Persia but in ancestry from the Djabal ʿĀmil—became the head of the Shīʿī community and established himself in Tyre. After much hard work on behalf of Imāmism, he entered the political arena and his supporters founded the politico-military movement Amal which was to maintain close links with the revolutionary movement of Iran. In August 1978, he disappeared mysteriously in Libya. Deeply involved in all aspects of Middle Eastern politics, Lebanese Shīʿism has not resigned itself to the disappearance of Mūsā al-Ṣadr and has not appointed a new charismatic leader (Momen (1985), 264 ff.; Cobban (1986)).

Before coming under the influence of the Iranian Revolution, *ʿulamāʾ/mudjtahids* of Lebanon, ʿIrāḳ and Syria resisted the influence of Persian Shīʿī practices, especially in funereal rites (Ende (1978)).

B. Qualifications, functions, influence and titles of the Imāmī *Mudjtahids*.

The necessary preconditions to be a *mudjtahid* (maturity, intelligence, faith, fairness or integrity

according to the *sharīʿa*, being male and of legitimate birth) are the same as those required, *a fortiori*, to become *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*. Although a woman may attain the rank of *mollā* [*q.v.*], she can only in exceptional circumstances be promoted to that of *mudjtahid* (on the disagreement of the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* regarding the validity of the *idjtihād* of Banū Amīn, a female *mudjtahid* of Iṣfahān, see Fisher, 163; Momen (1985), 245, n. 5). The aspiring *mudjtahid* must complete the three stages of study common to all *ṭullāb* (*muḳaddamāt*, preliminaries; *dhāt* or *suṭūḥ*, study of basic texts, *dars al-khāridj*, including statements and debates). After the third stage has been completed, the student composes a treatise which must be presented to a *mudjtahid* who confers on him his *idjāza*, i.e. authorisation to practise *idjtihād*. Certain *mudjtahids* have established preconditions which stipulate scholastic qualifications in subjects such as theology (*kalām*), principles of faith (*uṣūl-i dīn*) and of jurisprudence (*uṣūl-i fiḳh*), mastery of the Arabic language, of logic (*manṭiḳ*), of Ḳurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), of tradition (*ḥadīth*) and its narrators (*ridjāl*), etc. for attaining the rank of *idjtihād*. In addition to theological knowledge and the practice of equity, piety (*waraʿ*, *taḳwā*) is also an essential quality for the exercise of *idjtihad*. Since the time required for these studies is very long, it is unusual to obtain *idjtihād* before the age of thirty, and some are still *ṭullāb* after the age of forty. In addition, the worth of the *idjtihād* depends on the reputation of the *mudjtahid* who has conferred it. *Ṭullāb* who wish to make a name for themselves seek the award of *idjtihād* from numerous eminent *mudjtahids* in order to become fully qualified (*djāmiʿ al-sharāyiṭ*) or absolute (*muṭlaḳ*) *mudjtahids*. Whatever their standard of qualification, newly-qualified *mudjtahids* must, in their turn, obtain renown and most of all a clientèle of *muḳallids*. Those who do not succeed in this respect are sometimes called *mudjtahid muḥtaṭ* (Algar (1969), 85 ff.; Fischer (1980), 247 ff.; Momen (1985), 200 ff.; Amanat (1988), 98-9).

Once qualified, *mudjtahids* can exercise any function which falls within the purview of *ʿulamāʾ* in the administration or direction of religious affairs, the most important function being that of *ṣidārat* (that of the *ṣadr*), followed by those of *shaykh al-Islām* and *mullā-bāshī* in the Ṣafawid period, the official functions of *shaykh al-Islām* and *imām djumʿa* forming the link with the independent hierarchy of power (the institution of *mardjaʿiyyat*) in the Ḳādjār era. In practice, the prerogatives of *mudjtahids* are multifarious, as the functions corresponding to the titles *mudjtahid*, *faḳīh* and *muftī* may be exercised by a single person. They are also guarantors and trustees to whom goods, the property of minors and the care of orphans are entrusted. The administration fee (*mutawallī*) of the most important *waḳfs* is paid to them. They certify the legality of all kinds of documents. The collection of religious taxes (*zakāt*, *khums*, etc.) is within their responsibility. Their most important official function is the administration of justice in the capacity of *ḳāḍī* or *muftī*. The function of teaching (*mudarris*) is most often exercised by the most scholarly ones, who keep themselves separated from the practice of power (Algar (1969), 11 ff.; on the *mudarris* and their teaching, see Fischer (1980), 61 ff.; Momen, *op. cit.*).

Having multiple sources of revenue at their disposal (see above), the *mudjtahids* consolidate their influence and their popularity by matrimonial ties with the mercantile community or with eminent families of *ʿulamāʾ*, or with dignitaries close to the institutions of power. The *mollās* often give them valuable assistance in the levying of religious taxes and the execution of various administrative taxes (on matrimonial relations between families of *ʿulamāʾ* and between *ʿulamāʾ* and merchants, see Fischer (1969), 89 ff.). As has been noted previously, in the Ḳādjār period certain eminent *mudjtahids* surrounded themselves with bands of urban agitators in order to challenge the ruling authorities. Similar elements were used in the Islamic Revolution of 1978-9. Whether incorporated into the Ḥizbullāhī party or acting as guardians of the revolution (*pāsdārān*) they constitute the most solid nucleus for the support of radical *ʿulamāʾ* and for revolutionary militancy (see Momen (1985), 199; Bakhash (1986²) index, s.v. *hezbollahis*, *pasdaran-e enqelab*).

Although in principle exerting control over *ʿulamāʾ* of inferior status, in the Ḳādjār period the *mudjtahids* acted in conjunction with the *mollās* who enjoyed enormous popularity among the general public in their capacity as preachers (*wāʿiẓ*, *rawḍakhʷān*) at Shīʿī funeral assemblies, which increasingly came to resemble political rallies. While the majority of *mudjtahids* used to have a critical, even reproachful or contemptuous attitude towards popular Shīʿī piety, its principal themes (cult of the martyr, "paradigm of Karbalāʾ") were to be widely employed in the Islamic Revolution and Republic (Algar (1969), 20; Fathi (1980); Fischer (1980), 170 ff.; Momen (1985), 238 ff.) Khumaynī actively encouraged the *mudjtahids* to promote his ideas through sermons. It has been claimed that, by the mid-1970s, he had trained five hundred *mudjtahids* and that twelve thousand students had followed his teaching in the years preceding his exile in 1964. Often of rural or provincial origin, the young *mudjtahids* profited considerably from the coming to power of the Imāmī hierocracy (Arjomand (1988 A), 98).

The influence enjoyed by the *mudjtahids*, in circles of power as well as among their peers or their followers, is reflected in their ever more emphatic or grandiloquent honorific titles, which do not always correspond to a hierarchical rank. At the beginning of the 19th century, after Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ had been awarded the title of *shaykh al-mudjtahidīn* (see above), Muḥammad Bāḳir Shaftī (d. 1260/1844) was called *ḥudjdjat al-Islām*, a quite unconventional title which was henceforward to be current among the Imāmīs (Arjomand (1984), 238, after Ḥabībādādī, *Makārim*, iv, 1616). Although his eulogists do not award him the title of *mardjaʿ*, Anṣārī is honoured with that of *khātam al-mudjtahidīn* (Amanat (1988), 114). Analogous to the Sunnī tradition, the major figures of Imāmism have been granted the title of *mudjaddid* (partial list in Momen (1985), 206). But the titles which have become most prestigious are *āyatullāh* and *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*, while that of Imām is applied in a quite exceptional manner to Khumaynī and Mūsā al-Ṣadr (see *ibid.*, 289 [on the full range of Imāmī titles, see ĀYATULLĀH, in Suppl.; MARDJAʿ-I TAḲLĪD]; Djalal Matini (1983)).

In spite of the pompous titles attributed to them, some *mudjtahids* prefer, out of genuine or false modesty, to be known by more humble titles, such as *mollā* or *ākhūnd*, which may remind them of the early stages of their religious careers. The respectful title *āḳā* is also used, often in conjunction with *mollā*.

III. Idjtihād In Movements Derived From Imāmism.

Although it has been customary to limit usage of the concept of *idjtihād*, in its various forms, to Sunnī and Imāmī circles, certain post-Ṣafawid philosophical or heterodox movements have made use of it. Powerfully influenced by the dynamics of Shīʿī eschatology, these

movements were born in an atmosphere of decline and decadence from which the only ones to profit were those in possession of power and certain religious dignitaries. Although rejecting the *idjtihād* and *taklīd* of the Uṣūlī *mudjtahids*, the Shaykhīs considered that in principle every believer has a vocation to *idjtihād*, the only authority to be emulated (*taklīd*) being that of the hidden Imām (Corbin, iv, 252 f.). The Bāb himself [see BĀBĪS] does not seem to have rejected the notion of *idjtihād*, although he considered void and unlawful any judgment independent of his authority (Amanat (1989), 205). In a eulogy, the Bābī Mukaddas Khurāsānī is called *mudjtahid* (idem, 263). Attacked by *uṣūlī mudjtahids*, the *Shaykhī* Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī opposed the Bābīs and gradually restored the doctrine of the *rukn-i rābiʿ* (fourth pillar) to the point where it became indistinguishable from that of the collective delegated authority of the Imāmī *mudjtahids* (Bayat (1982), 75 ff.; Amanat (1989), 291 f.). Opposed both to the Shaykhism of Kirmānī and to Bābism, some moderate Shaykhīs of Tabrīz went over to Uṣūlism and became very influential *mudjtahids* in the second half of the 19th century (Bayat (1982), 59; Amanat (1969), 411, uses the expression "conservative shaykhi mudjtahids").

But, in general, the practice of *idjtihād* is a prerogative jealously guarded by the Uṣūlīs. Those who, from the Ṣafawid period onwards, refused to embrace Shīʿism were to become outcasts condemned by the *mudjtahids* to suffer popular or official punishment. After the Sunnīs—Ṣūfīs in particular—the Akhbārīs, the Shaykhīs, the Bābīs and then the Bahāʾīs were to be the object of these persecutions (Momen (1988), 237). In the name of the defence of Islam, the *mudjtahids* have instigated repression of the Bābīs and legalised their execution (Momen (1989), 324).

Bibliography and abbreviations: (On the notions of *idjtihād taklīd, idjmāʿ*, etc. according to the various schools, which have not been addressed in this article, recourse may be had to the works of jurisprudence and the numerous studies of Islamic law listed in the major bibliographies, in particular the *Index Islamicus*: biographical details relating to the *mudjtahids* are to be found in the abundant literature of *ansāb, ṭabakāt, tadhkirāt, ridjāl*, etc. On the *uṣūl* and Imāmī biographical works, see MARDJAʿ-I TAKLĪD and MOLLĀ, *Bibls.*, also containing numerous titles of studies concerning the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*; with a few exceptions, only those mentioned in the present article will be repeated here, as well as collective works comprising important contributions and bibliographical data. On the abundant literature concerning Persian Shīʿism since 1978-9, see the *Abstracta Iranica* which also deal with Indian Shīʿism; on the particular case of the Shīʿism of Deccan, a collective study is now in progress under the direction of B. Scarcia Amoretti.)

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MUDJTATHTH (A.), the name of the fourteenth metre in Arabic prosody [see ʿarūḍ]. Theoretically, it comprises three feet: *mustafʿilun* / *fāʿilātun* / *fāʿilātun* (– – ⏑ – / – ⏑ – – / – ⏑ – –) to each hemistich, but in practice, there is just one single *fāʿilātun*.

Mustafʿilun can become *mutafʿilun* (⏑ – ⏑ –) or even *mutafʿilu* (⏑ – ⏑ ⏑), whilst *fāʿilātun* can be replaced in the *ʿarūḍ* (the first hemistich) by *faʿilātun* (⏑ ⏑ – –) or even *fāʿilun* (– ⏑ –) and, in the *ḍarb* (the second hemistich) by one of the two preceding feet or by *mustafʿil* (– – –).

This metre is not used by the ancient poets, and it is not impossible that it was invented by al-Khalīl [*q.v.*] (cf. St. Guyard, *Théorie nouvelle de la metrique arabe*, in *JA* [1877], 168, 272 ff.).

Bibliography: See that in ʿarūḍ and in particular, Muḥammad b. Abī Shanab (Ben Cheneb), *Tuḥfat al-adab fī mīzān ashʿār al-ʿArab*, [3]Paris 1954, 85-7. Most of the older manuals of Arabic grammar, such as those of Silvestre de Sacy, Wright, Donat Vernier, Périer, etc., contain a table of the metres. (Ed.)

MUDJŪN (A.) is one of those words whose richness discourages any attempt at exact translation. In its weakest sense, it approximates to *hazl* "jest" as opposed to *djidd* "seriousness" [see al-djidd wa 'l-hazl] and corresponds in an appreciable degree to frivolity. But its semantic field extends widely to the point that it can mean the most shameless debauchery, including vulgarity, coarseness, impudence, libertinage, obscenity and everything that may provoke coarse laughter, such as scatological humour.

This word embarrassed the Arab lexicographers, who connected it with the root *m-dj-n*, which implies an idea of toughness and roughness; they glossed the participle *mādjin*, pl. *mudjdjān*, which often parallels *khalīʿ* "libertine, debauched", as "one who commits sins, dishonourable acts, and is insensible to any reproach, due to his roughness and toughness", or "who does not bother about what he does or what anyone says to him." For al-Zamakhsharī (*Asās al-balāgha*, s.v.), the *mādjin* constantly talks nonsense and speaks wrongly and at cross-purposes, but this explanation is hardly more convincing than the reference to the radical *madjana* = *ṣaluba*; Ibn Durayd resolves the difficulty by proposing to see in *mudjūn* a borrowing, but he is wary of stating its origin exactly.

In any case, the definitions advanced by the lexicographers scarcely correspond to the meanings of this word that have been enumerated above and that we may deduce from the texts in which it figures. Unlike the *sukhf* [*q.v.*] practised by an Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], which becomes the manifestation of a deliberately non-conformist attitude, *mudjūn* nourished, from the literary viewpoint, entertaining works full of more or less obscene anecdotes and, from the social viewpoint, supplied material for the parties of persons of high rank—caliphs and dignitaries—who did not hesitate to indulge in bad manners during their hours of relaxation and take pleasure in listening to risqué stories. For example, al-Masʿūdī narrates (*Murūdj*, § 2874) that al-Mutawakkil and his courtiers did not disdain jests that would be considered smutty. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī relates, in the 18th night of his *Imtāʿ* (ii, 50-60), a gathering held in the salon of the vizier Ibn Saʿdān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and devoted especially to *mudjūnī* subjects; this chapter enumerates 35 anecdotes which supply samples of what could be described as *mudjūn*, although the conclusion drawn from the evening returns to the idea that *hazl* is necessary to distract the spirit tired by *djidd*.

In the modern period, *mudjūn* and *madjana* have the meaning of "clowning; effrontery, impudence" and *mādjin* that of "clown; cheeky, insolent", like the intensive *madjdjān*. We do not know to what extent it is appropriate to follow the lexicographers, modern as well as mediaeval, who connect with the same root the word *madjdjān* "something given freely, without compensation".

Bibliography: See the Arabic dictionaries as well as the books and articles relating to the literature of entertainment (notably maḳāma). (Ch. Pellat)

MUḌMAR (A.) "implicit", a technical term of Arabic grammar synonymous with *ḍamīr*, designating a noun in which the person is disguised by means of a mark (*ʿalāma*). This term is the converse of *muẓhar* ("explicit"), designating a noun in which the person is revealed in a clear manner. The category of the implicit noun corresponds to that of the personal pronoun in Western grammar.

Al-Mubarrad defines the implicit noun as that which can only be employed after mention (*dhikr*) of the person, and Sībawayhi considers it defined (*maʿrifa*), since it is understood that the interlocutor knows the identity of the person who is supposed to be individually designated (*bi-ʿaynihi*).

The implicit nouns are used to indicate three persons: the speaker (*mutakallim*), the interlocutor (*mukhāṭab*) and the absent party (*ghāʾib*), who is the object of the discussion (*muḥaddath ʿanhu*). From a formal point of view they are of two kinds: separated (*munfaṣil*) or contiguous (*muttaṣil*). All implicit nouns have an evident (*bāriz*) mark in expression (*lafẓ*), except in the verb where the mark of certain persons is hidden (*mustatir*). Unlike explicit nouns, in which the final syllable is flexible (*muʿrab*), that of implicit nouns is fixed (*mabnī*). According to the grammarians of Kūfa, the term which designates the implicit noun is *maknī* ("supplied").

In syntax, the term *muḍmar* "implicit" denotes the governing word (*ʿāmil*) which, through dissimulation (*iḍmār*), does not appear in an explicit (*muẓhar*) manner in the conversation, but which is supposed (*mukaddar*) to exist in the intention (*niyya*) of the speaker; i.e.

by implication, according to the terminology of Western grammar.

Sībawayhi distinguishes between two types of implicit words: those of which the manifestation (*iẓhār*) is utilised (*mustaᶜmal*) and those of which the manifestation is laid aside (*matrūk*).

The implicit word can be a verb or a particle, the existence of which, implied in the conversation, justifies the rection observed in the governed word.

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(G. Troupeau)

MUDROS [see mondros].

MUEZZIN [see muʾadhdhin].

al-**MUFAḌḌAL** b. **ABI 'l-FAḌĀʾIL**, Coptic historian who lived in the 8th/14th century. His only known work, *al-Nahdj al-sadīd wa 'l-durr al-farīd fīmā baᶜd Taʾrīkh Ibn al-ᶜAmīd*, is an account of the Baḥrī Mamlūk period from 658/1260 until 741/1348.

Nothing more is known about al-Mufaḍḍal's life than his Coptic confession and the year in which he completed his *Nahdj*, 759/1358. A passage in Ghāzī al-Wāsiṭī's *Radd ᶜalā Ahl al-Dhimma wa-man tabiᶜahum* (ed. and tr. R. Gottheil, in *JAOS* [1921], 338-457), in which a certain Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil figures as the nephew (*ibn ukht*) of the Coptic historian al-Makīn b. al-ᶜAmīd [*q.v.*], has led modern scholars to affirm that al-Mufaḍḍal was the great-nephew of his more famous predecessor, whose world history *al-Madjmūᶜ al-mubārak* he sought to continue.

In his *Nahdj*, a necrological chronicle with a basically annalistic structure, al-Mufaḍḍal concentrates on political history in Egypt and Syria, but also sheds some light on events in other parts of the Muslim world, particularly those pertaining to the Mongol empire in Persia.

The intricate problem of al-Mufaḍḍal's sources has been studied mainly by D.P. Little, U. Haarmann and S. Kortantamer in the framework of Mamlūk historiography and cannot be dealt with here. Suffice it to say that the *Nahdj* is not a servile copy of al-Nuwayrī's [*q.v.*] *Nihāyat al-arab* as Blochet contended; several texts have been shown to share enough features with the *Nahdj* to be regarded as its direct or indirect *Vorlage* or as deriving from a common source. Besides the *Nihāya*, this goes for Shams al-Dīn al-Djazarī's [*q.v.*] *Ḥawādith al-zamān*, Ibn al-Dawādārī's [*q.v.*] *Kanz al-durar*, Baybars al-Manṣūrī's [*q.v.*] *Zubdat al-fikra* and other texts.

Information of specifically Coptic interest in the *Nahdj* is limited to a few notes on the Coptic patriarchs of the period and a small number of other times. In most cases, an implicitly Christian attitude may only be detected where comparison with other (Muslim) texts points towards al-Mufaḍḍal's omission of details which discredit his coreligionists (for this method, see Haarmann, *Quellenstudien*, 142-4, and Kortantamer, *Mufaḍḍal*, 38-40).

Although the *Nahdj* does not appear to have had any direct influence on later Mamlūk historians, the passages where al-Mufaḍḍal writes as a contemporary observer of events make it a valuable document of central importance to the period which it describes. In those parts where he draws upon older texts, moreover, al-Mufaḍḍal displays an undeniable originality in his ability to organise his sources in a coherent and meaningful manner.

Bibliography: The unique ms. (probably al-Mufaḍḍal's autograph), of the *Nahdj*, Paris ar. 4345, was ed. and tr. by E. Blochet, *Moufazzal ibn Abi l-Fazaïl, Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks. Texte arabe publié et traduit en français*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xii (1919), 345-550, xiv (1920), 375-672, and xx (1929), 3-270. This edition contains the text of the *Nahdj* up to the year 716/1316. The remaining part was edited and translated by S. Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍāʾil* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 23), Freiburg im Breisgau 1973, whose introduction includes a limited but valuable study of the problem of sources, continuing the research carried out by D.P. Little, *An introduction to Mamlūk historiography. An analysis of Arabic annalistic and biographical sources for the reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāʾūn* (Freiburger Islamstudien 2), Wiesbaden 1970, and U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 1), Freiburg im Breisgau 1970. See also the reviews of Kortantamer's book by U. Haarmann in *Isl.*, li (1974), 319-20, and by B. Schäfer in *ZDMG*, cxxvii (1977), 138 (with further suggestions for parallels with al-Shudjāᶜī and al-Maḳrīzī). On al-Muffaḍḍal's family link with al-Makīn, see F. Nau, *Sur al-Makin et Ibn Abi-l-Fazaïl*, in *ROC*, xxvi (1927-8), 208-11. For all other works incidentally dealing with al-Mufaḍḍal, see Kortantamer's extensive bibliography.

(J. den Heijer)

al-**MUFAḌḌAL** b. Muḥammad b. Yaᶜlā b. ᶜĀmir b. Sālim b. al-Rammāl al-**ḌABBĪ**, an Arabic philologist of the Kufan school. By birth he was a free-born Arab; the date of his birth is not known. His father was a recognised authority on the events in the wars of the Arabs on the frontiers of Khurāsān in 30-90/651-709 (quoted in al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*). It is possible that his son was born in this region. As a partisan of the house of ᶜAlī he took part in the rising against the ᶜAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr led by Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], brother of *al-Nafs al-zakiyya*. The rising was put down and Ibrāhīm killed; al-Mufaḍḍal was taken prisoner but pardoned by the caliph and appointed tutor to his son, the future caliph al-Mahdī, in whose train he visited Khurāsān. He then worked in Kūfa as a philologist and teacher; among his pupils was his son-in-law Ibn al-Aᶜrābī [*q.v.*]. The date of his death is variously given; the *Fihrist* does not give it at all while others give 164, 168 or 170/781, 784-5 or 786-7.

Al-Mufaḍḍal, like his contemporary Ḥammād [*q.v.*] bore the epithet and title of honour al-Rāwiya, and was regarded as an authority on the poetry of the *Djāhiliyya*. In contrast to Ḥammād, he is celebrated for the reliability of his transmission. In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* there are several stories illustrating this fact. While Ḥammād was accused of having inserted into poems of the *Djāhiliyya* verses which he had himself composed, al-Mufaḍḍal is praised for handing down the old poetry pure and unfalsified. There was, of course, a great rivalry between the two *rāwīs* which also finds expression in the stories of the *Aghānī*. Al-Mufaḍḍal is reported to have said that the influence of Ḥammād on Arabic poetry had been most disastrous, to a degree which could never be corrected. To the question what this meant and whether Ḥammād had made mistakes in the attribution of the poems or linguistic errors, he replied that if that were all, it could be corrected, but he had done worse than this. Since he was such an authority on the old poets, he was able to write verses in their style and he had inserted such verses of his own composition into genuine old *ḳaṣīda*s so that now only very good critics of the

old poetry could recognise them (cf. *Aghānī*, v. 172, and Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 171). It is also recorded that al-Mufaḍḍal once caught Ḥammād in the presence of the caliph passing off verses of his own as the work of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā. The *ḳaṣīda* which Ḥammād was reciting began with *daʿ dhā*, and when the caliph asked for the missing *nasīb*, he added several *nasīb* verses. Al-Mufaḍḍal, however, said quite rightly that there had probably been a *nasīb* before the surviving verses, but no one any longer knew it (cf. Renata Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīda*, Wiesbaden 1971, 17). Ḥammād was thereupon forced to admit his forgery. It is interesting to learn that, as is recorded in this passage of the *Aghānī*, Ḥammād was rewarded for his recitation but the sum given to al-Mufaḍḍal was considerably greater. Al-Mufaḍḍal was given his reward, not only for his knowledge, but also for his fidelity and honesty in transmission (cf. *Aghānī, loc. cit.* and Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*).

Al-Mufaḍḍal worked in different fields of Arabic philology. He was considered an authority on rare Arabic expressions, celebrated as a grammarian and was also an authority on genealogy and on the Arab battles (*Ayyām al-ʿArab*). He wrote a number of books: a *Kitāb al-Amthāl* (on proverbs), a *Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ* (on metres), a *Kitāb Maʿnā ʾl-shiʿr* (on the meaning of poems) and a dictionary *Kitāb al-Alfāẓ*. His principal work, however, is a collection of old Arabic *ḳaṣīdas* called the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, which he compiled for his pupil, the future caliph al-Mahdī. Al-Mufaḍḍal himself is said to have given another story of the origin of this anthology, which is one of the most valuable Arabic collections. When on one occasion Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh was in hiding in his house, he brought him some books to read at his request. Ibrāhīm marked a number of poems, and these he collected in one volume because Ibrāhīm was a good critic of the old poetry. This collection was later called the *Ikhtiyār al-Mufaḍḍal* (cf. Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, 144, n. 1).

The *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* contains 126 poems, some complete *ḳaṣīdas* of many verses, some fragments of small size, while in Abū Tammām's collection, the *Ḥamāsa*, only short fragments of poems or separate verses are contained. The latter was compiled some fifty years later; at first it was much more popular than the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, and more frequently annotated. But al-Muffaḍḍal's anthology is of outstanding merit. The great bulk of it is the work of pagan poets and *mukhaḍramūn*, while only 6 of the 67 poets represented were born Muslims. Two of the poets whose *ḳaṣīdas* are contained in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* were Christians. The poems, the date of composition of which can frequently be deduced from events mentioned in them, are in some cases very old. The earliest are those attributed to Muraḳḳish the Elder [*q.v.*], which probably belong to the first decade of the 6th century A.D. Al-Mufaḍḍal's anthology offers a rich selection of the old Arabic poetry, the value of which is increased by the great age of the poems preserved in it. The name of its collector, who enjoyed a good reputation among his contemporaries for his reliability, also gives us a certain guarantee that we have in the poems of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* truly genuine specimens of old Arab poetry.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, v, 172-3 and *passim; Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 68-9; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, London 1926, vii, 171 ff.; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. C.J. Lyall, Oxford 1918-21, 2 vols., Indexes by A.A. Bevan, Leiden and London 1924, esp. *Introd.*, vol. ii; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 142 ff.; *Die Mufaḍḍalijjāt*, ed. H. Thorbecke, Leipzig 1885; Brockelmann, I², 118-9, S I, 36-7, 179; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, index, s.v., viii, 115-6; Blachère, *HLA*, index s.v.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

AL-**MUFAḌḌALIYYA** [see AL-KHAṬṬĀBIYYA].

AL-**MUFAḌḌALIYYĀT**, the title of an anthology of early Arabic poems, mainly pre-Islamic, compiled by the Kūfan philologist al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿlā al-Ḍabbī (d. 164/780 or 170/786 [*q.v.*]). The original title is *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārāt* (or *al-Mukhtārāt*) "choice collection", but already in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*], completed in 377/987-8, 68, it is referred to as *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*. The anthology is valued highly by mediaeval authors on account of al-Mufaḍḍal's reliability as a transmitter, and because of the poetic merit and lexicographical interest of the poems. It is of primary importance as a source of ancient Arabic poetry, some texts dating back to the beginning of the 6th century.

1. Compilation and transmission.

Ibn al-Nadīm (*loc. cit.*) states that the anthology consists of 128 poems, but adds that their number and arrangement vary "according to the difference of transmission" (*bi-ḥasbi ʾl-riwāya ʿanhu*). He further mentions that al-Mufaḍḍal made his collection for the caliph al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], who had taken him into his service. There is an earlier, more detailed report to the same effect by al-Ḳālī al-Baghdādī (d. 356/967 [*q.v.*]) on the authority of Abū ʿIkrima al-Ḍabbī (d. 250/864), who studied the anthology with Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231/846 [*q.v.*]), al-Mufaḍḍal's stepson and transmitter. One day the caliph al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], who had appointed al-Mufaḍḍal tutor to his son, the future caliph al-Mahdī, overheard the boy reciting an ode by the pre-Islamic poet al-Musayyab during a lesson. The caliph listened with pleasure and later asked al-Mufaḍḍal to collect for his pupil choice specimens of the *muḳillūn*, i.e. those poets who had left little poetry (*K. al-Amālī*, Cairo 1344/1926, iii, *Dhayl al-Amālī*, 130-2). The last detail is interesting, because it explains the striking absence from the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* of the most famous pre-Islamic poets. The same source, again quoting Abū ʿIkrima, provides the information that al-Mufaḍḍal selected 80 poems only, and that the number was filled up to 120 by the Baṣran philologist al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828 [*q.v.*]) and his students when they studied the collection. There is a different story recorded by Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967 [*q.v.*]) in his book on the ʿAlids written in 313/923 (*Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1365/1949, 338-9). While Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], the Shīʿī pretender, was concealing himself in al-Mufaḍḍal's house, he once asked for some books to pass the time. Al-Mufaḍḍal supplied him with several volumes of poetry, from which he chose 70 poems and wrote them down in a separate book. "After he had been killed," al-Mufaḍḍal allegedly said, "I brought them out and attributed them to myself... Later I added to them till the number was 128."

Of the numerous biographical sources mentioning al-Mufaḍḍal, only a few refer to his anthology and its origin. These are divided with regard to the two traditions. Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]) follows the *Fihrist* (*Udabāʾ*, iii, 173), and so does Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (d. 646/1248 [*q.v.*]), who also reports the second tradition, however, with some embellishment, in a different place (*Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, iii, 302, 304). The story of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, corresponding almost verbatim to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī's text, is further told by al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]) (cf. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 143-4), and by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), who gives

the *Fawāʾid* of al-Nadjirāmī (d. 423/1031) as his source (*al-Muzhir*, ii, 319). Thus the "Shīʿī" tradition was obviously favoured by later authors. It is discussed and accredited by S.M. Yūsuf (*The original compiler of the Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, in *IC*, xviii [1944], 206-8).

There seems to be no way to prove for certain which of the two reports is authentic. However, one would have expected Ibn al-Nadīm, who was a Shīʿī like Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, to know the second tradition and to mention it, had it seemed convincing. A further point in favour of al-Ḳālī's story is the reference to the *muḳillūn*. It is a likely criterion of choice, if al-Mufaḍḍal was the compiler, but it hardly fits Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, who selected the poems for his own pleasure, as the story goes. Why should he have preferred minor poets? A combination of the two traditions is suggested by A.M. Shākir and ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn in their introduction to the Cairo edition (13, see *Bibl.*). According to them, al-Mufaḍḍal followed the caliph's request, offering Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh's collection with some additions of his own. Later, al-Aṣmaʿī and his students added to it.

The majority of sources agree on the point that there was first an anthology of 70 or 80 poems and that their number was complemented later. The question remains, who made the additions, al-Mufaḍḍal himself or al-Aṣmaʿī? It is discussed by C.J. Lyall in the introduction to his edition (ii, pp. xv-xvi, see *Bibl.*), who favours al-Mufaḍḍal, but believes that the question admits of no certain solution. The editors of the Cairo edition (14-19), on the other hand, accept al-Aṣmaʿī's contribution and further maintain that his own anthology, the *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, had become mixed with the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* at an early stage of transmission, as indeed is mentioned in a manuscript uniting them both (*op. cit.*, 18; cf. also Lyall, i, p. xvii). The point is strengthened by the fact that a sequence of poems was transmitted, with some variations, in both collections (*Muf.* nos. 100-18 = *Aṣm.* nos. 71-89). However it may be, the two anthologies are evidently related and should be studied together. Since al-Aṣmaʿī was highly esteemed as a scholar, no doubt is shed on the authenticity of the corpus, even if some of the texts were selected by him.

2. Recensions and commentaries.

It is to be assumed that al-Mufaḍḍal dictated the collection to his students and that different traditions existed from the beginning. Five recensions with commentaries are known (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 54); three of them are preserved. The first commentator in the chronological order is Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Anbārī (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]), whose recension goes back to Abū ʿIkrima and Ibn al-Aʿrābī, the most reliable line of transmission according to the *Fihrist* (*loc. cit.*). In his extensive commentary, al-Anbārī mainly quotes scholars from Kūfa, but al-Aṣmaʿī and other Baṣrans are referred to as well. Some explanations come from al-Mufaḍḍal himself, although he was not regarded as an authority on grammar and lexicography, and disclaimed all merit in these fields (Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1974², 116), Judging from quotations in mediaeval sources, al-Anbārī's text seems to have been the standard recension of the time. It is edited and translated by Lyall, whose introduction and notes to his translation are still an invaluable guide to the poetry, especailly as regards historical information (cf. also W. Caskel, *Ein Missverständnis in den Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, in *Oriens*, vii [1954], 290-303).

The second recension by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marzūḳī (d. 421/1030 [*q.v.*]) is unedited, but studied and taken into consideration in other editions. It contains 109 poems, their sequence varying considerably from al-Anbārī's recension (cf. Lyall's comparative tables, i, pp. xxii-xxv). In his commentary, al-Marzūḳī relies on al-Anbārī, and so does the third commentator, Abū Yaḥyā al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109 [*q.v.*]), who uses material from both his precursors. In his commentary he is more concise and to the point, however, leaving out many of the *shawāhid* quoted by al-Anbārī. The recension contains 128 poems, their sequence corresponding approximately to al-Anbārī's text. It is available in two editions, one of them incomplete (see *Bibl.*).

3. Analysis of content.

In Lyall's edition, the anthology consists of 126 poems by 67 poets and one (anonymous) poetess; four texts are added in an appendix. The majority (48) belong to the pre-Islamic period (= 94 poems). 14 poets (= 24 poems) are *mukhaḍramūn*, i.e. poets who reached the time of Islam, and six (= 8 poems) lived in the first Islamic century. Thus, unlike the *Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*], a collection of pre-Islamic odes, the texts extend over a period of about 200 years. They are not limited to one genre, moreover, but present a fairly comprehensive survey of ancient Arabic genres and motifs. There is no evidence that verses were extracted from other poems, as became a literary fashion 50 years later, starting with the famous *Ḥamāsa* [*q.v.*] of Abū Tammām (d. 231/845). From all we know it is safe to assume that even the shortest texts (2-4 lines) were reproduced as they had been preserved, and that lacunae are due to faulty transmission before al-Mufaḍḍal's time.

The only information we have as to the original order of the texts is the remark by Ibn al-Nadīm (*loc. cit.*) that the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* began with the ode by Taʾabbaṭa Sharr^an (no. 1). Attempts to detect any internal or external principle of arrangement are in vain. Even the verses of one poet are not always listed together. Sometimes texts referring to the same historical event seem to be arranged together, which suggests that historical content may have occasionally motivated selection. A further criterion of choice, besides scholarly interest in the *muḳillūn* and in "rare words" (*gharīb*), was suggested by W. Stoetzer in a recent study of Arabic prosody based on the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (*Theory and practice in Arabic metrics*, Leiden 1986, 70-1). From his analysis it would appear that only *ḳarīḍ* was selected, a term applied by Stoetzer to metres of a certain length.

The collection contains a few pre-Islamic texts by Christian poets, Djābir b. Ḥunayy (no. 42) and ʿAbd al-Masīḥ (nos. 72, 73, 83), without distinctive features, and an Umayyad *ghazal* by an anonymous Jewish poet (no. 37), in which the adversities of love are ascribed to God's decree. Although many texts are fragmentary and difficult to classify, the material can be roughly divided into three categories: (a) 61 polythematic odes; (b) 7 elegies; (c) 58 monothematic poems. There are only a few indubitable fragments, i.e. verses that must have formed part of a greater unit. These are counted within the last category.

(a) From the aspect of structure, two main types of the polythematic ode (*ḳaṣīda*) are to be distinguished, the tripartite form (22) with a camel section following the amatory prelude (*nasīb*), and the bipartite form (39), where the amatory prelude is followed, mostly without transition, by one or more topics of the poet's present concern. There are only ten odes ending with a panegyric, nine of them tripartite, which suggests that the tripartite ode was favoured for panegyrical

purposes at an early stage. In the majority of odes, the final section is devoted to tribal feuds, self-praise and satire. A comparatively small number, 4 tripartite and 13 bipartite odes, deal with old age and death, often in combination with memories of youthful pleasures and adventures. As a rule, the treatment of themes and motifs follows conventional patterns, but there are also some unusual variations, e.g. one poet extending his complaint of old age and greying hair to the beloved (no. 105, 1-11), who is habitually pictured as a young girl, and another describing the journey of the parting beloved instead of his own (no. 42, 5-10). The odes of the brigands (*ṣaʿālīk*) Taʾabbaṭa S̲h̲arran (no. 1) and S̲h̲anfarā (no. 20) deserve special attention, as they do not conform to tribal poetry in several respects (cf. S. Pinckney-Stetkevych, in *JAOS*, civ [1984], 661-78, and *IJMES*, xviii [1986], 361-90).

(b) The second category, the elegy (*marth̲iya*), represented by seven texts only, appears heterogeneous as to composition and style. There is an elegy by a woman (no. 69) differing from the rest by its anaphoric style. A short lament in warlike spirit (no. 109) and an Islamic elegy beginning and ending with religious formulas (no. 92) are interesting mainly from a historical point of view. The remaining four texts adapt motifs and techniques of the polythematic ode in different ways. Once, the lament is preceded by a *nasīb* (no. 54), a rare but by no means unique procedure. The influence of the ode, especially of the *nasīb*, is also apparent in two poems by Mutammim b. Nuwayra (nos. 67, 68), who laments his brother Mālik, and in the famous elegy of Abū D̲h̲uʾayb on the death of his sons (no. 126), where scenes of animal life from the camel section are employed with a new function. As evidenced by these texts, the elegy, once the domain of female mourners, was shaped by professional poets according to the model and standard of the polythematic ode.

(c) The monothematic poem (*ḳiṭʿa*) presents a great variety of content, since individual problems are treated more freely here than within the framework of the ceremonious ode. Most of the poems (43) are concerned with tribal warfare, self-praise with menacing intent and satire. The remaining 15 texts contain various topics, e.g. praise of the poet's horse (nos. 2, 3), of a goat (no. 33), a hunting scene (no. 73), domestic troubles (nos. 4, 110), reproof of a drunk (no. 72), and *g̲h̲azal* verses (nos. 37, 59). Six texts are thematically related, as they all deal with the question of old age and death. The subject is treated in combination with a retrospect of the time of youth (no. 101), or with the poet's testament for his son(s) (nos. 27, 116). Sometimes a poet imagines his own funeral (no. 80, cf. also no. 27, 23-30), and there are verses of proud resignation uttered by poets facing immediate death (nos. 30, 65). In this context a passage from an ode by Mutammim b. Nuwayra (no. 9, 31-36) should be considered, who imagines the ominous approach of a hyaena, while lying wounded on the battle-field. Taken together, these verses constitute a remarkable manifestation of the tribal poet's attitude towards fate.

Besides offering rich material for the study of ancient Arabic genres, the corpus yields some valuable information from the diachronistic point of view. Already in the verses of the *muk̲h̲aḍramūn* (nos. 9, 15, 17, 21-4, 26, 27, 38-40, 43, 67, 68, 84, 85, 102, 103, 113-15, 123, 126) the experience of changing social conditions is occasionally reflected. Thus ʿAbda b. al-Ṭabīb alludes to the conflict between Bedouin and settled life (no. 26, 7), and ends his ode with the description of an urban tavern (66-81). Sometimes the rendering of a motif indicates that it has lost its original function, e.g. when the poet's melancholy mood after separation from the beloved is dispelled by the prospect of future meetings (no. 114, 2). The few Islamic texts (nos. 14, 16, 24, 33, 37, 63, 64, 92) contain interesting variations of the conventional pattern, especially in the *nasīb*, e.g. the description of two hyaenas fighting in the dust of the "deserted campsite" (no. 64, 2-4). In the pre-Islamic *nasīb*, the desolation of the place is compensated by descriptions of luxurious vegetation and peacefully-grazing deer. The Islamic poet, although evidently versed in poetic tradition, either lost understanding of its inherent meaning or intentionally deviated from it.

In spite of the great diversity of content and various traces of individual composition and style, the anthology gives the impression of homogeneity resulting from its common social background. Whether the tribal poet recounts his experience in love and war, or reflects in old age and death, he displays the same indomitable spirit, the "heroic attitude" as defined by A. Hamori, whose essay *The poet as hero* is based on the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (*On the art of medieval Arabic literature*. Princeton 1974, 3-30). The poet's recklessness and pride are most clearly expressed in his self-praise, but they appear equally striking in verses on the transitoriness of life, where hope is abandoned and fate accepted without submission or humility. It seems significant that the question of human destiny is treated predominantly in texts of *muk̲h̲aḍramūn*, i.e. on the eve of Islam. The answer they provide could not satisfy Arabic society any more; pre-Islamic metaphysics had reached an impasse. But the proud verses of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* document that there was a long way to go, till the "Bedouin hero" would be transformed into the "servant of God".

Bibliography: Mediaeval sources and literary studies are mentioned in the text. Editions: *Die Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. H. Thorbecke. 1. Heft, Leipzig 1885 (not continued); *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*. ed. Abū Bakr b. ʿU. Dag̲h̲istānī, Cairo 1324/1906; ed. A.M. S̲h̲ākir and ʿAbd-al-Salām M. Hārūn, Cairo 1361/1942, ³1964. With the commentary of al-Anbārī: *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, an anthology of ancient Arabic odes*, ed. C.J. Lyall, i, *Arabic text*, Oxford 1921, ii, *Translation and notes*, *ibid.* 1918; iii, *Indexes to the Arabic text*, compiled by A.A. Bevan, London 1924. With the commentary of al-Tibrīzī: *S̲h̲arḥ Ik̲h̲tiyārāt al-Muf.*, ed. F. Ḳabāwā, i-ii, Damascus 1388-91/1968-71 (contains 59 poems only); *S̲h̲arḥ al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. A.M. al-Bid̲j̲āwī, i-iii, Cairo 1977. History of the text: Brockelmann, *SI*, 36-7; Blachère, *HLA*, i, 148; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-s̲h̲iʿr al-d̲j̲āhilī*, Cairo 1956, 573-7; D̲j̲awād ʿAlī, *Tadwīn al-s̲h̲iʿr al-D̲j̲āhilī*, in *Mad̲j̲allat al-Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIraḳī*, iv (1956), 536-41; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 53-4.

(Renate Jacobi)

MUFĀK̲H̲ARA (a.), *maṣdar* of the form III verb *fāk̲h̲ara* (synonyms *fak̲h̲r*, *fik̲h̲ār*, *iftik̲h̲ār*), has both a reflexive meaning, that of self-praise, and an active one, that of contest for precedence and glory, rivalry with other tribes or groups (hence also synonymous with *tafāk̲h̲ur*, Ḳurʾān, LVII, 19; *munāẓara; munāfara; tafāḍul*, al-Ḳuras̲h̲ī, *D̲j̲amhara*, Būlāḳ, 170 l. 4). The *munāfara* must have originally been a *mufāk̲h̲ara*, the difference being of numbers only (cf. the term *takāth̲ur*, sūra CII, 1, and the commentaries of al-Ṭabarī, Cairo 1321, xxx, 156; al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo 1315, 341. See further Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1929, 227; Ḳudāma b. D̲j̲aʿfar, *Naḳd al-s̲h̲iʿr*, Constantinople 1302/1885, 30).

1. As self-praise. Self-praise may have been one of the earliest poetical expressions of the Arabs, for the short battle-sayings, mostly expressed not yet in the later metres but in rhymed prose (*sadj*ʿ) or *radjaz*, contained, next to derision of the enemies (*hidjā*ʾ), above all self-praise. These sayings were part of the battle, and were supposed to have magical influence on the own fighters as well as on the enemy through the power of expression. The hero or the tribe often presented themselves with the formula "I am so-and-so", or "We are so-and-so", and then added an assertion of their own power or a violent expression (see M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 18 ff.). Other introductory formulas were "Just ask so-and-so about me (us)...!", or "So-and-so know(s) that I (we)...." Either a tribe or a beautiful girl were named as possible informers about the exploits of the poet. Concern about a beloved one being aware of the poet's exploits was also expressed in longer monothematic self-praise poems (*ḳiṭʿa*), now no more composed in *sadj*ʿ or *radjaz* alone (see A. Bloch, *Qaṣīda*, in *Asiatische Studien* ii [1948], 109-10). This relation with the beloved one offered a good starting-point to connect *fakhr* with *nasīb* [*q.v.*], and thus to integrate it into the polythematic *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*]: on the morning of separation, the poet tried to keep back his beloved one by recalling his exploits to her. G. Richter (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, in *ZDMG* xcii [1938], 552-69), went so far as to conclude that the entire *ḳaṣīda* was self-praise intended as a proposal. In fact, the great majority of the old Arabic *ḳaṣīdas* contain self-praise as their main part, but not all of them. The main reason why Richter's thesis fails is that the *nasīb* is not a proposal, but grief over a past love. In any case, *fakhr* became, with *nasīb*, the most important part of the *ḳaṣīda*, but it also continued to live on in monothematic poems.

The qualities praised by the poet in himself and his tribe are: courage in battle (a favourite topic are the slain enemies, left as carrion to the birds), generosity, a well-balanced judgment in tribal council meetings, and a talent to enjoy the pleasures of life, sc. women, gambling, wine and hunting.

The poet boasts not only about his personal qualities, but also about his possessions: helmet, sword, suit of armour, horse, and above all his camel, the most precious property of the Bedouin (see G. Müller, *Ich bin Labīd und das ist mein Ziel*, Wiesbaden 1981, 41 ff.). With this a good connection is found, inside the *ḳaṣīda*, with the *aṭlāl* scene: the poet tears himself away from the memories called up by the deserted camp, and takes comfort in his property, which heightens his sense of self-esteem. Since the most important part of this property was the camel, the description of the animal first developed, from the rest of the *fakhr*, into an independent theme, known as *waṣf al-djamal*, and then, after the panegyric of rulers (*madīḥ*) had become the main theme of the *ḳaṣīda*, into the travelling by camel (*raḥīl*) to the praised one (*mamdūḥ*) (see Renate Jacobi, *The Camel-Section of the panegyrical ode*, in *JAL* xiii [1975], 35-36).

A further starting-point for *fakhr*, inside and outside the *ḳaṣīda*, was the topic of old age. The ageing poet recalls his earlier exploits (e.g. Abū Kabīr al-Hudhalī [*q.v.*]).

Specific themes are found in the *fakhr* of the "bandit" poets (*ṣuʿlūk*, pl. *ṣaʿālīk* [*q.v.*]). Naturally, praise of the tribe came second to self-praise for the poet who was an outcast from his tribe. The peculiar code of honour of the *ṣuʿlūk* made him praise his poverty, hunger and physical neglect (e.g. al-Shanfarā). The poverty of the outlaw, undoubtedly, was appreciated more highly than that resulting from a lower social level (cf. ʿUrwa b. al-Ward). The *ṣuʿlūk* even boasted of fleeing before the enemy because it proved his swiftness (e.g. Taʾabbaṭa Sharran).

Already in early times, *fakhr* had, in battle-sayings, a magical function related to *hidjā*ʾ. In the old Arabic period, *hidjā*ʾ was hardly ever separated from *fakhr* inside and outside the *ḳaṣīda*. Even in later times, both remained closely connected. Derision is found intermingled with self-praise, in the new form of *hidjā*ʾ during the Umayyad period, in the *naḳāʾiḍ* (reciprocal satirical poems) of al-Farazdaḳ, Djarīr and al-Akhṭal [*q.vv.*]. This did not change in the ʿAbbāsid period. Thus the famous *hidjāʾ bāʾiyya* poem of Abū Nuwās contains at least as much self-praise of the South Arabs as it contains derision of the North Arabs. The Shuʿūbī poets, too, joined self-praise of their royal Persian ancestors with derision of the miserable Arab Bedouins (see section 2, below).

Indigenous scholars of Arabic literature have paid little attention to *fakhr* because they considered it part of the basic category of praise: *madīḥ* is praise of a living person, *rithā*ʾ is praise of a deceased person, and *fakhr* is praise of oneself (see G. Schoeller, *Die Einteilung der Dichtung bei den Arabern*, in *ZDMG* cxxiii [1973], 9-55). This view is also expressed by Ibn Rashīḳ, who does have a separate chapter on *iftikhār* (*ʿUmda*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1955, ii, 143-7) but which, apart from the remark about classifying *fakhr* given above, provides only examples. The *iftikhār* chapters in the *Dīwān al-maʿānī* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*] (ed. Cairo 1352/1933, i, 76-91) and other anthologies are also only collections of examples. In the *dīwān* recensions arranged according to subject, a chapter *fakhr wa-ṭalab* is found for the first time in Abū Tammām (recension of ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī), and then, completely independent, in al-Buḥturī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz and others.

Bibliography: R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 409-17, 568-72; A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des arabes*, Damascus 1955, 225-6; Renate Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, Wiesbaden 1971, 65-81; *Camb. hist. of Arabic lit.*, i, Cambridge 1983, 81-5; E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, i-ii, Darmstadt 1987-8, index s.v. *faḫr*.

(E. Wagner)

2. As a contest for precedence and glory. The pre-Islamic Arabs gave themselves up to *mufākharāt* and *munāfarāt* at definite times (usually fairs, especially the *sūḳ* of ʿUkāẓ, whence the verb *taʿākaẓa* [= *tafākhara*]) after the pilgrimage or at random. The Ḳuraysh notably held them regularly in one of the ravines near Mecca (*Aghānī*, viii, 109). The *mufākhara* usually took place between groups, tribes and clans; occasionally between families and individuals.

In the *mufākharāt* where the orator and especially the poet played a prominent part (cf. *Aghānī*, iv, 8 ff.; there was also the *safīr*, the spokesman of the group: *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1293, ii, 45), the Arabs were fond of boasting of all that constituted their honour (*ʿirḍ* [*q.v.*]), i.e. of everything that contributed to their *ʿizza* (power). To vaunt their titles to fame (*maʾāthir, mafākhir, manāḳib*) and to dispute pre-eminence, the adversaries used to abuse one another most vehemently (rôle of satire or *hidjā*ʾ [*q.v.*]). These literary tourneys (not to mention the fact that they contributed a great deal to the development of poetry and oratory) stirred up great excitement and ended in violent quarrels or even bloodshed which provided the beginning of wars (cf. e.g. *Aghānī*, viii, 109).

In steeping the Arabs from time to time in an atmosphere of mass exaltation, the *mufākhara*, or tour-

nament of honour, performed an important social function. In a way it was a kind of religious ceremony. Indeed, the religion of the pre-Islamic Arabs, a poor and ineffectual one, yielded place to honour inasmuch as the latter, thanks on the one hand to its sacred character and on the other to the *mufā<u>kh</u>arāt* (the elements or *leitmotiv* of which were connected on the psycho-sociological plane with strictly religious beliefs and practices), periodically revived in the Arabs this state of intense social life in which the individual forces were stimulated to the extent of bringing about a complete transfiguration of the individual.

This explains why the *mufā<u>kh</u>ara* was an important social institution. Did it not survive the objurgations of the Ḳurʾān and the reprimands of the Prophet (who did not, nevertheless, fail to indulge in it)? With Islam, however, to the elements that constituted pre-Islamic honour there came to be added elements from the new religion or belonging to the new culture or the new social organisation. Sometimes in post-Islamic times, *mufā<u>kh</u>arāt* were held in the presence of the caliphs who were not ashamed to take part in them (sometimes rulers and great lords presided over them). Finally, we may note that the aim of the *<u>Sh</u>uʿūbiyya* [*q.v.*], while protesting against the arrogant pride of the Arabs, was to assert in their eyes their own claims to pre-eminence at the expense of their quarterings of nobility; not in gatherings like those of pre-Islamic days, but with the pen and the word. This new kind of feud was no less violent than the old one: polemics, personalities and insults (*ʿIḳd*, ii, 85 ff.; cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Stud.*, i, 167 ff.; cf. also the *Ma<u>th</u>ālib al-ʿArab*). (One of the poets of the *<u>Sh</u>uʿūbiyya*, Ismāʿīl Yasār, had already roused the wrath of the caliph Hi<u>sh</u>ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik by celebrating exuberantly the memory of the *ʿad<u>j</u>am* or non-Arabs; see *A<u>gh</u>ānī*, iv, 125.)

Nevertheless, the post-Islamic *mufā<u>kh</u>ara*—revived for a time and under another aspect as the quarrel between Arabs and non-Arabs—was no longer anything more than a survival doomed to gradual extinction, because Islam had dispossessed it of its function, had fought it so far as it was a social institution, and had broken it up by condemning a number of the elements of honour, notably *al-<u>sh</u>araf* (nobility) and *al-ḥasab* (the example of one's forefathers).

Bibliography: See the detailed bibliography in B. Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islām*, Paris 1932, II, 42, 51-2, 99, 161-2, 185-203, 212. In addition to the dictionaries (arts. *ḥ-s-b*, *f-<u>kh</u>-r*, *k-<u>th</u>-r*, *n-f-r*), cf. especially Alūsī, *Bulū<u>gh</u> al-arab fī aḥwāl al-ʿArab*, Ba<u>gh</u>dād 1314/1896-7, 299-338.

(Bichr Farès)

MUFARRI<u>DJ</u> b. **DA<u>GH</u>FAL** [see <u>dj</u>arrāḥids].

MUFĀWAḌA (a.), a legal term denoting a form of commercial partnership and having different meanings within different schools of Islamic law. From mediaeval times, the *mufāwaḍa* has been most prominently associated with the Ḥanafī school, whose law restricts the conduct of partners in the operation of partnerships to a far lesser extent than that of the other schools, a phenomenon thought to have had its origins in the close relationship between independent reasoning (*raʾy*) and juristic preference (*istiḥsān*) in early Ḥanafī jurisprudence. For the Ḥanafīs, the *mufāwaḍa*, which "is perhaps best translated as a universal, or unlimited, investment partnership" (Udovitch, 40; see *Bibl.* below) is one of the two classes of commercial partnership into which their law divides them, the other being the *ʿinān*, "which is perhaps best rendered as a limited investment partnership" (*ibid.*) and in which relations between the partners are based on mutual agency alone and not mutual suretyship.

According to a brief general outline given by the 5th/11th century Ḥanafī jurist of ʿIrāḳ, al-Ḳudūrī [*q.v.*], in his *Mu<u>kh</u>taṣar*, a *mufāwaḍa* was the forming of a partnership by two people of equal wealth, religion and freedom of action, and was accordingly permissible between two free Muslims of full age and sound mind, but not between a Muslim and an unbeliever, a minor and one of full age, a free man and a slave; full powers of agency and liability attached to each partner, the arrangement thereby amounting to mutual procuration (*wakāla*) and suretyship (*kafāla*); the whole property of each partner was engaged except for food and clothing for the family, and equal liability attached to both for any obligation assumed by either of them in exchange for anything that was valid within the partnership.

The hallmark of the Ḥanafī *mufāwaḍa* was equality, relating not only to the amount of each partner's investment and to profits and losses but also to personal status and religious affiliation. In this connection it should be noted that a *mufāwaḍa* between two Christians, two Jews or two adherents of any other protected religion was lawful, as was a contract between two women of the same faith. The only exception to the rule of equality was in respect of personal and household effects.

Despite the denial, by Islamic legal theory, of the validity of documents, which it held to amount, at the most, to nothing more than corroborative evidence, the desirability of written contracts was recognised as early as the 2nd/8th century by al-<u>Sh</u>aybānī, the true father of Ḥanafī law, whose celebrated *K. al-Aṣl* incorporates formulae for partnership contracts. The latter include a suggested formula for a general *mufāwaḍa* contract, followed by a direction that each partner should write and retain his own copy of the contract agreed upon.

Whether a *mufāwaḍa* could be validly contracted without the express use of that precise term was a question on which there was a difference of opinion. Abū Ḥanīfa's reported ruling was that if the term *mufāwaḍa* was not used, the partnership was to be construed as a general limited investment partnership. However, the importance attached by Islamic contract law to intended meaning rather than to forms and phrasing conduced to the view that, if the parties to a *mufāwaḍa* contract were aware of the rules of *mufāwaḍa* and its meaning, the actual term need not be used.

In Islamic law the mediaeval Ḥanafī *mufāwaḍa* was the closest approximation to a corporate entity because, from the point of view of commercial principles, the partners were as one person. All the partners' eligible capital and all their commercial activities were included in the *mufāwaḍa* partnership, and, accordingly, each partner was held fully liable for all the commercial activities and commitments of the other. The claims of third parties, on the one hand, were actionable against either of the partners, and, on the other hand, either partner had the right to claim against a third party, even without his having been involved in the transaction giving rise to the claim. In the matter of third parties, then, "dealing with the individual *mufāwaḍa* partner is equivalent to dealing with the partnership firm. In this respect, the *mufāwaḍa* approaches the modern [non-Islamic] conception of the partnership" (Udovitch, 100).

The dissolution of a *mufāwaḍa* partnership was governed by the same considerations as those governing the dissolution of all Islamic contractual partnerships

(e.g. expiry of the stipulated term of the contract, attainment of the agreed goal, termination by mutual consent of the partners, death of a partner). However, there was one factor leading to dissolution that was peculiar to the Ḥanafī *mufāwaḍa*: the lapse of equality in eligible capital which had been a condition of the formation of the partnership. Such a lapse could occur if, for instance, one of the partners was given or inherited such property as was eligible for partnership investment. In the case of inheritance, the partnership would terminate only at the time when the partner in question took possession of the inherited property.

Investment form and the formation of joint capital, deposits and pledges, loans, purchase, sale and debts, partners' expenses, investment with third parties, limit of mutual surety (e.g. by a crime committed by one of the partners), etc., are matters on which information may be most conveniently derived from Udovitch since they are aspects of the Ḥanafī *mufāwaḍa* which cannot be treated here.

Like the *mufāwaḍa* of Ḥanafī law, that of Mālikī law is an early mediaeval institution with a history dating certainly from the first half of the 3rd/9th century and having its roots in the latter half of the 2nd/8th. In the context of Mālikī law, the term *mufāwaḍa* is perhaps best translated as "general mandate partnership" (cf. Udovitch, 143) because it denotes a partnership in which each of the contracting parties confers on the other an unqualified mandate to dispose of their joint capital in any acceptable manner designed to benefit their common enterprise. The distinctive feature of the Mālikī *mufāwaḍa* is, then, the delegation of authority (*tafwīḍ*) by each of the partners to the other to engage in trade with each other's capital.

Despite the assertion that the Mālikī concept of the *mufāwaḍa* "is nearly the same as that of the Ḥanafīs" (Saleh, 92; see *Bibl.* below), there were from the outset fundamental differences between the two as well as different emphases. First and foremost, equality in the personal and financial status of the parties was not held to be a prerequisite of the formation of a Mālikī *mufāwaḍa* partnership. Secondly, the partners were not required to include all eligible capital within the partnership. Thirdly, the validity of a Mālikī *mufāwaḍa* remained unaffected by the existence of wealth outside the partnership. All in all, the rules governing investment in a Mālikī *mufāwaḍa* were patently quite different from those applicable to investment in a Ḥanafī partnership designated by the same term.

The question of persons eligible to enter into a *mufāwaḍa* partnership was another area in which the Mālikī requirements differed from those of the Ḥanafīs. In Mālikī law no legally competent person, male or female, with freedom of disposition (*taṣarruf*) of property and capacity to confer a mandate was denied the right to enter into a *mufāwaḍa* contract, and this right extended even to a slave who had his master's permission to trade. Nor was a difference in religion between the contracting parties an impediment to entry into a *mufāwaḍa* contract provided that a Muslim closely supervised his non-Muslim partner in order to ensure that the latter refrained from usurious business activities and other religiously unacceptable practices.

With the exception of the lapse of equality in eligible capital, which has no place in Mālikī *mufāwaḍa* arrangements, the same factors as those leading to dissolution of the Ḥanafī *mufāwaḍa* partnership were applicable to the Mālikī counterpart.

As in the case of the Ḥanafī law of *mufāwaḍa*, it has not been practicable to cover here all that needs or be said about the various aspects of the Mālikī *mufāwaḍa*, and yet again Udovitch may be recommended as the most convenient source of information on the more important points.

As viewed by al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 204/820), *mufāwaḍa*, whether in the Ḥanafī or Mālikī understanding of the term, was an approximation to the proscribed practice of gambling since the obligations undertaken by the parties to the contract were not wholly known to and controlled by that contract. For him, the basis of profit or gain from any common commercial undertaking could only be cash invested by each partner party to the contract, and to charge the profit and loss of all commercial activities undertaken by the partners, whether singly or jointly, to a common partnership fund was an arrangement in which there was too great an element of the unknown. In S̲h̲āfiʿī law, then, the *mufāwaḍa* was and is not a valid commercial partnership as conceived by the Ḥanafī and Mālikī schools of law.

As regards the Ḥanbalī school, there are authorities sharing al-S̲h̲āfiʿī's view of *mufāwaḍa*, but at the same time some, such as Taḳī al-Dīn al-Futūḥī (d. *ca.* 980/1572), inclining to the Ḥanafī position. Ibn Ḳudāmā [*q.v.*], writing more than three-and-a-half centuries earlier in *al-Mug̲h̲nī*, a work that acquired, and still enjoys, a great reputation, held the only lawful *mufāwaḍa* to be a partnership in which all the different forms of partnership investment, viz. money, labour and credit, were combined.

It remains only to touch on the Ibāḍīs, whose sect is particularly prominent in ʿUmān. Their concept of the *mufāwaḍa* is an unlimited association of two or more persons in all areas thereof. Each partner is to have equality of authority over the property of his partner(s), and all profits and gains (apart from inheritance, blood-money and bride-price) are equally divisible among the partners. Some Ibāḍī authorities reject the Ḥanafī requirement of equality in respect of both capital and shares in profits.

At the present day, *mufāwaḍa* is by no means a dead letter: it is, in particular, one of those commercial modes of operation traditional to Islamic jurisprudence to which modern Islamic financial institutions turn as they experience the need to meet the challenge presented by what they see as the secular systems of commercial law operating in the West.

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2. Secondary works: For English-speaking peoples with no Arabic, A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in medieval Islam*, Princeton 1970 is the work of reference *par excellence* (see especially 29-39, 40-118, 144-5, 150-69). N.A. Saleh, *Unlawful gain and legitimate profit in Islamic law*, Cambridge 1986, is also useful, but in the use of his sources the author is somewhat eclectic, presumably because his thought is directed towards the re-assertion of Islamic law in the modern world. As almost all the

important secondary literature is contained in the bibliographies of Udovitch and Saleh, they need not be listed here. Special mention must, however, be made of D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, 2 vols., Rome 1925-38. (J.D. LATHAM)

MÜFETTISH [see Supplement].

AL-**MUFĪD**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ḥārithī al-ʿUkbarī, Imāmī Shīʿī theologian and jurist, was born on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 336/23 May 948 (other dates mentioned, 333 and 338, seem less likely) in Suwayḳat Ibn al-Baṣrī near ʿUkbarā.

His family was of Southern Arab descent of the Banu 'l-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb, and his father had been a teacher in Wāsiṭ before moving to ʿUkbarā. After his father's profession, al-Mufīd was also known as Ibn al-Muʿallim. He came to Baghdād as a boy and already in Muḥarram 347/April 958 heard *ḥadīth* in the Mosque of al-Manṣūr. His teacher in *fiḳh* was Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḳūlūya of Ḳumm (d. 369/979-80). In theology, his main teacher seems to have been Abu l'-Djaysh al-Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad al-Balkhī al-Warrāḳ (d. 367/977-8). The statement of al-Nadjāshī (308) that he first read with Ṭāhir, the *ghulām* of Abu 'l-Djaysh, is probably to be understood as meaning that he studied as a boy with Abu 'l-Djaysh's assistant before continuing with the master. Abu 'l-Djaysh al-Balkhī is described in the Imāmī sources as a disciple of the Imāmī *mutakallim* Abū Sahl b. Nawbakht. Most likely he had earlier studied in his home town under Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī al-Kaʿbī, the head of the Baghdād school of the Muʿtazila. It was evidently from him that al-Mufīd received his basic training in the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the Baghdād school and his acquaintance with the teaching of the Banū Nawbakht. A later report which describes him as a disciple of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī and al-Rummānī, both representatives of the Baṣran Muʿtazilī school, is legendary and probably without foundation. He heard tradition from a large number of Shīʿī or pro-Shīʿī traditionists, among them Abū ʿUbayd Allāh al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994) and the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Djiʿābī (d. 355/966). The tradition of the Imāmī school of Ḳumm he received chiefly from Ibn Ḳūlūya, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd al-Ḳummī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd b. ʿAlī al-Ḳummī (d. 368/978-9), and Abū Djaʿfar b. Bābūya (d. 381/991-2), whom he heard presumably during his visits of Baghdād in 352/963 and 355/966. There is no evidence that al-Mufīd ever visited Ḳumm.

He soon became the leading theologian and spokesman of the Imāmiyya. Ibn al-Nadīm, writing in 377/987-8, describes him as such, and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī characterises him in this period as a resourceful and persevering debater with a pleasant surface (*al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, ed. A. Amīn and A. al-Zayn, Cairo 1953, i, 141). He taught and held discussion sessions in his house and mosque in the Darb Riyāḥ in al-Karkh, and elsewhere engaged in debates with numerous scholars of opposing factions, among them the Ashʿarī al-Bāḳillanī and the Muʿtazilīs al-Rummānī and Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār.

Most of his writings, which numbered about two hundred, are known only by title. He wrote refutations of treatises and view of Muʿtazilīs like Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb, al-Djāḥiẓ, Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, al-Wāsiṭī, Ibn al-Ikhshīd, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, al-Rummānī, al-Khālidī, al-Naṣīb(īn)ī, al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, ʿAbd al-Djabbār and Abū Rashīd (?); of Sunnī traditionalist theologians like Ibn al-Kullāb and al-Karābīsī; of Ḳurʾān experts like Ḳuṭrub and Thaʿlab; of the Ṣūfī followers of al-Ḥallādj; and of Imāmī scholars with whom he disagreed like Ibn Bābūya, Ibn ʿAwn al-Asadī, and Ibn Djunayd al-Iskāfī. The wide recognition of his authority among Imāmīs outside Baghdād is reflected in his written answers to questions sent to him from the communities in Khʷārazm, Naysābūr, Djurdjān, Sāriya, Ṭabaristān, Ṣāghān, Dīnawar, Khūzistān, Fārs, al-Raḳḳa, al-Ḥāʾir, and ʿUkbarā, besides answers to named individuals elsewhere. Despite his outspoken anti-Sunnī polemics, his relations with the authorities were generally good. The Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla is said to have visited him often. Together with other prominent Imāmī leaders, he signed the document impugning the genealogy of the Fāṭimid caliphs drawn up at the order of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳādir in 402/1011-12. During riots between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs in Baghdād, he was three times, in 392/1002, 398/1008 and 409/1018, banished from the town, although he does not appear to have been involved in starting them. Each time the order was either revoked or he was soon allowed to return. Abū Manṣūr al-Ṭabrisī (al-Ṭabarsī) quotes two letters which he is said to have received from the Hidden *Imām* in Ṣafar 410/June 1019 and Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 420/1022 (*al-Iḥtidjādj*, Nadjaf 1367-8/1966, ii, 318-25). Later sources mention a third letter. In one of them he is addressed with his honorific *laḳab* al-Shaykh al-Mufīd. Stories about how he first received this agnomen are legendary.

In theology, al-Mufīd rejected the cardinal Muʿtazilī position that the basic truths of religion can and must be discovered by reason alone, and he insisted that transmitted revelation (*samʿ*) is indispensable for reason to gain religious knowledge. In practice, he mostly adopted the doctrine of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī (d. 319/932), the head of the Baghdād Muʿtazilī school, as against the Baṣran Muʿtazilī doctrine prevalent in Baghdād in his time. He wrote a book on "the agreement of the Baghdādīs of the Muʿtazila with what is related from the *Imāms*". Excluded were subjects which touched on vital Imāmī dogma, the imāmate and related points. Against the Muʿtazilī affirmation of the unconditional punishment of the unrepentent sinner in the hereafter, he upheld the Imāmī belief in the effective intercession of the Prophet and the *Imāms* for the sinners of their community. He rejected the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the intermediate position of the grave sinner between believer and unbeliever [see AL-MANZILA BAYN AL-MANZILATAYN] as incompatible with Shīʿism and affirmed the Imāmī belief in *radjʿa*, the return of some of the dead to life at the time of the advent of the Mahdī. The Imāmī doctrine of *badāʾ* [*q.v.*] he cautiously explained as identical in substance with the general Muslim notion of *naskh*, the abrogation of religious law, and the Muʿtazilī doctrine about God's changing man's life-span and sustenance in accordance with their actions. Concerning the Ḳurʾān, he held that there were neither substantial additions nor deletions in the ʿUthmānic text, but that the enemies of ʿAlī had changed the arrangement of verses and suppressed the commentary contained in his codex. In agreement with earlier Imāmī theologians like Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, Abū Sahl b. Nawbakht and his teacher Abu 'l-Djaysh, he rejected the materialist Muʿtazilī identification of man with the body, or part of it, and defined the essence of man as spirit and a simple substance (*djawhar basīṭ*).

In the religious law, al-Mufīd repudiated the use of *idjtihād* and analogy (*ḳiyās*) and criticised his older con-

temporary Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Djunayd al-Iskāfī, whom he met in Baghdād and from whom he related traditions, for advocating their employment. He was equally critical of the Imāmī traditionalist school of Ḳumm, which he accused of accepting often contradictory single (*āḥād*) traditions of the *Imāms* as a basis of the law. He held that single traditions were valid only if they could be supported by one of the sources of certain knowledge, reason, a Ḳurʾānic text, a widely transmitted (*mutawātir*) tradition, or the consensus of the Muslims or of the Imāmiyya. Many of the traditions which he transmitted to his disciple al-Ṭūsī were incorporated by the latter in his *K. Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, one of the canonical collections of Imāmī traditions. The first part of this book, written still in the lifetime of al-Mufīd, is a commentary on the latter's theological and legal compendium *al-Risāla al-muḳniʿa*. On the question of the length of the month of Ramaḍān, which was disputed at the time, al-Mufīd at first followed his teacher Ibn Ḳūlūya in holding that it always must number a full thirty days, a doctrine adopted in Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī law. Later, he changed his position and supported the view that the length of Ramaḍān is determined by the sighting of the new moon, which became standard Imāmī doctrine. In his criticism of Ibn Bābūya's creed he also rejected his belief that all *Imāms* had been murdered by their opponents.

Al-Mufīd died on 3 Ramaḍān 413/29 November 1032. The funeral worship was led by his pupil al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and was attended by a huge crowd. He was buried at first in his house and later in the *Maḳābir Ḳuraysh* next to his teacher Ibn Ḳūlūya and near the *Imām* Muḥammad al-Djawād. Virtually all the leading Imāmī scholars of the following generation were his students: the Sharīfs al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā, the Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, al-Nadjāshī, al-Karādjakī, Sālār al-Daylamī, Abu 'l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī and others. Al-Mufīd's influence on later Imāmī theology remained restricted, however, since the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, followed by Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, adopted Baṣran Muʿtazilī doctrine in preference to his.

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(W. MADELUNG)

MUFRAD (A.), a technical term of Arabic grammar, which can have four ranges of meaning. In a general way, it means "singular", being synonymous with *wāḥid* and in opposition to *muthannā* "in the dual" and *madjmūʿ* "in the plural". In morphology, it means "simple", as opposed to *murakkab* "compound" and designates a noun made up of a single element. In syntax, it means "in isolation", as opposed to *muḍāf* "in annexation" and designates a noun which is not followed by a determinating complement. In lexicography, more often used in the plural *mufradāt*, it means "the words taken in isolation in the lexicon".

Bibliography. G. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976, 159.

(G. TROUPEAU)

MUFTĪ [see FATWĀ].

MUGHALS, an Indo-Muslim dynasty which ruled, latterly with decreasing effectiveness, 932-1274/1526-1858.

1. History
2. External relations
3. Administrative and social organisation
4. Economy and internal commerce
5. External commerce and European trade connections with Mughal India
6. Religious life
7. Architecture
8. Carpets and textiles
9. Painting and the applied arts
10. Literature
11. Numismatics

1. History. This article, like the section on History in HIND, iv, above, aims at being no more than a guide to the numerous articles on the history of the Mughal dynasty in India to be found elsewhere in the *Encyclopaedia*, and to relate these to a chronological framework.

The Mughals were given their first foothold in Indian territory in 800/1398 when Pīr Muḥammad, governor of Kābul and a grandson of Tīmūr, attacked Uččh and Multān, and established a governor in Dīpalpur; when this governor was attacked and killed, Tīmūr [*q.v.*] himself sacked Dīpalpur and Bhaṭnēr, marching through Pānīpat to Dihlī, which was occupied, sacked and plundered, and many of its inhabitants massacred. When Tīmūr withdrew in 801/1399 the Dihlī sultanate was left in anarchy and bankruptcy; Maḥmūd Tughluḳ returned to Dihlī almost powerless, and in the Pandjāb the Sayyid Khiḍr Khān [*q.v.*] ruled as governor owing allegiance to Tīmūr or his son Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*]. The Dihlī sultanate later fell to Khiḍr Khān in 817/141-4, and he and his house ruled until 855/1451, without however causing any further Mughal concern. For this period see TĪMŪR; SHĀH RUKH; KHIḌR KHĀN; MAḤMŪD TUGHLUḲ; for Tīmūr's ancestry, see TĪMŪRIDS.

Bābur, b. 888/1483-4, was descended in the fifth generation from Tīmūr, and on his mother's side from Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*]; heir to the small kingdom of Farghānā [*q.v.*], his early years were mostly spent in conflict with his cousins of the petty principalities of Afghānistān and Transoxiana which were what remained of the Tīmūrid legacy, never conclusively successful against Samarḳand, but eventually (910/1504) taking possession of Kābul [*q.v.*] and gaining suzerainty over Ghaznī; possession of the strategically important Ḳandahār [*q.v.*] in 928/1522 strengthened his hand. He had already made minor forays into India; he was invited to intervene in the affairs of the Dihlī sultanate (disputed between three members of Lāhawr), but soon showed that his action was more in his own interest than that of the Lōdīs when he defeated the combined Afghān armies at the first battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*] in 932/1526. He moved on

to occupy Dihlī and Āgrā [*q.v.*], then eastwards to Djawnpur [*q.v.*] and Ghāzīpur, and brought about the important victory of Khānuʾā against the Rādjpūt armies of Rānā Sanga [*q.v.*] of Čitawr in 933/1527; a later victory over Afghāns in the east extended his dominions to the edge of Bengal. He was critical of Indian gardens, and brought the concept of the symmetrical Mughal garden to India. For this period see MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR; BĀBUR (the article BĀBUR. 2. refers to Bābur's literary works, in Čaghatay Turkī); DIHLĪ SULTANATE; LŌDĪ; MEWĀŘ; RĀNĀ SANGA.

After Bābur's death in Āgrā in 936/1530 he was succeeded by his son Humāyūn, who assigned Kābul, Ḳandahār and the west Pandjāb to Mīrzā Kāmrān [*q.v.*], whose ambitions caused Humāyūn anxieties about the defence of his western front. Opposition from nobles of the old Lōdī régime was suppressed, but the most able general among them, Shēr Khān, the future Sūrī ruler, continued active preparations against Humāyūn, at one point entering the Mughal service in order to find out more about Mughal organisation. Humāyūn's brother-in-law Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā [*q.v.*] allied himself to Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, leading to war with that country; the pursuit of Bahādur Shāh led Humāyūn to the capture of both Māndū [*q.v.*] and Čampānēr [*q.v.*], and the first Mughal occupation of Gudjarāt in 942/1535-6. Mālwā could not be retained, and his rebellious and independent-minded Tīmūrid cousins [for these see MĪRZĀS] caused him much trouble in Gudjarāt, and Shēr Khān, in attempting to establish Afghān rule in the east, had already occupied Bihār [*q.v.*] and was moving to the capture of Gawř, the Bengal capital. Humāyūn, pursuing, found that Shēr had cut his line of communication, was defeated in two major battles, fled towards Sindh [*q.v.*] in 947/1540, where his son Akbar was born, and eventually arrived at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp [*q.v.*] in Persia for the beginning of his fifteen years exile. The Mughal dominions in India passed under the control of Shēr Khān, now become Shēr Shāh; under him important innovations were made to the currency [see 11. Numismatics, below], and to the fiscal regulations [see ḌARĪBA. 6b], which were perpetuated under the Mughals after their restoration; Shēr Shāh also restored the ancient pilgrim route (*rādjamārga*) from one end of his territory to the other, which also was taken over by Akbar and still persists as the Grand Trunk Road. Humāyūn was at last able to reoccupy Kābul, whence he marched to reconquer the successors to the Sūr rule, now squabbling among themselves, at Sirhind [*q.v.*] in 962/1555, going on to reoccupy Dihlī; after six months he died from a fall from a height. In his entourage he had brought from Persia some painters from Shāh Ṭahmāsp's court, who were fundamental in bringing into being the Mughal school of painting [see 9. Painting and the applied arts, below, and TAṢWĪR]. For this period, see especially HUMĀYŪN; BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ; GUDJARĀT; MALWĀ; MĀNḌŪ; MĪRZĀS; SHĒR SHĀH SŪR; SŪRS; DIHLĪ. For Humāyūn's tomb at Dihlī, see DIHLĪ (plan) and 7. Architecture, below.

The young Akbar, succeeding to the Mughal throne at the age of 14, was at first under the tutelage of the general Bayrām Khān [*q.v.*] and under the influence of the *atga khayl*, his former wet-nurses and foster-mothers, their husbands and children. Since Bayrām Khān was a Shīʿī, there were necessarily tensions in an otherwise nominally Sunnī court. A rival, the brilliant Hindū general Hēmū, ostensibly campaigning on behalf of the dispossessed Lōdī sultans, was killed in the second battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*], and lost territories were recaptured under Akbar's generals, after which Akbar was able to free himself from the influence of the "haram party", and moved his court from Dihlī to Āgrā. The rebellion at Māndū [*q.v.*] was crushed by Akbar in person in 971/1564, and an attempt at Afghān independence in Bihār [*q.v.*] was put down in the same year. There were rebellions from an Uzbek faction at the Dihlī court, and of more consequence that of the Mīrzās [*q.v.*] who, having at first received small assignments in Kaṭahr [*q.v.*; see also ROHILKHANḌ], moved at first to Mālwā and later to Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] where in the local disorders consequent on the disruption of the Gudjarāt sultanate they became possessed of much land. After three victories over Rādjpūt strongholds (Čitawr, Ranthambor, Kalindjar), Akbar was able to found his new capital at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*], where his heir Salīm, the emperor Djahāngīr, was born. For Akbar's matrimonial alliances with the great Rādjpūt houses, see RĀDJĀSTHĀN. Local rebellions by the refractory Mēʾōs [*q.v.*] in the Mēwāt [*q.v.*] were suppressed. Next, Gudjarāt was conquered, the local sultanate having shown itself incapable of protecting the pilgrim traffic to the Ḥidjāz; but Akbar established sufficiently good relations with the Portuguese navies to ensure its safety. A rebellion in Bengal [see BANGĀLA, in Suppl.] aroused Akbar's movement against that province, concluded in 984/1576 with the death of Dāwūd Khān Kararānī [*q.v.*], and the incorporation of Bengal within the Mughal empire. Khāndēsh [*q.v.*], a buffer state between Mughal possessions and the Deccan, was annexed in 985/1577. The first Jesuit mission reached Āgrā in 988/1580, with interesting repercussions: religious toleration was preached in the Mughal court, largely the result of the influence of Akbar's ministers Abu ʾl-Faḍl and his brother Fayḍī [*q.vv.*] [see also DJAYN, PĀRSĪ], and the European influence became obvious in Mughal painting [see 9. Painting and the applied arts, below]; since the "toleration" appeared to exclude Islam, rebellions arose, suppressed by Akbar, who in 990/1582 promulgated his syncretistic faith, the *Dīn-i Ilāhī* [*q.v.*]; two years later he introduced an *Ilāhī* era [see TAʾRĪKH; *Ilāhī* dates are important in the interpretation of Mughal coins, and extended beyond Akbar's time]. For hostile attitudes to Akbar's innovations, see BADĀʾŪNĪ, ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR, and AḤMAD SIRHINDĪ. Kashmīr [*q.v.*] was annexed in 994/1586, Sindh, Kaṭhiāwāř and Uřisā [*q.vv.*] had submitted by 1001/1593, and the province of Barār [see BERAR], and the fortresses of Gāwīlgařh, Narnālā, Aḥmadnagar and Āsīrgařh [*q.vv.*] had all fallen into Mughal hands by 1010/1601; Khāndēsh [*q.v.*] of which Āsīrgařh was the principal stronghold, thus became a Mughal *ṣūba*, and for a time bore the name Dāndēsh after Akbar's youngest son Dāniyāl. Akbar died in 1014/1605 and was buried in a large garden tomb at Sikandra, near Āgrā [see 7. Architecture, below]. For Akbar's time, see, in addition to the references above, AKBAR; DĀNIYĀL; MUḤAMMAD ḤAKIM; MĪRZĀ ʿAZĪZ KŌKA; MĀN SINGH; MEWĀŘ and RĀDJĀSTHĀN; ADJMĒR; ĀGRĀ; FATḤPŪR SĪKRĪ; LĀHAWR; ROHTĀSGAŘH. For Akbar's revenue system, and its relation to that of Shēr Shāh, see ḌARĪBA. 6b; also ṬOḌAR MALL, and references under MISĀḤA; for Akbar's reorganisation of the provinces, see under ṢŪBA; references to literature in Akbar's time also in HINDĪ and ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM, KHĀN-I KHĀNĀN; for Akbar's coinage see 11. Numismatics, below. Large projects of historical writing and of narrative painting were instituted for the millennium (1000/1591-2); see 9. Painting and the applied arts, below.

Djahāngīr, after a short attempt at independence in his father's lifetime, succeeded Akbar on his death, although his rule was early challenged by his son Khusraw; in the punishment of the rebels which followed, the Sikh [*q.v.*] leader Guru Ardjun Singh was executed, an act which provoked the Sikhs into lasting enmity with the Mughal power. A Persian claim to Ḳandahār caused Djahāngīr to move for a time to Kābul; there was a renewed conflict with Mēwāṛ [*q.v.*], and operations, at first largely unsuccessful, were started against the Deccan, but a former Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] slave Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*], using guerilla bands of Marāṭhā soldiers, recovered Aḥmadnagar, and further loss of territory in the Deccan followed. Not until 1030/1621 did the prince Khurram, the future Shāhdjahān, meet with some success there; but on the fall of Ḳandahār to Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia in the following year, Khurram, ordered to retake it, went into open rebellion against his father; in the confusion Malik ʿAnbar was able to retake the Bīdar [*q.v.*] province. Djahāngīr was not an active patron of building like Akbar, but was however a connoisseur of painting (helped by Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from Elizabeth I of England) [see 9. Painting and the applied arts, below, also MURAḲḲAʿ], and under him Mughal painting (as well as the Mughal coinage, see 11. Numismatics, below) reached its zenith; his memoirs (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*) reveal him as an enthusiastic traveller and a great lover of nature. He died in 1037/1627. For his period, see DJAHĀNGĪR; NŪR DJAHĀN; ĀṢAF KHĀN; ĀGRĀ, LĀHAWR, MĀNḌŪ, NARNAWL; BŪSTĀN; KASHMĪR; SHRĪNAGAR; in addition to section 9 on Painting below, see especially MANŌHAR and MANṢŪR. For the Mughal kitchen up to Djahāngīr's time, see MAṬBAKH. 4.

Khurram succeeded in 1037/1627 as Shāhdjahān, after a war of succession (involving Dāwar Bakhsh, the son of Khusraw, who was once proclaimed with *khuṭba* and *sikka*; his brother Shahriyār was also proclaimed; there had been rebellious uprisings in Bundelkhand [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). Āṣaf Khān [*q.v.*], his strongest and ablest supporter, was his father-in-law, for Shāhdjahān had married his daughter Mumtāz Maḥall [*q.v.*]. A rebellion on the part of Khān Djahān Lōdī [*q.v.*] led to further wars with the Deccan sultanates, Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*] surrendering in 1042/1633 with the fall of Dawlatābād [*q.v.*]. Operations in the Deccan were hampered by the rise of the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*] as a military power, but a peace treaty was concluded with Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] in 1045/1636. After this, the young prince Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] was appointed viceroy and commander-in-chief of the Mughal forces in the Deccan, and Shāhdjahān returned to the north to start building his new capital of Shāhdjahānābād [see DIHLĪ]. Northern campaigns against Ḳandahār and Balkh [*q.vv.*] having largely failed, it was the Deccan which engaged Mughal attention [see DAKHAN], thanks largely to Awrangzīb's generalship [see AWRANGZĪB and DAKHAN]. Shāhdjahān's sickness in 1067/1657 led to a quarrel for the throne between his four sons, in which Awrangzīb was ultimately the victor [see DĀRĀ SHUKŌH, MURĀD BAKHSH, SHĀH SHUDJĀʿ]; he placed his father in confinement in the Āgrā court, where he died in 1076/1666. For details of Shāhdjahān's reign, see further SHĀHDJAHĀN; MARĀṬHĀS; ḲANDAHĀR; DAKHAN; BĪDJĀPŪR; NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS; ḤAYDARĀBĀD; for his architecture and the "reign of marble" see 7. Architecture, below, and HIND, vii. Architecture, and ADJMĒR; ĀGRĀ; DIHLĪ; LĀHAWR; TĀDJ MAḤALL. A prominent author of Akbar's, Djāhāngīr's and Shahdjahān's reigns, renowned especially as a *muḥaddith*, was ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Sayf al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. For ceremonial practices under the first few Mughal emperors, see MARĀSIM. 5, MAWĀKIB. 5 and references s.v. MARĀTIB.

Before Awrangzīb's formal accession (1068/1658), with the regnal title of ʿĀlamgīr, the Deccan had been ravaged by the Marāṭhā adventurer Shivādjī [*q.v.*; see also MARĀṬHĀS]. He eventually surrendered to the Mughals in 1076/1666, though the final treaty gave him the right to *čawth*, a quarter of the revenues of Bīdjāpūr, the ceded district; the Marāṭhās, however, exacted this tribute from whatever region they later conquered [see also ḤAYDARĀBĀD, b.], so that when these districts later fell to the Mughals their resources had already been seriously depleted. When Awrangzīb moved to Ḥasan Abdāl [*q.v.*] for two years after 1082/1671, in order to quell risings by Yūsufzay and Afrīdī Paṭhāns, Shivādjī pursued his depredations in the Deccan undisturbed, and virtually created a nation out of the Marāṭhās, who had formerly been the subjects of the Muslim sultanates of Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpūr, and who were to become the Mughals' main challengers. Awrangzīb moved to the Deccan in 1093/1682 and spent the remaining 25 years of his life in almost perpetual warfare there, the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultanate of Bīdjāpūr falling in 1097/1686 and the Ḳuṭb Shāhī sultanate of Golkoṇḍā [*q.v.*; see also DAKHAN and ḤAYDARĀBĀD. b.] in the following year, the whole Deccan becoming one large *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire, with headquarters at Awrangābād [*q.v.*]; the disadvantage of the conquest was that the balance of power was destroyed, for Bīdjāpūr and Golkoṇḍā no longer stood between the Mughals and the Marāṭhās. Many forts were recaptured from the Marāṭhās, and some Hindū kingdoms were attacked, but as the Mughal armies were becoming exhausted and financial resources were dwindling, a retreat was made to Awrangābād, where Awrangzīb died in 1118/1707, to be buried in the *rawḍa* in the necropolis village of Khuldābād. For his period, see SHĀHDJAHĀN, AWRANGZĪB, DAKHAN, and entries under the regional Deccan sultanates; MARĀṬHĀS, SHIVĀDJĪ; references to his bigotry under DJIZYA, iii; for an important digest of Muslim law compiled by his orders, see AL-FATĀWĀ AL-ʿĀLAMGĪRIYYA; for Awrangzīb's buildings, see HIND, vii. Architecture; DIHLĪ, LĀHAWR, and 7. Architecture, below; for his (rather uninspired) coinage, see, 11. Numismatics, below.

Awrangzīb was succeeded by his second son Muḥammad Muʿaẓẓam with the regnal title of Bahādur Shāh [*q.v.*], who had earlier received the title of Shāh ʿĀlam after successes in the Deccan as one of Awrangzīb's commanders; the eldest son Sulṭān Muḥammad had long been confined to prison after deserting his father in favour of Shāh Shudjāʿ, but Awrangzīb's other sons engaged in the usual war of succession (two, Shāh Aʿẓam and Kām Bakhsh, crowning themselves in different parts of the empire). In Bahādur Shāh's five years' reign, he was barely able to retain the Mughal authority in his dominions; the Rādjpūts [see RĀDJĀSTHĀN] were in rebellion in Djōdhpur [*q.v.*], the Sikhs [*q.v.*] in the Pandjāb, and the Marāṭhās were consistently harrying the Mughals in the south. The last Sikh *guru*, Govind Singh, in fact a supporter of Bahādur Shāh, had died in 1120/1708; but followers of his produced a "sham guru", known as Banda, who declared a mission to rouse the Sikhs against the Mughal empire. In addition, Bahādur had provoked resentment among northern Muslims by commanding the introduction of Shīʿī forms in worship. On his death in 1124/1712, the break-up of the Mughal power was intensified: Djahāndar Shāh [*q.v.*]

was soon followed by Farru<u>kh</u>siyar [*q.v.*], Rafī^c al-Dara<u>dj</u>āt and Rafī^c al-Dawla (= <u>Sh</u>āh<u>dj</u>ahān II) [*q.vv.*] as emperors, all puppets in the strong hands of local kingmakers [see SAYYIDS OF BĀRHĀ], whose reigns were counted in months rather than years, until the Sayyids produced Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh (1131-61/1719-48 [*q.v.*]). Through lack of confidence in the monarchy, and even less in the Sayyids, provincial governors were able to assume independence more or less at will; thus Ḳamar al-Dīn Čīn Ḳilič <u>Kh</u>ān, entitled Niẓām al-Dīn [*q.v.*], eventually, by defeating his deputy at the battle of <u>Sh</u>akarkheldā [*q.v.*], made himself independent in the Deccan with Ḥaydarābād as his headquarters, and all Dihlī could do was to conciliate him by bestowing the title of Āṣaf <u>Dj</u>āh—since borne by his descendants, the Niẓāms [*q.v.*] of Ḥaydarābād. He supported the Marāṭhās, the new Pe<u>sh</u>wā [*q.v.*], Ba<u>dj</u>ī Rāo, becoming governor of Mālwā whence he constantly harried the Mu<u>gh</u>als by demands for fresh territory and tribute. A growing power around Dihlī and Āgrā was that of the <u>Dj</u>āṭs [*q.v.*] of Bharatpūr [*q.v.*], with whom the Sayyids made a separate treaty; the *nawwābs* of Awadh [*q.v.*], while nominally acknowledging Mu<u>gh</u>al authority, became virtually independent from the time of Sa^cādat <u>Kh</u>ān, better known by his later title of Burhān al-Mulk [*q.v.*], in 1134/1722; the *māhīmarātib* which had been conferred on him became the badge of the *nawwābs* of Awadh. His successor Mīrzā Muḳīm Abu ʾl-Manṣūr <u>Kh</u>ān, entitled Ṣafdar <u>Dj</u>ang [*q.v.*], wielded the real political power in the Mu<u>gh</u>al empire. A former imperial officer ^cAlī Muḥammad <u>Kh</u>ān was practically independent in Kaṭahr [*q.v.*], by now more commonly called Rohilkhand [*q.v.*], where his followers were increased by numbers of Af<u>gh</u>āns taking refuge from the depredations of Nādir <u>Sh</u>āh [*q.v.*] of Persia, the Mu<u>gh</u>als losing Kābul and the trans-Indus territories to him in 1130/1738. Nādir <u>Sh</u>āh continued his journey of plunder as far as Dihlī, which was sacked in 1131/1739 amid a general massacre of its citizens; he then restored Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh to his almost meaningless throne, and returned to Persia loaded down with treasure, including the Peacock Throne of the Mu<u>gh</u>als [see TA<u>KH</u>T-I ṬĀWŪS]. Nādir <u>Sh</u>āh was murdered in 1160/1747, but an opportunist commander Aḥmad <u>Kh</u>ān took over the royal possessions as Aḥmad <u>Sh</u>āh Durrānī [*q.v.*], and behaved in much the same way: three invasions had by 1165/1751 brought the Durrānī armies Lāhawr, the Pan<u>dj</u>āb, and Multān; Dihlī was again ransacked in 1170/1757. In 1174/1761 the Durrānīs, joined by Mu<u>gh</u>al, Awadh and Rohilla troops, broke the Marāṭhā power in the north at the third battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*]. The *ṣūba* of Bengal, however, was less disturbed than the centre under succession of strong governors; see MUR<u>SH</u>ID ḲULĪ <u>KH</u>ĀN, <u>SH</u>U<u>DJ</u>Ā^c AL-DAWLA, ^cALĪ WIRDĪ <u>KH</u>ĀN, SIRĀ<u>DJ</u> AL-DAWLA; MUR<u>SH</u>IDĀBĀD. The political strife, however, was at least not reflected in the sphere of religion, thanks largely to <u>Sh</u>āh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1115-76/1703-62 [*q.v.*]).

Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh had died in 1161/1748 and had been succeeded by his son Aḥmad <u>Sh</u>āh Bahādur, who was declared incapable, deposed, imprisoned and blinded in 1167/1754; he was succeeded by ^cĀlamgīr II, assassinated in 1173/1759, <u>Sh</u>āh<u>dj</u>ahān III, deposed the following year, and <u>Sh</u>āh ^cĀlam II, 1173-1221/1759-1806 [*q.v.*], none of them with any authority or power; a local ditty ran *az Dihlī tā Pālam bād<u>sh</u>āhī <u>Sh</u>āh ^cĀlam*—Palam being a small village outside Dihlī where Delhi airport now stands. The real power belonged to Awadh, the Rohillas and the <u>Dj</u>āṭs. The Marāṭhās were now again rising to power under Sindhia [*q.v.*], and <u>Sh</u>āh ^cĀlam came under British protection between 1765 and 1771. In 1788 a Rohilla, <u>Gh</u>ulām <u>Kh</u>ān, had attacked Dihlī and blinded the emperor; he came again under British protection in 1803 when the Marāṭhā army was soundly beaten by the British general Lord Lake, interestingly commemorated in the Mu<u>gh</u>al coinage (see 11. Numismatics, below). But he, Akbar II (1221-53/1806-37) and Bahādur <u>Sh</u>āh II [*q.v.*], deposed in 1857 after the Mutiny, were no more than titular figures, for the Mu<u>gh</u>al empire had long ceased to exist and the last emperor's authority did not extend beyond the Red Fort in Dihlī. The 19th century saw the rise of Urdū poetry, the emperor Bahādur <u>Sh</u>āh himself writing verse under the *ta<u>kh</u>alluṣ* of Ẓafar; see also DARD, <u>DH</u>AWḲ, <u>GH</u>ĀLIB, MUʾMIN, and URDŪ. For Bahādur <u>Sh</u>āh's buildings, of some merit, see 7. Architecture, below.

Bibliography: The bibliographies to the articles referred to above should be consulted.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

2. External Relations. Introductory. The Mu<u>gh</u>al Empire, the Ṣafawid monarchy and the long-established Ottoman Empire were the three leading Muslim powers of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. The Uzbeks of Central Asia were another power competing with the Ṣafawids for the control of <u>Kh</u>urāsān and Bal<u>kh</u>; they sought support on occasions for this purpose from the Ottoman Turks, and at times from the Mu<u>gh</u>als as well. But when it suited them, they would threaten the marches of the Mu<u>gh</u>al province of Kābul and would go to the extent of playing the Ṣafawid game to the detriment of Mu<u>gh</u>al interests. The Mu<u>gh</u>al empire and Ṣafawid Persia had enough in common regarding faith, culture and territorial interests to encourage long periods of peace, although the main territorial issue between them was the control of Ḳandahār (see below). During the 10th/17th century, the Deccan kingdoms, with their political and <u>Sh</u>ī^cī sectarian religious alignment with Persia, also caused tension in Mu<u>gh</u>al-Ṣafawid relations [see ^cĀDIL-<u>SH</u>ĀHS and ḲUṬB-<u>SH</u>ĀHS]. In situations of conflict, each of these various empires and kingdoms would seek allies among the other Muslim states according to its current territorial interests. Moreover, the Tīmūrid nostalgia for ancestral homelands in Central Asia was also a psychological factor of considerable pull which the freshly-uprooted Bābur, as well as the ambitious <u>Sh</u>āh <u>Dj</u>ahān, found difficult to resist, and this involved them in much fruitless hostilities in Central Asia.

Bābur and Humāyūn. Even though Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur [*q.v.*] had been in active contact with <u>Sh</u>āh Ismā^cīl Ṣafawī since after the historic battle of Marw (Ramaḍān 916/December 1510), his relations with Persia, as the sovereign of the Mu<u>gh</u>al empire, began only after his assumption of that status at Dihlī in <u>Dj</u>umādā II-Ra<u>dj</u>ab 932/April 1526. Two embassies arrived from <u>Sh</u>āh Ṭahmāsp I after that date, the second to report on his great victory over the Uzbeks in the battle of <u>Dj</u>ām (935/1528); and one was sent by Bābur to report on his success against the Rā<u>dj</u>pūts at the battle of Kānwa (933/1527). Apparently these were only minor missions. As Bābur's territorial interests had been more exposed to the menace of the Uzbeks, Ṣafawid victories over them must have been welcome to him, and the mission sent to Ḳazwīn must have dwelt on that subject.

The next Mu<u>gh</u>al ruler, Humāyūn [*q.v.*], was so deeply engrossed in winning territories and in losing them that he found little time to nourish the seeds of Indo-Persian intercourse left by Bābur. In fact, he

sent his first mission to Persia when he was in flight from India after his two successive defeats (946/1539, 947/1540) at the hands of the Sūrī Afghān Shīr Shāh (regn. 947-52/1540-5). When, during the flight, he was in immediate danger of falling into the hands of his hostile brother Kāmrān Mīrzā [*q.v.*], virtual ruler of Kābul, the unfortunate Pādshāh, on the advice of his faithful adviser and friend Bayram Khān [*q.v.*] sought and found refuge in Persia. The story of Humāyūn's one-year stay there (practically the whole of 951/1544 including some three months' stay with the Shāh), and the accounts of the receptions, festivities and banquets held in Humāyūn's honour, make interesting reading, but the details need not detain us here. Two things, however, stand out: that it was with the unexpectedly extensive military help of Taḥmāsp that it was possible for Humāyūn to recover Ḳandahār, which in turn became the stepping stone for the recovery of Kābul and later of Dihlī, and two, Humāyūn's fine sensibility in the matter of art and calligraphy (see Riazul Islam, *Calendar of documents of Indo-Persian relations*, Calendar no. Tx. 326) could not fail to impress the Persians; and several outstanding Persian artists, including Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī and Khʷādja ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, joined Humāyūn's service and eventually became instrumental in founding the Mughal school of painting at Dihlī (Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian relations*, 166; P. Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Oxford 1924, 53-4).

After the seizure of Ḳandahār from Kāmrān's forces, Humāyūn handed over the fort to a Persian commander in accordance with his promise to Shāh Ṭahmāsp. But as he and his men were now without any shelter whatsoever, he reoccupied the fort and sent an explanation to the Shāh, who acccepted the *fait accompli* with a good grace. In the remaining chequered decade of his life—right up to his restoration at Dihlī and eventual death—Humāyūn was able to maintain good relations and exchange friendly embassies with Ṭahmāsp.

Akbar. During his long reign, the Emperor Akbar had dealings with four Ṣafawid monarchs, including the famous Shāhs Ṭahmāsp I and ʿAbbās I. Within a couple of years of Humāyūn's demise, Ṭahmāsp sent a force to occupy Ḳandahār (965/1558). Akbar was then in no position to do anything to save the fort, but its loss rankled in his heart. An embassy sent by the Shāh, evidently to mollify the young Mughal ruler, failed in its purpose. No return embassy was sent.

Ascending the throne a dozen years after the demise of his grandfather Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Shāh ʿAbbās I was in a desperately difficult position, with pressure from the Ottoman Turks in the West and with the Uzbeks in occupation of Khurāsān. He sent a full-scale embassy to Akbar (999/1591), principally for the purpose of seeking Mughal support against the Uzbeks. ʿAbd Allāh Khān Uzbek's occupation of Khurāsān and Uzbek marauding activity in the Mughal frontier region, were no less worrying for Akbar, who stayed for about fourteen years in the Pandjāb to keep a watch on the frontier. Placed thus, Akbar had to conduct his foreign relations cautiously. Hence for a good while he discouraged ʿAbd Allāh Khān Uzbek's proposal for a joint Mughal-Uzbek invasion of Persia (985/1577), and when, later, he signified agreement (994/1586), he did so to keep the Khān humoured, fully knowing that the contingency of such a Mughal-Uzbek invasion was hardly ever likely to occur. Akbar's real interest was in the recovery of Ḳandahār, for which he awaited a suitable opportunity. Finding that they could not save it from the burgeoning Uzbek power and losing hope of support from the Shāh in distant Ḳazwīn, the Persian governors of the fort gladly handed it over to Akbar's men and accepted high *manṣab*s for themselves in the Mughal Empire. The sudden collapse of Uzbek power, with the death of ʿAbd Allāh Khān Uzbek and his domineering son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin Khān in the same year (1007/1598-9), resolved the crisis for Shāh ʿAbbās I and also marked the end of a fourteen years' vigil on the part of Akbar.

It was only when Akbar felt certain of having Ḳandahār within his grasp that he decided to send his first embassy to Persia. "This was the first full-fledged embassy from the Mughal Emperor for more than four decades and Shah ʿAbbās I naturally made much of it" (*Indo-Persian relations*, 62). At this stage, the Shāh did not particularly mind Mughal occupation of Ḳandahār, for this boded far less ill for his power than an Uzbek occupation would. The Uzbeks were still strong in Khurāsān, and the Shāh needed as good relations with Akbar as possible. The embassy which he sent to the Mughal court in 1006/1598 was aimed at seeking the Emperor's blessings for his projected campaign for the recovery of Khurāsān. The demise of the two Uzbek Khāns now paved the way for its recovery. With this accomplished, the Shāh's position greatly improved at home and abroad. Thus when the next embassy from Akbar led by the distinguished littérateur Mīr Maʿṣūm [*q.v.*] arrived, Shāh ʿAbbās I made it wait for a long time before granting it the first audience and, when dismissing the envoy, sent no return embassy. Undoubtedly, this was intended to express his dissatisfaction over continued Mughal occupation of Ḳandahār.

Djahāngīr. The reign of Djahāngīr opened with a carefully-planned Persian attack on Ḳandahār under the leadership of the governor of Harāt (1014/1606). The attack, which was launched in the hope of taking advantage of the situation arising from a change on the throne, was disowned by Shāh ʿAbbās I when it failed. The Shāh now changed his strategy. He professed brotherly love for Djahāngīr (with whom he had been in correspondence even before the latter's accession). In 1018/1609-10 the Shāh sent a major embassy to the Mughal court. This was the first of the many missions that he sent to the Emperor during the next dozen years—some full-scale embassies, some *čāpār* ones (small, fast-travelling missions), and some comprising simply a noted merchant on a normal trading trip to whom a royal missive was given for delivery to the Emperor. The purpose of these numerous missions was to allay all apprehensions on the score of Persian interest in Ḳandahār and to build up a relation of confidence and trust with Djahāngīr. The Shāh played the long diplomatic game with great finesse, achieving in the end complete success. Djahāngīr's pride in his brotherly relationship with the Shāh was considerable, and he sent him the most magnificent of all embassies ever sent by the Mughals. It was accompanied by more than a thousand servants and was led by a distinguished noble, Khān ʿĀlam by title, whom Djahāngīr used to address as brother. Iskandar Beg Munshī records that no embassy like it had ever come to the Ṣafawid court. It received a magnificent reception, and the Shāh treated the ambassador on terms of personal friendship. The upshot of the whole diplomatic exercise was that Djahāngīr came to place so much trust in the Shāh's personal friendship that when the latter led an expedition to Ḳandahār, there were only 300 troops in this strategically vital fortress. Djahāngīr's attempt to form a Sunnī alliance with the Uzbeks and his plans

to send an expedition under Prince Shāh Djahān for the recovery of the fort, all came to nothing.

Shāh Djahān. Combining ability, ambition and vigour, Shāh Djahān was well-equipped to follow an active and assertive foreign policy. His accession to the Mughal throne was followed within one year by the death of the great Shāh ʿAbbās I, whom Shāh Djahān as prince used to address as uncle. Shāh Djahān had "three main objectives in foreign policy each of which was related to Persia directly or indirectly. He wanted to recover Qandahār, to re-establish the power of his house in his ancestral lands in Tūrān, and to assert his suzerainty over the Deccan kingdoms and destroy their alliance with Persia. It was naturally his aim to preserve friendship with Tūrān when striking at Qandahār and to keep Persia neutral when invading Tūrān." (*Indo-Persian relations*, 99.) So he proceeded energetically to establish relations with both sides. A major embassy was sent to the Ṣafawid court, now presided over by the inept Shāh Ṣafī I, ʿAbbās I's grandson, who had been brought up in the *andarūn*. A return embassy also arrived from Persia. But Shāh Djahān also started secret negotiations with the Persian commander of Ḳandahār, ʿAlī Mardān Khān. This distinguished Persian noble was in mortal danger, for Shāh Ṣafī had summoned him to the court, and he had interpreted this as a threat to his life. This enabled Shāh Djahān to send his commanders to take over Ḳandahār. (ʿAlī Mardān was given a very high position in Mughal service.) The Emperor now sent several missions to the Ṣafawid court in order to mollify Shāh Ṣafī and, later, his son and minor successor Shāh ʿAbbās II, with the purpose of winning Persian neutrality, if not friendship, in his next ambitious venture, sc. the conquest of Tūrān; but the Persians remained sullen and cold towards these approaches.

Meanwhile, Shāh Djahān had launched his over-ambitious plan of the conquest of Tūrān. The motives for this were sentimental rather than realistic. Though successful at the outset, the plan inevitably failed, and the Mughals had to beat a costly retreat after only fifteen months' occupation of Balkh. The Mughal retreat from Balkh paved the way for a Persian advance on Ḳandahār.

Shāh ʿAbbās II sent Shāh Djahān a politely worded request for the restoration of Ḳandahār. But he issued the letter from Khurāsān when he was already on his way to invest the fort. The energetic young Shāh, ignoring the rigours of winter, captured the fort after a short siege before the slow-moving Mughal contingents could reach there (1059/1649). Three Mughal expeditions sent one after the other for the recovery of the fort failed in their purpose. The point worth noting is that seizure of Ḳandahār by one party at an opportune moment, and acquiescence in the accomplished fact by the other, had been the norm of Mughal-Ṣafawid relations till the time that Shāh Djahān introduced the element of war into them.

Awrangzīb. Awrangzīb, who ascended the throne with the title of ʿĀlamgīr in 1069/1658-9, had been involved in two of the three Ḳandahār expeditions during the previous reign. None knew better than he the futility of pursuing a policy of recovering the fort. Opting for a realistic policy, he gave no further thought to its conquest, but at the same time he followed a very firm policy in respect of the frontier posts, as can be seen in his *aḥkām* sent to the Mughal governor of Kābul (*Calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations*, nos. Ab 254-5). In the opening years of his reign, Awrangzīb was naturally anxious to receive a congratulatory embassy from Persia—signifying recognition of his régime—especially as he had come to the throne after a prolonged and contested war of succession. He was therefore particularly delighted when news arrived of the advent of a full-scale embassy from Shāh ʿAbbās II. The embassy was received with much display of warmth and hospitality, and the envoy Budāg Beg was honoured in various ways. The Shāh particularly enjoyed the gift of *pān* (betel-leaf) sent by the Emperor, who now ordered arrangements for its regular supply to the capital Iṣfahān. The ambassador was dismissed with many presents.

A return embassy sent by the Emperor was well-received at Iṣfahān at the outset, but later faced much rebuff an insult at the hands of the Shāh. The ambassador, Tarbiyat Khān, was curtly dismissed and handed an insulting letter addressed to Awrangzīb. The Shāh even threatened to invade India and indeed marched out of the capital, but died in Khurāsān. The change in the Shāh's attitude is not easy to explain. It could be attributed to a *faux pas* on the part of Tarbiyat Khān, or to a sudden change in the mood of the strong-tempered Shāh, who was given to much drinking, or to a relapse into sectarian fanaticism on his part. In any case it was a most unfortunate occurrence from the point of view of Mughal-Ṣafawid relations, for these were not resumed for the rest of Awrangzīb's long reign.

The post-Awrangzīb period. Mughal-Ṣafawid relations in the post-Awrangzīb period were "spasmodic and inconsequential". It is interesting to note that, once again, it was the question of Ḳandahār which brought some animation into these relations which had been dormant since 1077/1666. In 1121/1709 Mīr Ways, the Ghilzay Afghān chief of Ḳandahār, threw off the Ṣafawid yoke, declared for India and sought support from the Mughal Emperor Bahādur Shāh [*q.v.*]. The latter appointed him Mughal governor of Ḳandahār and gave him the prestigious title of ʿAlī Mardān Khān, but at the same time, realising that the situation of Ḳandahār could spell danger for both Iṣfahān and Dihlī, he sent a secret advice to the Ṣafawid Sulṭān Ḥusayn to that effect. In order to forestall a Mughal-Afghān link-up, Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn sent a major Persian embassy to Dihlī, followed by a minor one. But little came out of the despatch of these two missions. Both empires were in a state of dissolution, and were in no position to assist each other. The Ghilzay success at Ḳandahār emboldened the Afghāns to invade Persia, an event that had far-reaching consequences.

Ḳandahār. A word should be said about Ḳandahār, which has figured so prominently in this article. It was the main bone of contention between Ṣafawid Persia and the Mughal Empire. The question is, why did the two powers attach so much importance to it in their relations? Standing athwart the route between the two kingdoms, it controlled the flow of a great deal of their overland trade. But Ḳandahār as a provincial unit itself produced scant revenues. It was, rather, a revenue-consuming area and was by no means a financial asset. Significantly enough, Ḳandahār has been disparagingly called in Mughal-Ṣafawid correspondence and in the chronicles variously "a mass of rock", "a mound of dust" and "the wasteland of Ḳandahār" (*kharāba-yi Ḳandahār*) (see *Indo-Persian relations*, 300, n. 3). All the figures are not available, yet it is a safe bet that Shāh Dhahān spent much more on his three fruitless Ḳandahār expeditions than whatever he received by way of revenue or customs duty from Ḳandahār during the eleven years of its occupation. The main motives

behind the Mughal and the Ṣafawid passion for the fortress seem to have been prestige and strategy; the party which controlled Ḳandahār could deal more effectively with the Uzbeks.

Mughal-Ottoman relations. The reigns of Sultans Selim I (918-26/1512-20) and Süleymān the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66) witnessed the extension of Ottoman interest and influence in the Indian Ocean. This, however, was rapidly cut short with the appearance of the Portuguese naval power in the same region. Towards the end of this phase, the Turkish Admiral, Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs, was detailed by the Sultan to help the Muslim kingdom of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] against the Portuguese. Suffering defeat at the hands of the latter, he decided to find his way back home by the land route and thus reached Dihlī, where he was accorded a grand reception by the Emperor Humāyūn. The Emperor's accidental death occurred during the Admiral's stay in Dihlī. The royal letter which he carried on his way back was, in our view, prepared when Humāyūn was alive (as evidenced by the reference to "re-establishment on the throne"), but was issued in Akbar's name. This letter, addressed to Sultan Süleymān, does not appear to have evoked any response. Akbar's long reign remained barren in regard to relations with the Ottomans, who are indeed reported to have been suspicious of the great Mughal's role in matters affecting Ottoman regional interests in the East.

Djahāngīr was so taken up with his friendship with Shāh ʿAbbās I that he gave no thought to cultivating contacts with the Ottomans. He paid little attention to an Ottoman embassy that arrived at his court in the early years of his reign on account of its uncertain status. Shāh Djahān, who pursued a vigorous foreign policy, was the first Mughal Emperor to send a fully-fledged embassy to the Ottoman court. He was motivated by a desire to build up a Sunnī front against a hostile Ṣafawid Persia, but his letter was couched in a mood of self-exaltation. A *nāma-yi humāyūn* (royal letter) brought by the Ottoman envoy, Arslān Agha, caused much annoyance to the Emperor because of its lack of a proper address. Subsequent correspondence failed to mitigate the damage done to state relations. The Ottoman Sultan Murād IV's letter (*Calendar of documents*, no. Ott. 394) to Shāh Djahān about the Uzbek Khāns, also evoked a curt reply (no. Ott. 395). Another Ottoman embassy arrived, but, unluckily, its visit coincided with the period of the War of Succession and it proved in effect futile. The Emperor Awrangzīb also evinced little interest in friendly relations with the Ottomans. With the Turkish government in a troubled state after the Ottoman defeat before Vienna in 1094/1683, Sultan Süleymān III (1099-1102/1687-91) sent an embassy to Awrangzīb in 1100/1688-9. The embassy was poorly received, and Awrangzīb disdained to send a return embassy. Then, after a lapse of well over half-a-century, in the wake of Nādir Shāh's invasion and spoliation of Dihlī, Muḥammad Shāh (1131-61/1719-48 [*q.v.*]) opened diplomatic negotiations with Sultan Maḥmūd I (1143-68/1730-54) during the years 1157-60/1744-7, and several embassies were exchanged; but these proved of little consequence.

In general, Mughal-Ottoman relations were marked by long gaps and were not productive of any worthwhile results or developments. Apart from other impediments, distance and the length of time taken in the exchange of embassies robbed these relations of any substance. Proposals made from time to time of an alliance against Persia were merely chimerical.

The great Mughal Emperors kept a vigilant eye on all areas which were of interest to the empire. Thus Akbar kept in touch with Kāshghar and was eager to learn about the political situation in China and also about that in Europe. He further maintained regular diplomatic contacts with the Sharīfs of Mecca (*Calendar of documents*, no. Ott. 381.1). The same could be said, with varying emphasis, of other Emperors down to Awrangzīb. The Mughal Emperors also maintained contact with men of learning in Persia. Thus Akbar received regular reports about them from highly-placed agents assigned for this purpose (*Calendar of documents*, nos. A.21, A.24, A.32, A.33).

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N.B. (i) For a detailed bibl. of primary (mss. and published) and secondary sources on the subject, see Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian relations*, Tehran 1970, 238-69.

(ii) For Mughal-Ottoman relations, see Sulaymān b. Khalīl ᶜIzzī, *Tārīkh-i ᶜIzzī*, Istanbul 1784; Joseph de Hammer, *Memoir on the diplomatic relations between the courts of Delhi and Constantinople in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, in *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ii (London 1830); Hikmet Bayur, *Hindistan tarihi*, Ankara 1947-50 (also his articles on Mughal-Ottoman relations, referred to in *Calendar of documents on the Indo-Persian relations*); Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964; articles of Lewis and Kahle cited in the Bibl. above; and Riazul Islam, *Calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations*, ii, Calendar nos. 379-425.

(iii) For an inconsequential attempt on the part of Shīr Shāh Sūrī to open up diplomatic relations with Persia and Turkey, see *Indo-Persian relations*, Appendix F, which is based on S.A. Rashid and R.P. Tripathi, *Tawārīkh-e-dawlat-e-Shēr Shāhī, by Ḥasan ᶜAlī Khān*, in *Medieval India Quarterly* (Aligarh, July 1950). (Riazul Islam)

3. Administrative and social organisation. Its centralised administration, organised on systematic lines, was a notable feature of the Mughal Empire. Very largely it was a creation of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605). At the centre, the Emperor appointed ministers such as the *wakīl*, whose office after Bayram Khān (d. 967/1560) became largely titular and was often unoccupied. The *dīwān-i aᶜlā* or head of the revenue and finance department came to be the most important minister. He controlled revenues realised in the Emperor's personal domain (*khāliṣa*), determined the assessment figures (*djamāᶜ*) on whose basis *djāgīrs* [*q.v.*] were assigned, and was in charge of payment of all expenditure, including cash salaries. He issued instructions to his subordinates, called *dīwāns* in the provinces (*ṣūbas*).

The *mīr bakhshī* was in charge of grants of *manṣabs* [*q.v.*] (salary-determining ranks), upkeep of the army and the intelligence service. He had his own subordinates (*bakhshīs*) in the *ṣūbas*. The *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* was in charge of appointments of judicial officers and charity grants, again with subordinates called *ṣadrs* posted in each *ṣūba*.

Akbar divided the Empire into *ṣūbas*, each having a governor (*sipahsālār*, *ṣāḥib-i ṣūba*, *nāẓim*) appointed by the Emperor. The governor's powers were greatly restricted by other officers, the *dīwān*, the *bakhshī* and the *ṣadr*, who were directly subordinate only to the respective ministers at the centre. Each *ṣūba* was divided into *sarkārs*, maintained largely for territorial identification. *Fawdjdārs* maintained law and order over areas which did not necessarily coincide with *sarkārs*. Each *sarkār* was divided among *parganas*, each having a Muslim judge (*ḳāḍī*) and two semi-hereditary officials called *ḳānūngo* and *čhaudharī*, who were concerned with tax-collection.

None of the higher offices ever became hereditary before the 12th/18th century and had, in actual practice, only short incumbencies. These were filled by persons who were awarded *manṣabs* or numerical ranks. Each *manṣab* was marked by dual numbers. e.g. 5,000 *dhāt*, 3,000 *suwār* (now conventionally represented as 5,000/3,000) [see manṣab and manṣabdār].

The holders of *manṣabs* or *manṣabdārs* of the Mughal Empire received their pay either in cash (*naḳd*) or in the form of assignments or areas of lands from which they were entitled to collect the land revenue and all other taxes imposed or sanctioned by the Emperor. These assignments were known as *djāgīrs*, though sometimes the term *iḳṭāᶜ*, used by the Dihlī Sultans, was also employed. Land which was reserved for the income of the crown was called *khāliṣa*, and such areas which were due to be assigned, but were for the time being managed by imperial officers, were known as *pāybāḳī*. Territories assigned in lieu of the salary due to a *manṣabdār* were termed *djāgīrs*, or more precisely *tankhʷāh djāgīrs*.

Since a *djāgīr* was given in lieu of cash salary, it was essential that it should yield as much as the salary to which the holder was entitled. *Djamāᶜ* was the name given to figures officially determined as representing the net revenue expected from each unit of territory (village, *pargana*, etc.). The *djāgīrs* were by their very nature transferable. That no person should have the same *djāgīr* for a long period was an established principle of the Mughal Empire. Abu 'l-Faḍl ᶜAllāmī compared it with the way a gardener transplants plants. In practice, the transfers were continuously made because a *manṣabdār*, when sent to serve in a province, had to be assigned a *djāgīr* there; and similarly, those recalled from there would require *djāgīr* elsewhere. But each such transfer, owing to adjustments with *djamāᶜ*, necessitated other transfers. The system of *djāgīr* transfers was necessary for the unity and cohesion of the Empire. Only by these transfers could the nobles or military commanders be prevented from growing into local potentates. Under this system, they could never call any part of the country their own and remained entirely dependent on the will of the Emperor.

Waṭan-djāgīrs formed the only exception to the general system of *djāgīr* transfers. These *djāgīrs* originated from the admission of *zamīndārs* or territorial chiefs into the Mughal service. The chiefs obtained *manṣabs* or ranks, the pay for which was equal to the *djamāᶜ* of their hereditary dominions, but since their dominions had been autonomous, this calculation was arbitrary. Theoretically, the ruler was entitled to determine the succession to a *waṭan-djāgīr*,

but, as a rule, the Emperor normally nominated a scion of the ruling house. Nobles who were not *zamīndārs* did not normally hold any place as *waṭan*. As a concession to these *manṣabdārs*, Djahāngīr instituted *altūn-tamgha-djāgīrs* to be held permanently. But these *djāgīrs* were confined to small localities and could not compare with the great *waṭans* or ancestral dominions of the Rādjput chiefs.

Regarding fiscal rights of the *djāgīrdārs*, the assignment orders described in practically set terms the rights which the Emperor granted to *djāgīrdārs*. The *djāgīrdārs* were entitled to collect authorised revenue (*māl-i wādjibī*) and all claims of the state (*ḥuḳūḳ-i dīwānī*). No other right except that of collecting the land revenue and authorised taxes was delegated to the *djāgīrdār* as *djāgīrdār*, and he was expected to exercise this right, too, in conformity with imperial regulations. Simple statements requiring the *djāgīrdārs* to take not more than half of the produce occur in the revenue records and other literature of Awrangzīb's reign.

The *djāgīrdār* had to employ his own agents to collect the revenue and taxes within his *djāgīrs*. His chief agent (*gumāshta*) was the *ʿāmil*, also known as *shiḳdār*; he would be assisted by an *amīn* (revenue assessor), a *fūṭadār* (treasurer), and a *kārkun* (accountant). Sometimes, under smaller *djāgīrdārs*, the duties of the *amīn* and of the treasurer were also entrusted to the *ʿāmil*. Often these persons had to deposit securities (*ḳabḍ*) with the *djāgīrdār*, while they drew their remuneration from the revenues they collected. A practice which appealed especially to the smaller *djāgīrdārs* was that of *idjāra* or revenue farming. It became very common during the reign of Shāh Djahān and was held to be one of the causes for the ruin of the peasantry.

The French traveller Bernier has presented us with a closely-argued analysis of the causes of the failure of the Mughal Empire. Bernier argued that the system of the transfer of *djāgīrs* led inevitably to oppression and devastation of the country. Bernier is supported by Bhim Sen, who wrote in or about 1700. A *djāgīrdār* who had no permanent interest in his *djāgīr* had, as an individual, a great temptation to exploit his temporary assignment to an excessive degree. The pertinent question which arises is whether the *djāgīrdārs* were able to put their wishes into effect without any check from the Emperor and administration. The *djāgīrdār* did not possess within his *djāgīr* an absolute power over its inhabitants. On the contrary, his authority was checked by an almost parallel system of administration under the direct control of the ruler and his ministers. In the field of revenue collection, the ruler's interests were represented in every *pargana* by two officials known as *ḳānūngo* and *čhaudharī* (*deshmukh* in the Deccan). These offices were hereditary. The *fawdjdārs* [*q.v.*] or military commandants appointed by the Emperor had the task of maintaining law and order. In discharging this duty they could also operate within *djāgīrs*. The *djāgīrdār* had no judicial powers, and the *ḳāḍī* appointed under an imperial *farmān* heard and settled criminal cases. Finally, there were the news reporters who sent their reports on the conduct of *djāgīrdārs* and their agents.

The *djāgīr* system in its standard form worked with tolerable efficiency down to the middle of Awrangzīb's reign (1069-1118/1659-1707). But towards the close of that reign, owing to the increasing strain of the Deccan wars on the financial resources of the Empire and the dislocation of the administration owing to the Emperor's absence fromn Northern India, the complicated machinery under which *djāgīrs* were assigned began to weaken. The crisis which shook the *djāgīr* system appeared in the garb of what a contemporary writer called *bī-djāgīrī* (absence of *djāgīrs*. More commanders and officers had to be accommodated on the imperial payrolls than could be found *djāgīrs*. Inevitably, influence and money began to count more and more in all *djāgīr* assignments.

A struggle for *djāgīrs* thus developed among the *manṣabdārs*. It had not become an armed struggle during the reign of Awrangzīb, when it was fought out in the form of factional rivalries. Ānand Rām Mukhliṣ suggests that during the reign of Farrukh-Siyar (1124-30/1713-19 [*q.v.*]) *djāgīr* assignment by the court became a matter of mere paper orders, so that a large number of persons who were granted *manṣabs* never got *djāgīrs*. Once this happened, all was over not only with the *djāgīr* system but with the Mughal Empire as a whole.

The Mughal nobility was theoretically the creation of the Emperor. It was he alone who could confer, increase, diminish or resume the *manṣab* of any of his subjects. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that the Mughal nobility was open to all who could fulfill certain criteria of merit and competence to the satisfaction of the Emperor. The *manṣabdārs* were not only public servants but also the richest class in the Empire and a closed aristocracy; entrance into this class was not easily available to ordinary subjects, whatever their merits. The most important factor which was taken into account when nobles were appointed was heredity. The *khānazāds*, or sons and descendants of *manṣabdārs*, had the best claim of all. But sons did not normally succeed to the full *manṣabs* of their fathers. As a result, a large portion of recruits always consisted of persons who did not belong to families of those already holding *manṣabs*. Such persons came from a variety of classes. A number of them were *zamīndārs* or chiefs within the Empire. The inclusion of *zamīndārs* among the officers of the state was no innovation of the Mughals, but it is true that Akbar gave it very great importance by granting *manṣabs* to a large number of *zamīndārs*, pre-eminently the Rādjput chiefs. Their ancestral domains were left to them, being treated as their *waṭan-djāgīrs*, but as government officers, ordinary *djāgīrs* were assigned to them in all parts of the Empire.

There were nobles and high officers of other states who were given a place in the Mughal nobility on account of their experience, status and influence or of the contingents which they commanded and the territories which they controlled. For the Persian and Uzbek nobility, India had traditionally been an El Dorado where fortunes could be rapidly made. In the Deccan, military necessity required that the large number of nobles and officers of the independent states, both in times of peace and war, be won over to the Mughal side. They had to be granted *manṣabs* high enough to induce them to betray their own states. Almost all the Deccani *manṣabdārs*, e.g. Bīdjapurīs, Ḥaydarābādīs or Marāṭhās, belonged to this category. A small portion of the Mughal nobility was recruited from those who had no claims to high birth but were pure administrators or accountants. Such were the members of the castes of Khatrīs, Kāyasths, Nāgar Brahmans, etc. Finally, *manṣabs* were also awarded to scholars, religious divines, men of letters, etc. Abu 'l-Faḍl in the time of Akbar and Saʿd Allāh Khān and Dānishmand Khān during the reign of Shāh Djahān owed their high ranks to their talents as men of letters. A few theologians and religious scholars were also awarded *manṣabs*.

These various elements were incorporated into the Mughal service largely as a result of historical cir-

cumstances, but partly also as a result of planned imperial policy. Akbar's policy seems to have been to integrate all these elements into a single imperial service. He often assigned officers belonging to various groups to serve under one superior officer. At the same time, the distinct or separate character of each group was respected. Akbar's policy of *ṣulḥ-i kull*, universal peace, was at least partly motivated by a desire to employ elements of diverse religious beliefs—Sunnīs, Shīʿīs and Hindus—and to prevent sectarian differences among them from interfering with their loyalty to the throne.

From a close scrutiny of the sources, it is clear that a marked expansion of the nobility did not take place till Awrangzīb embarked on the policy of annexing the entire Deccan. As a result of fresh recruitment made during this period, the internal composition of the nobility changed in some material respects. Abu 'l-Faḍl Maʾmūrī summed up the changes by saying that the *khānazāds*, i.e. nobles belonging to families previously connected with imperial service, were the chief losers. There may be some element of exaggeration in his statement, but our evidence largely bears him out. Recruitment from aristocratic families of central Asia and Persia still continued, but on a much smaller scale. There was very little opportunity of entry left for the non-aristocratic educated classes. There may have been a few promotions of scholars like Bakhtāwar Khān and ʿInāyat Allāh Khān, but their number was limited. There was, however, room for adventurers, who first organised their troops and established themselves as chiefs or rulers in areas outside the control of the Empire and then sought to enter imperial service. Many Marāṭhā chiefs offer an excellent illustration of this curious procedure.

Mughal India had a currency system based on the silver rupee (178 grains); but the system was formally trimetallic, with gold and copper coins circulating at rates based on their metal values. The Mughals succeeded in issuing a coinage of great purity and uniformity from numerous mints throughout their empire. See further on Mughal coinage, 9. below, Numismatics.

Beneath the imperial structure existed a more stable class, that of *zamīndārs*. Mukhliṣ (*ca.* 1750) defined a *zamīndār* as "literally meaning master of the land (*ṣāḥib-i zamīn*) but now (actually) the *mālik* (proprietor) of the land of a village or township, who also carried on cultivation". With such superior "land-owners" at one extreme, the *zamīndār* also comprised the various tributary chiefs and autonomous Rādjas, who were also called *zamīndārs* by the Mughal chancery.

It is a remarkable fact that general revenue regulations issued in the period from Akbar and Awrangzīb exclude the *zamīndārs* from the framework of the standard revenue machinery. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence that the *zamīndārs* paid the revenue on behalf of whole villages. A possible explanation seems to be that every locality had some land under *zamīndārs*, who from the point of view of the revenue authorities were often simple revenue-payers or *āsāmī*.

Summary assessment of land revenue and collection through *zamīndārs* must in general have considerably simplified the task of the *djāgīrdārs* and their agents. Yet it was also from the *zamīndārs* that they met with the greatest opposition. A heavy assessment would deprive the *zamīndārs* of their income and, in that case, they might use their armed retainers, backed in some cases by the peasants, to defy the *djāgīrdārs*. For such defiance, a *zamīndār* might forfeit his *zamīndārī* rights. But a *zamīndār* could not be dispossessed or appointed by any one except by the Emperor.

The reign of Awrangzīb saw a great increase in the pressure of the administration of the *djāgīrdārs* upon the *zamīndārs* as a class. Manucci declared that "usually the viceroys and governors [of the Mughal Empire] are in a constant state of quarrel with the Hindu princes and *zamīndārs*—with some because they wish to seize their lands; with others to force them to pay more revenue than is customary." There was usually "some rebellion of the Rādjas and *zamīndārs* going on in the Mogul Kingdom".

The peasants were largely comprehended by the names *raʿāyā, raʿiyyat* (hence the Anglo-Indian "ryot"). That the peasants were a greatly differentiated class is suggested by the distinction made between *muḳaddams* (headmen), *kalantran* (higher-level men), etc., on the one hand, and the *rezariʿāyā* (small peasants), on the other. A *farmān* of Awrangzīb makes a separate category for peasants who were so indigent as to depend wholly on credit for their seed, cattle and subsistence. Whether the peasants had ownership rights on the land may be doubted; but since land was not scarce, the authorities were more interested in keeping the peasants tied to the land which they had been cultivating rather than in stressing their claim to evict them. There was, in fact, a considerable migratory population among the peasants, often called *pāykasht*, peasants tilling land away from their home villages.

The village was the unit around which peasant society revolved. It was also the real unit of assessment of the state's revenue demand, which was then distributed among villagers by the headmen and the village accountant (*patwarī*). It had thus a financial pool, from which apart from taxpayments, minor common expenses (*kharādj-i dih*) were also met. This seems to have formed the basic factor behind the formation of the celebrated, but often elusive, Indian village community. The village had its own servants, whose status and functions have been studied by Fukazawa in an important paper based on documents from 18th century Maharashtra.

Commerce seems to have greatly penetrated the village economy, since the peasant needed to sell his crop in order to pay his tax. He had little left, however, with which to buy urban products. Even so, commerce must have intensified the differentiation which uneven possession of agricultural and pastoral goods (seed, plough, cattle) must already have created. There was, however, a simultaneous tendency towards peasant pauperisation generated by the regressive land tax. The peasants were divided among castes. Even the administration recognised caste hierarchy by varying the revenue rates according to peasant castes, as the documents from Rajasthan especially show. The menial and "untouchable" castes were generally excluded from the land and formed the bulk of agricultural labourers.

By and large, the artisans were in the same position as the peasants: they were technically "free", but hemmed around by many constraints. Though some of them were bound to render customary services as village servants, most of the artisans could sell their wares in the market. Need for advances, however, often forced them to deal only with merchants, brokers or other middlemen. A very small number worked in the workshops (*kārkhānas*) of nobles and merchants.

Merchants formed a numerous and fairly well-protected class in the Mughal Empire. It was also

quite divergent. There were, on the one hand, the large bands of *band̲j̲arās*, or transporters of goods of bulk, moving with load-carrying bullocks over enormous distances; on the other, there were specialised bankers (*ṣarrāfs*), brokers (*dallāls*) and insurers. Some of them, at the ports, also owned and operated ships.

The theory has been put forward (e.g. by van Leur, Steensgaard) that the merchants in Asian and Indian commerce (sea-borne as well as inland) were essentially "pedlars", so that the intrusion of the Dutch and English East India Companies introduced radically superior commercial techniques for controlled response to price-variations in different markets. There is, however, little justification for this thesis. There were small men in Indian commerce undoubtedly, men like the small jewel merchant Banarsidas, who has left his memoirs. But then there were also large merchants (*sahs*) who had numerous agents (*baparis*, *band̲j̲aras*) at different places. One of such large merchants, Virji Vora of Surat, often financed the English East India Company. He had agents not only in all important towns in India but also in several ports abroad. A fairly efficient system of bills (*hundis*) and insurance (*bima*) were great aids to the smooth functioning of commerce.

An interesting debate has been going on for quite some time as to whether the Mug̲h̲al Empire had a middle class and so contained potentialities to develop into a capitalist economy. Reisner, W.C. Smith and Iqtidar Alam Khan have argued that this was so. Karen Leonard has recently tried to apply the "Great Firm" theory to explain the decline of the Mug̲h̲al Empire. Essentially, proponents of the theory point to the development of commerce, banking and large professional classes. Opponents of the thesis include Irfan Habib, who has argued that the Mug̲h̲al urban economy and commerce rested heavily on the system of land-tax extraction and was incapable of independent development into capitalism. The debate continues.

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4. Economy and internal commerce.

Population. Estimates of the population of India (pre-1947 frontiers) around 1600, when the larger part of it had come to be included within the Mug̲h̲al Empire, range from 125 millions (W.H. Moreland, corrected by K. Davis) to 145 millions (S. Moosvi). Even at the higher figure, it had a population of less than a seventh of what the region today contains, and an average rate of population growth of just 0,2% per annum. Of this, again, as much as 85% lived in the villages, the towns containing an estimated 15% of the total.

(a) *Rural Production*

Forests and pastures. These covered a very large part of the land surface of the Mug̲h̲al Empire, the forests yielding economically important products, from elephants to gumlac. Teak, one of the best timbers for shipping, grew abundantly on the west coast and lower Godavari valley. The larger share of pastoral production was reflected in the relatively low value of *g̲h̲ī*, or clarified butter, relative to foodgrains and possibly in the larger availability of cattle per capita.

Agriculture. Statistics in Abu 'l-Faḍl's *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* suggest that sown area in *ca.* 1595 was about 50% of what it was *ca.* 1910 in Uttar Pradesh, 58% in Gud̲j̲arāt and 40% in the Pand̲j̲āb. This was cultivated largely by reliance on rainfall, supplemented by irrigation from tanks and wells, and, especially in the Indus basin, by canals. S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān built two notable canals, the West D̲j̲amunā Canal (*Nahr-i Fayḍ*) and the Ravi canal, designed to provide irrigation as well as bring water to the cities of Dihlī and Lahore. The implements of agriculture, including means of waterlift, were about the same in 1600 as 1900, the change being seen mostly in the substitution of the metallic "Persian wheel" for the wood-and-clay-pot geared waterwheel, and the metallic cane crushers for the mortar-and-pestle and wooden-rollers mills.

As in other sub-tropical lands, a very large number of crops could be raised here. The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* lists 19 crops assessed for revenue in the spring harvest and as many as 25 in the autumn in the province of Āgrā. Among the new crops that were introduced in India under the Mug̲h̲als were tobacco and maize. Chilli

followed a little later. Sericulture had been practised in Bengal earlier, but now it underwent considerable expansion as Bengal silk appeared on the world market. Indigo had a similarly prosperous phase, though owing to competition from chemical substitutes, the plant is no longer grown commercially.

Horticulture was widely pursued, new grafting techniques leading to improved varieties of oranges and mangoes. Pineapples were introduced by the Portuguese.

The village community. Agriculture was largely a peasant enterprise, certain castes being exclusively peasant ones. But artisans and rural labourers also undertook petty cultivation as supplementary occupations. The caste system, by excluding the "untouchables" from the ranks of land-holders proper, provided a large reserve of labour for agricultural operations in return for artificially-depressed wages. The dominant peasants, appearing in the shape of headmen or "councillors" (*panč*), often disposed of the waste lands, collected taxes on behalf of the state and operated a village fund. Some of the headmen could become rich enough to move into the class of *zamīndārs*.

(b) *Industry*

Minerals. Mug͟hal India produced considerable quantities of good iron, though copper production in Rād͟jasthān seems to have been on the decline. As for precious stones, the South Indian diamond mines (in Golkondā and Bīd͟jāpūr) were celebrated throughout the world. Salt was mined in the Salt Range of Western Pand͟jāb. Gold, silver and tin mines were no longer worked, and these metals had to be imported.

Crafts. Textile production was perhaps the largest sector, in terms of employment, after agriculture. A large variety of cotton cloth, muslin, calico, long cloth, chintz, etc., was produced and found markets the world over. Gud͟jarāt specialised in the interweaving of cotton, silk, and silver and gold wire, and was the home of the ingenious patola device (warp and weft pre-dyed). India also produced good steel, leather, and lacquerware. With the introduction of artillery, guns and muskets began to be made [see BĀRŪD. vi. India], but the lack of ability to cast iron hampered manufacture of iron goods.

Production organisation. The rural artisan was often tied to his village by the hereditary allotment of land for subsistence in lieu of which and of some petty shares in the villagers' crop, he had to render certain customary services to the villagers. Thus villages had their own hereditary carpenters and blacksmiths, barbers, leather workers, etc. But there were a large number of independent artisans who worked on orders of individuals or put their products directly on the market. Once they came into contact with merchants, they began to receive from them advances to cover costs of raw materials in return for their pledging to meet their orders on time and at predetermined prices. This led to a kind of putting-out system where the material for work being expensive, the merchant provided it himself (e.g. silk). Finally, the artisan became a wage-worker in the workshops (*kārk͟hānas*) of merchants and nobles, where he worked for wages, provided by the master with the material to be worked on (gold, jewellery, silk, etc.). The typical Indian artisan, however, seems to have worked at home, often heavily burdened with advances from the merchant-usurer.

(c) *The fiscal system*

The taxation system was a very important component of the economy, since it was the large land-tax, generating "induced trade" in the countryside, and the expenditure of the tax-money, from the establishments of the Emperor and the nobility, which maintained directly or indirectly a very large part of the urban population. Though the rate of the land-tax, as portion of actual produce, varied according to crop, kind of land, category of revenue-payer and locality, the tax nevertheless comprised such a large part of the surplus that it could be legitimately confused with rent. This was not only what François Bernier thought, holding the King to be the proprietor of the soil, but the Indian jurist Ḳāḍī Muḥammad Aʿlā' also held this too, deeming the land-tax to be *ud͟jra* (rent) and not *k͟harād͟j*. In the 11th/16th century documents, half the produce is held to be a fair amount of tax [see further, ḌARĪBA. 6 (b) and (c); K͟HARĀD͟J. IV].

The state also levied taxes on crafts, goods in transit, exports and imports, all grouped under the term *sā'ir*. It is difficult to estimate the full magnitude of such taxes, the burden of which, of course, fell on the consumer. These do not seem, however, to have been excessively heavy. The custom duties, for example, did not exceed 5% *ad valorem*.

A feature of the Mug͟hal system was the combination of tax-collection with salary payment; taxation rights in particular areas (*d͟jāgīrs*) were assigned to nobles (*d͟jāgīrdārs*) who could collect the amounts due to them by this means, it being so arranged that the *d͟jamʿ* (or estimated net revenue) of the area placed in their *d͟jāgīr* was equal to their pay-claim (*ṭalab*). This necessitated constant transfer of these assignments, as the nobles were posted to other places, or an increase or decrease in their pay required alteration in the size of their *d͟jāgīrs* [see further, D͟JĀGĪR and section 3 above].

The pattern of expenditure of the tax-resources contributed much to the shaping of the urban economy. A very large part of the tax-income passed into the hands of the high nobility: the top 25 princes and nobles in 1595 obtained over 30% of the estimated tax-income. They maintained an exceptionally large "service" sector (harem, attendants, musicians, dancers, etc.), and spent heavily on luxuries (jewellery, fine clothes, gold and silver articles, animals, etc.), thus creating on the one hand, a mass of unproductive servant population and, on the other giving employment to craftsmen and professionals, concerned with luxury articles and court culture only. A very large part of the tax-income, about half, went into maintaining the army, which meant an enormous expenditure on horses (largely imported) and their maintenance; here again the mode of life of a cavalry trooper supported a large service sector.

Towns grew to provide subsistence goods as well as craft-goods to this tax-generated market. Since productivity was so low, I. Habib has argued that a very large urban population became necessary to provide for the needs of the population directly maintained by tax-expenditure. Foreign travellers of the period certainly found many Indian towns to be very large, Āgra [*q.v.*] in the 11th/17th century well exceeding half-a-million in population.

Only a small part of the tax collected in the villages seems to have been spent in the countryside. This was almost certainly the case with what the *zamīndārs* collected. These hereditary rural right-holders obtained a part of the revenue collected (10% in most parts of Northern India) for their assistance in collecting revenue, and also had rights to levy their own imposts, which brought them an income, officially computed as equal to 10% of the land tax in Northern

India and 25% in Gudjarāt. They also had further fiscal claims of a lesser magnitude as local hereditary officials (*čhawdhurīs*, *desāīs*, *deshmukhs*, etc.). The *zamīndārs* thus provided a semi-aristocratic rural market for certain crafts; but how far they depended on towns is not entirely clear.

(d) *Internal commerce*

Monetary system. Taking over from Shēr Shāh Lōdī (947-52/1540-45), the Mughals maintained a trimetallic system of great uniformity and purity. The silver rupee gradually replaced the copper *tanka* as the major money unit for larger transactions, and in the 11th/17th century, there was a great contraction in Mughal copper coinage. The gold mohur [*q.v.*] remained in use mainly for hoarding purposes. The influx of silver into India in the 10th/16th century did not cause a large rise in prices owing to the absorption of silver-money as substitute for copper; but in the next century a moderate inflation seems to have taken place [see further, below, section 11].

Credit. The use of bills (*hundīs*) in the Mughal Empire was so extensive that bill-money must be deemed to have substantially supplemented coined money in the major markets. The *hundīs* could also be insured. The *ṣarrāfs* or bankers, who specialised in discounting bills, also accepted deposits, so that a rudimentary system of deposit-banking existed, with even credit-money being created by allowing payments through bankers on bankers' books. The interest rates were higher in India than in Western Europe, and lower in Gudjarāt and Northern India than in Bengal and the Deccan. But they distinctly fell about the middle of the 11th/17th century, varying in commercial transactions in Gudjarāt between 0.5 and 0.75% a month. Annual interest rates were not quoted.

Commercial organisation. It has become common to assume, after van Leur and Steensgaard, that the basic unit of Indian and Asian commerce was "the pedlar", or the merchant with small capital, who made the volume of trade large in the aggregate only because his class was so numerous. There have been doubts raised on this (T. Raychaudhuri, I. Habib), since merchants (*sahūs*) of large capital, with numerous factors (*byupārīs*, *gumāshtas*) are so frequently encountered. "Avog", a kind of bottomry or respondentia arrangement, also enabled the use of large capital resources by shipowners and other merchants.

Brokers were a universal element in Indian commercial organisation (South India being an exception); they provided supplies as well as credit, in which case they sometimes acted as bankers. All merchants normally dealt through brokers, for convenience and possibly as a kind of protection against fraud. Insurance (*bīma*) itself was fairly well developed. Bills could be insured against non-payment, and merchandise against loss. The *adaviyas* even insured merchandise against transit taxes, for payment of which they made themselves responsible. "Avog" arrangements appear to have led to a species of marine insurance, which even the English East India Company [see below, section 5] freely made use of.

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(Shireen Moosvi)

5. Commerce and European trade connections with Mughal India.

In the regions of the Mughal empire which were at peace, commerce was active, and, for the period, highly organised. Funds were ordinarily transmitted by bills of exchange, which could be negotiated in all the principal towns, and in some centres outside the empire. Merchants were, however, disinclined to carry large stocks of commodities, and preferred to utilise their funds in money-lending; the rate of interest in commercial transactions was commonly about 10 or 12 per cent, but the charge was much higher when the element of risk was great.

External land-trade was almost limited to the two caravan routes westward by way of Kābul and Ḳandahār, though there was some small traffic with Tibet. By sea, Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] had old-established connections with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, with East Africa, and with Sumatra, Malacca and further East; on a much smaller scale, Sind had relations with Persia; while Bengal dealt chiefly with the south of India and with Burma and Siam.

During the 16th century, all the sea routes connecting India with the rest of the world were dominated by the Portuguese, who had in 1510 conquered Goa from the ʿĀdilshāhīs [*q.v.*], and subsequently took over Diu [*q.v.*] and Damão in the Kathiawar peninsula in 1535 and 1558 respectively [see HIND. iv. History, at III, 422a], and for the remainder of the century it was the Portuguese who controlled European commerce with the Mughal lands. They were concerned rather to exploit than develop; the chief extension of trade due to their efforts was the supply of cloth to Brazil and West Africa, but most of this was drawn from the Coromandel coast, which was outside the Mughal empire until almost the end of the 17th century.

But the Portuguese monopoly was challenged when the English East India Company, following on the success of the English Levant Company's trade with the Eastern Mediterranean lands of Islam, was incor-

porated by royal charter in 1600. A "factory" or trading agency was established in Sūrat [*q.v.*] against strenuous Portuguese opposition, and its position secured by a grant from the Emperor Djahāngīr in 1618. Sūrat was replaced by Bombay [*q.v.*] as the Company's principal settlement on the west coast of India, being acquired from the Portuguese in 1661 as part of the dowry brought by Charles II's wife Catherine of Braganza; the fortunes of the Company were to be exactly coeval with the Mughal dynasty, for in 1858, after the Indian Mutiny, the Company lost its charter and was legally dissolved.

Various separate Dutch companies began trading with India and the Far East, but a merger in 1602 led to the formation of the powerful United East India Company, the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Campagnie (VOC), which also had a factory at Sūrat from 1617. In the course of the first two-thirds of the 17th century the Dutch dealt severe blows at the Portuguese Estado da India, blockading Goa by sea and capturing Colombo in Ceylon and Cochin in mainland India in 1656 and 1663 respectively. During the 18th century, however, the Dutch were gradually excluded from India by the British and concentrated their efforts on the East Indies and the Far East; the VOC itself was dissolved in 1800 and its functions transferred to the Dutch state, the Batavian Republic as it then was.

A French East India Company, the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, was first founded by Colbert in 1664 and the factory at Pondicherry opened in 1674, but its operations were on a smaller scale than those of the British and Dutch until it was re-organised in 1721 and 1725, and henceforth it was well-capitalised and strongly supported by the state. Until the Treaty of Paris of 1763 confined French trade to the five ports in southern and eastern India, the two Companies and the state apparatuses behind them were to be rivals for political control, and the involvement of the two powers in local dynastic conflicts was to be a factor in the loosening of Mughal control over the provinces and the final enfeeblement of the Empire during the 18th century. Smaller trading companies were also founded by e.g. Denmark and Sweden and from Ostend, with a Danish factory at Tranquebar on the south-east coast since 1620.

The acquisition of trading rights by the English and Dutch in western India in the early 17th century owed much to the Mughal authorities' strained relations with the Portuguese at this time. Frome Sūrat the two companies speedily expanded their trade inland to the commercial centres of textile weaving, not only at places near the coast like Broach [see BHAROČ] and Aḥmadābād [*q.v.*] in Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] but also to more distant places like the great emporia and imperial capitals of Burhānpur, Āgrā and Dihlī [*q.vv.*], and thence eastwards to Bihār, Orissa and Bengal. Factories were established by the English, Dutch and then French on the Hūglī (Hooghly) river in Bengal from the 1630s onwards, lured by the agricultural richness of eastern India, its textiles, indigo, etc., and likewise on the south-eastern Coromandel coast, including at Madras [*q.v.*], by the English, Dutch, French and Danish. Trade developed in silk, saltpetre, fine calico and muslin. Towards the close of the century a change of fashions in Europe produced a great demand for muslin and prints, which was met partly by Bengal, and partly by Madras, by this time technically within the limits of the empire.

The outstanding feature of all trade with India was the need for importing gold and silver. India bought little beyond the industrial metals and luxury goods, but was eager to sell produce for cash; and, since Western Europe could not supply what was most in demand, the operations of the trading Companies were necessarily so organised as to direct streams of gold and silver to India from those countries which would part with them, notably, at this period, gold from China, and silver, and later gold from Japan. The seaports serving the empire were thus brought into a complex but efficient organisation, which took whatever they had to sell, supplied whatever they wanted to buy, and, so far as was possible, satisfied the demand for gold and silver.

Inland transport was necessarily less efficient. The Indus, the Ganges, the Djumna, and the waterways of Bengal were largely used, but the bulk of the empire depended on what were then called roads, unmetalled tracks, sometimes defined by lines of trees, with halting-places which were generally walled or otherwise defended against robbers, and usually furnished with supplies. Transport was effected by carts and pack-animals, generally oxen but in some places camels. Passengers travelled on horseback, in palanquins, or in carts drawn by fast oxen. There were excellent arrangements for the rapid transit of letters, but these were for official use, and were not ordinarily available for private persons, who hired messengers when required, or in a few cases, clubbed together to send messengers periodically.

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(W.H. Moreland-[C.E. Bosworth])

6. Religious life.

When speaking of Mug͟hal religious life, most scholars, and general readers, will think almost exclusively of Akbar's *dīn-i ilāhī [q.v.]*, that syncretistic religious movement which has been considered by some to be heresy, if not plain apostasy from Islam, while others would rather classify it as a kind of mystical "secret society" comprising a very limited number of court-related élite. Akbar, the prototype of "mystical electicism", who liked to select the very best from all the religious traditions which he had encountered during his famous discussions in the *ʿibādat-k͟hāna* of Fatḥpūr Sikrī, has become, for many, the quintessential Grand Mug͟hal. However, his attempt at a reconciliation of the major trends inside his vast country was only one in the plethora of religious movements during Mug͟hal times.

When settling in the subcontinent, the Mug͟hals found a considerable Mahdawī influence [see mahdawīs]. The Mahdī of D̲j̲awnpūr had died in 911/1505, but his followers became once more powerful during the Sūrī interregnum, and apparently continued to live under the surface, influencing a number of mystically-minded people. On the other hand, Bābur himself brought with him, if not an affiliation with, at least a great respect for, the Naḳs̲h̲bandī order; he even translated ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār's *Risāla-yi Wālidiyya* [see aḥrār in Suppl.]. One century later, it was this very Naḳs̲h̲bandī order in India that tried to counteract Akbar's lenient religious policy and found its most remarkable representative in Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624 [*q.v.*]).

For Indian Islam has always displayed two faces which one might call, for want of a better term, the India-oriented mystical, inclusive one, and the Mecca-oriented prophetic, exclusive one. These two trends are visible from early times and became once more evident in the conflict of Akbar's ideals and those of the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya at the beginning of the 11th/17th century. They are fully developed in the conflict of his great-grandsons Dārā S̲h̲ikōh and Awrangzīb [*q.vv.*] in the second half of the same century.

Akbar, like his father and grandfather, had been a great believer in the Ṣūfīs, particularly the Čis̲h̲tī order [see čis̲h̲tiyya], but his assumption of the role of supreme arbiter in religious affairs, as promulgated in the *maḥḍar*, the so-called "infallibility decree", after his great vision in 988/1579, should perhaps be understood as being influenced by the approaching turn of the millennium: the year 1000 A.H. (corresponding to 1591-2) could be imagined as the beginning of a new, ideal phase in the history of Islamic peoples under a sacred king. But against such mystical claims stands the mission of the *mud̲j̲addid-i alf-i t̲h̲ānī*, The Renovator of the second millennium, Aḥmad Sirhindī, who regarded himself as the *ḳayyūm* upon whose being the world relies. The role assumed by Akbar, and to a lesser extent by his two successors D̲j̲ahāngīr and S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān, is that of the king as the carrier of the *farr-i humāyūn*, the ancient Iranian concept of the *k͟hwārena*, the wholesome luminous power: The ruler, as Akbar's admirers would claim, is the *insān-i kāmil* [see al-insān al-kāmil], the Perfect Man, of whom Ṣūfism had been dreaming for centuries. In the case of D̲j̲ahāngīr and S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān, the emphasis seems to shift slightly toward the king's role as the heir to Solomon, the Ḳurʾānic prophet-king who had power over men, *d̲j̲inns*, and animals (Ebba Koch, in her *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, Vienna 1988, has rediscovered the Solomonic imagery in Mug͟hal palaces). But while the royal mystique was fitted into a more orthodox framework under Akbar's two successors, S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān's heir-apparent Dārā S̲h̲ikōh once more tried to follow his ancestor's attempt to unite the two main religions of India in order to reach the *mad̲j̲maʿ al-baḥrayn* (sūra XVIII, 60), the confluence of the two oceans. That is the title of his book in which he emphasised the essential unity of the great religious traditions by leaning heavily on the concept of *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* as it had become the hallmark of the followers of Ibn ʿArabī (active in India since the late 8th/14th century) which seemed to be the Islamic equivalent of the Vedantic concept of *advaita*, non-duality. The tensions between him and his younger brother Awrangzīb that led to his own execution brought about a rule of the Mecca-oriented type of Indian Islam for nearly half a century, much to the chagrin of many Ṣūfīs, S̲h̲īʿīs and Hindus.

This highlights the fact that another tension that marks the Mug͟hal period is that between Sunnī and S̲h̲īʿī groups, which became increasingly problematic owing to the constant influx of Persian nobles who took office in the army or at court, particularly after D̲j̲ahāngīr's marriage with the Persian lady Nūr-d̲j̲ahān. The struggle against the S̲h̲īʿa was carried out largely by scholars close to the Naḳs̲h̲bandī order. That is true also for the 12th/18th century, when the Naḳs̲h̲bandī-S̲h̲īʿī conflict found a tragic expression in the case of the staunch Naḳs̲h̲bandī leader and poet Maẓhar D̲j̲ānd̲j̲ānān, who lost his life when ridiculing a Muḥarram procession. The fact that the Deccan kingdoms were predominantly ruled by S̲h̲īʿī princes gave the orthodox defender of Mug͟hal Sunnī supremacy in the 11th/17th century an additional reason for caution, if not aversion.

But it was not only the movements on the higher levels of society such as the imperial experiments, or the ardent letters of Aḥmad Sirhindī, who urged the nobles to return to a sober Islam, that mark the religious situation in Mug͟hal India. One may even say that, in the long run, another trend was more important than these theological issues, and that is the development of religious literature in the vernaculars. During early Mug͟hal days, Ḳāḍī Ḳādan, a Mahdawī mystic from Sind (d. 959/1551), wrote what seems to be the first mystical verse in Sindhi, using the indigenous form of the *dōhā* and the imagery of the countryside, thus laying the foundations for a great poetical tradition. (It may be mentioned at random that Ḳāḍī Ḳādan's grandson Miyān Mīr was Dārā S̲h̲ikōh's source of inspiration.) Shortly after Ḳāḍī Ḳādan's death, mystical literature appears in the Northwestern Frontier region, where Bāyazīd Anṣārī, the *pīr-i raws̲h̲an* "luminous Pīr", composed religious instruction in his native Pas̲h̲to [see raws̲h̲aniyya]. And while Akbar was residing in Lahore, he may have heard of the mystical bard Mādhō Lāl Ḥusayn, who—again for the first time—used his Pand̲j̲ābī

mother tongue to sing of the intoxicating power of love. It is quite possible that Akbar's generalissimo Khān Khānān ʿAbd al-Raḥīm [see KHĀN KHĀNĀN] was acquainted with him; he too joined those who wrote mystical verse in the vernacular, in his case, in Hindī.

After Awrangzīb's death in 1118/1707, India, and especially Dihlī, was reduced to a most deplorable state; and yet the 12th/18th century was a time of amazing religious and literary activities. One has only to think of those Ṣūfīs who wrote in the regional languages; the names of Bullhē Shāh and, somewhat earlier, Sulṭān Bāhū for Pandjābī, of Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Bhitāʾī for Sindhī, and of Raḥmān Bābā for Pashto, are proudly mentioned in the countryside, and their works have given people in the rural areas a treasure of wisdom and mystical imagery which has permeated their lives and has inspired the literature in those languages to our day. In the Deccan, Dakhnī Urdu had flourished for a long time, and was then transported to the north where Urdu developed into a rich literature after Awrangzīb's death. Great mystical writers continued to live in Dihlī despite material disasters, and tried to offer the people some consolation with their writings and preaching.

Mīr Dard [*q.v.*] is famous for his tender mystical Urdu verse, but produced also numerous Persian works in which he propagated the *ṭarīḳa muḥammadiyya* which his father had founded, a mystical sub-order of the Naḳshbandiyya *mudjaddidiyya*; later, the *ṭarīḳa muḥammadiyya* was to turn into a belligerent movement against the Sikhs and the British. Maẓhar represented the stern Naḳshbandī line, while Shāh Walī Allāh [*q.v.*], initiated into various *ṭarīḳas*, including the Naḳshbandiyya, tried for the first time a more modern approach to the problems of his time by analysing the causes of the downfall of Muslim power. By translating the Ḳurʾān into Persian, he sought to help his compatriots to understand its simple meaning without relying on the fossilised commentaries and supercommentaries; and, as "vicegerent of the Prophet in blaming" he chastised the numerous un-Islamic customs, including pilgrimages to certain saints' tombs. All three of the Dihlī mystics expressed equal aversion to popular mysticism and the activities of the "miracle-mongers" who apparently swarmed around in the country.

The position of the Muslims was becoming increasingly difficult during the later Mughal days, partly owing to the divergent trends among themselves. But they had also to deal with the Sikh community, which had developed from a mystically-minded fraternity in the Pandjāb into a militant power, since Djahāngīr and later Awrangzīb very unwisely had given up Akbar's tolerant attitude towards them. Under political pressure, the Sikh power had grown to become a deadly enemy of the later Mughals; its soldiers wrested most of the Pandjāb from them. But perhaps the most tragic part of later Mughal times is that the worst pillages were inflicted upon the inhabitants of northwestern India, not by the Djāts, Sikhs, or even Mahrāttas, but by their Muslim coreligionists: first the Persians under Nādir Shāh, and then the Afghāns under Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī Abdālī, who had been invited by such religious leaders of Dihlī as Shāh Walī Allāh to rescue the Indian Muslims from their enemies. Another tragic aspect is the widening rift between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, especially after the foundation of the outspokenly Shīʿī province, later kingdom, of Awadh [*q.v.*]. The pocket of Sunnī Rohillas, who had been intensely involved in Dihlī politics, was crushed by the Shīʿī Nawwāb of Awadh, who played into the hands of the British. The increasing British influence on Indian life was to change the political and economical status of the Muslims for the worse by introducing legal and fiscal measures that led to the impoverishment of large groups of Muslims, as well as to a decrease in Muslim education. Lucknow continued to develop a Shīʿī subculture of its own, and it seems that the ideals of the Naḳshbandiyya and the *ṭarīḳa muḥammadiyya* survived in some of the leading figures in Dihlī during the last decades of Mughal rule.

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(ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL)

7. Architecture.

Various aspects of Mughal architecture have been treated under HIND. vii. Architecture. The Mughal schools; and DIHLĪ. For typologies of buildings see BURDJ. iii, 4; BŪSTĀN. ii; MAḤALL. vi; MAḲBARA. 5. India; MANĀRA, 2. India; MASDJID. H. The architecture of the mosque. II. In Muslim India. This section gives an overview of the stylistic development and of architectural types. Names and monuments between quotation marks are that of local usage not supported by historical evidence. The use of Persian terms follows the practice of the Mughal sources. Abbreviated references inserted in the text are quoted in full in the *Bibliography* at the end of the article.

Muslim architecture owes to the patronage of the Mughals one of its most creative and richest periods. As recent research has begun to show, no other period of Muslim architecture before the Mughals has left us such a wealth of secular and religious buildings. The Mughals were highly aware of the potential of architecture as a means of self-representation as well as an instrument of royalty (Ḳandahārī, 144 f., 147, Eng. tr. Brand and Lowry, 1985, 290-1, 294; Kanbō, iii, 1972, 18; Eng. tr. of the latter, Koch, 1982b, 259). Consequently, at least up to Awrangzīb's reign, the formative phases of Mughal architecture were determined not by individual architects but by the committed patronage and informed judgment of each emperor. Mughal architecture created a supremely confident style by synthesising the most heterogenous elements: Central Asian, Tīmūrid, Indian, Persian and European. The supra-regional character of

Mughal architecture sets it apart from the earlier Muslim architecture of India and gives it a universal appeal.

Since the Mughals were direct heirs to the Tīmūrids, the sustaining element of their architecture, especially in the initial phase, was Tīmūrid (in the older literature often taken to be "Persian"). A fact that is not generally recognised is that essential ideas of Tīmūrid architecture, such as symmetry of plans reflected in the elevations, as well as complex vaulting, came to fruition much more in Mughal architecture than in Ṣafawid Persia, which was also heir to the same tradition.

Bābur (932-7/1526-30).

The initial phase under Bābur is difficult to evaluate because of the discrepancy between his own writing about architecture, which sets high Tīmūrid standards (*Bābur-nāma*, Eng. tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1921), and the few buildings that have survived. Although he is celebrated as a founder of gardens, it is his mosques in Sambhal (933/1526), Ayodhya and Pānīpat (both 935/1528-9) that remain from his brief reign. Of Bābur's gardens in India, the rock cut Bāgh-i Nīlūfar at Dhōlpūr is preserved to some extent (933-5/1527-9). Only fragments remain of his famous Čahār Bāgh (Čār Bāgh) or Bāgh-i Hasht Bihisht at Āgra. According to an 18th-century plan of Āgra in the Djaypur Palace Museum, the garden was situated on the other side of the Yamunā or Jumna almost opposite to the later Tādj Maḥall. According to Zayn Khān (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Bāburī*, Eng. tr. S.H. Askari, Delhi 1982, 160 f.), Bābur's nobles followed his example by building gardens "on the models of Khurāsānī edifices". Other amenities of Central Asian life style, such as "four royal hot-baths", were constructed "in the cities of Hindūstān" to content the "Khurāsānīs and Samarḳandīs" who had come with Bābur to India (*ibid.*).

Humāyūn (937-50/1530-43, 962-3/1555-6).

A heterogenous picture of Mughal architecture prevails during the next period, that is, up to the middle of the 16th century, the two phases of Humāyūn's reign. The Tīmūrid strand is represented by almost pure imports such as the mosque at Kačpura, Āgra (937/1530-1), which shares its main features with the 16th-century Namāzgāh at Ḳarshī [*q.v.*] to the southwest of Samarḳand. Two anonymous tombs at Dihlī, the "Sabz Burdj" and the "Nīlā Gumbad", introduce on North Indian soil a late-Tīmūrid formula for octagonal tombs [see MUTHAMMAN]. The common features of the two buildings are their elegant proportions (more pronounced in the "Sabz Burdj", Pl. XXI, 1, which reflect late-Tīmūrid ideals with its elongated *pīshṭāḳs* (sc. portals in the form of a monumental arched niche in a rectangular frame), and a slightly bulbuous dome set on a high cylindrical drum housing an inner lower dome), their four-centred arches, their outer facing with tile work arranged in geometrical patterns and the painted plaster decoration and arch-netting of their vaults. The ground plan of this tomb type is in the form of an irregular octagon. The Tīmūrid element was soon to merge with local building traditions, in particular with regard to the facing of buildings and architectural decoration. The main source of inspiration was here the revival of the ornamental sandstone style of the early Dihlī sultanate. It had gone out of fashion during the 14th and 15th centuries in Dihlī, but continued uninterrupted in provincial centres (Bayāna, Kanawdj) leaving an architectural deposit from which early Mughal and Sūrī architectures could draw their inspiration (Koch, *Arch. forms*, 135 f.). Characteristic of this style is, *inter alia*, a highly ornate revetment of buildings with red or buff sandstone. Typical examples are the buildings of the Purānā Ḳilʿa at Dihlī (the palace citadel founded in 939/1533 as Dīn-panāh by Humāyūn and altered consequently by Shēr Shāh Sūrī and probably also by Akbar), particularly the mosque in it, which, on the basis of literary evidence, must be attributed to Shēr Shāh Sūrī (early 1540s). The only surviving palace building in the citadel, the two-storeyed octagonal "Shēr Manḍal", represents a Tīmūrid-Ṣafawid pavilion type with a painted cruciform interior and arch-netted vaults (for a plan, see Petruccioli, 1988, fig. 237). None of Humāyūn's own palace buildings described by Khʷāndamīr (cf. MAḤALL] seems to have survived. The first preserved Mughal residential building that can be dated is the recently-identified pavilion of Muḥammad, Humāyūn's *bakhshī* (Pl. XXIII). It was built in 940/1533-4 near the tomb of Shaykh Bahlūl in the fort of Vidjayamandirgaṛh, Bayāna (Djahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, ii, 63; cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, *New light on the history of two early Mughal monuments of Bayana*, in *Muqarnas*, vi). The small two-storeyed stepped pavilion of red sandstone is a key building of Mughal palace architecture because it contains *in nuce* two constituent elements: that of flat-roofed post and beam construction and, in its main floor, the configuration of a closed central block with an ambulatory verandah.

Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605).

General considerations. After these architectural preludes, Mughal architecture attains its distinctive character during the reign of Akbar, whose syncretistic genius had its impact not only on the political affairs of the Mughal empire but also on the development of the arts. Military conquests were reflected in architecture, a process helped by an influx of craftsmen from the new provinces to the Mughal court. Akbar's architectural activity surpassed even that of the Tughluḳs, who had already shown a mania for building. Akbarī architecture developed into a supra-regional dramatic synthesis characterised by a most sweeping extraction of features from earlier Indian, Central Asian, Tīmūrid and Persian styles. Stylistic clashes resulting from the amalgamation of such heterogenous elements were absorbed by the favourite building material, red sandstone, whose unifying hue carried an additional attraction in being the colour reserved for imperial tents.

In the uninhibited interaction of styles, however, a certain predilection prevails for particular types of buildings. The Tīmūrid influence makes itself most felt in vaulted masonry architecture employed for mausolea, individual palace buildings (pleasure kiosks), gate houses (serving often residential purposes), *ḥammāms*, *kārwānsarāʾīs* and smaller mosques. To this category belongs the first major building enterprise of Akbar's period, the tomb of his father Humāyūn, the first of the grand dynastic mausolea which were to become synonymous with Mughal architecture (Pl. XXII). Here Mughal architecture reaches for the first time the monumental scale which was to be characteristic of imperial projects. The tomb is situated in the centre of the first preserved Mughal garden of a four-fold *čār bāgh* pattern (for a sketch plan, see DIHLĪ, Fig. 6). The intricate ground plan of the main body of the mausoleum, which stands on a large podium housing some 124 vaulted chambers, elaborates on the nine-fold plan or *hasht bihisht*, derived from its late- (or post-) Tīmūrid versions. The complete nine-fold plan consists of a square or rectangle (sometimes with cor-

ners fortified by towers, but more often chamfered so as to form an irregular octagon—the Mug͟hal *mut͟hamman bag͟hdādī*) divided by four construction lines crossing each other into nine parts: a central domed chamber, rectangular open halls in the middle of the sides—either in the form of a *pīs͟htāḳ* or a flat-roofed verandah supported by pillars (the Mug͟hal "*īwān*")—and double-storeyed vaulted corner rooms (blocks) reflected on the façade by superimposed vaulted niches.

The plan of Humāyūn's tomb is composed of four such nine-fold units which in turn form the corner elements of the main nine-part figure, a designing process apparently inspired by Humāyūn's boat palace (K͟hʷāndamīr, 52 ff., tr. 37 ff.). In Akbar's period, the ninefold plan became the ground plan *par excellence*, used both in residential and funerary architecture. It was particularly popular for pleasure houses in the context of garden or water architecture ("Todar Mal's Bāradarī", Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, 1571-85; the water palace of S͟hāh Ḳulī K͟hān at Nārnawl, 999-1001/1590-3, for which see G. Yazdani, *Narnaul and its buildings*, in *JASB*, N.S., iii [1907], 641-3; illus. in Parihar, pl. 48).

The Central-Asian-Tīmūrid influence showed itself most extensively in those building types which were patronised also by the nobility and religious circles, i.e. garden houses and small palaces, secular and religious mausolea, *ḥammāms*, *kārwānsarāʾīs* and smaller mosques. The overall Akbarī synthesis took place in the great imperial projects, the fortress palaces and the large *d̲j̲āmiʿ* mosques.

Fortress-palaces. Almost coeval with the construction of Humāyūn's tomb was the rebuilding of the old mud brick fortress of the Lōdīs at Āgra [*q.v.*] by Ḳāsim K͟hān (972-980s/1564-1570s). The fortification follows apparently the irregular outline of its predecessor. The overall symmetrical planning of imperial residences became only binding in S͟hāh D̲j̲ahān's reign [see MAḤALL]. The gates and other fortificatory elements of earlier Indo-Muslim architecture [see BURD̲J̲. iii] were brought to an unsurpassed grand scale and aesthetic refinement, not least by the stunning red sandstone veneer (Pl. XXIV, 2). Only a few structures remain in the Āgra Fort of "the 500 buildings in the wonderful designs of Bengal and Gud̲j̲arāt" of which Abu 'l-Faḍl speaks (cf. Nūr Bak͟hs͟h, *The Agra Fort and its buildings*, in *ASI, AR* [1903-4]). They seem to have been arranged in a bandlike succession of courtyards along the river front, a scheme which was preserved in S͟hāh D̲j̲ahān's thorough reconstruction (pl. XXVIII, 1).

The rebuilding of the fort of Āgra was followed by the construction of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*] (*ca.* 1571-85; new plans in Petruccioli, 1988) [see also HIND and MAḤALL], Akbar's architectural response to the absorption of Gud̲j̲arāt into the Mug͟hal empire. The imperial complex is arranged in echelon formation on the east-west axis. Its irregular layout seems to reflect traditions of Rād̲j̲pūt residences. Along this axis, three main functional areas can be identified—the courtyard of public audiences, the semi-official area between the "Dīwān-i K͟hāṣṣ" and the "K͟hʷābgāh", and the *zanāna* with "D̲j̲odh Baʾī's palace" in its centre. The architectural synthesis draws here from its diverse sources (Gud̲j̲arāt and the greater Gud̲j̲arāt-Mālwā-Rād̲j̲asthān tradition, the ornamental style of the Dihlī sultanate, Central Asia) what was most suitable for a monumental building programme in sandstone whose affinity with wood favoured the integration of forms derived from timber architecture. Dominant is the influence of Gud̲j̲arātī sultanate architecture, which provided in itself a model for a successful synthesis of pre-Islamic Hindū and D̲j̲ayn building traditions (Koch, 1988a; eadem, *Arch. forms*).

The time of the construction of Āgra and Fatḥpūr Sīkrī coincides with the foundation of Akbar's fortress-palaces at D̲j̲awnpur (973/1566), Lāhawr, Ad̲j̲mēr, Allāhābād and Atak Banāras on the Indus [*q.vv.*] (989/1581). According to Ḳandahārī (42), the city (*s͟hahr*) of Lāhawr (which must have included the fort) was completed before 1580. The reconstruction of the Lāhawr Fort by D̲j̲ahāngīr and S͟hāh D̲j̲ahān left very little of Akbar's structures [see LĀHAWR]. The fortified quadrangle of Akbar's palace at Ad̲j̲mēr (978/1570) [see MAḤALL] stands out for the symmetry of its plan (O. Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser*, Berlin 1925, pl. 26); within Akbarī fortress-palaces it represents a reserve of *zanāna* courtyard buildings. Its wings made by rows of vaulted chambers enclose a pavilion on a rectangular nine-fold plan with pillared verandahs (Pl. XXIV, 1) anticipating the later Ṣafawid Has͟ht Bihis͟ht at Iṣfahān. The *zanāna* enclosure (now walled in by later military structures) in the fort of Allāhābād (991/1583) is modelled on the same pattern. Its central pavilion, the "Rānī kī Maḥall" (according to Abu 'l-Faḍl Akbar's *k͟hilwatgāh-i k͟hāṣṣ*, private retiring room), enriches the imperial pavilion type of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī by the superb pillaring of the surrounding verandah (Pl. XXV), and by the exchange of the inner rectangular hall for a block on nine-fold plan (Koch, *Architectural forms*).

Mosques. The mosques of Akbar's period show the same variety of styles [see also MASD̲J̲ID. H. II. B. The monuments. Mug͟hal empire]. The earliest phase continues local traditions while merging them with Tīmūrid ideas, such as the K͟hayr al-Manāzil at Dihlī [*q.v.*], one of the first mosques of the reign, built by Akbar's wet-nurse Māham Anga opposite the Purānā Ḳilʿa in 969/1561-2.

The one-aisled three-bayed mosque of the Dihlī Sultanate is adapted by the Mug͟hals and continues to be used as "quarter mosque" (mosque of S͟hayk͟h ʿAbd al-Nabī, 983/1575-6, combined with a courtyard, see *ASI*, Memoir ix [1921]) or as funerary mosque in tomb complexes ("Afsarwālā" Mosque, 1560-7, Pl. XXI, 2; Naqvi, 16; for examples at Lāhawr see Chaghatai, 1976). One of the first mosques commissioned by Akbar is entirely in the Tīmūrid idiom. It is in the *dargāh* of S͟hayk͟h Muʿīn al-Dīn Čis͟htī at Ad̲j̲mēr (*ca.* 1570; Pl. XX, 1; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, Eng. tr., ii, 511; see also Sarda, 87). It combines the prayer hall of the Humāyūni Kačpura Mosque (with a towering *pīs͟htāḳ* preceding a high, narrow, domed *miḥrāb* chamber) with a court formed by arcades of dome-covered bays corresponding in height and shape to the low aisles of the prayer hall. The original architectural decoration is obscured by a heavy layer of whitewash.

Akbar's D̲j̲āmiʿ Masd̲j̲id at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī (*ca.* 976-81/1568-74) is the first of the giant courtyard "mosques now typical of Mug͟hal cities" (Pl. XX, 2). Like the imperial residences, this imperial *d̲j̲āmiʿ* was the place for a great Akbarī synthesis. The scheme of a great courtyard mosque with pillared *īwān* and *riwāḳ* reflects in a general way the Arab archetype. Its immediate source is Indian Sultanate architecture (for plans, see Petruccioli, 1988, figs. 258 A, D, E).

Public and utilitarian buildings include *kārwānsarāʾīs*, wells, bridges, *ḥammāms*, bazaars and stables. A masterpiece of Mug͟hal engineering is Munʿim K͟hān's bridge at D̲j̲awnpur [*q.v.*] (976/1569). From the early 1570s particular emphasis

is given to public works along the highways, such as wells, reservoirs, and *kārwānsarā*ʾīs, a programme based on the "spade work" of Sher Shāh Sūrī. The imperial pilgrimage road from Āgra to Adjmēr is lined at regular intervals with stations for imperial use (W. Finch, in *Early travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. W. Foster, London 1921, 148 f.), wells and small *mīnār*s functioning not only as milestones but also as hunting memorials of the emperor since they are studded with horns of his game. They represent a smaller form of Akbarī hunting towers which were set up in imitation of Iranian models, i.e. the "Hiran Mīnār" at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, the "Čor Mīnār" at Dihlī or the Nīm Sarāʾī Mīnār, Bengal (see A. Rabbānī, *"Haran Munāra" at Sheikhūpura (Punjāb) and some problems connected with it*, in *Armughān-i ʿilmī: Prof. Md. Shafiʿ presentation volume*, ed. S.M. Abdullah, Lahore 1955, 181-99). The typical plan of the Mughal *kārwānsarāʾī* (usually termed *sarāʾī*) which emerges at this time (Sarāʾī Čhāttā, Sarāʾī Čhaparghat) has not varied much in later periods (pioneering study of I.A. Khan forthcoming in *Indian Historical Review*). The plan is uniform in principle. It consists of a square or rectangular compound made of wings of unconnected tiny closet-like rooms (*ḥudjra*) with a narrow porch (the Mughal "*īwān*"), a scheme which was also used in the *riwāḳ* of mosques functioning as *madrasa*s (Khayr al-Manāzil at Dihlī, Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī). In the centre of those wings which are not pierced by gates is a block of larger rooms for the use of higher-ranked persons. The corners are fortified with towers which may contain larger apartments, *ḥammām*s, or store houses.

The *ḥammām*s of the period are best represented by those of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī (see above); they constitute what is probably the largest surviving concentration of *ḥammām*s dating from a single period and in a single place in all of Islamic architecture (for plans, see Petruccioli, 1988, fig. 131).

The bazaars consist of open streets lined by wings made of the same elements as the *kārwānsarā*ʾīs, namely *ḥudjra*s and "*īwān*s"; their centre may be taken by a crossing with four gates called *čār sū* (Agra Fort, Fatḥpūr Sīkrī). Monserrate reports a bazaar in the citadel of Lāhawr with a high-pitched timber roof (*Mongolicae legationis commentarius*, in *ASB Memoirs*, iii/9 [1914], 622).

Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27).

General considerations. After the phase of architectural syncretism under Akbar, there follows with Djahāngīr's reign a period of transition and experimentation which has as yet not received due acknowledgement. Selected ideas of the previous periods were now partly developed into formal extravaganzas of no future, partly brought to very influential solutions. Typical of the period are highly decorated surfaces of buildings (exterior and interior); the walls are often deeply paneled by a framework of bands. Architectural decoration is characterised by a plethora of materials: the familiar sandstone carving (which attains a new refinement), white marble, stone intarsia, painted stucco and tile work. The favourite motif, regardless of the technique, is the *čīnī khāna* ("china room"). Figurative representations are also popular, in particular wall paintings "drawne from Europe prints (of which they make accompt heere)," (P. Mundy, *Travels*, ii, ed. R.C. Temple, London 1914, 215). Vaults show intricate stucco patterns.

Tombs. Several of these features appear already in the first building enterprise of Djahāngīr after his accession, the now traditional construction of his father's mausoleum in a classical *čār bāgh* at Sikandra near Āgra [*q.v.*; see also HIND. vii], (dated 1022/1613; Pl. XXVI, 1). The overall concept of the tomb is at the same time retrospective and unorthodox—a congenial response of sepulchral architecture to the great architectural synthesis of the mosque and palace projects of the deceased. The tomb combines the Tīmūrid-inspired vaulted masonry trend—represented by the podium (housing vaulted bays and a vestibule with painted plaster decoration) and its high *pīshṭāḳ*s (decorated with stone intarsia producing the effect of tile work)—with the trabeate indigenous sandstone mode represented by the receding storeys of pillared galleries.

The design of Akbar's mausoleum was without direct follower, though the contemporary tomb of Khusraw's mother Shāh Bēgam at Allāhābād (died in 1605; see Z.A. Desai, *Inscriptions from the Khusraw Bagh. Allahabad* in *Epigraphia Indica. Arabic and Persian Supplement* [1961], 64-8) bears a clear family relationship: its two solid receding storeys are crowned by an open pillared *čhatrī* (Pl. XXVI, 2). The principle of setting a group of individual super-structures on a massive podium remains a definite trend in Djahāngīrī sepulchral architecture, culminating in the tomb of Iʿtimād al-Dawla at Āgra [*q.v.*], 1036-7/1626-8.

Of the tomb types inherited from the previous period, the Gudjarāt-derived tomb type with a central block and a (lower) ambulatory verandah remains in fashion (tomb of Bahāʾ al-Dīn at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, 1019/1610-11; the tomb of Makhdūm Shāh Dawlat at Manēr, 1025/1616, see Kuraishi, 61-6; tomb of Iftikhar Khān at Čunār with massive, tunnel vaulted verandahs). The cube-shaped Dihlī type of tomb (which in Akbar's period was taken up for instance by the tomb of Atga Khān, 974/1566-7, at Nizamuddin, Dihlī, see Hasan, 31 f.) continues to be used. Important examples are the mausoleum of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān [*q.v.*] at Dihlī (d. 1036/1627) which incorporates a nine-fold plan, and those in the Khusraw Bāgh at Allāhābād: the tomb of Sulṭān Nithār Bēgam, sister of Khusraw (1034/1624-5) and that of Khusraw (d. 1031/1622; Pl. XXVI, 2) (see above). A new form is that of a flat-roofed arched hypostyle hall composed of domed bays demarcated by pillars (piers) arranged in a grid pattern (tomb of Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōka (d. 1033/1623-4 [*q.v.*]) at Nizamuddin, Dihlī (see Hasan, 34-5).

Mosques. Related tendencies appear also in the mosque architecture of the period. The "Patthar Masdjid" at Srīnagar (1620s), sponsored according to tradition by Nūr Djahān, has three aisles (parallel to the *ḳibla* wall), each one consisting of nine bays demarcated by cruciform piers and coved ceilings or patterned vaults (for a plan, see Soundara Rajan, 8). Such arched halls foreshadow a definite trend of the mosque and palace architecture of Shāh Djahān. The compact masonry mosque of the Dihlī tradition embellished with Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid components is best represented by another mosque of female patronage, that of Maryam al-Zamānī at Lāhawr (1020-3/1611-4) [*q.v.*]. The courtly mosque architecture of Djahāngīr's period bears thus the stamp of female patronage; the emperor himself did not sponsor any major mosque constructions.

Djahāngīr's own projects were in the domain of palace and garden architecture. Most of these were however either altered or altogether removed by his son and successor Shāh Djahān who considered them as "old fashioned and of bad design" (*kuhnagī wa...bad ṭarḥī*, see Lāhawrī, i/2, 5 f, *et passim*). To the latter belong Djahāngīr's additions to the palace of Āgra. The best picture of Djahāngīrī palace architec-

ture can be obtained in the fort of Lāhawr [*q.v.*, also for a plan] (Pl. XXVII, 2) which Djahāngīr began to reconstruct after his accession. The final touch was given to the buildings between 1617 and 1620 by Djahāngīr's architect ʿAbd al-Karīm Maʿmūr Khān. He had recommended himself for this task by his successful adaptation of the palaces of the Mālwā sultans at Māńdū [*q.v.*] for the stay of the court in 1617 (*Tūzuk*, i, 368, 375 f.).

Beside these additions to the palaces in the Mughal metropolises, Djahāngīr also constructed several country houses and hunting lodges. These include Shaykhūpūra near Lāhawr, a classical octagonal waterpavilion of the design of the "Shēr Mańdal" in a tank (1015-30/1607-20; Pl. XXVII, 1; see A.N. Khan, *The Hiran minar and baradari Shaikhupura: a hunting resort of the Mughal emperors*, Lahore 1980), as well as the Čashma-yi Nūr near Adjmēr, completed in 1024/1615 (Sarda, 104-7).

Gardens. The emperor's main interest was here directed to the development of Kashmīr as a summer residence of the court. One of his first projects after his accession was the foundation of a garden around the springing of the Bhat (Djehlam) at Vērnāg. His visit in 1620 brought about a whole wave of garden constructions, among them the Nūr Afzā in the Fort of Harī Parbat, Ačabal (altered by Djahānārā between 1634 and 1640) and the lower garden, the Faraḥ Bakhsh of the famous Shālimār. The construction of the latter was put in the hands of Prince Khurram, the later Shāh Djahān (*Tūzuk*, ii, 142, 150-1, 173-4). The central feature of the Mughal garden at Kashmīr is a spring collected in a canal which forms the main axis of the garden. The layout takes advantage of the sloping hillside site for terraces, ponds, branch canals, and pavilions, sited along the water way [see also BŪSTĀN. ii].

The development of Āgra as a city of river-side gardens seems to have been given special attention in this period. Of some 33 gardens which Pelsaert lists with their names in 1626 (*Jahangir's India*, tr. W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, 1925, repr. Delhi 1972, 2 ff.), about one-third was newly founded or rebuilt during Djahāngīr's time. This concerns particularly the river bank north of Iʿtimād al-Dawla's tomb, which includes the best preserved garden, not only of Āgra but of Djahāngīr's period altogether. It is the "Rām Bāgh", recently re-identified as Nūr Djahān's Bāgh-i Nūr Afshān, completed in 1621 (Pl. XXIX, 1; see Koch, 1986a).

The public works of Djahāngīr's period include the planting of trees along the highways from Āgra to Atak and from Āgra to Bengal, and the setting of *kōs* [see MISĀḤA. 2. India], *mīnārs* and wells along the road from Āgra to Lāhawr (*Tūzuk*, ii, 100). In 1620 Djahāngīr ordered the construction of small stations (*ladhīs*) along the route over the Pīr Pandjāl pass into Kashmīr (*Tūzuk*, ii, 178). A number of *kārwānsarāʾīs* were built during his reign. Nūr Djahān's *sarāʾī*, Nūr Maḥall in the Pandjāb (1620), has an entrance gate faced with sandstone, carved—true to the fashion of the period—with animal and human figures similar to those appearing in tile work on the outer wall of the Lāhawr Fort (Pl. XXVIII, 2). The architectural patronage of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān includes a still-existing *ḳanāt* [*q.v.*] system at Burhānpūr to bring water from the foothills of the Satpura Range to his now lost garden Laʿl Bāgh (Naik, 216-19).

Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-58).

General considerations. Under Shāh Djahān, Mughal architecture reaches a new aesthetic and its classical phase. The architectural ideals of the period were symmetry as well as uniformity of shapes governed by hierarchical accents. The symmetrical planning of individual buildings and architectural complexes became even more binding than in previous periods. Bilateral symmetry was now given preference over centralised schemes, and uniformity was achieved by the reduction of the architectural vocabulary to a few forms (Pl. XXIX, 2). White marble or *čuna* (fine, highly-polished stucco) now replaced red sandstone as the preferred facing for buildings.

The planning of architectural projects was done by the collective effort of a court bureau of architects who worked under close supervision of the emperor, who already as Prince Khurram had shown himself "excessively fond of founding buildings and laying out gardens" (Kanbō, i, 108).

Tombs. Following the usual custom, Shāh Djahān, after his accession, built the tomb of his father at Lāhawr [*q.v.*] in one of the gardens on the opposite side of the Rāwī (1628-38; Pl. XXX, 2). The classical *čār bāgh* layout was combined with a *čawk-i djilaw-khāna* (forecourt) containing also a mosque. The peculiar shape of the mausoleum was dictated by Djahāngīr's wish to be buried under the open sky like his ancestor Bābur; consequently, his tombstone (*marḳad*) was set on a platform (*čabūtra*) which in turn was placed on a monumental podium (*takhtgāh*) with corner minarets (Kanbō, i, 11-12). The sepulchral architecture of Shāh Djahān and, indeed, of the Mughals, culminates in the famous mausoleum of Shāh Djahān's favourite wife Ardjumand Bānū Bēgam at Āgra [*q.v.*] (1041-52/1631-43; Pl. XXX, 1). The tomb derived its name from her title Mumtāz Maḥall [*q.v.*] distorted by popular etymology to Tādj Maḥall. Comparable to some extent to Ottoman schemes, the tomb garden makes part of a larger complex; it is preceded on its southern side by a *djilaw-khāna* framed on both sides by courtyards for the attendants of the tomb (*khawāṣṣpūras*) and subsidiary tomb enclosures. Further south there followed a (not now preserved) complex divided by two bazaar streets crossing each other (*čār sū bāzār*) into four square (*kārwān*) *sarāʾīs* (*Romance of the Taj Mahal*, fig. 41); further south was a courtyard (*čawk*) with another bazaar and two more *sarāʾīs* (Kanbō, ii, 315 ff.). The layout of the tomb garden expands the typical Āgra river-side garden with a raised terrace (on which are placed the main buildings) combined with a lower *čār bāgh* to monumental scale.

Palaces. Another point of effort of Shāh Djahān's architectural patronage was palace and garden architecture. He reconstructed the palace in the fort of Āgra, made changes to the fort of Lāhawr [*q.v.*] (1628-34, and 1645) and built a new fortress-palace in his newly-founded city Shāhdjahānābād at Dihlī. He constructed several pleasure houses such as the pavilions of white marble on the bank of the Anā Sāgar lake at Adjmēr which vary the theme of the hypostyle hall (begun already under Djahāngīr, completed in 1046/1636) [for illus., see MAḤALL]. Shāh Djahān's building programme included also several hunting palaces (e.g. Bārī, 1637; E. Koch, *The hunting palaces of Shah Djahan*, forthcoming).

Fortress-palaces. The Āgra Fort presents us with the first official palace architecture of Shāh Djahān (1628-37; Pl. XXVIII, 1). The nucleus of his reconstruction consists of a complex of three courts: the great courtyard of the *dīwān-i khāṣṣ-o-ʿāmm*, its eastern wing forming the western portion of two smaller courts both facing the river Yamunā; the "Angūrī Bāgh" (residential quarters) [for illus., see MAḤALL] and the "Maččhī Bhawan" (treasury and

offices, Pl. XXIX, 2). All three courtyards are organised in a similar way and follow the scheme of the river-side garden of Āgra (for the individual buildings see MAḤALL, for a plan, see Petruccioli, 1988, fig. 144/2).

The ideas of Āgra were brought into a rigid formal scheme in the palace of Shāhdjahānābād, 1048-58/1639-48 [see DIHLĪ, ii; for the individual buildings, see MAḤALL] (for a pre-Multiny plan, see Petruccioli, 1985; for a pre-Mutiny panorama, see *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, fig. 252). Since it was a new foundation, the Shāhdjahānī ideal of bilateral symmetry could be realised almost unimpeded by earlier structures. The plan has the form of an oblong *muthamman baghdādī* extended by a wedge in the north to integrate the already existing small fort Salīmgaṙh into the lines of defence. The family members and nobles of Shāh Djahān were encouraged (also by financial help) to build their *ḥawēlīs* (courtyard houses) in the new city. Outstanding was here the complex of Djahānārā in the Čandnī Čawk, consisting of a *sarāʾī*, a *ḥammām* and her garden Ṣāḥibābād (Kanbō, iii, 37 ff.; cf. Blake, 158-9; for a sketch map, see DIHLĪ. ii, Fig. 3).

Gardens. Shāh Djahān's garden constructions include an addition to the Shālimār garden of Kashmīr in the form of another *čār bāgh* garden named Fayḍ Bakhsh (1043/1634) to the northeast of the earlier Faraḥ Bakhsh. Its central feature is a pavilion in the local black stone. Shāh Djahān's main garden foundation was the Bāgh-i Fayḍ Bakhsh wa Faraḥ Bakhsh or Shālimār garden at Lāhawr (1051-2/1641-2), inspired by its namesake at Kashmīr (and later imitated by its namesake at Dihlī). The earlier scheme of Kashmīr of two *čār bāghs* enthreaded along a central waterway is enriched at Lāhawr by a rectangular terrace which is inserted between them. The water supply was provided by a canal constructed by the Persian noble ʿAlī Mardān Khān who had defected to the Mughal court in 1638. His knowledge about architecture and engineering made him a welcome addition to the architectural counsel of Shāh Djahān.

Mosques. Shāh Djahān's enormous building programme included also a considerable number of mosques [see also MASDJID, H. II. B]—his was in fact the Golden Age of Mughal mosque construction. Shāh Djahān, who liked to appear as a renewer (*mudjaddid*) of Islam, commissioned or initiated the construction of more mosques than any Mughal ruler before him. In the mosque architecture of this period we can discern two main types which had become distinct already in Djahāngīrī architecture. The first, with massive prayer halls with *pīshṭāḳs* surmounted either by three or five domes, is used most conspicuously in the great city mosques, the *djāmiʿ masdjids*. The second type is based on the additive grid system of vaulted bays and may appear without *pīshṭāḳ* and outer domes. It was preferred for smaller mosques with a special imperial connotation (mosque in the Adjmer *dargāh* 1046/1636; palace mosques in the forts of Āgra and Lāhawr).

The series of great city mosques is initiated by that of Wazīr Khān at Lāhawr (1044/1634-5) and by Shāh Djahān's brick and tile Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Thaṭṭā [*q.v.*] (1054-68/1644-57; A.H. Dani, *Thatta*, Islamabad 1982, 190-7). The Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Āgra (completed 1058/1648), sponsored by the emperor's daughter Djahānārā (Pl. XXXI, 2; plan in A. Chaghatai, *Badshahi Masjid*, fig. 26b) enlarges the plan of the Wazīr Khān Mosque by doubling the bays of the wings of the prayer hall. The scheme is slightly altered in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Shāhdjahānābād [see DIHLĪ. ii] (1060-6/1650-6; Pl. XXXI, 1) intended as Shāh Djahān's counterpart to Akbar's Djāmiʿ Masdjid in Fatḥpūr Sīkrī (Koch, *Arch. forms*, 122), though in fact derived from the Āgra mosque.

Public buildings. Only scant remains survive of the great metropolitan bazaars, *ḥammāms* and *sarāʾīs* of Āgra and Shāhdjahānābād described by the historians of Shāh Djahān (ʿInāyat Khān, Eng. tr. 205-6, 531 *et passim*). The *sarāʾī* of Amānat Khān (the calligrapher of the Tādj Maḥall), 1050/1640-1, south of Amritsar, has two gates with remains of good tile mosaic (Begley, 1983, 173 ff.). The "palace" of Aʿẓam Khān at Aḥmadābād (1047/1637-8; J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan architecture of Ahmadabad*, ii, London 1905, 58-60, pl. 58) was, according to its inscription, not only a *sarāʾī* but also a market (*ḳayṣāriyya*); the gate served apparently residential purposes for its founder.

Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1658-1707) and later Mughal architecture.

General considerations. The success of the architecture created under Shāh Djahān may be recognised from the fact that it affected not only the buildings of his immediate successor Awrangzīb but, in the long run, the whole of Indian architecture. Measured against the architectural patronage of his father, that of Awrangzīb has been somewhat underrated and, consequently, has been studied very little. He embarked on a considerable number of architectural projects; true to his *Weltanschauung*, his main interest was directed towards religious architecture and charitable institutions.

Palaces and gardens. Neither Awrangzīb nor any other of the later Mughals sponsored any major urban palace construction—Shāh Djahān's solutions proved to be binding ones. Awrangzīb did, however, add an exterior enceinte—a *shēr hadjī*—around the Āgra Fort in 1659-62 (Pl. XXIV, 2). Awrangzīb's foster-brother Muẓaffar Ḥusayn, entitled Fidāʾī Khān Kōka, constructed the gardens at Pindjawr near Čandigaṙh in the Mughal tradition of Kashmīr (Crowe *et alii*, 185-7).

Tombs. The mausoleum of Awrangzīb's wife Rābiʿa Dawrānī at Awrangābād (1071/1660-1; Pl. XXXIV, 1) is a smaller, free copy of the Tādj Maḥall. Awrangzīb's sister Rōshānārā (d. 1082/1671) is entombed at Dihlī in a flat-roofed *hasht bihisht* pavilion in the later Mughal idiom (verandahs with baluster columns and cusped arches). Otherwise, the Mughal imperial family reverted with their burials to the example set by the founder of the dynasty, Bābur. Neither Djahānārā nor Awrangzīb himself allowed any construction over their respective resting places in Nizamuddin, Dihlī (1092/1681, see Hasan, 16-18) and Khuldābād [*q.v.*] near Awrangābād. The later Mughals were buried either in the *dargāh* of Ḳuṭb Ṣāḥib at Mihrawlī, or in Humāyūn's tomb, or in the *dargāh* or Nizamuddin.

Mosques. The most impressive building of Awrangzīb's reign is the Bādshāhī Masdjid at Lāhawr (1084/1673-4; Pl. XXXII), the last of the series of the great *djāmiʿ* mosques in red sandstone. Deviating from the customary local facing with tile work, it echoes particularly the *Djāmiʿ* Masdjid of Shāhdjahānābād, but succeeds in conveying a more serene impression by its vast proportions and the quiet juxtaposition of red sandstone with white marble (domes, subtle intarsia decoration). The exquisite "Mōtī Masdjid"—Awrangzīb's afterthought to the Dihlī palace (1074/1663; Pl. XXXIII, 2)—copies Shāh Djahān's "Nagīna Masdjid" in the Āgra Fort almost literally. New is the exuberant floral décor in marble relief work which leads from the beginning of this trend under Shāh Djahān towards the florid style of

later Mughal architecture. The sensuous treatment of the mosque stands in strange contradiction to the unworldly taste professed by its patron—an indication that stylistic developments had begun to become independent of the patronage of the Mughal emperor. Other important foundations of Awrangzīb are the *djāmiʿ masdjids* of Mathurā (1071/1660-1) and Benāres (1087-8/1676-7). The *madrasa* and mosque of Ghazī al-Dīn Khān at Dihlī transposes the scheme of the Khayr al-Manāzil into the idiom of the period (Pl. XXXIII, 1). Remarkable is the tomb of the founder with its floral décor and *djālīs* carved out of sandstone.

Public works. In the first years of his reign, Awrangzīb enlarged the Mughal net of roadside accomodations by constructing *sarāʾīs* equipped with bazaars, mosques, wells and *ḥammāms* along the roads from Awrangābād to Āgra and from Lāhawr to Kābul. He also ordered the repair of older *sarāʾīs* and bridges as well as the renovation of mosques throughout the empire; the latter works were financed from his own establishment (Muḥ. Kāẓim, *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*, ed. Kh. Ḥusayn and ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, Calcutta 1868, 1084 f.).

The later Mughal style.

From the late 17th century onwards, there develops in India an architectural style which, although derived from Mughal architecture, became more and more independent of the Mughal court. The new influential patrons were provincial rulers who proclaimed their defiance of the Mughals by copying their lifestyle and architecture. Typical of this style is a florid ornamental mode with a preference for bulbuous shapes, as well as the increasing use of stucco. With regard to building types, Shāh Djahān's rooms decorated with mirror mosaic (*āyīna kārī*) produced numerous offspring: as "*shīsh maḥalls*" they had to give Mughal splendour to the palace of every petty ruler. By-and-by, the Mughalising fashion conquered the whole of India. It bloomed particularly under the patronage of the *nawwābs* of Awadh at Fayḍābād and Lakhnaw [*q.vv.*]. Characteristically, the most outstanding and best preserved example of the late Mughal style at Dihlī is the mausoleum of Ṣafdar Djang (1167/1753-4; Pl. XXXIV, 2), the second *nawwāb* of Awadh. It is the last great mausoleum in the classical Mughal tradition of a nine-fold plan set on a podium in a four-parterre *čār bāgh*. In the 18th and the 19th centuries, the influence of the Mughal style stretches from the wooden architecture of the Himalayan valleys (Kathmandu, Kulu) to Maysūr [*q.v.*] and Bangalore in Karnataka, and from the Sikh architecture in the Pandjāb to Murshidābād [*q.v.*] and Dhakā [*q.v.*]. Under British patronage, the Mughal fashion became a constituent element of the so-called Indo-Saracenic style. As a typical Indian style it found its way to England in the Indian revival (e.g. the country house Sezincote in Gloucestershire, *ca.* 1806; the Royal Pavilion and the Royal Stables at Brighton, 1803-32, Pl. XXXV).

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In the early phases, up to Shāh Djahān's reign, comments on architecture tend to be sparse, vague and unsystematic. An exception is Khʷāndamīr (*Ḳānūn-i Humāyūnī*, Pers. text ed. M.H. Ḥusayn, Calcutta 1940; Eng. tr. B. Prashad, Calcutta 1940). His description of Humāyūn's buildings cannot, however, be verified because they deal with ephemeral architecture and with no longer extant buildings. Translations of texts of Akbar's period treating architecture are assembled in *Fatehpur-Sikri: a source book*, eds. M. Brand and G.D. Lowry, Cambridge, Mass. 1985; of particular interest are here the first translations from Muḥ. ʿĀrif Ḳandahārī, *Tāʾrīkh-i Akbarī*, Pers. text ed. M. Nadwī, A.ʿA. Dihlawī and I.ʿA. ʿArshī, Rāmpūr 1382/1962. The best source on Djahāngīrī architecture is Djahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, Pers. text ed. S.A. Khān, Aligarh 1864; Eng. tr. A. Rogers, ed. Beveridge, 2 vols., 1909-14; repr. New Delhi 1968. Additional information can be found in other texts of Djahāngīr's period, for which see *Bibl.* to DJAHĀNGĪR. Some information about the architectural patronage of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān can be extracted from ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Nihāwandī, *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī*, Pers. text ed. M.H. Ḥusayn, 3 vols., Cambridge 1910-31.

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From Awrangzīb's period onwards, information about architecture becomes again more sparse. The *Dīwān* of Luṭf Allāh Muhandis contains information about a family of architects who worked under Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb (partly tr. M.A. Chaghtai, *A family of great Mughal architects*, in *IC*, xi (1937), 200-9).

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8. Carpets and Textiles.

(a) *Carpets.*

The traditional floor-covering in India was the woven cotton *darī,* or the lightweight and easily-transportable floorspread of cotton, painted and dyed (see (b), below). The first pile-carpets to be imported into India, mainly from Persia, would have been *sad̲j̲d̲j̲id* [see sad̲j̲d̲j̲āda], for the daily ritual of *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*]. Emulating the life-style of Persian nobility, pile-carpets gradually came into secular use. Abu 'l-Faḍl (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī,* ii, 55) confirms that the craft of pile-carpet weaving was introduced into India during Akbar's reign: "His Majesty has caused carpets to be made of wonderful varieties and charming textures; he has appointed experienced workmen who have produced many masterpieces. The carpets of Irán and Turán are no more thought of, although merchants still import carpets.... All kinds of carpet weavers have settled here, and drive a flourishing trade. They are found in every town, especially in Agrah, Fathpur and Lahor...."

Early Mug͟hal carpets were close in style to those of Eastern Persia, but the warp was usually of cotton. Scholastic study of Indian carpets was born from the great exhibition of oriental carpets (mainly Persian and Turkish) in Vienna in 1891 (A. von Scala, 1891; C. Purdon Clarke (ed.), 1892-6). Our most complete information on Mug͟hal carpets woven in Lahore in the early 11th/17th century is from the collections of Amber palace, as recorded by Hendley (1906), compiled from notes, photographs and drawings which he assembled in 1892-3, while working at Jaipur; many bear inventory notes confirming that they had been at Amber since the period of S͟hāh D̲j̲ahān. Most of the designs are of flowering plants, in colours on a red ground, the borders being of floral ornament on an indigo ground. Some show fauna and legendary beasts among the flowers. Hendley (p. 8) describes the layout of carpets for a *darbār:* "... The whole surface thus looks like a meadow covered with beautiful flowers, or a park or paradise in which beasts wander or birds fly amidst trees of every kind...."

Two large carpets commissioned in India in the early 17th century provide valuable dated evidence. The finest, the "Girdlers' carpet", was commissioned in 1631 by Robert Bell, a director of the East India Company, and also a member of the Worshipful Company of Girdlers of London, to whom he presented it in 1633. The field is filled with flowering plants in the mature Mug͟hal style; at the centre is the great coat-of-arms of the Girdlers' Company, and to either side, the coats-of-arms of Bell himself. It was probably designed as a table-carpet for the original Court Room table (see illustr. in bisāṭ in Suppl., Pl. XVI, no. 18). The "Fremlin carpet", now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was commissioned by William Fremlin, who served in the East India Company between 1626 and 1644. The field is filled with flowering plants, beasts of prey and other fauna; the Fremlin coat-of-arms (invented by Fremlin himself) is emblazoned five times in the field, and repeated in the border.

Under an increasing volume of commissioned work, styles became more rigid, and by the 19th century, Indian carpet-weaving had become a competent commercial industry. In recent years, identifications and assessments are emerging through the cataloguing of museum and private collections, and of special exhibitions; but the gracious design, and imaginative conception of "a meadow covered with beautiful flowers, or a park or paradise ..." are unique to the early Mug͟hal period.

(b) *Textiles.*

If the weaving of pile-carpets in India was a 16th-century innovation, the history of Indian textiles is of far greater antiquity. India's particular renown lay in fine muslins; in richly-coloured cloths, painted and dyed (*kalamkārī*); and in fabrics ornamented with gold. Extensive documentary evidence exists in early and mediaeval Indian literature, and in the accounts of the early Arab geographers (Moti Chandra, 1960). Records of the first European travellers and traders confirm a flourishing trade in textiles from India to Persia and the Levant. The indigenous Indian techniques had evolved within the ancient social structure, each separate art being reserved within its own caste-communities, thus transmitting inherited experience from generation to generation. Tools were very simple; the craftsman relied upon his intimate understanding of natural materials, and above all, upon the dexterity of his hands.

Abu 'l-Faḍl's account (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī,* 87-8) is of great significance: "His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs; hence Iráni, European and Mongolian articles of wear are in abundance. Skilful masters and workmen have settled in this country, to teach people an improved system of manufacture ... and on account of the care bestowed upon them, the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved ... and the imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries ...." It is further recorded (*Āʾīn* 32, p. 92): "In former times, shawls were often brought from Kas͟hmīr ... His Majesty encourages in every possible way, the manufacture of shawls in Kas͟hmīr ...."

The most dramatic developments in India were in woven brocades and brocaded velvets (*ibid.*, 92). The weaving of *kimk͟hāb* (brocade of silk and gold), and of velvet, required a more sophisticated type of loom than was previously known in India. The main advances within the Mug͟hal imperial workshops were thus in equipment and in more orderly administration.

No textiles from Akbar's period survive, but the rich furnishing of the palaces, and the royal encampments (*Āʾīn* 21, pp. 53 ff.), are vividly portrayed in Mug͟hal paintings. During the reign of D̲j̲ahāngīr, the somewhat formal style of early Mug͟hal floral ornament evolved a more graceful naturalism. Hangings of the S͟hāh D̲j̲ahān period show exquisitely-designed flowering plants, perfectly placed within a foliated architectural framework. The delicate beauty of Mug͟hal dress fabrics is particularly striking in portraits of the S͟hāh D̲j̲ahān period.

By the 18th and 19th centuries, the exotic yet dignified "Mughal style" had become the main visual image of Indian textiles (other than the ritual textiles of Hindu ceremonial, and the chintz made to European designs for the East India Companies of Europe). The Mug͟hal court custom of bestowing a

fine textile as a *khil^ca* [*q.v.*] accounts for the survival of rare pieces of exceptional quality.

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(b) Textiles. Abu 'l-Faḍl ᶜAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, *Āʾīn* 31, in ii, 88 ff., *Āʾīn* 32, 91 ff., and also *Āʾīn* 21, 53 ff.; J. Irwin, *Golconda cotton paintings of the early seventeenth century*, in *Lālit Kalā*, v, 11-48 and plates I-XX, New Delhi 1959 (all surviving examples discussed and illustrated); Moti Chandra, *Indian costumes and textiles from the eighth to the twelfth century*, in *Journal of Indian textile history*, v. (Aḥmadābād 1960), 1-32; R.A. and V. Krishna, *Banaras brocades*, New Delhi (Crafts Museum) 1966 (history, technique, design: excellent plates); J. Irwin and M. Hall, *Indian painted and printed fabrics*, Aḥmadābād 1971, 14-21 (early 17th-century hangings and floor-spreads), 32-5 (Mughal tent hangings, etc., 17th-18th centuries), 43-65 (19th-century textiles under Mughal influence) (many plates; bibl.); idem, *Indian embroideries*, Aḥmadābād 1973, 5-28 (court embroideries; many plates; bibl.); R.W. Skelton, *The Indian heritage*, 77-102 (textiles; many illustrated). (MARGARET HALL)

9. Painting and the applied arts.

i. *The pre-Mughal period*

The number of illustrated manuscripts identified as products of pre-Mughal India is small but increasing. Questions of date and origin are often matters of debate. The earliest evidence is indirect: literary reference to drawing is found in poems of Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.v.*] of 1301 and 1315; a dispersed *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusraw, though datable to the later 15th century, appears to reflect early 14th century style; from *ca.* 1370, Jain manuscripts borrow elements from an Islamic style possibly of Īndjū type. An Indian origin is claimed for a handful of manuscripts of the earlier 15th century in versions of west Persian styles. A more markedly Indian character is found in a *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza* and a *Lawr Čanda* (both Berlin, SPK), which are judged to be of *ca.* 1450-75 and from Djawnpūr or Dihlī (Delhi). A *Sharaf-nāma* (London, BL) made for Nuṣrat Shāh of Bangāla (Bengal) in 938/1531-2 is a later connection of this north-eastern group. From the late 15th century to the early 16th, an important group of manuscripts, in heterogenous styles with varying degrees of Indian influence, is attributable to Māndū [*q.v.*]:

ca. 1490 *Miftāḥ al-fuḍalāʾ* (London, BL)
ca. 1502 *Niᶜmat-nāma* (London, IOL)
ca. 1502 (*ᶜarḍ-dīda* 908/1502-3) *Būstān* (New Delhi, NM)
ca. 1508 (dated 14 Shaᶜbān, certified 4 Shawwāl 914/26 January 1509) *ᶜAjāʾib al-ṣanāʾiᶜ* (London, BL)

Possibly also, *ca.* 1525-50 *Lawr Čandā* (Bombay, PWM).

ii. *Period of Humāyūn (1530-56)*

Bābur, founder of the Mughal dynasty (d. 1530 [*q.v.*]), is not known to have employed painters, though his interest in painting is attested. Humāyūn [*q.v.*], his son, must therefore tentatively be regarded as the founding patron of Mughal painting. In 949/1542, when a fugitive, Humāyūn was able to call a painter to record a bird (Djawhar, *The Tezkereh al-vakiāt*, tr. C. Stewart, London 1832, 43), and in the following year at the Ṣafawid courts of Sulṭāniyya and Tabrīz he evinced an interest in the acquisition of painters. These approaches bore fruit during Humāyūn's residence in Kābul, where he was joined in 1549 by two painters who were to be of great importance to the Mughal school, Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī and Khʷādja ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad. These are said to have instructed Humāyūn in painting. Other painters acquired were Mīr Muṣawwir (father of Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī), Mawlanā Dūst, Dūst-i Dīwāna (perhaps the same individual), Mawlanā Darwīsh Muḥammad and Mawlanā Yūsuf. A number of separate pictures survive from the Kābul period or the period immediately following the return to India in 1555; some bear attributions. They are in a direct continuation from the royal Ṣafawid style, though sometimes with the distinguishing mark in costume of a turban swathed round a conical cap. An important piece on cloth, *Princes of the house of Tīmūr* (London, BM), was worked over in the 17th century. A manuscript of Djamī's *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* in a style of Bukharan type and of medium quality has a colophon in favour of Humāyūn's brother Kāmrān (blinded 960/1553 [*q.v.*]).

iii. *Early Akbar period (1556-79)*

Akbar [*q.v.*] is said to have received instruction from Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī and ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad after the return to India, though the process may have begun earlier. At the very outset of his reign drawing continues the Kābul style (Pl. XXXVI). A change—which may or may not have commenced in Kābul—then becomes apparent. The Ṣafawid style is transformed by influences from Hindu painting (especially contributions from the *Čawrapañčāśikā* style to the early *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, and from European painting

(15th and 16th century manuscript style), with occasional contributions from Bukharan, Sultanate and Dakhānī (Deccani) styles. The evolving technique has passages of more painterly brushwork, and there are effects of volume and space. Scenes are filled with vibrant energy which must reflect the enthusiasm of the dynamic young patron. The royal studio is under the direction of Mīr Sayyid ᶜAlī until his departure to Mecca (probably 979/1571-2) and then under ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad, but from now on the painters are predominantly Hindu; the names of Daswanth and Basāwan are encountered. The major project of the period is a *Ḥamza-nāma* (*Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza*), in large format on separate sheets of cloth mounted on cardboard, which eventually comprised some 1,400 pictures. Probably produced from 1562-77, this is notable for the orchestration of turbulent compositions and for the dramatic portrayal of giant figures (Pl. XXXVII). Colour is strong but sometimes murky. The *Dārāb-nāma*, a romance, contains some pictures much influenced by European technique.

Principal works:

ca. 1557 *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī (private collection)
ca. 1558-60 *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (Cleveland, CMA)
ca. 1563 start of *Ḥamza-nāma* (dispersed)
975/1567-8 *Gulistān* (London, BL)
976/1568-9 *Duwal Rānī u Khiḍr Khān* (*ᶜĀshiḳa*) (New Delhi, NM)
978/1570-1 *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (London, SOAS)
ca. 1572 *Ṭilism-nāma* (Rampur, Raza)
ca. 1577 completion of *Ḥamza-nāma*
ca. 1579 *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (Dublin, CB)
ca. 1579 *Dārāb-nāma* (London, BL)

iv. *Middle Akbar period* (*1580-98*)

The middle period of Akbarī painting is complex: a great many works were produced and dating is incomplete. Subject matter is more serious in character. Akbar's religious and historical interests are reflected by translations of the Hindu epics (*Razm-nāma, Harivaṃśa, Ramāyana*) and an Islamic history (*Tarīkh-i alfī*). Another major theme is the study of the place in history of his lineage and of himself (*Čingiz-nāma, Tārīkh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya, Bābur-nāma, Akbar-nāma*). The third area of interest is the production of fine copies of the Persian classics; this comes to predominate in the 1590s at Lāhawr. In addition, a dossier of portraits of courtiers was compiled. Miscellaneous pictures for collection in albums [see MURAḲḲAᶜ] include copies of European originals. A notable accession of European material occurred in 1580 when the first Jesuit mission brought seven of the eight volumes of the *Polyglot Bible* prepared by Christophe Plantin from 1568-72. Motifs from the engraved title pages were adopted in the painter's studio. Other pictures were brought by this and later missions.

Relatively free brushwork at the beginning of the period gives way later to a more minutely controlled manner, and colour becomes more harmonious and resonant. From the 1580s there is some use of *nīm ḳalam* (half colour). By the 1590s works of great luxury are produced. The style is more unified, though individual hands can be discerned. European influence has been well assimilated, especially in the depiction of recession in landscape. The dramatic physical action of earlier Akbarī painting is now matched by dramatic psychological action (Pl. XXXVIII). In some margins, traditional golden chinoiserie ornament is invaded by small figures in colour. Important observations on painting in the period are found in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, of Abu 'l-Faḍl, tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873; 102, the scope of painting; 113-15, the current state of the studio, Akbar's theory of painting, and the most respected painters of the period. Numbers of painters up to some 60 might be employed on a large cycle; and it is not uncommon to find the production of a single picture shared, one painter charged with the composition (*ṭarḥ*), another with the execution/colouring (*ᶜamal/rang āmīzī*), and sometimes a third for the finishing of faces (*čihra-nāmī*). Simpler work was produced for sub-imperial patrons.

Principal works:

ca. 1580 *Shāh-nāma* single picture (Keir)
990/1582-3 *Gulistān* (London, RAS). Picture possibly 1590s
ca. 1584-6 *Tārīkh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya* (Patna, Khuda Bakhsh)
ca. 1584-6 (pictures dated 993 and 994) *Razm-nāma* with *Harivaṃśa* (Jaipur, CPM)
ca. 1587 (*post*-late 1585) *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī (Keir)
996/1588 (Dhu 'l Ḳaᶜda/September) *Dīwān-i Anwārī* (New York, MMA)
ca. 1588 *Harivaṃśa* (dispersed)
ca. 1589 (presented Ādhar/November *ilāhī* 34) *Bābur-nāma* (*Wāḳiᶜāt-i Bāburī*) (London, V&A)
997/1589 (28 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/7 November) *Ramāyana* (Jaipur, CPM)
ca. 1590 *Akbar-nāma* (London, V&A)
ca. 1591 *Bābur-nāma* (Istanbul, Millet)
ca. 1592 *Bābur-nāma* (London, BL)
ca. 1592 *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (Rampur, Raza)
ca. 1592-4 *Tārīkh-i Alfī* (dispersed)
ca. 1593 *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī* (Aga Khan)
ca. 1593 *Bābur-nāma* (Moscow, SMOC, and Baltimore, WAG)
ca. 1594 *ᶜIyār-i dānish* (Dublin, CB)
Ilāhī 39/1595 (23 *Bahman*/February) *Bahāristān* (Oxford, Bodleian)
Ilāhī 40/1004/1595 (24 Ādhar/December) *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī (London, BL, and Baltimore, WAG)
ca. 1595 *Laylā u Madjnūn* (Oxford, Bodleian)
ca. 1595 *Gulistān* illustrations (Cincinnati, CAM)
1004/1596 (27 Ramaḍān/25 May) *Čingiz-nāma* (Tehran, Gulistān)
1005 or 1006/1596-8 *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (Banares, BKB)
Ilāhī 42/1597-8 *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusraw (Baltimore, WAG)
ca. 1598 (picture *ilāhī* 42) *Bābur-nāma* (New Delhi, NM)

v. *Late Akbar period* (*1599-1605*)

For works *ca.* 1600-5, the patronage of Akbar or of Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] is sometimes a matter of debate. It seems probable that an *Akbar-nāma* and two works of religious content were made for Akbar. Drawing and colour are refined. The religious manuscripts have simpler compositions and a contemplative air.

Principal works:

Ilāhī 47/1602 (15 Ādhar/early December) *Djūg Bāshishta* (Dublin, CB)
ca. 1603 (picture 12 Isfandārmudh 47/February 1603) *Akbar-nāma* (London, BL, and Dublin, CB)
Ilāhī 49/1605 *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (London, BL)

vi. *Djahāngīr* (*1605-27*)

Already in the 1590s at Lāhawr, the then prince Salīm ordered close copies of the Christian subjects brought by the Jesuits. During his period of revolt at Allāhābād (1600-3), Salīm maintained a small studio which produced fine work. In the first years of rule there were additions to Akbarī manuscripts.

Throughout the reign, colour is exquisite, though latterly more restrained. Physical action is stilled, and emphasis is placed instead upon states of mind. In subject matter, ancient themes give way to the recording of the present. Fewer manuscripts were produced, and much work survives in the form of album pictures. Portraiture continues, and with it flourishes the depiction of daily events, both ceremonial and accidental (Pl. XXXIX). Djahāngīr's interest in natural history elicits very fine pictures of animals and birds. The margins of folios, especially those of albums, may be richly decorated. From *ca.* 1616, and influenced by European Mannerism, allegorical paintings portray the emperor symbolically wielding the divinely derived royal power (Pl. XL). Various pictures now preserved in albums would have been intended as illustrations to the *Djahāngīr-nāma*, a royal copy of which was presented in 1618.

Djahāngīr prided himself on his connoisseurship in painting (*Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, ii, A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, repr. New Delhi 1978, 20-1). The principal painters of the early years of the reign are Āḳā Riḍā, Manōhar (son of Basāwan, "Nādir al-ʿaṣr"), Dawlat, and Manṣūr [*q.v.*]. Others who would continue into the reign of Shāh Djahān are Abu 'l-Ḥasan (son of Āḳā Riḍā, "Nādir al-zamān"), Bālčand, Bičitr, Bishndās, Gowardhan.

Principal works:

1011/1602 (Muḥarram/June-July) *Dīwān* of Ḥasan Dihlawī (Baltimore, WAG)
1012/1603-4 *Rādj Kunwār* (Dublin, CB)
1012/1603-4 *Ḥāl-nāma* (Paris, BN)
1014/1605-6 Margins of *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (ex-Bute, London, BL)
1014/1605-6 *Būstān* (ex-Rothschild, private)
ca. 1605-10 *Kulliyyāt* of Saʿdī (Aga Khan)
ca. 1605-10 *Gulistān* (Baltimore, WAG, and dispersed)
ca. 1608-10 *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (London, BL)
1019/1610-11 (early pictures 1013/1604) *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (London, BL)
By 13/1027/1618 (presented 8 Shahrīwar/August) *Djahāngīr-nāma* (dispersed)

Albums: Djahāngīr (Berlin, SPK); Muraḳḳaʿ-i Gulshān (Tehran, Gulistān).

vii. *Shāh Djahān (1628-58)*

Though a *Gulistān* and a *Būstān* were prepared at the outset of the reign—possibly as a gift to Shāh Djahān's son Dārā Shikōh [*q.v.*]—the main output of painting takes the form of album pictures. Some albums have suffered dismemberment, and some are of late formation, thus dating of pictures must often be tentative. In the margins of album folios there is increasing use of flowers of semi-naturalistic "specimen" character which may derive from European herbals. Portraiture continues. Shāh Djahān, already painted in the reign of Djahāngīr, is shown as a single figure, in courtly settings, and in allegories which celebrate the Tīmūrid dynasty. The princes are shown in more informal circumstances sitting in rapt contemplation of their women, or of the words of sages. Groups of non-royal figures, often holy men, are shown sitting, still and concentrated. Occasionally these pictures have a night background with European-derived *chiaroscuro* effects—a speciality of works by Payāg. The final major work of Mughal patronage is a *Pādshāh-nāma* of Lāhawrī of 1067/1656-7, whose illustrations may be in part earlier and later, and in which a resplendent formal manner is sometimes achieved (Pl. XLI). The colour and finish of painting in the period is magnificent.

Principal works:

1038/1628-29 (Djumādī I/December-January) *Gulistān* (Dublin, CB)
1039/1629 (Rabīʿ I/October-November) *Būstān* (London, BL)
ca. 1640 *Gulistān* (dispersed)
1067/1656-7 *Pādshāh-nāma* (Windsor, Royal Library)

Principal albums: British Museum (London, ex.-Add. 18801); Dārā Shikōh (London, IOL); Kevorkian (New York, MMA/Washington, FGA); Late Shāh Djahān (dispersed); Leningrad (Leningrad, AS); Minto (Dublin, CB/London, V&A); Nāṣir al-Dīn (Tehran, Gulistān); Sulṭān Khurram (dispersed).

viii. *Later Mughal painting*

Awrangzīb (1658-1707 [*q.v.*]) initially maintained some patronage and a few finely painted pictures show him in *darbār* or hunting. Later, he ceased to commission work, whether from the pressure of other concerns or from religious scruple. Painters sought other patronage from nobles or at other Muslim or Hindu courts. Work of the late 17th century presents a careful surface and, if the rendering of character is less profound than before, it is not lacking in dignity (Pl. XLII). Farrukh Siyar (1713-19) and Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48) [*q.vv.*] are painted in a harder mode. High Mughal patronage then lapses until a revival from *ca.* 1800 which sometimes imitates 17th century work. From the second half of the 18th century derived styles were practised in Awadh (Oudh) at Fayḍābād (Faizabad) and Lakhnaw (Lucknow), and in Bangāla at Murshidābād and Patna. Subjects include scenes of princely pleasure, portraits, and some Hindu themes. Emphatic use may be made of classical perspective. From *ca.* 1760, painting is occasionally for European patrons, and from *ca.* 1800 the "Company" style develops for this market in Kalkatta/Kalikātā (Calcutta), Dihlī and Āgra. A local style, possibly of pre-Mughal origin, flourished in Kashmīr in the 18th and 19th centuries.

ix. *The Dakhan*

Painting for the courts of the Dakhan is found from the second quarter of the 15th century onwards. It is generally comparable to the painting of northern India, but tends to be more marked by Persian influence, and has often a stylised, dreamlike quality.

x. *Applied arts*

The Mughal achievement in fields of architecture and of textiles (see sections 7-8) is justly celebrated. Other applied arts were also brought to a superb level. The working of jade is particularly characteristic of the 17th and 18th centuries; it was used for cups, bowls, phials, hilts, *ḥuḳḳa* (hookah) bowls, *pāndāns* and spittoons. Rock crystal was also used, but to a lesser extent. Designs share themes with the architectural ornament of the period, a blending of motifs of lotus, acanthus and poppy. Most renowned is the white jade cup of Shāh Djahān of 1057/1647-8 (Pl. XLIII). In the later period, gems are often inlaid with golden settings. The hilts to daggers (*khandjar*) often terminate in animal heads. Weapons in general are highly ornamental and are often treated with inlays or surface *kūftgarī*. A specialised form is the *katār*, a dagger with a transverse grip for use in tiger hunts. A particular type of metalwork is *bīdrī*, associated with, but not exclusive to, Bīdār. A body of alloy is inlaid with gold, brass or silver and is then exposed to acid so that the ground of the design turns black and matt. Motifs often include "specimen" plants. A similar dark and light contrast is found in the decoration of boxes and chests of wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl or ivory.

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10. Literature.

The Mug͟hal period marks the highest point in the development of Persian literature in India. Notwithstanding the Turkish antecedents of the Mug͟hal rulers, Persian, because of its cultural influence, received attention at the Mug͟hal court from the beginning. Its importance began to grow during the reign of Humāyūn (1530-56), particularly after the return of the emperor from his forced exile in Persia. Humāyūn's long stay in that country, and the help he received from the Persian monarch S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp in regaining the Indian throne from his Afg͟hān foes, strengthened the ties of friendship between the Mug͟hal and Ṣafawid courts, and initiated a process of Persianisation that was to affect all aspects of Indo-Muslim culture under the Mug͟hals. By Akbar's time (1556-1606) the supremacy of Persian was firmly established and in 1582 it was declared the administrative language of the whole empire.

Though the Mug͟hal period represents a wide variety of literary activity, the most significant advances were made in its poetical output. In fact this period may be regarded as the golden age of Indo-Persian poetry, when the latter came to acquire new stylistic patterns and modes of thought. An important factor which contributed to the enrichment of Mug͟hal poetry was the influx of a number of gifted poets from Persia at this time. In contrast to the indifference of Ṣafawid rulers towards literary men, the fame and munificence of the Mug͟hal court held out the promise of rich patronage to men of letters. Thus throughout the 16th and 17th centuries India continued to provide a haven for Persian poets in their quest for recognition. The more fortunate of these poets succeeded in gaining entry to the imperial court, while others were patronised by nobles and provincial rulers.

The real flowering of Mug͟hal poetry dates from Akbar's time, which brought together many talented poets. Among the better known names who graced this period were G͟hazālī Mas͟hhadī (b. 933/1526-7, d. 980/1572-3), Fayḍī (b. 954/1547, d. 1004/1595-6 [*q.v.*]), ᶜUrfī (b. 963/1555-6, d. 999/1590 [*q.v.*]), Naẓīrī (d. 1021/1612-13), Malik Ḳummī (b. 934/1528, d. 1025/1616 [*q.v.*]), and Ẓuhūrī (d. 1025/1615-16). G͟hazālī migrated to India around 960/1552-3, and was attached to K͟hān Zamān ᶜAlī Ḳulī K͟hān (d. 974/1566-7), governor of D͟jawnpūr, before entering Akbar's court. When Akbar introduced the institution of *malik al-s͟huᶜarā*ʾ (poet laureate), G͟hazālī was the first to be appointed to that position. His personal and professional qualities are extolled in contemporary chronicles, and Abu 'l-Faḍl praises him for his poetical talent and style. Reports differ regarding the extent of his output. The British Library manuscript of his poems comprises less than 12,000 verses, which show G͟hazālī as a poet influenced by ethical and moral concepts and endowed with a felicity of expression.

Fayḍī succeeded G͟hazālī in 996/1587-8 as the poet laureate of Akbar. He was born in India, and thus differed from other notable poets, who came from outside. S͟hiblī Nuᶜmānī places him alongside Amīr K͟husraw (b. 651/1253, d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]) as the two individuals whom the critic regards as the most outstanding of the Persian poets born in India. According to contemporary sources, Fayḍī was the author of a large number of works. His poetical output is represented chiefly by his *Dīwān* and two long *mat͟hnawīs*, *Markaz al-adwār* ("Centre of circles") and the more

famous *Nal Daman*. The latter, based upon an episode from the Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata*, has been lavishly praised by none other than Badāʾūnī [*q.v.*], the most hostile critic of Fayḍī. The poet was a man of varied learning, and his poetry demonstrates his breadth of erudition and mastery of language. Among the verse forms employed by him, he excels in the *ghazals*, which are characterised by a beauty of expression and philosophical ideas.

The most famous poet of Akbar's period was perhaps ʿUrfī. He was originally a native of Shīrāz. On coming to India he enjoyed successively the patronage of Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ (d. *ca.* 974/1567), the court physician of Akbar, and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān (b. 965/1557-8, d. 1036/1626-7 [see KHĀN KHĀNĀN]). The strength of ʿUrfī's poetry resides chiefly in its boldness and creativity. These qualities are reflected vividly in his *ḳaṣīdas*, which constitute the basis for his fame. In these poems ʿUrfī provides a wide range of imagery. He employs non-traditional metaphors, similes and word compounds. His verse shows a penchant for self-praise, a feature reflecting his own natural conceit for which he was notorious in his circle.

The lyrical poetry of Akbar's time found its brightest exponent in Naẓīrī, who originated from Nīshāpūr. He was attached to the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān, where he entered into frequent poetical contests with his more illustrious fellow-poet, ʿUrfī. Though he composed numerous *ḳaṣīdas*, his claim to distinction rests chiefly upon his *ghazals*, which express complex and varied feelings of love, and may be said to rival Fayḍī's *ghazals* in their refinement and eloquence. His compositions possess a rhythmic quality and a fondness for melodious metres. Among the classical poets, he seems to be inspired by Ḥāfiẓ, whom he imitates in several of his pieces.

Contemporaneous with the Mughal rule was the ʿĀdil Shāhī [*q.v.*] kingdom in the south whose rulers were generous patrons of poetry and literature. Among the poets who flourished in the ʿĀdil Shāhī court, the best known were Malik Ḳummī and Ẓuhūrī. Malik Ḳummī was the poet laureate of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II (1580-1627), and enjoyed the respect of his fellow-writers. Ẓuhūrī, with whom he collaborated on many occasions, was not only a poet of standing but also an effeetive prose writer. His well-known work in that medium is *Sih nathr* ("Three essays"). It constitutes the preface of *Naw ras*, a book of songs attributed to Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II. In poetry, Ẓuhūrī's chief contribution are his *mathnawīs*, the most famous of which is the *Sāḳī-nāma* ("Book of the cup-bearer") in praise of Burhān Niẓām Shāh (1508-53).

The flow of poets from Persia continued during the reigns of Djahāngīr (1605-27) and his successor Shāh Djahān (1627-58). The most eminent among Djahāngīr's poets was Ṭālib Āmulī (d. 1036/1626-7), who served as the emperor's poet laureate. Ṭālib displays a spirit of inventiveness not unlike other leading poets of the Indian school who made determined use of new similes and metaphors for the sake of innovation. His *ghazals* are especially noteworthy for expressing an idealised and aesthetic conception of the beloved's beauty.

The period of Shāh Djahān's rule boasted a number of fine poets. These included Kalīm (d. 1061/1651), Ḳudsī (b. *ca.* 991/1583, d. 1056/1646), and Ṣāʾib (b. 1010/1601-2, d. 1088/1676-7). Kalīm was Shāh Djahān's poet laureate, a position he held from 1037/1627-8 till his death. His poems are conspicuous for their ingenious conceits and subtle ideas. In his *ghazals* he employs the illustrative technique (*mithāliyya*) with great effectiveness. His vocabulary occasionally contains words from Hindi, and there are references in his poems to trades and professions associated with the Indian environment. He has also devoted his talent to the writing of descriptive verse on simple, commonplace subjects.

Ḳudsī, who was a contemporary of Kalīm, has been wrongly quoted as Shāh Djahān's poet laureate. Some writers on poetry rank him equal to Kalīm, which is certainly an over-estimation of his creative abilities. However, his output is extensive and varied, and reveals a mastery of composition.

Ṣāʾib is generally regarded as the best Persian poet of the 17th century. During his stay in India he received much acclaim at the court of Shāh Djahān. He was a prolific poet whose verses are estimated in tens of thousands. His best work is represented by his *ghazals*, which are distinguished by their philosophical expression. He carried further the illustrative style and employed it extensively in his *ghazals*.

During the reign of Awrangzīb (1658-1707), the official patronage accorded to the poets came to an end, and the office of the poet laureate was abolished. However, the lack of patronage by the royal court was offset to some extent by the patronage given by members of Awrangzīb's household and some of his nobles. Thus Awrangzīb's daughter, Zīb al-Nisāʾ Begum, who was herself a poet using Makhfī as her pen-name, was a liberal patron of literary men. Similarly, Prince Aʿẓam (b. 1063/1653, d. 1119/1707), the third son of the emperor, supported a number of poets who were employed in his service. The best known poet of Awrangzīb's reign was Bīdil (b. 1054/1644-5, d. 1133/1720), in whose verse the Indian style of Persian poetry reached its culmination. His poetical output is voluminous and covers almost all forms of verse. He was the author of several *mathnawīs* which are indicative of his spiritual and ethical concerns. But it was in the *ghazal* that his literary prowess found its true expression. Bīdil's *ghazals* are characterised by a depth of thought and reflect his philosophical attitude. His verse is difficult to understand because of his habitual inclination towards abstraction of meaning.

From the 18th century onwards, Urdu steadily gained importance, replacing Persian as the medium of literary expression. Nevertheless, the continued influence of Persian as a part of Indo-Muslim culture was demonstrated in the emergence of many bilingual poets who composed both in Persian and Urdu. Ghālib (1797-1869 [*q.v.*]) was the most outstanding of these bilingual poets. His towering stature as an Urdu poet has somewhat overshadowed his contribution to Persian poetry which, according to him, was superior to his Urdu verse. There is no doubt that he was the last great poet of the Mughal period. He was associated with the court of Bahādur Shāh II (1837-58), with whose exiling by the British the history of Mughal India finally came to an end. Ghālib, in the beginning, was attracted to Bīdil's involved style, from which he could not extricate himself completely. However, he also turned towards the works of such poets as ʿUrfī, Naẓīrī, Ṭālib Āmulī, and Kalīm, assimilating the finest elements of Mughal poetry, and giving them a new life by the magic touch of his extraordinary genius. His best work possesses an intellectual content, and is marked by a polished style.

The Mughal period of Persian poetry brought to perfection a style which has been named *sabk-i Hindī* or Indian poetical style. The term was coined by the

Persians to describe a particular manner of writing, the evolution of which took place mainly in India. Where and how this style originated is a matter of dispute. It has been suggested that its incipient features may be traced in the poetry of Fighānī Shīrāzī (d. 923/1517 [*q.v.*]), from where it found its way into Mughal verse through the efforts of the incoming poets from Persia. The credit for introducing this style into Mughal poetry is given to ʿUrfī. It was progressively developed by poets such as Ṭālib Āmulī, Ṣāʾib and Kalīm until it reached its peak in the poetry of Bīdil with its complex and involved mode of expression.

The foremost feature of *sabk-i Hindī* is the exaggerated attention paid in it to the formalistic aspects of poetry. Basic to it are complexity and subtleness which depend not so much on *what* is said as *how* it is said. For its effectiveness it relies on new metaphors and similes, innovative word compounds, extensive use of certain poetical devices, particularly the illustrative technique, and the coining of new terms. Its main vehicle is the *ghazal*, which probably constitutes the most significant contribution of Mughal poetry. Whereas the traditional material of Persian *ghazal* lays a prominent emphasis upon the theme of love and its varied emotions, in the hands of the Mughal poets the content of the *ghazal* becomes more and more philosophically oriented. This philosophical tendency in the *ghazal* found vocal exponents in ʿUrfī, Fayḍī and Naẓīrī. As a by-product of the philosophical preoccupation of the poets, ethical and moral ideas also came to be increasingly articulated in the *ghazal*.

Although *sabk-i Hindī* was employed by poets in Persia, it never received very much approval from the native arbiters of poetic taste. On the other hand, it enjoyed a favourable atmosphere in Turkish and Tādjīk literatures. In the case of Turkish literature, its impact may be noticed in the development of Ottoman Turkish poetry in which ʿUrfī, Fayḍī and Ṣāʾib are counted among the chief foreign influences. It also found a hospitable soil in the literary climate of Central Asia, where it became a dominant feature of Tādjīk poetry after the 17th century.

Next to poetry, historiography and biographical writing occupy a distinguished place in the repertory of Mughal literature. The historical works produced during the Mughal period may be divided into three broad categories: universal histories, general histories of Muslim India, and specialised histories dealing with a particular dynasty. As in poetry so also in history, the real beginnings in Mughal historiography took place in the time of Akbar. The main universal history composed during this period is the *Taʾrīkh-i alfī*, or "Millennial history", which was prepared by a group of scholars on the orders of Akbar. It was supposed to cover the first one thousand years of the *hidjra*, although it actually ends with the year A.H. 997.

Significant among the general histories produced during Akbar's period are the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* and *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*. The *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* covers the history of Muslim India from the Ghaznawids up to the thirty-eighth year of Akbar's reign. It was written by Niẓām al-Dīn al-Harawī (d. 1003/1594 [*q.v.*]), who was in the service of Akbar for many years. Its importance may be judged from the fact that several contemporary and later historians have made extensive use of its material for their own works.

ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī's *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, which begins from the Ghaznawids and comes down to 1004/1595-6 of Akbar's reign, is notable for its treatment of historical details. Badāʾūnī's views are often biased, especially when dealing with religious matters which do not agree with his own orthodox beliefs. Thus his book contains a severe indictment of Akbar's religious non-conformism.

The *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, or *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta* as it is also called, deals with the Muslim rule in India until the early part of the 17th century. Its author, Muḥammad Ḳāsim Hindū Shāh, who used Firishta [*q.v.*] as his pen-name, was employed in the court of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II. His history is particularly useful for the information it provides regarding the Muslim dynasties of Deccan.

A large body of historical literature from the Mughal period consists of specialised accounts. One of the earliest examples of this kind is the *Tadhkira-yi Humāyūn wa Akbar* by Bāyazīd Bayāt. This work, which was undertaken in 999/1590-1, deals with the reign of Humāyūn and early years of Akbar. Another book, dating approximately from the same time, is *Tadhkirat al-wāḳiʿāt*, which is a narrative of Humāyūn's period of exile in Persia written by his personal attendant, Djawhar Āftābčī. The first two rulers of the Mughal dynasty form the subject of Gulbadan Begum's (b. 929/1522-3, d. 1011/1602-3) *Humāyūn-nāma*, in which the author, who was Humāyūn's sister, gives a sensitive picture of her family.

The most outstanding history of the Mughal period, and one of the greatest histories produced in India, is the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu 'l-Faḍl (b. 958/1551-2, d. 1011/1602-3 [*q.v.*]). It is a detailed description of Akbar's life and the events of his reign. A complementary work by the same writer, entitled *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, gives a statistical survey of the administrative, social and cultural conditions of the empire, and includes a section dealing with the religious thought of Akbar. Abu 'l-Faḍl's writings have been criticised for their highly eulogistic description of the author's patron. Their value, however, lies in the wealth of information they contain regarding Akbar's period. Moreover, they are written in a style which became a preferred model for subsequent Mughal historians.

The premier dynastic account of Djahāngīr's period is the official history of his reign, entitled *Iḳbāl-nāma-yi Djahāngīrī*. It was composed by Muḥammad Sharīf b. Dūst Muḥammad, better known by his title Muʿtamad Khān (d. 1049/1639 [*q.v.*]), and deals with the history of Mughal rulers from Bābur to Djahāngīr. The chief histories of Shāh Djahān's period consist of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhūrī's (d. 1065/1655) *Bādshāh-nāma* and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū's *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, which was completed in 1070/1659. Awrangzīb suspended the tradition of officially sponsored histories, perhaps because these kind of writings were regarded by him as a sign of ostentatiousness, incompatible with his austere nature. However, before the practice was abandoned, an official history of the first ten years of Awrangzīb's reign was compiled by Muḥammad Kāẓim (d. 1092/1681-2) under the title of *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*. Soon after Awrangzīb's death, Muḥammad Sāḳī Mustaʿidd Khān (d. 1136/1724 [*q.v.*]) resumed the account where it had been left off in his book *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, completed in 1122/1710, bringing it down to the end of Awrangzīb's reign.

Biographies were commonly included in political histories, and historical works produced during the Mughal period often contain notices on the life of poets, scholars, theologians and other eminent men. Among the books devoted exclusively to the

biographical genre, pride of place must be assigned to Djahāngīr's *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, a work composed after the tradition of Bābur's autobiography. Djahāngīr wrote the account by himself till the seventeenth year of his reign, after which it was taken up by Muᶜtamad Khān, who described the next two years. The book presents a lively and fascinating picture of Djahāngīr's personality and character, and is written in a simple, unencumbered style.

The biography of ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān, who was a great patron of letters, is contained in ᶜAbd al-Baḳī Nihāwandī's (b. 978/1570, d. 1040/1632) book, *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī*. The author, who was in the service of Khān-i Khānān, completed his work in 1025/1616. Besides Khān-i Khānān's biography, the book carries accounts of eminent figures and dignitaries. Especially useful for literary purposes are the biographies of poets who were attached to Khān-i Khānān's court and are described by the author on the basis of his personal knowledge.

One of the most valuable books of biographical literature is the *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] by ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ Awrangābādī, better known as Shāh Nawāz Khān (d. 1171/1758). It is an encyclopaedic work comprising notices on Mughal nobility from Akbar up to the time of the author.

A type of literature which gained prominence during the Mughal period was *inshāʾ* or epistolography. Representing the early specimens in this branch of writing are the letters of Abu 'l-Faḍl, which are noted for their easy style, different from the stiff and laboured diction of his historical works. The letters of his brother Fayḍī may also be cited for their simple and straightforward language. In later times, Hindus acquired special distinction in the art of correspondence because of their growing identification with the secretarial profession. Among them, Čandra Bhān Brahman (b. 982/1574-5, d. 1073/1663) and Munshī Harkaran occupy a conspicuous place. Brahman was employed as first secretary in the state chancery during Shāh Djahān's reign. In addition to his status as a major Hindu poet of Persian, he is also respected for his prose contribution. His letters constitute one of the factors for his reputation as a prose writer. Harkaran also flourished in the time of Shāh Djahān. He has left a collection of letters which was used in the schools for instructional purposes. Awrangzīb's age, though mostly undistinguished in the advancement of literature, nevertheless stands out for its promotion of the epistolographic art. Awrangzīb himself was a leader in this literary form, and his letters, of which there exist several collections, are an excellent testimony to his achievement.

The Mughal period witnessed a growth of translation activity directed towards the rendering of Indian literature into Persian. The translation movement, like other literary developments under the Mughals, started during Akbar's time. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl, Akbar promoted the translation of Indian works into Persian because he felt that such undertakings would help in dispelling the ignorance which Hindus and Muslims shared towards each other. The works translated during Akbar's reign included the Sanskrit epics *Mahābhārata* (under the Persian title *Razm-nāma*) and *Rāmāyana*, the collection of tales entitled *Singhāsan battīsī*, translated by Badāʾūnī under the name *Nāma-yi khirad-afrūz*, Vyas's life of Lord Krishna entitled *Harīvansh* and *Atharva Veda*. The second important period of translation after Akbar is associated with the name of Dārā Shukōh (d. 1069/1659 [*q.v.*]). The latter's interest in other religions besides Islam prompted him in his translation of fifty *Upanishads*, to which he gave the title of *Sirr-i akbar*. He is also credited with the translation of *Bhagavata Gīta*, otherwise ascribed to Abu 'l-Faḍl. Apart from the translations made by him, there were several works which were translated at his instance. Among them were *Gulzār-i ḥāl*; a translation by Dārā's secretary Banwālī Dās Walī of the Sanskrit drama *Prabhodha Čandra Vidya*; and the Persian rendering of *Yoga vāsishtha* by a courtier whose name is not recorded.

The dominant style of Mughal prose brings to mind certain resemblances with the prose trends in post-Mongol literature of Persia as represented by works such as *Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf* by ᶜAbd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh [see WAṢṢĀF] and *Ẓafar-nāma* by Sharaf al-Dīn ᶜAlī Yazdī [*q.v.*]. More particularly, it suggests strong similarities with the florid and ornate prose style in Ṣafawid literature. In Mughal writing it appears in its mature form in the histories of Abu 'l-Faḍl, which are marked by pompousness and verbosity, and which set a pattern for most histories composed in succeeding periods. However, not everyone chose to favour this style. Among notable exceptions were writers such as Badāʾūnī, who made use of standard Persian as the medium of his history; Djahāngīr, who adopted a simple and flowing diction for his autobiography; and Dārā Shukōh, who employed a direct and unadorned way of writing for his translations and original works.

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11. Numismatics.

In his short but excellent little handbook *The coins of India*, Calcutta 1922, C.J. Brown has this to say of the Mughal coinage in general: "Considering it as the output of a single dynasty, which maintained the high standard and purity of its gold and silver for three hundred years, considering also its variety, the number of its mints, the artistic merit of some of its series, the influences it exerted on contemporary and subsequent coinages, and the importance of its standard coin—the rupee—in the commerce of today, the Mughal currency surely deserves to rank as one of the great coinages of the world." Many of the details in Brown's book are now out of date; but this general pronouncement is valid and valuable today.

Coins of Tīmūr are not known ever to have circulated in India—indeed, Tīmūr was more keen on taking coin away from India than bringing it in. But coins of his son Shāhrukh [*q.v.*] circulated freely in several countries during his forty-eight years' rule (807-55/1404-51), and are fairly well represented in Indian collections; they came to represent a type, and the name *Shāhrukhī* was applied by both Bābur and Humāyūn to silver coins of their own times. R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, iii, Oxford 1914 (hereafter *PMC*), pp. xlv, lxxv, calls these coins of Bābur and Humāyūn merely "thin dirhams of the Central Asian type"; but from the frequent reference to *Shāhrukhīs* in the *Bābur-nāma* and *Humāyūn-nāma*, as well as other works on the early Mughal period, there can be no doubt that these are the coins intended: thin silver plates indeed, with diameter 24-27 mm. and weight between 4.5 and 5 gms. (see S.H. Hodivala, *Historical studies in Mughal numismatics*, Calcutta 1923, 1-10). These coins, to judge from the number remaining, would have been far from sufficient to satisfy the demands for a working currency, and there is no doubt that coins of the late Dihlī sultanate, especially the Bahlūlīs and Sikandarīs of Bahlūl and Sikander Lōdī, long continued in circulation; the standard diameters of these coins, 17.8 mm. for the whole, 14 mm. for the half, are referred to in Akbar's time in definitions of measurement (see MISĀḤA. 2), and they are frequently referred to in the Mughal chronicles. The Sikandarī coins (of billon), commonly called *tanka* and valued at one-twentieth of a Mughal rupee, were even imitated in Akbar's coinage under the name of *dām*, but in copper (the Lōdīs were the last to use billon).

Even before Humāyūn's defeat and exile, Shīr Khān had assumed the throne in Bengal in 945/1538 as Shīr Shāh Sūrī [*q.v.*], and immediately set about remodelling the entire currency; since this was the immediate model of Akbar's currency and that of the later Mughals, we must consider it in some detail. From his homeland he would have been familiar with the systems of Bihār and Bengal, where gold was scarce, billon not used, and cowries often taking the place of the smaller copper pieces; he therefore adopted silver as the standard for his rupee (*rupayya* = "silver"), of a weight of the familiar Indian *tōlā*, 11.6638 gms., and an average diameter of 28 mm. His copper coins, called *paysā*, were one-fortieth the value of the rupee, varying in weight with the distance of the mints from the copper mines, from 19.5 to 21.3 gms.; halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths are also known. The silvers are well-shaped and well-struck, generally with the *kalima* on the obverse in a square or a circle, with the names of the four Orthodix Caliphs in the margins; the reverse bears Shīr's name and regnal titles, often with an attempt at "Shrī Shīr Shāhī" in the devanagari script, and (especially in the case of the later coins) an indication of the mint; over twenty mint-names in silver and copper are recorded, suggesting that coin was struck at the more important towns as and when they were added to Shīr Shāh's possessions, showing the extent of his authority—a further precedent for the Mughal coinage. Many of the earlier coins are mintless beyond the expression *djahān-panāh*, and it has been suggested that this refers to the immediate precincts of the sultan while on tour, as with the common Mughal mint designation of *urdū* "camp".

Of Humāyūn's second regnal period, 962-3/1555-6, there exist only a small number of specimens of the coinage, but these are now of the standard introduced by Shīr Shāh (Whitehead, *PMC*, p. xlv, remarks that Āgrā is not represented as a mint, but there is a coin of Humāyūn's of 963 with the legend *ḍuriba Āgrā* in the author's collection). Akbar's early coinage follows the same pattern in silver, slightly less in average weight than Shīr Shāh's, the obverse usually bearing the *kalima* in circle or square, with the names of the Companions in the resulting margins; the reverse bears the royal titles *Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar*, with the new expressions *bādshāh ghāzī*, date and mint; further expressions, in the earlier coinage, may appear in the margins, which later are dropped. A similar arrangement holds for the gold coins, usually of similar weight but smaller diameter. From about 985/1577, although the superscriptions remain much the same, the square shape is introduced, possibly inspired by the characteristically square coinage of Mālwā [see SIKKA], as examples are rare from the time of the pre-Mughal northern coinage, and from about the same time the legends of both obverse and reverse may be set on a decorative floral background, usually the arabesque [*q.v.*], on both round and square coins; before then there had even been a few coins, usually gold, of a *miḥrābī* shape. Fractions are not uncommon in the collections: half (*darb*), quarter (*čaran*), even tenth and twentieth, the smaller pieces in particular having been struck for the *nithār*, the silver (sometimes also gold) coin scattered at processions [see MAWĀKIB]; half-rupees are especially common from the Kābul mint.

After Akbar had promulgated his so-called "infallibility decree" in 987/1579 the superscription *allāhu akbar* first appears. Whitehead's comment (*op.cit.*, p. xx) that "the inference was that Akbar's person was divine ..." was a difficulty foreseen in Akbar's own time, and Akbar's own indignant repudiation of any intention of ambiguity is reported not only by Abu 'l-Faḍl but also by the generally hostile Badāʾūnī. See *The coin-legend* Allāhu Akbar, in Hodivala, *op.cit.*, 81-92. In Akbar's 29th regnal year, 992/1584, his new Ilāhī year was founded, its inception back-dated to 28 Rabīʿ II 963, the date of his accession; this was to be a solar year of 12 solar months, using the Persian names of the old (Sāsāni) Yazdagirdī era [see TAʾRĪKH], without intercalation; the month began when the sun entered each sign of the zodiac. Synchronism with Hidjrī dates is not obvious, but can be determined from references in the chronicles; see *The Ilāhī era*, in Hodivala, *op.cit.*, 11-40, in which there are copious examples and useful tables. Ilāhī years appear on Akbar's coinage from year 30, 993/1585, with an expanded superscription *allāhu akbar, djalla djalālahu*, which from the 36th year appears on the square gold and silver coins of the principal mints. At the same time Persian replaces Arabic on coin legends and in dates. From the 35th year the month name is also given. The coinage in gold becomes increasingly frequent, and besides the common gold piece (*muhr, ashrafī*), of no fixed value against the rupee but apparently exchanging at between ten and sixteen times the rupee-value, there were also 10, 25, 50 and 100-*muhr*, and even heavier pieces, struck rather as commemorative medals for favoured courtiers, or even as ingots for store in the treasuries; see *Gigantic coins*, in Hodivala, *op.cit.*, 53-80. Akbar's copper coinage is likewise of the type instituted by Shīr Shāh as his *paysā*; Akbar's version was called *dām*, thick and heavy but nevertheless well-struck (up to 20.73 gms.; double-*dāms* are not uncommon, also halves, quarters and eighths, both round and square, occasionally oblong; the double-*dām* is frequently called *ṭankā* on the coins themselves, the *dām nīm ṭanka*; the *dām* is worth, according to Abu 'l-Faḍl, one-fortieth of the rupee (the word *dām* is even now in common colloquial use for "money"). There is some confusion in nomenclature with the old *ṭankā*, the "coin of the realm" in the Dihlī sultanate [see DĀR AL-ḌARB and SIKKA], the *ṭānk*, a goldsmith's weight of three-elevenths of a *tōlā* or the lighter jeweller's weight of one-third *tōlā*, and small metal pieces called *ṭankī* issued only in Akbar's last five years from the north-western mints; it had been thought that these *ṭankīs* were simply jeweller's weights cast in metal (with mint and date), but it has been shown that they were current in the north-west (especially Kābul and Ḳandahār) and were introduced to provide fractional small coinage (see *Ṭankīs*, in Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 103-14) (jeweller's weights were regularly of agate).

Akbar introduced also the practice of adorning some coins (only from three of his mints) with verse-couplets in Persian. The diversity of mints increased enormously in Akbar's time, reflecting the expansion of his empire; silver is known from at least 45 mints, copper from 64—at least 86 Akbarī mints altogether. The so-called "mint-marks" (103 are shown in *PMC*) are rather marks of individual mint-masters or coiners, and their significance seems to be no more than decorative. The earlier coins of Akbar, with the *kalima* set between the names of the four Companions, were a frequent source of fakes which were used, together with genuine coins, as talismans by devout Muslims. In Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, p. x, there is an elaborate (but far from conclusive) account of some of Akbar's coin-types, well summarised in *Abul Fazl's inventory of Akbar's coins*, in Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 41-52.

Djahāngīr was even more of an innovator than his father, a "prince of moneyers" in the 11th/17th century as Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ had been in the 8th/14th, and in his time the Mughal coins reached their zenith. The floral or arabesque background to the legends is universal, and verse couplets—some commonplace, some of no mean poetical value—became the rule rather than the exception (sometimes helped by the coincidence that *djahāngīr* and *allāhu akbar* are numerically equal, each = 289 by *abdjad*); for some time, from the Āgrā and Lāhawr mints, the couplets might be changed every month. His coins are dated in regnal years, often with the Hidjrī year as well. From years 6 to 13 his Āgrā rupees were struck in the square and round forms in alternate months; from year 13 pictorial representations of the signs of the zodiac replace the month names, on gold as well as silver. Some pieces, possibly intended as gifts to favoured courtiers rather than as current coin, bear a nimbate portrait of Djahāngīr seated, wine-cup in hand; and between 1033/1624 and 1037/1627 the name of his empress Nūr Djahān [*q.v.*] is associated with his own in some issues. There are many small silver pieces, struck as *nithār* [*q.v.*], for scattering among the populace at weddings, processions and other public spectacles [see MAWĀKIB], to which Djahāngīr himself frequently refers in his *Tūzuk*; this seems to have been a pan-Asiatic custom, known in pre-Muslim India as well as in Iran and Central Asia (among the Čaghatays gold and silver almonds, walnuts and filberts were also so scattered; see Gulbadan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, ed. and tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1902, text 27, 34, tr. 12, 112). Refs. to the chronicles in *Niṣārs*, in Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 177-85. For the large commemorative pieces see

Gigantic coins, in *op. cit.*, 53-80. D̲j̲ahāngīr's coppers are well-struck but less innovative, and rarer (there was presumably ample copper coin of previous reigns still in circulation).

S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān's coinage is profuse, with many minor variations of design; the names of the companions are restored to the obverse, and the reverse frequently bears S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān's self-conferred title of *ṣāḥib-i ḳirān-i t̲h̲ānī*; but the inspiration which marked D̲j̲ahāngīr's coinage is now lacking. Dating is still by regnal (Ilāhī) years as well as Hid̲j̲rī, verse-couplets are frequent, and the new mint S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahānābād reflects his new capital in the "Red Fort" in Dihlī.

Awrangzīb's issues, while well-struck, tend to be monotonous. The reverse of the golds and silvers bears the invariable inscription *sana* ... *d̲j̲ulūs-i maymanat-i mānūs*, with mint and regnal year, which becomes the pattern followed by his successors; the number of southern mints increases, as might be expected, with his long years in the Deccan (see 1. History, above). With his reimposition of the *d̲j̲izya* [*q.v.*] he struck also a "legal dirham", *dirham s̲h̲arʿī*, of about 2.88 gms. in silver (see Whitehead's note in *PMC*, ii, 437), in 1090/1679. The "gigantic coins" disappear, but small coin for the *nit̲h̲ār* is common.

The later emperors-fainéant maintained the Awrangzībī pattern of coinage without attaining anything of great distinction. Farruk̲h̲siyar [*q.v.*] did, however, produce from Lāhawr a *dirham s̲h̲arʿī* in 1129/1717. But, with the resources of his treasury running low, he adopted the policy of farming out the mints, which proved to be disastrous; and thenceforth the autonomous and semi-independent rulers of the provinces struck their own coin, presumably with the nominal consent of Dihlī; thus the Rād̲j̲pūt states, after the mid-12th/18th century, especially in silver, were in frank imitation of the Mug̲h̲al coinage, and since they bear the Mug̲h̲al emperor's name it is often difficult to distinguish them except for their poorer quality. (It has been calculated that in the early 19th century there were at least 994 different gold and silver coins current in the country.) Coins in imitation of those of the Mug̲h̲al emperors were issued, by licence, by the English (and French) East India companies, the French for some years from Arkāt, the English from various mints with an invariable regnal year: thus all Banāras coins bear the year 17, from Murs̲h̲idābād 19, those of Farruk̲h̲ābād 45, bearing the Mug̲h̲al emperor's name but now becoming more European in style and fabric, with the mints having come under European supervision, the gold and silver coins even having a true milled edge. In the time of S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam, Lord Lake's victory over the Marāthās is commemorated in the coinage of S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahānābād/Dihlī for 1220/regnal year 47 by the usual legends being enclosed within a wreath of roses, thistles and shamrocks, an alien influence indeed! All these anomalies were eventually superseded by the British Imperial currency of 1835. For other imitations of the later Mug̲h̲al currency, see SIKKA. For the working of the Mug̲h̲al mints, see DĀR AL-ḌARB above.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text (of which Hodivala is fundamental): *Catalogues* of the Indian Museum, Calcutta; of the Lahore Museum (= Whitehead, *op. cit.*, reissued in Pakistan); of the British Museum; valuable collections in all these museums, also in the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. For S̲h̲īr S̲h̲āh's coins: H.N. Wright, *The Sultans of Delhi: their coinage and metrology*, Dihlī 1936; C.R. Singhal, *Mint-towns of the Mughal emperors of India* (= Memoir iv, Numismatic Society of India), Bombay 1953; idem, *Bibliography of Indian numismatics, ii, Muhammadan and later series*, Bombay 1952. See also *Bibl. to* DĀR AL-ḌARB. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

AL-**MUG̲H̲AMMAS**, the name of a valley near to Mecca, a short distance from the road to al-Ṭāʾif, cited, especially in old poetry, because the tomb of Abū Rig̲h̲āl [*q.v.*] was traditionally located there. The correct reading of the toponym is not however certain, with variation between al-Mag̲h̲ammas, al-Mug̲h̲ammis and al-Mug̲h̲ammas. The latter form seems to be the most plausible, for it denotes a spot covered with scrub and bushes in which it is possible to hide, and, according to a tradition, it was there that the Prophet would go aside to satisfy his needs of nature away from the sight of his fellow-citizens; in this case, he would have had to travel two-thirds of a *farsak̲h̲*, which makes this tradition seem somewhat doubtful.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 583-5; Bakrī, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 553; see also the *Bibl. to* ABŪ RIG̲H̲ĀL, and Ḥarbī, *K. al-Manāsik*, ed. Ḥamad al-D̲j̲āsir, Riyāḍ 1389/1969, 352-3, n. 3. (ED.)

MUG̲H̲ĀRASA (A.), a legal term denoting a lease for agricultural planting, often treated by authors in parallel to the *musāḳāt* [*q.v.*], agreement for the payment of rent in kind, of which it is in some ways a particular kind, more favourable to the lessee. The commentators are silent about the juridical origins of this institution, and there is not the slightest mention of it in the Ḳurʾān or Sunna. Nevertheless, *mug̲h̲ārasa* is one of the most-used forms of contract. Under its terms, the owner of a piece of land charges a person with the planting of trees on it under a co-ownership basis, and in return, he agrees to grant the planter ownership of a predetermined proportion of the whole crop, as soon as the trees bear fruit or at the end of a period stipulated in the original contract. The lessee thus becomes an owner; and he can put an end to the common ownership by demanding a division of the land.

The actual planting may involve products which remain for long in the ground, such as date palms and olive trees; however, certain legal authorities allow *mug̲h̲ārasa* for cotton and saffron. The term envisaged must be fixed according to the work programme of the lessee. This is generally at the moment when the trees start to produce fruit or, if fruit trees are not involved, at the point when they reach a certain height. The fraction for which the lesser becomes a co-owner must be stipulated in the legal contract. It is only at the end of the stipulated contract that the lessee acquires rights, and until then, he has no claim on anything. However, if he dies before its end, his heirs have the right to continue the work until the end of the contract. In practice, it is recognised that the lessee can sell up to a third of his forthcoming "expectations".

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1959; idem, *Introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964 (with detailed bibl.); C. Houdas and F. Martel, *La Tohfat d'Ebn Acem*, Algiers-Paris 1883-93, nn. 1048, 1050; J. Abribat, *Recueil des notions de droit musulman*, Tunis 1896, 166 ff.; Ibn ʿĀṣim al-G̲h̲arnāṭī, *ʿĀṣimiyya*, ed. and tr. L. Bercher, Algiers 1958, 164, 379; Saḥnūn, *Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323, *Analyse* by G. H. Bousquet in *AIEO Alger*, xviii-xix (1961), §§ 1725-55, 1867, 1877. (ED.)

AL-**MUG̲H̲ĀWIR** [see ALMOGÁVARES].

AL-**MUG̲H̲AYYABĀT** AL-**K̲H̲AMS** (A.) "the five mysteries, things concealed in the unseen", a technical term of Islamic theology. These are regarded as known to God alone as part of His pres-

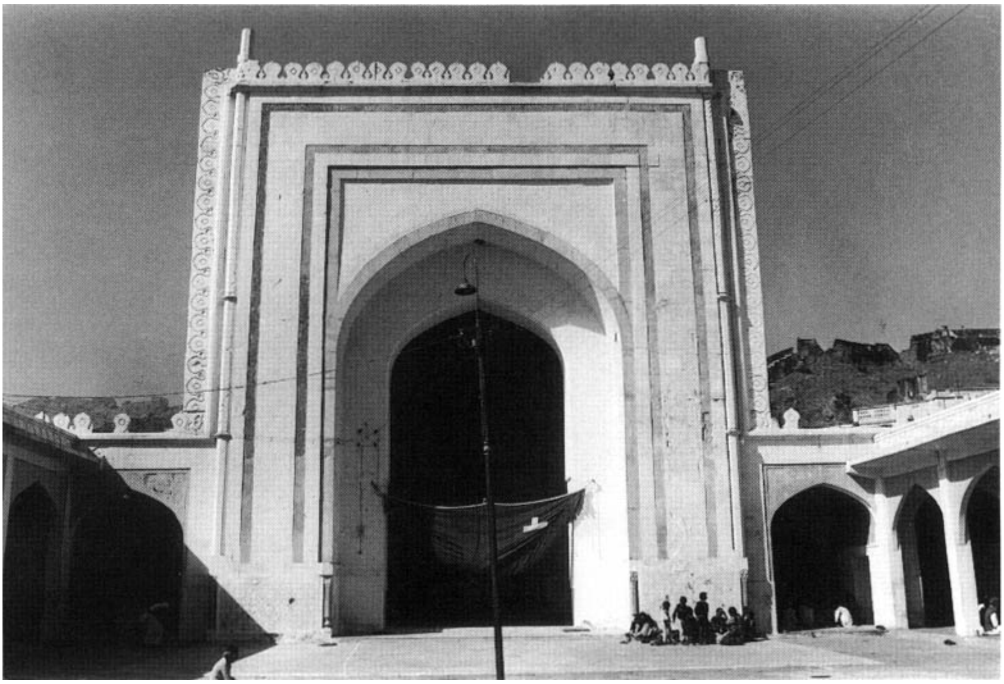

fig. 1 Adjmēr, *dargāh* of Khʷādja Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī, mosque of Akbar, *pīshṭāḳ* of the prayer hall, 1570s. (Photo: E. Koch, 1985)

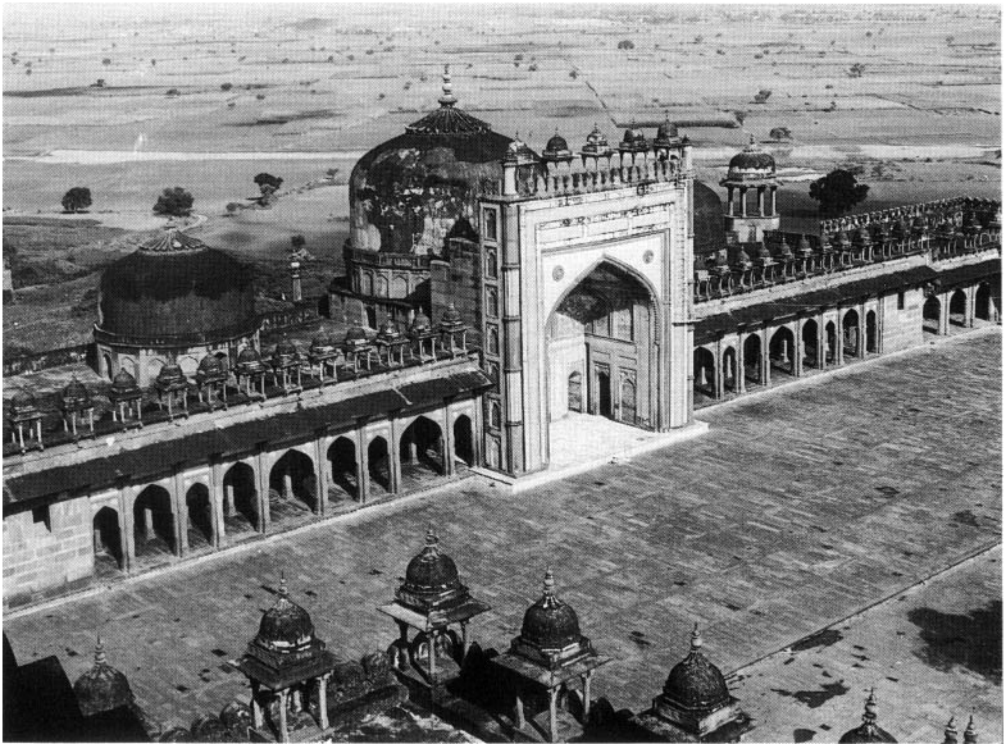

fig. 2 Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, Djāmiʿ Masdjid, prayer hall, c. 976-81/1568-74. (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

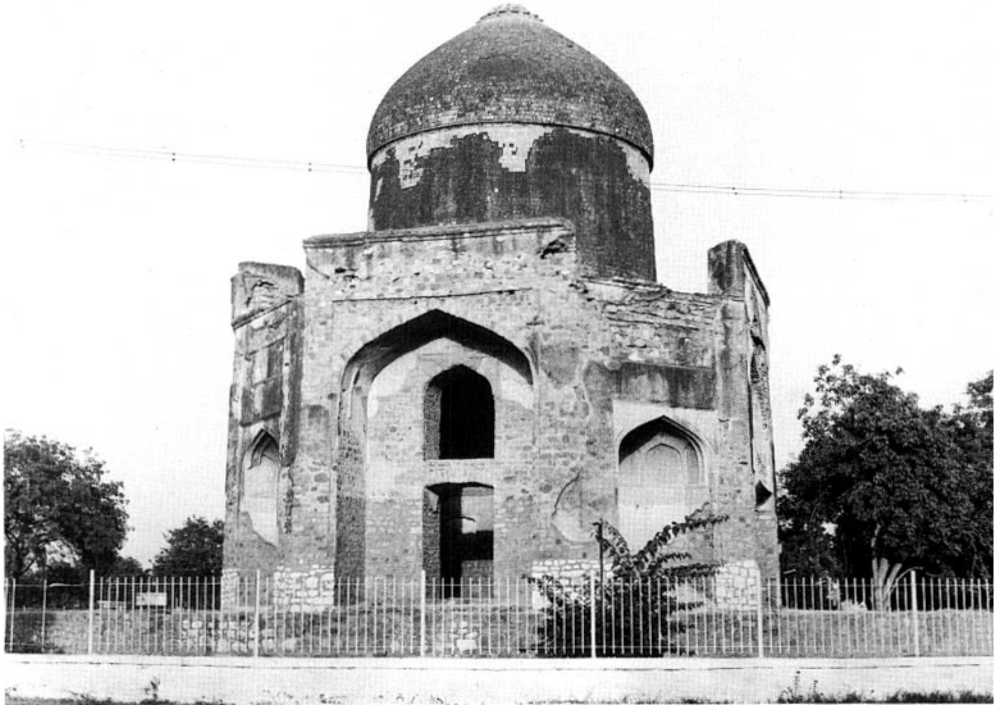

fig. 1 Dihlī, "Sabz Burdj", 1530s-1540s. (Photo: E. Koch, 1976)

fig. 2 Dihlī, mosque and tomb "Afsarwālā", 1560s. (Photo: E. Koch, 1980)

Dihlī, tomb of Humāyūn, 970-8/1562-71. (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

Bayāna, Vidjayamandirgaŕh Fort, pavilion of Muḥammad, dated 940/1533-4. (Photo: E. Koch, 1984)

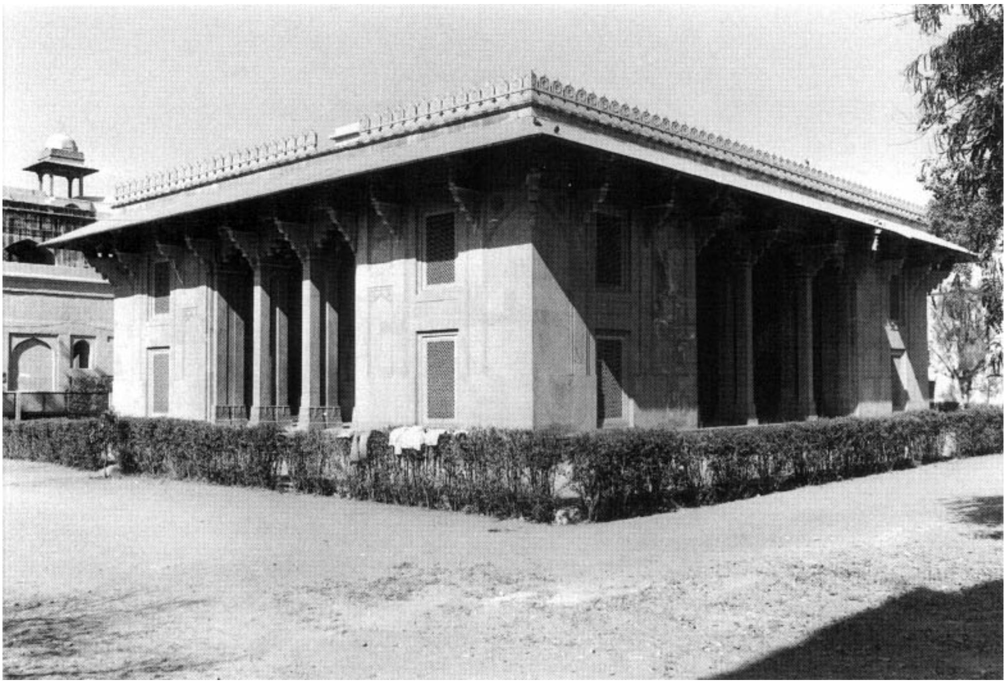

fig. 1 Adjmēr, fort of Akbar, central pavilion, 978-81/1570-3. (Photo: E. Koch, 1985)

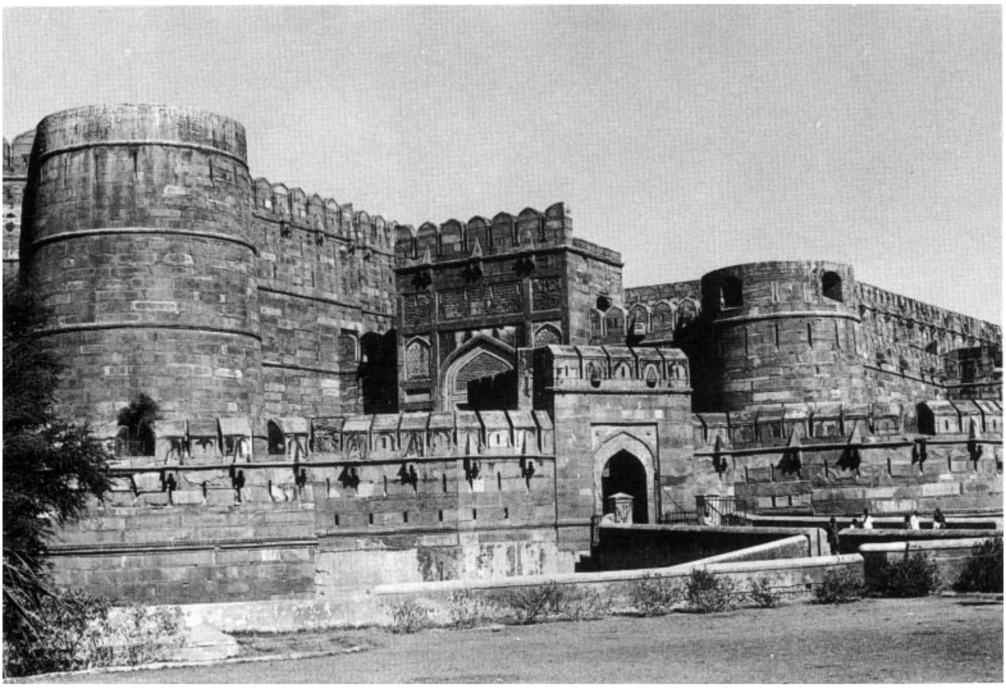

fig. 2 Āgra Fort, "Amar Singh" Gate (Akbarī Darwāza), probably 974/1566-7. (Photo: E. Koch, 1980)

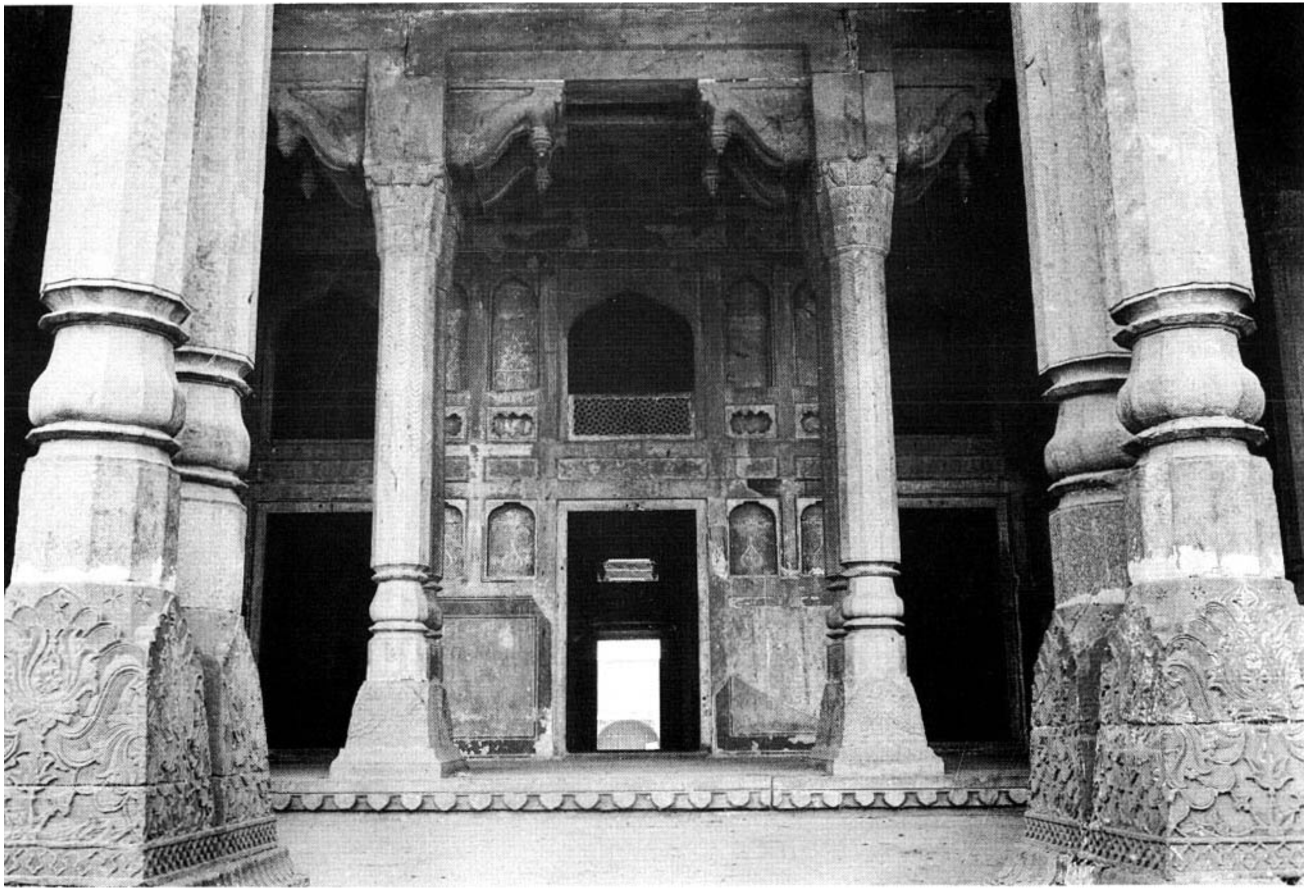

Allāhābād Fort, "Rānī kī Maḥall", pillars of the verandah, founded in 991/1583. (Photo: E. Koch, 1980)

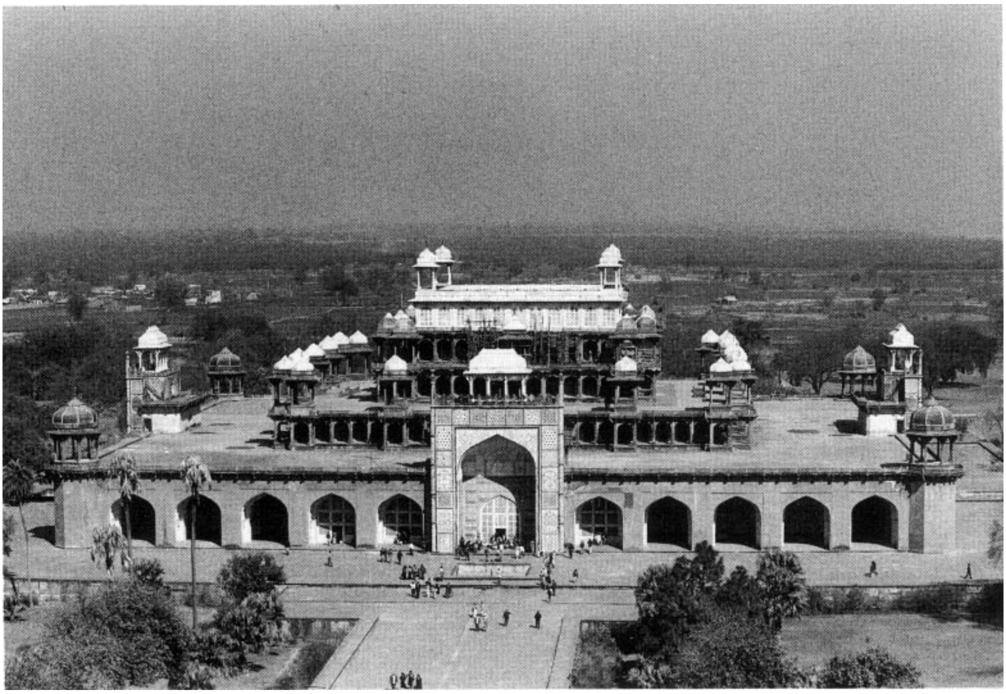

fig. 1 Āgra, Sikandra, tomb of Akbar, dated 1022/1613. (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

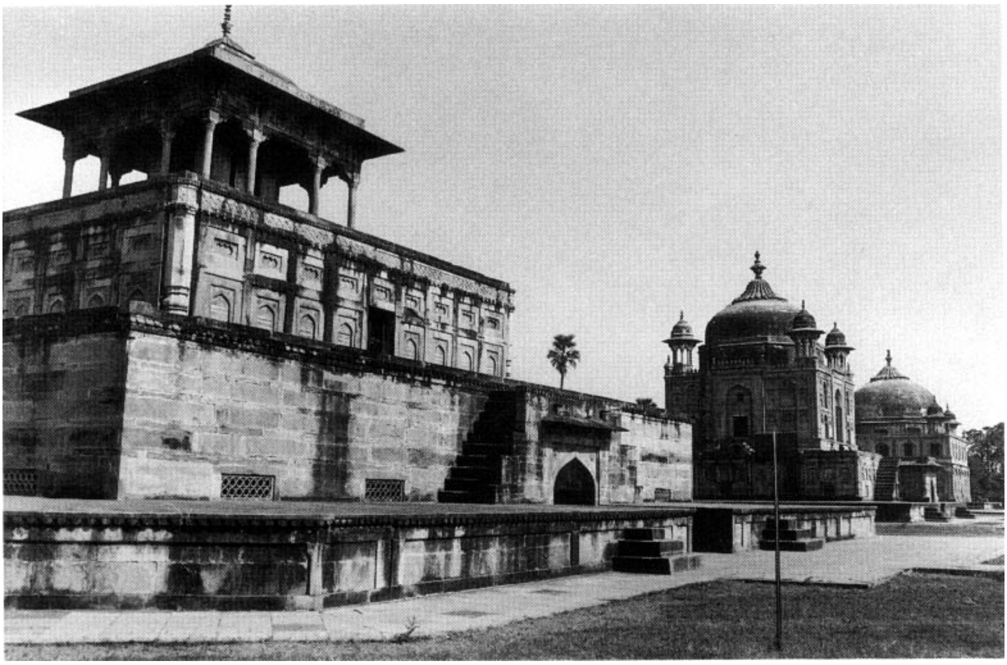

fig. 2 Allāhābād, Khusraw Bāgh, tombs of Shāh Bēgam (d. 1013/1605), of Sulṭān Nithār Bēgam (1034/1624-5) and of Sulṭān Khusraw (d. 1031/1622). (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

fig. 1 Shaykhūpūra near Lāhawr, hunting palace, 1015-30/1607-20 and 1043-4/1634-5. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

fig. 2 Lāhawr Fort, northern front. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

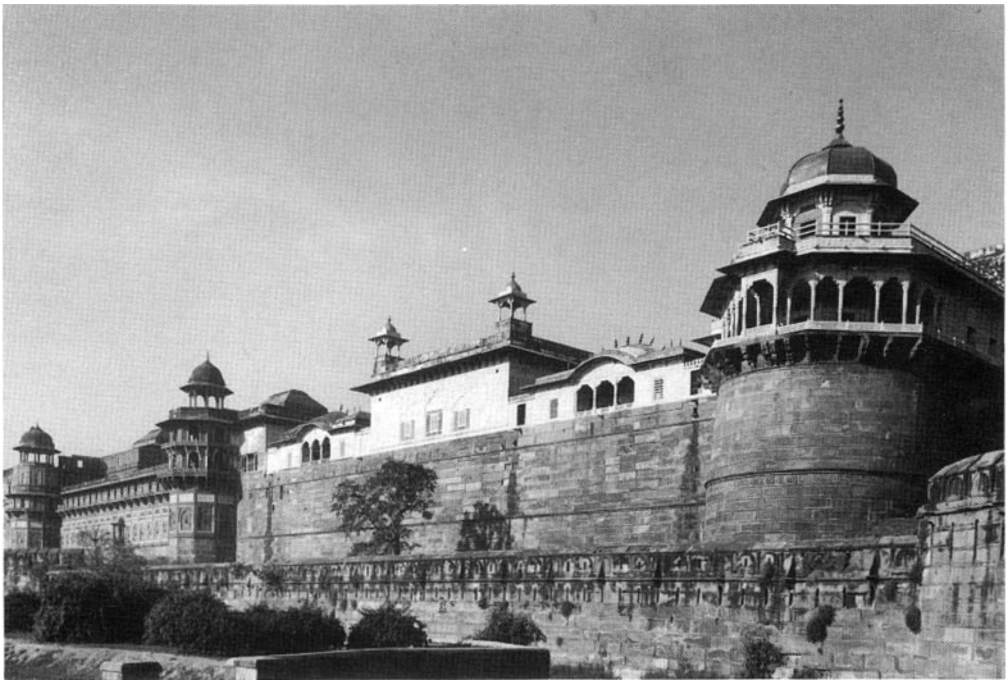

fig. 1 Āgra Fort, eastern front. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

fig. 2 Sarā'ī Nūr Maḥall, west gate, dated 1028-30/1618-20. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

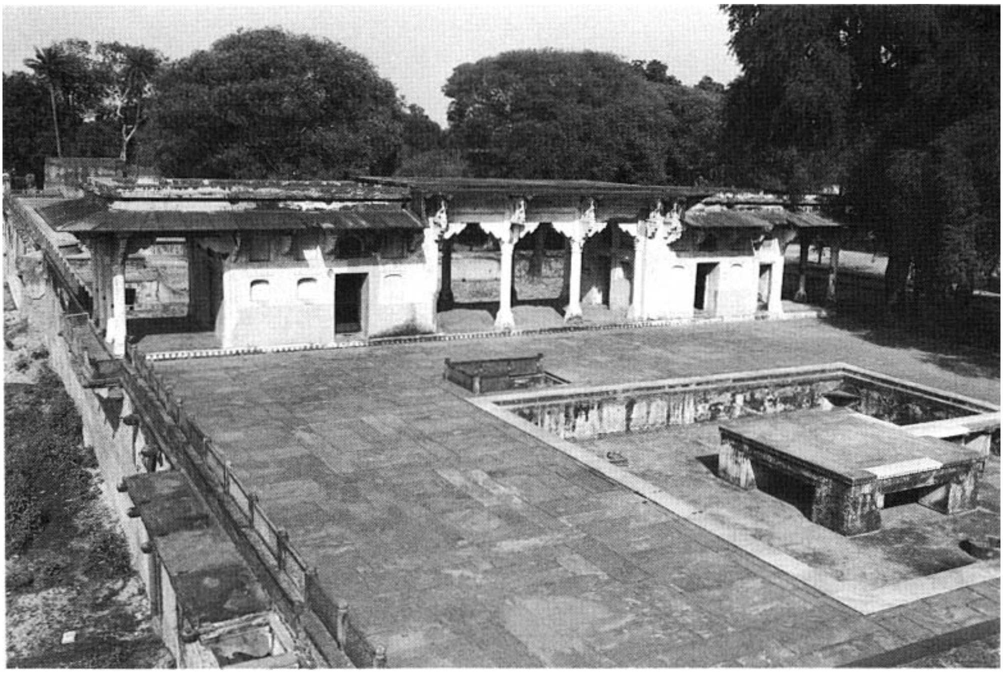

fig. 1 Āgra, "Rām Bāgh" (Bāgh-i Nūr Afshān), river-side terrace, northern pavilion, completed in 1030/1621. (Photo: E. Koch, 1982)

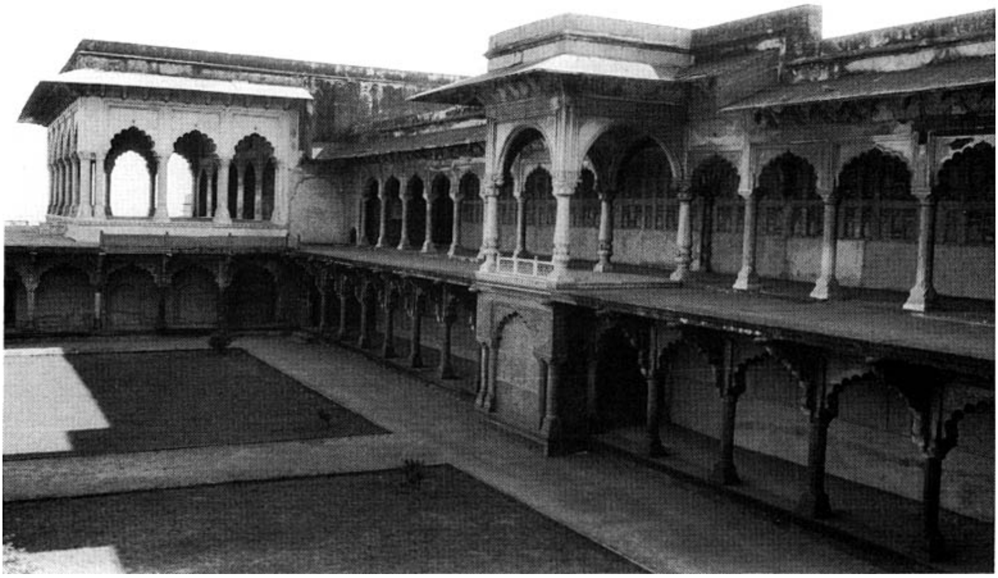

fig. 2 Āgra Fort, "Maččhī Bhawan", completed in 1046/1637. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

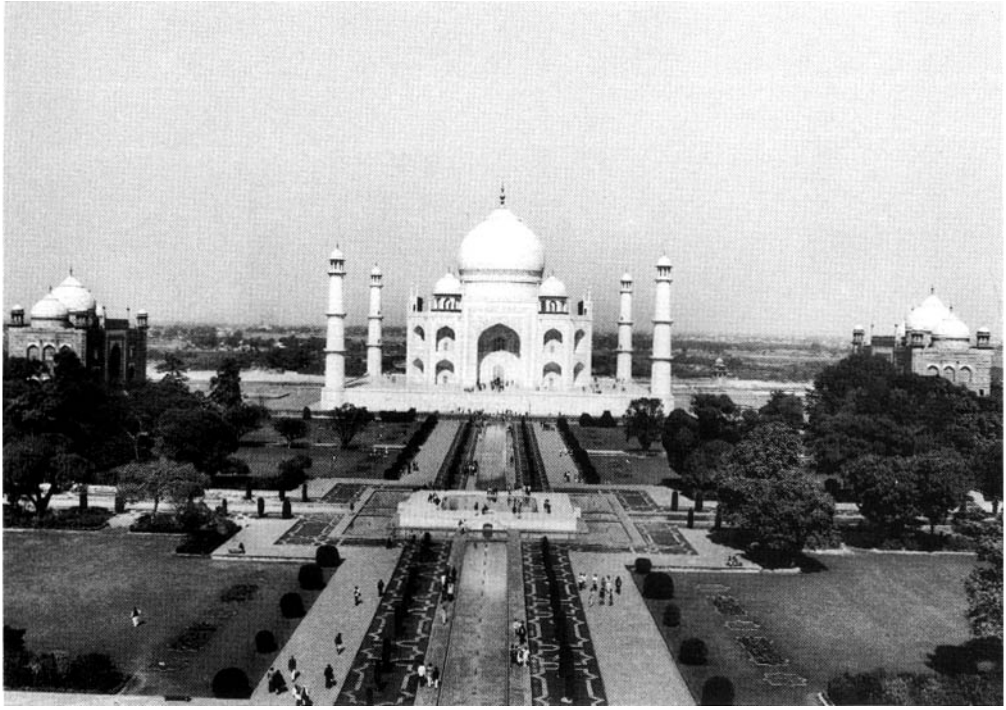

fig. 1 Āgra, Tādj Maḥall, 1041-52/1631-43. (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

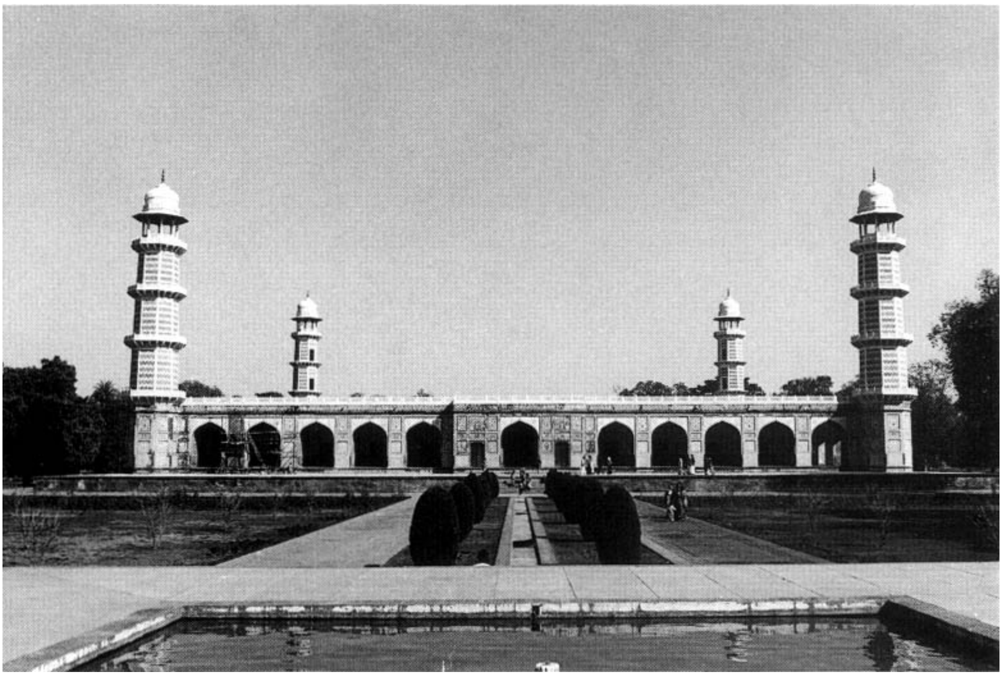

fig. 2 Lāhawr, Shāhdara, tomb of Djahāngīr, 1037-47/1628-38. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

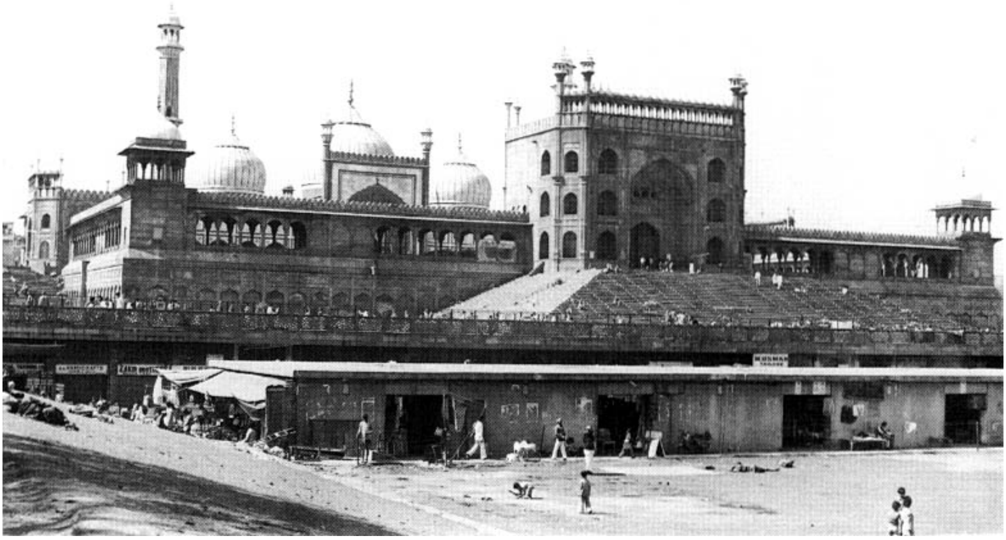

fig. 1 Dihlī, Djāmi' Masdjid, 1060-6/1650-6. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

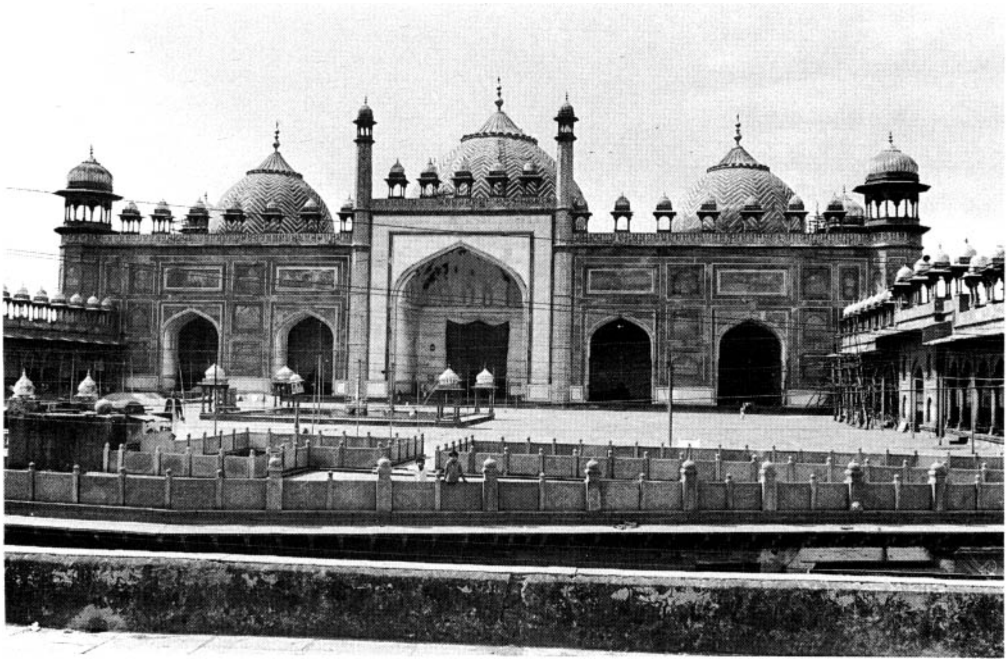

fig. 2 Āgra, Djāmi' Masdjid, completed in 1058/1648. (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

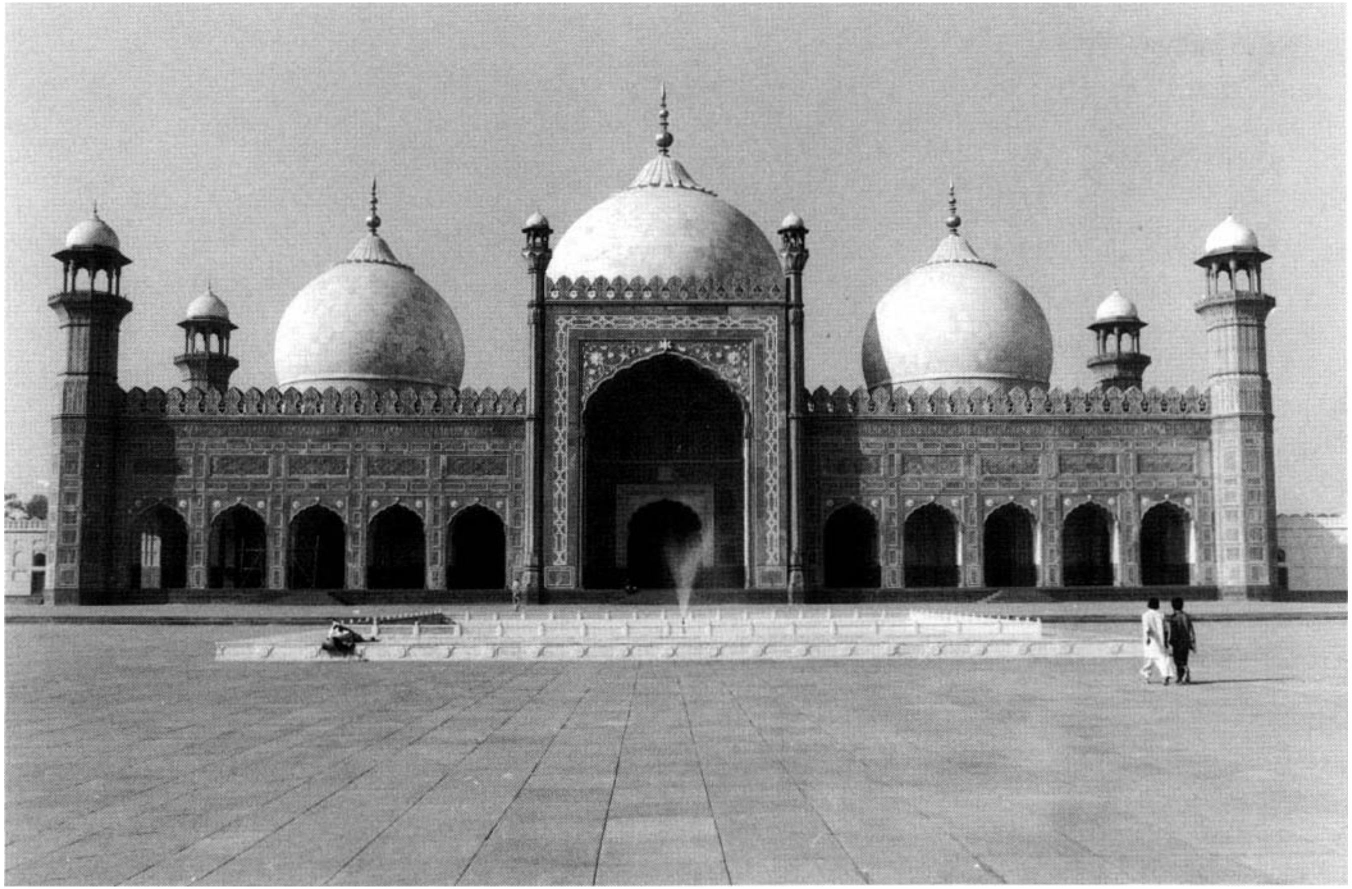

Lāhawr, Bād<u>sh</u>āhī Mas<u>dj</u>id, dated 1084/1673-4. (Photo: E. Koch, 1980)

fig. 1 Dihlī, *madrasa*, mosque and tomb of Ghazī al-Dīn Khān, early 18th century. (Photo: E. Koch, 1981)

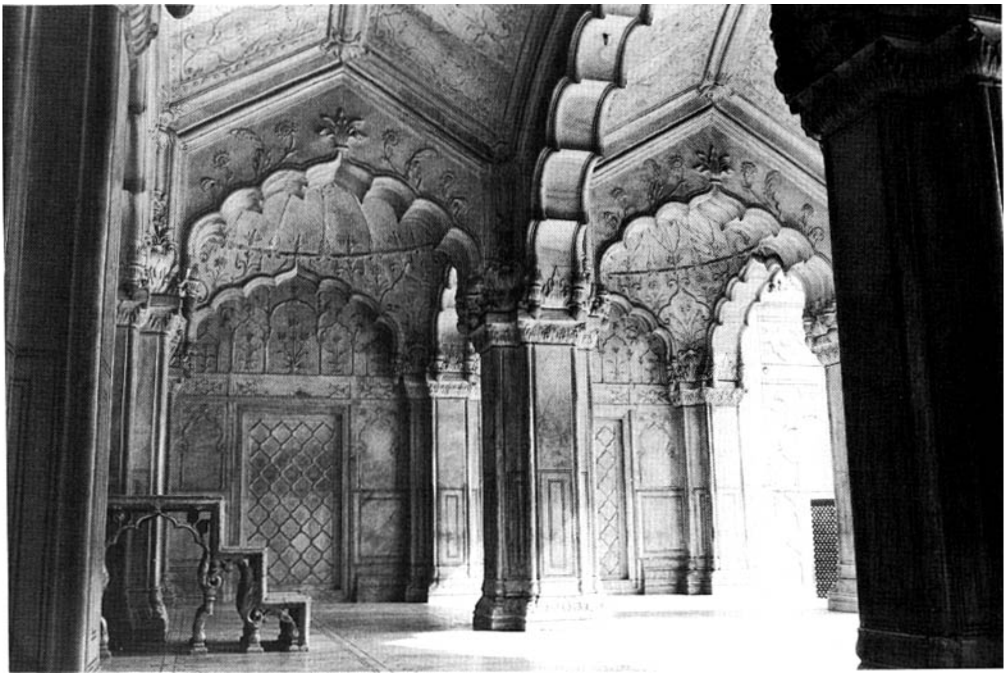

fig. 2 Dihlī Fort, mosque of Awrangzīb, prayer hall, 1074/1663. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

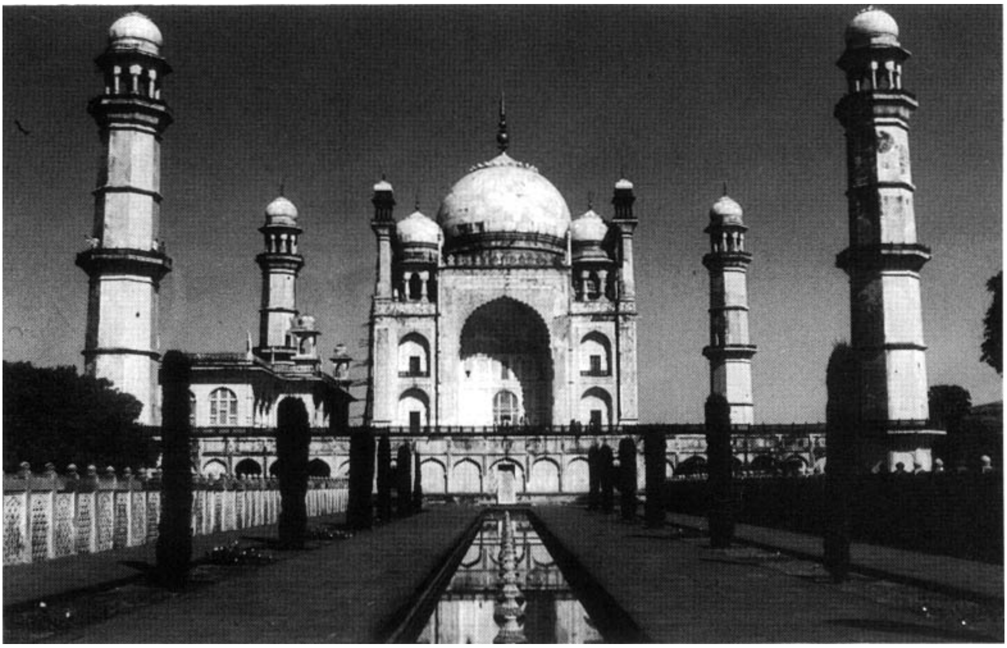

fig. 1 Awrangābād, tomb of Rābiʿa Dawrānī, 1071/1660-1. (Photo: E. Koch, 1982)

fig. 2 Dihlī, tomb of Ṣafdar Djang, 1167/1753-4. (Photo: E. Koch, 1986)

Brighton, Royal Pavilion, 1803-32. (Photo: E. Koch, 1980)

The arrest of Shāh Abu 'l Maʿālī (1556). ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, contemporary. Ouseley Add. 172, 17a. Courtesy of the Curators of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

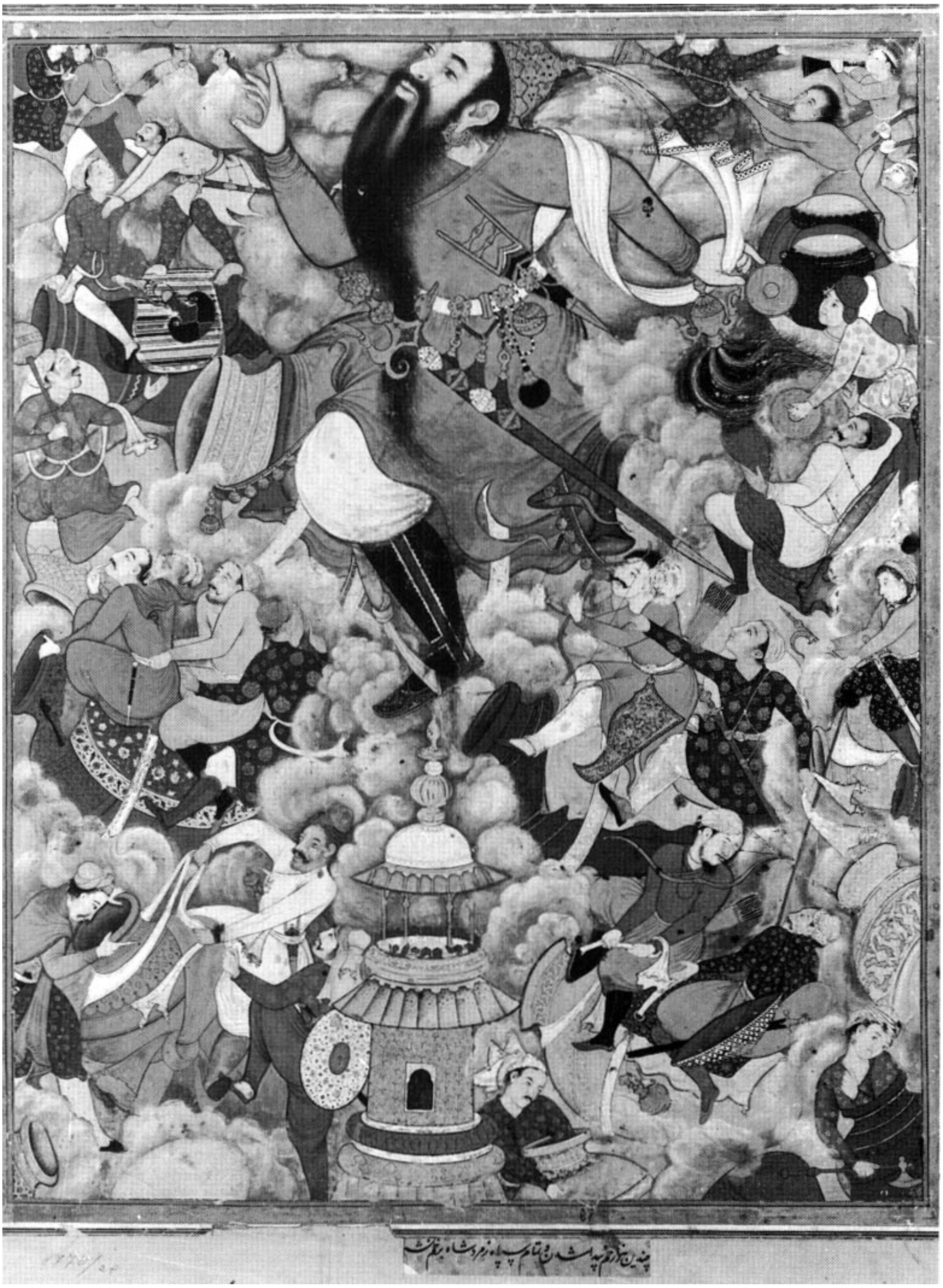

The army of Zumurrud Shāh flies on jars. Probably by Basāwan, *ca.* 1575. Painting on cloth, 8770/28. Courtesy of Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

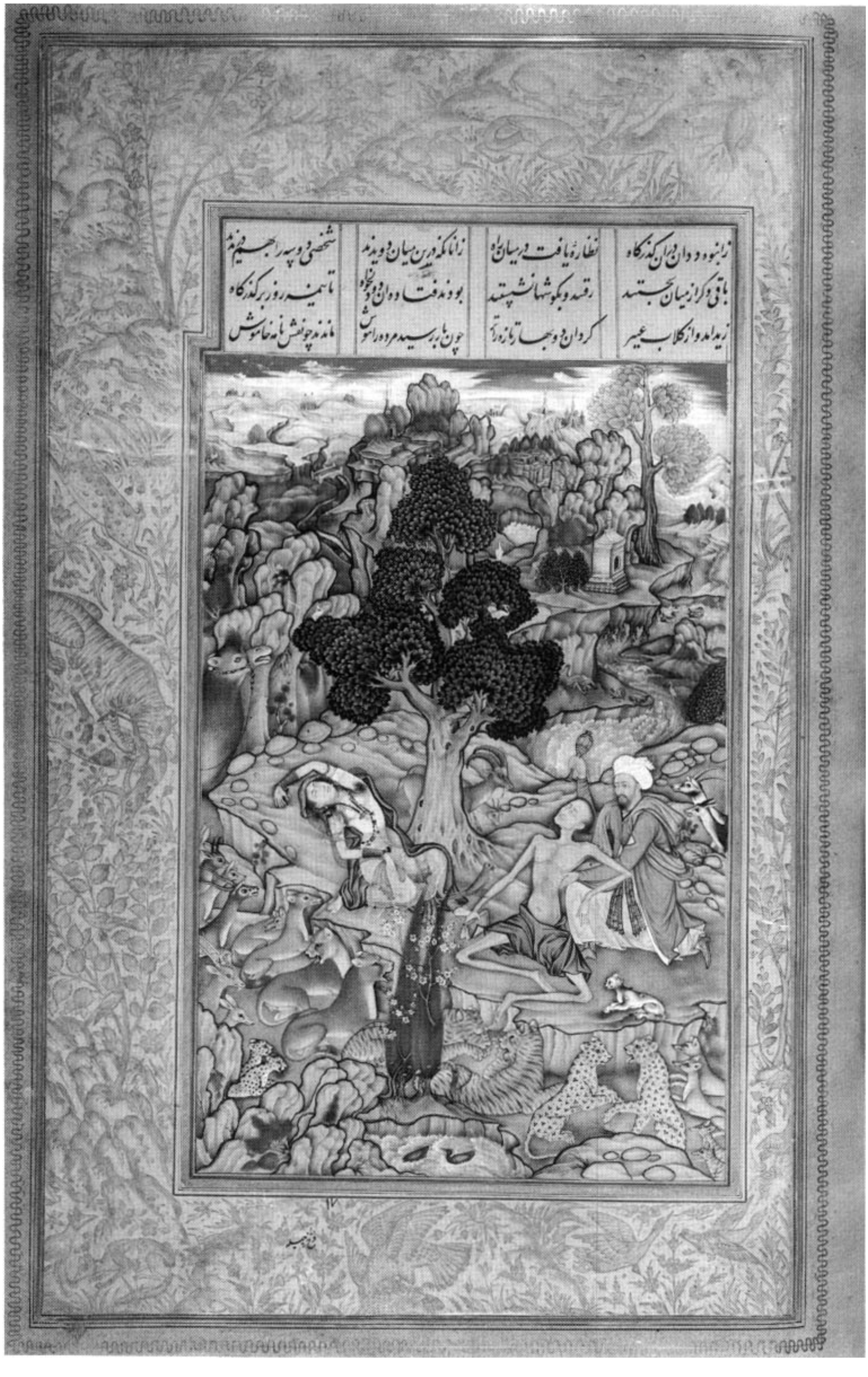

Laylā and Madjnūn faint on meeting. Farrukh Čēla in *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, *ilāhī* 40/1595, Or. 12208, 123a. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Library, London.

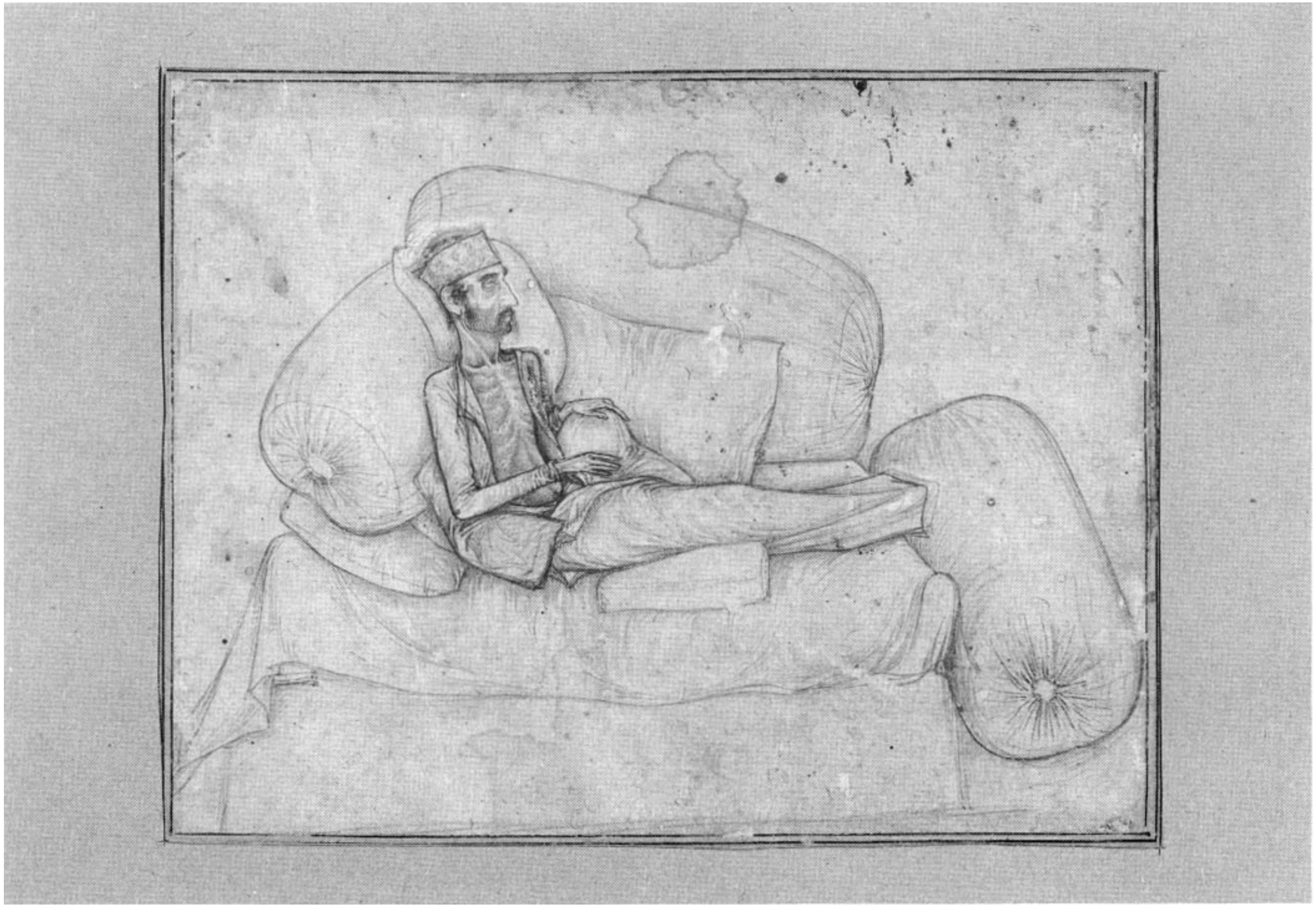

The dying ʿInāyat Khān (1618). Probably by Gowardhan, contemporary. Drawing, 14.679 (Goloubew collection, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund.) Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Djahāngīr prefers a Ṣūfī Shaykh to kings. Bičitr, *ca.* 1616. Painting, 42-15. Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

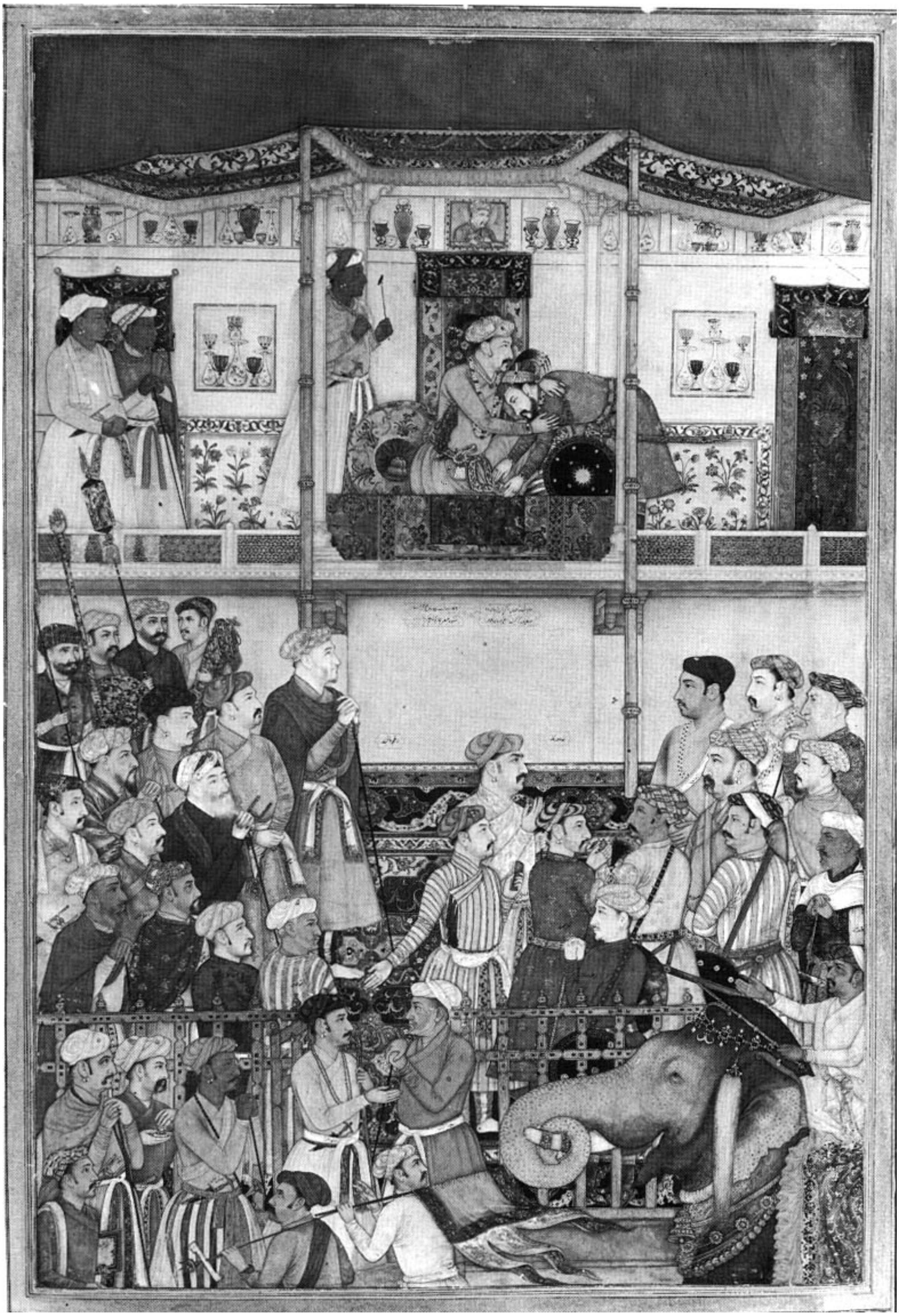

Khurram (later Shāh Djahān) takes leave of Djahāngīr (1613). Bālčand in *Pādshāh-nāma* of Lāhawrī, 1067/1656-7. HB 149, 43b (86). The Royal Library, Windsor Castle. By gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

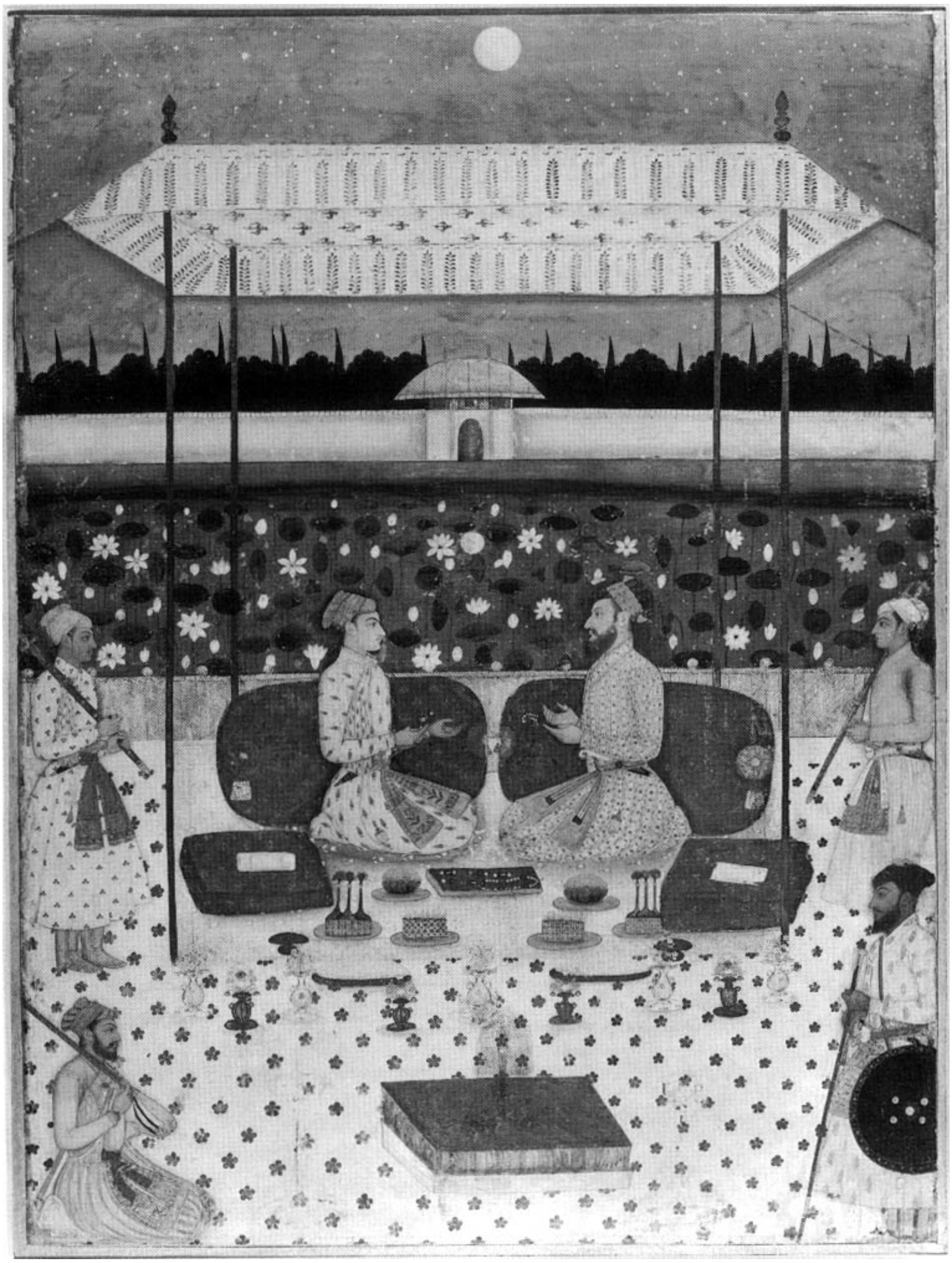

Grandees in converse on a terrace at night. *Ca.* 1680-90. Painting, AL 4940. By courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

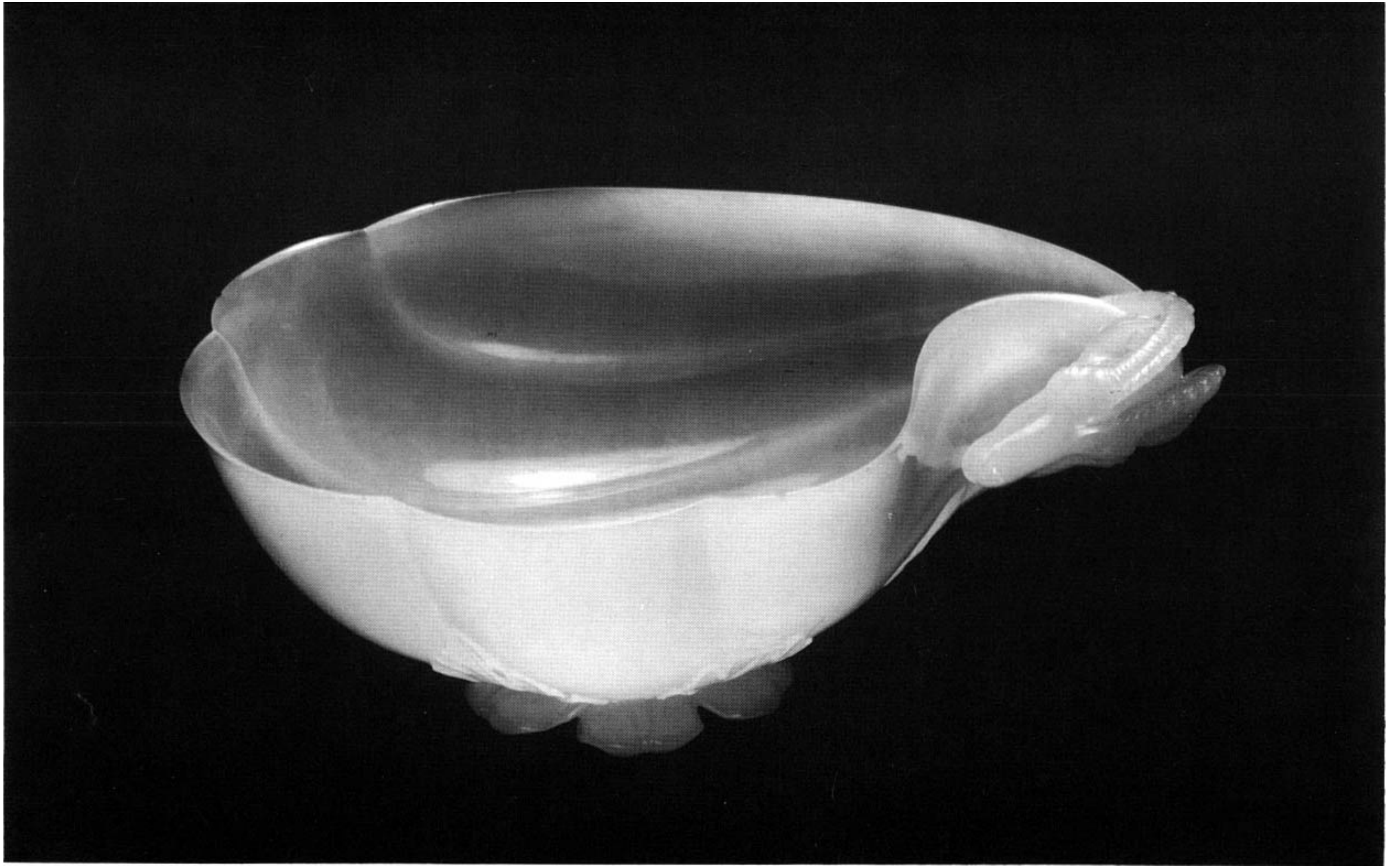

Cup of Shāh Djahān. 1057/1647-8. White nephrite jade, IS 12-1962. By courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

cience and foreknowledge of all aspects of nature and human acitivity (cf. H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian fatalism*, Uppsala 1955, 86 ff.; and AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA ʾL-ḲADAR). These are usually identified with the five things known to God as expounded in the Ḳurʾān, XXXI, 34: the hour of the Last Judgment [see AL-SĀʿA]; when rain will be sent down; what is in the womb (i.e. the sex and number of children); what a man will gain, of his sustenance, on the morrow; and when a man shall die.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): See G. Sale, *The Koran, ad loc.*; R. Paret, *Der Koran, Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart, etc. 1980, 395, for other Ḳurʾānic parallel passages; and the classical commentators *ad loc.*, e.g. Ibn Ka̱thīr, *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿAẓīm*, iii, 453-4. (ED.)

AL-MUGHĪRA B. SAʿĪD AL-BADJALĪ [see AL-MUGHĪRIYYA].

AL-MUGHĪRA B. SHUʿBA, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Thaḳafī, Companion of the Prophet who exercised various political functions under the Patriarchial Caliphs and the early Umayyads.

He belonged to the Aḥlāf section of the Thaḳīf, and was a member of the clan of the Banū Muʿattib, guardians of the sanctuary of the shrine of al-Lāt [*q.v.*] in al-Ṭāʾif, and nephew of ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd [*q.v.*], Companion and martyr. For having attacked and plundered some travelling companions during their sleep, he was forced to leave Ṭāʾif, his native town, and came to Medina to offer his services to Muḥammad. The latter used him to attract the Thaḳīf to Islam, and after the submission of Ṭāʾif, sent him to this town to superintend the destruction of the national sanctuary and the liquidation of the treasure of al-Lāt. In the caliphate of Abū Bakr, although he never succeeded in attaining to one of the great posts which were reserved for Ḳuraysh, al-Mughīra was able to keep a position in governing circles. ʿUmar, while under no illusions about his morals, appointed him governor of Baṣra. A scandalous incident temporarily interrupted his administrative career. He was accused of adultery. The evidence was overwhelming: instead of having him stoned, ʿUmar only dismissed him. Al-Mughīra holds in tradition the record for marriages and divorces: the figures of 300, 700 and 1,000 are given. In the year 21/642, recalled to public life, he was appointed to the important governorship of Kūfa. His slave Abū Luʾluʾa [*q.v.*], who lived in Medina, assassinated the caliph ʿUmar. Under ʿUthmān, al-Mughīra retired to private life. In the reign of ʿAlī, he withdrew to Ṭāʾif to watch the course of events. He went without having been invited to the conference of Adhruḥ [*q.v.*]. In 40/660, taking advantage of the general confusion that followed the assassination of ʿAlī, by means of a letter of appointment from Muʿāwiya which he was accused of having forged, he took over the control of the annual pilgrimage.

The Umayyad caliph was able to appreciate at their true value auxiliaries of the stamp of al-Mughīra, one of the chief *dāhiyas* of his time, the man "who could get himself out of the most hopeless difficulty"; "if (it was said) he were shut behind seven doors, his cunning would have found a way to burst all the locks." Of shocking morals, free from any attachment to the ʿAlid party, equally free from any claims to the caliphate, free from the jealousies of the Ḳuraysh families, as well as the narrow-mindedness of the Anṣār clans, a member of the intelligent and enterprising tribe of Thaḳīf, everything attracted Muʿāwiya's attention to him. In the year 41/661, this caliph appointed him governor of Kūfa, a region disturbed by the intrigues of the Shīʿa and the continual risings of the Khāridjīs. Al-Mughīra succeeded in not compromising himself with the former; he was content to advise them to avoid any too striking outburst. Now nearly sixty, the able Thaḳafī felt the unusual ambition of remaining where he was and of finishing his troubled career in peace and honour. This opportunist, who had come over to the Umayyads after cool calculation, felt little desire to sacrifice his own peace and leisure for the consolidation of the Umayyad dynasty; he was solely concerned with keeping on the right side of the sagacious Muʿāwiya. The sudden rising of the Khāridjī leader al-Mustawrid failed to disturb his equanimity. With remarkable cleverness, he was able to let loose against these rebels their born enemies, "the fine flower of the Shīʿa". Whichever was victorious, it could not fail to lighten his responsibilities. By setting them against one another he rendered harmless the most dangerous elements of disorder in his province. The crushing of the Khāridjīs enabled him to breathe freely.

Thanks to this combination of mildness and astuteness, and by knowing when to shut his eyes, al-Mughīra succeeded in avoiding desperate measures against the people of ʿIrāḳ, who were a continual source of trouble, and succeeded in retaining his position. He was even regretted by his former subjects after he was gone. Not quite satisfied, Muʿāwiya thought of breaking this lieutenant of his who was playing a double game. Al-Mughīra was always able at the opportune moment to provoke troubles which required the continuation of his services. In this way he prepared the return to favour of Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], destined to be his successor. He is also said to have disarmed the caliph's suspicions by suggesting the plan of proclaiming Yazīd heir-apparent. As the general situation had considerably improved in ʿIrāḳ and order prevailed, on the surface at least, the caliph left him in office till his death, the date of which is uncertain but which must be placed between 48 and 51 (668-71). Al-Mughīra died of the plague at the age of about 70.

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AL-MUGHĪRIYYA, extremist Shīʿī sect named after its founder al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd al-Badjalī, a *mawlā* of Khālid al-Ḳasrī, governor of ʿIrāḳ (105-20/724-38). Since Khālid al-Ḳasrī was a member of Badjīla, al-Mughīra is also called a *mawlā* of this Southern Arab tribe. Descriptions of him as a member of the Banū ʿIdjl are probably the result of a confusion with another extremist Shīʿī heresiarch, Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIdjlī [see MANṢŪRIYYA].

Al-Mughīra is described as an old and blind man practising magic and jugglery about the time of his revolt in Kūfa in 119/737. He was a follower of the

Ḥusaynid Muḥammad al-Bāḳir until the latter's death *ca.* 117/735 and is accused of having ascribed extremist doctrine to him. After al-Bāḳir's death he backed the belief that the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (al-Nafs al-Zakiyya) [*q.v.*] would come forth as the Mahdī. It was evidently at this time that Muḥammad's father ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan began secretly to foster expectations that his son would be the expected Mahdī, his name and father's name matching those of the Prophet, his ancestor. As Muḥammad b.ʿAbd Allāh went into concealment from the authorities, the Mug͟hīriyya claimed that he was alive hiding in a mountain called al-Ṭamiyya located east of the route from al-Ḥād͟jir to Mecca. Until his appearance as the Mahdī, al-Mug͟hīra taught, the imāmate of the ʿAlids lapsed and he, al-Mug͟hīra, was the *imām*. As in his extremist doctrine he elevated the rank of the ʿAlid *imāms* to divinity, he claimed prophethood and taught that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh had given him from his mouth the holy spirit with which he was able to bring the dead alive and to heal the blind and the leper.

The circumstances of the revolt of al-Mug͟hīra reported in the sources are puzzling, since he is said to have had only six or seven companions, yet K͟hālid al-Ḳasrī is described as greatly frightened by the news. Al-Mug͟hīra's relationship with Bayān b. Samʿān [*q.v.*], who is described as rebelling at the same time, or just before him, is also obscure. According to most accounts, al-Mug͟hīra was put to death by the governor for his extremist teaching rather than for sedition. His body was exhibited on a cross at the Ḳanṭarat al-ʿĀs͟hir in Wāsiṭ.

According to the Sunnī sources, the Mug͟hīriyya recognised D͟jābir al-D͟juʿfī [*q.v.*] as al-Mug͟hīra's successor, and after his death *ca.* 128/745-6, Bakr al-Aʿwar al-Had͟jarī al-Ḳattāt. The Imāmī sources consider D͟jābir al-D͟juʿfī a loyal follower of the *Imām* D͟jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, and Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh describes Bakr al-Ḳattāt as the immediate successor of al-Mug͟hīra. When the Mug͟hīriyya later discovered that Bakr had been lying to them and was enriching himself at their expense, they deposed him and recognised al-Mug͟hīra's son ʿAbd Allāh as their *imām*. Nas͟hwān al-Ḥimyarī's account, according to which ʿAbd Allāh cheated them of their money, is probably mistaken.

After the failure of the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and his death in 145/762, some of the Mug͟hīriyya claimed that he had been a devil who had taken the shape of Muḥammad and that the real Muḥammad would still rise and rule the world. Others accepted his death and did not recognise an *imām* after him. The sect seems to have disintegrated soon after his death. The reliability of a report of Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh about a sect of the Mug͟hīriyya called al-Mahdiyya who recognised Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya as the Mahdī is open to doubt.

In al-Mug͟hīra's gnostic doctrine (which, he claimed, was based on his knowledge of God's Greatest Name and which relied on allegorical interpretation of the Ḳurʾān), God was described in human shape with members in the number and form of the letters of the Arabic alphabet. When God wanted to create the world, He spoke His Greatest Name which fell on His head as His crown. He wrote the acts of obedience and disobedience of mankind on His palm. As He grew angry about the acts of disobedience, His sweat produced two seas, one dark and salty, and the other bright and sweet. When He saw His shadow on the sea, He went to seize it. He created the sun from the eye of His shadow and wiped out the rest of it, saying "There must not be another god but me." Then He created the infidels from the salty sea and the believers from the sweet. First He created the shadows (*ẓilāl*) of mankind, beginning with Muḥammad and ʿAlī. He offered to the heavens, the earth and the mountains that they should prevent ʿAlī (from succeeding Muḥammad), but they refused. When He made the same offer to mankind, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar accepted. Al-Mug͟hīra is also described as having taught metempsychosis. Some sources accuse the Mug͟hīriyya of having practised strangulation of their opponents like the Manṣūriyya.

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(W. MADELUNG)

MUG͟HLA, modern Tksh. MUĞLA, a town of south-western Anatolia.

In Antiquity it was known as Mobolla or Mogolla; the Byzantine period has not left any traces either in Mug͟hla itself or its immediate environment. From the second half of the 7th/13th century onward, the area was conquered by the Turks and became the site of the Mentes͟he Og͟hullarī [*q.v.*] principality. This principality was centred upon Milas and Pečin (the latter settlement was finally abandoned in the middle of the 20th century and is today an important archeological site). Mug͟hla was sometimes the residence of minor Mentes͟he Og͟hullarī princes, and became the area's administrative centre only after the Ottoman conquest.

The Mentes͟he Og͟hullarī, on the defensive against their northern neighbours the Aydīn Og͟hullarī, in the 8th/14th century established political and commercial relations with the Venetian administration of Crete. In spite of Papal prohibitions, Venetian merchants sold metals to Mentes͟he, and received horses and slaves in return. On the Mentes͟he side, this trade was often handled as a monopoly controlled by the prince. Whenever the Mentes͟he Og͟hullarī were in a difficult political position, the Venetians exercised pressure to have the monopolies lifted, and finally succeded in having all import monopolies abolished except those concerning soap and wine. Venetian trade with the area was apparently curtailed after Sultan Yīldīrīm Bāyezīd (791-805/1389-1402) conquered the Mentes͟he principality and prohibited the export of grain, horses and timber. After Bāyezīd's defeat by Tīmūr (804/1402), the Mentes͟he Og͟hullarī were re-

established in their principality, and the area was fully incorporated into the Ottoman Empire only under Murad II (824-48, 850-5/1421-44, 1446-51). The oldest Ottoman tax register (*taḥrīr*) mentioning Mug͟hla was compiled under Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512). According to this document, the townsmen paid 4370 *aḳčes* as *iḥtisāb* and *iḥḍāriyye* taxes. In the year 923/1517 another tax register covering the province (*sand̲j̲aḳ*) of Mentes͟he was compiled, which records 591 adult males resident in Mug͟hla. About one-quarter of the town's taxpayers were probably recent immigrants from the countryside or were still engaged in agriculture even though resident in Mug͟hla, for in addition to their names, the register records whether they possessed farm land as *nīm čift* holders, *bennāk* or *ḳara(d̲j̲aba)*. This practice was normal in villages, but inapplicable to fully fledged townsmen. Mug͟hla was an administrative centre with a strong agricultural component, and has continued as a semi-agricultural market town down to the present day.

The town's most prominent inhabitant of the 10th/16th century was doubtless the lexicographer and Mawlawī dervish S͟hāhidī, who was a follower of Dīwāne Meḥmed Čelebi. The latter was a descendant of Mawlānā D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] and an active propagator of mysticism. Dīwāne Meḥmed Čelebi [*q.v.*] and his Mug͟hla disciple belonged to the antinomian, enthusiastic tradition within the order, and Dīwāne Meḥmed Čelebi travelled widely throughout Anatolia. S͟hāhidī ultimately returned to his native town where he probably wrote the *Guls͟hen-i asrār*, containing both his master's biography as well as his own (915/1544). He died in 957/1550. In the *waḳif* sections of various 10th/16th century registers, the *zāwiye* where S͟hāhidī propagated the Mawlawī order is described in some detail. The institution possessed lands and tax rights throughout the provinces of Mentes͟he and Ḥāmid (modern Isparta); but the inventory of Mentes͟he pious foundations compiled in 970/1562-3 shows the buildings as modest and partially in ruins. A mosque bearing the name of S͟hāhidī is still in existence. Another prominent dervish of the 10th/16th century was S͟hayk͟h Bedr al-Dīn, whose name became attached to another of Mug͟hla's mosques, as his adherents had made many donations to this sanctuary. Most of the donors gave a shop or else a small sum of money to be lent out at interest. Most of these donors were probably artisans, but the *s͟hayk͟h*, who was a disciple of S͟hayk͟h Wefā (d. 896/1490-1) had also gained the support of powerful men, who were impressed by the *semā*ᶜ meetings which he organised. S͟hāhidī had his reservations concerning the worldly successes of S͟hayk͟h Bedr al-Dīn, but admits that for a while, he was his disciple.

Even though Mug͟hla was remote from the more important caravan routes of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, the town benefited from lively regional trade. Thus Mug͟hla's most substantial pious foundation, the mosque, *madrasa* and school founded by Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Muṣliḥ al-Dīn, was financed by 220 shops located in the Mentes͟he village of Mesevli. Some of these were used as storage places for salt from a nearby salt pan. In the neighbouring town of Ula, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Muṣliḥ al-Dīn's foundation also received revenues from a hundred shops. Even though most of these shops were probably in use only for a limited number of weeks every year, trade in the province was lively enough to warrant the construction of a *k͟hān* in the market village of Yerkesiği near Mug͟hla.

Probably as a result of this activity, the population of the town increased toward the end of the 10th/16th century. While the taxpaying population of Mug͟hla had been 591 in 923/1517 and 474 in 970/1562-3, in 991/1583 625 adult males were recorded. As the number of tax exempt residents was probably low, 10th/16th century Mug͟hla must have been inhabited by only a few thousand people. Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited Mug͟hla in 1083/1672, records 2,170 houses corresponding to about 10,000 inhabitants. But it is difficult to explain how this increase should have come about during the troubled conditions of the D̲j̲alālī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] rebellions. Ewliyā does not mention any craft industries, and the town did not possess a covered market, the "status symbol" of important Ottoman towns. Eleven primary schools and seven *madrasas* show Mug͟hla to have been more active on the cultural level than warranted by its size and economic importance.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, Mug͟hla experienced but limited growth: in 1903 population amounted to 10,215. The 1927 census, which followed upon a decade of war and the 1923 exchange of Greek and Turkish minorities, again showed a population of slightly over 10,000. Even in 1970, Muğla contained but 18,624 inhabitants (1975, 24,178; 1980, slightly over 27,000). Apart from 1923, the city experienced no drastic population change, and the "twenty families" making up the local élite also changed but gradually. Thus the "traditional" fabric of old-style residential areas was preserved, along with the urban innovations which Istanbul-appointed bureaucrats and wealthy minority merchants had introduced during the second half of the 19th century: houses with decorative façades oriented toward streets suitable for wheeled traffic, pre-planned squares and neighbourhoods, barracks, a clock-tower, elaborate school buildings and increased facilities for buying and selling. The entire core area of Muğla was declared an historical monument in 1984, and the touristic potential of Muğla province as a whole has encouraged conservation and restoration in the town.

Down into the 1960s and beyond, Muğla craftsmen survived due to poor roads, which allowed locally tanned leather and cotton and silk goods manufactured by cottage industries to compete with factory-produced goods. More important were changes in the rural hinterland. In the early 13th/19th century, intensified export of grain and forest products encouraged the formation of large holdings, mostly in the hands of Muslims but occasionally of non-Muslims as well. However by the early 1900s, tobacco and later cotton cultivation led to an increase in the price of labour. Family farms proved more effective, and most large landowners sold out and invested the proceeds in trade and communications. Many of these ex-landowners moved out of Mug͟hla, and the new local élite was more commercially oriented than its predecessor. This process was speeded up by the infrastructural investment of the 1950s. Grain cultivation receded, as more rapid means of communication encouraged the growing of fruit and vegetables for the large cities of Turkey. Olive cultivation expanded, particularly since Turkish law encourages the transformation of wild olive trees into cultivated ones by transferring trees newly made productive into the private property of the grafter. However, gaps in this law have allowed the alienation of coastal land for "wild" development as hotels and summer camps.

Due to inland location, Muğla has had only a limited share of the new investment opportunities characteristic of the coastal areas, and much urban activity is generated by the town's rôle as a provincial capital and educational centre; from 1982 onward,

Muğla has housed an extension of the Izmir-based Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi. Thus Muğla, in spite of its small size and relative isolation, is very open toward impulses coming from the larger cities, and the political climate resembles the latter more closely than is true of many other towns in this size category.

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(S. Faroqhi)

MUGHULISTĀN. [see MOGHOLISTĀN].

MUGHULṬĀY b. Ķilīdj b. ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bakdjarī (from Bakdjara, in Anatolia) al-Ḥikrī (from Ḥikr, the quarter of Cairo where he lived) al-Ḥanafī (689 or after 690-762/1290 or after 1291-1361), famous Ḥanafī scholar who occupied the chair of *ḥadīth* in different colleges, such as the Ẓāhiriyya, the Muẓaffariyya Baybarsiyya, the Nāṣiriyya, etc. But Mughulṭāy remains a controversial personality, who provoked several polemics and stirred up protests from his colleagues and contemporaries because of certain of his writings, which were considered to be daring, concerning ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet's wife [*q.v.*]. About 100 works are attributed to him, the most important of which are the *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī; Dhayl al-Muʾtalif wa 'l-mukhtalif* and *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī sīrat Abi 'l-Ķāsim*, a biography of the Prophet written as a commentary upon and criticism of al-Suhaylī's *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*. Brockelmann (who calls him Nāṣir al-Dīn) gives a list of Mughulṭāy's surviving works still in manuscript.

His son Djamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr (719-91/1319-89) followed in his father's footsteps, but did not achieve his reputation.

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(Abdelhamid Saleh Hamdan)

MUḤADDITH [see ḤADĪTH].

MUHĀDJIR (a.), literally, "one who migrates", has been applied to various groups in the course of Islamic history.

1. In earliest Islam. See for this HIDJRA and MUHĀDJIRŪN.

2. In Turkey and the Ottoman lands.

The function of the Turkish heartlands of Anatolia and Thrace as the refuge of Islam, *Islām-penāh*, became significant as Ottoman power declined and the Muslim populations of outlying territories became exposed to the imposition of unfavourable Christian administrations, notably through Russian expansion and national movements in the Balkans. The term *muhādjir/muhacir* continued to be used for refugees and the victims of the population exchanges in the early years of the Republic, but by 1933 was recommended for replacement by the neologism *göçmen*, which is free of religious associations and more appropriate to the new laic state. In effect, however, the association between Islam and Turkishness, and thence with Turkey, has continued to exercise a powerful effect, particularly in the Balkans, and the subsequent refugee movement has remained partly religious in motive. *Göçmen* was in turn replaced by *mülteci* for the Turkish refugees from Afghanistan accepted in 1982 (the proposed neologism *sığınık* failed to be accepted).

Earlier movements into the provinces of the Ottoman Empire reflect the progressive loss of influence in former vassal states and allied regions. After the Russian invasion of the Crimea in 1185/1771 and the treaty of Küčük Ķaynardja [*q.v.*] in 1188/1774, an exodus of both Crimean Turks and Tatars began despite guarantees of the sultan's continuing religious authority in the region. This was primarily to Ottoman territory west of the Black Sea, notably the Dobrudja [*q.v.*] at the Danube delta and the valley of the Danube itself, and the Tundja and Maritsa [see MERIČ] valleys further south; the Tatars had helped found colonies there from 1603 onwards and were thus able to exploit their links in that direction. From an estimated population of 300,000, the Russian governor concluded that half had left between 1772 and 1783 (Fisher, in *Bibl.*, 75), and according to Pallas, 80,000 left in 1783 alone (Kläy, in *Bibl.*, 1974, 101). Following the adoption of the Crimea as a Russian province in 1783, many of the leading families and the deposed khān left with 8,000 more in 1783-4, and records at the Bāb-ı ʿĀlī show a total of 180,000 as having taken refuge by 1790, or 300,000 by 1800 (Kläy, 101, citing Seidahmet, and Gözaydın, in *Bibl.*, 71). Potemkin had in fact ordered all local "Tatars" from the mountains and steppe to be expelled in 1784 (A. Özenbaşlı, (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*), thus accepting only the town populations; a similar policy was pursued by Alexander II after the Crimean War and repealed

only in 1860, when a further 100,000 had left. According to official sources, another 141,667 emigrated in 1860-2, and 18,000 to 20,000 in 1891-3 (Gözaydın, 93). Gaspïralï Ismāʿīl Bey suggests a total exodus of a million or more by the beginning of this century. In 1944 the remaining Muslims were deported to Özbekistan and elsewhere in Central Asia, and despite their rehabilitation they have not been allowed back. Russian annexation of the Kuban steppes also effected the Noghay [*q.v.*], who ranged the pastures there and north of the Crimea. Initially, figures for emigration are combined with those for the Crimea. For the period immediately after the Crimean War they vary: according to Pinson (in *Bibl.*, 109), 210,000 to 230,000 left in 1855-62; according to Planhol (in *Bibl.*, 258), 100,000 in 1859-64; to Bennigsen (in *Bibl.*, 195), 46,000 in 1859-63; and to Gaspïralï Ismāʿīl Bey, 231,177 in 1860-2 from official sources (in *Bibl.*, 706-13). Both Noghay and Crimean Turks were dislodged from the Dobrudja by the Ottoman-Russian war of 1293-5/1877-8, so that some 10,000 had left northern Dobrudja alone in 1880-90, seeking refuge in inner Rumeli or Anatolia, though two out of three remained (Gözaydın, 97). The Ottoman government settled the refugees either in still poorly populated areas or where their presence might provide a stabilising influence on newly-settled nomads. Of 2,500 families of Noghay who founded a series of tribal settlements in the Ceyhan area in 1272/1855, only 50 to 60 households still remain; the rest either migrated elsewhere, or perished from a combination of bad water, malaria, or an inability to adapt to a hot, moist climate (Soysal, in *Bibl.*, 56, 60; cf. Eberhard, in *Bibl.*, 300). A similar fate awaited 90 families who founded Noghaylar village north of İslahiye, though a group of villages founded between 1275-1322/1858-1904 at sites chosen by the Noghay themselves northwest of the Tuz Gölü still thrives. The Crimeans settled mainly in western or central Anatolia, starting from Eskişehir, where 8-10 Tatar villages were founded before 1860 and 14 more *ca.* 1877. They too had difficulties in adapting to new conditions, though the intelligentsia quickly established themselves among the Ottoman élite. The advance of the Russians into the Caucasus led to the emigration of 80,000 Muslims between 1855-63. Circassians from Nikopsi arrived in Samsun and Istanbul in December 1863, and after the Russian ultimatum issued at Sochi the following spring, the great majority (80%) preferred to seek refuge under the Ottomans. By July 1864 a total of 236,718 had arrived at Trabzon, including 27,337 from Taman, 16,452 from Anapa, 61,995 from Novorossiysk, 63,449 from Tuapse, and 46,754 from Sochi and Kuban (Kanitz, in *Bibl.*, i, 309). Estimates of the full number who left vary from 400,000 to 595,000, an exact count being hindered by the large number of small vessels used, besides the officially-registered ships. Many died either at sea or from disease after their arrival at ports such as Trabzon, Samsun, Sinop and Varna. The Ottomans, apprehensive of the warlike character of these immigrants, chose to scatter them rather than allow a concentrated settlement in one mountainous area, as the British had, with offers of financial help, advocated for the building of a road from Trabzon to Erzurum. A plan was proposed to settle one Circassian family to every four Turkish families in designated areas. At the same time, their combative potential was in some cases exploited; thus many were sent to Uzun Yayla, where the Avshar had newly been constrained to settle, thus reducing the available pasture land and providing a balancing force to the tribesmen. Some 70,000 to 90,000 were sent via the Danube to set up Muslim colonies to countervail national movements in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Bosnia. After the Congress of Berlin of 1878, under an article of which the latter colonies were no longer allowed in Ottoman Europe, a second exodus took place, directed by the Ottomans towards the Levant, where they were again used as a defensive force of frontier farmers. A chain of settlements was established from ʿAmmān to Membidj/Menbidj (Minbey) in order to protect the strip of new agricultural territory against the Bedouin from whose pastures it had been reclaimed. These were of 80 to 200 families, each of which received 10 ha of land from the domains, *čiftlik* [*q.v.*], directly administered by the sultan, and from which only one-fifth of the harvest had to be surrendered to the crown. The foundation of these new settlements can also be seen as an attempt to avoid the clashes with local farmers which had resulted from the scattering of Circassians in Anatolia, and as a recognition of their loyalty. Of these settlements, including ʿAmmān, Djarash, Kafr-Kama and Menbidj, were placed on ancient but no longer inhabited sites. The furthest east was Raʾs al-ʿAyn, on the upper Khābūr, which had to contend with both Bedouin and Kurds. Of the 15,000 to 20,000 settled in southern Syria, in fourteen villages south of Ḳunayṭra, intended to check the refractory Druse of Ḥawrān [see DURŪZ], a thriving community survived until its expulsion by the Israelis in 1967. Elsewhere, despite their courage and relatively advanced agricultural methods, most Circassian villages were eradicated by the Bedouin: communities survive in Jordan, and at Khān Nāṣir and Menbidj (of 2,500 and 1,500 respectively in 1970). In Turkey itself, some communities, such as that in the Çukurova [see CILICIA], were decimated by the unsuitable climate, but almost 900 villages are known to survive even though their now well-integrated inhabitants have migrated in large numbers to the cities and to West Germany. The largest group of these extends from the provinces of Samsun (120 villages) and Sinop through Çorum, Amasya, Tokat (66), Yozgat, Sivas, Kayseri (66) and Maraş to Adana (now 17) and Hatay; the second includes Sakarya province (71), Bolu (69), Kocaeli and Istanbul, and the third Bursa, Bilecik, Balıkesir (82) and Çanakkale. This distribution reflects not only Ottoman settlement policies but the arrival of large numbers by sea. The full population is estimated at about 1 million (Aydemir, in *Bibl.*, 47, 39-48); this includes, besides the true Adighe [see ČERKES], about 10% of Abkhaz [*q.v.*], and though some villages are of a single tribal group others are mixed. Both language and customs are actively maintained and fostered through Circassian societies; the tendency to assimilation to the Turkish majority (with a similar Sunnī background) is stronger in the cities. Ubïkh, however, has been relinquished in favour of Circassian majority languages in the locality concerned (the last fluent speaker lived in Bandırma in 1982). Of the other Muslim immigrants from the Caucasus, the Čečen [*q.v.*] and Ingush, at the core of the resistance to Russian conquest under the Imām Shamīl [*q.v.*], were subjugated in 1859; in 1865 almost 40,000 emigrated to Turkey, mostly via Kars, and a further wave coincided with the abortive revolt of 1877. It appears that the majority of these died out (*BSE*[1]), but some 9,000 could still be registered in 1973-5 by Aydemir in the 39 provinces which he surveyed, not including urban population (see *Bibl.*, ix, 1975, 42). Most of these were in Mardin province (3,000), Sivas (2,356), Muş (1,961) and Maraş (930), with smaller communities in Yozgat,

Kayseri and Erzurum. Groups of Ingush are reported in the towns of Beyşehir and Muş. Refugees from Georgia [see AL-KURDJ], including the Acar from the neighbourhood of Batumi and Ingilo from the east, migrated after the cession of Batumi to Russia in 1878, for fear of anti-Muslim reprisals; these were in fact realised after the Turkish raid on Batumi in 1915, when only 13% of the Georgians in the Çoruh valley are said to have survived. 52,000 formerly lived here, whereas the number of Georgian speakers listed in the 1965 census for Artvin province (though probably a marked undercount, like other figures for minority languages in Turkey) was only 7,698. Sizeable Georgian populations are listed by language for Ordu province (4,815), Sakarya (4,535), Bursa (2,938), Kocaeli (2,755), Samsun (2,350), Giresun (2,029), Bolu, Amasya, Balıkesir and Sinop, thus demonstrating a tendency to spread along the Black Sea coast to the western provinces. The Georgian language is still quite widely used, but the Hanefi community is so closely integrated with the Turkish majority that Magnarella (see *Bibl.*, 1979, 116) has referred to their "partial ethnic identity". As with the Circassians, almost all are bilingual. The full number may be over 80,000. Migrants from Daghistān [*q.v.*] include Avars, Lak, Dargwa and Lezghi, all speaking Caucasian languages, and the Turkic-speaking Ḳumuḳ [*q.v.*]. The former group arrived in 1865 and later (1874, 1892), and is now distributed in the provinces of Balıkesir (1482), Denizli (942), Tokat (904) and Istanbul (753) with smaller numbers elsewhere, to a total of 5,223 in the 39 provinces surveyed by Aydemir (*loc. cit.*) in 1975. The recognition of the particular ethnea is complicated by the use of *Lezgi* in Turkish to denote all Dāghistānīs; Moor (in *Bibl.*, xxii) has recently (1985) found that of those listed, only two villages in Balıkesir and one in Izmir were true Lezghi, the others being Avar, Dargwa, Dido and Lak. As with other minorities, exposure to education in Turkish and the media from the outside world is now threatening the use of these languages among the younger generation, though for many adults they are still the norm for ordinary conversation. A small number of Ḳumuḳ was identified primarily in Tokat (807) and Sivas (654) provinces and also further west in Çanakkale and Yalova (Aydemir, *loc. cit.*). Some of those in Tokat are known to have left the region of Temirhanşura in 1861, coming via Samsun, followed by others within three years. 3,917 Balḳar and Ḳaračay were also listed (*ibid.*), mainly in Konya province (2,000), Eskişehir (1,081), and Tokat (651). Most came from the Taberda region in 1905 when there was a rising against Russian domination. Others escaped the Soviet deportation of 1944 by remaining with German troops and thus reached Turkey. Azeri Türkmen from Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*] left their homeland in 1813 after the Treaty of Gulistān; a group of Karabağlı villages is to be found south of Emirdağ in Afyon province, though their inhabitants are now Sunnī and have no distinctive dialect. After the Russian revolution of 1905, refugees from the Azeri district of Ḳazakh came to form a substantial part of the population of the town of Amasya. Ossetes who also fled in the 1860s now number 9,000 or more, with communities in Kars, Yozgat, Muş and elsewhere.

The Muslim population of Bulgaria amounted to *ca.* 30% of the whole in the mid-19th century and comprised beside the Tatars and Circassians already mentioned an element of pre-Ottoman Turks, the Gacal, from north of the Black Sea, the population of Turks built up during the Ottoman administration since 795/1393, Yörük pastoralists, and the Pomaks [*q.v.*], converted Slavs speaking Bulgarian; there were Alevi communities as well as Hanefis. The flight to the south occasioned by the Russian incursions of 1293/1877 was followed by a return of Muslims in 1880, but many, finding it impossible to regain what they had lost during the war, began to emigrate to Anatolia; the Pomak population appears to have been reduced to a third from 1893 to 1926. By 1900 Muslims made up only 17% of the total; the rate dwindled after 1900 and more left after the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. The Convention of Adrianople concluded in 1913 allowed for the exchange of population within a frontier zone 15 km wide, and 48,570 Muslims moved to the Ottoman side, though the outbreak of the First World War prevented completion of the arrangements. In 1925 a further convention guaranteed emigrants rights to the value of their former property and to the transfer of funds. From 1925-30 about 10,000 arrived from Bulgaria annually. The depression caused the flow to fall to *ca.* 1,400 a year from 1930-3, but it rose again to 24,968 in 1935, 20,542 in 1938 and 17,777 in 1939. The Second World War led to an abrupt decline to a minimum of 631 in 1945 (Kostanick, in *Bibl.*, 89-109, tab. 9 and fig. 1). From 1946-50 the Communist government discouraged emigration, which remained below 2,000 a year, but in 1950 it took advantage of the Muslim's resistance to collectivism of property, especially in the Dobrudja, and to assimilation by announcing on 12 August that 250,000 persons of Turkish descent would be expelled within 3 months; the immigrants registered rose to 52,185 with 102,208 in 1951. The Turks closed the border on 8 October because, for the second time, the Bulgarians had sought to expel Gypsies among the Turks. Under the legislation of 1934, Turkish immigrants received a two-roomed house, a stable, one decare of garden and 15-20 decares of farmland, with a year's supply of food, seed and fodder. Those arriving before 1940 were settled in the provinces of Izmir, Manisa, Aydın, Diyarbakır, Niğde and Sivas. The wave of 1950-1, recognised by Turkey as deportation rather than the agreed voluntary emigration, and enforced without observance of the Conventions, was accommodated under amendments of 1947 and 1953, distributing land according to its quality, though in practice the provisions could not be fulfilled, some families receiving only 2 decares. By March 1953 853,812 decares had been allotted to 16,542 families, and some 25,000 houses built for them; the majority were settled in existing villages, though about 50 new ones were built. *Göçmen* were given full title to the land on condition that they should not sell it for 25 years. Almost half were allocated to the Marmara region, a quarter to central Anatolia, a sixth to the Aegean and the remainder mostly to the north; a few were sent to Erzincan, Elazığ and Malatya, but none further east lest security be impaired. Some $11 million aid was received from international sources. Much of the rural part of this population has subsequently migrated to the cities. The total immigration from Bulgaria in 1923-80 reached 488,000. After a campaign of enforced assimilation from 1984, the Bulgarian government again resorted to mass expulsion in June 1989, without regard to legal rights; by 20 August, when Turkey halted the flow, the numbers had reached 300,000. The strain placed on Turkish resources, depressed economic conditions in Turkey, and the restoration of rights to Bulgarian Turks on 12 January 1990, led to the return of 100,000 by mid-February.

The population exchange arranged with Greece, already initiated in 1914 on the basis of religion, resulted in an estimated 400,000 Muslims coming to Turkey between 1921-8, of whom 355,635 were transferred compulsorily from Greek Macedonia and Epirus in 1923-6 after the Convention of 30 January 1923 signed at Lausanne. In Turkish statistics, all immigrants from the Balkans were then treated as one, totalling 463,534 in 1921-8; these include elements from Rumania and Yugoslavia besides Bulgaria. The immigrants were settled primarily on property abandoned by Greeks who had fled, that is, in Turkish Thrace (33%), the Marmara and Aegean regions (36%), the Mediterranean region (4%) and the province of Samsun (5%). This pattern of preference remains valid for the period 1923-60 as a whole, when migrants from Greece formed 33.9% of the total, from Bulgaria 31.1%, from Yugoslavia 22.4% and from Rumania 10%. A small flow continued from Western Thrace, exempt from the exchange, amounting to 7,753 in 1945-50 and 11,797 in 1950-8. The new communities often preserved language differences; thus in 1965 the census registered 27,226 speaking Bulgarian (Pomaks) and 51,452 speaking Serbo-Croat (from Bosnia and Serbia) as their mother tongue (almost certainly an undercount); they often remained religiously more conservative than the native population of Turkey. Even today, such Muhacır villages are readily identified and in some cases remain largely independent of their neighbours.

The presence of a Shīʿī Azeri minority in extreme eastern Anatolia is mainly attributable to the population exchanges of 1918-25, when they were expelled from the Armenian Republic: 25,000 arrived in Kars, especially in Iğdır sub-province, and others settled in Ağrı, Taşlıçay sub-province, and Erzurum, Şenkaya. Ḳarapapakh [*q.v.*] now living in Kars, Çıldır and Arpaçay sub-provinces, and in scattered villages elsewhere, came in part after the Treaty of Türkmenčay in 1828, in part in 1904 (*ca.* 100 households) and in part in 1921, after the Treaty of Gümrü. Von Hellwald reported the presence of 29,000 on Ottoman territory already in 1878.

The first group of Turkistanis to seek refuge came, in fact, from Tobolsk in Siberia: the descendants of two Özbek sayyids who had gone there in the 10th/16th century to promulgate Islam, they found that under increasing cultural pressure from Russia they could no longer fulfill this purpose, and about 100 families left their villages for the Ottoman lands in 1907, 30 more families joining them later. These Özbek-Tatars live in the single village of Böğrüdelik (Reşadiye/Özbek) in Konya, where they still speak their adopted Tatar dialect, maintain 90% endogamy, and retain their own traditions of music and verse. About 700 Uyghurs now live in Istanbul (Safraköy and Örnektepe), Adana, Izmir, and Kayseri (Yeni mahalle); they came from Sinkiang via Pakistan in the 1950s, with a second group via Afghanistan in 1968. Ḳazaḳs from the USSR first escaped via Afghanistan in 1952; the settlement allotted them at Ceylan Pınar in Urfa was unsuitable and they dispersed. Of the 15,000 Orta Djüz Ḳazaḳ who resisted the Communist take-over in Sinkiang from 1949, 350 succeeded in traversing the 4,800 km across the Taklamakan Desert and Tibet to Kashmir; there they remained from 1951-4, when they were accepted by Turkey as a group, with a remnant joining them in 1969. Some 600 families of the Kerey tribe, 65 of the Nayman and 15 Uwaḳ now live mainly in Istanbul (420 households), where they have established communities at Küçükçekmece, Zeytinburnu, Güneşsitesi (Kazakkent) and Safraköy, in Manisa (60) and at Altay Köyü in Niğde (65) (figures for 1980). Land granted to them in Kayseri proved infertile, and the groups there moved to Istanbul. Group consciousness remains strong and is recognisable in the communal choice of work in the leather crafts, where they now predominate, and the plastics industry. Lineage and language are still important, and efforts are made to resist acculturation. A third group of 70 households of the Ḳishi Djüz arrived from Afghanistan via Pakistan in 1982 and are now in Kayseri city. Some 20 households of Ḳirghiz were already established in 1980, most of them (12) at Akınköy in Şereflikoçhisar, Ankara. 310 families of the Teyit Ḳirghiz from the Wakhān Corridor who had fled to Gilgit following the Russian invasion in 1978 were accepted by Turkey in 1982 on their own condition that they should remain together as a group in a highland region (having previously been refused access to Alaska). They were transferred to Karagündüz Köy northeast of Lake Van, and subsequently to a settlement near Erçiş in 1986. Another group of 1,300 people is reported in Malatya. Their identity, derived from a single descent group, the İçkilik, is maintained by the presence of their *khān* Raḥmān Ḳul, though it is noteworthy that they brought with them some fifty religious texts, after having sold other possessions at Gilgit. The majority of the 4,351 Turkic refugees from Afghanistan to be granted asylum by President Evren in 1982 were Özbek. Some 280 families were already settled in Istanbul, and 50 in Adana in 1980; the new arrivals now reported as being in Hatay (172 households), and in rural Urfa (180 persons), with 60 families in industrial Gaziantep. Among the remainder was a relatively small group of Türkmen, mostly Ersarı, of whom 75 families are in Tokat city and 120 in a nearby rural settlement (Franz, in *Bibl.*, 67).

Migrants to Turkey are now treated in two categories: *serbest göçmen* or independent immigrants, arriving on their own, and *iskân göçmen* or immigrants to be settled through official assistance, usually brought in by groups. After a long period of only loosely organised official activity, a Department of Settlement and Tribes was established in 1913, to be superseded by a Ministry of Reconstruction, Exchange and Settlement to deal with the new conditions in 1923. In 1924 the responsibilities were transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, in a Department of Settlement, subsequently to the Ministry of Health and Hygiene, and then to the Ministry of Agriculture. In 1950 a General Department of Land and Settlement Affairs (*Toprak ve İskân İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü*) was formed under the Ministry of Works and Settlement (*İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı*). It was the latter which dealt with the first influx from Bulgaria, at first in cooperation with other ministries and later under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister's office; the processing of migrants was expedited by the Government's allowance of direct aid for a maximum of 27 days. Those settling with Government assistance were bound to settle where directed, whereas others were free. Under the legislation of 1934, non-Turkish immigrants were also bound to settle where directed, and were not allowed to form communities or associations of their own ethnos. The planned integration of immigrants has remained a matter primarily for those of Turkic speech and Muslim religion; it is nevertheless remarkable that many of those from even the earliest arrivals retain a discrete identity to this day.

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Jg., 1 (1979), 24-7, and *Nouvelles des réfugiés*, in *ibid.*, 8. Jg., 1 (1981), 24-9; also idem, *Les Kirghiz de Turquie*, in *Turcica* 18 (1986), 191-202. For recent information on the settlement of these, see E. Franz, *Türkstammige Afghanistanflüchtlinge in der Türkei*, in *Neue Beiträge zur Afghanistanforschung*, ed. E. Grotzbach, Liestal 1988, 66-9. For the procedural treatment, see Kostanick, *op. cit.*, and Ladas, *op. cit.*; G. Adatepe, *Settlement measures taken in Turkey and improvements made in that field*, in *Integration*, 6. Jg., 3 (1959), 190-7; S.M. Altuğ, *Le problème des émigrations turques des Balkans*, *ibid.*, 182-9. (P.A. Andrews)

3. In Muslim India.

During the 20th century, the term has been used to describe those Muslims from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent who migrated from their homes in order to protect their religion and to safeguard their interests as Muslims: the first set of *muhādjirūn* left British India for Afghānistān during the upsurge of Pan-Islamic feeling in the early decades of the 20th century, while the second, far larger, group migrated to Pakistan after the partition of British India in 1947.

During the summer of 1920, at the height of popular support for the Khilāfat movement [*q.v.*], substantial numbers of Indian Muslims, mostly from Sind, Pandjab, N.W.F.P. and the United Provinces, migrated to Afghānistān. Their decision to leave was prompted by instructions from leaders, such as Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Bārī of the Firangī Mahal [*q.v.* in Suppl.], which gave the impression that they favoured *hidjra* from British India. Of great importance in mobilising support was the rôle of local religious leaders who played a large part in the practical organisation of the migration. In the province of Sind, for instance, local Ṣūfī saints or *pīrs* rallied their followers with speeches which strengthened rumours that the British had prohibited the study of the Ķurʾān

and had fixed Sunday as the Muslim day of prayer. Since many of the *muhādjirūn* placed implicit faith in the pronouncements of their *murshids* [*q.v.*], they were easily convinced of the need to save their religion as well as their own souls by undertaking *hidjra*.

At the same time, many of the *muhādjirūn* had little to lose by uprooting themselves. The vast majority of the 30,000 or so who made their way towards the Afghān border were poor cultivators or landless agricultural labourers. Amīr Amān Allāh of Afghānistān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who regarded the *hidjra* as an excellent opportunity to harass the British (with whom he was on bad terms), promised the *muhādjirūn* free land together with anything else which they might need. Thus, while the migrants were inspired by faith, many were also motivated by hopes of a better life. They sold what property they did possess in order to finance the journey and were helped by funds collected from Muslims who stayed behind.

The *hidjra*, however, ran out of steam. This was due in large part to the bad treatment which many migrants suffered both on their journey and after their arrival in Afghānistān. When the first batch arrived they did not receive the warm welcome which they had been expecting. Rather, they were greeted by harassment from local Afghān marauders who stole their property and kidnapped their women. In addition, the attitude of the Afghān government changed towards them. Once it learnt that the migrants were made up of the poorest elements of Indian Muslim society, it quickly lost enthusiasm for the enterprise and prevented any more *muhādjirūn* from crossing the border. Those who had already arrived received little help, and, possessing no resources of their own, were forced to return to India. The trek back was very difficult and great hardship was suffered. Within three months, nearly all had left Afghānistān.

The second migration followed the partition of British India in 1947 when millions of Muslims made their way to the new state of Pakistan, afraid of what the future might hold for them in an independent India under Hindu majority rule. For some, migration was the logical outcome of their support for Muslim separatist politics and the demand for Pakistan; for many others, it was motivated by self-preservation and the desire to escape the wave of communal violence which swept through large parts of northern India at the time of Partition.

Approximately seven million Muslims had migrated to Pakistan by the time of the 1951 census, but the process continued at a reduced rate well into the 1960s. The vast majority of migrants were peasants or agricultural workers, mostly from East Panjab, while a significant minority were urban-based professional and service families who came from the Muslim-minority provinces of the United Provinces and Bihar and princely states such as Hyderabad (Deccan) [see ḤAYDARĀBĀD] and Bhopal. In addition, a third group, which included many businessmen and industrialists, hailed from Gudjarāt and the area around Bombay. Thus, taken as a whole, these new arrivals were by no means an homogeneous group.

The bulk of the migrants settled in West Pakistan, attracted by its sparsely populated and expanding irrigation lands and by the presence of the country's capital at Karachi. They became concentrated in irrigated areas of southern Panjab and Sind, such as the canal colonies of Lyallapur (now Fayṣalābād) and Multān, and in larger urban centres such as Karachi and Hyderabad where better prospects for ready employment existed. But as the economic impact of the migrants was felt more keenly, locals resented their demands for food, homes, jobs and land. Competition increased, differences in language and culture assumed greater importance and mutual resentment began to replace kinder feelings.

In the Panjab, these differences were greatly reduced by the fact that most of the migrants who had settled there were themselves Panjabis; for Urdu-speakers, the group which came to be most popularly identified as *muhādjirs*, it was a different story. Over a million of them settled in Sind, where differences between their own cultural traditions and those of the local Sindhi population helped to create a gulf between the two communities. Whereas Sindhis resented what they saw as the preferential treatment of refugees, *muhādjirs* regarded it as just compensation for what they had left behind in India. There were, of course, some groups of *muhādjirs* who did relatively well in their new home: landlords from India used their influence to secure properties often larger than the ones they had owned in India; government officials often improved their rank and seniority; and graduates were able to secure employment relatively easily. But the bulk of migrants remained socially and economically insecure well into the 1950s. So-called settlement programmes proved inadequate, haphazard and badly-managed: as late as 1955, over half a million refugees were without proper shelter in Karachi alone. It was only in the late 1950s and early 1960s, with the extension of the canal system, the establishment of new colonies and satellite towns, and the growth of industry that refugee labour was gradually absorbed.

Many refugee associations sprang up to safeguard *muhādjir* interests, such as the All-Pakistan Mohajir Board, the All-Pakistan Muhajir Federation and the Muhajir Council which was organised by the Muslim League. One of their major grievances was the "usurping" of evacuee property by influential locals which seemed to be confirmed in a presidential ordinance in November 1956. Bitter protests followed, and in March 1958 a bill was passed by the National Assembly which enabled the central government to acquire evacuee property and dispose of it at the prevailing market value, giving refugee claimants preference over other bidders and placing the proceeds in refugee compensation pools. The following September, a second bill gave refugees proprietary rights to evacuee land and provided for the punishment of illegal holders.

During the 1960s, *muhādjirs* as a group became economically stronger. Pakistan's new industrial élite, for instance, was composed mainly of *muhādjir* and Panjabi interests. Similarly, ethnic biases crept into civil service recruitment and resulted in the development of a *muhādjir*-Panjabi bureaucratic élite which caused resentment along ethnic lines especially amongst Bengalis and, to a lesser extent, Sindhis. With the creation of Bangladesh in 1971, Sind became the main arena for clashes between *muhādjir* and non-*muhādjir* groups. In July 1972, following the successful passage through the Sind Assembly of a Language Bill which made Sindhi rather than Urdu the official language of the province, latent discontent burst into violence. On the one hand, Sindhis regarded *muhādjir* demands for the recognition of Urdu as symbolic of their determination to hold on to vested interests which they had acquired in the economic life of the province's urban areas. On the other hand, *muhādjirs* saw in the rejection of Urdu the negation of their identity and the sacrifices which they had made by migrating to Pakistan in the first place.

Demonstrations and riots took place, and demands

were made for a separate *muhādjir*-dominated Karachi province. Religio-political parties such as the Djamāʿat-i Islāmī, which had gained strong support amongst *muhādjirs*, played a leading rôle in the unrest. Under these circumstances, the government compromised by agreeing to a twelve-year period of grace in which Urdu-speakers could learn Sindhi. But resentment among *muhādjir* groups continued to be fuelled by the introduction and maintenance of quotas for education and employment which favoured candidates from rural, that is predominantly Sindhi, backgrounds, and disadvantaged those mainly Urdu-speakers from the towns and cities of the province.

The 1980s have seen the resurgence of provincial nationalism and the emergence of new political organisations representing particular ethnic interests. *Muhādjirs* have also begun to transfer their support from parties which have traditionally backed the concept of a common Pakistani identity to others such as the Muhadjir Quami Mahaz which place the interests of *muhādjirs* as a distinct ethnic group highest on their agenda. In the present climate of resentment against Panjabi domination, *muhādjir* organisations have gone some way towards patching up their differences with Sindhi and Baluchi ethnic groups and are now concentrating their resentment against those whom all regard as the real "intruders" in Sind.

Bibliography: For details about the *muhādjirūn* of 1920, see F.J. Briggs, *The Indian Hijrat of 1920*, in *MW* (April 1920), 164-8; M. Naeem Qureshi, *The Khilafat Movement in India, 1919-1924*, Ph.D. thesis, London University 1973, unpubl., and idem, *The 'Ulama' of British India and the Hijrat of 1920*, in *Modern Asian Studies*, i (1974), 41-59; Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: religious symbolism and political mobilisation in India*, New Delhi 1982; while K.H. Ansari, *The emergence of Muslim Socialists and their ideas in India between 1917 and 1947*, Ph.D. thesis, London University 1984, unpubl., and idem, *Pan-Islam and the making of the early Indian Muslim Socialists*, in *Modern Asian Studies*, iii (1986), 509-37, examines the process by which a handful of the *muhādjirūn* turned to socialism as a result of their experience of migrating. Little has been written specifically on the second group of migrants. For information, see general works on Pakistan's political development such as A. Tayyub, *Pakistan: a political geography*, Oxford 1966; Talukder Maniruzaman, *The politics of development: the case of Pakistan 1947-58*, Dhaka, 1971; and Khalid B. Sayyed, *Politics in Pakistan: the nature and direction of change*, New York 1980.

(SARAH ANSARI)

AL-**MUHĀDJIRŪN** (A.), the Emigrants, are primarily those Meccan Muslims who made the *hidjra* or emigration from Mecca to Medina either just before Muḥammad himself or in the period up to the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. The word *hidjra* [*q.v.*] implies not only change of residence but also the ending of ties of kinship and the replacement of these by new relationships. In the document known as the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, 341-4), which is an agreement "between the Emigrants and the Anṣār (the Muslims of Medina)", the Emigrants appear as one "clan" or kin-group entering into a federation with eight clans of the Anṣār. The Ḳurʾān (VIII, 72) states that "those who have believed and emigrated and striven with goods and person in the cause of God and those who have given shelter and help (that is, the Anṣār) are *awliyāʾ* of one another", and the term *awliyāʾ* (patrons or clients) means that there is a mutual duty of protection, even if it does not refer to the formal brotherhood or *muʾākhāt* [*q.v.*] which was in force for a time.

For the first sixteen months after Muḥammad's arrival in Medina, the Emigrants were almost entirely dependent on the hospitality of the Anṣār, except that one or two of them did some trading in the Jewish market. Groups of them went out on raiding expeditions against Meccan caravans, but achieved nothing until the expedition of Nakhla in 2/624 when they captured a small caravan. It was probably because of the difficulties of the Emigrants in this first period that there are several verses assuring them of God's favour: "those who have believed and emigrated and striven in God's cause have hope of His mercy" (II, 218); "those who have emigrated for God's sake after being wronged" will be lodged well in this world and also have the reward of the Hereafter (XVI, 41). Similar promises were made later after some had died or been killed (III, 195; XXII, 58). After the conquest of Mecca it was insisted that those who had believed and emigrated and fought in God's cause were in a superior position to those Meccans who had not accepted Islam until after the conquest (IX, 19-22). Once the expeditions had begun to bring in plunder, much of this went to the Emigrants, though the Anṣār were not denied a share (e.g. LIX, 8, 9, referring to the spoils from expelled Jewish clans).

The number of Emigrants in Medina continued to be added to. Especially after the failure of the siege of Medina in 5/627, men and women from Mecca went to settle in Medina. Some had been believers for a number of years, but had remained in Mecca when Muḥammad made his *hidjra*. Others, like Khālid b. al-Walīd and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, decided to throw in their lot with Muḥammad when they saw his increasing prosperity and the declining prospects for Mecca. When men from nomadic tribes became Muslims they were given a choice between the nomadic pledge (*bayʿa ʿarabiyya*) and the pledge of emigration (*bayʿa hidjra*); in the former case they remained with their tribe, while in the latter they settled in Medina and became *muhādjirūn*. Muḥammad encouraged these last because they increased the strength and importance of his "clan" of Emigrants and also provided additional participants for the raiding expeditions which were a prominent part of his policy.

In course of time, to be a *muhādjir* conferred a certain dignity of status. When the Muslims who had taken refuge in Abyssinia around 615 to escape from persecution eventually came to Medina in 7/628, they were regarded as having made a *hidjra* to Abyssinia, and so as *muhādjirūn*. After this, those who had gone to Abyssinia and then returned to Mecca in time to join the original *hidjra* claimed that they had two *hidjras* to their credit (Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 79, l. 8; viii, 205 foot). The status of *muhādjirūn* was conferred by treaty on the nomadic tribes of Muzayna, Aslam, Khuzāʿa and perhaps others, although they continued a nomadic life in their tribal grounds (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 24, 25, 38; etc.).

Not surprisingly, there was sometimes friction between the Emigrants and the Anṣār. One occasion was on the expedition to al-Muraysīʿ in 5/627, when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*], the leader of the Hypocrites, seems to have made remarks about the stronger driving out the weaker when they returned to Medina—remarks reported in the Ḳurʾān (LXIII, 8). Back in Medina, Ibn Ubayy joined in the "affair of the lie (*ifk*)" against ʿĀʾisha, but in a confrontation with him Muḥammad gained the support of most of the Anṣār. On Muḥammad's death, the Anṣār wanted one of themselves, Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, to become head of the community of Muslims, but firm action by ʿUmar led to the general acceptance of Abū Bakr as *khalīfa*.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *Muhādjirūn*, Anṣār; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, index, s.v. Emigrants, *hijrah*. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

MUḤAKKIMA [see KHAWĀRIDJ; TAḤKĪM].

MUḤĀL [see MANṬIḲ].

MUHALHIL [see IMRŪ᾽ 'L-ḲAYS].

AL-**MUHALLAB** B. **ABĪ ṢUFRA**, ABŪ SAᶜĪD AL-AZDĪ AL-ᶜATAKĪ, Arab general of the 1st/7th century and founder of an influential family [see MUHALLABIDS].

According to Abū ᶜUbayda, al-Muhallab's father was a Persian weaver from Khārak who migrated via ᶜUmān to Baṣra, where he gained acceptance as an Azdī thanks to his military valour (Yāḳūt, ii, 387; Ibn Rusta, 205 f.; cf. also *Aghānī*³, xx, 75; M. Hinds (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiii, 187 n.). Most sources accept him as a genuine Azdī, and some even present him as a *sharīf* (e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 396). Abū Ṣufra was among the ᶜUmānīs who settled at Tawwadj before being transferred to Baṣra, where he arrived with his sons in 36/656 and where ᶜAlī allegedly invested him with the *riyāsa* of Azd (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2699; al-ᶜAwtabī, *Ansāb*, ii, 121-5; cf. M. Hinds, in *Iran*, xxii [1984]); but in fact neither Abū Ṣufra nor al-Muhallab ever held the *riyāsa* of Azd in Baṣra. It was as a soldier rather than a tribal leader that the latter rose (J.G. Wilkinson, in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies in the first century of Islamic society*, 141 f.; P. Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 39-40).

Al-Muhallab was born in *ca.* 10/632 and presumably began his military career with his father at Tawwadj. He is credited with operations in the Ahwāz area under ᶜUmar and ᶜAlī (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, ed. al-Nadwī, xiii, nos. 15672, 15677; al-ᶜAwtabī, *Ansāb*, ii, 126), and is said twice to have campaigned in Sīstān, first in 33/653-4 and next in 42-4/662-5, when he reached Sind and adopted the Indian custom of cropping the tails of horses (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 396, 432). Thereafter he campaigned in Khurāsān. He first went there under al-Ḥakam b. ᶜAmr al-Ghifārī in 50/670, returned under Saᶜīd b. ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAffān in 56/676, and yet again under Salm b. Ziyād in 61-4/681-4 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 109, 178, 393-4; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 411; Narshakhī, *T.-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 41-3). Salm b. Ziyād appointed him deputy governor there on his departure, though in the event Abd Allāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī took over; and when al-Muhallab left in his turn, he was appointed governor of Khurāsān by Ibn al-Zubayr, but was prevented from going there by the Baṣrans, who made him take charge of the war against the Azāriḳa instead (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 489, 583 ff.; Ibn Aᶜtham, *Futūḥ*, v, 311, vi, 10 ff.). This task was to occupy him, on and off, for the next thirteen years [see AZĀRIḲA]. He had cleared the environs of Baṣra and al-Ahwāz by 67/686-7, when Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] required his participation in the campaign against al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] at Kūfa. The conquest of Kūfa accomplished, Muṣᶜab appointed him governor of Mawṣil, the Djazīra, Armenia and Ādharbāydjān, with the task of protecting ᶜIrāḳ against the Umayyads and clearing it of the remaining Khashshābiyya [*q.v.*] who held out at Nisibis (*Aghānī*³, vi, 50). Muṣᶜab's successor, Ḥamza, reappointed him to the war against the Azāriḳa; but Khālid b. Abd Allāh, ᶜAbd al-Malik's first governor of ᶜIrāḳ, dismissed him from the command and appointed him to the *kharādj* of al-Ahwāz instead. In 74/693-4 he was reappointed by ᶜAbd al-Malik himself, but the death of Bishr b. Marwān [*q.v.*], the new governor of ᶜIrāḳ, in the same year, caused most of the Kūfan and Baṣran troops to desert, so that it was not until 75/694, when al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] arrived, that al-Muhallab could resume the war in earnest. The Azāriḳa were once more forced to withdraw from Khūzistān to Fārs and from there to Kirmān, where they entrenched themselves at Djīruft [*q.v.*] and eventually split into two, Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjā᾽a [*q.v.*] leading his followers to Ṭabaristān while ᶜAbd Rabbih stayed with the rest at Djīruft, to be defeated by al-Muhallab in 77/696. It was in the course of these campaigns that al-Muhallab introduced iron stirrups in replacement of the traditional wooden ones, which could not bear a man's weight (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 675; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. Süleymaniye, Reisülkuttap, no. 598, ii, 69; cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, iii, 23).

In 78/697-8 al-Muhallab was rewarded with the governorship of Khurāsān. He campaigned in Kish, remained loyal to al-Ḥadjdjādj during the revolt of Ibn al-Ashᶜath [*q.v.*], and died in 82/702 (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1082-3) or 83/703 (e.g. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maᶜārif*, ed. ᶜUkāsha, 400). His son Yazīd succeeded him in office.

Bibliography: According to al-ᶜAwtabī, no book of any kind was written after al-Muhallab's death without saying something about him (*Ansāb*, ii, 141). This is only a slight exaggeration. For al-ᶜAwtabī's own account, see M. Hinds (tr.), *An early Islamic family from Oman: al-ᶜAwtabī's account of the Muhallabids*, Manchester 1991. For other information, see the indices to standard chronicles such as (in addition to those already cited) Khalīfa, *Ta᾽rīkh*; Yaᶜḳūbī, *Ta᾽rīkh*; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v; Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*; Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih, *ᶜIḳd*. See also Ibn Saᶜd, vii/1, 72, 94; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ed. Ibrāhīm, iv, 144-225; *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, tr. M. Gold, Rome 1976, 67-72; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1328, s.vv. "Abū Ṣufra", "al-Ḥakam b. Abi 'l-ᶜĀṣ al-Thaḳafī"; al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra"; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ᶜAbbās, v, no. 754. For some of the coins struck by al-Muhallab, see J. Walker, *Arab-Sasanian coins*, London 1941, 113-15; H. Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, Brunswick 1973, index. For modern studies, see J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, Eng. tr. Calcutta 1927; idem, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, in *Abh. G.W. Gött.* N.S. v, 2 (1901), 32 ff., Eng. tr. Amsterdam 1975, 55 ff.; C.E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, Rome 1968, index; S.M. Yusuf, *Al-Muhallab-bin-Abī-Ṣufra: his strategy and qualities of generalship*, in *IC*, xvii (1943); idem, *Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra*, in *IC*, xix (1944); idem, *Al-Muhallab and the poets*, in *IC*, xxiv (1950); M.A. Shaban, *The ᶜAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970. See also the Bibl. to MUHALLABIDS. (P. CRONE)

AL-**MUHALLABĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD, Arab geographer, about whom it is only known that he died in 380/990 after having dedicated to the Fāṭimid caliph al-ᶜAzīz bi'llāh (365-86/975-96) [*q.v.*] a work which came within the category of those called *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* [*q.v.*] and which actually bore this title but which is generally cited under that of *al-ᶜAzīzī*.

Although this work has not yet been rediscovered, it was already possible to get an idea of its contents thanks to several later authors who utilised it and took from it items of information, usually very brief ones (see in particular Yāḳūt, *Muᶜdjam* [57 citations], Abu 'l-Fidā᾽, *Taḳwīm al-buldān* [135 citations] and al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aᶜshā* [69 citations]. However, one can get now an idea of the author's method, since Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid discovered in 1957, in a

Yemeni ms. of the Ambrosiana Library, Milan, 14 folios of this *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, mainly on Jerusalem and Damascus; he has made this available, edited, completed and accompanied by a list of the terms of civilisation and an index of the proper nouns contained in it, in *RIMA*, iv/1 (1958), 43-72. The passage on Damascus was reprinted by this same author in his book *Madīnat Dimashk ʿind al-djughrāfiyyīn wa 'l-raḥḥālīn al-muslimīn*, Beirut 1967, 80-6.

Like other treatises in this category, al-Muhallabī's work contained information about itineraries and distances, as well as on the coordinates, history, population, economy and the physical aspect of towns described in a more or less summary fashion. A. Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, Eng. tr. 278, justly noted that it was Yākūt's main source for information on the land of the blacks, and it may not be without interest to note that Yākūt, i, 242-3, borrows from al-Muhallabī information, in part legendary, about a town called Aksintillā (?), situated to the south of Ifrīkiya and governed by a member of the Berber tribe of the Hawwāra [*q.v.*], who may possibly have given their name to the Hoggar massif [see AHAGGAR].

Bibliography: In addition to the works selected, see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Istanbul 1941, ii, 1665; Renaud and de Slane, *Géographie d'Abulféda*, Paris 1840, 22; V. Minorsky. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 477; J. Devisse, in Robert and Devisse, *Tegdaoust*, Paris 1970, 122; A. Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, i, 309-12 and index. (CH. PELLAT)

AL-**MUHALLABĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD b. Hārūn, born in Baṣra in Muḥarram 291/Nov.-Dec. 903, celebrated chief minister and vizier 339-52/950-63 to the Būyid *amīr* of ʿIrāk Muʿizz al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. He stemmed from the famous Arab Muhallabī family of Baṣra [see MUHALLABIDS] as a descendant at six generations' remove of the Umayyad commander and governor al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v.*] (see genealogical table in Zambaur, *Manuel*, 11).

In 334/945, when Muʿizz al-Dawla was marching on Baghdād, he sent al-Muhallabī in advance to negotiate with the caliph, and on 27 Djumādā I 339/11 November 950, al-Muhallabī was appointed chief minister. He was given the supreme command in the war with ʿImrān b. Shāhīn [see MUʿIZZ AL-DAWLA] and had brought him into a very precarious position, when he himself fell into an ambush and could only save himself with difficulty, whereupon Muʿizz al-Dawla had to conclude peace with ʿImrān. In 341/952-3 the ruler of ʿUmān, Yūsuf b. Wadjīh, undertook a campaign against Baṣra; al-Muhallabī, however, anticipated him, occupied the town and defeated Yūsuf. In the same year, he fell into disgrace, but was able to retain his office and the good relations between Muʿizz al-Dawla and his vizier were restored. A few years later, Muʿizz al-Dawla equipped an expedition against ʿUmān and put al-Muhallabī in command. The latter set out in Djumādā II, 352/June-July 963, but soon fell ill and decided to return to Baghdād. He died en route on 26 Shaʿbān 352/19 September 963 and was buried in Baghdād. On his death, Muʿizz al-Dawla confiscated all his property, a measure which aroused general indignation. A son of his, Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim al-Mufaḍḍal, is mentioned as carrying on the family traditions of administrative expertise in that in 357/968 he was secretary to the Būyid prince Iʿzāz al-Dawla Marzubān b. ʿizz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār in Baṣra.

Al-Muhallabī's position as chief minister in Baghdād in 339/950, the caliph al-Muṭīʿ [*q.v.*] being by now reduced to the position of a fainéant, is described by Miskawayh as comprising the *kitāba*, supreme direction of official correspondence, *tadbīr aʿmāl al-kharadj*, the collection of the land-tax, and *djibāyat al-amwāl*, the collection of non-canonical taxes; but this same historian states that it was not until 345/956 that he held the official title of vizier. In order to facilitate satisfaction of his Būyid master's growing need for money, various fiscal reforms of his are mentioned (see Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, 362, 367). He also had the task of enforcing in Baghdād the Shīʿī religious measures of Muʿizz al-Dawla, including the cursing of Muʿāwiya and the public celebration of the 10 Muḥarram or ʿĀshūrā mourning ceremonies; hostile measures of his against Ṣūfīs are likewise mentioned (Busse, *op. cit.*, 322-3).

But al-Muhallabī acquired great contemporary fame not merely for his vigorous effective career as both administrator and military leader, but also for his rôle as one of the several literary luminaries and maecenases in the employment of the Būyids [see e.g. IBN ʿABBĀD, AL-ṢĀḤIB; IBN AL-ʿAMĪD; and IBN SAʿDĀN in Suppl.]. His literary circle in Baghdād was frequented by the *kādī* and poet Abu 'l-Kāsim ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tanūkhī, father of the author of the *Nishwār al-muḥādara*, Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī [*q.v.*]; by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*]; by the Banu 'l-Munadjdjim [*q.v.*]; by Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ [see AL-ṢĀBIʾ]; and by the later chief *kāḍī*, Ibn Maʿrūf. Al-Thaʿālibī, who devotes a section of his *Yatīmat al-dahr* (ed. Damascus, ii, 8-23, ed. Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, ii, 224-41) to al-Muhallabī, including his own poetry and compositions, compares his *madjālis* with those of the Barmakīs. Like so many others of the Būyids' viziers and secretaries, he achieved especial fame as a literary stylist, and the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, i, 134, tr. Dodge, i, 296) mentions amongst his works a collection of *rasāʾil*, epistles, and *tawkīʿāt*, official decrees.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the text): 1. Primary sources: Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, ii, 123-98, tr. v, 127-213; Yākūt, *Irshād*, iii, 180-94; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 337, 365, 368-9, 372-5, 405; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ii, 124-7, tr. de Slane, i, 410-12; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, i, 353-7. 2. Secondary sources: Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 230-1; Mafizullah Kabir, *The Buwaihid dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, 169-70; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig. Die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, index.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

MUHALLABIDS (in Arabic, *al-Mahāliba*), kinsmen and clients of Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v.*], famed for their numbers and their remarkable role in early Islamic history. They rose to power in the service of the Umayyads even though al-Muhallab himself was once an adherent of Ibn al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] and though the family as such, especially the women, had strong Ibāḍī connections (Cook, *Early Muslim dogma*, 63). They were crushed in 102/720, but staged a spectacular come-back under the ʿAbbāsids, having apparently exchanged their Ibāḍī for Hāshimite leanings in the meantime, and remained politically prominent until the reign of al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] even though a fair number of them supported the revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and Ibrāhīm b. Abd Allāh [*q.vv.*]. They also produced a large number of men of culture (see IBN ABĪ ʿUYAYNA, AL-KARĀBISĪ, NIFṬAWAYH, AL-SUKKARĪ; *Aghānī*[3], xiii, 270 ff.; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 93, 197, 278; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, xii, 501 ff.; etc.), plus a rebel leader of the Zandj (Popovic, *Révolte des esclaves en Iraq*, 77), and a famour vizier of the Būyid periode [see AL-MUHALLABĪ, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan].

(i) Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, began his career under the auspices of his father, participating in his campaigns against the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil, passim*) and also in Khurāsān, where he succeeded to the governorship on his father's death in 82 or 83/701-2. In 85/704 al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] dismissed him in favour of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Yazīd, who was soon replaced in his turn by Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*]. Other Muhallabids holding office outside Khurāsān were also dismissed (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1182), and all were jailed, several of them being subjected to the torture customarily employed to make ex-governors disgorge their spoils. Yazīd escaped from jail and sought refuge in Palestine with the future caliph Sulaymān, who obtained protection for him and his family against al-Ḥadjdjādj. On his accession in 96/715 Sulaymān appointed him to ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān, and it was now Yazīd's turn to torture and extract money from the family of al-Ḥadjdjādj. But in 97/715-16 he departed for Khurāsān, leaving Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the *mawlā* of Tamīm, in charge of ʿIrāḳī taxes (an unusual arrangement). He campaigned in Djurdjān (Shaban, *ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, 80) and boasted of the immense amount of wealth he had taken, only to be dismissed by ʿUmār II in 99/717 and asked to pay the *khums*. Once more he thus found himself in jail, and once more he managed to escape, getting out shortly before ʿUmār's death in 101. He went to Baṣra in the hope of securing the release of various members of his family held by the Baṣran governor, seeking pardon for himself from the new caliph Yazīd II; but when the governor failed to collaborate, he raised a revolt (Gabrieli, *La rivolta dei Muhallabiti*, in *Rend. Linc.*, ser. vi, xiv [1938]). He repudiated Yazīd II, and, according to al-Balādhurī, called for the enthronement of *al-riḍā min banī Hāshim* (Gabrieli, 215), though the family had not given evidence of Hāshimite sympathies before. According to a late Christian author, he claimed the caliphate for himself (Mārī b. Sulaymān, *Akhbār faṭārikat kursī al-mashriḳ*, ed. Gismondi, 65). But he is more commonly said to have called for the Book of God and the *sunna* of the Prophet, in conjunction with ʿIrāḳī freedom from Syrian troops and the end of the policies associated with al-Ḥadjdjādj (Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 61, 64-5), though he had been himself a protégé (and brother-in-law) of al-Ḥadjdjādj and the first to use Syrian troops in Khurāsān (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1209; Crone, *Slaves on horses*, n. 260). But opportunistic though the rebellion was, it provided the embryonic Yemeni faction with its first martyrs: al-Kirmānī, the leader of the Khurāsānī Azd at the time of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, used vengeance for the Muhallabids as one of his shibboleths (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1858). Yazīd was defeated by Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] at ʿAḳr in Ṣafar 102/August 720; he himself was killed, and his supporters fled to Sind (where Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab had recently been governor), only to be caught and killed or sent to Syria for execution. Their property was confiscated, and some 4,000 water buffaloes of theirs were transferred to al-Maṣṣīṣa [*q.v.*] along with their Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 168, 367, 369, 441; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 355).

(ii) The fortunes of the Muhallabids at large in the Umayyad period followed those of al-Muhallab and Yazīd. In the Second Civil War, al-Mughīra b. Abī Ṣufra, or his son Maʿn, broke ranks by joining the pro-Umayyad Djufriyya (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 799; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv b, 157 f.), while Ḳabīṣa b. Abī Ṣufra commanded the Baṣran Azd against the Azāriḳa at Dūlāb before al-Muhallab's arrival (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 147; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi, 89). But al-Mughīra ended up in al-Muhallab's army along with his sons Maʿn and Bishr (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 691; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, ed. Ibrāhīm, iv, 198 f., 201, 223) and Sabra b. Nakhf b. Abī Ṣufra was in the service of Yazīd (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1110). Numerous sons of al-Muhallab also participated in their father's Azraḳite campaigns (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 694 f., 699 and *passim*). Of these, ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab stayed in ʿIrāḳ to head the *shurṭa* in Baṣra, where he fought on al-Ḥadjdjādj's side against Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] at Maskin (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1100, 1182; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv a, 59; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, 410; the so-called letter of Ibn Ibāḍ to ʿAbd al-Malik may have been addressed to him (Cook, *Dogma*, 57 ff.)). Most of the rest went to Khurāsān to profit from al-Muhallab's appointment there, being dismissed along with Yazīd and coming back into offices of various kinds when Yazīd was reinstated. Practically all of them joined Yazīd's revolt, along with other relatives, and almost all were killed (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 442; al-ʿAwtabī, *Ansāb*, ii, 149 ff.; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 356, 372 f.; cf. Gabrieli, 208 n., for the cousins who stayed out of it).

(iii) After this bloodletting, the Muhallabids were quiet for a while, but not for long. A son of Yazīd's by the name of Marwān resurfaced as a mutinous soldier in the Umayyad army in Sind (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 389). Another son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, joined the revolt of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] in 127-9/744-7 and passed on to the ʿAbbāsids thereafter, being killed in Mawṣil in 133 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1978 f.; iii, 74; al-Azdī, *T. al-Mawṣil*, 107, 155; *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 378). A grandson, Abū Saʿīd b. Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd appears as a member of Abū Muslim's army in Khurāsān on the outbreak of revolution (*Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 337); later he served in Egypt (al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, 103). Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab vented his anti-Umayyad feelings by joining the Yamaniyya, on whose behalf he became governor of al-Ahwāz in the Third Civil War, and subsequently joined ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, but unwittingly spoilt his chances of passing on to the ʿAbbāsids by having the future al-Manṣūr flogged for non-delivery of taxes, an act for which he was to be executed after the revolution (Crone, in Bosworth *et alii* (eds.), *The Islamic world. Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton 1989, 106). Sufyān b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab rebelled on behalf of the Hāshimiyya in Baṣra, along with Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUyayna b. al-Muhallab [*q.v.*] and other Muhallabids, in return for the governorship of that city in 132/749-50. Though he did well under Abu 'l-ʿAbbās and al-Manṣūr, he (or his son) nonetheless surrendered Baṣra to Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh when the latter rebelled on behalf of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya in 145/762-3. He was also the murderer of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, index; idem, *Futūḥ*, 367; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 413, 454; idem, *Buldān*, 252; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, iii, 373). ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād b. al-Muhallab also joined Ibrāhīm, along with his son ʿAtīk and one of his nephews (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 370).

(iv) The most prominent Muhallabids of the ʿAbbāsid period were descendants of Ḳabīṣa b. Abī Ṣufra and Ḳabīṣa b. al-Muhallab.

ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḳabīṣa b. Abī Ṣufra, known as Hazārmard, may have joined the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān (*Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 338 f.; cf. also al-Ṭabarī, iii, 4). He governed Baḥrayn for Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, and Baṣra for both the latter and al-Manṣūr. In 142/759-60 he became the first of several Muhallabids to govern India, where he stayed till

151/768 (though cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 236) and allegedly protected the son of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, exchanging his black colours for white in the process (thus al-Ṭabarī, iii, 360 ff.). In 151/768 he was nonetheless appointed to North Africa, where he fell in action against Ibāḍīs in 153/770 and was followed by a string of Muhallabid governors. A daughter of his married an ʿAbbāsid prince (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, iii, index; *Ag̲h̲ānī*³, xx, 79, 84; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 448; Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 134).

Yazīd b. Ḥātim b. Ḳabīṣa b. al-Muhallab joined the Hās̲h̲imiyya in ʿIrāḳ (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, iii, 138 [but cf. *Ak̲h̲bār al-ʿAbbās*, 378], 183; *Ak̲h̲bār al-ʿAbbās*, 352 f.). He governed Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān on behalf of the future al-Manṣūr, and Egypt in 144-52/761-9, moving on to North Africa in 154/771 or 155/772 as successor to his relative ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ (above); he died there in the reign of al-Ras̲h̲īd (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 111 ff.; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 446, 465, 496; al-Azdī, 217-18 [wrong order]; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, iii, 247, 249; Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 135; he is credited with a governorship of Sind in Ibn Ḥazm, *D̲j̲amhara*, 370).

His son Dāwūd b. Yazīd briefly succeeded him as governor of Ifrīḳiya, but lost control and was replaced by Rawḥ b. Ḥātim (below; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 496). Dāwūd governed Egypt in 174-5/790-1 (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 133 f.) and was appointed to Sind in 184/800 where he died in 205/820-1 leaving his son Bis̲h̲r as his successor (cf. Pellat, in *Logos Islamikos ... Studia islamica in honorem G.M. Wickens*, ed. R.M. Savory and D.A. Agius, Toronto 1984, 22 ff.). Al-Maʾmūn accepted Bis̲h̲r in return for a million *dirhams* per annum, which he soon failed to deliver, though he was not ousted till 216/831 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 649, 1044, 1098, 1100, 1105; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 494, 532, 557 f.; al-Balad̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 445; cf. also al-Iskāfī, *Luṭf al-tadbīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, 60-2). Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim was likewise governor of India (and Makrān and Kirmān) at some stage according to Ibn Ḥazm, *D̲j̲amhara*, 370. For other descendants of Yazīd b. Ḥātim, see al-Azdī, 310; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 851 ff.

Rawḥ b. Ḥātim b. Ḳabīṣa b. al-Muhallab joined the Hās̲h̲imiyya in Baṣra in response to overtures made by Ḳaḥṭaba [*q.v.*] to him and Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya (*Ak̲h̲bār al-ʿAbbās*, 355 f.; al-Azdī, 117), participated in the siege of Wāsiṭ and married a daughter of the *dāʿī* ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār al-Azdī. He campaigned in Ṭabaristān in 142/759-60 and was appointed to Kūfa (or Sind) in 159/776, to Sind in 160/777, to Baṣra in 166/782-3 and to North Africa in 170/786-7, where he succeeded Yazīd b. Ḥātim (above) and died in 174/790-1 (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 447, 479, 496; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, iii, 230; Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 134).

His son al-Faḍl (or al-Mufaḍḍal) briefly governed North Africa, where he was killed in 178/794, whereupon the Muhallabids were expelled from the province (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 630; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 496; Ibn Ḥazm, *D̲j̲amhara*, 370). Another son, Dāwūd, was accused of *zandaḳa* in 166/782-3, but soon freed (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 517; Ibn Ḥazm, *D̲j̲amhara*, 370).

Bibliography: Numerous books were written on the Muhallabids, including some by the Muhallabids themselves (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tad̲j̲addud, 106, 118, 121 f.; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 308; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, Cairo 1355-7, xiii, 100). These are all lost, but information on the family is to be found in most works dealing with the first centuries. In addition to those cited, see in particular the *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*; Ibn Aʿt̲h̲am, *Futūḥ*; D̲j̲ahs̲h̲iyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*. For modern works, see J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, Eng. tr. Calcutta 1927; J. Hell, *al-Farazdaḳ's Lieder auf die Muhallabiten*, in *ZDMG*, lix (1905) and lx (1906); G.C. Miles, *Some new light on the history of Kirmān*, in *The world of Islam. Studies in honor of Philip K. Hitti*, London 1959, 91-5 (on Yāzīd's coins); M. Talbi, *L'Émirat aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 76; H. Mason, *The role of the Azdite Muhallabid family in Marw's anti-Umayyad struggle*, in *Arabica* xiv (1967); F. Omar, *The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate 132/750-170/786*, Bag̲h̲dād 1969; N.T. al-ʿAbbūd, *al-Mahāliba wa-dawruhum ḥattā 'l-ḳarn al-ʿās̲h̲ir*, Bag̲h̲dād 1979; H. Kennedy, *The early Abbasid caliphate*, London 1981, 82-3, 190-2; G.R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam*, London 1986, 73-7; R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion. Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimān b. ʿAbdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen*, Wiesbaden 1987.

(P. Crone)

MUḤAMMAD, the Prophet of Islam.

1. The Prophet's life and career.
2. The Prophet in popular Muslim piety.
3. The Prophet's image in Europe and the West.

1. The Prophet's life and career. Belief that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God (*Muḥammadᵘⁿ rasūlu 'llāh*) is second only to belief in the Oneness of God (*lā ilāha illā 'llāh*) according to the *s̲h̲ahāda* [*q.v.*], the quintessential Islamic creed. Muḥammad has a highly exalted role at the heart of Muslim faith. At the same time the Ḳurʾān and Islamic orthodoxy insist that he was fully human with no supernatural powers.

That Muḥammad was one of the greatest persons in world history in terms of the global impact of the movement he founded cannot be seriously questioned. How did his extraordinary success occur? One answer is theological: God chose Muḥammad as His Prophet and was directly responsible for his triumph over polytheism and evil. Another is based on historical and other empirical evidence: Muḥammad had remarkable leadership skills and a charismatic personality that enabled him to attract other strong leaders who were firmly committed to him, and together they were responsible for the early success of the Muslim community. These two views of Muḥammad—one as the ideal person, the exemplar for Islamic orthodoxy and orthopraxis, and the other as the historical person, who first appears as a somewhat shadowy figure whose early life is little known, but who then gradually emerges into the light of history—are not necessarily incompatible, but they involve two separate inquiries, each pursuing its own path of investigation, each following its own methods of analysis. While the theologian and other believers seek to understand the role of God acting through the Prophet, the historian seeks the measure of the man himself. The theological answer is obvious and indisputable for the believer, but, if taken alone as the explanation of the Prophet's success, it runs the risk of diminishing Muḥammad's greatness as a man by making him a mere agent of divine action. The purpose of the first section of this article is to seek the historical Muḥammad.

I. THE HISTORICAL MUḤAMMAD

A. The Sources

The sources for the life of Muḥammad fall into overlapping categories that call for a variety of methods of analysis. By far the most trustworthy source, but at the same time the most difficult to utilise as a historical source, is the Ḳurʾān [*q.v.*], most if not all of which is contemporary with the life of Muḥammad. A characteristic feature of this unique

work is that it responds constantly and often candidly to Muḥammad's changing historical circumstances and contains a wealth of hidden data that are relevant to the task of the quest for the historical Muḥammad, although any use of the Ḳurʾān as a historical source is clearly ancillary to its primary purpose and main functions in Muslim life. Historians and biographers of Muḥammad past and present have only begun to tap this rich source, which requires specialised knowledge and a variety of historical and literary critical methods in order to reach sound conclusions and plausible hypotheses.

The earliest attempts to report events of Muḥammad's life could hardly be called biographies in the modern sense. They include what are called *maghāzī* [*q.v.*] works that treat Muḥammad's military expeditions and campaigns, which from an early date were merged with *sīra* [*q.v.*] works that sought to preserve stories about the Prophet, *tafsīr* [*q.v.*] writings that sought to preserve traditional interpretations of verses of the Ḳurʾān, and eventually *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] accounts that sought to preserve sayings of and about Muḥammad. Early works in all of these categories contain what can be classified as *mutawātir* (handed down successively) or *mashhūr* (well-known or widely known) material that was transmitted by oral tradition for generations before it was written down. None of these types of writings in its early forms, including the *maghāzī* and *sīra* works, had as its purpose the recording of the life of Muḥammad. Each report or story must thus be evaluated in terms of its purpose, and as many versions of the same story and similar stories as possible need to be consulted, since most of the accounts occur in numerous, often widely differing forms.

The most widely used sources for the life of Muḥammad, in addition to the Ḳurʾān, date from the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Islamic era. Among these the most highly respected is the *Maghāzī* or *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 151/768), which is not extant in its original form, but has been preserved in at least two recensions, one by Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833) that is widely used, and another by Yūnus b. Bukayr (d. 199/814-15) that exists only in manuscript form (for a description and summary of the contents of Yūnus's recension, see Alfred Guillaume, *New light on the life of Muhammad*, Manchester n.d.). We also have extensive quotations from Ibn Isḥāḳ's work, including sections that Ibn Hishām and Yūnus b. Bukayr omitted, in historical works that cover much more than just the life of the Prophet. Among these the most valuable is the *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk* by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922-3), which contains other material on the life of Muḥammad, notably reports from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/712-13), a very early source (cf. Watt, *Mecca,* 180-2). Alfred Guillaume has provided an English translation of an attempted reconstruction of Ibn Isḥāḳ's work, produced largely by translating what Ibn Hishām reports from Ibn Isḥāḳ, adding quotations from the latter that are included by al-Ṭabarī (mainly the material that Ibn Hishām omitted) and placing Ibn Hishām's comments on Ibn Isḥāḳ's work in the back of the translation in a section called "Ibn Hishām's Notes" (pp. 691-798). These page numbers suggest that Ibn Hishām's comments constitute about 15% of his recension of Ibn Isḥāḳ's work, but it should be kept in mind that he may have omitted this amount or more of the original. After Ibn Isḥāḳ's work the sources most widely used are the *Maghāzī* by al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/822-3), which is often criticised by Muslim writers who claim that the author is unreliable, and the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kabīr* by al-Wāḳidī's secretary, Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/844-5), who appears to be more highly respected than his employer. See *Bibl.* for editions and translations of these works. Other useful sources for the life of Muḥammad include the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by Muslim (d. 261/875), and the *Musnad* by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855).

B. Muḥammad in Mecca

1. *His early life*

The very first question a biographer has to ask, namely when the person was born, cannot be answered precisely for Muḥammad. We have no certain chronological data for the Meccan period of his life. His activity in Medina covered approximately ten years, from the Hidjra [*q.v.*] in 622 A.D. until his death in 632. Most of the sources say his activity as a prophet in Mecca also lasted ten years, but there is considerable difference of opinion on this question. A statement in a poem ascribed sometimes to Abū Ḳays b. Abī Anas and sometimes to Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, no. 19) says that his prophetic activity in Mecca lasted "ten and some years". Muḥammad's biographers usually make him 40 or sometimes 43 years old at the time of his call to be a prophet, which, taken with the statements on the length of the Meccan and Medinan periods of his prophetic activity and his age at the time of his death, would put the year of his birth at about 570 A.D. When, however, tradition says that he was born in the "Year of the Elephant" (alluded to in sūra CV) this cannot be accepted, since Abraha's attack on Mecca must have taken place considerably before 570. There is better reason to believe that he may have been born later in the 570s. Since the traditional accounts differ widely and also contain elements that are clearly based on later legend, it is best to leave open the question of the year of Muḥammad's birth. For the period of his life before he came forth as a religious reformer the Ḳurʾān has only the indefinite expression *ʿumr*, in sūra X, 16: "I lived among you an *ʿumr* before it", where the term is usually interpreted "a lifetime" and could just as well mean 35 as 40 or 43 years.

The name "Muḥammad" is reported to have occurred previously among the Arabs (e.g. Ibn Durayd, ed. Wüstenfeld, 6 f.; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 111 f.) and therefore need not be regarded as an epithet adopted later in life by the Prophet. It should be noted, however, that the brief section on such persons given by Ibn Saʿd has the heading, "Account of those who were named Muḥammad in the days of the *djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] in the hope of being called to prophethood which had been predicted", which indicates the tendentious nature of some of these accounts. The fact that the sources say frequently that in his youth Muḥammad was called Amīn, a common Arab name meaning "faithful, trustworthy", suggests the possibility that this could have been his given name, a masculine form from the same root as his mother's name, Āmina. The name Muḥammada for women occurs several times in the Syrian *Book of the Himyarites.*

As to Muḥammad's descent several old poems (e.g. Ḥassān b. Thābit, ed. Hirschfeld, no. 25; Aʿshā in Ibn Hishām, 256; cf. also on Djaʿfar: Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 21; Kaʿb b. Mālik in Ibn Hishām, 800; on Ḥamza: Ibn Hishām, 630; on Abū Lahab: Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 217) support the statement of tradition that he belonged to the Banū Hāshim [*q.v.*], apparently one of the better class families of Mecca (cf. Ibn Hishām, 539, 821), which was related to the Banū Muṭṭalib (Ibn Hishām, 536). On the other hand, the Meccan enemies of the Prophet say in sūra

XLIII, 31 that they would believe in him more readily if he had been "one of the prominent men of the two cities" (Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif). The Hās͟him family in any case could not compare with the most prominent families such as the Mak͟hzūm and Umayya [*q.vv.*]. What is recorded of the needy circumstances of Muḥammad and some of his relatives suggests that the Banū Hās͟him were not prosperous during his early lifetime. His father, who is said to have died before the Prophet's birth, is quite a colourless figure in the sources. His name ʿAbd Allāh is perhaps only a later improvement on a polytheist name (see the names of his brothers below). Muḥammad's grandfather is called S͟hayba or ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. The connection between these two names is as obscure as is their relationship to the Banū S͟hayba (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 94, ii/1, 124) and the often mentioned family of Muṭṭalib (Ḥassān b. T͟hābit, no. 184; Ibn His͟hām, 230, 536). On his mother's side he had connections, which are not entirely clear, with Medina. We know little more that is definite about his ancestry, since most of what is related is heavily influenced by later legend. The first tangible historical figures among his relatives are his uncles: Abū Ṭālib [*q.v.*], whose name was ʿAbd Manāf, al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], Ḥamza [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā [see ABŪ LAHAB].

In the well-known Sūrat al-Ḍuḥā, a personal passage addressed to the Prophet, the Ḳurʾān affirms that Muḥammad grew up as an orphan (XCIII, 6). Little else about his early life is known. The sources contain many colourful stories with settings from before his birth up to the time of the Hid͟jra. These accounts are important historical sources for understanding early stages in Muslim perceptions of the Prophet, which developed rapidly well beyond his portrayal in the Ḳurʾān, but they have little value as sources for the historical Muḥammad (as distinct from the Muḥammad of Muslim faith). As Birkeland has shown, the story of the opening of Muḥammad's breast, which occurs in a variety of forms set in different parts of his lifetime (e.g., Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 96 f.), is a later exegetical materialisation of XCIV, 1 (*The Legend of the opening of Muhammed's breast*, Oslo 1955). It would also be wiser to set aside Muḥammad's alleged trading journeys into Syria, said to have occurred when he was a child under the care of his uncle Abū Ṭālib and later in the service of his future wife, K͟hadīd͟ja [*q.v.*]. The sources contain several versions of each of these stories, all of which have as their central theme predictions or affirmations regarding Muḥammad's future prophethood. Some of the versions of the story of the "first journey" involve a Christian monk named Baḥīrā [*q.v.*] (Ibn Isḥāḳ as reported in Ibn His͟hām, 115-17 and in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1123-6; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 76 f., 99-101), while others say Abū Ṭālib stopped at two convents where the unnamed "master of the convent" at each affirmed Muḥammad's future prophethood and insisted that the boy's father could not be living (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 98 f.). The main theme of most versions of the story of Muḥammad's "second journey to Syria" is the same as the first, that is, affirmation or announcement by a Syrian Christian monk, in this case named Nasṭūr, that Muḥammad will be a prophet (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 101 f.). It is curious that most modern biographers of Muḥammad depict this story as something of a test of his business skills and as an episode that serves largely as a prelude to an account of his marriage to K͟hadīd͟ja, since this is not a major theme of the story and does not even occur in some versions. In the form in which these stories are given they have distinctly apolegetic themes. Equally little confidence is to be placed in the story of the part said to have been played by Muḥammad in rebuilding the Kaʿba (Ibn His͟hām, 122-6; Ṭabarī, i, 1134-9; with an interesting variation in Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 93 f.). Verse 8 of Sūrat al-Ḍuḥā may allude to Muḥammad's marriage to the wealthy widow, K͟hadīd͟ja: "Did He not find you poor (*ʿāʾil*) and then enrich [you]?" Muḥammad and K͟hadīd͟ja are said to have had four daughters, who played various roles in the early history of Islam, and several sons all of whom died in infancy (Ibn His͟hām, 121). Except for the names of some of his children the sources tell us virtually nothing about Muḥammad's life from the time of his marriage to K͟hadīd͟ja, when he is said to have been 25 years old, until shortly before he began to have visions and hear mysterious voices, when he is said to have been 40 or 43.

2. *His emergence as a religious reformer*

Because of the nature of the sources and the complexities involved in interpreting them, questions concerning Muḥammad's emergence as a religious reformer are among the most difficult to answer. That he originally shared some of the religious conceptions of his milieu is in every way the most natural assumption. The verse in Sūrat al-Ḍuḥā between the two cited above asks Muḥammad: "Did He not find you going astray (*ḍāll^an^*) and then guide [you]?" (XCIII, 7). It is the plural form of this same crucial word, *ḍāll*, that occurs at the end of the well-known Fātiḥa, the prayer that serves as the first sūra of the Ḳurʾān: "Guide us on the straight path ... not that of those who go astray (*al-ḍāllīn*)." Further support for this assumption is found in other verses of the Ḳurʾān, such as XLII, 52: "You did not know what the Book or belief was", and in the *Sīra* reports that Muḥammad gave a polytheistic name, ʿAbd Manāf, to one of his sons (who, however, could simply have been named after Muḥammad's uncle and guardian who is better known by his *kunya*, Abū Ṭālib [*q.v.*]) and that two of his daughters were married to sons of his uncle ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā (Abū Lahab [*q.v.*]), who is consistently said to have been an ardent defender of polytheism. One of the clearest examples of traditional Arabian beliefs that Muḥammad retained after he began speaking publicly as a prophet of the God of the Jews and the Christians involves the *d͟jinn* [*q.v.*], who are mentioned frequently in Meccan portions of the Ḳurʾān. He was certainly influenced by the manner of the old Arab, *d͟jinn*-inspired (*mad͟jnūn* [*q.v.*]) soothsayers and their peculiar form of speech called *sad͟jʿ* [*q.v.*], with its mysterious oaths and rhymed prose (see KĀHIN, ḲURʾĀN, at vol. V, 421 f.; also *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 36 ff.; Blachère, *Litt.*, 222; and M. Zwettler, *The Oral tradition of classical Arabic poetry*, Columbus, Ohio 1978, 157 ff.)

Mecca with its sanctuary must have been a sanctified place in Muḥammad's eyes even before it was connected with Abraham and Ishmael, for the Ḳurʾān accepts it as such from an early stage in his public recitations (XXVIII, 91; XXVIII, 57; XXIX, 67; CV, 1 ff.; CVI, 1 ff.). He must have accepted the sacrifices offered there (CVIII, 2), and his followers took part in the ancient Meccan pilgrimage rituals before he combined them to form the great Islamic Ḥad͟jd͟j [*q.v.*]. A fascinating verse that reveals the uncertain state of the old rituals before Muḥammad's Farewell Pilgrimage is II, 158, which seems to answer a question put to the Prophet: "Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are among the landmarks (*s͟haʿāʾir*) of God, so there is no fault in circumambulating them for those who make a pilgrimage to the House [the Kaʿba] or perform an *ʿumra*." This verse gives permission for Muḥammad's followers to perform the ancient *saʿy*

before it acquired an Islamic meaning and was made obligatory for Muslims performing the Ḥadjdj. (For the customs and most likely meanings of the rituals involving al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa in Muḥammad's time, see SAʿY.)

What one can deduce in this way from the Ḳurʾān about Muḥammad's development is supplemented in an important way by tradition, according to which he was not alone in his search for a monotheistic religion. Various individuals are named who, dissatisfied with the old Arab polytheism, were seeking a more intellectual faith (cf. Ibn Hishām, 143-9). One in particular, Khadīdja's cousin, Waraḳa b. Nawfal [*q.v.*], who is mentioned in several interesting stories about Muḥammad in the *Sīra* literature, most likely played a larger role in the rise of Islam than is acknowledged in the sources. In addition there are the Ḥanīfs [*q.v.*] of whom the traditions have preserved only a very hazy picture, and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt whose poems often have points of contact with the Ḳurʾān, which would be of great importance if they could even in part be regarded as genuine [see also MUSAYLIMA].

To what extent Muḥammad was influenced by the various monotheistic ideas and movements that existed in Arabia in the early 7th century A.D. is difficult to determine. What is certain is that something happened that transformed his whole consciousness and filled him with a spiritual strength that decided the whole course of his life. He felt himself compelled to proclaim the revelations that were communicated to him in a mysterious way. Caetani has argued that Muḥammad's emergence as a religious reformer developed gradually and involved extended periods of meditation and reflection, referred to in the *Sīra* literature as *taḥannuth* (cf. Watt, *Mecca*, 44). Islamic tradition, on the other hand, also relates other stories, some involving the archangel Gabriel, that give the impression that Muḥammad had a sudden "prophetic call" at some precise moment in his life. Several verses in the Ḳurʾān, such as XLIV, 1-4, XCVII, 1, and II, 185, have been interpreted in such a way as to support this latter view (cf. Ibn Hishām, 155), but these verses are ambiguous and in fact contain no clear reference to a first revelation.

The traditional stories that identify either sūra XCVI, 1 ff. or LXXIV, 1 ff. as the first revelation are highly suspect for several reasons. These stories interpret one or the other of these passages as the original command from God to Muḥammad to begin reciting the revelation or warning the people. At the same time tradition claims that there was a *fatra* ("pause") of three years between the time he received these "first revelations" and the time he began his public ministry. Taking these two claims together would mean that Muḥammad waited for three years before carrying out the divine command. (For more substantive arguments based on a critical analysis of the history of the text of the Ḳurʾān, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 78-88; Watt, *Mecca*, 46-9.) This alleged *fatra* has not been fully explained and remains somewhat of an enigma. The concept of a *fatra* of three years in the revelations may have originated in the attempts of Muḥammad's biographers to construct an exact chronology of his life out of the conflicting reports of his age at the time of certain key events and of the lengths of his Meccan and Medinan periods of prophetic activity. One must also reckon with the possibility that the very earliest revelations were not written down or memorised by Muḥammad's followers and thus have been lost.

The Ḳurʾān gives only a few hints about the manner of these inspirations. Perhaps the wrapping up (LXXIII, 1; LXXIV, 1) refers to a preparation for the reception of the revelations in the manner of the old Arab *kāhins*. We are taken further in an indirect way by the often recurring accusation of his enemies that Muḥammad was *djinn*-possessed (*madjnūn* [*q.v.*]), a soothsayer (*kāhin* [*q.v.*]), or a magician (*sāḥir*), for they show that in his moments of inspiration he made an impression similar to those figures well known in ancient Arabia. The graphic descriptions of his condition in such moments may be regarded as genuine, since they are unlikely to have been invented by later Muslims. These mysterious seizures must have afforded to those around him the most convincing evidence for the superhuman origin of his inspirations. Whether he had such experiences before he began to see himself as a prophet of the God of the Jews and the Christians and, if so, how long he had had these experiences remains uncertain. The *Sīra* accounts that affirm that at first Muḥammad did not recognise these experiences as indications that he was being called to be a prophet may be an example of historical foreshortening or telescoping, i.e. reducing into a short time span what in fact lasted for a much longer period.

3. *His public ministry in Mecca*

Probably over a period of several years a new world of ideas began to fill him to an ever increasing extent, until he was finally compelled with irresistible force to come forth and proclaim them. Parts of the Ḳurʾān that exemplify Muḥammad's early public recitations exhibit a passionately excited inspiration that is rarely matched in later parts of his career. These early recitations are based not on a dogmatic conception of monotheism but on a strong general moral and religious appeal, which, however, was bound in Muḥammad's circumstances in Mecca to lead to a breach with the polytheists. Key themes in these early recitations include the idea of the moral responsibility of man who was created by God and the idea of the judgment to take place on the day of resurrection. To these are added vivid descriptions of the tortures of the damned in the hellfire and the pleasures of the believers in Paradise. Another major theme of Muḥammad's early preaching, before the onset of strong opposition from the powerful merchant families of Mecca, involves the signs of God in nature that should convince people who will take the time to reflect that there is a power greater than man's, and that the wise will acknowledge this power and cease their greed and suppression of the poor. There is also a stress on the wonders of everyday life, especially the marvellous phenomenon of man (cf. Watt, *Mecca*, 62-72).

The religious duties that the Ḳurʾān imposed on Muḥammad and his followers during the Meccan years were simple and few in number: one should believe in God, appeal to Him for forgiveness of sins (XXIII, 1-11), offer prayers frequently, including long night vigils (XI, 114; LXXIII, 20; cf. LXXVI, 25 f.), assist others (especially those who are in need), free oneself from the love of delusive wealth and—what is significant for the commercial life of Mecca—from all forms of cheating (XXVI, 182 f.; cf. LV, 7-9), lead a chaste life, and not expose new-born girls to die in the desert, a barbarous custom that was sometimes practiced in Arabia in Muḥammad's time (for reasons of poverty according to VI, 151 and XVII, 31). These are some of the qualities of the truly pious person who in the Ḳurʾān is sometimes called a *muslim* (LXVIII, 35; XXI, 108, etc.) sometimes a *ḥanīf* (X, 105; XXX, 30; XCIII, 5; cf. VI, 79 and the article), but more frequently simply a believer (*muʾmin*).

At first Muḥammad met with no serious opposition and in not a few cases his preaching fell on fruitful soil. In the words addressed to Ṣāliḥ in sūra XI, 62 we may find a hint that Muḥammad had at first aroused considerable expectations among the Meccans. In addition to Khadīdja, who is consistently said to have been the first believer, and several men including Abū Bakr, the manumitted slave Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Ṭalha b. ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, and Muḥammad's cousin ʿAlī [*q.vv.*], who are also said to have been among the early followers of Muḥammad, the sources mention a number of other converts in Mecca, the majority of whom appear to have been young or of no great social standing, while the well-to-do and influential held back (XIX, 73; XXXIV, 31 ff.; LXXIII, 11; LXXX, 1 ff.; for a detailed analysis of the social standing and the tribal affiliations of the Meccan converts, see Watt, *Mecca*, 88-96). This became still more the case when the full consequences of Muḥammad's preaching became clear, that is, when he openly attacked the polytheism of his native town. Up until this point most Meccans appear to have had little interest in devotional meetings, and thus had been rather indifferent to Muḥammad's activities.

He was only gradually led to attack on principle the gods of Mecca (see Welch, *Allah and other supernatural beings*, 734-43). The Meccan sanctuary, he said, belonged to the one true God, "Allāh", whom the Meccans also recognised as the High God (XXXI, 25; XXXIX, 38; XIII, 12 where "Allāh" is the lord of the Kaʿba) and he will protect and bless his sanctuary, if they submit to him (XXVII, 91; XXVIII, 57; XXIX, 67; CVI, 1 ff.). Meccan merchants then discovered that a religious revolution might be dangerous to their fairs and their trade. That this was the salient feature of their resistance to Muḥammad is evident from the fact that the Ḳurʾān frequently endeavours to calm the fears of the Ḳuraysh on this point. The merchants of Mecca tended to have conservative attitudes about religious beliefs and practices, and they let their animosity to Muḥammad's new and fantastic ideas be known, particularly regarding belief in a physical resurrection of the dead.

Muḥammad's strength lay in the consciousness that he lived in a higher intellectual world that was closed to the polytheists and that he proclaimed ideas, "the equal of which neither men nor *djinn* with combined efforts could produce" (XVII, 88). Very pertinently he often points to the lack of logic in his enemies, when they recognise "Allāh" as the real true God but will not draw the logical deductions from this. But even his most crushing arguments rebounded from the impregnable wall of their prejudices that were based on their material interest. This circumstance now began to influence the matter of his preaching in a very remarkable way. When his opponents mocked him because the divine judgment threatened by him did not come (XXXVIII, 16; LXX, 1 ff.) he began to describe in an increasing degree how the contemporaries of earlier prophets had met them with incredulity and had therefore brought on their heads dreadful punishments (Bell-Watt, 127-34). That this threat of terrestrial punishment was not part of the earliest revelations is evident from the fact that Muḥammad's preaching, according to the already mentioned credible tradition, at first gave no offence, and indeed this feature is lacking in the sūras that appear to be the oldest.

The new religious ideas that Muḥammad proclaimed are associated in the Ḳurʾān with the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*), an expression that refers to the Jewish and Christian communities. That Muḥammad was conscious of this association is clear from the repeated statements in the Ḳurʾān that emphasise the agreement between its teachings and those of the Jews and the Christians. In a significant passage, sūra X, 94, the Ḳurʾān even challenges Muḥammad's opponents to consult the People of the Book for irrefutable evidence of the truth of his message: "If you are in doubt about what We have revealed, ask those who read the Book before you." During the Meccan years it is quite evident that Muḥammad had no thought of founding a new religion. His task was only to be a "warner" (*nadhīr* [*q.v.*]) (LI, 50; LXXIV, 2; LXXIX, 45; LXXX, 11; LXXXVIII, 21 ff.; and Welch, *Muhammad's understanding*, 41 ff.), charged with the task of informing the Arabs, to whom no prophet had been sent before (VI, 157; XXVIII, 46; XXXII, 3; XXXIV, 44; XXXVI, 6), that the day of judgment was approaching. This warning, which previously was not directly accessible to the Arabs, was now proclaimed as a clear Arabic recitation (*ḳurʾān ʿarabī*) so that Muḥammad's people could be saved from the divine wrath. The Jews and Christians must thus also testify to the truth of his preaching (X, 94; XVI, 43; XXI, 7; XXVI, 197; XXVIII, 52, etc.), since the same revelation had been sent down to them previously.

It is in this context that the meaning of the often discussed term *ummī* [*q.v.*] is best understood. As applied to Muḥammad in sūra VII, 157, the term appears to mean "one who has not previously been given the Book of God" and is the antithesis of the People of the Book, that is, those who already had versions of the Book of God (*kitāb Allāh*) in their own languages. Muḥammad was the *ummī*-prophet only during the period before he began to prepare a written scripture for his community (see AL-ḲURʾĀN, at 403-4). This interpretation does not affect the question as to whether or not Muḥammad was able to read and write, except as the term might have had connotations of his inability to read the Jewish and Christian scriptures (see Wensinck, in *AO*, i/1, 191). As a merchant he must have had some knowledge of reading and writing Arabic. In a key passage on this question, XXV, 4-6, Muḥammad's opponents are quoted as saying that "he has written down" (*iktataba*) "stories of the ancients ... that are recited to him morning and evening", and the Ḳurʾān (in verse 6) does not deny this accusation, but simply affirms that what Muḥammad was reciting had been inspired by God. It was only in later theological circles that the term *ummī* acquired the now common meaning, "illiterate", as scriptural evidence for the doctrine of the miracle of Muḥammad's reception of the revelation from God through Gabriel (cf. AL-ḲURʾĀN, at 403; *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 14; Bell-Watt, 33 f.; and, for comments on the European literature on the meaning *ummī* and its plural form *ummiyyūn* in the Ḳurʾān, Paret, *Kommentar*, 21 f.).

Traditions record at great length the persecution and ill-treatment that Muḥammad and his followers suffered at the hands of the Meccan polytheists (e.g., Ibn Hishām, 205-7). These reports play a significant role in several episodes that are presented in the *Sīra* literature as major events in the life of Muḥammad in his Meccan period, but are unfortunately more or less obscure and may be interpreted in various equally uncertain ways. In addition to the inevitable differences in the biographical sources, one other key factor makes it difficult to reconstruct with any confidence the main stages in Muḥammad's life before

the Hid̲j̲ra. While the Ḳur'ān refers frequently to major events in the life of Muḥammad and the Muslim community that occurred in Medina after the Hid̲j̲ra, often treating these events in some detail, it is virtually silent on the episodes that the *Sīra* reports as major events in Muḥammad's Meccan years. In light of the fact that the Ḳur'ān responds constantly and candidly to Muḥammad's historical situation (see K. Cragg, *The event of the Qur'ān*, London 1971, and Welch, *Muhammad's understanding*, 15-52), its silence on these allegedly major Meccan events is significant.

One example involves the various accounts of the emigration of some of Muḥammad's followers from Mecca to Abyssinia. Ibn Sa^cd reports and discusses two separate events: "the first *hid̲j̲ra* to Abyssinia" (i/1, 136-8) and "the second *hid̲j̲ra* to Abyssinia" (i/1, 138 f.). He says that most of the emigrants in the first group returned to Mecca before the Hid̲j̲ra to Medina, while most of the second group were still in Abyssinia at the time of the Hid̲j̲ra, so that when they left there they went directly to Medina. Ibn His̲h̲ām (205-17) speaks of only one migration of Muslims from Mecca to Abyssinia, as does al-Ṭabarī (i, 1180-4), who, after discussing the circumstances and giving the names of the first ten to go, concludes his account by saying: "Then D̲j̲a^cfar b. Abī Ṭālib emigrated, and after that there was a steady stream of Muslims." These accounts agree that persecution in Mecca played a major role in Muḥammad's decision to suggest that a number of his followers seek refuge among the Christians in Abyssinia. Watt (*Mecca*, 109-17) has shown, however, that the episode was far more complex than is suggested by the traditional accounts. He concludes that there is reason to believe that some sort of division within the embryonic Muslim community played a role and that some of the emigrants may have gone to Abyssinia to engage in trade, possibly in competition with prominent merchant families in Mecca. According to the well-known letter of ^cUrwa (preserved in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1180 ff.) most of these emigrants returned to their native town when Islam had become strengthened by the accession to its ranks of a number of individuals of position in Mecca, such as ^cUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb [*q.v.*] (Ibn His̲h̲ām, 224-31) and Muḥammad's uncle, Ḥamza [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1187 f.).

At the same time there is a quite different story on their return to Mecca that has been much discussed. Al-Ṭabarī (i, 1192-6) relates that Muḥammad was reciting Sūrat al-Nad̲j̲m (LIII) on an occasion when a number of Meccan polytheists were present "in the mosque" [?] and that when he came to the names of three of their favourite deities, al-Lāt, al-^cUzzā and Manāt [*q.v.*] (who are mentioned by name in what are now verses 19 and 20), Satan "cast on his tongue" two short verses: "These are the high-flying ones (*g̲h̲arānīḳ*, lit. "cranes") / whose intercession is to be hoped for." Taking these verses to mean that Muḥammad had accepted their goddesses as divine beings whose intercession with God (who for them was a High God) was effectual, the polytheists who were present prostrated with the Muslims when the Prophet came to the last verse of the sūra, which says "So prostrate yourselves before God and serve him." According to the story this led to a general reconciliation between Muḥammad and the Meccans, and the Muslims who had migrated to Abyssinia began to return home. By the time they arrived, however, the archangel Gabriel had informed Muḥammad that the two *g̲h̲arānīḳ* verses were not part of the revelation, but had been inserted by Satan. The returning Muslims thus had to make arrangements for clan protection before they could re-enter Mecca.

This curious story, which is also found in Ibn Sa^cd (i/1, 137 f.) but not in Ibn His̲h̲ām and presumably not in Ibn Isḥāḳ, is rejected by most Muslims as a later invention. Most European biographers of Muḥammad, on the other hand, accept it as historical on the assumption that it is inconceivable that later Muslims could have invented it (e.g., Watt, *Mecca*, 103). This reason, however, is in itself insufficient. The story in its present form (as related by al-Ṭabarī, al-Wāḳidī, and Ibn Sa^cd) cannot be accepted as historical for a variety of reasons given in AL-ḲUR'ĀN, at 404. This does not rule out the possibility of some historical kernel behind the story. It is possible that this story is another example of historical telescoping, i.e. that a situation that was known by Muḥammad's contemporaries to have lasted for a long period of time later came to be encapsulated in a story that restricts his acceptance of intercession through these goddesses to a brief period of time and places the responsibility for this departure from a strict monotheism on Satan. This interpretation is completely consistent with what is said above regarding Muḥammad's gradual "emergence as a religious reformer" and with evidence from the Ḳur'ān that a strict monotheism arose in stages over an extended period of time during Muḥammad's Meccan years (cf. Welch, *Allah and other supernatural beings*, 736-43).

It is just as difficult to elucidate another episode of the Meccan period, the story of the boycott of the Banū Hās̲h̲im. Muḥammad's whole position during his struggle with the Meccans was made possible only by the support given him by his own family, the clan of Hās̲h̲im. Most members of the family chivalrously fulfilled their duty in this respect, even though only a few of them believed in his prophetic call. His uncle, ^cAbd al-^cUzzā [Abū Lahab] appears to be the only influential member of the family who staunchly opposed him. This opposition became so severe that Abū Lahab came to be perpetually damned in the Ḳur'ān along with his wife in sūra CXI. It would thus not be unnatural in itself for the Meccans in the end to attempt to make the whole family innocuous without bringing on themselves the guilt of bloodshed by an open attack. The part of the story, however, that tells how they forced the Banū Hās̲h̲im to withdraw into their own part of the town and pledged themselves to refrain from intermarriage or commerce with them is probably much exaggerated. That the effort finally failed in its primary objective is conceded by the story itself. On the other hand, it is quite possible that K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a's fortune may have suffered considerably from Muḥammad's obligations to his needy followers and from the enmity of the influential merchant princes. Here again the Ḳur'ān is silent on an episode that the *Sīra* presents as a major event in Muḥammad's life, and we are left with more questions than answers.

4. *His last years in Mecca before the Hid̲j̲ra*

The sources are somewhat fuller for the major events during Muḥammad's last years in and around Mecca before the Hid̲j̲ra, although late tendentious historiography has coloured much in the traditions. According to ^cUrwa's account, Muḥammad did succeed in winning a few notables in Mecca (including probably ^cUmar) for his teaching, after the emigration of a number of his followers to Abyssinia. On the whole, however, his attempt at a religious reform of his native city must be regarded as having failed. When his wife K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a and his uncle and guardian Abū Ṭālib died within a short period of time, his position gradually became more and more hopeless. He could now have consoled himself with the thought that he had done his duty as a "warner" and could regard

it as the will of God that his people were not to be saved (cf. X, 99; XLIII, 89). But the consciousness of being a chosen instrument of God had gradually become so powerful within him that he was no longer able to sink back into an inglorious existence with his objective unachieved. He then made an attempt to establish himself in Ṭāʾif, but according to the reports this effort failed and indeed brought him into physical danger. After this unsuccessful journey to Ṭāʾif, the *Sīra* accounts say he obtained protection from a Meccan man named Mutʿim b. ʿAdī, who is said to have taken the discouraged prophet under his wing, thereby providing safety so he could re-enter his native city. (This report is corroborated in a poem by Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 88.)

It is at this low point in Muḥammad's life that some *Sīra* accounts place the famous Night Journey and Ascension. Ibn Saʿd relates his versions of the *miʿradj* [*q.v.*] (i/1, 142 f.) and then the *isrāʾ* (i/1, 143-5) as two separate events that occurred after Muḥammad's visit to Ṭāʾif. He even gives exact dates for these two events, saying that Muḥammad's Ascension to heaven from near the Kaʿba ("between the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm* and *Zamzam*") occurred "on the night of Saturday, 27 Ramaḍān, eighteen months before the Hidjra", and that his Night Journey from the sanctuary in Mecca to the sanctuary in Jerusalem (*bayt al-muḳaddas*) occurred on "the seventeenth night of [the last] Rabīʿ I before the Hidjra". As is well known, in later tradition these two stories came to be combined into one. It should also be noted that other *Sīra* accounts place these events at different times in Muḥammad's prophetic career. Ibn Hishām reports accounts of the Night Journey first (263-8) and then the Ascension to heaven (268-71), and he places these accounts before the deaths of Khadīdja and Abū Ṭālib. Al-Ṭabarī (i, 1157-9) includes only the story of Muḥammad's Ascension from the sanctuary in Mecca to "the earthly heaven", where Gabriel led the Prophet through each of the seven heavens, "and then he took him to Paradise", where Gabriel picked up a handful of "its earth" and it had the fragrance of musk. Al-Ṭabarī places this story before the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry, between his account of Khadīdja becoming "the first to believe in the Messenger of God" and his account of "the first male to believe in the Messenger of God". Eventually these two events were combined so that the terminus of the Night Journey was the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, where Muḥammad led the earlier prophets in a performance of the *ṣalāt*, made his Ascension to heaven from the raised stone protrusion that is now enclosed within the famous Dome of the Rock, and then Gabriel and Muḥammad returned to Mecca, completing the Night Journey. It is Muḥammad's association with the Temple Mount in this two-part story that makes Jerusalem the third holiest city, after Mecca and Medina, for Muslims [see AL-ḲUDS and AL-MASDJID AL-AḲṢĀ].

Despite the harsh reception he received in Ṭāʾif, but possibly buoyed by the Ascension experience, if indeed it occurred at this time, and even if it was a vision or a dream (for we know that personalities such as his can have emotionally powerful vision and dream experiences), Muḥammad persevered in his search for a new sphere of activity outside of Mecca. The large number of tribes who came to Mecca for the spring and fall fairs and market days and also to perform the pilgrimage rituals at the Kaʿba provided excellent opportunities for Muḥammad to attempt to arrange for a new home for himself and his followers. After several unsuccessful negotiations he found favourable soil for his hopes with some men from Yathrib (later called Medina). The fact that he had relations there may have made the task of reaching an agreement easier. Fortunately we know something about conditions in Medina just before the rise of Islam, but our knowledge is still meagre and much of importance is still conjectural. We may safely assume that the large number of Jews who lived there had contributed towards making the Arab population somewhat familiar with monotheistic ideas (cf. Ibn Hishām, 178; Wensinck, *Jews of Medina*, 6-38; and Newby, *Jews of Arabia*, 49-77).

There is however no question that the Medinans did not so much want to attract an inspired preacher to themselves as to get a political leader, who could re-adjust their political relations, which had been shattered in recent tribal conflicts that culminated in the battle of Buʿāth [*q.v.*]. The responsibility Muḥammad contemplated was awesome, for it would mean his taking responsibility for the safety and welfare of his followers, who would be breaking the links that bound them to their tribes and families. Muḥammad would have to assume not only the immense responsibilities of a tribal chief, in relation to his followers who would emigrate with him, but also the challenge of settling disputes among largely unknown tribes who had longstanding grievances among one another.

With this we are faced with one of the most difficult problems in the biography of Muḥammad, the double personality that he presents to us so clearly in the sources. The inspired religious enthusiast, whose ideas mainly centred around the coming last judgment, who had borne all insults and attacks, who only timidly touched on the possibility of active resistance (XVI, 126) and preferred to leave everything to God's intervention, now with his migration to Medina enters upon a secular stage and at one stroke shows himself a brilliant political genius. The decisive point however is that the Medinans would certainly not have thought of seeking in him a saviour from their social and political difficulties if they had not been much impressed by his abilities in this direction.

After Muḥammad had entered into relations with some Medinans who had come as pilgrims to Mecca in 621, the latter began to spread Islam in their native town along with men whom he had sent there, and thus he was able after a preliminary conference in al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] to conclude at the pilgrimage next year (622) at the same place a formal agreement with a considerable number of Medinans, in which they pledged themselves and their fellow-citizens to take him into their community and to protect him as one of their own citizens, which, as later history shows, was also to hold for his Meccan followers if they moved to Medina. Tradition, and no doubt rightly, mentions here only the promise of the Medinans to take Muḥammad under their protection, without any further obligations.

These negotiations, which could not remain unknown to the Meccans, produced great bitterness, and a second *fitna*, as ʿUrwa says, began for the believers, which would have confirmed them even more in their determination to migrate to Medina. They are reported to have slipped away in large and small groups, so that finally only Muḥammad and Abū Bakr, with the latter's servant, were left. (Other accounts, possibly Shīʿī, say ʿAlī also remained in Mecca until the last moment.) That the Prophet did not go with the others was most likely part of his plan to keep the Hidjra as unobtrusive as possible. Just how successful the Meccan leaders could have been if they had wanted to prevent the departure of Muḥam-

mad and his followers is difficult to say. It seems most likely that at the time of the Hidjra the Meccans did not see Muḥammad as a threat to them whether he was in Mecca or in Medina. The traditional story, which in any case is embellished with later legendary details, that has Muḥammad and Abū Bakr remaining in Mecca until all the other Muslims had safely left and then hiding out in a cave may have some support from the well-known verse in the Ḳurʾān that begins "If you do not help him (Muḥammad), yet God has helped him already when the unbelievers (of Mecca) drove him forth with a companion, and the two of them were in the cave when he (Muḥammad) said to his companion (Abū Bakr): 'Do not be afraid, for God is with us' " (IX, 40). On the other hand, since this verse is so ambiguous without the interpolations, it is just as feasible that the story about the Prophet and Abū Bakr hiding out in a cave is a later exegetical materialisation of this Ḳurʾānic verse.

C. Muḥammad in Medina

The year of the great migration, Hidjra [*q.v.*], of the Prophet and his followers from his native town of Mecca to Yathrib [*q.v.*], later called Medina (from *madīnat al-nabī*, "the city of the Prophet"), was with good reason chosen as year 1 of the Islamic calendar, for it marks the beginning of the ten-year period in the life of Muḥammad when he led in the establishment of a new religious community that in a remarkably short time developed into one of the great civilisations of world history. According to the usual calculation, he arrived in Ḳubāʾ, a suburb of Medina, on 12 Rabīʿ I 1/24 September 622. The tasks that awaited him called for extraordinary diplomatic and organising skills, and he demonstrated that he was in every way equal to the challenge.

1. *The initial political situation*

At first Muḥammad could rely with confidence only on those who had emigrated with him from Mecca, the so-called Emigrants (*muhādjirūn* [*q.v.*]). These ardent followers, who maintained their support of Muḥammad and their belief in his cause during the difficult Meccan years, came to have a special rank among the Muslims. Some Medinans accepted Islam before Muḥammad arrived there, but they formed only a small portion of the inhabitants of the Prophet's adopted city. Slowly at first and then in larger numbers the Medinans adopted Islam. Those who became Muslims during Muḥammad's lifetime, called Helpers (*anṣār* [*q.v.*]), also came to have a special rank within the community second only to the Emigrants. Among the Arab tribes of Medina, Muḥammad encountered direct opposition only from a few families, such as the Aws Allāh. There were others who did not oppose him openly, but accepted the new relations reluctantly. Among these a particularly troublesome group gathered around a man of the Khazradj tribe named ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*], who managed to let slip away every occasion on which he might have successfully weakened Muḥammad's position. A further danger lay in the fact that an old and bitter feud between the two main Arab tribes of Medina, the Aws and the Khazradj [*q.vv.*], continued and could have broken out into the open at any time.

In addition to the Arab tribes of Medina there were a number of Jewish groups, the most prominent being the so-called *kāhinān*, i.e. the tribes of al-Naḍīr and Ḳurayẓa (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 216; Ibn Hishām, 660). Among the other Jewish groups the Ḳaynuḳāʿ tribe appears to have been the most important. These three Jewish tribes played a significant part in Medina because of their wealth and the support they had among the Jewish colonies in Khaybar [*q.v.*] and other settlements to the north. During his first year in Medina Muḥammad devoted considerable attention to the Jewish inhabitants there in the hope that as native Arabic speakers they would accept his claim to be God's one true prophet to the Arabs. His relations with any Christians who may have been in Medina (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 133) can only be surmised from references in the Ḳurʾān. After it became clear that the Jews in Medina were not going to accept Muḥammad's claim to prophethood, the Ḳurʾān gives the impression that his opinion of the Christians also gradually deteriorated (V, 82; LVII, 27).

Muḥammad's task was to form a united community out of these heterogeneous elements. The first problem to be tackled was how to procure the necessary means of subsistence for the Emigrants, who for the most part were without resources of their own. This difficulty was alleviated at least temporarily through an arrangement by which Muḥammad ordered a relationship of "brotherhood" to be created between each Emigrant and a man of Medina [see MUʾAKHĀT]. Sūra XXXIII, 6, dating from some time after the battle of Badr, is usually interpreted as abolishing this "brotherhood" arrangement, at least in matters of inheritance (cf. Ibn Hishām, 344-6; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 1). A more significant factor in the termination of these early arrangements in Medina may have been the formal agreement established between Muḥammad and all of the significant tribes and families. Fortunately, Ibn Isḥāḳ preserved a version of this very valuable document, usually called the Constitution of Medina. This version appears not to date from Muḥammad's first year in Medina, as is sometimes claimed, since it reflects the later, strained relationship between the Prophet and the Jewish people of the settlement. It reveals his great diplomatic skills, for it allows the ideal that he cherished of an *umma* (community) based clearly on a religious outlook to sink temporarily into the background and is shaped essentially by practical considerations. It is true that the highest authority is with God and Muḥammad, before whom all matters of importance were to be laid, but the *umma* as portrayed in the Constitution of Medina included also Jews and polytheists, so that the legal forms of the old Arab tribes were substantially preserved (cf. R. Serjeant, *The* Sunnah Jāmiʿah, *pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the* taḥrīm *of Yathrib: analysis and translation of the documents comprised in the so-called 'Constitution of Medina'*, in *BSOAS*, xli [1978], 1-42). The provisions stipulated in this document appear to have had little practical importance. It is nowhere mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, although some commentators interpret sūra VIII, 56 as referring to it. In any case, it was soon rendered obsolete by the rapidly and radically changing conditions in Medina.

2. *Establishing a theocracy in Medina*

Evidence of Muḥammad's political wisdom and personal determination to establish his position as God's one true prophet to the Arabic-speaking people is seen in his early endeavours in Medina to attract the Jewish people there to his cause by adopting some features of their worship and customs. For instance, he made the tenth of Muḥarram a fast day for Muslims, apparently a one-day twenty-four hour fast, like Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement) that the Jewish community observes on the tenth of Tishri (in the Jewish calendar). That this temporary Islamic practice, which apparently was kept for only one year, was based on the Jewish custom is seen clearly even in its name, *ʿĀshūrāʾ* [*q.v.*], derived from the Aramaic and used by some Jews in Arabia for Yom Kippur (cf. Watt, *Medina*, 198 f. for a brief discussion of the major

Arabic sources). The Jewish practice of having three daily prayer rituals appears to have been a factor in the introduction of the Islamic midday *ṣalāt*, referred to in sūra II, 238 as "the middle prayer ritual" (*al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā*), which was added to the morning and evening *ṣalāt*s kept by Muḥammad and at least some of his followers in Mecca before the Hid̲j̲ra. The Islamic weekly community worship service in the early afternoon on Fridays, which may have been instituted before Muḥammad's arrival in Medina, was most likely influenced indirectly by the Jewish "day of preparation" for the Sabbath, which begins on Friday evenings at sundown. Friday in Medina during Muḥammad's time was thus the main weekly market day when the largest number of Muslims from the surrounding areas came to town, providing an ideal time for the Islamic weekly congregational worship service (cf. Ibn Saᶜd, iii/1, 83, and S.D. Goitein, *The origin and nature of the Muslim Friday worship*, in *MW*, xlix [1959], 185 = *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1966, 113).

Whether the adoption of the Jewish practice of facing north towards Jerusalem when performing the daily prayers, a practice that was discontinued after Muḥammad's first year in Medina, was part of his campaign to win the Medinan Jews to Islam is uncertain, since the statements about the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] of the Muslims in Mecca before the Hid̲j̲ra differ. It is unlikely that Muḥammad and his followers faced towards the Kaᶜba in Mecca before the Hid̲j̲ra, since it would then be difficult to explain how the varying stories about the Muslim practice there could have arisen. If Muḥammad and his followers did use Jerusalem as their *ḳibla* before the Hid̲j̲ra, this practice need not necessarily mean a borrowing from the Jews, since this direction of prayer was used also by other groups in the Near East, such as the Ebionites and the Elkesaites (cf. H.J. Schoeps, *Jewish Christianity* (1969); Tor Andrae, *Mohammed*, 100 ff.) In Mecca the Muslims may have turned to the east like some Christian groups, or they may have had no *ḳibla* at all. The Ḳurʾān is silent on this crucial point in the life of Muḥammad and the rise of Islam. The balance of probability is in favour of the assumption that the Muslim use of the Jerusalem *ḳibla* during Muḥammad's first year in Medina was just one among several temporary practices that appear to have been adopted as part of the Prophet's attempt to win over the flourishing Jewish community there.

If some writers have seen in the immediate construction of a place of prayer (Ibn His̲h̲ām, 336) an imitation of the Jewish synagogues, Caetani has with weighty reasons argued that this was not a building definitely assigned to the worship of God, since the alleged *masd̲j̲id* was also used for all kinds of secular purposes, because in reality it was simply the courtyard (*dār*) occupied by Muḥammad and his family, while the assemblies for regular worship were held on the *muṣallā* [*q.v.* and AL-MADĪNA]. On the other hand, the so-called "mosque of opposition" (*masd̲j̲id ḍirār*), mentioned in sūra IX, 107 (see below), does seem to have been an actual building recalling the Jewish synagogue.

In spite of these overtures to the Jews in Medina, it soon became obvious that Muḥammad's goal of winning them over was not going to be realised. Although they may have cherished lively expectations (Ibn His̲h̲ām, 286, 373 f.) they were not willing to recognise an Arab as the long-awaited Jewish Messiah, and Muḥammad soon had reason to lament that only a few among them believed in him (sūra III, 110). In particular, the lack of agreement between what he recited as the Book of God, said to be identical with the Book previously sent down to the prophet Moses, and what the Jews in Medina knew of their scriptures aroused Jewish ridicule and thus brought him into an unfortunate position. His conviction of the divine origin of his mission and his position among the believers would not allow him to believe he was mistaken regarding the identity of the versions of the Book of God sent down to Moses, Jesus, and now to him. At the same time, he had too often appealed to the testimony of those to whom the Book had been sent down previously, the People of the Book, to be able to ignore this criticism. The issue was resolved to the satisfaction of the Muslims by the assertions in the Ḳurʾān that the Jews had received only a portion of the revelation (IV, 44; cf. III, 119) and that even this included a number of special laws adapted to an earlier age (IV, 160; VI, 146; XVI, 118). Still he challenged them to produce their scriptures (III, 93; cf. III, 181 ff. and IV, 46). Muḥammad's Jewish opponents in Medina were then accused of concealing from him parts of their holy scriptures (II, 42, 146, 159, 174; III, 77, etc.) and even of fabricating verses and then claiming they were in their scriptures (II, 59; IV, 46; V, 13, 47; VII, 162; cf. Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit, no. 96). He also came to believe that the Christian scriptures did not preserve the actual message and teachings of the Prophet Jesus [see TAḤRĪF].

Still Muḥammad was not thinking any more than before of founding a new religion, but only of restoring the true religion proclaimed by the prophets from the beginning. On this point a distinction needs to be made between religious beliefs and later theological formulations on the one hand, and the conclusions reached by modern historical and sociological research. For instance, in traditional Muslim belief Muḥammad is the "last and greatest of the prophets", a concept that is most likely based on a later interpretation of the expression "seal of the prophets" (*k̲h̲ātam al-nabiyyin*) that is applied to Muḥammad in sūra XXXIII, 40. Also, he is regarded not as a "founder" but as one who confirmed and restored the true, ancient monotheist faith that was established by the prophet Abraham. It should not be surprising that it was at the very time when these concepts were being proclaimed by the Ḳurʾān, during the early years after the Hid̲j̲ra, that historians see the emergence of a new religious community and tradition founded by Muḥammad, a man of extraordinary perception and skills. In particular, the opposition of the Jews of Medina to Muḥammad appears to have had a significant impact on the shaping of Islam, for it was precisely at that time and apparently in direct response to the Jews' rejection of him that the nascent Muslim community took on a pronounced national character through the adoption of various elements from ancient Arabian worship. This decisive change in the course of Islam occurred in the second year of the Hid̲j̲ra (July 623-June 624), and was signaled by the much discussed "change of the *ḳibla*" from Jerusalem to the ancient sanctuary of the Kaᶜba in Mecca, which is treated at some length in the Ḳurʾān (II, 142-50). Muḥammad's native town thus became the centre of true religion, the focal point for the daily prayer rituals and the much desired object of the annual pilgrimage, adopted in theory fairly early in the Medinan years, but not performed as an Islamic ritual until the Prophet's last years. At the same time Muḥammad was emancipated from the ridicule and protestations of the religious communities that he regarded as having been founded by his self-proclaimed models, Moses and Jesus.

This nationalisation of Islam gave Muḥammad a certain legitimation and broadened his authority as he came forward as the restorer of the religion of Abraham (*millat Ibrāhīm*) that had been distorted by the Jews and Christians. Abraham, claimed by Jews and Christians alike as the progenitor of their faith, now became the great *ḥanīf* [*q.v.*] and first *muslim* ("a person fully surrendered to the one true God"), in contrast not only to the polytheists but now also to the People of the Book: "Abraham was not a Jew nor a Christian; he was an upright person, a *muslim*, and he was not one of the polytheists" (sūra III, 67; cf. II, 135; III, 95; VI, 161, and XVI, 123, all of which, contrary to some traditional views, appear to date from the early Medinan years; see Bell-Watt, 99, 119). Abraham and his son Ishmael, regarded as the ancestor of the Arabs, were then said to have founded the Meccan sanctuary and the rites celebrated there (II, 125 ff.; XXII, 26 ff.) and it was Muḥammad's task to restore the ancient rites to their original monotheistic state, since they had been corrupted by the polytheists. Whether this identification of Abraham as the first monotheist (an idea that met with opposition from the People of the Book according to sūra III, 65) originated in the context of Muḥammad's dispute with the Jews in Medina or was already in existence, for example among Arabicised Jews, remains uncertain. One point that can be accepted, contrary to modern defenders of the traditional dating and interpretations of the relevant verses of the Ḳurʾān (e.g. Fazlur Rahman, *Major themes of the Qurʾān*, Minneapolis 1980, 142 f.), is that it is highly unlikely that Muḥammad was acquainted with the idea of the connection between Abraham and the Kaʿba before the Hidjra since this relationship occurs nowhere in the numerous Meccan passages that treat the significance of the Kaʿba.

At the same time that these important developments were occurring in Islamic rituals, Muḥammad's personal position was being gradually changed by the altered conditions. According to the already mentioned Constitution of Medina, all important matters were to be laid before God and His Messenger. It thus became a fundamental duty of the believers to be obedient to God and to Muḥammad (III, 132; IV, 13 f., 59 [where it is added: "and to those among you who have to exercise authority"]; V, 92; XXIV, 52, 54), and those who are disobedient are threatened with the tortures of hell (IX, 63). Alongside of the required belief in God now appeared "belief in His Messenger" (XLVIII, 9; LXIV, 8 etc.). God is his protector, as is Gabriel; and the angels are at his disposal (LXVI, 4).

3. *The accounts of Muḥammad's expeditions*

The elevation of Mecca to be the centre of Islam imposed on Muḥammad a new task that he surely foresaw. When visiting the holy places in and around Mecca became a duty of the Muslims, it became inevitable that some way would have to be found for them to gain entrance to the sacred territory from which they were excluded (XXII, 25 f.). Since some peaceful agreement appeared most unlikely, the result was the inevitable necessity of forcing admission to Mecca. The Prophet also had an account to settle with the Meccans, for by expelling him they had triumphed over him in the eyes of the world and the punishment repeatedly threatened upon them, partly in the form of the stereotyped retribution of the godless in the "punishment stories", had not materialised. This led to a new divine command, referred to in the *Sīra* literature as "permission to fight" the polytheists. The Helpers had pledged themselves to defend Muḥammad only if he were attacked, and the merchants of Mecca were not inclined to oblige him by initiating hostilities. The Emigrants had not pledged to fight, and it went very much against their feelings as Meccans to fight members of their tribe and blood relations. How much their resistance vexed Muḥammad can be seen in the Ḳurʾān where vigorous reproaches are made against his followers in this connection (II, 216; XXII, 38 ff. etc.).

After he had sent different men with small armed forces who did not succeed in encountering the enemy, Muḥammad sent some of his followers to Nakhla [*q.v.*] (Ibn Hishām, 423-7; Watt, *Medina*, 5-9), where they succeeded in capturing a caravan. One of the Meccans was killed, however, and, although possibly unplanned, the fighting took place during the month of Radjab, one of the sacred months in which all fighting was forbidden. The rich plunder was taken to Medina, where in the meanwhile a storm of indignation had broken out. The people eventually accepted the tragedy, after being calmed by the revelation of II, 217.

The success of this coup had such an effect in Medina that not only the Emigrants but also a number of Helpers offered their services when Muḥammad appealed for followers in Ramaḍān 2 A.H. in a new raid, which he himself was to lead. He had learned that a rich Meccan caravan was on its way south from Syria and he decided to ambush it at Badr [*q.v.*]. The very cautious Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] who was leading the caravan got wind of his plan, however, and sent messengers on a swift journey to Mecca for help. By the time the force of Meccans arrived and camped near Badr, the caravan had reached Mecca safely by following a diversion route along the coast. The angered Meccans, under the leadership of Abū Djahl [*q.v.*], one of the most prominent men of Mecca, had an army that is said to have been three times the size of Muḥammad's forces, said to have been about 300 men, and he was unwilling to let the opportunity of properly chastising his troublesome enemy escape. Soon after the Meccans camped near Badr, Muḥammad arrived with his men, expecting to meet Abū Sufyān's helpless caravan. When the Muslims and their supporters discovered that the caravan had escaped and that a military confrontation with the Meccans and their allies was imminent, they were filled with fear (VIII, 5 ff.; cf. the continuation of ʿUrwa's account in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1284 f.). The Prophet, however, saw in the encounter a portentous dispensation of God, who wished to force the polytheists into battle. Muḥammad's charisma and remarkable power of suggestion were able to inspire his men so that they completely routed the far more numerous enemy. A number of the Meccans, including Abū Djahl, were slain and several, including Muḥammad's uncle, al-ʿAbbās, were captured as prisoners and taken to Medina. Muḥammad had two of them, al-Nadr and ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ, put to death, while the others were held for ransom (Ibn Hishām, 457-61).

The battle of Badr, which might seem small and insignificant from a modern perspective, must be judged in light of the conditions of Muḥammad's time. See the observations by Doughty (*Travels*, ii, 378) and Glubb (*Muhammad*, 179 ff.), both of whom knew the country well. This battle became of the utmost significance for the history of Islam. Muḥammad saw in the victory a powerful confirmation of his belief in the one true God (VIII, 17, 65; III, 123; cf. Kaʿb b. Mālik, in Ibn Hishām, 520 f.) and in his own call. Also, because the commercial city of Mecca

enjoyed such great prestige in Arabia, anyone who was able to defeat its forces in battle was bound to attract all eyes to himself. He therefore displayed even greater energy and was able to utilise the advantages he had won. After completing the arrangement for ransom for the Meccan prisoners, Muḥammad began to besiege the Jewish tribe of Ḳaynuḳāʿ in their forts. The Munāfiḳūn [*q.v.*] did not dare to oppose him seriously by openly supporting the Ḳaynuḳāʿ, and the other Jewish groups left their co-religionists in the lurch (cf. LIX, 14) so that this first Jewish tribe was forced to leave their longtime home in Medina and move north to other Jewish settlements.

In order to protect himself and his followers from attacks from other foes in the northern part of the Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*], Muḥammad at this time adopted a plan that is a further proof of his outstanding political ability. He concluded alliances with a number of Bedouin tribes in which the two parties pledged themselves to assist one another. (For examples of two such treaties made by Muḥammad, along with a brief analysis and references to the Arabic sources, see Watt, *Medina*, 362-5.)

In the year 3/624-5 Muḥammad continued his attacks on the Meccan caravans so that the Ḳuraysh finally saw the necessity of taking more vigorous measures and revenging themselves for Badr. An army said to number 3,000 men was equipped and set out for Medina with much display under the leadership of Abū Sufyān, who was clearly the most prominent leader in Mecca after the death of Abū Djahl at Badr. Although several of his followers advised Muḥammad to make his defence within the Medinan settlement, he decided to go out with his forces, which at the last moment were much reduced by the departure of the Munāfiḳūn, and took up a position on the lower slopes of the hill of Uḥud [*q.v.*]. In spite of the numerical superiority of the Meccans, the fighting at first went in favour of the Muslims, until a number of archers who had been placed to defend his flank left their position, against Muḥammad's express orders, to pursue some of the Meccan fighters who appeared to be retreating. This at once enabled the keen military strategist, Khālid b. al-Walīd, to secure a superior position on the slopes of Uḥud. The tables were now turned and many of the Muslims began to flee, especially when the rumour spread that the Prophet had fallen (cf. sūra III, 144). In reality he was only wounded and escaped with a few faithful followers through a ravine on the south side of the hill. Fortunately for him, the Meccans were unwilling to follow up their victory and, thinking that Muḥammad had been punished enough and their honour had been reestablished, they turned quietly back to Mecca. The Prophet was thus saved from the worst, but he had to lament many fallen friends including his uncle, Ḥamza. His newly acquired prestige naturally suffered. With all the eloquence in his power he endeavoured to raise the morale of his followers by exhortation and censure alike (cf. Ibn Hishām, 592-606, and sūra III, 118 f., 139-60, 165-80). In this strategy he succeeded since the expected negative consequences of his setback at Uḥud did not materialise in Medina.

Some of the Jews in Medina who had taken no part in the fighting made no secret of their delight at his misfortune. It was thus all the more necessary to make an example, and a second Medinan Jewish tribe, the Banu 'l-Naḍīr, obliged Muḥammad by providing justification for his action against them. Tradition imputes all sorts of crimes to them, but their actual offences are difficult to determine. The Ḳurʾān says simply that they defied God and his Messenger (LIX, 4). After a siege of several weeks (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1850) they were expelled from Medina and forced to immigrate to Khaybar and other Jewish settlements in the north. They left behind them their weapons and their gold and silver as a rich booty, the distribution of which on this occasion Muḥammad reserved for himself (LIX, 6 ff.).

While Muḥammad was endeavouring to restore his weakened authority, a new and threatening storm came upon him and Medina from Mecca. The Ḳuraysh, whose caravans were being continually harassed by him (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 16 f.) and who were urged on by the Jews of Khaybar, recognised that the victory at Uḥud had not seriously weakened Muḥammad's position, and they realised the necessity of occupying Medina, which they had then neglected to do. Conscious of their slight military skill, being city merchants with little experience in warfare, they negotiated vigorously with various Bedouin tribes and thus raised a large army—said to have been about 10,000 men—with which they set out against Medina some time in the year 5/626-7. The varying accounts of the season of the year (sometimes said to have been a month after the barley harvest, sometimes during cold winter storms, the latter in agreement with sūra XXXIII, 9; cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 14) could be reconciled only by the unlikely assumption that the siege lasted for a considerable length of time.

The advance of this imposing army produced great consternation in Medina, which was further increased by the vacillating attitude of the Munāfiḳūn and by the discovery, or perhaps only the suspicion, that the Jews were conspiring with the enemy (XXXIII, 10 ff., 26). Muḥammad in order to strengthen the defences had a trench (*khandaḳ*, a Persian word) dug in front of the unprotected parts of the settlement (Ibn Hishām, 670). Nowhere does Ibn Isḥāḳ in the recension by Ibn Hishām attribute the idea of building the trench to Salmān the Persian (al-Fārisī). According to other accounts, however, this trench is said to have been a Persian military tactic suggested to Muḥammad by Salmān (e.g. Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 47). Modest as these defences must have been, they imposed a sufficient deterrent upon the enemy, who had little experience in such military tactics, and the siege gradually dragged on. Muḥammad used the time for secret negotiations with the Ghaṭafān and cleverly stirred up distrust among his opponents. When weather conditions became unfavourable the besieging forces lost heart and gradually began to retire, so that the last effort of the Ḳuraysh to defeat Muḥammad by force came to nothing.

For one group among the inhabitants of Medina, the largely uneventful "War of the Trench" became a bloody tragedy. Hardly had the Meccans and their allies retired than the Prophet declared war on the last Jewish tribe of any size in Medina, the Ḳurayẓa [*q.v.*], and began to besiege their forts. Once the Jews realised the seriousness of their predicament, they no doubt hoped to escape under terms similar to those of the Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ and the Banu 'l-Naḍīr, especially since their allies, the once powerful tribe of Aws, were very actively trying to induce Muḥammad to clemency. This third Jewish tribe, however, was not to be allowed the leniency shown to the other two. According to one account given by Ibn Hishām, all of the men, numbering between 600 and 900 according to the varying accounts, were beheaded in compliance with a judgment given by Saʿd b. Muʿādh [*q.v.*] of the tribe of Aws, and "the property was divided [among

the Muslims] and the women and children were taken as captives" (689 f.). In another account Ibn Hishām says "The Messenger of God ordered that every adult [male] of Banū Ḳurayẓa be killed ... and then he divided the property, wives, and children of Banū Ḳurayẓa among the Muslims" (692). Tradition endeavoured to put the responsibility for the massacre of the Ḳurayẓa on Saᶜd b. Muᶜādh (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 167), who asserts Saᶜd's sincerity), but there are various indications that it was the Prophet himself who was responsible for the decision. The expulsion or elimination of these three Jewish tribes brought Muḥammad closer to his goal of organising an *umma* strictly on a religious basis. Some Jews from other families were, however, allowed to remain in Medina (cf. Ibn Hishām, 895; al-Wāḳidī/Wellhausen, 264, 309, 393; Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 133).

The failure of the Meccan siege of Medina and the elimination of this last major Jewish tribe became one of the main turning points in the life of Muḥammad and the rise of the Muslim community. From about six months after his arrival in Medina, when he sent out the first Muslim raiding party under the command of his uncle Ḥamza, until the time of the Meccan failure in their siege of Medina, Muḥammad dispatched a steady stream of raiding parties against Meccan caravans (see Watt, *Medina*, 339-41, for a complete list and for references in Ibn Hishām and al-Wāḳidī/Wellhausen). This practice ceased after al-Khandaḳ and the elimination of the Ḳurayẓa (about a year before Muḥammad agreed to a ten-year truce with the Meccans at al-Ḥudaybiya), and the Prophet turned his major attention towards the north.

Muḥammad led two of these expeditions himself, one against the Banū Liḥyān, early in the year 6 A.H. (mid-627 A.D.), which ended without any fighting, and the more famous expedition against the Banū Muṣṭaliḳ, which is of interest for several reasons. It was on the return trip to Medina on this latter expedition that the celebrated adventure involving ᶜĀʾisha [*q.v.*] occurred that might have cost her her position as a wife of the Prophet except that Muḥammad received a revelation (XXIV, 4-5, 11-20) that exonerated her. More significantly for the early history of Islam, the ᶜĀʾisha affair gave rise to a serious conflict within the ranks of the leaders of the Emigrants and also caused a breach between the Emigrants and the Helpers that continued well into the period after Muḥammad's death. The political upheaval that arose after the raid on the Banū Muṣṭaliḳ might explain why this is the one significant expedition led by Muḥammad on which the sources present widely differing opinions regarding its date. Ibn Hishām (725) states explicitly that this expedition occurred in the eighth month (Shaᶜbān) of the year 6 A.H., after Muḥammad's raid on Dhū Ḳarad (sometimes called the raid of al-Ghaba), usually listed as his nineteenth personal expedition (see, e.g., Ibn Hishām, 972 f., and al-Ṭabarī, i, 1575). Ibn Saᶜd (ii/1, 45), on the other hand, following al-Wāḳidī (Wellhausen, 175 ff.) states just as clearly that the expedition against the Banū Muṣṭaliḳ took place in Shaᶜbān of the year 5 A.H., after Muḥammad's raid on Dūmat al-Djandal that is usually listed as his fifteenth expedition (Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī, *locc. cit.*). This discrepancy serves as just one example of the difficulty or impossibility of reconstructing a precise chronology of the life of Muḥammad even for the well-documented Medinan period.

Towards the end of the year 6 A.H., Muḥammad thought that his position in Medina was so firmly established that he could risk a step that would bring him nearer to his desired goal. He and the Emigrants were still excluded from Mecca and its holy places, but through contacts in Mecca, including probably his uncle al-ᶜAbbās [*q.v.*], he knew that attitudes towards him in his native city were gradually becoming more favourable (cf. XLVIII, 25; LX, 7). In Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda of the year 6 (March 628) he gave orders to his followers to provide themselves with sacrificial animals and undertake a pilgrimage (an *ᶜumra* [*q.v.*]) with him to Mecca, saying that in a vision God had promised him fulfillment of this long-held goal (XLVIII, 27). In Mecca many were inclined to meet his wishes but the belligerent party was still strong enough to get a body of armed men sent to meet him and prevent him from entering the town. He therefore encamped at al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] where he began to negotiate with some leaders of Mecca. When these discussions failed Muḥammad sent ᶜUthmān, who was protected by his family connections, into the town as his representative. When ᶜUthmān did not return after several days, a rumour that he had been murdered spread among the Muslims. The situation became critical and Muḥammad dropped all negotiations, collected his followers under a tree, possibly one long held sacred, and made them swear to fight for him to the last, which nearly every man did with enthusiasm (XLVIII, 10, 18).

A short time later a number of Meccans arrived with ᶜUthmān and offered a compromise according to which the Muslims would return to Medina without fulfilling their goal that year, but the Meccans promised to allow Muḥammad and his followers to perform an *ᶜumra* the following year. He agreed to the proposal and also concluded a ten years' truce with the Ḳuraysh, further promising to return to the Meccans any of their dependents who sought refuge in Medina. Some of Muḥammad's followers who had been determined to force their claim and perform the pilgrimage rituals inside Mecca that year became angry when they heard the conditions to which the Prophet had agreed. Muḥammad calmly ordered the sacrificial animals brought with them to be slain, which was to have been done at an *ᶜumra* in the town (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *maḥill*), and had his hair cut, and by his authority forced his grumbling followers to do the same. Only later did they discover that the so-called Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya represented a brilliant act of diplomacy on the part of Muḥammad, in that he had induced the Meccans to recognise him as an equal, had concluded a peace with them that promised well for the future, and had gained the admiration of many Meccans by incorporating their ancient religious rituals into his nascent religion. There is also evidence that a number of the leaders in Mecca were ready to abandon their polytheistic practices and adopt monotheism.

At the beginning of the year 7/628-9 Muḥammad and those who had pledged themselves to him under the tree at al-Ḥudaybiya received ample compensation for the unfulfilled *ᶜumra* by the capture of the fertile oasis of Khaybar that was inhabited by Jews. This was the first actual conquest by the Prophet, and on this occasion he instituted a practice that set the precedent for future terms involving Jews or Christians who accepted the rule of the Muslims: he did not put the people to death or banish them but let them remain as tenants, as it were, with the stipulation that they had to pay a tribute (later called the *djizya* [*q.v.*]) every year. This expedition, which also brought the Jewish colonies of Wādī 'l-Ḳurā into his power, made the Muslim community wealthy for the first time (XLVIII, 18-21).

At about this time (the exact dates are given variously in the sources) tradition puts the despatch of letters from the Prophet to Muḳawḳis [*q.v.*] the governor of Alexandria, the Negus of Abyssinia [see AL-NADJĀSHĪ], Heraclius the Byzantine emperor, the Persian king, and a number of others, in which he demanded that they adopt Islam (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 1560-75). In the form in which these letters have come down to us they cannot be accepted as authentic, since they contain details that reflect a later period in the rise and power of Islam. Even if we disregard certain details that could have been inserted later, the substance of these letters hardly deserves the faith most people have put in them (see, for instance, M. Hamidullah, *Six originaux des lettres du Prophète de l-Islam*, Paris 1985). It is very unlikely that so sober a politician and diplomat as Muḥammad would have engaged in so presumptuous a venture before the conquest of Mecca. This does not, of course, preclude the possibility that he sent letters to surrogates of the Byzantine and Persian emperors who lived on the northern fringes of the Arabian peninsula and also in the Yemen, and it can be accepted without hesitation that he maintained correspondence with the Negus of Abyssinia.

While it is true that passages of the Ḳurʾān that date from Muḥammad's Medinan years do go beyond the earlier concept that he was sent as a prophet to the Arabs, even those verses that are so often cited as proof that he regarded his mission as universal hardly hold up to close scrutiny, but require a broader interpretation than their literal meaning. It is very doubtful that Muḥammad ever thought of the socioreligious community he founded in Medina as a universal religion, as is assumed for example by Nöldeke (*WZKM*, xxi, 307), Goldziher (*Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 25 = *Introduction to Islamic theology and law*, 27 f.) and T. W. Arnold (*The preaching of Islam*, 27-31). The conclusions reached by Snouck Hurgronje (*Mohammedanism*, 48 ff.) and H. Lammens (*Études sur le règne du calife Moʿāwia*, i, 422) are much more consistent with the evidence from the Ḳurʾān. (For a close analysis of the relevant verses of the Ḳurʾān and references to other European literature on this issue, see Welch, *Muhammad's understanding*, 47-51.)

At the height of his power Muḥammad never demanded from Jews or Christians living in the Arabian peninsula that they should adopt Islam. He was content with political subjection and the payment of tribute. The soundest conclusion is thus to reject in their present form those stories that assert that Muḥammad sought to convert to Islam the Byzantine and Persian emperors and other great rulers outside of Arabia, and to seek the real historical basis in negotiations of a more political nature, e.g. with the friendly Muḳawḳis of Egypt who is said to have been the person who gave to Muḥammad Māriya the Copt [*q.v.*], who bore him a son named Ibrāhīm who unfortunately died as an infant just a few months before Muḥammad's death. On the other hand, the character of the genuine letters of the Prophet to the Arab tribes changed at this time, for he was no longer content with a purely political agreement but, relying on his now consolidated power, he also demanded that they should adhere to his religion, which involved performing the *ṣalāt* and paying *zakāt* (cf. Ibn Saʿd, 1/ii, 15-38). In his eagerness to win the Arab tribes to Islam, Muḥammad is even said to have given the Djudhām [*q.v.*] on the Syrian coast a respite (*amān*) of two months after which they were to decide (see Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 82 f. and Watt, *Medina*, 108 ff.).

Late in 7 A.H. (early 629 A.D.) Muḥammad performed the "fulfilled pilgrimage" (Ibn Hishām, 788-90), actually simply an *ʿumra* involving rituals at and near the Kaʿba within the sanctuary (now the Sacred Mosque) of Mecca, that was part of the agreement in the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya. For him, having been driven out of his native city almost seven years before, it must have been a time of great satisfaction to be able to visit Mecca as the acknowledged lord of Medina. One important task Muḥammad accomplished while in Mecca was a reconciliation with his family, the clan of Hāshim, sealed through marriage with Maymūna bt. al-Ḥārith [*q.v.*], a sister of the wife of the Prophet's uncle, al-ʿAbbās, who was currently chief of the clan. Some of the sources allege that even before this time al-ʿAbbās had become a secret ally of Muḥammad. Also of great significance for the later history of Islam, a few of the most important Meccans, such as the military genius Khālid b. al-Walīd and another military man almost his equal, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.vv.*], who later conquered Egypt during the caliphate of ʿUmar, became Muslims. These men in Mecca must have recognised that Muḥammad was the man of the future in Arabia and they openly joined him. Muḥammad's uncle al-ʿAbbās and Abū Sufyān, the most prominent leader in Mecca at that time, took another tack, endeavouring through secret negotiations to prepare in the most favourable way for the inevitable surrender of Mecca.

In the meanwhile Muḥammad continued his military expeditions. His forces suffered a serious reverse in the first considerable effort to extend his authority over the Arabs on Byzantine soil in Transjordania, when at battle at Muʾta [*q.v.*] Muḥammad suffered the loss of his beloved adopted son, Zayd b. Ḥāritha [*q.v.*], who had been given command of a force said to have had 3,000 men. Also killed at this disastrous battle against the Byzantines at Muʾta was another potential leader within the early Muslim community, Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*], ʿAlī's brother who had only recently joined the Muslims in Medina after remaining in Abyssinia with Muḥammad's followers who had moved there from Mecca almost fifteen years earlier and remained (on Muʾta see Ibn Hishām, 791-802, where a number of poems on this battle are given). Despite the defeat at Muʾta, several Bedouin tribes began to see some of the advantages they would procure by joining Muḥammad, and even some of the large tribes such as the Sulaym [*q.v.*] voluntarily adopted Islam and placed themselves under the Prophet's banner.

Much against the advice of Abū Sufyān, the belligerent party in Mecca decided to support one of their client clans, the Bakr [*q.v.*], against the Khuzāʿa [*q.v.*], who were allied to Muḥammad. This, according to the custom among the Arabs at that time, was seen on both sides as breaking the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya, freeing Muḥammad to attack Meccan caravans or even the city itself. In Ramaḍān 8/ December 629 he set out at the head of an army of Emigrants, Helpers and Bedouins. The news produced considerable anxiety in Mecca where the number of those who wanted to fight shrank daily so that the more prudent now could take control. Abū Sufyān, who went out with several others (including the Khuzāʿī Budayl b. Warḳāʾ who was a friend of the Prophet's), met Muḥammad not far from the town, paid homage to him and obtained an amnesty for all the Ḳuraysh who abandoned armed resistance (cf. ʿUrwa, in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1634 f.). Thus the Prophet was able to enter his native city practically without a struggle and almost all its inhabitants adopted Islam. He acted with great generosity and endeavoured to win

all hearts by rich gifts (*ta'līf al-ḳulūb*, a new use of the alms; cf. IX, 60, and AL-MU'ALLAFA ḲULŪBUHUM). He demanded only the destruction of all idols in and around Mecca. Sūra CX and XLVIII, 1 f. seem to capture some of the exaltation with which this victory filled Muḥammad. It is striking that both of these unusually touching passages mention the forgiveness of Muḥammad's sins after declaring that God has given him a clear victory (*fatḥ*), suggesting that in some way the fulfillment of one of Muḥammad's major goals, the peaceful surrender of his native city, served as a direct sign that God had forgiven him all his sins (cf. CX, 3 and XLVIII, 2).

Muḥammad had no time to rest upon his laurels, for soon after the surrender of Mecca the Hawāzin [*q.v.*] tribes in Central Arabia began preparing for a decisive fight and the town of Ṭā'if, which was closely associated with Mecca, was still unsubdued. Muḥammad's forces fought the Hawāzin and their allies at Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] on the road to Ṭā'if. At first the Prophet's forces seemed threatened with a fatal disaster, mainly because of the unreliability of a number of the new converts, but then some of his followers succeeded in recalling the fugitives and routing the enemy (IX, 25 f.). On the other hand, his inexperienced troops were unable to take Ṭā'if with its defences. It was almost a year later, after Muḥammad's successful expedition to Tabūk [*q.v.*] with nearly 30,000 men, that the people of Ṭa'if finally accepted their fate and sent emissaries to Medina to surrender to the Prophet and adopt Islam. After raising the siege on the well-fortified city of Ṭā'if early in 630, Muḥammad returned to al-Dji'rāna to supervise the distribution of the booty of Ḥunayn. The Helpers, who as soon as Muḥammad entered Mecca had expressed the fear that he would take up his residence again in his native town, became very indignant about the rich gifts that he made to his former opponents in order "to win their hearts", while they themselves went empty-handed (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 31), but he spoke so kindly to them that they are said to have burst into tears and declared themselves satisfied (see Watt, *Medina*, 73-7).

The characteristic feature of the year 9/630-1 in the memory of the Muslims was the many embassies that came to Medina from different parts of Arabia to submit to the conqueror of Mecca on behalf of their tribes (cf. CX, 2). In the autumn of that year, Muḥammad made up his mind to conduct a campaign against northern Arabia on a considerable scale, probably because the defeat at Mu'ta required to be avenged if he were to maintain the respect he had so far earned. Also, the Ghassānid king was reported to have adopted a hostile attitude towards Muḥammad and his followers (cf. Ibn Hishām, 911; Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bābs* 78, 79). Somewhat surprisingly to Muḥammad after the Muslim victory at al-Ḥunayn, but probably also influenced by their defeat at Mu'ta, his appeal for followers met with little support. The Emigrants as well as a number of Bedouins held back and even among his devoted followers there were some who put forward all sorts of objections, for instance the fear that a campaign so far away in the burning heat would be difficult and potentially hazardous (cf. IX, 45, 81-90, 98 ff.). Muḥammad seems to have faced considerable opposition in Medina at this time (IX, 58-82, 125), so that he had to have recourse to his earlier method of intimidation and his words recall in a remarkable way the period of passion in Mecca (e.g. IX, 70, 128 f.).

In spite of all opposition, Muḥammad was able to carry through with his grand plan. When, however, after great hardships the 30,000 Muslims and their allies reached Tabūk, on the frontier with the land of the Byzantines, the campaign was indecisive (Ibn Hishām, 894-906). Muḥammad's prestige had, however, become so great by this time that the petty Christian and Jewish states in the north of Arabia submitted to him during his stay in Tabūk, e.g. the Christian king Yuḥannā in Ayla [*q.v.*], the people of Adhruḥ [*q.v.*] and the Jews in the port of Makna. The Prophet is said to have stayed in Tabūk for ten nights (Ibn Hishām, 904). Khālid b. al-Walīd also occupied the important centre of Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*] during the Tabūk expedition (Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 119 f.).

4. *The period from Tabūk to Muḥammad's death*

Unfortunately we do not know how the matters that were rapidly coming to a head in Medina actually developed; but we may safely assume that the death of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, which took place not long after the expedition to Tabūk, must have contributed to slacken the tension. These years showed a marked increase in the prestige of Muḥammad in regions outside the area immediately surrounding Medina. With Mecca in his hands there was a noticeable inclination among the Bedouins in several places to submit to the will of the conqueror of this town in order to be safe against his attacks and to have a share in his rich booty. This was the case for example regarding the group of tribes of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a [*q.v.*] (Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 51 f.) with portions of the great tribe of Tamīm and the neighbouring Asad [*q.vv.*] (cf. Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 39-41) and further north with the Bakr and Taghlib [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 55). Even in regions so far away from Medina as Bahrayn (Bahrain) and 'Umān (Oman) within the Persian sphere of influence (see Watt, *Medina*, 131 ff.) and among the chiefs of South Arabia, the new teaching and order of things penetrated and found ardent followers in some places. But we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the representations of the historians, from which it appears as if all the people in these lands adopted Islam. Caetani has shown that these accounts are not in keeping with reality and that it was only little groups that submitted, while there was a not inconsiderable number who rejected the Prophet's demands. See Watt, *Medina*, 78-150, for a discussion of the major tribes in areas surrounding Mecca and Medina and also those farther to the north and south, along with an appraisal of the extent of Muḥammad's success in winning over the major tribes of Arabia and, in some cases, the motives, whether political, social or religious, for the tribes' alliances with Medina.

In addition to the Jews who had already felt his strength, there were also a considerable number of Christians and some Zoroastrians [see MADJŪS] in the eastern and southern districts of the Arabian peninsula, who posed a problem of a different sort for Muḥammad. While in the earlier teachings of the Ḳur'ān Muḥammad is presented only as God's prophet to the Arabic-speaking people, this situation changed in the later Medinan years. Sūra IX, 29 ff., for example, includes the Christians and the Jews among the polytheists, who gave God a son and honoured men as lords beside God. In contrast to such utterances, V, 82 mentions the Christians very sympathetically because they, unlike the Jews, showed kindness towards Muḥammad and were not arrogant. Christian priests and monks are mentioned in particular; a more negative appraisal is given in LVII, 27, and yet the Christians of Nadjrān [*q.v.*] are said to have received preferable treatment by Muḥammad (Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 84 f.). Tor Andrae

explains these apparent inconsistences by pointing to the differences between the Monophysites and the Nestorians, saying that the former aroused his unqualified displeasure by their Christology, while the latter, who were then predominant in the Persian sphere of influence, attracted him much more (*Mohammed the man and his faith*, 89-93).

On the other hand, statements in the Ḳurʾān about the Jews gradually become more severe after Muḥammad's first year in Medina, and passages dating from near the end of his lifetime appear to make little distinction between those Jews and Christians who rejected his prophethood. As People of the Book, however, who are assumed to worship the one true God, they were allowed to retain their religion if they recognised the political suzerainty of the Prophet by paying a tax (*d̲j̲izya* [*q.v.*]). If they did not pay the *d̲j̲izya* they were to be fought without mercy. The memory of the agreement between Muḥammad's recitations and the beliefs of the People of the Book that was emphasised in the earlier parts of the Ḳurʾān must have contributed to this inconsistent treatment of the groups that were coming under Muḥammad's control. In addition, there was the fact that treating the Jews and Christians as tax-paying tenants and allowing them to practise their religion, as had already been done at K̲h̲aybar, was much more practical for the Muslims than fighting them till they gave in.

A further favourable settlement with the "People of the Book" was that believers were allowed to marry their daughters and to eat food prepared by them (sūra V, 5). According to a report in Ibn Saʿd (i/2, 19) Muḥammad included the Zoroastrians among the "People of the Book" in a letter he sent to a group of them (called Magians) in Had̲j̲ar. Muslims were forbidden, however, to marry their women and eat meat killed by them. This extended application of the expression "People of the Book" does not occur in the Ḳurʾān. With these exceptions, the Prophet approached nearer to his objective of forming an *umma* on a strictly religious basis, for the inhabitants of a number of parts of Arabia were now actually bound together by religion, at least in the eyes of Muḥammad. The old differences between the tribes with their endless feuds, their blood-vengeance and their lampoons that continually stirred up new quarrels, were supposed to disappear, and all believers were to feel themselves brethren (IX, 11; XLIX, 10). There was to be no distinction among believers except in their degree of piety (XLIX, 13).

This very rapid extension of Muḥammad's sphere of influence through various types of treaties and other agreements naturally led to situations in which the new "converts" had little knowledge of the teachings and practices of Islam. Alongside the older adherents, who were really inspired by Muḥammad's recitations and whose faith had been tried by privations and dangers, there were now many new converts who had been gained mainly by political alliances, sometimes inspired by fear of Muḥammad's growing power. In spite of the teachers sent out to them there could be no question of any immediate deep-seated religious conversion among these Arabs. How the old Arab spirit continued to flourish among them unweakened is shown, for example, by the boasting and abuse in the poems included in Ibn His̲h̲ām (934 ff.). The Ḳurʾān itself in XLIX, 14, states clearly that the newly converted Bedouins were far from the true faith: they could say that they had adopted Islam, but they could not say that they were yet true believers.

Instructions on religious beliefs and practices that constitute such a major theme of the early Medinan parts of the Ḳurʾān gradually gave way in striking fashion to social and political regulations in later parts of the Ḳurʾān, when the Islamic sphere of influence was spreading so rapidly. Finally, all was prepared and at the end of the year 10 (March 632) Muḥammad was able to carry through the first truly Islamic pilgrimage (the "Farewell Pilgrimage" or the "Pilgrimage of Islam"), which became the standard for all time. The regulations regarding the various ceremonies of the annual Great Pilgrimage appear only in fragments in the Ḳurʾān, forcing pilgrims to depend for their proper performance on the Ḥadīth collections and various Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ manuals that are prepared by the leaders of each *mad̲h̲hab* [*q.v.*]. The modern form of the main rituals is undoubtedly based on what the Prophet laid down on this memorable occasion [see ḤAD̲J̲D̲J̲]. The Farewell Pilgrimage is said to have included an address, of which somewhat variant versions have been handed down, that marks the culminating point in his career. His feelings at that time are probably expressed in God's words in sūra V, 3: "Today I have perfected your religion, and completed my favours for you and chosen Islam as a religion for you." There is therefore a touch of the dramatic in the fact that his life ended just a few months later.

That Muḥammad did not foresee how soon death would take him can be seen in the fact that only a month before his death he began preparations for a great expedition to Transjordania that he intended to lead himself. In the end he placed the expedition, said to have numbered about 3,000 men, under the command of the young Usāma [*q.v.*], apparently in order to avenge the death of his father Zayd b. Ḥārit̲h̲a, Muḥammad's adopted son and long-time companion. Several of the leading Muslims complained to Muḥammad regarding his choice to place an army with so difficult a mission under the command of such a young man, but the Prophet was determined to allow Usāma the opportunity to avenge the Muslim defeat at Muʾta, which also took the life of Muḥammad's cousin, D̲j̲aʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

In several parts of Arabia the appearance of rival "prophets" provoked disturbances at about this time [see AL-ASWAD, ṬULAYḤA and MUSAYLIMA]. Then Muḥammad suddenly fell ill, presumably of the ordinary Medina fever (al-Farazdaḳ, ix, 13); but this was dangerous to a man physically and mentally overwrought. He rallied a little but then died on the bosom of his favourite wife, ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, reportedly on 13 Rabīʿ I of the year 9 (8 June 632). Only this date suits the statement in Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit (no. 133) and all traditionists that it was a Monday. He left no legal successor, so that the leaders within the inner circle of his followers were obliged to choose a leader in the traditional manner among Arab tribes. The young Ibrāhīm, whom the Coptic slave Māriya bore to him, probably early in 630, had died earlier in 632. It is said that Muḥammad was buried under the dirt floor of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a's apartment (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1817; Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 57 ff., 71).

The great difficulty that the modern biographer of Muḥammad feels on every page is this, that the real secret of his career, the wonderful strength of his personality and his power of influencing those around him by suggestion, is not recorded in the early sources and indeed could not have been, since the early, devout Muslim biographers proceeded with the assumption that his great feats and extraordinary successes were not the acts of a man, but were supernatural proofs that the Prophet was acting in the service of God. From the Ḳurʾān, it is true, one becomes

acquainted with his earliest remarkable inspirations that continue to bring awe to the pious just as they no doubt did when Muḥammad first recited them. Also, his eminent political gifts seen so often during the Medinan years are obvious to modern historians. Who could doubt that the commander at the battle of Badr or that the negotiator at Ḥudaybiya was a man of intellectual superiority and extraordinary diplomatic skill? These insights into Muḥammad's genius that are unmistakable in the sources are, however, only isolated flashes. For the most part we have to read the essentials between the lines.

The really powerful factor in Muḥammad's life and the essential clue to his extraordinary success was his unshakable belief from beginning to end that he had been called by God. A conviction such as this, which, once firmly established, does not admit of the slightest doubt, exercises an incalculable influence on others. The certainty with which he came forward as the executor of God's will gave his words and ordinances an authority that proved finally compelling. His real personality was revealed quite openly with its limitations: his human strength and his knowledge were limited; the ability to perform miracles was denied him; and the Ḳurʾān speaks quite frankly of his faults (XXXIV, 50; XL, 55; XLVII, 19; XLVIII, 1 f.; LXXX, 1 ff.; IX, 43). Later tradition made the very revelation of the Ḳurʾān, the inimitable speech of God (*kalām Allāh*), to a supposedly illiterate Arabian orphan his sole miracle. This belief contains in itself the assumption that Muḥammad was fully human, without supernatural powers. The Ḳurʾān repeatedly says that he was a man like any other, and several times reiterated to his followers that he would die when his time came (XXXIX, 30; XXI, 34 f.; III, 144). It was exactly this point about the Prophet that left his later devout followers dissatisfied, so that quite early, driven no doubt in part by their disputations with Christians, they wove around the person and life of the Prophet a network of superhuman features (see 2. below).

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2. The Prophet in popular Muslim piety.

A visitor listening to a good *ḳawwālī* in the Indian subcontinent or attending a *mevlût* (*mawlūd*) party in Turkey will always be impressed by the deep and loving veneration shown to the Prophet of Islam. Stories about him, his life and his intercession have permeated popular Muslim thought and poetry everywhere, and although Muḥammad never claimed to have performed any miracle, traditional folk poetry, be it in the mountains of Čitrāl or in West Africa, in Turkey or in Indonesia, indulges in extensive description of his marvellous attributes and actions.

Some miracles are inspired by Ḳurʾānic expressions. The "Splitting of the moon" (sūra LIV, 1) forms a favourite topic of poets, especially in India. There, even the conversion of one King Farmāḍ at the Konkan coast is attributed to his having witnessed how the moon was split; after realising that this event had happened that very night in Mecca, he converted to Islam. A 19th-century miniature from the Hindu court of Kotah still shows this miracle. Even more important for popular mystical trends is the Ḳurʾānic term *ummī* which was given to the Prophet and interpreted as "illiterate". The conviction that the Prophet had to be illiterate in order to remain an immaculate vessel for the "inlibration" of the Divine word in the Ḳurʾān is central to Muslim piety. The folk mystics then extended this concept by claiming that it is enough to know only the *alif*, because this first letter of the alphabet contains the meaning of the four sacred books, and similar to the *ummī* Prophet, the true mystic is simply a vessel for divine inspiration. That is why whole groups of Turkish folk singers in the late Middle Ages adopted the soubriquet *ummī* (e.g. Ümmī Kemāl, Ümmī Sinān).

Perhaps the most beautiful elaboration of a Ḳurʾānic remark about the Prophet is found in the concept of *raḥma* (sūra XXI, 107). In Oriental countries, rain is often called *raḥmat* "mercy", and from this it was only one step to imagine the Prophet as a rain cloud dispensing blessing and stretching from Istanbul to Lucknow or whichever cities the poet had in mind (a 19th-century Balūčī poet enumerates 141 places where his mercy is operative, beginning with England!). The finest examples of this imagery come from Indo-Muslim poetry. Thus the Sindhi poet Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 1752) uses the concept of the cloud of mercy most ingeniously in his *Risālō* to show how the Prophet's coming revives the dead hearts, just as rain revives the seemingly dead earth. Mīrzā Ghālib's (d. 1869) *Abr-i gawharbār* "The jewel-carrying cloud" in honour of the Prophet is another good example of this imagery.

A favourite of high and popular piety is the Prophet's *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*] which is described in ever-increasing details by poets in Turkey, India, and Africa. The story offered innumerable possibilities to sing of the radiant Prophet on his swift mount Burāḳ. In the course of time, Burāḳ became a kind of protective symbol, so that nowadays numerous representations of this creature with a woman's head and a peacock's tail are found on the rear of trucks in Pākistān and Afghānistān, as if Burāḳ were to carry the driver as safely through the rugged roads of the Hindūkush as he once carried the Prophet into the Divine Presence. On such pictures, Muḥammad appears today usually as a white cloud or rose above the saddle, while former artists showed him in full, though usually with his face covered.

Other miracles have no basis in the Ḳurʾān, but belong to the general folk tradition. The Prophet's washing water was filled with *baraka*, charismatic power, he performed miracles connected with food (like milking Umm Maʿshar's barren sheep) and the pebbles in his hand and the doors and walls of the house greeted him. Trees bowed before him, and a cloud protected him from the sun. But perhaps the best-known story telling of love of inanimate things for him is that of the *ḥannāna*, the "sighing" palm trunk on which Muḥammad used to lean while preaching; when the first *minbar* [*q.v.*] was built and the old piece of wood was no longer needed, it began to sigh intensely because it missed the touch of the Prophet's hand.

His relationships with animals are often described, whether it be Abū Hurayra's cat which killed a venomous snake to save the Prophet's life and was

therefore caressed by him (that is why cats never fall on their back), whether wolf and lizard attested his prophetship or whether the gazelle spoke. The story of the gazelle was a favourite with popular poets; in Sindhi alone, 13 versions of this story have been noted down. According to it, Muḥammad found a trapped gazelle who was longing to feed her kids; sending her off, he himself entered the trap to bail her out. The plight of the faithful animal and the amazement of the infidel hunter offer a wonderful topic for touching ballads.

It is remarkable how many stories and concepts trickled down from high mystical circles to the folk level, even as far down to lullabies. The Divine saying *lawlāka* "But for thy sake I would not have created the spheres", makes many singers call Muḥammad simply "the lord of *lawlāk*"; the idea of the primordial light that was the first thing created is reflected in many songs, and legends tell of his "shadowless" presence. Legends about his birth "when the whole world was filled with light" abound, and from early times onward the day was celebrated by illuminations. To listen to stories or poems about his birth (*mawlūd*) [see MAWLID, MAWLIDIYYA] is considered most meritorious. Yūnus Emre [*q.v.*] sings, around the year 1300, in Anatolia that those who recite *mawlūds* will be called on Doomsday to enter Paradise immediately, and similar ideas are expressed in Swahili *mawlūd* poems. This goes together with the firm belief in the Prophet's intercession (*s̲h̲afāʿa* [*q.v.*]), a privilege granted to him during his heavenly journey when he was promised in the Divine Presence that he would be allowed to intercede for his community. Therefore it is often told that Muḥammad will appear on Doomsday with his green flag (the *liwāʾ al-ḥamd*, "flag of praise") and call out *ummatī ummatī* "My community!" while all other humans ask only help for themselves. Descriptions of this scene are frequent in popular ballads from early times.

One way to secure his intercession is to recite the *ṣalawāt s̲h̲arīfa* (or *durūd*) for him, the blessing formula mentioned in sūra XXXIII, 56. The *ṣalawāt* has developed in popular piety to the most important formula besides the *s̲h̲ahāda* and the *basmala*, and many people will not begin their work unless they have uttered the *durūd*, which often is used also as a *d̲h̲ikr* formula. It is believed that the Prophet is present in meetings devoted to the recitation of blessings for him, and some pious people claim to have been visited by the Prophet who "wanted to kiss the mouth that blesses him". In folk tradition, the humming of the bees is interpreted as their uttering the *ṣalawāt*, and in countries as far apart as mediaeval Anatolia and Sind one says that honey becomes sweet when the bees hum the *ṣalawāt* while entering the beehive. Likewise, the human heart will become sweet when following this custom. The conviction that the Prophet is indeed alive and can visit those who are devoted to him leads to the custom of addressing him in the second person during *d̲h̲ikr* meetings; many stories tell how he stretched out his hand from his *rawḍa* in Medina to greet or to vindicate some of his descendants. Even more, the fact that there are so many relics of the Prophet's hair in various places leads some people to believe that his hair can grow and multiply because he is fully alive. He can therefore also appear in dreams to console, exhort, or inform his friends, and since Satan cannot take on his shape, these dreams are always true.

The numerous songs and stories told and retold among the people serve to establish a personal relationship with the Prophet, and this very warm feeling is something few outsiders realise. The Prophet appears like the venerable elder member of the family who should be obeyed and imitated; the clinging to his *sunna* has (or had) nothing abstract to it, but expressed this feeling of belonging to his spiritual family. Connected with this relationship is the custom of naming boys after the Prophet, for according to a tradition, everyone by the name of Muḥammad will be called to enter Paradise. In order not to spoil the *baraka* of this name, it is often vocalised differently, such as Meḥmed in Turkey, Mūḥ in North Africa, or else the child is given another name of the Prophet (who has 99 *asmāʾ s̲h̲arīfa*, corresponding to the 99 names of God). Among these names *Muṣṭafā, Aḥmad* (cf. sūra LXI, 5), *Ṭāhā, Yāsīn* as well as *Munīr, Sirād̲j̲, Muddath̲th̲ir*, etc., are often used. For one knows:

> Your name is beautiful, you yourself are beautiful, Muḥammad,

as Yūnus Emre says. Thus descriptions of his overwhelming beauty and kindness occur frequently; he may be addressed, as often in Sindhi poetry, as "bridegroom" or simply as the "sweet prince", *miṭṭhā mīr*.

This devotion to Muḥammad on the mystically-tinged popular level seems to intensify in the course of the centuries, and the poets would express their wish to be a dog at his threshold or claim that they were not worthy of singing his praise even though they might have cleansed their mouth with rose water a thousand times. They dreamt of visiting his *rawḍa* in Medina (there is a whole genre of popular poetry in the various regional languages expressing their longing for the Prophet's city), and despite the reminders by some theologians that not the Prophet but the Ḳurʾān is the veritable centre of Islam, the devotion to him was, and in most cases still is, the strongest binding power among Muslims, in whichever way they may interpret his role: as the trustworthy intercessor or as the primordial light, as gentle friend of humans and animals or as political leader of his community, as "cloud of mercy" or as the seal of prophethood who united in himself the stern, law-giving character of Moses and the loving kindness of Jesus to become the model for humanity in general. Iḳbāl has voiced the general opinion about the position of the Prophet in his daring verse in the *D̲j̲āwīd-nāma* (1932):

> You can deny God but you cannot deny the Prophet.

Bibliography: Complete references are given in A. Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, Chapel Hill 1985. (ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL)

3. The Prophet's image in Europe and the West.

A. *The image in the Latin Middle Ages*

In the learned, Latin circles of the Middle Ages in Europe (*ca.* 800-1400 A.D.), a remarkable amount of concrete data about the life of the Prophet Muḥammad was known and available. (In the following we have limited ourselves exclusively to these; Islam as a religion is left aside, although the separation cannot always be maintained.) Even if the knowledge about Muḥammad's life which is at the disposal of an historian of Islam in our days is taken into account, it might be maintained with some justice that a historically reliable life of the Prophet, in its essential features, could have been written in mediaeval Europe when based on a selective choice of the correct knowledge then available. The main themes of the following section are the characterisation of the knowledge about Muḥammad in mediaeval Europe, remarkably precise to some extent, and the answer to the question why it was yet completely impossible to compose an objective life of the Prophet.

First there follows here a survey of the concrete

knowledge about Muḥammad's life (until *ca.* 1400). The time of his life and work could be fixed quite accurately on the basis of the respective data of the reigning period of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius. By classifying the Islamic Prophet within the genealogical line "Hagar/Ismael", there was at least an accord with the self-evidence of Muslim genealogy. (The fact that the latter too was a fiction, is a matter of secondary importance here.) About Muḥammad's milieu, Arabia, the following information was after all available: a lack of political structures; warlike, predatory activities considered characteristic for the way of life; a manifold idolatry as religious expression (i.e. the essential marks of Arabian tribalism); and also the settlement of Christian and Jewish groups in Arabia. As for Muḥammad's pre-prophetic period, it was known that Mecca was his native town, that he grew up as an orphan with foster-parents, that his kindred was not connected with the important ones in Mecca, that Mecca itself was active in trade and that in this context Muḥammad's first wife was Khadīdja, which fact, among other things, led to extensive journeys. Mediaeval tradition was also aware of possible contacts, during such journeys, with *homines religiosi*, who transmitted to the later Prophet elements of monotheistic religiosity, such as the Baḥīrā story or his contact with "seekers after righteousness (*ḥanīfs*)", known in Muslim tradition; these contacts were likewise considered as forming the connection with the themes of the Old and New Testaments of later Ḳurʾānic revelations.

Muḥammad's comparatively late call was known as such, as was the fact that he experienced it as having taken place partly under strong physical or psychological pressure, and that he perceived Gabriel as the transmitter of divine messages. The knowledge that Muḥammad was conscious of being an exclusive transmitter (*missus, nuntius, legatus, apostolus*) of divine orders, of being purely human, not endowed with supernatural powers (no miracles), and finally also of being illiterate (*ummī*) corresponds with historical reality. About the general character of the divine revelations (only this can be discussed here), correct knowledge had been collected, together with numerous fictions: apart from parallels with Old and New Testament traditions, it was known that monotheism (i.e. the explicitly hostile opposition against the surrounding polytheism) played a central role; that judgement would be passed about reward or punishment at a coming Day of Judgement; that the divine precepts also dealt with matters of this world (the Ḳurʾān is therefore often indicated as *lex*).

Muḥammad's initial failure in Mecca, generally known as such, could be specified with correct details: only a few followers (a certain number of names are given here); assessment by the Meccans that he was a "magician" or was possessed, endeavours on their part to "buy him off" from his divine assignment; his short-lived temptation through the so-called "Satanic Verses"; the temporary emigration of a part of the Muslims to Ethiopia. The fact that it was necessary for the Prophet to migrate to Medina (even the older name Yathrib, in various forms of transcription, may appear here) was also known, as were his ultimate successes there and his intensive warlike activities to conquer the Meccans, successful in the end, and to subdue and oust the Jews of Medina. There was even some correct information circulating about the Prophet's alleged "polygamy", such as about ʿĀʾisha being Muḥammad's most important consort during the Medina period, including the temporarily rife rumours about her infidelity; also about the delicate Zaynab/Zayd/Muḥammad affair and its reflection in the Ḳurʾānic revelation. Finally, Muḥammad's ascension to heaven (*isrāʾ* or *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*]) and a number of details corresponding with Muslim tradition about this, were also known; correct statements about the occurrence of his death and further circumstances surrounding it could be made: the Prophet's quite human (painful) death in ʿĀʾisha's care, his unpretentious burial, ʿUmar's refusal to believe that he was dead and the danger that the Muslim community might disintegrate after the Prophet's death.

This certainly impressive knowledge of mediaeval Europe about the life of the Islamic Prophet (the preceding enumeration, by the way, does not claim completeness) should, however, be assessed in its historical context, i.e. put in perspective. With this, the quality of that knowledge is lost almost completely, even if, on its face value, it may appear as positive since we are dealing in a historiographical way with unfamiliar material. In this context, three aspects have to be considered and explained.

1. The knowledge presented here has been brought together during a very extended course of time and partly along extraordinarily tortuous paths. The single elements of knowledge, increasing gradually, were recognised as "true" and given preference over other "tarnished" information by the first authors only, but not by their later followers. Moreover, the fact that at first fragments and later complete knowledge was at hand, did not in any way entail general diffusion and availability. Hence not one of the mediaeval authors who tried to describe the life of Muḥammad, rendered the state of knowledge which was theoretically possible at any given time; how much correct information appeared at any time in a writer's representation depended more or less on chance.

2. Correct information about Muḥammad's life obviously originated ultimately from genuine Islamic sources. But it was spread in Europe by non-Muslim transmitters, who had lived in the Islamic environment for a longer period of time or permanently (and almost without exception were versed in Arabic). However, as non-Muslims under Islamic domination or in Islamic surroundings, they were, as a rule, not concerned with the diffusion of an objective, let alone a positive, image of Muḥammad. Consequently, in both the selection and the transmission of "true" elements of Muḥammad's biography their emphasis is distant if not polemical.

3. Already coloured in a mildly negative way, the correct assertions about the life of the Islamic Prophet then reached the studies of Christian authors, who were not only complete outsiders to Islam but also intent on using their pens to completely disqualify Islam and thus the Prophet in the first place. With this, these assertions were used selectively and mainly in so far as they were suitable for polemics, which went as far as scornful malignity. Occasionally, these assertions were also changed accordingly, but they were above all interwoven with fictitious elements in such a way that they were often divested completely of their historical value. The most different *mixta-composita* of this kind became for a long period the basis of the image of Muḥammad in Christian Europe.

The general assertions given under 2. and 3. have to be illustrated and specified in the following by concrete data about the most important authors and the dominant motives of the mediaeval Muḥammad biographies. First we shall deal with the transmitters and the transmission of the biographical material.

The essential starting-points for the traditions

about Muḥammad which were circulating in the European Middle Ages were Byzantium, on the one hand, and the Christians in Spain living under Islamic domination (*mustaʿribūn* or Mozarabs [*q.v.*]) on the other. The Oriental Christians, as well as the Crusaders, resident for a longer period in the Orient, do not seem to have contributed much material. Of the Oriental Christians it was above all the very early John of Damascus (7th-8th century) who left distinct traces; from the circles of the Crusaders, William of Tripoli (13th century) should be mentioned in the first place. Through Sir John Mandeville (14th century), who based himself on the latter's material, it found a really wide diffusion. The well-founded Byzantine knowledge about Muḥammad and early Islam became known in the West through Anastasius Bibliothecarius (9th century), who copied the *Chronographia* of Theophanes (8th-9th century). As has been shown recently, Theophanes had access to early Islamic-Arabic tradition (however acquired).

The most important source for information about Muḥammad, however, was without any doubt Spain. Already in the 9th century, Eulogius of Cordova, the central figure of the Mozarabic martyrdom movement (forming a front against the ruling Islam as well as against conforming fellow-Christians), had recorded biographical details about Muḥammad in his polemic against Islam; they do not however seem to have become known outside southern Spain. On the other hand, the appropriate notes in the *dialogi* of Petrus Alphonsi or Pedro de Alfonso (11th-12th century), a Spanish Jew who was converted to Christianity, found wider diffusion. The famous "Toledo-Cluny collection" owes its origin to the deliberate intention to gain the most comprehensive knowledge of Islam (including the Prophet). This collection had been ordered by Petrus Venerabilis, Abbot of Cluny (first half of the 12th century) to be translated in Toledo in order to bring about an extensive refutation of the Islamic religion on a solid basis. The treatises *Liber generationis Mahumet*, *Doctrina Mahumet* and *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* from this collection, which, as is well known, also contained a Latin translation of the Ḳurʾān, have certainly been important for the later image of Muḥammad in Christian Europe. The most considerable influence, however, seems to have been that of the treatise *Epistola Saraceni* or *Rescriptum Christiani*, the translation from Arabic of a polemic (*risāla*) which is dated before the year 1000 and composed by an Oriental Christian (?), whose name ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (cf. the name of his Muslim opponent ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Hās̲h̲imī) is undoubtedly a pseudonym. The corresponding passages in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais (13th century) are above all based on this translation. Altogether, in the 13th century there originated then those writings which finally completed in essence the whole knowledge of the European Middle Ages and which—apparently by always going back directly to Arabic-Islamic sources—transmitted a remarkably wide spectrum of correct information: the *Quadruplex reprobatio*, whose author remains obscure, and the writings concerning Islam of Petrus Paschasius or Pedro Pascual, of Ricoldus de Monte Crucis or Ricoldo da Monte Croce (going back ultimately to a text written in Arabic by a Mozarab, known in Latin as *Contrarietas elfolica*), of Ramòn Martì, and of Ramòn Lull or Raimundus Lullus.

Just because of its considerable popularity, mention should finally be made of the "Corozan legend", which describes Muḥammad as a great magician in connection with his marriage to a lady from the country "Corozan"; this legend appears for the first time in Hugo of Fleury (beginning of the 12th century).

We shall deal now with the most important motives and groups of motives which decisively marked the image of Muḥammad in the European Middle Ages and fixed it afterwards for a long time (with offshoots until today).

With very few exceptions, the concept of the mediaeval biography of the Islamic Prophet was dominated by a single tendency, namely to prove that Muḥammad, in the way he had lived and acted, could not have been a prophet, that his alleged divine revelations consequently were man's work and that Islam at the very most is an abstruse heresy of Christianity. Made subservient to this basic concept, there appear in the mediaeval Muḥammad biography four kinds of motives, which may perhaps be characterised as follows:

1. Authentic accounts which—hardly or not at all changed—were, according to the mediaeval Christian concept, already as such sufficient to disqualify Muḥammad as a Prophet.
2. Authentic accounts which by a little shift of emphasis and/or by inserting them into a false context of history or argumentation, unmasked Muḥammad as a pseudo-prophet.
3. Motives which ultimately are based on authentic material but which hardly permit one to recognise this connection because they have been garbled by being shortened, enlarged or contextually placed so as to serve a polemic argumentation (these manipulations can also be found in various combinations or all together).
4. Pure fiction (not very often found).

When we follow Muḥammad's course of life in outline, while characterising the main motives, his origin and conditions of life should be mentioned as the first important group of motives. Muḥammad and his contemporaries, the *Saraceni*, are descendants of the Dondi maid's (Hagar's) son Ishmael, for whom already in the Bible (Gen. 16,12; 21,13) an extensive but wild and warlike posterity is predicted. It was not difficult to apply this Ishmael filiation, already used by Isidore of Seville and Bede for a (negative) representation of the *Arabes* or *Saraceni*, in a polemical way against Muḥammad: as a descendant of a rude, barbarically warlike people, who had neither government nor law and who moreover practised an unrestrained polytheism, he was not exactly predestined to prophethood. Add to this his own low status in his tribe, to which his "illiteracy" could be added as an aggravating and fitful epithet. This quality of *ummī*, which in the Islamic tradition formed a solid argument in favour of the divine origin of the Ḳurʾānic revelations, thus in the West—where it was known since about 1100—almost served the opposite aim. Being of humble origin in several respects, surrounded by polytheists and, on top of that, "illiterate", Muḥammad could evidently easily be misled. To this are linked the manifold versions of his intercourse with doubtful *homines religiosi*, who passed on to him, in his ignorant naivety, heretical Christian and/or Jewish doctrines as the true religion, a main primary motive which—linking up remotely with Islamic traditions—apparently had already reached the West through John of Damascus. As seducers of this type there appear the Arian-Nestorian monk Sergius or Baḥīrā (taken directly from Muslim tradition), and also anonymous heretics, who had been forced to flee to the fringes of the Christian oecumene and could only be up to their tricks with the help of Muḥammad. The genuine Islamic motive, according

to which Muḥammad's prophethood is confirmed by exponents of pre-Islamic religions (who see prophesied signs as being fulfilled by Muḥammad), is turned by the very same people into a seduction to prophethood of the ignorant Saracen. Seducer and seduced in the end could, incidentally, melt into one and the same person. The abstruse motive of Muḥammad being a Christian cleric, even a cardinal, who through ambition had become an apostate and had fulfilled his aims by founding a new sect, must thus have come into being. For the rest, the entire group of motives of "Muḥammad being seduced by dubious figures" is the context for the view, predominantly represented in the learned mediaeval West, that Islam is a Christian heresy, while the representation of Muḥammad as part of the pantheon of a polytheistic Islam is a persistent element of the "popular" image of Islam in the Middle Ages.

Muḥammad's origin from humble conditions, in combination with the knowledge about his marriage to Khadīdja, active in trade (and thus rich), could also be used polemically in another direction: having suddenly become familiar with the so far unknown possibilities of wealth (i.e. social influence), Muḥammad was seized by an unrestrained striving for power, which in the end brought him to work his way to be a ruler by means of alleged prophethood. Thus the mediaeval traditions about Muḥammad's experience of his call and his early preaching are dominated by the fact that his transition to prophethood is both proved and qualified as based on deception. The motives used in this can amount to (guiltless) self-deception, but the tendency to make Muḥammad appear as a deceitful imposter is predominant. The self-deception is generally depicted as pathological: endeavours of the Ḳuraysh, which had been transmitted, to interpret Muḥammad as a magically-possessed person (*madjnūn*) or also Islamic traditions relating the Prophet's fainting fits (*ghushiya ʿalayhi* and other such expressions) in connection with the revelations in this context, produced welcome material for the image of a Muḥammad who was psychologically ill—the term "epileptic" was a particular favourite—who considered his delusions as divine announcements. By using another motive, it was also maintained that he experienced the instructions of his heretical teachers as messages of the archangel Gabriel (Sergius being somehow identical with Gabriel). The most favourite theme, however, seems to have been that of Muḥammad the impostor. Driven by ambition and eagerness for power, and/or provided with magical qualities (this again was an element of Islamic—and Ḳurʾānic—tradition, the Ḳuraysh see in Muḥammad a magician (*sāḥir*)), Muḥammad conjures up a divine assignment for prophethood before the Saracens and seduces them into submission under an allegedly divine "law", which in reality, however, is the legalisation of his own power and personal desire, cloaked in a religious guise. In this view, the (in themselves positive) contents of the Ḳurʾān, such as the summons to strict monotheism, the warning of the Day of Judgement and the command to give alms, lose their proper value; they degenerate into suitable tricks of an impostor. His alleged ascension to heaven (*isrāʾ* or *miʿrādj*) is of course also deceit. These already highly imaginative and imagination-nourishing details of the Islamic tradition, known in the Middle Ages, seem to have had a fascination for the mediaeval authors. However, that Muḥammad was a hypocrite and an imposter is above all evident from the fact that he was not able to work wonders, especially as the Ḳurʾān and the Islamic tradition themselves emphasise this explicitly. The purely human qualities of the Prophet, so essential for Islamic theology, constituted for the mediaeval Christian the most conclusive counter-argument, repeated and varied again and again, against Muḥammad's prophethood, and were simply the proof of his being a charlatan.

As for Muḥammad's time in Medina, the mediaeval polemic against him is marked above all by two groups of motives: his conduct of war and his sexual life, both not worthy of a prophet anyhow. Measured by the Christian exhortation to peace, a founder of religion who declared warlike activities to be religiously meritorious—as is again shown extensively by the Ḳurʾān and the Islamic tradition—and who called his followers to battle and acted as commander himself, could not be acceptable. Razzias, with the pseudo-prophet in person as *princeps latronum* in the vanguard and shamefully declared to be according to God's directions, were inspired rather by pursuit of power and lust for booty.

Much more, however, than in Muḥammad's positive attitude about war, mediaeval authors were pruriently interested in his sexual life, a central theme already transmitted to Europe by John of Damascus. Many mediaeval representations give the impression right away that the real centre of life and the most important *movens* of the Islamic Prophet had been his excessively strong sexual urge. It is not necessary to enter here into the details of the mediaeval polemic against Muḥammad *in sexualibus*. In any case, the emphasis given to this matter shows that it does not seem unfounded to think that the Christian Middle Ages, prudish and extraordinarily restrictive in sexual matters, could give themselves a somewhat free verbal rein by anathematising an anti-hero. By mediaeval standards, the genuine Islamic information about Muḥammad's attitude, and that of his followers, towards women and marriage (having become known gradually), was already sufficient by itself to provoke great indignation and denial. Polygamy legitimised by the Ḳurʾān; Muḥammad's special rights in this respect; the suspicion of infidelity against ʿĀʾisha, Muḥammad's favoured wife; the Zaynab affair vindicated by a Ḳurʾānic revelation; the sensual paradise which finally awaited the believers; all these represented already by themselves enormities and became a welcome basis for imaginative and hedonistic adornments. The polemic against the lascivious lifestyle of the *immunditiae totius amator* or also *carnalibus vitiis totus brutalis* often went a step further: the alleged prophethood and the so-called "divine revelations" mainly served to legitimise Muḥammad's abnormal sexual needs (and those of his followers): this was pure blasphemy indeed.

The last group of motives consists of the mediaeval descriptions of Muḥammad's death. In this context also, correct knowledge could be useful for polemics, like the quite normal human death, which did not correspond to the representations of the demise of a holy man, even of a prophet, and Muḥammad's death in the arms of ʿĀʾisha, a detail which was gratifying to sexual polemics. Other motives originated from contaminations, such as the fact that Muḥammad expected an ascension to heaven (*miʿrādj*) which did not however occur, or the epilepsy motive was applied again, now as the cause of death. Finally, information according to which Muḥammad died of a drinker's delirium (the Islamic prohibition of wine being in the background) is a malicious fiction, as are also those reports which say that his dead body was torn to pieces by dogs and/or pigs (these animals being certainly known as the most unclean for Islam).

This summary may have made it clear that any

single group of motives might in fact already have sufficed to disqualify Muḥammad as a prophet. If all polemic elements are added up, the image arises of a monstrous anti-prophet, whose doctrine and the religion built upon it automatically lack any truthfulness. (A. NOTH)

B. *The image in mediaeval popular texts and in modern European literature*

1. Popular texts of the Middle Ages

(a) *Heroic epic and Crusaders' epic: Muḥammad as god*

The knowledge of Muḥammad's life as known in Latin theological texts is at first hardly reflected in popular literature. Muḥammad (in French: *Mahon, Mahomés, Mahun, Mahum, Mahumet*; in German: *Machmet*; in Old Icelandic: *Maúmet*) is first mentioned in the 12th-century genre of the *Chanson de geste*; next to *Tervagan* (German *Tervigant*), *Apollin* (German *Appollo*), *Jupiter* and others, he is represented as an idol, whose image the Saracen warriors take with them into battle; after a defeat they throw it among the dogs and pigs or into the river or also trample on it (e.g. *Chanson de Roland, ca.* 1100, v, 2590 ff.; the German *Rolandslied* of the cleric Konrad, second half of the 12th century, v, 7135-41; *Historia Karoli et Rotholandi* of Pseudo-Turpin, middle of the 12th century). Like Christ or God the Father with the Christians, he is implored for help by the Saracens, but is shown as being ineffective (e.g. *Chanson de Roland*, v, 3640-7). Muḥammad also appears as an idol in the anonymous *Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange*, in which the resistance against the Saracens in Southern France is treated thematically. Wolfram von Eschenbach in his *Willehalm*, as well as his imitators Ulrich von dem Türlin in his history preceding the *Willehalm*, and Ulrich von Türheim in his *Rennewart*, represent him likewise as an idol. Muḥammad also remains one of the heathen gods in the epics of the Crusades (Richard le Pèlerin and Graindor de Douai: *La Chanson d'Antioche* (*ca.* 1180): *La Conquête de Jérusalem* (*ca.* 1180), *La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon* (*ca.* 1200) and in *Saladin*, which belongs to the cycle of the Second Crusade. When the fighting of the Christians against the Saracens emerges as a theme to be treated, Muḥammad is still in the 13th century considered as god or as idol, e.g. in Stricker's *Karl der Große* (*ca.* 1230), in the Old Icelandic *Karlamagnus saga* (end of the 13th-beginning of the 14th century), and in the *Partonopier und Meliur* of Konrad of Würzburg (*ca.* 1277). Since the origin of the *Chansons de geste* is to be considered as close in time as well as in intentional connection with the first Crusades (1096-9, 1147-9, 1189-92), it seems obvious to suppose that this coarsely-counterfeited representation of Muḥammad as god and of Islam as polytheism conceals a polemic intention. The popular texts aimed at a much larger public, one which was not trained in the subtle argumentation of the theologians. If these texts were to be successful, they had to adapt themselves to the imaginative powers, to the social, political and religious interests of this public. Since here a much more eye-catching resistance against the foreign religion was necessary than was the case with the discourses of the theologians addressed to the specialists, the reproach of polytheism and idolatry was above all apt to discredit the foreign religion in the eyes of the Christians. Though the Christians were likewise reproached by the Muslims of being idolaters because of the dogma of the Trinity, it is not likely that their representing Muḥammad as an idol was a conscious retort against the criticism of polytheism.

In English literature, Muḥammad appears as an idol in *Mary Magdalene* from the Digby cycle. On the other hand, in his *Piers Plowman* (1362, 1373-4, 1394) William Langland takes over the representation of Muḥammad as a renegade cardinal, and in John Lydgate's *The Fall of the Princes* (1438), Muḥammad is represented as an heretic and false prophet in the story *Off Machomet the false prophete.*

(b) *Romantic biographies of Muḥammad*

It was only after the middle of the 13th century that romantic representations of Muḥammad's life appear: for the *Roman de Mahom* of Alexandre du Pont (1258) the poem *Otia de Machomete* of Walter of Compiègne (middle of the 12th century) was the model. As his informant, the narrator refers to a Muslim converted to Christianity and represents Muḥammad as someone in bondage. Through his cleverly contrived marriage to the widow of his former master, he not only attains his freedom and wealth but also knows how to cover up his epileptic attacks as phenomena accompanying visitations of angels and to pose as a new messenger of God's will through deceitful machinations.

Based on Arabic sources and, apart from one sentence in the foreword, free from Christian evaluations, is *L'eschiele Mahomet*, an Old French translation of the Latin *Scala Mahomete* and composed after 1264. The *Scala* itself, composed before 1264, is a translation of the (lost) *Escala de Mahoma* (between 1260 and 1264), which in its turn had been translated from Arabic into Spanish at the order of Alphonso X. The sources of the original Spanish text are the *isrā*ʾ and *miʿrādj*. Woken up by the archangel Gabriel, Muḥammad begins his journey on the mare Alborak and sets out for Jerusalem, where he is honoured by the resurrected prophets. With the help of a ladder guarded by angels, he reaches the hereafter and visits the seven heavens accompanied by Gabriel. In the eighth heaven he meets with God, Who orders him to make his people fast 40 days per year and to worship God 50 times a day. After the return to the seventh heaven and a stay in a white, mysterious land, the journey leads to the seven paradises, where Muḥammad receives from God the Ḳurʾān and is ordered to make his people worship God 50 times a day and to fast 60 days every year; at Muḥammad's request the number of prayers is reduced to five per day. After consultation with Moses, Muḥammad also obtains from God a reduction of the fast to 30 days. Through the description of Gabriel and a personal view from a safe distance, Muḥammad learns about the seven classes of the subterranean hell which await the sinners. Gabriel also informs him about the construction of the cosmos, about the end of the world and the Last Judgement. With the order to announce to his people what he had seen, Gabriel accompanies him back to Jerusalem, from where he returns on the mare Alborak to Mecca to his still sleeping wife Omheni. He relates his experiences to her and, against her warnings, to the Ḳurays̲h̲ites. The latter believe him only after he, enabled to do so through a vision, foretells to them how their caravan which is returning from Jerusalem is organised.

Again more committed to Latin Christian polemics are Brunetto Latini's *Livre dou Tresor* (composed before 1267, enlarged after 1268), in which Muḥammad is represented as a former monk and cardinal, and Dante's *Divina Commedia*, where Muḥammad finds himself, together with ʿAlī, among the sowers of discord and the schismatics, being lacerated by devils again and again (Inferno, canto 28). The *Legenda Aurea* of Jacob de Voragine (composed 1250-80 in Italy, translated into German from the middle of the

14th century) stands also in this tradition. Here the motive of the renegade priest who assists Muḥammad in obtaining power with the help of a trained pigeon, which picks seeds from his ear (cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*), is combined with the story of Sergius (cf. Petrus Venerabilis, *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*): the Nestorian (or Jacobite) monk Sergius functions as Muḥammad's secret counsellor, and he passes off his instructions as orders of the Holy Ghost. Falsified Christian doctrines came into the Ḳurʾān through the intermediary of Sergius.

(c) *Travel accounts of the Later Middle Ages*

Finding himself likewise in the tradition of the Latin Lives of Muḥammad, John de Mandeville again takes up a series of well-known motives in ch. 1,44, of his travel account (middle of the 14th century; Latin, German and Dutch translations date from the end of the same century): the door which arches higher at Muḥammad's entrance; the marriage to Khadīdja notwithstanding his lowly origin; his epilepsy, which he presents as visitations by the angel; his descent from the tribe of Ishmael; the murder by his companions (imputed to him) of his eremitic counsellor while he sleeps intoxicated; and his interdiction of the pleasure of drinking wine, are all connected with this. The travel account of Johannes Schiltberger (latter third of the 15th century), in which his own readings are mixed with stories he himself had heard in the Orient, depicts, without polemic value judgements, Muḥammad's poor childhood and the prediction of a Christian priest who recognises in Muḥammad, because of a black cloud floating over him, the prophesied founder of a new religion, which is to press hard upon the Christians. The priest also recognises Muḥammad's rise to become a great scholar, an effective preacher and a mighty caliph (ch. 46).

2. Modern times

(a) *Anti-Islamic tendencies*

At the beginning of modern times, popular literature also admits altogether, with respect to Muḥammad, the fabulous characteristics and degrading judgements of the Christian theologians. It is true that Luther, in the commentary of his translation of the *Confutatio Alcorani* of the Dominican friar Richard (1540), goes so far as to see the Antichrist in the Pope rather than in Muḥammad because the latter attacks the Christians in a recognisable way and from the outside, but for the rest he adopts the prejudices transmitted since a long time and labels Muḥammad among other things as the devil's son. The Muḥammad biographies of the 17th century, in accordance with the Christian tradition, impute to him sectarianism, robbery, indiscriminate warfare and whoring. Thus Michel Baudier (1625) and Ludovico Maracci (1696-8), who, within the framework of his Ḳurʾān translation, does however try his best to arrive at some degree of impartiality. Using Islamic sources, Jean Gagnier wrote a Muḥammad biography (1732) which is a polemic against Boulainvilliers and a denigration of Islam.

For a longer time even than in France and Italy, the image of Muḥammad as an impostor and a destroyer who is driven by ambition and avidity lasted in England. Occasionally he is represented as the Antichrist or at least compared with him, as by Alexander Ross in the preface of the English Ḳurʾān translation of 1649, as well as in his work *A View of all the religions of the World* (1653). Muḥammad figures as a heretic in the anonymous writing which appeared *ca.* 1653 *Apocalypsis, or the Revelation of Certain Notorious Advances of Heresie.* The old legendary features are also repeated in *The Life and Death of Mahomet, the Prophet of the Turks, and Author of the Alcoran* (*ca.* 1653). In his *First State of Muhametism, or an Account of the Author and Doctrine of the Imposture* (1678), Lancelot Addison for the first time sets historical facts against the fabulous motives. He draws them partly from Arabic sources and partly from Hottinger's *Historia ortientalis* (see below), but his intention is to fight any heresy. Muḥammad appears again as an impostor in Humphrey Prideaux's *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet* (1697), for a long time the most influential work, which still produces its after-effect in the *Life of Mohammed* (1799) by an anonymous cleric (see below). Most of the English authors of the 18th century stay with Prideaux's judgement, such as David Jones (*A Compleat History of the Turks*, 1701), Simon Ockley (*The History of the Saracens*, 1708-18), the anonymous author of *Four Treatises concerning the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of the Mahometans*, 1712 and Edward Upham (*A History of the Ottoman Empire*, 1829), who admires however the perseverence with which Muḥammad pursues his aims. A new wave of apocalyptic interpretations of Islam and thus of Muḥammad is to be noted in England in the 19th century with the Rev. Samuel Bush (*Life of Mohammed*, 1830), the Rev. Samuel Green (*Life of Mahomet*, 1840), borrowing heavily from Bush, and William Sime (*History of Mohammed and his Successors*, 1873). The Sergius legend is taken up again by Walter Savage Landor (*Mahomet and Sergius*, 1829).

Even travel accounts perpetuated denigrating representations of Muḥammad, such as George Sandys's *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610*, in which Muḥammad is represented as a leader of mercenaries who, in order to compensate for his low birth, pretends to have become a leader through a divine call. In his *Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique* (1638), Sir Thomas Herbert takes up Muḥammad's representation as the Antichrist, while John Pitts, a sailor who had been abducted by pirates, forced to convert to Islam and had finally returned to England, depicts Muḥammad as an ordinary and depraved impostor in *A Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans* (1731)), just as is done by James Bruce (*Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, 1790).

In spite of numerous new initiatives for a more positive view, the discrediting representation of Muḥammad continued until more recent times. Friedrich Bodenstedt, for instance, in his *Liedern der Mirza Schaffy* (1851), makes Muḥammad appear as an ominous destroyer and a "prophet of murder" and thus puts him in contrast to the otherwise cheerfully and hedenistically described way of life in the Orient. Paul Edmund von Hahn, in his narrative *Mohammed, der Prophet* (1931?) takes as his theme the disparity between Muḥammad's doctrine and his actions.

(b) *Texts pointing towards a less biassed view*

The way to a somewhat less biassed view of the Prophet is paved for the first time in Latin with the representation of Muḥammad by Guillaume Postel in his *De orbis terrae concordia* (first half of the 16th century) and by Jean Bodin in his *Heptaplomeres* (middle of the 16th century). After the decline of the Turkish threat to Central Europe from the beginning of the 17th century, the endeavour to establish an image of Muḥammad which also did justice to Islamic tradition clearly increases. This attitude is shown by J.H. Hottinger in his *Historia orientalis* (Zürich 1651), although he still borrows many Christian prejudices. Pierre Bayle (*Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 1697), Adrianus Reland (*De religione Mohammedica libri II.*, Utrecht

1705) and the English Orientalist George Sale in the *Preliminary Discourse* to his English translation of the Ḳurʾān (1734) go still further. As was the case with Jean Gagnier (see above), Reland's representation of Muḥammad is marked by the intention to weaken the polemically-inspired comparisons of Protestant belief with Islam.

The first biography of Muḥammad which combined an endeavour towards historical accuracy with a positive appreciation of Muḥammad's personality and of Islam, was *La Vie de Mahomet* by Boulainvilliers (published posthumously in London, 1730). Boulainvilliers described Muḥammad as a man of genius, a great lawgiver, a conqueror and monarch, whose doctrine is characterised by justice and tolerance. A positive image of Muḥammad is also secured by Leibniz in his *Theodizee* (1710), because the Prophet did not deviate from the "natural religion". In his *Essai sur les moeurs* (1756), as well as in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), Voltaire appreciated Muḥammad as a conqueror, lawgiver, ruler and also as a priest. Influenced by Boulainvilliers's representation, he emphasised Muḥammad's greatness and even saw in him an advocate of tolerance. Voltaire's positive judgement, expressed in his *Essai*, found its way to Turpin's biography of Muḥammad in three volumes (1773-9). This was then admitted by the English historian Edward Gibbon (*History of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, 1776-87), who in his valuation hesitated, however, between condemnation and respect. In his Bampton Lectures 1784 (*To confirm and establish the Christian faith, and to confute all heretics and schismatics*), Gibbon's contemporary and fellow-countryman Joseph White considered Muḥammad as a swindler, to be sure, but he acknowledged his magnanimity (though calculated), seen in the release of prisoners. While Nathan Alcock, in *The Rise of Mahomet accounted for on Natural and Civil Principles* (1795), represented Muḥammad as an impostor deceived by his own fantasies, and explained his success by the fact that he adapted his doctrine to the climatic and social conditions of his land, Godfrey Higgins (*An Apology for the Life and Character of the Celebrated Prophet of Arabia, called Mohamed, or the Illustrious*, 1829), emphasised Muḥammad's uprightness and denied that ambition and cupidity had been his motives. Thomas Carlyle went even further in his *The hero as Prophet. Mahomed: Islam*, a lecture delivered in 1840. He attested Muḥammad's uprightness, justice, magnanimity and personal modesty, adduced the marriage to Khadīdja as an argument against the reproach of sensuality and ambition and justified the use of weapons to defend religion.

Savary's Ḳurʾān translation, published in 1783, was accompanied by an informative biography of Muḥammad, which endeavoured to be unbiassed and testified to the growing interest of the Enlightenment in comparative religion, just as was done in Pastouret's *Zoroastre, Confutius et Mahomet*, an academic paper published in 1787.

Jacob Morder's fragment *Mohammeds Reise ins Paradies*, published in 1785, dealt with the *isrāʾ* and *miʿrādj*. In his *Ideen zur Philosophie und Geschichte der Menschheit* (1791), Herder saw the Prophet as marked by influences exerted on him by his kinship, his time and the religions around him, as a despiser of idolatry, but also as someone endowed with an ardent fantasy which favoured his self-deception.

Historical greatness and personal performance are valuated by a series of dramas about Muḥammad in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Karoline von Günderode's dramatic sketch *Mahomet oder der Prophet von Mekka*, published in 1804, by using selected historical details, described Muḥammad as a faultless and magnanimous human being, whose consciousness of his mission, based on feelings, makes him into a symbol of the individual whom God has taken hold of. The Orientalist J. von Hammer-Purgstall also based his historical play *Mohammed oder die Eroberung von Mekka*, published in 1823, on the historical tradition, without however falling into romantic idealisation, as had been Günderode's case. Franz Kaibel (*Muhammed*, 1907) mixed historical and biographical elements with the fictitious into a drama with a positive tendency, while Margarete von Stein's *Mohammed* (1912) represented Muḥammad as a self-assured prophet with a magical-mystic belief, who felt himself as above the law.

In narrative poetry, too, the life of Muḥammad was more than once represented in Germany during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries. In Eduard Duller's short novel *Mohammed* (1844), the historically-attested was amalgamated with the invented into a historicised narrative with an admiring tendency. The novel on Muḥammad by Klabund, composed in 1917, whose source is the *Life of Muḥammad* by Ibn Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] and in which Muḥammad preaches a rebirth of the soul through spirit, justice and goodness, also belongs to the series of representations tending to the glorification of Muḥammad. In Adalbert Schäffer's novel *Die Rose der Hedschra* (1923) Muḥammad appears as being above all human weaknesses. Positive traits also prevail in poems which have Muḥammad's life as their theme, as an epigram by Haug (1803) and in poems by Friedrich Rückert (1868), C.B. Büttner (1894), Martin Greif (1909) and Adolf Huber (1909), today altogether forgotten. In his poetic cycle *Mahomed und sein Werk* (1848), G.Fr. Daumer emphatically set Muḥammad's greatness and his religion, which considered terrestrial gratification as a preliminary stage of celestial enjoyment, against the Christian religion, which is criticised for its disdain of this world.

(c) *The life of Muḥammad as a vehicle of literary expression*

In 1742 Voltaire's tragedy *Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le Prophète* was performed in Paris, but closed after three performances under pressure of the clergy. Even the censorship perceived that the religious fanaticism, deceit and hypocrisy, exemplified by the figure of Muḥammad, was in fact aimed at the Christian clergy. In the series of representations of Muḥammad which came into existence since the beginning of the 18th century, Voltaire's drama, translated by Goethe in 1799, stands out most among those which aimed neither at a condemnation of Muḥammad as inspired by Christianity, nor at a historically-justified description, but which made use of the figure in order to exercise veiled criticism against their own society, to set a far-away utopia against it, to gain a licence for describing behaviour which is considered to be offensive in the own cultural field, or to take as a theme the conflict between genius and human weakness. To this series belonged at an earlier stage the comedy *Arlequin Mahomet*, performed in 1714, in which Harlequin takes Muḥammad's name, lands in Baṣra with a flying sack bought from Boubékr and uses the authority, usurped as an alleged prophet, to assist a Persian prince get the princess worshipped by the latter. Whilst Harlequin plays here the role of match-maker, disguised as Muḥammad, some chivalrous novels use Muḥammad as a pretext licentiously to represent amorous adventures, such as *Les amours de Mahomet écrits par Aiesha, une de ses femmes* (anonymous, 1750), and further, the *Histoire secrète du prophète des turcs,*

traduite de l'Arabe of Lausselin (1754), apparently republished in 1781 under the title *Mémoires secrètes et aventures galantes de Mahomet, tirées d'un manuscrit trouvé dans la bibliothèque du Chérif de la Mecque.*

In 1778 Henry Brooke adapted Miller's translation of Voltaire's *Mahomet*, already published in 1744, and gave the piece a happy ending. Influenced by Prideaux (see above), an anonymous cleric, in his *Life of Mohammed* (1799), described Muḥammad as a discreditable monster and thus saw him as a negative example.

Goethe's plan of a *Mahomet* drama (cf. *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, III, 14) was only realised in the poem *Mahomets-Gesang*, in which Muḥammad's divinely-inspired genius is represented in the image of a continuously increasing, all-sweeping stream. Goethe's idea to exemplify by Muḥammad's figure "what influence a genius has over people through character and spirit ... and how it wins and loses at this" (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*, III, 14) has been taken up again in some dramas of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Here emphasis is laid either on the inward conflict between the Prophet's duties and his human feelings and weaknesses (Georg Christian Braun, *Mahomeds Tod*, 1815; Franz Nissel, *Mohammed*, 1858; Adolf Schafheitlin, *Mahomet*, 1892) or on the corruption to which the purity of the doctrine is exposed because of the resistance of the world (Otto von der Pfordten, *Muhammed*, 1898). Philipp Ludwig Wolff (*Mohammed, ca.* 1855) saw himself as a critic of fanaticism in the tradition of Voltaire's *Mahomet* drama, but tried to stick more closely to the historical facts. Ferdinand von Hornstein (*Mohammed*, 1906) was also occupied with the problem of fanaticism, but approched it psychologically and saw in the inspired believer's autosuggestion the basis of his sweeping power. While Ernst Trampe in his tragedy *Muhammed* (1907) represented Muḥammad as a human being upon whom prophethood is forced and who, having taken it up against his will, develops into an unscrupulous and calculating theocrat, Friedrich Wolf, in his *Mohammed*, written in 1917 under the influence of the First World War, published in 1924 and designated as an oratorio, represented the Prophet as an ascetic and radiant apostle of non-violence, whose aim was the fraternisation of mankind and the reconciliation of nations.

In narrative poetry, too, the conflict between purity of will and human weakness is exemplified in the figure of Muḥammad, as in Ida Frick's *Mohammed und seine Frauen*, a trilogy published in 1844 which describes Muḥammad's transition from a prophet, conscious of his mission, to a human being injured by envy, mistrust and doubt, who, out of vengeance and hedonism, becomes a robber and in his feelings for his wives has to fight with passion, jealousy and lust.

The Lives of Muḥammad were made instrumental for various purposes in lyrical poems. In his *Miscellaneen*, published in 1794, Friedrich Bouterwek represented Muḥammad's work as a religious fight and heavenly promise. In his poem *Posaune des heiigen Krieges aus dem Munde Mohammeds, des Propheten* (1806), J. von Hammar-Purgstall used the figure of Muḥammad as an example of courage in battle and self-sacrifice. Karoline von Günderode, in her *Mahomets Traum in der Wüste* (1804), elucidated the Prophet's purification from doubt concerning his mission. This was also done by Adalbert von Hanstein in his poems about Muḥammad, published in his collection *Menschenlieder* (1887). A romantically exalted image of the ageing Muḥammad was depicted by Victor Hugo in *La légende des siècles* (I, III: *L'islam.* 1. *L'an neuf de l'Hégire*; 2. *Mahomet*) (1859). Here, Muḥammad appears as a wise, ascetic old man, susceptible to what is beautiful in people and nature and not alien to human weakness.

Chronology

ca. 650-750	John of Damascus: *De Haeresibus liber*
8th c.	Theophanes Confessor: *Chronographia*
787	Synod of Nicaea (Nicaenum II), dealing with and anathematising the *Mahometis Superstitiones* as a heresy
middle 9th c.	Anastasius Bibliothecarius: *Chronographia tripartita* (in which is taken up Theophanes's *Chronographia* and the chapter on Muḥammad)
9th c.	Niketas Byzantios: *Confutatio Alcorani*
9th c.	Eulogius of Cordova: *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*, *PL*, 115, col. 859
10th c.	Raoul Glaber: *Historiarum libri quinque*
ca. 1064	Embricho of Mainz: *Vita Mahumeti*
ca./after 1100	Guibert of Nogent: *Gesta Dei per Francos*
ca. 1100	*Chanson de Roland* (Muḥammad as an idol)
before 1111	Sigebert of Gembloux: *Chronicon*
before 1120	Hugo of Fleury: *Historia Ecclesiastica*
before 1127	Fulbert of Chartres: *Historia Hierosolimitana*
before 1133	Hildebert of Tours: (distichs: *Life of Muḥammad*; title?)
1143	Petrus Venerabilis: letter to Bernard of Clairvaux (in which a *Life of Muḥammad, PL*, 189)
1137/1155	Walter of Compiègne: *Otia de Machomete*
1160/70	the cleric Konrad: the *Chanson de Roland* (Muḥammad as an idol)
1169-84	William of Tyre: *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*
before 1164	Gotfried of Viterbo: *Memoria Seculorum*; *Liber universalis*
12th c.	*Reprobatio quadruplex*
1204/1209	Arnold of Lübeck: *Chronica Slavorum* (in which is Gerhard of Strassburg's account of his journey to Saladin at the order of Frederic I, 1175)
ca. 1211	Wolfram of Eschenbach: *Willehalm* (Muḥammad as an idol)
before 1256	Jacob of Vitry; *Historia Hierosolimitana*; *Gesta Dei per Francos*; *Orientalis et Occidentalis Historia*
around 1256 (??)	Latin translation of the *miʿrādj*: *Scala de Mahomete*
1258	Alexandre du Pont: *Le Roman de Mahom*
middle 13th c.	Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda Aurea* (in which is the *Life* of S. Pelagius)
before 1264	Vincent of Beauvais: *Speculum historiae*
after 1264	French translation *Eschiele Mahomet* (on Muḥammad's *miʿrādj*)
1267	Ramón Llull: *Libre del gentil e los tres savis* (three wise men, a Christian, a Jew and a Muslim, praise their own religion before a heathen, each full of respect for the others; each of them is convinced that the heathen will convert to his religion; open end)

1273	William of Tripoli: *Tractatus de statu Saracenorum et de Mahomete pseudopropheta et eorum lege et fide* (dependent on this: Mandeville; Schiltberger (via Mandeville?))
2nd half 13th c.	Ricoldus de Monte Crucis
1270-80	Conrad of Würzburg: *Partonopier und Meliur*
ca. 1278	Thomas Tuscus (= of Pavia): *Gesta imperatorum et pontificum*
before 1300	Petrus Pascual: *Sobre la seta mahometana; Contra los fatalistas mahometanos*
1307-21	Dante: *La divina commedia* (Muḥammad (and ʿAlī) maimed in the ninth circle of hell, cf. *Inferno*, canto 28)
middle 15th c.	Nicholas of Cusa: *Cribratio Alchoran* (= "sifting of the Ḳurʾān")
1460	Enea Silvio Piccolomini (= Pius II): *Epistola ad Mohametem* (Letter to the Turkish sultan Meḥemmed II on Islam and Christianity)
after 1482	Michael Christan: German translation of the *Epistola ad Mahometem Pii II.*

Modern times

France

1625	Baudier
1714	*Arlequin Mahomet* (comedy)
1730	Boulainvilliers: *La vie de Mahomet.* Biography published in London (attempt to reach historical accuracy with positive evaluation of Islam)
1730	Abbé Charte-Livry: *Jupiter et Mahomet*, in *Dialogues critiques et philosophiques*
1731	(Anonymous) *Parallèle entre Mahomet et Moyse le Grand* (pseudo-Muslim letter to a rabbi)
1732	Jean Gangier: *Vie de Mahomet* (directed against Boulainvilliers; depicts Muḥammad after Islamic sources, but with negative evaluation)
1741 Lille	Voltaire: *Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomed le Prophète.* Tragedy
1742 Paris	Dedicated to Pope Benedict XIV, who thanked with the papal benediction. First representation in Lille 1741; closed in Paris in 1742 after three performances; politico-clerical protest
1750	(Anonymous) *Les Amours de Mahomet écrits par Aiesha, une de ses femmes*
1754	Lausselin: *Histoire secrète du Prophète des Turcs, traduite de l'Arabe*; republished in 1781 under the title *Mémoires secrètes et aventures galantes de Mahomet, tirée(?)s d'un manuscrit trouvé dans la Bibliothèque du Chérif de la Mecque*
1756	Voltaire: *Essai sur les moeurs*, in which Ch. VI, *De l'Arabie et de Mahomet*; Ch. VII, *De l'Alcoran et de la loi musulmane* (based on Boulainvilliers)
1758	(Anonymous) *Mahomet et Mandarin.* Dialogue
1762	*Le cousin de Mahomet ... histoire plus que galante*
1763	Voltaire: *Remarques de l'Essai* (in which Ch. IX, *De Mahomet* (Muḥammad's greatness recognised; the comparison with Cromwell in the matter of fanaticism is in favour of Muḥammad as far as the latter's work is concerned)
after 1756	Voltaire: *Lettre civile et honnête à l'auteur malhonnête de la critique de l'histoire universelle de M. Voltaire, qui n'a jamais fais (?) d'histoire universelle le (?) tout au sujet de Mahomet*
1773	Turpin: *Vie de Mahomet*, 3 vols.
1859	Victor Hugo: *La Mort de Mahomet.* In *La Légende des siècles* (I). Therein: III. *De l'Islam.* 1.*L'an neuf de l'Hégire* (on Muḥammad's death). 2. *Mahomet*
1867	L. Lefloch: (*Mahomet*). Tragicomedy
1890	Henri de Bornier: *Mahomet.* Drama (not staged because of diplomatic complications with the Turks)

Spain

??	Comedia de los Milagros de Mahoma
1680	Francisco de Rojas y Zorillo: *El falso profeta Mahoma* (put on the Index by the Inquisition)

Italy

1698	Ludovico Marracci: *Refutatio*

German-speaking area

1540	Luther: Translation of the *Confutatio Alcorani* by the Dominican friar Richard
1542	Cnustin: *Von geringem herkommen, schentlichem leben, schmehlichem ende, des Türckischen Abgots Machom und seiner verdamlichen und Gotzlesterischen Ler, allen fromen Christen zu disen geferlichen zeiten zur sterckung und trost im glauben an Jesum Christum*
1773	Goethe: *Mahomets Gesang*
1785	Jacob Morder: *Mohammeds Reise ins Paradies. Ein Bruchstück*
1779?/1802	Goethe: *Mahomet* (after Voltaire)
1802-03	C.V. (= Venturini): *Mahommed, Abul Cassem der grosse Prophet von Mekka. Ein Seitenstück zur natürlichen Geschichte der (?) grossen Lehrer von Nazareth.* Copenhagen
1804	Karoline von Günderode: *Mahomets Traum in der Wüste.* Poem
1805	idem: *Mahomed, der Prophet von Mekka.* Drama
1806	J. von Hammer-Purgstall: *Die Posaune des Heiligen Krieges*
1815	G. Christian Braun: *Mahomeds Tod. Tragödie*
1823	J. von Hammer-Purgstall: *Mohammed oder die Eroberung von Mekka. Historisches Drama*
1844	Ida Frick: *Mohammed und seine Frauen. Roman*
1848	G.F. Daumer: *Mahomed und sein Werk.* Cycle of poems.
1852	(Anonymous) *Mohammed. Tragödie.* Bern
1853	Ed. Duller: *Mohammed der Prophet.* Historical novel
1855	Severus: *Mohammed.* Drama. Berlin
1859	Orientalis (pseudonym of M. Wassermann): *Das Mädchen von Chaibar. Roman aus dem Leben Muhammeds*
1860	Philipp Heinrich Wolff: *Mohammed. Tragödie in 5 Akten*
1868	Ludwig Rüben: *Mohammed*
1892	A. Schafheitlin: *Mohammed. Religiös. Drama in 5 Aufzügen.* Zürich
1896	Franz Nissel: *Mohammed der Prophet. Fragmente.* Drama. Stuttgart

1898	Otto von den Pfordten: *Mohammed. Dramat. Gedicht.* Heidelberg
1899	M. von Hanstein: *Achmed der Heiland. Eine epische Dichtung*
1906	F. von Hornstein: *Muhammed. Drama in drei Akten.* Stuttgart
1907	F. Kaibel: (*Mohammed*) (Drama)
1907	E. Trampes: (*Mohammed*) (Drama)
1912	M. von Stein: (*Mohammed*) (Drama)
1917	Klabund: (*Mohammed*) (Novel)
1924	F. Wolf: (*Mohammed*) (Drama, expressionist)
1926	A. Schaefer: *Die Rose der Hedschra* (Story, expressionist)
1931	P.E. von Hahn: (*Mohammed*) (Story)

English-speaking area

1362/1378-79/1393	William Langland: *Piers Plowman* (Muḥammad as a renegade cardinal)
1438	John Lydgate: *Off Machomet the false prophete* (In *The Fall of Princes*)
1610 (?)	George Sandys: *A Relation of a Journey begun An.Dom. 1610*
1638	Sir Thomas Herbert: *Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique* (Muḥammad as Antichrist)
1649	Alexander Ross: *A Needful Caveat or Admonition, for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the Alcoran* (Introduction to the English translation of the Ḳurʾān)
1653	idem: *A View of all the Religions of the World*
1653	(Anonymous): *Apocalypsis, or the Revelation of Certain Notorious Advances of heresie* (from the Latin by John Davies)
1653 (?)	*The Life and Death of Mahomet, the Prophet of the Turks, and Author of the Alcoran*
1678	(Anonymous): *First State of Muhametism, or an Account of the Author and Doctrine of the Imposture*; 1679; appears in 1679 as Lancelot Addison: *The Life and Death of Mahumed*
1697	Humphrey Prideaux: *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet*
1701	David Jones: *A Compleat History of the Turks*
1708-18	Simon Ockley: *The History of the Saracens*
1712	*Four Treatises concerning the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of the Mohametans* (preceded by a Life of Muḥammad)
1720	*Miscellanea Aurea, or the Golden Medley* (in which is a Life of Muḥammad, directed against Prideaux, who is not named; defence of Muḥammad against the reproach of deceit)
1731	John Pitts: *A Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of The Mohammetans* (London)
1731	English translation of Boulainvilliers's *Life of Muḥammad* (1730)
1734	George Sale: *Preliminary Discourse* (to the Ḳurʾān translation)
1735	*Reflections on Mohammedanism and the Conduct of Mohammed. Occat(?)sioned by a Late Learned Translation and Exposition of the Koran or Alkoran*
1744	English translation by Miller of Voltaire's drama on Muḥammad
1778	Henry Brooke: *The Imposter* (Drama; revision of Miller's translation of Voltaire's drama on Muḥammad)
1784	Joseph White (Arabist in Oxford): *To confirm and establish the Christian Faith; and to confute all heretics and schismatics*
1788	Edward Gibbon: *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (with a ch. on Muḥammad)
1790	James Bruce: *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*
1795	Nathan Alcock: *The Rise of Mohamet accounted for on Natural and Civil Principles* (published posthumously)
1799	(anonymous cleric): *Life of Mohammed* (uses Prideaux)
1799	Robert Southey (and Coleridge): *Mohammed* (unfinished poem in hexameters)
1808	Robert Southey: *Chronicle of the Cid*
1829	Edward Upham: *A History of the Ottoman Empire*
1829	Godfrey Higgins: *An Apology for the Life and Character of the Celebrated Prophet of Arabia, called Mohammed, or the Illustrious*
1829	Walter Savage Landor: *Mahomet and Sergius* (dialogue in prose)
1830	Rev. Samuel Bush: *Life of Mohammed*
1840	Rev. Samuel Green: *Life of Mahomet*
1840	Thomas Carlyle: *The Hero as a Prophet. Mahomet: Islam* (Lecture given in London; published afterwards)
1843	William Coke Taylor: *History of Mohammetanism and Its Sects*
1850	George H. Miles: *Mohammed the Arabian Prophet*, Boston
1873	William Sime: *History of Mohammed and His Successors*
1890	Hall Caine: *Mahomet.* Drama (not staged because of diplomatic complications with the Turks)

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(TRUDE EHLERT)

MUḤAMMAD b. ʿABBĀS [see ḲĀDJĀR].

MUḤAMMAD b. ʿABD ALLĀH [see IBN AL-ABBĀR; IBN AL-KHAṬĪB; IBN MĀLIK].

SAYYIDĪ/SĪDĪ **MUḤAMMAD III b. ʿABD ALLĀH**, fifth ruler (1171-1204/1759-90) of the Moroccan dynasty of the ʿAlawids [see ʿALAWĪS] and one of the most remarkable.

Born in 1134/1722, he received a traditional education at the court and, in 1159/1746, his father, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] appointed him viceroy (*khalīfa*) at Marrakesh, where he was to make a lasting impression with his construction activities and which he was virtually to make his capital, without however neglecting the other cities of Morocco. Harassed by hostile tribes before being in a position to consolidate his power and to impose his authority, with a view to putting an end to a period of instability which affected the south as well as the rest of the empire, he was obliged to take refuge at Safi (Asfī [*q.v.*]), where he succeeded in gaining the support of the local population and thereby facilitated his return to Marrakesh. After 1161/1748, he had the opportunity to demonstrate his loyalty to his father in restoring him to his throne at Meknès [see MIKNĀS], although the latter had been deposed in his favour. On the death of his father, on 27 Ṣafar 1171/10 November 1757, he was proclaimed ruler at Marrakesh in an atmosphere of popular enthusiasm and began a reign of more than thirty years, a period of serenity marred only by an attack mounted against the capital by insurgents in 1185/1771, a serious fire which destroyed part of the city in 1192/1778 and an abortive act of defiance on the part of his uncle Mawlāy al-Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl, who declared himself independent in the Tafilalt in 1198/1783-4; the activities of his son and successor Yazīd [*q.v.*] nevertheless clouded the last years of his reign (see Zayānī-Houdas, *passim*). Having reorganised the army, he was in a position to recover Mazagan [see AL-DJADĪDA] from the Portugese in 1182/1769, but he was unable to remove from Spanish domination either Ceuta [see SABTA] or Melilla [*q.v.*], which remain Spanish enclaves to this day. He fortified the port of Safi, constructed those of Faḍāla [*q.v.*, currently al-Muḥammadiyya] and Casablanca [see AL-DĀR AL-BAYḌĀʾ] and, after 1179/1765, founded the town of Mogador [see AL-ṢAWĪRA]. He was responsible for construction activities in other cities of Morocco, notably Fās, where he repaired the ruins and provided new buildings including an aquaduct and a *madrasa* (see R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 88, 134, 266). At Marrakesh, he restored the *ḳaṣaba* and built his own palace (al-Manshiya) in addition to numerous mosques and *madrasas* and planted gardens and olive-groves, such that the metropolis of southern Morocco owes a large proportion of its buildings to the great ʿAlawid sovereign (see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech*, Rabat 1959, 474-511 and index; idem, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956, index).

On the internal level, away from operations of *djihād* aimed at recovering places occupied by foreign powers, he was mainly concerned with justice and with fiscal and monetary matters, and it may be said that he cured the empire of the decay which had accumulated under his predecessors and that he had the support of the populace in pursuing his objectives (the list of his viziers, secretaries, *ḳāḍīs* and regional authorities may be found in Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 403-4, 405-6). In external politics, he took pains to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with Europe and the East in the attempt to lessen the effects of the piracy [see ḲURṢĀN] which was rife in the Mediterranean, and he worked to obtain the release or the ransom of Muslim prisoners. In 1179/1766 he authorised al-Ghazzāl [*q.v.* in Suppl.] to negotiate an exchange of captives and, in 1182/1768, he sent him to Algiers to initiate a reciprocal repatriation of Algerian and Spanish prisoners; the mission to Spain is described in a *Riḥla* (ed. A. Bustānī, Tetouan 1941). His secretary, vizier and ambassador Ibn ʿUthmān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] conducted three missions abroad on his behalf: the first (1193/1779) to Spain with the object of consolidating amicable relations with this country and discussing the issue of Algerian prisoners; the second (1196/1782) to Malta and Naples to ransom yet more prisoners; the third (1200-2/1785-8) to Istanbul to put an end to the unrest provoked by Turkish troops on the Algeria-Morocco frontier. (On the treaties signed during this period, see the articles cited in the art. IBN ʿUTHMĀN; also J. Caillé, *Les accords internationaux du sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdallah.*) Finally, al-Zayānī (1147-1249/1734-1833 [*q.v.*]), who served as negotiator with all the rebellious Berbers, was entrusted, in 1200/1786, with the task of bearing letters and gifts to the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I; he left a detailed account of the vicissitudes of his journey (*al-Turdjumāna al-Kubrā*; ms. at Rabat). The previous year, Sīdī Muḥammad had sent a generous consignment of gifts intended for the inhabitants of Mecca and of various other regions of the Islamic East.

As regards religion, he was a pious man who respected the obligations of Islam, drinking no alcohol and not smoking; he did not, however, allow himself to be dominated by the *fuḳahāʾ*, whom he protected and with whom he held meetings at Marrakesh in the course of which judicial questions were discussed. He advocated a return to tradition and to study of the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna* with the aid of the works of scholars of the Middle Ages; he showed himself sympathetic towards the Salafiyya [*q.v.*], and an impression of his tendencies may be gained through a perusal of the programme of studies of the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*] which he instituted by a decree of 1203/1788 (see Ibn Zaydūn, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, Rabat 1356/1937, 60; idem, *Iḥyāʾ al-ʿulūm*, in *Madjallat al-Maghrib*, v [1355/1936], 8; cf. M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 211-12). He instructed the professors to teach only the canonical versions of traditions (al-Bukhārī and Muslim in particular), studies of Mālikī *fiḳh* such as the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn [*q.v.*], the *Muḳadimma* of Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*], the *Risāla* and the *ʿAḳīda* of al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*]; he determined the list of the commentaries on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] which were to be used, then recommended the *Ikhtifāʾ*

of al-Kalaʿī [*q.v.*], the *Sīra* of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās [*q.v.*], the *Tashīl* and the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*]; in the context of rhetoric and literature, the syllabus comprised the *Īḍāḥ* of Khaṭīb Dimashkī [see AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ], the *Muṭawwal* of al-Taftazānī [*q.v.*], the *Dīwāns* of six pre-Islamic poets, the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*], not to mention the classical dictionaries. The sultan submitted his curriculum to the scholars of Egypt, sending them a questionnaire in which spaces were left for replies. This dynamic individual also took an interest in pedagogy and he is the author of a treatise entitled *Mawāhib al-Mannān bi-mā yataʾakkad ʿalā 'l-muʿallimīn taʿlīmuh li 'l-ṣibyān* and of a *Risāla fī Manhadj al-taʿlīm*. He also compiled collections of *ḥadīths*, wrote epistles embodying his religious beliefs and edited an anthology of poems, the *Tarwīḥ al-ḳulūb*; although Höst says of him in his *Histoire de l'empereur du Maroc Sidi Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh* (extract from the unpublished translation by M. Pollack in G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions*, 247) that he "had little regard for so-called intellectuals, philosophers and poets", it was during his reign and at his instigation that Ibn al-Wannān [*q.v.*], whose father had previously resided at the court, composed his celebrated *urdjūza, al-Shamaḳmaḳiyya*, which is "a résumé of the traditional culture of the Arabs" (Hadj-Sadok). In addition, his religious fervour, allied with a predictable conservatism, did not prevent him appreciating dialectal poetry, composing it himself occasionally and encouraging its dissemination [see MALḤŪN].

Physically, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh was, according to Höst, tall, swarthy, of dignified bearing, sober, frugal, relatively chaste in that he had sired no more than some ten children although hundreds of wives belonged to his harem, strict without being cruel, but parsimonious and aware of the need to husband his resources in order to accomplish the task of rebuilding the country which he had set himself.

He died on 27 Radjab 1204/11-12 April 1790 near Rabat and, his death being initially kept secret, it was possible for him to be buried in the imperial palace of his city.

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MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD ALLĀH** b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, called **al-NAFS al-ZAKIYYA**, "the Pure Soul", ʿAlid rebel, together with his full brother Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] against the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr at Medina in 145/762-3.

He and Ibrāhīm had, according to al-Wāḳidī, been brought up as future rulers, and Muḥammad was called al-Mahdī by his father. As early as the reign of the Umayyad caliph Hishām, the two sectarians al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd al-ʿIdjlī and Bayān b. Samʿān [*q.v.*], who did not recognise Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*], endeavoured to make propaganda for him. When signs of the imminent collapse of Umayyad rule became apparent after al-Walīd's death, ʿAbd Allāh's family by his command paid homage to Muḥammad, with the exception of al-Bāḳir's son Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*]. Wider circles also recognised him as the legitimate heir, including the Muʿtazilīs, who in those days had a distinctly ascetic character. Abū Djaʿfar, later the ʿAbbāsid caliph, was at this time attached to this school, and it is several times recorded that he was among those who paid homage to Muḥammad. This is in itself by no means improbable and well explains his hostile attitude to him, although it remains remarkable that Muḥammad nowhere, even in his polemical letters to him, refers later to this important fact. The Umayyad governor Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] also thought of joining him when he was besieged in Wāsiṭ in 132/750, but dropped the matter when he received no answer to his letter.

When finally the ʿAbbāsid Abu 'l-ʿAbbās in the same year won the caliphate and ousted the ʿAlids, the two brothers disappeared and showed thereby that they would not recognise him. There now began for them a period full of adventure and danger, especially after Abū Djaʿfar became caliph in 136/754. They went secretly from place to place to gain adherents; nowhere could they feel safe from the caliph, but the people were on the whole favourably disposed to them and at least would not betray them. In this way they reached not only Baṣra and Kūfa but even went as far as al-Sind via Aden; as a rule, however, they stayed in Arabia, most securely among the Djuhayna, in whose territory lay the hill of Raḍwa, which so often appears in the history of the ʿAlids. The caliph was very uneasy at the continued lack of success of his search for them; more and more angrily he demanded of his governors in Medīna that they should be produced and he dismissed several in rapid succession, when they appeared, perhaps not without reason, ineffective and lukewarm in their efforts. He himself took very active steps, but with as little result. On his pilgrimage in 140/758, he had Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm's father thrown into prison because they would not betray their place of concealment, and on a later pilgrimage (144/762), the same fate met the sons and grandsons of al-Ḥasan, ʿAbd Allāh's brother. They and ʿAbd Allāh were taken to Kūfa, treated most brutally, and thrown into prison, where most of them died. The same thing happened to Ibrāhīm's father-in-law Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, a descendant of ʿUthmān, whose head the caliph sent to Khurāsān with a certificate on oath that it was the head of the ʿAlid Muḥammad, in order to intimidate his followers there. Shortly before this (Ramaḍān 144/December 761), he finally found a governor after his own heart, Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, who conducted the search with the necessary vigour. But he was soon able to save himself the trouble for in Radjab 145/November 762, Muḥammad appeared in Medina and began the rebellion, while his brother Ibrāhīm went to Baṣra to do the same. It is not clear whether

they did this because, in Muḥammad's opinion, the time was ripe or whether they were forced by circumstances to hasten their plans. In any case, the enterprise was not sufficiently prepared, for although they had a large number of followers in Kūfa, Baṣra, Egypt (where, however, Muḥammad's son ʿAlī was arrested by the ʿAbbāsid governor), in Khurāsān and even in Sind (to which another son ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashtar was sent), there was no question of any organisation, and, as so frequently, the enthusiasm for the ʿAlids was like a fire of straw which blazes up quickly but dies down soon. In Medina, where Riyāḥ was completely taken by surprise, Muḥammad in keeping with his character acted with great mildness; he opened the prison, forbade all bloodshed and was content with arresting Riyāḥ. The best elements in the town came over to him after the jurist Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] declared invalid his oath taken to the ʿAbbāsids; Mecca also surrendered to the new ruler. The outbreak of the revolt was really a relief to Abū Djaʿfar for he had now, as he said, enticed the fox out of his hole. He hurriedly left Baghdād, with the building of which he was busy, and went to Kūfa, the point of danger. With keen instinct he saw that the weak point of the rebellion lay in Medina which must be attacked first, for in this remote spot there was a lack of materials of war and the roads thither could easily be barred. But he first of all offered a complete amnesty to Muḥammad, which however only led to a characteristic exchange of letters, in which one reproached the other with the weaknesses of his family. He then sent his relative ʿĪsā b. Mūsā against him with 4,000 men, with instructions however to settle the matter peacefully if possible. His arrival had a sobering effect upon the Medinans, of whom a number seized the opportunity to get out of their difficult position. Muḥammad, however, remained undismayed. He rejected the well-meant advice of several men to abandon Medina as an insult to the town, but left his people free to stay with him or not. He trusted in Allāh "from whom victory comes and in whose hand the matter lies", and imitated all that the Prophet had done in his time in romantic fashion. For example, he restored the ditch which the Prophet had dug round Medina when it was besieged by Ḳuraysh; he used Muḥammad's sword, and his battle-cry was the same as that at the battle of Ḥunayn; even the old single combat before the battle proper was revived. The result in these circumstances was easily foreseen. ʿĪsā, after offering a free pardon in vain for a few days, laid a few doors over the ditch, entered the town and began a battle in which Muḥammad's supporters became fewer and fewer in numbers until their leader finally fell (Monday, 14 Ramaḍān 145/6 December 762). Muḥammad's head was cut off and sent to the caliph. For an analysis of the revolt and its aftermath, see IBRĀHĪM B. ʿABD ALLĀH.

Muḥammad is described as tall and strong with a very dark skin, on which account the caliph sardonically called him *al-Muḥammam*, the "Blackened". He was rightly called "the pure soul" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 200) for his gentle character, but does not seem to have been the equal of his brother Ibrāhīm in intelligence and learning.

After his death and the failure of Ibrāhīm's parallel rebellion in Baṣra and lower ʿIrāḳ, Muḥammad's sons and brothers scattered to various of the remoter parts of the Islamic lands. Of his sons, ʿAlī fled to Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh to Sind and al-Ḥasan to Yemen; of his brothers, Yaḥyā fled to Daylam [*q.v.*] but eventually fell into the hands of Hārūn al-Rashīd, by whom he was imprisoned and then died in mysterious circumstances, while Idrīs fled to Egypt after the failure of the rebellion of his nephew al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*] at Fakhkh and thence made his way to Morocco, where he founded the Idrīsid state [see IDRĪS I].

Bibliography: The two main primary sources are Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1365/1946, 205 ff., and Ṭabarī, iii, 66, 143-259, 359 ff., 2508; see also Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 418, 424, 431-2, 450, 452-3; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 189-98 = §§ 2401-8; idem, *Tanbīh*, 341, tr. Carra de Vaux, 438-9; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 146, 302, 575, 786 ff. For the other primary sources and for secondary ones, see the *Bibl.* of IBRĀHĪM B. ʿABD ALLĀH, to which should be added Y. Marquet, *Le Šīʿisme au IXe siècle à travers l'Histoire de Yaʿqūbī*, in *Arabica*, xix (1972), 108-9; H. Kennedy, *The early Abbasid caliphate*, London and Totowa N.J. 1981, 200 ff.

(F. BUHL)

MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH ḤASSĀN, called by his British opponents "the Mad Mullah", the local Somali equivalent of the Sudanese Mahdī.

This Somali *shaykh* was born in 1250-1/1864 (or, according to Djāmaʿ ʿUmar ʿĪse, in 1272-3/1856) near the watering-place of Bōhotle in the north-east of the present Somali Democratic Republic. He belonged to the Ogādēn clan, which inhabits the region of the same name in the disputed area of Eastern Ethiopia-Western Somalia, but lived with the Dulbahaute clan where his grandfather had settled. Muḥammad received a traditional religious training and early manifested signs of extreme piety and religious zeal. In furtherance of his Islamic studies he travelled to Harar, Maḳdishū and, according to some sources, as far as the Sudan. He went on pilgrimage to Mecca in 1311-12/1894, where he joined Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ's Ṣāliḥiyya *ṭarīḳa*. On his return home, he began to preach the puritannical message of this order, and soon encountered resistance from the established Ḳādiriyya and the British consular régime on the western Somali coast. This rebuff, combined with the irritant of Christian mission activity and increasing Ethiopian military pressure in the Ogādēn, led Muḥammad to proclaim a *djihād* against the Christian intruders. The major opening engagement in the ensuing holy war, which dragged on until 1338/1920, took place at Jigjiga in the Ogādēn, where a large force of "Dervishes"—as Muḥammad's followers called themselves—stormed the recently-established Ethiopian post.

During 1321-2/1904, with fitful Ethiopian rapport and Italian compliance, four major British expeditions were mounted against the Dervishes. Although not decisively defeated, the Dervishes prudently withdrew to Mijerteynia in the north of Italian Somalia and signed a peace treaty (the "Illig Agreement") with the Italians. By 1325-6/1908, the Dervishes had recovered their strength and renewed their campaign with increasing ferocity during the first World War until their final defeat by a concerted air, sea and land operation in 1920. Sayyid Muḥammad, as the Dervish leader styled himself—having never claimed the title Mahdī—died amongst his own clansmen in the Ogādēn in December 1920 at the age of fifty-six. Paradoxically, the end of this guerilla war waged to free Somalis of foreign domination found the British, Ethiopian and Italian colonisers more firmly entrenched than they were at the start.

While Sayyid Muḥammad sought to unite his countrymen in defence of their freedom irrespective of their clan allegiances, he inevitably drew heavily upon

traditional kinship and marriage ties in forming alliances. He was bitterly opposed by the Ḳādiriyya, whose leader in southern Somalia was assassinated by a party of his Dervishes. His strongest support came from his own kin among the Dārōd, while the western Isḥāḳ clans, more firmly under British influence, never fully rallied to his call and indeed denounced him as a tyrant and fanatic. All, however, recognised his qualities as the leading Somali poet of his epoch and admired his brilliant command of Somali rhetoric. Sayyid Muḥammad left behind no theocratic organisation, but left instead a legacy of patriotism which inspires Somalis to this day.

Bibliography: British sources on the Sayyid's movement include *Correspondence relating to the rising of the Mullah Muhammad Abdulla in Somaliland and consequent military operations, 1899-1902*, HMSO London 1903; M. McNeil, *In pursuit of the Mad Mullah*, London 1902; J.W. Jennings, *With the Abyssinians in Somaliland*, London 1905; for a more general account by a senior British official in the British Somaliland Protectorate Administration, see D. Jardine, *The Mad Mullah of Somaliland*, London 1923. For the corresponding picture from the Italian side, see F.S. Caroselli, *Ferro e fuoco in Somalia*, Rome 1931. For a more recent account, drawing upon the Somali oral record, see I.M. Lewis, *The modern history of Somaliland*, London 1965, ch. iv (revised edition, *The modern history of Somalia*, London 1979); and Aw Dj̲āmaʿ ʿUmar ʿĪse, *Tārīk̲hdī Darāwīs̲hta* [in Somali], Mogadishu 1976. For the Sayyid's poetry, see B.W. Andrzejewski and I.M. Lewis, *Somali poetry*, Oxford 1964; Aw Dj̲āmaʿ ʿUmar ʿĪse, *Dīwānka Gabayadī* [in Somali], Mogadishu 1974; and Said S. Samatar, *Oral poetry and Somali nationalism: the case of Sayyid Muhammad ʿAbdille Hasan*, Cambridge 1982.

(I.M. Lewis)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD ALLĀH** b. Ṭāhir Dh̲i 'l-Yamīnayn, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, Ṭāhirid governor of Bag̲h̲dād.

Born in 209/824-5, Muḥammad in 237/851 was summoned from K̲h̲urāsān by the Caliph to Bag̲h̲dād and appointed military governor (*ṣāḥib al-s̲h̲urṭa*) in order to restore order in the chaos then prevailing. In spite of the great power of the Ṭāhirids, who ruled K̲h̲urāsān with considerable autonomy, although they nominally recognised the suzerainty of the caliph, his task was by no means a light one. After al-Mustaʿīn had ascended the throne (248/862), he confirmed Muḥammad in his office and also gave him the governorship of ʿIrāḳ along with the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. In the following year troubles broke out in Bag̲h̲dād and Sāmarrā. The Arabs were defeated by the Byzantines, and the rage of the people was turned against the caliph. The vizier Uṭāmis̲h̲, however, finally succeeded in restoring order with the help of the two Turkish generals Waṣīf and Bug̲h̲ā the Younger.

The ʿAlids also gave the government trouble on several occasions. A descendant of ʿAlī named Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar rebelled in Kūfa and drove out the governor of the town. After he had routed an army sent against him by Muḥammad, he was attacked by the ʿAbbāsid general al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl while another division took him in the rear, and he finally fell in the battle (Radj̲ab 250/August 864). Another ʿAlid, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], had more success. Two prominent men in Ṭabaristān, who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Ṭāhirids, appealed to him in 250/864, and very soon he was acknowledged as lord of the whole of Ṭabaristān. The Ṭāhirid governors of Rayy and Ḳazwīn were driven out and replaced by ʿAlids; Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, governor of K̲h̲urāsān, a nephew of the governor of Bag̲h̲dād, then sent an army against Rayy. The ʿAlid governor was defeated and captured and the town had to surrender, but again fell into the hands of the ʿAlids. When the former governor of Ṭabaristān, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh, invaded this province and conquered it completely, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd had to flee to Daylam, where he was defeated by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (251/865-6); after some years (257/870-1), however, he inflicted a defeat on the latter's troops in Dj̲urdj̲ān, and in 259/872-3 he again became lord of Ṭabaristān, where he founded an ʿAlid dynasty which lasted about sixty years.

Arabia also did not escape ʿAlid plots. A descendant of ʿAlī named Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf raised trouble there in 251/865, plundered Mecca and Medina and killed so many pilgrims that he received the epithet of *al-Saffāk*, "the Bloodshedder". There was also continual trouble in the capital. In Muḥarram of the same year/February 865, al-Mustaʿīn left Sāmarrā and went to Bag̲h̲dād. Al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] was then taken by force from his prison in Sāmarrā and proclaimed caliph; he then appointed his brother Abū Aḥmad, later co-regent with the caliph al-Muʿtamid, as commander-in-chief in the war against al-Mustaʿīn and his governor. When all negotiations failed, the latter had to take to arms, but was defeated several times. Fighting took place in and around Bag̲h̲dād with varying success during almost the whole year, while anarchy in the provinces increased; and when Muḥammad finally began negotiations with Abū Aḥmad, he was accused of treason, so that the caliph had to protect him against the troops who were furious with him. But when Muḥammad's friends told him that al-Mustaʿīn intended to sacrifice himself, he made peace with Abū Aḥmad. The caliph had reluctantly to confirm the treaty and abdicate in favour of his rival al-Muʿtazz (Dh̲u 'l-Ḥidj̲dj̲a 251/January 866), and the latter thereupon ascended the throne. Muḥammad died in Dh̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 253/November 867.

Muḥammad achieved considerable contemporary fame as a scholar as well as a soldier and administrator. Not only was he himself a poet, some of whose verses are cited by such authorities as al-S̲h̲ābus̲h̲tī and al-Ṣafadī, and patron of the singer Ẓunayn, but he also related *ḥadīt̲h̲*s and had a lively interest in grammar and philology; prominent in the circle which he gathered round himself at Bag̲h̲dād were such notable figures as al-Mubarrad and T̲h̲aʿlab [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 592, 602, 604, 608, 610-11, 613; Ṭabarī, iii, see Index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj̲*, vii, 255-6 = §§ 2940-1; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, vii, 43, 72-125; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii, 304-5; Ibn S̲h̲ākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, iii, 403-4; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 283 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii, 379-90, 402; W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*[3], 535 ff.; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate*, 119, 311-3; G. Rothstein, in *Orient. Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, 165-6; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture*, in *JSS*, xiv (1969), 68-9 = *Medieval Arabic culture and administration*, London 1982, no. II; idem, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 102-3; R. Mottahedeh, in *ibid.*, 77-8.

(K.V. Zetterstéen-[C.E. Bosworth])

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD** al-**ḲĀDIR** al-**KARDŪDĪ** [see al-kardūdī].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD** al-**MALIK** [see ibn ṭufayl; ibn al-zayyāt; ibn zuhr].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD** al-**RAḤĪM** [see ibn al-furāt].

MUḤAMMAD I b. **ʿABD** al-**RAḤMĀN II**, caliph of Cordova [see al-andalus and umayyads of spain].

MUḤAMMAD III b. **ʿABD** al-**RAḤMĀN** al-**MUSTAKFĪ**, caliph of Cordova [see al-andalus and umayyads of spain].

sayyidī/sīdī **MUḤAMMAD IV** b. **ʿABD** al-**RAḤMĀN**, ʿAlawid sovereign who reigned over Morocco 1276-90/1859-73.

Born probably around 1230/1815, he was appointed by his father, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām [*q.v.*] as viceroy (*khalīfa*) in Marrakesh, where he was to continue to reside after his accession to the throne and to leave behind a certain number of buildings (but less than Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]). Memorable among them are the mausoleum erected in the cemetery (*rawḍa*) of Bāb al-Rubb, the conversion of the ʿArṣat al-Maʿāsh into a military quarter, the renovation of the large Agdal gardens, the construction of the fountain of Sīdī Bal-ʿAbbās, the mausoleum of the madman called Sīdī Aʿmārā and the gates of the Sūḳ al-Madjādiliyya or market of the makers of trimmings (see G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956, index).

In his capacity as *khalīfa*, he assumed command of the Moroccan troops who gave battle to Marshal Bugeaud, on the right bank of the Isly [*q.v.*], on the Algero-Moroccan frontier, on 14 August 1844, and suffered a defeat which opened the eyes of the Sharīfian authorities to the weaknesses of their army. The *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], who had taken refuge in Morocco, ceased from this time to enjoy the sultan's protection, and it was Sīdī Muḥammad who was instructed to outlaw him. Forced back again to Morocco by the French troops, the *amīr* was still pursued, and it was partly due to the attitude adopted towards him by the sovereign and his son that he decided to surrender to the Duc d'Aumale on 23 December 1847.

During the years that followed, the *khalīfa* of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had mainly to contend with the turbulent tribes of the Atlas who constantly harried Marrakesh. Favourable to peaceful relations with foreign states, he used to receive not only travellers but also agents attracted by the possibility of profitable commercial exchanges. Furthermore, he was surrounded by renegades and had welcomed more or less competent foreign technicians who were indispensable to him in order to ensure the proper functioning of the equipment whose use he had begun to understand and appreciate; as early as 1854, he had in particular tried out a threshing-machine. The policy of reforms which he advocated to revitalise the country could be applied more boldly during the first years which followed his accession.

This took place without difficulty on the death of his father, on 29 Muḥarram 1276/28 August 1859. Sīdī Muḥammad, who was then in Marrakesh, hastened to go to have himself recognised in Meknès and the principal towns of North Morocco, before contemplating his return to the capital of the South, where the situation was none too good. The rebellious tribes having invaded, pillaged and blockaded the town, Sīdī Muḥammad was nevertheless able, provisionally, to establish order, which remained precarious until the moment when he took measures to chastise the agitators, in particular the Raḥāmna whom he was about to destroy.

Meanwhile, he had in fact had to bring matters to a conclusion with the Spaniards. The latter, harried in Ceuta [see sabta] by the neighbouring tribes of the Rīf, launched a war against Morocco, the principal episode of which was the victorious campaign which brought the Spanish troops as far as Tetwan [see tiṭṭawin] on 5 February 1860; they stayed in the town despite the conclusion on 26 April following, under the auspices of Great Britain, which believed the Spaniards would reach Tangiers, of an agreement which was ratified on 26 May. This agreement recommended the assignment of a piece of supplementary territory to Ceuta and Melilla [*q.v.*], the concession of the enclave of Ifni [*q.v.*], the payment of a war indemnity of 20 million duros (the duro being valued at around five gold francs), the conclusion of a commercial treaty and the monopoly of Catholic missions by the Spanish Franciscans. Nevertheless, as Tetwan was to remain occupied until complete payment of the indemnity, Sīdī Muḥammad sent embassies to London and Paris in order to solicit the intervention of the governments with the Spaniards in order to obtain a diminution of the sum for payment. He had to take out a loan, which presented a problem owing to the prohibition against taking interest, regarded as applying as much to the borrower as to the lender; finally, capital and interest constituted a lump sum taken as representing the total amount of the loan. The convention signed on 24 October 1861 was ratified on 20 December following, and, on 2 May 1862, the Spanish troops left Tetwan. Meanwhile, the commercial treaty provided for in the agreement had been concluded on 20 November 1861 (on all these events, see J.-L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe*, ii, 349 ff.).

The previous sultan had begun instituting an open-door policy, notably through the treaty signed with England in December 1856, which recognised freedom of commerce and adopted the principle of extra-territoriality (see Miège, *op. cit.*, ii, 261 ff.), and through the declaration of 18 May 1858 with the Netherlands, which from then on enjoyed the advantages of the most favoured nation. At his accession, the new sultan sent to France one of his entourage, Idrīs b. Muḥammad al-ʿAmrāwī (d. 1296/1878), who narrated the incidents on his journey and set down his observations in a *riḥla* entitled *Tuḥfat al-malik al-ʿazīz bi-mamlakat Bārīz* (printed Fās 1327/1909). Thus he showed his desire to maintain good relations with the European powers, and actually, despite the difficulties generated by his conflict with Spain between 1860 and 1862, concluded several international agreements. On 4 January 1862, a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation was signed with Belgium; 19 August 1863 saw the conclusion of the Franco-Moroccan so-called Béclard Agreement, to which the United States, Great Britain, Sweden and Belgium adhered. This limited the right of protection which had sometimes been abused by the powers, but it also had unfortunate consequences for the ruler's freedom of action (see Miège, *op. cit.*, ii, 395-409).

These agreements formed part of the policy of reforms that Sīdī Muḥammad wished to carry out. He had provided for this purpose a programme for revitalisation of the country which involved the creation of Moroccan enterprises in order to end the effective monopoly of foreign establishments, the undertaking of work to enlarge or improve the ports of Safi and Mogador, the erection on Cape Spartel of a lighthouse whose administration and upkeep were to give rise, on 31 May 1865, to an agreement with most of the European powers, the planting of cotton and sugar cane to diminish the imports of cloth and sugar, the creation of a paper factory in Mogador and the construction of a steam mill in Tangiers, not to men-

tion the setting up of a lithographic press in Fās. He was also occupied with reorganising the army and sent agents to Europe to buy arms and munitions, while developing the cartridge-making factory of Marrakesh.

He lived in peace with his neighbours, particularly with the French established in Algeria; a perfect entente was established with them after the battle of Isly and, independently of the diplomatic missions sent to France, for example, in the month of July 1865, an uncle of Sīdī Muḥammad visited Napoleon III in order to renew the relations of friendship between the two nations. The following year, the despatch of the *ḳāʾid* Manṣūr to Touat [see tuwāt] did not sour their relations although the region was the subject of dispute between them. On the contrary, quite a number of French settled in Morocco and participated in its economic life.

From another point of view, an important event in the reign of Sīdī Muḥammad was the visit, in 1863-4, of Sir Moses Montefiore, President of the London Committee of British Jews, in an attempt to improve the lot of his coreligionists, which left much to be desired. Well-received by the sultan, he obtained in their favour the dahir (*ẓahīr*) of 5 February 1864 (see al-Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣā*, Fr. tr. Fumey, ii, 256-8) which, without remaining a dead letter, did not, however, have spectacular results (on the Montefiore mission, see his *Narrative of a mission to the Empire of Morocco in 1863 and 1864*, London 1866; Th. Hodgkin, *Narrative of a journey to Morocco*, London 1866; see also Miège, *op. cit.*, ii, 564 ff.).

The reforms undertaken nevertheless encountered the hostility of conservative Moroccan circles, whose resistance to foreign penetration blocked several attempts. In addition, in February-March 1866, the sultan was almost carried off by a serious illness from which he recovered, thanks to the care of his doctor Ādarrāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Despite the reorganisation, carried out in 1862, of the collection of customs duties which provided a large part of the state revenues, financial difficulties accumulated; furthermore, natural disasters, leading to famine and epidemics, provoked in 1867-8 a serious economic and financial crisis which forced the ruler to proceed with an important monetary reform and to renounce the pursuit of the envisaged changes.

From the cultural perspective, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had received a traditional upbringing, nevertheless appears to have studied a little English and French, but his effort at modernisation did not extend to the field of public education and the University of al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*], where he suppressed the teaching of Ḳurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*); as he was fairly interested in the exact sciences, he sent a group of students to Egypt to learn mathematics. The press established in Fās first of all allowed the diffusion of grammatical texts, such as the *Ādjurrūmiyya* of Ibn Ādjurrūm [*q.v.*], and of *fiḳh*, such as the *ʿĀṣimiyya* of Ibn ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*], numerous manuscripts of which were circulating in Morocco; then, up to a relatively recent date, several works of Moroccan and other authors. Finally, it was this sultan who urged Akansūs [*q.v.*] to write the history of the ʿAlawid dynasty, and also to produce *al-Djaysh al-ʿaramram*, which stops in the middle of his reign, on 15 Shaʿbān 283/23 December 1866. This historian, who is also the author of a poem in praise of his sovereign, of a certain number of compositions in verse, epistles and writings of a religious character, is one of the most notable representatives of a literary activity that was rather restricted and directed towards the denunciation of customs contrary to Islamic orthodoxy and the pernicious influence of foreigners. Sīdī Muḥammad did not participate much in this literature, and contented himself with cultivating dialectal poetry [see malḥūn].

He died by drowning, on 18 Radjab 1290/11 September 1873, during a boating party on the Agdal basin in Marrakesh, and was buried in the mausoleum of Mawlāy ʿAlī al Sharīf which Sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] had rebuilt; the tomb is covered by a *mḳābriyya* of marble engraved with an epitaph in verse (Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf*, iii, 577; G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions*, no. 173).

Bibliography: Apart from the works mentioned in the text, the essential works among the Arabic sources are, in addition to the *Djaysh* of Akansūs (lith. Fās 1336/1918), the *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās* of Ibn al-Zaydān (Rabat 1929-33, iii, 366-577), *al-Iʿlām bi man ḥalla Marrākush* (Fās 1936-9, v, 336-73) and the *Istiḳṣā* of Nāṣirī (Fr. tr. Fumey, in *AM*, x, 1907). The eye-witness accounts of travellers, residents and diplomats (such as A. Beaumier, J.H. Hay and Merry y Colom), as well as the archives of Morocco, France, Spain, etc., are especially important for the history of the reign of Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and all this documentation has been made use of by J.-L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe (1830-1894)*, Paris 1961 (the first volume of 234 pp. is entirely dedicated to the bibliography). We should note among the references L. Arnaud, *Au temps des mahallas ou le Maroc de 1860 à 1910*, Casablanca 1952, and should not forget the many works of J. Caillé on diplomatic history. Finally, it is useful to cite also some general works, such as H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca 1949-50, ii, 325-31); E. Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens de Chorfa*, Paris 1922, index, and 405, on his viziers, secretaries and chamberlain); G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912* (Rabat 1966, index); M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie ʿalawide* (Rabat 1971, 313 ff.). (Ch. Pellat)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD** al-**RAḤMĀN** b. Abī ʿAṭiyya al-**ʿAṬAWĪ**, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, minor poet of the ʿAbbāsid period, d. 250/864. A *mawlā* of the Banū Layth, which attached itself to Kināna, he was born and grew up at Baṣra. Before arriving at Sāmarrā, he had written no poetry. He seems to have received a double education: as a secretary, which enabled him to fill what were probably minor functions, and as a *mutakallim*, in which discipline he was said to be a disciple of Ḥusayn al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*]. He is said to have been the first poet to speak about *kalām* in verse.

It is not known how he came to find the favour of the great personage who was to make his fortune, the Muʿtazilī chief *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Duʾād (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]). Al-ʿAṭawī (sometimes al-ʿAṭwī) dedicated to him numerous eulogies and then elegies, but his star waned after the death of his protector. He is reputed to have been close also to ʿAlid circles.

This individual attracts very little sympathy: he is described as "living on very little, evil-smelling and dirty". He was addicted to drinking and wrote some bacchic poetry. Of his work, we only possess 30 pieces with a total of 309 verses. His occasional poetry is fairly mediocre and borrows the panegyric wording of the professional eulogists. He also wrote numerous short versified pieces held in honour and appreciated by the *kuttāb*.

Bibliography: The *Dīwān* was collected together by Muḥ. Djabbār al-Muʿaybid, in *al-Mawrid*, i/1-2, Baghdād 1971; Brahim Najjar, *Mudawwanat al-shuʿarāʾ al-muḳillīn fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-awwal*, thesis,

Paris III 1984, unpubl., v, 169, and *La mémoire rassemblée*, Paris 1987, 204. Principal sources: *Aghānī*, Beirut 1956-7, xx, 143-50; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, 377; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 395-6; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 180; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. Abyārī and Ṣayrafī, 50-1, tr. Bosworth, 65; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 137. See also Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 61; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 518, ix, 295. (J.E. Bencheikh)

MUḤAMMAD b. ʿABD al-WAHHĀB [see ibn ʿabd al-wahhāb].

MUḤAMMAD b. ABĪ ʿĀMIR [see al-manṣūr b. abī ʿāmir].

MUḤAMMAD b. ABĪ BAKR, a son of the first caliph, who was prominent in the opposition against the caliph ʿUthmān [*q.v.*] and who governed Egypt on behalf of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] for a time during the *fitna*. According to tradition he was born in the year of the Ḥidjdjat al-Wadāʿ or "Farewell Pilgrimage" (10/632), and he is further associated with this important event by the report that his mother gave birth to him beneath the tree where the Prophet entered *iḥrām* on that occasion. He belonged to the Ḳurashī clan of Taym b. Murra, while his mother, Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays, was of Khathʿam. Through her he had a uterine relationship with the descendants of Abū Ṭālib (she was taken in marriage by both Djaʿfar and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib), and it is said that he was raised in the care and protection (*ḥidjr*) of ʿAlī (presumably after the death of his own father when Muḥammad would have been aged three). He was the father of the *faḳīh* al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad and thus had the same *ism* and *kunya* as the Prophet.

He is said to have first voiced his opposition to ʿUthmān in Egypt when he and Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa [*q.v.*] refused to campaign under the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ [*q.v.*] and put forward a list of the caliph's "crimes". When the rebels from Egypt came to Medina to attack the caliph in 35/656, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr supported them (there are variant traditions as to whether he came from Egypt with them or was already in Medina). He was prominent in the opposition to the caliph to the extent that he is sometimes described as the *walī* of the killing, but, although he is shown as having physically maltreated ʿUthmān, he is never accused of having delivered the fatal blows himself. It is not really clear why he opposed ʿUthmān so strongly, unless it was simply a result of his own inclination towards ʿAlī (in some traditions he is associated with the latter during the events of the siege of ʿUthmān's house). One tradition shows his mother's sister urging caution upon him while he insists that he cannot forget what the caliph has done to him. Her question asking what he means, however, is left unanswered. Another tradition suggests that he was motivated by anger and jealousy (*al-ghaḍab wa 'l-ṭamaʿ*). Following the murder, Muḥammad supported ʿAlī, by whom he was sent to arouse support in Kūfa. He was with ʿAlī at the battle of the Camel [see al-djamal] and was entrusted with taking the captive ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*], his half-sister by his father, to Baṣra.

The final episode of his career and his life concerns his brief tenure of the governorship of Egypt on behalf of ʿAlī. This falls in the period between the Battle of the Camel and the conquest of the province by Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (*ca.* 38/658), but the chronology, causation and associated events are reported in a confused and contradictory manner in different traditions. Wellhausen discussed the material available to him in some detail in his *Das arabische Reich* and this was summarised by Fr. Buhl in his article on Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr in *EI*¹. Among the material not considered by Wellhausen and Buhl, the traditions collected by al-Kindī in his *Wulāt Miṣr* are especially noteworthy. Wellhausen's conclusion—that it is generally impossible to select one tradition in preference to another and that together they illustrate the unreliability of the information about this early period—seems sensible. Taken together, the traditions portray Muḥammad's appointment and his policy in Egypt as alienating a group of neutrals, prominent among them Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudaydj al-Sakūnī, who had opposed the rising against ʿUthmān but refused to throw in their lot with Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. These neutrals now made common cause with the ruler of Syria, and ʿAmr led an army into Egypt and defeated Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr's forces at a place called al-Musannāt. He attempted to flee but was caught by Ibn Ḥudaydj and killed, his body being wrapped in an ass's skin and burned. When ʿĀʾisha learned of his fate, she refused to eat roast meat for the rest of her days.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ms. Istanbul Süleymaniye 597-8, ii, 496 (for his biography); v, ed. S.D. Goitein, index (for opposition to ʿUthmān); idem, *apud* G. Levi Della Vida, *Il califfato di ʿAlī secondo il Kitāb Ansāb al-Aśrāf di al-Balādhurī*, in *RSO*, vi (1914-16), 427-507, esp. 497 ff. (for governorship of Egypt); idem, *Futūḥ*, 227; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 203-4, 226-7; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Leiden 1888, 160-1; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Ch. Pellat, iii, Beirut 1970, 87-9; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. Tharwat ʿUkāsha, ²Cairo 1969, 173, 175, 196; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940-65, i, 161, iv, 287-332, *passim*; Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 51, iv/1, 23, 28, v, 38, viii, 206-8; W. Caskel and G. Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, 2 vols., Leiden 1966, index; Muṣʿab Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 277; Kindī, *K. al-Wulāt wa 'l-ḳuḍāt*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden and London 1912, 21, 26-31; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 59-62, Eng. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, 94-8. (G.R. Hawting)

MUḤAMMAD b. ABĪ BAKR, founder of the Askia dynasty of Songhay [*q.v.*], generally known as Askia al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad and sometimes as Muḥammad Ture (Touré in French writings). His *nisbas*, al-Ṭūrī or al-Silankī, indicate that his paternal ancestry was Soninke, though his mother appears to have been Songhay and possibly a sister of his predecessor Sunni ʿAlī. Under the latter (reigned 869/1464-5 to 15 Muḥarram 898/6 November 1492) Muḥammad served as *Tondi-farma* or "Governor of the Rock", a province stretching across the Hombori-Bandiagara region south of the Middle Niger. On Sunni ʿAlī's death, while on campaign, his son Bukar or Bāru (Abū Bakr) Dāʿū was proclaimed ruler by the army in the field, but Muḥammad was able to raise sufficient troops in the western provinces of Songhay to challenge him. After an initial defeat, he was able to put his rival to flight following a battle near Gao on 14 Djumādā I 898/3 March 1493. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr then assumed power with his capital at Gao, using *askia* as his regnal title.

The accession of Askia Muḥammad represented a victory for the more deeply Islamised non-Songhay populations of the western Middle Niger region who had been only recently subjugated and incorporated into the Songhay empire by Sunni ʿAlī. Under the new dispensation, Muslim scholars and holy men found favour at court, and the scholarly élite of Timbuktu, who had often suffered at the hands of Sunni

ʿAlī, were the object of flattering attentions. At the same time, the Askia strengthened the administration of the western provinces by creating a new office, that of *Kanfari*, whose occupant, based at Tindarma near Lake Fati, appears to have been a viceroy for the entire western half of the empire. The importance of this office may be seen in the fact that when Askia Muḥammad left for the pilgrimage to Mecca in Ṣafar 902/October-November 1496, he appointed its first incumbent, his brother ʿUmar, to rule in his stead.

This pilgrimage served to enhance the prestige of Askia Muḥammad both within Songhay and more widely among the Muslim rulers of the western and central *bilād al-Sūdān*. When he returned in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 903/July-August 1498, he was not only possessed of the *baraka* of a pilgrim, but through the good offices of the great Egyptian scholar Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] had obtained from the fainéant ʿAbbāsid caliph in Cairo al-Mustamsik the authority to rule the "lands of Takrūr" (i.e. the West African Sahel, see ʿUmar al-Naqar in *J. Afr. Hist.*, x [1969], 365-74) in his name. He marked his new-found Islamic legitimacy with two kinds of action. First, by assuming responsibility for the appointment of *ḳāḍīs* in the major Songhay towns, beginning with the appointment of Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Aḳīt as *ḳāḍī* of Timbuktu in 904/1498-9. Secondly, with a series of *djihāds* against his non-Muslim neighbours (the first of which was against the Mossi of Yatenga in 904/1498-9) and a large number of campaigns designed to establish Songhay hegemony and Askia Muḥammad's authority as the caliph's deputy over Muslim-ruled states to the east and west of the nuclear empire carved out by Sunni ʿAlī in the Middle Niger valley. Further sanction for these wars of expansion was provided by the visiting Tilimsānī *faḳīh* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī [*q.v.*], who gave replies to a series of questions put to him by the Askia soon after his return to Gao. He ruled that *djihād* against oppressive Muslim rulers was both lawful and necessary, as was *djihād* against Muslims who failed to abandon pagan customs and beliefs and those who were "neglected" (*muhmalūn*), i.e. not having made an oath of allegiance (*bayʿa*) to any Muslim *amīr*. The resulting acquisition of vast tributary territories and control of the major trans-Saharan trade routes laid the foundation of Songhay's prosperity during the 10th/16th century when it was ruled by a dynasty consisting of four sons, three grandsons and a nephew of Askia Muḥammad before the Saʿdian conquest of 999/1591.'

By late 935/August 1529, however, Askia Muḥammad's energies were exhausted and he had lost his sight. His eldest son Mūsā therefore forced him to abdicate and himself seized power. Askia Muḥammad was confined to various royal residences and survived for almost another ten years, dying on 30 Ramaḍān 944/2 March 1538 aged a little over 90.

Bibliography: Two local histories chronicle his reign, the *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saʿdī, ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1898-1900, 71-81, and the *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh* begun by Maḥmūd Kaʿtī and completed by his grandson Ibn al-Mukhtār, ed. Houdas and M. Delafosse, Paris 1913-14, 59-82. A brief account of his reign is given in Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī bi-akhbār mulūk al-ḳarn al-ḥādī*, lith. Fez n.d., 74-5, quoting the now lost *Naṣīḥat ahl al-Sūdān* of al-Imām al-Takrūrī, while a short but valuable description of his court is given by a visitor to it, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyātī, see Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 471. Al-Maghīlī's replies to Askia Muḥammad's questions are edited and translated in J.O. Hunwick, *Sharīʿa in Songhay*, Oxford 1985. See also S.-M. Cissoko, *Tombouctou et l'empire songhay*, Dakar-Abidjan 1975, 75-83; Hunwick, *Religion and state in the Songhay empire, 1464-1591*, in I.M. Lewis (ed.), *Islam in Tropical Africa*, London 1966, 296-315; idem, *Songhay, Borno and the Hausa states, 1450-1600*, in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, *History of West Africa*[3], London 1985, i, 323-71; J.-P. Rouch, *Contribution à l'histoire des Songhay*, Dakar 1953 (Mém. de l'IFAN, no. 29), 191-9; E.M. Sartain, *Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī's relations with the people of Takrūr*, in *JSS*, xvi (1971), 193-8.

(J.O. HUNWICK)

MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ BAKR [see IBN ḲAYYIM AL-DJAWZIYYA; IBN SAYYID AL-NĀS].

MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ḤUDHAYFA b. ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa b. ʿAbd Shams, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (genealogy in the *Djamhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 8), Companion of the Prophet born in Abyssinia, to which his father and his mother (Sahla bint Suhayl b. ʿAmr) had emigrated (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Saḳḳā *et alii*, i, 322, ii, 369).

Following the death of his father in 12/633 at the battle of ʿAḳrabāʾ [*q.v.*] against Musaylima [*q.v.*], the young orphan was brought up by ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, a fact which makes all the more reprehensible the conduct which he was later to engage in. Sent to Egypt, he took part in the naval battle known as the Ghazwat Dhāt al-Ṣawārī, "the Battle of the Masts" [see DHĀT AL-ṢAWĀRĪ in Suppl.], which probably took place in 34/654-5; then, for a reason which is unclear, he adopted a hostile attitude with regard to the caliph, took over the leadership of a group of dissidents and marched against ʿUḳba b. ʿĀmir al-Djuhanī, who was deputising for the governor, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ [*q.v.*]. The latter had in fact made his way to Medina to give his report and in particular to inform ʿUthmān of the conspiracies which his enemies were beginning to hatch against him; Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa expelled ʿUḳba from Fusṭāṭ and took the functions of governor into his own hands (35/655). He then set about preaching revolt in an overt fashion, making capital out of various grievances held by the Muslims against the caliph. Forewarned, the latter sent to Egypt Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*] with the purpose of retrieving the situation, but the usurper and his supporters forced him to turn back, also resisting the return of ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ.

It is Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa who is accused of having sent to Medina a contingent of 600 men, but although implicated among those responsible for the murder of ʿUthmān, he was not personally involved, having been in Egypt at the time. When the news of this bloody episode (18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 35/17 June 656), became known, the supporters of the victim were determined to exact revenge. The army mustered initially in Ṣaʿīd Miṣr routed the forces of Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa and inflicted a decisive defeat on them at the beginning of the month of Ramaḍān 36/February 657 at Kharibtā (see Yāḳūt, s.v.). Confirmed nevertheless by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in the post of governor, Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa prevented Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, who had come from Syria, entering Fusṭāṭ, but he was not slow to conclude an agreement with him, putting an end to the conflicts. Leaving the government of the country in the care of al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt, he joined the hostages sent to Muʿāwiya, who threw them into prison and returned to Syria. The prisoners succeeded in escaping, but, pursued by the *amīr* of Palestine, they were killed in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 36/May-June 657. This marked the end of an adventure which had lasted some two years.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 104, 274;

Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 195, 272; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, in margins of the *Iṣāba*, iii, 341; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 7767; Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, 14-20; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, i, 94-5; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 300; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe* (= vol. iv of the *Histoire de la nation égyptienne* by G. Hanotaux), 29-30. (Ch. Pellat)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ 'L-ḲĀSIM** [see ibn abī dīnār].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ MUḤAMMAD** [see ibn ẓafar].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ 'L-SĀDJ**, Abū ʿUbayd Allāh, son of Abu 'l-Sadj Dīwdād, an Eastern Iranian (not Turkish) noble from the region of Ushrūsana [*q.v.*] in Transoxania. For his early career, see the article sādjids.

After his rupture with the Ṭūlūnid Khumārawayh, he returned to Baghdād (276/889) and appears to have remained there (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2122) until his appointment as governor of Ādharbāydjān in 279/892. Though on his arrival he had entertained friendly relations with the Bagratid king of Armenia, Sembat (succeeded 891), after seizing Marāgha in 280/893, he made a first incursion into Armenia, but without success. At the same time, he had strengthened his position at Baghdād by giving his daughter in marriage to al-Muʿtaḍid's confidant, the general Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī. Having been rejoined by his *khādim* or eunuch, the general Waṣīf, who had defeated the Dulafid ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in al-Djibāl in 281/894-5 but did not succeed in annexing his territory, he made a second expedition into Armenia in 282-3/895-6, and captured Kars, Dwīn and Vaspurakan. Subsequently, he came to terms with Sembat, but his son Dīwdād remained as governor of Dwīn until Muḥammad's death. In 284/897-8 Muḥammad declared his independence, but finding himself unable to withstand al-Muʿtaḍid, made prompt submission, was pardoned, and in the following year was officially recognised as governor of Armenia in addition to Ādharbāydjān. About the same time, he appears to have adopted the title of al-Afshīn, which appears on his coinage, and which was evidently intended as a claim to descent from the old princely family of Ushrūsana [see afshīn and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.v. Pišina]. In 287/900 he made a further indirect attempt to extend his rule over the territories which were slipping from the grasp of the Ṭūlūnids by encouraging Waṣīf to seize Malaṭya and to apply to the caliph for investiture with the government of Cilicia. Al-Muʿtaḍid, however, learning that this was only a preliminary step towards the seizure of Diyār Muḍar by Waṣīf and al-Afshīn, put an end to their design by a swift and unexpected campaign against Waṣīf, who was himself captured. Al-Afshīn died a few months later (Rabīʿ I 288/March 901) at Bardhaʿa.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above and in the article sādjids, see Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 144-5, 196-200 = §§ 3283-5, 3335-9; Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, ed. Guest, 238; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 250-1, tr. de Slane, i, 500; *Histoire de l'Arménie par le patriarche Jean VI*, tr. J. St. Martin, Paris 1841, 132-3, 145-6, 153-9, 165-9, 173-8; M.F. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, St. Petersburg 1874-6, i, 187-9, 193-6, ii, 428; R.R. Vasmer, *O mon'etakh sadjidov*, Baku 1927, 4-8; J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1927, 116*-117*; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 179; W. Madelung, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 228-9. (H.A.R. Gibb)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ ʿUYAYNA** (= Abu 'l-Minhāl) b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, Abū Ḥarb al-Muhallabī, ʿAbbāsid official who was governor of Rayy under the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75); it is also known that the latter imprisoned him and imposed a fine on him (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xx, 23).

This obscure individual merits attention only on account of the confusion created in the minds of authors and editors or commentators, on the one hand by the name (or surname, but not *kunya*) of Abū ʿUyayna born by two descendants of al-Muhallab [*q.v.*], sc. his son, who was the father of this Muḥammad, and his great-grandson, son of the same Muḥammad; and concurrently the use of an appellative, Ibn Abī ʿUyayna, common to three persons, sc. Muḥammad and his two more eminent sons ʿAbd Allāh and Abū ʿUyayna. It is thus that ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, editor of the *Bayān* of al-Djāḥiẓ, calls Muḥammad the poet Abū ʿUyayna (i, 50, 361) and makes ʿAbd Allāh the brother of his own father (iv, 84); in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* (v, 315) he commits the same error with regard to Abū ʿUyayna. It is true that the error is excusable, seeing that the author of *Aghānī* (ed. Beirut, xx, 19) made it before him, while being aware of his imprecision, reproducing soon afterwards a second genealogy, Abū ʿUyayna b. al-Mundjāb b. Abī ʿUyayna; this is also incorrect, given that al-Mundjāb is the name of a brother of Muḥammad.

A. Ghedira [see ibn abī ʿuyayna] has succeeded in removing this ambiguity in an article in *Arabica*, x/2 (1963), 154-87, and in distinguishing between the poetic activity of each of the two sons of Muḥammad (see *BÉO*, xix [1966], 85-132). In the first of these articles (155), he cites a number of examples of confusion which he subsequently sets about correcting. The author of the present article made the mistake of following the *Aghānī* in a passage of his *Milieu baṣrien* (171-3) where the father of the poet Abū ʿUyayna is called al-Mundjāb, and of proposing an identification of the poet with a certain Abū ʿUyayna mentioned in the *K. al-Bukhalāʾ* (ed. Ḥādjirī, 132; tr. Pellat 209, 327). Another victim of this regrettable ambiguity is the author of the *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, who calls Muḥammad (ii, 319-20) the poet Abū ʿUyayna.

Bibliography: Given in the article, with the addition of Ṭabarī, who mentions (ii, 1215, 1320, 1413) Abū ʿUyayna, son of al-Muhallab, in 98/717 and 107/726, also the *Djamhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī, who indeed shows Abū ʿUyayna among the numerous sons of al-Muhallab (Tab. 204) but does not take the genealogical table beyond this level. (Ch. Pellat)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ ZAYNAB** [see abu 'l-khaṭṭāb].

MUḤAMMAD b. **AGHLAB** [see aghlabids].

MUḤAMMAD b. **AḤMAD** [see abu 'l-muṭahhar al-azdī in Suppl.; ibn al-ʿalḳamī; ibn iyās; ibn rushd].

MUḤAMMAD b. **AḤMAD** al-**ISKANDARĀNĪ**, Arab physician, hence referred to as *al-ṭabīb*, who is regarded as the first Ḳurʾān interpreter in modern times who discusses non-Arab occidental sciences in Ḳurʾān commentaries. In 1880 he published *Kashf al-asrār al-nūrāniyya al-Ḳurʾāniyya* in Cairo, a few years before the British occupation of Egypt. According to its title and subtitle, this book solves the Ḳurʾānic secrets of "celestial bodies, the earth, animals, plants and minerals".

In 1299/1881-2 he seems to have moved to Damascus, where he published in 1883 a second book entitled *Tibyān al-asrār al-rabbāniyya fi 'l-nabātāt wa 'l-maʿādin wa 'l-khawāṣṣ al-ḥayawāniyya* "The demonstra-

tion of the divine secrets concerning plants, minerals and the characteristics of animals". The use of the word *tibyān* in the title of this book should remind the reader of Ḳurʾān, XVI, 89, "We have sent down to thee the Book as an explanation (*tibyān*) of everything."

In both these books the author discusses questions that in a primary or secondary school would be designated as natural history. In these discussions, the author always makes a connection with verses from the Ḳurʾān. Nowadays, this brand of Ḳurʾān exegesis is called *tafsīr ʿilmī*, "scientific exegesis".

The apologetic character and political implications of *tafsīr ʿilmī* are made clear by a caption which al-Iskandarānī often puts above the sections of his *Tibyān*: "Would God have omitted to reveal to the people of His Ḳurʾān knowledge about...", a formula which then ends with the mention of some "Western" invention or discovery that has been instrumental in creating the Western superiority that temporarily made the establishment of foreign rule over large parts of the Muslim world a possibility.

Bibliography: Sarkīs, 438; Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa 'l-mufassirūn*, Cairo 1962, iii, 163-4; J.J.G. Jansen, *The interpretation of the Koran in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1974, 40-1.

(J.J.G. Jansen)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿALĪ** [see ibn djawād al-iṣfahānī; ibn ʿarabī; ibn ʿaskar; ibn bābawayh; ibn muḳla; ibn al-ṭiḳṭaḳā; ibn waḥshiyya].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿALĪ** b. **ʿABD ALLĀH** b. al-ʿAbbās, great-grandson of the Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās and father of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr [*q.vv.*].

Muḥammad was an important figure in the establishment of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, but the sources are confusing and his rôle was embellished by later ʿAbbāsid historiography. He is said to have been only fourteen years younger than his father ʿAlī and had taken over the leadership of the family well before the latter's death in 118/736. It seems most likely that Muḥammad had become acquainted in Damascus with Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*], son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], and become his most promising pupil. During the reign of al-Walīd (86-96/705-15) the family settled in al-Ḥumayma [*q.v.*] and it was here shortly before his death in 98/716-17 that Abū Hāshim is said to have delivered his famous testament which entrusted his followers to the leadership of the ʿAbbāsid family. Muḥammad's achievement seems to have been to translate this testament into reality. According to some sources, it was he who decided that al-Kūfa was unsuitable and that the centre of the *daʿwa* should be in Khurāsān. He never visited the province himself, but attempted to keep in touch through Bukayr b. Māhān in al-Kūfa. This was not entirely successful, as was shown when Khidāsh [*q.v.*] (executed *ca.* 118/736) clearly deviated from the accepted line. After Khidāsh's death, Muḥammad found Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī a more amenable leader. It seems to have been the failure of the rebellion of Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] in 122/740 and especially the execution of his son Yaḥyā b. Zayd in Khurāsān in 125/743 which finally induced the leaders of the Khurāsānī *daʿwa* to accept fully the claims of the ʿAbbāsids. Muḥammad died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 125/August-September 743 before this was complete, and it was left to his son Ibrāhīm to assume effective control of the movement which was to overthrow the Umayyads seven years later.

Bibliography: See the general sources for the period, especially Ṭabarī; *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, ed. A.A. Duri and A.J. Muttalib, Beirut 1971. For recent discussions, Cl. Cahen, *Points de vue sur la révolution ʿabbaside*, in *Revue Historique* (1963), 295-338; M.A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1971; M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1983; J. Lassner, *Islamic revolution and historical memory*, New Haven 1986.

(H. Kennedy)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿALĪ al-RIḌĀ** b. Mūsā b. Djaʿfar, Abū Djaʿfar al-Djawād or al-Taḳī, the ninth Imam of the Twelver Shīʿa. He was born in Ramaḍān 195/June 811 at his grandfather's estate Ṣurayyā (?) near Medina. His mother was a Nubian concubine called Sabīka who was reported to be of the family of Māriya al-Ḳibṭiyya [*q.v.*], the concubine of the Prophet and mother of his son Ibrāhīm. According to other reports, her original name was Durra and she was called al-Khayzurān by the *Imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā. Muḥammad is described as black-skinned, and the caliph al-Maʾmūn's decision to marry his daughter Umm al-Faḍl to him seems to have been criticised partly on that ground. ʿAbbāsid opposition to the marriage was, however, more deeply motivated by disapproval of al-Maʾmūn's pro-ʿAlid policies. At the time of ʿAlī al-Riḍā's death (203/818), Muḥammad, his only son, was seven years old. His succession to the imāmate as a minor stirred up considerable controversy among the followers of his father. A group of them recognised ʿAlī al-Riḍā's brother Aḥmad b. Mūsā as the successor. Another group joined the Wāḳifa, who recognised Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] as the last *Imām* whose return they expected, while others, who had backed ʿAlī al-Riḍā's imāmate after his appointment as successor to the caliphate for opportunistic reasons, returned to their Sunnī and Zaydī communities. Of those who recognised Muḥammad as the *Imām*, some held that he had received the requisite perfect knowledge of all religious matters through divine inspiration from the time of his succession, irrespective of his age, while others maintained that he acquired it from the books of his father when he reached maturity. Muḥammad's marriage with Umm al-Faḍl was contracted in his absence while he was still a child. Al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1029) reports it under the year 202/817, when al-Maʾmūn also gave his daughter Umm Ḥabīb in marriage to ʿAlī al-Riḍā, while al-Yaʿḳūbī (ii, 552-3) places it after al-Maʾmūn's arrival in Baghdād in 204/819. The actual marriage took place in 215/830 when al-Maʾmūn summoned Muḥammad from Medina and met him, on his way to lead a campaign against the Byzantines, at Takrīt in Ṣafar/April 830. Al-Maʾmūn ordered him to cohabit with Umm al-Faḍl, and the two resided in the house of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, a secretary of al-Maʾmūn, on the banks of the Tigris in Baghdād until the pilgrimage season (January 831), when the *Imām* left with his family and dependents for Mecca and then returned to his estate near Medina. His son and successor ʿAlī had already been born in 212/828 by a concubine, and the marriage with Umm al-Faḍl remained without issue. She is reported to have complained to her father about his preference for his concubines, but al-Maʾmūn rejected her complaint. A year after his accession, al-Maʾmūn's successor al-Muʿtaṣim summoned the *Imām*, for unknown reasons, to Baghdād. He arrived in Muḥarram 220/January 835 and died there towards the end of the same year (6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/30 November 835 seems to be the best attested date). Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vii, 115 = § 2798) appears to be mistaken in placing his death in 219/834. The alternative date mentioned by him (vii, 171 = § 2855), during the

caliphate of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-47), was evidently deduced from the reports that the latter (heir-apparent in 220/835) led the funeral prayer for him. Some Shīʿī sources accuse al-Muʿtaṣim or Umm al-Faḍl of having poisoned him, but this is expressly denied by Shaykh al-Mufīd. He was buried near his grandfather Mūsā al-Kāẓim in the Maḳābir Ḳuraysh on the west bank of the Tigris, where the shrine of al-Kāẓimayn came to house the tombs of the two *Imāms*.

Bibliography (in addition to the sources quoted in the article): Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *K. Baghdād*, ed. H. Keller, Leipzig 1908, 262-3; Ṭabarī, iii, 1102-3; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 74-7; Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, ed. ʿA.A. al-Ghaffārī, Tehran 1381/1961, i, 320-2, 492-7; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, ed. Kāẓim al-Mūsawī al-Miyāmawī, Tehran 1377/1957-8, 296-307, tr. I.K.A. Howard, London 1981, 480-95; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 54-5; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ*, ed. Muḥ. Ṣādiḳ Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Nadjaf 1383/1964, 358-9; Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1335- /1956- , 1, 1-112; ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, Damascus 1935- , iv/2, 215-51.

(W. Madelung)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿALĪ** b. **ʿUMAR**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, poet, man of letters and Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* of the 5th/11th century, known as Ibn Abi 'l-Ṣaḳr al-Wāsiṭī. Born in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 409/March-April 1019, he died on 14 Djumādā I 498/1 February 1105. A disciple, at the Niẓāmiyya [*q.v.*] in Baghdād, of al-Shīrāzī (393-476/1003-83 [*q.v.*]) whose funeral elegy he wrote, he is noted for his ardent attachment to Shāfiʿī doctrine, and he composed on this topic some poems called *shāfiʿiyya*. He himself collected his verses in a *Dīwān* in one volume which may have allowed him to exercise his gifts as a calligrapher, but only part of his production survives, preserved in the *Zīnat al-dahr* of Abu 'l-Maʿālī 'l-Khaṭīrī, according to F. Bustānī (*Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 314) who mentions no other reference. Nevertheless, some verses are to be found in Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, xviii, 257-60) and Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ii, 129, iv, 450-2). The language is very simple, as are the themes, which concern the present life and great age of the poet.

Bibliography: See also Ziriklī, vii, 163-4; Kaḥḥāla, x, 319. (Ed.)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿALĪ** al-**SHALMAGHĀNĪ**, Abū Djaʿfar, also known as Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAzāḳir, a heretic of the ʿAbbāsid period (d. 322/934), who went so far as to claim that the deity was incarnated in himself.

Initially an Imāmī committed to the study of alchemy, he devoted to this discipline several works such as *Kitāb al-Khamāʾir*, *K. al-Ḥadjar*, *Sharḥ K. al-Raḥma* of Djābir [*q.v.*]. He subsequently formulated the doctrines of the ʿAzāḳiriyya, borrowing elements from various philosophical and religious groups: antinomians (*ibāḥiyya* [see ibāḥa]), upholders of *ḥulūl* [*q.v.*], Mazdaeans, Manichaeans, etc. He had some important disciples under the caliphate of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32 [*q.v.*]), notably Ibn al-Furāt (241-312/855-924 [*q.v.*]) and his son Muḥassin. Under the vizierate of al-Khāḳānī (312/924-5), he was forced to flee and took refuge at Mawṣil under the protection of Nāṣir al-Dawla [*q.v.*], later returning to Baghdād. He then acquired more disciples under the viziers and senior officials, who were persecuted in 322/934 under the vizierate of Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*]. Having hitherto taken refuge in secrecy, he emerged from it during this year and was arrested and imprisoned by the vizier. While admitting that the compromising documents discovered in his possession were authentic, he denied the existence of his *madhhab* and disavowed the heretics who claimed to be his supporters. His disciple Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn (d. 322/934 [*q.v.*]), instructed by the caliph al-Rāḍī (322-9/934-40 [*q.v.*]) to strike al-Shalmaghānī, kissed his beard declaring that he was his god. The *fuḳahāʾ* then issued a *fatwā* condemning him to death, and he was executed in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 322/October-November 934; subsequently his carcase was burned. The Bāb [*q.v.*] Ḥusayn b. Rawḥ b. Abī Bakr al-Nawbakhtī (d. 326/938), with whom he had been associated (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 251, which quotes rather Abū Sahl Ibn Nawbakht), must have had a share in his condemnation, since he had disputed with him the title of *wakīl* of the Eleventh *Imām*, al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī.

Among his other works, the following are worthy of mention: *Māhiyyat al-ʿiṣma, al-Ẓāhir bi 'l-ḥudjadj al-ʿaḳliyya, Faḍl al-nuṭḳ ʿalā 'l-ṣamt* and *al-Badʾ wa 'l-mashīʾa*. As to his doctrine, it is revealed in a letter from al-Rāḍī to the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/913-43 [*q.v.*]) which is reproduced by Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, i, 239 ff.). This fairly long text, which should be approached with caution, shows first that the caliph himself was worried by the activities of Ibn al-ʿAzāḳir, which had encountered a degree of success among members of a social élite of rather dubious morality; this heretic in fact endorsed all kinds of laxity and gave his support in particular to a moral libertarianism probably borrowed from Mazdeism and revealed in a treatise entitled *Kitāb al-Ḥāssa al-sādisa*. Manichaeism, for its part, inspired the doctrine of divine incarnation in a human being (successively in Adam, Idrīs, Noah, Ṣāliḥ..., ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAzāḳir who was necessarily the last), to whom there corresponds his opposite (*ḍidd*), a demon. Al-Shalmaghānī accepted the notion of metempsychosis, without however making it, apparently, a principal point of doctrine. He rejected both the ʿAbbāsids and the Ṭālibids, but favoured ʿAlī, as might be expected on the part of an extreme Shīʿī. He denounced Moses and Muḥammad as traitors, and reckoned that ʿAlī had granted to the latter a term of 350 years, at the conclusion of which the *sharīʿa* would be repealed and replaced by another system, developed, so it is to be presumed, by Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAzāḳir and the ʿAzāḳiriyya.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 267 = § 1136, and Arabic index; idem, *Tanbīh*, 293 (ed. Ṣāwī, 343); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, viii, 92-3, 216-20; Ṭūsī, *Fihris*, 146-7; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 293; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 271; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 264-6; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; I. Friedlander, *The heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1907), 70; J. Fück, *Sechs Ergänzungen*, in *Doc. isl. inedita*, Berlin 1952, 80; L. Massignon, *Passion*, 159; H. Corbin, *Hist. de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 181; H. Laoust, *Schismes*, 154.

(Ch. Pellat)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿALĪ** Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, Abū Djaʿfar, called al-**BĀḲIR**, the fifth Imām of the Twelver Shīʿa. The epithet al-Bāḳir, short for *bāḳir al-ʿilm*, is explained as meaning either "the one who splits knowledge open" (i.e. brings it to light), or "the one who possesses great knowledge". The Prophet Muḥammad is quoted as declaring that al-Bāḳir was already referred to by this epithet in the Torah (Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿIlal al-sharāʾiʿ*, Nadjaf 1385/1966, 233; idem, *Amālī*, Nadjaf 1389/1970, 315). Al-Bāḳir was born in Medina on 3 Ṣafar or 1 Radjab 57/16 December 676 or 10 May 677 (or on the same days of the same months in 56/675-6). According to one account,

he could still recall the day on which al-Ḥusayn had been killed (10 Muḥarram 61/October 680) and the travails which had beset his family at the time. His mother, Fāṭima Umm ʿAbd Allāh, was a daughter of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, making al-Bāḳir a grandson of both al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. When he was still a boy, it is said, the Prophet's greetings were conveyed to him by the venerable Companion Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; this is seen by the Imāmiyya as proof of the legitimacy of his imāmate.

Al-Bāḳir became Imām upon the death of his father Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (in 94/712-3 or 95/713-4). He pursued his father's quietist policy, and refused to support revolts against the Umayyads. His relations with them were nevertheless uneasy. He is reported to have been victorious in a disputation with Nāfiʿ, a *mawlā* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who had challenged al-Bāḳir at the behest of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik; if the story is true, this success can hardly have endeared him to the caliph (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, viii, 120-2). Hishām summoned al-Bāḳir to Damascus on several occasions, and at least once had him imprisoned and then sent back to Medina, ordering his escort to give him neither food nor drink on the way. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in contrast, was favourably disposed towards him, and after meeting him in Medina had the Fadak [*q.v.*] oasis returned to the ʿAlids. In an utterance apparently propagated by anti-ʿAlid circles and recorded by Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 333; cf. Crone and Hinds, *God's caliph*, Cambridge 1986, 36), al-Bāḳir identifies ʿUmar as the Mahdī [*q.v.*].In an Imāmī text, al-Bāḳir prophesies that ʿUmar will become caliph, will do his best to spread justice and will be honoured by the people when he dies; upon ʿUmar's death the inhabitants of the earth will weep for him (since he was a good ruler), while the inhabitants of heaven will curse him (since he was, after all, a usurping Umayyad). Al-Bāḳir is said to have been particularly complimentary about a son of ʿAbd al-Malik known as Saʿd (or Saʿīd) al-Khayr, whom he described as an Umayyad belonging to the Prophet's family (*umawī minnā ahl al-bayt*). The text is preserved of two epistles which al-Bāḳir allegedly sent to Saʿd (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, viii, 52-7). Al-Bāḳir may also have met ʿAbd al-Malik himself (though such a meeting would have had to take place before al-Bāḳir's assumption of the imāmate): according to a story on the authority of Hārūn al-Rashīd, ʿAbd al-Malik's decision to issue an Islamic gold coinage, replacing the Byzantine *denarius* by the Muslim *dīnār*, was made at the suggestion of al-Bāḳir (al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. F. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 498-504 = ed. Beirut 1380/1960, 467-71).

Al-Bāḳir's fame as a scholar soon spread beyond the immediate circle of his Shīʿī supporters; among his disciples are mentioned ʿAmr b. Dīnār (d. 125/742-2), Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767 [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774) [*q.v.*]. According to one of his admirers, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Makkī, in al-Bāḳir's presence all scholars felt humble. In addition, various miracles are attributed to him: he could converse with animals, make the blind see and foretell future events (for instance, the death in battle of his brother Zayd, the defeat of the Umayyads, and the accession of the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr).

The systematic, public teaching of Imāmī law appears to have been initiated by al-Bāḳir (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, ii, 20). One of the distinctive Imāmī rulings that go back to him is that when entering on a state of ritual purity before prayer, to wipe the soles of one's footwear (*al-masḥ ʿalā 'l-khuffayn* [*q.v.*]) is not acceptable as a substitute for washing one's feet; according to the Kūfan traditionist Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sabīʿī (d. 128/745-6 or 129/746-7), *al-masḥ ʿalā 'l-khuffayn* had previously been universally permitted. Al-Bāḳir also defended *mutʿa* [*q.v.*] as a practice sanctioned by the Prophet.

Al-Bāḳir was probably the first to formulate what were to become the basic doctrines of Twelver Shīʿism. Principal among these are the belief that the imāmate passes on from one Imām to the next by virtue of a divine command which is revealed in an explicit divinely-inspired designation (*naṣṣ*) made first by the Prophet Muḥammad (who listed all the Imāms) and then by each Imām in turn designating his successor; that all Imāms are descendants of the Fāṭimid line; that they possess special knowledge of a kind denied to ordinary mortals; and that they have absolute spiritual authority and should also have absolute political authority. Any of the Imām's doctrinal or legal pronouncements is taken as coming from the Prophet via the Imām's ancestors (having been transmitted from generation to generation either by ordinary human means, e.g. speech, or by heredity).Thus it is that a Shīʿī *ḥadīth* will often end with an Imām rather than with the Prophet. Al-Bāḳir defended the doctrine of dissociation (*barāʾa*) [*q.v.*] from the enemies of the Imāms, chief among whom were the majority of the Companions and in particular the first three caliphs. It is in order to counter belief in this tenet that Sunnī authorities put it about that al-Bāḳir declared his loyalty to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Al-Bāḳir also maintained that under certain circumstances, self-protection through dissimulation (*taḳiyya* [*q.v.*]) is permissible, and that in case of danger to life or limb it is mandatory.

The Imāmī position as developed under al-Bāḳir was hostile to individual reasoning (*idjtihād*): al-Bāḳir describes the ideal disciple as one who unquestioningly receives, transmits, and abides by the Imām's rulings. Yet he had to contend with mavericks within his own camp. One of the best known was Zurāra b. Aʿyan (d. 150/767), who held independent views on several theological questions; he thus argued (against al-Bāḳir) that there is no intermediate position between believer and unbeliever (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, ii, 402-3; al-Kishshī, *Ridjāl*, 128-9). Another disciple, Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyār, used arguments of his own when debating with his opponents rather than relying on what the Imām had said, and for this al-Bāḳir rebuked him (al-Barḳī, *al-Maḥāsin*, Tehran 1370/1950-1 i, 213). At the same time, many of al-Bāḳir's disciples faithfully wrote down his utterances in the form of collections of traditions (*uṣūl*), and these in turn formed the basis for the later comprehensive works on Imāmī law.

Al-Bāḳir is said to have held disputations on legal or theological issues with Muslim opponents such as the Muʿtazilī ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (d. *ca.* 144/761 [*q.v.*]) and the Khāridjī ʿAbd Allāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Azraḳ, and to have won a debate with a leading Christian scholar in Damascus. Imāmī tradition describes a meeting between al-Bāḳir and Abū Ḥanīfa in which the latter is presented in a rather negative light. In contrast, Ḥanafī sources describe Abū Ḥanīfa as a disciple of al-Bāḳir's about whom the Imām was highly complimentary, prophesying that he would revive the Prophet's *sunna* (al-Muwaffaḳ b. Aḥmad, *Manāḳib Abī Ḥanīfa*, Beirut 1401/1981, 38; al-Kardarī, *Manāḳib Abī Ḥanīfa*, Beirut 1401/1981, 37-8, 79).

Various extremist Shīʿīs claimed to derive both their teachings and their authority from al-Bāḳir. One was the Kūfan Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIdjlī, who claimed prophethood both for al-Bāḳir and for himself as al-

Bāḳir's designated successor (*waṣī*); another was reportedly al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd al-ʿIdjlī (d. 119/737). Djābir b. Yazīd al Djuʿfī (d. 127/744-5 or 128/745-6 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), to whom al-Bāḳir is said to have revealed some 70,000 secret traditions, appears as a central figure in Kūfan *ghulāt* circles. Al-Bāḳir and Djābir occupy a prominent role in the composite gnostic text *Umm al-kitāb*. In the opening section (of uncertain date), the five-year old al-Bāḳir appears before his teacher ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ as the incarnation of the highest divinity. In the main part (the "Apocalypse of Djābir"), which has been tentatively dated to the mid 2nd/8th century (Halm, *Gnosis*, 120), al-Bāḳir divulges to Djābir al-Djuʿfī secrets such as how the cosmos was created, how human souls fell into this world and how they can gain deliverance from it. The rest of the work consists of questions addressed to al-Bāḳir on a variety of subjects. Imāmī tradition responded to the extremist Shīʿī attempt to appropriate al-Bāḳir by propagating numerous anti-*ghulāt* sayings by the Imām.

In Imāmī circles, al-Bāḳir's relations with his brother Zayd are described as cordial. Al-Bāḳir is said, however, to have warned Zayd of the consequences of a premature uprising against the Umayyads. A number of al-Bāḳir's disciples, including in particular Abu 'l-Djārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir, introduced some of his doctrines among the early community of Zayd's supporters (the Djārūdiyya). Abu 'l-Djārūd also transmitted al-Bāḳir's Ḳurʾān exegesis (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tadjaddud, Tehran 1391/1971, 36), which is partially preserved in the *Tafsīr* of ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳummī. Al-Bāḳir appears as an authority in the works of later Zaydī writers; as a rule, however, he is not recognised as an Imām (R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, 107; cf. Madelung, *al-Qāsim*, 172), and appears instead as acknowledging Zayd's superior knowledge and so, by implication, Zayd's claims to the imāmate (cf. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imāmat zaidite au Yémen*, tr. J. Ryckmans, Leiden 1960, 39-40). In a different polemical context, an ʿAbbāsid tradition cites al-Bāḳir as saying that the Imām of the day belongs to the Prophet's family and lives in Syria—a reference to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iii, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, Beirut 1398/1978, 116).

Al-Bāḳir was noted for his asceticism, and various sayings of his on the subject of *zuhd* are recorded. He is said to have defined *taṣawwuf* as "goodness of disposition: he that has the better disposition is the better Ṣūfī" (al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-mahdjūb*, tr. R.A. Nicholson, London 1911, 38-9).

Sunnī authors generally regard al-Bāḳir as a reliable traditionist (*thiḳa*), although he is occasionally faulted for transmitting directly from Companions whom he did not meet (*mursal* [*q.v.*]). He was an authority of Ibn Isḥāḳ for some *Sīra* material (e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1569-60, 1831), and is also cited by al-Ṭabarī for a version of the Karbalāʾ story (ii, 227-32, 281-3).

There is considerable disagreement as to when al-Bāḳir died. The dates most commonly given are 117/735 and Rabīʿ I, Rabīʿ II, Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 114/May, June 732, January-February 733; other dates are 115/733-4, 7 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 116/7 January 735, and 118/736. According to one story, al-Bāḳir's cousin Zayd b. al-Ḥasan (d. *ca.* 120/738), having unsuccessfully attempted to wrest control of the Prophet's inheritance from him, placed poison (in a manner not further explained) in a saddle on which al-Bāḳir sat while returning home from a meeting in Damascus with the caliph Hishām (reigned 105-25/724-43); al-Bāḳir later died of the effects of the poison. Other accounts say that it was Hishām himself who had him poisoned. Three reports place al-Bāḳir's death even later. According to the first, Hishām passed away before managing to have al-Bāḳir poisoned. In the second report (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 17-18 = § 2252), al-Bāḳir is said to have died during the caliphate of al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (125-6/734-4). The third report (cited by Ibn Bābawayh) has al-Bāḳir poisoned by order of the Umayyad Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd during his brief reign (126-7/744) (*Risāla fi 'l-iʿtiḳādāt*, Tehran 1317, 105 = *A Shiʿite creed*, tr. Asaf A.A. Fyzee, Oxford 1942, 102). This latter claim is reproduced without comment by some later Shīʿī writers, including Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) (*Manāḳib*, iii, 340) and Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) (*al-Iḳbāl*, Tehran 1390, 335). A possible explanation for these later death dates is that they originally referred to al-Bāḳir's namesake Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (d. between 124/741-2 and 126/743-4; for the date see J. Lassner, *Islamic revolution and historical memory*, New Haven 1986, 82-90), and were then mistakenly applied to al-Bāḳir. Such a conflation might also explain the report (al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, iv, 102) that al-Bāḳir died in al-Ḥumayma [*q.v.*]; this place was closely associated with the ʿAbbāsid revolution, since it was there that the dying Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*] transferred his rights to the imāmate to the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and it was probably there, too, that the latter died.

Al-Bāḳir was buried in the Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad cemetery in Medina, and was succeeded by his son Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. According to some Sunnī heresiologists, the Shīʿī sect of al-Bāḳiriyya refused to accept his death and awaited his return as Mahdī (al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, Cairo 1367/1948, 38; cf. al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. al-Wakīl, Cairo 1387/1968, i, 165).

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3; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, Ḥaydarābād 1338-40, i, 247-8; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Cairo 1351-8/1932-9, ix, 309-12; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, ix, 350-2; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, Cairo 1393/1973, 49, no. 17; Muḥammad ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Aʾimma al-ithnā ʿashar*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Beirut 1377/1958, 81; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Cairo 1350-1, i, 149; Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, lith., xi, 60-105 = ed. Tehran 1956-74, xlvi, 212-367; D.M. Donaldson, *The Shiʿite religion*, London 1933, 112-9 and index; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, iv/ii, Beirut 1368/1949, 3-87; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, index; Sezgin, GAS, i, 528; Asad Ḥaydar, *al-Imām al-Ṣādiḳ wa 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Beirut 1969-71/1390-2, i, 433-60; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shīʿite Islam*, tr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, London 1975, 202-3; S.H.M. Jafri, *Origins and early development of Shīʿa Islam*, London and New York 1979, index; E. Kohlberg, *An unusual Shīʿī isnād*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, v (1975), 142-9; idem, *Some Imāmī Shīʿī interpretations of Umayyad history*, in *Studies on the first century of Islamic society*, ed. G.H.A. Juynboll, Carbondale and Edwardsville 1982, 145-59, 249-54; H. Halm, *Das "Buch der Schatten"*, ii, in *Isl.*, lviii (1981), 26-36, 39-58; idem, *Die islamische Gnosis*, Zurich and Munich 1982, index; M. Momen, *An introduction to Shiʿi Islam*, New Haven 1985, index.

(E. Kohlberg)

MUḤAMMAD b. AṢBAGH, the name of several Muslim scholars: (1) Muḥammad b. Aṣbagh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Nāṣiḥ b. ʿAṭāʾ from Cordova (born 4 Rabīʿ I 255/20 February 869, died 306/918-19 during the raid of Badr b. Aḥmad). A *ḥadīth* scholar who had as teachers Baḳī b. Makhlad [*q.v.*], Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ, Aṣbagh b. Khalīl, al-Khushanī [*q.v.*] and Ibn al-Ḳazzāz. He is said to have been proficient in grammar and uncommon language (*gharīb*) and followed individual judgment (*raʾy*). If we may believe his biographer Ibn al-Faraḍī, he was versed in different kinds of knowledge. Possible, but still to be proven, is his identity with the philologist Muḥammad b. Aṣbagh al-Azdī, of whom in two Berlin mss. (Ahlwardt 7063/1.2) a *ḳaṣīda* is preserved on 66 different meanings of *ʿadjūz* (with commentary by Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī [*q.v.*]). However, this person may be identical with Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aṣbagh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aṣbagh al-Azdī who is mentioned as a pupil and colleague of the judge Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*] in Cordova (d. 536/1141-2); see on him Ibn Bashkuwāl, *K. al-Ṣila*, i, Cairo 1966, no. 1288, and al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, Madrid 1885, no. 66.

(2) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aṣbagh b. Labīb, from the village of Istidja (Ecija) near Cordova: died 327/938-9. He was skilled in religious duties, arithmetic, grammar, language and poetry and discussed "esoteric" opinions (perhaps of the Bāṭiniyya [*q.v.*]. He seems to have been a pious man who kept to religious observances and asceticism.

(3) Muḥammad b. al-Aṣbagh, from the village of Bayyāna [*q.v.*] (Baena, near Cordova); died 303/915-16 or 300/912-13. No further details are mentioned. Apparently he belonged to the family of Muḥammad b. Aṣbagh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Nāṣiḥ b. ʿAṭāʾ, whose brother Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh [*q.v.*] lived in the same village and partially had the same teachers (see Yāḳūt).

The entry on "Muḥammad b. Aṣbagh b. al-Faradj al-Miṣrī al-Mālikī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh", in Ismāʿīl Pasha Baghdādlī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, Istanbul 1955, col. 18 (= Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, ix, Damascus 1960, 64) is evidently based on a confusion with Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aṣbagh b. al-Faradj b. Saʿīd b. Nāfiʿ *al-faḳīh al-mālikī al-miṣrī*, on whom cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, Beirut 1968, 240 and references given there.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, ii, Cairo 1966, 28 f. (no. 1170); 48 f. (no. 1225) = (summarised) Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt fī ṭabaḳāt al-lughawiyyīn wa 'l-nuḥāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1964, 56 f. (no. 100; 101); Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis fī dhikr wulāt al-Andalus*, Cairo 1966, 45 (no. 27); Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, i, 774, 7 ff.

(H. Daiber)

MUḤAMMAD b. al-ASHʿATH b. Ḳays al-Kindī, Arab chieftain, was a leader of the Banū Kinda in Kūfa following the death of his father [see al-ashʿath b. ḳays] in about 41/661. Little is known about his birth and early years, but his mother was Umm Farwa, a sister of the first caliph Abū Bakr. He was known by the *kunya* Abū Maythāʾ as well as Abu 'l-Ḳāsim.

In 51/671, at the time of the revolt of Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī [*q.v.*], the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], is said to have threatened retribution from Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath unless Ḥudjr surrendered. His role in securing the submission of Ḥudjr to Ziyād is not really clear, but he was subsequently attacked by a Kindī poet for failing to protect his kinsman. There is even a tradition that he was one of the witnesses against Ḥudjr (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv a, 221), but the lists of these witnesses vary and the poet does not refer to his taking this role. A similarly inglorious, albeit reluctant, part is attributed to Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath in the reports about Muslim b. ʿAḳīl's attempt to arouse support for al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī in Kūfa before Karbalāʾ in 60/680, and traditions give him some responsibility for the arrests both of Muslim and of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa. Whatever his precise role, his involvement in these two episodes incurred the hostility of the supporters of the ʿAlids, already aroused by the conduct of his father at Ṣiffīn.

At a date which is not specified, the governor of ʿIrāḳ, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], to whom he gave a daughter in marriage, is reported to have made Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath *wālī* of Ṭabaristān, but he was unable to make good his authority in the region (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 325). In Kūfa, following the death of the caliph Yazīd and the flight of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād from ʿIrāḳ (64/683-4), he along with the other *ashrāf* eventually accepted the authority of Ibn al-Zubayr, and at some stage, the latter made him governor of Mawṣil. He plays no role in the accounts of the fighting in Kūfa associated with the revolt of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] in 66/685-6, but, when the latter sent out his governors following his seizure of Kūfa, Muḥammad had to fall back from Mawṣil to Takrīt before the man whom al-Mukhtār had sent as governor of Mawṣil. The sources report Ibn al-Zubayr's condemnation of him for this. After a brief period of waiting to see which way things were going, he recognised the authority of al-Mukhtār, but in the same year fled to Baṣra. Ibn Aʿtham associates this with al-Mukhtār's taking vengeance against those regarded as the killers of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, among whom he counted Ibn al-Ashʿath, while other sources link it with the revolt of those Kūfan *ashrāf* who found al-Mukhtār's rule intolerable. In 67/686-7 he took part in the attack launched from Baṣra by Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr which ended al-Mukhtār's domination. He is reported to have led a band of the Kūfan "refugees" who were particularly ardent in fighting,

but in the course of the campaign he was killed. A poem on his death is attributed to Aʿsha Hamdān (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 729-31; R. Geyer, *Gedichte von... Al-Aʿšâ*, London 1928, 331, no. 26).

For his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, see IBN AL-ASHʿATH.

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(G.R. Hawting)

MUḤAMMAD b. **BADR** al-**DĪN** [see AK ḤIṢĀRĪ].

MUḤAMMAD b. **BAKHTIYĀR** [see MUḤAMMAD BAKHTIYĀR KHALDJĪ].

MUḤAMMAD b. **BAḲIYYA** b. **ʿALĪ** [see IBN BAḲIYYA].

MUḤAMMAD b. **BASHĪR** [see MUḤAMMAD b. YASĪR].

MUḤAMMAD b. **DĀWŪD** [see IBN ĀDJURRŪM; AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ].

MUḤAMMAD b. **DJAʿFAR** [see DJAʿFAR b. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; DJAʿFAR AL-ṢĀDIḲ; AL-KATTĀNĪ; AL-ḲAZZĀZ; AL-KHARĀʾIṬĪ; AL-MUNTAṢIR BI'LLĀH; AL-RĀḌĪ].

MUḤAMMAD b. al-**DJAHM** al-Barmakī, senior Muʿtazilī official of the caliphate, wit and philosopher, of Persian origin, possibly associated with the famous ʿAbbāsid viziers, at least through ties of goodwill. He is scarcely known except through the great authors of *adab*, but furthermore, in the final analysis, all the later information is clearly dependent on al-Djāḥiẓ (notably *Fragment*; see *Bibl.*).

The dates of his birth and death are unknown. It is only known that he was already an important person, at that time an adult, under al-Maʾmūn (first third of the 3rd/9th century) (*Bayān*), and that he was still alive under al-Muʿtaṣim (d. 227/842) (*Wafayāt*). Thus he was the exact contemporary of al-Djāḥiẓ, and of the Muʿtazilī-inspired caliphate under which he was in favour. It was owing to his poetic culture that he received from al-Maʾmūn the governorship—simultaneous or successive?—of almost all the districts extending from the Kurdish territory to the Mesopotamian delta (impressive enumeration in the sources: *Bayān, Aghānī, ʿUyūn, Maḥāsin*). He must have taken part in the struggle against the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], a people of Indian origin settled in the Baṭīḥa, who only surrendered in 219/834 (*Bayān*). Another passage establishes that at a certain moment Muḥammad b. al-Djahm delegated part of his powers over a division of the district of Kaskar in the region of Wāsiṭ to Muḥammad al-Makkī, a Muʿtazilī disciple of al-Naẓẓām (*Bayān*).

All the sources insist on the eminently Muʿtazilī connections of this person. He is found in the company of Abū ʿAlī al-Uswārī, Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, al-Makkī, al-Djāḥiẓ, and finally Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād, the famous architect *ḳāḍī* of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*], who is said to have narrowly prevented him from having his head cut off by al-Muʿtaṣim (*Wafayāt*). It must be said that his associations do not necessarily imply a total conformity of thought between Muḥammad b. al-Djahm and the Muʿtazilī intelligentsia. He seems on the contrary to have been the object of a general distrust, if one is to believe some generally rather unflattering judgments originating from all sides. These are, it is true, reported by al-Djāḥiẓ himself, who is inclined to exaggerate; the grievance held against him were an excessive greed, his intransigence, his rapacity and, perhaps particularly, a cynicism which he was to exercise without reserve with regard to those under his administration (*Fragment*). Ibn Ḳutayba, moreover, puts in his mouth some viscerally totalitarian sentences: "A collective prohibition satisfies everyone", "Starve your dog and he will follow you", "The poor have some right on the *bayt al-māl*; if they make themselves of value to men, they will receive their due, but if they stand aside like women, they do not deserve pity". This latter statement, formidable in its ambiguity, may be of a nature to throw light on the reservations that he aroused from all sides.

Finally, his curiosity which might have made him especially sympathetic in other times, was probably in his own age likely to surround him with a slightly sulphurous aura; besides an interest in *kalām*, which was characteristic of the age, he was interested in medicine and the natural sciences (*Ḥayawān*), even drafting for al-Maʾmūn a treatise on astrology (al-Ḳifṭī), his master in this art having been Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī, precisely imbued with oriental cosmogonic doctrines (Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī). To crown everything, the title of *faylasūf* is often applied to him (e.g. *Mukhtalif*), so much so that his bedside book is said to have been the work of Aristotle, al-Ḳifṭī even going so far as to call him al-Manṭiḳī (probably, that is, "the Aristotelian"). He may have been the author of a translation of the *Khudāy-nāma* entitled like the others *Kitāb Siyar mulūk al-ʿAdjam* (or *al-Furs*) (*Fihrist*) and of a *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārāt*, which must have been the treatise on astrology mentioned above (al-Ḳifṭī).

Thus there is general agreement that Muḥammad b. al-Djahm was a suspect person in the eyes of Sunnī opinion, but probably also of quite a scandalous nature to other currents of thought. It is probably this that explains the reticence that he arouses in the biographers, notwithstanding the importance of the administrative and political functions which he is supposed to have performed. It is no longer forbidden to think that he was a victim of the relative prejudice of silence, and even of disinformation, which in subsequent periods surrounded the history of the Muʿtazilī caliphate as a whole.

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(G. Lecomte)

MUḤAMMAD b. al-**DJAZARĪ** (see IBN AL-DJAZARĪ].

MUḤAMMAD b. **DUSHMANZIYĀR** [see KĀKŪYIDS].

MUḤAMMAD b. **FARĀMARZ** [see KHUSREW MOLLĀ].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ḤABĪB**, Abū Djaʿfar, an Arabic philologist of the school of Baghdād.

Only scant facts of his life are known to us. Ḥabīb

is said to have been the name of his mother, a manumitted slave of the family of Muḥammad b. ᶜAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī; his *nisba* of al-Hāshimī is derived from this family whose *mawlā* he was. However, the *Fihrist*, and following it, Yāḳūt and al-Suyūṭī, call him Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb b. Umayya b. ᶜAmr. The only known date of his life is that of his death on 23 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 245/21 March 860. Ibn Ḥabīb had the reputation of being a reliable scholar, especially on poetry, genealogy and history. Among his teachers were Ibn al-Aᶜrābī, Ḳuṭrub, Abū ᶜUbayda, Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān and, most important, Ibn al-Kalbī, whose *D̲j̲amharat al-ansāb* he transmitted (cf. G. Levi Della Vida, in *Actes du XIIIème Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Leiden 1932, 236 f., and W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966). Two mutually contradictory anecdotes regarding his scholarship have come to us. The first, found in the *Ag̲h̲ānī*, x, 156 ll. 23 ff., and in Yāḳūt, vii, 8 ll. 12 ff., reports that Ibn Ḥabīb boasted of his superiority even over his teacher Ibn al-Aᶜrābī. Once when he had asked him the meaning of eighteen uncommon expressions used by al-Ṭirimmāḥ in his poems, Ibn al-Aᶜrābī had answered each time: "I don't know, I don't know." The second anecdote, however, tries to diminish his reputation. T̲h̲aᶜlab relates that, having heard that Ibn Ḥabīb would present Ḥassan b. T̲h̲ābit's poetry, he attended the lecture. When Ibn Ḥabīb became aware of his presence, he stopped lecturing. Thereupon he asked Ibn Ḥabīb to go to the mosque and continue his lecture there. Ibn Ḥabīb did so after prolonged urging and the people gathered around him to listen. He began commenting on a poem, but in his comments passed over a difficult passage. Asked to explain the difficulty, he had to declare himself unable to do so; thereupon T̲h̲aᶜlab took over and explained the passage. As a result, Ibn Ḥabīb did not lecture in the mosque again. This anecdote seems to have arisen from a bias against Ibn Ḥabīb; it is related by al-Marzubānī, who also accused him of having put forward works of other authors as his own.

Among the poets whom Ibn Ḥabīb served as a *rāwī* were al-Farazdaḳ (as ed. by Boucher) and Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt (ed. Rhodokanakis). He is also the main authority for the *Naḳāʾiḍ* of D̲j̲arīr and al-Farazdaḳ (see introd. to ed. A.A. Bevan): therefore a *Kitāb Naḳāʾiḍ D̲j̲arīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ* and a *Kitāb Ayyām D̲j̲arīr allatī d̲h̲akarahā fī s̲h̲iᶜrihi* are listed among his works. As is to be expected from a disciple of Ibn al-Kalbī, Ibn Ḥabīb studied especially the history of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times and the genealogy of their leaders and representatives. The list of his works in the *Fihrist* and in Yāḳūt bears witness to this tendency (for a discussion of the titles mentioned in them and their subjects, cf. I. Lichtenstädter, *Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb and his Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, in *JRAS* [1939], 1-27).

Many of these "books" are no more than somewhat enlarged chapters of the two principal works mentioned among Ibn Ḥabīb's œuvre, viz. the *Muḥabbar* and the *Munammaḳ*, which its editor assumes to have been composed before the *Muḥabbar*. A few other titles have been published from mss. in the Cairo Library by ᶜAbd al-Salām Hārūn in the series *Nawādir al-mak̲h̲ṭūṭāt*, e.g. *Kitāb man nusiba ilā ummihi min al-s̲h̲uᶜarāʾ* (i, 83-96), and *Kitāb Asmāʾ al-mug̲h̲tālīn min al-as̲h̲rāf fi 'l-D̲j̲āhiliyya wa 'l-Islām* (vi, 106-235, vii, 240-78). The *Muḥabbar* and the *Munammaḳ* cover more or less the same ground, as a comparison of the chapter headings shows; however, the latter does not limit itself to the same extent as the former in simply listing names of men or women represented in the chapters. The *Munammaḳ* contains extended stories on these protagonists and detailed reports of the events in their time; in addition, both works contain a large number of poems and verses, many of which are not found elsewhere.

A question may be asked why, in view of the rich material offered by Ibn Ḥabīb's works, so few have survived? Both the *Muḥabbar* and the *Munammaḳ* have survived only in unique mss., the former in a ms. preserved in the British Museum, the latter in a ms. in a private collection in Lucknow. These works, however, offer a rich material on customs and the history of the D̲j̲āhiliyya and early Islam, and in addition to anecdotes, a plethora of new genealogical material that deals especially with the extended genealogy on the mother's side (i.e. listing the line from the mother, her mother, her grandmother, and so on) often into antiquity. The *Muḥabbar* especially tries to organise this material in the form of lists, an endeavour also occurring in the *Munammaḳ*, although not to the extent as in the *Muḥabbar*. Another problem posed by Ibn Ḥabīb is the use he makes of the *isnād*. At a time when his contemporaries began to watch carefully over the "correctness" of the chain of authorities mentioned to support the authenticity of the *matn* (contents) of the story told, Ibn Ḥabīb does not hesitate to cite "someone," "one of the People of the Book," "some of the Jews (*Yahūd*) in the *Nahr Nāt̲h̲ān*," even "someone whom I have met" in a chain in which also well-known scholars are cited as authorities. (A detailed analysis of Ibn Ḥabīb's *isnāds* was made in the article on the *Muḥabbar* cited above.) The editor of the *Munammaḳ*, too, discusses this problem (introd., 13 ff.); Abu 'l-Ḥassān Muḥammad b. al-ᶜAbbās al-Ḥanbalī, its transmittor, does not mention the authority from whom he derived his knowledge. The editor established that his *rāwī* was al-Sukkarī, the same scholar whom Ibn Ḥabīb quotes as his source in the principal *isnād* that introduces his *Muḥabbar*. This casualness in the treatment of the *isnād*, alternating with impeccable chains of scholars, establishes that Ibn Ḥabīb held an important intermediate position in the development of the *isnād*; in a way, it also confirms the reliability of his works. His principal authority, often mentioned by name as such (see *art. cit.*) is generally Ibn al-Kalbī.

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(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

MUḤAMMAD IBN AL-ḤANAFIYYA, a son of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] and K̲h̲awla, a woman of the tribe of the Banū Ḥanīfa, who had been brought a prisoner to Medina after the battle of ᶜAḳrabāʾ [*q.v.*] and came into ᶜAlī's possession (cf. al-Sayyid's poem *Kitāb al-Ag̲h̲ānī*, vii, 4: "she was a servant in the house"); he was born in 16 A.H.

Although he did not, like al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, have the blood of the Prophet in his veins, he became involved not only in the political turmoils but also in the schemes which the boundless fancies of the extreme Shīʿīs built up around the family of ʿAlī. He was not to blame for this, for he was of a retiring disposition and acted very cautiously. But when al-Ḥasan had sold his rights and al-Ḥusayn had fallen at Karbalāʾ in 61/680, many turned their eyes to him as the natural head of the family. This aroused the suspicion of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr who, after the death of al-Ḥusayn, appeared more and more openly as a pretender; the fact that Muḥammad had no sympathy with the efforts of the opposition in the Ḥidjāz is evident from the interesting statement of al-Balādhurī that he definitely declared the accusations brought against the caliph Yazīd I by the Medinans to be false. The matter only became serious when the adventurer al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] after several vain efforts to get others to join him stirred up a movement on a large scale in ʿIrāḳ in 66/685, as champion of Muḥammad's rights. Even now, Muḥammad acted with great restraint and declined the significant title "al-Mahdī" with which they wished to greet him (see al-Ṭabarī, ii, 610, and Ibn Saʿd, v, 68, which has certainly been misinterpreted by Lammens). He obviously did not care for al-Mukhtār at all, and he had every reason to doubt the genuineness of his enthusiasm for him; but in view of the many dangers which surrounded him and probably also from a want of decision, he did not wish to break with him openly. Therefore, when some people came to him from Kūfa to clear up his attitude towards al-Mukhtār, he only gave them a diplomatic answer which was non-committal (cf. the somewhat different versions: Ibn Saʿd, v, 72; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 308; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 607 and thereon al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 598) but which they interpreted as a kind of approval, as it did not definitely disown him. As a result, the revolutionary movement spread in extent and much blood was shed to avenge al-Ḥusayn and other ʿAlids. Muḥammad was against this also (cf. Ibn Saʿd, v, 72-3, 77); but when Ibn al-Zubayr's attitude became more and more hostile and he finally imprisoned Muḥammad and several relatives, including ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, at Mecca near the Zamzam well, he saw nothing else for it but to appeal for help to al-Mukhtār. This was what the latter wanted, and he sent a body of cavalry at once to Mecca and released Muḥammad and the other prisoners in the nick of time, but by the latter's express orders avoided conflict with Ibn al-Zubayr's troops, as the town was not to be desecrated by bloodshed. Muḥammad then sought shelter with his family at Minā (see *Kāmil*, 554, 597; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, viii, 33; al-Kumayt, ed. Horovitz, i, 78) and later went to Ṭāʾif. He made no further use of al-Mukhtār and was therefore not compromised when the revolution failed and his champion fell in 67/686-7. In spite of the threats of Ibn al-Zubayr and the demands couched in more friendly language of ʿAbd al-Malik, and although a safe place of residence was granted him neither in Ḥidjāz nor in Syria, he defined his attitude by paying homage to neither of the two pretenders and adhered to the principle that he would only recognise a ruler around whom the Muslim community could be united. He therefore appeared in the noteworthy pilgrimage of the year 68/688 along with the Zubayrids, Umayyads and Khāridjīs, as an independent head of a party, although only under an armed neutrality. Only when, after the fall of Ibn al-Zubayr (73/692), the unanimity of the *vox populi* which he had demanded, became a reality, did he finally recognise the Marwānid as the legitimate ruler and visited him in 78/697-8 at Damascus. He returned, however, to Medina, where he died in 81/700-1. His strict passivity in the political field is always attributed to purely religious motives in the traditions; not human force but Allāh's help alone should assist ʿAlī's family to their rights; but there is no doubt that a further reason was his lack of enterprise and self-confidence, a trait common to a number of ʿAlids. That, like his whole family, he at the same time liked the good things of this world is evident from the heavy demands which he sent to ʿAbd al-Malik for the payment of his debts and annual pensions for his children, relatives and clients; there is also evidence that he had the family fondness for fine clothes and cosmetics. It is all the more remarkable, then, that the more fanciful and extravagant school of Shīʿīs seized upon him at once after his death and spread the belief that he was not dead but lived in a kind of fairy kingdom on the hill of Raḍwā west of Medina, whence he would return as the victorious leader of an army (cf. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vii, 4-5, 9-10, viii, 32). This was the idea of *radjʿa* which ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*] had associated with ʿAlī (cf. Friedländer, in *ZA*, xxiii, 309 ff.) and which was now transferred to him; and in fact it was now easier to bring him into the forefront than it had been while he maintained an attitude of stubborn passive resistance in his lifetime.

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MUḤAMMAD B. HĀNIʾ [see IBN HĀNIʾ].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN [see IBN DURAYD; IBN ḤAMDŪN; AL-SHAYBĀNĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ [see AL-ḤURR AL-ʿĀMILĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. DĪNĀR, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, better known as Ibn Dīnār al-Aḥwal, *rāwī* of Baghdād who lived in the 3rd/9th century and who died after 250/864. He followed the profession of bookseller (*warrāḳ*) and above all that of copyist (*nāsikh*). Earning 20 *dirhams* per 100 leaves, he copied the translations and personal compositions of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] as well as the writings of al-Yazīdī [*q.v.*], whose courses he had more or less followed, as those also of Nifṭawayh [*q.v.*], since he had an interest in philology. He himself wrote in turn a series of works of which a list has been preserved by the biographers: *K. al-Amthāl*, *K. al-Dawāhī*, *K. al-Silāḥ*, *K. mā ttafaḳa lafẓuhu wa-khtalafa maʿnāhu; K. Faʿala wa-afʿala* and *K. al-Ashbāh*. None of these seems now to be known.

He is furthermore credited with making recensions of the works of 120 poets, but it was mainly a commentary on the *Dīwān* of Dhu 'l-Rumma (not cited in the art. on this poet, s.v.) which gained al-Aḥwal a lasting fame to the point that al-Baghdādī, e.g., possessed a copy (*Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 51, iv, 496); but it is remarkable that this *Sharḥ* was known in al-Andalus and that, alone among the works of this

philologist, a fragment copied in the West has survived, where al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*] has inserted it. This fragment, which is part of ms. Ḥamīdiyya, Istanbul, 1408, fols. 188-208, contains 24 *ḳaṣīdas*, of which about one-third are the work of D̲h̲u 'l-Rumma. Since the vocabulary of this poet was often made up of rare and difficult words, the lexicographers—in particular, the author of the *Lisān al-ʿArab*—extensively used al-Aḥwal's commentary. The surviving fragment of this commentary has been profitably used by the recent editor of the *Dīwān*, ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Abū Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, i, 1392/1972, see 48-51, 81, 124, and in the *tak̲h̲rīd̲j̲* of the pieces commented upon).

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(Ch. Pellat)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ḤĀZIM** b. ʿAmr al-**BĀHILĪ**, Abū D̲j̲aʿfar, satirical Arabic poet of the early ʿAbbāsid period, *flor.* end of the 2nd/8th century and opening of the 3rd/9th century. We do not know when first he went to Bag̲h̲dād, where he lived, nor the date of his death. The most important persons with whom he came in contact were Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (d. 224/839 [*q.v.*]) and, above all, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl (d. 236/850 [*q.v.*]), the caliph al-Maʾmūn's secretary. The poet was introduced to al-Ḥasan at the time when he resided at Wāsiṭ, probably after the assassination of his brother al-Faḍl b. Sahl.

We possess only 398 verses of this poet, and it is uncertain whether he composed any more. He may thus conveniently be described as *muḳill*, specialising in the short piece (*muḳaṭṭaʿa*), whose virtues he defended with vigour. We have worthy of note here an interesting reaction against the tendency to prolixity which characterised the grand poem aimed at display or the politico-religious composition.

Al-Bāhilī was a satirical poet with biting humour which did not spare his victims. He was a fiercely importunate demander of favours and was often ill-treated, nourishing strongly-held rancours. In this way he pursued several well-known personages, never accepting their excuses. But he was also the author of moralistic pieces in which he posed as an advocate of humility, moderation and serenity in face of the difficulties of existence (*ḳanāʿa*). This trait would not appear to fit a poet who was importunate in his demands and violent-tempered in his reactions; but in fact, there may not be any contradiction here, for al-Bāhilī was a pessimist who had a low view of human nature. He showed no regard for the powerful and passed a severe judgment on their jockeyings for power. He held apart from all his friends who wished to give him high office. He either did not know how or did not wish to write panegyrics, and only a few verses of his eulogising al-Maʾmūn and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl are known.

The collective cultural memory of the Arabs held him to be a good poet whom the purist philologians are said to have appreciated. Reading over the 86 pieces of his which have survived shows that he had an easy way of handling the language and a sure mastery of the art of versification, but little of what might be called a genuine poetic temperament; if the formulation is sometimes felicitous and the verse strongly-constructed, the expression is too often sententious, heavy and lacking in brilliance.

Bibliography: The *Dīwān* was edited by Muḥammad K̲h̲ayr Maḥmūd al-Biḳāʿī, Damascus 1981; Brahim Najjar, *Mudawwanat al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ al-mukillīn fī 'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-awwal*, thesis, Paris III 1984, unpubl., v, 135-6. Principal sources: *Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], xiv, 91-111; Marzubānī, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, 371-2; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 308-10, 518; S̲h̲ābus̲h̲tī, *Diyārāt*, 275 ff.; Ibn al-D̲j̲arrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, 109-12; K̲h̲aṭīb Bag̲h̲dādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, ii, 295; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 725. See also Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vi, 303-4; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 517, ix, 517.

(J.E. Bencheikh)

MUḤAMMAD b. **HINDŪ-S̲H̲ĀH** Nak̲h̲čiwānī, S̲h̲ams al-Dīn, Persian official and littérateur of the 8th/14th century and apparently the son of Hindū-S̲h̲āh b. Sand̲j̲ar Gīrānī or al-D̲j̲īrānī, author of an Arabic *adab* work (Brockelmann, II[2], 245, S II, 256) and of a Persian version of Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā's *Fak̲h̲rī*, the *Tad̲j̲ārib al-salaf* (see Storey, i, 81, 1233; Storey-Bregel, i, 326-7).

Muḥammad was a chancery secretary under the Il-K̲h̲ānids. He wrote a Persian-Persian glossary, *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Furs*, dedicated to his superior G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn, son of the great vizier for the Mongols, Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*], and conceivably another Persian glossary with interlinear Turkish explanations. But his most valuable work, important for the light which it throws on Il-K̲h̲ānid administration, is his collection of private and official model letters dating from Mongol times onwards, the *Dastūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib* (ed. A.A. Alizade, 2 vols., Moscow 1964); he had wanted to compose this in the reign of the Il-K̲h̲ānid Abū Saʿīd (716-36/1216-35), but only completed it in his old age for the D̲j̲alāyyirid S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Uways (757-77/1356-75) (see Storey, iii, 5-9, 246-7).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 434; A.K.S. Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, London 1988, 371-2.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MUḤAMMAD b. **HIS̲H̲ĀM** [see ibn his̲h̲ām].

MUḤAMMAD II b. **HIS̲H̲ĀM** al-Mahdī, caliph of Cordova [see al-andalus and umayyads of spain].

MUḤAMMAD b. al-**HUD̲H̲AYL** [see abu 'l-hud̲h̲ayl].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ḤUSAYN** [see meḥmed k̲h̲alīfe; al-s̲h̲arīf al-raḍī].

MUḤAMMAD b. **IBRĀHĪM** [see simd̲j̲ūr, banū].

MUḤAMMAD b. **IBRĀHĪM ṬABĀṬABĀ** [see ibn ṭabāṭabā].

MUḤAMMAD b. **IBRĀHĪM II** b. Ṭahmāsp, sixth ruler of the ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āhī dynasty [*q.v.*] in the western Deccan, ruled 1035-66/1626-56 at the capital Bīd̲j̲āpūr [*q.v.*] after the death of his father. In the year 1044/1634 the armies of the Mug̲h̲al ruler S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān [*q.v.*] invaded the Deccan and laid waste the country of Bīd̲j̲āpūr. After the subjugation of Dawlatābād and other forts, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil S̲h̲āh agreed to pay a considerable tribute to the emperor of Dihlī. He was the last king of Bīd̲j̲āpūr who struck coins in his own name. In the latter part of his reign, his vassal Sīwād̲j̲ī, son of the Marāt́hā leader S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ī Bhōnslē, by stratagem and treachery obtained great power, and the foundation of the Bīd̲j̲āpūr monarchy became weakened from the attacks of both the Mug̲h̲als and the Marāt́hās.

He died in 1066/1656, according to the inscription on the tomb in Bīd̲j̲āpūr, the splendid Gul Gumbad̲h̲ (on which see bīd̲j̲āpūr. Monuments).

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189; *Cambridge history of India*. iv. *The Mughul period*, ed. Sir R. Burn, Cambridge 1937, 188 ff. See also the *Bibl.* to ʿĀDIL-SHĀHS.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN*)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ILYĀS** [see ABŪ ʿALĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿĪSĀ** [see ʿĪSĀWIYYA].

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿĪSĀ** B. AḤMAD AL-**MĀHĀNĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Persian mathematician and astronomer of the 3rd/9th century, who is known to have made observations at Baghdād from the years 239/854 to 252/866.

The following mathematical works are attributed to al-Māhānī: (1) Commentaries on Books I, V of Euclid's Elements; in the last of these, al-Māhānī worked out a list of "plane" numerical irrational quantities (corresponding to the irrational segments considered in Book X) and "solid" (composed of roots to the third). (2) A revision (partial: up to proposition II, 10) of the notoriously deficient translation of the *Spherics* of Menelaus; al-Ṭūsī considered it—as also the new version of al-Harawī (see Bibl.)—as "in error". (3) A commentary on Book II of Archimedes' *On the sphere and the cylinder*; it is said that al-Māhānī tried in this to solve algebraically the equation of the third degree resulting from the problem, posed by Archimedes, of the cutting of a sphere by a plane so that the two parts have a given relationship (even if this was a failure, this attempt makes al-Māhānī a precursor of the Italian algebraists of the later Middle Ages). (4) A treatise on relationship (*fi 'l-nisba*), in which the comparison of two relationships is made not in the Euclidean manner, using the equimultiples ($a{:}b{-}c{:}d$ if $na \gtreqless mb$ involves $nc \gtreqless md$ for every pair of natural integers n,m; $a{:}b>c{:}d$ if m,n exist like one has $ma>nb$ with $mc \leq nd$), but—as certain of the Greeks did before Euclid—by considering the result of partial quotients resulting from each of the two relationships by the application of "Euclid's algebra" taught at the beginning of Book X. (5) A treatise on the squaring of the parabola, which Ibrāhīm b. Sinān mentions as consisting of some auxiliary arithmetical theorems and five or six propositions establishing the result by reduction to the absurd (in this case, by the so-called exhaustion method).

In astronomy, apart from some observations, we possess from him a treatise on the determination of the azimuth, which explains graphic methods, sometimes used numerically. A work *On the latitude of the stars* is known only by its title. Finally, Ibrāhīm b. Sinān mentions at the beginning of his *K. fī ālāt al-aẓlāl* that al-Māhānī was said to have composed a work on the determination of the ascendant with the aid of the solar clock.

Bibliography: Life and works. The most complete information is in Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 260-2, vi, 155-6, vii, 404 (who refers also to the older biographies and to the new ones like those of Suter and Brockelmann; to this should be added Y. Dold, *Dict. of scientific biography*, under M). Particular works. (1) On the fragment preserved of the commentary on Book X, see pp. 258-60 of G. Matvievskaya, *The theory of quadratic irrationals in medieval oriental mathematics*, in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, no. 500 (1987), 253-77. (2) Only a version of the commentary completed and improved (by al-Harawī) still exists; see M. Krause, *Die Sphärik von Menelaos aus Alexandrien in der Verbesserung von Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāq*, in *Abh. Gesell. Wiss.. Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., dritte Folge, no. 171 (Berlin 1936), 1, 13, 23-32. (3) Two references—one by ʿUmar Khayyām—in F. Woepke, *L'algèbre d'Omar Alkhayyâmî*, Paris 1851, 2, 96 (cf. 43, 100). (4) Analysis in E. Plooij, *Euclid's conception of ratio ... as criticized by Arabian commentators*, Rotterdam 1950, 50-1, 61. (5) Ibrāhīm b. Sinān mentions this treatise in two of his *Rasāʾil*, Ḥaydarābād 1366-7/1947-8, no. 3, at p. 69 (autobiographical fragment), and no. 5, at p. 2 (his treatise on the same subject). Al-Māhānī's methods in astronomy (or in gnonomics) are studied by P. Luckey at pp. 500-3 of his *Beiträge zur Erforschung der islamischen Mathematik*, in *Orientalia*, N.S., xviii (1948), 490-510. As for his observations, Ibn Yūnus gives them in his *Zīdj al-kabīr al-Ḥākimī*, 102-13, 164-7 (see also 58, 60), of the edn. by Caussin de Perceval, in *Notices et extraits*, vii (1804), 16-240.

(J. SESIANO)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ISḤĀḲ** [see ABU 'L-ʿANBAS, in Suppl.; IBN ISḤĀḲ; IBN AL-NADĪM].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**ḲĀSIM** [see AL-ANBĀRĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**ḲĀSIM** IBN ḤAMMŪD, al-Mahdī [see ḤAMMŪDIDS].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**ḲĀSIM** AL-THAḲAFĪ, a military commander of the Umayyad dynasty and conqueror of Sind.

A highly respected member of the tribe of Thaḳīf (*ashraf Thaḳafī fī zamānihi*), he was a favourite of al-Ḥadjdjādj who even considered him a suitable match for his sister Zaynab (*Aghānī*[1], vi, 28-9). His fame is due chiefly to his military exploits in the western Indian province of Sind. Al-Ḥadjdjādj appointed him to lead an expedition to Sind between 89/708 and 92/711 (for various dates, see F. Gabrieli, in *East and West*, xv [1965], 282, n. 1 *ter*, and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 425-7), after two commanders failed to punish Dāhir, the ruler of Sind, for his inability (or unwillingness) to restrain pirates who had interfered with Muslim shipping near the coast of his province. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim prepared the military expedition with great care. His main army took the land route across the desert of Makrān; further supplies and reinforcements were brought by sea. The first Indian city to be conquered by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim was the port of Daybul [*q.v.*], situated at the mouth of the Indus. Having established a Muslim settlement there, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim advanced to the north-east, killed Dāhir in battle, and conquered a number of cities. The most important of these was Multān [*q.v.*], which was famous for its temple and served as an important centre of Hindu pilgrimage.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's career came to an abrupt end after the deaths of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Ḥadjdjādj and the accession of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik in 96/715. Together with other supporters of the former régime, he was relieved of his command, put in prison and tortured to death.

Only seventeen (or fifteen) years old at the time of his Indian campaign, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim became the paragon of a successful military career at an unusually early age (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbar*, Cairo 1925, i, 229). His conquests and dealings with the vanquished rulers and populations constitute a main theme in the famous Indo-Muslim history, known as the *Čač-nāma* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. According to this work, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim was executed not as a result of the change of government in Damascus, but because Dāhir's two daughters, seeking vengeance for their father's death, falsely accused him of indecency towards them while they were in his custody before being sent to the court of the caliph (ʿAlī b. Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr Kūfī, *Čač-nāma*, ed. U. Dāūdpōta, New Delhi 1939, 243-7; for translation, see *Bibl.*). The utterance attributed to him, according to which "the idol temple is similar to the churches of

the Christians, (to the synagogues) of the Jews and to the fire-temples of the Zoroastrians" (*mā al-budd illā ka-kanāʾis al-naṣārā wa 'l-yahūd wa-buyūt nīrān al-madjūs*) (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 439) seems to be the earliest statement justifying the inclusion of the Hindus in the category of *ahl al-dhimma*. While the sources make it clear that Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's policy towards the conquered population varied from place to place, the above-mentioned utterance has caused many modern Muslim writers to consider Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim a model of religious tolerance in early Islam.

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MUḤAMMAD B. KHAFĪF: under IBN KHAFĪF reference has erroneously been made to MUḤAMMAD B. KHAFĪF, whereas the latter name is in fact that of the mystic dealt with in the article preceding the reference.

MUḤAMMAD B. KHALAF B. AL-MARZUBĀN, philologist of ʿIrāḳ, who lived in the Bāb al-Muḥawwal quarter of Baghdād and who died in 309/921.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 86, 149-50), Ibn al-Marzubān was above all a transmitter of historical traditions (*akhbār*), of poetry (*ashʿār*) and of anecdotes (*mulaḥ*), but was also a specialist in the Ḳurʾānic sciences, being the author of a *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī* in 27 volumes. Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, vii, 105) adds that he translated some fifty works from Persian into Arabic and that he wrote a dozen books in the descriptive genre (*waṣf*). Out of his abundant production, only a few works have come down to us, and only one of these edited, his *Kitāb Tafḍīl al-kilāb ʿalā kathīr mim-man labisa 'l-thiyāb*, by L. Cheikho, in *Machriq*, xv [1912], 515-31.

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MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MALIK-SHĀH, Abū Shudjāʿ Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, Saldjūḳ sultan in western Persia 548-55/1153-9.

The death in 547/1152 of Sultan Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] without direct male heir instituted a period of confusion for the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate, in that there were left several Saldjūḳ princes with claims to the throne, including Masʿūd's brother Sulaymān-Shāh and the sons of his brothers Maḥmūd and Ṭoghrïl. All but Muḥammad, out of these contenders, were of mediocre abilities, and were largely dependent on the Turkish Atabegs and other *amīrs*, some of whom kept Saldjūḳ princes at their local courts whose claims they then promoted as shields for their own personal ambitions; it is only Muḥammad who is praised by ʿImād al-Dīn (in Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, 248) as the most majestic, learned and just of the Saldjūḳs.

Muḥammad, born in Rabīʿ II 522/1128, had been brought up with his brother Malik-Shāh by the Atabeg of Fārs Bozaba as a potential rival to Muḥammad's uncle Masʿūd, but was later adopted by Masʿūd. The latter may in fact have intended Muḥammad as his successor, for after Malik-Shāh had shown his incapacity, Muḥammad was in 548/1153 summoned from Khūzistān and made sultan by the *amīr* Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri. Muḥammad nevertheless soon got rid of his dangerous power in the state by executing Khāṣṣ Beg, but was soon involved in a struggle to retain his throne with his uncle Sulaymān-Shāh, who had now escaped from captivity under Masʿūd. Sulaymān-Shāh could not hold out against Muḥammad's superior force, but escaped to Baghdād in 550/1155 and became a protégé of the caliph al-Muḳtafī [*q.v.*], who hoped to use him against Muḥammad. This was the period of the resurgence of ʿAbbāsid power in ʿIrāḳ, aided by the skill of al-Muḳtafī's vizier ʿAwn al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*]; after Masʿūd's death in 547/1152, the Saldjūḳ *shiḥna* or military representative had been expelled from Baghdād, and Saldjūḳ influence henceforth excluded from the city. Sulaymān-Shāh's ventures came, however, to naught with his defeat and capture by Muḥammad and his ally Mawdūd b. Zangī of Mawṣil (551/1156), and Muḥammad now felt strong enough to attack and besiege Baghdād in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 551/December 1156-January 1157, being joined in this by the Mazyadid [*q.v.*] *amīr* ʿAlī b. Dubays. However, he had to raise the siege in the following year, on hearing news of the appearance at Hamadhān of the Atabeg of Ādharbāydjān, Ildeñiz [*q.v.*], together with the rival Saldjūḳ princes Malik-Shāh and Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl b. Muḥammad.

The last years of Muḥammad's life were spent campaigning against Ildeñiz and his protégés, now including also Sulaymān-Shāh; he defeated them at Nakhčivān and was about to march on Baghdād again when he fell ill and died at Hamadhān at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 554/December 1159. He was then briefly succeeded as sultan by the ineffectual Sulaymān-Shāh.

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statesmen of mediaeval Islam, The Hague-Paris 1972, 22-3; C.L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vezirate*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 32, 45. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD B. SEBÜKTIGIN, Abū Aḥmad Djalāl al-Dawla wa-Djamāl al-Milla, sultan in Ghazna and northwestern India on two occasions 421/1030 and 432/1040-1.

Born *ca.* 387/997, Muḥammad married daughters of both the Ḳara Khānid Ḳadir Khān Yūsuf of Khotan and Kāshghar and of the last Farīghūnid prince of Gūzgān [*q.v.*], Abū Naṣr Muḥammad; hence on the latter's death in 401/1010-11, Muḥammad was made governor of that region by his father Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*]. Towards the end of his life, Sultan Maḥmūd, who had already made Muḥammad his deputy in Ghazna whilst campaigning at Ḳanawdj [*q.v.*] in India in 409/1018, divided his empire between his two sons Muḥammad and Masʿūd [*q.v.*], assigning only the newly-conquered lands in western and central Persia to the latter, and then just before his death left the whole of his empire to Muḥammad. So when in Rabīʿ II 421/April 1030 Maḥmūd died, the *ḥādjib* ʿAlī Ḳarīb b. Il-Arslan raised Muḥammad to the throne in Ghazna. But the superior military experience and capability of Masʿūd was such that, when he marched eastwards from Iṣfahān, Muḥammad's support in Ghazna melted away; he was deposed in Shawwāl 421/October 1030 and imprisoned in a fortress at Mandīsh in Ghūr [*q.v.*], but contrary to information in some later sources, does not seem to have been blinded.

When after his defeat by the Saldjūḳs at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Ramaḍān 431/May 1040, Sultan Masʿūd decided to abandon Afghānistān for India, his army lost confidence in both his military ability and his judgment. At the Indus crossing it mutinied, and brought out Muḥammad, who was accompanying the column, for a second reign as sultan, although only after threatening him unless he co-operated (Rabīʿ II 432/December 1040). Masʿūd was subsequently killed, apparently on the orders of Muḥammad's son Aḥmad, for Muḥammad's sons seem to have wielded the real power at this time. However, Masʿūd's son Mawdūd [*q.v.*] advanced from Ghazna to avenge his father's death, defeated Muḥammad's forces near Djalālābād [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Radjab or Shaʿbān 432/March or April 1041, killed Muḥammad and his sons, and ascended the throne.

Although clearly little fitted to rule the Ghaznavid empire, still extensive even after the triumph in the west of the Saldjūḳs, Muḥammad was a person of considerable culture who had received a thorough education in the Islamic sciences.

Bibliography: The principal primary sources are ʿUtbī, *Yamīnī*; Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*; Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*; Ibn al-Athīr. These are utilised in C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1963, ²Beirut 1973, index (for Muḥammad's early life and first sultanate), and idem, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, index (for the second sultanate). See also M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, index; Bosworth, *A Turco-Mongol practice among the early Ghaznavids?* in *CAJ*, vii (1962), 237-40, and idem, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Oriens*, xv (1962), 219, 224 (both in *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London 1977, X, XII). (C.E. Bosworth)

MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD AL-ḲABRĪ [see MUḲADDAM B. MUʿĀFĀ AL-ḲABRĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. MAKKĪ B. ḤĀMID AL-NABAṬĪ AL-ʿĀMILĪ AL-DJIZZĪNĪ, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh, called *al-Shahīd al-Awwal*, Imāmī Shīʿī scholar, *faḳīh*, traditionist who was regarded as trustworthy, expert in the rational and traditional sciences, poet and littérateur (734-86/1333-84).

In Shīʿī literature, he is famed equally as a master of the transmission of canonical learning and for his trial and death. He was a pupil of the *shaykh* al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*], and in one of his *idjāzas* he claims to have transmitted also Sunnī works by means of direct instruction from forty Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ*. At all events, Imāmī scholars coming after him often claim his authority for their works, and one may note that, among his direct pupils, figure also his wife Umm ʿAlī and one of his daughters Umm al-Ḥasan Sitt al-Mashāyikh Fāṭima. The sources provide us with a long list of his works, of which the most important, according to the *Dharīʿa* (x, 40; viii, 145-6; xvi, 17; v, 43, 174-5), are the following:

— *K. al-Dhikrā*, completed in 784/1382, of which the sections on the worship and on ritual purity survive;

— *K. al-Durūs al-sharʿiyya fī fiḳh al-Imāmiyya*, begun in 780/1378-9 but never completed; this work is said to have been re-copied firstly in 851/1447 and then again in 857/1354;

— *K. Ghāyat al-murād fī sharḥ nukat al-irshād*, on the principles of knowledge;

— *K. Djāmiʿ al-bayn min fawāʾid al-sharḥayn*, which contains the commentaries on the *Tahdhīb al-uṣūl* of al-Ḥillī written by two of his nephews; and

— *K. al-Bayān fi ʾl-fiḳh*, also devoted to law, but incomplete.

Muḥammad b. Makkī was a native of Nabaṭiyya in the Djabal ʿĀmil, and resident in the little village of Djizzīn in south Lebanon. He made the usual travels of the scholars of his time in order to meet the masters whom he mentions and then in order to teach himself in his turn: ʿIrāḳ, the Ḥidjāz, Egypt, Palestine and Damascus. It was at the latter place that he died, killed by the sword, hung from the gibbet, stoned and burned (whence his name *al-shahīd*) during the reign of the Mamlūk sultan Barḳūḳ (d. 801/1399). The order was given by a Mālikī *ḳāḍī*, Burhān al-Dīn, who gave a *fatwā* in this sense, contrary to the opinion of the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī*, ʿAbbād Ibn Djamāʿa, to whom Muḥammad b. Makkī had made a request—whether by virtue of *taḳiyya* or through genuine belief is unknown—to join his *madhhab*. The accusation followed a denunciation by a group of persons, amongst whom there had been, according to certain accounts, a certain Muḥammad al-Yālūshī who had been hunted down and killed by our *shaykh* as being a magician and a false prophet. He was accused of having written defamatory works against the Sunnīs. During the period which he spent in prison before execution, he put together *al-Lumʿa al-dimashḳiyya* on *fiḳh* (*al-Dharīʿa*, xviii, 352).

Bibliography: Almost all the works on and lists of eminent Shīʿīs mention him. However, the greater part of the pieces of information and the bibliographical references may be found in Muḥammad al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil fī dhikr ʿulamāʾ Djabal ʿĀmil*, lith. Tehran 1302/1805, 30-1, new edition by al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Baghdād 1385/1965, i, 181-3; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, x, Beirut 1986, 59-64; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz 1327-35 *sh.*/1948-56, ii, 365-6; Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Efendi al-Iṣbahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ wa-ḥiyāḍ al-fuḍalāʾ*, Ḳum 1401/1981-2, v, 185-91; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 330-1; Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1355-97/1936-78.

(B. Scarcia Amoretti)

MUḤAMMAD b. MALIK-SHĀH, Abū Shudjāʿ Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, with the Turkish name Tapar "he who obtains, finds" (see P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1950, 182-3), Great Saldjūḳ sultan in ʿIrāḳ and western Persia 498-511/1105-18.

Born in Shaʿbān 474/January 1082, he was a half-brother of Malik-Shāh's eldest son Berk-Yaruḳ [*q.v.*] and a full brother of Sandjar [*q.v.*]. When Berk-Yaruḳ succeeded his father in 485/1092, he had to leave Muḥammad in Ādharbāydjān and Arrān, where Muḥammad enjoyed the support of Sandjar and of the former vizier Niẓām al-Mulk's son Muʾayyid al-Mulk. The ensuing years were filled with continuous struggles between Berk-Yaruḳ and Muḥammad, until in 497/1104 Berk-Yaruḳ agreed to a division of power, with Muḥammad to have north-western Persia, al-Djazīra and Syria, whilst Sandjar was to remain in Khurāsān acknowledging Muḥammad as his overlord. Berk-Yaruḳ died the next year, and Muḥammad was able to succeed to 13 years' undisputed power, his brother Sandjar acting as viceroy in the East with the title of *Malik*.

In order to make firm his power, Muḥammad had at the outset to deal with members of the Saldjūḳ family, in particular, Mengü-Bars b. Böri-Bars and Ḳilič Arslan b. Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumush, who considered themselves entitled to a share in the Saldjūḳ patrimony (499-500/1106-7). Also pressing was the question of curbing the Turkish, Arab and Kurdish *amīrs* of western Persia, ʿIrāḳ, al-Djazīra Diyārbakr and Syria, whose shifting allegiances had contributed much to the confusion of the preceding reign. The Mazyadid [*q.v.*] *amīr* of central ʿIrāḳ, Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr, at first in high favour with the sultan, was then defeated and killed in battle in 501/winter 1107-8. The *amīr* of Fārs and Khūzistān, Čawlī Saḳāwu, submitted to him; Muḥammad appointed him governor of Mawṣil, thereby dispossessing the *amīr* Čökermish and his son Zangī, and then sent other Turkish *amīrs* to rule in Mawṣil, including the Atabegs of his son Masʿūd, Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī and Ay Aba Djuyūsh (? Čawūsh) Beg. Muḥammad had hopes of intervening to help the hard-pressed princes of Syria against the Crusaders, and sent aid for the relief of Tripoli, whose dispossessed ruler, Fakhr al-Mulk Ibn ʿAmmār [see ʿAMMĀR, BANŪ], had fled to his court, and in 502/1108 or 504/1110-11 a sister of Muḥammad's, Khātūn al-ʿIṣma, married al-Mustaẓhir. In western Persia, an attack by the Georgians on Gandja was repelled (503/1109-10); measures were taken against the predatory Shabānkāra Kurds in Fārs by the governor Čawlī Saḳāwu, now restored to there; and towards the end of his reign, an expedition was sent against the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt [*q.v.*]. It was at this point, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 511/April 1118, that Muḥammad died, aged 36, in his last illness appointing his son Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] as successor.

Whilst the contemporary sources are lukewarm about Berk-Yaruḳ, they are enthusiastic about Muḥammad, "the perfect man of the Saldjūḳs and their mighty stallion", praising his zeal for the Sunna and his measures against the Bāṭiniyya (ʿImād al-Dīn, in Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, 118). Muḥammad had been able to consolidate his power when the regions where he ruled had become weary of constant warfare, and he was indeed the last of the Great Saldjūḳs to exercise substantially undisputed power in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ, for the period after his death saw the rise of the Turkish Atabegs [see ATABAK] and the decline of the Saldjūḳ sultans' effective authority. He had also been fortunate in securing the support of most of the Niẓāmiyya, the sons and clients of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], beginning with Muʾayyid al-Mulk before he became sultan and then in 500/1107 employing his brother Niẓām al-Mulk Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk Aḥmad as his vizier.

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MUḤAMMAD b. MARWĀN b. AL-ḤAKAM, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, son of the first Marwānid caliph by a slave mother, hence half-brother to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], Umayyad commander and governor.

In 65/684-5, he was sent by his father to al-Djazīra, probably with the aim of securing Armenia once more, and in the battle of Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ in 72/691 in which ʿAbd al-Malik defeated Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, he commanded the advanced guard of the Syrian army. In the following year, ʿAbd al-Malik gave him the governorship of al-Djazīra and Armenia which carried with it the command in the war with the Byzantines. In 73/692, the emperor Justinian II was defeated at Sebaste or Sebastopolis in Cilicia. In 75/694 Muḥammad again took the field against the Byzantines and was successful against them at Marʿash, and in the following year he invaded Armenia. Along with his nephew ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik, he was sent to the governor of ʿIrāḳ and the East al-Ḥadjdjādj in the year 82/701 to support him against the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH], and in the negotiations with the ʿIrāḳīs before the battle at Dayr al-Djamādjim the caliph was represented by Muḥammad and ʿAbd Allāh. In the same year, Muḥammad led an expedition against Armenia, and again in 84/703 and 85/704. After the accession of al-Walīd (Shawwāl 86/October 705), Muḥammad fell gradually into the background while Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], the caliph's half-brother, was the actual commander; but the former retained his governorship for some time until in 91/709-10 he was replaced by Maslama here also. Muḥammad died in 101/719-20.

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MUḤAMMAD b. MUḤAMMAD [see ABU 'L-WAFĀʾ; AL-GHAZZĀLĪ; IBN ʿĀṢIM; IBN DJAHĪR; IBN AL-HABBĀRIYYA; IBN NUBĀTA; ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN; SĪMDJŪR, BANŪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **MUḤAMMAD** AL-**DJAYHĀNĪ** [see AL-DJAYHĀNĪ in Suppl.].

MUḤAMMAD B. **MUKARRAM** [see IBN MANẒŪR].

MUḤAMMAD B. **MŪSĀ** AL-**KH^W^ĀRAZMĪ** [see AL-KH^W^ĀRAZMĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **MUḤAMMAD** AL-**SHĪRĀZĪ** [see IBN KHAFĪF].

MUḤAMMAD B. **MŪSĀ** B. **SHĀKIR** [see MŪSĀ, BANŪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**MUSTANĪR** [see ḲUṬRUB].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**MUẒAFFAR** [see MUẒAFFARIDS].

MUḤAMMAD B. **RĀ'IḲ** [see IBN RĀ'IḲ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **RAZĪN** [see ABU 'L-SHĪṢ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **SAᶜD** [see IBN MARDANĪSH; IBN SAᶜD].

MUḤAMMAD B. **SAḤNŪN** b. Saᶜīd b. Ḥabīb al-Tanūkhī, Abū ᶜAbd Allāh, Mālikī jurisconsult from Ḳayrawān (202-56/817-70), son of Saḥnūn b. Saᶜīd (160-240/776-856 [*q.v.*]), who was responsible for the definitive implantation of Mālikism in the Maghrib as well as being the signatory of the *Mudawwana*, one of the great manuals of this school, and to which he naturally owes much of his reputation. Muḥammad lived, moreover, in the wake of his illustrious father until his departure for the East in 235/850. Among the masters that he then met, one may cite some highly evocative names, such as Abū Radjā' b. Ashhab, al-Muzanī (in Egypt), Abū Muṣᶜab Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Zuhrī, Yaᶜḳūb b. Ḥumayd b. Kāsib, Salama b. Shabīb al-Naysābūrī (in the Ḥidjāz). According to his biographers, all these acknowledged scholars were struck by the knowledge and intelligence of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn.

On his return to Ḳayrawān, he took the place of his father officially on the latter's death as leader of the Mālikīs in the Maghrib and carried on the struggle against Ḥanafism and Muᶜtazilism with the support of the Aghlabid *amīrs*. It is to be noted that the victory, in Ifrīḳiya, of Mālikī Sunnism over these two tendencies coincides with that of Ḥanbalī Sunnism in Baghdād over the homologous currents, which confirms the extension of successive ideological models within the boundaries of the caliphate, notwithstanding political vicissitudes. The influence of Saḥnūn and his father was so profound that the historians of the age did not hesitate to describe Ḳayrawān as "Saḥnūnī".

On the death of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, the shops and schools were closed as a sign of mourning. It was the Aghlabid *amīr* Ibrāhīm II who said the prayer for the dead on this occasion.

Saḥnūn's production seems to have been important. If some put forward the figure of 200 works, in the biographies only the following twenty-four titles appear: 1. *al-Djāmiᶜ*, an encyclopaedic work; 2. *al-Sanad* (or *al-Musnad*), a large work on *ḥadīth*; 3. *Taḥrīm al-muskir*; 4. *Kitāb al-Imāma*; 5. *Tafsīr al-Muwaṭṭa'*; 6. *al-Radd ᶜalā al-bidaᶜ*; 7. *Kitāb al-ta'rīkh*; 8. *Ṭabaḳāt al-ᶜulamā'*; 9. *al-Ashriba wa-gharīb al-ḥadīth*; 10. *al-Īmān wa 'l-radd ᶜalā ahl al-shirk*; 11. *al-Ḥudjdja ᶜalā 'l-Ḳadariyya*; 12. *al-Ḥudjdja ᶜalā 'l-Naṣārā*; 13. *al-Radd ᶜalā 'l-Fikriyya*; 14. *Kitāb mā yadjibu ᶜalā 'l-mutanāẓirīn min ḥusn al-adab*; 15. *Kitāb al-Waraᶜ*; 16. *Sharḥ arbaᶜa kutub min Mudawwana Saḥnūn*; 17. *Risāla fī maᶜnā 'l-Sunna*; 18. *Risāla fī man sabb al-Nabī*; 19. *Kitāb al-Ibāḥa*; 20. *Adab al-ḳāḍī*; 21. *Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*; finally, the three following, which seem to be the only ones to have come down to us: 22. *Kitāb Masā'il al-djihād*, a ms. of which is known in Tunis (Talbi, *Emirat*, 535); 23. *Kitāb Adjwibat Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, riwāyat Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḳaṭṭān ᶜanhu*, a ms. of which is known in the Escurial (no. 1162) and three copies in Tunis (see edn. by ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb of the *K. Adab al-muᶜallimīn*, 14); 24. *Kitāb Adab al-muᶜallimīn* [*wa 'l-mutaᶜallimīn*], ed. Ḥ.H. ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1348, French tr. G. Lecomte, *Le livre des règles de conduite des maîtres d'école...*, in *REI* [1953], 77-105.

Apart from his activities as the promoter of the still fragile Mālikism and his pedagogical work, the biographers note that, like his father, he is said to have paid with his life in defence of the Tunisian Sāḥil against the incursions of pirates, essentially Christians (Ifrandj, Rūm). Whatever the case may be, the problems of privateering in Ifrīḳiya [see ḲURṢĀN], calling attention to it as a part of *djihād*, have been made a subject of consideration, even of *fatwās* in the work of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, as the extract translated by M. Talbi in his *Emirat*, 534-5, according to a citation of *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, possibly taken from no. 22 above, shows.

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(G. LECOMTE)

MUḤAMMAD B. **SĀLIM** [see IBN WĀṢIL].

MUḤAMMAD B. **SĀM**, MUᶜIZZ AL-DĪN, was the fourth of the Shansabānī princes of Ghūr to rule the empire of Ghaznī [see GHAZNA and GHŪRIDS]. His *laḳab* was originally Shihāb al-Dīn, but he assumed that of Muᶜizz al-Dīn. His elder brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn succeeded his cousin Sayf al-Dīn in 558/1163 and made Muḥammad governor of Harāt, entrusting to him also the duty of extending the dominion of the house in India.

Muḥammad led his first expedition into India in 571/1175, expelled the Ismāᶜīlī heretics who ruled Multān, placed an orthodox governor in that province, and captured Uččh. In 574/1178 he rashly led an army into Gudjarāt, was defeated by the Rādjā, Bhīma the Vāghela, and returned to Ghaznī with no more than the remnant of his army; but in the following year he took Peshāwar, and in 577/1181 Lahawr, taking prisoner Khusraw Malik, the last of the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] and adding the Pandjāb to his brother's dominions. In the winter of 586-7/1190-1 he invaded the Čawhan kingdom of Dihlī and captured Bhātinda, but the Rādjā, Prithwī Rādj, marched against him and defeated him at Tarāwrī near Karnāl. He was wounded, but escaped, and in 588/1191 returned to India, defeated and slew Prithwī Rādj at Tarāwrī, captured Hānsī, Sāmāna, Guhrām and other fortresses, and plundered Adjmer. On returning to Ghaznī, he left Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*] in India as viceroy, and at the end of 588/1192 Aybak took Dihlī and made it his capital. In 593/1197 Aybak was beleaguered in Adjmer, and Muḥammad sent a relieving force which enabled him to defeat Bhīma of Gudjarāt and to plunder his capital, Anhilvāra.

Muḥammad was now employed with his brother in recovering Khurāsān. On the death of the

Kh^w^ārazm-Shāh Tekish [*q.v.*] in Marw, in Ramaḍān 596/July 1200, Muḥammad Čurbak was sent to Marw, which he captured and occupied for Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his brother besieged and took Nīshāpūr. Muḥammad was then sent in command of an expedition to Rayy, but the misbehaviour of his troops earned a rebuke which led to the only quarrel between the brothers.

On the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 599/1203, Muḥammad succeeded to the great empire which he had helped his brother to build up, but the Khwārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS] took Marw from Muḥammad Čurbak and recovered Nīshāpūr, although he failed to capture Harāt. Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad marched against him but suffered a crushing defeat near Andkhūī and fled to Ṭālaḳān. He was besieged by the army of Gūr Khān of the Ḳarā-Khitāy [*q.v.*] and purchased a safe retreat only by the surrender of the whole of his baggage and material of war. On his arrival before Ghaznī in this plight, his slave Ildigiz refused to admit him, and he passed on to Multān where the governor likewise refused him admittance; but he attacked and defeated him and appointed Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča to the government of the province of Sind [*q.v.*]. He returned to Ghaznī and established himself there, sparing the life of Ildigiz. By the treaty which he concluded with the Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad, he was permitted to retain Balkh and Harāt but not Nīshāpūr and Marw.

In Rabīʿ I 602/October 1205, he marched from Ghaznī for India and, with the help of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, defeated the Khokars, but on returning towards Ghaznī was assassinated in Shaʿbān 603/March 1206 on the bank of the Indus, either by Ismāʿīlī heretics or by some Khokars. He was succeeded in Ghūr by his nephew Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, but the viceroys of the provinces, Aybak in Dihlī, Ḳabāča in Multān, Tādj al-Dīn Yildiz in Kirmān and Ildigiz in Ghaznī, became independent.

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(T.W. HAIG)

MUḤAMMAD B. **SĪRĪN** [see IBN SĪRĪN].

MUḤAMMAD B. **SUʿŪD** b. Muḥammad b. Muḳrin of the ʿAnaza clan, the founder of the first Suʿūdī state in Nadjd [see SUʿŪD, ĀL], assumed office as *amīr* of al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] in 1137/1724 following his father's death or in 1140/1727 after the brief rule of a cousin, Zayd b. Markhān. His claim to fame rests on his association with the religious reformer Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [see IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB], whom he welcomed at al-Dirʿiyya in 1158/1745, pledging support for his mission. Two of his brothers were already disciples of the Shaykh, and they and his wife are said to have been instrumental in promoting the alliance. From then until his death in late Rabīʿ I 1179/September 1765 Muḥammad b. Suʿūd was engaged in a continual and largely indecisive struggle against neighbours, such as Dahhām b. Dawwās, ruler of al-Riyāḍ, and his former suzerains, the Banū Khālid of al-Aḥsāʾ. The most serious challenge arose in the last few months of his life, when the Suʿūdī state was in danger of falling to a coalition of these enemies combined with forces from Nadjrān and many discontented Nadjdīs. The aim of this opposition was to prevent the Suʿūdīs from uniting Nadjd under their control. However, Muḥammad b. Suʿūd contrived a skilful diplomatic settlement with the *amīr* of Nadjrān, thus breaking his opponents' solidarity. Although he took little part in military operations, assigning command chiefly to his able son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he showed political acumen that proved of great value in ensuring the survival of his state and the furtherance of the Wahhābī cause.

Bibliography: A contemporary local source is *Rawḍat al-afkār* by Ḥusayn b. Ghannām (d. 1225/1810), edited by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad under the title *Taʾrīkh Nadjd*, Cairo 1961. This is supplemented by the chronicle of ʿUthmān b. Bishr (d. 1288/1871), *ʿUnwān al-Madjd fī taʾrīkh Nadjd*, printed Mecca 1930, Cairo 1946, al-Riyāḍ, i, 1965 and ii, 1968.—See also H.St.J. Philby, *Saudi Arabia*, London 1955, 21-59; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Mukhtār, *Taʾrīkh al-mamlaka al-suʿūdiyya fī māḍīhā wa-ḥāḍirihā*, Beirut 1957, i, 38-41; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, *al-Dawla al-suʿūdiyya al-ūlā, 1745-1818*[2], Cairo 1976, 26-8, 52-62, 82-4.

(ELIZABETH M. SIRRIYEH)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ṬĀHIR** [see IBN AL-ḲAYSARĀNĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **ṬĀHIR** B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ṬĀHIR DHI 'L-YAMĪNAYN, last Ṭāhirid governor of Khurāsān. After the death of his father, Muḥammad received the governorship of Khurāsān (Radjab 248/September 862). In 250/864-5 the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. Zayd rebelled in Ṭabaristān, which led to a long and serious struggle [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH]. When ʿAbd Allāh al-Sidjzī rebelled against Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār of Sīstān, and appealed for help to Muḥammad, who appointed him governor of al-Ṭabasayn and Ḳuhistān, Yaʿḳūb found a welcome pretext to invade Khurāsān. Muḥammad sent an embassy to him; but as Yaʿḳūb had already found a following among discontented Khurāsānians, all negotiations were in vain. In Shawwāl 259/August 873, or according to another statement in 258, he entered Nīshāpūr without striking a blow, put an end to the Ṭāhirid dynasty and took Muḥammad prisoner. But when he marched against the caliph al-Muʿtamid, he was defeated at Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāḳ in Radjab 262/April 876 by the latter's brother al-Muwaffaḳ, and Muḥammad, whom he had with him in chains, escaped. The caliph restored the latter to his former office in Khurāsān; the exiled Ṭāhirid, however, never found an opportunity to exercise his functions, and remained in Baghdād. He was further appointed, in succession to his uncle ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir—probably not till 270/853-4—by the vizier Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad as his deputy as military governor of Baghdād. He held this office until the accession of al-Muʿtaḍid (279/892). He died in 296/908-9.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 604-5, 619; Ṭabarī, iii, see Index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 41-5 = §§ 3158-61; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 10, 12-13, ed. Ḥabībī, 138, 140-1; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Bahār, 208-25, tr. Gold, 166-79; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 77-294, viii, 42; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 309 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 379 ff., 393, 438, 442, 447; Th. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, 194 ff.; G. Rothstein, in *Orient. Studien, Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, 164-5; W. Barthold, in *ibid.*, 185 ff.; idem, *Turkestan*[3], 213-14, 217-18; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 102-3, 114-15.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ṬĀHIR** B. IBRĀHĪM AL-

ḤĀRITHĪ, from Ḥārith, a well-known tribe and a branch of the Hamdān [*q.v.*] confederation, was a prominent figure in the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs of Yaman. After the death of his teacher ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Djaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm al-Walīd in 554/1159, he was appointed by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*], the second *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*, along with the latter's son Ḥātim to assist him in the affairs of the *daʿwa*. On the *dāʿī* Ibrāhīm's death in 557/1161, when Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm became the next *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*, he was promoted to the rank of *maʾdhūn* and was stationed in Ṣanʿāʾ as the *dāʿī*'s deputy. He operated his mission openly in a city ruled by the Hamdānid sultan ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, who had fought protracted wars with the *dāʿī*. Later on, when the city was conquered by the Ayyūbids, he managed the outflow of refugees who sought refuge with the *daʿwa* in Ḥarāz. He died in Ṣanʿāʾ in Shawwāl 584/November-December 1188.

His *Madjmūʿ al-tarbiya*, in two volumes, is a classic chrestomathy of Ismāʿīlī literature which served as a model for later compilers. Thanks to his work, numerous excerpts from earlier works and small treatises which are otherwise lost have been preserved. Another work of his, *al-Anwār al-laṭīfa*, is considered an important work on *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* to be read by students who have reached a very high level in their studies.

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MUḤAMMAD b. **TAKASH** [see khwārazm-shāh].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ṬUGHDJ** b. Djuff b. Yiltakīn b. Fūrān b. Fūrī b. Khāḳān, Abū Bakr, **al-IKHSHĪD** (268-334/882-946), governor in Egypt and Syria during the 4th/10th century.

He was the third generation of his family to serve the ʿAbbāsid dynasty. He was officially designated by the caliph al-Rāḍī with the title al-Ikhshīd in 327/939 after having requested it the preceding year. The dynasty which he established is known as the Ikhshīdids.

Born in Baghdād on 15 Radjab 268/8 February 882, Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj spent part of his youth in Ṭūlūnid [see aḥmad b. ṭūlūn] lands in Syria and Palestine, gaining military and administrative experience whilst serving under his father. He was jailed in Baghdād with his father and brother on the transfer of Ṭūlūnid rule to the ʿAbbāsid central government in 292/905, but released a year later after his father had died. Eventually, he was appointed governor of Filasṭīn (Palestine) and al-Shām (Damascus) in 316/928 and 319/931 respectively. In Ramaḍān 321/August-September 933, he was named governor of Egypt but was replaced by another in a little over a month, never having reached Egypt during this period.

Increasing internal chaos in Egypt, fear of Fāṭimid invasions of Egypt from North Africa and political intrigue in Baghdād, led to the naming of Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj as governor of Egypt in 323/935. This time he marched on Egypt and entered the administrative capital of al-Fusṭāṭ on 23 Ramaḍān/26 August. His major task after securing control from the Mādharāʾī [*q.v.*] family was to deal with a Fāṭimid invasion, which was successfully halted outside Alexandria in 324 (Battle of Ablūḳ, 31 March 936). Even after receiving his honorific title from al-Rāḍī, al-Ikhshīd flirted with recognising Fāṭimid suzerainty, especially in 327/938 when he threatened to have the Fāṭimid al-Ḳāʾim's name proclaimed from the pulpits and suggested that his daughter marry the Fāṭimid *imām*'s son. These actions were related to a power struggle in Palestine with the former *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] Ibn Rāʾiḳ.

In late 327/939 Ibn Rāʾiḳ invaded Syria, taking Ramla. Al-Ikhshīd offered a generous peace, ceding the lands from Ramla northwards and agreeing to pay an annual tribute. The offer was refused. Warfare continued into late 328/940 when Ibn Rāʾiḳ, whose goal was Baghdād, accepted similar terms. The murder of Ibn Rāʾiḳ in Shaʿbān 330/April 942 and the rise of the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] was the background to al-Ikhshīd occupying Damascus for six months from Shawwāl 330/June 942. During this campaign, he had his troops take an oath of loyalty to his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Unūdjūr as his successor, indicating his plans for a dynastic succession. Two years later, in Muḥarram 333/September 944, al-Ikhshīd was in Raḳḳa where he met with the caliph al-Muttaḳī and urged him to join him in Egypt or, at least, remain in Raḳḳa. The caliph did not accept the offer, but he did receive the governorship of Egypt, Syria and the Ḥidjāz for himself and his descendants for 30 years.

A military struggle with members of the Ḥamdānid family had been under way since 332/944, but intensified with the rise to power of Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj now undertook a military campaign in Shaʿbān 333/April 945, while offering very generous peace terms. The two armies met in Shawwāl 333/May 945 near Ḳinnasrīn, where the Egyptian governor was victorious. But al-Ikhshīd's goal was to secure his own territories and not to overextend his resources, and a treaty in which al-Ikhshīd gave up lands in northern Syria and agreed to an annual tribute was reached in Rabīʿ I 334/October-November 945. He retreated to Damascus, where he died on 21 Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 334/24 June 946. He was succeeded by his son, but power was more and more in the hands of his principal military commander and African eunuch Kāfūr [*q.v.*].

There is very little information on al-Ikhshīd's internal policies. He was not a major patron nor a builder. In fact, he has a reputation for parsimony and timidity, although the latter may be a misunderstanding of his willingness to settle for limited military and political goals while securing the succession of his family to the governorship of those lands he controlled.

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MUḤAMMAD b. **TUGHLUḲ**, the second sultan of Dihlī (724-52/1324-51) of the Tughluḳid

[*q.v.*] dynasty and the eldest son of its founder, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ. Before his father came to power in 720/1320, he bore the name of Malik Djawnā, and subsequently was entitled Ulugh Khān. While heading an expedition to annex Tilang (Telingana) in *ca.* 723/1323, he made an unsuccessful bid for the throne, and a number of writers implicate him in the accident which caused Tughluḳ's death. The chronology of his reign is fraught with difficulties, including even the date of his accession: on a monument erected by his successor Fīrūz Shāh, it appears as 1 Shaʿbān 725/13 July 1325 (*Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum*, xlvii. *Haryana*, I, ed. M. Shokoohy, London 1988, 21-2), but the year is possibly an error for 724 (24 July 1324: see the review by Jackson, in *JRAS* [1990], 171-2).

Muḥammad's reign is associated with abortive projects which are severely criticised by our principal Indian sources. The selection of Dawlatābād [*q.v.*] (Dēōgīr) in the Deccan as the second capital around 727/1327, and the removal thither of many of the aristocratic households of the old capital, were both a logical response to the considerable southward extension of the empire over the previous few decades and a measure to foster Muslim colonisation of the new Deccan province. This episode also coincided, apparently, with Muḥammad's plans to conquer "Khurāsān", i.e. present-day Afghānistān, then occupied by the Mongols of the Čaghatāy khānate [*q.v.*] in Central Asia. Most of the enormous army was disbanded, however, and part of it was decimated in a campaign against Ḳarāčīl, i.e. some region in the sub-Himalaya or the Hindū Kush (possibly Kashmīr). Two other controversial measures must be viewed in this same context. A low-denomination copper and brass coinage (often misleadingly labelled a "token currency") was introduced to facilitate payment of the troops, but failed to command confidence and had to be withdrawn; and an increase in the revenue-demand in the Dōāb provinces sparked off a widespread revolt among the cultivators.

Muḥammad, under whom the Dihlī empire reached its greatest territorial extent, achieved some military and diplomatic successes. Kampīla (the southern Andhra region) was annexed; and in 738/1337-8 the sultan personally captured Nagarkōt (Kāngṛā). Simultaneous rebellions in Multān, the Deccan and Bengal were also crushed *ca.* 728/1327-8. A little before this, Muḥammad led a campaign into the north-west frontier region, sending detachments as far as Peshāwar: in reprisal, the Mongols of the Čaghatāy khānate, under their khān Tarmashīrīn, mounted their last major invasion in *ca.* 729/1328-9. Later, the sultan maintained friendly relations with the Mongols, using the enormous patronage at his disposal to buy security from this quarter. From the 1330s we find Mongol chiefs regularly wintering in the Pandjāb, though one of them, Hülečü, rebelled and briefly occupied Lahore [see HÜLĀGŪ]. At the time of his death, Muḥammad's army included a corps of Mongol auxiliaries from Mā warāʾ al-Nahr.

Yet by that point a spate of rebellions had led to the permanent loss of whole provinces. Bengal seceded in *ca.* 735/1334-5, as did Maʿbar under Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan [*q.v.*]; Kampīla reverted to independent Hindu rule, and *ca.* 736/1336 its prince occupied Tilang also; and in 748/1347 the Deccan passed under the sway of the independent dynasty of the Bahmanids [*q.v.*]. Over and above these major insurrections, there was disaffection in other provinces, notably in Awadh (*ca.* 740/1339), Multān and Sīwistān (*ca.* 742/1341-2) and Gudjarāt (745/1345). At his death, the sultan wielded no authority south of the Vindhyas.

The reasons for this rapid disintegration of the Sultanate are obscure. One factor may well be Muḥammad's attempts to broaden his power-base by attracting immigrant notables from all over the Islamic world, a policy which, as evident from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 344), aroused deep resentment among the indigenous Muslim aristocracy. The sultan enjoyed strained relations, too, with the *ʿulamāʾ* and with Ṣūfī mystics, whom he endeavoured to press into government service, and the arrival in 744/1343-4 of a diploma of recognition from the puppet ʿAbbāsid caliph at Cairo does not appear to have enhanced the legitimacy of his rule for his subjects.

Muḥammad died at Ṭhaṭṭhā on 21 Muḥarram 752/20 March 1352 while pursuing the rebel Tughāy, who had fled there following the collapse of the Gudjarāt revolt. His successor was his cousin Fīrūz Shāh [*q.v.*]. A balanced assessment of Muḥammad's reign is no easy task. But it is impossible to accept in its entirety the picture of the reign furnished by the hostile historian ʿIṣāmī and by Baranī, who affects to see in Muḥammad a bewildering and impractical visionary. Many of the sultan's initiatives appear to have formed part of a coherent policy; they may also have reponded to—and perhaps exacerbated—an economic crisis at which the sources only hint.

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MUḤAMMAD b. **TŪMART** [see IBN TŪMART].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿUBAYD ALLĀH** [see ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿUMAR** [see IBN AL-ḲŪṬIYYA].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿUMAR** b. MUḤAMMAD, Andalusian mathematician and astronomer (d. 447/1056) known by his surname of **IBN BURGHŪTH**. He is cited among the "famous

pupils" of Ibn al-Ṣaffār [*q.v.*] by Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, who presents him moreover as very knowledgeable in grammar, Ḳurʾān, theoretical and practical law, and appreciates highly his character and conduct. He mentions as his principal pupils Ibn al-Layth, Ibn al-Djallal and Ibn al-Ḥayy.

The first, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, was an expert in the field of arithmetic and geometry and devoted himself to astronomical observations, at the same time as performing the functions of *ḳāḍī* of Shurriyūn (Surio), in the region of Játiva. In the date of his death (405/1015), the number of the tens has probably been omitted, for if it were exact, his master would have outlived him by more than 40 years.

The second, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, was interested, as were his fellow disciples, in mathematics and astronomy, to which he added logic and the natural sciences. He was still alive in 462/1070 when Ṣāʿid was writing his *Ṭabaḳāt*.

The third, the Cordovan al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tudjībī, is the only one to have left a summary of astronomy "according to the system of *Sindhind*" [*q.v.*], but this work has not been preserved. In 442/1051, Ibn al-Ḥayy left Spain to go firstly to Egypt, then to Yemen to the Ṣulayḥid *Imām* ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (d. 473/1080-1 [see ṢULAYḤIDS]), who sent him as an ambassador to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh (422-67/1031-75 [*q.v.*]) in Baghdād, where he was magnificently received. He then returned to Yemen, where he died in 456/1064.

Bibliography: The authors, the mediaeval ones, such as Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 256, as much as the modern ones, such as Suter, *Mathematiker*, nos. 221, 223, and F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, s.vv., who treat of one or other of these personalities, rely exclusively on a single source, the *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* of Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (ed. Cheiko, in *Machriq* [1911], offprint Beirut 1912, 71-4; Fr. tr. R. Blachère, *Livre des catégories des nations*, Paris 1935, 133-6).

(Ed.)

MUḤAMMAD b. **UMAYYA** b. Abī Umayya, *kātib* and poet in Arabic who is the best-known member (Sezgin is in error on this point) of a family of *kuttāb* or secretaries quoted for their share in literary activities. He had several brothers, all poets like their father and grandfather: ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh and Aḥmad, and also an uncle, also called Muḥammad, all of which has inevitably caused confusion in the attribution of the verses drawn by biographers and anthologists from a collection which is said to have amounted to, for the whole family, almost 200 sheets.

Born *ca.* 200/815, Muḥammad b. Umayya frequented the circles of polite society at Baghdād, where he met such famous poets as Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, Muslim b. al-Walīd and Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk [*q.vv.*], not to mention the singer Mukhāriḳ [*q.v.*], various singing slave girls amongst whom there emerges the one whom he calls Khadāʿī, and some ephebes (*ghilmān*), to whom he dedicated several varied pieces. There remains today of his work only some thirty fragments which hardly each exceed four verses. These remains all reveal a personal inspiration and have a strong sense of unity since they revolve round a central theme, that of desire and passion (*ḥubb-shawḳ*). The idealised image of the beloved, male or female, a shrinking creature, inaccessible, often associated with a summons, discrete, very much of the flesh, shines out through the ensemble of his poems. A hymn to beauty and to joie de vivre can be accompanied by a vocabulary of absence, nostalgia and suffering (*ḥusn, ladhdha* and *lahw*, but also *hadjr, amal, bukāʾ, dunūn* and *mawt*). This thematic content thus recalls that of the Ḥidjāzī elegists of the 1st/7th century, but the style of writing brings differences from this model: lightness, brevity and suppleness do not exclude recourse to the rhetorical figures (*badīʿ*) required by the taste of the period.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 185; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, 47-51; Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī, *Zahra*, 1st section, 113; *Aghānī*, ed. Cairo, xii, 144-55, ed. Beirut, xii, 139-49; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 29-31; Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ*, i, 255, ii, 195; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 607-8; B. Najar (Nadjdjār), *Madjmaʿ al-dhākira: shuʿarāʾ ʿabbāsiyyūn*, Tunis 1987-90, index.

(B. Najar)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿUTHMĀN** [see ʿAbd al-wādids].

MUḤAMMAD b. **al-WALĪD** [see al-ṬURṬŪSHĪ].

MUḤAMMAD b. **WAṢĪF**, secretary in the service of the Ṣaffārids of Sīstān and one of the first known poets to write verse in New Persian according to the rules of Arabic quantitative metre, sc. *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*].

The local history of Sīstān, the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, cites fragments from four poems, apparently *ḳaṣīdas*, by Muḥammad b. Waṣīf (see G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans (IXᵉ-Xᵉ siècles)*, Tehran-Paris 1342/1964, i, 18, 54-6, ii, 13-15). The first of these was composed, the anonymous historian states, around the time of Yaʿḳūb b. Layth's conquest of Harāt in 253/867 or his killing of ʿAmmār the Khāridjī two years previously, and was, he says, the result of Yaʿḳūb's complaint that he could not understand the panegyrics addressed to him in Arabic by his court poets. Muḥammad b. Waṣīf's poetic career must have extended over fifty years, since the last of the fragments relates to the captivity of ʿAmr b. Layth's two grandsons Ṭāhir and Yaʿḳūb in 296/908-9.

Whether or not Muḥammad b. Waṣīf's poem of *ca.* 253/867 was indeed the first Persian poem ever composed in *ʿarūḍ* (or only the first ode, as opposed to e.g. lyric poetry), is hard to prove. From the mention of other poets in New Persian in Ṣaffārid circles and the Khurāsānian region (e.g. Ḥanẓala of Bādhghīs, Bassām-i Kurd, Muḥammad b. Mukhallad, etc., cf. Lazard, *op. cit.*, i, 17 ff.), it seems that the idea of vernacular poetry in the new metre was clearly in the air during the second half of the 3rd/9th century. S.M. Stern, whilst accepting as probable Yaʿḳūb's catalytic role as an encourager of vernacular literature, was cautious over Muḥammad b. Waṣīf's pioneering role as a poet in New Persian, pointing out that the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* was aware only of his local scene, hence the claims for this poet's primacy may have related to the Sīstān area only.

Bibliography: Chr. Rempis, *Die ältesten Dichtungen in Neupersisch*, in *ZDMG*, ci (1951), 223-31; Lazard, *loc. cit.*; Stern, *Yaʿqūb the Coppersmith and Persian national sentiment*, in C.E. Bosworth (ed.), *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, Edinburgh 1971, 545 ff.; Bosworth and Lazard, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 129-30, 595, 607-8, 637-8; L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres*, Cambridge 1976, index; and see īrān, vii. Literature, at IV, 55.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MUḤAMMAD b. **YAḤYĀ** [see ibn bādjdja].

MUḤAMMAD b. **YĀḲŪT**, Abū Bakr, a chief of police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) in Baghdād.

In 318/930 Muḥammad, whose father was chief chamberlain or *ḥādjib* to the caliph al-Muḳtadir, was appointed chief of police. The maintenance of order in the capital at this time was much neglected, and the Turkish guards conducted a regular reign of terror. In a fracas between infantry and cavalry, Muḥammad intervened on behalf of the latter; their opponents

were cut down, some driven from the city and only a small contingent of negroes, who at once surrendered, remained unscathed (Muḥarram 318/February 930). Some months later, these last mutinied and demanded more pay; but they were driven out of the town by Muḥammad and then routed by the chief *amīr* Muʾnis [*q.v.*] near Wāsiṭ. The confusion was increased by the breach between Muʾnis and Muḥammad. At the instigation of Muʾnis, Muḥammad was dismissed in Djumādā II 319/June-July 931. Muʾnis was nevertheless not satisfied, but demanded that his hated rival should be banished. The caliph at first refused to grant his request; but when Muʾnis threatened him with force, he had to yield, whereupon Muḥammad went to Sidjistān (Radjab 319/July 931). Soon afterwards, the caliph quarrelled with Muʾnis and recalled Muḥammad. In Muḥarram 320/January 932, the latter returned to Baghdād; the caliph then sent him with an army to al-Maʿshūḳ in the region of Takrīt. But when Muʾnis advanced from Mawṣil, the caliph's troops under Muḥammad and Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān retired to Baghdād without striking a blow. After the victory of Muʾnis and the murder of al-Muḳtadir in Shawwāl 320/October 932, the latter's son ʿAbd al-Wāḥid fled with Muḥammad and his other supporters to al-Madāʾin and then to Wāsiṭ, where a number of his generals abandoned him. When the forces of the new caliph al-Ḳāhir approached under the command of Yalbaḳ, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid and Muḥammad fled to Tustar.

Muḥammad was not popular on account of his arrogance and selfishness, so that one after the other of his partisans laid down his arms, and finally ʿAbd al-Wāḥid surrendered. Muḥammad entered into negotiations with Yalbaḳ, and the caliph pardoned him. He then returned to Baghdād, where he gained a great influence over al-Ḳāhir. On the accession of al-Rāḍī in Djumādā I 322/April 934, Muḥammad became the real ruler in a short time; the caliph appointed him head chamberlain and also made him his commander-in-chief, while the vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] played a more subordinate part. When al-Muḳtadir's cousin Hārūn b. Gharīb, whom al-Ḳāhir had appointed governor of Māh al-Kūfa, al-Dīnawar and Māsabadhān, rebelled, Muḥammad was sent with an army against him. In the resulting battle, Muḥammad suffered a defeat (Djumādā II 322/May 934); soon afterwards, however, Hārūn fell from his horse and was killed by one of Muḥammad's slaves. With the death of their commander the resistance of Hārūn's followers collapsed; Muḥammad was nevertheless unable long to retain his position of power. On the advice of Ibn Muḳla, who feared his ever-increasing power, al-Rāḍī had him arrested, along with his brother Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Muẓaffar and the secretary Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ḳarārīṭī, on 5 Djumādā I 323/12 April 935. Muḥammad died in prison in the same year.

Bibliography: Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*..., tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index; ʿArīb, ed. de Goeje, 145 ff.; Hamdānī, *Takmila*, ed. Kanʿān, 62-97 *passim*; Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, years 320-3; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 160 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 390 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 565-74, 645-6, 652, 656-8; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(K.V. Zetterstéen)

MUḤAMMAD b. **YASĪR** al-**RIYĀSHĪ**, Abū Djaʿfar, a minor poet who was born and lived in Baṣra. He was born at some time in the middle of the 2nd/8th century and died at a similarly uncertain date, probably during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) or during that of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42). His existence, of which barely nothing is known, has attracted scant attention on the part of biographers in that he seems to have followed an unremarkable and leisurely career, in an atmosphere untroubled by events of any magnitude. On the other hand, it has only been possible to determine the name of his father on the basis of a tradition (*Aghānī*, xii, 137) according to which al-Muʿtaṣim drew a favourable augury from the sense of *yusr* which it implies; thus the reading Bashīr, adopted by numerous sources and their editors, may be rejected. On the other hand, his *nisba*, which shows his connection, as a *mawlā*, with the Banū Riyāsh of the Khathʿam, is sometimes replaced incorrectly by *al-Ḥimyarī*.

The *Aghānī* (xii, 129) pays tribute to Ibn Yasīr for never having left his native town to go "in search of his pasture" (*muntadjiʿan*) in the capital, at the court of the caliphs, as did so many other poets and men of letters who "went up" to Baghdād in the hope of acquring recognition of their talent and gaining material advantage from it. The source of his means of livelihood is, however, unknown; he apparently engaged in no lucrative activity and lived in poverty, but he must have drawn some support from his association with the generous patron of poets Muways b. ʿImrān [*q.v.*] and with members of the ʿAbbāsid family, more precisely the descendants of the governor Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī (133-9/751-6) who settled in Baṣra, several of them occupying the same functions as their ancestor.

Nevertheless, he does not seem to have addressed self-seeking eulogies to these Baṣran personages; he was not attracted to this current genre, and the desire to preserve his independence led him to prefer epigram and satire, which he practised with moderation, to judge by the specimens which have come to light. It is true that his work, however scanty (*Aghānī*, xii, 129), must comprise a more significant number of verses than the total of some 320 recovered by the author of the present article when he attempted to reconstruct, at least in part, the *dīwān* of the poet (*Muḥammad b. Yasīr al-Riyāshī wa-ashʿāruh*, in *Machriq* [May-June 1955], 289-338; in the passages which follow, the numbers in Roman figures refer to the pieces reproduced in this collection), and it is possible that some characteristic poems have escaped analysis, but it seems that the material available gives a fairly accurate impression of the personality of Ibn Yasīr.

Despite his poverty, he was content with his lot; he endured adversity without complaint and enjoyed the pleasures which were available to him, if not approved (nos. viii, xvii, xxx, xxxiii). While describing him as refined (*ẓarīf*), the author of the *Aghānī* (xii, 129) judges him debauched and unpleasant, although the remnants of his work rather give the impression of a debonair personality; his epigrams (nos. i, x, xxxii) are not particularly acerbic and do not seem to justify the comment of the *Aghānī* (xii, 134) which alleges that a grandson of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī lived in healthy dread of him (see nos. xli, xliii). He participated, however, in the contests between Abū Nuwās and al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Raḳāshī, unscrupulously reviving, in order to denigrate the latter, the old theme of the scantiness of the cooking-pot to express the greed of its owner (nos. xviii, xlvi), and was in his turn the target of some fairly innocuous attacks (see *Aghānī*, xii, 140; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 232-3; al-Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, 30).

According to the *Aghānī* (xii, 141), his son ʿAbd Allāh accused him of drinking excessively to the point of being intoxicated every evening, but this detail too seems to be greatly exaggerated. It is observed more-

over that the surviving poems contain nothing ribald, and the debauchery which is attributed to him seems to have amounted to nothing more than an affair with a *ḳayna* [*q.v.*] by the name of Ḥusn, which provoked complaints from his wife, to which he replied simply and frankly.

Ibn Yasīr possessed, in general terms, an equable temperament, combining affability, gentleness, and simple sentiments such as Arab poets rarely express. His philosophy of life is formulated in a number of verses which have become almost proverbial (nos. ii, vii, viii, xi, xvii, xx, xxx, xxxiii, xliv). His paean in praise of books (no. iii) was remarked by al-Djāḥiẓ, and the long *ḳaṣīda* (no. xix) in which he curses a pigeon-breeder who has cheated him regarding the pedigree of pigeons sold to him, although not great poetry, does not lack originality; finally, the freshness of his sentiments is clearly shown in a poem (no. xxix) which enchanted the anthologists to the point that they preserved 51 verses bewailing the fate of his garden devastated by the sheep or the goat (*shāt*) of his neighbour Manīʿ and lamenting the loss of his notes, consumed by this accursed animal.

To all appearances, this poet does not deserve the severity with which he is treated by the author of the *Aghānī*, who perhaps felt a degree of animosity towards him on account of his declared disapproval of Shīʿīs and other heterodox persons. Ibn Yasīr was also openly hostile to *kalām* [*q.v.*] and to theological polemics, but this aversion did not prevent him from being on the best of terms with the Muʿtazilīs of his native town and especially with his friend al-Djāḥiẓ, who mentions him and gives the impression of having great faith in his friend Muḥammad b. Yasīr, concerned, like him, to preserve his independence and to seek in study a refuge from the annoyances of life.

Bibliography: The most substantial biography of Muḥammad b. Yasīr is that of the *Aghānī* (1st ed., xii, 129-41; Beirut ed., xiv, 18-48); other references are very brief, in particular those of Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 560-1 (ed. Shākir, 854-6) and of Ḳifṭī, *al-Muhammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, Riyāḍ 1970, 161-3 (Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-Ḥimyarī). See also the references indicated by Ch. Pellat in his *Milieu baṣrien*, 170-1, and in his attempt at reconstruction of the *Dīwān*, and see Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ii, 252-4; Ziriklī, viii, 15-16; H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, ix (1956), 155-6; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 506-7. See also Ṭ. al-Ḥādjirī, in his ed. of the *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, 267-9. In ʿIrāḳ, Muḥ. Dj. al-Muʿaybid has also attempted a reconstruction of the *dīwān*, but it is not known whether this work has been published.

(CH. PELLAT)

MUḤAMMAD B. YAZĪD [see IBN MĀDJA; AL-MUBARRAD].

MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF (MUḤAMMAD V), sultan and later king of Morocco (1927-61).

He was born at Fās on 10 August 1909, the third son of the ruling sultan, Mūlāy Yūsuf. His mother, Lālā Yāḳūt, was a native of the Ḥawz (the region of Marrakesh). His father had nominated his eldest son Mūlāy Idrīs as crown prince and *khalīfa* at Marrakesh, and appointed his younger son Mūlāy Ḥasan to the same functions at Tiznit and Tinduf. Frail but intelligent, Sīdī Muḥammad lived the sequestered life of a young prince without expectations, although he accompanied his father and his two brothers on a visit to France in July 1926. On 17 November 1927, the sultan Mūlāy Yūsuf abdicated following an attack of uraemia. The Grand Vizier al-Mukrī, in conflict with the Chamberlain Tuhāmī Ḥabābū, campaigned actively for the proclamation of Sīdī Muḥammad in the face of stern opposition from his rival. This choice was ratified by the authorities of the Protectorate. The *ʿulamāʾ* signed the act of allegiance to a young prince, 18 years of age, whom most of them had never seen. On 18 November 1927 Muḥammad b. Yūsuf acceded to the throne of his ʿAlawid ancestors. No opposition to the proclamation was expressed, either in Fās or in Rabat.

While French forces suppressed the last traces of rebellion which remained in his kingdom, the new sultan spent this time completing his education, with the aid of senior bureaucrats such as the Faḳīh Mammeri, of Algerian origin, who was to become his principal private secretary. He obtained no diploma, and subsequently his self-esteem was to suffer as a result of this. He married a cousin who bore him, on 29 June 1929, his first child, the princess Lālā Fāṭima Zahrāʾ. On becoming sultan he took a second wife, marrying a girl from the Ḥawz, Lālā ʿAbla, who, on 9 July 1929, while the sovereign was visiting France, gave birth to a son, Mūlāy Ḥasan.

In 1930, when armed resistance in the rural areas had almost come to an end, groups of young urban Moroccans became engaged in political action. The Druse *shaykh* Shakīb Arslān [*q.v.*], based in Geneva since 1921, served as their mentor. At the very time that Moroccan youth was forging links with the Arab nationalism of the Orient, there developed in Morocco a converse, Islam-inspired movement envisaging a return to the sources (*Salafiyya* [*q.v.*]), a movement which, between 1926 and 1930, made a certain impact in intellectual and popular Moroccan circles. It was during this period that certain elements in the French colonial administration entertained the notion of releasing the Berber tribes from Ḳurʾānic law. A *dahir* of 16 May 1930 instituted new regulations for the Berbers, placing them under French jurisdiction. Only 21 years of age and still lacking experience, Sīdī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf signed the *dahir* without expressing any reservation. Once known, this text unleashed, first in Morocco and then throughout the Muslim world as far as Indonesia, intense resentment. The *laṭīf*, a prayer recited at times of major catastrophe, was promulgated in the towns of the kingdom. The two wings of the nationalist movement united to give birth to the first political formation: the Moroccan Action Committee. This body demanded of France the scrupulous application of Article 12 of the Treaty of Fās, and presented to the sovereign and the Resident-General a list of demands. The Berber *dahir* thus had the effect of uniting the various Moroccan groupings in resistance to the Protectorate. The nationalists instituted the Festival of the Throne, commemorating each year on 18 November the anniversary of the Sultan's accession to the throne. This was celebrated for the first time on 18 November 1933, and officially from 18 November 1934 onward. On this occasion the Moroccan flag was hoisted almost everywhere.

During this period, in Rabat the princess Lālā ʿĀʾisha was born on 17 June 1930, the princess Lālā Mālika on 14 March 1933 and the prince Mūlāy ʿAbd Allāh on 30 July 1935. A last daughter, Lālā Amina, was born in Madagascar of another wife, in February 1954.

On 1 December 1934, when after 27 years of strenuous efforts the stabilisation and unification of Morocco had been accomplished, a plan of reforms was solemnly presented by the nationalists to the French government. Invited to meet the Sultan, the delegation was informed by him that in his opinion, their action could only assist him in his task of defen-

ding the rights of the Moroccan people. This position earned the sultan enormous popular support. His portrait was displayed in the homes of nationalists and his name was acclaimed. The year 1936 was marked by a radicalisation of the national struggle. However, in January 1937, a schism occurred among the nationalists. One wing, led by ʿAllāl al-Fāsī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], constituted the National Party with its newspaper *al-Aṭlas*, while another branch, led by Muḥammad Ḥasan Wazzānī, created National Action. These two parties were disbanded by a decree of 18 March 1937. Wazzānī was exiled to the Sahara and ʿAllāl al-Fāsī to Gabon.

The Sultan enjoyed a long-standing friendship with General Nogues, Resident-General from 1936 to 1943. This relationship no doubt accounts for the loyalty shown by the sovereign with regard to France, during the campaign of June 1940, loyalty which was to remain firm until 1943. At the time of the conference of the Allies in Casablanca in January 1943, the Sultan met the principal Allied war chiefs, in particular the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who expressed to him his opinions on the future shape of the world after the allied victory and held out the enticing prospect of an independent Morocco. All of this took place against a background of struggles between Gaullist and former partisans of Vichy for control of North Africa, where the Allied landing had taken place on 8 November 1942. The nationalists who had taken refuge in the Spanish sector returned in large numbers to the French sector. They constituted the *Istiḳlāl* party which presented to the Sultan, the Resident-General and the Allied governments, on 11 January 1944, a manifesto for independence, accompanied by petitions. The Sultan convened the Ma<u>kh</u>zen [*q.v.*] in Rabat and urged support for the claim of independence. The Resident-General Gabriel Puaux, who had succeeded General Nogues, sought to gain time by invoking the state of war. Nationalists were arrested and exiled, and protest demonstrations ensued. Relations between the Imperial Palace and the Residence-General deteriorated. But hopes for an easing of tension emerged following the defeat of Germany and the coming to power of General de Gaulle. He invited the Sultan of Morocco to make an official visit to France, in the course of which he was awarded the Order of Liberation. A visit to the French troops stationed in Germany followed. The Resident-General Gabriel Puaux was replaced in 1946 by Eirik Labonne, who arrived in Morocco with a series of proposals for economic and administrative reform. He encouraged investment, and worked to restore amicable relations with the Sultan and Moroccan personages at all levels. The nationalist leaders returned from exile at the request of the sovereign. On 9 April 1947, the Sultan conducted an official visit to Tangier, then an international city. Popular enthusiasm was demonstrated at each stage of the royal progress and reached its climax in the city, where he stayed for four days. Here he delivered his famous speech in which he declared himself committed to re-establishing the national unity of a country split into three segments, having its independence recognised and bringing it into the Arab League. A month after the Tangiers speech, the French government terminated the appointment of Eirik Labonne with his liberal attitudes, appointing in his place as Resident-General the General of the Army Juin, conqueror of Italy and former associate of Lyautey. De Gaulle was no longer in power. ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, in the company of ʿAbd al-<u>Kh</u>allāḳ Torres and the Tunisian Ḥabīb Bourguiba (Bū Raḳība [*q.v.*]), made his way to Cairo, where the three men engineered the escape of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who disembarked in Port Said from the ship that was supposed to be taking him to France, on 1 June 1947, and with him created the Committee of the Arab Ma<u>gh</u>rib. Tiring of his exchange of notes with the French government, the Sultan decided, in the summer of 1950, to present himself in Paris, there to express his wish to put an end to the Treaty of Fās by direct negotiations. In the meantime, he refused to sign any more *dahirs*. His journey proved fruitless, but he received an enthusiastic welcome at Casablanca on his return to the country. General Juin reacted by expelling nationalist opposition members of the Council of Government for their advocacy of violent resistance. The Pa<u>sh</u>a of Marrakesh, for his part, made an approach to the Sultan demanding strict adherence to tradition. The two men became enemies. The Berber tribes of the High Atlas and the Middle Atlas mobilised against the Sultan and the cities which favoured *Istiḳlāl*. In Paris, the main concern was to find a compromise solution between the two Moroccan groups. After a march by tribal contingents on the towns, the Sultan chose to concede rather than give up power. As in 1944, he used his Grand Vizier as a mouthpiece in repudiating the *Istiḳlāl*, in deliberately vague terms, and signed most of the *dahirs* which had been held in abeyance. Misleading both parties became the Sultan's policy. In September 1951, General Juin left Morocco, summoned to take command of NATO forces in Europe.

Paris appointed General Guillaume to the post of Resident-General, also entrusting to him command of the land, sea and air forces of North Africa. The nationalists redoubled their efforts in Cairo and in Paris. The council of the Arab League submitted the Moroccan question to the United Nations, which passed a resolution on the situation in Morocco. While, on the ground, General Guillaume made his presence felt with a number of declarations designed to assert the French role, against a backdrop of intermittent demonstrations and incidents, the Sultan sent a statement of intent to the French government on 14 March 1952, demanding the formation of a Moroccan government competent to negotiate the revision of the 1912 treaty. The long-delayed French response offered proposals on democratisation, insisting on the participation of the French residents in municipal elections. The Sultan rejected the French stipulations. On 5 December 1952, news of the assassination of Ferhat Hashed, leader of the Tunisian syndicalist movement, provoked a general strike in Morocco, marked on the 7th and 8th of the month by numerous incidents. Repression ensued. But soon after this, on 7 January 1953, a campaign began, inspired by El Glaoui and the *<u>Sh</u>arīf* al-Kettānī, demanding the deposition of the Sultan. A petition signed by 270 *sayyids* and *pa<u>sh</u>as*, of the 370 present in Morocco, supported them. The two camps engaged in vigorous shows of strength. On 20 April 1953, the decision to depose Sīdī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf was taken; he left with his family, moving first to Corsica and then to Madagascar, and his place on the ʿAlawid throne was taken by Muḥammad ben ʿArafa, 73 years of age and a member of the dynastic clan who had lived hitherto in total obscurity. On the following day, the *ʿulamāʾ* of Fās ratified this choice. The new sultan appeared to be supported by the forces of the past. Several incidents followed the deposition of the sovereign; the Spanish, on the other hand, did not recognise the *fait accompli*. The affair took on an international dimension and provoked in the Moroccan population an upsurge of

feeling which was almost unanimously opposed to those responsible for the removal of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf. Mūlāy ᶜArafa, who, after two attempts on his life, refused to leave the palace, lost all prestige. None of the reforms which had been promised were implemented. Gradually, the situation in Morocco deteriorated. European products were boycotted; acts of political violence committed by autonomous organisations increased both in number and in effectiveness. Agitation spread to the working and mercantile classes; acts of counterterrorism were carried out by Europeans.

Disturbed by the worsening situation, the French government sought to obtain from the deposed sultan declarations which would put an end to the unrest. Through various intermediaries a conciliation procedure was worked out; this comprised the expulsion of Muḥammad b. ᶜArafa, the creation of a Throne Council, the establishment of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf and his family in France. While at the conference of Aix-les-Bains (July-August 1955) French ministers held talks with the Moroccan nationalists, the Council of the Throne was with some difficulty inaugurated on 15 October 1955, and a moderate nationalist, Sī Fāṭmī ben Slīmān, was charged with the formation of the new government. The *Istiḳlāl* refused to recognise either the Council of the Throne or government. But the really sensational move came on the 25 October 1955 from the Pas̲h̲a of Marrakesh, al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Tuhāmī Glaoui, who challenged the legitimacy of the Council of the Throne and declared publicly that he saw no solution other than in the restoration of Sīdī Muḥammad ben Yūsuf, whose pardon he was now seeking. A few days later, the *s̲h̲arīf* Sī ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kettānī declared himself in agreement with El Glaoui. On 30 October, Ben ᶜArafa renounced his prerogatives. On 2 November, the members of the Council of the Throne offered their resignations to Sīdī Muḥammad, who had arrived in France two days before. On 6 November 1955 a joint declaration was issued by the Foreign Minister Antoine Pinay and the Sultan at the conclusion of the La Celle Saint-Cloud negotiations. Morocco was granted full and unconditional independence.

The return of the Sultan of Morocco took place in an atmosphere of general jubilation. The transition from the old to the new régime was accomplished without major difficulty, the process being smoothed by reciprocal good will. The issue was hastened by the need to disband the Moroccan Liberation Army, which was committed to Mag̲h̲ribī unity and advocated active support of the Algerian rebellion. Some of its contigents were incorporated into the regular army, while the hard core was diverted towards the liberation of the lands of the Sahara. In August 1957, Morocco was transformed into a monarchy and Mūlāy Ḥasan was designated crown prince. Matured by his experiences and confident of his success, Muḥammad V adopted the role of a consultative king in a conservative tradition typified more by negotiation and persuasion than by the use of threats and force. The *Istiḳlāl* party never achieved the homogeneous government which it had campaigned for, and became fragmented. It was obliged to collaborate with successive governments which combined the representatives of various political forces as well as independents loyal to the monarch. A National Consultative Assembly, with limited powers, had been created in November 1956. After eighteen months of attempting to work in harmony with leftist elements of the *Istiḳlāl*, in May 1960 the King finally took over the direction of the government, appointing the prince Mūlāy Ḥasan to the post of Deputy Prime Minister. A constitution for the country was promised before the end of 1962. Troublesome incidents took place in the Tafilalt, and especially among the tribes of the Rīf and the Middle Atlas in October 1958. They were suppressed by an operation of the Royal Armed Forces commanded by the Crown Prince.

Recognised as independent, Morocco made its presence felt in the United Nations Organisation, joined the League of Arab States in 1958 and declared its support for Algerian independence. Tangier was economically re-integrated into the kingdom in April 1960. In the south, Spain relinquished sovereignty over the territory of Ṭarfāya in April 1958, and over the zone of Ifni on 4 January 1961, but refused to withdraw from the western Sahara and from the towns of Ceuta and Melilla. Claims on Mauritania, which had become independent in 1960 with the support of France, were also fruitless.

King Muḥammad V suffered from a nasal ailment which caused him persistent headaches. He was obliged to undergo an operation which was apparently successful, but he died of a heart-attack on 26 February 1961. His son Ḥasan II succeeded him.

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MUḤAMMAD b. **YŪSUF** [see abū ḥayyān].

MUḤAMMAD b. **YŪSUF** al-**ᶜĀMIRĪ** [see al-ᶜāmirī, in Suppl.].

MUḤAMMAD b. **YŪSUF** al-**SANŪSĪ** [see al-sanūsī].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ZAYD** b. Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl ... b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Zaydī Imām who reigned over Ṭabaristān [*q.v.*] and D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān [see

GURGĀN] for some years during the second half of the 3rd/9th century.

As the brother of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd [*q.v.*] *al-dāʿī al-kabīr*, he succeeded him in 270/884 and received the title of *al-dāʿī al-ṣaghīr* and the *laḳab* or honorific title of al-Ḳāʾim bi ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ. It is above all from this point that he is heard of, since before his assumption of power he seems to have lived in his brother's shadow. The latter, however, had commissioned him to bring back to reasonableness their cousin al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-ʿAḳīḳī who, during a period of absence on the part of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, had rebelled in their capital of Sāriya, had summoned the populace to recognise him and had gone to Djurdjān, where Muḥammad b. Zayd had caught up with him, captured him and beheaded him.

After his brother's death, he made some efforts to extend his family's possessions. Thus in 227/885-6 he tried to seize Rayy [*q.v.*], but was defeated and had to flee to Lārīdjān [see LĀR]. Consequently, he was involved in the struggles of Rāfiʿ b. Harthama [*q.v.*] against ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār [*q.v.*]. Expelled from Djurdjān by Rāfiʿ, who was acting on behalf of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], he found refuge with the Daylamīs who had given their allegiance to the Zaydī Imāms in 277/890; but two years later Rāfiʿ came over to the *dāʿī*'s side and returned Djurdjān to him in return for the promise to provide aid for him against ʿAmr b. al-Layth, but his new ally was killed in 283/896 in an encounter with his enemies in Khwārazm. When the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] defeated ʿAmr's troops in Rabīʿ II/April 900, Muḥammad b. Zayd thought that the moment had come when he could seize control of Khurāsān. Disregarding Ismāʿīl's advice, who tried to dissuade him from the plan, he set out but was intercepted in Djurdjān by the general Muḥammad b. Hārūn, who seems to have gained the upper hand. At all events, the *dāʿī* was wounded, taken prisoner and died in Djurdjān, whither he had been taken, in Shawwāl 287/October 900 (Abu ʾl-Faradj gives the date of his death as Ramaḍān 289/August 902, but the first date is the more likely one).

Despite his political activities, Muḥammad b. Zayd had some sympathy for the ʿAbbāsids, and it is even said that when al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*] learnt of his death, he showed sorrow and regret. In al-Masʿūdī's time, his tomb was venerated. He behaved in an upright manner, was cultured and composed poetry; it was in a panegyric in his honour that Naṣr b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] committed a famous gaffe.

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MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-KARĪM ʿALAWĪ [see ʿABD AL-KARĪM MUNSHĪ].

MUḤAMMAD ʿABDĪLLE ḤASSĀN [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH ḤASSĀN].

MUḤAMMAD ʿABDUH, a Muslim theologian, founder of the Egyptian modernist school.

Muḥammad ʿAbduh belonged to an Egyptian peasant family and was born in 1849 in Lower Egypt. He spent his childhood in the little village of Maḥallat Naṣr in the *mudīriyya* of Buḥayra in Lower Egypt, where his father had returned to his land. When Muḥammad ʿAbduh had learned the Ḳurʾān by heart, he was sent in 1862 to the theological school of Ṭanṭā but he left this after a year-and-a-half, discouraged, and was only induced to resume his studies through the influence of a grand-uncle who aroused in him an interest in mysticism. In 1865 he returned to Ṭanṭā, but the next year proceeded to Cairo to the Azhar mosque. There at this moment the first movements of a new spirit were becoming apparent in the beginning of a return to the classics and an awakening interest in natural science and history, which agreed with mysticism in a lower estimation of the old traditional studies. In this milieu, Muḥammad ʿAbduh at once devoted himself entirely to mysticism, practised asceticism and retired from the world. It was again his grand-uncle who persuaded him to give this up. About the same time, 1872, Muḥammad ʿAbduh came into contact with Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] who had just arrived in Egypt and was destined to exercise a profound influence upon him. It was he who revealed traditional learning to Muḥammad ʿAbduh in a new light, called his attention to European works accessible in translations and attracted his interest finally to Egyptian and Muslim problems of the day. Muḥammad ʿAbduh soon became his most ardent disciple and in his very first work of a mystic nature (*Risālat al-Wāridāt*, 1290/1874) enthusiastically described Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn as his spiritual guide. The influence of the latter is still more marked on the matter of Muḥammad ʿAbduh's second work, notes on dogmatics entitled *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ al-Dawānī li ʾl-ʿaḳāʾid al-ʿaḍudiyya* [1292/1876]. The influence of al-Afghānī and the development of affairs in Egypt towards the end of the reign of the Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] caused Muḥammad ʿAbduh in 1876 to take to journalism, which he practised henceforth. After concluding his studies at the Azhar mosque and acquiring the certificate of an *ʿālim* (scholar), he first of all gave private tuition; in 1879 he was appointed as teacher in the Dār al-ʿUlūm [*q.v.*], which had been founded a few years before to modernise instruction in religious learning. In the same year, shortly after the accession of the Khedive Tawfīḳ [*q.v.*], Muḥammad ʿAbduh was dismissed for reasons that have not been clearly explained and sent to his native village, while al-Afghānī was banished from Egypt; but a liberal ministry very soon recalled Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1880) and appointed him chief editor of the official gazette *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*, which not only contained official announcements but also endeavoured to influence public opinion; under Muḥammad ʿAbduh's control it became the mouthpiece of the liberal party. In spite of a common ultimate goal, the liberation of the Muslim peoples and a renaissance of Islam by its own strength, there was an essential difference between Muḥammad ʿAbduh's programme and that of al-Afghānī; the latter was a revolutionary who aimed at a complete upheaval; Muḥammad ʿAbduh, on the other hand, held that only gradual reform could be successful, thought that no political revolution could take the place of a gradual transformation of mentality and regarded a reform of education, especially moral and religious, as the first preliminary to progress. His interest gradually became concentrated on Islam and its position in the modern world. ʿUrābī Pasha's rebellion put an end to Muḥammad ʿAbduh's activity on these lines. His part in this movement has not yet been sufficiently elucidated; although it is certain that he neither shared the optimism of military circles nor approved of their use of force, he put himself on the side of the nationalist opponents of absolutism and endeavoured to exert a moderating influence on its leaders. After the suppression of the rebellion he was condemned to

banishment from Egypt at the end of 1882. He first went to Beirut and then to Paris where in the beginning of 1884 he met al-Afg̲h̲ānī. The two founded a society called *al-ʿUrwa al-wuth̲kā*, and published a paper with the same name, which had to cease publication after eight months but exercised a very profound influence on the development of nationalism in the Muslim east. In Tunis, Muḥammad ʿAbduh continued propaganda for the society, but then cut himself off from it and settled in Beirut at the beginning of 1885. The *ʿUrwa* expressed the views of al-Afg̲h̲ānī entirely. In Beirut, ʿAbduh taught at a theological school and engaged in Islamic and Arabic studies. In this period he produced his translation from the Persian of the *Risālat al-Radd ʿalā 'l-dahriyyīn*, the only considerable work of Sayyid D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn (1302/1886), and two valuable philological treatises, *S̲h̲arḥ Nahd̲j̲ al-balāg̲h̲a* (1302/1885) and *S̲h̲arḥ maḳāmāt Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamad̲h̲ānī* (1306/1889). When in 1889 he was allowed to return, he at once went to Cairo. His wish to resume teaching again was not at once granted; instead, he entered the justiciary and was immediately appointed a judge on the Tribunaux Indigènes, and two years later Conseiller at the Cour d'Appèl; in 1899 he attained the highest clerical post in Egypt, that of state *muftī*, an office he held till his death. One result of his work in the courts was the publication of his verdicts in *Taḳrīr fī iṣlāḥ al-maḥākim al-s̲h̲arʿiyya* (1318/1900) which gave the stimulus to important reforms in the administration of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, and the foundation of the college for *ḳāḍīs* goes back primarily to his efforts. In the same year, 1899, he became a member of the Conseil Législatif, which marked the first stage in the representation of the Egyptian people. Finally, he was allowed to resume his interest in education; in 1894 he became a member of the governing body of the Azhar, which had been constituted at his suggestion and in this capacity not only acquired great renown by his reforms in the university but himself took an active part in the teaching. In addition to this many-sided activity, in the fifteen years after his return he found time to publish a number of works, including his most important: the *Risālat al-Tawḥīd* (1315/1897), his principal theological work based on his lectures in Beirut; the publication of a work on logic (*S̲h̲arḥ Kitāb al-Baṣāʾir al-nāṣiriyya, taṣnīf al-Ḳāḍī Zayn al-Dīn* (1316/1898); a defence of Islam against Christianity in the field of knowledge and civilisation entitled *al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniyya maʿa 'l-ʿilm wa 'l-madaniyya* (1320/1902; first published in *al-Manār*). Muḥammad ʿAbduh was not able to finish his commentary on the Ḳurʾān, on which he laid great importance and of which he had published portions in *al-Manār*; it was revised by his disciple and friend S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā [*q.v.*] and published first of all in *al-Manār*. Of Muḥammad ʿAbduh's numerous articles by which, along with his lectures, he most influenced public opinion, two (of 1900) were published in a French translation entitled *L'Europe et l'Islam* by Muḥammad Ṭalʿat Ḥarb Bey (1905). The advanced ideas put forward by Muḥammad ʿAbduh provoked the most vigorous hostility in orthodox and conservative circles, which manifested itself not only in serious refutations but also in attacks and intrigues against him, as we see from a whole literature of lampoons. But his teaching met with remarkable support among all seriously minded Muslims. The principal organ of his views was the monthly *al-Manār*, which had appeared since 1897 under the editorship of Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, who also produced an extensive literary monument to his master (but his views and the tendencies of his periodical must not be identified uncritically with those of Muḥammad ʿAbduh). Muḥammad ʿAbduh died in 1905; but his teaching has retained its influence steadily to the present day.

Muḥammad ʿAbduh's programme, according to his own statement was: 1. the reform of the Muslim religion by bringing it back to its original condition; 2. the renovation of the Arabic language; 3. the recognition of the rights of the people in relation to the government. His political activity was dominated by the idea of patriotism, which he was the first to champion enthusiastically in Egypt. As an opponent equally of the political control by Europe and of oriental desposition in Muslim lands, he favoured an inner assimilation of western civilisation, without abandoning the fundamental Muslim ideas and a synthesis of the two factors. From this programme, which assures Muḥammad ʿAbduh an important place among the founders of modern Egypt, must be distinguished his efforts to carry it through in the field of theology. Muḥammad ʿAbduh was in the first place a theologian; his life was devoted to the attempt to establish and maintain Islam, at least as a religion, against the onslaught of the West, while he abandoned without a struggle those aspects of Muslim oriental life in which religion was of less moment. However great a stimulus he may have received from progressive western thought, the actual foundations of his teaching came primarily from the school of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya, who favoured reform on conservative lines, and from al-G̲h̲azālī's ethical conception of religion. Deeply convinced of the superiority of true Islam, unaffected by the vicissitudes of time, Muḥammad ʿAbduh wished to get rid of the abuses which falsified the Muslim religion and made it out of keeping with the times, and to adapt Islam to every real advance by going back to its true principles. He was thus brought to attack the *mad̲h̲āhib* and *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*], to demand the restoration of *id̲j̲tihād* [*q.v.*] and a new *id̲j̲māʿ* [*q.v.*], in keeping with modern conditions, based on the Ḳurʾān and the true *sunna*, for the establishment of which he laid down strict criteria; he was also brought to reject the hairsplitting of the *fuḳahāʾ*, the worship of saints and all *bidʿa*, and to the endeavour to create a more ethical and deeper religion instead of a mechanical formalism. The antiquated system of *fiḳh*, against which Muḥammad ʿAbduh claimed full freedom, was to be replaced by new laws capable of development, in which consideration for the common good (*maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*]) and the times should, in keeping with the true spirit of Islam, have if necessary preference to the literal text (*naṣṣ*) of revelation, just as in any conflict between reason and tradition in settling what is laid down by religion, the verdict of reason should be followed. Alongside of the belief in the sublimity of revelation there was in Muḥammad ʿAbduh the conviction that knowledge and religion, properly understood, could not come into conflict at all, so that reason need not recognise a logical impossibility as a religious truth: religion was given to man as a thread to guide him against the aberrations of reason; reason must therefore, after it has tested the proofs of the truth of religion, which it is qualified to do, accept its dogmas; Muḥammad ʿAbduh's object was a cooperation between religion and science. In dogmatics, he adopted essentially the most rational conception that could still be reconciled with orthodoxy. At the same time, he interiorised the conception of revelation (to him it was intuitive knowledge caused by God and provided with the consciousness of this origin, but this kind of religious experience was limited to the pro-

phets) and deflected that of religion (to him it was an intuitive feeling for the paths to happiness in this and the next world, which cannot be clearly grasped by the reason). The task of prophecy for him was the moral education of the masses. Religious teaching and commandments were therefore intended for the masses and not for the élite. He regarded the Ḳurʾān as created and endeavoured to weaken the rigidly opposed point of view of orthodoxy. The saints he did take into his system, but was sceptical regarding belief in miracles: In spite of the denial of causality and laws of nature by orthodoxy, he found a basis for explaining nature by causal laws, but by quite scholastically formal reasoning. As regards the duties of religion, Muḥammad ʿAbduh adhered to the four main duties: ritual prayer, the alms tax, fasting and pilgrimage; only he shifted them, as usual in mysticism, from the sphere of worship to that of religion and morals. On the old question of free will, he decided for indeterminism; he thereby opened the way to build up a moral system for society, which, excluding all fatalism, preached vigorous activity by every one and, following the ethics of the mystics, mutual support. His view of the substance of Muslim teaching Muḥammad ʿAbduh defended not only against traditional orthodoxy but against Christianity also by a kind of philosophy of history of religion: the sending of prophets was a gradual process of education of step by step; the last and highest stage, that of absolute religion, is the sending of Muḥammad; if the Muslim peoples of the present do not correspond to the Muslim ideal, this is only the result of the fact that they have lost the old purity of the teaching; an improvement is possible by return to it. This primitive Islam of Muḥammad ʿAbduh was however not the historical Islam but a very much idealised one. The superiority of Islam over Christianity in substance lay, according to him, in its rationalism and its closeness to reality and its avoidance of unattainable ideals of life.

In this theology, the religious content consists of humility before God, reverence for the Prophet, enthusiasm for the Ḳurʾān. The basis of this Islam is the recognition of a not too retrogressive system of dogmatics; its object is the observance of an ethical system which is favourable to progress; and both are influenced by a strongly marked rationalism, which is genuinely part of primitive Islam but for Muḥammad ʿAbduh was no indifferent inheritance but the main weapon of defence of Islam and actually took the place of a deepening of religion, so that his theology had the character of an apologetic compromise.

Bibliography: G. Bergsträsser, *Islam und Abendland*, in *Auslandsstudien*, iv, Königsberg 1929, 15 ff.; I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, 320 ff.; R. Hartmann, *Die Krisis des Islam*, 13 ff.; Horten, *Mohammed Abduh*, in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, xiii-xiv. On the life story of Muḥammad ʿAbduh is based the trilogy of novels by F. Bonjean and A. Deyf, called *Mansour, El Azhar* and *Cheikh Abdou l'Égyptien*. For more recent studies, see the Bibl. to IṢLĀḤ, i. The Arab world, §§ 4-5; J.M. Ahmad, *The intellectual origins of Egyptian nationalism*, Oxford 1960, index; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age, 1798-1939*, London 1962, chs. VI-VII; C. Wendell, *The evolution of the Egyptian national image, from its origins to Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid*, Berkeley, etc. 1972, index; P.J. Vatikiotis, *Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Sadat*², London 1980, 193 ff. (J. SCHACHT)

MUḤAMMAD ABU 'L-DHAHAB, a Mamlūk bey of the Ḳāzdughliyya [*q.v.*] group. He had entered the household of *Bulut Ḳāpān* ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] by 1174/1760-1, and quickly became his treasurer (*khāzindār*). In 1178/1764-5, after returning from Pilgrimage with his master (when he was emancipated), he was elevated to the beylicate, and obtained his nickname from scattering a largesse of gold coins on his appointment. His subsequent career falls into two periods: (1) Until 1185/1771 he was ʿAlī Bey's principal lieutenant, and commanded three important military expeditions. In 1183/1769 a campaign in Upper Egypt broke the power of Hawwāra [*q.v.*] under their paramount chief, Humām b. Yūsuf. An expedition to the Ḥidjāz in 1184/1770 installed as *amīr* of Mecca the candidate favoured by the Ottoman court. In 1185/1771 Abu 'l-Dhahab was sent to Syria for combined operations with Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, the rebel ruler of Galilee, against ʿUthmān Pasha al-Ṣādiḳ, the governor of Damascus. ʿUthmān Pasha fled, and the city had fallen, when Abu 'l-Dhahab hastily evacuated his forces and returned to Egypt. Various reasons have been suggested for this unexpected act, among them a reluctance to appear in open revolt against the sultan. A breach with ʿAlī Bey now developed. Abu 'l-Dhahab fled to Upper Egypt, where he built up his forces, and returned in Muḥarram 1186/April 1772, driving ʿAlī Bey to seek refuge with Ẓāhir. (2) Abu 'l-Dhahab, now master of Egypt, secured his position by defeating an invasion by ʿAlī Bey (8 Ṣafar 1187/1 May 1773), who died a few days later. Abu 'l-Dhahab, who succeeded him as *shaykh al-balad*, essentially continued his policy of establishing an autonomous Mamlūk state in Egypt with a buffer-zone in Palestine, but nominally recognised the sultan's suzerainty. After an interregnum since Shaʿbān 1182/December 1768, a titular Ottoman viceroy was received (Rabīʿ I 1187/June 1773). The annual contribution to the sultan's treasury (*irsāliyye* [*q.v.*]), withheld by ʿAlī Bey, was resumed. An invasion of Palestine was undertaken, ostensibly to overthrow the rebel Shaykh Ẓāhir. Abu 'l-Dhahab marched out in early Muḥarram 1189/March 1775, and took Jaffa. Ẓāhir fled as Abu 'l-Dhahab advanced on his capital, Acre, which fell and was pillaged. There he suddenly died (8 Rabīʿ II 1189/8 June 1775: so al-Djabartī, i, 414), and his lieutenant, Murād Bey, forthwith evacuated the army to Egypt. Abu 'l-Dhahab was buried in his own funerary mosque in Cairo; the inscription gives him the equivocal title of *ʿazīz Miṣr* [*q.v.*] which had earlier been assumed by ʿAlī Bey.

Supported by the profitable *iltizāms* which had been engrossed by ʿAlī Bey and Abu 'l-Dhahab, his Mamlūk household, the Muḥammadiyya, headed by Ibrāhīm Bey [*q.v.*] and Murād Bey, held almost continuous domination over a quasi-autonomous Egypt until the arrival of Bonaparte's expedition in 1213/1798.

Bibliography: The basic contemporary source is Djabartī (b. 1167/1753), *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, i; numerous references from p. 252 onwards; obituary at 417-20. Also contemporary are (1) the Lebanese chronicler, Ḥaydar Aḥmad al-Shihābī (b. 1174/1761), *Lubnān fī ʿahd al-umarāʾ al-Shihābiyyīn*, ed. Asad Rustum and Fouad E. Boustany, Beirut 1933, i, numerous references especially at 81-111; and (2) al-Murādī (eyewitness of the siege of Damascus in 1185/1771), *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-thānī ʿashar*, Būlāḳ 1310/1883-84, i, 54-7. The fullest modern treatment is by D. Crecelius, *The roots of modern Egypt*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1981 (comprehensive bibliography). (P.M. HOLT)

MUḤAMMAD ABŪ ZAYD, a modern Egyp-

tian theologian from the town of Damanhūr. In 1930 he published a Ḳurʾān commentary which caused a commotion in Egypt. Because of this commentary, the well-known reformer Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] accused him of atheism, and, at the same time, of stealing ideas from Muḥammad ᶜAbduh [*q.v.*]. An investigatory committee of Azhar scholars condemned Muḥammad Abū Zayd and his Ḳurʾān commentary.

Nevertheless, this commentary is conceived in a spirit of rationalism which differs little from Muḥammad ᶜAbduh's rationalist ideas. According to its author, the indignation which it evoked was due to political reasons. This may have been true. For instance, according to Muḥammad Abū Zayd, the plural demonstrative pronoun in Ḳurʾān IV, 62/59 "Obey... *those* of you who have the command", indicates that Islam does not admit of rule by one man. An autocratic ruler of a Muslim country may have doubts as to whether this conclusion is correct.

On the basis of Ḳurʾān III, 125/130, "Live not on usury doubled twice over", Muḥammad Abū Zayd taught that Islam does not forbid interest if the percentage is moderate and reasonable.

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(J.J.G. Jansen)

MUḤAMMAD ᶜALĪ (1878-1931), political leader, journalist and poet, was one of the prominent figures of the Indian Muslim community during the second and third decades of this century. He was born at Rāmpūr [*q.v.*] on 10 December 1878. His father, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlī Khān (1848-80) was an officer in the Nawwāb's army and died young. Muḥammad ᶜAlī and his brothers were brought up by their illiterate mother, Ābādī Begum, better known in the Indian history as Bī Ammāñ ("Respected Mother"), who played an active role in Indian politics until her death in November 1924. Despite fierce opposition by her in-laws, she sent her sons to English-language schools.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī received his B.A. from the Mohamedan Anglo-Oriental College, ᶜAlīgaṙh, in 1898 and proceeded to England the same year to appear in the Civil Service examination. He obtained another B.A. from Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1902 but failed in the Civil Service test. Back in India, he was appointed inspector of schools in his native Rāmpūr. Soon he resigned the job due to court intrigues. He served as a civil servant in the princely state of Baroda (1903-10), where he started to take interest in political issues. He attended the first meeting of the Muslim League (ML) at Dacca (Dhākā) in 1906 and helped to formulate its constitution. He had to leave Baroda as a result of the Mahārādjā's displeasure at his writing a series of articles in the *Times of India* in 1907, entitled "Some thoughts on the present discontent". He declined job offers, including the post of the chief secretary of the princely state of Bhopāl [*q.v.*], and proceeded to Calcutta, which was still then the capital of British India, in order to launch an English-language weekly, *Comrade*. The first issue was published in January 1911. When the British transferred the capital to Dihlī in 1912, Muḥammad ᶜAlī moved there also with his paper.

Together with many prominent Indian Muslims, Muḥammad ᶜAlī reacted sharply against the Balkan Wars and was instrumental in dispatching an Indian "medical mission" to treat the wounded Turkish soldiers in December 1912. Next year, he launched an Urdū daily, *Hamdard*, in order to reach the Muslim public. Demolition of a portion of a mosque in Kānpūr [*q.v.*] on 3 August 1913 and subsequent firing on a group of Muslim men and children trying to rebuild it, provoked sharp reaction by the Muslims of India. As protests to British authorities in India proved futile, Muḥammad ᶜAlī, together with the ML secretary, Wazīr Ḥasan, went to England (October-December 1913) to plead the Muslim case. In the meantime, the Viceroy visited the mosque on 14 October and allowed rebuilding of the demolished section.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī supported the Turkish cause during the First World War. He wrote an editorial entitled "Choice of the Turks" in the 26 September 1914 issue of *Comrade*, in reply to an editorial of the London *Times* bearing the same headline. As a result, *Comrade*'s deposit was forfeited and its publication banned on 3 November; a ban on *Hamdard* followed in August 1915.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī and his elder brother Shawkat, now an active supporter, were detained from 16 May 1915 to 28 December 1919. The duo worked in such unison that they came to be commonly referred to as the ᶜAlī Birādarān ("ᶜAlī Brothers"). It was later known that they were also involved in a secret plan, the so-called "Silk Letter Conspiracy", to overthrow the British government in India with Turkish and Afghān help during the First World War. While in detention, Muḥammad ᶜAlī was elected president of the ML in September 1917.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī was the leader of the popular Khilāfat Movement [*q.v.*] that arose in India in protest against the treatment of Turkey by the Allies in the wake of the First World War. He led a "Khilāfat Delegation" to Europe (February-October 1920) to plead with European powers for a better treatment to Turkey. During the course of the Khilāfat agitation, Muḥammad ᶜAlī called for non-cooperation (*tark-i muwālāt*) with the British and was able to persuade the Indian National Congress (INC) to endorse it in December 1920 (called off, however, by M.K. Gāndhī in February 1922).

As the M.A.O. College, ᶜAlīgaṙh (now erected into a University), refused to join his anti-British campaign, Muḥammad ᶜAlī founded a parallel "National University" there in October 1920. Later renamed as the *Djāmiᶜa Milliyya Islāmiyya*, it was moved to Dihlī in October 1925.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī was again arrested in September 1921 for making a "seditious" speech at Karāčī in July in which he exhorted Muslim soldiers to desert the British army. He was tried, together with six others including Shawkat, in the famous "Karāčī Trial" in September 1921. He was acquitted of the sedition charge but found guilty on minor counts and jailed for two years. During his detention he started to write a book on Islam. As its introduction, he wrote his autobiography up to 1923. He was released in August 1923 before he could complete the work, which was later published as *My life: a fragment*.

He was elected president of the INC in December 1923, only to leave the party soon thereafter on account of differences over its policy towards Muslim issues. Earlier in his political career, Muḥammad ᶜAlī had been a champion of Hindū-Muslim brotherhood and cooperation. However, in his later days he came to believe that Muslims of India need greater protection against the growing Hindū assertiveness. This argument later developed into the demand for Pākistān.

The Khilāfat Movement died naturally when

Muṣṭafā Kemāl [see ATATÜRK] abolished the caliphate in 1924, and Muḥammad ʿAlī tried in vain to revive it through the Arabian ruler ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd. *Comrade* was re-launched in October 1924 and *Hamdard* in November. Falling readership led to the closure of the former in January 1926, while the latter managed to survive until April 1929. By this time, a disorganised and hectic life had taken its toll of Muḥammad ʿAlī. Despite his illness, he insisted on attending the Round Table Conference in November 1930 at London, where he died on 4 January 1931. He was buried in the precinct of the Akṣā Mosque in Jerusalem. Aḥmad Shawkī, the Egyptian poet, wrote his elegy, and he was the subject of a number of poems by Muḥammad Iḳbāl. Muḥammad ʿAlī himself was a poet, thanks to long periods of detention, and collections of his Urdū poems were published in his life-time; he used the poetic pen name (*takhalluṣ*) of Djawhar. He should not be confused with his contemporary, Muḥammad ʿAlī of the Lāhōrī of the Aḥmadiyya Movement [*q.v.*] who translated the Ḳurʾān into English.

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MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ BĀRFURŪSHĪ ḲUDDŪS, MULLĀ (1239-65/1824-49) outstanding leader of early Bābism [see BĀB, BĀBĪS]. Born to a peasant family in Bārfurūsh in Māzandarān, he pursued religious studies there and in Mashhad. In 1256/1840-1, he moved to Karbalāʾ, where he studied under Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī [*q.v.*], head of the Shaykhī school [*q.v.*]. He was the last member of the small group of Shaykhī *ʿulamāʾ* to accept Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad Shīrāzī (sc. the Bāb) as Rashtī's successor in 1260/1844.

Bārfurūshī accompanied Shīrāzī on a *ḥadjdj* journey (1844-5), was arrested in Shīrāz after his return, and soon returned to Māzandarān, where he remained in seclusion for two years. In 1847, he went to Mashhad, where Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bushrūʾī [*q.v.*] had established an important Bābī centre. Returning to Māzandarān in 1848, Bārfurūshī played a leading role in the Bābī gathering at Badasht, at which the Islamic *sharīʿa* was abolished. His own position seems to have been conservative, and there are hints of a rift between him and other Bābī leaders. Following a brief imprisonment in Sārī, he joined the Bābī contingent at the fortified shrine of Shaykh Ṭabarsī, near his home-town of Bārfurūsh. Here he was highly regarded, being acclaimed as the *Ḳāʾim* [see ḲĀʾIM ĀL MUḤAMMAD] in person and, at one stage, even claiming to be God. Assuming leadership of the fort on the death of Bushrūʾī, he was finally taken prisoner and executed in his native town on 23 Djumādā II 1265/16 May 1849. His grave there later became a Bahāʾī shrine. Few of his apparently voluminous writings have survived.

Bibliography: All standard works on Bābī history contain numerous references. For further details, see M.A. Malik Khusrawī, *Tārīkh-i shuhadā-yi amr*, i, Tehran 1973-4, 58-82, 404-14, and *passim*; Mīrzā Asad Allāh Fāḍil-i Māzandarānī, *Tārīkh-i ẓuhūr al-ḥaḳḳ*, iii, Cairo n.d., 405-30; idem, *Asrār al-āthār*, iv, Tehran 1972-3, 477-88. On his messianic role, see Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Djānī Kāshānī, *Kitāb-i Nuḳṭat al-Kāf*, ed. E.G. Browne, London and Leiden 1910, 152, 199, 202. On his writings, see D. MacEoin, *Early Bābī doctrine and history*, forthcoming. (D. MACEOIN)

MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ ḤUDJDJAT-I **ZANDJĀNĪ**, MULLĀ (1227-67/1812-51), leading exponent of Bābism in Zandjān, and chief protagonist of the Bābī uprising there. Born in Zandjān to a clerical family, he studied in Nadjaf, but on his father's death returned to take his place. He soon acquired a reputation for a puritan implementation of the *sharīʿa* and for his introduction of religious innovations, thereby incurring the disfavour of the clerical establishment.

The circumstances of his conversion to Bābism around 1260/1844 are unclear, but his connection with the sect intensified his role as an independent religious leader with his own following. He built a large prayer-complex based on his father's mosque and had a new one built for himself, to which he attracted large numbers. By 1850, the number of his followers had risen to 2,000 or 3,000. Following complaints lodged against him by other *ʿulamāʾ*, Zandjānī was summoned to Tehran, where he was investigated by a tribunal consisting of Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*], government officials and leading clerics. Exonerated, he returned to Zandjān, where he forcibly assumed the role of Imām-Djumʿa as the Bāb's appointee. This led to his being returned to Tehran and placed under house arrest for a year. Following the death of Muḥammad Shāh in Shawwāl 1264/September 1848, however, he escaped and returned to Zandjān. He now instituted radical changes in the city. Poor and rich were seated separately in his mosque, and the *sharīʿa* was rigidly enforced. Before long, he challenged the governor's authority, and in May 1850 fighting broke out between his followers and those loyal to the other clergy. Zandjān was divided by the governor into two camps, and a fierce struggle began, leading to considerable loss of life on both sides. Zandjān himself died in the course of the fighting, on 5 Rabīʿ I 1267/8 January 1851.

Unlike other Bābī leaders of this period, Zandjānī played a very minor role in the religious development of the movement, either as a writer or preacher. It may even be wondered whether he and his followers were, in the strict sense, Bābīs at all. For all that, his place as an early Bābī hero is secure in modern Bahāʾī hagiography.

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(D. MacEoin)

MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ PASHA (late 1760s-1849), Ottoman governor-general and effective ruler of Egypt. He was known in his time and to his Ottoman milieu as Meḥmed ʿAlī Pasha. In European sources, he was often referred to as the viceroy of Egypt or simply as the Pasha. Assuming the title Khedive, which officially was only granted to his grandson Ismāʿīl in 1867, Muḥammad ʿAlī was Ottoman governor-general of Egypt from 1805 to 1848, when, owing to mental incapacity, the position was formally conferred on his son Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. His heirs ruled Egypt, with varying degrees of effective power, until 1952.

Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha was one of the most important and controversial figures in the modern history of Egypt. His career can be divided into four distinct periods: (1) his rise to the position of governor-general and consolidation of power, 1801-11; (2) the period in which he laid the economic and military foundations for what later became a regional empire centred on Egypt, 1812-27; (3) the height of Egyptian hegemony and the beginning of the disintegration of his economic control system, 1828-41; and (4) the post-heroic phase and the setting of realism and retrenchment, 1841-8. The last phase of his reign ushered in a new and significantly different period—the middle decades—which spanned also the reigns of ʿAbbās, Saʿīd, and the first phase of Ismāʿīl's reign. That time of repose, peace, prosperity, and reconstruction followed Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign of rapid development and stormy expansionism, and of dynamic, innovative but also exhausting and oppressive government.

1. *Rise and consolidation (1801-11).*

Muḥammad ʿAlī was born in the late 1760s (the exact date is under debate) in the small Macedonian port of Kavala [see KAWĀLA]. His father was an Ottoman soldier of Albanian origins, who rose to command the local force of irregulars, but also engaged in tobacco trading. His mother came from the family of the town governor. Muḥammad ʿAlī followed in his father's footsteps until he was appointed in 1801, deputy-commander of the contingent recruited in Kavala to join the Ottoman forces in Egypt. The Kavala contingent was to become part of the Ottoman-Albanian battalion dispatched to fight the French in Egypt. It was then that Muḥammad ʿAlī began his spectacular rise to the pinnacle of power in that beleaguered Ottoman province.

Rapidly grasping the complex power-game that prevailed in Egypt at the time, Muḥammad ʿAlī skilfully manipulated the various parties to promote his own interests. In just about four-and-a-half years, he manoeuvred so as to be appointed by the Porte, albeit reluctantly, governor-general of Egypt. The details themselves are perhaps less important than the method by which this extraordinary achievement was accomplished. The main vehicle that served the aspiring officer was the Ottoman-Albanian unit, whose leadership he indeed obtained in mid-1803 as the first stepping stone to power. The other competitors were the various factions of Mamlūk beys, the Ottoman governor-general and regiments, and the urban notables. The nature of the game consisted in striking the right balance, forming a durable coalition, playing opposition factions against each other, assessing the relative strength and vital interests of all parties, and possessing a fine sense of timing. In all these, Muḥammad ʿAlī bettered his rivals.

Crucial events leading to the ascendancy of Muḥammad ʿAlī took place between 1803 and 1805. The Mamlūk warriors [see MAMLŪKS. (i) Political history (f)] were then split into two factions, one led by ʿUthmān Bey al-Bardīsī, the other by Muḥammad Bey al-Alfī. The Ottoman camp was also divided against itself between the *wālī* or governor Khusrew Pasha and the commander of the Albanian force Ṭāhir Pasha. The cleavage within each camp turned the Mamlūk-Ottoman scramble for control of Egypt into a complex struggle between *ad hoc* coalitions of sub-groups. In April 1803, the Ottoman-Albanians mutinied in Cairo over pay demands, and Khusrew fled to Damietta. Ṭāhir, who temporarily assumed the leadership, called in the Mamlūks from Upper Egypt, but was assassinated soon after. This enabled Muḥammad ʿAlī to assume the position of commander of the Ottoman-Albanian unit, probably the most effective force in Egypt at the time.

Muḥammad ʿAlī renewed the alliance with the Mamlūks, defeated Khusrew Pasha at Damietta, and brought him to Cairo as prisoner. With Muḥammad al-Alfī in England to rally support for his faction, the coalition depended on the political ties between al-Bardīsī and Muḥammad ʿAlī. Another governor-general, sent from Istanbul, was ultimately eliminated by that coalition early in 1804. As al-Alfī returned to an unwelcome reception and was forced by an Ottoman-Albanian contingent to escape to Upper Egypt, al-Bardīsī became the next target. The time-honoured mechanism of disrupting public order in Cairo was set in motion, and Muḥammad ʿAlī's troops rioted in demand of pay arrears. Al-Bardīsī imposed a new tax on the population, bringing the situation to the verge of revolt. It was Muḥammad ʿAlī who then appeared as the saviour of the Cairenes, abrogated the tax, and drove al-Bardīsī out of town. He thus laid the foundations of the alliance with the urban notables—the leading *ʿulamāʾ* and merchants—which would legitimate his seizure of power in the following year.

In the interim period of sixteen months, Muḥammad ʿAlī allowed the appointment of an Ottoman *wālī*, while he himself engaged his troops in a campaign against the Mamlūks. The new *wālī* attempted to improve his subservient position in the Cairene power-play by introducing fresh irregular forces from Syria. The unruly behaviour of the Syrian force only provoked the wrath of the notables and drew Muḥammad ʿAlī back into the city. In collusion with the notables, Muḥammad ʿAlī was proclaimed *wālī* of Egypt. After a brief showdown between the incumbent and the challenger, the Porte realised the strength of Muḥammad ʿAlī's position and endorsed his appointment. Future attempts to remove him from Egypt to govern other provinces (Djidda, Salonika) clearly indicate how unhappy with the appointment the Ottoman government really was.

The Porte's endorsement was no more than a reluctant recognition of Muḥammad ʿAlī's superior position vis-à-vis other contenders for power in Egypt. In the following six years, between 1805 and 1811, Muḥammad ʿAlī made a successful bid for hegemony by eliminating all challenges to his authority. This was mainly a political and military phase in the history of Egypt and the career of the Pasha, with

relatively little to record in terms of economic, administrative and social developments. The most pressing threat to his control of Egypt came from the Mamlūks, divided through they were amongst themselves and perched in Upper Egypt. Muḥammad ʿAlī used various kinds of tactics in confronting the Mamlūks, attempting to co-opt as many of them as he could and fighting those he could not. Alliances were often fragile, and beys who had made peace with the Pas͟ha would fall out with him, and vice-versa.

The first turning point in Muḥammad ʿAlī's struggle against the Mamlūks occurred in late 1806-early 1807. Within four months, both al-Bardīsī and al-Alfī died, neither of them in battle, leaving the Mamlūk camp without the charismatic leadership needed to galvanise it against the *wālī*. Although the British agent and consul-general still advocated the reinstalment of the Mamlūk régime, such plans were becoming less realistic than ever before. Through scattered skirmishes around Cairo and in Upper Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī gradually increased his hold on the whole country. In March 1811, he dealt the Mamlūks a final blow, treacherously massacring their leaders, whom he invited to a ceremony in the Citadel in honour of his son Tūsūn's promotion and departure for the Ḥid͟jāz. A large-scale elimination of Mamlūks followed in the provinces, bringing the number of casualties to the hundreds. The Citadel massacre marks the end of Mamlūk power in Egypt, although individually, many Mamlūks were incorporated into the Ottoman-Egyptian élite. Such men continued to serve in high military and administrative posts throughout the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī and beyond.

Other challenges to Muḥammad ʿAlī's hegemony came both from within and from without. Intending to assist the Mamlūks to capture the government of Egypt and hoping to pre-empt yet another French takeover, British forces landed in Alexandria in March 1807. As they failed to occupy Rosetta, the British troops were contained by Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces and trapped in Alexandria. They were later evacuated by agreement. When the reforming and vigorous sultan Selīm III [*q.v.*] was deposed during the same year, the Ottoman government plunged into a long period of internal difficulties followed by reconstruction. These developments afforded Muḥammad ʿAlī a much-needed respite from both Ottoman interference and British intervention. However, before he could devote himself to the final eradication of Mamlūk power, there remained one internal opposition group, sc. the urban notables.

During the first period of his career, Muḥammad ʿAlī managed to play his hand so well that he virtually eliminated the urban notables from power politics in Egypt. The group most conspicuously affected in this way was the *ʿulamāʾ*. Their highly influential leadership was nurtured on income from supervision of *wak̲f* property, *iltizāms* and some commercial activity. The rank-and-file lived modestly off religious-judicial-educational services rendered to the community and paid for either directly or through *wak̲fs*. *ʿUlamāʾ* also performed an important social function through the many Ṣūfī orders that existed in Egypt at the time. As his reign progressed, Muḥammad ʿAlī moved to curtail the power of the *ʿulamāʾ* and place them under state control. His first target was ʿUmar Makram [*q.v.*].

This highly respected and influential *nak̲īb al-as͟hrāf* allied himself with Muḥammad ʿAlī during the crisis of 1804-5 and greatly assisted in bringing the Cairene notables over to the Pas͟ha's side. His wealth, standing and independent mind marked him out as a potential focus of notable opposition to the *wālī*. In mid-1809, Muḥammad ʿAlī set a dangerous precedent for the *ʿulamāʾ* by taxing *wak̲f* lands in the north-western province of Buḥayra. The *ʿulamāʾ*, headed by ʿUmar Makram, protested and entered into conflict with the Pas͟ha. Pressed for ready income to defray the mounting costs of his domestic military effort, and sensing that he was strong enough to take on notable opposition, Muḥammad ʿAlī moved swiftly and decisively to get rid of ʿUmar Makram. Splitting *ʿulamāʾ* ranks by threat and temptation, he managed to isolate ʿUmar Makram and, finally, exiled him.

Already during the period of consolidation, Muḥammad ʿAlī began to introduce a centralised economic system and to tighten his control over the land. However, he worked cautiously and gradually, with the intention not to upset the delicate balance of power too drastically too fast. At first, he replaced current *iltizām* holders with his own family and household members. Also, in areas that came under his control, he monopolised production and export wherever circumstances permitted. The result was a temporarily mixed system, in which *iltizām* continued to exist and be granted alongside direct tax-collection and the tangible presence of the central government in the provincial economy. A more intensive interference and reorganisation of agriculture and the land tenure system ocurred after 1810. Even then, however, the Pas͟ha knew he had to accommodate influential urban and rural notables and some powerful bedouin *s͟hayk͟hs*.

In the methods which he employed to achieve hegemony within Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī was not different from previous Mamlūk and other strongmen or warlords seeking the same purpose. At least partially, he was successful because he moved with caution and a proper sense of the possible and the expedient. He coerced his weaker opponents, placated those of his enemies whom it was too costly to defeat and co-opted his stronger rivals. Ultimately, he trusted and worked best and longest with a small group of associates, members of his family and Kavala compatriots. In the following decades, this group would form the core of his Ottoman-Egyptian governing élite.

2. *Laying the foundations for a regional empire (1812-27).*

The second phase in the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas͟ha spanned a period of roughly fifteen years. During that time, the *wālī* devoted a great deal of his energies to the recruitment and training of a loyal élite and to the creation of strong and well-equipped land and sea forces, a solid and prosperous economic base, an effective administrative structure and a network of social services capable of maintaining and reproducing the governing élite. All these were to serve the purpose of supporting viceregal power inside Egypt and carving for the Pas͟ha a regional empire out of his Ottoman sovereign's vast dominions. While concentrating on building up these capabilities, Muḥammad ʿAlī dispatched his able sons on military expeditions in the Ḥid͟jāz, the Sudan, Crete and the Morea. The campaigns which they led confirmed Egypt as the dominant regional power in the eastern Mediterranean, testing its army, navy, economic base, and logistic capacity in preparation for the 1830s, which were to become the imperial decade.

As soon as the reigns of government rested firmly in his hands, Muḥammad ʿAlī began to entertain the thought of extending his rule towards the Syrian provinces. He mentioned the idea confidentially to the British consul-general in 1812, repeating it on various

occasions in the two decades that followed. Immediately upon the elimination of Mamlūk power, the *wālī* moved to establish firm control over the wealth of the country. This, he learnt quite early, lay for the most part in agriculture and trade. The pressing task was to survey all cultivable land, to re-establish state control over it and to reform the system of tax-collection in order to benefit the fisc. The process entailed the elimination of intermediaries who competed with the state and cut into its revenues.

The process of surveying, registering, revoking privileges and taxing the land was gradual and took nearly a decade. By 1821, however, all land in both Lower and Upper Egypt had been surveyed, recorded in registers and taxed. The total cultivable area amounted to almost 5,5 million (allegedly new, smaller) feddans. Lands on which taxes were imposed reached about 60%. Between 1812 and 1815, Muḥammad ʿAlī revoked all tax-farms (*iltizāms* [*q.v.*]), with modest compensation to their holders, and taxed *waḳf* lands. He also tightened the tax-collection network, relying on village headmen and Coptic assessors.

To increase and maximise profits in agricultural trade and export, Muḥammad ʿAlī instituted an effective system of monopolies. Accordingly, the government controlled all aspects of agricultural activity, fixing prices and taxes, regulating transactions and reorganising production. Forced labour (*corvée*) was exacted from the rural population in order to improve and substantially expand the irrigation system and provide water all-year-round. By 1816, the government managed to exclude competition in the country's traditional cash-crops, namely wheat, barley, beans, rice, sugar, sesame, indigo, short-staple cotton and hemp. It then moved to introduce new crops, most notably long-staple cotton. Allowing for seasonal and market fluctuations, the sweeping success of this crop accounted for a sizeable share of state revenues from the 1820s onwards.

It was also during the second period of his career that Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a launched his industrial experiment, which mostly aimed at import substitution and at supplying the armed forces. Quite naturally, munitions factories were the first to be introduced. Beginning in 1815, such arsenals were established in the Cairo citadel, Būlāḳ, Rosetta and Alexandria. From about the same time, textile factories of various kinds were established in and around Cairo, spreading into Lower and Upper Egypt during the 1820s. Sugar refineries, indigo factories, rice mills and tanneries were also put to work by government initiative. Private production, too, came under government regulation, in conformity with the general concept of a state-monopolised economy. In the second half of the 1830s, Muḥammad ʿAlī's industrial experiment, which was based on European technology and experts, met with great operational difficulties that ultimately brought much of it to collapse.

The second period in Muḥammad ʿAlī's career is also marked by profound changes in the make-up and nature of the armed forces of Egypt. These changes took place amidst campaigns undertaken by the Pas̲h̲a on foreign, far-away battlefields. These campaigns enhanced Egypt's standing as the predominant power in the region and improved its relations with the Ottoman government. The Porte realised that Muḥammad ʿAlī could be a useful ally in time of need and not just a potentially threatening rival. The *wālī*'s successes also increased the interest and involvement of European powers in Egyptian affairs. The Anglo-French rivalry was acted out in Egypt, and the two powers were working to guarantee their strategic interests and increase their political influence. Until the mid-1820s, Muḥammad ʿAlī maintained good relations with both, as their consuls-general reported, through he came to rely more heavily on French advisers. From then onwards, preference to France was evident, which later would turn Britain against him and in support of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1811, Muḥammad ʿAlī was asked by the Porte to suppress the Wahhābī revolt in Arabia and recapture for the sultan the Holy Cities in the Ḥid̲j̲āz. The *wālī* seized the opportunity to employ his troops away from capital politics and to win the gratitude of an unfriendly Ottoman government. His son Ṭūsūn, appointed commander-in-chief of the expeditionary force, re-established Ottoman control in the Ḥid̲j̲āz by 1830. Muḥammad ʿAlī himself went to the Ḥid̲j̲āz late in 1813 to assist his son in battle, finally ending hostilities in a truce two years later. After Ṭūsūn's sudden death in Egypt, his older brother, Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, led a successful offensive into Nad̲j̲d. He finally defeated the Wahhābīs in 1818, to the guarded pleasure of Istanbul. In the following year, Muḥammad ʿAlī concluded a treaty with the Imām of Yemen, which extended his sphere of influence down the Red Sea littoral to the straits. Nad̲j̲d, however, was retaken by the Wahhābīs in 1824, but the Ḥid̲j̲āz remained under Ottoman control.

With the Arabian affair over and his coffers fairly well filled, Muḥammad ʿAlī turned his energies southward in the direction of the Sudan. The occupation of Nubia, Sennar and Kordofan was motivated by military and economic reasons. In addition to the benefit of employing the troops away from the seat of power and wiping out the last remaining Mamlūk enclave in Dongola, the Pas̲h̲a had hoped to control the trade of the Sudan and tap its alleged gold deposits. But foremost in his mind was the recruitment of a slave army. The *wālī* wished to create a modern, European-style force, commanded by Ottoman-Egyptian officers, to replace the old-style contigents. The conquest of the Sudanese territories was accomplished between 1820 and 1822 with relative ease, under the command of Muḥammad ʿAlī's son Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a, who, nonetheless, paid for it with his life, and his son-in-law Meḥmed K̲h̲usrew, known as the *Defterdār*.

The newly-recruited slave army was trained in Aswān by Colonel Sèves, later chief-of-staff, known as Süleyman Pas̲h̲a, a French soldier who had been discharged after 1814 and sought employment in Egypt. Problems of adjustment and high mortality induced Muḥammad ʿAlī to replace the Sudanese slaves with a conscript army made up of Egyptian *fallāḥīn*. This decision was to have far-reaching consequences for Egyptian society and the future composition of the Ottoman-Egyptian élite. Soon after its creation, the Pas̲h̲a was given a chance to test the capabilities of his *Niẓām-i D̲j̲edīd*, as the new army was called. The Ottoman sultan, Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], bogged down in the quagmire of the Greek revolt, requested Muḥammad ʿAlī's assistance. The Egyptian *wālī* was offered Crete, Cyprus and in 1824 the Morea, in return for subduing them in the name of his Ottoman sovereign. His son Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a led the new army from success to victory until he captured Athens in June 1827 [see MORA].

Contrary to the views of Muḥammad ʿAlī and Ibrāhīm, a Russian-British-French imposed armistice was disastrously challenged by the Ottoman and

Ottoman-Egyptian fleets, which were destroyed in Navarino late in October 1827. Following a negotiated settlement, Ibrāhīm's forces, stranded in the Morea, were evacuated a year later. The Greek episode carried Muḥammad ʿAlī beyond the sphere of his intended plans for expansion. Rather than portray him in the cloak of a loyal subject to his master, it exposed him as a formidable and dangerous challenger to Ottoman authority and European designs. After the end of the Greek chapter, Muḥammad ʿAlī immersed himself in fervent preparations for the occupation of Syria, which launched him into the imperial phase of his career.

The imposition of the monopoly system, the introduction of long-staple cotton, and the creation of the new army opened the way to a major administrative reorganisation. The essence of this reform was to turn the Pas̲h̲a's household government into a civil bureaucracy. The first phase was taken almost from the beginning of the second period of his career, with the appointment of members of Muḥammad ʿAlī's household to supervise and manipulate the existing Ottoman structure. This was followed by the incorporation of local leadership elements as salaried officials into the administration. In 1824, the *wālī* introduced a new administrative structure for the provincial government with a clear chain of command. This apparatus was placed under a reformed central authority. The viceregal government in Cairo was divided into departments and councils coordinated by two bodies: the department of civil affairs and the viceregal cabinet.

This structure was highly influenced by traditional Ottoman practices but modelled on the centralised Bonaparte organisation. It stemmed from Muḥammad ʿAlī's preference for direct taxation over the concessionary system which prevailed through much of the Ottoman period. However, concessionary principles continued to be operative in the administration and were even enhanced during the last phase of his rule from the late 1820s onwards. The growth and articulation of the bureaucracy also reflected the fact that the government undertook new social functions. Foremost among these were education and health. Although the most important developments in these areas took place in the third, imperial period, the foundations were laid in the 1810s and 1820s. Student missions were sent to Europe beginning already in 1809, but growing in size from the mid-1820s on. A school of surveying was established in 1816, to be followed by a number of military schools in Upper Egypt, Cairo and Alexandria. In all these, European teachers and curricula were used.

The second period was not an easy time for the lower strata of Egyptian society. Apart from Pas̲h̲a-made afflictions, severe outbreaks of the plague occurred in Lower Egypt in 1813 and 1816, demanding high casualties. For its part, the preparation of the imperial base heaped many hardships on the population. Higher taxation and a more efficient system of collection, tighter controls and regulation of urban manufacturing, changes of crop-production patterns, increased *corvées* on irrigation projects and agricultural development, and the conscription, all weighed heavily on both *fallāḥ* and townsman. The family as a unit of production was coming under severe stress as a result of dislocation. In these circumstances, women were finding diminishing opportunities for gainful employment in addition to their work within the family, thereby losing the position that outside income secured at home. The state was increasing its hold on rural and urban society, appropriating for its needs an ever-growing share of people's time.

Resistance to state encroachment on the individual and the communal levels manifested itself in rural unrest and several localised armed revolts. These were put down by the government without much difficulty. There was only one attempt to overthrow the Pas̲h̲a, and that came from within the élite. At the end of 1813, while Muḥammad ʿAlī was making the pilgrimage and supervising the campaign in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, a high official spread rumours of the *wālī*'s death and tried to take over the government. However, Muḥammad ʿAlī's loyal deputy defeated the rebel and secured the throne. Muḥammad ʿAlī then extended his prolonged absence from Egypt without much fear. Absorbed as he later became in laying the foundations for his regional empire, he would not venture to leave Egypt very often in the remainder of his reign.

3. *Ruling a regional empire (1828-41).*

This period, which marked the height of Muḥammad ʿAlī's career, began with the excitement of a rising power and ended with the anguish of a frustrated dream. The 1830s were full of contradictions, witnessing some of the greatest successes the *wālī* had known but also the beginning of the collapse of some of his most ambitious programmes. During those years, Egypt attained regional hegemony which enabled its ruler to impose his political will over the inhabitants of a vast territory and to tap its economic resources. Externally, that very might won the Pas̲h̲a a determined rival—the reforming and able sultan Maḥmūd II. It also unleashed European opposition to his expansionism which, ultimately, caused the downfall of his empire. Internally, economic problems and administrative difficulties combined to jeopardise the strong state organisation which he had so diligently deployed to realise his grand design.

The third period began with the return from the Morea of Ibrāhīm's expeditionary force, for ever since that point, all efforts were directed at the reconstruction of the army and navy in preparation for a major campaign. As his peaceful request to receive the government of Syria, in reward for his services during the Greek war, had been denied in 1827, the Pas̲h̲a resolved to gain it by force. Considering the Syrian *wilāyets* as lying within Egypt's strategic and historical sphere, Muḥammad ʿAlī had closely followed developments in those regions and struck alliances with local leaders. When his land and sea forces were sufficiently ready to advance northward, he looked for a pretext to launch the offensive. The governor of Acre ʿAbd Allāh Pas̲h̲a, a former ally, was said to have refused a contribution to Muḥammad ʿAlī's war effort. He was also alleged to have harboured several thousand Egyptian fugitives evading the draft. This was used by the *wālī* in order to dispatch viceregal forces by land and sea, in October 1831, under Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, to lay siege to Acre.

By mid-1832, the Egyptian army captured Acre and the Palestinian districts, and, with the assistance of the Amīr of Lebanon Bas̲h̲īr II [*q.v.*], took Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli and Damascus. In December of the same year, the Ottoman-Egyptians defeated the Ottoman army near Konya, taking the Grand Vizier prisoner. Although Ibrāhīm would later make a further advance on Kütayha, the situation had already ceased to be an internal Ottoman matter. Having already declared Muḥammad ʿAlī a rebel early in the campaign, Maḥmūd II engaged the Russians in a defensive alliance and solicited their military presence in the vicinity of Istanbul. This, in turn, moved Britain and France, in varying degrees of enthusiasm, to intercede in Cairo with the aim of restraining Muḥammad ʿAlī's expansionism. In the several

rounds of Ottoman-Egyptian negotiations that followed, the Pas̲h̲a and his son extracted from the sultan major concessions. In mid-1833 it was agreed that, in return for the withdrawal of his troops, Muḥammad ʿAlī would gain control of the Syrian provinces, Crete and Adana. He thus came to govern the vast territories lying from the Sudan and the Ḥid̲j̲āz to eastern Anatolia.

The rapidly-growing need in the army and administration for personnel skilled in the various military sciences and civilian professions brought to the forefront the question of education and training on all levels. The lack of a modern school system had been sorely felt already during the second period of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign. The first path to Western education lay in the missions of Egyptian students sent by Muḥammad ʿAlī to Europe to acquire a profession. Between 1809 and 1848, close to 350 students were sent abroad. From the mid-1820s onwards, the Pas̲h̲a devoted greater attention to providing education at home, working from top to bottom to meet the most pressing needs first. That is, he began to establish higher, professional schools, and only later moved to create a primary and secondary school system. During the first phase, he had to enrol in his schools graduates of the Islamic school system. The 1830s saw more higher schools and an expanding lower and middle level network in the provinces.

Between 1825 and 1836, the government founded the following schools: military naval institutions for training officers and soldiers in the various military professions (infantry, cavalry, artillery); a medical school; a school for veterinarians; a school of pharmacy; a school for applied chemistry; a school for midwifery; a school for agriculture; a school for arts and crafts; a school for civil engineering; a school for administration; and a school for languages and translation. Other schools of minor importance and shorter duration were also established, not only in Cairo, but also in Alexandria and the provinces. From 1836 onwards, the government attempted to unite, rationalise and reform the system under a schools authority, which later became the ministry of education. However, the reform was only partially successful. With the retrenchment of the 1840s and contracting needs, schools were merged or closed down, though a few new ones were also founded.

The newly-emerging system was clearly not oriented towards mass education, which the *wālī* did not support, but towards élite formation, with special emphasis on the military professions. According to one estimate, adult literacy increased from 1% in 1830 to 3% in 1850. The Būlāḳ Press was founded in 1820 and commenced printing in 1822 [see MAṬBAʿA. 1. In the Arab world]. Eight additional printing presses were established in the following years. In 1828, an official gazette in Turkish and Arabic, *Wekāyiʿ-i Miṣrīl/al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*, began publication. The opening of a school for translation in 1836, and a bureau of translation in 1841, yielded during the remainder of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign the translation from European languages into Arabic of hundreds of manuals and textbooks. This was largely carried out under the supervision of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*], one of the most important Egyptian intellectuals of the 19th century.

During the height of the imperial period in the 1830s, a new architectural style began to dot the Egyptian urban scenery. The Mamlūk and earlier Ottoman styles were being replaced by a mixture of Greek, Italian and Spanish elements, often seen along the eastern Mediterranean coast. This Ottoman-Mediterranean style was called in Arabic *Rūmī*, in European languages Constantinopolitan. By the 1840s, Mamlūk wooden lattice windows (*mas̲h̲rabiyyas* [*q.v.*]) were being replaced by European windows with rectangular framed panes and wooden shades. Construction for public use was carried out on a large scale, including barracks for the army, dockyards for the navy, office buildings for the bureaucracy, schools, hospitals, palaces for the viceregal family and mansions for élite grandees. The Maḥmūdiyya canal was dug, the Nile barrages were being laid at the fork of the Delta and the great mosque was rising up at the Citadel. Country roads were improved to facilitate transport of produce, and some urban streets, mainly in Cairo, were being widened to enable more convenient passage of carriages and carts.

But it was not enough to educate and train the army and bureaucracy; it was also necessary to care for their health. In this area, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a reacted to crises rather than planned ahead to anticipate trouble. The French physician Clot [Bey] was charged with organising a military medical corps, following the Pas̲h̲a's growing concern about the poor health of his troops and the high mortality among them. The Board of Health and the quarantine service came into being as a result of the cholera pandemic of 1830-2. A sanitary code for Alexandria was issued in the wake of a plague outbreak in 1841. A vaccination service was set up in Upper Egypt to cater to the students and instructors in the government schools (1836), and hospitals were established in all provinces where government factories were in operation (1846). Except for smallpox immunisation, the health services were intended for the benefit of government personnel, military and civilian, with minimal spill-over to the population at large.

However, in spite of its achievements, Muḥammad ʿAlī's regional empire was not to enjoy internal peace, nor would it be allowed to outlive the decade. Trouble began at home, but was greatly exacerbated by an over-extended and unpopular imperial administration of the conquered territories, especially in Syria. In preparation for the Syrian campaign, the Pas̲h̲a had exploited the resources of Egypt to the very limit, if not beyond, leaving an oppressed and fatigued population. Droughts and cholera in the early 1830s and severe plague in 1835 took a heavy toll on the *fallāḥīn*, adding to their misery and the troubles of the fisc. Presiding over an extended state apparatus, Muḥammad ʿAlī still insisted on a highly centralised mode of government. His attempts to rationalise the system produced an organic law in 1837, which abolished all councils and reorganised existing departments. It also created new departments in a move towards government via ministries, though this was not fully accomplished. At the root of the problem lay the *wālī*'s reluctance to forego the personal advantage that direct disposal of power afforded him.

Egypt's incorporation into the world economy, a process much accelerated by Muḥammad ʿAlī's policies, exposed the country to fluctuations on international markets. A crisis in the international monetary system in 1836-7 brought cotton prices down and dried up the Pas̲h̲a's credit sources in Alexandria. To these were added mounting difficulties in the government of Syria. The Egyptian administration there was growing increasingly unpopular as a result of attempts to apply the policies tried out in Egypt. Increased taxation (including a poll-tax on Muslims), introduction of a tight system of monopolies, a "gun control" policy, the imposition of *corvées*, and, finally, conscription brought the popula-

tion to unrest and a series of sporadic revolts. Although Egypt had full access to the resources of Syria, the maintenance of a huge army was weighing heavily on the treasury. The cost of empire was becoming prohibitive.

The lack of natural, technical, and managerial resources combined with the overly centralised system to defeat the network of factories. These gradually fell into disrepair, so that by the late 1830s, little was left working of the few dozen plants established during the second period of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign. Not only were the factories bogged down, but also the rest of the economic management system was clogged up. Villages were being deserted and their revenues lost to the state. Land-tax arrears amounted to several years, with little hope of recovery.

Faced with an economic crisis and the mounting displeasure of an exhausted population, the Pas͟ha began to reverse his initial policy of direct administration. This was most evident in agriculture. From 1838 onwards, he granted sizeable tracts of land to members of his family, thus creating the basis for large landed estates (*čiftliks* [*q.v.*]). About the same time, he established the *ᶜuhda* system, distributing to the members of the Ottoman-Egyptian élite middle-size estates comprising villages whose taxes had not been paid. These office holders were obliged to settle and guarantee the amounts owed to the treasury in return for the right to cultivate, with *corvée* labour, for their own profit, a far from meagre part of the land. In many ways, this was a return to the old practices which the Pas͟ha, having gained firm control over Egypt, had eradicated during the 1810s.

In spite of all his internal and imperial problems, Muḥammad ᶜAlī refused to trim his ambitions of independence and regional hegemony. In mid-1838, he informed the European powers of his intention to declare independence. Although the international reaction was quite negative, he nevertheless did not withdraw his statement of intent. Maḥmūd II, invigorated by more than a decade of military and administrative reforms, was determined to confront the Pas͟ha, whom he again declared a traitor. An old-style Ottoman army crossed the Euphrates and marched to Nezib (Nizīb [*q.v.*]), on the northeastern approaches to Aleppo, where it was routed by Ibrāhīm's forces late in June. The sultan died in Istanbul before receiving news of the defeat of his troops. Upon the appointment of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's long-time enemy K͟husrew Pas͟ha as Grand Vizier, the latter's rival, the Ottoman admiral, defected to the *wālī*'s camp, surrendering the entire Ottoman fleet at Alexandria.

Much constrained, the new sultan, ᶜAbd ül-Medjīd [*q.v.*], offered Muḥammad ᶜAlī hereditary rule in Egypt, but the Pas͟ha's position was unrelenting in his demand for the same privileges also in Syria and Andana. Negotiations were deadlocked as long as K͟husrew was in office, but upon his dismissal in mid-1840, contacts were renewed and there was movement towards agreement. However, things had gone out of the hands of Ottomans and Ottoman-Egyptians, as too much was at stake for the European powers to allow a settlement that did not acoord with their interests. In July 1840, Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia concluded in London a convention to impose a settlement on both sultan and *wālī*. In return for the withdrawal of his forces from Syria, Muḥammad ᶜAlī was offered hereditary rule in Egypt and the Province of Acre for life.

The convention was part of a broader understanding, involving the resolution of the conflict over access to the Straits. France had supported Muḥammad ᶜAlī, but realising the direction of the tide, joined the allied action. The terms of the settlement were presented to Muḥammad ᶜAlī as a graduated ultimatum, backed by the deployment of joint naval forces ready to enforce them. Late in 1840, since the Pas͟ha would not budge, Beirut was taken up by sea and land operations. An insurrection in Lebanon followed; several coastal towns were taken by the allied forces and British naval units appeared before Alexandria. All these produced the evacuation of Ibrāhīm's army from Syria and the virtual surrender of Muḥammad ᶜAlī to the will of the powers. The Ottoman fleet was allowed to return home, and the sultan agreed to confirm the Pas͟ha as hereditary governor of Egypt in a *fermān* issued in June 1841.

The sultanic edict that ended Muḥammad ᶜAlī's regional empire limited the size of his army, stipulated that Ottoman legislation would apply in Egypt and required the Pas͟ha to obtain Ottoman consent before concluding international agreements. It thus sought to impose upon the *wālī* not only territorial constraints but also internal restrictions. Compliance with Ottoman demands was incomplete and the size of the army was kept well above the specified 18,000 level. But meaningful changes did occur, reflecting the rearranged priorities and the transformed world view of the Pas͟ha in the wake of the demise of his empire.

4. *Realism and retrenchment (1841-8).*

The fourth period of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's career marks the last phase of his reign: it also forms the first part of a new period in 19th-century Egyptian history, namely the interim years between the fall of the regional empire and the rise of Ismāᶜīl Pas͟ha's power in the mid-1860s. Thus the middle decades span the last phase of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's rule, the reigns of ᶜAbbās (1848-54) and Saᶜīd (1854-63) and the first phase of Ismāᶜīl's rule. In those years, Egypt was gradually recovering from the harsh consequences of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's imperial wars and aggressive reforms. No more a focal point of international politics, its rulers turned to economic activity and scaled-down development, less taxing on the country's resources and population. The change of pace and mood began to set in already during the early 1840s.

The settlement of the "Egyptian Question" removed Egypt from the international agenda, thereby enabling the Pas͟ha to alter the nature of his dealings with the European powers and to redefine his relations with the sultan. As the threat of Egyptian independence and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire was defused, Muḥammad ᶜAlī could enjoy improved relations with Istanbul, receive honours and even travel to the capital, as he did in 1846. Although still in possession of a large measure of autonomy, he was also back in the Ottoman orbit. Simultaneously, he would now trade with Europe, quibble with European consuls over the monopolies, and use European expertise to further develop Egypt. In 1841, he allowed England—the power that contributed more than others to his downfall—to establish a regular line of communication between Britain and India, using the overland route from Alexandria to Suez. Later, he even contemplated a visit to England, which never materialised.

Many of the processes that matured in the fourth period of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign originated in the third, imperial period. The apex of the Pas͟ha's political and military power coincided with the breakdown of his economic and administrative centralism. The decentralising tendency that began to

manifest itself in the late 1830s was considerably reinforced during the 1840s. In land-tenure, large estates continued to be distributed to members of the viceregal family, the granting of uncultivated, but cultivable, land (*ibʿādiyya*)—begun in the late 1820s—continued, and creation of *ʿuhda*s resumed on a massive scale. Thus direct control over much of the land was being relinquished and the ground was prepared for the emergence of the Ottoman-Egyptian élite as a landed class during the second half of the 19th century.

This tendency was accelerated in the early 1840s owing to a combination of bad harvests, a cholera epidemic and a devastating cattle murrain, which increased tax-arrears to a fraction below 20%, against the backdrop of a growing national debt. The transfer of land to *čiftlik*s and *ʿuhda*s was expected to settle these arrears, increase further revenue and, not least, enable the Pas͟ha to circumvent European pressures to abolish the monopolies. It was believed that through the transfer of direct control to a loyal élite, the government would be able to continue to appropriate the rural surplus, fix the prices and maximise profits on export. But the idea was self-defeating in many ways, since estate holders realised that much profit could be made by breaking government control of the market and dealing directly with buyers. Internal conflicts also broke out in the mid-1840s among the various types of estateholders and village *s͟hayk͟h*s over access to *fallāḥīn* labour and state support for land improvement.

All this amounted to the gradual disintegration of the monopolies and the collapse of the Pas͟ha's system of rural control. Consequently, further reduction in state revenues and penetration of foreign merchants into the agricultural interior occurred. Simultaneously, the factory system was grinding to a halt. This was, in large measure, the outcome of machinery failure due to wear-and-tear, poor maintenance and scarcity of technical skills. Shortage of power supply resulted from engines falling into disrepair and water buffaloes perishing in the murrain mentioned above. The cut in the size of the army further reduced the volume and buying power of the home market. This contributed to a decline in the demand for the products of the Pas͟ha's factories. In the face of a dwindling market, there was little sense, as Muḥammad ʿAlī realised, in undertaking the enormous cost of renewing the equipment of his factories. The contraction of the army, the factory system, and the schools network caused also the decline of the health service, which had to care for a diminishing clientèle.

To these major reasons for the breakdown of rural economic control and the collapse of the industrial experiment were added the growing effects of the 1838 Balta Limanî treaty. This Anglo-Ottoman commercial agreement improved trading terms for British merchants in the Ottoman Empire. It abrogated the monopoly system and reformed customs regulations. In effect, it threw the Ottoman dominions open to foreign competition, weakened the resistance of local manufactures to foreign products and further incorporated the Ottoman economy into the European-dominated world economy. Muḥammad ʿAlī attempted as much as he could to avert the application of the treaty in Egypt but had to succumb in the mid-1840s. However, local crafts developed various methods of minimising the damage, though the Pas͟ha's earlier creation of his factory system weakened their ability to cope with the open home market.

The delegation of some economic functions to an emerging intermediary élite was not accompanied by any weakening of viceregal hold over the government. Loyally served by a highly dependent military and administrative structure, Muḥammad ʿAlī continued to rest securely on his throne. Indeed, the formation of his Ottoman-Egyptian élite was one of the most important achievements of his reign. This group of military commanders and high office holders emerged out of the *wālī*'s household, providing him with the assistance needed to govern the country. He carefully selected them from among his family members, Kavala compatriots, Ottoman officials sent from Istanbul, his own Mamlūks and those of the old régime, Coptic scribes, Armenian interpreter-aides and Egyptian rural notables. One might add to these the group of European advisers, placed by the Pas͟ha in high executive positions, some of whom also embraced Islam.

The first generation of the Ottoman-Egyptian élite acquired some of its basic features already in the second period of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign, but matured during the last two decades of his rule. Heirs to Ottoman élite culture, governing traditions and social markers, members of this group were, above all, loyal to the Pas͟ha, the Egyptian service and the spirit of an Egyptian regional empire. The once influential urban notability was conspicuously absent from the ranks of this governing élite. Arabic-speaking and not at home in Ottoman élite culture, leading *ʿulamāʾ* and merchants were relegated to an ancillary position in Egyptian politics. During the first decade of his reign, Muḥammad ʿAlī had dealt a major blow to their semi-independent sources of income by taxing *waḳf* lands, revoking *iltizām*s and monopolising commerce.

The demise of ʿUmar Makram's power in 1809 proved to the urban notability that their traditional modes of operation were becoming obsolete. Refusing to accept them as mediators between people and government, Muḥammad ʿAlī squeezed them out of the political power game. Subsequently, the Azhar ceased to serve as the focus of popular protest and, as in other spheres of life, the Pas͟ha dealt with his subjects directly through guild and neighbourhood *s͟hayk͟h*s and his trusted agents. By 1840, the government had also completed the incorporation of the Ṣūfī orders into its control system, organising them under the *s͟hayk͟h* of the Bakriyya. How subservient and co-opted the urban notability had become can be deduced from the fact that during the same year, and amidst public unrest, Muḥammad ʿAlī felt confident enough to appoint two *ʿālim*s and a merchant to raise from among the population of Cairo, and then to command, eight auxiliary regiments to assist in the maintenance of order.

In the fourth period, the most prominent figures in the governing élite, the *wālī*'s son Ibrāhīm and his grandson ʿAbbās, were being groomed to take over the reins of government. In 1847, the old Pas͟ha, as he was then known, became mentally incapacitated and was gently removed from actual power. Reasons for his condition were said to be either his old-age senility or the effects of silver nitrate, which had been administered to treat his dysentery. Ibrāhīm, afflicted with tuberculosis, undertook the daily running of government. In July 1848, he was officially invested with the government of Egypt, only to die less than four months later.

Ibrāhīm was succeeded by ʿAbbās Pas͟ha [see ʿABBĀS ḤILMĪ I], whose reign proved to be of pivotal importance in the middle decades of the 19th century. It was he who, in a tough confrontation with the Porte, consolidated the hereditary rule of Muḥammad

ᶜAlī's family in Egypt. ᶜAbbās turned into an overt and deliberate state policy the scaled-down, trimmed, modest reform programme which began to manifest itself in a necessary evil during the last phase of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign and Ibrāhīm's brief rule. The old Pas̲h̲a died in Alexandria on 2 August 1849, not realising the change that was taking place around him. He was buried in the Citadel mosque, which he had begun to build and which ᶜAbbās completed.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reforms and regional empire.

Until the last phase of his rule, that which followed the withdrawal from Syria in 1840, there was hardly a time at which Egypt was not engaged in some military effort, usually a major one. In the period of consolidation, the military effort was first directed internally, against domestic rivals, and then externally, against the Wahhābīs in Arabia. The foray into the Sudan followed the victory in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, only to be succeeded by the Greek campaigns and the two Syrian wars, with the revolts that were sandwiched between them. The purpose of all this was to establish Egypt as a major regional power with considerable freedom of action in both internal and external matters. However, it is unclear whether in the late 1830s Muḥammad ᶜAlī was truly pushing for full independence or was merely putting forth a tactical demand in order to secure hereditary rule over the whole of his regional empire under Ottoman suzerainty.

Indeed, not before the collapse of the Pas̲h̲a's schemes in 1841, was there rest for the weary soldiery of Egypt. But the army was not the only beleaguered sector of the population, since large segments of Egyptian society and economy were harnessed to the war machine of the Pas̲h̲a. The *fallāḥīn* viewed conscription as a major evil. Indeed, coercion and violence were needed in order to enforce the draft. In the process, many rural families suffered want and disruption. When absconding, self-maiming, bribery and trickery failed, their ablest youths were carried off in chains to serve in faraway lands and to realise the grand design of their ambitious ruler. These men were then wanting on the family plot or when the village had to supply its quota for the *corvée*.

Once assembled, the army had to be clothed, regularly fed, equipped, trained, transported, medically cared for, and, of course, paid. To defray the enormous cost of all this, a major, and partially successful, effort was launched by the Pas̲h̲a to alter the economic base of the country. Again, this disrupted rural and urban life even further. Changes in crop production, higher taxes, increased *corvées* for irrigation projects and the creation of large estates, imposed new burdens. Naturally, the squeeze intensified whenever the Pas̲h̲a was preparing for battle. If the commercialisation of agriculture was intended to finance the campaigns, the industrial experiment was intended to clothe and equip the army, and to provide import substitution. In not a few of the Pas̲h̲a's factories, public works and construction sites, the labour was involuntary, and the pay rather low and irregular.

Whereas the social cost of these economic changes was borne by the rural and urban lower strata, the benefits accrued at the top of the socio-economic ladder. A small military-administrative élite colluded with an indigenous commercial notability and a growing, though still limited, group of European merchants, to maximise profits. In return for their total loyalty to the Pas̲h̲a and for the services to him, these men were allowed to accumulate wealth and improve their position in society. Even the health services were oriented towards the Ottoman-Egyptian élite, with minimal spill-over to the rest of the population. Greater advantage to the latter was derived from the new educational system. Although members of the élite had easier access to the student missions and the new schools, this was still the most effective channel of upward mobility for gifted members of the middle and lower strata of Egyptian society. But here, too, gains were realised only in the long term, well beyond the reign of the Pas̲h̲a himself.

Thus the balance sheet of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reforms is rather mixed. Markedly slowed down by the drastic reduction in the size of the imperial army, Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reforms were having a rapidly diminishing impact on the lower strata. Perpetuated by ᶜAbbās and Saᶜīd, this trend was reversed only by Ismāᶜīl Pas̲h̲a's resumption of large-scale development, which also brought the process to broader segments of the population. The middle decades of the 19th century only indicate the limited effect and real price of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's modernisation thrust. With the exception of Egypt's assistance to the Ottoman forces in the Crimean War (1853-6), those were peaceful years for the inhabitants of the Nile Valley. Heroism and the enormous sacrifices which it required gave way to blissful dullness. Conscription and the *corvée* were limited, the population prospered, and basic socio-economic patterns resurfaced on all levels of society.

Few men in modern Egyptian history were idolised as much as Muḥammad ᶜAlī Pas̲h̲a. Fascination with strong, charismatic leaders, perceived to have changed the course of history, is not a new phenomenon. Although far from it, his militant separatism and defiance of Ottoman authority were sometimes seen from a 20th-century perspective as precursors of Egyptian nationalism. He was thus embraced by Egyptian writers and glorified as a national hero. At the same time, his desire to adopt European know-how and technology in order to create a modern army and a strong economic base won him in Europe the reputation of a progressive, enlightened moderniser. Of his attributes, that of "Founder of Modern Egypt"—which combines all—seems to have had an almost magic grip on Western and Eastern minds alike.

Myths aside, Muḥammad ᶜAlī Pas̲h̲a was an Ottoman officer who, owing to his talents, ambition, determination and vision, dominated the government of Egypt for more than four decades. He managed to carve out of the sultan's dominions a patrimony which his progeny governed until 1952. Culturally, he remained an Ottoman gentleman, whose language was Turkish, whose world view was 19th-century Ottoman. In fact, he spoke neither Arabic nor French or English. But he made Egypt his abode, the seat of his government, the centre of his attention, where all his energies were invested. He also created the new Ottoman-Egyptian élite and established the two most effective channels of mobility in modern Egyptian society, sc. the conscript army and the modern system of education. Both needed much longer to mature as the prime agents of Egyptianisation, but it was Muḥammad ᶜAlī who pointed the direction and set the example. It was he, too, who gave Egypt a strong, centralised state organisation: an indispensable tool in the modern world.

In his personality, Muḥammad ᶜAlī combined the gifted general with the able administrator. This special breed of Ottoman Pas̲h̲as, often self-made men like him, was becoming rare, though still extant, in the sultan's service. To these heirs of the Ottoman

military-administrative heritage, the importance of a sound economic base as the mainstay of government was not a novelty. Indeed, the interdependence of military strength, economic prosperity and civil calm was the cornerstone of Ottoman political thought. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Pas̲h̲a invested all his energies to create both a military might and a sound economic base in order to achieve regional hegemony.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's powerful personality and broad range of activities dominate the historiography of his period. The literature tends to identify the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī with the man. Until recently, historians have mostly stressed his character, his actions, his conquests, his reforms, his ideas; they have paid less attention to structural considerations, the constraints of the domestic and global economies or the social repercussions of his policies, mainly for the *fallāḥīn* and the urban lower strata. The yardstick by which his life-work has been measured is the extent to which it laid the ground for the modern Egyptian nation-state. However, recent studies attempt to examine his reign from a broader social perspective, attenuating the superlatives and dimming some of the glory in the process.

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(E.R. Toledano)

MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ S̲H̲ĀH ḲĀD̲J̲ĀR, the sixth ruler of the dynasty. He was born at Tabrīz on 21 June 1872, the eldest son of Muẓaffar al-Dīn S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] by a Ḳād̲j̲ār wife, Umm al-K̲h̲āḳān. She was the daughter of Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī K̲h̲ān (Amīr Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and ʿIzzat al-Dawla, a sister of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*]. Muḥammad ʿAlī received

the title Iʿtiḍād al-Salṭana in 1882 and ten years later he was made *Sardār* of the troops in Ādharbāydjān. In 1893, after an earlier marriage to a concubine, he married Djahān Khānum, the daughter of Kāmrān Mīrzā, the favourite son of Nāṣir al-Dīn. The first son of this union, Sulṭān Aḥmad, was born in Tabrīz on 21 January 1898 and succeeded to the throne after his father's abdication in 1909 (see below). Muḥammad ʿAlī also made a number of other marriages and had at least five more sons and four daughters.

After the succession of his father in 1896, Muḥammad ʿAlī was proclaimed *wālī ʿahd.* His governorship of Ādharbāydjān from then until 1906 was marked by a measure of greed and rapacity and by the growth of Russian political influence at Tabrīz. During his father's visit to Europe in 1905 Muḥammad ʿAlī acted as Regent in Tehran, and this brought him into contact with those Persians who were beginning to seek administrative and political change. The crown prince was strongly opposed to any reduction in the powers of the monarchy and even before he became Shāh, following his father's death on 8 January 1907, his resolve to exercise royal authority was manifest. He was deeply distrusted by those who had gained political reforms from Muẓaffar al-Dīn during the final six months of that ailing ruler's reign, and within the first ten months of his rule Muḥammad ʿAlī was obliged to swear solemn allegiance to the new Constitution no less than four times.

This, however, did not prevent him and a group of close associates—including his two half-brothers, Shuʿāʿ al-Salṭana and Sālār al-Dawla—from plotting to cause the downfall of those who supported the reforms and to restore the power of the royal family. Persian politics at the time were chaotic and turbulent. The state treasury was practically empty, members of the newly-created national assembly lacked both the experience and skilled leadership necessary to tackle the country's growing problems, and several remote provinces were no longer under the control of central government. On 31 August 1907 the prime minister Amīn al-Sulṭān was murdered in Tehran, and the Shāh became even more suspicious of the intentions of his political opponents. Those fears were not unfounded, for in February 1908 there was an abortive attempt on his life. This occurred two months after the Shāh had ordered the arrest of the new prime minister Nāṣir al-Mulk. But this royal *coup d'état* failed, and relations between the crown and supporters of the Constitution quickly deteriorated as Muḥammad ʿAlī ordered the suppression of a number of the secret societies which sought further political change. Their newspapers and journals were also banned. Disorders in the provinces, some of which were actively fomented by the Shāh and his supporters, increased, and the Shāh finally declared martial law in Tehran in June, making the colonel of the Russian Cossack Brigade the military governor of the capital. This act served to confirm the suspicion of many Persians that the monarch was planning to allow Russia to control the entire country. On 23 June, Cossack troops bombarded the National Assembly and several people were killed. The following day, two of the most prominent political opponents of the Shāh were found strangled in the grounds of a royal palace, and on 27 June the Shāh declared the Assembly dissolved and the Constitution abolished as it was contrary to Islamic law.

Anti-royalist feeling grew in several regions, notably in Ādharbāydjān, and Russian troops occupied Tabrīz in April 1909. Various pro-Constitutional tribal forces then converged on Tehran, and on 13 July Muḥammad ʿAlī sought refuge in the summer residence of the Russian Minister. On 16 July he was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son Sulṭān Aḥmad. As he was a minor, his uncle Abu 'l-Faḍl Mīrzā was appointed Regent. Russian diplomats then negotiated the details of the former Shāh's pension arrangements with the Persian government, and Muḥammad ʿAlī left Tehran for Russia on 9 September 1909.

His first place of residence in exile was Odessa, and there he and his supporters quickly began to plot their return to Persia. Money was spent on recruiting support among disaffected tribal and brigand groups in the northern provinces of the country, as well as in the Russian Caucasus and Transcaspia. In November 1910 the former Shāh travelled to Vienna, where he held meetings with his supporters, including Sālār al-Dawla. Although the Russian archives on these activities have not been made available, there is evidence to suggest that Muḥammad ʿAlī's plans were made with the knowledge, and the connivance, of that government.

Muḥammad ʿAlī returned to Persia, with his half-brother Shuʿāʿ al-Salṭana and a quantity of arms, in a chartered Russian steamer, landing near Astarābād on 17 July 1911. That town quickly surrendered to him. Sālār al-Dawla had meanwhile raised a revolt in Kurdistān. The government in Tehran had very few military forces at its disposal to meet these challenges, and the Bakhtiyārī leaders who had marched on the capital in 1909 showed little sign of wishing to fight against their former monarch. Supporters of the Constitution, however, knew that if Muḥammad ʿAlī succeeded in regaining the throne, his thirst for revenge was likely to be considerable, and an irregular military force was rapidly raised to take the field against him. A battle took place near Varāmīn on 5 September 1911, when Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces were defeated, and one of his chief supporters, Arshad al-Dawla, was captured and promptly executed.

Muḥammad ʿAlī had prudently remained near Astarābād, and he lingered there until he was forced to sail to Russia for a second and permanent period of exile in February 1912. He had by now become something of an embarrassment to the Russian government, which had established great influence in Tehran, and the British government had decided that his restoration to power was not desirable. There were many rumours of another attempt being planned to regain the throne in the summer of 1912, but these proved to be groundless. Muḥammad ʿAlī died at San Remo on 5 April 1925, and later that year Aḥmad Shāh was deposed by the National Assembly, thus bringing the Ḳādjār dynasty to an end.

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MUḤAMMAD BAḲĀʾ B. GHULĀM MUḤAMMAD **SAHĀRANPŪRĪ**, author of historical and biographical works in 11th/17th century Mughal India.

Born in 1037/1627 at Sahāranpūr in what is now Uttar Pradesh, he was first taught by his father and then by Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh, called Miyān Ḥaḍrat, and Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī. After a few years, he himself began teaching in his native country. He first became a *murīd* or disciple of his father, and after the latter's death attached himself to the famous religious leader and reformer Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*]. He was persuaded by Iftikhār Khān, Mīr Khān-sāmān, to come to the court of Awrangzīb and accepted the duties of *Bakhshī*

(paymaster) and *Wāḳiʿa-nigār* (official daily chronicler), but by special favour he enjoyed much leisure, which he devoted to literary work. He died in 1096/1685 at Aḥmadnagar.

His works in Persian include: (1) *Āyīn-i bakht*, possibly the original draft of (2) *Mirʾāt-i ʿālam*, a compendium of eastern Islamic history; (3) *Mirʾāt-i djahān-numā*, an enlarged version of (2); (4) *Riyāḍ al-awliyāʾ*, on the lives of Ṣūfī saints; and (5) *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, on the lives of poets.

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(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUḤAMMAD BAKHTIYĀR KHALDJĪ, IKHTIYĀR AL-DĪN, Afghān adventurer and commander active in the Muslim conquest of northern India under the generals of the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] and the one who first established Muslim power in Bengal.

Having failed to find preferment in Ghazna with Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [*q.v.*] of Ghūr and then in Dihlī, allegedly on account of his unprepossessing appearance, Muḥammad Bakhtiyār began as a local *ghāzī* leader in the districts of Badāʾūn and Awadh [*q.vv.*] until he was able, under the aegis of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*] of Dihlī, to make important conquests in Bihār *ca.* 596/1199-1200. Aybak then gave him permission to mount an invasion of Bengal against the Hindu Sena dynasty there. Muḥammad Bakhtiyār conquered Nādiya (modern Nabadwip) in *ca.* 600/1203-4 and established his base at Gawr or Lakhnawtī [*q.v.*], which became for the next four centuries the base for Muslim power in western and northern Bengal; in his newly-conquered province, he made the *khuṭba* for Muʿizz al-Dīn Ghūrī. He was them emboldened to contemplate attacks on Bhutan and Tibet, but met with reverses in Assam which compelled him to retreat. He managed to reach Dēvakōt in Bengal, but died in 602/1205-06, either from sickness or by the murderous hand of a rival Khaldjī commander, ʿAlī Mardān, who was subsequently appointed governor of Bengal by Aybak; his body was buried in Bihār.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR, called NADJM-I THĀNĪ (d. 1047/1637), official in the service of the Mughals of India and the author of a Persian Mirror for Princes, the *Mawʿiẓa-yi Djahāngīrī*. Of émigré Persian origin, Muḥammad Bāḳir served as a military commander and then as a provincial governor for the Emperors Djahāngīr and Shāhdjahān, but was clearly a highly cultivated *adīb* also, the patron of poets, himself a poet and master of the *inshāʾ* style and author of a work of Shīʿī *kalām*, still in manuscript. His chief claim to fame is as the author of one of the few surviving Mirrors for Princes from the Mughal period, this being dedicated to Djahāngīr; it is a fairly brief work entirely theoretical in conception and devoid of any historical anecdotes, hence adding little to our knowledge of either Indo-Muslim political thought or history.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD AL-BĀḲIR, ABŪ DJAʿFAR [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN].

MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR AL-MADJLISĪ [see AL-MADJLISĪ].

MUḤAMMAD BAYRAM AL-KHĀMIS, Tunisian reformer and man of letters, born in Tunis in Muḥarram 1256/March 1840.

He belonged to the Bayram family whose eponymous ancestor, at the head of a contingent of Ottoman soldiers, had taken part in the capture of Tunis by Sinān Pasha in 981/1573. Later, the Bayrams preferred a religious career. In 1140/1727 Muḥammad Bayram I (died 1800) became *bāsh-muftī* of the Ḥanafīs, a post that was also occupied by Muḥammad Bayram II (d. 1831), Muḥammad Bayram III (d. 1843) and Muḥammad Bayram IV (d. 1861). The latter was the first to hold the title of *shaykh al-Islām*. The Bayrams were related to the beylical family.

The father of Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis, Muṣṭafā (d. 1863), younger brother of Muḥammad Bayram IV, preferred the administration of his lands to a religious career. At the request of Muḥammad Bey, he occupied himself with the management of the *awḳāf*. He left his son a large fortune.

Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis received a traditional education in the *Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*, where his teachers include the best scholars of the age. Thanks to them and to his reading in the family library, he obtained a profound knowledge of traditional sciences and history; however, he did not know any foreign language.

On the death of his uncle, Muḥammad Bayram IV, he was charged with the headmastership of *al-Madrasa al-ʿUnuḳiyya* (8 Djumādā I 1278/10 November 1861). On 13 December of the same year, he was named professor of the second class in the *Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*; from 1 November 1868 he became professor of the first class there. Although everything indicated that he was going to follow the example of his forebears, he preferred an administrative career.

As a student, he was interested in the reforms introduced since the proclamation of the *ʿAhd al-amān* [see DUSTŪR. i] in 1857. Convinced of their usefulness and necessity, he did not change his opinion when the rebellion of 1864 erupted. He was associated with Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] and in 1868 wrote a eulogy in the official journal *al-Rāʾid al-tūnisī* of the latter's book *Aḳwām al-masālik fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik*.

After his nomination to the post of *wazīr akbar* on 21 October 1873, Khayr al-Dīn found in Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis a valuable collaborator for his policy of recovery. Already in *al-Rāʾid al-tūnisī* of 28 November 1873, he undertook the defence of Khayr al-Dīn against the hostile articles published in certain European journals and inspired by his predecessor Muṣṭafā Khaznadār [*q.v.*].

The first task that Khayr al-Dīn entrusted to him was the presidency of the *djamʿiyyat al-awḳāf* founded on 19 March 1874. This was to centralise the administration of the *awḳāf* and control the management of them in a country where practically all the public

monuments, buildings and institutions were financed by their revenues. Helped among others by Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, he drew up a list of 3,680 buildings maintained by the *awḳāf* and recovered numerous lands and houses that had been diverted from their intended purpose of *waḳf*. Thanks to his activities, the revenues of the *dj̲amʿiyyat al-awḳāf* rose from 1,200,000 piastres in 1874 to more than 1,700,000 in 1876, and to more than 2,150,000 in 1878. With this rise, it was possible to pay regularly the salaries of the religious authorities, professors of the *Dj̲āmiʿ al-Zaytūna* and members of the tribunals of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* in Tunis and in the provinces. The *dj̲amʿiyyat al-awḳāf* also caused to be restored a large number of mosques, houses and town walls.

On 1 July 1875 followed his nomination as a member of a commission entrusted with occupying itself with teaching. His efforts resulted in two regulations for the *Dj̲āmiʿ al-Zaytūna*, the first of which, on 19 July 1875, fixed the subjects and the works for study, the examinations and the work of the inspectors. The second, on 22 January 1876, created a better control of the establishment's services.

The same commission had decided on the creation of *al-Madrasa al-Ṣādiḳiyya* (the Ṣādiḳī College) founded on 13 January 1875. Alongside of the traditional sciences were taught French, Italian and Turkish, mathematics, chemistry and other sciences. Its first 150 pupils included a son of Muḥammad Bayram al-K̲h̲āmis. Another activity of this commission was the creation, on 18 May 1875, of a public library with a reading room and catalogue, *al-Maktaba al-Ṣādiḳiyya*.

He also took charge of *al-Rāʾid al-tūnisī*. On 14 July 1875, he was entrusted with the directorate of the official press. With the help of Muḥammad al-Sanūsī and the Egyptian Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh, he made this journal the defender of K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn's policy and the reformers' ideas. During these years, twenty-four books were published, notably some scholarly books for the Ṣādiḳī College and studies by contemporary Tunisian scholars. In 1877, when war broke out between the Ottoman Empire and Russia, he helped to organise the sending of horses, mules and money to Istanbul.

On 21 July 1877, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn was dismissed from his post. Muḥammad Bayram al-K̲h̲āmis preferred to remain, however. In the two years that followed, he was a member of a commission that had to give its opinion on the right of the French concessionary of the railway line between Tunis and Jendouba to connect this line with the Algerian network. Although the majority of this commission found in favour of the French company, Muḥammad Bayram limited himself to a "yes-but". He also took part in a mixed commission which had to find a solution in the affair of the estate of Sīdī T̲h̲ābit, in which the Tunisian government found itself in opposition to a French subject. As president of the *dj̲amʿiyyat al-awḳāf*, he played an important role in the creation of the Ṣādiḳī Hospital, better known by the name of *Mustas̲h̲fā ʿAzīza ʿUt̲h̲māna*.

He was also a member of the *madj̲lis al-s̲h̲ūrā* set up on 1 July 1879. Following serious difficulties between the grand vizier Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl and the *s̲h̲arīʿa* tribunal of the capital, the *ʿulamāʾ* had called for a real parliament, but the result had been only a consultative council. Muḥammad Bayram al-K̲h̲āmis was one of the instigators of this demand.

At the beginning of August 1879, a rupture occurred between Muḥammad Bayram and the Tunisian government. In the month of July, Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl had entrusted him with the secret mission of requesting from the government in Paris the recall of Roustan, the all-powerful French consul in Tunis. The consul, however, frustrated the intrigues of Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl, who immediately changed his decision; the envoy was now suspected of seeking the downfall of Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ Bey and the return of K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn. He returned to Tunis, but because of the chicanery of the grand vizier, he requested and obtained authorisation to go on Pilgrimage. On 13 October 1879, he left Tunis never to return.

Suffering from a nervous illness, Muḥammad Bayram visited Italy, France, England and Algeria. On his way to the Holy Places he went via Cairo, where he was received by the Khedive Tawfīḳ. After accomplishing the Pilgrimage, he left by sea for Istanbul, embarking at Beirut where he met Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. On arriving in Istanbul, he rejoined K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn and other Tunisian exiles.

When France established itself in Tunisia in 1881, he drafted a report for the Ottoman government in which he exhorted it to occupy itself actively with this part of the Empire. As soon as it became clear that Tunisia would from then on be a French protectorate, he travelled to Leghorn, arranged for his family to join him and organised the sale of his goods (June-November 1881). Returning to Istanbul, he collaborated on the weekly *al-Iʿtidāl*, founded in 1883 with an Pan-Islamic slant, but he did not find in it a task fit for his abilities; besides, he did not feel at ease in the Ottoman capital where ʿAbd al-Hamīd II [*q.v.*] had made an atmosphere of distrust prevail.

At the beginning of October 1884, he left Istanbul for Cairo, where liberal ideas could more easily be expressed. He made contact with Muḥammad ʿAbduh, was received once more by the Khedive Tawfīḳ and met Lord Cromer, the English Consul-General. On 13 January 1885, he published the first issue of *al-Iʿlām*, a political and scientific journal and a mouthpiece for his reforming ideas. The last issue appeared on 3 December 1889, a little before his death. In 1887 he made a last journey in Europe. On his return, he was named judge of the first rank in Cairo, but he died in Ḥalwān of pleurisy on 18 December 1889. He had married a daughter of his uncle Muḥammad Bayram IV, who bore him at least three sons.

A prolific author, he favoured a progressive interpretation of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*. Notable among his *risāla*s are:

— *Risāla ḳad iḥtawat ʿalā aḥkām al-as̲h̲rāf* (Cairo 1885) in which he called for the respect of all believers for the true descendants of the Prophet;

— *Tuḥfat al-k̲h̲awāṣṣ fī ḥill ṣayd bunduḳ al-raṣāṣ* (Cairo 1886); according to the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, the flesh of game killed with firearms is licit;

— *al-Taḥḳīḳ fī masʾalat al-raḳīḳ* (in manuscript), a study on the view of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* concerning slavery among the Muslims. He explains the motives for slavery and the rules which regulate it, and concludes that the slaves sold in our days are free men and that the governments which forbid the sale of them are acting in conformity with the *s̲h̲arīʿa*.

In a fourth *risāla*, he explains that men are permitted to wear their hair long.

A fifth one states that it is permitted to buy up the deeds and titles of loans made by a Muslim government so that Muslim money does not leave the country; such an operation has no usurious character.

He also wrote a report on the obligatory use of the Arabic language in teaching, even in modern sciences, and composed a treatise on prosody.

In 1881 he wrote in Istanbul some *Mulāḥaẓāt siyāsiyya ʿan al-tanẓīmāt al-lāzima li ʾl-dawla al-ʿaliyya*

(Istanbul 1881). In this study on the political situation in the Ottoman Empire, he shows himself to be a partisan of the Young Ottomans by supporting the introduction of ministerial responsibility and the election of an assembly of representatives duly chosen. But at the same time, he is opposed to a pure and simple imitation of the European parliamentary system; the political system of the Empire was to be adapted to its specific needs and to the requirements of Islam.

His principal work is *Ṣafwat al-iʿtibār bi-mustawdaʿ al-amṣār wa 'l-aḳṭār* (Cairo 1885-93; 2nd ed. Ali Chenoufi, Tunis 1989-), whose first three volumes were composed in Istanbul and the last two in Cairo; death prevented him from completing it. After an introduction in which he explains that it is permitted for Muslims to visit Europe, he gives in the first two volumes an outline of all the countries of the world and of Tunisia and its contemporary history. The third volume contains an account of his journey in 1875 in Italy and France, and the fourth consists of his observations on England, Algeria and Egypt. The Ḥidjāz occupies the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth volume, which also contains his observations on the Ottoman Empire. The book was to have finished with a systematic exposition of his political ideas, but it now contains the biography of the author written by his son Muḥammad.

The personal impressions of the author on the debates in the Italian parliament, England's policy in India and the insecurity in Paris, are mixed with observations on the civil and political liberty of various countries, the absolutism of governments and the influence of the political system on the economy. For the Muslims, the author notes that they have a relationship with the caliphate of Istanbul. The whole work testifies to his wish to demonstrate to the Muslims the fruits of good government.

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(G.S. van Krieken)

MUḤAMMAD BELLO (1195-25 Radjab 1253/1781-26 October 1837), West African leader, son of Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*], whom he succeeded in 1232/1817 as *amīr al-muʾminīn* of the so-called Sokoto Caliphate (or "ʿUthmānic state", *dawla ʿUthmāniyya* as local Muslim writers generally call it) in north-western Nigeria.

He came from a learned family of the Toronkawa Fulani or Fulbe [*q.v.*] originally from Futa Toro (on the banks of the Senegal River), but long settled in Hausaland. He studied under his father, some of his uncles and other close relatives and local scholars and by the age of twenty had already embarked upon his long career of scholarly writing. Three years later, in 1218/1804, he took part in his father's celebrated *hidjra* from Degel in the land of the *sulṭān* of Gobir to Gudu, just beyond it, and was among the first to offer the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] to Shaykh ʿUthmān as *amīr al-muʾminīn*. In the four-year long *djihād* which followed and which led to the defeat of Gobir and the overthrow of all the major Hausa rulers, Muḥammad Bello played a leading role as an army commander, administrator and adviser to his father. In 1224/1810 he took charge of the planning and layout of the state's new capital Sokoto, and over the next two years assumed much of the burden of correspondence in the ideological debate with Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānimī of Bornu whose subjects Shaykh ʿUthmān had indicted as unbelievers (*kuffār*). In recognition of his administrative, scholarly and military talents his father gave him overall charge of the eastern half of the state in 1227/1812, while the Shaykh's brother ʿAbd Allāh was given the western half.

On his father's death in 1232/1817 Muḥammad Bello was elected *amīr al-muʾminīn*, possibly in response to an expressed wish of Shaykh ʿUthmān but more probably because the election of the other most likely candidate, ʿAbd Allāh b. Fūdī, held out the possibility of later factionalism between the two branches of the family. Additionally, Bello commanded the eastern and politically more significant half of the state and was clearly the more astute and dynamic of the two. ʿAbd Allāh, who was at Bodinga, some fifteen miles distant from Sokoto, when Shaykh ʿUthmān's death was announced, hastened to the capital only to find the gates shut in his face. Civil war was averted when ʿAbd Allāh retired to Gwandu, from which city he continued to administer the western provinces, but he and his nephew were not fully reconciled until after the battle of Kalembaina (1236/1820-1) when Bello came to ʿAbd Allāh's aid to defeat the rebel ʿAbd al-Salām (see R. Osswald, *Das Sokoto-Kalifat und seine ethnischen Grundlagen. Eine Untersuchung zum Aufstand des ʿAbd as-Salām*, Wiesbaden 1986). Bello's twenty-year reign, though punctuated by internal revolts and external attacks (notably from Bornu in 1240-2/1825-7 and by a coalition of Tuareg and irredentist Gobirawa and Katsinawa who were defeated at the battle of Gawakuke in 1251/1836), nevertheless marked a period of consolidation for the caliphate and the establishment of lasting administrative structures. The office of *wazīr*, though informally held by ʿAbd Allāh during his brother's lifetime, became formalised under Bello with the appointment of ʿUthmān b. Abī Bakr (more commonly known under the Hausa form of his name, Gidado dan Laima), who also served under Bello's successor Abū Bakr al-ʿAtīḳ (reigned 1253-8/1837-42) and whose descendants have held this office down to the present day. It was the *wazīr* who handled routine relations with the emirates, corresponding with

individual *amīrs* and receiving their tribute; he and his descendants were also the historians of the dynasty, leaving for posterity a valuable body of writings. Bello himself dealt with major policy matters regarding the emirates. He intervened in Zaria in 1821 and 1834 and in Kano in 1829 to decide the dynastic succession. He also carved out new emirates: Missau in 1831 and Jama'are in 1835. As part of his policy for containing the as yet unreconciled Zamfarawa and Gobirawa, he built a line of *ribāṭs* along the Rima and Sokoto valleys; he also introduced the so-called *kofa*, or "gate" system, under which territorial chiefs in the heartlands of the caliphate kept a resident in Sokoto who represented their interests with Bello and who, in turn, were responsible for collecting and checking tribute from those territories. He also created a series of new titles, some with territorial responsibilities and some entailing administrative duties at the centre, appointing to them men from families which had played a significant role in the *dj̲ihād*. Many of these reflected older Hausa titles, a move which may have been conciliatory to the conquered Hausa (though the title-holders were mainly Fulani), but which flew in the face of his father's dictum that such "pagan titles" (*alḳāb ahl al-kufr*) should be abandoned in favour of Islamic (i.e. Arabic) titles (see M. Hiskett, in *BSOAS*, xxiii [1960], 558-79).

Pragmatic and forceful as a ruler, valiant and skilful as an army commander, Bello was nonetheless a dedicated scholar and a devout Ṣūfī. Like his father, he had a primary affiliation to the Ḳādiriyya order, but had also received the *wirds* of the K̲h̲alwatiyya and the S̲h̲ādhiliyya. During the 1830s, when the great Tid̲j̲ānī scholar and *mud̲j̲āhid* al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUmar b. Saʿīd [*q.v.*] stayed in Sokoto while returning home from the pilgrimage to Mecca, Bello received him warmly and gave him a daughter of his in marriage. His interest in the new order was such that Tid̲j̲ānīs began to claim him as an initiate, and his *wazīr* Gidado had to write a refutation of such claims, as did the latter's son and successor in office ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. His writings also reflect his Ṣūfī proclivities; of the nearly 150 works attributed to him, some twenty are on Ṣūfī themes. Other major themes of his writings include government, the conduct of *dj̲ihād*, moral and political guidance (*naṣīḥa, tawṣiya*), history and medicine. Most are in prose, but he also wrote poetry in both Arabic and Fulfulde, including renderings in pentastiches (*tak̲h̲mīs*) of the *lāmiyya* of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (*Bānat Suʿād*...) and the *Burda* and *Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī. Only a few of his works have been published, the most notable of these being his *Infāḳ al-maysūr fī taʾrīk̲h̲ bilād al-Takrūr*, a history of Islam in the Sahelian regions largely taken up with an account of his father's *dj̲ihād*.

In 1824 and again in 1826-7 he was visited by the Scottish naval commander Capt. Hugh Clapperton in the course of missions on behalf of the British government. Bello received him in a spirit of tolerance and open-mindedness, questioning him closely on a wide variety of topics and embarrassing his guest by cross-examining him on early Christian sects. Clapperton, who died in Sokoto on his second visit, has left us a portrait of Bello as he saw him in 1824 at the age of 44: "... a noble-looking man... five feet ten inches high, portly in person, with a short curling beard, a small mouth, a fine forehead, a Grecian nose, and large black eyes... dressed in a light blue cotton tobe, with a white muslim turban, the shawl of which he wore over the nose and mouth in Tuarick fashion" (*Missions to the Niger*, iv, 676-7).

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(J.O. Hunwick)

MUḤAMMAD BEY, eleventh bey of the Ḥusaynid dynasty in Tunisia. His short reign (1855-9) was important because of certain decisions that he took and whose repercussions appeared after his death and much later. When he succeeded his cousin Aḥmad Bey [*q.v.*], of whose internal and external policy he did not always approve, he abrogated some decrees of his predecessor, reduced, for reasons of economy, the number of soldiers and made the effects of his hostility felt towards some favourites of the deceased bey; but contrary to the hopes of some, he retained in his post the former bey's principal minister Muṣṭafā K̲h̲aznadār [*q.v.*]. The latter had succeeded in conciliating the closest adviser to the new bey, his brother-in-law Ismāʿīl al-Sunnī, and had persuaded the prince that he alone was capable of conducting the management of the public funds which he had complicated at leisure. Affairs thus continued to be directed by the same group of officials and dignitaries, mostly of Mamlūk parentage or clients of K̲h̲aznadār.

However, Muḥammad Bey's first decisions sought to suppress abuses and to lighten a fiscal system which had become, over the years, clumsy and anarchical. The Ḳurʾānic "tithe" (*ʿus̲h̲ur*) on corn barley was maintained, as was the tax in kind (*ḳānūn*) on olive-trees and palm-trees. The other taxes were replaced by a uniform *per capita* tax of 36 piastres a year, which was called "help" (*iʿāna*) and presented as a temporary due; the population, who called it *mad̲j̲bā* ("contribution"), do not seem to have greeted it favourably; its doubling, some years later, triggered the serious revolt of 1864.

In June 1857, the execution, ordered in haste, of a Jewish coachman accused of blasphemy incurred the intervention of France and Great Britain, who demanded the creation of mixed tribunals and

judiciary guarantees as well as freedom of trade for their nations; this period of tension led to the solemn proclamation by the bey of a "Fundamental Pact" (*ʿAhd al-amān*) [see DUSTŪR. i] which, after the fashion of the Turkish *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*], was a charter which guaranteed equality and security or nationality, and which granted to all, and particularly foreigners, freedom to trade and own property in the country.

A commission of dignitaries, officials and *ʿulamāʾ* was entrusted with drafting the constitution which derived from the Fundamental Pact, and in the meantime various measures were taken in the course of this reformatory action, including in September 1858 the creation of the Municipal Council of Tunis and the lifting of the restrictions imposed on the economic activity of the Jews, who from that time on had the right to own lands and practise agriculture there.

In July 1857, the bey had accepted the project presented by the French engineer Jean Colin, supported by the Consul Léon Roches, to restore a Roman aqueduct and thereby supply Tunis and its vicinity with drinking water. The expenses entailed in this work added to the public debt, which was only to increase in the following reign. Muḥammad Bey died on 22 September 1859.

The constitution which derived from the Fundamental Pact was only completed in 1861, in the reign of his brother and successor, Muḥammad al-Ṣādik Bey [*q.v.*], as well as the institutions which it created, the Great Council and tribunals, which disappeared after the revolt of 1864. Nevertheless, the Fundamental Pact was to be for the Tunisian reformers and patriots and for the nationalist movements, before and after the Protectorate, an important point of reference which would justify the demand, essential in their eyes, for a Parliament and a Constitution (*dustūr* [*q.v.*]).

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MUḤAMMAD BEY ʿUTHMĀN DJALĀL, Egyptian writer (born *ca.* 1242/1826-7, died 1898), was the son of a court clerk, named Yūsuf al-Ḥusaynī. When a boy he learned English, French and Turkish at the school of languages (*Madrasat al-Alsun*) and when only 16 was given an appointment in the government translation bureau (*Ḳalam al-tardjama*). His patron, the doctor Clot Bey, had him appointed to the Conseil de Médecine (*Madjlis al-ṭibb*) in 1273/1856-7. After a succession of posts, in 1280/1863-4 he entered the War Ministry (*dīwān niẓārat ʿumūm al-djihādiyya*) and five years later the Ministry of the Interior (*dīwān al-dākhiliyya*); some of his translations of military manuals have been published. In Cairo he published in August 1870 the short-lived newspaper *Nuzhat al-afkār*. In 1879 the Khedive Tawfīḳ Pasha [*q.v.*] appointed him as translator to his court (*maʿiyya*) and several times took him to accompany him on journeys in Upper and Lower Egypt. After the death of the Khedive he was appointed a judge in the Mixed Courts in Alexandria and also in Cairo. In 1895 he was pensioned and he devoted himself to literary work, translating, amongst other works, Boileau's mock-heroic poem *Le Lutrin* and his didactic poem *l'Art poétique*, the plays of Corneille *Le Cid* and *Les Trois Horaces et les trois Curiaces* into the vernacular, and Racine's *Athalie*.

He published a sketch of the history of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] in collaboration with Clot Bey, an elementary grammar in verse of the Arabic and French languages and also a description in rhyme of his journey with the Khedive Tawfīḳ. He devoted much of his time to translation of poetry: first of the fables of La Fontaine, the romance of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre *Paul et Virginie*, and of Racine's tragedies *Alexandre le Grand*, *Esther* and *Iphigénie* (*al-Riwāyāt al-mufīda fī ʿilm al-tarādjīda*, [*Iskandar al-akbar*, *Istīr al-yahūdiyya*, and *Ifghāniyya*], Cairo 1311/1893-4). He translated *Paul et Virginie* into an elegant rhymed prose, whilst employing *zadjal* in his translations of La Fontaine and Racine. In 1870 his translation of Rossini's opera *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* as *Muzayyin Shāwīlih*, together with another opera, possibly Donizetti's *La Favorite*, had been published in Cairo. But his real importance lies in his endeavour to translate Molière's comedies into the modern Arabic vernacular of Egypt, freely adapting them to Arab conditions.

(*a.*) *Tartuffe* under the title *al-Shaykh Matlūf*, Cairo 1290/1873, which Vollers edited under the title *Eš šēḫ Matlûf* (cf. *ZMDG*, xlv, 36 ff. and thereon Socin, in *ibid.*, xlvi, 330 ff.); (*b.*) *Madrasat al-azwādj* (*l'École des maris*), transcribed and translated by M. Sobernheim, Berlin 1896; (*c.*) *al-Nisāʾ al-ʿālimāt* (*les Femmes savantes*), transcribed and translated by Fr. Kern, Leipzig 1898; (*d.*) *Madrasat al-nisāʾ* (*l'École des femmes*); (*e.*) *Riwāyat al-thuḳalāʾ* (*les Fâcheux*), 1897; (*f.*) *le Malade imaginaire*; (*g.*) *le Médecin malgré lui* under the title of *al-Fakhkh al-manṣūb li ʾl-ḥakīm al-maghṣūb*, published in part in the Cairo fortnightly magazine, *Rawḍat al-madāris al-miṣriyya*, 2, 3 (Friday, 15 Ṣafar 1288/[5 May 1871]), 1-4; 5 (Saturday, 15 Rabīʿ I/[3 June 1871]), 5-8; 7 (Monday, 15 Rabīʿ II/[4 July 1871]), 9-12. His own play on Egyptian domestic life, in the vernacular, *al-Khaddāmīn wa ʾl-mukhaddimīn* was published posthumously in Cairo, 1322/1904. The first four plays, published as *al-Arbaʿ riwāyāt min nukhab al-tiyātarāt*, Cairo 1307/1890, were republished by Muḥammad Yūsuf Najm, *al-Masraḥ al-ʿarabī, dirāsāt wa-nuṣūṣ*.4. *Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl—al-kūmīdiyyāt*, Beirut 1964, with *Riwāyat al-mukhaddimīn* and *Riwāyat al-thuḳalāʾ*. Though two of his collections of poetry, a *dīwān* in honour of Tawfīḳ and another on the last Russo-Turkish war, were not published, his popular poems were lithographed: *Ḥiml zadjal murabbaʿ ghazl wa-naṣāyiḥ wa-tankīt*, n.p., n.d.; *Ḥimlay zadjal. Aḥaduhumā fī ʾl-azhār wa ʾl-thānī fī ʾl-maʾkūlāt*, Cairo n.d.; *Ḥimla zadjal fī ʾl-mukayyifāt*, n.p., n.d., and *Ḥimlayn zadjal. Aḥaduhumā fī ʾl-shiʿr wa-kasād bidaʿatihi wa-fasād ṣināʿatihi wa ʾl-ākhar fī ʾl-ʿuṣfūr wa ʾl-ṣayyād*, Cairo n.d. These publications, together with his plays, were all initially published anonymously under the initials *M.ʿ.Dj.*

His adaptations of Molière may have been first per-

formed in Egypt in the early 1870s by the troupe of the pioneering Egyptian dramatist Yaʿḳūb Ṣanūʿ [see ABŪ NAḌḌĀRA]. Some were presented after their publication with the active encouragement of the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II [*q.v.*] and then from time to time until there was a revived interest in their production in the 1950s and 1960s. These plays were for a time successful, but the audiences later cooled in their response to them, because lacking songs they gave no opportunity for the leading actor-singer of the era Salāma Ḥidjāzī to show off his musical talents. "Respectable" circles were not much attracted by these comedies translated as they were into the vernacular; to them this language did not appear cultured enough.

Bibliography: On his theatre, metre and language see Socin, Sobernheim and Kern, *loc. cit.*; A. Socin, *Zur Metrik einiger ins Arabische übersetzter Dramen Molière's*, Leipzig 1897; Shimʿūn Ballas, *Iṭālat ʿalā manhadj Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl fi 'l-tardjama*, in *al-Karmil*, Haifa, vi (1985), 6-36; Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn, *Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl wa 'l-masraḥ al-kūmīdī*, in *al-Masraḥ wa 'l-sīnimā'*, no. 57 (September 1968), 61-4; Mohamed Ali al-Khozai, *The development of early Arabic drama 1847-1900*, London 1984, 169-223; Hudā Waṣfī, *al-Shaykh Matlūf bayn Mūlyīr wa-Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl*, in *al-Masraḥ*, Cairo, i (January 1964), 29-31, and *Uthman Jalal et Molière affinités satiriques*, in *Le Miroir égyptien*, Marseilles 1984; and see also Brockelmann, II, 476-7, and S II, 725; the poet's autobiography in *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda* of ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, xvii, 62 ff.; Shaykhū, *al-Ādāb al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashr*, ii, 91-2; J.E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, ii, cols. 1306-7; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ḥamdī, *Ridjāl al-ta'rīkh al-ḥadīth fī Miṣr*. 6. *Muḥammad Bēk ʿUthmān Djalāl*, in *al-Siyāsa al-usbūʿiyya*, Cairo, year 2, no. 59, 10-11 (23 April 1927), 22.

(M. SOBERNHEIM-[P.C. SADGROVE])

MUḤAMMAD DĀWŪD KHĀN (1909-78) first president of Afghānistān.

His father was Sardār Muḥammad ʿAzīz, the half-brother of Muḥammad Nādir Shāh. Dāwūd was educated at Amāniyya School, Kābul, and in France. In 1931 he entered the army, was created major-general in 1932 and from then until 1947 held various military commands and provincial governorships. In 1947 he became minister of defence in the government of his uncle, Shāh Maḥmūd, resigned and returned as minister of the interior, 1949-50. From 20 September 1953 until 9 March 1963 he served as prime minister. During this period he pushed a policy of economic development (first five-year plan, 1956), notably road construction, and of social change (unveiling of women, 1959). He ruthlessly suppressed tribal opposition in Khōst [*q.v.*] and religious hostility in Ḳandahār [*q.v.*]. In foreign affairs he followed a non-aligned policy, supported the Pashtūnistān campaign which led to friction with Pakistan, and inaugurated closer relations with the USSR; Bulganin and Khrushchev visited Kābul in December 1955 and substantial Soviet economic and military aid commenced in 1956. The dispute with Pakistan led to the closure of the frontier and economic difficulty for Afghānistān; the export of fruit and nuts was obstructed and attempt to use the Soviet route only partially successful. Economic discontents and resentment of his autocratic style contributed to his resignation under pressure from the King and other members of the Muḥammadzay family. For the next ten years he lived in retirement.

Dāwūd returned to power following an almost bloodless coup on 17 July 1973. The monarchy was abolished in favour of a republic and Ẓāhir Shāh's holiday in Italy turned into exile. The coup was the consequence of the difficulties of the constitutional régime, inaugurated in 1965, caused by deadlock between the bureaucratic reformers and the *madjlis*, the dissatisfactions of the growing numbers of students, graduates and army officers, and the economic problems caused by a three-year drought. Dāwūd launched a very ambitious economic programme in 1965, but could find no other state willing to finance it in full. He did, however, develop closer relations with Persia and the Gulf states, and after an early period of friction with Pakistan over the Pashtūnistān question he improved relations with that country. Dāwūd established a single party (the National Revolutionary Party, 1975), selecting all members of the central committee himself. On 30 January 1977 a Loya Djirga [see DJIRGA in Suppl.] approved a new constitution which established a one-party presidential system. Dāwūd was chosen president for six years. Dāwūd's régime was run by his friends and close relatives. At the outset, Dāwūd had some support from members of the Parčam faction of the Peoples' Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), but he dismissed them in 1974. Opposition to his government came from fundamentalist Muslims, who launched an unsuccessful armed uprising in 1975. Dāwūd was eventually overthrown by a military coup on 27 April 1978 in which he and his family and close confidants were killed. His régime was succeeded by the rule of the PDPA.

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MUḤAMMAD DJAʿFAR ḲARADJA-DĀGHĪ, MĪRZĀ, Munshī of the Ḳadjār prince Djalāl al-Dīn Mīrzā and translator into Persian of the famous comedies of the Ādharbāydjānī playwright Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhundzāde [*q.v.*].

After they had been published (1859), Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī sent a copy of his plays to the above-mentioned Ḳādjār prince in the hope that he would take notice of it. But the book lay unheeded for years in the prince's library until Muḥammad Djaʿfar opened it by chance. The *munshī*, delighted with the plays, at once decided to translate them into Persian. As no-one would help him, he was forced to print the translation at his own expense, which brought him into considerable financial difficulties. The translation appeared in lithograph in Tehran in 1874 under the title *Tamthīlāt*. When the work was finished, Muḥammad Djaʿfar corresponded with the author and found out that they were related. The Persian translation is of the greatest importance for the history of Persian theatre, as it gave the stimulus to the composition of original works. The influence of Ākhundzāde on the work of Malkom Khān [*q.v.*] and even on more recent dramatists, such as Maḥmūdī, is quite apparent. From the artistic point of view, however, Muḥammad Djaʿfar's translations cannot be called successful as their language is very clumsy and filled with countless

Ādharbāydjānisms. It is remarkable that European orientalists first became acquainted with Ākhundzāde's works in their Persian dress and published a considerable number of these translations (see *Bibl.*) as textbooks for the study of spoken Persian, although, in view of their linguistic defects, the translations cannot by any means be regarded as models of the living Persian language.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Grundriss*, ii, 316; W.H.D. Haggard and G. Le Strange, *The Vazīr of Lankuran*, London 1882 (reviews of this book by A. Chodzko, *Bulletin de l'Athénée Oriental*, Paris 1883, and Barbier de Meynard, *Revue critique*, Paris, 19 March 1883); Barbier de Meynard and S. Guyard, *Trois comédies traduites du dialecte turc azéri en persan*, Paris 1885; A. Wahrmund, *Monsieur Jourdan, der pariser Botaniker in Qarabāğ. Neupersisches Lustspiel von Muh. Ǵaeʿf. Qaraǵa dāgī*, Vienna 1889 (review by V. Žukovski, in *Zap.*, v, [1890], 129-32); A. Rogers, *Three Persian plays*, London 1890. An edition of the *Ḥakīm-i nabātāt*, without author's name, London 1893; A. Krïmski, *Perśki t'eatr zwidki win użavś i jak rozwiwaws*, Kiev 1925, 83-6 (Ukrainian); E. Berthels, *Očerk istorii persidskoy literaturī*, Leningrad 1928, 130 (Russian). See also MASRAḤ. 3. In Iran.

(E. BERTHELS)

MUḤAMMAD AL-**DJAWNPŪRĪ** [see AL-DJAWNPŪRĪ].

MUḤAMMAD DJAYĀSĪ [see MALIK MUḤAMMAD DJAYĀSĪ].

MUḤAMMAD FARĪD BEY B. AḤMAD FARĪD PASHA (1284-1338/1867-1919), Egyptian nationalist politician, active in the first two decades of the 20th century.

Of aristocratic Turkish birth, he had a career as a lawyer in the *Ahliyya* courts and then as a supporter of Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha [*q.v.*], leader of the nationalist opposition to the British protectorate over Egypt and founder in 1907 of the Nationalist Party (*al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī*) [see ḤIZB. i. In the Arab lands]. When Muṣṭafā Kāmil died at the beginning of 1908, Muḥammad Farīd succeeded him as leader of the party, but being by temperament averse from the rough-and-tumble of politics, effective leadership in the party passed to a demagogue, Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Shāwīsh or al-Djāwīsh, a former inspector in the Ministry of Public Instruction and one-time lecturer in Arabic at Oxford University. Al-Shāwīsh made the nationalist organ *al-Liwāʾ* [see AL-DJARĪDA. i. Arabic language press. A. Middle East] a strident mouthpiece for Pan-Islamism. He wished to get rid of Coptic elements in the nationalist movement and make it purely Islamic, taking a prominent role in the communal strife between Muslims and Copts in 1910-11. It was not surprising therefore that by 1914 the prestige of the party had been lowered in the eyes of its more responsible supporters and much of the goodwill from its founder, Muṣṭafā Kāmil, dissipated. Positive achievements, however, of Muḥammad Farīd were seen in his efforts to rally left-wing support for his cause outside Egypt, especially in Britain, and his carrying of the movement to the urban proletariat of Egypt; he recognised the future importance of trade unions and encouraged the formation of a union of railway workers in 1909 and one of manual workers in industry in 1911.

During the First World War, Muḥammad Farīd, still the official leader of the Nationalist Party, was an exile in Europe, principally in Geneva and Berlin, thus lowering the party's standing as a force in the movement for independence after the War, whose leader was in fact to be Saʿd Zaghlūl Pasha [*q.v.*], associated rather with the Umma Party of moderate and secular reform. Muḥammad Farīd himself died in 1919 in Berlin.

Muḥammad Farīd was also an *adīb*, the author of historical works on the Khedival house, the Ottoman empire and the Romans, and of a book on his travels 1901-4 in North Africa, Italy, etc. (see Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, ii, cols. 1685-6).

Bibliography: Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 220; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, *Muḥammad Farīd, ramz al-ikhlāṣ wa 'l-taḍḥiya*, Cairo 1941; J.M. Ahmed, *The intellectual origins of Egyptian nationalism*, Oxford 1960, 76-8; R. Tignor, *Modernization and British colonial rule in Egypt, 1882-1914*, Princeton 1966, 301-7; Afif Lutfi al-Sayyid, *Egypt and Cromer. A study in Anglo-Egyptian relations*, London 1968, index; J. Berque, *Egypt, imperialism and revolution*, London 1972, index; P.J. Vatikiotis, *Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Sadat*², London 1980, index.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD FARĪD WADJDĪ (1875-1954), unusually fertile Egyptian author, including of a ten-volume encyclopaedia, *Dāʾirat maʿārif al-ḳarn ar-rābiʿ ʿashar al-ʿishrīn*, "The encyclopaedia of the 14th/20th century". As the title of this work indicates, Farīd Wadjdī aspired to integrate modern knowledge into the classical system of Islam.

The same motive lies behind his Ḳurʾān commentary, now known as *al-Muṣḥaf al-mufassar*, "the Ḳurʾān interpreted". This commentary, printed in the margin of the text of the Ḳurʾān, is divided into two parts. The first part, *tafsīr al-alfāẓ*, contains what is usually called a commentary: simple explanations of rare words, analyses of syntactically complicated phrases, etc. The second part, *tafsīr al-maʿānī*, paraphrases the meaning of the verse and contains exclamations like "In this verse you read an unambiguous prediction of things invented in the nineteenth and twentieth century!", or "Modern science confirms this literally!".

Wadjdī's Ḳurʾān commentary appears to be the first commentary in which exegetical preoccupation with modern natural history is just one aspect of Ḳurʾān interpretation. His commentary is not devoted exclusively to *tafsīr ʿilmī*, as are so many earlier works like, e.g., those by Ṭanṭāwī Djawharī (1870-1940), or later ones like those by, e.g., Ḥanafī Aḥmad (*ca.* 1968).

For nearly twenty years (1933-52) Wadjdī was the editor-in-chief of the official journal of the Azhar University. W.C. Smith gives a classical analysis of the apologetic nature of the modernism of Wadjdī's writings for this journal, and contrasts this modernism with the more traditional piety which is represented by al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Khiḍr Ḥusayn, who preceded Wadjdī as editor of the Azhar journal.

In his lifetime, Wadjdī took part extensively in the many debates that went on concerning the issues that were thought to be of great relevance to the defence of Islam: the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry, the emancipation of women, etc.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Sarkīs, 1451; Brockelmann, S III, 324-5; W.C. Smith, *Islam in modern history*, Princeton 1957, 122-55; J.J.G. Jansen, *The interpretation of the Koran in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1974, 46-7; ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *al-Ḥamdu li'-llāhi hādhihi ḥayātī*, Cairo, Dār al-Maʿārif [1976], 111-12; Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Hadjirī, *Muḥammad Farīd Wadjdī, ḥayātuhu wa-athāruhu*, i, Cairo 1970.

(J.J.G. JANSEN)

MUḤAMMAD GHAWTH GWĀLIYĀRĪ, Indian Ṣūfī saint. He was a descendant of the

famous Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], his full name being Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn b. Laṭīf b. Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḳattāl b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn b. Bāyazīd b. Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār. Some say that his great-grandfather Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḳattāl came to India and died at Djawnpūr. One of his brothers, Shaykh Bahlūl, who was attached to the service of the Mughal emperor Humāyūn, fell in battle and lies buried at the gate of the fort in Bayāna. According to his own statement, Muḥammad Ghawth was born in 906/1500. He was a pupil of Shaykh Ẓuhūr al-Dīn Ḥādjdjī Ḥudūr, and belonged to the Shaṭṭāriyya sect of Ṣūfīs. He and his eight brothers were disciples of Shaykh Ḥādjdjī Ḥamīd, *khalīfa* of Shāh Ḳāḍan, the disciple and *khalīfa* of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Shaṭṭārī. After leading a solitary life for more than thirteen years in the mountains of Čunār, he came to Gudjarāt, where he became acquainted with the popular saint and scholar Shaykh Wadjīh al-Dīn Gudjarātī. He went to Āgra in 966/1558 and was treated with high regard by the emperor Akbar. Subsequently, he returned to Gwāliyār where he died and was buried in 970/1562. Humāyūn is also said to have been a faithful follower of Muḥammad Ghawth.

He was the author of several Ṣūfī works, the most popular of which is *al-Djawāhir al-khamsa* in Arabic, which he completed in 956/1549 (see Brockelmann, II², 550-1, S II, 616: printed at Fās 1318/1900-1) and which he subsequently rendered into Persian with additional improvements. His other works are *Kalīd-i makhāzin*, *Baḥr al-ḥayāt*, and *Miʿrādj-nāma*. It is related that his ecstatic sayings in the *Miʿrādj-nāma* were condemned by the *ʿulamā'* of Gudjarāt, who passed orders for his execution, but that he was saved by the timely intervention of the above-mentioned Shaykh Wadjīh al-Dīn.

Bibliography: Bankipore Lib., *Cat.*, xvi, nos. 1383-4; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, 236; Ghulām-Sarwar Lāhawrī, *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā'*, 969; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-yi ʿulamā'-i Hind*, 206; see also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 643; Ethé, *India Office Lib. cat.*, nos. 1875-6; Loth, *Arab. cat.*, nos. 671-2; Storey, i, 834 and n. 7. (ABDUL MUQTADIR)

MUḤAMMAD ḤASAN KHĀN, a Persian man of letters, who died on 19 Shawwāl 1313/3 April 1896. His honorific titles were *Saniʿ al-Dawla* and later *Iʿtimād al-Salṭana*.

Through his mother he was related to the Ḳādjārs [*q.v.*] and through his father he claimed descent from the Mongol rulers. His father, Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Khān of Marāgha, was a faithful servant of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (in 1268/1852 he discovered the conspiracy of Sulaymān Khān) and the son from his youth upwards was in the service of the court.

Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was one of the first students at the Dār al-Funūn founded in 1268/1851, and spent 12 years there. Later, he went with his father when he was appointed governor of ʿArabistān. In 1280/1863 he was appointed second secretary to the Paris Legation and spent three-and-a-half years there. On his return to Tehran, he was appointed interpreter to the Shāh and in this capacity accompanied him on his travels. In 1288/1871 he was appointed head of the dragomanate (*dār al-tardjuma*) and of the press bureau (*dār al-ṭibāʿa*) as well as director of the official *Rūznāma-yi dawlatī*. In 1290/1873 he was appointed superintendent of the palaces and assistant to the minister of justice and henceforth continually rose in rank.

E.G. Browne criticises severely the work of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān and accuses him of having put his name to books alleged to have been written for him by indigent scholars. On the other hand, Žukovski speaks with much respect of his works and shows that he inspired a great many literary undertakings (e.g. the printing of the Ḳur'ān with an interlinear Persian translation, concordance and index; the foundation of a press for printing in Roman characters; the establishment of the Mushīriyya school; encouragement of the daily press, etc.) although after the appearance at Bombay of a satirical work by Shaykh Hāshimī Shīrāzī, the censorship was established on the suggestion of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān.

The fact is that the number of works—often very useful—bearing the name of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān is very large. Without the help of "secretaries", some of these books could not have been undertaken. To Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān is in any case due the honour of having suggested them. His principal works deal with the history and geography of Persia and are often in the form of almanacs. They are *Mir'āt al-buldān*, i, two editions (1293, 1294, a dictionary of geography: letters *alif-ṭā'*); ii, 1295 (history of the first fifteen years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn and calendar); iii (years 16-32 of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn and calendar); iv, 1296 (geography: letters *ẓā'-djīm* and history of 1296). In the geographical portions we find quotations from Yāḳūt and European travellers, along with notes specially prepared by the local authorities (an extract from the *Mir'āt al-buldān: Ta'rīkh-i Bābul wa-Nīnawā* was published at Bombay in 1311); *Ta'rīkh-i muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, 3 parts, 1298-1300 (history from the time of the Hidjra; vol. iii, history of the Ḳādjārs 1194-1300); *Maṭlaʿ al-shams*, 3 vols., 1301-3 (description of the journey to Khurāsān with important archaeological data; ii, 165-213, contains the autobiography of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and ii, 469-500, a list of books in the library of sanctuary of Mashhad); *Kitāb Ḥidjdjat al-saʿāda fī ḥadjdjat al-shahāda*, Tehran 1304, Tabrīz 1310 (history of the martyrs of Karbalā'); *Khayrātun ḥisānun* (cf. sūra LX, 70), 3 vols., 1304-7 (biographies of famous women of Islam); *Kitāb Durar al-tidjān fī ta'rīkh Banī Ashkān*, 1308-10, 3 vols. (history of the Arsacids); *Kitāb al-Ma'āthir wa 'l-āthār*, 1309 (historical almanac for the 40th anniversary of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh); *Kitāb al-Tadwīn fī aḥwāl Djabal-i Sharwīn*, 1311 (history and geography of Sawād-kūh in Māzandarān).

In the field of imaginative literature, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was only a translator (*The Swiss Family Robinson*, romances of Jules Verne, discovery of America, *Ta'rīkh-i Inkishāf-i Yangī Dunyā*, Tehran 1288, Memoirs of the Indian Mutiny of 1857). He also wrote a number of text-books on geography and on the French language.

Bibliography: V.A. Žukovski, obituary of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān in *ZVO*, x (1896), 187-91; E.G. Browne, *Persian literature in modern times*, 453-56; E. Edwards, *Catalogue of Persian books of the Brit. Mus.*, 479-80. (V. MINORSKY)

MUḤAMMAD AL-HĀSHIMĪ [see AL-HĀSHIMĪ].

MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN BUSHRŪ'Ī, MULLĀ (1229-65/1814-49), the first convert to Bābism [*q.v.*], and a leading figure of the movement's early period. Born in Khurāsān to a mercantile family, he pursued religious studies in Mashhad, Tehran, Iṣfahān and Karbalā', where he studied under Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī [*q.v.*], head of the Shaykhī school [*q.v.*]. During a long residence, he acquired a private following, which gave grounds for believing he might become Rashtī's successor.

Following the latter's death in 1844, Bushrū'ī left for Kirmān to interview another prospective leader, Karīm Khān Kirmānī. En route, in Shīrāz, he met a former acquaintance, Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad

Shīrāzī [see BĀB], who soon announced his own claim to be Rashtī's successor and the *bāb al-imām*. Acknowledging Shīrāzī's claim, Bushrū'ī was himself designated *bāb al-bāb* and "the return of Muhammad". When Shīrāzī later (1848) assumed the title of *ḳā'im*, that of Bāb was transferred to Bushrū'ī. Bushrū'ī soon established an important centre for Bābism in Mashhad. During this period he regularly acted on Shīrāzī's behalf, and was widely regarded as his leading disciple.

Following trouble with the authorities, he and a band of armed followers left Mashhad in Shaʿbān 1264/July 1848. Their original intention may have been to rescue the Bāb from prison in Ādharbāydjān, but by September they were forced to barricade themselves in the shrine of Shaykh Abū ʿAlī al-Faḍl Tabarsī in Māzandarān province. Here Bushrū'ī led a spirited defence against provincial and state troops, ending with the surrender of the remaining Bābīs in May 1849. He himself was killed in the course of a sortie on 9 Rabīʿ I 1265/2 February 1849. Few of his writings are extant.

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MUHAMMAD HUSAYN HAYKAL (b. 20 August 1888, d. December 1956), Egyptian writer of the first rank. He participated, with several of his contemporaries (al-ʿAḳḳād, al-Māzinī, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, etc.) in the formation in his country of a liberal way of thought and a modern literature marked by attachment to Muslim values, the influence of Europe and consciousness of an Egyptian specificity.

Having graduated in law from Cairo in 1909, he won a scholarship to France, and in 1913 presented his thesis in law on "The Egyptian Debt". On his return from Cairo, he published in 1914 his first novel, *Zaynab*, which he had written in France and which was to remain his masterpiece. Having become a barrister and professor in the Faculty of Law, he also practised journalism. At first he contributed to *al-Siyāsa*, then edited this newspaper in 1922, and founded the weekly *al-Siyāsa al-usbūʿiyya* (1926).

As a member of the party of *al-Aḥrār al-dustūriyyūn* ("the constitutional liberals") he came to play a political role. He was to become minister (1937) and President of the Senate (from 1945 to 1950). He recounts this part of his activity and his concerns in his memoirs: *Mudhakkirāt fī 'l-siyāsa al-miṣriyya* (2 vols., 1951-3). But above all he was an intellectual, a writer whose production is of interest in two fields: literature, with which he was involved as a practioner and critic; and Muslim religion, of which he speaks as a convinced believer and as a modern man.

To the first category belong the thesis on Jean-Jacques Rousseau which he presented to the University of Cairo (1st ed. vol. i, 1921, vol. ii, 1923), and his collection of essays *Fī awḳāt al-farāgh* (1925), which was to be followed by a more systematic exposé, revised and corrected, of his literary ideas under the title of *Thawrat al-adab* (1933). Nor should one forget his second novel *Hākadhā khuliḳat* ("She is thus") which appeared a few months before his death (1956).

In the second category must be cited his *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (1934), a life of the Prophet of Islam which is respectful of the most reliable Muslim tradition and at the same time conforms with the requirements of modern learning—notably echoing *La vie de Mahomet* of E. Dermenghem, Paris 1929, and *The Life of Muhammad* of Sir William Muir, Edinburgh 1923 (see A. Wessels, *A modern biography of Muhammad* , Leiden 1972). After having dealt with the *sīra* of the founder of Islam, Haykal also applied himself as an historian to the biographies of its first three so-called "Orthodox" caliphs: Abū Bakr (1942), ʿUmar (1945), and ʿUthmān (only to be published in 1964, after Haykal's death). Finally, let us mention the account of his own pilgrimage which he wrote in 1937, *Fī manzil al-waḥy*.

In all his work, Haykal appears as a man endowed with a great capacity for work and assimilation, capable of constantly starting afresh. As a good student of Renan, he begins by doubting the creative capacities of the Semites in literary matters and keeps his distance from Arabism; like Luṭfī al-Sayyid [*q.v.*], he extols an "Egyptian national literature"; the excavations of Upper Egypt demonstrate the importance of Pharaonic civilisation, the revolution of 1919 revealed a people to itself, what need is there to dissolve in a larger Arabo-Islamic group? But his *Life of Muḥammad*, matched by the prefaces of its first two editions and the two essays which serve as its conclusion (*Muslim civilisation as it appears from the Ḳur'ān* and *Orientalists and Muslim civilisation*), asserts that he has chosen his camp, Islam and Arabism, but without sectarianism, for he is convinced that the salvation of the whole of humanity can come only from Islam. He also changes his master in European thought. Neither Renan nor Taine suit him any more; only Bergson can bring him this spiritualism, so familiar to Islam, that the West, positivist and materialist, ignores almost completely.

Rousseau seems to have retained all his old prestige in his eyes. Does he not recognise in him an exceptional stature in the thesis which he devotes to him, by making of him a kind of prophet of modern times? And above all, does *Zaynab* not originate from *La nouvelle Héloise* placed in a different setting! This double denunciation of the misery of the peasant and the distress of the woman constitutes a promising start for the Arab novel, of which it is the first real manifestation. Despite its faults, the novel actually keeps today all its value, but remains without posterity in Haykal's work. The second and final novel that he wrote, a short time before his death, does not excite our pity for the fate of an oppressed woman, but arouses our indignation against a dominating woman who does exactly what she wants, subjugates and buries her two successive husbands and maintains excellent relations with God. So here things have completely changed. This does not owe so much to Rousseau as one might think, but more to Nietzsche.

Furthermore, between these two works, which, more than forty years apart, form the whole production of Haykal, the difference of technique is also evident. If *Zaynab* is characterised by the peasant stamp, the multiplicity of the poles (the author, the hero, the two heroines) and by the attempt to impose the Egyptian "national" dialect as the language of the dialogue, *Hākadhā khuliḳat*, on the contrary, is from beginning to end the monologue of a modern woman narrator who expresses herself in a *fuṣḥā* which, in the event, perfectly suits the suggested settings: a mannered and affected woman's boudoir, a psychoanalyst's couch and a mystic's oratory.

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Fadjr al-ḳiṣṣa al-miṣriyya, Cairo n.d.; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age, 1798-1939*, London 1967; H. Pérès, *Le roman arabe dans le premier tiers du XXème siècle: al-Manfalūṭī et Haykal*, in *AIEO Alger*, xvii (1959); idem, *La littérature arabe et l'Islam par les textes*, Algiers 1947, 144-7; D. Semah, *Four Egyptian literary critics*, Leiden 1974; R. Allen, *The Arabic novel, an historical and critical introduction*, Manchester 1982, 31-5 and index. (Ch. Vial)

MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN TABRĪZĪ, famous Persian calligrapher, pupil of the celebrated Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad Mashhadī and teacher of the no less famous Mīr ʿImād. His remarkable command of the art of calligraphy, so popular in Persia, brought him the title of honour *Mihīn Ustād* ("greatest master"). His father Mīrzā Shukr Allāh was *Mustawfī al-Mamālik* to the Ṣafawid Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76); the master himself, according to the Oriental sources, was vizier to Shāh Ismāʿīl II (984-5/1576-8) but lost the favour of the sovereign and was forced to flee to India, where he remained to his death. Rieu says he died about 950/1543, but this does not agree with other biographical details and is indeed improbable. That he spent the remainder of his life in India is evident from the fact that most of the manuscripts known to have been written by him were finished in India. The inscriptions on the *masdjids* and *khānḳāhs* of Tabrīz are said to have been his masterpieces, but unfortunately they have been almost entirely destroyed by earthquakes. After completing these inscriptions, he made the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return devoted himself exclusively to copying the masterpieces of Persian poetry. A *Dīwān* of the Persian poet Amīr Shāhī from his pen is in the Cambridge University Library.

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MUḤAMMAD IḲBĀL [see iḳbāl].

MUḤAMMAD al-IKHSHĪD [see muḥammad b. ṭughdj al-ikhshīd].

MUḤAMMAD ISMĀʿĪL b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Shahīd, Mawlānā, religious leader of Muslim India, was born on 28 Shawwāl 1196/6 October 1782, of a Dihlī family that traced its origin to the caliph ʿUmar. He was a nephew of the famous Mawlānā Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1239/1823-4). Having lost his father early, he was brought up by his uncle Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (d. 1242/1826-7). In childhood he was inattentive to his studies and fond of swimming in the Djamnā, but thanks to a retentive memory and a keen intellect he later on became a learned man.

Being shocked at the *shirk* or idolatrous tendencies then prevailing among Indian Muslims, he zealously preached the purified and reformed doctrines of Islam. Impressed by the religious sanctity of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*] al-Mudjaddid, he became his disciple and his constant companion. In 1236/1821 they went to Mecca and then to Istanbul, where they were received with marked consideration. Six years later, on their return to Dihlī, they gained many followers. In 1243/1827 they with many disciples went to Peshāwar and declared a religious war against the Sikhs. But owing to some innovations introduced into the usages of the Afghāns, their power declined and during a retreat they perished in a skirmish with the Sikhs in 1247/1831.

He is the author of the following works:

1. *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-fiḳh*, a treatise on the principles of Islamic law according to the Ḥanafī school;
2. *Manṣab-i imāmat*, a Persian treatise on the imāmate;
3. *Taḳwiyat al-īmān*, an Urdu treatise on theology (printed 1293, Eng. tr. Mīr Shahāmat ʿAlī, cf. *JRAS*, xiii, 316);
4. *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm*, a treatise in Persian on the doctrines of Islam.

Bibliography: Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan, *Itḥāf al-nubalāʾ*, 416; Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār al-sanādīd*, ii, 97; *JRAS*, xiii, 310. (M. Hidayet Hosain)

MUḤAMMAD ISMĀʿĪL SHAHĪD [see ismāʿīl shahīd].

MUḤAMMAD ʿIZZAT DARWAZA (or darwazeh), an advocate of Arab nationalism and a prominent figure in Palestinian national struggle during the British Mandate (1917-48), was born in Nābulus in 1305/1888 to a middle-class mercantile family.

The family name is derived from *daraza*, "to sew, stitch", because his forefathers were tailors and braid weavers. In 1905, having graduated from high school, he joined the Ottoman civil service and was soon promoted to commissioner and deputy of the Nābulus post office. Having become disillusioned with the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, he became an active supporter of Arabism and Arab nationalism; he joined radical political groups, such as the Party for Decentralisation (*ḥizb al-lā markaziyya*) and the Arab Youth Society (*djamʿiyya al-fatāt al-ʿarabiyya*, often called *al-Fatāt*) and at times supported militant ideology. From May 1919 to March 1920, he served the central body of *al-Fatāt*, which was for all practical purposes the official party and backbone of Amīr Fayṣal b. Sharīf Ḥusayn's [*q.v.*] provisional government in Damascus (1918-20), as its secretary. When the latter was deposed by the French, Darwaza went back to Nābulus and played a major role in the Arab national movement against the British mandate and Jewish immigration. He was a close associate of the Muftī al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī [*q.v.*], the chairman of the Supreme Muslim Council (*al-madjlis al-islāmī al-sharʿī al-aʿlā*), and served him first as the head of Nābulus *awḳāf* and later as the manager of the Palestinian *awḳāf*. He also administered the Nadjāḥ National School in Nābulus since its inception in 1922 as its principal, where he taught Arab history and wrote a number of history textbooks. Following the Palestinian unrest of 1936 while he was in Damascus, the British declared the Arab Higher Committee (*al-ladjna al-ʿarabiyya al-ʿulyā*) illegal and stripped the Muftī of his chairmanship of the Supreme Muslim Council; hence Darwaza was barred from returning to Palestine. From 5 June 1939 to November 1940, he was imprisoned by the French military authorities on the pretext of inciting people against the British. After he was released by the Syrian forces, but unable to return to his country, he left for Turkey and resided there until the end of 1945. Still barred from entering Palestine, he lived in Damascus until his death on 28 Shawwāl 1404/26 July 1984.

He was a prolific author and wrote more than thirty books, a number of them in several volumes, ranging from Arabism, Arab history, Arab nationalism, biography of the Prophet, *tafsīr*, socio-economic and political problems of the Arabs, to the question of Palestine. *Al-Tafsīr al-ḥadīth* (Cairo 1962, 12 volumes), arranged in chronological order of revelation of the

chapters, is his major work. It was preceded by *al-Ḳurʾān al-madjīd* (Sidon and Beirut, n.d.) as an introduction to the former wherein Darwaza has outlined what he calls, "The exemplary method for understanding the Ḳurʾān and for its exegesis". Given his educational background, the *tafsīr* is a remarkable achievement. His trilogy *ʿAṣr al-nabī wa-bīʾatuhu ḳabl al-baʿtha*, 2nd ed., rev. (Beirut 1964), *Sīrat al-rasūl*, 2nd rev. ed. (Cairo 1965), and *al-Dustūr al-Ḳurʾānī wa 'l-sunna al-nabawiyya fī shuʾūn al-ḥayāt*, 2nd rev. ed. (Cairo 1966; all written during his incarceration and prior to the *tafsīr*), are highly acclaimed studies based primarily on the Ḳurʾān. He is also rightly regarded as a historian and his *Ḥawla al-ḥaraka al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadītha* (Sidon n.d., or the revised and enlarged edition of its first volume as *Nashʾat al-ḥaraka al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadītha*, Sidon 1971), is a valuable work with first-hand information.

Bibliography: All the works, except his autobiography entitled *Tisʿūna ʿām^an fī 'l-ḥayāt: 1888-1978*, are published. The above biographical sketch is based on personal references found in his own works and information given to the writer by his son Zuhayr. (I.K. Poonawala)

MUḤAMMAD al-ḲĀʾIM, the twelfth *imām* according to the Ithnā ʿAshariyya [*q.v.*] or Twelver Shīʿa.

When the eleventh *imām*, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*], died in 260/874, the question who was to be recognised as his successor split the [proto-] Shīʿī community into numerous factions. Al-Shahrastānī (*K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*) counts eleven, al-Nawbakhtī (*Firaḳ al-shīʿa*) fourteen, Saʿd al-Ḳummī (*K. al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*) fifteen and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj al-dhahab*) as many as twenty different factions. The opinions put forward by these factions may be categorised into five groups. Firstly, there were those who claimed that he had no successor at all and that the imāmate had ceased to exist. According to others, secondly, he had never been a true *imām* in the first place, since the tenth *imām*, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, had designated his son Muḥammad as his successor. Thirdly, there were those who claimed that al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī himself was the *mahdī* [*q.v.*] and the *ḳāʾim* (*āl Muḥammad* [*q.v.*]), while others, fourthly, were of the opinion that he should be succeeded by his younger brother Djaʿfar. Finally, there were those who believed that the eleventh *imām* had left a son to succeed him. This opinion was to become the official belief of Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism. Most of the sources on which this dogma is based agree that this son was born on 15 Shaʿbān, but they differ about the year of his birth. According to some he was born in 255/869 and according to others in 258/872 or even in 261/875, after the death of his father. One of the oldest sources (al-Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*) states that the mother of the twelfth *imām* was a slave-girl called Nardjis. Later sources record her name variously as Sayḳal (Saḳīl), Sawsan or Rayḥāna or even claim that her name was Malika b. Yashshu and that she was the granddaughter of the Emperor of Byzantine. According to Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿīsm, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī, because of fierce ʿAbbāsid persecutions, concealed as far as possible the fact that he had a son to succeed him and disclosed it only to a very few select followers. Basically for the same reason, this son went into occultation (*ghayba* [*q.v.*]) immediately after the death of his father in 260/873-4 (or according to some sources already shortly after his birth).

During the first period of occultation (*al-ghayba al-ḳaṣīra* or *al-ghayba al-ṣughrā*) he performed his duties as *imām* through the agency of four successive representatives or ambassadors (*sufarāʾ*, sing. *safīr*), viz. ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-ʿAmrī, Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-ʿAmrī, al-Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ al-Nawbakhtī and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Sāmarrī. *Inter alia*, they received the fifth or *khums* [*q.v.*] on behalf of the *imām* and passed his *tawḳīʿāt*, i.e. written and signed statements or answers to questions, on to his followers. The death of the last *safīr* (15 Shaʿbān 329/15 May 941) was the beginning of the period of the complete or greater occultation (*al-ghayba al-kubrā*) that will last till the reappearance of the twelfth *imām* in eschatological times. Concerning the name of the twelfth *imām*, some sources claim that he was given the name of the Prophet, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad. According to other sources, however, the followers of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī were explicitly forbidden to ask after the name of his son. Hence the established tradition in Shīʿī literature to refer to the twelfth *imām* not by his proper name, but with the titles *al-ḥudjdja* [*q.v.*] and *ṣāḥib al-ʿamr* or *ṣāḥib al-zamān*, highlighting his authority over the Shīʿī community, or the titles *al-mahdī* and *al-ḳāʾim* (*āl Muḥammad*), reflecting his eschatological function.

Bibliography: J.M. Hussain, *The occultation of the Twelfth Imam. A historical background*, The Muhammadi Trust, London 1982; A.A. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism. The idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism*, Albany1981 (the relevant sources are dealt with in these two books, albeit from an Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿī point of view). (J.G.J. ter Haar)

MUḤAMMAD KĀẒIM, Munshī, Mughal historian of the 11th/17th century and son of the Persian *munshī* or secretary and official historiographer to the Mughal emperor Shāh Djahān [*q.v.*] Muḥammad Amīn, called Amīnā Ḳazwīnī, and author of a history of that ruler's reign, the *Pādishāh-nāma* (see Storey, i, 566-7).

Muḥammad Kāẓim himself became *munshī* to Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], and was entrusted with the compilation, from official records, of the history of the emperor's reign and was ordered to submit it to him for correction. He accompanied the emperor on his journey to Adjmēr where he fell ill and was consequently sent back to Dihlī and died there shortly after his return in 1092/1681.

The history which he composed is known as *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*; it begins with the departure of Awrangzīb from Awrangābād in 1068/1657 and is brought down to 1078/1667. It was printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1865-8.

Bibliography: Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, ii, 210; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vii, 174-180 (translated extracts from the *ʿAlamgīr-nāma*); Nassau Lees, in *JRAS*, N.S., iii, 464; Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian manuscripts Br. Mus.*, ii, 267a; Storey, I, 585, 1317. (M. Hidayet Hosain)

MUḤAMMAD al-KHAḌIR b. al-ḤUSAYN [see al-khaḍir, muḥammad b. al-ḥusayn].

MUḤAMMAD KHĀN BANGASH KARLĀNĪ, Nawwāb, styled Ghaḍanfar Djang, was an Afghān chief of the tribe of Bangash. The city of Farrukhābād [*q.v.*] in what is now Uttar Pradesh, was founded by him in the name of his patron, the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar. When Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*] became emperor of Dihlī, he appointed him governor of Mālwa in 1143/1730, but as he could not stop the repeated attacks of the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*], he was removed in 1145/1732 and appointed governor of Allāhābād. Muḥammad Khān intended to reduce the Bundēlas, of whom Rādjā Čhatursāl was chief. He captured several places, but as he did not know the roads, Čhatursāl, with the help of Pēshwa Bādjī Rāo,

surrounded him suddenly with an army. The Nawwāb took refuge in the fortress of Djaytgaṙh, whereupon his son, Ḳāsim Djang, having collected an army of Afghāns, marched to Djaytgaṙh and escorted his father in safety to Allāhābād. The imperial ministers then removed him from the governorship. He died in 1156/1743.

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(M. Hidayet Hosain)

MUḤAMMAD LĀRĪ [see lārī].

MUḤAMMAD MĀḌĪ [see abu 'l-ʿazāʾim, in Suppl.].

MUḤAMMAD MAHDĪ KHĀN [see mahdī khān astarābādī].

MUḤAMMAD MUʿAẒẒAM BAHĀDUR SHĀH [see bahādur shāh i].

MUḤAMMAD MUḤSIN al-ḤĀDJDJ, son of Ḥādjdj Fayḍ Allāh, son of Āghā Faḍl Allāh, a rich merchant of Persia who came to India in the early part of the 12th/18th century, was born at Hūglī (Hooghly) in Bengal in 1143/1730. For a time, the Āghā resided at Murshidābād [*q.v.*] and carried on there an extensive mercantile business, but finding the rising port of Hūglī a more convenient centre, he finally settled there with his son Ḥādjdj Fayḍ Allāh.

Already settled at Hūglī was one Āghā Muṭahhar, who, coming originally from Persia like Āghā Faḍl Allāh, had won his way at the court of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*]. That monarch had conferred upon him extensive *djāgīrs* in Djisūr and other places in Bengal, and Āghā Muṭahhar, eager to take possession, finally himself set out from Dihlī for the eastern province. So well did he manage his newly-acquired lands that he soon became one of the wealthiest men in the province. He selected Hūglī as his headquarters. Āghā Muṭahhar for many years remained childless and it was only in very old age that a daughter was born to him. Round this only child, named Mānū Djān Khānum, all his affections centred, and dying when she was only seven years old he left her all his property. The widow of Āghā Muṭahhar was displeased with the conduct of her husband and subsequently married Ḥādjdj Fayḍ Allāh, the son of Āghā Faḍl Allāh, her late husband's friend. The fruit of this marriage was Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Muḥsin. He was eight years younger than his half-sister, Mānū Djān Khānum. Muḥammad Muḥsin was first brought up at Hūglī, afterwards he completed his education in Murshidābād [*q.v.*]. After finishing his studies at Murshidābād, he returned to his sister's house at Hūglī. Later, he started on a long journey and for twenty-seven years he continued his travels in India, Arabia, Persia and Central Asia. It was not until he had reached his sixtieth year that he finally decided to terminate his travels and return home. Making his way slowly across northern India he came at last to Lucknow. Thence he came to Murshidābād in 1216/1801, with the intention of settling there. But during his long absence his sister, Mānū Djān Khānum, had married her cousin, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, nephew of Āghā Muṭahhar; her husband died in the prime of life and she was anxiously waiting for the arrival of her step-brother. At last at the solicitation of his sister, Muḥammad Muḥsin came to Hūglī, and when she died at the age of eighty-one in 1218/1803, she left a will bequeathing to Muḥammad Muḥsin the whole of her property.

It was thus not until Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Muḥsin had reached the age of seventy-three that he became possessed of the great wealth which greatly helped his co-religionists in Bengal in the pursuit of education. He had never married and the death of his half-sister left him without near relatives. He was anxious that his great wealth should be put to good use after his death and consequently on 7 Ṣafar 1221/26 April 1806 he signed a Deed of Trust, setting apart the whole of his income for charitable purposes in perpetuity.

Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Muḥsin lived for six years after making this noble disposition of his property. For his own personal use, he had reserved only so much property as would bring him in about one hundred rupees a month. In 1227/1812 he died at the age of about eighty-two and was buried in the garden adjoining the *Imāmbārā* which he had so splendidly endowed.

Bibliography: F.B. Bradley-Bert, *Twelve men of Bengal*, Calcutta 1910, 35-59; Mahēndra Chandra Mitra, *Life of Haji Mohammad Mohsin*, Calcutta 1880, 1-29; O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Hooghly*, Calcutta 1912, 292-4; D.G. Crawford, *Hooghly Medical Gazetteer*, Calcutta 1903, 243; *Bengal past and present*, in *Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society*, ii, 63 ff., Calcutta 1908.

(M. Hidayet Hosain)

MUḤAMMAD, Muʿizz al-Dīn [see muḥammad b. sām].

MUḤAMMAD al-MURTAḌĀ li-DĪN ALLĀH, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, son and successor of Yaḥyā al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ b. al-Ḥusayn who founded the Rassī Zaydī imāmate in northern Yemen in the late 3rd/9th century.

The year 278/891-2, that is given in an early source (*al-Ifāda*) as that of his birth, hardly accords with the chronology of his adult life (cf. Van Arendonk, *Les Débuts*, 140 n. 6). In 284/897 he accompanied his father on the latter's second journey from his native Ḥidjāz to Yemen, whence a delegation had invited him to bring order to the northern town of Ṣaʿda and to establish his imāmate there. Commencing the following year, Muḥammad's name appears frequently in the accounts of his father's expanding realm, usually as soldier and administrator but also as poet and religious authority. He was involved mainly in the Ṣanʿāʾ region against Yuʿfirids, local rebels and ʿAbbāsid agents, and in Radjab 290/June 903 he was captured by a Yuʿfirid and imprisoned for several months. From 293/906 onwards Muḥammad on several occasions faced a new enemy in ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, the junior of two Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimid *dāʿīs* or agents who had been in Yemen since 268/881-2 but who only in 291/904 sought to expand into central Yemen [see al-ḳarmaṭī and ismāʿīliyya].

After his father died on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 298/19 August 911, Muḥammad was chosen his successor on 1 Muḥarram 299/29 August 911 with the title al-Murtaḍā li-Dīn Allāh. However, frustrated by his inability to curb his followers' moral laxity, he soon abdicated, probably in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda of that same year/July 912, and was eventually succeeded by his brother, Aḥmad al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, in Ṣafar 301/September 913. Muḥammad died at Ṣaʿda in Muḥarram 310/May 922. A prolific scholar and poet, he produced numerous works (al-Ḥibshī lists 28 titles), mainly on the Zaydī rite.

Bibliography: The richest source is the contemporary biography of Muḥammad's father, the *Sīrat al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī, ed. S. Zakkār, ²Beirut 1981. This was used extensively by C. Van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imâmat Zaidite au Yemen*, tr. J. Ryckmans, Leiden 1960. An early ms. source is *al-*

Ifāda fī taʾrīkh al-aʾimma al-sāda by the *Imām* Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn (d. 424/1032-3). Other, later ms. sources are mentioned, along with biographical information about Muḥammad, in al-Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 14-19. Other works to be consulted are Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. S.A.A. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1968, i, 166-212 *passim*; H.C. Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892, 315 n. 127 and 326, n. 138; Zabāra, *Aʾimmat al-Yaman*, i, Taʿizz 1372/1952, 8-62 *passim*; Djurāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 58-61, 104-7; ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. Karmalī, Cairo 1939, 31 ff.; A.F. Sayyid, *Maṣādir*, Cairo 1974, 91-2, 404; and G.R. Smith, in R.B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock, eds., *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, London 1983, 55 ff. (J.R. Blackburn)

MUḤAMMAD MURTAḌĀ b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al-Ḥanafī, Abu 'l-Fayḍ, Arabic scholar and specialist in lexicography. He was born in 1145/1732 in Bilgrām in Kanawdj [*q.v.*] in northwestern India, and settled, after travelling for many years in pursuit of knowledge, in Cairo on 9 Ṣafar 1167/7 December 1753. There he succeeded in reviving an interest in the study of Tradition by giving lectures to specially invited companies. In Upper Egypt, also, he was always a welcome guest with the Arab Shaykh Humām and in the Egyptian country towns, and his fame spread to the Sūdān and even to India. From the year 1191/1777 he drew a pension from the government. He died in Cairo in Shaʿbān 1205/April 1791 of the plague.

His principal works are two great commentaries. He wrote the *Tādj al-ʿarūs* on al-Fīrūzābādī's [*q.v.*] *Ḳāmūs*, finishing it in 1181/1767 after 14 years' work; although in the preface he quotes over a hundred sources used by him, he takes most of the additions to the *Ḳāmūs* bodily from the *Lisān al-ʿArab* of Ibn Manẓūr. It was printed incompletely in 5 vols. in Cairo 1286-7 and in 10 vols. in Cairo 1307. He wrote a commentary, also very extensive, on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, entitled *Itḥāf al-sāda al-muttaḳīn*, in which, in addition to explaining words he devotes special attention to establishing traditions quoted by al-Ghazālī; it was printed at Fās in 1301-4 in 13 vols., and at Cairo in 1311 in 10 vols. He also composed a number of smaller works on lexicography and Tradition and also on the genealogy on the ʿAlids: 1. *Nashwat al-irtiyāḥ fī bayān ḥaḳīḳ al-maysir wa 'l-kidāḥ*, ed. by Landberg, *Primeurs arabes*, i, 40-55; 2. *al-Ḳawl al-mabtūt fī taḥḳīḳ lafẓ al-tābūt*, Cairo, Fihrist^2, i, 96; 3. *Taḥḳīḳ al-wasāʾil li-maʿrifat al-mukātaba wa 'l-rasāʾil*, Mawṣil, Dāwūd Čelebi, Makhṭūṭāt, 140, 1; 4. *al-Amālī al-shaykhūniyya*, lectures on traditions, which he gave in the Shaykhū mosque in Cairo, Berlin, Ahlwardt, no. 10253; 5. *Risāla fī aḥādīth Yawm al-ʿĀshūrāʾ*, Cairo, *Fihrist*, vi, 209; 6. *Tuḥfat al-ḳamāʾil fī madḥ Shaykh al-ʿArab Ismāʿīl* in the form of *maḳāma*, Cairo, *Fihrist*, iii, 47; 7. *ʿIḍāḥ al-madārik fī 'l-ifṣāḥ ʿan al-ʿawātik*, finished on 4 Rabīʿ II 1194/10 April 1780, *ibid.*, v, 51; 8. *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās fī nasab Banī 'l-ʿAbbās*, finished on 26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1182/2 May 1769, *ibid.*, 150; 9. *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ ilā kuttāb al-āfāḳ*, history of the Arabic script and of famous calligraphers, finished on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1184/30 March 1771, *ibid.*, 163; 10. *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī nasab al-sāda āl Djaʿfar al-Ṭayyār, ibid.*, 205; 11. *Muzīl niḳāb al-khafāʾ ʿan kunā sādātinā banī 'l-wafāʾ*, finished on 16 Ramaḍān 1187/21 November 1774, *ibid.*, 343; 12. *Nisbat al-Sayyid Muḥammad Efendi Ibn Ḥawwāʾ bint Aḥmad, ibid.*, 346, b, 8.

Bibliography: Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, Cairo 1927, ii, 196-210, followed by ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1306, iii, 94-6; Muʾmin al-Shablandjī, *Nūr al-abṣār fī manāḳib Āl Bayt al-Mukhtār*, Būlāḳ 1290, 273 ff.; Brockelmann, II^2, 371, S II, 398-9; J.A. Haywood, *Arabic lexicography*, Leiden 1960, 89-90; and see ḲĀMŪS. 1. Arabic lexicography. (C. Brockelmann)

MUḤAMMAD NADJĪB (conventional European rendering, Neguib), Egyptian soldier and statesman. He was born on 20 February 1901 in Khartoum, the son of an Egyptian army captain in the Sudan Civil Service. He was educated at Gordon College, Khartoum, after which he entered the Egyptian Royal Military Academy at the age of seventeen. He was commissioned into the infantry and served in the General Staff. During the Second World War he was first Adjutant-General and then deputy governor of Sinai. He came to prominence when he was appointed commander of two infantry brigades fighting in Palestine against the recently founded Israeli state. The Egyptian army was ill-trained and poorly-equipped, and was unable to put up much resistance against the Haganah. Two Egyptian soldiers did distinguish themselves in the fighting, however, the young ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (Nasser) and the older Muḥammad Nadjīb. In December 1948 the latter took part in a sharp tank engagement and was severely wounded. He was for a time pronounced dead until emergency measures saved him.

He returned from Palestine bitter at the defeat of the Egyptians and certain that it was the result of government corruption and inefficiency. Younger officers began to visit him in an attempt to bring him into their plans for a coup against the discredited régime. Although Nasser was the obvious leader of these men, the support of Nadjīb was sought as an elder figurehead. In 1949 the Committee of the Free Officers' Movement was constituted with Nasser as chairman and with Nadjīb joining them later. By 1951 the political situation in Egypt was ripe for revolution and the Free Officers were planning their coup, which they carried out on 20 July 1952.

Nadjīb now came to the fore as a leader of maturity and popularity amongst a group of younger unknown men. He was used by Nasser for a time but was never the real power in the movement. It was he who was deputed to travel to Alexandria with the ultimatum of abdication for King Farouk [see FĀRŪḲ in Suppl.].

The Free Officers had come to power with no very clear idea of their political goals. Nadjīb first favoured the return of the army to the barracks and the appointment of civilian politicians, but when these latter failed to co-operate he himself became prime minister, war minister, commander-in-chief and chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council. In June 1953 the monarchy was abolished and Nadjīb became president and prime minister, with Nasser as his deputy.

During this period, Nasser was cleverly manœuvring to take over supreme power as soon as possible. Although prime mover of the RCC, he had allowed the limelight to fall on Nadjīb, who was showing signs of independent action. He was popular with the people but did not have a wide power base. Nasser and most of the Free Officers forced him to resign in February 1954. This move caused demonstrations of popular support for Nadjīb and the threat of a split in the army. Nasser had acted too soon and before being sure of his own position. Consequently, he had to allow Nadjīb to return temporarily as prime minister until April, when Nasser finally demonstrated his

abilities by mobilising both country and army behind him. Nadjīb was thus outmanœuvred, dismissed again and placed under house arrest 1954-71. He was released by Sādāt after Nasser's death and lived his life quietly in Cairo until he died in 1984.

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(D. Hopwood)

MUḤAMMAD PANĀH, Mīr, the name of Ghāzī 'l-Dīn Khān, Fīrūz Djang (II), was the eldest son of Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh I and a grandson of Ghāzī 'l-Dīn Khān, Fīrūz Djang I, Indo-Muslim noble of the late Mughal period.

He grew up at the court of Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*], the Mughal emperor of Dihlī and on attaining his majority was married to a daughter of the minister, Iʿtimād al-Dawla Ḳamar al-Dīn Khān (not to be confounded with Čīn Ḳilič Khān, Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], who also bore the same name). He started his official career as *Bakhshī* of the Aḥadīs and on his father's departure for the Deccan in 1153/1740 to reduce to obedience and submission his second son, Mīr Aḥmad Khān Nāṣir Djang, who had been acting as deputy viceroy of the Deccan during the absence of Niẓām al-Mulk at Dihlī, and had raised the banner of revolt, he was left behind at Dihlī as Niẓām al-Mulk's representative at the imperial court as *Mīr Bakhshī* of the empire. Soon afterwards he was invested with the titles of Ghāzī 'l-Dīn Khān, Fīrūz Djang, once held by his grandfather. In 1164/1750, the title of *Amīr al-Umarāʾ*, which had been conferred on Sādāt Khān Dhu 'l-Faḳār Djang on the death of Niẓām al-Mulk (1161/1748), was also conferred on him. On his brother Nāṣir Djang's assumption of the viceroyalty of the Deccan, in supersession to his claim as the eldest son of Niẓām al-Mulk, he joined hands with the Marāṭhā Pēshwā Bālādjī Bādjī Rāʾō for dispossessing his brother. Having failed to persuade the king of Dihlī to assign him the disputed viceroyalty, he decided to settle the issue by force and after having promised to pay the Marāṭhās six million rupees for their help, started from Dihlī in 1165/1752. His plans were, however, nipped in the bud as he was poisoned to death by his stepmother soon after his arrival in Awrangābād. His dead body was carried to Dihlī where it was interred in the mausoleum of his grandfather. He was a mild person with a scholarly bent of mind; an unambitious man, he lacked the qualities of a good military commander or a statesman.

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(A.S. Bazmee Ansari)

MUḤAMMAD RIḌĀ ʿISHḲI [see ʿishḳī, in Suppl.].

MUḤAMMAD RIḌĀ (Riza) **SHĀH PAHLAWĪ**, son of Riḍā Khān [*q.v.*] and Tādj al-Mulūk, daughter of Tīmūr Khān *mīr-pandj* ("brigadier"); born 26 October 1919 (his twin sister, Ashraf, was born later the same day), died Cairo 27 July 1980, second and last shāh of the Pahlawī [*q.v.*] dynasty of Iran. At the coronation of his father on 25 April 1926, Muḥammad Riḍā was formally invested as Crown Prince. After primary education at a school established by his father for the sons of government officials and military officers, he was sent in 1931 to a private school in Lausanne; the following year, he was transferred to Le Rosey boarding school at Rolle, Switzerland, and in 1936 he returned to Tehran, where he spent two years at the Military College. On 27 May 1938 the betrothal was announced of Muḥammad Riḍā and Fawziyya, daughter of Fuʾād I of Egypt [see fuʾād al-awwal]; the marriage was formalised in Tehran on 25 April 1939.

On 25 August 1941 British and Soviet forces invaded Iran, and on 16 September Riḍā Shāh abdicated; the same day, Muḥammad Riḍā took the oath to the Constitution, and was recognised as shāh by the British and Soviet governments on 19 September. Muḥammad Riḍā's pledge of cooperation with the Allied Powers removed the threat of direct rule of Iran by the latter, and the Shāh and his Prime Minister, Muḥammad ʿAlī Furūghī, worked to achieve the regularisation of the status of the occupying powers. Their efforts led to the signature on 29 January 1942 of the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance; this was followed on 1 December 1943 by the Tripartite Declaration signed by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, which changed the status of Iran from that of a neutral to that of an ally.

I. *Domestic policies*

During the Allied occupation (1941-6), the Shāh's "leverage was limited" (Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, *Answer to history*, Toronto and Vancouver 1980, 69) in the face of serious political and economic problems: first, the occupation had caused severe disruption to the Iranian economy; second, from the outset the Russians treated the five provinces in the Soviet zone as annexed rather than occupied; third, there was insecurity and disorder in the tribal regions of the country; fourth, the *ʿulamāʾ*, whose activities had been restricted by Riḍā Shāh, regained much of their political power, particularly, after 1947, under their populist leader Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī [*q.v.*]; fifth, the Persian Communist Party, reconstituted in 1942 under the name "Tudeh Party", soon became a force to be reckoned with; sixth, in the more liberal political climate after the abdication of Riḍā Shāh, the Madjlis (*madjlis-i shawrā-yi millī*, "National Consultative Assembly" [see dustūr. iv. Īrān]) was torn by factionalism and frequently rendered impotent by lack of a quorum. Many parliamentary deputies "lacked sufficient understanding of ... the meaning of parliamentarism" (Fakhreddin Azimi, *Iran: the crisis of democracy 1941-1953*, London 1989, 11). Governments were ephemeral (between August 1941 and June 1947, the longest term of office held by any Prime Minister was thirteen months; the shortest was two days).

Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh, both by virtue of his Swiss education and his personal inclination, initially favoured the development of constitutional democracy in Iran. However, the Persian Constitution of 1906-7 had not "adequately clarified the position of the executive within the body politic" (Azimi, 13), and, faced with the "largely self-inflicted paralysis of the parliamentary system" (Azimi, 119), the Shāh considered increasing his own executive powers. Before he had acted, the first of many attempts on his life was made on 4 February 1949. The would-be assassin, Fakhr Ārāʾī, was killed by the Shāh's guards. Suspicion fell on the Tudeh Party, which the Shāh banned as a result. Later, it became clear that Fakhr Ārāʾī's links with an extremist

religious group were of greater significance. Though few realised it at the time, the assassination attempt virtually destroyed the Shāh's hopes for the peaceful development of his country. It also threw into sharper relief the problem of the succession to the throne. In 1949 the Shāh and Queen Fawziyya, who had had one daughter Shahnāz (born 1940), were divorced. Since the revised Constitution specifically excluded females and males of Ḳādjār [*q.v.*] descent from the throne [see DUSTŪR. iv. Īrān], the only heir in 1949 was the Shāh's brother ʿAlī Riḍā (later killed in an air crash in 1954). In February 1951 the Shāh married Thurayyā (Sorayya) Isfandiyārī, the daughter of a Bakhtiyārī [*q.v.*] father and German mother; no children were born of this marriage, and in March 1958 Thurayyā was divorced. On 21 December 1959 the Shāh married Faraḥ Dībā, whose father, from a Tabrīzī family, had studied law in France and was also a graduate of the military academy at Saint Cyr (Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Mission for my country*, London 1961, 224). The birth of the Crown Prince Riḍā on 31 October 1960, assured the succession, and three other children followed: Farahnāz (1963); ʿAlī Riḍā (1966); and Laylā (1970). In 1967, the Shāh had the Constitution amended to permit the Empress Faraḥ to act as Regent if the Shāh should die before the Crown Prince reached the age of twenty. In April 1949, a specially convened Constituent Assembly revised Article 48 of the Fundamental Law of 1906 to empower the Shāh to dissolve the Madjlis, and in May, the Madjlis passed a bill to establish an upper house, the Senate, which had been provided for under Article 43 but never convened. Of the sixty senators, half were to be nominated by the Shāh (Article 45); the new body met for the first time on 9 February 1950.

The years 1949-53 were marked by a continuing struggle for power between the Shāh and the Madjlis, now dominated by Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*]. In 1950, the Shāh established the Imperial Organisation for Social Services and transferred to it, for distribution to the peasants, some of the crown lands which had been confiscated from private owners by Riḍā Shāh. Ownership of these lands had been conferred on Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh by the law of 11 July 1949, but on 9 May 1953 Prime Minister Muṣaddiḳ compelled the Shāh to return them to the state (Azimi, 325). These years were also marked by political violence. The extremist religious group *Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām* [*q.v.*] carried out a number of political assassinations; their victims included ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Hazhīr, the Minister of Court (November 1949), and the Prime Minister, General ʿAlī Razmārā (4 March 1951). Before his death, Razmārā had signed on 19 October 1950 the first agreement concluded under President Truman's Point Four Plan to provide technical aid to underdeveloped countries. Muṣaddiḳ's nationalisation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951 plunged Iran into a political and economic crisis. By the middle of 1953, much of Muṣaddiḳ's support had eroded, and on 16 August the Shāh served Muṣaddiḳ with an imperial *farmān* dismissing him from office and appointing General Faḍl Allāh Zāhidī Prime Minister. Muṣaddiḳ arrested the officer who delivered the *farmān*, and the Shāh and the Empress Thurayya left the country, going first to Baghdād and then to Rome. Fighting broke out in the streets of Tehran between supporters of the National Front (a coalition of political parties led by Muṣaddiḳ), the Tudeh Party, and the Shāh. Muṣaddiḳ went ahead with plans for the formation of a Council of Regency and the proclamation of a republic. On 19 August, pro-Shāh supporters led by Zāhidī, and assisted financially by agents of the American Central Intelligence Agency (see K. Roosevelt, *Countergroup: the struggle for the control of Iran*, New York, etc. 1979), restored order in the streets, and the Shāh returned to Tehran on 22 August. Muṣaddiḳ was placed under arrest; martial law was imposed; army officers who had joined the Tudeh Party were purged; and many prominent members of the National Front were arrested. Most of the last-named were released in 1954, and some formed the nucleus of the National Resistance Movement (Nahḍat-i Muḳāwamat-i Millī).

The resolution of the oil dispute in November 1954 through the formation of a Consortium of British, Dutch, French and American oil companies enabled the Shāh to adopt a policy of "positive nationalism" in contrast to the policies of Muṣaddiḳ, which he perceived as essentially negative. This new policy he defined as "a policy of maximum political and economic independence consistent with the interests" of Iran (*Mission*, 125). The First Economic Development Plan of 1949, which had been aborted due to the lack of oil revenue after oil nationalisation, again went into high gear, and during the period of the Second Development Plan (1956-62) a number of major hydro-electric projects was completed [see ĪRĀN. v. History (b)]. Partly as the result of the discovery of new oilfields near Ḳum in 1956, the production of the National Iranian Oil Company in 1959 far exceeded the pre-nationalisation level, and in 1957 the N.I.O.C. concluded the first of a series of new agreements with foreign oil companies based on the principle of partnership; such agreements were psychologically much more satisfying to Iranians than earlier ones under which Iran received royalties from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

By 1957, the Shāh considered that internal conditions had so far returned to normal that a limited degree of political activity was possible. Martial law was abolished, and a new organisation named *Sāzmān-i Iṭṭilāʿāt wa Amniyyat-i Kishwar* ("State Intelligence and Security Organisation", SĀVAK) assumed responsibility for internal security. The Shāh renewed his attempts to establish a Western-style parliamentary system; he created two artificial political parties, a "Government" Party (*Milliyyūn*, "Nationalists"), and a "Loyal Opposition" (*Mardum*, "People's Party"), but the plan predictably failed. The Shāh was aware of the artificiality of the experiment, but believed that it "conceivably could prosper" (Hafez F. Farmayan, *Politics during the sixties: a historical analysis*, in Ehsan Yar-Shater (ed.), *Iran faces the seventies*, New York, Washington and London 1971, 91). However, the elections to the 20th Madjlis in the summer of 1960 and the winter of 1960-1 were more than usually subject to factionalism and fraught with electoral irregularities. In May 1961 the Shāh, who had been critical of the conduct of the elections, appointed to the post of Prime Minister ʿAlī Amīnī, an aristocrat (his mother was a Ḳādjār princess) and a former minister in the Muṣaddiḳ government. The sceptics among the intelligentsia remained unconvinced about the Shāh's commitment to constitutional democracy. Amīnī at once requested the Shāh to dissolve the 20th Madjlis, on the ground that it had no credibility among the people and that no land reform would be possible while the Madjlis continued to be dominated by the landlords and their allies. On 9 May 1961 the Shāh dissolved the Madjlis. Under the 1949 amendment to Article 48 of the 1906 Fundamental Law, the Shāh was bound simultaneously to order new elec-

tions, but Amīnī persuaded him to delay them until essential reforms could be promulgated. The legislative acts of the Amīnī government were legalised by a royal *farmān* of 15 November 1961 (Farmayan, 99). The National Front rejected the opportunity of co-operation with Amīnī (R.W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, Pittsburgh 1964, 303).

Between 1961 and 1963 the Shāh, aided by two able Prime Ministers, ʿAlī Amīnī and Asad Allāh ʿAlam, and by the dynamic Minister of Agriculture Ḥasan Arsandjānī, promulgated by decree a series of far-reaching reforms known as the "White Revolution" or "The Revolution of the Shah and the People" [see ĪRĀN. v. History (b), at p. 42]. The most important of the first six principles of this reform programme were land reform (56% of cultivable land was in hands of 1% of the population); the enfranchisement of women; and the campaign against illiteracy. The Land Reform Law of 9 January 1962 was designed to remedy the social injustice of the existing tenurial system by breaking the power of the large landowners, and Phases I and II of land reform, which affected 41,000 or 73% of villages in Iran, achieved this objective. Phase III, legislated between December 1967 and January 1968, aimed at consolidating small, uneconomic units of land into large units farmed by joint-stock agricultural companies. This process accelerated the movement away from the land which had begun in 1946 (in that year, 75% of the work force was still engaged in agriculture; by 1966, the figure had dropped to 46%). Agricultural labourers, known as *khʷush-nishīnān*, displaced from the land by Phase III, and lured to Tehran by the hope of higher wages, created a disgruntled urban proletariat which Khumaynī later used to great effect. Six additional principles added to the White Revolution programme between 1964 and 1967 included the formation of a Health Corps to provide basic health care in rural areas; five more were added between September and December 1975.

Opposition to the Shāh's reform programme came from two powerful groups: the National Front, and the religious classes and their allies in the bazaar. The National Front heralded the Shāh's proclamation of 11 November 1961, inaugurating the White Revolution, as a "return to despotism", and declared that the Throne and the Executive Power do not have the right of enacting laws (P.W. Avery, *The Shah's proclamation on reform*, in *MEJ*, xvi, 90). The *ʿulamāʾ* were also averse to any extension of the Shāh's executive power, and were fundamentally opposed both to land reform and to the enfranchisement of women. In February 1960, the leading *mudjtahid* Muḥammad Ḥusayn Burūdjirdī had declared that "any step limiting the size of landed estates would be contrary to Islam" (A.K.S. Lambton, *Land reform and the rural co-operative societies*, in Yar-Shater (ed.), *Iran faces the seventies*, 16); in particular, the *ʿulamāʾ* opposed the application of the land reform legislation to *waḳf* lands under their control. On 26 January 1963, more than a quarter of a million women cast their votes in a referendum on the White Revolution, and the right to vote was formally granted to women by a Cabinet decree of 2 March 1963. On ʿĀshūrāʾ [see MUḤARRAM; (AL-)ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ ABĪ ṬĀLIB], 5 June 1963, the *ʿulamāʾ* organised violent demonstrations in Tehran which were suppressed by the security forces. One of the religious leaders arrested was Rūḥ Allāh Mūsawī Khumaynī [*q.v.*], who was sent into exile, first to Turkey, then to ʿIrāḳ; it was from the Shīʿī centre at Nadjaf [*q.v.*] that Khumaynī began to plan the Islamic Revolution which was to overthrow the Shāh in 1979.

Elections to the 21st Madjlis were finally held in September 1963; they were boycotted by the National Front, by the Tudeh Party, and by the *Ḥizb-i Zaḥmatkashān* ("Toilers' Party"), a breakaway group from the National Front. In contrast to earlier parliaments, in which the landlord class had held anything from 66 to 90% of the seats, almost 70% of the deputies in the 21st Madjlis were drawn from the new professional or bureaucratic middle class. Even more revolutionary was the fact that, for the first time since parliament was created in 1906, women cast their votes in a general election, and six women were elected to the Madjlis. On 15 December 1963, Ḥasan ʿAlī Manṣūr, the leader of a group of young intellectuals and technocrats calling themselves the "Progressive Club" (*Kānūn-i Taraḳḳī*), announced the formation of a new political party, the "New Iran Party" (*Ḥizb-i Īrān-i Nuvīn*). Since the *Mardum* Party was still in existence, a two-party political system appeared to be a real possibility. On 7 March 1964 the Shāh appointed Manṣūr Prime Minister. The average age of Manṣūr's Cabinet was thirty-five years and, for the first time since 1947, a Prime Minister had the support of a majority of the members of parliament. On 21 January 1965 Manṣūr was shot and mortally wounded on the orders of Khumaynī (Amir Taheri, *Holy terror*, London 1987, 60), and on 10 April another attempt was made on the life of the Shāh, this time by members of the *Ḥizb-i Milal-i Islāmī* ("Islamic Nations' Party"), an extremist religious group. The Shāh was stunned by the death of Manṣūr, whose murder destroyed Iran's last chance of gradual progress toward genuine democracy.

The most active terrorist groups during the 1960s were: the *Sāzmān-i Mudjāhidīn-i Khalḳ-i Īrān* ("Organisation of the People's Crusaders of Iran"); the *Sāzmān-i Čarīkhā-yi Fidāʾī-yi Khalḳ-i Īrān* ("Organisation of the Iranian People's Guerrilla Freedom Fighters": *Fidāʾiyyīn* for short); and the Iranian National Movement. The *Mudjāhidīn*, some of whose members had been trained in Palestinian camps in Lebanon and elsewhere, in 1972 adopted the name "Islamic Marxists". In 1973 they split into a Marxist and an Islamic wing (Ervand Abrahamian, *The guerrilla movement in Iran, 1963-1977*, in *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) Report* No. 86 [March-April 1980], 4). The *Fidāʾiyyīn* ("Marxist-Leninists") consisted mainly of university students of middle class background. The Iranian National Movement was led by General Taymūr Bakhtiyār, the first head of SAVAK, who had given that organisation an unsavoury reputation from its inception. He was a large landowner who had broken with the Shāh over land reform and had been dismissed in 1961. From then on, until his own assassination in 1970, he carried on clandestine activity with the aim of overthrowing the Shāh. From 1972, the tempo of terrorist activity accelerated sharply: Iran became locked into Frantz Fanon's "circle of hate": terror, counter-terror, violence, counter-violence. The increasingly harsh response of the security forces led to criticisms of the Shāh's régime by the International Commission of Jurists (1972) and Amnesty International (1974-5). By 1975, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights decided that the situation in Iran had improved to the extent that no action was called for in respect of Iran.

II. *Foreign policy*

Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh falls into the category of world leaders who excel either in domestic politics or in foreign affairs, but not both. On foreign affairs and military matters, he was "remarkably well informed"

(Sir Anthony Parsons, *The pride and the fall: Iran 1974-1979*, London 1984, 47-8). From the beginning of the 19th century, Iran had tried to preserve its independence as a sovereign nation in the face of pressure from Russia and Britain. The motivating force behind this policy of "equilibrium" was nationalism. After World War II, the United States replaced Britain as the principal Western power involved in Iranian affairs. This development deprived Iran of its option of using the United States as a counterbalance against the Soviet Union and Britain. Iran had two alternatives: to seek another "Third Power" to play this countervailing role, or to make a positive commitment to the West in the cold war. On 11 October 1955, the Shāh announced Iran's adherence to the Pact of Mutual Cooperation (the Baghdād Pact"). Turkey and ʿIrāḳ were founder-members, and Great Britain joined on 5 April 1955; to the Shāh's disappointment, the United States never became a full member. The Soviet reaction to the Shāh's move was strong (see J.C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, ii, *A documentary record 1914-1956*, Princeton, Toronto, London and New York 1956, 415 ff.). The National Front charged that the Shāh, by departing from Muṣaddiḳ's negative concept of neutralism, had endangered Iran's independence and was therefore an "anti-nationalist". The July 1958 coup in ʿIrāḳ which overthrew the monarchy [see ʿIRĀḲ. iii (e)], led to a reassessment of the Baghdād Pact, and the name was changed to Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO). In February 1959, the Shāh broke off negotiations for a fifty-year non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, in part because the Russians demanded Iran's withdrawal from CENTO, and on 5 March 1959 he signed a bilateral Executive Agreement with the United States under the terms of which the latter agreed to go to Iran's assistance if Iran were attacked.

Instead of Muṣaddiḳ's policy of "negative equilibrium" (*muwāzana-yi manfī*), the Shāh advocated a policy of "positive nationalism". During the 1960s, the Shāh changed this slogan to that of an "independent foreign policy" (*siyāsat-i mustaḳill-i millī*). His pledge to the Soviet Union on 15 September 1962 that Iran would not allow its territory to be used for foreign missile bases led to a rapprochement with the Soviet Union between 1962-7. The National Front advocated a policy of "absolute neutralism" (*bī-ṭarafī-yi muṭlaḳ*), the chief criterion of which was the rejection of U.S. economic and military aid. In 1963-4, when the Shāh bowed to U.S. pressure and granted certain privileges and immunities to U.S. personnel in Iran, he both incensed the National Front, which at once conjured up the bogy of the 1828 capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT; ĪRĀN. v. History (b)], and placed a powerful propaganda weapon in the hands of Khumaynī.

The Shāh's relationship with Israel, born of his fear of possible encirclement by radical Arab states, may perhaps best be described as one of discreet cooperation. The Shāh had given *de facto* recognition to the state of Israel in 1950, but had consistently supported the Arab position on Palestine. In the wake of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, he called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories. In 1974, the Shāh expressed Iran's agreement with the resolution of the Arab Summit at Rabat which endorsed self-determination for Palestinians and recognised the P.L.O. as their "sole legitimate representative". Iran was Israel's most reliable oil-supplier, and Iran and Israel shared intelligence information. The Shāh's working relationship with Israel was the subject of frequent and vehement denunciations by Khumaynī.

The announcement by the British Government in 1968 that it intended to withdraw all its forces from the Persian Gulf by 1971 created a power vacuum in the region, and from 1969 onwards the Shāh worked to strengthen Iran's regional security position by cultivating better relations with the "non-revolutionary" Arab states in the Gulf. The dispute over al-Baḥrayn, a perpetual irritant in Irano-Arab relations, was resolved by the Shāh in 1969; continental-shelf agreements were signed with Ḳaṭar (1969) and Kuwayt (1970). Diplomatic relations with Egypt, broken off by President Nāṣir in 1960, were resumed in 1970. The success of these policies was demonstrated in 1971. On 30 November Iran occupied three small but strategically important islands at the mouth of the Persian Gulf (Abū Mūsā and the Greater and Lesser Tunb, to which Iran and two of the Trucial Emirates laid claim), but the Arab League did not support ʿIrāḳ's subsequent call for the severance of diplomatic relations with Iran.

The Shāh's perception was that the assumption by Iran of a major part of Britain's former role as "policeman in the Gulf" necessitated the build-up of Iran's armed forces. The failure of CENTO to come to the aid of Pakistan in its two wars with India in 1965 and 1971 convinced the Shāh that Iran needed a "security perimeter" in the region. The 1972 Soviet-ʿIrāḳī Treaty seriously alarmed the Shāh, who therefore welcomed President Nixon's announcement the same year that the United States would rely on the "twin pillars" of Iran and Saudi Arabia to maintain regional security in the Persian Gulf. The Shāh's expenditure on arms during the 1970s intensified the opposition to him both within and without Iran. It should be noted, however, that there was a close relationship between the Shāh's perception of the threats to Iran's security in the region and the military forces required to deal with them (for example, the Shāh was not satisfied until he obtained from the United States an aircraft which was superior to the MIG 23s supplied to ʿIrāḳ by the Soviet Union); that other Middle Eastern countries (ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Turkey, Israel) kept a proportionately larger number of men under arms; and that members of the Gulf Co-operation Council devoted a far higher proportion of their GNP to defence spending. Above all, the Shāh was determined to keep open Iran's economic lifeline through the Straits of Hurmūz [see BAḤR FĀRIS], and this concern led him to send troops in 1973 to aid the ruler of ʿUmān, who was battling against the Soviet- and Chinese-supported guerrillas of the "Popular Front for the Liberation of the Arab Gulf" in the province of Ẓufār. At the head of the Persian Gulf, control of the vital Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab waterway, long a cause for dispute between Iran and ʿIrāḳ (and for four centuries prior to the establishment of the British mandate over ʿIrāḳ in 1920, between the Persians and the Ottomans), appeared to have been decided by the Algiers agreement of 5 March 1975: ʿIrāḳ accepted the *thalweg* (the deepest channel of the river) as the new international boundary; in return, the Shāh renounced his support for Kurdish nationalists in ʿIrāḳ.

III. *The failure of a dream*

Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh had staked the whole of his personal prestige, and indeed the institution of the monarchy itself, on the attempt to raise Iran from the ranks of under-developed nations to the status of newly-industrialising regions of Asia such as South Korea, and to move Iran along the road to being a "Great Civilisation", a phrase he invented in 1972. Economic development was to be the key to this pro-

cess. Plan III (1962-8), and Plan IV (1968-73) had achieved much, but Iran still had not reached the point of economic "take-off". In the decade 1963-72, the GNP had quadrupled; standards of health had risen dramatically, but, as a result, the population was growing at an alarming 3% *per annum*, and Iran was no longer able to produce all the food it required. In 1967 Dean Rusk announced the formal termination of U.S. economic aid; between 1953 and 1967 Iran had received $605 million in economic aid and another $112 million in food shipments under the "Food for Peace" programme. In 1967, the year in which the Shāh considered his régime stable enough to permit his belated coronation, Khumaynī, in an open letter to Prime Minister Huwaydā, called upon the *ʿulamāʾ*, students and members of bazaar guilds to "recognise their duty" to oppose the régime. In 1971, the Shāh celebrated the achievements of the first decade of the White Revolution with ceremonies at Persepolis and Pasargadae. The Western media accused the Shāh of "folie de grandeur", and Mihdī Bāzargān, who became Iran's first Prime Minister after the 1979 Revolution, attacked his philosophy of "God-Shah-Country", and insisted that religion and politics were indivisible (Nikki Keddie, *Roots of revolution: an interpretive history of modern Iran*, New Haven and London 1981, 214).

The Shāh's chance to achieve an economic breakthrough came in 1973, with the decision by OPEC (in which the Shāh had played a major part) to quadruple the price of oil. Iran's oil income, and thus the funds available for Plan V (1973-8), increased tenfold (see R.B. Stobaugh, *The evolution of oil policy, 1925-1975*, in G. Lenczowski (ed.), *Iran under the Pahlavis*, Stanford 1978, 244 ff.). *Per capita* income doubled in the three years 1974-7. The fall in demand for oil in mid-1975 caused economic upheaval in Iran. The flight of capital abroad began. The main beneficiaries of the Shāh's reforms had been the peasants and tribesmen, the armed forces and technocrats, industrialists, bankers, entrepreneurs, executives, government officials and middlemen (Parsons, 14-5). The economic downturn and soaring inflation between 1975-7 caused widespread discontent and disappointed popular expectations of steadily growing prosperity. The government's measures in early 1978 designed to cool down a badly overheated economy came too late. At the same time, three important groups, the intelligentsia, the bazaar and the *ʿulamāʾ*—the same groups which had brought about the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-6—became increasingly alienated from the régime.

In March 1975, the Shāh took a step which he himself in retrospect recognised to be an error, namely, the replacement of the existing two-party political system by a single party called *Rastākhīz* ("[National] Resurrection") (*Answer to history*, 124). The new party was headed by Amīr ʿAbbās Huwaydā, who had been Prime Minister since 1965. The intellectuals were outraged, but the Shāh was "in too much of a hurry to risk the delays which genuine public debate and discussions would impose on the fulfillment of his dream" (Parsons, 11). At once, the National Front accused the Shāh of "despotism in the guise of monarchy", and called on the government to observe the principles of the Constitution and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to forgo a one-party system, to permit exiles to return, and to establish a government based on majority representation. The Shāh responded to these demands: on two occasions in 1977 political prisoners were amnestied; open trials of persons accused of anti-state activities were resumed; "the International Committee of the Red Cross was authorised to inspect Iranian prisons. A new law was enacted forbidding detention without trial ... greater public freedom of expression was allowed" (Parsons, 49); but the effect of this liberalisation was marred by renewed acts of repression in late 1977 (Parsons, 53), and the international human rights campaign against the Shāh intensified in 1977-8. President Carter's "vigorous espousal of the cause of human rights in Third World Countries, including Iran" was "rightly detected" by the Shāh's opponents as "a potential weakening of the absolute support which their enemy had received from Washington for so many years" (Parsons, 47-8).

It was, however, a series of ill-advised actions taken by the Shāh against the *ʿulamāʾ* from 1975 onwards that enabled the latter to set in motion the revolutionary forces which overthrew him: first, the clearance of the old bazaar area around the shrine of the Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] at Mashhad; second, the promulgation in March 1976 of a new calendar dating not from the *hidjra* but from the date of the accession of Cyrus the Great in 550 B.C.; third, his acquiescence in the cancellation in 1977 by Prime Minister Djamshīd Āmūzagār (as a budget-cutting measure) of the subsidy which his predecessor Huwaydā had paid to the *ʿulamāʾ* since 1965 to compensate them for income lost as a result of the application of Phase II of land reform to *wakf* lands. Finally, on 7 January 1978, the semi-official newspaper *Iṭṭilāʿāt* published a defamatory anti-Khumaynī letter which was believed to have emanated from the Ministry of Information. The consequent violent protests by theological students at Ḳum were suppressed with loss of life, and Khumaynī's Islamic Revolutionary Movement was launched on its self-perpertuating cycle of 40-day periods of mourning (*čilla*) characteristic of Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism. Khumaynī, in an interview with *Le Monde* on 8 May 1978, called for the violent overthrow of the Pahlawī régime and of Iran's Constitution. Confident now of victory, he repeatedly used the phrase: "When we assume power" (Parviz Radji, *In the service of the Peacock Throne*, London 1983, 177). By September 1978, the Shāh had lost the initiative to the opposition, consisting of "rioting students, recalcitrant clerics, critical intellectuals, jealous aristocrats, provincial landlords, corrupt family members [frequent accusations of corruption were levelled against members of the royal family, but the Shāh himself was untainted by corruption] and liberal democrats seeking reform" (J.A. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion: the tragedy of American-Iranian relations*, New Haven and London 1988, 194). The death of Asad Allāh ʿAlam in 1978 had deprived the Shāh of the last of the trusted advisers on whom he had relied so heavily (Manūčihr Iḳbāl had died in November 1977). By September 1978, too, the cancer which, it is now known, was first diagnosed in 1973, was far advanced. Parsons noted that the Shāh's "face was yellow, and he moved slowly. He seemed exhausted and drained of effort" (71). The climax came with the advent of Muḥarram 1399/December 1978. The Shāh consistently refused to countenance the use of military force against the demonstrators, and so the morale of the army crumbled, as the Huyser mission, sent by President Carter, arrived in Tehran to dissuade the generals from carrying out a military coup. Four successive prime ministers between August 1977 and February 1979 (Djamshīd Āmūzagār, Sharīf-Imāmī, Azharī and Bakhtiyār), had no hope of controlling the situation, and on 16 January 1979 the Shāh and the

Empress Faraḥ left Iran for Egypt, where they were given sanctuary by President Sādāt. On 22 September the Shāh was admitted to the United States for surgery; on 15 December he and the Empress were moved to Panama, and on 23 March 1980 to Cairo, where the Shāh underwent further surgery. He died there on 27 July 1980.

The overthrow of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh meant not only the end of the Pahlawī dynasty but the rejection of that dynasty's policies of Westernisation and secularisation. It was Riḍā Shāh who had created a secular educational and legal system; had taken the first steps toward the emancipation of women; had laid the foundations of an industrialised nation; and had created a rudimentary public health system. Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh continued and developed these policies, by combating illiteracy and providing health and educational services in rural areas; by enfranchising women; by liberating the peasants from an ancient tenurial system not far removed from serfdom, and by bringing into being a new professional middle class of technocrats and bureaucrats, most of whom had received their university education in the West. In regard to social policy, the Shāh was a revolutionary, but the more revolutionary his policies, the stronger the opposition from the *ʿulamāʾ* and other vested interests. The Shāh rightly perceived the *ʿulamāʾ* as the main obstacle to his plans for the development of the country, but fatally underestimated their ability to mobilise the masses politically against a ruler whom they branded as an enemy of Islam. Moreover, political reform lagged behind social reform, and the Shāh's increasingly autocratic style of government alienated the intellectuals of the National Front, who disregarded the social and economic progress being achieved, and made the return to a more liberal and constitutional style of government, and the abandonment of the Shāh's pro-Western stance, the conditions for their support of the régime. Their hand was strengthened by the support of university students within Iran (in 1941 there was only one university in Iran, the University of Tehran, founded in 1935; by the 1974-5 academic year there were eight universities with an enrolment of some 55,000 students), and of the large numbers of Iranian students abroad, mainly on generous government grants. The students studied revolutionary movements in Algeria, China, Cuba and elsewhere, and read avidly the works of ʿAlī Sharīʿatī, who fused Marxism and Islam into a revolutionary ideology. In November 1978 the leader of the National Front, Karīm Sandjābī, met Khumaynī in Paris and accepted his terms. The resulting alliance between the intelligentsia, the students and the militant *ʿulamāʾ* made the fall of the Shāh inevitable.

In the final analysis, the Shāh failed to achieve his dream of a prosperous, modernised Iran because he failed to carry his people with him. He allowed himself to become isolated from his people, and this isolation damaged and eventually destroyed the myth of the Shāh's union with his people based on the mystique of the monarchy. A romantic, "he became the victim of his own public relations and believed his own romanticizing" (D. Harney, *Some explanations for the Iranian Revolution*, in *Asian Affairs*, 11 [O.S. No. 67, 1980], 141). When confronted by the Western media, his personal insecurity often made him seem arrogant and didactic, a weakness which his opponents exploited to the full. Yet he was sincere in his desire to see his country evolve, to cross the threshold from the Third World and enter into modern civilisation.

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MUḤAMMAD al-ṢĀDIḲ BEY, twelfth bey of the Ḥusaynid dynasty in Tunisia, who succeeded his brother Muḥammad Bey [*q.v.*] on the latter's death on 23 September 1859.

During the first years of the new reign, the constitutional texts promised by the deceased prince were drafted and new institutions set up (Supreme Council, tribunals etc.). The bey was also able to present to Napoleon III, whom he met in Algiers on 17 September 1860, a copy of the Tunisian Constitution, which was solemnly proclaimed in January 1861 [see dustūr. i]; other copies were later addressed to various European courts. It quickly appeared, however, that the reforms undertaken above all allowed the minister Muṣṭafā Khaznadār [*q.v.*] to practice more easily a policy of foreign borrowing, despite the disapproval of several dignitaries such as Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] who resigned from their main posts.

In December 1863 it was decided, in order to ensure the servicing of the debt, to double the personal tax (*madjbā*) instituted in the preceding reign. This measure triggered off, from the beginning of 1864, a serious rebellion of the semi-nomadic tribes of the South and West, then, during the summer of 1864, of the sedentary population of the eastern coast (*Sāḥil*). Playing on the divisions among the insurgents and profiting from the slightest help that these offered, Khaznadār succeeded, after several months, in suppressing the rebellion and imposing, in the last months of 1864 and the first months of 1865, a pitiless repression. The heavy fines and exactions to which the population was subjected resulted in the ruining of the country, while a succession of bad harvests led to

famine. The summer of 1867 brought cholera, and the following winter, an epidemic of typhus. The attempt at revolt by a brother of the bey led, in October 1867, to the execution of two elderly dignitaries without further ado, the constitutional guarantees having been suspended since the events of 1864. The prince who had revolted himself died in prison during the same month, probably poisoned, almost at the same time as ʿAlī b. Ghidāhum, the leader of the rebellion of 1864 [see IBN GHIDHĀHUM, in Suppl.].

Throughout these years, Khaznadār pursued his intrigues and financial plans. With successive conversions into more or less disguised new borrowings, the crisis of the Tunisian finances was aggravated from day to day. Long negotiations allowed the setting up in Tunis of an international commission whose tutelage of the Tunisian finances was defined by the decree of 5 July 1869. Khayr al-Dīn, president of this commission, was moreover charged, from January 1870, with the tasks of "Minister-Director". He undertook an overhauling of the administration, which he pursued with more efficacy when he occupied the post of first minister of the bey from October 1873 to July 1877. Muṣṭafā Khaznadār, convicted of misappropriating 2,000 bonds of the debt, had, in fact, to resign on 21 October 1873. During the four years of his government, Khayr al-Dīn attended to the scrupulous honouring of the financial engagements of the Tunisian state, while lightening the weight of the fiscal system. He reorganised the judicial system and fixed the regulation of its auxiliary branches. He defined the relations of landowners and workers in agriculture. He restored the value of the public *waḳfs* and organised the management of them within an autonomous administration called "Society" (*Djamʿiyya*). He interested himself in teaching and created "a new school", which he had named Ṣādiḳiyya in honour of the reigning bey, to give a modern training for the future officials of the state.

Nevertheless, he was not spared difficulties which were stirred up by the consuls of the European powers, anxious above all to obtain concessions and privileges for their nationals, and caused also by the intrigues of the bey's entourage and particularly of his favourite Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl. Khayr al-Dīn had to resign on 21 July 1877. He was replaced by a former official, Muḥammad Khaznadār, and then a year later, by Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl. The beylical administration returned to its errors as in the time of Muṣṭafā Khaznadār at the same time as the foreign consuls' interventions became more pressing in favour of the often unwarranted demands of their nationals. This situation led in 1881, under the pretext of disorders on the Algerian borders, to the occupation of Tunisia by French troops. On 12 May 1881, Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ had to sign, at Kasser Saïd, the so-called Bardo treaty, by which he accepted this occupation and the protectorate of France. The resistance that these events aroused obliged the French army to multiply, until the last days of 1881, their expeditions of "pacification". Contrary to the statements of certain official circles, it was actually a permanent occupation. The term "protectorate" did not appear, however, in the convention of Marsa that the French Minister-Resident, Paul Cambon, made ʿAlī Bey, brother and successor of Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ, sign on 8 June 1883. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ died on 27 October 1882.

Bibliography: Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān bi-akhbār mulūk Tūnis wa-ʿahd al-amān*, Tunis 1963-5, v, vi; Muḥammad Bayram, *Ṣafwat al-iʿtibār bi-mustawdaʿ al-amṣār wa 'l-aḳṭār*, Cairo 1302/1884-5, ii; A. Abdesselem, *Les historiens tunisiens, essai d'histoire culturelle*, Paris 1973, index; J. Gagniage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959; M.S. Mzali and J. Pignon, *Khéreddine, homme d'état*, Tunis 1971; Ph. X. (D'Estournelles de Constant), *La politique française en Tunisie, le protectorat et ses origines (1854-1891)*, Paris 1891. (A. ABDESSELEM)

MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD [see KHALĪL EFENDI-ZĀDE; MĪR DJUMLA].

MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD SARMAD, Indo-Muslim poet, mystic and free-thinker of the 11th/17th century, who was executed by the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] for going about naked and holding heterodox views. Originally he belonged to a Jewish family of Kāshān but, later, he embraced Islam and received instruction in philosophy from Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] and Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Findiriskī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 1042/1632 he came to Sind as a merchant. In Thaffa he fell in love with a Hindu youth and suffered such emotional disturbance that he gave up his vocation, went about stark naked and took to aimless wanderings in jungles. In 1057/1647 the author of the *Dabistān-i madhāhib* saw him in Ḥaydarābād and sought his help in translating some portions of the Pentateuch into Persian. He remembered by heart Christian and Jewish scriptures (*Mirʾāt al-ʿālam*, 594). Later, he reached Dihlī and his views brought him close to Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*]. He is reported to have predicted kingship for Dārā. After the execution of Dārā, Awrangzīb turned his attention to him. The *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* Mullā ʿAbd al-Ḳawī was ordered to enquire into and report about his religious views. He was summoned to the *durbar* and his free-thinking and his nude posture led the *ʿulamāʾ* to order his execution in 1070/1659. A grave was built at the place of his execution, in front of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Dihlī.

Two literary works are attributed to Sarmad: (a) a collection of 23 letters, *Ruḳaʿāt-i Sarmad* (Shāhdjahānī Press, 1926), and (b) *Rubāʿiyyāt-i Sarmad* (ed. Nawāb ʿAlī Ṣawlat Lakhnawī, Dihlī 1347 A.H.).

According to the *Dabistān*, Sarmad cited Israelite traditions in support of his nude living. He advocated a life free from physical pleasures and material struggles. He believed in Supreme Reality, rejected denominational approaches and lived a life in absorption in mystic contemplation. There is a ring of genuine sincerity in his verses which are soaked in cosmic emotion and reflect deep poetic sensitivity.

Bibliography: Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Ardistānī, *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, Kānpūr 1321 A.H., 242-4; Shīr Khān Lōdī, *Mirʾāt al-khayāl*, Bombay 1346 A.H., 190-2; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, Calcutta 1894, i, 225-7; Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirʾāt al-ʿālam*, ed. Sajida S. Alvi, Lahore 1979, ii, 594-6; Muḥammad Afḍal Sarkhush, *Kalimāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Lahore 1942, 50-1; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Shamaʿ-i andjuman*, Bhopal 1293 A.H., 209-11; Riḍā Ḳulī Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, Tehran 1316 A.H., 141-2; Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātishkada-i Ādhar*, Tehran 1337 shamsī, 250; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Lucknow 1873, 352-3; Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, *Ḥayāt-i-Sarmad*, Dānish Maḥal, Lucknow n.d. (K.A. NIZAMI)

MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ [see ʿINĀYAT ALLĀH KANBU].

MUḤAMMAD SHĀH, the third ruler of the Ḳādjār dynasty [*q.v.*], was born on 5 January 1808. He succeeded to the throne in 1834 on the death of his grandfather Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*]. He was the eldest

son of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*]. His mother was the daughter of Muḥammad K͟hān Beglarbegi Ḳād͟jār Develu. He had two full brothers, Ḳahramān Mīrzā and Bahman Mīrzā and twenty-three half-brothers. He died on 6 S͟hawwāl 1264/4 September 1848 and was buried at Ḳum. His chief wife, the mother of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh [*q.v.*], was Malik D͟jahān K͟hānum, whose father was Muḥammad Ḳāsim K͟hān Ẓahīr al-Dawla b. Sulaymān K͟hān Ḳād͟jār Ḳuwanlu (ᶜAḍud al-Dawla, *Tārīk͟h-i ᶜAḍudī*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran *s͟hāhans͟hāhī* 2535/1976-7, 244). Mīrzā Naṣr Allāh Ṣadr al-Mamālik Ardabīlī, a Ṣūfī, was for a while tutor to Muḥammad Mīrzā, as he then was (Mihdī Bāmdād, *S͟harḥ-i ḥāl-i rid͟jāl-i Īrān*, Tehran AHS 1347-50/1969-72, 5 vols., iv, 336). Subsequently, ᶜAbbās Mīrzā entrusted the education of Muḥammad Mīrzā and others of his sons to Ḥād͟jd͟jī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, also a Ṣūfī, who had studied under ᶜAbd al-Samad Hamadānī and belonged to the Nūr ᶜAlī S͟hāh dervish order (Humā Nāṭiḳ, *Īrān dar rāhyābī-i farhangī*, London 1988, 12-13). The relationship of Muḥammad Mīrzā to Ḥād͟jd͟jī Mīrzā Āḳāsī was in the nature of *murīd* and *murād*; and after Muḥammad Mīrzā ascended the throne Ḥād͟jd͟jī Mīrzā Āḳāsī continued to exercise great influence over him. Muḥammad Mīrzā and some of his brothers were taught French by Mde. Lamarinière, a French woman at the court of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā. She subsequently received a pension of 300 *tūmān*s per annum from Muḥammad Shāh (*ibid.*, 105). From 1842 Muḥammad Shāh had successively two French medical advisers, Dr. Labat and Dr. Cloquet.

After the resumption of the Russian war in 1826, Muḥammad Mīrzā was put in nominal command of part of the Persian forces and ᶜAbbās Mīrzā sent him, with Amīr K͟hān Sardār, his maternal uncle, to retake Gand͟ja and Tiflis. The force was defeated at Gand͟ja; Amīr Sardār was killed and considerable casualties suffered (Bāmdād, *op. cit.*, ii, 217, v, 179). Muḥammad Mīrzā held various provincial governments, though he probably had little direct experience of administration himself. At one period he was governor of Marāg͟ha on behalf of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā (*ibid.*, ii, 374). In 1239/1823-4 he was designated governor of Hamadān in the sense that it was made part of his *abwāb d͟jāmᶜ* (the revenue allotted to him for his upkeep). He did not go to Hamadān but appointed Muḥammad Ḥusayn K͟hān Ḳaragozlu governor, and on the latter's death in 1240/1824-5 made his son Rustam K͟hān governor (*ibid.*, iii, 257-8).

In the autumn of 1833 ᶜAbbās Mīrzā, having put down the disorders in K͟hurāsān, asked Fatḥ ᶜAlī S͟hāh for reinforcements to attack Harāt. Fatḥ ᶜAlī agreed to the expedition, but appointed Muḥammad Mīrzā to lead it and recalled ᶜAbbās Mīrzā to the capital. This may have been because Fatḥ ᶜAlī considered it expedient, in view of his failing health, for ᶜAbbās Mīrzā to be in, or near, Tehran. Muḥammad Mīrzā invested Harāt, but raised the siege on the death of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā en route for Tehran in Mas͟hhad in November 1833 and returned to Mas͟hhad. Fatḥ ᶜAlī summoned him to Tehran, gave him command of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā's troops and governments but did not immediately appoint him *walī ᶜahd.* He feared that such a step would be a sign for civil war between his sons. Meanwhile, Russia declared her readiness to acknowledge Muḥammad Mīrzā as *walī ᶜahd* and on 20 June 1834 he was duly nominated as *walī ᶜahd* and sent to Tabrīz as governor of Ād͟harbāyd͟jān with Abu 'l-Ḳāsim K͟hān Ḳāʾim Maḳām as his *pīs͟hkār* or finance minister. His full brother Ḳahramān Mīrzā was appointed governor of K͟hurāsān (ᶜAḍud al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, 151-3). On 15 August it was rumoured that Russia had made a preemptory demand for the payment of the sum still due by Persia under the Treaty of Turkomānčāy and threatened to occupy Gīlān in case of delay over payment. Whether this was so or not, Muḥammad Mīrzā's situation was critical. He had almost no resources owing to the maladministration of Ād͟harbāyd͟jān during the last four years of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā's life. His treasury was empty and burdened by the unpaid balance of the indemnity due to Russia. The pay of the army was four years in arrear; more than a third of their arms were unserviceable and the arsenal was almost without stores of any kind. In the south, the Bak͟htiyārī were in open rebellion. The Mamassanī were plundering up to S͟hīrāz. The governor of Kirmāns͟hāh was threatening to seize Sulaymāniyya (United Kingdom, Public Record Office, F.O.60:34. Henry Bethune to Backhouse, Tabriz, 20 September 1834, pte.).

Because of the danger of civil war, an important exchange now took place between the British and Russian governments in which they agreed to act together over the matter of the succession in favour of Muḥammad Mīrzā. Their desire in this was to maintain not only the internal tranquillity but also the independence and integrity of Persia. This understanding with regard to the maintenance and integrity of Persia was subsequently reiterated in an exchange of notes in 1838 and also later in 1865, 1873, 1874 and 1888 (United Kingdom, Public Record Office, F.O.65:904. Memorandum by Hertslet, Assurances on independence and integrity of Persia, 26 November 1874).

Fatḥ ᶜAlī set out from Tehran to collect arrears of taxation from Ḥusayn ᶜAlī Mīrzā Farmān-farmā, the governor of Fārs, and to put down various tribal rebellions in Fārs and among the Bak͟htiyārī and died in Iṣfahān on 23 October 1834. Various Ḳād͟jār princes immediately disputed the succession of Muḥammad Mīrzā, who had received news in Tabrīz of Fatḥ ᶜAlī's death on 7 November. He was without means to march on the capital to assert his claim to the throne. The Russian envoy offered troops, officers and stores to any amount required to place him on the throne. The British envoy, Sir John Campbell, meanwhile came forward with funds to enable the troops to march. On 10 November the army set out for the capital under the command of Colonel (later Sir) Henry Lindsay-Bethune, one of the British officers who had served with the Persian army under ᶜAbbās Mīrzā in 1812 and had returned to Persia in 1834. Muḥammad Mīrzā left Tabrīz on 16 November accompanied by the British and Russian envoys. The governor of Tehran, ᶜAlī Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān, full brother to ᶜAbbās Mīrzā, had proclaimed himself as s͟hāh, but his army, under the command of his brother Imām Verdī Mīrzā, surrendered at Ḳazwīn. On 21 December Muḥammad Mīrzā reached the outskirts of the capital, which he entered on 2 January 1835. His coronation took place on 31 January. In the south Ḥusayn ᶜAlī Mīrzā Farmān-Farmā had read the *khuṭba* in his own name in S͟hīrāz and sent a force under his full brother Ḥasan ᶜAlī Mīrzā S͟hud͟jāᶜ al-Salṭana to take Iṣfahān, where ᶜAbd Allāh K͟hān Amīn al-Dawla, first minister to the late Fatḥ ᶜAlī S͟hāh, Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir S͟haftī, who had achieved a position of considerable influence in Iṣfahān during the reign of Fatḥ ᶜAlī, and Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir supported him. Muḥammad S͟hāh, having established himself in Tehran, sent a force against Ḥusayn ᶜAlī Mīrzā. It took Iṣfahān and

then defeated Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā Shudjāʾ al-Salṭana at Ḳumisha and pushed on to Shīrāz, which fell after a brief siege. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā surrendered and was sent with his brother Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā to Ardabīl, but died en route. Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā was blinded, as were various others of Muḥammad Shāh's brothers, including Djahāngīr Mīrzā and Khusraw Mīrzā, whom Muḥammad Shāh had imprisoned in Ardabīl with two others of their brothers when he was governor of Ādharbāydjān. Amīn al-Dawla was finally sent to Tehran in Shawwāl 1251/January-February 1836 and eventually into exile in the ʿAtabāt. He died in Nadjaf in 1847. Riḍā Ḳulī Mīrzā, Taymūr Mīrzā and Nadjaf Ḳulī Mīrzā, Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā's sons, escaped via the Ottoman Empire to England, whence they returned to the Ottoman Empire in 1836 and spent the rest of their lives there in exile. Various other Ḳādjār princes were seized in due course and kept in captivity at Ardabīl. Some others, including Imām Verdī Mīrzā, who had escaped from Ardabīl, fearing for their lives, fled to the Ottoman Empire, while others placed themselves under foreign protection.

For some time the country was in a state of disorder. In Khurāsān, only Mashhad, Nīshāpūr and Sabzawār were in the hands of the shāh. The khāns of Budjnurd and Daragaz and other local chiefs were in rebellion and taxes were withheld. Gradually, Ḳahramān Mīrzā restored order in Khurāsān. Luristān and ʿArabistān were also in a state of disorder, but were pacified by Bahrām Mīrzā, who had been made governor of Kirmānshāh. In June 1835 Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān Ḳāʾim Maḳām, the first minister, to whom much of the current maladministration was attributed, was arrested. He was succeeded by Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, who held office to the end of Muḥammad Shāh's reign. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān was strangled on 26 June 1835. In the summer of that year, because of the ravages of cholera in the capital and elsewhere, Muḥammad Shāh nominated his son Nāṣir al-Dīn [*q.v.*], then a child of four, as his *walī ʿahd*. In view of his youth, he was not appointed to the government of Ādharbāydjān, which was given to Ḳahramān Mīrzā. In September there were renewed disturbances in Iṣfahān, raids by Balūč tribesmen into Kirmān and incursions by the Turkomans into Khurāsān.

Repeated tribal disturbances and outbreaks of religious unrest, especially in Iṣfahān and southern Persia, dominated internal affairs during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, though not to the extent of threatening his position once he had established himself on the throne or of deterring him from military expeditions against Harāt. However, by the end of his reign rebellion and disorder were again widespread. Allāh Yār Khān Āṣaf al-Dawla, governor of Khurāsān, was recalled in 1847 and exiled to Turkey. His son Sālār al-Dawla remained in a state of rebellion: he was joined by local chiefs and was not overcome until 1850 after the death of Muḥammad Shāh.

No attempt was made to put the financial administration of the country on a sound basis, and when Nāṣir al-Dīn succeeded in 1848 the treasury was virtually empty. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī apparently made some effort to revive dead lands, possibly in the hope of improving the financial condition of the country. He asked for an irrigation expert to be sent by France but nothing came of this (Humā Nāṭiḳ, *op. cit.*, 26-7). In 1847 Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Shīrāzī was sent on an abortive mission to the French court to discuss the possibility of the sending of French engineers and craftsmen to Persia (*ibid.*, F. Ādamiyyat, *Fikr-i āzādī*, Tehran AHS 1340/1961, 41 ff.).

Muḥammad Shāh and his minister Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī were, on the whole, well-disposed towards the religious classes and gave allowances and pensions to them. Patronage was also extended to the Shīʿī shrines in ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab and elsewhere. Special favour was shown to the Ṣūfīs. Shaykh Ṭah, the father of ʿUbayd Allāh, the Naḳshbandī *shaykh*, was given many gifts and several villages as *tuyūl* for the expenses of his *khānḳāh* (Bāmdād, *op. cit.*, ii, 185). However, the heterodox views of Muḥammad Shāh and his minister upset the precarious balance which Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had established between the state and the *ʿulamāʾ*. New developments began to emerge during Muḥammad Shāh's reign, which were to become more clearly apparent in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (see further H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran 1785-1906*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, 103 ff.).

The fact that from the outset of Muḥammad Shāh's reign certain of the *ʿulamāʾ* were associated with movements of sedition led to attempts by the government to exercise greater control over them. Iṣfahān, in particular, was a centre of religious power and turbulence and of "popular" movements associated with the *ʿulamāʾ*. As stated above, Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Shaftī and Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir had supported Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā's attempt to seize the throne on the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. In the winter of 1839-40, repeated disorders of *lūṭīs* [*q.v.*] occurred under the protection of the *mullās*. In the summer of 1840 Muḥammad Shāh marched on Iṣfahān, put the disturbances down and temporarily reduced the power of the *ʿulamāʾ*. The leader of the *lūṭīs*, Ḥādjdjī Ghulām Ḥusayn, was put to death on the orders of the shāh and Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir and his son were exiled to Karbalā. Manūčihr Khān Muʿtamid al-Dawla was appointed governor of Iṣfahān, Luristān and Khūzistān and restored order (Bāmdād, *op. cit.*, iii, 109-10).

Indirect attacks were also made on the privileges of the *ʿulamāʾ* by attempts to limit rights of sanctuary, since it was mainly in mosques, shrines and houses of the *ʿulamāʾ* that sanctuary was taken. In 1843 Bahman Mīrzā, who had been appointed governor of Ādharbāydjān in 1842 on the death of Ḳahramān Mīrzā, sought to prevent criminals and bankrupts taking sanctuary in the province; and on 24 November of that year the shāh issued a *farmān* abolishing sanctuary except in certain mosques and holy places which had been sanctuaries from ancient times such as the dwellings of religious dignitaries and royal palaces (see further, A.K.S. Lambton, *The Persian ʿulamāʾ and constitutional reform*, in T. Fahd (ed.), *Le Shīʿisme imamite*, Paris 1970).

In 1841 Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī [see ĀGHĀ KHĀN], the leader of the Ismāʿīlīs, raised the standard of revolt in Kirmān. He achieved considerable success in the spring of 1842, but was eventually defeated and retired to India, where his presence led to strained relations with the British government because the Persian government thought encouragement was being given by them to the Āḳā Khān to return to Persia to renew his rebellion. His brother Sardār Khān invaded Persia from Balūčistān in 1844. After holding Bam for a time, he surrendered.

Another heterodox movement, that of the Shaykhīs, spread in the 1840s. Its leader, Kāẓim Rashtī [*q.v.*], had sent disciples to all parts of Persia in search of the awaited Mahdī, the *ṣāḥib al-zamān*. In

1844, one of the followers of Karīm Khān, who had succeeded Kāẓim Rashtī, declared himself the Bāb [*q.v.*]. His public preaching in Shīrāz in 1845 raised opposition. In the following year, under pressure from the *ᶜulamāʾ*, he came to Iṣfahān, where he was protected by the governor Manūčihr Khān. On the latter's death he was summoned to Tehran, but arrested before he arrived in the capital and sent to Mākū, where he was imprisoned.

Persia's foreign relations were dominated during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh by fear and resentment of both Russia and Britain. The former, who had recently crushed Persia in military conflict and dictated terms of peace, was able to exercise a predominant influence because of her geographical position. The weight of Russian presence on the borders of Ādharbāydjān, the Russian guarantee to ensure the succession of Muḥammad Shāh and the fact that part of the indemnity due under the Treaty of Turkomānčāy was outstanding, made Muḥammad Shāh susceptible to Russian pressure. Relations with Britain were in a somewhat undefined state. Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh had been desirous of a positive declaration by Britain to uphold the independence of Persia against attacks by European powers to replace the subsidy articles which had been expunged in 1828 from the Treaty of Tehran of 1814. This had destroyed Persian reliance on British military aid in the event of an emergency, and the British government was not prepared to give a new undertaking. The transfer of control of the British mission from the government in London to the Indian government in 1822 had also caused resentment and given rise to a fear that Britain was less interested in the independence of Persia than formerly. Control was returned to the crown in 1835. Already by 1832 Britain, in view of the perceived advance of Russia towards India, was considering counter measures which involved a reassessment of policy towards Persian and Afghānistān. The British desire to avoid being drawn into hostilities with Russia and a wish to forestall the outbreak of civil war and anarchy in Persia on the death of Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh explains in some measure the events surrounding the accession of Muḥammad Shāh outlined above. In 1838 Russia occupied the island of Ashur āda, an event which attracted little attention at the time, and built there a naval station in 1842.

Various matters arose during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh to disturb Anglo-Persian relations. Most importantly there was the question of Harāt, for the conquest of which Muḥammad Shāh had harboured a desire since the raising of the siege on the death of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā.

The consular issue had troubled Persian relations with Russia and Britain since the conclusion of the Treaty of Turkomānčāy under which Russia had acquired the right to nominate consuls wherever they were required. The Persian government feared that the establishment of consuls would be a pretext for designs of conquest and occupation. Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh successfully resisted the appointment of Russian consuls and was reluctant to enter into a commercial agreement which recognised the right of the British government to appoint consuls in Persia, although the preamble of the Treaty of Tehran of 1814 had contained provision for the conclusion of a commercial treaty. With the accession of Muḥammad Shāh, some more permanent arrangement than the *raḳam* issued by ᶜAbbās Mīrzā in 1832 was sought by which British trade could be carried on with the same privileges as Russian. Muḥammad Shāh, like Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh, was reluctant to conclude a commercial agreement but in 1836 he issued a *farmān* which guaranteed protection and good treatment of British merchants in Persia and declared the duties payable by them would be the same as those to which Russian merchants were liable (text in C.U. Aitchison, *A collection of treaties, engagements and sanads...*, Calcutta, 1933, xiii, 66). It was not until 1841 that British trade was placed on a more regular legal basis. The question of consular jurisdiction, because of the veiled and sometimes open interference by Russia and Britain with the course of justice did, in fact, give rise to much friction.

Foreign merchants in Tabrīz and Tehran were under the nominal charge of the *malik al-tudjdjār*. In 1843 a *farmān* was issued by Muḥammad Shāh to Bahman Mīrzā, governor of Ādharbāydjān, concerning the recovery of pecuniary debts by Russian subjects from Persian subjects and the prevention of fraudulent bankruptcies. A similar *farmān* was issued to Ḥusayn Khān, governor of Yazd, in the following year for the protection of British merchants (text in Aitchison, *op. cit.*, 69-73).

Internal trade during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh was hampered by insecurity and bad communications. Foreign trade, concentrated on Istanbul and Tabrīz, was largely handled by Persian merchants until about 1837, when European merchants began to play a more direct part because of the difficulties Persian merchants were finding in paying for their purchases abroad. From 1837 onwards, a number of Greek merchants were settled in Tabrīz, some of whom carried on business under Russian protection. Commerce between Persia and Russia was in the hands of Georgians, Persians and Armenians and natives of Bākū and Dāghistān. The silk trade of Gīlān became increasingly important. In 1844 the Persian merchants of Tabrīz alleged that their business had been destroyed by the establishment of Greek merchants and petitioned that the importation of European merchandise should be prohibited. In the following year, the traders of Kāshān forwarded a memorial to the shāh asking for protection for their manufactures against European merchandise. In neither case was satisfaction given.

Another matter which caused friction between the Persian government and the British government was the slave trade. An approach made to the Persian government in November 1846 to ban the slave trade at Persian ports in the Gulf met with little success. In December, Muḥammad Shāh told Sir Justin Sheil, the British envoy, that such a ban would be contrary to the precepts of the Ḳurʾān and Islam in general. Subsequent approaches also met with refusal. Finally, on 12 June 1848, the shāh agreed to forbid the importation of slaves into Persia by sea, and *farmāns* to that effect were sent to the governors-general of Khūzistān and Fārs later that month (see further J.B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968, 593 ff.).

The question of "protection" was another matter which became increasingly important during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. It was closely related to Anglo-Russian relations in Persia and had originated in part in the capitulatory concession of the Treaty of Turkomānčāy; but its main cause was the sense of insecurity induced in the shāh's subjects by the arbitrary nature of government in Persia. It also became bound up with the question of succession to the throne, the most notorious case being that of Bahman Mīrzā. In February 1842 the state of Muḥammad Shāh's health gave rise to anxiety. The British and Russian governments, considering what steps they should take in the event of the shāh's death

to forestall disturbances, came to the conclusion that Bahman Mīrzā was the one whom the two governments would regard as the immediate successor to the throne if Muḥammad Shāh left no heir in the direct line. In the summer, he became severely ill but recovered. In 1845 the state of his health again caused alarm. In a despatch dated 14 January 1846 to the Russian envoy in Tehran, Count Vorontsov, stated that as soon as Muḥammad Shāh died the British and Russian envoys were to wait on Nāṣir al-Dīn, who had been recognised by the British and Russian missions as heir apparent, to recognise him as shāh and to urge him, in view of his youth, to entrust the functions of regent to Bahman Mīrzā. Once more the shāh recovered.

Bahman Mīrzā, in spite of being a successful governor of Ādharbāydjān, had meanwhile fallen foul of Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī and in 1847 he renounced his government and solicited the joint aid of the British and Russian ministers in obtaining a guarantee of safety if he returned to private life. The Russian minister Dolgorouki made strong remonstrances to the Persian government in favour of Bahman Mīrzā's reinstatement. On 1 March, the latter, alarmed for his safety, took refuge in Dolgorouki's residence. This gave rise to great indignation on the part of the shāh, and Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī threatened to use force to expel Bahman Mīrzā from the Russian minister's residence. Dolgorouki referred the matter to the Russian Emperor, who approved his action in granting Bahman Mīrzā asylum and henceforth considered Bahman Mīrzā as under his special protection, offering him asylum in Russia, which offer Bahman Mīrzā accepted. The affair caused a great sensation in Tehran and in Ādharbāydjān; and the fact that a royal prince should have been forced to take refuge in a foreign mission aroused feelings of humiliation and resentment. At the same time, the intended establishment of Bahman Mīrzā in Georgia was viewed with some apprehension lest he should, with Russian support, disturb the tranquillity of Ādharbāydjān. It was feared that disorders on the frontier might give Russia a plausible excuse for interference and even lead eventually to her seizure of the whole of the province or to its conversion into an independent principality ruled by Bahman Mīrzā under Russian protection.

All these questions, the dispute with Britain over Harāt [*q.v.* and also ḲĀDJĀR], consular representation, the slave trade and protection, continued to disturb Persia's foreign relations under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh.

Perso-Turkish relations were in a state of tension for much of Muḥammad Shāh's reign. There were perennial difficulties over the conduct of marauding tribes in the frontier district north of Baghdād. In 1837 a Turkish force temporarily occupied and pillaged Muḥammara. In 1840 a Persian force occupied Sulaymāniyya, and in July of that year the shāh made preparations for an attack on Baghdād but was deterred. In the following year, the Persian governor of ʿArabistān made an expedition against Fallāḥiyya and Muḥammara. A Turkish force recovered Sulaymāniyya and in 1842 attacked the *wālī* of Ardalān. On this occasion, the Persian government invoked the good offices of the Russian and British ambassadors in Istanbul and warlike preparations were discontinued. Eventually, it was agreed that a joint commission of Turkish and Persian plenipotentiaries, to be assisted by delegates representing Russia and Britain, the mediating powers, should meet at Erzerum to investigate and if possible settle the territorial and other questions in dispute. They met on 15 May 1843. Their difficulties were aggravated by a massacre of Persians in Karbalā by Turkish troops. At length, on 31 May 1847 the Second Treaty of Erzerum was signed. It provided for the delimitation of the frontier, freedom of Persian pilgrims to carry out their pilgrimages in Turkey without molestation and the appointment of consuls by either power in the domains of the other (see further, J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOman and central Arabia*, Calcutta 1915, 1. *Historical Pt.*, 1B, 1373 ff.).

Towards the end of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, there was some French activity in Persia. Ḥusayn Khān, who had been sent to Europe in 1839 after the withdrawal from Harāt, engaged some French officers for the Persian army to take the place of the British military instructors who had been withdrawn as a result of the Persian expedition against Harāt in 1837-8. In 1840, or somewhat earlier, the French king Louis Philippe despatched a diplomatic mission to the court of Persia, headed by the Comte de Sercey, charged with the conclusion of a commercial treaty. In this he failed, and the French military officers found difficulty in obtaining their promised pay and allowances. Finally, in 1845 French trade was accorded most favoured nation treatment.

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(A.K.S. Lambton)

MUḤAMMAD SHĀH b. Djahān-Shāh b. Shāh ʿĀlam i, Nāṣir al-Dīn (1131-61/1719-48), surnamed Rawshan Akhtar, "Brillant Star", the last of the Mughal emperors in Dihlī to enjoy real power. His father had been one of three brothers who perished in disputing the crown with their eldest brother Djahān-dār Shāh b. Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur.

Muḥammad Shāh was born on 24 Rabīʿ I 1114/7 August 1702, and hailed as emperor by the two Sayyid brothers, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh and Sayyid Ḥusayn, after the two brief reigns of Muḥammad Shāh's cousins Rāfiʿ al-Daradjāt and Rafīʿ al-Dawla (the latter the ephemeral Shāh Djahān II), on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1131/29 September 1719, to begin a 30 years' reign. The early years of this were dominated by the figure of the highly capable Turkish noble Ḳamar al-Dīn Čīn Ḳilič Khān, called Niẓām al-Mulk, who in 1132/1723 came to Dihlī as chief minister, soon afterwards defeating a rival for power in the Deccan (1137/1724) and establishing the virtually independent power at Ḥaydarābād of his line, the Niẓāms or Āṣaf-Djāhs [see ḥaydarābād. b. Ḥaydarābād state].

The next years of his reign saw increasing depredations by the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*] into Gudjarāt. Mālwā [*q.vv.*] and Ḥaydarābād. The incursions into Mālwā by the Pēshwā Bādjī Rāo could not be halted by the emperor's general Muḥammad Khān Bangash [*q.v.*], and Niẓām al-Mulk was only with difficulty able to hold his own in Ḥaydarābād. However, a greater danger now faced the troubled Mughal empire, for it was during Muḥammad Shāh's reign, in 1151-2/1739, that the Persian ruler Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*] marched from Afghānistān into India on the pretext of the emperor's refusal to close his north-western frontiers to Afghān fugitives. Nādir defeated Muḥammad Shāh's general Khān Dawrān near Karnāl in Dhū 'l-Ḳaʿda 1151/February 1739, entered Dihlī without striking a blow and in company with Muḥammad Shāh, and had his name placed in the *khuṭba* there and coins minted in his name. He married his youngest son Naṣr Allāh Mīrzā to a Mughal princess; and he compelled Muḥammad Shāh to pay an enormous indemnity, including the famous Peacock Throne of Shāh Djahān I, and to cede all his lands north and west of the Indus before he returned to Kābul, leaving behind the devastated city of Dihlī.

The stunning effects of Nādir's sacking of the Mughal capital were soon apparent on the already disintegrating state of the empire. Provincial governors, such as Ṣafdār Djang in Awadh, Zakariyyāʾ Khān in the Pandjāb and Multān and ʿAlī-Verdī Khān, Mahābat Djang, in Bengal, Bihār and Orissa, joined Niẓām al-Mulk in the Deccan as virtually autonomous rulers, whilst to the east of Dihlī, a new threat arose to Mughal imperial authority in the person of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān in Katahr [*q.v.*] or Rohilkhand. As a final blow, the Afghān chief Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī Durrānī [*q.v.*] invaded northern India in 1160/1747, and was only repulsed after a sharp battle near Sirhind.

Muḥammad Shāh died on 27 Rabīʿ II 1161/16 April 1748, and was buried in the court before the mausoleum of the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ [*q.v.*] at Dihlī, to be succeeded by his even less capable son Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur; for the remaining century of its nominal life, the Mughal empire was to be headed by emperors who were mere puppets in the hands of court nobles and military leaders.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

MUḤAMMAD SHĀH I KHALDJĪ, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (695-715/1296-1316), was the nephew and son-in-law of Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh II Khaldjī, whom he murdered by treachery at Ḳarā Mānikpūr, in the province of Allāhābād, in 695/1295, and ascended the throne of Dihlī in the same year. He reconquered Gudjarāt (697/1297), took Čitōr and temporarily subdued the Rādjpūts (703/1303). His eunuch general, Malik Kāfūr [*q.v.*], seized Deogīr and Warangal, and founded a Deccan province of the Dihlī kingdom. The empire is said to have flourished during his reign. Among contemporary poets, Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*] and Khwādja Ḥasan held the first rank; Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ [*q.v.*], one of the greatest saints of India, flourished at the same time. Muḥammad Shāh died on 6 Shawwāl 715/3 January 1316, and was buried in the tomb which he had constructed in his life-time in Old Dihlī. Eventually, he was succeeded by his third son Mubārak Khān, as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak-Shāh, who reversed many of the harsh and oppressive financial measures which had made the latter years of his father's reign so burdensome.

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(M. Hidayet Hosain)

MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF al-Nadjafī, historian of Mughal India, was born in the Deccan, where he spent the first twenty-five years of his life. He afterwards visited in an official capacity Gudjarāt, Mālwa, Adjmēr, Dihlī, Āgrā, the Pandjāb, Sind and Kashmīr. He went to the last country in the train of the emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] and under the command of Ḳāsim Khān (1031/1621). He is the author of the *Madjālis al-salāṭīn*, a short history of the kings of Dihlī and of the Deccan dynasties from the Islamic conquests to the accession of Shāh Djahān, completed in 1038/1628.

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(M. Hidayet Hosain)

MUḤAMMAD SHAYBĀNĪ [see SHAYBĀNĪ KHĀN].

MUḤAMMAD ṬĀHIR B. ʿALĪ PAṬANI GUDJARĀTĪ, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN, Muslim Indian authority on the Ḳurʾān and traditions. He was born at Paṭan in Gudjarāt in 914/1508; after completing his education in his native land, he proceeded to Mecca, where he studied traditions with eminent scholars such as Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī al-Makkī and others. He acquired much learning from ʿAlī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaḳī (d. 975/1567) and also became his disciple in the Ḳādirī and Shādhilī dervish orders. After his return to his native country, he tried his utmost to spread learning and to uproot the doctrines of Sayyid Muḥammad al-Djawnpūrī [*q.v.*] who had claimed to be the *Mahdī* of his time and had a considerable following among the Bohorās [*q.v.*], a community to which Muḥammad Ṭāhir himself belonged.

In 980/1572 Akbar went to conquer Gudjarāt. After its conquest, he conferred honour on Muḥammad Ṭāhir by tying with his own hands a turban on his head, saying that it was incumbent on him, Akbar, to spread the true principles of Islam. Khān Aʿẓam ʿAzīz Muḥammad Kūkaltāsh was appointed governor of Gudjarāt and he helped Muḥammad Ṭāhir in uprooting the new doctrines of Mahdism. But when ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān Khānān succeeded him as governor, Muḥammad Ṭāhir suffered much at the hands of the followers of the Mahdī, and proceeded to the court of Akbar in Akbarābād for redress. On his way at Udjdjayn he was murdered by some followers of the pretended Mahdī in 986/1578.

Among his various compositions in Arabic the following may be mentioned:

1. *Madjmaʿ biḥār al-anwar fī gharāʾib al-tanzīl wa-laṭāʾif al-akhbār*, a copious dictionary of the Ḳurʾān and the Traditions, lithographed, Lakhnaw 1248, 1284, 1314;
2. *al-Mughnī fī asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, a dictionary of proper names of traditionists, lithographed on the margin of the *Taḳrīb al-Tahdhīb* by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, Dihlī 1290, 1308; and
3. *Tadhkirat al-mawḍūʿāt*, a treatise on traditions that have been incorrectly attributed to the Prophet, Bombay 1345, Cairo 1343.

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(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ BAHĀR [see BAHĀR].

MUḤAMMAD TAWFĪḲ [see BILLAWRĪ; TAWFĪḲ].

MUḤAMMAD I (759-76/1358-75), the second king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the eldest son of Ḥasan, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahman Shāh, usually, but incorrectly, styled Ḥasan Gangū. On succeeding his father, on 1 Rabīʿ I 759/11 February 1358, he carefully organised the government of the four provinces of the kingdom and the administration of the army. The pertinacity of the Hindū bankers and moneychangers in melting down the gold coinage which he introduced led to a general massacre of the community and the measure involved him in hostilities with the Hindū states of Warangal and Vidjayanagar. He invaded the dominions of Kānhaiya of Warangal three times, put his son Nevāyek Deva to death, and compelled him to pay heavy indemnities and to surrender the town and district of Golkondā [*q.v.*]. After this success, he grossly insulted Bukka I of Vidjayanagar by paying some dancing girls with a draft drawn by him on Bukka's treasury. Bukka invaded the Rāičur Doāb, captured Mudgal [*q.v.*], and massacred its garrison. Muḥammad marched against him, attacked him with great impetuosity, defeated him, and recovered Mudgal, where he rested during the rainy season. In 768/1367 he met Bukka and Kawthal, again defeated him, and carried out an indiscriminate massacre of his subjects. The Hindūs were cowed by the slaughter of 400,000 of their race, and Bukka was compelled to sue for peace. He honoured the draft and paid an indemnity, and received in return a guarantee that non-combatants should be spared in future wars, and the agreement, though sometimes violated, mitigated to some extent the horrors of the long period of intermittent warfare between the two states. On returning from Vidjayanagar he completed, in 768/1367, the great mosque at Gulbarga [*q.v.*], and then turned against his cousin Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī, who had for some years been in rebellion at Dawlatābād, defeated his army and drove its leaders into Gudjarāt. He died in 776/1375 and was succeeded by his elder son, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mudjāhid.

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(T.W. HAIG)

MUḤAMMAD II (780-99/1378-97), the fifth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the son of Maḥmūd Khān, the youngest son of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahman Shāh, the founder of the dynasty, and was raised to the throne on 21 Muḥarram 780/20 May 1378, after the assassination of his uncle Dāwūd Shāh. Firishta's statement that this king's name was Maḥmūd has misled all European historians, but is refuted by inscriptions, legends on coins, and other historians.

Muḥammad II was a man of peace, devoted to literature and poetry, and his reign was undisturbed by foreign wars. He invited Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] to visit his court, and the great poet set out from Shīrāz in response to the invitation, but was so terrified by a storm in the Persian Gulf that he disembarked and returned to Shīrāz, whence he sent to Muḥammad his excuses in a well-known ode.

Between 789/1387 and 797/1395 the Dakan was visited by a severe famine, and the king's measures of relief included the free importation of grain, the establishment of schools at which children were taught, fed, and lodged at the public expense, and special allowances to readers of the Ḳurʾān and the blind, but only those of his own faith profited by his benefactions. He died of a fever on 21 Radjab 799/20 April 1397, and was succeeded by his elder son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn.

Bibliography: See that to MUḤAMMAD I and to BAHMANĪS; also Haig, in *JASB*, lxxiii/1 (1904).

(T.W. HAIG)

MUḤAMMAD III, SHAMS AL-DĪN LASHKARĪ (867-87/1463-82), the thirteenth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the younger son of Humāyūn Shāh, and succeeded his elder brother, Niẓām Shāh, on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 867/30

July 1463, at the age of nine. His minister was the famous Maḥmūd Gāwān, Malik al-Tudjdjār, Khwādja Djahān [*q.v.*]. A campaign against Mālwā in 871/1467 was unsuccessful, but between 873/1469 and 875/1471 Maḥmūd Gāwān conquered the southern Konkan. In 876/1472 Niẓām al-Mulk Malik Ḥasan Baḥrī, a Brāhman who had been captured in Vidjayanagar and educated as a Muslim, led a successful expedition into southern Urīsa [*q.v.*] (Orissa) and was rewarded with the government of Telingāna. Fatḥ Allāh ʿImād al-Mulk, another Brāhman with similar history, was made governor of Berār [*q.v.*], and Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān, a Turk, was appointed to Dawlatābād [*q.v.*]. In the same year, Muḥammad captured the fortresses of Bankāpūr and Balgāṅw, and his conduct at the siege of the latter earned for him the title of Lashkarī, "the Soldier". In 879/1474 the Dakan suffered severely from a famine which lasted for two years, and in 881/1476 a rebellion in Kondawīr led the king into Telingāna. He relieved Malik Ḥasan, who had been besieged in Rādjamahendrī, invaded Urīsa and punished the *rādjā*, who had supported the rebels, and on his return, in 883/1478, captured Kondawīr and assumed the title of *Ghāzī*.

He then set out to invade the eastern Karnātak, but first divided the great province of Telingāna into two governments, mortally offending Malik Ḥasan the governor. The partition was part of a scheme, devised by Maḥmūd Gāwān, to be applied to all the provinces of the kingdom.

Muḥammad made Kondapallī, in the Karnātak, his headquarters, and returned thither after carrying out a daring raid to Kāndjeweram. From Kondapallī he issued an edict dividing the other three provinces of his kingdom, Berār, Dawlatābād, and Gulbargā [*q.v.*] each into two governments. The measure was intensely unpopular, but it was only the vindictive Malik Ḥasan that actively resented it. He regarded Maḥmūd Gāwān as the author of all the unpopular reforms, and by means of a forged letter persuaded the young king that his minister was in league with the foreign enemies of the state. Muḥammad, when under the influence of drink, summoned his faithful minister, and on 5 Ṣafar 886/5 April 1481, without any inquiry into the circumstances of the case, caused his head to be struck off. Maḥmūd's innocence was established immediately after his death, and from the day of his unjust execution may be dated the collapse of the authority of the Bahmanī kings. Of the two parties in the state all the foreigners, led by Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān, who established himself at Bīdjāpūr, and the respectable portion of the Dakanīs, led by Fatḥ Allāh ʿImād al-Mulk of Berār, avoided intercourse with the king, who was thrown into the arms of the assassins, led by Malik Ḥasan. The *amīrs* accompanied Muḥammad to Bīdar [*q.v.*] and subsequently on an expedition to Balgāṅw, but encamped apart from the royal troops, and always saluted the king from a distance, refusing to enter his presence. Muḥammad attempted to drown his grief and humiliation in drink, from the effects of which he died at Bīdar on 1 Ṣafar 887/22 March 1482, crying out in his last moments that Maḥmūd Gāwān was slaying him. He was succeeded by his son Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who was nevertheless a king only in name.

Bibliography: See that to MUḤAMMAD I and to BAHMANĪS. (T.W. HAIG)

MUḤAMMADIYYA, a term denoting four distinct ʿAlid groups: (1) The descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. In the 4th/10th century they are reported to have been few in number, but to have none the less held positions of leadership in Fārs, Ḳazwīn, Ḳumm and Rayy. By the 6th/12th century their numbers appear to have grown.

(2) Believers in the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (d. 145/762 [*q.v.*]). This Ḥasanid pretender enjoyed widespread support among a variety of Shīʿīs long before his uprising against the ʿAbbāsids. The term Muḥammadiyya denotes two groups of his supporters:

(a) A sub-sect of the extremist Manṣūriyya [*q.v.*]. The members of this sub-sect asserted that Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIdjlī (d. between 120/738 and 126/744) had during his lifetime regarded himself merely as a temporary trustee (*mustawdaʿ*) of the imāmate after Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*], and that upon his death the imāmate had reverted to the ʿAlids in the person of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (rather than passing to Abū Manṣūr's son, as maintained by a rival sub-sect, the Ḥusayniyya).

(b) The Mughīriyya (followers of al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd, d. 119/737). The imāmate of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya is said to have been upheld by al-Mughīra himself, though this may be a retrojection of the later views of the group. After the death of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, members of the Mughīriyya espoused the docetic doctrine that it was not he who had fallen in battle, but a devil who had assumed his bodily form.

Both groups held that al-Nafs al-Zakiyya had gone into occultation (according to some sources, in (*fī*) the mountain of al-Ṭammiyya in Nadjd) and would return as the Mahdī. The belief in his Mahdīship was not restricted to the Muḥammadiyya: the heresiographer Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ (alive in 250/864/868 [*q.v.*]) ascribes it also to a group of the Djārūdiyya [*q.v.*].

(3) Believers in the imāmate of Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad, a son of the tenth *Imām*, ʿAlī al-Hādī al-ʿAskarī (d. 254/868 [*q.v.*]). These Muḥammadiyya argued, against the Imāmī Shīʿīs, that al-Hādī had conferred the imāmate on Muḥammad (who was apparently his eldest son), rather than on Muḥammad's brother al-Ḥasan. Some Imāmī Shīʿī traditions seem to imply (perhaps in response to this argument) that although Muḥammad was initially chosen as *Imām*, the nomination was transferred to al-Ḥasan as a result of a change in the divine plans (*badāʾ* [*q.v.*]). The Muḥammadiyya, however, maintained that the nomination of an *Imām* was irreversible, i.e. not subject to *badāʾ*. They further disputed the Imāmī Shīʿī claim that Muḥammad had died in Sāmarrā while his father was still alive, asserting rather that al-Hādī had concealed him out of fear for his life. A group among them claimed that Muḥammad was the last *Imām*, that he went into occultation, and that he would return as al-Mahdī al-Ḳāʾim. Others (who presumably denied that he went into occultation) maintained that he had male offspring (the implication being that one of them was to be the next *Imām*). The Muḥammadiyya must have posed a significant challenge to the Imāmiyya: Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī (d. 299/911-12 or 301/913-14) composed a treatise attacking both their views and those of the Djaʿfariyya (who upheld the imāmate of al-Hādī's son Djaʿfar). The treatise, known as *K. al-Ḍiyāʾ fī ʾl-radd ʿalā ʾl-muḥammadiyya wa ʾl-djaʿfariyya* or *K. al-Ḍiyāʾ fī ʾl-imāma*, is no longer extant. By the time of Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) these Muḥammadiyya were extinct.

(4) Believers in the divinity of the Prophet Muḥammad. These Muḥammadiyya (or Mīmiyya) originated in Kūfan *ghulāt* circles of the late 2nd/8th century, and were particularly active in the 3rd/9th century. They are sometimes referred to as Mukhammisa [*q.v.*], although this term is usually used in a

broader sense to denote all Shīʿīs who held the gnostic belief that the one, unknown God manifests himself as a pentad. In their system (as described by Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī) Muḥammad is both the unknown God, and God's only true manifestation on earth. God first appeared before mankind as a light, calling upon them to acknowledge his oneness. They refused, and this was apparently the act of rebellion that initiated the fall from heaven. God then appeared in human form so that his creatures might trust him and not fear him. He appeared (but only to the Arabs, it would seem) as successive prophets and messengers: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus; to the non-Arabs he appeared as successive kings and rulers of the world. Mankind still refused to confess his unity, and so he appeared in the form of a number of *Imāms*, and was then accepted. Of these *Imāms*, only members of the *ahl al-kisāʾ* [*q.v.*] are mentioned by name. They are (in addition to Muḥammad) ʿAlī, Fāṭima (God can assume the form of a woman), al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, who together constitute the divine pentad. The *Imāms* are reincarnations of God; as such they are mere illusions or "names" concealing the true "meaning" (*maʿnā*) which is Muḥammad. A parallel structure incorporates other elect members of the community, all of whom are arranged in a hierarchical fashion. Thus God's only true messenger or "gate" (*bāb*) is Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*], who appears with Muḥammad before Arabs and non-Arabs; other *abwāb*, who include various leaders of the Kūfan *ghulāt*, are reincarnations of Salmān. The normal obligations of Islam (prayer, fasting, etc.) were imposed as a punishment on those who deny the truth, and are not incumbent upon believers who have passed the test (*muʾmin mumtaḥan*). The spirits of those who deny the truth transmigrate through both animate and inanimate bodies (*tanāsukh*), and end up as minerals or stones. The believer who acknowledges the truth, in contrast, passes through seven stages, each lasting 10,000 years, during which he wears seven different bodies like seven garments (*aḳmiṣa*): when he outgrows one garment, he puts on another. After 70,000 years he becomes a gnostic (*ʿārif*) and attains knowledge of the ultimate (*maʿrifat al-ghāya*): the veil is removed and he sees God, that is Muḥammad, in his essence and light.

No works of the Muḥammadiyya have survived, but we know the names of at least two authors who wrote in defence of the sect: al-Fayyāḍ b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Fayyāḍ, whose father was a *kātib* for al-Muʿtaḍid (regn. 279-89/892-902), and who was executed during his caliph's reign; and al-Nahīkī [*q.v.*], mentioned as an *ʿāmil* (finance officer) of the Bādūrayā district of west Baghdād (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, Damascus 1348/1930, 16-18; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 76-7). Both composed works attacking the *K. al-Ṣirāṭ* of Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad al-Nakhaʿī al-Aḥmar al-Kūfī (d. 286/899). Isḥāḳ was one of the ʿAyniyya (ʿAlyāʾiyya), who were among the upholders of ʿAlī's divinity. Al-Fayyāḍ's work is entitled *al-Ḳisṭās*; the title of al-Nahīkī's book is not recorded. In addition, Muḥammad b. Bashīr (who after the death of the seventh *Imām* Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] claimed to be his legatee) can also be counted among the Muḥammadiyya (although this is nowhere explicitly stated), since he taught that Muḥammad was reincarnated in the *Imāms*.

The Muḥammadiyya caused concern among the mainstream Imāmiyya, who attempted in their writings to refute their doctrines. One such work (no longer extant) was composed by al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Naysābūrī (d. 260/873-4) under the title *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-ghāliya al-Muḥammadiyya* or *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-ghulāt*.

The heresiographers mention several other unnamed groups who upheld Muḥammad's divinity. One such group maintained that Muḥammad was a demiurge empowered by God (*tafwīḍ*) to create this world and to direct its affairs. This belief is typical of the Mufawwiḍa, who are often mentioned together with the Mukhammisa.

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(E. Kohlberg)

al-**MUḤAMMADIYYA** [see faḍāla].

MUḤAMMADZAYS [see ᶜabd al-raḥmān khān; afghānistān. v. history (3) the afghān national state (b) the bārakzay (or muḥammadzay) dynasty; ḥabīb allāh khān; muḥammad dāwūd khān; and amān allāh in Suppl.].

MUḤAMMARA, the former name (in use till 1937) of the Persian town and port on the Ḥaffār channel to the lower Kārūn river [*q.v.*], now known as Khurramshahr. Hence for the history of Muḥammara, see khurramshahr, and also khazᶜal khān. To the references given in the *Bibls.* to these two articles should be added: H.G. Rawlinson, *Notes on Mohamrah and the Cha'ab Arabs*, in *Procs. Royal Geogr. Soc.*, i, 351 ff.; Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, index s.v. *Khurramshahr*; M.ᶜA. al-Nadjdjār, *al-Taʾrīkh al-siyāsī li-imārat ᶜArabistān al-ᶜarabiyya, 1897-1925*, Cairo 1971; ᶜA.N. al-Ḥulw, *al-Muḥammara, madīna wa-imāra ᶜarabiyya*, Baghdād 1972; W.T. Strunk, *The reign of Shaikh Khazᶜal ibn Jābir and the suppression of the principality of ᶜArabistān*, doctoral thesis, Univ. of Indiana 1977, unpubl.; A.J. Cottrell *et alii* (eds.), *The Persian Gulf states, a general survey*, Baltimore and London 1980, 52-4, 59, 87-8, 227, 613-14; S. Soucek, *ᶜArabistān or Khūzistān?*, in *Iranian Studies*, xvii/2-3 (1984), 195-213.

(Ed.)

MUḤAMMIRA [see khurramdīniyya].

MUHANNĀ, Banū, better known in the sources as the Āl Muhannā, an Arab Bedouin branch of the Banū Rabīᶜa, descendants of a minor line of the Djarrāḥ family, who in return belonged to the larger tribe of Ṭayyiʾ. In genealogical terms, Ṭayyiʾ was part of Ḳaḥṭān, and consequently the Banū Muhannā were treated as Yamanī in their general allegiance. It is known that Ṭayyiʾ, who were well-established in southern Bilād al-Shām, formed part of the Ḳarāmiṭa [see ḳarmaṭī] army, which in 360/971 took over al-Ramla [*q.v.*] in Palestine. The Ṭayyiʾ's power increased to the extent that they were able, in 401/1010-11, to appoint al-Ḥasan b. Djaᶜfar al-ᶜAlawī as a caliph under their tutelage, although they had to abandon him two years later due to Fāṭimid pressure. The Djarrāḥids were never trusted by the Fāṭimids, who recognised the political ambitions of the Arab tribes in Syria, a land contested by several political powers of the time.

In 410/1019, the three major Arab tribes of Ṭayyiʾ, Kalb and Kilāb in Syria formed a political alliance which lasted for one decade. The aim of that alliance, an unprecedented step, was to coordinate their policies in order to control the *bādiya* against any foreign dominance. This growth in the strength of Arab tribes in the affairs of Syria can be explained on the basis of the absence of strong administration there at the time. Such an administration was only realised through the Saldjūḳs after 1071. Consequently, the power of indigenous groups, including the Arab tribes, remained outside political control, and the Ṭayyiʾ's tribes and their alliances came to dominate tribal life in the Syrian desert for seven centuries to come. They advanced from their localities in Palestine and Trans-Jordan also to occupy the area stretching from Ḥawrān, east of Damascus, Ḥimṣ, Hamā and Aleppo, up to the banks of the Euphrates. This power reached its zenith when they even expanded their authority inside al-Ḥidjāz at the expense of other well-established tribes. Contemporary historians explain this on the basis of the competent leadership provided by a number of Ṭayyiʾ families, in particular the Banū Muhannā, while other tribes were feuding among themselves. Ṭayyiʾ tribes flourished in Syria when the region was exposed to threats by both the Franks and later the Mongols. Historians have observed that, whenever the administration in Bilād al-Shām was strong, the tribes, including the Banū Muhannā, gave their loyalty to the ruling dynasty. Occasionally, they and their cousins had contacts with the Franks or changed allegiances to the Il-Khānids in Baghdād.

Early references indicate that the Būrid governor of Damascus, the Atabeg Ṭughtigīn (497-522/1103-28) had the support of the leader of the Rabīᶜa against the Franks. Similar support was lent to the Zangids, who in return awarded to a number of *amīrs* of Rabīᶜa *iḳṭāᶜ*s. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] attempted to organise the affairs of the Arab tribes in the region of Damascus through the office of the city governor. His brother al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil (d. 615/1218) initiated the idea of a new institution: that of *amīr al-ᶜArab*, in order to arrange comprehensively the relationship between the Arab tribes and the state, appointing Ḥāditha b. al-Faḍl b. Rabīᶜa to that post. Several *amīrs* held this position during the Ayyūbid times, but due to the fragility of the Ayyūbid system, the *amīr* failed to prevail over all the Arab chiefs, for the *amīr* was no more than one among equals. Most of the chiefs were integrated into the *iḳṭāᶜ* system and received customary payments from the Ayyūbid sultans.

The Mamlūk sultanate, contrary to the Ayyūbids, treated Syria as a frontier province facing the Franks, Mongols and later, the Ottomans. Arab tribes merited special attention from the Mamlūk sultans, who either needed their manpower as auxiliaries or feared their unstable loyalty.

In 663/1265, al-Ẓāhir Baybars dismissed ᶜAlī b. Ḥāditha and appointed ᶜĪsā b. Muhannā (d. 683/1284) to be *amīr* over all Arabs. ᶜĪsā, who took part with other *amīrs* against the Mongols in 658/1260, at the battle of ᶜAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*], was also addressed as the King of the Arabs. This regal title did not stop the Mamlūks from granting the title of *amīr* to other chieftains, specially to the heads of the Āl Murra [*q.v.*], a major Ṭayyiʾ clan dwelling in the region of Ḥawrān. ᶜĪsā held the post for twenty years, only interrupted for a few months when he allied himself in 679/1280 with a rebellious Mamlūk *amīr*, Sunḳur al-Ashḳar. On his death, the position was assigned to his son Muhannā (d. 735/1334), who was given the title of Ḥusām al-Dīn and granted the village of Sarmīn in the region of Aleppo as an *iḳṭāᶜ*. He was the head of a line of Rabīᶜa after whom the Āl or Banū Muhannā came to be known. The relationship between Muhannā and sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl was characterised by enmity, to the extent that Muhannā and a number of his relatives in Radjab

692/June 1293 were jailed in the citadel of Cairo. On the sultan's death (693/1294), they were released and the *imāra* was given to Muhannā. During their detention, some members of the Āl Muhannā collaborated with the Il-Khānids in ʿIrāḳ against the Mamlūks. Cold relations prevailed between Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 741/1340) and Muhannā; and when the Mongols invaded Syria in 702/1303, Muhannā was in a state of rebellion. However, due to the intervention of the famous theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1327 [*q.v.*]) and other Damascus scholars, he joined the Mamlūks against the Mongols at the battle of Mardj al-Ṣuffar [*q.v.*], where the Mamlūks emerged victorious. This step taken by Muhannā cemented temporarily his relation with the sultan, who in 711/1311 refused Muhannā's request to pardon three senior Mamlūk officers, Ḳara Sunḳur, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Afram and Zardkash, who feared the sultan's machinations against them. They then took refuge with Muhannā, who despatched them in the company of his son Sulaymān to Muḥammad Khudābanda Öldjeytü [*q.v.*] in Baghdād. They were well-received at the Il-Khānid court, and robes of honour were sent to Muhannā, who moved to Baghdād. His brother Faḍl was named as the *amīr* of the Arabs. The two brothers nevertheless secretly maintained relations with the Mamlūks. In ʿIrāḳ Muhannā was allegedly given Baṣra, Ḥilla, Kūfa and other towns in the Euphrates basin. This information, provided by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 742/1341), requires further investigation yet indicates the degree of prestige which he enjoyed in Baghdād. His son Sulaymān took an active part in the Mongol armies which in 712/1312 raided Raḥba and, in 715/1315, pillaged Tadmur. When Abū Saʿīd became Il-Khān in 717/1317, he exchanged letters with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. These resulted in 720/1320 in an agreement to stop the Āl Muhannā from attacking Mamlūk lands in Syria, and in return, the Mamlūks would stop Arab and Turkoman tribes from raiding ʿIrāḳ. Nevertheless, Muhannā and his followers who had left ʿIrāḳ mounted a series of raids against the pilgrims, and even the Mamlūks' emissaries were looted on their way back to Cairo. Muhannā's answer to his nephew Sayf b. Faḍl was that he was earning his livelihood by the sword since he was not dependent on the sultan of Egypt or on the sultan of ʿIrāḳ.

Muhannā remained in rebellion in the desert for 14 years. In 734/1333, he went in person to Cairo, where he was well received by the sultan, who reappointed him *amīr* of the Arabs. He returned to Syria, where he died in the following year near Salamiyya.

A number of his sons, Mūsā Fayyāḍ, Sulaymān, Aḥmad and Ḥiyār in addition to two nephews, ʿĪsā and Sayf b. Faḍl, subsequently held the position. The house of Muhannā suffered from continuous feuding and further fragmentation. In 738/1328, Ḥiyār b. Muhannā and his supporters fled to ʿIrāḳ, and in 752/1351 he took part with a certain Mamlūk *amīr* Bibgha Arūs and the Turkoman Ḳara Dhu 'l-Ḳadir against the sultan, causing his dismissal from the imāra. His brother Fayyāḍ contemplated establishing contacts with the Il-Khānids in ʿIrāḳ in order to invade Syria. Nuʿayr b. Ḥiyār b. Muhannā (730-808/1329-1400), who was given the name Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, represented the third generation of the Āl Muhannā, who held the position jointly with two other *amīrs* for a while till 781/1379, when he became sole *amīr*. He lost favour three times during the reign of sultan Barḳūḳ. He took a major role in supporting Tamir-Bugha al-Ashrafī, known as Mintāsh, in his rebellion which lasted from 791/1389 to 795/1393. He and his tribe shared in the battles waged against the Mamlūk armies sent from Egypt to quell the rebellion. Many defeats were inflicted on Mintāsh, to the extent that members of the Āl Muhannā prevailed on Nuʿayr to betray Mintāsh, and he agreed to hand him over to the governor of Aleppo in 795/1393. When Tīmūr [*q.v.*] was advancing on Syria, he sent a robe of honour to Nuʿayr, which he accepted with gratitude, but in 803/1400 he sided with the Mamlūks against Tīmūr. He remained influential till he was killed in a battle with the governor of Aleppo in 808/1406. It seems that the role of the Āl Muhannā in the 9th/15th century decreased. When the Ottomans advanced into Syria, *Amīr* Mudlidj clashed with the Ottoman armies. The Ottomans retained the office of *imāra* but restored the old title used by the Zangids of *amīr ʿArab al-Shām* rather than *amīr al-ʿArab*, in accordance with their administrative division of Syria into three provinces. This last was no longer a frontier province, but was within the Ottoman heartland. The 17th-century chroniclers refer to a certain *amīr* Nāṣir b. Muhannā as *amīr al-ʿArab* in ʿIrāḳ, and there are plenty of references to the Āl Ḥiyār as an offshoot of the Āl Muhannā in the region of Ḥamā.

Arab *amīrs* were treated by the Mamlūks as Arab people of the sword, *ʿArab al-Suyūf*. They formed part of the fourth grade in the Mamlūk military hierarchy. All *amīrs* were confirmed in their positions through a special diploma (*manshūr*) or order (*marsūm*) issued with a set of specific titles by the sultan himself. A special office was created in most of the Mamlūk provinces to deal with Arab affairs, headed by an expert referred to as a *Mihmindār* [*q.v.*]. The sources provide the names of many *amīrs* in Bilād al-Shām, most of them from Ṭayyiʾ tribes like the Banū Muhannā.

As cattle and camel-raisers, the Banū Muhannā were entrusted with a number of duties, such as guarding routes, bridges, and narrow passes, protecting pilgrims and merchants, and acting as guards for armies and official emissaries. In addition, they were expected to gather intelligence about the enemy, and participate in wars of the ruling power against its enemies or dissident Mamlūk *amīrs*. They were to help the state in collecting dues (*zakāt*) on cattle and sheep from the tribes. As a token of goodwill, they were expected to present the sultans' stables, whether in Cairo or Istanbul, with a number of noble horses and young camels annually. In return for these services, the *amīrs* were paid an annual customary payment, given honorific titles and had robes of honour bestowed upon them. Some Mamlūk sultans gave lavishly to Arab *amīrs*, to the extent that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was blamed for over-indulging Arab chiefs and their households.

The Arab *amīrs* were included as people of the sword in the *iḳṭāʿ* system in Syria under the supervision of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh*. Several towns were mentioned as *iḳṭāʿ*s for Arab *amīrs*, e.g., Salamiyya, Maʿarra, Tadmur, Sarmīn and Dūmat Dimashḳ. Al-Maḳrīzī (d. 821/1418) states that ʿĪsā, the ancestor of the Āl Muhannā and his descendants, numbering 110, each had an *imra* and *iḳṭāʿ*, which exemplifies the special position that the family enjoyed within the *iḳṭāʿ* system; but in cases of rebellion, these grants, sometimes referred to as "bread" (*khubz*, pl. *akhbāz*), might be taken back by the state, a phenomenon occurring often enough for the Mamlūks to establish a new chancery under the name of *al-Murtadjaʿ min akhbāz al-ʿArab* to administer *iḳṭāʿ*s reclaimed by the state.

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MUḤĀRIB, the name of several Arab tribes (Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen*, 320, gives five of this name) of which the most important is that of the Muḥārib b. Khaḍafa b. Ḳays ʿAylān (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, D, 8). They do not however seem to have been of very great importance either in the Djāhiliyya or in Islam; Ibn al-Kalbī only gives them two pages of his *Djamharat al-ansāb* (B.L. ms., Add. 23, 297, fols. 163b-165b; cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Tabellen*, 92, *Register* 425) but these add considerably to the very meagre information in the *Tabellen* especially as regards the lines of ʿAlī b. Djasr b. Muḥārib and of Badhāwa (*sic*) b. Dhuhl b. Ṭarīf b. Khalaf b. Muḥārib. A typical Bedouin tribe, the Muḥārib lived in the mountainous region of southern Nadjd between Medina and al-Yamāma (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 320, following Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 41); several places in their territory are recorded in Yāḳūt's geographical dictionary (cf. the index of tribes, s.v.). We know very little about their history before Islam; they were closely connected with other tribes of the great group of the Ḳays ʿAylān, like the Hawāzin, with whom they are said to have shared the worship of the idol Djihār (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 167, ll. 2-3 = Wellhausen, *Reste*², 65; cf. *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, iii, 115, l.7 from below), and especially the Ghaṭafān (notably their clan Thaʿlaba b. Saʿd b. Dhubyān), alongside of whom the clan of the al-Khuḍr b. Ṭarīf b. Khalaf b. Muḥārib (the genealogy of the *Tabellen* is to be rectified inasmuch as al-Mālik is the name of al-Khuḍr and not that of his father) fought the war known as the *yawm al-ḥuraḳa* or *yawm Dārat Mawḍūʿ* alluded to by the poet of the Dhubyān Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥumām in some of his poems (cf. *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, nos. xii and xci, and the commentary of Ibn al-Anbarī, with the passages quoted in the notes).

The Muḥārib at the beginning of Islam were hostile to Muḥammad; this hostility was perhaps only the continuation of that which prevailed between the nomad tribes of the ʿĀliya of al-Nadjd and the citizens of Medina. Thus we find, in the early years of the Hidjra, that Muḥammad sent against them (and against the Ghaṭafān) a series of expeditions, of the nature of raids and counterraids rather than regular military enterprises (our sources give 30 or 40 men as the total of the Muslim forces); the details of their fighting are given in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i, 537-8 (3 A.H., § 6), 596-7 (5 A.H., § 3), 689-90 (6 A.H., § 1), 694 (6 A.H., § 6) with reference to the sources utilised (we may add Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 23-4, 43-4, 61-2). One part at least of the tribute must, however, have been attracted within the growing sphere of Muslim influence, since we find Muḥāribīs in the cavalry led by al-Zubayr at the taking of Mecca (Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 8 A.H., § 390). But it was only in 10 A.H. that the Muḥārib sent their ambassadors to Muḥammad and gave their formal adhesion to Islam (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 43; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 344-5); even on this occasion they were conspicuous by their uncouthness, quite Bedouin, of which another example is given in the anecdote of the Muḥāribī (he is said to have been called Suwāʾ b. al-Ḥārith or b. Ḳays) who dared to doubt the Prophet's word in connection with the purchase of a horse (cf. Ibn Saʿd, iv/2, 90-1, etc., and Caetani, *Annali*, ix, 627-8).

The Muḥārib abandoned Islam during the *Ridda* but were easily brought back to obedience (*Annali*, ii, 594, 596, 11 A.H., §§ 115, 118); they took part in the conquest of ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, iv, 20-1: biography of ʿĀʾidh b. Saʿīd, who fought at al-Ḳādisiyya and Djalūlā and again, in 36 and 37, at the Battle of the Camel and that of Ṣiffīn, where he was slain); they were encamped at Kūfa in the same quarter as the Usad and Ghaṭafān, not far from that allotted to the Tamīm (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2490, 2495). In the period after the conquests, many Muḥāribīs settled in Syria and thence went with the Syrian troops to Spain.

The contribution of the Muḥārib to the politics and literature of Arabia was practically nil; we need only mention the name of Laḳīṭ b. Bukayr b. al-Naḍr (d. 190/806), who belonged to a branch of the Banū ʿAlī b. Djasr b. Muḥārib, a poet (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 540), ascetic and historian (*Fihrist*, 94, and Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, vi, 218-20, give a list of his works, relating mainly to literary history).

Of the other tribes bearing the name of Muḥārib,

the best known is the Meccan tribe of the Muḥārib b. Fihr of the Ḳuraysh al-Ẓawāhir, to which al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays belonged [*q.v.*]; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Tabellen*, 4, 34, *Register* 425. The Muḥārib lampooned by al-Farazdaḳ and celebrated by Djarīr (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 817, l. 4, 1039 l. 2) are difficult to identify; it is not certain, although they are so identified in the index, that they were the Muḥārib b. Khaṣafa.

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(G. Levi Della Vida)

al-**MUḤARRAḲ**, a town on an island of the same name in the Baḥrayn archipelago. The low-lying, irregular, crescent-shaped island, which covers an area 5¼ sq. miles, lies 1½ miles to the north-east of the main island of Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] and it is the second largest in the archipelago. The town, which is on the south-western side of the island, is located at lat. 26° 16′ N, long. 52° 37′ E. The only other settlement of any size on the island is that of al-Ḥadd, some three miles to the east. In the past, supplies of drinking water for the island came from a series of offshore, submarine, freshwater springs.

The early history of al-Muḥarraḳ is, like that of Baḥrayn, obscure. Some sources refer to the island under the name ʿArād. In the 19th century the ruling Āl Khalīfa dynasty [*q.v.*] usually resided at Muḥarraḳ for most of the year, moving to Manāma [*q.v.*] only in the hottest summer months. As well as being the administrative capital, al-Muḥarraḳ was then also the major centre of commerce and pearl fishing. According to Lorimer, the total population of the island in 1905 was approximately 38,500. The town contained 20,000 people and there were over 300 stalls in its bazaar. More than 700 local vessels used the harbour, of which nearly 300 were engaged in the pearl trade. The population of al-Ḥadd was then approximately 8,000 and it had 167 pearling vessels.

In the second decade of the 20th century, Manāma began to grow in importance and it became the capital of the amirate. It was linked by a causeway and a motor road to al-Muḥarraḳ in 1942. The fortunes of al-Muḥarraḳ had been damaged by the decline in pearl fishing in the 1930s, but the development of air routes between Europe, India and the Far East prompted the construction of landing facilities for both sea-planes and aircraft. In 1971, the runway near the town was lengthened, and the airport was modernised; it is currently one of the busiest in the region. According to the 1971 census, the population of the town was 38,000; ten years later it had risen to 62,000.

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(R.M. Burrell)

al-**MUḤARRAM** (a.), the first month of the Muslim year. The name is originally not a proper name but an adjective, as the article shows, qualifying Ṣafar. In the pre-Islamic period, the first two months of the old Meccan year were Ṣafar [*q.v.*] I and II, which is reflected in the dual *a potiori* of *al-Ṣafarān* for al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar; in the old Arab year, the first half year consisted of "three months of two months each" (Wellhausen), as the two Ṣafars were followed by two Rabīʿs and two Djumādās. The first of the two Ṣafars, as the one that belonged to the sacred months, was given the adjectival epithet *al-muḥarram* which gradually became the name of the month itself. As Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja also belonged to the sacred months, three of the four sacred months came together except in leap year. The month intercalated to equate the year to the solar year was inserted after Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja and was not sacred. It thus came about that learned Muslims described the intercalation as renaming the Muḥarram concerned as Ṣafar, i.e. as making Muḥarram not sacred; they meant that the month after the pilgrimage, which they consider as al-Muḥarram, following the custom, is not sacred, i.e. is *Ṣafar*, and the second month, i.e. in their view Ṣafar, is *al-Muḥarram*. In doing this they of course overlook the fact that Ṣafar proper now only comes third; but when the intercalary month was abolished in Islam, the proper conception of the state of affairs was lost [see nasīʾ].

In the early period when an attempt was made to equate with the solar year by inserting intercalary months—which was not successful on account of the ignorance of the old Arabs in astronomical matters—al-Muḥarram introduced the winter half-year, as the names of the first six months show. The Arab year began, like the Jewish one, in autumn. After Muḥammad had forbidden the insertion of the intercalary months in sūra IX, 37, 1 Muḥarram, the beginning of the year, went through all the seasons as the year, which now consisted of 12 lunar months, had always only 354 or 355 days, as it still has. Whether the first month of the year was originally marked by a festival, we do not know. Wellhausen endeavoured to show that the *ḥadjdj* originally fell in the first month of the year, so that Muḥarram was *ḥarām* in its quality as *Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja*. This also suggests that there was originally only one sacred month, but it was observed at different times in different parts of Arabia. The Ḳurʾān always speaks of the sacred month (II, 194, 217; V, 2, 97); only in sūra IX, 36, in laying down the method of reckoning time, does it speak of four sacred months, in which it was sought to recognise a later declaration of the equal sanctity of four different sacred months of different districts, which was however illusory, as within Islam the peace of God reigns without this and, according to sūra II, 217, the defence of the faith takes preference over the sacred month. What the sacred month referred to in the Ḳurʾān is, we do not know; in sūra V, 2, at any rate, the month of the pilgrimage must be meant, which fits Wellhausen's theory excellently. The commentators think Radjab or Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda is meant, at any rate not al-Muḥarram.

Al-Muḥarram has 30 days of which, in addition to the first as the beginning of the year, the following are specially noted: the ninth as the fast-day of the Shīʿī ascetics; the tenth as the anniversary of Karbalāʾ (60/680), on which al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] fell fighting against the caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and therefore the great day of mourning for the Shīʿa (on the significance of 10 Muḥarram for the Sunnīs, see ʿāshūrāʾ), celebrated by pilgrimages to the sacred places of the Shīʿa, especially to Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*], in which the passion play, representing the death of ʿAlī's sons [see taʿziya], plays the most important part; also the sixteenth as the day of the selection of Jerusalem as the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] and the seventeenth as the day of the arrival of the "people of the elephant" (sūra CV [see al-fīl]).

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(M. Plessner)

MUḤĀSABA (A.), literally, "accounting".

1. In mystical theology. Here the term is more precisely *muḥāsabat al-nafs*, "inward accounting, spiritual accounting".

The concept is connected both with the Ḳurʾānic symbolism of commerce and with that of the final end of man. It should be noted that, like all the verbal nouns of the *mufāʿala* type, linguistic creations in the fields of the Arab-Islamic sciences and of spirituality, the word *muḥāsaba* belongs neither to the lexicon of the Ḳurʾān nor to that of the Tradition. Ḳurʾānic vocabulary and the vocabulary of the Tradition only uses verbal nouns derived from form III (*fāʿala*) of the *fiʿāl* type, and when a *mufāʿala* is a doublet of a *fiʿāl*, the semantic difference is usually that of the abstract and the concrete, the moral and the physical. But, in both cases, it is a matter of a transitive action, a putting of something into effect, or sometimes an interaction (see the linguistic remarks of al-Ḳushayrī with regard to the word *mushāhada*, inward vision, in his *Risāla*, 43). *Muḥāsaba* is the learned doublet of *ḥisāb*, the "accounting" of God on the Day of Resurrection, to which allusion is made in the recommendation, generally attributed to ʿUmar, "Take account of your souls yourselves (*ḥāsibu anfusakum*) before account is made of them, weigh them before they are weighed (sc. in the Divine Balance, *al-Mīzān*), and prepare yourselves for the supreme examination!" (cf. al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 38, Book of the Resurrection, ch. 25; the two first phrases are found, reversed, in a *khuṭba* of ʿAlī, *Nahdj al-balāgha*, ed. with Muḥammad ʿAbduh's commentary, Beirut n.d., i, 159; the first phrase is attributed to the Prophet by Ibn ʿArabī, in ch. 32 of his *Futūḥāt*).

It is to al-Ghazālī that we owe the most detailed study of the concept and practice of *muḥāsaba*, in Book 38 of his *Iḥyāʾ* (iv, 336-61) entitled "On spiritual surveillance (*murāḳaba*) and inward accounting". He takes up and develops a certain number of formulations of al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī, "the man of *muḥāsaba*" (in his *Riʿāya*, ch. 7, 36-43), and of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (in his *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, i, ch. 23, 114-22). It is the concept of *murābaṭa* (a learned doublet of *ribāṭ*, literally, "to mount guard") which is fundamental in al-Ghazālī's exposition, and Book 38 is divided into 6 chapters, corresponding to the six degrees of *murābaṭa* or "measures of vigilance": *mushāraṭa*, which is simply the anticipatory accounting of the soul (*al-muḥāsaba ḳabl al-ʿamal*) made in the morning every day, and which consists of instructing it in the engagements that it is to fulfill, like a trader who specifies to his associate what he is to do and the responsibilities that are incumbent upon him. The second measure of vigilance is *murāḳaba*, spiritual surveillance, intervening notably before action and submitting the soul to three questions, sc. why? how? for whom? (cf. al-Makkī, *Ḳūt*, i, 121, 155). It is an examination of the motives of the action and the soul's hidden intentions, in order to reject everything that would serve to satisfy egoism or any passion and that is not performed with a view to God alone. The question "how"? concerns the action's methods, which ought to conform with precise and detailed divine prescriptions, and not surrender to ignorance and individual opinions. The third measure of vigilance is *muḥāsabat al-nafs baʿd al-ʿamal*, inward accounting after the action. This examination of conscience, which should take place at the end of each day, is aimed at evaluating "gain" or "loss" realised on the spiritual level and which may lead in future life to bliss or misfortune. Spiritual "capital" is constituted by the ritual acts of canonical obligation (*al-farāʾiḍ*), "gain" being supererogatory works (*al-nawāfil*) and virtues (*al-faḍāʾil*), while "loss" is constituted by transgressions (*al-maʿāṣī*). This recapitulatory inventory should thwart the soul's tricks and sift the slightest deeds performed during the day, such as looks, and the smallest fleeting or considered thoughts and even silences. The fourth and fifth measures of vigilance are immediately connected with the accounting of actions and thoughts each day: they are intended to chastise the soul for its inadequacies, *muʿāḳabat al-nafs ʿalā taḳṣīrihā*, so that it does not persevere in them. Practically, the penitence to be inflicted will correspond to the organ or member which has sinned or tried to sin. If the examination of conscience reveals a certain negligence in the pursuit of virtues or in the accomplishment of acts of devotion, one must conduct spiritual struggle, *al-mudjāhada*, in order to impose on oneself further efforts and to multiply pious works. The sixth measure will consist of reprimanding and admonishing the soul constantly, *tawbīkh al-nafs wa-muʿātabatuhā*, for it was created as an "inciter to evil", *ammāratan bi 'l-sūʾ*. Thus it is proper not to leave it a single moment without reproaching it.

The practice of inward accounting is not the act only of beginners in the spiritual way. It is associated with the greatest saints throughout their life. Here we may cite the testimony of Ibn ʿArabī, who confides in ch. 32 of his *Futūḥāt* that his masters were accustomed, after the night prayer, to write down in a notebook all that they had said and all that they had done during the day, and that he himself used to do it for all the thoughts (*khawāṭir*) that had occurred to him. This testimony is taken up by al-Munāwī [*q.v.*] in his commentary *al-Fayḍ al-ḳadīr* on al-Suyūṭī's collection of traditions *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, with reference to *ḥadīth* no. 6468 (v, 67) in which it is stated "The prudent man is he who submits his own soul to judgment and who acts with consideration for what will happen after death".

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(R. Deladrière)

2. As a financial term in the Ottoman empire. In Ottoman official usage, this term referred to financial accounting. The Ottomans' chief financial officer was known as the *defterdār* [*q.v.*]. Eventually, more than one official bore this title, the highest being the "chief" or *bash defterdār*; under him developed a number of subordinate treasurers, starting with one for Anatolia (*Anadolu defterdārī*). In time, the treasurers' staff developed functionally specialised bureaux, most of which performed accounting functions; the term *muḥāsebe* appeared in the name of several of the bureaux. For example, a source of 976/1576 list the *Rūm-eli muḥāsebesi* among offices with ten clerks (*kātib*) each, the *Anadolu muḥāsebesi* among offices with six clerks each (Uzunçarşılı, 336).

The so-called *ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed the Conqueror (1451-81)—actually a compilation including later material (Dilger, 14-36)—implies the existence of well-established accounting procedures by referring to the *defterdārs*' annual presentation of accounts of income and expenditure before the sultan (Meḥmed ʿĀrif, ed., *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, in *TOEM, Suppl.*, 22: *yïlda bir kere rikāb-ï hümayūnuma defterdārlarïm īrād ve maṣrafïm okuyalar*). Distinctive traits of Ottoman accounting practice included records-keeping in a special script (*siyāḳat*) and Persianised language, a formalistic identification of the accounting function with maintenance of registers (*defter*) of stereotyped genres, and the assignment of specific revenues (*īrād*) to cover specific expenses (*maṣraf*), as opposed to the unification of receipts in a central fund against which

expenses in general could be drawn (Fekete, *Siyāqat*; Uzunçarşılı, 370-3; Aktaş and Binark, *al-Arshīf al-ʿUthmānī*, 99-106). This fiscal decentralisation reflects the realities of an incompletely monetised agrarian economy in which many revenues had to be collected in kind and land was the basic resource [see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ].

An undated archival source of *ca.* 1777-97 (TPK, D3208; on dating, see Findley, *Bureaucratic reform*, 363 n. 41) indicates that the *Bāb-ī defterī* then had some thirty bureaux. Except for two or three charged with correspondence and related functions, such as preparing warrants of appointment or decrees, all of these performed accounting functions. Some idea of the offices' functions, and of the scale of their responsibilities, emerges from the following examples.

The Great Daybook Office (*Rüznamče-i evvel ḳalemi, büyük rūznāme ḳalemi*) kept a daily record of treasury operations, in summary, as well as of the operations of the other financial bureaux. Annually or semi-annually, this office drew up a financial summary (*idjmāl*) bearing somewhat the character of a retrospective budget for the empire (TPK, D3208; Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 145-6; d'Ohsson, vii, 264).

The Chief Accountant's Office (*bash muḥāsebedji ḳalemi*) had responsibility for keeping records on all the state's income and expenditure (*djemīʿ-i īrādāt ve muḳāṭāʿāt ve meṣārīfātïn ḳaydlarï*; TPK, D3208), preparing all contracts for government purchases, and authorising all demands for payment from public funds. Clerks selected from the staff of this office were also assigned to serve as accountants in a variety of agencies, including the mint, palace kitchen, naval arsenal, and government powder works (Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 146-8; d'Ohsson, vii, 265).

Certain bureaux had responsibilities pertaining to military corps. The Office of the Comptroller for the Cavalry (*Süwārī muḳābelesi ḳalemi*) oversaw the pay of the six palace cavalry regiments and several other categories of palace servants. The Infantry Comptroller's Bureau (*Piyāde muḳābele ḳalemi*) kept the rolls and controlled payments for Janissaries, armourers, artillery-men, and cannon wagoneers (*piyāde odjaḳlarï olan yeničeri ve djebedji ve topdjï we ʿaraba neferātï*; TPK, D3208). Subordinate to these two offices were secretaries for each of the regiments or services, to perform the detail work of preparing muster rolls and salary vouchers. These secretaries headed offices of their own, most of them located outside the Bāb-ī Defterī but all subject to one of the two comptrollers' offices. In 1815, the number of personnel served by the Cavalry and Infantry Comptrollers' Offices was reportedly 177,000. Of these, 80,000 were Janissaries; their secretary (*Yeni-čeri kātibi*) required a staff of over 100 to service their pay records (Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 149, 155, 273).

The Accountancy for the two Holy Cities (*Ḥaremeyn muḥāsebesi*) kept the records for Mecca and Medina, producing yearly accounts for the *awḳāf* and revenue farms (*muḳāṭaʿāt*) attached to them (TPK, D3208). Its responsibilities more inclusive than its name implies, this office also kept the records on the supervisorships (*tawliya*) of the *awḳāf* supporting all imperial mosques; on the appointments and compensation of mosque functionaries in general (*imām, muʾadhdhin, wāʿiẓ, khaṭīb, ḳāʾim*); on pious foundations at Istanbul and throughout the empire; and on all the life-term tax farms (*mālikāne*) that were located in Rūm-eli and dedicated to the two Holy Cities (Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 150; cf. d'Ohsson, vii, 267).

The *djizye muḥāsebesi* kept the records on the non-Muslim population subject to pay the *djizye* [*q.v.*], prepared the papers (*djizye ewrāḳlarï*) used to collect the tax, and turned them over at the appropriate time each year to the bonded agents (*küfelāʾ*) of the tax farmers responsible for collection (TPK, D3208; Uzunçarşılı, 348-51). In *ca.* 1815, some fifteen million *djizye* forms had to be prepared each year (Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 151).

The functions of the *Anadolu muḥāsebesi*—no longer the accountancy for Anatolia alone—included keeping records on pensions (*waẓīfe*) assigned to worthy individuals out of customs receipts and certain other revenue farms; pensions from certain *awḳāf* were also recorded here (TPK, D3208; Uzunçarşılı, 347, 355-6). Hammer gives the number of pensioners as 60,000 throughout the empire, and says that paying them, by drafts on revenue farms or other means, overwhelmed the office with work (Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 148-9).

By the time Maḥmūd II had organised the Ministry of Financial Affairs (*Umūr-ī māliyye neẓāreti* [see MĀLIYYE]) in 1253/1838, financial practice was beginning to change (Cezar, 235 ff.). Archival documents show that by mid-century, accounting practices and concepts had begun to come under European influence. The growing organisational complexity of the financial agencies, coupled in time with the dispersion of authority among a growing number of agencies, including the Palace Treasury (*khazīne-i khaṣṣa*) and the Public Debt Administration, makes these developments difficult to follow. So does the progressive weakening of the Ottoman economy. Clearly, many of the reforms were unsuccessful or did not go far enough; the struggle to centralise receipts and disbursements in the Ministry of Finance was never decided before the 1908 revolution (Heidborn, ii, 42). *Muḥāsebe* and related terms retained their centrality, however, in the nomenclature of the evolving system, as witnessed, for example, in the European-inspired creation of a *dīwān-ī muḥāsebāt* (*cour des comptes, Rechnungshof*), in 1275/1879 (Heidborn, ii, 108-12).

Bibliography: TPK [Topkapï Sarayï Archives], D3208, draft document of *ca.* 1777-97 on scribal bureaux; Necati Aktaş and İsmet Binark, *al-Arshīf al-ʿUthmānī*: *Fihris shāmil li-wathāʾiḳ al-dawla al-ʿUthmāniyya al-maḥfūẓa bi-Dār al-Wathāʾiḳ al-tābiʿa li-Riʾāsat al-Wuzarāʾ bi-Istānbūl*, ʿAmmān 1406/ 1986; Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı maliyesinde bunalım ve değişim dönemi*, n.p. 1986; K. Dilger, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des osmanischen Hofzeremoniells im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Munich 1967; L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der Türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, 2 vols., Budapest 1955; C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman Empire*: *the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980; J. von Hammer (later Hammer-Purgstall), *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des osmanischen Reichs*, 2 vols., Vienna 1815 (repr. Hildesheim, 1967); A. Heidborn, *Manuel de droit public et administratif de l'Empire ottoman*, 2 vols., Vienna-Leipzig 1908-12; Ziya Karamursal, *Osmanlı malî tarihi hakkında tetkikler*, Ankara 1940, 1989; Meḥmed ʿĀrif, ed., *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, in *TOEM*, *Suppl.*, Istanbul 1330/1912; I. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, vii, Paris 1824; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Maliye teşkilâtı tarihi*, 4 vols., Ankara 1977; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948.

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AL-MUḤĀSIBĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḤĀRITH (d. 243/857), Muslim mystic.

Amongst these, he is the one whose contemplation is the most psychological; it is marked by attachment to moral values, and not by a more or less extreme

theological system. In this sense, L. Massignon has legitimately described his mystical doctrine as "more circumspect" (*Passion*², i, 120). He proceeds from introspection and confines himself to analysing and developing it in its relations with the circumstances of life. It is no doubt this which explains his cognomen of *muḥāsibī*, signifying "he who calculates his actions", in other words, one who practises examination of conscience; many Ṣūfis considered this practice dangerous, in that it tends to make the man the judge of his actions, a role which belongs only to God. Al-Muḥāsibī was furthermore reproached for this practice by Ibn Ḥanbal [*q.v.*]. It will be observed below how he avoids this danger and this criticism. It should also be noted that he does not confine himself to subjective descriptions of states of conscience, but that he examines them with his reason and with a "concern for precise philosophical definitions", as noted by L. Massignon (*Essai*, revised ed., 242); furthermore, he always relies on intellectual meditation on texts of the Ḳurʾān and the prophetic tradition. Included among his works is an epistle concerning the quiddity and meaning of intelligence (*Risālat māhiyyat al-ʿaḳl wa-maʿnāh*). Thus his thought has evolved into a "science of hearts". It is in this sense that he is opposed to the excessively abstract rationalism of the Muʿtazilīs, affirming the uncreated simplicity of the divine Word while teaching that the letters of the Ḳurʾān are created.

Born in Baṣra, al-Muḥāsibī came at a very early stage to Baghdād, where he spent the greater part of his life and where he died. Nothing is known of his life other than that he devoted it to teaching. But from 232/846 onward, he was obliged to abandon his teaching, confronted by the blind reaction of the Sunnīs who did not understand his use of dialectic in opposing the Muʿtazila. It was at this point that Ibn Ḥanbal began to attack him.

Among his numerous works, listed by L. Massignon in his *Essai* (243-4), there are two which have been edited and which deserve particular attention.

"The book of observance of the rights of God" (*K. al-Riʿāya li-ḥuḳūḳ Allāh*) has been edited by Margaret Smith (London 1941) who writes in her introduction that this book "is his masterpiece, by far the greatest, as it is the longest and most comprehensive of his writings. It is written in the form of counsels, given to a disciple in reply to his questions, to enable believers to find the way of life in which they could render to God the service which is his due" (pp. xvi-xvii). Al-Muḥāsibī reveals what the soul of a believer should be, to conform with what God wills it to be. It will be noted in particular that he speaks of pious fear (*taḳwā*) and of repentance (*tawba*). He examines, for example, fear at the level of the members of the body, in order to avoid the offences which they are capable of committing, and fear at the level of the conscience (*fi 'l-ḍamīr*), and he shows that fear engenders *waraʿ*, which consists in avoiding all that is displeasing to God. The study of the "repentant ones" (*al-tawwābūn*) is very detailed. In this context, al-Muḥāsibī distinguishes three degrees in human conduct. First there is the young man who has been brought up well, who inevitably makes some mistakes, but who returns at once to the purity of his heart which God protects because He loves him, since the one who loves (*al-ḥabīb*) is unwilling to lose the one whom he loves (*al-maḥbūb*). Then there is the case of the man who, from his ignorance, returns to God. God gives him the resolution (*al-ʿazm*)to observe His Commandments in the future. But the soul which tends towards evil continues in its efforts. Then God helps the man who persists in his wrong-doing (*al-muṣirr fī dhanbih*); the awareness that he has of the promises of Paradise and the threat of Hell is insufficient to detach him from worldly pleasures. He is in need of something "which unties in his heart the knots of persistence in evil, in such a way that he may return to his Lord in repentance of his offence". This result is to be achieved by fear (*khawf*) and by hope (*radjā*), which are evidently to be understood here as gifts and blessings of God.

Al-Muḥāsibī wrote a particularly fine book, the *Kitāb al-Tawahhum*, which André Roman has translated and which he presents as a "vision of the last things". It could be said that it is a *Dies Irae* which ends up in an *In Paradisum*.

In his *Essai*, Massignon has translated or summarised several passages drawn from manuscripts of al-Muḥāsibī. In a kind of autobiography, al-Muḥāsibī shows himself troubled by the divisions which rend the Muslim community. He insists that salvation can only be attained through pious fear, the observation of canonical obligations and *waraʿ*: abstaining from that which God forbids, acting in all things only for God and taking the Prophet as a model. L. Massignon also quotes the opening passage of *al-Faṣl fi 'l-maḥabba*, on Love, where al-Muḥāsibī shows that all initiative comes from God through a kind of anticipatory grace, and this constitutes a response to the criticisms applied to examination of conscience. It is not a man who judges himself but it is God who, in His love, enlightens the hearts of those who love Him and enables them to see their faults and their omissions.

Comprehension of the thought of al-Muḥāsibī is difficult if taken as a whole. J. van Ess has studied the intellectual climate in which al-Muḥāsibī lived, revealing in particular his relations with *kalām*. Here there is an important point of view which should serve as a starting-point in any effort to evaluate what is represented by the mystical doctrine of al-Muḥāsibī.

He wielded an immense influence, which Massignon has analysed in detail in his *Essai* (254). Despite persistent attacks, his "powerful personality" ensured the survival of his prestige. Al-Sarī al-Saḳaṭī, the maternal uncle of Djunayd, was his pupil, and, through him, his teaching affected the nephew. The great mystic al-Ghazālī willingly acknowledged the authority of al-Muḥāsibī.

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(R. ARNALDEZ)

MUḤAṢṢIL (A.), a term used under the Anatolian Saldjūḳs and Ottomans for various types of revenue collectors (Pakalın, *OTD*, ii, 569; Uzunçarşılı, *passim*). It acquired special significance amid extensive Ottoman financial reforms of 1838-9. Bidding for European support against Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha of Egypt, the Ottomans began adopting classical liberal doctrine, starting with free trade in the Anglo-Ottoman commercial treaty of Balta Liman (1838; Hurewitz, i, 265-7), and then egalitarianism

with the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of Gül-khāne (Ramaḍān 1255/November 1839; *Düstūr*, i, 4-7; Hurewitz, i, 269-71). In didactic terms reflecting the unfamiliarity of the ideas articulated, the *khaṭṭ* proclaimed security of life, honour and property for all Ottoman subjects, as well as regular systems for military conscription and tax assessment. The text further denounced tax-farming (*iltizām* [*q.v.*]) as a "harmful practice ... which never yielded any fruitful results" (*ālāt-i taḥrī biyyeden olub hič bir vaḳitde themere-i nāfiʿasî görülmeyen iltizāmāt uṣūl-i muḍirrasî*; Cezar, 282 n. 1; *Düstūr*, i, 5).

Regularising taxation and eliminating tax-farming implied an opportunity to centralise receipts and disbursements in the treasury and to minimise the loss—inevitable under tax-farming—between tax-payer payments and actual government receipts. Realising this benefit required appointing officials as tax collectors (*muḥaṣṣil-i emwāl, muḥaṣṣil*). The collectors would have to be paid salaries, unlike the tax-farmers. Indeed, to carry through fiscal centralisation, the salaries would have to be assigned to government employees in general (Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, v, 121, 132-3, 180-1), to replace the hodgepodge of revenue collection rights that had provided many of them with compensation under the previous system of fiscal decentralisation (Findley, *Ottoman civil officialdom*, 80-5). The *muḥaṣṣils*' role in tax reform was pivotal, in that the salary system could not be financed without increasing the central government's revenue receipts. Centralisation would prove impossible, however, if the salary system did not function properly to project officials who were now to lose their rights to the various exactions off which they had historically lived. A key problem of the fiscal reform was, then, that each of these two essential components—salaries and centralisation—was a prerequisite for the success of the other.

The reforms proclaimed in the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of Gülkhāne were to be introduced on a pilot basis in specific provinces and later extended to others. Appointed basically to the various *ḳaḍās* in those provinces, the *muḥaṣṣils* were responsible, not only for tax collection, but for introducing the *Tanẓīmāt* in all aspects of financial administration. They were to evaluate the existing tax-burden of their districts, assess the cash value of revenues previously collected in kind, and take charge of the exploitation of all types of revenue sources, replacing historical anomalies and exemptions with a consolidated tax (*virgü/vergi*) assessed on real estate and "profits" (*emlāk ve temettüʿ*; Cezar, 283-4). Each *muḥaṣṣil* was to have a small clerical staff selected from the bureaux of the Finance Ministry and was to work together with local administrative and police officials. In addition, a local assembly (*muḥaṣṣillik medjlisi*) was to bring together certain other local officials, local notables, and the religious and communal leaders of the non-Muslim communities with the *muḥaṣṣil* and his clerks to decide on the apportionment and collection of taxes and other matters. These assemblies mark the first step toward the local councils (*memleket medjlisi*) which later became characteristic adjuncts of Ottoman administration (Ortaylı, 13-29; Kaynar, 224-83).

Evaluated at just under 130 million *ḳurush* for the financial year 1256/1840-1, the revenues which the *muḥaṣṣils* were supposed to collect became—at least nominally—the state's largest single revenue item (Cezar, 292-301). However, the new system proved a failure. Collection rates in different districts proved inconsistent. The local councils became hotbeds of contention and abused their authority. Local opposition led to at least one *muḥaṣṣil*'s death. As a result, an important part of the revenues for 1839-40 could not be collected. The leading proponent of the reforms, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*] fell from the grand vizierate in Ṣafer 1257/March 1841; conservative interests assumed power; the *muḥaṣṣils* were abolished; and tax-farming was restored (Luṭfī, vii, 35-36; Ortaylı, 29). While the salary system survived to lead a troubled existence, the failure of fiscal centralisation proved quick and final, helping—together with free trade—to set off the financial decline that led to bankruptcy and foreign financial control [see MĀLIYYE].

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(C.V. FINDLEY)

AL-MUḤASSIN B. ʿALĪ (now pronounced MUḤSIN), according to Shīʿī tradition, the truth of which is challenged by the Sunnīs, the third son of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, a still-born child whose mother gave birth to him prematurely during the search of the house ordered by the new caliph Abū Bakr, and carried out by ʿUmar and Ḳunfudh b. ʿUmayr, who ill-treated her.

In the 4th/10th century a *maḳām* was built in his honour at Aleppo. The Mukhammisa [*q.v.*] Shīʿīs (who include the Nuṣayrīs) have a particular devotion to al-Muḥassin. Under their influence the Persian *taʿziyas* representing the Last Judgment and the resurrection of the ʿAlid martyrs end with the appearance of al-Muḥassin covered with blood in the arms of the Prophet; his grandfather raises him towards the heavens to call down divine justice.

Among the extremist Shīʿīs, the triad al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and al-Muḥassin in the final cycle, are said to have appeared before in the Mosaic cycle as the three sons of Hārūn, sc. Shabbar, Shubbayr and Mushabbir.

This praenomen, now without *tashdīd*, is particularly common in the feminine form Muḥsina and in the theophoric form ʿAbd al-Muḥsin (e.g. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Saʿdūn, ʿIrāḳī politician and Prime Minister in the later 1920s).

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MUḤDATHŪN [see Suppl.].

MUḤIBB AḤMED "DIRANAS", Turkish poet and dramatist, born in Sinope in 1909 and died in Ankara in 1980. He worked for a number of newspapers and state institutions. His first poem was published in a magazine in 1926, and several magazines published his poems throughout the years. He wrote three plays, *Gölgeler, O böyle istemezdi* and *Çıkmaz*, in which he deals with the conflict between reality and fantasy, past and present, fate and willpower, life and death.

He is one of the important poets of modern Turkish poetry, using *hece* metre and daily language and attempting to create a new language and structure for Turkish poetry; for him, sound, harmony and form are important. But also he talks about what he observes and then probes beyond the obvious; and influenced by Baudelaireian symbolism, he portrays the condition of the individual in relation to nature and the universe, showing the infinity of human emotions.

Most of his poems are romantic, but he has written many that are realistic and national and local in treatment. Yet the national and local characteristics in his poems are not there for ideological reasons, since he uses them in a highly personal and aesthetic manner with the aim of creating something beautiful. His collected poems appeared as *Şiirler* (1974), and his translation of some of Tewfīḳ Fikret's [*q.v.*] poems into contemporary Turkish as *Kırıksaz* (1975).

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(NÜKET ESEN)

MUḤIBB AL-DĪN [see AL-ṬABARĪ].

MUḤIBB AL-DĪN AL-KHAṬĪB [see Suppl.].

MUḤIBBĪ [see SÜLEYMĀN I].

AL-MUḤIBBĪ, a family of scholars and jurists in Damascus of the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, of which three members distinguished themselves in literature:

1. MUḤIBB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌL Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Dāwūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ b. Muḥibb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Taḳī al-Dīn al-ʿUlwānī al-Ḥamawī al-Dimashḳī al-Ḥanafī, born in the middle of Ramaḍān 949/Dec. 23, 1542 in Ḥamāt, studied there, in Ḥalab and Ḥims, and after a journey to Istanbul obtained a post as teacher in the Madrasa al-Ḳuḍāʿiyya in Damascus. In 978/1571 he accompanied the *shaykh al-islām* and chief *ḳāḍī* Čīwī-zāde [*q.v.*] to Cairo, was for a period a *ḳāḍī* there and after a second journey to Istanbul was appointed *ḳāḍī* in Ḥimṣ, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and several other towns of northern Syria. In 993/1585 the post of a chief *nāʾib* (*al-niyāba al-kubrā*) was given to him; at the same time he was military judge, judge of the Syrian caravan, taught in several *madrasas* and gave *fatwās* at the Sultan's request. He died on 23 Shawwāl 1016/18 February 1608. Of his numerous writings only three have survived: (1) his commentary written in 969/1561 (according to al-Muḥibbī, iii, 322, on the other hand, prepared at the age of 16) on Muḥammad b. al-Shiḥna's (d. 815/1412) *Urdjūza al-bayāniyya (Manẓūma fi 'l-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān)* in the Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, nos. 7256-7 and Gotha, Pertsch, no. 2789 mss.; (2) his *Travels, al-Riḥla* or *Ḥādī 'l-aẓʿān al-Nadjiyya ilā 'l-diyār al-Miṣriyya*, in the Paris cat., de Slane, no. 2293; Cairo, *Fihrist*, vii, 646; Istanbul, ʿĀṭif Efendi, no. 2030 (see Rescher, in *MFOB*, v, 496) mss., which he wrote when *ḳāḍī* in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān; and (3) his commentary written in 1011/1602 on the authoritative verses in al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* entitled *Tanzīl al-āyāt*, printed Būlāḳ 1281, Cairo 1307-8, and on the margin of the *Kashshāf*, Cairo 1318.

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, ii, 322-31; Wüstenfeld, *Die Gelehrtenfamilie Muḥibbī in Damaskus*, in *Abh. G.W. Gött.*, Hist.-Phil. Cl., xxx/3 (1884), 5-9.

2. His grandson FAḌL ALLĀH b. Muḥibb Allāh b. Muḥibb al-Dīn was born on 17 Muḥarram 1031/2 December 1621 in Damascus, at an early age showed great linguistic ability, received in 1048/1638 from Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651) (see Brockelmann, II², 376, S II, 402) the *idjāza* for *ḥadīth*, and, after failing to secure something in Ḥalab through the *shaykh al-islām* Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā, was given by his father the latter's post at the Darwīshiyya. In 1051/1641 he accompanied Muḥammad ʿIṣmatī to Istanbul, was appointed to the Madrasa Arbaʿīn there, but dismissed a year later, when he returned home. In 1059/1649 he accompanied the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Bursawī to Egypt and became his deputy. After a quarrel with him, he resumed his studies in al-Azhar and came home the next year. In 1073/1662 he again went to Istanbul, and four years later was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Beirut but returned to Damascus in 1079, where he died on 23 Djumādā II 1082/27 October 1671. While his own *Dīwān* and his description of his journeys to Istanbul have not been preserved, his editions of the poems of his friend Mandjaḳ Pasha (d. 1080/1669 in Damascus) are still in existence. He first of all arranged them chronologically, beginning with a poem on Sultan Ibrāhīm I of the year 1055/1645 (see Brockelmann, II², 356-7, S II, 386), then alphabetically, including poems of a later period down to 1071/1660; this edition was printed at Damascus in 1301. In 1078/1667 he edited the biographical work of al-Ḥasan al-Būrīnī (d. 1024/1615), *Tarādjim al-aʿyān min abnāʾ al-zamān*, and published it with a supplement (see Brockelmann, II², 374-5, S II, 401).

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *op. cit.*, iii, 277-86; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 15-19.

3. His son MUḤAMMAD AL-AMĪN b. Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh b. Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī, born in 1061/1651 in Damascus, went with his father in 1077/1666 to Beirut but returned home several times from there. A friend of his father's, Muḥammad b. Luṭf Allāh b. Bayrām al-ʿIzzatī, who had been *ḳāḍī* in Damascus in 1065/1655 and was military judge in Anatolia in 1078/1668, provided him with funds to study in Bursa. He returned home after a brief stay there on 8 Ṣafar 1086/4 May 1675, in company with the *muftī* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm. Al-ʿIzzatī had in the meanwhile been appointed military judge in Edirne and was able to procure him a post there. But his patron fell ill soon afterwards and had to resign. Muḥammad accompanied him to Istanbul and looked after him till his death on 10 Shawwāl 1092/24 October 1681. He then returned to Damascus and began to write. When in 1101/1690 he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, he was appointed deputy *ḳāḍī* and then a teacher in the Amīniyya in Damascus. He died there on 18 Djumādā I 1111/11 November 1699.

His principal work is a collection of 1,289 biographies of scholars, poets, etc. of his time and the period immediately preceding it, arranged in alphabetical order and entitled *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, the first fair copy of which he finished in 1096/1685 (printed Cairo 1284, 4 vols., repr. Beirut, Dār Ṣādir). The draft of a number of biographies from the Ḥidjāz and Yemen, which is

preserved in the Brill-Houtsma ms., no. 112, appears to be part of the preliminary work on this collection; the draft of a synopsis is in Berlin (Ahlwardt, no. 9895). A synopsis was prepared by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ḥadjdj al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī (d. 1191/1777; Murādī, iii, 215); ms. in Tübingen (Seybold, no. 9). A second great biographical work on celebrities of all ages entitled *al-Iʿlām* was to give under each letter *al-aʿlām wa 'l-nisab wa 'l-kunā wa 'l-abnāʾ wa 'l-nisāʾ wa 'l-ummahāt* separately. In the draft in Leipzig (Vollers, no. 683) giving the letter *mīm*, the sources, which from the articles are taken usually word-for-word, are generally quoted. He also wrote a continuation of al-Khafādjī's *Rayḥānat al-alibbāʾ* entitled *Nafḥat al-Rayḥāna wa-rashḥat ṭilāʾ al-ḥāna*, which survives; see Brockelmann, II², 377-9, S II, 403-4; an anonymous selection from it called *Mukhtārāt* is in Cairo, *Fihrist*², iii, 342. A supplement (*dhayl*) to it was written by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Suʾālātī in 1111/1699; mss. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, no. 7422; Copenhagen, Mehren, no. 170; St. Petersburg, As. Mus., no. 251; B.L., Or. 6516 (*Descript. list*, no. 57); Yale-Landberg, no. 179; Damascus, Zayyāt, no. 78, 64. A companion work of the middle of the 11th/17th century is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shāshū's *Tarādjim baʿḍ al-aʿyān min ahl Dimashḳ min ʿulamāʾihā wa-udabāʾihā*, printed Beirut 1886. His *Dīwān*, mainly *ḳaṣīdas* on friends and patrons which are as a rule also included in his *Khulāṣa*, is preserved in the autograph copy in the library of Aḥmad Taymūr in Cairo; see *MMIA*, iii, 342, and the Berlin ms., Ahlwardt, no. 8007; cf. no. 8008; Flügel, *ZDMG*, ix, 224. In the *Urdjūza* entitled *Barāḥat al-arwāḥ djālibat al-surūr wa 'l-afrāḥ*, Berlin, no. 8162, he collected sayings and proverbs. Al-Thaʿālibī's *Kitāb Thimār al-ḳulūb fi 'l-muḍāf wa 'l-mansūb* was arranged alphabetically by him as *Mā yuʿawwalu ʿalayhi fi 'l-muḍāf wa 'l-muḍāf ilayhi*, Istanbul mss., Ṭop Ḳapî, 2455; ʿĀṭif Efendi, no. 2247 (see *RSO*, iv, 727); Aya Sofya, no. 4136 (*MS*, vii, 132); Cairo, *Fihrist*², iii, 285. The monograph on grammar *Djany al-djannatayn fī nawʿay 'l-muthannayayn* is preserved in a ms. belonging to A. Taymūr Pasha (*MMIA*, iii, 340, iv, 147) and printed Damascus 1348. The lexicological work *Sawāʾ al-sabīl fī-mā fi 'l-lugha al-ʿarabiyya min al-dakhīl* is preserved in a Damascus ms.; see *MMIA*, iii, 340.

Bibliography: Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, iv, 86-91; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, no. 590; idem, *Die Gelehrtenfamilie Muḥibbī*, 19-28.

(C. Brockelmann)

AL-MUḤILLŪN (A., from the form IV verb *aḥalla*), literally, "those who make lawful [what is unlawful]", an expression used in early Islamic historical texts to denote those who had shed the blood of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]; it was accordingly especially used by those seeking vengeance against the Umayyads for the clash at Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*] and by the partisans of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, the proto-Shīʿa. Above all, it was used by al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*] at the time of his revolt in Kūfa (66-7/685-7), including by al-Mukhtār himself when he extracted allegiance (*bayʿa*) from his supporters on the basis of "the book of God and the Sunna of His Prophet, exacting vengeance for the blood of the members of the House [of the Prophet], combatting the *muḥillīn* ..." (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 633; cf. also ii, 598-9, 691).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

MÜHIMME DEFTERLERI (T.), a term of Ottoman Turkish administration. This series of "Registers of Important Affairs" is for the most part kept in the Başbakanlık Arşivi-Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul. Two hundred and sixty-three registers are catalogued as Mühimme Defterleri (MD), but in addition, we find registers and fragments of registers in other series which help fill some of the gaps in the MD series. On the other hand, thirteen registers catalogued as MDs are really appointment registers (*ruûs defterleri*). Two registers in the Kâmil Kepeci section are also MDs, and two others have been located in the Topkapı Sarayı, one in the archives (E 12321) and one in the library (Koğuşlar, 888). The two Topkapı registers constitute the oldest in the series, pertaining to 1544/45 and 1552 respectively. The series was continued until 1905, but the 18th- and 19th-century volumes are reputed to be of limited interest and have rarely been used. Certain registers survive only as fragments; these have been catalogued under the heading Mühimme Zeyli.

From 1059/1649 onward a special series, known as the Şikâyet Defteri was instituted, which in 1155/1742 was split up into a number of different series, each bearing the name of the province with which it was concerned. It is often difficult to separate MDs from Şikâyet Defterleri, since only a few items are unambiguously characterised as one or the other. However, Şikâyet Defterleri rarely if ever contain entries concerning warfare or the pilgrimage to Mecca, while commands relating to penalties and amnesties were also recorded almost exclusively in the MDs. Even though both MDs and Şikâyet Defterleri were prepared in the chancery known as the Beylikçi Kalemi, affairs recorded in the MDs are of a kind demanding decisions on a fairly high level, while Şikâyet Defterleri are concerned with matters of less far-reaching significance. But since the relevant criteria are quite vague, registers are easily misclassified. Thus the register catalogued as MD 92 is in reality a Şikâyet Defteri.

MDs contain copies of sultans' rescripts, for the most part addressed to governors and *ḳāḍīs*, but also to foreign rulers. However, not all *fermāns* found in the foreign archives have been located in the MDs. This may be due to the fact that, because of physical loss and mistaken classification, there are significant lacunae in the MDs. *Fermāns* addressed to foreign ambassadors, consuls and individual merchants are recorded in a separate series (Ecnebi Defterleri), which also has been but partially preserved. From 1111/1699 letters to foreign rulers were kept together as a special series: "*Nāme-i Humāyūn ile ṣūret-i ʿahd ve rikāb defteri*". Losses seem to have occurred early, since Grand Viziers on campaign carried a number of registers with them. An entry dated 1151/1738-9 specifies that registers from the last thirty years were to be taken along on a Rumelian campaign. The oldest were to be left in Edirne, while the registers dating from the "middle" decade were to be kept in Nish. Probably in earlier campaigns, registers had been carried all the way to the front, since the Grand Vizier on campaign (and his representative the *Ḳāʾimmaḳām* who remained in the capital) could issue commands in the sultan's name, and his chancery probably needed the older registers for purposes of reference; see G. Majer (ed.), "*Das osmanische Registerbuch der Beschwerden*" (*Şikâyet Defteri*) *vom Jahre 1675*, i, Vienna 1984, 15-21.

It is not clear at which stage the *fermāns* were entered into the MDs, whether the entries constitute drafts which had not yet reached their final stage of elaboration or whether they are abridged copies of texts which already had been expedited. Practice differed from one instance to the next: some entries are clearly drafts, and show traces of reworking and editing. Moreover, MD 14 and MD 70-5 probably

consist of loose papers on which drafts had been written, and which were later bound together, an assumption confirmed by the often very careless handwriting. Corrections were later added by the *re'īs ül-küttāb* [*q.v.*] and in exceptional cases by the *nis͟hānd͟jī* [*q.v.*]. Drafts were sometimes reused, particularly in routine affairs (Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Mühimme defterlerindeki muâmele kayıdları üzerinde*, in *Tarih Boyunca Paleografya ve Diplomatik Semineri*, Istanbul 1988, 104-6).

In MD entries, the addressee's honorific titles were usually left out or much abridged. Following the addressee's name or function, we find the formulas *nāme yazīla ki* or *ḥüküm ki*. The text then gives an account of the events which led to the promulgation of the *fermān*, including, where applicable, queries and complaints from people who had been involved in the events, often but not necessarily officials. This section, which contains most of the evidence of interest to the historian, ends with the formula *buyurdum ki*, which introduces the measures to be taken. The latter are often comparatively routine; thus a *ḳāḍī* may be instructed to deal with a given case, if the latter is not covered by the statute of limitations. We also find the admonition to proceed with fairness and moderation and avoid molestation of the innocent. Two stages can sometimes be discerned in the decision-making process; after instructions had been given by the sultan or Grand Vizier, discussion in the *Dīwān* determined the exact words to be used in the *fermān*, which were then copied out by the scribes. *Fermāns* frequently end with a formula of corroboration and promulgation, which the MDs often record in abridged form.

The dating of *fermāns* recorded in the MDs poses serious problems, since the texts do not indicate at which stage in the often lengthy process of drafting a date was affixed. Not all *fermāns* are dated, and while most registers follow a more or less chronological sequence, this is not always true because many fragments have been badly misbound. Dates may occur as the heading of an entry and (rarely the 10th/16th century is concerned) as the final section of the text itself. It has been suggested that dates used as headings refer to the times at which the *fermāns* were entered into the MD, shortly after they had been drafted in the *Dīwān*. But in many cases there are inconsistencies within the dates difficult to explain if the *fermān* was entered into the register shortly after its composition. Certain notes indicate that *fermāns* were sometimes entered into the registers a long time after they had been completed (Kütükoğlu, *op. cit.*, 101-2). In certain instances, there is a record of the time at which a *fermān* was dispatched. Where the 10th/16th century is concerned, the latter can often be verified by checking the *ulaḳ ḥüküms*. Listed separately at the end of the register, the latter record the messengers sent to different localities within the Empire. (As a result of these problems, catalogues sometimes give misleading dates; cf. Geza David, *The Mühimme Defteri as a source for Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry in the 16th century* (unpubl. paper) for a new chronology of the 10th/16th century registers.)

Scribes employed in the writing of MDs were known as *mühimme-nüwīs* and subject to special rules so as to ensure that the *fermāns* they wrote out remained secret. Top secret matters were written by the head of the *beylikči ḳalemi* in person, or under his immediate supervision. Less important matters were dealt with under the supervision of the *kīsedār*. When multiple copies were needed for despatching to a large number of governors or *ḳāḍīs*, the text was dictated to a group of scribes. Until 1776 the *Dīwān-i Hümāyūn* chancery was located in a single chamber. But in 1776, in order to ensure secrecy, the different subsections were housed in separate rooms; the *mühimme-nüwīs* were also assigned a chamber of their own.

Due to the wide range of their contents, the MDs have been used for studies of political and diplomatic history, social and economic life, as well as provincial administration. Ottoman policies in the Habsburg, Polish and Persian border areas can be reconstructed on the basis of this evidence. The same thing applies to the relations of the Ottoman central administration with the states bordering the Red Sea. There has been some disagreement among specialists whether we can assume the existence of a coherent Ottoman policy toward the states of the northern steppes; this discussion is based largely upon an interpretation of *fermāns* recorded in the MDs. Work on the Ottoman Empire's "Northern" and "Southern" policies has been hampered by the fact that minor Indian principalities, local Yemeni rulers, Ethiopians, and Crimean or Nogay Tatars have not left extensive archives, so that scholars have had to depend almost exclusively on Ottoman records (and in the case of the Indian Ocean region, on Portuguese materials). When dealing with political relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburgs, Iran, Poland and Venice, chronicles and archival documents from the relevant countries are available to supplement information contained in the MDs. In the realm of social and economic history, *fermāns* contained in the MDs provide information on the history of the pilgrimage to Mecca (although documents of this kind are more abundant in the 10th/16th century than in later periods). There is also a large body of information available on the D͟jelālī rebellions [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries, and on the revolts of impoverished and frustrated *medrese* students which accompanied them. Repression against the Anatolian Ḳïzïlbas͟h as potential allies of the S͟hāh of Persia is also amply documented. On internal trade and craft production, evidence is less systematic, since disputes concerning such matters were generally resolved in the local *ḳāḍīs'* courts. But then those disputes important enough to be submitted to the sultan's *Dīwān* are often most instructive, even though their context is difficult to reconstruct. With respect to foreign trade, evidence in the MDs is particularly concerned with the enforcement of export prohibitions; these encompassed grain, cotton, certain types of leather and a multitude of other goods. The relevant *fermāns* can serve as economic indicators, but also reflect the twists and turns of official policy.

Relations between the Ottoman central administration and the provinces are extensively documented in the MDs. Conflicts over taxation, recruitment of auxiliaries for campaigns, repression of robbers, negotiation strategies on the part of provincial notables and official attempts to legitimise the Sultan's rule have been studied, both by historians whose aim it is to show the integrative policies pursued by the centre and by those whose interest is focussed upon autonomous provincial life. Special MDs dealing with preparation for war have been used for the study of logistics. Thus the MDs with some justification are regarded as one of the most important series in the Ottoman archives.

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al-**MUḤĪṬ** [see al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ].

MUHR (p., Sanskrit *mudrā*) seal, signet or signet-ring, the equivalent of Arabic *k̲h̲ātam* [*q.v.* for the use of seals in the Arab and Iranian worlds]. *Muhr* (Turkish *mühür*, popularly *möhür*, also Arabicised to give barbarous derivatives like *tamhīr* "act of sealing" and *mamhūr* (synonym of *mühürlü*) "sealed, hidden") was used by the Persians and Turks alongside or instead of *k̲h̲ātam* to express ideas also taken directly from the Arabs, as in the phrase *muhr-i Sulaymān* or *muhr-i D̲j̲am* "Solomon's seal" (also for the name of the plant) or *muhr-i nubuwwat* "seal of prophecy", the mark on Muḥammad's back.

In Firdawsī's *S̲h̲āh-nāma*, the seal (*muhr*, with its synonym of *nigīn* or ring, sometimes with the two together, *muhr-i nigīn*, ed. J. Mohl, vi, 51, v. 557) is an attribute of sovereignty, like the crown and throne, and thus may be delegated to governors. There is also a reference there to seals of amber (i, 545, v. 692), which actually existed (cf. J.T. Reinaud, *Monuments arabes, persans et turcs du cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*, Paris 1828, i, 129), and which were sometimes steeped in Chinese musk (vi, 351, v. 2288).

1. In Ottoman Turkey.

In Turkey the seal was again the emblem of power. The imperial seal (*mühr-i hümayūn*) was handed to the grand vizier, hence also called *ṣāḥib-i mühr* [cf. ṣadr aᶜẓam], with great solemnity (cf. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1788-1824, vii, 120), and Naᶜīmā (*Taʾrīk̲h̲*, iv, 430) in speaking of ambition to become grand vizier uses the phrase *mühür arzūsu* ("desire for the seal").

We may mention here that according to d'Ohsson (*ibid.*), the sultan had four seals with a *tug̲h̲ra*, set in rings; one was square and remained in his possession; he entrusted the others, which were round, to the Grand Mistress or Lady Treasurer of the Harem (*k̲h̲azna-dār*) and to the *k̲h̲āṣṣ oda bas̲h̲ï*, a white eunuch who at one time held the office of first chamberlain.

The seal was changed at each accession of a new monarch (cf. Naᶜīmā, i, 117) as was the *tug̲h̲ra* itself. Ewliyā Čelebi's statement, which implies the contrary, is therefore rather strange (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vii, 300, l. 4 from below). In Persia, the seal was retained but the name was changed [see k̲h̲ātam].

The grand vizier produced the imperial seal on the *dīwān* days for the *čawus̲h̲ bas̲h̲ï* to seal the bag (*kise*) for the registers of the *rūznāma* and the archives of the Finance Department or *māliyye defterk̲h̲ānesi*, the Treasury (*k̲h̲azīne*) and the general Archives (*defterk̲h̲āne*) (*MTM*, i, 499). The grand vizier also had, like all the viziers or governors of provinces, two other seals, one, a large one, impressed at the top of *buyuruldu* or "ordinances", and the other, a small and modest one, placed at the foot of letters from the vizier, including official ones (cf. Aḥmed Rāsim, *ᶜOt̲h̲mānli taʾrīk̲h̲i*, iii, 1514).

The use of seals in Turkey (we know very little of those of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs (cf. Reinaud, *op. cit.*, i, 121 n.) was exceedingly widespread. They were used for impressions in wax (*mühür mumu*) and for stamping in a particular kind of ink to which saliva was added, as in Persia (cf. Le Père Raphaël du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1890, 129). In more modern times, the seal was carried in the purse (cf. a verse by Meḥmed ᶜĀkif [*q.v.*] in his poem *Sayfī Baba*). It is only in the early 20th century that under the influence of the West, the *mühür* has been displaced by the signature, receiving its *coup de grâce* with the adoption of the Roman alphabet in 1928 and of rubber seals.

The industry of seal-engraving has thus been gradually disappearing. It had at one time reached a high degree of perfection and the artists used to sign their work. These signatures were usually very brief, Mit̲h̲li, Sāᶜī, Aḥmed, etc. They were written in characters so minute that they could only be distinguished with a lens and only when very clearly engraved.

Ewliyā Čelebi gives the following information about the seal engravers of Istanbul (i, 575). He distinguishes:

1. Engravers on stone, *ḥakkākān*, 105 workmen in 30 shops. They engraved on stones such as agate, garnet, turquoise and jasper. Their patron saint or *pīr* was ᶜAbd Allāh Yamanī, a disciple of Uways al-Ḳaranī [*q.v.*] who is buried in Taᶜizz.

2. The engravers of *mühür*, *mühürkenān* who worked especially for the viziers, 80 workmen in 50 shops. Their *pīr* was the caliph ᶜUt̲h̲mān. In the reign of Murād IV, the most noted were Maḥmūd Čelebi, Riḍā Čelebi and Ferīd Čelebi, who charged from 100 to 500 piastres for their work.

3. The engravers of silver seals and talismans, *mühürkenān-ī sīm ü heyākil*, 40 workmen in 15 shops. *Pīr*: ᶜUkkās̲h̲a who is buried near Marᶜas̲h̲, who, having seen on the Prophet's back the *mühr-i nübüwwet* (see above), began to engrave talismanic formulae (two of these are quoted). These workmen "cannot engrave Yemen agate". They were established in the area called *Seyisk̲h̲āneler*.

One may mention the custom of making partisans, whose loyalty one wished to be sure of, stamp their seals on a Ḳurʾān (*Ḳurʾān mühürletmek*); see in the Turkish newspapers of 8 June 1925, statements by a rebel Kurd.

The word *memhūr* in the old language of the Janissaries meant vouchers for their pay (d'Ohsson, vii, 337).

In figurative language, Persian and Turkish uses the expression "to break the seal", *muhr bardas͟htan, mühür almak* (or *bozmak̲, ačmak̲, götürmek*), for "to deflower a virgin" [see further TAMG͟HA].

The *muhrdār*, Turk. *mühürdār* [see K͟HĀTAM], keeper of the seals or better "private secretary" (see below), was therefore a very important personage. Mīr ᶜAlī S͟hīr Nawāʾi [*q.v.*] was the *muhrdār* of Ḥusayn Baykarā [*q.v.*] before becoming *dīwān begi* and first minister (cf. Belin, *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir ᶜAli-Chir-Nevâi*, in *JA*, xvii [1861], 13; de Sacy, in *Notices et extraits*, 261, 282). He was succeeded in these offices by another poet, Marwārīdī (*ibid.*). On the *muhrdār* in Persia, cf. du Mans, 21. In Central Asia, the title of *muhrdār* seems to have replaced that of *tamg͟hači* which occurs as early as the Ork͟hon inscriptions.

In Turkey, each vizier had his *mühürdār* (Aḥmed Rāsim, *op. cit.*, i, 455). Cf. the account of the career of a *mühürdār* in *Sid͟jill-i ᶜot͟hmānī*, ii, 31 below (Behd͟jet Pas͟ha, the same as is mentioned in the Memoirs of Saᶜīd Pas͟ha, i, 4).

The *rūznāmed͟ji* had also their own *mühürdārs* (J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, 136). At Ḳāḍī Köy there exists a quarter called Mühürdār. For the work bearing the title *Mühürdār taʾrīk͟hi*, cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 216 ff. Finally, in the quarters of the *Ag͟ha* of the Janissaries in the palace there is mentioned at the beginning of the 19th century a *mühürdār odasï* (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, 391-2).

In the 19th century, under the viceroys of Egypt, the *mühürdār* was a "private secretary" of the Khedive. The title of *mühürdār* was abolished in 1884 but the office remained under the monarchy. His salary was the same as that of the chief of the cabinet (cf. *ibid.*, 92, 476).

Bibliography: See that to K͟HĀTAM, to which should be added Babinger, *Das Archiv des Bosniaken Osman Pacha*, Berlin 1931, 23 and n. 5, where reference is made to a little-known article by Riza Efendi Mudezirovic. Cf. also von Hammer, *Histoire*, xii, 425, 539, xvi. 2; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, index s.vv. *mühr-i hümâyun, mühürdār*.

(J. Deny)

2. In Muslim India.

Used mainly for purposes of authentication and identification, seals had a value in India as emblems of magic, power and sovereignty. Harappan excavations have brought seal-stamps to light. In Indian mythology Rāma is reported to have sent his *anguliyakam* (signet-ring) incised with the letters of his name to Sītā.

All grants of land by the Dihlī Sultans were sealed with the royal *tug͟hrā*, the name and title of the sovereign elaborated in highly ornamental form. The administrative orders were sealed with the royal *tawḳīᶜ* (motto). A significant use of the term appears on the token currency of Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ, where the words *muhr s͟hud tanka* ("sealed as a *tanka*") appear (F. Thomas, *The chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871, 249). An officer known as *muhrdār* ("keeper of the seal") worked in the *Dīwān-i Wikālat*. The Mug͟hal seals were of different shapes: circular, oval, rectangular, square, triangular, lozenge-shaped, hexagonal and octagonal. The name of the reigning monarch was given in the centre, while those of his ancestors in the outer rings.

Abu 'l-Faḍl refers to five kinds of seals: (a) a small round seal known as *ūzuk*, used for *farmān-i sabtī* (relating to titles, high appointments, *d͟jāgīrs* and the sanction of large sums); (b) a large seal in which the name of the king and those of his ancestors back to Tīmūr were engraved, and was used initially for letters to foreign rulers; (c) a square seal for documents besides *sabtī-farmāns*; (d) a *miḥrābī* or lozenge-shaped seal used for judicial matters; and (e) a separate seal used for all matters concerning the seraglio. The *ūzuk* seal was the most important.

Some seals of Akbar bore the legend *Allāhu Akbar D͟jalla D͟jalāluhu*. D͟jahāngīr had the figures of Jesus and Mary on some seals. In the beginning, D͟jahāngīr had round lined seals but later he adopted rectangular dynastic seals. S͟hāhd͟jahān used seals of circular pattern. Mug͟hal queens, like Ḥamīda Bānu Bēgum and Nūr D͟jahān, and princes, like Dārā S͟hukōh, had their own seals.

Silver or copper was used for making matrices. The engraving as an art required long training. Abu 'l-Faḍl mentions Mawlānā Maḳṣūd of Herat, Tamkīn and Mīr Dōst of Kābul, Mawlānā Ibrāhīm and Mawlānā ᶜAlī Aḥmad of Dihlī as masters of the craft.

During the early years of Akbar's reign K͟hʷād͟ja D͟jahān was in charge of the royal seal, which was referred to as *muhr-i muḳaddas-i kalān* ("the great royal seal"). The small round seal, called *ūzuk*, was kept by one of the queens. According to Father Monserrate, the important *farmāns* were sealed by one of the queens, who kept the royal signet ring in her custody, eight days after they were received from the *wazīr*. Very special *farmāns* had the mark of the royal hand (*pand͟ja-i mubārak*) under the royal seal.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1927, i, 52; Father A. Monserrate, *Commentary on his journey to the Court of Akbar*, tr. J.S. Hoyland, annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Cuttack 1922, 209; D͟jahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, G͟hazipur-Aligarh 1863-4, 8, 192, 404; ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Pāds͟hāh-nāma*, Calcutta 1866-72, i, 406; Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal Empire*, London 1936, 100-6; J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal administration*, Calcutta 1952, 216-27; K.D. Bhargava (ed.), *Indian seals, (problems and prospects)*, National Archives of India, 1959. For clay-seals of the early period, *The Imperial gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, ii, 38; *Report of the Arch. Survey of India for 1903-4*, 101-25.

(K.A. Nizami)

MUḤRIZ b. K͟HALAF, the patron saint of Tunis, today generally called Sidi Maḥrez; in the classical texts, his name is sometimes followed by the epithet al-ᶜĀbid owing to his legendary piety (e.g. in the *Madārik* of the *ḳāḍī* ᶜIyāḍ: Sayyidī/Sīdī Muḥriz al-ᶜĀbid), but his name is more often preceded by the title Muʾaddib. This famous personality actually dispensed, in his dwelling which was not yet the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Maḥrez, religious instruction of a kind that was followed by children as well as adults, and which gave to his cousin Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*] the idea of composing a manual sufficiently simple to be accessible to his pupils; this is how the famous *Risāla* came to be written and dedicated to him.

The date of his birth, which is not known exactly, may have been around the year 340/951-2, since he was more than 70 years old when in died in 413/1022. If the genealogy which appears in his *Manāḳib* could be regarded as authentic, he allegedly descended from Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ. It is actually presented as follows: Abū Muḥammad (later replaced, on occasion, by Maḥfūẓ) Muḥriz b. K͟halaf b. Razīn b. Yarbūᶜ b. Ismāᶜīl b. Ḥanẓala b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr,

but this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān does not appear to have had a son called Ḥanẓala (cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 21); further, it is hardly likely that only a half-dozen generations covered about three centuries.

Like so many other Muslim saints, he was made the subject, from the year 430/1038, due to the efforts of the son of one of his daughters, Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī (d. around 450/1058), of a collection of *manāḳib* [*q.v.*], that is, of traditions of a hagiographic character in which it is nevertheless possible to glean some biographical information which appears authentic. Among them we will point out the mention of his pilgrimage to Mecca, the marks of veneration that surrounded him, his strenuous defence of orthodoxy against official Shīʿism and especially the political role which he played in the time of Ḥammād b. Buluggīn, the eponymous ancestor of the Ḥammādids [*q.v.*], who rebelled in 405/1015 against his uncle Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] and in the following year had the Shīʿīs of Tunis massacred, with the encouragement of Muḥriz b. Khalaf; if we are to believe his *Manāḳib* (145, Fr. tr. 313), it was in the latter's presence that the evidence was given against the "Easterners" (Mashāriḳa [*q.v.*], i.e. the Shīʿīs), leading to their condemnation to death, when they were not released for lack of sufficient proof. It is no less remarkable that, according to H.R. Idris (*Zīrides*, 119) the *Manāḳib* may be "the only document attesting to the massacre of the Shīʿīs".

The end of the text of the *Manāḳib* is occupied by a *dahir* (*ẓahīr* [*q.v.*]) whose date causes difficulty. This rescript, signed by the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (who ruled from 406 to 454/1016-62 [*q.v.*]) contains a eulogy in support of Muḥriz and enjoins on all the community, and in particular the authorities, to take care of him, protect him, watch over his entourage, defend his property (fields, gardens, houses) and exempt him from the tithes and *kharādj*. This document is dated 20 Rabīʿ II 417/10 June 1026, although the beneficiary of these privileges died in the odour of sanctity in 413/1022; no doubt 417 should be corrected to 407 and we should regard al-Muʿizz as having wanted also to recognise his merits and compensate him for his attitude with respect to the Shīʿīs. In addition, the *dahir* would serve to confirm and amplify a *sidjill* of Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (who ruled from 386 to 406/996-1016), probably before 396/1005; according to the *Madārik* (iv, 715), the sovereign had granted all the students safeguard and protection and to those of the *shaykh* exemption from taxes.

If we are to believe Ibn Ẓāfir al-Azdī (*K. al-Duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*, *apud* Ibn Khallikān (see also al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, Fr. tr. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits*, Algiers 1924, 257; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *Ḥulal*, 874-5), at the time when he was threatening Tunis, the same Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr, who had aroused resentment against Muḥriz b. Khalaf, perished, slain by his own sword at the call of the latter (in 406/1016). It is not impossible that, seven years later, the Shīʿīs may have exacted revenge for the *shaykh*'s hostility, since it is said that he died following a nocturnal attack or by poisoning.

The tomb in Tunis of Sīdī Maḥrez has never ceased to be made the object of a particular veneration on the part of the population. According to Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (*Tuḥfat al-albāb*, ed. G. Ferrand, in *JA* [1925], 138), sailors used to invoke the saint's help and to throw into the sea, when it was rough, a little of the earth taken from his tomb (cf. al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, Ar. text, 53, Fr. tr. 121-2; Yāḳūt, i, 899). The Jews of Tunis consider him their protector, for it is he who is said to have authorised them to settle in a special quarter, the Ḥāra. The town probably possessed several *muḥriziyya khalwas*; one of them was inserted in the old rampart to whose building Muḥriz b. Khalaf is supposed to have contributed. His mausoleum, his *zāwiya* and his recently-built mosque are situated in Rue Sīdī Maḥrez, not far from the square of Bāb Suwayḳa (Swīḳa); this gate previously called Bāb al-Saḳḳāʾīn, owes its name to the "little market" which is held in its house and over which the authorities had no right of inspection.

Muḥriz b. Khalaf, who had begun to teach the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* in the outskirts of Tunis before settling in the town, acquired a sound reputation as a Mālikī *faḳīh*, but he certainly had more devotion than knowledge; this renown for piety merited his receiving visits from passing strangers, and he is also cited for example in Andalusian biographical works such as the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl (no. 707), the *Takmila* of Ibn al-Abbār (no. 1671) and also the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of al-Maḳḳarī (ed. Cairo 1949, iv, 63).

He left behind no book, but a certain number of verses are attributed to him, notably a description of the ruins of Carthage (see Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Muntakhab al-madrasī*, 2nd ed., Tunis 1944, 58-60). Among the poems that he inspired one should note the verses of al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj (*Ḥulal*, 875-8).

Bibliography: The essential source consists of the *Manāḳib Muḥriz b. Khalaf* of Abu 'l-Ṭāhir al-Fārisī, which have been edited, translated and annotated by H.R. Idris, with the *Manāḳib* of al-Djabanyānī, Tunis 1957, Ar. text 89-154, followed by various extracts (155-93), Fr. tr. of the whole, 271-344. Among the appendices appears the biography of Muḥriz taken from the *Madārik* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyaḍ, which is to be found in the ed. of A. Bakīr, *Tartīb al-Madārik*, Beirut n.d., iv, 712-15; an extract of *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya* of al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, the text of which has since been published by M.H. al-Hīla, Tunis 1970 (see 624, 853, 873, 874-5); the passage of the *Wafayāt* of Ibn Khallikān (Cairo 1310, i, 87) on the death of Bādīs; the lines of the notice of Yāḳūt (i, 899) on Tunis concerning the sailors; the passage of the *Tuḥfat al-albāb* published and translated by Ferrand (see above). H.R. Idris often cites Muḥriz b. Khalaf in his *Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1959 (esp. 119-22); Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Tūnisī devoted a monograph to him, *Muḥriz b. Khalaf zaʿīm al-thawra ḍidd al-Shīʿa*, Tunis 1981. See also M. Bel Khūdja, *Taʾrīkh maʿālim al-tawḥīd fi 'l-ḳadīm wa-fi 'l-djadīd*, Tunis 1358/1939. (Ch. Pellat)

MUḤṢAN (A.), a term of Islamic law denoting a certain personal status.

The Ḳurʾān's impersonal uses of the root *ḥ-ṣ-n* refer to warehousing, shelter, fortification and protection, (XII, 48; XXI, 80; LIX, 2, 14). Used personally of the Virgin Mary (XXI, 91; LXVI, 12), the verb refers to chastity. A cluster of participial derivatives (IV, 24-5; V, 5) relate to the intent underlying the Islamic marriage contract where *muḥṣin/muḥṣana* are perhaps best understood in terms of the provision of accommodation. The *muḥṣana* need not be Muslim (V, 5); if Muslim, she need not be free (IV, 24-5). *Muḥṣanāt* are thus marriageable women: free *muslimāt* or *kitābiyyāt*, or Muslim slave women. *Muḥṣanāt/muḥṣinūn* are contrasted with *musāfiḥāt/musāfiḥūn*, i.e. with such as engage in illicit sexual relations. The category *muḥṣanāt* may include slave women (IV, 24) yet be contrasted with slave women (IV, 25).

The form *muḥṣan* does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, occurring only in *fiḳh* discussions and *ḥadīths* where it

denotes persons liable, in the event of sexual misconduct, to death by stoning. They may originally have included slaves, but the *fuḳahāʾ* eventually settled on three qualifications: marriage, duly consummated; liberty; and Islam. The quality of *iḥṣān* resides in each spouse when both satisfy all three criteria. *Muḥṣin(a)* denotes a spouse competent to confer *iḥṣān* on the marriage partner. Some insisted that every *muḥṣin* be *muḥṣan*, but both Mālik and S̲h̲āfiʿī would include slave spouses and *kitābī* wives in this category. When the *fiḳh* declares that no slave can be *muḥṣan* this merely means that no slave is stoned. That accords with IV, 25, which states that, in the event of sexual misconduct, certain slave women are liable to half the penalty established for the *muḥṣanāt*. Unresolved disagreement as to whether this refers to married slave women, or to converted slave women, generated two distinct readings and two interpretations, both of which were adopted into the *fiḳh*. One interpretation led to the exclusion of married female slaves, and by analogy, of male slaves from the stoning penalty. The alternative interpretation yielded the *fiḳh* conclusion that, in the event of sexual misconduct, unmarried slaves incur the same penalty as married slaves, i.e. one-half of the flogging penalty (XXIV, 2) which, however, the *fuḳahāʾ* taught was the penalty established for the free non-*muḥṣan* offender.

Bibliography: Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Sīra*, 4 vols., Cairo 1355/1936, ii, 213-15; Muḳātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Maḥmūd S̲h̲iḥāta, 4 vols., Cairo 1979-87; Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 2 vols., Cairo 1348/1929, *nikāḥ, mā d̲j̲āʾa fi 'l-iḥṣān; ibid., riwāyat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-S̲h̲aybānī*, Cairo 1399/1979, *ḥudūd, bāb al-rad̲j̲m*; S̲h̲āfiʿī, *Risāla*, Būlāḳ 1321, 20, 36; idem, *K. al-Umm*, 7 vols. in 4, Būlāḳ 1322-4/1904-6, iv, 129, v, 134, 210, vii, 167; Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9 vols. in 3, Cairo 1314/1896 (*K. al-muḥārabīn, bāb rad̲j̲m al-muḥṣan*); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2 vols., Cairo n.d., *K. al-ḥudūd, bāb ḥadd al-zinā; bāb rad̲j̲m al-t̲h̲ayyib fi 'l-zinā*; Ṭabarī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-bayān*, ed. M. and A.M. S̲h̲ākir, Cairo 1374-/1955-, 15 vols., viii, 151-67; Ṭaḥāwī, *al-Muk̲h̲taṣar*, Cairo 1370/1951, 262; D̲j̲aṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, 3 vols., Cairo 1347/1928, ii, 191-8; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, 12 vols., Cairo 1352, xi, 227-35; Sarak̲h̲sī, *Mabsūṭ*, 30 vols., Cairo 1324, ix, 36-41; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, 4 vols., Cairo 1376/1957, i, 380-9; Nawawī, *al-Minhād̲j̲ fī s̲h̲arḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, in margins of Ḳasṭallānī, *Irs̲h̲ād al-sārī*, 12 vols., Cairo 1326/1908, ix, 154; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 17 vols. Cairo 1378/1959; J. Burton, *The meaning of iḥṣān*, in *JSS*, xix (1974), 47-75; idem, *The origin of the Islamic penalty for adultery*, in *Trans. Glasgow University Oriental Society*, xxvi (1978), 16-26; H. Motzki, *Koran 4,24 und die koranische sexual-ethik*, in *Isl.*, lxiii (1986), 192-218; A. Bouhdiba, *La sexualité en islam*, Paris 1975, 24.

(J. Burton)

MUḤSIN ʿALĪ MUḤSIN, minor Urdu poet of the 19th century; the exact dates of his birth and death do not seem to be recorded.

He was the son of another poet, S̲h̲āh Ḥusayn Ḥaḳīḳat, and he achieved fame through his remarkable *tad̲h̲kira* [*q.v.*] of Urdu poets, *Sarāpā suk̲h̲an*, completed after ten years' work in 1269/1852-3 and first published in Lucknow in 1288/1860-1. *G̲h̲azals* by over 700 poets are included. What makes this work unique is its arrangement. The poetry is grouped in about 50 chapters, each representing a part of the human body ranging from head to foot, hence the title *Sarāpā* [see ḲAṢĪDA. 4. In Urdu]; moreover, for each part of the body, its name forms part of the rhyme (*radīf*). Though many poems are merely quoted in extracts of various lengths, quite a large proportion are given in full. The book is particularly rich in poems by Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*], ʿIs̲h̲ḳī, Muḥsin himself and his father Ḥaḳīḳat; needless to say, many little-known poets are included. Whenever a poet is quoted, whether in one or more poems and in any chapter, brief biographical information is given, seldom stretching to more than two lines. This is normally restricted to full name and *tak̲h̲alluṣ*, parentage, place of residence, teacher(s) and pupil(s). Where a poet is the author of a *tad̲h̲kira*, this also is mentioned. This information is repeated verbatim in every chapter in which a poet is quoted, which in some cases may be 20 or more times. Though the information thus given may seem sparse, it was enough to warrant republication of the work several times, minus the poetical extracts, during the last 100 years, quite apart from several new editions of the whole work during the late 19th century.

Muḥsin's arrangement appears to have been imitated only once, sc. by Gōgul Pras̲h̲ād Rasā, in his *Armug̲h̲ān Gōgul Pras̲h̲ad* (1299/1882). But although this includes more poets (over 1,100), the poetical extracts are shorter and fewer in number.

Muḥsin also translated—or, more properly, adapted—two of the three sections (*ṭabaḳāt*) of a *tad̲h̲kira* of Urdu poets from the original Persian into Urdu. This is the *Mak̲h̲zan-i-nikāt* by Muḥammad Ḳāʾim (died at Rampur, 1208/1793-4); this has not yet been published.

Bibliography: After the first edition mentioned above, several editions of *Sarāpā suk̲h̲an* were produced by the celebrated Lucknow publisher Neval Kishore (Nawāl Kis̲h̲ōr) (on whom see MAṬBAʿA. 4. In Muslim India). For this article, that of 1898 has been used. For accounts of this and other *tad̲h̲kiras* mentioned, see Farmān Fatḥpūrī, *Urdū s̲h̲uʿarāʾ kē tad̲h̲kirē awr tad̲h̲kira nigārī*, Lahore 1975, as follows: *Sarāpā suk̲h̲an*, 376-80; *Armug̲h̲ān Gōgul Pras̲h̲ād*, 569-97; *Mak̲h̲zan-i-nikāt* (original Persian), 121-3; *ibid.*, Muḥsin's Urdu adaptation, 432-40. Muḥsin the poet is mentioned briefly in several *tad̲h̲kiras*, including Nassāk̲h̲, *Tad̲h̲kira-i-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, Lucknow 1874, 419. For further references, see Fatḥpūrī, *op. cit.*, particularly the footnotes.

(J.A. Haywood)

MUḤSIN-I FAYḌ-I KĀS̲H̲ĀNĪ, Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā (1007-90/1598-1679), usually called Mullā Muḥsin or simply Fayḍ, the latter being a *tak̲h̲alluṣ* that was given to him by his teacher Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640 [*q.v.*]); one of the greatest scholars of Ṣafawid Persia.

Life. Fayḍ was born into a family that has continued to produce respected *ʿulamāʾ* down to modern times. He studied *tafsīr*, *ḥadīt̲h̲*, jurisprudence, and related fields with his father and maternal uncle in Kās̲h̲ān. At the age of twenty, he went to Iṣfahān to further his studies; within a year he went on to S̲h̲īrāz to study *ḥadīt̲h̲* and jurisprudence with Sayyid Mād̲j̲id Baḥrānī (d. 1028/1619). Returning to Iṣfahān after some months, he studied *ḥadīt̲h̲* with Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀmilī (d. 1030/1621 [*q.v.*]). Perhaps it was at this time that he studied philosophy with Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631 [see AL-DĀMĀD]). Maʿṣūm ʿAlī S̲h̲āh claims in his *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* Tehran 1319, ii, 143-4) that both ʿĀmilī and Fayḍ were *k̲h̲alīfas* of the Nūrbak̲h̲s̲h̲ī Karak̲h̲ī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Muḥammad Muʾmin Sadīrī. Fayḍ left for the Pilgrimage in 1029/1620 and studied *ḥadīt̲h̲* in Mecca with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1030/1621). On returning to Persia, he wandered from teacher to teacher until he found Mullā Ṣadrā (Ṣadr al-Dīn S̲h̲īrāzī) in Ḳum in

1033/1624 or 1034/1625. He remained with him in Ḳum for eight years, occupying himself not only with study but also with ascetic practices. Eventually, he tells us, he gained mystical insight (*baṣīra*) into the esoteric dimensions of the sciences (Mis̲h̲kāt, *Mahadjdja*, iv, 7). He married Mullā Ṣadrā's daughter, then went to S̲h̲īrāz with him in 1042/1532-3. He returned to Kās̲h̲ān in 1045, where he wrote and taught. S̲h̲āh Ṣafī (1038-52/1628-42) invited him to the capital, but he declined. In 1064 S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66) summoned him and he accepted. He was made leader of the Friday prayer and advised the *s̲h̲āh* on religious matters. In at least two of his works, *S̲h̲arḥ-i ṣadr* (written in 1065/1655) and *al-Iʿtidhār* (1067/1657), he complains of the intrigues at the court and the difficulties he faced in trying to help the *s̲h̲āh* in his sincere desire to support Islam (*ibid.*, iv, 9). He wrote at least five works at the *s̲h̲āh*'s request, including *Āʾīna-yi s̲h̲āhī* on true kingship and *Waṣf-i k̲h̲ayl* on horses in the teachings of the Imāms. He returned to Kās̲h̲ān some time after 1067/1657, where his tomb is a place of pilgrimage. Among his students was the well-known scholar Ḳāḍī Saʿīd Ḳumī (d. 1103/1692).

The biographers demonstrate great respect for Fayḍ's learning and moral qualities. In his *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*, however, Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī criticises him because of his extreme *ak̲h̲bārī* views [see AK̲H̲BĀRIYYA in Suppl.], which he expressed in works like *Safīnat al-nadjāt*, and because he supported the ideas of "Ibn al-ʿArabī *al-zindīk*" (*ibid,*, i, 29). Various *ʿulamāʾ* have complained that he departed from *idjmāʿ* in certain questions of jurisprudence, such as the legitimacy of music and the definition of impurity (*ibid.*, i, 34-40; iv, 16-17). Sayyid Niʿmat Allāh Djazāʾirī (d. 1112/1700-1), one of Fayḍ's well-known students, blames him in *Kas̲h̲f al-asrār fī s̲h̲arḥ al-istibṣār* for encouraging his students to listen to music (*ibid.*, i, 37). Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī's son-in-law, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ K̲h̲awātūnābādī (d. 1116/1704-5), gives him a notice in his *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-muḳarrabīn* as one of the thirty great S̲h̲īʿī *ʿulamāʾ* of history (*ibid.*, i, 53-54).

Works. Fayḍ wrote his first book *Naḳd al-uṣūl fiḳhiyya*, in his early twenties and continued writing until the year of his death. He composed three annotated lists of his own works (texts in *ibid.*, ii, 5-23, 39-46). The second, written in 1090/1679 shortly before his death, lists 116, while the third, written in the same year, divides the works into twenty groups of five according to subject matter or genre, adding three works not found in the second list and leaving out thirteen. In his thorough bibliographical study, S.M. Mis̲h̲kāt (*ibid.*, ii, 3-46, iv, 10-11) has shown that Fayḍ wrote 122 works for a total of over 550,000 lines; of these, about forty have been published. He wrote some 20,000 verses of Persian poetry, mostly in Ṣūfī style, and thirty Persian prose works. Almost 90% of his writing is in Arabic. Most of his works can be placed in the following categories:

1. *Ḥadīth* (4 books, about 33% of his total output). The most important of these is *al-Wāfī* (Tehran 1324/1906), which is usually ranked on the same level as Madjlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār*. It is by far the longest work, about 150,000 lines, three times as long as his major Ḳurʾān commentary. In it Fayḍ rearranges and comments on the *ḥadīth*s found in the four basic Twelver S̲h̲īʿī collections (al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*, al-Ṣadūḳ's *Man lā yaḥduruhu 'l-faḳīh*, and al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*).

2. Philosophy, theoretical Ṣūfism (*ʿirfān*), and *kalām* (37 works, 20%). The longest of these works is a selection of texts from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*. The most important are probably *ʿAyn al-yaḳīn*, written in 1036/1626-7, and *ʿIlm al-yaḳīn*, written in 1042/1632-3 (published together in Tehran 1303/1885-6). The first is oriented more toward rational philosophy and the second toward mystical philosophy; Fayḍ warns us that the latter should be kept away (*maḍnūn*)from those not worthy of it. He wrote an epitome of the first, *Uṣūl al-maʿārif* (ed. S.Dj. Ās̲h̲tiyānī, Mas̲h̲had 1354/1975) in 1089/1679, and an epitome of the second, *al-Maʿārif*, in 1090/1679.

3. Ethics (10 works, 16%). The longest and most important of these, completed in 1046/1636-7, is *al-Mahadjdjat al-bayḍāʾ fī iḥyāʾ al-Iḥyāʾ* (a four-volume critical facsimile edition in the hand of Fayḍ's son, the well-known scholar Muḥammad ʿAlam al-Hudā, was published by Mis̲h̲kāt, Tehran 1339-40/1960-1). In it, Fayḍ rewrites al-G̲h̲azālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, replacing the weak *ḥadīth*s and accounts of the pious forbears with appropriate and reliable reports from S̲h̲īʿī sources. He follows the structure of the *Iḥyāʾ* almost exactly, except that he drops book 7 of volume 2, on *samāʿ*, and adds at the end of volume 2 a new book, *Ak̲h̲lāḳ al-imāma wa-ādāb al-s̲h̲īʿa*. He wrote an epitome of *al-Mahadjdja* called *Kitāb al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī asrār al-dīn* in 1090/1679.

4. *Tafsīr* (4 works, 13%). Fayḍ's major *tafsīr*, written in 1075/1664-5, is known as *al-Ṣāfī* (Tehran 1375/1955-56). It consists mainly of sayings of the twelve Imāms concerning Ḳurʾānic verses. Most of it sticks to the outward meaning, but, he tells us, it also has "something of esoteric interpretation (*s̲h̲ayʾ min al-taʾwīl*)".

5. Jurisprudence and its principles (28 works, 8%). Neither of his two major works in this field, *Muʿtaṣam al-s̲h̲īʿa*, completed in 1027/1618, and *Mafātīḥ al-s̲h̲arāʾiʿ*, completed 1042/1632-3, has been published. *Mafātīḥ* is more important and has been the subject of at least eight glosses and fourteen commentaries.

6. Poetry (20 collections, 4%). Several of these works are excerpted from his *Dīwān*, which has been published (Tehran 1338/1960), but without his several *mathnawī*s.

7. Prayers and supplications (12 works, 3%). These are mostly collections of prayers by the Imāms.

Bibliography: S.M. Mis̲h̲kāt quotes from the standard biographical sources and gathers a great deal of information on the editions and manuscripts of Fayḍ's works in the introductions to the four volumes of *al-Mahadjdjat al-bayḍāʾ*. Fayḍ's autobiographical *S̲h̲arḥ-i ṣadr*, partly translated into Arabic by Mis̲h̲kāt (iv, 5-9), was published in *Djilwa* (1/8, Bahman 1323, 393-409). *Āʾīna-yi s̲h̲āhī* was translated by W.C. Chittick in A. Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and political culture in Shiʿism*, Albany 1988, 269-84. See also H. Corbin, *Anthologie des philosophes iraniens*, ii, Tehran 1975, 32-49; S.H. Nasr, *The School of Ispahan*, in M.M. Sharif (ed.), *A history of Muslim philosophy*, ii,Wiesbaden 1966, 926-30.

(W.C. CHITTICK)

MUḤSIN-ZĀDE [see ʿABD ALLĀH PAS̲H̲A].

AL-**MUHTADĪ** BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. HĀRUN AL-WĀT̲H̲IḲ, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 255-6/869-70.

After al-Wāt̲h̲iḳ's death, a number of officials wished to pay homage to the young Muḥammad, son of the deceased caliph and a Greek slave; instead, however, al-Wāt̲h̲iḳ's brother al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] was proclaimed his successor and only after the deposition and murder of the unfortunate al-Muʿtazz

(1 Shaʿbān 255/15 July 869) did Muḥammad ascend the throne on 7-8 Shaʿbān/21-2 July with the name al-Muhtadī. His ideal was the Umayyad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; al-Buḥturī praises him for ridding his court of musical instruments, and he presided personally over *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] sessions. Like the latter, he was distinguished for the strictness with which he conducted his life; with piety and simplicity, however, he combined strength and ability and during his brief reign he did his best to raise the caliphate from its degradation and to restore the power of the Commander of the Faithful. In several provinces there were risings by ʿAlids, real or alleged; but the most dangerous enemy of the caliph was the Turkish general Mūsā b. Bughā. When the latter, who was fighting against the ʿAlids in Persia, heard of the accession of al-Muhtadī, he returned home. Reaching Sāmarrā in Muḥarram 256/December 869, he forced the caliph to take an oath to bring to justice the Turkish chief Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, who had robbed Ḳabīḥa, the mother of the caliph al-Muʿtazz, of all her priceless treasures. When Ṣāliḥ concealed himself, the Turkish mercenaries mutinied and were intending to depose al-Muhtadī but were appeased by the resolute action of the latter. Al-Muhtadī then promised Ṣāliḥ's followers that he would pardon him; but as the latter did not appear, they went to Sāmarrā and began to pillage it until they were scattered by Mūsā. Ṣāliḥ was soon afterwards discovered and killed by one of Mūsā's men. When Mūsā had taken the field against the Khāridjīs, al-Muhtadī began to incite the people against him and his brother Muḥammad b. Bughā and accused them of embezzlement. Muḥammad was brought to trial and put to death, although al-Muhtadī had expressly guaranteed his pardon. The only course left for the caliph was to dispose of Mūsā if he wished to keep his throne. But his plan was betrayed; Mūsā advanced with superior forces and the caliph suffered a disastrous defeat. As he declined to abdicate, he was murdered on Thursday, 18 Radjab 256/21 June 870, in horrible fashion, and al-Muʿtamid b. al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] raised to the throne in his place.

During this period of anarchy in Sāmarrā after al-Mutawakkil's death, the civilian administration was eclipsed by the continued ascendancy of the Turkish military. For the first half of al-Muhtadī's reign, effective power in the state was exercised by Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, and it does not seem that there was an effective vizier. In the latter six months of his caliphate, however, the long-serving and experienced official Sulaymān b. Wahb [see WAHB, BANŪ] acted as vizier, with al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad as chief secretary, although civilian control still remained substantially impaired, with the bureaucracy's main task being to find money for the avaricious soldiery.

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MUḤTĀDJIDS, a local dynasty of mediaeval Central Asia which ruled in the upper Oxus principality of Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*] in the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries.

At the time of the Arab invasions of the early 2nd/8th century, Čaghāniyān had been ruled by a dynasty of Čaghān-Khudās, probably of Iranian stock like the princes of Soghdia and Khʷārazm, who, *pace* other local rulers, seems to have co-operated with the incoming Arabs (see H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 9, 32). The eponymous ancestor Muḥtādj may have been a descendant of these princes, or possibly one of the invading Arabs, speedily Iranised, as seems to have happened with the Banīdjūrids [*q.v.* in Suppl.] or Abū Dāwūdids in the neighbouring provinces of Khuttal and Ṭukhāristān [*q.vv.*].

The first historically attested Muḥtādjid was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar b. Muḥtādj, successively governor in Farghāna, Ṭukhāristān and Khurāsān for the Sāmānids, d. 329/941. His son Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad Čaghānī became head of the family and played a leading rôle in the military and political affairs of the Sāmānid amīrate during the middle decades of the century, first as governor of Khurāsān and spearhead of Sāmānid attempts to extend their control over northern Persia, but subsequently, after his dismissal by the *amīr* Nūḥ b. Naṣr after complaints of his harsh rule, as a king-maker in Bukhārā. Despite his failure to place his protégé Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr on the throne there, he for long retained his commanding position in the upper Oxus principalities until military failure against the Būyids led to a further dismissal, with Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad dying in 344/955 in exile at Ray. His son Abu 'l-Muẓaffar ʿAbd Allāh had already died at the Sāmānid court in 340/951-2, and the palmy days of the Muḥtādjids were now over. Yet later members of the family continued to rule in Čaghāniyān during the decades of Sāmānid decline, and possibly as tributaries of the rising power of the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*], who extended their authority over the upper Oxus lands; thus the Abu 'l-Ḳāsim mentioned by the historian Bayhaḳī as *wālī* of Čaghāniyān and as son-in-law of Sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] may have been a Muḥtādjid. After this, however, Čaghāniyān passed under Saldjūḳ control and all mention of the Muḥtādjids disappears.

The Muḥtādjids have a minor part in Persian literary history as patrons of leading poets of the time, such as Daḳīḳī [*q.v.*], whilst the Ghaznawid poet Farrukhī Sīstānī [*q.v.*] in early life secured the support of the prince of Čaghāniyān Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad, conceivably a grandson of Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī, and composed for him a famous ode at the *amīr*'s branding-ground (cf. E.G. Browne, *LHP*, ii, 124-9).

Bibliography: Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 234, 242, 246-9, 254, 282, 298-301; Spuler, *Iran*, 94-7; *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 149; Bosworth, *The rulers of Chaghāniyān in early Islamic times*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xix (1981), 1-20, in which the primary sources (Gardīzī, ʿUtbī, Narshakhī, Miskawayh, Bayhaḳī, Ibn al-Athīr) and numismatics are utilised, and with a genealogical table at p. 14 which corrects Zambaur, *Manuel*, 204; idem, *Encycl. Iranica*, i, art. *Āl-e Moḥtāj*. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤTASHAM-I KĀSHĀNĪ, SHAMS AL-SHUʿARĀʾ KAMĀL AL-DĪN, Persian poet of the early Ṣafawid period, born *ca.* 1500 in Kāshān. According to the most reliable sources, he died in 996/1587-8; a

less likely dating of his death, given by Abū Ṭālib Iṣfahānī in *Khulāṣat al-afkār* (see Storey i/2, 878), is 1000/1591-2. For some time he was a draper (*bazzāz*) like his father, but he abandoned this trade for the more profitable career of a professional poet. His work was appreciated at the Ṣafawid court at Ḳazwīn. He seems to have continued, however, to live in Kāshān. He wrote panegyrics to Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, his sons Ismāʿīl, Muḥammad Khudābanda and Ḥamza and his daughter Parī-Khān Khānum. Muḥtasham also established contacts with the Mughal court and the king of the Deccan through the intermediary of his brother ʿAbd al-Ghanī. Among his Indian patrons were the Emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] and the Khān-i Khānān Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm [*q.v.*].

Besides composing these conventional *ḳaṣīdas*, Muḥtasham specialised in other genres of court poetry. He became an expert in enigmatic verse and poetical chronograms. In 984/1576 he celebrated the accession of Ismāʿīl II to the throne in six quatrains from which 1,128 different datings of the event could be derived (the poems, together with a chronographic explanation, are to be found in Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, Tehran 1317 *sh.*/1938, 473-74; a commentary by the Ḳādjār poet Waḳār was published in *Armaghān*, xi, 1309 *sh.*/1930, 271-2, 351-2).

Muḥtasham was also a prolific writer of love poetry. His collected works contain several collections of *ghazaliyyāt*. A cycle of 64 *ghazals* bears the title "Djalāliyya", after Shāṭir Djalāl, a dancer from Iṣfahān. When in 970/1562-3 the latter performed in social gatherings at Kāshān, Muḥtasham expressed in these poems his infatuation with Djalāl (the letters of his name add up to sixty-four). Afterwards he added linking texts in prose explaining the occasion for each poem at the bequest of a friend who wanted to enter the cycle in a *tadhkira*.

Elegies (*marāthī*) constituted another element of importance in his art. He wrote poems at the deaths of Prince Ḥamza and his own brother ʿAbd al-Ghanī. However, his best achievements in this genre were of a religious nature. Iskandar Munshī reports that the ageing Shāh Ṭahmāsp refused to award Muḥtasham any longer for his panegyrics because such praise only befitted the holy Imāms (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlamārāy-i ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1350 *sh.*/1971, i, 178; cf. Dh. Ṣafā in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vi, 954). This royal injunction stimulated the development of Shīʿī poetry in Ṣafawid Iran. Apart from hymns to God and the Prophet, Muḥtasham wrote elegies on the martyred Imāms. The latter poems in particular gave him lasting fame as a religious poet. His best known poem is a *duwāzdah-band* (i.e. a poem in twelve stanzas) in mourning of the Imām Ḥusayn. It became part of the répertoire of the *rawḍa-khwāns* (see, for instance, the collection of texts described by E.G. Browne, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the University Library of Cambridge*, Cambridge 1896, 122-42).

In accordance with the last will of the poet, his works were collected by a friend, the anthologist Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad Kāshānī, who also added a preface to this *kulliyyāt*. It is divided into seven parts: 1. *Shaybiyya*, religious and secular panegyrics; 2. *Shabābiyya* and 3. *Ṣabāʾiyya*, two volumes of *ghazals*; 4. *Djalāliyya* and 5. *Naḳl-i ʿushshāḳ*, both mingling *ghazals* with prose; 6. *Ḍurūriyyāt*, versified chronograms; 7. *Muʿammayāt*, riddles (Rieu, *loc. cit.*). However, manuscripts of varying contents and with other arrangements of the poems, some dating from the poet's lifetime, are also extant.

Bibliography: A lithographed edition of the *Risāla-yi Djalāliyya* and the *Dīwān* was printed at Bombay 1304/1887; other editions were published in Tehran 1337 *sh.*/1958 and 1344 *sh.*/1965. On manuscripts, see A. Sprenger, *A catalogue of the ... manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, i, Calcutta 1854, 500; G. Flügel, *Die ... Handschriften der k.-k, Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, i, Vienna 1865, 591; Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1881, ii, 665-6; H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library*, i, London 1903, 795-6; Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Library at Bankipore*, ii, Calcutta 1910, 186-9; Ahmed Ateş, *Istanbul kütüphanelerinde farsça manzum eserler*, i, Istanbul 1968, 487-9; Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iii, 1892-7 (*kulliyyāt*), 2514-16 (*dīwāns*). See further: Browne, *LHP*, iv, 172-7; Ḥusayn Partaw-Bayḍāʾī, in *Armaghān*, xviii (1316 *sh.*/1937), 465-75; J.T.P. de Bruijn, *A religious subject on a Persian Qalamkār*, in *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Volkenkunde, Leiden*, xv (1962), 3-11; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 298; H. Massé, *Le chant funèbre de Mohtacham-e Kāchāni en mémoire de son frère Khādje Abd-al-Ghani* (with a French translation), in *Yâd-name-ye Irâni-ye Minorsky*, ed. M. Minovi and I. Afshar, Tehran 1969, 131-8; idem, *Poèmes consacrés aux Imâms, in Le Shîʿisme imâmite*, Paris 1970, 273-76; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v, Tehran 1364 *sh.*/1985, 792-9 (with a list of *tadhkira* sources); idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, vi, Cambridge 1986, 954, 958. (J.T.P. de Bruijn)

MUḤTASIB [see ḥisba].

MUḤYĪ al-DĪN IBN al-ʿARABĪ [see ibn al-ʿarabī].

MUḤYI 'l-DĪN LĀRĪ (d. 933/1526-7), Persian writer and author of the famous *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, a poetical description of the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, which also contains a full account of all the rites of the obligatory pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj*).

This book, written in 911/1506 and dedicated to Muẓaffar b. Maḥmūd Shāh of Gudjarāt (917-32/1511-26), was for a long time wrongly attributed to the celebrated poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī [*q.v.*]. Muḥyī Lārī was a pupil of the great philosopher Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dawānī (d.907/1501 [*q.v.*]) and made use of his extensive philosophical knowledge in a commentary on the great *Ḳaṣīda* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ which is known as *al-Tāʾiyya al-kubrā*. In this work he endeavoured, following in the footsteps of his teacher, to reconcile the principles of orthodox Islamic mysticism with the teachings of Aristotle in the form in which they were disseminated in the east.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Cat. Pers. mss. Brit. Mus.*, ii, 655a. Persian text of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, lith. Lucknow 1292. A full description of the contents in *Wiener Jahresbüchern*, lxxi, Anzeigblatt, 49; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 385; H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur*, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 306; Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, Tehran 1328/1949, iii, 493; Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, 462. (E. Berthels)

MUḤYI 'l-DĪN MEḤMED b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Djamālī, called Mollā Čelebi, a Turkish theologian and historian of the time of Selīm I (918-26/1512-20) and Sulaymān II (926-74/1520-66). His father was the famous *muftī* Zanbīlī ʿAlī al-Djamālī, a grandson of Djamāl al-Dīn Meḥmed of Aḳ Seray (hence the epithet Djamālī). He received his theological training first from his maternal grandfather Ḥusām-zāde Efendi, then from his father ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and later from Muʾayyad-zāde Efendi. He

worked as a *müderris* in several *medreses*, in Istanbul at the Murād *medrese* and at the eight schools of the Fātiḥ mosque and in Edirne where he was also a *mollā* for a period. He died in retirement and was buried at Zeyrek, at the side of his father, in 957/1550.

His main importance lies in the fact that he edited the anonymous Ottoman chronicles, the *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, under the title *Taʾrīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*. These chronicles, which run from the beginning of the Ottoman empire, were continued by him down to 956/1549, i.e. till shortly before his death.

Two versions of his *Chronicle* exist, both of which go back to him: (1) a shorter one, to which corresponds the translation of the Beck manuscript by Gaudier-Spiegel, *Chronica oder Acta von der Türckischen Tyrannen herkommen und geführte Kriegen, aus Türckischer Sprachen verdeutschet. Vorhin nie in Druck ausgangen*, Frankfurt a/O. 1567; it was also published in Latin and German by Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*, Frankfurt 1588, 2nd edition with index and German tr., *Newe Chronika Türckischer Nation von Türcken selbs geschrieben*, Frankfurt a/Main 1590; and (2) a longer version, the so-called Verantian Chronicle (Codex Verantianus), edited in Latin and German by Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum de monumentis ipsorum exsciptae libri XVIII*, Frankfurt 1591. There were 18 books instead of the 30 planned. As early as 1590 the first three books were published in German at Frankfurt, *Neuwer Muselmanischer Histori, Türckischer Nation, von ihrem Herkommen, Geschichte vnd Taten; drey Bücher, die ersten vnter dreyssigen*, followed by the complete German translation of the *Annales, Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori Türckischer Nation*, Frankfurt a/M. 1595.

In addition to his chronicle, which exists only in manuscript (at Vienna, Munich, Berlin, Gotha, London, Istanbul, etc.), Muḥyī al-Dīn is also credited with poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian (also extant in manuscript) and a theological work.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Istanbul 1311, 218; Ṭashköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyye*, Istanbul 1269, 389; tr. O. Rescher, Istanbul 1927, 247; Djamāl al-Dīn, *ʿOthmānlī taʾrīkh we-müwerrikhleri* (Āyīne-i Ẓurefā), Istanbul 1314, 10, 25; Rifʿat, *Rawḍat al-ʿazīziyye*, 180; Meḥmed Thurayyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii, 488; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, iii, 63; Babinger, in *GOW*, 72-4; J.H. Mordtmann, in *Isl.*, x, 160, xiii, 153 ff.; C. Ausserer, in *ibid.*, xii, 226; F. Giese, in *MOG*, i, 49-75; P. Wittek, in *ibid.*, i, 77 ff. See also *İA* art. *Muhyi-d-Din Mehmed* (Menzel and Bekir Kütükoğlu). (TH. MENZEL)

MUʿĪD [see MUSTAMLĪ].

MUʿĪN AL-DĪN SULAYMĀN PARWĀNA, the *de facto* ruler of the Saldjūḳ state in Anatolia (*Rūm*) during most of the Mongol Protectorate.

His father, Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Daylamī (d. 642/1244) the vizier of Kaykhusraw II, interceded with the Mongol general Baydjū after the battle of Köse Dagh (641/1243) and secured the survival of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, albeit as Mongol vassals. His son, Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān, is first mentioned in the sources as commander of Tokat. In 654/1256, through the good offices of Baydjū, he was given the titles *amīr ḥādjib* and *parwāna* (the latter term denoting the "personal assistant of the sultan", Cahen, 221). Thereafter he became the real ruler of the Saldjūḳ state for over two decades, though nominal authority remained with the puppet Saldjūḳ sultans. In Hülegü's time, the Saldjūḳ realm was partitioned, the eastern provinces being given to the pro-Mongol Ḳïlïdj Arslan IV, for whom the Parwāna acted as vizier, and the remainder to Kay-Kāwūs II. After the latter had fled to Byzantium, Ḳïlïdj Arslan IV became sole sultan in Rūm, entering Konya on 14 Ramaḍān 659/13 August 1261. The Parwāna visited the new Īlkhān, Abaḳa [*q.v.*], in 663/1265 and was officially awarded the port of Sinope which he had taken from the Greek ruler of Trebizond two years earlier. When Ḳïlïdj Arslan IV came of age he grew weary of the Parwāna's authority. Perceiving this, the latter arranged for his murder at Aksaray in 663/1265 and the installation of his infant son, Kaykhusraw III, as sultan. The Parwāna later forged marriage ties with the new sultan—an inscription on the Sünbül Baba Zaviyesi at Tokat mentions the Parwāna's daughter as the wife of Kaykhusraw III (Rogers, 35; Gabriel, 103).

The next decade (663-73/1265-75) was turbulent. Certain Anatolian *amīrs*, probably with the complicity of the Parwāna himself (the sources mention letters allegedly written by him to Baybars), invited the Mamlūk sultan to invade their land and rid it of the Mongol yoke. Baybars' Anatolian expedition and his victory over the Mongol army at Albistān (Dhu 'l Ḳaʿda 675/April 1277) are well documented in Mamlūk sources. The Parwāna still fought on the Mongol side but was already under some suspicion. His son and grandson were taken prisoner by Baybars. When the Mamlūk sultan made his triumphal entry into Kayseri, the Parwāna—who had retreated to his stronghold at Tokat—did not come to acknowledge him. Soon afterwards, Baybars withdrew to Syria on hearing the news that Abaḳa himself was on his way to Rūm with a large army. The Parwāna joined Abaḳa on his visit to the battlefield at Albistān and was there blamed for the massacre of the Mongol army. He then accompanied Abaḳa eastwards, where the Īlkhān, inflamed by his grief-stricken female relatives, ordered the Parwāna's execution (1 Rabīʿ I 676/2 August 1277). The Armenian historian, Hayton, is the source of the widespread story that "in accordance with Tartar custom", the Parwāna's corpse was cut in half and then eaten.

The career of the Parwāna represents a key phase in the history of the Rūm Saldjūḳs as well as shedding light on the wider power struggle between Mamlūks and Mongols. Internally, the Parwāna attempted to maintain stability both amongst the Turkish *amīrs* and between them and the ever-increasing number of Mongols resident on Anatolian soil. The Turcomans, especially the Ḳaramānids, were kept under control only with great difficulty (there were rebellions in 659/1261 and 675/1277).

As for the Parwāna's relationship with his Mongol overlords, it is clear that at the beginning he was unreservedly on their side and that he cultivated his special links with Abaḳa by frequent visits to Tabrīz. Saldjūḳ weakness after Köse Dagh allowed talented ministers, such as the Parwāna and his friend and rival, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, both of whom were of Persian stock and were directly nominated by the Mongols, to exercise semi-independent power within Anatolia. Later on, however, the Parwāna co-existed uneasily with Abaḳa's representatives in Rūm and especially with Adjāy, Abaḳa's brother, whose removal he requested in 672/1273-4. Clearly, the Parwāna had begun to resent increasing Mongol encroachment on Saldjūḳ territory and the Mongols' systematic exploitation of its economic resources.

The Parwāna's own rôle in the detailed but confused accounts of the events preceding Baybars' Anatolian expedition remains ambiguous. Certainly,

the myth of Mongol invincibility had been exploded, and it seems likely that the Parwāna's loyalty shifted, for a while at least, to Baybars, whose power was increasing in the 1270s in the face of Mongol disunity and their apparent inactivity against Egypt. It is possible too that the Parwāna may have been influenced in his more pro-Mamlūk stance by the reproach addressed to him by Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (*Fīhi mā fīhi*, 17) that by making common cause with the Mongols he had ruined the *Dār al-Islām*. Once Baybars had reached Rūm, the Parwāna seems to have reneged on his arrangement and to have invited Abaḳa to attack Baybars. Whatever the true motivation of the Parwāna's dangerous double game, he aroused the ire of both Baybars and Abaḳa and provided a convenient scapegoat for the Mongol defeat at Albistān.

The Parwāna is said to have enjoyed a close relationship with Rūmī. Some of the discourses in *Fīhi mā fīhi* are addressed directly to the Parwāna. According to Aflākī, it was often in the Parwāna's house that Rūmī held spiritual concerts and the Parwāna and his wife provided funds for the building of Rūmī's mausoleum (Huart, ii, 80, 92-3, 267). The Parwāna also settled the Ṣūfī Fakhr al-Dīn ᶜIrāḳī [*q.v.*] near Tokat. He was responsible for the construction of a limited number of religious buildings. An inscription (661/1263) on the *madrasa* of ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn at Sinope celebrates the Parwāna's conquest of the city (*RCEA*, xii, 76). The Sulṭān Muḥammad mosque at Merzifon bears a foundation inscription (663/1265) in the name of the Parwāna, who has the Mongol title *iftikhār-i nūyān* (*ibid.*, 94-5). Its unique occurrence in Anatolian epigraphy demonstrates the Parwāna's close relationship with his Mongol overlords (Rogers, 276).

The demise of the Parwāna marked the end of even semi-independent Saldjūḳ rule in Anatolia, which was henceforth governed directly by the Mongols. Since they were primarily interested in eastern Anatolia, the Turcoman amīrates were able to prosper in the west. The sons of the Parwāna (the Parwāna-oghullarī) continued for several generations (676-722/1277-1322) to hold on to Sinope and Tokat, the area which the Parwāna had made his personal domain.

Bibliography: 1. Primary Sources: Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ᶜārifīn*, tr. Cl. Huart, Paris 1918, 1922; Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Fīhi mā fīhi*, tr. A.J. Arberry, London 1975; Hayton, *Flos Historiarum Terre Orientis* in *RHC, Documents arméniens*, Paris 1906, 308-9; Ibn Bībī, tr. H.W. Duda as *Die Seltschuken-Geschichte des Ibn Bibi*, Copenhagen 1959, 260, 267, 271, 274, 277, 280-307; Ibn al-Dawādārī, ed. U. Haarmann as *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*, Freiburg 1971, Pt. viii, 164, 177, 188-207; Ibn al-Ṣuḳāᶜī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-aᶜyān*, ed. and tr. J. Sublet, Damascus 1974, 79-80, 102-3; Ibn Shaddād, *Taʾrīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. A. Hutait, Wiesbaden 1983, 34-5, 77-9, 107-8, 122-9, 153 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, ed. M.M. Ziyāda, Cairo 1956, Pt. i, 625 ff.; Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍāʾil, *al-Nahdj al-sadīd wa 'l-durr al-farīd fī mā baᶜd taʾrīkh Ibn al-ᶜAmīd*, ed. and tr. E. Blochet, in *PO*, xiv, Paris 1920, 389-439; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh*, ed. A.A. ᶜAlīzāda, iii, Bākū 1957, 144-7; *RCEA*, xii, Cairo 1943.

2. Secondary sources: C.E. Bosworth, *Islâm devletleri tarihi*, tr. E. Merçil and M. Ipşirli, Istanbul 1980, 316; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 269 ff.; *EI*¹, art. s.v. (J.H. Kramers); H. Edhem, *Merzifon'da Perwâne Muᶜīnü 'd-Dīn Süleymān nāmīna bir kitābe*, in *TOEM*, sene 8, pp. 42-52; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, Paris 1931, ii, 103, 106-7; N. Kaymaz, *Pervâne Muᶜînü 'd-dîn Süleyman*, Ankara 1970; J.M. Rogers, *Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia 1200-1300*, D.Phil. thesis, Oxford 1972, unpubl.; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1955; P. Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I von Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1987, 282-9.

(CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

MUᶜĪN AL-DĪN ᶜALĪ B. DJALĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD **YAZDĪ** (d. 789/1387), Persian historiographer of the second half of the 8th/14th century, during a confusing period of Persian-Islamic history. After the decay of Mongol power, the despotic dynasty of the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] had taken over political control in Fārs, Iṣfahān and Yazd (Ḳazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 613-755, see *Bibl.*). Yazdī adopted an avowed positive attitude towards the representatives of this dynasty, who were the patrons of his works (A. Hartmann, *Eine orthodoxe Polemik*, 275 ff.).

Yazdī's works contain only a few data on his life (e.g. *Mawāhib-i ilāhī*, 94). Born in Yazd, his date of birth is not known. Later biographers celebrate him as "one of the greatest *fuḳahāʾ* and scholars of his time", and he became known as *muᶜallim-i Yazd*. Having received a traditional education in his native town and in Shīrāz, where he was ᶜAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī's [*q.v.*] (d. 756/1355) pupil, Yazdī attracted the attention of the Muẓaffarid sultan Mubāriz al-Dīn, who took the young scholar into his employment as a political and religious mouth-piece. From 744/1343-4 onwards, he belonged to the court circles and accompanied the Muẓaffarids on most of their travels. Being assigned to carry through or to settle their political interests and quarrels, he was intimately involved in them, an activity which, whether successful or not, must have marked his personality (*Mawāhib-i ilāhī*, 149; *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 686; *Tārīkh-i rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, iv, 511 f., 516 f.).

Yazdī also ranked as a religious authority with the Muẓaffarids. Mubāriz al-Dīn appointed him as teacher of his son Shāh Shudjāᶜ, and in 755/1354 he nominated him professor at the Dār al-Siyādat *madrasa* in Kirmān, where mainly descendants from the Prophet were lodged and educated (*Mawahib-i ilāhī*, 209-11; *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 650, 653; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, 277). Here Yazdī became quite influential in religious matters, for on the one hand he taught a strict Sunnism, but on the other hand stood aloof from the immense influence of the monistic ideas of Ṣūfism. He may in fact be considered as a classic example in Persia of the union between traditional, Sunnī orthodoxy, including a strongly marked hatred of philosophers, and Ibn al-ᶜArabī's [*q.v.*] theosophy.

Yazdī's intellectual attitude is most articulately expressed in his *Tardjama-i Rashf al-naṣāʾiḥ al-īmāniyya wa-kashf al-faḍāʾiḥ al-yūnāniyya* (see Hartmann, *op. cit.*, 282-8; for the mss., *ibid.* 288-91; ed. Tehran 1365/1986), a polemic against the *falāsifa* [*q.v.*], containing an extensive paraphrase and independent adaptation of the *Rashf*, written by the Baghdādī court theologian and mystic ᶜUmar al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] (d. 632/1234), who himself had been still far removed from Ibn al-ᶜArabī's ideas. Yazdī's *Tardjama-i Rashf* is a noteworthy document for the process of popularisation of *taṣawwuf*, far advanced in Persia at a time when state policy was still to remain Sunnī for about one hundred more years.

While in Yazd in 744/1372-3, the author dedicated his work to prince Nuṣrat al-Dīn Yaḥyā (d. 795/1393), a nephew of Shāh Shudjāᶜ's. At that time the poet Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] probably was also staying in the town, but no recognition was allotted to him there. It is also remarkable that Yazdī does not quote one single verse of Ḥāfiẓ, his contemporary, in the *Tardjama-i Rashf*, though this work is adorned with hundreds of Persian poems by Saᶜdī [*q.v.*], in par-

ticular. It may be assumed that Yazdī belonged to that group of religious scholars who stimulated and promoted Shāh Shudjāʿ's "clericalism", and so in the end made things hard for Ḥāfiẓ. This keeping of the "prince of poets" under wraps may thus be seen as a first indication that Ḥāfiẓ's poetry was not considered by his contemporaries as being allegorical or mystical, as has been customarily thought later and up to the present time (see Hartmann, *Orth. Polemik*, 287 ff.).

Yazdī's main work is his stylistically inflated *Mawāhib-i ilāhī* ("Divine gifts"), also known under the title *Tārīkh-i muẓaffarī* or *Humāyūn-nāma*, the only contemporary account of the Muẓaffarids. Rypka says of it that, among the most famous ornately written historical works in Persian, it is second only to Waṣṣāf's history of the Īl-Khānids (*Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, 302, enlarged Eng. tr. *History of Iranian literature*, 318 n. 7, 443). Yazdī thus imitated the style of Waṣṣāf (see the comparison of the two in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, i, 685). In 757/1356-7 Yazdī read in Iṣfahān the first chapters of his chronicle to Sultan Mubāriz al-Dīn and his son Shāh Shudjāʿ. Mubāriz al-Dīn having died in 765/1364, shortly before the *Mawāhib-i ilāhī* was concluded with the year 767/1363-4, the chronicle was dedicated to Shāh Shudjāʿ. Two generations later, Maḥmūd-i Kutubī (d. 823/1402-3) completed the work, inside Ḳazwīnī's *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, up to the downfall of the Muẓaffarids, brought about by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] in 795/1392-3, and simplified the style. Only about half of the work has been edited (vol. i, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1326/1947-8).

Other works by Yazdī are listed in Djaʿfarī, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, 78 (cf. Afshār, *Yādkārhā-i Yazd*, i, 205-7).

Not much is known about Yazdī's final years. In 789/1378, the year of his death, he had a sumptuous mosque and a mausoleum built for himself and his family at the periphery of the town of Yazd, where teaching sessions were held after his death. The constructions were repaired in 1081/1670-1, and their present state can be assessed as satisfactory.

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MUʿĪN AL-FUḲARĀʾ [see AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, in Suppl.].

MUʿĪN AL-MISKĪN, whose full name was Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad Amīn b. Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad al-Farāhī al-Harawī and whose *takhalluṣ* was Muʿīnī (d. 907/1501-2), a celebrated traditionist. He studied *ḥadīth* for 31 years, and throughout this period preached every Friday in the great mosque of Harāt. He was for one year *ḳāḍī* of Harāt, but gave up the post by his own request. In 866/1461-2, at the request of a friend, he began to write a little book on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. Out of this little book, there grew in time the great biographical work, exceedingly popular in the East, called *Maʿāridj al-nubuwwa fī madāridj al-futuwwa*, which was not finished till 891/1486 and contains a very full account of the life of the Prophet consisting of a *muḳaddima*, four books and a *khātima*; it has been frequently printed. Besides this gigantic work, Muʿīnī also wrote a commentary on the Ḳurʾān entitled *Baḥr al-durar* and a collection of forty *ḥadīths*, *Rawḍat al-wāʿiẓīn*. His study of the history of the prophets produced a larger history of Moses entitled *Muʿdjizāt-i Mūsawī* (also called *Taʾrīkh-i Mūsawī* or *Ḳiṣṣa-yi Mūsawī*), which was completed in 904/1498-9, and the story of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, *Aḥsan al-ḳiṣaṣ*.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur*, in Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, ii, 235, 319, 358; Rieu, *Cat. Pers, mss. Brit. Mus.*, i, 149a; *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay iii/3, 328; text of the *Maʿāridj al-nubuwwa* lithographed Lucknow 1292. A Turkish translation by Altï Parmaḳ (d. 1033/1624) entitled *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa-yi Muḥammadī* was printed at Istanbul in 1257/1841. For mss. and printed texts, see Storey, i, 11-12, 162-3, 187-8, 1194, 1250, 1254; Storey-Bregel, i, 124-6, 520-1, 565-8.

(E. BERTHELS)

AL-**MUʿIZZ** B. **BĀDĪS**, ABŪ TAMĪM SHARAF AL-DAWLA (407-54/1016-62), fourth ruler of the Zīrid dynasty who governed Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*] from 362/972 to 543/1148. His reign was not, as H.R. Idris thought, that of an apogee. If there was an apogee, it would have to be placed early on, before the plague and the terrible famine of 395/1004-5 which severely reduced the population. From this date, and throughout the reign of al-Muʿizz, calamities succeeded one another in a sustained rhythm, revealing the deficiencies of a disorganised and rundown economy. The years 409/1018-19, 423/1022-3, 425/1033-4, 432/1040-1, and 447/1055-6 were all marked by disaster (H.R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, 149, 161, 227, 274 and 293).

Al-Muʿizz, whose qualities were confused and embellished at leisure by Sunnī historiography which made him *a posteriori* a "Sunnī" prisoner of the Shīʿīs from his earliest infancy, remains in the history of Ifrīḳiya the artisan of the restoration of Mālikī orthodoxy, itself linked to the "catastrophe" of the Hilālī invasion. His father, Bādīs [*q.v.*], died suddenly on the eve of the final assault which would deliver to him the Ḳalʿa [*q.v.*] founded in 398/1007-8 by his uncle Ḥammād. His sudden death (30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 406/10 May 1016) marked the definitive partition of the Zīrid kingdom to the benefit of the Ḥammādid branch [*q.v.*] (405-547/1015-1152).

The young prince—he was less than nine years old on his father's death—was then at al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], a delicate situation which was not mastered without difficulty and subterfuge (Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, 128-30). His enthronement, on 21 or 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 406/31 May or 2 June 1016, passed off without being contested. He had, we are told, a swarthy complexion,

and was acknowledged to have a lively intelligence and good level of culture which could not have been acquired later. The following month al-Muᶜizz left al-Mahdiyya, and in the middle of Muḥarram 407/24 June 1016, he made his entrance into his capital al-Manṣūriyya founded around 336-7/947-9 by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr half a mile from Ḳayrawān, the turbulent citadel of Sunnism, to which the new *amīr*, as a matter of good policy, owed a visit, a visit which unleashed, in conditions which remain confused and obscure, a huge anti-Shīᶜī revolt.

On 16 Muḥarram 407/25 June 1016, the princely procession which paraded through the streets of the holy city was at first greeted with acclamation and applause. But suddenly, certainly at a signal or word of command that the chroniclers misinterpreted, rioting broke out. No doubt it was directed at the very life of the young *amīr* and, beyond him personally, at the regime that the Sunnīs wanted to bring to an end once and for all throughout the Maghrib in circumstances which then appeared to them particularly favourable. Had Ḥammād, miraculously saved by the sudden death of Bādīs, rejected from 405/1015 the Shīᶜī dogmas and recognised the ᶜAbbāsids of Baghdād? The possibility cannot be ruled out that he was in league with the rebels, if only to distract Ḳayrawān from a new offensive against the Ḳalᶜa. It also seems certain that the Sunnīs acted in complicity with some in the ranks of the official army who, at first, displayed a curious half-heartedness. As for the relative passivity of the governor of Ḳayrawān, it is easily explained by the fact that he had got wind of his forthcoming deposition.

The princely guard was quickly overrun. Once rioting broke out, the rioters killed with and without good cause, guided as much, if not more, by their instinct for looting than by their horror of heresy! "The hands of the people turned against the Shīᶜīs. Their houses and goods were looted. The situation worsened, and the rioting spread everywhere. The Shīᶜīs were massacred in large numbers and where there was a slight doubt many people were also killed whose doctrine was not reliably known" (Ibn ᶜIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. G.S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 268). Venerable Ḳayrawānī *shaykhs* even advised the unfettered crowds to act quickly. "If indeed the victim is a good Sunnī, it will only hasten his entrance into paradise!" (ᶜIyāḍ, *Madārik*, ed. Beirut 1967, iv, 625). Abu 'l-Bahār b. Khalūf, who was a special target and who was to accede some years later to the rank of vizier, only escaped the popular verdict thanks to the troops of his nephew, who was lynched in his place. The rioters finally invaded al-Manṣūriyya and sacked it in its turn. Several other towns of Ifrīḳiya experienced anti-Shīᶜī pogroms.

Our sources, all Sunnī for these events, only wished to preserve the memory of a great victory over Shīᶜism. In fact, the revolt, whatever its scale, had a long-term definitive effect. The Shīᶜī régime, while probably showing clemency, stayed in place. It goes without saying that al-Muᶜizz, if only on the grounds of his age, could not have had at the time of the events any personal policy. It was no doubt the staff left in place by his father who conducted the operations. About a month after the beginning of the revolt, on 19 Ṣafar 407/28 July 1016, a new vizier was appointed: Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the old governor of Tripoli. Was this a concession to restore calm?

Sunnism, emboldened no doubt by the state's clemency, did not meanwhile disarm. Some months later, on going to the open-air oratory (*muṣallā*) in Ḳayrawān on the occasion of the *ᶜĪd al-fiṭr* (the feast of the fastbreaking, 1 Shawwāl 407/3 March 1017), al-Muᶜizz narrowly missed becoming the victim of a new attempt. This time the régime decided to strike at the head and to strike hard. Al-Muᶜizz, writes ᶜIyāḍ (*Madārik*, iv, 626) "had become seriously afraid of the Sunnīs and decided to crush their provocation. He executed the leader (*zaᶜīm*) of Sunnism and the guide (*shaykh*) of this movement (*daᶜwa*)." On Thursday, 12 Shawwāl 407/14 March 1017 the "guide of the movement", Abū ᶜAlī Ibn Khaldūn, was besieged in his mosque, from which he was doubtless orchestrating events, and put to death. At once Ḳayrawān was in an uproar. But this time the state was not caught off guard. "The troops of al-Manṣūriyya, infantry and black guards, then moved against this city and sacked all its shops so completely that they left nothing unpillaged. They set fire to the great commercial arteries and looted the merchants' goods" (ᶜIyāḍ, *Madārik*, iv, 626). The Sunnī provocation was definitively crushed, and the threat that they presented to the régime removed. Practically there would no longer ever be a problem, throughout the reign of al-Muᶜizz, of anti-Shīᶜī disturbances.

Less than three months later (at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 407/end of May 1017) the caliph al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*], doubtless in recognition, sent him from Cairo robes of honour, and conferred on him by a rescript the title of Sharaf al-Dawla (Nobility of the State). At once al-Muᶜizz resumed against his great-uncle Ḥammād the campaign that had been interrupted by the sudden death of his father. Despite a frightfully bloody victory (30 Rabīᶜ I 408/26 August 1017), the campaign resulted in a Pyrrhic success. The peace concluded between the two belligerents and which would only be broken by Ḥammād's successor, al-Ḳāʾid, in 432/1040-1, left the Ḥammādids masters of the Ḳalᶜa and also confirmed the loss of the central Maghrib for the Zīrids of Ḳayrawān.

Meanwhile, relations remained excellent with the Fāṭimids. At the beginning of 411/end April 1020, al-Ḥākim renewed his confidence and favours to al-Muᶜizz, to whom he had sent among other gifts, a sabre inlaid with precious stones. His successor, al-Ẓāhir (411-27/1021-36), who had nominally under the tutelage of his aunt Sitt al-Mulk (d. 415/1024-5) assumed power at the age of 16, in 414/1023-4, enhanced his honorific title by rendering it even more high-sounding: Sharaf al-Dawla wa-ᶜAḍuduhā (Nobility and Right Arm of the State). And, of course, at the same time he heaped on him sumptuous presents. Egypt and Ifrīḳiya were then both governed by adolescents more or less under tutelage.

Al-Muᶜizz moved first to free himself from the control of his omnipotent and, allegedly, unscrupulous vizier Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. When he was unsuccessful in persuading him through a go-between to resign from power, he deposed him and had him executed on 7 Rabīᶜ II 413/11 July 1022, also inaugurating at the age of about 15 his personal reign. He appointed as new vizier a man dishonoured by the Sunnīs who had come close to lynching him during the revolt of 407/1016: Abu 'l-Bahār b. Khalūf. His nomination had a double political significance: for the Sunnīs it was a warning, and for the Fāṭimids of Cairo a sign of loyalty. The same year al-Muᶜizz married, with a great feast.

For more than 35 years, i.e. until the Hilālī invasion, his reign was overall quite calm, despite several minor revolts, particularly in the south of the country. The edifice seemed solid. But this was only an appearance. Behind the feasting of the court, enriched

by the censers of the regular incense-bearers, was hidden the collapse of economic structures more and more deprived of the support of servile manpower, a collapse generating repeated shortages and famines—not less than five mentioned by the chroniclers—with their train of disorders, epidemics and demographic depression, particularly in the country areas which became deserted for the towns. When the Hilālī waves struck directly at the country's shores, the land was already quite drained and incapable of supporting or neutralising the shock. Certainly there were already internal religious, but also economic, difficulties, which had gradually driven al-Muᶜizz to conciliate the masses who were impoverished and remained solidly faithful to Mālikī Sunnism, to change his views by exchanging Fāṭimid suzerainty, which actually only imposed on him insignificant obligations, for that of the distant ᶜAbbāsids, which was hardly more onerous. Helped by the decline of the Fāṭimids, particularly after the death of the vizier al-Djardjarāʾī (436/1045 [*q.v.*]), the break with Cairo took place in fits and starts, at the mercy of circumstances and perhaps also moods, which explains why the chroniclers assign different dates to it spanning a decade between 433 and 443/1041-51. Numismatics allow us to state that in 441/1049-50 it was well and truly achieved (Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, 190).

The decisive invasion campaign that the caliph al-Mustanṣir, on the advice of his vizier al-Yāzūrī, launched against Ifrīḳiya in order to punish his vassal for his rebellion, took place in the region of Gabès, at Ḥaydarān [*q.v.*], on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 443/14 April 1052. Despite the courage of the *amīr* and the advantage of numbers in favour of the Ifrīḳiyans, it was the rout of an army without strategy and cohesion, an army which, a colossus on feet of clay, was threatened by ethnic rivalries and the alleged resentment of the Berber contingents towards the strong black guard of some 30,000 slaves. The Zīrid edifice, deeply flawed behind a deceptive façade, crumbled at one blow. To lose a battle is not to lose the war. As the country collapsed and was unable to recover, it must have been without material resources and moral resilience.

The Hilālīs, pillaging and sacking all in their path, spread everywhere like a cloud of locusts, according to Ibn Khaldūn, and the principal towns of the land set themselves up as independent kingdoms. Ḳayrawān, finally given up by al-Muᶜizz, who sought refuge at al-Mahdiyya (27 Shaᶜbān 449/29 October 1057), was two days after the flight of the *amīr*, on 1 Ramaḍān/1 November, looted and sacked from top to bottom, inspiring heart-rending accents of distress from two famous poets, Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1063-4 or 463/1070-1 [*q.v.*]) and especially Ibn Sharaf (d. 460/1067 [*q.v.*]). The extent of the "catastrophe" is debated. J. Poncet goes as far as to deny it. We think that there is no good reason to doubt the extensive evidence, all in agreement, that has come down to us. Even allowing for the poetic emphasis of Ibn Sharaf, who has left a poignant eyewitness description of the misfortunes of the refugees scattered on all the roads in total destitution when they could save their lives (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, Cairo 1945, iv/1, 177-84), such emphasis may not be gratuitous. Nevertheless, one may recover from an invasion, however severe. Real and lasting catastrophe is something more. It is in the blow directed at an economy that was certainly very sick, but still curable. The Hilālīs provoked the transformation of this economy, definitely in crisis, but traditionally agricultural, artisan and urban, into a largely nomadic and pastoral economy with all the political and economic freezes that such a mutation represents. They caused the regression on a vast scale of peaceful urban life in favour of the adventurous existence of the nomads, whose bellicose vocation severely restricted rural, urban and commercial life, and weighed heavily over the centuries on the political fate of the country.

At bay, not knowing where to turn, al-Muᶜizz actually sought safety in vain and unnatural matrimonial alliances with the rough invaders. Always in the vain hope of averting or at least limiting the disaster, he also returned to Shīᶜī obedience, perhaps at the end of 446/beginning of 1055 and certainly from 449/1057-8, as the *dīnārs* minted at al-Mahdiyya from this date attest. His return to his Shīᶜī allegiance, to which al-Muᶜizz remained faithful until the end of his life, took place amidst the total indifference of a land both plunged in anarchy and confronted with preoccupations of too immediate vitality for it to be concerned any longer with heresy.

The Mediterranean policy of al-Muᶜizz was inherited from that of the Aghlabids and Fāṭimids, with this difference that the Zīrids were no longer in a strong position. Confusions in dates, omissions and contradictions do not allow us, in any case, to follow this policy with certainty. Let us bear in mind that an expedition against central Italy in 411/1020 ended in failure, with the Pisans and the Genoese succeeding in despoiling the Zīrid fleet of its booty on the return journey. In 416/1025-6 a powerful Zīrid fleet which had appeared near Sicily was destroyed by storm off Pantelleria before achieving its goal. In 426/1034-5 the Pisans briefly seized Bône. In 427/1035-6, an army commanded by ᶜAbd Allāh, son of al-Muᶜizz—a youth of not more than 13—intervened in Sicily, at that time in complete anarchy and about to fall into the hands of the Normans, against al-Akhal who had seized power there in Muḥarram 410/9 May-7 June 1019. After storming Palermo and beheading al-Akhal and his father, ᶜAbd Allāh was finally checked. In fact before this expedition, in 426/1034-5, al-Muᶜizz had received an ambassador from Byzantium bearing valuable gifts. Could the two events be linked despite the silence of the sources?

Until the Hilālī invasion, al-Muᶜizz had lived very ostentatiously, spending with prodigality and cultivating his reputation as a generous and enlightened patron. He had as his teacher one of the most prestigious Ifrīḳiyan men of letters, Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl [*q.v.*], a famous poet and astronomer, whose *al-Bāriᶜ* was translated into several European languages as well as into Latin and Hebrew. Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl later became the astrologer and head of chancellery of al-Muᶜizz, in whose reign the literary school of Ḳayrawān shone with particular brilliance with masters such as al-Ḳazzāz [*q.v.*] and the two al-Ḥuṣrīs [*q.v.*], Ibrāhīm (d. 413/1022) and his father ᶜAlī who, fleeing Ḳayrawān after the Hilālī invasion, wandered throughout Muslim Spain where he died in 488/1095. But the two stars of the court were indisputably two rival poets of great talent, Ibn Rashīḳ and Ibn Sharaf, between whom al-Muᶜizz liked to provoke some still famous poetic jousts. Ibn al-Raḳīḳ [*q.v.*] (or al-Raḳīḳ, d. after 418/1027-8), famous above all as a historiographer, was also secretary of chancery, a diplomat and poet not devoid of talent. In the field of Mālikī *fiḳh*, among a pleiad of celebrities, the dominant figure is that of Abū ᶜImrān al-Fāsī (d. 430/1039 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) who "played a considerable role in the genesis of the Almoravid movement" (Idris, *Zīrīdes*, ii, 727).

Al-Muᶜizz, as a child, had inherited a kingdom

economically disorganised and weakened and politically already amputated from its Western part. His attempt, in the wake of his father's policy, to reunite it, resulted in failure. On his death, on 24 Shaʿbān 454/2 September 1062, at the age of 56 or 58 and after a long reign of forty-seven years, he left it to his successor Tamīm, a kingdom economically ruined and politically divided and in complete anarchy.

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(M. TALBI)

MUʿIZZ AL-DAWLA, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN AḤMAD b. Abī Shudjāʿ Fanākhusraw Būya, b. 303/915-16, the youngest of the three Būyids of the first generation, founder of Būyid rule in Baghdād, d. 356/967. While serving under ʿAlī, his eldest brother (the later ʿImād al-Dawla [*q.v.*]), who had taken power in central and southern Iran, Aḥmad subdued Kirmān in 323/935. In 326/938 ʿImād al-Dawla ordered him to Khūzistān to support Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad al-Barīdī [*q.v.*], who ruled this province as independent governor, but was threatened by Ibn Rāʾiḳ and Badjkam [*q.vv.*], the chief *amīrs* (*amīr al-umarāʾ*) of Baghdād, and therefore sought protection with the Būyids. Having fought against Badjkam, Aḥmad turned against al-Barīdī himself and took hold of Khūzistān, which he ruled on behalf of his brother. Next to his brother's, his name appears on coins minted in Khūzistān, insofar as they are known to us, from 330/941 onwards. From 332/943-4, Aḥmad undertook several expeditions from Khūzistān against southern Mesopotamia, but without success. Finally, the governor of Wāsiṭ joined forces with him, and so the road to the city of the caliphs was free. Aḥmad marched on Baghdād, and on 13 Djumādā I 334/21 December 945, the caliph al-Mustakfī bi'llāh [*q.v.*] appointed him *amīr al-umarāʾ* and granted him at the same time the *laḳab* [*q.v.*] of Muʿizz al-Dawla, while his brothers ʿAlī and Ḥasan received the *laḳabs* of ʿImād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. The rule of the Būyids was now established in ʿIrāḳ. It was to last for more than one hundred years.

Though Shīʿīs of the Zaydī branch, the Būyids, for reasons of internal and external policy, did not undermine the caliphate fundamentally. They limited themselves to making the caliphs instrumental to their policy. During the public audience of 22 Djumādā II 334/29 January 946, Muʿizz al-Dawla had the caliph arrested, deposed and replaced by al-Muṭīʿ li'llāh [*q.v.*], a nephew of al-Mustakfī. Until the summer of the same year, a period during which the Būyids' position was not yet well established in Baghdād, he kept al-Muṭīʿ under arrest, and released him only after a treaty had been concluded about reciprocal obligations. One of the *amīr al-umarāʾ*'s sons was given an honorary function at the caliphal court. However, the change on the throne was not recognised everywhere outside the realm of the Būyids: in eastern Iran, the Samānids held on to Mustakfī until 344/955, beyond the latter's death in 338/949.

From the very beginning, the realm of the Būyids formed a complex structure. Although appointed *amīr al-umarāʾ* by the caliph, Muʿizz al-Dawla remained under the command of his elder brother ʿImād al-Dawla in Shīrāz. The names of the two brothers appear on the coins minted in ʿIrāḳ, while on the coins minted in his own realm, ʿImād al-Dawla carried the title *amīr al-umarāʾ*. In the spring of 336/948, both *amīrs* met in Arradjān [*q.v.*] to settle government affairs. On this occasion, questions of the inner structure of the Būyid realm must have been discussed.

Once established in Baghdād, Muʿizz al-Dawla had to defend himself against external and internal enemies. His most dangerous opponents were the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] in Mawṣil. Although he had concluded a peace treaty with them in the summer of 334/946, he nevertheless had to take the field three times against them, in 337/949, 348/959 and 355/964. In 336/947 he succeeded in chasing the Barīdids from al-Baṣra, where they had settled after the loss of Khūzistān. ʿImrān b. Shāhīn [*q.v.*], who ruled al-Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*], the marshy region between Wāsiṭ and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, was able to withdraw from the *amīr al-umarāʾ*'s direct control, and Muʿizz al-Dawla was obliged to recognise his rule. Muʿizz al-Dawla was more successful in the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and the Gulf. In 341/952 he was able to defend al-Baṣra against an attack of the combined forces of the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*] and the Wadjīhids, the rulers of ʿUmān. In 355/966, shortly before his death, the lords of ʿUmān submitted to the Būyids, but it was only ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] who succeeded in incorporating ʿUmān definitely into the Būyid realm.

The Daylamī [*q.v.*] mercenaries, who had helped the Būyids to build their power, were not reliable troops. Three times Muʿizz al-Dawla had to defend himself against mutinies and conspiracies of Daylamī officers. He therefore began to rely more and more on Turkish mercenaries. Their position in ʿIrāḳ had already been strong for a long time; in the pre-Būyid period, they had deposed the *amīr al-umarāʾ* several times. For the payment of the troops, Muʿizz al-Dawla used the income of several districts in ʿIrāḳ,

and he also used the method of distributing leases (*iḳṭā^c^* [*q.v.*]). Contrary to the practice used so far, he granted them without any financial return, and this was to become a characteristic of the financial policy of the Būyids and their successors. The distribution of tax leases (*ḍamān*), a practice which had already taken root and which the Būyids continued without change, was also disadvantageous for state finances. Yet Mu^c^izz al-Dawla took trouble to redress the economic bases in the regions under his control. From 334/955-6 he restored the irrigation systems which had been neglected during the upheavals of the preceding decades. He is said to have lent his own hand at this, in order to encourage the works. He also took trouble to promote health organisation, but the construction of a hospital on the site of the Ḥabs al-djadīd in Baghdād remained unfinished. The palace which he ordered to be built in Baghdād on the eastern side of the Tigris, in front of the Bāb al-Shammāsiyya, seems to have been an important complex. For this construction were used remnants from the round city (*Madīnat al-Manṣūr*), which was increasingly decaying, as well as from other cities in ^c^Irāḳ.

Mu^c^izz al-Dawla was uncultivated. Instances of his ignorance of the political and cultural relations in the centre of the ^c^Abbāsid empire, were transmitted in the form of anecdotes. He favoured the Zaydīs and was in relation with Mu^c^tazilī theologians. From 352/964 onwards, the Twelver Shī^c^īs were able to celebrate their religious feasts under official favour and with great pomp.

Mu^c^izz al-Dawla was undoubtedly an able commander and ruler. After the function of *amīr al-umarā*^ʾ^ had changed six times between 324/936 and 334/945, he put an end to the upheavals which had shaken the country and took care of its economic interests. In foreign policy, too, he put Būyid power in Mesopotamia on a firm basis, though he did not succeed in eliminating completely the Ḥamdānids. On the other hand, he initiated the period of the almost total powerlessness of the caliphate by reducing the caliph to a puppet without any real power.

In 343/955 he fell severely ill from priapism, and in the same year appointed his eldest son Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*], the later ^c^Izz al-Dawla, as successor to the throne and at the same time as *amīr al-umarā*^ʾ^. During a campaign against the ruler of the Baṭīḥa, he fell ill again, returned to Baghdād and died there on 17 Rabī^c^ II 356/1 April 967. He was buried in the Shī^c^ī sanctuary of al-Kāẓimayn. About his family relations there is only known that he was married to the daughter of the Daylamī grandee Ispahdūst. He left four sons: Bakhtiyār, al-Ḥabashī, Abū Isḥāḳ, Ibrāhīm and Abū Ṭāhir; and a daughter Zubayda, who was married to Mu^ʾ^ayyid al-Dawla, a son of Rukn al-Dawla's.

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(K.V. Zettersteen-[H. Busse])

AL-MU^c^IZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH, Ma^c^add, fourth and last caliph of the Fāṭimid dynasty of Ifrīḳiya.

He acceded to the throne of his ancestors at an early age on 29 Shawwāl 341/19 March 953; having been born on 11 Ramaḍān 319/26 September 931, he had barely come of age. According to his biographer, the famous *ḳāḍī* al-Nu^c^mān [*q.v.*], the designation of the young Ma^c^add to the imāmate does not seem to have been surrounded by the traditional secrecy of the period of *satr* [*q.v.*], his father al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh [*q.v.*] having for long hesitated as to the choice of his successor from among his five sons. It was only after having been justified with regard to Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] and at Tāhart, where he fell seriously ill, at the end of his long, tough campaign against the Khāridjite rebel, that he decided to make him his presumptive heir and informed his followers of his choice. But the designation of the young Ma^c^add was not proclaimed until long after, at the beginning of the year 344/952.

At the moment when he assumed power, the young caliph seems, according to the account of the author of the *Sīrat Djawdhar*, to have been distressed, fearing a violent reaction on the part of his brothers, uncles and great-uncles who had been deprived of the throne, and having inherited moreover a difficult political situation. His father had indeed restored royal authority by putting an end to Abū Yazīd's revolt, but he had not had enough time to suppress completely the insubordination of the Berbers of the Aurès and to re-establish his dynasty's prestige within the realm as well as outside. However, as nothing occurred to justify the young ruler's fears and as peace reigned in the land as well as on its borders, he was not slow to make public his father's death which had been kept secret until then, by celebrating in the Manṣūriyya mosque the ^c^Īd al-Aḍḥā and marking the beginning of his reign with an enthronement sermon in a solemn manner. In this *khuṭba*, whose text has been preserved intact in the *Sīrat Djawdhar*, the new master of Ifrīḳiya shows that he has overcome entirely the momentary confusion which had seized him on his father's demise. From now on he has the firm and decided tone of the ambitious young monarch who is determined to bring his arduous task to a successful conclusion. He has a very clear view of his programme of action and the vast work which will be demanded of him both inside and outside his realm: to pacify the territory which he governs, to extend his hegemony over it from its frontiers in the West to the East and to realise also the imperialistic aims of his predecessors founded on their belief in the ineluctable return of the throne of Islam to the Prophet's family in a line of descent from ^c^Alī.

Al-Mu^c^izz was to devote himself to achieving these vast designs throughout his reign in Ifrīḳiya, during some twenty years, without ever wearying, revealing as he advanced in age some exceptional qualities and leaving behind him the image of the most prestigious ruler of his period. His Ismā^c^īlī biographers, like the Sunnī chroniclers, actually agree in recognising in him all the gifts which make up the majestic presence of the monarch: tenacity and courage, farsightedness and determination, *ḥilm* and magnanimity, benevolence and extreme modesty, that al-Nu^c^mān takes pleasure in submitting as evidence in his *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa'l-musāyarāt*. But some dominant qualities throw more light on his personality: broadness of outlook, vast erudition in doctrinal matters and an innate sense of royal dignity. All this surrounds his name with a remarkable halo of grandeur and glory.

The discovery and publication of basic sources that constitute Ismā^c^īlī documentation, notably works of the *ḳāḍī* al-Nu^c^mān and the *Sīrat Djawdhar*, have thrown new light on the reign of al-Mu^c^izz, giving more detail and enriching our information. It has also been possible to revise certain currently-accepted theses and to modify certain well-established judgments (see F. Dachraoui, *Le caliphat fāṭimide au Maghreb*, notably the conclusion). When one calls to mind al-Mu^c^izz, it is with the conquest of Egypt and

the expansion of Fāṭimid power in the East to the heart of the ᶜAbbāsid empire that one tends to associate his name. However, it was during his reign in Ifrīḳiya that the apogee of their power was achieved. It was only towards the end, during the last four years, that al-Muᶜizz succeeded in realising the primordial objective of his ancestors, that of displacing the ᶜAbbāsid usurpers, amputating their Egyptian possessions from their empire and establishing his forces in the south of Syria, the Holy Places and Yemen. On the other hand, for a long time his essential preoccupation was with maintaining his hegemony in North Africa itself and pursuing there an unflagging struggle for influence against the Umayyad monarchy of Spain. Al-Muᶜizz was in fact eager to press hard from the Far Maghrib in a serious threat to the Cordovan throne, a subject on which al-Nuᶜmān fortunately informs us, casting new light on this episode by providing evidence of the ardour of the politico-ideological war to which the Ismāᶜīlī Shīᶜīs of Ifrīḳiya and the Mālikī orthodoxy of al-Andalūs dedicated themselves. Parallel to this, on the alliance of necessity concluded between Cordova and Byzantium against Fāṭimid Ifrīḳiya, al-Nuᶜmān provides us with direct and exact information which traces in detail the intensification of the *djihād* on land and sea in the Byzantine apanages of Sicily and southern Italy, as well as the considerable development of the Fāṭimid navy in the Western Mediterranean.

Immediately after his enthronement, the first concern of al-Muᶜizz was to pacify the mountainous zone of the Aurès, traditional refuge of the Hawwāra [*q.v.*], the ardent supporters of the Khāridjite rebellion. At the beginning of the year 342/953, he personally led the operations which gave the *amīr* of the Ṣanhādja Zīrī b. Manād and his son Buluggīn, the opportunity to distinguish themselves in his service and to achieve the submission of Muḥammad b. Khazar, chief of the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*], the principal branch of the Zanāta.

Then, having asserted his control over the central Maghrib thanks to the support of the Ṣanhādja, the Fāṭimid ruler next undertook to renew hostilities with his Umayyad rival in Cordova, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III, suspended during the reign of his father al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh. The rich contents of the *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt* offer all the information we would wish on the evolution of the Hispano-Fāṭimid conflict, the essential advantage of its contribution being that it is not limited to a simple account of events but reflects also on the motives of a political and doctrinal order that animated the ardent struggle pursued by al-Muᶜizz against his hereditary enemy.

At the beginning of his reign, it was thus to the throne of Cordova that the Fāṭimid monarch turned his attention. Al-Nuᶜmān's account actually supplies some evidence of his ambition to invade Muslim Spain. It became a sacred duty to dislodge there the "accursed" enemy, "the wicked usurper", and to restore the territory to its legitimate owners, the children of Fāṭima. He also denied his rival the right to style himself caliph and *amīr* of the believers, the Umayyad caliphate being for him illegitimate. "When Muᶜāwiya usurped the caliphate, he left it as an inheritance for his own lineage, taking care not to give the right to Marwān or Marwānid descendants. The Marwānids seized it from the first usurpers. Their possession of the caliphate was thus doubly illegitimate... God instituted the caliphate exclusively in the family of the Prophet's descendants through his daughter Fāṭima."

But undoubtedly not having the means to undertake the conquest of al-Andalūs through the Far Maghrib, where his Cordovan rival had at his disposal strong garrisons in Tangiers and Ceuta and kept them constantly on the move thanks to his trustworthy Zanāta, al-Muᶜizz ordered his lieutenant in Sicily Ibn al-Kalbī to lead a strong expedition against the Mediterranean coast of the Umayyad realm. A demonstration of spectacular decisive force, the raid against Almeria and its region, in 344/955, was destined to prove to the Andalusians that their land was going to have to live from then on under the threat of invasion. An Umayyad counter-offensive led by Ghālib took place without delay, but remained without notable effect. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III then sought and obtained the alliance of the emperor of Byzantium Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, with the aim of dispersing the Fāṭimid naval forces by opening a second front in Sicily. At the same time, he sent an emissary to Manṣūriyya to ask for a truce and "to preserve the blood of the adherents of Islam".

The unavowed objective of his Cordovan rival being to reduce the conflict to the level of diplomatic polemic and to turn the bellicose attention of the Fāṭimids to the Greeks, al-Muᶜizz found in his enemy's step the opportunity to denounce vigorously the Hispano-Byzantine alliance by branding its character "sacrilegious", since it ranked Muslims on the side of the infidels. He had a good chance, moreover, to refute the accusations brought against his régime by Cordova: the assassination of the *dāᶜī* Abū ᶜAbd Allāh by al-Mahdī bi 'llāh [*q.v.*], the prohibition of Andalusian pilgrims from passing through Ifrīḳiya, the absence of religious tolerance in Ḳayrawān, the sacrilege of the caliphal title in which the caliph was exalted and placed in the rank of prophets. To his rival's emissary he asserted his intention not to disarm, doubtless counting on turning to his advantage the difficulties encountered by Andalusian arms facing the Christian kingdoms of Leon and Pamplona. He was also not slow to launch the powerful expedition of the year 347/958-9 under the command of his freedman Djawhar [*q.v.*], the future conqueror of Egypt. The chroniclers assigned to recount great deeds supply abundant information which has allowed certain studies to trace the developments of events in an exhaustive manner (see notably Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, and Gibb, in *EI*[1] art. AL-MUᶜIZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH; the advantage of al-Nuᶜmān's account in his *madjālis* is in stating the objectives exactly: to extend the hegemony of the Fāṭimids to the West and an obligation to make war (*djihād*) on whoever lays claim to the caliphate and is opposed to the universal authority of the Fāṭimid *imām*.

The pretender to the caliphate that al-Muᶜizz intended to punish while waiting to strike at his Cordovan rival was, according to al-Nuᶜmān, the Midrārid prince of Sidjilmāssa, Ibn Wāsūl, surnamed al-Shākir li 'llāh [see MIDRĀR, BANŪ]. As soon as he captured the capital of Tafilalt and its dynast, Djawhar took care to mint money in the name of his master to replace that which Ibn Wāsūl had had issued in his own name and to intimate clearly that only al-Muᶜizz had the right effectively to style himself Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-muʾminīn*). Then Djawhar conquered Fez, but he withdrew to Manṣūriyya without marching on Tangiers and Ceuta, having achieved the basic objective of his master, i.e. to annex the territories of the Far Maghrib and to remove them from Andalusian tutelage, in order to be able to exert there a direct threat to Muslim Spain. A fruitful and resounding campaign was destined on the whole not so much to

invade al-Andalūs as to seriously undermine the prestige of the Cordovan monarchy. Furthermore, the enterprise would have required more powerful forces and the combined intervention of the fleet maintained in this period on the eastern front in Sicily and off Calabria to face up to the aggressive designs of the new emperor Romanus II and his servant Nicephorus Phocas. The death of the Umayyad monarch only some months after Djawhar's return to Manṣūriyya provoked no military reaction on the part of al-Muᶜizz who, from the time of Nicephorus Phocas's conquest of Crete, turned all his attention to the eastern front. The Fāṭimid was thus going to confine himself to maintaining under his tutelage the Moroccan territories conquered by Djawhar and to intensifying the intrusion of the Shīᶜī *daᶜwa* within the Umayyad realm. The evolution of the conflict was thus to take on a strictly ideological character for many years, during which the new master of Cordova, al-Ḥakam II, was to devote himself to countering Fātimid propaganda in his country by consolidating the power of Mālikī orthodoxy and by pursuing with the greatest vigour the partisans of Shīᶜī heresy. On this subject, the case in Cordova—that the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Sahl is alone in reporting in *al-Aḥkām al-kubrā*—of a missionary of al-Muᶜizz, a certain Abu 'l-Khayr at the beginning of al-Ḥakam II's reign, illustrates the latter's firm resolution to prevent all Shīᶜī infiltration in his realm: being accused of the crime of treason against Islam (*zandaḳa*) in resorting to heterodoxy put into action against the security of the state, the Shīᶜī agent was judged and executed for having organised a vast propaganda movement in favour of the Fāṭimids and having attempted to prepare on their account an uprising in Cordova.

Preoccupied by hostilities with the Greeks, al-Muᶜizz thus left his Andalusian rival full scope to bring the Zanāta back under his influence thanks to the skill of his Moroccan policy based on intrigue and the granting of large subsidies. The defection of the lord of Masīla, his foster-brother Djaᶜfar b. ᶜAlī b. Ḥamdūn, who had gone over into the service of his Cordovan enemy with his brother Yaḥyā, and the serious reverses suffered by his Ṣanhādja auxiliaries opposed to the Zanāta, aggravated by the death of their chief Zīrī b. Manād, succeeded in striking a savage blow at his anti-Umayyad policy. Over the years since the victorious excursion of Djawhar following the death of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III, the situation had thus not evolved in his favour, and the impetus with which he had wanted to threaten the realm of Cordova from Morocco had petered out completely. On the other hand, the development of his conflict with Byzantium was more favourable to his arms. On this topic al-Nuᶜmān expatiates in his *madjālis*, completing and supporting the scanty information gleaned from the chroniclers.

Hostilities with Byzantium were resumed in 344/955-6 on the initiative of the Greeks, the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus having had to lend assistance to ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III by virtue of their alliance established at the time when the Fāṭimid fleet undertook its raids on the Andalusian coast. Encouraged, besides, by the success of their arms against the Ḥamdānids of Syria, the Greeks carried out some successful operations against the Fāṭimid forces in Sicily, notably at Termini and Mazara, and on sea, near the island of al-Rāhib. But the fleet under the orders of Ibn al-Kalbī, having returned from its expedition against Muslim Spain, succeeded in containing their offensive. Anxious to regroup his forces with a view to a decisive campaign against Sayf al-Dawla in Syria, Constantine VII finally resolved to reach a settlement with al-Muᶜizz, to consent to his province of Calabria paying the traditional tribute and then to conclude, in 346/957, a peace treaty for a period of five years. However, this truce was broken before its time, in 349/960, in conditions that al-Nuᶜmān is the only one to recount in detail. The rupture took place on the initiative of the Fāṭimid monarch in reaction to Nicephorus Phocas's conquest of Crete for Byzantium at the beginning of the reign of Romanus II. Although belonging to the ᶜAbbāsid community and thus recognising the nominal authority of Baghdād, the Cretans depended in practice on the Ikhshīdids of Egypt who, being preoccupied with the Ḳarmaṭī or Carmathian peril, were not in a position to lend energetic military assistance. So they had to address themselves, with the agreement of the Ikhshīdid *amīr* Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī, to al-Muᶜizz, requesting his protection and military intervention against Byzantium. The Fāṭimid caliph, happy to turn this step to his advantage by presenting himself as the defender of Islam and proving the deficiency and impotence of the ᶜAbbāsids and Ikhshīdids at the same time, hastened to inform Romanus II of the breaking of the truce concluded with his predecessor and his sacred right to come to the aid of any Muslim territory, should it escape his direct authority. Ably exploiting the situation to the benefit of his eastern policy, he formed an alliance with the Ikhshīdid and gave orders to his fleet to manoeuvre in concert with the Egyptian navy from the port of Ṭunba in Cyrenaica, not far from Alexandria, in the direction of Crete.

However, given short notice by the capture of the capital, Candia, by Nicephorus Phocas on 6 March 961, al-Muᶜizz was slow to carry out the planned military intervention in Crete itself and had to limit himself to a resumption of hostilities in Sicily, where Ibn al-Kalbī captured Taormina in 962 and Rametta in 963, destroying the Byzantine expeditionary body led by the *patricii* Manuel and Niketas, who were killed in battle. This battle for Sicily, which resulted in a disaster for Byzantium, prompted Nicephorus Phocas, preoccupied with the war against the Bulgars, to come to an agreement with al-Muᶜizz. The latter, with peace restored, immediately turned his attention to Egypt.

In the last part of his reign in Ifrīḳiya, the conquest of Egypt constituted the principal event and absorbs all the attention of the chroniclers from Ibn Zūlāḳ to al-Maḳrīzī. When we examine their various accounts, we perceive that the basic source is Ibn Zūlāḳ, whom Ibn Saᶜīd makes use of in his *Mughrib*, al-Maḳrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ* and his *Ittiᶜāẓ*, as well as an Ismāᶜīlī author, the *dāᶜī* Idrīs, in his *ᶜUyūn al-akhbār*. A native of Egypt, d. in 387/997, Ibn Zūlāḳ has the advantage, like al-Nuᶜmān, of having been contemporary with the events that he relates. On the four years during which Djawhar occupied Egypt and governed it until the arrival of al-Muᶜizz, he has left us an eloquent picture of the political and social disorder provoked by the eruption of the Fāṭimids on the eastern scene. All these sources already having provided a sufficiently exact account of the conquest of Egypt in *EI*[1] [see AL-MUᶜIZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH], we will not dwell here on the event except to stress more the significance of the development of al-Muᶜizz's eastern policy at the moment when his relations as *imām* of the Ismāᶜīlī community deteriorated vis-à-vis the Ḳarmaṭī branch.

When he undertook to invade Egypt, al-Muᶜizz had reached the apogee of his power. His renown went far beyond the frontiers of his realm to the East. His

ᶜAbbāsid contemporary, al-Muṭīᶜ, a simple plaything in the hands of the Būyid Muᶜizz al-Dawla, was a helpless witness to the dismemberment of his empire. After Khurāsān and Syria became disaffected, his distant province beside the Nile, given up to drought and anarchy, had become since the death in 357/968 of his Ikhshīdid vassal Kāfūr an easy prey to his redoutable enemies, the Ḳarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn [see ḲARMAṬĪ]. It was certainly the advance of the latter in the direction of Egypt through Southern Syria that incited al-Muᶜizz to precede them to Fusṭāṭ. Indeed, from the time of the deviation of the Ḳarmaṭī movement, a branch of the Ismāᶜīlī *daᶜwa* which was to remain, however, a destructive force in the service of the Fāṭimid cause in the heart of the ᶜAbbāsid empire, and especially with the accession to the direction of the movement of Aḥmad b. Saᶜīd al-Djannābī and his son al-Ḥasan al-Aᶜṣam, hostile to his imāmate, al-Muᶜizz saw no more in Ḳarmaṭism than an obstacle to his expansion to the east. The relations entered into by al-Aᶜṣam with the Būyids and Ḥamdānids, equally opposed to the Fāṭimids and, above all, his repeated incursions against the Ikhshīdid apanages of Syria, succeeded in providing proof that the Ḳarmaṭīs were intending from now on to act only to their own account in their encounter with the Fāṭimids and were preparing to march on Fusṭāṭ.

Organised with the greatest care, the expedition to Egypt was powerfully endowed: innumerable troops, the support of a strongly equipped fleet and a war treasury of more than 1000 chests of gold. At the head of his heavy contingents, Djawhar took three months to reach Alexandria in Djumādā II 358/April-May 969. A delegation of notables from Fusṭāṭ came to meet him at Tarudja, not far from Alexandria, which he occupied without striking a blow, in order to conclude with him a treaty of capitulation guaranteeing the population security for their persons and their goods. This treaty, whose full text Ibn Zūlāḳ has preserved, constitutes an eloquent witness to the able policy by which the Fāṭimid general intended to win to his masters' cause a population marked by Sunnī orthodoxy: to protect the country from the Ḳarmaṭī threat and the Byzantine peril, to palliate also the ᶜAbbāsids' deficiencies, to establish order and security, to implement justice, to redress wrongs and improve the social and economic situation, and above all to ensure complete religious tolerance, everyone being free to follow the doctrine to which he belonged.

Some Ikhshīdid officers, having refused to approve the treaty, tried in vain to resist, But Djawhar made a peaceful entry into Fusṭāṭ, renewing the *amān* to the population on 17 Shaᶜbān 358/7 July 969. Having established his camp to the north of the town, he there traced out the location of a new city, imitating the act of al-Manṣūr in which he had seen to the founding of al-Manṣūriyya on the day following his victory over Abū Yazīd, also naming it al-Manṣūriyya (but it was also to be called al-Ḳāhira).

His power having scarcely been established, Djawhar set about realising the second phase of his mission, the conquest of Syria, where the remains of the Ikhshīdid troops had taken refuge, supported by powerful Arab tribes, the ᶜUḳayl, the Murra and the Fazāra, and which, for the sake of the population, he made into a sacred duty to deliver them from the Ḳarmaṭī peril. Responsibility for this was entrusted to his lieutenant, the Kutāmī Djaᶜfar b. Falāḥ, who besieged Ramla, Tiberias, and finally Damascus in 359/969. But being severely beaten by the Ḳarmaṭīs and with their commander killed, the Fāṭimid forces had to evacuate Syria and fall back on the Palestinian port of Jaffa.

Thus the Fāṭimids' attempt to penetrate to the heart of the ᶜAbbāsid empire came to a sudden end with the restoration of Syria to Ḳarmaṭī authority. Even worse, the way to Egypt was opened up once more to the Ḳarmaṭīs after Ibn Falāḥ's defeat. But instead of venturing to meet them in the vast desert lands of Sinai or the plains of the Delta, Djawhar preferred to give battle to them within trenches at the foot of the fortified stronghold of his new base, Cairo-Fusṭāṭ. Being inspired also by al-Manṣūr's strategy at Ḳayrawān against Abū Yazīd, he succeeded in holding in check the Ḳarmaṭī leader al-Aᶜṣam and in forcing him to fall back on his capital al-Aḥsāʾ, where serious dissensions were about to erupt in the heart of his movement.

It is to the seriousness of this Ḳarmaṭī thrust, although contained by Djawhar, that we must attribute the decision of al-Muᶜizz to join his faithful officer on the banks of the Nile. The threat that Carmathianism from now onwards presented to the unity of the Ismāᶜīlī *daᶜwa* and the prestige of the Fāṭimid caliphate in the East thus incited him to transfer the seat of the imāmate to Egypt without further delay and to leave Ifrīḳiya for ever.

The choice of a viceroy able to take on the government of the Maghrib was bound to be a matter of serious concern to the ruler, as his confidences reported in the *Sīrat Djawdhar* bear witness. This valuable source has the merit of confirming that he had the intention of entrusting the charge to the lord of Masīla, Djaᶜfar b. ᶜAlī b. Ḥamdūn, consequently correcting the incoherent information of the chroniclers on Buluggīn's appointment to head the realm. That al-Muᶜizz's choice had fallen on the *amīr* of the Ṣanhādja conforms moreover to the logic of history in a country where the cause of his ancestors had only been able to triumph and maintain itself thanks to the support of the Kutāma and Ṣanhādja Berbers. But the *ᶜaṣabiyya* of the Kutāma being blunted by service to the state for half-a-century, it was for the Ṣanhādja, whose power had remained intact and the force of their *ᶜaṣabiyya* much alive, to exercise power in the Maghrib on behalf of their Fāṭimid masters and to keep the turbulent Zanāta in check there. In any case, as a proved warrior, a worthy successor to the prestigious Zīrī b. Manād at the head of the Sanhādja nobles and warriors, Buluggīn appeared in the eyes of al-Muᶜizz to have the proper qualities for a viceroy. In addition to his apanages in the central Maghrib augmented by those of Ibn Ḥamdūn, the sovereign thus left to his lieutenancy the government of the realm of Ifrīḳiya, separated nevertheless from Sicily, which had remained under the authority of the Banu 'l-Kalbī, and the provinces of Tripoli and Barḳa, which had been attached to the seat of the caliphate in Egypt. Al-Muᶜizz set out in the direction of Egypt on Thursday 5 Ṣafar 362/15 November 972, accompanied by Buluggīn, after a stay in Sardāniyya, where he spent four months in organising his journey from which he would not return. Then the viceroy having taken leave of his sovereign on his halt at Gabès, the last Fāṭimid ruler of Ifrīḳiya went on his way to the new seat of his dynasty.

During the last three years of his life spent in Cairo, al-Muᶜizz was occupied with trying to chase the Ḳarmaṭīs out of Syria by assuring himself of the support of Arab tribes, especially the chief of the ᶜUḳayl. But his troops commanded by the Kutāmī Abū Maḥmūd b. Djaᶜfar b. Falāḥ, were not able to assert his authority in Damascus, which was not slow to fall into the hands of Aftakīn, a Turkish officer supported by the Ḥamdānids. The latter took advantage of the

Byzantines' incursions into Syria to extend his power over this land and to provide an obstacle there to the Fāṭimids' penetration. Al-Muʿizz died on 11 Rabīʿ II 365/19 December 975 without having been able to seize Damascus permanently, nor to open up victoriously the route to the ʿAbbāsid capital.

But his work as a great ruler is still associated with the period of his reign in Ifrīḳiya, during which he set about endowing the state, which had barely emerged from the Khāridjite disruption, with a rigorous administrative and financial organisation and solid political and religious institutions, promoting the rise of intellectual and artistic life and initiating the development of a brilliant civilisation which reached its full flowering on the banks of the Nile. If his name evokes dazzling military exploits, it also remains linked to the domestic level, with a policy of moderation and realism, a reform of Ismāʿīlī doctrine centred on the elaboration under his aegis of a clear and homogeneous juridical and doctrinal system adapted to his designs for expansion and hegemony. The correspondence which he exchanged with his rival in Cordova al-Nāṣir, his famous letter to the Ḳarmaṭī chief al-Aʿṣam and the one which he addressed to Romanus II, emperor of Byzantium, bear witness to the extent to which he subjected the universality of the dogma to the services of a farsighted and able policy and to the extent to which he left of himself an image of majesty and glory.

Bibliography: In addition to those in the *EI*[1] article, the sources with an Ismaʿīlī basis, notably al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, 1st and 2nd eds. Fyzee, Cairo 1951; idem, *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt*, ed. Fakī, Chabbouh and Yaalaoui, Tunis 1978; idem, *Kitāb al-Himma wa-adab ittibāʿ al-aʾimma*, ed. Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1960; idem, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, ed. Dachraoui, Tunis 1975; Abū ʿAlī Manṣūr, ʿAzīzī, *Sīrat al-Ustādh Djudhar*, ed. K. Ḥusayn and A.A. Shaʿīra, Cairo 1954, Fr. tr. M. Canard, *Vie de l'Ustadh Jawdhar*, Algiers 1957; ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Dachraoui, Tunis 1979, under the title *Taʾrīkh al-Daʿwa al-fāṭimiyya bi-'l-Maghrib*; idem, ed. Yaalaoui, under the title *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ al-fāṭimiyyīn bi 'l-Maghrib*, Tunis 1985; Madelung, *Fatimiden und Bahrainqarmaten*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1939), 34-88; idem, *Das Imamat in ein Frühen Ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.* xxxvii-xxxviii (1961), 43-135; Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide au Maghreb. Histoire politique et institutions*, Tunis 1981 (with bibl.). (F. DACHRAOUI)

MUʿIZZĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, Persian panegyrist of the Saldjūḳ period and poet laureate (*amīr al-shuʿarāʾ*) of Malik Shāh and Sandjar [*q.vv.*], born in Nīshābūr around 440/1048-9, died between 519-21/1125-7. His *takhalluṣ* Muʿizzī (or Amīr Muʿizzī) was given him by his patron the Kākūyid prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Farāmarz, son-in-law of Sandjar, after Malik Shāh's *laḳab* Muʿizz al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn, according to an anecdote recounted by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī in the *Čahār maḳāla* (tr. E.G. Browne, Hertford 1899, 67-70). His name, *takhalluṣ*, and origin are attested to by references in his poetry; his *Dīwān*, containing over 18,000 *bayts*, has been edited and published by ʿAbbās Iḳbāl (Tehran 1939).

Muʿizzī, the son of ʿAbd al-Malik Burhānī (*ca.* 409-65/1018-73), panegyrist of Alp Arslān, was entrusted by his father to the care of Malik Shāh shortly before Burhānī died while residing in Ḳazwīn. After composing panegyrics for a number of his father's patrons (including the Kākūyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla), he was presented to Malik Shāh when the latter visited Ḳazwīn; in the anecdote cited above, he complains of having been at Malik Shāh's court for a year, composing panegyrics but receiving no reward. He remained at court until the assassination of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] in 485/1092 and the death of Malik Shāh some months later (his *Dīwān* contains elegies on their deaths); there followed a period of instability during the struggle for Malik Shāh's succession, during which he praised various patrons including Arslān Arghūn (who attempted unsuccessfully to achieve autonomy in Khurāsān), Ismāʿīl b. Gīlakī (the Ismāʿīlī ruler of Ṭabas) and Abū Shudjāʿ Yaḥyā Ḥabashī (who supported Sandjar's brother Barḳyāruḳ [*q.v.*]), Barḳyāruḳ himself, and a variety of ministers and officials. From 490/1097 onwards he served as Sandjar's personal poet. According to a famous anecdote, well supported by evidence from the *Dīwān*, in 511/1117-18 he was wounded, under circumstances which remain obscure, by an arrow shot at him by Sandjar; the wound caused him much suffering (several poems tell of his being ill and absent from court for a year), and may finally have caused his death, as suggested in the elegies composed by his contemporary Sanāʾī [*q.v.*].

Despite his great popularity, no early manuscripts of Muʿizzī's *Dīwān* survive, the earliest dating from Ṣafawid times, and the poems appear to be in some disarray (especially those of the latter portion). The *Dīwān* consists mainly of panegyric *ḳaṣīda*s dedicated to over sixty rulers, officials and other notables, as well as *tarkībāt*, *ghazaliyyāt*, *rubāʿiyyāt* and *ḳiṭaʿāt*. It provides much valuable information not only about the political events of the period but about the poet's profession (for example, the sending of poets to vassals of the sultan to compose *ḳaṣīda*s celebrating specific occasions). While panegyrics dedicated to Malik Shāh and Sandjar predominate, Muʿizzī's other *mamdūḥ*s include, in addition to those mentioned above, Bahrām Shāh Ghaznawī, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, and the Khwārazm Shāhs Atsïz and Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. A large number are dedicated to Niẓām al-Mulk and his offspring, in particular his sons Muʾayyad al-Mulk and Fakhr al-Mulk; the poet seems to have had a close friendship with the latter, and composed a moving elegy following his assassination in 490/1096. Another important patron was Niẓām al-Mulk's son-in-law the Sayyid al-Ruʾasāʾ Muʿīn al-Mulk Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, head of Malik Shāh's *dīwān al-inshāʾ wa 'l-ṭughrā*, blinded in 478/1083-4 in punishment for his role in a plot against Niẓām al-Mulk.

Muʿizzī tends to favour the polythematic form of the *ḳaṣīda*. Many of his poems include passages of self-reference describing his impoverished condition, requesting the patron's favour, or praising his own poetry. His *ḳaṣīda*s show the influence of early Ghaznawid poets such as ʿUnṣurī, Farrukhī and Manūčihrī; for example, a Mihragān [*q.v.*] poem employs the same prosodic scheme as one by ʿUnṣurī and quotes its *maṭlaʿ*. Quotations from Rūdakī and Farrukhī are also frequent. Muʿizzī often uses extended metaphor and personification; several *nasīb*s consist of dialogues, e.g. between the poet and Reason (*ʿaḳl*), and another with Fortune (*iḳbāl*), which consists of four questions and answers, each passage ending with a title of the *mamdūḥ*. Several poems anticipate the "erotic panegyrics" which became popular at the Ghaznawid court slightly later; one, dedicated to Fakhr al-Mulk, consists of a dialogue between jasmine and rose, who voice their praise of the patron. Such poems must be seen as precursors of the panegyric *ghazal* later developed by Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*]. In addition, though some of the pieces classed as *ghazaliyyāt* are

clearly fragments of longer poems, a significant number are complete *ghazals* (in the early sense of sung lyrics) and anticipate the characteristic diction of the later, formal *ghazal*. Not without reason was Muʿizzī considered the foremost poet of his time; the variety and subtlety of his lyricism, his mastery of panegyric topics, the personal note of his *ḥasb-i ḥāl*, and his skilful use of transitions, had a clear and considerable influence on later poets, and he must be recognised as one of the outstanding poets in the Persian language.

Bibliography: Although Muʿizzī is mentioned by *tadhkira* writers such as ʿAwfī, Dawlatshāh, and later sources, their information is scarcely reliable. He receives scant attention in more recent Persian sources (for a listing, see ʿA. Khayyāmpūr, *Farhang-i sukhanvarān*, Tabrīz 1961, 552), and almost none in Western histories. (Julie S. Meisami)

MUḲĀBALA (A.), a technical term in a number of different disciplines.

1. In astronomy.

Here it corresponds to Gr. διάμετρος, in the Almagest ἀχρόνυκτος, Lat. oppositio, the term for the opposition of a planet and the sun or of two planets with one another. In opposition, the difference in longitude between the two heavenly bodies is 180°; while the modern use is to take no note of the deviations of latitude from the ecliptic, al-Battānī expressly emphasises (*Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, iii, 196) that we can only have the true *muḳābala* when both bodies are either in the ecliptic itself or are in equal ecliptical latitudes when opposed: in other words, when they are diametrically opposite one another in the heavens (cf. διάμετρος!). Opposition with the sun can only occur for the moon and the outer planets (in ancient astronomy, only for Mars, Jupiter and Saturn), not for the two inner ones, Mercury and Venus. When an outer planet is in opposition to the sun, its conditions of visibility are at their best; at midnight it passes through the meridian and is above the horizon the whole night. When the moon is in opposition to the sun, we have the full moon; the usual technical expression for this in Arabic astronomy is *al-istiḳbāl*, which is derived from the same root as *muḳābala* (Greek ἠπανσέληνος) and is rendered by Plato Tiburtinus and other mediaeval translators by *praeventio*; but we not uncommonly find the general term *muḳābala* applied to the opposition of sun and moon, while on the other hand we never find *al-istiḳbāl* used in the general sense of opposition of the planets (cf. al-Battānī, ii, 349, s.v. *ḳ.b.l*).

Al-muḳābala, opposition, forms along with *al-tarbīʿ*, quadrature (Gr. τετράγωνον, Lat. *tetragonum, quadratum*), *al-tathlīth*, trigon (Gr. τρίγωνον, Lat. *trigonum, triangulum, triquetrum, aspectus trinus*), and *al-tasdīs*, hexagon (Gr. ἑξάγωνον, Lat. *hexagonum, sexangulum, aspectus sextilis*), the four astrological aspects (*ashkāl*, sg. *shakl*, Gr. σχήματα, σχηματισμοί, συσχηματισμοί, also ὄψεις, Lat. *aspectus* or *radiationes*), which are applied to the ecliptical differences in longitude of two planets to the amount of 180°, 90°, 120° or 60° respectively. The *ashkāl* also play a part in the astrological arrangement of the signs of the zodiac (*burūdj*) (see MINṬAKAT AL-BURŪDJ and al-Battānī, iii, 194). It should be noted that the conjunction of planets (*muḳārana*, Greek σύνοδος; for moon with sun [new moon] always *idjtimāʿ*) is not included among the *ashkāl*, nor the position when the difference of latitude is 30° or 150° (cf. al-Battānī, *op. cit.*).

In horoscopes, *muḳābala* and *tarbīʿ* are as a rule regarded as unfavourable in principle, *tathlīth* and *tasdīs* on the other hand as favourable.

Bibliography: Battānī, *Kitāb al Zīdj al-sābiʾ (Opus astronomicum)*, ed. C.A. Nallino, Milan 1899-1907, i-iii; Boll-Bezold, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, 3rd ed. W. Gundel, Leipzig 1926, 63-4. (W. Hartner)

2. As a technique in manuscript production.

Here it has the meaning of "collation", i.e. the textual comparison of a manuscript with another of the same work, preferably, with one from which it was copied. A synonym is *muʿāraḍa* (*ʿarḍ, ʿirāḍ*; for the less common use of the latter, see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, vi [1953], 86-7, pls. XIX, XXI, mss. Köprülü, i, 1551, 1522, see also Köprülü, i, 1530). *Muʿāraḍa* is the older, originally less technical, and somewhat broader term, as shown by its use in the *ḥadīth* literature. An oral procedure of collation remained throughout, conceptually undistinguished from the written one. Discussion of the supposed semantic development of *muḳābala* is found included already in al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kātib*, Cairo 1341, 120-1, and repeated later on, e.g., in al-Sakhāwī, *Mughīth*.

The practice. About the middle of the 3rd/9th century, we find the procedure described in connection with the more complicated case of translation by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, *Risāla*, nos. 3, 20, 36-7, 39, 53, 74, 84, 86, 113, 123; the most famous passage (no. 20) speaks of Ḥunayn being "confronted" by the Syriac translator with himself checking the Greek original, a somewhat unusual description of *muḳābala* in personal terms. While Ḥunayn's involvement suggests non-Arabic antecedents, the internal Muslim situation which had its principal starting point in the science of *ḥadīth* is well documented. It resulted in the express indication in manuscripts of *muḳābala*, and *muḳābala* notices are found very frequently in preserved scholarly manuscripts; collation can also be inferred on occasion by other means. The notices allowed of a variety of phrases; the basic forms are listed in R. Şeşen, *Cat. Köprülü*, i, 20 (Ar.), i, 31 f. (in Turkish), Istanbul 1406/1986. The simple *balagha* "done to this point" (*balaghat al-m.*, *balagha muḳābalatan*), when not followed by *muḳābala* or followed by *ḳirāʾa/samāʿ*, refers, strictly speaking, to the process of study in general (which, however, presupposed *muḳābala*).

The mention of *muḳābala* characterises serious scholarship. Famous scholars are represented in the notices, e.g., al-Sīrāfī, whose notice is dated in 343/954-5 (see Köprülü, i, 1507, and *Cat.*, ii, pls. I and VI). Intended to confirm the correctness of the text as copied, the form III of *ḳ-b-l* is often followed by the form II of *ṣ-ḥ-ḥ* "to provide a correct text" (although *taṣḥīḥ* was, of course, also practiced freely without recourse to *muḳābala*). Not surprisingly, notices are found where a copyist wished to make it clear that he was aware that his *Vorlage* was faulty (*saḳīm*); at the same time, it was acknowledged that absolute correctness was unattainable, thus various forms of "(corrected) as much as possible" were often added. Occasionally, the need for collation (Köprülü, i, 244, 596) or the hope of future access to another manuscript for renewed collation was expressed (e.g., Aya Sofya 4360/Fatih 5323, see M. Grignaschi, in *Muséon*, lxxx [1967], 215 ff.; Beşir Ağa 494 [*Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*]; Ahmet III 1975 [al-Rāzī, *Tadjārib*]; Üniversite 1458, fol. 219a). *Samāʿ* notices and *idjāzāt*, since they implied *muḳābala*, required no express mention of it, but it was occasionally mentioned in them (e.g. Ahmet III 2951, see Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *RIMA*, ii [1956], 101-2 [al-Birzālī]; Cairo, muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth 65, fol. 191 [al-Dhahabī, *Muʿdjam*]). *Muḳābalas* are not infrequently dated, sometimes within a couple of days after the manuscript was written (as indicated by

al-Birzālī in Fatih 4304 of al-Mizzī's *Tahdhīb*), or within less than a couple of months (as indicated in Rabat 1988 of al-Kāfiyadjī's commentary on Ibn Hishām), but often also considerably later (e.g. Murad Molla 1236 of Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Tanazzulāt al-Mawṣiliyya*). The mention of *mukābala* came to be a way of asserting that the text of a given manuscript was approved as correct, as in the case of Ibn Khaldūn (see tr. Rosenthal, i, pl. I). Routine use of *mukābala* notices is also implied by a statement about a scholar who, whenever he copied a book and collated it with its *Vorlage*, added this note: "Correct by means of *muʿāraḍa* and safe, by means of *mukābala*, from contradiction, from the first words to the last" ʿAbd al-Djalīl b. Muḥammad b. al-Musallam al-Ḥayfī, according to al-Silafī, *Muʿdjam al-safar*, but see al-Sakhāwī, *Mughīth*, ii, 169). The practice of *mukābala* seems to have been institutionalised, as we hear about a *bayt al-mukābala wa 'l-naskh* with its own personnel in the palace of al-Ḥakam II [*q.v.*] in Spain, see ʿIyāḍ, *Ilmāʿ*, 165.

The theory. Possibly already in the later 2nd/8th century, the *mukābala* was accepted as being of particular importance for the rapidly developing science of *ḥadīth* and, in the course of time, found a small niche in its theoretical framework (*ʿilm uṣūl al-ḥadīth*). Among the first to write a book on the subject (according to Ibn Ḥadjar, *Nuzhat al-naẓar fī tawḍīḥ Nukhabat al-fikar*, beg.), Ibn Khallād al-Rāmhurmuzī (latter part of the 4th/10th century) included a chapter on *muʿāraḍa* in his *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*. Practically all later authors paid special attention to it, among the most prominent among them al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and, after him, ʿIyāḍ, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, and al-Sakhāwī who quoted copiously from many of the earlier authors. Their interdependence is expectedly great. The discussions differ with respect to their authors' views on correct procedure. A large number of questions as to the "conditions" governing *mukābala* were raised, for instance: When should it take place, during the lecture or at any time thereafter? Can it be based on the teacher's oral exposition? Is the original *Vorlage* to be used or what other copies are suitable? Must it be done by the student personally? Should every student in class have a manuscript of the studied text in front of him (recommendable, according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya*, 238), with the teacher himself on occasion providing the students with a sufficient number of copies (al-Sakhāwī, *Mughīth*, ii, 169, with reference to earlier authors)? and so on. The purpose of it all was to establish whether a manuscript, and the person who wrote or relied on it, could function in the process of *ḥadīth* transmission. It was widely agreed that *mukābala* was a necessary requirement. Strict interpreters of the conditions granted the right of transmission only if they were punctiliously preserved. Much more numerous were those who did not subscribe to strict observance. Some authorities held that transmission was permitted when the absence of *mukābala* was expressly stated. Some even went so far as to dispense with the requirement of it (al-Djurdjānī, *R. fī fann uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, 6 [in al-Tirmidhī, *Djāmiʿ*, Dihlī 1266/1849-50], see E.E. Salisbury, in *JAOS*, vii [1862], 76). In sum, however, the theory of *mukābala* and the added stimulus which it provided for the practice contributed immeasurably to accuracy in bookmaking.

Bibliography: Ḥunayn, *R. fī dhikr mā turdjima min kutub Djālīnūs*, ed. G. Bergsträsser. Abh. K.M., xvii/2, Leipzig 1925; Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayn al-rāwī wa 'l-wāʿī*, Beirut 1391/1971, 544 (see Weisweiler, *Ist. Handschriftenstudien*, 5, Bibl. Isl., x, 1937); Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Djāmiʿ*, Cairo n.d., i, 77-8; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357/1938-9, 237-40, cf. also *al-Djāmiʿ li-akhlāk al-rāwī wa 'l-sāmiʿ*, Kuwait 1981, Oman 1983? (not seen); ʿIyāḍ, *al-Ilmāʿ ilā maʿrifat uṣūl al-riwāya wa-taḳyīd al-samāʿ*, Cairo-Tunis 1389/1970, 158-61; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, Aleppo 1350/1931, 175-7; Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-mughīth, sharḥ Alfiyyat al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1968-69, ii, 165-71. As an example of minor works, see F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, Rome 1947, 14b, 16b, 22b, 25 ff., cf. M. Mursī al-Khūlī, in *RIMA*, x, 167-84. The few references to *mukābala* notices given here can, of course, be multiplied. Such notices should be reproduced in manuscript catalogues, as in Şeşen (above), and in all text editions that contain descriptions of the manuscripts used. As explained, general studies of *samāʿ*s and *idjāzas* are largely unproductive with respect to *mukābala*, but see, e.g., P.A. Mackay, *Certificates of transmission on a manuscript of the Maqāmāt of Ḥarīrī*, in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, lxi/4 (Philadelphia 1971), 7b, 13b, 17a, 29b. (F. Rosenthal)

3. In literary theory.

In scholastic rhetoric (*ʿilm al-balāgha*), *mukābala*, variously translated as "opposition" or "correspondence", refers to a type of antithesis [see ṬIBĀḲ], in which both sides of the opposition consist of two or more terms, as in sūra IX, 82: *fa-l-yaḍḥakū ḳalīlan wa-l-yabkū kathīran*, "therefore let them laugh little, and weep much," where "laugh little" corresponds to its two respective opposites "weep much" (al-Ḳazwīnī, *Talkhīṣ*, 352-4, *Īḍāḥ*, 485-88; Mehren, 99-100). In its earliest attestation, the term appears in the form of *ṣiḥḥat al-mukābalāt*, "correct correspondences" and covers both parallelisms of contraries and non-contraries (Ḳudāma, *Naḳd*, 72-3; note that *takāfuʾ*, "antithesis" of single terms, is treated separately on 78-81). Since al-Khwārazmī lists this term under the technical terms of the state scribes (*Mafātīḥ*, 73-4: *muwāḍaʿāt kuttāb al-rasāʾil*), but not among the terms used in the critique of poetry (94; *naḳd al-shiʿr*, where, however, the word *mukābala* is used to explain the term *muṭābaka*, "antithesis"!), it is likely that *ṣiḥḥat al-mukābalāt* originally belonged to the professional jargon of the epistolographers, who used the technique denoted by it to construct pleasing isocola. Due to the preponderant use of contraries in these "correspondences", the term was gradually drawn into the category "antithesis" as used by the literary critics. However, Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ (d. 654/1256) still clearly distinguishes between *muṭābaka* and *mukābala*: the former being a contrast between two single contraries, whereas the latter balances two or more terms on each side which, in addition, need not be contraries, although they often are (*Taḥrīr*, 179).

Bibliography: Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, *Naḳd al-shiʿr*, ed. S.A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956, 72-3 (*ṣiḥḥat al-mukābalāt*), 121-2 (*fasād al-mukābalāt*); Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Wahb al-Kātib, *al-Burhān fī wudjūh al-bayān*, ed. Aḥmad Maṭlūb and Khadīdja al-Ḥadīthī, Baghdād 1967, 175-6 (*ṣiḥḥat al-mukābala*); Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, ²1968, 73-4; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn, al-kitāba wa 'l-shiʿr*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī and Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2nd ed., Cairo n.d. [1971], 346-9; Bāḳillānī, *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1963, 87-8, cf. G.E. von Grunebaum, *A tenth-century document of Arab literary theory and criticism*, Chicago 1950, 25-6; Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr wa 'l-nathr wa-bayān*

i'djāz al-Kur'ān, ed. Hifnī Muhammad Sharaf, Cairo 1383/[1963-4], 179-84 (sihhat al-mukābalāt); Sidjilmāsī, al-Manza' al-badī', ed. 'Allāl al-Ghāzī, Rabat 1980, 344-50; Hāzim al-Kartādjannī, *Minhādj al-bulaghā' wa-sirādj al-udabā'*, ed. Muhammad al-Habīb Ibn al-Khudja, Tunis 1966, 52-5; al-Khatīb al-Kazwīnī, *al-Īdāh fī 'ulūm al-balāgha*, ed. Muhammad 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafādjī, 3rd ed., [Beirut] 1391/1971, 485-8; idem, [*Talkhīs al-Miftāh*], *al-Talkhīs fī 'ulūm al-balāgha*, ed. and comm. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Barkūkī, [Beirut] n.d. [1982], 352-4; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf istilāhāt al-funūn*, ed. A. Sprenger, 2 vols., Calcutta 1862, repr. Tehran 1967, 1205-6; A.F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen and Vienna 1853, repr. Hildesheim and New York 1970, 99; J. Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1873, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 83-4.

(W. HEINRICHS)

MUKADDAM (A.), literally, "placed in front". Applied to persons, the word means the chief, the one in command, e.g. of a body of troops or of a ship (captain). Dozy, *Suppl.*, *s.v.*, gives a number of police appointments which have this name. In the dervish orders, the word is used for the head of the order or the head of a monastery.

As a neuter noun, the word is a technical term in logic and arithmetic. In logic, it means the protasis in a premise in the form of a conditional sentence, e.g. "If the sun rises (it becomes day)", where this whole sentence is to be regarded as premise of a syllogism. But as every sentence can be a premise, *mukaddam* is really identical with the condition in the conditional sentence. In arithmetic, *mukaddam* means the first of two numbers in a proportion, i.e. 3 (:5) or in other words, the divided number in a simple division. In logic and in arithmetic, the portion following the *mukaddam* (in brackets above) is called *tālī*.

Bibliography: Dozy and other dictionaries; Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des isl. Vereinswesens* (Türk Bibl., xvi), 106; Tahānawī, *Dict. of technical terms*, ed. Sprenger, 1215, 1362.

(M. PLESSNER)

MUKADDAM B. MU'ĀFĀ AL-KABRĪ ("of Cabra", Córdoba Province), Hispano-Arab poet, d. *ca.* 299/911-12. According to the Andalusian historian al-Hidjārī (500-49/1106-55) (on whom see *EI*² I, 602b and, in particular, III, 926a) and to such authors as relied on him, Mukaddam was the originator of the *muwashshah* genre [*q.v.*] of poetry. Although he is described as such without qualification by Rachel Arié in her article KABRA [*q.v.*] (cf. also her *España musulmana (siglos VIII-XV)*, Barcelona 1982, 396), it should be noted that Ibn Bassām (d. 543/1147 [*q.v.*]) gives the name of the genre's inventor as Muhammad b. Mahmūd al-Kabrī, the Blind (*not* "Muqaddam ibn Mu'āfā al-Qabrī, the blind", a gratuitous emendation, appearing without comment or explanation, in J.T. Monroe's translation of the relevant passage from Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, Cairo 1942, ii, 1-2, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1975, i, pt. i, 469), in his *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1974, 28). S.M. Stern took the view that al-Hidjārī's "Mukaddam" rather than "Muhammad" was probably an error (*Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, ed. L.P. Harvey, Oxford 1974, 65 f.), apparently on the ground that the value of al-Hidjārī's testimony, reaching us indirectly through the *Kitāb al-Muktataf min azhār al-riyād* of Ibn Sa'īd [*q.v.*], "cannot be compared with that of Ibn Bassām" (*ibid.*, 65).

That there were two different poets each bearing the *nisba* "al-Kabrī" seems demonstrable beyond a reasonable doubt on the evidence of the sources cited by Stern (*ibid.*, 92 f.), who, presumably on the balance of probabilities, suggested that "the invention [of the *muwashshah*] was credited to the second [Mukaddam] in error because his name was slightly better known than that of the first [Muhammad]" (*ibid.*, 92). Such an assumption may or may not be correct, but of this much we may be sure: there was indeed a poet by the name of Mukaddam b. Mu'āfā al-Kabrī. From two passages preserved in the *Muktabis* of Ibn Hayyān [*q.v.*] from the—apparently no longer extant—*Tabakāt al-shu'arā'* of the well-known *washshāh* 'Ubāda b. Mā' al-Samā' [*q.v.*] we know that he flourished in the reign of 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (*reg.* 275-300/888-912 [*q.v.*]), seventh Umayyad *amīr* of al-Andalus, and we have evidence of his existence from passages in other sources (cited by Stern, *ibid.*, 93). At the same time there is nowhere in any of these passages a single mention of *muwashshahs*, though, as Stern so rightly points out, this is "no proof by itself that he was no *washshāh*" (*ibid.*). If, however, he was a *washshāh*, not a single *muwashshah* of his, or even part of one is known to be extant, nor, so far as we know, is there any *muwashshah* that has been attributed to him.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): *Crónica anónima de 'Abd al-Rahmān III*, ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, Madrid 1950, 150 and n. 3; Ibn Hayyān, *Crónica del califa 'Abdarrahmān III ... (al-Muqtabis V)*, tr. Mª.J. Vigueira and F. Corriente, Saragossa 1981, 166; E. Terés, *Ibn Faraj de Jaén*, in *al-And.*, xi (1946), 156 n. 2.

(J.D. LATHAM)

AL-**MUKADDASĪ**, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD b. Ahmad b. Abī Bakr al-Bannā' al-Shāmī, also known by the name al-Bashshārī (Yākūt designates him as such, *Udabā'*, *passim*) is the best representative of Arabic geography in the second half of the 4th/10th century.

His life, which is not well known, is only available to us through his own work. Very much attached to the Palestine of his birth and to the town whose name he bears (Mukaddasī or Makdisī, from Jerusalem, al-Bayt al-Mukaddas or Bayt al-Makdis), he probably belonged to a middle-class family. His paternal grandfather, Abū Bakr, an architect (*bannā'*), has his claim to fame for having built, on the orders of Ibn Tūlūn, the maritime defences of Acre. His mother's family came originally from Biyār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a small town of Khurāsān: the author's grandfather, Abū Tayyib al-Shawwā, being reasonably well off and himself also an expert in the art of construction, emigrated to Jerusalem (on this information relating to his family, cf. al-Mukaddasī, *Ahsan al-takāsīm*, 46, 163, 188, 357, 367).

From certain events reported in his own work, it can be inferred that he lived at least until about 380/990 (cf. A. Miquel, partial Fr. tr., Damascus 1963, pp. XVI-XVII). Some few dates only mark out this life: two pilgrimages to Mecca in 356/967 and 367/978, a journey to Aleppo, perhaps, around the years 354-64/965-75, a visit to Khurāsān in 374/984, and the decision to compose the work, taken in Shīrāz, in 375/985, at a time when al-Mukaddasī tells us (*Ahsan al-takāsīm*, 8-9) that he had passed—but by how much?—the age of forty.

It can reasonably be supposed that he received the education that his social origins merited; the use, in his work, here and there, of rhymed prose, and even poetry, bear witness to a classical training in grammar and literature, while the arguments on a basis of *fikh* and the discussions of the various theological and

juridical schools provide evidence of a marked interest—and no doubt one awakened very early—in these fundamental disciplines. But these displays of a culture that could be termed classical, as well as the other traces of different fields of learning, history philology and *ḥadīth*, are kept in the background to the benefit of the work itself, which brings them together in a project of singular unity.

Al-Muḳaddasī is probably the first, as he explains in the preface of his book, to have desired and conceived an original science, inspired perhaps by his predecessors, but surpassing them all to the advantage of what should certainly be called a true geography. Far removed from the "science of countries" inaugurated by al-Djāḥiẓ and systematised by Ibn al-Faḳīh, but also from the cosmography of the *ṣūrat al-arḍ* and the genre of *al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* [*q.v.*], al-Muḳaddasī belongs to the school called the "atlas of Islam", founded by al-Balkhī, continued by al-Iṣṭakhrī, and himself relayed by Ibn Ḥawḳal, a contemporary of our author.

In relation to the latter also, al-Muḳaddasī stands out as a pioneer. No doubt he draws on his heritage, this innovation introduced by al-Balkhī and consisting of describing the world of Islam, giving it priority and even exclusivity. But it is the systematisation of the subject matter and method which makes al-Muḳaddasī the finest representative of this science of geography of Islam in the 4th/10th century. Through his ambition, above all, an ambition in ordering and content, al-Muḳaddasī intends to create a useful science, notably for merchants and the cultivated man (*adīb*). This last point is particularly important; by invoking authorities, one should say challenging them, by injecting, when necessary, a noble tone aided by rhymed prose and poetry, the new discipline was to be given its letters-patent of nobility in the field of literature as well as in that of strict learning. As for ambition in content, the programme that the author assigns, from as early as the preface, to the science that he intends to found covers all the fields that it is agreed upon to call geography today: physical, economic, political and human.

On the map, it is then to the world of Islam that study is devoted, and to it alone, apart from some very rare excursions into foreign lands and recollections of the universal cosmography of the *ṣūrat al-arḍ* outlined in the introduction to the work. This world, which is made up of two parts, *mamlakat al-ʿArab* and *mamlakat al-ʿAdjam*, al-Muḳaddasī joins together in a unique concept, that of *mamlakat al-Islām*, at times, simply, *al-mamlaka* or *al-Islām*: the Domain of Islam, the Domain or Islam. It is within this whole, as soon as unity has been reconstituted and established in principle, that there reappears the distinction between Arabs and non-Arabs. On the one hand, six Arab provinces, sc. the Maghrib, Egypt, Arabia, Shām, ʿIrāḳ and Aḳūr (Djazīra, Upper Mesopotamia); on the other, eight non-Arab provinces: Riḥāb, (Armenia-Arrān-Ādharbaydjān), Daylam, Djibāl, Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān, Sind and the Mashriḳ, the latter term covering all the lands coming, more or less directly, under the authority of the Sāmānids, sc. Sidjistān, Afghānistān, Khurāsān and Transoxiana (Mā warāʾ al-nahr). In order the better to assert the unity of the whole beyond this major division into two blocs, a rigorous parallelism allocates to each of them a sea (Mediterranean and "Sea of the East"); a desert (Bādiyat al-ʿArab and Mafāzat Khurāsān); and two double provinces with two capitals: Andalus (Cordova) and the Maghrib properly so-called (Ḳayrawān) for the Maghrib, a land to the south and to the north of the Oxus (Nīsābūr and Samarḳand) for the Mashriḳ. Another way of asserting the unity is the conception of the heart of Islam, Arabia, being also itself a province with two capitals, Mecca and Zabīd.

The definition of the province is no less remarkable: the *iḳlīm* [*q.v.*] is seen as a geographic whole, strongly individualised through its physical characteristics and ready, in consequence of this very situation, at a given moment in history, to transcribe this individuality into a more or less asserted autonomy. At the head of the province is the *miṣr*, metropolis, ruling several surrounding districts (*kūra*), themselves containing main towns (*madīna*) around a *ḳaṣaba*. Thus is brought to its conclusion, in the most minute detail, this ordered presentation of the *mamlakat al-Islām*, a new geography that al-Muḳaddasī also wanted to baptise with a new name, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aḳālīm*, "the best division for the knowledge of the provinces"

This science required a specialised vocabulary. Apart from the words cited, the author uses the distinguishing words *nāḥiya* and *rustāḳ*, the latter too small to constitute a *kūra*, but benefiting from a separate status within a fixed *kūra*, the former occupying a situation of the same order, but in relation, especially, to the *iḳlīm*, taking account of its superior status as against the *rustāḳ*. Other specific terms touch on current vocabulary, of which certain specialised words relate for example to the scale of values for products; finally, others appear in the form of tables or are designed, according to the different countries visited, as the terms of crafts, water transport, tools, weights and measures, and money.

The global presentation is clothed in the same rigour. The description of each province, after a general presentation which aims at a more elevated tone, opens into the division of the *kūra*s and their towns followed by the description of them. After this, a general chapter of the province presents, in an order which may be varied and not always complete, the following information: climate, products and specialities, waters, mines, mountains, holy places, money, taxes, weights and measures, customs, marvels, calendar, political power, factions, schools and Ḳurʾānic readings, marvels and—always present and ending the list—routes.

The work is also of value as a whole, less perhaps due to its gross data—Ibn Ḥawḳal is possibly richer in information—as due to its plan. It remains to be said that the project, in the very size of its seale, is ultimately more of a dream than a reality. The superb construction of the *mamlaka* was already condemned by history, pending the following centuries which would see the political reality, the concept and even the expression disappear. Although he continues with others the eulogy of Baghdād, presented as the living and unifying symbol of this world, al-Muḳaddasī cannot fail to stress its decline, as against the two powers who were challenging it, Cordova and especially Fāṭimid Egypt, which he acknowledges is quite ready to take over from its rival. The work itself bears witness to these tensions, even in its composition: the two manuscripts of Berlin and Constantinople differ not only in variations of date, content and title (cf. Miquel, Fr. tr., *op. cit.*, p. XXVII), but in the references made to the two powers of the Muslim East at the end of the 4th/10th century, the Fāṭimids and Sāmānids.

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(A. MIQUEL)

MUḲADDĪ (A.), pl. *muḳaddūn*, defined by al-

Djāḥiẓ (*Bukhalā'*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 46) as a man who practices *kidā'* (*ṣāḥib al-kidā'*), a term often replaced at a later date by *kudya* or *takdiya* and defined as "begging", in fact denotes a wandering beggar or vagrant who, with the help of a remarkable talent for plausible lying and a knowledge of certain effective dodges, succeeds in opening up the purses of those simple persons who allow themselves to be taken in by his eloquent but mendacious words. The different words just cited do not appear in the classical dictionaries with the meanings indicated here, and if al-Djāḥiẓ feels the need to define—too briefly—the word *mukaddī* (together with, as we shall see, a whole series of other "technical terms"), this is because he considers them as slang words belonging to the argot of the rogues and vagabonds and intelligible only to initiates; in any case, as C.E. Bosworth suggests (*Underworld*, i, 40), it derives possibly from the Persian *gadā* "indigent person, beggar".

Whatever the position, al-Djāḥiẓ was probably the first to have introduced vagabonds into Arabic literature by devoting several opuscules to their activities and by consecrating a complete chapter of his *K. al-Bukhalā'* (ed. Ḥādjirī, 39-46; tr. Pellat, 65-75) to a *mukaddī* called Khālid b. Yazīd. This person sets forth a discourse in which he enumerates the terms denoting his confederates and boasts that he has had under his control the members of the band of which he claims to be chief, before going on to list at length the pieces of advice which he is now giving to his son. Whether this personage was a historical one or not, it is worthy of note that Yākūt (*Udabā'*, xi, 42-7) has borrowed the introduction of the chapter and the latter part of the discourse in order to make out of these a bibliographical notice on Khālid b. Yazīd. The terms cited are explained by al-Djāḥiẓ, but the readings for these have been more or less satisfactorily established, and C.E. Bosworth (*op. laud.*, i, 34-41) has made it his task to correct and comment upon these. If the reading *kādjār* is correct, we have here the first attestation of a word which denotes the gypsies; then comes *m.kh.ṭ.rānī*, whose vocalisation is uncertain, but denotes a person of ascetic appearance who indicates that his tongue has been cut out; a *kāghānī* gives out that he is demonaically possessed or an epileptic; a *bānuwānī* stands before a door, rattles the bolt and cries "O Master!", in order to get alms; an *ʿarsī* stops the circulation of blood in an arm or leg so that people might think the limb is gangrenous; a *mushaʿʿib* maims a child at birth in order to make use of it at a future time for begging purposes; a *filawr* simulates a hernia or ulcer or tumour or some similar affliction with his testicles or anus, or with her vulva, in the case of a woman; a *kāghān* is a boy who acts as a male prostitute; an *ʿawwā'* begs between sunset and the evening worship, at times singing; an *isṭīl* pretends to be blind; a *mazīdī* gives out that he just needs a little more money to purchase what he needs; a *mukaddis* makes a collection for buying a shroud; a *kaʿbī* derives his name from Ubayy b. Kaʿb al-Mawṣilī, who had presided over a gathering of vagabonds around a water-hole; and *zakūrī* is bread collected as alms and intended for prisoners and beggars.

The above gives only an incomplete list of the constituent elements of a remarkable assemblage of persons whom al-Djāḥiẓ was able to observe at Baṣra and at Baghdād. Among his other writings on the same subject, one page only of the *K. Ḥiyal al-mukaddīn* has been preserved by al-Bayhaḳī, in his *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. F. Schwally, Giessen 1902, iii, 622-4; Eng. tr. D.M. Hawke, in Pellat, *The life and works of Jāḥiẓ*, London 1969, 255-6; Ger. tr. W.W. Muller, in idem, *Arabische Geisteswelt*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1967, 410-12). This contains a vivid portrayal of the vagabond in the mouth of an old *mukaddī*, who rebukes a young beggar who has been too easily discouraged by his experience of *kudya* but who is in the end convinced by the advantages which it offers. It is a noble craft or calling (*ṣināʿa*) which brings happiness to those who practice it. These last range through the whole world in every direction, stop where they will and enjoy total freedom; they do not have to devote any care to a family or to material goods, and are able to live on whatever they find when they halt. This vagabond recounts how he installed himself in a mosque in one of the towns of Djibāl, with his body draped in a large towel and with a robe of palm fibre wound round his head; in his hand he held a staff made from a branch of the oleander. He retailed the following discourse to the public assembled round him, as if he had been, so he says, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], in his pulpit: "Good people, I am a man from Syria, more specifically from a town called al-Maṣṣīṣa. I am the descendant of fighters in the holy war and warriors of the *ribāṭs*, who travel in the way of God and are the guardians of Islam. Together with my father, I have taken part in fourteen raids, seven by land and seven by sea. I have fought with al-Armanī (Say: May God have mercy on Abu 'l-Ḥasan!) and with ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh (Say: May God have mercy on Abū Ḥafṣ!). I have gone on raids with al-Baṭṭāl [*q.v.*] b. al-Ḥusayn [and many others]. I have entered Constantinople and prayed in the mosque of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*]. If you recognise my name, well and good; if not, well, I am now going to let you know it: I am the son of al-Ghuzayyil b. al-Rakkān (?) al-Maṣṣīṣī, well known and famed in all the frontier marches... I am one of the barriers of Islam. I fought with the ruler [of Byzantium] at the gate of Tarsus; he killed the children and enslaved the womenfolk, and seized two sons of ours and carried them off into the land of Rūm. I fled precipitately in the company of a group of merchants, but some brigands cut the route of my escape. I have sought the protection of God, and now I seek it of you. If you think it good to restore one of the pillars of Islam to his homeland and to his home town, [then I appeal to you!]." The *mukaddī* added that the *dirhams* began to rain in from all directions and that he departed richer by more than 100 *dirhams*. The greater part of the heroic figures cited in this text are also to be found in al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj* (viii, 74 = § 3201), who reproduces a tale regarding the terror which they were reputed to inspire among the Byzantines, and one discerns that the character presented by al-Djāḥiẓ could on occasion himself also exploit this in order to make a firm impression on an audience very ready to listen to the promises, real or imaginary, made by the Muslim warriors.

The above text is followed by a listing of the kinds of beggars which does not necessarily come from al-Bayhaḳī's own pen and may possibly have been part of the original. It includes some new names additional to the list given in the *Bukhalā'*: a *makkī* pretends to be a rich merchant who has been robbed of his goods; a *saḥarī* begins to ply his "trade" before the dawn; a *shadjawī* pretends to have been imprisoned and loaded with chains for fifty years; a *dharārihī* feigns serious wounds; a *ḥādjūr* is similar to the *filawr* mentioned above; a *khāḳānī* paints over his face in order to make it swell up, but this may be a case of a male prostitute; a *zukaym al-mughālaṭa* feigns inability to speak; a *kān* is the confederate of a *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*]; a *mufalfil* works together with a confederate and, like the *makkī*, pretends to have been the victim of a robbery; *zukaym*

al-Ḥabas̲h̲a apparently denotes a fraudulent warrior engaged in *d̲j̲ihād*; *zukaym al-marḥūma*, a band of blind men led by an *istīl* (see above); and finally, a *muṭayyin* smears himself with mud and feigns madness.

This veritable professional corporation, composed of various "specialists" arranged more or less in a hierarchy and under the leadership of a *s̲h̲aykh*, was to continue to exist with varying fortunes over the course of the ensuing centuries and, with the aid of the public's taste for *sukhf* and *mud̲j̲ūn* [*q.v.*], was to inspire the so-called *sāsāniyya* variety of *ḳaṣīdas*, sc. those devoted to the Banū Sāsān [see SĀSĀN], a name reserved henceforth for vagabonds of all kinds. The one by al-Aḥnaf al-ʿUkbarī (d. after 355/964; see al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 122) is lost, but it was this which was allegedly at the origin of the better-known poem, preserved moreover by al-T̲h̲aʿālibī (*op. laud.*, iii, 176-94), written by Abū Dulaf al-K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ī (4th/10th century [*q.v.*]) which in its turn has inspired C.E. Bosworth to write his magistral study (*Underworld*) on this Islamic "milieu", based precisely on this poem which he has edited, translated and commented upon in detail. Another *ḳaṣīda sāsāniyya*, the work of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (677-750/1278-1349 [*q.v.*]), is likewise studied by Bosworth (*op. laud.*, i, 132-49), who furthermore takes care to note that the celebrated Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310 [*q.v.*]) introduced the character of the vagabond into the shadow plays. From another aspect, a kind of theoretical justification for *kudya* which al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ and perhaps also Ibn S̲h̲uhayd (d. 426/1035 [*q.v.*]), author of a *Kas̲h̲f al-dakk fī īḍāḥ al-s̲h̲akk*, had first outlined, finds its full development from the pen of al-D̲j̲awbarī (first half of the 7th/13th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who has left behind a *K. al-Muk̲h̲tār fī kas̲h̲f al-asrār wa-hatk al-astār* on the various types of swindlers who used methods which they kept secret in order to extract money at the expense of their fellow-men.

The Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād's circle [see IBN ʿABBĀD], to which Abū Dulaf al-K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ī belonged, also included some vagabonds whose company the vizier enjoyed. Hence it is not surprising that the *maḳāma* [*q.v.*] was born into this environment under the pen of Badīʿ al-Zamān (d. 398/1008 [see AL-HAMAD̲H̲ĀNĪ]) who, in comparison with al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ—who seems to have limited himself to recounting anecdotes which were independent of each other and in any case to put forward for consideration several *mukaddūn* who were probably real persons—and with the authors of *ḳaṣīda sāsāniyyas* who related adventures which were more or less imaginary, actually succeeded in creating a type of rogue, ʿĪsā b. His̲h̲ām, and was imitated with varying degrees of success by all the writers who, until recent times, cultivated this literary genre. The hero of the *Ḥikāya* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī (5th/11th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Bag̲h̲dādī, is equally clearly delineated; he represents the type of roguery as found among the bourgoisie of Bag̲h̲dād which the author was seeking to describe with accuracy.

The use made of the *mukaddī* by Arabic literature presents an extremely valuable social and historical viewpoint, since it raises the veil from a particularly lively and cunning section of the urban plebs and from a class of thieves and rogues which was tolerated and even, to some extent, admired. On the literary plane, the introduction of the rogue in an original genre assumes a fairly considerable importance from the fact that it was subsequently to constitute, in a clearly-defined sector, a link between Arabic literature and the picaresque novel, since it is clear, as has been shown in MAḲĀMA, that the *mukaddī* is the prototype of the *pícaro*.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see esp. D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Buk̲h̲alā'*, ed. Ḥād̲j̲irī, 378-81; F. Schwally, *Ein arabische Liber Vagatorum*, in *ZA*, xxvii (1912), 28-42; W.Ṭ. al-Nad̲j̲m, *S̲h̲ak̲h̲ṣiyyat al-mukaddī ʿind al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ*, in *Mad̲j̲allat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Bag̲h̲dād, i (1379/1959), 1-10; C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, 2 vols.; M. Tarchouna, *Les marginaux dans les recits picaresques arabes et espagnols*, Tunis 1982; and the bibls. to these last two works and the art. MAḲĀMA.

(CH. PELLAT)

MUḲADDIMA (A.), foreword, preface, introduction.

In Arabic literature, the preface to prose works developed, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, into an independent literary form. To be sure, it does not constitute a literary genre by itself, but is used to introduce the literary work concerned. Afterwards, the foreword becomes more and more independent from the work itself, and develops into a stereotyped form, consisting of initial commendations, a middle part and closing praises. Initial commendations always begin with the *basmala* [*q.v.*], often followed by the *ḥamdala* [*q.v.*]. In the central part, almost always introduced by the rhetorical formula *ammā baʿdu* ("now, then, now to the point"), the author states the real reason for writing his book. For this, he mostly uses topoi, which consist largely of schematic patterns of thought and expression belonging to literary tradition, and which have parallels in European literatures of the late classical, mediaeval and early modern times. On the other hand, several authors also show personal approaches based on reality.

In the cities, a literary market, with a class of its own, came into development. Against this background, the exordial topos, which began to flourish in the 4th/10th century, continued to remain obligatory right into modern Arabic literature.

Amongh the best-known topoi are expressions dealing with the reason and the justification for composing a literary work ("I have been requested to write a book on the subject", or, "I write a book, so that other works dealing with the subject can be forgotten", or "I shall report briefly and avoid prolixity"). To these topoi belongs also the modesty topos which, as *captatio benevolentiae*, can be traced in almost all literatures. In this context must also be mentioned the well-known "querelle des Anciens et des Modernes", which played an important role in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, as well as the praise of the virtues of the ruler.

Finally, in the third part of the preface there follow renewed praises to God. As far as the form is concerned, the prose of the three parts is characterised by the use of *sad̲j̲ʿ* [*q.v.*], in particular for the initial and final praises.

As a literary genre, the *mukaddima* was developed in particular by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (d. 255/868) and Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) [*q.vv.*]. From the latter onwards, the independent development of the preface, which becomes separated from the work, is clearly discernible in both content and form. After the 4th/10th century, the obligatory outer form remains unchanged, and is found above all in the *adab* literature, but also in the 19th century in the work of al-Ṭahṭāwī, and in the 20th century in Rās̲h̲id al-Bārāwī's translation of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*.

The *muḳaddima* has an importance of its own, because the author there turns directly to the reader and thus steps out of the context of his work. Because of its conformity to the established tradition in form and language, the author is able to solve, right into

our own time, the problem of finding an appropriate beginning for his work.

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See also IBN KHALDŪN. (P. FREIMARK)

AL-**MUKALLĀ**, port in the Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] on the shores of the Indian Ocean (14°31' N., 49°08' E.), some 550 km. (300 miles) east of Aden. The name is probably the noun of place of form II of the Arabic radicals *k-l-ʾ* with the meaning of "station of ships" (cf. Lane, *s.v.*). Al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) knows of a port which he names Lahsā. He located it in al-Aḥkāf [*q.v.*] and identified it with al-Shiḥr (*Murūdj*, ed. Pellat § 1343, cf. vii, 618; cf. al-Idrīsī, *lasʿā*, "a small town on the seacoast"). Locally, the port is called al-Shiḥr, Bandar al-Aḥkāf or Sūḳ al-Aḥkāf. Von Wissmann-Höfner, *Beiträge*, 66, identify Ptolemy's Makkala (vi, 7) with the actual fortress *m-Ḳalʿa* situated inland. Besides, the co-ordinates of modern al-Mukallā do not agree with those of Ptolemy's town. The Portuguese apparently had no knowledge of the port. Niebuhr, who did not visit the port, writes Markalla (*Beschreibung*, 283), and Wellsted notes Makullah (*Travels*, ii, 427 ff.).

In ancient and early Islamic times, when Kana (Κανὴ ἐμπόριον, Ptolemy, vi, 7; *Periplus*, 15; cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 312 ff.) and Aden [*q.v.*] monopolised the incense trade of the Ḥaḍramawt, al-Mukallā seems to have been of little importance.

In the 18th century, al-Mukallā, overshadowed by al-Shiḥr [*q.v.*], became an object of the struggle between the Āl Kathīrī [see DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB. 3; ḤAḌRAMAWT. 1. History (in Suppl.)], the Āl Kasādī and the Āl Ḳuʿayṭī. Around 1840 the Āl Kasādī, originating from Lower Yāfaʿ [*q.v.*], were *naḳīb*s of al-Mukallā. The Āl Ḳuʿayṭī, also of the Yāfiʿī tribe, became masters of the port in 1880. In 1850 and again in 1867 the Turks, having failed to re-establish themselves in Ṣanʿāʾ, tried to annex the ports of al-Mukallā and al-Shiḥr. On both occasions the Kasādīs, desiring protection, offered the port to the British, but the offer was turned down. However, in 1863 and 1873 treaties for the abolition of the slave trade were concluded.

In 1866 ʿUmar b. ʿAwadh al-Ḳuʿayṭī, who had served in the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād's army since around 1830, and had interfered from there in the fight between the Kathīrīs and the Ḳuʿayṭīs over Shibām [*q.v.*], returned from India and forced the Kasādīs to sell him half of al-Mukallā. By 1878 the Kasādī *naḳīb* threatened to hand the port over to anyone who would take it: Turkey, France, Italy or Zanzibar, but not the Ḳuʿayṭīs. The British government of India finally decided to support the Ḳuʿayṭīs. The Kasādī *naḳīb* retired on a pension to Zanzibar, and in 1881 ʿUmar took full possession of the port. In 1902 he was recognised as sultan by the Government of India with al-Mukallā as capital of the Ḳuʿayṭī Sultanate, Sayʾūn becoming the capital of the Kathīrī Sultanate. The history of the Kathīrīs and the Ḳuʿayṭīs, their genealogical trees and the organisation of the Ḳuʿayṭī Sultanate during the British Protectorate, are described by Ingrams, *A report*, 27 ff., 78 ff., 174-5; for pictures of al-Mukallā, see e.g. idem, *Arabia and the Isles*, 143 ff., and *Western Arabia*, 556-7.

Al-Mukallā stretches out along the small coast-line between the Indian Ocean and the steep cliffs of the Ḳatat al-Mukallā. The al-Bilād quarter, the oldest part of the town, is built on a promontory protruding into the sea like a bird's tail and is thus surrounded by the sea on three sides. It is dominated by the seven-storied Kasādī palace. The open anchorage on the west side of the promontory is not used during the south-west monsoon (June-September), the anchorage at Raʾs Burūm being used instead. There are no reefs, and the water deepens rapidly. Large vessels anchor a mile off shore; small craft at high water can unload directly on the Custom Wharf. On the land-side, a single gate leads to the slopes of the Djabal Ḳatat, across a broad level space called Tharib, used as an encampment for the numerous camel caravans. In times of Bedouin raids, four little white forts on the escarpment used to be manned.

The population, estimated at 10,000 in 1931, contained not only Arabs, but numerous Banyans (Indian traders) who controlled trade, especially of frankincense and of the so-called *humūmī* tobacco, Somalis, who bought from the Bedouins the right to harvest the incense in the interior, Zanzibaris, Persians, some Jews and Levantine Greeks. The Bedouins were not allowed to come into town and the *ṣubyān* (sing. *ṣabī*, "boy"), negroids from Wādī Ḥadjar, believed to be descendants of African slaves of the time of Abraha [*q.v.*], were not permitted to live inside the town. The slave trade used to be important; in 1834 Captain Haines saw 700 Nubian girls offered for sale.

For industry, import and export in the 1920s and 1930s see Grohmann, *Südarabien* and *EI*[1] art. MUKALLĀ. Fishing has always been important, fish being also used as camel fodder. On the shipyards were built, among others, the *ʿabarīs* (see Serjeant, *The Portuguese*, 133). There was a regular shipping line with Batavia (now Jakarta; see Van der Meulen, *Aden*, 1). Goldsmiths' work was only done by Muslims.

At present, al-Mukallā falls within the fifth governorate of the Republic of Yemen. It is the biggest town and port of the Ḥaḍramawt, with a population estimated at *ca.* 80,000. Fish is dried or salted, then carried inland or exported to Sri Lanka and East Africa. There is also a small tuna-canning factory. The town is linked with Aden by a newly-built road (early 1970s).

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(E. van Donzel)

AL-**MUḲALLAD** b. al-Musayyib, Ḥusām al-Dawla Abū Ḥassān, member of the Arab ʿUḳaylid dynasty of ʿIrāḳ and al-D̲j̲azīra (d. 391/1000).

After the death in 386/996 or 387/997 of the ʿUḳaylid *amīr* Abu 'l-D̲h̲awwād Muḥammad b. al-Musayyib, a quarrel arose between his brothers, ʿAlī and al-Muḳallad, each of whom claimed power. ʿAlī was the elder, but al-Muḳallad wrote to the Būyid *amīr* Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and promised him an annual tribute, and then told his brother that Bahāʾ al-Dawla had appointed him governor of al-Mawṣil and asked ʿAlī's help to take the town. Bahāʾ al-Dawla's general in al-Mawṣil, Abū D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, took to flight and the two brothers agreed to share the government. Disputes between al-Muḳallad's representative in Bag̲h̲dād and Bahāʾ al-Dawla's officials gradually led to open hostilities. A reconciliation was soon brought about, and al-Muḳallad promised to pay 10,000 *dīnārs* and in return received the title Ḥusām al-Dawla with al-Mawṣil, al-Kūfa al-Kaṣr and al-D̲j̲āmiʿayn as a fief. In 387/997 he took ʿAlī prisoner. As a result, the third brother advanced with a strong army against al-Muḳallad; before they came to blows, however, their sister Rahīla succeeded in making peace among the brothers. ʿAlī was released and received his confiscated property back and al-Muḳallad turned his attention to the lord of Wāsiṭ, ʿAlī b. Mazyad [see mazyad, banū], who was on the side of ʿAlī and Ḥasan. But when al-Muḳallad learned that ʿAlī had designs on al-Mawṣil, he turned back, but through the intermediary of Ḥasan, the two brothers were again reconciled. Soon afterwards ʿAlī and Ḥasan left al-Mawṣil. After long negotiations, it was agreed that ʿAlī should be al-Muḳallad's representative in al-Mawṣil whenever the latter had to leave the town. On ʿAlī's death in 390/999-1000, Ḥasan succeeded to his privileges but was driven out by al-Muḳallad and had to take refuge in ʿIrāḳ. In Ṣafar 391/December 1000-January 1001 al-Muḳallad was murdered in al-Anbār by a Turkish Mamlūk.

Bibliography: Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 745, tr. de Slane, iii, 415; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 88-9. 94-6, 116; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 255-7; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii, 49-50; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 74-7, 186, 323, 376, 501-2; and see ʿuḳaylids.

(K.V. Zetterstéen)

MUḲALLID [see taḳlīd; also ḳāṣṣ; maddāḥ].

MŪḲĀN, Mūg̲h̲ān, a steppe lying to the south of the lower course of the Araxes, the northern part of which (about 5,000 square km.) belongs to the Azerbaijan SSR and the other part (50-70 x *ca.* 50 km.) to Persia. The steppe which covers what was once the bottom of the sea has been formed by the alluvial deposits from the Kur (in Russian, Koura) and its tributary the Araxes. (The latter has several times changed its course and one of its arms flows directly into the gulf of Ḳizil-Aghač.) In the interior, the only water in Mūg̲h̲ān is from a number of springs, but it is covered with tells and shows traces of the old system of irrigation. Mūg̲h̲ān has a very mild climate in winter (al-Ḳazwīnī calls it *d̲j̲urūm Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān*) and in the spring is covered with a rich carpet of verdure, but in summer the heat makes it a regular hell and it is infested with snakes (Monteith says "in June the snakes literally covered the ground"; cf. Abū Ḥāmid al-G̲h̲arnāṭī, in al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āt̲h̲ār*, 379).

The name. The old Arabic transcription (al-Balād̲h̲urī, al-Ṭabarī) is Mūḳān (without article), but quite early in certain manuscripts of the Arab geographers we find Mūg̲h̲ān (probably etymology *mūg̲h̲ān*, "Magi") which becomes general in the Mongol period. Markwart, in *ZDMG* (1895), 633, connects the name of Mūḳān with that of the people mentioned by classical writers as inhabiting this region: Hecataeus, fragment 170: ἐκ Μυκῶν εἰς Ἀράζην; Pomponius Mela, book iii, ch. v: *Mochi ("ad Hyrcanium fretum Albani et Moschi et Hyrcani"). This tribe is to be connected with the Caspians who lived in this region (cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, Leipzig 1904, 269; cf. in Yāḳūt, iv, 676, the genealogy invented by Ibn al-Kalbī, according to which Mūḳān and D̲j̲īlān—both inhabitants of Ṭabaristān—were the sons of Kamās̲h̲ah (?) b. Yāfit̲h̲ b. Nūḥ; cf. Genesis, x). The *Chronicle* of Theophanes, 363, has **Βουχανία** (var. **Βουχαχία**), the Armenian geography Mukan and the Georgian chronicle Mowakan (another Mowakan lay near the confluence of the Alazan with the Iora).

History. The Byzantine general Leontius in 678 subdued Iberia, Albania, Bukania (cf. above) and Media. The district of Mūḳān was conquered in 21/642 by an officer of Surāḳa b. Bukayr, who addressed a letter guaranteeing peace to "the people of Mūḳān of the mountains of al-Kabd̲j̲" (the Caucasus; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2660). According to al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 327-9, in 25/645 al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba undertook a campaign against the people of Mūḳān (*ahl Mūḳān*), of al-Babr [cf. ṭārum] and al-Ṭaylasān (= Tālis̲h̲). Another campaign of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī against the people of Mūḳān and D̲j̲īlān, although successful, entailed severe losses. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 395, 15, in 123/741 the future caliph Marwān II b. Muḥammad undertook a campaign in D̲j̲īlān and Mūḳān. Mūḳān figures several times as a stronghold of Bābak (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1174, 1178). In the 3rd/9th century Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 119, mentions one S̲h̲akla (?) as chief of Mūḳān.

According to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 5 = § 445, in his time the Sharwān Shāh [see SHĪRWĀN] had conquered the states (*mamlaka*) of Lāyirān (several variants) and al-Mūkāniyya. It appears from Miskawayh (ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth, i, 399), who mentions the *ispahbad* of Mūkān b. Dalūla as ally of the Gīl chief Lashkarī b. Mardī, who rebelled against the Daylamīs in 326/937, that Mūkān enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. In 339/950, the Kurd Daysam sent his vizier "into the mountains (*sic*) of Mūkān to entrench himself". In 349/960, Mūkān appears as a centre of rebellion (Miskawayh, ii, 136, 178-9). The poet Ḳaṭrān [*q.v.*] mentions the rising of the *ispahbad* of Mūkān against the Rawwādī Wahsūdan (344-78/955-89; cf. Aḥmad Kisrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gumnām*, Tehran 1929, ii, 94). Later, we hear of Mūkān mainly as an excellent area for the winter pasturage of the conquering nomads. In Yāḳūt's time (iv, 676) the majority of the people of Mūkān were still Turkomans. In the history of the Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn, Mūkān is constantly mentioned. The sultan sends his booty there, keeps his baggage and mobilises his troops there (al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, 210, 280, 366, etc.). But in 617/1220-1, the Mongol generals Djebe and Subutay spent the winter in Mūkān (Djuwaynī, i, 116), and al-Ḳazwīnī, 379, says that Mongols took Mūghān for their winter pastures and drove out the Turkomans. In the time of Tīmūr, Mūkān must have been included in the region of Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*] where this conqueror liked so much to pass the winter. During the winter of 804/1401, Tīmūr restored an old canal which was given the name of his tribe Barlas. The canal left the Araxes at Kūshk-i Čangshī and at a distance of 10 *farsakhs* ended at Sardja-pīl (bel?). Since, in order to give the necessary instructions, Tīmūr (who was to the north of the Araxes) had to cross the river (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 395), we may suppose that the canal lay to the south of the Araxes, i.e. in the steppe of Mūghān. It must correspond to the Yegin G'aur arkhī of which traces can still be seen for a length of about 35 miles. Sardja-pīl may correspond to Čarčeli on the Russian map (according to the involved description by Monteith, the Barlas canal issued in the neighbourhood of Ḳara-su?!). The canal is in any case quite distinct from another canal which Tīmūr traced in 806/1403-4 to the north of the Araxes towards the town of Baylaḳān [*q.v.*] (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 543).

In the Ṣafawid period (and perhaps already under the Ḳaraḳoyunlu), Mūghān became the possession of the Shīʿī Turkoman tribes who formed the principal support of the dynasty and became known as Shāhsewen [*q.v.*]. By article ii of the Treaty of Gülistān of 1813, the steppe of Mūghān was divided between Russia and Persia. The boundary line was more precisely defined in article iv of the Treaty of Türkmānčay [*q.v.*] of 1828. In 1884 Russia forbade Persian nomads to cross into Russian territory. Towards the end of the 19th century, the project of irrigating the land of Mūghān was conceived and realised between 1902 and 1907. The four systems of canals were to make 200,000 hectares cultivable, particularly for cotton. From 1884 the steppe was occupied solely by nomads who were Russian subjects. But in 1917 there were already 46 Russian villages with 17,000 inhabitants, while the Turkish nomads who had become settled on the banks of the Kur and of the Araxes numbered 30,000 souls. As a result of the tragic events of 1918, the whole Russian population had to leave Mūghān and the canals became silted up. Between 1920 and 1924 the work of restoration was carried out and the fugitives began to return. The total area of irrigated land in Mūghān is estimated at 253,000 hectares, while immediately to the north of Mūghān the steppe of Mīl (from *Mīl-i Baylaḳān*, "the tower of Baylaḳān"; cf. Khanykov, *Mém. sur les inscriptions musulm. au Caucase*, in *JA* [Aug. 1862], 72) has another 165,000 irrigated hectares.

Historical geography. The Arab geographers were fairly well acquainted with Mūghān (see *Bibl.*). In the Mongol period, Mūghān must have comprised all the lands to the north of the Ṣalāwāṭ range (which is a western outlier of Russian Tālish and forms the watershed between the middle course of the Ḳara-su and the Bolgaru), to the east of the Ḳara-su (where it follows the northern direction) and to the south of the Araxes. Towards the East, Mūghān stretched to the Caspian Sea and included the coastal region of Russian Tālish. The mountainous part of the latter, held as in a vice, must also have belonged to Mūghān. The same condition must have existed in the Arab period, for the curious expression of Miskawayh, ii, 136, referring to the *Djibāl Mūḳān* can only refer to the mountainous part of Russian Tālish.

We may note al-Muḳaddasī's remark (380), who among other wonders mentions, at one *marḥala* (7-8 *farsakhs* = 20-5 miles) distant from Mūḳān, an imposing fortress calles al-Ḥ.s.r.a (?), below which are houses and palaces in which there are large quantities of gold (*dhahab ʿaẓīm*) in the form of birds and wild beasts and "many kings made plans to seize it but never succeeded in reaching it". Al-Muḳaddasī does not definitely say that the fortress belongs to Mūḳān, and evidently speaks of it by hearsay. Is this a reference to Shindān-ḳalʿa (which is about 50 miles = 2 *marḥalas* to the south of the presumed site of the *shahristān* of Mūghān)? On this imposing mountain (6,000 feet high) can still be seen ruins of important fortifications (Radde, 135; "ruins of a strong castle ... many ruins of brick buildings"). Also, in a Persian translation of al-Iṣṭakhrī, 186, 17, we read: "The Gīls and the Mūḳān are tribes on foot who rarely go on horseback" which can only refer to a few remnants of the old population settled in upper Tālish (where the highlanders are very distinct from the lowlanders).

In the important passage in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 5 = § 445, it is distinctly stated that the al-Mūḳāniyya conquered by the lord of Shirwān [*q.v.*] was situated near Ḳabala [see SHAKKĪ], i.e. to the north of the Kur, and was different from al-Mūḳāniyya on the shore of the Caspian Sea (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, tr. Minorsky, 407). In the Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, *Hist. de la Georgie*, i, 18) we read that Mowakan son of Thargamos received from his father "the north (*sic*) of Mtkwar (= Kur) from the junction with the Little Alazan (Iora?) to the sea and there founded the city (kingdom?) of Mowakneth". In *ibid.*, i, 397, the Shīrwānshāh (in the 6th/12th century) is called "lord of Mowakan and Shirwān". Prince Wakhusht in his *Georgian geography* (18th century) places Mowakan between the Kur and the Alazan. In Georgian, the same term Mowakan is also applied to the Mūghān situated to the south of the Kur (Brosset, i, 161). These facts indicate that the original territory bearing the name Mūḳān (from the people Μυχοί, Mochi?) was of much greater extent.

As regards the Mūḳān south of the Kur, this is what the Arab geographers tell us: al-Iṣṭakhrī, 182 (= Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 239) mentions Mūḳān among the towns of Ādharbāydjān, and (*ibid.*, 219) places it on the Gīlān road to the Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*, and see DERBEND]. According to an additional passage (*ibid.*, 190*g*), the town of Mūḳān is separated from Bākū by a gulf (*fawhat al-baḥr* = the Gulf of Ḳizīl-Aghač) where they

fish for the fish called *sūmāhī* (**sūfmāhī*? = "hake"). On the shores of this Gulf (?) is Mūḳān, which has many villages which had belonged to a tribe of Zoroastrians (*al-Madjūs*). Al-Muḳaddasī, 376, in enumerating the towns of Arrān, mentions a Mūghakān (between Shirwān and Bākū), but on the other hand, mentions a Mūghān, 378, among the very prosperous towns of Ādharbāydjān. Mūghakān was situated on the frontier (*ʿalā raʾs al-ḥadd*) and on the high road (*al-sikka*), and indeed the Caspian Sea (*ibid.*, 373, cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, 219), from Sālūs (Čālūs) to Isbīdhrūdh, 1 *marḥala* and from there to Dūlāb (in the Persian Tālish) 10 *marḥalas*, from there to Kuhanrūdh 3 *marḥalas*, from there to Mūghakān 2 *marḥalas*, from there to al-Kurr 2 *marḥalas*, from there to Hashtādhar 2 *marḥalas*, from there to Shamākhiya 2 *marḥalas*. The itinerary, the distances of which are very short, could not have been far removed from the line of the shore. Mūghakān should therefore be sought in the Russian Tālish (in the region of Lankurān [*q.v.*]). In any case, the town of Mūghakān (al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Mūkān*) was not on the road which connected Ardabīl with the seat of Arab government at Bardhaʿa, which crossed the whole region of Mūḳān from south-east to north-west. This route (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 192; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 251 [important details]; al-Muḳaddasī, 381) went by Ardabīl-15 *farsakhs*—Barzand-7 *farsakhs*—Balkhāb-7 *farsakhs*—Yūnān (Yūmān, Tūmān, etc.)-7 *farsakhs*—Bardhaʿa. If we call the *farsakh* 3 miles, the identifications would be as follows: Barzand = the village of Ḳalʿa Barzand; Balkhāb = Bel-bulakh (a spring and a ruined caravanserai in the middle of the steppe; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 251); Warthān = Altan (ruins of a fort on the bank of the Araxes and a canal which runs towards the steppe); Baylaḳān = Mīl (properly *Mīl-i Baylaḳān*, near the ruined fort of Uren-ḳalʿa; cf. Khanykov, in *JA* [August 1862], 72); Yūnān (?) = in the region of Bayat—Hind-arkhī [see BARDHAʿA]. Now just to the east of this route (south-east to north-west) Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 181, gives a third itinerary (south-west to north-east): Ardabīl-8 *farsakhs*—Ribāṭ *Arshaḳ-8 *farsakhs*—village of V.r.n.k (?)-4 *farsakhs*—Bādjarwān (to which in al-Iṣṭakhrī, 182, Djābarwān seems to correspond, perhaps by confusion with a place of this name to the south of Lake Urmiya; (see NIRĪZ)-8 *farsakhs*—Bēlasuwār-6 *farsakhs*—Djuy-i naw-6 *farsakhs*—Maḥmūd-ābād-i Gawbārī. The fixed points are Ardabīl and Bēlasuwār (Russian customs-house). Bādjarwān, which according to al-Ḳazwīnī was formerly the capital (*shahristān*) of Mūghān, should be sought on one of the sources of the independent river Bolgaru which rises in the district of Ūdjarūd and ends in a lake to the south of the estuary of the Araxes.

Bolgaru is the Russian pronunciation; the element *-rū* is certainly "river"; in Olearius and Struys the name is written *Balharu*, which is more accurate; the name must be connected with that of the spring Balkh-āb (Bakhlāb) (see above). Mustawfī specially notes that the road which he is describing passes one *farsakh* towards the east!) from Barzand [*q.v.*]. Now the river Barzand is the most westerly source of the Bolgaru. At one *farsakh* (3 miles) east of Barzand and parallel to the latter runs the river Dīza. The village of Dīza ("fort"; cf. Olearius: *Dizla*) is situated near the junction of the two sources of this river (which corresponds to the detail noted by al-Muḳaddasī, 378, for *Mūghān*). The identity of the *shahristān* of Mūghān (which is to be distinguished from Mūghakān) = Bādjarwān = Dīza seems fairly probable. The name Bādjarwān in the local Iranian dialect may mean the "market of Wān". The upper course of the Bolgaru is now actually called Bāzārčay; and there is a considerable village there called Wān. The name "Bādjirewān" is borne by two villages in Russian Tālish, which perhaps represent colonies from the old town.

Mustawfī, 89, deals with the *wilāyat* of Mūghān separately from Arrān. He indicates the extent of Mūghān as from the pass of Sang-barsang "which is opposite the *tuman* Pīshkīn" (now Mīshkīn) to the Araxes. The said pass seems to correspond to the pass of Ṣalawāt (*Tash-dere*) which separates the Ḳara-su from its right tributary the Sambur (district of Yāft) along which runs the most westerly road to the Araxes. He mentions five towns of Mūghān: 1. Bādjarwān (see above); 2. Barzand, on the western source of the Bolgaru, where at the present day there are still at least 7 villages called Barzand; 3. Bēlasuwār, called after a Būyid *amīr* (cf. Miskawayh, i, 401), whose name means "great horseman" (cf. in the dialect of Gīlān, *pilla* "great"); Bēlasuwār was situated on the river of Bādjarwān (= Bolgaru); now Bēlasuwār is the Russian customs-station northwest of the Russian Tālish; 4. Hamashara is an ancient fortress on the Russian Tālish about 12 miles south-east of Bēlasuwār; 5. Maḥmūdabād built by the Īlkhān Maḥmūd (Ghāzān Khān?) was situated near the sea in the Gawbārī plain. Mustawfī's itinerary (Bēlasuwār-6 *farsakhs*—Djūy-i naw ["the new canal"]-6 *farsakhs*—Maḥmūdābād) indicates for Djūy-i naw the environs of Ḳizil-Aghač, immediately south of the branch of the Araxes which flows into the sea, and for Maḥmūdābād, the environs of the village of Maḥmūdābād, about 12 miles south of Lankurān.

In the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* of Tawakkulī b. Bazzāz, Bombay 1329/1911, 12, we find a somewhat obscure reference to a Kurdish army which set out from Sindjān, led by a king descended from Ibrāhīm b. Adham [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 166/783) and conquered Ādharbāydjān. It was then that the people of Mūghān, Arrān, Alīwān (?) and Dār-i Būm (?) who were all infidels were converted to Islam. There are certain reasons for believing that by the Kurds of Sindjān the author means the Rawwādī dynasty, representatives of whom reigned in Ādharbāydjān in the 4th-7th/10th-13th centuries [see MARĀGHA, RAWWĀDIDS, TABRĪZ].

Bibliography: *Djihān-nümā*, 192 (of little originality); Olearius, *Voyages*, 1633, book iv, ch. 21 (ed. 1656, 447-51): Shamākha — Djawād — Balharu river—Bedjirwān—Dizle—Aghīz—Sāmiyān—Ardabīl; J. Struys, *Les voyages*, Amsterdam 1720, ch. 27 (ii, 235): itinerary exactly identical with that of Olearius; J.J. Lerch, *Nachricht von d. zweiten Reise nach Persien* (1747), in *Büsching's Magazin*, part x, 367-476: Shamākha—Djawād—Bolgaru—Lankurān—Astārā—Rasht; Monteith, *Journal of a tour through Azerdbijan* (sic), in *JRGS* (1834), iii, 28-31: Ardabīl—Barzand—Ḳizil-ḳalʿa (at the confluence of the four rivers which form Balarood = Balharu?) — Ḳuyular-tapa — Agha-mazār — Jedi-Bölük — Altun [Altan]-takht—Aslanduz—Bayat (wrongly taken for the old Baylaḳān)—Bardhaʿa; Toporov, *Muganskaya steppe, Kavkaz, kalendar*, (1864), 242-98; Toporov, in *Kavkaz* (1864), no. 28; Ogranovič, *Uročishče Belasuwar*, in *Kavkaz* (1871), no. 32; Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Petersburg 1875, index; Ogranovič, *Provintsii Persii Ardebilskaya i Serabskaya*, in *Zap. Kavk. Otdel. Imper. Russ. Geogr. Obshč.*, x/1 (1876), 214: Udjarūd; Radde, *Reisen an der persisch-russischen Grenze, Talysch und seine Bewohner*, Leipzig 1886, *passim*; Belasuwar, etc.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 175-6, 230-1; Schwarz, *Iran*, 1086-94; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr.

77, 142—On the flora and fauna of Mūghān and the plans for irrigating it, there is a whole literature in Russian. The most recent references are in W.S. Klupt, *Zakavkazye*, Moscow 1929, 50; Le Strange, *Lands*, 175-6, 230-1; Schwarz, *Iran*, 1086-94; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 77,142. (V. Minorsky)

al-**MUKANNAʿ**, the nickname given to a person who rebelled in Transoxania during the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85 [*q.v.*]) and who hid his face beneath a *kināʿ*, i.e., a veil (of silk), or, as a plausible tradition holds, a mask of gold which he had made for himself. His real name is not known with certainty, and there is a choice between ʿAṭāʾ, Ḥakīm, Hishām b. Ḥakīm and Hāshim; it is moreover related that he assumed this latter name for himself and that his partisans' war-cry was "O Hāshim, help us!". His story, not very well known, is envelopped in a tissue of legends to whose spreading the work attributed to one Shaylama (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl), *Akhbār al-Mubayyiḍa*, probably contributed.

A native of Marw [*q.v.*], he took part initially in the activity of Abū Muslim (d. 137/755 [*q.v.*]), whose memory he was subsequently to keep up. He launched his movement in his native land in *ca.* 160/777, after having recruited Turkish nomads and Soghdian peasants; and it was from the white garments of these last that the name given to the rebels of Mubayyiḍa stems (at the side of that of Mukannaʿiyya), in opposition to the Musawwida [*q.v.*] (= the ʿAbbāsids). The term Mubayyiḍa would seem to be an Arabic translation of the Persian equivalent *sapīd djāmagān*.

Starting from the region of Marw, the revolt soon spread to Bukhārā and Samarkand, and al-Mukannaʿ's forces succeeded in holding in check the army sent by al-Mahdī to the governor of Khurāsān, before being besieged in a fortress in the region of Kish [*q.v.*], where they had entrenched themselves. As the siege dragged on, his troops gradually abandoned al-Mukannaʿ, who refused to surrender; according to one tradition, he is said to have been poisoned, whilst another one affirms that, in order to ascend towards heaven, he lit a great pyre on to which he threw himself, his wives, his children and the last of his partisans who had not sought *amān*. This event is dated to 166/783.

The "doctrine" of al-Mukannaʿ, so far as one can picture it from the information in the works of heresiographers, was connected with Mazdakism [see MAZDAK] and with the Bāṭiniyya [*q.v.*], but it seems to have been rather strange. He claimed divinity, God having created Adam in His image and then becoming incarnate in Seth, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, Abū Muslim and finally, in the best of them all, al-Mukannaʿ. To this anthropomorphism and incarnationism, he added the idea of the transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh al-arwāḥ* [*q.v.*]). He practised feats of magic in order to impress his followers, who were moreover left at liberty to cast aside the prohibitions of Islam (whence their name of *mubāḥiyya*).

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2. Studies. Browne, *LHP*, i, 318-23; Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 199-200; Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens aux IIᵉ et IIIᵉ siècles de l'hégire*, Paris 1938; S. Moscati, *Studi storichi sul califatto di al-Mahdī*, in *Orientalia*, N.S., xiv (1945), 333-44; A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Vosstaniye Mukanni—Dviženiye l'udey v. belikh odeždakh*, in *Sov. Vostok*, v (1948), 35-54; B. Spuler, *Iran im früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 198-9; H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 74; B. Scarcia Amoretti, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 495-503; E.L. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule 747-820*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979, 137-47.

See also KHURRAMIYYA. (Ed.)

MUKANṬARĀT (a.), an Arabic technical term borrowed in the Middle Ages by Western astronomers, under the form *almícantarat*, to denote the parallel circles at the horizon and normally called circles of height or parallels of height. On the flat astrolabe, the *ṣafīḥa* bears the stereographic projection of different circles and notably of the *mukanṭarāt* [see AṢṬURLĀB]. On a spherical astrolabe, only the visible (*ẓāhir*) hemisphere is generally provided with circles of height; these number 90, but one can equally well mark one of them only in three, in five, etc. The use of the *mukanṭarāt* is fairly clearly explained by the constructors of astrolabes who describe the instrument which they make (see, e.g., Ch. Pellat, *L'astrolabe sphérique d'al-Rūdānī*, Arabic text in *BEO*, xxvi [1973], tr. in *ibid.*, xviii [1974], index). (Ed.)

MUKĀRAʿA [see MUKHĀRADJA].

MUKĀRAḌA [see KIRĀḌ].

MUKARBAṢ or Mukarbas (a.), a term denoting a technique of architectural craftsmanship used in the Mediaeval Muslim West, yielding the Spanish word *mocárabe*. According to Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, 167-8, and Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 324a, cited in J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico*, i, 153b, the verb *karbaṣa/karbasa* (of which the term would be a passive participle) derives from Greek κρηπίς, "base, plinth, foundation". The artistic technique which developed as *mocárabe* is defined in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua* as "work formed by a geometric combination of interlocking prisms, externally cut in concave surfaces and used as decoration in vaults, cornices, etc.". It forms a counterpart to, but is different in execution from, the *mukarnas* technique [*q.v.*] of the Muslim central and eastern lands.

The *mocárabe*, in proportion $\sqrt{2}$, consists of 4 basic prisms, or *jairas*: one rectangular, with its minor side equal to unity, and length to $\sqrt{2}$; three others are isosceles triangles of 90°, 45°, 135°, with sides equal to unity, and base equal to $\sqrt{2}$; 0.766; 1.848. (figs. 2-5). The *jairas* are cut by *guillillo* in quarter-cylinder curves, transforming them into *adarajas* (fig. 1), by dividing the width of the piece into seven parts, taking six as the radius of a semi-circumference drawn on its length. The *guillillo* cuts one radius-length parallel to the border leaving a *patilla* 1/7 thick, and the other radius in quarter-cylinder. The oriental *mukarnas* is usually cut with a *consa*, a broken cut, thereby differing from the *mukarbaṣ* (*mocárabe*). Seven *adarajas* are primary. Four are obtained by using the *guillillo* on the "proportional" face; the other three, on the edges (figs. 6-12). The

seven secondary *adarajas* are obtained with two perpendicular *guillillos* on the "unity" face, or cut in the normal direction of the proportional face, thereby showing two *patillas* (figs. 13-19). The *adarajas* are then mounted by joining their "unity" sides at the same level, and their "proportional" sides when stepped, leaving 1/7 between them (figs. 20-21). The *mocárabe* composes: capitals, sockets, corbels, arches, *racimos* and *cubos*; its hanging and inset *adarajas* are set on an octagonal central piece, *nabo*, of $\sqrt{2}$ or its proportional fraction (figs. 22, 23). Pendentives (figs. 24-27), squinches, vaults, cupolas can be built in modules separated by the *medina* (pieces whose proportional width is twice 1/10 = 1/5 of the width of the *adaraja*), whose *guillillo* alters its proportion, giving 1/5 by 4/5 to the *patilla*, and another 4/5 to the curved surface (figs. 28, 29). It is used in mixed crossed arches, which derived from the Hispano-Muslim caliphate vaults.

Al-ʿUdhrī (393-478/1003-85) used the noun *muḳarnas* when describing an Almería palace hall of the *taifa* al-Muʿtaṣim b. Ṣumādiḥ (428-84/1037-91). Al-Djaznāʾī in his *Zahrat al-ās* mentions a *ḳubba muḳarbasa*; and Ibn Djubayr mentions *muḳarbaṣ* in his *Riḥla*, perhaps to distinguish its proportional sectioning from the oriental *muḳarnas*. The *mocárabe* was carved in jesso, brick, wood, marble or stone and was frequently coloured. In glazed ceramic it is characteristic of the Persian Orient. The earliest remains of Western grooved ceramic prisms appear in the *Ḳalʿa* of the Banū Ḥammād, perhaps due to Yūsuf al-Manṣūr (reigned 481-508/1088-1105), the contemporary of al-ʿUdhrī, and probably came from the Orient. It appears under the Almorávids, formed of prisms and proportional cuts on $\sqrt{2}$: *Ḳubba Barūdiyyīn* in Marrākush (*ca.* 513/1119); Tlemcen mosque vault (529/1135); vaults of the Ḳarawiyyīn (537/1143). In Sicily, in the palatine chapel of Palermo, richly coloured (526?/1132?), the Cuba (549/1154) and the Zisa (576/1180). The Almohads developed it further: mosque of Tinmall (548/1153-4); Kutubiyya mosque at Marrākush (557/1162), Seville mosque (566/1171) and Banderas Patio vault, and the Ḥassān mosque minaret (593/1196). The royal chapel of Cordova mosque (656/1258), with mixed arches and vault sections of *mocárabe*, was perhaps imitating the lost Sevillian Oratory vaults. The Asunción chapel in Huelgas (Burgos) is Almohad artwork. The Naṣrid Alhambra palace of Riyāḍ (Lions) (*ca.* 782/1380) is considered the "cathedral" of Hispano-mauresque *mocárabe* for its rich variety of types. The surviving Marīnīd and Saʿdian versions are reiterative and dull. The Mudéjares [*q.v.*] made prodigious constructions of *mocárabe* in mansions, palaces, chapels, synagogues, and churches into the 17th century, and the technique passed to Spanish America.

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(A. Fernandez-Puertas)

MUKĀRĪ (a.), lit. "hirer", a dealer in riding beasts and beasts of burden (see *WbKAS*, Letter K, s.v., 164-5), usage being extended from the person buying and selling and hiring to the muleteer or other person accompanying a loaded beast. Terminology in this overlaps here with other, more specific terms like *ḥammār*, donkey driver and dealer, and *baghghāl*, mule driver and dealer, whilst in 19th century Damascus, *rakkāb* was also used for the hirer of donkeys and the man accompanying them on trading journeys.

In pre-modern times, the *mukārūn*/*mukāriya* and their associated trades were a vital and numerous element in all Islamic towns. In 18th century Cairo, states Chabrol (in the *Description de l'Égypte*), there were some 22,000 beasts for hire under ʿAlī Bey (1156-68/1743-54 [*q.v.*]) and a little later, 30,000; there were a large number of *sūḳs* scattered all through the city for donkeys, since these were the mounts and beasts of burden used by the mass of population, whereas camels and horses were more connected with the Mamlūk military establishment, hence their *sūḳs* were concentrated near the Citadel (A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, Damascus 1973-4, i, 347-8, ii, 383). Similarly, Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Ḳāsimī says that, before the coming of the railway to Damascus (i.e. up to the first decade of the 20th century), there were at least 200 *mukāriya* in Damascus; but the advent of the train and the petrol-driven lorry had reduced the trades of *rakkāb* and *mukārī* almost to extinction (*Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-shāmiyya*/*Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, Paris-The Hague 1960, i, 47-8, 156-7, ii, 466-7).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, Cairo 1367/1948, 140-1 (the hirer must be careful not to hire beasts out to women bent on immoral purposes); M.A.J. Beg, *The Mukārī: a group of transport workers in ʿAbbasid Middle East*, in *Jnal. Pakistan Hist, Soc.*, xxiii (1975), 143-51. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUḲARNAS (a.), a type of decoration typical for Islamic architecture all over the central and eastern parts of the Muslim world; for its counterpart in the Muslim West, see muḳarbaṣ. The term derives from the Greek χορωνίσ (Latin *coronis*, Fr. *corniche*, Eng. *cornice*), and has no explanation whatsoever in any of the Arabic dictionaries that could be associated with its function in Islamic architecture. It is therefore a popular term, or rather, a mason's technical term.

Muḳarnas decoration is composed of a series of niches embedded within an architectural frame, geometrically connected and forming a three-dimensional composition around a few basic axes of symmetry. It has often been compared with the form of a honeycomb. Its equation with stalactites, generally used in European languages to designate the *muḳarnas*, is not quite adequate because the comparison with the geological dripping stone formations is valid only for a certain later type of dripping *muḳarnas*.

The origin of the *muḳarnas* is still obscure, though it is usually attributed to 4th/10th century Eastern Persia. Excavations by the Metropolitan Museum at Nīshāpūr have brought to light 3rd/9th or 4th/10th century fragments of carved and painted stucco niches of *muḳarnas* that seem to have been applied as facing of walls and corners in residential architecture. Stucco *muḳarnas* with Sāmarrā style paintings belonging to a bath at Fusṭāṭ and now in the Islamic Museum of

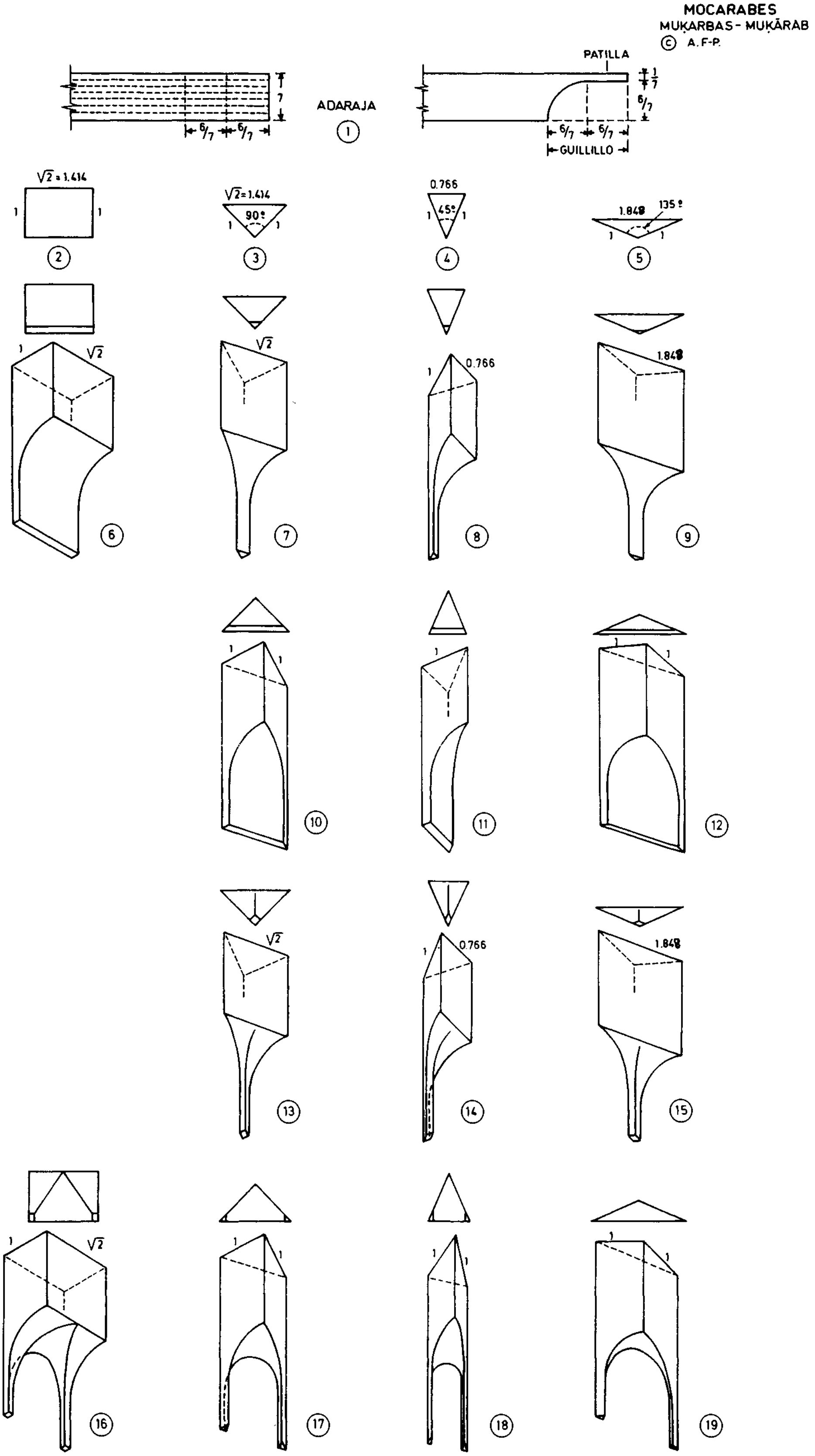
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MUKARBAS - MUKĀRAB
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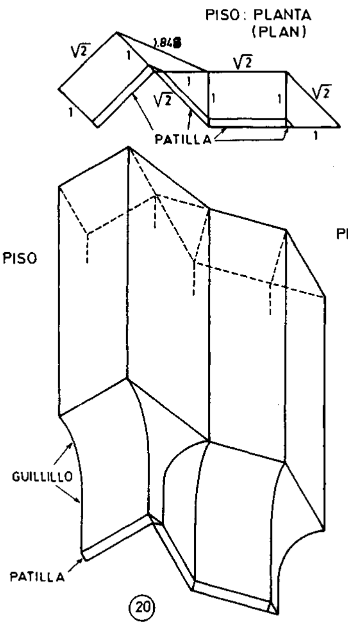

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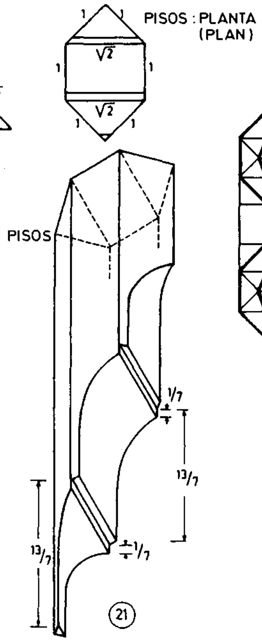

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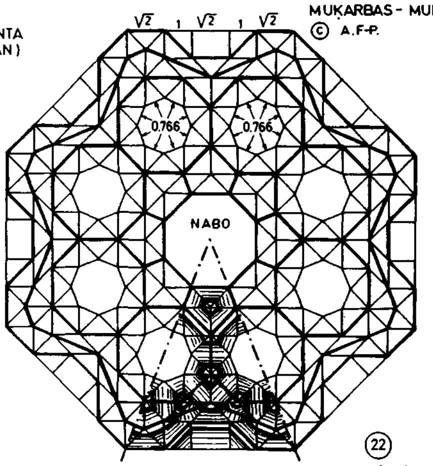

(22) RACIMO DE MOCARABES DE 31 PLANTA (PLAN)

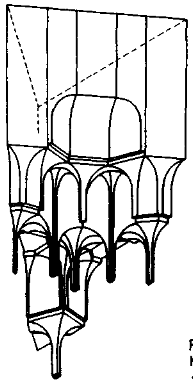

(23) RACIMO DE MOCARABES DE 31 1/8 PARTE (PART)

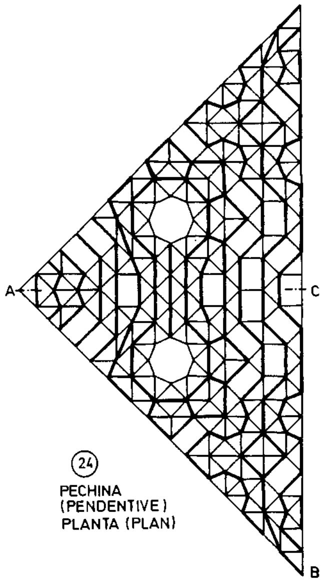

(24) PECHINA (PENDENTIVE) PLANTA (PLAN)

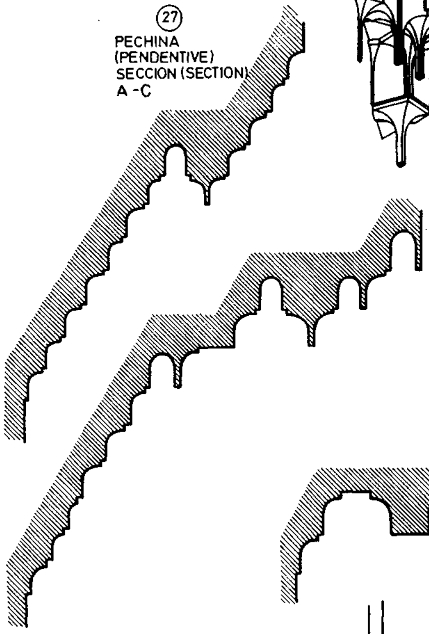

(27) PECHINA (PENDENTIVE) SECCION (SECTION) A -C

(25) PECHINA (PENDENTIVE) PERFIL (PROFILE) A-B

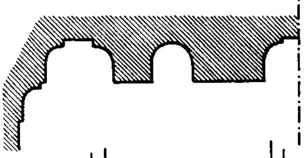

(26) PECHINA (PENDENTIVE) PERFIL FRONTAL (FRONTAL PROFILE) B-C

(28)

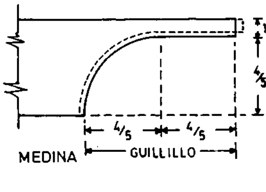

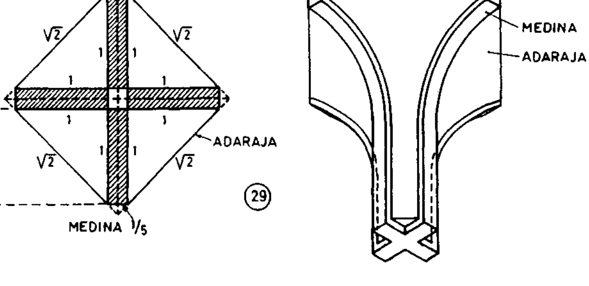

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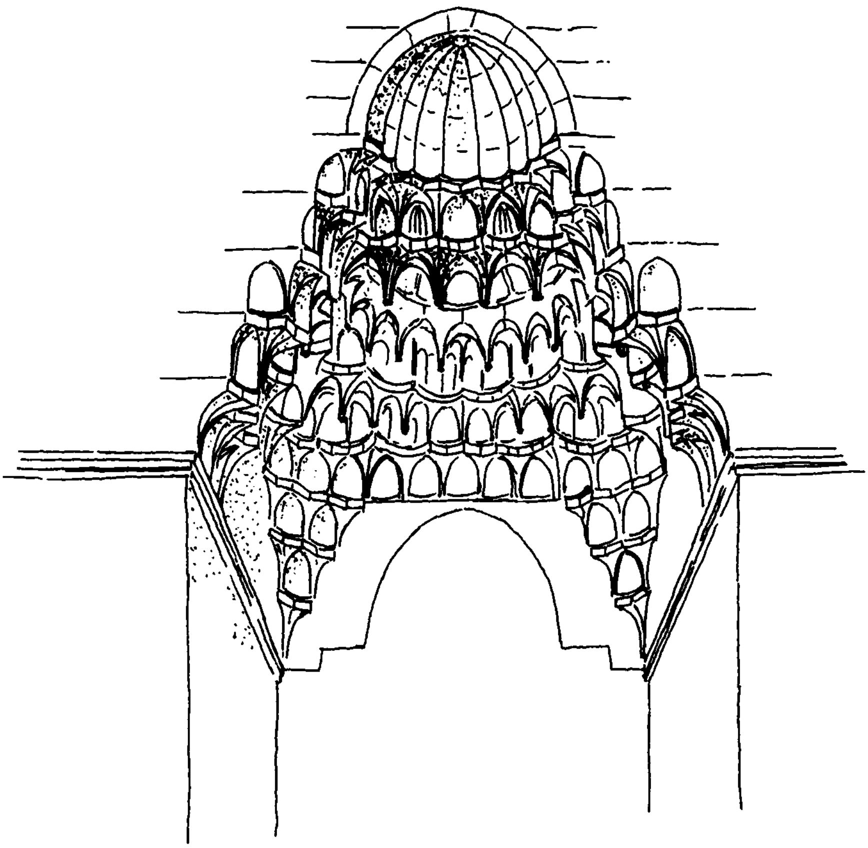

Elevation of the *muḳarnas* portal of the *Ḳūṣūn*/Ya<u>sh</u>bak palace in Cairo (738/1337) by Bourgoin.

Cairo, could also be of the same period. Decorated with motifs showing a female dancer and a seated youth with a cup in hand, they once formed part of a vault or disguised a corner of the bath. If the paintings are to be attributed to the ᶜAbbāsid period, i.e. to the 3rd/9th or 4th/10th century, as recent studies suggest, (Grube, *A drawing of wrestlers*) and not to the Fāṭimid period as commonly assumed, these *muḳarnas* would be the earliest example known in Egypt and at the same time among the earliest known of the Muslim world. In that case, Ba<u>gh</u>dād as the capital of the ᶜAbbāsid empire, could well be the place of origin of the *muḳarnas*.

The essential function of the *muḳarnas* is ornamental. It was widely used as a cornice to adorn the edges and disguise the joints of an architectural structure, especially projections. Most of all, it was closely connected with the transition zone of domes especially where the squinch was adopted as transitional device. Rosintal and other *muḳarnas* historians of the early decades of this century have therefore attributed its elaboration and development to Persia, where dome architecture was characterised by the squinch as form of transition from the cubic to the domical section of a building. Being itself an architectural composition of niche-like quarter domes, the unit of the *muḳarnas* which repeats and multiplies on a smaller scale the shape of the squinch would therefore have appealed to the mediaeval architect as a suitable motif for squinch filling and decoration. A parallel development, according to Rosintal, occurred in Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ Anatolia, where the triangular form of the pendentif, adopted there as formula of dome transition, was also repeated in decorative bands to adorn the transitional zones of Anatolian domes. This interpretation, which assigns an architectural and structural origin to the *muḳarnas*, finds less acceptance in more recent literature. It is still not quite clear whether the development of the *muḳarnas* in Persia started from the linear toward the three-dimensional, or the opposite way, or whether it went parallel in both directions. Since the excavations of Nī<u>sh</u>āpūr, and Pugačenkova's studies in Eastern Persia, the ornamental rather than structural origin is being favoured. The close association, however, of the *muḳarnas* with dome architecture, articulating the transitional zone, added a new dimension to its decorative role in architecture.

The *muḳarnas* spread in *ca.* the 5th/11th century all over the Islamic world becoming, like the arabesque and the inscription bands, a characteristic feature of its architecture from Egypt to Central Asia, a fact which led Diez to the idea that *muḳarnas* was not an individual invention whose inventor could be located; rather, it is rooted in Islamic mentality and culture. The device was universally used by Muslim world architects to cover or enhance all kinds of transitional zones on the interior as well as the exterior of buildings, to conceal the joints and create at the same time a fusion of structural with decorative elements, often conveying the illusion that it carries the thrust above it. The *muḳarnas* with its geometrically cut surface, has the quality, like a crystal, of breaking the

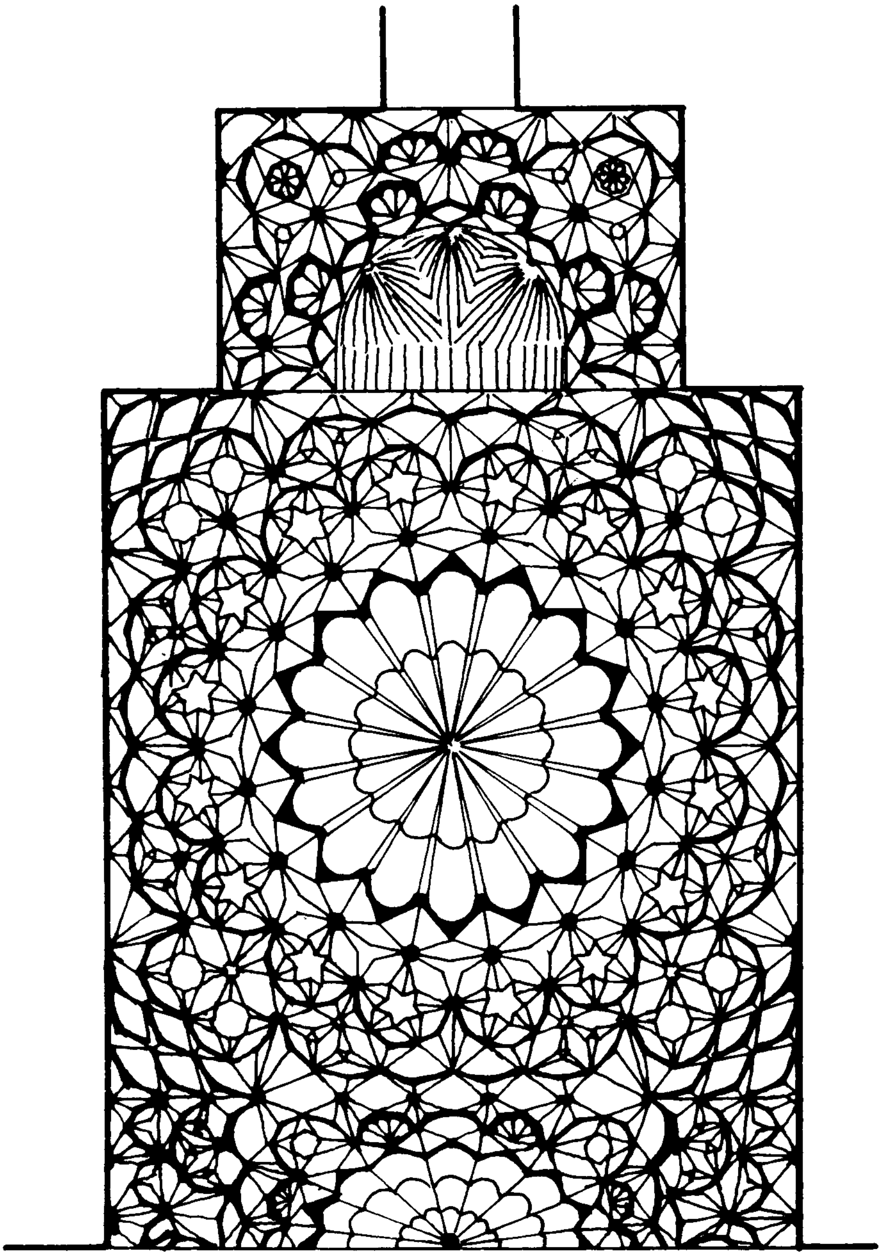

Plan of the *muḳarnas* dome at the portal of the *Ḳūṣūn*/Ya<u>sh</u>bak palace in Cairo (738/1337) by Bourgoin.

light and forming the additional contrasts of light and shade that always have been sought after by Muslim architects and decorators.

In Persia, the *muḳarnas* appeared on the exterior of buildings as two superimposed rows, resulting in a more complicated cell composition (e.g. the tomb tower of Lād<u>j</u>īn at Māzandarān (413/1022) and a few years later the minaret of Sangbast). As for its internal use in domes, a trilobe arch, segmented by symmetrical niches, was elaborated to fill the squinch in the transitional zone. As a variation of the trilobe arch, the arch with a polylobed or stepped profile developed: the squinch at the dome of Gūlpāygān (498-512/1104-18) includes a stepped arch filled with *muḳarnas* niches, and at the Mas<u>dj</u>id-i Ḥaydariyya at Ḳazwīn (first half of the 6th/12th century), such stepped arches, filled with *muḳarnas*, decorate also blind niches. A squinch that includes a trilobed segmented arch characterises the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ dome architecture at the Great Mosque of Iṣfahān (last quarter of the 5th/11th century). Stucco and brick-work *muḳarnas* were followed by plaster covered with faience. This technique produces *muḳarnas* cells totally angular and without curves. Plaster *muḳarnas* were suspended on ropes and glued.

In Egypt, both squinches and pendentives were built with *muḳarnas*. Unless the *muḳarnas* of the Fusṭāṭ *ḥammām* should prove to be ᶜAbbāsid, the earliest

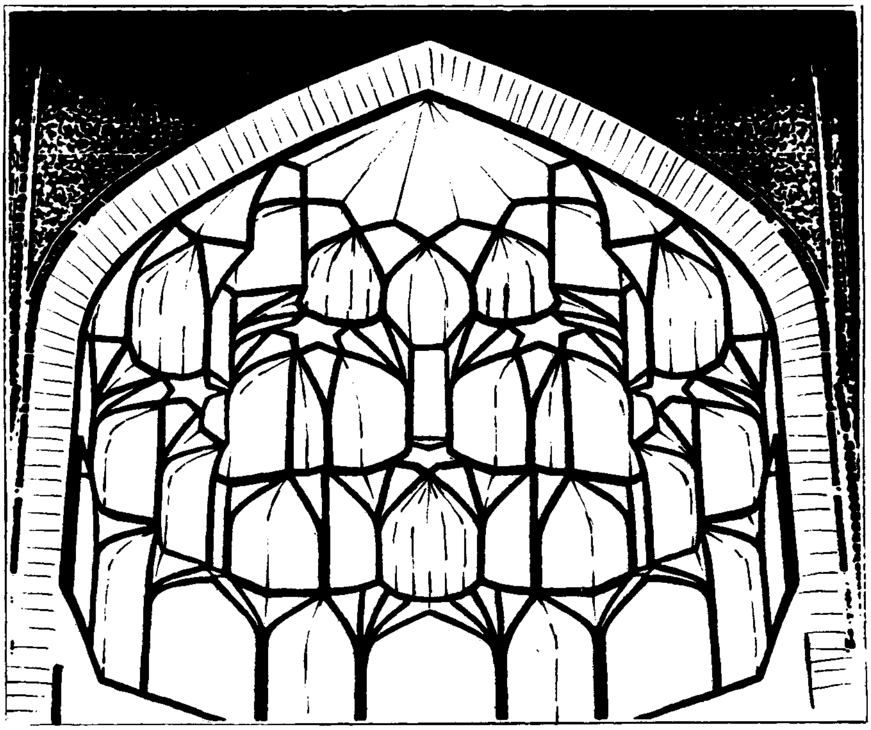

Muḳarnas semi-vault at Masdjid-i Shāh, Iṣfahān (1038/1628-9).

extant occurrence of *muḳarnas* in Cairene architecture has so far been attributed to the minaret of al-Djuyūshī, where a cornice of *muḳarnas* (478/1085) adorns the top of the rectangular section of the shaft. It is the only *muḳarnas* on this building, the squinches of whose dome are plain.

With the evolution of domes in Cairo towards more height, the transitional zone expanded and the squinches grew, with the result that the trilobe replaced the plain arch squinch. Although Creswell demonstrates that the evolution of the Cairene *muḳarnas* pendentif and squinch followed a path independent from the Persian one, in Egypt as in Persia, the squinch was segmented, though in a different style. The trilobed was followed by a polylobed or stepped arch profile, segmented into smaller elements, which owing to their symmetrical arrangement, formed niches or cells of *muḳarnas*. Such trilobed squinches carry the domes of Sayyida Ruḳayya (527/1133) and Yaḥyā al-Shabīh (*ca.* 1150). The dome of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī, built in 608/1211, has subsequently undergone several restorations that leave doubts about the date of its *muḳarnas* squinches. These, made of wood, have the shape of a stepped arch filled and flanked by *muḳarnas* niches. The dome of Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn, the next in development that is surely dated (648/1250), displays stepped squinch arches included within a ring of *muḳarnas* niches carved all along the transitional zone of the dome, entirely made of wood. Simultaneously, *muḳarnas* was used to decorate all kinds of niches, forming a natural frame for fluted conches, and also to fill façade recesses, like at the al-Aḳmar mosque (519/1125). On façades, it was made of stone, on prayer niches of stucco or stone and on domes it was of brick or wood, later also carved in stone.

In Cairo, where the triangular pendentif was adopted in Mamlūk architecture long after the squinch had been in use, the pendentives were carved with large trilobe or stepped *muḳarnas*, simulating squinches. The windows in the domes which alternate with the squinches in the octagonal section acquired the same trilobe and stepped profile as the squinch. With the adoption of stone domes, squinches were replaced by triangular pendentives simply carved with linear *muḳarnas*.

All over the central and eastern parts of the Islamic world, *muḳarnas* was applied on minarets, to "carry" the balconies, or lead from the lower thicker to the upper slimmer section. In Dihlī, on the Ḳuṭb Minār [*q.v.*] the balconies project above two rows of stone carved niches. In Cairo, it was traditional that each of three or four rings of *muḳarnas* would display a different pattern. The *muḳarnas* along the façade at the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan is an architectural tour-de-force, built as a stone cornice boldly protruding from the top of this façade. In Anatolian architecture, *muḳarnas* is often carved on the capitals of columns and as filling of prayer niches. Ottoman *muḳarnas*, made of stone, is often carved with characteristic dripping structures, conical and covered with carvings.

Dripping stalactites are frequently in wood and stone. Wall recesses in Spain, North Africa and Egypt, arched or rectangular, are topped with *muḳarbaṣ* or *muḳarnas*. In Spain and North Africa, the soffits of the arches were often adorned with *muḳarbaṣ*; this inspired the architect to develop an arch with scallops that simulate the profile of *muḳarbaṣ* cells. Such arches characterise the mosque of Kutubiyya at Marrakesh (mid-6th/12th century), the mosque of Tinmāl (548/1153-4) and the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque at Fez (530/1135-6) and the architecture of Granada. *Muḳarnas*-vaulted arcades were built at Baghdād at the Ḳalʿa palace (576-622/1180-1225).

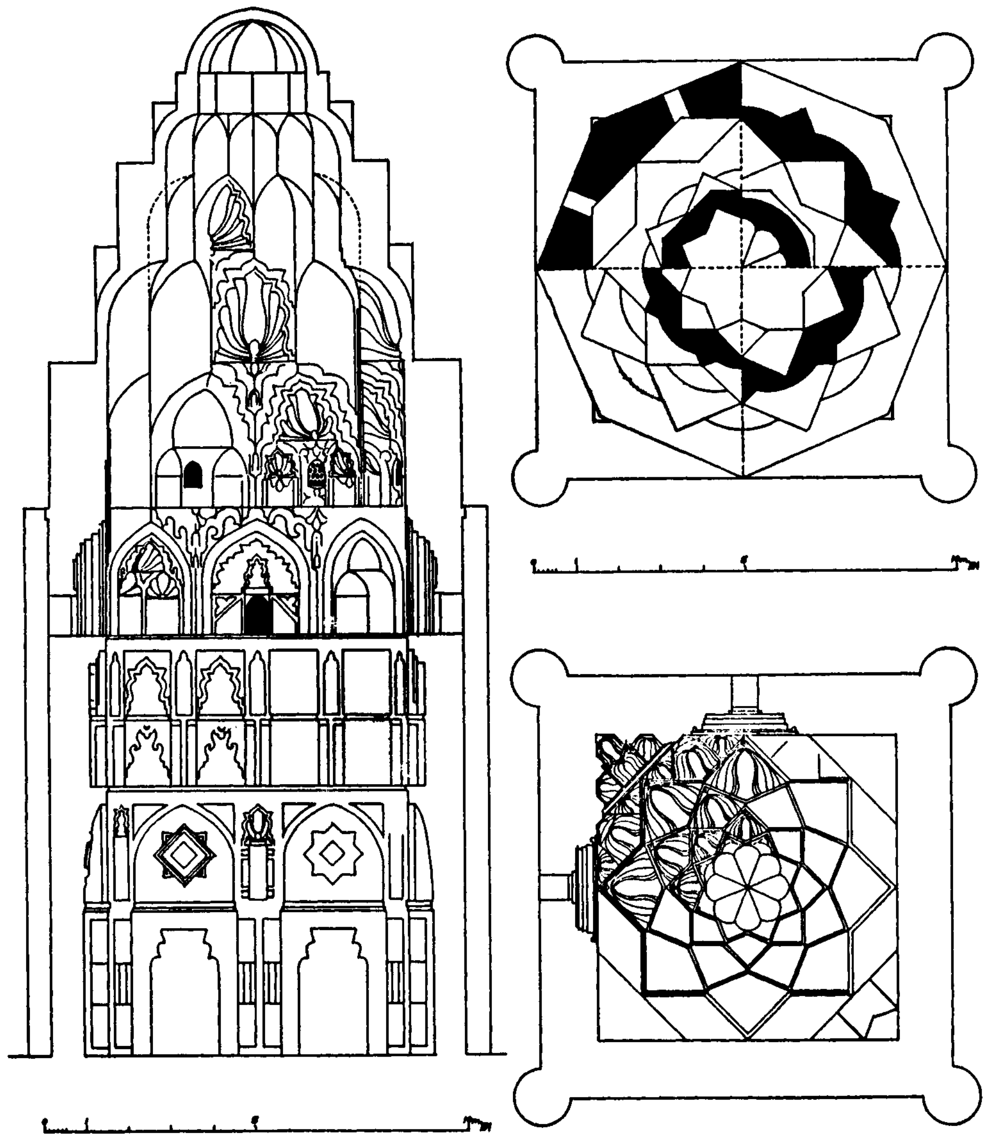

Imām Dawr, tomb of Muslim Ibn Ḳuraysh (Herzfeld).

In ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Persia, there are a series of 6th/12th century *muḳarnas* domes with a conical shape, which have been compared to sugar-loaves. They have been associated in recent studies with symbolical meanings, such as representing "Domes of Heaven" (Grabar, *The Alhambra*) or being the physical representation of the Ashʿarī vision of the world (Tabbaa, *Muqarnas dome*). They appear from the outside as a conical heap of quarter-domes which form the exterior or back of the *muḳarnas* cells of which the entirety of the inner dome is composed. Such domes are not truly vaulted, but corbelled. The earliest datable one of such buildings is in ʿIrāḳ, the mausoleum of the Imām al-Dawr near Sāmarrā built before 483/1090-1. In Syria, the *muḳarnas* heaps were in the first stage haphazardly constructed (the Māristān of Nūr al-Dīn at Damascus built in 549/1154) before they acquired, as in ʿIrāḳ, a geometrical axial composition (the *madrasa*-mausoleum of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus built in 567/1172) (Herzfeld, in *Ars Islamica*, ix [1942]).

Whereas the *muḳarnas* domes whose vaults are visible from outside are brick constructions, there is another type of dome, whose *muḳarnas* are visible only inside and are made of stucco. Among such domes is the dome of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad at Naṭanz [*q.v.*] (707/1307-8), a masterpiece according to Herzfeld, who considers, however, ʿIrāḳ and not Persia as the place of origin of *muḳarnas* dome architecture. The dome at Naṭanz, which has an octagonal base and a twelve-pointed star at the summit, is made of suspended plaster glued to an upper vault. The stucco dome of the Two Sisters at the Alhambra (second half of the 8th/14th century) is perhaps the most spectacular *muḳarbaṣ* dome; it has the shape of a star composed of smaller *muḳarbaṣ* domes resting on *muḳarbaṣ* squinches and arches, the whole being a cascade of

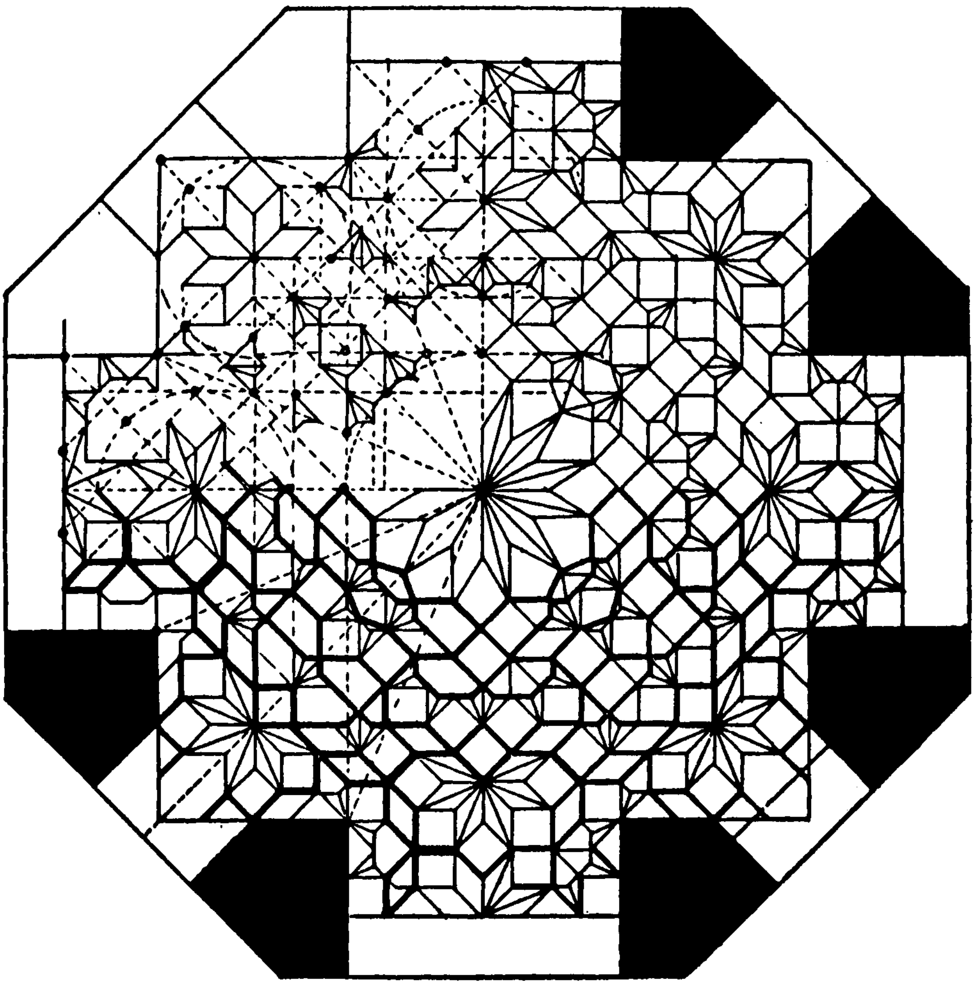

Naṭanz, shrine of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, vault (Herzfeld).

carved and plain as well as dripping *mukarbaṣ* elements. The Alhambra palace displays the largest variety of *mukarbaṣ* shapes to be found in one place.

In Egypt, *mukarnas* domes never played a major role; there are only a few examples built in stone, on a relatively small scale, in portal vestibules, the most prominent ones being at Sultan Ḥasan and the Palace of Yashbak, both from the mid-8th/14th century. Al-Maḳrīzī, describing a palace of Sultan Ḥasan at the Citadel, writes that it had a one-piece *mukarnas*, which suggests that it was made of stone (*Khiṭaṭ*, 211).

Portal vaults, being built on the principle of a half-dome above a half-cube, also display highly sophisticated forms of *mukarnas*, with cells developing along multiple axes departing from the portal conch, which rests on *mukarnas* squinches or pendentives. Persian, Syrian and Egyptian architects excelled in *mukarnas* portals, in Persia using stucco and faience, whilst in Egypt and Syria using stone as material.

Bibliography: J. Rosintal, *Pendentifs, Trompen und Stalaktiten*, Berlin 1912; idem and E. Schroeder, *Squinches, pendentives and stalactites*, in *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1252 ff.; E. Herzfeld, *Damascus: studies in architecture, I*, in *Ars Islamica*, ix (1952), 1 ff.; K.A.C. Creswell, *Muslim architecture of Egypt*, Oxford 1952-9, i, 251 ff.; G.A. Pugačenkova, *Istorya zodčikh Uzbekistana*, ii, Tashkent 1963; L. Golvin, *Recherches archéologiques à la Qalʿa des Banu Hammad*, Paris 1965; O. Grabar, ch. *The visual arts*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, Cambridge 1968, v, 626 ff.; idem, *The Alhambra*, Cambridge 1978; U. Harb, *Ilkhanidische Stalaktitengewölbe*, Berlin 1978; E.J. Grube, *A drawing of wrestlers in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, iii (1985), 89 ff.; Yasser Tabbaa, *The Muqarnas dome, its origin and meaning*, in *Muqarnas*, iii (1985), 61 ff.; *EI*[1] Suppl., *Mukarnas* (E. Diez).

(Doris Behrens-Abouseif)

MUKĀSAMA (a.), lit. "dividing out", a system of raising the *kharādj* or land tax.

1. In the caliphate. This involved the levy, by agreement, of a percentage or share of the crops, usually taken when these last had ripened. The early sources on law and finance, up to the time of al-Māwardī [*q.v.*], distinguished it from the system of *misāḥa* [*q.v.*] "measurement" or assessment of a fixed lump sum on the land according to its fertility, location, etc., and from the system of *mukāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] which implied a fixed annual sum payable without regard to the variations of prosperity and harvest and often the

subject of a tax-farming contract (see KHARĀDJ, I, II, and F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period,* Copenhagen 1950, 102 ff.). In effect, the cultivator liable to *mukāsama* payments was a share-cropper. *Mukāsama* was primarily levied on cereal crops such as wheat and barley rather than on fruits and vegetables or date-palms, and seems to have been extracted by the state's agents on the actual threshing floor (cf. Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate,* i, 62). In fixing the percentage rate, factors like the ease or difficulty of bringing irrigation to the land were taken into account. As in many other areas of Islamic financial terminology, usage was not always precise or valid for all times. The encyclopaedist al-Khʷarazmī, [*q.v.*], *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm,* 59, defines *al-istān* as *mukāsama;* Løkkegaard, *op. cit.,* 87, points out that, although this is in fact true, *istān* properly equals taxation levied from the peasants on state lands and *kaṭāʾiʿ*.

The early historians state (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 960) that the system of *mukāsama* goes back in ʿIrāk to Sāsānid practice, and that it was the general mode of levying taxation on cereal crops, with the proportion varying from one-third to one-sixth and account being taken of ease of irrigation, soil quality, etc., until the Emperor Kawādh (484-96) attempted a fiscal reform. Indeed, *mukāsama* must have continued to exist there up to the Arab invasions and into Umayyad times in certain districts, even if *misāḥa* became the prevalent mode. The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) put into effect a request from the peasantry of ʿIrāk at the end of the previous reign of al-Manṣūr that *mukāsama* be renewed there (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ,* 272); thereafter, all three forms of levy must have continued to exist, but with *mukāsama* dominant (see Løkkegaard, 113-16).

Important information on the systems of taxation in the various parts of the caliphate can be found in the classical Arabic geographers. Thus al-Iṣṭakhrī, 156-7, and Ibn Ḥawkal, ed. Kramers, 301-3, tr. Kramers and Wiet, i, 296-7, state that part of the revenue of Fārs was raised by *mukāsama,* this being of two kinds: (1) when the encampments of nomadic and transhumant Kurds and Lurs (*rumūm,* sing, *ramm;* read thus and not *zumūm,* according to A. Miquel, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm... la meilleure répartition,* Damascus 1963, 6 n. 12) had made agreements with the early caliphs, the state treasury received one-tenth, one-quarter or one-third, according to the arrangement; and (2) when villages had passed to the state treasury because of abandonment by their former owners or some other reason, the cultivators paid two-fifths of the crop or any other proportion which had been agreed upon. The *mukāsama* system certainly continued to be prevalent in ʿIrāk and the Iranian lands, for even under the Mongol Khān Ghazan (694-703/1295-1304) and the subsequent Il-Khānids, much of the *kharādj* was thus raised (I. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran,* v, 517, 531, see also A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia,* London 1953, 33-4).

Finally, it should also be noted that *mukāsama* could be a polite synonym for *muṣādara* [*q.v.*], cf. Løkkegaard, 162.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see especially Løkkegaard and also his corrections, *passim,* to the earlier definitions of *mukāsama* of De Goeje, in *Glossarium* to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ,* 86-7, Dozy in *Supplément,* ii, 345, and Amedroz, *Glossary* to his ed. of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ's *Wuzarāʾ,* 67-8; and in general, the arts. ḌARĪBA and KHARĀDJ.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. In the Ottoman empire.

Mukāsama is one of two terms by which the two parts of the Muslim *kharādj* or land tax may be described. One is the *kharādj muwaẓẓafa* and the other is *kharādj mukāsama.* The first refers to the fixed amount of money by which every piece of land was encumbered, the other to a certain proportion of the produce accruing to the state from every field. Under the Ottomans, substantial changes in the land system took place, involving the almost complete disappearance of any connection between the religion of the peasants and the status of the land occupied by them. The land taxation system that evolved under the Ottomans did not include *kharādj* as the main term, but what did develop bore a certain resemblance to the old taxes. The main land tax was *ʿushr* (Tk. *ʿösher*), that is, a tithe of the produce, as well as a certain amount of money levied on every piece of land according to its size, called *čift resmi* [*q.v.*]. The combined outcome was obviously strikingly similar to the old Islamic terms. It is noteworthy that for Syria and Palestine in the 10th/16th century we find the first tax under the term of *kasm,* not tithe. This was found for example in northern Palestine, and it came to a fifth, sometimes as much as a third, of the produce. It was considered that this was a direct continuation of the old Muslim *kharādj mukāsama,* well-known to be in vogue also under the Mamlūks (B. Lewis, *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives,* Jerusalem 1952, 16, 32; A.N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon, 1250-1900,* London 1939, 65-7). The question which is of particular interest in an Ottoman context is whether the tithe and the *čift resmi* are really to be considered as continuations of *kharādj mukāsama* and *muwaẓẓafa.* Despite the apparent continuation in the case of Syria and Palestine, it seems that the typical Ottoman land system (theoretical ownership held by the government; actual occupation in the hand of small peasants in lieu of land tax and continuous tilling; the *tīmār* system) is an outcome of the bureaucratic nature of the Ottoman state, so that one would expect the Islamic tax system to be at best only a partial source of inspiration for the Ottoman taxes. It is also noteworthy that very few Ottoman institutions, if any, are direct continuations of classical Islamic institutions. One also gets the strong impression that this system is a rather ancient one in Anatolia and the Balkans, although proofs of this are not readily available. It is to be noted that the agrarian *kānūns* (Ö.L. Barkan, *XVI. asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları. I. Kanunlar,* Istanbul 1943) present a variable picture. Usually the term used is *ʿushr,* but occasionally both *ʿushr* and *mukāsama* are used interchangeably (Barkan, *Kanunlar,* 326, art. 1). A discussion of Ebū Suʿūd Efendi's treatment of the term *mukāsama* may further help to elucidate this problem. Ebū Suʿūd most forcefully held the opinion that *kharādj mukāsama* and *muwaẓẓafa* were coterminous with *ʿushr* and *čift resmi* (see *Budin kanunnamesi ve Osmanlı toprak meselesi,* ed. Sadik Albayrak, Istanbul 1973, 111 and *passim*). Moreover, he had in fact issued several *fetwās* strongly denouncing those using the terms *ʿushr* and *čift resmi,* which he considered "a gross mistake of the common people" (*Şeyhülislam Ebussud Efendi fetvaları,* ed. M.E. Düzdağ, Istanbul 1972, 839). But it is noteworthy that Barkan was of the opinion that this view of Ebū Suʿūd should not be taken at face value; rather, he reasoned that Ebū Suʿūd was in fact trying to reconcile the *kānūn* and the *sharīʿa,* so as to make the former system more acceptable to Ottoman *kāḍīs* (Barkan, *Kanunlar,* pp. XL-XLI). It stands to reason that the new terms were in part new, emanating from new needs, and only in part a continuation of the classical Islamic terms.

Bibliography: In addition to sources cited, see H. Gerber, *The social origins of the modern Middle East*, Boulder, Col. and London 1987, 53, 195; Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, *Multaḳā al-abḥur*, Istanbul 1309, 89-90; H. Inalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rusumu*, in *Belleten*, xxiii (1959), 575-610; M.Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri*, i, Istanbul 1971, 734 ff.; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālīf ḳawāʾidi*, Istanbul 1328, i, 21-3. (H. Gerber)

MUKĀSHAFA [see kashf].

MUḲĀṬAʿA (a.), the verbal noun of the form III verb *ḳāṭaʿa*, with the basic meaning "to come to an agreement on the basis of a certain sum". This might be in regard to a peace agreement, *ṣulḥ*, *muṣālaḥa*, cf. the *Glossarium* to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 90; or for the collection of taxation, a *ḳabāla* [*q.v.*] contract; or for the carrying-out of a certain piece of work, cf. al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 70, where a special measure, the *azala*, is the basis of a piece-work agreement for the excavation of canals and other irrigation works. In general, see the citations from the sources in Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 369, and BGA, *Glossarium*, 329.

1. In the mediaeval caliphate.

In regard to the taxation system here, *muḳāṭaʿa* was used for the sum handed over by a tax farmer, the *muḳāṭaʿ*, in return for the collection and management of the revenue from a given province or district. The implication from the texts is that this was a less permanent arrangement than an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] agreement, when land and its financial yield were handed over for a lengthy, often undefined period, whereas a *muḳāṭaʿa* might be for a fixed period only. By a simple transfer of meaning, *muḳāṭaʿa* could denote "the yield of a source of income derived from a certain agreement", as in Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 353, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 346, where the *muḳāṭaʿa* of a customs-post at Khūnadj between Ardabīl and Rayy, where dues were levied on the transit trade in slaves, beasts and other merchandise between Ādharbāydjān and northern Persia, is specified.

Bibliography (in addition to the references given above): F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 102-8. (C.E. Bosworth)

2. In the Ottoman empire.

This term denoted tax farm, especially used by the Ottomans in connection with taxation imposed on the traffic in commodities in and out of the empire or at the entry to the big towns. Taxes on trade constituted one of the main sources of revenue for the Ottoman empire as soon as its major inroads into the Balkan Peninsula had turned it into a great power of the eastern Mediterranean. Being a land rather than a sea power, the Ottoman Empire faced a major technical problem of how to tax commerce effectively. The solution which it found was that of the *muḳāṭaʿa*: in large Ottoman towns, public weighing scales were installed and it was proclaimed that it was illegal to trade in any commodity brought into the city unless that commodity was first weighed in the public weighing scales special to it and the proper tax on it paid. Every commodity had a special such basis, and at an early date, the Ottomans started to auction the right to collect each of these taxes to a tax farmer who would undertake to pay to the government a sum agreed upon, no matter how much actual tax was eventually collected. An example may be given of the *muḳāṭaʿas* extant in 11th/17th-century Bursa. One finds here the *muḳāṭaʿa* of the silk-weighing scales, *muḳāṭaʿa* of the grain market, *muḳāṭaʿa* of the wine paid by non-Muslims, *muḳāṭaʿa* of textiles; *muḳāṭaʿa* of dried fruit; *muḳāṭaʿa* of sheep, etc. Other places may have had *muḳāṭaʿas* with other names, clearly according to local peculiarities: Several *muḳāṭaʿas* in Bursa at this time were not administered by way of tax farming, but rather by way of *emānet*, literally "trust", and in effect simply by an official for a fixed salary. This was mainly the case of several *muḳāṭaʿas* of an administrative nature, such as the *iḥtisāb* tax farm, a sort of real estate tax imposed on shops, and the *muḳāṭaʿa* of the *Beyt ül-Māl*, which had charge of collecting the estates of people dying with no known inheritor. Such *muḳāṭaʿas* were an important basis for the financial structure of the Ottoman empire. It appears that the Ottomans, rather than gathering in all the sums collected by the *muḳāṭaʿas* to the Treasury, used a roundabout way which successfully overcame the lack of banks or an efficient road system. They paid for many of their expenses through the institution of "assignment" (*ḥawāle*), whereby the official in charge of a certain service would come to a *muḳāṭaʿa*-holder and present an "assignment" entitling him to draw a certain sum of money from the revenue of the *muḳāṭaʿa*. The *firmān* bearing this assignment would then be left inside the safe of the *muḳāṭaʿa*. This system was an ingenious one for a vast and decentralised state like the Ottoman empire, and it thus seems quite clearly that the institution of *muḳāṭaʿa* was one of the most important bases for its financial functioning.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālīf ḳawāʾidi*, i, Istanbul 1328, 79 ff.; R. Anhegger and H. Inalcik, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOs̲mānī*, Ankara 1956, index; A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century*, Princeton 1978, 162; A. Cohen, *Palestine in the eighteenth century*, Jerusalem 1973, 180; H. Gerber, *Economy and society in an Ottoman city: Bursa, 1600-1700*, Jerusalem 1988; idem, *Jewish tax-farmers in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, x (1986), 143-54; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, Istanbul 1952. (H. Gerber)

MUKĀTABA [see ʿabd].

MUḲĀTIL b. SULAYMĀN b. Bashīr al-Azdī al-Khurāsānī al-Balkhī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, traditionist and commentator on the Ḳurʾān, was born in Balkh and lived in Marw, Baghdād and Baṣra, where he died in 150/767 at an old age according to some biographers. He is also said to have taught in Mecca, Damascus and Beirut.

Muḳātil's prestige as a traditionist is not very great; he is reproached with not being accurate with the *isnād*. His exegesis enjoys even less confidence. The biographers vie with one another in telling stories which illustrate his mendacity and particularly his professing to know everything. Contempt is poured on his memory by stories of ludicrous questions which were put to him about the most impossible things and to which he either gave fantastic answers or could make no reply. His elaborations of Biblical elements in the Ḳurʾān and his tracing every allusion back to the "People of the Book" heightened his disrepute in later centuries. Overall, his exegetical work is infrequently cited; al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*] makes no use of the work, for example.

The association of Muḳātil with sectarian Muslim leanings is widespread, as is the accusation of extreme anthromorphism. He is frequently associated with the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*] in theology and the Zaydiyya [*q.v.*] in politics, but all these attributions are likely further condemnations of his authority on any matter without any necessary historical basis. Certainly, there is little or no evidence for any of these stances in his extant works.

Three texts of Ḳurʾānic interpretation ascribed to

Muḳātil exist and have been published; they are of great significance because of their likely (although not undisputed) early date. *Tafsīr Muḳātil b. Sulaymān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Maḥmūd Shaḥāta (5 vols., Cairo 1979-88), provides an interpretation of the entire text of the Ḳurʾān; the work is characterised by its desire to elaborate as fully as possible all the scriptural narrative elements with very little emphasis on issues of text, grammar or the like. It is likely that it presents versions of the stories told by the early *ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see ḲĀṢṢ]. *Kitāb Tafsīr al-khams miʾat āya min al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*, ed. I. Goldfeld, Shfaram 1980, organises Ḳurʾānic verses under legal topics and provides some basic exegesis of them; the content of the book suggests a direct relationship to the larger *Tafsīr*. The significance of this text lies primarily in its early attempt at a legal classification scheme and the documentation of all the elements on the basis of scripture alone. *Al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir fī 'l-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*, ed. ʿA. M. Shaḥāta, Cairo 1975, studies Ḳurʾānic vocabulary by providing the number of meanings or aspects (*ashbāh*, usually called *wudjūh*) of each word and a gloss for each meaning and then by providing the parallel passages or analogues in which the word is used in that sense (*naẓāʾir*). An additional text ascribed to Muḳātil which deals with exegetical "constants" was included in al-Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-radd* (ed. S. Dedering, Istanbul 1936), first noted and published by L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929, 194-210, but its place within the actual œuvre of Muḳātil is uncertain.

Bibliography: A full survey of traditional sources for Muḳātil's life and works is available in Shaḥāta's introduction to *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, 9-85; also see Cl. Gilliot, *Muqātil, grand exégète, traditionniste et théologien maudit*, forthcoming in *JA*; I. Goldfeld, *Muqātil ibn Sulaymān*, in *Bar Ilan Arabic and Islamic Studies*, ii (1978), pp. xiii-xxx. On all the exegetical texts, see J. Wansbrough, *Quranic studies: sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, London 1977, section iv, *passim*. M.M. al-Sawwāf, *Muqātil b. Sulaymān, an early Zaidi theologian, with special reference to his Tafsīr al-khams miʾah āya*, Oxford University Ph.D. diss. 1969, unpubl., includes an edition of Muḳātil's legal text. *Al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir* has been studied in N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, Chicago 1967, ii, 92-106, with a discussion of the title of the work at 95-6, and P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970, 25-121. (M. PLESSNER-[A. RIPPIN])

MUḲAṬṬAʿĀT (A.) is one of the names given to the mysterious letters placed at the head of 26 sūras of the Ḳurʾān, see AL-ḲURʾĀN, D, d.

Under KITʿA, there is a cross-reference to MUḲAṬṬAʿA, with reference to the fragments of or extracts from a prose or verse work made by a compiler or anthologist, but a detailed consideration of these may be found under the heading MUKHTĀRĀT.

Finally, it has been judged useful to reprint the article ḲIṬʿA from *EI*[1] since it is essentially concerned with the use of this term in mathematics. In this connection, reference may also be made to M. Souissi, *La langue des mathématiques en arabe*, Tunis 1968, 286-9. (ED.)

AL-**MUḲAṬṬAM**, the eocene limestone plateau that borders the city of Cairo to the east, between Ṭurā near the Nile in the south and *al-Djabal al-Aḥmar* in the north, the Red Mountain which is near the modern quarter of ʿAbbāsiyya. In Islamic tradition, the Muḳaṭṭam is considered as a sacred mountain. Before Islam, in Christian tradition, al-Muḳaṭṭam, like all the desert mountains of Egypt, was associated with monasteries, oratories and caves for meditation and seclusion. Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian, who wrote in the early 7th/13th century, also designates it, perhaps under Muslim influence, as sacred (63).

In al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (i, 123 ff.) which brings together most of the traditions and geographers' accounts known at this time, al-Muḳaṭṭam is described—following Ibn Ḥawḳal's geography—as starting in China, passing through Farghāna, Persia, ʿIrāḳ and Syria to reach the shore of the Red Sea, where it is interrupted, starting again on the Egyptian shore where its name becomes al-Muḳaṭṭam. It borders the Nile up to Nubia in the south, from there it turns westwards via Sidjilmāsa down to the Ocean.

According to one tradition, the mountain was named after Muḳayṭam al-Ḥakīm, a saint and alchemist who used to practice in the mountain at the time when Miṣrāyim, the great-grandson of Noah, came to Egypt.

Another tradition which identifies the name Muḳaṭṭam with that of a son of Miṣrāyim, is reported by Abū Ṣāliḥ (*loc. cit.*) and refuted by al-Maḳrīzī, who denies the historic authenticity of a person called Muḳaṭṭam, stating that the name Muḳaṭṭam derives from *ḳaṭama* meaning "to cut". It was so-called because it was cut off from vegetation. Ibn Ẓahīra gives a different interpretation, the hill having been called so because its edges look cut off (191). According to another tradition, the name is not Muḳaṭṭam but Muḳaṭṭab (Kramers, *EI*[1], art. *al-Muḳaṭṭam*, quoting *Tādj al-ʿarūs*).

Among the legends associated with the sanctity of al-Muḳaṭṭam, some deal with Moses: God having announced that He would appear to a prophet on a mountain, all mountains grew higher to be chosen by God, except Zion which preferred to decrease its height and thus gained God's preference. As a reward, God ordered all other mountains to give up their vegetation in favour of Zion, which explains why al-Muḳaṭṭam is bare.

According to some Ḳurʾān interpretations, al-Muḳaṭṭam was Moses's mountain, where God spoke to him. The mountain referred to in the Ḳurʾān as al-Ṭūr (sūra XIX, 52) and the *wādī muḳaddas* (XX, 12) should be identified with al-Muḳaṭṭam (Ibn Mamātī, 82; al-Maḳrīzī, i, 124).

Following Ibn Ḥawḳal, several prophets were buried in al-Muḳaṭṭam, among whom the heads of the tribes of Israel. There is also an al-Muḳaṭṭam legend associated with Christ, who is said to have told his Mother that this place would one day acquire a cemetery for the people of Muḥammad. Such legends must have been produced after the location of the cemetery was chosen.

Al-Muḳawḳis [*q.v.*], the Coptic Patriarch during the Arab conquest, having read in old books about paradise vegetation hidden in the hill, is reported to have asked ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to sell him al-Muḳaṭṭam for 70,000 *dīnārs*. ʿAmr wrote to the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb at Medina asking for advice, to which ʿUmar replied that the Believers are the vegetation of Paradise, therefore al-Muḳaṭṭam should not be sold but rather dedicated to Muslim burial. Since then it became the cemetery of al-Fusṭāṭ and later al-Ḳāhira. To satisfy the angry al-Muḳawḳas, however, ʿAmr let him have a piece of land near Birkat al-Ḥabash to be used as cemetery for the Christians (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 156 f.; al-Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*).

In Christian times, there was an important monastery on al-Muḳaṭṭam called al-Ḳuṣayr and

attributed to a Byzantine emperor. There, Khumārawayh [*q.v.*], the son of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, had a belvedere, where he enjoyed sitting to watch the panorama of the city; it was later destroyed by the caliph al-Ḥākim (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 502; Abū Ṣāliḥ, 63 f.). Abū Ṣāliḥ speaks of 6,000 monks living in caves of al-Muḳaṭṭam in the Fāṭimid period (66). He also refers to the legend of Noah's descendant (through his son Ham), who learned alchemy from Hermes and made gold from lead and a white golden stone from mercury on the Muḳaṭṭam hill. Abū Ṣāliḥ further reports that the place called *tannūr* was, as the name indicates, the oven where glass was produced from sand. *Masdjid al-Tannūr* is mentioned by al-Maḳrīzī as having been erected on the site of *Tannūr Faraʿūn*, a place where in Pharaonic times fire was lit to guide travellers at night. At this place, Yahūdā, brother of Joseph, the Prophet of the Old Testament, was said to have stopped on his way to meet his brothers. For this reason, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn built a mosque there (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 455). Under the Fāṭimids, a domed mausoleum, which still stands, was erected at the foot of al-Muḳaṭṭam to commemorate Joseph's brothers (*Index of Islamic monuments*, no. 301, 6th/12th century; Ragib, *Deux monuments*).

All mediaeval reports on Egypt refer to the sacred character of al-Muḳaṭṭam. Al-Kindī, cited by al-Maḳrīzī, describes it as a place of meditation (ii, 444). Ibn Saʿīd saw the neighbourhood of hill and cemetery as "a white city with al-Muḳaṭṭam overlooking it like a wall" (*ibid.*).

Whereas al-Muḳaṭṭam, including Djabal Yashkur on which the mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn stands, was considered as sacred, al-Djabal al-Aḥmar, which is further north and is also known as Yaḥmūm east of present-day ʿAbbāsiyya, was said to be cursed (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 125). The Muslims considered al-Muḳaṭṭam as sacred from the monastery of Ḳuṣayr (not to be confused with the city on the Red Sea) to the Yaḥmūm.

Besides the religious associations, al-Muḳaṭṭam was often reported to include gold and precious stones (Ibn Ẓahīra), a legend that was believed as late as the 11th/17th century, as Ewliyā Čelebi's account shows (x, 494). Ibn Ẓahīra further reports that it had the characteristic to preserve the bodies of the dead for a long time before decomposition. Al-Djawharī reports in the late 9th/15th century that people struck by opthalmia were cured when they applied in their eyes a certain powder from a stone at al-Muḳaṭṭam. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 796/September 1394 a woman, incurably ill, saw the Prophet in a dream who advised her to do this and she was cured (i, 390 f.).

Not only wonders but also horrors were associated with al-Muḳaṭṭam. A monster called *kuṭruba* [see KUṬRUB] was said to inhabit the mountain, from where she would come down, disguised as an old woman, and kidnap children. She would wander in the cemetery and open the graves to eat the dead (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 445). The most famous of the Muḳaṭṭam mysteries is the disappearance of the caliph al-Ḥākim in 411/1021 who, among his extravagances, used to ride on a donkey through al-Muḳaṭṭam at night.

Al-Muḳaṭṭam could be a threat to the city in times of heavy rains, as once happened in Ṣafar 1205/October-November 1790 when rain waters streaming down from the mountain submerged the cemeteries and the quarters north of Bāb al-Naṣr and killed a number of people (al-Djabartī, i, 189 f.).

As for its practical aspect, al-Muḳaṭṭam has since the time of the Pyramids been used as quarry. According to Abū Ṣāliḥ, there was a quarry near Ṭurā (63). Al-Maḳrīzī mentions a site north of the Citadel (i, 161). There is still near the Citadel a street called *al-Maḥdjar* or quarry. According to Clerget, the mediaeval builders were not very selective when it came to the quality of the stone to be cut (i, 296 ff.).

Al-Muḳaṭṭam was (and is still) used for the installation of observatories. The Fāṭimid vizier al-Afḍal Shāhinshāh built a huge observatory there which gave this part of the mountain the name al-Raṣad (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 125). Also, the *ḳāḍīs* used to go to al-Muḳaṭṭam to observe the lunar crescent from an elevation called the Dikkat al-Ḳuḍāt, where later a mosque was erected (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 456).

In the eyes of such mediaeval physicians as Ibn Riḍwān and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, al-Muḳaṭṭam was a factor of pollution for the city of al-Fusṭāṭ (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 339 f.; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 5) because it prevented the escape of unhealthy vapours emanating from, among others, the multitude of furnaces of steam baths, and which accumulated between the city's high buildings and the hill. Therefore, the healthy residential areas of al-Fusṭāṭ were towards the hill, whereas in al-Ḳāhira they were along the ponds and canals. In this context, a legend attributes Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's choice of al-Muḳaṭṭam as the location for his Citadel to its fresh and clean air that allowed meat to maintain its freshness for two full days. Within the city, it deteriorated after one day (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 203).

Al-Muḳaṭṭam witnessed important building activity during the Middle Ages. There was the *Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ* [*q.v.*], as its name indicates a belvedere on the site later occupied by the Citadel, where Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn used to watch the panorama of his city and palace (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 202). Mosques and oratories were constantly being built at all times, among others the *Luʾluʾa* or "Pearl", a small oratory of al-Ḥākim, ruins of which still stands (*Index*, no. 515, 406/1016), and the *mashhad* or memorial mosque (*Index*, no. 304, 478/1085) of Badr al-Djamālī, the Armenian vizier of al-Mustanṣir. This part of the mountain was later known as Djabal al-Djuyūshī after the vizier's title *Amīr al-Djuyūsh*.

With its caves used for meditation and retreat since the remotest past, al-Muḳaṭṭam was also a place of seclusion for Ṣūfīs. Shaykh Shāhīn of the Khalwatī order [see KHALWATIYYA] built there a mosque that has survived, although in ruins (*Index*, no. 212, 945/1538), where he used also to practice alchemy (al-Shaʿrānī, ii, 184). The Bektāshī order [*q.v.*] in the Ottoman period has a *takiyya* there that existed until modern times.

As for the role of al-Muḳaṭṭam in Cairo's urban development, it has been of some importance. The mediaeval city has always grown northwards, because the Nile to the west and al-Muḳaṭṭam to the east have prevented an extension on either side, so that the trade routes as well as political factors have always dictated the city's expansion to the north.

Bibliography: 1. Sources: ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Kitāb al-Ifāda wa 'l-iʿtibār*, ed. and tr. Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd al-Latif Médecin Arabe de Baghdad*, Paris 1810; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Kitāb Kanāʾis wa-adyirat Miṣr*, ed. and tr. B.T.A. Evetts, Oxford 1891; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-name*, x, *Mısır, Sudan, Habeş*, Istanbul 1938; Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-athār*, Būlāḳ 1236; ʿAlī b. Dāwūd al-Ṣayrafī al-Djawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa 'l-abdān fī tawārīkh al-zamān*, Cairo 1970; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C.C. Torrey, New Haven 1899; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*[2], 150; Ibn Mamātī, *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, Cairo 1943; Ibn Ẓahīra, *al-Faḍāʾil al-bāhira fī*

maḥāsin Miṣr al-Ḳāhira, ed. Kāmil al-Muhandis, Cairo 1969, 6, 10, 83, 101-2, 108-9, 191; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270; Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1954.

2. Studies: M. Clerget, *Le Caire*, Cairo 1934; J.H. Kramers, *EI*[1] art. *al-Mukaṭṭam*; Y. Ragib, *Deux monuments fatimides au pied du Muqaṭṭam*, in *REI*, xlvi (1978), 91 ff.; idem, *Un oratoire fatimide au sommet du Muqaṭṭam*, in *SI*, lxv (1987), 51-67.

(DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF)

AL-**MUḲAWḲIS**, the individual who in Arab tradition plays the leading part on the side of the Copts and Greeks at the conquest of Egypt.

ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād has written that it is difficult to find an individual as controversial as al-Muḳawḳis in the whole history of the world (*ʿAmr*, 92). This might be an overstatement, but one could still subscribe to what A.J. Butler wrote in his classic *The Arab conquest of Egypt*: "... it was impossible ..., to write about the conquest until one had determined who the Muḳauḳas was." Now it is in general accepted that the Arabic term was originally applied to the Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyrus, although there is no doubt that the name was used by the Arab historians also to denote other persons than Cyrus. But the meaning and origin of this word are still open to questions.

The definitive study concerning the origin, meaning and first bearer of the name al-Muḳawḳis was made by Butler in 1901; it appeared revised and amended as an appendix to his *Conquest*, where he successfully managed to combine the possible origin of the name with its first bearer. According to Butler's view, the Arabic term al-Muḳawḳis came into being in Egypt to denote the Melkite Patriarch Cyrus who was transferred by Heraclius to Egypt, where he arrived in 631 A.D. Prior to his appointment as Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyrus has been Bishop of Phasis, located in Colchis near Caucasus. Now Butler assumed that Cyrus's origin led the Egyptians to call him in Greek καυκάσιος, in Coptic either **ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲭⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ/ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲭⲓⲟⲥ** ("the Caucasian"); or as an alternative **ⲡⲕⲟⲗⲭⲓⲟⲥ** ("the Colchian") from which the transference to **ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲭⲓⲟⲥ** is very easy. This would then have given the Arabic form al-Muḳawḳis. It is in the *Vita* of Apa Samuel that we can find these Coptic precursors of the Arabic term al-Muḳawḳis: **ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲭⲓⲟⲥ** in the fragments published by E. Amélineau (365 ff.); **ⲕⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲭⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ** or **ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲭⲓⲟⲥ** in the complete unpublished *Vita*, ms Pierpont Morgan M. 578 (according to van Cauwenbergh, *Étude*, 103 ff.; Coquin, *Livre*, 56; and the partial translation in Cramer and Bacht, *Der antichalkedonische Aspekt*, 329 ff.). The Coptic recension of *Livre de la consécration* gives **ⲕⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲩⲕⲟⲥ** (ed. Coquin, 110). Already H. Zotenberg had in his edition and translation of John of Nikiu's *Chronicle* pointed out that the activities of Cyrus as described by John could be found in the Arabic traditions pertaining to al-Muḳawḳis (576, n. 2), but it was left to F.M. Esteves Pereira in 1894 to prove the identity of the two (*Vida*, 41-53). Unfortunately Esteves Pereira fell in with Amélineau's views concerning the origin of the name al-Muḳawḳis, as expressed in the latter's publication of some Coptic fragments. Amélineau derived the origin of the Arabic term from a Byzantine word καύκον, also written καῦχον and καύχιον, and said to signify a small hollow piece of bronze money (*Fragments*, 408). This name was then, according to Amélineau and supported by Esteves Pereira, given to Cyrus in derision at his rôle in the levying of taxes. This explanation is, however, as improbable as the earliest attempt to explain the name al-Muḳawḳis, made by J. Karabacek, from the Greek μεγαυχής. Admitting that the origin and meaning of the Arabic term is still debatable, other suggestions, more or less fanciful, may also be listed here. The Russian scholar V. Bolotov wrote an article, posthumously published, where he suggested two different solutions as to the origin and meaning of the name al-Muḳawḳis. His first theory took as a starting point the explanation given by the Arabic dictionaries for the word *muḳawḳis*: "ringdove, otherwise white but with black neckband" (al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ*; *TA*). Bolotov considered it possible that the *omophorion* of Patriarch Cyrus, unfamiliar to the Arabs, might have led their thoughts to a ringdove. As an alternative theory to this one, Bolotov offered another based upon the origin of Cyrus in the Caucasus. Bolotov assumed that the Monophysites of Egypt could have called their Caucasian oppressor κεκαυκασιωμένος ("savage from the Caucasus"). Butler also suggested another explanation besides the one mentioned above. He proposed that the Greek word καῦχος, in the sense *amatus, amasius*, connoting a form of vice, might have given the adjective καύχιος, denoting a person addicted to that form of vice. The Coptic equivalent would be **ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲭⲓⲟⲥ**, and it would easily form the Arabic al-Muḳawḳis. D. Kallimakhos advanced in Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος his thesis that **ⲕⲁⲩⲭⲓⲟⲥ** was derived from καῦσος, a snake (vi, 160 ff.). P. van Cauwenbergh does not give any new solutions to the problem; he is in total agreement with Butler, but he believes "the Colchian" variant to be the more probable one (*Étude*, 107). F. Nau offered as an alternative to "the Caucasian" a derivation from Greek κακός ("mean, bad"; p. 11, n. 4). Then we have the efforts of M. Hamidullah to prove that al-Muḳawḳis had developed from the Persian *Magupati*, i.e. the chief of the Magi—this in order to prove that a person called al-Muḳawḳis existed in Egypt in 628 A.D., when the country was under Persian rule (*Prophète*, i, 209).

Now if we accept that al-Muḳawḳis was originally applied to Cyrus, then the first appearance of this Arabic term must be dated to 631 at the earliest, when Cyrus was transferred from Phasis to Alexandria. This is of some consequence because, according to Arabic sources, contacts existed between the Arabs and the ruler of Egypt, al-Muḳawḳis, prior to this date. The earliest delegation, sent by the Banū Mālik and including al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, was, so the tradition goes, sent to al-Muḳawḳis in 5/627 (al-Wāḳidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ii, 596). The best-known of these alleged missions to al-Muḳawḳis is the one sent by Prophet Muḥammad. The Prophet is said to have sent Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿa to al-Muḳawḳis with a letter in 6/628. The text of this alleged letter can be found for instance in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (45-6). The historicity of the embassies sent by the Prophet is more than questionable, and the story of this particular embassy to al-Muḳawḳis must be considered as legendary and devoid of any historical value. The parchment which was thought to be the original of Muḥammad's letter to al-Muḳawḳis—it was found in a monastery at Akhmīm in 1850 (cf. the publication by Belin, in *JA* [1854], 482-518)—has been recognised almost from the beginning as a fake, on both historical as well as palaeographical grounds (J. Karabacek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazjaditen*, Leipzig 1874, 35 n. 47; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, Leipzig 1909, 190). According to tradition, al-Muḳawḳis also sent with his reply to the Prophet many gifts, including two Coptic concubines, Māriya

and Shīrīn/Sīrīn. This story alludes, in the present writer's opinion, to another story relating how the Emperor Khusraw II (590-628) had two Christian wives, Shīrīn, a Monophysite, and Maria, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice. Besides this alleged al-Mukawkis *avant le lettre*, another apocryphal deputation is also mentioned in connection with his name. In 643 arrived the first Byzantine (Fu-lin) embassy to China sent by the King of Fu-lin, Po-to-li. This Po-to-li was, according to H.H. Schaeder, the Patriarch (Po-to-li = πατρίκιος or πατριάρχης of Alexandria, Cyrus, al-Mukawkis of the Arabic sources (*Iranica*, in *Abh. G.W. Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 3 F., No. 10 [1934], 55-8).

After this excursus, we have to return to the real, historical al-Mukawkis of the Arabic sources and to consider those facts that support the view that the Arabs originally meant to refer to Cyrus when they wrote of al-Mukawkis. There are several pieces of what may be called decisive evidence for the identity of these two individuals, although the legend no doubt mixes up the activities of several other persons under the name al-Mukawkis. As a rule, we can notice that the main features of the activities of al-Mukawkis as depicted by the Muslim Arab historians correspond to the activities of Cyrus in the Christian (Arabic, Coptic and Ethiopic) sources. Several texts where either both names are used to indicate the same individual or combined to form one name, Cyrus al-Mukawkis, are of special importance. In the *History of the Patriarchs* by Severus of Ashmūnayn, the Patriarch and Governor of Heraclius is named both as Cyrus and al-Mukawkis(z) (ed. Evetts, in *PO*, i, 489 f.; ed. Seybold, in *CSCO*, 106; ed. Seybold, in *Veröffentlichungen aus der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek*, 98). The Hamburg ms. is of special interest because, besides being the oldest surviving version, it has Mukawkis at a point where the two other editions have Cyrus. Then we have three different texts where the names Cyrus and al-Mukawkis are combined to denote one individual. In the so-called *Apocalypse of Samuel of Kalamūn* we have Kabīrus (*sic*) al-Mukawkiz (ed. Ziadeh, in *ROC*, 377); in *Kitāb Takrīz haykal Binyāmīn*, a text preserved in both a Coptic and an Arabic version, we can in the Arabic recension read Kīrus al-Mukawkiz while the Coptic has correspondingly **ⲕⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲕⲟⲥ** (ed. R.-G. Coquin, 110); at the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate in Cairo there is an unedited ms. with the incipit *Khabar Kārʾūs al-Mukawkiz*... ms. *Taʾrīkh* 54, f. 158a; = ms. 611 in Graf, *GCAL*, i; = ms. 659 in Marcus Simaika Pasha, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts ... of Egypt*, ii, Cairo 1942). This last, unedited source does not add anything new to our knowledge concerning al-Mukawkis. The facts are the same as in other Monophysite sources like Severus's *History* or the *Synaxars*, but this source leaves no doubts concerning the identification of Cyrus with al-Mukawkis as the adversary and oppressor of the Monophysite Copts and their Patriarch Benjamin. All this, taken together, must place it beyond cavil that Cyrus is identical with al-Mukawkis.

But, as many scholars have pointed out, the Arab writers are certainly referring to more than one person under the name al-Mukawkis. One whom we can with certainty identify is the Monophysite Patriarch Benjamin. Al-Balādhurī gives in his *Futūḥ* (222) a tradition according to which al-Mukawkis in 25/645 forsook the people of Alexandria when they violated the covenant made with the Arabs. This was during the revolt of Alexandria under Manuel, and the al-Mukawkis who fled the city must have been Benjamin, who a little earlier had been restored by the Arabs, since Cyrus had already died in March 642. It is of no use to speculate about other possible individuals incorporated by the Arabs in the name al-Mukawkis; the contradictions and obscurities on the part of the Arab historians show that they themselves used the name very open-handedly. While keeping in mind that al-Mukawkis was originally applied to Cyrus, and then after his death also to Benjamin, we may notice that the Arab lexicographers considered al-Mukawkis to be a title given to the ruler of Egypt (*al-Kāmūs; TA*).

Some words should be said concerning the names given to al-Mukawkis in the Arabic sources. We encounter three different names, with variations and mixed genealogies: Djuraydj as a personal name, Mīnā and Kurkub as the father's name, and the last one also as the grandfather's name. Now if one accepts the above-mentioned identification of Cyrus with al-Mukawkis, there is no need to pay any attention to these names. They could be reminiscences of some other individuals included in the term al-Mukawkis, or, as the present writer believes, expressions of what A. Noth has so strikingly called the *Namenmanie* of the Arabs (*Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung. Teil I: Themen und Formen*, Bonn 1973, 115-17).

There is also another, totally legendary figure known in Arabic historical and pseudo-historical writing as al-Mukawkis. We meet him for the first time in the so-called Pseudo-Wākidī's work, a tendentious *Volksroman* that dates from the epoch of the Crusades. There are several *Futūḥ*-works circulating under al-Wākidī's name. This one, usually called simply *Futūḥ Miṣr* or something corresponding, was already in 1825 edited by H.A. Hamaker as *incerti auctoris liber*. The real author seems to be a certain Ibn Isḥāk al-Umawī (cf. mss. *Taʾrīkh Taymūr* 1058 and 2068 in the Dār al-Kutub, Cairo; lithographed ed., Cairo 1275 A.H.; V. Rosen, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits arabes du Musée Asiatique*, i, St.-Petersburg 1881, 91-2; Brockelmann, S I, 208). The work is completely without value as a historical source. The main reason for mentioning it is that it has met the approval of some orientalists as well as of many Arab writers. Some consider it as the work of the Ibn Isḥāk, others as that of al-Wākidī. Two historical novels, at least, have been inspired by this Pseudo-Wākidī and have al-Mukawkis, with his alleged daughter Armānūsa, as main characters: Djurdjī Zaydān, *Armānūsat al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1896, and C.H. Butcher, *Armenosa of Egypt*, Edinburgh and London 1897.

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xiii, 55 ff., 110 f.; *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, ed. H. Zotenberg, in *NE*, xxiv, 335, 559, 562, 564, 570-8; M.J. de Goeje, *De Mokaukis van Egypte*, in *Études archéol. ling. et hist. dédiés à C. Leemans*, Leiden 1885, 7 ff.; J. Karabacek, *Der Mokaukis van Aegypten*, in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzh. Rainer*, i (1886), 1-11; E. Amélineau, *Fragments coptes pour servir à l'histoire de la conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes*, in *JA* (1888), 361-410; idem, *Samuel de Qalamoun*, in *RHR*, xxx (1894), 19-24; idem, *La conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes*, in *RH*, cxix (1915), 286-92; F.M. Esteves Pereira, *Vida do Abba Samuel do mosteiro do Kalamon*, Lisbon 1894, 41-53 (useful; cf. also Th. Nöldeke's discussion in *ZDMG*, xlviii [1894], 158-63); A.J. Butler, *On the identity of "al-Muḳauḳis" of Egypt*, in *PSBA*, xxiii (1901), 275-90; the same art. revised in A.J. Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the last thirty years of the Roman dominion*, Oxford 1902, 2nd ed. Oxford 1978, appendix C: *On the identity of "al-Muḳauḳas"*, 508-26 (fundamental study; cf. also the discussion by Karl Krumbacher in *BZ*, xi [1902], 249; anon. in *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 March 1903, 79; Butler's reply in *ibid*, 20 March 1903, 88; anon. in *The Athenaeum*, 11 April 1903, 455 ff.); idem, *The Treaty of Miṣr in Ṭabarī*, Oxford 1913, reprinted in the 2nd ed. of *The Arab conquest*, Oxford 1978, 54-83; S. Lane-Poole, *The First Mohammadan treaties with Christians*, in *PRIA*, xxiv (1903), 248-56; L. Caetani, *Annali*, i, 725-32; iv, 86-96, 330, 337, 342 (useful); P. Casanova's tr. of al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, in *MIFAO*, iii, 114, n. 2, 116, n. 5; idem, *Mohammed et la fin du monde*, Paris 1911, 26; V. Bolotov, *K. istorii imperatora Irakliya* ("About the history of the Emperor Heraclius"), in *Vizantiiskiy Vremennik*, xiv (1907), 68-73; Δ. Καλλιμαχος, Το Πατριαρχεῖον 'Αλεξανδρείας ἐν 'Αβυσσινίᾳ ("The Alexandrian Patriarchate in Abyssinia"), in 'Εκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος, iv (1909), 453; idem, Αἱ τελευταῖαι ἡμέραι τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς κυριαρχίας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ("The last days of the Greek rule in Egypt"), in 'Εκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος, vi (1910), 38-50, 135-62, 224-40, 397-408, 447-57; vii (1911), 191-8, 442-68; Ηλιας Στεφανου, Τίς ὁ Μακοῦκας; ("Who is Makoukas?"), in 'Εκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος, v (1910), 453-63; G. Wiet's ed. of Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, in *MIFAO*, xxx, 119, n. 2; *ibid.*, xxxiii, 163, n. 2, 190; P. van Cauwenbergh, *Étude sur les moines d'Égypte depuis le concile de Chalcédoine (451) jusqu'à l'invasion arabe (640)*, Paris 1914, 91-109 (important); F. Nau, *La politique matrimoniale de Cyrus (le Mocaucas)*, in *Le Muséon*, xlv (1932), 8-17; Maḥmūd ʿAkkūsh, *Miṣr fī ʿahd al-islām*, Cairo 1941, 172-251; Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla, *al-Bābā Binyāmīn al-awwal al-baṭrīyark al-thāmin wa 'l-thalāthūn wa 'l-fatḥ al-ʿarabī li-Miṣr wa-Ḳīrush al-Muḳawḳis al-baṭrīyark al-malakī*, Cairo 1948, 142-65; ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād, *ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ*, Cairo n.d., 92-130; M. Cramer and H. Bacht, *Der antichalkedonische Aspekt im historisch-biographischen Schrifttum der koptischen Monophysiten (6.-7. Jahrhundert)*, in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, ii, Würzburg 1953, 328-34; E. Littmann, *Muḳauḳis im Gemälde von Ḳuṣair ʿAmra*, in *ZDMG*, cv (1955), 287 f.; C.D.G. Müller, *Benjamin I., 38. Patriarch von Alexandrien*, in *Le Muséon*, lxix (1956), 320, n. 27; M. Hamidullah, *Le Prophète de l'Islam*, i, Paris 1959, 209; A. Alcock, *Cyrus the Mukaukas and Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria: Un trafiquant de chair blanche?*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxvi (1973), 73 f.; Bāhūr Labīb, *al-Muḳawḳis aw Sīrus al-rūmānī*, in *Dirāsāt ʿan Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam*, Cairo 1975, 75-83; P.M. Fraser's *Additional bibliography* to the 2nd ed. of Butler, *The Arab conquest*, pp. lxv ff. (K. ÖHRNBERG)

AL-**MUKHĀ** (al-Makhā; in European sources usually Mokha, Mocha, occasionally even Mecca; 13° 19′ N., 43° 15′ E.), seaport on the Red Sea in the Taʿizz province of the Republic of Yemen. According to Landberg, *Daṯînah*, ii, 1141, the name means "the place where [the water] is divided [by a dam]." A local tradition says that al-Mukhā was founded by Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Shādhilī (d. 821/1418), who allegedly offered a beverage (coffee) to an Indian captain as medicine. The renown of the good qualities of the beverage spread rapidly, and the mosque over the Shaykh's tomb attracted many pilgrims. Al-Mukhā's main spring and the town gate leading to the inland are named after him (Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, i, pl. 72, p. 439; cf. *ibid.*, 359, 373; Landberg, *Daṯînah*, 1068; idem, in *Arabica*, iv [1897]). According to other sources, perhaps more reliable or to be connected with the tradition mentioned above, coffee was introduced into Arabia from Ethiopia by Özdemir Pasha [*q.v.*] in the 10th/16th century (see Glaser, *Tagebuch*, ii, 68; idem, *Über meine Reisen*, 25), or from Persia via Aden (Grohmann, *Südarabien*, i, 239). Al-Mukhā has given its name to mokha, the well-known blend of coffee. The two names became linked during the 11th/17th century when al-Mukhā, together with Bayt al-Faḳīh [*q.v.*], became the centres of the international coffee-trade. On the relation between the word coffee and Kaffa province in Ethiopia, the alleged homeland of the coffeebush, see ḲAHWA. A certain type of skins and gloves also derives its name from the Yemeni port.

On Ptolemy's map of South Arabia (see Von Wissmann-Höfner, *Beiträge*, pl. 10 and cf. *ibid.*, p. 89, and map, p. 64), μουζα ἐμποριον is marked as the seaport of Mawzaʿ, situated some eighteen miles to the east. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie*, nos. 65, 85, considers this emporium to be identical with al-Mukhā. Pliny (vi, 26 § 104) remarks that the *Indica navigatio* does not call at Muza. This, according to Sprenger, means that the port was not simply an anchorage on the voyage from Berenike, the southernmost port of Egypt, to Barygaza in India, but that it was the destination of ships trading with Arabia for incense, myrrh and alabaster (Pliny, xii, 15 § 68). In Aelius Gallus's time Muza was still dominated by the Gebaniti, who in a way were vassals of the Sabaeans (Pliny, vi, 28 § 161). The *Periplus*, § 21, 24 states that Muza (Mauzaʿ) was a market town without a harbour, but with a good anchorage, that it was important for trade between Berenike and Barygaza and that its inhabitants, ship-owners and seafaring men, were busy with the affairs of commerce. For the further history of al-Mukhā in Roman times, see Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie*, no. 383 ff.

D'Anville, *Description*, 253, on the other hand, identified μουζα ἐμποριον with Mawsidsh (or Mawshid), a few miles into the interior. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, i, 373, and *Beschreibung*, 222, was of the opinion that Ptolemy's emporium was identical with another Muza (Musa), also situated at some eighteen miles east of al-Mukhā, from where the rich inhabitants of the port got good drinking water. The famous Danish traveller even thought that al-Mukhā had hardly existed before 1300 A.D. (*Reisebeschreibung*, i, 438; cf. Viscount Valentia, *Voyages*, i, 344).

By 590 A.D. the Sasanids under Wahrīz [see ABRAHA] were masters of al-Mukhā, and remained in control until the Muslim conquest of the Yemen in 8/629-30.

Until the beginning of the 10th/16th century, al-Mukhā apparently was not of great importance. Abu 'l-Fidā, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Yāḳūt [*q.vv.*] do not name it, while ʿUmāra (Kay, *Yaman*, 11) mentions the town

just once as a halting place on the Tihāma—or lowland—road from Aden to Mecca. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 74, does not mention it among the towns of the Tihāma. He only remarks that the *wādī* al-Ghaṣīd flows to the sea via al-Mawzaᶜ and across al-Mukhā. On the other hand, in the 4th/10th century al-Mukaddasī speaks of a flourishing town (*madīna* [*q.v.*]) producing sesame-oil (85; cf. Landberg, *Daṭînah*, i, 300). According to the same author (101), amber [see ᶜANBAR] was found along the shore between Aden and al-Mukhā.

In 1507 the expeditionary force under the *amīr* Ḥusayn Mushrif al-Kurdī, governor of Djudda [*q.v.*], sent by the Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*] to assist Maḥmūd Shāh, the ruler of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*], against the Portuguese, called at al-Mukhā (Schuman, *Political History*, 61-2, no. 56). The port is mentioned just once by de Barros (*Asia*, Dec. ii, Book vii, ch. 1), but it grew in importance after Aden had been attacked by Albuquerque in 1513 [see ᶜADAN] and after the Ottoman Turks, who considered themselves as successors to the Mamlūk spheres of influence, appeared in the Red Sea. Due to their exactions in Aden, coupled with a fall in its commerce, al-Mukhā began to supplant the other port.

In 1538 the castle of al-Mukhā, fortified by Aydînlî Muḥammad Pasha, was the last Ottoman foothold on Yemeni soil. The city walls and the two fortresses protecting the roadstead, described by Niebuhr more than two hundred years later, may well date from this period, as well as some fortified places on the road to actual Musa.

During this 10th/16th century, before the arrival of the Europeans, al-Mukhā was frequented by merchants from many parts of the Middle East and from India. The Indian merchants sailed thither with the first easterly winds, and left towards the end of the south-west monsoon in late August. They traded with the merchants who sailed from Suez with the north-westerly winds and returned in autumn. Exports from al-Mukhā consisted of coffee, aloes, myrhh, incense, senna, ivory, mother-of-pearl and gold, while crude metals such as iron, steel and lead, guns and textiles were imported.

In 1013/1604-5 the Ottoman general Sinān Pasha al-Kaykhiyā was appointed governor of the Yemen. Known for some remarkable public works (see Serjeant, *Ṣanᶜāʾ*, 72b), he died at al-Mukhā, where he was buried besides Shaykh al-Shādhilī.

Al-Mukhā became more widely known in North-Western Europe when the English and the Dutch appeared. In 1609 the Englishmen John Jourdain and William Revett reported that al-Mukhā's buildings "were very much ruinated for want of repairing". Notwithstanding this, the Ottoman customs of the port amounted to £ 37,500 in 1611. In 1610 Sir Henry Middleton sailed to al-Mukhā. He was imprisoned, but escaped and extorted compensation by a blockade. Later, he came back, traded by force and seized Gudjarātī ships. In this he was joined by John Saris, who had brought an Ottoman trading permit. Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador to the Great Mughal (1615-19), wanted one ship from the East India fleet sent to the Red Sea every year. In 1618 Andrew Skilling was well received at al-Mukhā. Charts were made by the explorer Baffin. In spite of dislike of Roe's plan by the factors at Surat and by the Mughal government, a somewhat irregular trade was maintained, though it was for a time disorganised by the Yemeni war of independence against the Ottomans.

The Dutch merchant Pieter van den Broecke visited al-Mukhā in 1616. While he was there, a caravan of 1,000 camels arrived. At his return from Ṣanᶜāʾ, he traded profitably in the port. In 1620 he had to leave his goods at Aden, whence they were taken to al-Mukhā by dhow. In 1621 Dutch ships attacked craft from India; the Ottomans then took the officials and their stock at the factory at al-Mukhā as a reprisal. The factor, Willem de Milde, died a prisoner. The Dutch then traded from their ships, sometimes going to Assab for supplies. For the attack of the Dutch against al-Mukhā in 1659-60, see Serjeant, *The Portuguese*, 117 ff.

Coffee is not mentioned in the English East India Company's sale lists until 1660, although by that time the commodity had already become by far the most important export of al-Mukhā. The first important cargo of coffee was sent to Holland in 1663. Having been closed off and on, the Dutch factory was opened again in 1708 and the Dutch were given the right to export 600 bales of coffee annually free of duty. But by that time coffee was being grown in Java.

After a private French voyage to the east had been made in 1529, Beaulieu sailed along the south coast of Arabia in 1619-20. Later, Colbert wanted to revive the Red Sea trade with the help of the Ottomans and to have consuls in the ports, but nothing came of his plans. In 1708-9 and again in 1711-13 the French Company of St. Malo sent two armed ships to al-Mukhā (De la Grélaudière, *Relation*). A commercial trade was set up, a factory opened, and coffee bushes procured to be planted in Réunion. Offended because their goods were paid for only by remittance of future customs dues, the French bombarded al-Mukhā in 1737. Though coffee sold in France for about twice its cost in Arabia, yet the trade ceased to be profitable and was gradually abandoned.

In the 11th/17th century there was also a Danish factory at al-Mukhā for a time, and about 1720 several ships sailed thither from Ostend. About 1755 C.H. Braad, an agent of the Swedish East India Company, visited al-Mukhā and reported on the commercial prospects.

In 1620 the Zaydī Imām al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] attacked al-Mukhā, where the Ottomans, at least in 1609, kept a garrison of only 40 men. The Zaydī troops were expelled by Ottoman gunfire from the roofs and from ships in the harbour. After an Ottoman relief force, sent from Egypt, had deserted, the Tihāma was recovered in 1630 by a joint Ottoman expedition by land and sea under Aḥmed Ḳānṣawh, but when the Imām invaded it in 1635, the Ottomans evacuated it on terms. In 1636 they gave over al-Mukhā, Zabīd and Kamarān to the Imām. In spite of some interventions of Arab tribes (see below), the port, governed by a *dola* in the name of the Imām at Ṣanᶜāʾ, was to remain in the hands of the Zaydīs until 1849.

The conquest of Ḥaḍramawt brought the Zaydīs into confrontation with the rising maritime power of ᶜUmān [*q.v.*]. In 1079/1669 the ᶜUmānīs raided the coast of Aden and al-Mukhā. At that time al-Ḥasan b. al-Muṭahhar al-Djarmūzī, the author of the *Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyya*, was governor of al-Mukhā. His biography is found in al-Shawkānī's *Badr al-ṭāliᶜ* (ed. Cairo 1348, i, 210).

In March 1661 Bārī Ṣāḥiba, the Dowager Queen of Bīdjāpūr, sailed from Vengurla (north of Goa) on pilgrimage on a Dutch ship. At al-Mukhā the vessel was not allowed to sail until all the Muslim shipping was ready to leave. The Dutch then applied to Imām al-Mutawakkil ᶜalā Allāh Ismāᶜīl [*q.v.*]. The relations between Ottomans, Portuguese, English and Dutch

on the one hand, and the inhabitants of al-Mukhā on the other are described in Serjeant, *The Portuguese*, 121 ff.; cf. idem, *Ṣanᶜāʾ*, index.

In 1107/1695-6 Imām al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, known as Ṣāḥib al-Mawākib, sent Ibrāhīm Bāshā to Zaylaᶜ [*q.v.*], the port on the African coast which since 1630 had been dependent upon the governors of al-Mukhā. A large port, a mosque and town wall were built there; slaves were exported to the Yemeni port. Al-Manṣūr bi'llāh, who proclaimed himself Imām in 1128/1716, sent a *dola* to al-Mukhā in order to control the port revenues.

In Niebuhr's days (1763), an English East Indian ship came every second year to load coffee, while the Dutch arrived only very rarely; the French had not been there for seven years and the Portuguese had since long disappeared. Port taxes were at 10%, but the Europeans paid only 3% and furthermore were permitted to put their goods into their own factories; the remaining 7% had to be paid by the Arab buyers. For coffee export, the Europeans also paid 3% only, and, if loading a big European ship full with coffee, they received a premium of 400 dollars from the *dola*. Although the Portuguese economic blockade of southern Arabia in the 17th century had caused a decline of the glass industry on the Aden litoral, Niebuhr speaks of the quite recent establishment of a glass-factory at al-Mukhā. His companion Von Hagen died here, and in August 1763 the Danish traveller sailed from al-Mukhā to India.

In 1801 the port was visited by Sir Home Popham, who had been sent to the Red Sea to attempt to revive the once extensive trade between the Yemen and the English East India Company's possessions. Viscount Valentia, casting anchor at al-Mukhā in 1801, saw three high minarets, the round dome of the main mosque, many *ḳubbas* [*q.v.*], the palace of the *dola* and the great serail built by the Ottomans (*Voyages*, ii, 327). His description, however, shows a town in decay. Date liquor and palm wine, made by Jews, were sold to European sailors, who often misbehaved, even after becoming Muslim (cf. Grohmann, *Südarabien*, i, 102). American ships now also called at the port, but coffee-export had dwindled. Al-Mukhā's decay in the 19th century was mainly caused by the resurgence of Aden, the port also losing to al-Ḥudayda [*q.v.*]. Between 1824 and 1884 the population fell from 20,000 to 1,500 (Botta, *Relation*, 134).

In 1832 Muḥammad Aghā, nicknamed Turkče Bilmez ("the one who speaks no Turkish"), an officer of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's [*q.v.*] Ḥidjāz forces whom the Ottoman Sultan encouraged to rebel against the Pasha, bombarded and conquered al-Mukhā, al-Ḥudayda and Zabīd. Al-Mukhā was then blockaded by Ottoman-Egyptian forces, while the Sharīf Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī of Abū ᶜArīsh [*q.v.*], with the help of the Banū ᶜAsīr, carried the port by assault on land. The next year, the Ottoman-Egyptian commander Ibrāhīm Pasha forced the Banū ᶜAsīr to surrender al-Mukhā to him after Muḥammad Aghā had been expelled. The Egyptians, however, withdrew in 1840 and in 1841 the port was recovered by Imām al-Manṣūr ᶜAlī. Later, again with the help of the Banū ᶜAsīr, the port fell again in the hands of the Sharīf Ḥusayn, who was to rule it on behalf of the Porte and had to pay an annual tribute of 70,000 *riyals* to the Pasha of Egypt. Al-Mukhā, Bayt al-Faḳīh and Zabīd were reconquered by Imām al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, but in 1849 the Ottomans regained possession of the port until the First World War.

After the Second World War, al-Mukhā was a *ḳaḍāʾ* [*q.v.*] of the *liwā* of Taᶜizz, which was divided into the *nāhiyas* al-Mukhā and al-Maḳbara. The town faces west on the shore of a shallow bay between two headlands, and is situated in an arid plain relieved by scattered palm-trees mainly to the south. There was an unprotected anchorage for large vessels about 1½ miles off shore in depth up to 4 fathoms. Small craft found anchorage in 7-10 feet within the bay, one quarter of a mile off the town. The water-front was encumbered by flats and shoals except at the southern end, where a channel with 3 feet of water led south past the town wall into the Khor Ambaya lagoon.

In 1946 the town was about half-a-mile long and one-quarter wide (photograph in *Western Arabia*, 263). Many of its stone houses were ruined and abandoned. To the many reasons of decay given above, the ruinous effects of earthquakes must be added. Al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*] records in 796/1393-4 about forty successive shocks in one single day in Mawzaᶜ and its environs (Redhouse, *The Pearl-strings*, GMS, ii, 238); other shocks were recorded in 1896-7. Part of the inhabitants (*ca.* 1,000 in 1946, including Arabs, Somalis and Jews) was living outside the town. Streets are narrow, but some of the mosques are still impressive with their lofty minarets, particularly the tomb of Shaykh al-Shādhilī within, and that of Shaykh al-Amūdī outside the town. Like in Niebuhr's time, good water is brought by conduit from Musa, 27 miles to the south. In the 1950s reconstruction started with the help of French engineers. In 1970 the population was estimated at 25,000.

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MUKHADDIRĀT [see AFYŪN; BANDJ].

MUKHAḌRAM (A.), a term denoting a person who lived in the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] and in the time of Islam. It has been applied in particular to poets, *al-mukhaḍramūn* constituting the class of pagan poets who died after the proclamation of Islam. The meaning has been extended to poets living in the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid period, who were referred to as *mukhaḍramū 'l-dawlatayn*, "poets of the two dynasties". It is also a technical term in the science of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], where it signified a transmitter who accepted Islam but had not seen the Prophet (cf. W. Marçais, *Le Taqrîb de En-Nawawi*, in *JA*, xvii [1901], 127-8).

1. Etymology. In Arabic lexicography, various explanations of the term are given. Thus it is derived from *khaḍrama*, "to cut the ear of one's camel" or "to cut the ear in halves". Its semantic evolution is explained either metaphorically as signifying a man "cut off from disbelief" (*kuṭiʿa ʿan al-kufr*), or with reference to a *ḥadīth* which reports that the Prophet ordered his followers to cut the ears of their camels in a way differing from pagan usage, as a sign of their being Muslims. Accordingly, some lexicographers adopt the reading *mukhaḍrim* (act. part.) "who cut his camels in the new way", whereas *mukhaḍram* would mean a person "who knew both ways of cutting" (*adraka 'l-khaḍramatayn*). The reading *mukhaḍrim* is also derived from *khaḍrama* denoting "to mix", i.e. "someone who mixed *Djāhiliyya* and Islam" (*LA*, xii, 185; *TA*, viii, 280-1). In addition, Ibn Rashīk [*q.v.*] mentions the derivation from *khiḍrim*, "copious, ample", applied in particular to a well "having much water", and explains the term as referring to a man who fully experienced both periods (*al-ʿUmda fī maḥāsin al-shiʿr*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo [3]1383/1963-5, i, 113). Some scholars limit its application to those who passed half of their life in the *Djāhiliyya* and half of it in the time of Islam.

2. Al-mukhaḍramūn. According to Ibn Rashīk (*loc. cit.*), the successive generations of poets are to be divided into four groups: pre-Islamic (*djāhilī kadīm*), *mukhaḍram*, Islamic (*islāmī*) and "modern" (*muḥdath*). His classification has been accepted by later authors (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ch. 49). The first three groups are already mentioned by Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī (d. 231/845 [*q.v.*]) in the *Ṭabakāt al-shuʿarāʾ (Die Klassen der Dichter)*, ed. J. Hell, Leiden 1916, 9), but the book is divided into two main sections only, the *mukhaḍramūn* being treated within the class of pagan poets. The same tendency to group the two classes together is apparent in other sources, too. Thus in the Book of "the two Khālids", al-Khālidiyyān [*q.v.*], *K. al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir min ashʿār al-mutakaddimīn wa 'l-djāhiliyya wa 'l-mukhaḍramīn* (ed. M. Yūsuf, Cairo 1958-1965, i, 1), the "ancients" (*al-kudamāʾ*) and the *mukhaḍramūn* are treated as one category to be contrasted with the "moderns".

A similar view prevailed until recently in modern research, i.e. it was taken for granted that pre-Islamic oral tradition continued virtually unchanged up to the Umayyad period. There are several monographs by Arabic scholars investigating the influence of Muḥammad's preaching on contemporary poets and studying their political commitments. However, except for occasional allusions to the new religion and the introduction of Islamic subjects into the verses of his followers, e.g. Ḥassān b. Thābit and Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.vv.*], no changes with regard to conventional genres and motifs are recorded. The question has been approached from a different aspect in western research. By analysing early Islamic texts from a literary point of view it has been established that famous *mukhaḍramūn*, e.g. al-Aʿshā Maymūn, Labīd, Abū Dhuʾayb and al-Ḥuṭayʾa [*q.vv.*], deviated from tradition in several respects, both on the formal and on the conceptual level, thereby anticipating some of the innovative features attributed to Umayyad poets. It is to be assumed that these changes in poetic convention are due to the same socio-economic factors which favoured the rise of Islam. The following aspects have been noted: (a) structural changes in the polythematic ode; (b) the emergence of *ghazal* poetry; (c) individual narrative units, sometimes introduced as similes; (d) a change of attitude towards love and the beloved; and (e) a new experience of time (cf. R. Jacobi, *Altarabische Dichtung*, in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, ii. ed. H. Gätje, Wiesbaden 1987, 28-31).

3. Mukhaḍramū 'l-dawlatayn. The designation is first attested in the title of a lost book by Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-Munadjdjim (d. 300/913), *K. al-Bāhir fī akhbār shuʿarāʾ mukhaḍramī 'l-dawlatayn*. It is mentioned in *al-Fihrist* (143), where the poets belonging to that group are enumerated, starting with Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*]. Parts of the book are preserved in the *K. al-Aghānī* (cf. M. Fleischhammer, *Reste zweier Dichterbücher im Kitāb al-Aġānī*, in *Wiss. Zeitschrift der Univ. Halle*, xvii [1968], 77-83). The term is used occasionally in the *Aghānī*, e.g. with regard to Bashshār (iii, 20) or Ibn Mayyāda [*q.v.*] (ii, 89), but is not generally accepted for classification. Poets of that period are usually included in the class of the "moderns", as evidenced by the *Ṭabakāt al-shuʿarāʾ al-muḥdathīn* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*].

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(RENATE JACOBI)

MUKHALLEFĀT (A.) "things left behind (at death)", an Ottoman financial-judicial term alluding to the property of deceased officials and of those who died without heirs that the Ottoman Treasury confiscated. The inheritances of the minors or the mentally handicapped who could not oversee their shares were also seized and kept until they reached puberty; the Treasury also approved the expenditure of the money for them. All of these estates appeared in the lists of sources of revenue as *mukhallefāt*, things left behind. The movable and immovable goods left behind were recorded in a register known as the *mukhallefāt defteri* by a clerk, *mukhallefāt meʾmūru*, whose responsibility comprised inscribing these goods and then liquidating them. *Mukhallefāt akčesi* referred to the money accruing from the liquidation. The sub-department of the Ottoman bureaucracy which registered these revenues was called *mukhallefāt ḳalemi*, and the title of the clerks working in this department was *mukhallefāt khalīfesi*.

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AL-**MUKHAMMIS** [see AL-MUSAMMAṬ].

MUKHAMMISA (A.), Pentadists is the name applied to a doctrinal current, rather than a specific sect, among the Shīʿī extremists (*ghulāt*) which espoused the divinity of the five members of the *ahl al-kisāʾ* [*q.v.*], Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.

The Ismāʿīlī Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/945-5) defines the Mukhammisa as those who considered the five members of the pentad as equal in rank and as embodying a single divine spirit. Representative of this type of pentadist doctrine is the *Umm al-Kitāb* preserved by the Ismāʿīlī community in Badakhshān. The Imāmī heresiographer Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī (d. 301/913-14), on the other hand, identifies the Mukhammisa with those who viewed Muḥammad as the *maʿnā*, the godhead, who appeared in five shapes and forms. Opposed to the Mukhammisa were the ʿAlyāʾiyya who recognised ʿAlī as the godhead who appeared in only four persons and reduced Muḥammad to a mere servant and messenger of the godhead, a rank attributed by the Mukhammisa to Salmān. Al-Ḳummī further identifies the Mukhammisa with the followers of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb (d. *ca.* 138/755). The basic doctrine of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and the early Khaṭṭābiyya [*q.v.*] differed, however, from that ascribed to the Mukhammisa. Pentadist doctrine seems to have been secondarily adopted by some of the Khaṭṭābiyya. Since Bashshār al-Shaʿīrī, the founder of the ʿAlyāʾiyya, was active in the time of the *imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765), this must also have been at that time. The doctrine of the Mukhammisa described in detail by al-Ḳummī is of a later period, since Muḥammad b. Bashīr, a *ghālī* active in the time of *imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā (d. 203/818), is named as one of their earlier prophets and *bābs*. Al-Masʿūdī names two authors, al-Fayyāḍ b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Fayyaḍ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nahīkī, as espousing the doctrine of the Mukhammisa, whom he calls Muḥammadiyya, in refutations of the *Kitāb al-Sirāṭ* of the ʿAlyāʾī Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad al-Nakhaʿī al-Aḥmar al-Baṣrī (*Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, § 1135). Isḥāḳ al-Aḥmar was active in the time of the *imāms* ʿAlī al-Hādī (d. 254/868) and al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874). The Mukhammisa doctrine of this period may be reflected in al-Ḳummī's account.

The Mukhammisa, according to al-Ḳummī, believed that the deity, Muḥammad, had appeared, aside from the manifestation in the divine pentad, in cycles (*adwār*) among Arabs and non-Arabs (*ʿadjam*) in the prophets from Adam to Jesus, in Muḥammad's wives Khadīdja and Umm Salama, in the *imāms*, and in the forms of the Chosroes (*akāsira*) and the kings who ruled the earth. This latter aspect refelcts Iranian influence and relates the Mukhammisa to the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*], who also held that the imāmate had passed through the Persian kings to Muḥammad. Muḥammad had first manifested himself to mankind in his luminous nature (*nūrāniyya*), summoning them to affirm his unity, but they had denied him. He then appeared to them in the form of prophethood (*nubuwwa*), but they denied him. Finally, he appeared in the form of the imāmate and they accepted him. The exterior aspect (*ẓāhir*) of God is thus the imāmate, the inner meaning (*bāṭin*) is Muḥammad. The elect recognise him in his luminous nature, while the common people see him in human carnal form as *imāms*, prophets and kings. The manifestation of Muḥammad is at all times accompanied by a hierarchy headed by his Gate Messenger (*rasūl bāb*) whose *maʿnā* is Salmān. Below the Gate in rank are a Great and a Small Orphan (*yatīm*), whose archetypes are al-Miḳdād and Abū Dharr [*q.vv.*], and there are lower ranks of *nudjabāʾ*, *nuḳabāʾ*, *muṣṭafawn*, *mukhtaṣṣūn*, *mumtaḥanūn* and *muʾminūn*. Those who recognise these members of the hierarchy and their esoteric *maʿnās* are freed from all shackles of the religious law which is imposed only on the deniers of the truth. Initiation into the esoteric doctrine was preceded by an examination (*imtiḥān*) which involves openly drinking wine and sharing of all personal property and wives. The Mukhammisa believed in metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*). The spirits of the deniers would be transferred to animals in descending order and to stars and eventually would be turned into the inanimate matter of rocks, mud and iron. In this shape they would be tortured for ever. The spirits of the faithful would be transferred in seven human bodies like "shirts (*aḳmiṣa*)" during seven cycles, each lasting 10,000 years. Ever rising in their gnosis they would, at the end of the great cycle (*kawr*), reach the level of fully perceiving Muḥammad in his luminous nature.

Imāmī sources further name as a Mukhammis and founder of an extremist doctrine Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī, who claimed to be a descendant of the *imām* Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] and who died in Karmī near Fasā in 352/963. He is described as a distinguished author of Imāmī books who in his later life became a *ghālī*. Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī defines the doctrine of the Mukhammisa in the context of al-Kūfī's vita as implying that the pentad of Salmān, al-Miḳdād, ʿAmmār, Abū Dharr and ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī was "entrusted with the welfare of the world (*muwakkalūn bi-maṣāliḥ al-ʿālam*)." Whether this pentad was held to correspond to a higher divine pentad of the *ahl al-kisāʾ* is uncertain. According to al-Nadjāshī, the *ghulāt* attributed high spiritual stations to al-Kūfī. Nothing is known, however, about the identity of his followers.

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Gnosis, Zurich 1982, 218-30. On ᶜAlī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī, see Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, Ḳumm 1407/1987, 265-6; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-shīᶜa*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1853, 211 (for *al-mudjassima* read *al-mukhammisa*); Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Ridjāl*, ed. M. Ṣādiḳ Āl Baḥr al-ᶜulūm, Nadjaf 1961, 233; Mīrzā ᶜAbd Allāh Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ᶜulamā'*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Ḳumm 1401/1981, iii, 355-62.

(W. Madelung)

MUKHĀRADJA (a.), together with its synonyms *muḳāraᶜa, munāhada* and *musāhama*, conveys the idea of the division of various objects done in various ways amongst two or more persons; but the word *mukhāradja* by itself and the other terms followed by the expression *bi 'l-aṣābiᶜ* "with the fingers" all denote the game of mora, morra, or mication (Latin *micatio*, Ital. *mora*). This game is played all around the shores of the Mediterranean, and also in Arabia and ᶜIrāḳ, and consists of two players, facing each other, and, at a signal given by one of them, they simultaneously put up the right hand, with one or more fingers bent back and the rest raised, whilst at the same time announcing together a number less than ten; the winner is the one who guesses the exact number represented by the outstretched fingers of the two players. This procedure is a game of chance, and in principle Islam forbids it, especially as it is often used to designate the beneficiary of some disputed object, to divide up a sum of money, to provide the reply to a wager, etc.

Bibliography: The Arabic dictionaries do not give any precise details about the mode of playing *mukhāradja* and merely give synonyms for the term. A description of the game in question is given in the article *ᶜUḳad* of Fr. A.M. de Saint-Elie al-Karmalī, in *Machriq*, iii (1900), 123; see also J.G. Lemoine, *Les anciens procédés de calcul sur les doigts en Orient et en Occident*, in *REI*, 1932/1, 7-8.

(Ed.)

MUKHĀRIḲ, Abu 'l-Muhannā' Mukhāriḳ b. Yaḥyā b. Nāwūs, one of the greatest singers of the early ᶜAbbāsids.

He belonged to Madma (although some say to Kūfa) and was the son of a butcher. ᶜĀtika bint Shudha, a famous singer and lutenist, whose slave he was, noticed that he possessed a good voice, and taught him singing. By her he was sold to Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 188/804 [*q.v.*]), the *doyen* of the court musicians, who furthered his musical education. Ibrāhīm said that a youth with such talents had a great future, and he heralded him as his successor. One day Mukhāriḳ was sent by Ibrāhīm to Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī and his sons al-Faḍl and Djaᶜfar to sing to them some of his (Ibrāhīm's) latest compositions. The Barmakids [see barāmika] were fascinated by the audition, and Mukhāriḳ was gifted to al-Faḍl al-Bamarkī [*q.v.*], who, in turn, presented him to Hārūn al-Rashīd. This must have taken place before 187/803, the date of the fall of the Barmakids. The caliph, who was equally charmed by Mukhāriḳ's voice, gave him his freedom and heaped rewards on him. He would even dispense with the customary curtain which divided him from the court musicians, and invite Mukhāriḳ to share his seat. The virtuoso continued to be favoured at court until his death during the reign of al-Wāthiḳ [*q.v.*], who was a composer himself and looked to Mukhāriḳ to sing his composition. The caliph was disappointed, however, because Mukhāriḳ indulged in a practice, then the height of fashion, of altering the notes of the melody or rhythm according to his whim. Indeed, it was said that he did not sing the same melody twice alike. This was one of the innovations of a school led by the *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (d. 224/839 [*q.v.*]), to which Mukhāriḳ and others attached themselves. It is this movement that is blamed by the authors of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and the *ᶜIḳd al-farīd* for having been the cause of the loss of the old traditional music. Mukhāriḳ died at Sāmarrā in 230/844-5.

In spite of this blame that is attached to Mukhāriḳ, his fame as a singer stands very high. His voice captivated everyone, not only because of its rare beauty, but on account of its exceptional power. Mukhāriḳ himself was well aware of his gifts and, not being above *étalage*, seems to have enjoyed the sensation that he sometimes created. Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]) names seven of the leading musicians of Hārūn's court, and places three of them, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, Ibn Djāmiᶜ and Mukhāriḳ, in the first rank. By the time of al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33 [*q.v.*]), the two first-named were dead, and Mukhāriḳ was *facile princeps* at court as a singer, and could stand comparison with Isḥāk al-Mawṣilī, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and Allūya (cf. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xxi, 227, 234). When the poet Diᶜbil [*q.v.*] lampooned the musical *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī after his failure to secure the caliphate, he said "Were Ibrāhīm fit to reign, the empire had devolved by right to Mukhāriḳ, Zalzal and Māriḳ (= Ibn al-Māriḳī)", the court musicians. These lines alone show the eminence to which the great artist had arrived at this period. Ibn al-Taghrībirdī said that whilst Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and his son Isḥāḳ sang well to the accompaniment of the lute, in pure vocal work Mukhāriḳ outshone them both. The best testimony comes from al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) who only mentions two musicians of the ᶜAbbāsid period, Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī and Mukhāriḳ. Among his best known pupils were Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Abi 'l-ᶜAlā' and Ḥamdūn b. Ismāᶜīl b. Dāwūd al-Kātib, the begetter of a family of good musicians.

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(H.G. Farmer)

MUKHĀṬARA (a.), a term—familiar in mediaeval European mercantile circles in its Latin garb *mohatra*—technically used to denote a legal device, or stratagem (*ḥīla* [*q.v.*]), having as its purpose the circumvention of that established rule of substantive Islamic law which prohibits any form of interest on a capital loan. The device, also commonly termed *ᶜīna* or *bayᶜ al-ᶜīna*, "sale on credit"—and, by way of euphemism, *muᶜāmala*, "transaction"—is a form of *bayᶜatān fī bayᶜa*, "two sales in one", or "a double sale", aimed at masking the reality of a usurious transaction behind two perfectly valid and, to all appearances, discrete transactions. In simple general terms it was calculated to provide a legal means of effecting an illegal purpose.

The practical application of *mukhāṭara* may be illustrated by a straightforward example. A prospective lender, L, agrees to make a prospective borrower, B, a loan of, say 1,000 *dīnārs* for a period of 12 months at a rate of interest of 25 per cent. B will then first sell to L some object of which he is the lawful owner for 1,000 *d.*, immediately payable in cash. This forms the subject of one contract of sale. In a second and immediately ensuing contract of sale B will buy back from L the very same object of sale for a price of 1,250 *d.*, payable in 12 months' time. Since deferred payment is permissible under the provisions of *Sharīᶜa*

law, B places himself under an enforceable obligation to pay L the last-mentioned sum upon the expiry of the specified period. As will be clear, the difference between 1,000 *d.*, and 1,250 *d.* is, in reality, interest on the loan of 1,000 *d.*.

An alternative form of transaction based on the same figures as those postulated for the preceding example would be one in which L, in the first contract, would sell some possession of his to B for the sum of 1,250 *d.* payable in 12 months' time. In the second contract immediately ensuing, B would sell back that same object for 1,000 *d.* payable at once in cash. Again, the difference between the two figures represents interest on a capital loan. The difference between the two forms of double sale will be seen to amount to the difference between a secured loan and an unsecured loan.

Mukhāṭara, a practice as old, at the very least, as Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796 [*q.v.*]), is known to have been prevalent in Medina.

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 78 f., 153, 241 f. (bibliography including primary as well as secondary sources), 301; N.J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, 139; idem, *Conflicts and tensions in Islamic jurisprudence*, Chicago-London 1969, 87 f.

(J.D. Latham)

MUKHATTAM (a.), a term frequently applied to mediaeval Islamic textiles, from silks to woollen materials, and denoting a pattern of lines in the cloth forming quadrangular compartments, i.e. checks (Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 352). Such cloths seem to have been woven almost everywhere in the Islamic lands; see R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, index s.v.

(Ed.)

MUKHTĀR (a.), literally "chosen person". In the late Ottoman Empire and some of its successor states, the term *mukhtār* refers to the headman of a quarter (*maḥalle*) or village. The first *mukhtārs* were appointed in 1245/1829-30, exclusively for Istanbul and its "three towns" or suburbs, Üsküdar, Galata, and Eyyūb. Each quarter had a first and a second *mukhtār*. As recorded by the official historiographer, Aḥmed Luṭfī, this was done in connection with a counting and registration of the male population of the city (*Der Saʿādetle Bilād-i Thelāthe ahālī-i dhükūri thebt-i sidjill we defter edilerek...her maḥalleye...ikisher nefer mukhtār taʿyīn ḳïlïnmïshdïr*). At this point, the *mukhtārs*' role lay primarily in controlling the migration into the city of lone males or "bachelors" (*bī-kār*), many of whom had wives and children in the provinces but were impelled toward the city because of being "without work" (*bī-kār* in the literal sense; Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 172-3). The appointment of *mukhtārs* has been interpreted as a centralising and secularising measure, aimed at restricting the role of the *ʿulamā* in administration (Lewis, *Emergence*, 394-5); Luṭfī (*Taʾrīkh*, ii, 173) does indicate that the *imāms* had neglected the population control matters that the *mukhtārs* were to take in charge. An alternative interpretation links the introduction of *mukhtārs* to the abolition in 1826 of the Janissaries [see yeñi čeri], who had previously held much of the responsibility for maintaining law and order in the capital (Ortaylı, *Yönetim*, 101).

The appointment of *mukhtārs* in the provinces began in the Anatolian *sandjaḳ* of Kastamonu in 1249/1833, when the people of Tashköprü *ḳaḍāʾ* complained about the local notable's excessive tax demands to the *sandjaḳ*'s top administrative official (*mütesellim*), Dede Muṣṭafā Agha. He suppressed a revolt by the notable in question and then introduced the system of *mukhtārs* as found at Istanbul. Although Luṭfī Efendi says that the *mukhtārs* at Istanbul were appointed (*taʿyīn ḳïlïnmïshdïr*), those at Kastamonu were—as the title *mukhtār* suggests—elected by the populace of each quarter. When news of this innovation reached Sultan Maḥmūd II (1808-39 [*q.v.*]), he approved and ordered the implementation of the same measures in the other *ḳaḍāʾ*s and villages of Anatolia and Rumelia. In a number of Anatolian provinces, this was done in 1833, although there were delays in some places (Çadırcı, *Muhtarlık*, 410-12). Until the enactment of the law of 1281/1864 on provincial administration, however, villages and quarters inhabited by non-Muslims continued to be administered by their religious leaders acting together with the leading men (*ḳoċabashï*) of the community (Ortaylı, *Yönetim*, 102).

The circumstances of its implementation at Kastamonu illustrate how the system of *mukhtārs* coincided with Maḥmūd II's efforts to eliminate the local notables and centralise administration. There, every *mukhtār* was required to stand surety (*kefīl*) for the people of his quarter; the *imām* was required to do likewise for the *mukhtār*, as were the leading personalities of each province (*wüdjūh-i wilāyet*) for one another. Those elected *mukhtār* were to be registered in the *ḳāḍī*'s register, with notice to the higher-level authorities responsible for population registration, the *defter nāẓïrï*, who was supposed to have been appointed in each *sandjaḳ* following the census of 1831, and the *djerīde nāẓïrï* in Istanbul, who was supposed to submit the names to the sultan. The *mukhtārs* were to receive seals from the Mint (*Ḍarbkhāne*). In the interests of order, the *mukhtārs* were to question the intentions and examine the internal passports (*mürūr tedhkereleri*; Pakalın, *OTD*, ii, 583) of strangers who came into their quarters or villages, turn away any whose papers were not in order, help legitimate migrants find housing, see that someone from the quarter stood surety (*kefīl*) for the newcomer, and record his name in the quarter's register. Anyone from the quarter or village who wanted to go elsewhere was supposed to get a sealed pass (*mühürlü pusula*) from the *mukhtār*, identifying the holder and stating where he or she wanted to go and why; the recipient would then have to take the sealed pass to the *defter nāẓïrï* to get a *mürūr tedhkeresi*. The *mukhtār* was to record births, deaths, and movements into or out of his district day by day and keep the *defter nāẓïrï* informed of them. The *mukhtār* had to attend the *sharīʿa* court to take part in inheritance cases, help prepare semi-annual expense records and collaborate with the *imām* in the apportionment of tax obligations. When any resident of his quarter or village suffered wrong, the *mukhtār* was to take the matter up with the appropriate authorities, thus serving as the first link between the populace and the government (Çadırcı, *Muhtarlık*, 413-15).

Inadequate to solve the problems that had caused the breakdown of order in the countryside or to reverse the influx of the unemployed into Istanbul (Ortaylı, *Yönetim*, 103), the system of *mukhtārs* nonetheless persisted with remarkable continuity, surviving under the Turkish republic and some of the Arab successor states. Administrative acts of late Ottoman times chart stages in this history. During the attempt of *ca.* 1838-40 to replace tax farming with direct collection of revenues, for example, village *mukhtārs* were listed among the members of the councils (*medjlis*) that the tax collectors (*muḥaṣṣïl* [*q.v.*]) were supposed to form (Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung*, 41; Kaynar, 239). About the same time, *mukhtārs* and council members were assigned salaries;

these could not be maintained and soon lapsed (Ortaylı, *Yönetim*, 103).

Several decades later, the provincial administration laws of Djumādā II 1281/November 1864 (arts. 5, 54-66) and Shawwāl 1287/January 1871 (arts. 59-60, 107-11) laid the bases on which the system of *mukhtārs* continued for the next century and more (Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung*, 76, 81, 111-2; *Düstūr*, first series, i, 608-51; Young, *Corps*, i, 36-69; Baer, *Fellah*, 109-10, 131). The 1864 law provided that in each village, every "class of people" (*ṣinif-i ahālī*; art. 54) was to elect two *mukhtārs*, or one for a community of fewer than twenty households; the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the *ḳaḍāʾ* would then formally appoint these *mukhtārs* to their offices. The context of the law, and general Ottoman practice, indicates that "class" (*ṣinif*) meant the different religious classifications of the populace; later, in some locales the same term effectively meant the larger kinship groups. In towns, every quarter (*maḥalle*) with at least fifty households should have the same institutions as a village.

An important innovation in 1864 was the formation of a council of elders (*ikhtiyār medjlisi*) for each religious community of the village, with the religious leader as a member *ex officio*. The *mukhtārs*' responsibilities included revenue collection, public works, supervision of the village constable (*bekči*) and watchman (*ḳoriči*), announcement of laws and regulations communicated to him from higher echelons, reporting births and deaths and assisting the court in inheritance cases. The councils' duties included apportioning and collecting the taxes that fell to their communities, maintaining the cleanliness of the village, arbitration of disputes, selection of village constables, building schools and taking measures to promote agriculture and commerce. The council had the right to monitor the *mukhtār* and, in the event of abuse, to request the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the *ḳaḍāʾ* to dismiss him. *Mukhtārs* and council members were to be elected once a year; only Ottoman subjects who had reached specific ages and paid set amounts in tax were eligible.

Experience showed that the *mukhtārs* and councils seldom realised all these goals. The biggest problem was that some *mukhtārs* extorted excess tax payments for their own profit. In addition, the villagers' difficulties in meeting their public works needs resulted in their continual appeals to the central government to solve these problems (Ortaylı, *Yönetim*, 107-8).

The provincial administration law of 17 Rebīʿ II 1331/March 1913 annulled the provincial administration laws of 1281/1864 and 1287/1871 and, by making no provision for villages or urban quarters, implicitly abolished the *mukhtārs*; however, other acts continued to refer to them and expand their functions (*Düstūr*, second series, V, 186-216; Sıddık Tümerkan, *Belediyeler*, 372-3). Under the Turkish republic, the "village law" (*köy kanunu*) of 8 March 1924 again specified administration by an elected *mukhtār* and council of elders (Szyliowicz, *Political change*, 36-49). A law of 10 June 1933 did abolish *mukhtārs* and councils of elders within municipalities (*belediye*). The difficulties that resulted from this change led to restoration of *mukhtārs* and councils in the quarters of cities and towns by a law of 5 April 1944 (Tümerkan, 373-6).

A century after the Ottoman *wilāyet* laws of 1864 and 1871, then, elected *mukhtārs* and councils still formed the lowest link, for both villages and urban quarters, between local and central government in Turkey (Karpat, *Gecekondu*, 226; Dodd, *Democracy*, 33; Danielson and Keleş, *Urbanization*, 81, 126). The functions expected of the *mukhtār* illustrated the difficulty of this dual role. He was supposed to announce and carry out Ankara's laws and policies; collect the village's taxes, pay its expenses and render monthly accounts to the council; arbitrate disputes; report suspected criminals, deserters and suspicious persons; co-operate with tax-collectors and other officials who came to the village; register vital statistics; report outbreaks of infectious disease; assemble military conscripts; supervise projects decided on by the council, mobilising the compulsory labour (*imece*) that the law required of the villagers to carry out the projects; and travel to higher administrative headquarters for consultation when summoned. Manipulation of the office of village *mukhtār* by powerful, oppressive local figures —or alternatively its relegation to weak men who were powerless in the face of such tyrants—did not help to fulfill this complicated programme (Szyliowicz, *Political change*, 44-7; İbrahim Yasa, *Hasanoğlan*, 148-63). The *mukhtārs*' problems were also compounded in villages where there was no *imām* or schoolteacher to provide part-time clerical assistance (Dodd, *Politics and government*, 264-5). Under the republic, Turkish *mukhtārs* again received compensation from the village budget; various forms of compensation for *mukhtārs* were also noted in mandatory Palestine and in independent Syria and ʿIrāḳ (Baer, *Fellah*, 134-5).

Mukhtārs and councils thus also survived in some of the empire's Arab successor states. This was true in Syria, both under the French mandate and at least into the 1950s (Khoury, *Syria*, 192-3, 213, 217, 293-4; Baer, *Fellah*, 134, citing Khalīl, *al-Tanẓīm al-idārī*, 139). Jordan's legislation of the 1950s on *mukhtārs* and village councils echoed features of the Ottoman system, while adding new functions (Antoun, *Low-key politics*, 30, 103-11). In Palestine, the *mukhtārs* tended to represent the large clans (*ḥamūla*), rather than religious communities. There, too, however, a variant situation might appear, where the influential residents would dominate the village from behind the scenes, while a nonentity or front man would hold the office (Baer, *Fellah*, 137-41). Everywhere, some *mukhtārs*' chief interest lay in using the powers of the office for personal benefit.

Wherever found, the *mukhtārs*' history appears to have been part of a long-term trend that tended over two centuries to erode the influence of local leadership figures while increasing that of the central government. Not only had this been the original reason for transplanting the office of *mukhtār* from Istanbul to Anatolia in 1249/1833, in order to supplant the local *aʿyān* [*q.v.*], but a parallel effect appeared in the later introduction of *mukhtārs* into Palestinian districts that had been dominated, up to that point, by *shuyūkh al-nāḥiya*. This phenomenon perhaps explains the unfavourable comparisons sometimes drawn between *shaykh* and *mukhtār* (Baer, *Fellah*, 131-4; Batatu, *Social classes*, 196). In more recent times, loss in the *mukhtārs*' relative prominence seems to correlate with the decline of traditional kinship-based structures of social dominance within the village, growth in villagers' access to opportunities outside the village and the increasingly burdensome workload expected of the *mukhtārs* (Baer, *Fellah*, 140-1).

In Egypt, the figure most nearly comparable to the *mukhtār* is the *ʿumda* [*q.v.*]; however, the role of the latter varies in ways reflecting differences in the history and ecology of the Nile valley (Baer, *Fellah*, 134-5).

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(C.V. FINDLEY)

AL-**MUKHTĀR** B. **ABĪ ʿUBAYD** AL-THAKAFĪ, leader of a pro-ʿAlid movement which controlled al-Kūfa in 66-7/685-7. He claimed to be acting as the representative of the son of ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], and his movement is often classified as an early manifestation of extremist Shīʿism. This article, which draws mainly on the detailed narratives given by al-Ṭabarī, al-Balādhurī and Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, concentrates on his life and involvement in the events of his time. For further discussion of the importance of al-Mukhtār's movement in the development of Muslim sectarianism, see KAYSĀNIYYA and KHASHABIYYA.

He is reported as being descended from the Thakafī clan of ʿAwf b. Kasī, one of the Aḥlāf Thakīf, and is said to have been born in A.D. 622. In 40/660-1, however, he is referred to as a "young man" (*ghulām shābb*) and it was suggested by Levi Della Vida that the birth year has been supplied by tradition to provide a parallel with that of his adversary ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. Al-Mukhtār's father having been killed at the battle of the Bridge [see DJISR] in 13/634 in the early stages of the Arab advance into the Sāsānid empire, he was brought up by his uncle Saʿd b. Masʿūd, who became governor of al-Madāʾin under the caliph ʿAlī.

Upon the death of ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya's entry into al-Kūfa (40/660-1), it is reported, al-Mukhtār suggested to his uncle that he curry favour with the new authority, and thereby obtain security for himself, by handing over ʿAlī's son al-Ḥasan who had been wounded near al-Madāʾin and had taken refuge in the house of the governor there. This is said to lie behind the suspicion and hostility which many of the Shīʿa felt towards him. According to al-Balādhurī's version, al-Mukhtār was regarded as an ʿUthmānī [see AL-ʿUTHMĀNIYYA] by the Shīʿa. It could be that this story reflects al-Mukhtār's subsequently proclaimed support for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and the hostility towards him felt by the supporters of the descendants of ʿAlī through Fāṭima. It may be noted that, although he himself is not generally portrayed as hostile to the Fāṭimid line of descent (revenge for al-Ḥusayn is said to have been at the centre of his propaganda), some of the sects associated with him regarded al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn as usurpers of the rights of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [see KAYSĀNIYYA].

Although al-Mukhtār's subsequent opposition to Umayyad rule is signalled by the report of his refusal to testify to Ziyād b. Abīhi against Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] in 51/671 and by that of his role in connection with the rising of Muslim b. ʿAkīl [*q.v.*] in al-Kūfa in 61/680, he was criticised by the supporters of the ʿAlids for his weak behaviour in the affair of Muslim. We are told that Muslim, who had come to al-Kūfa to prepare the way for the appearance there of al-Ḥusayn, stayed in al-Mukhtār's house and the latter attempted to mobilise support for him. At the critical time, however, al-Mukhtār was away on his estate at Khuṭarniya, failed to proclaim his support for Muslim, and tamely submitted to the Umayyad authorities. This apparently supine behaviour may perhaps be explained by the fact that Muslim had come out in revolt earlier than had previously been agreed upon and it is hardly consistent with the harshness of the Umayyad governor's reported behaviour towards al-Mukhtār after he had submitted to him. In spite of his denial of any involvement with Muslim, and of the intercession of a number of influential men, al-Mukhtār is said to have been imprisoned and wounded in the eye by a blow from the enraged governor, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

Kept in prison until after the death of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ (10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680), he is said to have been released through the intercession of his brother-in-law, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, who persuaded the caliph Yazīd I to order Ibn Ziyād to let him go. Thereupon he left for the Ḥidjāz, where ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, in Mecca, was publicly proclaiming his opposition to Yazīd's caliphate. Al-Mukhtār is said to have offered to give the *bayʿa* to Ibn al-Zubayr in exchange for a prominent position in his movement, but Ibn al-Zubayr insisted that he would only accept the *bayʿa* from him on the same terms as he was taking it from others. At one point al-Mukhtār is reported to have left Mecca and stayed for several months in al-Ṭāʾif, before returning and participating alongside Ibn al-Zubayr and others in the defence of Mecca against the Syrian army commanded by al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr [*q.v.*]. He is said to have fought bravely and prominently. After this he returned to al-Kūfa, of his own volition and intending to exploit the unsettled situation there, according to the detailed account reported from Abū Mikhnaf. There are, nevertheless, occasional indications that al-Mukhtār might have tried to make it appear that he was co-operating with Ibn al-Zubayr, and al-Masʿūdī even reports that he was sent to al-Kūfa by Ibn al-Zubayr as his governor. That seems unlikely, but it is credible that al-Mukhtār would have tried to win support from as many quarters as possible and for as long as possible, narrowing his options only when necessary.

Al-Kūfa at this time (Ramaḍān 64/April-May 684) was the scene of the movement of the *Tawwābūn* [*q.v.*] led by Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, and Abū Mikhnaf's account tells us that al-Mukhtār began to compete with Ibn Ṣurad for leadership of the pro-ʿAlid party there. He claimed that he had been sent by the Imām the *mahdī*, he disparaged Ibn Ṣurad as lacking in military and political acumen, and he appealed for

support as the one most likely to achieve success. The town was under the dual authority of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭmī and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, both acting on behalf of Ibn al-Zubayr. Al-Mukhtār was only moderately successful in his propaganda and the majority of the ᶜAlid supporters still backed Ibn Ṣurad, although the latter blamed al-Mukhtār when much of the support he had been promised failed to materialise. Some of the *ashrāf*, nevertheless, are said to have seen al-Mukhtār as a greater threat than the *Tawwābūn* and they denounced him to the two governors. Again he was arrested and imprisoned, although al-Khaṭmī is shown as quite sympathetic to him.

It is possible that there is some confusion or duplication of the tradition here, for once again we are told that al-Mukhtār owed his release to ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUmar, who wrote to the two *amīrs* and persuaded them to let him go. While he was still in prison, however, the remnants of the defeated *Tawwābūn* returned to al-Kūfa from ᶜAyn al-Warda (late 65/spring 685?), and he is reported to have contacted them and won their support. Evidently his imprisonment was something less than rigorous, for we are told that he was constantly visited by his supporters and could even afford to turn down their offer to release him. His eventual release, on the intercession of Ibn ᶜUmar, was conditional upon his taking an oath that he had no hostile intentions against the authorities, but he is shown as taking this oath in a cynical manner—if the greater good demanded that he should break his oath, he would do so and perform *kaffāra* [*q.v.*].

Ibn al-Zubayr replaced ᶜAbd Allāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad over al-Kūfa and sent ᶜAbd Allāh b. Muṭīᶜ in their stead. His arrival in the town is dated Ramaḍān 65/May 658. Opposition to Ibn Muṭīᶜ on the part of some of the tribal notables was manifested on the occasion of his introductory *khuṭba*, when his favourable references to Abū Bakr, ᶜUmar and ᶜUthmān were met with demands that he follow the *sīra* of ᶜAlī, and support for al-Mukhtār continued to grow. In what again may be a confusion or duplication of the tradition, we are told once more that he was denounced to the governor by some of the *ashrāf*, but this time he managed to avoid the arrest which Ibn Muṭīᶜ planned for him by the simple expedient of feigning illness and so being unable to answer the governor's summons.

By this time al-Mukhtār seems to have been actively planning a revolt. At what stage and why he identified himself as the agent (*amīn* and *wazīr*) of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya is not clear. At one point, we are told, a group of his supporters who doubted the truth of his claims to be acting on behalf of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya went to the latter to investigate the authenticity of the claim. He gave them an answer which to us seems somewhat less than clear, but it seems to have satisfied the doubters. Al-Mukhtār himself is portrayed as on tenterhooks, awaiting their return and fearing that the news they would bring would cause the desertion of a large body of his followers. When they appeared to confirm the veracity of his claim, his relief was great. As well as support for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, al-Mukhtār is also reported to have called to the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet and to have appealed for vengeance for al-Ḥusayn and the other murdered members of ᶜAlī's family.

A decisive stage in the development of his movement was his winning the support of the Hamdānī leader Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar al-Nakhaᶜī [*q.v.*]. The reports about this again indicate a certain amount of duplicity on al-Mukhtār's part and, again, a recognition of this by the person being duped who, nevertheless, eventually threw his support behind the trickster. A key role in influencing Ibn al-Ashtar is ascribed to a letter purporting to have been sent to him from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya but really written by al-Mukhtār himself. A number of al-Mukhtār's leading supporters testified on oath to the authenticity of the letter, but ᶜĀmir al-Shaᶜbī, who is cited by Abū Mikhnaf for this episode, did not testify. Ibn al-Ashtar himself understood what was going on, but, nevertheless, it did not prevent him from giving his allegiance to al-Mukhtār.

The revolt had originally been planned for Muḥarram 66/August 685. This was then changed to 14 Rabīᶜ I 66/19 October 685, but it seems to have been precipitated a day earlier by an incident in which Ibn al-Ashtar killed the chief of Ibn Muṭīᶜ's *shurṭa*, Iyās b. Muḍārib. The battle cry of al-Mukhtār and his men is given as "Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn!" and *yā Manṣūr amit!* This last phrase was subsequently to be used by the Hāshimiyya at the end of the Umayyad period. Ibn al-Ashtar led the fighting on behalf of al-Mukhtār, while prominent among Ibn Muṭīᶜ's commanders were Shabath b. Ribᶜī of Tamīm and Rāshid b. Iyās b. Muḍārib of Bakr. The death of the latter in the fighting seems to have marked a turning point.

The names given of those involved in the fighting on both sides are almost invariably of leading Arabs. Some of the *ashrāf* remained loyal to Ibn Muṭīᶜ while others supported al-Mukhtār. The opposition to Ibn Muṭīᶜ from some of the Kūfan *ashrāf* is expressed in their statements of loyalty to the memory of ᶜAlī and their demands of vengeance for al-Ḥusayn, but it is open to question whether their revolt was primarily a pro-ᶜAlid movement. The version of the Abū Mikhnaf tradition which appears in Ibn Aᶜtham al-Kūfī does tend to portray it in that way, but al-Ṭabarī's version of that tradition seems more ambiguous. It may be that the emphasis on support for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya became more pronounced after the defeat of Ibn Muṭīᶜ but that the tradition anticipates this development. An economic interest is hinted at when Ibn Muṭīᶜ promised not to collect the surplus *fay*ᵓ [*q.v.*] without the Kūfans' (i.e., the Arab warriors') consent, but it may be that resentment about this had already developed to such an extent that it could not easily be defused.

Al-Mukhtār is shown as conducting his propaganda in a type of rhyming prose which is grandiloquent and obscure at the same time and is, presumably, intended to convey a claim to some sort of inspiration. Some of the concepts which he used, such as that of the *mahdī* [*q.v.*], which were to become so important in pro-ᶜAlid movements, also occur in the propaganda of the *Tawwābūn*, but they seem to receive more prominence and to be developed further in Mukhtār's movement [see AL-MAHDĪ].

Although they are rarely referred to explicitly or by name in the accounts of the fighting, it seems that al-Mukhtār's forces included a significant number of non-Arab *mawālī*, presumably prisoners of war and renegades from the time of the conquests and their descendants. At one point Shabath b. Ribᶜī attempted to rally his men by accusing them of fleeing from their slaves, and the story is told of Shabath killing a *mawlā* but sparing an Arab of the Banū Ḥanīfa among the prisoners he had taken. In an address to his men, Ibn Muṭīᶜ warned that if they lost they would have to allow a share in the *fay*ᵓ to those who had no right to it, and he told them that he had heard that al-Mukhtār's forces included "500 of your freed slaves

(*muḥarrarīkum*)" under a commander of their own. He continued, "If they increase in number it can only mean the passing away of your power and authority and the alteration of your religion."

The fighting occupied some days. Eventually Ibn Muṭīᶜ and his supporters took refuge in the *ḳaṣr* of al-Kūfa and were besieged there for three days before the governor, accepting the advice of Shabath b. Ribᶜī and others, escaped by night, while Shabath and the others obtained a safe conduct from Ibn al-Ashtar and surrendered. Al-Mukhtār entered the *ḳaṣr* and next day took the *bayᶜa* from the *ashrāf* and others. The *bayᶜa* is said to have been given on "the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet, seeking vengeance for the blood of the family, waging *djihād* against the violators of God's law (*al-muḥillīn* [*q.v.*]), protecting the weak (*al-ḍuᶜafāʾ*), and mutual support in peace and war".

Al-Mukhtār then appointed governors over the territories dependent on al-Kūfa: Armenia, Ādharbāydjān, al-Mawṣil, al-Madāʾin, Bihḳubādh (Upper, Middle and Lower), and Ḥulwān. The previous governor of al-Mawṣil on behalf of Ibn al-Zubayr, Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath al-Kindī [*q.v.*], fled to Takrīt but eventually came to al-Kūfa and submitted to al-Mukhtār. Baṣra and its territories remained under Zubayrid control in spite of an attempt by one of al-Mukhtār's supporters to win the town over for him. Command of the *shurṭa* in al-Kūfa was given to an Arab of Hamdān, but, significantly, we are also informed that al-Mukhtār had his own personal guard (*ḥaras*) of *mawālī* led by a *mawlā*, Kaysān Abū ᶜAmra [*q.v.*]. Sometimes we find the expression *shurṭat Allāh*, apparently as a designation for al-Mukhtār's active supporters in general.

Antagonism between the different groups in al-Kūfa remained, however, and eventually resulted in conflict. Some of the *ashrāf* took advantage of rumours of a defeat of al-Mukhtār's army in Mesopotamia and of the advance of a Syrian army under ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād on al-Kūfa to begin a revolt. They were mainly previous supporters of Ibn Muṭīᶜ, although mention is also made of at least one previous adherent of al-Mukhtār and of a supporter of the ᶜAlids who had come from Baṣra attracted by the idea of revenge for al-Ḥusayn. Shabath b. Ribᶜī and Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath are named among the leaders. The complaints of the rebels centred on what they saw as al-Mukhtār's too favourable attitude to the *mawālī*, his making them recipients of *fayʾ*, and his freeing of the slaves of Arabs (for inclusion in his own force of non-Arabs). They also denied the truth of his claim to represent Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya.

While Ibn al-Ashtar was away on campaign in the north, al-Mukhtār was forced to temporise with the rebels, but when, having been called back, Ibn al-Ashtar arrived in al-Kūfa, he was able to crush them in fighting which centred on the Djabbānat al-Sabīᶜ. Many of the defeated leaders, including Shabath and Ibn al-Ashᶜath, escaped by fleeing to Baṣra, where they took refuge with Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr. The fighting at Djabbānat al-Sabīᶜ is dated to 23 or 24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 66/21 or 22 July 686.

The victory over the dissident *ashrāf* was the opportunity for a purge to be carried out in al-Kūfa. Several men who had been, or were alleged to have been, involved in the killing of al-Ḥusayn and his family at Karbalāʾ were seized and killed, the most prominent of them being ᶜUmar b. Saᶜd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ in spite of a written promise of safe conduct which he had obtained from al-Mukhtār. As well as a means of liquidating possible sources of hostility in al-Kūfa, the purge was used by al-Mukhtār to demonstrate his loyalty to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, to whom the heads of some of those slain were sent. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's attitude to his self-proclaimed *wazīr* and *amīn* seems, however, to have remained distant and non-committal. He is said to have been willing to accept help from al-Mukhtār in the form of money and men when the latter sent the Khashabiyya to Mecca to deliver the *mahdī* from the confinement in which Ibn al-Zubayr had put him. But, having been released by the coming of the Khashabiyya, he proved unwilling to go to al-Kūfa to join the man who claimed to be his representative and he retired, instead, to al-Ṭāʾif.

Following the defeat of the rebellion in al-Kūfa, Ibn al-Ashtar was again sent to the north to meet the Syrian army which, with ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād by now having established some control in Mesopotamia, was marching south to attack al-Kūfa. At the battle on the river Khāzir [*q.v.*] near Mawṣil, al-Mukhtār's army defeated that of the Syrians, and ᶜUbayd Allāh, who is portrayed in the tradition as the man ultimately responsible for the killing of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ, was killed along with many others. Tradition often dates the battle to the very anniversary of Karbalāʾ, 10 Muḥarram 67/6 August 686.

In the accounts of al-Mukhtār's seizure of power and his domination of al-Kūfa, there are frequent references to ideas and practices which would appear to be invalid from a later Sunnī or Shīᶜī point of view. Not only are there the many allusions to the belief in Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya as the *mahdī*, but there is at least one tradition which seems to indicate that al-Mukhtār himself was regarded as *maᶜṣūm* (whatever that might mean in this context [see ᶜIṢMA]) by some of his followers, and other reports which say that he claimed to be visited by the angels Gabriel and Michael. In the prelude to the battle on the Khāzir we find various stories concerning an empty chair which some of al-Mukhtār's partisans transported on a mule and venerated in the manner, we are told, of the Israelites and the Ark of the Covenant (*al-tābūt*) or, more derogatively, the Golden Calf. In the way in which this information is presented, some of it could be dismissed as an attempt to portray al-Mukhtār as a trickster and his followers as credulous "extremists". However, taken together, such reports convey the impression that the movement led by al-Mukhtār was one with distinctive but not easily analysable religious ideas. Presumably, in preparing the way for the coming of the *mahdī*, al-Mukhtār and his followers saw themselves in an apocalyptic role, and this view of his movement was shared by the contemporary Christian Syriac writer, John of Phenek (Bar Penkaya), who saw the rise of the ethnically diverse *shurṭa* as an act of God intended to overthrow the rule of the Ishmaelites and usher in the end of time.

Following the great victory on the Khāzir, the collapse of al-Mukhtār's power seems to have been remarkably swift. Incited by the *ashrāf* who had fled to Baṣra, and taking advantage of an apparent estrangement between al-Mukhtār and Ibn al-Ashtar who now remained in Mawṣil, the governor of Baṣra, Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr, launched an attack on al-Kūfa. The Baṣran forces were led by al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v.*] who had proved so effective in combatting the Khāridjites, and he achieved a major victory over al-Mukhtār's army at al-Madhār on the Tigris. This was probably in the late summer of 686. The advantage gained there was pressed home and al-Mukhtār's forces were subsequently virtually destroyed at Ḥarūrāʾ, al-Mukhtār himself being forced to take

refuge in the *ḳaṣr* of al-Kūfa. There he was besieged for some months and deserted by most of his followers. Eventually he and a handful of remaining supporters came out to fight and he was killed. His hand was cut off and hung at the gate of the mosque, one of his wives who refused to condemn him as an impostor was executed, and many of his followers were slaughtered by the victorious Zubayrid authorities and the returning *as͟hrāf*. The most generally accepted date for al-Muk͟htār's death is 14 Ramaḍān 67/3 April 687, but variants are given in the sources.

Questions about sincerity and motives are probably unanswerable, and any general interpretation of al-Muk͟htār and his movement is difficult, given the nature of the source material. The importance of the man and the movement seems to lie in three main areas, however. In the first place, it seems clear that this was the first episode since the establishment of Arab rule in which the *mawālī* played a decisive role. One must distinguish between the nature of these *mawālī* and those who were to become a problem later for the Umayyad caliphate, and one should not portray the support for al-Muk͟htār as coming only from them. But that they constituted a major and distinctive element in the movement which he led seems clear and confirmed by the witness of Bar Penkaya. Secondly, there appear to be links between, on the one hand, the movement led by al-Muk͟htār and, on the other, the Hās͟himiyya which was eventually to overthrow the Umayyad caliphate. These links consist in the fact that the ʿAbbāsids claimed to have inherited the imāmate from a son of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, Abū Hās͟him [*q.v.*], who had the support of a part of the movement which al-Muk͟htār had led and which survived his death, and they are evident in the use by the Hās͟himiyya of some of the same ideas and terminology which occur in the sources in the accounts of al-Muk͟htār's career. Finally, it seems that it was among the supporters of al-Muk͟htār that some of the ideas which were to become regarded as typical of S͟hīʿī Islam, and not only in its "extremist" (*g͟huluww*) forms, were first manifested. There has sometimes been a tendency to regard this as the result of the corruption of a pure Islam by the influence of the non-Arabs from diverse religious and cultural backgrounds, but this begs many questions about the nature of Islam before the time of al-Muk͟htār. Perhaps one can say, however, that his movement was an important part of the background from which a more clearly definable "classical" Islam would eventually emerge.

Bibliography: The most detailed historical sources for al-Muk͟htār are Ṭabarī, ii, 520-37, 598-695, 699-750 and index; Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb al-as͟hrāf*, v, Jerusalem 1936, 214-73; and Ibn Aʿt͟ham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, vi, Ḥaydarābād 1972, 53-8, 73-6, 87-200. For other sources in Arabic, see Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 64AH §13, 65AH §6, 66AH §5-7, 9-12, and 67AH §§ 2, 4, 42, and the secondary literature given below. For references in the heresiographical literature, see the articles KAYSĀNIYYA and K͟HAS͟HABIYYA and Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi 'l-taʾrīk͟h wa 'l-adab*, Beirut 1974. For a translation of the contemporary references by Bar Penkaya, see S.P. Brock, *North Mesopotamia in the late seventh century. Book xv of John Bar Penkāyē's* Rīš Mellē, in *JSAI*, ix (1987), esp. 63-67, 73. H.D. van Gelder, *Mok͟htâr de valsche Propheet*, Leiden 1888; G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le Chiitisme*, etc., Amsterdam 1894, 38 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, 74-89 (Eng. tr., *The religio-political factions in early Islam*, Oxford 1975); W.M. Watt, *Shīʿism under the Umayyads*, in *JRAS* (1960), esp. 162-5; ʿAlī Ḥusnī al-K͟harbūṭlī, *al-Muk͟htār al-T͟hakafī mirʾāt al-ʿaṣr al-umawī*, Cairo 1963; K.A. Fariq, *The story of an Arab diplomat*, New Delhi 1967; ʿAbd al-Ameer ʿAbd Dixon, *The Umayyad caliphate 65-86/684-705 (a political study)*, London 1971, 25-82; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 93-106, 187-92, 217-18; M. Fishbein, *The life of al-Muk͟htār b. Abī ʿUbayd in some early Arabic historians*, Ph.D. thesis, UCLA 1988, unpubl.

(G.R. HAWTING)

AL-MUK͟HTĀR B. ʿAWF AL-AZDĪ, K͟harid͟jite agitator, also well-known by his *kunya* **ABŪ HAMZA**.

A native of Baṣra, he carried out part of his activity in Mecca, where he used to go in order to stir up revolt against the Umayyad caliph Marwān II b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. At the instance of Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma, alias Karzīn, a traditionist who was the leader of the Ibāḍis of Baṣra, he became, from 128/745-6 onwards, a supporter of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, surnamed Ṭālib al-Ḥakk [*q.v.*], whom he met in Mecca, followed to Ḥaḍramawt and recognised as *Imām*. When the latter decided to occupy the Holy Cities, he sent to the north an army of a thousand men commanded by Abū Ḥamza. The sequence of events is not clearly established, but it seems that the rebel occupied Mecca easily by taking advantage of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage (129/August 747). It was in these circumstances that he pronounced a famous *k͟huṭba* in which he summarised, according to the K͟hārid͟jite perspective, the history of the beginnings of Islam, made an apology for the Prophet and the first three caliphs, showed himself rather tepid with regard to ʿAlī, then attacked violently the Umayyads and S͟hīʿīs before eulogising his own companions (see al-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 122-5, who calls him Yaḥyā b. al-Muk͟htār; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 2009; the *Ag͟hānī*, ed. Beirut, xxiii, 135-9, places this *k͟huṭba* in Medina and, in comparison with the *Bayān*, gives an appreciably different text of it, which was translated by G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe*, in *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam* (1874), app. iv, 75-8, and reproduced notably by Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *S͟harḥ Nahd͟j al-balāg͟ha*, i, 456; the version of the *Bayān* was translated by Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 212-13; the *Ag͟hānī*, xxiii, 130-4, contains further sermons of Abū Ḥamza).

Once master of Mecca, Abū Ḥamza dispatched one of his lieutenants, Bald͟j b. ʿUkba al-Azdī, to Medina, which he eventually seized. It is probably at this time that Abū Ḥamza pronounced at least one of the *k͟huṭbas* which the *Ag͟hānī* ascribes to him. Marwān II was not slow to send a strong army of Syrians, under the command of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiyya al-Saʿdī, who encountered the rebel troops in the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā and cut them to pieces (D͟jumādā I 130/January 748); Bald͟j remained on the field of battle. As for Abū Ḥamza, he moved to confront Ibn ʿAṭiyya, was killed and hung on the gallows, while his head was sent to Marwān II b. Muḥammad.

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Milieu, 212-14; T. Lewicki, *Les Ibāḍites dans l'Arabie du Sud*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i (1959), 6-9; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 272-3. (CH. PELLAT)

MUKHTĀR PASHA, GHĀZĪ AḤMED, Ottoman Turkish general and statesman, was born in Bursa on 30 November/1 December 1839, the son of a local notable prominent in the silk trade. On his father's death, his uncle enrolled him in the local military school from where he advanced to the War College (*Mekteb-i Ḥarbiyye*) in Istanbul. He graduated in March 1860, then trained as a staff officer and emerged in 1861 as staff captain. He distinguished himself during campaigns in Herzogevina and Montenegro (1861-3) and was appointed instructor in the "art of war" at the War College when he was wounded. He was promoted to the rank of major in April 1864 and sent as staff officer to Derwīsh Pasha, who was engaged in carrying out reforms in Kozan. Mukhtār served as tutor to Prince Yūsuf ʿIzz al-Dīn (1865) and was included in the Sultan's entourage when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz visited Europe in 1867. (During these years, he established close relations with the Ottoman household, relations which he maintained until his death.) In 1868, he was head of a border commission in the Montenegro-Herzegovina region; the following year he became a colonel and a member of the local military council (*Shūrā-yi ʿAskerī*). Due to illness, he resigned from the commission and returned to Istanbul in 1870.

Aḥmed Mukhtār rose to the rank of brigadier-general in 1870 and was sent to serve under General Redīf Pasha in Yaman. He distinguished himself in the campaign, the conduct of which he took over in 1871 as General of a Division (*Ferīḳ*) with the title of Pasha. He remained in Yaman until May 1873, acting as the governor (*wālī*) and commander of the Seventh Army, when he was appointed Minister of Public Works and ordered back to the capital. In the years that followed, he was governor of Crete and Erzurum, and given the commands of the Second and Fourth Armies respectively with the rank of *Müshīr* or Field Marshal. He was recalled to Istanbul in December 1875 and sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina with orders to quell the rebellion which had recently broken out in the Balkans. After some initial successes, he was defeated in April 1876 at Duga Pass in Herzegovina. When Russia declared war in April 1877, Mukhtār was given supreme command of the Caucasus front. He fought valiantly against great odds and won the title *Ghāzī*; the Ottoman army collapsed because, as Mukhtār Pasha complained, Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] refused to send reinforcements, preferring to keep his reserves for the defence of the capital.

Mukhtār was recalled to Istanbul and given the task of organising the defence of Istanbul and Čataldja against the invading Russian army, though he disagreed with the Sultan over strategy. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Artillery (*Ṭopkhāne-yi ʿĀmire Müshīri*) on 24 April 1878 and in September sent to Crete to restore order. Following the signing of the Treaty of Berlin, he led the commission to demarcate the new Greek-Turkish border but with no success. He was then appointed commander of the Third Army and governor of Monastir (27 March 1879). The following year, on 31 August, he was made vice president of the High Commission for Military Inspection over which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd personally presided, advising the latter on military matters. Following the British occupation of Egypt, Mukhtār was appointed High Commissioner (*Fewḳalʿāde Komiser*) on 6 March 1882 and sent to Cairo to negotiate a British withdrawal. Instead, he was forced to remain in Egypt as the Ottoman High Commissioner until the constitutional revolution of July 1908. During these years he lived in a state of political inactivity which did not suit his ambitious temperament. During these years, he wrote a book on the reform of the Islamic calendar in which he advocated a uniform Hidjra solar year for all Muslims.

Mukhtār Pasha returned to Istanbul in September 1908 and was appointed to the newly-created Senate, whose vice-president he became. The following year he resigned as High Commisioner of Egypt as well as from the Council of Military Affairs, and retired from the army. The abortive counter-revolution which broke out in the capital on 13 April 1909 gave him the opportunity to satisfy his political ambitions. He was prominent in the National Assembly which met at San Stefano (Yeşilköy), denouncing ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd in bitter terms. He led the delegation which announced the accession of Meḥemmed V [*q.v.*] as the new Sultan-Caliph and brought him to the War Ministry to receive the oath of allegience. Contemporaries noted how close he remained to the Sultan in the hope of being appointed Grand Vizier. But that was not to be, at least not for the moment, and he had to be satisfied with the presidency of the Senate (14 October 1911). His moment came in July 1912 when a rebellion in the army forced the resignation of the pro-Unionist [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI] cabinet of Saʿīd Pasha and led to Mukhtār Pasha's appointment on 22 July. When the news of his appointment was brought to him, he was excited and exclaimed "It's been forty years; finally it has happened today!" He formed what came to be known as the "Great Cabinet" because it included three former Grand Viziers, or as the "Father-Son Cabinet" because his son General Maḥmūd Mukhtār Pasha was given the portfolio of Minister of the Navy. Mukhtār Pasha came to power at a very difficult time: the country was at war with Italy, Albania was in a state of rebellion, and the internal political situation was confused and volatile. He could do little to remedy any of these problems. With the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, he resigned on 29 October 1912 and made way for the Anglophile Kāmil Pasha who was expected to regain British sympathy for a beleaguered Turkey. Mukhtār remained in the Senate until 1918 and died in his eightieth year on 21 January 1919. He was buried in the courtyard of the Fātiḥ mosque in Istanbul with all the pomp and ceremony befitting an honoured soldier and statesman.

Bibliography: M. Cavid Baysun's İA art. *Muhtar Paşa* provides an extensive bibl., as also G. Jäschke's *EI*[1] art. Some of his more important works are: *Iṣlāḥ al-taḳwīm*, Cairo 1307/1889-90, Fr. tr. *La réforme du calendrier*, Leiden 1893; *Taḳwīm-i sāl*, Istanbul 1328/1911; *Sergüdhesht-i ḥayatımıñ djild-i thānīsi*, Istanbul 1294/1877; and *Anadolu'da Rūs muḥārebesi*, Istanbul 1328/1911. See also contemporary accounts relating to Mukhtār Pasha: Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed Rāshid, *Yemen we Ṣanʿāʾ tārīkhi*, ii, Istanbul 1291/1874; ʿĀṭif Pasha, *Yemen tārīkhi*, ii, Istanbul 1326/1908; Maḥmūd Djelāl al-Dīn Pasha, *Mirʾāt-i ḥaḳīḳat*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1326/1908; Aḥmed Midḥat, *Üss-i inḳilāb*, Istanbul 1294-5/1877-8; Meḥmed ʿĀrif, *Bashımıza gelenler*, Istanbul 1328/1910, said to have been inspired by Mukhtār Pasha; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd-i thānī we dawr-i salṭanatı*, Istanbul 1327/1909; Saʿīd Pasha, *Khāṭirāt*, iii, Istanbul 1329/1911; Kāmil Pasha, *Khāṭirāt*, Istanbul 1329/1911; Djemāl al-Dīn Efendi,

Khāṭirāt-i siyāsiyye, Istanbul 1336/1918; Luṭfī Sīmāwī, *Sulṭān Meḥemmed Reshād Khān'in we khalīfeniñ sarāyiñ da gördüklerim*, Istanbul 1340/1921-2; Tahsin Paşa, *Hâtırât*, Istanbul 1931. See also Y. Hikmet Bayur, *Türk inkılâbi tarihi*, ii/1-2, Ankara 1943 and later edns.; Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve ötesi*, Istanbul 1942; Ali Fuad Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*, Ankara 1949; Ibnülemin Mahmud Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrâzamlar*, Istanbul 1951, 1805-68; Sina Akşin, *31 Mart olayı*, Ankara 1970; idem, *Jön Türkler ve ittihat ve terakki*, Istanbul 1987; Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, Oxford 1969; Mehmet Naim Turfan, *The politics of military politics: political aspects of civil-military relations in the Ottoman empire with special reference to the "Young Turk" era*, Ph.D. thesis, London 1983, unpubl. (Feroz Ahmad)

AL-**MUKHTĀRA**, the capital of the ephemeral Zandj "state" and of the movement which violently shook lower ʿIrāḳ and lower Khūzistān between the years 255/869 and 270/883 [see ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD].

We have very little information about the first camping places of the insurgents, and absolutely nothing about the very first one, that which existed at Furāt al-Baṣra at the place called Biʾr Nakhl. Nor do we know anything about the second one, that of the Maymūn canal, except that it was sown with stakes on which were impaled the heads of those of the enemy killed in the course of the fighting. As for the one situated between the Abū Ḳurrā canal and the al-Ḥādjir one, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, the rebel chief, had ordered his followers to build huts.

Eventually, the rebels built their mains towns: al-Manīʿa ("the Strongly-defended") and al-Manṣūra ("the Victorious"), both to the northwest of Baṣra, and then al-Mukhtāra ("the Chosen one") to the southeast of the city. Al-Manīʿa (the town of Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shaʿrānī) was situated in Sūḳ al-Khamīs on the Barāṭiḳ canal; it was defended by walls and moats. It seems to have been fairly important since al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1963-4 and *passim*, stresses that 5,000 Muslim women captives were able to be released here. Al-Manṣūra (the town of Sulaymān b. Djāmiʿ) was situated in Ṭahīthā. It was likewise fortified (with five enceintes and as many moats), and must have been even bigger than the first one, since 10,000 women and children captives were found there (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1970-2 and *passim*; it is not however known how far the recorded figures correspond to reality).

If, in regard to al-Manīʿa and al-Manṣūra, one might well ask oneself whether it was not simply a question of fortresses built at the side of existing towns, this is nevertheless not the case regarding the Zandj capital, al-Mukhtāra. This was indeed a very large town, completely constructed by the rebels (from Radjab 256/June-July 870 onwards) in a spot chosen for its inaccessibility (it was from there that raids were sent out, and the rebels returned thither in order to feel secure). At the outset, it seems to have borne the name of Muʿaskar al-Imām ("the Imām's camp"; see G.C. Miles, *Trésor de dirhems du IXe siècle*, in *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran*, xxxvii [1960], 73). There are many items of information in al-Ṭabarī on this subject, but they are more useful for elucidating the course of events in the warfare than for giving information on the town itself (F. al-Sāmir, *Thawrat al-Zandj*, 135-44, has brought together the sparse pieces of information on this last in ch. 6 of his study).

It is clear that we only know its location approximately; it was situated on the two banks of the Abu 'l-Khaṣīb canal, a western affluent of the Tigris, and was intersected by several other canals. The entrance of the main canal was closed by an iron chain and two stone barrages and had two bridges over it. Two other bridges on the Abu 'l-Khaṣīb canal connected the two parts of the town and two further bridges on the Mankā canal are also mentioned. Walls, with various kinds of engines of war mounted on them, encircled the whole of the town. The greater part of the houses must have been constructed of sun-dried brick and palm branches, but many palaces of leading figures, notably that of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, were built of fired brick; the portal of his palace had been carried off from Baṣra. This palace was situated in the western part of al-Mukhtāra (in the angle formed by the Tigris and the Abu 'l-Khaṣīb canal) and gave on to the field where races were held. In the same part of the town were likewise to be found the houses of various chiefs and commanders of the rebels: Ibn Samʿān, Sulaymān b. Djāmiʿ, Ankalāy, al-Ḳalūṣ and al-Djubbāʾī, as well as the Friday mosque, a prison and the al-Maymūna and al-Ḥusayn markets. In the eastern part are mentioned the houses of al-Karnabāʾī, Muṣliḥ al-Zandjī and Abū ʿĪsā; the palaces of al-Hamdānī, Bahbūdh b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and al-Muhallabī; the al-Mubāraka market and the market for the sale of animals, in addition to another prison. But there further existed other buildings (offices of the different *dīwāns*, workshops for minting coinage, etc.) and other mosques in the town.

Al-Mukhtāra was thus the true capital of the Zandj "state", being its political, administrative and commercial centre. It will probably never be possible to rediscover its exact site, in part because of the complete change in the beds of the watercourses, and in part because of the destruction wrought at the time of the capture of the town by the ʿAbbāsid troops, when it was taken quarter by quarter and its palaces, buildings and markets destroyed and burnt successively.

Bibliography: F. al-Sāmir, *Thawrat al-Zandj*, Baghdād 1954; Ahmed S. Olabi, *Thawrat al-Zandj*, Beirut 1961; H. Halm, *Die Traditionen über den Aufstand ʿAlī b. Muhammads, des "Herrn der Zanǧ", einer quellenkritische Untersuchung*, diss. Bonn 1967; A. Popovic, *La révolte des esclaves en Iraq au IIIe/IVe siècle*, Paris 1976 (with detailed bibl.). (A. Popovic)

MUKHTĀRĀT (A.), anthology, selection of poetry.

1. In Arabic. Mediaeval tradition holds that the oldest anthology of Arabic poems is the small collection of celebrated pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīdas* variously known as "The seven long poems", *al-Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*], *al-Sumūṭ*, etc. It is probably the oldest in conception.

The early ʿAbbāsid period saw the compilation of the celebrated *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* [*q.v.*]. Al-Aṣmaʿī's anthology of 92 *ḳaṣīdas* by 71 poets (44 of them Djāhilī), the *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, received relatively little attention from mediaeval writers. A comment in the *Fihrist*, in the opinion of some scholars (e.g., Ahlwardt, *Sammlung alter arabischer Dichter*, Berlin 1902, i, pp. x-xi), attributes this to the lack of philological curiosities in the book, but see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 55. It has also been suggested (Ahlwardt, *loc. cit.*, and al-Hāshimī (ed.), *Djamhara*, 34) that the book was regarded as a mere depository of those texts collected by al-Aṣmaʿī that failed to be included in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*. Indeed, certain mss. containing both collections introduce the second with the words "Here begin the rest of the *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*...." The two anthologies were combined into one under the title *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārayn* by al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d. 315/927). This is probably the anthology (and com-

mentary) that survives in two partial mss. (cf. *K. al-Ikhtiyārayn*, ed. Ḳabāwa, Damascus 1974, 5-6). The book contains over fifty poems not included in any version of the anthologies on which it is presumably based. Inflation at the hands of a transmitter was not uncommon; already the *Fihrist* speaks of the poems in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* as "now greater, now smaller in number" (cf. Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, Arabic text, Oxford 1921, p. xvii).

Seven groups of seven *ḳaṣīdas* make up the *Djamharat ash*ʿ*ār al-*ʿ*arab* by Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḳurashī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], an obscure scholar who probably flourished in the latter part of the 3rd/9th Islamic century and may have lived into the 4th/10th.

Later anthologies principally devoted to pre-Islamic and early Islamic *ḳaṣīdas* rather than *muḳaṭṭa*ʿ*āt* are the *Mukhtārāt shu*ʿ*arā*ʾ *al-*ʿ*arab*, compiled and supplied with commentary by Hibat Allāh b. al-Shadjarī (d. 542/1148) and the vast *Muntahā 'l-ṭalab fī ash*ʿ*ār al-*ʿ*arab* by Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak b. Maymūn al-Baghdādī (6th/12th century). This last work incorporates several of the earlier anthologies. Each of these collections preserves a few poems not found elsewhere and numerous valuable variants.

A very different type of anthology—one of short texts (many of them, though by no means all, excerpts) thematically arranged under ten headings—was devised by the poet Abū Tammām (d. 231/846 [*q.v.*]). The first and largest section, the *bāb al-ḥamāsa* ("Book of Valour") in time gave the collection its name. The *Dīwān al-ḥamāsa* includes mainly pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets, with a few from the ʿAbbāsid age. The book was an enormous success; perhaps because it contained enough grammatical and lexical difficulty to satisfy the philologist and enough splendid poetry to satisfy anybody. Reputedly, Abū Tammām did not shrink from tinkering with the texts. In this regard, al-Marzūḳī, who thought Abū Tammām too artificial a poet, writes of the anthologist: "If God brought them back to life, the poets would perhaps follow Abū Tammām and submit to him" (ed. Amīn-Hārūn, Cairo 1967, i, 84).

Abū Tammām is reported to have compiled several other anthologies. Of these, the *Waḥshiyyāt* (also known as the *Lesser Ḥamāsa*) is extant and edited. It is a collection of unfamiliar pieces, made on the same plan as the *Dīwān al-ḥamāsa*. His *Mukhtārāt ash*ʿ*ār al-ḳabā*ʾ*il*, no doubt based on tribal *dīwāns* (cf. *GAS*, ii, 36-46) available to him, was still known to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682), who cites it in the *Khizāna*.

The *Dīwān al-ḥamāsa* started a vogue [see ḤAMĀSA]. Abū Tammām's younger contemporary, al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*], compiled an anthology divided into 174 *abwāb*. It appears to have met with little success. Only one surviving ms. is known. Subsequent compilers of *ḥamāsa* books admit a much greater sampling than Abū Tammām does from the work of the *muḥdathūn* and their followers; nonetheless, *ḥamāsa* refers to a distinct tradition of chrestomathies. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbdalakānī al-Zawzanī (d. 431/1030) writes that he intends his *Ḥamāsat al-ẓurafā*ʾ *min ash*ʿ*ār al-muḥdathīn wa 'l-ḳudamā*ʾ as a beginner's access to Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa*, roughly equal in size but easier in vocabulary and *ma*ʿ*ānī* (ed. al-Muʿaybid, Baghdād 1973, i, 15). The *Ḥamāsa* of Ibn al-Shadjarī (d. 542/1147) in its *bāb al-ṣifāt wa 'l-tashbīhāt* reflects the taste of the age for graceful mannerism, but about a quarter of the anthology is devoted to the *bāb al-shidda wa 'l-shadjā*ʿ*a*, in which passages by pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets predominate. Among other extant *ḥamāsa* anthologies are *al-Ḥamāsa al-baṣriyya* by Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Faradj al-Baṣrī (d. probably 659/1249), a book frequently used by al-Suyūṭī, al-ʿAynī and al-Baghdādī; and *al-Tadhkira al-sa*ʿ*diyya* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUbaydī (d. 8th century A.H.). Al-Baṣrī acknowledges his debt to earlier *ḥamāsa* and *amālī* books in mostly general terms; al-ʿUbaydī tells us that his principal sources are the *ḥamāsa* books of Abū Tammām, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī and Ibn Fāris (these last two now lost).

Besides the *ḥamāsas*, there were other thematically organised anthologies, in which the emphasis was clearly on the wit and elegance of the new poetry rather than the *fakhāma* and *djazāla* of the old. (One of the earliest, the *K. al-Zahra* by Ibn Dāwūd, d. 294/909, is discussed below.) The uses of poetry as a test and badge of culture in polite society helped create an audience for such works. Thus in the preface to the *Kanz al-kuttāb* (published as *al-Muntaḥal*, Alexandria 1319), al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*], d. 429/1038 (or perhaps al-Mīkālī, d. 436/1044, cf. Brockelmann, SI, 501) writes that the verses in the collection are suitable for use in private or official correspondence. In the introduction to his *Dīwān al-ma*ʿ*ānī*, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 400/1010 [*q.v.*]) warns that he who would use culture to open doors to the assemblies of the great must be ready for questions of the form "What are the finest verses on the subject of...?" Such anthologies can be quite small (e.g., al-Thaʿālibī's *Aḥsan mā sami*ʿ*tu*); some, like Abū Hilāl's, are sizable. It should be noted that *ma*ʿ*ānī* in Abū Hilāl's title is not a precise technical term; the citations range from well-turned conceits to long passages (as for instance from al-Nābigha's and al-Buḥturī's poems of apology) that illustrate the fine handling of larger themes. (Note also that while the anonymous *Madjmū*ʿ*at al-ma*ʿ*ānī* is an anthology of a similar sort on a smaller scale, *ma*ʿ*ānī* in some titles refers to the simple elucidation of sense, e.g., the *Ma*ʿ*ānī 'l-shi*ʿ*r* by al-Ushnāndānī, d. 288/901.)

The *Yatīmat al-dahr* of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429-1038) is the first anthology extant in which poetry and, to a lesser degree, art prose by the author's contemporaries and near-contemporaries are collected and grouped according to geography. This book, which emphasises texts rather than biographies or *akhbār*, is a rich record of a century of great creativity. It represents poets from Khurāsān to Andalusia. Al-Thaʿālibī himself wrote a sequel, the *Tatimmat al-yatīma*. Of its edited successors, mention may be made of the *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* of al-Bākharzī (d. 467/1075 [*q.v.*]); the *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr* by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201 [*q.v.*]) (separate editions have been made of the parts dealing with Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and North Africa, Sicily and Andalusia); the *Rayḥānat al-alibbā*ʾ of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659 [*q.v.*]) (especially strong on Egypt and Syria); its sequels, the *Nafḥat al-rayḥāna* by Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699 [*q.v.*]) (Syria especially richly represented) and the *Sulāfat al-*ʿ*aṣr* by Ibn Maʿṣūm al-Madanī (d. 1104/1692) (strong on the Ḥidjāz, Mecca and Medina). The notices in the first two of these works tend to be quite spare; later, as they come to serve as display windows for the anthologist's rhymed prose, they become longer. It is symptomatic that the author of the *Kharīda* should quote a phrase of al-Ḥarīrī's to describe a personage (*Kharīda, Ḳism shu*ʿ*arā*ʾ *al-Shām*, ed. Fayṣal, Damascus 1959, ii, 93).

Among anthologies concerned with particular regions, outstanding are several works devoted to the poetry and art prose of the Muslim West, such as the

great *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-djazīra* by Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (d. 543/1147 [*q.v.*]) who in his preface shows himself an ardent advocate of Andalusian culture, the *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān* and the *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus* by al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān (*fl.* 6th/12th century [*q.v.*]) and the anthology of Sicilian poetry by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ (d. 515/1121) the *K. al-Durra al-khaṭīra min shuʿarāʾ al-djazīra*, only parts of which have survived in small anthologies extracted from it [see IBN AL-ḲAṬṬĀʿ]. ʿIṣām al-Dīn ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī al-ʿUmarī (12th/18th century, whose *al-Rawḍ al-naḍr fī tarjamat udabāʾ al-ʿaṣr* is an anthology of the poets of ʿIrāḳ and Rūm, still sees himself as a follower of al-Thaʿālibī and al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān.

Certain anthologies are devoted to single topics, and some books are in large part anthologies devoted to single topics. The first volume of Ibn Dāwūd's *K. al-Zahra* is an anthology of love poetry offered in illustration of the aspects of love; the second volume is addressed to the other themes of poetry. Hispano-Arabic nature poems (and art prose on the same subject) are collected in *al-Badīʿ fī waṣf al-rabīʿ* by Abu 'l-Walīd Ismāʿīl b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥimyarī (d. 440/1048). A late example is *al-Muntakhab fī djamʿ al-marāthī wa 'l-khuṭab* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ṭurayḥī al-Nadjafī (d. 1085/1674) which is, among other things, a chrestomathy of elegies for the *ahl al-bayt*. We may mention here an important anthology conceived to illustrate a particular poetic form: the first part of the *Dār al-ṭirāz* in which Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 609/1211 [*q.v.*]) published a selection of Andalusian *muwashshaḥāt* [*q.v.*] by way of introducing the reader to his own.

Discussions of a rhetorical nature gave rise to certain kinds of anthology. The dispute about the relative merits of the "ancients" and the "moderns" prompted the *K. al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir* by the Khālidī brothers who flourished in the second half of the 4th century A.H. [see AL-KHĀLIDIYYĀN[1]]. The authors take various *maʿānī*, in no particular order, citing brief excerpts or fairly long passages, and give instances of their use by old poets and new. Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286 [*q.v.*]) devotes a large part of his *ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt wa 'l-muṭribāt* to verses from East and West that show striking originality. There are anthologies of similes. We may mention the *K. al-Tashbīhāt* by Ibn Abī ʿAwn (d. 322/933 [*q.v.*]) and the Andalusian *K. al-Tashbīhāt* by Ibn al-Kattānī (d. 420/1029). The manner of a later period is represented in part by the *Gharāʾib al-tanbīhāt ʿalā ʿadjāʾib al-tashbīhāt*, by Ibn Ẓāfir al-Azdī (d. 613/1216 or 623/1226 [*q.v.*]), a man who compared bananas to miniature elephants' tusks covered in gold leaf (ed. Sallām and Djuwaynī, Cairo 1971, 114).

Rhetorical handbooks need illustration; in a large book the illustrations can form a chrestomathy of rhetorical felicities. An example is Ibn Maʿṣūm's *Anwār al-rabīʿ fī anwāʿ al-badīʿ*, a huge commentary on his own *badīʿiyya*.

Selections made from the work of certain well-known poets also existed. The Khālidī brothers made a *Mukhtār min shiʿr Bashshār*, devoting, as in the *K. al-Ashbāh*, much attention to the transmission and elaboration of *maʿānī*. The great theorist of syntax and metaphor, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078), compiled a chrestomathy of brief passages from the *dīwāns* of al-Mutanabbī, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī (ed. Maymanī, *al-Ṭarāʾif al-adabiyya*, Cairo 1937).

Beginning with Yūnus al-Kātib (2nd/8th century; cf. *GAS*, i, 368-9, ii, 92-3), the names of several anthologists have been handed down who compiled collections of poems that had been set to music. Of this type—but vastly extended—is the *K. al-Aghānī* by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī. This monumental work uses the core collection of songs as an excuse for offering rich historical and literary information about the poets (and much else) and many samples of their work.

That the *K. al-Aghānī* is based on an anthology of poetry is coincidental. Works of literary scholarship and *adab* partake of the nature of anthologies. In the *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*, for instance, Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*] frequently heads situations with "a choice passage by him is..." or similar phrases. The encyclopedic *adab* book by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]), the *ʿIḳd*, includes an anthology of funerary elegies in one of its sections. Not surprisingly, the *Ḳuṭb al-surūr fī awṣāf al-khumūr* by al-Raḳīḳ (or Ibn al-Raḳīḳ) al-Ḳayrawānī (d. after 418/1027-8 [see IBN AL-RAḲĪḲ]) includes an anthology of passages from wine poetry. Al-Ḳālī's (d. 356/967 [*q.v.*]) *Amālī* mingles philological information, etc., with selections of poetry, frequently under thematic headings. There is no hard and fast line between an anthology with much historical material, like the *Dhakhīra* (see above), and a *ṭabaḳāt* work about people who, among their other accomplishments, wrote poetry or art prose, like *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ* by the Andalusian Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260 [*q.v.*]). Ibn Saʿīd could draw on material in the historico-biographical works written by himself and members of his family when he compiled his anthologies of poetry, the *ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt wa 'l-muṭribāt* (see above) and the *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*.

Ikhtiyār, "choosing the best", was not a casual matter. In the preface to the *K. al-Muwashshā*, primarily a discussion of elegance and love, al-Washshāʾ [*q.v.*] quotes the adage that a man's *ikhtiyār* discloses his quality of mind. The same remark is found in al-Ḥuṣrī's [*q.v.*] preface to the *Zahr al-ādāb*. Some authors of anthologies accepted gifts from contemporaries whose work they included; occasionally (as in the case of al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān) this may have coloured judgment.

The compilation of anthologies of mediaeval poetry has continued in modern times. Remarkable examples are the *Mukhtārāt* of al-Bārūdī (d. 1904 [*q.v.*]) and the *Dīwān al-shiʿr al-ʿarabī* by ʿAlī Aḥmad Saʿīd (b. 1930).

Bibliography: Detailed historical prefaces accompany the modern editions of many of the works cited in the text. For further titles, commentaries, translations and modern studies, see especially *GAS*, ii, 46-102, 439-41, 668-71. On the great classical *mukhtārāt* of *ḳaṣīda*s, see also Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-shiʿr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1962, 573-91; Blachère, *HLA*, 139-52; and A. Arazi, *La réalité et la fiction dans la poésie arabe ancienne*, Paris 1989, 23-31. (A. HAMORI)

2. In Persian literature. In Persian, the term *mukhtārāt* was not commonly applied to an anthology: the title of the *Mukhtār-nāma* (translated by Hellmut Ritter as "Buch der Auswahl", cf. xiii-xiv [1961], 195), a thematically arranged selection from Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's [*q.v.*] quatrains, is a rare conception. Although the cognate term *ikhtiyārāt* can be met with occasionally, normal equivalents in the classical language are *muntakhabāt* or *intikhāb*. The modern *gulčīn-i adabī* is a neologism coined after the metaphor implied in the original Greek word. There are several other terms for collections which fit the definition of an anthology: a *madjmūʿa* is most often a volume of prose texts by more than one author; *khulāṣa* is especially applied to a selection made from an exten-

sive work; *bayāḍs* ("blank book"), *djungs* and *safīnas* (both meaning literally "a boat") are informal notebooks with poetical fragments. It is hazardous, however, to distinguish these terms very neatly. They appear to have been used for volumes of varying sizes and mixed contents, including both prose texts and poems. Finally, the term *tadhkira* should be taken into account, even if it only refers to the biographical material contained in the genre of anthologies concerned.

Persian anthologies have so far not been studied as a special category of books. Yet the role which they played in the workings of literature was quite substantial. Very different types are to be considered under this heading. Their diversity reflects the multiple services which anthologies could render both to writers and readers. They were useful as private files of literary miscellanea, but also furthered the distribution of texts, especially of poems. If they were based on careful selection and were properly arranged, they could assist in the formation of a corpus of canonised poetry. Their contents were an important source for writers who needed poetical quotations for their prose compositions or for anyone who wanted to add polish to his conversation. As far as the history of literature is concerned, the widespread interest in the collection and recording of poems, fragments and single verses often became essential for the preservation of texts which did not survive through the channels of the *dīwāns*, even if this was not always a primary aim. Not only proper anthologies but also biographical works, dictionaries and textbooks of literary theory saved a substantial amount of Persian poetry from oblivion. Anthologies also deserve our attention in their own right because they provide valuable insights into the production of books.

A rough division could be made between, on the one hand, collections made for the private use of the compiler or a patron of his, and, on the other hand, public works designed according to certain generic rules and intended to be put into circulation under an author's name. At the lower end of the former class are the private notebooks which were filled at random with extracts, mostly poetical. The contents are usually highly mixed and may even include poems and verses in more than one language. Although they are nearly always anonymous, there are some exceptions. The personal taste of a prominent poet is reflected in *Bayāḍ-i Mīrzā Bīdil*, containing the choice made by Bīdil [*q.v.*] from the works of his predecessors (Rieu, *Catalogue*, ii, 737-8).

A special group consists of private volumes which exhibit a much greater care of presentation and legibility than the simple notebooks. Ornamentation is not uncommon and may even include the illustration by miniatures. These were obviously manuscripts made to order, as is occasionally confirmed by a colophon. A remarkable specimen is the *Djung-i Iskandarī*, a two-volume manuscript assembled at Shīrāz in 813-4/1410-1 for the library of the Tīmūrid prince Djalāl al-Dīn Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh. The manuscript was aptly styled "a pocket library" as it contains a most diverse selection of Persian texts (Rieu, *op. cit.*, 868-71). To the same class belong the finely executed anthologies of lyrical poetry which are to be found in several collections of manuscripts (see, e.g., Rieu, *op. cit.*, 734 ff.; Ethé, *Catalogue India Office*, no. 103; Chester Beatty Library, *Catalogue*, nos. 103, 124 and 127). There are volumes especially concerned with a single type of verse or a specific genre (e.g., *ghazals*, *rubāʿīs*, *muʿammās*, satire or religious poetry); others focus on certain periods or subjects of special interest to the compiler. The arrangements found in these collections are sometimes based on subjects and literary themes, sometimes on formal criteria like metre and rhyme or on the alphabetical order. Only rarely is a title or the name of the compiler mentioned.

Quatrains have frequently been the subject of specialised anthologies like the aforementioned *Mukhtār-nāma*; several volumes containing quatrains were listed by F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī*, Wiesbaden 1963, 117 ff. ("Quellenverzeichnis"). More comprehensive is the scope of the *Muʾnis al-aḥrār*, a collection of poetry in various forms completed in 741/1341 by Muḥammad b. Badr Djādjarmī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The author made a choice from the works of about two hundred poets, most of whom lived in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. The poems are arranged according to genre, verse form or subject matter into thirty chapters. A comparable collection from the 8th/14th century, including also Arabic poems, is ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kāshī, *Rawḍat al-nāẓir wa-nuzhat al-khāṭir* (cf. Ateş, *Farsça manzum eserler*, no. 350).

Extensive *mathnawīs* were often distributed in excerpts. Such selections were made, for instance, from Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* (notably, the extracts with connecting prose texts by Tawakkul b. Tūlak-beg made in the 17th century; see, e.g., Rieu, *op. cit.*, 539-40; Ethé, *Catalogue India Office*, nos. 882 ff.), Sanāʾī's *Ḥadīkat al-ḥakīka*, the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī and the *Mathnawī-yi maʿnawī* by Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (cf., e.g., Ateş, *op. cit.*, *passim*). Manuscripts of lyrical poetry sometimes do not contain the complete output of the poet concerned but only selections from a more comprehensive *dīwān*.

As books produced for a wider circle of readers, many Persian anthologies belong to the genre of the *tadhkira*, or "memorial" of the poets, which is characterised by a combination of biography and anthology. The history of the genre may go back as far as the early 6th/12th century, if it is correct to regard the lost *Manākib al-shuʿarāʾ* by Muwaffak al-Dawla Abū Ṭāhir al-Khātūnī—a *mustawfī* in the service of Gawhar Khātūn, the wife of Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh (498-511/1105-18)—as a true *tadhkira*. The only trace the work has left is the quotation by Dawlat-Shāh of Abū Ṭāhir's evaluation of a poem by Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] (*Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, 58, ll. 15-18; see also 29, ll. 11-16, where Abū Ṭāhir is cited without a reference to his book). The work is also mentioned by Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel, vi, 152, no. 13,026), probably merely on the authority of Dawlat-Shāh. See further, M. Kazwīnī, introd. to ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, *wāw-hāʾ*; Browne, ii, 326-7; ʿAbbās Ikbāl Āshtiyānī, *Yādgār*, iv/5 (1327-8 sh./1949), 7-18; Storey, i/2, 783, n. 1; A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Taʾrīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi fārsī*, ii, 294-302.

The oldest work in this category still extant, the *Lubāb al-albāb* by Muḥammad ʿAwfī [*q.v.*], was completed in 617/1220-1 at Lahore. The author regarded himself as the creator of a new genre of Persian literary scholarship, meant to parallel the works on the "classes" (*ṭabakāt*) of Arabic poets written by Ibn Sallām, Ibn Kutayba, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, al-Thaʿālibī [*q.vv.*] and others. The Arabic *ṭabakāt* works were anthologies compiled with a critical intent. Quality was of primary importance in the selection of the poems. The number of poets in each class, or generation, was often restricted to a fixed number (cf. K. Abu Deeb, in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. ʿAbbāsid belles-lettres*, ed. Julia Ashtiany *et alii*, Cambridge 1990, 341-6). ʿAwfī's classification was based on social distinctions as well as chronology. Poems written by non-professionals, like rulers, officials and

members of the Islamic clergy, were distinguished from the works of the court poets. The latter were classified according to the dynasties they served: the Ṭāhirids, the Ṣaffārids and the Sāmānids, the Ghaznawids and the Saldjūḳs. A concluding section deals with the author's contemporaries at the court of Lahore. The biographical information contained in the *Lubāb al-albāb* is notoriously meagre, but it should be considered that the compiler's object was to provide a selective anthology of court poetry rather than to serve the interests of literary history.

The *tadhkira* actually derived its name from the *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* of Dawlat-Shāh [*q.v.*], finished about 892/1487. Like the *Lubāb al-albāb*, the principles adhered to in this work are the rules of the Arabic *ṭabaḳāt*. Dawlat-Shāh even followed the numerical restriction of that formula, as each of his seven classes does not comprise more than twenty Persian poets. A preliminary section deals with Arab poets and the work is concluded by a brief *khātima* on contemporaries of the author. Dawlat-Shāh devoted considerably more space to biographical information than ʿAwfī did. It is not surprising, therefore, that his *Tadhkira* has always been regarded in the first place as a work of literary history.

In most of the numerous *tadhkira*s produced in the following centuries, a similar emphasis on biography can be noticed. As far as generations of poets previous to their own times are concerned, the authors mainly compiled data from earlier works, but they nearly always provide valuable information about contemporary literature. Only the most important *tadhkira*s can be mentioned here (for more extensive lists, see the works by Storey and Gulčīn-i Maʿānī quoted in the bibliography).

Only slightly younger than Dawlat-Shāh's work is ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī's [*q.v.*] *Madjālis al-nafāʾis* (896/1490-1), written in Čaghatāy Turkish, but also dealing with poets who wrote in Persian. It has been translated more than once into Persian. To the same period belongs the *Bahāristān* of Djāmī [*q.v.*], the seventh chapter of which contains an anthology of the *tadhkira* type. The *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī* (*ca.* 957/1550) by Sām Mīrzā [*q.v.*] is especially concerned with early Ṣafawid poetry. To the later half of the same century belongs Taḳī Kāshī's voluminous *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār wa-zubdat al-afkār*, which is still unpublished. Amīn Rāzī's geographically-arranged *Haft iḳlim* (1002/1593-4) is mainly a biographical work, which sphere of interests extends beyond literature. In Muḥammad Ṣūfī Māzandarānī's *But-khāna*, on the other hand, the anthology predominates. Other notable works from the Ṣafawid period are: Taḳī Awḥadī, *ʿArafāt al-ʿārifīn wa-ʿaraṣāt al-ʿāshiḳīn* (1024/1615) and Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Ṭāhir-i Naṣrābādī* (1083/1672-3). ʿAbd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī Ḳazwīnī's *May-khāna* (1028/1619) is devoted especially to poets who wrote short *mathnawī*s in the *sāḳī-nāma* genre.

The poetry of the 12th/18th century in Persia was recorded by Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn in his *Tadhkirat al-muʿāṣirīn* (1165/1752) and by Luṭf-ʿAlī [*q.v.*] Beg Ādhar in *Ātashkada* (1174/1760-1 ff.). The latter *tadhkira* is a first-hand source on the *bāzgasht-i adabī*, the return to the stylistic ideals of mediaeval Persian poetry which took place in the middle of that century. The two-volume *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* (1288/1871) of Riḍā-Ḳulī [*q.v.*] Khān Hidāyat encompasses the entire tradition of the *tadhkira*s since ʿAwfī, adding to it new material from manuscripts in the compiler's own library. It was the first anthology to be released in Persia in a printed (lithographed) form. The *Rawḍat al-ʿārifīn* by the same author is an anthology of mystical poetry.

The genre of the *tadhkira* also flourished on the Indian subcontinent. Outstanding works from the Indo-Persian tradition are *Mirʾāt al-khayāl* (1102/1690-1) by Shīr Khān Lōdī, the three *tadhkira*s of Ghulām-ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Yad-i bayḍāʾ* (1148/1735-6), *Sarw-i āzād* (1166/1752-3) and *Khizāna-yi ʿāmira* (1176/1762-3) and ʿAlī-Ḳulī Khān Wālih, *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ* (1160/1747).

Until the present time, a great number of local *tadhkira*s were compiled, dealing with poetry from various regions in Persia. The tradition also lives on in modern scholarship. Some histories of Persian literature published in Persia, like Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar's *Sukhan wa sukhanwarān* (1308-12 sh./1928-33) and Dhabīh Allāh's *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān* (1338 sh./1959 ff.), still contain extensive selections from classical literature. Two anthologies by Ṣafā, *Gandj-i sukhan* (on poetry) and *Gandjīna-yi sukhan* (on prose), played an important part in modern academic education.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, Persian poets began to publish their works in periodicals which often had only a limited circulation. Anthologies of a new type could, therefore, still serve a useful purpose as a means to collect these scattered poems. A pioneer work was Muḥammad-Riḍā Hashtrūdī's *Muntakhabāt-i āthār az nawīsandagān wa shuʿarā-yi muʿāṣir* (Tehran 1342/1922), who was the first to draw the attention to the innovative work of Nīmā Yūshīdj. Notable modern anthologists were also Ḥ. Pizhmān, *Bihtarīn-i ashʿār* (1313 sh./1934) and Sayyid Muḥammad-Bāḳir Burḳaʿī, *Sukhanwarān-i nāmī-yi muʿāṣir* (1329 sh./1950 ff.). In addition, the selections contained in E.G. Browne's *The press and poetry of modern Persia* (Cambridge 1914), Dinshah J. Irani's *Poets of the Pahlavi régime* (Bombay 1933) and Munibur Rahman's *Post-revolutionary Persian verse* (Aligarh 1955) helped to make the modern poets known to the outside world. After the Second World War, the publications of volumes of poetry in the Western style gained currency in Persia, especially among the poets following the modernist schools. However, anthologies like the repeatedly printed Dāryūsh Shāhīn, *Rāhiyān-i shiʿr-i muʿāṣir* and Muḥammad Ḥuḳūḳī, *Shiʿr-i naw az āghāz tā imrūz* (1353 sh./1974), continued to appear serving both the needs of circulation and of critical selection. Modern prose was anthologised by Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Shāhkārhā-yi nathr-i fārsī-yi muʿāṣir* (1330-2 sh./1951-3), Farīdūn Kār, *Shuʿlahā-yi djawīd* (1336 sh./1957) and Muḥammad-ʿAlī Sipānlū, *Bāz-āfarīnī-yi wāḳiʿiyyat* (1349 sh./1970).

Bibliography: Specimens of the various kinds of anthologies mentioned in the article are described in Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the* British Museum, London 1881, ii, 734-40 and *passim*; H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Indian Office Library*, London 1903, nos. 1739-58 and *passim*; A.J. Arberry *et alii*, *The Chester Beatty Library. A catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures*, Dublin 1959-62 and A. Ateş, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde farsça manzum eserler*, Istanbul 1968; other catalogues of Persian manuscripts are also to be consulted. The *tadhkira*s were treated comprehensively by Storey, i/2, 781-922, and by Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Taʾrīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi Fārsī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1348-50 sh./1969-71. On individual works, see N. Bland, *On the earliest Persian biography of poets, by Muhammad Aufí, and some other works of the class called Tazkirat ul Shuâra*, in *JRAS* (1848), 111-76; Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, i-

iv, *passim*; R.A. Nicholson, *An early Persian anthology*, in *Studies in Islamic poetry*, Cambridge 1921, 1-42 (on ʿAwfī); J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens, mit einer Blütenlese aus zweyhundert persischen Dichtern*, Vienna 1818; Browne, *The sources of Dawlatshāh*, in *JRAS* (1899), 37-45, and Browne, *LHP*, ii, 436-7 (on Dawlat-Shāh); Bland, *Account of the Atesh Kedah, a biographical work on the Persian poets, by Hajji Lutf Ali Beg, of Isfahan*, in *JRAS*, vii (1843), 345-92; S. Churchill, *A modern contributor to Persian literature, Rizá Ḳulí Khán and his works*, in *JRAS* (1886), 196-206; cf. *JRAS* (1887), 163, 318. (J.T.P. de Bruijn)

3. In Turkish. The first samples of this genre in Classical Turkish literature stem from the 9th/15th century onwards. The word *mukhtārāt* is not used in any period of Turkish literature, and the term *medjmūʿa* was used till the Tanẓīmāt period to represent this genre. After the *Tanzīmāt*, *müntekhabāt* ("selections") was used till the Republican period. Starting from then, *antoloji* has been used up to the present time, but *seçki* ("anthology") has also been used alongside it.

Medjmūʿa (lit. "what has been collected together") denotes a collection of either verse or prose or a mixture of both. *Medjmūʿas* are given a name according to the subjects they contain, such as *medjmūʿatü 'l-eshʿār* (or *medjmūʿa-yi eshʿār*), *medjmūʿatü 'l-edwiye*, *medjmūʿatü 'l-edʿiye*, *medjmūʿatü 'r-resāʾil*, etc. Although *medjmūʿas* might contain Arabic and Persian poems along with Turkish ones, the selections may also be exclusively Turkish. After the *Tanẓīmāt*, the *medjmūʿa* meant a periodical or journal, but *dergi* is now used to convey this meaning in modern Turkish. As a result, there is sometimes a confusion between the classical meaning of *medjmūʿa* as "selection" and the modern meaning of "periodical".

Before passing to the classification of *medjmūʿas*, it is worth touching on the importance of *medjmūʿas* in classical Turkish literature: (1) they might contain works whose existence is known by various sources, but which are themselves no longer extant; (2) they might contain a work which is totally unknown to the literary world and not mentioned in any sources, such as the *ḳaṣīde* (eulogy) entitled *Čarkh-nāme*, which is considered one of the first products of *Dīwān* literature and which expounds the religious and mystical thoughts of a *Dīwān* poet. The *ḳaṣīde* is to be found in a *medjmūʿa* entitled *Djāmiʿü 'n-neẓāʾir*; (3) one can find poems which some poets do not want to include into their *dīwān* (collection) for some reason or other, such as the famous elegy for Prince Muṣṭafā, the son of Süleymān I. Ṭāshlīdjalī Yaḥyā, the famous poet of the 10th/16th century, wrote an elegy after Muṣṭafā had been killed by his father but did not dare to put this poem into his *dīwān*; nevertheless, it appears in some *medjmūʿas*; and (4) *medjmūʿas* allowed the poems of poets who had no *dīwān* of their own to be collected and studied, possibly constituting an important contribution to literature.

If we classify classical Turkish *medjmūʿas*, one sees that anthologies of pastiches (*Medjmūʿatü 'n-neẓāʾir*) are the first systematical *medjmūʿas*. Then, *medjmūʿas* that contain various selections on a certain subject, like anthologies of poems (*medjmūʿatü 'l-eshʿār*), anthologies of prayers (*medjmūʿatü 'l-edʿiye*), anthologies of folk-medicine (*medjmūʿatü 'l-edwiye*); anthologies concerning various treatises (*medjmūʿatü 'r-resāʾil*), anthologies of anecdotes (*medjmūʿatü 'l-leṭāʾif*), and anthologies of models for letter-writing (*medjmūʿatü 'l-münsheʾāt*), made their appearance. Apart from this classification, there are *medjmūʿas* called by their compiler's name, as well as *medjmūʿas* whose language and subject-matter are mixed.

Anthologies of pastiches include:

1. *Medjmūʿatü 'n-neẓāʾir*. The only extant copy is located in the library of SOAS under the number 27.689. In this *medjmūʿa*, which was compiled by ʿÖmer b. Mezīd in 840/1437, there are 397 poems of 84 poets, including its compiler's pastiches. This *medjmūʿa* was brought to light by S. Nüzhet Ergun and was published in 1982 by Mustafa Canpolat (transcribed with an index). (An abridged copy of the *medjmūʿa* with 309 folios is extant in the Library of the Turkish Language Society.)

2. *Djāmiʿü 'n-neẓāʾir*. The only extant copy is located in the Beyazıt Devlet Library in Istanbul, section Umumi 5782. It was compiled by Ḥādjdjī Kemāl of Eğridir in 918/1512. It is made up of 496 folios and contains pastiches of 266 poets. The compiler gives some information in the preface (*muḳaddime*) about how he put the *medjmūʿa* in order, adding also his own poems. From this preface we learn that the *medjmūʿa* originally contained 29,461 couplets. But in view of the fact that the *Čarkh-nāme* of Aḥmed Faḳīh is defective at the end and the *reddāde* (catchword) of that folio does not correspond to the first word of the next folio, it is clear that some folios of the *medjmūʿa* are missing. The number of couplets in the poem is noted in the index as one hundred. Meḥmed Khālid Bayrī (in *Millī Medjmūʿa*, viii [1927], 89) and Fuat Köprülü (in *Millī edebiyyāt djereyānīnīn ilk mübeshshirleri*, Istanbul 1928, 60-2) gave information about this *medjmūʿa*, but since it has not yet received scholarly publication, one cannot know whether there are any other parts missing. This *medjmūʿa* is as important as the first one, from the point of view both of its poems and its linguistic characteristics, and because it contains the work of poets of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries.

3. *Medjmūʿatü 'n-neẓāʾir*, compiled by Naẓmī of Edirne in 930/1523. There are 3,356 *ghazels* of 243 poets in it, and it was made known by Fuat Köprülü in *op. cit.*, 63. The important copies of the *medjmūʿa* are located in Topkapı, Ahmet III 2664, the Nuruosmaniye 4222 and the Millet, Ali Emiri, *manzum eserler* 683 (the first volume), 684 (second volume).

4. *Perwāne Bey Medjmūʿasī* called after its compiler, and compiled in 968/1560 by Perwāne b. ʿAbd Allāh, one of the slaves of Süleymān I. The only extant copy of it is in Topkapı, Bağdat 406. The first folio of the *Medjmūʿa*, which is composed of 641 folios, is missing. Some poems by Aḥmed I and other sultans were added in the margins later on.

5. *Meṭāliʿü 'n-neẓāʾir* (2 vols.), compiled by Khiṣālī of Budin. The autograph copy of it is to be found in Nuruosmaniye 4252-3. Although it is not known when it was compiled, there is no doubt that this was done before 1062/1651, the death-date of Khiṣālī.

Apart from these chief classical Turkish anthologies of pastiches, it is further possible to come across other anthologies of the same kind in libraries both in Turkey and outside Turkey. In classifying the *medjmūʿas*, anthologies of poems, prayers, folk-medicine and letter-writing have been mentioned; these may be found in all Turkish manuscript collections. (Library catalogues (*defter*) published in the reign of ʿAbdü 'l-Ḥamīd II, called *devr-i Ḥamīdī kataloghlarī*, have a special chapter under the heading *Medjāmīʿ* at the end of each catalogue of each collection, with a list of the number of works in each manuscript together with their folio numbers and titles.) Examples are as follows: *Menāhidjü 'l-inshāʾ*, which contains private and official correspondence, compiled by Yaḥyā b. Meḥmed el-Kātib in the

9th/15th century and *Medjmūʿa-yi münshe'ātü 's-selāṭīn* ("anthology of correspondence of sultans"), known also as *Ferīdūn Bey medjmūʿasi* after its compiler and that called *Eshʿār-nāme-yi müstezād* ("Book of *müstezāds*") compiled by Ḥüseyin Aywansarayī between 1181/1767-80.

The Paris copy of *Menāhidjü 'l-inshā'* (B.N. Suppl. turc 660) was published by Şinasi Tekin in facsimile together with notes in 1971 in the series of *Sources of oriental languages and literatures*, whilst *Ferīdūn Bey medjmūʿasi* was published in two vols., Istanbul 1261/1845. The unique autograph copy of *Eshʿār-nāme-yi müstezād* is in the Istanbul University Library, T.Y. 466. It contains samples of *müstezāds* (poems with a rhymed supplement to each hemistitch) from the 9th/15th to the 12th/18th centuries. The most important representative of mixed subject anthologies is *Djāmiʿü 'l-meʿānī* compiled in 940/1533 by an anonymous scribe. The only known copy is Nuruosmaniye 4904, composed of 315 folios. This *medjmūʿa* was introduced to the literary world by ʿAlī Djānib Yöntem (*Ḥayāt Medjmūʿasi*, ii, no. 32 [July 1928], 3), but the details of it were made known by Muharrem Ergin (*Cāmiʿül-me'ānīdeki türkçe şiirler*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, iii/3-4 [1939]). In this *medjmūʿa* it is possible to find selections from Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Čaghatay Turkish works, and some complete works as well. The poems in the *medjmūʿa* belonging to the 9th/15th century poets Khalīlī and Djaʿferī were published by Muharrem Ergin in the above-mentioned article. It is worth mentioning that another *medjmūʿa*, which contains examples of this group, is located in the Süleymaniye Library, Hamidiye 550. Examples of *medjmūʿas* called by the name of their compiler include the *Aywansarāyī medjmūʿasi* which is also known as *Medjmūʿa-yi tewārīkh*, *Fā'iḳ Efendi medjmūʿasi*, *Müstaḳīm-zāde medjmūʿasi*, etc.

Alongside anthologies called *müntekhabāt* from the Tanẓīmāt period, there are other anthologies prepared under different titles. The most important of these is certainly Ḍiyā' (Ẓiyā) Pasha's three-volume anthology which he called *Kharābāt*, published in Istanbul 1291-2/1874-5 and severely criticised by Nāmiḳ Kemāl in his *Takhrīb-i Kharābāt*. A preface (*muḳaddime*) of 765 couplets precedes the anthology. In the first volume of *Kharābāt* there are *ḳaṣīdes* (eulogies) of 22 poets in Turkish, 38 poets in Persian and 37 poets in Arabic, arranged according to the poets' pen-names. In the second volume there are poems of 393 Turkish, 374 Persian and 345 Arabian poets. The third volume is reserved for *methnewīs*, and samples of 17 Turkish and 36 Persian ones are given in this volume.

Apart from the *Kharābāt*, anthologies from Tanẓīmāt and Meshrūṭiyyet (constitutional government) periods can be arranged in the following order: *Newādirü 'l-āthār* ("Remarkable remains") by Redjā'ī-zāde Aḥmed Djewdet (Būlāḳ 1256/1840); *Müntekhabāt-i Mīr Naẓīf* ("Selections from M.N.") by Aḥmed Naẓīf (Būlāḳ 1261/1845); *Nümūne-yi edebiyyāt-i ʿOthmāniyye* ("Examples of Ottoman belles-lettres") by Ebü 'ż-Żiyā Tevfīḳ (Istanbul 1296/1879, 1302/1885, 1306/1889, 1308/1890 and 1329/1911); *Müntekhabāt-i djedīde* ("New selections") by Muṣṭafā Reshīd (2 vols., Istanbul 1302-3/1885-6; the first volume is in prose, the second in verse); *ʿOthmānli edebiyyāti nümūneleri* ("Samples of Ottoman belles-lettres") by Meḥmed Djelāl (Istanbul 1312/1894); and *Müntekhabāt-i bedāyiʿ-i edebiyye* ("Fine selections of belles-lettres") by Bulghurluzāde Riḍā (2 vols., Istanbul 1325-6/1907-8).

In the Republican era, work on compiling anthologies gathered speed, and anthologies on different literary forms like poetry, short stories and novels were published. While some of these were compiled as text-books to be used in high schools and universities, others were aimed at a much wider group of readers. Some of the most important anthologies compiled then are the following: Ali Canib Yöntem, *Türk edebiyatı antolojisi* (Istanbul 1930); Fuat Köprülü, *Divan edebiyatı antolojisi* (Istanbul 1931); idem, *Türk saz şairleri antolojisi* (Istanbul 1940, 1962, 1965); Saadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Halk edebiyatı antolojisi* (Ankara 1938); Neʿmeddin Halil Onan, *İzahlı divan şiiri antolojisi*, (Ankara 1940); İsmail Habib Sevük, *Edebî yeniliğimiz* (Istanbul 1940); Pertev Naili Boratav and Halil Vedat Fıratlı, *İzahlı halk şiiri antolojisi* (Ankara 1943); Şükrü Kurgan, *İzahlı eski metinler antolojisi* (Ankara 1943); Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, *Tekke şiiri antolojisi* (Ankara 1955); İlhan Başgöz, *İzahlı Türk halk edebiyatı antolojisi* (Istanbul 1956); Kenan Akyüz, *Batı tesirinde Türk şiiri antolojisi* (Ankara 1953, 1958, 1970); Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikâye ve roman* (2 vols., Istanbul 1965-7, 1970-1); Fahir İz, *Eski Türk edebiyatında nesir*, i (Istanbul 1964), and *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım* (2 vols., Istanbul 1966-7); Halil Erdiğan Cengiz, *Açıklamalı, notlu divan şiiri antolojisi* (Ankara 1967, 1972); Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Türk tasavvuf şiiri antolojisi* (Istanbul 1972); Mehmet Kaplan, İnci Enginün and Birol Emil, *Yeni Türk edebiyatı antolojisi* (vol. i, 1974, vol. ii, 1978, vol. iii, 1979, vol. iv, 1982) (Zeynep Kerman is also one of the contributors to the last two volumes of this anthology) and İsmail E. Erünsal, *Kütüphanecilikle ilgili Osmanlıca metinler ve belgeler* (2 vols., Istanbul 1982-90). Apart from the above-mentioned anthologies, there are also those compiled by Varlık publications and the Turkish Language Society.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Djānib, *Baʿḍi medjmūʿalara dā'ir*, in *Ḥayāt*, no. 32 (July 1928), 32-5; Fuat Köprülü, *Millī edebiyyātimizin ilk mübeshshirleri*, Istanbul 1928, 60-3; Muharrem Ergin, *Cami'ül-me'anideki Türkçe şiirler*, 539-69; Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, i, Ankara 1973, 166-76; Yaḥyā bin Meḥmed, *Menāhicü 'l-inşā*, ed. Şinasi Tekin, Cambridge, Mass. 1971; Günay Kut and Turgut Kut, *Hafız Hüseyin bin İsmail ve eserleri*, in *İ. Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, xxxiii (1980-1), 430-2; ʿÖmer bin Mezīd, *Mecmū'atü 'n-neẓā'ir*, ed. Mustafa Canpolat, Ankara 1982; Sami N. Özerdim, art. *Antoloji*, in *Türk dili ve edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, i (1977), 145-7; Günay Kut, art. *Mecmua*, in *Türk dili ve edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, iv (1986), 170-3.

(Günay Kut)

4. In Urdu. Anthologies of various types—of poetry, prose or both, and of single or several authors—are extremely numerous in Urdu; a short article can do no more than indicate backgrounds, motives and trends, giving a few examples. The term *mukhtār(-āt)* has seldom been used in this connection; an example from Madras given below may be regarded as exceptional though not unique. The commonest terms used are *muntakhab(-āt)* and *intikhāb*, but there are many others, ranging from the obvious to the fanciful. These include *bahār(istān)* (spring), *sarmāya* (stock), *muraḳḳaʿ*, *bayāḍ*, *kashkōl* (album), *guldasta* (bouquet), *djawāhir* (pearls), *tūzak* (memoirs), *madjmūʿa*, *madjmaʿ* (compendium). In addition, some examples of the *tadhkira* might be classed as anthologies, though the form is frequently no more than a collection of *aide-mémoires* of poets, consisting of scanty biographical information about each poet, with a quotation or two from his poetry. However, a few

tadhkiras give extended examples, including whole poems, and these may be justly regarded as anthologies. Among these are *Sarāpā-i-sukhan* by Muḥsin ʿAlī Muḥsin [*q.v.*], and *Āb-i-ḥayāt* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād [*q.v.*]. But the latter work is very much *sui generis*: it could be equally well described as a history of Urdu poetry with copious examples, or as an anthology of Urdu poetry liberally interspersed with historical and biographical information (for detailed accounts of these two and other *tadhkiras*, see Fateḥpūrī, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*).

In a sense, the notion of the Urdu poetical anthology can be traced back to the early 18th century. Until the end of the century, the only printing presses in India were those set up by Christian missionaries purely for the dissemination of religious literature [see MAṬBAʿA. 4. In Muslim India]. During this period, Urdu poetry was transmitted by oral teaching and learning by heart, and, for the few who could afford them, by manuscripts written by the poet or his pupils. After a few years, a successful poet's collected verse might be gathered together in a single manuscript and called his *dīwān*. After further intervals, his second and subsequent *dīwāns* might follow; Mīr Taḳī Mīr [*q.v.*] had six. But a *dīwān* seldom contained every poem composed in the period concerned, and could thus be considered a "selection". Not only might poems not considered good enough be omitted by the poet or editor, but whole classes of poetry were frequently excluded. Poets tended increasingly to concentrate on *ghazal*, and it was quite common for a whole *dīwān* to be devoted to this genre with perhaps a few other short poems added. Poems in other major forms such as the *ḳaṣīda* [see MADĪḤ. 4. In Urdu] and *mathnawī* [*q.v.* 4. In Urdu] would be copied separately, two or more by the same poet being perhaps grouped together in a single manuscript.

No doubt manuscript anthologies of the works of two or more poets were produced in the 18th century. They certainly existed in Persian, as Saksena (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 50) tells us that the poets Maẓhar (Mīrzā Djān Djānān [*q.v.*]) compiled a collection of selected Persian poetry entitled *Kharīṭa-yi djawāhir*. The same poet's official Persian *dīwān* consisted of 1,000 verses selected from 20,000. A similar—if not so drastic—process of elimination must surely have occurred with Urdu poetry.

Nevertheless, the spread of Urdu printing provided a major stimulus for the development of the anthology. Leaving aside those set up by the missionaries, the first Urdu press was in Fort William College, Calcutta, at the end of the 18th century. It published the works of John Gilchrist and the *munshīs* [*q.v.*] who worked under his supervision. The moveable type used did not find favour with Urdu speakers and it was in any case expensive. Lithography was the answer, and is still even today the favoured system. In the 1830s there were lithographic presses in Dihlī, Cawnpore and Lucknow, where there were twelve private presses by 1848. It was there that Munshī Nawal Kishōr established his press, which was to play an important part in publishing Urdu literature, including anthologies.

In 1830 Urdu replaced Persian as the Indian court language. The British authorities encouraged the language, which they usually called "Hindustani", the term *Urdū (-i-muʿallā)* being at first reserved for the high literary form. Hindustani could be printed either in the Arabic/Persian/Urdu script for Muslims, or the Dēvanagarī one for Hindus. (There was a third script, Roman Urdu using the English alphabet with slight modifications, but it had little impact on literature.) A system of examinations was established for expatriate and other officials, to encourage their command of vernacular languages, especially "Hindustani". At the highest level, these examinations included prescribed literary texts for study. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries a selection of letters by Ghālib (Mīrzā Asad Allāh) [*q.v.*] was prescribed under the title of *Urdu-i-muʿallā*. For the Degree of Honour examinations, selected poems by Ātish [*q.v.*] were set. But in 1909 this was replaced by the *Naẓm-i-muntakhab*, ed. Djaʿfarī and Sadjdjād (Calcutta). This consists of selected verse by nine poets from Ātish to Ḥālī. The Preface (p. i.) suggests that one aim of the work is to "whet the reader's appetite for Urdu poetry". There is a short account of each poet, usually one page in length, mostly taken from *Āb-i-ḥayāt*.

Another stimulus towards anthology compilation was the spread of education and the consequent need for text-books. Macaulay's minute of 1835 influenced Lord William Bentinck to decide in favour of English education for India. After the Indian Mutiny (1857-8), universities were opened on the English model in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, then later in the Pandjāb and at Allāhābād. But this by no means nullified earlier efforts to support education through the medium of the vernaculars, especially in middle forms (classes); and scientific text-books were translated into Urdu and other languages. Alongside these translations, original Urdu compilations were published, including some anthologies. In this connection, special mention must be made of Delhi College, opened in 1825 (see Mālik Rām, *Ḳadīm Dillī Kālidj*, New Delhi 1976). In 1843, the then Principal, Felix Boutros, founded a "Society for the Promotion of Knowledge in India through the Medium of Vernacular Languages". Its *raison d'être* was to organise the translation and publication of English text-books, mostly scientific. But amongst its earliest publications was an anthology of Urdu poetry by twelve leading poets, ranging from Walī Dakhanī to Muʾmin [*q.vv.*], *Intikhāb-i-dīwān-i-shuʿarāʾ-i-mashhūr-i-zabān-i-Urdu*, etc., compiled by Imām Bakhsh, a teacher at the College (publ. Dihlī 1844) (Mālik, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 43; Fateḥpūrī, 313-17). The latter believes this book to be the first of its kind. He commends the compiler for his good taste in selecting the best examples from the best poets for college use, and also for his introductory account of Urdu prosody and poetical genres. Regrettably, knowledge of these basic aspects of Urdu poetry has too often been taken for granted by authors of books on Urdu poetry at all levels.

The publication of such poetical anthologies for use in schools and colleges was not restricted to Northern India, where Urdu was a familiar language. For example, in Madras (1896-7), the Madras School Books and Literary Society published a collection called *Urdu poetry (Mukhtār ashʿār)* in four parts, each divided into a number of thin paperbacks. Part IV indicates that the actual printing was done in Āgrā. The writer has only been able to see Parts I and IV, but the general arrangement and division of the poetry into books appears to be haphazard. The subtitle of the work is *Extracts from the Diwans*. Not only are well-known poets such as Sawdāʾ and Baẓīr Akbarābādī included, but some lesser ones like Afsōs, Tābān and Mamnūn.

The spread of printing was, of course, a gradual process, limited to important centres in the first half of the 19th century. There was still considerable reliance on manuscripts, including anthologies of poetry. Examples of these will be found in two

catalogues compiled by J.F. Blumhardt. In the first, *A catalogue of Hindi, Panjabi and Hindustani manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1899, item Hindustani 82, p. 45) is a *Selection of poems of the works of approved authors*, probably dating from 1836. In that year, the anonymous compiler met a Captain Māgan (? Morgan), and at his suggestion compiled a *bayāḍ (bayāz)* in four parts. Part I contains *ghazals* by Inshāʾ; Part II *ḳaṣīdas* by Sawdāʾ and *musaddasāt* by Djurʾat; Part III *mathnawīs* and *rubāʿiyyāt* by various poets; and Part IV, Persian and Hindustani *ghazals*. Blumhardt's second work, *A catalogue of Hindustani manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London 1926), includes two 19th century mss. (pp. 121-3). The first is an *Anthology of Dakhani poems relating to Muhammad, the Caliph ʿAli, and the martyrdom of his sons*. While Blumhardt assigns this to the late 19th century, it is worthy of mention as an anthology of poetry in the Dakhani dialect of Urdu.

The selection of poems by a single poet is a form which particularly proliferated from the beginning of the 20th century. The fact that many of them were published in university and other educational centres suggests that they were intended as textbooks. They were also targeted at the poorer literate classes—*bābūs* (clerks), primary schoolteachers and others who, with a monthly wage of only a few rupees, could not afford to purchase a whole *dīwān* of the *kulliyyāt* (collected verse) of some particular poet. In any case, with many leading poets, particularly the more prolific ones, definitive *kulliyyāt* have only been published in the last 50 years. Examples of these single-poet selections are *Intikhāb dawāwīn Muʾmin Dihlawī* and *Intikhāb dīwān Hawas*, both published ʿAlīgaṛh 1915, edited by Ḥasrat Mōhānī. For some lesser-known poets, such selections might be the only published source of the poet's verse. This may apply to the licentious poet Bāḳir ʿAlī Čirkīn, a selection of whose poems was published in Lucknow (*Intikhāb dīwān Čirkīn*, 1924).

The influence of printing on Urdu prose was probably even greater than on poetry. In the 18th century such secular prose as existed was ornate (*muraṣṣaʿ-ō-musadjdjaʿ*); even the epistolary style was not exempt. Fort Williams publications made a start towards simplification, whilst Ghālib's letters showed that a natural style could make interesting—even exciting—reading. But the advent of newspapers and periodicals aimed at a wider readership was crucial. At the same time, the English education, already mentioned, led to the adoption and adaptation of English literary forms—essay, short-story and novel, and later, theatrical work.

By the end of the 19th century—thanks, in no small measure to the ʿAlīgaṛh Movement of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*], and despite the deep-seated prejudice in favour of poetry—sufficient prose-writers of distinction had gained acceptance to warrant the compilation of anthologies containing a mixture of prose and poetry. A good early example is *Tūzak-i-Urdū* by Muḥammad Ismāʿīl (Meerut, printed Āgrā 1898). The English title-page describes the work as "Selections from Urdu Literature or *Tuzak-i-Urdu*, Course for Anglo-Vernacular Middle Classes, prescribed by the Director of Public Instruction, N(orth) W(est) P(rovince) and Oudh". In his preface (*dībādja*), the compiler justifies the inclusion of prose on its merit, the foundations having been laid by Ghālib and Sir Sayyid. In selecting both prose and poetry he has sought what is stylistically admirable and morally uplifting for adolescent readers. In both sections contemporary authors are included, not forgetting the compiler himself! Of the 12 prose writers, the earliest chronologically is Mīr Ammān Dihlawī, one of the best-known of the Fort William translators. The 21 poets include 18th century poets such as Mīr Taḳī Mīr, Mīr Ḥasan and Muṣḥafī [*q.vv.*].

Other joint prose and verse anthologies followed, for example, Sayyid Aḥmad Ashraf Ashrafī, *Sarmāya-yi Urdū* ("new edition", Allāhābād 1923). Sandwiched between its prose (16 extracts) and poetry (18) sections is a short section entitled *Ruḳʿāt* (= a collection of letters) containing four examples, two of them by Ghālib. The work is described on the title page as "prescribed for High School examinations". More recent general anthologies seem to have been intended for school and college use, whether explicitly or implicitly. They include later writers, but otherwise do not break fresh ground. Maḳbūl Anwar Dāwūd's *Djawāhir pārē* (4th ed., Lahore etc. 1963) is intended, according to the Preface (p. 5), not only for students but also for lovers of literature (*adab dōst*). *Muraḳḳaʿ-i-adab*, ed. Ḥamīd Aḥmad Khān and others, Lahore 1976, was published by the Panjab Text-book Board for 11th and 12th classes. A seemingly revised edition of 1985 turns out to be a totally different work, *Muraḳḳaʿ-i-adab: tartīb-i-naw* (Lahore, ed. Khwādja M. Zakariyya). Among the complete change of contents' justifications are: to make it suitable for science and commerce as well as arts students; to suit Pākistān as an Islamic state: to include extracts about the Pākistān Movement; and to concentrate on the modern language, espeically prose. All the short accounts of authors—which had become an essential element in anthologies—have been eliminated. Another anthology published by the Panjab Text-book Board is *Urdū niṣāb* (Lahore 1979, ed. Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī and others), also intended for 11th and 12th classes.

During the last forty years there has also been a spate of anthologies of a less general nature, though embracing both prose and poetry, but aimed at a wider readership. Thus *Muntakhab-i-adab*, ed. Iḥtishām Ḥusayn and Ghulām Rabbānī Tābān (Lucknow 1952) is a 478-page selection of Urdu literature published during the year 1951. It comprises 10 essays, 12 short stories, 14 *ghazals* and 26 other poems, two humorous pieces and a one-act play. In their Introduction, the editors highlight the wealth of new material available, and the problems of selection, by listing (10-12) 28 "important and interesting essays of the year", from which they had to select 10 for want of further space.

The last 100 or so years have seen many anthologies restricted to prose. Several have consisted of extracts from one of the many magazines which appeared in the second half of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th (see Sadiq, 400-5, and Saksena, 271, 375, for information on some of these magazines). One of the best literary magazines was *Makhzan*, and selections from it under the title of *Intikhāb-i-Makhzan* were published in Dihlī in 1909 and in Lahore in 1918 and 1923. The magazine *Dilgudāz* was founded in Lucknow in 1887 by the distinguished Urdu historical novelist ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar. In 1918 a selection, *Intikhāb-i-Dilgudāz*, was published there, ed. M. Sirādj al-Ḥaḳḳ. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān founded the celebrated ʿAlīgaṛh periodical *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ* in 1870. Several selections from it have been published. Sir Sayyid's own essays, many of which were first published in that magazine, run into several volumes in his collected works. Needless to say, many selections have appeared, including *Intikhāb-i-maḍāmīn Sir Sayyid* (Lahore 1932). The task of selection might seem difficult, but in fact a comparatively small

number of his essays have become familiar classics which recur in selections and in general anthologies.

Finally, a word must be said about Urdu drama [see ĀGHĀ ḤASHAR KĀSHMĪRĪ in Suppl.]. Despite auspicious beginnings, the theatre in Urdu has not become firmly established as an artistic and literary institution. After the First World War, dramatists found an outlet in the thriving Indian film industry. The advent of radio and television provided further outlets, and numerous one-act and full length plays have been—and continue to be—written. Admittedly, not all were meant to be acted. Kamāl Aḥmad Riḍwī has compiled a *Muntakhab Urdū drāmē* in about 1000 pages (2 vols., Lahore 1960). It does not include plays by Āghā Ḥashar and his contemporaries, but these are no longer part of the répertoire, and they are in any case available in print.

Bibliography: There appears to be a complete lack of studies of the subject. The present article is the result of the author's private researches, delving into libraries, catalogues, and bibliographies in books about individual authors. In the body of this article, details have been given of various anthologies which are either important in themselves or typical of types and trends. In libraries which have title catalogues, other anthologies can be identified by any of the terms for "anthology" given at the beginning of the article. Anthologies of single authors—especially poets—are so numerous that it would be difficult to decide where to begin and end. As usual for articles on Urdu literature, there are two general sources in English: Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, and Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964. For the *tadhkira*, the most detailed and exhaustive study is Farmān Fateḥpūrī, *Urdū shuʿarāʾ kē tadhkirē awr tadhkira nigārī*, Lahore 1972.

(J.A. HAYWOOD)

MUKHTĀRĪ GHAZNAWĪ, ABŪ ʿUMAR ʿUTHMĀN B. ʿUMAR, Persian panegyric poet of the later Ghaznawid period, born around 467/1074-5 or 468/1075-6, died between 513-15/1118-21. The *takhalluṣ* Mukhtārī was probably derived from the title Mukhtār al-Shuʿarāʾ, bestowed on the poet early in his career by his patron Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Mustawfī, as indicated in the *rāʾiyya* dedicated to that patron (*Dīwān*, 190-1). The oldest source to mention Mukhtārī is the *Dīwān* of his contemporary Sanāʾī [*q.v.*], which includes a brief *ḳaṣīda* praising him. The biographical information provided by the *tadhkiras* (mainly late sources; ʿAwfī and Dawlatshāh make only passing mention of him) is, as always, notoriously unreliable. Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī, who edited and published Mukhtārī's *Dīwān* (Tehran 1962), has endeavoured to reconstruct the poet's biography on the basis of evidence from the poems.

Mukhtārī was born in the reign of Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd I (regn. 451-92/1059-99), but there are no poems in his *Dīwān* mentioning that ruler. His earliest poems can be dated around 490-92/1097-1100 (a *yāʾiyya* dedicated to Masʿūd III b. Ibrāhīm during his father's reign, a *nūniyya* in praise of Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*], a *rāʾiyya* recounting the poet's journey to India). Mukhtārī appears to have begun his career at a time when the Ghaznawid court was not especially favourable to poets. Unable to find a secure place at the court of Masʿūd III (regn. 492-508/1099-1115), he journeyed to India (some time between 490-93/1097-1101), and addressed panegyrics to its governors Muḥammad b. Khaṭīb in Ḳuṣdār and Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān in Lahore. He then travelled briefly to Balkh where he praised local notables and exchanged *mudjābāt* with a court poet, ʿAmīd Ḥasan; he also sent *ḳaṣīdas* to other local rulers such as Naṣr b. Khalaf, the ruler of Sīstān. He then journeyed to Kirmān, where he remained for some three years (505-8?/1112-15?), composing panegyrics for the Saldjūḳ ruler of Kirmān Muʿizz al-Dīn Arslān Shāh Ḳāwurdī, for other local princes (including remnants of the Būyids such as ʿAḍud al-Dawla Fanākhusraw Būʾī), and for various notables. Towards the end of this period he composed a *fatḥ-nāma* celebrating Masʿūd III's victories in India, incorporating a plea to be allowed to return to Ghazna, which he sent to that ruler via his *wazīr* Ḳutb al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, and the *Hunar-nāma*, a philosophical *mathnawī* dedicated to Ismāʿīl b. Gīlakī, the Ismāʿīlī ruler of Ṭabas, in which he describes his search for a worthy patron and concludes with lengthy praise of that prince.

With the accession of Malik Arslān (Arslān Shāh) b. Masʿūd (regn. 508-11/1114-17), Mukhtārī returned to Ghazna; several *ḳaṣīdas* celebrate Malik Arslān's accession. During Malik Arslān's reign, the poet enjoyed a brief period of prosperity; he composed thirty panegyric *ḳaṣīdas* in praise of the ruler, who appointed him *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* and rewarded him lavishly. After Malik Arslān was deposed by his brother Bahrām Shāh in 511/1117, Mukhtārī seems to have fallen out of favour; Bahrām Shāh is said to have wounded the poet with an arrow, a wound from which he later died (the one brief *ḳaṣīda* dedicated to Bahrām Shāh, *Dīwān*, 500-1, thanks him for saving the poet's life when he was wounded by the "arrow of fate", which may be merely a metaphorical figure).

During the last years of his life, Mukhtārī made a brief journey to Transoxania and Samarḳand, to the court of the Ḳarakhānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Bughrā Khān (regn. 495-523/1102-30), also called Tamghāč Khān, and praised that ruler and a number of his officials; he also journeyed to Khurāsān. Since no poem in the *Dīwān* can be dated later than 513/1119-20, he probably died some time before 515/1121-2, but in any case not at the much later dates (534/1139 and after) given in the *tadhkiras*. Humāʾī suggests, on the basis of the *Hunar-nāma* and of his friendship with Sanāʾī, that Mukhtārī was a Shīʿī or at least a moderate Sunnī; the assumption of his Shīʿism, based on verses alluding to the Mahdī which may be only hyperbolic expressions of praise for the ruler is, however, difficult to support.

The poems in Mukhtārī's *Dīwān* are traditionally divided into four categories: *Ghaznawiyyāt* (poems written for Ghaznawid rulers, officials, etc.); *Kirmāniyyāt*, written during Mukhtārī's three-year residence in Kirmān and including panegyrics for the Saldjūḳ ruler of Kirmān, his officials, and other local rulers; *Samarḳandiyyāt*, written during the journey to Transoxania and Khurāsān; and various other *ḳaṣīdas* which cannot be classed by *mamdūḥ* (that describing the poet's journey to India, that praising Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān), as well as *tarkībat*, *ghazaliyyāt*, *ḳitaʿāt*, and *rubāʿiyyāt*. Two *mathnawīs* have also been attributed to Mukhtārī. The *Hunar-nāma-i Yamīnī*, dedicated to Yamīn al-Dawla Ismāʿīl b. Gīlakī, is a philosophical poem which includes many Ismāʿīlī topics. Mukhtārī is credited with originating this type of poem, later imitated by Sanāʾī in the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa*, which employs the same metre (*khafīf*) but gives the questions treated a broader scope; a possible prototype is Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Rawshanāʾī-nāma*, though Mukhtārī's poem bears little resemblance to that primarily homiletic and didactic work. The *Hunar-nāma* begins with a cosmological description of the sphere, the houses of the zodiac, and the planets,

proceeding to the four elements, humours and seasons and the three kingdoms (mineral, plant and animal), and asserting the superiority of Adam over the rest of creation. Following praise of the Creator, the prophets, and Muḥammad, the poet tells of his desire to achieve human perfection, the cause of his lengthy travels in pursuit of knowledge. Having experienced only disappointment, he encounters an astrologer who advises him to seek entrance into the service of Ismāʿīl b. Gīlakī and, in order to test his worth, asks him a series of riddling questions whose answers point to the prince taken as the model of human perfection. The poem concludes with further praise of the *mamdūḥ* and the poet's plea for favour.

The *S̲h̲ahriyār-nāma*, long ascribed to Muk̲h̲tārī and thought to have been inspired by Masʿūd III's Indian campaigns, was included by Humāʾī in his edition of the *Dīwān*, but was later shown by him to be spurious. Its style, and in particular the many prosodic errors which mark it, suggests that it was composed much later, perhaps in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, by an unknown poet probably in India. Only fragments of the work survive; an imitation of Firdawsī's *S̲h̲āh-nāma* and including many materials not in that work, it deals chiefly with S̲h̲ahriyār, the great-grandson of Rustam, and his adventures and battles in India.

Muk̲h̲tārī's *ḳaṣīda*s show the influence of earlier G̲h̲aznawid poets such as ʿUnṣurī, Farruk̲h̲ī [*q.vv.*] and Azraḳī; many take up topics employed by those poets, or imitate the prosodic scheme of an earlier work (for example, the *ḳaṣīda* dedicated to Muḥammad b. K̲h̲aṭīb echoes Farruk̲h̲ī's *ḳaṣīda Sumnātiyya* as well as a description by Manūčihrī of a night journey through frozen deserts). Muk̲h̲tārī is known for his use of *badīʿ* and for his many riddling poems (*čistānhā*), as well as his extensive use of description. Many poems reflect the revival by Malik Arslān of Persian festivals such as *nawrūz* and *mihragān*, neglected under Ibrāhīm and Masʿūd III, in emulation of the earlier G̲h̲aznawid court (a practice which continued under Bahrām S̲h̲āh). Most of Muk̲h̲tārī's panegyric *ḳaṣīda*s dispense with the exordium (*tas̲h̲bīb*) and begin with the *madīḥ*. In some which do include the *tas̲h̲bīb*, Muk̲h̲tārī employs a conceit used by other contemporaries (Muʿizzī, Anwarī): the beloved urges the poet to praise his patron, or affects to compose the *madīḥ* for him to present at court. Muk̲h̲tārī also practiced the "erotic panegyric" popular in this period and seen also in the works of Sanāʾī, Masʿūd-i Saʿd, Ḥasan-i G̲h̲aznawī "As̲h̲raf", and Muʿizzī: a short *ḳaṣīda* (on occasion a *g̲h̲azal*) consisting primarily of an erotic or descriptive exordium and concluding with a line or a brief passage of praise; the *tak̲h̲alluṣ* often incorporates the names of both patron and poet.

Bibliography: ʿA. K̲h̲ayyāmpūr, *Farhang-i suk̲h̲anwarān*, Tabriz 1961, 528-29; D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Humāʾī, *Muk̲h̲tārī-nāma*, Tehran 1982; J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Of piety and poetry. The interaction of religion and literature in the life and works of Ḥakīm Sanāʾī of Ghazna*, Leiden 1983 (see index s.v. "Muxtārī"). Muk̲h̲tārī is mentioned only in later Persian *tad̲h̲kiras*, which are unreliable, and little or not at all in standard literary histories, Persian or Western.

(Julie S. Meisami)

MUK̲H̲TAṢAR (a.), a term denoting a handbook or an abridged manual, usually condensed from a longer work. Approximately equivalent terms are *ik̲h̲tiṣār*, *talk̲h̲īṣ* (very common), *tahd̲h̲īb*, *muhad̲h̲d̲h̲ab*; also *muntak̲h̲ab*, *ik̲h̲tiyār*, *muk̲h̲tār* (selections that convey the main ideas), and finally *wad̲j̲īz* and *mūd̲j̲az* (use of the last two terms is rather restricted, and authors who use them insist on stylistic concision, see Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, Istanbul 1943, ii, 1898-1901, and *D̲h̲ayl*, Istanbul 1947, ii, 604-702; *GAL*, index; al-Tahānawī, *Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf*, i, 414, ii, 1747). In certain disciplines, specific terminology is employed: in philosophy and science *fuṣūl*, *d̲j̲awāmiʿ* and *d̲j̲umal*. The first denotes aphorisms or short chapters (see below, on philosophy). The other two denote more specifically the compendium or handbook (the third especially in grammar). Of other literary forms, mention should be made of the didactic poems: they condense within a *ḳaṣīda*, and more often in an *urd̲j̲ūza*, for example the whole of Arabic grammar (such as the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik, see *GAL*, I, 298), or an area in philosophy (e.g. Ibn Sīnā's poems on the soul, see *GAL*, S I, 818, no. 35; Y. Mahdavi, *Bibliographie d'Ibn Sina*, Tehran 1954, 193-5). This terminology indicates clearly that the main aim of these works is to condense the contents and ideas of a basic work in a certain area of learning (*al-Muḳaddima*, Paris 1858, iii, 250). The task may have been carried out by an author himself (al-G̲h̲azālī, for instance, abridged his *Iḥyāʾ*, see *Muk̲h̲taṣar Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, printed on the margin of *Nuzhat al-nāẓirīn*, Cairo 1308, 2; al-Ṭabarī is reported to have condensed his bulky legal compendium, *al-Basīṭ*, into the much shorter *al-K̲h̲afīf*, see I. Goldziher, *Die literarische thätigkeit des Ṭabarî nach Ibn ʿAsâkir*, *WZKM*, ix [1895], 362-4; Yāḳūt, *Irs̲h̲ād*, ed. Cairo, xviii, 74), a disciple of an author (al-Muzanī, *Muk̲h̲taṣar*, Būlāḳ, 1321, i, 2, states that he has abridged the teachings of his master, without reference to a specific work) or by any writer later than the author (such is the case of Ibn His̲h̲ām, *al-Sīra*, ed. al-Saḳḳāʾ, i, 5-6). Very often the abridgment is carried out by cutting short the text in question, while endeavouring to retain the structure of the original style.

Ik̲h̲tiṣār and its derivatives are not attested in pre-Islamic and Umayyad poetry, with the exception of one verse by D̲h̲u 'l-Rumma (d. 117/735-6), where the verbal form *ik̲h̲taṣara* in the rhyme has nothing to do with the world of books and their format (*Dīwān*, ed. Macartney, no. XXX, v. 24). Thus one is probably dealing here with a cultural phenomenon that is limited to the ʿAbbāsid period.

The *ik̲h̲tiṣār* concerns many areas of the cultural activity: belles lettres, religious sciences, history, philosophy (with the sciences) and theology (*kalām*); in all these *ik̲h̲tiṣār* has been used and abused. It is important to note that we are not dealing here with vulgarisation; on the contrary, these abridgments were aimed at an audience of specialists, scholars and educated people. This audience was overwhelmed by a flood of works about everything. Antedating the humanists of the Renaissance, they had a deep desire to know as much as possible in the shortest possible time. This curiosity of the impatient mind led to the appearance of the *muk̲h̲taṣar*s. The main preoccupation of the authors of these works was didactic. By abridging they relieved the educated readers from all the lengthy discussions, chains of transmitters and endless appendices; they offered them the essentials; the specialised work became more accessible. Such is the justification which the authors of the abridgments normally give in their prefaces (see e.g. *Rawḍ al-ak̲h̲yār min rabīʿ al-abrār*, 2; al-Mīrī, *Muk̲h̲taṣar rawnaḳ al-mad̲j̲ālis*, Cairo 1322, 2; al-Suwaysī, *Muk̲h̲taṣar al-fatāwā al-mahdiyya*, Cairo 1318, 2). It was Ibn K̲h̲aldūn who, more than anyone else, had the ability to evaluate the didactic usefulness of abridgments. According to him, in any scientific discipline there are basic books; since some of these works may contain parts that are too long and prolix,

it is permitted to arrange a new work, in which the original text is abridged, while taking care not to leave out any essential matter (*al-Muḳaddima*, iii, 247).

Without denying the priority of the didactic aspect, it is important to consider also the cultural aspect of the abridgments. The perfect man, as conceived in ᶜAbbāsid society, had to be an *adīb*; as such he had to know something, possibly representative, of every discipline of culture. This necessity is characteristic of other classical societies. Fuhrmann has shed light on the origins and evolution of this phenomenon in Greek and Hellenistic society; he has described how Roman society, with its Hellenistic contemporary, adopted from the Stoics the ideal of the perfect man; this ideal became prevalent in the various areas of knowledge. The resort to abridgments had become inevitable (Fuhrmann [see *Bibl.*], 160 ff.). It is thus quite probable that the Greek background played a decisive role in this respect. In the fields of philosophy and related sciences, the Arabic abridgments may be seen as a direct continuation of that background (see below).

In Arabic literature the fashion of *mukhtaṣars* spread gradually and became ever more evident. In the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries the phenomenon seems to have been rather limited. From the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries scores of works entitled *mukhtaṣar*, *talkhīṣ*, *muhadhdhab* and *mukhtār* appear in succession with an increasing frequency.

The success of the abridgments appears to be fully justified in light of the services they rendered; by making accessible, to specialists and people of general education alike, works which had been considerably shortened, the *mukhtaṣars* enabled their readers to acquire comprehensive knowledge. Eventually the technique became more complex, with the appearance of abridged abridgments. An example from the field of rhetorics is provided by the *Miftāḥ al-ᶜulūm* by al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229). First, al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338-9) made an abridgment, entitled *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*. At a later stage this abridgment was epitomised by a number of authors, namely in the *Mukhtaṣar al-mukhtaṣar* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣāḥib (d. 788/1386), by Ibn Djamāᶜa (d. 819/1416), al-ᶜAynī (d. 893/1487), al-Tuḳatī (d. 900/1495), Ḥamza b. Ṭurghūd (d. 962/1554) and Parwīz al-Rūmī (d. 987/1579) (Ibn Yaᶜḳūb al-Maghribī, *Mawāhib al-miftāḥ*, Cairo 1936, i, 5-7; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 476-7). In the field of historiography, the *Mukhtaṣar akhbār al-bashar*, itself an abridgment made by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, was epitomised by Ibn al-Wardī (d. 750/1349-50) in his *Tatimmat al-mukhtaṣar*; in his introduction the author informs us that the abridgment has taken the place of the original work. In his turn, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Shiḥna (d. 890/1485) once more epitomised the epitome.

A parallel development added to abridgments another dimension, namely synthesis. An author could bring together within a single work several books on one and the same subject. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331) describes in his introduction how he epitomised and harmonised various materials which he had collected from different sources (*Mukhtaṣar akhbār al-bashar*, Cairo 1325, i, 2-3). However, for the most part the term "abridgment" retained its usual sense. In any event, in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries the use of abridgments became so widespread that authors began to render their works in threefold editions: one extended version called *mabsūṭ*, one intermediate called *wasīṭ* or *awsaṭ*, and one epitome termed *wadjīz* or *asghar*. As an example one may quote the threefold edition of *Sharḥ dīwān al-ḥamāsa* by al-Tibrīzī (*Mukhtaṣar tahdhīb al-alfāẓ*, Beirut 1895, introd., 11), or the *Asbāb al-nuzūl* by al-Wāḥidī. Furthermore, there appeared a new kind of writer who devoted his talents to compiling *mukhtaṣars*; al-Dhahabī constitutes an apt example: the majority of his output comprises abridgments of works by other authors (see the introd. of *al-Mukhtaṣar al-muḥtādj ilayhi min taʾrīkh al-ḥāfiẓ ... al-Dubaythī*, Baghdād 1371/1951). This late development may be considered a cause for concern, since it cut off the intellectuals from the great sources which shaped the Arab and Muslim culture.

The mukhtaṣars *in religious sciences.*

Abridgments have a considerable share in these sciences. They are attested foremost to Ḳurʾānic exegesis (al-Ṭabarī's commentary was abridged by Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Tudjībī, d. 473/1081, in the *Mukhtaṣar min tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, Cairo 1970, etc.), in the corpus of *ḥadīth* (the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī was epitomised by al-Zubaydī (d. 893/1488), *Mukhtaṣar al-Zubaydī*, Cairo 1378/1958, 5, where the author claims to have regrouped the traditions collected by al-Bukhārī by omitting the *isnāds* and the repetitions; *al-Mustadrak* by al-Ḥākim al-Naysabūrī was epitomised by al-Dhahabī under the title of *Talkhīṣ al-mustadrak*, Ḥaydarābād 1334-42, Ṣūfī treatises (e.g. *Mukhtaṣar fī iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1283, of Ibn ᶜArabī and *Mukhtaṣar rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī manāḳib al-ṣāliḥīn* by al-Yāfiᶜī, Cairo 1302) and theological treatises (e.g. *Mukhtaṣar al-minhādj*, Cairo 1374, by al-Dhahabī being an abridgment of *Minhādj al-sunna* by Ibn Taymiyya).

However, it was the legal schools (*madhāhib*) who systematised the process. The reason for this is obvious: the legal treatises facilitate the quick training of lawyers, and through them the necessary cadres. The process is similar with regard to all schools. In the case of the Ḥanafīs, for example, it is *al-Mabsūṭ*; this work was compiled by the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804). This illustrious disciple of the *Imām al-Aᶜẓam* assembled there the teachings of his master: *fa-innahū djamaᶜa 'l-mabsūṭ li-targhīb al-mutaᶜallimīn wa'l-taysīr ᶜalayhim* ("[al-Shaybānī] compiled *al-Mabsūṭ* in order to awaken the desire of the students [to study the doctrine] and to make it easier for them") (al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1331, i, 3-4). This treatise was the origin of the composition of five basic *mukhtaṣars*, as shown in the following table:

AL-MABSŪṬ of AL-SHAYBĀNĪ

Mukht. 1	*Mukht.* 2	*Mukht.* 3	*Mukht.* 4	*Mukht.* 5
al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933)	al-Ḳudūrī (d. 428/1037)	Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī (d. 448/1056)	al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1196)	al-Nasafī (d. 708/1310)

Quite rapidly they became the spearhead of the *madhhab* and have come to be called *al-Mukhtaṣarāt al-khamsa*. All of them were the outcome of one preoccupation: to do away with length and repetitiveness which produced tiresome detailed books of numerous volumes; obviously, they eclipsed the original and are the only ones to be studied.

A similar phenomenon may be discerned with

respect to the Mālikīs, where the *Mukhtaṣar* by al-Shaykh al-Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (d. 767/1366) constitutes the termination of a series of abridgments, of which the *Mudawwana* is the beginning (*al-Mudawwana al-kubrā* is the epitome of an original *Mudawwana*, nicknamed *al-Asadiyya* because it was composed by Asad b. al-Furāt; see Khalīl al-Djundī, *Djawāhir al-iklīl*, Cairo 1370/1950, i, 4). This first abridgment was followed by the *Mukhtaṣars* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 386/996), Ibn Abī Zamanayn (d. 399/1009), Abu Saʿīd al-Barādhiʿī (entitled *al-Tahdhīb*, the author lived in the 4th/10th century, see *al-Dībādj*, 112; *al-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn*, 19, who calls it *Mukhtaṣar al-mudawwana*), Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 498/1104-5), Abū Ḥasan al-Lakhmī (entitled *K. al-Tabṣira*, see *al-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn*, 32), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rushd (printed on the margin of the *Mudawwana*, Cairo 1324) and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Māzinī (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 10-12, 248; Khalīl al-Djundī, *loc. cit.*). All these abridgments eclipsed the foremost source of the Mālikī school (*Mukhtaṣar al-Shaykh al-Khalīl*, introd., 6). To gain an idea of the place occupied by these epitomes it is sufficient to consult Ibn Khaldūn's autobiography; describing how he studied to become a Mālikī *ḳāḍī* he never mentions the treatise of Ibn Saḥnūn or the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd; yet he did study the *mukhtaṣars* of Ibn Hādjib and al-Barādhiʿī.

Soon after the first half of the 4th/10th century negative traits have started to appear in this literary form; this has to do with the appearance of commentaries (*sharḥs*). The earliest attestation of a *sharḥ*, and after that of a *ḥāshiya* (i.e. a supercommentary), is connected with the Shāfiʿīs: the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī led to the composition of a commentary in eight volumes by Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī (d. 340/951-2) and another, more extensive one, by Aḥmad b. Bishr al-Marwazī (d. 362/973).

The authors of the commentaries gave very plausible reasons for their enterprise; paradoxically, the commentaries stand in complete contradiction to the *mukhtaṣars*. The latter, argue the commentators, are very brief; consequently they tend to be vague; thus a need is felt to clarify and to enlarge on them. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suhaylī (d. 580/1185) resorted to this explanation in order to justify the compilation of his *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, a commentary on Ibn Hishām's abridgment of the *Sīra*. In any event, the conscientious craftsmen mobilised himself for the task, starting from one common point of departure: there is no need whatsoever to revert to the masterpiece of the original work; it is sufficient to explicate the abridgments and to comment on them. This new practice went from bad to worse, since the dimensions of the commentaries surpassed by far the old sources, which had seemed too long. Within a short time the commentaries proliferated: *Mukhtaṣar al-Shaykh al-Khalīl* and al-Ḳudūrī's abridgment attracted some 35 *ḥāshiyas* each. In other fields, a similar process took place. Thus the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*] inspired a very large number of commentaries and supercommentaries, see *GAL*, I, 298-9, *GAL* S I, 522-5. Furthermore, through a rather strange phenomenon of mimicry these commentaries were transformed into sources, in order to be abridged again.

The evolution of the *mukhtaṣar*, with its corollary the *ḥāshiya*, is significant as a lesson. Starting out from considerations of utility, and even necessity, they became a source of inertia, which hindered considerably the renewal of the classical culture. Being content with epitomising did away with the lengthy repetitive discussions and other features, so indispensable for the maturation of any intellectual discipline. There was no profundity, and superficiality became the order of the day. Furthermore, every abridgment is ultimately a selection; and reliance on such selections inevitably led to stagnation. Any abridgment reflects the preoccupations of the period in which it was produced. By working with unchangeable patterns, the *mukhtaṣar* and the *ḥāshiya* tied a fair share of the cultural disciplines to fixed horizons during the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries. Finally, by definition the abridgment can lead only to negative results: the absence of discussion, the reduction of the various stages of reasoning, and the habit of being content with quoting conclusions have prevented the progress of science. Ibn Khaldūn, in a lucid analysis of the phenomenon, is highly critical of the *mukhtaṣar* (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 250-1, section: The great number of abridgments on scholarly subjects is detrimental to the process of instruction). Parallel abridgments, he argues, offer the beginner advanced notions of a certain science before he has reached the ability to understand them. Furthermore, such works are replete with numerous obscurities which result from the concentration of so many ideas and difficulties. Their usefulness is certainly inferior to that of lengthy and more detailed books, whose length and repetitiveness may give the reader a perfect knowledge of a subject. And so, in order to assist the student's memory, he is confronted with a mass of difficulties, which prevent him from acquiring and keeping useful knowledge.

In philosophy and related sciences.

Arabic literature in these fields has been heavily influenced, indeed is dependent, on Greek sources. Already in antiquity there was a tradition of abridgments and epitomes. These took on two forms: epitomes of works of one specific writer and doxographies or compendia that brought together views of various authors on a given subject. The main purpose of the ancient abridgments and compendia was didactic (see Fuhrmann). Early translators of Greek texts into Arabic knew such Greek abridgments (e.g. the doxography of "Ps.-Plutarch", see H. Daiber, *Ætius Arabus*, Wiesbaden 1980; several of Plato's dialogues seem to have come down, among others, in an abridgment by Galen [see AFLĀṬŪN, DJĀLĪNŪS]), and translated them. Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ probably wrote himself some such compendia of works by Aristotle; he termed them *Djawāmiʿ* (see *GAL*, I, 206; *GAS* vii, 267). He also wrote an ethical aphoristic compendium entitled *Ādāb* [or *Nawādir*] *al-falāsifa*, arranged according to philosophers (see *GAL*, I, 206, S I, 368). Al-Fārābī must have had these examples in mind when he epitomised Plato's *Laws*. However this was not merely a selection; it was rather a shortened and interpretative paraphrase in which Plato's ideas had been reformulated in Islamic terms (see L. Strauss, *How Farabi read Plato's Laws*, in *What is political philosophy*, Glencoe 1959). It seems that al-Fārābī did not plan to make systematic compendia of all works of Plato or Aristotle. Al-Fārābī also wrote a handbook of political philosophy entitled *Fuṣūl muntazʿa* (ed. F.M. Nadjdjār, Beirut 1971, and cf., in the introd., 11, on additional *fuṣūl* works by al-Fārābī).

An older contemporary of al-Fārābī, the humanist Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 322/934), is said to have written two recensions of a treatise on political philosophy, one short and one long, both entitled *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Fluegel, 138; cf. F. Rosenthal, in C.E. Bosworth (ed.), *The Islamic world from Classical to Modern times: essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton 1989, 287 ff.; on a grammatical compendium by Abū Zayd see *GAS*, ix, 189). At the

same time new selections were made of the philosophical systems of the ancients, which were arranged according to topics; a typical example is the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* by the 4th/10th century philosopher Abū Sulaymān al-Sid̲j̲istānī (the original full text is lost, and surviving texts are different recensions of abridgments, some called *Muk̲h̲taṣar*, some *Muntak̲h̲ab*; see the editions of the latter by ʿA.R. Badawī, Tehran 1974; D.M. Dunlop, The Hague 1979, and cf. J.L. Kraemer, *Philosophy in the renaissance of Islam*, Leiden 1986). Abridgments were also made of writings of more recent authors such as John Philoponus (see S. Pines, *An Arabic summary of a lost work by John Philoponus*, in *IOS*, ii [1972], 320-52). Relevant to the present description is the fact that Ibn Sīnā composed a number of expositions of his philosophy; a conspicuous difference between some of these expositions is in length; one modest volume of *al-Nad̲j̲āh* (ed. Cairo 1331) is a condensation of the entire philosophical system and scientific knowledge contained in the multi-volume project of *al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* [see IBN SĪNĀ].

Ibn Rus̲h̲d composed the most important interpretative abridgments of the Aristotelian œuvre. At the recommendation of the physician-philosopher Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭufayl, an Almohad prince invited Ibn Rus̲h̲d to write commentaries on the entire Aristotelian œuvre. The prince's purpose was, according to Ibn Rus̲h̲d's own evidence, to abridge (*yulak̲h̲k̲h̲iṣ*) the works in their Arabic version and make them easier to understand. It was, however, left to Ibn Rus̲h̲d to decide on the format (al-Marrākus̲h̲ī, *al-Muʿd̲j̲ib bi-ak̲h̲bār ahl al-mag̲h̲rib*, ed. Cairo, 136-7). He composed commentaries on most of Aristotle's works in three recensions, which are widely known as the "short, middle and long" (the latter is a proper running commentary on the Aristotelian text). The Arabic terms for the first two are *d̲j̲awāmiʿ* and *talk̲h̲īṣ*. The first indicates, according to Ibn Rus̲h̲d himself, selections from various works of the Stagirite on a specific topic, given mainly in the form of conclusions, and leaving out Aristotle's quotations from earlier authorities and his discussions; instead, Ibn Rus̲h̲d adds opinions of late commentators and also his own comments (introduced by the phrase *akūl*). All this is done in a very concise and brief style. The *talk̲h̲īṣ* is mainly a paraphrase of the ideas contained in Aristotle's works, reformulated in the language of Ibn Rus̲h̲d (introduced by a short verbal quotation from the original, entitled *ḳāl*); see Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *Rasāʾil: Kitāb al-Samāʿ al-ṭabīʿī*, Ḥaydarābād 1947, 2; idem, *Commentary on Aristotle's* De Generatione et Corruptione, *Transl. by Moses b. Tibbon*, ed. S. Kurland (*Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem*, iv/1-2), Cambridge, Mass. 1958, 102, 187-8 (Eng. tr. S. Kurland, 114, 210 n. 3); H. Davidson (tr.), *Averroes' Middle Commentary on Porphyry's* Isagoge ... *and on Aristotle's* Categoriæ (*CCAA*, I/a. 1-2), Cambridge, Mass.-Berkeley-Los Angeles 1969, introd., pp. xiv-xix; Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *On Plato's Republic*, tr. R. Lerner, Cornell 1974, 3, and translator's introduction; D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī (see *Bibl.*). Ibn Rus̲h̲d's purpose in composing his commentaries in the threefold format was not only didactic; in the "short" compendia he aimed, according to his own testimony, at sifting from the Master's works only those parts which were indispensable for the attainment of human perfection, leaving out all discussions which could cast doubts on the views of Aristotle (Introd. to the compendium on Physics, see A.F. al-Ahwānī, introd. to *Talk̲h̲īṣ Kitāb al-nafs*, Cairo 1950, 16; C. Butterworth (tr.), *Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Categories and De Interpretatione*, Princeton 1983, introd., 4-5); it was also aimed at concealing from novices in philosophy such matters as might endanger their correct philosophical convictions (and possibly also their religious faith). The threefold format could thus serve as a gradual introduction into peripatetic philosophy.

Abridgments or compendia of works of the ancients were both translated and written in various fields of science; to quote very few examples: in medicine Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* were translated by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 873) under the title *Fuṣūl Ibuḳrāṭ* (see *GAS*, iii, 28-9), printed by Tytler, Calcutta 1832; Galen's commentary on the *Fuṣūl* was also translated by Ḥunayn; this commentary was abridged (*talk̲h̲īṣ*) in its turn and again commented on (see *ibid.*, 30, 343). A medical compendium (*muk̲h̲taṣar*) was ascribed to Hippocrates himself (*ibid.*, 42), and to the early author ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/853, *ibid.*, 230). In astronomy, as early an author as al-Farg̲h̲ānī (early 3rd/9th century?) wrote *D̲j̲awāmiʿ* (a compendium) of ancient astronomy, and *Fuṣūl* of Ptolemy's *Mad̲j̲isṭī*; see *GAL*, I, 221, *GAL*, S I, 393; *GAS*, vi, 150, and vii, 151 on the compendia by T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra. On mathematical *muk̲h̲taṣars*, see *GAS*, v, *passim*.

In Judaeo-Arabic literature.

The use of *muk̲h̲taṣar* and related terms is well attested in various fields of cultural activity. However, the fact that since the 15th century the scope of Judaeo-Arabic literature had become confined mainly to less educated strata of Jewish society [see JUDAEO-ARABIC. iii] limited also the need for abridgments or handbooks.

In Biblical exegesis, the Karaite al-Ḳirḳisānī (*fl.* in the 930s) found it necessary to write an abridgment of his commentary on the Pentateuch, because the original long version had been too loaded with philosophical discussions (ms. B. L. Or. 2492, fol. 1a). Over a century later the Karaite Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ Furḳān of Jerusalem was asked by a wealthy co-sectarian from Egypt to compose a comprehensive commentary on the Pentateuch on condition that it be more concise (*ak̲h̲ṣar*) than the one he was already writing; according to the author's own words the request resulted from educational needs (J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, ii, Cincinnati 1935, 34-5). In linguistics (of Hebrew) there is an evident trend of abridgments. The first Arabic dictionary of Biblical Hebrew was written by the Karaite David b. Abraham al-Fāsī (middle of the 10th century), entitled *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-alfāẓ*. It was abridged at least three times in the course of the 11th century (see the introd. to the ed. of S.L. Skoss, i, New Haven 1936, pp. xciv-cxx; on abridgments of Arabic dictionaries, already in the 4th/10th century, see e.g. *GAS*, viii, 55). The 11th century grammatical tract *Hidāyat al-ḳāriʾ* was epitomised twice, first by the anonymous author and later in the Yemen. The abridgment became much more popular than the original (see I. Eldar, *Lešonenu*, [1986], 214-31). The grammatical treatise *al-Mus̲h̲tamil* by Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ Hārūn (early 11th century), was possibly the basis for one compendium or more (M. Steinschneider, *Arabische Literatur der Juden*, 87-8).

It seems that there was not much activity in composing handbooks on legal topics in Judaeo-Arabic. Early codification of Jewish law, even in Muslim countries, was in Aramaic. Nevertheless, the rich literary output of Saadya Gaon (d. 942) contains a number of legal monographs which seem to have been compendia (one of which, on the subject of deposits, is called *muk̲h̲taṣar*); the same is true regarding another early codifier in Judaeo-Arabic, Samuel b. Ḥofni (see

Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 48-50, 109). It is noteworthy that the first comprehensive code of Jewish Law, by Isaac al-Fāsī (d. 1103 in Lucena, Muslim Spain), is in fact an abridgment of the Babylonian Talmud, in which the original order and (Aramaic) text of the legal decisions is left intact, while the discussions are omitted.

An interesting case may be cited concerning theology (*kalām*). Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (early 11th century) had written a theological compendium entitled *al-Tamyīz* (later known also by the name *al-Manṣūrī*), before writing a more extended version, entitled *al-Muḥtawī*; in both works he refers to the earlier one by the term *mukhtaṣar* (*Kitāb al-Muḥtawī*, ed. G. Vajda and D. Blumenthal, Leiden 1985, 639 [Ar.], 6 [Fr. tr.]; ms. Cambridge Univ. Libr., T-S Ar. 43.279). The author mentions didactic needs as the reason for taking a course of action contrary to the usual one, by undertaking to enlarge on his early compendium. This may be an indication that *mukhtaṣar* in general was not necessarily conceived as an abridgment of an existing long work, but could mean also a short compendium in its own right, which may later be enlarged. Al-Baṣīr antedated Ibn Khaldūn by centuries in realising that a compendium which is too concise in language and overloaded with ideas hinders beginners and students from understanding an acquiring knowledge (*al-Muḥtawī*, *loc. cit*).

Bibliography: Apart from works cited in the article the following titles are quoted with regard to the development of the genre in general: Y. Meron, *The development of legal thought in Ḥanafī texts*, in *SI*, xxx (1969), 73-118 (comprehensive study of Ḥanafī *mukhtaṣars*); M. Muranyi, *Materialien zur malikitischen Rechtsliteratur*, 31-2, Arabic text, 46-7 (on Mālikī *mukhtaṣars*); M. Fuhrmann, *Das systematische Lehrbuch: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in der Antike*, Göttingen 1960; Djamāl al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī (ed.), *Talkhīṣ al-samāʾ wa'l-ʿālam li-Abi 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd*, Fās 1984, editor's introd., 35-46; A. Shiloah, *Music and its sources — Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Univ. of Notre Dame Press 1990, 89-94 (on *mukhtaṣars* in musicology).

(A. Arazi and H. Ben Shammai)

MUḲRĀ, name of a district and a village south of Ṣanʿāʾ in the Yemen, known to the Arab geographers for its mine of carnelian. It is also the name of a mountain chain in al-Sarāt [see djazīrat al-ʿarab, ʿasīr, al-ḥidjāz]. According to Sprenger, there is no reason to identify the Ḥimyaritic tribe of this name with the Μοχρῖται of Ptolemy, since the latter must be localised in the neighbourhood of Nadjrān.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, ed. D.H. Müller, 68, 104 ff.; Muḳaddasī, 91; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 36; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 141; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 319, tr. Wiet, 158; Yāḳūt, iii, 130, iv, 437, 603; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, repr. Amsterdam 1966, 244; C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imamat Zaidite au Yemen*, Fr. tr. J. Ryckmans, Leiden 1960, 246 n. 7; Ibn Samura al-Djaʿdī, *Ṭabaḳāt fuḳahāʾ al-Yaman* (d. 586/1190; Brockelmann, S I, 570), ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, Cairo 1957, 324; G.R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen (567-694/1173-1295)*, London 1974-8, ii, 185. (A. Grohmann)

MUKRĀN [see makrān].

MUḲTAḌAB (a.), the name of the thirteenth Arabic metre, in fact little used [see ʿarūḍ].

al-**MUḲTADĪ** bi-amr Allāh, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, 27th ʿAbbāsid caliph (reigned 467-78/1075-94), grandson of the caliph al-Ḳāʾim (d. 467/1075 [*q.v.*]) whom he succeeded. Trying to arrive at a carefully balanced policy between the dogmatic and juridical trends of Sunnī Islam—he himself belonged to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* of the traditional Baghdād stamp—he shortly after assuming power brought about in Baghdād a mediation between Ḥanbalīs and Ashʿarīs and later, in 476/1083, he caused the vizieral family of the Banū Djahīr [*q.v.*] to be expelled. However, he was unable to prevent the schism which was threatening Sunnism, and which seemed unavoidable because of the Saldjūḳ influence pressing upon the religious and political situation in Baghdād [see niẓām al-mulk and niẓāmiyya] and in ʿIrāk, upon the caliphate itself in particular. The real ruler was the Saldjūḳ sultan Malikshāh [*q.v.*], whose daughter Malik Khātūn (also called Muhmalak or Māh Malik) became al-Muḳtadī's wife. While still heir to the throne, al-Muḳtadī, at the wish of his grandfather al-Ḳāʾim, had been given in marriage to one of Alp Arslān's [*q.v.*] daughters. The second marriage, concluded for political reasons after difficult negotiations, took place in Baghdād in 480/1087 in the presence of the bride's parents and of the two viziers, but it did not last long. One of the conditions put forward by the bride's father had been that al-Muḳtadī should give up his entire harem in favour of the Saldjūḳ princess. In 482/1089 the self-assured Malik Khātūn, feeling neglected and being disappointed, returned to her parents with her and al-Muḳtadī's little son Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar. This favourite grandson of Malikshāh's was to be used as a pawn against al-Muḳtadī, but this sole ʿAbbāsid-Saldjūḳ scion died at the early age of five.

The sultan and his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, who at first seemed to have preferred a policy of reconciliation and restrained control, in the end strove after eliminating the caliph as an independent factor of power and weakening the latter's dignitaries straightforwardly. Al-Muḳtadī, in his turn, tried everything to shake off Saldjūḳ influence on the caliphate. But the caliph's freedom of action already had become so circumscribed that he had to resort to intrigues and quarrels, which poisoned the relations between Baghdād and Iṣfahān and brought about sad consequences. Baghdād suffered under the occupation policy of the tempestuous and unbalanced Saldjūḳ sultan, and disagreements in Malikshāh's entourage were registered at the caliphal court. They were signs of incipient instability. In 475/1083 al-Muḳtadī tried to improve the situation in Baghdād by sending an embassy to north-east Persia, led by the esteemed Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, for whom the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdād had been founded; but the result was negligible.

When the sultan, together with his vizier, arrived at Baghdād for the first time—he was to stay there from the beginning of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 479 till the middle of Ṣafar 480/March-end of May 1087—it was not easy to arrange an official meeting with the caliph, both parties behaving self-assuredly. The aim and climax of the Saldjūḳ mission was Malikshāh's festive coronation and investiture as sultan by the caliph in Muḥarram 480/April 1087, the Saldjūḳid having already been in power for fifteen years. Niẓām al-Mulk, too, was received twice by al-Muḳtadī and honoured with robes of honour (*khilʿas* [*q.v.*]).

In the winter of 484-5/1091-2 Malikshāh, having chosen Baghdād for his headquarters, paid a second visit to the city but ignored the caliph. His trump card was Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar, whom he wanted to play against ʿAbbāsid interests. He demanded from the

caliph that he should dismiss his eldest son, the future caliph al-Mustaẓhir [*q.v.*], as *walī al-ʿahd* in favour of Dja̲ʿfar. The caliph requested time for reflection. Meanwhile, Maliks̲h̲āh left Bag̲h̲dād for Iṣfahān in Rabīʿ I 485/April 1092, taking the young Dja̲ʿfar with him. Sizeable building plans for the city were to mark out this latest stay.

At the end of the same year 485/1092, Maliks̲h̲āh came to Bag̲h̲dād for the third time. He now tried to oust the caliph from the city, insisting that al-Muḳtadī should transfer his residence forthwith to another town. Only the sultan's untimely death in S̲h̲awwāl 485/November 1092 foiled this plan. From Maliks̲h̲āh's first visit onwards, al-Muḳtadī had to settle for the recognition of being the spiritual leader of the Islamic *umma*; as a political figure, he was isolated. Moreover, the murder of Niẓām al-Mulk in Ramaḍān 485/October 1092 had deprived him of a clever, be it self-oriented, mediator. Yet, even during this period, so confusing for the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, the *imāma* [*q.v.*] remained the undisputed source of all juridical and political institutions. The ʿAbbāsid caliph alone was entitled and obliged to hold the public functions (*wilāyāt*). Without the *imāma*, the *umma* would have been exposed to complete legal insecurity, even to chaos. The preservation of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate proved to be the necessary central counterweight to the *bāṭinī* doctrine of the *imāma*, at that time adopted by important portions of the population. In 483/1090 Baṣra had been savagely sacked by the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*]; in Syria, in the Dja̲zīra [*q.v.*] and in Persia (even in Iṣfahān and Rayy) centres of Ismāʿīlī propaganda came into being, and in the same year the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* [*q.v.*] Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*] seized the stronghold of Alamūt [*q.v.*].

After the murder of Niẓām al-Mulk and the sudden death of Maliks̲h̲āh, al-Muḳtadī was again able to assert the rights which he had inherited, and his regained self-confidence is shown by the negotiations on the sultanate with Maliks̲h̲āh's widow Turkān K̲h̲ātūn, who had returned from Bag̲h̲dād to Iṣfahān, and by the exchange of legal advice. Al-Muḳtadī refused to recognise Maliks̲h̲āh's successor Maḥmūd, a minor, as fully-fledged sultan. He preferred the army leadership and the tax administration to be in the hands of two experienced state officials, namely, the *amīr* Oner and the vizier Tādj̲ al-Mulk, rather than in those of the sultan's widow. In a legal consultation (*fatwā*), the jurist and theologian al-G̲h̲azālī [*q.v.*] expressed the same opinion. After al-Muḳtadī had paid tribute to the Saldj̲ūḳ prince Maḥmūd, his own son Dja̲ʿfar was returned to him by the Saldj̲ūḳs, but he died in the following year.

During the subsequent years which saw the struggle for the Saldj̲ūḳ heritage, the only choice left to the caliph was to promote the legitimacy of the stronger pretender, even if he were an anti-caliph. After the death of Turkān K̲h̲ātūn in 487/1094, Niẓām al-Mulk's slaves (*mamālik*) appointed as sultan the young Berḳyārūḳ [*q.v.*] (d. 498/1105), an older son of Maliks̲h̲āh's and the rival of Maḥmūd (d. 487/1094) who had been kept prisoner in Iṣfahān by Turkān K̲h̲ātūn. Niẓām al-Mulk's *mamlūks* succeeded in freeing him and in having him appointed as sultan notwithstanding the fact that he was unable to act as a political leader. In the end, the caliph agreed to his official inauguration. Shortly after the treaty regarding the sultanate had been concluded in Baghdād in favour of Berḳyārūḳ, al-Muḳtadī unexpectedly died on 15 Muḥarram 487/4 February 1094, hardly thirty-nine years old, after a reign of almost twenty years. In order to avoid unrest, his death was kept secret for three days. His appointed successor al-Mustaẓhir [*q.v.*], fifteen years old, was inaugurated immediately. Al-Muḳtadī was buried on 18 Muḥarram 478/7 February 1094. The young sultan Berḳyārūḳ, for whom on the preceding Friday the *k̲h̲uṭba* [*q.v.*] had been said from the *minbars* in Bag̲h̲dād for the first time, was not present among the mourners.

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AL-**MUḲTADIR** BI-LLĀH, ABU 'L-FAḌL DJA̲ʿFAR, ʿAbbāsid caliph, son of al-Muʿtaḍid by a Greek slave concubine named S̲h̲ag̲h̲ib, reigned 295-320/908-32, but with two episodes when he was temporarily deposed, the first on 20 Rabīʿ I 296/17 December 908 in the fourth month of his caliphate, when Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] replaced him for a day, and the second on 15 Muḥarram 317/28 February 929, when his brother Muḥammad al-Ḳāhir [*q.v.*] was raised to the throne for two days.

After the death of his brother al-Muktafī in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 295/August 908, al-Muḳtadir, who was only 13 at the time, was proclaimed caliph. Many however preferred ʿAbd Allāh, son of the caliph al-Muʿtazz, and after the murder of the vizier al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad [see AL-DJA̲RDJA̲RĀʾĪ], al-Muḳtadir was declared to be deposed and Ibn al-Muʿtazz elected caliph. The eunuch general Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*] came forward to save al-Muḳtadir; Ibn al-Muʿtazz was slain and al-Muḳtadir retained the caliphate. He showed very little independence however and allowed himself to be guided, sometimes by the personnel of the harem and sometimes by the viziers (see below). Al-Muḳtadir's caliphate was therefore marked by a gradual decline. In his reign the dynasties of the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*] and Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] became independent. The Ḳarmaṭīs also rebelled once more. In the years 307/919-20 and 311/923, Baṣra was plundered by the Ḳarmaṭī chief Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān al-Dja̲nnābī [*q.v.*] and at the end of the year 311/924 he fell upon the pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca. In D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda of the following year/February 925, he attacked the caravan which was going on the pilgrimage to Mecca from Bag̲h̲dād and put it to flight. He next plundered Kūfa and then returned to Baḥrayn. An army sent against the Ḳarmaṭīs under the command of Muʾnis al-K̲h̲ādim [see MUʾNIS AL-MUẒAFFARĪ] arrived only after they had retired. In 314/926-7 Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj̲ [see SADJ̲IDS] was summoned from Ād̲h̲arbāydj̲ān to help, but Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān defeated him in S̲h̲awwāl of the following year/December 927 and took him prisoner, creating a panic in Bag̲h̲dād. The caliph's troops did not dare to give battle and in Muḥarram 316/March 928, Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān seized the town of al-Raḥba. After an unsuccessful attack on al-Raḳḳa he retired; in 317/929-30, or, according to others, in 316, he plundered Mecca and

carried off the Black Stone. On the Byzantine frontier, both sides continued their raids with varying fortunes. In 305/917 the Byzantines sent an embassy to Baghdād and made an offer of peace and exchange of captives (the *fidā' Mu'nis*: see LAMAS-ṢŪ), and after two years, peace was definitely concluded; but hostilities very soon broke out again. In 314/926-7, the Byzantines ravaged the district of Malaṭya, and in the following year they crossed a considerable part of Armenia. After taking several Armenian cities which belonged to the Arabs (316/928-9) and occupying northern Mesopotamia (317/929-30) they lost all their gains in 319-20/931-2. In Muḥarram 317/February 929 a military rebellion broke out in the capital caused by the exasperation of some commanders at al-Muḳtadir's extravagance and fecklessness. Al-Muḳtadir was forced to abdicate, but was brought to a place of safety by Mu'nis, while the soldiery plundered the palace. His brother Muḥammad was summoned to be Commander of the Faithful in his stead with the style al-Ḳāhir [*q.v.*]; but since the chief leader of the rebels, the head of police Nāzūk, could not satisfy the demands of the troops for higher pay, al-Ḳāhir was deposed shortly afterwards and al-Muḳtadir placed on the throne once more. In Baghdād the confusion increased, and in 320/932 the catastrophe came. The enemies of Mu'nis took advantage of his absence at Mawṣil to persuade the caliph that Mu'nis intended to dethrone him, and when Mu'nis approached at the head of his army, al-Muḳtadir was persuaded with great reluctance by Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt [*q.v.*] to take the field against him; he fell at the beginning of the encounter (27 Shawwāl 320/31 October 932). Mu'nis favoured al-Muḳtadir's son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad as successor in the caliphate, but the dead ruler's brother Muḥammad al-Ḳāhir was now raised to the throne once more, under the influence of Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl al-Nawbakhtī.

Al-Muḳtadir was the youngest of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs to have achieved the throne, and his 24 years' reign was the longest which a caliph had thus far enjoyed. His caliphate inaugurated, however, a period of unparalleled impotence and disaster for the central power of the caliphate, contrasting with the resurgent strength of the institution during the previous period of al-Muwaffaḳ, al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī. Al-Muḳtadir was the choice of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt, whose influence had been growing in the latter part of al-Muktafī's reign and who now became al-Muḳtadir's first vizier, in preference to the older and more experienced prince-poet Ibn al-Muʿtazz, because—as Ibn al-Furāt rightly calculated—al-Muḳtadir would prove a nonentity as ruler. In fact, the new caliph remained a voluptuary, dominated by his mother Shaghib, known as Sayyida, with an expensive and numerous household of slavegirls and eunuchs. In the first years of his reign he contrived to run through the substantial fortune left by his predecessor [cf. AL-MUKTAFĪ]. Thābit b. Sinān al-Ṣābi''s verdict (quoted in Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, i, 238-41, tr. v, 267-71) was uncompromisingly severe: that al-Muḳtadir wasted over 70 million *dīnārs* on futile and unnecessary expenditure, having inherited 14 million *dīnārs* in the privy treasury (*bayt al-māl al-khāṣṣa*).

Whereas al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī each had only two viziers, there were no fewer than fourteen separate vizierates during al-Muḳtadir's caliphate. The holders of this office continued in the main to belong to the well-known, long-established vizieral and secretarian families, including the Furātīs, Djarrāḥīs, Khāḳānīs, Wahbīs and Makhladīs, and included able if unscrupulous men like ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt and the upright and conscientious ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā Ibn al-Djarrāḥ [*q.vv.*]. For all the viziers, the dominating problem was the bankruptcy of the treasury, caused by an apparent and not wholly explicable decline in the revenues from the Sawād of ʿIrāḳ and by heavy expenditure on the caliphal household and on the army, above all for its campaigns against the Ḳarmaṭīs. It was thus the aim of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, when he was in power, to curb caliphal expenditure and to endeavour to pacify the Ḳarmaṭīs by negotiations with them and by subsidies, policies which earned him al-Muḳtadir's opposition and, prompted by the calumnies of his enemies, the reputation of being friendly to the Ḳarmaṭī heresy. Throughout the reign in general, in order to pay the troops and to cover the expenses of state from a shrinking tax base, financial expedients such as the farming out of taxes (*ḍamān*, see BAYT AL-MĀL. II) (e.g. those of Syria and Egypt to the Mādharā'ī family [*q.v.*] from the later years of al-Muktafī) and the granting out of *iḳṭā*ʿs [*q.v.*] or assignments of land and their taxative yield (as were in effect the lands granted to the Sādjids [*q.v.*] in Ādharbāydjān and Armenia). Moreover, the incessant changes in the vizierate and other leading offices gave great opportunities for the mulcting of fallen and dismissed officials [see MUṢĀDARA], procedures in which Ibn al-Furāt and especially his son al-Muḥassin achieved new heights of cruelty.

In the religious field, al-Muḳtadir's caliphate is notable for the influence in it of certain Shīʿī circles, including the personnage of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn al-Nawbakhtī, considered in his time as the *wakīl* or agent of the Hidden *Imām* [see NAWBAKHT]; and the endemic pro-Shīʿī and ʿAlid revolts took place, with that of Ibn al-Riḍā in Syria in 300/912-13 and that of the Zaydī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh [see AL-ḤASAN AL-UṬRŪSH] continuing in Daylam and Ṭabaristān from the time of al-Muʿtaḍid.

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(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-MUKTAFĪ BI-LLĀH, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 289-95/902-8, son of al-Muʿtaḍid and a Turkish slave concubine named Čiček (Arabic Djīdjak).

In 281/894-5 he was appointed by his father governor of al-Rayy and several towns in the neighbourhood, and five years later he was made governor of Mesopotamia and took up his quarters in

al-Raḳḳa. After the death of al-Muʿtaḍid on 22 Rabīʿ II 289/5 April 902, he ascended the throne and at once won the good-will of the people by his liberality, by destroying the subterranean dungeons in the capital built by his father, releasing prisoners and restoring confiscated lands. He proved a brave and fearless leader who fought with success against the many enemies of the caliphate. The Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*] were ravaging Syria; one town after another fell into their hands and Damascus itself was plundered. On 6 Muḥarram 291/29 November 903, the general Muḥammad b. Sulaymān finally succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on them and they scattered in all directions. Muḥammad then turned his attention to Egypt, where he put an end to the rule of the Ṭūlūnids. Many of their followers joined him and after the Ṭūlūnid Hārūn b. Khumārawayh had been slain, the capital had to surrender (Ṣafar 292/January 905) and ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī was appointed governor of Egypt. An attempt to restore the Ṭūlūnids was easily crushed (293/905-6). About this time, the Ḳarmaṭīs again began to be troublesome and at the beginning of the year 294/October-November 906 they attacked the great pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca, massacred the men and carried off the women and children. In Rabīʿ I of the same year/December-January 906-7, they were defeated near al-Ḳādisiyya by the caliph's troops under Waṣīf b. Suwārtigīn al-Khazarī. The war with the Byzantines was also vigorously pursued. In 291/903-4, a Greek named Leo who had adopted Islam undertook a number of raids on the Greek coasts with his fleet of 54 ships. The Byzantines, however, had the advantage by land. In 292/904-5, Marʿash, al-Maṣṣīṣa and Ṭarsūs were taken by the Greek general Andronicus, and in the following year the Byzantines advanced as far as Aleppo. Then the Muslims gained the upper hand, and Andronicus went over to them. Al-Muktafī fell ill, and a power-struggle amongst the chief secretaries and vizier followed (see below); after momentarily rallying, the caliph finally nominated his younger half-brother Djaʿfar al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*] as his heir, but died at Baghdād on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 295/13 August 908.

Al-Muktafī himself merges as a man of sensibility, a gourmet and an appreciator of the verses of poets like Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*]. Although his six-and-a-half years' reign was racked by warfare, above all by the Ḳarmaṭī outbreaks, the state remained prosperous; the caliph continued his father's careful financial policies and when he died is said to have left 100 million *dirhams* in coinage, garments, property, etc.—a full treasury, which his successor was speedily to dissipate. Al-Muktafī was served by two able viziers, al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb (289-91/902-4) and, after his death, by al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan al-Djardjarāʾī [see AL-DJARDJARĀʾĪ] (291-5/904-8). Al-Ḳāsim secured a considerable ascendancy over the young caliph, and used it ruthlessly to remove his enemies, beginning with the military commander-in-chief, the *mawlā* Badr and then the son of al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Waḥīd; he gained the honorific of *Walī al-Dawla* and had his daughter betrothed to one of the caliph's infant sons. He aimed to combat the pro-Shīʿī influence in the Banu 'l-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT], but under al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan the power in the state of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt grew. When al-Muktafī was clearly dying, there arose great scope for intrigue among the chief officials of the state, in which Ibn al-Furāt's preference for an inexperienced and pliable caliph, al-Muḳtadir, prevailed over the claims of the older and much more competent prince-poet Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*; and see also AL-ʿABBĀS B. AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD in *EI*[1]].

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(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-**MUḲTAFĪ** LI-AMR ALLĀH, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph (reigned 530-55/1136-60), born on 12 Rabīʿ II 489/9 April 1096, the son of al-Mustaẓhir [*q.v.*] and a slave girl. After the deposition of his nephew al-Rāshid [*q.v.*], al-Muḳtafī was acknowledged as caliph on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 530/17 September 1136. While the Saldjūḳs were fighting among themselves, he did his best not only to maintain his independence but also to extend his rule, and one district after the other in ʿIrāḳ fell into his hands. In 543/1148 a number of *amīrs* denounced their allegiance to Sultan Masʿūd and marched on Baghdād but dispersed after several encounters with the caliph's troops. According to some sources, the same thing took place again next year. In Radjab 547/October 1152, Masʿūd died, and was succeeded by his nephew Malikshāh, who was deposed in a few months and succeeded by his brother Muḥammad. In the meanwhile, the caliph seized the two towns of al-Ḥilla and Wāsiṭ. In the following year Sultan Sandjar, who ruled in Khurāsān, was attacked and taken prisoner by the rebel Ghuzz [*q.v.*], whereupon his *amīrs* proclaimed Masʿūd's brother Sulaymānshāh sultan. In Muḥarram 551/February-March 1156 the latter was recognised by the caliph on condition that he did not interfere in the affairs of ʿIrāḳ. Although al-Muḳtafī supported him, he was defeated in Djumādā I/June-July of the same year by his nephew Muḥammad and the latter's auxiliary. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/January-February 1157, Sultan Muḥammad advanced on Baghdād to take vengeance on the caliph. The latter had to retire to the eastern part of the town and was besieged there for several months. In Rabīʿ I 552/May 1151, however, the sultan suddenly raised the siege because Malikshāh was advancing on Hamadhān. As the latter therefore retired, hostilities automatically ceased and Muḥammad is said to have later made his peace with al-Muḳtafī. The latter twice besieged Takrīt in vain; on the other hand, he succeeded in taking Liḥf. The Crusaders continued their hostilities in al-Muḳtafī's caliphate. The most powerful pillar of Islam was the Atābeg of al-Mawṣil, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, and his son Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd in Syria. Al-Muḳtafī died on 2 Rabīʿ I 555/12 March 1160.

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(K.V. Zettersteen)

AL-MUḲTANĀ, Bahāʾ al-Dīn, a Druze missionary and author, with his teacher Ḥamza (b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]) founder of the theological system of the Druzes [*q.v.*].

During the lifetime of Ḥamza he was the fifth of the five supreme dignitaries (*ḥudūd*) of the Druze hierarchy, with the titles *al-Djanāḥ al-aysar* (the Left Wing) and *al-Tālī* (the Follower). HIs "secular" name was Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sammuḳī. Of his life practically nothing is known. As Arab historians are silent about him (S. de Sacy, *Exposé*, ii, 320), his own writings are almost the only source (S.N. Makarem, *The Druze faith*, 26, identitifies him with the well-known Fāṭimid general and governor ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḍayf, but this identification seems to be unfounded). According to Druze tradition, he was *ḳāḍī* in Alexandria in al-Ḥākim's [*q.v.*] time (M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, i, Berlin 1899, 135). As his works reveal quite a good knowledge (though not without misunderstandings) of Christian religion and literature (cf. Bryer, *Origins*, 259), he may have been born a Christian, probably in Syria. Only for the period of his teaching do we have chronological exactness. His diploma of investiture (*taḳlīd*) is dated 13 Shaʿbān of the third year of Ḥamza's mission, i.e. 411 (2 December 1020) (de Sacy, *op. cit.*, i, 474-5; ii, 309, 313, tr. *ibid.*, ii, 297-309). The earliest of his known writings is of the tenth year of Ḥamza, 418 A.H. (*ibid.*, ii, 326). In consequence, one must assume that he came to the front after the disappearance of al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza. From that time onwards he seems to have been the supreme leader of the Druze *daʿwa*; his letters to the communities in Upper Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia, Persia, the Ḥidjāz, the Yemen, Baḥrayn and Sind have been preserved in the Druze canon. His activity, however, was not a continuous one and he had even to live for a time in concealment (about the year 17-18 of Ḥamza, i.e. 425-6 A.H.; see de Sacy, *op. cit.*, ii, 364), whether in Egypt or Syria is not certain (Guys, *La nation druze*, 114). The latest date known in his writings is the 26th year of Ḥamza, i.e. 434/1042 (de Sacy, *op. cit.*, i, 496; ii, 379). His farewell epistle (*Risālat al-Ghayba*) dates from this year; according to it, he had retired into concealment (*ibid.*, i, 514-15, ii, 358); nothing more is known of him. The "Druze theogony" does not agree with these dates; it gives 17 years as the period of his activity (Guys, *op. cit.*, 107). Hitti's assertion (*Origins*, 11) that he died in 1031 is due to a misunderstanding.

Druze tradition not unjustly ranks him with Ḥamza and regards him as the greatest theological writer, to whom four of the sacred books are ascribed (von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, i, 135-7). These are not books in the proper sense but collections of separate tracts, usually in the form of epistles, directed to followers of the Druze teaching or of other creeds in various lands, as, for instance, Byzantium. They are to this day frequently read by the Druzes in their *khalawāt*; commentaries were written on some of them by the last independent Druze theologian ʿAbd Allāh al-Tanūkhī (d. 1480; on him see Hitti, *op. cit.*, 53, 71; von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, i, 137). Of the some 110 Druze treatises so far known in Europe, 70 are ascribed by de Sacy to al-Muḳtanā (*op. cit.*, i, 484 and 496). Recently, an apocryphal collection of letters has been found, the *Rasāʾil al-Hind*, consisting of eight epistles from al-Muḳtanā to the head of the Druze community in Sind, Djāta b. Sumar Rādja Pāl, and four to al-Muḳtanā from the Indian *dāʿī* (Abu-Izzeddin, *The Druzes*, 110).

Except for a few short texts published by de Sacy along with other writings of Ḥamza (see *Bibl.*), very few have been printed, namely the *Kitāb al-Badʾ* by Seybold (see *Bibl.*) and *al-Risāla al-Ḳusṭanṭīniyya*, sent in 1028 to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VIII, by Khalil and Ronzevalle (see *Bibl.* and extracts in Hitti, *op. cit.*, 64-7). Others are accessible only in translations and extracts (esp. in de Sacy; *al-Risāla al-Masīḥiyya*, a synopsis in Hitti, *op. cit.*, 68-70). As with other Druze writers, the style is very obscure and artificial, frequently embellished with rhymed prose.

Silvestre de Sacy, whose book still is the most important collection of material, regarded al-Muḳtanā as "un enthousiaste de bonne foi" (*op. cit.*, i, 508). It is highly desirable that someone should devote a special study to his life and work, paying particular attention to the authenticity of his works and to a critical edition of them.

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(I. Kratchkowsky-[H. Halm])

AL-MUḲURRA, al-Maḳurra, a kingdom of the mediaeval Sudan. Situated south of Egypt and north of ʿAlwa [*q.v.*], it was formed from the combination of the two Christian Nubian kingdoms of Nobatia and Makuria. The unification date is uncertain, but must have occured between 690 A.D. and the reign of king Merkurius (696/7 until 710 at least), according to evidence from the *Life* of Isaac, patriarch of Alexandria 690-2, and from an inscription of Merkurius. The former mentions strife between the kings of Maurotania (Marīs [*q.v.*], i.e. Nobatia) and Makuria, whilst the latter attributes to Merkurius, king of Dongola [*q.v.*; the capital of Muḳurra], the construction of two churches in Nobatia, at Faras and Taifa. In a document almost certainly of king Kyriakos and dated 141/759, the royal title is "Lord of Muḳurra and Nubia".

The main connection of Muḳurra with the Muslim world was the *baḳt* [*q.v.*] payment, and there was also the ecclesiastical dependence on the patriarchate of Alexandria. Al-Maḳrīzī regarded the *baḳt* as binding on Nubia from Aswān to the borders of ʿAlwa, i.e. on both Nobatia and Muḳurra.

After the attack of King Dāwūd of Nubia on ʿAydhāb in 671/1272, the power and independence of Muḳurra was curtailed, and Mamlūk interference brought a Muslim king to the throne by 717/1316. Arabic sources generally refer to al-Muḳurra as al-Nūba [*q.v.*] or Dunḳula (Dongola), but a Coptic letter to Mark III of Alexandria (1166-89) from Ḳaṣr Ibrīm, refers to Nobadia, Makuria, and Alodia as being under his jurisdiction. In the 14th century A.D. the kingdom seems to have broken up into smaller regions, with royal seats at Daw and Dongola, and a possible splinter kingdom around Djabal Adda called Dotawo. The last king of Nubia mentioned by the sources is Nāṣir (800/1397); but a King Joel of Dotawo is known from a leather document from Djabal Adda as late as 1484.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in BAḲT, DONGOLA and NŪBA): Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 217; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 31-2; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 58; Yāḳūt, iv, 605; Dimashḳī, *Nukhba*, 268; Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī, in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 252 ff.; L.P. Kirwan, *Notes on the topography of the Nubian Kingdoms*, in *JEA*, xxi (1935), 57-62; U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, Rome 1928, index; Y.F. Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, Edinburgh 1967, esp. ch. IV; G. Vantini, *The excavations at Faras*, 1970, index; Jakobielski, *Faras III, A history of the Bishops of Pachoras*, 1972, index; J.M. Plumley, *Qasr Ibrīm 1974*, in *JEA*, lxi (1975), 7; G. Vantini, *Oriental sources concerning Nubia*, 1975, index; W.Y. Adams, *Nubia, corridor to Africa*, 1977, index (s.v. Makouria). (S. MUNRO-HAY)

MUKŪS [see MAKS].

MULADĪ [see MUWALLAD].

MÜLĀZEMET (A. *mulāzama*), an Ottoman administrative term for the certificate of eligibility for office. In the *ʿilmiyye* [*q.v.*], *mülāzemet* indicated the candidacy for office of those *medrese* students who had completed their studies and received an *idjāzet*, a diploma for practice. It gradually came to refer to the time period between the graduation and the actual appointment to an office; in this period, the candidates waited and gained professional experience by attending the assemblies, *medjlis*, of the Rūmeli and Anadolu *ḳāḍī ʿaskers* [*q.v.*]. To document their attendance, they recorded their names in the register referred to as *maṭlab*.

The *mülāzemet* system was systematised during the reign of Sultan Süleymān I as the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rūmeli, Ebu ʾl-Suʿūd Efendi, instituted the practice of keeping a register for *mülāzims*, i.e., the candidates, and notifying each *ʿilmiyye* member how many trainees for office they could nominate among their graduating students. The Topkapı Palace Museum Archives contain one such *mülāzemet* register from the early 10th/16th century (D5605/1). The Ottoman state kept on issuing many decrees throughout the centuries to regulate the system; see, for example, *mühimme* 73, decree number 740 in the Prime Minister's Archives.

In addition to the *ʿilmiyye* usage [for which, see MULĀZIM] *mülazim* referred, in the Ottoman administration, military, the palace and guild system, to the candidates or "reserves" for office. Administratively, Sultan Süleyman I assigned the collection of the poll-tax, *djizya*, to tax-farmers who were called *mülāzim* officers and who formed a special corps to collect this tax in certain districts. The term was also used for the 300 special mounted bodyguards whom Sultan Süleyman I selected from among his household to accompany him on campaigns. These personal aides-de-camp were called *mülāzim* because they were preparing for important administrative posts which came by way of reward for their services to the sultan. As the Ottoman army was reorganised during the 19th century, the term *mülāzim* came to apply to the lowest two ranks of officers, corresponding to the rank of "lieutenant".

In the Ottoman Palace, *mülāzim* referred to the reserves among the 40 subordinate valets in the retinue of the Head Valet, *Bash Čuhadār*. The first 20 valets were accoutred with finery supplied from the treasury of the sultan; the second twenty, regarded as their *mülāzims*, i.e. candidates for succession to their posts, had to supply their own.

In the Ottoman guild system, *mülāzim* alluded to the reserves among the 31 men who were under the command of the Inspector over the Guild Affairs, the *muḥtesib*. Of the 31 men, 15 were referred to as the Privileged, *gedikli*, since they held posts by virtue of a privilege which was hereditary; in the event of a *gedikli* dying without a son, their posts were filled by the seniors among the other 16 men, who were called *mülāzim*.

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(F. MÜGE GÖÇEK)

MULĀZIM (A.; Turkish form: *mülāzim*), an Ottoman administrative and military term (e.g. denoting in later times a lieutenant in the army), the most notable use of which was to designate a candidate for office in the Ottoman learned hierarchy (the *ʿilmiyye* [*q.v.*]) whether at the beginning of his career (in which case he was, strictly, a *mülāzim-i new*) or at any later stage when he was awaiting a post; in this last respect, the former usage is by far the more commonly met with in the literature (usually without the addition of *new*), since attaining the status of a *mülāzim*, or of *mülāzama* (*mülāzemet* [*q.v.*]), was an essential step in the qualification of a (usually young) scholar for entry into the learned career.

Once a student had completed, or nearly completed, his studies, it was necessary for him to secure the sponsorship of the holder of one of a number of high-ranking posts in the learned hierarchy—for example, the *Shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*], the *ḳāḍī* of an important city such as Istanbul, or the *müderris* of an important *medrese* such as one of the Süleymāniyye *medreses*—whose backing would enable him to be enrolled as a *mülāzim*, i.e. a candidate for office, in the register of one of the two *ḳāḍī ʿaskers* [*q.v.*], which enrolment, in turn, entitled him to appointment to a vacancy in the learned establishment when one occurred. The right to become a *mülāzim* was often, though not necessarily, earned by the student through performing a service for an established scholar, such as acting as *muʿīd* for a *müderris* or as *tedhkeredji* for a *ḳāḍī ʿasker*. The investing of students, their own or others', with the right to become *mülāzims* was regarded by the holders of the high learned posts, each of which was assigned a quota, as an important perquisite and was

exercised both at regular intervals (fixed at seven years by Abu 'l-Suʿūd Efendi [*q.v.*], who was largely responsible for regularising the practises with respect to *mülāzemet*), these occasions being known as *nawba* (*nöbet, newbet*), and also to mark special occasions such as the accession of a sultan or a famous victory, in which instances they are referred to as *teshrīf*.

When applied conscientiously by all concerned, the procedures for becoming a *mülāzim* provided the Ottoman state with a useful means of control of both the quality and the quantity of the intake into the learned profession, but the system had largely lost its effectiveness in both these respects by the early 12th/18th century.

Bibliography: Pakalın, s.v.; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, *passim*; R.C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, London 1986, *passim*. (R.C. Repp)

MULE [see BAGHL].

MULḤID (A.), deviator, apostate, heretic, atheist. The religious meaning of the term is derived from the basic sense of the root *l-ḥ-d* "to incline, to deviate". There is no evidence of pre-Islamic usage in a religious meaning. The Islamic usage arose on the basis of the Ḳurʾānic verses VII, 180: "Leave those who deviate (*yulḥidūna*, var. *yalḥadūna*) in regard to His names"; XLI, 40: "Verily, those who deviate in regard to Our signs (*yulḥidūna fī āyātinā*) are not hidden from Us"; and XXII, 25: "Whoever seeks in it (sc. the sacred Mosque of Mecca) to perpetrate deviation (*bi-ilḥād*) wantonly, We shall make him taste a painful punishment".

In the Umayyad age, the terms *mulḥid* and *ilḥād* were used to denote desertion of the community of the faithful and rebellion against the legitimate caliphs. *Mulḥid* thus appeared as synonymous with *bāghī*, rebel, and *shāḳḳ al-ʿaṣā*, splitter of the ranks of the faithful. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], who described himself as "the seeker of asylum in the Sacred House (*al-ʿāʾidh bi 'l-bayt*)", was branded by his Umayyad opponents, with reference to Ḳurʾān, XXII, 25, as "the deviator (*mulḥid*) in the Sacred Mosque". Umayyad propaganda forged *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet predicting that "A man of Ḳuraysh shall deviate (*yulḥidu*) in Mecca upon whom half of (God's) punishment of the world will rest (in the hereafter)", and "A man of Ḳuraysh shall deviate in (the Sanctuary of God) whose crimes, if weighed against the crimes of mankind and the Djinn (*al-thaḳalayn*), would preponderate". The *ḥadīth* ascribed to Muḥammad "Monopolisation of grain (*iḥtikār al-taʿām*) in the Sanctuary constitutes *ilḥād* in it", is probably likewise a product of Umayyad anti-Zubayrid propaganda. The supporters of Ibn al-Zubayr were collectively called *mulḥidūn*. Conversely, the poet Djarīr characterised loyal supporters of the Umayyads as "never being tempted by *ilḥād* (*wa-lā hammū bi-ilḥādī*)". In the late Umayyad age the poet Ruʾba described the Khāridjī leader al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī as being followed by every *mulḥid*. The Khāridjīs, on the other hand, considered the Umayyad authorities as deviators from the right path of Islam, and their poet ʿĪsā al-Khaṭṭī said in the time of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, "I am wary of meeting my God without having frightened the tyrants and deviators (*dhawi 'l-baghy wa 'l-ilḥād*) in a mighty army".

In the early ʿAbbāsid age, the *kalām* theologians began to use the term *mulḥid* in the meaning of "heretic, deviator in religious beliefs". *Ilḥād* came to signify not so much mere adherence to false religious doctrine as rejection of religion as such, materialist scepticism and atheism. Refutations of the *mulḥidūn* were written in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries by Muʿtazilī theologians like Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, Abu 'l-Hudhayl, al-Naẓẓām, al-Aṣamm, al-Murdār, Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir, by the Murdjiʾī al-Ḥusayn al-Nadjdjār, and by the Ibāḍī al-Haytham b. al-Haytham. None of these works is extant, but the extant *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-mulḥid* by the Zaydī *imām* al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860) clearly portrays the anonymous *mulḥid* as a religious sceptic inclining to atheism (W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 100, 110). Criticism of, and deviant teaching about, the Ḳurʾān in particular was, evidently with reference to Ḳurʾān, XII, 40, qualified as *ilḥād*. Thus the Muʿtazilī grammarian Ḳuṭrub (d. 206/821) wrote a *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-mulḥidīn fī mutashābih al-Ḳurʾān*, and al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9) composed a *K. al-Radd ʿalā man alḥada fī Kitāb Allāh*. In the 6th/12th century, the Yamanī grammarian and Ḥanafī preacher Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Zabīdī (d. 555/1160) wrote a *Radd ʿalā man alḥada fī 'l-Kitāb al-ʿazīz* (Brockelmann, S I, 764). Al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935-6) discussed in his *Maḳālāt al-mulḥidīn* cosmological theories of the ancients. He defined the term *mulḥida* as comprising "the *muʿaṭṭila* (deniers of God's attributes), *zanādiḳa*, dualists (*thanawiyya*), Barāhima, and others who repudiate the Creator and deny prophethood".

Later the Ismāʿīlīs, traditionally described by anti-Ismāʿīlī polemicists as crypto-atheists, were charged with *ilḥād*, at first in eastern Persian territory. The Transoxanian Māturīdi theologian Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī (d. 508/1114) wrote a refutation of the Bāṭiniyya (Ismāʿīliyya) entitled *K. al-Ifsād li khudaʿ ahl al-ilḥād* (*Shahrastani: Livre des Religions et des Sectes I*, tr. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, Louvain 1986, 554 n. 34). Al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153) noted that the (Nizārī) Ismāʿīlīs in Khurāsān were called the Taʿlīmiyya or Mulḥida (al-Shahrastānī, 147). From the second half of the 6th/12th century, the plural *malāḥida* (in early Persian usage *mulāḥida*) was commonly applied to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs everywhere, including Syria. In the Mongol age, European and Chinese travellers brought it as a name of the Nizārīs to their home countries (E. Bretschneider, *Medieval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1887, i, 115, 133-6; H. Franke, *Das chinesische Wort für Mumie*, in *Oriens*, x [1957], 255-7).

In Ottoman usage, *mulḥid* and *ilḥād* were terms commonly employed to describe subversive doctrines among the Shīʿīs and Ṣūfīs. In the 19th century, the historian Aḥmad Djewdet characterised the ideas of the partisans of the French revolution as *ilḥād*.

Bibliography: *WKAS*, s.v. *l-ḥ-d*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tadjaddud, Tehran 1971, 58, 204-11, 214-15, 229, 234. For al-Ashʿarī's concept of *mulḥidūn*, see in particular Ibn Fūrak, *Mudjarrad maḳālāt al-Ashʿarī*, ed. D. Gimaret, Beirut 1987, index s.v.; and see also B. Lewis, *Some observations on the significance of heresy in Islam*, in *SI*, i (1953), 56. (W. Madelung)

MŪLID [see MAWLID].

MULK (A.), royal power, is used in the Ḳurʾān with reference to God and to certain pre-Islamic personages, who all appear in the Old Testament, and in the former case is synonymous with *malakūt*; the latter word, however, occurs only four times in the Ḳurʾān and always with a dependent genitive (*kull shayʾ* or *al-samawāt wa 'l-arḍ*) while *mulk* is often used absolutely. To God alone belongs *mulk*, He has no associate therein; to Him belongs *mulk* over heaven and earth as well as over the judgment. He gives *mulk* to whom

He will; the unbelievers have no share in it. Shayṭān promised Adam imperishable *mulk* and tempted him with his promise to eat of the *shadjarat al-khuld* (sūra XX, 118/20). Nimrūd endeavours to claim for himself God's *mulk* against Ibrāhīm (II, 260/258). but God gives *mulk* to the family of Ibrāhīm (IV, 57/54). Yūsuf thanks God in prayer for the *mulk* which He has given him (XII, 102/101). Firʿawn boasts of his right to the *mulk* Miṣr (XLIII, 50/51); God wills to give Ṭālūt *mulk* over the recalcitrant Israelites and to send the *tābūt* as a sign (II, 248/247 ff.). Dāwūd's *mulk* is mentioned in II, 252/251 and XXXVIII, 19/20, and Sulaymān's in II, 96/102; the latter prays for it (XXXVIII, 34/35).

That the conception of *mulk* was not carried over into Muslim law generally has been explained in MALIK; an exception is Egypt during the Ayyūbid period and in quite modern times. But in the Arab monarchies of the last century or so, the term denoting the actual area over which kingly power is exercised has been *mamlaka* [*q.v.*]; hence *al-Mamlaka al-ʿArabiyya al-Suʿūdiyya* (Saudi Arabia), *al-Mamlaka al-Urdunniyya al-Hāshimiyya* (Jordan) and *al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya* (Morocco).

Bibliography: See that to MALIK; also TĀDJ and G. Richter, *Studien zur Gesch. der älteren arab. Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1932, esp. 6.

(M. PLESSNER*)

MULKIYYA (A.), designates, in Arabic, a title to property [see MILK], but the Turkish form *mülkiyye*, or more precisely *idāre-i mülkiyye*, became by roughly the 1830s the customary Ottoman term for civil administration [see MAʾMŪR on "civil officials", *meʾmūrīn-i mülkiyye*]. It is not clear exactly when *mülkiyye* acquired this sense. Muḥammad ʿAlī's reforms in Egypt may have contributed to this development; he had separate *dīwāns* for civil and military affairs by the 1820s (*dīwān-i mülkiyye*, *dīwān-i djihādiyye*; Deny, 108, 111-15). Since the term *mülkiyye* has associations with both land ownership and sovereignty, the Istanbul government's generalised use of the term may have reflected civil officials' growing role in provincial administration, a huge new domain of employment for men who had historically served mostly as scribes (*küttāb*, *ḳalem efendileri*) in Istanbul but were now becoming "civil officials" with a much broader range of roles. When Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] reorganised the central offices as ministries, the new Interior Ministry was at first called the *Umūr-i Mülkiyye Neẓāreti* (1251/1836; Luṭfī, v, 29-31), becoming the *Dākhiliyye Neẓāreti* a year later. As a systematic personnel policy developed for the emerging civil service, however, the nomenclature used to discuss and regulate it made clear that *mülkiyye* referred not to a single ministry, but to the entire civil service (Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 65-6, 140-7, 194-7, 280-9, 326-33, 364, n. 66).

The term *mülkiyye* acquired another specific association with the founding of the Ottoman School of Civil Administration (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) in 1859 (Ergin, ii, 495-517; Çankaya, i-ii, *passim*). Intended as an institution of higher education, the *Mülkiyye* became one of the empire's most prestigious schools during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909 [*q.v.*]), was moved to Ankara under the Republic, and has survived as the Faculty of Political Science (*Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi*) of Ankara University. For classes graduating under the empire, *Mülkiyye* graduates' biographies show that some 70% of them served under the Interior Ministry, especially in local administration; most other graduates served in other civil agencies (Findley, *Ottoman civil officialdom*, 157; Çankaya, viii, chart opposite p. 164). A major factor in professionalising the Ottoman civil administration, the *Mülkiyye* greatly improved the officials' training; and it became the first Ottoman school to have a student association, as well as an alumni association, which published a significant professional journal, also called *Mülkiyye*, during the Young Turk period (Findley, *op. cit.*, 158, 243-52). Graduates of the School began to reach the grand vizierate with İbrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī Pasha [*q.v.*] (in office 1909-11; Findley, *op. cit.*, 195-209), and have remained prominent in high office ever since. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd used the school as a way to patronise his non-Turkish Muslim subjects. Non-Turkish *Mülkiyye* alumni consequently remained politically and intellectually prominent in Ottoman successor states, both Balkan and Middle Eastern, until the mid-20th century (Findley, *op. cit.*, 114-19; Çankaya, *passim*; Blake, *passim*).

Bibliography: Corinne Blake, *An Ottomanizing institution: Syrian graduates of the Mülkiye Mektebi, 1890-1920*, diss. Princeton University; Ali Çankaya, *Son asır Türk târihinin önemli olayları ile birlikde Yeni Mülkiye târihi ve Mülkiyeliler*, 8 vols., Ankara 1968-71; J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930; Osman Ergin, *İstanbul mektepleri ve ilim, terbiye ve sanʾat müesseseleri dolayısile Türkiye maarif tarihi*, 5 vols., Istanbul 1939-45; C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire: the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980; idem, *Ottoman civil officialdom: a social history*, Princeton 1989; Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Luṭfī*, 8 vols., the 8th edited by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, Istanbul 1290-1328/1873-1910. (C.V. FINDLEY)

MULLĀ [see MOLLĀ; if followed by another name, see also under that name].

MULLĀ ṢADRĀ SHĪRĀZĪ, ṢADR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD b. Ibrāhīm Ḳawāmī SHĪRĀZĪ (*ca.* 979-80/1571-2 to 1050/1640), known as Mullā Ṣadrā, the leading Iranian Shīʿī philosopher of the Ṣafawid period.

After elementary studies in Shīrāz, he completed his education in Iṣfahān, where his teachers included three of the chief thinkers of his day: Mīr Muḥammad Bāḳir Astarābādī (Mīr Dāmād [see AL-DĀMĀD]), Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀmilī [*q.v.*] (Shaykh-i-Bahāʾī), and—probably—Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Findiriskī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Ṣadrā's subsequent exposition of unorthodox doctrines, notably that of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, which he dealt with in an early work, *Ṭarḥ al-kawnayn* (Rahman, *Philosophy*, 17-18), led to his condemnation and excommunication by some Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ*. He therefore retired for a lengthy period (variously given as 7, 11 or even 15 years) to a village named Kahak near Ḳum, where he engaged in contemplative exercises. While in Kahak, he also composed a number of minor works, including the *Risāla fī 'l-ḥashr* and the *Risāla fī ḥudūth al-ʿālam*.

Asked to abandon his retirement by the powerful governor of Fārs, Allāhwirdī Khān (d. 1022/1613), Ṣadrā accepted a teaching position in the latter's recently-established Madrasa-yi Khān in Shīrāz. Apart from a number of *ḥadjdj* journeys, he remained there, engaged in teaching and, above all, in writing. He died in 1050/1640 at Baṣra, in the course of his seventh pilgrimage to Mecca, and was buried there. His grave is no longer extant.

During the period in which he taught at Shīrāz, Ṣadrā laid the basis for what was effectively a new school of theosophical Shīʿism, combining elements from several existing systems of thought to form a synthesis usually referred to as the "Transcendent Wisdom" (*al-ḥikma al-mutaʿāliya*). The ideas of this

school, which may be seen as a continuation of the School of Iṣfahān of Mīr Dāmād and Shaykh-i Bahāʾī, were promulgated after Ṣadrā's death by his pupils, several of whom became noted thinkers in their own right, including Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Lāhidjī. Although Ṣadrā's influence remained limited in the generations after his death, it increased markedly during the 19th century, when his ideas helped inspire a renewed Akhbārī tendency within Twelver Shīʿism (Morris, *Wisdom*, Introd., 49). In the modern period, his works have been widely studied in Iran, Europe and America.

Although no firm chronology has yet been established for Ṣadrā's writings, it seems clear that the majority were produced during the later part of his life, while teaching in Shīrāz. The most important is *al-Ḥikma al-mutaʿāliya fi 'l-asrār al-ʿaḳliyya al-arbaʿa* (generally known as the *Asrār*), first completed in 1037/1628. This lengthy work is widely regarded in Iran as the most advanced text in the field of mystical philosophy (*ḥikmat*). Much shorter but of almost equal popularity are *al-Ḥikma al-ʿarshiyya*, on the knowledge of God and eschatology; the *Kitāb al-Mashāʾir*, on ontology: the *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, on metaphysics, cosmology, and eschatology; *al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyya*, one of his last works, in which he summarises his main teachings; his *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, a lengthy commentary on part of Kulaynī's canonical *ḥadīth* collection; and the *Sih aṣl*, his most important Persian work, in which he attacks the legalistic Uṣūlī version of Shīʿism. All of these works have been extensively studied and commented on in Iran. Most of Ṣadrā's opus has been published in editions of varying quality since the end of the last century.

Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophical system, although highly original, owes a considerable debt to earlier schools of thought, particularly *kalām* theology, Ismāʿīlism, Avicennan metaphysics, Ibn al-ʿArabī, Ṣūfism in general, the Ishrāḳī philosophy of Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī and the School of Iṣfahān. To these he adds several original doctrines, notably: (1) the basic reality of existence (*wudjūd*) as against quiddity (*māhiyya*); (2) the unity of intellect and intelligibles; and (3) the movement of all beings in their substances as well as in their qualities (*ḥaraka djawhariyya*), described by Rahman as his "original contribution to Islamic philosophy" (*Philosophy*, 11).

Bibliography: S.H. Nasr, *Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī and his Transcendent Theosophy*, Tehran 1978; idem, *Islamic studies*, Beirut 1967, chs. 10 and 11; idem (ed.), *Mullā Ṣadrā commemoration volume*, Tehran 1380/1961; idem, *Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī "Mullā Ṣadrā"*, in M.M. Sharif (ed.), *A history of Muslim philosophy*, ii, Wiesbaden 1966, 932-61; F. Rahman, *The philosophy of Mulla Sadra*, Albany 1975; M. Horten, *Die Gottesbeweise bei Schirazi*, Bonn 1912; idem, *Das philosophische System von Schirazi*, Strassburg 1913; H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, iv, Paris 1973, ch. 2; idem, introd. to Mollâ Sadra Shirazi, *Le Livre des Pénétrations métaphysiques*, Tehran and Paris 1964, 1-86; idem, introd. to idem and J. Ashtiyani, *Anthologie des philosophes iraniens*, i, Tehran and Paris 1972, 48-97; J.W. Morris, introd. to idem, tr., *The Wisdom of the Throne: an introduction to the philosophy of Mulla Sadra*, Princeton 1981. Useful bibliographies of Ṣadrā's writings may be found in Nasr, *Ṣadr al-Dīn*, 40-50, and Corbin, *Le Livre des Pénétrations*, 27-41 (and 46-54 for commentaries on the *Mashāʾir*). The following editions of works by Ṣadrā should be noted: *Asfār*, ed. R. Luṭfī, 9 vols., Ḳum, 1378-89 *sh.*/1958-69; *al-Ḥikma al-ʿarshiyya*, ed. G. Āhanī, Iṣfahān, 1341 *sh.*/1962; *ibid.*, tr. Morris as *The Wisdom of the Throne*, see above; *Kitāb al-Mabdaʾ wa 'l-maʿād*, ed. Dj. Āshtiyānī, Tehran 1976; *Kitāb al-Mashāʾir*, ed. and tr. Corbin as *Le Livre des Pénétrations métaphysiques*, see above; *al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyya*, ed. Āshtiyānī, Mashhad, 1346 *sh.*/1967; *Sih aṣl*. ed. S.H. Naṣr, Tehran 1340 *sh.*/1961; *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-kāfī* and *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Tehran 1282/1865-6.

(D. MacEoin)

MULLAGORĪ, the name of a tribe on the north-west frontier of Pakistan. They inhabit the hilly country around Tārtāra and Kambela to the north of the Khyber Pass, in the southern part of the Mohmand [*q.v.*] territory. Their territories are bounded on the north by the Kābul river; on the west by the Shilmānī country; on the south by the settlements of the Kuki Khēl Afrīdīs; and on the east by the Peshāwar district. The tribe is divided into three clans: the Aḥmad Khēl, Ismāʿīl, and the Dawlat Khēl. Like the Ṣāfīs and the Shilmānīs, they are vassal clans of the Mohmands. Neither the Mohmands nor the Afrīdīs regard the Mullagorīs as true Paṭhāns. During the period 1879-98 they were constantly at feud with the Zakka Khēl Afrīdīs (R. Warburton, *Eighteen years in the Khyber*, 1900, 158). It was not until 1902 that the Government of India decided to construct a road from Shagai to Landi Kotal as an alternative route to the Khyber. In 1904 the Mullagorīs, in consideration of their good behaviour in connection with the construction of this road through their territories, received an annual allowance of 5,000 rupees (C.U. Aitchison, *Treaties, engagements and sanads*, xi, no. xxxiii; Lord Curzon's Budget Speech, 30 March 1904).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see C. Collin Davies, *The problem of the North-West Frontier 1890-1908*², London 1975, 62, 104.

(C. Collin Davies)

MULTĀN, the name given by the Arabs to the ancient Pandjābī city of Mulasthana (B.C. Law, *Historical geography of ancient India*, Paris 1954, 112), thought to be Malli of Alexander's historians (Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, Cambridge, Mass. 1946, ii, 433).

1. History. Multān was one of the cities conquered by the Arabs during Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's expedition to India in 92-5/711-14. Like the city of Manṣūra [*q.v.*], Multān became one of the centres of Muslim rule in Western India. Due to the wealth found in it by the early conquerors, Multān was dubbed "opening of the house of gold" (*fardj bayt al-dhahab*) (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 439-40), and became an important commercial city (al-Manīnī, *al-Fatḥ al-wahbī ʿalā taʾrīkh ... al-ʿUtbī*, Cairo 1286/1869, ii, 72). It seems that the *amīrs* of the city professed (until Multān came under Fāṭimid influence, see below) allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid caliph, but were practically independent (*wa-laysa huwa fī ṭāʿati aḥad wa-khuṭbatuhu li-bani 'l-ʿAbbās*) (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 322; cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, 175).

Multān was at the time of the Muslim conquest the site of an important temple and a centre of Hindu pilgrimage (Ibn Rusta, 136-7 and other geographers). Contrary to Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's practice in other captured cities (such as Daybul [*q.v.*]), the temple was left intact and pilgrims were allowed to perform their rites in it. In return for this policy of toleration, the *amīr* of Multān used to receive a considerable portion of the temple's income. Multān is the earliest and the best documented case in which the Hindus were implicitly awarded the status of *ahl al-dhimma* (Y. Friedmann, *The temple of Multan. A note on early Muslim attitudes to idolatry*, in *IOS*, ii [1972], 176-82).

By the end of the 9th century A.D., Fāṭimid activity began in Sind, and for some time the province was under the influence of Ismāʿīlī *duʿāt* (al-Muḳaddasī, 485). It was one of these, Ḥalam b. Shaybān, who destroyed the temple of Multān in the second half of the 4th/10th century and established a mosque in its stead (for different dates suggested for this event, see S.M. Stern, *Ismāʿīlī propaganda and Fatimid rule in Sind*, in *IC*, xxiii [1949], 300-1, and A.H. al-Hamdani, *The beginnings of the Ismāʿīli daʿwa in Northern India*, Cairo 1956, 3; cf. B. Lewis, *Ismāʿīlī notes*, in *BSOAS*, xii [1947-8], 599-600). Ismāʿīlī influence in Multān received a serious blow when Maḥmūd of Ghaznā invaded the city in the context of his Indian campaigns (in 396/1006 and 401/1010), imprisoned the Ismāʿīlī *amīr* Abu 'l-Futūḥ Dāwūd b. Naṣr and put some of his followers to the sword (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, Kābul 1347 *sh*., 178, 180; al-ʿUtbī al-Manīnī, *al-Fatḥ al-wahbī ... sharḥ al-Yamīnī*, ii, 73-6; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 96-9). However, the Ismāʿīlīs seem to have recovered from this defeat, and when the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn b. Sām conquered the city in 570/1174-5, he is said to have "extracted it from the hands of the Ḳarmaṭīs" (*az dast-i Ḳarāmiṭa Multān-rā mustakhlaṣ kard*) again (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Calcutta 1864, 116).

During the first years of the Dihlī Sultanate, Multān was under the sway of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabača. However, his position there was weakened by his unsuccessful encounter in 621/1224 with Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārazm-Shāh (Djuwaynī, ii, 146, tr. Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 415) who reached the area while fleeing from the advancing Mongols. Eventually, Ḳabača was defeated in 625/1228 by Iltutmish and Multān became an integral part of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 173; Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Bhakkarī, *Taʾrīkh-i Maʿṣūmī*, Bombay 1938, 36). The history of the city continued to be stormy during the subsequent period. While the heartland of India was spared the fury of the 7th/13th century wave of Mongol invasions, its western fringes suffered from them several times. The area of Multān was attacked in 643/1245 (Bhakkarī, *op. cit.*, 33), and then again in 683/1284-5 (*ibid.*, 41). It also suffered from several rebellions and frequent changes of governors.

Following the invasion of India by Tīmūr in 1398-9, Multān came under the sway of Khiḍr Khān [*q.v.*], the founder of the short-lived Sayyid dynasty of Dihlī. After the Sayyids' grip over the area weakened, Multān became the centre of the Langāh dynasty, which ruled between 1437 and 1526 (see Hameed ud-Din, *Multan in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries*, in *Jnal. of Indian History*, xl [1962], 24; and see ḤUSAYN SHĀH LANGĀH I and ḤUSAYN SHĀH LANGĀH II) and successfully defied Lōdī attempts to incorporate Multān into their state. The Langāhs were defeated in 1526 by the Arghuns, who collaborated with the Mughals and made Multān a dependency of their empire.

After the end of the Sūr interlude in Indo-Muslim history, Multān became the capital of an important *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire (ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1949, ii, 129, 329-48) and enjoyed a long period of stability. It was only in 1752 that Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] forced the feeble Mughal emperor to cede to him the *ṣūbas* of Lahore and Multān (J. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughul empire*, Calcutta 1964, i, 23). The main feature of the following decades in the history of Multān was the warfare with the Sikhs which culminated in the conquest of the city by Randjīt Singh in 1818 (L. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, Oxford 1892, 182 ff.; Khushwant Singh, *A history of the Sikhs*, Princeton 1963, i, 249-52).

The Sikh rule over Multān was stable until the death of Randjīt Singh in 1839. Dīwān Sewan Mal, who ruled Multān between 1821 and 1844, extended his influence over a number of adjacent areas. In 1845, however, the British began their campaign against the disintegrating Sikh state in the Pandjāb. After an assault in Multān on two British officers in 1848, the city was occupied by the British and annexed, with the rest of the province, to their dominion.

Under the British rule, Multān served, at different times, as a divisional or district centre. In Pakistan it has been the capital of a division which includes the districts of Multān, Jhang, Lyallpur and Montgomery. Its population was, in 1951, just under 200,000 (*Census of Pakistan 1951. v. Panjab and Bahawalpur states*, 58-9). The proverbially inhospitable surroundings of Multān were exemplified in the couplet: "Four are the choice things of Multān: dust, beggars, heat and graveyards" (*čār čīz hast tuḥfadjāt-i Multān/gard gadā garma wa gūristān*) (Burnes, *Travels*, iii, 119).

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the text, see H.T. Lambrick, *Sind. A general introduction*, Hyderabad (Sind) 1964, index; U.M. Daudpota, *Sind and Multān*, in M. Habib and K.A. Nizami (eds.), *A comprehensive history of India*, New Delhi 1970, v, 1116-34; Elliot and Dowson, *The history of India*, index; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, s.v. Multān; M.A. Pathan, *Multan under the Arabs*, in *IC*, xliii (1969), 13-20; V. Minorsky, ed., *Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, 36-7 (of the Arabic text), 48-9, 148-9; F. Singh, *History of the Punjab (AD 1000-1526)*, Patiala 1972, index; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 118-25; E. Thornton, *A gazetteer of the countries adjacent to India* ..., London 1844, ii, 59-61; A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* ..., London 1834, ii, 399-409 (on commerce and industry), iii, 109-21; E.D. Maclagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan district. 1901-1902*, Lahore 1902 (with valuable ethnographic information); *The imperial gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xviii, 21-38; Ch. Masson, *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, i, 395-8; H.B. Edwardes, *A year on the Punjab frontier*, London 1851, ii (a detailed account of the circumstances leading to the British takeover of Multān in 1848-1849); G. Singh, *Akhbārāt-i Lahawr o Multān*, in *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, xxi (1944), 43-6 (on newsletters concerning the British takeover in 1848-1849); J. Mahajan, *Circumstances leading to the annexation of the Punjab, 1846-1849*, Allahabad and Karachi 1949; Kazi S. Ahmad, *A geography of Pakistan*, Karachi 1964, 159; A. Tayyeb, *Pakistan. A political geography*, London 1966, 176; *Population Census of Pakistan 1972: District Census Report Multan*, 15.

(Y. FRIEDMANN)

2. Monuments. As in Lāhawr [*q.v.*], the architecture of Multān is essentially of brick, here light red, and set off with geometrical and epigraphical cut-work, timber bonding, and the blue and white glazed tiles characteristic of the region. The earliest unspoiled building to be identified is the supposed tomb of Khālid b. al-Walīd erected by the first Ghūrid governor, ʿAlī b. Karmākh (appointed 571/1175) at Khaffī Čawr in Khānewāl district. A rectangular enclosure fortified with rounded bastions at the corners has further bastions on three sides, and a projection housing the *miḥrāb* on the west, which has fine cut-brick panelling filled with floriated Kūfic inscriptions internally. The vaulted structure surrounded a square tomb chamber with squinches, a panelled drum, and dome plastered externally; this dome, the

voussoired arches, and the semi-dome of the *miḥrāb* all represent the earliest structural precedents yet recognised on the sub-continent, in a fully assured technique. In the city itself, the possibly earlier tomb of Shāh Yūsuf Gardīzī, said to date from 547/1152-3, has been extensively rebuilt. Its flat-roofed orthogonal mass is enhanced by the Iranian expedient of tile sheathing, here both flat and in relief, with no interruption but for the lean projections of door frame and *miḥrāb*, and the merloned parapet. Later tombs comply with a format in three zones, the lower having battered walls with few openings, the next a tall octagonal drum with an opening on each face, and the third a hemispherical dome pierced in a panelled frieze around the base. In that of Bahā᾽ al-Dīn Zakariyyā (Bahā᾽ al-Ḥaḳḳ) (d. 661/1262 or 666/1267 [*q.v.*]), the base is a massive square chamber left completely plain, and relieved only by the strong projection of a *pīshṭāḳ* of full height around the doorway which, like the preceding example, is framed by paired rectangular fillets, and houses successively recessed arches; the octagon of half the height, whose windows with four-centred arches set in shallow panels echo the doorway, affirms its stable proportions, and the blind merlons at both levels have *guldasta* at the angles. The recessed base of the dome is set with repeated small niches. Damage repaired after the siege of 1849 appears not to have affected these lines. The small tomb of Shāh Dānā Shahīd, martyred in 668/1270, largely unaltered, is similar, as is that of Shams al-Dīn Sabzawārī (misnamed Tabrīzī) (*ca.* 1300 but rebuilt 1780), though more ornate. A model for this combination is to be found in Khurāsān, in such tombs as those of Abū Saʿīd at Mayhana [*q.vv.*] (d. 440/1049) and of ʿAlambardār near Karkī (d. 394/1004); domestic architecture in the Marw region had long combined a central dome with a square plan and strongly battered walls as a response to the limitations of mud as a material.

The great tomb said to have been built by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ for himself *ca.* 715/1315, but later devoted to Shāh Rukn-i ʿĀlam by Fīrūz Shāh, differs in that the lower story is octagonal instead of square, with tapered round buttresses at the angles which enhance the batter, and like the angles of the octagonal drum above, are crowned with small domes surrounding the main one, which is now lightly four-centred. This form too may have come from Khurāsān, where polygonal tombs with comparable corner towers were built in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. Inside, a series of sixteen concentric arches in recessed planes form squinches and clerestory windows alternately, supporting a thirty-two sided cornice, and the slightly stilted dome. Outside and in, the brickwork is relieved by intricate carving, work in relief, toothed string courses at intervals, and girdles of *shīsham* wood, all contributing to unity. The fine timber carving of the *miḥrāb* is completed by an inscribed architrave bordered on both sides with vigorous spiralling tendrils. The generously decorated panels of the exterior are set and edged with ceramic tiles in blue, white, and turquoise only, with geometric patterns in deep relief.

Bibliography: For a description, plans and photographs of the tomb of Khālid b. al-Walīd, see Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Naked brick architecture of the early period in Pakistan*, in *Pakistan archaeology*, xxiii (1987-8), 303-25; for other tombs see A. Cunningham, in *ASI*, v (A.R. 1872-3), 133 ff. and pl. xxxvi ff.; for Rukn-i ʿĀlam, see J. Burton-Page, *The tomb of Rukn-i Alam*, in R.E.M. Wheeler (ed.), *Splendours of the East*, London 1965, 73-81; for general comments on sequence and related monuments, see Ahmad Nabi Khan, *The mausoleum of Šaiḫ ʿAlā᾽ al-Dīn at Pākpatan (Punjāb)*, in *East and West*, xxiv/3-4 (1974), 311-26; for comparisons with Khurāsān, see A.M. Pribuitkova, *Pamyatniki arkhitekturui XI veka v Turkmenii*, Moscow 1955, figs. 20-36 and 84-5, pp. 28 and 65; also G.A. Pugačenkova, *Puti razvitiya arkhitekturui yuzhnogo Turkmenistana porui rabovladeniya i feodalizma*, Moscow 1958, 292 ff.; for general sources, see HIND. See also UČČH.

(P.A. ANDREWS)

MÜLTEZIM (A., *multazim*), the term which denoted a tax-farmer who, from mid-16th century on, collected taxes and dues on behalf of the Ottoman Treasury; on its application in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman empire, see ILTIZĀM.

The officials who collected revenues for the Treasury could either deliver all the proceeds while drawing a salary, or could buy the right to retain the proceeds themselves by paying the Treasury an agreed sum in advance; it was the latter system that was known as the *iltizām*. *Iltizām* differed from the other term used for a tax-farm, *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] in that it referred to the collection of revenues from the Imperial Domains, *khawāṣṣ-i hümāyūn*. *Muḳāṭaʿa* was applied to the collection by contract of other revenues. In the case of *iltizāms*, the contractor was called *mültezim*, in that of a *muḳāṭaʿa*, he was called *muḳāṭaʿadji*. The origins of the *iltizām* system are thus located in the revenue collection from the Imperial Domains. This collection had originally been executed by salaried officials called *emīns* and then leased yearly to officers who had distinguished themselves in war. The latter paid the Ottoman Treasury a fixed sum which was determined in relation to the normal yields of the lands concerned; in return, they acquired the right to collect, for their own benefit, all the tithes and taxes legally due from the inhabitants. Although they were not empowered to exact more than the amounts authorised by law from the inhabitants, their contracts allowed them a sufficiently wide margin of profit and some exercise of authority over the peasantry.

The first usage of the tax-farming system by the Ottoman sultans is unclear; it may have been in existence as early as the reign of sultan Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ [*q.v.*] when the reference to *mültezims* appears in connection with a signature fee of 1% specified for them. Most Ottoman historical chronicles state, however, that, until the reign of sultan Süleymān I, the *iltizām* system was not regularly used and then only for the collection of revenue from the Imperial domains. In Süleymān's reign, the Ottoman treasury added the military fiefs which it seized to the original Imperial domains and also farmed out the new revenues it acquired; all these contracts came to be known collectively as treasury leases, *muḳāṭaʿāt-i mīriyye*.

The Ottoman treasury did not deal directly with the farmers in arranging tax-farms; farms were put up to auction. Only bidders who had appointed a banker or money-changer to guarantee the payment on their behalf to the Treasury of the sums due to it could participate. These bankers, in turn, had to be approved by the Inner Treasury, *ič khazīne*, to assume this responsibility; upon approval, they were furnished with an official license, called *kuyruklu berāt*, and were then entitled to deal with the Treasury over tax-farm and other official business. The actual conduct of *mültezims* depended on the source of the contracts; if they had contracted with a fiefholder or a proprietor, they were obliged to be circumspect, owing to the interest of such persons in their property and its pros-

perity. Otherwise, the aim of *mültezims* was to get as much out of the peasantry as possible in order to render their bargains profitable.

As tax-farming extended to almost every variety of land-holding, it exploited both the land and the peasantry, thereby undermining the preservation of Ottoman sources of revenue. As matters further deteriorated toward the end of the 17th century, a system of life-leases called *mālikāne* [*q.v*] was introduced; by giving the contractor a life interest in the yield of whatever revenue source he was empowered to tap, this system improved the taxpayer's position relatively until it got beriddled with its own problems.

The *iltizām* system was abolished in 1839 as the *Tanẓīmāt* altered the Ottoman taxation system. Yet it was later reinstated and reformed by laws and regulations promulgated in 1855, 1858, 1861 and 1871. From 1897 onwards the system was gradually phased out and abolished in 1905; the duties of a *mültezim* were then left to cadastral officers.

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(F. Müge Göçek)

MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF (A.) 1. In pre-Islamic Persia.

"The kings of the territorial divisions" is the Arabic phrase used by Muslim historians originally for the regional rulers of the Parthian or Arsacid period, and afterwards also for the rulers of principalities which arose on the ruins of the Umayyad empire of al-Andalus. In the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, their information is said to have come from the lost works of Ibn Khurradādhbih, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā al-Kisrawī, the *mōbadhs* of Shīrāz, (Bī)shāpūr, and Fārs, the *Akhbār al-Furs* of ʿUmar Kisrā, the *Shāhnāma* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, a *Taʾrīkh sinī mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* and the Sasanian *Avesta*. Some of this information may go back to a lost Arsacid king list or chronicle.

This period lasted from the defeat of Dārā b. Dārā by al-Iskandar until the rise of the Sāsānid dynasty under Ardashīr b. Bābak. After Dārā's death, local rulers took over each district and were confirmed or appointed as kings by al-Iskandar, in some accounts at the advice of Aristotle, to keep them divided. After al-Iskandar the region from the Tigris to the Oxus, in some accounts, extending to al-Yaman, Syria and Egypt was divided among 70 to 100 independent Persian, Aramaean, Arab and Greek rulers (al-Thaʿālibī anachronously includes the Hayāṭila [*q.v.*] of Ṭukhāristān and the Turks of Khurāsān). Each made his position hereditary and sought to defend and expand his territory; none paid taxes to another. The Arab kings included Dhu 'l-Shanātir, the powerful ruler of ʿUmān, al-Baḥrayn, al-Yamāma, and the sea coasts, and Sāṭirūn of al-Ḥaḍr. The Greeks and their Persian *wazīrs* ruled Babylonia (the Sawād) for 54 years after al-Iskandar's death until Ashak b. Ashkān or Akfūrshāh (Pacoros), ruler of the Djibāl, defeated and killed Antiochos at al-Mawṣil and conquered al-ʿIrāḳ. The other regional rulers recognised his pre-eminence, called him king, and sent him gifts but not taxes, and he did not appoint or dismiss them. They honoured him because of his royal descent (from Dārā al-Akbar, Kay Ḳubādh, Kay Ḳāwūs, or another king) and because he established the throne of the Ashkānī dynasty at Ṭīsfūn (Ctesiphon) in the centre of the world.

Muslim historians report the dynastic succession of only the Ashkāniyyūn but admit of no agreement on their names, the order of succession or the length of their reigns. Over 20 dynastic lists count as few as nine and as many as 19 rulers and make the length of the dynasty as short as 201 or as long as 455 years. Nor do these lists agree with the Arsacid succession according to coins and Greek and Latin authors. They include Sasanian royal names, are interwoven with didactic tales, and are coordinated with prophetic history. Lewy identifies two traditions, one with eleven rulers that ignores Ardawān II and his successors and one with 19 rulers, grouped into eleven and eight kings, that preserved the replacement of the Ashkāniyyūn by another family. Muslim historians with a concern for chronology calculated the duration of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* at over 500 years (often 523 years) and tried to explain the discrepancy with the length of the Ashkānī dynasty. Al-Bīrūnī, based on dates in the Seleucid era and the testimony of Mānī in the *Shābūrkān*, gives 528 or 537 years between al-Iskandar and Ardashīr and reports that, according to Ibrāhīm al-Zandjānī the mathematician, the Persians only counted the reigns of the Ashkāniyyūn and those only from when they first combined al-ʿIrāḳ and the Djibāl under their rule in 246 S.E., which Lewy notes is the year Phraates II took the title of "king of kings". Al-Masʿūdī, who gives 513 years for the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, reports as "a religious and political secret" of the Persians that Zoroaster had prophesied in the *Avesta* that the Persian religion and kingdom would be destroyed after 1,000 years, and that when Ardashīr came to power less than 200 years were left, so he set the death of Ardawān at 260 years after al-Iskandar, cutting the duration of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* in half, in order to lengthen the duration of his own dynasty. Lewy suggests that the year of Ardashīr's accession (538 S.E.) was changed to 538 years from the appearance of Zoroaster. Since al-Iskandar died 272 years later, that left 266 years for the Ashkāniyyūn, which number occurs fairly consistently in Islamic sources that depend on the Sasanian *Avesta*.

According to al-Yaʿḳūbī, the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* were not Madjūs [*q.v.*] but Ṣābiʾans who worshipped the sun, moon, fire, and the seven planets, and spoke and wrote Aramaic. Al-Thaʿālibī claims that Akfūrshāh recovered the *dirafsh-i Kāwiyān* [see KĀWAH] and books on medicine, astronomy, and philosophy that al-Iskandar had taken from Iran. Nearly 70 books, including *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] and *Sindbad*, are said to have been composed in this period. The prophetic careers of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ and ʿĪsā b. Maryam are integrated with Ashkānī history by Muslim historians. The claim that a king called Khardūs attacked Jerusalem to punish the Israelites for killing Yaḥyā may reflect the capture of Jerusalem in 40 B.C. by Pacorus, the son of Orodes II, 266 years before the accession of Ardashīr. The version in which Djūdharz b. Ashkān attacked the Israelites for killing Yaḥyā may reflect the massacre of the Jews of Seleucia in *ca.* 40 A.D. during the civil war between Gotarzes and Vardanes. Otherwise, they report that Titus destroyed the Bayt al-Maḳdis. The image of the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* as a time of anarchy and cultural decay seems to be late Sasanian propaganda and may have contributed to Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī's comparison that after the Banū Umayya, al-Andalus was divided among a number of rulers "whose condition was like that of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* of the Persians" (see 2. below).

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2. In Muslim Spain.

Hispanised as *reyes de taifas*, and often used in this form in French and English, this phrase denoted the rulers of the states in al-Andalus between the fall of the Manṣūrid dictatorship which dominated the Umayyad caliph Hishām II of Cordova [see ḲURṬUBA] in 399/1009 and the invasions of the Almoravids at the end of the 5th/11th century. The immediate stimuli of this sharp political change lay in a combination of an unpopular dictator, his absence from the capital, and an Umayyad prince ambitious to recover power in the state for his own house, but other, more fundamental weaknesses in the structure of the Umayyad state in al-Andalus had helped to prepare the ground for the collapse. The metropolitan revolution successfully rid al-Andalus of the Manṣūrids, but simultaneously inaugurated some twenty years of Umayyad and other coups and revolts which finally destroyed the unity and cohesion of the state as a whole, and the caliphal institution with it.

The earliest taifas appear to have emerged by 403/1013 (Almeria [see AL-MARIYYA], Badajoz [see BAṬALYAWS], Denia [see DĀNIYA], Granada [see GHARNĀṬA], Huelva (Awnaba)-Saltes [see SHALTĪSH]), and possibly even before that date; one taifa, Saragossa [see SARAḲUSTA], lasted until the early years of the 6th/12th century before being first absorbed into the Almoravid empire [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] and then reconquered by Christian Spain.

The taifa states were of different types: some were set up, in the main on the Mediterranean seaboard, by so-called "Slavs" (A. *ṣaḳāliba* [*q.v.*]) expelled from Cordova in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Manṣūrids; others (like Malaga [see MĀLAḲA] and Granada) represented attempts by recently imported groups of Berbers to establish states for themselves as a means to securing their future in the peninsula; others again, with Seville [see ISHBĪLIYYA] pre-eminent in this group, were ruled by local Muslims, who may be regarded as Arabs or Andalusians (for their ethnic identification, see the discussions by Guichard, Glick and Wasserstein listed in the *Bibl.*), who resented the imposition under the later Umayyads and the Manṣūrids of alien rule by "Slavs" and Berbers. Toledo [see ṬULAYṬULA], ruled by an Arabised family of distant Berber origin long settled in the peninsula, falls similarly into this category.

Until 422/1031 a unified peninsular state under an Umayyad caliph (whether as actual ruler or as a figurehead) was the aim of the main contenders of power, but the disappearance of the caliphal institution in Cordova at that time marked a recognition that this was no longer a possibility, although some states, notably Seville, continued to maintain a caliphal fiction and to aim at power beyond their own immediate neighbourhoods. Around forty taifa states are known (see Wasserstein, *Rise and fall*, 83-99 for lists of states and rulers), of which Toledo, Saragossa and Seville were the most important, ruled respectively by the Dhu 'l-Nūnid, Hūdid and ʿAbbādid dynasties [*q.vv.*]. Each of these had a solid economic base in agriculture, while other states, mainly on the eastern coast, had economies based on extensive maritime trade. Many states were simply the products of an energetic local leader and a city not yet dominated by one of its larger neighbours. As the century wore on, in consequence, many of the smaller and weaker states were absorbed by others; Seville was the most successful state in this respect, and eventually came to be that state which more than any other entertained some realistic ambition to reunite the territories in the peninsula formerly subject to the Umayyads.

Ethnically, the taifas were fairly mixed, but some, such as Granada and Málaga, or the small eastern coastal states, as well as Seville, were characterised by the dominance of one particular ethnic group, and the ethnic factor remained significant in taifa politics until mid-century. Thereafter it tended to become attenuated, reflecting the real political and military strengths and concerns of the members of the taifa system. Most of the taifas had minorities of Jews and Christians; though the sizes of these communities, like those of the populations as a whole, can only be guessed at, they seem to have formed relatively small elements in the overall population (about whose size there is no reliable information); the Christians appear to have been declining, both in numbers and in importance. For the Jews, by contrast, the taifa period marked a significant advance. Under the Umayyads the Jews had enjoyed tolerance and some economic well-being; but in the fissiparous political system of the 5th/11th century they entered upon an era of flourishing development, culturally as well as in other ways, and in a number of states, most notably Granada, Jews also played a variety of roles in government and politics, sometimes as a group, more often through individuals who rose to high office.

Culturally, the taifa period saw al-Andalus come of age. The large number of individual states, each of which sought to emulate the courts of the Umayyads and the Manṣūrids of the past, encouraged literary and artistic creativity as likely to magnify their achievements and perpetuate the memories of their petty dynasts. In some states a ruler was noted for public works (e.g., in Almeria, where an early "Slav" ruler, Khayrān, was remembered for his improvements to the local water supply), while in others, works of lesser immediate utility were constructed for rulers anxious to secure a well-founded reputation for patronage (e.g. Toledo, where the Dhu 'l-Nūnids

supported the building of a famous water-clock, said to have been taken apart under the later Christian rulers of the city in an attempt to discover its workings). Some rulers devoted considerable energy and resources to the building of mosques, as in Seville, where we have a good deal of information on the religious architectural activity of the dynasty.

On the literary side, the taifas were extremely productive. We possess great amounts of poetry from this period, thanks in part to the great anthologies, both contemporary and later, produced in al-Andalus. The basic study of this material remains that of Pérès (see *Bibl.*); the poetry of the last ʿAbbādid king of Seville, al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*], has been made the subject of a detailed literary study recently, by Scheindlin, in an attempt to found a sounder understanding of such poetry on literary terms. Much of this poetry is, understandably, a product of the political and social circumstances of the time; thus we have long panegyrics of the most obscure taifa rulers and their courtiers (the Jewish poets, writing in Hebrew, produced much similar, parallel work), and all the other genres of Arabic poetry are represented as well. In the *zadjal* and the *muwashshaḥāt* [*q.vv.*], the Andalusians broke new ground, introducing strophic structures and also non-classical Arabic linguistic forms, as well as Romance expressions, into the standard repertory of Arabic literary canons and tastes.

The biographical dictionaries, which provide virtually complete chronological cover for Andalusian history from the conquest right up to the 9th/15th century, show us the integration of the *muwalladūn* into Andalusian society (and probably, in fact, their takeover of it) as well as the range of subjects and individual texts studied and/or available in al-Andalus at this time. On this basis, we can see that al-Andalus enjoyed access to the entire cultural production of the central areas of the Islamic world, and also contributed to it. Scholars, pilgrims and merchants travelled to the East, and returned to maintain and deepen Andalusian contact and integration with the Islamic heartlands.

Despite the internal political divisions, al-Andalus remained culturally and religiously a unity. Mālikism remained the norm, with other schools of law represented only in scholarship. Probably the best-known religious scholar (and polemicist) of the time was Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*] but as a Ẓāhirī (and a failed political careerist) he had little real or lasting influence during his own lifetime; his posthumous fame rests mainly on his *Fiṣal*, regarded widely though inaccurately as an early study in comparative religion. Scholars and littérateurs moved easily and frequently between rival states and rulers, and culture in general (and scholarship along with it) benefited from the competition between these different patrons. Besides Ibn Ḥazm, writers of note in this period include the historians Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*] and Ṣāʿid [*q.v.*] of Toledo, as well as the last Zīrid ruler of Granada, ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn [*q.v.*], whose memoirs were discovered fifty years ago by Lévi-Provençal; the religious scholars Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī [*q.vv.*], the latter of whom belonged to a veritable school of *ḳirāʾāt* scholars supported by the "Slav" ruler Mudjāhid of Denia; the medical scholars of the Ibn Zuhr [*q.v.*] family, and many others.

By the second half of the 5th/11th century, the taifa system was coming under increased strain. It was being squeezed between the rising power of the revivalist movement of the Almoravids in North Africa and the awakening strength of Christian Spain, expressed not only in military, political and economic pressure on the taifa states themselves but also in an increasingly assertive and potent religious and ideological claim to the whole of the peninsula. Most of the taifas found themselves paying tribute (Spanish: *parias*) to Christians, among whom the figures of Alfonso VI and the Cid stand out (the progressive debasement of the silver coinage during the century seems to be related in part to the draining of precious metals from the taifas in this way); but at the same time it remained possible for ideology to be ignored as some taifas allied themselves with Christians against other taifas.

The demands of the Christians grew steadily more burdensome as they became more aware of Muslim weaknesses; their easy takeover of Toledo in 1085 marked a great psychological, as well as military, advance for the Christians because of the city's significance as the old Visigothic capital, but the city's fall sent a tremor through al-Andalus, and the taifa rulers turned to the only possible source of salvation, the Almoravids. The latter saw in the taifa rulers dissolute and immoral tyrants, and were not slow to take advantage of their opportunity; in a swift series of campaigns, interrupted by the victory against the Christians at the battle of Sagrajas or Zallāḳa [*q.v.*] in 1086, the North Africans made away with the taifa states one by one, destroying Spanish Islamic autonomy but saving the day for Islam in the peninsula.

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(D.J. Wasserstein)

MUMAYYIZ [see BĀLIG̲H̲].

MUʾMIN (A.), denotes (i) one of the names of God (Ḳurʾān, LIX, 23); (ii) believer.

Muʾmin is the active participle of form IV of the root *ʾmn*. What a Muslim believer ought to believe, and what "to believe" means, is discussed in the article *īmān* [*q.v.*].

Hebrew and other Semitic languages closely related to Arabic, possess derivations of the same root *ʾmn* to express the concepts of faith and trust. It is a matter of speculation whether Arabic took over the meaning of "belief" from one of its cognate languages (and from which one), or whether in Arabic the meaning of religious belief developed independently.

In Ḳurʾān, LIX, 23, God Himself is called *muʾmin*; logic compels one to conclude that the original Arabic meaning of "someone who protects, gives safety" is here to be preferred. Similarly, *īmān* in Ḳurʾān, LIX, 9, ought to be understood as "giving mutual protection and security".

In other Ḳurʾānic contexts, it is not easy to decide whether *muʾmin* refers exclusively to those contemporaries of Muḥammad who recognised Muḥammad as the Messenger of God or whether other monotheists, e.g., the Jews of Yat̲h̲rib/Medina, are being included. Also, the context of the "Constitution

of Medina", the famous treaty between Muḥammad and the inhabitants of that town, is obscure on this point.

In ḥadīth texts, muʾmin occasionally refers to other varieties of belief than belief in God. These texts use expressions like *muʾmin bi 'l-kawkab* (someone who believes in astrology) and *muʾmin bi-siḥr* (someone who believes in magic). In *fiḳh* texts, the term may again include or exclude non-Muslim monotheists. The context, the subject matter and the usage of school of law concerned will have to indicate which of the two is the case.

In contemporary standard Arabic, *muʾmin* may, in Muslim usage and especially in political contexts, almost be the opposite of *muslim*. Certainly, the religious opposition in Egypt at the end of the Sādāt era understood the term in this way. This was especially the case where *muʾmin* was used in the honorific formula *al-raʾīs al-muʾmin* ("the believing President"). The Sādāt régime gave this title to its leader at the very time when the religious opposition dreamed of a "Muslim ruler", a *ḥākim muslim*.

In Arabic texts written by non-Muslims for other non-Muslims, and especially in Christian Arabic, the terms occurs as well, in the meaning of "believer", with the same complexities that are involved in the use of this term in Jewish and Christian writings in other languages than Arabic.

Historians of religion and non-Muslim observers of Islam sometimes discuss the relative importance (to Muslim believers) of "having faith" and "carrying out the prescripts of Islam".

In Islam, orthopraxy is no doubt of greater practical importance than orthodoxy. The question what Islam orders a Muslim believer to believe is of little day-to-day importance when compared to the question what Islam orders a Muslim believer to do. This is reflected by the contents of Muslim religious instruction to children, and by the contents of Muslim religious magazines and journals. It is easily verifiable that the contemporary Muslim religious press devotes more space to the practical consequences of Islam and adherence to its prescripts than to the abstractions of faith and doubt. This difference between Islam and Christianity in no way reflects, as an outsider might assume, a weakness on the side of Islam; on the contrary, it may be regarded as its strength.

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MUʾMIN (Mōmin), Ḥakīm Muḥammad Khān (1215-68/1800-51), Urdu poet, was born into a noble Kās͟hmīrī family noted for its distinguished physicians. As such, his father Ḥākim G͟hulām Nabī was *persona grata* at the Mug͟hal court. The family had been granted a *d̲j̲āgīr* [*q.v.*] which was subsequently appropriated by the East India Company in exchange for a substantial pension. In due course, the poet had a share of it, and he never needed to work for a living. This background of financial independence and social status should be borne in mind in judging Muʾmin as both a man and a poet.

After sowing his wild oats as a young man, he became a disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad of Rāē Brēlī [*q.v.*], whom he praised in a D̲j̲ihād *mat̲h̲nawī* (*Kulliyyāt*, Brēlwī, 436-8) as a worthy successor of ʿAlī, Ḥusayn and Ḥasan, saying that "the death of unbelievers is his life". But the poet did not become puritanical, and his religious views did not appear to give any particular colour to his poetry. Unlike K͟hʷād̲j̲a Mīr Dard [*q.v.*] (1719-85), whose great-granddaughter he married, he is not generally regarded as a mystical poet.

His father saw that he had the broad education befitting a man of his social station—the Islamic sciences, languages (including Persian and Arabic), literature, as well as the family profession, medicine. Muʾmin was, by inclination, something of a dilettante, and studied one subject after another, whether scientific or artistic, with no thought of taking up any profession. But when he concentrated on writing, he took pleasure in using the copious specialised vocabulary which he had acquired in such subjects as medicine, mathematics, music, chess and astronomy/astrology, in order to give his poetry a particular flavour of erudition which, when combined with condensation, made some of his verse hard to follow. This has led Muhammad Sadiq (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 174) to compare him with the 17th-century English poet John Donne.

His mentor in poetry was the second-rate poet S͟hāh Naṣīr, but he was too independent to tolerate tutelage for long. Indeed, he started to declare himself superior to all other poets, past and present—a somewhat questionable claim, seeing that G͟hālib and Anīs [*q.vv.*] were his contemporaries. His published works include, in Persian, a *dīwān* and a collection of prose: but his fame rests on his Urdu *dīwān*. He was probably too much of a perfectionist to be prolific; nevertheless, his Urdu *Kulliyyāt* include examples of most forms—*ḳaṣīda*, *mat̲h̲nawī* and miscellaneous other genres such as chronograms, enigmas, *rubāʿī*, *mut̲h̲allat̲h̲* and *muk̲h̲ammas*. But he is best known for his *g̲h̲azal*; and even when he writes in other forms—as, for example, *mat̲h̲nawī*—there is often a strong *g̲h̲azal* flavour.

He did not follow the normal road to fame as a poet, sc. the patronage of princes; nor did his pride endear him to other poets. Nevertheless, he attracted numerous pupils. Kalb ʿAlī K͟hān Fāʾiḳ (*op. cit.*. in *Bibl.*, 125-91) discusses 37 of them. He also mentions a book on prosody (*D̲j̲ān-i ʿarūḍ*) by him, now lost, if it ever existed. He must have been a good teacher, and he has been called the founder of a "school of poets" (Saksena, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 150). But to Sadiq, 172, he represents "the most sophisticated and artificial stage in the decline of Urdu poetry". Muʾmin's fame did not outlive him, despite some lip-service paid to him for his importance. But in recent years, after a century of neglect, determined efforts have been made by a handful of scholars to revive his fame (see *Bibl.*, works of Dānis͟h and Iṣlāḥī, Fāʾiḳ, Brēlwī)—with what success, it remains to be seen.

Muʾmin's poetry is full of erudition, but restricted in scope, concentrating on love and beauty. His *g̲h̲azals* are generally thought to be about earthly love, though not exclusively physical. There is much despair and irony in them. He paints himself as a uniquely gifted man who is badly treated by his beloved, in particular, and by fate in general. Yet his champions see a universality in his poetry. Brēlwī concludes (*S̲h̲āʿirī*, 342) that he is purely a poet of feelings, without depth of thought or philosophy. The poet, he says, expresses human emotions to perfection in his *g̲h̲azals*, and despite his limitations, he is unique. Yet even critics favourable to him admit his love of complexity (Fāʾiḳ, 344), whilst Saksena, 150, appears to attribute this complexity to "Persianisation in construction". Sadiq, 172-4, gives some examples of his condensation and allusiveness which "conceal rather

than reveal thought". Each example consists of a single verse of two hemistiches, which is almost untranslatable, and must be paraphrased and extended to give some idea of the meaning. Dānish and Iṣlāḥī treat this condensation rather leniently, saying (*op. cit.*, 103) "*Maḥdhūfāt* go with his style. Some like them, others do not."

Mu'min, then, is a controversial figure. The reasons for his neglect can be deduced from the above remarks. However, the reasons given by his champions include considerations unconnected with the qualities of his poetry; for example, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād's belated inclusion and lukewarm account of him in his *Āb-i-ḥayāt* (Lahore 1297/1880), the poet's distaste for patronage, scorn for other poets, and excessive boasting. An example of the latter is his placing of his own poetry on a par with the Seven *Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*] of pre-Islamic Arabic literature. It must be admitted that he was not the first Urdu poet to indulge in such boasting, but he is usually considered to have overdone it. Perhaps it might have been more easily tolerated had his own poetry had a more immediate appeal.

Mu'min spent his whole life in Dihlī and seldom left the city. His death was caused by a fall from the upper storey of his house when the roof was being repaired. He died of his injuries some time later, but not before he had demonstrated his skill in astrology by foretelling the date of his demise in a chronogram.

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(J.A. HAYWOOD)

MU'MINIDS [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN].

MŪMIYĀ' (thus in Arabic, in Persian *mūmiyā'ī*, from *mūm*, "wax", but perhaps of Greek origin), *Mumia naturalis persica*, bitumen, mineral tar, is a solid, black, shining mineral liquid, which trickles from rock-caves. In ancient medicine, it was mainly used against lesions and fractures. It is to be distinguished from the *Mumia factitia var. humana*, the bituminous substance of the Egyptian mummies. The *Mumia naturalis*, called in Greek πισσάσφαλτος (πιττάσφαλτος), has entered the Arabic translations of Dioscurides and their commentaries as *biṣṣasfalṭus* (and vars.). *Mūmiyā'* was found in Persia in the first place, to a lesser extent in Syria and the Yemen, and also in the Islamic West, i.e. near Cordova, on the Atlantic coast and in the regions of the Moroccan Berber tribes. On the method of extraction, there exists a series of different, but remarkably realistic reports, above all in the works of al-Rāzī, al-Bīrūnī, al-Idrīsī, al-Suwaydī and al-Anṭākī (see *Bibl.*). A further variant of these reports, going back in the end to Dioscurides, is found in an anonymous Arabic commentary on Dioscurides, dating from the turn of the 6th/12th century and published recently (see *Bibl.*). According to this text, there were, in the mountains of the Berber Banū Makūd, rock-caves in which many birds of prey were lodging, consuming their prey there. As a result, bits of meat slip out of their grasp, remain lying around, shrink and in the end decay. In due time, the decayed meat sucks up rainwater, which forces its way through the rock-crevices and trickles out as a kind of squeezed juice (*ʿuṣāra*), which gradually solidifies and becomes *mūmiyā'*.

Dioscurides reports very little about the healing virtues of the πισσάσφαλτος, unlike however the Arabs, who attribute to it an extraordinary, many-sided effect. According to the sources (for references, see *Bibl.*), *mūmiyā'* above all allays pains originating from fractures, sprains, dislocations, lesions and pulled tendons. It is therefore occasionally called *djabbār*, "bone-setter" (M. Steinschneider, in *WZKM*, xii [1898], 6). It also helped against headaches, migraine, facial paralysis, ear ache, angina, cough, fluttering of the heart, hiccups (*fuwāḳ*), suffocation, choking and illnesses of the spleen. *Mūmiyā'* was considered to be the most efficient remedy against coughing up blood, incontinence, trembling and tetanus, disturbances of the stomach and liver, ulcers of the bladder and the urethra (*iḥlīl*), against epilepsy and dizziness, dropsy, jaundice, phthisis, skin eruptions (*khurādj*), flatulence, pains of nerves and joints, and against poison and scorpion stings. *Mūmiyā'* is mentioned in combination with numerous vegetable drugs which are applied in various preparations (pastes, solutions, tinctures, salves, etc.).

When the Arabs, after the conquest of Egypt, opened up the old tombs and came upon the embalmed bodies, they soon became aware that these had been treated with asphalt (*kufr*) and in that way had escaped decay. Before this, when a part of the body became ill, a juice was extracted from the corresponding part of a healthy body and used for curing purposes. This procedure now suggested the idea of cutting up embalmed, and therefore undecayed, mummies, mixing the pieces with grain, wine, balm and other ingredients, putting them in vessels, and preparing a juice from this mixture. Since the juice had been extracted from every part of the body of the mummies, it was considered to be effective as a universal medicine against all diseases (see A. Wiedemann, *Mumie als Heilmittel*, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für rheinische und westfälische Volkskunde*, iii [1906], 1-38, esp. 2-6).

Bibliography: Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xxi, Ḥaydarābād 1387/1967, 497; Ibn al-Djazzār, *K. al-Iʿtimād fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*, photomech. repr. Frankfurt 1985, 112-13; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 367; Idrīsī, *K. al-Djāmiʿ li-ṣifāt ashtāt al-nabāt*, ms. Istanbul, Fatih 3610, 265; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, iv, 169-70, tr. Leclerc, no. 2190; Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Ghassānī, *al-Muʿtamad*, ed. M. al-Saḳḳā, Beirut 1395/1975, 509; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 325 f.; Suwaydī, *K. al-Simāt fī asmā' al-nabāt*, ms. Paris arab. 3004, 165b, l.14-166a, l.9. For further references, see A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans. Ein anonymer arabischer Kommentar (Ende 12. Jahrh. n. Chr.) zur Materia Medica*, in *Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen*, Phil-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, nos. 172 and 173 (Göttingen 1988), i, 39. (A. DIETRICH)

MUMTĀZ, Barkhwurdār b. Maḥmūd Turkmān Farāhī, a Persian writer, a contemporary of the Ṣafawid Sultan Ḥusayn I (1105-35/1694-1722).

At an early age, he left his native town of Farāh in Afghānistān and went to Marw, where he entered the service of the governor Aṣlān Khān. After two years, however, he left this post and became *munshī* [*q.v.*] with Ḥasan Ḳūlī Khān Shāmlū Ḳūrčī-bashī in Iṣfahān. At a banquet there at his master's house he heard a story which attracted him exceedingly. He wrote it down and it became the foundation of a great collection, the *Maḥfil-ārā*, which contained about 400 stories and consisted of a *muḳaddima*, eight *bābs* and a *khātima*. Soon afterwards he returned to Farāh, spent some time in Harāt and Mashhad and then entered the service of the *amīr* Minūčihr Khān b. Ḳārčīghāy whose duty it was to defend Darūn and Khabūshān against raids by the wild nomad tribes. His stay there was disastrous for Mumtāz, since he lost all his goods and chattels and the valuable manuscript of his *Maḥfil-ārā* during a nomad raid; he did not have another copy of it. He resolved, however, to restore the book and wrote down all the stories that he could remember a second time. Thus arose the second version of the *Maḥfil-ārā*, which consists of a *muḳaddima*, five *bābs* and a *khātima* and has come down to us under the title *Maḥbūb al-ḳulūb*. The book is written in an extravagantly artificial style. The *khātima* is the best part; it contains the celebrated story of Zībā and Raʿnā, which is very common in Persia in a simplified form in many editions from the popular presses.

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MUMTĀZ MAḤALL, wife of Shāh Djahān, and the lady for whom the Tādj Maḥall [*q.v.* and hind. vii. Architecture] was built. She was the daughter of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān, who was Nūr Djahān's brother. Her name was Ardjumand Bānū, the title Mumtāz Maḥall being conferred on her after Shāh Djahān's accession. She was his favourite wife and bore him fourteen children, seven of whom grew up. She was born in 1001/1593, married in 1021/1612, and died, at Burhānpūr in the Deccan, very shortly after the birth of a daughter in 1041/1631. She was reportedly beautiful and amiable, and Shāh Djahān loved her tenderly.

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MUNĀDĪ (a.), active participle of the form III verb *nādā* "to call", hence crier, herald.

In the Ḳurʾān, *munādī* is used (L, 40/41) for the one who will proclaim the Last Day and give the summons to Judgement, in popular Islam usually identified with the angel Isrāfīl [*q.v.*]; in another context where one might expect it, the story of Joseph, we find instead *muʾadhdhin* used for Joseph's herald (XII, 70).

In the towns of the pre-modern Islamic world, the *munādī* or town crier performed a vital function of communication in an age when there were no newspapers or, when these did tentatively appear, they could only be read by the small, literate section of the populace. Thus in Fās, the Muslims of the town (but not the Jews of the *Mallāḥ* [*q.v.*]) had a corps of some 20 town criers under an *amīn* who acted as disseminators of information; they were not however specifically paid by the *Makhzan* [*q.v.*] but exercised other callings, e.g. that of undertakers' mutes, in order to gain their daily sustenance (R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 258-9). In mediaeval Cairo, up to E.W. Lane's time, there was a *munādī 'l-Nīl* for each quarter, and he went round each day from the rising of the Nile about the time of the summer solstice until it had risen to the level of 16 *dhirāʿs* or cubits on the *Miḳyās* [*q.v.*] or Nilometer (see *The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. xxiv "Periodical public festivals, etc."). But the ordinary *munādīs* of Cairo were agents of the *muḥtasib* [see ḥisba] and had the duty of proclaiming through the streets and markets information about price levels, the state of the coinage, etc. (A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, Damascus 1973-4, ii, 590); whilst in late 19th century Damascus, a member of the corporation of *munādīs* might be hired by the government to give out public announcements, or else they could be hired by private individuals to make announcements about lost children, animals, goods, etc., payment being according to results (Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-shāmiyya/Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, Paris-The Hague 1960, ii, 471-2, no. 399). Finally, it should be noted that, from al-Djabartī, it appears that the head of a Cairo trade corporation (*ḥirfa* [see ṣinf]) had his own *munādī* to act as his messenger and agent, the equivalent of the *čāwīsh* in Damascus (Raymond, *op. cit.*, ii, 559).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUNĀDJĀT (a.), the verbal noun of the form III verb *nādjā* "to whisper to, talk confidentially with someone", which is used in Ḳurʾān, LVIII, 13, in this sense, and in the reciprocal form VI in LVIII, 9, 10, of the murmurs of discontent amongst the Prophet's followers, probably after the Uḥud reverse (see Nöldeke-Schwally, *G des Q*, i, 212-13).

Munādjāt becomes, however, a technical term of Muslim piety and mystical experience in the sense of "extempore prayer", as opposed to the corporate addressing of the deity in the *ṣalāt* (see Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, 420), and of the Ṣūfīs' communion with God; the meanings here were perhaps influenced by Ḳurʾān, XIX, 53/52, where Moses engages in confidential talk (*nadjiyyan*) with God on Mount Sinai. In Arabic, the Ṣūfī master al-Djunayd [*q.v.*] is said to have composed a *K. al-Munādjāt*, which has not survived, as did also Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*], whose work is in fact extant (Brockelmann, I^2, 565); whilst in Persian, the *Munādjāt* of ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] have always been considered as an outstanding work of religious experience and of literary attainment (see A.J. Arberry, *Ansari's prayers and counsels. Transl. from the original Persian*, in *IC*, x [1936], 369-89; S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, *EIr* art. *ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī*).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*², Paris 1954, 268, 290; Arberry, *The Divine Colloquy in Islam*, in *BJRL*, xxxix/1 (1956), 25. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUNADJDJIM (a.), active participle from *nadjdjama* "to observe the stars and deduce from them the state of the world". The *munadjdjim* claims to know the lot of humans and their destiny from the positions of the stars. He is the astrologer.

For a long time this noun designated both astrologer and astronomer, so close were the functions of the two. Often the court astrologer used to observe the stars scientifically and to interpret their movements for the benefit of his master. This is borne out

by the fact that, according to Djābir b. Ḥayyān, "the astrologer must be a mathematician (*riyāḍī*); he must have mastery of astronomy (*al-hay'a*); this is a part of *ʿilm al-nudjūm* (the science of the stars or astrology). For *ʿilm al-hay'a* (astronomy [*q.v.*]) is the description of the situation of the state of the sky and what it contains (*ṣūrat waḍʿ al-falak wa-mā fīhi*), whereas astrology is the "gift of the planets" (*ʿaṭā' al-kawākib*) (*K. al-Baḥth*, ms. Tandjī, fol. 98a; ms. Cârullâh, fol. 168b; cited in Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 109).

According to the encyclopaedists, astrology is currently designated by the expression *aḥkām al-nudjūm* (Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Ḥaydarābād, 1328-57/1909-37, i, 307-8) or *ʿilm al-aḥkām* Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1835-58, i, 177 ff.), *aḥkām* being, according to this author, a name given, in the category of methods of reasoning, to the process of deducing unknown states (*al-aḥwāl al-ghaybiyya*) from known data which, in this case, are the stars in their movements, position and time. Hence the adjective *aḥkāmī* given to the astrologer who interprets the astrological signs (on the difference between astrology and astronomy, cf. S. Pinès, *The semantic distinction between the terms astronomy and astrology to al-Bīrūnī*, in *Isis*, lv (1964), 345-7; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, 271-8; C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 1944, 1-2).

For astrology, the reader is referred to the art. NUDJŪM (ʿILM AL-). We will limit ourselves here to the mention of the functions of the *munadjdjim* or *aḥkāmī*.

The first is to answer the questions (*masā'il*) which are asked him by his clients concerning their everyday activities and their outcome. The methods in current use are described in the arts. DJAFR, ḤURŪF, KHAṬṬ, MALḤAMA (cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 488-97).

The second function is to distinguish the auspicious and inauspicious astrological signs (*aḥkām*), the opportune and inopportune hours to take action, the favourable and unfavourable moment for such conduct, all in terms of the sun's position in the signs of the Zodiac and the moon in the mansions (*manāzil* [*q.v.*]) and the relations which result from them, such as opposition (*muḳābala* [*q.v.*]), lunar quarter (*tarbīʿ*) and sixth (*tasdīs*), etc. As a result of all these observations, the choice is made of the propitious moment for every action to be undertaken [see IKHTIYĀRĀT (ʿILM AL-); and cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 483-8].

The third function is, at the moment of birth, to study the omens to predict the future of the newborn. This part of astrological lore, called "genethlialogy" (cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 480), is the subject of an extensive literature entitled *Taḥwīl sinī 'l-mawālīd*, a title rendered in Latin as *Revolutiones annorum nativitatum*. In short, it is concerned with the art of preparing horoscopes, which, coming from the East, was very successful in the West (cf. F. Carmody, *La fortune de l'astrologie arabe en Europe au XVIᵉ siècle*, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofía medieval*, i, 1979, 607-12).

These three functions of the *munadjdjim* correspond to the three parts which go to make up astrology, i.e. *masā'il* (*interrogationes*), *ikhtiyārāt* (*electiones*) and *mawālīd* (*nativitates*), which will be the subject of the art. NUDJŪM.

The role of the *munadjdjim* in Arab-Islamic society is very similar to that of the astrologer in mediaeval society in Europe. It is known that the Popes themselves used to consult the astrologer of the pontifical court to choose the day of their coronation, the day for the meeting of the consistory and every important action. There was even a chair of astrology in the Sapientia (cf. C. Bezold, in Boll, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, Leipzig 1926, 35-6). It was the same at the ʿAbbāsids' court in Baghdād, where astrologers were appointed who advised and accompanied the caliph (cf. Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā 'l-Islām*, 286, citing Ibn al-ʿIbrī and al-Aṣmaʿī). In this they followed an ancestral tradition at the court of the Sāsānids. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 645 ff., reports a story concerning Sābūr (A.D. 241-72) son of Ardashīr I who, on being advised by his astrologers of a period of pain and misery that he would have to endure, sought to determine this period and left incognito to enter the service of a village headman. He informed his ministers of his absence, asking them to come to find him at the end of this period, telling them the place and the hour. On the role of the *munadjdjim* among the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, several stories are reported in *La divination arabe*, 482 ff., and on his permanent role in Muslim societies cf. C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 38 ff.; Ibrahim Madkour, *Astrologie en terre d'Islam*, in *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen Age. Actes du quatrième congrès international de philosophie médiévale*, Montreal 1967, 1041-7.

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(T. FAHD)

MUNADJDJIM, BANU 'L-, name of an extensive family, whose members were active at the ʿAbbāsid court as scholars, literati and courtiers for six or seven generations, from the middle of the 2nd/8th century until the second part of the 4th/10th century.

In the sources, the following persons appear as important members of the family.

(1) ABŪ MANṢŪR ABĀN, about whose dates of life nothing is known. According to one single information (al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarā'*, ed. Krenkow, 286), he traced his lineage back to a minister of the Sāsānid king Ardashīr. Though he remained faithful to his Zoroastrian beliefs, the caliph al-Manṣūr (d. 158/775) summoned him to the court and appointed him as his astrologer (*munadjdjim*).

It seems, however, that the family owes its later name to the ancestor's son, (2) ABŪ ʿALĪ YAḤYĀ, who professed Islam before the caliph al-Ma'mūn (d. 201/817). From that moment onwards, the family belonged to the *mawālī* [see MAWLĀ) of the ʿAbbāsids. Because of the reputation earned by Yaḥyā through his astronomical and astrological studies, made under the guidance of his father and in collaboration with the vizier Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*], al-Ma'mūn assigned to him, in a leading position, tasks which resulted from his own scientific endeavours. Together with others he established in 215-7/830-2 observatories [see MARṢAD] in the Shammāsiyya district in Baghdād and on the Djabal Ḳāsiyūn [*q.v.*] near Damascus for the observation of the stars and, in connection with this, for the improvement of astronomical instruments. Another important aim of the research was the control of the data of the *Almagest* [see BAṬLAMIYŪS]. The results were laid down in the *zīdj al-mumtaḥan*, the "verified astronomical tables" of Ptolemy (facsimile edition of the Escorial ms. 927 by E. Kennedy, Frankfurt 1986), which became of great importance in later times. Another great geodetic achievement was the measurement of a meridian degree executed north of Palmyra.

Yaḥyā apparently occupied a leading position in the *Bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] created by al-Maʾmūn, where he took the promotion of the interests of the Banū Mūsā b. Shākir [*q.v.*] to heart. He died on Byzantine territory during al-Maʾmūn's last campaign in Asia Minor, 215-7/830-2. According to other sources, he died in Aleppo, where he was buried on the cemetery of the Ḳuraysh.

(3) Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (b. 200/815-6) is the first real courtier, a personality with a wideranging education and many interests, of perfect manners, a great spirit, witty, as good at repartee as capable of adapting himself to the changing moods of the ruler of the time (cf. the description in Djaḥẓa's *Amālī*, in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 486-7). He lived partly in Baghdād, partly in Sāmarrā, where he died and was buried in 275/888-9. Al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [*q.v.*], the secretary to al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861), for whom Abu 'l-Ḥasan had arranged a library, introduced him to the caliph, whose confidence he was able to win and to retain, as is shown by a number of anecdotes (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 473-4). Under al-Muntaṣir (d. 248/862), he was entrusted with a high office at the caliphal court and with the properties on the western bank of the Tigris that went with it. Apart from a one-year interruption under al-Muhtadī (d. 256/870), he retained it under the next rulers until the reign of al-Muʿtamid (d. 279/892) and the latter's brother al-Muwaffaḳ. ʿAlī's large income permitted him to indulge plentifully in his multifarious interests and tastes. On one of his estates, in Karkar near Baghdād, he had arranged a large library which he called *Khizānat al-ḥikma*, very probably with reference to al-Maʾmūn's establishment which meanwhile had disappeared. He generously put it at the disposition of users from far and near, who were offered free board and lodging. Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī [*q.v.*] is said to have resolved there to devote himself entirely to astronomy. Just like his father, ʿAlī was greatly interested in science and medicine, as is clear from two works written at his instigation: Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā's *Kitāb fi 'l-Mudkhal ilā ʿilm al-handasa*, in the questions-and-answers form [see masāʾil wa-adjwiba], and Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's inventory of Galen's writings. However, ʿAlī's special interests apparently were in the fields of music, art and literature. He had previously known Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] (d. 235/850) and preserved in a work of his the latter's *akhbār*; Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] wrote for him a work on questions of theory of music under the title *Kitāb fīmā saʾalahu Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim min abwāb ʿilm al-mūsīḳī*. ʿAlī's main work is to be considered his *Kitāb al-Shuʿarāʾ al-ḳudamāʾ wa 'l-islāmiyyīn*, related to earlier works of this genre.

Like his father, (4) Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā (241-300/855-912) was an esteemed and respected companion of al-Muwaffaḳ and the caliphs al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 289/902) and al-Muktafī (d. 295/908). Versed in the "Sciences of the Arabs and the non-Arabs" (*ʿulūm al-ʿarab wa 'l-ʿadjam*), he cultivated intercourse with many learned men of his time. Among his pupils should be mentioned, next to his son Yūsuf and his nephew ʿAlī b. Hārūn, the historian al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*]. Of his often-praised poetical gifts, only a few fragments give evidence, namely eight verses from an elegy on his friend Thābit b. Ḳurra (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 122). In a *Risāla fi 'l-mūsīḳī* (ms. B.L., Suppl. 823) he dealt with the mathematical theory of music. He also wrote a *Kitāb al-Nagham* (quoted in *Aghānī*[3], viii, 374,7). Yaḥyā is the first member of the Munadjdjim family concerning whose theological position we are informed in considerable detail. He belonged to the circle around the Muʿtazilī al-Balkhī and directed personally a *madjlis* in which theological questions were discussed. He is said to have composed some theological works whose titles, however, have not come down to us, except for his reply to a theological-polemic work by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, known under the title *Risāla ilā Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā wa-Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ* (ms. Şehid Ali 2103; cf. Brockelmann, S I, 225). Yaḥyā's most prominent and lasting achievement undoubtedly lies in the field of literary history. In his *Kitāb al-Bāhir fī akhbār shuʿarāʾ mukhaḍramī 'l-dawlatayn*, which remained unfinished and was later completed by his son Aḥmad, he collected information about poets who had lived in the transition period between the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids [see mukhaḍram]. Of this work there exists a short table of contents, and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī has moreover long extracts from it in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, which suggests that Yaḥyā in his turn used his father's book on poets mentioned above (see M. Fleischhammer, *Reste zweier Dichterbücher im Kitāb al-Aġānī*, in *Wiss. Zeitschr. Univ. Halle, Gesch.- und Sprachw. Reihe*, xvii [1968], 77-81; *idem, Hinweise auf schriftliche Quellen im Kitāb al-Aġānī*, *loc. cit.* xxviii [1979], 53-62, no. 95).

Though he died at the age of thirty-seven or thirty-eight, Yaḥyā's younger brother (5) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Hārūn (251/865 to 288/901 or to 289/902) was also an esteemed companion at the caliphal court. Of his literary production, which follows the trend taken by the family, two works are worth mentioning. The *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ*, an anthology of poems by "modern" (*muḥdathūn*) and "post-classical" (*muwalladūn*) poets, included, according to his own statements, more than 160 poets and was an extract from an earlier work. The beginning of the Introduction has been preserved, as well as isolated extracts from the work itself, which later enjoyed great favour and is said to have served as an example for authors of similar works, such as al-Thaʿālibī, al-Bākharzī, al-Ḥaẓīrī and ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii, 194 ff.; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Kātib Čelebi), ed. G. Flügel, ii, 5). The *Ikhtiyār al-kabīr*, which is mentioned only once in the sources (*Fihrist*, i, 144, 7 f.) and which did not reach further than the poets Bashshār b. Burd, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya and Abū Nuwās [*q.vv.*], originates either from the *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ* or from the original work. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī seems to have used this work in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, where he uses the formula *nasakhtu min kitāb Hārūn b. ʿAlī* in the articles on Bashshār b. Burd and Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (cf. Fleischhammer, *Hinweise*, *loc. cit.*, no. 39).

Nothing is known of the dates of life of another brother of Yaḥyā's, (6) Abū ʿĪsā Aḥmad. He was the author of a *Risāla fī nubuwwat Muḥammad*, against which Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā engaged in a polemic (*Fihrist*, i, 295, 10 f.; cf. J. Fück, *Neue Materialien zum Fihrist*, in *ZDMG*, xc [1936], 307), and of a *Taʾrīkh sinī 'l-ʿālam*, fragments of which are preserved by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ [*q.v.*] and in Ps. Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī's *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (see S.M. Stern, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*).

To the family's fifth generation belonged (7) Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad (262-327/875-939). Like his father, he was one of the leading representatives of the Muʿtazila in Baghdād, and frequented the court of the caliphs al-Muktafī and al-Rāḍī (d. 322/934). Of the many theological writings which he is said to have composed, only two are known by title. The *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd wa 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-mushabbiha* deals with one of the central themes of Muʿtazila dogma (cf. Fück, *Neue Materialien*, *loc. cit.*, 307), while the *Kitāb Ithbāt nubuwwat Muḥammad* probably was devoted to the defence of his uncle Abū ʿĪsā Aḥmad's *Risāla*, men-

tioned above, against the attacks of Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā. In *fiḳh*, Aḥmad was a follower of the school of al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*] as is shown in two of his writings, the *Kitāb al-Mud<u>kh</u>al ilā ma<u>dh</u>hab al-Ṭabarī wa-nuṣrat ma<u>dh</u>habih* and the *Kitāb al-I<u>dj</u>mā^c fi 'l-fiḳh ^calā ma<u>dh</u>hab al-Ṭabarī*. Whether the above-mentioned supplement to his father's *Kitāb al-Bāhir* (*Fihrist*, i, 143, 29 ff.) was used by Abu 'l-Fara<u>dj</u> al-Iṣfahānī at the seven places where he mentions Aḥmad as an informant (*Kitāb al-A<u>gh</u>ānī*[3], iii, 307, 3; v, 174, 5; xiii, 241, 7; xiv, 323, 5; 380, 5; xiv, 107, 15; cf. Fleischhammer, *Hinweise*, *loc. cit.*, no. 18), cannot be decided. The glorious past of his family induced him to compose a chronicle, which probably had the title *A<u>kh</u>bār Bani 'l-Muna<u>djdj</u>im wa-nasabuhum fi 'l-Furs*. From the standpoint of literary history, this is worth mentioning because it is one of the first attempts in this field known to us.

(8) Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yūsuf, Aḥmad's only known brother, contributed to the monthly costs of 600 *dīnārs* of the Bīmāristān al-Sayyida, which Sinān b. <u>Th</u>ābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] opened on 1 Muḥarram 306/14 June 918 at the Sūḳ Yaḥyā in Ba<u>gh</u>dād.

(9) Abu 'l-Ḥasan ^cAlī (277-352/890-963), who had the same *ism* and the same *kunya* [*q.vv.*] as his famous grandfather, was a cousin of the two last-named members of the Banu 'l-Muna<u>djdj</u>im. He frequented the caliphal court and other highly-placed personalities. He entertained friendly relations with the Būyid vizier Ibn ^cAbbād [*q.v.*], who held him in high esteem as a companion (see the extracts from Ibn ^cAbbād's diary (*rūznāma<u>dj</u>a*) in Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v. 440-3), and was acquainted with the author of the *Fihrist* and with Abu 'l-Fara<u>dj</u> al-Iṣfahānī. He was engaged in a literary polemic with the latter, who mentions him as an informant in thirteen places of the *Kitāb al-A<u>gh</u>ānī* (*A<u>gh</u>ānī*[3], v, 282, 11; 356, 4; 359, 4; 364, 16; ix, 282, 18; x, 107, 6; 120, 16; 133, 17; 138, 19; 139, 9; 140,13; 278, 10; [1]xxi, 181, 11). Since most of these are found in the article on Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī and in a section on Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, it may be assumed that they were taken from ^cAlī's *Risāla fi 'l-Farḳ bayn Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī wa-Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī fi 'l-<u>gh</u>inā'*, in which the author takes up a position in the dispute about "new" and "old" music. It seems quite probable that the *Kitāb <u>Sh</u>ahr Ramaḍān* on behalf of the caliph al-Rāḍī, the unfinished chronicle of his family on behalf of the Būyid vizier al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*], composed after the one by his elder cousin Hārūn, and the *Kitāb al-Kawāfī* on behalf of the Būyid ^cAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], are occasional works which were aimed at increasing the munificence of the addressed. The *Kitāb al-Radd ^cala 'l-<u>Kh</u>alīl fi 'l-^carūḍ*, on the other hand, is an important witness for the fact that the metrical system of the Baṣran grammarian al-<u>Kh</u>alīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 174/790) was criticised up to the 4th/10th century and was accepted on a large scale only gradually (cf. J. Fück, *Bemerkungen zur altarabischen Metrik*, in *ZDMG*, cxi [1961], 468).

Genealogical tree of the Banu 'l-Muna<u>djdj</u>im[1]

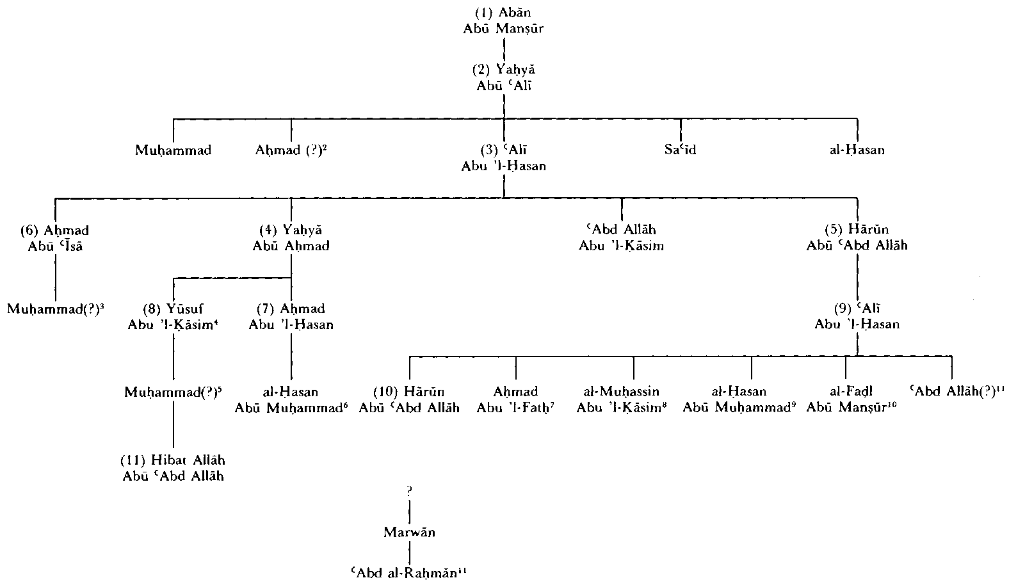

Notes to the genealogical tree

1 Names without a note are found in *Fihrist*, i, 143-4, and in most of the sources mentioned in the Bibliography.
2 Mas^cūdī, *Murū<u>dj</u>*, viii, 238, 8 = § 3387; perhaps identical with his brother Muḥammad.
3 Only found in a family *isnād*: *A<u>gh</u>ānī*[3], x, 133, 17 f.
4 *Ta'rī<u>kh</u> Ba<u>gh</u>dād*, xiv, 322, no. 7645; Sam^cānī, fol. 543b, 14; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rī<u>kh</u> al-Ḥukamā'*, 194 ult.-195, 4.
5 Only found in the *nasab* of his son Hibat Allāh.
6 Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xi, ed. <u>Sh</u>ukrī Fayṣal, no. 564.
7 *Ta'rī<u>kh</u> Ba<u>gh</u>dād*, iv, 318, nr. 2122; Sam^cānī, fol. 543b, 11 f.; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 232 f.; verses in <u>Th</u>a^cālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 209.
8 *Ta'rī<u>kh</u> Ba<u>gh</u>dād*, xiii, 156, no. 7135; Sam^cānī, fol. 543v, 13.
9 *Ta'rī<u>kh</u> Ba<u>gh</u>dād*, vii, 390, no. 3925; Sam^cānī, fol. 543b, 13; verses in <u>Th</u>a^cālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 209.
10 *Ta'rī<u>kh</u> Ba<u>gh</u>dād*, xii, 380, no. 6837; Sam^cānī, fol. 543b, 13.
11 Cf. G. Gabrieli, *loc. cit.*, 366 f. n. 1.

In the sources, information about the Banu 'l-Munadjdjim dry up with two representatives of following generations.

(10) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Hārūn, with the same *ism* and *kunya* as his grandfather, was versed in astronomy and astrology. He was the author of a much used *zīdj*, of a *Kitāb Mukhtār fi 'l-Aghānī* and was active as a theologian.

(11) Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Hibat Allāh, a grandson (or son?) of Yūsuf, is quoted as informant by al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]) in his *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* (ed. Margoliouth, 11 *et passim*). The latter praises Hibat Allāh's many-sidedness and remarks that he was the companion of several viziers, of al-Muhallabī in particular.

Bibliography: A survey of the most important members of the family and of their works is found in *Fihrist*, i, 143-4, see also 275; biographies and notices on individual persons mainly in Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*; Samʿānī; Yāķūt, *Udabāʾ*; Ibn al-Ķifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert; Ibn Khallikān; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*; Brockelmann, S I, 225, for no. (4); F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, ii, iii, v, vi, vii, viii, see indices; G. Gabrieli, *Nota bibliografica su Qusṭā ibn Lūqā*, in *RCAL*, Serie Quinta, xxi (1912), 341-82, esp. 365-73; M. Fleischhammer, *Die Banū l-Munağğim, eine Bagdader Gelehrtenfamilie aus dem 2.-4. Jahrhundert d. H.*, in *Wiss. Zeitschr. Univ. Halle, Ges.-u. Sprachw. Reihe*, xii (1963), 215-20; S.M. Stern, *Abū ʿĪsā Ibn al-Munajjim's Chronography*, in *Islamic philosophy and the classical tradition, essays presented by his friends and pupils to Richard Walzer on his seventieth birthday*, eds. S.M. Stern, A. Hourani and Vivian Brown, Columbia, South Carolina 1972, 437-56; Yūnus Aḥmad al-Sāmarrāʾī, *ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim* (= no. 3), in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāķī*, xxxvi/2 (1405/1985), 201-61; idem, *Hārūn b. ʿAlī al-Munadjdjim* (= no. 5), in *op. cit.*, xxxvii/2 (1406/1986), 238-97.

(M. Fleischhammer)

MUNADJDJIM BĀSHĪ [see münedjdjim bashī].

AL-MUNĀFIĶŪN (a.), a term used in the Ķurʾān. It is the masc. pl. agent of form III of the root *n-f-ķ*, and is also the name of sūra LXIII. Derivatives of this third stem occur in the Ķurʾān 37 times, *munāfiķūn* occurring 27 times and the feminine *munāfiķāt* 5 times, the *maṣdar nifāķ* thrice and *nāfaķū* twice.

1. The word *munāfiķūn* in the Ķurʾān. Here it is usually translated into English and French as "hypocrites" and into German as the equivalent "Heuchler" but also "Zweifler" "doubter" or "Wankelmütiger" "waverer". While these connotations are present, the term in the Ķurʾān is usually stronger and covers a wide semantic range. In LXIII, 3 the *munāfiķūn* are apostates (cf. *murtadd, zindīķ* [*q.vv.*]). The same is the case in IX, 73-87 (especially 74), where along with the *kuffār* they will never be forgiven and will be punished by eternal Hell-fire (cf. also IV, 140-5; XLVIII, 6; LVII, 13-15; and LIX, 11-17). *Djihād* [*q.v.*] is to be waged against them (IX, 73; LXVI, 9) and they are to be killed (IV, 89; XXX, 60). In the rest of the sūra named after them, LXIII, they are berated in the strongest terms. They are liars (1), obstructors (2), ignoramuses (3), propped-up timbers, the enemy (4), arrogant (5), unforgivable deviants (6), they dissent over levies (7, i.e. *infāķ*, cf. also IX, 67, 90-110, especially 99) and as such are held up as an example of how not to contribute to the cause (8 ff., *pace* Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, i, 209 *ult.*). They also dissent from fighting (most of the other occurrences, e.g. III, 167; XXX, 12 ff.; LIX, 11 ff.). They even dissented from the cult and established a rival mosque (IX, 107). The *munāfiķūn* were clearly dissenters within the *umma*, whether openly or in secret. They were not joining up to fight and they were not contributing to the cause. The threats against them seem to be deliberately unspecific, perhaps to have as general an effect as possible. The severity of them is slightly muted by occasional statements that repentance is possible (IV, 146; IX, 74; XXX, 24).

2. In Muslim thought. There is a tendency to mollify some of the Ķurʾān's severity by stressing the "hypocrite" connotation. None of the Muslim lexicographers relate the etymology of the word to the sense "payment of money", found in the predominant fourth stem of the root, *infāķ*, and in the noun *nafaķa*. They link it to the word *nāfiķāʾ* "the escape hole of the gerbil" (e.g. Ibn Manẓūr, s.v. *n-f-ķ*; Ibn Durayd, 198 f.). The gerbil enters the burrow through one hole and then goes out secretly from another. The *munāfiķ* enters Islam from one side but slips out from another. The similar word *nafaķ* is used in Ķurʾān VI, 35, to signify "escape tunnel" (Lane 3036b,c, 1342a), but Ibn Manẓūr says this is not the source of *munāfiķ*. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (524) provides a synonym *nāfidh*, and explains that *nifāķ* is entering by one door and going out another, like *fisķ*, deviating from the right way. Al-Ṭabarī's (431) explanation of IX, 98-101, where *nifāķ* and *infāķ* occur in close proximity, comes close to making an etymological link — *hāʾulāʾ il-munāfiķūn ... yunfiķūn riyāʾan*.

If the Ķurʾān refers to the *munāfiķūn* in general terms, then subsequent Muslim literature does the opposite. Space permits only a few examples. The leader of the *munāfiķūn* was said to be ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*], an ambitious Medinan chief (*Sīra*, 411-13 = 277-9; Watt, 181-7). For instance, he is said to have defended the Jewish Banū Ķaynuķāʿ against the Prophet (*Sīra*, 546 f. = 363 f. *ad* Ķurʾān, V, 51 f.) and defected from Uḥud (*Sīra*, 559 = 372; al-Zamakhsharī, *ad* III, 167). IX, 73 ff. is said to refer to dissenters at the raid on Tabūk (al-Zamakhsharī, ii, 203; Watt, 190), either to ones who held back but were persuaded to change their minds (cf. IX, 74, *faʾin yatūbū* ... ; and for three others, *Sīra*, 907-13 = 610-14; Paret, 208 f.); or else to a group of fifteen who attempted an ambush on the return journey (cf. IX, 74, *wa-kafarū* ...). The Bedouin *munāfiķūn* of IX, 101, are said to be Djuhayna, Aslam, Ashdjaʿ and Ghifār (al-Zamakhsharī, ii, 211) and perhaps Muzayna (al-Ṭabarsī, iii, 66.12). Long lists of the names of *munāfiķūn*, Jewish and Anṣārī, are found in the *Sīra* (351-63 = 239-47; see also Buhl), and seventy were said to have been originally named in the Ķurʾān (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, i, 255 n. 5, ii, 97 f.). The expulsion of LIX, 12-18, is specified to refer to the Medinan Jewish tribe Ķurayẓa who had promised to fight alongside the Prophet but when the order came to do so went back on their pledge (al-Tirmidhī, 40).

Imāmī Shīʿī thought on the question is best shown with respect to God's injunction to wage *djihād* against *munāfiķūn* alongside a general agreement that the Prophet did not fight them (al-Ṭabarsī, iii, 50.25). One interpretation is that the Prophet fought the *kuffār* and ʿAlī fought the *munāfiķūn* (Kohlberg, 70) especially at Ṣiffīn (Ibn Muzāḥim, 489, 7 ff.). Another, attributed to al-Ḥasan, is that *djihād* is the implementation of God's punishments, *iķāmat al-ḥudūd* (al-Ṭabarsī, v, 319.5; cf. al-Ṭabarī, 359; al-Zamakhsharī, ii, 202). Others, like some Sunnīs (e.g. al-Zamakhsharī, ii, 202, iv, 130) gloss IX, 73, and LXVI, 9, "fight the *kuffār* [with the sword] and the

munāfiķūn [with argument]". Yet others adduce the Imām's (ᶜAlī's?) *ķirāʾa* (some say Djaᶜfar al-Ṣādiķ's) *bi ʾl-munāfiķīn* for *wa ʾl-munāfiķīn* (LXVI, 9) i.e. "fight the *kuffār* by means of the *munāfiķūn* (al-Ṭabarsī, iii, 50.25, v, 319-3; Kohlberg, 70 n. 42). Al-Ķummī understood the *munāfiķūn* to be the first three caliphs (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, ii, 180). Shīᶜī doctrine is also famous regarding cases of danger or duress, when they sanction a form of hypocrisy or precautionary dissimulation, *taķiyya* [*q.v.*] (Ķurʾān, XVI, 106; al-Ṭabarsī, iii, 388, 14; Kohlberg, 78).

The Khawāridj discuss *nifāķ* in the context of relations with non-Khawāridj. For example, the Nadjadāt [*q.v.*] are said to have classified quietist Khawāridj, i.e. those who stayed among the non-Khawāridj instead of making a *hidjra* to a Khawāridj camp, as *munāfiķūn* (al-Ashᶜarī, 91), and Sālim b. Dhakwān appears to classify non-Khawāridj as *munāfiķūn*; one may intermarry with them and inherit from them because the Muslims in the time of the Prophet did so with the *munāfiķūn* (Hinds, *Xerox*, 159^2-160, 189; cf. Cook, 89, 96, 199, n. 71).

Aḥkām al-Ķurʾān authors dwell mostly on the "hypocrite" idea and tend to centre their discussions on sūra II, 8-20, where the word *munāfiķūn* does not actually appear, but where hypocrisy is severely attacked. The two fierce similes (II, 17, 19) are closely linked to *munāfiķūn* by al-Tirmidhī (18 f., 20). For the Shāfiᶜī school, al-Kiyā al-Harāsī (i, 7) points out that Muslims have not been commanded to kill *munāfiķūn*, despite the fact that they are worse than *kuffār* since they occupy the lowest Hell (Ķurʾān, IV, 145; cf. also al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, 524; al-Bayhaķī, i, 293 ff.). The Ḥanafī al-Djaṣṣāṣ concurs (29). Similarly, the Mālikī Ibn al-ᶜArabī (i, 11 f.) maintains that the Prophet did not kill them although he knew who most of them were. Rather like *al-muʾallafa ķulūbuhum* [*q.v.*], who were given money, they were not killed so that they might be won over.

In the *ḥadīth* literature, there are many traditions to be found about *nifāķ*. Aside from those directly related to the Ķurʾān, perhaps the most widespread one is "The signs of hypocrisy are three" (Wensinck *et alii*, 523-7).

Ṣūfī writers naturally dwell more on the devotional approach to *nifāķ*. *Nifāķ* is the opposite of *wifāķ* "harmony", whose essence is *riḍāʾ* "contentment" (al-Hudjwīrī, 89) not *riyāʾ* "ostentation". Ibn ᶜArabī's *tafsīr* of LXIII certainly mentions ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ubayy (*ad* verse 8), but dwells more on ideas like "the *munāfiķūn* are those who vacillate. They are attracted by an instinctive openness to the light of *īmān* but then by an openness to *kufr*, acquired by them because of the [deceptive] permanence of natural forms ..." (160 f.).

3. Western discussion of the term. This mainly concerns the etymology of the word and the dating of its various contexts (notably Nöldeke). Whether *sūrat al-munāfiķīn* itself is Medinan or Meccan, for instance, is not decided (Blachère, 1000; Bell, 581; Rahman, 158-61; Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, i, 209 n. 2). The etymology adopted by Nöldeke (*Geschichte*, i, 88, n. 5; *Neue Beiträge*, 48) and most scholars after him (see Jeffery, 272) up to the present day (Rodinson, 184; Paret, 85) is that the word is a borrowing from Ethiopic. The usage of the Ethiopic word "heretic, sceptic, doubter, waverer" (Dillmann, 710 ff., esp. 712) is certainly close to the totality of Ķurʾānic references, but Nöldeke's source is the *Didascalia*, a work translated from the Arabic. There is always the possibility therefore that the borrowing could have been the other way (cf. Leslau, e.g., 167). Serjeant proposes an inner-Arabic etymology from *nafaķa* "a levy". Originally the third stem derivative was a label for those who were paying their levy, but with bad grace (*IQ*, 14) or reluctance (*BSOAS*, 11). It then took on the more religious connotation. This view is connected with Serjeant's analysis of "the constitution of Medina". Watt also proposes an inner-Arabic etymology, partly following the lexicographers, and suggests that "Creepers" or "Moles" might best capture the original meaning (Watt, 184).

4. Conclusion. It may be said that the English word "hypocrite" most closely fits post-Ķurʾān Muslim usage of *munāfiķ*, but the English word that comes nearest to *munāfiķ* in its totality of use in the Ķurʾān is "dissenter". Dissent can be secret or public, and in English also carries the historical connotation of religious schism (*OED*, s.v.). "Dissent" would also concur with the usage of the common Semitic root *n-f-ķ*, principally attested in Aramaic, which has the basic connotation of "issuing, going out" (Jastrow, s.v.). Dissenting, paying money and escaping from holes are all specialised Arabic aspects of this basic meaning.

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(A. Brockett)

MUNĀHADA [see MUKHĀRADJA].

AL-**MUNAKHKHAL** AL-**YASHKURĪ**, the name given to a pre-Islamic poet whose personality is hard to define, in so far as his historical existence is

not actually in doubt. His father is called al-Ḥārith, Masʿūd, ʿUbayd and even ʿAmr, and he does not appear in the genealogical table (no. 141) of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Djamhara* concerning the Yashkur; two men with the name of al-Munakhkhal are cited in this work (see *Register*, ii, 428), but neither of them seems to correspond to the poet treated in this present article. Furthermore, one wonders whether the carefulness to explain at any price the allusions to an al-Munakhkhal taken from ancient poetry has not led the philologists to forge a whole romance from the starting-point of a verse of al-Namir b. Tawlab [*q.v.*] and from the expression *ḥattā yaʾūba ʾl-Munakhkhal* "until al-M. returns", i.e. "never", which is found there and which has become a proverbial saying.

According to classical biographers, the poet (whose death Father L. Cheikho placed *ca.* 597 A.D.) is said to have been a boon-companion at Ḥīra of the Lakhmid ʿAmr b. Hind (d. *ca.* 568 A.D. [*q.v.*]), who is said to have put him to death because he had tried, unsuccessfully, to seduce his sister (or daughter) Hind. It is to this woman that one might think that al-Munakhkhal al-Yashkurī's sole known *ḳaṣīda* of any length (32 vv., metre *kāmil madjzūʾ*, rhyme *ī/ūrī*) is addressed, since in it he calls on a certain Hind for help, in a verse which nevertheless looks as if it might have been added in order to justify the tradition about his execution said to have been pronounced by ʿAmr b. Hind. What remains of this fairly composite poem, of Bedouin type, illustrates the classic themes: personal glorification, horses, wine, love, women, etc. The poet alludes there to a *fatāt* with whom he took shelter one rainy day and who could be the beautiful Mutadjarrida, wife of al-Nuʿmān III b. al-Mundhir (d. 602 A.D. [*q.v.*]), whom he used to meet, it was said, during the king's absences. The latter, having surprised the lovers, punished the guilty man —who had in any case maligned in his presence his rival al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī [*q.v.*]— but the traditions about his fate are divergent: the king is said to have had him killed by a certain ʿIkabb, drowned, buried alive or yet again imprisoned mysteriously in some unknown location (this last detail was perhaps invented in the first place in order to explain the proverbial saying mentioned above). In order to pad out these romantic episodes, the biographers add that al-Nuʿmān was ugly, whilst the poet was of a remarkable beauty, and that al-Mutadjarrida brought into the world two handsome sons who resembled her lover and could only be his sons. The sources consulted do not speak of the fate reserved for the unfaithful queen, but they do relate that she was a woman of Kalb married to one of the king's fellow-tribesmen and that al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʿmān, carried away by her beauty, had proposed to her husband an exchange with one of his own wives; the transaction had been concluded, but the Lakhmid ruler never claimed his side of the bargain; after the husband's death, his widow was taken in marriage by his son al-Nuʿmān III.

Al-Munakhkhal, in so far as he ever existed, owes his escape from oblivion to his *ḳaṣīda* which gained a lasting success. It was set to music by Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] and was further taken up by several other famous musicians. The other verses attributed to this poet are very scanty in number, and the most commonly cited are those which he is said to have composed just before his death in order to incite his tribe to vengeance.

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(CH. PELLAT)

AL-**MUNAKKAB**, the Arabic name of the small port on the Mediterranean coast of al-Andalus, Almuñecar, which made its entry into the history of Islam on 1 Rabīʿ I 138/14 August 755, when the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*] b. Muʿāwiya al-Dākhil trod there "for the first time the soil of his future kingdom" (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 101) before setting out to defeat the governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī.

As it still is today, Almuñecar was part of the province of which the regional capital was Granada [see GHARNĀṬA], 40 miles away; the fate of the town and the port—where fugitives sometimes took refuge before embarking for the Maghrib—was thus linked to that of the province. Among the events which took place at al-Munakkab, it should be noted that it is mentioned in relation to the revolt of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], one of whose sons, Sulaymān, captured the place in 311/923, slaughtering its men and taking its women into captivity, at least if Ibn al-Khaṭīb is to be believed (*Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut 1956, 33). In the following century it played a fairly significant role under the Zīrids [*q.v.*] of Granada, whose last bastion it was. As early as 416/1025, Zāwī b. Zīrī, attacked by the Idrīsid ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd [see ḤAMMŪDIDS], set sail from there on his way to Ifrīḳiya, and it was there that the king ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn [*q.v.*] suffered a defeat at the hands of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], on whose side he had formerly fought along with his brother Tamīm, on 12 Radjab 479/23 October 1056, in the famous battle of Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]. Despite the fortifications with which the town was equipped, the Zīrids of Granada were forced to surrender and the king ʿAbd Allāh was exiled (483/1090). The chroniclers note that the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Aḍḥā took refuge at al-Munakkab, as did, much later, in 710/1310, the Naṣrid Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad III al-Makhlūʿ (701-8/1302-9 [see NAṢRIDS]). The town and the port finally fell into the hands of the Catholic Kings in Muḥarram 895/December 1489, a little more than two years before the fall of Granada.

Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, s.v.) devotes two lines to al-Munakkab, the name of which is explained, in his opinion, by reference to an Arabic root (*n-k-b*) and the verb *nakkaba*, which he interprets as meaning "to protect". It is a fact that the anchorage was well sheltered and that the town overlooked the sea, waves breaking at the foot of its ramparts, as is known from the available descriptions. Al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, v, Naples-Rome 1975, 564), who judges the place as being of average importance, draws attention to its wealth in fruits and in fisheries. Situated in its centre was a kind of tower, broader at the base than at the top and containing two vertical conduits. The water, transported from a mile's distance by an aqueduct, filled a basin, whence it rose on one side to fall on the other, turning a small water-wheel (cf. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, tr. Fagnan, in *Extraits inédits*, Algiers 1924, 102; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed.-tr. Lévi-Provençal, *La peninsule ibérique*, Leiden 1938, no. 179, p. 186 of original text, 225 of translation). The town contained a royal residence, and the port a ship-building yard; the commercial fleet was used principally for the

export of locally-produced sugar (see al-Ḳalḳashandı, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 218), especially to Genoa.

Bibliography: The chronicles relating to Muslim Spain mention al-Munakkab in the context of the historical events in which the town and the port were involved; for further details, these should be consulted. Besides the works cited, the reader is referred to J. Bosch-Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, Tetuan 1956, 291; R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrids*, Paris 1973, index, s.v. Almuñecar.

(CH. PELLAT)

MUNĀṢAFA (A.), lit. reciprocal property-sharing by two co-owners, each of them holding the half of a one and undivided object, signifies a special form of co-ownership in Islamic law which, as equivalent to European condominium in Arabic administrative terminology, historically became particularly important in the juridical, fiscal and administrative organisation of border regions between Islamic and Frankish Crusader states in 12th and 13th century Syria.

Munāṣafa as the possibility of co-proprietorship of any kind of possessable object is frequently mentioned in Islamic law compendia and seems to have played an important role especially in agriculture, since the term occurs particularly often in *muzāraʿa* treatises, where its implications as to the manner of harvest-sharing and the right of succession are discussed (e.g. al-Sarakhsī, *K. al-Mabsūṭ*, xxiii, 43 ff.). Being probably of pre-Islamic origin, the sharing of revenues early became a possible way to come to terms with non-Muslim communities and lordships. It already plays a role in the Prophet Muḥammad's treaty with the Jews of Khaybar [*q.v.*]. A second example might be seen in the sharing of the tributes of the island of Cyprus on which Byzantium and the Umayyads agreed in 28/648-9 and 69/688-9.

In the context of Muslim-non-Muslim relations, the expression *munāṣafa* itself, however, does not appear before the 12th century. The first Muslim historian to mention the creation of *munāṣafāt* is the Damascene Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (465-555/1073-1160 [*q.v.*]), the author of the *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, who gives an account of the sharing by halves of the taxes of several border regions between Muslims and Franks, e.g. in the Djawlān and Ḥawrān, on several districts in central Syria from 502/1108 onwards, and only a little later also in northern Syria on the frontier between the Norman principality of Antioch and the Saldjūḳ lordship of Aleppo. The specific difference between earlier cases of tax or profit sharing and the Frankish-Muslim *munāṣafāt* is that the latter were not merely restricted to the division of tax receipts and other revenues but also implied that administration and jurisdiction were exercised by both sides together. Although historiography reports some 30 cases, it is only from a few bilateral treaties from the second half of the 13th century (included in Mamlūk historiography and *kuttāb* literature) that details of the administration of a *munāṣafa* are known: revenues of taxes, customs, mills, etc., are divided up equally, both sides are obliged to take care of the common property, the compulsory services of the population could be shared, and jurisdiction and police authority could be exercised by mixed commissions.

The *raison d'être* of a *munāṣafa* was obviously to arrange a compromise on disputed border territories which neither the Frankish nor the Muslim neighbouring states were able to control completely. Although virtually limited by the date of expiration of a peace agreement or *ṣulḥ*, *munāṣafāt* were frequently prolonged. In 587/1191-2 several *munāṣafa* projects helped to bring about terms between the Third Crusade and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. In the later 13th century, the establishment of *munāṣafāt* became very frequent in the treaties between the Mamlūks and the last Frankish petty principalities, and was usually only the last step before total annexation by the Muslims.

Although Western sources have no common name for *munāṣafa*, it is not improbable that the form which it took in Syria is due to Frankish influence, for in Europe condominium-like models of Germanic origin (co-seigneurie, pariage) were very frequent at the time. After the end of the Frankish states in Syria in 1291, this type of *munāṣafa* disappeared; it continued to exist only in the law of private property.

Bibliography: Information can be found in nearly every Arabic chronicle, etc., relevant to Syrian history of the 12th and 13th centuries; Latin and Old French historiography give only a very few indications. See e.g. Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xiv, 31-9, 42-51. For detailed analysis, see J. Richard, *Un partage de seigneurie entre Francs et Mamelouks: les «Casaux de Sur»*, in *Syria*, xxx (1953), 71-82; P.M. Holt, *The treatises of the early Mamluk Sultans with the Frankish states*, in *BSOAS*, xliii (1980), 67-76; M.A. Köhler, *Munāṣafāt: Gebietsteilungen...*, in *ZDMG*, Suppl. vi (1985), 155-65; idem, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient*, Berlin-New York 1991.

(M.A. KÖHLER)

MUNĀSHADA, (A.), derived from *nashada* "to search (especially for a stray camel), designates a set form of oath, at the beginning of a prayer of petition, sometimes involving a threat or coercion, directed at God. A certain Abū Sammāl of Banū Asad set out once in search of his camel; after a long, vain search, he turned to God, entreating him in these words: *aymunuka laʾin lam taruddahā ilayya lā aʿbudka*, "I swear if you do not return it to me, I will not worship you"; and he found it. The man was not a saint, so that his success could be attributed to his merits. However, ʿAbd Allāh b. Maṭar, a contemporary of the Prophet, known by his *kunya* of Abū Rayḥāna, was renowned for his piety; he once lost a needle and begged God to return it to him: "Oh, God, I entreat you (*ʿazamt^u ʿalayk^a*), return it to me". And it appeared to him.

Before Islam, the role of *nāshid* was assumed by the *kāhin* [*q.v.*]; his voice was compared to the twittering of birds in a hemistich of al-Ḳuṭāmī (ed. Barth, 2,21). Mysterious whispering is a recognised characteristic of soothsayers (Isaiah, viii, 19).

Munāshada survived under Islam; it is expressed in the formula *yā rabbī rudda...* (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 305, 1.3); a ritual was elaborated with time (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Brockelmann, i, 170). It seems that such appeals were sometimes made in mosques. We read in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal (ii, 420): "...Anyone who hears a man seeking the restoration of a camel (*yanshud^u*) in the mosque, let him say: "May God return it to me". But mosques were not made for that".

A saying is attributed to the Prophet: "When someone calls upon God (*daʿā*), let him not say 'If you will'; let him ask rather by entreating him (*wa 'l-yaʿzum*) and stressing his need" (al-Tirmidhī, ii, 263; Muslim, v, 290; *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, i, 384). "God loves those who are insistent" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 13, 1.22). The pious man obtains a reply to his request: *law aḳsama ʿala 'l-Lāh la-abarrah* "if only he would entreat God, his prayer would be answered" (cf. ref. and examples in I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente*, 307 ff.). Even after death, the saints keep the power to force

God's hand. He is entreated in their name. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī recommended his disciples to entreat God through his mediation (*fa-aḳsim ʿalayya*, cited by al-Ālūsī, *Djalāʾ al-ʿaynayn*, 42).

Prayers of petition also contain formulae similar to those of *munāshada* [see ISTISḲĀʾ]. The power to bring about rainfall was always attached to a person whose sanctity was supposed to be inherent. The idea that prayer influences celestial powers is an ancient one; in Aristotle's *Theology*, inspired by Plotinus, it is said that prayer acts on the sun and stars to make them move in a certain way, because the parts of the world are from a single whole, like "a single animal" (cited in A. M. Goichon, *Le livre des Directives et remarques*, Paris-Beirut 1951, 60). According to Ibn Sīnā also, prayer plays a role in the mysteries of nature through the influence that it has on the imagination of the souls and celestial bodies that act on our world, particularly in the preparations undergone by matter (*ibid.*, 520). *Munāshada* and *istisḳāʾ* sometimes involve a magical aspect [see ISTIḲSĀM and SIḤR].

Bibliography: This article is based largely on I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet*, in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 304-8, which contains numerous references; T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, 117, 281. (T. FAHD)

AL-**MUNĀWĪ**, ʿABD AL-RAʾŪF B. TĀDJ AL-ʿĀRIFĪN B. ʿALĪ B. ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN B. YAḤYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD, called Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥaddādī al-Munāwī al-Ḳāhirī al-Shāfiʿī, Egyptian religious scholar and mystic.

Al-Munāwī is the *nisba* from the village of Munayt or Munāw, a locality of Egypt where his ancestors settled towards the 7th/12th century, coming from Ḥaddāda, a village in Tunisia, hence his first *nisba* of "al-Ḥaddādī". Al-Munāwī was born in Cairo in 952/1545 and died there in 1031/1621. He came from a family renowned for its knowledge and piety, his paternal grandfather being the *Shaykh al-Islām* Yaḥyā al-Munāwī and his maternal one the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāḳī. Under the guidance of his father, at an early age he began to study the Arabic language and to delve deeply into Islamic studies. He grew up into an upright and pious person. The great Egyptian Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī [*q.v.*] initiated him into Ṣūfism, and after his master's death, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf became an adherent of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] *ṭarīḳa*, at the same time following others also, in paricular, the Bayramiyya, the Shādhiliyya and the Naḳshbandiyya. For some time he held the office of *Nāʾib al-Shāfiʿiyya*, but then retired from the secular world and spent these subsequent years in writing. He began an active life again as a professor at the Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa*, where the excellent quality of his teaching attracted numerous pupils round him, as well as much jealousy. These jealousies may well have led to the poisoning to which he fell victim; because of his enfeebled state, he had to abandon his teaching, and from then onwards dictated his works to one of his sons, Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Al-Munāwī's works are numerous, reaching over one hundred, and covering such diverse spheres as *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, Ḳurʾān exegesis, Ṣūfism, logic, philosophy, medicine, botany, etc. His works and his commentaries (*shurūḥ*) became widely disseminated and enjoyed a great success in his own time, and are still often cited today. Nevertheless, only a few of his works have been published, and a great number of them remain in manuscript, spread through the libraries and collections of East and West. In the sphere of Ṣūfism, al-Munāwī left a grand biographical dictionary called *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī tarādjim al-sādāt al-ṣūfiyya*, in which he gives the lives of the great Ṣūfīs from Muḥammad to his own time; this work is also known as the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Munāwī al-kubrā* (ed. Cairo 1938, 1963), and he made a résumé of it which he called *Irghām awliyāʾ al-shayṭān bi-dhikr manāḳib awliyāʾ al-Raḥmān* or the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Munāwī al-ṣughrā*. His book on Ṣūfī technical terminology, *al-Tawḳīf ʿalā muhimmāt al-taʿārīf* or *Tawḳīf al-Munāwī*, is a glossary of these terms arranged alphabetically, and is compiled in imitation of the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī. He also wrote a commentary on two works by Ibn Sīnā, *Risālat al-Taṣawwuf* and *Ḳaṣīdat al-Nafs* (this commentary ed. Cairo 1318/1900-1), in the sphere of *ḥadīth*, he wrote several works, including *al-Djāmiʿ al-azhar min ḥadīth al-Nabī al-anwar*, which contains more than 30,000 *ḥadīths* (ed. Cairo 1286/1869-70), *Kunūz al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī ḥadīth khayr al-khalāʾiḳ* (ed. Cairo 1350/1931-2) and *al-Ithāfāt al-saniyya li 'l-aḥādīth al-ḳudsiyya* (ed. Cairo 1354/1936). There are detailed items of informations on al-Munāwī's works in al-Muḥibbī's *Khulāṣat al-athar*, ii, 193-5, 412-16. Al-Munāwī's other son, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, died in 1022/1613 during his father's own lifetime; he also had followed the spiritual way and, as a true Ṣūfī, had devoted his life to prayer and the adoration of God.

ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, his father and his two sons were buried in Cairo at the side of the *zāwiya* known till today as the Zāwiyat al-Munāwī, a building distinguished by its cupola, the third of its kind in Egypt.

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 187, 253; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 312; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Istanbul 1941, i, 71, 508, 519, ii, 1041, 1096, 1520, 1522; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xvi, 50-1; Caetani-Gabrieli, *Onomasticon arabicum*, ii/A, 579; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*, 1798-9; Djurdjī Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh*², ii, 247, 350; Brockelmann, II, 93, 280, 393, 395, S II, 84, 417; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 212, x, 241; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, iv, 196, v, 220-1; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 157 ff.; A. Saleh Hamdan, *La vie et l'œuvre du grand Sufi égyptien ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī*, in *OM*, lxxxiv (1984), 203-14. (A. SALEH HAMDAN)

MUNĀẒARA (A.) means the scientific, in particular the theological-juridical, dispute on the one hand, the literary genre of the struggle for precedence on the other.

Theological disputes took place between Muslims and adherents of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* [*q.v.*] as well as between representatives of the different Muslim denominations. A few records of such *munāẓarāt* have been preserved. Although these records, as far as the outcome of the disputes is concerned, were adapted to literary standards, or are even simply fictitious, they nevertheless provide an insight in the way the *munāẓarāt* actually took place. The discussions were held before an audience which was not however supposed to interfere with the dispute by way of utterances of approval or discontent. Often the discussion was held in the presence of a caliph or vizier, who eventually could have the function of arbitrator. It was executed in the form of questions and answers [see MASĀʾIL WA-ADJWIBA, where are also given the records of the contests which have been transmitted]. In principle, the more advantageous role of questioner fell to the challenger, but courtesy prescribed that the right of questioning was yielded to the weaker contestant. From the loser, conversion was expected and, when the discussion was held before a highly-placed personality, he could be punished. Often, however, the loser, in order to save himself from the affair, used the argument that in the end the proofs were equivalent (*takāfuʾ al-adilla*). The principle of *takāfuʾ al-adilla* was also adopted in cases in which

conversion or the finding of the truth were no longer at stake, but where it was a case of a rhetorical contest as a means for entertainment.

The *munāẓara* was not only important for oral theological dispute, but it also influenced theological literature. Stylistically, the latter easily adopted the framework of question and answer, in which didactical considerations, notably the instructions for the discussions, may have played a rôle. For this, expressions were used that had already been common among the Church Fathers, such as εἰ δέ φατε ...φαμὲν ὅτι (*wa-in ḳāla ḳāʾilun....ḳulnā*) (cf. J. van Ess, *The logical structure of Islamic theology*, in G.E. von Grunebaum (ed.), *Logic in classical Islamic culture*, Wiesbaden 1970, 21-50, at 22-4). From theology, the framework of question and answer passed to other disciplines (see *Bibl.* to MASĀʾIL WA-ADJWIBA).

Very soon, the importance which the dispute had in actual practice led to the development of a theory. The first to report specific rules for the disputation of the *ḥukamāʾ* seems to have been Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. 757) (according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Faḳīh wa 'l-mutafaḳḳih*, ed. I. al-Anṣārī, Beirut, 1975, ii, 35, ll. 14 ff.). The *munāẓara* was perhaps also treated in the lost *Kitāb Ādāb al-mutakallimīn* of the Muʿtazilī Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (d. 131/749 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). Because of the title and its subsequent influence, we are on firm ground with the equally lost *Kitāb Ādāb al-djadal* ("Method of the disputation") of Ibn al-Rāwandī (3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]). The first work with a section on *Adab al-djadal* to survive is the *Kitāb al-Anwār wa 'l-marāḳib* of the Karaite al-Ḳirḳisānī (4th/10th century, cf. G. Vajda, *Études sur Qirqisānī*, in *REJ*, cxxii [1963], 7-74). The *Kitāb al-Djadal* of Ibn ʿAḳīl (d. 513/1119 [*q.v.*]) and other works on *adab al-djadal* depend on him (cf. G. Makdisi, *Dialectic and disputation. The Relation between the texts of Qirqisani and Ibn ʿAqil*, in *Mélanges d'Islamologie. Vol. dédié à la mémoire de A. Abel*, i, Leiden 1974, 201-6). *Adab al-djadal* thus became the technical term for the method of debating, not only in theology, but also, as is evident from Ibn ʿAḳīl's work written for the *fuḳahāʾ*, in jurisprudence, in which were discussed questions that were controversial between the schools of law [see IKHTILĀF]. Here the aim of the dispute was adapted to juridical needs. It was no more a matter of finding the truth, as in theology, but of convincing the opponent of the greatest possible probability which one believes to have found.

The question to what extent the theory of the *djadal* can be traced back to Greek sources cannot be answered unambiguously. Clues, if any, might mostly be connected with the *Topics* of Aristotle, but it must be remarked that the latter became known to the Arabs only after they had started the practice of holding discussions. Nor do the theoretical works show any direct dependence in formulation or in organisation of the material. Above all, the theoretical works in Arabic lack the reserved attitude towards dialectics, present in Aristotle, which then passed on to the Arab philosophers (e.g. al-Fārābī). Influence on the *djadal* emanated rather from the Hellenistic schools of rhetoric and was transmitted by the Christians.

It was only later that the theory of disputation came under the influence of Aristotelian logic and philosophy. Logic now became the final arbitrator, for the theory of disputation freed itself from the requirements of theology and jurisprudence and could thus be applied to all sciences, including philosophy. This general theory of disputation was called *ādāb al-baḥth*, and formulated for the first time by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Samarḳandī (end of the 7th/13th century [*q.v.*]), in his *Risāla al-Samarḳandiyya fī ādāb al-baḥth*. Later treatises on the *ādāb al-baḥth* did not surpass him essentially.

Besides scientific dispute, *munāẓara* (synonyms are *mufākhara* and *muḥāwara*) indicates, in Arabic and other Islamic languages, also a literary genre in which two or more living or inanimate beings appear talking and competing for the honour which of them possesses the best qualities. The result of the competition depends on the discretion of the poet: a participant may declare himself defeated of his own free will, or the rivals may reach an understanding and recognise each other's equivalence. They may, however, also call in an arbitrator, who then awards victory to one participant or declares that both, or eventually all, are of equal standing. Finally, there may also surprisingly appear in the end a new competitor who claims victory. The *munāẓarāt* may be composed in prose, rhymed prose (*sadjʿ*) or verse. Often the poet uses the three forms at the same time.

In Arabic literature, a series of earlier forms preceded the fully developed *munāẓara*. They already show the ability of the Arabs for antithesis and their sense of dialectics, which appeared also in the theological *munāẓarāt*. Already in old Arabic poetry, derision of the opponent (*hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*]) was often set against self-praise (*mufākhara* [*q.v.*]) in the same poem. Such poems could be followed by a reply of the opponent, which then could again be answered. Thus a whole series of contest-poems (*naḳāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*]) came into being, which were performed before the general public, especially in the Umayyad period. Thus we have already to do with a kind of competition for honour, but there are here still two poets who represent their own interests, and not one poet who simulates the competition of more that one representative of different interests. One might conjecture that the fully developed *munāẓarāt* were no more than parodies of the *naḳāʾiḍ*, in which the composers were joking about the competing poets by representing insignificant objects as talking instead of the latter persons. Such a conjecture would, however, lead to the conclusion that the *munāẓarāt* took their origin already in the Umayyad period, when the *naḳāʾiḍ* were flourishing. This was not the case.

In poetry, a disputation between inanimate beings is found for the first time with the ʿAbbāsid poet al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. after 193/808 [*q.v.*]), who makes heart and eye blame one another for the poet's love (ed. ʿĀ. al-Khazradjī, Cairo 1954, 45 = no. 79). It is true that we have to do here with a dispute, but it is a matter of blame, not of precedence and excellence. Precedence is at stake in Ibn al-Rūmī's (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]) *Tafḍīl al-nardjis ʿalā 'l-ward* (ed. Ḥ. Naṣṣār, Cairo 1973-81, 643-4 = no. 470). But here too the *munāẓara* is not yet fully developed, because the objects do not speak themselves, and because the poet immediately takes up position on one side. On the other hand, with the shame of the rose, anthropomorphism is introduced. Several poets composed refutations (*muʿāraḍāt*) of Ibn al-Rūmī's *Tafḍīl* (enumerated in Naṣṣār, 643), but this was done in the form of a real *munāẓara* for the first time by al-Ṣanawbarī (d. 334/945 [*q.v.*]) (ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1970, 498 = App. no. 123). Here the rose talks first in indirect speech, then both the rose and the narcissus in direct speech (cf. G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung*, Beirut 1974, 204-15, 313-6). Thus the fully developed *munāẓara* is proved to exist in poetry since the 4th/10th century.

In prose, there had originated already in an earlier period, i.e. in the *ḥadīth* literature, the so-called *faḍāʾil*

literature (see FAḌĪLA and E.A. Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang. Die Faḍā'il als literarisches und gesellschaftliches Problem im Islam*. Freiburg i. B. 1975), in which were brought out the good qualities of individuals, groups of persons or cities (see e.g. A. Arazi, *Matériaux pour l'étude du conflit de préséance entre la Mekke et Médine*, in *JSAI*, v [1984], 177-235), often as a means to carry claims through within the Muslim state. In the struggle between the Arab tribes against each other, and later also in the fight between *shuʿūbiyya* [*q.v.*] and anti-*shuʿūbiyya*, i.e. between Arabs and non-Arabs, the *mathālib* [*q.v.*], the blameable qualities of the other party, were opposed to the *faḍā'il* of one's own. The early *adab* literature took up this theme and applied it to new subjects. Al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]) composed a series of treatises either to praise (*fī madḥ*) or to blame (*fī dhamm*) diverse items, such as books, Turks, date-wine, pederasty and secretaries. Occasionally, he set praiseworthy subjects against blameable ones in the same work. He thus treated the superiority of the black-skinned over the white, of talking over silence and of merchants over officials. From such oppositions arose *al-maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* [*q.v.*], a literary genre in which, inside the same work, several positively-described subjects were confronted with their negatively-described contrasts, or the positive and negative qualities of one and the same subject. Al-Djāḥiẓ, however, made a further step in the direction of the fully-developed *munāẓara*: subjects, which were not necessarily opponents, were represented by an attorney (*ṣāḥib*) and were thus staged against each other. In the *Kitāb Mufākharat al-djawārī wa 'l-ghilmān* (ed. Ch. Pellat, Beirut 1957), the *ṣāḥib* of the girl and the one of the boy fight for the precedence of love of girls or that of boys. The fight of other pairs, such as rooster and dove, or sheep and goats, equally represented by attorneys, is represented by al-Djāḥiẓ in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (ed. ʿA.M. Hārūn, Cairo 1938-45, iii, 200-5; v, 523-4). Al-Djāḥiẓ's point was not literary entertainment alone, but the proof of the coexistence of good and bad qualities in created beings and of their being created by one God only (against dualism), a proof which corresponds with his Muʿtazilī attitude. This is shown by his defending the fight between the dog and the rooster (which comprises extensive sections of the first and second volumes of the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*) against a fault-finder (*ʿā'ib*) and by his identifying the *ṣāḥib* of the dog with the Ḳadarī Maʿbad [*q.v.*] and the *ṣāḥib* of the rooster with the Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, i, 3; cf. I. Géries, *Un genre littéraire: al-Maḥâsin wa-l-masâwî*, Paris 1977, 35-58). The ingenious and witty way in which he represented the fight certainly also stimulated the further development of the surely literary genre, free from all philosophical and theological implications. Here there was no task left for the *ṣāḥib*, who with al-Djāḥiẓ still had a function, since he represented not only the subject but also a philosophical-theological opinion. Now the way was free for the fully-developed *munāẓara*, in which the subjects themselves are talking. Such a *munāẓara* is the *Salwat al-ḥarīf bi-munāẓarat al-rabīʿ wa 'l-kharīf*, a contest between spring and autumn, ascribed to al-Djāḥiẓ but probably to be dated around the turn of the millennium (cf. O. Rescher, *Excerpte und Übersetzungen aus den Schriften des Philologen und Dogmatikers Ǧāḥiẓ aus Baçra nebst noch unveröffentlichten Originaltexten*, i, Stuttgart 1931, 498-526). Of earlier *munāẓarāt*, only the titles are known, so it is not clear whether they had reached the fully-developed form. But it does not seem improbable that, as in poetry, the development in prose was concluded in the 4th/10th century.

Next to the *munāẓarāt* between animals, plants and seasons, there were also disputes between cities (the literary continuation of the *faḍā'il* of cities), pen and sword (expressing the conflict of interests between civilians and the military), minerals, scripts, physicians and astrologers, drinks, and, in more recent times, railways and telegraph, donkey and bicycle, as well as tram and bus.

In New Persian literature, the *munāẓara* turns up for the first time in the 5th/11th century with Abū Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Asadī (born *ca.* 1010 [*q.v.*]; in the article ASADĪ there still is a distinction between two authors, but see J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 164). In five of his panegyrical *ḳaṣīdas*, he replaces the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] with a *munāẓara*. The themes treated are day and night, heaven and earth, bow and lance. The connecting motive to the panegyrical part of the *ḳaṣīda* consists in calling in the praised one as arbitrator, in stating that in his presence there should be peace, etc. (cf. Ye. E. Bertels, *Pyatoe munazere Asadi Tusskogo*, in *Učeniye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akad. Nauk SSSR*, xix [1958], 55-88). Already present in the Arabic *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*] in a preliminary stage, the *Munāẓara* penetrates into the Persian *maḳāmāt* during the 6th/12th century. While the debates in al-Ḥarīrī's *maḳāmāt* had not yet been fully-developed *munāẓarāt*, they became so with the Persian poet Ḥamīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Balkhī (d. 559/1164). In his work, only human beings fight: physician and astrologer, old man and young man, etc. Finally, a *munāẓara* as independent genre is found in the fight between cake and bread of the satirist Busḥāḳ-i Atʿimma Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad Ḥallādj (d. in the first half of the 9th/15th century). In the Persian context too, the independent *munāẓara* was now open to all themes.

In the eastern Turkish world, we have, from the second half of the 5th/11th century, hence more or less contemporary with Asadī, a fragment of a poetical fight between summer and winter (cf. C. Brockelmann, *Altturkestanische Volkspoesien*, ii, in *Asia Major*, i [1924], 24-44, at 32-4) in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's [*q.v.*] *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*. The next Turkish *munāẓarāt* are some three-and-a-half centuries younger. They were composed in the first half of the 9th/15th century by three Čaghatāy poets. Yūsuf Amīrī (cf. H.F. Hofman, *Turkish literature. A bio-bibliographical survey*, sect. iii, pt. i, vol. ii, Utrecht 1969, 92-7) made the narcotic *bandj* [*q.v.*] fight with wine. The Persian influence is evident from the introduction, in which he says that he wants to treat the theme in the Persian way but in the Turkish language. His *munāẓara*, in its turn, was a model for Fuḍūlī's [*q.v.*] *mathnawī Bang wa-bāda*. Yaḳīnī (cf. Hofman, *op. laud.* sect. iii, pt. 1, vol. vi, 100-3) deals with the fight between arrow and bow, and Aḥmadī (cf. Hofman, *op. laud.* sect. iii, pt. i, vol. ii, 61-3) with that between stringed instruments. In the same tradition stands Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī's [*q.v.*] *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*, even if it is not a *munāẓara* in the proper sense but a proof that Čaghatāy is equal to Persian. In Central Asia, the *munāẓara* has remained a favourite literary genre until the present day.

The Ottoman *munāẓara* was apparently influenced by the Central Asian one. This is not only true for Fuḍūlī but also for Lāmiʿī (d. 938/1531-2 [*q.v.*]), who was in close relation with Central Asia (cf. E. Birnbaum, *The Ottomans and Chagatay literature*, in *CAJ*, xx [1976], 157-190, at 166). He treats the theme of spring and winter in epic detail by staging both seasons as kings with armies, which fight not only with words but also with weapons. In the Ottoman

empire, too, the *munāẓara* lived on until very recent times.

Poetry dealing with the struggle for precedence did not only exist in the Islamic world but also in many other literatures. In the Ancient East, it was known to the Sumerians and Egyptians, later to the Greeks (σύγκρισις), to the Romans (*conflictus*) and in the Middle Ages in the West (*altercatio*). The question arises to what extent the Arabic *munāẓara* was influenced by foreign elements on the one hand, and on the other, to what extent it affected literatures outside the Islamic world. Foreign influence upon the *munāẓara* is not necessarily to be assumed, because a continuous series of preliminary stages can be shown inside the Arabic world (see above). Yet foreign participation in the development of the genre is not to be excluded either. Because of the distance in time, there is, supposedly, no direct influence from the Ancient Orient, but Persian and Greek may have affected the *munāẓara*. From Middle Persian we know the fight for precedence between the date palm and the goat (*drakht ī asūrīg*). The text goes back to an oral Parthian original, which was probably transmitted orally, still in a Middle Persian version, until after the Arab conquest (cf. E. Benveniste, *Le texte du Draxt asūrīk et la versification pehlevie*, in *JA* ccxvii [1930], 193-225; M. Boyce, *Middle Persian literature*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. i, Bd. 4, Abschn. 2, Lfg. 1, Leiden 1968, 31-66, at 55). Because of the imprecise date, the influence of this version on the Arabic *munāẓara* cannot be established with any certainty. As a literary genre, the *munāẓara* has certainly not been influenced directly by the Greek *synkrisis*, but it may well have been that the practice of the Hellenistic rhetorical schools, in which *synkrisis* was a favoured part of the training (cf. F. Focke, *Synkrisis*, in *Hermes*, lviii [1923], 327-68, at 331), may have had its influence on the theological dispute in Islam (see above). Al-Djāḥiẓ wanted the fight between the supporters of the dog and the rooster (see above) to be classified as such a dispute. Still in a Persian *munāẓara*, the third party, settling the fight, blames the dispute as an "illusion of philosophers".

The fight for precedence in the literature of the Western Middle Ages can easily be traced back to the Greek pattern through the Latin one. However, Arabic influence on the origin of the Italian *contrasti* is not to be excluded completely. The first Jew to compose in the Middle Ages a fight for precedence was the Spaniard Abraham ben Ezra, who was also active as a translator from Arabic. He died in Rome in 1168. Some fifty years later, the first *contrasti* appeared, among which was the theme of summer and winter, also treated by Abraham ben Ezra.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see (a) On the practice of disputation: J. van Ess, *Disputationspraxis in der islamischen Theologie. Eine vorläufige Skizze*, in *REI*, xliv (1976), 23-60; G. Makdisi, *The rise of colleges. Institutions of learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh 1981, 105-11, 128-40. (b) On the theory of disputation: L.B. Miller, *Islamic disputation theory. A study of the development of dialectic in Islam from the tenth through fourteenth centuries*, Ph.D. diss. Princeton 1984 unpubl., (summarised) in L.B. Miller, *Disputatio(n) [4] Islamische Welt*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, iii, Munich-Zürich 1986, 1119. (c) *Munāẓara* in Arabic literature: M. Steinschneider, *Rangstreit-Literatur. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte*, in *SBAK Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. clv, Abh. 4 (Vienna 1908); cf. O. Rescher, *Zu M. Steinschneiders Rangstreit-Literatur*, in *Isl.*, xiv (1925), 397-401; W. Bacher, *Zur Rangstreit-Literatur. Aus der arabischen Poesie der Juden Jemens*, in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*, Paris 1909, 131-47; C. Brockelmann, *Miscellen zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte. I. Zur ältesten Geschichte der arabischen Tenzone*, in *ibid.*, 231-4; E. Wagner, *Die arabische Rangstreitdichtung und ihre Einordnung in die allgemeine Literaturgeschichte*, in *Abh. d. Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl. d. Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. in Mainz*, 1962, no. 8, Wiesbaden 1963. (d) *Munāẓara* in Persian literature: H. Ethé, *Über persische Tenzonen*, in *Verhandlungen des 5. Intern. Orientalisten-Congresses zu Berlin*, Th. II, H.1, Berlin 1882, 48-135; H. Massé, *Du genre littéraire "Débat" en arabe et en persan*, in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, iv (1961), 137-47. (e) *Munāẓara* in Turkish literature: E.R. Rustamov, *Uzbekskaya poeziya v pervoy polovine XV veka*, Moscow 1962, 201-39; J. Eckmann, in *PTF*, ii, 319-24; G. Jarring, *Some notes on Eastern Turki (New Uighur) Munazara literature*, Lund 1981; idem, *The thiefless city and the contest between food and throat. Four Eastern Turkish texts ed. with transl., notes and glossary*, Stockholm 1989.

(E. WAGNER)

AL-**MUNDHIR IV**, one of the Lakhmid kings of Ḥīra, who reigned *ca.* 575-580, being the third and last son of al-Mundhir III (*ca.* 505-54) to rule Ḥīra after his elder brothers, ʿAmr b. Hind (554-69) and Ḳābūs (569-*ca.* 574). His accession to the throne of Ḥīra [*q.v.*] was not smooth. After the death of his brother Ḳābūs, there was an interregnum during which a Persian, Suhrāb, ruled Ḥīra for a year. There was opposition to his accession on the part of the population of Ḥīra because of his violence and possibly because of his heathenism. Finally, it was Zayd b. Ḥammād, the father of the poet ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*] who saved the throne for the Lakhmids and convinced the people of the Ḥīra to accept al-Mundhir as their king in *ca.* 575. Not much is known about his reign, but prosopographical data on him are not lacking. Two of his wives are known by name; the first was Salmā bint al-Ṣāʾigh, a Jewish woman from Fadak whom the Kalbī al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn had captured after a raid on Fadak, and the other was a Christian, Māriya bint al-Ḥārith b. Djulhum from the tribe of Taym al-Ribāb. He fathered some twelve or thirteen sons, of whom the most important was al-Nuʿmān, the son of Salmā, and al-Aswad the son of Māriya. It was during his reign that the Ghassānid al-Mundhir captured Ḥīra, set it afire, and freed some Byzantine prisoners. He was succeeded by his son al-Nuʿmān, who reigned as al-Nuʿmān III [*q.v.*] for some twenty years, after ʿAdī b. Zayd secured the throne for him, even as the father Zayd had secured it for al-Mundhir.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 981-2, 1016-18, 1021, 1038, German tr. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 104-7.

(IRFAN SHAHÎD)

AL-**MUNDHIR B. MUḤAMMAD**, ABU 'L-ḤAKAM (229-76/844-88), sixth Umayyad *amīr* of Cordova and the son of a slave belonging to Muḥammad I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (d. 273/876).

During his father's lifetime, he filled military functions on various occasions, somewhat honorific to begin with, since it is mentioned that, as early as 242/856, he had gone to blockade—without great success—Toledo [see ṬULAYṬULA] which had rebelled. Over the next years, he had occasion to command some summer expeditions (*ṣāʾifa*) against the Christians, notably in 251/865. In 263/877 he marched against Merida (see MĀRIDA) in a war against the lord of Badajoz [see BAṬALYAWS], ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.

Marwān al-Djillīkī. Five years later (268/882), he besieged Saragossa [see SARAḲUSṬA] and seized several places of the Upper March before returning against Ibn Marwān and expelling him from Badajoz. At this time, the famed agitator ᶜUmar b. Ḥafṣūn (d. 306/918 [*q.v.*]) had ostensibly submitted to Muḥammad I, but had taken up arms again, and it fell to al-Mundhir to combat him (273/886). The *amīr*'s son invested al-Ḥāma (Alhama) and repelled a sortie by the rebels, but had to forgo proceeding any further when he received the news of his father's death. He thus returned to Cordova, where he was proclaimed ruler on 3 Rabīᶜ I 273/9 August 886, in circumstances recounted in a dramatic fashion by Ibn al-Abbār, in the chapter which he devotes to the vizier and commander of Muḥammad I, Hāshim b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, who was only able with difficulty to read the text of the proclamation. Al-Mundhir retained his father's viziers: Tammām b. ᶜĀmir al-Thaḳafī and Abū Marwān ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Djawhar, and appointed Hāshim as *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*]. But his relations with the latter were no longer good and, at Ibn Djawhar's instigation, he soon had him arrested and executed, confiscating his family's possessions and levying a hefty fine on them.

Al-Mundhir's brief reign was mainly devoted to the war against Ibn Ḥafṣūn, who took advantage of Muḥammad I's death to intensify his actions. The new *amīr* caused him to be harried, and in the spring of 274/888 himself led an expedition aimed at reducing the rebel's headquarters, Bobastro [see BUBASHTRŪ in Suppl.]. First of all he besieged Archidona [see URDJUDHŪNA], where he succeeded in getting hold of Ibn Ḥafṣūn's representative, nailing him alive on a cross, and then captured the rebels and sent them to Cordova to be crucified there. Then he turned towards Bobastro and became involved in deceptive and misleading negotiations with the rebel leader, who made a show of submission and rejoined the *amīr*. The *ḳāḍī* drew up an act of amnesty, and al-Mundhir even sent to Bobastro a hundred and fifty mules in order to load up and bring back all Ibn Ḥafṣūn's possessions, but the latter took flight and seized the convoy. Al-Mundhir, who had decided to attack Bobastro directly, fell ill and summoned his brother ᶜAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], in order to entrust to him the command of operations and the siege of the place, before dying on 15 Ṣafar 275/29 June 888. ᶜAbd Allāh, who has been accused of poisoning his brother, waited three days to announce the news and then had the corpse carried back to Cordova, at the same time asking Ibn Ḥafṣūn to allow the funeral cortège passage.

Al-Mundhir had a reputation for intelligence and generosity which contradicts in large measure the cruelty which he demonstrated on several occasions, he is also said to have been the friend of religious leaders and of literary men.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, index, has substantially utilised the Arabic sources, amongst which are notable Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* (tr. E. Fagnan, in *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, 231, 238, 241-3), Ibn al-Abbār's *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ* (ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, Cairo 1964, index) and Ibn ᶜIdhārī's *Bayān*, ii.

(CH. PELLAT)

(AL-)**MUNDHIR** B. **SAᶜĪD** b. ᶜABD ALLĀH B. ᶜABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ḲURṬUBĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥakam, Andalusian theologian and jurist, born in 273/886 into a family of Berber origin settled in the region of Cordova, at Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ [*q.v.*, Los Pedroches], whence his *nisba* of AL-BALLŪṬĪ.

He studied in the capital of al-Andalus and set out to broaden his knowledge in the East on the occasion of a pilgrimage which he made in 308/921. He stayed in various cities, studied under several teachers and achieved renown in Egypt when he publicly corrected the reading of a verse of Madjnūn Laylā [*q.v.*] by Abū Djaᶜfar al-Naḥḥās, who subsequently refused to lend him, for the purpose of copying, the *Kitāb al-ᶜAyn* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*]. He succeeded, however, in acquiring a text, and also made a copy of the *Kitāb al-Ishrāf fī 'khtilāf al-ᶜulamāʾ* of Muḥammad b. al-Mundhir al-Naysabūrī. On his return to Spain, his renown as a man of letters, poet and *faḳīh* spread, and it was at this stage that he appears to have begun to exercise the duties of a *ḳāḍī*, probably in the eastern frontier region. In Djumādā II/March 942, while his brother Faḍl Allāh (d. 335/947), who had accompanied him in the East, was appointed to the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ, he himself became chief *ḳāḍī* of all the frontier regions, with the right of supervising the activity of all the *ḳāḍīs* and tax officials within the scope of his jurisdiction; he was also charged with the control of travellers arriving from abroad. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima* i, 400, tr. Slane, i, 452) is the only author to mention him as an example of a *ḳāḍī* placed in command of the troops who set out every year to do battle with the Christians. The exact date of his transfer to the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ [*q.v.*] is not known, but he was probably occupying this post when there occurred, in 338/949, an incident to which his biographers attach the utmost significance. He was present at the court of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir during the reception for an ambassador from Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, in the course of which Abū ᶜAlī al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*], whom the crown-prince al-Ḥakam had brought from Baghdād and who enjoyed his protection, was supposed to make a speech praising the caliph and stressing the prosperity of the country under his rule; when the designated orator was struck speechless by fear, Mundhīr b. Saᶜīd improvised an eloquent address, the text of which has been preserved and reproduced by numerous biographers, including Ibn Khāḳān (*Maṭmaḥ*, 241-4) and Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, xix, 176-80). This unexpected intervention earned him the favour of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III, who now became aware of his existence for the first time and who the following year appointed him *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāᶜa*, in other words "most senior delegate of the supreme chief of the Andalusian Muslim community for the administration of justice" (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 120). In spite of his repeated offers to resign, he was retained in office by al-Ḥakam II (who reigned from 350 to 366/961-76) until his death, which took place on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 355/15 November 966 (and not on 4 Rabīᶜ I 349, at 47 years old, as is stated by al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326, 398, who also makes him the *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāᶜa* of Granada!).

The frank speaking of Mundhir b. Saᶜīd might well have cost him his position and even more. His biographers draw attention to a stern speech, full of allusions to the culpable behaviour of the monarch who was intent on the construction of the Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, and in particular to the criticisms addressed to him directly after he had built a pavilion covered with tiles gilded in gold and silver, accusing of allowing himself to be seduced by Satan to the point of acting like an infidel. The *ḳāḍī* was not harassed in any way, because ᶜAbd al Raḥmān III was well aware of the value of his support. According to his contemporaries, he showed himself stern but just to those who appeared before him for judgement, treating them all equally with no regard for their social class. His

biographers note however, not without some astonishment, that his stern manner and dignified conduct did not prevent him jesting with his friends, and quote some of his witticisms which gave much pleasure to the people of Cordova.

Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 479) considers him the first representative, in al-Andalus, in the 4th/10th century, of Ẓāhirism [see AL-ẒĀHIRIYYA], which he had introduced into Spain after being the pupil, in the East, not only of Dāwūd b. Khalaf (d. 270/884 [*q.v.*]) but also of one of his disciples (cf. Pellat, *Ibn Ḥazm bibliographe...*, in *al-And.* xix/1 [1954], § 35). He was able to permit himself the practice of *idjtihād*, the personal effort of reflection, while scrupulously respecting the Māliki doctrine. The Ḥanbalī Ibn al-ʿImād himself (*Shadharāt*, iii, 17), acknowledges his rectitude, his intelligence and his eloquence, and does not criticise him more than other authors of biographical articles.

However, none of the works which he left behind has survived: *al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, *al-Inbāh ʿalā 'stinbāṭ al-aḥkām min Kitāb Allāh* and *al-Ibāna ʿan ḥaḳāʾiḳ uṣūl al-diyāna*. A few verses are still attributed to him, in particular with regard to *zuhd* [*q.v.*], and there is also mention of an exchange of letters in verse with al-Ḳālī with the object of borrowing a book from him. It may be noted that this literary output did not at first appear to Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, iv, 228-9) sufficient to merit a notice, but he finally decided to devote a lengthy piece to him (xix, 174-85).

Mundhir b. Saʿīd had several sons, of whom al-Ḥakam and two others adopted the ideas of the philosopher Ibn Masarra [*q.v.*]. The fourth, ʿAbd al-Malik, who was *ṣāḥib al-radd*, in other words a *ḳāḍī* appointed to regulate affairs considered too sensitive by other magistrates, was accused of involvement in the plot aimed at deposing Hishām II [*q.v.*], and he was hanged in 368/379 by order of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]; see in particular Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 217, 487).

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AL-**MUNDHIR** B. **SĀWĀ** (or Sāwī) B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ZAYD b. ʿAbd Allāh, a chief of the tribal division of Dārim of Tamīm. The tribal branch of the ʿAbd Allah b. Zayd were, according to tradition, called *al-Ispadhiyyūn*. This name, obviously of Persian origin, is said to have referred to this people because they worshipped a horse (*asp*); according to another tradition, they were called so because they came from a place called Ispadh. A third tradition assumed that this name was attached to a group of scattered tribal factions joined together and united (*al-djummāʿ*). Some Western scholars have assumed that the word is derived from the Persian *Ispahbadh* [*q.v.*]; this may indicate that this group served as a force of the Ispahbadh of al-Baḥrayn. There is indeed a report according to which the Ispadhiyyūn were a force stationed in the fortress of al-Mushaḳḳar [*q.v.*] (see *LA*, s.v. *s-b-dh*).

The tribal division Dārim of Tamīm were in close relations with the Persians. Al-Mundhir b. Sāwā is mentioned in the Arabic sources as the "Master of Hadjar" (*ṣāḥib Hadjar*) or as the "King of Hadjar" (*malik Hadjar*). These "kings", says Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb in *al-Muḥabbar*, were appointed by the kings of Persia and controlled the market of Hadjar. One of the traditions says explicitly that al-Mundhir b. Sāwā was appointed by the Persians to control the Arab tribes (*kāna ʿalā l-ʿarabi min ḳibali 'l-fursi*; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ms. ʿĀshir Ef. 597-8, fol. 969a; and see idem, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 106). After his conversion to Islam, the Prophet is said to have appointed him as governor (*ʿāmil*) of al-Baḥrayn.

Reports of the *sīra* compilations mention unanimously that the Prophet sent al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī with a letter to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā summoning him to embrace Islam. They differ, however, as to the date of the event: whether it took place in the year 6 H. or in 8 H. The exact date cannot be established. But it is plausible to assume that the Prophet sent his emissary to al-Mundhir after his conquest of Mecca; the conquest strengthened his position in the Arab peninsula considerably and he could, due to his newly acquired authority, widen his influence in some districts which were remote from Mecca and which, though they formed part of the Persian empire, were entrusted by the Persian kings to Arab leaders. The plan to dispatch the messenger was probably stimulated by the fact that the merchants setting out to Hadjar (literally: to al-Mushaḳḳar) had to cross the territory of Muḍarī tribes and had to get the protection of Ḳuraysh (sc. of the Meccans). Without this protection, the merchants could not reach Hadjar with their merchandise (see Ibn Ḥabīb, *op. cit.*). Al-Mundhir responded by stating that he had embraced Islam, that he had read the letter of the Prophet to the people of Hadjar and that some of them had converted to Islam while others had refused to do it. Some traditions say that the Arabs of al-Baḥrayn embraced Islam. Al-Mundhir asked the Prophet for instructions as to the positions of the Jews and the Magians in Baḥrayn. The Prophet decreed that the *djizya* should be imposed on them if they stuck to their faiths. In another letter of the Prophet, written to the Magians of Hadjar, the Prophet added two stipulations: the believers should not marry Magian women and should not eat meat of animals slaughtered by the Magians. The Prophet is said to have sent to al-ʿAlāʾ a list of the mandatory taxes levied as *ṣadaḳa* from camels, cattle, sheep and fruits. The poll tax was imposed according to the social position of the taxpayer: people who had no landed property had to pay four *dirhams* a year and deliver a striped cloak (*ʿabāʾa*) made of hair or wool; others had to pay a *dīnār*. It is noteworthy that the poll-tax imposed on the people of the garrison of Hadjar (*al-waḍāʾiʿ*) who had been settled there by Kisrā, with whom a separate treaty was concluded by the Muslim authorities, also amounted to one *dīnār*. The Prophet is said to have dispatched special emissaries (mentioned are Abū Hurayra, Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ and al-ʿAlāʾ b. Djāriya al-Thaḳafī) who would carry out the functions of tax-collectors and instructors in performance of religious duties.

The full authority of the Prophet in the area can be gauged from a particular phrase in the letter of the Prophet to al-Mundhir: "... as long as you act rightly we shall not depose you". Certain cases of deviation

and disloyalty seem to have taken place; this is implied in an utterance of the Prophet saying that "... he had the ability to drive them (i.e. the people of al-Mundhir b. Sāwā) out from Hadjar".

The Prophet enjoined the converts to Islam to obey his messengers and to aid them in carrying out their mission. The Prophet kept direct contacts with the believers of Hadjar; he is said to have received a deputation of the believers of al-Baḥrayn and to have welcomed them. Another tradition mentions that the Prophet met some believers from Hadjar and interceded in favour of al-Mundhir. The messengers of the Prophet in Hadjar passed favourable reports about al-Mundhir to the Prophet. The tradition saying that al-Mundhir b. Sāwā came with a group of believers to visit the Prophet was refuted by a majority of the scholars of the *sīra*. Another tradition says that "the king of Ḥadjar" sent Zuhra b. Ḥawiyya as his envoy to the Prophet; Zuhra embraced Islam and became a faithful believer. Al-Mundhir is said to have died shortly after the death of the Prophet. A rare tradition says that at the Prophet's death the governor of al-Baḥrayn was Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī b. Umayya.

The position of al-Mundhir b. Sāwā and his peculiar relation with the Prophet is examined by Ibn Ḥazm in his *Fiṣal*. Al-Mundhir is included in the list of the "Kings of the Arabs" who deliberately and voluntarily embraced Islam, became sincere believers and gave up their authority and prerogatives transferring them to the messengers of the Prophet. Their forces, says Ibn Ḥazm, were much stronger than those of the Prophet and their territory was vaster than that of the Prophet.

The letters of the Prophet to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā in which the Magians of al-Baḥrayn were granted the right to stick to their religion and were obliged to pay the poll tax, *djizya*, are in fact the earliest documents reporting on this decision of the Prophet. This ruling of the Prophet is said to have stirred a wave of discontent and anger among the Hypocrites (*al-Munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*]) of Medina and is reflected in one of the earliest commentaries of the Ḳurʾān, the *tafsīr* of Muḳātil. The Hypocrites were enraged and argued that the Prophet had violated his own decision to accept the *djizya* only from People of the Book; they complained bitterly that on the basis of that ruling the forces of the Prophet had fought and killed their fathers and brethren. The believers were perturbed by these arguments and informed the Prophet about it. Then the well known verse of sūra II, 256, *lā ikrāha fi 'l-dīn*, explicitly forbidding to compel anyone to change his faith, was revealed. Another verse of the Ḳurʾān, sūra V, 105, *yā ayyuhā 'lladhīna āmanū ʿalaykum anfusakum lā yaḍurrukum man ḍalla idhā 'htadaytum* was also revealed in connection with the claim of the Hypocrites; the very early *tafsīr* of Muḳātil glosses the passage *lā yaḍurrukum man ḍalla* by *min ahli hadjar*, Later scholars tried to present the stipulations of the agreements concerning the position of the non-Muslim population on a broader ideological basis. Ibn Ḥazm states in his *al-Muḥallā* that the *djizya* of Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians may be accepted on the condition that they acknowledge (*aḳarrū*) that Muḥammad is a messenger of God to us (i.e. to the Muslim community) and do not offend him nor the faith of Islam. Mālik formulated this stipulation as follows: "... he who says that Muḥammad was sent as a prophet to us (i.e. to the Muslim community), not to them, is free of punishment. He who claims that Muḥammad was not a prophet should be killed".

The treaties concluded between al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī and the population of Hadjar according to the instructions of the Prophet were, of course, considered valid and the territories of al-Baḥrayn and Hadjar were assessed as *ṣulḥ* territories (Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Amwāl*, 100).

Some scholars attempted to justify the imposition of the *djizya* on the Magians by the fact that the Magians had had a sacred Book, which was concealed by their sinful king; this assumption was however rejected by a great majority of Muslim scholars of tradition and law. Some scholars claimed that the Magians were granted the right to pay the tax of the *djizya* because they had "something like a Book" (*shubhat al-kitāb*) and rules applying to the People of the Book are valid for them as well (Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Farrāʾ, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 154 above).

The Prophet's ruling imposing the *djizya* on the people of Hadjar and al-Baḥrayn was not well-known in the Muslim community of Medina. Even ʿUmar was unaware of it, and was informed about it by some Companions of the Prophet. The injunction of the Prophet was supported by his utterance *sunnū bihim sunnata ahli 'l-kitāb* (see Ḥumayd b. Zandjawayh, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, 136, no. 122), "treat the Magians according to the *sunna* of the Prophet applied to the People of the Book".

The stipulations of the treaties concluded with the People of the Book (Jews and Christians) and the Magians in Baḥrayn were applied in other territories of the Muslim empire. The Magian population in the Muslim empire became an integral part of the community, and the Muslim lawyers took care to provide details of their legal status; this can be seen e.g. in some chapters of the early *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ.

The revolt against Islam, the *ridda* [*q.v.*], which flared up in al-Baḥrayn after the death of the Prophet and after the death of al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, was quelled by al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who headed some of the Muslim forces and succeeded in conquering some adjacent territories.

Thus the Tamīmī al-Mundhir b. Sāwā played an important role in the islamisation of the territories of al-Baḥrayn and in enabling the religious communities of Jews, Christians and Magians in al-Baḥrayn to survive.

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(M.J. KISTER)

MÜNEDJDJIM BASHÎ, DERWĪSH AḤMED DEDE b. Luṭf Allāh (?-1113/?-1702), Turkish scholar, Ṣūfī poet and, above all, historian, being the author of a celebrated and important general history in Arabic, the *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*.

His father Luṭf Allāh was a native of Eregli near Ḳonya. He was born in Selānik, in the first half of the 12th/18th century, received a scholarly education and served in his youth for fifteen years in the Mewlewī-khāne of Ḳāsim Pasha under Shaykh Khalīl Dede (*Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, ii, 287). Afterwards he studied astronomy and astrology and became court astrologer (*münedjdjim bashî*) in 1078/1667-8. In 1086/1675-6 he was admitted to the intimate circle of Sultan Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*] as *muṣāḥib-i pādishāhī*. He was dismissed in Muḥarram 1099/November1687 and banished to Egypt. From here he went some years later to Mecca, where he became *shaykh* of the Mewlewī-khāne. In 1105/1693-4 he was obliged to move to Medina, where he lived for seven years. Soon after his return to Mecca he died there on 29 Ramaḍān 1113/27 February 1702 and was buried near the tomb of Khadīdja.

Besides writing his historical work, Münedjdjim Bashî displayed a considerable literary activity. Of his works are mentioned a *ḥāshiya* on the Ḳurʾān commentary of al-Bayḍāwī, a commentary on the *ʿAḳāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyya* of al-Īdjī, a *Laṭāʾif-nāme*, a translation of the anecdotes of ʿUbayd-i Zākānī, and a number of treatises on geometry, mysticism and music. His Turkish *dīwān* also gives him a place in the ranks of Turkish mystical poets; his *takhalluṣ* was ʿĀshiḳ.

The general history was written in Arabic under the title *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*, but although several manuscripts of the still unpublished Arabic original exist in the libraries of e.g. Istanbul, Edirne and Kayseri, it was formerly better known in the epitomised Turkish translation made by the poet Aḥmed Nedīm [*q.v.*] in the 12th/18th century under the title *Ṣaḥāʾif al-akhbār* (printed in three volumes, Istanbul 1285). It is a world history, arranged, after the fashion of similar Arabic works, according to dynasties, with a main division into three parts: the first treating of the history of Muḥammad, the second the non-Islamic dynasties and the third the Islamic dynasties. In the introductory chapters the author cites his numerous sources, not a few of which are lost in the original. Therefore the work has a special value for the knowledge of many smaller dynasties and for this reason it was especially used by E. Sachau for *Ein Verzeichnis muhammedanischer Dynastien*, in *SB Pr. Ak. W.* (Berlin 1923) (cf. the introd.). The last dynasty treated is that of the Ottoman sultans; it is proportionately longer and more detailed than the history of the other Islamic dynasties and based on several imperfectly known sources; the last part, which ends in 1089/1678, gives contemporary history. The Turkish translation of Nedīm is very readable and not composed in the high-flown literary style that prevailed in his period. For this reason it was especially praised and represented in Ebuzziyā Tewfīḳ's *Nümūne-i edebiyyāt-i ʿothmāniyye*[6], Istanbul 1330.

Among the now lost sources used by Münedjdjim Bashî, and apparently epitomised by him in the *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*, was a history of Darband, the *Taʾrīkh Bāb al-Abwāb*, valuable for the history of the Muslim dynasties of eastern Transcaucasia, Arrān and Ādharbāydjān. His text here was utilised in a masterly fashion by Minorsky for his *Studies in Caucasian history*

(London 1953) and *A history of Sharvan and Darband* (Cambridge 1958); see also BĀB AL-ABWĀB and AL-ĶABĶ.

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MUNGĪR, conventional form Monghyr, a town of Bihār in the Indian Union, situated on the south bank of the Ganges in lat. 25° 25' N. and 86° 27' E, and at an important communications point between Bengal and the middle Ganges valley. It is also the administrative centre of a District in the province of Bihār of the same name.

Said to have been founded in Gupta times, Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī [*q.v.*] was its first Muslim conqueror when he raided into Bihār in 589/1193. It subsequently became a place of military and administrative importance, with a fortress built in apparently Mughal style [see BIHĀR]. Mīr Ķāsim ᶜAlī (d. 1777 [*q.v.*]), *Nawwāb* of Bengal, moved his capital thither from lower Bengal, away from the British East India Company's presence in Bengal, and founded there an arsenal for the army of his which was being trained by the Armenian Gurgīn (Gregory) Khān, the beginning of the gunmaking industry for which Mungīr became famous.

Mungīr became a municipality in 1864 and is now an important grain mart and manufacturing centre, with a population (1971 census) of 102,462, whilst the District had 3,896,423 inhabitants.

. *Bibliography*: E. Balfour, *The Cyclopaedia of India*³, ii, 975-6; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xvii, 389-403; L.S.S. O'Malley, *Bengal District gazeteers*, xvii, *Monghyr District*, Calcutta 1909. (ED.)

MÜNĪF PASHA, MEḤEMMED ṬĀHIR, prominent Ottoman statesman and educational reformer of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] era.

He was born into an *ᶜulamāʾ* family in ᶜAyinṭāb (Gaziantep, south-eastern Turkey) in 1828-9 (1830, according to İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa), and received a traditional *medrese* education in his home town, in Cairo and in Damascus. Entering the Ottoman civil service as a clerk in the Damascus Provincial Council, Münīf went on to Istanbul in 1852 and was employed as Persian and Arabic translator in the Translation Bureau (*Terdjüme Odasî*) of the Sublime Porte, the nursery of Ottoman reform statesmen. He learned French (and later some English) in Istanbul and then German in Berlin, where he was posted as Second Secretary at the Ottoman Embassy and attended courses at the University. Returning to Istanbul, he became known through his articles in the newspaper *Djerīde-yi Ḥawādith*, and was promoted head of the Translation Bureau in 1862. He made his first contribution to the cause of enlightenment by publishing in 1859 an anthology of translated excerpts from the writings of Voltaire, Fénelon and Fontenelle, under the title *Muḥāwerāt-î Ḥikemiyye* ("Philosophical Discourses"). The following year he founded the *Djemᶜiyyet-i ᶜIlmiyye-yi ᶜOthmāniyye* (Ottoman Scientific Society), and its organ the *Medjmūᶜa-yi Fünūn* ("Journal of [Secular] Sciences"). This published in 1862 his plea for the reform of the Arabic script, which Münīf saw as inferior to the Latin alphabet and a factor in the prevalence of illiteracy. Appointed chairman of the *Medjlis-i Maᶜārif* (Council of Education) in 1869, Münif lamented that he did not succeed in changing the heading on the Council's paper, let alone the education system of the country. However, he had greater opportunities to make an impact, when, after five years as Ottoman Ambassador in Tehran, he embarked in 1877 on the first of his three terms as Minister of Education. His second term (1878-80) coincided with the accession of ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II, whom he tutored in political economy. While the new Sultan was energetic in extending modern education through his empire, he repeatedly interrupted the career of his reforming Minister, whose zeal he distrusted. Thus after being promoted to the rank of *wezīr* (which gave him the title of Pasha) Münīf found himself transferred to the *Medjlis-i Ṣiḥḥiyye* (Health Council) before becoming Minister of Education for the third and last time in 1885. He lost his job in 1891, and was kept on the payroll but without an appointment until 1895, when he was sent to Tehran as special emissary to the jubilee of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*], and where he stayed on briefly as Ambassador after the Shāh's assassination. Münīf retired at his own request in 1896, and spent the remaining years of his life, until his death in 1910, in his country house at Erenköy, outside Istanbul, which became a notable meeting place for Ottoman and foreign scholars.

Steeped in Islamic culture, yet an ardent admirer of Western civilisation, Münīf Pasha was deemed a poet, although his only major poetic work, the *Dāsitān-i Āl-Othmān* ("Epos of the House of Osman"), amounted to little more than a 13-page *ķaṣīda*, written in 1881, at a time of enforced idleness to attract the Sultan's favour. Apart from his translations, his only other books were edited versions of his lectures on law and political economy at the Istanbul *Dār al-Fünūn* (University). However, it is not as an author, but as a reforming, westernising statesman and a founding father of Turkey's modern educational system that he is remembered today.

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MUNᶜIM KHĀN or MUNᶜIM BEG, KHĀN-I KHĀNĀN (902-83/1497-1575), a leading Tūrānī noble of the Indian Mughal emperors Humāyūn and Akbar, was the son of Mīram Beg Andidjānī. As a foster-brother of Bābur's son ᶜAskarī, he was counted among the important nobles of Humāyūn as early as 940/1534. Humāyūn appointed him governor of Khōst [*q.v.*] in 952/1545, and he accompanied his master on the Balkh campaign of 956/1549. In 960/1553 he was appointed *atalïķ* (principal adviser) of Akbar, and a year later of Akbar's brother Muḥammad Ḥākim [*q.v.* in Suppl.] at Kābul. In 967/1560 Akbar recalled him from there and appointed him *Wakīl* (principal minister) with the title of Khān-i Khānān. In 969/1562 Atka Khān replaced Munᶜim Khān as *Wakīl* but upon the former's murder, Munᶜim Khān was shortly afterwards appointed *Wakīl* for a second time, holding the office till 971/1564.

After the suppression of the Uzbek rebellion, Munᶜim Khān was appointed governor of Djawnpur [*q.v.*], and all the eastern districts were placed under his command. In 981/1573-4 he built the celebrated bridge over the River Gomati at Djawnpur, which is still being used. When in 982/1574-5, Akbar established the *manṣab* [*q.v.*] system, Munᶜim Khān was awarded the then highest rank of 5,000, but soon afterwards died, having been for about forty years one of the leading nobles of the empire under Humayūn and Akbar.

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(M. Athar Ali)

MUNĪR LĀHAWRĪ (1019-54/1610-44), the pen name of Abu 'l-Barakāt, a prominent Indo-Muslim poet of Shāh Djahān's period (1628-58). He was born on 12 Ramaḍān 1019/28 November 1610 at Lāhawr. His father, ᶜAbd al-Djalīl b. Ḥāfiẓ Abū Isḥāḳ, was an expert calligrapher attached to Emperor Akbar's court. Munīr received his education in Lāhawr, and started composing poetry at an early age. In 1045/1635-6 he took up service with Mīrzā Ṣafī Sayf Khān, who was a son-in-law of Āṣaf Khān (d. 1051/1641), father of Shāh Djahān's wife, Mumtāz Maḥall [*q.v.*]. Sayf Khān held important administrative assignments during Shāh Djahān's reign, and when he was appointed governor of Bengal, Munīr accompanied him to that place. After the death of his patron in 1049/1639-40, the poet entered the employment of Shāpūr Mīrzā Iᶜtiḳād Khān (d. 1060/1650-1), governor of Djawnpūr. He spent the last period of his life in Āgra, and died there on 7 Radjab 1054/9 September 1644. His body was taken to Lāhawr, where he is buried.

Munīr left a considerable output in verse and prose. His poetical contribution comprises a number of *mathnawīs*, the best known of which is *Maẓhar-i gul* ("A flower theatre"), a poem composed in 1049/1639-40, during the author's residence in Bengal, and dedicated to Sayf Khān. It describes the natural aspects of Bengal, particularly its flowers and trees. Among Munīr's main prose works are his letters, written by him either for his own self or on behalf of Sayf Khān, and compiled under the title *Inshā-yi Munīr*.

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(Munibur Rahman)

MUʾNIS, the pen-name of Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb b. ᶜAwaḍ Biy Mīrāb al-Khīwaḳī, Khīwan historian, poet and translator, born 1 Rabīᶜ I 1192/19 March 1778, died 1244/1829.

He came from an aristocratic Uzbek family of the tribe of Yüz, whose members had been holding the title of *mīrāb* for five generations before Muʾnis (in the Khānate of Khīwa there were four high officials with the title *mīrāb*, members of the khān's council of 34 *ᶜamaldārs*). Muʾnis inherited this title and post after the death of his elder brother, who fell in a battle with the army of Bukhārā in 1221/1806. Nothing is known of his formal education, but Muʾnis himself gives the names of his two private tutors and mentions that he had taken a great interest in poetry and history already in his youth. The first version of his *dīwān* entitled *Muʾnis al-ᶜushshāḳ* was compiled in 1219/1804-5. During the reign of Eltüzer Khān (1218-21/1804-6), Muʾnis was in the retinue of the khān's younger brother, Muḥammad Raḥīm. In the middle of 1220/1805 the khān ordered Muʾnis to write the history of his dynasty, the Ḳongrats [see ḲUNGRAT], which Muʾnis entitled *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*. The death of Eltüzer Khān and the disturbances in Khʷārazm that followed it interrupted the work, which could be resumed, by the order of the new khān, Muḥammad Raḥīm, only in the middle of 1222/1807. About 1234/1819 the work was interrupted again, because Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān ordered Muʾnis to translate into Turkic the *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ* of Mīr Khʷānd [*q.v.*]. After the death of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān in 1240/1825, the new khān, Allāh-Ḳuli, ordered Muʾnis to continue his translation. Muʾnis died at the end of 1244/June 1829, during an epidemic of cholera which broke out in the khān's army during his return from a campaign in Khurāsān. Both the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl* and the translation of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ* were later continued by a nephew and pupil of Muʾnis, Muḥammad Riḍā Āgahī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]

Muʾnis was one of the first writers who belonged to the period of the flourishing of Čaghatāy literature in Khīwa in the 19th century (as most of his contemporaries, he also wrote some poems in Persian). For modern scholarship, the prime importance lies in his original historical work, the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*. It is divided into a foreword, a *muḳaddima*, and five *bābs*: (1) from Adam to the children of Noah; (2) the Mongol rulers from Yafeth till the branch of Ḳongrat; (3) the Čingizids, mainly the Čingizids of Khʷārazm; (4) the Ḳongrats, sc. the ancestors of Eltüzer Khān; (5) the reigns of Eltüzer Khān and Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān (Muʾnis intended to write also a *khātima*, which, however, was never written). Muʾnis, who himself considered his work as a continuation of the *Shadjara-yi Turk* by Abu 'l-Ghāzī [*q.v.*], brought his account down to the events of Ṣafar 1227/March 1812 (in ch. 5); the remaining part, written by Āgahī, forms about one-fifth of the entire work. The main part of the work is a chronicle of contemporary events based on Muʾnis' own observations and on eyewitness accounts. It is the largest known prose work written in Čaghatāy and one of the most important sources for the history of Central Asia in the 17th-19th centuries.

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lithographic eds. of *dīwān*: Khīwa 1291/1875, 1297/1879-80. (Yu. Bregel)

MUʾNIS DEDE DERWĪSH, Ottoman Ṣūfī poet of Edirne in the early 12th/18th century. His birth date is unknown, but he was a Mewlewī *murīd* at that order's Murādiyya convent in Edirne, where he received his instruction from the famous *shaykh* Enīs Redjeb Dede (d. 1147/1734-5). He himself died of plague in Edirne in 1145/1732-3 and was buried in the convent. His *dīwān* of poetry was praised by early authorities as being good, but has not survived.

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MUʾNIS al-FAḤL or Muʾnis al-Khāzin, commander of the ʿAbbāsids, prominent during the caliphates of al-Muʿtaḍid, al-Muktafī and al-Muḳtadir [*q.vv.*], i.e. the end of the 3rd/9th and the opening of the 4th/10th centuries. He was called "the stallion" (*al-faḥl*) to distinguish him from his more celebrated contemporary Muʾnis al-Khādim ("the eunuch") [see muʾnis al-muẓaffar]. Muʾnis al-Faḥl was *ṣāḥib al-ḥaras* or commander of the guard for al-Muʿtaḍid, and was sent by the caliph on various punitive expeditions against unruly Bedouin and other rebels in central ʿIrāḳ (286/899, 287/900, 289/902) and by al-Muktafī against the Carmathians [see ḳarmaṭī] in the vicinity of Hīt (293/906). In the succession crisis at al-Muktafī's death, when the young al-Muḳtadir was temporarily deposed by the partisans of Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] (296/908), he and Muʾnis al-Khādim acted decisively to reimpose al-Muḳtadir on the throne; as a reward, he subsequently became the *khāzin* or treasurer and also *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* or police commander to the caliph. He died in 301/914.

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MUʾNIS al-MUẒAFFAR, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, leading ʿAbbāsid general from 296 to 321 (908-33), and latterly virtual dictator (the usual attribution to him of the *nisba* al-Kushūrī seems to rest on a passage in Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾs *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, 347, where Naṣr should be read for Muʾnis), a eunuch (a passage of Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth, i, 160, shows that *khādim* in this case does not mean merely freedman, as suggested by Massignon, *al-Hallâj*, 205, no. 2), said by al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* (followed by Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii, 255) to have been 90 years old at death (though this age would seem incredibly great for a recently active commander), i.e. for him to have been born in 231/845-6 and to have held the rank of *amīr* for 60 years. The name Muʾnis was frequently found among eunuchs, and the sources therefore distinguish an older contemporary of Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar, Muʾnis the treasurer (*al-khāzin*), d. 301/914, as Muʾnis al-Faḥl ("the stallion") [*q.v.*].

Muʾnis first appears (if the passage of al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1953, refers to him) as a *ghulām* of al-Muʿtaḍid (not yet caliph) in the Zandj [*q.v.*] campaign of 267/880-1; and he is mentioned as Chief of Police in the caliph's camp (*ṣāḥib shurṭat al-ʿaskar*) in 287/900. Al-Dhahabī (also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *loc. cit.*) states, again, that he was banished to Mecca by al-Muʿtaḍid, to be recalled on the accession of al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*]; and as Muʾnis is nowhere referred to during the intervening reign of al-Muktafī, the statement may be true. (If so, in al-Masʾūdī's description, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, viii = § 3355, of al-Muʿtaḍid's death, for *khādim* read *khāzin*, as in ʿArīb, 29.)

Muʾnis owed his later eminence mainly to his leading the defence, in 296/908, of the Ḥasanī palace at Baghdād for al-Muḳtadir against the partisans of the latter's cousin, the pretender Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*]. During the caliph's youth, his gratitude and that of his powerful mother for this service assured Muʾnis's position; and though later al-Muḳtadir's favour turned to enmity, by that time Muʾnis's authority was hardly in need of support, owing chiefly to his almost invariably successful generalship. For though he undertook no very important campaigns, except perhaps the repulse of the Fāṭimid al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] in 307/919-20 (for which he received the *laḳab* of *al-Muẓaffar*), and the defence of Baghdād from the Ḳarāmiṭa [see ḳarmaṭī] in 315/927-8, he was only once defeated, sc. in 306/918.

Muʾnis early fell out with the vizier Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*], repeatedly opposing him, till in 312/924, on Ibn al-Furāt's third term of office, Muʾnis played a prominent part in securing his dismissal and execution. He now became all-powerful, being invariably consulted on the appointment of viziers and so controlling the government. Hence the change of al-Muḳtadir's affection to dislike, first signalised (315/927) in an abortive plot of the caliph's to murder him. In 316/928, Muʾnis lent himself to al-Muḳtadir's deposition in favour of his half-brother al-Ḳāhir [*q.v.*]. He almost immediately restored him, however, thereby becoming more absolutely his master than ever. Al-Muḳtadir eventually defied Muʾnis (319/931), who thereupon left Baghdād. Next year, however, having meanwhile collected a strong force, he marched on the capital intending to reimpose his authority. He duly defeated the caliph's army outside the walls, but al-Muḳtadir himself was killed on the field.

Muʾnis now restored al-Ḳāhir. But by resuming his dictatorial ways, he soon so alienated him also that he was obliged in self-defence to keep the new caliph a prisoner in the palace. He even contemplated deposing him. Al-Ḳāhir, however, succeeded in luring Muʾnis, together with his chief supporters, into the palace, where he shortly had them executed in Shaʿbān 321/August 933.

Muʾnis' influence was on the whole exerted for good; but he was neither strong nor intelligent enough to prevent the decline of the caliphate. His example of depriving the caliph of real power was pernicious. It was to be followed all too soon by the series of adventurers who, with the designation of *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*], were to dominate al-Ḳāhir's successors.

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MUNKAR (a.), a technical term in the science

of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] used to describe a certain type of tradition or a transmitter of such traditions. The plural of *munkar* is either *munkarāt* or *manākīr*. The definition of the term hinges on two connotations of the verb *ankara*, which conveys among others the notions "to be ignorant of" as well as "to reject" or "disapprove". Thus the term can be translated by "unknown" as well as "objectionable", and in whatever context it occurs, it potentially constitutes a double entendre. Some Muslim scholars equate the term with *s̲h̲ād̲h̲d̲h̲*, which stands for a tradition supported by a single *isnād* strand not attested elsewhere but in essence acceptable, since the transmitters in its *isnād* are defined as *t̲h̲iḳas*. The majority of *ḥadīt̲h̲* experts, however, see in *munkar* a negative term, while they hold that a *s̲h̲ād̲h̲d̲h̲* tradition, though often bizarre, conveys something positive which may not be discarded.

Transmitters of *manākīr* are generally (although as will be seen below not always entirely justly) suspected of having had a hand in the invention of (part of) the *matn* of a tradition, while suspicion as to someone's tampering with a tradition's *isnād* has given rise to the qualification of that transmitter as being *ḍaʿīf*, a term also used to denote an *isnād* in which something is amiss. In early days, sc. the last few decades of the first/seventh century, when *isnād*s were hardly in existence yet, misgivings of *ḥadīt̲h̲* experts concerning certain traditions in circulation were prompted, more than by any other feature, by the *matns*. *Isnād*-technical considerations, which became the major tools of the trade of *ḥadīt̲h̲* critics in their assessment of traditions, were on the whole formulated later, to wit in the course of the 2nd/8th century. In other words, the identification of traditions as *munkar* hails from a very early stage in Muslim *ḥadīt̲h̲* evaluation. This definition and its date of origin posited here tally with what the *ḥadīt̲h̲* expert Abū Bakr al-Bardīd̲j̲ī (d. 301/914, cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 166) once said, as quoted in Ibn Rad̲j̲ab's *S̲h̲arḥ ʿilal al-Tirmid̲h̲ī*, 324 f: "*Munkar* is what is transmitted by someone on the authority of a Companion or a Successor, whereby that tradition, *that is to say the text thereof*, is only known through that one *isnād* strand". The reputations of transmitters accused or suspected of having passed on some *munkar* material would be dented but not totally destroyed. (The concept of lying, in Arabic *kad̲h̲ib* = "mendacity", constitutes a criterion in *ḥadīt̲h̲* criticism which originated somewhat later and emerges only in the course of the second half of the 2nd/8th century; see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, ch. 3.)

One of the earliest transmitters to some of whose traditions several experts applied the term *munkar*, was the *muk̲h̲aḍram* Successor Ḳays b. Abī Ḥāzim (d. 84/703 or 98/716), a *muʿammar* [*q.v.*] who was probably fictitious and was invented, complete with his alleged *munkar* traditions, by his alleged star pupil Ismāʿīl b. Abī K̲h̲ālid (d. 146/763). Another early Successor, some of whose transmitted material was at times dubbed *munkar*, was the controversial S̲h̲ahr b. Ḥaws̲h̲ab (d. between 100/718 and 112/730). He was accused of having brought *munkarāt* into circulation on the authority of *t̲h̲iḳāt*, a formulation which proves once more that it is their *matns* rather than their *isnāds* which define traditions as *munkar* (cf. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, iv, 372).

The proliferation of much *munkar* material was achieved by means of so-called family *isnāds* (viz. "on the authority of my father who had it from his father" and so on). One of the earliest examples of such *isnāds* is found among the traditions ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda (d. 115/733), otherwise deemed trustworthy, who was suspected of having brought *munkar* traditions in circulation especially on the authority of his father, from whom, as the sources agree, he allegedly never heard anything. A more notorious example of *munkar* traditions being lent credibility by a much disputed family *isnād* is provided by a *ṣaḥīfa* allegedly passed on by the Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr to his grandson S̲h̲uʿayb b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh to the latter's son ʿAmr b. S̲h̲uʿayb (d. 118/736). From this *ṣaḥīfa* some 170 traditions, many of which were found to be *munkar*, made it eventually to the canonical collections (with the exception of al-Buk̲h̲ārī's). These can be studied separately, as they are conveniently grouped together by al-Mizzī [*q.v.*] in his *Tuḥfat al-as̲h̲rāf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf*, vi, nos. 8654-8823. But, as is evident from some recorded remarks of mediaeval tradition critics, for a number of these traditions it is not S̲h̲uʿayb b. ʿAmr but rather one of his alleged pupils (or conceivably one of that pupil's pupils) who is held responsible. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar enumerates several of these (cf. *Tahd̲h̲īb*, viii, 54).

In later usage, as from the second half of the 2nd/8th century, *munkar* becomes virtually synonymous with *mawḍūʿ* "fabricated", pertaining to *isnād* as well as *matn*. From the earliest times on, countless *manākīr* transmitters are listed in all *rid̲j̲āl* lexicons, often with quotations from their alleged *munkar* traditions. Those lexicons compiled especially to expose doubtful transmitters, such as Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-ʿUḳaylī's *K. al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-kabīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Amīn Ḳalʿad̲j̲ī, Beirut 1984, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī's *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-rid̲j̲āl*, ed. Beirut 1985, D̲h̲ahabī's *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bid̲j̲āwī, Cairo 1963 and Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar's *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1329, abound in examples of *munkar* traditions.

Bibliography: al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 429 ff.; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, ed. ʿĀ. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Cairo 1974, 180 f.; Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, *S̲h̲arḥ ʿilal al-Tirmid̲h̲ī*, ed. Ṣubḥī D̲j̲āsim al-Ḥumayd, Bag̲h̲dād 1396, 324-9; Nawawī, *Taḳrīb*, tr. W. Marçais in *JA*, n.s. xvii (1901), 104 f.; Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī s̲h̲arḥ taḳrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo n.d., i, 238-41; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīt̲h̲ wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 213-16; Nūr al-Dīn ʿIṭr, *Manhad̲j̲ al-naḳd fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīt̲h̲*, Damascus 1972, 407-10; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, index s.v. (G.H.A. Juynboll)

MUNKAR wa-**NAKĪR** (the forms with the article are also found), the names of the two angels who examine and if necessary punish the dead in their tombs. To the examination in the tomb the infidels and the faithful—the righteous as well as the sinners—are liable. They are set upright in their tombs and must state their opinion regarding Muḥammad. The righteous faithful will answer that he is the Apostle of Allāh; thereupon they will be left alone till the Day of Resurrection. The sinners and the infidels, on the other hand, will have no satisfactory answer at hand. In consequence of this the angels will beat them severely, as long as it will please Allāh, according to some authorities till the Day of Resurrection, except on Fridays.

In some sources a distinction is made between the punishment and the pressure (*ḍag̲h̲ṭa*) in the tomb, the righteous faithful being exempt from the former, not from the latter, whereas the infidels and the sinners suffer punishment as well as pressure (Abu 'l-Muʿīn Maymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, as cited in the commentary on the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, Ḥaydarābād 1321, 22).

The punishment in the tomb [see ʿad̲h̲āb al-ḳabr]

is not plainly mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. Allusions to the idea may be found in several passages, e.g. sūra XLVII, 29: "But how when the angels, causing them to die, shall smite them on their faces and backs"; sūra VI, 93: "But couldst thou see, when the ungodly are in the floods of death, and the angels reach forth their hands, saying, Yield up your souls; this day shall ye be recompensed with a humiliating punishment"; sūra VIII, 52: "And if thou wert to see when the angels take the life of the unbelievers; they smite their faces and their backs, and taste ye the torture of burning" (cf. further, sūra IX, 102; XXIII, 21; LII, 47).

The punishment of the tomb is very frequently mentioned in the Tradition (see *Bibl.*), often, however, without the mention of angels. In the latter group of traditions it is simply said that the dead are punished in their tombs, or why this is so, e.g. on account of special sins they have committed, or on account of the wailing of the living.

The names of Munkar and Nakīr do not appear in the Ḳur'ān, and, it seems, once only in canonical Tradition (al-Tirmidhī, *Djanā'iz*, *bāb* 70). Apparently these names do not belong to the old stock of traditions. Moreover, in some traditions one anonymous angel only is mentioned as the angel who interrogates and punishes the dead (Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 163; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna, bāb* 39b; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 233, 346; iv, 150; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 753).

So there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding this subject: the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning "the" angel, the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakīr.

This state of things as reflected in *ḥadīth* finds a similar reflex in the early forms of the creed. In the *Fiḳh Akbar* I, which may date from the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the punishment of the tomb appears as the only eschatological representation (art. 10). In the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, which may represent the orthodox views of the middle of the 2nd/8th century, we find, apart from an elaborate eschatology, the two following articles (arts. 18,19): "We confess, that the punishment in the tomb shall without fail take place. We confess, that in view of the traditions on the subject, the interrogation by Munkar and Nakīr is a reality". The term "reality" is apparently intended to oppose the allegorical interpretation of eschatological representations as taught by the Mu'tazilīs.

The *Fiḳh Akbar* II, which may represent the new orthodoxy of the middle of the 3rd/9th century, is still more elaborate on this point (art. 23): "The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakīr is a reality and the reunion of the body with the spirit in the tomb is a reality. The pressure and the punishment in the tomb are a reality that will take place in the case of all the infidels, and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful". In the later creeds and works on dogmatics, the punishment and the interrogation in the tomb by Munkar and Nakīr are expressed in similar ways.

The Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] taught the identity of Munkar and Nakīr with the two guardian angels who accompany man ('Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 246). Al-Ghazālī admits the idea that eschatological representations are a reality that takes place in the *malakūt*.

The origin of the names is uncertain; the meaning "disliked" seems doubtful. The idea of the examination and the punishment of the dead in their tombs is found among other peoples also. The details to be found in Jewish sources (*ḥibbūṭ haḳ-ḳeber*) are strikingly parallel to the Muslim ones.

Bibliography: The passages from *ḥadīth* in Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muh. tradition*, s.v. Grave(s); further E. Sell, *The faith of Islam*, London 1880, 145; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i, 46; Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, general index, s.v. Punishment, and Munkar and Nakīr; J.C.G. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen 1748, iii, 95-6; Ṭaḥāwī, *Bayān al-sunna wa 'l-djamā'a*, Aleppo 1344, 9; Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Nasafī, *'Aḳā'id*, Istanbul 1313, with the commentary of Taftāzānī, 132 ff.; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1302, iv, 451 ff.; idem, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed. Gautier, 23 ff.; *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-ḳiyāma*, ed. M. Wolff, 40-1. See also the *Bibl.* to MALĀ'IKA.

(A.J. Wensinck)

MUNḲIDH, Banū, a clan prominent in Syrian (and to a lesser extent Egyptian) affairs from the middle of the 5th/11th century to the end of the 6th/12th century. Between 474/1081 and 552/1157 their principal possession was Shayzar, a fortified town perched on a crag overlooking the Orontes (al-'Āṣī [*q.v.*]) River, some 15 km. northwest of Ḥamāt [*q.v.*]. After Shayzar was destroyed and most of the clan killed in the disastrous earthquake of 552/1157, its remaining members were compelled to pursue careers in the service of the various princes of Syria and Egypt. The Banū Munḳidh were not only soldiers and petty seigneurs; they also produced several poets and men of letters of some repute, among whom the best known was Usāma b. Murshid (488-584/1095-1188).

Like many of those who rose to power in Syria between the mid-4th/10th and the late 5th/11th centuries, the Banū Munḳidh were of Arab and Bedouin origin. They were members of the Kināna [*q.v.*] section of the Kalb, a "Yamanī' tribe, most of whose branches were active in the region around Damascus; the Kināna, however, resided in North Syria, in the districts east of the Orontes. The Banū Munḳidh seem to make their first appearance in 349/960, when a certain 'Alī b. Munḳidh b. Naṣr al-Kinānī was captured (along with the poet Abū Firās [*q.v.*]) in a disastrous battle against the Byzantines. However, they first emerge as a significant political force in the wake of the seizure of Aleppo by Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās in 415-16/1024-5. To one of his supporters, Muḳallad b. Naṣr b. Munḳidh, Ṣaliḥ assigned the district of Shayzar as an *iḳṭā'*. At this time, however, the town was still in Byzantine hands, and Muḳallad's most important possession was the town of Kafarṭāb. (When this place had been acquired by the Banū Munḳidh we do not know.)

Muḳallad b. Naṣr died in 450/1059 and bequeathed his lands to his son Sadīd al-Mulk 'Alī, the true founder of the Munḳidhite principality. 'Alī maintained his father's close (if not always friendly) ties with the Mirdāsids of Aleppo, but he soon ceased to be their client, becoming instead almost the arbiter of the dynasty. Thus in 468/1076 he was able to dictate the succession of the last Mirdāsid prince, Sābiḳ b. Maḥmūd b. Ṣāliḥ, while in 473/1080 he was instrumental in ending this dynasty's rule in Aleppo and turning the city over to the 'Uḳaylid ruler of Mawṣil, Muslim b. Ḳuraysh. In general, 'Alī used his skills as a political broker in the fragmented world of North Syria to secure a considerable degree of autonomy for himself and his tiny seigneurie. His most lasting achievement, however, was his capture of Shayzar from the bishop of al-Bāra (nominally at least, a representative of Byzantine authority) in

474/1081. This he did by cutting the town off from its hinterland by building a castle (the so-called Ḳalʿat al-Djisr) which controlled a crucial Orontes bridge. For the next three-quarters of a century, Shayzar was to be the seat of the Banū Munḳidh, the one stronghold they would retain in the face of every challenge. ʿAlī's principality at the time of his death in 475/1082, though it included no major cities, was a significant local power; in addition to Shayzar, he held Kafarṭāb, Apamea (Afāmiya), the port of al-Lādhiḳiyya, and several smaller places.

The Banū Munḳidh enjoyed only a moment of prosperity, however, for in the decades following ʿAlī's death they were entangled in the convoluted and unceasing struggles of forces far more powerful than they—the ʿUḳaylids of Mawṣil, Saldjūḳids and Artuḳids, the Franks, the Assassins, not to mention various local Arab chiefs. That they were able to retain their autonomy and prestige (though not the bulk of their lands) is a tribute especially to the courage and astuteness of ʿAlī's two sons and successors: Naṣr (reigned 475-92/1082-98) and Abu 'l-ʿAsākir Sulṭān (492-549/1098-1154). The critical challenge of Naṣr b. ʿAlī's reign was the Saldjūḳid conquest of Syria. Knowing that no Syrian coalition could resist the Saldjūḳids, he followed a policy of accommodation. Thus in 479/1086-7 he felt compelled to cede Kafarṭāb, Apamea and al-Lādhiḳiyya to the sultan Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*] in exchange for the confirmed possession of Shayzar. In the confusion of the Saldjūḳid occupation, Naṣr normally found his interests best served by aligning himself with the ruler of Aleppo. In 485/1091, this policy gained for him the restoration of the three towns mentioned above, though Kafarṭāb and Apamea were lost only five years later to a troublesome and persistent rival, Khalaf b. Mulāʿib. (Khalaf had been ruler of Ḥimṣ until displaced by the Saldjūḳid Tutush in 483/1090-1, and was a constant source of turmoil in North Syria until his death at the hands of the Assassins in 499/1106.)

When Naṣr died in 492/1098, he named his brother Murshid as his successor, but upon the latter's refusal, ʿAlī's youngest son Sulṭān was called from al-Lādhiḳiyya, where he had been governor. Sulṭān's reign was even more troubled than Naṣr's had been, for almost from the outset he had to contend with two new regional forces, the Crusaders and the Assassins. The Turks remained a fact of life, of course. To meet these challenges he relied chiefly on his own kinsmen, for the Banū Munḳidh were by this time a very numerous clan. The family had also a certain number of followers from their tribe of Kināna, though there is no evidence that they could call on the whole body of the tribe's warriors in this period. In addition, the townspeople of Shayzar could be a very effective militia, as they demonstrated especially in the siege mounted by the Emperor John Comnenus in 532/1138. Finally, the Banū Munḳidh recruited Kurdish mercenaries and Turkish *mamlūks* as far as they were able, though these must always have been a small minority of their forces. It should be noted that these members-by-purchase of the clan were unfailingly loyal to their Arab patrons.

We cannot possibly review even the main events of Sulṭān's crowded reign, but a few facts will illustrate what he was up against. In 507/1114 (following Ibn al-Ḳalānisī rather than Ibn al-Athīr's date of 502/1109), the Assassins of the district staged a surprise attack on Shayzar while the Banū Munḳidh were outside the town observing the Easter celebrations of their Christian subjects; only a bitter struggle, in which even the clan's women participated, succeeded in dislodging the assaillants. Even after this, the Assassins were a constant menace, and in 535/1141 they succeeded in snatching the fortress of Maṣyāf from the Banū Munḳidh—a place which henceforth would be one of their chief strongholds. The principal Frankish threat came from the princes of Antioch; during the first three decades of the 6th/12th century Shayzar was subject to almost constant raids from this direction. In 504-5/1110-11, the town was seriously threatened by Tancred of Antioch, who had built a castle across the river at Tall Ibn Maʿshar; and in 509/1115 it was besieged by a Frankish-Muslim coalition (Roger of Antioch, Ṭughtigīn of Damascus, Īl-Ghāzī of Mārdīn) formed to resist a proposed Syrian campaign by the governor of Mawṣil. In the same period, the Turkish governors of Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt—especially the latter—were always in a position to put pressure on the Banū Munḳidh, though they made no sustained efforts to take Shayzar. A degree of security was afforded by the rise of Zangī after 522/1127, and Sulṭān was quick to put himself under the suzerainty of this formidable prince. Even so, he had to sustain a brief siege by Shams al-Mulūk Ismāʿīl of Damascus in 527/1133, and the far more dangerous assault in 532/1138 of John Comnenus, who was engaged in a campaign to reassert Byzantine supremacy in North Syria. But after this last event Shayzar entered into a period of relative peace, secured by the power of Zangī and his son Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

In 549/1154 Sulṭān b. ʿAlī was succeeded by his son Tādj al-Dawla Muḥammad without incident. In 552/1157, however, everything came to a brutal and utterly unexpected end. In Radjab/August a massive earthquake ravaged north and central Syria; in the citadel of Shayzar most of the Banū Munḳidh were gathered for a great banquet when the building collapsed on them. None escaped except the wife of Tādj al-Dawla. To prevent such a strong site from falling into the hands of the Franks or the Assassins, Nūr al-Dīn quickly moved to take possession. Having restored it, he assigned it to his foster brother Madjd al-Dīn b. al-Dāya. The Banu 'l-Dāya, like their unfortunate predecessors, were to have a long career as lords of Shayzar, for they held it until 630/1232-3, when they were dispossessed by the Ayyūbid prince of Aleppo.

In spite of the extent of the disaster, the Banū Munḳidh did not fall into complete obscurity. Several members of the clan were not present when the catastrophe occurred, and of these four in particular achieved some prominence: (1) Usāma b. Murshid b. ʿAlī; (2) his first cousin al-Mubārak b. Kāmil b. ʿAlī; (3) the latter's brother Muḥammad b. Kāmil b. ʿAlī, usually called Ḥiṭṭān; (4) a nephew of Usāma's, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nadjm al-Dawla Muḥammad b. Murshid b. ʿAlī.

(1) Usāma b. Murshid b. ʿAlī. Often called Usāma b. Munḳidh after the clan's eponym, he is by far the best-known member of the Banū Munḳidh. Esteemed in his own time as a poet and man of letters, we know him chiefly for his picturesque memoirs, the *Kitāb al-Iʿtibār* ("Book of instruction by example"). In the tradition of his family, however, he spent most of his life as a warrior and politician.

His career was a troubled one, and for this his own actions were surely responsible in large part. He was born in Shayzar in 488/1095 and continued to live there until *ca.* 526/1131, when he joined the entourage of Zangī. He returned briefly to his birthplace in 531-2/1137-8, to be present at the death of his father and the siege of John Comnenus. But in the summer of

532/1138 he and his brothers were banished by Sulṭān b. ᶜAlī—because, our texts say, Sulṭān was jealous of their military prowess and apprehensive lest they try to reclaim the succession renounced by their father Murshid in 492/1098. None of the four brothers would ever return to Shayzar, and perhaps the dominant tone in Usāma's writing is his desperate longing for the home of his youth. For some reason, Usāma felt he could not rejoin Zangī's service, and instead went to the Börid court in Damascus. There he became a close associate of the city's strongman, Muᶜīn al-Dīn Unur, and in pursuit of the latter's policy of détente with the Franks he made numerous journeys to Jerusalem and other places during these years. (It is these sojourns which underlie his famous observations on the Franks in the *K. al-Iᶜtibār*.) By 539/1144, Usāma had become embroiled in the poisonous factionalism of Damascus, and he was ordered to leave by his former protector Muᶜīn al-Dīn. Now unable to reside at any court in Syria, he took his family to Egypt and attached himself to the Fāṭimid court, where he eventually became an associate of the *wazīr* al-ᶜĀdil b. al-Sallār.

He remained in Egypt for ten years. He was Ibn al-Sallār's envoy to Nūr al-Dīn in 544/1150, with the mission of forming an alliance to relieve Ascalon from the Franks. But by 548/1153 he had become embroiled in a plot to murder his patron, and in the following year he was involved in a conspiracy against the caliph al-Ẓāfir. The tumult consequent on this forced him to flee to Syria in the spring of 549/1154. Fortunately, Nūr al-Dīn had just occupied Damascus, and Usāma found an honourable welcome with him. He remained in Nūr al-Dīn's service for another decade, though he seems to have been increasingly restless. When, after the great victory of Ḥārim in 559/1164, he was invited to join the court of the Artuḳid Ḳara-Arslān of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, he took the opportunity. The years in Ḥiṣn Kayfā were essentially ones of retirement, and though Usāma seems to have resented this, he put his time there to good use. It was now that he began to collect his *dīwān* and to compose a series of works on poetry, rhetoric, *adab*, history, and religion. Most of these are lost, but his *dīwān*, a book on figures of speech (*al-badīᶜ*) in poetry, an important anthology of verse on campsites and dwelling-places (*al-manāzil wa 'l-diyār*), and a prose anthology on sticks and rods (*K. al-ᶜAṣā*) have come down to us.

In the autumn of 570/1174, Usāma was called to join the entourage of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, immediately after the latter's occupation of Damascus. Usāma's oldest son Murhaf, an associate of the *sulṭān* since *ca.* 565/1170, was the person who obtained this invitation. Usāma was at first enthusiastically welcomed at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's court, but within two years a certain chill set in between them, and the old man was forced to live out his last years in an honourable but bitterly resented retirement. At the very end of his life he completed (in 579/1183) an admirable anthology, the *Lubāb al-ādāb*, and composed or dictated his *K. al-Iᶜtibār*. He died on 23 Ramaḍān 584/16 November 1188.

Usāma's poetry was very highly regarded in his own lifetime: Ibn ᶜAsākir quotes extensively from it in his *Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, and in the *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr wa-djarīdat al-ᶜaṣr*, ᶜImād al-Dīn devotes 48 pages (in the printed text) to him. Writers of the 7th/13th century—Ibn al-Athīr, Abū Shāma, Ibn Khallikān—continue to cite him with admiration. Thereafter, his poetry seems to have been neglected; but that is true for most other Arabic poets as well.

In the *K. al-Iᶜtibār* we get some glimpses of Usāma's personality, but if one reads this work in conjunction with the *Lubāb al-ādāb*, it becomes clear that his purpose is not to bare his own soul but to depict a human ideal. In the *K. al-Iᶜtibār*, he portrays the man he would like to have been: a person of almost reckless courage, whether in hunting or warfare; calm and unmoved in the face of God's decree; devoted to the honour of his family and to the memory of his father; learned in the Arabic language and the religious sciences. He is a true *adīb*, in some sense comparable to men like al-Djāḥiẓ, al-Tanūkhī and al-Tawḥīdī. But whereas their ethos is that of the courtier, his is that of the soldier and petty seigneur; and whereas al-Djāḥiẓ and al-Tawḥīdī at least are restlessly curious about the thoughts and doings of their fellows, Usāma is only tolerant and amused. But whatever his shortcomings, he is a considerable figure, and his *oeuvre*, both verse and prose, deserves a serious study.

(2) al-Mubārak b. Kāmil b. ᶜAlī and (3) Ḥiṭṭān b. Kāmil b. ᶜAlī. Al-Mubārak was born in Shayzar in 526/1131, but seems not to have remained there very long. After obtaining an education in Mecca and Baghdād, he entered the Egyptian administration under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and obtained the post of *shādd al-dīwān*. In 569/1174 he was attached to al-Muᶜaẓẓam Tūrānshāh's expedition to the Yaman, where he served as governor of Zabīd. He returned to Egypt with Tūrānshāh in 571/1176, leaving behind his brother Ḥiṭṭān as his successor in Zabīd. In 577/1181-2, shortly after the death of his patron Tūrānshāh, al-Mubārak was disgraced by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn for his alleged tyranny and corruption during his tenure in the Yaman. He was soon restored to favour, however, and retained high administrative office until his death in 589/1193. His brother Ḥiṭṭān was not so lucky. His régime in Zabīd was exceedingly harsh, and he became embroiled in conflicts and conspiracies with the other Ayyūbid lieutenants in the country. When Sayf al-Dīn Ṭughtigīn came to restore order in 579/1183-4, Ḥiṭṭān was soon put under arrest, and shortly thereafter was executed in Taᶜizz.

Al-Mubārak's son Djamāl al-Dīn Ismāᶜīl (569-626/1174-1229) followed a career line similar to his father's. He was an administrator in the service of the Ayyūbids al-ᶜĀdil and al-Kāmil; when the latter occupied Ḥarrān in 626/1229, Ismāᶜīl was named *wālī*, in charge both of civil and military affairs, but died very shortly after taking up his appointment.

(4) ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Murshid (523-600/1129-1204). He was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's envoy to the Almohad or al-Muwaḥḥid ruler al-Manṣūr Abū Yūsuf Yaᶜḳūb in 587/1191, with the aim of obtaining the support of al-Manṣūr's fleet against the Franks then besieging Acre. It was a delicate mission, and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān's standing is indicated by the fact that it was assigned to him. The mission's ultimate failure must certainly be ascribed to objective circumstances and not his own shortcomings.

Bibliography: The oldest extant sources on the Banū Munḳidh were composed in the mid- and late-6th/12th century: Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, 113, 120-1, 133, 149-50, 164-5, 167, 174, 177, 183, 190-1, 239, 255-6, 264, 278, 343-6, 348-50; Ibn ᶜAsākir, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, abridged ed., Badrān, Damascus 1330, ii, 400-4; ᶜImād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, Syria, i, ed. Shukrī Fayṣal, Damascus 1375/1955, 497-579; Usāma b. Murshid, *K. al-Iᶜtibār*, ed. Hitti, Princeton 1930, *passim*.

The 7th/13th-century writers rely chiefly on ᶜImād al-Dīn and Usāma, but they add important

additional material; thus Yāḳūt interrogated Usāma's eldest son Murhaf, and Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm could draw on the rich but now mostly lost historiographic tradition of North Syria. Ibn al-Athīr, *Atabegs*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, Cairo 1963, 110-12 *et passim*; *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix-xi, *passim*; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, ii, 173-97; Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, ed. M.H.M. Aḥmad, Cairo 1956, i/1, 261-8, 276-85, *et passim*; Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. S. al-Dahhān, Damascus 1954, ii, *passim*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968: (Usāma b. Murshid), i, 195-9, 417, 461-3, 526; (ʿAlī b. Muḳallad), iii, 409-11; (al-Mubārak b. Kāmil), iv, 144-6; (Muḳallad b. Naṣr), v, 269-73; (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad), vii, 12.

The writings of Usāma b. Murshid were extensive, and the list in *GAL*, I, 319-20, SI, 552-3, is very inadequate. The best attempts at a survey are the editors' introductions to *Lubāb al-ādāb*, 25-7, and *K. al-Manāzil wa 'l-diyār*, 50-2. His published works are as follows:

(1) *al-Dīwān*, ed. A.A. Badawī and Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Cairo 1953, based on a unique ms. dated 688 (Dār al-Kutub);

(2) *al-Badīʿ fī naḳd al-shiʿr*, ed. A.A. Badawī, Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Madjīd and I. Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1380/1960;

(3) *K. al-Manāzil wa 'l-diyār*, facs. ed. A. Khalidov, Moscow 1961—autograph ms. dated 568 in Asiatic Museum, Leningrad. Printed ed. M. Ḥidjāzī, Cairo 1387/1968, based on the Khalidov facs. ed.;

(4) *Lubāb al-ādāb*, ed. A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1354/1935, based on an autograph ms. dated 579;

(5) *K. al-ʿAṣā*, partial ed. H. Derenbourg, in *Ousāma ibn Mounḳidh. i. Vie d'Ousāma*, 499-542;

(6) *K. al-Iʿtibār*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1886, as Part ii of *Ousama ibn Mounkidh*—based on unique Escorial ms., copied from a text certified by Murhaf b. Usāma in 610. Also ed. P.K. Hitti, Princeton 1930, the standard edition. Translations: Derenbourg, *Autobiographie d'Ousāma*, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, ii (1894), 327-565, also printed separately, Paris 1895; Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian gentleman and warrior in the period of the Crusades*, New York 1929; G. Rotter, *Usāma ibn Munqidh. Ein Leben im Kampf gegen Kreuzritterheere*, Tübingen and Basel 1978; A. Miquel, *Des enseignements de la vie. Souvenirs d'un gentilhomme syrien du temps des Croisades*, Paris 1983. On the language of the *K. al-Iʿtibār*, see I. Schen, *Usama ibn Munqidh's Memoirs: some further light on Muslim Middle Arabic*, in *JSS*, xvii (1972, 218-36, xviii (1973), 64-97, and G.R. Smith, *A new translation of certain passages of the hunting section of Usāma ibn Munqidh's Iʿtibār*, in *JSS*, xxvi (1981), 235-56.

In addition, there are extensive citations of his poetry in the historical sources cited above; see especially Ibn ʿAsākir, ʿImād al-Dīn, Yāḳūt, Abū Shāma and Ibn Khallikān.

The only full-length study on the Banū Munḳidh is Derenbourg, *Ousama ibn Mounkidh: un émir syrien au premier siècle des Croisades. i. Vie d'Ousama*, Paris 1893. Ch. xii, "Textes arabes inédits, par Ousama et sur Ousama", was also published separately, Paris 1893. Valuable data can also be gleaned from general historical studies on the period; see especially S. Zakkar, *The emirate of Aleppo, 1004-1094*, Beirut n.d. [*ca.* 1971]; idem, *Madkhal ilā taʾrīkh al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya*, Beirut 1972; rev. ed. 1973; N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, 3 vols., Damascus 1967. (R. Stephen Humphreys)

MUNSARIḤ [see ʿArūḍ].

MUNSHĪ (a.), correctly *munshiʾ*, a secretary, an exponent of the high-flown epistolary style general in mediaeval Islamic chanceries from the 2nd/8th century onwards and known as *inshāʾ* [*q.v.*]. In the Persian and Indo-Muslim worlds, the term *munshī* was used for secretaries in the ruler's chancery, e.g. among the Ṣafawids, for the whom the State Scribe, the *munshī al-mamalīk*, was a very important official who apparently shared responsibility for the Shāh's correspondence with the *wāḳiʿa-nuwīs* or Recorder (see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. Minorsky , London 1943, § 23, pp. 61-2, 132). Subsequently, in Anglo-Indian usage, Europeans especially applied the term *munshī* to native teachers of the local Indian languages, such as Persian and Urdu, often in the anglicised form *moonshee* (see H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, London 1903, 581). (C.E. Bosworth)

MUNṢIF (a.), literally, "one who metes out justice, *inṣāf* [*q.v.*]", a term used in Muslim Indian administration, and then in that of British India, to denote a legal official or judge of subordinate grade. In Mughal times, a chief *munṣif* (*munṣif-i munṣifān*) tried civil cases, especially those involving revenue questions, within a *sarkār* see R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people*. vii. *The Mughul empire*, 1974, 79, 84, 86). In British India, from 1793 onwards, it was the title of a native civil judge of the lowest grade (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases*, London 1886, 581, s.v. *Moonsiff*). (Ed.)

MUNṢIFA, Munṣifāt (Ashʿār —) (a.), the name given by the mediaeval Arabic critics and anthologists to those poems in which a description of the fights between tribes is accompanied by a recognition, with equity (*inṣāf*), of the opponent's valour and the sufferings endured by the poet's own side. This term, whose correct reading has not always been immediately recognised by the Arabic scholars who have come across it, appears in particular in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* of Ibn Sallām (ed. J. Hell, Leiden 1916, 33, 70; ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo n.d., 121, 233), in al-Djāḥiẓ's *Bayān* (ed. Hārūn, iv, 23), in the *Dīwān* of the pre-Islamic poet ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa (ed. C.J. Lyall, London 1919, p. II, 19) and in some other, later texts. Al-Baghdādī (*Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 520-1) has enabled us to resolve the problem of the correct reading of *munṣifa* by citing the definition proposed by al-Ṭabarsī: "The *ashʿar munṣifa* come within the category of equity meted out reciprocally (*tanāṣuf*). The ancient Arabs had *ḳaṣīdas* in which their authors rendered justice (*anṣafa*) to their enemies, spoke frankly about the violence of battle which each side had shown and described the circumstances of a sincere brotherhood".

In these poems, which for a certain period enjoyed a remarkable vogue among the *ruwāt* of Baṣra (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.*), the fighting qualities of the opposing tribe are celebrated, and the poet puts them on the same level, in this respect, as those of his own group (... we appeared as like ... as two mills which one puts into motion; Muhalhil b. Rabīʿa, in Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Shākir, 33), it being understood that it is always the latter group which is victorious. This equality which is emphasised shows itself in the ardour of the fight, expressed if necessary by a comparison with wild beasts (*We fought together in a hand-to-hand struggle with the opposing heroes, like panthers face-to-face with lions*; Khidāsh b. Zuhayr, in Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 121; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxii, 70-1), in the correspondence of movements, in the condition of the

weapons after the fight (*They came back with broken lances, whilst we had twisted swords*; ᶜAbd al-S͟hāriḳ al-D̲j̲uhanī, in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, Cairo n.d., i, 179), in the seriousness of wounds (*We returned to the fight, both of our sides, with burning wounds*; ᶜAmr b. Ḳamīʾa. *Dīwān*, fragment no. II; Ibn Ḳutayba, *S͟hiᶜr*, 222) and in the tears of the women from both sides lamenting their dead (*We made their womenfolk weep, whilst they made those of them weep who could no longer choke back their saliva*; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Maᶜs͟har, in *al-Aṣmaᶜiyyāt*, ed. S͟hākir and Hārūn, Cairo n.d., 230-5).

One may regard these poems as forming a fairly homogenous category on the level of form and of their basis. With reference to the form, the use of the *wāfir* metre appears with striking frequency. Furthermore, the terrifying numerousness of the enemy warriors is expressed by Muhalhil b. Rabīᶜa (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 33), K͟hidās͟h b. Zuhayr (*op. cit.*, 121), al-Mufaḍḍal b. Maᶜs͟har (*op. cit.*, 233) and ᶜAbd al-S͟hāriḳ al-D̲j̲uhanī (*Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, i, 177) by means of the same comparison in a hemistich common to all four of these poets:

fa-d̲j̲āʾū ᶜāriḍ^an bāriḍ^an wa-d̲j̲iʾnā... "They came [like] a cloud bringing hail, and we came ..."

With reference to their basis, the *as͟hᶜār munṣifa* constitute "an elegant means of vaunting oneself whilst at the same time recognising the enemy's bravery, above all, without humiliating him, in such a way as to preserve the conditions of sincere brotherhood". In this respect, there are some verses which make one inevitably think of certain passages in the *chansons de geste* which reveal a secret hope of converting the people whom one is combatting. To a certain degree, the *as͟hᶜār munṣifa* can be linked with the concept of *ḥilm* [*q.v.*], and are basically opposed to that of *hid̲j̲āʾ* [*q.v.*], which aims at dishonoring the enemy by making him lose his *ᶜirḍ* [*q.v.*]. Finally, one may note that this type of poetry is no longer attested after the coming of Islam, probably because the Arab tribes had by that time ceased to fight each other in the fashion of the *D̲j̲āhiliyya*.

Bibliography: The examples which are extant have been gathered together by the present author in his study *Sur l'expression arabe* ašᶜār m.n.ṣ.fāt, in *Mélanges Marcel Cohen*, Paris [1970], 277-85.

(CH. PELLAT)

MUNTAD̲J̲AB AL-DĪN, Imāmī S͟hīᶜī scholar, born in 504/1110-11 and died, apparently, in 575/1179-80, whose complete name is *al-ᶜallāma al-ḥāfiẓ al-s͟hayk͟h* Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. ᶜUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAli b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh al-Ḳummī al-Rāzī, known by the abbreviated name Ibn Bābawayh and the honorific Muntad̲j̲ab al-Dīn.

From this onomastic formula, it may be deduced that he was descended from the family of Bābawayh, originally of Ḳumm, well-known in circles of S͟hīᶜi traditionists (it will suffice to mention his ancestor, the eminent Ibn Bābawayh [*q.v.*]), of which he was to be the last representative to enjoy equivalent renown as a man of learning. From the *tard̲j̲ama* devoted to him by one of his pupils, the S͟hāfiᶜī al-Rāfiᶜī in the *K. al-Tadwīn*, and through the information to be found in his *Fihrist* (see below), it is possible to sketch the basic outline of his biography. Born at Rayy, where a branch of the Bābawayh family had established itself, possibly in the time of his aforementioned ancestor, he was guided at a very early age towards study of the sciences of *ḥadīt͟h*, having the opportunity of meeting in Rayy all the masters who passed through this town. His travels for the purpose of study were to follow the academic itinerary of the period (Iṣfahān, Bag͟hdād, al-Ḥilla, K͟hʷārazm, Ṭabaristān, Ḳazwīn, Kās͟hān and Nīs͟hāpūr), and he was to assemble a quite respectable list of teachers, giving him an unrivalled education in the field of *ḥadīt͟h*.

The works attributed to him by the sources are four in number: (1) *K. al-Arbaᶜīn ᶜan al-arbaᶜīn min al-arbaᶜīn fī faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, a collection of forty *ḥadīt͟h*s on ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib heard by forty of his teachers, of which the *isnads* are traced back to forty *Ṣaḥāba*; a manuscript copy has been preserved; (2) *Taʾrīk͟h al-Rayy*, the dubious title of an anecdotal work devoted to the scholars of his city; quotations from it are to be found in the *Lisān al-Mīzān* of Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ᶜAsḳalānī [*q.v.*]; (3) *al-ᶜUṣra*, a *risāla* concerning prayers, of which the authorship is however uncertain; and (4) *Fihrist asāmī ᶜulamāʾ al-S͟hīᶜa wa-muṣannifīhim*, his most interesting work for the information which may be gleaned from it regarding the Imāmī community of the period.

This is a book devoted to *ᶜilm al-rid̲j̲āl* [*q.v.*] which refers, through its title, to a seminal work on this subject, the *Fihrist* of Abū D̲j̲aᶜfar al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], of which the author intends it to be an updated version. It contains brief bio-bibliographical articles arranged in alphabetical order and relating to 544 Imāmī *ᶜulamāʾ*, most of them belonging to a period later than that of al-Ṭūsī. From an onomastic point of view, the *Fihrist* of Muntad̲j̲ab is the first text of Imāmī *ᶜilm al-rid̲j̲āl* which presents the names of individuals according to the formula *s͟huhra-laḳab-kunya-ism ᶜalam-nasab-nisba*, whereas until his time, and even after, the formula *ism ᶜalam-nasab-nisba-s͟huhra-laḳab-kunya* was almost a rule. Through the *nisba*s of the individuals and the biographical information, the impression is gained that the majority of them were born or resided in towns of Persia.

Hitherto, use has been made of the copy preserved by Mad̲j̲lisī in the *Biḥār al-anwār* (lith. Tehran 1315, xxv. 2-13), but henceforward reference will be to the critical edition of 'Abd al-ᶜAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (Ḳumm 1404/1984-5), which is preceded by a well-documented Introduction and enriched by an Appendix containing the quotations borrowed by Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ᶜAsḳalānī from the *Taʾrīk͟h al-Rayy* of Muntad̲j̲ab al-Dīn.

Bibliography: Rāfiᶜī, *K. al-Tadwīn* (ms. Topkapı Museum, see cat. Karatay, Istanbul 1966, ii, 509, no. 6329 K 1007, fols. 254b-256a); al-Ḥurr al-ᶜĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil fī d͟hikr ᶜulamāʾ d̲j̲abal ᶜĀmil*, lith. Tehran 1302, 54; K͟hʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-d̲j̲annāt fī aḥwāl al-ᶜulamāʾ wa 'l-sādāt*, lith. Tehran 1306, 389-90; Māmaḳānī, *Tanḳīḥ al-maḳāl fī ᶜilm al-rid̲j̲āl*, lith. Tehran 1352, ii, 297; Āg͟hā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-D͟harīᶜa ilā taṣānīf al-S͟hīᶜa*, Nad̲j̲af, 1360/1941, i, 433-4; idem, *Muṣaffā 'l-maḳāl fī muṣannifī ᶜilm al-rid̲j̲āl*, Tehran 1378/1959, 463-4; Muḥammad ᶜAlī Tabrīzī al-K͟hiyābānī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarād̲j̲im al-maᶜrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, 1371/1951-2, iv, 85-7; Kaḥḥāla, *Muᶜd̲j̲am*, xiii, 7 (needs to be corrected).

General references: A. Arioli, *Due risāla imamite di ᶜilm al-riğāl: materiali per l'Onomasticon Arabicum*, in *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, xxxii/3-4 (March-April 1977), 233-44; idem, *Il Kitāb al-Tadwīn I*, in *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, xvii/3 (1978), 39-50; idem, *Introduzione allo studio del ᶜilm ar-rijāl imamita: le fonti*, in *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe*, Paris 1979, 51-89; idem, *Dei dotti contesi. Note alla Ḍiyāfat al-ik͟hwān di Raḍī d-dīn Qazwīnī (xvii sec.)*, Paris 1981, 67-79; idem, *Su una fonte di Mustawfī Qazwīnī*, in *La Bisaccia dello Sheikh. Omaggio ad Alessandro Bausani islamista nel sessantesimo compleanno*, Venice, 29 May 1981, 29-41.

(A. ARIOLI)

AL-MUNTAFIK, a section of the Arab tribe of the Banū ᶜUkayl, which in turn is a subdivision of the great group of the ᶜĀmir b. Ṣaᶜṣaᶜa [*q.v.*].

1. In Pre-Islamic Arabia and the age of the conquests. Genealogy: al-Muntafik b. ᶜĀmir b. ᶜUkayl (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, D. 19). The very scanty information in Wüstenfeld can be supplemented by the notice which Ibn al-Kalbī gives of the Banu 'l-Muntafik (*Djamharat al-nasab* = Caskel and Strenziok, Tabellen, 104, Register 431); but this little clan nowhere appears to play a great part in early history. The territory inhabited by the Banu 'l-Muntafik is the same as that of the other divisions of the Banū ᶜUkayl, in the south-west of Yamāma; some places belonging to them are quoted by al-Bakrī (*Muᶜdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 567), Yākūt (*Muᶜdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 793-4; iv, 712, l. 78; we may note that in these two passages al-Muntafik is said to be the surname of Muᶜāwiya b. ᶜUkayl, while the usual genealogy makes this Muᶜāwiya a son of al-Muntafik) and al-Hamdānī (*Djazīra*, ed. D.H. Müller, 177, ll. 12-15: note the mention of gold mines in their territory). The Banu 'l-Muntafik numbered among their clients the Banū Ṭathr (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, C 13), whose eponym was said to have been made a prisoner by them (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*[1], vii, 110); one of the few episodes of the pre-Islamic period in which this clan is mentioned is the battle of Shiᶜb Djabala where Kays b. al-Muntafik distinguished himself (*Aghānī*, x, 44; *Nakā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, 671 l. 12-672, l. 14, where Ibn Ṭufayl should be deleted). In the history of the origins of Islam, several of them appear as ambassadors of the Banū ᶜUkayl to the Prophet: such were Anas b. Kays b. al-Muntafik and Lakīṭ b. ᶜĀmir b. al-Muntafik (Ibn Saᶜd, i/2, 45, etc.; on the latter, the biographical collections have long discussions as to whether he is to be identified with this or that *muḥaddith*: cf. among others Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, viii, 456).

In the period of the conquests, the Banu 'l-Muntafik settled in the marshy region between Kūfa and Baṣra (al-Kalkashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 65-6). All that we know of them after this period is the names of a few individuals who held public offices: a certain ᶜAmr b. Muᶜāwiya b. al-Muntafik, mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, i, 3284 at end, as fighting at Ṣiffīn, is said by Ibn al-Kalbī to have been governor of Armenia and Ādharbāydjān under Muᶜāwiya; according to Ibn al-Kalbī, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Muᶜāwiya b. Rabīᶜa b. ᶜĀmir b. al-Muntafik was governor of Marw and Ahwāz, also under Muᶜāwiya, and ᶜAbīda b. Kays b. al-Muntafik of Armenia, under Yazīd I. These men are not mentioned elsewhere: the same is true of the poet Djahm b. ᶜAwf b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Muntafik (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ed. Sharafiyya, Cairo 1325, v, 124 follows Ibn al-Kalbī).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

2. In recent times.

Together with the Āl Bū Muḥammad, the Banū Lām [*q.v.*], the ᶜUbayd and sections of the Shammar, the Muntafik tribe dominated the area from Baghdād to Baṣra between the 17th to 19th centuries; until the late 19th century, Ottoman political and administrative control was tenuous at best, and always dependent on a delicate balance of alliances with different combinations of tribes. The rise of the Muntafik to power in early modern times began in the early 17th century, when a marriage alliance between the shaykhly house of Saᶜdūn and the Afrāsiyābs [*q.v.*] of Baṣra resulted in the Muntafik defending Baṣra for the Afrāsiyābs against a Persian attack in 1625. Later in the century, Shaykh Manīᶜ al-Saᶜdūn captured Baṣra and the city stayed in the hands of the tribe until the Ottomans regained control in 1705 [see AḤMAD III].

Between 1750 and 1831, the year in which direct Ottoman control was, at least in theory, re-established, the *pashalik* of Baghdād was ruled by a succession of Mamlūks, at least part of whose survival in power depended on placating or cooperating with the major tribes (see T. Nieuwenhuis, *Politics and society in early modern Iraq: Mamluk pashas, tribal shaykhs and local rule between 1802 and 1881*, Amsterdam 1982); given the power vacuum in Baghdād, the Muntafik were instrumental in preventing Baṣra from falling to the forces of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] in 1775. The tribe played an equally important role in checking Wahhābī incursions into southern ᶜIrāk from central Arabia, and took part in an Ottoman expedition to Hufūf in 1798-9 (M. Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, Bd. III, *Die Beduinenstämme in Nord- und Mittelarabien und im Irak*, ed. W. Caskel, Wiesbaden 1952, 415-29).

By the mid-19th century, the confederation had reached the zenith of its territorial power, controlling the area between Samāwa on the Euphrates and the Shaṭṭ al-ᶜArab, from Kūt on the Tigris southwards to ᶜUzayr and from Kūt eastwards to the Persian border, and members of the shaykhly family held the tax farms for much of southern Irak between 1831 and 1869. However, the increasingly centralising tendency of Ottoman policies meant that the might of the Muntafik was already declining; in 1854 Shaykh Manṣūr al-Saᶜdūn was forced to recognise the Ottoman occupation of Samāwa; Sūk al-Shuyūkh was occupied in 1856, and by 1861 the tribe had given up the area between Shaṭra and Kalᶜat Ṣāliḥ to the Ottomans. Some members of the Saᶜdūn family, notably Nāṣir Pasha, became incorporated into the Ottoman administration, while others, notably Manṣūr Pasha and his son Saᶜdūn, maintained their distance and tried, generally unsuccessfully, to resist the encroachments of the state. Nāṣir was appointed *mutaṣarrif* of the *sandjak* of the Muntafik by Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], founded Nāṣiriyya [*q.v.*] as an administrative centre in 1872, and became first *wālī* of Baṣra in 1875, while Saᶜdūn b. Manṣūr, who became paramount *shaykh* in 1903, was eventually exiled by the Ottomans to Aleppo, where he died in 1911. In the First World War, the family generally supported the Ottomans until the capture of ᶜAmāra by the British in 1915; its best-known member, ᶜAbd al-Muḥsin al-Saᶜdūn, served several times as a parliamentary deputy and was twice Prime Minister of ᶜIrāk under the monarchy.

In 1929 (von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 448), the Muntafik confederation numbered some 75,000 tribesmen, divided into seven principal sections. It had been ruled at least since the end of the 17th century by members of a single family, the Saᶜdūn, *ashrāf* who had migrated to Mesopotamia from the Ḥidjāz, perhaps in the 15th century [see AL-BAṬĪḤA]; the Saᶜdūn were Sunnīs, while the rank-and-file tribesmen were Shīᶜīs, originally pastoral nomads, but increasingly through the 19th century sedentary cultivators. In their capacities as guardians and protectors of the transit routes between Baghdād and Baṣra and principal suppliers of horses to British India, the Muntafik leaders generally maintained good relations with the East India Company's representatives, who had played an important political role in the area since the end of the 18th century.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the Saᶜdūn

family had lost much of its former authority, largely because of the way in which the Muntafiḳ tribal lands had been transferred out of the hands of their traditional occupiers into its hands. Especially among the rice cultivators, the customary form of land tenure had virtually amounted to private property; they could sell, bequeath, inherit or mortgage their land. When the Saᶜdūn family acquired *tapu* rights from the Ottomans in the early 1870s (under the terms of the 1858 Land Law), they proceeded to lease their tithe-collecting rights to *sarkals* or minor *shaykhs*, with the result that they were "increasingly viewed as merely absentee landlords and were resented accordingly" (Albertine Jwaideh, *Aspects of land tenure and social change in late Ottoman times*, in Tarif Khalidi (ed.), *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut 1984, 333-56); in consequence, they lost much of the social and political control which they had traditionally exercised over the Muntafiḳ tribesmen. During and especially after the First World War, the Muntafiḳ area was notorious for its lawlessness, and there were serious tribal risings as late as 1936. A Muntafiḳ Land Commission was set up in 1929 to try to resolve long-standing disputes over title, but its efforts were frustrated by powerful landlord interests, which the British mandatory authorities had done much to bolster and support (P. Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq 1914-1932*, London 1976).

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(P. Sluglett)

al-**MUNTAṢIR** bi 'llāh, Abū Djaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Djaᶜfar, ᶜAbbasid caliph, reigned 247-8/861-2, and son of the preceeding caliph al-Mutawakkil by a Greek slave concubine Ḥubshiyya.

Towards the end of al-Mutawakkil's reign, it had been the aim of his vizier ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān to get the succession changed from the caliph's original choice as *walī al-ᶜahd* to another son al-Muᶜtazz. Al-Muntaṣir was involved in the conspiracy of the Turkish soldiery which led to the caliph's death [see al-mutawakkil], and himself received the *bayᶜa* [*q.v.*] at the palace of al-Djaᶜfariyya on Wednesday, 4 Shawwāl 247/11 December 861, when he was 25 years old. His chief executive was the vizier Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, his former secretary, whose policy, in concert with the Turkish commanders Waṣīf and Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, was to get the claims of the next heirs, the brother al-Muᶜtazz and al-Muʾayyad, set aside lest, should either of the latter achieve power, he might take vengeance for his father al-Mutawakkil's murder. Aḥmad persuaded al-Muntaṣir to get the succession changed (Ṣafar 248/April 862) and managed to get his rival Waṣīf sent off to lead the summer raid against Byzantium.

During his brief six months' reign, little else is recorded of al-Muntaṣir's activities, although the sources stress his intelligence and fairness, and, in contradistinction to his father's strongly Sunnī and anti-Muᶜtazilī attitudes, his consideration for the ᶜAlids; he gave back to them the estates at Fadak [*q.v.*] originally claimed by Fāṭima, together with other ᶜAlid properties, and allowed pilgrimage once more to their graves and shrines. Al-Muntaṣir fell ill and died at Sāmarrā on Thursday, 25 Rabīᶜ I 248/29 May 862 or shortly thereafter; the choice of the Turkish guards and the vizier Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb—avoiding the surviving sons of al-Mutawakkil for the reason mentioned above—now fell on a grandson of al-Muᶜtaṣim's, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mustaᶜīn [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 594-6, 601-3; Ṭabarī, iii, 1471-1501, Eng. tr. J.L. Kraemer, Albany 1989, 195-274; Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 290-323, ix, 52 = §§ 2978-4013, 3626; *Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*, s.v.; *K. al-ᶜUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*, 554-62; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, vii, 95-100, 103-5, 109, 111-16; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1283-9, ii, 184-5, ed. Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, iii, 317-19; Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 327-9, Eng. tr. Whitting, 237-8; Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ᶜIbar*, iii, 282; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii, 351 ff.; Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, new edn. by Weir, 531; E. Herzfeld, *Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, vi, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg 1948, 202-30; Sourdel, *Vizirat ᶜabbāside*, i, 283-5, 287-9; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London 1986, 172-3.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MURABBAᶜ [see musammaṭ].

MURĀBIṬ [see ribāṭ].

al-**MURĀBIṬŪN** (a.), known in European usage as the Almoravids, a dynasty of Berber origin which ruled in North Africa and then Spain during the second half of the 5th/11th century and the first half of the 6th/12th century before being replaced by another Berber dynasty, that of the Almohads or al-Muwaḥḥidūn [*q.v.*]. The Almoravids are mentioned in the anonymous 12th century Troubadour song *Chevalier, mult estes guariz*: "Quant Deu a vus fait sa clamur Des Turs e des Amoraviz", "Knights, your salvation is assured since God has appealed to you to take His side against the Turks and Almoravids". This word was once assumed to be derived from a type of "warrior-monk" who inhabited a *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*], a fortified convent on the frontiers of Islam, and this sense is no doubt the correct one in several instances (see E. Doutté, *Les Marabouts*, extr. from *RHR*, xl-xli [1904], 29 ff.). However, as will be seen, the Saharan *Murābiṭūn* may well have regarded their name as metaphorical, a spiritual discipline rather than a literal toponymic or geographical nomenclature attached to a convent or a retreat, and they may have simply regarded themselves as being affiliated initially to the *Dār al-Murābiṭīn* that had been established by the Sūsī divine Wadjādj b. Zalwī al-Lamṭī at Aglū near Tīznīt in southern Morocco (see the arguments of P.F. de Moraes Farias, *The Almoravids*, in *Bull. IFAN*, xxix, ser. B., 3-4 (1967), 821-43, and F. Meier, *Almoraviden und Marabute*, in *WI*, xxi [1939], 80-163).

Under the name *al-Murābiṭūn* is to be understood, more especially, the royal dynasty founded by several branches of the Berber-speaking nomadic Ṣanhādja (Znāga) which, grouped under the authority of a religious leader, invaded and conquered the Maghrib in the first half of the 5th/11th century, afterwards crossing over into Andalusia and conquering that as well.

In the first centuries of Islam, the sub-divisions of the Ṣanhādja of the Western and Central Saharan regions (on these tribes, see T. Lewicki, *Les origines de l'Islam dans les tribus berbères du Sahara Occidental*, in *SI*, xxii [1970], 203-14) who wore a face-muffler, covering the mouth and chin (*lithām* [*q.v.*]) and who were known collectively as the *mulaththamūn* by the Arab

geographers, inhabited that region of the Sahara traversed by the Saharan salt [see AZALAY] and slave caravans and known to the Arab geographers as the Kākudam or Nīsar desert. They lived a nomadic existence there, as do the Ṣaḥrāwīs and the Tuareg down to the present day.

The Muslim writers by no means agree, in matter of details, over the events that first brought about the creation of the movement of the *Murābiṭūn* in these remote areas, though in broad terms they trace its genesis as follows.

1. Origins and history in North Africa.

Two works in particular are our oldest surviving sources for the record of the circumstances that led to the rise of the movement: (a) *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taḳrīb al-masālik li-maʿrifat aʿlām madhhab Mālik* by the *Ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī, 476-544/1083-1149 [*q.v.*] (see H.T. Norris, *New evidence on the life of ʿAbdallāh b. Yāsīn and the origins of the Almoravid movement*, in *Jnal. Afr. Hist.*, xxii [1971], 255-68); and (b) *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* by Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Bakrī, written in 460/1068. One of the most important Arabic sources that was specifically concerned with the Almoravids is now lost. Its author, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Anṣārī al-Ishbīlī (d. 557/1174) was a secretary of the *amīr* ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, and his work was entitled *al-Anwār al-djaliyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-Murābiṭiyya*. However, Ibn ʿIdhārī and the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya* appear to have drawn upon material from this missing work for their accounts.

In the first half of the 5th/11th century a man of piety, either a tribal chief or a jurist, of the Djaddāla or Gudāla [*q.v.*] (who were then centred in the regions of the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ, the Río de Oro and the Trārza of Mauritania), undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca. He was known as al-Djawhar b. Sakkum (this detail is confirmed by the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ and by Ibn al-Athīr, likewise by al-Bakrī who, however, suggests that his status with two colleagues, Ayyār and Īntakkū, was only that of a jurist. The majority of the sources furnish the name of the chief as Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gudālī). On his way back to the Western Sahara, he met in Ḳayrawān the teacher of Mālikī law Abū ʿImrān al-Ghafdjūmī al-Fāsī (a detail omitted by the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ, though mentioned by al-Bakrī). He in his turn recommended the jurist/chief to visit Wadjādj b. Zalwī al-Lamṭī, whose *Dār al-Murābiṭīn* was situated in the Moroccan Sūs (at Aglū or Malkūs). Touched by al-Djawhar's desire to educate his tribe further in Mālikī orthodoxy, and seeing in him an ally of military potential, Wadjādj sent him southwards into the desert, accompanied by his chief pupil, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn al-Djazūlī, who had studied for seven years in Cordova.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn resided for some time amongst the Djaddāla, though he also seems to have become acquainted with the princely families of the Lamtūna [*q.v*] who were related to the Djaddāla, despite frequent tribal conflicts with them, and who were geographically centred in the more southerly region of the Adrār [*q.v.*] of Mauritania and in Tagānit. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn was a strict Mālikī. He enforced the *Sharīʿa* penalties to the letter and even issued a *fatwā* that authorised the slaying of al-Djawhar b. Sakkum who had first accompanied him into the desert. Both the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ and al-Bakrī describe the severe discipline that was imposed upon those *murābiṭūn* who entered into the *ribāṭ* of Ibn Yāsīn. According to the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (*Madārik*, éd. Bakīr, iv, 781) "All were obedient to him and to the faith he followed in the way he conducted his affairs there. His recorded decisions are well known and remembered, and they memorise his *fatāwā* and his answers [to legal questions]. They do not depart from them. He made all of them observe the congregational prayer and he punished those who did not observe it, ten lashes for every *rakʿa* which one of them missed, since they were in his view those for whom no prayer was proper save if led by an *Imām*. This was due to their ignorance in reciting (the Ḳurʾān) and in praying (the statutory prayers)".

These disciplinary measures necessitated the return of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn to consult his master Wadjādj b. Zalwī, according to al-Bakrī. All the sources, however widely they may differ, are in accord that the movement of the *Murābiṭūn* was inspired by a militant and expansionist ideology conceived by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn. As far as we can tell from the writings of *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ, it was not to the fore in the Dār of Wadjādj b. Zalwī which was "built in the Sūs for the purpose of study and for pious purposes".

The later historians centre the activities of the *Murābiṭūn* at this stage in a hermitage base for ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, for Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm (or al-Djawhar b. Sakkum) and for the princes of the Lamtūna who joined the movement, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar and Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar. Located near the mouth of the Senegal river, or along the coast near Nouakchott, or on Arguin island, it became the rallying point for neophytes who flocked to join the movement. They, the Lamtūna and Massūfa as well as Djaddāla, were organised into a raiding force that subdued the adjacent Ṣanhādja and they may have made common cause with pious Muslim rulers (such as Wardjābī b. Rābīs) and their subjects along the Senegal river in Takrūr.

However, neither the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ nor al-Bakrī attach any importance to such a waterside centre. Their total silence suggests that later historians may have invented it or given it an inflated significance in order to explain the meaning of *ribāṭ* by a more graphical and conventional exegesis. Instead, al-Bakrī describes the foundation of a town by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn as his headquarters, in which all its habitations were of a uniform height and which bore the name of Aratnannā. This Berber word supplies no clear indication of its location, suggesting either a low-lying or hollow place for water (according to the Znāga-speaking Mauritanian scholar al-Mukhtār b. Ḥāmidun), or simply "our thing", *aret nenna*, "la chose que nous avons dite (ordonnée)" (according to the opinion of Salem Chaker) (see M. Brett, *Islam and trade in the* Bilād al-Sūdān, *tenth-eleventh century AD*, in *Jnal. Afr. Hist*, xxiv [1983], 431-40).

Whatever changes may have taken place within the Saharan leadership (and it is clear from all the sources that the Lamtūna Ṣanhādja were rapidly to become the *élite* group, the "Praetorian Guard" of the *Mūrabiṭūn*), ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn was to keep for himself the supreme direction of affairs and the political and financial administration of the brotherhood. He entrusted his faithful disciple Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar al-Lamtūnī (whom on one occasion he had had flogged), with the leadership of the army and named him *Amīr al-Muslimīn*. This army fought to the death with spears, arranged in solid phalanxes, and it was to face the Djaddāla at the battle of T.b.f.r.l.y in the Río de Oro region. This was a pyrrhic victory strategically though an important one politically, since it marked the withdrawal of Djaddāla support from the movement and their adoption of a generally hostile attitude towards its Saharan and Sūdānic

objectives. The conquest of Saharan border towns such as Awdag͟hust [*q.v.*], nominally subject to the ruler of G͟hāna, was undertaken by the Lamtūna who, until almost the very end of the Almoravid dynasty were to hold the reins of power and who were in fact to become synonymous with it.

According to the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ, "The whole Sahara passed under the control of the *Murābiṭūn*, likewise that region beyond it in the country of the Maṣmūda, the *ḳibla* and the Sūs after many wars. Then he (sc. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn) led the people forth to fight the infidel Barg͟hawāṭa and he raided them with Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar as the chief of a mighty company of *Murābiṭūn* and Maṣmūda. It is said that they were 50,000 men on foot or mounted. He occupied their city of Tamāsna. The Barg͟hawāṭa fled before him in their mountains and in their thickets and the army advanced after them. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn was left alone with a few of his companions. A great host (of Barg͟hawāṭa) met him and he fought them fiercely. He perished as a martyr (actually at Kurīfalalt), may God have mercy upon him. That was in the year 450/1058". The raids that were carried out in the Wādī Darʿa and the Sūs region were vital to the triumph of the Almoravids in Morocco and indeed in the whole of North Africa.

The spiritual successor to ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn was Sulaymān b. ʿAddū, who died in 452/1060. He was a far slighter personality and a jurist and, like his brother, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. ʿAddū, who survived him, had been a companion of Wad͟jād͟j b. Zalwī in his *Dār al-Murābiṭīn* at Aglū. Another jurist who is mentioned by the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyād was Limtād (Limtān?) b. Nafīr al-Lamtūnī who was responsible for the death of Masʿūd b. Wānūdīn al-Zanātī, the ruler of Sid͟jilmāsa [*q.v.*], when the followers of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn attacked the city in 445/1053-4. He was a puritanical reformist and his rulings were formulated in a *fatwā*, in Arabic or in Berber, which was to become a major statement of legal and spiritual policy amongst the *Murābiṭūn* and was to be held in honour and respect in the Sahara until the following century.

Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar was killed in the battle of T.b.f.r.l.y against the rebellious D͟jaddāla in 447-8/1055-7. He was succeeded by his brother Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar who, as the chief commander of the Almoravids, marched northwards into the heart of Morocco. Following Tārudānt, Ag͟hmāt fell, and Abū Bakr married queen Zaynab, the widow of the king of that city. She was of the Berber Nafzāwa [*q.v.*] and her beauty, her intelligence and her wealth assured her a permanent place amongst the legendary queens of Islam. At this stage, Abū Bakr was the uncontested leader of the Almoravid movement. Coins were struck in his name. By 452/1060 he had subjugated the Barg͟hawāṭa [*q.v.*]. Shortly afterwards, Abū Bakr was informed that Buluggīn, lord of the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād, was marching with a large force against the countries of the extreme Mag͟hrib, and at the same time those portions of the Ṣanhād͟ja who had remained in the desert (Lamtūna *Murābiṭūn*, D͟jaddāla opponents and elements of the Gazūla, the tribe of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn) were engaged in a fratricidal warfare. He left the north, initially as a temporary measure, in order to return to the desert in order to establish peace amongst the Almoravids. Before he left, Abū Bakr gave the command over the troops and the direction of affairs to Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn [*q.v.*]. He also divorced Zaynab, who became the wife of Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn in 453/1061. Under Yūsuf, the conquests of the Almoravids continued throughout North Africa, beyond Tilimsān and including the central Mag͟hrib. Abū Bakr, after having re-established order in the desert and having received the news of his cousin's success, returned northwards in order to resume the command of the Almoravids. However, following Zaynab's advice, Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn loaded him with gifts and made him understand clearly that he was not interested in relinquishing to him supreme authority over the Almoravid movement. Abū Bakr accepted that he had no alternative, and after a stay of some time in Ag͟hmāt he eventually returned to the Western Sahara. He is frequently credited with the conquest and conversion of G͟hāna some time prior to his death in 480/1087. This specific year is far from certain. The *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* dates its unlikely occurrence as early as 462/1069-70 and Ibn ʿIdhārī to 468/1075-6. Equally uncertain is the date of the conversion of G͟hāna to Islam. This is now thought to have occurred peacefully in the early 12th century, by which time the Almoravid movement was in its last death throes in the Mag͟hrib (see H.J. Fisher's review article, *Early Arabic sources and the Almoravid conquest of Ghana*, in *Jnal. of Afr. Hist.*, xxiii [1982], 549-60, and Fisher, *The conquest that never was: Ghana and the Almoravids, 1076. Part 1. The external Arabic sources*, in *History in Africa*, ix [1982], 21-59, and *Part II. The local oral sources*, in *ibid.*, x [1983], 53-78).

The diagram on p. 586 illustrates the relationship of the Ṣanhād͟ja aristocracy as far as it can be obtained from the Arabic sources.

When Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn died in 500/1106-7, he bequeathed to his son ʿAlī a vast empire, comprising the countries of the Mag͟hrib, a part of Ifrīḳiya and Muslim Spain (extending to the north as far as Fraga). His fame was a matter of Muslim pride in the Mas͟hriḳ, to the extent that Abū Ḥāmid al-G͟hazālī [*q.v.*] expressed a strong desire to meet him. According to the *Kitāb Mafāk͟hir al-Barbar* [*q.v.*] (composed about 712/1312), "It is sufficient honour and pride for the Mag͟hrib that there was one who spoke with the authority of an *amīr* in it, namely that one who is pleased to be addressed and who deems permissible an epistle directed to him, the *s͟hayk͟h* and *Imām*, the great scholar, *Ḥud͟jd͟jat al-Islām*, the pride of mankind, the example of the *umma*, the supreme *Imām* Abū Ḥāmid al-G͟hazālī —may God be pleased with him— for he wrote to Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn as follows. 'One with a hundred thousand fighters without their followers, the one whose name is mentioned (in the Friday sermon) from more than two thousand pulpits, whose country extends in distance for five months on the march, verily, its limit (in the north) adjoins the land of the Franks, next to Saragossa, of the land of Aragon, while its other extremity (in the south) adjoins the country of G͟hāna in the land of the Sūdān'. Ironically, al-G͟hazālī's books were burned publicly in Seville during Almoravid rule.

The descendants of Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn succeeded each other on the throne of Marrākus͟h [*q.v.*] (founded by Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar in *ca.* 1070 and built by Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn) for less than half-a-century, and the dynasty of the Almoravids was to be destroyed in the Mag͟hrib when the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], whose founder Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] had dismissed the Almoravids as masked and uncouth shepherds and anthropomorphists (*mud͟jassima*), now led by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, conquered Marrākus͟h (541/1146-7) and killed the last Almoravid ruler of Yūsuf's house, Isḥāḳ b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf. Shortly after this, the Almohads conquered Spain with the help of the Andalusian Muslims who had grown weary of the Almoravid occupation (see below). Since 539/1144-5 the armies of the Almohads had crossed over into Spain and,

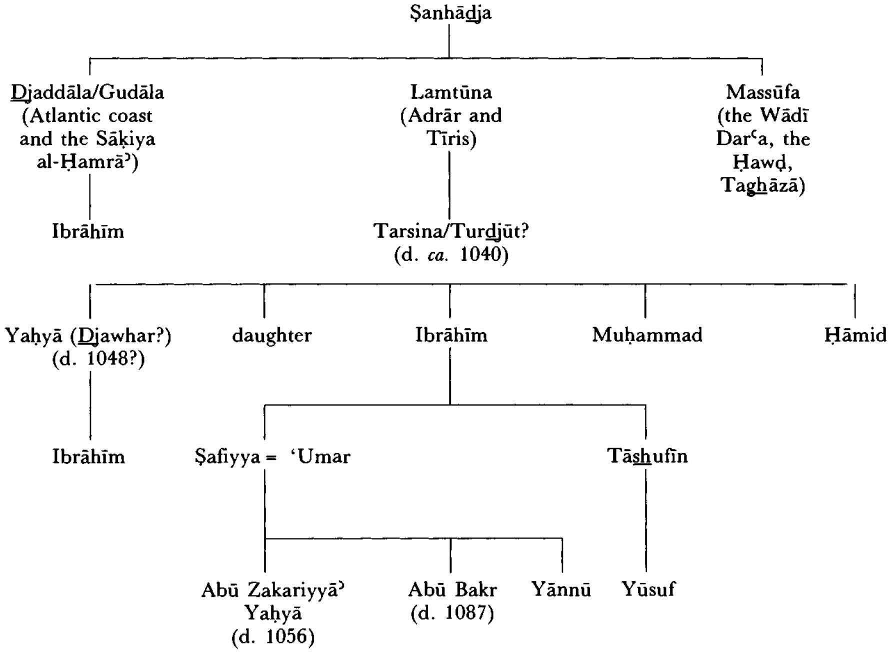

with the death of the Almoravid governor of Spain Yaḥyā b. G̲h̲āniya al-Massūfī (543/1148-9) the authority of the Almoravids in the peninsula came to an end.

The last stage of decline was rapid, and Nevill Barbour has summarised the reasons for it as follows: "The Empire fell when the Almoravids realised that they could not sustain their struggle on two fronts, against the Christians in al-Andalus and the Maṣmūda in southern Morocco. They were also faced with internal chaos and dissension in al-Andalus. Their fall took place over a brief period of time. It began in 1121 and rapidly worsened after 1141. The struggle with the Maṣmūda lasted from 1125 to 1147. Almoravid rule ended save in the Balearic Islands and Ifrīqiya, where, under the Massūfa Banū G̲h̲āniya, it lasted well into the thirteenth century. Yūsuf had counselled his son, ^cAlī, not to stir up the people of the Atlas mountains and those Maṣmūda who were beyond them. The policy failed completely".

To this may be added a further cause. There was a growing tension between the Lamtūna and Massūfa Ṣanhād̲j̲a who were *Murābiṭūn*. This was especially true in the eastern Mag̲h̲rib where commercial routes linked al-Andalus, particularly Almería, to the Niger bend via Wahrān. The eastern trade routes that developed benefited the Massūfa rather than the Lamtūna who controlled the Mauritanian Adrār western route, betwixt Marrākus̲h̲ and the Almoravid capital in the Western Sahara Azūķī, the *ṭarīķ Lamtūnī* which was the axis for the Almoravids invasion of the Mag̲h̲rib when the movement was in its infancy. In this dispute between Saharan tribes on Moroccan and Algerian soil, some leading commanders of the Massūfa sided with the Almohads against the Lamtūna.

Chronological table of the rulers of the Almoravids

1. Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-D̲j̲addālī			Successive chiefs of the Ṣanhād̲j̲a in the Sahara, recognising the spiritual authority of ^cAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn (d. 451/1059)
2. Yaḥyā b. ^cUmar (d. 447 or 448/1055-7)			
3. Abū Bakr b. ^cUmar (d. 480/1087-8 in the Sūdān)			
4. Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲ufīn,	*Amīr*	*al-Muslimīn*	453-500/1961-1107
5. ^cAlī b. Yūsuf,	,,	,,	500-37/1107-43
6. Tās̲h̲ufīn b. ^cAlī,	,,	,,	537-9 or 541/1143-5 or 1147)
7. Ibrāhīm b. Tās̲h̲ufīn,	,,	,,	soon dethroned.
8. Isḥāķ b. ^cAlī,	,,	,,	killed at the taking of Marrākus̲h̲ by the Almohads (541/1146-7).

2. The legacy of the Almoravids in the Mag̲h̲rib.

The Almoravids, especially in al-Andalus, were branded for centuries as arrogant and uncouth, unlettered, legalistic and intolerant barbarians. Describing their rule in al-Andalus, S. Lane-Poole in his *The*

Moors in Spain, London 1887, 181, remarked: "The reign of the Puritans had come, and without a Milton to soften its austerity. The poets and men of letters, who had thriven at the numerous little courts, where the most bloodthirsty despot had always a hearty and appreciative welcome for a man of genius, and would generally cap his verses with impromptu lines, were disgusted with the savage Berbers, who could not understand their refinements, and who when they sometimes attempted to form themselves upon the model of the cultivated tyrants who had preceded them, made so poor an imitation that it was impossible to help laughing. The free-thinkers and men of broad views saw nothing very encouraging in the accession to power of the fanatical priests who formed the Almoravides' advisers, and who were not only rapidly opposed to anything that savoured of philosophy, but read their Koran exclusively through the spectacles of a single commentator".

Recent Western writers, N. Barbour amongst them, have adopted a more sympathetic approach. They have sensed an achievement in a number of respects and have pin-pointed several permanent religious and cultural innovations that were introduced within the Maghrib which can confidently be attributed to the Almoravids. These include :

(a) The unification of Morocco.

When the Almoravids entered it they found it split into petty tribal principalities; when they were unseated by the Almohads, Morocco had emerged as a unified country.

(b) In Morocco, and in the Maghrib in general, under the rule of the Almoravids, there was a rapid assimilation of Andalusian civilisation. Use was made of Spanish Muslim architects and engineers. Secretaries, who were Andalusians, rose to a high position. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn took into his service Ibn al-Ḳaṣīra, the former secretary of al-Muʿtamid of Seville whom he had deposed. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf employed a number of great Andalusian prose writers in his chancellery, for example Ibn ʿAbdūn and Ibn Abi 'l-Khiṣāl. Influences from the peninsula are apparent in Moroccan and Algerian architecture. Much of the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*] in Fez (Fās) dates from the era of the Almoravids, having been extended by ʿAlī's order. Another important monument of the period is the Ḳubbat al-Bārūdiyyīn in Marrākush. The finest surviving monument of the Almoravids is the great mosque in Tilimsān, where Andalusian influence is very strong. It was completed in 530/1136 and was modelled on the Grand Mosque in Cordova.

(c) In the Maghrib, the authority of the Almoravid state rested upon two foundations. First, the domination of the Ṣanhādja who settled in numbers in the cities and who were the governors at a local level, with a particular influence in regions such as Zammūr (the Banū Amghār). Since the house of Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar and Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn proudly disclaimed Berber blood and in agnates boasted of a Ḥimyaritic pedigree, a number of Arab judges, especially those of Ḳaḥṭānid stock, were appointed to senior positions. The Ṣanhādja *Murābiṭūn* constituted a military and political élite, especially the Lamtūna, Lamṭa and Massūfa. They formed a veritable caste and were distinguished from other Arab-Berber groups by their *lithām*. The Lamtūna led the social aristocracy, and their fighting men constituted the core of the army. They played a leading role in the navy, and they occupied most of the higher administrative posts. ʿAlī b. Tāshufīn made use of Christian cavalry troops alongside his negro units (which were to play a crucial part in the battle of al-Zallāḳa, see below). He was the first ruler in the Maghrib to employ Christian mercenaries (see, in particular, J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, 54-5). Their military skill and foreign blood enabled the rulers to dispense with African units that were recruited on a tribal basis. Second, the authority of the *fuḳahā'*. This axiom of Almoravid Islam had a positive contribution to make, though this was to be outweighed by baleful and negative features. The legal manuals of Mālikism were to be cherished, studied in depth, copied and commentated upon, notwithstanding the fact that a number of features of customary habit and law amongst the Saharan Ṣanhādja, for example the exceedingly free life of their womenfolk in male society, was to be tolerated in the Maghrib, arousing the wrath of Ibn Tūmart, amongst others. The Ḳur'ān itself and the Prophetic traditions were relegated to a secondary status, and scholastic theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*) was condemned as a system of thought which undermined the faith. The lofty moral ethic of the early Almoravids, which appears to have survived ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn's own breach of some of its principles, was eventually to succumb to the refined and effete life in Spain and the Maghrib. Despite a certain Ṣūfī flavour in the life-style of the Saharan men in their early *ribāṭs*, the Almoravids were to become opposed to Ṣūfism, which in some regions, such as the Almoravid Sahara, was to make an appearance at a relatively recent date. The thoughts of al-Ghazālī, however, made a mark in Almoravid Fez through ʿAlī b. Ḥirzihim (d. 541/1146). *Ribāṭs* of a Ṣūfī character were to be built in the Maghrib at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, notwithstanding the narrow dogmatic vision of the Almoravid state.

3. The legacy of the Almoravids in the Sahara and the Western Sūdān. This legacy was to survive until the present day in Mauritania [see MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ], in Mali [*q.v.*], in the Niger Republic [*q.v.*] and in parts of Northern Nigeria. It may be summarised as follows:

(a) The foundation of the town of Azūgi (vars. Azuggī, Azuḳḳī, Azukkī) as the southern capital of the Almoravids. It lies 10 km NW of Atar. According to al-Bakrī, it was a fortress, surrounded by 20,000 palms, and it had been founded by Yānnū b. ʿUmar al-Ḥādjdj, a brother of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar. It seems likely that Azūgi became the seat of the *Ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Murādī al-Ḥaḍramī (to cite both the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ and Ibn Bashkuwāl), who died there in 489/1095-6 (assuming Azūgi to be Azkid or Azkd). The town was for long regarded as the "capital of the Almoravids", well after the fall of the dynasty in Spain and even after its fall in the Balearic Islands. It receives a mention by al-Idrīsī, al-Zuhrī and other Arab geographers. It may also have been known in mediaeval Europe, appearing in the romance of *Willehalm* (see the tr. by Marion E. Gibbs and M. Johnson of *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth 1894, 174) as Azagouc ("the blacks from Azagouc are a stone wall against attacks"). On the archaeology and history of Azūgi, see A.W. Ould Cheikh and B. Saison, *Vie(s) et mort(s) de Al-Imām al-Ḥaḍramī. Autour de la postérité saharienne du mouvement almoravide (11e-17e s.)*, in *Arabica*, xxxiv/1 (1987), 48-79.

(b) The tradition of *Murābiṭ* ancestry, ultimately going back to the *Tubbaʿ*s of Ḥimyar, amongst several Mauritanian and Tuareg groups (for example the Lamtuna, Īdaw ʿĪsh, Igdalen, Kel Es-Sūḳ). This has had a literary importance, as likewise a lineal one.

(c) Linked to the above, a *geste* that is widely known

in Mauritania, in Senegal and the Western Sahara, about the exploits of Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar and his martyred spiritual counsellor, the *Imām* al-Ḥaḍramī. Associated with this theme is the story of the martyrdom of Abū Bakr in wars against the dog-owning pagan negroes of Bāfūr of Ghāna and the "Mountain of Gold" (*Djabal al-Dhahab*). It is significant that these folk-legends and romances appear to have survived for centuries and to take preference over other Hilālī and non-Hilālī type *gestes* that have penetrated and moulded the legends of other Arabic-speaking communities in North Africa. The longevity of Abū Bakr as a heroic figure is vividly illustrated by the Catalan Map of Charles V (1375), and other such mediaeval maps, where King Abū (Bū)Bakr, mounted and veiled on a camel and carrying a *Murābiṭ* whip, is depicted next to Mansa Mūsā [*q.v.*], King of Mali (for representative examples, see H.T. Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, 126-59, and more especially the *Ḳaṣīda* of *Shaykh* Muḥammad Mubārak al-Lamtūnī (in *ibid.*, v, 110-16), who claimed *Murābiṭ* descent, and who attempted (unconvincingly), to bridge the gap in historical records between the fall of the Almoravids in the Maghrib and al-Andalus in the 6th/12th century, and the growth of self-conscious "neo-*Murābiṭ*" movements (such as that of Nāṣir al-Dīn) in Mauritania in the 11th/17th century; see also Ould Cheikh and Saison in *Arabica*, *loc. cit.*).

(d) The persistence of an Almoravid tradition in the *Zwāya* and *Ineslemen* classes in some tribal groups in Mauritania, Mali, the Western Sahara and amongst some of the Tuareg (especially the Kel Es-Sūḳ) and also possibly much further (via *Imrabdan* in 7th/13th century Algeria) to the east amongst the *Marābṭīn* in Barka and the Western Desert of Egypt (see E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1949, 66-8. On the Western Saharan, Sahelian and Sūdānic *Zwāya*, see Norris, *Muslim Ṣanhāja scholars of Mauritania*, in *Studies in West African Islamic history*, i. *The cultivators of Islam*, ed. J.R. Willis, London 1979, 147-59).

That the 6th/12th century "*Murābiṭūn*" in the Sahara journeyed as far as the Western Desert of Egypt, along little-known routes, via Mali and the Fezzān, and that they were also *mulaththamūn* is confirmed by al-Idrīsī (see R. Dozy and M.J. de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, Leiden 1866, 193-5, Arabic text 162-3; *Studi Magrebini*, xvi, Naples 1984, 51-2): "As for the route from Miṣr to Aswān and the Upper Ṣaʿīd, we have already mentioned it. We have also given the itinerary from Miṣr to al-Bahnasā and from there to the town of Sidjilmāsa stage by stage. This is the route the Almoravids followed in the year 530 (sc. 1135-6): You go from Miṣr to al-Bahnasā in seven days. From al-Bahnasā to Djubb Manād, one day's journey. From there to Faydala, a day's journey. Then a day's journey without water, then another day's journey without water. From there to ʿAyn Ḳays, a day's journey. Then to Ghiyāt, one day's journey; to the mountain of Amṭalās, one day; to Nasnāt, one day's journey; to Wādī (the valley of) Ḳasṭara, one day; to the mountain of Sarwāy, one day; to the desert of Tīdīt, three days without water; to the pool of Shnāwa, the water of which is potable, one day; to the mountain of Tātī, one day; to Sāmlā, one day; to Sīrū in the mountain, one day. From there you go to the desert of Matālāwit; this is 6 days' journey without water. From there to Nḳaw, one day; then to Salūbān — a mountain, one day; then to mountain of Wadjād, one day; ten to Nadrama to the mountain of Ḳazūl, one day; from there to Mount Aydamar, three days' march in a waterless desert: to Sulkāya, two days; then to Tāmmamt, one day and from there to Sidjilmāsa, one day's journey. This route is rarely trodden, *al-mulaththamūn* (= the veiled people) followed it with the help of a guide.

(e) Almoravid architectural and decorative features in urban architecture in the Mauritanian Ḥawḍ, in the region of the Niger bend and in parts of the Algerian Sahara (see Dj. Jacques Meunié, *Cités anciennes de Mauritanie*, Paris 1961, 20-3, 35, 58, 72, 90, 104, 106, 109-10, 132-3).

(f) The Gao epitaphs which were of Andalusian Almoravid workmanship (see J. Cuoq, *Recueil des sources arabes*, 111-14; J.O. Hunwick, *Gao and the Almoravids: a hypothesis*, in B. Swartz and R. Dumett (eds.), *West African culture dynamics: archaeological and historical perspectives*, The Hague 1979, 413-30; de Moraes Farias, *Du nouveau sur les stèles de Gao: les épitaphes du prince Yama Kuri et du roi F. n.da (XIIIe siècle)*, in *Bull. IFAN*, xxxvi [1974], 511-26).

(g) Cultural and tribal dissemination of Almoravid religious doctrines into the Central Sahara and as far east as the Libyan desert. This is especially true of the region of Tādamakkat (Es-Sūḳ), where a number of Lamtūna later settled and whence their influence was extended into Aïr (Ăyăr) and adjoining regions. According to al-Zuhrī (*ca.* 532-49/*ca.* 1137-54) in his *Kitāb al-Djughrāfiya*, "Near to Ghāna at a distance of fifteen days' travelling there are two towns, of which one is called NSLĀ and the second Tadimakka (*sic*). Between these two towns is a distance of nine day's travelling. The people of these two towns turned Muslim seven years after the people of Ghāna turned Muslim. There had been much warfare between them. The people of Ghāna sought the help of the Almoravids"; see Hopkins and Levtzion, *Corpus of early Arabic sources for West African history*, 98-9.

(h) The dominance of Mālikism in *fiḳh* throughout the whole of West African Islam and the persistence of cultural and literary tastes that may be traced directly to the Almoravids. According to A.D.H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, *The Arabic literature of Nigeria to 1804: a provisional account*, in *BSOAS* (1962), 105-6, "It is a hypothesis of substantial weight that literacy in the Arabic script and the custom of authorship in the Arabic language were introduced to West Africa during the period of the Murābiṭ (Almoravid) dynasty; that is to say, after the conquest of Old Ghana, and the penetration of the Niger region by Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Murābiṭ between 471/1078 and 475/1082. The inscriptions of Gao are cogent evidence of ready communication between Andalusia and the Niger region around the year 1100, and of the coherence of the Murābiṭ state, which then included the former, and at least adjoined the latter. With such antecedents it is to be expected that West African writers of Arabic concentrate their chief interest on the subject of *fiqh*. Like the great majority of West African Muslims, these authors were adherents of the Mālikī school. They based their systems on a chain of legal authorities which stretch back to the Maghrib of the Murābiṭ period and preceding epoch of the Spanish Umayyads. This emphasis on the rulings of authorities, characteristic of an orthodox Mālikism substantially free from innovating tendencies, is typical of the West African Arabic literature; and similar doctrines are largely preserved to the present day amongst the Muslims of Nigeria and the adjoining territories".

Bibliography: 1. Arabic sources that make reference to the Almoravids are chronologically listed in N. Levtzion's article, *ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn*

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(H.T. NORRIS)

4. The Almoravids in Spain. The evolution of Almoravid politics would very quickly be conditioned by those of Muslim Spain. And it is no small paradox that an African movement became much more Andalusian than Maghribī, and was to devote the best part of its time and efforts to redressing the situation of a peripheral country.

Already between 470/1077 (the occupation of Tangiers) and 476/1083 (the Castilian expedition against Seville, Medina Sidonia and Tarifa was in 1082), Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn had received several requests for intervention in the affairs of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* and the Christians. But the point of no return was to be 1085, the date of the fall of Toledo to Alphonso VI of Castile. This key event was to reveal brutally the precariousness of the units set up by the Andalusian princes, quite incapable of containing the growing pressure of the Christian kingdoms, bolstered by the Western awakening, the power of a warrior class and the Crusader ideology. The Almoravids were thus called upon, by various sections of opinion, to put an end to a situation that was untenable from a military, ideological and fiscal point-of-view. For a moment, all the Andalusians recognised the necessity of a recovery, even if they differed as to the priority of such-and-such an aspect and as to the solutions to adopt, and did not perceive clearly all the internal contradictions that this implied.

In the 5th/11th century, this "programme" was symbolised by the Almoravid movement, in as much as its continuing expansion from 454/1062 had become recognised and had been permitted. Their help would be requested —after the fall of Toledo—by

the princes of Seville, Granada and Badajoz, putting Yūsuf under an obligation to defend them from Christian pressure, instead of combating other Muslims. But the emissaries, *ḳāḍīs* of their respective capitals, also nourished their own afterthoughts: a re-Islamisation and internal moralisation and a lightening of taxation. Hence the popular demand from 483/1090, for the application of these two latter measures and the overthrow of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* (except for that of the Upper March). But the hegemony of the *mulaththamūn* transformed their "electoral promises" into a programme which would require of them its immediate and complete accomplishment, and its non-realisation would lead to a discontent, directly proportional to the scale of the disappointed hopes.

The Almoravid history of al-Andalūs is thus divided into three phases: (1) the Andalusian crisis; (2) reform and (3) progressive failure and opposition.

(1) *The conditions of the appeal.* The disappearance of the ʿĀmirids [*q.v.*] in 399/1009 was to allow the Hispanic Christian kingdoms to carry out an infiltration in the form of assistance (individual mercenaries or coherent groups) —a feature which already constituted a disguised form of domination—, a strong military thrust (Castilian campaigns, loss of Toledo, conquests of the Cid [see AL-SĪD], fall of Huesca, Saragossa, Lerida and Tortosa), doubling of a pressure that was ideological (attemps at proselytism by the "Monk of France", first Crusades), economic (mercenaries' salaries, exaction of the "pariahs" booty), political (imposition of protectorates — vassalages, zones of influence).

These various factors created a situation where Andalusian public opinion urgently demanded effective control of the Christians beyond the borders, the re-establishment of an internal Islamic order, the reduction of taxes and a certain return to caliphal unity. In fact, it was a case of simple consequences, all caused by one and the same problem. This implied that the military crisis (the tip of the iceberg) could not be remedied in a lasting fashion without simultaneously providing a solution to the socio-economic and politico-ideological aspects which were connected with it. The option represented by recourse to the *Murābiṭūn* was either to win this bet or to face up to the dissatisfaction provoked by the non-achievement of the programme.

(2) *Reform.* Moved by initial enthusiasm on having finally found a solution to their problems, the Andalusians began by seeing nothing but Almoravid successes.

On the military level, the simple announcement of Yūsuf's crossing forced Alphonso VI to lift the siege of Saragossa, and the victory of Zallāḳ [*q.v.*] was to mark the interruption of the great Castilian interventions. Checks at Cuarte and Bairen in the face of the Cid did not prevent in any way the successes of Consuegra (491/1098), the recovery of Valencia (495/1102), or the great victory of Uclès (501/1108), followed by the capture of Huete, Ocaña, Cuenca and Talavera. But arms would not avail them in the eastern region: the rout of the Congost de Martorell (508/1114), loss of Saragossa (512/1118) and rout of Cutanda (514/1120). Even the victory of Fraga (528/1134) would not manage to check the collapse of the Upper March and definitive loss of Tortosa, Lerida and Fraga (544/1149).

Re-Islamisation was to be translated as the suppression of stretching the *Sharīʿa*. "He never drank wine, listened to a singing-girl, did not amuse himself in hunting or with other pastimes... and he acquired a reputation for rectitude and respect for everything prescribed by the Law". There would also be a legalistic obsession which would drive Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn and his son ʿAlī never to take a decision without being from the outset covered by one or more *fatwas*, in good and due form. Official legalism explained —and provoked— the rise of the *fuḳahāʾ*, greedy for power and riches. Re-Islamisation was also translated, at first, into the lightening of taxation, which was to be reduced to canonical taxes only; it was the *ḳaṭʿ al-maghārim* which always produced a strong impression.

There was a short period of complete consensus between al-Andalus and the Almoravids, between Yūsuf and the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, when "the news of the embarkation of the *amīr al-muslimīn* drove the Zīrid prince ʿAbd Allāh to order the beating of drums and decree official celebrations... During the campaign [of Zallāḳa] it was wonderful, the purity of our intentions and sincerity; to the point that you would have thought that our hearts were united in one and the same objective.... We were all impatient to take part in the *djihād*, without sparing our efforts..."

(3) *Failure.* All these successes were real, but they were ephemeral. To preserve its Andalusian legitimacy, the Almoravid régime was forced to show itself always irreproachable, strong and effective, and, without ever flagging, to persist in containing Christian pressure which, moreover, was growing. Not being able—for demographic reasons of Maghribī recruitment and for ideological reasons of lack of Andalusian collaboration—to deploy sufficient troops so as to have an offensive strategy, it had to confine itself to building up a defensive system (and using Christian mercenaries in the Maghrib). But to restore or build fortresses, maintain them, provision them, balance the garrisons' accounts and pay mercenaries, assumed increased and growing costs. Hence the necessity of heavy taxation, far in excess of the possible return from canonical taxes only. Finally, many *fuḳahāʾ* and *ʿulamāʾ* who had endorsed and participated in the decisions taken by the state lost their independence, their intellectual and moral prestige, and thus their old capacity as spokesmen for the aspirations of the *ʿāmma*.

Very soon we hear speak of Almoravid rapacity (*ḥubbuhum fī 'l-māl*), and all kinds of *maʿāwin*, *waẓāʾif*, *lawāzim*, *ḳaṭīʿ*, *fiṭra*, *taʿtīb* and *maghram al-sulṭān* were to flourish once more. We know that some correspond to "contributions to sustain the war effort", some to "charges for restoring walls" but, however necessary they may have been, they were resented no less as being so much more intolerable than those that were suppressed.

Generalised corruption and abuses of power became clichés, as the verses of Ibn al-Bannī or the *caveats* of Ibn ʿAbdūn show, and all means are seen as good in order to enrich oneself (Abū ʿUmar Ināluh), to favour friends, carry out a number of fraudulent operations, etc. But, what was far worse, incompetence and cowardice became the attributes of generals, incapable of organising their troops and of exploiting a victory, easily put to rout by an enemy much inferior in numbers, etc. Al-Marrākushī speaks of the "deliquescence of the state, the appearance of highway bandits, thieves and rogues, drunkards and libertines,...sheltered by the great ladies of the Lamtūna and Massūfa,...while the *amīr al-muslimīn*, steeped in piety and ascetism, was completely neglecting the affairs of his subjects..."

There was also an oppressive intellectual atmosphere. "The *amīr* did not value the Mālikī

experts in *ʿilm al-furūʿ* [*q.v.*]. The people were terrorised by there being accused of infidelity all those who were concerned with dogmatic theology (*ʿulūm al-kalām* [*q.v.*])... During the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf circulars were sent out throughout the country to reinforce the prohibition of being involved in *kalām* and to threaten those who were found to be in possession of one of these books. When the works of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] penetrated to the West, the *amīr al-muslimīn* ordered them to be burnt, adding threats of death and confiscation of goods for those who withheld them".

The reaction in the beginning would be far more socio-intellectual than political. Two hotbeds of opposition (Ibn Tūmart in the Maghrib and the ascetics of the south of Andalusia) arose independently of each other. While we should certainly not speak of formal, organised coordination, there existed a kind of indirect "collaboration of aims". According to the *Ḥulal*, "the circumstance which was of most help to the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN] against the Almoravids was the uprising of the Andalusians, which forced them to strip the land of its defenders and arms". If they had not had to face the Almohads, the *Murābiṭūn* would not have had great difficulty in eliminating the various small hotbeds of agitation which erupted in the east and west of al-Andalūs, and it is very doubtful whether the *Muwaḥḥidūn* would have been able to succeed in supplanting the Almoravids, if the latter had not been enmeshed in the Andalusian imbroglio. It is debatable whether the strict Mālikī legalism adopted by the Ṣanhādja would have been displaced by the conjunction of the two currents which they had ignored and fought against, sc. theology and Ṣūfism. It is this which allowed the synthesis of Ibn Tūmart to be imposed, whereas the ascetic current was unable to "organise" itself.

To return to the facts: there was around 534/1140, a certain mystical atmosphere diffused in Almeria (Ibn al-ʿArīf [*q.v.*]), Seville (Ibn Barradjān) and Granada (Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Mayurḳī). All were executed or disappeared in 531/1142 and ʿAlī b. Yūsuf died in 532/1143. A year later, there erupted the movement of the *murīdīn* founded by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*] in Silves. The *ḳāḍī* Ibn Ḥamdīn rebelled in Cordova, Sayf al-Dawla Ibn Hūd in Jaén and Granada, Ibn Wazīr in Evora, Béja and Badajoz, Abu 'l-Ḳamr Ibn ʿAzzūz in Jerez, Arcos and Ronda, Ibn Abī Djaʿfar in Murcia and Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in Valencia. It was a second outbreak of *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, where everyone sought to carve out an autonomous principality for himself; whether alone, or by having recourse to Alphonso VII (Ibn Ḥamdīn) or to the Almohads (ʿAlī b. Maymūn in Cadiz). The brief, partial re-establishment of the situation, in 540/1145, by Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya (Cordova, Carmona and Jaen) was without a future and, in 542/1147, Alphonso VII of Castile occupied Almeria for several months.

Ibn Ḳasī even crossed to the Maghrib to solicit help from ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and to call on him to invade al-Andalūs. In fact, the Almohads on the first occasion (540-1/1146-7) limited themselves to occupying and leaving garrisons in the localities where they were able to count on a group of partisans. Only Maymūn b. Djaddār maintained himself in Granada until 549/1155, while the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*] created a neo-Almoravid state which, in 580/1184, carried the struggle against the *Muwaḥḥidūn* into the Tunisian Djarīd.

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(P. CHALMETA)

MURĀD, the name of an Arab tribe belonging to the great southern group of the Madhḥidj [*q.v.*]; genealogical tradition (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, Escurial ms, fols. 114b-117b and see now Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, which is followed by Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 238, 4; cf. also *LA*, iv, 409) regards Murād as a nickname, for this tribe was said to have been the first to rebel (*tamarrada*) in the Yaman; an etymology wich is not convincing. Murād's own name is said to have been Yuḥābir b. Madhḥidj and he was therefore a brother of the ʿAns and the Saʿd al-ʿAshīra (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, 7, 11); Ibn Ḥazm, however, regards Murād b. Mālik b. Udad as the brother of Yuḥābir (*Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 382-3). Although they were neighbours of the South Arabian civilisation, the Murād have always retained a typically Bedouin character, their country (usually called al-Djawf and placed to the east of Nadjrān and Maʾrib) is bare and sterile (cf. the picturesque description given of it by the *Aghānī*, xviii, 135, and "the mountains of the Murād" mentioned by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 78) and its inhabitants are notorious as brigands (*fatk Murād*; cf. *Aghānī*, x, 147). The land inhabited by the Murād and by their neighbours, the Hamdān [*q.v.*], had once belonged to the Ṭayyiʾ (Yāḳūt, i, 129), who had left it to settle in the north of the Arabian peninsula; it is probable that it was from the old masters of the country that the Murād and the Hamdān inherited the cult of the god Yaghūth (cf. below).

The Murād are attested in several Sabaic inscriptions, beginning with one of 522 A.D. (Ryckmans 508), in which the *Mrdm* figure as allies of Yūsuf (Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*]) against the city of Nadjrān [*q.v.*]. They now appear further in connection with an episode, not however at all clear, of the last days of the dynasty of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra; as the king ʿAmr b. al-Mundhir (III) b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ had excluded his half-brother ʿAmr, a son of Usāma, sister of Hind mother of the first-named ʿAmr, from a share in the kingdom, the latter sought refuge with the Murād, who recognised him as their chief but when he began to rule tyrannically, they killed him, which gave ʿAmr b. Hind a pretext for invading the land of the Murād and putting to death the murderer of ʿAmr b. Usāma (al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *Amthāl al-ʿArab*, Constantinople 1300, 68-9, who gives a more satisfactory account than that contained in the passages quoted by G. Rothstein, *Die Dyn. der Laḥmiden*, 99, in which Yāḳūt, vi, 130, should be read for i, 130). ʿAmr is said to have been killed by a certain Ibn al-Djuʿayd (the same story is given by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*); according to Yāḳūt, on the other hand, by Hubayra b. ʿAbd

Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲, surnamed al-Maks̲h̲ūḥ; the latter's son Ḳays seems to have been one of the most powerful chiefs of the Murād at the time of the rise of Islam.

The Murād had just then suffered a disastrous defeat, which had considerably weakened them, at the hands of the Hamdān, as the result of a quarrel which had arisen in connection with the control of the worship of the god Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲ (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², 19-22, and the sources mentioned by him). It is probably this defeat (*Yawm al-Razm*), which tradition places in the same year as the battle of Badr, which made a section of the Murād think it advisable to seek an alliance with Muḥammad; but Ḳays b. al-Maks̲h̲ūḥ refused to join in this. It was therefore another Murādī chief, Farwa b. Musayk, who went to Medina in the year 10 A.H., and concluded a treaty there with the Prophet (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 332). To what extent tradition is right in saying that Farwa was given authority to levy *zakāt* on all the tribes of the Yaman, is very difficult to ascertain. In any case, the policy of the Murād was not oriented towards Muḥammad under the leadership of Ḳays b. al-Maks̲h̲ūḥ. In the great rising led by al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī against Persian hegemony in the Yaman, the Murād were against him. But if, as tradition has it, Muḥammad used his connections with some chiefs of the Yaman to prevent al-Aswad's success, after the death of the Prophet these same chiefs refused obedience to Abū Bakr and resolutely threw themselves into the struggle against Islam. It is again Ḳays b. al-Maks̲h̲ūḥ who plays the chief part in these events. Taken prisoner, Abū Bakr granted him his life and henceforth the chief of the Murād and his tribe played their part bravely in the conquests. We find them sometimes in Syria, sometimes in ʿIrāḳ, and Ḳays himself everywhere distinguishing himself by his exploits. He lost an eye at the battle of Yarmūk (cf. Caetani, *Annali*, i-v, index s.v. Qays b. Hubayrah). But the account of his death in the civil war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya at the battle of Ṣiffīn is based on confusion with another man of the same name of the tribe of Bad̲j̲īla (this fact, which is clearly indicated by Ibn al-Kalbī, *D̲j̲amhara*, and al-Ṭabarī, i, 3301-2, has already been noted by Ibn Had̲j̲ar, *Iṣāba*, v, 281; hence *Annali*, ix, 638, should be corrected). We also find the Murād in the conquest of Egypt (*Annali*, iv, 573, 21 A.H., § 191 *b* [29]. But it was at Kūfa that they settled in the largest numbers. It was there that one of them, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muld̲j̲am [see IBN MULD̲J̲AM], assassinated the caliph ʿAlī; it was there also that in 60/679 Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa al-Murādī was executed by orders of the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād after being found guilty of conspiring with Muslim b. ʿAḳīl in favour of al-Ḥusayn (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 227). He was a descendant of the poet ʿAmr b. Ḳiʿās (*RSO*, xiii, 58, 327¹), one of the very few poets of this tribe, which does not seem to have produced many individuals of note either during the D̲j̲āhiliyya or under Islam. We may however mention Uways al-Ḳaranī (of the Banū Ḳaran b. Radmān b. Nād̲j̲iya b. Murād; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tab.*, 7, 25), one of the prototypes of Muslim ascetism. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the remnants of Murād were settled in the Sarw Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲, according to al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 92, 94, 102.

Bibliography: In addition to sources given in the article, see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, i, Tafel 271, ii, Register, 432.

(G. Levi Della Vida*)

MURĀD (correctly S̲h̲āh Murād), nicknamed Pahari, second son of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor Akbar [*q.v.*], born on 3 Muḥarram 978/8 June 1570, died 1007/1599. Fayḍī was appointed to educate the prince. In 988/1580 Father Monserrate, and later Aquaviva, was asked to teach him Portuguese and the principles of Christianity. He seems to have impressed his Jesuit tutors. His first rank (*manṣab* [*q.v.*]), of 7,000 was granted in 985/1577, followed by a promotion in 982/1584 to the rank of 9,000/—. His important assignment came in 999/1590 when he was appointed governor of Malwā; in 1001/1592 he was entrusted with the governorship of Gud̲j̲arāt. In 1002/1593 he led the Mug̲h̲al army into the Deccan, where in 1004/1596 the ruler of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*] was forced to accept the cession of Berār [*q.v.*] to the Mug̲h̲als. Murād stayed in the Deccan as governor, but the military operations in the Deccan met with little success, partly because of Murād's lack of interest in the undertaking. He died in S̲h̲awwāl 1007/May 1599.

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(M. Athar Ali)

MURĀD I (761-91/1360-89), according to the common tradition the third ruler of the Ottoman state, was a son of Ork̲h̲ān and the Byzantine lady Nīlūfer. Although some Ottoman sources profess to know the year of his birth (*Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*, i, 74, gives the year 726/1326), this date, like all dates given by Turkish sources relating to this period, is far from certain. The name Murād (Greek sources such as Phrantzes have Ἀμουράτης, from which later Latin sources make Amurath, while contemporary Latin sources from Italy have Moratibei) must have originated in mystical circles and hardly occurs in earlier times. An Abdāl Murād lived in Ork̲h̲ān's time (cf. *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*, iv, 354; ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳ Pas̲h̲a-zāde, ed. Giese, 200; photographs of his tomb in R. Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, Leipzig 1928, plates 9 and 10). The ancient Turkish chronicles often call Murād G̲h̲āzī K̲h̲unkʸār, later Turkish historians K̲h̲udāwendigār [*q.v.*].

During his father's lifetime, Murād had already been entrusted with the governorship of In Öñü and later of Bursa. His brother Süleymān Pas̲h̲a had held the more important *sand̲j̲aḳ*s and was destined to become Ork̲h̲ān's successor. Süleymān's untimely death, shortly before that of Ork̲h̲ān himself, placed Murād unexpectedly at the head of the Ottoman principality. This happened about 761/1360; the date of Ork̲h̲ān's death is uncertain.

Murād I became the first great Ottoman conqueror on European soil. In this he followed the footsteps of his brother Süleymān Pas̲h̲a and of other Turkish *amīr*s before him.

It is not yet possible to gain a clear idea of the series of the military acievements by which the Ottomans succeeded in establishing themselves firmly in the Balkan Peninsula. Even the outstanding victories are confounded with each other in the Ottoman and Western sources, and the exact dating of even important events is subject to great difficulties. The Byzantine sources, the most reliable of all, are mainly concerned with the tortuous policy of the Byzantine rulers. On the other hand, many tales of a legendary

character have entered the historical accounts of later times. The impression on the whole is, that the Ottoman successes were mainly due to the mutual rivalry between the then existing Balkan states, Byzantium, and the Bulgarian and Serbian kingdoms, complicated by the struggle of Venice and Genoa for an advantageous position in the Levant, and the zeal of the Popes for bringing the Greek church back to Rome. This secured the Ottomans at all times allies in the Christian camp itself. Nor is it possible to ascertain which Ottoman expeditions were really planned by Murād and his counsellors and which were merely successful raids by Turkish bands. All this makes it extremely difficult to form an adequate judgment of Murād's personality as a warrior and as a statesman.

Provisionally, three periods can be distinguished. The first begins shortly after Murād's accession with the conquest of Western Thrace, in which were taken Čorlu, Demotika (Dimetoḳa [*q.v.*]) (if this town had not already been taken under Orkhān), Gümüldjine, Adrianople (about 763/1362; see EDIRNE) and Philippopolis, mainly through the activity of the *beglerbeg* Lala Shāhīn and Ewrenos Beg [*q.v.*]. These conquests provoked a coalition of Serbians, Bosnians and Hungarians, who were beaten on the river Maritza [see MERIČ] by Ḥādjdjī Ilbeki. The western part of Bulgaria was raided up to the Balkan Mountains, and the Byzantine Emperor John Palaeologus made his first submission as vassal to Murād. Murād himself had been on a campaign in Anatolia, which brought him as far as Toḳat [*q.v.*], during which he consolidated the Ottoman hold on Angora (Anḳara [*q.v.*]) (already taken by Süleymān Pasha in 755/1354; cf. Wittek, in *Festschrift Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, 347, 351 ff.). He then came to Rūm-ili and took up his residence in Demotika, to exchange this town in 767/1366 for Adrianople, from this time on the European capital ot the Ottomans. The story about a treaty between Ragusa and Murād concluded in 1365 has a legendary character (cf. Giese, in *Festschrift Jacob*, 42, after Jireček). In the meantime, the hostility between Byzantines and Bulgarians gave Murād the opportunity of taking Ishtebol (Sozopolis) near Burgas, and the same hostility led to the failure, about 1366, of a crusade undertaken at the instigation of Pope Urban V by Count Amadeo of Savoy to come to the rescue of the Byzantine Emperor; the expedition only drove the Turks from Gallipoli for a short time.

A second period of Murād's reign may be said to begin with the crushing of a Serbian advance on the Maritza [see MERIČ], near Čirmen, probably in 1371. This Serbian defeat is known to the Turkish sources as *sïrf sïndïghï* and gave the Turks during the following years the important Macedonian towns of Serres, Drama and Ḳawalla, and at the same time the possibility of advancing west of the Vardar. These conquests were made by Ewrenos and Djandarlï Khalīl Pasha [see DJANDARLÏ], while Lala Shāhīn obtained about the same time successes in eastern Bulgaria (battle of Samakow). Then followed again some years of comparative tranquility, in which the newly-won regions were partly colonised by the Ottomans; the still unsubdued northern part of Serbia and Bulgaria were governed by the local rulers as vassals of Murād. The latter had more than once to interfere with the dynastic affairs of the Palaeologi. After John Palaeologus had sold in 1375 the island of Tenedos to Venice, this led to an action of Genoa in combination with the Turks, in the course of which John lost his throne and was imprisoned, until, by the favour of Murād, he became Emperor again in 1379; his dependency went so far as to help the Turks, together with his son Manuel, in the conquest of Philadelphia (Ala Shehir), the only remaining Greek fortress in Asia Minor. The end of this second period is marked by an increased activity in Anatolia. A part of the territory of the Germiyān-Oghlu [*q.v.*] was acquired as a wedding gift to prince Bāyezīd when he married the daughter of that ruler (probably in 1381); this territorial accession was followed by the sale of the greater part of the lands of the Ḥamīd-Oghlu [*q.v.*] to Murād and by the conquest of a part of the principality of Tekke.

About 787/1385 there followed new conquests in Europe. Turkish troops intervened in Epirus and Albania (under Khalīl Pasha), but decisive for the establishment of Ottoman power in the Balkans was the taking of Sofia (1385?) and Nish (1386?). About the same time, the Italian republics, Genoa and Venice, obtained by treaties with Murād, concluded respectively in 787/1385 and 790/1388, commercial privileges in Turkish territory. Immediately after the successes in Serbia, probably also in 788/1386, Murād went to war with the Ḳaramān-Oghlu ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, his son-in-law; this conflict had long been threatening [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARÏ]; now the Ottoman power had grown so far as to destroy the political equilibrium in Anatolia. Murād was victorious in the battle of Ḳonya, but left ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in his possessions and set the example, henceforward traditional, of leniency in dealing with the Anatolian population. This caused a lively discontent amongst the Serbian troops who had taken part in the battle of Ḳonya. These Serbians are said to have contributed to the anti-Turkish feeling among the Serbians in general, who, under the leadership of Lazar Gresljanović, and with the Bosnian king Twrtko as a powerful ally, were preparing a last effort to free themselves from Turkish sovereignty. They succeeded in defeating an Ottoman army at Pločnik (790/1388). The results were meagre, however, for at the same time the Turks made new conquests in Bulgaria (Shumla and Tirnovo) and even raided Morea. In 791/1389 Murād himself marched against the Serbians and their allies and fought the famous battle of Kossowo Polje (Turkish: Ḳoṣowa [*q.v.*]), where he himself lost his life, although the Serbians, partly owing to treachery in their own ranks, were defeated. The most probable date is 20 June 1389 (Gibbons, cf. also Giese, in *Ephemerides Orientales*, no. 34 [April 1928], 2-3). The way in which Murād was killed, during or after the battle, is not clear from the early sources; the later Serbian epic tradition has the well-known tale that Murād was murdered by Miloš Obranović, Lazar's son-in-law, who, claiming to be a deserter, had obtained an audience with Murād after the battle, was admitted to his presence and killed him with a dagger. Murād's body was transported to Bursa and buried in a *türbe* near the mosque which he had built in Čekirge in Bursa (cf. Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, iii).

Murād I was the first ruler under whom the state founded by ʿOthmān rose to be more than one of the then existing Turkoman principalities in Asia Minor. This development is symbolised in the successive change of titles given to him in different building inscriptions dated in his reign (cf. Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx, 131 ff.). While the oldest inscription calls him simply Bey, like his father Orkhān, and gives him a *laḳab* (Shihāb al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn) after the Saldjūḳ fashion, he is already called Sulṭān [*q.v.*] in 785/1383, while in the inscription from 790/1388 on the *ʿimāret* built by him in Iznīḳ, we find the style which afterwards became a tradition with the Ottoman sultans

(*al-malik al-mu^cazzam al-khākān al-mukarram al-sulṭān ibn al-sulṭān*). It was a time when the old Saldjūk traditional institutions no longer held, and new forms of government and administration came into being, to which the example of Byzantine institutions, and also those of Mamlūk Egypt, may have contributed. Even if it is not true that Djandarlî Khayr al-Dīn Khalīl Pasha —who was appointed Murād's vizier at the beginning of his reign and died about 789/1387— was the first Ottoman grand vizier, it cannot be denied that the activity of this man —who by his origin belonged to a higher culture than the Ottoman— as Murād's councillor as well as his military deputy and administrator in Macedonia, makes him a true prototype of the grand viziers of a later age (cf. Taeschner and Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii, 66 ff.). His son ʿAlī Pasha began also to play an important military part during the later years of Murād's reign. It is also with Khalīl Pasha that the old Turkish sources connect the institution of the Janissaries [see YEÑI ČERI] as troops formed from converted Christian prisoners of war. In the administration of the *timārs* [*q.v.*] a *ḳānūn* of Murād I is said to have brought improvements. Some of these measures were closely connected with the problem of acquiring a quiet and loyal population in the newly-conquered Christian territories; this was not possible by Turkish colonisation only but succeeded mainly through a humane treatment of the original inhabitants, after the region had once been conquered.

The more important buildings of Murād I are all in Asia Minor. The best known are the Khudāwendigār Djāmiʿi in Čekirge, near Bursa, where Murād himself is buried, and the Ulu Djāmiʿ in Bursa; further, a mosque in Biledjik, the Nīlūfer ʿImāreti in Iznīḳ (described by Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx, 127 ff.). There is also a mosque of Murād in Serres. The old Ottoman chronicles enumerate his foundations; see also on them, G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 40-6. On Murād I's coins cf. ʿĀlī, in *TTEM*, xiv, 224.

Bibliography: The information given by the old Turkish chronicles (ʿĀshïḳ-Pasha-Zāde, Anonymus, ed. Giese, Urūdj, the translations of Leunclavius, also *Düstūr-nāme-i Enwerī*, ed. Mükrimīn Khalīl, Istanbul 1928, and this editor's *Medhal*, Istanbul 1930) is sometimes supplemented by the later historiographers (Saʿd al-Dīn, ʿĀlī, Müneddjim-Bashî). The Byzantine historians (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondyles), however, give a far clearer survey of this period in so far as it came under their attention, while documents from Venice, Genoa and Rome throw light on the diplomatic activities provoked by the advance of the Turks in Europe. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr fī anbāʾ al-ʿumr*, contains also a biography of Murād I. See further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga, and H.A. Gibbons, *The foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, 110 ff.; C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, Gotha 1918; F. Taeschner, *War Murād I. Grossmeister oder Mitglied des Achibundes?*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 23-31; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index; Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman empire. The classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 14-15; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976, i, 17-22, 306-7 (extensive bibl.); N. Vatin, in R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, 37-45 and index (extensive bibl.); C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 26-36; *İA*, art. s.v. (İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı).

(J.H. KRAMERS)

MURĀD II (824-48, 850-5/1421-44, 1446-51), sixth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born in 806 (1403-4) and ascended the throne in Djumādā I 824/May 1421, when he arrived in Edirne some days after his father Meḥemmed I's death; his decease had been kept secret on the advice of the vizier ʿIwaḍ Pasha until the new sultan's arrival.

As crown prince he had resided at Maghnisa, and he had taken part in the suppression of the revolt of Simawna-Oghlu Bedr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Immediately after his accession he had to face the pretender known in Turkish history as Düzme Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*] and his ally Djunayd [*q.v.*]. Both were supported by the Byzantine emperor Manuel and at first were successful in the European part of the empire. Bāyezīd Pasha, sent from Bursa, was defeated and killed in the battle of Sāzlî Dere (between Serres and Edirne) and the allied Greek forces took Gallipoli. Then Murād himself had to face them in Asia; he succeeded in sowing discord between Muṣṭafā and Djunayd and defeated the first in the battle of the bridge of Ulubād. Then Murād went over, with the help of ships from the Genoese colony of New Phocea (Yeñi Foča), recovered Gallipoli, after which he entered Edirne and killed the pretender. In 825/1422 he began a siege of Constantinople; this siege was raised, either by the effect of Byzantine gold (through the intermediary of the graecophile vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha) or as a result of the rise of a new pretender in Iznīḳ in the person of Murād's younger brother Muṣṭafā. The latter was at last betrayed by his former supporter Ilyās Pasha and killed. Then followed a struggle with Djunayd, who had established himself again at Aydîn, but surrendered at last in 828/1425, after which he was killed. Murād was now at peace with all his European neighbours and vassals; the Emperor Manuel had died in 1424 and was followed by John Palæologus, with whom peace was concluded. Several towns had been taken in the meantime in Morea, and Wallachia paid tribute. In Anatolia there had been a conflict in 826/1423 with Isfendiyār of Sīnūb [see ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU], ending with the acquisition of a part of his territory by Murād; after 828/1425 the Ottoman power was confirmed in Tekke and Menteshe [*q.vv.*] and the Ḳaramān-Oghlu Ibrāhīm [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARÎ], who tried to take the already Ottoman Adalya, had to retire and made peace. In eastern Anatolia, Yürkedj Pasha subdued the Turkomans round Toḳat and Amasya and of the region of Djanīḳ. In 831/1428 there began difficulties on the Hungarian frontier. The most noteworthy exploit of this period was however the capture of Salonica (Selānik [*q.v.*]) in Djumādā II 833/March 1430, after the Greeks had sold this town to Venice in 1427; Murād had never given up the plan of avenging that transaction. Peace with Venice soon followed.

Meanwhile, the Turks had taken several fortresses in Epirus and Albania, but their interest began more and more to concentrate on the northwestern regions, where George Branković ruled as vassal over Serbia. With the latter, peace was renewed in 835/1432 and his daughter Mara was given in marriage to Murād, but the Turkish raids continued in Serbia as well as far into Hungarian territory. In 842/1438 the Turks made, together with Serbians and Wallachians, incursions in Hungary (capture of Semendra); in 1440 they besieged Belgrade in vain and in 1442 Turkish troops under Yezīd Bey laid siege to Hermannstadt. Here they suffered a heavy defeat by John Hunyadi, who in the coming years was to act as champion of Hungary and Christian Europe. He was the leader, in 847/1443, of a large crusading army including Ser-

bians, Poles and Germans; the Turks were thrown back at Nish, after which Sofia was taken. The campaign ended with a heavy defeat of the Turks at Jalowaz, between Sofia and Philippopolis. In the same year, Murād had to oppose again the Ḳaramān-Oghlu, who supported the Christian allies. But the peace with Hungary, concluded in Rabīᶜ I 848/July 1444 at Szeged, though advantageous to Hungary, maintained the former frontiers of the zone of Ottoman political influence; only Wallachia (Eflāḳ [*q.v.*]) became tributary to Hungary.

After this peace, which was to last ten years and seemed to Murād a guarantee for the future, he abdicated in favour of his son Meḥemmed, leaving with him Khalīl Pasha, son of Ibrāhīm Pasha (who had died of the plague in 832/1429) and Khosrew Molla [*q.v.*] as counsellors. He retired himself to Maghnisa, but had to come back when, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/September of the same year, the Hungarians, flouting the peace treaty, were preparing a new crusade. They marched south of the Danube to Varna; here the army of Murād inflicted on them a crushing defeat, in which King Ladislas of Hungary was killed. Again Murād II went back to Maghnisa, but in the following year a Janissary revolt broke out in Adrianople, and it was the vizier Khalīl who invited Murād to return a second time, as the young Meḥemmed did not seem to be able to face the situation.

During the last six years of his reign Murād led again several campaigns in the Balkan peninsula. In 850/1446 an action was undertaken against the Palæologi in the Morea (destruction of the Hexamilion, capture of Corinth and Patras); in 851/1447 against Albania, where the activity of Iskender Beg [*q.v.*] had begun in 847/1443; in 852/1448 he faced again a Hungarian invading army, which was beaten on the plain of Ḳoṣowa [*q.v.*] or Kosovo; and in 854/1450 he was again in Albania (siege of Croja). In that year Constantine Palæologus became, by the grace of Murād II, the last Byzantine Emperor, after the death of John. Shortly afterwards, in the first days of Muḥarram 855/February 1451, Murād died at Edirne. He was buried in Bursa at the side of his mosque (cf. Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, iii, 1856).

His reign was of extraordinary importance for the future political and cultural development of the Ottoman Empire. After the first critical years, he continued his father's work of consolidation. His aim was mainly to live on peaceful terms with the vassal princes, of whom the ruler of Sīnūb and the despot of Serbia gave their daughters to Murād. This peaceful policy was in concordance with his character; the Byzantine historians and other Christian sources decribe him as a truthful, mild and humane ruler. His most influential viziers were not yet the renegades of later times; they belonged to the old families that had supported the cause of Murād's forefathers and were becoming a kind of hereditary nobility: Ibrāhīm Pasha and Khalīl Pasha of the Djandarli-Oghullari (F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii, 92 ff.), Ḥādjdjī ᶜIwaḍ Pasha (Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx, 154 ff.), the sons of Timurtash, of Ewrenos and others. The mystical tradition was strong in his surroundings, as is proved by the great influence of a man like the Shaykh Amīr Bukhārī; other *shaykhs* came to his court from Persia and ᶜIrāḳ. This determined also the direction which classical Ottoman literature was to take in following centuries. Murād II was the first Ottoman prince whose court became a brilliant centre of poets, literary men and Muslim scholars. But also to non-Islamic envoys and visitors, Murād's court seemed a centre of culture (cf. Jorga, i, 464 ff., which description applies principally to Murād II). Amongst the sultan's buildings a mosque in Bursa (cf. H. Wilde, *Brusa*, 51) and one in Adrianople (the Üč Sherefeli Djāmiᶜ), are notable (see G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 66 ff., 70-1, 93-100) and some large bridges. His army organisation is well-known from a full description by Chalcocondyles.

Bibliography: The older Turkish sources: Neshrī (Haniwaldanus), ᶜĀshıḳ-Pasha-Zāde, Orudj, Rūḥī, Anonymus Giese, are completed by the Byzantine historians Phrantzes (who himself played a part in the diplomatic history of the time), Ducas and Chalcocondyles, and also by the later Ottoman authors Saᶜd al-Dīn, ᶜĀlī and Münedjdjim Bashi. A curious contemporary description is that of an unknown captive from Mühlenbach in Transylvania (captured in 1438) in his *Tractatus de moribus conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum* (cf. K. Foy, in *MSOS*, iv, v.).

General later descriptions of Murād II's reign in the works of von Hammer, *GOR*, i; Zinkeisen, i, and Jorga, i. See also F. Babinger, *Von Amurath zu Amurath. Vor- und Nachspiel der Schlacht bei Varna (1444)*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 229-65, iv (1951), 80; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index; Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman empire. The classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 19-22; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976, i, 44-54, 308 (extensive bibl.); N. Vatin, in R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman*, Paris 1989, 66-80 and index (extensive bibl.); C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 91-143; *İA*, s.v. (Inalcik)

(J.H. Kramers)

MURĀD III, twelfth Ottoman Sultan (ruled 982-1003/1574-95). He was born on 5 Djumāda I 953/4 July 1546 in the princely summer camp at Bozdağ Yayla near Manisa [*q.v.*] where his father, the later Sultan Selīm II [*q.v.*], resided as *sandjaḳ-begi*. His mother was the Venetian-born *khāṣṣekī* Nūr Bānū [*q.v.*].

His ceremonial circumcision took place at Manisa in April 1557. At the time, prince Selīm was appointed *sandjaḳ-begi* of Ḳaramān [*q.v.*] in 1558 and Sultan Süleymān I [*q.v.*] made his grandson *sandjaḳ-begi* of Aḳshehir. In 1561 Murād stayed with his grandfather in Istanbul, and in 1562, when his father fought the battle with his brother Prince Bāyezīd on the plain of Konya, Murād was in command at Konya castle. Afterwards he was made *sandjaḳ-begi* of Sarukhān, residing at Manisa like his father. Here he lived till his accession to the throne (1 Ramaḍān 982/15 December 1574). In this provincial town he was given a suitable court and household. He took the Albanian-born Ṣāfiye as his first consort. She was given to him by his cousin, the Princess Humā Shāh, in 1563, when she was probably thirteen years old. Early in Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 973/20-29 May 1566, she gave him his first son, his later successor, Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*], born likewise in the summer camp on Boz Dağ. Till he became sultan, Ṣāfiye, who also gave him two daughters, ᶜĀ'ishe (d. 1013/1605) and Fāṭima Sultān, probably remained Murād's only wife. In 1574 the influence of his mother, now at his side as *Wālide Sulṭān* [*q.v.*], became supreme. She and Murād's sister Esmākhān, married to the Grand Vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], prevailed upon him to diversify his erotic attentions. He only had one son alive then. Like his father and his son, Murad III was to remain subject to the *ḳadinlar salṭanati* ('rule of women') all his ruling days.

During the years at Manisa, Murād formed lifelong

bonds of trust and companionship with members of his household, *e.g.* his tutor Khodja Saᶜd al-Dīn Efendi [*q.v.*], his finance director (*defterdār*) Ḳara Üweys Čelebi, and Rāḍiye "Kalfa", the controller of his harem, appointed by his mother. It was this latter woman who introduced the Khalwatī dervish, Sheykh Shüdjāᶜ, who had the reputation of being an excellent interpreter of dreams. In spite of this man's illiterate, ecstatic brand of mysticism and his morally corrupt character, he remained spiritual adviser to the prince all his life.

Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha and Nūr Bānū informed Murād of his father's death in secret in order to ensure a smooth succession. Immediately setting off for Istanbul and embarking at Mudanya in the first available vessel, the small open boat of the *Nishāndjī* Ferīdūn Beg [*q.v.*], he managed to reach the capital in five days, in spite of the raging winter gales. The day after his arrival, 21 December 1574, the death of the old sultan and the accession of the new one were publicly announced. The principal officers of state paid their homage (*bayᶜat resmi*) to their new ruler. The ceremonial burial of Selīm II and his five other sons, who had been strangled inside the saray that day, took place afterwards. Then the *Wālide Sulṭān* was ceremoniously established in the palace. On 11 Ramaḍān 982/25 December 1574, Murād III held his first council; eleven days later, he proceeded to the mosque of Eyyüb to be girded with the sword by the *sheykh ül-islām*, the *naḳīb ül-eshrāf* and the *silāḥdār aghasi̊*. On the way back, the new sultan visited the tombs of his illustrious predecessors.

The accession of the new monarch led to the formation of a new palace faction which was set on countering the dominant position of the Grand Vizier, Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha. Its prominent members were the courtier Isfendiyār-oghlu Shemsī Aḥmed Pasha (Ḳi̊zi̊l Aḥmedlü) (d. 1580), who had already served Sultans Selīm I, Süleymān and Selīm II, and the Chief White Agha of the palace (*Bābüsseᶜādet Aghasi̊*, *Khāṣṣodabashi̊* Ghazanfer Agha, the Hungarian renegade who already had been a trusted companion of Murad's father (exec. 1603). Important females of this group were the *Kahyā Ḳadi̊n* ("Mistress of the Harem") Djanfedā Khātūn, a creature of Nūr Bānū, and the latter's "*kira*" ("Jewish Agent"), Esperanza Malchi. The members of the inner circle at Manisa joined this faction. In 1577 Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 1580 [*q.v.*]) joined as well.

It was their influence that led to the war with Ṣafawid Persia (1578-90). The sultan was persuaded not to leave his capital but to appoint a Commander in-chief (*serdār-i ekrem*) in his stead. The imperial tent (*oṭagh-i hümayūn*) was, however, sent afield.

The conduct of foreign policy likewise was left in the hands of the viziers and the harem clique since the death of Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha in 1579. The involvement of Nūr Bānū and her *kira* in the diplomatic relations with Venice and France is evident from extant letters. Ṣāfiye and her *kira* wrote letters to Queen Elizabeth I of England in 1593.

Till her death on 7 December 1583, the *Wālide Sulṭān* reigned supreme over the palace of her son. Ṣāfiye succeeded to this power immediately, and retained her influence on affairs till her death in 1014/1605 [see MEḤEMMED III].

The hidjra year 1000 (A.D. 1591-2) with its messianic expectations of impending doom, actually did come to pass in a period of interior troubles in Ṭarābulus Gharb [*q.v.*], Yemen, Lebanon and the Danubian states, whilst widespread social unrest was caused by the change in the position of the empire in the world economy.

The Sultan occasionally interfered in the government of his realm. Dismissals of viziers and appointments were mostly effected at the instigation of the palace clique. The careers of Khodja Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*], three times his Grand Vizier, Siyāwush Pasha [*q.v.*] also three times vizier, Özdemir-oghlu ᶜOthmān Pasha [*q.v.*] and Ferhād Pasha [*q.v.*], are in evidence. Revolts of the Janissary Corps and Sipahis of the Porte were especially awe-inspiring. The so-called "Beglerbegi Incident" of 16 Djumādā I 997/2 April 1589, made a direct impact on Murād III's private life. He had to sacrifice the life of one of his most trusted *muṣāḥibs* or boon-companions, Doghandji̊ Meḥmed Pasha, *beglerbegi* of Rumeli (by origin an Armenian *dewshirme* boy from Zeytun, see KHALĪL PASHA, KAYṢARIYYELI). Together with the *defterdār* Maḥmūd Efendi, who also was executed, he had operated a depreciation of the silver *aḳča*, debasing its content by half. The consequent rise of prices caused the troops to revolt, to refuse pay and to demand the heads of those whom they held responsible for their plight.

Murād's limited interferences seems to have occurred as result of conflicts of rival parties in the palace which were deeply involved in petty politics and the systematic sale of offices. The promptings of the war party led by Sinān Pasha are a case in point: they wanted war against the Habsburg empire. The vizier Ferhād Pasha, his rival, supported by *inter alios* Khodja Saᶜd al-Dīn Efendi, opposed war. Murād III convened an extraordinary council to debate the question (according to an eyewitness account reported by Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 132-3). Sinān Pasha's side gained the upper hand and the "Long War" between Sultan and Emperor began on 4 Shawwāl 1001/4 June 1593.

Murād III died on 6 Djumādā I, 1003/16 January 1595, 49 years old, in his palace, probably because of a stomach illness. His death had been presaged by dreams of his astrologer and announced by bad omens, according to contemporary historians (Selānikī, *Taʾrikh*, new ed. i, 425-8; ᶜAlī, quoted in Fleischer, 151-2). His death was kept secret. The new *Wālide Sulṭān* Ṣāfiye wished her son Meḥemmed to succeed to the throne in an indisputable manner, and thus to continue her "Woman's Sultanate".

Murād III is buried in his beautiful *türbe* situated next to the Aya Sofya, which contains 54 coffins of his wives and children. Next to it stands a small *türbe*, where his 19 sons who were executed at the accession of their brother Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*], lie.

Murād III was a keen swordsman, archer and horseman. His particular craft was the making of arrows. He seems to have had a generous and kind hearted personality. He was not cruel; he never had dismissed viziers executed; and he argued at length against having his younger brothers killed at the time of his accession. Nor was he addicted to drink. He rather liked to spend a great deal of his time in the harem. Next to his lifelong principal favourite Ṣāfiye, he probably took forty *khāṣṣekīs* into his bed. At the time of his death, 49 of his children were alive, and seven of his women were pregnant. He filled his palace with clowns, dwarfs and mutes. All kinds of festivities were arranged in the saray, as well as in other palaces and pavilions along the Bosphorus. Murād also liked to enjoy the civilised company of his *muṣāḥibs* who, as a rule, remained with him for life. The most noteworthy of celebrations organised for him was the series of ceremonies surrounding the circumcision of his son Meḥemmed (*sur*) which lasted for two months till 1 Radjab 990/22 July 1582.

Women played an important part in his life. Next to his mother and his principal *khāṣṣeki*, his sisters

Esmākhān (1545-85) the wife first of Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha and then of Ḳalaylîḳoz ʿAlī Pasha (d. 1587); Fāṭima (d. 1580), married to Siyāwush Pasha; Djewher-i Mülūk, married to the admiral Piyāle Pasha [*q.v.*] (d. 1578) and later to Meḥmed Pasha; and Shāh (d. 1580), wife to Čaḳîrdjî Bashî Ḥasan Pasha (d. 1574) and to Zal Maḥmūd Pasha (d. 1580); all played their roles in palace politics. Some of his daughters rose to prominence, especially those born of Ṣāfiye: ʿĀʾishe Sulṭān (d. 1013/1605), wife to Ibrāhīm Pasha (d. 1601) and then to Yemîshčî Ḥasan Pasha (d. 1012/1602), Fakhriyye (d. 1051/1641) and Fātima, happily married to the admiral Khalīl Pasha the Elder (d. 1012/1603) and then to Djaʿfer Pasha (d. 1018/1609).

Murād III led an active spiritual life. He was deeply involved in the esoteric forms of popular mysticism as well as astrology, cosmology and numerology. Hence a book on Naḳshbandī hagiography of 1420 was translated for him from the original Persian by Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, who likewise wrote a commentary on five mystical verses of the sultan. Murād III's principal mystic affiliation was with the Khalwetī order of dervishes [see KHALWATIYYA].

Under the *makhlaṣ* Murādī, he was a minor Ottoman poet of mystic verse. He also wrote probably a theological treatise *Futūḥāt al-ṣiyām* ("The revelations of fasting") (? contained in a *medjmūʿa* ms., Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi Ktp. 1901, dated 993 A.H.). His *dīwān* contains Arabic and Persian as well as Turkish verses. He was an active man of letters and favoured a number of writers, poets, historians, theologians and scientists, i.a. the poets Bāḳī (1526-1600 [*q.v.*]), Newʿī (1533-90 [*q.v.*]), who was a tutor to his younger sons, and the historians his Khodja Saʿd al-Dīn and ʿĀlī, who in 1569 at Manisa already was ordered to write a sex handbook (*bāhnāme*) for the education of Prince Meḥemmed, then two years old. The rhymed chronicles of the *shehnāmedjis* Seyyid Loḳmān and Taʿlīḳīzāde, written by order, derive their lasting importance from their splendid miniature painting illustrations Loḳmān's *Shehinshehnāme* and *Zübdet üt-tewārīkh* are wholly or partly devoted to the history of Murad III. Loḳmān and ʿĀlī wrote *inter alia* a *surnāme*, being descriptions of the circumcision festivities of 1582 and in fact a new literary genre. Magnificently illustrated copies exist.

Murād III was also a patron of architecture. The last mosque complex designed by Sinān [*q.v.*] is the Murādiyye at Manisa, built between 1583 and 1593. Splendidly decorated building took place inside Topkapî Sarayî, in Murad's private apartments, e.g. the Alay Köshkü was added to the palace by his command, as well as the Sinān Pasha Köshkü at the seaside facing Ghalaṭa [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The patriarchal church of St. Mary Pammacaristos was turned into the Fetḥiyye Djāmiʿi in 1586 to celebrate the recent conquests in Georgia and Adharbāydjān. Restoration and extension works were done at Mecca and Medina, e.g. to the walls of the Kaʿba in 983/1573.

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(A.H. DE GROOT)

MURĀD IV, seventeenth Ottoman sultan (1021-49/1612-40, reigned 1032-49/1623-40).

Born in Istanbul in a palace on the Bosphorus on 28 Djumādā I 1021/27 July 1612, son of the reigning sultan Aḥmed I [*q.v.*] and his principal consort, *khaṣṣekī*, Kösem [*q.v.*] Māhpeyker, a woman of Greek origin (Anastasia, 1585-1651). He grew up in the palace together with his brother İbrāhīm, confined in the *ḳafes* apartments, since he was five years old. The princes Süleymān, Ḳāsîm and İbrāhīm were his full brothers, and he had two full sisters ʿĀʾishe Sulṭān and Fāṭima Sulṭān. In 1032/1623 the Grand Vizier Kemānkesh ʿAlī Pasha (1623-4) in agreement with the *Sheykh ül-Islām* Zakariyyā-zāde Yaḥyā Efendi and his already very influential mother, decided to depose Sultan Muṣṭafā again and to put young Murād in the place of his uncle. This being the fourth accession in six years, the *djülūs bakhshīshi* was dispensed with for once. The day after the accession (16 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1032/11 September 1623), Murād IV was girded with the sword at Eyyūb by the venerated mystic of Üsküdār, Sheykh (ʿAzīz Maḥmūd) Hüdāʾī (d. 1038/1628 [*q.v.*]), with the *Sheykh ül-Islām*, the *naḳīb ül-ashrāf* and the *silāḥdār agha* also attending. Being too young to rule, the Wālide Sulṭān exercised power as the virtual head of state. To the great joy of the members of the household, the 16-year old Murād IV for the first time slept with a woman, a 13-year old slave girl, presented to him by his sister ʿĀʾishe (wife to the Grand Vizier Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha) on *ca.* 4 April 1626 (cf. the Dutch ambassador Haga's despatch of 4 April 1626, SG 6898 ARA-General Record Office The Hague). On 25 August 1628 Murād IV took a former consort of his brother and predecessor ʿOthmān II [*q.v.*], called Ḳalender, as his principal bedfellow (cf. Haga's despatch of 16 September 1628, SG 6899 ARA).

In Shawwāl 1041/May 1632, Murād's personal

rule began. Till then he had merely followed events and reacted upon them privately, e.g. the famous exchange in verse between him and the Grand Vizier Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a, in trouble at the siege of Bag̲h̲dād (1626). (cf. Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 207-8, 248-51). Aware of a series of rebellions and troubles in the capital, he became restive. Together with the *ḳizlar ag̲h̲asi̊* Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Muṣṭafā Ag̲h̲a he began to make tours through the city in disguise to become acquainted with the true state of affairs.

An army mutiny broke out in Rad̲j̲ab 1041/February 1632. Probably instigated by the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* Red̲j̲eb Pas̲h̲a, the soldiers marched to the palace and demanded the heads of the Grand Vizier, the *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām*, the Janissary Ag̲h̲a and the Sultan's companion (*muṣāḥib*) Mūsā Čelebi, etc. Murād had to make concessions, including sacrifice of the Grand Vizier Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a. The revolt lasted till May. At one point, most ominously, the insurgents demanded to see the princes Bāyezīd, Süleymān, Ḳāsim and Ibrāhīm, and heads of other prominent courtiers were demanded. But the rebels could not agree about the deposition of the sultan, and the new Ag̲h̲a of Janissaries, Köse Meḥmed, remained however loyal. At the meeting of the *dīwān* on 18 S̲h̲awwāl 1041/18 May 1632, the sultan moved quickly. He invited Topal Red̲j̲eb Pas̲h̲a, now Grand Vizier, into the private apartments and had him strangled. The corpse was brought outside the palace for the insurgents to see. The new Grand Vizier, Tabani̊ yassi̊ Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], a protégé of the *ḳizlar ag̲h̲asi̊* Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Muṣṭafā Ag̲h̲a, assisted the sultan in the suppression of the revolt. An extraordinary *dīwān* meeting was held in a *kös̲h̲k* outside the palace. All loyal elements made an act of obedience which was recorded in a special *ḥükm-i hümāyūn* (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, iii, 119-25), and law and order were restored.

Murād continued to feel extremely suspicious and afraid of treason in his immediate surroundings, so that his intimates thus often fell victim to his distrust. Thus his counsellor Ḳoči Beg [*q.v.*] was dismissed and condemned to be publicly hanged in 1633, but was pardoned at the last moment and his sentence commuted to exile in Cyprus (cf. Haga's despatch, 2 July 1633, publ. in *Kronijk Historisch Genootschap Utrecht* [1867], 434). Not so lucky were the poet Nefʿī [*q.v.*], summarily executed on 8 S̲h̲aʿbān 1044/1635, and Ābāza Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] on 29 Ṣafar 1044/1634. The harsh régime of the young sultan was supported by a radical section of Muslim society led by Ḳāḍīzāde Meḥmed Efendi (d. 1635), a preacher of the Aya Sofya mosque. The closure of all coffeehouses and the renewed prohibition of tobacco smoking were a result. Opposition by more liberal-minded *ʿulamāʾ* led to draconic measures against the *ʿilmiyye* [*q.v.*] in general and to the execution of the *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām* Ak̲h̲īzāde Ḥüseyin Efendi on Rad̲j̲ab 1043/10 January 1634.

Having established his personal authority, Murād decided to reassert Ottoman power in relation to the neighbouring states. On 4 Ramaḍān 1044/21 February 1635, the imperial tent was set up in Üsküdār, and a month later (9 S̲h̲awwāl/28 March) the army left for Eriwan [see REWĀN] under command of the sultan. On 10 Ṣafar 1045/29 July 1635 the army arrived before the Safawid fortress at Eriwan. After the first attack, the sultan took great personal care of the well-being of his wounded soldiers. The Janissaries received medical treatment under his supervision and an extra payment (*merhem-bahā*) was distributed. After eight days, the fortress surrendered. Its commander Emirgüne-og̲h̲lu Ṭahmāsb-ḳulī K̲h̲ān was received with all honours and the sultan recruited him into his service and gave him the appointment of *beglerbegi* of Ṭarābulus-S̲h̲ām. Soon afterwards, the new Emirgüne-og̲h̲lu Yūsuf Pas̲h̲a came to live at Istanbul, where Murād IV presented him with a palace and a pleasure garden on the Bosphorus (Emirgān).

While still on campaign, the sultan ordered the killing of his brothers Bāyezīd and Süleymān at the time, when the news from Eriwan reached the capital. In Rabīʿ II 1045/October 1635 he fell ill and retreated to Wan and via Bitlis to Diyār Bakr. Emirgüne-og̲h̲lu Yūsuf was awaiting him at İzmid, and upon his return to the capital, the victory celebrations lasted seven days and nights.

Next year, Murād ordered a counter offensive, since Eriwan in the meantime had fallen into Persian hands again. A peace offer by S̲h̲āh Ṣafī I (1038-52/1629-42 [*q.v.*]) was turned down, with the counterdemand of the surrender of Bag̲h̲dād.

Having put to death his brother Ḳāsim (23 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1047/8 April 1638), the sultan, accompanied by *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām* Zakariyyā-zāde Yaḥyā Efendi and the *Ḳapudān-pas̲h̲a*, left for Baghdad. Murād's progress was a long bloody dispensation of rough justice on local oppressors, and he acquired among the common people the fame of a *mahdī* in the Arab provinces.

On 8 Rad̲j̲ab 1048/15 November 1638 Murād IV came before Baghdad. Forty days after the siege began, the Persian commander surrendered with all honours. The restoration of the town and fortifications was begun immediately. A sick man, the sultan left for home on 12 Ramaḍān 1048/17 January 1639. Half-paralysed from the middle downwards for a time, he had to rest at Diyār Bakr, where he had left behind his *k̲h̲aṣṣeki*. Rumours of his death began to spread, but somewhat recuperated, he marched again. A quarrel between his *k̲h̲aṣṣeki sulṭān* and the wife of the famous local mystic (Rūmī) Urmiyā S̲h̲eyk̲h̲i Maḥmūd led to the latter's execution (Pečewī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 461 ff.).

Travelling overland till Izmid and then by galley, Murād landed at the seraglio on 8 Ṣafar 1049/10 June 1639, and insisted on a triumphal entry into his capital two days later.

In the meantime, peace was concluded between the Ottomans and the Ṣafawids, and the treaty of Ḳaṣr S̲h̲īrīn of 14 Muḥarram 1049/17 May 1639 meant a lasting peace. The sultan reacted violently upon the Venetian attack destroying the Algero-Tunisian squadron in the harbour of Awlonya [*q.v.*]. Diplomacy, however, prevailed and new capitulations given to Venice ensured peace in the West two months later.

Murād regained his health to the extent that he dared to go out hunting again, but was advised to stop his heavy drinking and other dissipations.

He could still receive congratulations on 1 S̲h̲awwāl 1049 in the Sinan Kös̲h̲k. He watched horse races in the hippodrome and again took to drinking in the company of his intimates, Silāḥdār Mūsā Pas̲h̲a and Emirgüne-og̲h̲lu Yūsuf Pas̲h̲a. But he fell seriously ill next day, lost consciousness and died on 16 S̲h̲awwāl 1049/Thursday 8 February 1640, being buried in his father's *türbe* in the complex of the Blue Mosque.

According to contemporary sources (Ottoman and Venetian), Murād IV was a man of tall stature, broad shouldered, of majestic and beautiful appearance. He had a light black beard, hazel eyes and possessed an extraordinary bodily strength. He was an accomplished horseman, swordsman, archer, pikeman and *d̲j̲erīd*-thrower.

He had at least sixteen children, among whom were

five sons who all died before their father. His daughter Kaya Ismikhān married the Grand Vizier Melek Aḥmed Pasha; Rukiyye married Sheytān (Melek) Ibrāhīm Pasha; and Ḥāfize married Ḥüseyin Pasha. According to contemporary Western sources (e.g. Rycaut), the Wālide Sulṭān Kösem Māhpeyker prevented him from having his sole surviving brother Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], who now succeeded him, executed.

During his reign he spent little attention on pious foundations, but the Rewān and Baghdād kiosks in the seraglio are monuments to his good taste, and he further built garden palaces at Kandilli and Üsküdār (Istawroz).

Murād possessed some literary talent and was actively interested in artistic debate. His *salon* was a meeting place for leading men of letters such as the *Sheykh ul-Islām* Yaḥyā; Nefʿī [*q.v.*] wrote numerous *kaṣīdes* to the sultan and his horses. Ṭiflī Čelebi was the *shehnāmedji*. His most famous favourite is, of course, Ewliyāʾ Čelebi [*q.v.*]. A number of *naṣīḥat* works, including those by Ḳoči Beg [*q.v.*] are evidence for his political and moral interests. He was a talented calligrapher. According to Ewliyāʾ Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 257) he used to discuss theological subjects on Friday evenings and to listen to *ilāhīs*, *sāz*-players and singers on Saturday nights.

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(A.H. de Groot)

MURĀD V, thirty-third Ottoman Sultan, who ruled for ninety-three days, from 31 May until 7 September 1876.

He was born on 21 September 1840, as the eldest son of Sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd [*q.v.*]. According to the Ottoman system of succession, he was crown prince during the rule of his uncle, Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-76 [*q.v.*]). The latter, however, intended to change the line of succession in favour of his own offspring. Therefore, he deprived Murād of all influence in public affairs. Partly as a result of the way he was treated by his uncle, Murād, who had had a comparatively enlightened education, established contact with the liberal-democratic opposition movement of the Young Ottomans from the founding of that movement in 1865 onwards. He was especially close to Nāmīḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*]. The Young Ottoman leaders Nāmīḳ Kemal and Ḍiyā Pasha acted as intermediaries between Prince Murād and Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], the leading Ottoman reformer. When Midḥat Pasha, together with Ḥusayn ʿAwnī and Meḥmed Rüshdī Pasha decided to carry out a coup d'état against the reactionary régime of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and to depose him, Murād was informed beforehand. After the coup, on 30 May 1876, Murād was raised to the throne as Sultan Murād V.

Before his accession, Murād had promised to promulgate a constitution as soon as possible, and it seemed as if the Young Ottoman programme (constitution and parliament) would now be implemented in full. Nāmīḳ Kemāl and Ḍiyā Pasha were appointed as palace secretaries. Once on the throne, however, Murād listened rather to Rüshdī Pasha, who urged caution and instead of a concrete promise of a constitution, as advocated by Midḥat Pasha and the Young Ottomans, only a vague statement on reforms was included in the *Khaṭṭ-i Hümāyūn* after the accession.

On 5 June 1876, the former sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz committed suicide. Then, on the 15th, a Circassian army captain called Ḥasan, motivated by personal grievances, shot and killed Ḥusayn ʿAwnī Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Rāshīd Pasha and several others during a cabinet meeting. This changed the balance of power in favour of the more radical reformers. On 15 July the first meeting of the new Grand Council decided to proclaim a constitution, but this could not be carried through because of the rapidly deteriorating mental state of Sultan Murād.

Murād, who had already become an alcoholic by this time, had shown signs of extreme nervousness when he was taken from the palace on the night of 30 April-1 May in order to receive the oath of allegiance from the high dignitaries of state at the Porte (he was convinced that he was being taken to his execution). The suicide of his uncle and the murder of several members of his cabinet seem to have led to a severe nervous breakdown. After having the Sultan's health examined by Ottoman and foreign medical experts, the cabinet had to conclude that he was unfit to rule. It first tried to get the Sultan's younger brother, Ḥamīd Efendi, to act as regent, but on his refusal had no choice but to depose Murād and replace him with his brother, who ascended the throne as ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II on 1 September 1876. Murād was taken to the Čiraghān palace on the Bosphorus, where he continued to live in captivity for nearly thirty years. On 20 May 1878, after ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd had prorogued parliament, a group led by the Young Ottoman activist ʿAlī Suʿāwī made an unsuccessful attempt to execute a coup d'état and liberate Murād. After that, the prince was kept under even closer guard, and any mention of Murād or any reference to his condition was prohibited by the Ḥamīdian censorship. Murād died on 29 August 1904.

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(E.J. Zürcher)

MURĀD BAKHSH, Muḥammad, fourth and

youngest son of the Mug͟hal Emperor S͟hāh D̲j̲ahān [*q.v.*], born on 25 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1033/28 September 1624 and died 1072/1661. He was given a *manṣab* of 10,000/4,000 in 1048/1639, and after a year, of 10,000/7,000, being promoted in 1051/1641 to 12,000/8,000 (2,000 × 2-3h). His first important assignment came in 1052/1642 when he was appointed *ṣūbadār* of Multān [*q.v.*]. In 1055/1645 he received the rank of 12,000/10,000 (2,000 × 2-3h). He led the Mug͟hal army to Balk͟h and Badak͟hs͟hān in D̲j̲umādā I 1056/June 1646, but after a successful campaign abandoned his command without permission and returned to India in Rad̲j̲ab 1056/August 1646. He was deprived of his rank and dismissed from the governorship of Multān, but the same year was pardoned and restored to his rank. In 1057/1647 he was appointed as *ṣūbadār* of Kas͟hmīr and in 1058/1648 as *ṣūbadār* of the Deccan. His term there was short, and in 1060/1650 he was appointed *ṣūbadār* of Kābul and in 1061/1651 of Mālwa. In 1064/1654 he received appointment to Gud̲j̲arāt and was promoted to the rank of 12,000/10,000 (5,000 × 2-3h). S͟hāh D̲j̲ahān fell ill in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1067/September 1657, and Murād Bak͟hs͟h crowned himself Emperor in Ṣafar 1068/November 1657 at Aḥmadābād. In 1068/1658 Awrangzīb and Murād Bak͟hs͟h entered into an agreement in which Awrangzīb promised his brother the Pand̲j̲āb, Multān, Thaffa, Kas͟hmīr and Kābul in the event of success. In Rad̲j̲ab 1068/April 1658, their joint armies united to inflict a defeat on the Imperial force at Dharmat. This was followed by Dārā S͟hukūh's [*q.v.*] defeat at Sāmūgaṛh. The two brothers occupied Āgrā, the capital, but Murād Bak͟hs͟h was treacherously seized by Awrangzīb at Mathurā [*q.v.*] and sent as captive to Salīmgaṛh fort (Dihlī) then in 1069/1659 to Gwāliyār [*q.v.*]. In 1072/1661 he was executed on the charge of having murdered his *dīwān* ʿAlī Naķī in 1067/1657. Murād Bak͟hs͟h was reputed for his dash and bravery, but was apparently a poor administrator.

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MURĀD ḤĀD̲J̲D̲J̲Ī [see s͟hāmil].

MURĀD PAS͟HA, ĶUYUD̲J̲U, Ķod̲j̲a, (*ca.* 928-1020/*ca.* 1520-1611), Ottoman Grand Vizier under Sultan Aḥmed I.

A *dews͟hirme* [*q.v.*] boy of Croat origin, he received his education in the imperial palace. His career began under patronage of Maḥmūd Pas͟ha, the *beglerbegi* of Yemen and Egypt. Between 1560 and 1565 he was the latter's *ketk͟hudā*. In Egypt, Murād also held the office of *amīr al-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, which opened the way to public high office. In 983/1576 Murād (Pasha) became *beglerbegi* of Yemen himself for about four years. Dismissed in 988/1580 because of corruption, he was summoned to the capital and landed in Yedi Kule prison for a short time. Afterwards, he was appointed *beglerbegi* of Ṭarābulus-S͟hām. In 993/1585 he joined the Tabrīz campaign, being *beglerbegi* of Ķaramān and second-in-command to the *serdār-i ekrem* Özdemir-og͟hlu ʿOt͟hmān Pas͟ha [*q.v.*]. In a battle with the troops of the Persian commander Ḥamza Mīrzā, he was taken prisoner. He was set free at the conclusion of peace in 998/1590 and was made governor-general of Cyprus (999/1590), of Tarābulus-S͟hām (1000/1592), of Damascus (S͟hām) in 1001/1593 and of Diyār Bakr in 1003/1595 (Selānīkī gives 1005/1597). In this capacity, he took part in the Eğri campaign of 1596. He distinguished himself in the Battle of Mezö-Keresztes [*q.v.*] in Hungary (1005/1596). He remained at the front and on 21 Rabīʿ I 1008/11 October 1599 was a member of the Ottoman delegation holding peace talks with the Imperial envoys, together with the *ṣadāret ketk͟hudası* Meḥmed Ag͟ha and a representative of the K͟hān of the Crimea at Vácz (Waitzen) and at Parkanzy (Čiğerdelen).

After the accession of Sultan Aḥmed I (17 Rad̲j̲ab 1012/21 December 1603 [*q.v.*]), Murād Pas͟ha was appointed *beglerbegi* of Rumeli and given the function of military governor of Buda (T. Budīn [*q.v.*]). On 28 D̲j̲umādā II 1014/12 October 1605 he became as Fourth Vizier a member of the imperial *dīwān*. When the Grand Vizier and *serdār* of the Western Front Lala Meḥmed Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] died (15 Muḥarram 1015/23 May 1606), Murād Pas͟ha, by now one of the most experienced commanders in the field, was made Commander-in-Chief in Hungary (*Engürüs Serdārī*). In this capacity he began to work towards peace. As a result, a treaty of peace was negotiated at Zsitvatorok on 17 D̲j̲umādā II-10 Rad̲j̲ab 1015/20 October-11 November 1606. Peace in the West made it possible for the Ottoman government to direct its forces to the East, where Anatolia was ravaged by the so-called D̲j̲elālī revolts [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and where the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās I (996-1038/1588-1629) had started a war in 1603. A month after concluding the peace in Hungary, Murād Pas͟ha received his appointment as Grand Vizier (10 S͟haʿbān 1015/11 December 1606). The advice of the *s͟heyk͟h ül-islām* Ṣunʿullāh Efendi seems to have been decisive in the matter. "Old" (*Ķod̲j̲a*) Murād Pas͟ha immediately left his headquarters at Belgrade and arrived at Istanbul on 15 S͟hawwāl 1015/13 February 1607: "this man hath continued ever since to the greate good of that estate raised from death to life by his wisdome and good fortune being indeede wise and a ancient souldier", was the commentary of the English ambassador Henry Lello.

Appointed *serdār* in the East, the new Grand Vizier left Üsküdār on 6 Rabīʿ I 1016/2 July 1607 for his campaign against the rebels in Anatolia and Syria; Ķalenderog͟hlu Meḥmed Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] near Ankara, Muslu Čāwus͟h at Silifke and the main target, the insurgent D̲j̲anbulāṭog͟hlu ʿAlī Pas͟ha, who dominated an area from Aleppo to Adana. Having put out of action D̲j̲anbulāṭ's follower D̲j̲ems͟hīd near Adana, Murād Pas͟ha met the chief rebel pas͟ha himself in battle in the Oruč Owasī near Baylān in the region of Anṭākya (2 Rad̲j̲ab 1016/23 October 1607). The united forces of D̲j̲anbulāṭ ʿAlī Pas͟ha and the other renowned rebel Fak͟hr al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*] were defeated and for the greater part massacred. ʿAlī Pas͟ha managed to escape, at first to Aleppo and then to Istanbul, where he received a pardon from the Sultan and was made *beglerbegi* of Temes͟hwār (Temesvár), but Murād Pas͟ha had him executed soon after at Belgrade. One prominent prisoner, D̲j̲anbulāṭ ʿAlī Pas͟ha's treasurer, the young Ābaza Meḥmed [*q.v.*], was spared upon the intercession of the Janissary *Ag͟ha*, K͟halīl Pas͟ha Ķaysariyyeli [*q.v.*], who took him into his personal service.

Murād Pas͟ha re-established government control in

the province of Aleppo. Next season he left to march against Ḳalenderoghlu Meḥmed, and reached Alačayïr in the Göksün Yayla, where the rebel forces had concentrated with 20,000 men and 20 pieces of artillery (*shāhī ḍarbzan*). The aged Grand Vizier took personally part in the fighting (July or 5 August 1608 acc. to various sources). Ḳalenderoghlu was defeated, but escaped into Ṣafawid territory. On 21 Djumādā I 1017/2 September 1608 the remaining Djelālī leader Ṭawīl-oghlu Muṣṭafā ("Birāder-i ṭawīl", alias "Maymūn") was caught in battle at the pass of Ḳara Ḥasan near Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Sharḳī [see SHĀBĪN ḲARAḤIṢĀR]. Mass executions followed all over Anatolia.

Having been far away from the capital a long time, the Grand Vizier decided to return thither in spite of the Sultan's order to remain in winter quarters in eastern Asia Minor, and entered Istanbul on 10 (or 21?) Ramaḍān 1017/ 18 (or 29) December 1608. The next season, Murād Pasha marched against the remaining Djelālī rebels in the regions of Aydïn [*q.v.*], Ṣarūkhān [*q.v.*] and Silifke (İčel [*q.v.*]). Both Yūsuf Pasha and Muslu Čāwush were taken prisoner and executed.

The following year, on 1 Rabīʿ I 1019/24 May 1610, he set out to meet Shāh ʿAbbās in battle and to reconquer the territories lost in Transcaucasia. In Erzurūm [*q.v.*] on 27 Djumādā II 1010/16 September 1610 he received Shams al-Dīn Aḳa, ambassador of Shāh ʿAbbās, who carried his master's proposals for peace on basis of the Treaty of Amasya (962/1555). The Ottoman demand was restitution of all territory formerly conquered by Sultan Murād III [*q.v.*]. Murād Pasha marched on to Kars, but did not break off negotiations. Avoiding a military confrontation, he marched on via Čāldirān [*q.v.*] Khōy and Salmās to Tabrīz, which city was evacuated by the Shāh. North of Tabrīz at Adjï Čay the two armies came face-to-face. (11 November 1610). Negotiations were resumed, but no agreement reached. Shāh ʿAbbās's playing for time placed Murād Pasha in a difficult position. He could no longer remain in the field at such a distance from his base. He withdrew with the army to Diyār Bakr (29 Shaʿbān 1019/16 November 1610). A Ṣafawid embassy was permitted to go to the Porte.

Next spring, Murād Pasha established his headquarters at Čulek, where he died suddenly on 25 Djumādā I 1020/5 August 1611.

His surname Ḳuyudju is explained either by the pit (*ḳuyu*) in which he was found when taken prisoner of war in 1585 or by the pits which he had dug all over Anatolia to bury the dead rebels. (e.g. Naʿīmā, confirming Pečewī)

He was buried in Istanbul in the *türbe* attached to the *medrese* which he had founded together with a *sabīl* in the Weznedjiler quarter near Shehzāde Bashï (nowadays housing the Department of Art History of Istanbul University).

A daughter of his is known to have married a *beglerbegi* of Buda, Ḳāḍīzāde ʿAlī Pasha.

Murād Pasha was a devout Muslim and member of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] order of derwishes. He supported convents of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] and Shaʿbāniyya as well. The young Abāza Meḥmed became his spiritual son and was buried after his execution in Murād Pasha's türbe.

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(A.H. DE GROOT)

MURĀD SU(YU) [see AL-FURĀT].

MURĀDĀBĀD, a district in the Rohilkhand division in the north-west of Uttar Pradesh in the Indian Union (formerly the United Provinces of British India), with an area of 2,290 sq. miles/5,930 km^2 and a population (1961 census) of 1,973,530 of whom 62% were at that time Hindu and 37% Muslim, the latter being stronger in the rural areas than the urban centres; the concentration of Muslims, almost wholly Sunnīs, is one of the thickest in the whole of Uttar Pradesh. Almost all the population is either Hindi- or Urdu-speaking. Nothing is known of the early history of the district. In the Islamic period it was successively ruled by the Sultans of Dihlī, from whom it was occasionally taken by the Sultans of Djawnpūr, the Mughals, the Rohillas and the Nawwābs of Oudh (Awadh [*q.v.*]) until it was ceded to the British in 1801.

Murādābād is also the name of one of the six component subdistricts (*taḥṣīls*) of the district and that of the principal town of the district, lying 95 miles/120 km east of Dihlī in lat. 28°50′N. and long. 78°45′ E. on the Dihlī-Bareilly road and on the main line of the Oudh-Rohilkhand railway. The town is a Mughal foundation of the second quarter of the 17th century. Its founder was Rustam Khān who also built the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, as an inscription testifies, in 1041/1632. The town takes its name from Murād Bakhsh [*q.v.*], the ill-fated son of Shāh Djahān. It rapidly ousted Sambhal from its place as the chief town of the district. Its industries are flourishing (chiefly textiles and brasswork). It was a mint of the Mughal Emperors and also of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] during his invasion of India in 1760. During the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Murādābād was held by native troops who had rebelled on hearing of the outbreak in adjacent Meerut (Mīrāṭ [*q.v.*]), and the Muslim population of the whole district espoused the rebel cause enthusiastically. British authority was not fully restored till the end of April 1858. Thereafter, a regiment of the British Army was stationed there till 1897, when the cantonment was abandoned. In 1961, the town had a total population of 180,000, approximately one-third being Muslim.

Sambhal is a very ancient site but has lost much of the importance it possessed in mediaeval times. It has an old mosque, an interesting example of Indo-Muslim architecture which has even been claimed as a converted Hindu temple. It is said to have been built by Bābur but it is undoubtedly earlier. Amrōhā was formerly the great Muslim centre of the district, the majority of its population being Shaykhs and Sayyids. The chief saint of the Sayyids is Sharaf al-Dīn Shāh Wilāyat, an alleged descendant of the tenth Imām, who came here about 699/1300. His tomb is still

shown here. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid is a Hindu temple converted into a mosque in the reign of the Dihlī Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Kayḳubād. It is much visited by pilgrims, mainly Hindus who seek relief from mental diseases through the power of Ṣadr al-Dīn, a former *muʾadhdhin* of the mosque, whose virtues are still believed to be efficacious. There are over a hundred other mosques in the town.

Bibliography: *District gazetteers of the U.P. Vol. XVI. Moradabad*, by H.R. Nevill, Allahabad 1911, and Vols. B,C,D, 1914, 1928, 1934; *Uttar Pradesh district gazetteers. Moradabad*, ed. E.B. Joshi, Allahabad 1968.

(J. Allan-[C.E. Bosworth])

MURĀDĪ [see murād iii and murād iv].

al-**MURĀDĪ**, the name of a family of sayyids and scholars established at Damascus in the 11th-12th/17-18th centuries.

1. The founder of the family, murād b. ʿalī al-ḥusaynī al-bukhārī, born 1050/1640, was the son of the *naḳīb al-ashrāf* of Samarḳand. He travelled in his youth to India, where he was initiated into the Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳa* by Shaykh Muḥammad Maʿṣūm al-Fārūḳī, and after extensive journeys through Persia, the Arab lands and Egypt settled in Damascus about 1081/1670. He subsequently made several visits to Mecca and Istanbul, where he acquired considerable influence, and died in the latter city in 1132/1720. He was an ardent missionary of the Naḳshbandī order, and was instrumental in spreading it in the lands of the Ottoman empire, himself founding two *madrasas* for the purpose in Damascus. His literary works consisted mainly of treatises relating to the *ṭarīḳa*, and included a work on Ḳurʾānic exegesis, entitled *al-Mufrada al-Ḳurʾāniyya.*

2. muḥammad al-murādī, born at Istanbul in 1094/1683, son of Sayyid Murād, continued with marked success his father's missionary work in Syria and Turkey, and stood in high favour at the Ottoman court. He died at Damascus in 1169/1755. See Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Muʿdjam al-muʾarrikhīn al-dimashḳiyyīn*, Beirut 1398/1973, 356.

3. ʿalī al-murādī (1132-84/1720-71), and 4. ḥusayn al-murādī (1138-88/1725-74), sons of Sayyid Muḥammad, held in succession the offices of Ḥanafī Muftī and *raʾīs* of Damascus.

5. abu 'l-mawadda muḥammad khalīl al-muradī, son of Sayyid ʿAlī, succeeded his uncle as Ḥanafī *muftī* and *raʾīs* of Damascus and was appointed also to the office of *naḳīb al-ashrāf* there. He devoted himself to the collection of biographical notices of his contemporaries and their predecessors, and on the basis of the personal information and written works available to him composed in Arabic a biographical dictionary of the notable men and scholars of the 12th century of the Hidjra, entitled *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-thānī ʿashar* (printed at Cairo in 4 volumes, 1291-1301). The work contains about 1,000 notices; in comparison with the work of his predecessor al-Muḥibbī [*q.v.*], it is more limited in range and somewhat more literary in style. A lengthier biography of his father and other relatives (*Maṭmaḥ al-wādjid fī tardjamat al-wālid al-mādjid*) is still extant in ms. B.L. Suppl. 659. Sayyid Muḥammad Khalīl deserves the credit also for encouraging al-Djabartī [*q.v.*] to undertake the composition of his history of Egypt (the statement in Brockelmann (see *Bibl.* below) that al-Djabartī translated al-Murādī's *Silk al-durar* into Arabic is apparently due to a misunderstanding of the colophon to vol. ii of the printed text). He died in Aleppo in 1206/1791. See al-Munadjdjid, *op. cit.*, 373-5.

6. ʿabd al-raḥmān al-murādī, son or cousin of the preceding, succeeded to the office of Ḥanafī *muftī* of Damascus, and was put to death in 1218/1803 on secret instructions from Djazzār Pasha [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, i, 3-4, ii, 70-2, iii, 219-28, iv, 114-16, 129-30; Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, ii, 233-6; Mikhāʾīl al-Dimashḳī, *Taʾrīkh Ḥawādith al-Shām wa-Lubnān*, ed. Maʿlūf, Beirut 1912, 12-13; Brockelmann, II², 379, S II, 404.

(H.A.R. Gibb)

MURĀḲABA [see muḥāsaba.1.].

MURAḲḲAʿ (a.), lit. "that which is put together from several pieces", sc. an album. Unlike their European counterparts, who hung or attached their pictures on walls, Muslim connoisseurs and collectors mounted theirs in albums. In the classic *muraḳḳaʿ*, paintings and drawings alternate with specimens of calligraphy, the whole being generally provided with a handsome binding and sometimes with an illuminated frontespiece. These albums were usually large, the stiff pages having wide and often decorated margins. But considerable variety, both in size and quality, is encountered, from the large and lavish, such as the Clive Album in the Victoria and Albert Museum, to comparatively small and modest volumes put together by less wealthy collectors. Over the years the great majority of these albums have been broken up and their contents widely scattered.

It is difficult to say when this practice arose; no actual examples earlier than the 16th century have survived. But we find references in the literature to a *djung* (or *čung*, a term originally applied to the prophet Mānī's album of paintings) made for Sultan Aḥmad Djalāyir at the end of the 14th century, and to another for Bāysunghur (*ca.* 1430); while the historian Khʷāndamīr [*q.v.*] preserves the preface to an album collected by the painter Bihzād [*q.v.*] at the end of the 15th century. So it would appear that the period of the *muraḳḳaʿ* (at least of those containing paintings as well as calligraphy) is coterminous with that of classical Persian painting.

The largest and finest range of complete albums is in the Topkapı Museum Library, Istanbul, and among them the best-known and most remarkable are those numbered H. 2152 and H. 2160. With these must be bracketed the Diez albums in the Berlin Library, which form part of the same series. This group of albums remains controversial, but it seems likely that they are the result of the Ottoman capture of Tabrīz in 1514, the contents of the royal *kitāb-khāna*, mostly inherited from the 15th century Turkmen rulers, but including a quantity of material from the Mongol period and earlier, being transported to the Turkish capital and hurriedly mounted in these albums. But they are far from typical. No order or system is observed: Turkmen, Djalāyirid and Mongol miniatures, drawings, rough sketches and fragments, European and Chinese drawings, specimens of calligraphy and pages of poetry jostle one another higgledy-piggledy, sometimes mounted sideways or even upside down, in these huge albums, and little or no margin is allowed. But most of the other Topkapı albums date from the later 16th century onwards, and are of the normal "classic" form. They include the celebrated album of Bahrām Mīrzā, in which he commissioned the court painter Dūst Muḥammad to mount a series of pictures to illustrate the history of painting. Dūst Muḥammad prefaced the album with an essay on the subject which remains our most important and reliable source. In making up such albums as this, especially at the behest of royal patrons, the compilers did not hesitate to plunder manuscripts in the royal library. Thus Bahrām

Mīrzā's album contains a miniature cut from the celebrated Khwādjū Kirmānī manuscript of 1396 (now British Library Add. 18113) which was then in the Ṣafawid library.

By about 1530 it was not uncommon for separate paintings and drawings to be produced expressly for mounting in albums. Much of the work of such painters as Muḥammadī, Shaykh Muḥammad and Ṣādiḳī is of this nature, and in the 17th century the best work of artists like Riḍā, Muḥammad Ḳāsim and Muʿīn is no longer to be found in manuscript illustrations but in album pictures. A number of magnificent albums were made for the Mughal emperors at the same period, and these sometimes contained one or two European prints in addition to Persian and Mughal paintings, drawings and calligraphy.

A splendid album from the end of the Ṣafawid period is preserved in Leningrad containing, in addition to much Indian (Mughal) work which was greatly admired at the time, elaborate figure compositions and meticulous flower paintings by Muḥammad Zamān and his contemporaries at the Ṣafawid court. The Topkapı Library possesses albums made up in the 18th and 19th centuries for the Ottoman sultans with works by Lewnī and other Turkish artists as well as examples of "thumb-nail" calligraphy, cut-out work, and other vagaries.

The practice of album compilation continued throughout the 19th century. Thus there is a splendid album of royal portraits put together for Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and perhaps painted by Mihr ʿAlī; and another made for Nāṣir al-Dīn of miscellaneous (largely Ṣafawid) content appeared on the market not long ago.

Bibliography: The only publication that gives a good idea of a complete album is A.A. Ivanov, T.V. Grek and O.F. Akimushkin, *Albom indiiskikh i persidskikh miniatyur XVI-XVIII vv.*, ed. L.T. Gyuzalian, Moscow 1962 (with English summary of the text). The Istanbul and Berlin albums have been the subject of several publications, e.g. (Istanbul) M.S. Ipşiroğlu, *Painting and culture of the Mongols*, London 1965, and (Berlin) idem, *Saray-Alben*: *Diez'sche Kleberbände aus den Berliner Sammlungen* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band VIII), Wiesbaden 1964, but these are concerned with the contents, and not the albums themselves.

(B.W. Robinson)

MURAḲḲISH, cognomen by which two pre-Islamic Arab poets are known, belonging to a family of which several members have made their mark in the history of poetry in the Arabic language.

1. The Elder, al-Akbar, was called either Rabīʿa, or ʿAwf, or even ʿAmr, the uncertainty deriving from the fact that his father, Saʿd b. Mālik b. Ḍubayʿa, had eleven sons (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 155) whom the historians and biographers may have confused; ʿAmr b. Saʿd seems however to be the form that should be retained. The Arab authors of the Middle Ages state that Muraḳḳish (and not al-Muraḳḳish, which is inadmissible) is a cognomen drawn, as is not uncommon (see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Alḳāb al-shuʿarāʾ*, 320; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 374; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets*, etc.), from one of the poet's verses, which would be the following: "The abode is deserted, and the relics resemble the fine marks that a pen has traced (*raḳḳasha*) on the back of a skin" (metre *basīṭ*, rhyme - *am*), but the question remains, whether this is in fact a genuine name or, at a pinch, a pseudonym, *Marḳus = Mark, which would not be at all surprising in the vicinity of the Christians of al-Ḥīra and in an individual who had blue eyes (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 331) and who is moreover believed to have served as the secretary of a Ghassānid.

Muraḳḳish al-Akbar was a brave and resourceful soldier who took part, under his father's command, in the famous war of al-Basūs [*q.v.*] and in other conflicts between the Bakr and the Taghlib. Father L. Cheikho arbitrarily dates his death around the year 552 A.D.

He owes his reputation less to his poetical works than to the fact that he is reckoned one of the famous lovers (*ʿushshāḳ al-ʿArab*) and that he became, probably in the 2nd/8th century, the hero of an anonymous romance the text of which was still in circulation in the 4th/10th century, in the time of Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 525, *Kitāb M.r.ḳ.s wa-Asmāʾ*). This romance, of which the *Aghānī* supplies a fairly detailed version, may be summarised as follows: ʿAmr b. Saʿd wishes to marry his cousin Asmāʾ bint ʿAwf, who is also a childhood friend. The girl's father demands, as a condition of giving him her hand, that ʿAmr proves his worth but, during the absence of the latter, he finds a way of improving his situation, giving Asmāʾ in marriage to a wealthy Murādī. ʿAmr's brothers hide the truth from him on his return, declaring to him that his loved one is dead; to convince him, they show him her apparent tomb, which in fact contains the carcase of a goat which they have slaughtered for this purpose. Children playing in the vicinity betray the secret, and ʿAmr sets out in pursuit of the Murādī with a couple of slaves belonging to his household, but he falls ill during the journey, and his two companions abandon him in a cave. He has time to write on a saddle verses in which he describes his condition and, when the companions return to the family of Muraḳḳish, his brother Ḥarmala who, like him, has learned to write under the tutelage of a Christian of al-Ḥīra, deciphers the message and forces the two slaves, before killing them, to reveal to him the place where they have left their master. By a fortunate chance, the shepherd of the husband of Asmāʾ finds Muraḳḳish, who entrusts his ring to him, charging him to have it delivered to his loved one. The latter finds it in a jug of milk, recognises it, and sets out at once with her husband to succour the sick man; they take him back to their home, but he dies immediately after.

Anthologists have preserved about a dozen compositions comprising a total of 140 verses which evoke Asmāʾ and other women, military campaigns, the death of a cousin, the aggression of a Ghassānid against the Ḍubayʿa. Ibn Ḳutayba attributes to Muraḳḳish al-Akbar the invention of certain original themes and, in a verse quoted by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, ii, 215), the purity of his language appears to be somehow proverbial. He is moreover considered by Ibn Abī Isḥāḳ (*apud* Ibn Sallām, 44) the best poet of the Djāhiliyya, a view contested by Ibn Rashīḳ (*ʿUmda*, i, 80). However, the work attributed to him is not easily separated from that attributed to his nephew, especially since both led the same nomadic and warlike existence and benefited from the popularity of the romantic tales which were current in ʿIrāḳī society from the 2nd/8th century onward.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 155; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 103-5 (ed. Shākir, i, 162-5); *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 457-93; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 374-5, ii, 183, 215; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; *Aghānī*³, vi, 127-35 (ed. Beirut, vi, 121, 8); Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 457-60, 484; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 201; Washshāʾ, *Muwashshā*, index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, iii, 514-5; Cheikho, *Naṣrāniyya*, 282-92; N.H. al-Ḳaysī, *al-Muraḳḳish al-Akbar, akhbāruh wa-shiʿruh*, in *al-Arab*, iv/6 (1389/1970), 485-95; R. Blachère, *HLA*, 252

and index; idem, *Remarques sur deux élégiaques arabes du VIe siècle de J.-C.*, in *Arabica*, vii/1 (1960), 30-40.

2. The Younger, AL-AṢGHAR, called Rabīʿa b. Sufyān (also known as ʿAmr b. Ḥarmala) was the nephew (and not the brother, as in the *Djamhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 155) of the foregoing and the uncle of Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd [*q.v.*]. His cognomen is not explained, and the automatic assumption is that it was given to him later as an honour of some sort, but it could indeed reinforce the hypothesis according to which it is simply a variant of the name *Marḳus. Like his uncle, he was a Bedouin warrior who lived a nomadic existence in the region of al-Ḥīra. L. Cheikho dates his death to *ca.* 570 A.D. Also reckoned one of the famous lovers, he is the hero of a romance composed in the 2nd/8th century and comprising the following episodes: the princess Fāṭima bint al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʿmān notices him and a slave of the latter, Hind bint ʿAdjlān, is charged with the task of bringing him to her in secret; she fulfils her mission, even carrying the young Bedouin on her back, and Fāṭima takes him as her lover. ʿAmr b. Djanāb pleads with Muraḳḳish, who is his cousin and trusts him implicitly, for permission to take his place for one night with his paramour, but she discovers the deceit, expels the usurper and refuses to have anything more to do with the one whom she chose. Muraḳḳish regrets having acceded to his cousins's request and finds himself dishonoured. This romance possibly draws its origin from a verse composition in *ṭawīl* metre and *-āʾimā* rhyme in which the poet expresses his regret at having lent himself to this substitution, but in any case, this is not an uncommon theme.

Among the half-dozen verse compositions attributed to him, a *ḥāʾiyya* forms part of the *Mudjamharāt*; in two of them, he sheds tears over the encampment abandoned by Hind bint ʿAdjlān (!); several comprise only very brief fragments, and there is one of them, of Bacchic theme, which is also attributed to ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: See that of the previous section of the article; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 105-7 (ed. Shākir, 166-9); Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī, *Djamhara*, Cairo 1345/1926, 310-13; *Aghānī*³, vi, 136-9 (ed. Beirut, vi, 129-33); Cheikho, *Naṣrāniyya*, 328-9.

(CH. PELLAT)

MURCIA [see MURSIYA].

MURDĀDH [see TAʾRĪKH].

AL-**MURDĀR**, ABŪ MŪSĀ ʿĪSĀ B. ṢUBAYḤ, a Muʿtazilī theologian from Baghdād who died in 226/840-1. He was a pupil of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir [*q.v.*], the founder of the Muʿtazilī school of Baghdād, and had discussions with fellow-Muʿtazilīs, among them Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf [*q.v.*]. According to the *Fihrist*, he wrote 35 treatises, mostly on Muʿtazilī themes: on the oneness of God (*tawḥīd*), on justice, knowledge, the createdness of the Ḳurʾān and theodicy; they include criticisms of his fellow-Muʿtazilīs al-Nadjdjār, Thumāma b. Ashras, al-Shaḥḥām and al-Naẓẓām. A few books are dedicated to the refutation of the Djahmiyya or predestinarians of the Christians, especially Theodore Abū Ḳurra, of the Jews (*al-aḥbār*) and the Magians; single treatises deal with juridical questions and with the arts of dialectic theology (*kalām*). Three titles, the *Book on Repentance* (*al-tawba*), the *Book on the Middle* (*Right*) *Way* (*K. al-Iḳtiṣād*) and the *Book of the Guided* (*al-mustarshidīn*) apparently deal with mystical themes and confirm the classification of al-Murdār as "monk of the Muʿtazilīs" in later heresiographical literature since al-Khayyāṭ. His ascetism became exemplary for his pupils Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*] and Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir [*q.v.*].

His theology can only partially be reconstructed from fragments and reports in the heresiographical literature. His Muʿtazilī doctrine of God's "oneness" (*tawḥīd*) forms the starting-point for his denial of perception of God "in whatever manner"—by explicitly excluding the *balkafa* by his contemporary Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. This accentuation of God's transcendence, however, has not induced him to keep to Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād's [*q.v.*] doctrine of an endless chain of determinating causes (*maʿānī*) which are inserted between God and his creation; against Abu 'l-Hudhayl, he did not simply classify the cause of created things as "creative act" (*khalḳ* [*q.v.*]), as God's "will" or ordering "word" (cf. Ḳurʾān, XVI, 40/42). As cause of creation appears the final purpose of every "creative act", the created things (cf. Daiber, 230-2). Thus God remains remote from the created world in a much stricter sense than can be found in the doctrines of his fellow-Muʿtazilīs.

This remoteness of God may have been the background of al-Murdār in his refutation of the Djahmiyya and generally the determinists (*al-Mudjbira*); God has neither created the Ḳurʾān nor the acts of man: al-Murdār denied the "creation" (*khalḳ*) of man's acts by God; man has not "acquired" (*kasaba*/*iktasaba*) his acts. These polemics against the *khalḳ-kasb* theory were apparently directed against his fellow-Muʿtazilīs al-Nadjdjār and al-Shaḥḥām and against al-Naẓẓām's doctrine of "generation by God's acting", who provided things created by God with their casual "nature" (Daiber, 400). Al-Murdār kept to the *tawlīd*/*tawallud* theory as taught by his teacher Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir; according to it, things are caused by man's action which "generates" them. Consequently, al-Murdār could postulate two kinds of acting causes: (1) those induced by man's acting and (2) those inducing, "generating" causal effects. Against Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir, the "generated" effects do not include "colour, taste, smell and perception" (ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 166,18). Al-Murdār's doctrine of "generation" presupposes man's independence from any determination by God. This enables al-Murdār to give an answer on the problem of theodicy by offering a combination of the thesis of God's almightiness with that of man's sovereignty; "God wills man's sins in the sense that he gives him a free hand in them (*khallā*)" (al-Ashʿarī, 190, 9 f. = 512, 11 f.; cf. 228, 14); "God has the power over injustice and deceit; however, He shall not do that" (al-Ashʿarī, 555, 9 f.; cf. 201, 1 ff., and Daiber 261[4]). This power of God suggests that He is all-powerful and also that He wills men's sins. According to al-Murdār and his teacher Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir, God's endless power is not real power; it will not be realised (contrary to al-Naẓẓām and ʿAlī al-Uswārī, but in conformity with Abu 'l-Hudhayl, Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb al-Ashadjdj and al-Iskāfī, cf. al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 198, 15-200, 17; idem, *al-Milal*, 136, 11-138,3; Daiber, 261 ff.). However, al-Murdār criticises Abu 'l-Hudhayl for his doctrine of the "vanishing of God's abilities" (*fanāʾ al-maḳdūrāt*: al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 166,17; cf. Daiber 247) which in his eyes led to a restriction of God's almightiness.

The described separation between man's acting and God's power forms the starting-point of al-Murdār's doctrine of the Ḳurʾān: in conformity with the Muʿtazilī thesis of the createdness of the Ḳurʾān and as a result of his theory of *tawlīd*/*tawallud*, al-Murdār could maintain that "man is able to (produce) something like the Ḳurʾān as regards the purity of his language, his arrangement and eloquence" (al-Shahrastānī, i, 67, ult.; cf. al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 165, 4 f.).

Little is known about al-Murdār's doctrine of *Imāma* [*q.v.*]. According to al-Nāshiʾ (cf. van Ess, 44 ff.; Watt, *Formative period*, 227 ff., German version, 231 ff.), al-Murdār, like his teacher Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir and generally the "school" of Baghdād, held the view that after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, an Imām may be chosen who is inferior; al-Nāshiʾ speaks of *imāmat al-mafḍūl* in contrast to *imāmat al-fāḍil*. We do not know whether al-Murdār, like his teacher, classified ʿAlī as *afḍal*; for various reasons, it may be doubted. If we can believe the report of al-Khayyāṭ (74-8), al-Murdār, like his pupil Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir, followed the Muʿtazilī principle of neutrality (*wuḳūf*) and restraint from any condemnation of ʿUthmān. According to the heresiographers (al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 165,9 f.; idem, *al-Milal*, 109,9; al-Shahrastānī, i, 68, 2 f.) "someone who is concerned with the reign of his time (or: who joins the ruler of his time) is an infidel"; "He can neither inherit (power) nor can he bequeath (it)". This utterance sounds like criticism of al-Maʾmūn's decision to designate ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] as heir to the caliphate; ʿAlī al-Riḍā was designated in 817 in the presence of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir and Thumāma as witnesses (Watt, *Formative period*, 176 ff., German version, 180 f.).

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(H. Daiber)

MURDJIʾA, "upholders of *irdjāʾ*", is the name of a politico-religious movement in early Islam and, in later times, refers to all those who identified faith (*īmān* [*q.v.*]) with belief, or confession of belief, to the exclusion of acts. The names Murdjiʾa and *irdjāʾ* are derived from Ḳurʾānic usage of the verb *ardjā* (in non-Ḳurʾānic usage *ardjaʾa*) in the meaning of "to defer judgment", especially in sūra IX, 106. The related meaning of "to give hope" (*radjāʾ*), although often imputed by opponents to the Murdjiʾa from an early date, was not implied.

The early politico-religious movement. It is now generally accepted that the movement arose in the aftermath of the Kūfan Shīʿī revolt under al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] in favour of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*]. Ibn Saʿd and other sources describe Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya's son al-Ḥasan as the author of the doctrine of *irdjāʾ*, which he first defended in a circle of scholars debating the conflict between ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. Al-Ḥasan argued that the judgment about the right and wrong in this conflict should be deferred to God, and Muslims should abstain from declaring either solidarity with them or dissociation from them. He then composed an open letter on his doctrine of *irdjāʾ* and had it read in public. Although some doubt has been cast on the role of al-Ḥasan and the authenticity of the *Kitāb al-Irdjāʾ* attributed to him (M. Cook), there are no cogent reasons to reject them. Other early sources name either Ḳays b. Abī Muslim al-Māṣir or Dharr b. ʿAbd Allāh, both Kūfans, as the first propagator of *irdjāʾ*. These reports, if not understood as a denial of al-Ḥasan's role, certainly reflect the importance of Kūfa as the main centre of the early Murdjiʾa. The movement had also adherents in Baṣra and in Mecca. From ʿIrāḳ it spread to Khurāsān at an early date.

The earliest Murdjiʾite doctrine, as reflected in particular in the *Kitāb al-Irdjāʾ* attributed to al-Ḥasan and in the Ibāḍī anti-Murdjiʾite polemics of the *Sīrat Sālim*, affirmed unconditional solidarity with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and suspension of judgment with respect to ʿUthmān and ʿAlī. This was justified by the unanimous backing which the former two caliphs had enjoyed among contemporary Muslims, in contrast to the division of opinion under the latter two. Suspension of judgment was obligatory in regard to the past which could no longer be witnessed. It was not proper for the present, and the early Murdjiʾa upheld the principle of justice (*ʿadl*) against contemporary rulers. They held that Muslims would not lose their status of believers by any actions, but they were prepared to condemn wrongdoers as aberrant believers (*muʾminūn ḍullāl*) who might ultimately be punished or forgiven by God. The identification of faith with true belief to the exclusion of acts, which later became the essential trait of *irdjāʾ*, was clearly implied, though not central, in the earliest Murdjiʾite teaching.

Politically, the early Murdjiʾa were primarily concerned to restore the concord in the Muslim community by opposing radical religious groups. In Kūfa this pitted them primarily against the Sabaʾiyya, the radical Shīʿī movement which had recently emerged under al-Mukhtār and which repudiated the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. In the *Kitāb al-Irdjāʾ* of al-Ḥasan, the Sabaʾiyya are accused of taking a single family (*ahl bayt*) of Arabs as the Imām and of judging people's religion by their attitude to them, of claiming that most of the Ḳurʾān had been suppressed, of sowing discord and hoping for their reign through the return of the dead before the Resurrection. The Murdjiʾa evidently also distanced themselves from the

Khāridjite condemnation of both ʿUthmān and ʿAlī as infidels. In some early sources and older orientalist studies, they have been described both as loyalist supporters of the Umayyads and as political quietists. This is clearly mistaken. Their suspension of judgment concerning ʿAlī clashed with the official Umayyad condemnation of him, and their insistence on their right to criticise the injustice of the rulers quickly led to conflict. Many of them, including Ḳays al-Māṣir and Dharr b. ʿAbd Allāh, joined the broadly-based rebellion of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*], fought in the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim (82/701), and were subsequently persecuted by the Umayyad governor al-Ḥadjdjādj. The sharply anti-Umayyad attitude which the *Sīrat Sālim* ascribes to them probably reflects the situation at this time. The Murdjiʾa backed the caliphate of ʿUmar II and maintained friendly relations with him. Under Yazīd II, the Baṣran Murdjiʾite Abū Ruʾba actively supported the revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [see MUHALLABIDS]. In general, however, the Murdjiʾa held that Muslims must not draw the sword against fellow-Muslims except in self-defence.

Around the turn of the 1st/7th century, the Murdjiʾa took on a new political role, associating themselves with the struggle for equality of the new non-Arab converts to Islam, especially in eastern Khurāsān and Transoxania, and for their exemption as Muslims from the *djizya* which the Umayyad authorities continued to impose on them. Doctrinally, this effort was based on the older Murdjiʾite thesis that the status of faith depended on the mere confession of faith to the exclusion of all acts such as the performance of the ritual and legal obligations of Islam. The converts thus could not be denied their full status of Muslims by the government on the pretext that they still ignored, or failed to fulfill, some of their most basic duties under Islam.

In 100/718-19, a Murdjiʾite *mawlā*, Abu ʾl-Ṣaydāʾ Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf or Saʿīd al-Naḥwī, complained to ʿUmar II about the fact that some 20,000 clients in Khurāsān were serving in the army without stipend and a similar number of new converts were being forced to pay *djizya*. ʿUmar ordered the governor to lift the *djizya* from all those praying in the direction of the Kaʿba and, when the governor responded with a subterfuge, dismissed him. In 110/728-9 the governor of Khurāsān commissioned Abu ʾl-Ṣaydāʾ with the propagation of Islam in Transoxania, pledging that the converts would be exempted from *djizya*. When the pledge was broken and the Soghdian converts put up resistance, Abu ʾl-Ṣaydāʾ and several associates sided with them against the authorities. He and Thābit Ḳuṭna, a prominent fighter of the faith and propagator of *irdjāʾ*, were imprisoned. In 116/734 the great revolt of the radical Murdjiʾa under al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], who was closely associated with several companions of Abu ʾl-Ṣaydāʾ, broke out. His religious spokesman in the later stages of the revolt, Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], is commonly associated with the extreme Murdjiʾite thesis that faith consists of mere knowledge in the heart. Although Ibn Suraydj's call for reform on the basis of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna of the Prophet, for the overthrow of the Umayyad régime, went well beyond the common political programme of *irdjāʾ*, his movement sprang out of the Murdjiʾite struggle for the equality of the non-Arab converts to Islam.

Ibn Suraydj's armed rebellion against the caliphate and his alliance with its infidel enemies led to a break with the moderate Murdjiʾa who had backed the more peaceful struggle of Abu ʾl-Ṣaydāʾ. The schism, however, was not complete, as is revealed by the fact that Abū Ḥanīfa, the leading representative of *irdjāʾ* in ʿIrāḳ at the time, personally facilitated Ibn Suraydj's pardon by the caliph Yazīd III in 126/744. Abū Ḥanīfa was fundamentally opposed to armed revolt, yet he unconditionally backed the claim of the converts to equal treatment by affirming that a Muslim convert in the territory of polytheism who confessed Islam without any knowledge of the Ḳurʾān or any of the religious obligations of Islam is a true believer (*muʾmin*).

Abū Ḥanīfa's strong engagement in the struggle for equality of the non-Arab converts to Islam paved the way for the spread of his teaching, including *irdjāʾ*, throughout eastern Iran, Transoxania and among the Turks adopting Islam. Initially Balkh became the eastern stronghold of his school. The town was nicknamed Murdjiʾābād on account of the devotion of its scholars and inhabitants to Abū Ḥanīfa and his doctrine. Murdjiʾite tenets were propagated in the east by Abū Ḥanīfa's disciples Abū Muṭīʿ al-Balkhī in his *al-Fiḳh al-absaṭ* containing Abū Ḥanīfa's answers to theological questions and Abū Muḳātil al-Samarḳandī in his *Kitāb al-ʿĀlim wa ʾl-mutaʿallim*, an exposition of *irdjāʾ* attributed to the master. These works formed the basis of all later Ḥanafī Murdjiʾite theology, including Māturīdism. Murdjiʾite doctrine was also espoused in the so-called *al-Sawād al-aʿẓam*, the official creed under the Sāmānids. Through its ties with the school of Abū Ḥanīfa, Murdjiʾite doctrine on faith has maintained its place within Sunnism to the present, despite the vigorous opposition of traditionalist Sunnīs to it.

In his *Risāla ilā ʿUthmān al-Battī*, Abū Ḥanīfa rejected the name Murdjiʾa for himself, asserting that it had been given by the innovators (*ahl al-bidaʿ*) to those who were in fact the People of Justice (*ʿadl*) and the Sunna. The term *ʿadl* must be understood here as implying political justice and reform and not the Muʿtazilī doctrine of free will. Abū Ḥanīfa was, like the early Murdjiʾa in general, a strict predestinarian. The name Murdjiʾa, however, had become a *nomen odiosum* used only by opponents. As recognition of ʿAlī as the fourth rightly-guided caliph gradually became in ʿAbbāsid times universal Sunnī doctrine, the primary demand of the early Murdjiʾa, sc. suspension of judgment in the conflict between ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, lost its significance. The meaning of Murdjiʾa and *irdjāʾ* was henceforth focussed on the definition of faith as excluding acts, a theological doctrine strongly opposed by both Sunnī traditionalists and the Muʿtazila.

The theological Murdjiʾa. The new theological definition of *irdjāʾ* facilitated the heresiographers' classification as Murdjiʾa of various groups and theological schools who were not connected with the early movement. Thus they counted among the Murdjiʾa the Ḳadarī Ghaylāniyya [see GHAYLĀN B. MUSLIM and ḲADARIYYA] and Muʿtazilī theologians like Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī, Abū Shamir, Muḥammad b. Shabīb and sometimes Ibn al-Rāwandī, who deviated from Muʿtazilī school doctrine in the question of God's unconditional threat (*waʿīd*) to the unrepentant sinner and the intermediate state of the grave sinner (*fāsiḳ*) between the faithful and the infidel (*kāfir*). Other groups classified as Murdjiʾa, like the Nadjdjāriyya [*q.v.*], the school of Bishr al-Mārisī [*q.v.*] and the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] arose out of the school of Abū Ḥanīfa.

The theological teaching of the Murdjiʾa, in the broad definition of the heresiographers, primarily involved the following questions: Faith (*īmān*) was

mostly defined as both knowledge (*maʿrifa*) and public affirmation (*iḳrār*) of God, of His prophets and their message in general. Knowledge of God was moreover often defined as including submission (*khuḍūʿ*) to Him and love (*maḥabba*) of Him. The position of the Djahmiyya that faith consisted only of knowledge in the heart to the exclusion of affirmation with the tongue, submission and love, was generally condemned as extremist. Some heresiographers accused the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] of the opposite extreme in teaching that faith consisted only of affirmation by the tongue to the exclusion of knowledge and belief (*taṣdīḳ*) in the heart, thus holding that the Hypocrites (*munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*]) in the time of the Prophet had been true believers. As al-Shahrastānī correctly explained, this doctrine of the Karrāmiyya referred merely to the legal status in this world. The *munāfiḳ* verbally professing Islam while concealing unbelief was in their view truly a believer in this world but deserved eternal punishment in the hereafter. Their position thus agreed in substance with the doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa.

Faith was generally described as an indivisible (*lā yatabaʿʿaḍ*) whole of beliefs and affirmation. Partial belief thus could not constitute it. On this basis, the earlier Murdjiʾa, including Abū Ḥanīfa, generally held that faith can neither decrease nor increase. Under the pressure of Ḳurʾānic passages expressly mentioning an increase of faith among Muslim believers, the later Murdjiʾa of the school of Abū Ḥanīfa, the Nadjdjāriyya, Māturīdiyya and others, mostly affirmed that faith can increase but not decrease. This increase was variously explained as an additional knowledge of details of the *sharīʿa* beyond the indispensable minimum, as an increase of conviction (*yaḳīn*), or more broadly, of the subjective traits (*ṣifāt*) of the believers in relation to the unchangeable essence (*dhāt*) of faith.

The Murdjiʾa prohibited *istithnāʾ*, i.e. the addition of the formula "if God wills (*in shāʾ Allāh*, [*q.v.*])" to the affirmation "I am a believer (*anā muʾmin*)" as implying doubt in one's own faith. They called their opponents in this question doubters (*shukkāk*), a nickname deeply resented by these last.

The Murdjiʾa generally did not distinguish between Islam and *īmān* and considered all Muslims as *muʾminūn* except for those excluded by Muslim consensus. Muslims falsely interpreting (*mutaʾawwilūn*) aspects of the message of Islam were mostly recognised as believers. Those committing forbidden acts were called sinful believers (*muʾminūn fussāḳ*). While the Murdjiʾa rejected the Khāridjite and Muʿtazilī doctrine of *waʿīd*, the unconditional punishment of the unrepentant sinner in the hereafter, they generally admitted that God might either punish or forgive Muslim offenders. While some held that this punishment of Muslims could be eternal, others affirmed that it would be temporal and that all would eventually enter paradise through the intercession (*shafāʿa*) of Muḥammad. The latter view agrees with predominant Sunnī traditionalist doctrine. Only the eccentric theologian Muḳātil b. Sulaymān is described as a Murdjiʾite who taught that true faith inevitably outweighs any offence before God and that He would not punish any Muslim affirming His unity. Any description of the Murdjiʾa as either laxists or as raising excessive hope for divine forgiveness, even though suggested by some early anti-Murdjiʾite polemics, is basically mistaken.

The most fanatical opposition to Murdjiʾite doctrine in early Sunnism came from traditionalist circles in Kūfa and Baṣra associated with al-Aʿmash, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Wakīʿ b. al-Djarrāḥ and Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī. These circles affirmed the absolute requirement of *istithnāʾ* and tried to exclude the Murdjiʾa from the Muslim community. This extremist rejection was also adopted and espoused by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who in one of his creeds counted the Murdjiʾa together with the Ḳadariyya, the Rāfiḍa and the Djahmiyya, among the innovators whom the Prophet had excluded from Islam and for whom Muslims must not perform funeral prayers. Later non-Murdjiʾite Sunnism was mostly more tolerant and often tended to minimise differences, especially with Ḥanafī Māturīdī *irdjāʾ*. A major factor in this change of attitude was the fact that a large section of the school of al-Ashʿarī came to define *īmān* basically as belief (*taṣdīḳ*) in God, while assigning acts to a secondary rank, a doctrine not far removed from *irdjāʾ*.

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(W. Madelung)

AL-MURDJIBĪ, Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad (*ca.* 1837-1905), a personality in the history of East Africa and the Congo during the 19th century.

Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad al-Murdjibī, alias Tippu Tip, was born of Afro-Arab parentage in Zanzibar *ca.* 1837. His great-grandfather, Radjab b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Murdjibī from Muscat [see maskaṭ], had established himself on the coast opposite Zanzibar where he had married an Afro-Arab wife, the daughter of a member of the famous Nabhānī clan, Djumaʿ b. Muḥammad al-Nabhānī. Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad's grandfather, Djumaʿ b. Radjab al-Murdjibī, was among the earliest Arabs to lead caravans into the interior, where he supported Mirambo, ruler of Unyamwezi. His son Muḥammad b. Djumaʿ b. Radjab al-Murdjibī continued to expand his father's business interests in the interior, ensuring it by marrying one of the daughters of Fundikura, chief of the Nyamwezi. At his death in 1881 (cf. J. Becker, *La vie en Afrique*, Brussels 1887, ii, 45-8, 139) he owned large plantations at Ituru near Tabora. At the age of twenty, Ḥāmid was leading expeditions on behalf of his father to the area around Lake Tanganyika. During these expeditions he encountered David Livingstone (*The last journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa from 1865 to his death*, repr. London 1974, i, 222, 228, 230). (An Editor's footnote explains the name Tippu Tip as one which he gave himself after conquering Nsama. As he stood

over the spoil he gathered it closer together and said "Now I am Tippu Tip", that is, "the gatherer together of wealth" (230). An onomatopoeic interpretation is offered in the autobiography, section 30. For other interpretations, see F. Bontinck, *L'Autobiographie de Hamed ben Mohammed el-Murjebi Tippo Tip (ca. 1840-1905)*, 200, n. 95; V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, London 1885, 292 ff., 300; H.M. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa, or Quest, rescue, and retreat of Emin, Governor of Equatoria*, New York 1890, i, 53, 63 ff. *et passim*, and others.)

Cameron describes him as "...a good looking man, and the greatest dandy I had seen among the traders. And, notwithstanding his being perfectly black, he was a thorough Arab, for curiously enough the admixture of negro blood had not rendered him less of an Arab in his ideas and manners" (293). Stanley, who met him in 1876, described him as "a tall, blackbearded man ... His *tout-ensemble* was that of an Arab gentleman in very comfortable circumstances" (*Through the Dark Continent*, London 1878, ii, 95-6), and T.H. Parke noted an Arab "with bright intelligent black eyes, displaying manners of imperial dignity and courtesy" (*My personal experiences in Equatorial Africa*, London 1891, 18).

Ḥāmid acquired great popularity among the Arabs and the indigenous people of Manyema (Eastern Zaire). By the mid-1870s he possessed authority to appoint or confirm Arab and indigenous leaders in lands stretching between the Lomami and Lualaba rivers. By the end of the 1870s, the Congo region as far as Stanley Falls [see CONGO] was a vital component of the Zanzibar sphere of influence. He was always courteous and obliging to Europeans. Everyone who came in contact with him found a conciliatory spirit. Being more realistic than many of his co-religionists, he understood that in order to safeguard his interests in the interior it was necessary to adopt a comprehensive conduct of goodwill *vis-à-vis* the Europeans. This brought him into conflict with some of the other Arabs, in particular Saʿīd b. Abīb, who in 1884 had been sent by Sultan Barg͟has͟h of Zanzibar to Manyema to secure his interests in the ivory trade, although the sultan had previously requested Ḥāmid to secure the area for him.

He was appointed governor of the Stanley Falls District of the Congo Free State in 1887 by King Leopold on the advice of Stanley. He returned to Zanzibar in 1891, where he remained until his death on 14 June 1905 a highly-respected person whose advice on matters pertaining to the interior was sought by all those with an interest in that part of the continent. He was succeeded as governor of Stanley Falls by his nephew Ras͟hīd. His son Sefu was left in charge of his extensive holdings at Kasongo on the left side of the Congo River as far as Isangi and at the confluence of the Lomami and the Congo. Two years later, the conflict between the Belgians and the Arabs in Manyema destroyed all his interests there. At Ujiji, his associate Muḥammad b. G͟halfān, alias Rumaliza, was responsible for his interests.

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(S. VON SICARD)

MURG͟HĀB, a river of Inner Asia, and like many rivers in that region, one without outlet to the sea or to any more extensive river system. It rises in the Kūh-i Ḥiṣār mountains in north-central Afg͟hānistān, flows westwards and receives tributaries from the Band-i Turkistān and Paropamisus mountains in north-western Afg͟hānistān. Some 250 miles from its source, it reaches the town of Bālā-Murg͟hāb in the modern Bādg͟hīs province of Afg͟hānistan, and then enters the Turkmen SSR and flows for another 250 miles northwards towards the Ḳara Ḳum desert [*q.v.*] to New Marw (Russ. Mary), and then peters out. Its only major tributary is the Kus͟hk, flowing northwards to join the Murg͟hāb at Tas͟hkopri.

In mediaeval Islamic times, the upper course of the Murg͟hāb (usually called by the geographers "the river of Marw") flowed from the regions of Darmas͟hān and Revs͟hārān through G͟harčistān [see G͟HARDJISTĀN], and then had on its lower course the towns of Marw al-Rūd͟h [*q.v.*] and Marw [see MARW AL-S͟HĀHIDJĀN]. At this period, a complex irrigation system utilised the Murg͟hāb's waters at Marw; at the present time, there are dams to control irrigation waters at Tas͟hkopri and Iolotan. On this lower course of the river, some 30 miles on the Russian side of the modern frontier, lies the Pandjdih oasis [*q.v.*], occupied by the advancing Russians in 1885 and the scene of a battle between the Russians and Afg͟hāns and then the focus of diplomatic tension between Russia and Britain [see PANDJDIH].

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*², London 1970, pp. xxi, xxx-xxxiv, 73 § 6.26, 105-6 § 23.36-48; Le Strange, *Lands*, 397-400, 404, 406; J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 41, 45-6; L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 36-7; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 35 ff.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MURĪD (A.), literally "he who seeks", in Ṣūfī mystical parlance, the novice or postulant or seeker after spiritual enlightenment by means of traversing (*sulūk*) the Ṣūfī path in obedience to a spiritual director (*murs͟hid*, *pīr*, *s͟hayk͟h* [*q.vv.*]). The equivalent Persian term is *s͟hāgird*, literally "pupil, apprentice".

The stages of the novice's spiritual initiation are detailed in numerous Ṣūfī manuals and works touching on Ṣūfism, such as al-G͟hazālī's *Iḥyāʾ*, and the term *murīd* figures in numerous titles of such works. One of the earliest manuals was the *Ādāb al-murīdīn* of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Nadjīb ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168; see Brockelmann, I², 563, S I, 780), who was the uncle of the author of an even more famous manual, the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, S͟hihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [*q.v.*]). The *murīd*'s embarkation on the path might be marked by various attestations of his *murs͟hid*'s guidance and teaching, such as the giving of a rosary (*subḥa*), a handclasp (*muṣāfaḥa*) and the donning of the patched dervish cloak (*k͟hirḳa murakkaʿa* [see K͟HIRḲA]). For further details, see ṬARĪḲA and TAṢAWWUF.

Murīds was also the name given to the adherents of the Naḳs͟hbandī [see NAḲS͟HBANDIYYA] *s͟hayk͟h* S͟hāmil, leader of Muslim resistance in Dāg͟histān [*q.v.*] in the Caucasus to Russian penetration there in the mid-19th century; see on his movement, S͟HĀMIL.

For the Murīds of West Africa, see MURĪDIYYA.

Bibliography: In addition to the older references in the *EI*[1] art., see J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, index. (Ed.)

MURĪDIYYA, Murīdism, a West African religious brotherhood which was originally nothing more than a ramification of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. Around the figure of Amadu Bamba, its founder, a distinct *ṭarīḳa* gradually came into being, quite specific to the milieu of Senegal, on the history of which it was to leave a lasting impression.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb Allāh, known by the name of Amadu Bamba, was born in the Wolof country, around 1850, into a religious family. His father, Momar Anta Sali, was a scholar associated with the Ḳādiriyya and a regular visitor to the courts of local princes. At the time of the extension of French colonisation, Amadu Bamba, convinced of the futility of any armed resistance, became known as the advocate of pacific policies. On the ruins of the Wolof state of Kajoor (the defeat of Dekkile, 1886), Amadu Bamba gathered together in the South of the country, in Baol, a party of followers from all strata of society, including former dignitaries and warriors, alleged "pagans", and former adversaries of the "marabouts". Thus he offered to the demoralised Wolof peoples an alternative structure for living, a refuge: such was the principal social function of the Murīd brotherhood in the history of contemporary Senegal.

His personal charisma worried the French authorities; suspected of subversion, Amadu Bamba was arrested in 1895. Thus began a long period of hardships which—supplemented by miraculous tales—definitively established his status as a saint in the popular imagination: exile to Gabon (1895-1902), followed by house-arrest in Mauritania until 1907 and then in the village of Cheyen, in the north of the country, until 1912. Having given numerous pledges of his peaceable intentions—in particular a *fatwā* of 1910 calling upon his supporters to obey the authorities—Amadu Bamba was permitted to return to Baol in 1912. The *shaykh* then lived quietly at Diourbel until his death, devoting himself to study and to pious observance. He died on 19 July 1927 and was buried immediately at Touba, in the heartland of Bambian mysticism. The brotherhood then had a membership of about a hundred thousand.

The social and political role of Amadu Bamba has tended to obscure his own vocation, which was that of a mystic. Around 1889, he had been initiated into the Ḳādiriyya by its Mauritanian master, Shaykh Sidiyya Bābā, who later conferred on him the title of *muḳaddam*. In 1891 or thereabouts, Amadu Bamba had a vision of the Prophet, in a place which Murīd tradition identifies with the site of Touba. It does not seem that he intended to create a distinct *ṭarīḳa*: he never used this term in speaking of his doctrine and of his followers. The phenomenon, which proceeded gradually, probably dates from the Mauritanian exile (1907) or, at the latest, from 1912.

The written work of Amadu Bamba consists essentially of *ḳaṣīdas* in Arabic. Forty-one printed collections, part of a broader corpus, have been edited and studied (F. Dumont, 1975). Examination of these texts shows that, in common with other brotherhoods of the period, Amadu Bamba, who adopted the title of *khādim Rasūl Allāh* (servant of the Messenger of God), stressed the need for imitation of the *sīra* of the Prophet. Although his teaching was impeccably orthodox, some of his loyal disciples felt at liberty to develop a form of religious exclusivism in which Amadu Bamba tended to occupy the place of the Prophet, and the monumental mosque of Touba replaced that of Mecca. But such a trend, by no means peculiar to Murīdism, was the product of popular piety and not the teaching of the founder.

The first and the second sons of the founder, Mamadu Mustafa Mbacke (1927-45) and Falilu Mbacke (1945-68) succeeded their father, bearing the title of "Caliph-general of the Murīds", but contests between candidates never ceased absolutely, since no rule or consensus had been established for succession in the leadership of the brotherhood. Such contests led to the elimination, with the active participation of the colonial power, of a brother of the founder, Shaykh Anta and, later, of the elder son of Mamadu Mustafa, Shaykh Mbacke.

The "Caliph-general" stands at the apex of a complex pyramidal structure consisting, in descending order, of "caliphs" (chieftains of religious lineages), local *shaykh*s and simple "talibés". Unconditional obedience of the disciple to his *shaykh*, who is himself the dispenser of the *baraka* of the founder, is the corner-stone of a brotherhood renowned for its discipline and the power of its hierarchy.

The major movement towards development of the new territories of the Baol, which began at the end of the 1920s, conferred on this hierarchy considerable land-owning, economic and financial power, earning its members the well-known nickname of "marabouts of the ground-nut". The Murīd system which thus came into being was centred upon local *shaykh*s and their *daras* (from the Arabic *dār*), kinds of units of production to which young men would come to place themselves at the service of the *shaykh*.

Under the distant control of the colonial authorities, who saw their interests served by this form of indirect administration, the Murīd zones constituted virtually autonomous enclaves. In these zones—and this was one of the advantages of the system from the point of view of the local people—the colonial influence was absent from daily life. Negotiations with the French power over matters such as taxation and labour were conducted directly, at the top of the hierarchy. Henceforward, both before and after independence, the Murīd brotherhood was to constitute a kind of state within a state, exerting considerable influence in the life of the country (for example supporting Leopold Senghor, although a Catholic, against Mamadou Dia in 1962). This political role, more that of a demanding client than of a challenger in power, has constituted to this day one of the dominant features of Senegalese politics.

The contemporary brotherhood — image and reality.

Although limited to the Senegalese sphere, where furthermore it stands in second place, after the Tidjāniyya, in terms of membership, the Murīd brotherhood has enjoyed a celebrity which far exceeds its real influence in Africa. The particular interest shown in it by the French administration and its economic role account for this renown. After the period of repression, colonial observers chose to see it as a model of an ethnicised Islam, contaminated by local practices and, as such, deprived of any subversive potential, a prototype of what was then called "Black Islam". It is Paul Marty (1913) who is to be credited with the invention of hyperbolic formulas, subsequently to enjoy wide circulation, such as "new religion born of Islam" and "Islamic vagabondage". In fact, Murīdism is seen today as a major component of Sunnī Islam in Senegal, and its fundamental orthodoxy is undisputed.

Since its inception, the brotherhood has above all

demonstrated its remarkable capacity for adaptation, in economic as well as in political areas: first as an instrument of passive resistance to colonisation, then as a structure of compromise and cooperation with it, it has presented itself since independence as the major national brotherhood. The crisis in ground-nut cultivation could have been fatal for it; it then transformed its structures and investments, setting up powerful commercial networks and extensive real estate holdings in the towns, also undertaking, in the south of the country (Sine-Saloum and Casamance), the development of new territories. It thus constitutes, in contemporary Senegal, as well as in its expatriate communities in Europe and America, a social reality with renewed dynamism and propagandist skills, which is not really threatened by the new concurrence of reformist and Islamist associations.

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MŪRISṬUS or Mūrṭus, a Greek author (?) of works on musical instruments that have only been preserved in Arabic. He appears to be identical with the Mīrisṭus mentioned by al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9), and these works must therefore have been known in Arabic at least as early as the 3rd/9th century. According to the *Fihrist* (completed in 377/987-8). Mūrisṭus wrote two books on organ construction: 1. *Kitāb fi 'l-Ālāt al-muṣawwita al-musammāt bi 'l-urghanun al-būkī wa 'l-urghanun al-zamrī*; 2. *Kitāb Āla muṣawwita tusmaᶜu ᶜalā sittīn mīlan*. On the other hand, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (d. 646/1248) speaks of one book dealing with both instruments mentioned in the *Fihrist*, viz. a *Kitāb al-Ālat al-muṣawwita al-musammāt bi 'l-urghanun al-būkī wa 'l-urghanun al-zamrī yusmāᶜu ᶜalā sittīn mīlan*. Abu 'l-Fidā' (d. 1331) refers to a book that only deals with the second instrument mentioned in the *Fihrist*, viz. a *Kitāb fi 'l-Ālat al-musammāt bi 'l-urghanun wa-hiya āla tusmaᶜu ᶜalā sittīn mīlan*. The above description of the works of Mūrisṭus does not tally with the three actual works attributed to him that have come down to us. These, in the British Museum and Istanbul mss., carry the titles: 1. *Risāla li-Mūrisṭus fī ṣanᶜat al-urghīn* [*urghanun*] *al-būkī* ("Treatise by Mūrisṭus on the construction of the flue-pipe organ [i.e. the *hydraulis*]"); 2. *Risāla... li-Mūrisṭus fī ṣanᶜat al-urghīn* [*urghanun*] *al-zamrī* ("Treatise... by Mūrisṭus on the construction of the reed-pipe organ [i.e. the pneumatic organ]"); 3. *Risāla... li-Mūrisṭus fī ṣanᶜat al-djuldjul* ("Treatise... by Mūrisṭus on the construction of the chime[s]"). Copies of these works preserved at Beirut have different titles as follows: 1. *ᶜAmal al-ālat allatī ittakhadhahā Mūrisṭus yadhhabu ṣawtuhā sittīn mīlan* ("Construction of the instrument which Mūrisṭus invented, the sound of which travels sixty miles"); 2. *Ṣanᶜat al-urghan[un] al-djāmiᶜ li-djamīᶜ al-aṣwāt* ("Construction of the comprehensive organ for all the sounds"); 3. *Ṣanᶜat al-djuldjul* ("Construction of the chime[s]"). This last-named work mentions that the constructor of these chimes was a certain Sāᶜāṭus or Sāṭus, who is mentioned in the *Fihrist* as the author of a *Kitāb al-Djuldjul al-ṣiyyāḥ* [or *ṣayyāḥ*] ("Book of the octave [or clamorous] chime[s]"). The Arabic texts of these three works were printed in *Mashriḳ*, ix, under the editorship of L. Cheikho, but a new text is needed. Carra de Vaux gave a part-translation into French of one text, in the *Revue des études grecques*, xxi. E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser gave a German translation of all the Mūrisṭus treatises in the *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, viii, collating the Istanbul with the *Mashriḳ* text. H.G. Farmer, using the British Library ms., which he collated with the *Mashriḳ* and Istanbul texts, produced translations into English of the two works on the *hydraulis* and the pneumatic organ in his *The organ of the Ancients*: *from eastern sources*.

Who was this Mūrisṭus, Mūrṭus or Mīrisṭus? As the author of such works as the above, he is unknown in Greek literature. D.S. Margoliouth suggested that he is Ameristos (*ca.* 630-550 B.C.), the ancient Greek mathematician whom we know through Proclus or Euclid (i, 65, 11-15), and seeing that we have such forms of this name as Mamerinos, Mamerkus, Mamertios (or Marmetios) in Suidas (*sub* "Stesichoros"), Freidlein's edition of Proclus, and Heiberg's edition of Hero's *Definitions*, there would appear to be some ground for this suggestion. Ameristos might very well have been the author of the work on the pneumatic organ but not that on the *hydraulis*. Carra de Vaux argued that the works have been wrongly ascribed to Mūrisṭus owing to the fact that the Arabic scribes mistook the Arabic particle *li* to be the genitive instead of the dative, and that "by Mūrisṭus" should be read "to Mūrisṭus". He bases his argument on a passage in the Arabic version of Philo's *Pneumatics* (*Kitāb fi 'l-Ḥiyal al-rūḥāniyya*) where the dedicatee is a certain Risṭūn or Arisṭūn. In the Latin translations of this work this individual is called Marzotom, whilst in the same author's *Treatise on the Clepsydra*, attributed to Archimedes, this dedicatee is also mentioned. This led Carra de Vaux to argue that Mūrisṭus, Risṭūn, Arisṭūn, etc. are all scribal malformations of Philo's friend Ariston or Aristos. Yet whilst it is possible that Philo may have been the author of the treatise on the *hydraulis*, he could scarcely have penned the treatise that deals with such a primitive pneumatic organ as that described. On the other hand, as the present writer pointed out (*JRAS* [1926], 503), is not Mūrisṭus a scribal error for Ktēsibios? In the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*, translated into Arabic by Yūḥannā b. al-Biṭrīḳ (d. 815), the inventor of the *hydraulis* is given as Yāyasṭayūs, Thāsṭiyūs, Thāsīṭūs or Tāsīṭūs in the various mss., and the orthographical morphogony of Ḳatāsibiyūs (as Ktēsibos would be written in Arabic) through the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* forms to Mūrisṭus and Mūrisṭus is certainly an intriguing suggestion. Even if we accept this suggestion, it is clear that only the treatise on the *hydraulis* can be ascribed to Ktēsibios. That on the pneumatic organ deals with such a primitive instrument that it must belong to a writer who lived several centuries earlier.

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(H.G. Farmer)

MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ, Mauritania (now officially named the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, *al-Djumhūriyya al-Islāmiyya al-Mūrītāniyya*), an extensive region of the Western Sahara and the western section of the Sahel. It is the homeland of the Arab-Berber people who speak the Ḥassāniyya dialect of the Arabic language. In times past, and to some degree today, these people were called "the Moors" [*q.v.*], although this term was also used for other North Africans and, hence, gave Mauritanians no special identity. The "Moors" of the former Spanish Sahara call themselves Ṣaḥrāwīs. In the Muslim East, however, they were for long regarded as an individual Muslim people and were named *Shanāḳiṭa/Shanādjita* after the small town of scholars in the Mauritanian Ādrār known as Shinḳīṭ/Shindjīt. Their country was also named Shinḳīṭ/Shindjīṭ. Geographers, jurists and men of religion were uncertain whether their territory formed a part of the Maghrib or the Sūdān. In Morocco, not only was it deemed to be part of the Djazīrat al-Maghrib but it was also specifically regarded as a part of the domain of the Sultans of Morocco during different periods of North African history.

The Moors, themselves, the bulk of whom are Mauritanian citizens, together with their negro fellow citizens, are today conscious and proud of their Mauritanian citizenship and nationalism. Nevertheless, the Moors amongst them also feel part of a wider community of Ḥassāniyya speakers, who refer to themselves as *bīḍān* (sing *bīḍānī*), "whites" to distinguish themselves from the negroes who live to the south of them. The "land of the *bīḍān*" is more extensive than the existing boundaries of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. The *Turāb al-bīḍān* includes all of the former Spanish Sahara, likewise desert regions in Mali. In the north, it reaches the Wādī Darʿa in Morocco and up to a line which joins Tinfouchy (Tin-Fūshi) to Hassi Bou Bernous (Ḥāsī Bū Burnūs), these last two in Algeria. In the west, their territory is bounded by the Atlantic. In the east, the border follows the northern bank of the Senegal River and then the length of the frontier of Mali to the city of Timbuctoo. In the east, a line in the desert north of Timbuctoo as far as Djebel Timétrine (Djabal Timatrīn) to the west of the Ādrār-n-Īfōghās, then due north to Hassi Bou Bernous, effectively completes the boundaries of the *Turāb al-bīḍān*. The whole of the Azawād region of Mali is thus included. Ḥassāniyya is a *lingua franca* throughout. There are also speakers of this dialect in the Azawāgh region of the Niger Republic, although they are not included within the *Turāb al-bīḍān*. With the exception of the former Spanish Sahara (especially western Tīris, which was annexed for a time) the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has never claimed the whole of the *Turab al-bīḍān* as its "historical borders".

1. *Geography*.

Mauritania is bounded by Morocco and the former Spanish Sahara to the north; the Atlantic to the west; the Republic of Senegal to the south; and to the east, Algeria in the far north, where Tiris Zemmour adjoins the Département de Saoura, and further south, the Republic of Mali. It extends over 1,685,000 km^2 from the 5th to the 17th degree west longitude and from the 16th to the 26th degree north latitude.

Mauritania can be divided into two great natural regions:

(a) In the south, a Sahelian zone, which stretches from the Senegal River valley up to a line which passes approximately through the towns of Nouakchott, Moudjéria, Tamchakett, Aioun el Atrouss and Néma. This region is formed by fixed dunes (also called "dead dunes") and flat plains, and in the south-west is known as the *gebla*. Characteristic of it are the annual falls of rain which exceed 100 mm., though in recent years the prevailing drought conditions have changed this rainfall pattern. On the left bank of the Senegal river, the valley is covered with river deposits, which, in good years, are watered by the river flood and the rain which falls between July and October. This region is called Chemama (*Shamāma*) where the population is predominantly negro sedentaries. Principal markets and administrative centres on the river are Rosso, Boghé and Kaédi. Typical of the Sahelian zone are the numerous forests of gum trees and the herbaceous plants which have fixed the dunes and which furnish a good pasturage for herds of oxen and sheep.

(b) In the north, a Saharan zone, which is an arid expanse of "live dunes", pebbly plains and, further north still, mountainous plateaux. Rainfall is below an average of 100 mm. per year. Trees are small and grow sparsely, the grass is burnt by the sun and water points are rare. Mauritanian writers like to compare it with the Ḥidjāz. Herds consist of camels, sheep and goats. The coast is inhospitable and difficult of access due to sand banks. A single bay, Lévrier Bay, affords safe shelter, where Port Étienne (Anwādhībū) has been built. The central-north of Mauritania contains the plateaux of the Ādrār [*q.v.*] (500 m.) and Tagānit (300 m.), with steep cliffs, and the high land is elongated eastwards by the lesser plateaux of the Assaba and Affolé. There is more water here than in the rest of the Saharan zone, so that such streams as are drained by torrents and by the wādīs water large palm groves, some of them ancient. Here are sited several of the most ancient towns of Mauritania, the *ḳṣūr* of Chinguetti (Shinḳīṭ), Ouadan (Wādān), Atar (Aṭār), the former Almoravid capital at Azouggui (Azzugī), Tidjikdja (Tīdjidjka), and, further to the east in the lower-lying region of the Ẓhar Tichit (Tīshīt) and the Hodh (*al-Ḥawḍ*), "the basin", such historic caravan towns as Oualata (Walāta) and the ancient cities of Ghāna and Awdaghust.

Mauritania is a very arid country. The climate is extremely hot, though dry and healthy, except in the southern parts of the country near the river. Port Étienne and Nouakchott benefit from sea winds.

2. *Population*.

The population of Mauritania totals approximately 1,750,000 inhabitants; sedentarisation has increased by 45% since 1977, thereby doubling the population of the towns and exerting a strong demographic

pressure on the irrigable regions of the country. Certain cantons in the Senegal valley have a density of population which now exceeds 35 inhabitants per km^2 and, in general, the inhabitants are relatively numerous and concentrated in the Sahelian zone to the north of the river where the negro sedentaries mostly live. The Saharan zone, which is predominantly Moor, becomes increasingly depopulated the further north one travels. In the Ādrār, the figure had been estimated at 50,000 inhabitants for 489,000 km^2. Some desert areas such as al-Mirayya, al-Djawf and Ārg Shāsh are all but destitute of humanity, even of the desert traveller.

In general, two races inhabit Mauritania. The Moors form a majority amounting to some four-fifths of the total. Some of them are descended from the ancient Ṣanhādja Berbers who, with some intermarriage with the negroes and non-negro peoples (the so-called Bāfūr) who preceded their arrival, were masters of the desert zone until the 9th/15th century, after which time small groups of the Banū Maᶜḳil [*q.v.*] Arabs, who later called themselves Awlād Ḥassān, entered Mauritania. The Moors today are the descendants of earlier intermarriage between these two peoples. Other small groups, Zanāta Berber Ibāḍīs, Jews (who are also identified with the Bāfūr), and people of mixed race in the coastal regions, have long been absorbed. The negroes consist of Toucouleur (75,000), Sarakollé or Soninké (30,000), Wolof (10,000-15,000), Bambara, Peul and certain other groups. These figures are only approximate totals. Intermarriage between Moors and negroes has taken place, but to a lesser extent than that between Tuareg and negroes in the Sahelian lands to the east of Mauritania.

3. *History*.

(a) Prehistory. Mauritania has produced a rich harvest of artefacts and archaeological sites which show that the Western Sahara was not only inhabited since Palaeolithic times but that towards the close of the Neolithic age, between 2,000 and 1,000 BC, the Ẓhar of Tīshīt was very densly populated. It contained at least 250 villages, superbly planned and built, the inhabitants of which were negroid in race, and were perhaps the ancestors of the *ḥrāṭīn* [see ḤARṬĀNĪ] of today. Many of them lived in the upland areas of the Ādrār, Tagānit and the Ḥawḍ. These people were skilled in the making of weapons used in the hunt, in the fabrication of pottery, and far later, around Akjoujt, during the Chalcolithic period, the exploitation of copper, which still exists in abundant deposits. The climate was at that time more humid and wet. Rock engravings in the Sahara depict Sahelian fauna, antelopes, gazelles and warthogs, and scenes of herding, tending and riding cattle. These prehistoric cultures were also found in fishing communities on the Atlantic coast. They bear resemblances to prehistoric cultures in the Maghrib and also to others to the south of the Sahara. There is nothing to suggest that Mauritania was in any way influenced by those leading cultures which attained a high peak in the early civilisation of the Mediterranean region.

Mauritania has suffered from, and its very existence is increasingly threatened by, desiccation. Archaeological discoveries suggest that it was one such period of brutal desiccation that resulted in a southward migration of these pre-historic peoples. In their place came Berber-speaking invaders who made use of copper and iron. They hunted ostriches and gazelles, they rode on horseback and in chariots, and it was they who introduced the camel a little before the Christian era into this part of the Sahara. Related to the Berber Getules of classical times, they have left traces of their nomadic settlement in scattered tombs, in tumuli and in rock engravings of all kinds, depicting them mounted upon horses and armed with spears and shields. It is during this period that the first Libyco-Berber inscriptions were engraved [see LĪBIYĀ. 2]. Every suitable stone face, cave wall or eroded *inselberg*, for example Glayb al-Nimish in the Ḥawḍ, manifests this southward displacement of the sedentary population. This historical process, enforced by climatic change, and made unavoidable by desiccation, is the key to an understanding of the history of Mauritania from earliest times. All the folk tales in Mauritania tell of this happening, the subordination of the negroes of the Bāfūr and of ancient Judaised peoples, by the Berber and the Arabs. However, this very long period has been telescoped in such tales. The kingdom of Ghāna was located in south-eastern Mauritania, Awkār. The world renown which it attained may, in fact, be the apogee of that African culture which had its origins in the Neolithic herders of Tīshīt millennia before.

(b) Ghāna, Takrūr, and the pre-Almoravid Berber Ṣanhādja kingdoms. In the early mediaeval period, Mauritania contained (i) one major pagan kingdom, Ghāna [*q.v.*]; (ii) part of an increasingly Islamised society amongst the Toucouleur (al-Takrūr), along both banks of the Senegal river; and (iii) a series of Ṣanhādja Berber kingships, the most important of which was centred in the town of Awdaghust [see AWDAGHOST], later to fall under the influence of Ghāna. The kingdom of Ghāna was centred in Awkār (the eastern Ḥawḍ), and especially near to Kūmbī Ṣāliḥ [see KUNBI ṢĀLIḤ], to the south of Tinbadgha (Timbédra). Ghāna remained a rich, gold exporting pagan kingdom throughout this period, although it contained a Muslim quarter and was much frequented by Muslim merchants. The most comprehensive account of life in Ghāna is to be found in al-Bakrī, who described it at the beginning of the Almoravid movement (see N. Levtzion and J.H.C. Hopkins, *Corpus of early sources for West African history*, London 1981, 79 ff., and Levtzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, London 1973, 183-7). The first Muslim king of Takrūr (most of whose realms lay south of Mauritania, although the kingdom had footholds in and launched raids deep into Mauritania) was Wār-Dyabe (or War-Ndyay) who died in 432/1040-1 (cf. al-Bakrī, in Levtzion and Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 77). Islam had entered the river region prior to this date. The saint Abū Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Takrūrī lived during the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-ᶜAzīz b. al-Muᶜizz (365-86/975-96), and died and was buried in Cairo (see al-Maḳrīzī, cited in Levtzion and Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 352, 428). His father ᶜAbd Allāh was buried in the Fāṭimid town of al-Bahnasā in Middle Egypt, which was later, if not then, linked by desert routes, known to the *Murābiṭūn*, to the Western Sahara region. His *ḳubba* is a central building in its *djabbāna*.

This chronology is important since it gives credence to the tradition that the Ṣanhādja *Mulaththamūn* [see LITHĀM], in the north and east of Mauritania, were converted to Islam at an early date. They were called the "confederation" of the "muffled Anbiya" and they comprised the Gudāla/Djudāla [see GUDĀLA], who were principally centred in the Río de Oro and in south-west Mauritania, the Massūfa who lived between the Drā (Darᶜa) in southern Morocco, the Ḥawḍ and the salt mine at Taghāzā, and the Lamtūna [*q.v.*], who occupied the Kākudam desert from the Ādrār northwards towards the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrā'.

They seem to have also ruled parts of Tagānit and, for a time, the town of Awdaghust (Ghaṣt). Lewicki (*Les origines de l'Islam dans les tribus berbères du Sahara occidental*, in *SI*, xxxii [1970], 203-14) argues that this islamisation and part-Arabisation was principally the achievement of the Arab governor ᶜUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb and his son Ismāᶜīl, between 735-6 and 739-40 A.D. Strategic wells were dug, Arab-organised expeditions launched as far south as the Senegal river and regular commerce with Awdaghust and Ghāna was established, especially from Ṣufrī Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*]. The Berber or Arab-Berber kingdoms of Tīlūtān (Tayalūthān, d. 222/837) and his successors of Tin Yarūtān (Ḳays b. Yarwātiḳ, etc., *ca.* 350/961) of Awdaghust, and, even more so, of Tārashni (d. *ca.* 414/1023), father-in-law of Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm, one of the alleged founders of the Almoravid movement, were all nominally Muslim, the last of them militantly so. The Arab accounts describe these chiefs as enjoying greater pomp than they were probably ever entitled to, adjacent to regal Ghāna. Nevertheless, they probably were the most noteworthy and richest of the chiefs of early mediaeval Mauritania (see Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, Oxford 1968, 56-66).

(c) The Almoravid movement and post-Almoravid Mauritania. The movement of the "men of the *ribāṭ*", the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], became established in the Río de Oro and in parts of Mauritania by missionaries who were adepts of the saint Wadjādj b. Zalw, who had previously established a *ribāṭ* at Aglū in the Sūs of Morocco, not far from present-day Tīznīt and Ifnī (see F. Meier, *Almoraviden und Marabute*, in *WI*, xxi, 80-163). However, the raids of the Saharans who joined the movement were primarily launched from within against Morocco itself, so that Mauritania never became its major centre. Only Azuggī, the capital of the southern wing, under Abū Bakr b. ᶜUmar and his successors, was considered worthy of mention by such geographers as al-Idrīsī and Ibn Saᶜīd al-Maghribī. The Almoravids are important in Mauritanian history for the following reasons: (i) the legacy left by ᶜAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, founder of the Mauritanian *daᶜwa*, and his followers, the deep-rootedness of Mālikī *fiḳh* and the tradition of al-Ḳayrawān, Ibn Yāsīn's *fatāwā* which laid down rules for the administration of Ṣanhadja society and the first establishment of urban communities, Aratnannā (see Norris, *New evidence on the life of ᶜAbdullāh. b. Yāsīn and the origins of the Almoravid movement*, in *Jnal. of African History*, xii [1971], 255-68), and M. Brett, *Islam and trade in the Bilād al-Sūdān, tenth-eleventh century AD*, in *ibid.*, xxiv [1983], 437-440). (ii) The authority and tribal cohesion which was established by the Lamtūna [*q.v.*], which became the leading tribe in the Western Sahara for several centuries. Under Yaḥyā b. ᶜUmar, Abū Bakr b. ᶜUmar and, above all, Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, Mauritanians, for once in their history, produced leaders of international renown who changed world history. The most important of these for the future of Mauritania was Abū Bakr b. ᶜUmar, who until 480/1087 and after his split with Yūsuf, ruled Mauritania from Azuggī. He reputedly died in Tagānit fighting negro infidels. Latest research suggests that accounts of the conquest of Ghāna by him, or by one of the Almoravid leaders, in 1076, cannot be substantiated from the evidence (see H.J. Fisher, *Early Arabic sources and the Almoravid conquest of Ghana*, in *JAH*, xxiii [1982], 549-60). (iii) The appointment of the *Imām* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Murādī al-Ḥaḍramī as the *ḳāḍī* of Azzugī. He is mentioned by al-Tādīlī, Ibn Bashkuwāl and al-Maḳḳarī (see P.F. de Moraes Farias, *The Almoravids: some questions concerning the character of the movement during its period of closest contact with the Western Sudan*, in *BIFAN*, xxix, ser. B, nos. 3-4 [1967], 851-7). According to al-Maḳḳarī (*Azhār al-riyāḍ fī akhbār ᶜIyāḍ*, Cairo 1942, iii, 161), "This al-Murādī was the first to introduce the dogma and the doctrines of the faith to the furthest Maghrib. He resided at Aghmāt. When Abū Bakr betook himself to the Sahara, he brought him with him and he appointed him to administer the *sharīᶜa* law. He died in Arkār (Azzugī) in the desert of the Maghrib in 489/1096". Some Mauritanians claim descent from him. (iv) Other Almoravid legacies amongst the Moors include the *geste* of Abū Bakr b. ᶜĀmir (ᶜUmar); the décor and the domestic architecture of Walāta and Tīshīt; commerce with the Maghrib and al-Andalus; and a lineal claim to the ancient Yemenites among the Mauritanian Zwāya.

(d) The entry of the Banū Maᶜḳil [*q.v.*] into the Western Sahara and their domination of Mauritania. The decline of the Almoravids in the Saharan regions which they had ruled and the geographical extent of the rule of the kingdom of Mali beyond Walāta is undocumented. The *ḳaṣīda* of Shaykh Muḥammad Mbārak al-Lamtūnī states that the tribe became divided into four groups which appear to denote its existing principal divisions, the Īd ag Bāmbara, the Īdačfagha, the Īd Abyān and the Itmaddak, who include the Ahl Imbāy and the Ahl Āritnīn (who may have once been associated with the settlement of Ibn Yāsīn called Aratnannā). All these clans claim descent from Abū Bakr b. ᶜUmar and Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn. Elements of the Lamtūna resided at Tadamakkat in Mali and are reported as far east as Agadez in Niger. In the north of Mauritania, the Lamtūna formed part of the Ibdūkalen confederation of Ṣanhādja tribes at the time of the first Maᶜḳil incursions, whilst the Massūfa were desert guides (*takshīfs*). They controlled the salt mine at Taghāza and were a literate element in Walāta and elsewhere in the Ādrār. Other groups entered Mauritania from Berber districts of southern Morocco. These included the ancestors of the Tashumsha Zwāya, for example, Muḥunḍ Amghar (see Norris, *Znāga Islam during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in *BSOAS*, xxxii [1969], 496-8). These Berber groups seem to have absorbed the last remnants of the Almoravids, including the "maverick" Gudāla. Other tribes, for example the Kunta [*q.v.*], who were later to dominate large areas of the Algerian and Malian Sahara, seem to have arisen out of the Tādjākant in the 9th/15th century (see T. Whitcomb, *New evidence on the origins of the Kunta. I and II*, in *BSOAS*, xxxvii [1975], 103-23, 404-17). The Arab Maᶜḳil, of Yemenite stock, left Egypt and reached southern Morocco in the first half of the 7th/13th century. They entered the service of the Marīnids [*q.v.*], who used them as tax collectors in the areas they claimed beyond the Atlas. Driven by drought, by punitive measures taken against them on account of insubordination, by the prospect of plunder from Saharan commerce, or as mercenaries, they moved south into the Sahara. They called themselves Awlād (Dhawī) Ḥassān, which is the name still employed by all branches which descend from them. In the 9th/15th century, the Awlād Nāṣir reduced to vassalage (allegedly aided by the Kunta) the Ṣanhādja of Zammūr and Idjdjil (Djabal Ḥassān); other Ḥassānis of the area of Wādān and Tagānit in the 10th/16th century, and the *gebla* in the Ḥawḍ were conquered in the 11th/17th century. The prominent tribes which took part in this movement, which drew to it numbers of originally Berber client tribes,

included the Awlād Rizg, the Awlād Mubārak, the Brākna, the Trārza and the Awlād Yaḥya b. ʿUthmān. Other tribes of importance which occupied areas beyond Mauritania's existing frontiers in the Western Sahara included the Awlād Dalīm, the Barābīsh and the Raḥāmina (see Norris, *The Arab conquest of the Western Sahara*, London 1986, 17-35; J.C. Baroja, *Estudios Saharianos*, Madrid 1953, 425-38; idem, *El Grupo de Cabilas "Hasania" des Sahara occidental*, in *Estudios Magrebíes, Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, Madrid 1957, 111-21; Johannes Leo, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, London 1600, repr. Amsterdam and New York 1969, 16-17).

(e) The War of Shurbubba and the amīrates of the Awlad Ḥassān. Until recently, it was believed that the so-called "War of Shurbubba" (named after a Zanāga war cry, though the form *wakʿat Ashrābība* is found in the text of the Walāta chronicle), which allegedly lasted from 1055/1645 to 1085/1675, was the important watershed in Mauritanian history. The class divisions which became a marked feature throughout Western Saharan society, it is said, came into being following the triumph of the Arab "Ḥassān" in this war. Since such classes characterise Saharan and Sahelian societies far beyond Mauritania's borders, it is clear that such was not the case. One reason for the notoriety of this "war", or rather, series of tribal engagements, was the fact that two of Mauritania's leading historians of the 12th/18th century, Muḥammad al-Yadālī and his pupil Wālid b. Khālunā, had familial reasons for giving a particular emphasis to the war, and it featured prominently in their literary works. Outside the *gebla* its importance was given far less prominence.

A number of factors led to this war taking place in the *gebla*: (i) the expansion of the negroes, more especially the Peul to the north of the Senegal river, and the impact which this had on the Tashumsha and Ḥassānī commercial and trading posts on the banks of the river; (ii) the growing tribal rivalries between the Awlād Ḥassān and Zenāga-speaking groups; (iii) the ill-treatment of the latter by the former; (iv) and Islamic revival amongst Zenāga speakers and in the commercial towns of the Ādrār. This revival was encouraged through a greater number of religious texts, of all kinds, in Arabic, entering Mauritania from Morocco or from the Middle East. Outside stimulus and European hostility combined and brought about an Islamic movement which reflected Ṣūfism and the growth of the *ṭuruḳ*, Mahdism and a "neo-Almoravid" patriotism, exemplified by the cult of the Imām al-Ḥaḍramī amongst the Shamāsīd in the Ādrār. This led to rifts locally between tribal groups and individual scholars (cf. Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh and B. Saison, *Vie(s) et mort(s) de Al-Imam Al-Hadrami. Autour de la prosperité saharienne du mouvement almoravide (11e-17e siècles)*, in *Nouvelles études mauritaniennes*, i/2 [1984], 55-104); and (v) especially in the *gebla*, the charismatic personality of Awbik b. Ačfagha Abḥanḍ b. Yaʿḳūb b. Awbik al-Daymānī al-Lamtūnī, known as Nāṣir al-Dīn.

During his brief life, and the lives of his successors, a *djihād* was launched in order to subdue the nominally Muslim rulers of the negro states to the north and to the south of the Senegal river and to curb the power and to impose Muslim observances on the Awlād Ḥassān. After the defeat and death of Nāṣir al-Dīn at Tin-Yifḍāḍ in 1674, this movement lost its momentum and the *gebla* was reduced to vassalage to the Awlād Ḥassān. Only in Tagānit did the Ṣanhadja Īdaw ʿĪsh, led by their chief, Muḥammad Shayn, attain a total independence from the continuing encroachments of the Awlad Ḥassān towards the end of the 18th century. In the 19th century, the Īdaw ʿĪsh expanded into the Ādrār and they maintained their independence until the French occupation. They claimed a direct descent from the Almoravids; nevertheless, they forsook the Zenāga language and they assumed all the princely titles, the Arab status and the courtly bardic traditions of the Ḥassānī *amīrs*. The "War of Shurbubba" was only an important episode amongst many in the continuous process of Arabisation of Mauritanian society. As part of this social and linguistic process, the social and political situation of the tribes became stabilised. Small chiefly states were formed. The dynasty of the Awlād Aḥmad b. Dāmān ruled amongst the Trārza with noteworthy kings, such as ʿAlī Shanẓūra (1703-27). Aided militarily by the Moroccan sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, he delivered his tribe from the rule of the Brākna. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb (1827-60) shouldered the burden of Moorish resistance when it was first threatened by permanent European penetration and domination. Amongst the Brākna, the *amīrs* of the Awlād ʿAbd Allāh played a predominant role during the age following the "War of Shurbubba" and their authority, at times, extended from Tagānit to the Atlantic. Their power declined in the 19th century, excluding the noteworthy reign of Ahmaddu I (1818-41). They were reduced into submission and to a subordinate status by the French. In the Ādrār, the Awlād Yaḥyā b. ʿUthmān produced several famous princes: the strong-minded Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (1871-91), who sought to revive trans-Saharan commerce, and Aḥmad b. Sīdī Aḥmad (1891-9). Nevertheless, the greatest Mauritanian princely ruler of the 19th century was Bakkār b. Swayd Aḥmad of the Īdaw ʿĪsh of Tagānit, who was a descendant of Muḥammad Shayn. In view of the threats to the authority of these Ḥassānī princes within their tribal society and from without, whether from negro rulers to the south or from European encroachment along the coast or from the river, or from the officialdom of the sultans of Morocco, it was their achievement to have preserved a Mauritanian identity during two to three centuries and to have been the protectors and patrons of Mauritania's most famous scholars and men of letters.

(f) European rivalries on the coast of Mauritania. During the first half of the 15th century, the Portuguese explored the Mauritanian coast and made their first landings there. In 1434 Gil Eanes reached Cape Bojador; and between 1442 and 1445, at the instigation of Henry the Navigator, expeditions commanded by Gonzalvez and Lanzarote discovered Naar, Tīdra and Arguin. The town of Wādān in the Ādrār was a focus of attention on account of its trading connections with Tīshīt and with the Sūdān interior. It received special mention in the descriptions of Ca da Mosto (1455-7) and, yet more so, in the writings of Valentim Fernandes in the 16th century, who for the fist time reports the salt mine at Idjdjil in the north of the Ādrār. In 1448 the Portuguese established a permanent settlement on Arguin island. This lay in a key geographical situation for their African activities (cf. Th. Monod, *L'Ile d'Arguin (Mauritanie), essai historique*, Instituto de Investigacaô Cientifica Tropical, Centro de Estudos do Cartografia Antiga, Lisbon 1983). It was from Arguin that the Portuguese endeavoured to extend their power into the interior, and especially into the Ādrār, with the final aim of commanding, or cutting, the major caravan routes between the Sūdān and Morocco. Their factories were principally, though not exclusively, sited on the coast,

and the trade which took place between them and the merchants of the Awlād Ḥassān entailed the exchange of woven cotton garments, silver, coral and cornelian for slaves, gold, oryx skins, gum arabic, civet and ostrich eggs.

The Portuguese enjoyed the profit of the Arguin trade for two centuries; then it passed to the Spaniards. From Arguin, European activity spread to Portendick in the *gebla* (Marsā D̲j̲arīda). In 1626 the French established themselves at the mouth of the Senegal River. In 1638 the Dutch, as a prize in their war with Spain, took Arguin. Twenty-seven years later they lost it to the English. For a century Arguin and Portendick remained a bone of contention between the three powers. In the meantime, France consolidated her commercial position at the mouth of the Senegal river. The Treaty of Versailles (3 September 1783) recognised French sovereignty over the Atlantic coast between the river and Cap Blanc, which was regarded by the Sultan of Morocco as the southernmost limit of his domain at that time, (cf. the letter sent by Muḥammad I b. ʿAbd Allāh to the Governor of Gibraltar in 1178/1765, in J.F.P. Hopkins, *Letters from Barbary 1576-1774*, Oxford 1982, 87, 88).

For a time during the 19th century, the British challenged French control and influence. However, in 1817, three years after treaty of Paris, France took formal possession of the territory, by which time both Arguin and Portendick had lost their importance, although the British retained the right to trade in the latter until 1857. European rivalries enabled the princes of the Trārza to prolong their independence.

(g) The French occupation. In 1854, with the appointment of Louis Faidherbe as governor of Senegal and the establishment at St. Louis of a "Bureau des affaires extérieures", a more vigorous French policy was pursued towards the *gebla*. After four years, Walo, on the Senegalese bank of the river, was subdued and the Moors who were established there were driven out. The *amīrs* of the Trārza and the Brākna were made to sign a treaty which acknowledged that France had a right of suzerainty over the peoples near the river and that the right to trade in freedom was guaranteed. However, as C.C. Stewart has remarked, "The actual implementation of French policy in Mauritania in the early nineteenth century was misdirected, owing to the assumption that Brakna and Trarza constituted amirates, each led by a powerful and absolute ruler. In fact, ... the so-called 'amirs' had neither authority nor power inherent to their positions. Their influence, rather, depended upon their personality, patronage, social position, and the composition of the *jamāʿa* within the dominant Hassani tribe or tribes in the region" (*Islam and social order in Mauritania*, Oxford 1973, 93). For nearly fifty years these treaties were respected, and this allowed the French to make commercial agreements as far as Tagānit and the Ādrār. By the end of the century, however, the situation in the *gebla* had gravely deteriorated, to the point that commerce was seriously threatened on both banks of the Senegal river. A conquest of Mauritania, despite the formidable logistic problems this entailed, became imperative. Attempts to use the influence of the marabouts was only partially successful. M. Coppolani, Commissaire-Général of the government since 1902, backed by military force, achieved the occupation of the Trārza in 1903, the Brākna in 1904 and Tagānit in 1905. The pacification of the north of Mauritania was to follow in 1913, though only after Coppolani himself had been assassinated in 1905 and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Māʾ al-ʿAynayn [*q.v.*] had been defeated.

(h) The Islamic Republic of Mauritania. The French protectorate over the territory of the Moors of French West Africa was created in 1903. On 17 October 1904 it was transformed by decree into a civil territory, placed under control of a Commissaire of the Gouvernement-Général de A.O.F. The decree of 4 December 1920 transformed Mauritania (Mūrītāniyā) into a French colony. Up to the eve of the World War II, Mauritania was regarded as a territory principally administered through "chefs de grande tente". The prime task of the French administrators was to ensure that government at the level of these chiefs was carried out peacefully and at minimum cost.

Following reforms which were introduced immediately after the war, Mauritania was made a part of the French Republic in the same manner and with the same status as the seven other territories which formed part of the Fédération de l'Afrique Occidentale Française. Ten years later, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania was proclaimed on 28 November 1958. It became a member state of the Communauté, endowed with internal independence. There was to be a progressive transfer of the services which then existed at Saint-Louis, Senegal, to the new capital, Nouakchott (Anwāks̲h̲ūṭ). A National Assembly was elected on 17 February 1959 through direct and secret single voting universal suffrage. On 23 June 1959 the National Assembly unanimously agreed to the investiture of Moktar Ould Daddah (al-Muk̲h̲tār wuld Dāddāh) as Prime Minister. After the signature in Paris on 19 October 1960 of the agreement dealing with the transfer of jurisdictions, the independence of Mauritania was proclaimed on 28 November 1960. On 20 May 1961 the National Assembly adopted a new constitution of the presidential type. In June of the following year, agreements signed in Paris defined the future of French and Mauritanian co-operation. On 20 August 1961, Moktar Ould Daddah, sole National Union candidate, was elected by universal suffrage to be the first President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

It was the aim of Moktar Ould Daddah to see his country as the bridge between the Arab world and Afrique Noire or as a *trait d'union* between the Mag̲h̲rib and the *bilād al-Sūdān*. Ironically, it was the partition of another *trait d'union*, the former Spanish Sahara, which was to lead to the fall of his Presidency and, together with the disastrous consequences of the Sahelian droughts, to question the viability of the original goals of the state and even the viability of the state itself.

On 7 August 1966, Moktar Ould Daddah was elected President of the Republic for a further five years. In September 1969 he attended the Islamic Summit in Rabat and met King Ḥasan II. This marked a change in Moroccan policy towards his country, the independence of which had never been acknowledged. The resumption of diplomatic relations took place in June 1970. The following year, Moktar Ould Daddah was re-elected as President of the Republic. On 4 December 1973 Mauritania became a member of the Arab League. Between 1975 and 1978, the occupation by Mauritania of the southern part of the partitioned Spanish Sahara (Río de Oro) had as its consequence a skilfully planned and effected series of raids and frightening attacks by the Polisario Front, which sought self-determination for the territories formerly Spanish. These disrupted Mauritania's export of iron ore and even reached the outskirts of the capital. On 10th July 1978 a military *coup d'état* took place. The government of President Moktar Ould Daddah was replaced by a Comité

Militaire de Redressement National directed by Colonel Ould Salek. Mauritania subsequently withdrew from the Western Sahara conflict.

4. *Ethnography and social groups.*

The people of Mauritania are divided into Arab-Berber *Bīḍān* or Moors, and the *Sūdān*, the negro minorities. The country takes a pride in being a *hamzat al-waṣl*, a cultural bridge link so to speak between the Maghrib countries and the peoples of former Takrūr and, far later, French West Africa, fulfilling a role in the west of Africa comparable to that of the Sūdān Republic in the east. But Mauritania differs markedly from the Sūdān in one important respect, namely that its entire population, of whatever ethnic origins, is Muslim by religion. There is no religious minority group. The people were once subdivided into clear-out cut social classes, some of which may have originated for ethnic or historical reasons. In this respect of class, the Moors have similarities to the Tuareg and, to some extent, to the Tubu. In broadest terms the Moors may be categorised into three descending social tiers: "warrior", "cleric"; and "tributary" or "plebeian". By tradition, it was believed that this has come about due to one traumatic historical event, the "War of Shurbubba". However, this is to oversimplify and to telescope a complex and evolving historical process. Nor, as Captain A.C. De Laiglesia has shown, does the above accepted and simplified class structure furnish an accurate or meaningful description of a people whose social overlap is within the unit of the tribe (*ḳabīla*), its subdivisions (*fakhdh*) and protected clients (*tiyyāb*, *laḥma*, etc.).

Supreme amongst the "free" (*aḥrār*) are the *ʿArab*. This term denotes the aristocracy of the Awlād Ḥassān, and it also indicates the chiefs of the Īdaw ʿĪsh, who are allegedly descended from the Lamtūna "veiled Arabs", ʿArab al-Niḳāb. This claim to Arabhood by the Īdaw ʿĪsh is acknowledged in the opening verses of the *rasm* of the *iggīw* poet Saddūm, composed in the mid-18th century:

"The prince of the Arabs of Tinzilāt, Gīr, Irāṭ, Inyizrig and Tashmāṭ, and of great renown.

Chief of the Anbāṭ (sc. Ṣanhādja), of the chiefs of the Īdaw ʿĪsh, the leader in whom inherited, deeply rooted, noble chieftainship lies!"

In another sense, all who claim to be Ḥassān are ʿArab, likewise those who speak Ḥassāniyya. It is this wider sense of "Arab" that had inspired the Mauritanian poet Muḥammad Fāl wuld ʿAynīna to compose his often-cited couplet:

"We are the Banū Ḥasan (Ḥassān), the purity and eloquence of our tongue proves that we are descended from the ancient Arabs (*al-ʿArab al-ʿarbāʾ*).

If no self-evident signs clearly prove that we are Arabs, then in our tongue there is a clear and unequivocal proof that we are so".

In former times, the camp (*maḥṣar*) of an ʿArab *amīr* became a veritable village with fifty tents or more, and indeed assumed the status or reached the size of a town if the camp was a *ḥalla* of a chief. Within it were located tents and quarters for scholars, artisans, minstrels, *ḥrāṭīn* and slaves (see P. Dubié, *La vie matérielle des Maures*, in Mems. IFAN, no. 33 [Dakar 1953], 110-252).

The Ḥassān, Banū/Awlād Ḥassān, were principally warriors, fighting men who were subject to an ʿArab *amīr*. However, their title lacks the latter's status and honour; furthermore the name had, at times, a certain pejorative sense. Occasionally it denoted "irreligious", "unruly" and "collectors of protection money (*ghafara* or *ḥurma*)" from the conquered. Marriage is always within the clan, and usually within the joint family. All Ḥassān claim descent from Ḥassān b. Maʿḳil in the line of descent given on p. 617.

The second major division in Mauritanian society is that of the maraboutic class, the Zwāya, whose eponyms are frequently Berber and occasionally merge with Moroccan or with Almoravid tribes or saints. They enjoyed, and enjoy, a wide reputation for knowledge of Classical Arabic, Islamic studies, the ability to perform religious duties and to teach, more especially the Ḳurʾān. In some localities the Zwāya established peripatetic "universities" (*maḥāḍir*) where the students whom they taught (*talāmīdh*) continued their herding and their studies (see *al-Wasīṭ*, 478, 517-21). The term Zwāya comes from Arabic *zawāyā*, pl. of *zāwiya*, indicating a fixed centre for Ṣūfī teaching and practice. In Mauritania, it may ultimately hark back to the notion of the Almoravid *ribāṭ*, although devoid of the militant sense of the latter. The Zwāya are divided into two broad categories, *Zwāyat al-Shams* (Zwāya "of the sun") were independent religious groups of a high religious reputation, e.g. the Lamtūna of the *gebla*. They were self-reliant and were sufficiently powerful to need no protection and had no need to pay protection money. It is out of such groups, e.g. the Awlād Abiyāri, that modern Mauritania has been supplied with leading political figures, outstanding scholars, men of law and teachers, not only from the nomadic groups but also from the Zwāya who were settled in the country's caravan towns and whose non-academic activities were principally commercial. *Zwāyat al-Ẓill* (Zwāya "of the shade"), indicated tribes which were in need of defence and protection, although they were not of the status of tributaries (the Awlād Daymān were in this category, needing Ḥassānī protection, prior to the movement of Nāṣir al-Dīn and the "War of Shurbubba"). Linked to the Zwāya were the *Tiyyāb*, warrior Ḥassānīs, who had "repented" and, having foresaken their arms, had taken to study and to a religious life as their divine calling. Considered separate from the bulk of the Zwāya, although fulfilling much of their role in religion, in study and in trade, are those tribes which claimed to be *Shorfa* (*Shurafāʾ*). They allege descent from the family of the Prophet. Some of them founded the Adrār towns and also controlled Tīshīt and Walāta. Others are from the family of Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn or are related by marriage to the *Shurafāʾ* of Morocco.

The tributaries, the Znāga or Laḥma, were tribute-paying members of tribes that were either Ḥassān or Zwāya. None of them could claim any blood kinship to the eponym of the tribe. Their activities involved herding and menial tasks in the camp, and occasionally, agriculture. They were and are predominantly *biḍān*, and their name indicates that their ancestors were of Ṣanhādja Berber stock. There are a number of categories of Znāga, some of lower status than others. A few, like the Idayshilli, once carried weapons and paid no tribute. Others, like the Tayzigga of the Ādrār, cultivated dates and may once have been makers of the Lamṭī shields. Znāga have intermarried with negroes.

The coloured tributaries, the *ḥrāṭīn*, are, legally, manumitted slaves and their descendants. They are sedentary and live in separate tribal groups and unprotected by their former master. They are usually landless negroid folk who work as share croppers in the plantations of landlords who furnish the land and the water and who receive half of the crop which is produced. The status of the *ḥrāṭīn*, though "free", is so low that little distinction could be made between them and those legally slaves, *ʿabīd*, some of whom

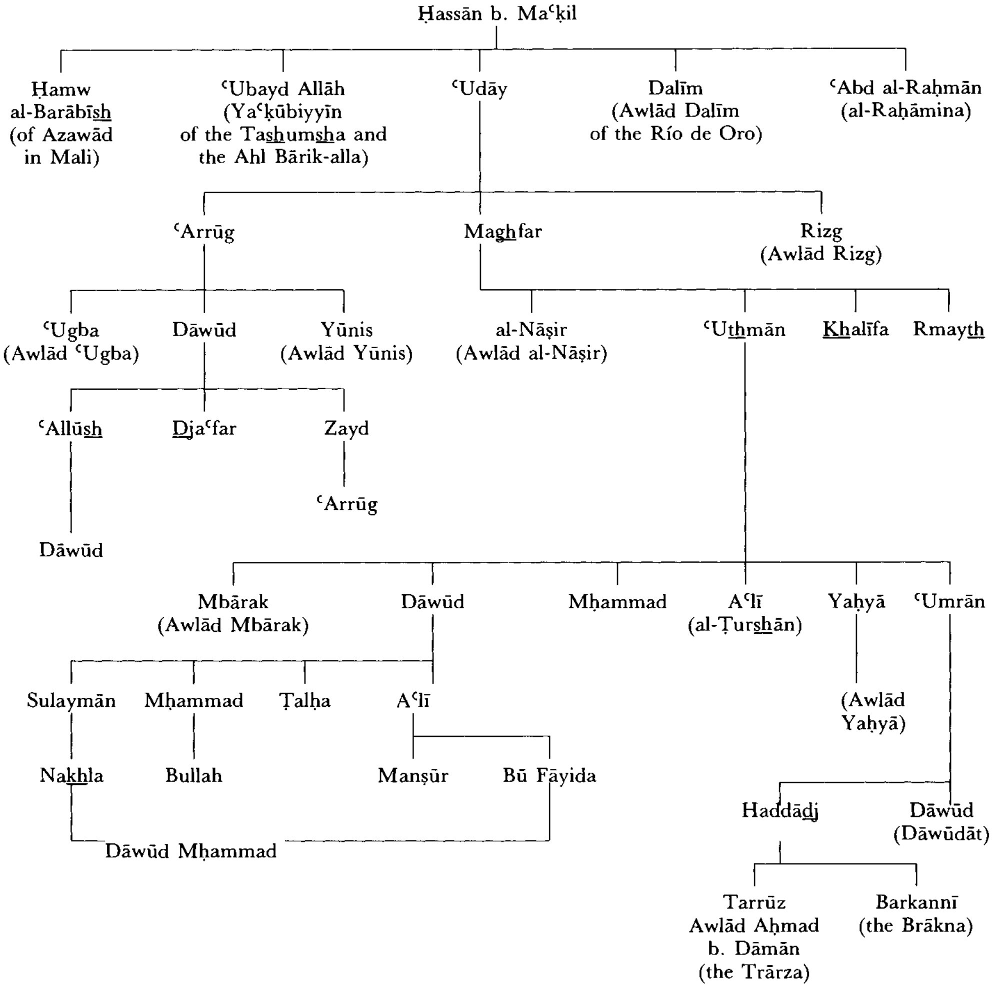

(Based on the lineage *Shadjara ʿāmma li-dhurriyyat Ḥassān*, in *Kitāb al-Takmila* by Muḥammad Fāl b. Bābah al-ʿAlawī (1265-1349/1849-1930), edited by Professor Aḥmad wuld al-Ḥasan, published by al-Muʾassasa al-Waṭaniyya li 'l-Tardjama wa 'l-Taḥḳīḳ wa 'l-Dirāsāt, Bayt al-Ḥikma, Tunis 1986).

were better treated amongst the Zwāya than the former by the Awlād Ḥassān, who paid little heed to the *sharʿ*. Slaves were the frequent cause for raiding in past centuries, together with other riches of the African peoples to the south of Mauritania, especially Walo, Futa and Gajaga. Le Brasseur indicated in 1778 that in Gajaga, Moorish commerce with the Sarakollé and the Malinké supplied more than 3,000 slaves per year. The Moors exchanged horses for slaves at the rate of ten to eighteen slaves per horse.

The lack of any meaningful distinction between *ḥarṭānī* and *ʿabd* in terms of personal freedom or in social status, has led to the establishment of a social "liberation" movement throughout Mauritania amongst the *ḥrāṭīn* called *al-ḥurr*. They have been aided by anti-slavery movements from abroad, pressure from within the Mauritania government itself and made more necessary by the destitute state of the drought refugees amongst all classes of Mauritania society. All of these have brought attention to bear on the injustices and inequalities, almost beyond belief, which traditional Moorish society was prepared to tolerate, even though such abuses very frequently flouted or disregarded Muslim law, and, indeed, were not infrequently attacked by enlightened members of the Zwāya.

There were other despised and degraded clases in Mauritanian society. However, their well-being was frequently ensured by their own efforts or by their indispensable services in society. Among such were the artisans, the *mʿallamīn* or *ṣunnāʿ*, who as makers of weapons, tools and implements received fixed payments for the objects they made or repaired, in the form of meat, live animals or cereals. The smiths were held to be descended from Jews (especially from King David) or negroes.

The author of *al-Wasīṭ* (359-60) makes the observation that the tribe of the Liḥrākāt, noted for their skill in Ḥassāniyya verse, claimed to be descended from smiths (*mʿallamīn*) and were regarded as men of low status on account of this. He points out that such a view was peculiar to the people in the Western Sahara. He found it bizarre, illogical and reprehensible. His suggestion that it arose in Zwāya circles due to a lampoon by Djarīr on al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*] wherein the former accused the latter of being the grandson of a blacksmith, cannot be accepted as likely in view of the low status of smiths in almost all Saharan societies.

The Nmādi hunters in the Ḥawḍ, aided by their dogs, still survive in very small numbers. More numerous are the fisherfolk, the *Imwragen*, on the Atlantic coast, extending northwards into the Río de Oro, a primitive people who seem to be descendants of very ancient races of the Western Saharan littoral. Very different are the often decried, yet individually admired and feared, *Iggāwen*, the bards, men and women, whose verse and song, praise and satire, were an indispensable adjunct to the country life of the princes of the Awlād Ḥassān. They play an important part in the Mauritanian media and many of them have become extremely wealthy and influential. Hated in particular by the puritanical Zwāya, in far earlier days, like their negro counterparts to the south, they once sustained in battle the ardour of the warriors with their heroic and rigorous airs played on the *tīdīnīt* guitar in the warlike mode of *fāghū*.

5. *Economic activity*.

Traditional Mauritanian economic activity over past centuries, and up to quite recent times, was centred around trans-Saharan caravan commerce in salt, slaves, and dates, in gum-arabic trafficking, pastoral nomadism, cattle-breeding and the sale of skins. Millet and rice cultivation, in plots and small farms, is especially characteristic of the region along the northern bank of the Senegal river, whereas date tree cultivation and date harvesting takes place in the large Ādrār and Tagānit palm groves. There is some fishing along the Atlantic seaboard. Hunting of gazelles, guinea fowl and bustards also once played a part in desert life. In the days of the Almoravids and in the remoter areas of the desert after them, the famous Lamṭī (oryx) shields were fabricated [see LAMṬ]. They were dearly prized and fetched a high price in al-Andalus and the Middle East.

Endemic drought conditions, tribal and social upheavals and the impact of the modern age have now totally altered most of these past activities. Prospecting for copper, for oil, iron ore, gypsum, phosphates and uranium, and the exploration of fishing resources, are now the essential economic activities of Mauritania, in as far as foreign revenue is concerned, the mining sector alone accounting for 50% of all receipts and 80% of return payments. Even so, the dominance of this sector has been subject to variation, reflecting world demand. The copper mines at Akjoujt, which were closed in May 1978, following the collapse in the world price of copper, have now been reopened and are currently exploited by SAMIN (La Société Arabe des Mines de l'Inchiri).

The iron-ore deposits at Zouerate still face an uncertain future. Started by MIFERMA in 1952, they were seen as the great white hope for the new state. Times and circumstances changed. The war in the Western Sahara directly threatened the railway line, 670 km. in length, which brought the ore to the port of Nwadhibou (Anwādhību). Today, the dwindling deposits are now worked by SNIM, a mixed society in which a number of states are associated, including Mauritania, France, the Islamic Bank of Iraq, Morocco and Kuwait. The deposits are all but exhausted. The new project of "Guelbs El Rhein" envisages the development of new deposits, some 25 km. from Zouerate, and this will take place when the Zouerate mines close at the end of the 1980s. To finance the new exploration and exploitation, the 500 million dollars needed have been supplied by Arab states (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Abu Dhabi and Iraq), and by Japan, France and the World Bank. When fully exploited, the "Guelbs project" will enable the costly railway line to stay open and it will help to maintain jobs for 6000 employees.

Fishing is the growing major economic activity, second only to mining and seeming to overtake it. Mauritania has some 800 km. of coastline and has one of the richest fishing grounds in the world, with an annual catch of 600,000 tons, one of a great variety of fish. But the operation of making the industry successful and competitive has yet to be achieved, more especially as these coasts have been exposed to pirate fishing vessels. Mixed national and foreign commercial societies have been formed to exploit the catch, but the full potential of fishing for Mauritania's economy is still a matter for the future until such time as the country has a patrol boat fleet with the capability to control, ameliorate and supervise its sea catch. Very few Mauritanians are engaged in fishing activities.

The Sahel droughts have hit Mauritania badly. Rainless years have destroyed its livestock and ruined much of its agriculture. The survival of the state depends on the success of the regional plan, which involves Mali and Senegal as well, to develop and to make the maximum of the Senegal river. On the 10th December, 1979, the then President of Mauritania, Colonel Ḥaydallāh, visited Saint-Louis, at the mouth of the river, and there he laid the first stone of the Diama barrage, in the presence of Presidents Senghor of Senegal and Moussa Traore of Mali. Work has now begun and already some irrigated land has been cultivated and crops planted. When completed, there will be two barrages. The Diama barrage will hold back 500 million cubic metres of water; the second barrage will be at Manartali, 1000 km. further up the river. The plan envisages two large river ports, Saint-Louis and Kayes, ten landing stages and around 500,000 hectares of irrigated land, although only a part of this will be in Mauritania itself.

This grand design is to prevent saline water returning upstream during the drop in water level in the dry season and, in general, to maintain the water level at one that is most desirable and most productive for cultivation. The regulation and the control of the water will take place at Manartali. It will allow Mauritania to double the amount of her rice cultivation and to allow the creation of artificial lakes in the Aftout es Sahel, extending to the south of Nouakchott. The development of fish is also being considered. The aim of the Mauritanian government is that, by 1988, it will cover 40% of its cereal demand, 20% of vegetables, 50% of its milk products and its meat. The ports of Nouakchott and Nwadhibou in 1983 handled 398,000 and 385,000 tons of goods respectively. Exports have doubled in the last five years and now attain the figure of 294 million dollars.

The Mauritanian government plans to attract foreign capital on a co-operative basis. At present the OMVS (L'Organisation de mise en valeur du fleuve Sénégal) is subject to foreign financing. Here again, the Arab states are playing a major role, Saudi Arabia with 150 million dollars, Kuwait with 70 million, Iraq with 40 million, and, from Europe, the European Development Fund with 100 million dollars, the German Federal Republic with 100 million, France with 70 million, Italy with 35 million and the United States, the Agency of which for international development, USAID, brings 85 million dollars. Its purpose is economic research. Other projects which are planned include the promotion of light industries, and iron and steel complex at Nwadhibou, a dairy at Nouakchott and a textile factory at Rosso.

The life of pure nomadism is already at an end. Sedentarisation is the future faced by most Mauritanians, although the influx into the capital has to be curbed. In towns of 5,000 inhabitants or more, seden-

tarisation in 1960 was only 3.5% of the population; in 1977 it rose to 23%; and today has surpassed 40%. Nouakchott in 1960 had 5,000 inhabitants. By 1985 this figure had risen to 500,000 and it is estimated that the total will reach a million by the end of the century.

Agricultural and cattle breeding in the south will almost certainly mean further desertification in the north, apart from the mining regions and the few oases in Ādrār, though these are now in decline. A better future also demands more and improved communications. Mauritania has 7,534 km. of road, two international airports and ten secondary airports. Better water resources are needed. Only 15% of the Mauritanian population has proper drinking water and 30% of the villages have no water at all. Above all, it is the education of the younger generation in Mauritania which will decide its future. Here there is great promise and there is a strong national sentiment. In 1960 some 5% of the population received a school education. By 1984 this figure had risen to 30.6%. The teaching of Arabic to everyone has also made rapid strides.

6. *Languages*.

The predominant language, both written and spoken, in Mauritania is Arabic, both Classical Arabic and Colloquial. The latter is the very individual Bedouin dialect of Ḥassāniyya. It is also the *lingua franca* of the Moors of south-western Morocco, the former Spanish Sahara, much of northern Mali and parts of the Niger Republic. Ḥassāniyya has created its own verse and prosody which is influenced by Classical Arabic, both in form and theme. Such verse was composed as early as the 15th century, since reference is made to this activity by the voyager Marmol and by others. The poetry is of two kinds: (a) popular *zadjal* and *ghazal*, consisting of a *gāf* of two rhyming verses (*a,b,a,b*) and *talʿa*, three verses which rhyme in the pattern *c,c,c,b*. A *talʿa* must be crowned, or tailed, by a *gāf*. (b) *leghna*, sung poetry, which is accompanied by the minstrels and the popular ballad singers (the *Iggāwen*) on the Mauritania guitar (*tīdīnīt*) played by the men, or, by women, on a kind of harp (*ardīn*). *Leghna* is often performed as part of a recital of the art of *azawān*, that is, an ensemble of airs and improvised moods selected for such verses. The *séances* are well attended, and this art form blends negro music and Senegalese and Malian names of modes with other airs classified by colours in Ḥassāniyya and with poetic metres derived from those of Classical Arabic, *khafīf*, *wāfir* and *basīṭ*, though the prevailing metre is a truncated form of *basīṭ*. Ḥassāniyya prosody is based on the aggregate number of open and closed syllables in each verse. In earlier times, even down to the late 18th century, a number of these sung poems were martial odes and panegyrics, occasionally of epic dimensions, known as *kerza*, *rasm*, *thaydina*, *Bū ʿUmrān*, etc. One of the most famous of *rasms* was composed by the singer Saddūm wuld Ndjartu in praise of *amīr* Aḥmad, the uncle of Wuld Bakkār wuld Aʿmar (d. 1761; cf. Norris, *Shinqīṭī folk literature and song*, 79-81), Ḥassāniyya is commonly used in local broadcasting and, in the past, was occasionally used in verse and prose by the lettered. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī was especially famous for his written compositions in Ḥassāniyya.

Zenaga Berber (*aznāg*) is the second language of less than 7,000 speakers in the *gebla*, especially in the Trārza to the south of Nouakchott. It is close to Moroccan Chleuh and it incorporates the pre-Ḥassānī language of the Almoravid Sahara (where the Libyco-Berber alphabet, akin to Tuareg *tifinagh*, was engraved on rocks and epitaphs, for example in the cemeteries at Tinīgī) and extensive borrowings from Ḥassāniyya. Many toponyms and names of plants are Zenaga. A little verse has survived.

Azayr or Azer, once spoken in Wādān and Tīshīt, was a form of Soninké, and was a language of Old Ghāna. It is now all but extinct (see Ch. Monteil, *La langue Azer*, Publications du Comité d'Études historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, série B, no. 5, 1939, 213-41). The negro population along the Senegal river speak Pulaar Sarakollé and Wolof; some opposition to Arabic is still expressed by these people. (For an overall assessment, see C. Cheikh, *Aperçus sur la situation socio-linguistique en Mauritanie*, in *Introduction à la Mauritanie*, Paris 1979, 167-73.)

7. *Religious and Intellectual Life*.

(a) The *ṭuruḳ* in Mauritanian Islam.

The Islamisation of Mauritania is sometimes held to be a direct result of the Almoravid movement. However, there is little evidence to suggest that either an early penetration of Ibāḍism from Sidjilmāsa or from within Awdaghust, or even the Almoravid movement itself, other than its strict Mālikism (see Stewart, *Islam and social order in Mauritania*, 67-77, and Mourad Teffahi, *Traité de successions musulmanes d'après le rite malékite*, Études Mauritaniennes, no. 1, Centre IFAN, St.-Louis 1948) has left any particularly permanent and deep mark on the Mauritanians as a whole. The Awlād Ḥassān arrived in the country long after the Almoravid movement, nor is it certain that those Zwāya tribes, such as the Lamtūna and the Tashumsha, who, without a doubt, have some blood relationship and spiritual kinship with the historical Almoravids, maintained their sacred and perennial tradition intact from the 5th/11th century, a tradition and a way of life which had not been radically changed during subsequent centuries. The Tuareg *Ineslemen* are remarkably similar to the Zwāya, yet (if one excludes the Kel Ntassar) they do not seem to have been involved, as a class, in the Almoravid movement of history; furthermore, some adoption of Islamic practice before the Almoravids was recorded amongst the Western Ṣanhādja nomads. The Zwāya "Almoravid tradition" is in part a creation of the colonial age, an attempt by the French to woo the Zwāya lettered classes and to promote them at the expense of the troublesome Awlād Ḥassān of the *bilād al-sība*, conveniently ignoring the fact that the warrior Īdaw ʿĪsh of Tagānit openly and unashamedly alleged their blood descent from the fighting aristocracy of Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Lamtūnī and his progeny yet were otherwise barely distinguishable from the other amīrates of the Banū Maʿḳil which had eventually occupied every corner of the *Turāb al-bīḍān*.

The Ṣūfī orders were the principal channel whereby Islam affected and moulded every aspect of Mauritanian life: in the open desert, in the caravan towns, in the villages, of the river bank and within the new towns which were built by the French and, after independence, by the Mauritanians themselves. Only the lowest social classes, where such survive, the Nmādi hunters, the *Imwragen* fisher folk and the ex-slave and servile population, lived, or live, a life where animistic beliefs were dominant or survive in their beliefs, though this does not mean that numerous elements of animism and magic have not markedly influenced the practice of Saharan Islam itself in the past, even amongst the Zwāya, whose charms, medical prescriptions, magic formulae and prophylactics once had many of the characteristics of the Muslim "mixers" amongst all the populations which have lived as neighbours of the negro peoples along

the historical borders between *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* in Africa.

Every Moor was, in theory, affiliated to one or other *ṭarīḳa*, although many of them were barely aware of all the obligations which this imposed upon them. The principal *ṭuruḳ* were and are the following:

1. The Ḳādiriyya (from which are derived the Bakkāʾiyya, Fāḍiliyya/Faḍliyya, ʿAyniyya, etc.). It owes its establishment to the Kunta and the leadership of Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr and his successors.

2. The Tidjāniyya, which entered Mauritania at a later date and to which belong the Īdaw Aʿli and Aghlāl of Tagānit region and the great majority of the negroes of the river region, especially in Fuuta Tooro.

3. The Ḥamawiyya, a recent off-shoot of the Tidjāniyya which spread vigorously amongst the Aghlāl of the Ḥawḍ and amongst certain fractions of the Awlād Billa and the negro population in the region of Nioro (now in Mali).

Two *ṭuruḳ*, regarded by many as heretical to both the Ḳādiriyya and the Shādhiliyya, are:

4. The Ghuẓfiyya which survive principally in Tagānit. The majority come from the Īdaybusāt; they are headed by the descendants of Shaykh al-Ghazwānī and are centred at Bū-Mdeid. The *Ikhwān* are divided between the *Ahl al-Msīd* (Muslim of the mosque) and the *Khshīm* (the provisioners).

5. The Ahl al-Gazra. This is a recent and very little-known sect linked to the first, which has the bulk of its followers in the Ādrār and in Tagānit and its main centre at Awdjaft (Oujeft).

(b) The history of the ṭuruḳ.

The Mauritanian historian Mukhtār b. Ḥāmidun has summarised the history of the rise of these orders in an article which was published in Nouakchott in the newspaper *Mūrītāniyā* in 1380/1960-1: "As for Ṣūfism amongst them, it is upon the path of al-Djunayd, and as for their [doctrinal] prop and their syllabus within it, that is found in the books of al-Ghazālī and al-Suhrawardī and al-Shaʿrānī (d. 1565) and al-Zarrūḳ (1442-93; Brockelmann, II, 253) and their likes. Such books are read but are not studied in the *madrasas*. There the *tilmīdh* only studies the Ṣūfism of Ibn ʿĀshir (d. 1631), from his poem called *Guide to the essentials of religious knowledge* (*al-Murshid al-muʿīn*). They also have locally-written compositions on Ṣūfism which are in common use and of wide benefit and which circulate amongst the common people. These include the works of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Yadālī, Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī and his son Shaykh Sayyid Muḥammad, Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdjī, Shaykh Ibn Muttāliyya al-Tandaghī, Muḥammad Mawlūd b. Aḥmad Fāl al-Yaʿḳūbī and Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn al-Ḳalḳamī, and works by others.

"The bulk of Mauritanians understand Ṣūfism as al-Suyūṭī defined it; the laying bare of the heart before God and the fear of Him, by performing the divine precepts and in forsaking those things which are interdicted. Next, it entails the doing of that which is recommended, forsaking that which is reprehensible, and fulfillment of the purposes of the faith as far as one is able, with endeavour to subdue the self (*djihād al-nafs*), making use of prayers recited in private worship (*awrād*). This is either by taking them from the content of books, such as the prayers (*adhkār*) of Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Nawawī (631-76/1233-77) and *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn* by al-Djazarī (d. 739/1338) or, else, by initiation of one of the *shaykh*s of the *ṭuruḳ*.

"The Shādhiliyya was the most widespread *ṭarīḳa* in the country until Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī appeared and many famous men came into prominence by his help, amongst them Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr and Shaykh al-Ḳāḍī Īdyadjbī and others, and the Ḳādiriyya *ṭarīḳa* spread. Then the Tidjāniyya appeared at the beginning of the 19th century, and many people were drawn to it. The Ḳādiriyya formed two branches, the first being the Kuntiyya ascribed to Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtar al-Kuntī. The history of it, and its chain of initiation (*silsila*), has been commentated upon and exposed by his son Shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad. The second, the Fāḍiliyya, was ascribed to Shaykh Muḥammad Fāḍil al-Ḳalḳamī. The history of it has been commented upon and exposed by his son Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn and by others.

"As for the Tidjāniyya, it formed two branches, the Ḥāfiẓiyya, ascribed to Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿAlawī, and its history has been commented upon and exposed by al-Tidjānī b. Bāba al-ʿAlawī, and by others; and the Ḥamawiyya, ascribed to Shaykh Ḥamallāh (Ḥamahu'llāhu), the *Sharīf* (1883 or 1886-1943).

"As for the Shādhiliyya, it formed two branches, the Ghuẓfiyya and the non-Ghuẓfiyya. The Ghuẓfiyya is ascribed to Shaykh Muḥammad al-Aghẓaf al-Dāwūdī (d. *ca.* 1860) and ultimately to al-Djaʿfarī. A considerable number of people remain unbound by any specific *ṭarīḳa*, and they also sometimes criticise some of the Ṣūfīs."

It will be observed from the above comments of Mukhtār b. Ḥamīdun that he does not deem the Ghuẓfiyya to be a heretical *ṭarīḳa*.

(c) The fight of the *ṭuruḳ* against the French.

The Mauritanian *ṭuruḳ* took an important part both in resisting and in coming to a *modus vivendi* with French colonial policy. The most active Ṣūfī-inspired resistance movements were the Ḥamawiyya and the Mayābiyya (a small *ṭarīḳa* founded by Muḥammad al-Ḳādir wuld Mayāba, who favoured *hidjra* from Mauritania if a *djihād* proved to be impossible), and the resistance of Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn al-Ḳalḳamī [*q.v.*], who was principally based at Ṣmāra in the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ but whose forward bases were in the Mauritanian Ādrār. The hostility to the French, as to other Christians, was of long standing; it arose partly out of fear of European penetration and suppression of Muslim belief and partly out of a positive and aggressive belief in the total infidelity of their European foes. By the turn of the century, the French were convinced that the gum traffic on the Senegal river was threatened and that the Moors also threatened the French territories to the south of that river. Xavier Coppolani saw that some peaceful progress of France's interests might be possible through Shaykh Sīdiyya Bāba in Boutilimit, who was himself convinced that the French would gain the upper hand and that through cooperating with them the Ḳādiriyya might gain and increase its following and influence at the expense of its competitors. Coppolani's occupation of the Trārza and Brākna owed much to Shaykh Sīdiyya's support and cooperation. However, the most significant threat to further expansion came from Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn and Sīdī wuld Mawlāy Zayn, who laid siege to the fort at Tidjikdja (Tijikja) in 1905. During this and other attacks planned by Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, Coppolani was assassinated on 12 May by a *muḳaddam* of the Ghuẓfiyya. The northern resistance in the Ādrār became a veritable *djihād*, with active support coming from the Sultan of Morocco. However, this did not prevent the French from advancing and in 1909 the Ādrār was pacified. Only in the extreme north did Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn continue his resistance until his death in 1910.

The attitude of the French to Islam in Mauritania fluctuated between a general sympathy and a limited backing for certain marabouts amongst the alleged "Berber" Zwāya (a view discernable in the writing of Paul Marty and in some of those who were interpreters and aides of the French administration, for example Ismaël Hamet in his *Chroniques de la Mauritanie Sénégalaise* and other writings), and in an obsession with the threat of a pan-Germanic and pan-Islamic alliance, in which that Machiavellian *éminence grise*, Shaykh Māᵓ al-ᶜAynayn, had a particularly important rôle to play. Over a period, some foreign Arabic papers were banned from internal circulation, the *Zwāya* were closely watched, mail was sometimes censured and Arabic higher education undoubtedly suffered. Differences between the Ḳādiriyya and the Tidjāniyya were exploited wherever possible. In the view of D.C. O'Brien, Islam became "a traditional subject of French paranoia" (*Towards an "Islamic Policy" in French West Africa (1854-1914)*, in *JAH*, viii [1967], 309). Where the French allowed and at times encouraged *madrasas* to be built, it was principally to facilitate tribal control by them and to simplify their constant observation. The encouragement of certain marabouts to visit their flocks in adjacent Afrique Noire was in part shrewd policy, in part cosmetic. It was aimed at impressing a far wider Muslim public. Some of the men of the *ṭuruḳ* vigorously rejected the French, amongst them, Shaykh Ḥamallāh wuld Muḥammad wuld Sayyidnā ᶜUmar of Tīshit (see C. Hames, *Cheikh Hamallah, ou qu'est-ce qu'une confrérie islamique (ṭarīqa)?*, in *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions*, no. 55/1 [1983], 67-83). Repeatedly deported or under surveillance, he died in obscure circumstances in January 1943 and a number of his followers, as well as two of his sons, were executed.

In those years which followed the World War I, the death of Shaykh Māᵓ al-ᶜAynayn and the desecration of his *zāwiya* at Ṣmāra did not mean that his sons retired from the struggle nor that the northerly Moorish tribes of the *bilād al-sība*, the Rgaybāt in particular, refrained from raiding both French and Spaniard alike. Harking back to the Gazūla and to the Lamṭa in the days of the Almoravids (cf. Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, 67) and anticipating the current raids of the Polisario against the sixth Moroccan "wall" in the Western Sahara, the Rgaybāt raided the Ādrār on 26 March 1924. Port Etienne was attacked and Shinḳīṭ threatened. Descendants of Shaykh Māᵓ al-ᶜAynayn, and more especially his son, Shaykh Murabbīh Rabbuh (1886-1942), were the spiritual supporters and indeed sometimes the master-planners and part-executors of these attacks. However, after 1932, in the course of which the French were fiercely attacked in the Trārza near Nouakchott by the Awlād Dalīm, the religious leaders who supported these movements failed to sustain the momentum of the struggle or to maintain any kind of coherent spirit. The sole exception of this was the Ḥamawiyya. New *madrasas* were built by the French, four of them major, at Boutilimit (founded in 1914), Timbedra, Atar and Kiffa. By World War II, the teaching of Arabic and of Ḳurᵓānic studies were generally in a decline. This was in Mauritania itself; outside it, the *shaykh*s of the Mauritanian *ṭuruḳ* had thriving communities and *talāmīdh* in adjacent parts of French West Africa.

With the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in November 1960, Islam was given new encouragement and a fresh spur. The constitution (adopted in 1961) stipulates that the religion of Islam is the religion of the Mauritanian people, whatever their ethnic origin may be. However, the Republic guarantees everyone liberty of conscience and the right to practise his or her religion under the conditions laid down by morality or public order. Article 10 of the constitution specifically affirms that the President of the Republic and Chief of State must be a Muslim. With Islamic law reinstated, many new mosques built, and strong support afforded for fulfilling the duty of the *ḥadjdj*, the Islamic character of the nation has decisively influenced its foreign policies. On the other hand, while Islam is a force for great national strength and unity, the religion faces grave problems which are in part the outcome of the political problems in the Third World. These include (i) the perennial drought conditions which have disastrously afflicted almost all classes in Mauritanian society; (ii) the demand of the nominally ex-slaves and lower classes for social equality in all respects and a total freedom from the degrading occupations which they have been condemned to practise for centuries; (iii) the appeal of fundamentalism; (iv) the conflict of national interest and Islamic loyalties, and especially Mauritanian and Ṣaḥrāwī nationalism; and (v) the promotion of Arabic outside religious studies, and the competition with French. All these, and many others, are the problems which the Zwāya, and the former Zwāya in particular, are being called upon to face as they enter the country's unknown future.

(d) The place of the Ḳurᵓān in Mauritanian Islam.

The Ḳurᵓān, its study, its memorising and the observance of its teaching, has always been at the heart of Mauritanian Islam. Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gudālī is alleged to have said to Abū ᶜImrān al-Fāsī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Ḳayrawān, when he appealed for a qualified teacher to be sent to instruct them, "If you were desirous of divine recompense by teaching them what is good, you would send one of your disciples or students with me to teach them the Koran and instruct them in religion" (*apud* Ibn Abī Zarᶜ, *Kitāb al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, in Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, 240). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, when he stayed in Walāta, whatever reservations he may have harboured about some of the ethics of its Massūfa people, was prepared to concede that "these are Muslims who observe the prayer and memorise the Koran" (*ibid.*, 285).

Mukhtār b. Ḥāmidun, *op. cit.*, has outlined the history of Ḳurᵓānic recitation and study in more recent times:

"As for the rendition of the Ḳurᵓān amongst them, it is by the manner of the reading (*ḥarf*) of Nāfiᶜ. The *riwāya* of Warsh is more widespread amongst them than the *riwāya* of Ḳālūn, save amongst the *mudjawwidūn* amongst them, where both the *riwāya*s are on a par. If it be said that the proportion of those who know the Ḳurᵓān in the Zwāya social class attains 70%, this would not seem far-fetched on account of the intensity of their concern for the Ḳurᵓān, likewise the proportion of the *mudjawwidūn* amongst the reciters. A company of them, beyond reckoning, from the *imām*s amongst the reciters, have attained a renown in the recitation of Nāfiᶜ, or in the seven or the ten readings, men who were skilled in Ḳurᵓānic *tadjwīd*, in mastering it and in writing it down and in its transmission by a continuous chain of *idjāza*. Amongst such men were al-Fagha ᶜAbd Allāh al-Daymānī, Sayyid ᶜAbd Allāh al-Tanwādjīwī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdjī, al-Ṭālib ᶜAbd Allāh al-Djakanī, Sayyid al-Mukhtār Idabhumī, Lamrābiṭ ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Turkuzī, and others.

Beginning at the time he can talk properly and speak clearly, a boy begins to memorise the Ḳurᵓān.

Then he writes it and the recites it correctly according to the rules laid down. The most renowed of the texts which they use is the poem *al-Durar al-lawāmi*ᶜ by ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. Barrī (d. 730/1339; see Brockelmann, II, 248), the ode of al-S̲h̲aws̲h̲āwī, the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn al-D̲j̲azarī and the ode of al-S̲h̲āṭibī (d. 590/1194 [see *EI*¹ s.v.]). All of these have been commented upon by a number of people and have been imitated by others, in works in verse or in prose, lengthy or concise, in Arabic or in Ḥassāniyya. Every Ḳurʾānic *id̲j̲āza* in Mauritania is traced back to ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāḍī. However, they disagree over the pronunciation of some of the letters, such as the softened *hamza*. Amonst them are some who pronounce it as a pure *hāʾ*. As for the *d̲j̲īm*, there are some who pronounce it hard, approaching the sound of the *dāl*, whilst others pronounce the *d̲j̲īm* in an open and free manner approaching the sound of the *zāy*. In ancient times they used to pronounce it in the latter manner, and they did so until the beginning to the 12th/18th century. The first of them who recited with the hardened *d̲j̲īm* was Sayyid ᶜAbd Allāh al-Tanwād̲j̲īwī (d. 1145/1732-3). He adopted it from Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥabīb, the 'pole' (*ḳuṭb*) of Sid̲j̲ilmāsa. On account of that, the people used to call it 'the *d̲j̲īm* of Tanwād̲j̲īw', and the other one 'the *d̲j̲īm* of Massūma', because the *ᶜulamāʾ* of the Massūma and the Tad̲j̲akānt supported it. Ibn Sayyid al-Amīn al-D̲j̲akanī put pen to paper amongst them in his refutation of Sayyid ᶜAbd Allāh. Amongst those who also supported the free and openly-pronounced *d̲j̲īm* at that time was the *faḳīh* Min Naḥna al-Daymānī. In regard to this he said, amongst his verses:

> A tribe, whose habitation was the Ḥid̲j̲āz, have corrupted the *d̲j̲īm*.
> They are a rabble from amongst the negroes.

The openly-pronounced *d̲j̲īm* was favoured by Muḥammad al-Yadālī al-Daymānī and by others. Then those who recited with the hardened *d̲j̲īm* increased in number during the last two centuries. One of them said, in regard to it:

> We recited the Book of God with the *d̲j̲īm* first of all, but the substitution of one *d̲j̲īm* for another is preferable to continuous dissension and debate between us.

Wars with the pen have continued up to the present day. All the participants agree that the '*d̲j̲īm* of Tanwād̲j̲īw' is hard and that 'the *d̲j̲īm* of Massūma' is both open and depressed, and that both *d̲j̲īm*s are voiced. The dispute is now only about the degree of hardness of 'the *d̲j̲īm* of Tanwād̲j̲iw' and the openness and the depression of 'the *d̲j̲īm* of Massūma'. In a similar way, they differ in regard to the pronunciation of the *ẓāʾ* and the *ḥāʾ*."

(e) Arabic and Islamic scholarship in Mauritania.

(i) *In the* gebla. The dune and gum forest country of south-west Mauritania, the *gebla* (Trārza and Brākna and, by extension, parts of Gorgol), throughout Mauritania's history has been an important tribal meeting point, attracting the influx of groups from the Saharan regions to the north, drawn towards the coast by trade, to the river Senegal and its fertile pastures and to the salt mines in the region of Awlīl. The Arabic and Islamic studies of the Moorish and non-Moorish scholars of the *gebla* have been influenced by the following factors: the survival of the Zenaga language and the use of it in religious works by Zwāya scholars, contact with Europeans at an early date in Arguin island and at trading points along the Senegal river, intercourse between scholars along a different axis from that in the north, between the Ādrār and Timbuctoo, via Tagānit and al-Ḥawḍ, and the growth of Ḥassāniyya in the art form of *azawān* amongst the Ḥassānī princes of the *gebla* at the same time as this was taking place in Tagānit region.

Scholarship was very strong amongst such tribes as the Awlād Daymān and the Tandag̲h̲a. Four scholars and poets from the former tribe, where Zenaga is still spoken and written in Arabic script, have been especially studied and selected. They are: S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Saᶜīd b. al-Muk̲h̲tār al-Yadālī (1096-1166/1684-1752), the author of a number of important historical works about the history and life of the southern Zwāya, prior to, and following the "War of S̲h̲urbubba", of works of *tafsīr* and *sīra*, and of Arabic grammar (al-Yadālī was nicknamed al-Naḥwī and, according to Muk̲h̲tār b. Ḥāmidun, "Muḥammad Sāᶜīd al-Yadālī was the first who brought Arabic grammar to the *gebla*"), and he practised the extensive use and even abuse of *badī*ᶜ in his verse. He was the leading figure amongst a group of such poets, including Bū Fumwayn, Alumma al-ᶜArbī and al-Dīb al-Ḥasanī. Al-Yadālī's pupil Wālid b. K̲h̲ālunā (Wālid b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, d. between 1212/1798 and 1214/1799-1800), was also important for a commentary on K̲h̲alīl and for his studies of the Zwāya Imāmate of Nāṣir al-Dīn, though especially of the hagiographical archives of the Awlād Daymān and their genealogies. His two great religious poems in Zenaga and Arabic, *al-Makzūz* and *al-Mazrūfa*, are his most original compositions and are probably unique survivors in all Mauritanian literature (on both al-Yadālī and Wālid, see Norris, *Shinqīṭī folk literature*, Oxford 1968, 123-54; idem, *Znāga Islam during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in *BSOAS*, xxxii [1969], 496-526; and idem, *The Arab conquest of the Western Sahara*, London 1986, 61-3). The Arabic works studied in the *gebla* and catalogued in *al-Makzūz* are listed in Appendix 1 of Norris, *Ṣanhāja scholars of Mauritania*, in Willis, ed., *Studies in West African Islamic history*, i, London 1979, 158-9. The life and poetry of al-Yadālī may be read in *al-Wasīṭ*, 223-36. Another outstanding scholar of K̲h̲alīl and grammarian of the Awlād Daymān was Maḥanḍ Bāba b. ᶜUbayd (1185-1277/1771-1860), (see *al-Wasīṭ*, 236-8, and M.M. Ould Bah, *La littérature juridique et l'évolution du mālikisme en Mauritanie*, Tunis 1982, 47).

The fourth scholar, Muḥammad wuld Ahmad Yūra, whose book of Zenaga toponyms of the Trārza, *Kitāb Ik̲h̲bār al-ak̲h̲bār*, was published and translated by René Basset in his *Mission au Sénégal*, i, Paris 1909, 561-91, was born in 1260/1844-5 and died in 1340/1921-2. It is, however, as a poet that he is best remembered, since no Mauritanian poet is more spontaneous or closer to the heart of the people. In his poems, sometimes quatrains or short love verses, he expressed the emotions of the people of the *gebla* or described their nomadic existence, their tea ceremonies, their riddles and their sandy habitat. An individual poet who often broke free from classical restraints, he was equally at home in classical form and in popular verse which owed much to Ḥassāniyya *leg̲h̲na*. According to Mohamd El Moktār Ould Bah, "in his classical work, he was the poet who was the closest to the environment in which he lived. His poems are short, strewn with Ḥassāniyya and Aznāga (Zenaga) words, and they are embellished with adages and proverbs. The tone of these poems is sometimes sad and touching, sometimes cheerful and witty. His style is easily recognisable" (*Arabica*, xviii [1971], 45). An equally marked individuality may be observed in the writings of Awfā b. Abū Bakr al-Īdad̲j̲fag̲h̲ī (1217-1300/1802-83), who was a student of the scholar

Muḥammad Fāl b. Muttāliyya al-Tandag͟hī, (*al-Wasīṭ*, 343-5). Awfā was skilled in Mauritanian medicine and surgery. He wrote in Ḥassāniyya, and also wrote lengthy works in Classical Arabic on the science of medicine, *Ummahāt al-ṭibb*, *Ḳawāʿid al-ṭibb*, *al-Mad͟jmūʿa* (on the treatment of bones), a treatise on the reciprocal rights of doctor and patient in medical treatment, and his *urd͟jūza* of 1,182 verses on medicine called *al-ʿUmda* (Norris, *Mauritanian medicine*, in *The Maghreb Review*, ix/5-6 [1989], 119-27, and *al-Wasīṭ*, 575-8).

It was at Būtīlīmīt (Boutilimit) that Mauritanian scholarship in the *gebla* attained one of its glories in the shape of the example, the life and teaching of S͟hayk͟h Sīdiyya al-Kabīr and his successors, and through the foundation of its *al-Maʿhad al-Islāmī*, which was to become one of the most famous Islamic centres of learning in the whole of West Africa, drawing students from Senegal, Mali, Niger and beyond, as well as from within Mauritania itself. It is interesting that the Awlād Abiyāri (from which came not only S͟hayk͟h Sīdiyya al-Kabīr, and his grandson S͟hayk͟h Sīdiyya Bābā, but also ex-President al-Moktar ould Daddah) were originally a tribe of the ʿArab, "warrior", caste but became Zwāya "of the sun" (*Zwāyat al-S͟hams*). Of special importance were the studies which S͟hayk͟h Sīdiyya al-Kabīr (1190-1284/1773-1868) made in Ḳādiriyya Ṣūfism with S͟hayk͟h Sīdī 'l-Muk͟htār al-Kuntī (1142-1226/1729-30 to 1811) in Azawād, thus linking the scholarship of the *gebla* with that of the eastern marches of Mauritania (Stewart, *op. cit.*, 34-53). But Ṣūfism and *fiḳh* apart, the family of S͟hayk͟h Sīdiyya were also noteworthy poets. They are given an honoured place in *al-Wasīṭ* (240-77). Despite the conservatism of his verse, Mohamd El Moktâr ould Bah (*loc. cit.*, 47), dubs Sīdī Muḥammad b. al-S͟hayk͟h Sīdiyya (1247-86/1832-69) an "independent", and he deems his verse to have been "original in its accent". Likewise a mystic, his poetry was noteworthy even during the lifetime of his father (Stewart, 148-50).

It should be mentioned that there is little influence of the *Sīra Hilāliyya* in folk tales of the Banū Maʿḳil in Mauritania other than a few fragments recorded amongst the Awlād Dalīm. Adventures that are akin to the exploits of Abū Zayd al-Hilālī are not however attributed to him. The Hilālīs are locally described as heathens with supernatural powers. The raids and miracles of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ characterise the Kunta of Mali, who claim descent from him. In Mauritania, amongst the Kunta as well as amongst the S͟hamāsīd and other Zwāya groups, the personality who approaches nearest to that of the hero of a *geste* is Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Lamtūnī, who, accompanied by his Yemenites and by his eventually martyred *ḳāḍī* counsellor the *Imām* al-Ḥaḍramī, breaks the power of the negroes and the infidel monsters of the Ādrār and Tagānit and their armies of ferocious dogs. In the content of the narrative there is much borrowing of stories in the tales of the *Ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*] and from the early Islamic Yemenite cycles of ʿUbayd b. S͟harya al-D͟jurhumī and Wahb b. Munabbih (Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, 126-59).

The Lamtūna survive as an entity in parts of the *gebla*, more especially amongst the Brākna and in Gorgol. Ḳurʾānic studies are attributed to the *Imām* Ibn Makkī al-Lamtūnī. An unusual poet from amongst them was S͟hayk͟h Muḥammad Mbārak al-Lamtūnī, a prolific author and a friend of S͟hayk͟h Sīdiyya al-Kabīr. He claimed to be a descendant of the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn (Norris, *op. cit.*, 110-6). His *ḳaṣīda* of some 115 verses, though much indebted to the *ḳaṣīda al-Ḥimyariyya* by Nas͟hwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī, and principally composed as a riposte to the Kunta who, by tradition, claimed to have subdued the Lamtūna in alliance with the Awlād Ḥassan, nevertheless also contains wisps of folk epic otherwise lost. It is of local interest in view of the statements it makes about relations between the Lamtūna and the Toucouleur of the Senegal basin. It is the latter, in fact, at the battle of Tisrilābāw (Dasrilabā?), under their chief (Lāmṭu?) Bū Suya who ultimately defeated the Lamtūna. They were, it is claimed, betrayed by a Berber client who was in league with the Kunta. The name of the king of Takrūr in the poem, G͟hayūr, would appear to refer to the province of Kajoor, where the founders of the Imamate of Fuuta Tooro received their Islamic schooling, derived from the movement of Nāṣir al-Dīn, principally at Pir Sanakuur, in the 18th century.

(ii) *In Wādān and S͟hinḳīṭ*. Wādān was allegedly founded in 535/1141 according to Mauritanian popular traditions. However, certain of them furnish the later date of 730/1329. The original nucleus of villages at this important point of the Ādrār included Kawlān, Tāmgūna and Tiftil. The indigenous population was in part Ṣanhād͟ja, either Lamtūna or Massūfa, in part non-Ṣanhād͟ja speakers of Azayr, who were possibly descended from an earlier stratum of population, the Bāfūr, and who had historical and cultural links with Tīs͟hīt and Māstina (Ke-Macina) in Mali. Local legend states that when the town was founded it was administered by two scholars, al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUt͟hmān, the eponym of the Īdaw al-Ḥād͟jd͟j, and Ḥād͟jd͟j Yaʿḳūb. They claimed descent from the Ḳurays͟h and Anṣār respectively. The former came with the S͟harīf ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the founder of Tīs͟hīt, from Ag͟hmāt, and like him, it is said, studied with Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ. These scholars were welcomed by the Massūfa Tiftil and Tāmgūna and they built *ḳaṣr* Wādān. At a later date they were joined by al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣāʾim (the ancestor of the Ṣayyām), although these latter now form a branch of the widely-spread Īdaw al-Ḥād͟jd͟j Zwāya. From Morocco came Yaḥyā al-Ag͟hmātī b. Mūsā and al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿAlī. The latter claimed descent from Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar al-Lamtūnī. The Īdaw al-Ḥād͟jd͟j of Assaba and the Western Ḥawḍ (especially the Īdawabad͟j and the Lūtaydāt) claim descent from Abad͟j and Ūtayd, the sons of al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿAlī, who had married the daughter of al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUt͟hmān. What is certain is that the Īdaw al-Ḥād͟jd͟j were to become the leading family of scholars in Wādān, in all their branches, and that it is principally from them that the Īdaw al-Ḥād͟jd͟j scholars of Timbuctoo, and Mali—there forming the Aḳīts—established a major line of scholars and stemmata. Their families were for a while the source of learning in the whole of the eastern part of the Sahara and along the Niger buckle (Norris, *Ṣanhājah scholars of Timbuctoo*, in *BSOAS*, xxx [1967], esp. 638). Very close ties were established between Wadān, Tīs͟hīt, Timbuctoo, the salt deposit at Id͟jd͟jil and Portuguese Arguin in the late mediaeval period. Scholars from S͟hinḳīṭ came to Wādān to study, and its jurists gained a high reputation for the close examination of and commentary upon the *Muk͟htaṣar* of al-K͟halīl.

A sub-fraction of the Ṣayyām, the Ahl Ṭwayr al-D͟janna, takes its name from a noted Wādānī pilgrim al-Ṭālib Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā b. Ṭuwayr al-D͟janna (Ajjanna), the author of *Riḥlat al-munā wa 'l-minna*, wherein he described his journey on pilgrimage to Mecca and his academically fruitful stay as guest of the Sultan of Morocco, and who benefited through his meetings with scholars in Tunis and Egypt. Al-Ṭālib

Aḥmad left Wādān in 1245/1829 and returned to it in 1250/1834. He completed his *Riḥla* in 1253/1838. He landed in Algiers after its capture by the French and he was received in Gibraltar as "tributary king of Chinguetti" by its then governor, General Sir William Houston, on Monday, 12 January 1833. He had brought with him four hundred volumes from the Holy Places (Norris, *The Pilgrimage of Aḥmad*, and Oswald, in *ibid.*, 212-13).

The town of Shinḳīṭ or Chinguetti is the most famous in the Ādrār, probably the most famous ancient town of Mauritania and, by repute, the seventh holiest city in all Islam. The two principal tribes who stem from it, the Īdaw Aʿli and the Aghlāl, descended from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the first caliph Abū Bakr respectively, have produced an outstanding number of scholars who were honoured in the Middle East as pilgrims and teachers and who also rose to high estate in the courts of the Sultans of Morocco. Yet Shinkīṭ (if we exclude its half-mythical predecessor, Abbwayr) is not a specially ancient town. It was founded in the 8th/14th century at the earliest. In the *Tārīkh al-Sūdān* by al-Saʿdī (tr. O. Houdas, Paris 1900, French text, 38, Arabic text, 22), during the reign of the Tuareg sultan Akil, Tinbuctoo was governed by Muḥammad Naḍḍa, a Ṣanhādjī from Shindjīṭ. He had held this post prior to 836/1433, the year which marked the fall of the dynasty of Mali. He died in the middle of the 9th/15th century.

The only history of the town written in Mauritania is the brief *Ṣaḥīḥat al-naḳl fī ʿAlawiyyat Īdaw Aʿli wa-Bakriyyat Muḥammad Ghull*, penned by the outstanding Shinḳīṭī scholar Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥādjdj Ibrāhīm (d. 1233/1878), whose life and works are comprehensively covered by the author of *al-Wasīṭ*, himself from Shinḳīṭ, Aḥmad b. al-Amīn (d. 1331/1913), pp. 37-41. The *Ṣaḥīḥat al-naḳl* furnished the core of the historical information about the town of Shinḳīṭ (424-77).

Shinḳīṭī scholars travelled and taught and settled widely in Mauritania. Mohamd El Moktar ould Bah has remarked (*Arabica*, xvii [1971], 22) that the Īdaw Aʿli transplanted the cultural tradition of Shinḳīṭ, thanks to the arrival in the Trārza of a reputed *ʿālim*, the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd Allāh, who died in 1112/1691-2. His grandson Wuld Rāzga was both an *ʿālim* and a poet. The family tradition has been continued by Ḥurma wuld ʿAbd al-Djalīl (1150-1243/1737-1828), a brilliant disciple of the famous grammarian (of the Tadjakānt), "the crown of the *ʿulamāʾ*", Mukhtar wuld Būna. One knows that it was in the *maḥḍara* of Ḥurma that Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabir (al-Intishayti, see Stewart, *op. cit.*, 10-53) first began his studies.

One of the earliest jurists of Mauritania, the first to compose *nawāzil* [see NĀZILA] on legal and other matters and a vigorous opponent of the *Imām* Nāṣir al-Dīn and his allies who supported the *Imām* al-Majdhūb al-Shamsadī in the Ādrār, wishing to resuscitate the cult of the *Imām* al-Ḥaḍramī, was al-Ṭalīb Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār b. al-Aʿmash al-ʿAlawī al-Shinkīṭī (known as Bilaʿmash) (1036/1626-7 to 1102/1690-1 or 1107/1695-6). These *nawāzil* were a landmark in Mauritanian literature, and the author was a pioneer figure. He earned the praise of the author of *al-Wasīṭ*, who remarks (578) *fa-innahu awwalu man adjāda min ahl tilka 'l-bilād fī taṣnīf al-nawāzil wa-kullu man allafa fīhā yankulu ʿanhu*. These *nawāzil* were later versified by others. Ibn al-Aʿmash also composed a noted ode on mathematics.

Probably the greatest Arabic poet who was born in Shinkīṭ was Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāḍī, known, after his mother, as Ibn Rāzga (d. 1143/1730-1). He was a master of *ʿilm al-badīʿ*. El Moktar ould Bah ranks him first amongst *rhétoriqueurs* and remarks that before him and his generation there were no "poets" in Mauritania but only simply versifiers. He also leads the poets in *al-Wasīṭ* (1-24). He was praised for his verses by Muḥammad al-ʿĀlim, the son of Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. He began his studies in Shinḳīṭ and Wādān, continued them in the *gebla*, and became the principal pupil of the *faḳīh* Min Naḥna Ibn Mawdi Mālik and of his grandfather al-Ḳāḍī. He journeyed far, and on several occasions visited the court of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl and lauded the latter. Muḥammad al-ʿAlīm gave him a library, and supported both him and his companion, the *amīr* of Trārza ʿAlī Shanẓūra b. Haddi, with a contingent of troops (*maḥalla* [*q.v.*]) to ensure the régime of this notable Ḥassānī *amīr* (1139-70/1727-57). Despite his high rank, only a fraction of the works of Ibn Rāzga are well-known. To him are attributed a treatise on logic, an epistle on the application of the *sharīʿa* amongst the Bedouin which foreshadows the later masterpiece by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī on this theme, another treatise on the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and a work on rhetoric entitled *Nuzhat al-maʿānī fī 'l-bayān*. Because of his weaker verses, Ibn Rāzga had many opponents as well as admirers. His lengthy stay in Morocco opened Mauritania to literary and cultural influences from that quarter and did much to stimulate the interest of Mauritanian scholars in ʿAbbāsid and Andalusian verse. The *Dīwān* of Ibn Rāzga has been edited by Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Muḥammad Maḥmūd (*Dar al-Muʿallimīn al-ʿUlyā*, Nouakchott 1980). Ibn Rāzga made a noteworthy address to the *ʿulamāʾ* of Fez.

Shaykh Sīdī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sīdī Aḥmad b. Hāmanni was a scholar, author and teacher and a *ḳāḍī* of the Aghlāl in Shinḳīṭ, who died at the age of eighty in *ca.* 1900. Another noted scholar of the Aghlāl was Aḥmad b. Ṣīdī Muḥammad b. Ḥabbut, who was likewise a *ḳāḍī*. He died in 1892-3 and was also described as an important grammarian. His father wrote a history of the Almoravids in Mauritania called *Kitāb Ansāb al-Maḥalla*.

Most curious of all the town's scholars was the almost legendary Shāṭirī youth, who in the 11th/17th century allegedly appeared in a blaze of light in a Shinḳīṭ date grove. He passed on knowledge and initiated Shinḳīṭī scholars, such as Muḥammad b. al-Aʿmash and the grandfather of Ibn Rāzga, in many branches of learning. This youth allegedly vanished into the Atlantic on a skin rug, having claimed to be a *Sharīf* from Fez. This tale was repeated by the lettered (see *al-Wasīṭ*, 578-9). It would seem to suggest that no knowledge had survived in the town about scholarship prior to the 11th/17th century and that the sources of learning there owed much to the *Shurafāʾ* of Fez who had settled there as they had done elsewhere in the Sahara (e.g. the Adrār-n-Īfōghās in Mali) in the earlier mediaeval period.

(iii) *In Tīshīt and Wālāta*. Tīshīt (Tichit), the most famous and among the most ancient of caravan centres of eastern Tagānit (Tagant), lay on the route joining the Ādrār, the salt mine of Idjdjil and Wādān with Walāta and Mali. Trans-Saharan routes to the north linked it with the Maghrib. Its population consists of indigenous former Azayr-speakers who have kinsmen in Māsina (Ke-Macina) and who are of negroid blood, though of free status; Ṣanhādja *Shurafāʾ* who ultimately claim descent from ʿAlī b. Ṭālib; and Awlād Billa of the Awlād Ḥassān, who exerted a domination of the town, unique in its stone architecture and cultural self-sufficiency, from the end of the 12th/18th century.

A Tīshīt tradition maintains that the founder of the

town was the *Sharīf* ᶜAbd al-Muʾmin b. Ṣāliḥ, who came from Aghmāt in Morocco and who, like the reputed founder of Wādān al-Ḥādjdj ᶜUthmān, was a pupil of the Ḳāḍī Abu ʾl-Faḍl ᶜIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Sabtī (476-544/1083-1149). The date of foundation given in the so-called Tīshīt chronicles, 548/1153-4, cannot be corroborated from any mediaeval Arab geographer. A much later date in the 8th/14th century, currently cited in Mauritania, casts doubts on the foundation of the town in the early middle ages. The *Sharīf* ᶜAbd al-Muʾmin lies buried in the precincts of the principal mosque (see Oswald, *Die Handelsstädte der Westsahara*, 414-59), and according to de Laiglesia (*Brevo Estudio*, 63-4) those who claim descent from him may have come as late as the 12th/18th century.

Tīshīt has always been noted for its scholars and for its family archives, and it receives mention in the writings of the Mauritanian historian Mukhtār b. Ḥāmidun, more especially for contributions made to *fiḳh* and to the study of Arabic grammar. Two scholars contributed some forty additional disputed issues (*masāʾil*), Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad Abūbuddi al-Zaydī al-Tīshītī (1065-1123/1654-1711) and the Sharīf Ḥamallāh "Mbala" (Anbāla) b. Muḥammad al-Muslimī (see Oswald, *op. cit.*, 453-5), who lived early in the 11th/17th century.

Three grammarians are mentioned: *al-faḳīh* Sīdī Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ayyadjil al-Zaydī al-Tīshītī (d. 1117/1705-6, see Oswald, 492, (62)) and his son Sīdī Aḥmad (1110-71/1698 to 1757-8) (see *ibid.*, 497 (110)), and Abū Bakr al-Ṭufayl al-Muslimī, who died in 1116/1704-5 (see *ibid.*, 516-17).

Walāta (Berber Īwalātan, French Oualata), formerly Birū, is the most easterly of Mauritanian towns within the eastern Ḥawḍ (Hodh). It was one of the greatest of Saharan caravan towns, competing with Timbuctoo over the border and with Agades and Ghadāmis. Local tradition dates its first cultural *essor* after the empire of Ghāna fell to the Soussous. Shaykh Ismāᶜīl founded the town, the population of which was predominantly Soninké, and it absorbed elements from the earlier city of Awdaghust. Over a period, the Ṣanhādja Massūfa branch of the Almoravids assumed the role of scholars and merchants, as they were to do in the Saharan towns of Takaddā and Agades further east. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the town in 753/1352, coming from Sidjilmāsa, he was well-received by the Massūfa scholars there. The *ḳāḍī* of Walāta was Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd b. Yanūmar al-Massūfī, whose brother Yaḥyā was a *faḳīh*. The culture, the architecture and the *décor* of its merchants' houses display Islamic influences from as far away as al-Andalus, Fez, Tilimsān, Ghadāmis and Cairo. When Sunnī ᶜAlī occupied Timbuctoo in 1469 and began his harassment of Ṣanhādja scholars. the forebears of Aḥmad Bābā (866-929/1462-1523) and al-Mukhtar al-Naḥawī b. And-Agh-Muhammad, together with ᶜUmar Aḳīt and his sons, fled to Walāta which gained from this influx, despite a threat to its independence from Sunnī ᶜAlī. The main asylum for these scholars may have been the township of Tāzakht, today a ruined suburb of Walāta. This town gave its name and *nisba* to some noted scholars, amongst them Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Muḥammad, known as Ayda Aḥmad al-Tāzakhtī who studied with Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Karīm al-Tilimsānī in Takaddā. Later he became *ḳāḍī* of Katsina in Hausaland and died there in 936/1529-30. The cemetery at Tāzakht contains the tomb, with an epitaph, of the *walī* and *imām* ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUmar b. Muḥammad Aḳīt (Oswald, *op. cit.*, 485 (7)). Other scholars of the Massūfa were buried there and the cemetery has been frequently visited by the devout, despite the destruction of the township of Tāzakht by the Ḥassānī Awlād Yūnis.

In more recent centuries, Walāta became the nucleus of disparate Zwāya and Ḥassānī groups, the early Kunta, including Sīdī Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī (d. *ca.* 921/1515) who is buried there but whose historicity is not confirmed outside Kunta records, the Maḥādjīb (Lemhadjba) *Shurafāʾ* from Baghdād, other *Shurafāʾ* of Walāta who claim to have come from Tuwāt, Aghlāl from Taganit (who may be related to the Aghlāl of Shinḳīṭ), of Timbuctoo, and possibly the Kel Aghlāl *Ineslemen* of the Kel Denneg Tuareg of Niger, the Īdyilba from the Wād Nūn in Morocco and the Tadjakānt. The chronicle of Walāta does not trace the town's history further back than the 10th/16th century.

Walāta was famous for its scholars, many of whom received a mention in the noteworthy biographical dictionary written by Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭālib ᶜAlī al-Bannānī al-Bartīlī al-Walātī, known as al-Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ, who died on 22 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1219/24 March 1805. His book *Fatḥ al-shakūr fī maᶜrifat aᶜyān ᶜulamāʾ al-Takrūr*, written in 1214/1799-1800, has been edited and published by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Kattānī and Muḥammad Ḥadjdjī (Beirut 1981). The chief scholars of Walāta must include Ṭālib ᶜUmar al-Walī b. al-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh al-Mahdjūbī (1004-70/1595-1659) (Oswald, *op. cit.*, 489 (24)), Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. al-Hāshim(i) al-Ghallāwī (d. 1098/1687) *ibid.*, 490 (49)) and the grammarian Anbaway ᶜUmar b. al-Imām Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh who lived in the early 8th/14th century.

(iv) *In Western Tīris* (*Tīris al-Gharbiyya*). This bleak desert region which, in the past, once knew more fertile periods of climate, is located along the southern and eastern border of the former Spanish Sahara and Mauritania. Until Mauritania withdrew from the Western Saharan conflict it formed the greater part of its territory which was allocated to it by the partition. This region enjoyed a reputation for Islamic scholarship and for the presence of small desert "universities" (*maḥāḍir*). Its leading poets and men of letters are highly esteemed as Mauritanians, although for the Ṣaḥrāwīs these outstanding men, together with Shaykh Māʾ al-ᶜAynayn and his successors, represent the national scholarly legacy of the Ṣaḥrāwī people. Both Saharan peoples take a joint pride in their achievement. The Ahl Bārikalla, to whom many of them belonged, were the most powerful subtribe of the Īdayḳub in Tīris. They dug the bulk of its wells and they formed part of that group of Zwāya tribes, many of which were centred in the Mauritanian *gebla*, which were deemed to be branches of the Tashumsha Zwāya. Pastoral activities, more especially camel-breeding, enabled scholars to devote their time to study and to writing.

Representative of this scholarship were:

The Ahl Muḥammad Sālim, who were noted for their expertise in *fiḳh* and whose members acted as judges and jurists in all parts of the Western Sahara. Some of this family claim descent from Ibrāhīm al-Umawī, *ḳāḍī* of the army of the Almoravid Abū Bakr b. ᶜUmar.

The neo-Djāhilī poets of the late 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries who were expert in the *Muᶜallaḳāt*, the verse of Dhu ʾl-Rumma and the *dīwāns* of the six pre-Islamic poets. Several of these came from the Īdayḳūbī tribe. The most famous of them was probably Muḥammad wuld Ṭulba al-Yaᶜḳūbī (*al-*

Wasīṭ, 94-190), the so-called "al-Nābigha of Shinkīṭ", who was praised by Wuld Haddār as the "pole of the Zwāya of Tīris and its *Imām*" (*kuṭb Zawāyā Tīris wa-Imāmuhu*). Muḥammad wuld Ṭulba lived from 1188/1774 to 1272/1856, and his verse embraced eulogy, elegy, love, poetry and tribal boasting (*fakhr*); he even modelled his own life on that of the traditional *nasīb* and *ḳaṣīda* of the pre-Islamic poets, claiming to equal the exploits and achievements of Ḥumayd b. Thawr al-Hilālī, Aʿshā Bakr b. Wāʾil and al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār al-Ghaṭafānī. Yet he deeply loved his native Tīris and he filled his verses, otherwise hardly distinguishable from Djāhilī models, with its toponyms and allusions to tribal history and species of Saharan flora and fauna.

Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī b. al-Bukhārī b. Ḥabīb Allāh b. Bārikalla b. Bā Zayd (d. *ca.* 1282/1865), buried at Ayg in Tīris, was one of the greatest of polymaths of Mauritania, and indeed of the entire Western Sahara (Norris, *Shinqīṭī folk literature and song*, 92-101). He was also noted for his hospitality to his guests, who visited him both in winter and in summer. To him are attributed numerous *dīwāns* of verse on Islamic topics ranging from Ḳurʾānic studies, *fiḳh*, mathematics, the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], theology, logic, grammar and elocution. Much of this poetry is in Ḥassāniyya. In his verse, especially in prayers for rain and praise of the Prophet, this dialect was elevated to the level of a literary and a national language and his versatility in it has never been equalled since. However, many hold his masterpiece to be his *Kitāb al-Bādiya*, the "Book of the Bedouin and their customary law and lore". This comprises some 100 folios and also bears the title of "Dogs' wool" (*Ṣūf al-kilāb*), following the saying "he who shears a dog is in need of its wool". It is also called *Kitāb al-Talmiyāt* in view of the innumerable times the conjunction *lammā* (since) appears in the text. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī was one of the first to seek for guidance outside the standard Mālikī texts in Mauritania in order to resolve pressing legal problems which needed a solution. Although paying hommage to the *Imām al-Ḥaramayn* Abu 'l-Maʿālī ʿAbd al-Malik al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*] in this work, his catholic taste and enquiring mind reveal the wide distribution of Middle Eastern manuals and books in the Western Sahara by the middle of the last century. Much of his book is taken up with a discussion of the function of the mosque amongst the nomads in the *bilād al-sība*, the nature of the call to prayer and the duty of *ṣalāt al-djumʿa*. He also deals with *ḥubus* and the need for some forms of usury, loans of animals, especially camels, the legality or otherwise of types of *zakāt* (*zakāt al-ḥubus*, *zakāt māl Aznāga*, etc.), the apportioning of shares, the legality of the non-inheritance of daughters, the practice of discreet mediation and the flattering of the Awlād Ḥassān by the Zwāya *shaykh*s (*al-mudārāt*) and its permissibility, citing as one of the authorities Ibn al-Aʿmash that it was the *sabīl Allāh*, the propriety of ear piercing as practised by the Saharan women, the harmlessness of certain games of chance, smoking and the use of tobacco, the property called *mustaghriḳ al-dhimma*, illegal measures of weight and reprehensible relationship between the sexes, together with the non-wearing of the *ḥidjāb* by Moorish women. In Mauritania, this book is regarded by some as controversial, but it would have to be included amongst the most significant works of law Moorish society has ever produced.

Mention might also be made of Limdjaydrī b. Ḥabīb Allāh al-Yaʿḳūbī (*al-Wasīṭ*, 214-16) who is regarded by some as one of the four who were unsurpassed in their erudition, sc. Ibn Rāzga, Ibn al-Ḥādjdj Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad al-Yadālī and himself, although the author of *al-Wasīṭ* is of the opinion that al-Mukhtār b. Būna al-Djakānī was a worthier candidate. Limdjaydarī was deeply attached to Tīris and longed for it when he visited the East, including Egypt. Amongst his pupils was the Ṣūfī Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsī.

(v) *The learning and scholarship of Moorish women.* Mauritanian women, like their Tuareg sisters, have played an important rôle in Saharan society, though in their own case their literacy in Arabic and their profound grasp of Islamic belief, including Ṣūfism, have made them teachers, governesses and administrators and so enabled them to play a significant part in the shaping of Mauritanian history. In the 5th/11th and the 6th/12th centuries the Ṣanhādja, more especially the Lamtūna, women took an active part in Almoravid politics. They also fought as equals beside their menfolk. When the Almohads attacked Marrakech in 541/1147, they fought fiercely until noon on the day when it was captured and the attackers only secured its citadel after Fānnū, the daughter of the Almoravid ʿUmar b. Yīntān, had been overcome. She had fought, clad as a man, and the Almohads marvelled at the ferocity of her fighting up to the moment of her death.

When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Walāta he was shocked to observe what he regarded as the lack of modesty of the unveiled Ṣanhādja women. He upbraided his friend Abū Muḥammad Yandakān al-Massūfī when he saw the latter's wife entertaining a "companion" in the courtyard of his house. Abū Muḥammad replied, "The association of women with men is agreeable to us and a part of good conduct, to which no suspicion attaches. They are not like the women of your country" (Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, 285-6).

Mauritanian traditions recount that at Tīnīgi in the Ādrār, an important settlement around the 8th/14th century of the Lamtūna Tadjakānt, the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] was taught in the *maḥḍar* to pupils who included 300 girls, and that amongst the Midlish (a Zwāya tribe, the name of which is an abbreviated form of *madjlis al-ʿilm*), the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnun [*q.v.*] was likewise studied. The Zwāya tradition of girls' education would seem to date back to a period prior to the settlement of the Awlād Ḥassān, amongst whom concern for female education was by no means unknown. Moorish girls were taught from a syllabus which included the Ḳurʾān, the *Sīra* of the Prophet, selected passages of *fiḳh* and Classical Arabic poetry and grammar. The girls began their studies towards the end of the Ḳurʾān with the shorter Meccan *sūras* and especially those in the last *ḥizb*. As studies progressed, so the early *sūras* were memorised, a process called *silka*. The full recitation of the Ḳurʾān in chapter sequence is termed *ʿalla*. The study of *Sīra* was based upon the following works: *Ḳurrat al-abṣār*, attributed to a scholar named al-Lamṭī; *al-Ghazawāt*; and poems and commentaries attributed to Aḥmad al-Badawī al-Madjlisī (*al-Wasīṭ*, 350-1). In *fiḳh*, the syllabus included the commentary by ʿAlī al-Sidjilmāsī (d. 1057/1647) on *al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-ʿibādāt* by Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sayyidī al-Akhḍarī [*q.v.*] and on the writings of Ibn ʿĀshir and on the *Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd. Arabic poetry was less often studied by young women, and the poets were carefully selected. Girls were normally taught by a woman teacher who maintained attention and discipline with the help of a long and flexible stick of *titārek* (*leptadenia spartum*) or *mrekba* (*panicum turgidum*). The education of

women amongst the Zwāya was aimed at the maintaining of high ethical standards amongst the marabout class, and at the same time to supply teachers for the tents of the Awlād Ḥassān. Aḥmad wuld ʿAyda (d. 1932) the last *amīr* of the Ādrār, was taught the Ḳurʾān by Fāṭima bint ʿAbd al-Wadūd of the Ahl Ḥādjdj. The following women scholars are amongst the most noted in Mauritania: Taslām bint ʿAmr al-Īdyaydjbiyya, who lived during the 12th/18th century and who was the wife of the scholar Muttāliyya b. Sīdī al-Fāl (*al-Wasīṭ*, 343), and Khadīdja bint Muḥammad al-ʿĀḳil al-Īdabhumiyya, an authoress and commentator on the *Ṣughrā* of al-Sanūsī called *Umm al-barāhīn* and on works of logic. Her noted pupils included her younger brother Aḥmad al-Daymārī (d. 1234/1826-7), to whom she taught the esoteric sciences, the scholar Mukhtār b. Būna (*al-Wasīṭ*, 277-8), al-Māmi ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, the first al-Māmi of Fuuta Tooro (1141-1221/1728-9 to 1806); Maryam bint al-Amīn, a noted poet of the Īdashughra branch of the Īdablaḥsan, who composed an ode in honour of Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr (1773-1868); ʿĀʾisha bint Sayyid al-Mukhtār b. Sayyid al-Amīn, the wife of Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī, to whom were attributed miracles, pious deeds, frequent recitation of Ṣūfī prayers and constant support of her husband's many activities. The Shaykh's son Sīdī Muḥammad, the author of the biography of his father *Kitāb al-Ṭarāʾif wa 'l-talāʾid* [see KUNTA], had originally planned a short biography of her, hence his allusion to the miracles of both *shaykhs* in his full title (*karāmāt al-Shaykhayn*). This was never completed. Those few references to her many virtues early in his book, where he outlines his plan, form a fitting tribute to his ideal of Mauritanian Muslim womanhood.

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AL-**MŪRIYĀNĪ**, ABŪ AYYŪB SULAYMĀN B. MAKHLAD (the *nisba* stemming from Mūriyān in Ahwāz, see Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Beirut, v, 221), secretary of the second ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

Various stories are given in the sources about how he came to enjoy al-Manṣūr's confidence: that in the time of the last Umayyad caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad he had saved the ʿAbbāsid Abū Djaʿfar from a flogging for embezzling state funds (al-Yaʿḳūbī, al-Djahshiyārī); that he was a freed slave of al-Saffāḥ's, taken into his successor's service (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā); and that he had been a secretary in ʿIrāḳ under Hishām's governor Yūsuf b. ʿUmar who later sought the favour of the ʿAbbāsids (al-Balādhurī). The second of these at least seems improbable.

At all events, Abū Ayyūb secured an influence under al-Manṣūr over the finances of the empire, displaying considerable unscrupulousness and placing members of his own family in lucrative positions where possible, being involved in the condemnations of Abū Muslim and Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.vv.*] and acting as the caliph's private secretary for some 15 years until al-Manṣūr became aware of his peculations and lost confidence in him. He imprisoned him in 153/770, confiscated his wealth and executed his relatives; Abū Ayyūb himself died in jail the following year.

It is unclear whether Abū Ayyūb was ever designated officially as *wazīr*, as al-Djahshiyārī and later sources name him; the earliest sources simply describe him as a *kātib*; he may have been known informally as vizier without ever being granted the title officially.

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MURRA, BANŪ, an Arab tribal term.

The Arab genealogical works record the name Murra in the genealogies of many tribes, but apparently the name does not always denote functioning tribal groups. In the Ḳuraysh, e.g., Murra is merely a link in the genealogical chain, and not the name of a clan (see Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1962, 14 ff.). It is also difficult to determine whether a given (ancient) Murra was a tribe, a clan or a lineage. As effective tribal groups may be considered the following (among others): (1) the B. Murra b. ʿUbayd, of the Tamīm confederacy. In the 2nd/8th century, they lived in Kūfa (Ibn Ḥazm, 217; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Cairo 1932, v, 517). (2) The B. Murra b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, clan of the poet ʿAbd Allāh b. Hammām [*q.v.*] (al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, Riyāḍ 1980, 135; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḳalāʾid al-djumān*, Cairo 1963, 115). There seems to be a confusion regarding the genealogy of this poet (see *Madjallat al-ʿArab*, i (1966-7), 37, 48, 1154); however, these B. Murra were better known by their mother's name, Salūl (Ibn Ḥazm, 281, 482; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Beirut 1986, 379-80). Today in Arabia there is a clan called Murra b. Salūl b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, which forms a part of the great confederacy of ʿUtayba (M.S.Ḥ. Kamāl, in *Madjallat al-ʿArab*, iii (1968-9), 819). (3) The B. Murra of the tribe of Djudhām, who lived in Palestine in al-Ḳalḳashandī's days (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries) (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḳalāʾid*, 68, and see also 57; al-Ḳuṭb, *Ansāb al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1969, 175). (4) The B. Murra of the tribe of Djuhayna, who lived in the Ḥidjāz (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat djazīrat al-ʿarab*, Leiden 1884, 180). (5) The B. Murra of Kinda, who had a *masdjid* to themselves in Kūfa (al-Ḳuṭb, 177). (6) The B. Murra of the tribe of Aws; they seem to have been a lineage, since they are said to have occupied one of Medina's "fortresses" (*āṭām*) (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1959, 418; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1955, ii, 330; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ii, 728). (7) The B. Murra of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Ḳays. One of the families of this group, the ʿUyūnids, ruled al-Aḥsāʾ (Baḥrayn) from the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th centuries (Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUḳayl, in *Madjallat al-ʿarab*, xvii [1982-3], 501; art. BAḤRAYN). (8) Several groups called Murra were included in the Shaybān, a branch of the Bakr b. Wāʾil confederacy, whose homeland was basically in ʿIrāḳ. The most important of these groups seems to have been the B. Murra b. Hammām. Some of them held important positions as governors and generals during the late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods, whereas others joined the Khāridjī opposition. They are usually mentioned, however, as "Shaybānī" rather than as "Murrī" (Ibn Ḥazm, 324-7; Ibn al-Kalbī, 497-519; W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab, Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, Leiden 1966, ii, 23-4; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, 120; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 348; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 147, 975, 1633-4).

By far the most important Murra groups are the ancient B. Murra b. ʿAwf, and the contemporary Āl Murra of Saʿūdī Arabia.

The B. Murra b. ʿAwf was a North Arabian tribe or clan, part of the larger tribal groups (from the narrower to the broader) Dhubyān, Ghaṭafān, Ḳays ʿAylān, Muḍar. In pre-Islamic times their territories lay to the north and east of Medina (Ḥamad al-Djāsir, in *Madjallat al-ʿarab*, iv [1969-70], 126, 610; al-

Mawṣilī, *al-Isʿāf fī sharḥ shawāhid al-ḳāḍī al-Bayḍāwī wa 'l-Kashshāf*, Edin. Univ. Lib. Or. 2, fol. 149b). They were politically allied to other Ghaṭafānī tribes, in particular the Fazāra, on whose side they fought against several other tribes (al-Mawṣilī, *Isʿāf*, Or. 3, fols. 478a-479b; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, ii, 118 ult.; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. al-Shinḳīṭī, Cairo, ix, 141, xiii, 134; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, Būlāḳ 1299, iv, 217; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Beirut 1965, i, 642; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xv, 364). The most famous conflict in which they were involved in pre-Islamic times was the war of Dāḥis wa 'l-Ghabrā' [*q.v.* in Suppl.], fought between the Dhubyān (including the B. Murra) and the ʿAbs. In connection with this war, the Murrī leaders, notably Harim b. Sinān and al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf, were praised not for their valour but for their efforts to restore peace. The poet Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā [*q.v.*] composed his famous *muʿallaḳa* in their honour (M.A. Djād al-Mawlā Bek, A.M. al-Bidjāwī, and M.A. Ibrāhīm, *Ayyām al-ʿArab fi 'l-Djāhiliyya*, Cairo n.d., 246-77; Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1964, 58 ff., 73 ff.). One of the most famous Murrī heroes in the *Djāhiliyya* was the fearless al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim, whose actions brought him and his kin into conflict even with the king of Ḥīra. The B. Murra were also raided by forces of the Ghassānid kingdom, apparently as a punishment for trespassing (al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, x, 20, al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, iv, 180-3; al-Mawṣilī, *Isʿāf*, Or. 2, fols. 123b-125a; al-Nābigha, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1293, 42 ff., 63).

At some point in pre-Islamic times, the B. Murra (or a part of them) participated in a Ghaṭafānī attempt to establish a centre competitive with the Kaʿba in Mecca. This attempt failed, and the B. Murra were incorporated into the Meccan religio-economic system. In addition, they had a military alliance with the Jews of Khaybar (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, Beirut n.d., 267, 315; Yaḳut, iv, 169; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 503; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ii, 204; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xii, 121, xxi, 63; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1098; al-Wāḳidī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, London 1966, ii, 637; M.J. Kister, *Mecca and Tamīm*, in *JESHO*, iii [1965], 134, 136). These commitments may account for the B. Murra's hostile attitude towards the Prophet Muḥammad. They participated in the siege of Medina organised by Ḳuraysh and the Jews in the year A.H. 5 (al-Khandaḳ), and were raided by Muslim forces on several occasions in subsequent years (al-Wāḳidī, ii, 443-4, 478-80, 723-5, cf. ii, 566, 639, 642; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, Cairo 1936, iii, 226, iv, 271; Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 47; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1465, 1473-4, 1592, 1759, 1762-3; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Cairo 1959, i, 343, 378-9; al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ ʿalā al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya li 'l-Ḳasṭallānī*, Cairo 1325, ii, 250, 266). The Murrī leader al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf did not give Muḥammad's enemies his wholehearted support, fearing that the Prophet would eventually win. When he tried to come to terms with Muḥammad, however, the B. Murra did not follow him, and killed Muḥammad's messenger to them. After the Muslim conquest of Mecca in the year 8/630, a delegation of the B. Murra arrived in Medina and apparently accepted Islam. Their leader al-Ḥārith was appointed tax-collector, and was asked by Muḥammad to give him his daughter in marriage. This request al-Ḥārith refused, however (al-Wāḳidī, ii, 443, 479-80, 652; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1593; Ibn al-Ḳayyim, *Zād al-maʿād fī hady khayr al-ʿibād*, Cairo 1326, iv, 217-8, 249-50, v, 212; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, i, 343; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 252; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 42-3; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xviii, 42-3; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī, *Ta'rīkh*, Nadjaf 1967, 63; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, Beirut 1970, 61).

After the Prophet's death in 11/632, the B. Murra participated in the so-called apostasy wars (*ridda* [*q.v.*]). Having been defeated by the Muslim forces, they rejoined Islam. In this, as in the previous political vicissitudes, they were closely related to the other Ghaṭafānī groups (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1873-80).

The B. Murra's close relation with the Fazāra (of the Ghaṭafān) did not prevent the occurrence of conflicts between segments of the two groups. The poet al-Rammāḥ b. Mayyāda [see IBN MAYYĀDA] (late Umayyad-early ʿAbbāsid period) recorded a quarrel over property between Fazārīs and Murrīs. A political issue, i.e. the alliance with groups from the tribe of Asad, formed a point of conflict between the Djāhilī Murrī poet al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī [*q.v.*] and leaders from the Fazāra. The same issue apparently caused division among the B. Murra themselves. For this or other reasons, al-Nābigha's clan aroused the hostility of other Murrī clans, who went as far as to contract an alliance against it. There were other internal conflicts as well, such as the one between the two poets Shabīb b. al-Barṣā' and ʿAḳīl b. ʿUllafa in the Umayyad period (Caskel, ii, 19-20; al-Nābigha, *Dīwān*, 69; al-Mawṣilī, *al-Isʿāf*, Or. 2 fols. 79b, 149b, 616a).

During the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods, several Murrīs attained high positions. Al-Djunayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān served as governor of Khurāsān under the caliph Hishām, and when he died he appointed as his successor one of his fellow-tribesmen, ʿUmāra b. Khuraym. ʿUthmān, son of this ʿUmāra, served as governor of Armenia, Ādharbāydjān and Sidjistān under the caliphs al-Mahdī and Hārūn. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān was governor of Medina for al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and his son Riyāḥ held the same position under al-Manṣūr. Muslim b. ʿUḳba and ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra were important generals. Al-ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd (or Saʿd), related to the Murra although not one of them, was in charge of the *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] under the ʿIrāḳī governor Yūsuf b. ʿUmar (120-6/738-44). Ḥabīb b. Murra was a commander in the army of Marwān II, and after the latter had been killed he continued the fight against the ʿAbbāsids, until eventually he came to terms with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī. In addition, several Marwānids were married to daughters of the Murrī notable and poet ʿAḳīl b. ʿUllafa (Ibn Ḥazm, 253-4; Ibn al-Kalbī, 415, 418, 420, 424; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, v, 513, 520; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ix, 303, 312; al-Mawṣilī, *Isʿāf*, Or. 2, fol. 616a, Or. 3, fol. 359a; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1282, 1564, iii, 56). It was perhaps these close relations with the ruling élite which gave rise to the claim that the B. Murra indeed originated in the Ḳuraysh. As tradition would have it, however, the claim preceded the Umayyad period. Verses of poetry are attributed to the Djāhilī warrior al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim, in which he claimed Ḳurashī descent after he had been ousted by his own clan, on account of the incessant troubles which he was giving them. Stories were told about Murra's grandmother, or about his father, explaining how they came to leave the Ḳuraysh and settle with the Ghaṭafān, thereby causing a shift in the genealogy of their offspring Murra. When the delegation of the B. Murra came to Muḥammad, they sought to curry favour with him by mentioning that they belonged to his own tribe, the Ḳuraysh. This claim, however, although accepted by some genealogists, was not universally recognised. According to some reports, ʿUmar decreed that they did not belong to the Ḳuraysh (ʿUmar was an expert on *ḳiyāfa* [*q.v.*], the art of identifying genealogical relations). According to another story, it was ʿUmar who suggested that they

should resume their (allegedly) ancient genealogy, but they preferred to remain Ghaṭafānīs on account of their high rank among the Ghaṭafān (Abū al-Baḳā' Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, ʿAmmān 1984, 460; al-Mawṣilī, *Isʿāf*, Or. 3, fol. 123b; al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, Cairo 1967, i, 410-16; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, ʿAmmān 1982, ii, 561; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 42-3; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ii, 204; Ibn Ḥazm, 13; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1328, iii, 616, s.v. Hāshim b. Ḥarmala; M.J. Kister and M. Plessner, *Notes on Caskel's Ǧamharat an-nasab*, in *Oriens*, xxv-xxvi, n. 26).

The B. Murra seem not to have been a large and complex group, yet they dispersed during the Arab conquests, and probably later on as well. Groups of them were found in the various provinces, from Khurāsān in the east, through Syria and Egypt, to Elvira and Seville in Spain. Some of these may have been just splinter groups (Ibn Ḥazm, 252-5; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 425, iii, 625). A part of them remained in the ancient territories in Arabia, where they continued to follow the patterns of their pre-Islamic nomadic life. Together with other Bedouin tribes, they pestered the Ḥidjāzī town-dwellers, so that the caliph al-Wāthiḳ sent punitive expeditions against them in the years 231/846 and 232/847 (*ibid.*, iii, 1339, 1342, 1362; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vii, 19, 29).

The traces of the B. Murra b. ʿAwf are apparently lost. The genealogists of the later Middle Ages do not know anything about them, except that which they found in the earlier books. The dispersed groups of the B. Murra were either assimilated by other tribal groups, or assumed new names, or both.

The modern Āl Murra is a powerful tribe of nomadic pastoralists, which belongs to the élite of the pure, ancient Bedouin tribes in contemporary Saʿūdī Arabia. Their dialect, unintelligible to many, is considered to be the purest Arabic, and they master ancient Bedouin skills such as hunting and tracking down animals and people. With the progress of life in Saʿūdī Arabia, however, hunting became curtailed, and the Āl Murra's services in tracking down criminals became redundant (D.P. Cole, *Nomads of the nomads*, Chicago 1975, 43, 55).

The original home of the Āl Murra was in Nadjrān, from which they started to expand around the middle of the 18th century. Today, their territory extends from Nadjrān northeastward across the Empty Quarter, and in the eastern part they reach northward to the oasis of al-Ḥasā. Occasionally, they exceed their own territory and wander as far north as Kuwayt and southern ʿIrāḳ.

The Āl Murra claim a pre-Islamic origin and a descent from Yām, a branch of the ancient southern tribe of Hamdān. The classical genealogical works, however, do not record a "Murra b. Yām", nor do the Murra themseves know the details of their genealogical chain up to their eponym. They consist of seven or eight clans, whose total number was estimated by Cole (in the late 1960s) at about 15,000 (*op. cit.*, 33-4). The whole tribe never unites except, perhaps, in times of war, yet it has a paramount chief, whose headquarters are located near the town of Abḳā'iḳ. His authority, however, is far from absolute, and his duties are mainly to advise, to solve internal conflicts, and to act as intermediary between the tribe and the state. In general, the Āl Murra are strongly egalitarian, so that their leaders are not singled out in any special way.

Being nomadic pastoralists, the Āl Murra follow a regular pattern of migration. In the summer, the lineages (which include about 50 households each) gather around their own wells. As the weather cools in September, they disperse in small groups of two to four households to seek pasture farther away from their wells. During the months of December or January, after the first rains, they migrate northward, again in small uncoordinated groups. In late March or April, they start to drift back to their wells where they congregate in the larger summer camps. Unlike many other Bedouin tribes, the Āl Murra do not have a base in the form of a permanently settled section. They do have four small oases in the northern part of their territory, the largest of which is Yabrīn, but they do not inhabit them. Only about a third of the tribe frequents these oases twice a year, once in order to pollinate the dates, the other in order to harvest them (Cole, 30; K.S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia*, Princeton 1958, 35, 75). These oases in fact represent an abortive attempt on the part of the Saʿūdī government to sedentarise the Āl Murra. In the beginning of the 20th century, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz created the organisation of the Ikhwān [*q.v.*], whose purpose was to spread the Wahhābī doctrine and to bring the Bedouins back to the original and true form of Islam. Within this project, settlements were established for the Bedouins [see AL-HIDJAR], but the Āl Murra found it impossible to abandon their nomadic way of life. However, the royal attempt at sedentarising them does not reflect a conflict between the Āl Murra and the ruling house. On the contrary, the tribe is allied with the Āl Saʿūd, and has given it its ardent support. Although in the past there were confrontations between Murrīs and the Āl Saʿūd, the founder of the modern state of Saʿūdī Arabia, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd, found among the Āl Murra refuge in times of trouble, and aid in times of struggle. The alliance is cemented by the marital ties which exist between the royal house and noble families of the tribe.

The Āl Murra were not unaffected by both the changes which occurred in Arabia with the founding of the modern state, and the discovery of oil. Many of them became incorporated in the national guard, so that they receive salaries from the state. Many others engage in wage-labour, which involves settlement, albeit on an individual basis. On the other hand, traditional means of subsistence beside camel raising, such as hunting and raiding, became unlawful. Yet on the whole, the Āl Murra are still a tribe of nomadic pastoralists. Their social structure and their way of life, at least until the late sixties, remained unchanged.

Bibliography: The indices of the works cited in the text should be consulted, in addition to the specific references. In addition, see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1321, indices prepared by M. Shafīʿ, Calcutta 1935, s.vv. Murra, Ghaṭafān, al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim (the indices of the later Cairo edition are less adequate); Ibn Rasūl, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb*, Damascus 1949, 32, 49, 58, 59, 62, 68, 71, 126; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mukhtalif al-ḳabā'il wa-mu'talifuhā*, Wiesbaden 1964, 65; Mubarrad, *Nasab ʿAdnān wa-Ḳaḥṭān*, ed. Maymanī, 1936, 3, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 20-21, 23; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Ḳaṣd wa 'l-amam*, and idem, *al-Inbāh ʿalā ḳabā'il al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1350, index s.v. Murra; Ibn Durayd, *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, Cairo 1958, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, Beirut 1956, ii, 507, 534-7; Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, Leiden 1912, fol. 525a-b; Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, i, Cairo 1963, 129, 133; ii, Cairo 1966, index; x, Cairo 1368, index; A.Kh. al-Barrī, *al-Ḳabā'il al-ʿarabiyya fī Miṣr*, Dār al-Kātib al-ʿArabī 1967, 140, 162; Farrādj b. Shāfī, in *Madjallat al-ʿarab*, vi (1972-3), 477; ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*

ḳabāʾil al-ʿarab al-ḳadīma wa 'l-ḥadīt͟ha, Damascus 1949, iii, 1070-3, v, 199 (this last-mentioned source is sometimes misleading). On the B. Murra b. ʿAwf specifically, see Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, index s.vv. Murra, al-Ḥārit͟h b. Ẓālim; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Cairo 1321, 104-6; F. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien*, Göttingen 1853, 296; A.P. Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847, ii, 408-9, 424-501. On the Āl Murra specifically, the most important work is Cole's monograph, cited in the article. In addition, see M.F. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, Wiesbaden 1952, iii, 157-9; H.St.J. Philby, *The Empty Quarter*, New York 1933, index; idem, *Saudi Arabia*, London 1955, index; R.B. Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the nineteenth century*, London 1965, index; Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia*, Princeton 1958, 32, 72, 75, 152; Ḥamad al-D̲j̲āsir, in *Mad̲j̲allat al-ʿArab*, iv (1969-70), 609-25; A.M. al-Ḥibs͟hī, in *Mad̲j̲allat al-ʿArab*. vii (1972-3), 38-40; S.A. al-Ḳuṭb, *Ansāb al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1969, 121, 227-8; F. Ḥamza, *Ḳalb d̲j̲azīrat al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1933, 182, 203; Sirḥānī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ ansāb ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab*, Ḳaṭar n.d., 159.

(Ella Landau-Tasseron)

MURSAL (a.), a technical term in the science of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]. The oldest definition of this term, when applied to an *isnād* [*q.v.*], was that a link was missing. This definition was soon abandoned for a more specific one: *mursal* is an *isnād* in which between the Successor and the Prophet the name of the Companion is lacking. In the course of time, the older definition gave rise to the technical term *munḳaṭiʿ* (lit. "cut up"; its opposite is *muttaṣil*). Mediaeval Muslim *ḥadīth* experts got rid of the confusion by concluding that not every *munḳaṭiʿ* is *mursal*, but every *mursal* is *munḳaṭiʿ*. (A closely related technical term for an *isnād* which stops at the Companion, thus without mention of the Prophet, is called *mawḳūf*; another term for an *isnād* which is "cut off" at the level of the Successor, thus without mention of either the Prophet or a Companion, is called *maḳṭūʿ*; finally, although it has the appearance of a contradiction in terms, with a tradition qualified as *mursal al-ṣaḥābī* is meant that a Companion describes some event involving the Prophet at which he/she could not possibly have been present, such as ʿĀʾis͟ha's account of the first revelation Muḥammad allegedly received, cf. Nawawī's commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Cairo 1349, 30.)

A text in which *mursal* has still its original meaning (later reserved for *munḳaṭiʿ*) is the introduction which Muslim b. al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (d. 261/875 [*q.v.*]) added to his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. M.F. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, i, 30, tr. G.H.A. Juynboll in *JSAI*, v [1984], 296). In the *Risāla* of al-S͟hāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]) there is a passage (461-71) in which both terms are still used indiscriminately, although *mursal* gradually seems to be acquiring its own (later) definition.

At first there was still difference of opinion on whether or not certain *mursalāt* or *marāsīl* traditions of certain major Successors constituted an argument (*ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a*) in a legal argument. It was finally al-S͟hāfiʿī who settled the matter: they do not, unless substantiated by a Prophetic tradition of more or less the same purport supported by an uninterrupted (*muttaṣil*) and sound *isnād*. The most extensive account of this dispute is given in Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima* [sc. *fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*], edited together with the *Maḥāsin al-iṣṭilāḥ* of ʿUmar b. Raslān al-Bulḳīnī by ʿĀ. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Cairo 1974, 130-43, and al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, i, 195-207.

The historical origins of *mursal* traditions may be reconstructed as follows: During the 1st/7th century, a number of legal experts in the different centres of Islamic learning gave their opinions on legal issues about which the public had sought their advice and these opinions acquired a certain fame. Thus we find in Medina Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/713 [see fuḳahāʾ al-madīna, in Suppl.]), in Mecca ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732), in Damascus Makḥūl (d. 112-8/730-6), in Baṣra Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]) and in Kūfa al-S͟haʿbī (d. 103-10/721-8), to name only one for each main centre. (For a survey of other early *fuḳahāʾ*, see fiḳh.) In the course of the 2nd/8th century, these legal opinions were partly "raised to the level" (Arabic: *rafʿ*) of Prophetic traditions by the addition of a name of a Companion who was reported to have heard the Prophet decide thus in the matter, and partly entirely reworded and provided with fictitious *isnāds* (Arabic *waḍʿ*) also going back to the Prophet, this in order to meet the growing demand for precedents which might 'establish' the antiquity, or even the "Prophetic provenance", of a legal decision. In this way a large number of these *marāsīl*, thus doctored to look like what later became known as genuine Prophetic *ḥadīth*, found its way into collections which were later canonised, and from the point of view of Muslim scholarship became authenticated as Prophetic *sunna*. Western students of *ḥadīth*, on the other hand, are inclined to see these *marāsīl* as the oldest relics of 1st/7th-century legal thinking in Islam, a phenomenon of basically post-Prophetic origin, in the formation of which Muḥammad's example or inspiration may at most have played a role transmitted through living memory. However, because of the wholesale *rafʿ* and *waḍʿ* mentioned above, a standardisation which effectively obliterated the traces of their true origins, the route taken by each of these *marāsīl* individually must be considered as no longer traceable, except perhaps in the case of a few isolated instances.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see further, Abū Dāwūd al-Sid̲j̲istānī, *Kitāb al-Marāsīl*, ed. S.B. al-Samarrāʾī, Bag͟hdād 1388; idem, ed. S͟h. N. Ḳūčānī, Beirut 1977; in Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-Zuhd wa 'l-raḳāʾiḳ*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Malagaon 1386, large numbers of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's *mursalāt* are preserved; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1926, 2 vols; Mizzī [*q.v.*], *Tuḥfat al-as͟hrāf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad S͟haraf al-Dīn, Bombay 1965-82, xiii, 134-458; al-K͟haṭīb al-Bag͟hdādī, *Kitāb al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 21, 384-8, 404 ff; S͟hāfiʿī, *Risāla*, ed. A.M. S͟hākir, Cairo 1938, 461-71; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, ed. S͟hākir, Cairo 1345-8, ii, 2-6; Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, *S͟harḥ ʿilal al-Tirmid͟hī*, ed. Ṣ. D̲j̲. al-Ḥumayd, Bag͟hdād 1396, 220-39; J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 36-9; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 15 ff, 39-60 and index s.v. *irsāl* and *mursal*; idem, *The role of the* muʿammarūn *in the early development of the* isnād, in *WZKM* (1991); idem, *Some notes on Islam's first* fuqahāʾ *distilled from early tradition literature*, in *Arabica* (1992).

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

MURS͟HID (a.), literally, "one who gives right guidance, *rus͟hd*, *irs͟hād*, in Ṣūfī mystical parlance, the spiritual director and initiator into the order (*ṭarīḳa*) of the novice or *murīd* [*q.v.*] who is following the Ṣūfī path; synonyms are *baba*, *pīr* and *s͟hayk͟h* [*q.vv.*]. As part of the guidance for the postulant, the *murs͟hid* bestows various tokens of spiritual grace and attainment upon the seeker [see murīd for details].

A special use of the term within the Persian world, in the compound form *murs̲h̲id-i kāmil* "perfect spiritual director", occurred amongst the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*] who ruled during the 10th-early 12th/16th-early 18th centuries in Persia. From our first knowledge of the Ṣafawiyya Ṣūfī order in 8th/14th century Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, it seems that its *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*, from their base at the Ardabīl [*q.v.*] shrine of the founder, assumed this title of *murs̲h̲id-i kāmil*, demanding complete obedience from all their adherents. This requirement continued to be exacted by the Ṣafawid S̲h̲āhs when they had also become temporal monarchs, *pādis̲h̲āhs* [*q.v.*], in Persia as a whole, with resultant stresses within the state and tensions amongst the loyalties of their servants. See ḲIZIL-BĀS̲H̲ and also R.M. Savory, *The emergence of the modern Persian state under the Ṣafavids*, in *Iran-Shinasi, Jnal. of Iranian Studies, Tehran University*, ii/2 (1971), 21-4, repr. in *Studies on the history of Ṣafawid Iran*, Variorum Reprints, London 1987, no. VIII; idem, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980, index.

Bibliography: See also that for MURĪD. (ED.)

MURS̲H̲ID ḲULĪ K̲H̲ĀN, commander and official of Mug̲h̲al India (d. 1068/1658). He was a Turk by birth and first in the employment of ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān, the Persian governor of Ḳandahār. He came to India along with ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān when the latter surrendered Ḳandahār to the Mug̲h̲als (1047/1638). He was appointed *dīwān* of the Pand̲j̲ab in 1049/1639 and of Multān in 1051/1641. His later offices were: *Mīr ātis̲h̲* (1052/1645), *Fawd̲j̲dār* of the foot-hills of Kangra (1055/1645) and *Ak̲h̲ta begi* (1058/1648). When Awrangzīb was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1062/1652, he was appointed *Dīwān* of Balag̲h̲at and was promoted to the rank of 1500/500. In 1066/1656 he was given the additional charge of Painghat, thus holding the charge of the revenues of the whole of Mug̲h̲al Deccan with the rank of 1500/1000.

Murs̲h̲id Ḳulī K̲h̲ān made significant changes in the revenue administration of the Deccan. He appointed new village headmen (*muḳaddams*). He established the system of "differential" crop-sharing and took half of the produce from the dry lands, one-third from the land irrigated by wells and one-fourth from those under superior crops. The old system of assessing the revenue on the basis of plough-counts was still retained in certain areas, but over the larger area the system of measurement was introduced. For this purpose, Murs̲h̲id Ḳulī K̲h̲ān determined the *rai* (standard output per unit of area) for each crop, and having in view the prices fixed the *dastūr* or cash rate (later to be known as the *d̲h̲ara* of Murs̲h̲id Ḳulī K̲h̲ān). He also advanced loans (*taḳāwī*) to the cultivators for the purchase of seed and cattle.

When Awrangzīb marched northwards to contest the throne with Dārā S̲h̲ukūh [*q.v.*], Murs̲h̲id Ḳulī K̲h̲ān accompanied him as his *Mīr ātis̲h̲*, but was killed at the battle of Dharmat in 1068/1658.

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(M. ATHAR ALI)

MURS̲H̲IDĀBĀD, a district of India, in the Presidency Division of the State of West Bengal, area 24,641 km² (1971), population 2,940,204 (1971), of whom 1,503,427 were males and 1,436,777 were females. Of the total population, 56.34% were Muslims and 43.6% Hindus. Murs̲h̲idābād is one of the few districts in India where Muslims form a majority of the population, the only others being Malappuram District of Kerala State and six districts of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In the decade 1961-71, the Muslim population grew by 28.5%, and the Hindu population by 26.6%. In the rural areas of the district, Muslims form 59.3% of the total rural population, but in urban areas only 24.2% of the total urban population, a reversal of the more usual pattern in India, where the overall figures (1971) give Muslims as 16.2% of the urban population, and only 10% of the rural. At the partition of India in 1947, Murs̲h̲idābād was initially allocated to East Pakistan on account of its Muslim majority population, but when the details of the Radcliffe Award were published it was re-allocated to India. Apart from a small community of S̲h̲īʿīs in Lalbagh sub-division, the Muslims of the rest of the district are Sunnī. Of these "S̲h̲ayk̲h̲" has become the common designation for all who cannot claim to be Sayyids, Paṭhāns, or Mug̲h̲als.

The history of Murs̲h̲idābād is part of the general history of Bengal [see BANGĀLA] until the early 18th century, when it came to prominence in connection with the establishment of a new administration by Murs̲h̲id Ḳulī K̲h̲ān (to be distinguished from the Murs̲h̲id Ḳulī K̲h̲ān of the previous article). Until this time, the town of Murs̲h̲idābād had been known as Mak̲h̲ṣūṣābād, and had not attracted many Muslim settlers, even in the period of Mug̲h̲al rule, partly because it was regarded as unhealthy on account of its low-lying position in the Bengal delta. From the beginning of the 17th century, however, it began to be important as a centre of commerce, particularly in silk, and attracted the attention of English, French and Dutch trading agents. Murs̲h̲id Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, a Brahman by birth, had been sold as a boy to Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī S̲h̲afīʿ Iṣfahānī, who brought him up as his son, under the name of Muḥammad Hādī. Educated in Persia, he was subsequently given high office by the Mug̲h̲al emperor Awrangzīb, and became *dīwān* of Bengal, and in 1702 was given the title of Murs̲h̲id Ḳulī K̲h̲ān. The revenue of the province until then had been insufficient even to pay the salaries of the military and civil establishment, and he therefore set up a new and more efficient system of revenue, choosing as his contractors new men of the official and trading class and thus creating a new (and eventually landed) aristocracy in Bengal. The change of name of his capital from Mak̲h̲ṣūṣābād to Murs̲h̲idābād appears to have been made in 1705. The English East India Company set up a factory in the district, at Cossimbazar, in 1659. In his dealings with foreign trading companies is to be seen a large part of Murs̲h̲id Ḳulī K̲h̲ān's success in increasing the revenue; he was also in personal life a man of puritan character, sleeping little, observing the stated times of prayer, and engaging himself "in copying the Ḳurʾān and administering justice" (Karim, 238). Himself a S̲h̲īʿī, he was the first of a succession of S̲h̲īʿī *ṣūbadārs* of Bengal, including those who were nominal only, after the Battle of Plassey in 1757. From Murs̲h̲idābād, the S̲h̲īʿīs migrated and formed colonies in other parts of Bengal

(Karim, 247). Finally, it should be noted that Murshidābād was a mint city, becoming a standard one for the East India Company, called on the earliest issues Makhṣūṣābād.

Bibliography: L.S.S. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers*: *Murshidabad*, Calcutta 1914; *1961 Census. District Handbook*: *Murshidabad*; Abdul Karim, *Murshid Qūlī Khān and his times*, Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publications, no. 12, Dacca 1963. Murshidābād has a number of important Islamic monuments; see for these, Catherine B. Asher, in G. Michell (ed.), *The Islamic heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO, Protection of the cultural heritage, 1, Paris 1984, 87-100, 206-12. (T.O. Ling)

MURSIYA, Murcia, a town in the south-east of Spain, 43 m/140 feet above sea level in the centre of the famous *huerta de Murcia* ("gardens of Murcia") watered by the river Segura (Ar. *Wādī Shaḳūra* [*q.v.*] or *Wādi 'l-Abyaḍ*, "the white river") . Murcia has a large population, 265,000 people (1980), and is the capital of the province of the same name and the see of a bishop; it has also a university; this province has over a million inhabitants, with an area of 11,317 km². Its port, 40 miles to the south on the Mediterranean coast, is Cartagena, the *Ḳarṭādjanna* [*q.v.*] or *Ḳarṭādjannat al-Khulafā'* of the Arabs.

The situation of Murcia in the centre of very fertile gardens, forming an island of vegetation in a bare country poorly endowed by nature, had been noticed already by the Arab geographers who give more or less long accounts of it. Abu 'l-Fidā', for example, says that, it was like Seville for the number of its groves and parks (*muntazahāt*), among which he mentions the famous al-Rushāḳa.

Murcia in the Umayyad period was the capital of a province or *kūra* which bore the name of Tudmīr [*q.v.*]. This name which is connected with the name of Theodemir, a Visigothic chief of the region at the time of the Muslim conquest, was also applied to the town of Murcia itself, from the time when it supplanted Orihuela [see uryūla] as the chief town of the region. Indeed, almost all the Arab authors who speak of Murcia agree in saying that it was a comparatively recent foundation; it was built by order of the Umayyad *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II al-Ḥakam about the year 210/825, but according to *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, in 216/831 by the governor Djābir b. Mālik b. Labīd.

The land of Tudmīr and with it, of course, Murcia was much involved in the civil wars provoked by the rivalry of the Yamanīs and the Muḍarīs of Spain in the period of the independent *amīrs* of Cordova. In the reign of ʿAbd Allāh (275-300/888-912), a rebel, the renegade Daysam b. Isḥāḳ, rose there with the connivance of the famous agitator Ibn Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*]. He ruled independently all the province of Tudmīr until the *amīr* of Cordova sent to suppress him in 283/896 an army led by his uncle Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam and the general Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī ʿAbda. Daysam was defeated between Aledo and Lorca and the latter town besieged. The country was only definitely pacified and restored to the central power in Cordova in the reign of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and his successor al-Ḥakam II.

During the events which ended in the breakup of Umayyad Spain, Murcia became, like the majority of the great towns of the Peninsula, the capital of a little independent state (*ṭā'ifa*) [see mulūk al-ṭawā'if. 2.]. At first in the hands of the "Slavs" [see ṣaḳāliba] Khayrān and Zuhayr (403-29/1012-38) along with Alméria and Jaen, the principality of Murcia was then for some time attached to the kingdom of Valencia, in the region of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir and his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. The governor who then ruled Murcia was Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ Ibn Ṭāhir; when he died in 455/1063, after amassing a considerable fortune, he was succeeded by his son Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad, who soon proclaimed himself independent and repudiated the authority of the Valencian dynasty.

The principality of Ibn Ṭāhir soon aroused the covetousness of Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], minister of al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], king of Seville 471/1078 and an expedition was sent against Murcia with the help of an independent lord of the district, Ibn Rashīḳ. Ibn Ṭāhir was taken prisoner and shut up in Monteagudo, but escaping, he reached Valencia where after acting as adviser to al-Ḳādir Ibn Dhi 'l-Nūn [*q.v.*] and having almost succeeded him, he finally died in 508/1119. The conquest of the kingdom of Murcia by Ibn ʿAmmār in the name of the ʿAbbādids was only nominal, and it was Ibn Rashīḳ who exercised the real power instead of Ibn Ṭāhir.

The kingdom of Murcia was one of the first districts of the Peninsula to be conquered by the Almoravids [see al-murābiṭūn. 4.]. Murcia was taken for Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn [*q.v.*] in Shawwāl 484/November-December 1091 by the Lamtūna general Ibn ʿĀ'isha, who next took Denia and Játiva. Ibn ʿĀ'isha remained governor of Murcia; he was replaced later by Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Tīfilwīt, then by a brother of the sultan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm.

A general rising against the Almoravids took place in Spain in the beginning of the 6th/12th century and gave rise to the formation of a new series of kingdoms or "taifas". Murcia was therefore between 540-3/1145-7 in the hands of two rival leaders, ʿAbd Allāh b. Iyāḍ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Faradj, until the Valencian ruler Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] seized it and took up his residence there. This individual, who was of Spanish origin, soon became the powerful ruler of all south-eastern Spain, between Valencia and Almeria, and instituted a series of fruitful alliances with the Christian rulers of Catalonia, Aragon and Castile. He was for long able to resist the attacks of the first Almohads ʿAbd al-Mu'min [*q.v.*] and Yūsuf [*q.v.*], and it was only after his death in 567/1172, during the siege of his capital Murcia, that his kingdom passed finally to the Almohad sovereigns.

From the fall of the Almohad empire in Spain until its conquest by the Christians, Murcia had a very troubled existence. It was in turn the residence (from the beginning of the 7th/13th century) of princes of the family of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa: Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Mutawakkil, the latter's uncle, Muḥammad, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Wāthiḳ, then it passed to the Naṣrids of Granada, to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Ibn Ashḳīlūla. For details of the obscure history of this period, see the monograph by Gaspar Remiro quoted below. According to Ibn al-Abbār (cf. M. Bencheneb, *Notes chronologiques sur la conquête de l'Espagne*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, ii, 73), Murcia was surrendered to the Christians by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hūd, son of the governor, on Thursday 10 Shawwāl 640/2 April 1243. But if we may believe the Christian chronicles, it was in February 1266 that Don Jaime of Aragon took definite possession of Murcia.

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al-miʿṭār, s.v. Mursiya; *Akhbār madjmūʿa*, Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, *passim*; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii and iii, indices; all the historians and biographers of the Muslim West; European writers: A good monograph has been written on Muslim Murcia by M. Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de Murcia Musulmana*, Saragossa 1905. Cf. also Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*², *index*; idem, *Recherches*, *passim*; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España Musulmana*, 57, 82, 88; A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, Madrid 1926; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris 1931, 96 ff.; idem, *L'Espagne musulmane du Xième siècle. Institutions et vie sociale*, Paris 1932, index; idem, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, index; E. Tormo, Levante (Guias Calpe), Madrid 1923; D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings*, Princeton 1985, 92-3, with detailed bibl. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-SHARĪF AL-**MURTAḌĀ**, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN b. Mūsā... b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Imāmī theologian, grammarian, writer and poet, in short, an Arab *adīb*, born and died in Baghdād (355-436/967-1044). A direct descendant of ʿAlī, he was, in the city of his birth, *naḳīb* [*q.v.*] of the Ṭālibīs, and his predominance in Imāmī circles furthermore earned him the titles of Dhu 'l-Madjdayn and ʿAlam al-Hudā. Little is known of his life, other than the following facts: he had a friend and pupil in Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (385-460/995-1067 [*q.v.*]), he was an associate of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ [*q.v.*], and he defended al-Mutanabbī when Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002 [*q.v.*]) criticised him. It should also be noted that he performed the duties of director of the *Dār al-ʿilm* [*q.v.*] and, according to an anecdote relayed by the son of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, he received an income of 24,000 *dīnārs* per year.

Although abundant, his work survives only in part, and is furthermore not easily distinguished from that of his brother, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī [*q.v.*]. From the list of his works, as compiled primarily by al-Ṭūsī and Yāḳūt, the following deserve mention: (1.) the principal work, *Ghurar al-fawāʾid wa-durar al-ḳalāʾid bi 'l-muḥāḍarāt*, known more briefly as *al-Ghurar wa 'l-durar* and, erroneously, as *al-Amālī*, was completed on 22 Djumādā I 413/14 August 1022; this amounts to a genuine book of *adab* divided into 80 *madjālis*, in which the main theme, the interpretation in a somewhat Muʿtazilī manner of verses of the Ḳurʾān and of *ḥadīth*s, is supplemented by philological and lexicographical commentaries illustrated by a large number of poetic quotations. It was lithographed in Tehran in 1272, published, under the title *al-Amālī*, in Cairo in 1325/1907, then again in Cairo in 1373/1954, through the efforts of Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. (2.) the *Kitāb al-Shāfī fi 'l-imāma* is a defence of the imāmate of the Twelve Imāms against the *Mughnī* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1025 [*q.v.*]); a summary, written in 432/1040 by al-Ṭūsī, under the title *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfī*, was included in a collection published in Tehran in 1301. (3.) the *Irshād al-ʿawāmm* was also printed in a collection published in Tehran in 1304 (cf. E.G. Browne, *A year among the Persians*, 554). (4.) *al-Dharīʿa ilā uṣūl al-sharīʿa*, ed. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Gurdjī, Tehran 1967-9. (5.) *al-Masāʾil al-nāṣiriyya*, which features in the collection entitled *al-Djawāmiʿ al-fiḳhiyya* (Tehran 1276), is composed of about a hundred *masāʾil* on the most diverse subjects, partially preserved, in particular in Mashhad. (6.) *al-Intiṣār*, on the differences between the Shīʿīs and the other *madhāhib*, was lithographed in Bombay in 1315 and printed in the *Djawāmiʿ fiḳhiyya* (see I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 271). (7.) *al-Shihāb fi 'l-shayb wa 'l-shabāb*, Istanbul (*Djawāʾib* edition) 1302 and previously in a collection published in Tehran in 1272 (see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, ii, pp. xvi, lvi). (8.) *Sharḥ al-ḳaṣīda al-mudhahhaba fī madḥ Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*], ed. Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb, Beirut 1970. (9.) *Dīwān*, ed. R. al-Ṣaffār, Cairo 1958. (10.) *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ*, Tabrīz 1290, 1303, Nadjaf 1332. (11.) *Risāla fī radd (naḳd) iʿtibār al-ʿadad fi 'l-shuhūr* exists in Persian translation. Other works recently published include (12.) *Djumal al-ʿilm wa 'l-ʿamal*, ed. R. al-Ṣaffār, Nadjaf 1967, and ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Nadjaf 1967. (13.) *Rasāʾil al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Kāẓimiyya 1966.

Some critics also reckon al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā to be the compiler of the *Nahdj al-balāgha* [*q.v.*], a collection of speeches and sayings supposedly by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, which others attribute to his brother al-Raḍī (thus in the Yemen, according to the Ambrosiana mss., see *RSO*, iii, 5 ff.). Thus the authenticity of the contents of the *Nahdj al-balāgha* remains controversial, as does the authorship of two works which have been variously attributed to al-Murtaḍā and to al-Raḍī. The anthology *Ṭayāf al-khayāl* is definitely to be attributed to al-Murtaḍā, *pace* Derenbourg (*cat. Esc.*², no. 348), since he quotes in the preface his own work *al-Shihāb* (no. 7 above); it has now been edited by Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1381/1962. But the recent editors of *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī madjāzāt al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan, Cairo 1955) and *al-Madjāzāt al-nabawiyya* (ed. Ṭāhā Muḥ. al-Zaynī, Kuwait 1967) have opted for al-Raḍī as author of these (in the first case, following Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 11377). Also mentioned in the same place by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa is a *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*, which the Turkish commentary on the *Dīwān* of al-Murtaḍā published under the name of ʿAlī attributes also to al-Murtaḍā.

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(AL-)**MURTAḌĀ** B. AL-ʿ**AFĪF** (= ʿAfīf al-Dīn?) b. Ḥātim b. Muslim al-Maḳdisī al-Shāfiʿī, the author of a work in Arabic on ancient Egypt of which the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris once possessed a ms. of the 10th/16th century, now lost, but of which there exists a French translation by the translator of al-Makīn [*q.v.*], Pierre Vattier (d. 1667), and published at Paris in 1666 under the title *L'Égypte de Murtadi fils du Gaphiphe, où il est traité des Pyramides, du débordement du Nil et des autres merveilles de cette Province, selon les opinions et traditions des Arabes.* This version, in its turn translated into English as early as 1672, has been profitably utilised by the literary orientalism of recent centuries. If it is true that the author's main aim is to describe the marvels of ancient Egypt, he nevertheless devotes a part of it to the beginnings of the Islamic

history of the country, in particular, to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] and the foundation of his mosque.

Since Vattier's work deserves rescue from oblivion, it was made the subject of a facsimile edition accompanied by a copious and instructive commentary at the hands of G. Wiet (Paris 1953). An interested reader can find in the introduction some information on the author (who lived, at the earliest, in the 7th/13th century), his possible sources and the connections which should be made with other works of the same type. (ED.)

MURTAḌĀ NIẒĀM SHĀH [see NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS].

MURTADD (A.), "one who turns back", especially from Islam, an apostate. Apostasy is called *irtidād* or *ridda*; it may be committed verbally by denying a principle of belief or by an action, for example treating a copy of the Ḳurʾān with disrespect.

1. In the Ḳurʾān, the apostate is threatened with punishment in the next world only; the "wrath of God" will fall upon him according to a sūra of the latest Meccan period (XVI, 108-9) and severe punishment (*ʿadhāb*) "except he did it under compulsion and his heart is steadfast in belief". Similarly, it is written in the Medinan sūra III, 80 ff., "... This is the punishment for them, that the curse of Allāh, the Angels and of men is upon them for all time (82); the punishment shall not be lightened for them and they shall not be granted alleviation, (83) except for those who later repent and make good their fault, for Allah is forgiving and merciful. (84) Those who disbelieve after believing and increase in unbelief, shall not have their repentance accepted; they are the erring ones. (85) Those who are unbelievers and die as unbelievers, from none of them shall be accepted the earth-full of gold, even if he should wish to ransom himself with it; this is a painful punishment for them and there will be no helpers for them" (cf. also IV, 136; V, 59; IX, 67). Sūra II, 214, is to be interpreted in the same way, although it is adduced by al-Shāfiʿī as the main evidence for the death penalty, "... He among you who falls away from his belief and dies an unbeliever—these, their works are fruitless in this world and the next, and they are the companions of the fire for ever".

2. There is little echo of these punishments in the next world in the Traditions (cf. Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 2; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 409, 430, 464-5; v, 4, 5). Instead, we have in many traditions a new element, the death penalty. Thus Ibn ʿAbbās transmits an utterance of the Prophet, "Slay him, who changes his religion" or "behead him" (Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 2; al-Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-dam*, *bāb* 14; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2689; Mālik, *Aḳḍiya*, tr. 15; cf. also al-Bukhārī, *Istitābat al-murtaddīn*, *bāb* 2; al-Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 25; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 217, 282, 322). According to another tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet is said to have permitted the blood to be shed of him "who abandons his religion and separates himself from the community (*djamāʿa*)" (al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 6; Muslim, *Ḳasāma*, tr. 25, 26; al-Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-dam*, *bāb* 5, 14; *Ḳasāma*, *bāb* 6; Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; al-Tirmidhī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 10; *Fitan*, *bāb* 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 382, 444). But there was no agreement from the first on the nature of the death penalty; thus ʿIkrima (d. 106/724) and Anas b. Mālik (d. 91/710) criticise ʿAlī for having burned apostates (al-Bukhārī, *Istitābat al-murtaddīn*, *bāb* 2; al-Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 25; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 217; according to a variant the reference is to Zindīḳs or Zuṭṭ, who served idols; al-Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-dam*, *bāb* 14; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 282, 322). According to a tradition of ʿĀʾisha's, apostates are to be slain, crucified or banished (al-Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-dam*, *bāb* 11; *Ḳasāma*, *bāb* 13; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1).

On the question whether the apostate should be given an opportunity to repent, traditions differ. According to one tradition of Abū Burda (d. 104/722), Muʿādh b. Djabal refused to sit down until an apostate brought before him had been slain "in accordance with the decision of God and of his apostle" (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 60; *Istitābat al-murtaddīn*, *bāb* 2; *Aḥkām*, *bāb* 12; Muslim, *Imāra*, tr. 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 231). In the same tradition in Abū Dāwūd, however, it is added that they had tried in vain for 20 nights to convert the apostate. The caliph ʿUmar is also represented as disapproving of this proceeding with the words: "Did you then not shut him up for three days and give him a round loaf (*raghīf*) daily and try to induce him to repent. Perhaps he would have repented and returned to obedience to God. O God! I was not there, I did not order it and I do not approve; see, it was thus reported to me" (Mālik, *Aḳḍiya*, tr. 15). There are also traditions according to which God does not accept the repentance of an apostate (Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 2) and others according to which even the Prophet forgave apostates (al-Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-dam*, *bābs* 14, 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 247; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii, 223).

3. *a*. In *Fiḳh*, there is unanimity that the male apostate must be put to death, but only if he is grown up (*bāligh*) and *compos mentis* (*ʿāḳil*) and has not acted under compulsion (*mukhtār*). A woman, on the other hand, is imprisoned, according to Ḥanafī and Shīʿī teaching, until she again adopts Islam, while according to al-Awzāʿī, Ibn Ḥanbal (al-Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 25), the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs (cf. *Umm*, i, 131, where al-Shāfiʿī vigorously attacks Abū Yūsuf who is not mentioned by name) she also is put to death. Although this punishment is not properly *ḥadd* (cf. thereon, al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, vii, 330, ll. 20-2) it is regarded as such by some jurists, as it is a question of a *ḥaḳḳ Allāh* (cf. e.g. al-Sarakhsī, *Siyar*, iv, 162); therefore the execution of the punishment lies with the *imām*; in the case of a slave, however, the *mawlā* can carry it out, as with any other *ḥadd* punishment. Execution should be by the sword. According to the above traditions, apostates must sometimes have been tortured to death. The caliph ʿUmar II had them tied to a post and a lance thrust into their hearts (Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, 112). Al-Bādjūrī expressly forbids any form of torture, like burning, drowning, strangling, impaling or flaying; according to him, Sultan Baybars II (708-9/1308-9) was the first to introduce torture (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii, 198). Lane (*Manners and customs*, ch. iii, near the end) records the case of a woman who had apostatised and was led through the streets of Cairo on an ass, then strangled in a boat in the middle of the Nile and thrown into the river. (The throwing of a corpse into the Nile was already usual in Cairo in the Fāṭimid period; cf. Mez, *Renaissance des Islâms*, 29.) In quite recent times, followers of the Ḳādiyānī or Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*] sect in Afghānistān were stoned to death (*OM*, v [1925], 138). In the former Turkish territory and Egypt, as well as in Muslim lands under European rule, since the middle of the 19th century, under European influence, the execution of an apostate on a *ḳāḍī*'s sentence has been abolished, but we still have imprisonment and deportation (cf. Isabel Burton, *The inner Life of Syria*, London 1875, i, 180 ff.); but nevertheless, renegades are not sure of their lives, as their Muslim relatives endeavour secretly to dispose of them by

poison or otherwise. Occasionally modern Islamic writers (such as those of the Aḥmadiyya movement) endeavour to prove that Islam knows of no death penalty for apostasy; the Indian apologist Muḥammad ʿAlī lays great stress on the fact there is not once an indication of the death penalty in the Ḳurʾān (Zwemer, *The law of apostasy in Islam*, 17, 37-8, London 1924; *OM*, v [1925], 262).

One should here call attention to an agreement which is probably not accidental. Since in Islam, in addition to apostasy, unchastity and unnatural vice are punished by death, even by stoning, according to both Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, as well as blaspheming God or a prophet, and magic, we find in Islam all crimes punished by death which in the Mishna (*Sanhedrīn*, vii, 4) are threatened with stoning.

b. Whether attempts at conversion must be made is a question of *ikhtilāf*. A number of jurists of the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries deny this (as do the Ẓāhirīs) or like ʿAṭāʾ (d. 115/733) make a distinction between the apostate born in Islam and one converted to Islam; the former is to be put to death at once (so also the Shīʿīs). Others insist on three attempts at conversion (relying on sūra IV, 136; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v, 193-4) or have him in the first place imprisoned for three days (cf. above, 2). According to others again, one should await the cycle of the five times of prayer and ask him to perform the *ṣalāt* at each; only when he has refused at each is the death punishment to be enforced. If, however, he repents and professes Islam once more, he is released (cf. thereon, al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, i, 228; Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, 109). In later times, *istitāba* was always applied.

c. Apart from the fact that apostasy deprives the *murtadd* of burial with Muslim rites, it has certain civil consequences. The property of the *murtadd* is *fayʾ* according to al-Shāfiʿī and the Mālikīs; if the fugitive *murtadd* returns penitent, he is given back what remains (cf. *Umm*, i, 231, where al-Shāfiʿī opposes the contrary Ḥanafī view). Others, especially later Shāfiʿīs, regard the rights of ownership of the apostate as suspended (*mawḳūf*) and regard him as one who is under guardianship (*maḥdjūr*); only if the fugitive apostate dies in the *dār al-ḥarb* does his property become *fayʾ* (al-Shīrāzī, *Muhadhdhab*, Cairo 1343, ii, 240; cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, vii, 355). Among the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs, the estate is allotted by the *ḳāḍī* to the legal heirs (cf. also the traditions in al-Dārimī, *Farāʾiḍ*, *bāb* 40), the *mudabbar* and *umm walad* are set free, even when the apostate escapes into the *dār al-ḥarb*, for this is equivalent to his death. If he comes back penitent, however, he receives of his property what still exists; the heirs however are not liable for compensation.—The marriage of the *murtadd* is void (*bāṭil*). Of his legal undertakings, the *istīlād* is effective (*nāfidh*), i.e. the *umm walad* becomes free; the *kitāba* also continues. Other legal activities, like manumission, endowment, testament and sale are suspended (*mawḳūf*), according to Abū Ḥanīfa; according to Abū Yūsuf, they are effective as in the case of a person in good health; according to Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, however, only as in the case of an invalid, i.e. they cannot deal with more than one-third of the estate. In the case of the female apostate, however, they are always effective. If the apostate makes such legal arrangements after his flight into the *dār al-ḥarb*, they are invalid (al-Sarakhsī, *Siyar*, iv, 152; cf. also Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, 111). But since according to Shāfiʿī and Mālik, his whole estate becomes *fayʾ*, such legal arrangements are invalid; only the manumission of a slave remains suspended until his possible return penitent; in the case of his death also this slave becomes *fayʾ* (cf. above, however, the view of later Shāfiʿīs).

He is punished for crimes committed before apostasy, if he returns penitent; for crimes committed during *ridda*, no notice is taken of the *ḥuḳūḳ Allāh* (i.e. no *ḥadd*) but only of the *ḥuḳūḳ al-ʿibād*, and he must for example pay the *diya* (al-Sarakhsī, *Siyar*, iv, 163, 208-9; cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, i, 231).

Bibliography: In addition to the books on Tradition and *Fiḳh*, see especially Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, i, 227-34; v, 51; vii, 330 ff., 355; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1302, 109-12; Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1336, iv, 146-219; Dabūsī, *Taʾsīs al-naẓar*, Cairo n.d., 22; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, Halle 1889-90, ii, 215-16; Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1926, i, 131-4; S.M. Zwemer, *The law of apostasy in Islam*, London 1924, German tr. Gütlersloh 1926; C.F. Pijper, *Echtscheiding en Apostasie*, in *Fragmenta islamica*, Leiden 1934; see also ḲATL. (W. HEFFENING)

MURTADI FILS DU GAPHIPHE [see (AL-) MURTAḌĀ B. AL-ʿAFĪF].

MURŪʾA (A.), MURUWWA, a term used especially in pre-Islamic and early Islamic usage. In the Arabic language there are a number of terms the meaning of which is imprecise (cf. Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī*, Cairo 1910, 34-8). The word *murūʾa* is one of these. Indeed, we are assailed on all sides by a host of differing post-Islamic definitions and contradictory pronouncements (*aḳwāl*) regarding it. These definitions and pronouncements will be found in the various dictionaries and in Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, *Mirʾāt al-murūʾāt*, Cairo 1898, 32 pp.; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, Cairo 1311, i, 212; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1925, i, 225, 296 ff.; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1339, i, 35; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1293, i, 221; Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Washshāʾ, *al-Muwashshā*, ed. Brünnow, Leiden 1886, 30 ff.; Abū Ḥātim al-Bustī, *Rawḍat al-ʿuḳalāʾ*, Cairo 1328, 205-6; al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1342, i, 52; al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Cairo 1326, i, 145; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 2nd ed. Zakī Mubārak, i, 89; al-Māwardī, *Adab al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn*, Cairo 1921, 254-5; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1348, iii, 213; al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Cairo 1893, ii, 317-18; al-Muttaḳī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Ḥaydarābād 1312, i, 84, 162-3.

One might be tempted to quote derivatives (especially the present participle) of the Aramaic root *m-r-ʾ* which indicate especially pre-eminence, the power and dignity of a chief (cf. the dictionaries of Payne-Smith, Margoliouth, Brun and Brockelmann; cf. also al-Ḳardāḥī, *al-Lubāb*, Beirut 1891, ii, 78; Yūsuf Dāwūd, *al-Lumʿa al-shahiyya...*, Mawṣil 1896, i, 361; cf. Bauer, in *ZDMG* [1913], 342-4) in order to claim that the Arabic *marʾ* means *sayyid* and that *murūʾa* therefore means *siyāda*. One can support this conjecture by the fact that Ibn Ḳutayba (*op. cit.*) places the chapter *murūʾa* under the rubric *al-siyāda*. Now Ibn Ḳutayba only gives a single saying in which *murūʾa* means *siyāda* and this is not pre-Islamic. On the other hand, the term *marʾ* (or *imruʾ*, on the latter orthography, see Fischer, *Imraʾalqais*, in *Islamica* [1925], 1-41, 365-90] with *murayʾ* as a diminutive: Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, Göttingen 1854, 229) in Arabic only means man in general (*al-insān*: *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, i, 117, below; cf. the German *Mensch*). Proof of this is given in the Ḳurʾān (e.g. sūra II, 96; XIX, 29; XXIV, 11; LII, 21; LXXVIII, 41; LXXX, 34) as well as in pre-Islamic literature (e.g. *Djamhara*, ed. Būlāḳ, 51, 91, 104, 118, 136; *Ḥamāsat al-Buḥturī*, Cairo 1927, 147, 148, 155, 178, 252, 281, 336, 342, 358; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*,

Cairo 1926, 105, 107). In its turn, *imra᾿a*, fem. of *imru᾿* (*TA*, i, 117) means woman in general (cf. sūra IV, 5; XXVIII, 23; XXXIII, 49) or even wife (XIX, 59; LXVI, 10, 11).

There is then reason to believe that *murū᾿a* was not originally applied to pre-eminence (*siyāda*) in order to imply, by borrowing or extension, superior qualities (those of a *sayyid*), but rather it describes the sum of the physical qualities of man (*mar᾿*) and then by a process of spiritualisation and abstraction his moral qualities (cf. the similar word *radjul*: *TA*, i, 11-12). Indeed, in the definitions and pronouncements already mentioned we may distinguish a conjunction of two contrary elements: one concrete (e.g. wealth and management of property), the other abstract and predominating. In the latter case, *murū᾿a* would be identical with good manners; in the former it would take into consideration the material conditions of life. In our view, the first meaning originates in the Djāhiliyya, whilst the second is Islamic. The opposition between these two *murū᾿as* is clearly brought out in a characteristic story in *Aghānī*, xix, 143-4: A satirical poet of the period of the Rightly-guided Caliphs asks the governor of a city to help him to meet the demands of his *murū᾿a* (*dji᾿tuka li-tuʿīnanī ʿalā murū᾿atī*, i.e. to appease my hunger to prevent me coveting the food of others; cf. for the interpretation of this phrase, *al-Muwashshā*, 32); the governor replies to him: "What can be the *murū᾿a* of one who disobeys God and devotes himself to calumny...?" (it should be remembered here that Islam took a stand against poets for their diatribes; see HIDJĀ᾿).

It is in any case misleading to claim that *murū᾿a* in pre-Islamic usage was based only on the material. In this period *imra᾿a* already meant in effect perfect woman (al-Zamakhsharī, *Kitāb al-Fā᾿iḳ*, Ḥaydarābād 1324, ii, 243; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1311, iv, 87). We even find these lines *idha 'l-mar᾿u aʿyat-hu 'l-murū᾿atu yāfiʿan* * *fa-maṭlabuhā kahlan ʿalayhi shadīdū* (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 511; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1349, iii, 198, cf. a verse of Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1927, 371). The meaning of the word *murū᾿a* in this verse is obscure, although it certainly has a moral significance (it is the same later, e.g. Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1292, 146; al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1911, 750; al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, Berlin 1861, 56). Besides, if the meaning of the word *murū᾿a* had been precise in the pre-Islamic period, the definitions and post-Islamic statements relating to it would have borne some trace of their origin and have gravitated round the same centre. Still oscillating between the concrete and abstract, *murū᾿a* can only have been a vague term in the period of the Djāhiliyya.

It appears that it was with Islam that *murū᾿a* definitely became a term to define an abstraction. We are inclined to believe that the Muslims only identified *murū᾿a* with eminent virtues (*makārim al-akhlāk*; see al-Thaʿālibī, *Mir᾿āt*, 2; esp. al-Zurkānī, *op. cit.*) by relying on the following *aḥādīth* (not canonical, according to Wensinck; we may add that al-Thaʿālibī, in *Mirʿāt*, esp. 6-7, does not give a single *ḥadīth* relating to *murū᾿a*): (a) *wa-᾿in kāna laka khulukun fa-laka murū᾿a* (*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 295; *al-Muwashshā*, 31); (b) *lā dīna illā bi-murū᾿a* (*ʿIkd*, *loc. cit.*, attributed to al-Ḥasan in *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, *loc. cit.*); (c) *Murū᾿at* [*al-mu᾿min*] *ʿakluhū* (Ibn Abi 'l-Dunya, *Kitāb Makārim al-akhlāk*, ms. Ar. Berlin, no. 5388, p. 16, ed. J.A. Bellamy, Wiesbaden 1973, cf. *Rawḍat al-ʿukalā᾿*, 205. This same saying is credited to the caliph ʿUmar, with the variant *khulukuhū*; al-Zurkanī, *op. cit.*; cf. *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 163).

After Islam, *murū᾿a* extended its meaning thanks to the now pre-dominating moral focus. Broadly speaking, with the Rightly-guided Caliphs it means chastity, good nature and observance of Ḳur᾿ānic laws. With the Umayyads, it implies politics, diplomacy, work, dignity and compassion (on the last meaning, cf. the *Dīwān* of Bashshār b. Burd, Cairo n.d., 70). With the early ʿAbbāsids it implies merit (*al-faḍl*: *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, Beirut 1899, 266) and is contrasted with abjectness (according to al-Aṣmaʿī; cf. *al-Adab al-kabīr*, Cairo 1331, 70), while with the moralists it is identified with *al-adab* in the meaning of good conduct. Ṣāliḥ b. Djanāḥ (cf. *al-Muḳtabas* [1930], 649) wrote a work on ethics entitled *al-Adab wa 'l-murū᾿a*, published in *Rasā᾿il al-bulaghā᾿*, ed. Kurd ʿAlī, Cairo 1913 (these two words are already associated in ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid al-Kātib, quoted in the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, Beirut 1900, 248, l. 10; cf. also *Mir᾿āt*, 12, ll. 12-13; 25, ll. 4-6 below); but what is upsetting is that Ṣāliḥ b. Djanaḥ said that "*murū᾿a* in its origin means firm resolve (*al-ḥazm*); success (*al-ẓafar*) is its fruit" (*MMIA*, iv/1, 32). In time, among the lexicographers, *murū᾿a* means urbanity (*al-insāniyya*: al-Djawharī, d. 398/1007-8, *op. cit.*), distinction (*al-sarw*: Ibn Sīda, d. 458/1066, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, iii, 17; meaning borrowed from Abū Zayd [al-Anṣārī]) and ideal manhood (*kamāl al-rudjūliyya*: Ṣāghānī, d. 650/1252, quoted in *TA*, i, 117, 13). On the other hand, with the moralists, *murū᾿a* was to find a place in Muslim ethics (al-Bustī, d. 354/965, *op. cit.*, 208), to be raised to an ethical notion covering a number of qualities, especially those of kings and lords (al-Thaʿālibī, d. 429/1038, *Mir᾿āt*, 2) and in proportion as Muslim speculation developed, it was to occupy a place in the first rank in the theory of morals, including definite qualities and conditions which were elaborated in the abstract (al-Māwardī, d. 450/1058, *op. cit.*). Continuing in this way in the path of ethical significance and becoming more and more abstract, *murū᾿a* finally came to mean virtue in the lexicographers (al-Fayyūmī, d. 770/1368-9, *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr*, Cairo 1912, 878) and the moralists (al-Djurdjānī, d. 816/1413-14, *Taʿrīfāt*, Leipzig 1845, 223). On the other hand, in the legists it indicates the fact of abstaining from any act capable of offending religion although not constituting an illicit act (Fagnan, *Additions*, Algiers 1923, 163). In Muslim Spain, assuming the forms *muruwwa* and *marāwa* (with the adjective *marawī* = variant of the classical *mar᾿ī*: *Ḳāmūs*, Bombay 1298, 18), it meant politeness and civility (Schiaperelli, *Vocabulista*, Florence 1871, 184, 328, 424-5; cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 578). As to *murū᾿a* in the spoken language of to-day, it means in Egypt nobility of soul and liberality (classical meanings); whence the Turkish adjectival form used in Egyptian Arabic *murū᾿atlī* (obliging). It becomes *miriwwa* (*m^iriwwa*) in Egypt and *muruwwa* (*m^uruwwa*) in Syria, and means in effect energy, as in the expression "so-and-so has not the *m.* to accomplish such a thing" (cf. in the classical language, al-Thaʿālibī, *Aḥāsin kalim al-nabī... Syntagma dictorum*, ed. Valeton, Leiden 1844, 28).

Murū᾿a has further been developed in Ṣūfism. It was regarded as one of the "branches" of *futuwwa* (al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1330, 103, ll. 2, 3 below). In any case, there is no doubt that its meaning here is on the moral plane (we find bracketed together *murū᾿a* and *futuwwa*: *Mir᾿āt*, 15, ll. 1, 2 below; 23, l. 4; 24, l. 6; 25, l. 2; 26, l. 12; *al-Muwashshā*, 30, l. 13; Fleischer, *Ali's Hundert Sprüche*, Leipzig 1837, 7, l. 1, 8; 15, l. 11; 25, l. 13; 29, l. 1; Ahlwardt, *Berlin catalogue*, v, 30-1, nos. 17, 32; al-Iṣbahānī, *op. cit.*, juxtaposes them). However, *murū᾿a* is fundamentally distinguished from

futuwwa, and it has gone a long way outside Ṣūfism, both as a word and as an ethical idea (cf. against this, Taeschner, *Die islamischen Futuwwabünde*, in *ZDMG* [1933], 11, 27).

This being the case, it seems difficult to agree with Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, i, 1-40, esp. 13) who connects the idea of *murūʾa* with that of *virtus* (cf. before him, de Goeje, *Dīwān poëtae... al-Anṣārī*, Leiden 1875, p. lxviii, referring to a very doubtful text) among the pre-Islamic Arabs. In his view *murūʾa* (opposed to the *dīn* of Islam) is their moral principle, from the fact that it presupposes certain obligations, viz. liberality, the protection of the *djār*, observance of the law of the vendetta and fidelity to one's plighted word. This thesis presents two disputable points. The first is philological: if we survey the semantic evolution of the word *murūʾa*, it must be granted that on the one hand the word is only identified with virtue at a late date, and on the other, in the pre-Islamic period it was not yet an absolutely abstract term capable of being taken as a symbol. The second point is connected with the method; if one starts from an idea one has formed about virtue, one cannot see all the aspects of a moral system, the essence of which we do not understand because it is quite foreign to us. It is therefore better not to isolate a moral phenomenon from the atmosphere of ideas and facts in which it has developed. In grouping these facts and ideas and observing them, one is led to substitute the term *ʿirḍ* [*q.v.*] for *murūʾa* when seeking for a moral principle of the pre-Islamic Arabs (cf. B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 32-3). (B. Farès)

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Ch. Pellat, *Ḥawla mafhūm «al-murūʾa» ʿinda ḳudamāʾ al-ʿArab*, in *al-Karmil*, iv (1983), 1-17, who debates the opinions of Goldziher and B. Farès and shows how the notion of *murūʾa* was complex in the Djahiliyya as well as in Islam. (Ed.)

MURZUḲ, a town in the urban district (*baladiyya*) of the same name in southern Libya and in the province of Fezzān or Fazzān [*q.v.*]. The town is situated in lat. 25° 55′ 55″ N. and long. 14° 7′ 5″ E. The district includes the sub-districts of Agar ʿAtaba, al-Ghatrūn, Murzuḳ, Trāghan, Umm al-Arānib and Zuwayla.

In antiquity, Murzuḳ was within the territory of the Garamantes, whose centre Garama was 60 miles/100 km northeast of Murzuḳ (see C.M. Daniels, *The Garamantes of southern Libya*, Stoughton, Wisc. 1970). It has always been on the important trans-Saharan caravan route linking Bornū and Kānem [*q.vv.*] with the Mediterranean coast. In recent times, Murzuḳ was under the control, in fact very nominal, of the Ḳaramānlī [*q.v.*] *amīrs* of Tripoli until *ca.* 1830 (see J. Wright, *Libya, a modern history*, London 1983, 16). It was the capital of the Fazzān region and headquarters of the Ottoman Turkish forces in southwestern Libya until the Italian invasion of 1912, but insecurity prevailed and trans-Saharan trade declined. In the early years of Italian occupation, the population of Murzuḳ was estimated at 800 (Touring Club Italiano, *Guida d'Italia. Possedimenti e colonie*, Milan 1929, 384) though British estimates in 1920 set the total at approximately 3,500 to 7,000 (Admiralty, *Handbook of Libya*, London 1920, 205). The foundation of the original town is thought to date to the work of Sīdī al-Muntaṣir al-Muḥammad in 710/1310, at which time the stone and mud fort, casbah and town wall were built. Water supply was available for the town and the palm gardens from shallow aquifers fed by the Wādī Ḥufra. The Turkish fort, barracks and a mosque were located in the north west corner of the walled town. The *sūḳ* with a daily market, and main mosque with a notable truncated conical minaret, were set on the main thoroughfare of the town on a south-east to north-west axis between Bāb al-Kabīr, the principal of three town gates, and the fort. Among European travellers to visit Murzuḳ were Heinrich Barth in 1851, Vice-Consul Warrington in 1855, Gerard Rohlfs in 1865 and Gustav Nachtigal in 1869. In the Italian period and after Libyan independence in 1951, Murzuḳ grew steadily as a small regional settlement. Murzuḳ was given *baladiyya* status in the 1970s, acting as administrative, security and educational centre for much of southern Libya as far as the Chad and Niger borders. The town population was reported at 6,290 in 1981, by which time the residential area, which included 1007 houses, had spread considerably beyond the walled town. The population of the urban district was 42,294 at the census of 1984. Modern farms were established on newly-reclaimed land to the east of palmeries and irrigated gardens. Finds of oil were reported in 1980 for the Murzuḳ region, but the extent of the field is not known.

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MŪSĀ, the name in Arabic for the Biblical prophet Moses.

1. In the Ḳurʾān. Here, Mūsā is considered as the precursor of, the model for, and the annunciator of Muḥammad (VII, 156). The two prophets share the same belief (XLIII, 11). Mūsā is also conceived in Muḥammad's image. Charges are brought against him similar to those made against Muḥammad and he is said to want to pervert people from the faith of their fathers (X, 79); he practises magic (XXVIII, 18). Mūsā and Hārūn seem rather to be sent to the stubborn Pharaoh [see firʿawn] than to the believing Israelites. Revelation is granted him: *tawrāt, kitāb, furḳān, ṣuḥuf* (II, 50; XXI, 49; LIII, 37; LXXXVII, 19), illumination, instruction and guidance. The picture of him is made up of Biblical, Haggadic and new elements. Mūsā is exposed, watched by his sister, refuses the milk of other nurses and is suckled by his own mother. Coming to the assistance of a hard-pressed Israelite, he kills an Egyptian but repents of his crime to which Satan had tempted him. He is pursued and escapes to Madyan [see madyan shuʿayb]. At a well there he waters the flocks of the two daughters of a *shaykh*. One of them invites him home modestly. He receives her as his wife at the price of 8-10 years service. This preliminary history is told in sūra XXIII, 1 - 28; the mission itself is often mentioned.

Mūsā receives from the burning bush in the holy valley of Ṭuwan (XX, 12; LXXIX, 16) a message, a voice which orders him to take off his shoes, the message to Pharaoh, the signs of his mission, the rod, the snake and the hand that becomes white. His speech is difficult to understand (XLIII, 52); Hārūn accompanies him as *wazīr* (XX, 30; XXV, 37). Pharaoh reproaches Mūsā with ingratitude, saying he had been brought up by them (XXVI, 17). Pharaoh assembles his magicians but their rods are devoured

by Mūsā's. The magicians profess their belief in God and are mutiliated in punishment (VII, 106-123; XX, 59-78; XXVI, 36-51). Pharaoh wishes prayers to be offered to him as God and orders Hāmān [*q.v.*] to build him a tower so that he can reach the God of Mūsā (XXVIII, 38; XL, 38). Mūsā performs nine miracles (XVII, 103; XX, 59-78; XXVII, 12). These are: 1. the rod and snake; 2. white hand; 3. deluge; 4. locusts; 5. lice; 6. frogs; 7. blood; 8. darkness; 9. separation of the waters of the sea (cf. e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 485).

Mūsā spends 30 and 10 nights with God (VII, 138). He brings instruction and admonition on the tablets. In his absence, al-Sāmirī makes the lowing golden calf (VII, 146; XX, 79-98). Mūsā breaks the tablets. He desires to see God. God crumbles the hill to dust (VII, 139). Israel fears war and has to wander 40 years in the wilderness (V, 24-9). Mūsā's enemies, Ḳārūn [*q.v.*] (Korah), Pharaoh and Hāmān, perish (XXIX, 38).

Some details differ from the Biblical story. Instead of Pharaoh's daughter, it is his wife who rescues the infant; instead of seven shepherdesses Mūsā assists two. Instead of ten plagues, the Ḳur'ān speaks of nine miracles. Mūsā strikes twelve springs out of the rock, one for each tribe (II, 57, a memory of the twelve springs of Elim, Exodus xv. 27). The divergence is greater when Hāmān is made minister to Pharaoh. Then there are new features: Mūsā repents of having slain the Egyptians. Mūsā sees the burning bush at night and desires to take a brand from its fire for his house (XX, 10; XXVIII, 29). Pharaoh's magicians die for their belief in God.

The following seems to originate in Haggada: God forbids the infant to be suckled by an Egyptian mother (XXVIII, 11). In the Haggada Moses is offered to all Egyptian suckling mothers; but the mouth that is to speak with God cannot imbibe anything impure (*Sōṭa*, 12b). That God tilts the mountain over Israel (II, 60, 87; VII, 170) is explained from the Haggada: Israel hesitated to accept the Pentateuch and God tilted Sinai over them: Torah or death (*Sabbath*, 80a; *ʿAboda Zara*, 2b). The turning of the sabbath breakers into apes (II, 61; IV, 50; V, 65; VII, 166) recalls the Haggada in which the builders of the tower of Babel become apes (*Sanhedrin*, 109a). Ḳārūn is represented as an exceedingly rich man, the keys of whose treasure can hardly be carried by many strong men (XVIII, 76, 79); the Haggada says that Korah found a hidden Egyptian treasure; 300 mules carried the keys of his treasury (*Pessachim*, 119a; *Sanhedrin*, 110a; Pal. *Sanh.*, x, 27d; Ginzberg, *Legends*, vi, 99, 560). The Ḳur'ānic story of a believer at the court of Pharaoh who wants to save Mūsā is not quite clear (XL, 29). Ought we to compare Jethro in the Haggada who advises clemency at Pharaoh's court (*Sōṭa*, 11a; *Sanhedrin*, 106a; Ginzberg, v, 392, 21, v, 412, 101)?

The story of Mūsā accompanying a wise man on a journey seems without parallel (XVIII, 59-81). The attempt is often made to distinguish this Mūsā of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] as Mūsā b. Manasse from Mūsā b. ʿImrān.

2. Mūsā in post-Ḳur'ānic legend. The histories of the prophet (especially al-Thaʿlabī's) supplement the Ḳur'ānic story with much from the Bible, Haggada and folklore.

Much is added from the Haggada. Pharaoh's sick daughters are cured as soon as they touch Moses's cradle. *Exodus Rabba*, i, 23, makes Pharaoh's daughter be cured of leprosy. The infant Mūsā scratches Pharaoh's chin. Pharaoh wants to slay him. On the intercession of Āsiya [*q.v.*] he tests him by putting gold and jewels on one side and burning coals on the other. Mūsā reaches for the gold but Gabriel directs his hand to the burning coal. Mūsā puts his burned hand on his tongue and therefore becomes a stammerer (Ginzberg, v, 402, 65; Hamilton, in *Zeitschr. f. romanische Philologie*, xxxvi, 125-59).

Elements of other legends are woven into the legends of Mūsā. The Abraham-Nimrod legend supplies the following features: Pharaoh frightened by dreams persecutes the infants; Mūsā is hidden from the assassins in the burning oven but the fire becomes cool and does him no harm. Pharaoh orders prayers to be offered for himself as to a god, has a tower built and shoots an arrow against heaven; the arrow comes back blood-stained and Pharaoh boasts he has slain God (al-Ṭabarī, i, 469). From the story of Jacob and Laban come the following: Mūsā serves 8-10 years for his wife (XXVIII, 27). His father-in-law offers him the spotted lambs born in his flock and the ewes for the watering troughs bear spotted lambs (al-Thaʿlabī, 112). There are frequent references to a pious Egyptian woman who is martyred by Pharaoh with her seven children, the youngest of whom is still at its mother's breast (in al-Thaʿlabī, 118, 139); this is of course modelled on the martyr mother of the Maccabees.

There are many fanciful embellishments, e.g. the miracle of the snakes, the plagues and the scenes on the Red Sea; Moses's rod in particular plays a great part. It came from Paradise; Ādam, Hābil, Shīth, Idrīs, Nūḥ, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Ibrāhīm, Ismāʿīl, Isḥāḳ and Yaʿḳūb had previously used it (al-Kisā'ī, 208). In al-Ṭabarī (i, 460-1), an angel brought the rod. Mūsā obtained it from his wife; his father-in-law quarrels with him about its ownership and an angel decides in favour of Musā. It is a miraculous rod and Thaʿlabī (111-16) in particular relates the wonders it performs. It shines in the darkness; it gives water in a drought, and placed in the ground it becomes a tree bearing fruit; it produces milk and honey and fragrant scent; against an enemy it becomes a double dragon. It pierces mountains and rocks; it leads over rivers and sea; it is also a shepherd's staff and keeps beasts of prey from the herds of Moses. When Mūsā was asleep on one occasion the rod slew a dragon, on another occasion seven of Pharaoh's assassins.

The varied Biblical, Haggadic, legendary and fairy tale features in the Islamic legend of Mūsā are thus blended into a very full picture and in al-Thaʿlabī form a regular romance.

Bibliography: Sūra II, 48-130; VII, 101-60;X, 76-88; XX, 8-93; XXVI, 9-65; XXVIII, 2-76; XL, 24-56 and the commentaries thereon; Ṭabarī, i, 414-49; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, 105-56; Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg, 194-240; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Būlāḳ, i, 61-78; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed...*, 1902², 149-77; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 153-85; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 141-3; R. Basset, *1001 Contes, Récits et légendes arabes*, iii, 67, 85; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans la vie des prophètes*, Paris 1933, 73-103; J. Walker, *Bible characters in the Koran*, 84-111. (B. Heller)

3. In Islamic tradition, Moses bears a special honorific title, that of *Kalīm Allāh*, whose exact meaning merits discussion. In effect, *kalīm* can be interpreted as meaning "a person who speaks to someone" or "a person whom one addresses". The first meaning is given by al-Bayḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, i, 445, 583, 595), who makes the equation *kalīm* = *mukālim*, and adopted by Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*, xv, 428), who nevertheless adds that al-Azharī in his *Tahdhīb* opts for the

second meaning. Several Ḳurʾān passages speak of a direct conversation between Allāh and Moses, notably IV, 162: *wa-kallama llāhu Mūsā taklīm*[an], where the use of the cognate infinite, *li 'l-taʾkīd*, shows that this "conversation" should be taken literally and not as a metaphor (*LA*, xv, 429; al-Ashʿarī, *Ibāna*, Ḥaydarābād 1321, 27). These passages always emphasise God's speech to Moses, and that may be the reason for al-Azharī's interpretation. The Form III *kālama* is not found in the official text of the Ḳurʾān, but sūra II, 254, contains a variant, *kālama Allāh*[a], which could be, according to al-Bayḍāwī, i, 130, the origin of the official title; but, in this passage, there is no question of Moses. See also the epithet *nadjī* applied to Moses (Ḳurʾān, XIX, 53) and assimilated by al-Bayḍāwī, i, 583, to *munādjī*.

Bibliography: See Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslesung*, 174; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 486. (D.B. Macdonald*)

MŪSĀ, banū, three brothers (in order of seniority) Muḥammad, Aḥmad and al-Ḥasan, who were among the most important figures in the intellectual life of Baghdād in the 3rd/9th century. We do not know their dates of birth, but Muḥammad died in 259/873 and could hardly then have been less than 70 years old because the youngest brother al-Ḥasan was already a brilliant geometrician in the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33 [*q.v.*]). Their father, Mūsā b. Shākir, was said to have been in his youth a resourceful highwayman who made the roads in Khurāsān unsafe. By all accounts, however, he became a noted astronomer and a close companion of al-Maʾmūn when the latter was residing at Marw in Khurāsān before he became caliph. When Mūsā died, al-Maʾmūn became the guardian of his sons, who were given a good education in Baghdād, becoming skilled in geometry, mechanics, music, mathematics and astronomy.

Under the successors of al-Maʾmūn, the brothers became rich and influential. They devoted much of their wealth and energy to the quest for the works of their predecessors, especially in Greek and Syriac, and sent missions to the lands of the Byzantine Empire to seek out manuscripts and bring them to Baghdād. Muḥammad is said to have made a journey to Byzantium in person. The brothers acted as sponsors to a group of scientists and translators, to whom they used to pay about 500 *dīnārs* a month. The most outstanding of these scholars were Thābit b. Ḳurra and Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.vv.*], who rendered numerous works, many of which would otherwise have been lost, from Greek and Syriac into Arabic. Muḥammad was on friendly terms with this group of scholars, particularly with Ḥunayn, who translated and composed books at the request of his patron. The brothers therefore played a leading rôle in the transmission of Greek works into Arabic, and in the foundation of the long and important contribution of the Islamic world to the sciences.

The Banū Mūsā, particularly Muḥammad, were employed by the caliphs on various undertakings, and became involved in the turbulent political life of Baghdād. Muḥammad and Aḥmad, for example, were among a group of twenty men responsible for the construction of the new town of al-Djaʿfariyya for the caliph al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] and are mentioned as having directed the excavation of canals. It seems, however, that they subcontracted the actual constructional work to others. They appear to have been of an envious and somewhat malicious nature. For example, they became enemies of the famous philosopher Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī [*q.v.*] and caused him to lose the favour of al-Mutawakkil, who ordered him to be beaten and allowed the brothers to confiscate his library. In his last years, Muḥammad was deeply involved in palace politics, in the period during which Turkish commanders were assuming effective control of the state. After the death of the caliph al-Muntaṣir [*q.v.*], Muḥammad successfully campaigned for the nomination of al-Mustaʿīn [*q.v.*] in preference to Aḥmad b. al-Muʿtaṣim because the latter was a friend of al-Kindī. When Baghdād was besieged by the army of the caliph's brother Abū Aḥmad, Muḥammad was sent by al-Mustaʿīn's commander, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, to estimate the strength of the enemy forces, and he was one of a delegation sent by the Ṭāhirid to Abū Aḥmad's army to ascertain the terms for al-Mustaʿīn's abdication.

These reports are interesting for the information which they give us about Muḥammad's standing in the courtly circles, but his political activities were not of the first importance, since it was of little moment who occupied the caliphal throne when the real power lay elsewhere. In any case, the rôle of the brothers as patrons of scholars, and their own scientific achievements, are of much greater significance than their entrepreneurial or political activities. A list of their works, taken from Arabic sources, will be found in *The book of ingenious devices*, an annotated translation of the Banū Mūsa's *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal* by D.R. Hill, Dordrecht 1979, 5-6. Twenty works are known to us by name, including books on mathematics, astronomy and mechanics, but only three of these are known to have survived. The Latin text of a translation by Gerard of Cremona of a mathematical work was published by M. Curtze (*Nova Acta der Kaiserl. Leo. Carol. Deutschen Akad. der Naturf.*, xlix [1883]). A work on a musical automaton was published in *Machriq* (1906), 444-58 and in German translation by E. Wiedemann, in *Centenario... Amari*, Palermo 1909, 169-80; the attribution of this work to the Banū Mūsā is, however, doubtful.

The best known and most important of the brothers' books, which was largely the work of Aḥmad, is their *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal* (see Eng. tr. given above, Arabic text ed. Ahmad Y. Al-Hassan, Aleppo 1981). The work comprises descriptions of some 100 small machines, including alternating fountains, self-filling and self-trimming lamps and a clamshell grab. About 80 of the devices, however, are trick vessels of various kinds that exhibit an astonishing mastery of automatic controls. The inspiration for Aḥmad's work is undoubtedly to be found in the machine treatises of the Hellenistic writers, particularly the *Pneumatics* of Philo of Byzantium (mid-3rd century BC) and the *Pneumatics* of Hero of Alexandria (*fl. ca.* 60 AD). *The Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*, although some of the devices in it come directly from Philo or Hero, in general goes well beyond its Greek predecessors, particularly in the use of small pressure variations and conical valves and other components in automatic controls. Indeed, the work of the Banū Mūsā in the variety and ingenuity of their control systems was unsurpassed until quite recent times. There may have been some didactic intention in their writing, but most of their constructions are quite trivial to our eyes. Nevertheless, many of the ideas, techniques and components that they used were to be of considerable importance in the development of machine technology. In the present state of research, we cannot establish how their ideas were transmitted to Europe. Diffusion may not have occurred at all, but given the popularity of the book throughout the Middle Ages in the Islamic world, including al-Andalus, it seems probable that some at

least of the Banū Mūsā's ideas entered northern Europe.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): Biographical material on the Banū Mūsā will be found in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Cairo 1348, 378-9; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, Cairo 1326, 208; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, 2 vols., Cairo-Königsberg 1882-4, i, 207, 215, 219. For details of Muḥammad's political activities, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1438, 1502, 1557, 1634, 1641, 1747. An appraisal of their work in relation to their Greek predecessors and Islamic successors is given in Hill, *The book of ingenious devices*, 19-24. (D.R. Hill)

MŪSĀ b. ABI 'l-ʿĀFIYA, a chieftain of the Miknāsa [see al-butr], a prominent Berber tribe of the Zanāta confederation. His claim to fame rests on his role in the troubled history of the Idrīsids [*q.v.*] of Fās (Fez) and the politics of the western Maghrib in the 4th/10th century. To an understanding of that role some account of the background against which it was played is essential.

In the last years of the 3rd/early years of the 4th century, Fās was politically as well as physically divided between the Ḳayrawānī and Andalusian banks of the city and plagued with civil war. It was in this context that in 292/905 the Idrīsid Yaḥyā b. al-Ḳāsim, dubbed al-Miḳdām (Yaḥyā III of the dynasty), was succeeded by his rival and kinsman Yaḥyā (IV) b. Idrīs b. ʿUmar, at whose general's hands he had met his death. Far from ending Fās's troubles, the advent of Yaḥyā IV marked the start of a reign that was to be marred and then ended by foes from an unexpected quarter. In Ifrīḳiya, at the other end of the Maghrib, the Syrian Fāṭimid ʿUbayd Allāh had dislodged the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] and, styling himself al-Mahdī [see al-mahdī ʿubayd allāh], assumed the office of caliph (297/910). Only a year or two thereafter he had, as the first step in an eastern policy designed to secure for him universal recognition as caliph, attempted to conquer Egypt—a venture ending in defeat and a hasty return to Ifrīḳiya. Doubtless seeing consolidation of his position in the West as a precondition of success in his eastern policy, he then focused attention on the western Maghrib and set in train a western military offensive under the command of his *ḳāʾid* Maṣāla b. Ḥabūs al-Miknāsī. On the chronology and details of operations the Arabic sources are at variance, and the inconsistencies they contain are to some extent reflected in the most readily accessible European-language accounts of events. The version that follows therefore should not be regarded as definitive.

In 305/917-18 Maṣāla's military target was Fās. In the approaches to the city, Yaḥyā (IV), who had gone out to do battle with him, was worsted and took refuge behind the city walls. A siege followed that ended only after he had come to terms with Maṣāla and agreed to recognise, in a written declaration, the sovereignty of al-Mahdī. In return for vassalage he was to be allowed to retain his authority over Fās and its immediate territories. Everything beyond, however, was to be subject to Maṣāla's cousin, Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya, lord of Tasūl (Tsoul) and Tāzā (Taza) and chieftain of the Miknāsa, tribal masters of the Malwiyya (Moulouya) valley.

Mūsā, realising the incompatibility of Yaḥyā's continuing presence in Fās with his own plans for total control of the western Maghrib, resolved to have him removed. Accordingly, when Maṣāla b. Ḥabūs next appeared on the scene in 307/919-20, Mūsā contrived to convince his cousin of the need to be rid of the Idrīsid. Taking the road to Fās, Maṣāla succeeded in seizing and deposing Yaḥyā, who was then banished by Mūsā to Aẓayla (Arzila). Thereafter, Fās remained under Fāṭimid control until 313/925, when the courageous and enterprising Idrīsid al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, known as al-Ḥadjdjām, rose in rebellion and, rallying forces to his standard, marched on Fās. Having managed to dislodge the Fāṭimid governor of the city, one Rayḥān, he moved to meet the challenge of the rapidly advancing Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya and successfully engaged his forces in a hard-fought battle on the Wādī 'l-Maṭāḥin between Fās and Tāzā.

Though al-Ḥadjdjām had regained Fās for the Idrīsids and thereafter rapidly gained extensive control of the territories around his capital, the days of his reign were numbered; in 315/927 an act of treachery from within his own circle paved the way for his imprisonment and death at the hands of Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya.

Once more in power as undisputed master of the western Maghrib, Mūsā set out to annihilate al-Ḥadjdjām's Idrīsids, tracking them down wherever they took refuge, whether, as in the case of the Banū Muḥammad in 317/929, it was their mountain retreat at Ḥadjar al-Nasr [*q.v.*] or, as in the case of the Banū ʿUmar, scattered among the Ghumāra [*q.v.*] in far north-western territories almost as far as Sabta (Ceuta) and Ṭandja (Tangier). But for the Berbers of northern Morocco, who called for moderation out of respect for the Prophet's descendants, Mūsā's policy of extermination would almost certainly have been pursued to the bitter end.

While preoccupied with the Idrīsids, Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya seems either not to have fully appreciated or to have ignored the mounting concern with which the ruler of Umayyad Spain, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, was viewing the growing power and prestige of the Fāṭimids in an area dangerously close to al-Andalus. In 314/927 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had taken his first step in a policy of defensive expansion by occupying Malīla (Melilla) and, by 316/928-9, he had opened negotiations with the Idrīsids. By way of retaliation Mūsā had attacked and utterly crushed the Umayyad's Rīfan vassal, al-Muʾayyad, the Ṣāliḥid ruler of Nakūr [*q.v.*], a small principality situated between Tiṭwān (Tetuan) and Malīla. In 319/931 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, now an impressive potentate who had, at the end of 316/early 929, proclaimed himself *amīr al-muʾminīn* [*q.v.*], took possession of Sabta and transformed it into a North African bulwark against any possible Fāṭimid invasion of Spain. With the Umayyad seizure and fortification of Sabta came Mūsā's realisation—possibly prompted by a visit from Umayyad emissaries—that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was now in a commanding position and well able to bring him to heel, should he feel so inclined. Mūsā therefore suddenly abandoned his allegiance to the Fāṭimids and with it his position as the official representative of their authority in the West. His allegiance he forthwith transferred to Cordova.

When the news of Mūsā's defection eventually reached ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī in Ifrīḳiya, he duly arranged for Ḥumayd (some sources: Ḥamīd) b. Yaṣāl, nephew and successor of Maṣāla b. Ḥabūs, who had died in battle in 313/924, to launch an offensive against Mūsā (320/933). Worsted in the plain of Masūn (Msoun), a little to the east of Tāzā, Mūsā fled, abandoning Fās to the Fāṭimid general. Once Fāṭimid forces had left the region, Mūsā again affirmed his recognition of the Umayyad Caliph's suzerainty in the western Maghrib.

In 322/934 ʿUbayd Allāh died and was succeeded

by al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh [*q.v.*]. Encouraged by the news of the former's death, Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya enlisted the aid of one Aḥmad al-Djudhamī and succeeded in regaining Fās (325/935). His triumph was short-lived: within a few months, al-Ḳāʾim's forces were beneath the walls of Fās, led by a *fatā* named Maysūr, and Mūsā was obliged to flee as the Fāsīs themselves came to terms with the enemy and agreed to recognise al-Ḳāʾim. The victory of the latter's troops marked the end of Mūsā's political career. The precise date, place, and manner of his death are matters which our sources make hard to determine. One account (in *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*) has it that, as soon as Maysūr had finished with Fās, he pursued the fleeing Mūsā, who fought a series of losing battles, in which the Idrīsids—now re-established in the Rīf and northwestern Morocco with new loyalties—played a prominent part; that after a life of wandering through the desert and such territories as remained under his control from Adjarsīf, i.e. Garsīf [*q.v.*] (Guercif) to Nakūr, he met his end somewhere in the Malwiyya region; that the date of his death was either 328/939-40 or 341/952-3; that, as ruler, he was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm (d. 350/961), who was in turn succeeded by his son ʿAbd Allāh (d. 360/971), the "dynasty" disappearing with the death of the latter's son Muḥammad in 363/973-4 or, according to one chronicler, the death of al-Ḳāsim, Muḥammad's son, in 445/1055. However, for the date of Mūsā's death and the name of his immediate successor, if not for a number of other matters, by far the most reliable source is Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis V*—available to us only since 1979. From it we can, with a high degree of certainty, take it that Mūsā's death occurred in Shawwāl 326/August 938 and that he was succeeded by his son Madyan, one of just three sons—the other two bearing the names Abū Munḳidh and Muḥammad.

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(J.D. LATHAM)

MŪSĀ B. ʿAZRA, Abū Hārūn Mōshē ben Yaʿḳōb b. ʿEzra, Judaeo-Arabic literary theorist and Hebrew poet in Muslim Spain. He probably lived from *ca.* 1055 to *ca.* 1135-40. He was born in Granada and was a pupil of Yisḥaḳ b. Ghayyāth (Ghiyāth) in Lucena. His education must have comprised all kinds of learning including Hebrew and Arabic literature. His Classical Arabic was of a high standard. He apparently had an important administrative function in Granada because he bore the title *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* ("head of the police" or "captain of the guard"); this title, however, is to be considered perhaps as purely honorific. Among his pupils during his time in Granada we find Yehudah al-Lewi (d. 1141), whom he encouraged in composing poetry.

In 1090 Granada fell into the hands of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN. 4.], who were intransigent towards the Jews; their arrival meant the destruction of the Jewish community. Most of the members of the Ibn Ezra family left the city. Moses ibn Ezra, however seems to have remained in Granada for a while; perhaps he did not have the necessary funds to flee. Finally, he succeeded in escaping to Christian Spain (Castile). He did not return to his native city and considered himself in exile for the rest of his life, although his family and friends invited him to return there. We know little about the conflicts which he had with his family; he had some disagreements, it seems, with his brother Yosef and with his own children.

He wandered around, dependent on the gifts of munificent patrons. Some of his patrons are mentioned in the Arabic dedications of his poetry, like Ibn Mudjāhir (Abraham b. Meʾir, who served at the court of the ʿAbbādid king al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*]), to whom his *Sefer ha-ʿAnaḳ* ("The Book of the Necklace") is devoted. This *Sefer*, entitled in Arabic *Kitāb Zahr al-riyāḍ* ("Book of the flowers of the meadows"), contains a collection of Hebrew poems, each rhyming on *tadjnīs tāmm*, i.e. words identical in sound, but different in meaning. Moses Ibn Ezra's other poetry bears witness to his many letters to colleagues in Muslim Spain, which compensated for the loneliness of the poet in Northern Spain. He lived in towns like Saragossa, of whose inhabitants' low intellectual status other contemporaries also complained, such as the Arabic poet Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*] and the Hebrew poet and philosopher Solomon ibn Gabirol (d. 1058 or 1070).

Moses ibn Ezra's two important Judaeo-Arabic works are the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa 'l-mudhākara* ("Book of Discussing and Memorising") and the *Maḳāla bi 'l-Ḥadīḳa fī maʿnā al-madjāz wa 'l-ḥaḳīḳa* ("The Book of the Garden on Figurative and Literal language"). The *Muḥāḍara* is a treatise on rhetoric, dealing mainly with the question of how contemporary Hebrew Andalusian poets should compose their poems according to the laws of the poetics of the Arabs. This book must have been written in old age, when he was in exile; a possible suggested date is *ca.* 1135. The book is divided into eight chapters, being apparently answers to a friend who posed him eight questions about the nature of the poetry of the Hebrews and the Arabs. The book is unique in the sense that it is the only Judaeo-Arabic treatise about poetics. The book is mainly of interest from two points of view: it contains a chapter (no. 5) with a historical survey of contemporary Hebrew Andalusian literature, and chapter no. 8 (covering about half of the book) deals, amongst other subjects, with twenty-three traditional Arabic figures of speech, quoting examples from the Ḳurʾān, Arabic poetry, Hebrew Scripture and contemporary Hebrew Andalusian poetry. In his presentation of the figures of speech, Moses ibn Ezra was above all influenced by al-Ḥātimī's [*q.v.* in Suppl.] *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, and to a lesser extent, by Ibn Rashīḳ's [*q.v.*] *Kitāb al-ʿUmda*.

The *Ḥadīḳa* deals, amongst other subjects (such as the position of man in the universe, the unknowability of God, and the intellect, following a Neoplatonic

orientation), with the metaphorical interpretation of the anthropomorphic passages about God in the Hebrew Scriptures, perhaps considering God in somewhat the same way as the Muᶜtazila [*q.v.*] did earlier ("It follows from the absolute unity of God that the Divine Essence cannot be comprehended by the human mind, but only described by metaphor"). The book contains some references to Arabic poetry. It is perhaps of interest in the light of recent research on the *ḥaḳīḳa* and *madjāz* terminology in early works on Ḳurʾānic *tafsīr*. The *Ḥadīḳa* has not yet been edited. Being part of the Sassoon collection, it came into the possession of the Israel National Library in 1976.

Moses ibn Ezra also composed some fifteen Hebrew *muwashshaḥāt* [*q.v.*] in which he imitated Arabic examples, and adopted Arabic and Romance *kharadjāt*.

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MŪSĀ B. MAYMŪN, Maimonides [see ibn maymūn].

MŪSĀ B. NUṢAYR b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd al-Lakhmī (or al-Bakrī) Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, conqueror of the western Maghrib and of Spain. He was born in 19/640; his father had been in the immediate entourage of Muᶜāwiya [*q.v.*]. Mūsā was at first appointed by the caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik to collect the *kharādj* at al-Baṣra, but having been suspected of embezzlement, he fled and took refuge with the caliph's brother, the governor of Egypt ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. Marwān; the latter took Mūsā to Syria to the caliph, who fined him 100,000 *dīnārs*. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz provided half of this sum for Mūsā and brought him to Egypt, where he gave him the governorship of Ifrīḳiya which had been previously held by Ḥassān b. al-Nuᶜmān. The various chroniclers are not agreed as to the date of his appointment to the office, but it possibly took place in 79/698 or the following year.

Mūsā and his troops thereupon entered on a career of successful conquest which ended in the consolidation of Muslim power in Ifrīḳiya and in the conquest of the rest of North Africa and of Spain. Here we give only the most essential details. Assisted by his sons ᶜAbd Allāh and Marwān he sent successful expeditions against Zaghwān and Sadjūma (?) and reduced the Hawwāra, the Zanāta and the Kutāma [*q.vv.*]. The Berbers taking refuge in the west of the Maghrib, Mūsā decided to bring them to subjection; confirmed in his office by ᶜAbd al-Malik's successor al-Walīd, he continued his advance to Tangier and the Sūs [*q.v.*] and returned to Ifrīḳiya, leaving as his deputy in the Maghrib his freedman Ṭāriḳ [*q.v.*]. The latter in 92/710-11 invaded Spain, and Mūsā, anxious about and at the same time jealous of the progress made by his lieutenant, himself crossed in the following year, leaving his son ᶜAbd Allāh as governor of Ifrīḳiya. Landing at Algeciras in Ramaḍān 93/June-July 712 with his other son ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, he refused to take the same route as Ṭāriḳ and taking the towns of Sidona (Shadhūna [*q.v.*]), Carmona, Seville and Merida, he was on his way to Toledo when Ṭāriḳ came to meet him and was bitterly reproached by his master. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr then continued his march and completely subjugated the north of Spain from Saragossa to Navarre. In 95/713-14 he left Spain with immense booty, leaving his son ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz as governor; he reached Ḳayrawān at the end of the year and continued by land to Syria in a triumphal procession of Arab chiefs and Berber and Spanish prisoners. The caliph al-Walīd, then near his end, urged him to hurry while his brother and heir-presumptive Sulaymān, eager to appropriate the vast wealth brought by Mūsā, tried to delay him. He arrived in Damascus shortly before the death of al-Walīd, and when Sulaymān assumed power in 96/715, he at once displayed his hatred of the conqueror. Regarding Mūsā b. Nuṣayr's stay in Syria before his death in 98/716-17, the Arab historians give a number of details which are obviously of quite a legendary character.

Bibliography: All the Muslim chroniclers who have described the conquest of North Africa and Spain in their works have dealt with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr at fair length, but with details of a more legendary than historical nature. Moreover, these historians have copied each other, and in this connection one should consult the study made by A. Gateau on the relationships between the various chronicles, in *RT*, xxix (1937), xxxiii-xxxiv (1938), xxxviii-xl (1939) and lii (1942). Amongst the principal historians whose works are accessible, one may cite: Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, New Haven 1922, ed.- partial tr. Gateau, Algiers, 2nd ed. 1948 (cf. R. Brunschvig, *ᶜIbn ᶜAbdalhakam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi [1942-7]); Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Ribera, Madrid 1926; *Akhbār madjmūᶜa*, ed.- tr. Lafuente y Alcántara, Madrid 1867; Ibn ᶜIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, i-ii, ed. G.S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948-51; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*; Lévi-Provençal, *Naṣṣ djadīd ᶜan fatḥ al-ᶜArab li 'l-Maghrib*, in *Ṣaḥīfat al-Maᶜhad al-Miṣrī*, ii (1373/1954), 223-4. There are biographical notices devoted to Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ᶜAbbās, v, 318-29, no. 748; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh ᶜulamāʾ al-Andalus*, no. 1454; Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, no. 1334; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, ed. Muʾnis, Cairo 1964. See also, in addition to the general histories of North Africa and Muslim Spain, Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1857-75;

Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España*, Madrid 1892; Ḥ. Muʾnis, *Fadjr al-Andalus*, Cairo 1959. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

MŪSĀ B. **ᶜUKBA** al-Asadī (after 55-141/675-758), early Medinan scholar and historian, especially interested in the Prophet's expeditions or *maghāzī* [*q.v.*]. A *mawlā* of al-Zubayr b. al-ᶜAwwām's and a pupil of al-Zuhrī [*q.vv.*], he taught in the Prophet's mosque in Medina, showing in his work the characteristic, increasing emphasis of the Medinan school on *isnād*s and also displaying a concern in giving dates for the events which he describes. His *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, transmitted by his nephew Ismāᶜīl b. Ibrāhīm b. ᶜUkba, has not survived as a complete work, although one fragment survives and it was cited by later writers such as Ibn Isḥāḳ, al-Wāḳidī and al-Ṭabarī.

Bibliography: E. Sachau, *Das Berliner Fragment des Mûsâ Ibn ᶜUkba...*, in *Sb. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, xi (1904), 445-70; J. Schacht, *On Mūsā ibn ᶜUqba's Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, in *AO*, xxi (1953), 288-300; Ziriklī, *Aᶜlām*, viii, 276; A.A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, Princeton 1983, 32-3; Brockelmann, I², 140-1, S I, 205; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 286-7. (Ed.)

MŪSĀ ČELEBI (?-1413); Ottoman prince, son —probably the youngest— of Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*]. At the battle of Ankara in 1402, he fought in the rear of the contingent commanded by his father (Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāme*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937, 255) and seems to have fallen into Tīmūr's captivity at the same time as Bāyezīd (cf. the *Relazione* of Gerardo Sagredo, dated 12 October 1402, in M.M. Alexandresca-Derscu, *La Campagne de Timur en Anatolie*, repr. London 1977, 130). Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī (*op. cit.*, 60) asserts that Tīmūr's men found him and brought him into Tīmūr's presence after the battle. He appears to have remained in Tīmūr's custody until his father's death in 1403, when Tīmūr released him and sent him with his father's coffin to Yaᶜḳūb, the lord of Germiyān [*q.v.*]. Yaᶜḳūb released him into the custody of his brother Meḥemmed (I) [*q.v.*] in Bursa, but only after Meḥemmed had defeated and expelled their third brother, ᶜĪsā (*Anonymous chronicle*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms. Marsh 313; quoted *verbatim* by Neshrī, ed. F.R. Unat and M.A. Köymen, *Kitâb-i Cihânnümâ*, i, Ankara 1949, 419; ii, Ankara 1957, 423-31). Despite several conflicting traditions to the contrary (e.g., Enwerī, *Düstūrnāme*, ed. M.H. Yınanç, Istanbul 1928, 91; Oruč b. ᶜĀdil, *Tewārīkh-i Āl-ᶜOthmān*, ed. F. Babinger, Hanover, 37, 105) it is probable that between 1403 and 1409, Mūsā remained in the custody of his brother Meḥemmed. In this year, Meḥemmed released him, evidently as a political instrument in his war against his brother Süleymān Čelebi [*q.v.*].

In 1409, Süleymān Čelebi ruled in Rumelia and in Ottoman Anatolia as far east as Ankara (see E.A. Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman chronicles*, in *Isl.*, lx [1983], 268-90). As presented in the *Anonymous chronicle* (Bodleian, Marsh 313, *verbatim* in Neshrī, ii, 473-9), Mūsā requested Meḥemmed to release him, so that he could seize Rumelia from Süleyman Čelebi and rule there as Meḥemmed's vassal. Before his departure, he visited Meḥemmed, the lord of Ḳaramān [*q.v.*], and Isfendiyār-oghlī Mübāriz al-Dīn, the lord of Sinop, presumably to seek their co-operation in an alliance against Süleymān Čelebi. From Sinop, he travelled to Wallachia. Here he concluded a marriage alliance with the *voyvoda* Mircea —also an enemy of Süleymān Čelebi— and, with the assistance of Wallachian troops, invaded Süleymān's territory (Neshrī, *loc. cit.*). His success was immediate. At this time, Süleymān Čelebi was in Anatolia. The fortresses in Rumelia acknowledged Mūsā's overlordship; he occupied Edirne [*q.v.*] (P. Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, i, Vienna 1975, Chronicle no. 96, p. 636) and, by May 1410, Gallipoli (Gelibolu [*q.v.*]). With this fortress in his possession, he was able to prevent Süleymān's crossing the Straits (St. Stanojević, *Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle*, in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, xviii [1876], 442). However, with assistance from the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Palaeologus he was able to cross the Bosphorus and, on 15 June 1410, to defeat Mūsā at Kosmidion (Hasköy) (Schreiner, *loc. cit.*). Mūsā fled to his temporary ally Stephen Lazarević, the Despot of Serbia (M. Braun, ed., *Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen*, Wiesbaden 1956, 33). Mūsā soon returned to Rumelia, and the civil war continued into the autumn of 1410. A Ragusan report of August 1410 comments that Süleymān Čelebi was the most successful of the warring princes (Stanojević, *op. cit.*, 444-5). Nevertheless, Mūsā emerged victorious. In February 1411, he advanced from Yambol to Edirne and, according to both Greek and Turkish traditions, attacked Süleymān when he was drunk. As his own troops began to desert him for Mūsā, Süleymān Čelebi fled. On 17 February 1411, Mūsā's agents captured and killed him (Schreiner, *loc. cit.*; Neshrī, ii, 484-7).

The death of his brother left Mūsā as sole ruler in Rumelia. However, immediately on his accession, Stephen Lazarević allowed his men to pillage Mūsā's territory, and the Byzantine emperor sought to prolong the Ottoman civil war by releasing from custody Süleymān Čelebi's son Orkhan (Stanojević, *op. cit.*, 447). It was this act of provocation that led Mūsā, in the autumn of 1411, to lay siege to Constantinople. This operation was unsuccessful, not so much, it would appear, as a result of a Greek victory over his naval force (Laonicus Chalcocondyles, *Historiarum libri decem*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1843, 176-7), as through the desertion of several lords of Rumelia. Mūsā's vassal, George Branković, the nephew of Stephen Lazarević, fled to the Byzantine emperor, Manuel; the Ottoman lords Mīkhāloghlï [*q.v.*] Meḥemmed and Djandarlï [*q.v.*] Ibrāhīm fled to Mūsā's brother in Anatolia (Braun, *op. cit.*, 44-5). The *Anonymous chronicle* (*verbatim* in Neshrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 488-9) reports that Djandarlï Ibrāhīm informed Meḥemmed that the lords of Rumelia wished to overthrow Mūsā, who had aroused their hatred by killing some of their number and confiscating their property. These desertions seem to have emboldened Meḥemmed to attack his brother. In the spring of 1412, he crossed the Bosphorus with the help of Manuel, and attacked Mūsā at Inceğiz (Neshrī, ii, 490-5). Mūsā was victorious, but after the battle, two more of his lords, Pasha Yigit and Mīkhāloghlï Yūsuf, deserted him, fled to Stephen Lazarević, and plundered Mūsā's realms with Serbian troops. In the autumn of 1412, Meḥemmed again crossed the Bosphorus with Manuel's help to attack Mūsā, but again turned back, as bad weather and swollen rivers blocked his passage (Braun, *op. cit.*, 46-8).

On Meḥemmed's withdrawal to Anatolia, Mūsā attacked his ally, Stephen Lazarević. He set out from Sofia at the beginning of January 1413, seized Vranja in the Morava valley and laid siege to Novo Brdo (*ibid.*, 49-50). A Ragusan report of 8 March 1413, describes this failed siege, but notes Mūsā's successes elsewhere (St. Stanojević, *op. cit.*, 448). In Serbia, he

apparently conquered Sokolac, Lipovac, Bolvac, Svrjlig, Stalać and Koprian (Braun, *op. cit.*, 50). The probable reason for Mūsā's ending this successful campaign was the news that Orkhan, the son of Süleymān Čelebi, had landed in Thessaloniki, presumably released again by the Byzantine emperor. Mūsā departed from Serbia to Albania (*ibid.*, 50), and it was probably at this time that he formed an alliance, by marriage to his daughter, with the despot of Ioannina, Carlo Tocco (G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di Anonimo*, Rome 1975, 360). From Albania he marched to Thessaloniki, destroying the fortified monastery of Chortiates on the Kassandra peninsula (Braun, *op. cit.*, 50). From here he returned to Edirne.

In the meantime, Stephen Lazarević had sent an envoy to Meḥemmed, urging him to attack Mūsā from the east, while he attacked from the west with Serbian, Hungarian and Bosnian troops (*ibid.*, 50). Meḥemmed evidently agreed and announced a campaign against Mūsā, presumably in the spring or early summer of 1413. With an army which included troops from his father-in-law, the lord of Dulghadīr [*q.v.*], he crossed the sea of Marmara in ships provided by Manuel. At Vize he received word from Ewrenos [*q.v.*] that his son Barak, Pasha Yigit, and Sinān Bey of Trikkala would desert Mūsā and join him at Pirot. From Vize he marched to Pirot and on to the Morava valley (Neshrī, ii, 502-11), where he concluded a treaty with Stephen Lazarević (Braun, *op. cit.*, 53), and received soldiers from Ewrenos and John VII Palaeologus, the governor of Thessaloniki. Near Kosovo he received a further Serbian contingent, and troops under the command of Mūsā's erstwhile ally, Ḥamza Bey, the brother of Djüneyd of Aydīn [*q.v.*]. Despite desertions, when Mūsā encountered Meḥemmed's army on 5 July 1413 beneath Mt. Vitosha near Sofia, he was at first victorious. Eventually, however, he fled the field, and Meḥemmed's men caught and killed him (Neshrī, ii, 513-17; Braun, *op. cit.*, 53-4).

Three years after Mūsā's death, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], whom he had appointed as *ḳāḍīʿasker* [*q.v.*], led a rebellion against Meḥemmed I in Rumelia, apparently hoping to win support from Mūsā's former office-holders, whom Meḥemmed had dispossessed following the defeat of his brother.

Bibliography: The most reliable narrative sources for Mūsā Čelebi appear to be the account of the Ottoman civil war in the Turkish *Anonymous chronicle*, copied *verbatim* by Neshrī; Constantine the Philosopher's Serbian *Life* of Stephen Lazarević; and the Greek *Short chronicle* listing events of the Ottoman civil war (references given in article). All these appear to be the work of contemporaries or near-contemporaries. Coins and documents from the time of Mūsā are extremely scarce. For coins, see A.C. Schaendlinger, *Osmanische Numismatik*, Brunswick 1973, 89, 156. For documents, see P. Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden (II), (III)*, repr. in Wittek, *La formation de l'Empire ottoman*, ed. V.L. Ménage, London 1982; E.A. Zachariadou, *Early Ottoman documents of the Prodoromos Monastery (Serres)*, in *Südostforschungen*, xxiii (1969), 3. Modern studies of Mūsā Čelebi are N. Filipović, *Princ Musa i šeyh Bedreddin*, Sarajevo 1971, and the relevant chapters in E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht — Die Osmanen*, Weimar 1985. Modern studies strongly reflect the theory that Mūsā Čelebi and his *ḳāḍīʿasker* Badr al-Dīn were social and religious egalitarians. For a narrative of Mūsā Čelebi's reign, see C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 67-73.

(C. Imber)

MŪSĀ AL-HĀDĪ [see AL-HĀDĪ].

MŪSĀ AL-KĀẒIM ("he who restrains himself" or "who keeps silent"), the seventh Imām of the Twelver Shīʿīs. He is known as Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Awwal (or al-Māḍī), Abū Ibrāhīm, Abū ʿAlī, and al-ʿAbd al-Ṣāliḥ. He was born at al-Abwāʾ (between Mecca and Medina) or in Medina on 7 Ṣafar 128/8 Nov. 745. Other dates given are Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 127/Sept. 745 and 129/746-7. His mother Ḥamīda (or Ḥumayda) bint Ṣāʿid al-Barbariyya (or al-Andalusiyya) was an *umm walad* bought from a Berber slave-dealer; she is often referred to as al-Muṣaffāt, "the purified".

Little is known of al-Kāẓim's early life; in a work of the Zaydī al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917) he is said to have taken part in the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh against the ʿAbbāsids in 145/762 (cf. W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 160; see also Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*, 277). He first came into prominence at the death in 148/765 of his father Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*]. This event led to splits in the Shīʿī community over the succession. Al-Ṣādiḳ's son and designated successor Ismāʿīl predeceased his father, while a second son, ʿAbd Allāh, died shortly after his father, leaving no male offspring. These two sons nevertheless both had their followers: the proto-Ismāʿīliyya and the Faṭhiyya respectively. There also arose a group called the Sumayṭiyya (variants: Samṭiyya, Shumayṭiyya), who argued that the imāmate should go to another son, Muḥammad, and a further group, the Nāwūsiyya, who affirmed that Djaʿfar had not died and would reappear as the Mahdī. According to Twelver belief, in contrast, al-Kāẓim had already as a boy been designated by his father as the future Imām. Al-Kāẓim's imāmate was supported by some leading Shīʿīs, including Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*]; others withheld their recognition for a time.

When the ʿAbbāsid caliph Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr (ruled 136-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]) received news of al-Ṣādiḳ's death, he reportedly sent spies to Medina to discover the identity of the appointed legatee and have him killed. Al-Ṣādiḳ is said to have anticipated this move, and to have let it be known shortly before his death that he had appointed five legatees, including al-Manṣūr (in first place) and Mūsā al-Kāẓim; thus the caliph's plan was foiled.

Al-Kāẓim adhered to a quietist policy. He devoted himself to prayer and contemplation and, like his father before him, spread the Shīʿī doctrine among his disciples. Yet this did not spare him from harassment by the ʿAbbāsids. Al-Manṣūr's son and successor al-Mahdī (ruled 158-69/775-85) brought al-Kāẓim to Baghdād as a prisoner. There the Imām is said to have been placed in charge of the prefect of police, al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī (d. 175/791-2 or 176/792-3), who became a follower of his. If this report is true, then al-Kāẓim's arrest could not have taken place during al-Musayyab's governorship of Khurāsān, which lasted between 163/779-80 and 166/782-3 (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 500-1, 517. According to a less reliable account, 166/782-3 is the date of al-Musayyab's appointment as governor; see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, xiii, 137). Al-Kāẓim's detention seems to have been brief; his release reportedly followed a dream in which ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib appeared before al-Mahdī and berated him for arresting al-Kāẓim. Al-Mahdī made al-Kāẓim promise that he would not rebel against him or any of his children; he then gave the Imām 3,000 *dīnārs* and sent him back to Medina (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 533).

According to some reports, al-Kāẓim was again in danger after the collapse in 169/786 of the revolt of al-

Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Ṣāḥib Fakhkh [*q.v.*]. Although al-Kāẓim had refused to support this revolt and had warned al-Ḥusayn that he would be killed, the caliph al-Hādī (ruled 169-70/785-6 [*q.v.*]) accused him of instigating the uprising and planned to have him killed. He was, however, dissuaded from this intention by the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] and died soon after. Al-Kāẓim is said to have composed the prayer known as al-Djawshan ("coat of mail") in gratitude for his deliverance (see Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhadj al-daʿawāt*, Tehran 1322, 217 ff.).

Al-Kāẓim remained in Medina until the accession of Hārūn al-Rashīd (ruled 170-93/786-809 [*q.v.*]). Nine years into his reign, the caliph had al-Kāẓim arrested. Various accounts are given of the background to this event. One report has it that al-Rashīd took an interest in the views of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and, finding them dangerous, ordered the arrest of the Imām. According to another report, al-Kāẓim was the victim of intrigues at the ʿAbbāsid court: when al-Rashīd placed his son Muḥammad (the future caliph al-Amīn) in the care of Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath (who headed the *dīwān al-khātam* between 170/786-7 and 171/787-8 and was later governor of Khurāsān until 173/790), the *wazīr* Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak feared that if his son were to become caliph, Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad would rise to prominence, thus endangering the privileged position of the Barmakids [see BARĀMIKA]. Yaḥyā therefore planned to disgrace Djaʿfar by revealing his ʿAlid connections. To this end he enlisted the help of al-Kāẓim's nephew and confidante Muḥammad (or ʿAlī) b. Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar, who supplied him with information about the financial network of the ʿAlids. Yaḥyā then told al-Rashīd that Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad belonged to the *shīʿa* of al-Kāẓim and was sending him money (the *khums*); that al-Kāẓim was receiving donations from all corners of the earth; and that he had bought an estate (*ḍayʿa*) called al-Yasīr (variants: al-Busriyya, al-Bishriyya, al-Yasīra, al-Yasīriyya) for 30,000 *dīnārs*. In other accounts, the caliph is said to have been told that people believed in al-Kāẓim's imāmate and that al-Kāẓim planned to rebel against al-Rashīd. The persons who denounced the Imām are on occasion identified as his brother Muḥammad or the Zaydī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿḳūb b. Dāwūd [*q.v.*]. The latter possibility is unlikely: by the time in question, Yaʿḳūb was a broken, blind man; furthermore, he is known to have helped ʿAlids escape from the authorities, and it would have been out of character for him to betray al-Kāẓim.

Al-Rashīd used the opportunity of a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina to have al-Kāẓim seized. The pilgrimage is said to have been either an *ʿumra* (in Radjab 179/Sept.-Oct. 795 or Ramaḍān 179/Nov.-Dec. 795) or a *ḥadjdj* (in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 179/Feb.-March 796). According to some sources, al-Kāẓim was sent directly to Baghdād; other, apparently more reliable reports indicate that he was first taken to Baṣra and held prisoner for a year by the governor ʿĪsā b. Djaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr. Al-Rashīd then ordered him to be killed, but ʿĪsā, who had been impressed with al-Kāẓim's piety, managed to avoid this, and instead had him brought to Baghdād. He was handed over to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ (who had been appointed *ḥādjib* in 179/795) and placed under house arrest. Al-Rashīd is said to have released him at some point in consequence of a dream he had, only to have him re-arrested. Later, al-Kāẓim was entrusted to al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, who also kept him under house arrest, but treated him with respect.

Al-Kāẓim was able to communicate with his followers, who now also included local Shīʿīs; one of them, ʿAlī b. Yaḳṭīn (d. 182/798), was asked by al-Kāẓim to use his influence with the authorities to help the Shīʿīs. This was consistent with al-Kāẓim's view that working for an illegitimate government (in this case, the ʿAbbāsids) is permissible if it is done to further the Shīʿī cause. ʿAlī b. Yaḳṭīn also acted as financial agent of al-Kāẓim and sent him precious gifts (cf. W. Madelung, *A treatise of the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā on the legality of working for the government*, in *BSOAS*, xliii [1980], 17-19).

When news of al-Kāẓim's relatively comfortable situation was communicated to al-Rashīd (who was at al-Raḳḳa at the time), the angry caliph sent al-Faḍl a written order to kill al-Kāẓim. One account has it that al-Faḍl refused and was given one hundred lashes, while al-Kāẓim was transferred to the prefect of police al-Sindī b. Shāhak (grandfather of the poet Kushādjim [*q.v.*]). Al-Faḍl's father Yaḥyā b. Khālid hastened to al-Raḳḳa and, in an attempt to placate al-Rashīd, promised that he would do whatever the caliph wished. Al-Rashīd repeated his order to have al-Kāẓim killed; Yaḥyā returned to Baghdād and conveyed the message to al-Sindī, who brought about al-Kāẓim's death by serving him poisoned fresh dates (*ruṭab*). In another account it is al-Faḍl who is depicted as having al-Kāẓim poisoned. According to a third report, al-Kāẓim was wrapped in a carpet and crushed to death. Finally, it should be noted that al-Ṭabarī, iii, 649, mentions al-Kāẓim's death without comment, thus implying that he died of natural causes. This is indeed the view of most Sunnī authors, and it is also favoured by some modern scholars (e.g. F. Omar, art. HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD; A. Clot, *Haroun al-Rachid et le temps de Mille et Une Nuits*, Paris 1986, 91). The dates most commonly given for the Imām's death are 6, 24 or 25 Radjab 183/13, 31 Aug. or 1 Sept. 799; other dates are 181/797-8, Radjab 182/Aug.-Sept. 798, Radjab 184/July-Aug. 800, 186/802 and 188/804. He died at a prison (or mosque) near the Kūfa gate known as al-Musayyab (after al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr).

The manner of al-Kāẓim's death as described in Twelver sources presented Twelver theologians with a problem: for if the Imām, who is supposedly omniscient, knew in advance the time and manner of his death and did nothing to prevent it, did he not thereby assist in bringing about his own demise (*muʿīn ʿalā nafsihi*)? One answer, ascribed to al-Kāẓim's son, the eighth Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*], is that al-Kāẓim indeed knew of his impending death and made all the necessary provisions, but that at the crucial moment God made him forget this information (lit. "threw forgetfulness over his heart", *alḳā ʿalā ḳalbihi 'l-nisyān*). According to another tradition, al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī brought al-Kāẓim poisoned fruit on three successive days, but the Imām would not touch it. When the food was brought in on the fourth day, the Imām called out, "My Lord, you know that if I had eaten it before today I would have assisted in my own destruction". He then ate the fruit and became sick. The next day a physician was sent to examine him; al-Kāẓim first ignored him, but at the physician's insistence he finally showed him the palm of his hand, which had turned green from the effects of the poison. The physician then told the ʿAbbāsids that al-Kāẓim was well aware that he had been poisoned; al-Kāẓim died shortly thereafter (Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿUyūn*, i, 86-8; idem *Amālī*, 130-1). The implication is that the Imām knew the exact date of his death and took the poison in accordance with that knowledge. In a similar story, a respected Sunnī scholar from Baghdād describes how, shortly before al-Kāẓim's death, al-Sindī

assembled eighty leaders of the community and brought them to al-Kāẓim in order, as he said, to give the lie to rumours that the Imām had been maltreated. Al-Kāẓim acknowledged that he had been accorded comfortable living conditions, but then added: "I have been given poison in seven (or nine) dates; tomorrow I shall turn green (from the effects of the poison) and the day after tomorrow I shall die". "At that", the Sunnī scholar reports, "I saw al-Sindī b. Shāhak, shake and tremble like a palm-leaf" (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, i, 258-9; Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿUyūn*, i, 79). A different version has it that the Imām was not at liberty to do as he pleased, and was forced to eat the poisoned dates (Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿUyūn*, i, 70-2).

According to some Shīʿī accounts, al-Kāẓim's death was a direct result of the sinful behaviour of his community: as al-Kāẓim explains, God was angry with the Shīʿa and told the Imām to choose between sacrificing himself to save his followers and having the Shīʿīs killed; he chose to protect the Shīʿa at the price of his own life (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, i, 260). Al-Madjlisī [*q.v.*] (*Mirʾāt al-ʿuḳūl*, Tehran 1404/1984 ff., iii, 126-7) explains God's anger with the Shīʿa as stemming from their lack of loyalty and obedience to the Imām, coupled with their abandonment of *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*] (self-protection through dissimulation). This abandonment of *taḳiyya* caused the identity of the Imām to become generally known, which in turn led to his arrest.

After al-Kāẓim's death, al-Sindī (or al-Rashīd) assembled representatives of the Hāshimīs, Ṭālibīs and other notables of Baghdād, uncovered the Imām's face and had them acknowledge that there was no sign of foul play; then al-Kāẓim was washed, enshrouded and buried. According to another account, al-Kāẓim's body was placed on a bridge in Baghdād to counter the belief among some Shīʿīs that he was the Ḳāʾim, that he had either not died or had been resurrected, and that he was in hiding pending his reappearance. He was buried in the cemetery of the Arab aristocracy in north-west Baghdād (*maḳābir al-Shūnīzī* or *maḳābir Ḳuraysh*) at the Bāb al-Tibn ("The straw gate"), in the area which became known as al-Kāẓimiyya (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdād*, 160-5). At first, a visit to his tomb was not devoid of risk: al-Riḍā is quoted as saying that when it is too dangerous to enter the grounds, the visit should take place from behind a curtain (*ḥidjāb*) or a wall (*djidār*). In time, however, his shrine, together with that of his grandson, the ninth Imām Muḥammad al-Djawād [*q.v.*], became one of the most important centres of pilgrimage in ʿIrāḳ [see KĀẒIMAYN].

The number of al-Kāẓim's offspring as given in the sources varies between 33 and 60. Some accounts refer to 18 (or 19) sons and 23 daughters. According to one report, al-Kāẓim (for unexplained reasons) forbade his daughters to marry; none did so except Umm Salama, who was married in Egypt to al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 415).

Al-Kāẓim was renowned for his piety. The ascetic Shaḳīḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī (d. 194/809-10), who saw him in 149/766-7 in al-Ḳādisiyya, believed him to be a holy man (*walī allāh/min al-abdāl*) (al-Ṭabarī, *Dalāʾil al-imāma*, 155; al-Nabhānī, *Djāmiʿ karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1329, ii, 269-70, and the Ṣūfīs Maʿrūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815-6 [*q.v.*]) and Bishr al-Ḥāfī (d. 227/841-2 [*q.v.*]) are likewise associated with him (H. Algar, *Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim and Ṣūfī Tradition*, in *Islamic Culture*, lxiv [1990], 1-14). Al-Kāẓim was also a competent polemicist; as a youth he reduced Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] to silence; and Christians who came to him to discuss religious issues were won over to Islam.

Various miracles are attributed to him. Al-Riḍā reports that he already spoke in his cradle. Indeed, it was from the cradle that he told the Kūfan Shīʿī Yaʿḳūb al-Sarrādj to alter the name he had given his newborn daughter, since that name (al-Ḥumayrāʾ, a nickname of ʿĀʾisha) was hated by God. (It is noteworthy, however, that according to some Shīʿī sources, including al-Mufīd's *Irshād*, one of al-Kāẓim's daughters was herself called ʿĀʾisha.) He could speak all languages, and conversed with birds and animals (including a lion). When he touched a truncated tree, it became green and bore fruit.

Al-Kāẓim's death led to the creation of a particular Shīʿī branch. Those Shīʿīs who denied that he had died, claiming that he had gone into concealment and would return as Mahdī, were called by their opponents *al-wāḳifa*, "those who stop", because they ended the line of Imāms with him and disputed the transfer of the imāmate to his son. They were also known pejoratively as *al-mamṭūra* (short for *kilāb mamṭūra*, "rain-drenched dogs", referring either to their lowly state or to their smell which, like that of wet dogs, was supposedly more offensive than that of a cadaver). Many Wāḳifīs, mostly Kūfans, defended the occultation (*ghayba*) of the seventh Imām in special works, of which only the titles (and some excerpts) survive; the youngest of these authors, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samāʿa al-Ṣayrafī al-Kūfī, died in 263/876-7. The Wāḳifiyya, the oldest example of a "Sevener" Shīʿī group, appear to have fused towards the end of the 3rd/9th century with the Twelvers, who adopted the Wāḳifī model of the occultation of the last Imām (see Halm, *Schia*, 38-9). In contrast, the Twelver doctrine of the "lesser" and "greater" occultations does not appear to be of Wāḳifī origin. Instead, it is adumbrated by traditions such as the one in which Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (referring perhaps to the two occasions on which al-Kāẓim was to be taken away from Medina) predicts that his son will disappear twice (*inna li-Abi 'l-Ḥasan ghaybatayn*), so that some men will claim that he has died (al-Ṭūsī, *K. al-Ghayba*, 38; cf. E. Kohlberg, *From Imāmiyya to Ithnāʿashariyya*, in *BSOAS*, xxxix [1976], 531-2).

The Wāḳifī split may have been occasioned by financial, and not just religious, considerations. Al-Kāẓim had agents (*ḳuwwām* or *wukalāʾ*) in various places, and after his death some of them are said to have refused to hand over to al-Riḍā the monies entrusted to them, arguing that Mūsā was the last Imām. One of them was the Kūfan Manṣūr b. Yūnus Buzurg; others were ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥamza al-Baṭāʾinī, who is said to have been entrusted with 30,000 *dīnārs*, Ziyād b. Marwān al-Ḳandī, who kept 70,000 *dīnārs*, and al-Kāẓim's agent in Egypt, ʿUthmān b. ʿĪsā al-ʿĀmirī al-Ruʾāsī (Ruwāsī), who in addition to a great deal of money also had five (or six) female slaves (*djawārī*), bought with the Imām's money. According to some reports, ʿUthmān later repented, freed the slaves and returned the money; other accounts indicate that he refused to hand back the money, but freed the slaves and married them off (al-Kishshī, *Ridjāl*, 499-500; Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿUyūn*, i, 92; al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, Ḳumm 1407, 300, no. 817).

Al-Kāẓim played a significant role among some Shīʿī *ghulāt*. The Khaṭṭābī al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Djuʿfī is said to have visited him in his Baghdād prison and to have looked after him; al-Kāẓim referred to him as his "second father". The Kūfan gnostic Muḥammad b. Bashīr (or Bushayr), the eponymous founder of the Bashariyya, believed in al-Kāẓim's divinity and claimed that al-Kāẓim had not died but had merely gone into concealment and would

return as Mahdī; Bashīr is said to have claimed that he himself was Imām (or prophet) pending al-Kāẓim's return (see Halm, *Gnosis*, 215, 235-9).

Sunnī authors generally regard al-Kāẓim as a trustworthy traditionist who, however, transmitted only a few traditions. A *Musnad Mūsā al-Kāẓim* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shāfiʿī al-Bazzāz (d. 354/965) is extant (*GAS*, i, 191). Among Twelver Shīʿīs, al-Kāẓim is credited with numerous supplications, with answers to legal queries (including questions addressed to him by his brother ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar, cf. *GAS*, i, 535, no. 21), and with a *Waṣiyya fī 'l-ʿaḳl*, addressed to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. The *Waṣiyya* is preserved in a shorter and a longer version (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, i, 13-20, Ibn Shuʿba, *Tuḥaf al-ʿuḳūl*, 283-97 respectively).

Al-Kāẓim's descendants, known as Mūsawīs, are said to account for some 70% of all *sayyids* in present-day Persia (Amīr Ṭāhirī, *The spirit of Allāh*, London 1985, 26-7).

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(E. Kohlberg)

MŪSĀ SHAHAWĀT^{in}, Abū Muḥammad, a poet of Medina considerably less known than his brother Ismāʿīl b. Yasār [*q.v.*], with the result that Yāḳūt, who devotes an article to him, calls him Mūsā b. Bashshār; he gives him the *nisba* of al-Ḳurashī, as the person in question was in fact a *mawlā* of Ḳuraysh, variously associated with the Banū Taym b. Murra, with the Banū Sahm or even with Sulaymān b. Abī Khaythama al-ʿAdawī (of the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy). Since the reason for his cognomen has been forgotten, numerous explanations have been suggested: he was a beggar who made a pretence of weeping to influence the owner of an item which he coveted; when ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] wanted something, he readily purchased the article in question, deducting a small commission for the service; he imported sugar and other appetising confections to Medina; finally, he used the word *Shahawāt* in one of his verses; it is probable that none of these explanations is valid.

Although resident in Medina, Mūsā Shahāwāt often visited Damascus, being highly esteemed by the Umayyad caliphs; however, from a politico-religious point of view, although he sided with the Zubayrids and praised Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Zubayr, he does not seem to have had any particularly decisive opinions. In any case, his surviving epigrans show no evidence that his foreign origin inspired Shuʿūbī sentiments in him. He took the opportunity to address laudatory verses to Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn, while the fact that he had dealings with Saʿīd b. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUthmānī—of whom he was rather critical—and of Saʿīd b. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh... b. Asīd—who helped him in purchasing a slave—have produced conflicting opinions among those writers who have discussed his work. It is probable that his output was not particularly abundant; all that remain are a few fragments of compositions written to meet specific circumstances —eulogies and epigrams—and this poet owes his escape from obscurity to the use of his verses by such eminent musicians as Maʿbad [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 366-7 (ed. Shākir, i, 558-60); *Aghānī*, iii, 114-21 (ed. Beirut, iii, 347-63); Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 377; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 199-200; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 144 (ed. Cairo, i, 271); Blachère, *HLA*, 619. (Ch. Pellat)

MUṢʿAB b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṣʿab b. Thābit b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām al-Zubayrī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, genealogist who owes his fame to two works, the *Kitāb al-Nasab al-kabīr*, considered to be lost, and the *Kitāb Nasab Ḳuraysh*, edited by E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953.

This Ḳurayshite was born in Medina, probably in 156/773, a descendant of the Companion al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*]. He followed the teaching of various masters, including Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*], before settling at Baghdād where he died, at the age of 80, on 2 Shawwāl 236/8 April 851 (the *Fihrist*, however, makes him die in 233, at the age of 93). In the capital, he transmitted not only his own information on genealogical matters, but also traditions of a historical character (especially on the *ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*] and *ḥadīth*s which he had from Mālik and other *muḥaddith*s who were less famous; among his pupils, Abū Khaythama and his son [see ibn abī khaythama] are the best known. He was also something of a poet, and the author of the *Aghānī* has preserved (v, 130-1) the funeral eulogy which he composed on Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] and some verses written in praise of other personalities (i, 53, ii, 130, viii, 23, 25, xii, 111, xv, 159, 160, xx, 182). Whilst Ibn al-Nadīm accuses Muṣʿab's father ʿAbd Allāh of being the worst of men and reproaches him for being hostile to the ʿAlids, Abu 'l-Faradj does not seem to share this opinion at all, since he says (*Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, 285) that he took part in the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā [*q.v.*] and cites verses of his in which he deplores the fate reserved by al-Manṣūr for al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiya ... b. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, who had also followed the rebel (*op. cit.*, 300 ff.); he relates also his involvement with Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan (*op. cit.*, 463 ff.) without open hostility (see also, on this point, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 620-4). One might perhaps be tempted to attribute to ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṣʿab's alleged reputation the comparative obscurity into which his son's work fell (though it was however utilised by al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī and other historians, especially those of al-Andalus), but it seems rather that Muṣʿab was to some extent eclipsed by his nephew al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]), who nevertheless used extensively for his *Kitāb Nasab Ḳuraysh wa-akhbārihim* the documentation collected together by his uncle. It is furthermore from this latter that subsequent biographers took their flattering judgement of Muṣʿab, stressing his dignity, knowledge, nobility, eloquence, etc. It is nevertheless noteworthy that Ibn al-Kalbī, in his Djamhara (Tab. 19 concerning Ḳuraysh) cites only one son of ʿAbd Allāh, Bakkār, and completely ignores the latter's brother Muṣʿab.

The *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh* is artificially divided into 12 *djuz*ʾs, in each case preceded by the list of transmitters, always the same ones: Ibn Abī Khaythama of Baghdād, Ibn Djamīl and Muḥammad b. Muʿāwiya al-Marwānī of al-Andalus. In Lévi-Provençal's judgement, it is a "document of outstanding importance for the history of the beginnings of Islam, and in particular, for that of the first four caliphs". One might add that it provides items of information of a sociological nature, in particular, on polygamy and on the remarriage of widows and divorced women, and that the writer of the present article based himself exclusively on the *Nasab Ḳuraysh* in his attempt to give an answer to the question, Can one find out the birth rate in the time of the Prophet? and to propose a method which can be utilised for matters concerning historical demography (in *JESHO*, xiv/2 [1971], 107-35).

Bibliography: There is a notice on Muṣʿab, by Lévi-Provençal and in French and Arabic, in the introductions to his edition of the *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh*; the biographies of him in the *Fihrist* (ed. Cairo, 160) and in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (Cairo 1349/1931, xiii, 112-14, no. 7097) are reproduced in the Arabic introduction. See also, in addition to the references given in the article, Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, iv/1, 354; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 325, vii/2, 84; Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, iii, 173; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 271; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, x, 162-4; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, iv, 482; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 86; Brockelmann, S I, 212; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 271-2. (Ch. Pellat)

MUṢʿAB b. **ʿUMAYR**, Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad of the Ḳuraysh clan of ʿAbd al-Dār. The son of rich parents, this handsome young man had already attracted attention by his elegant appearance when Muḥammad's preaching made so deep an impression upon him that he abandoned the advantages of his social position to join the dispersed adherents of the Prophet. Tradition dilates on the contrast between his former luxurious life and later poverty but these, like such stories in general, are somewhat suspicious.

When his parents endeavoured to prevent him taking part in the worship of the believers, he went with several of the faithful to Abyssinia from which he returned, however, before the *Hidjra* of 622. The Prophet thought highly of him and sent him after the first meeting at ʿAḳaba as a missionary to Medina where he won a number of followers for Islam. According to some traditions, he on this occasion, following the practice of the Jews, introduced the corporate Friday *ṣalāt*, which, however, as was noted as early as by Mūsā b. ʿUḳba [*q.v.*], others ascribe to the Medinan Asʿad b. Zurāra, while others in an effort at harmonising say that Asʿad conducted the corporate *ṣalāt* during the absence of Muṣʿab.

At Badr and at Uḥud, he carried the Prophet's banner in memory of the old privilege of the ʿAbd al-Dār; he met his death in the latter battle, i.e. in 3/625. With what ardour he adopted the new teaching is seen from his attitude to his mother, who is depicted as a most lovable character, and particularly from his words at the capture of his brother in the battle of Badr. His wife was Ḥanna bint Djaḥsh of Asad of Ḳuraysh.

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MUṢʿAB b. al-**ZUBAYR**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh or Abū ʿĪsā, son of the famous Companion of the Prophet al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*] and brother of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. Handsome, chivalrous, generous to the utmost

degree of prodigality, he resembled his older brother and the Zubayrid family only in his courage and outbursts of severity in repression.

He began his military career at the outset of the caliphate of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, with an ill-conceived expedition in Palestine. His name has gone down in history chiefly owing to his campaign, in his capacity as governor of ᶜIrāḳ, against al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd [*q.v.*], who was occupying Kūfa and constraining him to exercise his authority only in the region of Baṣra. It was in fact to put an end to the disturbance created by this Shīᶜī rebel that his brother ᶜAbd Allāh had in 67/686 entrusted him with responsibility for the ᶜIrāḳ province. On his arrival in Baṣra, he pronounced a threatening *khuṭba* which led to the expectation of an energetic action; alluding to the surnames given to his predecessors, Babba and Ḳubāᶜ, he stated that he claimed for himself that of "butcher" (*djazzār*). Nevertheless, he was soon to display his concern for those under his administration by ordering the construction, in order to limit the spreading of the Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*], of a dike to which he gave his name, while he appropriated for himself the lands thus gained from the marshes (ᶜAbd al-Malik was later to concede them to his followers).

It was shortly after his arrival in Baṣra that he began his struggle against al-Mukhtār, whose supporters he defeated at al-Madhār [see MAYSĀN] then at Ḥarūrāʾ [*q.v.*] before going to besiege him in Kūfa. at the invitation, moreover, of the town's inhabitants, worn down by the yoke that he was imposing on them. After a siege of four months, al-Mukhtār was killed in an attempt at a sortie, on 14 Ramaḍān 67/3 April 687, and Muṣᶜab executed a considerable number of his supporters, which earned him as many enemies as his victims had relatives.

However, it was not long before these successes upset his brother, who recalled him, but had to give way to pressure from the ᶜIrāḳī population who demanded his return. The revolt of al-Mukhtār being suppressed, he was forced to concern himself with the threat presented to ᶜIrāḳ by the Umayyad caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. With difficulty he blocked the way of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥurr, sent to provoke a counter-revolution, but an analogous attempt on Baṣra by the Umayyad Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd (see the Arabic index of the *Murūdj al-dhahab*, ed. Pellat) failed. By dealing severely with the Baṣrans favourable to the latter, Muṣᶜab alienated the most influential personalities in the town who entered into negotiations with the Marwānids, before declaring themselves openly in their favour. In 70/689-90 the Zubayrid governor had, in addition, to put an end to the depredations carried out by the Zandj [*q.v.*] in the region of Baṣra. The following year, a Syrian army commanded by the same Khālid came to camp at Djufrat Nāfiᶜ/Djufrat Khālid, hence the name Djufriyya given to these troops; Muṣᶜab raised an army with difficulty and gained only a semi-victory over his adversary. Furthermore, he could not for long resist the population, who were showing themselves more and more hostile, while the Umayyad pressure increased. Nevertheless, the troops massed at Badjumayra avoided engaging in hostilities, and it was only when Muṣᶜab moved towards Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ [*q.v.*] that events came to a head. Besides, his position was critical, the Baṣrans having refused to follow him. The best troops of the province were far away with al-Muhallab, engaged in an interminable campaign against the Khāridjīs. The troops around the Zubayrid displayed only moderate enthusiasm. His officers, tired of his iron hand, were prepared to betray him and entered into negotiations with ᶜAbd al-Malik. The Marwānid was not stingy in his promises. He also tried to negotiate with Muṣᶜab, who, learning of the perfidy of his followers, rejected all offers and decided to die like a brave man. Among his followers Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar [*q.v.*] alone fought vigorously in the battle; the others folded their arms during the fighting or went over to the Syrian ranks. ᶜAbd al-Malik offered Muṣᶜab his life for the last time with the government of ᶜIrāḳ, but in vain. Thrown from his horse, the Zubayrid received the coup-de-grâce from an avenging Bakrī, ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ẓabyān. This took place about the middle of Djumādā I 72/October 691. ᶜAbd al-Malik mourned him and ordered his poets to commemorate his heroic end. Muṣᶜab's great generosity earned him numerous eulogies from poets. He is also famous in particular for the fact that he had in his harem the two most independent and haughtiest women of the time, belonging to the most undoubted aristocracy of Islam, ᶜĀʾisha bint Ṭalḥa [*q.v.*], and Sukayna bt. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī [*q.v.*].

This privilege did not prevent his brother ᶜAbd Allāh from receiving the news of his death with the utmost indifference and even of his reproaching him for being too fond of women, by way of a funerary oration. He was also able to reproach him for rudeness and being inclined to insults which he uttered against his adversaries, whose weak points and more or less falsified genealogies he made efforts to acquaint himself with in order the better to combat them.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 318, ii, 95; idem, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 365, v, 195; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maᶜārif*, index; Ṭabarī, index; *Aghānī*, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ivB, v, index, xi, 3-4, 8, 10, 16-19, 23-4; Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, iv, 123-4, 137, 139; H.D. van Gelder, *Moḫtār de valsche profeet*, Leiden 1888, 125 ff.; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, index; see also the *Bibl.* of the art. AL-MUKHTĀR B. ABĪ ᶜUBAYD.

(H. LAMMENS-[CH. PELLAT])

MUSĀBAḲA [see MAYDĀN].

AL-**MUSABBIḤĀT** (A.) "those which give praise", the name given to the group of Ḳurʾānic sūras from the middle Medinan peirod, LVII, LIX, LXI, LXII, LXIV, so-called because they begin with the phrase *sabbaḥa* or *yusabbiḥu li ʾllāh*. The designation seems to be old; cf. Muslim, *Zakāt*, trad. 119. See further, Nöldeke-Schwally, *G des Q*, i, 186, 245, ii, 45; and ḲURʾĀN, 7, towards the end. (ED.)

AL-**MUSABBIḤĪ**, Fāṭimid historian (366-420/977-1030).

Al-Amīr al-Mukhtār ᶜIzz al-Mulk Abū ᶜAbd Allāh or Abū ᶜUbayd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abi ʾl-Ḳāsim ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ismāᶜīl b. ᶜAbd al-Azīz al-Ḥarrānī al-Musabbiḥī al-Kātib, of a family originally from Ḥarrān in the Djazīra, was born at Fusṭāṭ Miṣr on Sunday, 10 Radjab 366/4 March 977 and died in the same town in Rabīᶜ II 420/April-May 1030. Contrary to the conventions of the Fāṭimid period, a time when professional soldiers were Berbers, Turks, negroes, Slavs, Sicilians, Persians, Daylamīs, or Arabs descended from a great tribal family, al-Musabbiḥī, although a Sunnī citizen of Fusṭāṭ, entered military service, *wa-kāna ᶜalā ziyy al-adjnād*. The post of governor of Ḳays and of Bahnasā which he held at the outset and the military title of *amīr* given to him by his biographers seem to confirm the fact. Later, he was appointed head of the *dīwān al-tartīb* (or *al-ratīb*, which should not be confused with the *dīwān al-rātib* which was concerned with military pay),

equivalent to the post of general secretary of the central administration. However, he lived until his death in Fusṭāṭ Miṣr, a short distance from the Nile and the Mosque of ʿAmr. Returning from his daily work in the city of Cairo, every evening he encountered in this venerable mosque the friends of his father (who died at Miṣr Fusṭāṭ in 400/1009-10), and his own friends, men of traditional Islamic culture, often of Syrian origin. A devout Sunnī, he nevertheless loyally served the Fāṭimid régime and was particularly attached to the personality and subsequently to the memory of the Imām al-Ḥākim, who had been the only member of this dynasty to mingle on familiar terms, at the outset of his reign, with the inhabitants of Fusṭāṭ.

Al-Musabbiḥī is known as a prolific and versatile writer who addressed, in the tradition of al-Djāḥiz, the most diverse of subjects: practical psychology, sexology, cookery, grammar and law. Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī provide a detailed list of his works and specify the number of pages, exceeding a thousand in some cases, thirteen thousand for the history of Egypt, approximately forty thousand in total. Almost all of these works disappeared at a very early stage, and the authors who mention them know only their titles and length. Apart from a few brief quotations from his history dispersed among later compilations, the only specimen of his writing which has survived into the present is a single manuscript preserved in the Escorial in Spain, an ancient but not autographical manuscript, the fortieth chapter of his history of Egypt, recording events of a few months of the year 414/1023-4 and the greater part of the year 415/1024-5. This manuscript also contains poems and letters by various authors with whom al-Musabbiḥī was acquainted. This section provides an insight into the contemporary literary composition, in elegant prose and poetry, of Egypt and ʿIrāḳ at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. The dedications and commentaries on authors also contain details of interest to the historian, particularly with regard to the conversion to Islam of the Jacobite bishop of Takrīt, Abū Musallam Musharraf b. ʿUbayd Allāh, in 407/1016-17, a bishop who conducted a correspondence with al-Wazīr al-Maghribī [*q.v.*]. This Musharraf may be compared with Marḳūs in Mārī Sulaymān, *Akhbār faṭārika kursī al-mashriḳ*, ed. Gismondi, Rome 1899, 115-6. Elsewhere, in ʿIrāḳī Christian circles, it was claimed that the Shīʿī al-Wazīr al-Maghribī [see AL-MAGHRIBĪ, BANŪ, 4.] was for his part converted to Christianity. Finally, to correct Milward, 158-63, who has omitted to point out a major error in the manuscript, al-Maʿarri for al-Maghribī, see Naṣṣār, 106-7.

The first page of this manuscript contains a note written by al-Maḳrīzī declaring that he has read it and has found it useful. It may be noted that the two aforementioned years are dealt with in greater detail in the latter's *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ* than the earlier years, which appear in skeletal fashion. Although a number of the pages consulted by al-Maḳrīzī have disappeared since the 9th/15th century, it is possible to follow the latter's method of working by comparing the text which he utilised with the history that he wrote.

The complete version of al-Musabbiḥī's chronicle of Egypt seems to have disappeared at a very early stage, since the passages quoted by later historians are concentrated within relatively short periods of time. Egyptian sources regarding the last years of the imāmate of al-Ḥākim, the regency exercised by his sister, and the first years of the imāmate of al-Ẓāhir are particularly sparse. In view of the general atmosphere of suspicion and the re-assertion of authority over the Sunnī population of Fusṭāṭ Miṣr by the apparatus of the Fāṭimid state, after a period in which al-Ḥākim had seemed willing to listen to public opinion, it is possible that ideological control was imposed on official historiography and that a certain number of texts, including the writings of al-Musabbiḥī, were spontaneously destroyed. For traces of al-Musabbiḥī (the years 345/956-7 and 368-415/978-1025) in later Egyptian historiography, see Cl. Cahen, *Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides*, in *BIFAO*, xxxvii (1937). According to Ayman Fuad Sayyid, *Lumières nouvelles sur quelques sources de l'histoire fatimide*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xiii (1977), al-Maḳrīzī possessed the 34th chapter which is said to have dealt with the year 395/1004-5. See also Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide*, Damascus 1989, ii, 393-4.

The complete title which he gave to the history of Egypt, *Akhbār Miṣr wa-faḍāʾiluhā wa-ʿadjāʾibuhā wa-ṭawāʾifuha wa-gharāʾibuhā wa-mā bihā min al-biḳāʿ wa 'l-āthār wa-siyar man ḥallahā wa-ḥalla ghayrahā min al-wulāt wa 'l-ḳuḍāt wa 'l-aʾimma wa 'l-khulafāʾ*, shows that he was passionately attached to this land, a passion shared by an earlier historian, Ibn Zūlāḳ, author of the *Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, and later to be demonstrated by al-Maḳrīzī with his *Khiṭaṭ*.

Al-Musabbiḥī writes the history of the present. He records events day-by-day and then, at the end of the year, puts together the obituaries of people whom he considers important and who have died during the preceding twelve months. The same death is thus sometimes reported twice; in the second version, time having alleviated the shock caused by the news of the death, judgment of the deceased person may have been modified. He records the various aspects of life in Fusṭāṭ: road accidents, thefts, misdemeanours and crimes, public punishments, hippopotami wallowing in the Nile. He is regularly obliged to consult record of the low-level police authorities in Fusṭāṭ and those of the higher police authorities based at al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ.

He is also aware of proceedings in the administrative centre of Cairo, where he is present every morning. He records all the political gossip of an age in which the struggle for power is extremely violent. Military commanders and civil administrators resort to all sorts of weapons, including the use of informers and the dissemination of forged documents, in order to discredit their opponents in the eyes of the Imām al-Ẓāhir, a credulous youth mainly preoccupied with recreation. Al-Musabbiḥī describes in detail the spectacular ceremonies of homage to the Imām which took place at the Palace. Curiously, he describes with equal attention to detail both those at which he is present and those which he misses on account of illness. Al-Musabbiḥī regards with considerable suspicion the entourage of Sitt al-Mulk and, after the death of the latter, the cabal of courtiers which gathered around the young al-Ẓāhir. He seems to regret the passing of the time of the caliph al-Ḥākim.

He is particularly interested in news brought back from Syria by the postal service. This province, prosperous at the beginning of 414, was in 415 subjected to a very violent Bedouin invasion, and al-Musabbiḥī suggests that the mistrust of the central authorities towards the commander-in-chief, al-Duzbarī, was partially to blame for this. Al-Maḳrīzī did not properly understand the text which he had before him, and he invented out of nothing a continuation of preceding events, a continuation which he introduced under the year 415 in the *Ittiʿāẓ* and which contains errors and contradictions.

A consummate historian, al-Musabbiḥī gives precise accounts of economic affairs. With the aid of his chronicle, it has been possible to sketch an analysis of the differential evolution of wholesale and retail prices at the time of a famine suffered at Fusṭāṭ (Th. Bianquis, *Une crise frumentaire dans l'Égypte fatimide*, in *JESHO* xxiii [1978], 67-101). Similarly, the precision of his description of state financial institutions facilitates a better understanding of the budget, expenses and receipts, of the Fāṭimid state (idem, *Le fonctionnement financier des diwans centraux dans l'Égypte fatimide*, contribution to the Symposium marking the year 1400 of the hijra, Damascus 1980).

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II. Historical and literary aspects: C. Comprehensive edition of both sections, W.J. Milward, *Akhbār Miṣr fī sanatayn 414-415*, GEBO, Cairo 1980.

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For a very thorough but repetitive Arabic bibliography relating to the author, see Brockelmann, I², 408, S I, 572; introductions and bibliographies of the editions mentioned above; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-maghrib*, ed. Zakī Muḥammad Hasan, Cairo 1953, i, 264-7; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iv, 377-80, notes; al-Dhahabī, *Tarikh al-Islām*, photogr. ms. at Dār al-Kutub, ii, 205, obituary of year 420 A.H.; F.A. Sayyid, *Lumières*.... in *AI*, xiii, notes, pp. 9-11; Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie*..., index; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Madjid Ḥarīdī, *Index des Ḫiṭaṭ*, IFAO, 1983, i, 260, under ʿAbd al-Malik (*sic*) b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Musabbiḥī al-Amīr al-Mukhtār; some fifty quotations refer to him as a source under the *nisba* al-Masīḥī in the Būlāḳ edition of the *Khiṭaṭ*, and a single quotation in Ibn Duḳmāk.

(TH. BIANQUIS)

AL-**MUṢʿABĪ**, ABU 'L-ṬAYYIB MUḤAMMAD B. ḤĀTIM, official and poet in both Arabic and Persian in Bukhārā under the Sāmānids, *flor.* early 4th/10th century. Better-known in his time as a statesman than as a poet, he was a boon-companion, then chief-secretary (*ʿamīd-i dīwān-i risālat*) and finally vizier in the reign of Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43); but he fell from power, and opposing the appointment of the new vizier Abū ʿAlī al-Djayhānī [see AL-DJAYHĀNĪ in Suppl.] in *ca.* 326/938, was executed (Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 107; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nazim, 32; Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 245).

Al-Thaʿālibī (*Yatīma*, iv, 15-16, ed. Cairo, iv, 97-8, tr. Barbier de Meynard, in *JA*, ser. 5, vol. i [1853], 196-7) gives specimens of his Arabic verses, whilst G. Lazard gives what survives of his Persian ones (*Les premiers poètes persans* (*IXᵉ-Xᵉ siècles*), Tehran-Paris 1342/1964, i, 23, 74-5, ii, 48-9); according to Lazard, the fact that Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (read thus for Lazard's "al-Sidjistānī") [*q.v.*] appears to have dedicated to him a work on the Ḳarāmiṭa [*q.v.*] may indicate that al-Muṣʿabī had Ismāʿīlī sympathies, such trends of thought being known to have existed in Transoxania during Naṣr b. Aḥmad's reign (cf. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 242-4).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but for further references, see Lazard, *op. cit.*, i, 23.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUṢĀDARA (A.).

1. In mathematics, *muṣādarāt* are premisses or postulates (Grk. αἰτήματα). See al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 203; E. Wiedemann, *Beitrag XIV*, in *SBPMS Erl.*, xl (1908), 4 and n. 2 = *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, i, 403.

2. In the administrative terminology of the mediaeval Islamic caliphate, *muṣādara* is firstly "an agreement with someone over the payment of taxation due", according to al-Khʷārazmī, *op. cit.*, 62 (the synonym of *mufāraḳa*); cf. C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 138.

The most-frequently found meaning for this term is, however, "the mulcting of an official of his (usually) ill-gotten gains or spoils of office". The meaning here seems to stem from that above, via the idea of compelling an official to account for his financial gains, and then to forcible confiscation, often with violence and torture; or it may be, as Fleischer suggested (*Kleinere Schriften*, ii, 593), that we have here a denominative verb from *ṣadr* "breast", sc. "to place one's breast directly up against someone, to confront someone". See the discussion by A. Fischer in *ZDMG*, lxiv (1910), 481-4.

Whatever the etymology, the usage is clear in texts which deal with administrative affairs from the 3rd/9th century onwards (al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī, al-Tanūkhī, Miskawayh, Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, etc.), in which we find not only *muṣādara* but also the terms *muṭālaba* and *munāẓara* with the same connotation of "seeking out, requiring an accounting, exacting, extorting money". The practice of requiring officials to disgorge at least part of the spoils from their official duties dates back to Umayyad times, and was practised e.g. by al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] (Løkkegaard, 162). The origins of a special organ of the administration for this purpose, given in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries the name of *dīwān al-muṣādarāt* or *dīwān al-muṣādarīn* [see DĪWĀN. i] are ʿAbbāsid, and may lie in the special treasury the *bayt māl al-maẓālim*, which al-Manṣūr set up for keeping the illegally-obtained monies recovered from dismissed financial agents, monies which were eventually restored to their original owners by al-Mahdī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 415-16, Eng. tr. H. Kennedy, Albany 1990, 119; Levy, *Social structure*, 307). From the end of al-Maʾmūn's caliphate, the *dīwān al-muṣādara* takes definite shape, and the process of extracting money from dismissed officials becomes general under al-Wāthiḳ; Sourdel has suggested that the caliphate's financial position worsened at this time through the expenses of the move to Sāmarrā and increased interference in the running of the administration by the Turkish military (*Vizirat*, i, 264). Al-Wāthiḳ's vizier Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Zayyāt distinguished himself by his relentless harrying of secretaries and officials, but was hoist with his own petard when the new caliph al-Mutawakkil subjected him to torture and death in Ibn al-Zayyāt's own *tannūr*, an iron cylinder with spikes inside it (cf. the Iron Maiden of Nuremburg) which he had used for the *muṣādara* of his victims (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 194-5 = § 2878; Sourdel, i, 261-4, 268-9; art. IBN AL-ZAYYĀT). Under al-

Mutawakkil also, we hear of Nadjāḥ b. Salama, the secretary in charge of the *dīwān al-tawḳīʿ* but also charged with the inspecting and hunting down of tax officials suspected of misappropriation (*al-tatabbuʿ ʿalā 'l-ʿummāl*; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1440, Eng. tr. J.L. Kraemer, Albany, 1989, 157, and Sourdel, i, 280-1). Enormous sums were extracted by these means; thus Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb al-Djardjarāʾī, formerly secretary to the Turkish general Ashnās and later vizier to al-Muntaṣir, was made to disgorge a million *dīnārs* by Ibn al-Zayyāt towards the end of al-Wāthiḳ's reign (Sourdel, i, 261-4).

As the finances of the caliphate became in the 4th/10th century under al-Muḳtadir and his successors more and more parlous, the process of *muṣādara*, almost always accompanied by torture and beatings, became the norm to which financial officials relinquishing their posts were subjected. In the time of al-Muḳtadir's vizier Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Khāḳānī, the director of the *dīwān al-muṣādarīn* Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Abi 'l-Baghl and then Ibn Thawāba were given the task of extracting money from the previous vizier Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] and his partisans and of dealing with their confiscated lands and property (Sourdel, ii, 395-6). At the end of Ibn al-Furāt's third and last vizierate 311-12/923-4), 2 million *dīnārs* were extracted from Ibn al-Furāt and 3 million from his son al-Muḥassin (Sourdel, ii, 432-4, cf. 416-18, 646-7); it will be noted that, since the process of *muṣādara* was now largely automatic, having been thus mulcted was not an obstacle to an official being taken back into service again.

The practice was taken over by some at least of the succession states to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, e.g. by the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] in the East. At the fall in 416/1025 of Maḥmūd of Ghazna's vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī [*q.v.*], one of the latter's enemies was brought specially from Khurāsān to act as *mustakhridj* [*q.v.*] "extractor of information, ferreter out of hidden wealth", and other high officials were roughly handled after dismissal. That suffered by Maḥmūd's former treasurer Aḥmad Inaltigin is said to have been a contributory cause of his later rebellion as governor in India in 424/1033 (Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 71-2, 77).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlí b. ʿĪsà, 'The Good Vizier'*, Cambridge 1928, passim; *Spuler*, Iran, 322-3, 372-3; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 161-3; E. Tyan, *Institutions de droit public musulman. i. Le califat*, Paris 1954, 422; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 307-8; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, index, s.v. *amendes*.

(C.E. Bosworth)

3. In the Ottoman empire. This term alluded to the confiscation to the Ottoman treasury of the property of deceased and/or dismissed officials and other persons. It is for the seizure of an official's property in his lifetime that the term *muṣādara* is strictly appropriate; yet such a practice occurred only when the officials acquired the riches in question by improper means or were otherwise deserving of punishment. Often, the confiscation differentiated between the types of property left; the Ottoman treasury seized any coin, valuables, and military equipment such as weapons, animals and tents, leaving to the heirs land and houses or, if there were no such effects, providing them with pensions from the state. For example, in the 1792 confiscation case of the late ʿAbbās Agha, the tax-collector of Kütahya (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Cevdet Maliye collection, document no. 2034), his cash and valuables were sent to the Ottoman treasury and his livestock, cereals, farms and property were auctioned locally, and the cash amount accruing from it was then relayed to the treasury as well.

The Ottoman practice of confiscation derived initially from the Islamic law that the master of a slave is his sole heir [see ʿABD]; by analogy, the Ottoman sultan was considered the exclusive inheritor of his slaves. The emergence of this practice can be traced to the 9th/15th century, when the Ottoman treasury started regularly to seize certain types of property left behind, upon death, by eminent officials [see MUKHALLEFĀT]. The scope of the practice expanded as the state started to consider all those who died while serving the state to be the sultan's slaves; it nevertheless often excluded the *ʿulemāʾ*. Later, in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, any person who had prospered through a financial transaction with the Ottoman state came under the threat of confiscation. Confiscations and their release in cash increased especially during campaigns when a revenue crisis developed around the payment of soldier's salaries. The confiscation of the inheritances of the merchants or officials who were known to have cash stocks particularly escalated during these periods; to escape such confiscations, many invested their vast properties in *awḳāf*, religious endowments. As confiscations disrupted Ottoman economic transactions, imperial decrees at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries frequently assured that "the inheritance of those who did not have any accounts with the state would not be confiscated" (*Buyruldu* 1-2/12 in 1808). The practice of *muṣādara* was abolished in the early 19th century by sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Gibb-Bowen, i/2, 28-30; M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü* Istanbul 1953, 624-6; Seyyid Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾidj ül-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul 1909, i, 148, ii, 102, iv, 99; Aḥmed Lüṭfī, *Tārīkh-i Lüṭfī*, Istanbul 1873, i, 144; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman* Paris 1788-1824, vii; I.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1984 edition, 78; *TOEM*, Istanbul 1911, xix, 70.

(F. Müge Göçek)

MUSADDAS [see MUSAMMAṬ].

MUṢADDIK, Muḥammad (Mosaddech), Persian nationalist politician and Prime Minister in the period 1951 to 1953. Born in Tehran during 1882 (the precise date is uncertain), he died there on 5 March 1967. His father came from a prominent land-owning family, the Āshtiyānīs, and held various senior posts in the financial administration of the country. Muṣaddiḳ's mother was a great-granddaughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, and one of her sisters was a wife of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh. On his father's death in (?) 1894 the boy received the title Muṣaddiḳ al-Salṭana, from which he later derived his family name when these became mandatory. After a traditional private education, he received his first administrative post at the age of 16 in the province of Khurāsān. Four years afterwards he married a granddaughter of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, by whom he later had two sons and three daughters.

Muṣaddiḳ's first entry into national politics was controversial. After the creation of the National Assembly in 1906, he stood for election to it as one of the candidates from Iṣfahān and was successful. When he attempted to take his seat, however, another representative noted that Muṣaddiḳ was less than 30, the minimum legal age for election as a Deputy, and he was therefore disbarred. In 1909-10 he visited

Paris, where he studied for a short while before his already poor health forced him to return home. In 1911 he enrolled at the University of Neuchâtel and in 1914 he was awarded a doctorate for a thesis on Islamic law. On returning to Tehran that year, he taught at the School of Political Sciences, and wrote on several economic and legal issues including the sensitive one of foreign Capitulations. In 1916 he became a deputy Minister of Finance. By the end of the following year, he was again living in Switzerland, largely because of his poor health and the chaotic state of Persia at that time.

Like many of his fellow countrymen, both at home and abroad, Muṣaddiḳ was strongly opposed to the terms of Britain's proposed new treaty with Persia in 1919; and he shared the view that it was an ill-disguised attempt to strengthen and perpetuate British influence in Tehran. In 1920 he accepted the offer of the post of Minister of Justice and returned by sea from Europe. It is an indication of the disorganisation then prevalent throughout Persia that, on reaching Shīrāz from Būshahr, some of the city's notables prevailed upon him to accept the vacant post of Governor of Fārs, which he then held from the late autumn of 1920 to the early spring of 1921. When Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn became Prime Minister in March 1921 he ordered the detention of Muṣaddiḳ, who for some weeks took refuge among the Bakhtiyārī.

Shortly after the fall of Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ, Muṣaddiḳ became Minister of Finance, but his tenure of office was brief and in February 1922 he was appointed Governor of Ādharbāydjān. That post he held for less than five months. In June 1923 he became Minister of Foreign Affairs, but his relations with Riḍā Khān were now far from harmonious and he resigned from the government in the following October. In February 1924 Muṣaddiḳ entered Parliament for the first time, as a member for Tehran; and he appears to have preferred the relative freedom of debate which then prevailed to the restrictions and burdens of administrative office. Given his family background, it is perhaps not surprising that he opposed Riḍā Khān's rise to power and on several later occasions he compared the rule of the new Shāh unfavourably with that of the Ḳādjārs. By 1930 the monarch could no longer tolerate Muṣaddiḳ's criticisms and he was banished to his lands at Aḥmadābād some 75 miles west of Tehran. After some years, the restrictions on him were relaxed and he visited Berlin for medical treatment. In 1940 he was again detained and sent into exile at Bīrdjand but was later permitted to return to Aḥmadābād. Following the Anglo-Soviet invasion of August 1941, Riḍā Shāh was forced to abdicate, and his son then declared an amnesty for political prisoners; Muṣaddiḳ was one of its beneficiaries.

Muṣaddiḳ's former opposition to the Pahlawī dynasty now stood him in good stead, and in the elections for the fourteenth Madjlis in 1943 he won the greatest number of votes cast for any of the capital city's 30 Deputies. The allied occupation of Persia caused quite serious economic problems concerning inflation and the distribution of food. These, in turn, fuelled popular resentment against foreign powers. When, in 1943 and 1944, two international oil companies, followed by the Soviet government, made requests for the granting of new oil concessions in Iran there was widespread opposition inside and outside Parliament. Muṣaddiḳ introduced a private member's bill in November 1944 which sought to forbid any negotiations on new occasions until the end of the war, when all foreign troops were supposed to leave Iran. It also sought to prohibit government ministers from discussing matters relating to foreign concessions without explicit parliamentary approval. On 2 December Muṣaddiḳ's bill was passed by the Madjlis.

Muṣaddiḳ was re-elected to the fifteenth Madjlis which opened in July 1947, and the government later sought its approval for a new oil agreement which had been negotiated with the USSR. The opposition to this was overwhelming, and the agreement was rejected. With Soviet participation in the oil industry now excluded, it was likely that attention would turn to British involvement. During the allied occupation, Muṣaddiḳ had begun to formulate the principle of "negative equilibrium". This called for Iran to establish its future independence on the basis of strict neutrality, and all foreign influence and concessions were to be rejected. It was the view of many urban Iranians that, as the British government held the majority of shares in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (A.I.O.C.), the Company was in effect an agent of British influence in Iran. Relations between the Iranian government and A.I.O.C. were not therefore just a matter of economics; for Muṣaddiḳ, as for many other Iranians, the political relationship was paramount.

Since 1947 the Company and the Persian government had been negotiating a new arrangement concerning royalty payments, and an agreement was initialled by the two parties in July 1949. It was debated, and rejected, by the Oil Committee of the sixteenth Madjlis in December 1950. Muṣaddiḳ, who was Chairman of that parliamentary committee, had by now begun to establish the National Front (*Djabha-yi Millī*), a very loose association of many diverse political groups. It spoke out against the new agreement, as did the much more disciplined communist *Tūda* party. The most important source of support for the growing call for the nationalisation of A.I.O.C. came, however, from an influential religious figure, Āyatullāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī [*q.v.*]. As anti-British sentiment rose, the Shāh had appointed a senior officer, General ʿAlī Razmārā, as Prime Minister in June 1950, but he was assassinated by a supporter of Kāshānī on 7 March 1951. During the following month, the Madjlis passed legislation for the nationalisation of the oil industry and 29 April the Shāh appointed Muṣaddiḳ as Prime Minister.

Muṣaddiḳ, who had little personal knowledge of the oil industry, and who seems never to have visited Ābādān, believed that the A.I.O.C. would rapidly capitulate. But the Company was by no means exclusively dependent on petroleum supplies from Persia. When the government in Tehran tried to put pressure on A.I.O.C., e.g. by revoking residence permits for its staff, the Company evacuated them in October 1951; but oil production was already at a virtual standstill. The Company's offer to submit the dispute to arbitration under the terms of the existing 1933 agreement was rejected by Muṣaddiḳ. Repeated efforts by various British and American officials to reach a negotiated settlement also failed, as did an attempt by representatives of the International Bank, and in October 1952 the Iranian government severed diplomatic relations with Britain.

Muṣaddiḳ's hopes that the United States government would put pressure on Britain to settle the dispute also proved ill-founded. In January 1952 US military aid for Persia was suspended for three months and in June 1953, after the failure of another joint US-British diplomatic approach, President Eisenhower announced that no further US aid of any kind would be provided for Persia unless the oil dispute with London was settled by negotiation or submitted to an international neutral body.

Meanwhile, domestic political and economic condi-

tions had begun to deteriorate. During 1952 Muṣaddiḳ started to take extraordinary measures to preserve his weakening political position. In February 1952, the term of the sixteenth Madjlis came to its appointed end, and elections were held. When it was clear that support for Muṣaddiḳ was waning, voting in many constituencies was halted and a truncated parliament convened with Muṣaddiḳ remaining as Prime Minister. On 17 July, when the Shāh refused his request to take over the Ministry of War too, Muṣaddiḳ resigned and was replaced by Aḥmad Ḳawām. Supporters of the National Front and the *Tūda* then fomented riots in several towns and cities, and on 22 July Muṣaddiḳ was re-appointed as Prime Minister. A cowed and manipulated Madjlis voted on 3 August 1952 to give Muṣaddiḳ full powers over economic, judicial, administrative and military matters for six months. (Those powers were renewed by the Madjlis in January 1953.) Army officers and legal officials known to be opposed to Muṣaddiḳ were dismissed and sent into internal exile. In October 1952, the Senate was dissolved as it too was proving to be a source of political opposition. Muṣaddiḳ, with the support of the *Tūda* party, then tried to restrict the political powers of the Shāh, and many of the Prime Minister's former political allies—including influential figures such as Kāshānī, Ḥusayn Makkī and Muẓaffar Baḳāʾī—expressed public doubts about Muṣaddiḳ's avowed commitment to the principle of constitutional rule.

This pattern of events had been watched with growing alarm in Washington, where the United States government feared that Muṣaddiḳ was now bent on establishing a dictatorship which might then seek closer relations with the USSR. By the summer of 1953, Muṣaddiḳ knew that his domestic political base was much weaker and in July a highly dubious referendum was organised. It was then claimed that this showed massive popular support for Muṣaddiḳ and for his dissolution of what remained of the seventeenth Madjlis.

Events came to a head on 16 August when the Shāh attempted to replace Muṣaddiḳ as Prime Minister. Muṣaddiḳ refused to yield and the Shāh, in a panic, fled abroad. Widespread rioting occurred between pro- and anti-royalist groups; the former were by now receiving active American support. On 20 August, the army, under General Faḍl Allāh Zāhidī, succeeded in arresting Muṣaddiḳ and the Shāh returned to Tehran. Muṣaddiḳ was then placed on trial before a military court and charged with high treason. On 21 December he was found guilty and sentenced to three years' solitary confinement. After that sentence had been served, he spent the rest of his life quietly at Aḥmadābād.

Bibliography: The book by Farhad Diba cited below includes, in appendix IV, a list of books and articles by Muṣaddiḳ, including his doctoral dissertation. Much of the literature about him, in European languages as well as in Persian, remains partisan and some is hagiographical. An objective biography has still to be written. Farhad Diba's *Mossadegh: a political biography*, London 1986, is an admiring, but not always accurate portrayal. A volume of conference papers, *Musaddiq, Iranian nationalism and oil*, edited by J.A. Bill and W.R. Louis, London 1988, contains a wide range of material and views. Its bibliography of works in Persian and English is comprehensive, and rather than repeat the list of major works here, the reader is referred to pp. 341-8 of that book. While it was in the press, a few additional details of the 1953 coup appeared in a work by one of those associated with planning it, D.N. Wilber, *Adventures in the Middle East: excursions and incursions*, Princeton 1986. R.W. Ferrier's *History of the British Petroleum Company*, vol. ii, Cambridge, forthcoming, will contain much detailed information on the negotiations between the A.I.O.C. and successive Iranian governments. E. Abrahamian, *Iran between two revolutions*, Princeton 1982, provides a detailed survey of the modern political history of Iran.

(R.M. Burrell)

MUSĀFIRIDS (Kangarids or Sallārids), a dynasty of Daylamī origin which came from Ṭārum [*q.v.*] and reigned in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries of the Hidjra in Ādharbāydjān, Arrān and Armenia.

Its coming to power was one of the manifestations of the great movement of Iranian liberation which formed a kind of interlude between the end of Arab domination and the first Turkish invasions. While in Khurāsān and Transoxania this movement culminated in the rule of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], in western Persia and Mesopotamia its standard-bearers were the Daylamīs and to a smaller extent the Kurds (cf. V. Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, Paris 1932).

The Musāfirids and the Djustānids. According to a genuine document quoted in Yāḳūt (iii, 148-50), the Kangarī family only comes into history after seizing the famous stronghold of Shamīrān in the district of Ṭārum which was under Ḳazwīn. The Kangarīs have therefore to be distinguished from the ruling family of Daylam, i.e. the Djustānids of Rūdbār, of whom seven are known from between 189 and 316/805-928, while members of the family can be traced till 434/1042. We know that Muḥammad, son of Musāfir, the eponym of the dynasty (whose real Iranian name must have been Aswār; cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 16 = § 3587), had married Kharāsūya, daughter of the Djustānid Djustān III (from 250 until after 300). From such alliances, the names peculiar to the ruling family of Daylam (Djustān, Wahsūdān, Marzubān) became popular among the Musāfirids. In 307/919 Muḥammad killed his wife's uncle ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān to avenge the death of his father-in-law Djustān b. Wahsūdān. Henceforth there was a breach between the two families. The last Djustānid took refuge with the Daylamī chief Asfār (lord of Rayy and Ḳazwīn), who sent the Ziyārid Mardāwīdj against Muḥammad; but instead of fighting they joined forces, and Mardāwīdj slew Asfār. Muḥammad was an important ruler and Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil speaks with praise of his buildings at Shamīrān (1,850 houses) on which 5,000 workmen were employed (the ruins of Shamīrān have been described in Brugsch, *Reise d. preuss. Gesandtschaft*, 1862, ii, 471-2), but he was a difficult character and did not agree even with the members of his own family.

The two branches of Musāfirids. In 330/941 his sons Marzubān and Wahsūdān, by arrangement with Kharāsūya, seized Shamīrān and shut their father up in a fortress, after which the dynasty broke up into two branches: Wahsūdān remained in the hereditary fief of Ṭārum, while Marzubān extended his power over Ādharbāydjān, eastern Transcaucasia and some districts of Armenia.

The fourth generation of the Musāfirids consisted of the sons of Marzubān: Djustān, Ibrāhīm, Nāṣir and Kay Khusraw, and of the sons of Wahsūdān (330-55/942-66): Ismāʿīl, Nūḥ and Ḥaydar (?)

Marzubān. This ruler (330-46/941-57) is the most important figure in the dynasty. After the death in

314/926 of the Sādjid [*q.v.*] Yūsuf, Ādharbāydjān became the scene of the struggle between the Khāridjī Kurd Daysam b. Ibrāhīm and Lashkarī b. Mardī, a native of Gīlān, whom the Ziyārid Wushmagīr supported alternately. Lashkarī died in Armenia, and Daysam was betrayed by his vizier Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar who had come to an arrangement with Marzubān, for both were Bāṭinīs, i.e. Ismāʿīlīs (Miskawayh, ii, 32). Marzubān occupied Ardabīl and Tabrīz, and finally Daysam surrendered to Marzubān and received from him a castle in Ṭārum. Marzubān extended his territory northwards as far as Darband. In 332/943-4 the Scandinavian adventurers (Rūs [*q.v.*]) came by the Caspian and the river Kur and took the capital of Arrān [*q.v.*]. Bardaʿa [*q.v.*], in spite of the resistance of the subjects of Marzubān. At the same time, the Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil had conceived designs on Ādharbāydjān, and Marzubān had to deal with a force under Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān and the Hadhbānī Kurd Djaʿfar b. Shakūya, which had reached Salmās [*q.v.*] but was soon recalled to Mawṣil by Nāṣir al-Dawla. On the other hand, the Rūs, decimated by disease and harassed by the Muslims, beat a retreat (cf. the sources on the Rūs invasion, including the Armenian historian of the 10th century, Moses Kałankatvatzi, in Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Petersburg 1876; the text of Miskawayh, ii, 62-7, was translated with commentary by Yakubovski in the *Vizant. Vremennik*, xxiv [Leningrad 1926], 63-92, and utilised by D.S. Margoliouth in *The Russian seizure of Bardhaʿah in 943 A.D.*, in *BSOS*, i [1918], 82-95).

A new danger arose in the south-east of the lands of Marzubān when in 335/946 the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla occupied Rayy (disputed by the Sāmānids and Ziyārids). Marzubān, filled with wrath at the Būyids, decided to attack them in 336/947-8. But Rukn al-Dawla had time to get reinforcements from his brothers. In 338/949 Marzubān, defeated near Ḳazwīn, was besieged in the castle of Sumīrum (in Fārs).

The fugitives from his army gathered round his father Muḥammad and occupied Ardabīl, while Wahsūdān remained in Ṭārum. Muḥammad soon gave dissatisfaction to his captains and was shut up by Wahsūdān in his castle at Shīsagān (?). Rukn al-Dawla sent to Ādharbāydjān Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, the former governor of Ṭūs [*q.v.*], who had deserted the Sāmānids. Wahsūdān released Daysam in the hope that he would be able to organise resistance. Daysam, who had time to take Ardabīl, was defeated by Ibn ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, but the latter, disgusted by the intrigues around him, returned to Rayy in 338/949. Daysam reoccupied Ardabīl, but the advance of ʿAlī b. Mīshkī, a supporter of Marzubān, forced him to seek shelter with the Artsrunids of Waspurakan [see WĀN].

In the meanwhile, by an ingeniously planned coup, Marzubān escaped from Sumīrum and recovered all his strongholds and treasures (342/953). After a long series of adventures which brought him to Mawṣil, Baghdād and Aleppo, Daysam in 344/955 collected a force and read the *khuṭba* at Salmās in the name of the Ḥamdānid of Aleppo, Sayf al-Dawla. Marzubān quickly put down a rising in Darband and later drove Daysam back, who once again sought refuge with the Artsrunids, who handed him over to Marzubān under threats from the latter.

In an important passage, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 354-5, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 347-8, gives the list of the tributaries of Marzubān compiled by his minister Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (in 344/955). The names include those of the lords of Shīrwān, Abkhāz (? uncertain name of a district north of Shīrwān; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 174: *Abkhān), of Shakkī [*q.v.*], of لز, of Djurzān wa-Saghiyān (Gurziwān and Saghiyān to the west of Shīrwān), of Vayots-dzor (district of Siunie), of Ahar and Warzaḳan (north-east of Tabrīz), of Khīzān (north of Bākū?), as well as the Artsrunids, Bagratids and the princes of Khačen (west of Bardaʿa).

Wahsūdān and his nephews. Marzubān died in Ramaḍān 346/Dec. 957, and while bequeathing the power to his brother Wahsūdān, forgot to cancel his first will by which his sons Djustān, Ibrāhīm and Nāṣir were to succeed him in succession.

The commanders of the fortresses would not surrender them to Wahsūdān, who returned to Ṭārum in disgust. Djustān b. Marzubān was recognised by his brothers, but was only interested in his harem. Marzubān's old general Djustān b. Sharmazan set up in Urmiya [*q.v.*] and won to his side Ibrāhīm, with whom he occupied Marāgha.

In 349/960 the grandson of the caliph al-Muktafī, Isḥāḳ b. ʿĪsā, rebelled in Gīlān and took the name of al-Mustadjīr bi 'llāh. Djustān and Ibrāhīm became reconciled and defeated the rebels at Mūḳān [*q.v.*].

Wahsūdān began intriguing among his nephews and detached Nāṣir from Djustān, but the quarrel was of short duration. Under assurances from Wahsūdān, Djustān with his mother and Nāṣir came to Ṭārum, but were thrown into prison. Wahsūdān sent his son Ismāʿīl to Ādharbāydjān. Ibrāhīm, who was ruling Armenia (Dwin), made a move in 349/960 or 350/961 which gave Wahsūdān an excuse to massacre his prisoners. Ismāʿīl soon afterwards died at Ardabīl, after which Ibrāhīm reoccupied Ādharbāydjān and laid Ṭārum waste while Wahsūdān sought refuge in Daylam. Meanwhile, Wahsūdān's general Sharmazan b. Mīshkī, however, succeeded in defeating Ibrāhīm and the latter, abandoned by all his soldiers, sought refuge with his brother-in-law Rukn al-Dawla, who had married a daughter of Marzubān (355/966).

Rukn al-Dawla with his usual chivalry heaped favours on Ibrāhīm, and sent to Ādharbāydjān his famous minister Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*] who reinstated Ibrāhīm and subjected the Kurds and Djustān b. Sharmazan to him. Ibn al-ʿAmīd, who was much impressed by the wealth of Ādharbāydjān, proposed to Rukn al-Dawla to annex this province, but his master recalled him to Rayy, saying that he did not wish to be accused of coveting the inheritance of one who had sought his protection. After the return of Ibn al-ʿAmīd, matters went badly and from the allusions in Miskawayh we know only that Ibrāhīm was deposed and imprisoned (probably about 369/979, the year in which the *Tadjārib al-umam* stops).

The end of the Musāfirids. In the Muslim sources, the situation in Ādharbāydjān till 420/1029 is obscure, but the statements of the Armenian historian Stephen Asołik, *Hist. universelle*, part ii, book iii, tr. Macler, Paris 1917, chs. 11, 12, 18, 19, 29, 38 and 41, enable us to fill the gaps. According to Kasrawī, in 369/979, Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān was dispossessed of his lands in Ādharbāydjān by the Rawwādī family (on which see the articles MARĀGHA, MARAND, TABRĪZ, and Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān*, ii). The son of Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-Haydjā (the "Ablhadj Delmastani" of Asołik) retained Dwin [*q.v.*], and on the invitation of king Mushel of Ḳars in 982-3 made an expedition into Armenia, where he desecrated the churches. This Ablhadj later lost all his lands to his neighbour Abutlupʿ of Gołtʿn (i.e. Abū Dulaf Shaybānī, lord of Ordūbād [*q.v.*]). He later wandered in Georgia and

Armenia, and even visited the Byzantine emperor Basil II; he was killed by his servants at Uk͟htʿikʿ (Olti). Finally, another Ablhadj, son of Rovd, *amīr* of Atrapakan (Abu 'l-Hayd͟jā b. Rawwād of Ād͟harbāyd͟jān), took from Abū Dulaf "the towns of Salar and after sacking Gołtʿn marched on Dwin, seized this town and demanded from the Armenians the arrears of tribute" (Asołik, ch. xviii). King Smbat II hastened to accede to the demand. The Rawwādids thus gained possession of the remainder of the possessions of the Musāfirids, of whom they claimed to be the successors. There is no reason to connect the Arab-Kurd Rawwādids with the Musāfirids, who were of Daylamī origin, although there may have been intermarriage between the two families.

The Ṭārum branch. After the disappearance of the descendants of Marzubān, Ṭārum, the original fief of the dynasty, alone remained in their hands. Wahsūdān had extended his power over the adjacent districts of Zand͟jān, Abhar and Suhraward (the latter name is usually mutilated in the sources). A *ḳaṣīda* of al-Mutanabbī (Kasrawī, *op. cit.*, i, 45) dated probably to 354/965 suggests that Rukn al-Dawla drove Wahsūdān from Ṭārum for a time, but his family had remained there, for from Yāḳūt, iii, 148-50, we learn that in 379/989, the Būyid Fak͟hr al-Dawla took S͟hamīrān from the young son of Nūḥ b. Wahsūdān, whose mother he married (the child's name was probably D͟justān; cf. Yāḳūt, *Irs͟had*, ii, 308).

In 387/997, after the death of Fak͟hr al-Dawla, Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān b. Ismāʿīl b. Wahsūdān seized the fortress of Sard͟jihān and Ṭārum. In 411/1020 even Ḳazwīn was in his hands (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 58). When Maḥmūd of G͟hazna had taken Rayy, he sent against him the Daylamī K͟harāmil. After the return of Maḥmūd to K͟hurāsān (420/1029), his son Masʿūd attacked Ibrāhīm but only captured him by a strategem. Sard͟jihān, however, remained in the hands of Ibrāhīm's son. In 427/1037, we find the "*salār* of Ṭārum" in his fief again.

Nāṣir-i K͟husraw, who was in this region in 437/1045, speaks in high terms of the lord of S͟hamīrān D͟justān (b.) Ibrāhīm whose title was "Marzubān al-Daylam D͟jīl-i D͟jīlān Abū Ṣāliḥ, Mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn".

Under 454/1062, Ibn al-At͟hīr records the visit of the Sald͟jūḳ Ṭog͟hrīl Beg to Ṭārum, where he imposed a tribute of 100,000 *dīnār*s on Musāfir, who is the last Musāfirid known. From Yāḳūt's words, we may conclude that the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt put an end to the rule of the family when they dismantled S͟hamīrān.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles DAYLAM, MARĀG͟HA, MARAND, ṬĀRUM, TABRĪZ, URMIYA. The principal source is Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth (abridged in Ibn al-At͟hīr, viii-ix). The *Taʾrīk͟h Ād͟harbāyd͟jān* of Ibn Abi 'l-Hayd͟jā al-Rawwādī (cf. Ṣafadī, in *JA* [1912], xix, 249, and Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, ii, 107) has not yet been found. Cf. also Müned͟jd͟jim Bas͟hī, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-ak͟hbar*, i, 505.

Studies. H. Sauvaire, *Sur quelques monnaies... de M. de l'Ecluse*, in *JRAS* (1881), 380-98 (résumé of Ibn al-At͟hīr; description of a *dirham* struck at Ardabīl in 343/954-5 in the names of "Sālār Abū Manṣūr [? perhaps Wahsūdān] and "Malik al-Muʾayyad Marzubān b. Muḥammad Abū Naṣr", and of a *dīnār* struck at Marāg͟ha in 347/958-9 in the names of Ibrāhīm and D͟justān, son of Marzubān); Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 441; H.F. Amedroz, *Notes on... Mayyafāriqīn*, in *JRAS* (1909), 170-6; Sir E.D. Ross, *On three Muhammaddan dynasties in Northern Persia*, in *Asia Major*, ii (1925), 212-15 (cf. also idem, in *JRAS* [1924], 617-19); Cl. Huart, *Les Mosâfirides de l'Âd͟harbaïd͟jân*, in *A volume... presented to E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 229-56; R. Vasmer, *Zur Chronologie der Gastaniden und Sallāriden*, in *Islamica*, iii/2 (1927), 168-86; Zambaur, *Manuel de genealogie*, Hanover 1927, 180; Sayyid Aḥmad Kasrawī, *S͟hahriyārān-i gumnām*, Tehran, 1929-30, i-iii (a very good book, analysing all the Muslim and even some Armenian sources); J. Markwart, *Die Entstehung d. armenischen Bistümer*, in *OC*, xxvii/2 (Rome 1932), no. 80, 150-1 (recognises the identity of the Rawwādīs of Tabrīz and Marāg͟ha); V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 158-69 (translates Müned͟jd͟jim Bas͟hī's information on the Musāfirids and Rawwādids); Cl. Cahen, *L'Iran du Nord-Ouest face à l'expansion Seljukide*, in *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 65-7; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, 12, 30-2; W. Madelung, in *ibid.*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 223-6. (V. MINORSKY)

MUSĀHAMA [see MUK͟HĀRAD͟JA].

MUṢĀḤIB (A.), in Swahili *musahibu*, a term of East African Muslim court life.

In Swahili morphology, the *mu-/m*-prefix can be placed before all words denoting persons and also trees, e.g. *mtini* "fig tree" (A. *tīn*) or *mzeituni* "olive tree" (A. *zaytūn*). It is therefore possible that the literary word *musahibu* is simply *ṣāḥib* with the *mu*-prefix. Now in some of the Swahili chronicles and the older epics, *musahibu* occurs in a special meaning, that of the close companion of the sultan, e.g. the sultan of Pate [*q.v.*]. He is usually a half-brother or cousin. He has to accompany the ruler wherever he goes, especially when hunting, and to protect the royal person against treason, by "always looking behind him". When the ruler is invited to visit a foreign ruler, the *musahibu* is sometimes sent in his place when the possibility of foul play is to be suspected; and if the visit should result in the *musahibu*'s imprisonment, the ruler remains free whilst the *musahibu* suffers for his ruler and his country.

Bibliography: J. Knappert, *Four centuries of Swahili verse*, London 1979. (J. KNAPPERT)

MUṢĀḤIB-ZĀDE D͟JELĀL (MUSAHIP-ZADE CELAL), Turkish classical playwright (1868-1959). He was born in Istanbul on 19 August 1868. His grandfather Bestekār Muṣāḥib S͟hākir Ag͟ha was a composer. After high school, D͟jelāl attended the law school while he started work in the Translation Bureaux of the Sublime Porte. After that, he worked as a civil servant in different government offices. During his childhood, Muṣāḥib-zāde showed a deep interest in Karagöz [*q.v.*], the Turkish shadow play and the old Turkish open-air theatrical representations called Orta oyunu [*q.v.*]. He was also influenced by Aḥmad Wefīḳ Pas͟ha's Molière translations. During the second Constitutional Era of the Ottoman Empire (1908-20), at a stage when the Turkish national theatre had newly been founded, and adaptations and translations of the European plays were serving as models, Muṣāḥib-zāde's musical plays, which reflected the colour of the local culture and also contained modern elements, soon became popular and attracted a great audience. His first play, called *Köprülüler*, a historical drama, was staged in 1912 in the Manukyan Theatre. In 1923 Muṣāḥib-zāde D͟jelāl retired from office and took a post at the library of the Istanbul City Theatre. In 1952 his fortieth jubilee year was celebrated. He died in 1959.

Although Muṣāḥib-zāde D͟jelāl wrote most of his musical plays after the Declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the themes of these plays were mainly taken from the daily lives of the Ottoman

people in the 17th and 18th centuries. Their tunes contain motives of the Turkish classical music. In these plays the weak sides of the population and the ruling institution, which led to the decay of the Ottoman Empire, were shown and the comic element, usually consisting of overstatements and irony, was always in the foregound. Turkish traditions and conventions, life in the *ḥarem* and *selāmlïḳ*, superstition, fanaticism, bribery, indulgence in sex, ignorance, inefficiency and laziness of the ruling body of the time, unequal treatment of women, oppression, inadequacy of the educators, and a blind admiration shown for western culture, were the popular themes of his plays, which he skilfully handled with a sense of humour. He avoided direct judgements, but gave his message through implication. He was in favour of a simple life, based on fairness, love, tolerance and honesty, and showed a great sympathy towards the humble characters of moderate social standing, in whom he found a purity, as opposed in the ruling figures in the Palace, religious leaders and scholars, whom he found remote from the realities and the people of the country. He believed that those people had lost their sense of judgement and had thus become degenerate. This social touch is common to almost all Muṣāḥib-zāde Djelāl's plays. His characters speak different dialects indicating their origin and social status, and the way in which he makes them speak reflects his close observation. He also made great use of folkloric elements. Typical Ottoman settings, like coffee-houses, gardens, house-interiors, streets, market-places and a great variety of local types with their original costumes, musical instruments and a lot of other accessories make his plays colourful and full of details but at the same time quite difficult for staging.

Muṣāḥib-zāde Djelāl wrote eighteen comedies, most of them with music composed by different composers, like Ismail Hakkı Beg and Doktor Subhi Beg. Among these musical plays, *Istanbul Efendisi, Aynaroz kadısı* and *Mum söndü* seem to be the most popular ones. They were collected and published in 1936. The names of his plays are listed below along with their performance dates: *Istanbul Efendisi*, 1913; *Yedekči*, 1919; *Ḳashïḳčïlar* 1920; *Atlï ases*, 1921; *Lāle devri, Madjūn ḥoḳḳasï, Demirbash Sharl*, all first staged before 1923. The following ones increased Muṣāḥib-zāde's popularity: *Fermanlı deli hazretleri*, 1928; *Aynaroz kadısı*, 1929; *Kafes arkasında*, 1929; *Bir kavuk devrildi*, 1930; *Mum söndü*, 1931; *Pazartesi-perşembe*, 1932; *Balabanağa*, 1932; *Gülsüm*, 1932; *Gül ve gönül*, 1933; *Selma*, 1961; *Genç Osman* (with Mehmet Şükrü Erden), 1955; *Karacaoğlan* (with Kemal Samancı), 1955.

Some literary historians and critics, among them Mustafa Nihat Özön (1896-1980), found Muṣāḥib-zāde Djelāl's plays mediocre from the literary point of view and inadequate in terms of stage techniques, whereas modern theatre critics and scholars, like Sevda Şener, Metin And and Özdemir Nutku, praise his mastery of using visual and verbal elements on the stage. They also claim that his plays, with their historical elements and social criticism, reflecting the value judgements of a special era in Turkish literary history, have gained a special significance today and thus should be restudied from that perspective.

Bibliography: An evaluation of the Turkish theatre from 1908 to 40 was made by Mustafa Nihat Özön in *Son asır türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1941; a critical interpretation of Muṣāḥib-zāde Djelāl's works by Sevda Şener in *Musahib-zade ve tiyatrosu*, Ankara 1963; a critical essay by Özdemir Nutku, *Musahib-zade Celal'e yeniden bakmalıyız*, in *Türk Dili* (January 1969); an evaluation of Muṣāḥib-zāde and his play *Kaşıkçılar* was made by Enver Naci Gökşen, *Musahib-zade ve Kaşıkçıları*, in *Türk Dili* (October 1971); a new edition of his plays *Musahib-zade Celal, bütün oyunları*, Istanbul 1970. A biography, an interview with Muṣāḥib-zāde Djelāl and excerpts from his plays, were published by Seyit Kemal Karaalioğlu in his *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, iii, Istanbul 1980, 197 ff.; a detailed evaluation of the Turkish national theatre by Metin And in *Cumhuriyet dönemi türk tiyatrosu*, Ankara 1983; a short biography of Muṣāḥib-zāde Djelāl and excerpts from *Istanbul Efendisi* were published by Şükran Kurdakul, *Çağdaş türk edebiyatı meşrutiyet dönemi*, vi, Istanbul 1986; see also *Musahib-zade Celal*, in *Ana Britannica* xvi, Istanbul 1989, 315, and MASRAḤ. 3. In Turkey.

(NEDRET PINAR)

MUSĀḲĀT, a legal term denoting a lease of a plantation for one crop period, with profit-sharing. The contract for such a lease is between the owner of the plantation and a husbandman (*ʿāmil*), who undertakes to tend the trees or vines of the plantation for one season, at the end of which the proceeds of the crop are divided in agreed portions between the two contracting parties. The landowner's portion constitutes his rent (*udjra*). The contract of *musāḳāt* is similar in its general features to that of *muzāraʿa* [*q.v.*], but differs from the latter in four respects: (1) it is binding on both sides by the mere conclusion of the contract (whereas a contract of *muzāraʿa* may be cancelled by the provider of the seeds for the crop up to the time they are actually sown); (2) if the term of the *musāḳāt* falls before the fruit has ripened, the husbandman has to cultivate the trees or vines without wage until the fruit ripens; (3) if ownership of the plantation is successfully claimed by a third party, and the trees are in fruit, the husbandman may claim a wage for the time he has been working from the other party to the contract; and (4) declaration of the period of the contract is not a necessary condition for the validity of *musāḳāt* (since the ripening period of any particular fruit is known in advance, and there is little variation between any two crops).

In contracts of *musāḳāt* the term "trees" (*shadjar*) includes anything planted with the intention of leaving it in the ground for a year or more, i.e. any plant which has no definite term for being cut down, whether flowering or non-flowering. "Non-flowering" refers to plants which produce palm-branches, firewood, etc.

As in other contracts of *idjāra*, cancellation (*faskh*) may occur through either (1) the death of one of the parties (but if the trees already have immature fruit, the husbandman or his heirs are obliged to continue to tend the trees until the fruit is mature without consideration); or (2) by legitimate excuse (*ʿudhr*).

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(M.J.L. YOUNG)

MUṢALLĀ (A.), the noun of place from *ṣallā* "to perform the Muslim worship, *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*]", hence the place where the *ṣalāt* is performed on certain occasions.

1. Historical and legal aspects.

When Muḥammad had fixed his abode in Medina, he performed the ordinary *ṣalāt*s in his *dār*, which was also his *masdjid* (not in the sense of temple). The extraordinary *ṣalāt*s, however, were performed on a place situated southwest of the city in the territory of the Banū Salima, outside the wall, northeast of the bridge on the *wādī*, where at present the street from the suburb of al-ʿAnbariyya reaches the market-place Barr al-Munākha (cf. Burton, *Personal narrative*, plan opp. i, 256; picture of the *muṣallā* as well as of the mosque of ʿUmar situated on the place, opp. i, 329; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*, 2nd ed., plan of Medina opp. 252; part of the Barr al-Munākha, *ibid.*, opp. 264; Caetani, *Annali*, ii/1, opp. 72).

On this spot, the *ṣalāt* was performed on 1 Shawwāl and on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1281, 1362). On the latter day, the *ṣalāt* was combined with the slaughtering of two spotted rams (al-Bukhārī, *Aḍāḥī*, *bāb* 6). On the two days of festival, Muḥammad and his followers on their way to the *muṣallā* were preceded by Bilāl who bore the spear (*ʿanaza* [*q.v.*]).

It is also said that the *ṣalāt* for rain was held on the *muṣallā* (copious data in Tradition, cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Rain; and idem, *Mohammed en de Joden*, 141). Further, it is related that the service for the dead was performed on this spot (al-Bukhārī, *Djanāʾiz*, *bāb* 4, 61; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, 140). Finally, the *muṣallā* is mentioned as the place where executions took place (al-Bukhārī, *Ṭalāḳ*, *bāb* 11; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1903). The sacred character of the place appears in the fact that menstruating women were taught to avoid it (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥayḍ*, *bāb* 23). According to Caetani (A.H. 1, § 55, n. 3; cf. A.H. 2, § 24, n. 1), the *muṣallā* was used more frequently.

It was not only in Medina but in a large number of other places that the rites mentioned, or some of them, were performed on a *muṣallā*. According to al-Nawawī (commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii, 296), this was the practice of most of the capitals. The custom prevails up to the present day. According to Doutté, the North-African *muṣallā* is used for the rites of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. It is a large threshing-floor, with a wall provided with a *miḥrāb*; there is also an elevated place for the *khaṭīb*. This is the form of the *muṣallā* in many towns of Morocco.

To the legal scholars, it was questionable whether the festival ceremonies should be performed on the *muṣallā* or in the mosque. There was divergency of opinion on this point, even within the *madhhabs* (Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, 41, where "the field" (*al-ṣaḥrāʾ*) is mentioned side-by-side with the mosque; al-Zurḳānī, comm. on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, i, 328; Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Mukhtaṣar*, Paris 1318, 33-4; al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, ii, 296).

Wensinck has conjectured that, even in pre-Islamic times, rites of several kinds were performed on an open area, threshing-floor, *muṣallā* or the like. The connection between all those rites and the special place is sought by him therein, that they had a special connection with the fertile earth, of which the threshing-floor and the like were symbols.

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(A.J. Wensinck)

2. Architectural aspects in the central Islamic lands.

Although *muṣallā* (like *mughaṭṭā*) can denote the sanctuary or covered area in a mosque, its principal meaning is the open space—usually outside a settlement—used during the two *ʿīd*s (*ʿīd al-kabīr* and *ʿīd al-fiṭr*) by the entire Muslim community (see 1. above). The *muṣallā* of Mashhad provides epigraphic confirmation of this classless quality, for its chronogram states *īn bināʾ madjmūʿ-i khāṣṣ u ʿāmm*. The *muṣallā* is thus an extraordinary monument built for two extraordinary occasions, though exceptionally it was used for other purposes (see 1. above). An anecdote recounted by Saʿdī (*Gulistān*, no. xxviii) indicates that the *muṣallā* of Shīrāz was used for recreation—in this case, archery practice. Merchants also plied their trade in *muṣallā*s on occasion. In the Iranian and Indian worlds the *muṣallā* is known as *namāzgāh* and/or *ʿīdgāh* (see 3. below). A location conveniently close to a city gate was standard practice (*e.g.*, at Mashhad and at Iṣfahān, where some pillars, vaults and ornament of the old *muṣallā* were still visible in 1913). A security risk was perceived in the entire community foregathering in an undefended place at one time, and it was therefore permitted for worshippers to bring their weapons, and if necessary to disperse in scattered groups using different routes. The periodic occurrence of massacres in *muṣallā*s justified these precautions.

Since *muṣallā* denotes simply "a place for prayer", it is not surprising that in many parts of the Islamic world the term does not imply a building at all; indeed, some *muṣallā*s are temporary and fall into the category of mobile architecture. This extreme simplicity helps to explain why so very few of the *muṣallā*s mentioned in literary sources have survived. Nevertheless, there are occasional reports of royal patronage in the erection of these buildings, which suggests that these were not flimsy constructions. Hilāl al-Ṣābī recounts how the caliph, his *wazīr*s and other officials celebrated the beginning of the *ʿīd* by assembling at dawn and then forming a splendidly attired and colourful procession *en route* to the *muṣallā* (*apud* M.M. Ahsan, *Social life under the ʿAbbasids, 170-289 A.H./786-902 A.D.*, London, New York and Beirut 1979, 277). Al-Māfarrūkhī, *Maḥāsin Iṣfahān* (Persian tr., ed. Iḳbāl, 75), tells a similar tale. Such processions had the sanction of the Prophet's own example. Al-Maḳrīzī notes (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 451) that in 380/990 the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz renovated the *muṣallā* outside the Bāb al-Naṣr constructed by Djawhar in 358/968-9. Nor was he the first; al-Muʿizz had built one at al-Manṣūriyya in 441/1049-50, and the same caliph officiated as *imām* when the great *ʿīd*s were celebrated at the *muṣallā* of Raḳḳāda. The indirect evidence pointing to the existence of *muṣallā*s of some architectural distinction is backed up by several scraps of physical evidence. The Marīnid *muṣallā* at al-Manṣūra was decorated with panels of elaborate geometric brickwork, while that of Mashhad, 1087/1676-7, dated by an inscription, has fine tile mosaic. That of Harāt had an *īwān* erected in 863/1458-9 by Sultan Abū Saʿīd.

In its simplest form the *muṣallā* comprises merely a directional indicator—a *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*]—either entirely

isolated in a huge open space, or set in a long wall. The development of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] might involve a projection of the *miḥrāb* beyond the *ḳibla* wall itself. Usually a *minbar* is also provided, which can be a large permanent structure, complete with steps and a dome (as at Aswān). In more developed form (*e.g.*, at Āgra), the *muṣallā* would consist of a gigantic empty square enclosure provided with multiple entrances and with an unbroken *ḳibla* wall (*e.g.*, Nasā, which has one, two and five entrances respectively per side, or the 8th/14th-century example at al-Manṣūra, with two entrances per side). In the eastern Islamic world, a more complex two-tier structure with a central *īwān* (*e.g.*, at Turbat-i Djām and al-Bukhārā, 515/1121-2) would mark the emplacement of the *miḥrāb* and the area immediately adjoining it. This area may be raised above the courtyard on a platform, as at Bukhārā. Such a formula corresponds quite closely to a typical form of Friday Mosque in the Indian subcontinent. It must be seen not as a self-contained unit (though many examples in Transoxiana, such as the 10th/16th-century examples at Ḳarshi and Āstāna Ata, and some in Persia, encourage that perception) but in the context of a huge open space immediately adjoining it. In other parts of the Muslim world the entire *ḳibla* wall was fully articulated with *īwāns*, clusters of domes or vaults of varying sizes; once again, the influence of the standard local congregational mosque can be felt in such cases. Such solutions include an *īwān* preceding a domed chamber (Ṭuruk), and an *īwān* flanked by domed chambers (Mashhad). At al-Manāma [*q.v.*], the capital of al-Baḥrain, Diez recorded *muṣallās* comprising "*līwāns* of several naves built of rows of pillars with pointed arches which run parallel with the *ḳibla* wall. A jutting roof on octagonal brick pillars protects from the sun. The roofs consist of a layer of clay on wood. The *ḳibla* wall has no prayer niche. There are no court or side-*līwāns*." Further articulation could be provided by small square chambers defining the corners of the enclosure (Aswān). Sometimes trees or pools broke up the open surface of the *muṣallā*. These variations show clearly enough that there was no set form for this building type. The vast scale of the typical *muṣallā* (that of Abū Zakāriyyaʾ in Tunis, of the 7th/13th century, was described as "like a little town") posed special problems of communication. Hence relays of *mukabbirs* raised above the level of the worshippers by multiple *dikkas* are often required to orchestrate the movements of prayer for such huge congregations. This human chain could be extended far beyond the *muṣallā*; in 380/990 in Cairo, al-ʿAzīz set up *maṣṭabas* for muezzins and *fuḳahāʾ* along the route linking his palace with the *muṣallā* "so that the *takbīr* would be simultaneous from the *muṣallā* to the palace" (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 451).

The modern expansion of many mediaeval cities has resulted in the loss of their *muṣallās* (*e.g.*, the 8-hectare *muṣallā* of Samarḳand). The Ḳonya muṣallā of 948/1541 is a rare exception. Often the names of city gates or quarters contain a reminder of such vanished *muṣallās*. Although exceptionally *muṣallās* might be sited deliberately within a city (that of Algiers adjoined the Friday Mosque, and that of Bukhārā was on the Rīgistān below the *arg* until 369/971, when a new *muṣallā* was built outside the city), most of the examples thus located have been incorporated into the urban fabric as a result of later expansion. Some of the larger modern cities have acquired more than one *muṣallā*; Karachi, for example, has no less than nine.

Bibliography: E. Diez, *EI*[1] Suppl., art. *Muṣallā*; A. Godard, *Les monuments de feu*, in *Athār-é Īrān*, iii/1 (1938), 73-80; idem, *Le muṣallā de Yazd*, in *ibid.*, iii/2 (1938), 326-7; idem, *Les muṣallās de Ṭuruk et de Meshhed*, in *ibid.*, iv/1 (1949), 133-7; K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture. Umayyads. A.D. 622-750*, repr. Oxford 1969, I/1, 10-12, 14, 16; L. Golvin, *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse musulmane. I. Généralités*, Paris 1970, 19-20, 208, 236; B. Prochazka, *Introduction to Islamic architecture*, Zurich 1986, 74-9, 97; B. O'Kane, *Timurid architecture in Khurasan*, Costa Mesa 1987, 20, 317-18.

(R. Hillenbrand)

3. In Muslim India [see namāzgāh].

MUSAMMAṬ (a.), [*shiʿr*] *musammaṭ* or [*ḳaṣīda*] *musammaṭa*, also *ḳaṣīda simṭiyya*), name of an originally Arabic (then also Hebrew, Persian, Turkish) stanzaic form of poetry. The name is derived from the Arabic *simṭ* "a thread, or string, having upon it beads or pearls; a thong, or strap. that is suspended from the horse's saddle" (cf. Lane, s.v.); the original meaning of *musammaṭ* is probably "that which is arranged in strings (rows, lines)" (I. ʿAbbās, *Taʾrīkh*, 221; cf., however, the etymological remarks of Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 180, and in *TA*, s.v. *simṭ*).

1. In the Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic traditions, in early Persian and in Turkish.

Formal structure, metres, themes. The single stanzas, normally all of the same structure, consist of two elements: first a fixed number of lines that rhyme with each other, the rhyme, however, changing from one stanza to the next (separate rhymes), followed by a stanza-closing line that rhymes with the end lines in all other stanzas of the poem. This rhyme that runs through the whole poem (common rhyme) is called *ʿamūd al-ḳaṣīda* by the Arab authorities. The lines of the *musammaṭ* correspond to the hemistichs in normal *shiʿr*. The rhyme scheme of a simple *musammaṭ* is thus, e.g.: *bbb a, ccc a, ddd a*, etc. In the first stanza the end line often rhymes with the preceding lines, thus *aaa a, bbb a, ccc a*, etc. The number of lines with separate rhyme can be two (rare), three, four, five, six, and more. The four-line *musammaṭ* (three lines with separate rhyme + one line with common rhyme) is called *murabbaʿ*, the five-liner *mukhammas*, the six-liner *musaddas*, etc. There are said to exist also *musammaṭs* with stanzas displaying a varying number of lines (cf. Freytag, 405). In a particular variety of the *musammaṭ* the first stanza is preceded by two introductory lines with common rhyme (*aa bbb a, ccc a, ddd a*). The number of stanzas in a *musammaṭ* is not fixed. One encounters the same metres (particularly *ṭawīl, basīṭ, wāfir, ramal*, etc.) and themes (*nasīb*, praise, wine description, etc.) in the *musammaṭ* that are also found in normal *shiʿr*.

The oldest specimens. The indigenous tradition attests to the existence of *musammaṭs* already in the 2nd/8th century: al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar (d. *ca.* 187/803) gives an exact definition of a *musammaṭ murabbaʿ* (*apud* al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, xii, 348, s.v. *simṭ*). The oldest *musammaṭ* known to date is ascribed to Abū Nuwās (d. 200/815 [*q.v.*]) (rhyme scheme: *aaa a, bbb a*, etc., metre: *basīṭ*; topic: wine and drinking party; 14 stanzas). Although this ascription is not quite certain —Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, redactor of Abū Nuwās' *dīwān*, considers the poem to be spurious (cf. E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1964, 228)— it must date from the 3rd/9th century, since it is already quoted by Abū Hiffān (d. 255/869) in his *Akhbār Abī Nuwās* (ed. ʿA.A. Farrādj, Cairo 1953, 57 f.). The poem in question, instead of being read as a *musammaṭ*, can, however, also be viewed as a *ḳaṣīda* with regularly applied internal rhyme (*...a...a...a...a*, *...b...b...b...a*, etc.). The same is true for a poem

(metre: *mutaḳārib*; theme: *nasīb*; three stanzas) that Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967) ascribes to Ḥammād al-Rāwiya (d. *ca.* 155/771) (*Aghānī*[1] v, 27 f.). Written out as a *musammaṭ*, it shows the rhyme scheme *aa bbb a, ccc a,* etc., thus being a *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* with introductory lines; written out as a *ḳaṣīda* it looks as follows: ......*a*......*a*, ..*b*..*b*..*b*..*a*, ..*c*..*c*..*c*..*a*, etc. In contradistinction to these examples, the *musammaṭ* wrongly ascribed to Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*], quoted by Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 463/1070), *al-ᶜUmda*, i, 179; cf. 182, cannot be read as a *ḳaṣīda*, because all lines of the poem have equal length. It shows the rhyme scheme *aa bbbb a* which means that it is a *musammaṭ mukhammas* with introductory lines. The critic Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahb al-Kātib (4th/10th century) describes a *musammaṭ musaddas* without introductory lines (*bbbbb a, ccccc a,* etc.) (*al-Burhān fī wudjūh al-bayān*, ed. A. Maṭlūb, Baghdād 1967, 161). A *musammaṭ mukhammas* (rhyme scheme: *bbbb a, cccc a*; metre: *wāfir*, theme: *nasīb* + eulogy; 31 stanzas) is included in the *Dīwān* of the Egyptian poet Tamīm (d. *ca.* 375/985) (ed. M.Ḥ al-Aᶜẓamī *et alii*, Cairo 1957, 368-74). Two *mukhammas* poems (both in the metre *ṭawīl*; theme: *ghazal* (*ḥanīn*), considerably mixed with nature description; 10 and 20 stanzas respectively) were composed by the Andalusian poet Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1070 [*q.v.*]) (*Dīwān*, ed. ᶜA. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm, Cairo 1957, 128-38). Al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) uses the *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* (*aaa a, bbb a*) in his 11th, 12th, and 50th *maḳāma* (ed. Beirut 1958, 89 ff., 101 ff., 420 ff.).

Diffusion. The *musammaṭ*, and particularly its *murabbaᶜ* type, must have been used much more frequently than is suggested by the not exactly numerous pieces encountered in the *dīwāns* of the poets (cf. the remarks by Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ᶜUmda*, i, 182, 2). It seems to have been particularly widespread in the 4th/10th century. Evidence for this is *inter alia* the fact that the Hebrew poets who, in that century, adopted the Arabic metres and genres of poetry favoured the *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* during their first steps into the new poetic art (cf. M. Hartmann, 113; S.M. Stern, 51). Some specimens can already be found with Eastern Hebrew poets (cf. Fleischer, 840 ff.); but it is especially the Andalusian Hebrew poets who use this stanzaic form, called *merubaᶜ* in Hebrew. A number of *merubaᶜs* (*bbb a, ccc a*) by Dūnash b. Labrāṭ have been preserved. Subsequently, the *merubaᶜ* acquires an important place in the canon of Hebrew poetry, liturgical as well as secular. A wider diffusion of the Arabic *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* in non-courtly, more popular poetry is suggested by the fact that later Bedouin poetry also knows the *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* alongside the *ḳaṣīda*. This is attested for the 8th/14th century by Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 361) and for the 13th/19th century by A. Socin's collection *Diwan aus Centralarabien* (ed. H. Stumme, Teil I-III, Leipzig 1900-1, i, nos. 50 and 64; cf. iii, 53). Lastly, one finds *murabbaᶜs* in the folk epic of the Banū Hilāl (cf. S. Pantuček, *Das Epos über den Westzug der Banū Hilāl*, Prague 1970, 123).

Takhmīs. In later times, a special function has devolved upon the *mukhammas* type. It is frequently used to expand, to "gloss", an existing poem (cf. the Spanish poetic form "gloss"). The result is more often called a *takhmīs* rather than a *mukhammas*. Numerous examples can be found in the *Dīwān* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 752/1351 [*q.v.*]) (ed. K. al-Bustānī, Beirut n.d., 26 f., 36 ff., 63 ff., and elsewhere), who also composed normal *mukhammasāt* (*ibid.*, 110 ff., 228 ff., 245 ff.). In this way, al-Ḥillī has "glossed", e.g., the famous *nūniyya* of Ibn Zaydūn (*ibid.*, 359 ff.). The first verse of the original poem, consisting of two rhyming hemistichs (now becoming lines), is preceded by three newly-composed lines with the same rhyme, length, and metre (+ *a* + *a* + *a aa*); the remaining verses, each consisting of two non-rhyming hemistichs (now lines), are likewise preceded by three newly-composed lines which follow the first hemistich with regard to rhyme etc. (+ *b* + *b* + *b ba*, + *c* + *c* + *c ca*, etc.). Such *takhmīs* poems can be found in the *dīwāns* of numerous later poets.

Relationship with other stanzaic genres of poetry. The Andalusian *zadjal* [*q.v.*] (most frequent rhyme scheme: *aa bbb a, ccc a*) adopts the rhyme scheme of a *musammaṭ* with introductory lines; the Andalusian *muwashshah* [*q.v.*], according to the opinion held by many scholars, has evolved from the *musammaṭ*. Not to be confused with the *musammaṭ mukhammas* (*musaddas*, etc.) is another type of *mukhammas* (*musaddas*, etc.), in which blocks of five (six, etc.) lines rhyme: *aaaaa bbbbb* (or *aaaaaa bbbbbb*, etc.) (cf. M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Raǧazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 46 ff.).

Imitations in non-Arabic literatures. The Hebrew imitations of the *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* (Hebr. *merubaᶜ*) have already been mentioned in another context above. The attempt to assume a genuinely Hebrew development of the *merubaᶜ* in the older liturgical poetry (*piyyūṭīm*) (Fleischer, 837 ff.) is doomed to failure by the fact that none of the Hebrew *merubaᶜs* composed before the contacts of Jewish poets with Arabic poetry shows a true common rhyme; they all have a fixed recurrent word in its stead (*aaa w, bbb w*). It is only after the contact with the Arabs, and doubtlessly under their influence, that the Jews have composed true *musammaṭs*. At the most, one might assume that the existence of a similar type of stanza in the genuine Hebrew tradition facilitated the adoption of the Arabic *musammaṭ*.

In the 5th/11th century, the Persian poet Manūčihrī (d. *ca.* 432/1041 [*q.v.*]) introduced the *musammaṭ* into the canon of Persian poetry. His *Dīwān* (ed. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, Paris 1886, 151 ff.) contains 10 (not 11!) specimens, all belonging to the *musaddas* type (*bbbbb a, ccccc a*) (most common theme: description of nature as a prologue + eulogy of the ruler). In the *Dīwān* of Sanāʾī (d. 526/1131 or later [*q.v.*]) there are two *musammaṭs* of the *murabbaᶜ* type (ed. M. Raḍawī, Tehran 1354 sh., 785 ff.). Various types of *musammaṭ* occur also in other Persian *dīwāns* (cf. Rückert-Pertsch, 85 f.; Browne, ii, 41 f.). The Turks (Ottoman as well as Čaghatay) adopted the *musammaṭ* from the Persians (cf. Gibb, *HOP*, i, 91 ff.).

Around 1100 A.D. an exact equivalent of the Arabic *musammaṭ* appears also in Provençal poetry (specimens in the collections of the oldest Troubadours, William of Aquitaine (d. 1127), Marcabrun and Cercamon). This fact, combined with the lack of a Latin, or other Romance, model for this form of Provençal stanzaic poetry, is one of the strongest arguments of the proponents of the so-called "Arabic theory" who want to explain the genesis of Provençal poetry, at least in part, through influence from the Arabic.

The revival of *musammaṭs* and other mediaeval Arabic stanzaic forms played an important role at the beginning of modern Arabic literature in the 19th century. The old stanzaic forms were used not only in own poetic efforts but also in the translation of Western poetry (cf. S. Moreh, *Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, 11 ff.).

Bibliography: See also *LA* and *TA*, s.v. *s-m-ṭ*; Ibn Rashīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *al-ᶜUmda*, i-ii, ed. M.M. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, Beirut [4]1972, i, 178-82; G.W.

Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 404 ff.; M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht. I. Das Muwaššaḥ*, Weimar 1897, 111 ff.; J. Fück, *ʿArabīya*, Berlin 1950, 55; S.M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, ed. L.P. Harvey, Oxford 1974; I. ʿAbbās, *Taʾrīkh̲ al-adab al-Andalusī: ʿaṣr al-ṭawāʾif wa ʾl-murābiṭīn*, Beirut, ⁵1978, 216-51; Sayyid G̲h̲āzī, *Fī uṣūl al-tawsh̲īḥ*, Alexandria 1976; G. Schoeler, *Die hispano-arabische Strophendichtung: Entstehung und Beziehung zur Troubadourlyrik*, in *La signification du bas Moyen Age...*, Actes du 8me Congrès de l'UEAI, Aix-en-Provence 1976, 243-66; idem, *Muwaššaḥ und Zağal*, in *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. 5. Orientalisches Mittelalter*, ed. W. Heinrichs, Wiesbaden 1990, 440-64; A. Jones, *Eppur si muove*, in *La Corónica*, xii (1983-4), 45-70, cf. 55 f.; E. Fleischer, *Contributions hébraïques à une meilleure compréhension de quelques aspects de la poésie européenne du haut moyen-âge*, in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medievo*, 26 (1980), 815-66, cf. 834 ff.; F. Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, ed. W. Pertsch, Gotha 1874, 85-6. (G. Schoeler)

2. In later Persian and Indo-Muslim literature.

After the G̲h̲aznawid and G̲h̲ūrid periods, sporadic examples of the *musammaṭ* are also present in the works of subsequent poets, such as K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲ū of Kirmān (d. 753/1352 or 762/1361) and D̲j̲āmī (d. 898/1492). The *musammaṭ* found special impetus from certain poets of the 18th and 19th centuries, notably from Ḳāʾānī (d. 1270/1854), who used the medium for some of his finest poems. In all of Ḳāʾānī's *musammaṭs* the lines of the first stanza rhyme together, and this rhyme continues in the last lines of the other stanzas. In the literary output following the establishment of the Constitution in 1906, the *musammaṭ* gained increasing visibility, and was exploited effectively by Amīrī (1860-1917), Bahār (1886-1950) and, more particularly, by ʿIsh̲ḳī (1894-1924), whose long poem in this form, entitled *Īdiʾāl* ("Ideal"), constitutes a valuable contribution to the poetical literature of modern Persia.

The type of *musaddas* in which the first four lines rhyme with one another, whilst the remaining two lines rhyme amongst themselves (*aaaa bb, cccc dd, eeee ff*, etc.), often called a *tarkīb-band* because of its broad affinity with the latter, has also been popular. It has been employed widely in Urdu poetry, one of the best-known examples being Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī's (1837-1914 [*q.v.*]) long poem, *Madd u d̲j̲azr-i Islām*, also popularly known as *Musaddas-i Ḥālī* (*Kulliyyāt-i naẓm-i Ḥālī*, ii, ed. Iftik̲h̲ār Aḥmad Ṣiddīḳī, Lahore 1970).

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MUṢANNAF (A., pl. *muṣannafāt*), an early technical term in Arabic literature applied to a collection of religious learning organised upon an abstract, structured subdivision in chapters, hence the opposite of *musnad* [*q.v.*], i.e. a collection arranged according to the first/oldest transmitter. *Muṣannaf* is the past participle of a denominative verb meaning originally "to assort", "to distinguish", sc. the one *ṣinf* (= "sort" or "species") from another. Allegedly the first in the Islamic world to compose a structured collection of ancient traditions, which, however, may not have come down to us, was the Meccan *ḥadīth̲* expert ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 150/767), mostly called after his grandfather Ibn D̲j̲urayd̲j̲ (cf. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, vi, 403 ult., for an *awāʾil* report ascribed to Ibn Ḥanbal). But he is also credited with the saying *mā dawwana al-ʿilma tadwīnī aḥadun*, i.e. nobody collected/registered (religious) learning in the same fashion as I have done (cf. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *ibid.*, 404 (3); the verbs *dawwana* and *ṣannafa* are not synonymous, the latter connoting a more sophisticated stage in tradition-collecting, cf. *GAS*, i, 55). Other authors of early, allegedly structured, collections, which as such have not come down to us, are Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī (d. 161/778 [*q.v.*]), the Kūfan jurist, to whom a *d̲j̲āmiʿ* is attributed (cf. Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddit̲h̲ al-fāṣil bayna ʾl-rāwī wa ʾl-wāʿī*, ed. M. ʿAd̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ al-K̲h̲aṭīb, Beirut 1971, 612; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Hady al-sārī, muḳaddimat Fatḥ al-bārī*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, Cairo n.d., 10(25)), and Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/783), the Baṣran *muftī*, who is credited with *aṣnāf*, a term glossed as *muṣannafāt*, but perhaps rendered best as "legal categories" or "chapters" (*ibid.*, also Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, iii, 12 (17), 15 (12), iv, 65, in margin). Others mentioned in this respect (cf. Rāmahurmuzī, 611 f.) are al-Rabīʿ b. Ṣabīḥ (d. 160/777) from Baṣra, Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūba (d. 156/773) from Baṣra, K̲h̲ālid al-ʿAbd from Baṣra, who is said to have stolen traditions from others (cf. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ii, 393), Maʿmar b. Rās̲h̲id (d. 153/770) from Yemen, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198/814) from Mecca, al-Walīd b. Muslim (d. 194/810) from Damascus, D̲j̲arīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (d. 188/804) from Rayy, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) from Marw and Hus̲h̲aym b. Bas̲h̲īr (d. 183/799) from Wāsiṭ. The oldest *muṣannaf*-type works extant are the *Sīra* by Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ (d. 151/768 [*q.v.*]), the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]), and works by Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Ibrāhīm (d. 182/798 [*q.v.*]), chief *ḳāḍī* of Baghdad, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-S̲h̲aybānī (d. 189/805 [*q.v.*]), cf. *GAS*, i, s.n.

In S̲h̲īʿī literature, allegedly the oldest structured collection of legal traditions is the *Mad̲j̲mūʿ al-fiḳh* ascribed to Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 122/740); its authorship, however, remains to be established definitively, cf. W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, 54-7, and the literature referred to there.

The pre-canonical collections of Prophetic and/or

other *ḥadīth* extant today, not all called *muṣannafāt* but arranged as such, are that of the Ibāḍī al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb (d. *ca.* 175/791), whose *musnad* [*q.v.*] may in actual fact have been initially organised as such and only later received a *muṣannaf*-type arrangement at the hand of a later scholar, (cf. the incomplete edition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī, *Ḥāshiyat al-djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ musnad ... al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb*, Cairo 1326; cf. also J.C. Wilkinson, in *Studies on the first century of Islamic society*, ed. G.H.A. Juynboll, Carbondale-Edwardsville 1982, 135 ff., 245); the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827), edited in 11 volumes by Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1970-2; a work entitled *Sunan* by Saʿīd b. Manṣūr (d. 227/842), edition al-Dār al-Salafiyya, Bombay 1982; the *Muṣannaf*, also called *Musnad* although it is arranged according to subject-matter, of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849), edited by Mukhtār Aḥmad al-Nadwī *et alii*, Bombay 1386-1403, in 15 volumes; and a collection called *Sunan* or *Musnad* by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/869), edited by Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamarlī and Khālid al-Sabʿ al-ʿAlamī, Beirut-Cairo 1987.

(For methods simplifying the tracing of traditions in early *muṣannafs*, see MUSNAD.)

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

MUṢANNIFAK, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ʿALĪ B. MADJD AL-DĪN Muḥammad al-Bisṭāmī (or al-Harawī), Persian scholar and theologian, was born in 803/1400-1 at Shāhrūd near Bisṭām as a descendant of the famous theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*]. The nickname *muṣannifak* ("the little writer") was probably given to him "in allusion to his youthful productivity as a writer" (Storey). He studied at Harāt and continued to live in Eastern Persia until 848/1444 when he travelled to Anatolia. While he was teaching at Ḳonya, his hearing deteriorated so much that he had to give up this occupation. He went to live in Istanbul on a pension granted by Sultan Meḥemmed II. In 867/1463 he accompanied the sultan during the Ottoman invasion of Bosnia. A *fatwā* drawn up by Muṣannifak authorised the killing of Stjepan Tomašević, the last Bosnian king. Among the dates given for his death the most likely is 875/1470-1.

Most of Muṣannifak's works are commentaries and supercommentaries on Arabic texts. His interests included rhetoric and logic as well as the theological disciplines. Among the works to which he appended Arabic glosses are al-Būṣīrī's *al-Burda* [*q.v.*], al-Taftazānī's [*q.v.*] *al-Sharḥ al-Muṭawwal* and the *Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.*]. In 863/1459 he wrote a Persian commentary on *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya*, a famous textbook on logic by Nadjm al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Kātibī [*q.v.*]. Other works in Persian are *al-Muḥammadiyya* or *Tafsīr-i Muṣannifak*, an unfinished commentary on the Ḳurʾān begun in 863/1459 at the request of Sultan Meḥemmed II, and *at-Tuḥfat al-Maḥmūdiyya*, dedicated to the *wazīr* Maḥmūd Pasha [*q.v.*].

Bibliography; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, i, 479; Brockelmann, II, 234, S II, 329; Storey, i/1, 10, Storey-Bregelʾ, i, 123-4, iii, 1337; H. Ritter, in *OLZ*, 1928/12, 1124; P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts*, Leiden 1957, 157; Ghulām-Riḍā Māyil Harawī, in *Āryānā*, xx/12 (1341 sh./1962-3), 13-17; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, ii/2, Tehran 1349 sh./1970, 1501.

(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

MUSĀWĀT (A.) "equality", the *maṣdar* of form III of the verb *sawiya* "to be equal to, be worth", with the same sense as form I; in modern times, it has been used for the political concept of human equality (Ottoman Turkish *müsāwāt*, modern Turkish *müsavat*, Persian *musāwāt*, *barābārī*).

The root is found frequently in the Ḳurʾān, though only once in form III (XVIII, 95/96), in the sense "to make level, even up". In the literary and cultural controversies of the ʿAbbāsid period, those of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], the non-Arabs seeking social equality with the ruling class of Arabs were sometimes known as the *ahl al-taswiya* "proponents of equalisation" (using here form II) (see Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 165, Eng. tr. i, 153).

In recent Middle Eastern political vocabularies, the concept of human equality made its first tentative appearance when the ideas of the French Revolution reached the region. Thus in a memorandum of 1798 on French Revolutionary activities, the Ottoman Chief Secretary ʿĀṭif Efendi translated "equality and liberty" as *müsāwāt we serbestiyyet* [see ḤURRIYYA. ii, at III, 590], and Bonaparte's proclamation at the time of the French landing in Egypt during this same year announced that all men were equal in the sight of God (*mutasāwiyīn* [sic] *ʿind Allāh*), and the new principles are explained by al-Djabartī as *tawsiya* and *ḥurriyya* (*Al-Jabartī's chronicle of the first seven months of the French occupation of Egypt*, ed. and tr. S. Moreh, Leiden 1975, Ar. text 8, 11, tr. 40, 42).

During the course of the 19th century, of the three principles of the French Revolution, it was Freedom and Fraternity (the latter in the form of Pan-Arab and Pan-Turkish feeling; see ḲAWMIYYA. i-ii, iv) which were dominant in the minds of westernising Muslims, insofar as these concepts affected their thinking. The division by Islamic religion of mankind into the saved, the Muslims, and the damned, the non-Muslims, and the division by Islamic law of mankind into a male sex with superior legal and social status over women [see MARʾA], together with the survival until well into the 19th century of personal slavery [see ʿABD] in those Islamic countries not under Western colonial domination, left little scope for developing the concept of the equality of mankind in any sphere, whether theological, legal, social or political. This concept did not appear until the early 20th century, when the ideas of European socialism [see ISHTIRĀKIYYA] and Marxist communism [see MĀRK(I)SIYYA] began to have a vogue amongst certain sections of westernised intelligentsia; hence *Musāwāt* was the title of the social democrat workers' party active from 1911 to 1920 in Russian Ādharbaydjān [see ḤIZB. iv]. On the whole, however, Middle Eastern peoples have viewed the idea of human equality as a chimera, to which lip service is paid by political leaders in political manifestos but which is rarely taken into account in practice.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUSĀWĪ [see MAKKA. 2. ii].

MUSĀWIR B. SAWWĀR AL-**WARRĀḲ**, a minor poet and minor *muḥaddith* from Kūfa, who lived in the middle of the 2nd/8th century. He belonged to Ḳays b. ʿAylān b. Muḍar. He is also called a *mawlā* of ʿAdwān, a tribe of Djadīlat Ḳays; but his name and that of his father seem to indicate his Arab origin. Short notices and fragments of his poetry are found in biographies of *muḥaddithūn* (e.g. Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-27, x, 103) and several works of *adab*, notably *al-Aghānī* ed. Dār al-Kutub, xviii, 148-53). Ibn al-Nadīm (*al-Fihrist*, Leipzig 1871-2, 162) mentions his verse as filling fifty folios; some eighty lines are preserved, some of which are of dubious attribution. All his extant poetry is epigrammatic. One of his epigrams angered Abū Ḥanīfa and

his followers, another placated them, notwithstanding its ironic tone (*Aghānī*, xviii, 151-2 and several other sources). His longest (33 lines) and most remarkable poem offers the earliest known example of a sub-genre of descriptive poetry which may be called "banquet poetry"; it combines static description of various dishes with more dynamic elements picturing the progress of the meal (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1948-53, vi, 295-7).

Bibliography: G.J. van Gelder, *Musāwir al-Warrāq and the beginnings of Arabic gastronomic poetry*, in *JSS*, xxxvi/2 (1991), gives all the known references to Musāwir and his poetry, with a translation and a study of his banquet poem. See also Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 469.

(G.J.H. VAN GELDER)

MUSAWWIDA (A.), literally "the wearers, or bearers, of black", the name given to the partisans of the ʿAbbāsids at the time of the *daʿwas* of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī and Abū Salama al-Khallāl [*q.vv.*], apparently from the black banners which these rebels against the Umayyads bore, so that they are described in some sources as the *aṣḥāb al-rāyāt al-sawdāʾ*.

The origins of this use of black are obscure and have been much discussed. In the first place, the use of black may have been simply a mark of rebellion, for the anti-Umayyad rebel in Khurāsān and Transoxania, al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], active from 116/734 onwards, also had black banners. But the ʿAbbāsids now gave the use of black a messianic significance; the Prophet Muḥammad himself, according to pro-ʿAbbāsid traditions, had a black banner during his campaigns (see M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East. ii. Revolt, the social and military aspects of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Jerusalem 1992, 78-85). This may have been in accord with popular eschatological beliefs, in which the coming of the Mahdī [*q.v.*] was associated with the colour black [see ʿABBĀSIDS], perhaps because of the idea of veiling from sight, concealment and the awaiting of a new birth or the launching of a new movement with millennarian overtones.

Black became the official colour of the ʿAbbāsids once they were in power, as opposed to the white colour of their enemies the Spanish Umayyads, and was accordingly used for garments worn at their court (*ziyy al-khilāfa*) (except for the brief period when al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] adopted the ʿAlid colour of green) and for the *khilaʿ* or robes of honour [see KHILʿA] presented by the ruler, with the caliph himself normally wearing a black high cap or *ḳalansuwa* and jacket (*ḳabāʾ*) (see A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 130-1, Eng. tr. 132; E. Tyan, *Institutions de droit public musulman. i. Le califat*, Paris 1954, 501-12; D. Sourdel, *Questions de cérémonial ʿabbāside*, in *REI*, xxviii [1960], 132-3; and LIBĀS. i).

The symbolism of colours in Islam (for which see, in general, LAWN) was powerfully felt. White became the colour par excellence of the ʿAlids as well as of the Umayyads (see above), but various heterodox religio-social protest groups, especially in the eastern Iranian world, adopted different colours as their symbols, e.g. the green of Bihāfarīd [*q.v.*]; the red of the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*], who were thus also known as *muḥammira* or *surkh-djāmagān* "wearers of red"; and the white of the followers of al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*], hence alternatively known as *mubayyiḍa* or *sapīd-djāmagān*. In some sources describing these episodes, Islam is characterised as the "black religion", in contrast to the "white religion", *al-dīn al-abyaḍ*, apparently the ancient religion of Persia which was to be restored (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1311, regarding the trial of al-Afshīn Ḥaydar, accused of pro-Persian, anti-Arab sympathies). See further on colour symbolism in relation to religious movements and ideas, B. Scarcia Amoretti, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 513-14.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUSAYLIMA B. ḤABĪB, ABŪ THUMĀMA, a man of Banū Ḥanīfa who lived in al-Yamāma and led a large section of his tribe in revolt during the wars of the *ridda* [*q.v.*].

The suggestion of some European scholars (as in the article in *EI*[1]) that Musaylima is a contemptuous diminutive of Maslama appears to be mistaken. Because he claimed to be a prophet he is often called al-Kadhdhāb, the liar or false prophet. He is also said to have been called al-Raḥmān (al-Balādhurī, 105; al-Wāḳidī, 82); but this seems unlikely since al-Raḥmān was a name of God. Musaylima believed that he received messages from al-Raḥmān, and so might have called himself ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; and there could then have been some confusion over this name because of the allegation (Ibn Hishām, 200) that sūra XIII, 30, was revealed when some Meccan pagans said that Muḥammad was being taught by a man in al-Yamāma called al-Raḥmān. This allegation about a human teacher is not convincing as the occasion for the revelation of XIII, 30, and is not mentioned in the commentaries of al-Ṭabarī and al-Bayḍāwī. If there is some truth in it, the most likely explanation is that the name al-Raḥmān, which was frequently used in the sūras of the middle Meccan period, was understood by the pagans as the name of a human being, otherwise unknown. It is virtually impossible that Musaylima could have claimed prophethood at this date. He does not seem to have become a person of importance until after the death in 630 of Hawdha b. ʿAlī, the king or ruler of the Banū Ḥanīfa, to whom Muḥammad is said to have sent letters summoning him to Islam (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1560; cf. Ibn Hishām, 971). Hawdha was possibly the strongest man in Central Arabia at this time, since he was in alliance with the Persian empire and guaranteed the security of its caravans for a large part of the route from the Yemen to ʿIrāḳ. This implies that he controlled at least the nomadic part of Banū Ḥanīfa; there was also a large settled agricultural section of the tribe. He is said to have responded favourably to Muḥammad's envoy, but to have demanded a share in the political control of Arabia. He did not become a Muslim. He probably realised that the Persian empire was disintegrating and that he could not expect further support from it. After his death, the nomadic section of the tribe probably recognised Thumāma b. Uthāl as leader, and for this reason Muḥammad sent a messenger to him (Ibn Hishām, 998, but not Ibn Isḥāḳ according to al-Ṭabarī). While Muḥammad was negotiating with these two kings, a deputation went to Medina from the tribe, probably representing the agricultural section, and this deputation accepted Islam. Musaylima is said to have gone with the deputation, but to have remained with the baggage while the others spoke to Muḥammad. This account may be no more than an attempt to claim that something Muḥammad said about him was an acknowledgement of his prophethood.

It was presumably after the death of Hawdha that Musaylima made a bid for leadership in the tribe, possibly in rivalry to Thumāma, and basing it on his claim to prophethood. He had strong support from al-Raḥḥāl (or Nahār al-Raddjāl) b. ʿUnfuwa, who had been one of the deputation and may have encouraged him to establish a political system centred on a prophet on the model of Medina. Previous to this, Musaylima may have been proclaiming a religious message, but it is clear that he had attracted no extensive following. Now, however, his aim seems to have been to set up a strong principality in the Yamāma

independent of Persia, Byzantium and Medina, especially in view of the decline of Persia and the likelihood that trade between the Yemen and ʿIrāḳ would decrease.

While the movement led by Musaylima thus dealt with political and economic realities, it had a genuine religious basis, which is not entirely concealed by hostile Muslim propaganda. Many of the Banū Ḥanīfa were Christians, and Musaylima had clearly been influenced by Christian ideas. He spoke of the kingdom of heaven, and taught belief in resurrection and the Judgement of the Last Day when people were judged according to their deeds. For his followers he prescribed formal prayers three times a day, fasting, and abstinence from wine; the contrary statement about wine (Ibn Hishām, 946) is to be rejected as Muslim propaganda. He also made use of *sadjʿ*, rhythmic assonanced prose, as in the early sūras of the Ḳurʾān, and some examples of this have ostensibly been preserved.

About the end of the year 10 (beginning of 632) Musaylima is said to have written a letter to Muḥammad suggesting some division of spheres of authority, but the suggestion was rebuffed by Muḥammad. His following among Banū Ḥanīfa increased greatly after Muḥammad's death, and he was felt to be a serious threat to the nascent Islamic state. Abū Bakr therefore sent a large army against him under Khālid b. al-Walīd. A fierce battle took place at al-ʿAḳrabāʾ [*q.v.*] with its centre in a walled garden or orchard (*ḥadīḳa*), which came to be known as "the garden of death" because of the numbers on both sides killed there. The Muslims were victorious, but lost many *ḳurrāʾ* or Ḳurʾān-reciters. Responsibility for the death of Musaylima was claimed by various men, including Waḥshī, the Abyssinian slave who had killed Ḥamza. Shortly before this battle Musaylima is said to have married Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*], the prophetess of the tribe of Tamīm. W.G. Palgrave, travelling in Nadjd in 1862, found Musaylima regarded as a prophet, and people quoted what Palgrave calls "burlesque imitations" of the Ḳurʾān, though he does not reproduce any.

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MÜSELLEM (a.), an Ottoman military term alluding to provincial landed cavalrymen who later became transformed into auxiliary forces no longer employed in actual fighting but in discharging duties such as dragging guns, levelling roads, digging trenches, carrying provisions and casting cannon balls. Then, as the Ottoman state required them to pay taxes rather than serve in the army, they lost their privileged status and dissolved into the tax-paying populace.

The *müsellem*s were established in the 8th/14th century during the time of Orkhan Ghāzī [*q.v.*]. They were each initially granted, in return for their service, a small parcel of land [see čiftlik], on which they were excused from any dues or taxes, hence the name *müsellem* "exempt." What differentiated them from other Ottoman cavalrymen, the *sipahī*s [*q.v.*], was that the *müsellem*s worked their own land and did not receive funds from the collection of taxes as the *sipahī*s did. This special condition necessitated that they support one another when called up for military service; the *müsellem*s were therefore organised into groups of thirty men each called a "hearth" [see odjaḳ]. They took turns in serving in the army; when five served, the other twenty-five in the hearth became "auxiliaries" [see yamaḳ], providing a sum of money for the expenses and sustenance of the five during the campaign. The amount they gave ranged from 50 to 60 *aḳče*s for the rich auxiliaries to 10 to 20 *aḳče*s for the poor ones. The *müsellem*s were under the command of troop leaders called *čeribashī*s who were under the authority of the provincial governors. There were *müsellem* holdings in both Rumelia and Anatolia, and these were recorded in registers called *müsellem defteri*.

After the Janissary corps expanded in the 9th/15th century and started their own units, the *müsellem*s were relegated from fighting to accompanying the armies on campaigns as auxiliary labour teams. They discharged such duties as trench-digging and the hauling of cannon, often moving ahead of the main body of the Ottoman army with their spades and axes. Groups such as the gypsies of Rumelia were also organised into *müsellem* hearths during this century, their status being reduced to paying taxes as they ceased to perform military duties. Towards the end of the 10th/16th century, some *müsellem*s were employed in Ottoman naval service but proved to be unsatisfactory, since their interests lay not in the sea but in their parcels of land. Because of this inadequacy, rather than serving in person, each *müsellem* hearth was then asked to make a yearly contribution to the navy; this relegated them from being in the service of the state to giving taxes to the state as ordinary peasants. A factor which contributed to this transformation was the *müsellem*s' practice of farming lands adjacent to their parcels which they then gave taxes on, or of leasing out their parcels to others to be farmed. Even though the *müsellem*s thus disintegrated as a provincial organisation in the early 11th/17th century, their name kept being used at a much later date for certain infantry charged with the upkeep of roads and military works, mostly in the garrisons of frontier fortresses.

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(F. Müge Göçek)

MŪSH, modern Turkish Muş, a town and a province of eastern Anatolia lying to the west of Lake Van and Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*] or Khilāṭ (modern Ahlat). The town lies in lat. 38° 44′N. and long. 41° 30′E. at an altitude of 1290 m/4,200 feet in the foothills of the valley which carries the Murad Su river—a fertile plain on which wheat, tobacco and vines have long been grown—and which in recent years has borne the railway branch from Elâziğ [see maʿmūrat al-ʿazīz] eastwards to Tatvan on the shores of Lake Van.

In the pre-Islamic period, it was the principal town of the Armenian district of Taraun (Hübschmann,

Idg. Forsch., xvi, 326; J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie*, i, Paris 1818, 102). In Islamic times the name Ṭarūn (as spelled by Yāḳūt, iv, 534) is sometimes used for the town itself, as in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1408 (cf. J. Markwart, *Süd-Armenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 354). The tradition of the Armenian historians connects the foundation of Mūsh with Mushel Mamikonean, the ancestor of the powerful, originally non-Armenian family of the Mamikoneans, who lived in the 4th century A.D. To him is ascribed the construction of a castle, the ruins of which are still visible on one of the hills that dominate Mūsh. This town itself is situated at the mouth of a mountain gorge, and before it extends, as far as the river, a large fertile plain, the "plain of Mūsh". During the first centuries after the Islamic conquest [see ARMĪNIYA, II, 2], Mūsh remained a centre of Armenian national life; from 825-51 it was the residence of the Bagratid Bagrat. After the abduction of this prince to Baghdād in 851, the inhabitants revolted and killed the Muslim governor Yūsuf b. Abī Saʿīd al-Marwanī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1408-9). Later on, it was part of the vassal kingdom of the Bagratids. Occasionally, it was occupied by Muslim adventurers, as in the days of Sayf al-Dawla (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 408) in 353/964. About this time, the name Mūsh appears for the first time in Islamic geographical literature (al-Muḳaddasī, 150). In Saldjūḳ times, the influence of Islam became stronger; the atabegs of the Armanshāh dynasty disputed the territory of Khilāṭ and Mūsh with the Artuḳids and even the Ayyūbid Nadjm al-Dīn laid siege to Mūsh in 604/1207 (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 169, 180), and in 625/1228 Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh was master of the country; in that year, a battle was fought by him and lost on the plain of Mūsh against the Saldjūḳ ruler of Erzurūm (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 314; Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djihān-gushā*, ii, 181). This accounts for the ruined state of the town in the middle of the 8th/14th century (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī). After the Mongol period, Mūsh was raided by Tīmūr in 788/1386, when he invaded the possessions of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (Sharaf al-Dīn, ii, 419). In 878/1473 the power of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan was definitely broken in Armenia, and from that time on Mūsh belonged to the Ottoman Empire. At that time, the population of its surroundings was already strongly mixed with Kurds and Turcomans. The direct authority was exercised by Kurdish local chieftains, who, in the ruling system of the Empire, were subordinated, as *sandjaḳ begs*, either to the *pasha* of Bitlīs or to that of Van. At the beginning of the 19th century, there ruled the Kurdish *mīrmīrān* Emīn Pasha, who was deposed in 1828-9 (Ritter, x, 676, and Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i, 426).

In the administrative changes introduced in the Ottoman empire after the Treaty of Berlin (1878), Mūsh town became the centre of a *sandjaḳ* of that name in the new *wilāyet* of Bitlīs carved out of the formerly very extensive *wilāyet* of Erzurum. At this time, Mūsh, with some 5,000 inhabitants, was half-Armenian Christian and half-Kurdish Muslim. There were bishops of the Armenian Gregorian and Catholic Churches and a Protestant community with schools directed by the American Mission. According to its inscription, one of the Armenian churches had been converted into a mosque in 979/1571 (Ritter). The surrounding countryside also had a mixed Muslim-Christian population, in which ancient Christian sanctuaries had long continued to exist, such as the monastery of Surb Karapet, called by the Turks Čanlï Kilise and described by Ewliyā Čelebi.

Towards the end of the century, revolutionary activity in the Mūsh region was begun by the Armenian nationalist Dashnak guerillas, starting *ca.* 1894. In the subsequent years, till 1904, bands under the Armenian leader Andranik were active, bringing savage reprisals from the Turkish authorities, culminating in the 1915 massacres in the Mūsh, Bitlīs and Sasun districts by Turkish troops and Kurdish irregulars. In the summer of 1916, the Imperial Russian Army overran northeastern Anatolia, including Mūsh, but this last was recaptured in 1917 by Muṣṭafā Kemāl's [see ATATÜRK] Turkish Second Army, and Russian troops withdrew from the whole area in accordance with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 1918). With the establishment of the ephemeral Armenian Republic in Transcaucasia 1918-20, Mūsh and Bitlīs came theoretically within the boundaries as laid down, when the infant state was in fact already succumbing to Turkish and Bolshevik pressure, by the Treaty of Sèvres (1920).

Under the Turkish republic, Muş has become a largely Kurdish town, the chef-lieu of the *il* or province of Muş, with a population of 44,000 in the town and 234,000 in the province (1970 census).

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(J.H. KRAMERS-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

MUSHĀʿ (A.) is a technical term denoting common and repartitional ownership by the entire village community of all agricultural lands of the village.

1. In the Near East. In villages in the Middle East where *mushāʿ* prevailed, the peasant community would convene once every year or two to divide the available land by lot to individual peasants. The history of the institution is extremely obscure. In the technical sense mentioned above, the word *mushāʿ* does not appear in classical Arabic dictionaries, which may suggest that the institution did not exist in classical Islam, despite the fact that it looks ancient. It is often associated with Bedouin concepts of landownership, but this association is far from certain. Thus Bedouin customary law of the Beer Sheba region in Mandatory Palestine was specifically said to lack any trace of *mushāʿ* (see ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Kitāb al-Ḳaḍāʾ bayn al-badw*, Jerusalem 1933, 236). Nor is the *mushāʿ* so much as mentioned in the 10th/16th century Ottoman agrarian *ḳānūns* and land surveys, where pieces of land are registered individually (all references to *mushāʿ* in Barkan's collection of 16th-century *ḳānūns* are to the literal sense of the word). Did the registration officials record the situation in a given moment, or was the *mushāʿ* as yet non-existent? This question must for the present go unanswered. Another important and difficult question is exactly where, geographically, did the *mushāʿ* institution exist? In the past it was usually held that practically the entire Middle East was governed by it. As research increases, the area of *mushāʿ* tends to diminish. Thus documents from the Judaean mountains in the early 20th century indicate that *mushāʿ* did

not exist there for a long time, if ever at all. In fact, the technicalities of the system raises some doubts whether *mushāʿ* had ever been very widespread in mountainous areas (periodical division necessitated blocks of flat land, while hilly agriculture in the traditional Middle East was mainly terrace-based). We are better informed on the disappearance of the *mushāʿ* system. This took place in association with the 19th-century Ottoman reform, starting mainly with the 1858 Ottoman land law. This law made it obligatory to register land in a registration bureau, while making it impossible to register *mushāʿ* property. Despite bureaucratic inefficiency, the *mushāʿ* was doomed through this law and by the mid-20th century it was clearly on the wane, though still vigorous in some areas (e.g. Tell Toqaan in northern Syria).

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(H. Gerber)

2. In the Maghrib.

The collective ownership of lands, which was originally the normal system in the regions where nomadism prevailed, has been preserved in the Maghrib, where stretches of uncultivated lands and those used for pastoralism still belong to nomadic or sedentarised tribes, though not without being the subject of legal suits caused by the rather rudimentary delimination of lands. A right of grazing, belonging to all members of the tribe, is even recognised, in certain conditions, to passing strangers [see marʿā]. However, as a state of security has become established and as more and more numerous groups have been sedentarised, the area of collective lands has been reduced in favour of a development proceeding at the same time as private property, at first in the family, then in the individual, has increased. In the Berber areas, this property remains substantially undivided, as tradition recommends, at least for landed property.

In effect, although the principle by which "no-one is compelled to remain within the undivided property" is respected, current usage is that, under the authority and administration of the oldest member of the menfolk, family communities comprising the descendants of this person, to which are added, at least among certain tribes in Morocco, the *amazzal* [see ʿār in Suppl.] and freedmen, are set up. All the members bring to their community the goods which they possess or which come to them by gift or inheritance during the period of the familial society. Among the Zemmour, the usufruct of these goods is personal, whilst in Kabylia, they remain the property of the person concerned, and the enjoyment of them is acquired by the family. Each person has to dedicate his work for the community and to hand over to his chief his earnings and gains. The chief must show perfect impartiality and, if he is unable to justify himself when his honesty is doubted, his authority can be revoked and can be replaced.

The women, who are not part of the familial society, only own the clothes and jewelry which they received at marriage or which they have subsequently acquired; more luxurious garments and the jewelry worn on feast days belong to the community. However, the mother of the family may take over the succession to her deceased husband. The society has an obligation to feed the daughters and granddaughters of a deceased member. When meals are not partaken of in common, the dry goods and oil necessary for each hearth are impartially distributed. A strict equality is also respected in the division by lot of the meat of an animal slaughtered in special circumstances.

The fertile lands are the indivisible property of the familial group. In Kabylia, they are divided out every two years among the chiefs of each of the hearths possessing a pair of oxen. In Morocco, the sovereign who, in his role of manager of the lands, has a right over those lands which are within the authority of the *makhzan* [*q.v.*], may recognise to a family a right of ownership over a stretch of useful land; this last, measured by a rope, corresponds to the area which can be worked in one season by a pair of oxen.

The death of a member of the familial community does not entail its dissolution; the social components are in effect handed down to the heirs who, if they do not wish to remain within the indivisible unit, receive the share due to them. Thus the community may last through several generations. When, at the request of one of the heirs, it is broken up, both the movable and immovable property brought into it by the members are given back to them and those acquired during the period of its existence are shared out pro rata with the hereditary rights of each person. The landed property is defined by surface measurement (by a rope), and goods left outside all the division are allotted, with rights balanced out, to those members who offer the highest bid for them.

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(Ch. Pellat)

MUSHĀʿARA (a.), "poetical contest", in Urdu usually pronounced *mushāʿira*, has come to be applied in its wider aspect to denote an assembly where Urdu poets come together to recite their compositions.

Its origin in the Indo-Muslim cultural tradition can only be guessed. According to a statement by Shiblī Nuʿmānī, one may assume that the institution of the *mushāʿara* must have appeared on the Persian literary scene in India by the beginning of the 10th/16th century. Shiblī points out that from the time of the poet Fighānī [*q.v.*], who died in 925/1519, there grew up the custom of holding *mushāʿaras* in which poets competed with one another, thus promoting the cause of poetry by their activities (*Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, iii, repr. Aʿẓamgaṛh 1945, 17). It is likely that a similar situation might have existed since an early period in Urdu poetry, which shared with Persian a common cultural

environment. Whatever the case may be, it is certain that by the early 12th/18th century, when Urdu was adopted as a medium of literary expression by the poets and writers of Dihlī, the *mus̲h̲āʿara* was a familiar event in the capital, providing not only a venue for poetry recitation but also a forum of discussion for some leading poets of the day who were concerned with the improvement of the language.

The *mus̲h̲āʿara* was the product of a princely age, reflecting the sophisticated taste of its time. The etiquette connected with it was well-mannered, and involved fixed ceremonies. One of these was the use of a lighted candle which, placed before a poet, signalled that it was his turn to recite. Much importance was attached to the correct order in which the poets were introduced. The first to recite were lesser poets; then came the masters in the ascending order, until the poet considered most important recited at the end. Both singing and declamation were employed for the rendering of the poems.

In the social milieu of the period, the *mus̲h̲āʿara* enjoyed a popular appeal, and played an important functional role in the oral propagation of Urdu poetry. Persons interested in literature were drawn to the *mus̲h̲āʿara* because it was the most common form of intellectual entertainment available in the prevalent urban setting. Further, the *mus̲h̲āʿaras* compensated for the lack of magazines, and supplied the poet with a suitable literary platform to disseminate his work.

The tradition of the *mus̲h̲āʿara* was linked with the *g̲h̲azal* [*q.v.*] and the two contributed to each other's appeal. The *g̲h̲azals* recited in the *mus̲h̲āʿara* were based upon a *miṣrāʿ-i ṭaraḥ*, or half-line, providing a specimen of the metre and rhyme in which each poet had to compose his poem. This practice was intended to satisfy the competitive requirement of the *mus̲h̲āʿara*, as it allowed the audience to compare the individual performance of each participant who had to work within the same technical limitations. Indeed, competition dominated the spirit of the *mus̲h̲āʿara*, and not infrequently did it manifest itself in ugly scenes when poets would overstep the limits of decency in demonstrating their feelings towards each other. An extreme example of this behaviour is provided by the rivalry between G̲h̲ulām Hamadānī Muṣḥafī (1750-1824 [*q.v.*]) and his one-time pupil Ins̲h̲āʾ Allāh K̲h̲ān Ins̲h̲āʾ (1766-1818 [*q.v.*]), whose jealous encounters were responsible for vitiating the literary atmosphere of Lucknow while these poets were alive.

With the desire for reform in Urdu poetry during the later part of the 19th century, an attempt was made to initiate a different kind of *mus̲h̲āʿara*. The stimulus for this came from Colonel W.R.M. Holroyd, an Englishman who was then Director of Public Instruction, Punjab. He, in cooperation with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād (1829-1910) and Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (1837-1914 [*q.v.*]), laid the foundation of a *mus̲h̲āʿara* which was devoted to poems written upon a specific theme instead of *g̲h̲azals* based upon a *miṣrāʿ-i ṭaraḥ*. This *mus̲h̲āʿara*, which had its first meeting in May 1874, lasted only for a few months. Though it was short-lived, and had little effect in influencing the current trend of the *mus̲h̲āʿaras*, it will nevertheless be remembered as the first poetical gathering of its kind which was to herald the modern period of Urdu poetry.

The meetings in Urdu held today for poetry recitation are known as *mus̲h̲āʿaras*, despite differences in their form and content which separate them from their earlier counterparts. A radical departure is the discarding of the *miṣrāʿ-i ṭaraḥ* as a pre-condition for the poems, and the freedom in the *mus̲h̲āʿara* to recite any kind of poem, including *g̲h̲azals*. The practice of passing around the candle from poet to poet has disappeared together with the entire ceremonial character of the *mus̲h̲āʿara*. The appeal of the latter, however, remains undiminished, and has been even furthered by the introduction of radio and television.

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MUS̲H̲ABBIHA [see TAS̲H̲BĪH].

MUṢḤAF (A.), the name given to a complete text of the Ḳurʾān considered as a physical object. That the word is a borrowing is suggested both by the Muslim claim that it is in fact one and by the uncertainty as to how to vowel the prefix. The commonest of the pronunciations, *muṣḥaf*, is said by Abū ʿUbayd to be the usage of Ḳays, while Tamīm, from an alleged reluctance to combine *u* with *m* are said to prefer *miṣḥaf*. Only two pronunciations are mentioned by Abū ʿUbayd, although *maṣḥaf*, reported as from al-Kisāʾī, seems not to have been attributed to any particular tribal usage. The form *muṣḥaf*, regarded by al-Farrāʾ as original (*al-aṣl*), is treated as the passive participle of Form IV of the stem and defined, for example, by al-Azharī as that "which has been caused to contain written sheets between two end-covers". Ibn Manṣūr, however, cites this in a manner which perhaps exposes his view that, in thus linking the term to a verbal root, the definition is hypothetical. Probably the term is best viewed as either a noun of place or a primitive noun.

Despite the tendency in the reports on the collection of the Ḳurʾān texts to distinguish the first collection, said to have been undertaken in the time of Abū Bakr, from that said to have been completed in the time of ʿUt̲h̲mān, by applying to the product of the earlier initiative the term *ṣuḥuf*, while reserving the term *muṣḥaf* for the result of the later, the usage of the authors is by no means consistent, since for many of them, the reports were in actual competition. Abū Bakr is frequently credited with having "collected between two endboards (*lawḥānⁱ*, *daffatānⁱ*)", whilst the word *muṣḥaf* is applied to the Abū Bakr, or the ʿUmar, or the ʿAlī collection, although the commentators prefer to excise the phrase from the last of these reports. One likewise finds reports to the effect that, on the completion of the collection commissioned by Abū Bakr, the Muslims discussed the name which they should give it, finally deciding in favour of the suggestion by ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [see IBN MASʿŪD] who claimed to have seen in Ethiopia a similar compilation known as *muṣḥaf*. Characteristically, an alternative report attributes these words to another emigrant. This does not accord with Nöldeke's remark that the proper name of the first collection, *ṣuḥuf*, indicates that it consisted of loose sections, not yet arranged in the strict order of the later *muṣḥaf*, as is, indeed, the general distinction the Muslims sought to make between the various initiatives of which they spoke.

Nöldeke also reports the root *ṣ-ḥ-f* as occurring only in Arabic and Ethiopic where it has the meanings "dig", "bury", "engrave", hence, "write" with, in the latter language, *maṣḥaf* meaning "book". Ibn

Durayd spoke of the verb as Yemenite and cited the word *maṣḥafa* meaning "spade". Nöldeke therefore concluded that the Arabs had borrowed these words from the Ḥimyarites or (as above) from the Ethiopians. Similarly, Schwally regarded the sing. of *ṣuḥuf*, sc. *ṣaḥīfa*, as an Arabic coining derived from the above Ethiopic or South Arabian root. Both scholars cite sources suggesting that the borrowing pre-dates Islam, although, since the form here discussed, *muṣḥaf*, does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, its use to refer to the Ḳurʾān text is equally an Islamic neologism.

Probably by extension of widespread references to the variant readings attributed to certain prominent Companions, there developed references to "the *muṣḥaf*" of ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, of Ubayy b. Kaʿb, of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, etc., in which the readings were conceived to have been recorded. All of these Companion codices, are next thought to have been suppressed when ʿUt̲h̲mān provided a single text of the revelations to serve all the Muslims and ordered all other existing documents, whether fragments or complete codices, to be destroyed. That, however, did not prevent continued citation of these readings in the exegetical works of the 2nd/8th century, to which they furnished glosses, synonyms and brief extensions of the texts of the *muṣḥaf* useful for the clarification of the syntax or the elucidation of the meanings of rare words. Similar appeal was made to the Companions in legal discussions where, however, the readings attributed to the codices exhibit either differences in vowelling or additions relative to the text in general use in the ritual prayer and universally regarded as the *muṣḥaf* or *imām* provided by ʿUt̲h̲mān. As both these latter types of reading are critical to issues debated among the scholars, they are probably best viewed in association with the relevant *ḥadīt̲h̲* reports adduced to the same end and from the same individuals in the same discussions and like which, indeed, they share an occasional dual, or even multiple attribution. For example, one encounters expressions such as "in one of the two *muṣḥaf*s—that of ʿAbd Allāh or that of Ubayy".

Of a qualitatively different kind are differences listed by 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century writers of works on the *maṣāḥif* as instances of disagreement between the *muṣḥaf*s of the ʿIrāḳīs and those of the Ḥid̲j̲āzī-Syrian tradition or between those of the Kūfan and the Baṣran communities. Such lists are brief and concern only very minor matters, such as the occasional presence or absence of a conjunctive *wāw* or preference for the conjunctive *fāʾ* as opposed to the conjunctive *wāw* and the like. These insubstantial differences visibly stem merely from ancient differences in the resolution of primitive written versions of one and the same text, and study of the lists confirms the underlying presence of a single Ḳurʾān text universally shared by the Muslims of all regions since a remote date and symbolised in the common belief that copies of the Ḳurʾān text had been disseminated throughout the newly-conquered territories from a single centre.

Bibliography: Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut 1955-80; Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *K. al-Maṣāḥif*, ed. A. Jeffery, Cairo 1355/1936; Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān*, ms. Tübingen Ma. VI 96; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, Cairo 1378/1959; Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, s.v. *ṣ - ḥ - f*; Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, Cairo 1354/1935; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, Leipzig 1909-19; G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, *Die Geschichte des Korantexts*, ²Leipzig 1938; J. Burton, *The collection of the Qur'ān*, Cambridge 1977. (J. Burton)

MUṢḤAFĪ, Shaykh Ghulām Hamdānī (1164-1240/1750-1824), a leading Urdu poet, was born at Amrōha *ca.* 60 miles east of Dihlī, the son of a highly respected man of modest means.

He grew up proud, independent and honest, and quickly acquired a fluent command of Urdu and Persian, both poetry and prose. His ambition to become an Urdu poet took him to Dihlī in order to complete his studies: but he failed to find a patron and was driven by poverty, it is said, to eke out a living in commerce. After trying his fortunes elsewhere, he returned to Dihlī (1190/1776), remaining there for about twelve years. His expertise was soon recognised; poets flocked to the *mus̲h̲āʿaras* [*q.v.*] (poetical assemblies) which he held in his house, and he became a much sought-after teacher. Like most Dihlī poets at the time, he concentrated on the *g̲h̲azal*; but he was prolific, and attempted other forms, such as the *ḳaṣīda* (*madīḥ*), *mat̲h̲nawī* and quatrains. He became highly esteemed for technical mastery, but not for originality, and could not compete with Sawdāʾ and Mīr Taḳī Mir [*q.vv.*], especially in the *g̲h̲azal*. His move to Lucknow (Lakhnaw), however (1202/1787), was probably due less to personal disappointment than to the general state of instability in Dihlī, and he was merely part of the general exodus of poets which had already included Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*], Sawdā and Mīr.

In Lucknow, he found a suitable patron in Mirzā Sulaymān S̲h̲ikōh, a son of the Emperor S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam. With a regular salary, Muṣḥafī's career seemed to enter a happier phase, and his copious output included *ḳaṣīda*s in praise of S̲h̲ikōh and the Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla. Unfortunately one of his pupils Ins̲h̲āʾ [*q.v.* and see madīḥ. 4. In Urdu], who had followed him from Dihlī, became his rival, and supplanted him in S̲h̲ikōh's favour, Muṣḥafī's salary being drastically reduced. A war of words ensued, the two poets vying in the virulence of their satires of each other. Each had his supporters, and the two parties almost came to blows. In the end, Ins̲h̲āʾ overreached himself, and Āṣaf al-Dawla expelled him from Lucknow. But the affair left its mark on Muṣḥafī, and helped—together with an unhappy third marriage and poverty—to cloud his later years. Poverty, it is said, led him to sell poems to others which they might pass off as their own. At the time of his death, he was still regarded only as a great teacher and technician and as lacking in originality.

This less than enthusiastic assessment of his stature as a poet is clear from the *tad̲h̲kira* writers, and is echoed by modern literary critics, beginning with Āzād (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 309-38). Among the reasons adduced for his failure to achieve a personal note is his vast output, which includes, in Urdu, eight *dīwān*s containing thousands of *g̲h̲azal*s, ten *mat̲h̲nawī*s and three volumes containing 84 ḳaṣīdas. In Persian, he wrote four *dīwān*s of poetry and three prose *tad̲h̲kira*s, one of Persian and two of Urdu poets. But prolificness is not, of itself, a guarantee of mediocrity, and few of his detractors can have read much of his output. Only selections had been published until 1968, when the first volume of a projected complete edition appeared in Dihlī (*Kulliyyāt Muṣḥafī*, ed. Nit̲h̲ār Aḥmad Fārūḳī). In the *g̲h̲azal*, he did not fit into the Dihlī "subjective" or the Lucknow "objective" schools, we are told, lacking the passion of the former and the brilliance of the latter. When he left Dihlī, unlike Mīr, he had not established himself in the first rank of *g̲h̲azal-gū*; then, on reaching Lucknow, he tried to rival the younger poets there, and ended by being a "fish out of water". This facile assessment has plausibility. His anxiety to

gain fame in Lucknow is obvious, and the quarrel with Inshā᾽ was a by-product of this. But it is arguable that his "middle road" between Dihlī and Lucknow was a matter of taste and temperament, and not mere opportunism. Moderation in thought and expression and a feeling of malaise are, one feels, part of the man and the poet. As for his desire to show his superiority as a poet, it was a common failing, found also in Mīr. Incidentally, when Mīr wrote a *mathnawī* called *Daryā-i-ʿishḳ*, Muṣḥafī responded by writing a similar one with the same title translated into Arabic as *Baḥr al-maḥabbat*. Nor was this the only instance.

A re-assessment of this poet, then, is overdue. The process has already begun, though it cannot be completed till more of his poetry is available in print. Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī's *Muṣḥafī awr un kā kalām* (Lahore 1950) was the first major study of the poet. A 100-page summary of it will be found in the same author's *Lakhnāō kā dabistān-i-shāʿirī*, Lahore 1955, 191-295. While making no drastic amendment of the traditional view of Muṣḥafī, Ṣiddīḳī places him third after Sawdā᾽ and Mīr, and he claims that both the number and quality of his *ḳaṣīdas* place him among the leading Urdu ode-writers (*Dabistān*, 270). A few years later, Firāḳ Gōrakhpūrī wrote a long essay to prove that Muṣḥafī was not only a major influence in Urdu poetry but an outstanding poet (*Dīwān-i-Muṣḥafī*: *intikhāb*, ed. Ḥasrat Mōhanī, Lahore 1965, Introd. 7-66. This essay is repeated verbatim, but in clearer print, in vol. i of the *Kulliyyāt Muṣḥafī* mentioned above, 11-53). Gōrakhpūrī believes that the main difference between the Dihlī and Lucknow Schools is that the former stressed meaning and the latter language: Muṣḥafī represents a transitional stage, without whose influence it would be difficult to envisage later Lucknow poets like Anīs [*q.v.*]; and Muṣḥafī's poetry—including his *ghazal*—with its amalgam of simple yet colourful language, naturalness, realism and restrained passion, is *sui generis*, and the work of a genius. It remains to be seen whether these claims will gain ground.

Bibliography: Editions of Muṣḥafī's poetry include *Dīwān-i-Muṣḥafī*, ed. Ḥasrat Mōhānī, ʿAlīgaṙh 1905, which is almost entirely confined to short *ghazals* or extracts, which do scant justice to the poet. *Dīwān-i-Muṣḥafī*: *intikhāb* (1965), seemingly a reprint of the above, and vol. i of the *Kulliyāt Muṣḥafī* (1968), both containing Gōrakhpūrī's valuable essay, are mentioned above in the article. For an example of his *mathnawīs*, with a critical comparison of Muṣḥafī with Mīr, see Farmān Fataḥpūrī, *Daryā-i-ʿishḳ awr Baḥr al-maḥabbat kā taḳābulī muṭālaʿa*, Lahore 1972. Muṣḥafī's *tadhkira* of Persian poets was published as *ʿIḳd-i thurayyā*, ed. with intro. by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Dihlī 1934. One of his two *tadhkiras* of Urdu poets was published as *Riyazul Fusaha*, Dihlī 1934, with the same editor and identical introduction. For detailed accounts of the poet, see the two works by Ṣiddīḳī mentioned in the text. Brief accounts include: Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 90 ff.; Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London, Karachi, etc. 1964, 124 f.; L.C. Randhir, *Ghazal—the beauty eternal*, New Delhi, 61 ff., writes more favourably of the poet, and the whole book forms a useful general account of the Urdu *ghazal*. In Urdu, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i-ḥayāt*[9], Lahore 1917, 309 ff., provides a well-written statement of the traditional lukewarm assessment. To some extent, Āzād relied on the old *tadhkiras* for his anecdotes and criticism. A good example is *Madjmūʿa-yi-maghz* by Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳudratullāh Ḳāsim, ed. Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmud Shayrānī, 2 vols., Lahore 1933: for Muṣḥafī, see ii, 188-95). This work has more biographical and critical material than most other *tadhkiras*, which might best be described as chrestomathies. Finally, Sayyid ʿAbdullāh, *Shuʿarā᾽-i-Urdū kē tadhkirē awr tadhkirē kā fann*, Lahore 1952, 46 f., gives a very short account of Muṣḥafī's two Urdu *tadhkiras*; but as a general critical history of the *tadhkira* form in the context of Urdu poetry, it is an essential reference.

(J.A. Haywood)

MUSHĀḲA, Mīkhā᾽īl b. Djirdjīs al-Lubnānī, Lebanese historian and polemicist who is at the same time the most important of modern Arabic writers on the theory of music; the present article is devoted to his activity in this latter sphere, in order to complete the brief entry already given s.v. Mashāḳa.

Born in 1800 at Rashmayyā, he followed his family (after 1807) to Dayr al-Ḳamar, the residence of the famous Amīr Bashīr Shihāb II [*q.v.*] who was favourably disposed towards the elder Mushāḳa. In 1819, the Amīr, having given offence to the Sublime Porte, was compelled to take refuge in Egypt, and the following year Mīkhā᾽īl Mushāḳa also found it necessary, on account of the "subsequent disturbances" to leave for Damascus. In this town Mīkhā᾽īl lived for the rest of his life, following the profession of a physician and man of letters, save for a short period (1845-6) spent in Cairo, where he studied at the Ḳaṣr al-ʿAyn school of medicine.

Mushāḳa's particular studies had been directed to mathematics, the physical sciences and medicine, but about 1830 he began to take an interest in music (Parisot, *Mus. orient.*, 15). Piqued by the arrogance of Egyptian musicians, who were great favourites in Syria and boasted their superiority over the Syrians, Mushāḳa decided to study the theory of music (Collangettes, 380) and took lessons from the best masters, including the *shaykh* Muḥammad al-ʿAṭṭār, "a master of several sciences and much learning", as Mushaḳa himself tells us. The *Shaykh* had written a book on the theory of music, but Mushāḳa was dissatisfied with it on the scientific side, and having "a good knowledge of mathematics as well as much practical skill in music" (Smith, 174), he decided to write a treatise himself. The work was entitled *al-Risāla al-Shihābiyya fi 'l-ṣināʿa al-mūsīḳiyya*, its name being due to the Amīr Muḥammad Fāris Shihāb, to whom Mushāḳa attributed the germ of the work. We do not know the precise date of its composition, but as the oldest ms. is dated 1840, it must have been written at least as early as this year (cf. Ronzevalle, 2, 116). In 1847, (cf. Ronzevalle, 2; Brockelmann, II², 648) the work was presented in a free English translation by Eli Smith in *JAOS*, i (1847), 173 ff. Among the Arabs, the book circulated in ms. until 1899, when the Arabic text was given by L. Ronzevalle in *Machriq*, ii (1899), 149 ff., and in an octavo volume (1900), which soon ran out of print. In 1913, other mss. having become available for collation, Ronzevalle issued a fresh text, together with a French translation, in *MFOB*, vi (1913), 1-120. Mushāḳa's work became the standard one on the theory of music in Syria and contiguous lands, and still holds that position. In the West, his theories have been much commented on by Land, Ellis, Parisot and Collangettes.

In the early 1840s, Mushāḳa came in touch with Eli Smith (his translator) and C.V.A. Van Dyck, two American missionaries in Damascus. He renounced the Melkite Greek Church in favour of Protestantism, and was appointed the American consul there.

Mus͟hāḳa was "a born controversialist" says Ronzevalle, and his gifts in this direction are displayed in his several books and pamphlets against the Catholics, including: *Ad͟jwibat al-Ind͟jīliyyīn* (1852); *al-Dalīl ilā ṭāʿat al-Ind͟jīl* (2nd ed. 1860); *Kas͟hf al-niḳāb ʿan wad͟jh al-Masīḥ al-kad͟hd͟hāb* (1860); *al-Barāhīn al-ind͟jīliyya* (1864); *al-Radd al-ḳawīm* (1869); al-*S͟huhub al-t͟hawāḳib* (1870); and others. He also wrote a treatise against the ideas of Voltaire entitled *al-Burhān ʿalā ḍuʿf al-insān* (2nd ed. 1867). He also composed *al-D͟jawāb ʿalā iḳtirāḥ al-aḥbāb*, which is a history of his family and his time up to the Druze massacres of 1860, in which he was wounded but escaped through the protection of the exiled Algerian Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], who was then in Damascus. The second edition of this is entitled *Mas͟hhad al-ʿiyān bi-ḥawādit͟h Sūriyā wa-Lubnān* (cf. *Taʾrīk͟h Ḥawādit͟h al-S͟hām wa-Lubnān* by Mīk͟hāʾīl al-Dimas͟hḳī, edited by P. Louis Malouf, 1912). For another work on the religious and educational buildings of Damascus, see H.L. Fleischer, *Michael Meschâka's Cultur-Statistik von Damaskus*, in *ZDMG*, viii (1854), 346-74, improved version in his *Kleinere Schriften*, iii, 307-40. Mus͟hāḳa died in Damascus in June 1888.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see Land, *Recherches sur l'hist. de la gamme arabe*, in *Actes Congrès Orient.*, 1883, 75; A.J. Ellis, in Helmholtz, *Sensations of tone*, 3rd Eng. ed., 264, 285, 525; Parisot, *Musique orientale*, 15; *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Turquie d'Asie*, 21; Collangettes, in *JA* (Nov.-Dec. 1904), 380, 387, 411, 418; A.Z. Idelsohn, in *SIMG*, xv, 6; Brockelmann, II², 648, S II, 779-80; L. Cheikho, *al-Ādāb al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿas͟har*, Beirut 1908, ii, 123 ff.; Sarkīs, 1747; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 295; Graf, *GCAL*, iv, 18 b. 1, 282, 297-9, 330, 333. A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings*, in *RISM*, Bx, Munich 1979, 63-6, 278-9; M. Hartmann, *The Arabic press of Egypt*, London 1899, 37, refers to other members of the family.

(H.G. Farmer*)

al-**MUS͟HAḲḲAR**, a settlement and port on the eastern coast of Arabia in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, situated in the region of Had͟jar or Baḥrayn; its exact location is however unknown and would appear to be only discoverable by future archaeological investigations.

Varying traditions attribute the foundation of al-Mus͟haḳḳar to one of the kings of Kinda [*q.v.*], Mūsā b. al-Ḥārit͟h, or to a commander of the Sāsānid heavy cavalry (*asāwira*; see on these, C.E. Bosworth, *EIr* art. *Asāwera*) B.s.k.b. Māhbūd͟h in the time of the Kisrās (al-Ṭabarī, i, 985-6, tr. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 260-1; al-Bakrī, *Muʿd͟jam*, i, 311, iii, 1060, iv, 1232-3). Subsequently, the place is especially associated with the tribe of ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*], where, according to Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, was situated their tribal idol D͟hu 'l-Labā and where was held an important fair (*sūḳ) in* D͟jumādā II to which Persian traders came from across the Gulf (*al-Muḥabbar*, 265, 317; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 134-5). At the time of the first Muslim expansion into eastern Arabia, it seems to have been held for the Sāsānids by a chief of Tamīm (*al-Muḥabbar*, 265; cf. M.J. Kister, *Mecca and Tamīm (aspects of their relations)*, in *JESHO*, viii [1985]). It was still flourishing in the first century or so of Islam. During the *Ridda* [*q.v.*] wars, the defeated leader of the Baḥrayn rebels, al-Mund͟hir b. al-Nuʿmān, retreated into al-Mus͟haḳḳar before going to join Musaylima (al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 84), and in 73/692-3, Baṣran and Kūfan troops of ʿAbd al-Malik's general ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar pursued the K͟hārid͟jite leader Abū Fudayk and besieged him in al-Mus͟haḳḳar till he surrendered (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 853).

Thereafter, it seems to have declined, and although Ibn al-Faḳīh (wrote *ca.* 290/903), 30, cf. 255, tr. Massé, 35, cf. 308, located the Friday mosque of Baḥrayn there, describing the place (its mosque or fortress?) as one of the wonders of the Islamic world, the other geographers of this period do not mention it.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

MUS͟HĀRAKA (a.), a commercio-legal term that has come into increasing prominence as efforts have been made in the Muslim world to organise or re-organise their financial systems according to what are held to be the requirements of the *S͟harīʿa*. In English, "participation financing" is the translation commonly adopted by modern Islamic financial institutions committed to commercial operations traditionally known to Islamic jurisprudence.

In general terms, the *mus͟hāraka* is a contractual partnership (*s͟harikat al-ʿaḳd*) as opposed to a proprietary partnership (*s͟harikat al-milk*). In the case of the latter, joint ownership of property (e.g. a house passing to legal heirs on the death of the owner) is a prerequisite, and there is no joint exploitation of the property involved. The essence of the former, however, is joint exploitation of capital (or, in full or in part, of the work and skills of the partners or of the credit for partnership investment) with joint participation in profits and losses, joint ownership being an effect—not a prerequisite—of the partnership's formation.

Unlike the *mufāwaḍa* [*q.v.*], the *mus͟hāraka* is a limited investment partnership in which the core of the investment is money. The *modus operandi* of the parties to a *mus͟hāraka* as handled within the modern Islamic system may be explained somewhat as follows. A client with a specific plan for a business venture submits his proposal to an Islamic financial institution, usually a bank, together with an application for equity capital (i.e. venture, or risk, capital) to support it. If agreement is reached, the institution will supply the necessary capital as well as any cash flow that may be required on the basis that (a) the profits will be shared by the two contracting parties in the proportion on which they have agreed at the time of the contract, and (b) such losses as may be incurred will be proportionate to the parties' shares in the partnership capital, as generally taught.

In order that its client may be left with a viable share of the profits, the financial institution that is party to the *mus͟hāraka* will, in many cases, not reserve to itself the right to a return on all its shares from the venture's profits, but will divide its participation into (a) a share in the partnership capital, and (b) working capital supplied by means of an interest-free loan (*ḳarḍ ḥasan*).

Obviously, as in all business ventures, an element of risk attaches to "participation financing" partnerships. Notwithstanding, the straightforward business risk is something that cannot be secured by the participating institution since Islamic law permits no security to be taken from the partner *qua* partner. What it does permit, on the other hand, is the taking of securities against the risk of the partner's breach of contract of partnership, his negligence and his wilful

misconduct. Such securities are in fact demanded by certain Islamic banks and other financial institutions as a precondition of the partnership.

To trace the history of the *mushāraka* through a study of the *ʿinān* (limited investment partnership) in the various schools of Islamic law—in which a single term or expression can, at times, be found to be used in different or ambiguous senses—is clearly beyond the scope of the present article.

Bibliography: 1. Primary sources. See for these the *Bibl.* to MUFĀWAḌA. 2. Studies. N.A. Saleh, *Unlawful gain and legitimate profit in Islamic law*, Cambridge 1986, of which the bibliography is a good guide to both primary and secondary sources (123-6); idem, *The general principles of Saudi Arabian and Omani company laws*, Namara, U.K. 1981, notably 62-5 on the details of the distribution of profits and losses. A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in medieval Islam*, Princeton 1970, provides material that is essential to the understanding of the early development of the concept of partnership in Islamic law. On the use of the term *mushāraka* to translate the technical term "participation" in the (non-Islamic) context of health and accident insurance, see N. Ghattas, *A dictionary of economics, business & finance: English-Arabic with an Arabic glossary*, Beirut 1982, 404. (J.D. LATHAM)

MUSHAʿSHAʿ, a Shīʿī Arab dynasty of the town of Ḥawīza [*q.v.*] or Ḥuwayza in Khūzistān (ʿArabistān).

The founder of the dynasty, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falāḥ, claimed to be a descendant of the Seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*]. He was born at Wāsiṭ and studied with Shaykh Aḥmad b. Fahd at Ḥilla. The 9th/15th century was an important phase in the history of Shīʿī *ghulāt* extremism. But it was also characterised by a rising tendency towards folk Islam, propelled by regional forces in an increasingly fragmented power structure. In his environment Sayyid Muḥammad developed strong views about his messianic mission; Shaykh Aḥmad excommunicated him (*takfīr*) but failed to have him executed by the *Amīr* of ʿUbadā, as he pretended to be a Sunnī Ṣūfī.

One year before the death of Shaykh Aḥmad in 840/1436 (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh-i panṣad sāla-yi Khūzistān*, 9; not 828/1424 as in Shūshtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, ii, 395), he announced his mission (*ẓuhūr*) among the Arab tribes of the Banū Sulāma, Ṭayyiʾ and Sudān in the marshy neighbourhood of Wāsiṭ. Although defeated in 844/1440, he devastated Shawka and converted the Nays, a clan of the Maʿādī tribe, in the Dūb area, forcing them to exchange their cattle for arms. Sayyid Muḥammad continued to fight against the local lords of Djazāʾir. Finally, after a heavy defeat by the governor of Wāsiṭ he turned towards Ḥuwayza which was in the hands of Shaykh Djalāl b. Abi 'l Khayr Djazāʾirī, a representative of the Tīmūrid prince-governor of Fārs, ʿAbd Allāh. Sayyid Muḥammad and his son Mawlā ʿAlī conquered this strategically important place (except for the citadel) on 4 Ramaḍān 845/16 January 1442. The lord of Baghdād, Ispand b. Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, exploiting the weakened position of the Tīmūrid rule in the eastern part of Persia, defeated Sayyid Muḥammad, but the latter overpowered the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu garrison after Ispand b. Ḳara Yūsuf had left for Baṣra. Although Ispand, who had converted to Shīʿism in 840/1436-7, was not in a position to prevent the Mushaʿshaʿ continuing their missionary activities among the ʿArab tribes in Khūzistān and southern ʿIrāḳ, it was only after his death in 848/1444, and that of Shāhrukh three years later, that the Mushaʿshaʿ began to challenge the weakened authority of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu in middle ʿIrāḳ. Sayyid Mawlā ʿAlī attacked Wāsiṭ in 858/1454 after Djahān Shāh Ḳara Ḳoyunlu had appointed his son Pīr Budāḳ governor of Fārs but had not provided him with sufficient military forces for the defence of Baghdād. The Mushaʿshaʿ sacked Nadjaf and desecrated the shrine of the Imām ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The devastation of the adjacent areas of Baghdād only came to an end when an army of Djahān-Shāh Ḳara Ḳoyunlu forced him to retreat. Finally, he was killed in the river Rūd-i Kurdistān (Tāb) when campaigning in Kūh Gilūya against Pīr Budāḳ in 861/1456-7 (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 17-19). In the same year, Sayyid Muḥammad was forced to take the field against Amīr Nāṣir b. Faradj Allāh who had moved from Baghdād to destroy the Mushaʿshaʿ. With his defeat near Wāsiṭ, their supremacy was finally established in Khūzistān and southern ʿIrāḳ. In the last years of his life, Sayyid Muḥammad was mainly occupied with writing his Ḳurʾān commentaries and prayers. He died in 870/1465-6 (less likely 866/1461-2, according to Sayyid ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh in the history of his family).

The doctrines of Sayyid Muḥammad. The etymology of the word *mushaʿshaʿ* is not clear. It may be connected with the notion of light, radiation, less possibly intoxication, although it could refer to mystical exaltation. According to the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, the Mushaʿshaʿ practised a *dhikr* which enabled them to perform extraordinary acts.

The *Kalām al-Mahdī* by Sayyid Muḥammad, the major source for examining the doctrine of the early Mushaʿshaʿ, expounds ideas about Mahdism. The terminology used clearly comprises that of an esoteric sect. According to it, ʿAlī and the Prophet Muḥammad are the revolving mystery (*al-sirr al-dāʾir*) in heaven and on earth. Muḥammad as the messenger was the embodiment (*ḥidjāb*) of the truth (*ḥaḳīḳa*), which unlike the embodiment does not change its place. The body can become personalised but the truth remains in its unvaried state.

After initially showing some caution, Sayyid Muḥammad clearly expounded his mission as the *Mahdī*, declaring that he functioned like Muḥammad and any other prophet. The ideas of Sayyid ʿAlī appear to have been more extreme. According to Shūshtarī (*Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, ii, 399-400), he claimed to be the incarnation of Imām ʿAlī, *amīr al-muʾminīn*, a claim which raised considerable criticism among the leading *ʿulamāʾ* in Baghdād, as an ensuing correspondence between them and Sayyid Muḥammad indicates (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 31).

Subsequent history. Sayyid Muḥammad's son and successor Sulṭān Muḥammad strengthened the power of the Mushaʿshaʿ further. His rule extended into the area of Luristān, the land of the Bakhtiyārī and Faylī Lurs, and a larger part of al-Djazāʾir; even the area around Baghdād seems to have temporarily fallen under his control. He also attracted the attention of scholars like Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Astarābādī. The Shīʿī doctrine, now less extreme, was successfully spread throughout the area. A major role was played by the Marʿashī *sayyids* [*q.v.*], of whom a branch had come from their homeland Māzandarān and settled in Shūshtar, led by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Nūr Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Marʿashī al-Shūshtarī, whose grandson was Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh, the author of the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn* (Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, *Kitāb-i Tadhkira-yi Shūshtar*, 35).

The end of the reign of Sayyid Muḥsin coincided with the rise of Ṣafawid power under Shāh Ismāʿīl

who laid claim to be recognised as the sole legitimate Shīᶜī ruler. He was, however, only able to move against Ḥuwayza after the capture of Baghdād in 914/1508. Sayyid Muḥsin's death, either in 905/1499-1500 (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 40) or about 914/1508-9 (Caskel, *Ein Mahdī des 15. Jhs.*, 93; see also Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iv, 497) further weakened the defence of the Mushaᶜshaᶜ. Two of his sons, ᶜAlī and Ayyūb, tried to open negotiations with Shāh Ismāᶜīl but were executed. The independence of the Mushaᶜshaᶜ was finally destroyed after Sayyid Fayyāḍ, probably another son of Sulṭān Muḥsin, had been killed with many of his supporters in Ḥuwayza (so Khwāndamīr, *op. cit.*, iv, 497. But according to Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 42, Fayyāḍ was just another title for Sayyid ᶜAlī b. Muḥsin).

Although Sayyid Falāḥ b. Muḥsin reconquered Ḥuwayza and established himself as a semi-independent ruler, he remained mainly confined to Ḥuwayza and the western parts of Khūzistān. Shāh Ismāᶜīl was recognised by him as the overlord. Dizfūl remained in the hands of the Raᶜnāshī *shaykhs*; Shūshtar came under the control of a local ruler. During the reign of Shāh Ismāᶜīl or under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the province was divided into ᶜArabistān, the western part, which remained under the control of the Mushaᶜshaᶜ, and Khūzistān, which was placed under the military command of the governors of Kūh Gilūya, or sometimes also under that of Fārs.

When Sayyid Falāḥ died in 920/1514, his successor Sayyid Badrān b. Falāḥ maintained some autonomy under the changing political fortunes of the two major powers, Ṣafawid Persia and the Ottoman empire. Shāh Ṭahmāsp confirmed his rule in 948/1541 (Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 389; Iskandar Beg Munshī, *ᶜĀlam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī*, i, 95). Whereas Sayyid Badrān clearly indicated his loyalty to the Ṣafawids, under his successor Sadjdjād, the Mushaᶜshaᶜ seemed to have moved closer towards the Ottomans, probably under the pressure of ᶜAlī Pasha, the governor of Baghdād, who dispatched a military force against Ḥuwayza in 992/1584 (Nīyāzī, *Hüner-nāme*, f. 38b ff.; Caskel, *Ein Mahdī des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 81; see also Ferīdūn Beg, *Münsheʾāt-i selāṭīn*, ii, 315-16). With the appointment of Ḥaydar Ḳulī Sulṭān as governor of Dizfūl, the Afshārs emerged as a major political force in northern Khūzistān and the adjacent area. The Mushaᶜshaᶜ remained more or less confined to Ḥuwayza. Sayyid ᶜAlī was followed in 992/1584 by his son Zanbūr ᶜAlī, who governed till 998/1590 (not 996, as in Minorsky, *EI*[1] Suppl., art. *Mushaᶜshaᶜ*).

During the troubled years of Shāh ᶜAbbās I's accession to the throne, the south-west of Persia, then mainly under the control of the Afshār *amīrs*, had been in turmoil. Sayyid Mubārak b. Muṭṭalib b. Badrān, who had spent his youth as a brigand in the region of Dawraḳ and Rām Hurmuz, drove his uncle Zanbūr ᶜAlī out of Ḥuwayza at the end of 995-beginning of 996/November-December 1587. Mubārak tried to strengthen his position in Khūzistān by occupying Dizfūl and gaining control over Shūshtar. But in 1003-4/1594-5 Shāh ᶜAbbās I pacified the whole area: Luristān, Kūh Gilūya, Khūzistān and the border area, ᶜArabistān. Khūzistān was given to a Shāmlū governor. Sayyid Mubārak managed to escape major punishment for his misdemeanour (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh*, i, 501-2). As the Shāh did not want to be engaged in major military operations against the Mushaᶜshaᶜ any further, and as it was feared that the Ottomans might interfere directly in the affairs of south-western Persia, Sayyid Mubārak was reinstated as governor (*ḥākim*) for ᶜArabistān, a decision confirmed in 1005/1596-7, when another revolt of the Afshār supported by him was crushed. The Mushaᶜshaᶜ seemed to be the only force on which the Ṣafawids could rely for controlling the various tribal forces in ᶜArabistān, particularly the Arabs in the Djazīra region.

The integration of ᶜArabistān into the Ṣafawid realm became easier after Mawlā Muṭṭalib had turned against extreme forms of Shīᶜī dogmas as expounded by earlier rulers. Sayyid Mubārak continued to bring Shīᶜī beliefs even further into line with mainstream Twelver Shīᶜī teaching, supported by leading *ᶜulamāʾ* of his time. The recognition of the special position of the Mushaᶜshaᶜ ruler in the Ṣafawid realm was underlined by his rank as one of the four viceroys (*wālī*): *wālī-yi ᶜArabistān-i Ḥuwayza*. The *wālī* had only a loose connection with the Ṣafawid state, e.g., he sent presents instead of paying taxes. After the death of Sayyid Mubārak in 1025/1616, his son Nāṣir, who had been brought up at the court and was married to a sister of Shāh ᶜAbbās I, succeeded him for a short period (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 65-6). But at the end of the same year, Sayyid Rashīd b. Salīm b. Muṭṭalib became the new ruler following the wishes of the elders of the Arab tribes (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 915). Shortly afterwards, he was killed by a dissident group of the Banū Lām [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, ii, 951-2). After his death, dissension broke out between the various tribal groups which ended in 1030/1620 when the exiled Sayyid Manṣūr b. Muṭṭalib was installed as the new *wālī*. He was supported by both the governors of Luristān and Shūshtar. However, in 1033/1623-4 he was replaced by his nephew Sayyid Muḥammad b. Mubārak, since he showed reluctance to assist the *shāh* in his campaign against Baghdād in 1032/1623 (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 959, 1013). His close relationship with the governor of Fārs, Imām Ḳulī Khān, who was dismissed and killed in 1042/1632, was probably the main cause for his replacement by Mawlā Manṣūr (Rettelbach, *Khulāṣat al-siyar*, 130-1; Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Dhayl-i tārīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī*, 152-3).

Shūshtar was governed in those years by a Georgian *ghulām*, Wakhushtū Sulṭān (since 1042/1632-3, see Rettelbach, *op. cit.*, 126; Sayyid ᶜAbd Allāh Djazāʾirī, *Tadhkira-yi Shūshtar*, 46-7). Mawlā Manṣūr tried unsuccessfully to wrestle Aḥwāz from Sayyid Farhād, who was in coalition with ᶜAlī Pasha, the ruler of Baṣra. In 1053/1643-4, by the demands of the Arab *shaykhs*, Mawlā Manṣūr was replaced by Sayyid Baraka and exiled to Mashhad. The *wālīs* were considered to be a stabilising element in the volatile situation of the region. Since the rule of Sayyid Mubārak, the *wālī* carried the rank of a *khān*. Intermarriages with the ruling house and also with other major families of the Ṣafawid élite are an indication of this policy. The rulership of Ḥuwayza remained hereditary in their family. There seem to be no instances when they were appointed to posts outside their region. Senior members of the family, however, stayed more permanently at the Ṣafawid court. Often they were exiled to Mashhad, from where they could easily be recalled and reinstated as ruling *khāns*.

Sayyid Baraka was such a case. Although lauded by the court poet Ibn Maᶜtūḳ as the prototype of the chivalresque warrior, he had to be replaced by Sayyid ᶜAlī Khān b. Khalaf b. Muṭṭalib in 1060/1650 as he was unable to exert proper control over the Arab tribes. With the latter the third branch of the Muṭṭalib family came to power. Soon, however, he was embroiled in major controversies over his lenient

attitude towards members of his family. The ensuing revolt was suppressed by the governor of Luristān, Manūčihr Khān, who occupied Ḥuwayza and sent ʿAlī Khān, together with his children, to the court in Iṣfahān. According to the author of the *Riyāḍ al-firdaws*, ʿAlī Khān was driven out of Ḥuwayza by Arab tribesmen after he had killed a son of the *shaykh al-mashāʾikh* Shaykh Khalaf Ḥammūd b. Marwān (Muḥammad Mīrak b. Masʿūd al-Husaynī, *Riyāḍ al-firdaws*, 231-2). Zamān Khān, governor of Kūh Gilūya, however, arranged ʿAlī Khān's return to Ḥuwayza which was considered to be an important link in the defence system against the Ottomans after 1048/1638-9.

Increasingly, the family of the Mushaʿshaʿ fell into internecine fighting. After Sayyid ʿAlī Khān's death in 1092/1681, heavy conflicts broke out among his sons in which the Arab tribes of Āl Fuḍūl and Kaʿb became involved. His brother Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh ruled only eight months in 1097/1685-6. Under Faradj Allāh b. ʿAlī Khān, the Mushaʿshaʿ renewed their expansionist activities at the western border. Both Baṣra and Ḳūrna were taken from Shaykh Māniʿ b. Mughāmis and his Muntafiḳ tribe [*q.v.*] in 1109/1697-8. But the former was recaptured by Ottoman troops in 1112/1700-1. Faradj Allāh's success in 1109/1697-8 was only shortlived, as the new military governor in Ḥuwayza, Ibrāhīm Khān, did not support him. He had him replaced by his nephew Sayyid ʿAlī in 1112/1700-1 and imprisoned until 1120/1708-9 (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 94-5).

The frequent changes of the *wālī*s reflected not only the widening gulf between them and their mainly Arab tribal following but is also a strong indicator of the increased disorganisation at the Ṣafawid court. The members of the Mushaʿshaʿ family affiliated themselves to different parties there but also tried to win support among the Arab tribes. The lack of law and order, and the continuous fighting outside Ḥuwayza, considerably damaged the rich agriculture of the region. With the fall of Wakhushtū's family in Shūshtar, Khūzistān and ʿArabistān were deprived of one of their stabilising factors. In 1114/1702-3 Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Faradj Allāh was appointed as the new *wālī*, but he faced strong opposition from his father. When strife and discord in Ḥuwayza had become uncontrollable, the Ṣafawid court was forced to reappoint Sayyid ʿAlī in 1127/1715. By now Ṣafawid power was a shadow of its former self. Threatened by Arab tribes, the *wālī* turned for help to the Ottoman governor of Baghdād. Nevertheless, the Ṣafawid administration seemed to have intervened again in 1132/1719-20, when Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh became *wālī* of ʿArabistān, supported by Ṣafawid troops.

Still, the *wālī* remained a major factor in Ṣafawid politics. When in 1135/1722 the Afghāns attacked Iṣfahān he was one of the remaining military forces on which the court relied for the defence of the capital. However, the *wālī* seems to have played a rather ambiguous role in the battle of Gulnābād against Maḥmūd Afghān. The sources are not clear whether the *khān* of Ḥuwayza actually was ʿAbd Allāh, as some of the European sources and a later Persian source claim, or a certain Muḥammad Khān b. Faradj Allāh Khān who has been mentioned as governor of Ḥuwayza after ʿAbd Allāh had been in collusion with the *pasha* of Baghdād in 1132/1719-20 (Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh, *Tadhkira-yi Shūshtar*, 69; Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavid dynasty*, 132-43. However, Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 102-4 "Muḥammad Khān", and Caskel, *Die Wālī's von Ḥuwēzeh*, 429, assume that ʿAbd Allāh had returned from Baghdād where he had moved in 1719, and was leading an Arab contingent in the battle, but was at that time no longer governor of Ḥuwayza).

In the short-lived peace agreement between the Ottoman government and Ashraf Khān in 1140/1727, Ḥuwayza was allocated together with the other western provinces to Turkey, but this did not change the situation in the south-west of Persia as the main Ottoman thrust was directed against Kurdistān and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam. During the 1730s and 1740s, Ḥuwayza was restored as a Persian border province. Nādir Ḳulī Khān (Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]) had repossessed it in Ramaḍān 1142/March-April 1730. The peace treaties of 1733 and 1736, confirmed in 1746, re-established the boundary between the two powers as agreed at Zuhāb in 1638 (Olson, *The siege of Mosul and the Ottoman-Persian relations, 1718-1743*, 90-1, 99-104; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 255). Nādir Shāh reorganised the administration of the south-west in 1150/1737-8 and appointed a Persian governor for Khūzistān with his seat in Ḥuwayza. The Mushaʿshaʿ ruler Sayyid Faradj Allāh was moved to Dawraḳ, which became his new residence for the following ten years (Caskel, *Wālī's*, 430-1). During Nādir Shāh's last years of rule, Sayyid Muṭṭalib b. Muḥammad b. Faradj Allāh Khān overthrew Nādir's governor for Khūzistān, Muḥammad Khān Balūč, and returned to Ḥuwayza in 1060/1747.

Nādir's successor ʿĀdil Shāh confirmed Sayyid Muṭṭalib, but in the ensuing power struggle over the control of Shūshtar and Dizfūl, the Āl-i Kathīr under Shaykh Saʿd strengthened their commanding position in Khūzistān, operating from their camp between the Karkha and Diz. Internal strife among the Āl-i Kathīr, however, allowed Sayyid Muṭṭalib to restore some of the previous authority of the *wālī* in 1167/1754. But he was unable to establish his control over the various Arab tribes who in the past had served the Mushaʿshaʿ so well. The long drawn-out fight between the two rival groups in which the powerful Afshār *amīrs* were also eliminated adversely affected the fertile agriculture in the vicinity of Shūshtar and Dizfūl. Increasingly, the Āl-i Kathīr gained the upper hand. Sayyid Muṭṭalib was killed by the sons of Shaykh Saʿd in revenge for the murder of their father. The Zand ruler Karīm Khān [*q.v.*] himself was forced to move to Khūzistān [*q.v.*] to restore order. The Mushaʿshaʿ were from now on mainly confined to their old capital (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 126-7).

After the death of Nādir Shāh, the well-organised and mainly sea-borne power of the Banū Kaʿb [*q.v.*] emerged as the major force in the coastal region, having previously managed to stand on the sidelines in the constant wars between the Āl-i Kathīr and the Mushaʿshaʿ, In southern ʿArabistān their position had been checked by Karīm Khān Zand between 1763 and 1768 as the Zand ruler was able to enforce some control over them. In Ḥuwayza, Sayyid Muṭṭalib was succeeded by his cousin Mawlā Djūd Allāh, and after him, Mawlā Ismāʿīl. Following Karīm Khān's death in 1779, ʿAlī Murād Khān Zand tried to stem the process of disintegration of the Zand rule in that area by taking a stronger interest in the affairs of the Mushaʿshaʿ. He appointed Sayyid Mawlā Muḥsin, under whose rule a certain Hāshim built a canal further up the Karkha, diverting the irregational water for the agriculture and garden culture of Ḥuwayza and so destroyed the supply of grain for Baṣra. The continuing internal strife for the control of Dizfūl and Shūshtar among the Arab tribes in the area accelerated the economic decline of Ḥuwayza even

further, although a major catastrophe could be averted when another son of Djūd Allāh, Sayyid Mawlā Muḥammad, who had been appointed *wālī* at the demand of the agriculturalists, dammed the new water channel.

At the beginning of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, ʿArabistān/Khūzistān was split into various rival factions: Shūshtar, Dizfūl, the areas of the Āl-i Kathīr, the Mushaʿshaʿ and the powerful Kaʿb. The former three were put under the control of Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā Dawlatshāh. Rām Hurmuz, Fallāḥiyya, Hindiyān and the southern part became the responsibility of Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā Farmānfarmā. Dawlatshāh came in 1221/1806-7 to restore order in Shūshtar, but he does not seem to have interfered much in the internal affairs of Ḥuwayza (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 66-77). Little is known about the situation in Ḥuwayza itself, except that in 1810 the *wālī* was taken prisoner and brought to Dizfūl (Kinneir, *Memoirs*, 106). Like most other parts of ʿArabistān and Khūzistān, Ḥuwayza suffered much during the cholera epidemic in 1247/1831-2. The final collapse of the Karkha dam in 1250/1834 was a catastrophe from which it never recovered. By 1840 the town had only about 500 inhabitants. Most of the people had left the area or continued their lives as Bedouins. This major change is also indicated by the taxes paid, which fell to only 6,000 tomans compared with 50,000 paid by Dizfūl and Shūshtar (Caskel, *Wālī's*, 432-3; Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 138). The Mushaʿshaʿ family ruled on behalf of the Persian governor of Khūzistān, collecting taxes and paying revenue to him. Compared with previous periods, the province had lost its major status. The Persian governor normally acted as deputy for the governors in Kirmānshāh, Shīrāz or Iṣfahān. Manūčihr Khān Muʿtamid al-Dawla, governor of Iṣfahān, Luristān and Khūzistān, appointed Mawlā Faradj Allāh as *ḥākim* of the whole province in 1257/1841, after Shaykh Thāmir and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Riḍā, head of the Banū Kaʿb, had fled to the Ottomans. The southern parts of the province ʿArabistān, from Hindidjān to Muḥammara [see KHURRAM-SHAHR], remained the responsibility of Farhād Mīrzā, the deputy governor of Fārs (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, 269-70).

The Treaty of Erzurum in 1843 conveyed full sovereignty of land on the eastern bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, Muḥammara included, to Persia. With it began the rise of the local Kaʿb (Muḥaysīn) ruler Ḥādjdjī Djābir Khān, who was supported by the Persian authorities. He was able to extend his active control over most of the Arab tribes like the Banū Ṭuruf, Bāwiyya, Nāṣir and Rābiʿa. The Mushaʿshaʿ leaders were increasingly fighting their own nomadic followers. By acting mostly as his deputies they practically became subordinates of Ḥādjdjī Djābir Khān, who in fact had been given a fairly free hand in this part of ʿArabistān (Talib Hamid, *History of ʿArabistān, 1857-1897*, 147). The Persian governor-general of Khūzistān still remained officially in control of affairs. In 1872 Ḥamza Mīrzā Hishmat al-Dawla installed Sayyid Mawlā Muḥammad b. Naṣr Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh (?) as the new ruler in Ḥuwayza. Mawlā Muṭṭalib b. Naṣr Allāh was recognised as ruler in 1881 but Niẓām al-Salṭana replaced him with Sayyid Mawlā Naṣr Allāh, probably in 1888 (Lorimer, *Gazetteer, Affairs of Hawizeh district, 1848-1896*, 1680 ff.). This decline in the authority of the Mushaʿshaʿ rule led to the breakaway of the Banū Ṭuruf, who refused to pay tribute any longer. Although the Persian troops were successful in putting down the serious disturbances in Ḥuwayza, after a further rising of their inhabitants against the garrison in 1894, Shaykh Mizʿal b. Djābir Khān was entrusted to deal with the affairs in Ḥuwayza and sent his brother Khazʿal there in 1300/1882. Mawlā Muṭṭalib b. Naṣr Allāh was forced after considerable resistance to move to Dizfūl, where he remained for the rest of his life. Shaykh Khazʿal married a Mushaʿshaʿ woman and appointed his wife's brother in place of Sayyid Mawlā ʿAbd al-ʿAlī in 1910. After the deposition of Shaykh Khazʿal in 1924, Mawlā ʿAbd al-ʿAlī was recognised as head of the Mushaʿshaʿ but did not play a political role any further.

Coins. The Mushaʿshaʿ exercised the right of coinage. Probably the oldest known coins are two silver pieces from Shūshtar, dated 906, which bear the name Falāḥ b. al-Muḥsin (University of Tübingen, Collection of Islamic coins). Several *dirhams* have been found at Sūsā struck at Shūshtar and Dizfūl in the name of *al-Mahdī b. al-Muḥsin*, which may belong to a son of Sayyid Muḥsin, probably Fayyāḍ, dated 914/1508 (Caskel, *Ein Mahdī des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 93, changes it to *al-Muḥsin b. al-Mahdī*). Kasrawī (*Tārīkh*, 94) mentions a coin of Ḥuwayza dated 1085/1674-5, but although having the Shīʿī legend *ʿAlī walī Allāh* it was probably issued in the name of the *shāh*. Coins called *ḥuwayza* play an important part in the rites of the *Ahl-i ḥakk* [*q.v.*].

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(P. LUFT)

AL-**MUSHATTĀ** OR AL-MSHATTĀ (A., presumably

mus̲h̲attā "a place where one spends the winter, winter camp"), a palatial, ruined structure almost certainly of early Islamic date, in what is now Jordan, situated 35 km south of ʿAmmān just east of the main north-south road connecting the capital with Maʿān.

It consists of a nearly square stone-walled enclosure measuring *ca.* 144 m. internally on each side and divided into three sections by north-south walls of which the foundations are preserved. The wider central zone has three main elements—blocks of symmetrically arranged rooms adjacent to the northern and southern enclosure walls and a central courtyard 57 m. square which once contained a central pavilion or water-basin. Both groups of rooms consist of a central zone flanked by two lateral ones. The centre of the southern block consists of an entrance hall followed by a courtyard, whereas the northern one has a basilical hall with a triple-arched façade and a tri-apsed inner chamber. These central zones were flanked by a number of smaller chambers. The northern ones are four separate suites of rooms or *bayts* consisting of pairs of small rooms flanking a larger central chamber; each unit faces a courtyard. The residential character of these *bayts* is underscored by the presence of latrines in each of the three adjacent wall-towers. The northern block of rooms had brick walls on stone foundations. The small chambers were covered by brick barrel vaults with a pointed arched profile. Brick semi-domes covered the three niches of the central chamber, but the type of roofing intended for the rest of the basical hall is uncertain. Only the foundations of the southern block were ever laid so that less is known about it. The presence of a semicircular niche in the south wall of a long narrow room east of the central zone identifies it as a mosque, and there is a latrine in the tower adjacent to the equivalent room on the west. The two lateral zones flanking the central area are devoid of structures, but it is probable that some were intended. The perimeter wall has three-quarter-round towers at the corners and a series of half-round towers on each side. There are five equidistant towers on the east, north and west sides and four on the south one, which also contains a monumental entrance flanked by half-octagonal towers. The central portion of the south façade stretching between the middle two half-round towers had a richly decorated zone of upright and inverted triangles in alternation framed by projecting mouldings. Most of these decorated blocks are now exhibited in the Islamisches Museum of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

From the time of its initial publication by H.B. Tristram in 1873, the building has been the focus of debate. The presence of rich carvings on its southern façade and its half-finished state have fuelled speculation about its purpose and date. A chronology and tabulation of these opinions was published by K.A.C. Creswell. Speculations which attributed it to the Sāsānids, G̲h̲assānids or Lak̲h̲mids have been laid to rest and a consensus has emerged that it belongs to the Umayyad period, and probably to the middle decades of the 8th century. H. Lammens and E. Herzfeld were convinced that it should be connected with the short reign of the caliph Walīd II (126/744-5 [*q.v.*]), known for his interest in building and linked with this region by references in the *Kitāb al-Ag̲h̲ānī* and in the writings of the Coptic Bishop Severus b. Muḳaffaʿ, who reported on the hardships endured by workmen conscripted from Egypt to build structures for al-Walīd in a waterless plain. This attribution of al-Ms̲h̲attā to the patronage of al-Walīd II was accepted by J. Sauvaget and F. Ṭūḳān.

Al-Ms̲h̲attā also figured prominently in discussions about the purpose and origin of so called "desert palaces". Both Lammens and Herzfeld identified it with a type of structure which they named the *bādiya* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] or the *ḥīra*, thought to imitate a desert encampment and to exemplify the traditional Arab preference for life in the open air. This explanation of Umayyad monuments was challenged by Sauvaget on historical, linguistic and archaeological grounds, and he proposed that many residential structures of the Umayyad period were connected with agriculture. Recently, Ṭūḳān has stressed the importance of hunting for the Umayyad rulers and identified a number of walled enclosures found near their residences as *ḥāʾir* or game preserves. Thus the sweeping theories of Lammens and Herzfeld are being replaced by detailed topographical and archaeological investigations of specific Umayyad structures with a view to determining their precise function. In the case of al-Ms̲h̲attā, however, the only evidence currently available is the building itself, although its location appears more suited to hunting than to agriculture.

Efforts by Herzfeld and Creswell to isolate elements of this structure which could be connected with the pre-Islamic traditions of specific regions have had limited success. It is generally agreed that whereas the stone masonry has a Syrian character, its brick vaults are more typical of ʿIrāḳ. Some elements of the carved ornament appear to have precedents in the art of Coptic Egypt and still others are reminiscent of Sāsānid designs from ʿIrāḳ or Persia. Also, more recently the presence of a basilical chamber with a triple apse has been used by I. Lavin to link al-Ms̲h̲attā with a group of monumental structures from Syria, Egypt, Constantinople and the Roman Mediterranean. These findings, however, serve more to underscore the hybrid artistic culture of Umayyad Syria than to elucidate the particular circumstances which led to the creation and abandonment of the palatial enclave presently known as al-Ms̲h̲attā.

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MUS̲H̲FIḲĪ, the pen-name of the Persian poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was born *ca.* 945/1538 in Buk̲h̲ārā. His ancestors came from Marw, which is probably why he sometimes refers to himself as Marwī. According to Saʿīd Nafīsī, he received a religious education during his youth, but went on to choose the poetical vocation, in which he was the disciple of Mawlānā Ḥasan Kawkabī, a well-known poet of Buk̲h̲ārā (*flor.* end of the 9th- beginning of the 10th/15th-16th centuries). In 972/1564-5 Mus̲h̲fiḳī went to Samarḳand, where he subsequently worked as

librarian for the Shaybānid ruler Sultan Saʿīd (975-80/1568-72). It is reported in the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* that he visited India twice, but the book fails to give any dates of the visits. He did, however, travel to that country in 985/1578 when, according to the *Akbar-nāma*, he was presented before Akbar at Pāk Paṭan. He is included by the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* among the poets who served under Akbar, enjoying the generosity of the Emperor. Finally, he settled down in his native city, Bukhārā, and was created poet-laureate under the Uzbek ruler ʿAbd Allāh Khān (991-1006/1583-98). He died in 996/1588.

Mushfiḳī's output comprises various kinds of poetry. A selection of his poems was published in 1959 in Tādjīkistān, where he has received considerable attention recently from scholars and critics. His *ghazals* express, without the embellishment of style or language, simple feelings of love and frustration. He was also noted for his satires, which form a large part of his poetical works.

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MUSHĪR (A.), lit. "one who points out, advises", hence "counsellor, adviser" in administrative usage, in recent times also acquiring in military usage the connotation of "field-marshal" in both the Arab and Turkish worlds.

According to some authorities, *mushīr* was at first (before the ʿAbbāsids) the title of the ministers (later *wazīr* [*q.v.*]) or secretaries of state (*kātib*). So at least we are told by Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 206, tr. Amar, 244, tr. Whitting, 146. Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, 106, 114, says that "formerly" an official to whom he gives fourth rank in the hierarchy, which shows he clearly distinguishes him from the *wazīr*, bore the title of *mushīr*. We seem, however, to have very little other information about this dignitary. On the other hand, the word *mushīr* in a non-technical sense is often found along with *wazīr* of which it sometimes seems to be a doublet or synonym (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv/1, 20, 74; Th. Nöldeke, *Die Erzählungen vom Mäusekönig und seinen Ministern*, Göttingen 1879, 53: *Mushīr nāṣiḥ, wazīr nāṣiḥ*).

We may note, however, that this older and broader conception did not survive. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the *wazīr* is, it is true, an "assistant" to the sovereign, but to his predecessor al-Māwardī, *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, tr. Fagnan, 43 ff., the *wazīr* is not the adviser of the *imām* but his delegate.

If Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā's statement is correct, we must see a survival of this older state of affairs in the usage of the Mamlūk chancellery, where we find among the honorific *laḳabs* of the *wazīr* that of *mushīr al-dawla* (or *al-salṭana* or *al-mulūk wa 'l-salāṭīn*). Cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 70.

The same usage, which perhaps came from the Saldjūḳs, is still more clearly established in the Ottoman chancellery. We actually find the word *mushīr* among the *alḳāb* of the Turkish *wazīr* (*vezīr*) and almost at the head of the formula, which shows its importance: *düstūr-i mükerrem, müshīr-i mufakhkham, niẓām ül-ʿālem* etc. Whence in the epistolary style, the epithets *müshīrī* and *müshīrāne* are used along with *düsturī* and *düstūrāne* or *khidīwī* and *khidīwāne* to designate all that belongs to an official of the rank of *wezīr*.

Sultan Maḥmūd II, in creating the principal ministries, naturally thought of again giving a real value to this title of *mushīr*, which he gave to the principal ministers, and in the reign of his successor ʿAbd al-Medjīd "the privy council (*medjlis-i khāṣṣ*, a regular council of ministers), consisted of the grand vizier, the *shaykh al-islām*, eleven *müshīrs* and three officials of the first rank" (Bianchi, *Le premier annuaire impérial de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1848, 7; Bianchi translates *müshīr* by "councillor or under-secretary of state", and has been followed by Barbier de Meynard in his *Supplément*, the references in which should be taken with this reservation). In 1250/1834-5, the title of *müshīr* was given to the new *nāẓir* of the Interior (*Mülkiyye nāẓiri* = the former *ketkhüdā*) and of Foreign Affairs (*khāridjiyye nāẓiri* = the former *reʾīs ül-küttāb*; cf. Luṭfī, v, 29). The *ḍabṭiyye müshīrliği* was created in 1262/1846 (Luṭfī, viii, 87).

Maḥmūd II also created the post of *beylerbeyi wezīr* or chief of the imperial guard, who bore the title *müshīr-i ʿasākir-i khāṣṣe* (*pasha*), an officer who took rank after the *ser ʿasker* or War Minister (Hammer, *Hist. de l'Emp. Ott.*, xvii, 188-9). This title was soon to be contrasted with that of *müshīr-i ʿasākir-i shāhāne* by the other troops (Luṭfī, v, 28).

The ministers did not long bear the title of *müshīr*, which gave place to *nāẓir*, but the former of these titles, perhaps under the influence of the word "marshal", which it more or less resembles, became a special military title. It became the highest rank in the army, corresponding to vizier in the civil service and of *ḳāḍī ʿasker* in the religious hierarchy. At first, the title *redīf-i manṣūre müshīri* (cf. Luft, v, 68, 74) was given to the *wālīs* of certain provinces, or simply *mushīr* of such-and-such a province (*ibid.*, 165 ff.; vi, 102-3; vii, 70). This corresponded to the demarcation of the army corps.

The number of *müshīrs* or "marshals" soon increased, and in the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II there were 39 in 1890 and 31 in 1895 (see the *Salnāme-yi ʿaskerī* for the years 1306 and 1311). Those who had the right to this title were the *ser ʿasker*, the *topkhāne-yi ʿāmire müshīri* or "grand master of artillery", the *sarāy müshīri* or "grand master of the Palace" (replacing the old *čawush bashī*, according to Aḥmed Rāsim, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 156, 186), the *khāṣṣe müshīri* (as under Maḥmūd II), the commanders of the seven army corps (*ḳol ordu*), the heads of the army services, the aides-de-camp to the sultan (*yāwer-i ekrem*). The only duty of five of the *müshīrs* was to superintend the ceremony of the Selāmlik (*selāmlik resm-i ʿālīsine meʾmūr*). The officer in charge of the police station (*merkez*) of Beshiktash, near the Yildiz Kiosk, was also a *müshīr* (*MSOS*, vii [1908], part 2, 40). Instead of *sarāy müshīri*, the more usual phrase was *mā-beyn mushīr* (Luṭfī, vii, 62).

The honorific form of address for a *müshīr* was *dewletli* (*dewletlü*) *efendim ḥazretleri*. In the plural, the Persian form *müshīrān* or with epithet *müshīrān-ī ʿiẓām*. The name of the office was *müshiriyyet or müshīrlik*, more rarely *müshīrī* (Luṭfī, v. 91).

The title of *müshīr*, which was borne by Muṣṭafā Kemāl Atatürk himself, has survived in the Turkish

republic, but in its early years there was only one *mü<u>sh</u>īr* (modern orthography, *müşir*) in office, the Chief and the General Staff, Fewzī Pa<u>sh</u>a.

In <u>Kh</u>edivial Egypt, there was a halt at a stage where the influence of the reforms of Maḥmūd II was still felt. The *rutbet mu<u>sh</u>īr* there was, down to the reign of King Fuʾād I [*q.v.*], exclusively the highest grade of officers, but without distinction between military and civil offices. It was also in theory a civil rank (*rutba mulkiyya*) to which all the princes of the <u>kh</u>edivial house had a claim.

In modern Arabic usage, *mu<u>sh</u>īr* is used in a military context, as in modern Turkish, for "field-marshal", as used e.g. by ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm ʿĀmir, Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian armed forces under President D̲jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and by the President of the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen), ʿAlī Ṣāliḥ. In a civil context, however, *mu<u>sh</u>īr* is a general term for "adviser", but has tended to be replaced in formal administrative usage, e.g. for the sense of "adviser to a minister, ruler, etc." by the related term *musta<u>sh</u>ār* [*q.v.*].

In Persian, the title *mu<u>sh</u>īr* has been rarely used. Note, however, the case of the *mu<u>sh</u>īr al-dawla* (cf. the similar title above) borne by an aide-de-camp of Naṣr al-Dīn <u>Sh</u>āh (L. Feuvrier, *Trois ans à la Cour de Perse*, 135-6), and see also MU<u>SH</u>ĪR AL-DAWLA.

Bibliography: J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, index, s.v. *mouchîr*; Mme. Kibrizli-Mehemet-Pacha, *30 ans dans les Harems d'Orient*, Paris 1875, 126 (description of a ceremonial presentation of a *mu<u>sh</u>īr*'s *firmān*); on the word *mu<u>sh</u>īriyye* in early 20th century use in Damascus, cf. Saussey, *Les mots turcs dans le dialecte arabe de Damas*, in *Mél. de l'Inst. fr. de Damas*, i (1929), 117; *İA*, art. *Müşir* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin).

(J. DENY*)

MU<u>SH</u>ĪR AL-DAWLA (A. "counsellor of the state"), a title bestowed on six separate men of affairs in Ḳād̲jār Persia during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the last of these being Mu<u>sh</u>īr al-Dawla Ḥasan Pirniyā (d. 1935), prime minister in 1920 towards the end of Ḳād̲jār rule. All six of them served as diplomatic envoys or ambassadors, and all except the first one became minister for foreign affairs in Tehran.

It is the first Mu<u>sh</u>īr al-Dawla, Mīrzā Sayyid D̲jaʿfar <u>Kh</u>ān Tabrīzī, Muhandis Ba<u>sh</u>ī (*ca.* 1790-1862), who will concern us here. He had been one of the group of five Persians sent in 1815 by the Crown Prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*] to London for four years to train as a military engineer. During 1848-52 he was in charge of a detailed survey of Persia's western boundary with the Ottoman empire, experiences which he set down in his *Risāla-yi taḥḳīḳāt-i sarḥaddiyya* (see *Bibl.*). Already on the accession of Nāṣir al-Dīn <u>Sh</u>āh [*q.v.*] he had been appointed to the post of official in charge of important matters relating to foreign affairs (*nāẓir-i mahāmm-i duwal-i <u>kh</u>ārid̲ja*), and then in 1858 he became president of the supreme advisory council to the <u>Sh</u>āh, *raʾīs-i dār al-<u>sh</u>ūrā-yi kubrā*, whose constituting was a first, very tentative step towards the limiting of the monarch's autocratic power; he held this post till his death, and shortly after his presidency also became a member of a second council, the *mad̲jlis-i <u>sh</u>ūrā-yi dawlatī*. In 1860 Nāṣir al-Dīn <u>Sh</u>āh appointed him, by now a distinguished elder statesman who had received the *laḳab* of Mu<u>sh</u>īr al-Dawla and had already headed missions to France and Belgium, as envoy to London, with the aim of strengthening Anglo-Persian relations and of securing support against possible threats from Russia, but the Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell proved unreceptive to such Persian requests as an indefinite guarantee by the British government of Persia's territorial integrity, and Mu<u>sh</u>īr al-Dawla left London in June 1861. A year after his return to Tehran he was appointed *mutawallī* of the shrine at Ma<u>sh</u>had [*q.v.*], but died two months later in D̲jumādā II 1279/November-December 1862.

Among his compositions, in addition to the *risāla* mentioned above, was a popular manual of mathematics (Tehran 1263/1847 and subsequent editions) and three other works still in manuscript.

Bibliography: Mihdī Bāmdād, *<u>Sh</u>arḥ-i ḥāl-i rid̲jāl-i Īrān dar ḳurūn-i 12 wa 13 wa 14-i hid̲jrī*, Tehran 1347-51/1968-72, i, 341-4; the *muḳaddima* to Muḥammad Mu<u>sh</u>īrī's edition of the *Risāla-yi taḥḳīḳāt-i sarḥaddiyya*, Tehran n.d. [1348/1969] (a Russian tr. of this had been published at St. Petersburg in 1877, together with the account of Mu<u>sh</u>īr al-Dawla's Ottoman Turkish counterpart on the boundary commission, <u>Kh</u>ur<u>sh</u>īd Efendi, as *Opisanie pute<u>sh</u>estviya po turetsko-persidskoi granitsi*); Sir Denis Wright, *The Persians amongst the English, episodes in Anglo-Persian history*, London 1985, 74-81, 119-20.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MU<u>SH</u>ĪR ḤUSAYN ḲIDWĀʾĪ, Indian lawyer and politician (1878-1937), born at Gadia, Bārābankī district, and educated at Lucknow and London (Barrister-at-Law).

He received the Order of ʿO<u>th</u>māniyya from the Sultan of Turkey, and proposed the idea of the *And̲juman-i <u>Kh</u>uddām-i Kaʿba* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (1913-18) for the protection of Mecca and other holy places as a reaction to the Turco-Italian and Balkan wars (Y.B. Mathur, *Muslims and changing India*, Delhi 1972, 145-64). He played a leading part in the <u>Kh</u>ilāfat Movement [*q.v.*] representing the militant trend within the movement, presiding over the Awadh <u>Kh</u>ilāfat Conference in May 1920 at Faizabad (Fayḍābād), and was also active in the All-India Muslim League (AIML) in the 1920s; he took part in its enquiry into the Mapilla uprising (1921) and was a member of the AIML committee to frame a scheme of constitution for India (1924). Elected to the central legislature three times since 1924, he became the leader of the Socialist group there, and a member of the Council of State (1931 till his death). He was furthermore the president of the non-communal All-India Independent League. A keen gardener, his name is immortalised in the "Kidway" rose; he died on 23 December 1937. His published works included *The future of the Moslem empire*, London 1919; *Swaraj and how to obtain it*, Lucknow 1924; *Pan-Islamism and Bolshevism*, London 1937; and *Woman under different social and religious laws*, repr. Delhi 1976. His Urdu poems are collected in *Nāla-i Mu<u>sh</u>īr* and *Nāma-i Mu<u>sh</u>īr*.

Bibliography (in addition to the works cited above): *Who's who in India, Burma and Ceylon*, Poona 1938; J.C. Ker, *Political trouble in India*, Calcutta 1973, 356 f., 396 f.; F. Robinson, *Separatism among the Indian Muslims*, Cambridge 1974, 379 f.; Naresh Kumar Jain, *Muslims in India*, Delhi 1983, ii, 22 f.; Riaz-ur-Rahman Kidwai, *Biographical sketch of Kidwais of Avadh*, Aligarh 1987, 122-9.

(ẒAFARUL-ISLĀM <u>KH</u>ĀN)

MU<u>SH</u>RIF (A.), active participle from the form IV verb *a<u>sh</u>rafa*, literally "overseer, supervisor, controller", the title of an official who appears at various times and with various duties in the history of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and its successor states, from the Ma<u>gh</u>rib to the eastern Islamic lands.

1. In the Arab and Persian lands.

The office of *ishrāf* seems basically to have been a financial one. The supervision of financial operations was in the first century or so of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate usually entrusted to the *dīwān al-zimām/al-azimma* [see DĪWĀN. i. The caliphate]; in the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim, the inspector appointed to control the actions of his vizier al-Faḍl b. Marwān was called a *zammām* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1183). By the early 4th/10th century, however, *mushrif* is regularly used for inspectors sent out to the provinces to check financial affairs there, e.g. it is used for the inspector sent out by the vizier al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān in 287/900 to investigate the estates of the Banu 'l-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT] in the Wāsiṭ region (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farādj, Cairo 1958, 150-1; cf. also D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 353, 457, 468, 474, 661).

Under the Umayyads of al-Andalus, the *mushrif* was in the 4th/10th century likewise an inspector in the provinces sent out by the central treasury in Cordova (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 40). Then the office seems to have been inherited from the Umayyad administration by the Berber dynasties of North Africa, for there is mentioned one Ibn al-Khayyār al-Djayyānī who was *mushrīf* of Fās at the end of the Almoravid rule there. Then *mushrifs* are regularly mentioned in the towns of Morocco and the eastern Maghrib all through the Almohad period and in Ifrīḳiya under the Ḥafṣids (J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary until the sixth century of the Hijra*, London 1958, 51-2; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, 67-8). The Ḥafṣid *mushrif*, in particular, was concerned with the levying of customs duties, and this may have been likewise the case latterly in Muslim Spain, for P. de Alcala has the mediaeval Spanish form *almoxarife*, modern Spanish *almojarife* (see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 750).

Turning to the central and eastern Islamic world, under the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*], one aspect of the duties of the *mushrif* continued to be financial. Thus when in 422/1031 Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd's new vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī [*q.v.*] made an investigation of the sultan's wealth, he made the treasurers (*khāzinān*) and *mushrifān* bring forward their accounts and documents of financial assignments (Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 158). But in the early Ghaznawid sultanate, the *mushrifs* were also spies and internal intelligence agents; the suspicious rulers would, as a matter of course, set *mushrifs* to watch over the activities of their military commanders, provincial governors and even the royal princes. and this intelligence system was organised from a special *dīwān*, that of the *shughl-i ishrāf-i mamlakat*. The two great mediaeval Persian Mirrors for Princes, the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] and the *Adab al-ḥarb wa 'l-shadjāʿa* or *Ādāb al-mulūk* of Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārak-Shāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.], devote considerable space to the *mushrif* and his duties, and their information must relate to Ghaznawid and then Saldjūḳ and Ghūrid practices. In both of these works, the inspectorial function is emphasised. Niẓām al-Mulk states that the *mushrif* at the court should have deputies in the provinces to oversee the collectors of taxes, whilst Fakhr-i Mudabbir has a lengthy review of the *mushrif*'s responsibilities, including inspection of the state workshops, the stables and supplies of fodder, the kitchens, etc., whilst it is further stressed that he should always be present on the battle field to extract the ruler's fifth of captured plunder (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. ix, ed. Darke[1], 78, tr. idem, 66; *Adab al-ḥarb*, India Office ms. 647, ch. vii, fols. 40b-41b [not in the incomplete printed edition of Aḥmad Khʷānsarī, Tehran 1346/1967]; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 144-5; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 72, 94-5).

Under the Great Saldjūḳs, the *mushrif-i mamālik* had, as with the Ghaznawids, some intelligence duties, but the *dīwān-i ishrāf-i mamālik* in the reign of Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*] was mainly concerned with the auditing and supervision of the finances. He had subordinate *mushrifs* in the provinces who supervised the collection and disbursement of the taxes, inspected the growing crops and the harvest, watched over the running of the markets and the coining of money, etc.; these officials received their salaries (*marsūm*) from the provincial revenues (investiture diploma for a *mushrif* in the *inshāʾ* collection of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Mayhanī, see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Großselğūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 11-12, 38-9, 57, 133-4; A.K.S. Lambton, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 258-9). Headship of the *dīwān-i ishrāf* was often a stepping-stone to higher office: Kamāl al-Mulk Simīrumī was appointed Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh's *mushrif* through the influence of the sultan's wife Gawhar Khātūn, and later in the reign became *mustawfī* [*q.v.*] and then vizier to Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad; the caliphal vizier in this same century (the 6th/12th), ʿAwn al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*], was, early in his career, *mushrif al-makhzan* in al-Muḳtafī's treasury, responsible for the caliphal estates on the west bank of the Tigris (H. Mason, *Two statesmen of mediaeval Islam*, The Hague 1972, 16; C.L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vizierate, a study of civil administration 1055-1194*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 18, 42, 51, 65).

In the Egypt and Syria of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, the title *mushrif* was known, on the evidence of al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 454), who says that the *mushrif* in these states was in charge of the royal kitchens, watching over the food cooked there, and responsible to the *ustād-dār al-ṣuḥba*. Subsequent usage of the term seems, however, to have been mainly in the eastern Islamic world. In Īl-Khānid Persia, the *mushrif al-mamālik* was one of two or more financial officals assisting the head of finances, the *mustawfī 'l-mamālik*, this last person being, in B. Fragner's surmise, the prototype of the Ṣafawid *darūghā-yi daftar-khāna* (*Camb. hist. of Iran*, vi, 554). By Ṣafawid times, in fact, *mushrif* seems to have designated middle-level inspectors and supervisors; Chardin states that the *mushrif* ("mouchref ou écrivain") was one of the overseers of the state or palace household workshops (*buyūtāt*) (V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, GMS, London 1943, 30, 158), but the *Tadhkīrat al-mulūk* itself lists several other *mushrifs* besides this one, from that of the royal treasury to those of the falcon-house and the arsenal (*ibid.*, tr. 93-5).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In Muslim India.

Before the reign of the Tughluḳid Fīrūz Shāh, the *mushrif-i mamālik* was essentially the accountant-general, ranking immediately below the *wazīr* and the *nāʾib wazīr* in the *dīwān-i wazāra*; the office of auditor-general was filled by the *mustawfī al-mamālik* (Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., 419; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., 24). A redistribution (or possibly a re-definition of the status quo) in the time of Fīrūz Shāh left the *mushrif* dealing with income and the *mustawfī* with expenditure (ʿAfīf, 409-10). The *mushrif*, assisted by a *nāẓir*, supervised the collection of revenues over the

entire sultanate through local staffs, and was also responsible for the audit of local accounts (ʿAfīf, 420); a *mus͟hrif* also inspected crops in order to determine the government share (Baranī, *op. cit.*, 288 f.), where the word seems to refer to a local government official rather than to an officer of state.

By the time of S͟hēr S͟hāh, the *mus͟hrif* was an official under the *s͟hiḳḳdār*, the administrator of a *s͟hiḳḳ* or *pargana*; the word seems to be used loosely as synonymous with *amīn* and *munṣif*, although ʿAbbās Sarwānī (B.L. ms. Or. 164, fol. 73b) says that a *mus͟hrif*'s duty was to assess the produce of the crops, and an *amīn*'s to assess the damage caused to crops through movements of armies.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Burton-Page)

MUS͟HRIK [see s͟hirk].

al-**MUS͟HTARĪ**, the planet Jupiter, Pers. *Hurmizd* < *Aurmazd* (*Ahura-mazdāh*). The name of the planet is in Sumerian *S͟hulpaʾe*, later also *Mulu-babbar* "the white star" (= Μολοβαβαρ in Hesychios; cf. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Heidelberg 1925, ii, 404); in the later Akkadian period it is always identified with the numen supremum Marduk (Biblical Merodach). In Hebrew it is called *Ṣedeḳ*, in Greek — just as among the Babylonians, as the symbol of the highest deity — *ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἀστήρ*. As a synonym of al-Mus͟htarī we find (e.g. in *Ḥadīt͟h*) the name *Bard͟jīs* (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii, 323).

The Arab astronomers, like Pythagoras and Ptolemy, put Jupiter in the sixth sphere (*falak*) from within, i.e. the third from without. On the interior it adjoins the outer surface of the sphere of Mars and on the exterior the inner surface of the sphere of Saturn. The following table gives the least, mean and greatest distance of Jupiter from the centre of the earth, expressed in radii of the earth, as given by al-Battānī (*Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ch. 50), al-Farg͟hānī (*Compilatio*, ch. 21), Ibn Rusta (18-20) and Abrāhām bar Ḥīyā (*Sphaera mundi*, ch. 9), as well as the Hindu values given by al-Bīrūnī from the compilation by Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ of the year 161/777-8, and the modern figures for these distances.

	least distance (*perigree*)	
al-Battānī	8,022	rad. of the earth
al-Farg͟hānī	8,876	,,
Ibn Rusta	8,820	,,
Bar Ḥīyā	8,000	,,
Hindu (al-Bīrūnī)	$8{,}019^{1}/21$	,,
Modern	92,500	,,

	mean distance	
	10,473	rad. of the earth
	11,640½	,,
	11,503½	,,
	10,200	,,
	$10{,}866^{2}/3$	,,
	122,250	,,

	greatest distance (*apogee*)	
	12,924	rad. of the earth
	14,405	,,
	14,187	,,
	12,400	,,
	$13{,}714^{2}/7$	,,
	152,000	,,

The radius of the earth is here estimated at 3,250 (al-Battānī, al-Farg͟hānī and Bar Ḥīyā) and 3,818 Arab miles respectively (Ibn Rusta) while, according to al-Bīrūnī, the Hindus give it as 1,050 *farsak͟hs* = 3,150 Arab miles (1 Ar. m. = 1,973 metres; cf. Nallino, *Il valore metrico del grado di meridiano*). The true geocentric distances of the planet Jupiter are actually about 11½ times greater than given by al-Battānī for example. It should, however, be pointed out that the relation of 37 : 23° $1^{11}/18$ for the greatest and least observed apparent diameter taken by this scholar, with the help of which the distance of the apogee was calculated from the estimated distance of the perigree at 8,022 radii of the earth, agrees remarkably well with the modern estimate. The apparent diameter of Jupiter at the mean distance is given by al-Battānī as $^{1}/12$ of the diameter of the sun. From this and the mean distance he calculates the true diameter of Jupiter at $4^{1}/3$ diameters of the earth (= $8^{2}/3$ radii), and its volume at 81 times that of the earth (i.e. $4^{1}/3^{3}$). The true values are 2.56 (i.e. 170 times larger): diameter of Jupiter = 11.14 diameters of the earth, volume = 1,380 times the volume of the earth.

Following Ptolemy (*Almagest*), al-Battānī gives the greatest observed northern (geocentric) latitude as 2° 4', the greatest southern as 2° 8'. On the other hand, he points out (chs. 31 and 45) that he found the length of the apogee of the eccentric circle from his observations to be about 8° smaller (in 265/879, 164° 28') than was to be expected from the *Almagest*, taking into account the precession.

The movement of Jupiter is, as in the *Almagest*, represented to be through four circles (*aflāk*) (cf. al-Battānī, *Op. astr.*, ch. 31). The astronomical tables take for its mean daily sidereal motion the value of 5'. Its period of sidereal revolution is given by al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āt͟hār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 26) at 11 years, 10 months, 15 days.

Al-Mus͟htarī in astrology. Al-Mus͟htarī is the ruler (*rabb*) of the *Buyūt al-Rāmī* (Sagittarius, night-house) and *al-Ḥūt* (Pisces, day-house), also night-ruler of the 1. *Mut͟hallat͟ha* (*Triquetrum*), which consist of *al-Ḥamal* (Aries), *al-Asad* (Leo) and *al-Rāmī* (Sagittarius), whose ruler by day is the sun, and finally companion (*rafīḳ*) of the 3 *Mut͟hallat͟has*. It has its *s͟haraf* (exaltation) in the 15° of *al-Saraṭān* (Cancer), its *hubūṭ* in the 15° of *al-D͟jady* (Capricorn). According to al-Ḳazwīnī (i, 22), "the astrologers call al-Mus͟htarī the larger star of fortune", *al-Saʿd al-akbar*, because its good influence surpasses that of Venus; they attribute to it numerous happy states and the greatest good fortune. The idea that the planet Jupiter is a star of good fortune is general among other peoples also; we also find it in Babylonia, India and China. For further details of the part played by Jupiter in Arab astrology, see the works of Abū Maʿs͟har.

Bibliography: See those to ʿuṭārid and minṭaḳat al-burūd͟j. (W. Hartner)

MUS͟HTARIK or Mus͟htarak (a.), the active or passive participles of the form VIII verb *is͟htaraka* "to be associated with, common to". Al-D͟jurd͟jānī defines the term as qualifying a noun "which has come into use for its multiple meanings, like the word *ʿayn*, because of its association with several meanings". In Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), the term qualifies a noun associated with a certain number of meanings, i.e., a noun which can have several meanings. As used by modern linguists, it denotes "polysemy".

This is the name which al-Zamak͟hs͟harī gives to the fourth part of his *K. al-Mufaṣṣal*, in which he treats of phonetic phenomena which are "common" to the three parts of discourse or to two of them only. These phenomena are nine in number: the inclination of the vowel /a/ towards the vowel /i/; pause; the lightening

of the glottal stop (*hamza*); the coming together of two quiescent letters; and the letters inserted within other letters. In his commentary, Ibn Yaʿīsh takes especial care to justify the vocalisation *mushtarak*, for he observes that, since the verb *ishtaraka* is intransitive, it cannot be used in the passive except when it is followed by a preposition and a pronoun which stands for the subject; one must accordingly understand *fī-hi*, and read *mushtarak fī-hi*.

Bibliography: Djurdjānī, *K. al-Taʿrīfāt*, Beirut 1969, 229-30; M.A. Goichon, *Introduction à Avicenne, son épitre des définitions*, Paris 1933, 34; eadem, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, 160-1; eadem, *Avicenne, Livre des définitions*, Cairo 1963, 13, 19; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, Būlāḳ, ix, 53. (G. Troupeau)

MŪSĪḲĪ, later **MŪSĪḲĀ**, music.

1. Theory. *Mūsīḳī* denotes, strictly speaking, the theory of music, and contrasts therefore with *ghināʾ*, song (i.e., musical practice). But the distinction is not rigidly maintained —the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ even equate the two— and the term *mūsīḳī* is not associated particularly with the works of Greek-inspired theorists, even though its Greek origin is normally acknowledged. It is typically defined as the science of the composition of melodies (*taʾlīf al-alḥān*), but the use of e.g. *mūsīḳārī* to denote the performer clearly shows the tendency, which has increased through time, for its meaning to encompass music in general (excluding only specifically religious genres such as Ḳurʾānic cantillation — for the religious controversy over the legality of music see samāʿ). Normal in modern Arabic is such phraseology as *al-mūsīḳā al-shaʿbiyya* "popular music", while in Persian we have e.g. *mūsīḳī-yi maḥallī* and in Turkish *halk musıkisi* "folk music" (in Turkish *musikilmusıki* has now also to compete with the French-derived *müzik*). Here, however, discussion will be confined to theory, broadly understood, practice being covered in the articles ghināʾ and maḳām.

Beginnings. If the first great achievements in this field are to be found in the 3rd/9th-century treatises of al-Kindī, it should not be thought that the subject begins with him, nor that it is to be identified solely with the elaboration of the Hellenic legacy. Although the works of earlier writers have failed to survive, there is ample evidence of musical speculation, and many of the main concerns of the first two centuries of Islam can be established from the abundant material preserved in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. One theme that emerges clearly, but is only sporadically tackled by later theorists, is that of origins, together with an interest in change viewed in historical perspective. Not surprisingly, there is no general creation myth for music (although a mythical origin is provided for various instruments: the invention of the *ʿūd* (lute), for example, is ascribed to Lamak [*q.v.*], who constructed it, in order to mourn his son, on the analogy of parts of his dead body), but rather conjecture as to the identity of the primitive genres of Arab music. According to a commonly held, if not unanimous, view the *ḥudāʾ* (cameleer's song), the earliest genre, contrasts with *ghināʾ*, under which three types are subsumed, *naṣb*, *sinād* and *hazadj*, the last two being related antithetically, the former characterised as "heavy", the latter as "light". Behind such speculative (but not unreasonable) reconstructions may be detected an awareness of functional differentiation, of the contrast, say, between work-songs and entertainment music. Further, a realisation of the separate status of ceremonial music may be discerned in the fact that the *nawḥ* (lament) fails to be integrated into such schemes.

Given this presumed pre-Islamic background, fleshed out by legendary accounts of musicians, mainly *ḳiyān* (singing slave-girls) [see ḳayna], the transition to the evidently different discriminations between 3rd/9th-century genres could not be ignored, and accounts of the development of music in the first century of Islam are inevitably dominated by the themes of change and innovation. The latter received special attention, particular individuals being singled out as the first to introduce a certain technique, instrument, style or genre in a given area or social context.

If we can speak here of a latent historiography, more specifically theoretical concerns are to be detected in the growing precision of vocabulary and nuance of definition encountered in such fields as modal and rhythmic categorisation and discussions of performance technique. At one end of the scale the Umayyad singer Ibn Suraydj's concise catalogue of the qualities sought in a good singer (*Aghānī*, i, 315; Farmer, *History*, 73) shows a keen awareness of a wide range of subtleties, while at the other, the great variety of materials presented in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* can be seen to illustrate, and demonstrate an interest in, many aspects of music-making that have become the particular concern of ethnomusicology in the 20th century: musical training, for example, transmission of repertoire, the economics of the profession, the organisation and nature of the performance context, and the relationship between musician and audience (on these aspects see Sawa, *Music performance practice*). Justly recognised as a document of incomparable value in the fields of social and literary history, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* contains in addition a fund of ideas about music, however anecdotal their presentation, that place it alongside more technical treatises as a primary source, and especially for any study of what Farmer has felicitously called "practical theory", i.e., that which directly engages with, and emerges out of, contemporary practice.

Early theorising approaches most closely what will be the dominant concerns of the major scholars from al-Kindī on in the more formal domain of modal and rhythmic categorisation. As a matter of routine, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* will identify in relation to a given song text both the poet and the composer and also the melodic mode and the rhythmic cycle. For earlier pieces, however, the definition of the mode, although not that of the rhythmic cycle, may be omitted, suggesting that during the Umayyad period the modal system may have been less clearly articulated; certainly the most precise formulation of this kind of information is associated with pieces transmitted on the authority of Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī (150-235/767-850 [*q.v.*]), and it may well be to him that should be attributed the final explicit codification of the system of eight melodic modes and eight rhythmic cycles. He is credited with having worked out definitions of a lute-fretting independently of the Greek theoretical sources that were beginning to be translated, and he is certainly one of the main authorities used by Yaḥyā b. al-Munadjdjim (d. 300/912 [see munadjdjim, banu 'l-]) in his short and somewhat enigmatic *risāla*, the source on which all attempts to reconstruct the early modal system must be based (the various interpretations are reviewed in Shawḳī, *Risālat Ibn al-Munadjdjim*). But if controversy still surrounds the structure of the modes, the nature of the lute fretting is clear, and is essentially the same as that propounded by the first of the Greek-inspired theorists, al-Kindī [*q.v.*], in the mid 3rd/9th century. (Despite the evidently imported nature of some of his concepts, al-Kindī articulates scale structures in terms of frettings,

whether real or ideal, on the fingerboard of the Arab lute, an approach followed by all major theorists down to the 9th/15th century.)

The philosophers. For both Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī and al-Kindī, the basic scale is Pythagorean diatonic. In this system the subtraction of a perfect fourth (4/3) from a perfect fifth (3/2) yields a (major) whole tone (9/8). Two whole tones make a (slightly sharp) major third of 408 cents (81/64) which, when subtracted from the fourth, yields a semitone of 90 cents, termed limma, while the subtraction of the limma from the whole tone yields a slightly larger semitone of 114 cents termed apotome [see also MAḲĀM]. For Isḥāḳ the fretting on any one of the four strings of the *ʿūd* will yield the sequence whole tone, limma, apotome, limma, e.g., *c d e♭ e♮ f*. Al-Kindī adds a fifth string, but this is a notional entity designed to encompass the two octaves of the Greek greater perfect system, the tuning of the strings being in fourths throughout, e.g., *G-c-f-b♭(-e♭')*. (It is in this area of analysis, in particular, that theory will justify the placing of music among the mathematical sciences, the medieval *quadrivium*, in such classificatory works as the 4th/10th-century *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm* of al-Fārābī and the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-Kh^w^ārazmī [*q.vv.*].) But al-Kindī is also aware of practical considerations: he lists variant tunings in which the pitch of the lowest string is changed to reinforce a modally significant note, and gives a detailed account of an elementary lute exercise.

The several short treatises attributed to al-Kindī are quite eclectic. They not only encompass material of a descriptive, scientific nature (the Aristotelian end of the spectrum), but also deal with the doctrine of ethos, cosmological affiliations and numerology (the Neo-Platonic end). On the former side we may note, further, schematic outlines of melodic movement which interestingly imply visual metaphors (through such terms as *lawlabī* "spiral", *ḍafīr* "braid" and *muwashshaḥ* "girdled"); and a descriptive account of the rhythmic cycles used in his day which is in some respects puzzling and imprecise, possibly because it is a pioneer attempt not relying on previous analytical models. (Later treatments of rhythm will be more obviously indebted for their concepts and terminology to prosody — not for nothing is al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] sometimes invoked as a founding father.)

Al-Kindī also gives the earliest account of the dimensions and construction of the *ʿūd* [*q.v.*, and also MALĀHĪ]. For the most part, however, he uses instruments as props for sets of associations, normally related to the number of strings: the basic four strings of the *ʿūd*, for example, allow connections to be made with the elements, humours, seasons, and points of the compass, while in the *Kitāb al-Muṣawwitāt al-watariyya* various instruments are ordered according to the number of strings, from one to eight, each with particular associations: to that with two strings, for example, is related a sequence of pairs beginning day/night, sun/moon, and essence/accident, while its seven frets match the days of the week and the seven heavenly bodies. Such apparently gratuitous assemblages form part of a wider theory of correspondences involving also, according to al-Kindī, the right choice of rhythmic cycle to fit the time of day and the mood of the poem being set. Aspects of the same psychology of music that will be further developed by later writers concern the effects of music on the soul and the emotions, and the belief in its therapeutic value, while cosmological affiliations will in later centuries crystallise around particular sets of melodic modes (see Neubauer, *Arabische Anleitungen zur Musiktherapie*).

Cosmology and numerology are, however, largely ignored by the next two great theorists, al-Farābī and Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*]: indeed, by the latter they are brusquely dismissed. Their works represent the first great peak of scientific enquiry, utilising and building upon Greek sources, especially in such areas as the physics of sound and the technical analysis of intervals and scales with particular reference to the various tetrachord species. (The full history of the transmission of Greek musical ideas into Arabic has still to be written (for a general survey see d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, ii, 257-306), but it is clear that the main sources, directly or indirectly, are Aristotle, Aristoxenos, Euclid, Nicomachos and, above all, Ptolemy, through whom others are filtered.)

The *Kitāb al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr* of al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) has been justly praised as an outstanding intellectual achievement. Despite the range of interests exhibited by al-Kindī, little in the preceding literature anticipates its scope and analytical profundity. Its qualities are demonstrated at the outset in an extensive methodological introduction beginning with basic concepts (of music itself and its production; and of the discriminating and creative faculties) and marked by rigorously logical argumentation. The Aristotelian tone is reinforced by repeated reference to the *Posterior Analytics* as the introduction proceeds with such topics as types of melody (viewed as evolving towards a present state of perfection) and classes of instruments (the highest status accorded those that most closely approximate to the human voice). Consideration of theory —to which practice is deemed temporally and logically prior— begins with a distinction within *laḥn*, melody, of essentials (*uṣūl*) and non-essentials (*tazyīdāt*) that echoes the conceptualisations of practising musicians, and proceeds to a discussion of questions of scale. The means of demonstration is again the fingerboard of the *ʿūd*, with the addition of al-Kindī's hypothetical fifth string to complete the second octave. Insistence on being able to produce all the notes of one octave in the other leads to an increase in the number of frets postulated, and al-Farābī also goes beyond the Pythagorean confines of al-Kindī's (and Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī's) fretting by introducing a neutral third (*wusṭā zalzal*). Here al-Fārābī is reflecting current practice, as also in maintaining the mutual exclusivity of the notes produced by the second (*wusṭā*) and third (*binṣir*) fingers. The remainder of the introduction and, after an initial discussion of the physics of sound, the beginning of the second part, are devoted to intervallic analysis (definitions, addition, subtraction), and to the combination of intervals within a fourth, that is, to the exposition of various tetrachord species. Here the link with contemporary practice is broken: many of the species listed (particularly among the chromatic and enharmonic sets) can have had no place in the Arab music of the day, and this part of the work is quite clearly indebted to, and a synthesis of, Greek theory. The emphasis becomes even clearer in the ensuing treatment of the greater perfect system and the dispositions of the tetrachord species within it — a topic that will also recur in later sections.

Just as theoretical, but independently constructed, is al-Fārābī's treatment of rhythm. This can be viewed as a daring attempt, not to analyse just the rhythmic cycles in use, but to construct a global classification able, through the use of variables, to account for virtually any possible cycle, flexibility being provided by the disjunct (*mufaṣṣal*) cycles, made up of feet of differing lengths. Al-Fārābī also introduces the concept, used by later theorists, of a

disjunction (*fāṣila*) between cycles: a cycle is deemed to terminate not with the last time unit preceding the onset of the next but with the last time unit marked in the basic percussion pattern. Other works by al-Fārābī devoted solely to rhythm (Neubauer, *Die Theorie vom Īḳāʿ*) give a rather different picture, concentrating more on existing cycles and on the many techniques of differentiation applied to them (Sawa, *Music performance practice*).

Further important topics covered in the *Kitāb al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr* are instruments and melodic structure. Treatment of the former is revelatory, but at the same time restricted, dwelling almost entirely upon the scale-systems associated with each instrument: there is virtually nothing, despite the model of al-Kindī's account of the lute, on construction, dimensions, materials or context of use. Not surprisingly, given the emphasis on pitch discriminations, there is no mention of percussion, and the initial classification simply separates strings from wind, dividing the former in two ways: plucked or bowed, stopped or open. Extraordinary in the material on scale is its sheer variety. If we ignore the extended treatment of theoretically possible frettings and the schematic presentation of variant tunings, we are left with radically different scales associated with the *ʿūd*, the *ṭunbūr bag̲h̲dādī* (which had, originally, a most curious quartertone fretting yielding a total range of less than a fourth), the *ṭunbūr k̲h̲urāsānī* (the scale of which is analysed in terms foreshadowing the later Systematist scale), and the *rabāb* [*q.v.*] (the earliest attested bowed instrument). We are evidently faced here with material taken from different analytical traditions, but in contrast to the composite fretting of the lute, which in some areas superimposes alternative definitions, there is no real attempt at integration, and it may be that the various instruments were associated with particular regional and still markedly different idioms.

Melodic structure is considered in two ways: in relation to the text, and to pitch organisation. Melismatic and syllabic styles of setting are explored, as are aesthetic aspects of phonology and voice production. As with rhythm, the treatment of melodic shape is largely schematic and is to be seen more as a codification of possible combinational patterns than as an attempt to describe contemporary melodic norms. It was, nevertheless, to be influential, being reproduced by several later theorists.

Ibn Sīnā's (d. 428/1037) major contribution to the theory of music is contained in a chapter of the *Kitāb al-S̲h̲ifāʾ*. There are, in addition, two slighter (and nearly identical) texts, one Persian (in the *Dānis̲h̲nāma-yi ʿalāʾī*), the other Arabic (in the *Kitāb al-Nad̲j̲āt*), but these add nothing new. The treatment of music in the *Kitāb al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* is considerably briefer than that provided by al-Fārābī, is necessarily narrower in scope, and fails to break much new ground; but it is in some ways more logical in its organisation. Of particular interest in the introduction are the ideas about the nature of sound, seen ultimately as a signalling device designed to help preserve the species, but also as a means of expression that can be used to aesthetic effect. Although by no means identical, the following treatment of intervals (involving definitions, consonance ranking, addition and subtraction) and scalar analysis is clearly dependent on the model provided by al-Fārābī, while the examination of tetrachord species is carried even further to include one or two species not derived from Greek sources — a clear indication of the ways in which areas of theory could develop as autonomous fields of speculation increasingly divorced from practice.

There follows an extensive treatment of rhythm, again indebted to al-Fārābī, and employing the same technique of including variables to construct generic structures comprising cycles with differing totals of time units as well as differing patterns of percussions. Instruments are then briefly considered, of particular interest being the organological classification. For chordophones Ibn Sīnā adds to al-Fārābī's criteria a distinction regarding the mounting of the strings, and differentiates between aerophones according to whether the air stream passes through a hole, across a reed, or is produced from a reservoir. Pitchless percussion instruments are again ignored, and the chapter concludes with a lute fretting to which is appended a definition of the intervallic structure of some of the best known melodic modes of his day.

Modal analysis was to become one of the major concerns of the Systematist school, but some two hundred years separate the *Kitāb al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* from the *Kitāb al-Adwār*, the earlier of the two treatises by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī, its first and most influential theorist. The intervening period is one from which there are very few works of theoretical interest, the only one of real note being the *al-Kāfī fī 'l-mūsīḳī* by Ibn Zaylā (d. 440/1048 [*q.v.*]), a pupil of Ibn Sīnā, and it may well be that the apparent decline in theoretical writing, particularly of the more scientifically and mathematically oriented kind, is to be causally linked with the eclipse of philosophy as a major intellectual concern. It is true that many works of these, as of earlier centuries, have failed to survive, but unlikely that there were any subsequent to the lost treatise of Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a (d. 533/1139 [*q.v.*]) that might have rivalled those of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. At the same time, it should be emphasised that the Aristotelian tradition they represent was not the only one to produce significant writings about music, and the Neo-Platonic tradition that they rejected was to prove, with its emphasis on numerology and cosmological affiliations, extremely durable, reaching its first important expression, after the initial exploratory forays of al-Kindī, in the *risāla* on music of the Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ (4th/10th century [*q.v.*]). This relates the rhythms and the strings of the *ʿūd* to a more elaborate series of associations, headed by the seasons, which includes also colours and perfumes, integrating such material under the general notion of a cosmic harmony governed by ideal numerical relationships which yield the music of the spheres. Related concepts of equilibrium inform discussion of the moral and medical effects of music. But practice is not wholly ignored: definitions, however opaque, are given for the rhythmic cycles, and details on proportions and construction are given for the lute. On the more strictly scientific side the *risāla* is noteworthy above all for a clear expression of the theory of the spherical propagation of sound. Nevertheless, the *risāla* is perhaps less remarkable for its handling of any one issue that for the way in which all contribute towards a broad educational and ethical design: it is not without significance that the *risāla* concludes with aphorisms on music culled from the philosophers and anecdotes about religious ecstasy.

A further work from the same period that deserves mention is the *Kamāl Adab al-g̲h̲ināʾ* of al-Ḥasan al-Kātib (late 4th/10th or early 5th/11th century). This presents a unique combination of materials derived from earlier theorists (it preserves, interestingly, fragments from a lost work by al-Sarak̲h̲sī (d. 286/899), a pupil of al-Kindī) combined with extensive discussions of areas of interest to practising musicians. The former are less interesting than the latter,

which include examination of such issues as aesthetics, etiquette and deportment in performance, and investigation of an unexpectedly rich vocabulary of technical terms relating to instrumental performance and, in particular, voice production and quality. A similar range of topics is also dealt with in a slightly later work of the same genre, the *Ḥāwī al-funūn* of Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān (5th/11th century).

The Systematists. Such a prolongation of the concerns of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* will recur only fitfully in later writings. The most influential of all later treatises, the *Kitāb al-Adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 693/1294), which ushered in the Systematist school in the first half of the 7th/13th century and was to be commented on, copied many times, and translated, reverts to the theoretical high ground previously covered by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. A compressed but precise work, it proceeds by alternating innovatory and traditional material, making its principal contributions in the fields of scale; the use of a consonance grading to generate the tetrachord types found in practice; modal analysis; the description of the rhythmic cycles in current use; and notation. The scale system, derived from that of al-Fārābī's *ṭunbūr khurāsānī*, has the cardinal virtues of coherence and symmetry; the octave is divided into two tetrachords plus whole tone, each tetrachord into two whole tones plus limma, and each whole tone into two limmas plus comma (the comma being the difference between limma and apotome). For purposes of presentation and analysis the neutral seconds and thirds of practice were thus adjusted upwards to (minor) whole tone and (virtually just intonation) major third respectively, but these and other distortions were insufficient to prevent the enthusiastic adoption of this system by all the major theorists of the next two centuries, most of whom explicitly recognise their indebtedness to Ṣafī al-Dīn. They also take over his modal analysis, which over-emphasises the octave as a structural framework, and probably disguises one important tetrachord type, but otherwise allows fairly realistic representations of scale structure.

Where the speculative theorist takes over is in the systematic utilisation of all 17 degrees of the octave for transposition games, and in the importation of essentially redundant material from al-Fārābī, on tetrachord species and melodic movement, into his second and more extensive (but less original) treatise, the *Risāla al-sharafiyya*. A more significant contribution is his analysis of rhythm, again characterised by clarity of presentation and general economy of means. After an initial exposition of technique, using a straightforward equivalent of the prosodic foot to indicate combinations of time units (a short syllable representing one time unit, a long two), attention is concentrated on representing the basic set of common rhythmic cycles, the appropriate syllable sequence being qualified by a verbal statement of the number and position of those time units marked by a percussion. Thus *thaḳīl awwal*, for example, is given as *tanan tanan tananan tan tananan*, i.e., 16 time units, with the first time unit of each foot marked by a percussion, giving an internal 3 + 3 + 4 + 2 + 4 pattern. This information is then represented in the form of a circle, the syllabic outline, coupled with symbols for the presence or absence of percussions, being inscribed around the perimeter. (Such circles, which give the *K. al-Adwār* its name, are also used to indicate the number of consonant relationships in some of the modes, shown as lines across the circle joining the notes in question inscribed around the perimeter.) The only drawback to Ṣafī al-Dīn's description of the rhythmic cycles is the insufficient detail it gives about variability: the extent to which percussions could be added (or suppressed), and the extent to which contrasts of timbre were an integral aspect of structure. But to voice this as a criticism might imply that the business of theory is to describe practice, and the relationship between the two is often by no means straightforward. Thus the fact that Ṣafī al-Dīn is the first theorist to supply examples of notation in some way relatable to music that was performed (Ibn Sīnā had promised to supply an example, but apparently failed to deliver) should not make us think that his purpose was to provide an accurate record of part of the repertoire: in a purely aurally transmitted tradition this would serve no useful purpose. Rather, his aim is as much to demonstrate a technique of notation as it is to manifest the melodic structure of particular forms. One of the instrumental examples may have been, quite deliberately, an archaic and technically elementary exercise having a solely pedagogic function; and it is significant that in his second and otherwise fuller treatise the total number of examples is reduced, as it also is in later works that draw from Ṣafī al-Dīn.

The one theorist who does, exceptionally, include a fully notated piece —a song by Ṣafī al-Dīn— is his first great successor, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (634/1236-710/1311 [*q.v.*]). His technical innovation consists of expanding Ṣafī al-Dīn's alphabetic and numerical representation of pitch and duration into a grid, the divisions along the horizontal axis representing time units, while the various superimposed layers provide for pitch, the text, a percussion part, indications of expression and dynamics, and specifications of changes of mode respectively (see Radjabov, *Maḳomlar*, 79-83). This unique example concludes a large-scale chapter in an encyclopaedia, the *Durrat al-tādj*, probably written a few years after Ṣafī al-Dīn's death, which breaks no new theoretical ground, but provides considerably more material on modal and rhythmic structures, showing in particular that the modal system allowed for a large number of looser concatenations of basic elements in addition to the fixed combinations making up the great majority of the modes recorded by Ṣafī al-Dīn. Most of the ensuing theoretical works of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries are also to a greater or less extent derivative of Ṣafī al-Dīn, either directly, or through the intermediary of the treatises of his most influential successor, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Marāghī (d. 839/1435) who, like Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, wrote in Persian. Of the various commentaries on the *Kitāb al-Adwār*, by far the most significant is the so-called *Sharḥ Mawlānā Mubārak Shāh bar adwār* (777/1375), a work that in its intellectual rigour and willingness to scrutinise and question basic concepts can be ranked alongside those of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. Equally important are the works of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, but less for their purely theoretical contributions than for the ways in which they reflect developments in musical practice. By reputation the greatest composer-performer of his day, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir sheds light on the major changes that had affected the systems of modes and rhythmic cycles (having himself made a significant contribution to the development of the latter by the invention of several new cycles including one, *ḍarb al-fatḥ*, that has survived, albeit much altered, into the modern period). But he also discusses areas that had received scant attention from earlier writers, notably form and instruments. In his major treatise, the *Djāmiʿ al-alḥān*, the catalogue of forms gives a succinct description of the major structural features of each, noting any

associations with particular rhythmic cycles and, more characteristically, with verse in a particular language or form. It is also juxtaposed with an extended analysis, including skeletal notation, of one piece, in which the various sections are clearly segmented and aspects of verse setting are illustrated, to the extent of exemplifying the possible interjection of passages of nonsense syllables between (and sometimes within) verse sections. His account of musical instruments enlarges on the coverage of the 8th/14th century *Kanz al-tuḥaf*, not in descriptive detail, lacking, for example, the outline drawings found in the earlier work, but in the number of examples considered. It presents information, arranged according to a broad string/wind/(pitched) percussion classification, on some 40 instruments drawn from various cultures (including Indian and Chinese) that were presumably to be encountered, even if only as curiosities, in Tīmūrid Central Asia. Little detail is given on structure, unfortunately, attention being concentrated on, say, the number of strings and their tuning.

The scientifically and mathematically dominated heritage of al-Fārābī and Ṣafī al-Dīn finds its last significant expression in the works of four mid- to late-9th/15th-century authors: the *Madjalla fi 'l-mūsīḳī* of Fatḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī (d. *ca.* 857/1453); the *Risāla al-fatḥiyya* and the *Zayn al-alḥān* of al-Lādhiḳī (of which a Turkish version also exists); the *Risāla dar mūsīḳī* (888/1483) of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Bannāʾī; and the *Muḳaddima-yi uṣūl* of ʿAlīshāh b. Būka Awbahī. The *Madjalla* exists in two versions, the second relying heavily on ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who is quoted extensively, but despite its indebtedness to previous theorists it does concern itself critically with definitions and the mathematical analysis of scale. The main value of al-Lādhiḳī's treatises is to be located in the material they contain on musical practice: the explicit contrast they draw between the usage of ancients and moderns as far as modal and rhythmic structures are concerned allows certain developments to be traced quite clearly.

Later literature. Of the many other surviving Arabic and Persian treatises of the 8th/14th to 12th/18th centuries few have been studied in any detail, and hardly any published. With the decline of Systematist theory the dominant tradition becomes yet again the cosmological, virtually always articulated with reference to the two canonic sets of melodic modes, the 12 *shudūd* and the 6 *āwāzāt* first recorded by Ṣafī al-Dīn. These are, inevitably, organised first in relation to the signs of the Zodiac, and then to an open-ended series of phenomena normally beginning with those that had already been referred to by al-Kindī and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, such as the elements and humours, and going on to encompass times of day, say, months, colour, sex, minerals and countries, as in, for example, the *Kitāb al-Luʾluʾ al-manẓūm* of Ibn Ṭūlūn. In Arabic, the form of expression is frequently the *urdjūza*, another reason for neglect, since in verse any descriptive content becomes allusive, elliptical and difficult to interpret without reference to other, more explicit, works which can render the consultation of such texts superfluous. Further, many works of the period are anonymous and hard to date with any precision, thus reducing their value as historical sources. But there are, inevitably, exceptions, and some would repay further study, including the 8th/14th century *Ghāyat al-maṭlūb* of Ibn Kurr, which initiates a tradition of modal description not through notational symbols relating to a pre-described fretting, but by specifying finger positions in relation to a fretting which the reader is assumed to know. This tradition is continued in a number of later anonymous works (the relationship between some of these has been studied by Shiloah, *Sources*, 394-8), among which may be mentioned the *Shadjara dhāt al-akmām*. Although this still contains faint echoes of Greek theory in its definitions, it proceeds to discuss scale in wholly non-mathematical terms, distinguishing merely a set of principal notes, termed *muṭlaḳ* (those of the *rāst* scale), from others intermediate between them (termed *muḳayyad*). The discrimination is presumably one made by practising musicians. The modes are then articulated in terms of these individually named notes, being defined in a way akin to that employed for contemporary usage by al-Lādhiḳī, and appearing in consequence as melodic matrices rather than, as generally with previous theorists, abstract scales. (A further, incidental, interest of this work is that it was the principal source for Villoteau's section on music in the *Description de l'Égypte*.) One other significant Arabic text of the period is the verse treatise of al-Ṣaydāwī, often copied and noteworthy for its attempt at a graphic representation of modal structure.

Apart from the major works of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir and ʿAlīshāh, the Persian texts of the period tend to be too derivative to be of great interest. The contributions of Āmulī and Djāmī, for example, largely repeat material from, respectively, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, and the latter's works are also relied upon quite heavily in the treatises of his son and grandson, composed, tactfully, after his death. Turkish writings are fewer in number, but by no means without significance. They include translations of key texts by Ṣafī al-Dīn and al-Lādhiḳī and, beginning with the mid-9th/15th-century treatise of Khiḍīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, works that differ somewhat in style and analytical approach from their Arabic and Persian equivalents. Among the more substantial of these is the *Maṭlaʿ fī bayān al-adwār* (910/1504), which contains a mixture of cosmological and descriptive materials presented in alternating verse and prose. But for factual content the most important work in Turkish, recording in sober prose an expository account, purged of virtually all cosmological accretions, of the main structural features of what is now a specifically Ottoman musical idiom, is the treatise by Cantemir (d. 1727), who also left a comprehensive record, in notation, of the instrumental repertoire of the day. His approach to scale is akin to that of the *Shadjara dhāt al-akmām*, but he provides a much fuller account of the modal system incorporating a parallel distinction between primary (*maḳām*) and secondary (*terkīb*) modes. He adopts, further, the circular presentation of Ṣafī al-Dīn for the rhythmic cycles, but indicates also contrasts of timbre through the use of the now standard *düm tek* mnemonics, giving therefore definitions of a type still current today. He also provides a full account of the vocal and instrument forms in vogue, including a description of the *faṣīl*, the suite-like sequence in which they were normally performed. Aspects of musical practice at the end of the 12th/18th century are recorded in the *Tedḳīḳ we taḥḳīḳ* of ʿAbd al-Bāḳī (d. 1821), noteworthy for its inclusion of examples of notation, while indebtedness to Cantemir's analysis is exhibited in a number of other treatises, the last of which is the *Edwār* of Hāshim Bey (1864) [see also MEHTER].

A number of Persian texts were written in Central Asia, others, particularly late works of the 11th/17th to early 13th/19th centuries, in India. The degree to which the former might reflect regional usages is not easy to determine, but they certainly fail to provide evidence to help date the emergence of the now dominant *shashmaḳom* tradition (see Jung, *Quellen*, 1989).

The latter, in contrast, betray their origin readily enough. Although comparative material is sometimes present (lists of *maḳām/rāg* equivalences, for example), there is little hint of cultural symbiosis, and it is clear that the majority of this group (the corpus as a whole still awaits critical evaluation) reflect specifically Indian practices and concepts, being heavily influenced by (when not actually translations of) the Sanskrit literature on music [see HIND. viii. Music].

The modern period. Assuming the continuing existence of the neutral intervals first noted in association with Zalzal at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the descriptive accounts of Cantemir and the *Shadjara dhāt al-akmām* imply the existence of an approximate quartertone, and it is in relation to this (and a theoretical octave of twenty-four intervals derived from it) that modern Arab ideas of scale will develop, finding their first mathematically-based formulation in the early 19th-century work of Mushāḳa [*q.v.*]. Theorising in relation to Persian and Turkish music (the intonational norms of the latter being by the 19th century, if not before, markedly different) will follow other paths, but all three traditions have, in varying degrees (the Persian being the least affected), reverted to the mathematical expression of what may sometimes be seen as a veritable obsession with intonation. This development is to be understood largely in terms of a more general reaction to a dominant Western culture, encountered in its expansionist imperial phase. The reaction is expressed either as adoption/adaptation (as seen, for example, in the widespread utilisation by theorists of Western notation) or, more interestingly, self-justification, as in the evident desire to demonstrate —the posture is clearly defensive— the possession of intonational and modal subtleties absent from Western music.

A particularly clear example of this trend is shown in the large-scale chapter on Turkish music written for the Lavignac encyclopaedia by Rauf Yekta Bey, and it is in the Turkish tradition that this form of theorising has received its richest expression. Modern theory has been dominated by the Ezgi-Arel school which, carrying on from the work of Rauf Yekta Bey, has essentially gone back to Ṣafī al-Dīn's limma-limma-comma formulation of the whole tone, but has added to it further comma subdivisions, with the result that the comma has now been extrapolated as the basic unit of measurement, the whole tone, for example, being described as a nine-comma interval. The urge to be systematic results, as usual, in certain distortions in relation to practice, and an alternative theory has been elaborated by Karadeniz, less rigorously symmetrical but more realistic. Developments in Arab theory have, in general, been not so much concerned with intellectual models as with attempts to generalise from observation, that is, from actual measurements. Debate has been inconclusive, as witness the report of the 1932 Cairo Conference (see Shawḳī, *Ḳiyās al-sullam*). Similarly in Persia, although there intonation has been a less significant issue. What work has been done has again tended to be empirical, recognising diversity rather than trying to impose a priori norms, and theory has centred more around the codification of the *dastgāh* system and the consequent notation of the *radīf*, while in the Arab and Turkish traditions we see rather the reintroduction (another reversal to systematist methods) of modal analysis in terms of trichord, tetrachord and pentachord units [see MAḲĀM].

Theorists most concerned with intonation have normally devoted some attention to the physics of sound, but the matter is now wholly derivative. With regard to rhythmic analysis, another major area of enquiry for earlier writers, there is again little that is new, the most important contributions being the extensive catalogues of the repertoire of existing cycles to be found in Arabic and Turkish sources. In short, the general trend, both here and in the analysis of mode, has been towards codification and systematisation, original thinking being largely eschewed in favour of the production of implicitly or explicitly prescriptive compendia with regulatory and didactic aims that find their natural outlet as conservatoire teaching manuals.

But the danger of ossification should not be exaggerated. Many scholars have now had a Western training, and are writing more within the general discipline of ethnomusicology (and are increasingly doing so in Western languages). Despite the dangers this may present of creating on the one hand a further cultural gap and, on the other, a possibly unhealthy uniformity, conformity even, the development is not unwelcome. For all its great achievements, the indigenous theoretical tradition has tended to concern itself with an increasingly narrow range of issues, thereby neglecting large areas of the phenomenon of music conceived of as social interaction. Such new approaches, provided they become readily accessible, could act as a valuable intellectual stimulus within the culture at the same time as they help to make available fresh insights to those outside it.

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(O. WRIGHT)

2. Musical instruments. See BŪḲ; DARABUKKA; DUFF; GHAYṬA; ḲITHĀRA; MALĀHĪ; MEHTER; MIʿZAF; MIZMĀR; NAḲḲĀRA-KHĀNA; NAWBA; RABĀB; ṬABL; ṬUNBŪR; ʿŪD; URGHAN.

3. The social history of music in Islam. See GHINĀʾ; ḲAYNA; MEHTER; NAḲḲĀRA-KHĀNA, and also the arts. on individual singers and musicians, including ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. GHAYBĪ; AL-GHARĪḌ; IBN BĀNA; IBN DJĀMIʿ; IBN SURAYDJ; IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ; ISḤĀḲ B. IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ; MAʿBAD B. WAHB; MĀLIK B. ABI 'L-SARḤ; MUNADJDJIM, BANU 'L-; ZIRYĀB.

MUSLIM (A.), the active participle of the IVth form of the root *s-l-m*, designates the person who professes Islam [*q.v.*], *islāmī* being exclusively used today for what is relative to Islam and having, as a corresponding term, the forms in western languages *islamic*, *islamique*, *islamisch*, etc. However, in the 4th/10th century the theologian al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] called his heresiographical work *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* in order not to prejudice the question which of the various sects could or could not be called *muslim*.

Whilst forms like *mohammedan*, *mahométan*, *maomettano*, etc., whose use is justly deprecated by Muslims, have tended to disappear, *muslim* has been adopted, as a noun or adjective or both together, in an unchanged form or in the variants *moslim*, *moslem*, above all in English, in which *musulman* has fallen out of use. The origin of *musulman* is probably *muslim*, with the suffix *-ān* of the adjective in Persian. In some countries, such as Germany and the Netherlands, popular etymology has mixed up the element *-man* with the local term *man/mann*, whence the plural forms *Muselmänner*, *muzelmannen*, etc.; these forms have however fallen into disuse.

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(A.J. WENSINCK*)

MUSLIM B. ʿAḲĪL B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, a leading supporter of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] (d. 60/680).

There are unusually large discrepancies in the sources as regards his date of birth: the difference between the extreme figures is more than 30 years. According to one report, he fought in Ṣafar 37/July 657 in the right wing (*maymana*) of ʿAlī's army at the battle of Ṣiffīn, together with his cousins al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar (Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *K. al-Futūḥ*, Ḥaydarābād 1388-95/1968-75, iii, 32; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāḳib*, ii, 352). This report may have been disseminated to show that ʿAlī enjoyed

the support of all branches of his family, including in particular that of his brother ʿAkīl [*q.v.*], with whom he was on strained terms. The report implies that Muslim was born no later than the early 20s/640s. An even earlier date is suggested by an account that during ʿUmar's reign Muslim took part in the conquest of al-Bahnasā [*q.v.*] (Ps.-Wākidī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, Cairo 1354, ii, 136, 146, 153, 159, 160, 169, 181, 184, 185, 190), in the course of which two of his brothers, Djaʿfar and ʿAlī, were killed (*ibid.*, ii, 177). He is said to have been appointed as the first Muslim governor of the town, and to have retained this position until ʿUthmān's caliphate, when he returned to Medina, leaving his brothers and sons behind (*ibid.*, ii, 193). Other accounts, in contrast, point to a date of birth in the late 30s/650s: according to these accounts, Muslim's mother, an *umm walad* of Nabataean origin (cf. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammak*, 505) whose name is variously given as ʿUlayya, Khalīla and Ḥilya, was bought by ʿAkīl in Syria, with the help of Muʿāwiya. This purchase probably took place after ʿAlī's assumption of the caliphate (in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 35/June 656), which is the time usually given as the beginning of ʿAkīl's friendship with the Umayyad ruler. Further corroboration of this date appears in the story of an encounter between Muslim and Muʿāwiya (d. 60/680) which is said to have taken place when Muslim was 18 years old, some time after ʿAkīl's death (in 50/670). In this encounter, Muslim told Muʿāwiya that he owned a plot of land in Medina worth 100,000 *dirhams*, and persuaded Muʿāwiya to buy it from him at this price. When the caliph later heard that the land in fact belonged to al-Ḥusayn he had it returned, while letting Muslim keep the money; al-Ḥusayn praised him for this act of generosity (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1378-83/1959-64, xi, 251-2).

Muslim came into prominence when he was sent to Kūfa as al-Ḥusayn's personal representative. His task was to measure the extent of Kūfan support for the Prophet's grandson. He set off from Mecca on 15 Ramaḍān 60/19 June 680 in the company of a number of Kūfans who had come to al-Ḥusayn with messages of support. His first destination was Medina, where he took leave of his family and hired the services of two Kaysīs to guide him on his way. The guides lost their way in the desert and were too weakened by thirst to be able to proceed; they just managed to show Muslim the right direction before they both (or one of them) died. Muslim saw in this a bad omen, and wrote al-Ḥusayn from al-Maḍīk asking to be relieved of his mission. Al-Ḥusayn sent back a curt note accusing Muslim of cowardice and ordering him to continue.

On 5 Shawwāl 60/9 July 680 Muslim reached Kūfa. According to most sources, he went first to the house of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thakafī [*q.v.*], later known as Dār Sālim (or Salm or Muslim) b. al-Musayyab (cf. Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, xxxiii, Beirut 1369/1950, 402). Other accounts (e.g. Muḥammad al-Bākir, as reported in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 228) maintain that Muslim proceeded first to the house of Muslim b. ʿAwsadja al-Asadī. In his place of hiding he received the oath of allegiance on behalf of al-Ḥusayn; the number of men who gave the oath is put at between 12,000 and over 30,000. Muslim, encouraged by this response, sent a letter to al-Ḥusayn urging him to come. The governor of Kūfa, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr [*q.v.*], was told of Muslim's arrival but refused to attack him. Some supporters (or spies) of Yazīd, regarding this as a dangerous sign of weakness, wrote to the caliph urging him to send a strong man to deal with the situation. Yazīd thereupon had al-Nuʿmān replaced by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], then already governor of Baṣra, and ordered him to have Muslim killed or banished.

When Muslim heard of ʿUbayd Allāh's arrival, he left the house in which he was staying and, under cover of darkness, went to the home of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa al-Murādī [*q.v.*]. Hāniʾ, aware that Muslim was a wanted man, was at first reluctant to admit him yet subsequently treated him with all due hospitality. During his stay there, Muslim missed an opportunity to kill ʿUbayd Allāh. According to one version, Hāniʾ was behind the plot; he feigned sickness, knowing that ʿUbayd Allāh would come to visit him, thus providing Muslim with a chance to strike. But at the crucial moment Muslim's nerves failed him, and ʿUbayd Allāh left unscathed (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIkd*, iv, 378; al-Bayhakī, *Maḥāsin*, 60). A second version, more complimentary to Muslim, attributes the plot to Sharīk b. al-Aʿwar al-Ḥārithī, an ardent supporter of ʿAlī who none the less enjoyed ʿUbayd Allāh's confidence and had arrived with him from Baṣra. Sharīk, who had been taken ill, also stayed at Hāniʾ's home, and his plan similarly called for Muslim to kill ʿUbayd Allāh when the governor came to pay him a sick call. ʿUbayd Allāh came, but Muslim remained in the closet in which he was hiding. The reasons given by Muslim for his inaction are said to have been opposition by Hāniʾ (or by one of his wives), as well as a Prophetic tradition forbidding the slaying without prior warning of someone who has been given an assurance of safety (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *f-t-k*). Sharīk, who had hoped to deliver Baṣra to Muslim, died of his illness three days later.

Meanwhile, ʿUbayd Allāh was making strenuous efforts to discover Muslim's hideout. He dispatched a *mawlā* of his (called Maʿkil in some sources) with orders to ingratiate himself with al-Ḥusayn's followers by swearing allegiance to al-Ḥusayn and by donating 3,000 *dirhams* for the cause. The *mawlā* succeeded in infiltrating the inner circle of followers, finally gaining access to Muslim himself. When he found out where Muslim was staying, ʿUbayd Allāh summoned Hāniʾ, forced him to admit that he was harbouring Muslim, and beat him on the face with an iron-tipped cane. One version has it that Hāniʾ died on the spot from these blows. According to more widespread reports, he was badly wounded and then incarcerated in ʿUbayd Allāh's fortress; Hāniʾ's clansmen thought that he had been killed, and the *kāḍī* Shurayḥ was sent to allay their fears.

When news of Hāniʾ's arrest reached Muslim, he decided to tarry no longer and to revolt openly. The uprising is dated to 2, 7, 8 or 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 60/3, 8, 9 or 10 Sept. 680. Muslim is said to have initially disposed of 4,000 men (other numbers are also given); he arranged them in military formation and, placing himself at their head, marched on the governor's fortress, where ʿUbayd Allāh had locked himself with a small band of sympathisers. Although ʿUbayd Allāh's situation seemed desperate, he managed, by a combination of threats and blandishments, to induce many tribal leaders to abandon Muslim. By nightfall Muslim was left with only 30 men, and these too soon disappeared. He wandered despondently in the alleys of Kūfa, until he finally found refuge with a woman from Kinda called Ṭawʿa, whose son Bilāl was a *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*]. When Bilāl discovered the identity of his mother's guest, he waited until morning and then notified Ibn al-

As͟hʿat͟h, who in turn informed ʿUbayd Allāh. Another version has it that the person whom Bilāl informed (and who passed on the information) was Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. (This is one of several deeds for which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān earned the title of "the most perfidious of the Arabs"; see Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 244-6.)

ʿUbayd Allāh sent Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h (or his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) at the head of 60 (or 70) men to Ṭawʿa's house. Muslim, realising that he was surrounded, came out with his sword in hand and, true to his reputation as a fierce warrior, chased off his attackers, inflicting serious losses on them. (One fanciful report has him kill 41 of them; cf. Ibn S͟hahrās͟hūb, *Manāḳib*, iii, 244.) His attackers responded by pelting him from the roof-top of Ṭawʿa's house with stones and burning missiles. At this point Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h gave him a guarantee of safety (*amān*) and Muslim, wounded and exhausted, gave himself up. Another version has it that Muslim did not trust Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h's *amān* and continued fighting until he was finally overcome. According to some accounts, Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h was sincere in his offer but was overruled by ʿUbayd Allāh. Other reports maintain that Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h acted in concert with the governor, and never meant to honour his pledge.

Muslim was brought before ʿUbayd Allāh, and the two had a heated exchange. Muslim then received permission to give his final instructions (*waṣiyya*). In most accounts he is said to have chosen for this purpose ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ as the only member of his tribe (Ḳurays͟h) present. Muslim asked him to send a messenger to al-Ḥusayn to inform him of the treachery of the Kūfans and to urge him not to come; he also asked him to pay a debt of his and take his corpse for burial to prevent its being mutilated. In other reports, Muslim is depicted as receiving a promise from Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h (rather than ʿUmar) to inform al-Ḥusayn. ʿUbayd Allāh entrusted Muslim's execution to Bakr b. Ḥumrān al-Aḥmarī, whom Muslim had wounded before being taken prisoner. Bakr led Muslim to the top of the fortress, decapitated him in sight of the populace, and threw down first the head and then the rest of the body. Hāniʾ was also executed, and the two bodies were dragged through the market-streets of Kūfa. Muslim is said to have been posthumously crucified, and his head was sent to Yazīd in Damascus and hoisted on a pole; he was the first Hās͟himite to be treated in this fashion (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, § 1899). An elegy on the fate of Muslim and Hāniʾ which is cited in the sources is variously attributed to al-Farazdaḳ, to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zabīr al-Asadī and to Sulaymān (or Sulaym) b. Salām al-Ḥanafī.

Muslim's death, which followed his uprising by one day, is said to have coincided with al-Ḥusayn's departure for ʿIrāḳ. Al-Ḥusayn was at Zubāla (or T͟haʿlabiyya, or Zarūd, or S͟harāf) when he received news of the tragedy. According to some Sunnī authors, he thereupon decided to abandon his original plan, and either to return to Mecca, or to go to Yazīd and swear allegiance to him, or to join the Muslim armies at the frontier (*t͟hag͟hr*) (Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhād͟j al-sunna al-nabawiyya*, Cairo 1322, ii, 248); he continued the journey only after Muslim's brothers insisted on going forth into battle to avenge Muslim's death or to share his fate. In contrast, many S͟hīʿī authors (though not all; cf. al-S͟harīf al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ*, Nad͟jaf 1379/1960, 222-3) argue that al-Ḥusayn needed no prodding as he was determined to reach ʿIrāḳ. These authors maintain further that al-Ḥusayn gave his entourage the option of withdrawing, and that members of Muslim's family were among those who chose to stay with him to the end. The lists of those killed at Karbalāʾ do indeed include Muslim's brothers ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and D͟jaʿfar; some say that in all five brothers died on the battlefield (Ibn Maʿṣūm al-S͟hīrāzī, *al-Darad͟jāt al-rafīʿa*, Nad͟jaf 1382/1962, 165). ʿAbd Allāh, a son of Muslim from his marriage to ʿAlī's daughter Ruḳayya, was also reportedly killed in the battle; some sources refer to two sons who perished there (e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, xii, ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Wiesbaden 1399/1979, 426). Two other sons (sometimes identified as Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm) are said to have escaped from ʿUbayd Allāh's camp a year after Karbalāʾ only to be brutally murdered by a Kūfan who expected to be rewarded by ʿUbayd Allāh (but who was beheaded instead) (Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, Nad͟jaf 1389/1970, 73-9). Their story, like that of their father, is re-enacted in the annual *taʿziya* plays (Pelly, *The Miracle play*, i, 190-206). In some versions of these plays, the two sons are said to have been decapitated at the same time as their father (e.g. Metin And, *The Muḥarram observances in Anatolian Turkey*, in P.J. Chelkowski (ed.), *Taʿziyeh: ritual and drama in Iran*, New York 1979, 251); and the text accompanying several pictorial renderings of this event identifies their executioner as al-Ḥārit͟h b. Badr (R. Milstein, *Miniature painting*, 101, 102, 104).

Although Muslim did not die at Karbalāʾ, he is counted among its martyrs (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 387), and is even referred to as the first *s͟hahīd* (al-Mad͟jlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, c, 428). The S͟hīʿīs recommend visiting his grave in Kūfa, and the text is preserved of a number of prayers to be recited there (*ibid.*, 426-9).

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Madīnat Dimashk, facs. ed. Cairo n.d. [1989], v, 68; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manākib āl Abī Ṭālib*, Nadjaf 1956, iii, 241-5, 259; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv, Beirut 1385/1965, 21-2, 25-36, 42-3; Ibn Namā al-Ḥillī, *Muthīr al-aḥzān*, Nadjaf 1369/1950, 16, 20-26, 32, 50; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Miṣbāḥ al-zāʾir*, ms. Marʿashī, 69-72; idem, *al-Luhūf ʿalā katlā ʾl-Ṭufūf*, Tehran 1348 Sh, 26, 36-8, 45-60, 73-5, 91; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-duwal*, Beirut n.d. [1978-9], 110; Ibn al-Ṭiktakā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1895, 159-60; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xx, Cairo 1395/1975, 387-8, 391-405, 413-5, 462, xxi, Cairo 1396/1976, 7; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ii, Cairo 1368, 316; idem, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, iii, Cairo 1962, 206-8, 217; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1351-8/1932-9, viii, 152-9; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib*, Beirut 1390, 29; Ṭurayḥī, *al-Muntakhab*, Beirut n.d., 37, 372, 380-5, 421-9, 434, 437-8; Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1956-74, xlii, 116-7, xliv, 334-7, 341-63, 369-70, 373-4, xlv, 32-3, 68, 96-8, 100-5; Shablandjī, *Nūr al-abṣār fī manākib āl al-nabī al-mukhtār*, Cairo 1399/1979, 142-4; Djaʿfar al-Tustarī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ḥusayniyya*, Nadjaf 1375/1956, 124-5; L. Pelly, *The Miracle play of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn*, i, London 1879, 171-206; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Tod des Ḥusein ben ʿAlī*, Göttingen 1883, 24-6, 30-46; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, Beirut 1921, 136-45, 150-1; D.M. Donaldson, *The Shīʿite religion*, London 1933, 80-5; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, iv/1, Beirut 1367/1948, 191-4, 199-210, 216, 221-3; idem, *Miftāḥ al-djannāt*, Beirut n.d., ii, 90-3; ʿAbbās Kummī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, Tehran 1369, 359-60; idem, *Nafas al-mahmūm*, Kumm 1405, 82-7, 92-162; Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿĀbidīn, *Mabʿūth al-Ḥusayn*, Kumm n.d.; ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Mūsawī al-Mukarram, *al-Shahīd Muslim b. ʿAkīl*, Nadjaf 1369/1950; Parviz Mamnoun, *Taʿzija: Schiʿitisch-Persisches Passionsspiel*, Vienna 1967, 7, 30, 72-3, 127, 130; J. Wellhausen, *The Religio-political factions in early Islam*, tr. Ostle and Walzer, Amsterdam and New York 1975, 105-9; Mahmoud Ayoub, *Redemptive suffering in Islām*, The Hague 1978, 99-102 and index; S.H.M. Jafri, *The origins and early development of Shīʿa Islam*, London and New York 1979, index; Ibrāhīm al-Mūsawī al-Zandjānī, *Djawla fī ʾl-amākin al-mukaddasa*, Beirut 1405/1985, 203-7; R. Milstein, *Miniature painting in Ottoman Baghdad*, Costa Mesa 1990, 25-7, 101-6.

(E. Kohlberg)

MUSLIM B. AL-**ḤADJDJĀDJ**, one of Islam's outstanding early collectors of Prophetic traditions.

Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Muslim al-Kushayrī al-Naysābūrī was born in Naysābūr (Nīshāpūr) in 202/817, but according to another report in 206/821, the latter date tallying better with his alleged age at death in 261/875 given as fifty-five (lunar) years. (Cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, v, 195, who weighs both dates against each other.) From an early age on, he is reported to have travelled to ʿIrāk, the Ḥidjāz, Syria and Egypt in search of *ḥadīth*, on so-called *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys. He is alleged to have heard traditions with a number of masters, among whom the most influential are the following: Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Naysābūrī (d. 224-6/839-41), ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama al-Kaʿnabī (d. 220-1/835-6), Kutayba b. Saʿīd (d. 240/854), all three major pupils of Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*]; furthermore, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAmr al-Kawārīrī (d. 235/849), Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 248/862), ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba (d. 239/853), Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā (d. 252/866) and Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ (d. 245/859). Those mentioned so far are not listed in *GAS*, i, but of the following masters, works have come down and are (partially) available in printed editions (cf. *GAS*, i): ʿAlī b. Ḥudjr (d. 244/858), ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd (d. 249/863), Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Ḥarb (d. 234/848). Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849), Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]); Isḥāk b. Ibrāhīm ibn Rāhawayh (d. 237-8/851-2 [*q.v.*]); Muḥammad b. Bashshār Bundār (d. 252/866) and Saʿīd b. Manṣūr (d. 227/842). Another master is Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā (d. 244/858), whose own works are lost but who is the main pupil of ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812) [*q.v.*]), the Egyptian tradition collector whose partially-preserved works are among the oldest extant; another important master of this Ḥarmala is al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]). Finally, among Muslim's *shaykhs* there are Ismāʿīl b. Abī Uways (d. 226-7/841-2), a controversial transmitter who once admitted that he settled disputes among Medinan scholars by means of some fabricated traditions (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, i, 312) and Muḥammad b. Ḥātim (d. 235-6/849-50), who was suspected of having proliferated forgeries.

Muslim is associated in the first place with his collection of Prophetic *ḥadīth*, *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, usually called *Ṣaḥīḥ* for short. According to the consensus of Sunnī Muslim tradition experts, it forms together with the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī [*q.v.*] the most reliable collection of Prophetic traditions of all times. This resulted for these two books, to which in the course of time four more were added making up the Six Books (*al-kutub al-sitta*), in a prestige commensurate with canonisation. There has been some controversy on whether Muslim's work should be given preference even to that of al-Bukhārī. In the Maghrib, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* seems at times to have been preferred to al-Bukhārī's. It is especially Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*] who is mentioned in this context: he is alleged to have censured al-Bukhārī for having added numerous *taʿlīkāt* (i.e. additional substantiating traditions with interrupted (*munkaṭiʿ*) *isnād* strands) to his traditions, a practice Muslim very rarely resorted to. (For a list of Muslim's fourteen *taʿlīkāt*, see al-Nawawī's commentary, i, 16 f.; Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278 [*q.v.*]) is, with Kāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149 [*q.v.*]), Muslim's most important commentator.) Surveys of how the one collector compares with the other are given in e.g. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 101-3, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Mukaddima* [sc. *fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*], ed. ʿĀ. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 90 f., al-Nawawī's commentary, i, 14 ff., al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, i, 88-95. In the long run it was al-Bukhārī's work which took pride of place and became Islam's holiest book of religious learning after the Kurʾān, albeit immediately followed by Muslim's collection. Muslim is alleged to have stated that he amassed 300,000 traditions out of which he made his selection for his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The total number of traditions which he incorporated in it is 4,000 according to mediaeval scholars, not counting repetitions. However, according to the modern editor of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bākī, who took stock of even more repetitions, the total number of individual, different traditions is a little over 3,000.

Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* may be the second most prestigious tradition collection in Islam; for modern historians it is surely the most useful of the Six Books. It owes this usefulness to the special organisation of its chapters. Al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, also praised for its organisation, had been rated more highly in the beginning than Muslim's for the most part because of the former's more sophisticated *tardjamas*, the introductory

statements in his chapter headings, in comparison with which Muslim's chapter headings were felt to fall short (although they were later considerably improved upon by al-Nawawī). But whereas, at first glance, Muslim's and al-Bukhārī's chapter headings may show up a broad resemblance, the respective contents of the chapters do not. The chapters in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* are presumed to be organised strictly according to their juridical content, but closer scrutiny reveals this organisation to be somewhat loose, with, in the majority of chapters, several traditions added from vaguely related, and, frequently, even unrelated, juridical foci. All along it had been al-Bukhārī's design to contribute as many angles of approach to juridical or ritual-related issues as he could muster; this eventually resulted in dozens or more reiterations of one particular problem or issue, many of which with their own *isnād* strands, turning up in a wide variety of chapters, which have no discernible juridical base in common.

On the other hand, the mainstay of practically each chapter in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, is one, sometimes more than one, *matn* cluster (for the definition of this expression, see below), which, once listed, is hardly ever reiterated in another chapter. So, while in al-Bukhārī's collection reiterations of one *matn* in its numerous different versions, most of which having their own individual *isnād* strands, are scattered all over his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, reconstruction of *matn* clusters solely from that collection, even with the help of the *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf* of al-Mizzī [*q.v.*], is laborious. In Muslim's collection, all reiterations of traditions, which are even more numerous than in al-Bukhārī's, are virtually always all crammed into one and the same chapter, allowing a quick overall view of how many times *in toto* that *matn*, sc. in its different versions plus accompanying *isnād* strands, occurs. All this is aptly summarised in a remark of ʿUmar b. Raslān al-Bulḳīnī (d. 805/1403): *ikhtaṣṣa Muslimun bi-djamʿi ṭuruḳi 'l-ḥadīthi fī makānin* (cf. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, 91, in margin; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, i, 95).

The expression *matn* cluster has been newly coined to indicate that the contents (= *matn*) of a particular Islamic tradition, rather than as an individual entity, should in the majority of cases be viewed as one out of two to sometimes even ten or more facets of one basic idea, which may pertain to a particular legal or ethical concept, or which reflects the ongoing controversies regarding some point of Islamic ritual. In an obvious attempt to create some sort of schematisation of Muslim's seemingly untwinable, multi-strand *isnāds*, Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ introduced for the basic concepts which he had learned to distinguish in Muslim's collection the term *aṣl*, pl. *uṣūl*. (From a remark of Ibn Ḥadjar in his preface to his commentary on al-Bukhārī, *Hady al-sārī muḳaddimat Fatḥ al-bārī*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo n.d., 11 (15), the *uṣūl* are perhaps to be interpreted as *uṣūl al-aḥkām*, the "roots of legal judgements".) But, as that term suggests, each *aṣl* exists within a framework of less basic, less pertinent, but at least (partly) illustrative, additional material, for which he used two more terms, the *mutābiʿāt* and the *shawāhid*. (It seems that these terms were first introduced by the tradition scholar Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965 [*q.v.*]), cf. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, 182.) Although he does not say this in so many words, Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ must have detected that in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* the first *isnād*-cum-*matn* mentioned in a chapter always has the appearance of something basic, upon which the following *isnāds*-cum-*matns* form some sort of commentary. (The quest for these secondary *isnāds*-cum-*matns* is conveyed in Arabic with the verb *iʿtabara* = "to consider", "to ponder", cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, i, 241 (18)-242(9); Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ's words are quoted in Nawawī, i, 23 f.)

With the said technical terms defined, the expression *matn* cluster as technical term comes in handy, especially in connection with Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in which these clusters are so much more easily distinguishable than in the collections of his peers: a *matn* cluster is in modern *ḥadīth* parlance the equivalent of Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ's *aṣl*-cum-*mutābiʿāt*-cum-*shawāhid* which he had learned to distinguish in Muslim's organisation of his *isnād* strands. But one consideration has to be borne in mind: close scrutiny of the *isnād* strands of the *uṣūl* yields the information that, contrary to what one might expect, they are more often than not of relatively late origin, whereas various accompanying *mutābiʿāt* strands usually show up much older common links. In short, because of Muslim's particular arrangement of his traditions, with *uṣūl* being illustrated by *mutābiʿāt*, both of which rubrics allowing with the help of al-Mizzī the quick identification of the respective common links, both then followed by *shawāhid*, which testify to the extent of *isnād* proliferation and sometimes even contain clues as to authorship, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in contrast to the other canonical collections, is indispensable for tradition analysis and dating.

One important, unique feature of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is its introduction. For an annotated translation and appraisal, see *Bibl.* Its final section deals with a controversial point, the (un)acceptability of *muʿanʿan isnāds* [*q.v.*], in which Muslim is reported to have taken a somewhat more flexible stance than his fellow-traditionists.

Muslim is credited with a number of other works. Of those mentioned in *GAS*, i, 143, the *K. al-Kunā* and the *K. al-munfaridāt wa 'l-wuḥdān* are quoted from in Ibn Ḥadjar's *Tahdhīb*, cf. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 239.

Bibliography: The best, and because of its multiple *ḥadīth* numberings the most useful, edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is the one by Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1955-6, 5 vols, for which the editor eclectically excerpted Nawawī's *sharḥ*, otherwise available in the reliable Cairo 1349 edition in 18 parts; a complete English translation (however without the introduction) was published by A.H. Siddiqui in 4 vols, Lahore 1976; for the introduction, see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim's introduction to his Ṣaḥīḥ, translated and annotated* etc., in *JSAI*, v (1984), 263-302; for the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to following generations, see J. Robson, *The transmission of Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ*, in *JRAS* (1949), 46-60; for the *isnād*-analytical technical terms mentioned in the article, cf. G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, index s.v.; idem, *Some* isnād-*analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman-demeaning sayings from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *al-Qanṭara*, x (1989), 343-84; idem, *Some notes on the earliest* fuqahāʾ *of Islam distilled from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *Arabica*, xxxix (1992); idem, *On the origins of the poetry in Muslim tradition literature*, forthcoming in the *Ewald Wagner Festschrift*; idem, *Analysing* isnāds *in* ḥadīth *and* akhbār *literature*, in L.I. Conrad (ed.), *History and historiography in early Islamic times: studies and perspectives*, Princeton 1992.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

MUSLIM B. **ḲURAYSH**, SHARAF AL-DAWLA ABŪ 'L-MAKĀRIM, of the Arab family of the ʿUḳaylids [*q.v.*] was the most important ruler of this

significant Bedouin Arab dynasty; during his reign the struggle between Fāṭimids and ʿAbbāsids for supremacy in Syria and al-Djazīra was decided in favour of the latter.

In the year 433/1042 the 20 year-old Muslim was chosen chief of the tribe after the death of his father Ḳuraysh b. Badrān and succeeded him as ruler of al-Mawṣil. Like most Arab rulers of the lands of the Euphrates, he recognised the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo as his suzerain, partly because he was himself a Shīʿī. Quite early in his reign he began to cherish the ambitious plan of gradually extending the rule of his tribe over al-Djazīra. Every means of extending his power was taken by him. The first opportunity occurred when in 458/1066 the Saldjūḳ Sultan Alp Arslān [*q.v.*], after conquering the Khwārazmians, was proceeding to establish his supremacy in Syria. For this he had to entice the Arab chiefs from the sphere of influence of the Fāṭimid caliph and win them over to an alliance with him and to a recognition of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. He therefore concluded an alliance with Muslim and granted him several towns in al-Djazīra. As a partner in this alliance, Muslim defeated the Banū Kilāb who were vassals of the Fāṭimids. In 463/1070 Alp Arslān died. The alliance was renewed with his son Malik Shāh [*q.v.*]. With his help, Muslim was able a few years later to extend his power into Syria and take Aleppo. In 472/1079 this town had no strong owner; the town was ruled by the Ḳāḍī al-Khutaʾītī, and the citadel by one of the last Mirdāsids [see ḤALAB and MIRDĀSIDS]. There was a lack of provisions, as the town was continually threatened by enemies and the roads to it were cut off.

Damascus was in possession of the Saldjūḳ *amīr* Tutush [*q.v.*], to whom his brother Malik Shāh had granted Syria, which was still to be conquered. It was natural for Tutush to wish to bring Aleppo also into his power, but the people did not care for him because of his cruelty and greed, shut their gates against him and appealed for help to Muslim. After Tutush had withdrawn, Muslim approached the town with large supplies of provisions and, after lengthy negotiations, both town and citadel were handed over to him [see ḤALAB] and the Mirdāsid chiefs received some smaller towns in compensation. He received a grant of confirmation from Malik Shāh, who did not want his brother to become too powerful, on paying a considerable annual tribute. Muslim extended his territory by adding to it al-Ruhā (Edessa), Ḥarrān and a number of smaller fortresses, out of which he drove the leaders of Turkish bands so that his power stretched from northern Syria to the Euphrates. Instead of being content with this, his unbounded ambition made him overestimate his strength. Like Tutush, he had dreams of conquering all Syria, especially Damascus. He could not obtain the town from Malik Shāh, who had granted central Syria to Tutush. He therefore again joined forces with the enemy of the Saldjūḳs, the Fāṭimid caliph, who promised to send troops to assist him to take Damascus. Muslim took advantage of the absence of Tutush, who was engaged in a campaign against the Byzantines in Antioch, to advance on Damascus. He occupied several towns in central Syria, including Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*]. But the Fāṭimid help did not materialise, and Tutush was called back by his vassals, who hated Muslim. These circumstances and a rising in Ḥarrān forced him to retire.

To replace Muslim, who had deserted him, Malik Shāh bestowed his favour on the sons of a former vizier of the ʿAbbāsids, Ibn Djahīr [see DJAHĪR, BANŪ], and sent him against a supporter of the Fāṭimids, the Marwānid Manṣūr, to deprive him of his chief possession Āmid. The latter found support from Muslim. They joined forces, were attacked at Āmid and withdrew into the fortified town leaving their other possessions undefended. Malik Shāh seized the opportunity to send ʿAmīd al-Dawla, another son of Djahīr, to al-Mawṣil in order to take this city from Muslim, who had in the meanwhile escaped from Āmid. When Muslim saw that he had lost his possessions, he made overtures to the Sultan through the son of the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk and humbly begged for mercy. The Sultan, who thought Muslim no longer dangerous, pardoned him and restored his lands to him; but Muslim could not be at peace. Perhaps in secret agreement with Malik Shāh, he turned in 477/1084 against a Saldjūḳ prince of Asia Minor, Sulaymān b. Ḳuṭlumush, who had taken Antioch from the Byzantines, and demanded from him the same tribute as the Byzantines had paid. When Sulaymān refused to pay, he advanced against him with a force of Arabs and Turkomans. In the neighbourhood of Antioch in Ṣafar 478/May 1085 the forces met, unexpectedly for Sharaf al-Dawla; his troops, who hated Muslim, went over to Sulaymān. Muslim was defeated and slain, along with 400 of his Arabs (cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, fol. 68b). With his death, the power of the ʿUḳaylids was at an end. They lost Aleppo on Muslim's death and only survived a few years longer (till 489/1090) as governors of al-Mawṣil [*q.v.*].

Muslim is described as an able and just man, and his tolerance of Christians was remarkable for its time. His rule is said to have been able and orderly, and indeed, he did bring the finances of Aleppo into order in a very short time after taking it. In any case, he had wide vision and successfully endeavoured to maintain the power of the Arab tribes in Syria and al-Djazīra. It ceased with him; henceforth Turkish generals of the Saldjūḳs became the rulers of Syria and al-Djazīra.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, index; E. von Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, index, s.v.; İ. Kafesoğlu, *Sultan Melikşah devrinde Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu*, Istanbul 1953, 40-4, 86 ff.; C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 55-6; idem, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 98. (M. Sobernheim)

MUSLIM b. ʿUḲBA of the Banū Murra [*q.v.*], famous commander of the Sufyānid caliphs. We know very little about the early stages of his career. We find him early established in Syria, to which he probably came with the first conquerors. Completely devoted to the Umayyads and of great personal valour, he led a division of Syrian infantry at the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], but he failed in an attempt to take the oasis of Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*] from ʿAlī. The caliph Muʿāwiya appointed him to take charge of the *kharādj*, the finances, of Palestine, a lucrative office in which he refused to enrich himself. Muslim was prominent at the death-bed of Muʿāwiya. The caliph had charged him and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] with the regency until the return of Yazīd, who was in Anatolia at the head of his troops. The confidence which the great Sufyānid had in his loyalty is seen in his advice to his heir: "If you ever have trouble with the Ḥidjāz, just send the one-eyed man of the tribe of Murra there" (Muslim had only one eye). This time had now come.

Muslim had been a member of the embassy sent to Medina to bring the Anṣār back to obedience. All other efforts at conciliation having failed, Yazīd I decided to resort to force. In spite of Muslim's age and infirmities, Yazīd felt he was the man to command the expedition. He was obliged to travel in a lit-

ter on account of his infirmity. At Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, Muslim met some Umayyads who had been driven out of Medina; these exiles informed him of the military situation of the town. When he reached the oasis of Medina, Muslim encamped on the *ḥarra* [*q.v.*] of Wāḳim and for three days awaited the result of the negotiations begun with the rebels, Anṣār and descendants of the *muhādjirūn* of Ḳuraysh. On the fourth day, all overtures having been rejected, he made his plans for battle. It was a Wednesday, 26-7 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 63/26-7 Aug. 683). After a slight initial advantage for the Anṣār, the battle ended at midday in the complete rout of the rebels. The Syrians followed them into Medina and began to plunder the city. Anti-Umayyad legend has much exaggerated the horrors and the duration of this pillaging which it extends to three days. On the day after the battle, Muslim's intervention restored order and he used the next few days in drawing up the case against and trying the principal leaders of the rebellion who had fallen into his power.

Having established order in the town, which he left in charge of Rawḥ b. Zinbāᶜ [*q.v.*], in spite of the aggravation of his malady, he resumed his march on Mecca to deal with ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. Arriving at Mushallal he became so ill that he had to stop. In obedience to the caliph Yazīd's instructions, he appointed to succeed him in command of the army Ḥusayn b. al-Numayr [*q.v.*], his second-in-command. He died at Mushallal, where his tomb long continued to be stoned by the passers-by (cf. *Ziyārāt*, 51). Writers with Shīᶜī sympathies are fond of twisting the name Muslim into *Musrif* (spendthrift, one who acts irresponsibly: an allusion to Ḳur'ān, V, 36, VII, 79, XI, 29, 36, and *passim*). One statement which must be a ridiculous exaggeration puts his age at 90. Everything, however, points to his having been born before the Hidjra. He died a poor man. This disinterestedness is not the only feature in his character which makes us take him as one of the most representative of the types of this generation of soldiers and statesmen, whose talents contributed so much to establish the power of the Umayyads. Dozy described him as "un Bédouin mécréant". Muslim, it is true, retained all the proverbial uncouthness (*djafā'*) of the Banū Murra. But his whole career reveals the Murrī general as a convinced Muslim of a rectitude rare in this period of unsettlement, which saw so many extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune and wavering loyalties.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3283, ii, 198, 409-25, 427. Other references are given in Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Iᵉʳ*, 223 ff., repr. from *MFOB*, v, 225 ff., and in his *Étude sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moᶜāwia Iᵉʳ*, in *MFOB*, i ff., 19, 45, 269, 373.

(H. LAMMENS)

MUSLIM B. AL-**WALĪD** AL-ANṢĀRĪ (called *Ṣarīᶜ al-Ghawānī* "he who is laid low by the fair maidens", as was al-Ḳuṭāmī [*q.v.*] before him), an Arab poet of the early ᶜAbbāsid period, born in Kūfa *ca.* 130-40/747-57, d. 208/823 in Djurdjān.

His father, a *mawlā* of the Anṣār, was a weaver. Nothing is known of the poet's education. He probably got his literary training not from particular teachers or from books but in the busy life of the ᶜIrāḳī cities, the intellectual life of which had risen to a still higher level with the advent of the ᶜAbbāsids. Like most of his contemporaries he earned his living as poet by writing panegyrics and was acquainted with many statesmen and *amīrs*. Among the former were the general Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī (see *Dīwān*, 1, 6, 10, 16, 49), Dāwūd b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī (20), Manṣūr b. Yazīd al-Ḥimyarī (31) and many others. He gradually won the favour of the influential Barmakids [see AL-BARĀMIKA] (nos. 17, 40, 45) and of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (nos. 14, 41, 57); according to one story, he received his nickname from the latter on account of a verse of his (no. 3, v. 35; see also no. 23, v. 39). He even mentions the caliph's sister ᶜAbbāsa in an ode (no. 57, vv. 7 ff.). The fall of the Barmakids in 187/803, did not affect his career: he dedicated some of his odes to al-Amīn (7, 28, 30) but his principal patron in later times was al-Ma'mūn's vizier al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*]. Through his intervention he received from al-Ma'mūn an official post (probably *ṣāḥib al-barīd*) in Djurdjān. He remained faithful to al-Faḍl b. Sahl until his death in 202/818, and out of grief for him he wrote no more. There is a story told by his *rāwī* according to which he destroyed a considerable part of his poems before his death.

As regards the matter and style of his poems, he was on quite traditional ground. In addition to his old-fashioned odes and elegies, his satires are particularly interesting in this respect; in his polemics with the (otherwise little known) poet al-Ḥakam al-Ḳanbar [*q.v.*] on the merits of the Anṣār and Ḳuraysh, he revived the coarse and bitter tone of the polemics of an al-Farazdaḳ or an al-Ṭirimmāḥ [*q.vv.*] on a similar subject. The two hundred years of development of Arabic poetry were naturally not without influence on him; in his *nasīb*s we frequently find the style of an ᶜUmar b. Abī Rabīᶜa or al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf [*q.v.*], Muslim's contemporaries. His drinking songs deserve special mention. Although Nöldeke only very rarely finds in them "the natural effusion of Bacchantic joy as so frequently in Abū Nuwās", Arab critics are of another opinion. These two poets are to them practically the same in this respect, and we must confess they are right. His drinking-songs are not only of great value for the descriptions of society and social life in the cities, but from the point of view of poetry they are among the best of Muslim's work. If we must, as regards subject matter, number Muslim among the imitators of the old poets, in style he belongs to a more modern period. The historians of Arabic literature frequently mention him as the first to introduce the "new style", *al-badīᶜ*, with its tropes and figures. This is, however, not quite such a simple point; the "new style" arose only gradually in Arabic poetry, although Muslim with his contemporaries, Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*], Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], etc., was one of the first who definitely struck out on the new path.

Muslim was on terms of friendship or enmity with many contemporary poets, e.g. Abū Nuwās, Abu 'l-ᶜAtāhiya [*q.v.*], al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (who maliciously called him *Ṣarīᶜ al-Ghīlān* or *Ṣarīᶜ al-Kās*), Abu 'l-Shīṣ [*q.v.*], al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk [*q.v.*], etc. His literary influence was not inconsiderable: Diᶜbil [*q.v.*] was his pupil (which did not prevent him exchanging satires with Muslim); Abū Tammām was particularly fond of studying his poems. His *Dīwān* has been transmitted in very unsatisfactory fashion; it was collected in alphabetical order by al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*], but this recension has not come down to us (there are few traces of it in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*); another story speaks of the collection made by al-Mubarrad.

The manuscript long considered as unique, that of Leiden University Library (Or. 888), is very incomplete, since it contains only vols. ii and iii of the recension and commentary of the Andalusian scholar (d. Shawwāl 352/October-November 963) Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās Walīd b. ᶜĪsā al-Ṭabīkhī (and not al-Ṭandjī as the Maghribī script of the preserved copy might sug-

gest). The 75 surviving pieces of verse are not classified according to the alphabetical order of the rhymes. They are succinctly presented but more extensively commentated upon. On the apocryphal elements in them, see Barbier de Meynard, *Un poète arabe*, 17 ff. A further ms. of the *Dīwān*, plus a fragment, are now known, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 529.

Bibliography: The Leiden ms. was the basis of the 1875 Leiden edn. of M.J. De Goeje, *Diwan poetae Abu-'l-Walíd Moslim ibno-'l-Walíd al-Ançárí* cognomine *Çarío-'l-ghawání*. This *dīwān* was reproduced lithographically, without the introd., notes and indices (which were in Latin), by Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥ. al-Ḥusaynī, at Bombay in 1303/1885; in 1325/1907 there appeared at Cairo, with a reclassification according to the alphabetical order of rhymes, a reproduction of De Goeje's Arabic text, soon followed, again at Cairo, n.d., by a further pirated edition. Finally, one may consider as definitive the work of Sāmī Dahhān, who published at Cairo in 1376/1957 a *Sharḥ Dīwān Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī* of 69 + 524 pp. This remarkable work, based on the Leiden ms., includes a long introd. on the poet, his work and the history of the *Dīwān*, and then, after the 75 pieces, 205 fragments drawn from various sources, the texts of notices devoted to the poet by 45 mediaeval authors and seven indices (including one of rhymes, lacking in De Goeje's edn.). Amongst the classical sources brought together by Dahhān, the most extensive is that of the *K. al-Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, 313-53. There are very few modern studies. Apart from the histories of Arabic literature, see the review of the De Goeje edn. by Nöldeke, in *GGA* for 9 June 1875, 705-15; C. Barbier de Meynard, *Un poète arabe du IIe siècle de l'hégire*, in *Actes du XIe Congrès des Orientalistes*, Paris 1899, 1-21; A.F. Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, ii, Cairo 1927, 374-92; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 528-9.

(I. KRATSCHKOWSKY*)

MUSLIMŪN (A.), Muslims.

1. The old-established Muslim communities of Eastern Europe
2. Migrant Muslims in Western Europe
3. Migrant Muslims in the Americas [see DJĀLIYA]
4. The so-called "Black Muslims"

1. The old-established Muslim communities of Eastern Europe.

The Muslim communities of Europe as a whole may be divided into two distinct groups: on the one hand, the old communities, formed in the distant, or very distant past, through the vicissitudes of history, in a certain number of countries (Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland and Finland); and on the other hand, the new communities, established much more recently, in the industrialised countries (France, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, etc.), as a result of the uninterrupted flow of immigrants arriving from the most diverse of origins (North Africa, Black Africa, East Africa, Near and Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, Indonesia, South-East Asia, etc.). The brief survey which follows deals exclusively with the former group.

The long-established Muslim communities (those of South-Eastern Europe, Poland and Finland, all of them Sunnīs of the Ḥanafī rite) are composed of a relatively large number of ethnic groups, speaking a dozen different languages and living under conditions which vary according to the successive régimes of the countries to which they belong. This account relates to the current situation as its exists "on the ground", first in northern Europe, then in the Balkan peninsula and the adjacent countries.

A. *The Muslim communities of northern Europe.*

(1) Poland. The Muslim community of Poland was constituted by the arrival and settlement, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, of two groups of Tatars: one comprising natives of the Khānate of the Golden Horde and the Khānates situated on the Volga (arriving in the 14th and 15th centuries), and the others comprising emigrants from the Crimea [see ḲIRĪM] (arriving especially in the 17th and 18th centuries). Subsequently, these two groups were fused into a single entity, living in harmony with the diverse populations of the region, but conserving their religious and cultural identity. It is generally reckoned that, around 1930, these Muslims numbered approximately 10,000. Decimated and dispersed during the Second World War, this community was to lose a large proportion of its members following the changes to the eastern frontier of the country which favoured the USSR. Currently, no more than some 2,200 Tatars remain in Poland (notably in the villages of Bohoniki and Kruszyniany, also in Warsaw, Gdańsk and Białystok). On the history and recent situation of this community, see LEH; LIPḲA; A. Popovic, *La situation actuelle*, in *L'Islam en Europe a l'époque moderne*, Paris 1985, 99-104; G. Lederer and I. Takacs, *Chez les musulmans de Pologne*, in *La transmission du savoir dans le monde musulman périphérique* (C.N.R.S./E.H.E.S.S., Paris), *Lettre d'information*, no. 8, January 1988, 39-47, which contains the list of principal publications on the subject.

(2) Finland. The Muslim community of Finland consists of about a thousand "Turko-Tatars", the descendants of emigrants from the Idel Ural and Volga regions, who seem to be perfectly integrated in their new domicile. Some of them arrived in the country during the 19th century, and the majority after the Soviet revolution of 1917. These Muslims live dispersed among a dozen towns and villages, and almost all are engaged in trading in furs, fabrics and carpets. They would include a number of wealthy individuals. Relatively little is known of the current conditions of life of this tiny community, still less of its potential role in the international scene. It was officially recognised in 1925, and its headquarters are located in Helsinki, see Popovic, *op. cit.*, 105, where other references are to be found; and, in particular, a valuable article by the best contemporary expert on the subject, Harry Halen, *Islaminuskoisista Suomessa*, in *Eripainos*, no. 5 (Helsinki 1984), 341-53, containing a thorough bibliography.

B. *The Muslim communites of South-Eastern Europe.*

(1) Hungary. Two Muslim communities have existed successively in Hungary. Both have subsequently disappeared in peculiar circumstances. The history of the disappearance of the first Muslim community of the country is well-known. This had been formed between 1526 and 1699 as a result of the Ottoman conquest and occupation of some Hungarian territory, but it had disappeared totally in the aftermath of the reconquest at the end of the 17th century, with the flight of Muslim populations, and the massacre or summary conversion to Christianity of the populations who remained. Subsequently, especially from 1878 onward, the birth was witnessed of a new Muslim community in the country, and this for two reasons: on the one hand there was an influx of a number of Muslims from Bosnia-Herzegovina (a migration provoked by the military occupation of these two regions by Austria-Hungary in 1878, under the terms of the Congress of Berlin, and later by their annexation in 1908 by the Double Monarchy [see BOSNA]); on the other hand there was an influx (as a result of increasingly close ties with Turkey) of a

number of Ottoman Turkish citizens (artisans, merchants and students) who were soon to form, especially in Budapest, what amounted to a minor Turkish colony. Subsequently, both these groups were to be progressively weakened (particularly during the first half of the 20th century) as a result of the increasing and significant number of mixed marriages (there being a shortage of Muslim women in the country), ultimately becoming assimilated into the local population. Although a few "individual" Muslims are still to be found in Hungary, there no longer exists a Hungarian Muslim community in the sense in which it existed some fifty years ago, and this in spite of recent efforts on the part of various foreign Muslim sects such as the Aḥmadiyya, and also of the Bahāʾīs. See MADJAR, MADJARISTĀN; A. Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, Berlin-Wiesbaden 1986, 184-95; G. Lederer, *Sur l'Islam à Budapest*, in *La transmission du savoir... Lettre d'Information*, no. 6, November 1986, 23-37; idem, *ʿAbdu 'l-Baha's visit to Budapest*, in *Lettre d'Inf.*, no. 9, February 1989, 13-25.

2. Rumania. The Muslim community of Rumania must currently number some 50,000 persons, Turks and Tatars living, for the most part, in the Dobrudja [*q.v.*] (although a handful also exists in Bucharest and there are a few others dispersed across the country). The Rumanian state had inherited this small religious and ethnic minority at the time of its creation in 1878, a minority which was later to belong sometimes to Rumania, sometimes to Bulgaria, according to the political vicissitudes of the time and the successive phases of unification or partition of the "Greater Dobrudja" (formed from what is correctly called the Dobrudja and the Quadrilateral). Finally, it may be added that the small Danubian Muslim community of Ada Ḳalʿe [*q.v.*] which comprised approximately a thousand persons, was dispersed in 1968, when the island was submerged by hydraulic constructions at the Iron Gates.

The great majority of this population is composed of farmers (there being, apparently, no more semi-nomads in the Dobrudja, just as the steppes, described at length by all geographers and ethnologists at the beginning of this century, have ceased to exist), but there are also some town-dwelling Muslims, in Constantza [see KÖSTENDJE], Medjīdiyya [see MEDJĪDIYYE], Mangalia, Tulcea, Macin, etc. In most cases, this is a population of relatively modest social status.

This community is governed by the *muftī* of Constantza and by a "synodal college" (which exists more in theory than in practice). After the end of the Second World War, it seemed to be living in a precarious condition; the closure of Turkish and Tatar schools in 1957, the closure of the "Muslim seminary" of Medjīdiyya (the only establishment of its kind in the country) in 1967 (or as early as 1962?), the non-existence of Islamic religious publications, the impossibility of participating in the pilgrimage to Mecca, etc. Then, in 1972 or thereabouts, the international situation and the economic difficulties of the country obliged the Rumanian authorities of the time to grant to the local Muslim community certain concessions, with the object of visibly improving the image of the régime vis-à-vis a number of Arab and Muslim countries. Among the developments witnessed in the recent period have been the dispatch of Rumanian Muslim delegations to these countries, the publication of a small book of propaganda relating to the local Muslims and of a local Islamic review, as well as a very diffident (but constantly growing) renewal of pilgrimages to Mecca, financed by the Libyan government. At the time of writing (end of 1989), nothing is known of the likely consequences, for the small Muslim community of Rumania, of the collapse of the local Communist régime. See BOGHDĀN; EFLĀḲ; Popovic, *L'Islam Balkanique*, 196-253.

(3) Greece. The Muslims of Greece must currently number between 130,000 and 150,000 persons. It should, however, be born in mind that in the past a large number of Muslims have been obliged to leave the country at various times, between 1821 (the start of the Greek insurrection against the Ottomans) and 1923 (the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey) [see MUHĀDJIR. 1]. They belong to three clearly distinct communities which are not united in a common organisation. The communities in question are the Turks (and gypsies) of eastern Thrace, the Bulgarophone Pomaks [*q.v.*] of the Rhodopes, and the Turks of Rhodes [see RODOS] and of Kos.

(a) The "Muslim community of the Dodecanese" (principally the islands of Rhodes and Kos, see ON IKI ADA) consists of between three and four thousand Turkish-speakers, most of whom have opted in recent decades for Greek nationality. This is a community in an advanced state of decline, containing a high precentage of elderly people and showing practically no sign of organised community life beyond the absolute minimum (Friday prayers, the major religious festivals, weddings and burials). Its schools have been closed since 1972, and its cultural life as such is virtually non-existent; the mosques, cemeteries, public baths and other buildings belonging to the *wakfs* have been neglected, and the *muftī*, who died in 1974, has not been replaced.

(b) It is very difficult to supply accurate information regarding the Muslim community constituted by the Bulgarophone Pomaks of Greece (some 25,000 persons) living in the mountains of the Rhodopes, along the Bulgarian frontier. This is an exclusively village-based and very introvert community, inhabiting mountainous territory (which is also a military zone) to which access is forbidden to Greeks and to foreigners alike (and which cannot be entered without special authorisation, difficult to obtain). The cultural level of this population seems to be fairly modest (although there exists a *madrasa* at Echinos), and (as in the case of the Pomaks of Bulgaria) no written testimony relating to them is available. Those of them who have come to settle in the towns of eastern Thrace seem to have been gradually assimilated into the Turkish milieu.

(c) We are much better informed regarding the history and the current situation of the Turkish-speaking Muslims of eastern Thrace (between 100,000 and 120,000 persons). These are in the main Turks and a certain number of gypsies but also, perhaps, included among them are a few groups of Roumeliotes from various Balkan regions (and from diverse origins) who turned towards Turkey before 1912 and stopped off on the way. It is a living community, although muzzled by the local authorities and very much dependent on everyday relations between Greece and Turkey, relations in which it is itself a weighty factor. It nevertheless leads a relatively intense religious and cultural life: we may point out the existence of two "major" *muftīs* (those of Xhanti and of Komotini) and one "minor" *muftī* (that of Didimotiho); of an administration of *wakfs*; of numerous religious, sporting and cultural associations; of primary schools; of two secondary schools; and finally, of numerous journals and reviews in Turkish. They write their Turkish in Arabic script, including elementary school books. No precise infor-

mation is available regarding religious life as such, but worth mentioning is a vigorous participation in the pilgrimage to Mecca (200 persons on average over recent years). See Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, 107-83.

(4) Albania. Islamised during the Ottoman domination of the Balkans, this proportion extending to 70% of the population, Albania contained in 1945 (shortly after the seizure of power by the local Communist party, which later became the "Albanian Workers' Party"), 816,677 Muslims. At that time this community exhibited two notable peculiarities: it was on the one hand (unlike the situation in the other countries of the region), a perfectly homogenised community, in view of the fact that all the Muslims of the country were Albanians, by racial stock and by language; on the other hand it was composed in reality of two parallel communities: that of the Sunnīs (very much the majority, comprising 75 to 80% of the Muslims of the country) and that of the Bektās͟hīs [see BEKTĀS͟HIYYA], accounting for the remaining 20 to 25%.

These phenomena had, however, no bearing on the changing fortunes of local Islam (and of religion in general), a process which reached its climax some twenty years later during the Albanian "cultural revolution" of 1967: the date of the absolute suppression by the authorities of the country of all religious organisations and the closure of all places of worship, without exception.

This act had been preceded by two clearly distinct periods, that of 1945-53 and that of 1954-67.

During the first of these periods, the authorities quite rapidly dismantled all the religious organisations, eliminated their religious and secular rivals and ultimately brought into line the leaders of the four religious persuasions (Sunnī and Bektās͟hī Muslims, Orthodox and Catholic Christians), whose official pronouncements demonstrated their degree of subservience to the régime. There is documentary evidence available for this first period which shows, on the one hand, the process of this step-by-step seizure of control, and, on the other, the first attempts of adaptation and internal reform on the part of the two Muslim communities, adaptation which very soon degenerated into total collaboration with the officially approved "clergy".

Documentation subsequently becomes increasingly rare, and practically nothing is known of an official nature regarding Albanian Islam after 1954, with the exception of a few titles of religious publications (year books for the most part) which are now virtually inaccessible. This period of decline is characterised by the fact that the Albanian government no longer seeks public approval from the Muslim authorities for its major policy decisions, excluding them from celebrations and major popular rallies. The final blow was to be struck in 1967.

Two subsequent dates are to be noted: 28 December 1976, the date of the adoption of the new Constitution, of which articles 37 and 55 stipulate: "The State does not recognise any religion; it supports and promotes atheistic propaganda to inculcate in the people the materialist-scientific concept of the world"; "The creation of organisations of fascist, anti-democratic, religious or anti-socialist nature is forbidden"; the second date, end of 1976- beginning of 1977, marks the publication of a decree ordering the changing of names of Biblical or Ḳurʾānic origin.

Officially then, Albanian Islam no longer exists. But is it really dead? The answer to this is unknown. What is undeniably true however, is that the Albanian press periodically castigates religious survivals and calls for vigilance. See ARNAWUTLUḲ; Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, 11-65.

(5) Bulgaria. According to the census of 31 December 1946 (the last official census to take account of the religious affiliation of the population), the Muslim population of Bulgaria numbered 938,418 out of a total of 7,029,349 inhabitants, thus 13.35% of the population of the country. Bearing in mind natural growth on the one hand, and emigrations to Turkey on the other (155,000 in the winter of 1950-51; approximately 300,000 in summer-autumn 1989 [see MUHĀDJIR. 1]), it would currently amount to some 600,000 persons, or possibly more. It consists of four groups which are, from an ethnic viewpoint, very different from one another:

(a) The islamised Bulgarians (about 150,000) who are known as *Pomaci* (singular *Pomak* [*q.v.*]). They speak Bulgarian, have no knowledge whatsoever of the Turkish language and live in the mountains of the Rhodopes and in the region of Razlog. For the most part illiterate until a relatively recent period, they have virtually never had a local intelligentsia. It would be logical to suppose that their assimilation (imposed with excessive force by the authorities in recent years) is in a process of acceleration from day to day, and that their religiosity has suffered since 1878 (the date of the creation of Bulgaria) and especially since 1945, the corrosive effects of time.

(b) The most important group, by far, is that of the Turks. Their number has varied considerably since 1878, and is evidently susceptible to further variation, in view of the volatile and still unpredictable political situation of the region. It is estimated that there are currently some 500,000 (or possibly more) Turks distributed among various regions of Bulgaria (Deli Orman, Dobrudja, along the Danube, the eastern Rhodopes) but we have no knowledge of how many of them are actually believing Muslims.

(c) There are also in Bulgaria a few thousand Tatars, of whom at least a part (impossible to quantify) is of the Muslim religion. They speak Tatar and in the main inhabit the region of the Dobrudja, although there are also a few scattered pockets elsewhere.

(d) Finally, it is appropriate to mention the existence of a certain number of Muslim gypsies, whose exact number is unknown and who are generally of very tenuous religious affiliation.

The religious situation of the Bulgarian Muslim community is very unfavourable. The practice of religion is officially free, but the Bulgarian state has since 1945 followed a sustained policy of secularisation and bulgarisation, using every available means to restrict religious liberty (of Muslims and Christians alike) with the result that today religion is undoubtedly in decline throughout the country. As regards the Muslim community in particular, this is expressed by the following: state appointment of senior religious leaders, suppression of religious festivals, the outlawing of a Muslim press, measures to prevent Bulgarian Muslims from participating in the pilgrimage to Mecca or establishing contacts with external Muslim communities, proliferation of societies of "scientific atheism" designed to intensify work on the land, etc. The recent campaign aimed at the bulgarisation of Turkish names provoked the mass emigration in 1989 of some 300,000 Muslims, a number of whom have however returned to Bulgaria since. See BULGARIA; Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, 66-106.

(6) Yugoslavia. The exact number of Muslims currently living in Yugoslavia is unknown, in view of

the fact that recent censuses have not taken account of the religious affiliations of the population, but their number must exceed, to a considerable extent, the figure of three million out of a total population of 22,418,331 inhabitants (census of 1981).

The three principal groups are located in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Slavs of "Muslim nationality"—whose existence was officially recognised by the authorities, for political reasons, in 1969—Muslims of Serbian nationality and Muslims of Croatian nationality, a total of approximately 2 million persons); in Serbia, in the region of Kosovo (mostly Albanians, slightly more than a million in number, plus several tens of thousands of Turks); finally, in Macedonia (Macedonians of whom the exact number is unknown—100,000-200,000 (?)—as well as several tens of thousands of Albanians, plus about 100,000 Turks). To these three groups, should be added several tens of thousands of Muslims in Montenegro (Montenegrins and Albanians), as well as a several tens of thousands of Muslim gypsies, and tens of thousands of other Muslims, belonging to all the nationalities aforementioned, dispersed throughout the country. Thus it is evident that the Yugoslav Muslim community exists in the form of numerous regional communities whose official (and non-official) relations with the authorities, and whose actual situation on the ground, show significant differences. For this reason, the researcher seeking to unravel and understand this complex situation should examine the case of each of these communities separately.

(a) There is little of significance to be said regarding the Muslim community of Montenegro [see ḲARADAGH], whose representatives are seldom seen in public and play, in any case, a modest role in the administration of the "Supreme Islamic Authority" of Yugoslavia.

(b) The Muslim community of Serbia is composed of Albanians. Its centre is located at Priština which is the capital of the region of Kosovo. The community possesses a *madrasa* (of inferior status compared to that of Sarajevo) and publishes, in Albanian, its own religious review entitled *Edukata Islame*, which is generally considered to be an edition aimed at the Albanian populations of the country, of the official Yugoslav Muslim review *Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starješinstva* of Sarajevo.

(c) Little has been heard since 1945 of the Muslim community of Macedonia [see MĀḲADŪNYĀ] (composed, as stated above, of Macedonians, Albanians and Turks), whose recent and present circumstances have been a subject generally avoided. The riots of Kosovo in April 1981 and the fears of the Macedonian authorities, faced with a massive influx of Albanians from Kosovo into Macedonia (a further manifestation of a process which has been continuing for decades), suddenly set in motion a whole series of actions (it is impossible to be more specific), concerning a part of this community. This has since been balanced by the hasty construction and inauguration of a regional *madrasa* at Skoplje, by the launch of a local Islamic religious review, and most of all by a quite extraordinary insistence on the Macedonian origin of the local Muslim Slavs, whose existence and potential as an object for research are issues to which efforts are now being addressed.

(d) The Muslim community of Bosnia-Herzegovina [see BOSNA] is the most numerous and the most important Muslim community of Yugoslavia. It possesses a renowned *madrasa* and a Faculty of Islamic theology, maintains direct and solid relations with the majority of Arab and Muslim countries, published a number of journals and reviews, and every year sends scores of scholarship students to study theology in Arab universities, in Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Saudi Arabia, Libya, etc. The political decisions taken (since the Bandoeng Conference in 1955) by the Yugoslav authorities regarding Arab and Muslim countries and regarding countries of the Third World in general, had permitted the Muslim community of Yugoslavia (meaning that of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the origin of all the senior leaders) to enjoy a more stable situation than ever before, with considerable freedom of action and not insignificant material advantages. But this privileged position has declined to a great extent over recent years, for a whole series of reasons of which the most important is the intensification of ethnic and religious antagonisms, following the Yugoslav economic disaster and the beginnings of the collapse of the Communist dictatorship which ostensibly favoured the Muslim community to the detriment of the other religious communities of the country.

Since the history of these various groups of Muslims of Yugoslavia is beyond the scope of this article, we shall confine ourselves to describing very briefly, in a global fashion, the current situation.

The Yugoslav Muslim community is composed of four quite distinct strata:

The urban intelligentsia which is non-believing and entirely secularised, to the extent that it considers itself simply as being "of Muslim descent", and has virtually no contact either with the Muslim religious authorities or with the Muslim press of its country (except in the case of a complex political game between the Muslims in power, belonging to the recently recognised "Muslim nationality", and those who govern the Muslim religious affairs of the country).

A popular stratum, composed of the rural population and of the urban middle and lower classes, which professes a traditionalist Islam linked inextricably to certain local customs and traditions. This category lives in a style that belongs intimately to the totality of the Islamic *umma* of yesterday and of today, to which it feels itself bound by the whole of the common mythic past. The characteristic features of this category are universally known: the great importance of the family and of family ties, high birth-rate, primacy of males, relative absence of the woman in social life, primitive level of religious education, importance of magical-religious customs and (sometimes) of Muslim mystical sects, strict observance of religious festivals, a perceived attractiveness of the pilgrimage to Mecca, etc.

The Muslim religious intelligentsia, composed most of all (although not exclusively) of the urban middle classes, which generally professes a reformist Islam adapted to a pronounced socialistic tendency. The representatives of this category have often studied in the Arab countries: in Cairo (al-Azhar), in Medina, in Libya or in the Gulf States, having received their initial education in local Muslim theological high schools, and remain much influenced by a certain category of contemporary Arabic religious publications. They are by nature very mistrustful of western scientific Islamology (and of orientalism in general), disciplines which most of the time they are aware of only at second or third hand, but which are supposed to be the most subtle weapons of Western imperialism and of other "maleficent forces" of our time. On the other hand, the representatives of this category admire immensely European apologetic publications of inferior quality, publica-

tions which they distribute on a wide scale alongside their own home-produced articles, on the major figures of the Muslim world of the past (Ibn Khaldūn, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Avicenna and Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī in the first place). However, it is futile to seek, on the part of the current Yugoslav Muslim religious intelligentsia (for tactical reasons?), any statement of position or controversial issues such as the policies of Gaddafi, Khomeini, etc.

Finally, there is a (currently still very small) stratum of young Islamologists and Muslim "orientalists" (who are divided into two groups, that of theologians and religious functionaries, and that of secular persons of Muslim descent), experienced in modern scientific methods and perfectly conversant with the results obtained in these disciplines outside the frontiers of the country, which is making gradual progress but in rather difficult circumstances. In fact, as regards Islam and the Muslim world, it is caught in a vice between the mistrust and suspicion of local traditionalist Muslims on the one hand, and the incomprehension, more or less total, of non-Muslim Yugoslav intellectuals on the other. See Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, 254-365.

Bibliography: Given in the article. It should however be stressed here that a large section of the press of the Arab and Muslim countries (either for ideological reasons, or influenced by a naïve tendency towards apologia belonging to another age, or a combination of both) is in the habit of inflating figures to a considerable extent and of presenting a mythical vision of the situation, much removed from what is to be observed "on the ground". For an impression of the damage which this deplorable tendency is liable to produce even in the best work, see for example M. Ali Kettani, *Islam in Post-Ottoman Balkans: a review essay* in *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, ix/2 (July 1988), 381-403. (A. Popovic)

2. Migrant Muslims in Western Europe.

(i) Until 1945

There have been individual Muslim traders, diplomats and travellers visiting and sometimes settling in Europe probably for as long as Islam has existed historically. In eastern Europe, the Tatar successors of the Mongol empires and the Turkish and Islamicised populations of former Ottoman territories continue to form substantial Muslim communities today. However, this article will concentrate exclusively on the immigrant Muslim populations of the countries of western Europe.

Although the Muslim presence in western Europe is in general conceived of as being a phenomenon of the years after 1945, the roots of Muslim immigration can be traced back to the 19th century and earlier. Thus the origins of the Muslim communities in Germany lie in the increasingly close links which the German states developed with the Ottoman empire through periods of war and peace. A substantial number of stragglers and prisoners were left in the southern German states after the second siege of Vienna in 1683. During the 18th century, the Prussian kings regularly had Muslim units. A century later trading treaties between Istanbul and various German states were the impulse for a growing Muslim presence to the extent that the Ottoman sultan patronised a mosque built in a Muslim cemetery in Berlin in 1866. The links with the Ottoman empire leading into the first world war ensured a continuing close economic and diplomatic relationship between Turkey and the unified German state.

The link between the European colonial powers and their colonies as a determinant of migration routes is even clearer in the cases of Britain and France. The British East India Company had from an early date taken on labour for its ships in the ports of India and dismissed them to fend for themselves in London between sailings. Some of these seamen settled to join the already large numbers of Asians and Africans living in London and other ports. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Muslim component of these groups increased, as British ships took on labourers from the Yemen through the coaling station at Aden. Soon Yemenis were settling in port cities and marrying locally. At the end of the 19th century a *shaykh* of the ʿAlawī Ṣūfī order arrived, and by 1914 every Yemeni settlement in Britain had a *zāwiya* of that order. The first mosques were opened for more cosmopolitan Muslim communities in Liverpool (1891) and Woking (1889). The Liverpool mosque did not survive the outbreak of the First World War, but the Woking mosque continued as a lively centre between the two world wars. For some time it was linked with the Lahōrī branch of the Aḥmadiyya movement [*q.v.*], and both the two Ḳurʾān translators Marmaduke Pickthall [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh Yūsuf ʿAlī were associated with it. But as the early sponsors of the mosque died and relations between the Aḥmadīs and the mainstream Sunnīs broke down, especially in British India, the leaders of the Woking mosque declared their adherence to Sunnī Islam in 1935. In 1944, King George VI inaugurated the Islamic Cultural Centre on a site in Regent's Park donated in exchange for a site in Cairo for the new Anglican cathedral.

Muslim immigration into France before 1945 shows, perhaps, much greater continuity of character than elsewhere. Certainly there were businessmen and students, the most well-known of the latter being the Egyptians sent by Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and his successors. But already before the First World War there were labour migrants from Algeria, most of them from Kabyle tribes, and by 1912 there was a significant Algerian labour force in olive oil refining and related industries in the region of Marseilles. Others were to be found in the industrial areas of the east and the north. During the First World War, there was a major immigration of Moroccans, Algerians and Tunisians into the civil and defence industries including a majority of requisitioned men. In recognition of this war involvement, the French government sponsored the opening of a mosque in Paris in 1926. North Africans continued to seek work in France between the wars, although the uncertain economic situation, especially after 1929, made for an often erratic pattern of movement back and forth. During the Second World War, the Vichy government in 1942 contracted to supply North African labour to help the Germans build the Atlantic Wall.

(ii) After 1945

Immediately after 1945, the economies of Europe were for a short time busy working towards reconstruction of industry and absorption of military personnel into the civilian labour force. But soon growing economies began to seek labour further and further afield. The first West Indian immigrants had begun to arrive in Britain by 1950, and during the following decade people from the Indian subcontinent joined the movement, although it was not till the end of the decade that significant numbers of Pakistanis migrated. In France the number of Algerians reached over 200,000 in the 1954 census. For a time, much of the rest of Europe, including West Germany, was able to staff its expanding industry from the poorer coun-

tries in southern Europe: Greece, Yugoslavia, Italy, Spain and Portugal. But in 1961 Germany entered into a treaty with Turkey for the supply of industrial labour. During this decade Turkey entered into similar agreements with Austria, the Netherlands, France and Sweden. In 1962, in the Evian agreement ending the Algerian war of independence, France granted privileged access to Algerians, and in the following year West Germany signed a labour agreement with Morocco, as did the Netherlands in 1969. Other countries to enter into such treaties were Denmark, Belgium and Switzerland, while Tunisia joined the countries sending migrant workers abroad.

Virtually all the migrants who entered western Europe during this period came to work and had no intention of settling. This perspective began to change when the gates were closed to men seeking work. It was in Britain that this first happened with the introduction of the first Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962. Ten years later, the rest of the countries of western Europe followed suit, as economies went into stagnation or recession with the rise of oil prices. Immigration continued to take place in substantial numbers, but it was now wives and children who arrived. As families were established, so practical issues of everyday life necessitated a much more conscious definition of attitudes towards Islam and its cultural expression than hitherto had been the case. Family relations of a traditional type were open to question, as the extended family was broken up by migration. The role of male and female both inside and outside the family became a critical area, as women had to shoulder much more individual responsibility in running family affairs, while their husbands were working unsocial hours. They had to deal with social and health authorities in surroundings which were alien to their experience. Children had to go to schools which had little or no comprehension of the force of Islam in their lives. Children have been growing up in cultural and political systems which have emphasised tolerance and liberty of thought but which, with an ever stronger experience of prejudice and racism, are perceived to have withheld that tolerance from the Muslim communities.

A direct consequence of family reunion in European cities has been the appearance and growth of institutional expressions of Islam. Soon after the 1962 Immigration Act in Britain, the number of mosques started to rise, until an annual registration rate of about thirty was reached in the late 1970s. A similar growth in the number of mosques can be noted in other European countries after 1972-4. At the same time, the various Muslim movements of the countries of origin joined the immigration and set up branches among their compatriots in Europe. In this process, both the countries of origin and other Muslim countries have sought to take a hand. The influence of some oil-rich states has been exaggerated, despite often substantial amounts of assistance which have been granted.

By the mid-1980s there was evidence of a change of emphasis among young Muslims who had been born in Europe or had arrived at a very young age. On the one hand, they were beginning to question their parents' assumption of complete congruence between Islam and its particular cultural expression. Many young people were beginning to develop conceptions of a Muslim life which was compatible with, though not the same as, the way of life of their surroundings. Others have sought Islamic identification clearly distinct from that of their European surroundings. Others again, though fewer, have moved into political and social commitment in the European surroundings, usually in some form of radical activism against racism.

Individual countries

In the following paragraphs, the specific situation of each country, or group of countries, will be outlined with reference to the numbers and ethnic origins of the Muslim communities, the types of Muslim organisations and mosques and their legal status. Hardly any countries maintain religious statistics, so population figures have to be estimated from nationality figures, with the exception of Britain where the base is data on place of birth. At various times censuses have been held, but most regular statistics (again with the exception of Britain) are those issued annually by the civil registries, which in most countries keep records of all residents by district. This does not, by definition, include those who are "irregular" or "illegal". The data on mosques is equally uncertain because legal definitions of places of worship differ not only among countries but also internally as between national legislation and local authority regulations for different purposes such as taxation or town-planning. In the following, the term "mosque" means any building which is used regularly for prayer and often as a place of at least simple Islamic instruction — hence most mosques, on these terms, are older buildings converted to Muslim use.

France. The overall population of Muslim background is about 3 million. The 1981 census showed about 800,000 Algerians, 430,000 Moroccans, 190,000 Tunisians, and 125,000 Turks. In addition, there are nearly half a million "Harkis", Algerians who had remained loyal to France during the war of independence. There are also a fast-growing number of Muslims from West Africa, especially Senegal and Mali. The largest concentrations of North African Muslims are to be found in and around Paris, Lyon and Marseilles. Turks have particularly settled around Lille and in Alsace, as well as Paris. The vast majority of immigrants have retained their nationality of origin, but their children born in France are entitled to French nationality if they wish. Strict separation between church and state from the beginning of the 20th century has meant that, with the exception of the Paris mosque, Muslims have had to rely on their own resources. In 1976, a new law was passed allowing public support for the cultural activities also of Muslim associations, and in 1981 an old distinction between foreign and French associations was abolished. A 1978 estimate indicated that there were at least 87 mosques and prayer houses, while a 1985 estimate suggests almost one thousand. Many early organisations were linked with Algerian or Moroccan political conflicts, but with time other movements have entered the field. The Ṣūfī orders of the countries of origin maintain a strong presence also in France. West African Muslims were prominent in the creation of immigrant trade unions during the automobile factory strikes in the early 1980s. Since then, a major new development has been the spread of the *D̲j̲amāʿat al-Tablīg̲h̲*, known in France as *Foi et pratique*.

Great Britain. Serious attempts to estimate the Muslim population of Britain reach about one million, although some Muslim spokesmen claim up to three times as many. About one-third of the total originate in Pakistan and a further 10% each of the total from India and Bangladesh. Smaller significant groups come from the countries of East Africa, mostly of Indian origin, West Africa, Cyprus, Malaysia,

Iran, and a variety of Arab countries. People from all of these ethnic origins are concentrated in London. Outside London, Muslim populations, overwhelmingly of Indian subcontinent origin, are concentrated in the West Midlands around Birmingham, in Yorkshire around Bradford, in Manchester and its suburbs, with smaller but still significant communities in cities like Glasgow, Leicester, Sheffield, Leeds, Cardiff and Southampton. As most of the countries of origin are members of the Commonwealth, British law allowed routine extension of nationality until 1983. All children born in Britain are automatically citizens. So by the end of the 1980s almost half of the Muslim community is British by birth, while the majority of the rest have acquired full British passports. While some of the older churches operate under parliamentary legislation, there is no general legal framework for the recognition of religious communities. Most Muslim organisations and mosques are registered under the law of charitable organisations. The first major growth in the number of mosques took place after 1964 and accelerated from the mid-1970s. By 1985 there were almost 400 mosques at a time when the registration of new mosques was averaging thirty a year. The process of organisation has been dominated by movements migrating from the Indian subcontinent. As most Pakistanis have come from Punjabi and Mirpuri villages, the Barēlwī movement and its various subgroups is prominent. Against them have often been ranged the Deobandi network and its related movement *Djamāʿat al-Tablīgh*. A smaller movement in numbers, but influential and widely visible outside the community, is the *Djamāʿat-i-Islāmī* with its daughter organisations in Britain: the UK Islamic Mission, the Muslim Educational Trust, and the Islamic Foundation. Ṣūfī-related groups have taken on a more public shape during the 1970s, particularly Naḳshabandīs, Ḳādirīs, and Čishīs, in addition to the older ʿAlawī presence.

West Germany. The total of less than two million Muslims in 1988 is made up of an overwhelming majority of around 1.5 million Turks. The rest are small numbers (tens of thousands) of Iranians, Pakistanis, Moroccans, Tunisians, and Arabs of various nationalities. Between a quarter and a third are resident in the federal state of North-Rhine-Westphalia, concentrated in the industrial region from Cologne in the south through Duisburg to Dortmund in the north-east. Other concentrations are to be found in all the major industrial cities across the Federal Republic. Most Muslims remain of foreign nationality, partly because it has become increasingly difficult to acquire West German citizenship but also because government policy has been that the foreign communities are migrants, or "guest workers", not immigrants and settlers. The Federal Republic has a legal status of recognised public body (*Körperschaft öffentlichen Rechts*) by which the main churches and the Jewish communities have an arrangement whereby a voluntary "church tax" is collected by the state on their behalf. Since the early 1970s, a number of different Muslim organisations have sought similar recognition without success. However, under existing legislation Muslim organisations have access to public funding for cultural activities (usually flexibly interpreted by the authorities) and are entitled to Islamic instruction in schools for Muslim children. The latter issue has been complicated by the lack of agreement to cooperate among various Muslim organisations, and in consequence some state governments have taken the initiative to develop such instruction. There are almost one thousand mosques across the country, including several in West Berlin. Until the early 1980s, most Turkish Muslim associations, almost all linked to a mosque, were related to movements banned in Turkey. The largest of these were the Süleymanis with smaller numbers linked to the Milli Görüs and the Nurcülük (*Djāmiʿat al-Nūr*). Then a more active religious policy on the part of the Turkish government, encouraged by the German government, led to a significant growth in the number of mosques and associations linked to a federation sponsored by the Religious Affairs Department of the Prime Minister's Office (*Diyanet*), so that this grouping has become the largest by the end of the 1980s. There is an active association of German-speaking Muslims and a number of organisations grouping together various Muslim ethnic communities.

Netherlands. The Dutch Central Bureau for statistics is one of the few such agencies in Europe which keeps religious data. In 1986 it gave a figure of 337,900 Muslims of foreign origin at a time when the general trend was upwards at an annual rate of about 5,000 a year. The majority of this population was in 1988 made up of 180,000 Turks and 120,000 Moroccans. The largest proportion of the remainder were Surinamese of Indian origin and a few thousand each from Pakistan, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, and Arabs other than Moroccans. The Muslims are concentrated in the major conurbations of Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam, with smaller communities in most other significant industrial centres. The vast majority of Muslims remain citizens of their countries of origin. The Netherlands is constitutionally a lay state with strict separation between religion and state. Part of the system is, however, a recognition of the social and institutional function of the religious communities, traditionally the Catholic and the various Protestant churches, in particular their involvement in education. Government structures have, through commissions of inquiry, local support, and the like, attempted to incorporate the new Muslim presence into the traditional system, with mixed results. A Muslim organisation has been allocated regular times on Dutch radio and television. Since 1988, over ten publicly-funded Muslim schools have opened. There are over two hundred mosques. On the Moroccan side, most are autonomous, although there have been attempts to organise them through a federation sponsored by the Moroccan government. On the Turkish side, the pattern of organisation is similar to that in West Germany.

Belgium. The total number of Muslims was in the region of 300,000 in 1986, two-thirds of whom were from North Africa, mainly Moroccans, and the majority of the rest Turks. The main concentration is around Brussels, with other significant communities in the main industrial towns. While most remain citizens of the country of origin, Belgian nationality law was changed in the late 1980s to make acquisition of Belgian nationality significantly easier. In 1974 Belgium added Islam to the list of recognised religious communities with the consequence, in Belgian law, that Muslim children would be entitled to Islamic instruction in schools at public expense. It took almost ten years for the implementation of this under the central direction of the Islamic Cultural Centre in Brussels. The process has not been without problems because the Centre is sponsored by the Muslim diplomatic community with Saudi Arabian leadership, a situation which many Turkish and Moroccan associations have found unsatisfactory. The pattern of Turkish and Moroccan associations is similar to that in West Germany and France respectively.

Austria. The Muslim population of about 100,000 at the end of the 1980s consists mostly of Turks, but there are about 15,000 Yugoslavs and almost 10,000 Austrians. Muslims are concentrated in the region of Vienna and the western province of Vorarlberg. Most Muslims retain their nationality of origin. The majority of Austrian Muslims are descended from Muslim citizens of the old Austro-Hungarian empire who moved to Vienna in the decades before the end of the empire. With the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, the imperial government sponsored Muslim institutions within the government structures, including a *Muftī* in Vienna. In 1912 Islam was given full recognition, but the law fell into disuse after 1918. In 1979 the law was revived, giving the Muslim community access to religious instruction in schools and to religious broadcasting on the government radio and television. There are about thirty mosques in the country, most linked to organisations which are affiliated to the legally recognised federal association.

Switzerland. The 1980 census recorded just over 56,000 Muslim residents. Estimates based on residence registrations by nationality suggests a total of about 100,000 at the end of 1988, a figure which does not include substantial numbers of mainly Yugoslav seasonal workers. Half of the total were Turks, about a quarter Yugoslavs, and most of the rest from North Africa. Muslim communities are to be found in most larger cities, in particular Basel, Zürich and Geneva. Most retain their citizenship of origin, since acquisition of Swiss nationality is difficult. There is no legislation specifically for Muslims, whose associations function under the general law of associations. There are no data on mosques but there are records of about thirty Muslim associations, mostly linked with the various Turkish movements known elsewhere in Europe.

Scandinavia. Sweden since 1945 has, in addition to immigrants, also had a relatively liberal refugee policy. Consequently, it is particularly difficult to estimate the number of Muslims, since many of the large number of Turkish citizens are Syrian Orthodox Christians. Two different government publications gave 37,000 in 1981 and 22,000 in 1984. Another source estimated 70,000 in 1989, whilst others estimate 100,000 in 1991. Whatever the figure, most are of Turkish origin (including a large number of Kurds) with a smaller group of Yugoslavs. The largest concentrations are in greater Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Many have become Swedish citizens. Next to the Lutheran state church, all religious congregations with a membership above a certain number are entitled to state funding, and many Muslim congregations have achieved this status on a regular basis. There are about fifty mosques, but the influence of Turkish Muslim associations of the kind to be found in West Germany is minimal.

The Muslim population in Denmark approached 50,000 in the late 1980s. Over half originate from Turkey, and there is also a significant Pakistani population. During the 1980s, the number of Iranians increased from a few hundred to almost 10,000. The vast majority live in and around Copenhagen and smaller numbers in provincial cities such as Odense and Aarhus. Most retain their original nationality, although a number of Pakistanis are nationals of the United Kingdom, having immigrated under European Community rules. Mosques and associations operate under the general laws of association, but the liberal "free school" legislation has allowed the creation of about a dozen publicly funded Muslim schools, mostly in and around Copenhagen.

In 1984 there were around 15,000 Muslims in Norway, half of whom were Pakistanis, and the rest mainly from Turkey and Morocco. Well over half were resident in and around Oslo. The Norwegian government gives financial assistance to religious congregations, by the late 1980s to about a dozen.

Southern Europe. Reliable information on the Muslim communities in Italy, Spain and Portugal is almost impossible to find, primarily because the vast majority of foreigners are unregistered. In Portugal, most Muslims, possibly two-thirds of a total of 50,000, are stateless immigrants from former Portuguese colonies in India or southern Africa. Under General Franco, Islam was forbidden in Spain, and it is only slowly that Muslims are coming to public notice. Most are immigrants or temporary residents from Morocco or Algeria. Italy has the largest number of immigrant Muslims, some estimates ranging as high as 200,000, mostly from North Africa including a good proportion of Libyans. To be found in almost all major industrial cities, there are particularly large numbers in Sicily around Palermo.

Bibliography: Regular information on Muslims in Europe can be found in *CIBEDO* (Frankfurt), in *Research Papers: Muslims in Europe*, and its successor *CSIC Papers: Europe* (Birmingham), and in *Hommes et migration* (Paris). Official data on foreign nationals in selected countries are summarised in the annual *SOPEMI Report* (Paris, OECD). Overviews of the history of migrant Muslims in western Europe are to be found in J.S. Nielsen, *Muslims in Europe*, in *Renaissance and modern studies* (Nottingham University), xxxi, 58-73; F. Dasetto and A. Bastenier, *Europa: nuova frontiera dell' Islam*, Rome 1988; Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe*, Edinburgh 1992; T. Gerholm and Y.G. Lithman (eds.), *The new Islamic presence in Europe*, London 1988, is a collection of articles covering most of western Europe, with good bibliography for individual countries. For statistics relating to Muslim populations in the world at *ca.* 1960, see ISLĀM, ii. (J.S. NIELSEN)

3. Migrant Muslims in the Americas [see DJĀLIYA].

4. The so-called "Black Muslims" or *Bilāliyyūn*.

(a) *History*. The organisation of the Black Muslims, also known as the Nation of Islam, was founded in Detroit in 1931 by Wallace D. Fard (1877?-1934?), variously referred to as Wallace Fard Muhammad, W.F. Muhammad, Walli Farrad, Prof. Ford, Farrad Muhammad etc., under the name Allah Temple of Islam. He had previously been associated with the Moorish-American movement founded in 1913 by Noble Drew Ali, formerly Timothy Drew from North Carolina. The name refers to the fact that the organisation was composed of Black Muslims, descendants of the "Moors" among the Spanish conquistadores, who first introduced Islam to the New World, and because in the English colonies, the only Muslim presence was among the slaves imported from sub-Saharan Africa. It is alleged that Wallace D. Fard was born in Mecca of mixed Arab and European parentage. It is more likely that he was of Turko-Persian origin. (For divergent opinions regarding Wallace D. Fard's origins and nationality, see C.E. Lincoln, 1973, 14, and E.U. Essien-Udom, 1962, 44 f. He was allegedly born on 26 February, a day which under his immediate successor was celebrated as Saviour's Day, but is today observed as Ethnic Survival Day by the movement.) He established the Fruits of Islam, a paramilitary élite trained in karate and the use of firearms to act as the normal right arm of the Black Muslims. Its members provided security,

searched everyone who entered a mosque or major meeting, acted as ushers, and sometimes as enforcers of discipline. He disappeared under mysterious circumstances in 1934. After some internal conflict among his followers, Elijah Muhammad (1897-1975), formerly E. Poole, the son of a Baptist preacher in Georgia, who had moved to Detroit in 1923 in search of work and had become acquainted with Wallace D. Fard in 1931, led a major faction of the organisation to Chicago, which became the main headquarters of the movement. Under Elijah Muhammad's leadership the movement was consolidated and grew, emerging in the 1950s as the most prominent organisation of Muslims in the United States, holding considerable property. Its prominence was further enhanced at this time by the conversion of Malcolm Little (1925-65), also the son of a Baptist preacher, later to become known as Malcolm X, signifying that he was an ex-smoker, ex-drinker, ex-Christian and ex-slave. Doctrinal disputes with other African-American groups as well as predominantly Arab ones also strengthened the movement. Because of its numerical strength, its popular appeal among African-Americans, who appreciated its outspokenness on socio-economic conditions and its alleged Islamic character, the organisation was seen as a possible ally of the Muslim World, particularly in countries such as Egypt, India and Pakistan, which were showing an interest in international Islam. To strengthen these relations, Elijah Muhammad visited Egypt, Ethiopia, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria and Turkey in 1959, where he met Muslim scholars and politicians including the former Shaykh al-Azhar, Maḥmūd Shaltūt and Gamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. His regard for Muslims in the East was diminished by the poor social and economic conditions he encountered among them.

The rise of political radicalism in Africa, the Middle East and the United States, the growth of the immigrant Muslim population and the new organisations founded by them, had a profound impact on the Black Muslims. The emergence of Pakistan in 1947, the Egyptian revolution in 1952, the independence of Sudan and the nationalisation of the Suez canal in 1956, encouraged Elijah Muhammad to demand that the United States allocate land to be controlled exclusively by his followers. Malcolm X played a central role in conveying Elijah Muhammad's message in the United States as well as abroad. He became one of the most articulate critics of racial injustice in the United States during the civil rights period. He rejected the non-violent approach of Martin Luther King, Jr., arguing that separatism and self-determination were necessary if Blacks were to achieve full equality.

After 1964, when Malcolm X had made the pilgrimage and been converted to orthodox Islam, taking the name El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, a *nisba* derived from the teachings of Wallace D. Fard claiming that the Black African diaspora were all of Muslim heritage, the "lost-found members of the tribe of Shabazz", and as a result of an internal scandal known as the "Elijah affair" which referred to Elijah Muhammad consorting with his secretaries and fathering a number of children, Malcolm X left the organisation and founded his own one, the Muslim Mosque, Inc. in New York. He published *Muhammad Speaks*, now renamed *Bilalian News*. Shortly after he was assassinated,

When Elijah Muhammad died in 1975 his son, variously referred to as Warithuddin Muhammad, Wallace or Warith Deen Muhammad, Chief Imam Wallace D. Muhammad, etc., in spite of three expulsions for disobedience by his father, succeeded him to the leadership of the Nation of Islam. Influenced by his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1967, he started a process of moving the organisation towards embracing orthodox Islam as soon as he took over the leadership, opening up membership to Whites and encouraging his followers to participate in the civic, social and political life of the country. Up to this point the Black Muslims, with their notion of Black supremacy, were not Muslims by any definition of that word, e.g. they had been observing seven daily prayers and fasted in December. Black Muslims observed Ramaḍān for the first time in 1976. The name was changed to World Community of Islam in the West (WCIW) and subsequently to American Muslim Mission (AMM), indicating that he was trying to develop closer links with the worldwide community of Muslims, an attempt also indicated by the use of the name Bilalians. The same emphasis appears in the community's weekly *American Muslim Journal*. Like his father he established cordial relations with leading religious and political figures in the Muslim world, including Anwar Sādāt. Muslim World leaders have always been interested in establishing an indigenous outpost in the United States. By inviting Warith Deen Muhammad to participate in the Annual Islamic Conferences of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and in 1978 naming him the sole consultant and trustee for the recommendation and distribution of funds to all Muslim organisations engaged in *daʿwa* or missionary work in the United States, they have found a way of doing so. He has been given the title *mudjaddid* and the rights of certifying the *ḥadjdj* to Mecca from the United States.

These changes were rejected by some Black Muslims. Under the leadership of Minister Louis Farrakhan, also known as Minister Louis X, born Louis Eugene Walcott, they broke away from the American Muslim Mission in 1977 and returned to the original teachings and ideals of Elijah Muhammad. They publish *The Final Call*, originally started by Elijah Muhammad in 1934 and resurrected by Louis Farrakhan in 1979. This group demands social and economic justice for all Black People, equality of employment and education, the freeing of Black prisoners, control of Black institutions and a separate territory. They denigrate integration with whites. In 1984 he pledged a voter registration drive for Jesse Jackson, convinced that a black man could make a credible run for the U.S. Presidency. His fund-raising visit to Libya and his anti-Jewish pronouncements as when he told Jews, "Don't push your 6 million (Holocaust) victims when we (Negroes) lost 100 million (in slavery)". forced Jackson to repudiate the views for which Farrakhan had become notorious. In the 1988 presidential elections he supported Jesse Jackson against Michael S. Dukakis.

Schisms are not a new phenomenon among Black Muslims. In the 1960s, Hamaas Abdul Khaalis led a secession of Ḥanafī Muslims. One Abdul Muhammad, who rejected Wallace D. Fard's teaching that Black Muslims were not Americans and did not owe allegiance to the American flag, led another splinter group, based on loyalty to the American Constitution and the flag. The latter group has not survived.

(b) *Doctrines*. The original Black Muslim movement had basic beliefs that did not conform with Orthodox Islam. Basic to their doctrines was the "hidden truth" regarding the knowledge about the Black Man, God, the devil, the universe, etc. It assigns a cosmic significance to the racial divisions of the human race.

Their creed expresses their Black nationalistic trends. It stated, "In the Name of Allah who came in the person of Master Farad Muhammad, the Beneficient, the Merciful, the One God to whom all things is due, the Lord of the Worlds and his Apostle, the Honourable Elijah Muhammad, the last of the Messengers of Allah". God, in their thinking, was incarnated in a Black person and had as his prophet another Black person. The ascription of divinity to Wallace D. Fard was a gradual process. Initially, he represented himself to his Detroit followers as a brother and an emissary of the Muslim World. He assured them that racially he was one of them, and that all belonged to the first inhabitants of earth, the Original Black Man. He subsequently became known as the *Mahdī*, Prophet and the Son of Man, who had been expected for two thousand years. It is said that he later upgraded his status and announced that he was the Supreme Ruler, Allah in person.

This anthropomorphic concept of God, under Elijah Muhammad, took on a collective dimension. Allah seems to have become identical with the collective entity of the Original People, the Black Nation, the Righteous. Thus the Ḳurʾānic verse "He is the first and the last" (LVII, 3) came to mean that the Black Man was the first and the last, was the maker and owner of the universe. Hence all Blacks were Allah, yet one of them was so in a special sense. Knowledge, wisdom and power were His chief attributes.

Similarly the belief in the Messenger of God has been centred around the person of Elijah Muhammad. The Black Muslims believed in the earlier prophets, including Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, conceding that the Ḳurʾān was revealed but otherwise ignoring if not belittling him. He was described as "a sign of the real Muhammad". A corollary of this is the claim that Elijah Muhammad's interpretations of the Scriptures were authoritative and that they, including the Ḳurʾān were time-bound. It has been misinterpreted by most Muslim scholars and will be superseded by another revelation.

They believed in the metaphysical view that identifies whiteness with evil and white people with the devil. Yakub, a Black mad scientist in rebellion against Allah, created the white race, a weak hybrid race devoid of any humanity. The race would rule for 6,000 years through trickery and deviousness, causing chaos and destruction. At the end of their time their rule would end in a cosmic apocalyptic battle with the Black Man, who would emerge victorious, since he belongs to a higher order of humanity. This central teaching about Yakub functions as a theodicy, as an explanation and rationalisation for the pain and suffering inflicted upon Black people in America.

Black Muslim eschatology is earthy. The Day of Judgement will occur late in the 20th century. It will mark the destruction of American international, political and economic hegemony. Heaven, thought to be in Mecca or the Muslim world, was said to be a human state of material welfare and spiritual peace. Hell was supposed to be in America, which would be consumed by fire. The political developments in the Middle East in the 1950s and the throwing off of the colonial yoke were events with an eschatological significance. Prophetically, the "devil" was being thrown out of the Original Man's lands. The Hereafter is the period which will follow the end of the dominance of the White man and the destruction of his "world of sin" inaugurating the never-ending rule of the Original and righteous man. Consistent with their denial of "spirit God", they do not believe in life after death. Heaven is on earth and consists of freedom, justice, equality, money, good houses and friendships in all walks of life, enjoying peace of mind and contentment with the God of the righteous and the Nation of the righteous.

Elijah Muhammad's debates with Muslim scholars during his visit in 1959 influenced him in two directions. On the one hand, he was impressed by their arguments in favour of the transcendence of Allah, the mission of the prophet Muḥammad, and the natural humanity of European-Americans, in spite of the fact that these were in direct contrast to those he propagated as fundamental to his religious and social philosophy. On the other hand, it seems to have confirmed him in his convictions that his was the "true" Islam.

Malcolm X's religious beliefs were influenced by developments in the Middle East and his experiences there in 1960 and 1964, and became interwoven with his activist political ideology. Whereas Elijah Muhammad had used the expression "God helps those who help themselves" (cf. Ḳurʾān, VIII, 55/53, XIII, 12/11), Malcolm X's characteristic phrase was "God aids those who get involved and do their utmost to change their circumstances". Islam, nationalism and socialism were compatible. Reference was made to the ancient states of Ghana, Mali and Songhay which had been ruled by Muslims. Arabic, Hausa and Swahili names were adopted, and an emphasis placed on learning Arabic.

His ideas became the foundation on which Warith Deen Muhammad was to build after 1975. Thus he discarded the belief in the divinity of Wallace D. Fard, the apostleship of his father, describing him as a social reformer, the evil nature of European-Americans and the superiority of one people over another. The former hostile position of the Black Muslims towards the govennment of the United States, Christian and Jewish groups, has given way to a conciliatory attitude. Warithuddin Muhammad has participated in several dialogue encounters between Christians, Jews and Muslims. He is opposed to any representation of God. He denounces the Christian Caucasian image of God because of its undertones of racism. In spite of the rapprochement to Islamic orthodoxy, the community has retained its distinctiveness vis-à-vis immigrant Muslim communities.

Bibliography: Z.I. Ansari, *Aspects of Black Muslim theology*, in *SI*, liii (1981), 137-76; G. Breitman (ed.), *Malcolm X speaks: selected speeches and statements*, New York 1965; B. Cushmeer, *This is the one: Messenger Elijah Muhammad: we need not look for another*, Phoenix, Arizona 1971; E.U. Essien-Udom, *Black nationalism: a search for an identity in America*, Chicago 1962; Y.Y. Haddad (ed.), *The Muslims of America*, Oxford 1991; C.E. Lincoln, *Black Muslims in America*, Boston 1973; L. Lomax, *When the Word is given: a report on Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X and the Black Muslim World*, Cleveland 1963; Malcolm X and A. Haley, *The autobiography of Malcolm X*, New York 1966; L.H. Mamiya, *From Black Muslim to Bilalian: the evolution of a movement*, in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 1988, 138-58; idem, *Minister Louis Farrakhan and the final call: schism in the Muslim Movement*, in *The Muslim community in North America*, ed. E.H. Waugh *et alii*, Edmonton 1983, 234-55; E. Muhammad, *The Supreme wisdom: solution to the so-called Negroe's problem*, Chicago 1957; idem, *Message to the Blackman in America*, Chicago 1965; idem, *The teachings of Wallace D. Muhammad*, Chicago 1976. (S. v. Sicard)

MUSNAD (a.). 1. As a term applied to the ancient South Arabian script.

In the first couple of centuries AD, Sabaean and

Ḳatabanian inscriptions used the term *ms³nd* for an inscribed bronze plaque affixed (*musnad*) to the wall of a temple; by the 5th-6th centuries AD it came to be applied to inscriptions engraved directly on a rock face. In early Islamic times, *musnad* designated any inscription in the pre-Islamic South Arabian alphabet, the earliest examples of which date back to the first half of the first millenium BC. This has close affinities both with the scripts used by the pre-Islamic North Arabian bedouin and with the Ethiopic alphabet. This South Semitic group of scripts has a common origin, albeit at a very remote date, with the Northwest Semitic group to which the Arabic alphabet belongs, but the two groups have diverged very substantially. The folktale of the "letter of al-Mutalammis" [see AL-MUTALAMMIS] has often been understood as showing that the poet was illiterate; but it could perhaps imply that the poet was able to read only the bedouin (South Semitic) script, while the letter of the king of al-Ḥīra would have been written in early Arabic script.

Old South Arabian script has 29 letters, requiring no diacritics for distinguishing them (as was the case when the Northwest Semitic 22-letter alphabet was adapted for expressing Arabic); it also distinguishes three sibilants, commonly noted as s^1, s^2, s^3 (s^1 having etymological cognates with Hebrew *s̲h̲īn*, Mahri *ś*, Arabic *sīn*; s^2 with Hebrew *sīn*, Mahri lateralised *ś*, Arabic *s̲h̲īn*; s^3 with Hebrew *samek*, Mahri *s*, Arabic *sīn*).

Early Islamic scholars had little or no knowledge of the languages of the *musnad* inscriptions; and what they give as the content of them is imaginary, with no resemblance to their real contents; but the scholars preserved a knowledge of the letter-values of the *musnad* script. In the 8th volume of al-Hamdānī's *Iklīl* (ed. N.A. Faris, Princeton 1940, 123) a list of the letters is given, with their Arabic equivalents; in the exant mss. of the work, however, the forms have become considerably distorted by copyists who had never seen the real inscriptions. In the latter, the letter-forms are upright, geometrically angular, and unligatured, having considerable resemblance to fine Greek uncials of the 5th century BC. For the basic forms, see A.F.L. Beeston, *Sabaic grammar*, Manchester 1984, pp. [vii], 4. There was a conventional alphabetic order, which seems to have been: *h, l, ḥ, m, q, w,* s^2*, r, b, t,* s^1*, k, n, ḫ, ṣ,* s^3*, f, ʿ, ʾ, ḍ, g, d, ġ, ṭ, z, ḏ, y, ṯ, ẓ*. Al-Hamdānī was further aware of some of the orthographic rules of the *musnad* script, such as the fact that long *ā* is not written with *alif*, so that Hamdān, Riyām are written *hmdn, rym*.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(A.F.L. BEESTON)

2. As a term in Arabic grammar. Later classical Arabic grammarians define *musnad* as "that which is leant upon [or propped against] (the headword or subject), is supported by (it)". They define *musnad ilayhi* as "that which supports", i.e. the headword or subject. The relationship between them is termed *isnād* "the act of leaning (one thing against another)", "the relationship of attribution or predication". However, the terms have a different, almost reversed, meaning in Sībawayh, as pointed out by Ulrike Mosel, *Die syntaktische Terminologie bei Sībawayh*, diss. Munich 1975, unpubl., i, 221-3 and n. on 223, and by A. Levin, *The grammatical terms* al-musnad, al-musnad ʾilayhi *and* al-ʾisnad, in *JAOS*, ci (1981), 145-65.

Bibliography: See also Wright, *Arabic grammar*³, ii, 250; Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 1. (ED.)

3. As a term in the science of *ḥadīt̲h̲*. Here it is applied to an *isnād* that goes back all the way to the Prophet without a link missing. Al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī (*al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 21) mentions that some scholars equate *musnad* with *marfūʿ* ("raised to the level" of a Prophetic tradition), but most Muslim *ḥadīt̲h̲* scholars hold that a *marfūʿ isnād* need not necessarily be uninterrupted (*muttaṣil*), whereas in their definition a *musnad isnād* must be at the same time *muttaṣil*. The debate is expertly summarised in Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīt̲h̲ wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 226-31. (That *marfūʿ isnād*s need not be *muttaṣil* in practice is amply attested in the *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar's lexicon comprising biographies of mostly unreliable transmitters, which contains hundreds of traditions explicitly labeled *marfūʿāt* that are adduced as examples of traditions *not* to be relied upon.)

An early use of the term *musnad* can be discerned in a report of the *awāʾil* genre [*q.v.*] about al-Zuhrī (50-124/670-742 [*q.v.*]) which has it that he was the first *man asnada al-ḥadīt̲h̲* (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdimat al-maʿrifa li-kitāb al-D̲j̲arḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1952, 20), which probably means in this context that he was allegedly the first to make consistent use of *isnād*s (see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 18 f.).

Musnad (plural *masānīd*) as technical term in *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature is, furthermore, used to describe a tradition collection organised on the basis of the first authority in the *isnād* above the Prophet, that is, the Companion. A *musnad* collection may comprise either the *musnad* of one, a few, or all Companions. In this last type of collection, the order in which the different *masānīd* are presented underlies mostly the individual prestige of each Companion, based upon age and alleged date of conversion to Islam, but alphabetically arranged *musnad*s are also found (e.g. the *Tuḥfat al-as̲h̲rāf* of al-Mizzī [*q.v.*]). In both, woman Companions are mostly listed only after the men.

Musnads are by no means the oldest tradition collections. There are a few dozen or so collections, often called simply *d̲j̲uzʾ*, *ḥadīt̲h̲* or *aḥādīt̲h̲*, which lack as yet any structured arrangement such as the personal *ṣaḥīfa*s listed in *GAS*, i, 84 ff., whose ascription to their alleged authors/compilers is in most cases still to be established. (Perhaps the earliest, not altogether unstructured, collection is one of *ṭalāḳ* traditions associated with ʿĀmir b. S̲h̲arāḥīl al-S̲h̲aʿbī (d. *ca.* 103/721), cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī s̲h̲arḥ Taḳrīb al-Nawāwī*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1966, i, 89.) These compilations either preceded by a few decades or originated at the same time as the first *musnads*. There are also the *muṣannaf*s [*q.v.*], collections arranged in chapters on the basis of subject matter, such as the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]) or the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām (d. 211/827), which were compiled a little earlier or at more or less the same time as the first *musnads*. Beside the early *musnads* and *muṣannaf*-type works (some of which we know of but are no longer extant, see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 22), there emerged various other types of collections limited to one particular genre of traditions, such as compilations entitled *kitāb al-zuhd*, *kitāb al-d̲j̲ihād* or *tafsīr*, cf. the title index of *GAS*, i.

Various collections, though known by the title *Musnad*, underlie the *muṣannaf* principle, i.e. they are subdivided into chapters on legal issues (e.g. the *Musnad* of Abū ʿAwāna (d. 316/928), cf. *GAS*, i, 174, or Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ masānīd al-imām al-aʿẓam* (meant is Abū Ḥanīfa, d. 150/767), Ḥaydarābād 1332, and many others; cf. also Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 227 ff.).

Other collections are known by two appellatives e.g. the *Sunan* or *Musnad* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/869), cf. *GAS*, i, 114, or the *Muṣannaf*, also called *Musnad*, of Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849); both are arranged as *muṣannafs*. This seems to indicate that the identification of tradition collections as belonging to one type or the other was in the early days somewhat loose. This looseness is aptly exemplified in a statement ascribed to the tradition collector Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 261/875 [*q.v.*]), who is once reported to have said (cf. al-Nawawī in his preface to his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Cairo 1349, i, 15): *ṣannaftu hādhā al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ min thalāthimiʾati alfi ḥadīthin masmūʿatin*, i.e. "I composed this sound *musnad* of mine (which is a *muṣannaf*-type work, later called *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, or simply *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*) out of 300,000 traditions I heard"; besides, the term *musnad* in Muslim's statement is surely to be taken as a double entendre, also conveying the idea of a collection supported by *musnad isnāds*, i.e. going back to the Prophet. Another type of *musnad* is the (unfinished) collection entitled *Tahdhīb al-āthār* of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923 [*q.v.*]) in which that collector presents *musnads* of the Companions ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, each tradition being accompanied by a host of reports (with *mursal* [*q.v.*], *mawḳūf* (i.e. "stopping" at the Companion), *maḳṭūʿ* (i.e. "cut off" at the level of the Successor) and *munḳaṭiʿ* (i.e. interrupted *isnāds*)) which substantiate it, list its shortcomings (*ʿilal*) and/or illustrate its legal and ethical implications. These accompanying reports may, with J. Schacht (see *JRAS* [1949], 147, and *Origins*, 5; cf. also Juynboll, *Some notes on the earliest* fuqahāʾ *of Islam distilled from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *Arabica* [1992]) be taken to be of considerably older origin than the traditions going back via uninterrupted *isnāds* all the way to the Prophet on the basis of which al-Ṭabarī's collection is organised. For an appraisal of al-Ṭabarī's *Tahdhīb*, see F. Rosenthal's general introduction (128 ff.) in vol. i of the English translation (SUNY Press 1989, New York) of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*.

The oldest pur sang *musnads* presently available in printed editions are those compiled by Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. 203/819; that the only available edition of Ḥaydarābād 1321 should be considered as far from complete is argued by Juynboll in the *Arabica* [1992] article, n. 27), al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]) (although this collection in the currently available edition is arranged according to the *muṣannaf* principle) and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219/834). By far the most famous early *musnad* is that of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/856 [*q.v.*]). For its *musnad* arrangement, see M. Hartmann, *Die Tradenten erster Schicht im Musnad des Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, in *MSOS*, ii (1906), 148-76, which gives an alphabetical list of the Companions included. Furthermore, each entry of a Companion in the index volume (viii) of *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* indicates where his *musnad* is located in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. (There is now also a two-volume index based on *ṭarafs*, see below.) For a further evaluation of the work and its two editions (one complete and one left unfinished), see Juynboll, *Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (1892-1958) and his edition of Ibn Ḥanbal's* Musnad, in *Isl.*, xlix (1972), 221-47. Among the early *musnads* not yet mentioned and (partly) available in printed editions are the following:

Yaʿḳūb b. Shayba (d. 262/875) wrote a *musnad muʿallal* (see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 239) which contains, apart from the traditions centring on one Companion, the *ʿilal* (= "defects") in parallel reports which are mostly supported by single strand *isnāds*. Of this work, only the part containing the *musnad* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is extant today (ed. Sāmī Ḥaddād, Beirut 1940);

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Marwazī (d. 292/905, see *GAS*, i, 162) compiled a *musnad* of Abū Bakr traditions, many of which are listed also in the Six Books;

Ibn al-Bāghandī (d. 312/925, see *GAS*, i, 172 f.) compiled a *musnad* of a Successor, the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, arranged according to the Companions between ʿUmar II and the Prophet;

A *musnad* collected by Ibn Rāhawayh (d. 238/853 [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, i, 109 f.) was partly edited by Jamila Shawkat, Ph.D. diss., Cambridge 1984. This edition only contains the traditions attributed to ʿĀʾisha.

Tracing traditions in pre-canonical and other *musnads* and *muṣannafs* is no sinecure. The recently-published indices of a number of collections (e.g. al-Ḥumaydī, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilya*, Ibn Ḥibbān's *Ṣaḥīḥ*) require that the tradition which is sought is first reduced to its *ṭaraf*, a technical term for the gist, or most salient feature, of a tradition. It is these *ṭarafs* which are alphabetically arranged in those index volumes, but attempts to arrive at the correct *ṭaraf* of a given tradition for tracing purposes often lead nowhere. On the other hand, although Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* is not one of the recognised six canonical collections, it is incorporated in *Concordance* etc. while al-Ṭayālisī's was drawn upon in Wensinck's *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, albeit not satisfactorily. When that manual is consulted in vain, al-Ṭayālisī's index of Companions—a typical feature of several ancient *musnads* lacking in *muṣannafs*—often comes in handy.

Although tracing traditions to these early *musnads* which pre-date the canonical collections may cause problems, these collections are nonetheless indispensable tools in *isnād* analysis, and this is also true for early *muṣannafs*. *Isnād* analysis seeks to determine when and where a tradition originated and who may be held responsible for its proliferation, all this on the basis of its *isnād*. The earlier the collections, the more often can historically relevant *isnād* data be distilled from them in order to shore up, or, the case so being, undermine, the historicity of the transmission position of some of Islam's most important and prolific "common links", i.e. the originators of the most ancient and authoritative traditions in the entire literature.

Bibliography: Shāfiʿī, *Tartīb musnad al-Shāfiʿī*, ed. Y. ʿAlī al-Zawāwī and ʿIzzat al-ʿAṭṭār, Cairo 1950-1, 2 vols; Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, Ḥaydarābād 1321; ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, repr. Beirut-Cairo 1380-2, 2 vols; Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Marwazī, *Musnad Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ, Beirut 1390, 1393 etc; Ibn al-Bāghandī, *Musnad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, ed. A.H. Harley in *JASB*, N.S. xx (1924), 391-457 (new edition by Muḥammad ʿAwwāma, Aleppo 1397); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, 6 vols; idem, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, 15 vols + vol. 19. For the technical term "common link", cf. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 171 ff., and G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 206-17. New methods of *isnād* analysis are introduced in idem, *Some* isnād-*analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman-demeaning sayings from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *al-Qanṭara*, x (1989), 343-84; idem, *Some notes on the earliest* fuqahāʾ *of Islam distilled from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *Arabica* (1992); idem, *On the*

origins of the poetry in Muslim tradition literature, forthcoming in the *Ewald Wagner Festschrift*; idem, *Analysing* isnāds *in* ḥadīth *and* akhbār *literature*, in I. Conrad (ed.), *History and historiography in early Islamic times: studies and perspectives*, Princeton 1992.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

al-**MUSTAḌĪʾ** bi-Amr ʾllāh, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, ʿAbbāsid caliph (566-75/1170-80), born on 23 Shaʿbān 536/23 March 1142, son of al-Mustandjid [*q.v.*] and an Armenian slave named Ghaḍḍa. After his father's death on 9 Rabīʿ II 566/20 December 1170, al-Mustaḍīʾ succeeded him, and at the beginning of the following year was formally recognised as caliph in Egypt also, which passed into the hands of the Ayyūbids at this time [see fāṭimids]. The assassins of al-Mustandjid soon quarrelled among themselves. ʿAḍud al-Dīn [*q.v.*], whom al-Mustaḍīʾ had been forced to make vizier, was dismissed by 567/1171-2 at the instigation of the *amīr* Ḳaymaz. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 570/May 1175, Ḳaymaz was about to attack the treasurer Ẓāhir al-Dīn b. al-ʿAṭṭār, but the latter fled to the caliph, whereupon Ḳaymaz began to besiege the palace of the latter. Al-Mustaḍīʾ appealed to the people to help him; the house of Ḳaymaz was pillaged, and he himself fled but died soon afterwards, and ʿAḍūd al-Dīn again became vizier. Al-Mustandjid already had quarrelled with Shumla, lord of Khūzistān. In 569/1173-4 a war broke out between the latter's nephew Ibn Shankā and al-Mustaḍīʾ; Ibn Shankā was soon taken prisoner and put to death. The insignificant al-Mustaḍīʾ died on 2 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda or, according to another statement, at the end of Shawwāl 575/end of March 1180 and was succeeded by al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xi, 237 ff.; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 428-33; Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. Cairo, i, 137-8, ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, 370-2; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 525 ff.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i, 367-9; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii, 337-63; Bundārī, in Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii, 304; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate*, 87, 195, 260, 280; H. Mason, *Two statesmen of mediaeval Islam*, The Hague-Paris 1972.

(K.V. Zetterstéen)

MUSTADJĀB KHĀN BAHĀDUR, Nawwāb, thirteenth son of the celebrated Rohilla leader Ḥāfiẓ al-Mulk Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān (1707-74) and author of a biography of his father, which he wrote in Persian under the title *Gulistān-i Raḥmat*. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, who was an Afghān of the tribe of Yūsufzāy by descent, had been since 1161/1748 a chief in Rohilkhand (Kafahr) and throughout his life waged a bitter warfare with the Marāthās. He fell in 1188/1774 in a fight at Mīrānpūr Katra where he was fighting against the combined forces of the Nawwāb of Oudh (Awadh [*q.v.*]) Shudjāʿ al-Mulk and the English. Warren Hastings' act in supporting the Nawwāb with English troops became the subject of a judicial investigation in the English Parliament. Mustadjāb Khān's book describes Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān as a fine representative of Afghān chivalry and contains much of value for studying the relations between the individual Afghān tribes.

Bibliography: There is an abbreviated English translation of the *Gulistān-i Raḥmat* by Ch. Elliott, *The life of the Hafiz ool-moolk, Hafiz Rehmut Khan, written by his son the Nuwob Moost'ujab Khan Buhadoor and entitled Goolistan-i Rehmut*, London 1831; H. Hamilton, *The East-India gazetteer*[2], London 1828, ii, 468; *Imperial gazetteer of India*, London 1908, xx, 138, xxi, 307-8; Storey, i, 696-7. (E. Berthels)

MUṢṬAFĀ I, the fifteenth Ottoman sultan (1026-7/1617-18 and 1031-2/1622-3), was born in the year 1000/1591 as son of Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*]. He owed his life to the relaxation of the *ḳānūn* authorising the killing of all the brothers of a new sultan, and was called to succeed his brother Aḥmed I [*q.v.*] at the latter's death on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1026/22 November 1617. But his weakmindedness —which is said to have him made escape death on account of superstitious fear of Aḥmed— made him absolutely incapable of ruling. Aḥmed's son ʿOthmān, who felt himself entitled to the succession, had little difficulty in procuring Muṣṭafā's deposition in a meeting in the Imperial *Dīwān*, by the *ḳizlar aghasi*, the *muftī* and the *ḳāʾim-maḳām*, the grandvizier Khalīl Pasha [*q.v.*] being absent. This happened on 1 Rabīʿ I 1027/26 February 1618.

Unexpectedly, Muṣṭafā I was again called to the throne when, on 8 Radjab 1031/19 May 1622, the rebellion of the Janissaries broke out against ʿOthmān II [*q.v.*]. He was taken by force from his seclusion in the ḥarem and the Janissaries forced the *ʿulamāʾ* to acknowledge him as sultan. The next day ʿOthmān was killed and until June the grand vizier Dāwūd Pasha, the man responsible for the murder, remained in power. Then he was deposed by the *wālide*. The real masters were the Janissaries and Sipāhīs; several grand viziers were nominated and deposed again at their pleasure. The Sipāhī party began, after some time, to exact vengeance for ʿOthmān and in January 1623, when Gürdjü Pasha [*q.v.*] was grand vizier, Dāwūd Pasha was killed. Soon the Janissary party came again to influence under the grand vizier Mere Ḥuseyn Pasha (3 Rabīʿ 1032/3 February 1623). The latter succeeded in maintaining himself until 23 Shawwāl/20 August; then the general feeling amongst the *ʿulamāʾ* and the people, combined with the steadily growing opposition in the provinces against the tyranny of the military in the capital, as manifested by the action of Sayf al-Dīn-oghlu in Tripoli and still more by the revolt of Ābāza Pasha [*q.v.*] in Erzerūm, brought about Mere Ḥuseyn's deposition. The new grand vizier, Kemānkesh ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], together with the *muftī*, deposed the sultan on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1032/10 September 1623 and called Aḥmed's son Murād to the throne as Murād iv [*q.v.*].

During all his reign, Muṣṭafā had continued to give signs of his complete mental aberration; he died in 1638 and was buried in the Aya Sofya. The only important international act that took place during his reign was the peace concluded with Poland in February 1623.

Bibliography: The Turkish sources for this period are the historical works of Naʿīmā, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Fedhleke*), Pečewī, Ḥasan Bey-zāde and Ṭūghī. Contemporary reports in the *Memoirs* of the English envoy Sir Thomas Roe. See further the general historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index s.v.; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 190-1, 193-4; R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, index s.v.; *İA*, art. s.v. (A. Münir Aktepe).

(J.H. Kramers)

MUṢṬAFĀ II, the twenty-second Ottoman sultan (1106-15/1695-1703), was a son of Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*].

Born in 1664, he succeeded to his uncle Aḥmed II on Djumādā II 1106/6 February 1695, at a time when the empire was at war with Austria, Poland, Russia and Venice. The new sultan in a remarkable *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* proclaimed a Holy War and carried out, against

the decision of the *Dīwān*, his desire to take part in the campaign against Austria. Before his departure a mutiny of the Janissaries had cost the grand vizier Defterdār ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a his life (24 April 1695), and the campaign was led by the new grand vizier Elmās Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. The Turkish army operated not without success in the region of Temesvár, taking Lippa, Lugos and Sebes. The Venetians had been beaten again in September. In October, Azov was delivered from the Russian siege. Next year, the sultan and his army were again successful in raising the siege of Temesvár, but no part of the lost territory could be recovered from the Austrians. That year, however, the Russians took Azov. The campaign of 1696 is memorable for the heavy defeat inflicted on the Turks near Zenta on the Theiss (13 Ṣafar 1108/11 September 1696) where Elmās Meḥmed lost his life, while the sultan, who had already crossed the river, had to fly to Temesvár. The imperial seal fell into the hands of the Austrians. From Temesvár, Muṣṭafā nominated ʿAmūd̲j̲a-zāde Ḥuseyn [*q.v.*], of the Köprülü family, as his grand vizier. Under this very able statesman, peace was at last concluded. In 1698 the grand vizier went to the frontier, while the sultan stayed at Edirne, but the peace negotiations were pursued more earnestly than the war. In October of that year began the peace negotiations at Carlowitz (Turk. Ḳarlofča [*q.v.*]) on the Danube, where on 25 S̲h̲aʿbān 1110/26 February 1699 peace was concluded with Austria, Poland and Venice. With Russia, only an armistice was concluded, to be followed in 1700 by a definite peace. The English and Dutch ministers took part in the negotiations as intermediaries. The peace treaty meant the loss of Hungary and Transylvania, with the exception of the district of Temesvár; Poland recovered Kameniecz, while Venice had to cede Lepanto and some other towns in the Morea. With Russia, the Dniestr became the frontier.

The peace enabled the grand vizier to bring order into the affairs of state, which had suffered by the long and disastrous war. The Reʾīs Efendi Rāmī and the *muftī* Fayḍ Allāh, who had great influence with the sultan, were his collaborators. Some interior troubles were easily appeased; only in 1701 a campaign in ʿIrāḳ was needed to take Baṣra from the hands of a local party that had submitted to Persia. Fortresses were put in a better state of defence and a new *Ḳānūn-nāme* was issued for the fleet. Ḥuseyn Pas̲h̲a resigned his offices in September 1702 and died soon afterwards. His deposition was partly the work of the *muftī*, who made the sultan appoint in his place Dalṭaban Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a. When the latter showed himself of too warlike a disposition and caused at the same time unrest in the capital by favouring the claims of the Tatar *k̲h̲ān*, the influence of the *muftī* caused his deposition and execution (Ramaḍān 1114/January 1703). Rāmī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] became grand vizier. Rāmī's measures to enforce the authority of the central government were salutary but made him many enemies; moreover, the Janissaries were not contented with a grand vizier who was not a military man. The general unrest was increased by the permanent residence of Muṣṭafā in Edirne. All these circumstances brought about in July 1703 a Janissary revolt in Istanbul, directed at first against Rāmī Pas̲h̲a and against the *muftī*. The latter's deposition was obtained without much difficulty, but the rebellion continued under the leadership and organisation of a certain Ḥasan Ag̲h̲a. A deputation of the rebels to Edirne was imprisoned and treated harshly. Too late, the sultan promised to come himself to give a *fatwā* authorising the sultan's deposition. In August 1703 a rebel army went on its way to Edirne, after having agreed on Muṣṭafā's brother Aḥmed as successor to the throne. When Muṣṭafā saw himself at last abandoned by his own Janissaries, he abdicated on 22 S̲h̲aʿbān 1115/21 August 1703. He died soon afterwards on 8 Rabīʿ II 1115/31 December 1703, and was buried in the Aya Sofia. He is rightly considered as a wise and good ruler, as is proved by his careful choice of able statesmen. He wrote poems under the *tak̲h̲alluṣ* of Meftūnī and Iḳbālī. Under him, the imperial *ṭug̲h̲ra* [*q.v.*] appeared for the first time on the Ottoman coins.

Bibliography: The chief source is the *Taʾrīk̲h̲* of Rās̲h̲id, besides an anonymous historical work, used by von Hammer and only mentioned in a note by Babinger, *GOW*, 247 and 248. Useful information also in the history of the Crimea by Meḥmed Girāy (*GOW*, 235) and Sayyid Meḥmed Riḍā (*GOW*, 281). The *Ins̲h̲āʾ* of the grand-vizier Rāmī Pas̲h̲a (not mentioned in *GOW*) has importance as containing contemporary documents. See further the general histories of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1956, index s.v.; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 223-8; R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottomane*, Paris 1989, index s.v.; *İA*, art. s.v. (Cengiz Orhonlu). (J.H. Kramers)

MUṢṬAFĀ III, the twenty-sixth sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1171-87/1757-74), was one of the younger sons of Aḥmed III [*q.v.*] and was born on 14 Ṣafar 1129/28 January 1717 (*Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*, i, 80). When he succeeded to the throne, after ʿOt̲h̲mān III's [*q.v.*] death, on 16 Ṣafar 1171/30 October 1757, his much more popular brother and heir to the throne, Meḥemmed, had recently died, in Rabīʿ I 1170/December 1756. Turkey enjoyed at that time, since the peace of Belgrade of 1739, a period of peace with her neighbours. Since December 1756 the very able Rāg̲h̲ib Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] was grand vizier and remained the real administrator of the empire until his death in 1763. Rāg̲h̲ib had removed from the capital all those who might have counteracted his influence, taking at the same time wise financial measures and endeavouring to keep the military forces in good condition. The sultan meanwhile, who was of a lively and active temperament, busied himself, like his predecessor, with regulations concerning the clothes of his non-Muslim subjects and the appearance in public of Muslim women; at this time there was also taken up again the never-realised plan of linking the gulf of Izniḳ with the Black Sea [see ṢABAND̲J̲A]. The Seven Years' War in Europe (1756-63) had not remained without influence on the policy of the Porte; after long hesitation, Turkey agreed at last to conclude a treaty of friendship with Prussia (22 S̲h̲aʿbān 1174/29 March 1761). Rāg̲h̲ib himself was inclined to conclude even an alliance, but the sultan and the influential *ʿulamāʾ* were peacefully minded.

After Rāg̲h̲ib's death, Muṣṭafā began to reign himself and different grand viziers succeeded one another at short intervals. From 1765 to 1768 the grand vizierate was held by Muḥsin-zāde Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, under whom the disastrous war with Russia broke out. Difficulties with Russia had already commenced in 1762, when Russia had supported the ruler of Georgia against the Turkish Pas̲h̲a of Ak̲h̲isk̲h̲a (Čaldîr); here, as well as in Montenegro [see ḲARA DAG̲H̲], Russian emissaries worked in secret against the Turkish rule. Moreover, the *k̲h̲ān* of the Crimea repeatedly complained about Russian military measures on his northern frontier, while the party of

the Polish Confederates urgently appealed for the intervention of the Porte against the aggression of Catherine's government on Polish liberty. In these circumstances, the Porte had no more interest in seeking the alliance of Prussia, where, in 1764, Aḥmed Rasmī Efendi had gone as envoy, of which embassy he afterwards wrote his well-known *Sefāret-nāme*. The sultan himself was decidedly anti-Russian, but the diplomacy of the Russian minister Obreskov and the pacifism of the *ʿulamāʾ* delayed the war, until, in August 1768, Muṣṭafā obtained from the then *muftī* Welī al-Dīn a *fatwā* authorising the war with Russia. War was declared only on 6 October, after the dismissal of the grand vizier Muḥsin-zāde, who had advised delay until the spring. Obreskov was imprisoned in Yedi Ḳule.

The war began in January with destructive raids of the Crimean Tatars in southern Russia under their newly appointed *k͟hān* Ḳirīm Girāy; at that time, de Tott was an eye-witness with the Tatar army. In D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1182/March 1769, the then grand vizier Meḥmed Emīn Pas͟ha left Istanbul with the Holy Banner; on this occasion there was an outburst of Muslim fanaticism against the Austrian internuntio and his party, who had come to witness the procession. While the grand vizier went to the Dobrud͟ja, the Russians made an attack on Chotin (Turk. K͟hočin), which they were able to take only in August. In the meantime, the grand vizier had been deposed and executed; his place was taken by Moldowand͟ji ʿAlī Pas͟ha, who fought with the Russians on both sides of the Dniestr. Other Russian armies took Jassy and Bucharest and advanced into Transcaucasia. The year 1184/1770 was still more disastrous for Turkey. The Russians reached, through Rumania, the Danube and in the autumn they took Kilia, Bender and Braila, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turkish general headquarters in Baba Dag͟hī. In the same year, a Russian fleet appeared in the Mediterranean; several towns in the Morea were conquered and evacuated again, but the heaviest blow was the burning of the Turkish fleet in the bay of Čes͟hme (Rabīʿ I 1184/July 1770). Moldowand͟ji ʿAlī —already dispossessed of his grand vizierate— was sent to strengthen, with de Tott, the defences of the Dardanelles. But the Russian fleet had ceased to be a danger and the Danube campaign of the following spring also was rather favourable for the Turks. In the beginning of 1771 the military organisation had been improved. That year, however, the Russians forced the isthmus of Perekop and conquered the entire Crimea. This was a definite loss for Turkey, and a great majority of the Tatars declared their allegiance to the Russian empress. The Turks were able, however, to remain in Očakow and Kilburnu. In Istanbul, meanwhile, laborious diplomatic negotiations went on with the envoys of the European powers who offered to mediate, notably Austria and Prussia. With Austria the Porte concluded in July 1771 a secret "treaty of subsidy" for diplomatic services, while the Porte disinterested herself completely in Polish affairs, going so far as to propose a partition of Poland. The result was an armistice, concluded in June 1772 at Giurgewo, followed by the peace congress of Fočani (D͟jumādā I 1186/August 1772), where Turkey's chief representative was the arrogant *nis͟hānd͟jī* [*q.v.*] ʿOt͟hmān Efendi. After the failure of the negotiations, the armistice was prolonged and a new conference began at Bucharest in November. These negotiations were again broken off in D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟dja 1186/March 1773, mainly from lack of agreement on the subject of the Turkish fortresses on the Black Sea; as to the Crimea, Turkey had already agreed to a formula such as was later adopted in the peace of Küčük Ḳaynard͟jī. In Istanbul, it was chiefly the *ʿulamāʾ* who had opposed the Russian peace conditions. The war in 1187/1773 was not very eventful; the general headquarters had been transferred to S͟humma after Muḥsin-zāde had become grand vizier a second time (Dec. 1771). The Russians won a victory at Ḳaraṣu in the Dobrud͟ja, but attacked Silistra and Varna in vain. Beirut was bombarded by Russian ships in connection with the rebellion of the Mamlūk ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*] in Egypt, who was supported by them. In the summer of 1773, sultan Muṣṭafā made known his desire to accompany the army against the Russians, but he was prevented from doing so by his entourage and by his illness, to which he succumbed on 9 S͟hawwāl 1187/24 December 1773, to be succeeded by his brother ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I [*q.v.*]. Muṣṭafā was buried in his own *türbe*, connected with the Lāleli D͟jāmiʿi, which he had begun to build in 1759 (*Ḥadīḳat al-d͟jawāmiʿ*, i, 23).

Muṣṭafā III is praised in the Turkish sources as a good ruler. He had a special liking for religious disputations held in his presence and was particularly interested in astrological calculations. He took an interest in the least important affairs, and this prevented him from such a real statesmanlike insight as was much wanted in the later years of his reign. In his way, he was an "enlightened despot". But even a more able ruler would probably have failed to save Turkey from her military inferiority against the Russian armies; measures of military organisation were taken with the aid of de Tott, but this could not prevent the desertion of the troops from assuming disastrous proportions during certain episodes of the war. Besides the Lāleli D͟jāmiʿ, Muṣṭafā built the Ayazma D͟jāmiʿi at Scutari for his mother; and he caused a new suburb of Istanbul to be built outside the Yeñi Ḳapu. His reign is further marked by the extremely severe earthquake that laid large parts of the capital in ruins in 1766.

Bibliography: The *Taʾrīk͟h* of Wāṣif [*q.v.*] is the chief historical source for Muṣṭafā's reign; Wāṣif himself played a prominent part as secretary during the long-drawn-out peace negotiations with Russia. It is completed by the *Taʾrīk͟h* of Enwerī. The *Waḳāʾiʿ-nāme* of Ḍiyāʾī, son of Ḥekīm-og͟hlu ʿAlī Pas͟ha, seems not to be preserved (*GOW*, 300). The well-known Aḥmed Rasmī Efendi wrote a history of the war with Russia under the title *K͟hulāṣat al-iʿtibār* (*GOW*, 310). The *Talk͟hīṣāt* of the learned grand vizier Rāg͟hib Pas͟ha (*GOW*, 288) give documents from the beginning of Muṣṭafā's reign. A contemporary western source is the *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares* of Baron Fr. de Tott, Maestricht 1785. See further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index s.v.; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 246-50; R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, index s.v.; *İA*, art. s.v. (Bekir Sıtkı Baykal).

(J.H. Kramers)

MUṢṬAFĀ IV, the twenty-ninth sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1222-3/1807-8), was a son of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I and was born on 26 S͟haʿbān 1193/19 September 1778 (Meḥmed T͟hüreyyā, *Sid͟jill-i ʿot͟hmānī*, i, 81). When the anti-reform party, headed by the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* Mūsā Pas͟ha and the *muftī*, and supported by the Janissaries and the auxiliary troops of the Yamaḳs, had dethroned Selīm III [*q.v.*] on 21 Rabīʿ I 1222/29 May 1807, Muṣṭafā was proclaimed sultan. Immediately afterwards, the *niẓām-i d͟jedīd*

[*q.v.*] corps was dissolved and Ḳabaḳdji-oghlu, the leader of the Yamaḳs, was made commander of the Bosphorus fortresses. Turkey was at that time at war with Russia and England, but peace negotiations had already begun and, moreover, the foreign affairs of the empire were really governed by general European politics. A secret article annexed to the peace treaty of Tilsit (7 July 1807) had in view —already at that time— a conditional partition of Turkey. Turkey's ally, France, tried to urge a peace with Russia and obtained a Russo-Turkish armistice at Slobosia (near Ginrgewo), by the terms of which the Danube principalities were to be evacuated. When, in the end, Russia was unwilling to put into effect the terms of the armistice, relations with France became strained (departure of Sebastiani in April 1808) and new preparations for war followed, while overtures were made to England; the English admiral Codrington had already entered into negotiations with ᶜAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] of Yanina.

Meanwhile, the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* and the *muftī* were the real rulers in Istanbul; the grand vizier Čelebi Muṣṭafā Pasha remained with the army in Edirne and had no influence. The Janissaries and Yamaḳs, however, continued to be rebellious; measures had to be taken against them and the sultan himself went so far as to favour secret plans for restoring the *niẓām-i djedīd* under another name. In December 1807 Mūsā Pasha was dismissed from the office of *ḳāʾim-maḳām* —on account of dissension with the *muftī*— and was succeeded by Ṭayyār Pasha. The latter, dismissed in his turn, fled to Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], an acknowledged friend of the reform party, in Rusčuḳ. From here began the action against the régime in the capital. Bayraḳdār went first to Edirne and joined forces with the grand vizier in June 1808. They arrived in July before the gates of Istanbul at Dāwūd Pasha. Sultan Muṣṭafā came there on July 23 to accept their terms, which for the moment were only the destruction of the ruling party and of the Yamaḳs. On 28 July, Bayraḳdār, after having seized the sultan's seal from the grand vizier, began to act on his own account. He went with his troops to the palace, where the sultan, —who had left shortly before for an excursion— returned in haste. He had only the time to order the execution of Selīm III, but was deposed immediately afterwards by the intruders, who put his younger brother Maḥmūd on the throne. After having passed some months in confinement, he was killed by order of the new sultan on 16 November in the days of the general revolt against Bayraḳdār's régime, when the existence of the former sultan had become a real danger for Maḥmūd's position. Muṣṭafā was buried in the *türbe* of his father ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd I, near the Yeñi Djāmiᶜ.

Bibliography: Djewdet Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, 2nd ed., viii, Istanbul 1303, 145 ff.; ᶜAṣim, *Taʾrīkh*, ii (where extensive use has been made of Saᶜīd Efendi's *Taʾrīkhče*; cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 338); A. de Juchereau de St. Denis, *Révolutions de Constantinople de 1807 et 1808*, new ed., Paris 1823; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vii; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index s.v.; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 274-7; R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, index; *İA*, art. s.v. (M. Cavid Baysun).

(J.H. Kramers)

MUṢṬAFĀ, the name of several princes belonging to the Ottoman dynasty.

1. Muṣṭafā Čelebi, Düzme, eldest son of Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], counter-sultan or pretender (?-804/1402, 825/1422, or *ca.* 1430).

The date of birth of Muṣṭafā, a son of the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], is unknown. Shükr Allāh (ed. Atsız, 58), lists Muṣṭafā as the last of his six [male] children, all of whom were born of slave-women (*ḳïrnaḳ*). It is probable that Bāyezīd had appointed Muṣṭafā governor of Ḥamīd and Tekke [*q.vv.*]; indubitably it was at the head of troops from these provinces that he fought alongside his father at the battle of Ankara (16 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 804/28 July 1402). Thereafter the fog of uncertainty descends on the career of Muṣṭafā—or of the resourceful and plausible pretender who later took his name.

Shükr Allāh (*loc. cit.*) states simply that Muṣṭafā was taken prisoner with his father and was never seen again. The general view is that he was taken by Tīmūr into captivity in Central Asia, but a reading of Ibn ᶜArabshāh (Cairo, 1310, 133; tr. Sanders, 187) would seem to suggest that Tīmūrid agents, having failed to locate him after the battle, contented themselves with putting to death a large number ("nearly thirty") of his namesakes. Some Ottoman sources, however, indicate clearly that Muṣṭafā was taken captive by Tīmūr, returning home after "some years" (Enwerī, *Düstürnāme*, ed. Yınanč, 91; cf. *Medhal*, 97); he may have been liberated, together with other princely hostages, after the death of Tīmūr (Feb. 1405).

Thus at least three major historical problems must be faced in any treatment of Muṣṭafā's career; the authenticity of his claim to be a son of Bāyezīd I; his whereabouts during the years following 1402, if, as seems almost certain, he was a son of Bāyezīd, or, alternatively, the origins of the pretender ("*düzme*"); and, finally, the serious discrepancies which exist between the Byzantine, Ottoman and Latin sources concerning the real or pretended Muṣṭafā's activities. None of these problems has yet been provided with a totally watertight solution.

The Ottoman view, that the post-1415 Muṣṭafā was an impostor, may be traced back to the remark—possibly apocryphal—attributed to Meḥemmed I in the context of the events of 1415-16, that the real Muṣṭafā had died in childhood (Chalcocondyles, tr. B. de Vigenère, Paris 1662, 97). The earliest Ottoman literary reference to Muṣṭafā, in the *taḳwīm* for 835/1431-2 (C.N. Atsız, *Osmanlı tarihine ait takvimler*, Istanbul 1961, 70) also describes him as an impostor (*djaᶜlī*), as do both ᶜĀshīḳpashazāde and the Anonymous chronicles, which employ what came to be the generally adopted sobriquet of *düzme*. Conversely, in the later *taḳwīms* published by Turan, in Enwerī and, (probably as a consequence) in the conflation of ᶜĀshīḳpashazāde and the Anonymous made by Neshrī, the authenticity of Muṣṭafā is recognised (cf. M.H. Yınanç, *Medhal*, 96; V.L. Ménage, *Beginnings of Ottoman historiography*, 175-6).

The reappearance of Muṣṭafā in 1415 is also historically problematical. On the one hand, Venetian sources report the arrival there in January 1415 of a galley from Trebizond, bearing a "Turkish" agent charged with negotiations "with the basileus" on behalf of Muṣṭafā. This may also be connected with a report (Chalcocondyles, *loc. cit.*) that he had taken refuge at Sinop in the territory of the Isfendiyār-oghullarï [*q.v.*], and with further Venetian reports that Muṣṭafā was "in Asia", looking for a galley to transport him to Europe, where he claimed to have many partisans. Equally, Ragusan sources reported that in mid-June 1415 Muṣṭafā was [still] in Trebizond, gathering support (but from whom?) against Meḥemmed. By August 1415 he was in Wallachia under the protection of the *voivod* Mircea, attracting support from the *beg*s of Rūmeli, and raiding into the Ottoman-held lands south of the Danube (F. Thiriet,

Régestes du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie, *ii*, (*1400-1439*), Paris-The Hague, 1959, nos. 1563-4; S. Stanojević, *Die Biographie Stefan Lazarevic's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle*, in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, xviii [1896], 456-7). On the other hand, there is conflicting evidence furnished by a late copy of a *nis̲h̲ān* tentatively attributed by Wittek to Muṣṭafā (*Zur einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden* (*III*), in *WZKM*, lv, 135-41; cf., for Wittek's brilliant if questionable reconstruction of Muṣṭafā's *tug̲h̲rā*, *ibid.*, 136-7). This document is ostensibly dated 808/1405, but later (*Urkunden*, (*IV*), 271, n. 20), Wittek reassigned it "aus historischen Gründen" (unspecified) to 818/1415, thus placing Muṣṭafā, in March of that year, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus in Ḳod̲j̲a Eli, "playing at ruler" under Byzantine protection. Accordingly, neither 1405 nor 1415 may be regarded as entirely tenable dates and the authenticity of this supposed *nis̲h̲ān* of "Muṣṭafā b. Bāyezīd" must in some degree be called into question. On historical grounds there may be some reason to reattribute it to Muṣṭafā's nephew and namesake, "Küčük" Muṣṭafā b. Meḥemmed [*q.v.*].

The activities of Muṣṭafā in 819/1416 are inextricably bound up with the simultaneous revolt against Meḥemmed I led by *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Bedr el-Dīn (cf. the study by M. Balivet, in *Turcica*, xviii [1986], 137-46). His own attempt to seize power, in cooperation with Mircea of Wallachia and the *beglerbegi* of Nigbolu, the former Aydīn-og̲h̲lu Ḳara D̲j̲unayd [*q.v.*], failed, Muṣṭafā and D̲j̲unayd were defeated by Meḥemmed outside Byzantine-held Thessaloniki, and forced to seek refuge with its governor, Demetrios Leontarios. By an agreement concluded between Meḥemmed and the Byzantine emperor Manuel, the sultan agreed to raise his siege of the city in exchange for the detention of Muṣṭafā in Byzantine custody for Meḥemmed's lifetime (Ducas, §XXII). Muṣṭafā was exiled to Limnos. Chalcocondyles, i, 98 states that Muṣṭafā and D̲j̲unayd were held intitially at Monemvasia, later on Imbros and Limnos; Enwerī, 92, that they were detained on Aghrīboz (Negroponte).

The sequence of events concerning Muṣṭafā's counter-sultanate in Rūmeli in 824-5/1421-2 has been fairly satisfactorily established by recent research (cf., for a clear account, C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1481*, Istanbul, 1990, 91-4). Meḥemmed I died at Edirne in the spring of 824/1421 (for the exact date—May 21, Ind. 14, A.M. 6729—see S. Kugéas, *Notizbuch eines Beamten der Metropolis in Thessalonike aus dem Anfang des XV. Jahrhunderts*, in *BZ*, xxiii [1914], 143-63, no. 80, pp. 151-2; cf. Schreiner, *CBB*, ii, 412, no. 67). Meḥemmed's death was said to have been concealed for 41 days (? = until 1 July) until his son Murād could reach Bursa and ascend the throne (Inalçık, in *İA*, s.v. *Murād II*: on 25 June). ʿĀs̲h̲ïḳpas̲h̲azāde also states that once Meḥemmed's death was known, there was an outbreak of *fitne*, all of which may conceal a more complex situation, alluded to by Ducas and Chalcocondyles. This involved the rejection by Murād and his chief adviser, the *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli, Bāyezīd Pas̲h̲a, of Meḥemmed's testamentary disposition, bequeathing Rūmeli to Murād and Anatolia to his second son "Küčük" Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*], while leaving his other two sons, Yūsuf and Maḥmūd, to the protection of the Byzantine emperor.

The Byzantines, in retaliation for Bāyezīd Pas̲h̲a's refusal to surrender Yūsuf and Maḥmūd, brought the elder Muṣṭafā once more into play, seeing him as a suitable figurehead for a Byzantine client régime in Rumeli, from which, in exchange for support, valuable territorial concessions could be extorted. A Byzantine flotilla under the command of Demetrios Leontarios transported Muṣṭafā from Limnos and landed him, together with D̲j̲unayd, at Gallipoli on 15 August 1421 (Kugéas; Inalcık, *loc. cit.*; "September"). From there—or, as most of the Ottoman sources state, from Thessaloniki (but cf. pseudo-Rūḥī, Bodl. ms. Marsh 313, 106a-b: Gallipoli)—Muṣṭafā marched on Edirne, taking possession of Yeniče Vardar and Serez. There he struck what is probably his first, pre-Edirne coinage. At Gallipoli or en route he received the homage of the *tövičes* and *sipāhīs* of Rūmeli and of the foremost Rūmelian *ud̲j̲begis*, including Turḥan Beg, the Evronos-zādes [*q.v.*] and the Gümlü-og̲h̲lu; according to the pseudo-Rūḥī, he "went to the Rūmeli forces and showed his scars [sc. of the wounds received at Ankara]; all Rūmeli followed him". At Sazlï-dere, near Edirne, Muṣṭafā and D̲j̲unayd encountered Bāyezīd Pas̲h̲a, sent from Bursa via "the upper straits" with an army to hold Edirne, Bāyezīd Pas̲h̲a's troops defected to Muṣṭafā after he had again demonstrated his battle-scars; Bāyezīd himself was seized and executed. Muṣṭafā entered Edirne; later, in defiance of his agreement with Byzantium, he took possession of Gallipoli, refusing to surrender it to Leontarios.

Late in 1421 Muṣṭafā crossed the Dardanelles at Gallipoli and marched on Bursa. At Ulubād he found the bridge across the Nilüfer Çayı destroyed and the army of Murād waiting on the other side. After a series of stratagems and ruses, ably executed by Murād and his advisors and graphically described by ʿĀs̲h̲ïḳpas̲h̲azāde, who was an eyewitness, Muṣṭafā was deserted by D̲j̲unayd and by his followers. He fled to Gallipoli, followed by Murād, who was able to draw on the assistance of Giovanni Adorno, the Genoese *podestà* of New Phokaia, in transporting his troops across the Straits (15 January 1422). Muṣṭafā retreated to Edirne, where he found his authority was no longer recognised. According to most accounts, while attempting, most probably, to gain sanctuary in Wallachia, he was seized at Yenid̲j̲e Ḳïzïl Ag̲h̲ač by Murād's agents, brought back to Edirne, and hanged. It is possible, however, that he may have succeeded in escaping to Wallachia and from thence to Caffa (Kefe [*q.v.*]), from where he came to Thessaloniki (cf. *Takwimler*, ed. Turan, 60). From there he maintained his struggle until the town fell into Ottoman hands in 1430 (cf. the important and otherwise inexplicable Venetian notices, Thiriet, *Régestes*, ii, nos. 2132, 2134).

What can be said concerning the régime of "Düzme" Muṣṭafā? In his granting privileges to the *ʿazebs* and the *yaya*, he seems to have continued the policies of Mūsā. On the other hand, he followed a pacific policy towards Byzantium, and did not imitate Mūsā by a widespread reintroduction of *akïn*; in this aspect of his policies, insofar as we may speak of them with certainty, he resembles Süleymān. Were the *ud̲j̲ begis* who supported him, then, no more than opportunists, as was the case with D̲j̲unayd and Mircea of Wallachia, for whom Muṣṭafā, like Mūsā and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bedr el-Dīn, served merely as a tool for their anti-Ottoman policies?

Muṣṭafā's actions during his short-lived régime seem to be a combination of the astute and the opportunistic. He went back on his promise to restore Gallipoli to Byzantium, an act which can be regarded either as folly, alienating an important ally, or as a politically necessary move to satisfy his followers and establish his credentials as an Ottoman ruler. His generous accession donative to the lower paid troops in the end failed to ensure their loyalty at Ulubād.

The Rumelian *udj begis*, likewise, abandoned him in the face of clever propaganda for the cause of Murād. Certainly Muṣṭafā showed himself to be an incompetent military leader, when faced with Murād at Ulubād—he was a bad strategist and a bad psychologist.

Muṣṭafā's ostensible end—hanging, the fate of a common criminal (cf. Cantemir, *History of the growth and decay of the Othman Empire*, tr. N. Tindal, London, 1734, 44, n. 28)—was ignominious, Murād had to be seen to disassociate him from the Ottoman house; the final piece of evidence, perhaps, that "Düzme" Muṣṭafā was indeed no impostor. It is not known what happened to the body, except that it was not accorded a royal burial. The present scarcity of Muṣṭafā's coinage almost certainly indicates that it was suppressed immediately after the violent end of his counter-sultanate. All indications thus point to the need to consider to what extent there existed in early 9th/15th-century Ottoman society an element which wished to establish an "independent" beylik in Rūmeli. In that sense, the failure of Muṣṭafā, as of his brothers Süleymān and Mūsā, to establish a durable régime in Rūmeli underlines the fact that in the first half of the 9th/15th century the preponderance of Ottoman political power still resided on the Anatolian side of the Straits.

The coinage of Muṣṭafā b. Bāyezīd is of great interest and, hitherto, of considerable rarity. Muṣṭafā, like Süleymān and Mūsā—and like Meḥemmed I—before him, made an issue of silver *aḳčes* at Edirne. He also struck *aḳčes*—in very limited numbers—at Serez (Serres). A so far unique copper *mangir* is also known to exist. The riddling nature of the date on some of the Edirne coins has long perplexed historians. Some bear the expected *hidjrī* date 824; others carry the legend "8224" (cf. C. Ölçer, *Yıldırım Bayezid'in oğullarına ait akçe ve mangırlar*, [Istanbul, *ca.* 1970?], 97, ff.). The theory has been advanced that this should be read as "A.H. 822, 4[th year of Muṣṭafā]", and that the "8224" coins represent evidence for a hypothetical "second revolt" by Muṣṭafā. If 819/1416, the year which witnessed the outbreak and failure of Muṣṭafā's first attempt to gain the sultanate, is taken as year 1, year "4" falls indeed in 822 (28.1.1419-16.1.1420). But at this time Muṣṭafā was still in Byzantine hands, while Meḥemmed I himself struck an extensive coinage, the last issue of his reign, at Edirne (and elsewhere) in 822. Clearly, there was no "second revolt". The legend itself, while defying explanation, can now be accounted for. A study of the coinage of Muṣṭafā, based on a hoard of more then one hundred coins, has demonstrated conclusively that multiple die-linkages connect in parallel the various sub-types of the 824 and "8224" coins and that the whole Edirne issue of Muṣṭafā—together with (on stylistic grounds) the much smaller emission from Serez—must have been struck in the last quarter of 824 or very early in 825 (sc. Aug./Sept. 1421-Jan. 1422).

Bibliography (expanding that in the text): Osman Turan (ed.), *Istanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihi takvimler*, Ankara 1954; Shükr Allāh, *Bahdjat al-tawārīkh*, tr. and ed. Ç.N. Atsız, *Osmanlı tarihleri*, i, Istanbul n.d., 58, 60; Enwerī, *Düstūrnāme*, ed. Mükrimin Halil [Yınanç], Istanbul 1929, 91-2 (cf. *Medhal* (sep. pagination and title page, 97); ʿĀshıḳpashazāde, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Fr. Giese, Leipzig 1929, 70 ff.; [Anonymous], *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Giese, *Die altosmanischen Chroniken*, i, Breslau 1922, 56 ff.; Meḥmed Neshrī, *Djihān-nümā*, ed. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, i, 125 ff.; Orudj, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Fr. Babinger, Hannover 1925, 46, 112-3; cf. the concordance in V.L. Ménage, *Neshrī's History of the Ottomans: the sources and development of the text*, London 1964, 65-6; J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425)*, New Brunswick 1969, 34-4, 355-9, with references to the Byzantine sources; further, *İA*, sv, *Muṣṭafā*. I. (M.C. Şehâbettin Tekindağ), with references to Ottoman manuscript sources. The above article is a résumé of two forthcoming studies by C.J. Heywood, dealing respectively with Muṣṭafā's regime and his coinage, where more extensive general and numismatic bibliographies will be supplied. (C.J. Heywood)

2. Muṣṭafā Čelebi, Küčük Muṣṭafā), son of Meḥemmed I [*q.v.*] and counter-sultan (*ca.* 810-11/1408-9—825/1423). Meḥemmed I had five sons: Murād (i.e. Murād II [*q.v.*]); Muṣṭafā, who received the nickname *Küčük* ("Young") to distinguish him from his uncle, *Düzme* Muṣṭafā b. Bāyezīd (see 1 above); Aḥmed, who had died in the lifetime of his father; Yūsuf and Maḥmūd. There is evidence from Byzantine sources (Ducas; Chalcocondyles) that Meḥemmed's testamentary disposition may have envisaged a partition of the Ottoman state on his death, with Muṣṭafā receiving its Anatolian possessions (Murād was to rule over Rūmeli; the two younger sons would be kept in protective custody at the Byzantine court). Thus the twin evils of civil war and fratricide would be obviated. In the event, on his father's death (25 June 1421) Murād, whom the Ottoman chronicle sources (ʿĀshıḳpashazāde; the Anonymous chronicles, Orudj) clearly regard as Meḥemmed's designated *walī-ʿahd*, was aided by the late sultan's chief advisors to ascend the throne (at Bursa, 25 June 1421—cf. *İA*, s.v. *Murad II* (H. İnalcık); Meḥemmed's two youngest sons were put to death there (Shükr Allāh, 62)).

Muṣṭafā, who was twelve years of age on the death of his father, had been appointed by him *sandjaḳ-begi* of Ḥamīd [*q.v.*]. He was taken under the protection of Yaʿḳūb Beg of Germiyān, who "adopted him as a son" (ʿĀshıḳpashazāde) and refused to recognise Murād. Ḥamīd itself (*i.e.*, Aḳshehir, Begshehri, Oḳluḳ-ḥiṣārī, Saʿīd-ili and Seydī-shehir) was occupied by the Ḳaramānids. Muṣṭafā seems to have played little part in the immediate aftermath of Meḥemmed's death, when Murād was faced with the simultaneous general uprising against Ottoman rule in Anatolia and the attempt by Düzme Muṣṭafā to gain the sultanate, as well as the open hostilty of Byzantium (summer 1421-spring 1422); it is possible that he may have been residing in Ḳaramān (Chalcocondyles), or placed by a certain Ḳara Tādj al-Dīn-oghlu under the tutelage of one Sharabdār Ilyās in Ḳastamonu (Ducas). Thereafter, with these threats overcome, Murād turned against Byzantium (sieges of Constantinople and Thessaloniki, June 1422). At this point Küčük Muṣṭafā reappeared and, most probably with Byzantine money (channelled via Sharabdār Ilyās, who, together with Ḳara Tādj al-Dīn-oghlu, appears throughout to have played the role of kingmaker to the young prince), together with military support from Ḳaramān and Germiyān—apparently including Turkomans from the Ṭurghud tribes—was enabled to raise up a strong army which besieged Bursa (late August 1422). Murād, abandoning the siege of Constantinople (final, unsuccessful assault on 24 August; departure of Murād on 6 September), retired to Edirne. From there he sent an army under Mīkhāl-oghlu Mīkhāl Beg against Muṣṭafā, who fled to Constantinople (30 September 1422). Muṣṭafā established

a short-lived base at Selembria (Silivri) on the north coast of the Sea of Marmara, but was attacked by the troops of Rūmeli and forced to cross over "again" and re-establish himself in Ḳodja-eli, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, where he was recognised by the population and troops as sultan (*Takvimler*, ed. Turan, 60; Chalcocondyles, tr. B. de Vigenère, 110). From Ḳodja-eli Muṣṭafā advanced on Iznik, which opened its gates to him. He also gained control over "part of the region of Bursa" (*Takvimler*, 60), and seems at this time to have been recognised as sultan over much of Anatolia. The population of Bursa, however, remained loyal to Murād, requesting Muṣṭafā not to besiege the town, Murād, counselled by his *lālā* Yorguč Pas̲h̲a, and preceded by Mīk̲h̲āl Beg, crossed over to Anatolia (24 January 1422). Murād won over Ilyās Pas̲h̲a, Muṣṭafā's chief advisor, and advanced on Iznik, which declared itself for him. After violent fighting, in which both Mīk̲h̲āl Beg and Ḳara Tādj al-Dīn-og̲h̲lu lost their lives, Iznik was taken by Murād. Muṣṭafā was handed over by Ilyās Pas̲h̲a to Murād, who caused him to be strangled outside Iznik (20 February (?) 1423). His corpse was sent to Bursa, where it was buried beside his father.

Bibliography: See that for 1., above; cf. also *İA*, s.v. *Mustafā Çelebi* (2) (M.C. Şehâbettin Tekindağ).

(C.J. Heywood)

3. Muṣṭafā, son of Süleymān Ḳānūnī [*q.v.*] (921-61/1515-53). A favourite of Süleymān's mother, Ḥafṣa Sulṭān, he was brought to Istanbul with his mother Mahīdewrān (also known in the sources as Gulbahār) in 926/1520 when Süleymān ascended the throne. When Ḥafṣa died in 939/1533, Muṣṭafā was sent with his mother to serve as governor of Ṣaruk̲h̲ān in Maʿnīsa where he had been born. Muṣṭafā exhibited interest in political and military affairs and was a confident of the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a until the latter's execution in 942/1536. Opponents of Muṣṭafā (led by K̲h̲urrem Sulṭān and Rüstem Pas̲h̲a [*q.vv.*] spread rumours in 945/1538 and again in 948/1541 that he planned to rebel against his father. In 948/1541 he was re-assigned further away from the capital as governor of Amasya. Here he served until 961/1553, when he was executed on 5 October at the orders of his father Sultan Süleymān. The sources are unclear about the circumstances surrounding this event. Süleymān was convinced that Muṣṭafā intended to stage a coup d'état, and he received reports that Muṣṭafā had aroused the Janissaries by charging that his father was too ill and old to lead the army and the state. The Grand Vizier Rüstem Pas̲h̲a, who had pressed for Muṣṭafā's execution, was himself dismissed to appease the Janissaries.

Muṣṭafā's death was mourned by poets and scholars, a number of whom wrote elegies for the dead *s̲h̲ehzāde*; best known is the *mert̲h̲iye* of Yaḥyā Bey. Muṣṭafā himself wrote poetry under the *tak̲h̲alluṣ* of Muk̲h̲liṣī.

Bibliography: The historical works of ʿĀlī, Ṣolaḳ-zāde, Pečewī, Muṣṭafā Bustān b. Meḥmed (Bustān Efendi/Bostān-zāde), and Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā. Busbecq's *Letters* provide a European view of Muṣṭafā and his execution. Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, iii; ʿAlī Djewād, *Taʾrīk̲h̲iñ ḳanlï ṣaḥīfeleri: S̲h̲ehzāde Sulṭān Muṣṭafā*, Istanbul n.d.; Mehmed Zeki, *Maḳtūl S̲h̲ehzādeler*, Istanbul 1336; Petra Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 26. Jahrhundert*, Istanbul 1976; Çagatay Uluçay, *İA*, art. *Mustafa Sultan*; idem, *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman ve ailesi, in Kanunî armağanı*, Ankara 1970, 227-57. (A. Fisher)

MUṢṬAFĀ ʿABD AL-RĀZIḲ, Egyptian journalist who became Rector of al-Azhar [*q.v.*].

Born in Egypt in 1882 (according to Y.A. Dāg̲h̲ir, *Maṣādir*) or in 1885 (al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*) and dying in 1946 or 1947, he belonged to a rich and aristocratic family. He was the son of Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ and the brother of ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, his junior by several years and famed for the "scandal" raised by his book *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm* in 1925, a little before the one which Ṭāhā Ḥusayn provoked with his *al-S̲h̲iʿr al-djāhilī*. Despite being on a very different social level, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ followed an education which recalls that of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, five or seven years younger than him. After having studied the Ḳurʾān in the *kuttāb* [*q.v.*] of his village, he pursued his studies at al-Azhar where, contrary to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, he obtained his diploma. He was unable to enter Cairo University, which was only to open its doors after his departure for Paris, in 1909. He followed Durckheim's courses at the Sorbonne, and specialised in Islamic philosophy. Having become Docteur-ès-Lettres, he returned to Egypt in 1915 to fill several posts and to follow a less dramatic career than those of his father and brother: as secretary-general of the Council of al-Azhar, inspector of the religious courts, professor of Islamic philosophy, in 1927, at the secular University of Cairo, minister of *awḳāf* in 1938, and supreme *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of al-Azhar from 1945 till his death.

He was a disciple of Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], whose courses he had followed at al-Azhar; he became his friend and one of the main sources for his biography. He first of all collaborated on the daily *al-Djarīda* (founded in 1908 at Cairo, and edited by Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid), where he became friendly with the leading lights of modern Arab thought, including ʿAḳḳād, M.Ḥ. Haykal, Salāma Mūsā, Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfiʿī and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. Then he worked on *al-Siyāsa*, founded in 1922, with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal as editor-in-chief. This daily newspaper was at the time the mouthpiece of the dissident party from the Wafd, *al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn*, whose founder ʿAlī Yakan had become the rival of Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl [*q.v.*]. The masses, fervent worshippers of the latter, stoned the premises of the newspaper, and two of whose members were even murdered, one of these being Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ's father Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a. *Al-Siyāsa* defended freedom of expression for the intellectuals persecuted by the malevolence of al-Azhar, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn for his *al-S̲h̲iʿr al-djāhilī* (in 1926) and ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ for the book mentioned above, which preached the separation of religion and the state.

At Lyons, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ presented his thesis on the Imām al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, published at Cairo in 1944. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn said of him in his obituary notice: "he was a man of letters, a scholar who produced little (*adīb ʿālim muḳill*), but this 'little' was of greater value than much else" (cited by al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, 131-2). Towards the end of his life, he published *al-Ṣūfiyya wa 'l-firaḳ al-islāmiyya* (Cairo 1938), an introduction to Islamic philosophy (Cairo 1944), and studies on al-Kindī and al-Fārābī, *Faylasūf al-ʿarab wa 'l-muʿallim al-t̲h̲ānī* (Cairo 1945). Above all, he wrote authoritatively on ʿAbduh (Cairo 1946) and published his "memoirs" (*Mud̲h̲akkirāt*) in the press. At his death, numerous articles were written about him, including by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (*al-Kātib al-Miṣrī*, 1947, no. 5), by ʿAḳḳād (*al-Risāla*, 1947, no. xv) and many others (*al-T̲h̲aḳāfa*, 1947, nos. 429, 431, 481).

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(N. TOMICHE)

MUṢṬAFĀ BARZĀNĪ, MULLĀ, probably the best-known Kurdish leader of his generation (1902-79), was born in Barzān [*q.v.*], (now in the province of Duhuk), northern ʿIrāḳ, into a family of Naḳshbandī [see NAḲSHBANDIYYA] *shaykhs*. His father, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Salām, sent a petition to the Young Turk government in 1908 asking for Kurdish officials to be employed in the Kurdish areas, and for Kurdish to be an official language of the region; he was subsequently hanged in Mawṣil in 1915 for his defiance of the Ottoman state. ʿAbd al-Salām was succeeded as head of the order and leader of the tribe by his son Shaykh Aḥmad, Mullā Muṣṭafā's elder brother; in the late 1920s, Aḥmad briefly declared himself Jesus Christ, enjoining his followers to eat pork and drink wine, which caused some concern to the authorities in Baghdād. In 1930-2 police posts were established in the Barzān area and the ʿIrāḳī Army was sent in to incorporate the area fully into the state administration. Aḥmad put up considerable resistance, but was eventually defeated with the help of the British R.A.F.; he was subsequently exiled to Turkey and imprisoned there, while Mullā Muṣṭafā took over the effective leadership of the Barzān tribe and, in time, of the Kurdish movement as a whole.

By 1936 Aḥmad had returned from Turkey, and both the Barzānī brothers were living in Sulaymāniyya under house arrest. Mullā Muṣṭafā escaped in 1943 and returned to Barzān, where he raised a revolt and attempted, unsuccesfully, to persuade the British authorities to convince the ʿIrāḳī government to support Kurdish autonomy. In mid-1945, some 14,000 ʿIrāḳī troops were sent to Barzān, and succeeded in expelling Mullā Muṣṭafā and some 1,200 Barzānī tribesmen from ʿIrāḳ into Persia, that October. Their arrival in Persia coincided with one of the principal events in contemporary Kurdish history, the foundation of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in Māhābād [*q.v.*] and subsequently the proclamation of the Republic of Māhābād in January 1946. The Barzānīs came to form the core of the Republic's army, and remained there until the overthrow of Māhābād in the spring of 1947; at this point they were chased back into ʿIrāḳ, and in May 1947 Mullā Muṣṭafā and 600 followers escaped to the Soviet Union, where they stayed until 1958. In Mullā Muṣṭafā's absence the KDP (ʿIrāḳ) was led by Ibrāhīm Aḥmad, under whom it gradually developed into a political as distinct from a nationalist party; the uneasy coexistence of these two tendencies, and Barzānī's autocratic style as a traditional tribal leader, was to be the cause of major rifts in the Kurdish movement in later years.

After the Revolution of 1958, ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] and the Free Officers invited Mullā Muṣṭafā to return to ʿIrāḳ, and it seemed that a new era in Kurdish-ʿIrāḳī government relations had begun. Unfortunately, however, although Ḳāsim himself seems to have supported the idea of some form of autonomy for the Kurds, other Free Officers, especially those who were keen supporters of Arab unity, were less enthusiastic about making concessions in that direction. As a result, the position of Mullā Muṣṭafā and the KDP was generally close to that of the ʿIrāḳī Communist Party, which was also profoundly suspicious of the likely implications of the nationalists' professed goal of merging ʿIrāḳ with the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria. By 1961 relations between the government and Mullā Muṣṭafā had greatly deteriorated; Barzānī forces occupied Zakhō in September and the government retaliated by bombing Barzān village, causing considerable loss of life.

The fighting which began in 1961 continued intermittently until Mullā Muṣṭafā and the Kurdish movement generally were defeated in March 1975. Broadly speaking, the ʿIrāḳī Kurds wanted a form of meaningful autonomy within ʿIrāḳ, which most ʿIrāḳī governments of the period were unwilling to consider, since they considered that such autonomy would amount to a derogation of national sovereignty. In addition, many government ministers were either serving or former military officers, who had seen active service against the Kurds in northern ʿIrāḳ. In the course of the 1960s, a split, partly a clash of personalities and partly a difference of principle, occurred between Mullā Muṣṭafā and the KDP (in the persons of Ibrāhīm Aḥmad and his son-in-law Djalāl Ṭalabānī), to the point where KDP units were fighting alongside government troops against the Barzānīs. In addition, Mullā Muṣṭafā maintained cordial contacts with the Shāh of Persia for most of the period, an association which was much criticised both by his Kurdish opponents and by successive ʿIrāḳī governments.

When the Baʿth government came to power in 1968, it began by making overtures to Mullā Muṣṭafā's Kurdish opponents, but soon realised that although they might be more congenial ideologically, the Aḥmad-Ṭalabānī group had little support on the ground in Kurdistān. Accordingly, negotiations between Mullā Muṣṭafā and the Baʿth began at the end of 1969, and in March 1970 a programme for Kurdish autonomy was announced which was to be put in place by March 1974. If implemented, the Manifesto would have been a major step forward, but in fact its main function was to enable the Baʿth to gain time and to establish itself sufficiently to be able to recast its Kurdish policy more to its own advantage at a later date, a purpose which it succeeded in serving for at least two years. Cracks soon began to appear in the façade, especially over the Baʿth's concern to avoid taking a census of the area, since this would have shown that the majority of the population around the Kirkūk oilfields, over which the Baʿth wanted to retain its control, was Kurdish, and over the expulsion of many thousands of Shīʿī Kurds to Persia in 1971 and 1972. There were also several attempts to assassinate Mullā Muṣṭafā and his sons in the early 1970s.

By 1973, Mullā Muṣṭafā had come to the conclusion that the Baʿth did not have any serious intention of implementing the Manifesto. He had already resumed his relations with Persia, and, for the first time, began a serious dialogue with the United States. In an interview in the *Washington Post* in June 1973 he declared that the Kirkūk oilfields were the inalienable property of the Kurds, and offered the United States participation in "Kurdish oil" if it would only send its forces to assist him in his struggle against the "wolves" in Baghdād, Thus when fighting between the government and Kurds finally broke out in 1974, it was easy for the Baʿth and its Communist supporters to criticise the Kurds for their alliance with the forces of "reaction and imperialism." Māhābād became the headquarters of the ʿIrāḳī Kurdish forces, and there were some 30-40,000 Kurdish refugees in or near the city. By January 1975 the conflict had escalated to such a point that an all-out war between Persia and ʿIrāḳ looked likely.

Mullā Muṣṭafā's miscalculation was to rely too heavily on Persia and the United States, especially as the Shāh had no intention of allowing the Kurds to defeat the ʿIrāḳī Army. More pragmatic considerations prevailed, and in March 1975 Ṣaddām Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] signed the Algiers Agreement, which effectively ended Persian support to the Kurds in return for various border and other rectifications in Persia's favour. For the time being, the Kurdish resistance was at an end, and 100,000 Kurdish refugees fled to Persia.

Mullā Muṣṭafā went into exile in Tehran, and eventually died in the United States in 1979. The leadership of the KDP passed to his son Masʿūd, and Djalāl Ṭalabānī left the Party to form his own movement, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistān, in 1975. In general, Mullā Muṣṭafā was a charismatic leader but far less competent as a politician; he was unable to adjust to the new socio-political realities experienced by many of his people, and too prepared to take undertakings on trust from Ṣaddām Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh. In his lifetime, however, no other Kurdish leader wielded anything approaching his influence.

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(P. SLUGLETT)

AL-**MUṢṬAFĀ** LI-**DĪN ALLĀH** [see NIZĀR B. AL-MUSTANṢIR].

MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI [see Suppl.].

MUṢṬAFĀ KĀMIL PASHA, leader of the second nationalist movement in Egypt (on the first, see ʿURĀBĪ PASHA and MIṢR. D.7).

The son of an Egyptian army engineer, he was born in Cairo on 1 Radjab 1291/14 August 1874, studied at the Khedivial school of law there and after taking his examination went to study in Toulouse, where in 1894 he took his *licence en droit*. When still a student of 18 he began his political activity and entered into personal relations with the Khedive ʿAbbās II [*q.v.*]. On his return from France, he founded in 1894 the second Egyptian national party (*al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*) with the object of inducing Britain by appeals to justice to abandon the occupation and restore the complete independence of Egypt. Later, he also aimed at getting the Sūdān [*q.v.*] handed back to Egypt and tried to prepare the Egyptians by modern education for parliamentary government. As the representative of his party, he spent each year a considerable time in Europe, especially France where he consorted with politicians and journalists and conducted a vigorous propaganda for his object. All his life he was very friendly with the journalist Juliette Adam; he had dealings with Rochefort, Drumont, Col. Marchand, Pierre Loti, and in 1896 had some correspondence with Gladstone. Later, he visited Berlin, London, Vienna, Budapest, Geneva and Istanbul, where he was highly thought of because he insisted on the sultan's suzerainty over Egypt; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] gave him in 1904 the title of Pasha. In Cairo, he founded in 1898 a school for training the youth in nationalist ideas, and in 1899 started the newspaper *al-Liwāʾ* ("The Banner"), which appeared early in 1900, had a great success, and from 1907 appeared also in English and French editions. From 1902 onwards, he published the nationalist quarterly *Madjallat al-Liwāʾ*. In his speeches and articles, he emphasised his aims with fiery eloquence; at the same time, he expressed his approval of the building of the strategic Ḥidjāz railway by the Ottomans and his sympathy with the Japanese in their war with Russia (1904-5). Muṣṭafā Kāmil also regularly emphasised the privileged position of Muslims as belonging to the state religion, and he recognised the sultan as caliph and head of Islam and thus contribued to the pan-Islamic movement which began early in the 20th century.

The "Entente Cordiale" concluded on 8 April 1904 between Britain and France was a severe blow to him and the nationalist party; by it France, in return for a free hand in Morocco, dropped its objections to the British occupation of Egypt. The Egyptian nationalists thus lost all hope of open or secret support from the French government and were thrown back upon their own resources. This situation caused Muṣṭafā Kāmil to redouble his energy, and in vigorous speeches and writings against France and Britain, in travelling and negotiating with statesmen of different lands, he endeavoured to make Egypt's point of view clear. As a result of the intensity of his agitation, there was a breach between him and the Khedive ʿAbbās II (October 1904); on the other hand, his following in Egypt rapidly increased and began to be troublesome to Lord Cromer, who had so far treated the new nationalism created by Muṣṭafā Kāmil as a "quantité négligeable". The Dinshawāʾī (a village near Ṭanṭā in the Delta) affair gave the nationalists a great stimulus; on 13 June 1906, some British officers out shooting were said to have wounded an Egyptian woman and were attacked by *fellāḥīn* with clubs and one of the officers was killed. At the instigation of the British government and under the presidency of the Egyptian Minister of Justice, the Copt Buṭrus Ghālī, a special court was set up, and this sentenced four *fellāḥīn* to death and 17 to prison or flogging, and the sentence was carried out next day. The indignation in Egypt and Europe rose to great heights, and even in the British House of Commons the authorities were criticised. Muṣṭafā Kāmil hurried to London and discussed the matter with the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, whom he endeavoured to convince of the necessity of recalling Lord Cromer and giving greater freedom to Egyptians. On this occasion, he mentioned as suitable representatives in a parliamentary system of government all those Egyptians who in the later political movement after the First World War played important parts. On his return to Egypt, through the press and mass meetings in which he urged Egyptians to unite against Britain, he gave a great stimulus to the nationalist movement and soon had the satisfaction of seeing Lord Cromer resign (in April 1907)—although he was by no means the only cause of this—and replaced by Sir Eldon Gorst. The latter adopted a milder tone with the Egyptians, was on good terms with the Khedive and endeavoured to support him with a newly-founded party. Muṣṭafā Kāmil attacked this representative of Britain vigorously also, in October 1907 put his National Party on a broader basis and summoned it to a "National Congress", which met on 7 December of the same year in Cairo; 1,017 delegates from all over Egypt appeared, and

after a speech by Muṣṭafā Kāmil which carried them away, the latter was elected life-President of the party. This was however his swan-song. He had been ill since the summer of 1906; he died on 10 February 1908 (8 Muḥarram 1326) at the age of 34 of a slow internal trouble (intestinal tuberculosis). The rumour inevitably spread that he had been poisoned at British instigation. His funeral was an impressive expression of the national grief. Muṣṭafā's creations did not long survive him and his party, which produced no leader to equal him and was broken up by dissensions, gradually sank into insignificance. Although he obtained no positive results by his agitation, he prepared the way for the third and greatest nationalist movement (under Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] from 13 November 1918).

In retrospect, Muṣṭafā Kāmil appears essentially as a demagogue and opportunist, often unscrupulous and giving his support to e.g. French foreign policy or the K̲h̲edive and then abandoning these without compunction. In many ways he was a spiritual descendant of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afg̲h̲ānī [*q.v.*], whose ideas he knew through ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm [*q.v.*], the orator and spokesman of the ʿUrābī movement of the 1880s (although he disliked al-Afg̲h̲ānī's chief disciple in Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*]), but nevertheless seems to have viewed Islamic religion primarily as a means for the advancement of Egyptian nationalism, and some observers thought him basically irreligious. His Egyptian patriotism was nevertheless fundamental and genuine, and the interests of what he called both the *umma miṣriyya* and the *s̲h̲aʿb miṣrī* were always the mainsprings of his polemics, amply warranting the veneration of him by the Egyptian masses. He stressed the solidarity of Muslims and Copts, as being each components of the Egyptian nation, although in practice, this solidarity was largely a myth; and the more strident of his nationalist supporters after his death, such as his successor as leader of the Nationalist Party Muḥammad Farīd Bey [*q.v.*] and, above all, his successor as editor of *al-Liwāʾ*, the Tunisian ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-S̲h̲awīs̲h̲ or al-Djawīs̲h̲, did much to exacerbate Muslim-Copt relations in the years before the First World War. Muṣṭafā Ḳamil regarded the Syrian, Armenian, etc. immigrants into Egypt with suspicion, as intruders (*duk̲h̲alāʾ*), seeing in them competitors in the professions and supporters of the British occupation, but he had to be more wary in his public attitude towards the European residents (*al-nuzalāʾ al-Urubiyyūn*), as representatives of powers which needed to be placated if Egypt was to achieve independence.

Of Muṣṭafā Kāmil's numerous writings, only the more important can be mentioned; many of them were only printed after his death, some in the great (never completed) biography by his brother ʿAlī Bey Fahmī Kāmil, *al-Masʾala 'l-s̲h̲arḳiyya* (1898, 1909); *Miṣr wa 'l-iḥtilāl al-indjlīzī* (collection of speeches and essays, Cairo 1313); *Difāʿ al-miṣrī ʿan bilādihi*, Cairo 1324/1906; *al-S̲h̲ams al-mus̲h̲riḳa* (Cairo 1904, on the Russo-Japanese war); *Lettres françaises-égyptiennes* (Cairo 1909; also in Arabic and Eng. tr., his letters to Juliette Adam); *Egyptiens et Anglais*, Paris 1906 (speech of 4 July 1895 in Toulouse); *Le péril anglais*, Paris 1899; *What the National Party wants* (Cairo 1907, speech of 22 Oct. 1907). See further on his writings, Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, ii, cols. 1754-5.

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(M. MEYERHOF*)

MUṢṬAFĀ KEMĀL [see ATATÜRK].

MUṢṬAFĀ KEMĀL PAS̲H̲A [see KIRMĀSTĪ].

MUṢṬAFĀ K̲H̲AYRĪ EFENDI, ÜRGÜPLÜ (1283-1339/1867-1921), *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām* of the Ottoman Empire. A member of an old established local *ʿulamāʾ* family, he was born at Ürgüp as a son of ʿAbd Allāh ʿAwnī Efendi. Members of the family were the administrator of the *waḳf* of the town's principal mosque complex, the *ulu djāmiʿ* founded by Ḳaramānog̲h̲lu Ibrāhīm Bey [see ḲARAMĀN-OG̲H̲ULLARÎ]. K̲h̲ayrī received his early education locally *inter alia* in Arabic, Persian and Turkish classical literature and calligraphy. His elder brother, an Inspector of Justice in the *wilāyet* of Sivas [*q.v.*], supervised his continued schooling. In 1882 K̲h̲ayrī came to Instanbul to study there for two years at the Bas̲h̲kurs̲h̲unlu Medrese of the Ṣaḥn-i T̲h̲eman Medreses. He returned to Ürgüp with his father and studied for another two years at the Yag̲h̲murog̲h̲lu Medrese in Kayseri, after which he returned to Istanbul at some time. In 1895 he took his *idjāzet* and at the same time completed his studies at the Law School.

His career in the ranks of the *ʿİlmiyye* [*q.v.*] went very smoothly. In 1896 he ranked as *ibtidāʾ-i k̲h̲āridj*, and in 1897 *ibtidāʾ-i dāk̲h̲il*. In 1898 he was appointed deputy public prosecutor at the Court of First Instance (*Bidāyet Maḥkemesi*) of the *sandjaḳ* of Marʿas̲h̲ [*q.v.*]; in 1899 he was transferred as such to Ṭarābulus-i S̲h̲ām [*q.v.*]. In 1901 he became presiding judge of the Criminal Division of the Court of First Instance of the *sandjaḳ* Lād̲h̲ikiyya [*q.v.*], then public prosecutor at the Central Court of First Instance of the province of Syria (SŪRIYĀ). From 1904 to 1906 he held the same function at Monastir [see MANĀSTÎR] (now Bitola). He was promoted to *ḥareket-i dāk̲h̲il* rank and transferred to Salonica [see SELĀNIK] to be presiding judge of the Criminal Division of the *Bidāyet Maḥkemesi*. Here he joined the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI], and was a member of the central committee in 1908.

After the restoration of constitutional government (July 1908) brought about by the Young Turk revolution, K̲h̲ayrī Efendi was elected member of the Ottoman parliament for the *sandjaḳ* of Niğde [*q.v.*], the district of his home town. He also became professor of Medjelle [*q.v.*] law at Istanbul University. It thus becomes clear that his ambition was not to remain within the restricted scope of an *ʿIlmiyye* career but to join the ranks of the civil servants [see MÜLKIYE] and politicians. In fact, K̲h̲ayri qualified himself more frequently as "Bey" than as "Efendi" by this time.

At the reshuffle of the cabinet after the failure of the counter revolution of April 1909 (the so-called "31st March Incident", Turkish: *31 Mart Waḳʿasî/Olayî*), he entered the government as Minister of Justice for a short time. While remaining a member of parliament

[see MADJLIS. 4. A. (i)] he took up a professorship in the *Medreset ül-Ḳuḍāt* ("Cadis' Training College"), one of the modern teaching establishments of the *ʿIlmiyye*. In 1910 Khayrī Bey became Minister of *Ewḳāf* [see WAḲF]. In the absence of his colleague, he also acted as Minister of the Interior. During the next cabinet of the government led by Küčük Saʿīd Pasha [*q.v.*], he was President of the Council of State and acting Minister of Education. In 1913 he was re-elected for the third time as member of parliament for Niğde. He became again Minister of *Ewḳāf*. During this time he actively occupied himself with the reorganisation along modern lines of the educational institutions of the *ʿIlmiyye* and the administration of the *Ewḳāf* Ministry.

On 16 March 1914 (Rabīʿ II 1332), Khayri Bey/Efendi also became *sheykh ül-Islām* in the cabinet of the Grand Vizier Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha (1913-17). Thus it fell to him to issue the ill-famed *fatwā* sanctioning the *djihād-i ekber* (the "Great Holy War"—made in Germany according to the Dutch Islamologist C. Snouck Hurgronje) against Russia, Great Britain, France and their allies (14 November 1914/25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1332) (photograph in *Mufassal Osmanlı tarihi*, vi, 3522, Istanbul 1963; text in transcript in Altunsu, 245 f.). On 25 April 1916/20 Djumādā II 1334, he resigned, according to some because of the lavish style of living of the leading Unionists, which he found morally unacceptable at the time when the majority of the Sultan's subjects were suffering the hardships of war. Khayrī Efendi now became a member of the Ottoman Senate.

At the end of the war, he became Minister of Justice in the government formed by Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pasha [see ʿIZZET PASHA (Furgaç)]. Together with other leading Unionists, such as Djāwīd [*q.v.*] Bey and Fethī Bey [see OKYAR, ʿALĪ FETḤI], he had to resign on 19 November 1918. On 4 March 1919, together with many politicians of the Unionist régime, he was arrested. Before a court-martial was held, he and other members of parliament were deported by the British authorities to Malta. Because of ill health he was released early and transported to Rome for treatment. From there, together with Hüseyin Rāghib [Baydur], he went on to Antalya whence Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sanūsī was to bring him to Ürgüp. However, Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (Atatürk [*q.v.*]) invited him to Ankara to take a seat in the Grand National Assembly. Khayrī Efendi excused himself with the argument that his links with the former Unionist leaders would be an embarassment for the Ankara government. However, he expressed his loyalty to the nationalists' cause and promised to support Muṣṭafā Kemal's struggle. Thereupon Khayrī Efendi retired from public life and settled down in the town of his ancestors. He died at Ürgüp on 1 Dhu'l-Ḳada 1339/7 July 1921. He lies buried there next to the Great Mosque (Ḳaramānoghlu Ibrāhīm Djāmiʿi). His son Suat Hayri Ürgüplü (b. Damascus, 1903, d. Istanbul, 1981), a prominent lawyer and politician, was a member of parliament, government minister, ambassador and Prime Minister of Turkey 1965-6 and again in 1972.

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MUṢṬAFĀ KHAZNADĀR (1817-78), Tunisian official. A *mamlūk* of Greek origin originally called George Kalkias Stravelakis, he became a convert to Islam. He was born at Kardamila in the island of Chios, where his father Stephanis had been killed in the massacres of 1821, taken as a slave at an unknown date and brought to Izmir, sold at Istanbul and then re-sold at Tunis, where he was brought to the court during the reign of Ḥusayn Bey (1824-35). Ḥusayn brought up the young *mamlūk* in the circle of his own nephew Aḥmad (b. 1806), and links which were almost brotherly grew up between the two. The prince appointed for him two tutors, the *shaykhs* Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kāmil, a Mālikī, and Muṣṭafā Bū Ghāzlī, a Ḥanafī, who taught him Arabic and inculcated the bases of Islamic culture (cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, vi, 179). Although he retained memories of his Greek origin, Muṣṭafā had completely forgotten his native language; but he understood Italian, which was currently spoken at the Ḥusaynid court of Bardo.

Muṣṭafā was an intelligent, open-minded person and remarkably adaptable to circumstances, hence by the age of 20 succeeded in raising himself to the highest rank in the state; he was to retain power for 36 years. He would probably have kept this till his death at Tunis in 1878 if the French agents' intervention had not brought about his fall on 21 October 1873.

The characteristic feature of his career is that he was successively prime minister to three Beys, Aḥmad (1837-55), M'ḥammad (1855-9) and Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ (1859-73), and one can speak about a progressively-increasing share of the power held by him, whilst at the same time he managed to leave the ruler under the impression that he was the real master. With certain qualifications, this seems to hold good for all three of the Beys whom he served.

From the outset, Aḥmad Bey selected him to be his personal secretary and adviser, and promoted him to be treasurer of the state finances (*khaznadār*)—this last position not being a surprising one, since he was already in charge of the prince's personal finances before his investiture. He took up office on 10 Radjab 1253/10 October 1837, and speedily assumed the title of prime minister, holding this till the Bey's death on 14 Ramaḍān 1271/30 May 1855.

For these 18 years, he strove to raise his office in importance, without however making any apparent change in the governmental system. At the time of the first regulation of the currency in 1847, his signature appears on the notes issued then at the side of the Bey's, as if they were co-rulers. Also, he had enough influence over the Bey to dissuade him from condemning a provincial deputy-governor to death. It is true that his marriage to the Bey's sister Kulthūm brought with it family connections which favoured his interventions.

The case of M'ḥammad Bey brings with it differing modes of action. To begin with, Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's position suffered an eclipse, but the buying over with gold of the Bey's old retainers and his skill in apparently adapting himself to the new sovereign's ways allowed him to remain in power. Nevertheless, the tone of their mutual relations was very different from the one prevailing during the previous reign. It is true that when he threw himself at the Bey's feet to seek pardon for an old soldier condemned to death without a trial for immorality, M'ḥmmad Bey brusquely repelled him: "A man of this low breed should

not have pardon sought for him by someone of your rank" (cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, vii, 197). It seems that he was conscious of suffering to a certain extent from his lack of real lineage (*nasab*), and the episode of the decoration (*ibid.*, vii, 219-20) throws a vivid light on this aspect of his psychology.

Moreover, when M'ḥammad Bey issued a new gold coinage, the name of his Khaznadār was no longer associated with his own (*ibid.*, vii, 201); hence it is not surprising that shortly before his death on 24 Ṣafar 1276/22 September 1859, M'ḥammad had ceased to repose trust in him.

The case of Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ Bey is much clearer. Confidence may be placed in pieces of evidence which assert that Muṣṭafā Khaznadār secured a kind of magical ascendancy over the Bey. His tactics are defined as follows: he flattered the ruler and encouraged him in his vices in order to divert him from the reality of power and to leave him the mere shadow of his title, and he organised a network of acts of collusion among his entourage. Duchesne de Bellecourt, the French Consul-General at Tunis, saw in Muṣṭafā Khaznadār, in September 1865, the real absolute ruler of the land. How could one doubt this, when it was averred that he had been able to organise a minor palace revolution in order to place his partisans and confidants in positions of power—the Ministries of the Interior, of War and of the Navy? He held personally, in addition to his post as prime minister, two ministries, sc. Foreign Affairs and Finance (cf. J. Ganiage, *Les origines du Protectorat*, 280).

In regard to foreign policy, it may be noted that in general, he followed a seesaw policy balanced between the consuls of France and Britain, justifiable for the maintenance of his country's independence, and his eulogist Ed. Desfossés defends him warmly on this point. He states that "He resisted the intrigues and threats of the Porte, England, France and Italy, and knew how to prevent his country's occupation by foreign troops and to preserve his sovereign's integrity and independence" (*Affaires d'Orient, la disgrâce de Sidi Moustapha...*, 16). Desfossés observes also that as a Greek, he had no natural leaning towards Turkey, and under Aḥmad Bey, he seems to have been in agreement with his master to resist the Porte's pretentions in treating the Bey as a vassal and demanding an annual tribute. Fear of seeing France, henceforth established in Algeria, invade Tunisia, led him to seek support in the French side in order to prevent this danger. In practice, from 1856 onwards, he felt the influence of Britain through his cordial relations with the British Consul Richard Wood, whilst after December 1864, the date of the ending of the rebellion led by ʿAlī b. Ghadāhum [see IBN GHIDHĀHUM in Suppl.], he was led to favour a restoration of the French influence, if only in order to keep his own position. It was nevertheless Wood who advised him to resume relations with the Porte and to ask Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz for the *fermān* regulating relations with the Bey promised in 1864 and which he had abandoned in the face of firm French opposition (cf. Ganiage, *op. cit.*, 415-19). It seems that one may assume foreign policy, with its many fluctuations, to have been directed by Muṣṭafā Khaznadār, more or less affected, according to the circumstances, by the interventions of the French and British Consuls. The Beys themselves seem to have made few decisive initiatives of their own in this respect.

Concerning internal policy, three facts are of note. The first one, of juridical significance, involves the granting of the first Tunisian constitution. A coalition of the French and British consuls led Muṣṭafā Khaznadār to impress on the Bey the need for this reform, aimed largely at establishing for him a liberal reputation in the European nations' eyes. M'ḥammad Bey on 9 September 1857, before an assembly of all the dignitaries of the nations, announced his intention of granting to his people a constitution and enumerated the main principles of a Basic Agreement, *ʿAhd al-amān*, which was to link the ruler with his subjects and act as the basis of the constitution [see DUSTŪR. Tunisia]. This constitution was proclaimed in January 1861 and put into effect on the following 23 April, and it was intended to legalise and confirm Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's supreme power. It led to the formation of a Supreme Council of 60 members, in which all power, influence and riches were concentrated. The constitution was only a smoke-screen to mask the accumulation of all power by the *mamlūk*s to the detriment of the mass of Tunisian countrymen. All these considerations led to the revolt en masse of Tunisia in 1864.

The second fact is of a social nature and concerns this rebellion. It was in fact in regard to this rising of the tribes under ʿAlī b. Ghadāhum in April 1864 that Muṣṭafā Khaznadār plunged in affairs up to his neck, almost single-handed, since the Bey gave the impression of being absent. He put into practice an ingenious policy of dissociation which helped to make the tribal movement crumble and caused a multitude of rivalries. At the time of pacification, he promised an amnesty, cut the tithe (*ʿushur*) on cereals by a half and proceeded to nominate native Tunisian *ḳāḍīs* instead of *mamlūks*; but in reality, he was defending his own position as prime minister, directly threatened.

The third fact, of a financial nature, can be summed up as a falling into debt followed by two loans. The state of debt was characterised by payments only intermittently to officials, the army, and the contractors to and creditors of the government, who were paid with *tadhkiras* which were not honoured. In order to save the country's finances, Muṣṭafā Khaznadār had recourse to a double loan, one in 1863 and one in 1865, which both had catastrophic consequences. The reply to bankruptcy was the setting-up of an international financial commission (France, Britain and Italy) with Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] as President and the Inspector-General of the French finances, François Villet, as Vice-President (from 1869 to 1874). The latter, in two notes addressed to the Quai d'Orsay, drew up an indictment severely accusing Muṣṭafā Khaznadār of a vast operation aimed at pillaging the funds of the Tunisian state.

The difficulty of making an impartial judgment here, given the extensive camouflage over the numerous financial speculations, remains great, but it seems impossible to exculpate the prime minister. Desfossés' arguments seem highly inconsistent. Nevertheless, it would be hazardous to place the entire blame on Muṣṭafā Khaznadār and to exempt from censure the three Beys and all the high officials in the government, those involved in or associated with the abuses in some degree or other. On 21 October 1873 Muṣṭafā Khaznadār suffered a complete disgracing; he was deprived of all his offices and dignities and was arrested and confined in his palace at Tunis on the accusation of malversation of 80 million francs of state funds.

The ultimate appreciation of Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's career must be this: that he used his subtle intelligence to secure such an ascendancy over three Beys of Tunisia in the 19th century and that his suppleness in

adapting himself to the shifting realities of the period allowed him to keep himself in power, whilst at the same time concealing from superficial observers the real mainspring of his behaviour, sc. his avid love of gold, which presented a target for the criticisms of contemporaries.

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(A. Chenoufi)

MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, BAYRAḲDĀR or ʿAlemdār, Ottoman Turkish grand vizier in 1808, was the son of a wealthy Janissary at Rusčuḳ, born about 1750.

He distinguished himself in the war with Russia under Muṣṭafā III, and acquired in these years the surname of *bayraḳdār* "standard-bearer". After the war he lived on his estates near Rusčuḳ, and acquired the semi-official position of *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] of Hezārgrād and later of Rusčuḳ. With other *aʿyans* he took part in an action against the government at Edirne, but became finally a reliable supporter of the government. Having already received the honorary offices of *ḳapîdjî bashî* and of *mīr ākhur*, he was, in 1806, promoted to the rank of Pasha of Silistria and at the same time was appointed *ser-ʿasker* on the Danube frontier against the advancing Russian army. This made him one of the most influential men in Rūm-ili. He had become a zealous supporter of Selīm III's reform policy and, after that sultan's deposition, it was to him that the enemies of the new reactionary government turned. In June 1808 he was joined by the dismissed *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the grand vizierate in Istanbul, Ṭayyār Pasha; from Rusčuḳ they went to Edirne, where they joined forces with the grand vizier Čelebi Muṣṭafā Pasha. So the entire Rumelian army marched against the capital, where they dictated their will to the sultan Muṣṭafā IV (23 July). On 26 July Bayraḳdār was appointed commander in chief and on 28 July, after having taken by force the sultan's seal from the weak grand vizier, he marched with his troops to the palace of the sultan, under the pretext of bringing back the holy standard of the prophet. At first he was allowed only to enter the first court of the serāy, while Muṣṭafā IV —who had been absent— returned in haste from the seaside. As Bayraḳdār had made known his intention of restoring Selīm III to the throne, Muṣṭafā had just time to have his predecessor killed. But immediately afterwards he was himself deposed and Bayraḳdār now recognised Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] as sultan.

After this began the short personal régime of Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā Pasha as grand vizier. He had a number of the supporters of the former sultan executed, arranged a magnificent funeral for Selīm III and began to form a corps of troops called this time *niẓāmlî ʿasker* [see niẓām-i djedīd]. At the same time he summoned a great imperial conference in the capital, to which all the high-placed officials of the empire were invited. Many of them answered the appeal and subscribed to the extensive programme of reforms which the grand vizier laid before them in a solemn meeting in the first days of October and which was also approved of by a *fatwā* of the *muftī*. But the precipitation with which the new measures were taken in hand and the tactless procedure in the abolition of long-established abuses, made him ever more unpopular. The influential *ʿulamāʾ* were also alienated by the exaggerated reforming zeal. His only support were his Rumelian troops and a small number of friends, such as Begdji Efendi and Rāmiz Pasha, together with Ḳāḍī Pasha of Ḳaramān, who had remained in the capital after the imperial conference. Matters came to a head on 14 November 1808, in the last days of Ramaḍān 1222, by a rebellion of the Janissaries. The night following that day they surrounded the grand vizier's residence and set the quarter on fire. Bayraḳdār, surprised by the fire, saw no way of escape; he hid himself in a tower of his palace, where his body was found three days afterwards, after the fire was quenched. The rumour had been spread that Bayraḳdār had escaped, which had caused much uncertainty.

The grand vizier was buried in the fortress of Yedi Ḳule, where his bones were dug up in 1911 during railway works; they were transported to the mosque of Zayneb Sulṭān.

Although brief, Muṣṭafā Pasha Bayraḳdār's vizierate was important in that he revived aspects of the modernisation programme envisaged by Selīm III, e.g. by reviving in effect the *Niẓām-i Djedīd* as the *Segbān-i Djedīd*, by working towards removal of the abuses connected with the Janissaries and by confirming the rights and privileges of the *aʿyān* and *derebey* [*q.v.*] classes in the provinces of the empire. A period of reaction followed, but over the next eighteen years, Maḥmūd II was cautiously able to bring about the overthrow of the Janissaries in 1826 (the so-called *waḳʿa-yi khayriyye* "auspicious event") and the transformation of the army in the direction of a modern force.

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(J.H. Kramers-[C.E. Bosworth])

MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, BUSHATLĪ (1797-1860), Ottoman statesman of Albanian origin, son of Meḥmed Āṣāf Pasha and nephew of the renowned Ḳara Maḥmūd Pasha Ishḳodralî Bushatlî [*q.v.*]; this last article will provide information on the controversies regarding the origin of this family. For the eminence of the Bushatlî, at Ishḳodra, dating from the first half of the 12th/18th century and achieved through the efforts of Meḥmed Pasha Bushatlî and his successors, see arnawutluḳ, at vol. I, 656a.

Born on 27 Ramaḍān 1211/26 March 1797, Muṣṭafā Pasha made rapid progress in his career: appointed to a post in the *mutaṣarrîflîḳ* of Ishḳodra in 1225/1810, he became *wezīr* in 1227/1812. His administrative and military career, and in particular the campaigns conducted on behalf of the Porte against ʿAlī Pasha Tependelenli [*q.v.*] and against the Greek insurrection in 1823, as well as his passive stance in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-9, are surveyed at length by M. Cavid Baysun in his article s.v. *İA*, viii, 727-30, usefully summarising passages

drawn from various Ottoman historians (Luṭfī, in particular).

Opposed to the reforms which sultan Maḥmūd II intended to introduce (which threatened to deprive him of his hereditary privileges), and driven by personal ambitions, which Albanian historians now interpret as manifestations of Albanian nationalism (cf. S.N. Naçi, *Pashallëku i Shkodrës ne vitet e para të shek. xix (1796-1831)*, Tirana 1896), he rebelled against the Ottoman power. He is known to have established "culpable" relations, on the one hand with discontented Bosnian Muslims and the *pas̲h̲a* of Egypt Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], and on the other hand with the Serbian prince Miloš Obrenović (Drag. M. Pavlović, *Pokret u Bosni i u Albaniji protiv reforama Mahmuda II*, Belgrade 1913, chs. viii and ix; M. Gavrilović, *Miloš Obrenović*, Belgrade 1908-12, iii, 91-6, 102-14, 124-6, 332-50, 361), and the prince-bishop of Montenegro, the distinguished poet Petar II Petrović Njegoš (these latter relations were however to be thwarted by the Russian consul in Dubrovnik, J. Gagić).

After initial successes (the temporary capture of Nis̲h̲, of Skoplje and of Sofia), the rebel troops of Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a were defeated in April 1831, in the mountainous region of Babuna near Prilep, by Ottoman armies commanded by the grand vizier Muṣṭafā Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in person. Surrounded at Is̲h̲ḳodra, Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a remained defiant for a few more months, but was eventually forced to surrender. He was taken to Istanbul, where he lived for a time in the vicinity of the Süleymāniyye mosque, before being allowed to rejoin the Ottoman administration, under the reign of ʿAbd al-Medjīd I. He then served, from 1846 onwards, as governor (*wālī*) in various locations (Bolu, Kastamonu, Adana, Marʿas̲h̲, Konya, etc.) and even returned in 1853 to Rumelia as governor of Herzegovina.

He died in Medina on 7 D̲h̲ū 'l-Ḳaʿda 1276/27 May 1860, having been a member of the brotherhood dervish order of the Mewlewīs (Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*]).

His property, which had been confiscated at the time of his defeat in 1831, was returned to his sons in 1865. One of the latter, a renowned poet and scholar, Ḥasan Ḥaḳḳī, was *wālī* of Aleppo; another, Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a (1824-70) served in the Ottoman administration in Rumelia, in particular, at Novi Pazar and in Herzegovina.

It should be emphasised, in conclusion, that there exist at least three different approaches to the career and biography of Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a Bus̲h̲atlī: that of ancient and modern Turkish historians; that of the Yugoslav historians mentioned above (to which should be added the article MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A BUS̲H̲ATLĪ by F. Bajraktarevic in *EI*[1]), and, finally, that of modern and contemporary Albanian historians. Regarding these last, it is a case of an increasingly "habitual" tendency, to which one should merely draw attention.

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(A. Popovic)

MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A, ḲAPLAN [see ḲAPLAN MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A in Suppl.].

MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A, ḲARA S̲H̲ĀHĪN, Ottoman governor (*beylerbeyi*) of Yemen and Egypt in the mid-10th/16th century. A Bosnian recruited through the dews̲h̲irme [*q.v.*], Muṣṭafā was trained in the inner palace (*enderūn* [*q.v.*]) service and thereafter held a number of minor posts. Although he is said to have gained fame during the Persian campaigns, the claim by the author of *Sidjill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī* that he was *beylerbeyi* of Erzurum in 951/1544-5 and, four years later, of Diyār Bakr, and that he subsequently was tutor (*lālā*) to Prince Bāyezīd (d. 969/1561), appears uncorroborated and may be owing to that author's having confused him with Lālā Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a (d. 988/1580 [see MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A, LALA]).

Muṣṭafā was named to succeed the late Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a al-Nas̲h̲s̲h̲ār [*q.v.*] as *beylerbeyi* of Yemen in early 963/1556 while serving as *sandjaḳ beyi* of G̲h̲azza. Two of his sons, Riḍwān and Bahrām, later were governors of Yemen too, and the latter accompanied his father on this occasion. Muṣṭafā administered Yemen for four-and-a-half years, yet the sources report little about him there beyond mentioning his popularity. He was observed to have valued the company of religious scholars, and this may account for his having aroused Zaydī susceptibilities when in 964/1557 he attempted to have the S̲h̲īʿī formula *ḥayya ʿalā k̲h̲ayr al-ʿamal* deleted from the *ad̲h̲ān* [*q.v.*]. The silence of the Arabic chroniclers suggests that Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a avoided all contact with al-Muṭahhar [*q.v.*], the Zaydī leader.

Ḳara S̲h̲āhīn Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a was recalled to Istanbul in Radjab 967/April 1560. Documents show that he was considered for governorships of Aleppo and Rūm; but with the death of K̲h̲ādim ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a the governor of Egypt, Muṣṭafā was appointed his successor on 1 Rabīʿ I 968/20 November 1560. Although he held this office until Djumādā II 971/January-February 1564, the Egyptian chroniclers are silent on his activities except for the comment by one (al-K̲h̲allāḳ) that he was cruel and tyranical. He apparently died shortly after this tenure.

Bibliography: See that for MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A AL-NAS̲H̲S̲H̲ĀR. (J.R. Blackburn)

MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A, KÖPRÜLÜ [see KÖPRÜLÜ].

MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A, LALA, famous Ottoman commander of the 10th/16th century, d. 988/1580. The date of his birth is not given.

He was a native of Soḳol, and began his service in the imperial palace. He rose in rank under the grand vizier Aḥmed (960-2/1553-5), but was not in favour with the latter's successor Rüstem Pas̲h̲a, who made him in 963/1556 *lālā* to prince Selīm with the object of ruining him. The outcome of this nomination was the contrary of what was expected; Muṣṭafā became the chief originator of the intrigues by which Selīm came into conflict with his brother Bāyezīd and which ended with Bāyezīd's execution in Persia [see SELĪM II]. After these events, Rüstem Pas̲h̲a managed to relegate the intriguer in administrative functions to different parts of the empire; for eight years he was *wālī* in Damascus. Nor was his compatriot from Bosnia, the grand vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, favourably disposed to Muṣṭafā, but in the beginning of 1569 Sultan Selīm II called back his former *lālā* as *ḳubbe wezīri* in the capital. Very soon afterwards, Ṣoḳollu appointed him *ser-ʿasker* in the Yemen; Muṣṭafā went to Cairo to take charge of his command, but here he became involved in serious disputes with the *wālī* Sinān Pas̲h̲a over the equipment of his army. The end was that Sinān was appointed in Muṣṭafā's stead and the latter had to return to Istanbul. Sultan Selīm's protection saved him from death, and in the beginning of the following year he was appointed again *ser-ʿasker* of the army destined for the conquest of the island of Cyprus. Lala Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a led this memorable campaign with complete success; Nicosia was taken in Ṣafar 978/July 1570, while Famagusta surrendered in Rabīʿ I 979/August 1571. With the surrender of this town is connected the brutal and cruel execution of the Venetian commander

Bragadino. After his return, he became a serious candidate for the grand vizierate, should Ṣoḳollu disappear from the scene. His only rival was Sinān Pas̲h̲a. When in 985/1577 the war with Persia broke out [see MURĀD III], both were appointed *ser-ʿasker*, but, on account of Sinān's arrogant character, the latter's appointment had to be withdrawn. In April, Lala Muṣṭafā began his campaign in Georgia, fought the memorable victory of Čaldïr (D̲j̲umādā II 986/August 1578) and took Tiflis besides a number of other towns. These military glories did not bring him to the ambition of his life. After Ṣoḳollu's assassination, Rüstem's son-in-law Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a had been made grand vizier and, on the latter's death in Rabīʿ I 988/May 15870, it was Ṣinān [*q.v.*] who got the sultan's seal. Lala Muṣṭafā died in Ramaḍān/October of the same year and was buried in the court of the mosque at Eyyūb.

Apart from the unquestionably important events in which he played a prominent part, Lala Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a has a particular importance in Ottoman historiography because the historian ʿĀlī [*q.v.*] had been attached to his person as scribe since the beginning of his career. Therefore his able, but intriguing and reckless, character is known better than that of many other Turkish statesmen or generals. By his marriage with the grand-daughter of the last Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣawḥ al-G̲h̲awrī [*q.v.*], he was a very wealthy man, who, notwithstanding his reputed avarice, founded several mosques (as in Erzerūm) and many buildings of public utility in the different places where he resided as governor.

Bibliography: The chief Turkish source is, as has been said, ʿĀlī, not only in his *Künh al-akhbār*, but also in a treatise entitled *Nādirat al-maḥārib*, describing the war between Selīm and Bāyezīd (ms. unknown; cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 132) and in his *Nuṣrat-nāme*, which gives a description of the Georgian campaign. Other sources are the works of Pečewī and Ṣolaḳ-zāde. Western contemporary sources are the *Diary* of Gerlach, the *Letters* of Busbecq and, especially for the conquest of Cyprus, the Italian historical descriptions. See also S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 180-1; *İA*, art. s.v. (Bekir Kütükoğlu); and ḲUBRUṢ. (J.H. KRAMERS)

MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A AL-NAS̲H̲S̲H̲ĀR, twice Ottoman governor (*beylerbeyi*) of Yemen in the mid-10th/16th century.

A saddler (*sarrād̲j̲*) with the Ottoman army that conquered Egypt in 923/1517, he used the wealth he obtained through plundering the treasury of K̲h̲āʾin Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], the rebellious Ottoman governor of Egypt (929-31/1523-5), to win the favour of Dāwūd Pas̲h̲a, a later governor of that province (945-56/1538-49). The latter appointed him commander of the annual Egyptian pilgrimage caravan (*amīr al-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*) for 945/1539, a position he held more than once subsequently. It was apparently in discharging this function that Muṣṭafā gained the epithet *al-Nas̲h̲s̲h̲ār* "the sawyer" through his habit of having captured brigands sawn in two. When two months later his viceregal patron secured him the governorship of Yemen, Muṣṭafā arrived at Zabīd in late 947 or early 948/1540-1 and was the first Ottoman incumbent there to have the rank and title of *beylerbeyi* and *pas̲h̲a*. His five-year term embraced the supplying of troops and weapons from Yemen to Somali Muslims in conflict with Portuguese-supported Abyssinians (948-9/1542); the recovery of northern Tihāma from one of the Zaydī *imām*'s sons (950/1543); and a bold but unsuccessful initiative to capture Ṣanʿāʾ, the *imām*'s capital (951/1544).

Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a returned to Egypt in 952-3/1545-6, served briefly as *ḳāʾim-maḳām* (acting governor) there during 956/1549, and was back in Yemen in 958/1551 heading a special mission which early next year gained, in uneasy collaboration with Özdemir Pas̲h̲a, the Ottoman governor (956-62/1549-54), recognition of Ottoman suzerainty by al-Muṭahhar [*q.v.*], the Zaydī leader. His second term as *beylerbeyi* of Yemen began in early 962/late 1554, but was cut short by his death at Zabīd five or six months later. Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a al-Nas̲h̲s̲h̲ār appears best remembered as the *beylerbeyi* whose considerable experience as *amīr al-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* for Egypt led him to institute the first annual pilgrims' caravan to Mecca from Ottoman Yemen.

Bibliography: The most complete and accessible contemporary source is Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī* = *G̲h̲azawāt al-D̲j̲arākisa*, ed. al-D̲j̲āsir, Riyāḍ 1967, 88-9, 94-5, 107-18, 121-5. Three other chronicle sources, those of Fīrūz, *Maṭāliʿ al-nīrān*, Ibn Dāʿir, *al-Futūḥāt*, and ʿĪsā b. Luṭf Allāh, *Rawḥ al-rūḥ*, remain in ms., although the relevant contents of the latter are conveyed in Ottoman Turkish by Aḥmed Rās̲h̲id, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Yemen ve Ṣanʿā*, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 75, 80, 95-107. Additional early works are those of al-Mawzaʿī, *al-Iḥsān*, ed. al-Ḥibs̲h̲ī, Ṣanʿāʾ n.d., 32-3, and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *G̲h̲āyat al-amānī*, ed. ʿĀs̲h̲ūr, Cairo 1968, ii, 688-90, 708-12, 715-19, in Arabic, and of Pečewi, *Tārīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, i, 38, and Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im Bas̲h̲ī, iii, 213, 238 f., 241-3, in Turkish. Fairly accurate dates for al-Nas̲h̲s̲h̲ār's second term in Yemen and for Ḳara S̲h̲āhīn's tenures in both Yemen and Egypt can be determined from existing Ottoman *Mühimme* documents. Two informative Egyptian chronicles (in Turkish) are al-K̲h̲allāḳ, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Miṣr*, and ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Miṣr* (both in ms. only).

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MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A, RES̲H̲ĪD [see RES̲H̲ĪD].

MUSTAG̲H̲ĀNIM (Mostaganem), a coastal town in Algeria, 8 miles E. of the mouth of the S̲h̲elif (5' E. long. Greenwich). It does not occupy the site of any known ancient town. There is no natural harbour here; two capes, not particularly well marked (K̲h̲arūba and Salamander), leave vessels without protection against winds from the north and west. It is therefore not as a port that al-Bakrī (5th/11th century) mentions Mostaganem for the first time. He describes it as a town situated "not far from the sea" (it is less than a mile away) living on the products of its rich territory, notably the cotton plantations. From this time onwards it was surrounded by a wall which strengthened its natural defences. The old town occupies a triangular plateau formed by the sharp bend of the ʿAyn Sefra, and the wall runs along the top of the ravine. On the point of this natural stronghold, the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn is said to have built in 475/1082 a fortress which was later called Burd̲j̲ al-Maḥāl, from the name of one of the tribes of the neighbourhood, and which became a prison. Like the other towns of the coast, Nedroma or Algiers, Mostaganem was probably given a small Almoravid garrison. Thus strengthened, the town would serve as

a place of refuge against an attack from the sea and the Berber tribes of the hinterland, who belonged for the most part to the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] confederation, could be kept at a distance. It must thus have developed to some extent. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī tells us that it had bazaars and baths; he emphasises the abundance of the water which irrigated the gardens and orchards and drove mills.

The name of Mostaganem does not figure in history throughout all this period when the Almohads in theory held the central Maghrib. The decline of the Almohads enabled the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] to become complete masters of the country. In 665/1267 and 669/1271 the Zayyānid sultan of Tlemcen, Yaghmurāsān, reduced these turbulent tribes and incorporated their lands in the empire which he had founded. In 680/1281 he entrusted the government of Mostaganem to one of his cousins, al-Zaᶜīm b. Yaḥyā, a descendant of one of the collateral branches of the family of the Banū Zayyān, in spite of the lack of confidence he had in those relatives whom he had deprived of the throne. These fears proved well-founded. Al-Zaᶜīm, having roused the Maghrāwa to rebel, declared himself independent. Yaghmurāsān had to march on Mostaganem; he blockaded the town strictly and the rebel surrendered after obtaining permission to cross to Spain.

Like all the coast region, Mostaganem in 735 or 736/1335-6 passed to the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who was engaged in the siege of Tlemcen. In 742/1340 the victorious sultan built a mosque in Mostaganem. We have an inscription attesting this foundation of the interregnum of the Moroccan princes. Regained by the sultans of Tlemcen, the town suffered disastrously from their weakness. The Suwayd Arabs of the great Zughba confederation became undisputed masters of the whole district. Mostaganem led a precarious existence. Leo Africanus at the beginning of the 10th/16th century says that it occupied only a third of its former area. He credits it with 1,500 hearths, but tells us however of the weavers and of the roadstead to which ships from Europe came. He says the river runs "through the city", which shows that in addition to the old stronghold on the left bank there were now quarters on the right bank. In the Turkish period we know of two suburbs: Tidjdit (the New) and Maṭmūr (the Silo). In 922/1516 Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] considerably strengthened its defences. Shaw at the beginning of the 18th century speaks of the citadel (the Fort of the East?) which, built on a height, commanded the town and vicinity. In 1830 the garrison consisted of some hundreds of Turks and Ḳulughlīs. The French took them into their service and put them under the command of the Ḳāʾid Ibrāhīm. Distrusting the loyalty of the latter and thinking he had an agreement with the Madjāhir, an unsubdued tribe of the neighbourhood, General Desmichels occupied the town in 1833. The troops whom he stationed there were attacked by ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. The vexatious results of the treaty signed by Desmichels with the *amīr* forced Clauzel to retake Mostaganem (1835). Under Bugeaud, Mostaganem became the point of disembarkation and the centre of operations against ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir. It was there that in 1847 the first battalion of Algerian Tirailleurs (Turcos) was raised, and the town subsequently became an important centre for recruiting native troops.

Mostaganem has developed considerably since the early days of the French occupation; in 1960 it had 65,000 inhabitants. Its harbour, which owes nothing to nature, has been improved by two jetties which still afford only a rather mediocre shelter for shipping.

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MUSTAḤABB (A.), "recommendable", corresponds largely with *mandūb* "recommended", one of five descriptions for human acts [see SHARĪᶜA].

MUSTAᶜIDD KHĀN, MUḤAMMAD SĀḲĪ, historian of Mughal India. Born about 1961/1650, he was brought up as an adopted son by Muḥammad Bakhtāwar Khān, whom he faithfully assisted in various capacities. After the death of his patron he passed into the service of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*]. In the reign of Shāh ᶜĀlam Bahādur Shāh I (1118-24/1707-12 [*q.v.*]), he became the secretary of ᶜInāyat Allāh Khān, son of Mīrzā Shukr Allāh, the minister of Bahādur Shāh, and by his desire Mustaᶜidd Khān composed the history of the reign of Awrangzib entitled *Maʾāthir-i ᶜĀlamgīrī*. Part 1 is a mere abridgement of Mīrzā Kāẓim's history of the first ten years of the emperor's reign; part 2 contains the history of the last forty years of ᶜĀlamgīr's reign (edited in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1870-1; Eng. tr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1947).

He died at the age of seventy-five at Dihlī in 1136/1723.

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AL-**MUSTAᶜĪN** (I) BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-ᶜABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, ᶜAbbāsid caliph, reigned 248-52/862-6, grandson of the caliph al-Muᶜtaṣim [*q.v.*] and the son of a slave concubine of Ṣaḳlabī origin named Mukhāriḳ.

When his cousin al-Muntaṣir [*q.v.*] died, the Turkish commanders in Sāmarrā plucked al-Mustaᶜīn from a life of obscurity (he is said to have made a living as a copyist of manuscripts) to become caliph (6 Rabīᶜ II 248/9 June 862). The choice aroused discontent in Sāmarrā and unrest broke out among those who supported al-Muᶜtazz [*q.v.*] which was only put down after much bloodshed and financial expenditure by the Turkish soldiers. When al-Mustaᶜīn was recognised as caliph, he confirmed the governor of Baghdād, Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [*q.v.*], in office. He bought all the property of al-Muᶜtazz and his brother al-Muʾayyad and then had them arrested. The Turks wanted to put them to death, but they were protected by the secretary Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, who soon afterwards fell into disgrace and was banished to Crete. In 249/863 trouble broke out as a result of a defeat of the army by the Byzantines; the rebels were however scattered by the vizier Utāmish and the two Turkish generals Waṣīf and Bughā al-Ṣaghīr. Utāmish was soon afterwards murdered at the instigation of the latter. As the caliph no longer felt safe in Sāmarrā, he went to Baghdād in Muḥarram 251/February 865. Al-Muᶜtazz was then taken by his supporters out of his prison in Sāmarrā,

and a war broke out which ended in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 251/January 866 in the abdication of al-Mustaʿīn. By the arrangement made, the latter was to live in Medina in future; but he was detained in Wāsiṭ and murdered at Sāmarrā on 3 Shawwāl 252/17 October 866 at the age of 35 and after a reign of three years and eight or nine months.

On the administrative level, al-Mustaʿīn's initial choice of vizier, at the side of Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, of Utāmish, a Turkish soldier who had taken part in the conspiracy which had in 247/861 led to the caliph al-Mutawakkil's [*q.v.*] death, is notable; in practice, day-to-day administration was probably carried on by Utāmish's own secretary Shudjāʿ b. al-Ḳāsim, whilst Utāmish acted as virtual regent for the caliph till Utāmish's murder in 249/863 (see above).

Enfeeblement at the centre of the caliphate had a predictable consequence in disturbance and revolts on the peripheries. During al-Mustaʿīn's reign, there are recorded anti-government outbreaks in Syria and Jordan; ʿAlid revolts at Kūfa (248/862 and 251/865) and at Ḳazwīn (250/864); whilst it was in this latter year also that the Zaydī movement under *al-Dāʿī al-kabīr* al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] began in Ṭabaristān and at Rayy.

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(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-**MUSTAʿĪN** (II) BI'LLĀH, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās, tenth ʿAbbāsid "shadow" caliph in Egypt, son of al-Mutawakkil (I) Muḥammad by a Turkish concubine, Bāy Khātūn.

He succeeded his father on 1 Shaʿbān 808/22 January 1406. Accompanying the sultan al-Nāṣir Faradj [*q.v.*] on his expedition against the rebel *amīrs*, Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī (governor of Aleppo) and Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī (governor of Tripoli), he fell into their hands when the sultan was defeated at al-Ladjdjūn on 13 Muḥarram 815/25 April 1412. There was virtual anarchy in the rebels' camp, where Shaykh, Nawrūz and Baktamur Djilliḳ (who had gone over to them early in the campaign) were competing for the primacy and prospectively the sultanate. The royal secretary (*kātib al-sirr*), Fatḥ al-Dīn Fatḥ Allāh, who had also been captured at al-Ladjdjūn, advised them to set up a sultan to unite their efforts. As they lacked the obvious candidate for such a position, Faradj's infant son, Fatḥ Allāh suggested the appointment of al-Mustaʿīn, who formally deposed Faradj, and reluctantly accepted the sultanate on 25 Muḥarram/7 May. Faradj surrendered, was sentenced to death by a commission of jurists under al-Mustaʿīn, and was duly executed (16 Ṣafar/28 May). The Mamlūk realm was then in effect partitioned. Nawrūz administered the Syrian provinces, while al-Mustaʿīn returned with Shaykh and Baktamur Djilliḳ to Cairo, where he took up his residence in the Citadel (2 Rabīʿ II/12 July). This indication of his intention to rule as sultan, not merely to reign as a titular figurehead, was not welcome to Shaykh, who took steps to isolate him. On 8 Rabīʿ II/18 July, Shaykh was invested as senior *amīr* (*amīr kabīr*, *atābak al-ʿasākir*) with plenary powers, and assumed the title of *niẓām al-mulk*. Henceforward the sultan-caliph was virtually a state prisoner, while Shaykh moved towards the usurpation of the sultanate. The last obstacle in his way was removed on 8 Djumādā II/15 September by the death of Baktamur Djilliḳ. Having obtained the concurrence of the *amīrs*, Shaykh was recognised as sultan on 1 Shaʿbān/6 November. After long hesitation, al-Mustaʿīn formally abdicated as sultan, but tried to ensure his own future security as caliph. His reign as sultan had in no way signified an ʿAbbāsid revival; he was merely filling the role of interim sultan. After abdication he was held in the Citadel. On 16 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 816/9 March 1414, Shaykh, who was about to march against Nawrūz, deposed him from the caliphate, and installed his brother, al-Muʿtaḍid (II) Dāwūd. On 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 819/29 January 1417 he was transferred to Alexandria with Faradj's three sons. He died there of plague in Djumādā I or II 833/February-March 1430 at less than 40 years of age.

Bibliography: Contemporary and near-contemporary sources: Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, ii, Cairo 1391/1971, 507-16; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, iv/1, 213-44, 273-4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, xiii, 189-208; xiv, 16. Later sources: Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1321/1903, ii, 68-71; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, Lahore 1304/1887, 351-3.

(P.M. HOLT)

AL-**MUSTAKFĪ** BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿABD ALLĀH, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 333-4/944-6, son of the caliph al-Muktafī [*q.v.*] by a Greek slave concubine called Ghuṣn.

When the commander-in-chief of the Turkish soldiery in Baghdād, Tūzūn, deposed and blinded al-Muttaḳī b. al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*], he raised to the throne one of the latter's cousins as al-Mustakfī in Ṣafar 333/September-October 944, al-Mustakfī being then aged 41. The situation in ʿIrāḳ was unpropitious for the new ruler. The caliphs were puppets in the hands of the Turkish troops, whose excesses, combined with an empty state treasury, had reduced the population of Baghdād to economic distress and famine. The whole position in ʿIrāḳ was threatened by the advance of the Daylamī Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS], already established in southern ʿIrāḳ and moving northwards on the capital. The new caliph remained under the control of Tūzūn till the latter's death in Muḥarram 334/August 945, and then under that of the new commander-in-chief Ibn Shīrzād. He did, however, take care to hunt down his relative and rival al-Faḍl, representing the children of al-Muḳtadir, drove him into hiding and pulled down his house. When the Būyid leader Aḥmad arrived in Baghdād in Djumādā I 334/December 945, the caliph was obliged to grant him the *laḳab* of Muʿizz al-Dawla [*q.v.*] (and similar honorifics for his two brothers), to place his name together with his own on the coinage and to recognise the Būyid as *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] and in effect ruler of ʿIrāḳ. This move alarmed the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] of Mawṣil and northern Syria, who now recognised

instead of al-Mustakfī the former caliph al-Muttaḳī. Al-Mustakfī may have been tempted to intrigue with other Daylamī commanders; this, at least, was the pretext for Muʿizz al-Dawla, less than a month after his entry into Baghdād, to depose and blind al-Mustakfī on 8 Djumādā II 334/29 January 946 or in Shaʿbān/March and to replace him by al-Faḍl b. al-Muḳtadir, now given the title of al-Mutīʿ [*q.v.*]. He died in imprisonment in Rabīʿ I 338/September 949.

Al-Mustakfī is described of having been fond of sports and games, a drinker of *nabīdh* [*q.v.*] and a person who had links with the Baghdād *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*], in distinction from the pious family of al-Muḳtadir, though a sympathy by him for the Shīʿa—paralleling that of his grandfather al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*]—is mentioned.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 398-9, tr. 505-6; *Murūdj*, viii, 376-411 = §§ 3535-70; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ii, 74-87, tr. v, 77-90; Hamdānī, *Takmilat Taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Kanʿān, i, 142-9; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 340-3, 364; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 420-2, 446-51; Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 388-90; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii, 694 ff.; Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, new edn. by Weir, 574-5; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlí ibn ʿÍsà 'The Good Vizier'*, Cambridge 1928, 387-91; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 23-7.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MUSTAKHRIDJ (A.), the active participle of the verb *istakhradja* in the sense of "to extract", used in the mediaeval Islamic terminology for the person responsible for collecting money, such as that of the *ṣadaḳa* or poor-tax (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2746) or of the *kharādj* or land-tax; thus in ʿAbbāsid times he was an offical of the *Dīwan al-Kharādj* charged with the latter task (*ibid.*, iii, 1856, year 257/871, caliphate of al-Muʿtamid). In Muslim Spain, it seems to have been the original of the Latin term *exceptor*, the official who collected on behalf of the Muslim state the taxation due from the Mozarabs [*q.v.*] (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 219).

Often, however, *istikhrādj* has the additional nuance of meaning of extracting money by force or violence, no doubt necessary at times when dealing with recalcitrant tax-payers, but also applied to the process of making a dismissed offical disgorge his ill-gotten gains, hence here equivalent to *muṣādara* [*q.v.*] or *muṭālaba* (see al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. al-Abyārī and al-Ṣarafī, 14-15, tr. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, 45; Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, cited in Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 91.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 359, and the *Bibl.* to MUṢĀDARA. 2.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MÜSTAḲĪM-ZĀDE, Saʿd al-Dīn Süleymān b. Meḥmed Emīn (1719-88), Ottoman scholar and calligrapher.

1. Life. He was born in Radjab 1131/May 1719 in Istanbul, and died there on 22 or 23 Shawwāl 1202/27 or 28 July 1788. He came from a well-known *ʿulamāʾ* family. His grandfather, Meḥmed Müstaḳīm Efendi (d. 1124/1712), had occupied the post of *ḳāḍī* of Damascus and Edirne, while his father, Meḥmed Emīn Efendi (d. 1164/1750), only rose to the rank of a *mudarris* of the Sayyid Ḥasan Pasha *madrasa* in Istanbul.

Müstaḳim-zāde has left an autobiographical note on his education which gives a good insight into the scope and routine of the *madrasa* instruction of the time (printed in *Tuḥfe-yi khaṭṭāṭīn*, introd., 6-7). According to this document, Müstaḳīm-zāde studied the traditional Islamic sciences under prominent scholars of the capital in order to qualify for a career in the ranks of the *ʿulamāʾ*, and at the same time was trained as a calligrapher. Both Müstaḳīm-zāde's grandfather and father had studied under and established close links with the famous Syrian scholar and *shaykh* of the Ḳādirī and Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳas*, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1050-1143/1641-1731 [*q.v.*]). Müstaḳīm-zāde himself became deeply influenced by the latter's works and teachings, which is evident from his own writings. His marked inclination towards the religious orders finds its expression in his association, while still an adolescent, with the Ḳādiriyya and Naḳshbandiyya, but particularly in his lifelong devotion to the Naḳshbandī *Shaykh* Meḥmed Emīn al-Toḳadī (d. 1158/1745; see A. Ḥilmī, *Ziyāret-i ewliyā*, 158-62), who passed on to Müstaḳīm-zāde the direct line of *shaykhs* (*silsile*) going back to Shaykh Aḥmad al-Farūḳī al-Sirhindī [*q.v.*].

The death of his *pīr* seems to have provoked a crisis in Müstaḳīm-zāde's life, but he continued to study in preparation for the office of Great Mollā, the highest rank within the Ottoman *ʿilmiyye* hierarchy. The second turning point of his life however, his failure in the entry examinations for the coveted career, determined Müstaḳīm-zāde, at the age of 32, to renounce his ambitions and to devote the rest of his life to private scholarship and contemplation. Until his death at the age of 69, he made a pitiful living on fees for his activities as an author and calligrapher, and on a small stipend (*maʿīshet*), a gift of the calligrapher and *Shaykh al-Islām* Ṣāliḥ-zāde Meḥmed Emīn (in office 1189-90/1775-6). Müstaḳīm-zāde never had a family of his own, and only a few disciples and patrons.

2. Works. His uneventful life gave Müstaḳīm-zāde the opportunity to compose around 150 books and treatises—the exact number has not been established yet—which attest his eminence as the most productive and versatile Ottoman author of the 18th century. This work, most of it in Turkish, but some also in Arabic and Persian, is indebted to the traditional Islamic subjects and methods, and thus furnishes an exemplary presentation of 18th century Ottoman learning. Most of it deals with topics from the field of *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *fiḳh* and also of Ṣūfī mystical themes; but his writings on history (particularly biography) and *adab* are in general more voluminous. His poetry is insignificant. Manuscripts of Müstaḳīm-zāde's works can be found in most of the big manuscript collections. The Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in Istanbul possesses the largest number of Müstaḳīm-zāde mss., some of them unique or autograph copies.

The following works can today be considered as his most important ones:

(a) *Religious sciences*. A Turkish commentary (*ḥāshiye*), finished in 1181/1768, on *al-Ḥizb al-aʿẓam wa 'l-wird al-afham*, a collection of prayers by ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Ḳārīʾ al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605), cf. Brockelmann, II², 520, S II, 539-41; autograph ms. Süleymaniye, Esat Ef. 1391. A Turkish commentary (*sherḥ*) on *al-Ḳaṣīda al-muḍariyya* in praise of the Prophet by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Būṣīrī al-Ṣanhādjī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], cf. Brockelmann, I², 308-9, 314, S I, 467; among many ms., Süleymaniye, Pertev Paşa 611/2.

(b) *Biography*. *Madjallat al-niṣāb fi 'l-nisab wa 'l-kunā wa 'l-alḳāb*, in Arabic, finished in 1175/1761-2, a continuation of Kātib Čelebi's [*q.v.*] *Sullam al-wuṣūl ilā ṭabaḳāt al-fuḥūl*; unique ms., Süleymaniye, Halet Ef. 628. *Tuḥfe-yi khaṭṭāṭīn*, biographies of calligraphers, in Turkish, finished in 1173/1759-60; edition by

İbnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl [İnal], Istanbul 1928. *Dewḥat ül-meshāyikh*, biographies of the Ottoman *Shaykh al-Islāms*, in Turkish, finished in 1158/1745, with two later continuations; critical edition by B. Kellner-Heinkele in press.

(c) *Adab. Sherḥ-i Dīwān-i ʿAlī al-Murtaḍā*, commentary on the alleged *dīwān* of the caliph ʿAlī (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 277-81), in Turkish, finished in 1186/1772; printed in 2 vols., Bulāḳ 1255/1839-40; ed. in modern Turkish by Şakır Diclehan, Istanbul 1981, repr. 1985. *Ḳānūn al-adab terdjümesi*, Turkish translation with commentary of the Arabic-Persian dictionary of Abu 'l-Faḍl Ḥubaysh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn al-Tiflīsī (wrote *ca.* 600/1203, cf. Brockelmann, S I, 893, and ʿA. Munzawī, *Farhang-nāmahā-yi ʿarabī bi-farsī*, Tehran 1337/1959, 74-6), written between 1183/1769-70 and 1191/1777; several mss. in the Süleymaniye.

(d) *Ṣūfism. Mektūbāt-i ḳudsiyye*, translation into Turkish of the Persian letters of the famous Indian Naḳshbandī Shaykh and renovator of Orthodox Indian Islam, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Farūḳī al-Sirhindī [*q.v.*] (cf. Muhammad Farman in *A history of Muslim philosophy*, ed. M.M. Sharif, ii, Wiesbaden 1966, 873-83), written between 1162/1749 and 1165/1752; mss. are frequent; printed in 3 vols., Istanbul 1277/1860-1.

Bibliography: Faṭīn, *Tedhkire*, 194-5; *Tārīkh-i Djewdet*, iv, 260-1; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, i, 168-9; A. Ḥilmī, *Ziyāret-i ewliyā*, Istanbul 1325/1907, 155-7; İbnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl (İnal), introd. to his ed. of *Tuḥfe-yi khaṭṭāṭīn*, Istanbul 1928, *passim*, for the most extensive description so far of Müstaḳīm-zāde's life and works; A.S. Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Ankara 1973, 370-3, for the biographical writings.

(B. Kellner-Heinkele)

al-**MUSTAʿLĪ** bi **'LLĀH**, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. al-Mustanṣir, ninth Fāṭimid caliph, born 20 Muḥarram 467/16 September 1074 (so in all the best sources and in al-Mustanṣir's letter to Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī, quoted in Idrīs, vii, 152), the youngest son of his father. At this time it was generally assumed in the Ismāʿīlī organisation that the eldest son, Nizār (born 437/1045-6), would, in accordance with custom, succeed his father in the imāmate, although no formal investiture with the *wilāyat al-ʿahd* appears to have been made. The influence of the all-powerful *wazīr* Badr al-Djamālī, however, and of his son al-Afḍal [*q.vv.*] was thrown into the scale in favour of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim and al-Mustanṣir's consent obtained to the marriage of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim with Sitt al-Mulk, the daughter of Badr (the statement in al-Fāriḳī, *apud* Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 128, that he was the son of Badr's daughter is evidently a misunderstanding). According to the tradition of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs [see bohorās], Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was invested with the succession at the time of this marriage; in another version (Ibn Muyassar, 66-7), al-Mustanṣir confided his nomination of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim to his own sister, who divulged it after his death. On the death of al-Mustanṣir on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 487/10 January 1094, the Shīʿī *ʿĪd al-Ghadīr*, al-Afḍal secured the accession of al-Mustaʿlī without serious difficulty. The subsequent revolt of Nizār [see nizār b. al-mustanṣir] at Alexandria failed owing to the opposition of the army, and al-Mustaʿlī's succession was generally recognised, except by the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia [see al-ḥasan b. al-ṣabbāḥ and nizāriyya].

Throughout his reign, the actual power was entirely in the hands of al-Afḍal. At first some successes were gained in Syria; Fāmiya (Apamea) made a voluntary submission in 489/1096, and Tyre was recovered from a rebel governor in 490/1097. A project of alliance with the Saldjūḳ Riḍwān of Aleppo against Damascus in the same year fell through. On the appearance of the Crusaders in Syria (490/1097), an Egyptian embassy was sent to open negotiations with them, and in 491/July-August 1098 Jerusalem was recaptured from the Artuḳids Sukmān and Īl-Ghāzī. The advance of the Crusaders in the following year took al-Afḍal by surprise; Jerusalem was again lost, and the defeat of the Egyptian army near ʿAsḳalān (14 Ramaḍān 492/5 August 1099) definitely established them in possession. Two years later (17 Ṣafar 495/12 December 1101) al-Mustaʿlī died and was succeeded by his son al-Manṣūr (al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh [see al-āmir].

The personal character of al-Mustaʿlī is highly praised by his Sunnī contemporary Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; later writers speak of him as a fanatical Shīʿī, and it would seem that the Fāṭimid organisation and propaganda was intensified in his reign. Idrīs refers especially to his close relations with the *daʿwa* in the Yaman, represented by al-Malika al-Ḥurra and her *dāʿī* Yaḥyā b. Lamak b. Mālik al-Hammādī. In the capable hands of al-Afḍal, order and good government were maintained, and Egypt continued to enjoy prosperity, except for a famine in 492/1009 or 493/1100, due to the influx of Syrian refugees.

Bibliography: The fullest sources are Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 128-41, and Ibn Taghrībardī, ed. Popper, ii, part 2, 298-325; the chronology of the latter is defective; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 161-224, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, ms. B.L. Or. 3685, fols. 74b-77a; Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, 34-40, and the other sources mentioned under the articles al-afḍal add little of importance. The Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlī tradition is given in *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of the *dāʿī* Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 872) (ms. in possession of H.F. al-Hamdani), vii, 151-75.—For relations with the Crusaders: *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Bréhier, 86, 96, 208-16; *Fulcher Carnotensis*, i, 19, ii, 10-12; Hagenmayer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, Innsbruck 1901, 151, 286. The general European literature is given in fāṭimids and al-mustanṣir; see also P.M. Holt, *The age of the Crusades*, London 1986, 12; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, index, s.vv. al-Mustaʿlī and Mustaʿlians, and ismāʿīliyya. (H.A.R. Gibb)

MUSTAʾMIN [see amān].

MUSTAMLĪ (a., the active participle of the Form X verb *istamlā* "to ask someone for dictation, to take down dictation from someone"), the title of a tradition transmitter's clerk. From the earliest days when in Islam *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] was transmitted from master (*shaykh*) to pupil, the writing down of traditions has played a certain role in an attempt to protect them against loss. Although transmitting from memory to a pupil, who then stored what he heard in his memory, was felt in the beginning to be the most meritorious transmission procedure, this was gradually overshadowed by the ever-increasing awareness that writing the traditions down constituted a more reliable guarantee against forgetting. The human capacity to retain large numbers of reports pertaining to the time of Muḥammad and his revered Companions, a capacity especially celebrated with the pious generations of old, became open to doubt, and the result was that, in practice, writing traditions down virtually eclipsed memorising, though never entirely: transmitting from memory became the *pro forma* course of action, but hardly ever without written records of the material to be transmitted being kept for safety's sake, albeit often out of sight.

It is generally assumed that the majority of transmitters of Prophetic traditions could read and write but, in the long run, the steadily-growing bulk of the transmitted material made the employing of secretaries imperative. It was then that the function of *mustamlī* became established, the earliest representatives of this professional class emerging in the course of the first half of the 2nd/8th century.

The task of the *mustamlī* can be gleaned from the lexical meaning of the word. In the first place, the *shaykh* would order his *mustamlī* "to write the traditions down from dictation". This task is more or less the same as that of a *kātib* (secretary) or *warrāḳ* (copyist). In the second place, the *mustamlī* would assist the *shaykh* in the actual communication (*tablīgh*) of the traditions to pupils who, it is alleged, were often so numerous that the *shaykh*'s voice could not possibly reach all of them from the spot where he taught. Thus the *mustamlī*(s) had to reiterate the traditions in a way audible for all concerned. With respect to this activity also, the term *muʿīd* is found, as well as *mulḳī* and *muktib*. However, not every *mustamlī* mentioned in the sources is to be understood as having fulfilled both functions, that of *warrāḳ* and that of *muballigh*, but either one or the other.

Accounts of mass meetings during which hundreds, even thousands, of pupils are alleged to have gathered at a certain mosque or a *shaykh*'s private quarters to hear traditions, meetings which would have necessitated the recruitment of dozens of *mustamlīs*, are found all over the sources, but have met with little credulity on the part of western historians (with the exception of a few, e.g. N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, ii, Chicago 1967). In Islam, however, these accounts are cherished as indelible proof of mediaeval pious interest in Prophetic tradition and its transmission. The latest references to *mustamlīs* in active service date to the 10th/16th century.

Bibliography: The most comprehensive study, which includes a chronological list of *mustamlīs* with their alleged *shaykhs* gleaned from a host of mediaeval Islamic sources, is M. Weisweiler, *Das Amt des Mustamlī in der arabischen Wissenschaft*, in *Oriens*, iv (1951), 27-57; for an Arabic source almost exclusively devoted to the function of *mustamlī*, see ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1167), *Adab al-imlāʾ wa 'l-istimlāʾ, die Methodik des Diktatkollegs*, ed. M. Weisweiler, Leiden 1952.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

AL-**MUSTANDJID** (I) BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-MUẒAFFAR YŪSUF, ʿAbbāsid caliph in Baghdād, born on 1 Rabīʿ II 510/13 August 1116, the son of al-Muḳtafī [*q.v.*] and a Byzantine concubine called Ṭāwūs or Nardjis, died 566/1170.

He was nominated *walī ʿahd* as early as 542/1147 and became caliph after his father's death on 2 Rabīʿ I 555/12 March 1160. His accession was not, however, secured until he had foiled a plot engineered by a favourite slave of al-Muḳtafī to instal her son, Abū ʿAlī, as caliph. The reign of al-Mustandjid was dominated by powerful viziers and court officials and it is difficult to disentangle from the sources the caliph's own rôle in political events. On his accession, al-Mustandjid confirmed the famous Ḥanbalī vizier, Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*], in his post, promising him that he could remain in it for life (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, 193). Although the two men did not enjoy the close relationship which had existed between Ibn Hubayra and al-Muḳtafī, they coexisted relatively harmoniously, if at arm's length (Ibn Khallikān, tr. iv, 119). Ibn Hubayra was later ousted and poisoned by his rivals (12 Djumādā I 560/27 March 1165). Having replaced him briefly by his son ʿIzz al-Dīn, al-Mustandjid next appointed Ibn al-Baladī, the *nāẓir* of Wāsiṭ, as vizier. This proved an unpopular choice, especially with the *ustādh al-dār*, ʿAḍud al-Dīn [*q.v.*], and the latter years of al-Mustandjid's reign were marked by bitter rivalry between Ibn al-Baladī and ʿAḍud al-Dīn. Fearing for their own safety at the hands of the caliph and Ibn al-Baladī, ʿAḍud al-Dīn and his associate, the caliph's *mamlūk*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḳaymāz, murdered the caliph and his vizier. Al-Mustandjid was taken forcibly to his bath where he was locked in until he died (9 Rabīʿ II 566/20 December 1170).

The ten-years' reign of al-Mustandjid saw the successful continuation of vigorous policies, begun under preceding caliphs, notably al-Muḳtafī, and now pursued by or on behalf of al-Mustandjid. These policies aimed at the exclusion of the Saldjūḳs from Iraq and at maintaining a strong territorial "caliphal state". Early in his caliphate, in 558/1163, al-Mustandjid despatched an army to Ḥilla and finally disposed of Mazyadid resistance there (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 195). To the east the Saldjūḳs were in full decline and the main threat to caliphal authority during al-Mustandjid's rule was posed by Shumla, a Turcoman of the Afshār tribe, who had held Khūzistān since *ca.* 550/1155 (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 133; Bundārī, 286-7; Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 161, 255). Shumla had designs on the lower Euphrates area but when the caliph's army defeated forces sent by Shumla in 562/1166-7 the latter withdrew to Khūzistān.

To the west the caliph maintained close relations with Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. The Ḥanbalī historian Ibn Radjab goes so far as to say that Ibn Hubayra had written spurring on Nūr al-Dīn to conquer Fāṭimid Egypt and that the *khuṭba* had been pronounced in the name of al-Mustandjid on Shīrkūh's third campaign into Egypt (*Dhayl*, i, 258). Although the sources generally agree that the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba* was finally declared in Cairo in 567/1171, there is, however, good reason to assume that under the influence of Ibn Hubayra and other Ḥanbalīs there had been encouragement from al-Mustandjid for Nūr al-Dīn's activities in Egypt. According to Ibn Khallikān, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] was sent by Nūr al-Dīn on a mission to al-Mustandjid's court (iv, 301).

The reign of al-Mustandjid witnessed the continuing flowering of Ḥanbalism. Al-Mustandjid is praised by Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*] for his honouring of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] and himself (x, 194, 233). Indeed, a lost work of Ibn al-Djawzī on preaching was entitled *Kitāb al-Mustandjid* (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 487-8). The caliph held an annual festivity in Radjab to which religious notables and Ṣūfīs were invited, and on one such occasion he married the daughter of his paternal uncle Abū Naṣr b. al-Mustaẓhir (*ibid.*, 251, 267-8). Al-Mustandjid is blamed, however, in the sources for the death of the scholar Ibn Ḥamdūn (d. 562/1166 [*q.v.*]), who had served as his *ṣāḥib dīwān al-zimām*. Ibn Ḥamdūn fell from grace because of alleged anti-caliphal comments in his writings (Ibn Khallikān, iii, 91). Al-Mustandjid is described as brown-skinned, of average stature, with a long beard (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 236; Sibṭ, 284). He was famous as a poet and for his first-hand knowledge of astronomy. His scholarly reputation is confirmed by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdād in the 1160s and praises al-Mustandjid for his erudition and his tolerance towards the Jews.

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2. Studies. *EI*[1] art. *al-Mustandjid*; H. Mason, *Two statesmen of medieval Islam*, The Hague 1972, 69-76. (CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

AL-**MUSTANDJID** (II) BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN YŪSUF b. al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad (? 798-884/? 1396-1479), thirteenth ʿAbbāsid "shadow" caliph of Egypt.

He was the last of five brothers (the others being al-Mustaʿīn, al-Muʿtaḍid, al-Mustakfī and al-Ḳāʾim) to be caliph (since 859/1455) and served six Mamlūk sultans (Īnāl, al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad b. Īnāl, Khushḳadam, Yilbāy, Timurbughā and Ḳāyitbāy). When Khushḳadam seized power in 865/1461, facing the fierce opposition of the Syrian viceroy Djānim al-Ashrafī (died ignominiously in 867/1462, a victim of one of his own *mamlūks*, as a refugee in Uzun Ḥasan's realm in the city of Edessa, cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-shāfī ʿalā 'l-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, i, Mecca-Cairo n.d., 235, no. 812), he placed the caliph, the supreme judges and the leading generals under custody on the Cairo citadel in order to deprive his foe of potential supporters and legitimators (cf. the remark by Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, ed. Popper, iii, Berkeley 1932, 399, 2-10). Whereas the other high-ranking prisoners were allowed to return to the city after the threat posed by Djānim was averted (see also al-Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, Cairo 1371/1952, 513-14), the caliph al-Mustandjid was forced to remain on the Citadel until the time of his death. There he lodged in the house of the former (short-lived) sultan al-Manṣūr ʿUthmān b. Djaḳmaḳ (cf. al-Djawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-haṣr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿaṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī. Cairo 1970, 1, 115, 183, 317) enjoying sufficient livelihood yet no political power whatsoever, less even than his predecessors. This transfer of the caliph to the Citadel was, to his contemporaries, his main contribution to history. Thereafter,—till the end of the Mamlūk sultanate (see Ibn Taghrībirdī's far-sighted remark in *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Cairo, xvi, 259, 10-11)—the caliphs thus remained under the immediate tutelage of the sultan, lest they be used in the inner-Mamlūk struggles for power. Not untypically for an ʿAbbāsid shadow caliph, al-Mustandjid seems to have been well-versed in the Ḳurʾān (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, x, 329 f., no. 1247) and is otherwise commended as thoroughly content with his restricted power and position (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, iii, 151, 1-12).

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(U. HAARMANN)

AL-**MUSTANṢIR** (I) BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ DJAʿFAR AL-MANṢŪR, ʿAbbāsid caliph (623-40/1226-42). He was born in Ṣafar 588/February-March 1192, the eldest son of al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*]; his mother was a Turkish slave. He was proclaimed caliph after his father's death on 13 Radjab 623/11 July 1226 (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 298). It is difficult to interpret from surviving sources the extent to which the caliph himself played a significant role in political events. It is especially regrettable that two works which dealt with his caliphate have not survived: a monograph by Ibn al-Sāʿī (d. 674/1276 [*q.v.*]) entitled *Iʿtibār al-mustabṣir fī akhbār al-Mustanṣir* which is quoted by later authors such as Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāya*, xiii, 139) and al-Irbilī (*Khulāṣat*, 287-8); and the history of Baghdād by Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 643/1245 [*q.v.*]) which was used by al-Dhahabī and al-Suyūṭī.

The sources present a confused picture of the chronology and names of al-Mustanṣir's viziers and other prominent officials. The exact balance of power between these men is not clear. At least two major figures at the caliphal court were Shīʿīs: Muḥammad al-Ḳummī who had served under al-Nāṣir and al-Ẓāhir and who is described as *kātib al-inshāʾ* (Ibn al-Dubaythī, i, 134) and as *wazīr* (Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, 523, 533; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 568); and Muʾayyad al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī [*q.v.*] who became deputy *wazīr* (al-Irbilī, *Khulāṣat*, 289) or *ustadh al-dār* and later served as *wazīr* of al-Mustaʿṣim [*q.v.*], the last ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād (Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, 139); it was he who was to be blamed later for treacherous complicity with the Mongols. According to Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā (*loc. cit.*), al-Ḳummī was later replaced as *wazīr* by Naṣīr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. al-Naḳīd, who remained in power until al-Mustanṣir's death. Ibn Wāṣil reports that the most powerful officials in al-Mustanṣīr's reign were the military commander Iḳbāl al-Sharābī and the *ustādh al-dār* Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī, who were responsible for installing al-Mustaʿṣim as caliph after al-Mustanṣir's death, an event which was briefly concealed to allow the succession to be arranged (*op. cit.*, 318).

Information on al-Mustanṣir's reign remains lacunary: random in its occurrence and of very unequal importance. Entire areas of his life and activities are simply not recorded. His caliphate spans an uneasy lull between Mongol onslaughts. The first years of his reign were dominated by the flamboyant career of Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārazmshāh [*q.v.*], who was seen by contemporaries as a buffer between the Mongols and the Muslim world (Ibn Wāṣil, iv, 323). The sources devote much more attention to him than to al-Mustanṣir; at this stage of his career he was campaigning principally in ʿIrāḳ, the Djazīra and western Persia. Djalāl al-Dīn seems to have harboured bellicose intentions towards the caliph (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 276-8). Moreover, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī mentions a letter from al-Mustanṣir to Djalāl al-Dīn, reproaching him for his treatment of his fellow Muslims (*op. cit.*, 668).

The other political events of al-Mustanṣir's reign mentioned in the sources reveal the caliph as a petty territorial ruler and arbitrator. The ruler of Irbil, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbürī, the brother-in-law of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), being without male issue, had bequeathed the city to al-Mustanṣir. However, on Kökbürī's death, the caliph had to send an army under his military commander, the eunuch Iḳbāl al-Sharābī (Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 346), to besiege Irbil before it finally surrendered on 17 Shawwāl 630/27 July 1233 (Sibṭ, 568; Ibn Kathīr, 135). Al-Mustanṣir seems also to have mediated between various political factions. Thus he arbitrated in disputes in ʿIrāḳ between Kökbürī and Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*] (Sibṭ, 680-1) and between the Ayyūbids al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd and al-Malik al-Kāmil (Ibn Wāṣil, 100-2).

Like his grandfather al-Nāṣir, al-Mustanṣir stands out as a great patron of architecture. Indeed, the most significant event of the second half of his reign was undoubtedly the establishment of the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa* in Baghdād. The building and inaugural

ceremony of this monument are described in some detail in the sources, notably the *Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa*, wrongly attributed to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī [*q.v.*]; (cf. Rosenthal's discussion of the authorship of this work) and were analysed by ʿAwwād in a pioneering article written in 1945 (cf. *Bibliography*). On instructions from the caliph, the foundations of the *madrasa* were laid in 625/1227 (*Ḥawādith*, 53) and the building was completed in 631/1234. The official opening of the Mustanṣiriyya was held on 5 Radjab 631/7 April 1234 while the caliph watched the proceedings from a belvedere in the centre of one of the *īwāns* (*ibid.*; Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 149). The Mustanṣiriyya housed all four Sunnī *madhhabs*, (cf. the inscription over the door of the *madrasa*, published by Herzfeld, ii, 164), each of which were represented by their leading *ʿulamāʾ* at the inaugural ceremony. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, each *madhhab* had its own *īwān* (*op. cit.*, 109). The building also included a *dār al-ḥadīth*, a *dār al-Ḳurʾān*, hospital, kitchen, bath and library. The caliph was involved personally in building up the magnificent library of the Mustanṣiriyya (cf. Eche, 172-7). To this library the caliph brought valuable models of calligraphy, such as examples of the "well-proportioned scripts" (*al-khuṭūṭ al-mansūba*) of the famous Būyid calligrapher Ibn al-Bawwāb [*q.v.*] and his illustrious predecessor Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] (Sibṭ, 739). The caliph also endowed the library with the best books on *fiḳh*, literature and science (*Ḥawādith*, 54). At the invitation of al-Mustanṣir, desirous no doubt to eclipse the fame of the 5th/11th century Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in the same city, prestigious scholars were brought to work in the Mustanṣiriyya. They included the historians Ibn al-Sāʿī, who served as librarian for a while (Ibn al-ʿImād, v, 343) and Ibn al-Nadjdjār, who was the principal Shāfiʿī *mudarris* there (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 522).

Although much scholarly attention has been focussed on the Mustanṣiriyya (cf. *Bibliography*), there remains much to be said about its function within its own historical context. In particular, it is noteworthy that the Mustanṣiriyya was the first *madrasa* to be founded by a caliph. It was also (even more importantly) the first universal Sunnī *madrasa*: the patrons of earlier *madrasas* had been *amīrs*, high officials such as *wazīrs*, and occasionally sultans. It built boldly upon the already existing practice of founding *madrasas* designed for more than one *madhhab*, and took the decisive further step of catering for all four *madhhabs*. Moreover, al-Mustanṣir chose to build a *madrasa*, not a mosque or a mausoleum, which were traditionally the preferred buildings for a ruler wishing to perpetuate his name. Why choose a *madrasa*? The key reason may be that by building the Mustanṣiriyya the caliph established a teaching institution for all Muslims, not just for the people of Baghdād alone. There is other telling evidence which clearly points to wider and more grandiose aims on the part of the caliph. Firstly, certain features of this particular *madrasa* are unusual or suggestive. One of the crowning glories of the Mustanṣiriyya was its magnificent riparian inscription of historical content which specifically names the caliph himself. This gigantic inscription, although following local architectural traditions in certain respects, nevertheless decisively flouted convention by its sheer size and lavish rendering. It appears to have been (at least so far as surviving evidence indicates) the largest and longest cursive inscription known in the Islamic world up to that time, and like some vast hoarding it proclaimed its presence to anyone approaching the *madrasa* by river. Thus the privileged and unusual location of the *madrasa* was manipulated for propagandist purposes. Secondly, the Mustanṣiriyya also boasted a highly sophisticated and lavishly adorned zodiacal clepsydra which was similar to those described by al-Djazarī [*q.v.*] and which bore unmistakable royal and cosmological connotations (al-Irbilī, *Khulāṣat*, 287-8 (quoting Ibn al-Sāʿī)). In addition to its scholarly functions, the Mustanṣiriyya was used by the caliph in his role as arbitrator to receive visiting potentates, such as Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ of Mawṣil and Nāṣir al-Dīn Dāwūd of Damascus in 633/1235 (Ibn Wāṣil, v, 100-2) and Nūr al-Dīn Arslānshāh of Shahrazūr the following year (*Ḥawādith*, 89).

It is perhaps not too fanciful to argue that al-Mustanṣir intended the Mustanṣiriyya to serve as a symbol of Islamic unity under the auspices of a revitalised ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Al-Mustanṣir may well have been attempting to continue and elaborate the grandiose universalist policies of his grandfather al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*]. In one sense, the decision to house all Sunnī *madhhabs* under one roof was no abrupt innovation; it was merely a logical extension of al-Nāṣir's decision to limit the appointment of ḳāḍīs to the four *madhhabs*, a confirmation of the *status quo* which had prevailed since the demise of the Ẓāhirī *madhhab* around 475/1082 (cf. Makdisi, 6). Al-Mustanṣir is described by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī as having "no fanaticism for one particular *madhhab*" and is shown as behaving in a conciliatory way towards the Shīʿīs whose shrines he visited (*op. cit.*, 739-41). Moreover, a major figure in al-Nāṣir's revitalised caliphate had been Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (died 632/1234 [*q.v.*]). As the most prominent Ṣūfī of his time at Baghdād, it is quite conceivable that he had been influential in the education of al-Mustanṣir and that he continued to influence him whilst he was caliph.

Most of the extant historical sources date from the period after the Mongol capture of Baghdād. Overshadowed by this cataclysmic event, they may well have distorted the perspective of al-Mustanṣir's reign as seen by his contemporaries. The historical evidence of the Mustanṣiriyya, unaffected as it is by *ex post facto* commentary is thus even more important.

It may well be that al-Mustanṣir intended this building to be an instrument for continuing the policies initiated by al-Nāṣir, and to create under the caliphal banner some kind of unity amongst the Muslims whose territories bordered his own. Such a task was given added urgency by the recent Mongol onslaught on the eastern Islamic world. A political regrouping of the remaining Muslim powers in that area was therefore imperative. Al-Nāṣir had tried to encourage Muslim cooperation through establishing equal status for all four Sunnī *madhhabs*, through promoting Ṣūfism and through a pan-Islamic *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. Whilst there is little positive evidence for al-Mustanṣir's involvement in the *futuwwa*, it is unlikely that he discontinued this aspect of al-Nāṣir's policies. Djalāl al-Dīn had lacked the acumen or the political stability to effect an eastern Islamic coalition against any future Mongol attacks. It may well be that by the building of the Mustanṣiriyya al-Mustanṣir was proclaiming (ironically, far too late in the day) the paramount need for unity in the Islamic world.

Al-Mustanṣir also erected other buildings. These included the *Khān* of Sābūs near Wāsiṭ (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 567-8) and the *Khān* of Kharnīna between Takrīt and al-Balālīḳ (*ibid.*; G. Bell, *Amurath*, 219). Moreover, inscriptions on the Ḥarbā bridge over the Dudjayla canal between Baghdād and Sāmarrā testify that it was built by al-Mustanṣir in 629/1231 (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 567; Janabi, Plates 12 and 13). Al-Mustanṣir

also restored the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr in Baghdād which had been founded by al-Muktafī [*q.v.*] and he placed in it benches on which students could sit and hold discussions after prayers had been performed (Ibn Wāṣil, 317).

Al-Mustanṣir is accorded the usual high-flown panegyrics in the sources. More specifically, he is described as pale-skinned, red-haired, corpulent and short (Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 345). As already mentioned, he was a great bibliophile. He is reported to have been copious in alms-giving, especially when plague hit Baghdād in the last year of his reign. He died on 10 Djumādā II 640/12 December 1242 and was buried in the Ruṣāfa cemetery.

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AL-**MUSTANṢIR** (II) BI'LLĀH, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. al-Ẓāhir Muḥammad, the first ʿAbbāsid "shadow" caliph in Cairo.

When the Mongols captured Baghdād (656/1258), he and a number of other ʿAbbāsids were released from confinement, and he took refuge among the Arab tribesmen of ʿIrāḳ. A group of Arabs brought him to Cairo, where he was given a ceremonious welcome by the sultan, al-Ẓāhir Baybars, on 9 Radjab 659/9 June 1261. Four days later, his genealogy was formally attested by the chief judge, who performed the *bayʿa* to him followed by the sultan, the dignitaries and the Mamlūks generally. He assumed the throne-name of al-Mustanṣir, which had been borne by his brother as caliph in Baghdād (623-40/1226-42). The speed with which al-Mustanṣir was installed as caliph shows his importance to Baybars's political strategy at that juncture. Baybars had newly obtained the sultanate by usurpation on the murder of his predecessor, Ḳuṭuz (657-8/1259-60), and caliphal legitimation would secure his position. This was duly accorded. On Friday, 17 Radjab/17 June, al-Mustanṣir pronounced the *khuṭba* to a congregation of Mamlūks in the mosque of the Citadel at the sultan's instigation, and on 4 Shaʿbān/4 July at a solemn ceremony the caliph invested Baybars with the black livery of the ʿAbbāsids. Fakhr al-Dīn b. Luḳmān, the head of the sultan's chancery, read the diploma (which he himself had composed in the caliph's name) conferring the universal sultanate with plenary powers on Baybars. The provisions of the diploma, which purported to lay down Baybars's duties as sultan, were in fact his political manifesto. Al-Mustanṣir was rewarded with the establishment of a military and civil household. On 6 Shawwāl/3 September, the caliph accompanied Baybars to Damascus, where the two joined in public prayer at the Umayyad mosque on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/5 October. From Damascus, al-Mustanṣir and the sons of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, the late ruler of Mawṣil (631-57/1233-59) [see LUʾLUʾ] were sent out on separate expeditions to ʿIrāḳ, to regain their ancestral dominions from the Mongols. Setting out on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/19 October, al-Mustanṣir proceeded to ʿĀna, where he encountered a kinsman and rival, a descendant in the fourth generation of the caliph al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-35 [*q.v.*]), who had been proclaimed as the caliph al-Ḥākim by Āḳūsh al-Barlī, the Mamlūk warlord of Aleppo and at this time Baybars's most dangerous opponent. The two caliphal pretenders, however, joined forces and advanced down the Euphrates to Hīt. The Mongol authorities in Baghdād sent out troops to halt the Muslims, and a battle took place opposite al-Anbār. The Muslims were at first successful, but then fell into a Mongol ambush. Al-Mustanṣir was almost certainly killed in the fighting (3 Muḥarram 660/28 November 1261), while al-Ḥākim escaped and made his way to Cairo, where he was installed as caliph on 2 Muḥarram 661/16 November 1262. His descendants continued the titular caliphate until it lapsed after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 922/1517.

Bibliography: The succinct account by Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vii, 384-6, is based on Abū Shāmā, *Tarādjim ridjāl al-ḳarnayn al-sādis wa 'l-sābiʿ*, Beirut 1974, 213-15; and Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mirʾāt al-zamān*, Ḥaydarābād 1374/1954, i, 441-57, and cf. ii, 94-112. The official account is by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976, 99-112; it is summarised with a critical comment by Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskalānī, *K. Ḥusn al-manāḳib al-sirriyya al-muntazaʿa min al-sīra al-ẓāhiriyya*, ed. Khuwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976, 37-46. See also D. Ayalon, *Studies on the transfer of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate from Baġdād to Cairo*, in *Arabica*, vii, 1960, 41-59, repr. in idem, *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250-1517)*, London 1977; P.M. Holt, *Some observations on the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of Cairo*, in *BSOAS*, xlvii (1984), 501-7; S. Heidemann, *Al-Ḥākim bi-amri 'llāh und Āqūš al-Burlī. Der Aufsteig des syrischen Kalifats bis 659h./1261 A.D.*, diss. Free Univ., Berlin 1988, unpubl. (P.M. HOLT)

AL-**MUSTANṢIR** BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ TAMĪM MAʿADD B. ʿALĪ AL-ẒĀHIR, eighth Fāṭimid caliph, born on 16 Djumada II 420/2 July 1029 (according to Idrīs, on 16 Ramaḍān/29 September), succeeded his father al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*] on 15 Shaʿbān 427/13 June 1036 and died on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 487/10 January 1094, after the longest recorded reign of any Muslim ruler and one which, besides being marked by the most violent fluctuations of fortune, was of critical importance in the history of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī movement.

Internal history. During the childhood of al-Mustanṣir, the authority remained at first in the strong hands of his father's *wazīr* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djardjarāʾī [*q.v.*]. On his death (7 Ramaḍān 436/28 March 1045), it was seized by the evil genius of al-

Mustanṣir's reign, his mother, who was a Sūdānī slave, and her former master, the Jewish merchant Abū Saʿd al-Tustarī. When Abū Saʿd was assassinated in 439/1047 after an outbreak of rioting between the Turkish and Berber troops, his place as the queen-mother's agent was taken by his brother Abū Naṣr Hārūn (see however the documents published by Mann [*Bibl.*]) and the *ḳāḍī* Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Yāzūrī, who eventually accepted also the vizierate (7 Muḥarram 442/1 June 1050) and held it for eight years [see AL-YĀZŪRĪ]. Meanwhile, there was considerable unrest and perhaps also economic unsettlement in the country. If a statement in al-Maḳrīzī, i, 82 [92], ed. Wiet, ii, 4 [67], is to be believed, the *kharādj* of the Egyptian provinces amounted only to one million *dīnārs* in the time of al-Yāzūrī, but this may have been exceptional, though it is plain from other sources that the government had already been forced to the familiar expedient of confiscations and indemnities. The Delta was disturbed by Arab risings, the most serious of which, that of the Banū Ḳurra, was put down only with great difficulty by Nāṣir al-Dawla (see below) with the Ṭayyiʾ and other Arab troops at Kūm Sharīk in 443/1051 (see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 42-3; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 396-7, and for the date Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 85). At the capital there was an increasing state of tension between the Turkish and Berber troops and the enormous bodies of Sūdānī slaves raised by the caliph's mother (see Maḳrīzī, i, 94 [ed. Wiet, ii, 45] and 335; detailed but probably unreliable figures also in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, ed. Kaviani, 66, tr. Thackston, 48-9). In striking contrast to this is the magnificence of the court and properity of Miṣr-Fusṭāṭ as described by Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*]. There can be little doubt that the source of much of this prosperity, apart from the manufacture and supply of luxuries to the court, is already to be sought in the commercial relations between Egypt and the Indian Ocean on the one hand (cf. Nāṣir-i Khusraw's account of ʿAydhāb) and Constantinople on the other. The general insecurity deepened after the execution of al-Yāzūrī, who was the last *wazīr* to attempt to control the situation. He was followed by a rapid succession of puppets in office, many of whom, despite the pompous titles duly recorded by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, held the position for no more than a few days at a time.

The Fāṭimid caliphate was now destined to pass in a few shattering years through the same agony as the ʿAbbāsid caliphate at Baghdād had suffered in the early part of the previous century. The breakdown of the civil administration and subsequent exhaustion of the treasury gave a free hand to the military, and the sinister policy of the caliph's mother brought matters speedily to a head. In a pitched battle at Kūm al-Rīsh (close to Cairo) in 454/1062 (sometimes confused with the previous battle at Kūm Sharīk), the Turkish and Berber troops led by Nāṣir al-Dawla Ibn Ḥamdān, a descendant of the Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil, defeated and drove the Sūdānīs into the Ṣaʿīd, but the struggle continued for some years and the blacks were not finally routed and driven out until 459/1067; thereafter they were confined to the Ṣaʿīd, which suffered severely from their plundering and devastations. Nāṣir al-Dawla in turn quarrelled with the Turks, and, defeated in battle by a force commanded by al-Mustanṣir in person (461/1068-9), appealed to the Saldjūḳ Alp Arslān [*q.v.*]. Without waiting for his help, however, he regained control of Cairo and the Delta with the aid of the Arabs and Lawāta [*q.v.*] Berbers, reduced al-Mustanṣir (it is said) to the state of a pensioner on a hundred *dīnārs* a month, assumed the title of Sulṭān al-Dawla, and attempted, but unsuccessfully, to restore the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba*. In Radjab 465/March 1073 he and all his house were killed by the rival Turkish faction, led by Ildegüz, under whom the caliph fared little better. Meanwhile, the constant anarchy and remorseless plundering of the country by the troops brought agriculture to a standstill (although the Nile floods seem to have been uniformly good). The result was a famine which lasted from 459 to 464 (1067-72) and became progressively more severe. During these years the country was a prey to the utmost misery; the royal city and palaces were looted, and Fusṭāṭ was twice plundered and even burned by Nāṣir al-Dawla. Large numbers of the population, including even the caliph's own family, sought refuge in Syria and ʿIrāḳ (for the depopulation and shrinkage of Fusṭāṭ, cf. al-Maḳrīzī, i, 5, ed. Wiet, i, 12; on the fate of the royal library see also Olga Pinto, *Le biblioteche degli Arabi*, Rome 1928, 25-6). The Sunnī historians dwell on this famine with some complacence, regarding it as the retribution for the impious attack of al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] on the ʿAbbāsid caliphate (see below), and circumstantial stories are related of the extreme destitution to which al-Mustanṣir himself was reduced. That these must be accepted with some reserve is clear from such passages as Ibn Taghrībardī, ii/2, 186, 18-19.

At length in 465/1073, al-Mustanṣir, taking courage of despair, secretly invited the governor of ʿAkkā, the Armenian general Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] to assume supreme control in Egypt. Badr accepted the commission, on condition of bringing his own troops with him, and sailing from ʿAkkā in the winter, reached Cairo on 28 Djumādā I 466/29 Jan. 1074. His rapid and energetic movements took the Turks by surprise, and he put to death the whole body of their leaders, together with a large number of Egyptian notables and officials. For his further military and administrative measures, by which he restored order and relative prosperity in Egypt (the total revenue of Egypt and its remaining Syrian possessions, which in 466/1073-4 had amounted to 2,800,000 *dīnārs*, rose by 483/1090 to 3,100,000 *dīnārs*: al-Maḳrīzī, i, 100; ed. Wiet, ii, 68; cf. Abū Ṣāliḥ, fols. 7b-9a). The alliance between general and caliph was cemented by the marriage of Badr's daughter to al-Mustanṣir's youngest son Aḥmad, the future caliph al-Mustaʿlī [*q.v.*]. The Fāṭimid caliphate was saved but, like its ʿAbbāsid rival, at the cost of abandoning its temporal authority to a series of military commanders, entitled *umarāʾ al-djuyūsh*, from whose control it never afterwards succeeded in emancipating itself.

Al-Mustanṣir is described in contemporary sources as upright and amiable in character, and just and equitable in his dealings, but as a ruler his personality is entirely obscured by the successive *wazīrs* and generals who kept him virtually a prisoner. The statements of the later anti-Fāṭimid writers must, of course, be entirely discounted; the Fāṭimid sources, on the other hand, praise his sagacity and infallibility (*ʿiṣma*) as Imām.

External relations. The empire to which al-Mustanṣir succeeded was beyond any doubt the most powerful Muslim state of its time. It extended from Ifrīḳiya and Sicily to Mecca and central Syria, and maintained an active propagandist organisation in ʿIrāḳ, Persia and Khurāsān (see the following section). Within a few years of his accession, its territories were still further expanded by Anūshtagīn's conquest of Aleppo in Shaʿbān 429/May 1038 [see FĀṬIMIDS and ḤALAB] and extension of his authority even across the Euphrates, on the one hand, and on the other by the conquests of ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī in the

Yaman, after establishing himself at Masār in the same year (see ṢULAYḤIDS and also H.F. al-Hamdani, in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* [1931], 505 ff., and in *JRAS* [1932], 126 ff.). After the deaths of Anū<u>sh</u>tagīn and the *wazīr* al-<u>Dj</u>ar<u>dj</u>arāʾī, who in spite of their rivalry zealously maintained the interests of the dynasty, the power and prestige of the Egyptian court steadily declined. The Arab tribes in Syria, though defeated in the field, remained unsubdued, and the caliph had to be content with the little more than nominal allegiance of the Mirdāsids [*q.v.*] at Aleppo. At Damascus, the rivalries between the Berber and Turkish troops and the hostility of the citizens reduced the governors to impotence. The disturbed state of Syria was so disastrous that it made it impossible for the Fāṭimid government to give effective support to the *amīr* al-Basāsīrī (see the list of war material and subventions sent from Egypt, Ibn Ta<u>gh</u>rībardī, 177) in his attempt to oppose the advancing Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ power, with the result that his occupation of Ba<u>gh</u>dād and proclamation of al-Mustanṣir in 450/1059 was speedily brought to an end. The subsequent military and economic disorders in Egypt allowed a free hand to the Turkmen (<u>Gh</u>uzz) bands, who had appeared in northern Syria as early as 447/1055, though it was not until 463/1071 that the first Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ armies entered northern Syria and the <u>Gh</u>uzz bands under Atsïz [*q.v.*] occupied Palestine and began to harass Damascus. In many of the other towns and district of Syria, the authority was seized by local chiefs, such as the *ḳāḍīs* Ibn ʿAmmār (see ʿAMMĀR, Banū, and also G. Wiet, in *Mém. Henri Basset*, 279 ff.) at Ṭarābulus and Ibn Abī ʿAḳīl at Tyre, though both of these acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Fāṭimid caliph (cf. also the account of the foundation of the castle of Ṣar<u>kh</u>ad by Ḥassān b. Mismār al-Kalbī in 466/1073-4, quoted from Sibṭ b. al-<u>Dj</u>awzī in Ibn Ta<u>gh</u>rībardī, 253). The menace of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs became more substantial after the arrival of Tutu<u>sh</u> [*q.v.*] in 470/1077-8, but the latter never actually organised a full campaign against the Fāṭimids. On the contrary, the offensive was taken by Badr, who succeeded in restoring Egyptian control on the coast as far as Tyre, Sidon and <u>Dj</u>ubayl in 482/1089, but not in recovering the interior of Palestine and Damascus (lost in 468/1075-6), in spite of a certain revulsion of feeling in Syria in favour of the Fāṭimids. It is difficult to know how much weight to lay on the story (Ibn Ta<u>gh</u>rībardī, 272-3) that Tutu<u>sh</u> at one time proposed to ally himself in marriage with Badr.

The success of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs also affected the position of the Fāṭimids in Arabia. In 462/1069 the ʿAbbāsid caliph was acknowledged in the Holy Cities, and after a brief return to the Fāṭimid obedience between 467 and 473/1074-81, the Ḥi<u>dj</u>āz passed definitely to the ʿAbbāsid cause. In the Yaman, the Ṣulayḥids in the interior and the Zurayʿids in the important commercial centre of ʿAden maintained the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids, the latter until the Ayyūbid conquest by Tūrān<u>sh</u>āh in 569/1173 [see ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN].

Meanwhile, the Fāṭimid empire had been similarly shorn of its possessions in the West. About 435/1043-4 al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*], the Zīrid lieutenant of the Fāṭimid caliph in Ḳayrawān, began a series of repressive measures against the <u>Sh</u>īʿīs of Ifrīḳiya; in 440/1048-9 he seems to have made the first overt gesture of independence, and in 441/1049-50 superseded the Fāṭimid coinage; but it was not until 443/1051 that he formally renounced the Fāṭimid suzerainty and obtained an investiture from the ʿAbbāsid caliph. According to the traditional account (already fully developed in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī), the *wazīr* al-Yāzūrī in revenge launched against him the nomad bands of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*], the tribes mentioned in the Egyptian sources are Zu<u>gh</u>ba, Riyāḥ, al-A<u>th</u>ba<u>dj</u> and ʿAdī), who had been a cause of much trouble to the government in the Ṣaʿīd and were now given a free hand to plunder the territories of the Zīrids [*q.v.*]. As Wüstenfeld has already indicated, *Gesch.*, 234 n., the story as it stands is open to serious objections, and there can be little doubt that it has been amplified by popular legend. The westward movement of the Hilāl tribes began as early as 440/1048-9, and there is no reason to reject the account of Ibn ʿI<u>dh</u>ārī that it was al-Muʿizz himself who invited the Arab tribes, then in Barḳa, to enter Ifrīḳiya as his *<u>dj</u>und* (since he was not on good terms with the Ṣanhā<u>dj</u>a), and that they, having set out in response to his invitation, began to plunder on their own account and already before the close of 443/1051-2 had inflicted a severe defeat on his troops. The two traditions are not, however, mutually exclusive and may be reconciled by supposing that the Banū Hilāl were transported in the first instance to Barḳa (the governor of which had thrown in his lot with al-Muʿizz), and that their advance into Ifrīḳiya was facilitated, for opposite reasons, by both al-Muʿizz and the *wazīr* (cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 387-8). During the first years of his reign, the son and successor of al-Muʿizz, Tamīm, (453-501/1061-1107), temporarily returned to the Fāṭimid allegiance (see H.R. Idris, *Sur le retour des Zīrīdes à l'obédience fāṭimide*, in *AIEO Alger*, XI [1953], 25-39), but with the conquest of Sicily by the Normans in 463/1070, Barḳa became the western limit of the Fāṭimid state.

The diplomatic relations of al-Mustanṣir with non-Muslim states covered a wide field. In 429/1038 the existing treaty with the Byzantine Emperor was renewed and relatively cordial relations established. If Nāsir-i <u>Kh</u>usraw, ed. Kaviani, 6, tr. Thackston, 49, is to be trusted, the Egyptian government was in communication in 439/1047 also with the Georgians, the Daylamīs, the <u>Kh</u>āḳān of Turkistān and even the *rā<u>dj</u>ā* of Dihlī, all of whom shared with Egypt a common hostility to the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs and the <u>Gh</u>aznavids. The friendly relations with Constantinople, however, were broken off in 446/1054, when the Empress Theodora demanded an offensive alliance against the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs. Egyptian troops were despatched on an unsuccessful expedition against al-Lā<u>dh</u>iḳiyya, the Empress retaliated by opening negotiations with the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs, and al-Mustanṣir seized the treasures of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*al-Ḳumāma*). This breach with Constantinople had important consequences for the future of Egypt, since to it may perhaps be ascribed the opening up of direct commercial relations with the Italian trading cities, though documentary evidence on the point is lacking (see Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i, 105, 124).

Religious conditions. The wide expansion of the Fāṭimid power under al-Mustanṣir is reflected also in the religious situation. Propaganda on behalf of the Fāṭimids is synonymous with the dissemination of the official state religion of the Fāṭimids, the Ismāʿīlī <u>Sh</u>īʿī faith. Not only in Egypt and other lands in actual subjection to the Fāṭimid authority, but in all quarters of the Islamic world, we learn of missionaries (*duʿāt*), who during the long reign of al-Mustanṣir struggled, in part with great success, to secure recognition of his claim to be the religious Imām. In the east, in Persia, and especially in <u>Sh</u>īrāz, at the court of the Būyid prince Abū Kalī<u>dj</u>ār [*q.v.*], we can trace the activities at least since 429/1037-8 of the *dāʿī* Abū Naṣr Hibat

Allāh b. Mūsā al-Muʾayyad fī Dīn Allāh [see AL-MUʾAYYAD], doubtless the most prominent personality of his time in the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. He endeavoured to win over the court and the Daylamī troops to the Fāṭimid cause, but was forced to leave his post in 439/1047-8 as the result of pro-ʿAbbāsid intrigues. In the first part of his autobiography (see *Bibl.*), al-Muʾayyad gives a detailed account of his activity, and in particular publishes his correspondence with an unnamed Sunnī from Khurāsān, in which he explains the religious and political principles of his mission. How much the power of the Fāṭimids and the success of their emissaries in ʿIrāḳ and Persia was feared at Baghdād is shown by the fact that several times, and latterly in 444/1052, there was published a document, to which the ʿAlids also subscribed, with the object of declaring false the claim of the Fāṭimids to descent from ʿAlī. At the same time, the Fāṭimid cause gained also new ground in the Yaman. After the political power of the Fāṭimids had been reduced there to a minimum in the course of the 4th/10th century, it now acquired in the Ṣulayḥid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad a powerful supporter. He and his successors regarded themselves not only as political but also as religious representatives of the Fāṭimid Imām in the Yaman. The voluminous correspondence between the Ṣulayḥid rulers and al-Mustanṣir, which is still preserved, collected in a separate work (*Kitāb al-Sidjillāt wa 'l-tawḳīʿāt wa 'l-kutub li-Mawlānā al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh*, ms. SOAS London; many of these letters are also reproduced in Idrīs, vii [see *Bibl.*]), deals, along with political questions, in the first place with the position of the *daʿwa* in the Yaman and in the Fāṭimid state; see further al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*.

In Egypt itself, soon after the accession of al-Mustanṣir, the doctrines of the moderate official Ismāʿīliyya were threatened by the appearance of extremists related to the Druzes [see AL-DURŪZ]. A pretender, al-Sikkīn, together with his associate al-ʿĀnī, gave himself out as the returned caliph al-Ḥākim, but was promptly unmasked (Idrīs, vi, 296). Al-Muʾayyad, who came to Cairo in 439/1047-8 and won the goodwill of al-Mustanṣir, was entrusted with the leadership of the religious mission as *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* (it should be remarked, however, that al-Yāzūrī during his vizierate also held the title of *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*; cf. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 40). In the reopened seminary in Cairo, where the *duʿāt* of the various countries received instruction, he gave his lectures and gathered into his hands the strings of the whole *daʿwa*. He appears to have exercised a special influence over the development of the *daʿwa* in the Yaman, as the future Yamanī *dāʿī* Lamak b. Mālik was numbered amongst his pupils. From Persia, the newly-converted Ismāʿīlī Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] came to Egypt, to find his master in him. At the same time, al-Muʾayyad seems also to have played an important political role. In his autobiography he quotes numerous letters which he wrote to al-Basāsīrī and other generals of the Fāṭimids in Syria and Mesopotamia. In particular, it was at his instigation that the *khuṭba* for the Fāṭimids was introduced into the prayer at Baghdād in 450/1098 (cf. Ibn Muyassar, 8, l. 1, 10, ll. 6-7). In his poems, he eulogises the *Imām* al-Mustanṣir in a similar manner to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Other Ismāʿīlī authors of this period were the poet Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, the *dāʿī* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī, and the author of the *Kitāb al-Madjālis al-Mustanṣiriyya* (lectures in which the imāmate of al-Mustanṣir is demonstrated with the aid of the Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl*), which are described by the Fāṭimid tradition to Badr al-Djamālī.—For the Fāṭimid propaganda in Transoxania, see also Barthold, *Turkestan*², 304-5.

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(H.A.R. GIBB and P. KRAUS)

AL-MUSTANṢIRIYYA [see MADRASA. I. 4, at Vol. V, 1127a, and III, at Vol. V, 1148, and AL-MUSTANṢIR (1) BI 'LLĀH].

MUSTAʿRIB [see MOZARAB].

MUSTAʿRIBA (A.), "arabicised", the name of one of the groups into which the Arab genealogists divide the population of Arabia. The first is the *ʿarab ʿāriba*, the original Arabs of pure stock; they numbered nine (some say seven) tribes which are regarded as the descendants of Iram and Lūdh b. Sām b. Nūḥ and the first settlers in Arabia: ʿĀd, Thamūd, Umayyim, ʿAbīl, Ṭasm, Djadīs, ʿImlīḳ, Djurhum and Wabār. These are extinct except for a few remnants incorporated in other tribes. The second group comprises the *mutaʿarriba* [*q.v.*] who are not pure-blooded Arabs. They are regarded as descendants of Ḳaḥṭān (the Yoḳṭān of the list of nations in Gen. x. 25 ff.) and live in southern Arabia. The third group is called *mustaʿriba*; this name is also applied to tribes who were not originally Arabs; they trace their descent from Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān, a descendant of Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*]. All the north Arabian tribes are included among the *mustaʿriba*, so that the Ḳuraysh, to which Muḥammad belonged, are one of them; his genealogy is in this way traced back to Abraham and he thus thought he could prove his connection with the Biblical prophets. The old term *mustaʿriba*, for tribes not originally of Arab descent, obtained a new meaning after the conquest of Spain. It was applied to the Christian Spaniards who retained their religion under Islam; the word *mustaʿriba* was corrupted to Mozarab [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i, § 43; idem, *Studi di storia orientale*, i, 306 ff.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i, 6 ff.; C. Ritter, *Arabien*, 57; Ṭabarī (Leiden) i, 213-16; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, i, 40-41; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, 1st *nawʿ*; *TA*, i, 371, cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

MUSTASHĀR (A.), counsellor, used in Ottoman Turkish as *müsteshār*, meaning "general secretary to a ministry" or "under-secretary of state". The word, which means literally "one who is

consulted", comes from the same root as *mus͟hīr* [*q.v.*], which properly means "he who gives advice". Sāmī Bey regards the word *müstes͟hār* as a synonym of the old Turkish *inal*. The office was called *müstes͟hārī* or more simply *müstes͟harlïḳ*.

Like the title *mus͟hīr*, that of *müstes͟hār* was created by Maḥmūd II. There were at first two *müstes͟hārs* in the grand-vizierate, one for foreign and the other for home affairs. The latter was later replaced by a Minister of the Interior who had in his turn a *müstes͟hār*. The number of *müstes͟hārs* gradually increased, but some less important departments had *muᶜāwins* "assistants, deputies" (in 1296/1897 for example there were *muᶜāwins* in the finance and police departments). The office was retained under the Turkish Republic and each ministry or *wekālet* has its *müstes͟hār*; that of national defence has three (for army, navy and air force).

The chief *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul used to have a *müstes͟hār*. According to Luṭfī Efendi, the post of *müstes͟hār* of the Navy was created in 1253/1837 (*Taʾrīk͟h*, v, 91) and that of *müstes͟hār* of the *ṣadreyn* or of the two *ḳāḍī ᶜaskar* [*q.v.*] in 1262/1846 (viii, 127). On the honorary grades of *müstes͟hār*, cf. idem, vi, 66; cf. also 103, line 8 from below.

Müstes͟hār is also the name given to the "counsellors" of Turkish or foreign embassies or legations. The title of *müstes͟hār awwal* borne by the ambassador himself, sent by the Sultan of Morocco to Istanbul in 1197/1783 is inexplicable to us (cf. D͟jewdet Pas͟ha, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1309, ii, 251; cf. *Recueil de Mémoires Orientaux de l'École des Langues Orientales à Paris*, 1905, 6).

As to the term *müs͟hāwir*, a synonym of the preceding and from the same root, it is applied to technical advisers, whether foreigners or not, e.g. *ḥuḳūḳ müs͟hāwiri* "legal adviser".

Bibliography: See the various Ottoman calendars. The historians Aḥmed D͟jewdet and Luṭfī, following their predecessors, give few details of the administrative organisation. (J. DENY)

AL-**MUSTARS͟HID** BI'LLĀH, ABŪ MANṢŪR AL-FAḌL, ᶜAbbāsid caliph (reigned 512-29/1118-35), was probably born in 486/1093-4 (though some sources suggest a date as early as 484), the son of al-Mustaẓhir [*q.v.*] and a slave girl called Lubāba. Al-Mustars͟hid came to the throne after his father's death on 16 Rabīᶜ II 512/6 August 1118.

The reign of al-Mustars͟hid coincided with a period of intense strife amongst the Sald͟jūḳs of ᶜIrāḳ and western Persia after the death of sultan Muḥammad b. Malik S͟hāh [*q.v.*] in 511/1118 and the accession of his son Maḥmūd [*q.v.*]. Apart from sultan Maḥmud and the caliph himself, the strong hand of sultan Sand͟jar [*q.v.*], the most senior member of the Sald͟jūḳ clan, often intervened from K͟hurāsān. There is also frequent mention of other Sald͟jūḳ pretenders, as well as a series of powerful *s͟hiḥnas*, especially Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī and Zangī. The interplay of these figures with the caliph is chronicled in confusing detail and reveals constantly shifting alliances. Al-Mustars͟hid initially juggled with these factions, depending on one group or another for military support. Later, he espoused the more intrepid and fateful policy of trying to rid ᶜIrāḳ of all these opposing forces.

The early years of al-Mustars͟hid's caliphate were dominated by his bitter feud with the Mazyadid Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa of Ḥilla [see MAZYAD, BANŪ]. Initially, Dubays had no doubt hoped to wield influence over the new caliph as his father Ṣadaḳa had done with al-Mustaẓhir. The caliph sent warning letters to Dubays reproaching him for plundering ᶜIrāḳ during the revolt of the Sald͟jūḳ prince Masᶜūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] against his brother, sultan Maḥmūd, in 514/1120-1. Dubays responded by coming to Bag͟hdād and threatened al-Mustars͟hid from his tent pitched opposite the caliphal palace (Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 397-8). At this stage al-Mustars͟hid, needing military support, requested Maḥmūd to stay on in Bag͟hdād because of the threat posed by Dubays. Maḥmūd agreed and was honoured by the caliph in a lavish ceremony (Ibn al-D͟jawzī, ix, 222-3). In 516/1122-3, al-Mustars͟hid sent the *s͟hiḥna* of Bag͟hdād, Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī, to drive Dubays out of al-Ḥilla. This attempt proved a failure (Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 423-4; Ibn al-D͟jawzī, ix, 232). In Muḥarram 517/March 1123 al-Mustars͟hid decided to take matters into his own hands. Having distributed money and weapons to the people of Bag͟hdād, he sallied forth in person to fight Dubays. Wearing full caliphal regalia, al-Mustars͟hid stood prominently behind the battlelines, accompanied by prayer-leaders and Ḳurʾān readers. He scored a resounding victory against Dubays and returned triumphantly to Bag͟hdād on the Day of ᶜĀs͟hūrāʾ (Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Bug͟hya*, 227-8; Ibn al-At͟hīr, *Atābegs*, 25-6; Ibn al-D͟jawzī, ix, 235, 242-3). The caliph also humiliated Dubays by writing to his father-in-law, the Artuḳid Nad͟jm al-Dīn Il G͟hāzī, ordering him to annul Dubays' marriage with Il G͟hāzī's daughter (Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Bug͟hya*, 226). Even after Dubays had fled from ᶜIrāḳ and fallen into the hands of Būrī, the ruler of Damascus, al-Mustars͟hid remorselessly pursued him, sending the caliphal *kātib al-ins͟hāʾ*, Ibn al-Anbārī, to bring the prisoner to him. Dubays, however, had already been handed over to Zangī, who released him (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 230; Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Bug͟hya*, 249, 256; Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 470-1; Sibṭ b. al-D͟jawzī, 135-6).

The growing assertiveness of al-Mustars͟hid clearly alarmed Maḥmūd's *s͟hiḥna*, Yürün-Qūs͟h, who clashed openly with the caliph in 519/1125-6. Yürün-Qūs͟h visited the sultan and warned him that the caliph was no longer docile and that he would not tolerate the sultan's interference in Bag͟hdād (Ibn al-D͟jawzī, ix, 255-6). Sultan Maḥmūd advanced rapidly, ignoring the excuses fabricated by al-Mustars͟hid to delay his arrival. After skirmishes between the troops of caliph and sultan, al-Mustars͟hid sued for peace. Before leaving Bag͟hdād on 10 Rabīᶜ II 520/5 May 1126, Maḥmūd took the precaution of appointing a new *s͟hiḥna*, Zangī, to keep a close eye on the caliph (Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 447-50; *Atābegs*, 28-31; al-Ḥusaynī, 97; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 51).

In the complicated power struggle which followed sultan Maḥmūd's death in S͟hawwāl 525/August-September 1131 and the short reign of his brother, sultan Ṭog͟hrïl, Sand͟jar's appointee (526/1132-529/1134), al-Mustars͟hid behaved in a quietly subversive way and played off the various factions against each other, no doubt in an attempt to increase his own power. Several earlier caliphs had practised such brinkmanship. But in the case of al-Mustars͟hid, an inflated sense of his own importance coupled with his awareness of Sald͟jūḳ division at this critical point made a dangerous combination, and his own rash (perhaps even bellicose) personality tipped him over the brink and precipitated an adventure that was to be fatal to him. When Sand͟jār attempted to instal Ṭog͟hrïl as sultan, al-Mustars͟hid urged Ṭog͟hrïl's brothers, Masᶜūd and Sald͟jūḳ S͟hāh, to rebel. Sand͟jar responded by launching Zangī and Dubays into an attack on Bag͟hdād (Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 476-7; *Atābegs*, 44). The caliph defeated them on 27 Rad͟jab 526/13 June 1132. It is interesting to note that Usāma [see

MUNḲIDH, BANŪ] in an unnamed book of his mentions that he was present at this battle and that he saw for himself "the caliph's black satin tent in which he sat upon a throne" (as quoted by Ibn Wāṣil, 50, and Ibn al-Furāt, 94). It could be argued that thus far al-Mustarshid had only been defending himself against attack. It was his next step which took the matter a crucial degree further. After the battle, al-Mustarshid once more opposed Sandjar by proclaiming Masʿūd's name in the *khuṭba* at Baghdād in Muḥarram 527/November-December 1132 (Bundārī, 175; al-Ḥusaynī, 102; Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 29).

Later that year, the caliph again left Baghdād to launch a retaliatory attack against Zangī in Mawṣil. After a three months' siege, al-Mustarshid was forced to return home, out-manoeuvred by Zangī, for whilst the latter's deputy, Naṣīr al-Dīn Djaḳar, strengthened the city's fortifications, Zangī had left Mawṣil and cut off the caliph's food supplies (Bar Hebraeus, 127; Ibn Khallikān, i, 330; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 64; Ibn al-Athīr, *Atābegs*, 47-8). At this point, one would have expected al-Mustarshid to have learned his lesson. Manifestly he had not.

It is difficult to disentangle the circumstances surrounding al-Mustarshid's decision to set out to fight Masʿūd in western Persia: the received version of events is as follows. Masʿūd had sought al-Mustarshid's help in 528/1133-4 against Ṭoghrïl, but they had quarrelled. Masʿūd had then rushed to Hamadhān on the news of Ṭoghrïl's death in Muḥarram 529/October-November 1134. Masʿūd subsequently quarrelled with some of his *amīrs*, who arrived in Baghdād and incited the caliph to go out against Masʿūd (Ibn al-Athīr, *Atābegs*, 48-9; Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 36-41). Al-Mustarshid, with heavy baggage train and official entourage, left Baghdād in Shaʿbān 529/17 May-14 June 1135 and joined battle against Masʿūd at Day Marg outside Hamadhān (for a discussion of Day Marg, cf. Schwarz, *Iran*, 497-8, 926). The caliph's army was defeated, after the Turkish *amīrs* rejoined Masʿūd's side, and al-Mustarshid and all his officials were taken prisoner. His goods were seized (according to Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *op. cit.*, 521, 170 mules were needed to carry away the contents of the caliph's camp) and his officials were imprisoned in the castle of Sar-i Djahān near Ḳazwīn and Rayy. As for the caliph, he was obliged to move around Ādharbaydjān with Masʿūd. When the sultan made camp outside Marāgha, the caliph was murdered in his tent in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 529/August 1135, allegedly by Assassins. The body of al-Mustarshid was wrapped in green silk brocade (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 156) and borne on the heads of *amīrs* and *ʿulamā'* to its burial-place in Marāgha. Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā mentions that he saw the caliph's tomb when he visited the town in 697/1297-8 (*op. cit.*, 522).

The traditional version of al-Mustarshid's final battle and murder needs some revision. Most of the sources attribute the blame for the caliph's killing to Sandjar or Masʿūd or both. Was the caliph the victim of a trap set by Masʿūd? Did Masʿūd send the *amīrs* to Baghdād to lure the caliph (and more especially, his lavish train) to Ādharbaydjān? This is certainly a strong possibility. All this casts doubt on the story that it was the Assassins who killed him. However, to tackle Masʿūd head on and to rid ʿIrāḳ of his deputies was clearly al-Mustarshid's own policy by this stage. As Usāma commented: "It was that great boldness which destroyed him" (Ibn Wāṣil, 50; Ibn al-Furāt, 94). Al-Mustarshid's march against Masʿūd was famous enough to be enshrined in the *Čahār maḳāla*, in which Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī quotes part of an eloquent *khuṭba* delivered by the caliph at Kirmānshāh, strongly denouncing the Saldjūḳs (tr. E.G. Browne, 37-8).

The reign of al-Mustarshid represents a critical phase in the relationship between caliph and sultan, a phase in which long-suppressed tensions erupted into open conflict, especially at Baghdād, the traditional area of caliphal strength. Al-Mustarshid's efforts to liberate himself from the yoke of the Saldjūḳs were generally praised in the mediaeval sources. He was seen as following the path of the earlier caliphs, al-Ḳādir and al-Ḳā'im [*q.vv.*] (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 156), and he is credited by al-Suyūṭī with having revived the ancient customs of the caliphate and putting "life into its bones" (*op. cit.*, 453). Certainly, al-Mustarshid was acting in a different way from his immediate predecessors in the caliphal office. He levied and reviewed his troops (the alleged size of his army compares favourably with those of his Saldjūḳ opponents) and was often in dire need of funds to pay the troops (in 528/1133-4 al-Mustarshid's men surrounded the citadel of the *shiḥna*, Bihrūz al-Khādim, until he disgorged funds to pay the caliph's army (Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 35). Al-Mustarshid also appeared on the battlefield on several occasions. Thus he arrogated to himself the traditional prerogatives of the Saldjūḳ sultan and his deputies and revealed himself unwilling to accept the usual, albeit uneasy, accommodation between the caliphate and the military authorities.

What of the attitude of the Saldjūḳs towards al-Mustarshid? According to Ibn al-Anbārī, the caliph's *kātib al-inshā'*, who was released from prison and brought to sultan Masʿūd at Marāgha, Masʿūd told him categorically that he could no longer endure a caliph like al-Mustarshid. He preferred someone on the throne who would "meddle in nothing but religious matters" and who would not "raise an army, take up arms or assemble men" (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 73). Al-Mustarshid was clearly perceived as a growing threat to the Saldjūḳs; he was an opponent difficult to mollify. Even though he had descended into the military arena and had tarnished the caliphal aura, sultan Masʿūd still baulked at the idea of killing the caliph in battle. Instead, the conventional device of private assassination was chosen. Al-Mustarshid was afraid to return alone to Baghdād fearing to be killed en route and Masʿūd refused to accompany him (Bar Hebraeus, 260). Thus it came about that he was murdered in Masʿūd's camp itself. Most of the sources gloss over this deed; the strongest condemnation of the caliph's murder is given by Ibn al-Ḳalānisī who, expanding on the more muted criticism of al-Bundārī, finds the killing repugnant (*op. cit.*, 249).

How then should al-Mustarshid's unconventional reign be assessed? He certainly made a fateful error in leaving his power base, Baghdād, and its environs. Nor was he likely to achieve frequent military successes against such hardened warriors as the Saldjūḳs or Zangī. Apart from the fiasco which occurred during the short reign of his son al-Rāshid, the military option was not repeated by subsequent caliphs. Nevertheless, al-Mustarshid had gone a considerable way towards removing the Saldjūḳ presence from ʿIrāḳ and towards the creation of a small caliphal state in that area. This proved a valuable basis upon which al-Muḳtafī and above all al-Nāṣir [*q.vv.*] could later build.

Not surprisingly, al-Mustarshid's preoccupation with military matters left him with little time to devote to the activities usually associated with his office. There were few foreign embassies or lavish court ceremonies. Al-Mustarshid's building programme was modest: he is recorded as rebuilding the wall

around Baghdād in Ṣafar 517/April 1123 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 435; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 243), building the octagonal palace (*al-muthammana*) for his wife, Sandjar's daughter, who arrived in Baghdād for the wedding in Radjab 518/August-September 1124 (Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, 113), and he added the great hall (the *bāb al-ḥudjra*) to the Tādj palace (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 259-60).

A number of prominent officials served al-Mustarshid. These included the *wazīr* Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ṣadaḳa (d. 522/1128) whom, under pressure from the sultan's *wazīr*, ʿUthmān b. Niẓām al-Mulk, the caliph was obliged to remove temporarily in favour of Aḥmad b. Niẓām al-Mulk. In the later years of his caliphate, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Ṭirād al-Zaynabī and Anūshirwān b. Khālid [*q.v.*] served as *wazīr* (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 523-9; Bundārī, 104, 152; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 80).

Al-Mustarshid is described as having a ruddy complexion with dark-blue eyes and a sparse beard. In his youth, he had practised asceticism, read the entire Ḳurʾān, studied *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, and was such a fine calligrapher that, according to Ibn al-Anbārī, he would correct the mistakes made by his scribes (al-Kutubī, ii, 248; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 197) Ibn al-Athīr claimed that he had seen al-Mustarshid's handwriting, one of the finest examples of *ruḳʿa* (xi, 17). Al-Mustarshid is mentioned by some sources as belonging to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* (al-Suyūṭī, 454). He was an accomplished poet (ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, i, 30; Ibn Wāṣil, 51; al-Kutubī, ii, 249). To him are attributed the grandiose words: "My horses will reach the land of Rūm and the gleam of my blade will extend to the limits of China".

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(CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

MUSTASHRIḲŪN (A.), orientalists, those who study the Orient.

A. Terminology

Mustashriḳ (not yet mentioned in Lane) is the active participle of the Xth form of the root *sh-r-ḳ* and means either "people studying/seeking for the East/Orient" or "people becoming (like) Easterners/Orientals", Orient and Orientals tending to have a somewhat more emotional connotation than East and Easterners. The word *mustashriḳūn* consequently conveys a broader scope of meaning than the present-day Western term "Orientalists", i.e. "scholars specialised in Oriental studies" does. The term "orientalist" first occurs in English around 1779, in French in 1799; "orientalism" had then the broad meaning of "being oriented towards an oriental culture".

In 19th and early 20th century usage, the term "orientalist" had both a general cultural and a scholarly meaning. Cultural orientalists were those, including painters and writers, who were inspired by the Orient. Scholarly orientalists were specialists in oriental languages and cultures, as distinct from "classicists", specialists in classical languages and cultures (Latin and Greek). Inasmuch as such an orientalist was more than a pure technician of languages, he was a humanist supposed to possess a real profound knowledge of one or more oriental cultures and devote himself to the study of Oriental languages and literatures in past and present as well as other cultural monuments in the fields of art and archaeology. His search for solid knowledge distinguished him from the cultural orientalists, who were in fact devotees of the Orient.

Until the end of the 19th century, the term "Orient" stood especially for the Near East but it also comprised the rest of the Ottoman empire and, in French parlance, North Africa. The "Ancient" East was the Near East up to the spread of Christianity in the region, which introduced the period of the "Christian" East, followed by that of the "Muslim" or "Islamic" East when the region was Islamicised. During the 19th and early 20th century, the concept "Orient" widened in scope to comprise the whole of Asia, retaining the sense of largely unknown cultures challenging Western man to discover them. Up to the Second World War, Orientalism in its broader sense indicated a particular cultural orientation in Europe and North America, and in its narrower sense it meant empirical Oriental studies.

The first International Congress of Orientalists was held in Paris in 1873, and in 1951 an International Union of Orientalists was founded. Since the Congress in Moscow in 1960 the term has been challenged for various reasons, and after the Congress in Paris 1973 the name of the congresses has been changed. Asian cultures are of course only "East" when seen from Europe, and since these cultures are now also studied by specialists coming from the regions themselves and elsewhere, the term "Orient" has become largely metaphorical. At the present time the tendency is to speak of "human sciences in Asia and North Africa", and orientalist scholars are now identified by their culture, period and region of specialisation, and by their specific discipline. Given the nature of the *Encyclopaedia* we mean by *mustashriḳūn* here specifically scholars of Islam and Muslim societies and cultures. "Oriental studies" stands here specifically for that branch of it which is devoted to the study of

Islam and Muslim societies and cultures, that is to say "Islamic studies" in the broad sense of the word.

The notion of "orientalist" in the domain of Islam and elsewhere has changed in several respects since the beginning of the last century. Whereas formerly *mustashrikūn* were by definition non-Muslim Western scholars of Islam, there are now Western scholars who are Muslim, non-Muslim scholars outside the West, and Muslim scholars in this field both in and outside Muslim countries. And whereas formerly the West and the Muslim world were two different geographical areas, they now interpenetrate and various Muslim communities live in Western countries. At present *mustashrikūn* in Islamic studies should be understood as comprising all impartial scholars of Islam, Muslim societies and cultures, whether of Western or non-Western, Muslim or non-Muslim origin and whether they work in the West or elsewhere. Cooperation between scholars in the field takes place beyond differences of faith, country of origin and place of work. The sole difference seems to be that Muslim scholars are more aware of the immediate implications of their research for the Muslim community.

Another change in the notion of "orientalist" concerns the area of specialisation. In former times almost all *mustashrikūn* were professional philologists specialised in Oriental languages, with or without a historical interest. This was a tough course of study with its own tradition and demands of scholarship, hardly leaving room for new paradigms of research. During the past few decades, however, scholars from other disciplines have increasingly engaged in research on Muslim societies and cultures. They include social historians, anthropologists, sociologists and other researchers in the social sciences, and also specialists in the fields of literature, the arts and religion. In this article the term *mustashrik*, when used for the past, refers to scholars of Oriental languages, literatures and histories; when used for the present, it also includes representatives of other disciplines contributing to our knowledge of Muslim societies and cultures.

The social function of orientalists has changed too. More than formerly, *mustashrikūn* have become experts inside Western societies on certain aspects of Islam, Muslim societies and cultures. They perform certain corresponding roles in society; besides research and teaching, they provide information where necessary and mediate in communication when needed. In some cases special tasks may be assigned to them. More than before, society puts pressure on them to make their expertise socially relevant; more than before, they have to comply with the needs of institutions in their society.

If *mustashrikūn* had an expert knowledge, they have also held certain opinions about Islam; sometimes they have opposed particular Muslim ideas and practices, at other times they have tried to spread their own ideas and practices among Muslims and in many cases they have had personal friends among them. Such personal activities and commitments of *mustashrikūn* should be seen and judged in the particular context of their own society and in the context of the relationships between that society and particular Muslim societies. To the extent that the search for knowledge takes priority, *mustashrik* scholarship increases, but alongside this scholarly knowledge there has always existed a wide margin of private ideas, values and orientations of the *mustashrikūn* themselves which they have communicated to certain groups in their own society. This non-academic human cultural side of the *mustashrikūn* has been interwoven with their work and is not without interest. It is striking, for instance, to see to what extent they have been in the first place specialised researchers, with little idea of the political or social implications which their work could have for either their own society or the society studied. Like other scholars, they have mostly been defenceless against possible misuse of the results of their work. The fact of being a scholar in the field of Islam has little to do with insight into present-day Third World problems. Such scholars are not necessarily keen to distinguish the various ways in which Islam has been presented ideologically or used politically for different interests, those of Muslims and of non-Muslims alike. And they are not *per se* aware of situations of social tension in which Islam has been used as a battle-cry, as a symbol of a programme of social and political action, or simply as a utopian formula.

The work done by the *mustashrikūn*, like any study of other societies and cultures in the past and at present, has different dimensions: (1) the technical expertise acquired by detached scientific treatment of factual data; (2) the researcher's attitude to and possible involvement with his subject-matter in the course of his work; (3) the various motivations (romantic, humanist, religious) and objectives for which such studies are carried out, including particular causes adhered to by the researcher, and his personal experiences, involvements and commitments which are relevant to his research; (4) the social setting in which the research is carried out, its place in society and its relationships with particular Muslim societies; this also includes its organisation and funding and its institutional setting; (5) the extent to which the researcher fulfills a bridge function between two or more cultures, developing distance from his own society and an increasing impartiality in his evaluations and judgements on either society.

The question remains to what extent there has been a direct correspondence between the role which their society has attributed to the *mustashrikūn* and the kind of knowledge and general ideas which these last have developed about Islam and Muslim peoples. Where have they developed knowledge and ideas, so to say, ahead of their own society and where have they simply complied with its current ideas and behaviour? Where and how did they relativise or criticise norms and values adhered to in Western societies? Some *mustashrikūn* have, consciously or not, created a distance between their own society and Islam or Muslim people by describing Islam as absolutely different, as a danger or as an object or mission. Others of them have, consciously or not, created a rapprochement between their own society and Islam or Muslim people by describing what human beings, societies and cultures have in common, taking communication and learning from each other as self-evident. More than has been appreciated generally, most *mustashrikūn* have been much less original in their attitudes than is generally thought of and have merely been spokesmen of their societies in their assessment of the distance between Islam and the West. Except when they have wanted explicitly to study Islam and Muslim societies and cultures independently of current ideas and practices (sometimes emphatically against them), their appreciations of Islam have been heavily dependent on ideas and values current in their own society or community.

B. The period until the 19th century

When the Arabs carried out their conquests in the south, and in the 8th and early 9th centuries in the south-west of Europe, two worlds found themselves

opposed to each other. For centuries they identified themselves as the Christian and Muslim worlds according to where political authority lay. The Turkish conquests of the Arabic speaking lands (except Morocco), Anatolia, and the south-east of Europe up to the mid-16th century created a similar situation. In this case, however, the worlds which confronted each other were not only identified as Christian and Muslim but also increasingly as the European and the "Oriental" domain, the Orient starting at the boundary of Ottoman rule.

The history of the encounter between these two worlds and their relations, specifically around the Mediterranean and in the Balkans (also, further east, on and within the borders of the Russian empire) is complex; the borders of the two worlds have witnessed many kinds of interaction. Here we shall only deal with one aspect of cultural interaction: the development of the knowledge which European scholars acquired of the world represented by Islam, including the Arabic and Turkish languages, before the 19th century, when Islamic studies became firmly established as a distinct field of research in European universities. What knowledge of Islam had been attained, what motivated the search for it, what major obstacles had to be conquered, and what was the European cultural context within which this search for knowledge developed?

1. The Arabic heritage; the mediaeval period

Until the Crusading movement began in the second half of the 11th century, with the conquests of Toledo in 1085, Sicily in 1091 and Jerusalem in 1099, knowledge about Islam and Muslim lands in Latin Europe was limited. Its sources were scattered: incidental reports from Christians living in the Levant or in Spain under Muslim domination, doctrinal positions typical of Islam which had been related by John of Damascus and Byzantine theologians in their refutations of Islam, and what had been reported to the Church of Rome about Muslim dealings with Christians, outside or under the authority of the Roman Church. This knowledge was very limited. It was mixed with elements of religious imagination and coloured by efforts to show that Muslims constituted a danger for Europe and Islam for Christendom not only politically but also religiously. Islam was not the right religion: at best it was a Christian sect, but it was certainly not based on Revelation like Christianity.

Spain

The first instruments of work for the study of Arabic in Europe known to us come from Spain: a 12th century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (with *ca.* 11,000 Latin key words of which one-third have not been translated) and a 13th century *Vocabulista in Arabica* (with *ca.* 4,000 Latin key words and *ca.* 8,000 Arabic index words). They must have served the purpose of translating from Latin into Arabic, largely for purposes of missionary work among Muslims in areas brought under Christian rule by the *Reconquista.*

The first written information about Islam and Muḥammad comes from a certain Moses Sefardi (1062-1110) who knew Arabic astronomical works well. In 1106 he converted to Christianity and took the name Pedro de Alfonso, moving subsequently to England where he became the king's personal physician. This information is contained in the fifth of his *Dialogi in quibus impiae Judaeorum confutantur* (Migne, *PL*, 157). Little is known, however, about the author.

More solid information is contained in the so-called Cluniac Corpus. After the capture of Toledo in 1085, this city was chosen as the principal see of the Roman Church in Spain (1088). Some decades later it became a centre of translation of Arabic scientific and philosophical texts into Latin, in particular thanks to the efforts of Archbishop Don Raymundo (r. 1125-51). When Peter the Venerable (1094-1156), abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Cluny, visited Spain in 1142, the two men may have discussed the project of translating some Islamic texts from Arabic into Latin. In any case, Peter the Venerable then commissioned two scholars of his order working on Arabic astronomy, Robert of Ketton (Chester) and Hermann of Dalmatia, to translate five Islamic texts, including the Ḳurʾān, into Latin; Robert succeeded in finishing the Ḳurʾān translation by 1143. Peter the Venerable himself wrote two texts in addition to these translations, the more descriptive *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* and the polemical *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*. These texts together constitute the so-called Cluniac Corpus or Toledo collection.

Peter the Venerable, known for his anti-Jewish stand over against Bernard of Clairvaux, also differed from him as regards the attitude to be taken to the Muslims. Whereas Bernard actively preached the call to the second Crusade, Peter believed that, rather than war, it was missionary work that would bring victory over Muslims. But to combat Islam one had to know it, and this was the reason that he ordered original Arabic texts to be made accessible in Latin. Robert of Ketton's Ḳurʾān translation was printed in Basel in 1543 (1550^2) thanks to the efforts of Bibliander.

The coexistence of the three monotheistic faiths in mediaeval Spain meant that intellectuals adhering to one faith needed to possess knowledge of the others, not only because it was a demand of culture but also because it was a prerequisite for any claim to superiority on the part of their own faith. Ibn Ḥazm (*ca.* 994-1064) in his *Kitāb al-Fiṣal* and Yehuda Halevi (*ca.* 1085-*ca.* 1143) in his *al-Khuzarī* (1140) write from a Muslim and Jewish point of view. Peter the Venerable in his *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*, Raymond Martin (*ca.* 1230-86) in his *Pugio fidei adversos Mauros et Judaeos* (1278), Raymond Lull (*ca.* 1231-1315) in his *Liber de gentili et tribus sapientibus*, and his *Liber de Tartari et Christiani*, and finally Ricoldo da Monte Croce (d. 1321) in his *Disputatio contra Saracenos et Alchoranum* ("*Improbatio Alchorani*") and *Libellus ad nationes orientales*, express a Christian point of view. With other, less important authors, they produced a flood of anti-Islamic writings which, however, betray increasing information about Islam. Raymond Lull, sometimes called the founder of Western orientalism, not only had a religious vocation but also was of a creative philosophical, scientific and poetic turn of mind. Wishing to demonstrate the Christian truth to Muslims by peaceful discussion and rational argument, he founded a school of Arabic for future Christian missionaries at Miramar in Majorca, which existed from 1276 till 1294. The study of Arabic became institutionalised in a more regular way when the Council of Vienna in 1311 at his recommendation laid down that in each of five European universities (Rome, Bologna, Paris, Oxford, Salamanca) two scholars should be appointed to teach Oriental languages, that is to say, Greek and Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, the first two being the most important. In fact, however, the number of people who knew Arabic well in Europe during the 13th and 14th centuries has been estimated to have been less than twenty.

Role of the Roman Church in Europe with regard to Islam

These efforts to obtain a better knowledge of Islam all originated in the Roman Church, in particular the

Cluniac Benedictine, Dominican and Franciscan orders. Since one of the most important themes in the encounter of the Christian and Muslim worlds, mentioned at the beginning, was the relationship between the Christian and Muslim faiths, views of this very relationship have greatly influenced the way in which people coming from these two worlds have perceived the encounters between them, rationalising them in terms of their respective religions.

In connection with the Crusading movement which started in the second half of the 11th century in Spain, Sicily and the rest of Western Europe (with Urban II's call of 1096), an image of Islam as the great Adversary of Christianity arose in Europe. W.M. Watt describes the following four main features of this image as follows (*The influence of Islam on Medieval Europe*, Edinburgh 1972, 73): "(a) the Islamic religion is falsehood and a deliberate perversion of the truth; (b) it is a religion of violence and the sword; (c) it is a religion of self-indulgence; and (d) Muḥammad is the Antichrist."

The author correctly speaks here of a "distorted" image of Islam, an image which has been scrupulously analysed by Norman Daniel (*Islam and the West*, Edinburgh 1960). It is fair to add that the factual improvements in knowledge of Islam possessed by the authors quoted above always remained within the limits of the four features of the image of Islam just mentioned, sanctioned by the Roman Church and later endorsed by the Reformation.

On a popular level, Muḥammad and his prophetic claims, the Ḳurʾān and certain cultural traits of Arab-Muslim society like polygamy were ridiculed. On an ideological level Islam was depicted as a coherent system of false doctrines, a hostile ideological structure. Both levels together incited the religious collective imagination to an anti-Islamism which had its parallel in a rising anti-Judaism. The Church may have asserted its identity over against Muslims and Jews in this way as it had done earlier over against gnostics and pagans in its first centuries, and Europe may have sought and found its soul, but it may also be contended that the European Christians were mobilised for the wrong cause and with the wrong means. In any case, the Crusading ideology with its centres, propaganda and the missionary efforts based on a distorted image of Islam did not merely constitute the greatest obstacles to true knowledge of Islam and Muslim societies. In Spain the mediaeval Christian syndrome and the underlying attitudes, supported by the Inquisition, led to the human tragedy of the elimination of both Islam and Judaism within three centuries after the military victories of the 13th century by the Christian kings. Both Jews (1492) and Muslims (1502) were put before the alternative of baptism or expulsion, the final solution of the time. This political action was ideologically justified by the distorted image of Islam and Judaism and by the absolute claims of the Church and its institutions, and had been prepared theologically by Augustin's *De civitate dei*, Anselm's *Cur deus homo* and Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles*.

Arab sciences and philosophy

It was in Spain, too, that another type of studies developed and another kind of knowledge was acquired which may more properly be called the forerunner of Oriental studies in the modern sense of the word. This was the translation activity which started in Toledo after it was taken in 1085, with the encouragement of Don Raymundo mentioned above. This concerned in particular the translation from Arabic into Latin of scientific and philosophical texts sought after in Europe. They were either translations of Greek philosophical, scientific and medical texts (*e.g.*, Aristotle in Arabic translation) or texts, including commentaries, written by Muslim authors (*e.g.*, Ibn Sīnā, 980-1037 [*q.v.*]) whose work became known in Europe *ca.* 1180. A group of scholarly translators devoted themselves to this translation work for more than two centuries, some of them from outside Spain; Jewish scholars played here a role similar to that which Nestorian scholars had played in the earlier 9th and 10th century translation activity in Baghdād from Syriac (Greek) into Arabic.

Outstanding leaders of the translation work in the 12th century were Domingo Gonzalez and the proliferous Italian scholar Gerard of Cremona (1114-87) who is said to have been responsible for the translation of more than 70 works in Arabic. Among the prominent Jewish scholars working in the movement was Abraham ben Ezra (1089-1167). It was especially in the 13th century that philosophical works were translated, partly serving as a basis for the great apologetic treatises of Christianity written at the time, partly stimulating the increasing debate among Christian thinkers about the relationship between faith and reason. Two translators in the service of the Emperor Frederick II (r. 1215-50) were famous for these philosophical translations: Michael Scotus (*ca.* 1200-*ca.* 1236) and Jacob Anatoli (*ca.* 1230-50). In the second half of the 13th century, the names of Hermannus Alemannus and Moses ibn Tibbon (1240-83), the latter working in Syria-Palestine, are well known. In Spain it was the great King Alphonso X of Castile, Alfonso el Sabio (r. 1252-84), who commissioned translation work and founded several institutions of higher learning.

The influence of Arabic philosophy on European thought in the 13th century is a case of "orientalism" in itself. Several European philosophers studied and quoted it: Roger Bacon (*ca.* 1214-92) in his *Opus maius* (he also treated the different religions in his *Moralis Philosophia*, IV), Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253) of the Platonic tradition, Albertus Magnus (*ca.* 1206-1280) and Thomas Aquinas (1226-74) of the Aristotelian tradition, and the Latin Averroist Siger of Brabant (*ca.* 1235-*ca.* 1282). After much debate, Latin Averroism was finally condemned by Bishop E. Tempier of Paris (1277).

Sicily, Syria-Palestine and Europe until 1500

Orientalism in its wider sense, the taste for Oriental culture and the desire to know it and derive values from it, did not arise in Spain where the Roman Church imposed its institutions and doctrines by force, but in other places of encounter between the Christian and Muslim worlds. Sicily, where the Arab Kalbī dynasty had ruled (902-1091), became such a meeting-place after its conquest by Roger I (d. 1101). His son Roger II (r. 1130-54), the latter's grandson Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (r. 1215-50), and later Manfred and Charles of Anjou, not only engaged translators for Arabic-Latin translation work but also themselves possessed a direct knowledge of Arab-Muslim manners and customs, accepting Arab cultural norms and values.

Another place of encounter was Syria-Palestine during the Crusader period (1099-1291). William of Tyre's (*ca.* 1130-84) *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, describing the period 1094-1184 (the year of the author's death), contains careful observations of Arab Muslim behaviour and may be called an Orientalist's historical work in its own right. Here, too, certain translations of scholarly works from

Arabic into Latin were made. The knowledge which the Franks obtained here first-hand from an essentially superior culture, while meeting Muslims in actual life, gave a more realistic turn to Europe's knowledge of the East; numerous cultural borrowings occurred and trade increased between both sides of the Mediterranean.

Godfrey of Viterbo (12th c.) was now able to give a reasonable historical account of Muḥammad's life in his *Universal Chronicle*. Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo (early 13th century) provided a fair account of the history of the Arabs, in particular in the West, including Spain in his *Historia Arabum* (or: *Saracenica*). Somewhat later travellers like William of Rubruck (William de Rubruquis, *ca.* 1220-*ca.* 1294, travelled in 1254) and Marco Polo (1254-1324) were to discover other worlds, cultures and religions beyond the realm of Islam. And within Europe itself spiritual travellers along initiatory paths discovered positive features of Islam represented for instance by the figure of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and given an esoteric form in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzifal* and *Willehalm* as well as in the German version of the *Grail*.

The last two contributions to Arabic studies of this period are again from Spain and can be dated to thirteen years after the fall of Granada (1492). In his *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana* (printed 1505), the scholar Pedro de Alcalá (Petrus Hispanus) left a precious account in Latin script of the Arabic vocabulary of the spoken language in Granada at the time. And in the same scholar's *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga* (printed 1505, 2nd ed. corrected and enlarged also 1505) we have the first Arabic grammar written by a European, describing the spoken Arabic of Granada by means of the categories of Latin grammar.

During the 14th and 15th centuries, humanists of the Italian Renaissance studied not only the classical Greek and Latin authors but also paid attention to Hebrew kabbalistic writings and Arabic texts basic to European science, medicine and philosophy. At the time, the Arab cultural heritage was still part of the European conscience, at least in Italy. In the course of the 15th century, however, a change occurs, represented by the great humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-94) who, though knowing Arabic and Hebrew well, reverted to the classical heritage and left the Arab heritage aside. Over against the "classicists" it was the "orientalists" to whom the task fell of revealing the facts and significance of the Arab Islamic world and its heritage.

2. The Turkish threat; the period 1450-1700

After the failure of the Balkan Crusades and the efforts at unification with the Greek Orthodox Church, the Roman Church's initial reaction to the fall of Constantinople (1453) was one of relative openness, thanks to the efforts of some great intellectuals. Immediately after the fall of Constantinople John of Segovia (*ca.* 1400-58) proposed a conference between Christian clergy and Muslim *fuḳahā*ʾ to open a dialogue on their respective faiths. Nicholas of Cusa (1401-64) had already published his *De pace fidei*, a dialogue between representatives of the major religions in search of what was their truth and unity. His *Cribratio Alcoran* (1460) is a careful examination of the contents of the Ḳurʾān, trying to identify what connects Islam with, and what separates Islam from Christianity on the basis of the text. Moreover, he suggested practical measures to realise the Muslim-Christian conference proposed by John of Segovia. And the new Pope Pius II, the humanist Aeneas Silvius (1405-64), Pope from 1458 onwards, at John's instigation wrote a letter to the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*], the conqueror of Constantinople, in which he appealed for reason and practical common sense in the foreseeable relations between the two worlds confronting each other.

The proximity of the Ottoman empire, a firmly-established state whose power was still increasing until the mid-16th century (Vienna was besieged in 1529) affected the development of knowledge of Muslim societies and Islam in Europe. Whatever the reasons, the Europeans recognised a clear need for true and objective knowledge of this Muslim empire, its administration, resources, religious institutions, and so on; its proximity, moreover, facilitated the acquisition of this directly and indirectly. Besides primarily military and political interests, there were economic interests at stake in establishing and expanding trade relations with Istanbul, Smyrna and the Levant. This need for practical knowledge was supplemented by the stimulus of humanist and Renaissance thought. A new subject of study arose: Islam in its Ottoman context, Islam being now largely identified with the Turcs and their rule. The idea of Islam as a hateful religion and ideological structure was subtly transformed into the idea of Islam as Ottoman power and civilisation. This civilisation was regarded as different from the European one, but there were still more remote civilisations beyond the Ottomans, in Persia, India, China and Japan. This idea of an Islamic civilisation was later to develop into the idea of Islam as a subtle and refined culture expressed in attractive (*1001 Nights*) and even beautiful literature (Arabic and Persian poetry).

Printing presses and their use

Ottoman Turkish was written in Arabic script and the technology first of woodcut and then of loose letter printing imposed itself as an important tool for Oriental studies. The first Arabic printed edition was made in Rome in 1514; it was a Christian liturgical text meant for Oriental Christians. An Arabic Ḳurʾān seems to have been printed in Venice about 1530 but the whole edition must have been destroyed on the order of Pope Paul III (r. 1534-7). Be that as it may, Daniel Bromberg installed an Arabic press in Venice around 1537.

There were several Arabic presses in Rome, the most important being that of Ferdinand de Medici, installed around 1586, which printed the four Gospels in Arabic in 1590, again for use by Oriental Christians, among other texts. In fact, the Roman Church's interest in Arabic printing had to do with intensive efforts to establish contacts and eventually union with the Oriental Churches in the Ottoman empire, just as in mediaeval Spain during the *Reconquista* the study of Arabic had been inspired by missionary activity among the Muslim population living in territories conquered by the Christian kings. In the same perspective of church union, a Maronite College was established in Rome in 1584 (and also an Armenian one) and Maronite clergy and laymen were invited to Rome both to receive instruction and to render services, for instance, in matters of Arabic language. In 1627 Urban VIII founded the College of the Propagation of Faith (*Officium de propaganda fide*) which also encouraged the study of Oriental languages for missionary purposes.

Another famous Arabic press was the one installed by François Savary de Brèves, first in Rome around 1613 and then transferred to Paris in 1615, where it became the *Imprimerie des Langues Orientales*. Franciscus Raphalengius (1539-97) established a commercial press in Holland, while Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624)

installed a private one which was later sold to Elzevir in Amsterdam. On a smaller scale, Arabic texts were printed in Breslau on a press which Peter Kirsten (1575-1640) established before he migrated to Sweden in 1636 (see further, MAṬBAʿA. B. 1. In Europe).

Guillaume Postel and the French context

Following Portugal and Spain, 16th century England and France both enjoyed an immense broadening of their horizons and interests, and people developed a vivid sense for what was new and foreign yet accessible. This happened literally through the voyages of geographical discovery and, probably more than in the Iberian peninsula, through intellectual and spiritual discovery. Guillaume Postel (1510-81) is representative of such a discovering state of mind, within the special context of France, Italy and Austria at the time. Gifted for languages, he studied a number of them and Francis I (1494-1547, king of France from 1515 on), who was eager to attract artists and humanists at his court, became interested in him. Given his pro-Ottoman Levant policies, which had produced a treaty including valuable Capitulations in 1535 [see IMTIYĀZĀT], and in view of the Papal policy of union with Oriental Churches, a policy which he supported, Francis I needed expertise. Postel, who had just finished an extensive journey to Egypt and Constantinople and published his *Grammatica Arabica*, based on the Arab grammarians (1538-9), was appointed Professor of Arabic (1538) at the newly established Collège Royal (1530) which was later to become the Collège de France. Postel published a book on the Ottoman Empire, *De la république des Turcs* (1539-40), in which he presented a highly idealised picture of the King's ally. For various reasons Francis I dismissed Postel from the Collège Royal in 1543, and this marked the beginning of a new period in this man's agitated life. After far-reaching spiritual, intellectual and political adventures, and several brushes with the Roman Inquisition, he ended his life as a *de facto* prisoner in a French convent (1562-81), still moved by great ideas of world conversion and world domination before the nearby apocalyptic end of times. His precious manuscripts went to the University of Heidelberg.

Institutionalisation of Oriental studies: Leiden

An interesting example of a concerted effort to develop Oriental studies in the first half of the 17th century is provided by the history of this field at the University of Leiden, which soon achieved eminence. The university was established in 1575 as a reward for the city's withstanding the Spanish siege of 1574. The Low Countries declared their independence in 1581. Oriented as they were towards the sea and maritime trade, with vital interests in the Ottoman empire and Morocco, the Dutch considered a knowledge of Oriental languages a demand of the time. Franciscus Raphalengius (1539-97) started to teach Hebrew in Leiden in 1586, and in 1593 he added Arabic and prepared his *Lexicon Arabicum* which was published posthumously in 1613. The classicist, historian and Arabist Joseph Scaliger, a pupil of Postel, was appointed professor in 1593 without specific teaching duties. A separate chair of Arabic was created in 1599. After Scaliger, the reputation of Leiden in this field was enhanced by two scholars of great stature. In 1613 Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624), whose main interest was in languages, was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages; in the same year he published his important *Grammatica Arabica* which was to become a classic for two centuries (1636^2; enlarged edition 1656^3; 1748^4). Jacob Golius (1596-1667) was appointed his successor in 1624; in 1653 he published his important *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, based on Arab dictionaries and his own readings, which also became a classical instrument of research. Besides publishing these major works of scholarship, the two men distinguished themselves also with a typical pedagogical concern; both prepared Arabic reading materials for beginners which lasted for nearly two centuries. In this regard, Erpenius prepared the *Locmani Sapientis Fabulae* together with some Arabic maxims (1615) and a voweled text with notes and Latin translation of the *Sūrat Yūsuf* (1617), while Golius published his *Shadhrat al-adab*... in 1629.

But Leiden established its reputation for Oriental studies in another scholarly and practical sense too. Just as Guillaume Postel had been sent out by Francis I to buy Oriental manuscripts in the East, Golius after his appointment spent from 1625 until 1629 in the East, bringing back a harvest of some 300 Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts. Still more importantly, the Dutch representative of the States General at the Porte after 1655, Levinus Warner (1619-65) who had studied in Leiden and lived in Istanbul since 1644, bequeathed his precious collection of about 1,000 manuscripts and his books to the University Library of Leiden. This had already earlier acquired Scaliger's library and Golius' manuscripts, and it subsequently became a kind of Mecca for Arabists.

Examples of scholarly work

Among the scholarly works of the period under consideration which deserve mention is first of all Joseph J. Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum* (1583; enlarged edition 1598; 1629). This was the fruit of extensive Oriental researches and readings, encompassing various Oriental calendars and expounding a kind of world history. A century later Richard Simon (1638-1712) was able to offer his *Histoire critique de la créance et des coutumes des nations du Levant* (1684), in which he presented side-by-side and as objectively as possible the Muslim and Christian communities living in the Near East. Around the same time appeared in Vienna the precious *Thesaurus linguarum orientalum*... of Franz Meninski, in three volumes, a Turkish-Arabic-Persian-Latin dictionary which became a classic.

In this connection, the problem of the edition and translation of the text of the Ḳurʾān must be mentioned. Pope Alexander VII (1655-67) still forbade both its edition and its translation. Thanks to the Protestant theologian Bibliander, the Latin Ḳurʾān translation by Robert of Ketton, dating from 1143, could be printed in Basel in 1543, with a second edition appearing in 1550. In 1647 André du Ryer published an original French translation accompanied by a "Sommaire de la religion des Turques"; this translation was in turn translated into various other European languages. In 1694 A. Hinckelmann published the first Arabic text edition of the Ḳurʾān. It was in 1698 that the learned Catholic scholar Lodovico Maracci published an Arabic text edition and Latin translation of the Ḳurʾān, preceded by a lengthy introduction called the *Prodromus*. This was the standard scholarly edition and translation for at least a century and a half.

Other editions of important texts besides the Ḳurʾān are that of Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* and his *Kitāb al-Nadjāt*, published together as early as in 1593, in Rome. Erpenius edited the vowelled *Sūrat Yūsuf* with a Latin translation and notes as an introduction to reading the Ḳurʾān (1617), and also the Arabic New Testament (1616) and Pentateuch (1622). In 1625 his edition and translation of the larger part of the world chronicle of the Coptic historian al-Makīn

(d. 1273), from Muḥammad onwards, together with the *Historia Arabum* (or *Saracenica*) of Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada (*ca.* 1210), saw the light. The British scholar Edward Pocock (1604-91), who travelled extensively in the Near East between 1637 and 1640 to collect manuscripts, was appointed to the new Oxford chair of Arabic in 1638. He edited the great history of Abu 'l-Faradj Gregorius (Bar Hebraeus), *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, first in part with extensive notes in his *Specimen historiae Arabum* (1650) and then in its totality, which was published posthumously by his son in 1663, who edited himself Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yakẓān* (1671). The Arabic New Testament was edited again, after Erpenius' edition of 1616, by the Syrian Christian Salomo Negri (London 1727).

3. The breakthrough of enlightenment; the 18th century

The end of the 17th century saw the appearance of a new series of publications on or related to Islam which breathed another air than most publications mentioned until now. These had stood in the old scheme of the controversy between Muslims and Christians, the declared opposition between the Islamic and Christian religions. Scholars like Erpenius and Pocock had not hidden their hostility to Muḥammad's claims to be a prophet and the idea of Islam as an acceptable religion. This was not only a matter of personal judgement but had to do with the dominant place of Christian theology at the universities. Arabic philology was often used as an aid to the exegesis of the Hebrew Old Testament; a scholar like Albert Schultens (1686-1570), as others before him, even considered Arabic as a dialect of Hebrew. Islam was nearly always compared with and judged in the light of the doctrines of Christianity. In other words, Arabic and Islam had in fact been studied according to norms of Christian theology or even as *ancilla theologiae*.

The breakthrough and emancipation of the study of Islam and Muslim lands in a spirit of rational Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) happened to take place precisely at a time in which the Ottoman empire, after its last siege of Vienna in 1683, was on the retreat and had to sign the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699) [see ĶARLOFČA]. This disappearance of the Turkish danger from the European scene, marking the end of the wars of religion, must have meant an easing of tension, not only political but also psychological, cultural and religious. Just as the Turks were no longer a political danger, Islam could no longer be seen as an inherently dangerous religion. Through the voyages to the East, Europe on its part had already started to develop a curiosity and cultural openness in the second half of the 17th century and this could now extend beyond Chinese culture to Islamic culture too.

One of the first publications breathing this new, fresh and open spirit was the thousand pages-long *Bibliothèque Orientale* (1697) edited by Bartholomé d'Herbelot (1625-95), who represented a new type of enlightened "orientalist". It was prepared with royal support and sought to offer the French public all that could be of interest in Arabic, Turkish and Persian works in alphabetical order. Another publication, which opened up a still more imaginative side of Muslim culture was the French translation of the *Arabian Nights* in twelve volumes between 1704 and 1717. It was made by Antoine Galland (1646-1715), from 1709 Professor of Arabic at the Collège de France, who had made several journeys to the Near East and already published in 1694 a book of maxims from Muslim literature illustrating Muslim wit.

The new, rational trend of thought of the times, which had already distanced itself from, if not opposed, traditional Christianity, was also able to study and appreciate other religions with greater openness than before. Leibniz (1646-1716) considered Islam as a natural religion, and in 1720 an anonymous pamphlet circulated under the title "Mahomet no impostor, or a Defence of Mahomet". In 1730 appeared *Vie de Mahomet*... written by Henry Boulainvilliers (1658-1722), in which Muḥammad is described as a heroic figure. Simon Ockley (1678-1720) wrote his *History of the Saracens* (1708-18) in a sympathetic spirit and Edward Gibbon (1737-94) would give an objective historical account of the rise of Islam in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-81). Voltaire (1694-1778) gave such an account in his *Essai sur les moeurs*... (1753). In an indirect way, Islam was used to express critical ideas about one's own society, state and church: Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721) and Voltaire's *Le fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète* (1742).

Most important, however, was the study by a specialist, Adriaan Reland (1676-1718), Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Utrecht, about Islamic religion itself, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* (1705, 1717²). Here Reland presented Islam as it had been described by Muslim authors themselves, translating the original texts, and he denounced and refuted wrong ideas current about Islam in his time. The book, written in Latin, was translated into French and German and may be called the first enlightened study of Islam as a religion. In the same spirit of reasonable presentation, the lawyer George Sale (d. 1736) published his "Preliminary Discourse" on Islam as a religion, preceding his English Ķurʾān translation (1734). That this change of perspective, the freedom of research and the emancipation of Arabic and Islamic studies from theological patronage, was not that easy shows up in the work and still more the autobiography (*Lebensbeschreibung*, 1783) of that gifted but non-recognised Arabist Johann Jakob Reiske (1716-74). As Reland was a predecessor of the modern study of the religion of Islam, Reiske, besides being an Arabist according to modern standards, in his *Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifae librum memorialem* (written 1747, published 1766) was a predecessor of the modern study of Islamic history.

Another sign of the new open spirit was the kind of thoughtful travel literature which saw the light now, as for instance Volney's (1757-1820) *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte* (1787).

This open spirit could also lead to a new sensitivity to *belles lettres* and literary beauty. One of the first Orientalists following this path was William Jones (1746-94), highly gifted in languages and from 1783 judge in Calcutta. In 1774 he published his *Poeseos Asiaticae commentarium libri six*, offering a first panorama of the rich field of poetry existing in particular in Muslim countries in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Once arrived in India, he put himself to Sanskrit and translated several Sanskrit works into English. At the same time, with a clear awareness of practical necessities, he took the initiative to prepare the publication of the *Digest of Hindu and Mohammedan Law*.

Role of persons from the regions concerned

In several ways, people from the regions concerned, nearly always Christians, played a role in the process of acquiring knowledge about Islam and Muslim societies and cultures. The glossaria in Spain were made with the help of Muslim converts to Christianity who, whatever their knowledge of Arabic, knew little

or no Latin. As "new Christians" speaking Arabic they could act as intermediaries between the Christian conquerors and the Muslim population.

In the second half of the 16th century Near Eastern Christians, mostly Maronites but also members of the Uniate Churches, started to play a role too. A certain number went to the new Maronite College in Rome, founded in 1584, to pursue theological studies. Others went to Italy and France to study or act as translators into Arabic. Others again simply came in order to improve their own situation. All too often lacking proper education, Oriental Christians pretended to be able to teach Arabic, give reliable information about Muslim societies and even give instruction about Islam, creating in this way more confusion than providing knowledge.

There were exceptional figures, however. The Moroccan prisoner al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyāti converted to Christianity, took the name Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] and wrote a book on "Famous Men among the Arabs" and his well-known *Descrittione dell'Africa* (around 1520). In Paris, Erpenius learnt much from a Moroccan called al-Andalusī, who also informed him about Islam. Members of the Maronite al-Simʿānī family catalogued Arabic manuscripts in several libraries in Italy during the 18th century and the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Escurial Library was published in two volumes (1760-70) by the Maronite Michael al-Ghazīrī (Casiri, 1720-91). The learned Syrian Christian Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī (1800-71 [*q.v.*]) wrote a critical commentary on Silvestre de Sacy's edition of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt* (1822), which was published in Arabic with a Latin translation and notes by A.W.F. Mehren in Leipzig in 1848.

New teaching institutions

Besides the chairs of Oriental Languages attached to a growing number of European universities, there was an increasing need for the practical teaching of Oriental languages, in particular for interpreters and translators. Already in 1670 a French school for interpreters had been established in a convent in Pera, and in 1700 the *Ecole des jeunes de langue* was established in Paris for the same purpose. It was directed by Jesuits, as was the *Orientalische Akademie* established in Vienna in 1754 for the same purpose but also preparing young Austrians for the foreign service.

The *Ecole spéciale des langues orientales* was founded in Paris in 1795 for the study of living oriental languages, in view of the increasing need for qualified people to represent French commercial and political interests in Asia and Africa. Teaching concentrated on Arabic, Turkish and Crimean Tatar, Persian and Malayan. The chair of Arabic at the *Ecole spéciale* fell in 1795 to A.I. Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), who in 1806 also became Professor of Persian at the Collège de France. With his *Grammaire arabe* of 1810 and his *Chrestomathie arabe* of 1806 and *Anthologie grammaticale* of 1829, he supplanted the older publications by Erpenius and Golius. His impeccable publications in the realm of Arabic philology made Sacy the outstanding Arabist in Europe, inaugurating a new period of the study of the Islamic languages. In 1803 a chair for spoken Arabic was added at the *Ecole spéciale*, and the learned Copt Elias Buḳṭur (Bocthor, 1784-1821) was appointed. He prepared a two-volume *Dictionnaire français-arabe* (spoken Arabic, especially in Egypt) which was published by his successor A.P. Caussin de Perceval Jr. The latter wrote himself a *Grammaire arabe vulgaire* (1824).

As for the British, following William Jones (1746-94) and his creation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784), they established in 1800 in Calcutta the Fort William College for the study of Oriental languages and literatures, right on the spot. The College was to last until 1854, providing courses in the most important Indian languages and publishing a number of text editions and translations, dictionaries and scholarly studies. The scholars worked in the spirit of enthusiasm for Indian (including Islamic) culture which already had inspired William Jones and they were willing to learn from the culture in which history had placed them. Over against this line of enthusiastic "Orientalists" who wanted to learn, serve and study the indigenous cultures of the colonies, arose the line of the "Anglicists" who imposed British education, norms and values. Colonial times started to demand their dues.

In Austria, the third major European power to develop relations with Muslims, in particular in the Balkans, another kind of initiative was taken to spread knowledge about Islamic culture. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), who established the scholarly study of Oriental languages and literatures in Austria, founded the first orientalist journal Europe has known. Between 1809 and 1818 six issues of the *Fundgruben des Orients* appeared, bringing and encouraging knowledge about the world of Muslims and Islam, its motto being the second half of Sūra II, 142/147.

C. The period of the 19th and 20th centuries

1. International scholarship until the Second World War

The 19th century saw the rise of Islamic studies as a scholarly field of studies in its own right. The publication of the voluminous *Description de l'Egypte* between 1809 and 1822, written by a number of French scholars who had done research in Egypt during Bonaparte's campaign there, gave a powerful impetus to Oriental studies in general. This enterprise was an example of what scholars could accomplish through co-operation when they enjoyed good financial support and efficient organisation.

A prerequisite for any research on Islam and Muslim societies was the study of Arabic; descriptive grammars and the compilation of dictionaries prepared the way for critical editions of manuscript texts. Scholars of great repute in this field were Antoine Silvestre de Sacy in Paris, Edward William Lane (1801-76) in England and Egypt, Reinhart P. Dozy (1820-83) and Michael Jan de Goeje (1836-1909) in Leiden, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801-88) in Leipzig and I.Y. Krachkovsky (1883-1951) in St. Petersburg-Leningrad. A landmark was Gustav Flügel's (1802-1879) publication of the Arabic text of the Ḳurʾān in 1834 with the concordance to it in 1842. This was the prerequisite for a more accurate literary and historical study of the Ḳurʾān. A pioneering study in this respect was Theodor Nöldeke's (1836-1930) *Geschichte des Korans*, originally a dissertation in Latin (1856), the German version of which (1860) was to be followed later by a considerably augmented edition in three volumes, supervised by three other German scholars, which appeared between 1909 and 1938. An increasing number of printed critical editions of Arabic, Persian and Turkish texts from manuscripts followed, first in Europe, and then also in Cairo and elsewhere.

Available manuscript resources were described for instance by Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907) for Arabic Muslim and Jewish manuscripts, followed by Carl Brockelmann (1868-1956) for Arabic manuscripts in general and Georg Graf (1875-1955) for Christian Arabic manuscripts. Brockelmann's *Ge-*

schichte der arabischen Literatur has now in part been superseded by Fuat Sezgin's invaluable *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (since 1967). C.A. Storey published his *Persian literature. A bio-bibliographical survey* (of Persian manuscripts) from 1927 onwards, with a new enlarged edition by Yuri Bregel (1972).

Broad historical surveys of literature in these languages were undertaken, for instance, by Von Hammer-Purgstall and Elias John Wilkinson Gibb (1857-1901) for Turkish literature, and by Edward Granville Browne (1862-1926) for Persian literature. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson's (1868-1945) preliminary survey of the history of Arabic literature was followed by Régis Blachère's (1900-73) more systematic but unfortunately unfinished survey.

The study of Islamic history required editions and analysis of historical texts. Important pioneers in this field were Alfred von Kremer (1828-89) for Islamic cultural history, and Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) for the early political history of Islam. Dozy deserves mention for his history of Muslim Spain, published in four volumes in 1861.

It was on the basis of the growing accessibility of the relevant literary and historical sources that Islamic studies proper, that is to say the study of Islam and Muslim societies and cultures, could now come into being. In this respect, scholars like Ignác Goldziher (1850-1921), Hellmut Ritter (1892-1971) and Louis Massignon (1883-1962) paved the way. To them may be added the names of Joseph Schacht (1902-72) for Islamic law, Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb (1895-1971) for the history of Islamic institutions in particular, Gustav Edmund von Grunebaum (1909-72) for the history of Islamic culture and civilisation generally and Arendt Jan Wensinck (1882-1939) for the study of Islam within the perspective of science of religion. A scholar of exemplary modesty, Wensinck was the moving spirit behind two major enterprises of international collaboration in the field of Islamic studies. These are the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* [see MAWSŪʿA. 4.], which appeared in five volumes in an English, French and German edition between 1913 and 1942 (and which inspired the Turkish *İslam Ansiklopedisi* which started to appear in 1940), and the *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* which appeared in eight volumes between 1933 and 1989, both published by E.J. Brill in Leiden.

2. Institutionalisation and developments until the Second World War

The immense development of Oriental studies in general and Islamic studies in particular in Europe and North America since the middle of the 19th century cannot be explained only in terms of spiritual motivations and scholarly interest in the non-Western world. It also came about thanks to the availability of funds to develop these studies in new independent institutions and institutional arrangements for research and teaching. Universities became better organised, special chairs were established, scholarly meetings facilitated communication. Certain publishers specialised in books in this field and societies were established specifically to favour Oriental studies.

In France J.B. Colbert had established the *Ecole de jeunes de langues* in Paris in 1700; this functioned as a school for interpreters until its closure in 1873. In 1795 the *Ecole spéciale des langues orientales* was founded, in 1914 renamed *Ecole nationale des langues orientales vivantes* and in 1971 *Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales*; it has now become part of the University of Paris. In 1822 the newly founded *Société asiatique* met for the first time, and the same year it began to publish its *Journal asiatique*.

For a long time, Oriental languages and literatures were not taught at French universities but at special institutions, all of them in Paris; the *Collège de France* from 1530, the institutions mentioned above, and the *Ecole Pratique des hautes Etudes* after 1868. The *Revue du Monde musulman* (1906-26), and its successor the *Revue des Etudes islamiques* (1927-), have been keen to publish on events throughout the contemporary Muslim world with an important part of which France was involved from its occupation of Algeria in 1830 until Algeria's independence in 1962.

The French also established academic research institutes in different countries overseas, for instance the *Institut français d'etudes arabes de Damas*, established in 1930 (replacing an older Institute of 1922) and attached to the University of Paris, which has regular publications until the present time. In 1929 an *Institut d'etudes islamiques* was created as part of the University of Paris. This was to constitute the centre of Islamic studies in France, with numerous students from North Africa attending after the Second World War. The Department of Arabic and Islam at the University of Algiers and similar institutions in Tunis and Rabat had political relevance within the framework of French interests in what was then still French North Africa. Scholars like Robert Montagne (1893-1954), for instance, studied Islam in this framework. French historical and linguistic scholarship on Islam in Spain and North Africa was represented, *e.g.*, by Evariste Lévi-Provençal (1894-1956), Roger Le Tourneau (1907-71), Georges (1876-1962) and William (1874-1956) Marçais. Jean Sauvaget (1901-50), besides his own historical work, wrote a useful bibliographical introduction to the historical study of Islam.

In Germany, Oriental studies developed around the middle of the 19th century as an academic discipline at the newly-founded or organised universities, and it remained firmly linked to the universities, Arabic often being taught as one of the Semitic languages at the Faculties of Theology. In 1845 the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* was founded, bringing together all German orientalists; it has been publishing the *Zeitschrift der DMG* since 1847. Islamic studies acquired some political relevance in Germany in the context of the rapprochement with the Ottoman empire and during the thirty odd years during which Germany had some Muslim colonies in Africa. Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933), for instance, besides his historical work paid attention to contemporary Islam in these regions, at the *Kolonialinstitut* established in Hamburg in 1908. The Nazi period and the Second World War (1933-1945) gave an unforeseen ideological twist to German scholarship. A few German orientalists, mostly of Jewish descent, succeeded in escaping abroad; others perished or survived under heavy stress. After 1945 Oriental studies in both parts of Germany had largely to be built up again.

Islamic studies in Germany have remained very much part of the older German orientalist tradition of solid philological and historical work, lack of social and political commitment and relatively little interest in the realities of the contemporary scene. It is probably in Germany that the orientalists' tradition has achieved the greatest degree of technical perfection in what may be termed scholarly precision engineering, a phenomenon which can be observed elsewhere too. This has happened, however, at a price: a certain isolation through remoteness from other scholarly disciplines, an aloofness from contemporary developments and a certain weakness of scholars to

take a personal stand, disciplined objective scholarship being the cause for which they live, imagination being subordinated to mental discipline. Much less formulation of basic problems of research has taken place here than could have been expected, given the German philosophical tradition, and compared with important changes of paradigm in other scholarly disciplines in the country. Islam as a faith and religion as well as contemporary developments have tended, paradoxically, to be marginalised in Islamic studies as an academic discipline. Several German Islamicists have tried, however, to set Islam and Islamic history in the broader context of cultural history, among them the aforementioned Carl Heinrich Becker and Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896-1957). A younger generation of German Islamicists has established closer communication with and commitment to living Muslim societies and their future.

Oriental studies in Great Britain in the 19th and 20th centuries have been very much influenced by contact with a number of important Muslim regions within and outside the empire, *e.g.*, Persia. Quite a few British scholars have not been attached to university institutions but have carried out research on their own, sometimes working as civil servants in the colonial administration or diplomatic service but also as independent travellers and authors like W.S. Blunt (1840-1922) and others. As early as 1784, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded by Sir William Jones in Calcutta. A parallel society in Bombay was to follow. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland was founded in London in 1823; it has been publishing its *Journal* since 1834.

Academic studies of Arabic, Persian and Turkish were concentrated in the universities of Cambridge, Oxford and Edinburgh, where old traditions in this field existed. The London School of Oriental Studies, attached to the University of London, was founded after the First World War and renamed the London School of Oriental and African Studies after the Second World War. It brings together a broad range of orientalists' expertise and field experience. Britain, too, founded some academic institutes overseas in Ankara, ʿAmmān, Bag̲h̲dād and Tehran, which stimulated archaeological and art history research in particular.

The Netherlands' overseas history with Islam came through contacts with Indonesia. The world's first society of Oriental studies, the *Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences*, was founded in Batavia (Jakarta) in 1778 and would publish its own Journal. In Dutch Oriental studies as elsewhere, a distinction can be made between academic Oriental studies for the sake of scholarship and the study and teaching of Islamic law and institutions and Muslim languages and ethnography for the benefit of the colonial administration. The second tradition was combined with the first in the dominating personality of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), who for a number of years was an official adviser to the government on Muslim affairs.

For Russia, the Orient started with the presence of the Tatars, Islamicised since the 1260s. The main institutions of Oriental studies were in St Petersburg, then the capital: the Asiatic Museum, founded in 1818, and the Institute for Oriental Languages, established as part of the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of the Exterior in 1823. A faculty of Oriental Languages was founded here in 1854. The city held, and holds, important manuscript collections.

A school of Arabic scholarship was established in Russia by Viktor Romanovich Rosen (1849-1908). His most outstanding Arabist pupil was the aforementioned I.Y. Krachkovsky whose *Among Arabic manuscripts* (Eng. tr. 1953) brought Oriental studies nearer to the general public, even in the West. It is, however, Turkic Islam with which Russia has had the most direct relations and a centuries long common history. The foremost scholar in this field was Vasilii Vladimirovich Barthold (1869-1930), also a pupil of Rosen (see Yuri Bregel, *The bibliography of Barthold's works and the Soviet censorship*, in *Survey*, no. 108 [1979], 91-107).

Russian Oriental studies changed greatly after the revolution of 1917, gradually becoming subjected to ideological constraints. Islamic studies, like Islam itself, were severely curtailed from the later twenties on, as part of the general drive to eradicate religion. In the fields of linguistic, literary and historical studies, however, research went on. After the Second World War the Institute of Oriental Studies was founded in Moscow as part of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the existing Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad became a branch of the Moscow institute.

In most other European countries, too, traditions of Islamic scholarship established themselves during the period under consideration. Prominent in the Italian tradition were Leone Caetani (1869-1935), Ignazio (1844-1935) and Michelangelo (1886-1946) Guidi, Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872-1938) and Giorgio Levi della Vida (1886-1967). Prominent in the Spanish tradition were Julián Ribera y Taragó (1858-1934) and Miguel Asín y Palacios (1871-1944). Special mention should be made of Arminius Vambéry (1832-1918) in Hungary, Adam Mez (1869-1917) in Switzerland, Tor Andrae (1885-1946) in Sweden and Armand Abel (1903-1973) in Belgium.

In the USA, an interest in Oriental studies appeared on the East Coast in the first decades of the 19th century. The American Oriental Society was founded in 1842 and started to publish its *Journal* in 1880. Universities began to teach Oriental studies in the 19th century, but Islamic studies lagged behind somewhat. After the First World War, Princeton University became the main centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic studies, as they were developed by Philip Hitti (1886-1978); The University Library here was able to acquire a large manuscript collection. Other centres of Oriental studies where Islamic languages were taught were Harvard University, and Universities in Philadelphia, Chicago and Berkeley (UCB). Since the Second World War, the teaching of Islamic languages has been regarded as a vital necessity and programmes of Middle Eastern area studies, including Islamic history, have been developed at a number of American universities, to which European scholars like G.E. von Grunebaum, H.A.R. Gibb and B. Lewis have been attached. The Library of Congress has tried to acquire consistently all publications which have appeared in Muslim countries and has the most important collection of materials on the subject in the world.

Similar Islamic studies, based on philology and history, have been pursued at some Western institutions in Muslim countries. To the French institutions in Damascus and North Africa, mentioned earlier, should be added the Jesuit Université de St.-Joseph in Beirut, recognised in 1881, with its *Faculté orientale* (between 1902 and 1914) and its *Institut de Lettres orientales*, from 1937 on. The Belgian scholar H.J. Lammens (1862-1937) worked here. At the American University of Beirut, which goes back to the Syrian Protestant College, founded in 1863, the Arabic Language and Islamic history have been

taught for a long time. Islamic studies were also pursued at several British institutions in British India, for instance in Lahore. Many text editions were published in Cairo, Ḥaydarābād and other centres of Islamic studies in Muslim countries.

From the beginning a number of independent scholars have carried out research, often in disciplines other than philology, textual source analysis and documentary history represented by the universities at the time. Their work has proved to be crucially important for Islamic studies. Some of them studied non-textual material sources like Arabic epigraphy (Max van Berchem, Swiss, 1863-1921), numismatics and archaeology, and art and architecture (Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell, British, 1879-1974). Others explored contemporary Muslim societies in ethnographical studies such as those carried out by the above-mentioned Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in Mecca, Acheh and Gajoland; Edmond Doutté (French, 1867-1926) in Morocco and Algeria; and Edward Westermarck (Finnish, 1862-1939) in Morocco. After the Second World War, anthropological fieldwork developed rapidly and Islamic studies are now unthinkable without the contributions from it and other social sciences.

3. Critical evaluations of *mustas͟hriḳūn*

Oriental studies generally and, in particular, Islamic studies based on scholarly, and therefore by definition critical philological, literary and historical methods, have been critically evaluated and discussed during the past decades. Specifically, the contribution of Islamic studies to our knowledge of Islam and Muslim societies and cultures, its epistemology and presuppositions, its older ethnocentrism and its ethical implications have been at issue. Criticism has been articulated both by Western scholars, in particular social scientists studying non-Western societies and cultures, and by Muslims on different levels. We shall review some of the main arguments contained in this criticism and show the paradoxical situation in which the *mustas͟hriḳūn* as bridges between cultures find themselves, even if they are not always aware of this themselves.

i. Scholarly criticism

As has been observed by Maxime Rodinson (*La fascination de l'Islam*, Paris 1980; Eng. tr. *Europe and the mystique of Islam*, Seattle 1987) and others, the rise and development of Oriental studies in Europe shared in 19th century trends of thought, which for decades put their stamp on this kind of studies. One idea current at the time, which in part even accounted for the enthusiasm for Oriental studies, was that in contrast to the West, the spiritual and in particular the religious element predominates in the Oriental cultures. As a consequence, until recently Islamic studies have been tinged with a certain idealism in that much importance has been attached to the influence of religion, specifically Islamic ideas and practices on Muslim societies, while general technological, economic and social factors tended to be neglected. Another idea current in the 19th century was that peoples could be classified according to races, each possessing inherent cultural and psychological characteristics. The dynamics of Islamic history were then largely explained as a struggle between religious movements or a struggle between races, in particular Semitic and Indo-European. A third idea in vogue at the time when Oriental studies developed was that certain characteristics of a particular language like Arabic or a language group like the Semitic languages reflected themselves in specific cultural features of the speakers of that language. In the case of Islam, this meant that Europeans had a marked tendency to interpret Islam and Muslim societies in terms of what were thought to be unchangeable realities of Islamic religion, Semitic and other races, and Semitic and other languages. Even after the Second World War, such ideas were still accepted by some *mustas͟hriḳūn*.

The fact that Oriental studies at the time consisted largely of the study of languages and texts, meant that *mustas͟hriḳūn* had difficulties in drawing conclusions about the social and other realities within which the texts originated and functioned. It was possible to reconstruct the chronology of political events mentioned in historical texts but much harder to draw conclusions for instance as to the social history of Muslim societies and the way they functioned and function. While overestimating the role of religion, race and language, *mustas͟hriḳūn* greatly underestimated, or even refused to acknowledge, the role of, for instance, particular demographic and ethnic structures, and social and economic causes in explaining particular facts or developments. In short, precisely because of their interest in Islam and in what distinguishes Muslim from Western societies, orientalists tended to stress the specificity of things Islamic and to reify Islam as an explanatory cause. They tended to neglect the many things that human beings, societies and cultures have in common and to disregard general causes as explanations of particular developments in Muslim societies.

Furthermore, the very equipment of orientalists, bound or at least accustomed by their education to work on texts, prevented them from interpreting adequately contemporary developments in Muslim societies. Most of them found themselves at too great a distance from the tangible world they studied, including the psychological and social distance to the people created by the political relationships of colonial times. The orientalists in fact did not know much more about contemporary Muslim societies than other Westerners. In their thinking they mostly tended to accept as self-evident the basic assumptions and presuppositions current in their own society. Consequently, it was not so much professional orientalists as travellers and journalists, missionaries and tradesmen, politicians and military experts who, whatever their natural biases, furnished factual observations and practical knowledge of contemporary Muslim societies, with which they were often involved over many years.

The focus of interest and style of research of most *mustas͟hriḳūn* in the period under consideration was fact-finding and the search for permanent structures. A deeper causal or structural cohesion between the known facts was seldom sought; these facts were rarely interrogated with a view to their social implications; the patterns of meaning which these facts taken together conveyed to the people concerned were seldom investigated. Whenever attention was paid to these people's interpretations of the facts, there was a certain predilection in the West and among some orientalists for the exotic, archaic, and poetic meanings of what were held to be the "religious" elements.

Although orientalists in principle and quite naturally could listen to the people of the culture and society they studied, understand what they needed or wanted to convey and defend their interests, most of them refrained from doing so. Their primary concern was their scholarly work. Moreover, a widely-held official view in the colonial period held that natural resistance to Western political and economic domination at the time was to be attributed to Islam ("Muslim fanaticism", "Panislamism", etc.) rather

than admitting self-critically that it was due to the growing penetration of Western power.

Paradoxically, it was not only the colonies but also the orientalists who tended to become victims of Western domination, which caused normal relations between people to become disrupted, and prevented Muslim people and societies, their culture and religion from being perceived and understood as they understood themselves. The uneven relationship between the Western and the Islamic worlds put the orientalists in a difficult position, since this kind of relationship obstructed true insight rather than promoting it. Some did not realise the complex nature of their situation and, rather than trying to build bridges between peoples and cultures and correct misconceptions at home, they tended to legitimate and defend Western domination without question. Those orientalists who took up the defence of the people on the other side often justified this with a religious or ideological terminology which was hardly comprehensible to others. Most, however, working in the service of Western scholarly institutions to study Islam and Muslim societies, must have seen the course of events as irreversible and the people of the Orient as doomed to lose out to the West.

ii. Muslim critical responses

Soon after the establishment of the scholarly field of Islamic studies in Europe, scholars from Muslim countries too became interested in it. Many cooperated with Western scholars in studying and publishing manuscripts. They attended Western universities, took part in broader research projects, and could be appointed to teach and do research at Western scholarly institutions. While the immense amount of knowledge generated by the *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* evoked the admiration of Muslims of all persuasions, it also aroused a certain unease because this knowledge was made available in the first place to people in the West. Moreover, was it the right knowledge? A whole literature circulating in Muslim countries alleges that it is not, and insinuates that orientalists have somehow intentionally or because of material interests distorted the reality of Islam and Muslim societies and cultures.

Since the culture and religion under study is theirs, the cooperation of researchers and scholars from Muslim countries has proved to be indispensable as well as self-evident. They have been able to contribute considerably to Islamic studies, in particular when working in Western countries. They have also been able to correct certain mistakes made by *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* in their handling and interpreting of materials. In the case of precise data, they could initiate scholarly debates which are the essence of research proper.

Muslim criticisms have gone further than that, however, entering into debate concerning certain orientalists' general ideas, underlying attitudes towards Islam and the value judgements they have passed on it. Some have gone as far as to deny at least in part the scholarly validity of the work of all orientalists, using sweeping arguments which can neither be proved nor disproved and must be seen as part of a broader protest against Western domination. The *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* themselves often seem to have been taken by surprise by what they have seen less as a lack of appreciation of hard work than as an attack on their profession and critical scholarship in general. The ensuing debate has led, however, to greater awareness of problems of a both human and technical nature familiar to cultural anthropologists, since they occur in the study of other cultures and religions in general.

Following E. Rudolph's interpretation, to which the present writer owes much (*Westliche Islamwissenschaft im Spiegel muslimischer Kritik. Grundzüge und aktuelle Merkmale einer innerislamischen Diskussion*, Berlin 1991), critical Arab Muslim responses to orientalism, particularly in Egypt (elsewhere the situation seems to be less turbulent), present the following historical development:

a. Debates between modernist reformers and Europeans writing on Islam (al-Afg̲h̲ānī against Renan, ʿAbduh against Hanotaux).

b. Critical reactions by Muslim reformists and Azhar scholars to non-Muslim secular scholarship in the West concerned with Islam (Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā against E. Dermenghem, the campaign against A.J. Wensinck's membership in the Royal Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo). Parallel to this are the violent reactions, often by the same people, to "secular" research pursued by Muslim scholars, *e.g.*, at the University of Cairo (attacks on Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and M.Ḥ. Haykal).

c. Critical reactions to Western scholarship on the Ḳurʾān and historical criticism of *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature (Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī and Muḥammad al-G̲h̲azzālī attacking Goldziher's work), after the Second World War.

d. Accusations that orientalists in general, and certain of them in particular, are engaged in a broader attack on Islam and Muslim societies, in league with Colonialists, Christian Missionaries and Jewish and Gentile Zionists. Such attacks have been launched in the Arab world (*e.g.*, by ʿUmar Farrūk̲h̲, Muḥammad al-Bahāy, Anwar al-D̲j̲undī, Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, Mālik Bennabī). Orientalism is here seen as an ideological enemy of Islam, and from *ca.* 1960 on the debate about it has been of a clearly ideological nature.

e. More subtle criticism of *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* through an intellectual analysis of the underlying notions of the Orient, Orientalism and Orientals current in the West, for which orientalists are alleged to be partly responsible or of which they are victims. One of the main proponents of the ensuing debate is Edward W. Said, an Arab but not a Muslim.

Feelings have been the highest when Muslim religious convictions have been hurt by secular Western scholarship. A brief analysis by R. Peters (*Abendländische Islamkunde aus morgenländischer Sicht*, 20. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Erlangen, October 1977) presents critical responses by Arab Muslims to Oriental studies of Islam, in defence of Islamic religion. According to these, the orientalists are divided into two groups. The first group consists of those orientalists who evaluate Islam correctly (*al-munṣifūn*), *i.e.*, they speak positively about Islam or praise it. They suffer, however, from insufficient knowledge and intellectual incapacity.

The second group consists of those who do not appreciate Islam correctly (*g̲h̲ayr al-munṣifīn*). It consists of four subgroups: Christian clerics (out to convert Muslims to Christianity), Zionists (seeking to weaken Islam in order to strengthen political and ideological Zionism), colonialists (*istiʿmāriyyūn*, in the service of colonial governments), and "free thinkers", Marxists and materialists (who aim to weaken the faith and morale of Muslims and mankind generally, in order to enslave them mentally and morally). This second group is held to constitute a coherent movement which tries to achieve through science what the Crusaders sought to do under the banner of religion: to dominate the Muslims.

Peters lists some typical themes which, according to this literature, *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* explore in their efforts to defame Islam: the pretended lack of originality of

Islam, textual criticism of Ḳurʾān and historical criticism of *sunna* (*ḥadīth* literature), diversity in Islam, the position of non-Muslim minorities, concentration on periods of decline rather than growth in Islamic history, tendentious accounts of Islamic prescriptions like the *djihād*, etc.

While admitting that on closer analysis certain statements made by orientalists may indeed be seen as insulting to Muslim readers, Peters emphasises that the accusation that the majority of orientalists collaborated with the colonial governments is untrue: as philologists, they were far removed from contemporary politics. He then shows that one of the deeper reasons for the defamation of the orientalists and Oriental studies in general has been the onesidedness of these studies carried out by westerners—allegedly, a unilateral and unselfcritical operation performed by Western scholars on Eastern people who are patients in the original sense of the word ("sufferers"). This is also the deeper reason why Muslim critics identify orientalism with colonialism: both exclude an equal exchange between two parties and imply that the one party simply regards and treats the other as an "object". Perhaps because of their high expectations, Muslim critics feel strongly that *mustashriḳūn* misunderstand them profoundly and, as they tend to see it, intentionally. If suspicion deepens into distrust, it may even produce a desire to repay Western culture and religion for what the West is supposed to have tried to do to Islamic culture and religion. As a possible solution, Peters suggests that Western researchers into Islam should be able and willing to collaborate with Muslim researchers.

The reproaches described here have been repeated at various times and on various levels. For instance, A.J. Wensinck's official appointment (1933) by King Fuʾād to the Royal Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo had to be revoked in 1934 under pressure from Muslim activists in Cairo, since his article on *Ibrāhīm* in the *EI* (1st edition) spoke of the Ḳurʾān as relating the "legend" of Ibrāhīm, not his historical reality (see file by L. Massignon on this matter in the University Library of Leiden). Ideological attacks on *mustashriḳūn* have been made precisely by people who do not know what scholarship is, and those who know better have not been able to express themselves often because of political and social pressures.

Muslim intellectuals who have studied in the West articulate their reproaches on another level. A recurrent one levelled at the *mustashriḳūn* is their lack of the necessary scientific tools to acquire sufficient or true knowledge about Muslim societies and Islam, for instance, competence in the social sciences. The texts which they read do not allow them to draw the right conclusions about Muslim societies and cultures. A second reproach is that they display a cool objectivity, a lack of sympathy or a hidden antipathy even going so far as hatred towards Islam and Muslim societies. The orientalists allegedly exhibit a lack of modesty and a profound incapacity or unwillingness to understand correctly. A third reproach directed at them is their lack of concern with, let alone commitment to, any real improvement in the situation of the people or any authentic development of the societies they study. Summing up, what Muslim critics object to appears to be, above all, a certain inhumane and incommunicative attitude to be found in the West and among orientalists. While claiming to be true knowledge, in fact their scholarship is used by political and ideological agencies and serves to humiliate Muslims as human beings and denigrate their religion, which to them is the highest value.

The relative naivety of many orientalists about their paradoxical situation and their complex condition as bridge-makers between cultures becomes manifest precisely in their emotional reactions of disappointment and anger about such attacks. They feel that, despite their good intentions, and quite incomprehensibly, their scientific work is not understood, let alone appreciated. It is even intentionally misrepresented by the people they study and about whom they claim to present objective scientific knowledge.

Misunderstandings exist on both sides.

iii. Oriental studies as a risk: the meeting of cultures

From the way in which *mustashriḳūn* have defined their work and tended to react to critical responses, it becomes clear that in general scholars in Oriental studies have not been prepared for the problems of cultural interaction they have encountered and in which they became involved. They have had little idea of what could happen when, in the name of Science, they started to publish things which offended values not in their own but in another living society and culture. They have had little idea or concern that they could offend people who had become sensitive to any attacks on what they felt to be their basic norms and values, indeed their identity, and who often saw such attacks everywhere.

From the responses described it also becomes clear that, within Muslim societies at the time, very few people have known or understood what Western scholars and in particular orientalists have been doing. They have understood still less what *mustashriḳūn* can know scientifically and what are the limits of their science, where the realm of private opinions begins. Given a lack of ordinary everyday communication, much of the natural suspicion of foreigners who, for some mysterious aims and purposes, want to know a foreign society, has been projected on the orientalist in situations of political tension or conflict.

In the ensuing debate on "orientalism", the very perspective in which orientalists carry out their studies is at stake. Consequently, some kind of fundamental reflection is required and to this Edward W. Said's book *Orientalism*, because of its provocative *J'accuse!* tone, seems only to have opened the door halfway. There is no reason why the notion of the "Orient" should not be replaced by a less ambiguous notion, for instance "peoples and cultures of Asia and Africa". There is no reason either why the philological and historial approaches should not be seen within a broader multi-perspective framework in which, for instance, the social sciences and in particular cultural anthropology but also the study of religion have their part to play. Again, the study of living societies and their aspirations, as well as of the underlying norm and value systems, can gain immensely from the collaboration of scholars who themselves come from such societies and have grown up in the traditions concerned. Again, for the study of contemporary societies it is mandatory that researchers have free access to them, meet people and work together with researchers from the country concerned.

It is also questionable whether in the human and social sciences, including history and comparative religion, any research can claim to be satisfactory when it takes no account of the points of view and the values of the people under study. Any kind of social science research, for instance, which objectifies human beings to fit into a particular scholarly model remains limited within the parameters of the model applied. It cannot claim to offer much knowledge

about a society or culture beyond the limits of the particular model chosen or the experimental situation analysed.

As a consequence, the search for knowledge of Oriental as of all foreign societies and cultures requires insight in given limits and absence of any desire to dominate. The venture of intercultural studies requires that the researcher take the personal step of leaving his own world for a time, and reaching a world of other people, for which real communication is required. In the complex relations between people from different societies and cultures, the orientalists, like the anthropologists, at best belong to the few who, not essentially bound by loyalties to either party, in principle have the capacity to transcend the clash of societies and cultures, and for that matter religions, on a personal level. Failing in mediation is the risk of the profession, but it is something to be learned from.

iv. Muslim studies of other cultures and religions

Just as Western orientalists have shown an interest in Islamic civilisation and religion, Muslim scholars recently have developed an increasing interest in the common history of the Muslim world and the West, for instance, in the various forces which have shaped European history. After some travel accounts in the mediaeval period, European culture was "discovered" first by Ottoman Turks and Arabs and later in particular by students from Muslim countries studying in Europe. This interest has been pursued now by professional researchers. Already in the mediaeval period Muslim thinkers had shown a certain interest in other cultures and religions than Islam, and this interest may arise again (J. Waardenburg, *World religions as seen in the light of Islam*, in *Islam: past influence and present challenge*, ed. A.T. Welch and P. Cachia, Edinburgh 1979, 245-75).

4. Progress in Islamic studies since the Second World War

The advancement of Islamic studies since the Second World War can be indicated briefly on three levels: that of institutions and organisation, that of areas covered, and that of reorientations of a more fundamental nature.

i. Institutions and organisation

There is a trend, cautious in Europe and gradual in North America, for university appointments in Islamic languages and history, as well as in social science research on Muslim societies, to include an increasing number of researchers and scholars from Muslim countries themselves. If, at the beginning of the fifties, they were mainly language informants, at present qualified Muslim scholars may occupy posts at higher levels too. The increasing number of Muslim students in Islamic studies at Western universities means that possibilities of instruction and communication have multiplied not only in teaching but later also in research. Whatever the ideas on orientalists in Muslim countries, direct contact with them in the West has become possible on a scale and in ways unimaginable before the Second World War.

Besides the older Oriental research associations, new organisations have been founded specifically to promote the study of the Middle East and Islam, encouraging fresh approaches and new ways of questioning. Local organisations are increasingly coming under the umbrella of larger organisations which stimulate research and mutual collaboration, for instance the *Union européenne d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants* in Europe, and the *Middle East Studies Association* of North America. Besides larger meetings and congresses, workshops and colloquia of a new kind are organised on specialised subjects, with a restricted number of participants from different countries. A new type of research institute, specifically for Islamic Studies, with good libraries, has emerged, like the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University in Montreal. There are also several Centres dedicated to the study of Muslim-Christian relations: in Hartford, Ct., USA; in Birmingham, England; and the Pontifical Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Rome.

There are, however, some worrying developments too. Current budget cuts in most Western countries threaten the standard of Islamic studies. There are several cases where financial assistance from Islamic foundations or Muslim countries has permitted chairs to survive. In the present unemployment situation it would be of great help if translation programmes like that of Ṭabarī's *History* could be set up, funded by Muslim foundations or oil-producing states, where younger academics could usefully be employed.

Great care has to be taken that Western academic institutions continue to guarantee freedom of research and publication in the field of Islamics as in other fields. In some notorious recent cases, for instance, pressure has been exerted by Muslim interest groups in connection with university appointments and publications concerning Islam. In other cases, excessively pedantic programming or the organisation of the study of Islam along rigid ideological lines have thwarted research and the emergence of fresh ideas. Academic Islamic studies ought not to serve particular interests but develop as an autonomous field of teaching and research.

Recent history has increased interest in the Middle East, Islamic movements in the region and Islam in general. The immigration of millions of Muslim workers to Western Europe has stimulated more detailed research about Muslim ways of life in general and in the West in particular.

ii. Some areas of research

By contrast with the period before the Second World War, the need for specialisation among Islamicists and scholars in Oriental studies generally has become imperative. If in former times at least some scholars could still realise something of the ideal of the universal man, at present all *mustashriḳūn* have become specialists. Among them a distinction has developed between those who carry out research on the so-called "hard", infrastructural sectors of Muslim societies (in particular social scientists) and those who study the so-called "softer" sectors of language and literature, art and history, culture and religion (in particular humanistic scholars). A distinction has also emerged between those specialists who work on specific Muslim societies, regions and periods, and those who work on particular cultural expressions like art or religion which are common to all Muslim regions. We indicate now, by way of example, some areas of research which have gained prominence since the Second World War.

First of all, precious bibliographical surveys of Islamic history have been published (Cl. Cahen, J.D. Pearson, J. Sauvaget) and manuscript resources brought together (F. Sezgin). Solid historical research has been going on according to the lines laid down since the rise of Islamic studies (H.A.R. Gibb, G.E. von Grunebaum, H. Laoust, B. Lewis). Within the realm of historical studies, social and economic history have enjoyed rapid development (Cl. Cahen, M. Rodinson) and have also thrown new light on the beginnings of Islam and the history of Islamic thought (W. Montgomery Watt). The volume *Islamologie* (ed.

F.M. Pareja) represents the field and the state of Islamic studies as conceived in the 1950s.

Second, critical philological and literary analysis applied to the Ḳurʾān has led to new questions about its early history and composition (A. Neuwirth, J. Wansborough). Similarly, critical *ḥadīth* research has provided further insight into the history, nature and function of this kind of literature (G.H.A. Juynboll) as well as its meaning and that of the Ḳurʾān as "Divine Word" (W.A. Graham). New questions have been put concerning the early history of Islam (M. Cook, P. Crone). Equally, early Islamic thought has been analysed and certain basic positions identified (J. van Ess). Careful research on the semantics of religious terminology has proved rewarding for our understanding of the Ḳurʾān and other religious texts (T. Izutsu). Semiotic research has opened up basic structures in Islamic discourse and writing (M. Arkoun).

More attention has been given to the notion of the Muslim community (*umma*) both in its ideal forms (L. Gardet) and in social reality (W. Montgomery Watt). This has led to further research both on the legal and social status of women within Muslim societies in the past and at present (G. Ascha, L. Beck-N. Keddie and many others), and on the legal and social status of non-Muslim minorities (A. Fattal, S.D. Goitein, A. Hourani, B. Lewis), and the functioning of religious institutions, in particular religious authorities (*ʿulamāʾ*, Ṣūfī *shaykhs*) (N. Keddie) and religious education (G. Makdisi).

Extensive research has been carried out on Islam outside the heartlands of Islam, e.g., in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent (A. Ahmad, A. Schimmel, W.C. Smith) and Africa (J. Cuoq, J. Spencer Trimingham).

A field which hardly existed before the Second World War, for various reasons, and which has expanded tremendously, is that of contemporary developments in Islam. General surveys have become rare (H.A.R. Gibb, W.C. Smith, W. Ende-U. Steinbach); specialisation has become the rule here too. Attention has continued to be paid to popular Islam (L.R. and H. Kriss) as well as sectarian forms of communal Islam (Klaus E. Müller), devotional practices (C. Padwick) and mysticism (A. Schimmel). Islamic aspects of recent social history (J. Berque) and of political developments (O. Carré, J. Piscatori and many others) in the Arab world and elsewhere have attracted ever more interest. This is also true for the developments of *ṭuruḳ* in modern times (M. Gilsenan, F. de Jong) and of reform and modernisation movements (A. Hussain, M.H. Kerr and others) as well as the Muslim Brotherhood (R.P. Mitchell).

Due to recent developments in Iran and elsewhere, Shīʿī Islam has become an area of renewed interest (first of all H. Corbin, later S.H. Nasr for its gnostic aspects; H. Enayat, K.H. Göbel and others for political thought), as has the more recent history of Iran (N. Keddie, A.K.S. Lambton).

The most noteworthy and innovating contribution to our knowledge of present-day living Islam, however, has probably been made by anthropologists specialised in particular Muslim regions (C. Geertz, E. Gellner, M. Gilsenan and others) or surveying the various Muslim peoples (R.V. Weekes).

An area of research which is developing is that of the study of different religions existing side by side in the same region, for instance the Middle East (A.J. Arberry) and the Indian Subcontinent (W.C. Smith). Questions have been raised about the relationships and interaction between Muslim and other religious communities in history (W.C. Smith) and the development of knowledge in the Muslim world about other religions and the formation of images about them (G. Monnot, J. Waardenburg). The relationships between the Muslim world and Europe have been the subject of historical and comparative studies (M. Canard, G.E. von Grunebaum, A. Hourani, B. Lewis).

The study of Muslim minorities outside the Muslim countries has become a new area of research, especially since the migration of Muslim workers to Europe and the establishment of mainly Turkish and North African communities there (F. Dassetto, T. Gerholm-Yngve G. Lithman, G. Kepel, J.S. Nielsen, H. Safar and others).

iii. New orientations

The question should be raised, to what extent the general scholarly view of Islam has changed in the last decades, not only in the expansion of its subject areas and themes of research but also in the way in which Islam and Muslim societies and cultures as a whole are approached? Or more precisely, has our view of Islam changed intrinsically since the classical times of Goldziher and Snouck Hurgronje, say since the First World War? The answer must be affirmative.

In the first place, breakthroughs have been achieved thanks to the innovations of some prominent scholars: L. Massignon revealing the presence of largely unknown spiritual forces in Islam; G.E. von Grunebaum stressing fundamental analogies between mediaeval cultural expressions in the Muslim, Byzantine and Latin worlds; W.C. Smith affirming first the role of class and the national independence struggle in Muslim presentations of Islam and then Islam's specific kind of faith and its taking shape in various ways; C. Geertz and others calling attention to basic patterns and variations of meaning within Muslim societies; M.G.S. Hodgson writing a new kind of overall history of "the venture of Islam" within world history; and M. Rodinson urging a reconsideration of aims and tools of research in Islamic studies and, on the basis of infrastructural factors, throwing new light on Islamic ideologies developed in history and at the present time.

In the second place, the rise of independent Muslim nation states has brought about an important change in perspective. If older generations of Islamicists customarily regarded contemporary Islam as void of political expression and Muslim societies as developing according to the needs and directives of the West, researchers who started their work after the Second World War, in the fifties, sixties and seventies, have inevitably developed very different views of today's Muslim world, stressing its own internal dynamics.

In the third place, Muslims themselves have asserted their Islamic identity during the last decades in ways that were hardly imagined in the fifties. Such self-assertation in words and deeds, including intense political action, can no longer be interpreted simply as a rebellion against Western law and order. It has its own impetus and since the mid-sixties and still more the late seventies it has had unforeseen effects both political and religious, resisting various current forms of domination. Muslim Islamicists (Fazlur Rahman, Muhammad Arkoun) working in Western universities have given their own interpretations of such developments, M. Arkoun pleading for an applied islamology. Once-aloof Western scholars, too, have become alert to new responsibilities, scholarly and social.

All of this has led to a certain shift in perspective on Islam and the Muslim world at large, with its natural

implications for the development of scholarly research. We may summarise this change of perspective by trying to identify roughly three successive phases since the Second World War which have each implied a new orientation towards Islam.

a. The first phase is that immediately following the colonial period. Scholars in the forties and fifties tended to be very aware of the effects of Western culture in the broadest sense on Muslim societies, which had just been liberated from Western political dominance. The focus of attention was on processes of modernisation, sometimes simply put on a par with "westernisation". Islam was seen as an ancient tradition which seemed to be losing ground under the policies of the rather secular-minded national leaders after independence. Perhaps Von Grunebaum's interpretation of modern Islam as a search for cultural identity (1962) can be seen as representative of this orientation which, in any case, took a positive attitude towards the future of the Muslim world whose own historical and cultural identity it recognised. It thus distinguished itself from the more pessimistic views of scholars of the colonial period such as Snouck Hurgronje, who saw a future only in assimilation to the West.

b. The second phase started when scholars observed that profound and radical economic and social changes were taking place in Muslim countries, often after internal revolutions. Researchers on contemporary Muslim societies became attentive to the use of Islam as a social ideology justifying necessary or desired social changes. Islam, instead of being a hangover from the past, was being used to effect by influential leaders like Gamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. The adjective "Islamic", far from suggesting something antiquated, was serving to connect present-day solutions with hallowed, age-old religious tradition. Scholars came to realise that processes and events in Muslim countries should be studied not only in terms of Western theories but also within their own cultural framework, in which they became more meaningful. The social functions of Islamic ideas and practices, the social basis of changing interpretations of Islam, the social causes for changes in religious institutions, or institutions legitimated by religion, all became subjects of research. Scholars became aware that elements of Islam could convey political, social and religious meanings simultaneously, and that particular ideologisations of Islam, or chosen Islamic ideas and practices, could appeal explicitly to specific groups in particular circumstances. In short, there was a discovery of Islam as a social ideology, and social scientists started to cooperate in building on this discovery in research on Islam.

c. With the self-affirmation of Islam not only as a social but as a religious ideology, a new phase started. This may be dated broadly speaking from the late sixties in the Middle East and it then spread throughout the Muslim world as a whole. As a result, scholarly attention has come to be directed more towards Islam as a religion and faith which is appealed to in different ways according to country and group. While recognised as a religion providing its own absolute norms and values, Islam is then seen not only as an instrument of political action but also as an instance of appeal against various kinds of injustice, economic deprivation and political oppression. In this phase, the contribution of the study of religion is needed to lay bare the religious aspects, amongst others, of present-day appeals to Islam.

To ensure that scholarly standards are maintained and intellectual rigour is preserved when religion is the object of inquiry, the following remarks are in order.

First of all, Islam is not an empirical piece of data in the same way as a text, a practice or even an ideal which is subjected to the scrutiny of scholarly enquiry. The way in which Islam, in research, is conceptualised, what is held to be the reality of Islam, and whether the scholarly concept of religion (and of Islam) used is simply descriptive or also normative, largely depends on the theoretical framework within which a particular scholar is working. The variability of frameworks and point of departure explains the fact of continous discussions taking place amongst orientalists, between Muslims and orientalists, and among Muslims themselves about what is to be understood by Islam.

Second, when we address our research to the interpretations which Muslims themselves have given of Islam as a religion, some hermeneutical warnings are in order. Scholars as well as believers have often tended to reify Islam, forgetting that we have to do not with an "Islam" in itself but alway with an interpreted Islam and that, throughout history, the Muslim community has kept this interpretative process going. Accordingly, special attention should be paid to what Muslim authors, speakers, groups and movements actually mean when they express themselves in particular situations in terms Islamic or with an appeal to Islam. In such research we should free ourselves as much as possible from current interpretations, applications or explanations or Islam, both Western and Muslim.

What can the study of religion contribute to a better grasp of the religious aspects of Islam and Muslim societies and cultures? Islam as a religion, in the strict sense of the word, can probably best be called a network of signs; when such signs are internalised, they become symbols. The Ķurʾān itself hints at such an interpretation, for Islam, according to it, is supposed to constitute the right human response to the *āyāt* that mankind has been provided with, notably in the Ķurʾān, in nature, and in history. These *āyāt* are considered to be nexus points of divine revelation and human reflection, and Muslims are enjoined to draw the right conclusions from them and to act accordingly. But even apart from this, a scholar of Islam as a religion will study its elements (Ķurʾān verses, *aḥādīth*, ritual prescriptions, living traditions, etc.) as signs and symbols. His enquiry will concern the various ways in which particular Muslim persons and groups in specific situations have interpreted these elements of Islam and the ways in which they have acted.

Insofar as this scholarly approach runs parallel to a notion of religion present in the Ķurʾān, it avoids stamping Islamic data with inadequate Western-coined concepts, while remaining scientific. A study of Islam as a network and reservoir of signs and symbols, constantly interpreted and applied by individual members and groups of the community, reveals certain texts and practices as permanent vehicles of meaning; these permit communication between Muslims despite varying circumstances of place and time. By approaching Islam as a communicative, religious sign and symbol system, we avoid the one extreme of searching for an eternal essence of Islam and reifying it as well as the other extreme of denying any spiritual reality to Islam as measured against the material world. The focus of attention from the point of view of the study of religions should be the interpretations and usages which Muslims have made and make of "their" Islam and its elements. This is fruit-

ful to understand, for instance, what particular Muslims mean when they speak of applying the *sharīʿa*, establishing an Islamic state, or going back to the sources of Islam.

5. Needs and suggestions

The community of the *mustashrikūn* has become ever more varied and, from the inside, this diversity is just the opposite of what their opponents ascribe to them. They are anything but an ideological bloc, and their present discourse is anything but spellbound by a magic Orient. Present-day conflicts and tensions in and around Muslim countries, particularly in the Middle East, make it nearly impossible for serious, hard working scholarship to float away on the clouds of the Orient or anywhere else.

The subject-matter of Islamic studies has become much less clearly identifiable among *mustashrikūn* now than in former times, when orientalists were less specialised and Muslims ideologised Islam less. For a long time, a more or less stable image of Islam existed in scholarly research, as a historical reality and a set of doctrines and practices (J. Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident*, 1970[3]). This image has been broken by the course of history and the progress of specialised scholarly research. At the same time, new religious, ideological, political and other "readings" of Islam have arisen, of very different kinds, so that one may speak also of a growing plurality of interpretations of Islam among Muslims.

One of the most pressing problems on a more theoretical level is the way in which any particular (Muslim) interpretation and application of (elements of) Islam is related to the particular historical and social context in which it occurs. How should the study of specific Muslim societies in the past and at present be linked to the study of the specific ways in which Islam has been interpreted and applied in those societies? And the other way round, how should the study of interpretations of Islam be related to the study of Muslim societies?

A solution to this problem, at least on a theoretical level, seems to be within reach. For one thing, a certain fixed "reifying" or essentialist view of Islam is being replaced by a view of Islam as a subject of an ongoing process of interpretation. Second, a certain rigid "model" view of Muslim societies is being replaced by a view which allows for a much more precise and differentiated observation of them, their social history and their corresponding articulations of Islam.

Another need in Islamic studies and Oriental studies generally is for scholars to acquaint themselves more than before with certain new developments in the human sciences, including the science of religion, which take place across the borders between the disciplines. Too exclusive a devotion to philology, history or anthropology leaves little time for enquiry about what happens in other disciplines and what can be learnt from them. It also increases the risk of Oriental studies being cultivated as in a ghetto apart from and somehow backward compared to other fields of scholarship.

Again, the field of Islamic studies as well as the study of non-Western societies and cultures in general would also greatly benefit if research problems were to be formulated on a somewhat higher level of abstraction than is done in the day-to-day "technical" work. More reflection on problems of method and theory of research would certainly facilitate cooperation between Islamic studies and other fields of scholarship, including science of religion.

Finally, it may be suggested that, now that the classical image of Islam as a more or less closed entity of religion and culture has been broken, efforts be made to place Islamic history, societies and religious expressions within the broader history of mankind, the manifold human societies, and the large number of man's religious expressions. Special attention can be paid to historical interactions, and to similarities and differences by means of comparative research. In order to understand contemporary developments in Muslim societies, it will be useful to place them within the broader context of contemporary developments of Asian and African societies generally.

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(J.D.J. Waardenburg)

AL-MUSTAᶜṢIM BI 'LLĀH, Abū Aḥmad ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Mustanṣir, the last ᶜAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād (640-56/1247-58), born in 609/1212-13.

After the death of his father in Djumādā I or II 640/November-December 1242, he was raised to the caliphal throne, but he had neither the talent nor the strength to avert the catastrophe threatening from the Mongols; he allowed himself to be guided by bad counsellors who were not agreed among themselves but working against one another. In 683/1255-6, the Mongol Khān Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] demanded that the Muslim rulers should make war on the Ismāᶜīlīs of Alamūt. The caliph did not trouble about this, and in Rabīᶜ I 655/March-April 1257 a Mongol embassy came to Baghdād and demanded that al-Mustaᶜṣim should either raze the defences of the city and appear in person before Hūlāgū for further negotiations or send a deputy. As the caliph refused to meet these demands, Hūlāgū threatened him with war. After another message, in which al-Mustaᶜṣim tried to intimidate Hūlāgū, the latter set out against the ancient city of the caliphs. On the way, he met another embassy, offering him an annual tribute, but this effort to appease the cruel foe was useless and by Muḥarram 656/January 1258, the Mongols were at the gates of Baghdād. Preparations for the siege advanced rapidly and after all attempts to resume negotiations had failed against the relentless Hūlāgū, al-Mustaᶜṣim had to surrender on 4 Ṣafar/10 February and the city was sacked. Ten days later, Hūlāgū had the caliph, with some of his relations put to death [see baghdād], thus ending the line of ᶜAbbāsids in Baghdād.

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(K.V. Zetterstéen)

MUSTAWFĪ (a.), an official in mediaeval Islamic administration who was in charge of official accounts and thus acted as an accountant-general.

The title first becomes generally used in the successor-states to the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate. Under the Ghaznavids, the *mustawfī al-mamālik* was responsible to the vizier, and kept accounts of income and expenditure in the *dīwān-i wazīr* (M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 132). Under the Great Saldjūḳs, e.g., in the time of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], the *mustawfī* was second in importance only to the vizier himself (al-Bundārī,

Zubdat al-nuṣra, ed. Houtsma, 100), and his office seems to have corresponded to the ʿAbbāsid *dīwān al-zimām* or *dīwān al-azimma* "office of financial control" [see DĪWĀN. i], although the term *dīwān al-zimām* is also found under the Saldjūḳs, apparently for the *dīwān al-istīfāʾ*. Although we have no direct information on the workings of this office in Saldjūḳ times, A.K.S. Lambton surmises that it was divided into sub-departments, such as the *dīwān-i muʿāmala wa ḳismat*, concerned *inter alia* with a tax-farming contracts, and that there was a network of provincial *mustawfīs* or *ʿāmils* who allocated locally the taxation required by the centre and disbursed from the money thus collected local pensions, salaries, etc. (see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Großselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 51-2 and *passim*; Lambton, in *Camb. hist of Iran*, v, 257-8). The *mustawfī* in the central administration had certainly to be a man of great administrative and financial competence, and he often wielded extensive influence in the state; thus under Sultan Berk-yaruḳ, Madjd al-Mulk al-Ḳummī al-Balāsānī [*q.v.*] (d. 492/1099) was the real power behind the incompetent vizier Fakhr al-Mulk b. Niẓām al-Mulk. On several occasions in Saldjūḳ history, the office was a stepping-stone to the vizierate itself: thus Saʿd al-Mulk Abu 'l-Maḥāsin was first *mustawfī* and then in 496/1103 vizier to Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh, and Kamāl al-Mulk al-Simīrumī was *mustawfī* at the end of Muḥammad's reign and then in 512/1118 vizier to Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (C.L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vizierate. A study of civil administration 1055-1194*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 16, 21, 39 and *passim*).

Under the Mongols, the title was given to the superintendents of provincial finances (*e.g.*, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī [*q.v.*] and his great-grandfather; cf. E.G. Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, iii, 87), and under the Tīmūrids, Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs, the *mustawfī 'l-mamālik* filled the office of a secretary of state in charge of the public treasury accounts, while the ordinary *mustawfī* was one of the lesser officers of the court (R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1890, 26, 178-9; A. Olearius, *Voyages and Travels*, London 1669, 274; Sir J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, ii, 437; R.G. Watson, *History of Persia*, London 1866, 16-17; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. Minorsky, 54, 122-5, 141). There was also in the Ṣafawid period a *mustawfī-yi khāṣṣa* who was in charge of accounting for the crown estates (*ibid.*, 123-4; R.M. Savory and B. Fragner, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vi, 354, 554). *Mustawfī 'l-mamālik* might, however, under the latest Ḳādjars, be a title personal to a particular individual, who might be the Minister of the Interior (as in 1890) or even Prime Minister (as in 1910).

In Egypt, under the Fāṭimids and Mamlūks, the *mustawfī* might be the head of a *dīwān* (as of the *dīwān al-djaysh*) or hold a less exalted, but still important, position as financial controller in such matters as the *iḳṭāʿāt* or military fiefs (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 193, middle and 227, under *naẓr al-djaysh*). The ordinary *mustawfī* was a minor official of the status of a clerk employed under a *shādd*, or overseer, in land-surveys or crop-estimation or else in a government office such as the depot of the government office such as the depot of the government grain monopoly (*op. cit.*, ed. Wiet, ii, ch. 32, 23-5).

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(R. LEVY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

MUSTAWFĪ [see ḤAMD ALLĀH MUSTAWFĪ].

MUSTAZĀD (A.) a classical verse form employed in Persian and kindred literatures, principally Turkish and Urdu. Its literal meaning is "additional", and the term has sometimes been translated in English as "increment poem" (cf. E.G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, ii, 41). In its most common form, it is a poem based upon the pattern of the *ghazal* or the *rubāʿī*, in which each hemistich is followed by a short metrical line. This short line is metrically related to the principal hemistich, and usually comprises the first and last feet to the metre employed in the latter. The metres frequently used in the *ghazal*-based *mustazāds* include the *hazadj-i muthamman-i akhrab-i makfūf-i maḥdhūf* (––∪/∪––∪/∪––∪/∪––), the *ramal-i muthamman-i maḥdhūf*, (–∪––/–∪––/–∪––/–∪–), and the *ramal-i muthamman-i makhbūn-i maḥdhūf* (–∪––/∪∪––/∪∪––/∪∪–). The *rubāʿī*-based *mustazāds* employ one or the other special metres prescribed for the *rubāʿī*.

The different varieties of *mustazāds* may be distinguished not only by their basic *ghazal* or *rubāʿī* forms, but also by their rhyme scheme. In the majority of cases, the rhyming in the *mustazād* is of two kinds. The first category consists of poems in which the rhyme in the short line corresponds with that of the main hemistich; while the other category is comprised of examples wherein the short line has a rhyme of its own independent from the rhyme in the main hemistich.

The *mustazād* has remained a sparsely-used form, presumably because of its unorthodox character. One of the underlying principles of Arabic-Persian prosody is that all the lines in a given poem should be in one metre and conform to the same metrical length. Accordingly, the *mustazād*, with its mingling of long and short lines, does not fit into the general pattern, and could not but remain an exception in a poetical tradition constricted by rigid conventions.

Perhaps the earliest known *mustazād* in Persian (incidentally a deviation from the metrical rule described in the beginning) is one which was written by Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān (d. 515/1121) (cf. *Dīwān-i Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān*, ed. Rashīd Yāsimī, Tehran 1318 *sh*. 1939, 561). Sporadic examples of the *mustazād* are found in the works of several early poets such as Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604-72/1207-73), Amīr Khusraw (651-725/1253-1325), Khwādjū of Kirmān (d. *ca.* 762/1361), and Ibn Ḥusām Harawī (d. 757/1355-7). At a later date, the poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan Yaghmā Djandaḳī (1782-1859) composed a number of *mustazāds* as mourning songs (*nawḥas*) for ceremonies connected with the martyrdom of Ḥusayn. Some of these show a departure from the accustomed trend in the sense that each principal hemistich is followed by two short lines of varying metrical length. During the early period of modern Persian poetry, the *mustazād* was employed by Bahār (d. 1951), Ashraf of Gīlān (d. 1934), Lāhūtī (d. 1957) and ʿIshḳī (d. 1924) for some of their political poems, both serious and satirical.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

AL-MUSTAẒHIR BI'LLĀH, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph, was born in Shawwāl 470/April-May 1078. He came to the throne on 18 Muḥarram 487/7 February 1094, three days after the death of his father al-Muḳtadī [*q.v.*]. Al-Mustaẓhir's accession ceremony was attended by such famous figures as al-Ghazālī and Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.vv.*] (Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 82; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 157).

His reign proved turbulent. By the time of his accession, the stability of the Saldjūḳ state had been seriously undermined by the successive deaths of Niẓām al-Mulk and Malikshāh, whilst the Nizārī schism had further weakened the Fāṭimid caliphate and unleashed the Assassins' campaigns within Saldjūḳ territory. The first years of al-Mustaẓhir's rule were dominated by the rivalry between Barkyāruḳ and Tutush [*q.vv.*] and later by the protracted power struggle between Barkyāruḳ and his half-brother Muḥammad Tapar [*q.v.*]. The caliph was never able to turn these debilitating disputes to his own advantage, since all three Saldjūḳ pretenders still saw the need to obtain caliphal ratification for their activities whilst allowing the caliph no scope for political autonomy. On one occasion only was there a hint of military aggression on the part of the caliph. When news of Barkyāruḳ's high-handed treatment of al-Mustaẓhir's representative in Wāsiṭ came to Baghdād in 495/1101-2, the caliph announced his desire to fight alongside Muḥammad Tapar against Barkyāruḳ. This suggestion was rejected very firmly by Muḥammad (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 225). Despite the unstable political situation, al-Mustaẓhir managed, however, to emerge intact from the many, often threatening visits to Baghdād made by the different pretenders to the western Saldjūḳ sultanate and to co-exist uneasily with the various high-handed *shiḥnas* sent (often concurrently) by the three Saldjūḳ princes to police the caliphal capital during their absences. Described in the sources as malleable, al-Mustaẓhir tried at times to play the rôle of peacemaker and to humour the claimants to the Saldjūḳ throne.

Initially, he juggled adroitly with the numerous requests by the Saldjūḳ princes to be mentioned in the *khuṭba* at Baghdād but he also knew how to curry favour with the eventual victor, Muḥammad Tapar (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 210). In 495/1101-2 the Saldjūḳ brothers Muḥammad and Sandjar [*q.v.*], unhappy with Barkyāruḳ's rule (al-Ḥusaynī, 77), were received in solemn ceremony by al-Mustaẓhir clad in full caliphal regalia. Al-Mustaẓhir honoured both Muḥammad and Sandjar with the gifts customary to the rank of *sulṭān* and he then had the *khuṭba* pronounced in Muḥammad's name (*ibid.*; Bundārī (*sub anno* 496), 261; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 130; Ibn Khallikān, quoting the lost Saldjūḳ history of al-Hamadhānī, tr. de Slane, iii, 233).

The struggle between Muḥammad and Barkyāruḳ continued, however (in 496/1102-3 the caliph seems to have been temporarily unsure as to which candidate to support and omitted any reference whatsoever to the sultan in the *khuṭba* (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 245; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 132)). Stability was finally secured with the death of Barkyāruḳ in 498/1105.

The disturbed period of al-Mustaẓhir's caliphate favoured intensified activity from the Assassins, although Muḥammad Tapar, once firmly established in power after 498/1105, made determined efforts to quell them. At the very beginning of al-Mustaẓhir's reign, al-Ghazālī, on the evidence of the *Munḳidh* (44), had been commissioned by the caliph himself to write the work usually known as the *Kitāb al-Mustaẓhirī*, in which he set out to prove the legitimacy of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and to refute the claims of the Ismāʿīlī imāmate (this is confirmed by Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 170). Underlying al-Ghazālī's arguments, however, was a veiled plea to the sixteen year-old caliph to reach a *modus vivendi* with the military might of the Saldjūḳ Turks and to avoid the tensions which had been stirred up between caliph and sultan, al-Muḳtadī and Malikshāh, during the latter's last visit to Baghdād in 485/1092. Al-Ghazālī's warning was generally heeded by al-Mustaẓhir. When fear of Assassin activity was at its height, he did, however, intervene with sultan Muḥammad on one occasion in 504/1110-11 and persuaded him not to execute the Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī [*q.v.*] a former pupil of al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*], who had been accused of Ismāʿīlī sympathies (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 221; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 129-30).

The role and importance of al-Mustaẓhir's officials remain imprecise, although a number of names are mentioned in the sources. The office of caliph's *wazīr* was still dominated by the Banū Djahīr [*q.v.*]. At the beginning of his reign, al-Mustaẓhir reappointed ʿAmīd al-Dawla Ibn Djahīr, who had served the two preceding caliphs in the post (Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 82). He was, however, arrested in Ramaḍān 493/July-August 1100 (probably at the instigation of Barkyāruḳ, whose coffers were enriched through mulcting Ibn Djahīr) and he died in prison in the caliphal palace the following month (Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 118; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 203). A prominent figure in the early years of al-Mustaẓhir's reign was the Mazyadid ruler of al-Ḥilla, Ṣadaḳa, "the king of the Arabs" (d. 501/1107-8 [*q.v.*]), who sought to gain ascendancy over the caliph. Ṣadaḳa was involved in 500/1106-7 in the dismissal of his *wazīr*, Zaʿīm al-Ruʾasāʾ Ibn Djahīr, who had been appointed in 496/1102-3 to the same office as his brother (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 517; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 149; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 251). Proof of Ṣadaḳa's status vis-à-vis the caliph is furnished by Ibn Khallikān's account of his standing on the right of the throne at the official reception for Muḥammad and Sandjar in 495/1101-2 (*loc. cit.*). After the dismissal of Zaʿīm al-Ruʾasāʾ Ibn Djahīr, the caliph was moved to raze his house to the ground—it had allegedly been built with the "ill-gotten gains" of his father (Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 149; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 305). Nevertheless, Ibn Djahīr was reappointed as the caliph's *wazīr* in 502/1108-9 and remained in office until his death in 507/1113-14 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 329, 349; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 182). The sources say very little about al-Mustaẓhir in the latter part of his reign, a clear indication that sultan Muḥammad had achieved firm political control over him.

The advent of the Crusaders impinged very little on al-Mustaẓhir's activities. As early as 491/1097-8, the caliph had written to Barkyāruḳ urging him to go to war against the Crusaders before their power increased. This request was not followed up (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 191; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 105). Between 500/1106-7 and 505/1111-12 Syrian fugitives and dispossessed rulers visited Baghdād seeking help against the Crusaders, but this was barely forthcoming. Indeed, when on one occasion the arrival of certain Aleppan notables in Baghdād coincided with the festivities for the caliph's marriage to the sister of sultan Muḥammad, ʿIṣma Khātūn, in 504/1110-11, al-Mustaẓhir was clearly irritated and asked them to leave (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 173). A year later, however, after a further Syrian delegation to Baghdād, Mawdūd was finally sent out against the Crusaders (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 340).

Al-Mustaẓhir is praised in the sources in conventional panegyrical terms. He is described as a poet and fine calligrapher. He also sponsored new building programmes. In Rabīʿ II 488/April-May 1095 he began building the wall of the *ḥarīm* which comprised a large part of eastern Baghdād (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 172; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 85). Later, between 503/1109 and 507/1113, he built a new palace known as the *Dār al-Rayḥāniyyīn* (for a detailed description, cf. Le Strange, 272-3). Al-Mustaẓhir died of a throat tumour 4 months after sultan Muḥammad on 16 Rabīʿ II 512/6 August 1118 aged 41. His body was washed by Ibn ʿAķīl and prayers were recited over him by his son and *walī ʿahd*, the future caliph al-Mustarshid [*q.v.*]. Al-Mustaẓhir was buried initially in the caliphal palace. Later, his body was moved to the Ruṣāfa cemetery alongside his caliphal predecessors. Ibn al-Athīr wryly observes that as with the deaths of Alp Arslan and Malikshāh, which were quickly followed by those of the caliphs al-Ķā'im and al-Muķtadī, the caliph al-Mustaẓhir died very shortly after sultan Muḥammad (x, 375).

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(CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

MÜSTETHNA EYĀLETLER (T.), literally, "excepted, separated", denoting those provinces of the Ottoman empire separated from the "normally-administered" ones of the Anatolian and Rumelian heartland. In the heyday of the empire (10th-12th/16th-18th centuries) these usually comprised such provinces as Ṣaydā, Aleppo, Baghdād, Baṣra, Mawṣil, Ṭarābulus al-Gharb, Benghazi, Ḥidjāz and Yemen, i.e., essentially those of the more recently-conquered Arab lands. Since the feudal system of *tīmārs* and *ziʿāmets* hardly existed there, taxation from these regions was collected by a local office, *müfred ül-ķalem*, and any surplus forwarded to Istanbul after the salaries of the governor and his officials had been paid.

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(ED.)

MU'TA, a town in the centre of a fertile plain in the land east of Jordan, east of the southern end of the Dead Sea, about two hours' journey south of Karak, renowned for the defeat of the Muslims there in Djumādā I of the year 8.

According to the Arabic account, the reason why Muḥammad sent 3,000 men to this region was that an envoy whom he had sent to the king (presumably the imperial governor of Boṣrā) had been murdered by a Ghassānid, but the real reason seems to have been that he wished to bring the (Christian or pagan) Arabs living there under his control. If the story is correct that he chose three leaders for the expedition, Zayd b. Ḥāritha [*q.v.*] and, if he fell, his cousin Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] and, if he also fell, the poet ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [*q.v.*], he must have fully recognised the hazardous nature of the enterprise; but the tendency of the stories to describe the dangers of the expedition and the overwhelming nature of the opposing force as very great in order to put the unfortunate result of the battle in a better light is quite evident. In the *dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit (xxi, cf. cxlviii) we are only told that the three leaders above mentioned fell in succession. When the Muslims arrived in Maʿān in eastern Jordan, they learned that no less than 100,000 Byzantine soldiers and Bedouins—a much exaggerated figure which Ibn Hishām doubles—had assembled in Ma'āb. Musil (*Arabica petraea*, i, 29) located this Ma'āb, which according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2108, was not a town but a camp (*fusṭāṭ*), at Ladjdjūn [*q.v.*], a place near a spring with traces of an old Roman camp. But Abu 'l-Fidā' identifies it with al-Rabba which he describes as a village on the site of the former capital of the district, *i.e.*, Rabbot Moab or Areopolis (P. Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, 25; Brünnow, in *MNDPV* [1895], 70-1, with photographs; Musil, *op. cit.*, 370 ff., 381).

According to the Arab story, it was the emperor Heraclius himself who assembled this great army in Ma'āb, which is of course not true. When the Muslims heard this, we are told, they lost courage and wanted to wait until the Prophet could send them reinforcements, but ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was able to fill them with such enthusiasm for a possible martyr's death that they marched on the imperial army. According to Ibn Hishām, the latter met them at a village of the Balķā' called Mashārif, but this must be a misunderstanding, as this term means the Syrian fortresses on the edge of the desert. At the sight of the great force of the enemy, they withdrew to the south, but fighting began at the village of Mu'ta and they were routed. When the three leaders named by Muḥammad had fallen in the order indicated, they wanted Thābit b. Arķān to take command but he gave it to Khālid b. al-Walīd, who succeeded in saving the rest of the force; this was the first occasion on which his military talents benefited the Muslims; how he did it, we do not know, as the stratagem related by al-Wāķidī, tr. Wellhausen, 312, is not to be taken seriously.

Besides the Muslim account we have a Byzantine one, the earliest in the history of the Prophet, by the historian Theophanes, whose version bears the stamp of veracity. According to him, Muḥammad sent four chiefs to the land east of Jordan against the Christian Arabs there. They went, to a village named Mucheon, which M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*[2], 6 ff., takes to be a copyist's error for Ma'āb, while Musil, *op. cit.*, 153, identifies it with Khirbet al-Maḥna which lies in a broad depression, in order to fall upon the Arabs on a feastday (ἡμέρᾳ τῆς εἰδωλοθυσίας αὐτῶν, which seems to indicate a heathen rather than a Christian population), but the *vicarius* Theodorus there learned of their plans and, rapidly collecting the garrisons of the fortresses, fell upon the Muslims at Mu'ta and defeated them. Three of the leaders and most of the force were killed, and

Chaledos, who was called the "sword of God", alone succeeded in escaping. The tombs of the martyrs who fell there used to be pointed out at Muʾta, where a mausoleum was built over them.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 791 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 1610 ff.; Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 301-15; Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 92 ff., cf. iii/2, 82, 14; iv, 22 ff.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 80-8; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 327; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, i, 335; Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, 176; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 326; Muḳaddasī, 178; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 677; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 247; A. Musil, *Arabia Petræa*, i, 152; E. Probst, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens u. Palästinas nach Wilhelm v. Tyrus* (*Das Land der Bibel*), 1927, i, 73; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 53-5, 347; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*², Paris 1969, 169-70; F. McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 103, 105 ff.

(F. Buhl)

MUTʿA (A.), literally, "enjoyment", used in Islamic law in the sense of temporary marriage (according to the Arab lexicographers "marriage of pleasure"), a marriage which is contracted for a fixed period on rewarding the woman.

I. Before Islam. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 4, 4, temporary marriage was in use among the Arabs already in the 4th century A.D.; but this can hardly be a reference to *mutʿa*, as the woman brings a lance and tent to the man and can leave him if she likes after the period has elapsed. It is also doubtful if there is a distinct *mutʿa* character in the marriage of Hāshim with Salma bint ʿAmr, whom he married during a temporary stay in Yathrib and left with her family there after the birth of her child (Caetani, i, 111, § 92). From the passage in *Aghānī*, xvi, 63 (*mattiʿūnī bihā 'l-layla*) as well as from Muslim traditions, it may be concluded that *mutʿa* was known in the Djāhiliyya. If we remember that the same kind of temporary marriage as *mutʿa* was known in Erythaea (Conti Rossini, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario*, Rome 1916, 189, 249), it seems certain that *mutʿa* is an old Arabian institution. (Temporary marriage is also found among other peoples: cf. Wilken, 21-2; Westermarck, *History of human marriage*⁵, London 1925, iii, 267-8; cf. also the ἄγραφες γάμος in Egypt, to which Griffini, 327, calls attention. In a demotic document there is a reference to such a marriage for five months; cf. Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde*, ii, 203 ff.)

II. In the Ḳurʾān, there is undoubtedly a reference to this form of marriage in the Medinan sūra IV, 28, although the orthodox explanation of this passage as early as the 1st/7th century refers it to the ordinary *nikāḥ*; after giving a list of the classes of women with whom marriage is forbidden, it goes on: "And further, you are permitted to seek out wives with your wealth, in modest conduct but not in fornication; but give them their reward (*udjūr*) for what you have enjoyed of them (*istamtaʿtum*) in keeping with your promise". After *istamtaʿtum*, Ubayy b. Kaʿb and Ibn ʿAbbās read the words *ilā adjalin musammann* "for a definite period" (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, v, 9), a reading which naturally has not found its way into Sunnī circles but is often added in Shīʿī books.

III. The traditions are contradictory on the question of *mutʿa*. According to some, it was in use in the time of the Prophet and he was even said to have practised it (*mattaʿahā*: al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1775, 1776; cf. Caetani, ii, 478 nos. 17, 19). In return for a robe or a handful of dates one could take an unmarried woman (*uyyām*) for a period of cohabitation (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 13, 17; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 1637). Especially when a man came to a strange town, he could marry a woman there for the period of his stay so that she could look after him (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 28).

On the other hand, according to one tradition related by ʿAlī, it was forbidden by the Prophet on the day (or in the year) of Khaybar (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 38; *Dhabāʾiḥ*, *bāb* 28; *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 31; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 31-4; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 71 ["on the day of Ḥunayn" must there be a mistake for Khaybar]; *Ṣayd*, *bāb* 31; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 44; al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 28; *Aṭʿima*, *bāb* 6; Mālik, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 41; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, i, 79, 103, 142; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 111; Zayd, *Madjmūʿ*, no. 718).

According to other traditions, he is said to have permitted it for a short time on particular occasions. In this connection we have a group of traditions which goes back to Sabra b. Maʿbad; the various accounts of this, some long, some short, which supplement one another, are in part given without date (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 20, 26; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 71; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 13; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 404), in part referred to the conquest of Mecca (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 21, 24, 25, 27, 28; al-Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 16; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 404, 405), and in part to the farewell pilgrimage (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 44; al-Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 16; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 13; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 404-5). Their substance is as follows. The Prophet permitted *mutʿa*; Sabra therefore went with a companion to a woman and each offered her his cloak. She chose the younger with the shabbier cloak and slept three nights with him; thereupon the Prophet forbade it. According to the stories associated with the Farewell Pilgrimage, the woman wished *mutʿa* only for a fixed period, so that ten days or nights was agreed upon, but the Prophet forbade it after the first night, saying "Whoever of you has married a woman for a period, shall give her what he promised and ask nothing of it back and he shall separate from her; for God has forbidden this up to the day of resurrection". (For the conclusion, cf. also the fragments of this in Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 23, 30.)

According to a second group of traditions, which goes back to Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh and Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, the Prophet permitted *mutʿa* for three days on a campaign (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 71; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 14, 15; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 47, 51; according to Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 19, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 55, this was in the year of Awṭās, *i.e.*, shortly after the capture of Mecca). In al-Bukhārī we have at the end "The partnership of the two parties lasted three nights; and if they agreed to extend it, they did so, and if they wished to separate, they did so". A prohibition is given only in two versions in this group.

According to other traditions, *mutʿa* was first forbidden by the caliph ʿUmar at the end of his caliphate (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 16-18; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 304, 380, and iii, 325, 356, 363, where there is a reference to the two kinds of *mutʿa*, *i.e.*, *tamattuʿ* on the pilgrimage and *mutʿat al-nisāʾ*). ʿUmar threatened the punishment of stoning, so that he regarded *mutʿa* as fornication (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 44; Mālik, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 42; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 1792). Cf. the angry exclamation of Ibn ʿUmar when he was asked about *mutʿa*: "By Allāh, we were not immodest in the time of the Prophet of Allāh nor fornicators" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 95, 104).

What then is at the bottom of these contradictory traditions? While Wellhausen regards *mutʿa* as simply prostitution and not an old Arabian custom, Caetani points out that the traditions agree in connecting *mutʿa*

with an entrance of the Prophet into Mecca and sometimes even with the *hadjdj*, and that a three days' duration is a feature of the *mutʿa*; taking account of other considerations, he concludes that *mutʿa* in the pagan period was religious prostitution on the occasion of the Meccan festival. However tempting this explanation may be, there is a complete lack of evidence for any religious prostitution in Mecca. With Wilken and Robertson Smith, we must rather regard *mutʿa* as the survival into Islam of an old Arabian custom. The Prophet gives this custom sanction in the Ḳurʾān and also practiced it himself. The traditions, if examined carefully, only mention two cases of prohibition by the Prophet: Khaybar and Mecca. As both these are later than the above Ḳurʾānic passage (years 3-5, according to Nöldeke-Schwally, *G. des Q.*, i, 198) this prohibition would be quite possible. But since on the other hand the caliph ʿUmar prohibited *mutʿa*, which there is no reason to doubt, we might regard the tradition of prohibition as representing later views, which, as is often the case, are put back to the time of the Prophet.

IV. Attitude of the *fuḳahāʾ*. Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68) was an ardent champion of *mutʿa* (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 31; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 18; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 1792; Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Cairo 1324, iii, 195). In Mecca and the Yaman, according to Ibn Rushd (*Bidāya*, Cairo 1339, ii, 54), he also had followers; but before his death he is said to have been converted to the opposite view (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 28; al-Rāzī, *loc. cit.*). In later times, people still spoke derisively of a marriage by a *fatwā* of Ibn ʿAbbās. In the second half of the 1st century in Mecca, *fatwās* were still given permitting *mutʿa* (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 29). The Ḳurʾān commentators Mudjāhid, (d. 100), Saʿīd b. Djubayr (d. 95), and al-Suddī (d. 127) also referred the above verse of the Ḳurʾān to *mutʿa*. Al-Suddī says that it is a marriage for a fixed period and that it should be concluded with the permission of the *walī* and with two witnesses; that after the expiry of this period the man has no longer any claim on the woman and that the two parties cannot inherit from one another (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v, 8). With the 2nd/8th century, the contrary view begins to predominate; although individuals like ʿAmr b. Dīnār (d. 126/743-4), Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767) and the Zaydī sect of the Djārūdiyya permit *mutʿa* (Ibn Rushd, *loc. cit.*; Van Arendonk, *Opkomst*, etc., Leiden 1919, 72, n. 9), al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 28) and all the Sunnī schools of law as well as the Zaydīs (al-Nāṭiḳ bi 'l-Ḥaḳḳ, *Taḥrīr*, Berlin ms., Glaser 74, fol. 53b) consider *mutʿa* forbidden. Its recognition was now limited to the Shīʿa. And if the caliph Maʾmūn tried to introduce *mutʿa* again, this was certainly due to his Shīʿī sympathies (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 218).

At the same time, we still have in the 2nd/8th century the opinions of a period of transition. According to Zufar (d. 158/775), the marriage concluded under the form of *mutʿa* was valid as a marriage, but its limitation in time was invalid (al-Sarakhsī, *Mabsūt*, v, 153; cf. also al-Bukhārī, *Ḥiyal*, *bāb* 4). According to al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Luʾluʾī (d. 204/819-20), *mutʿa* was valid if the partners could not survive the time fixed, *e.g.*, 100 years or more (al-Sarakhsī, *loc. cit.*).

But in spite of their refusal to recognise *mutʿa*, the Sunnīs made concessions by which *mutʿa* gained a footing in another form. It became the practice not to insert a definite period in the contract; any agreement made outside the contract was not affected by the law. Al-Shāfiʿī (*Umm*, v, 71), for example, declared a marriage valid when it was concluded with the unuttered resolution (*niyya*) to observe it only for the period of stay in a place or for a few days only, so long as this was not expressly stipulated in the contract. Similarly, if agreement to this effect (*murāwaḍa*) had been previously made and even if made on oath; but he describes such an agreement as *makrūh*. There are also traces in later literature of a decision by Mālik by which he permitted *mutʿa* (al-Sarakhsī, v, 152; Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ed. Lees, ii, 208 ff.) although only the contrary is recorded in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and *Mudawwana* (iv, 46).

A good exposition of the two opposite points of view is given from the Sunnī side by al-Kāsānī (d. 587/1191), *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327, ii, 272-4, and in al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, iii, 193-8, and from the Shīʿī side by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, Tehran 1315, 60-5. The Sunnis refer the above-mentioned verse from the Ḳurʾān to regular marriage and declare the *adjr* to be *mahr*, while the Shīʿīs base their view on this verse and consider the traditions of prohibition not to be abrogatory and do not consider ʿUmar authoritative for a prohibition. The Imāmīs even go so far as to say "The believer is only perfect when he has experienced a *mutʿa*" (al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, v, 69, 2).

V. The teachings of the Imāmīs. 1. Form. *Mutʿa* is an irrevocable (*lāzim*) contract which, like every contract, comes into existence through *ḳabūl* and *īdjāb*. It may be concluded with the words *nikāḥ*, *tazwīdj* or *tamattuʿ*, but must always contain a precise statement of the period (*adjal*) and a definite recompense (*adjr* or *mahr*). This recompense may be the dowry usual in other marriages or a handful of corn, a *dirham* or such-like. The period may vary from a day to months or even years. Witnesses are not necessary; nor need it be concluded before the *ḳāḍī*, if the partners are capable of using the formulae correctly. If the *mahr* is not given, the contract is invalid; if the period is not given, according to some it is a regular marriage provided that the word *tamattuʿ* was not used at the end of the ceremony; in the latter case, the contract is again invalid.

2. The two partners must naturally fulfil the usual conditions for the the conclusion of an agreement. The woman must further be unmarried and chaste (*ʿafīfa*) and, if possible, ought to know about *mutʿa*, *i.e.*, be a Shīʿī, and can only contract a temporary marriage with a Muslim. According to Ibn Bābūya (d. 381/991) and al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), *mutʿa* with an unbeliever is forbidden, even with a member of the possessors of a scripture (*kitābiyya*). The *nawāṣib* (extreme Khāridjīs) are included among the unbelievers. According to most Imāmīs (and Ṭūsī also), however, *mutʿa* with a Christian or Jewish woman is permitted but *makrūh* with a *madjūsiyya*. *Mutʿa* with a slave-girl is only admitted with the consent of her master. Usually, the woman contracts the marriage without a *walī*; only a virgin (*bikr*), according to some, requires her father's consent (Abu 'l-Ṣalāḥ, d. 82; Ibn Bābūya; Ibn al-Barrādj, d. 481; cf. al-Ḥillī, iii, 92). The man may in this way take other wives in addition to his four legal wives, especially on journeys. He must not, however, take two sisters at the same time, not even during the *ʿidda*.

3. The *mutʿa* ends on the expiry of the period agreed upon. It cannot be prolonged by arrangement between the two parties; a new temporary marriage with a new *mahr* must rather be contracted at the end of the period. Divorce is impossible; according to some, however, *liʿān* and *ẓihār* are permitted.

4. There is no obligation on the man to provide food and home for the woman. The two partners cannot inherit from one another; but according to some,

inheritance may be provided for in the contract. The *ᶜidda* after the expiry of the *mutᶜa* is two menstrual periods or 45 days, *i.e.*, the *ᶜidda* of a slave-girl. There is, however, disagreement whether on the man's death the period of waiting is the usual one for a wife or that for a slave. The children go with the father.

VI. Modern practice. Although these Shīᶜī views have a certain amount of moral support, *mutᶜa* in many cases can only be described as legalised prostitution. It is true that in Persia such marriages are made for very long periods, *e.g.*, 99 years, but the Persian, when on a journey, temporarily marries in any place where he is stopping for some time, and in the towns and caravanserais mullahs and other brokers offer a wife to each new arrival. To make this business more profitable, the *ᶜidda* period is evaded by concluding a second temporary marriage with the same man after the expiry of the first, for in the case of such a marriage the *ᶜidda* is not necessary. This marriage and a woman of this kind is called in Persia *ṣīgha* (lit. "form" *i.e.*, of the contract). Cf. Olearius [1637], *Muscowit. u. pers. Reyse*, Schleswig 1656, 609; Chardin [1673], *Voyages*, Paris 1811, ii, 222-3, 225-7; Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i, 207-8; E.G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1927, 505-6; H. Norden, *Persien*, Leipzig 1929, 148-167; the romance of the traveller James Morier, *The adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, 1824, part iii, chs. 6-8; G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 164-5.

The constantly-quoted story (first in Wilken, 19) of Alex. Hamilton (*A new account of the East Indies*, Edinburgh 1727, i, 51) that at the beginning of the 18th century temporary marriages were publicly negotiated in Sounan (= Ṣanᶜāʾ) in South Arabia and concluded before the *ḳāḍī*, is a very improbable one, for Hamilton knew only the coast towns from his own observation and wrote his account of his travels later from memory. He seems to be confusing them with conditions in Persian towns, and he makes mistakes on other matters.

In Mecca, in modern as well as ancient times (for the Middle Ages, cf. *Lisān al-ᶜArab*: *wa-mutᶜat al-tazwīdj bi-Makka minhu*), temporary marriages were concluded among the Sunnīs, but nothing is said of this in the marriage contract or this would make it invalid; everything necessary is arranged previously by word of mouth. On the conclusion of the contract, the man utters the *ṭalāḳ* formula with a time limit. Such agreements are as a rule kept (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 156; *Verspr. Geschriften*, vi, 150). The same artifice is used in such cases as al-Shāfiᶜī indicated long ago (cf. above).

In the early 20th century, marriages of this kind were still concluded at Deir ez-Zor in eastern Syria by Bedouins who came there temporarily to trade (V. Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, Paris 1931, 231-2).

Finally, it should be noted that *mutᶜa* is used in Islamic law in a quite different sense from that of "temporary marriage" for the indemnity payable to a divorced wife where no *mahr* or dowry has been stipulated (Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, 31-2; Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, 167).

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(W. Heffening)

MUTAᶜARRIBA (A.), "those who seek to become Arabs", the term applied to the descendants of Ḳaḥṭān (the Biblical Yoḳṭān) who were regarded by the genealogists as "having become Arabs" in contrast to the supposedly indigenous "pure" Arab tribes like ᶜĀd, Thamūd, etc. [see MUSTAᶜRIBA]. They settled in South Arabia and adopted Arabic from the "pure" Arabs. The latter had learned it through Djurhum, the only man who spoke Arabic in Noah's Ark (all the rest spoke Syriac), and his son-in-law Iram b. Sām b. Nūḥ was the ancestor of the ᶜĀd and Thamūd, etc. From South Arabia, their main centre, tribes of the Banū Ḳaḥṭān migrated to the north, so that there are in Northern Arabia also tribes whose genealogies make them belong to the Banū Ḳaḥṭān.

Bibliography: See that to MUSTAᶜRIBA.

(Ilse Lichtenstädter)

MUTADĀRIK, name of the sixteenth metre in Arabic prosody, added to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad's list by al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ [*q.v.*]. It is also called *mukhtaraᶜ*, *muḥdath*, *khabab*, *shaḳīḳ*, *muntasiḳ*, *darb al-khayl*, *raḳḍ al-khayl*, *ṣawt al-nāḳūs*. It does not seem to have been used by the poets before Islam or of the first century A.H. It is made up, in each hemistich, of four *fāᶜilun*, which may be reduced to *faᶜilun* or even *faᶜlun*. See also ᶜARŪḌ. (M. Ben Cheneb*)

AL-**MUᶜTAḌID BI'LLĀH**, Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Ṭalḥa, ᶜAbbāsid caliph. The son of the

regent al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*] and a Greek slave-girl called Ḍirār, the date of his birth is unknown but was probably around 245/860. His father gave him a military training and from 267/880-1 he is found leading operations against the Zandj rebels [*q.v.*]. In 271/885 he suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the troops of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*]. Relations between him and his father were not always cordial, and one occasion in 275/888-9 Aḥmad actually ordered his arrest. The incident showed that the future caliph had already acquired his own military following, who now demonstrated and secured his release.

On his father's death in Ṣafar 278/June 891, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās was given the honorific of al-Muʿtaḍid and inherited his father's position as second in line of succession to the caliphate after al-Muʿtamid's son, al-Mufawwaḍ. He also inherited his father's chief supporters, notably the *wazīr* ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb and the commander of his army Badr [see BADR AL-MUʿTAḌIDĪ in Suppl.]. In Muḥarram 279/April 892 al-Mufawwaḍ was unceremoniously removed from his position as heir apparent, which then passed to al-Muʿtaḍid and six months later in Radjab 279/October 892 he became caliph without opposition on al-Muʿtamid's death.

Al-Muʿtaḍid's great strength was the close relations with the army which he had inherited from his father and the close and harmonious relations between civil and military leaders, and he was determined to use these assets to reassert the power of the ʿAbbāsid family. He led his armies in person and spent much of his reign on campaign. While he was forced to acknowledge that Khurāsān, Syria and Egypt were lost to the ʿAbbāsids, at least for the time being, he strove to re-establish control over the core territories, ʿIrāḳ and al-Djazīra, so important as a source of grain for Baghdād, and western Persia.

In al-Djazīra he was faced by the ruler of Āmid, Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh al-Shaybānī. In 280/893 he drove Aḥmad out of Mawṣil and retook the city, and in 286/899 he took Āmid from Aḥmad's son and successor Muḥammad. He also secured the support of the Taghlibī chief Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, so, unwittingly, beginning the rise of the Ḥamdānid dynasty [see ḤAMDĀNIDS].

In Persia, the keystone of al-Muʿtaḍid's policy was the development of a working relationship with ʿAmr b. Layth [*q.v.*], the Ṣaffārid leader, perhaps trying to recreate the sort of partnership which his predecessors had had with the Ṭāhirids. The country was divided into spheres of influence, with the Ṣaffārids keeping Khurāsān, the East and Fārs, while the ʿAbbāsids controlled Rayy, Iṣfahān and the West. The ʿAbbāsids were unable to maintain themselves in Rayy, which was handed over to the Ṣaffārids in 284/897, but in the Iṣfahān area the last of the Dulafids, ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, was dispossessed in 283/896 and the city brought back under ʿAbbāsid rule. In 285/898 al-Muʿtaḍid appointed ʿAmr as governor of Transoxania, but he was humiliatingly defeated by Ismāʿīl the Sāmanīd and sent to Baghdād, where he was killed in prison in 289/902 immediately after the caliph's death.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb remained *wazīr* until his death in 288/901 when he was replaced by his son al-Ḳāsim. The all-important finances of ʿIrāḳ were managed by the Banu 'l-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT] until 286/899, when they were replaced by their arch-rivals the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ. Command of the army remained in the hands of the loyal Badr. His reign saw the final return of the ʿAbbāsid capital from Sāmarrā to Baghdād, which had long been his father's base of operations against the Zandj. The geography of the city was altered, however, the new official quarter being on the east bank and down-river from the city of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. It was this new city which was to form the nucleus of modern Baghdād.

From 284/897 the authorities began to be troubled by Ḳarmaṭī [*q.v.*] disturbances. In the early days these were essentially small-scale rebellions among the peasantry of the Sawād of al-Kūfah but from 286/899 the Ḳarmaṭī leader Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī [*q.v.*] also controlled Baḥrayn and in 287/900 decisively defeated the ʿAbbāsid troops under al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr al-Ghanawī and took the provincial capital of Hadjar. It was not until after the iron hand of al-Muʿtaḍid was removed, however, that the Ḳarmaṭīs became a serious threat.

Al-Muʿtaḍid died in Rabīʿ II 289/April 902. He had already secured the succession for his son al-Muktafī [*q.v.*], who had received a sound practical training as governor in Rayy and al-Djazīra. By his military energy and determination he had greatly extended ʿAbbāsid power, but his reign was too short to reverse long-term trends and re-establish ʿAbbāsid power on a lasting basis.

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(H. KENNEDY)

AL-MUʿTAḌID BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ ʿAMR ʿABBĀD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABBĀD, the most important and most powerful sovereign of the ʿAbbādid dynasty [*q.v.*] who reigned over the little kingdom formed by his father Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād, with Seville [see ISHBĪLIYA] as his capital, at the time of the break up of the Umayyad caliphate of Spain and the rise of the *reyes de taifas* (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*]). In the course of a reign of more than 25 years (433-60/1042-69), he very considerably increased his territory by making himself the champion of the Spanish Arabs against the Berbers in Spain whose numbers, already very large in the 4th/10th century, had been much increased since the period of the ʿĀmirid dictators.

When he succeeded his father, the new king of Seville, who was then 26, following the usual practice of the period, assumed the title of *ḥādjib*, and a little later the *laḳab* of al-Muʿtaḍid bi 'llāh by which he is best known. Gifted with real political ability, he was not long in revealing his character, that of an autocratic ruler, ambitious and cruel and little scrupulous in the means which he used to achieve his ends. As soon as he came to the throne he continued the war begun by his father against the petty Berber ruler of Carmona [see ḲARMŪNA], Muḥammad b.

ʿAbd Allāh al-Birzālī, then against the latter's son and successor Isḥāḳ. At the same time, al-Muʿtaḍid was extending his kingdom in the west between Seville and the Atlantic Ocean. It was with this object that he attacked and defeated successively Ibn Ṭayfūr, lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Mertola [see MĪRTŪLA], and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Yaṣḥubī, lord of Niebla (Ar. Labla [*q.v.*]), who in spite of his Arab descent had had the audacity to ally himself with the Berber chiefs. In face of these successes of the king of Seville, the other *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*] who distrusted him formed a kind of league into which entered the princes of Badajoz [see BAṬALYAWS], Algeciras [see AL-DJAZĪRA AL-KHAḌRĀʾ], Granada [see GHARNĀṬA] and Málaga [see MĀLAḲA]. This soon became a war between the ʿAbbādid of Seville and the Afṭasid [*q.v.*] of Badajoz al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*]; it was to last for many years in spite of the efforts at mediation by the Djahwarid ruler of Cordova, which only achieved their end in 443/1051. Down to this year, while harassing the frontiers of the kingdom of Badajoz, al-Muʿtaḍid displayed other activities; in succession he defeated Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Bakrī, lord of Huelva [see WALBA] and of Saltes [see SHALTĪSH] (whose son was the famous geographer), the Banū Muzayn, lords of Silves [see SHILB], and Muḥammad b. Saʿid Ibn Hārūn, lord of Santa Maria de Algarve [see UKHSHŪNŪBA], and annexed their territories. To justify these annexations, al-Muʿtaḍid used a very crude pretext; he alleged that he had found the unfortunate Hishām II, who had really died in obscurity a few years before, and would go on till he had restored to him his former empire subdued and pacified in its integrity. In order not to be exposed to the cruelty of the king of Seville, the majority of the petty Berber chiefs settled in the mountains of the south of Andalusia, acquiesced in this make-believe and paid homage to the ʿAbbādid and the Commander of the Faithful, miraculously restored to aid the cause of al-Muʿtaḍid but at the same time carefully concealed by him. It was labour lost for them. One day, the ʿAbbādid invited to his palace in Seville all these petty chiefs with their suites and put them to death by asphyxiating them in baths, the openings in which he walled up. In this way he took Arcos [see ARKUSH], the capital of the principality of the Banū Khizrūn, Moron [see MAWRŪR] defended by the Banū Dammar, and Ronda [see RUNDA], capital of the Banū Ifran (445/1053).

This aroused the wrath of the most powerful Berber ruler in Spain, Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs the Zīrid [*q.v.*], who ruled in Granada and who alone seemed able to resist al-Muʿtaḍid. The latter, however, found that fortune favoured him in this war, and a little later took Algeciras from the Ḥammūdid al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd. He next tried to seize Cordova, and sent an expedition against it in charge of his son Ismāʿīl; the latter tried to profit by the occasion to rebel and created for himself a kingdom with Algeciras as capital. This rash plan cost him his life, which his father took with his own hand, just as before him ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir had inflicted the supreme penalty on their unworthy sons. This was the beginning of the political career of al-Muʿtaḍid's other son Muḥammad al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*], who was to succeed him on his death; by his father's orders he went with an army to support the Arabs of Málaga, who had rebelled against the tyrannical rule of Bādīs, the despotic Berber of Granada. But the latter routined the Sevillan army, and al-Muʿtamid reached Ronda in sorry state, from which he sought and received the pardon of his terrible father. The latter had long before repudiated the fiction of the pseudo-Hishām which he no longer needed. He was now by far the most redoubtable and the most feared of the Spanish rulers. He had no enemies but the Berbers, Muslims like himself but much further removed from his social ideal of a Spaniard than his Christian neighbours in the north. In another land he might have been called *Berberoktonos*. But the bitterness of his hatred cast a shadow over his last days; it was not without fear that he followed events in the western Maghrib, hitherto the fief of Muslim Spain, at least in the sub-Mediterranean zone. The irresistible advance of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], following Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn through all Morocco, would not find the straits of Gibraltar an insurmountable obstacle for long. Al-Muʿtaḍid realised this very well. Death at least prevented him from seeing his kingdom, entirely built up by his own energy and bold initiative, pass in a few weeks into the hands of invaders, brethren of these Berbers of Spain whom he had detested and in part destroyed.

Bibliography: All the texts of Arabic historians relating to the ʿAbbādids (particularly Ibn Ḥayyān, *apud* Ibn Bassām; *Dhakhīra*, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Abbār, Maḳḳarī) have been published by R. Dozy in his *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*, Leiden 1846. Add also: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār mulūk al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, iii, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930, and appendices (cf. indices); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām fī man būyiʿa ḳabl al-iḥtilām min mulūk al-Islām*, part relating to the history of Spain, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, index. Cf. also Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leiden 1932, index; A. Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1929, 73-5; D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings*, Princeton 1985, 95 (with Bibl.), 155-6 and index.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MUTAFARRIḲA, IBRĀHĪM [see IBRĀHĪM MÜTEFERRIḲA].

AL-**MUṬAHHAR**, eldest son of the Zaydi *Imām* al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā [*q.v.*], and principal early opponent of Ottoman expansion into Yemen.

Born in Radjab 908/January 1503, he early showed considerable military promise, and to him is owing much of the credit for the securing of his father's sway over most of Yemen. Yet, passed over by his father as his possible successor, al-Muṭahhar grew alienated from his family, even to the point of briefly encouraging the Ottomans to expand inland (953/1546) from their foothold in the Tihāma. The Zaydī aristocracy, facing internal disharmony and repeated setbacks, including the loss of Taʿizz to the Turks (10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 953/1 February 1547), was at last persuaded that al-Muṭahhar should be recognised as their leader (*ca.* early 954/February-March 1548). But Ottoman expansion could not then be stemmed, and Ṣanʿāʾ, the Zaydī capital since 923/1517, fell to Özdemir Bey [see ÖZDEMIR PASHA] on 7 Radjab 954/23 August 1547. Al-Muṭahhar took refuge in his mountain fortress of Thulā. After peace was concluded with the Ottomans in 959/1552, he acted as an Ottoman *sandjaḳbeyi*, exercising limited authority over districts northwest of Ṣanʿaʾ.

The progressive alienation of hitherto pro-Ottoman native elements by several poor Ottoman governors in succession encouraged al-Muṭahhar to resume the offensive in 973/1566. Although by 976/1568 his followers had reduced the Turks to a small coastal enclave, within two years his fortunes were completely

reversed by a massive Ottoman force under Ḳodja Sinān Pas̲h̲a. Al-Muṭahhar died in relative obscurity on 3 Rad̲j̲ab 980/9 November 1572.

Al-Muṭahhar was *imām* only inasmuch as he exercised political and military leadership. Both his congenital lameness and the fact that he was not a *mud̲j̲tahid* (one learned in Zaydī doctrine and law) precluded his being recognised as a true *imām* like his father).

Bibliography: Two primary sources are *Rawḥ al-rūḥ* (in ms. only) by ʿĪsā b. Luṭf Allāh (d. 1048/1638), the grandson of al-Muṭahhar, and *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī* (*G̲h̲azawāt al-d̲j̲arākisa*, ed. Ḥ. al-D̲j̲āsir, Riyāḍ 1967) by al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582). Other Arabic ms. sources include Ibn Dāʿir, *al-Futūḥāt*; D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-Sulūk al-d̲h̲ahabiyya*; and al-S̲h̲illī, *al-Sanā᾿ al-bāhir*.

Useful printed materials are Mawzaʿī, *al-Iḥsān*, ed. Ḥilos̲h̲ī, Ṣanʿā᾿ n.d., 24-62 *passim*; the 11th/17th-century Arabic chronicle by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *G̲h̲āyat al-amānī*, ed. S. ʿĀs̲h̲ūr, Cairo 1968, ii, 662-745; S̲h̲awkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, ii, 309 f; Zabāra, *A᾿immat al-Yaman*, Taʿizz 1375/1955-6, i, 452-86; Rās̲h̲id, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Yemen*, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 38-145; Wüstenfeld, *Jemen*, Göttingen 1884, 7-28; ʿĀṭif Pas̲h̲a, *Yemen tārīk̲h̲i*, Istanbul 1326/1908, 51-79; al-D̲j̲urāfī, *al-Muktaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 88-90, 134-41; Sālim, *al-Fatḥ al-ʿUt̲h̲mānī*, Cairo 1969, 118-293; J.R. Blackburn, *The Ottoman penetration of Yemen*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 55-100; and idem, *The collapse of Ottoman authority in Yemen*, in *WI*, xix (1980), 119-76. (J.R. Blackburn)

AL-**MUṬAHHAR** B. **ṬĀHIR** (or al-Mutahhar) AL-**MAḲDISĪ**, Abū Naṣr, the otherwise unknown author of an "historical" encyclopaedia called *Kitāb al-Bad᾿ wa 'l-ta᾿rīk̲h̲* composed at Bust [*q.v.*] around 355/966 at the prompting of an anonymous Sāmānid minister. Cl. Huart had the merit of bringing out of oblivion an eloquent piece of work which witnesses to the interest shown in the history of humanity, probably less in regard to actual events than in regard to culture, by mediaeval Muslims. Huart published, on the basis of an Istanbul ms., the Arabic text of this and a French translation (Paris 1899-1919, repr. Baghdad 1962), and up to the sixth volume retained the title adopted originally of *Livre de la Création et de l'histoire attribué à Abou-Zéïd al-Balkhi*, when, thanks to the citations which al-T̲h̲aʿālibī [*q.v.*] was able to make from it in his *Kitāb al-G̲h̲urar*, partially tr. by H. Zotenberg in his *Histoire des rois de Perse* (Paris 1900), it was possible for him to identify the author and to rectify, in the prefaces to vols. ii, iii and iv his earlier error of attribution.

The *K. al-Bad᾿ wa 'l-ta᾿rīk̲h̲* recalls al-Masʿūdī's [*q.v.*] *Murūd̲j̲*, but history here is envisaged from a more philosophical and certainly from a more critical point of view. The author displays a good knowledge of ancient and alien religions, whose cultural value he stresses without however ceasing to place Islam above them. He follows the usual order. Beginning with the creation of the world, he devotes the first three volumes—half of the whole work—to ancient history and to philosophical, theological, geographical, etc. considerations and does not reach a consideration of Islam until the fourth volume (cf. the parallel lay-out of al-Masʿūdī's work, in which these earlier topics occupy only two volumes out of five), finally reserving a restricted place for the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids.

One inevitably wonders why this encyclopaedia, whose value is undeniable, should nevertheless have fallen into oblivion. It has remained unknown not only to the Muslims (the extant mss. are all in Istanbul and al-Sak̲h̲āwī, e.g., does not cite it in his *Iʿlān*) but also to Orientalists (J. Sauvaget and Cl. Cahen do not make use of it either in their *Introduction à l'histoire du monde musulman*). Such a disdain may possibly arise precisely from the originality and free thought of a writer who seems to have maintained a certain independence and not to have been an adherent of any religious movement of the age when he lived.

Al-Muṭahhar mentions a work that he had written before the *Bad᾿*, a *Kitāb al-Maʿānī* (above all, at iii, 98) and announces three further ones: *K. al-Nafs wa 'l-rūḥ* (ii, 107/115), *K. al-Diyāna wa 'l-amāna* (i, 64/70-1) and *K. al-Maʿdila* (i, 83/91).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 222; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, index; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 337; and above all, A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, i, Paris-The Hague 1967, p. xxxii, 211 ff. and the indices to the succeeding volumes. (Ed.)

MUṬAHHARĪ, Āyatullāh Murtaḍā (1920-79), Iranian religious thinker, writer, and close associate of Āyatullāh K̲h̲umaynī, active in fostering the intellectual developments that contributed to the revolution of 1978-9. Born on 2 February 1920 in Farīman, about 60 km distant from Mas̲h̲had, to a religious scholar who was also his first teacher, Muṭahharī began his formal schooling in Mas̲h̲had at the age of twelve. He soon discovered the predilection for philosophy, theology and mysticism that stayed with him throughout his life. In 1937 he moved to Ḳum, where he remained for many years, studying *fiḳh* and *uṣūl* with Āyatullāhs Ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲at Kūhkamarī, Sayyid Muḥammad Dāmād, Muḥammad Riḍā Gulpāyagānī, Ṣadr al-Dīn Ṣadr, and — from 1944 onwards— Muḥammad Ḥusayn Burūd̲j̲irdī. He also attended the lectures of Āyatullāh (then Ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲at al-Islām) K̲h̲umaynī on ethics and key texts of the S̲h̲īʿī philosophical tradition such as the *Asfār al-arbaʿa* of Mullā Ṣadrā and the *S̲h̲arḥ-i manẓūma* of Mullā Hādī Sabzawārī, thereby inaugurating an intimate relationship that was to last for the rest of his life. Of almost equal significance were Muṭahharī's ties to the philosopher and exegete Āyatullāh Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā᾿ī; he participated in his classes on the *S̲h̲ifā᾿* of Ibn Sīnā and in the Thursday evening meetings which he organised to discuss materialist philosophy.

In 1952, Muṭahharī left Ḳum for Tehran, where he began teaching philosophy at the Madrasa-yi Marwī, and two years later he also accepted an appointment at the Faculty of Theology and Islamic Sciences of Tehran University. The scope of his lecturing began transcending these two institutions when he started to collaborate first with the professional Islamic organisations that had been established by Mahdī Bāzargān and Āyatullāh Ṭāliḳānī and then, in 1960, with the *And̲j̲uman-i Māhāna-yi Dīnī* ("Monthly Religious Society"). Many of the lectures which he gave under the auspices of these groups were subsequently published in book form. Muṭahharī was also a leading figure in the Ḥusayniyya-yi Irs̲h̲ād, an institution established in north Tehran in 1965 with the aim of gaining the allegiance of the secularly educated to Islam. The Ḥusayniyya-yi Irs̲h̲ād drew huge crowds to its functions, but Muṭahharī gradually and discreetly withdrew from its work, in large part because of differences of outlook, both ideological and political, with ʿAlī S̲h̲arīʿatī, another of its leading members.

The first overt sign of Muṭahharī's commitment to the struggle against the Shah's régime came when he

was imprisoned for forty-three days in the aftermath of the uprising of 15 Khurdād 1342/6 June 1963. After his release, he participated actively in the various organisations that sought to maintain the momentum which the uprising had created, most importantly the *Djāmiʿa-yi Rūḥāniyyat-i Mubāriz* ("Society of Militant Clergy"). He remained in contact with Āyatullāh Khumaynī throughout his fourteen-year exile, visiting him occasionally in Nadjaf and then, in the months leading up to the triumph of the revolution, at Neauphle-le-Château near Paris. He was accordingly named to the *Shawrā-yi Inḳilāb-i Islāmī* ("Council of the Islamic Revolution") which administered the country after the overthrow of the Shah in February 1979, in uneasy tandem with the provisional government headed by Mahdī Bāzargān. A few months later, on 1 May 1979, Muṭahharī was assassinated in Tehran by adherents of Furḳān, a group which espoused a radically modernistic reinterpretation of Shīʿī doctrine and saw in Muṭahharī its most formidable opponent. Muṭahharī was eulogised by Khumaynī as "a part of my flesh" and buried in Ḳum.

Muṭahharī left behind a large and varied corpus of writing, much of it marked by his training as a theologian and philosopher and his devotion to the works of Mullā Ṣadrā. He was also guided, however, by the desire to present Islam as a coherent world-view (*djahānbīnī*) in the modern sense, and to clarify questions that had become controversial or a source of misunderstanding (such as the rights of women in Islam).

Bibliography: (a) Life: M. Hoda, *In memory of Martyr Mutahhari*, Tehran 1982; Muḥammad Wāʿiẓ-zāda Khurāsānī, *Sayrī dar zindagī-yi ʿilmī wa inḳilābī-yi Ustād-i Shahīd Murtaḍā Muṭahharī*, in *Yādnāma-yi Ustād-i Shahīd Murtaḍā Muṭahharī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Surūsh, Tehran 1360 sh./1981, 319-80; ʿAlī Rabbānī Khalkhālī, *Shuhadā-yi Rūḥāniyyat-i Shīʿa dar yakṣadsāla-yi akhīr*, Ḳum, 1402/1982, i, 345-52; Mudjtabā Muṭahharī, *Zindagī-yi pidaram*, in *Ḥarakat* (journal of the students at the Tehran Faculty of Theology), no. 1 (n.d.), 5-16. (b) Writings: The following may be counted as Muṭahharī's principal works: *Uṣūl-i falsafa wa rawish-i riʾālīsm*, i-iii, v (1332-50 sh./1953-71); *Dāstān-i rāstān*, 2 vols. (1339-40 sh./1960-61); *Niẓām-i ḥuḳūḳ-i zan dar Islām* (1345 sh./1966); *Khadamāt-i mutaḳābil-i Islām wa Īrān* (1346 sh./1967); *ʿAdl-i ilāhī* (1349 sh./1970); *ʿIlal-i girāyish ba māddīgarī* (1350 sh./1971); *Muḳaddima bar djahānbīnī-yi Islāmī*, 3 vols. (1357 sh./1978). For a complete list of his writings, see anon., *Fihrist-i āthār-i ustād-i Shahīd Murtaḍā Muṭahharī*, in *Yādnāma-yi Ustād-i Shahīd Murtaḍā Muṭahharī*, 435-552. Many of Muṭahharī's writings have been translated into a variety of European, Asian and African languages, chiefly under the auspices of the Iranian Ministry of Islamic Guidance; the translations vary widely in quality. (HAMID ALGAR)

MUTAKALLIM [see KALĀM]

MUTAḲĀRIB (A.), the name of the fifteenth metre in Arabic prosody [see ʿARŪḌ]. It comprises, in each hemistich, four feet made up of one short and two longs (*faʿūlun*). A certain number of licences are possible, in particular, the omission of the fourth foot, the shortening or even the cutting out of the third syllable of a foot, etc.

Bibliography: M. Ben Cheneb, *Tuḥfat al-adab*³, Paris 1954, 87-93. (ED.)

MUTAKĀWIS [see ḲĀFIYA].

AL-**MUTALAMMIS**, surname given to an Arab poet who lived in the 6th century A.D., belonged to the tribe of Ḍubayʿa and was called Djarīr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ; another name, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, given to his father in some sources, appears to signify that this polytheist had been the first of his family to convert to Christianity.

Al-Mutalammis was the maternal uncle of Ṭarafa [*q.v.*], and both figure in a narrative which may contain only an essence of truth but that the philologists and anthologists of the Middle Ages considered to be a trustworthy account of a series of perfectly authentic deeds. According to the tradition, the uncle and nephew had frequented the court of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] and gained the favour of ʿAmr b. Hind (554-69 A.D. [see LAKHMIDS]), with whom they had become familiar; nevertheless, some satirical verses had irritated the king who, in order to seek vengeance, entrusted to each of them a sealed letter addressed to al-Mukaʿbar, governor of Baḥrayn, giving them to understand that, on the receipt of the letters, the latter would bestow on them valuable presents on his behalf. On their way, but not far from al-Ḥīra, the two poets saw an old man who, all at the same time, answered a call of nature, ate a piece of bread and deloused himself. As al-Mutalammis treated him as insane, the man defended himself by saying: "Why do you find me insane? I expel the bad, introduce the good and kill an enemy", then he added: "More foolish than myself (*aḥmaḳ min-nī*, note the elative) is one who holds in his hand the instrument of his destruction". The poet hesitated to take this statement seriously, when, seized with doubt, he came upon a young ʿIbādī from al-Ḥīra who, questioned as to whether he knew how to read, replied in the affirmative; he then gave the letter, after unsealing it, to the young boy who read the following sentence: "After the customary salutations, when al-Mutalammis reaches you, cut off his hands and feet and bury him alive". Ṭarafa, incredulous, refused to imitate his uncle and rushed to his deadly fate. Al-Mutalammis, however, threw his letter into the nearby river (the Ḳāfir: see Yāḳūt, iv, 228 ff., where there is once more an account of the whole story) and made for Boṣrā [*q.v.*], where he lived until his death (in 580, according to the reckoning of P. Cheikho). From this legend, the Arabs have derived a proverbial saying, *ṣaḥīfat al-Mutalammis*, corresponding to the expression "Bellerophon's letter", to designate a letter containing the order to kill (or at least torture) the one who is entrusted with carrying it to its addressee.

The mediaeval philologists who report the narrative make al-Mutalammis ask the young man the following simple question: *yā ghulām, a-taḳraʾ?* without troubling to identify the writing used. Now the authors of this popular tale certainly did not think of the problem that it would pose, for they lived in a period when Arabic writing was sufficiently widespread and when it was easy to commit an anachronism. In any case, if one takes as a historical fact the plot of the narrative, it is evident that al-Mutalammis was illiterate, and there appears to be no reason to follow the suggestion of A.F.L. Beeston who [see MUSNAD] proposes considering that he only knew the Bedouin (South Semitic) writing and was not able to read the primitive Arabic writing (that the king or his scribe had supposedly used).

Al-Mutalammis is said to owe his surname, like many other poets, to a verse of his own composition which runs: "Here is the time when, in the wooded valley, are reborn the common flies, wasps and insistent (*mutalammis*) bluebottles". He is described as not very productive (*muḳill*) and placed for this reason in the seventh class of pre-Islamic *fuḥūl* by Ibn Sallām

(*Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo n.d., 131-2). His works, some fragments of which are cited in a considerable number of sources, were none the less of interest at an early date to the most reputable philologists, notably al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda, Ibn al-Kalbī and ibn al-Sikkīt. They were collected in a *Dīwān* that K. Vollers published and translated into German in 1903 in Leipzig (a more recent edition was published by Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1390/1970). Modern historians of Arabic literature, when they come to cite this poet, devote only a brief notice to him, for he is outshone by his nephew, whose renown is certainly much greater. In one of his poems, he calls for revenge for the latter's death (metre *kāmil*, rhyme *-dī*) and naturally attacks ʿAmr b. Hind, the affair of the *ṣaḥīfa* having inspired him to a great extent in his work. He is credited with a certain number of original *maʿānī* [see MAʿNĀ. 3] and proverbial sayings derived from his verses, including a *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] of ʿAmr (metre *ṭawīl*, rhyme *-mā*) provoked by accusations relating to his belonging to the Ḍubayʿa or Yashkur (his mother's tribe). R. Blachère (*HLA*, ii, 295-6) describes him as a "tribal poet" and judges the form of his compositions as "not very mannered". The fact is that, for example, the language of a poem which has attracted the attention of the anthologists (metre *ṭawīl*, rhyme *-sū*) is relatively simple; however, another *sīniyya* (metre *basīṭ*, rhyme *-ī/ūsū*) replying to a supposed prohibition on his returning to ʿIrāḳ and "devouring the corn" of the land, decreed by ʿAmr b. Hind, presents variants and inspires such divergent interpretations that one has the impression that the transmitters and commentators did not understand it. Probably a tribal, hence Bedouin, poet who, however, describes a male camel as a *ṣayʿariyya*, term reserved for female camels (metre *ṭawīl*, rhyme *-mī*) and earns the taunts of his fellows who say of him *instanwaḳa 'l-djamal* "He made the male camel into a female", but it is true that the verse in question is also attributed to al-Musayyab b. ʿAlas (*e.g.*, in *LA*, root ṣ-ʿ-r).

Bibliography: The richest source is the *Aghānī* (xxi, 185-8, 198-205; Beirut ed., xxiii, 524-72), whose data was taken and greatly augmented by L. Cheikho (*Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 330-49, with a list of sources used). Apart from the references cited in the art., one may give Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 375, iii, 38, 60; idem, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 85, iii, 47, 136, 391, iv, 263, v, 561; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 85-8, 91 = Cairo ed. 131-6, 142; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, Cairo n.d., 272-5; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 173 and ii, 258; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1352, i, 412-14 (on the saying *ṣaḥīfat al-Mutalammis*); Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Cairo 1383/1964, 233, 397-400; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 446, iii, 73, iv, 214-16; R. Basset, *Millet et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1926, ii 326-7 (with detailed bibl.); O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 59; Brockelmann, S I, 46-7; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 173-5. (CH. PELLAT)

MUʿTAMAD KHĀN, MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF, KHWĀDJA TAḲĪ (?-1049/?-1639), Mughal Indian commander and imperial historian.

He was born into an obscure family in Persia, but coming to India, he attained high honours in the reigns of Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān. He received in the third year of Djahāngīr a military command and the title of Muʿtamad Khān. Subsequently, he joined prince Shāh Djahān in his campaign in the Deccan as a *bakhshī* (paymaster). On his return to court, in the 17th year of Djahāngīr's reign (1031/1622), he was entrusted with the duty of writing the Emperor's memoirs. He attained a higher rank in the service of Shāh Djahān and was appointed *mīr bakhshī* (adjutant-general) in the 10th year of the new reign. He died in 1049/1639. He is the author of a history called *Iḳbāl-nāma-yi Djahāngīrī*, in three volumes: 1. the history of Akbar's ancestors; 2. Akbar's reign (numerous mss.); 3. the reign of Djahāngīr (printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1865, Lucknow, 1286/1869-70, etc.).

Bibliography: *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, iii, 431; *Tuzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, 352; *JRAS*, N.S., iii, 459; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vi, 400; Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal empire*, repr. Karachi 1967, index s.v.; M. Athar Ali, *The apparatus of empire*, Delhi 1985, index at p. 355 s.v. Khwāja Taqī; Storey, i, 557, 560-2, 564-5, 1316.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN*)

MUʾTAMAR (A.), conference or congress. In the modern Islamic context, the term refers to the convening of Muslims from throughout the world in order to deliberate over common concerns. In the course of the 20th century, Muslim conferences emerged as the organised, modern expression of the deeper sentiment of Muslim solidarity.

The idea of convening Muslims in conferences first gained currency in the late 19th century. The advent of easy and regular steamer transport accelerated the exchange of ideas among widely separated Muslims, and made feasible the periodic assembling of representatives. The idea also appealed to Muslim reformists, who sought a forum to promote and sanction the internal reform of Islam. Such an assembly, they believed, would strengthen the ability of Muslims to resist the encroachments of Western imperialism.

A number of émigré intellectuals in Cairo first popularised the idea in the Muslim world. In 1900, one of them, the Syrian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī [*q.v.*], published an influential tract entitled *Umm al-Ḳurā*, which purported to be the secret protocol of a Muslim congress convened in Mecca during the pilgrimage of 1316/1899. The imaginary conference culminated in a call for a restored Arab caliphate, an idea then in vogue in reformist circles. Support for such a conference also became a staple of the reformist journal *al-Manār*, published in Cairo by Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*]. The Crimean Tatar reformist Ismāʿīl Gasprali (Gasprinski) [see GASPRALÎ] made the very first concrete initiative in Cairo, where he unsuccessfully worked to convene a "general" Muslim congress in 1907-8.

Al-Kawākibī's book, Riḍā's appeals, and Gasprali's initiative all excited the suspicion of Ottoman authorities. In Istanbul it was believed that a well-attended Muslim conference would fatally undermine the religious authority claimed by the Ottoman sultan-caliph. In particular, the Ottomans feared the possible transformation of any such conference into an electoral college for choosing an Arab caliph. Steadfast Ottoman opposition thwarted all of the early initiatives of the reformers.

In the void created by the final dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, a number of Muslim leaders and activists moved to convene general Muslim conferences. In each instance, they sought to mark their causes or their ambitions with the stamp of Islamic consensus. In 1919, Muṣṭafā Kemāl [Atatürk] convened a Muslim conference in Anatolia in order to mobilise foreign Muslim support for his military campaigns. During the pilgrimage season of 1342/1924, King Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī of the Ḥidjāz summoned a "pilgrimage conference" in Mecca to support his claim to the caliphate — a manœuvre which failed to stall the relentless advance of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd. Following Ibn Saʿūd's occupation of Mecca,

he convened his own "world" conference during the pilgrimage season of 1344/1926. The leading clerics of al-Azhar in Cairo convened a "caliphate congress" in Cairo in 1926, to consider the effects of the Turkish abolition of the caliphate two years earlier. The conference was supported by King Fuʾād [*q.v.*], who reputedly coveted the title of caliph, but no decision issued from the gathering. In 1931, Amīn al-Ḥusaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], *Muftī* of Jerusalem, convened a "general" conference of Muslims in Jerusalem, to secure foreign Muslim support for the Arab struggle against the British Mandate and Zionism. And in 1935, the pan-Islamic activist S̲h̲akīb Arslān convened a conference of Europe's Muslims at Geneva in order to carry the protest against imperialism to the heart of Europe. Each of these conferences resolved to create a permanent organisation and to convene additional conferences. But all such efforts were foiled by internal rivalries and the intervention of the European powers.

With the spread of political independence after the Second World War, several Muslim leaders floated new plans for the creation of a permanent organisation of Muslim states. Pakistan took a number of initiatives in the late 1940s and early 1950s, but soon encountered stiff opposition from Egypt, which gave primacy of place to pan-Arabism and the Arab League. When D̲j̲amāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of Egypt transformed pan-Arabism into a revolutionary doctrine, Saʿūdī Arabia sought to counter him by promoting a rival pan-Islamism, and assembling conferences of Muslim activists and *ʿulamāʾ* from abroad. In 1962, the Saʿūdī government sponsored the establishment of the Mecca-based Muslim World League, which quickly built a wide network of Muslim clients. Beginning in 1964, Egypt responded by organising large conferences of Egyptian and foreign *ʿulamāʾ* under the auspices of al-Azhar's Academy of Islamic Researches. These rival bodies then convened a succession of dueling conferences in Mecca and Cairo, each claiming the sole prerogative of defining Islam. In 1965-6, King Fayṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz launched a campaign for an Islamic summit conference, which would have balanced the Arab summits dominated by Egypt. However, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir had sufficient influence to thwart the initiative, which he denounced as a foreign-inspired "Islamic pact" designed to defend the interests of Western imperialism.

Israel's 1967 defeat of Arab armies and occupation of Jerusalem eroded faith in the brand of Arabism championed by Egypt, and inspired a return to Islam. This set the scene for a renewed Saʿūdī initiative. In September 1969, following an arsonist's attack against the Aḳṣā Mosque in Jerusalem, Muslim heads of state set aside their differences and met in Rabat in the first Islamic summit conference. King Fayṣal took this opportunity to press for the creation of a permanent organisation of Muslim states. The effort succeeded, and in May 1971, the participating states established the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (O.I.C.; *Munaẓẓamat al-muʾtamar al-islāmī*). The new organisation, with headquarters in D̲j̲udda (pending the liberation of Jerusalem), adopted its charter in March 1972.

The O.I.C. eventually earned a place of some prominence in regional diplomacy, principally through the organisation of triennial Islamic summits and annual conferences of the foreign ministers of member states. The O.I.C.'s activities fell into three broad categories. First, it sought to promote solidarity with Muslim states and peoples which were locked in conflict with non-Muslims. Most of its efforts were devoted to the causes of Palestine and Jerusalem, although it supported Muslim movements from Eritrea to the Philippines. Second, the organisation offered mediation in disputes and wars between its own members, although its effectiveness was greatly limited by the lack of any force for peace-keeping or truce supervision. Finally, the O.I.C. sponsored an array of subsidiary and affiliated institutions to promote political, economic and cultural co-operation among its members. The most influential of these institutions was the Islamic Development Bank, established in December 1973 and formally opened in October 1975. The bank, funded by the wealthier O.I.C. states, financed development projects while adhering to Islamic banking practices.

The O.I.C. represented the culmination of governmental efforts to organise Muslim states. But it did not end moves by individual states to summon international conferences of supportive *ʿulamāʾ*, activists and intellectuals. Saʿūdī Arabia and Egypt, realigned together on the conservative end of the Islamic spectrum, increasingly co-operated in mounting large-scale Muslim conferences. Their rivals, revolutionary Iran and Libya, did the same. Divisive events, such as the war between Iran and ʿIrāḳ (1980-8) and the killing of 400 Iranians in Mecca during the pilgrimage season of 1407/1987, produced conferences and counter-conferences, each claiming to express the verdict of united Islam. Leaders of Muslim opposition movements also met in periodic conferences, often on the safe ground of Europe. Less than a century after al-Kawākibī's fantasy, a crowded calendar of conferences bound together the world of Islam as never before. But it remains uncertain whether these often competing institutions would bridge the differences between Muslims or would serve to widen them.

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AL-MUʿTAMID ʿALĀ ʾLLĀH, Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. D̲j̲aʿfar, ʿAbbāsid caliph (256-79/870-92), son of al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] and a slave-girl from Kūfa called Fityān.

He seems to have had no political experience before being chosen as caliph in Rad̲j̲ab 256/June 870 on the

death of his nephew al-Muhtadī [*q.v.*] and he was never able to build up an independent power base. For most of his reign he remained a figurehead in Sāmarrā᾽ while effective power was exercised by his brother Abū Aḥmad, who took the quasi-caliphal title of al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*]. Al-Muᶜtamid was able to appoint his own *wazīr*, ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān [see IBN KHĀḲĀN], who had previously served his father al-Mutawakkil. After ᶜUbayd Allāh's death in 262/877, he was succeeded by Sulaymān b. Wahb and then by Ismāᶜīl b. Bulbul. In Shawwāl 261/July 875 he arranged the succession, designating his son Djaᶜfar al-Mufawwaḍ as heir-apparent and governor of the west and his brother al-Muwaffaḳ as next in line to the throne and governor of the east, but it does not seem that al-Mufawwaḍ exercised any real authority. The threat posed by the Zandj [*q.v.*] in southern ᶜIrāḳ and the upheavals caused by the rise of the Ṣaffārids [*q.v.*] in Persia meant that power lay with al-Muwaffaḳ, the only member of the ᶜAbbāsid family to command the allegiance of the Turkish military.

The limits of the caliph's independence were clearly demonstrated in 269/882-3 when he tried to leave Sāmarrā᾽ and take refuge with Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], ruler of Egypt and Syria. He set off to meet Ibn Ṭūlūn's envoys in Raḳḳa, but al-Muwaffaḳ's right hand man, Saᶜīd b. Makhlad, wrote to Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj, governor of Mawṣil, with orders to detain him. His followers were arrested and stripped of their estates, and he was returned to Sāmarrā᾽ under escort to stay in the Djawsaḳ palace. To add to his humiliation, he was obliged to denounce Ibn Ṭūlūn and assign Egypt to Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj, who, however, made no real attempt to take it. Towards the end of 269/May-June 883 he was obliged to come south to Wāsiṭ, where his brother could keep a closer eye on him, but the next spring (Shaᶜbān 270/March 884) he was allowed to return via Baghdād to Sāmarrā᾽. He does not seem to have left it again until Ṣafar 278/April 892, when he and his sons came to Baghdād having heard that al-Muwaffaḳ was ill. His brother's death did not, however, allow al-Muᶜtamid to gain real power, which passed directly to the dead man's son, al-Muᶜtaḍid. Al-Muᶜtamid died in Baghdād in Radjab 279/October 892 aged about 50, apparently as a result of a surfeit of drink and food. It is impossible to know whether he would have made an effective caliph in different circumstances; but he seems to have been naive and ineffective, and after his death, his unfortunate son al-Mufawwaḍ was easily swept away by his ruthless cousin al-Muᶜtaḍid [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: 1. Texts. Ṭabarī, iii, 1822, 1839-2133 (1936-2133 tr. P.M. Fields, *The ᶜAbbāsid recovery*, Albany, 1987); Yaᶜḳūbī, *Ta᾽rīkh*, ii, 619-24; Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 38-112 = §§ 3153-3240; Aghānī, *Tables*. 2. Studies. W. Hellige, *Die Regentschaft al-Muwaffaqs*, Berlin 1936; Z.M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides. Étude de l'Égypte Musulmane à la fin du IXe siècle (868-905)*, Paris 1936; E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg 1948; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ᶜabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60; A. Popovic, *La révolte des esclaves en Iraq au IIIe/IXe siècle*, Paris 1976; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London 1986.

(H. KENNEDY)

AL-**MUᶜTAMID IBN ᶜABBĀD**, the *laḳab* or honorific by which the third and last ruler of the dynasty of the ᶜAbbādids [*q.v.*] in Seville [see ISHBĪLIYA] in the 5th/11th century is best known; his full and real name was MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜABBĀD AL-MUᶜTAḌID [*q.v.*] B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀᶜĪL IBN ᶜABBĀD.

1. Life. While still a boy—barely 13, having been born in 431/1040—he was placed by his father in nominal command of an expedition against Silves (Ar. Shilb [*q.v.*]), then in the possession of Ibn Muzayn, and this town was taken by assault as was Santa Maria de Algarve soon after (Ar. Shantamariyyat al-gharb [*q.v.*], now Faro) which was held by Muḥammad b. Saᶜīd Ibn Hārūn (444/1052). The young ᶜAbbādid prince was then appointed by his father governor of these two towns. His elder brother Ismāᶜīl having been executed in punishment for his rebellion (455/1063; cf. AL-MUᶜTAḌID), Muḥammad al-Muᶜtamid became heir-presumptive to the throne of Seville. A little later, the army which he was leading to the help of the Arabs of Malaga, who had rebelled against the tyranny of Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs, the Berber ruler of Granada of the Zīrid [*q.v.*] dynasty, was routed by the latter and al-Muᶜtamid had to take refuge in Ronda [see RUNDA] to which his father, at first very angry at his failure, finally sent him his forgiveness. When the powerful ruler of Seville died in 461/1069, his son succeeded to a considerably extended kingdom which included the greater part of the southwest of the Iberian peninsula.

Early surrounded by men of letters and poets, al-Muᶜtamid followed their teaching sessions and made for himself a very honourable place in the history of Arabic literature in Spain (see 2. below). It is likely that Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1070) [*q.v.*] taught him the rules of Arabic poetry before becoming vizier; this same function was to be exercised by his son Abū Bakr Ibn Zaydūn from 478 to 484/1085-91, after the disgrace of Ibn ᶜAmmār (d. 479/1086 [*q.v.*]). A whole series of more or less romantic episodes, in which the latter plays an extremely influential role, are attached to the life and reign of al-Muᶜtamid. His relations with a young slave girl, al-Rumaykiyya, who was herself gifted with considerable poetic talent, have also been the subject of much literary embellishment. It was from the surname of this young woman, Iᶜtimād, that al-Muᶜtamid is said to have adopted his own name, which comes from the same root. She became his favourite wife and presented him with several sons. As to Ibn ᶜAmmār, exiled by al-Muᶜtaḍid, he was recalled on the accession of his patron to Seville, from which he went at his own request to be governor of Silves before being appointed grand vizier.

In the second year of his reign, al-Muᶜtamid was able to annex to his kingdom the principality of Cordova (Ḳurṭuba [*q.v.*]), over which the Djahwarids had been ruling, in spite of efforts of the king of Toledo, al-Ma᾽mūn [*q.v.*]. The young prince ᶜAbbād was appointed governor of the old capital of the Umayyads. But at the instigation of the king of Toledo, an adventurer named Ibn ᶜUkāsha was able in 468/1075 to take Cordova by surprise and put to death the young ᶜAbbād and his general Muḥammad b. Mārtīn. Al-Ma᾽mūn took possession of the town, where he died six months later. Al-Muᶜtamid, whose paternal affection had been wounded and pride insulted, tried for three years vainly to reconquer Cordova. He was not successful until 471/1078; Ibn ᶜUkāsha was put to death and the part of the kingdom of Toledo between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana conquered by the armies of Seville. Nevertheless, it took all the skill of the vizier Ibn ᶜAmmār to conclude peace by paying double tribute with Alfonso VI of Castile when he sent an expedition against Seville.

This was just the time when, through the energy and tenacity of the Christian princes taking advantage of the feuds which were setting the Muslim rulers of the *taifas* [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀ᾽IF. 2.] against one another, the *reconquista*, which had received a check and then a setback from the last Umayyads, resumed its advance on the south of the Peninsula. In spite of their successes, of which the Muslim chroniclers make a

great deal, it must not be forgotten that by the middle of the 5th/11th century, many Muslim dynasties of Spain were being forced to seek by payment of heavy tribute the temporary neutrality of their Christian neighbours. Shortly before the taking of Toledo [see TULAYṬILA], which had far-reaching effects, by Alfonso VI in 478/1085, al-Muʿtamid began to be involved in serious difficulties. On the imprudent advice of his vizier Ibn ʿAmmār, he tried to add to his kingdom, after the principality of Cordova, that of Murcia [see MURSIYA], which was ruled by a prince of Arab origin, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāhir. In 471/1078, Ibn ʿAmmār went to the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer II, and asked him for assistance to conquer Murcia in return for a payment of 10,000 *dīnārs*; until this sum was paid al-Rashīd, a son of al-Muʿtamid, was to remain as hostage. After animated negotiations which ended in the payment of a sum three times as large to the Count of Barcelona, Ibn ʿAmmār resumed his plan of conquering Murcia, and soon succeeded in doing so with the help of the lord of the castle of Bildj (now Vilches), Ibn Rashīḳ [*q.v.*]. In Murcia, however, Ibn ʿAmmār soon rendered himself obnoxious to his master by assuming the attitude of an independent ruler, and on al-Muʿtamid's reproaching him he replied by insults to the king of Seville, his wife and his sons. Betrayed by Ibn Rashīḳ, he had to take refuge in Murcia and then successively in Leon, Saragossa and Lerida. Returning to Saragossa, he endeavoured to assist its ruler al-Muʾtamin Ibn Hūd [*q.v.*] on his expedition against Segura [see SHAḲŪRA], but he was taken prisoner and handed over to al-Muʿtamid, who in spite of the bonds of friendship which had so long linked them together, slew him with his own hand.

In the meanwhile, Alfonso VI was no longer concealing his designs on Toledo, the siege of which he began in 473/1080. Two years later, when he sent a mission to enforce payment of the annual tribute due to him from al-Muʿtamid, its members were insulted and the Jewish treasurer Ibn Shalīn who accompanied it was put to death because he had refused to accept debased money. He therefore invaded the kingdom of Seville, sacked the flourishing towns of Aljarafe (Ar. al-Sharaf [*q.v.*], advanced through the district of Sidona (Ar. Shadhūna [*q.v.*]) as far as Tarifa [see ṬARĪF], where he uttered his celebrated remark expressing his pride at having reached the utmost limits of Spain.

The capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI dealt a serious blow to Islam in Spain. The king of Castile soon demanded of al-Muʿtamid that he should surrender those of his lands which had formed part of the kingdom of the Dhu 'l-Nūnids [*q.v.*] (a part of the modern provinces of Ciudad-Real and Cuenca). Throughout Muslim Spain, his demands, which increased every day, made the position very serious. In spite of their reluctance, the Muslim rulers in Spain, led by al-Muʿtamid, were forced to seek the help of the Almoravid sultan Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], who had just conquered the whole of Morocco in an irresistible advance. It was decided to send him an embassy consisting of the vizier Abū Bakr b. Zaydūn and the *ḳāḍīs* of Badajoz, Cordova and Granada. An agreement having been reached, not without difficulty, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and on 12 Radjab 479/23 Oct. 1086 inflicted on the Christian troops the disastrous defeat of Zallāḳa [*q.v.*] not far from Badajoz. We need not recall here how Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, recalled to Africa, could not follow up his victory as the Muslim rulers of Spain had hoped, who through the influence exercised by the Spanish *faḳīhs* on the Almoravid, soon lost all prestige in his eyes. After his departure, the Christians began again to harrass Muslim lands, to such an extent that al-Muʿtamid had this time to go in person to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in Morocco to ask him to cross the Straits once more with his troops. Yūsuf consented and landed at Algeciras in the following spring (482/1090). He laid siege to the fortress of Aledo (Ar. Ḥiṣn Liyyīṭ) but without taking it; then stimulated by popular feeling and the advice of the *faḳīhs*, he came to the conclusion that it would be more advantageous for him to wage the *djihād* in Spain on his own account and proceeded to dethrone and dispossess the princes who had sought his intervention. With this object, he sent an army to invade the kingdom of Seville under Sīr b. Abī Bakr, who at the end of 1090 took Tarifa, then Cordova, where one of al-Muʿtamid's sons, Fatḥ al-Maʾmūn, who was in command of it, was killed, Carmona and then Seville, which was captured in spite of a heroic sortie by al-Muʿtamid. The latter was taken prisoner by the Almoravid and sent with his wives and children first to Tangier, then to Meknès and, a few months later, to Aghmāt [*q.v.*], near Marrākush. There he led a miserable existence for several years until his death at the age of 55 in 487/1095.

The sad end of al-Muʿtamid touched all his biographers, who are particularly numerous and expatiate on his natural gifts, poetical talents, generosity and chivalrous spirit. He is one of the most representative types of the enlightened Spanish Muslims of the Middle Ages, patrons of letters and scholarship, liberal and tolerant, but living in an atmosphere of luxury and ease little compatible with the care of a kingdom with frontiers open to envious neighbours on all sides. Not so great a ruler as his father al-Muʿtaḍid, al-Muʿtamid is however a much more attractive figure, perhaps just on account of his misfortunes. He is entitled to a place among the great figures of Spanish Islam, alongside of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, al-Ḥakam II, al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir and, at a later date, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

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2. As poet.

The mediaeval *dīwān* is lost, but a partial collection of his and his father's poems is appended to the ms.

dīwān of Ibn Zaydūn, and his poems are widely quoted in mediaeval sources; 188 monorhymed poems and one *muwashshah* are preserved (*Dīwān*, ed. R. Souissi, Tunis 1975; *Studies of the Research Institute of Hebrew Poetry*, ii [1936], 23; *al-Andalus*, xix [1954], 382; Mª Jesús Rubina Mata, *Poesías. Antología bilingüe*, Madrid 1982).

The extant poems are mostly short; several genres such as *madīḥ* addressed to a patron are wholly lacking and nature description nearly so. His production thus cannot be compared to that of the major poets of al-Andalus, but his poetry was highly regarded by mediaeval readers. To the period before al-Muᶜtamid's deposition belongs all his lighter verse, mostly *ghazaliyyāt*, with some *khamriyyāt*, *waṣf* poems and other verses. More sentimental than sensual (Souissi, *al-Muᶜtamid et son œuvre poétique*, Tunis 1977, 8), the *ghazaliyyāt* are not particularly distinctive. They are addressed to both male and female beloveds, especially to his favourite Iᶜtimād, including one with an acrostic of her name. His most characteristic early poems are those addressed to al-Muᶜtaḍid, especially his masterpiece and longest extant poem, the *rā'iyya* apologising for the loss of Malaga. Also much admired was another *rā'iyya* addressed to Ibn ᶜAmmār [*q.v.*], recalling their friendship in Silves.

The forty poems of his exile are distinctive and personal, reflecting the stages by which al-Muᶜtamid grappled emotionally with imprisonment. Some are self-pitying laments comparing his opulent past with his present misery; tears and weeping are prominent themes, and occasional angry outbursts at fate. In others he urges himself to *ṣabr*, reflecting on his clan's *muruwwa*, and on the inexorability of fate. Religious themes also provide consolation. Warm poems are addressed to visitors; poignant are those addressed to the ravens of Aghmāt, to his chains, and a poem written as his own epitaph.

Al-Muᶜtamid employs a simple vocabulary, but he exploits all the rhetorical figures, especially antithesis and various kinds of *tadjnīs*. Enjambment is unusually frequent, and his poems generally seem to be planned structures rather than mere aggregations of separate verses.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): *Dīwān*, ed. Aḥmad Aḥmad Badawī and Ḥāmid ᶜAbd al-Madjīd, Cairo 1951; H. Pérès, *La poésie arabe en arabe classique au XIᵉ siècle*, Paris ²1953, 58 and index; Ṣāliḥ Khāliṣ, *al-Muᶜtamid b. ᶜAbbād al-Ishbīlī: dirāsa adabiyya ta'rīkhiyya*, Baghdād 1958; R.P. Scheindlin, *Form and structure in the poetry of al-Muᶜtamid Ibn ᶜAbbād*, Leiden 1974.

(R.P. SCHEINDLIN)

AL-MU'TAMIN IBN HŪD, YŪSUF B. AḤMAD (al-Muḳtadir). Hūdid [*q.v.*] ruler of the *taifa* state [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀ'IF. 2.] of Saragossa (Saraḳusṭa [*q.v.*]), in al-Andalus [*q.v.*], during the 5th/11th century. The date of the beginning of his reign is obscure: it may have started in 474/1081-2, but we have coins of his predecessor, his father al-Muḳtadir, dated apparently 475/1082-3, and Vives at the end of the last century even reported a coin of al-Muḳtadir in the University of Valencia dated as late as 476/1083-4 (though Prieto, in 1926, does not record the type). The end of his reign is equally obscure, but he appears to have been succeeded in 476/1083-4 by a son, Aḥmad Sayf al-Dawla al-Mustaᶜīn II (his coins begin in that year); however, there are reports indicating that al-Mu'tamin was still ruling two years later. Ibn ᶜAmmār [*q.v.*], the poet and politically ambitious servant of the ᶜAbbādids [*q.v.*], took refuge at his court and served him for a time, before being captured and returned to Seville (Ishbīliyya [*q.v.*]). Al-Mu'tamin is reported to have had a strong interest in mechanical instruments and to have written a book (now lost), *K. al-Istikmāl wa 'l-manāẓir*, on mathematics; we also have a few lines of verse by him and some lines of ornate prose which may be by him.

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 288, 424, 431-3; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ed. I. ᶜAbbās, Beirut 1399/1979, iii, 371, 388, v, 39; Ibn Saᶜīd, *Mughrib*², i, 390; for the coins, see A. Vives y Escudero, *Monedas de las dinastías arábigo-españolas*, Madrid 1893, no. 1216 (cf. A. Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas, estudio histórico-numismático de los musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la hégira (XI de J.C.)*, Madrid 1926, no. 269); G.C. Miles, *Coins of the Spanish Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*, New York 1954, nos. 428-9); D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings. Politics and society in Islamic Spain, 1002-1086*, Princeton 1985, 94 and n. 29 (with further references).

(D.J. WASSERSTEIN)

MUTAMMIM B. **NUWAYRA**, a poet, contemporary with the Prophet. He was the brother of Mālik b. Nuwayra [*q.v.*], chief of the Banū Yarbūᶜ, a large clan of the Banū Tamīm. Mutammim owes his fame to the elegies in which he lamented the tragic death of his brother Mālik (gathered together at the opening of the 3rd/9th century by Wathīma b. Mirsāl, see Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xix, 248; whilst his *dīwān* was put together by Abū ᶜAmr al-Shaybānī, al-Aṣmaᶜī and al-Sukkarī, see *Fihrist*, 158), and these poems have made the latter's name immortal. The Arabs said there was nothing comparable to these elegies, overflowing with emotion [see MARTHIYA]. They regarded their author as the type of brotherly devotion.

Mutammim does not seem to have played any prominent part before the *Hidjra*. He was eclipsed by the striking personality of his brother, to whose qualities he never hesitated to pay homage. He is represented as having been of unprepossessing appearance, one-eyed and short in stature. The Bakrī chief al-Ḥawfazān eulogised the humanity with which Mutammim treated him during his captivity. Falling in his turn into the hands of the Banū Taghlib, Mutammim was delivered by a stratagem devised by his brother. He seems to have adopted Islam at the same time as his brother. Like the latter, he is numbered among the Companions, although we never find him in direct relations with the Prophet. He escaped from the disaster in which Mālik was overwhelmed; a few fragments of other poems suggest he did not write elegies exclusively.

But after the death of Mālik he devoted himself to celebrating his memory and demanding vengeance for his death. Refused by the caliph Abū Bakr, he thought he might have more success on the accession of ᶜUmar. He hurried to Medina where he was very well received by ᶜUmar. The latter listened with delight to his elegies, regretted that he himself had not the gift of poetry so that he might worthily celebrate his brother Zayd who had fallen in the wars of al-Yamāma, but he refused to reverse Abū Bakr's decision and limited himself to dismissing Khālid b. al-Walīd, a step which probably owed something to the poetical exhortations of Mutammim.

After this, tradition says that the poet became almost blind through weeping, and that he wandered over the many routes of Arabia, uttering his complaints everywhere. He found himself abandoned by his wives who became tired of his incurable sadness and wandering life. He left two sons Dāwūd and Ibrāhīm, also poets. He survived ᶜUmar if, as Ibn Khallikān says (ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 792), he is really

the author of an elegy on the death of this caliph.

Bibliography: The principal references are given in Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur Kenntniss der Poesie*, 95-152; Brockelmann, I², 34, S I, 70; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, nos. ix, lxvii, lxviii; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, photo. ed. Leiden, 138, 331, 341, 371; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xiv, 66-76; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr*, ed. de Goeje, 192-6; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, iv, 398-9; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo, vi, 40-1; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, iii, 368-9; Blachère, *Hist. litt. arabe*, 258-9; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vi, 154-5; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 204-5.

(H. LAMMENS)

AL-**MUTANABBĪ**, "he who professes to be a prophet", the surname by which the Arab poet ABU 'L-ṬAYYIB AḤMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-DJUʿFĪ is usually known (cf. in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i, 36, two genealogies, which do not agree, going back to his great-grandfather). Abu 'l-Ṭayyib was born in Kūfa in 303/915 in the Kinda quarter, whence the ethnic al-Kindī sometimes given him. His family, although in very humble circumstances, claimed descent from the Yamanī clan of the Djuʿfī, and he himself all his life was convinced of the superiority of the Arabs of the South over those of the North (cf. al-Wāḥidī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, ed. Dieterici, 48-9; al-Yāzidjī, *al-ʿArf al-ṭayyib*, 29 [these two works will be quoted as Wāḥ. and Yāz.]). The boy received his early education in his native town and soon distinguished himself by his intelligence, his prodigious memory and his precocity as a poet. He now passed under Shīʿī influences, perhaps Zaydī (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 382, 12 = ed. 1348/1929-30, ii, 303, where the editor proposes however to read *ʿarabiyya* instead of *ʿalawiyya*), which served as prelude to his philosophical development, a subject to which we shall return. Circumstances were however to accelerate the speed of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib's religious development. Towards the end of 312/924, perhaps under pressure from the Ḳarmaṭians [see KARMAṬĪ] who had just taken and sacked Kūfa, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib and his family made a first stay of two years (cf. al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 506b; al-Badīʿī, *al-Ṣubḥ al-munbī*, i, 6) in the Samāwa, the region lying between the Sawād of Kūfa in the east and Palmyrene in the west. The Banū Kalb, who led a nomadic life in these desert steppes (al-Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, 129), had been much cultivated by the Ḳarmaṭian *dāʿīs*. It is possible that the young poet at this time came into contact with some of these heretics. It is, however, not very probable, in view of his youth, that this first contact had any definite effect upon him. On the other hand, this stay among the Bedouins certainly gave Abu 'l-Ṭayyib that profound knowledge of the Arabic language of which he was later so very proud.

On returning to Kūfa, at the beginning of 315/927, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib seems to have decided to devote himself entirely to poetry. At this time, he most admired the great panegyrists of the preceding century, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī [*q.vv.*]. Like them and like the majority of his contemporaries, he saw in poetry a sure means of attaining wealth and power. He at once attached himself to a certain Abu 'l-Faḍl of Kūfa, to whom he dedicated a short piece (Wāḥ., 17-21; Yāz., 10-11). Though not yet a convert to Ḳarmaṭism, but in any case a complete agnostic—the praises which he allowed to be offered to him show this—this individual seems to have exercised a considerable influence on the religious and philosophical development of al-Mutanabbī (cf. also *Khizāna*, i, 382 = ii, 304). Prepared by the Shīʿī atmosphere in which he had passed his childhood and by the relations which he had had with the Ḳarmaṭians in the Samāwa, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, in contact with his patron, cast off religious dogmas which he regarded as spiritual instruments of oppression. He then adopted a stoic and pessimistic philosophy, echoes of which are found throughout his work. The world is made up of seductions which death destroys (Wāḥ., 39, ll. 8-13; 162, ll.12-13; Yāz., 23, 97); stupidity and evil alone triumph there (Wāḥ., 161, ll. 8-10; Yāz., 97); the Arabs—representatives of a superior race in his eyes—are ill-treated in it by cowardly and barbarous foreigners (Wāḥ., 148, ll. 1-5; 160, ll. 2-6; Yāz., 87, 96). In contact with this world which lacks harmony, the consciousness of his talent, which Abu 'l-Ṭayyib possessed, developed rapidly; his vanity increased to a degree which is almost inconceivable (Wāḥ., 60; Yāz., 34). His Arab particularism, as with all anti-Shuʿūbīs [see SHUʿŪBIYYA], incited him to attack foreign oppressors (Wāḥ., 58, ll. 30-1; Yāz., 33). This is why, by a contradiction from which he was hardly ever free, al-Mutanabbī was to covet all his life those riches and power which he scorned in his heart, while he stood out from the mass of his contemporaries by his rigid morality and austerity (cf. al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 78-81).

At first, however, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib thought only of conquering the world by his poetic gifts, and in order to find a more favourable field for his activity he left Kūfa towards the end of 316/928, probably as a result of the town being again sacked by the Ḳarmaṭians. He was naturally attracted to Baghdād (cf. al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 82-3), and there became the panegyrist of a compatriot of his, Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿAlawī (Wāḥ., 6-7; Yāz., 3-4). From there he went to Syria. For two years he led the life of a wandering troubadour of the period (cf. Mez, *Renaissance des Islâms*, 256). It is impossible to follow him in his wanderings, for his *Dīwān*, our only guide, does not present his poems in a satisfactory chronological order. Some pieces of the period are addressed to Bedouin chiefs of the region of Manbidj [*q.v.*] (Wāḥ., 24-5, 38-9, 66-7; Yāz., 12-13, 22-3, 28-9); others are dedicated to the educated classes of Tripoli (Wāḥ., 88-9; Yāz., 19-20) and al-Lādhiḳiyya (Latakia) (cf. Wāḥ., 116-35; Yāz., 66-78). The poems of this period are hurriedly written and mediocre in quality, but traces of his real genius are already apparent. With the exception of a *marthiya* [*q.v.*] or elegy and some impromptu pieces, they are all *ḳaṣīdas* on neo-classical lines. The influence of Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī preponderates.

In the course of this period of experiment, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib was irritated at not finding his merit recognised. Gradually, he looked forward to his dreams of domination being realised by violence (Wāḥ., 138, ll. 3-7; Yāz., 79). Finally, he abandoned the work of a paid panegyrist and, returning to al-Lādhiḳiyya, he began revolutionary propaganda, the nature of which has long been misunderstood. According to Oriental writers (al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 25-30; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā'*, 369), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib proclaimed himself a prophet in the Samāwa, was taken prisoner by the troops of al-Ikhshīd [*q.v.*] and then received his epithet of al-Mutanabbī. Kratschkowsky (*Mutanabbi i Abu l'Ala*, St. Petersburg 1909, 9-11) does justice to these traditions, without however taking full account of some clear allusions in the *Dīwān*. The latter contains pieces which prove beyond all possible doubt that a rebellion was led by al-Mutanabbī (cf. Wāḥ., 49-58, 86; Yāz., 28-33, 50). This rising, as usual at this period, must have been political as well as religious. The rising began in al-

Lādhiḳiyya and then extended to the western borders of the Samāwa, where the Banū Kalb constituted an element always ready to rebel. Without adhering to Ḳarmaṭism, al-Mutanabbī exploited its principles, which found only too ready an echo among the marauding Bedouins (Wāḥ., 57, ll. 22-3; Yāz., 32; allusion to the massacre of pilgrims by the Ḳarmaṭian Abū Ṭāhir, in 317/930). The ambiguity of the utterance of the rebel, the opportunism of his doctrines and his conception of the imāmate on Ḳarmaṭian lines, may have caused some misunderstanding of his preaching, since at this time any agitator was regarded as a Ḳarmaṭian. After some initial successes, al-Mutanabbī and his Bedouins were defeated; he was captured and imprisoned at Ḥimṣ (towards the end of 322/933). After a trial and two years' imprisonment (*Dīwān*, ms. Paris no. 3092, fol. 16a), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib was condemned to retract his errors and then set free. From his adventure he gained only the epithet of al-Mutanabbī and the conviction that poetry alone would lead him to the realisation of his ambitious dreams.

The poems composed by Abu 'l-Ṭayyib immediately before and during his rebellion are distinguished by spontaneity of inspiration, by the liberty which the poet takes with poetic frameworks and by the vigour of the style, which has a much more personal character than in his first "manner".

As soon as al-Mutanabbī had returned to his profession of panegyrist, he naturally resumed his wandering life (beginning of 325/937). For several years he led a precarious existence, and had to be content to sing the praises of undistinguished bourgeois and minor officials of Antioch, Damascus, Aleppo, etc., who paid him very badly (Wāḥ., 93-206; Yāz., 51-131; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 203). Little by little, however, his fame grew. At the beginning of 328/939, we find him becoming court poet to the *amīr* Badr al-Kharshānī [*q.v.*] (the Badr b. ʿAmmār of the *Dīwān*), governor of Damascus for the ex-*amīr al-umarā*ʾ Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*], who had just taken possession of Syria. Of Arab origin, Badr was regarded by al-Mutanabbī as the Maecenas for whom he had been waiting so long. The panegyrics and occasional poems which are dedicated to this *amīr* reveal a sincere admiration for him and possess a sustained inspiration (Wāḥ., 206-45; Yāz., 132-63). These pieces and those that precede them, after Abu 'l-Ṭayyib's return to literature, constitute what might be called the third "manner" of the poet. With the exception of a poem on hunting in the style of Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] (Wāḥ., 201-2; Yāz., 128-9) and a number of impromptu poems of no particular interest, al-Mutanabbī wrote only *ḳaṣīda*s during this period. He would seem then to have returned to his first "manner", if the work of this period did not show considerable progress in form.

The friendship between Badr and al-Mutanabbī lasted only about a year and a half, and as a result of intrigues of jealous rivals (Wāḥ., 253, ll. 13-16; Yāz., 169), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, feeling no longer safe, sought refuge in the Syrian desert (Wāḥ., 251-2; Yāz., 168-9). There, the idea of rebelling again took possession of him (Wāḥ., 253-4; Yāz., 170-1). Fortunately, the departure of Badr for ʿIrāḳ enabled him to leave his hiding-place and resume his profession of panegyrist. He now sang the praises of several individuals of second rank (Wāḥ., 107-8, 284-348; Yāz., 60-1, 194-241). Finally, he succeeded in establishing himself at the Ḥamdānid court in Aleppo, where he became the official poet of the *amīr* Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] at the beginning of 337/948.

From the literary point of view, the work of this period which runs roughly from the middle of 329/940, the date of the quarrel with Badr, to the beginning of 337/948, marks his fourth "manner", to which he remained faithful till his death. It is characterised by a compromise between the pure neo-classical tradition and a freer form which the poet had adopted in the poems of the period of his rebellion. Without rejecting the framework of the neo-classical *ḳaṣīda*, he reduces the erotic prelude to a minimum, sometimes even replacing it by a philosophical and lyrical opening which breathes his dreams, disillusionments and anger.

Al-Mutanabbī stayed nine years with Sayf al-Dawla. He was genuinely attached to this patron, who was in his eyes the personification of the ideal Arab chief, brave, magnanimous and generous. Sayf al-Dawla in his turn recognised the worth of his panegyrist, whom he overwhelmed with gifts and never treated with arrogance. Al-Mutanabbī accompanied him on his expeditions, and on returning to Aleppo sang of his exploits against the Byzantines and the Bedouins of the desert. In the brief intervals of leisure between the campaigns of the Ḥamdānid, the poet shared in the leisure of the court of Aleppo, devoting himself to improvisation and writing panegyrics as occasion arose (Wāḥ., 522-37; Yāz., 376-95) or laments (*marthiya*) on the deaths of relatives of Sayf al-Dawla (Wāḥ., 388-9, 408-9, 577-8; Yāz., 271-2, 286-7, 427-8). The difficult character of al-Mutanabbī and the repute which he enjoyed did not fail to gain him implacable enemies. A few devoted friends, like the poet al-Babbaghāʾ [*q.v.*], tried, it is true, to defend him, but their zeal could do nothing against the enmity of the hostile group led by the famous Abū Firās [*q.v.*]. Sayf al-Dawla at first paid no attention to the attacks made upon his favourite. When he grew tired of the poet's arrogance and his protection ceased, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib no longer felt his life safe, hence fled secretly from Aleppo with all his family and sought refuge in Damascus (end of 346/957).

Eastern critics are generally agreed that the poems composed by al-Mutanabbī during his stay with Sayf al-Dawla mark the highest point in his work. Although there is a certain degree of exaggeration in this, it is certain that the poet, while continuing his fourth "manner", reveals in the highest degree the mastery which he had acquired in his art during this period. Much more than Abū Firās, with whom he is often contrasted, he was able to depict the glories of Sayf al-Dawla's campaigns against the Byzantines. His verse, it is true, has not the charm of that of Abū Firās, but it is fuller and more epic in style.

From Damascus, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib went to Egypt and to al-Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*], where he obtained the patronage of the Ikhshīdid regent Kāfūr [*q.v.*]. Al-Mutanabbī's career now reveals the necessities to which poets in the 4th/10th century had to submit. Deprived of moral and material independence, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib was forced to sing the praises of a patron for whom in his heart he felt only contempt. The panegyrics which he devoted to him barely conceal his regret at losing the favour of Sayf al-Dawla. They are somewhat forced, and contain points against Kāfūr (cf. al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 125-6). The poet perhaps only agreed to celebrate this patron because the latter had promised him the governorship of Ṣaydā [*q.v.*] (cf. *ibid.*, i, 115). When he saw that these promises were not being fulfilled, he tried to gain the favour of another Ikhshīdid general, Abū Shudjāʿ Fātik (*ibid.*, i, 131-2), but the latter dying in 250/960 and relations with

Kāfūr becoming more strained, al-Mutanabbī had once more to decide to fly. On the day of the feast of sacrifice of this year, 20 January 962, after writing a satire on Kāfūr, he left al-Fusṭāṭ secretly, and crossing Arabia after great trials (cf. al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 139-40), he reached ʿIrāḳ, spent some time in Kūfa and then settled in Baghdād. He perhaps thought of attaching himself to the famous Būyid vizier al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*], who had gathered a very brilliant court around him. He had, however, to abandon hope of this in face of the hostility to him evinced by poets and scholars established at the court of al-Muhallabī, such as Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*], author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. During his stay here, as he had already begun to do in Egypt (cf. Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, no. 453), al-Mutanabbī gave lectures in which he expounded to a group of friends the work he had done till that date (cf. al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ms. Paris, no. 1581, fol. 265a). The year 353/964 was spent in this fashion. The poet perhaps also visited Kūfa about this time (cf. F. Gabrieli, *Vita di al-Mutanabbī*, 60, n. 4). At the beginning of 354/965, in any case, he left ʿIrāḳ and went via al-Ahwāz to Arradjān [*q.v.*] in Susiana, where he received the patronage of the Būyid vizier Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*]. Al-Mutanabbī devoted some panegyrics to him (Wāḥ., 740-1; Yāz., 564-5), but then he left him to go to Shīrāz in Fārs, where he joined the Būyid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who had expressed a desire to have him at his court. The poet enjoyed a splendid reception. After addressing to the Būyid ruler several panegyrics which are among his best work, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib left Shīrāz for reasons not clearly known, perhaps simply out of homesickness (Wāḥ., 766, ll. 1-3; Yāz., 589). He was returning by short stages from Persia to Baghdād when he was attacked by marauding Bedouins near Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl [*q.v.*] at the end of Ramaḍān 354/Aug. 955. He and his son were killed in the fighting and all his baggage, including the autograph mss. of his *Dīwān*, was scattered (cf. al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 227-39).

Even in his lifetime, al-Mutanabbī had been surrounded by ardent admirers who defended his work in its entirety against the attacks of detractors no less eager to run him down. Among the latter, however, the majority only criticised him as a poet because they objected to his character as a man. The criticism was therefore not distinguished by impartiality and only reflects the opinions of a coterie. It required the death of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib to produce a third class of admirers who were more clear sighted than the first and sufficiently impartial not to fall into the exaggerations of the second (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wasāṭa*, 11-12, 45-6). It was the opinion of this new category that prevailed, and when al-Mutanabbī's contemporaries had all disappeared, the educated public remained decidedly favourable to Sayf al-Dawla's panegyrist (except al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Khaldūn). From the 5th/11th century onwards, the name of al-Mutanabbī became a synonym for "great poet". His literary influence became one of the most considerable ever exercised on Arabic poetry. Commentated upon by Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*] and later by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*], by al-Wāḥidī, al-Tibrīzī, Ps.-al-ʿUkbarī and Ibn Sīduh [*q.v.*], to mention only the most eminent, the *Dīwān* of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib throughout the Middle Ages and in modern times has been made accessible to scholars and literary men by learned men from Persia to Spain, often more zealous than intelligent. Space does not permit us to estimate what later poetry owes to al-Mutanabbī. We are content to point out that, in different ways, all Arab panegyrists have been influenced by Abu 'l-Ṭayyib. At the present day, he is still one of the most read in North Africa; Syria and Egypt also hold him in very high esteem, and many critics have devoted studies full of praise to him. It seems, however, that in the last-named country al-Mutanabbī attracts people at least as much by the boldness of his philosophy and the ardour of his pro-Arab feelings as by his purely literary qualities.

Bibliography: This is enormous, and occupies some twenty pages in Sezgin (*GAS*, ii, 484-97, ix, 290-4; further additions by R. Weipert, in *ZGAIW* 2 (1985), 266-67) and stretches over more than 125 pages in K. and A. ʿAwwād's bibliographical guide *Rāʾid al-dirāsa ʿan Abī 'l-Ṭayyib al-M.* given in vol. vi/3 (1977) of the Baghdād journal *al-Mawrid*, an issue in large part devoted to the poet. Note also that Pearson has a special section for him in his *Index Islamicus* (XXXVII).

The abundance of this bibliography is a striking proof of the eminent place occupied by al-M. in Arabic literature from the 4th/10th century till the present day and the interest which has continuously been accorded to him by Arab critics and by Arabists. However, a large part of the mediaeval bibliography on this poet is only known from mentions in the biographical collections or in manuscript catalogues; in the latter case, it seems that those works worthy of study have been largely worked over by researchers.

The *Dīwān*. Al-M.'s *Dīwān* was made the object, in the mediaeval period, of numerous recensions, of which a considerable number of manuscripts are extant; to the independent copies of this should be added the commentaries in which the poet's work is reproduced *in extenso* and explained. Amongst editions of the *Dīwān* should be mentioned those of Buṭrus al-Bustānī (Beirut 1860, 1867, 1882, 1887) and of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām (Cairo 1363/1944), but there are many others, published at Būlāḳ, Cairo, Beirut and also at Bombay, Deoband and Calcutta.

Al-M.'s fame—his work being considered as model—stimulated the composition of a number of anthologies by anonymous or declared authors who, from mediaeval times onwards, aimed at making a choice of the poems. Amongst these should be mentioned ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078), *al-Mukhtār min dawāwīn al-M. wa 'l-Buḥturī wa-Abī Tammām* (ed. Maymanī, in *al-Ṭarāʾif al-adabiyya*, Cairo 1937, 195-305) and, for the modern period, Sāmī al-Bārūdī, *Mukhtārāt* (Cairo 1327-9), F. Bustānī, *Rawāʾiʿ* (nos. xi-xii) and A.J. Arberry, *Poems of al-M. A selection, with introduction, translation and notes* (Cambridge 1967). It is also possible to consider amongst these choices of verses the collection of the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995) containing *al-Amthāl al-sāʾira min shiʿr al-M.* (ed. Āl Yāsīn, Baghdād 1965), which in some degree embodies the poet's popularity.

Commentaries. Al-M.'s neo-classicism, added to the need to supply the reader with explanations not merely philological but also historical concerning the composition of such-and-such a poem, led several philologists to write commentaries on the *Dīwān*, and an incomplete list of these can be found in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Lexicon*, iii, 306-12), without of course taking into account Sezgin and ʿAwwād. R. Blachère justly highlighted (see the beginning of the article) those of Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075), *Sharḥ Dīwān al-M.* (ed. Bombay 1271/1854; Būlāḳ 1287; above all, F. Dieterici, *Mutanabbii carmina cum commentario Wahidii*, Berlin 1861, and many subsequent eds.)

and of Yāzidjī (d. 1871), *al-ʿArf al-ṭayyib fī sharḥ Dīwān Abi 'l-Ṭayyib* (publ. by his son Ibrāhīm at Beirut in 1885, 1887; new ed. 1964). But there exist others, printed or unpublished, amongst which one of the highest-regarded is that falsely ascribed to ʿUkbarī (d. 616/1219), *al-Tibyān fī sharḥ al-Dīwān* (Calcutta 1261-2, 1264; Būlāḳ 1261, 1277, 1287; Cairo 1303, 1308/1890; Cairo, ed. al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, 1936-8, 1956). One should also mention Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699-1700), *Sharḥ Dīwān al-M.* (Calcutta 1814), and Barḳūḳī (d. 1944), *Sharḥ Dīwān al-M.* (Cairo 1348, 1357, 1938).

Several partial commentaries deal only with difficult verses, notably Ibn Fūrradja (d. after 437/1141-2), *Sharḥ mushkilāt Dīwān Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-M.* (ed. Ghayyāḍ, in *al-Mawrid*, ii/1 [1973], 105-40; ed. Dudjaylī, Baghdād 1974); Ibn Sīduh (d. 458/1066), *Mushkil abyāt al-M.* (ed. Saḳḳā and ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Cairo 1976); and Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ (d. 515/1171), *Sharḥ al-mushkil min shiʿr al-M.* (ed. U. Rizzitano, in *RSO*, xxx [1955], 207-27; ed. Ghayyāḍ, in *al-Mawrid*, vi/3 [1977], 237-60).

Since mediaeval times, some commentaries on the *Dīwān* of al-M. have been severely criticised, notably by Muhallabī (d. 644/1246), *al-Maʾākhidh ʿalā shurrāḥ Dīwān al-M.*, against Ibn Djinnī, Maʿarrī, Tibrīzī and Kindī (partial ed. in *al-Mawrid*, vi/3 [1977], 165-212). The first of these *shurrāḥ*, Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002), had made the acquaintanceship of al-M. in Aleppo and, since he appreciated his work, he devoted to him commentaries which stirred up controversies and polemics, above all, the great one called *Fasr shiʿr al-M.* (ed. S. Khulūṣī, Baghdād 1970-8), but also the smaller one, *al-Fatḥ al-wahbī ʿalā mushkilāt shiʿr al-M.* (ed. Ghayyāḍ, Baghdād 1973 [cf. *al-Mawrid*, vi/3, 393-400]), and also a third one, the *Tafsīr maʿānī Dīwān al-M.* Most of the critical works are still unpublished: Zawzanī (d. 370/980), *Ḳashr al-fasr*; Rabaʿī, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā akhṭāʾ Ibn Djinnī*; Ibn Wakīʿ attracted upon himself a refutation by Ibn Djinnī, *al-Naḳd ʿalā Ibn Wakīʿ*; and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Radd ʿalā Ibn Djinnī fī shiʿr al-M.* Three critical works have however been published: Iṣfahānī (4th/10th century), *al-Wāḍiḥ fī mushkil shiʿr al-M.* (ed. Ṭāhir b. ʿĀshūr, Tunis 1968) Ibn Fūradja, *al-Fatḥ ʿalā Abi 'l-Fatḥ*, ed. Ghayyāḍ, in *al-Mawrid* 2 (1973) and al-Dudjaylī, Baghdād 1974; and idem, *al-Tadjannī ʿalā Ibn Djinnī* (ed. Ghayyāḍ, in *al-Mawrid*, vi/3, 213-36).

To the attacks against Ibn Djinnī's favourable judgement of the poet should be added the accusations of plagiarism, such as those of ʿAmīdī (d. 433/1042), *al-Ibāna ʿan sariḳāt al-M. fīmā naẓamahu min al-shiʿr* (ed. Dasūḳī, Cairo 1961); by an anonymous author, *Sariḳat al-M.* (ed. Dasūḳī, with the *Ibāna*); and Ḥātimī (d. 388/998), *al-Risāla al-Mūḍiḥa fī dhikr sariḳāt Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-M. wa-sāḳiṭ shiʿrihi* (ed. Shammāʿ, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, iv [Riyāḍ 1975-6], 237-95). The bad verses have also been highlighted by Ibn ʿAbbād, *al-Kashf ʿan masāwī al-M.* (ed. Dasūḳī, with the *Ibāna*). An author like Bākathīr al-Ḥaḍramī attempts to demonstrate his impartiality in his *Tanbīh al-adīb ʿalā mā fī shiʿr Abi 'l-Ṭayyib min al-ḥasan wa 'l-maʿīb* (ed. R.A. Ṣāliḥ, Baghdād 1976), and Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Djurdjānī (d. 392/1001) shows himself as conciliatory in *al-Wasāṭa bayn al-M. wa-khuṣūmihi* (Ṣaydā 1336 and edd. Ibrāhīm and al-Bidjāwī, Cairo n.d. (1950s)).

Biographies. As well as biographical data that can be derived from the commentaries, several easily-accessible biographies should be mentioned: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab* (ed. Cairo 1299, i, 382-9 = ed. Cairo 1348, ii, 302-17); Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* (Damascus 1304, i, 78-162, *passim*); Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (Cairo 1349/1931), iv, 102-4; this notice is reproduced by Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. ʿĀmir, 176-80, and Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. f. 506b); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i, 36-8; and Badīʿī, *al-Ṣubḥ al-munbī ʿan ḥaythiyyat al-M.* (edd. al-Saḳḳāʾ, Shitā and ʿAbduh, Cairo 1963; Maḥmūd Shākir, *al-Mutanabbī*, 2nd ed. (Cairo 1977), vol. ii, contains the important biographies contained in Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalib*, Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk*, and al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā*, all published from mss.).

Modern studies. Al-M. has been the subject of a considerable number of studies both in the East and the West. As well as the standard works on Arabic literature which have sections on him which are sometimes quite lengthy, the works of F. Gabrieli deserve special notice: *La vita di al-M.*, in *RSO*, xi, 27-42; *Studi sulla poesia di al-M.*, in *RCAL* (1927); *La poesia di al-M.*, in *Giornale della soc. asiat. ital.*, i/1 (1929). But the most outstanding synthesis is the basic monograph of R. Blachère, who, following the chronological order of the poems, combines biography with a literary study, *Un poète arabe du IVᵉ siècle de l'Hégire. Abou ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî*, Paris 1935. A little after this work's appearance, the 1,000th anniversary of the poet's death (354/965) stimulated in 1354/1935-6 the publication of three lengthy collective works, one organised under the direction of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām, *Dhikrā Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-M. baʿd alf ʿām* (Baghdād 1936); the second under the auspices of the Institut Français de Damas, *al-M., recueil publié à l'occasion de son millénaire* (Beirut 1936; cf. A. Fāḍil, *al-M. fī dirāsat al-mustashriḳīn*, in *al-Mawrid*, vi/3, 43-86); and the third was to appear in two numbers of the *Ṣaḥīfat Dār al-ʿUlūm* (April-June 1936). There is a list in Sezgin (ii, 485-6) of the articles in these three collections. Sezgin enumerates, moreover (ii, 497 and ix, 293), a series of articles and works amongst which attention may be drawn to those which deal with al-M.'s language and with his influence on the later poets, in particular those of Muslim Spain, where he enjoyed exceptional prestige; see e.g., al-Ṭāhir Makkī, *Maʿa shuʿarāʾ al-Andalus wa 'l-M.* (Cairo 1974). See also W.P. Heinrichs, "*The Meaning of Mutanabbī*", in James L. Kugel (ed.), *Poetry and Prophecy* (Ithaca, NY 1990), 120-39, 231-39, and A. Hamori, *The composition of Mutanabbī's panegyrics of Sayf al-Dawla*, Leiden 1992.

Translations. The *Dīwān* has inspired some translators, like von Hammer-Purgstall, *Motenebbi, der grösste arabische Dichter* (Vienna 1824), O. Rescher, *Der Dīwān des Motenebbi nach der Ausgabe ʿOkbarī* (*Būlāq 1287*) *mit Vergleichung der Edd. Jazydjy* (*Beyrouth*) *und Wāḥidī* (*Berlin* ...) (Stuttgart 1940), and A.J. Arberry, who translated into English the selection of poems mentioned above (under *Dīwān*). It is mainly separate poems which have been the subject of translations (see Sezgin, ii, 497).

(R. Blachère-[Ch. Pellat])

MUTARĀDIF [see ḲĀFIYA].

MUṬARRIFIYYA, a Zaydī sect in the Yemen named after its founder Muṭarrif b. Shihāb b. ʿAmr al-Shihābī, who died after 459/1067 at an advanced age.

They constituted a pietist movement striving to adhere strictly to the teachings of Imām al-Ḳāsim b.

Ibrāhīm, his sons, and of the early Yemenite Imāms al-Hādī, Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā, Aḥmad al-Nāṣir, al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim al-ʿIyānī and al-Ḥusayn al-Mahdī, while rejecting the doctrine of the Caspian as well as the contemporary Yemenite Zaydī Imāms. In implementing the religious duty of *hid̲j̲ra*, emigration from the abode of injustice (*dār al-ẓulm*) which had been stressed by al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm and other Zaydī authorities, they founded "abodes of emigration" where they gathered to engage in worship, ritual purification, ascetic exercises and teaching of their creed. The first of these *hid̲j̲ras* was founded already by Muṭarrif in Sanāʿ, south of Ṣanʿāʾ in the territory of his own tribe, the Banū S̲h̲ihāb. After Sanāʿ had to be abandoned under threat from the Ṣulayḥid Sabaʾ b. Aḥmad between 481/1088 and 491/1098, Muṭarrif's successor Ibrāhīm b. Abi 'l-Hayt̲h̲am founded a *hid̲j̲ra* at Waḳas̲h̲, south-west of Ṣanʿāʾ, which remained the spiritual centre of the movement until its destruction by Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza in 611/1214-5. Numerous other *hid̲j̲ras* were founded by the Muṭarrifiyya in various regions of northern Yemen. The Muṭarrifī *hid̲j̲ras* were a major factor in the development of the modern Yemenite concept of *hid̲j̲ra* as a protected enclave in a tribal territory. The persecution of the Muṭarrifiyya and destruction of their *hid̲j̲ras* by Imām al-Manṣūr led to the progressive decline of the sect. By the 9th/15th century it had become extinct.

The religious doctrine of the Muṭarrifiyya was essentially elaborated and systematised by Muṭarrif b. S̲h̲ihāb on the basis of the works of al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm and the early Yemenite Imāms, especially al-Hādī. Further sources were some statements ascribed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and a short treatise attributed to Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā whose authenticity was disputed by their Zaydī opponents. There is no evidence of either Ismāʿīlī or philosophical influence, as alleged by these opponents. Since al-Hādī espoused the theological doctrine of the Bag̲h̲dād school of the Muʿtazila against the Baṣran school, the Muṭarrifiyya also repudiated Baṣran Muʿtazilī doctrine upheld by the Caspian and later Yemenite Imāms. Thus they reduced the divine attributes of hearing, seeing, and perceiving to that of knowing, whereas the Baṣrans considered the attributes of perceiving to be additional to knowing, and they identified the divine will (*irāda*) with the object willed (*murād*) by God, as against the Baṣran concept of God's will as an accident without a substrate. There are, however, also substantial deviations from Muʿtazilī doctrine in general. The Muṭarrifiyya held, on the basis of a sentence of al-Hādī, the divine attributes of essence to be identical with the divine essence itself and with each other. They explained divine justice as meaning that God initially treats all men equally in six respects: their physical constitution (*k̲h̲alḳ*), sustenance, life, death, obligation to worship (*taʿabbud*) and recompense. After men display obedience or disobedience by their free choice, God may prefer some to others and withdraw His grace from some. Against Muʿtazilī dogma, they affirmed that God does, and causes, evil and orders men to perform acts whose performance He prevents. They rejected the Muʿtazilī doctrines of generated acts of man (*tawallud*) and of the obligation of God to compensate man for undeserved pain inflicted by Him.

The most radical deviation from Muʿtazilism was in cosmology. Repudiating the atomism of *kalām* in general, the Muṭarrifiyya affirmed that God had initially created the world out of three or four elements (water, air, winds (*riyāḥ*), fire). The inherent transformations and interaction of these elements, rather than the direct action of God, bring about changes in the world. The Muṭarrifiyya thus affirmed a natural causality in the world. They described events and effects, whether beneficial or harmful to man, as acts (*afʿāl*) only in the sense that God has compelled the elements and bodies through their structure to bring them about. God may, however, interfere in the course of the world through miracles in support of His prophets, through granting or withholding help, benefits, guidance, and through responding to prayers.

Bibliography: Earlier attemps to analyse Muṭarrifī doctrine on the basis of polemical refutations by R. Strothmann, *Die Literatur der Zaiditen*, in *Isl.*, ii (1911), 67-9; C. van Arendonk, *De Jemenitische secte der Mutarrifieten*, in *Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland, Verslag van het Vijfde Congres*, 1927, 23-4, and A.S. Tritton, *The Muṭarrifiyya*, in *Muséon*, lxiii (1950), 59-67, have been rendered partly obsolete by the discovery of an authentic Muṭarrifī work by Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥallī, *al-Burhān al-rāʾiḳ*, analysed in W. Madelung, *A Muṭarrifī manuscript*, in *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Stockholm 1975, 75-83. For the history of the sect, see in particular Musallam al-Lahid̲j̲ī, *Ak̲h̲bār al-Zaydiyya bi 'l-Yaman*, ii, ms. in private possession (see D.T. Gochenour, *A revised bibliography of medieval Yemeni history in light of recent publications and discoveries*, in *Isl.*, lxiii [1986], 315-17); idem, *The penetration of Zaydī Islam into medieval Yemen*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Harvard 1983; Madelung, *The origins of the Yemenite hijra*, in *Arabicus felix luminosus britannicus. Essays in honour of A.F.L. Beeston on his eightieth birthday*, Reading 1991, 25-44. (W. Madelung)

AL-**MUṬARRIZĪ**, Burhān al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ (Abu 'l-Muẓaffar) Nāṣir b. Abi 'l-Makārim ʿAbd al-Sayyid b. ʿAlī al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī al-Ḥanafī, philologist, jurist and *adīb* (538-610/1144-1213). He was born in K̲h̲ʷārazm, at al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲āniyya or Gurgānd̲j̲ [*q.v.*], in Rad̲j̲ab 538/January-February 1144. He began his studies with his father and continued them under the *ak̲h̲ṭab K̲h̲ʷārazm* Abu 'l-Muʾayyad al-Muwaffaḳ b. Aḥmad al-Makkī, a pupil of al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī [*q.v.*], and others. Later, well-known as an authority in philology, he was called *k̲h̲alīfat al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī* after his great countryman, who died in the same year and in the same town in which al-Muṭarrizī was born. Like him he was an adherent of the Muʿtazila. As a pilgrim of the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* of 601 (summer 1204), he passed through Bag̲h̲dād twice and had disputations with scholars there. On this occasion, Ibn al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār [*q.v.*], the biographer of the metropolis, met and interviewed him (Ibn al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār/al-Dimyāṭī, 237). He died in al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲āniyya on Tuesday 21 D̲j̲umādā I 610/8 October 1213.

Among al-Muṭarrizī's seven books enumerated by his younger contemporary Yāḳūt—who had left al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲āniyya after a short visit at the beginning of 617/March 1220, fearing the Mongols—in his *Udabāʾ* (vii, 203), the compendium of Arabic grammar, (1) *al-Miṣbāḥ fi 'l-naḥw*, has found the widest circulation. Compiled for his son, the treatise became a text-book in the *madrasas* of the East, often commented and glossed upon, not only in Arabic but also in Persian and Turkish, as well as versified. The number of mss. is abundant, and the basic work itself is printed. The *Miṣbāḥ* was based on three small grammatical monographs of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī [*q.v.*], to wit, *al-Tatimma*, *al-D̲j̲umal* and *al-ʿAwāmil al-miʾa*. On the latter, al-Muṭarrizī wrote a (1a) *S̲h̲arḥ*

(Brockelmann, S I, 503; Kaḥḥāla, *Mustadrak*, 380). Only the title of another grammatical opuscule, (2) *al-Muḳaddima al-Muṭarriziyya fī 'l-naḥw* (cf. Paris 4254, 2 and 6911?), and that of his (3) *Mukhtaṣar Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt [*q.v.*] are known to us. However we do have mss. of his (4) *al-Iḳnāʿ li-mā ḥuwiya taḥt al-ḳināʿ*, a handy lexicon with precise grammatical explanations, a kind of text-book for his son, dealing only with "good and usual" words and omitting the "bad and unusual" ones. It is divided into four parts (*asmāʾ, afʿāl, ḥurūf, naḥw*), which are in turn divided in four chapters each and many subsections. The first part is very rich in synonyms; modern and ancient linguistic usages are distinguished and verses are quoted in illustration. His dictionary (5) *al-Muʿrib fī gharīb alfāẓ al-fuḳahāʾ* is arranged alphabetically after the first letter. It is a reference book of terms used in Tradition and jurisprudence; it exists in a second, enlarged version by the author under the title (6) *al-Mughrib fī tartīb al-Muʿrib*. The work was regarded by the scholars of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* with the same respect as the *Gharīb al-fiḳh* of al-Azharī [*q.v.*] by the Shāfiʿīs. The last print, Aleppo 1402/1982 in 2 vols., is an edition by Maḥmūd Fākhūrī and ʿAbd al-Madjīd Mukhtār; another edition, based on the autograph of 598/1201, is in preparation in Cairo. His commentary on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, entitled (7) *al-Īḍāḥ* (cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 5, and Berlin [Ahlwardt] 8541) has been edited by Ḥamad b. Nāṣir al-Dakhīl (Ph.D. diss., Riyāḍ 1402/1982); the same scholar is now preparing an edition of al-Muṭarrizī's opuscule (8) *Fasr al-Mawlā wa-ḥaṣr maʿānīhi wa 'l-kashf ʿan ḥaḳīḳatihī*. For his (9) *Risāla fī Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān* see O. Spies, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 106 and Kaḥḥāla, *Mustadrak*, 380; and for his still undiscovered rhetorical work *fī ʿilm al-badīʿ*, entitled (10) *Zahr al-rabīʿ*, see Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ*, i, 202. Al-Muṭarrizī was also known as a gifted poet, who made frequent use of *tadjnīs*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I², 350-2, S I, 514-15; Storey, iii, 148-9; R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, I-II, Wiesbaden-Stuttgart, 1976-87, *passim.*; F. Meier in *Isl.*, lxvi (1989), 318-21; Kh. Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1956, viii, 311; ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1380/1960, v, 232, xiii, 71; idem, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Beirut 1406/1985, 380, 812; M.A. Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*², Tabrīz n.d. [*ca.* 1347/1969], v, 325-6.

Main sources: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 202-3; Ibn al-Nadjdjār/Dimyāṭī, *al-Mustafād min Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Ḥaydarābād 1399/1979, 237-8, etc.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1374/1955, iii, 339-40; Mundhirī, *al-Takmila li-wafayāt al-naḳala*, Beirut 1401/1981, ii, no. 1300; Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1405/1985, xxii, 28; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, Ḥaydarābād 1339/1920, iv, 20-1; Ibn Abi 'l-Wafāʾ, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*, Ḥaydarābād 1332/1914, ii, 190; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 402 (Cairo 1384/1964, ii, 311-12); Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Cairo n.d. [*ca.* 1346/1968], i, 126-7, 193, 202; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya*, Cairo 1324/1906, 218-9; Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1955, ii, 488.

(R. Sellheim)

MUTAṢARRIF (A.), a term of Ottoman local administration. In the Ottoman system of local administration defined by the provincial administration laws of 23 Rabīʿ I 1284/25 July 1867 and Shawwāl 1287/1871, this term designated the chief administrative official of the *sandjaḳ* [*q.v.*] or *liwāʾ*, the second highest in the hierarchy of administrative districts. The *sandjaḳ* had existed as an administrative district since early Ottoman times (Ortaylı, *İdare tarihi*, 184-5). However, during the 10th/16th century, the functionary in charge had been known as the *sandjaḳ begi*, who was primarily a military officer. With the decline of the cavalry (*sipāhī*) and the diversion to other uses of the landholdings (*tīmār, zeʿāmet* [*q.vv.*]) that had been used to support them, a different pattern began to emerge. From the 11th/17th century onwards, the number of *wezīrs* began to increase without any corresponding increase in the number of provinces or *eyālets* [*q.v.*] to which they could be appointed as *beglerbegis* or *wālīs*. To deal with this problem, the government began to separate some *sandjaḳs* from the provinces of which they were part and assign them to such individuals as a source of income (*arpalīk*). The *wezīr* would not take up such a position in person, but would send an agent to collect the revenues for him. These agents were known by titles such as *müsellim*, later *mütesellim*, or sometimes *ḳāʾim-maḳām*, which suggest their functions. Some references suggest that the term *mutaṣarrif* may already have been used in this period, as a common noun, rather than a technical term, to refer to the titular holder as contrasted with his collection agent, so that the whole arrangement could be described in terms of *mutaṣarrif* (the *wezīr*) and *mütesellim* (his agent; Çadırcı, *Mütesellimlik*, 288, 291; idem, *Kent*, 23-29; cf. Ergenç, 95). Under Selīm III and Maḥmud II [*q.vv.*], the revenues of some *sandjaḳs* and other territorial units were assigned directly to treasuries in Istanbul, which would then appoint their own *mütesellims* to collect the revenues (Çadırcı, *Mütesellimlik*, 288; idem, *Yönetim*, 1216).

When Selīm III and Maḥmūd II began trying, in the interests of centralisation, to supplant local notables with agents of the central government, the term *mutaṣarrif* clearly was used for officials with the rank of *wezīr* who were to be employed in local administration, but for whom positions as governor (*wālī*) of a province (*eyālet*) were unavailable. Such officials would be assigned to administer one or more *sandjaḳs* as *mutaṣarrif* (Çadırcı, *Yönetim*, 1226). This usage of terms continued in places after the inauguration of the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms with the Gülkhāne Decree of 1255/1839.

The term soon acquired other uses, too, as the evolution of the local administrative system proceeded. During the experiment with fiscal centralisation and direct tax collection inaugurated in 1254/1838, the *mütesellim*'s historical role in revenue collection was taken over by *muḥaṣṣils* [*q.v.*] appointed from the capital. After the abandonment of this experiment in 1258/1842, the role of *mütesellim* was not revived. Instead, the earlier fiscal practice of tax-farming (*iltizām* [*q.v.*]) was revived, on the one hand; and local administration was reorganised, on the other hand, with the *sandjaḳ* being entrusted for the first time to an official known as the *ḳāʾim-maḳām*, while a lower-level administrative district, the *ḳaḍāʾ*, was set up under the administration of the *ḳaḍāʾ müdīri* (Çadırcı, *Meclisler*, 260; idem, *Kent*, 236). A set of measures inaugurated in 1265/1849, marking the most important reforms in local administration since the experiment with the *muḥaṣṣils*, again designated the governor of a province (*eyālet*) as the *wālī*, who would normally hold the rank of *wezīr*. The title *mutaṣarrif* was set aside either for a governor of a small *eyālet* who held a lower rank, or for an administrator in charge of more than one *sandjaḳ*; at least from *ca.* 1274/1858 onwards, the same title applied to the administrator of a *sandjaḳ* that was "independent" (*mustaḳill*), meaning that it was subordinate, not to

any *eyālet*, but directly to the Ministry of the Interior in Istanbul. The administration of a *sandjaḳ* remained the task of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* (Çadırcı, *Meclisler*, 269-70; Scheben, 109-16, 281-302; Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung 1864-1878*, 20, 65; Başbakanlık Archives, Meclis-i Tanzimat defteri, no. 34, untitled printed volume, dated at end 15 Rabīʿ II 1267/1851, containing regulations on local administration, 56-81). Probably the best-known example of an "independent" *sandjaḳ* under the administration of a *mutaṣarrif* who reported directly to Istanbul, rather than to any province, was Lebanon under the special régime introduced there in 1861 (Young, *Corps de droit*, i, 139-59; *Düstūr*[1], iv, 695-701). Meanwhile, the number of *eyālets* had been increased from fifteen to twenty-eight (*ca.* 1250/1834) and then to forty after another twenty years, while the number of *sandjaḳs* had hardly increased at all. The decrease in the number of *sandjaḳs* per *eyālet* implies a tightening of the *wālī*'s control—another sign of centralisation (Scheben, 95 n. 130).

The most important steps toward systematisation of local administration occurred with the provincial administration law of 1281/1864, which was initially applied only in the specially-created Danube province but was revised for wider application in 1867, followed by the supplementary provincial administration law of 29 Shawwāl 1287/1871 (Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung 1864-1878*, 24-6, 74-86, 105-15; Heidborn, i, 157-72; *Düstūr*[1], i, 608-51; Çadırcı, *Kent*, 250-2). Under this new system, the provinces were renamed *wilāyet*, instead of *eyālet*, the *wilāyets* were divided into *sandjaḳs* or *liwāʾs*; the *sandjaḳs* into *ḳaḍās*; the *ḳaḍās* into villages (*ḳarye*). The law of 1287/1871 inserted another echelon, the *nāḥiye*, between the *ḳaḍā* and the village.

The 1864 law for the Danube province still provided for a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* at the head of each *sandjaḳ* and a *müdīr* to head each *ḳaḍāʾ*; but the 1867 law at last gave the title *mutaṣarrif* its definitive Ottoman meaning as the chief administrator of a *sandjaḳ*, using *ḳāʾim-maḳām* for the head of the *ḳaḍāʾ* (instead of *müdīr*; Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung 1864-1878*, 75-6, 78-82). At this point, other, earlier uses of the term *mutaṣarrif* ceased to apply in administrative usage. The practice of treating some especially sensitive *sandjaḳs* or *liwāʾs* as "independent" of any province and directly subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior continued, however; these "independent" *liwāʾs* (*alwiya-i mustaḳilla*) remained a familiar category in Ottoman administrative practice.

No further legislation of comparable scope was enacted until the provincial administration law of 17 Rabīʿ II 1331/7 October 1913 (*Düstūr*[2], v, 186-216; Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung 1878-1913*, 118, 122, 129, 137, 140; Findley, *Evolution*, 15-24). Introducing refinements into the earlier system, the new law retained the *mutaṣarrif* as the chief administrator of the *sandjaḳ*. However, the Fundamental Law of 20 January 1921, passed by the Grand National Assembly (*Büyük Millet Medjlisi*) in Ankara, revised local administration by taking the empire's *sandjaḳs* as the *wilāyets* for what in 1923 became the Turkish Republic. The Republic's *wilāyet* law of 18 April 1929 retained this arrangement, along with many features of the provincial administration law of 1331/1913 (Lewis, 384-6). Long-term continuity thus significantly characterised late Ottoman and Republican local administration. With the transformation of the old *sandjaḳs* into *wilāyets* in 1921, however, the term *mutaṣarrif* passed out of use as a designation for a type of local official.

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(C.V. FINDLEY)

AL-MUʿTAṢIM, ABŪ YAḤYĀ MUḤAMMAD B. MAʿN B. MUḤAMMAD IBN ṢUMĀDIḤ AL-TUDJĪBĪ, second ruler of the dynasty of Tudjībids [*q.v.*] of the kingdom of Almería [see AL-MARIYYA], reigned 443-484/1051-1091. Gifted like his contemporary al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*] of Seville with a certain amount of poetic talent, he made his capital during his long reign one of the great centres of culture in the Peninsula. But like the other *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*] of Spain, he was for the most of his time at war with one or another of his neighbours. He was probably implicated in the conspiracy fomented by the Jew Yūsuf against his master Bādīs, king of Granada [see ZĪRIDS]. Later his forces took part with those of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in the famous battle of Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]. Like the other Muslim rulers of Spain, he felt in the following year the weight of the Almoravid sultan's arm. After unsuccessfully besieging the fortress of Aledo and inciting Yūsuf to act harshly against al-Muʿtamid, whom he hated personally, he realised on his death-bed that his capital would be besieged by the Almoravids as Seville had been. This is why he advised his son and successor Aḥmad to seek asylum with the lords of Bougie [see BIDJĀYA]. Almeria was taken very soon afterwards by the Almoravids.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

AL-MUʿTAṢIM BI 'LLĀH, Abū Isḥāḳ Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rashīd, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 218-27/833-42, son of the caliph Hārūn by a slave concubine Mārida.

During the reign of his brother and predecessor al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], al-Muʿtaṣim achieved a reputation as a skilful commander in Anatolia and as governor in Egypt. When al-Maʾmūn died in the Byzantine marches in Radjab 218/August 833, al-Muʿtaṣim was recognised as caliph despite support within the army for his nephew al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn (who was, in fact, later to conspire against al-Muʿtaṣim during the return from the Amorium campaign, and as a result to lose his life in 223/838). The beginning of al-Muʿtaṣim's reign was taken up with campaigns against the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*] in Djibāl (218/833), against the Ḥusaynid ʿAlid rebel Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim at Ṭālaḳān in Khurāsān (219/834) and against the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] or Jhāts in Lower ʿIrāḳ (219/834), who were now deported to the Byzantine frontier region.

The four main, extended campaigns of the reign were, however, those firstly against the Khurramī leader Bābak [*q.v.*] in Arrān and Ādharbāydjān [*q.vv.*], brought to a successful conclusion with the storming of Bābak's headquarters at al-Badhdh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] by the general al-Afshīn Khaydhar (Ḥaydar) b. Ḳāwūs [*q.v.*] in 222/837. Secondly, in revenge for a Greek attack on Zibaṭra in the *thughūr* of the northern Djazīra, al-Muʿtaṣim himself and his commanders al-Afshīn and Ashnās led successful expeditions into Anatolia against the Byzantine emperor Theophilus, sacking Ankira (Ankara) [*q.v.*] and ʿAmmūriyya (Amorium) [*q.v.*] in 223/838, thereby achieving for himself a great contemporary reputation, reflected in the verse of such poets as Abū Tammām, as a great *ghāzī* and hammer of the infidels. Thirdly, in 223 or 224/838-9, the Ḳārinid prince Māzyār b. Ḳārin b. Wandā(d)hurmuz [see ḲĀRINIDS] rebelled in Ṭabaristān [*q.v.*], seeking to extend his political authority within the Caspian provinces at the expense of other petty Iranian rulers there and to exclude the influence of the Ṭāhirid governors of Khurāsān [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. ṬĀHIR and ṬĀHIRIDS]. Members of the Ṭāhirid family were sent against Māzyār, his rebellion was quelled and Māzyār executed, as was at this time the now disgraced general al-Afshīn, accused of encouraging and colluding with Māzyār (226/841). Finally, revolts in Damascus and in Palestine and Jordan, the latter one led by a leader of the Yemeni Arabs there, one Abū Ḥarb, called al-Mubarkaʿ "The Veiled One" [*q.v.*], whose movement seems to have taken advantage of lingering pro-Umayyad sentiment in Sufyānid messianism there, had to be suppressed in 226-7/841-2.

Whereas ʿIrāḳ and the capital Baghdād had been the focus of prolonged resistance against al-Maʾmūn in the earlier part of that caliph's reign, this province remained quiet under al-Muʿtaṣim. He did, however, adopt a conscious policy of reducing dependence on the *Abnā*ʾ of Baghdād, the Arabs of Khurāsān who had hitherto been the mainstay of the ʿAbbāsid régime until the civil warfare between the brothers al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn in 195-8/811-13, and of relying more on professional slave troops (*ghilmān*, *mamālīk*), mostly Turkish or Maghribī [see GHULĀM. i]. Hence he now built for these new troops a military centre at Sāmarrā [*q.v.*] to the north of Baghdād, and this was to become the administrative capital of the caliphate for some sixty years. The purge of *Abnā*ʾ and Iranian commanders which followed al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn's abortive plot accelerated this trend, but the caliph was nevertheless wise enough to retain the Ṭāhirids as governors in Khurāsān, and one member of the family, Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab, governor of Baghdād, was always one of al-Muʿtaṣim's closest advisers and confidants.

Al-Muʿtaṣim's viziers included al-Faḍl b. Marwān [*q.v.*], who seems to have planted the idea of a move away from Baghdād in the caliph's mind, until 221/836, and then Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt [see IBN AL-ZAYYĀT] until the caliph's death. But a dominant influence over al-Muʿtaṣim was exercised by the Chief *Ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād [*q.v.*], under whose stimulus the Muʿtazilī inquisition, the *Miḥna* [*q.v.*], begun by al-Maʾmūn, continued not only in Baghdād but in such provinces as Syria and Egypt also, and involved the *imām* Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*].

Al-Muʿtaṣim died at Sāmarrā on 18 Rabīʿ I 227/5 January 842, and was succeeded by his son Hārūn al-Wāthiḳ [*q.v.*]. Not much of the caliph's character emerges from the sources, though they stress his lack of culture compared with his brother al-Maʾmūn, with his questing mind; yet al-Muʿtaṣim's qualities as a military commander seem assured, and the ʿAbbāsid caliphate remained under him a mighty political and military entity.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

MUTAṬAWWIʿA, Muṭṭawwiʿa (a.), lit. "those who perform supererogatory deeds of piety, those over and above the duties laid upon them by the *Sharīʿa*", echoing the use of the verb *taṭawwaʿa* in Ḳurʾān, II, 153/158, 180/184, IX, 80/79, the term used in military contexts for volunteer fighters. Al-Samʿānī defines them (*Ansāb*, ed. Haydarābād, xii, 317) as "a group who devote themselves to *ghazw* and *djihād*, station themselves in *ribāṭs* along the frontiers (*thughūr*) and who go beyond the call of duty

(*taṭawwaʿū*) in *ghazw* and undertake this last in the lands of unbelief when it is not incumbent upon them nor is an obvious institution in their land".

As well as the regular troops forming the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid army or *djund*, those in receipt of regular stipends (*rizḳ*, *ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*]) from the *dīwān al-djaysh*, sc. the *murtaziḳa* "those entitled to living allowances" [see DJAYSH. i. Classical, and DJUND], there were from earliest times volunteers who served without *ʿaṭāʾ* but were entitled to a share in any captured plunder [see GHANĪMA]. However, it seems that they might sometimes be asked to make a contribution (*tanāhud*) to the expenses of a campaign out of their subsequent share of the booty. In early times, these volunteers must have included poor Bedouins, *mawālī* [see MAWLĀ], and, as time went on, an increasing proportion of those motivated by religious zeal and the desire for a martyr's death [see SHAHĪD]. Thus in the campaign of ʿAbd al-Malik's commander ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra against a local ruler of eastern Afghānistān, the Zunbīl of Zābulistān, in 79/698, volunteers from the Yemeni tribes of Madhhidj and Hamdān [*q.vv.*] are mentioned (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, cited in C.E. Bosworth, *ʿUbaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the "Army of Destruction" in Zābulistān (79/698)*, in *Isl.*, l [1973], 277). Likewise, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's army assembled in 98/716-17 for an expedition against Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān included 100,000 Syrian, ʿIrāḳī and Khurāsānī troops plus *mawālī*, slaves (*mamālīk*) and volunteers (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1318; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, v, 29).

There was, of course, a disadvantage to commanders having contingents of volunteers attached to their armies in that these volunteers were less amenable to military discipline and could come and go of their own free will, hence could not be relied upon for sustained campaigning or arduous fighting in remote or inhospitable terrains. During the campaign of al-Afshīn [*q.v.*] in northern Ādharbāydjān against the Khurramī rebel Bābak [*q.v.*] in 222/836-7, many members of the contingent of volunteers from Baṣra under the command of Abū Dulaf al-Ḳāsim al-ʿIdjlī [*q.v.*] melted away from the army when the final assault on the Khurramī fortress of al-Badhdh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] seemed to be unduly delayed (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1209-11, 1214, tr. Bosworth, *Storm and stress along the northern frontiers of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1991, 62-5, 67).

Volunteers were especially to be found on the frontiers of the Islamic world, where the opportunities for *djihād* [*q.v.*] against the pagans were greatest, e.g., along the Anatolian marches against the Byzantines, in the Caucasus against the Khazars, in Central Asia against the steppe peoples and in eastern Afghānistān and the fringes of north-western India against the local idolaters. In the caliphate of al-Mahdī, both regular troops and *muṭṭawwiʿa* were garrisoned at al-Maṣṣīṣa [*q.v.*] in Cilicia (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 166). The frontier towns of Transoxania and Khwārazm and their *ribāṭ*s had strong concentrations of volunteers within them, and these seem to have been often regarded as a volatile and unruly element, similar in social constitution and function to the *ʿayyārs* [*q.v.*]. They were ready to rush off and fight wherever the possibilities of holy war and plunder presented themselves, but were not always welcome (Barthold, *Turkestan*², 214-16). In 355/966 the Būyid *amīr* Rukn al-Dawla repelled by military force a group of 10,000 *ghāzī*s from Khurāsān who were ostensibly marching westwards against the Byzantines but who were, he feared, being utilised by the rival Sāmānid dynasty to destabilise his amirate (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 569-71).

Where a ruler or commander acquired a particular reputation as a successful war-leader and hammer of the infidels, volunteers would be attracted to his standard in large numbers. This was especially the case with the early Ghaznawids Sebüktigin, Maḥmūd and Masʿūd [*q.vv.*], whose campaigns down to the plains of northern India, with rich prospects of Indian slaves and temple treasures, always included a large proportion of volunteers from all over the eastern Islamic world (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 114).

The bands of volunteers or *ʿayyārūn* in certain parts of the eastern Islamic world might also turn their energies against internal dissent or heterodoxy. This is clear in the province of Sīstān, where bodies of orthodox Sunnī volunteers or vigilantes were active against local Khāridjite elements; out of these bands, the Ṣaffārid brothers Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr b. al-Layth [*q.vv.*] were to rise to power during the second half of the 3rd/9th century (see Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 85, 112 ff.).

From around the 5th/11th century onwards, the term *mutaṭawwiʿa*/*muṭṭawwiʿa* tends to drop out of use, and such terms as *ghāzī and mudjāhid* [*q.vv.*] are used more and more for the concept of volunteer warriors for the faith.

A modern formation from this Arabic root is *muṭawwiʿ*, lit. "one who compels obedience", used in contemporary Saudi Arabia to designate the religious police who enforce the closure of shops during the times of public prayer, oversee morals, etc.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also RIBĀṬ. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**MUTAWAKKIL ʿALĀ 'LLĀH**, ABU 'L-FAḌL DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph. He was born in Shawwāl 206/Feb.-March 822, son of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim [*q.v.*] and a Khwārazmī slave-girl called Shudjāʿ. There is no sign that he had early political ambitions, and he seems to have lived in obscurity until the death of his brother, the caliph al-Wāthiḳ [*q.v.*] in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 232/Aug. 847. Al-Wāthiḳ left a young son but no designated adult successor. The succession was decided by a council consisting of the *wazīr* ibn al-Zayyāt and the chief *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād [*q.vv.*], two other bureaucrats and two leading Turkish military men, Aytākh and Waṣīf. They rejected Ibn al-Zayyāt's advice to appoint al-Wāthiḳ's son and instead chose his brother Djaʿfar, who was duly installed as caliph. They probably hoped that he would prove a pliable instrument like his brother had been, but they soon found out how mistaken they were, and al-Mutawakkil soon showed that he had an independent mind and a clear and decided policy. He was determined from the beginning to assert the independence of the caliph and to break the dominance of the Turkish military and the bureaucracy.

He rapidly removed the leading figures and the old régime, Ibn al-Zayyāt (executed 233/847), Aytākh (assassinated 235/849) and Ibn Abī Duwād (dismissed 237/851-2). In their places he appointed new ministers, notably the *wazīr* ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān and his personal favourite al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [*q.v.*]. In 235/849 he also appointed his sons to take over the vast supervisory governorates held by the Turkish generals, al-Muntaṣir to Egypt and al-Djazīra, al-Muʿtazz to Khurāsān and al-Muʾayyad to Syria and Palestine, intending that the great men of the next generation should be members of the ʿAbbāsid family as they had been under al-Manṣūr. Only the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] in Baghdād and Khurāsān

were left unchallenged and continued to work in partnership with the caliph.

Al-Mutawakkil also set about recruiting a new army in order to break the Turkish monopoly of military power, and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Khāḳān sought to recruit troops from the Ḳaysī Arabs of Syria, the *abnāʾ* of Baghdād and from Armenia. The favour shown to these new elements provoked growing anger among the Turks, who felt their position threatened. Just as al-Muʿtaṣim had founded a new capital at Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*] to house his Turkish army, so al-Mutawakkil sought a new seat where he could establish himself. He tried Damascus briefly in 244/858, but is said to have been deterred by the plague, but probably also because it was too far from the centres of wealth and power in ʿIrāḳ and Persia. He chose instead a site a few miles north of Sāmarrāʾ in 245/859-60 which he called al-Djaʿfariyya. Despite its proximity to Sāmarrāʾ, this was conceived as an independent town with its own great mosque, palaces and urban centre, the outline of which can still be traced on the ground today.

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of his policy was to break with the Muʿtazilī position which had been the official doctrine of the ʿAbbāsid government since al-Maʾmūn had introduced the *miḥna* [*q.v.*]. In its place, the caliph stressed his adherence to the doctrines of the Ḥanbalīs and other Traditionists. In part, this was a symbolic rejection of his predecessors' policies, but he probably hoped also to attract to himself the undoubted popular support which the Traditionists enjoyed, especially in Baghdād. He appointed a new *ḳāḍī*, Yaḥyā b. Aktham, who was sympathetic to the Traditionists, introduced discriminatory dress regulations for Christians and Jews [see GHIYĀR], and destroyed the tomb of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ, which had become an important centre of devotion.

Despite these political upheavals, his reign was in the main a time of peace. There were continuing disturbances in Ādharbaydjān, where Ibn al-Baʿīth rebelled in 234/848-9 and in Armenia in 237/851-2, where a rebellion against increasing ʿAbbāsid pressure was put down by the Turkish general Bughā the Elder [see BUGHĀ AL-KABĪR]. Bughā also led successful campaigns against the Byzantines in 245/859 and 246/860, but without producing any decisive results.

The caliph's decisive policies made him a number of enemies, notably among the Turkish military. To these he added his eldest son al-Muntaṣir [*q.v.*], who feared that he was to be deprived of his position as heir apparent, and they came together to assassinate him in Shawwāl 247/Dec. 861. His death deprived the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of a forceful and effective ruler who might well have re-established the caliph's authority on a firm footing. In the event, his death plunged the caliphate into anarchy.

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(H. KENNEDY)

AL-MUTAWAKKIL ʿALĀ ʾLLĀH, IBN AL-AFṬAS, ʿUMAR B. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd Allāh, fourth and last ruler of the Afṭasid [*q.v.*] dynasty in the petty state [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF. 2.] of Badajoz (Baṭalyaws [*q.v.*]), in south-western al-Andalus [*q.v.*], in the 5th/11th century.

ʿUmar al-Mutawakkil came to power as a result of intrigues against his brother Yaḥyā in 461/1068-9 (the date emerges from two passages in the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām, iv, 650 and v, 252); Yaḥyā himself appears to have reigned for some four or five years (the chronology of the dynasty still presents problems). From this time on, al-Mutawakkil played an important political role in peninsular affairs, one consonant both with the (relatively) great size of his kingdom and with its isolation from the main cultural and economic centres further to the east in the Iberian peninsula. A number of well-known littérateurs served him as viziers (e.g., Ibn ʿAbdūn, one of the Banū Ḳuzmān and one of the Banū Ḳabturnu [*q.vv.*]). In 472-3/1079-80, he occupied Toledo (Ṭulayṭula [*q.v.*]), but although he had come at the invitation of the city's inhabitants, who were anxious to be rid of the incompetent and dangerous Dhu ʾl-Nūnids [*q.v.*], he was unable to establish a durable régime there, and left after only ten months. In the succeeding years, as the general position of Islam in the peninsula worsened, he adopted a policy, much like those of his peers, vacillating between temporising with regard to Christian demands for tribute (*parias*) and appealing for help to the rising power of the Almoravids (al-Murābiṭūn [*q.v.*]) in North Africa. His attempts to play each side off against the other came to nothing, however; despite his presence in 479/1086 at the battle of Zallāḳa [*q.v.*], which took place in his own territory, and his participation in the struggle against the Christian advance, he was in the end, like virtually all the other *taifa* monarchs, deposed, in 487/1094 or 488/1095, and put to death, together with two of his sons, on the road to captivity. A third son is said to have spent some time in Christian Spain and may even finally have been converted to Christianity. His dynasty was the subject of a famous *marthiya* [*q.v.*] or lament by Ibn ʿAbdūn, on which Ibn Badrūn later wrote a well-known commentary (ed. Dozy).

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(D.J. WASSERSTEIN)

AL-MUTAWAKKIL ʿALĀ ʾLLĀH, ISMĀʿĪL B. AL-MANṢŪR BIʾLLĀH AL-ḲĀSIM (b. *ca.* 1019/1610), the first Ḳāsimī Zaydī *imām* to rule Yemen completely independent of the Ottoman Turks.

Ismāʿīl's claim to the imāmate, following the death

of his brother, Imām al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh Muḥammad [*q.v.*], at Shahāra in Radjab 1054/September 1644, was challenged by three other aspirants, most seriously by his older brother, Abu Ṭālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim (1007-66/1598-1656). Despite some initial regional support for the latter, Ismāʿīl's claim ultimately won acceptance among the *ʿulamāʾ*, owing to broad recognition of his predilection for scholarship and his knowledge of the principles of Zaydī governance. Once the succession had been resolved after at least one test of arms (1055/1645), the *imām*'s family closed ranks behind him; his brother Aḥmad accepted to become his governor of the important northern city of Ṣaʿda, while several nephews served him well as commanders.

Although Imām Ismāʿīl lacked the martial qualities often associated with Zaydī *imāms*, it is nevertheless the case that in his time the *imām*'s authority was carried to perhaps its widest extent ever in modern history. Most of this expansion occurred in the south and east, where successful campaigns were conducted against Aden and Laḥdj (1055/1645), al-Bayḍāʾ and Yāfiʿ (1065/1655), Ḥaḍramawt (1069-70/1659-60) and even Ẓufār in ʿUmān (1073/1662-3). In these and other military operations the *imām*'s principal commander was his nephew and successor, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim [see AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD].

Imām Ismāʿīl died on 5 Djumādā II 1087/15 August 1676 at Djabal Ḍawrān, south of Ṣanʿāʾ, to where he had transferred the *imām*'s residence from Shahāra in the north. Essentially a scholarly and religious personality who preferred the company of the *ʿulamāʾ*, he composed numerous works on Zaydī jurisprudence and dogma, of which at least 23 have been identified as extant (al-Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt*, 140-3). Reflecting this personal preoccupation with religious concerns were his dispatch of an unsuccessful mission to convert the emperor of Abyssinia to Islam (1057/1647) and his revival of the office of *amīr al-ḥadjdj* for Yemen, a position which had not been filled since before the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks in 1045/1635.

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2. Useful published accounts are Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 1147/1734-5), *Ṭabaḳ al-ḥalwā*, ed. Djāzim, Ṣanʿāʾ 1405/1985, a general chronicle focussing on events in Yemen 1045-90/1635-79; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284/1867-8, i, 411-16, iv, 122 f.; Aḥmed Rāshid, *Tārīkh-i Yemen*, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 258 f.; Wüstenfeld, *Jemen*, Göttingen 1884, 63-71; Zabāra, *Ithāf al-muhtadīn*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1343/1924-5, 82; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 146-9; ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. al-Karmalī, Cairo 1939, 67 f.; Djurāfī, *al-Muktataf*, Cairo 1951, 156-66; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1957-61, ii, 287; Bayḥānī, *Ashiʿʿat al-anwār*, Cairo 1391/1971-2, ii, 246-51; Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 139-43; R.G. Serjeant and R. Lewcock (eds.), *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, London 1983, 80-2.

(J.R. BLACKBURN)

AL-MUTAWAKKIL ʿALĀ ʾLLĀH, SHARAF AL-DĪN YAḤYA B. SHAMS AL-DĪN B. AL-IMĀM AL-MAHDĪ AḤMĀD, 10th/16th century Zaydī *imām* in whose time the Ottoman Turks first became established in Yemen.

Born in northwestern Yemen on 27 Ramaḍān 877/25 February 1473, Sharaf al-Dīn announced his claim (*daʿwa*) to the imāmate during Djumādā I 912/September 1506, after years of study to achieve the necessary recognition as a Zaydī *mudjtahid*. It was another three decades (*ca.* 941/1535), however, before he was able to impose his religious and political authority upon the majority of Zaydī communities, particularly upon the rival northern tribal confederations of the Āl al-Maḥmūd (Āl Ḥamza) and Āl al-Muʾayyad. Aided by his sons, principally the eldest, al-Muṭahhar [*q.v.*], a proven commander, Imām Sharaf al-Dīn succeeded in reuniting the Zaydīs and in restoring the ascendancy of the imāmate after a protracted period of weakness. He further regained for the Zaydīs control over much of the southern highlands and of the northern Tihāma from a succession of pretenders to the Sunnī Ṭāhirid sultanate (*ca.* 858-923/1454-1517 [see ṬĀHIRIDS]) and from the Egyptian Mamlūks based in the southern Tihāma since 922/1516. Subsequently, he contained for eight years the tiny Ottoman *sandjaḳbeyilik* established by Khādim Süleymān Pasha at Zabīd in 945/1539 (and shortly elevated in status to a *beylerbeyilik*).

At the close of 953 or the beginning of 954/February or March 1547, Imām Sharaf al-Dīn, who forever favoured religious and scholarly pursuits to attending to administrative demands, lost *de facto* control of the imāmate to al-Muṭahhar. Following his deposition at a time when the Zaydīs, threatened by an Ottoman thrust into the interior, needed a general more than a jurisprudent as their leader, Sharaf al-Dīn went into forced retirement. Stripped of power, but not of influence, he remained opposed to al-Muṭahhar's leadership and ambivalent towards the Ottoman Turks. His death from plague occurred on 7 Djumādā II 965/27 March 1555 at Ẓafīr, where he had proclaimed his imāmate half a century before. Despite his lifelong devotion to scholarship, none of his compositions concerned with the Zaydī rite achieved any lasting repute.

Bibliography: Sharaf al-Dīn's life was the subject of at least four biographies (*sīras*). The oldest, that by al-Zuraykī (d. 960/1553), goes only as far as 940/1533-4. Another, that by al-ʿAlafī, begins with the year of the *imām*'s *daʿwa* (912/1506). The remaining two were composed by Ibn Dāʿir (the father of the author of *al-Futūḥāt*, see below) and by Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 1085/1674-5), *al-Sulūk al-dhahabiyya*. Other ms. sources are Fīrūz (d. after 970/1562-3), *Maṭāliʿ al-nīrān*; Ibn Dāʿir (d. after 1010/1601-2), *al-Futūḥāt*; al-Mawzaʿī (d. after 1031/1622), *al-Iḥsān*; ʿĪsā b. Luṭf Allāh (d. 1048/1638; the *imām*'s great-grandson), *Rawḥ al-rūḥ*; al-Sharafī (d. 1055/1645-6), *al-Laʾālī al-muḍiyya*; al-Shillī (d. 1092/1681), *al-Sanāʾ al-bāhir*; al-Ḥasanī (d. 1104/1692-3), *Takmilat al-ifāda*; and al-Shahārī (d. 1153/1740-1), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Zaydiyya*.

Two printed sources of primary value are Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582), *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī* = *Ghazawāt al-Djarākisa*, ed. al-Djāsir, Riyadh 1967, 60-8, and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. *ca.* 1100/1688), *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. ʿAshūr, Cairo 1968, ii, 634-717. Other printed sources include Aḥmed Rāshid,

Tārīkh-i Yemen, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 12-81; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 278-80; Djurāfī, *al-Muktaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 134-40; Zabāra, *Aʾimmat al-Yaman*, Taʿizz 1375/1955-6, i, 369-453; Sālim, *al-Fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, Cairo 1969, 115 ff.; Bayḥānī, *Ashiʿʿat al-anwār*, Cairo 1391/1971-2, ii, 146-9, 222, Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 119-23, and Blackburn, *The Ottoman penetration of Yemen*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 55-100.

(J.R. Blackburn)

MUTAWĀLĪ (A.), pl. *matāwila/mutāwila*, *mtawleh* in colloquial Lebanese, *métoualis* in French, name for the Twelver Shīʿīs [see ITHNĀ ʿASHARIYYA] in Lebanon [see LUBNĀN]. The term is also used for those Twelver Shīʿīs who emigrated from there to Damascus, but not, generally speaking, for those resident in Ḥamāt, Ḥims, Aleppo or elsewhere in Syria. The name seems to have come into use at first as *Banū Mutawāl*, and not before the 11-12th/17th-18th centuries. It most probably was the name by which the Shīʿīs of the Djabal ʿĀmil [see ʿĀMILA], of Baalbek [see BAʿLABAKK] and of northern Lebanon designated themselves. From the 17th century onwards, they gradually gained some form of independence from the *amīrs* of Lebanon under their own leaders, the Āl Naṣṣār, the Banū Ḥarfūsh [*q.v.*] and the Āl Ḥamāda (Ṣafadī, *Lubnān*, index, 261; Shidyāḳ, *Akhbār al-aʿyān*, ii, index, 579; Aḥmad Riḍā, in Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, vi, 252 f.; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, i/1, ed. 1960, 16 f., ed. 1986, 20; Cohen, *Palestine*, 98-104).

Even after the endeavours of Aḥmad Riḍā, H. Lammens, Muḥsin al-Amīn and others, the etymology of the name is not clearly elucidated. According to Aḥmad Riḍā, *matāwila* is a plural which, contrary to the rules, is formed from *tawallā/mutawallī* or, in accordance with the rules, from *tawālā/mutawālī*. In both cases the name would refer to a relationship of loyalty and adherence to the *Ahl al-Bayt* [*q.v.*] (*al-ʿIrfān*, ii/5 [May 1910], 237; *al-Muktaṭaf*, xxxvi/5 [May 1910], 425, and the critical notes to this by Shakīb Arslān in *al-Muktaṭaf*, xxxvii/2 [August 1910], 739 f.). In the version mentioned by Arslān (*ibid.*), who refers to Muḥammad ʿAbduh, the name is said to go back to *mut waliyyan li-ʿAlī*, a kind of war-cry, and as such it is a merely popular etymology (for the various explanations of the name, see also Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Āl al-Faḳīh al-ʿĀmilī, *Djabal ʿĀmil*, 31 f.).

At first, the *Matāwila* most probably regarded their name as a mark of honour. It did not however remain unknown to them that, in the common parlance of Sunnīs, Druzes and Christians in Lebanon, the term soon had a negative ring to it. It was only their political consciousness under Imām Mūsā Ṣadr which, around 1974, made them shake off definitely this designation which young educated Shīʿīs in particular associate with backwardness and discrimination (Lammens, *Les "Perses"*, 31 f.; Ajami, *The Vanished Imam*, 155; Rieck, *Die Schiiten*, 140, 147).

It is beyond doubt that the historical presence in Lebanon of the Twelver Shīʿīs is much older than the time in which the name *matāwila* came up. Referring to a passage in the *Amal al-āmil* [see AL-ḤURR AL-ʿĀMILĪ], *matāwila* authors, particularly in the 20th century, point out again and again that the community of the Twelver Shīʿīs in Lebanon was established already in early Islamic times. Their existence there is said to go back to the missionary activities of Abū Dharr [*q.v.*], the Companion of the Prophet; this community thus would be the second oldest after that in the Ḥidjāz (Aḥmad Riḍā, *op. cit.*; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Djabal ʿĀmil*, ed. 1983, 83 ff.). This assertion was challenged in particular by Shakīb Arslān (see *Bibl.*). But the popularity which Abū Dharr in recent times enjoys with many Twelver Shīʿīs (and with Sunnīs as well) as an alleged socialist and rebel furthers the spread and the affirmation of the idea that he is a sort of founding father of the Shīʿa in Lebanon. This way of representing things is also suitable for rejecting any speculation about an alleged Persian origin of the *matāwila*, which is undesirable from the point of view of Arab nationalism (see Lammens, *op. cit.*). It is true that in Lebanon there never was a centre of Shīʿī learning of the same importance as the ʿAtabāt [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in ʿIrāḳ, but the region of Djabal ʿĀmil throughout the centuries produced a number of important learned families (see the outline map in Momen, *An introduction to Shiʿi Islam*, New Haven-London 1985, 270-1). Members of these families have played an important role in both ʿIrāḳ and Persia, especially since the 10th/16th century (Hourani and Muruwwa, see *Bibl.*). However, their influence on the early phase of the Ṣafawid period in Persia should not be exaggerated.

Authors from the Djabal ʿĀmil such as ʿĀrif al-Zayn (d. 1960), Muḥsin al-Amīn (d. 1952) and Muḥammad Djawād Mughniyya (d. 1979), have had an important part in the development of Twelver Shīʿī modernism (Makkī, *al-Ḥaraka*; Muḥammad ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn, *al-Iṣlāḥ al-hādiʾ*; Khalidi, *Shaykh Aḥmad*; Mallat, *Shiʿi thought*).

After the foundation of the State of Lebanon, the *Matāwila* succeeded in 1926 to be recognised as an independent *madhhab* with their own judges and courts (see *OM*, vi [1926], 87 f.). However, in the following period they again and again had occasion to complain about their being discriminated against in the country's political system and about the economic neglect of their regions. The "Shīʿī awakening", the formation of Shīʿī militias and the influence of Iran on this development play a central role in the outbreak and the course of the Lebanese Civil War since 1975 (see the research by Ajami, Pohl-Schöberlein, Rieck and Norton and the literature given there). Because of the *ṭāʾifiyya* system in Lebanon, giving information about their exact number or about their part in the entire population has always been avoided in the case of the Twelver Shīʿīs. There are also only vague reports on their part in the population of Lebanese origin living abroad (West Africa, South and North America).

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Ḥaraka al-fikriyya wa'l-adabiyya fī Djabal ʿĀmil, 1st ed. Beirut 1963, 2nd enlarged ed. 1982; ʿAlī Muruwwa, *al-Tashayyuʿ bayn Djabal ʿĀmil wa-Īrān*, London 1987; Muḥ. Djawād Mughniyya, *al-Waḍʿ al-ḥāḍir fī Djabal ʿĀmil*, 1st ed. 1947, 2nd ed. 1984; Muḥ. ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn, *al-Iṣlāḥ al-hādiʾ*, Beirut 1985 (biography of Muḥsin al-Amīn); Ḳayṣar Muṣṭafā, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿāmilī al-ḥadīth fī djanūb Lubnān*, Beirut 1981. For further material in Arabic, see Yūsuf al-Dīb (ed.), *Fihrist Djabal ʿĀmil, 1909-1986*, Beirut 1986. An invaluable source is the journal *al-ʿIrfān*, founded in 1909 in Ṣaydā; cf. Tarif Khalidi, *Shaykh Ahmad ʿArif al-Zayn and al-ʿIrfan*, in Marwan R. Buheiry (ed.), *Intellectual life in the Arab East*, Beirut 1981, 110-24. Further literature in western languages: Fouad Ajami, *The Vanished Imam*, London 1986; A. Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1973; A. Hourani, *From Jabal ʿĀmil to Persia*, in *BSOAS*, xlix (1986), 133-40; H. Lammens, *Les "Perses" du Liban et l'origine des Métoualis*, in *MUSJ*, xiv (1929), 23-39; Chibli Mallat, *Shiʿi thought from the south of Lebanon*, Oxford 1988; R. Norton, *Amal and the Shia. Struggle for the soul of Lebanon*, Austin 1987; Monika Pohl-Schöberlein, *Die schiitische Gemeinschaft des Südlibanon*, Berlin 1986; A. Rieck, *Die Schiiten und der Kampf um den Libanon. Politische Chronik 1958-1988*, Hamburg 1989; C.E. Bosworth, *Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī and his literary anthologies*, Manchester 1989. (W. Ende)

AL-MUTAWALLĪ, Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maʾmūn, Shāfiʿī jurist, born at Nīsābūr in 426/1035 (or 427/1036), died in Baghdād in Shawwāl 478/February 1086. In *fiḳh*, his principal teachers were the *ḳāḍī* al-Ḥusayn al-Marwarrūdhī (d. 462/1070; see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iv, 356-65) and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Fūrānī al-Marwazī (d. 471/1079; *ibid.*, v, 109-15). In the history of the Shafiʿī school, he is primarily known as *ṣāḥib al-Tatimma*, that is, as author of a "Supplement", which was never completed, to the *Ibāna* of al-Fūrānī (see Brockelmann, I, 387, S I, 669). On the death of Abū Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] in Djumādā II 476/October 1083, he succeeded him for some time in the Niẓāmiyya at Baghdād; dismissed the same year and replaced by Abū Naṣr b. al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 477/1085), he was restored a few months later to his functions, which he retained until his death.

Besides his works of *fiḳh* (including a "Summary" concerning successions which is attributed to him), al-Mutawallī is also the author of a brief treatise on the *uṣūl al-dīn*, the title of which is not mentioned by his biographers, and which has recently been the object of two editions: the first (1986) under the title of *al-Mughnī* (after the ms. of Alexandria, Baladiyya 2014 d), the second (1987) under that of *al-Ghunya* (after the ms. of Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2340). This treatise, rightly described by al-Subkī as conforming to the doctrine of al-Ashʿarī, is in fact nothing more than a fairly systematic plagiarism —in spite of a few modifications or suppressions—of the *K. al-Irshād* of Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*], and is therefore of little interest beyond the assistance which it may supply in the reading of the latter work.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 18; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, iii, 132-3; Dhahabī, *ʿIbar*, Kuwait 1960, iii, 290; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1974-6, v, 106-8; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xii, 128; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 358; M. Bernand, *Un ouvrage de kalam ashʿarite attribué à un contemporain d'al-Juwayni*, in *Islamic theology and philosophy, Studies in honor of G.F. Hourani*, ed. M.E. Marmura, Albany 1984; idem, *Le* Mugnī *d'al-Mutawallī*, Supplement to *Annales Islamologiques*, Cairo 1986 (on this edition, see *Bulletin Critique des Annales Islamologiques*, no. 5 [1988], 54-9); al-Mutawallī al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Ghunya fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. ʿImād al-Dīn A. Ḥaydar, Beirut 1406/1987.

(D. Gimaret)

MUTAWĀTIR (A.), active participle of Form VI of *w-t-r*, "that which comes successively". It is used as a technical term in two senses:

(a) In the methodologies of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*, and for the term see Vol. III, 25b] and of law, the term is the counterpart of *khabar al-wāḥid* [*q.v.*] and denotes a Prophetic tradition (or, in general, any report) with multiple chains of transmission [see isnād]. Concerning the requisite number of concurrent chains that would make a report *mutawātir*, there is no unanimity; it is supposed to be a sufficient number to preclude the possibility of possible agreement on an error or of collusion in a forgery. The Kurʾān, e.g., is clearly transmitted by *tawātur* [*q.v.*]. The works on *ḥadīth* methodology do not devote much attention to the notion, whereas most compendiums on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (juridical methodology) contain chapters—sometimes lengthy ones—on it within the section dealing with *akhbār* (reports). This is only natural, because the notion of *mutawātir* grew out of discussions of the *ḥudjdjiyya* (possibility of proof, conclusiveness) of a Prophetic tradition for determining the legal status of an act, which was a central concern of the legal theorists. In fact, a *mutawātir* tradition was considered by the majority of authorities to yield knowledge (*ʿilm*) and certitude (*yaḳīn*) rather than presumption (*ẓann*). There are not too many traditions that qualify as *mutawātir*, especially not of the *mutawātir bi 'l-lafẓ* variety, in which the texts appended to the various chains are identical in wording (the opposite being *mutawātir bi 'l-maʿnā* where the texts are identical in meaning only). Al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] and others made collections of them. But, as Juynboll has shown, even a recognised *mutawātir* tradition may not reflect recognised historical truth (*Muslim tradition*, ch. iii).

In the epistemology of *kalām* theology (and to some extent, philosophy, see e.g. Ibn Sīnā, *al-Nadjāt*, Cairo 1357/1938, 61), the idea of *tawātur* was extended to all reports on distant times or places and covered such propositions as "there is a city called Mecca" and "there has existed a king called Alexander". Most authors consider that knowledge based on a *mutawātir* report is "immediate" (*ḍarūrī*) just like senseperception, and not "acquired" (*muktasab*) by reasoning.

Al-Taftāzānī in his commentary on the *ʿAḳīda* of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142), 33-4, mentions two objections to the validity of *mutawātir* reports. The first is that Jews and Christians accept as *mutawātir* reports that are rejected by Muslims. To this objection, al-Taftāzānī simply replies that the possibility that these reports should be *mutawātir*, is excluded. The second objection is that the reports of every single reporter (*āḥād* [see khabar al-wāḥid]) represent an opinion only and that an accumulation of opinions cannot be said to afford certainty. To this, al-Taftāzānī replies that often plurality has a power of which singleness is devoid, e.g., a cord made of hair.

(b) In prosody, the term is applied to the rhyme in which only one moving letter intervenes between the last two quiescents. See also ḳāfiya, esp. at IV, 412b, top.

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1313, 33 ff.; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii, 137; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Maḥṣūl fī ʿilm uṣūl al-fiḳh*, ed. Ṭāhā Djābir al-ʿUlwānī, ii/1, n.p. 1400/1980, 323-84; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Rawḍat al-nāẓir wa-djunnat al-munāẓir*[2], Riyāḍ 1404/1984, i, 243-59; Suyūṭī, *al-Azhār al-mutanāthira fī 'l-akhbār al-mutawātira*, Cairo 1302/1885; I. Goldziher, *Le livre d'Ibn Toumert*, 47 ff.; A.J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, index, s.v.; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 147-52; Hasan Hanafi, *Les méthodes d'exégèse*, Cairo 1385/1965, 34-42; G.H.A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of tradition literature. Discussions in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1969, index s.v.; Muh. Mustafa Azami, *Studies in Hadīth methodology and literature*, Indianapolis 1977, 42-3; Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 96 ff.; A. Zysow, *The economy of certainty: an introduction to the typology of Islamic legal theory*, diss. Harvard 1984, unpubl., 11-24 and ff. (fundamental).

For (b), G.W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arab. Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 303, 305; W. Wright, *Arabic grammar*[3], ii, 255.

(A.J. Wensinck-[W.F. Heinrichs])

MUṬAWWIF, the pilgrim's guide in Mecca. The word literally means one who leads the *ṭawāf* [*q.v.*]. The task of the *muṭawwif* is, however, by no means limited to assisting pilgrims from foreign lands, who entrust themselves to their guidance, to go through the ceremonies required at the circumambulation of the Kaʿba. On the contrary, they act as guides at the *saʿy* also and at all other ceremonies which are prescribed or only recommended for the *ḥadjdj* or *ʿumra* [*q.vv.*]. The *muṭawwifs* also cater very completely for the physical welfare of the pilgrims. As soon as the pilgrims arrive in Djidda or in Mecca, their agents are ready on the arrival of the steamers or airplanes to provide all the services they require from disembarkment to departure for Mecca. In Mecca, the *muṭawwifs* or members of their families and servants take charge of the pilgrims. During the whole of their stay they provide the pilgrims with lodging, service, food, purchases (necessary and unnecessary), attend them if they fall ill and in case of death take charge of what they leave behind them.

The *muṭawwifs* of course do not all this for nothing. They are appropriately paid for their trouble and see that, if the pilgrim is rich, their friends and relations also make something out of him. Of the money which they themselves receive, they have to hand over a considerable part in the form of fees, presents etc. to the *shaykh* of the gild and to the treasury, another reason for getting as much as possible out of those entrusted to their care. It is therefore no wonder that many pilgrims have complained bitterly about the covetousness of these particularly prominent representatives of the Meccan pilgrim industry. Under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suʿūd, the fees for guides were first fixed by a legal enactment of the Ḥidjāz government (*OM*, xii [1932], 249).

Reference has already been made to the fact that the *muṭawwifs* are organised in gilds; they are divided up into separate groups who sometimes have the right to exploit the pilgrims from a definite area only (e.g., Lower Egypt). All these groups together form the gild with a chief *shaykh* officially recognised as its head. The gild is also very exclusive. "Wild" (*i.e.*, independent) guides (*djarrārs*) have to be content with the scanty pickings left over for them by the organised *muṭawwifs*. On the rôle of the *muṭawwifs* in Mecca in recent, post-war decades, see MAKKA. 3.

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(R. Paret)

MUṬAYR, a major camel-rearing Bedouin tribe of Arabia, now living in Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt, and counted among the *aṣīl* or "noble" tribes in local taxonomy. They were particularly prominent in the period of the Ikhwān movement of the 1920s when, under Fayṣal al-Duwīsh, they, with other Ikhwān tribes raided into ʿIrāḳī territory until Fayṣal's final surrender to the British at Djahrā in 1930. Muṭayr, originally a tribe of central Nadjd and Ḥidjāz, are now divided into an eastern and a western section, the former being more prominent. The eastern section are often known as ʿIlwa, the western as Banū ʿAbdillāh. This nomenclature is, however, a simplification, as shown in the following listing of the main subsections and their location after Dickson: I. Dūshān, the ruling clan (singular Duwīsh), eastern; II. ʿIlwa, comprising Mwaha, Dhuwi ʿAwn, Djiblān, all eastern; and III. Burayh, comprising Awlād Wāṣil, eastern, and Awlād ʿAlī and Banū ʿAbdillāh, both western.

Their original homeland, as shown by toponomy and tradition, is the volcanic uplands between Mecca and Medina (Doughty, ii, 366). They are first mentioned by Ibn Bishr (64) in 1080/1669 in connection with the Sharīf Ḥamūd b. ʿAbd Allāh's expedition to Nadjd. During the 12th/18th century, with the help of the Ghaṭān (Ḳaḥṭān) and in a long series of wars, they contested the ʿAniza (ʿAnaza) for the pasturages of central Nadjd (Burckhardt, 461) and finally managed to force them out northwards. They were both, nevertheless, superseded by the ʿUtayba, who remain to this day numerically the largest tribe of central Nadjd, although as late as 1287-8/1870-1 they are recorded as fighting the Ghaṭān around ʿUnayza. Up till the early 12th/18th century, they occupied the desert between Ḳaṣīm and Medina. However, by the time of Doughty's visit in the 1870s they were already regularly migrating towards Kuwait in summer, this following the eclipse of the Banū Khālid, the previous rulers of al-Aḥsā. In 1239/1823 with the help of the ʿAdjmān, they had defeated the Banū Khālid in the ʿArma plateau. However, later in 1243/1827 they were allied with the latter against Turkī b. Suʿūd. Such quick changes of alliance characterised Bedouin political relationships in those times. By that time they can be seen to have moved the focus of their attention to the east. During the 13th/19th century they opposed the growing power of the Āl Suʿūd, sometimes allied with the Āl Rashīd, sometimes with the Egyptians. But by the beginning of this century they had joined the Ikhwān movement and were the spearhead of Ibn Suʿūd's attacks into Ḥidjāz, Djabal Shammar and Kuwayt territory. They were prominent in the ill-fated Ikhwān rebellion against Ibn Suʿūd, and Fayṣal al-Duwīsh ended his days a prisoner of the latter after being handed over to him by the British in defiance of Bedouin rules of sanctuary.

The territory of the eastern Muṭayr centres on the Ṭuwāl, the "deep" wells of Muṭayr, Wabrā, Garʿa (Ḳarʿa), Luṣāfa, Lahāba, Dzarya (Ḳarya) ʿIlyā and

Dzarya Siflā; extending south they embrace Khufaysa and ʿIrḳ Ṭuraybi, then west to Ḳayʿiyya and Arṭāwiyya, Burayda and ʿUnayza, then northeast along the Bāṭin to al-Ḥafar. They border the ʿAdjmān and ʿAwāzim on the east, the Subayʿ and Suhūl on the south, and the Ḥarb, Shammar and Ẓafīr on the west.

Their main traditional enemies in the days of intertribal raiding were the Shammar and Ẓafīr, the latter taking the brunt of their attacks into ʿIrāḳ in the Ikhwān period. They are counted Ahl al-Djunūb "southern Bedouin" like the ʿUtayba, Ḥarb and ʿAdjmān. In fact, they are the northernmost of these, the Shammar and Ẓafīr being Ahl al-Shimāl "northerners". Their dialect, of a central Nadjdī type, links them with some sections of Ḥarb and ʿUtayba, also west-central Nadjdī in origin and present location.

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MUṬAYYABŪN [see laʿaḳat al-dam].

MUʿTAZILA, the name of a religious movement founded at Baṣra, in the first half of the 2nd/8th century by Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 131/748 [*q.v.*]), subsequently becoming one of the most important theological schools of Islam.

The origin of this term—which has the sense of "those who separate themselves, who stand aside"—remains enigmatic. According to a traditional explanation (sometimes acknowledged by the Muʿtazila themselves), the word would have been applied to Wāṣil—or to his lieutenant, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (d. 144/761 [*q.v.*])—because on the question relating to the definition applicable to the Muslim guilty of a serious offence, the former (or the second) "would have separated himself" from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (or from Ḳatāda) (on this tradition and its variants, see W. M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 209-11). An explanation, more plainly hostile, propounded notably by Ibn al-Rāwandī (according to al-Khayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, Beirut 1957, 118, ll. 2-9, later by al-Ashʿarī, *K. al-Lumaʿ*, ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1953, § 184), is that, on the same question of the name to be given to the sinful Muslim—who should, according to Wāṣil, be described by the definition of *fāsiḳ*, an "intermediate rank" between that of *muʾmin* and that of *kāfir*—Wāṣil was opposed to the consensus of the Muslims for whom, in any circumstances, the sinful Muslim could not be other than "believing" or "disbelieving". To this, the Muʿtazila replied that, on the contrary, Wāṣil's intention was in fact to retain only that which, among Muslims, was the object of a consensus: while they differed as to whether the sinful Muslim should be termed *muʾmin* or *kāfir*, all, on the other hand, were agreed in defining him as *fāsiḳ* (*K. al-Intiṣār*, 118, ll. 10-19). In other words, on this question, Wāṣil was as unwilling to side with the Murdjiʾa (*q.v.*; partisans of the first solution) as with the Khāridjites (*q.v.*; partisans of the second); he chose to "stand aside" from this debate.

It is an explanation of this kind which today, in particular as a result of the studies undertaken by Nallino (*Sull'origine del nome dei Muʿtaziliti*, in *RSO*, vii [1916]), is generally accepted: *iʿtizāl* would designate a position of neutrality in the face of opposing factions. Nallino drew support for this argument from the fact that at the time of the first civil war, some of the Companions (ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, etc.), who had chosen to side neither with ʿAlī nor with his adversaries, were for this reason called *muʿtazila*. He even drew the conclusion that the theological Muʿtazilism of Wāṣil and his successors was merely a continuation of this initial political Muʿtazilism; in reality, there does not seem to have been the least connection between one and the other. But, in its principle, this explanation is probably valid.

Little is known of the origins of the movement. It appears to be established that Wāṣil, originally a disciple of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*] was indeed the sole founder, and this during the lifetime of the latter. It was only at the end of a relatively long period, and after the death of al-Ḥasan (110/728), that ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd—another disciple of al-Ḥasan, and a particularly eminent one—decided to join him. After the death of Wāṣil in 131/748, it was ʿAmr who took on the leadership of the group. It is hardly likely that at this early stage of the movement the Muʿtazilī doctrine, as it was to be formulated several decades later by Abu 'l-Hudhayl, was already fully developed. No doubt the theses defended here were essentially the same as those previously current in the milieu of the Ḳadariyya [*q.v.*], to which al-Ḥasan belonged: rejection of the doctrine of predestination, affirmation of the absolute responsibility of every individual with regard to his transgressions which could not be in any sense the work of God. It will be noted that, on the question of the name to be applied to the sinful Muslim, al-Ḥasan seems to have accepted the notion of an "intermediate rank", although in the event he proposed *munāfiḳ* ("hypocrite" [*q.v.*]) in place of *fāsiḳ* ("malefactor" [*q.v.*]). Similarly, al-Ḥasan subscribed to the principle that every unrepentant sinner will suffer for ever the torments of Hell, an essential element of what was later to be called "the promise and the threat" (*al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd*).

Did the movement launched by Wāṣil also have political objectives? Nyberg believed so, on the basis of a singular interpretation of the *iʿtizāl* and of the doctrine of the "intermediate rank" (cf. *EI*[1], s.v. *Muʿtazila*, at III, 787-8). This, according to him, should in fact be interpreted as denoting a position of a political nature, characterised simultaneously by a declared hostility with regard to the Umayyads and a cautious attitude towards the Shīʿa, at least in consideration of its more radical elements. Now, Nyberg claimed, this position corresponded exactly to that of the ʿAbbāsid movement, to the extent that the doc-

trine of "intermediate rank" would be nothing other than "the theoretical encapsulation of the political programme of the ᶜAbbāsids before their accession to power". This explains why, "for at least a century", Muᶜtazilī theology "remained the official doctrine of the ᶜAbbāsid court". This would also account for the fact that Wāṣil sent envoys to the different countries of the Muslim world; the object was to spread the propaganda of the ᶜAbbāsids. This interpretation, as proved now, has no validity. Not only did the first Muᶜtazila not support the ᶜAbbāsid movement, but a large number of them participated in the insurrection of Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] in 145/762 against al-Manṣūr (cf. J. van Ess, *Une lecture à rebours de l'histoire du muᶜtazilisme*, 120-1). The "propaganda" organised by Wāṣil was, in all probability, of a purely religious nature (*ibid.*, 104-8). As for the supposed amicable relations between al-Manṣūr and ᶜAmr b. ᶜUbayd, this is probably an instance of a legend invented after the event (*ibid.*, 118-22). It was only on the accession of al-Maʾmūn that Muᶜtazilism became, for a brief period, official doctrine.

Historical evolution. The author of the present article is not a historian, and therefore will not venture to describe the history of Muᶜtazilism (which extends over a period of approximately five centuries) in detail and with reference to all its elements, doctrinal, political and social. On this subject, and in particular on the earliest periods, some very detailed and informative analyses have been compiled, in recent years, by J. van Ess. While inviting the reader to avail himself of these sources (see *Bibl.*), we confine ourselves here to a few succinct references.

The great age of Muᶜtazilism is not limited, as is still all too often the general view, to the first ᶜAbbāsid century. The revocation by the caliph al-Mutawakkil, in 234/848, of the decrees instituting the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] marks only the end of one period, that during which, for a period of some thirty years, the Muᶜtazilī school enjoyed the favour of the caliphs of Baghdād. In fact, by the time this reversal took place, the Muᶜtazila were established not only in the capital but also in numerous regions of the Islamic world, especially in Persia, where measures taken in Baghdād did not necessarily have an effect. Furthermore, although deprived of the patronage of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate, they subsequently found other princes or influential persons (under the Būyids, in particular) to support them. Better still: this first period, which we are quite willing to term the "heroic" period, or that of the "great ancestors", is not—in our view, at least—the most important. It was only at a later stage that there appeared, from the point of view of elaboration and systematisation of doctrine, what may be described as the "classical" period of Muᶜtazilism, lasting approximately from the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century to the middle of the 5th/11th century (in other words, until the arrival of the Saldjūḳids). It could almost be said, *mutatis mutandis*, that, in relation to persons such as Abū ᶜAlī and Abū Hāshim al-Djubbāʾī, the Muᶜtazila of the first period correspond to the pre-Socratic philosophers in relation to Plato and Aristotle.

This difference between two periods of Muᶜtazilism is very clearly felt within the school itself: thus Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd distinguishes systematically between *al-mutaḳaddimūn* (or *al-ḳudamāʾ*), "those of the earlier period", and *al-mutaʾakhkhirūn*, "those of the later period" (cf. *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, i, 7-8; iii, 288, l. 19; xi, 119, l. 17-18 and 120, l. 5). Mānkdīm, for his part, readily uses, to denote the first, the term *salaf*: *al-salaf min aṣḥābinā* (*Sharḥ*, 634, l. 10), *al-mashāyikh min al-salaf* (*ibid.*, 146, l. 11).

Furthermore, it is known that, very soon, the Muᶜtazila constituted two separate schools, "those of al-Baṣra" and "those of Baghdād" (terms which, over the course of time, were to become purely conventional, having no association with specific geographical location). Taking into account the two periods mentioned above, there is thus a total of four groups of theologians, clearly distinguished, again, by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd: the "Baṣrans of the earlier period" (*ḳudamāʾ al-baṣriyyīn*) and "those of the later period", the "Baghdādīs of the earlier period" (*ḳudamāʾ al-baghdādiyyīn*) and "those of the later period".

Among the "Baṣrans" of the first period, the most significant figures are Ḍirār b. ᶜAmr (d. *ca.* 200/915 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (d. 201/816? [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), Abu 'l-Hudhayl (d. 227/841? [*q.v.*]), al-Naẓẓām (d. 221/836 [*q.v.*]), nephew and disciple of the preceding, Muᶜammar b. ᶜAbbād (d. 215/830 [*q.v.*]), Hishām b. ᶜAmr al-Fuwaṭī (d. between 227/842 and 232/847, cf. Gimaret-Monnot, *Shahrastani, Livre des religions et des sectes*, i, 249 [*q.v.*]), the eminent writer al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of al-Naẓẓām, ᶜAbbād b. Sulaymān (d. *ca.* 250/864 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of Hishām al-Fuwaṭī, Abū Yaᶜḳūb al-Shaḥḥām (d. after 257/871, cf. Gimaret-Monnot, *op. cit.*, 199), a disciple of Abu 'l-Hudhayl. Among the "Baghdādis" of the same period, it is appropriate to mention in particular Bishr b. al-Muᶜtamir (d. 210/825 [*q.v.*]), founder of the school of Baghdād, Thumāma b. Ashras (d. 213/828? [*q.v.*]) and Abū Mūsā al-Murdār (d. 226/841 [*q.v.*]), disciples of Bishr, Djaᶜfar b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850 [*q.v.*]) and Djaᶜfar b. Mubashshir (d. 234/848 [*q.v.*]), disciples of Abū Mūsā, Abū Djaᶜfar al-Iskāfī (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]), disciple of Djaᶜfar b. Ḥarb.

The most characteristic feature of this first period is the extreme diversity of people and of doctrines; it is a case of a collection of distinguished individuals, of often "colourful" personalities, rather than continuous and homogeneous associations. On the human level, nothing could be more dissimilar, for example, than the two disciples of Bishr b. al-Muᶜtamir: Thumāma, courtier, personal friend of al-Maʾmūn, hedonist, and Abū Mūsā, ascetic, nicknamed the "monk" (*rāhib*) of the Muᶜtazila, who denounced as infidels all those who sought the favour of princes. On the doctrinal level, divergencies are no less stark. Thus Ḍirār b. ᶜAmr is distinguished from all the rest of the school by his affirmation that voluntary human acts are created by God, a thesis which associated him with Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*] and as a result of which he was to be disowned by later generations of Muᶜtazila (cited as such, among others, by Ibn al-Nadīm, he is explicitly challenged, in his turn, by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī in his *Maḳālāt*; furthermore, he does not appear in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muᶜtazila* of the *ḳāḍī* ᶜAbd al-Djabbār). Al-Naẓẓām radically rejects the atomist theory adopted by his uncle and master Abu 'l-Hudhayl, and thus is likewise isolated in relation to all the others. Al-Aṣamm also rejects the cosmology of Abu 'l-Hudhayl, but in his case, on a different point: he absolutely denies the existence of accidents, another fundamental element of this cosmology. The same al-Aṣamm also rejected the very thing that had characterised the *iᶜtizāl* at the outset, this being the thesis of the "intermediate rank"! Another of the (theoretically) cardinal principles of Muᶜtazilism, that which affirms the reality of the "threat" (in other words, of Hell in perpetuity for sinners), was rejected by an entire group of Murdjiʾa Muᶜtazila, including Abū Shimr, Muways b. ᶜImrān [*q.v.*] (two contemporaries of Abu 'l-Hudhayl), and later Muḥammad b. Shabīb [*q.v.*] (of the following

generation). The thesis supported by Abu 'l-Hu<u>dh</u>ayl and al-Naẓẓām, according to which God necessarily does for every man what is the most advantageous (*al-aṣlaḥ*) for him, including that relating to his future life, was contradicted by Bi<u>sh</u>r al-Muᶜtamir, author of a theory of *luṭf* which he was almost alone in supporting (with his disciple <u>Dj</u>aᶜfar b. Ḥarb), and which stated on the contrary that God does not impart to all men the "grace" which would assure their well-being; paradoxically, in view of the fact that Bi<u>sh</u>r was the founder of the school of Ba<u>gh</u>dād, it was specifically the "Ba<u>gh</u>dādīs" who, later, were to be seen as partisans of the theory of *al-aṣlaḥ*. The doctrine of "generation" (*tawallud*), also supported by Bi<u>sh</u>r, (and, to a lesser extent, by Abu 'l-Hu<u>dh</u>ayl), according to which a man is capable of producing an act outside himself through the intermediary of another whom he himself produces, was rejected on the one hand by al-Naẓẓām, Muᶜammar, <u>Th</u>umāma, al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, in the name of a concept of "nature" (*ṭabᶜ* or *ṭibāᶜ*), on the other by Ṣāliḥ known as Ḳubba [*q.v.*], in the name of an absolute divine arbitrariness.

Also present in this tableau are figures who adopted more or less eccentric positions. The asceticism preached by Abū Mūsā as well as by the two <u>Dj</u>aᶜfars, his disciples, clearly takes, in some cases, the form of Ṣūfism: these are the *ṣūfiyyat al-Muᶜtazila*, including such notable figures as ᶜĪsā b. al-Hay<u>th</u>am al-Ṣūfī (d. 245/860), a disciple of <u>Dj</u>aᶜfar b. Ḥarb, of whom Ibn al-Nadīm relates that he ultimately "became delirious" (*<u>kh</u>ulliṭa*), or Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥuṣrī, likewise charged with "delirium" and "innovation" by the author of the *Fihrist*, and whom ᶜAbd al-<u>Dj</u>abbār, in his *Ta<u>th</u>bīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (ed. ᶜA. K. ᶜU<u>th</u>mān, Beirut 1966, i, 129), does not hesitate to place among the *zanādiḳa*. In the same vein attention may be drawn to two disciples of al-Naẓẓām, passed over in tactful silence in the majority of Muᶜtazilī *ṭabaḳāt*, namely Aḥmad b. <u>Kh</u>ābiṭ (or Ḥābiṭ [*q.v.*]) and al-Faḍl al-Hada<u>th</u>ī, whose theories (including in particular the affirmation of transmigration) evoke very directly those of certain <u>Sh</u>īᶜī *<u>gh</u>ulāt*. Finally, also to be counted among the Muᶜtazila—although absolutely disowned by them—are the two enigmatic personalities Ibn al-Rāwandī [*q.v.*], a disciple of ᶜĪsā b. al-Hay<u>th</u>am, and Abū ᶜĪsā al-Warrāḳ [*q.v.*].

Turning now to the second period, the landscape becomes altogether different. This time, genuine schools are established, around a coherent body of doctrine which may truly be called a "system". On the "Baṣran" side (in fact, both the persons named below spent almost their entire lives at ᶜAskar Mukram, in <u>Kh</u>ūzistān), appear the two dominant figures of Abū ᶜAlī al-<u>Dj</u>ubbāʾī (d. 303/933 [*q.v.*]) and of his son Abū Hā<u>sh</u>im (d. 321/933 [*q.v.*]), "the two *<u>shaykh</u>s*", whose names appear repeatedly in the works of all the authors who quote their teaching, to such an extent that it is appropriate to speak of a "<u>Dj</u>ubbāʾī" school. Among the very numerous members of this school, worthy of mention are Abū ᶜAlī Ibn <u>Kh</u>allād [*q.v.*], a disciple of Abū Hā<u>sh</u>im; Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/980 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and Abū Isḥāḳ b. ᶜAyyā<u>sh</u>, both disciples of Ibn <u>Kh</u>allād; the *ḳāḍī* ᶜAbd al-<u>Dj</u>abbār (d. 415/1025 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of the two preceding, friend and protégé of the Ṣāḥib Ibn ᶜAbbād (himself a disciple of Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī); Abū Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Nīsābūrī [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Husayn al-Baṣrī (d. 426/1044, *q.v.* in Suppl.), Abū Muḥammad Ibn Mattawayh, all three disciples of ᶜAbd al-<u>Dj</u>abbār. The "Ba<u>gh</u>dādī" school, for its part, is represented principally by Abu 'l-Huṣayn al-<u>Kh</u>ayyāṭ (d. *ca.* 300/913 [*q.v.*]), described by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd as *<u>shaykh</u> al-mutaʾa<u>khkh</u>irīn min al-Ba<u>gh</u>dādiyyīn* (*<u>Sh</u>arḥ Nah<u>dj</u> al-balā<u>gh</u>a*, xi, 120, l. 5); Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Bal<u>kh</u>ī (d. 319/913 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of the preceding (although described as a "Ba<u>gh</u>dādī" he lived most of his life in <u>Kh</u>urāsān); Abū Bakr Ibn al-I<u>khsh</u>īd (d. 326/938 [*q.v.*]); the grammarian ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of the last-named.

The opposition between the two schools is now much more decisive than in the preceding period. A famous work by Abū Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Nīsābūrī, fortunately preserved, reveals, in matters of cosmology and anthropology, "The questions on which the Baṣrans and the Ba<u>gh</u>dādis are opposed" (*al-Masāʾil fi 'l-<u>kh</u>ilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa 'l-Ba<u>gh</u>dādiyyīn*, ed. M. Ziyāda and R. al-Sayyid, Beirut 1979), where primary attention is given to the theses upheld on the one hand by Abū ᶜAlī and (especially) Abū Hā<u>sh</u>im al-<u>Dj</u>ubbāʾī, on the other by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Bal<u>kh</u>ī. It is in particular the theory of "states" (*aḥwāl*), conceived by Abū Hā<u>sh</u>im, which was violently attacked from the "Ba<u>gh</u>dādī" side (especially by Ibn al-Ik<u>sh</u>īd). It is true that, even among the "Baṣrans", this thesis was not unanimously accepted, far from it; some opposed it with the utmost vigour, including Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar al-Ṣaymarī (d. 315/927)—although it should be said that al-Ṣaymarī was at least as much "Ba<u>gh</u>dādī" as "Baṣran"—and in particular, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. As a result, there was constituted in the very midst of the "Baṣran" school a sub-group of supporters of Abū Hā<u>sh</u>im, known as *Bah<u>sh</u>amiyya* (though comprising almost all of the "<u>Dj</u>ubbāʾīs" mentioned above).

The arrival of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳids marks, in general, the end of this second period (without there being any genuine relation of cause to effect), and, consequently, of the "Golden Age" of Muᶜtazilism. Nevertheless, the latter did not disappear.

On the one hand, Muᶜtazilīs as such continued to exist for a long time. Even in Ba<u>gh</u>dād, the forced recantation of Ibn ᶜAḳīl [*q.v.*], under pressure from Ḥanbalī circles, should not be invested with undue significance. Many Ḥanafīs were Muᶜtazilīs, and, as is known, the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳid sultans favoured the Ḥanafī *ma<u>dh</u>hab*. Consequently, throughout the last two centuries of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate, a fair number of *ḳāḍīs*, in Ba<u>gh</u>dād as in Rayy, were avowed Muᶜtazilīs (cf. W. Madelung, *Religious schools and sects in medieval Islam*, London 1985, ii, 135-7). Among these, mention should be made of Abū Yaᶜḳūb Yūsuf al-Lam<u>gh</u>ānī (d. 606/1209), who was one of the masters of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd (cf. *<u>Sh</u>arḥ Nah<u>dj</u> al-balā<u>gh</u>a*, ix, 192, ll. 10-11). In <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm, where it was overtly supported by the local princes, Muᶜtazilism continued throughout this period as the dominant ideology (cf. Madelung, *op. cit.*, 115-16), to such an extent that outside this area *<u>kh</u>ʷārazmī* was understood as a synonym of *muᶜtazilī* (cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 155, ll. 7-10). <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm was the birthplace of Maḥmūd al-Zama<u>khsh</u>arī (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]), author of a famous Ḳurʾānic commentary entitled *al-Ka<u>shsh</u>āf*; it was also in <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm that the young Fa<u>kh</u>r al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] had such violent arguments with the local Muᶜtazilīs that he was forced to leave the country. It appears that by this time the "Ba<u>gh</u>dādī" tendency had ceased to exist; according to al-Rāzī (*Iᶜtiḳādāt firaḳ al-Muslimīn*, ed. ᶜA. S. al-Na<u>sh</u>shār, Cairo 1938, 45) the only survivors were the supporters of Abū Hā<u>sh</u>im and those of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. But it was only after the Mongol conquest that Muᶜtazilism as such finally disappeared altogether.

On the other hand, Muᶜtazilī theses have not remained the exclusive property of the school bearing

this name. Other groups, within Islam and even outside Islam, have adopted and perpetuated them, to such an extent that they could be said to be still current at the present day.

Within Islam, these are the Shīʿīs, Zaydīs and, later, Imāmīs. Already implicit, to some extent, in the teaching of al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860), Muʿtazilism was decisively adopted as much by al-Ḥasan b. Zayd (d. 270/884 [*q.v.*]), founder of the Zaydī amirate of Ṭabaristān (his brother and successor, Muḥammad, employed as secretaries Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī and Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī, one of the Muʿtazilī commentators of the Ḳurʾān), as by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ (d. 298/911 [*q.v.*]), founder of the Zaydī principality of the Yemen. Among the Yemenīs, it is the "Baghdādī" tendency which prevailed, while among the Zaydīs of the Caspian region, the Djubbāʾī doctrine was followed. The Imām al-Muʾayyad bi 'llāh (d. 411/1020 [*q.v.*]) had been the pupil of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī and of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār. One of the claimants to his succession, known by the curious name of Mānkdīm (or Mānakdīm) Shashdīw (d. 425/1034), is the author of the well-known paraphrase of the *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* of ʿAbd al-Djabbār. (On all of the above, cf. W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965.) This state of affairs had a particularly fortunate consequence, the preservation of quantities of Muʿtazilī writings; it is principally in the Yemen (the Zaydī amirate of Persia having disappeared at the beginning of the 6th/12th century) that there have been recovered, in all or in part, the works of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, Ibn Mattawayh, etc.

On the Imāmī side, Muʿtazilism first made an impact at the end of the 3rd/9th century, with the Banū Nawbakht [*q.v.*]: Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī (d. 311/924) and his nephew al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā (d. *ca.* 310/923), the author of the *K. Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*. It was initially short-lived; the theology of Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991 [*q.v.*]) affirmed, on the contrary, that God creates the actions of men and wills everything which comes into being (including evil). But Muʿtazilī theses prevailed again, this time definitively, with the disciple of Ibn Bābawayh, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), upholding the theses of the "Baghdādīs", as is abundantly illustrated by his *Awāʾil al-maḳālāt* (cf. M. J. McDermott, *The theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, Beirut 1978). Then it was the turn of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1045 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who, for his part, successfully championed the theses of the "Baṣrans". The Ḳurʾānic commentaries of Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 459/1067 [*q.v.*]) and of al-Ṭabarsī (d. *ca.* 548/1155 [*q.v.*]) are overtly Muʿtazilī commentaries, even more so than the *Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī, and not their least interesting feature is the innumerable references made in them to the (now lost) *tafsīrs* of al-Djubbāʾī and al-Balkhī (the same observation applies, moreover, to the Ḳurʾānic commentary of the Zaydī theologian al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī (d. 494/1101 [*q.v.*]).

Finally, outside Islam, Muʿtazilī thought has exerted a decisive influence, as is shown by the studies of G. Vajda, on the Jewish theologians living in Islamic countries: Rabbanites (like Saʿadyā al-Fayyūmī, d. 330/942), and especially Karaites, notably Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (first third of the 5th/11th century), whose entire theological corpus is directly modelled on the work of ʿAbd al-Djabbār (cf. G. Vajda, *Le* kalām *dans la pensée religieuse juive du Moyen Age*, in *RHR* [1973]). The adoption of Muʿtazilī theses by the Karaites had, moreover, the same beneficial consequence as that observed among the Zaydīs of the Yemen: the preservation (although in rather less significant proportions) of a quantity of Muʿtazilī literature (often transcribed, in this instance, in Hebrew characters). It is thus, for example, that the Firkovitch Collection in the Public State Library of Leningrad contains, among others, numerous fragments—as yet unedited—of the *Mughnī* and the *Muḥīṭ* of ʿAbd al-Djabbār (cf. A. Ya. Borisov, *Muʿtazilitskiye rukopisi Gosudarstvennoy Publičnoy Biblioteki v Leningrade*, in *Bibliografiya Vostoka*, 8-9, 1935; cf. also H. Ben-Shammai, *A note on some Karaite copies of Muʿtazilite writings*, in *BSOAS* [1974]).

After centuries of suppression or systematic misrepresentation in Sunnī Islam, Muʿtazilism has been "rediscovered" at the beginning of the 14th/20th century, and since then a significant trend towards its rehabilitation has been observed, especially in Egypt. In the first instance, Aḥmad Amīn, in his *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* (1936), devoted to it a chapter of some two hundred pages, where he shows that the Muʿtazilīs were before all else men of religion, committed to the defence of Islam, and concludes with this unequivocal statement: "In my opinion, the demise of Muʿtazilism was the greatest misfortune to have afflicted Muslims; they have committed a crime against themselves". Then, notably, Zuhdī Ḥasan Djār Allāh, whose book *al-Muʿtazila* (Cairo 1947) is an eloquent plea in favour of the school, the author considering its historical elimination as a "victory of obscurantism" and the cause of the decadence of the Arabs (cf. R. Caspar, *Le renouveau du moʿtazilisme*, in *MIDEO* [1957]). Again in the present day, because it affirms the primacy of reason and of free will, many Muslim thinkers continue to see in Muʿtazilism (sometimes to an exaggerated extent) a symbol of intellectual liberty and modernity (cf. *inter alios*, Ch. Bouamrane, *Le problème de la liberté humaine dans la pensée musulmane, solution muʿtazilite*, Paris 1978; ʿĀdil al-ʿAwā, *al-Muʿtazila wa 'l-fikr al-ḥurr*, Damascus 1987).

Theses. This term will be understood here as applying exclusively to the theses characteristic of the Muʿtazilīs, those by which they are recognised as such, and as a result of which their opponents—Sunnī theologians in particular—combatted them. There will thus be no discussion here of their cosmology, based (except in the case of al-Naẓẓām) on the principle of atomism [see DJUZʾ] and the distinction between substance and accident; elaborated, in all probability by Abu 'l-Hudhayl, this cosmology was to become, in effect, the common doctrine of all the *mutakallimūn*, Sunnī as well as Muʿtazilī. Nor will there be reference to their theses regarding the Imāmate, their views on this subject also being (almost without exception) identical to those of the Sunnīs [see IMĀMA].

In his time, Abu 'l-Hudhayl had believed it possible to propound the distinctive theses of Muʿtazilism in the form of "five principles" (*al-uṣūl al-khamsa*), these being (cf. among others al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 2254-6): 1. uniqueness of God (*al-tawḥīd*); 2. justice of God (*al-ʿadl*); 3. "the promise and the threat" (*al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd*), by which, it will be recalled, it is understood that on account of the "threat" uttered against him in the Ḳurʾān, every Muslim guilty of a serious offence, who dies without repentance, will suffer for eternity the torments of Hell; 4. the theory of an "intermediate state" (*al-manzila bayna 'l-manzilatayn*) formulated by Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ, according to which the same sinful Muslim cannot here on earth be classed either as "believing"

(*muʾmin*) or as "disbelieving" (*kāfir*), but belongs to a separate category, that of the "malefactor" (*fāsiḳ*); 5. finally, the obligation laid upon every believer (in accordance with Ḳurʾān, iii, 104 and 110; vii, 157; ix, 71, etc.) to "command the good and forbid the evil" (*al-amr bi-'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*), in other words, to intervene in public affairs to uphold the Law and oppose impiety.

Two centuries after the death of Abu 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl, this scheme was still considered pertinent, since it constituted the basis of the best "manual" of Muʿtazilī theology currently known, the paraphrase by Mānkdīm S̲h̲as̲h̲dīw (see above) of the *S̲h̲arḥ al-uṣūl al-k̲h̲amsa* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār. It is, however, difficult to be entirely satisfied with it. First, while the first four principles represent, or cover, the characteristic positions of the school, the same cannot be said of the fifth, particularly in view of the fact that in the course of their history the Muʿtazilīs showed little inclination to put it into practice (except perhaps at the very beginning); the politico-religious activism which it implies was to a much greater extent the prerogative of the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ites, later of the Ḥanbalīs. Furthermore, there is an evident disproportion between, on the one hand, the third and fourth principles, which refer to particular, relatively secondary points of doctrine (the importance given to the theory of an "intermediate state" consists only in the fact that historically it was the first formulation) and, on the other, the first and second principles, which genuinely represent the two major theses of the Muʿtazilīs, as illustrated by the generic term *ahl al-ʿadl wa 'l-tawḥīd* which they themselves gladly embraced. It could even be considered that the third principle (the reality of the "promise" and the "threat") derives in fact from the second, the justice of God implying, on the one hand, that He rewards those who obey Him and punishes those who disobey Him, on the other and in parallel, that He accomplishes that which He has said He will do, since otherwise He would render Himself guilty of an untruth, which is an evil act. In the *Mug̲h̲nī*, furthermore (according to Mānkdīm, *S̲h̲arḥ*, 122, ll. 14-15), ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār considered that the whole dogma depends on these two principles of *tawḥīd* and *ʿadl*; following him, Mānkdīm claims to show that in fact everything which does not derive from the one necessarily derives from the other (*ibid.*, 123, ll. 5-14). Finally—as is quite clear from the foregoing—the very terms *tawḥīd* and *ʿadl* are not entirely adequate. Under the first heading (which may be interpreted as meaning quite simply, initially, the affirmation of the absolute monotheism of Islam, as opposed to dualist theses or the Christian dogma of the Trinity) there figure a number of conceptions regarding the nature of God—that He is invisible, that the anthropomorphic expressions applied to Him by the Ḳurʾān are to be taken in a metaphorical sense, etc.—which, in fact, depend on an affirmation of transcendence rather than of divine uniqueness. As for "justice", as will be seen, this is to be understood as meaning not only that God is not "unjust" in the narrow sense of the word, but that in all things He necessarily does that which is (morally) good, and is exempt from any act that is (morally) bad. For these various reasons, the analysis which follows will be partly arranged according to headings other than the "five principles" set out above.

1. The nature of God and the divine attributes.

1. A primary thesis characteristic in this context is what could be called the *negation in God of "substantive attributes"*. Like all theologians, the Muʿtazila habitually describe God by means of His "attributes", or *ṣifāt*. By this term, following the example of the grammarians, they refer exclusively, for their part, to adjectives, such as "powerful" (*ḳādir*), "knowing" (*ʿālim*), "creating" (*k̲h̲āliḳ*), "nourishing" (*rāziḳ*), etc., the word *ṣifa* here being nothing more than a direct synonym of *waṣf*, or even of *ism*. But the question is then posed: by virtue of what does God merit such qualifying adjectives? In the context of what may conventiently be called "attributes of the act" (*ṣifāt al-fiʿl*), i.e. adjectives which He merits on account of such-and-such an act accomplished by Him, such as *k̲h̲āliḳ*, *rāziḳ*, *mut̲h̲īb*, *muḥsin*, etc., it will be accepted without difficulty that such adjectives can be applied to Him on account of something which comes into being, an existent created by Him. But when approaching the "attributes of the essence" (*ṣifāt al-d̲h̲āt* or *al-nafs*), i.e. adjectives which are applied to him from all eternity, by the very fact of His nature as God, such as *ʿālim*, *ḳādir*, *ḥayy* (since it cannot be conceived that God has ever been not knowing, not powerful, not living), the question may be asked whether these other adjectives do not themselves imply, according to the same rule, "existents" which would be their reason for being, and which, through the fact that God merits these adjectives eternally, would necessarily be themselves eternal; in other words, God would be knowing from all eternity on account of the presence in Him of an eternal knowledge, etc. It is known that the Sunnī theologians—following the example, in particular, of Ibn Kullāb [*q.v.* in Suppl.]—explicitly accepted this conclusion. The As̲h̲ʿarīs, for their part, affirm the existence in God of seven (or eight) eternal "entities" (*maʿānī*): knowledge, power, life, hearing, sight, will, word (and occasionally, duration), i.e. "substantives" by virtue of which God merits for all eternity the corresponding "adjectives". It is true that such a doctrine implies the formal acceptance of a plurality of eternals, which is apparently contrary to the principle of monotheism, of a God who is the sole uncreated One; the Sunnīs seek to avoid this difficulty by stating, following Ibn Kullāb (although this principle had previously been upheld by the Zaydī theologian Sulaymān b. D̲j̲arīr [*q.v.*]), that these "entities" are at the same time neither identical to God nor other than Him, just as between themselves they are neither identical nor other.

Reasoning in this fashion, it may be noted that the Sunnī theologians did nothing other than to apply without restriction two principles which the Muʿtazila also normally held to be true, and which they had possibly been the first to formulate: on the one hand, the principle that every adjective has a cause (*ʿilla*), a reason for being (such is the primary sense of the word *maʿnā*) which is nothing other than, precisely, the corresponding substantive; an object is "mobile" on account of the presence in it of an entity of "movement", "white" on account of the existence in it of an entity of "whiteness", etc.; on the other hand, there is the principle of the necessary "analogy of the invisible to the visible" (*ḳiyās al-g̲h̲āʾib ʿalā 'l-s̲h̲āhid*), by virtue of which that which is true of the creature is likewise true of God; it is through analogy with man that we know that God is powerful, knowing and living. Hence, if Zayd is necessarily knowing on account of a knowledge (by virtue of the first principle), the same must inevitably apply to God (by virtue of the second principle). Such is the reasoning explicitly invoked, for example, by al-Bāḳillānī (*Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, § 335).

And such indeed was, apparently, the reasoning of

Abu 'l-Hudhayl who, for his part, accepted the statement that God is "knowing through a knowledge", "powerful through a power", etc. With, however, a significant difference; with the evident object of avoiding the conclusion to which adherents of this thesis habitually find themselves drawn, i.e. the admission of a plurality of eternals—in other words as an advocate of the principle of *tawḥīd*—he maintained that this knowledge by virtue of which God is knowing is nothing other than God himself. "God", he said, "is knowing through a knowledge identical to Himself (*huwa ᶜālim*^un^ *bi-ᶜilm*^in^ *huwa huwa*), powerful through a power identical to Himself, living through a life identical to Himself, and likewise he spoke of His hearing, His sight ... and of all the attributes of His essence" (al-Ashᶜarī, *Maḳālāt*, 165, ll. 5-7). This is a paradoxical thesis, which has the effect of simultaneously asserting and refuting the first of the two principles enunciated above, since, while basing each divine qualificative on the corresponding substantive, it removes all reality from this substantive by identifying it each time with the divine essence. This is no doubt the reason why this thesis did not have a following and why, instead of taking this artificial detour by way of entities that do not exist, the majority of the later Muᶜtazila, equally concerned to maintain the principle of divine uniqueness, preferred to declare directly that God is "knowing, powerful, living through Himself (*bi-nafsihi*), and not through a knowledge, a power and a life" (*Maḳālāt*, 164, ll. 13-14; cf. also al-Shahrastānī, *K. al-Milal*, ed. Badrān, Cairo 1947-55, 62, ll. 2-3). Such would also be the point of view of al-Djubbāʾī (cf. *Sharḥ*, 182, ll. 13-14; *Milal*, 122, ll. 3-4).

Between Muᶜtazilīs and Sunnīs, there are not only differing points of view, there is also a difference in vocabulary. As has been observed, for the Muᶜtazila, the word *ṣifāt*, used in reference to God, could denote nothing other than the adjectives ("powerful", "knowing", etc.) which are applied to Him. The Sunnīs, curiously (although the Imāmī theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] had previously used the term in this sense, cf. *Maḳālāt*, 222, ll. 1-5 and 369, ll. 1-3), normally understand by *ṣifāt* not the adjectives (for which they tend to reserve the term *awṣāf*) but the corresponding substantives, in other words, those eternal "entities" from which God derives the said adjectives. Whence, on the part of the Sunnīs, the assertion, astonishing at first sight, according to which the Muᶜtazila, since they deny the existence in God of such entities, "deny the *ṣifāt* (*op. cit.*, 483, ll. 2-7), whereas the Sunnīs, for their part "affirm the *ṣifāt*" (*ibid.*, 170, l. 12) and call themselves *aṣḥāb al-ṣifāt* (*ibid.*, 171, ll. 12 and 16) or *ṣifātiyya* (cf. *Milal*, 145, ll. 4-12).

The truth is that the simple solution proposed, among others, by al-Djubbāʾī did not eliminate all the problems. If the reason that God is, for all eternity, powerful, knowing, living, is nothing other than His very essence, then how is it to be explained that a unique, undifferentiated essence can give rise to distinct qualificatives? It is for this reason that Abū Hāshim, son of al-Djubbāʾī, was to propose a solution of compromise between pure and simple negation of the substantive attributes and their affirmation: the adjectives applied to God are not simple words applied directly to a pure and plain essence, they are each the expression of something other than the essence itself, which is a "state" (*ḥāl*) of this essence; there is in God, for all eternity, a "fact-of-being-powerful" (*kawnuhu ḳādir*^an^), a "fact-of-being-knowing", etc., which legitimise the corresponding adjectives. Without being veritable "existents" (this with the object of preserving the principle of divine uniqueness), these "states" are nevertheless ontologically "real" (*thābita*), and are thus capable of founding objectively, and independently of one another, the adjectives which express them [see ḤĀL in Suppl.]. But this thesis, as has been observed, was far from being a factor of unanimity among the Muᶜtazila, even among those of the "Djubbāʾī" line; while ᶜAbd al-Djabbār accepted it, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, on the other hand, vigorously opposed it.

2. Among these eternal essences, linked to the divine essence, the existence of which is affirmed by the Sunnī theologians, there are also the word of God and His will. Regarding the word, the Muᶜtazila do indeed uphold the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān [see KALĀM and ḲURʾĀN]. For the majority of them, the Ḳurʾān is, in the technical sense of the term, an accident (*ᶜaraḍ*); like every word, it is made up of "letters serially arranged and sounds separately articulated" (*ḥurūf manẓūma wa-aṣwāt muḳaṭṭaᶜa*), which God creates in one or other corporeal framework (*maḥall*). Regarding the will, the Djubbāʾīs propound a singular thesis; according to them, God wishes through wills that He creates and which are, again, in the nature of accidents, but which He could not create, they say, either in Himself (since God cannot be "a receptacle of casuals") nor in any body (since, henceforward, it is the body that would be wishing on account of these wills), and which therefore exist—in a manner contrary to the normal rule, concerning accidents—*lā fī maḥall* (cf. Gimaret-Monnot, 265, n. 3). It might be thought that the same conclusion would apply to the word: once God has created a word in a certain body, it is this body that would be speaking as a result; but the Djubbāʾīs reply to this that a "speaker" is not "he in whom the word resides" (*man ḳāma bihi 'l-kalām*) but "he who produces the word" (*man faᶜala 'l-kalām*) (cf. *ibid.*, 267, and no. 13-14). As for Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, following al-Naẓẓām, he unequivocally denied the existence of a divine will in the sense of a specific entity; when we say that God "wills" His own acts, this simply means that He creates them; when we say that He "wills" the acts of men, this means that He commands them (*ibid.*, 262-3).

3. As much as the absolute uniqueness of God, the Muᶜtazila stress His absolute transcendence. By this it is to be understood fundamentally that, for them, God is not a body, and therefore is not to be attributed with any of the properties of a body, such as being localised, moving about, having a form, etc. Two principal consequences are entailed. The first is that all anthropomorphic representations of God are to be rejected; furthermore, any Ḳurʾānic expression of this kind—the "hands" of God, His "eyes", His "face", His "side"—is to be understood only in a figurative sense: by the "hand" of God, His blessing (*niᶜma*) is meant, by His "eye", His knowledge (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 165, ll. 12-13; 195, ll. 13-15), by His "side", His command (*amr*) (*ibid.*, 218, ll. 46), by His "face", His very essence (*ibid.*, 521, l. 16). The second consequence is that God cannot be seen, in the literal sense of the term, either in this world or in the other, since only a body can be seen, all vision operating through contact between a ray (*shuᶜāᶜ*) emitted by the eye and the object that is seen (cf. ᶜAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, iv, 57, ll. 10-11; al-Djuwaynī, *al-Irshād*, ed. Luciani, Paris 1938, 96, ll. 2-13). The Ḳurʾān, moreover, states explicitly of God that "vision does not comprehend Him" (*lā tudrikuhu 'l-abṣāru*, vi, 103). It is true that it says elsewhere, regarding the elect on the Day of Resurrection: "faces, that day, will be resplen-

dent, looking at their Lord (*ilā rabbihā nāẓiratᵘⁿ*)", LXXV, 22-3); but for the Muʿtazila this second formula is to be interpreted as previously proposed by Mudjāhid (cf. the commentary of al-Ṭabarī): on the one hand, *naẓara* here signifies not "to look at" but "to wait"; on the other, the proper complement of *nāẓiratᵘⁿ* is not *rabbihā*, but a word implied, this being *thawābi*, so that the true meaning of the formula is: "waiting for the reward of their Lord" (cf. *Sharḥ*, 245, ll. 4-5; al-Ashʿarī, *Lumaʿ*, § 78). As for the *ḥadīth* according to which the Prophet said to his Companions: "On the day of resurrection, you will see (*sa-tarawna*) your Lord as you see the moon, on a night of full moon", if the *ḥadīth* is authentic, which is doubtful (cf. Gimaret-Monnot, 418, n. 40) the verb "to see" (*raʾā*) is to be understood here in a figurative sense (a type of which the Ḳurʾān provides many examples), that is, as a synonym of "to be acquainted with" (*ʿalima*) (cf. *Mughnī*, iv, 231, ll. 4-17; *Sharḥ* 270, ll. 10-17).

It is necessary, however, to observe closely in what sense the Muʿtazila understand this divine transcendence. Certainly, they adhere as firmly as members of any other school to the letter of the Ḳurʾānic formula stating that "nothing is of His likeness" (XLII, 11). But what they basically understand by this, once more, is that God can have none of the characteristics of a body as such; that He has neither form, nor colour, nor length, nor breadth, nor height, that He cannot be said to be either mobile or immobile, that He has neither parts, nor members, etc. (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 155-6). This does not mean that there is no resemblance, in any respect, between Him and His creatures. If such were the case, we would be unable to say anything of Him and we could only describe Him negatively. Now God, because He is just (cf. below), has made it possible for us to know Him, with a positive knowledge which, here below, is accessible to us only through reasoning. Consequently, it is on account of our experience of creatures, and on account of a necessary "analogy of the invisible to the visible" (*ḥaml al-ghāʾib ʿalā ʾl-shāhid*) that we can know, first, that God exists (because we know that here below everything which comes into being implies that someone makes it come into being), subsequently that He merits certain adjectives: "powerful", because every agent (and God is known to us first as such, as creator) is necessarily powerful; "knowing", because He performs acts "skilfully executed" (*afʿāl muḥkama*), or whoever is capable of producing such acts is necessarily knowing; and so forth. All the adjectives which we apply to God, we first become aware of them in this visible world (*fī ʾl-shāhid*), and it is in the same sense that we apply them to God as to man; just as what is proof for us is likewise proof for Him (cf. Gimaret, *Théories de l'acte humain en théologie musulmane*, Paris 1980, 281-2).

II. Concerning the justice of God, and the doctrine that He wills and does only that which is good.

The principle of the necessary justice of God is not only one of the characteristic dogmas of Muʿtazila, it may be said without exaggeration to be their fundamental dogma. Even more than *ahl al-ʿadl wa ʾl-tawḥīd*, they are and they call themselves, in brief, *ahl al-ʿadl* (cf. *Mughnī*, iv, 139, l. 4; vii, 3, l. 15; viii, 3, l. 4; xiii, 4. l. 17: *Milal*, 57, l. 7).

While no Muslim theologian, of whatever persuasion, has ever asserted the contrary and described God as "unjust", it is the manner in which the Muʿtazila conceive this necessary justice of God that characterises them. For one such as al-Ashʿarī, God is necessarily just whatever He does; He would be so even if He acted in a contrary fashion. God, according to al-Ashʿarī, is not subject to any rule; rules are applied only to us, on account of the Law which God has imposed upon us. For the Muʿtazila, on the other hand (and here again there is a form of "analogy of the invisible to the visible"), God is subject, in this respect, to the same laws which apply to man; that which is just or unjust for us—i.e., that which our reason, for its part, tells us to be so—is the same for God. This is why, from the Muʿtazilī point of view, the necessary justice of God is not only fact, it is for Him a permanent obligation; in the name of His justice, God is required to act in such-and-such a fashion, since otherwise He would be unjust. Whence arises the question which the Muʿtazila were constantly debating (a question which, for al-Ashʿarī, would be quite meaningless), which is whether God has the power to be unjust, or, in a broader sense, to act badly; this is a question with no satisfactory answer, since, whether the answer be affirmative or negative, either the justice of God, or his omnipotence, will be compromised.

The necessary justice of God first of all excludes any notion of predestination; it would be unjust on the part of God, say the Muʿtazila, to decide in advance the fate of every man in the Hereafter and to ordain that one will be saved and another damned, without either having merited this by his actions. It is for humans to decide their future lot, according to whether they choose to believe or not to believe, to obey or to disobey the Law. God would be unjust if He Himself were to determine faith or disbelief, the fact that some are "well guided" and others "astray". It is true that the Ḳurʾān states that God "leads astray (*yuḍillu*) whom He wills and guides (*yahdī*) whom He wills" (XIV, 4; XVI, 93, etc.). But these terms can be interpreted otherwise than envisaged by the proponents of predestination. Either, by "to guide" it is to be understood that God "shows and makes clearly seen" where the truth is, in which case it will be said that He "guides" all men equally (otherwise He would be unjust). Or, if His "guidance" applies only to the believers, given that it can only intervene following the free choice which the latter have taken to believe, this could signify either that God "says and judges" that they are "well guided", or indeed (the interpretation preferred by al-Djubbāʾī) that in the other world, God will "guide" them on the road to Paradise, *hadā* having, in this context, the sense of "to reward" (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 260 ll. 9-10). Conversely, when the Ḳurʾān says that God "leads astray", this can only concern those who, of their own accord, have chosen "to go astray", and this means either that God "says and judges" that they are "astray" (*op. cit.*, 261, ll. 10-11) or (again the preference of al-Djubbāʾī) that in the Hereafter, he will "lead them astray" far from the road to Paradise in order to lead them to Hell, *aḍalla* consequently having the sense of "to punish" (*ibid.*, 262, ll. 1-4). As for those other Ḳurʾānic formulae where it is said that God has "set a seal" (*khatama*, *ṭabaʿa*) on the hearts of the unbelievers, al-Djubbāʾī, for his part, took this quite literally, in the sense of a "mark" (*sima*, *ʿalāma*) made by God on the hearts in question, so that on the Last Day the angels will be capable of distinguishing unbelievers from believers.

Not only must God leave to men the freedom of choosing between belief and disbelief, and thus deciding their future lot, but it is further necessary that He gives to all the same means of believing, that He offers them all the same "aid". Curiously, it was a Muʿtazilī, Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir, who expressed the

contrary notion that God, if He wished, could make all men believe (but He does not do so); that "He has available to Him a grace (*luṭf*) such that, if He produced it in one whom He knows ought not to believe, the latter would believe" (*Maḳālāt*, 246, ll. 3-4 and 573, ll. 9-11). This thesis, which only D̲jaᶜfar b. Ḥarb subsequently took seriously, was rejected—quite logically—by all the rest of the school (*ibid.*, 247, ll. 3-14 and 574, ll. 4-7). The D̲jubbāʾīs did, indeed, retain the term, but distorted the sense. There does exist, according to them, a divine "grace", or rather "graces" of all kinds, such that, through them, men are led, or helped, to believe (thus the intelligence that God gives them, the "clear proofs" by which He makes Himself known to them, the prophets whom He sends to them, etc.); but there can be no question, as implied by the thesis of Bis̲h̲r, of seeing here a pure favour which God, arbitrarily, would grant to some and withhold from others; God, in the name of His justice, is bound to grant these "graces" to all equally, since otherwise it would have to be admitted that He deliberately wills the perdition (*fasād*) of those to whom He denies them, a notion that cannot be conceived (cf. *Mug̲h̲nī*, xiii, 116 ff.).

This same justice of God likewise implies that men have control over their voluntary acts, in other words, they are themselves the producers of them; this principle contradicts the thesis of the "coercionists" (*al-mud̲j̲bira*), according to which these acts are created in them by God. Only such an autonomy of the human agent can justify the fact that in this world God imposes a law upon him, and that in the next he will be rewarded or punished according to whether he has observed it or not. Obligation and sanction can only be understood in reference to a responsible being; now, according to Muᶜtazilī thinking, the only one authentically responsible for an act is the one who is the author of it in the full sense of the term, who, therefore, "makes it to be" (*yuḥdit̲h̲uhu, yūd̲j̲iduhu*). To claim—as do the adherents of the theory of *kasb* [*q.v.*]—that man can be in some way the agent, or the one responsible for an act, without causing it to be, is meaningless.

While God does not create the voluntary human act, He does at least create in the man the power (*ḳudra, istiṭāᶜa*) corresponding to this act. But it could not be the case, as thought by these same adherents of *kasb*, of a power which only comes into being when the act is put into effect, which God would create simultaneously with this act. For the Muᶜtazila, the notion of power is linked to that of free choice (*ik̲h̲tiyār*), itself implied, once again, by the principle of divine justice. One who has power is recognised by the faculty which he has of "not choosing that for which he has power" (*Mug̲h̲nī*, viii, 188, l. 10). A typical formula of al-D̲jubbāʾī, as of his son Abū Hās̲h̲im, was that "whoever has the power of a thing can equally well do it or not do it" (*min ḥaḳḳi 'l-ḳādir ᶜalā 'l-s̲h̲ayʾ an yaṣiḥḥa an yafᶜalahu wa-an lā yafᶜalahu*, *ibid.*, ix, 73, ll. 8-10). In other words, every power is equally the power of an act and of its opposite (*ḳudratᵘⁿ ᶜalayh wa-ᶜalā ḍiddih*, *Maḳālāt*, 230, ll. 12-13). Hence, the power cannot be other than prior to the act; if it were concomitant with it, owing to the fact that it is at the same time the power of an act and of its opposite, its coming into being would entail the simultaneous realisation of opposites, which cannot be. On this question of the priority (or non-priority) of the power in relation to the act, Muᶜtazila and Sunnīs are opposed, the Ḳurʾān itself being invoked in support of both arguments (cf., for example, *Lumaᶜ*, ch. vi).

Naturally, it is the duty of God to create in us the powers necessary for the fulfilment of acts which His law imposes upon us. Any form of obligation to the impossible (*taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳ*) would be contrary to His justice. The powers in question are specifically among those "graces" which He is required to grant to all those subject to the Law.

Finally, in the next world, God must of necessity reward those who have merited His reward, and punish those who have merited His punishment. There is no doubt that He has the ability to pardon; the Ḳurʾān states that He "pardons whom He wills and punishes whom He wills (II, 284; III, 129, etc.). In fact, there is no possibility that He will pardon anyone who has not merited His pardon; pardon is only conceivable where there has previously been repentance on the part of the unbeliever or the sinner (*inna 'l-mag̲h̲fira bi-s̲h̲arṭi 'l-tawba*, says ᶜAbd al-D̲jabbār, *Mutas̲h̲ābih al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. ᶜA. Zarzūr, Cairo 1969, 596, l. 13). Similarly, only sinners who have already repented will be able, on the Day of Judgment, to benefit from the intercession of the Prophet (*S̲h̲arḥ*, 688, l. 3). Conversely, God is required to pardon the man who repents; "accepting repentance", so long as it is sincere, is for Him an obligation (*ḳabūl al-tawba wād̲j̲ib*; cf. *Mug̲h̲nī*, xiv, 377, ll. 6 ff.). It is likewise out of the question that God will punish those who have not merited it, since "to punish someone when there has not been an offence (on his part) is injustice" (*S̲h̲arḥ*, 477, ll. 15-16). This applies in particular to young children (*aṭfāl*), irresponsible beings; it is inconceivable that God would punish the children of idolaters (*aṭfāl al-mus̲h̲rikīn*) for the sins of their fathers (*ibid.*, 477, l. 8). All suffering inflicted by God, in this world or in the next, must be merited; if such is not the case (thus in particular the sufferings experienced in this world by children and animals) God will be obliged to grant, either here below, or in the next world, a compensation (*ᶜiwaḍ*) commensurate with the suffering experienced (cf. Gimaret-Monnot, 281-3).

Such are the manifold implications of the Muᶜtazilī principle of divine "justice", interpreted *stricto sensu*. But the Muᶜtazila, as already indicated, also understand this term in a much wider sense, as meaning that God only wills or does that which is (morally) good (*ḥasan*), and He is necessarily exempt from any act which is (morally) bad (*munazzah ᶜan kull ḳabīḥ*). These notions of good and bad are interpreted in the same way as the notion of "justice" in the narrow sense; it is always a question, for the Muᶜtazila, of that which we ourselves judge to be so, God, here too, being subject to the same rules which apply to us. There exists objective good and bad, acknowledged as such by every being endowed with reason. Thus, our reason makes us spontaneously recognise as acts bad in themselves injustice, deceit, ingratitude; all the more so is God aware of evil, since, by nature, He is omniscient. Moreover it cannot be imagined that He has the need to commit such acts, since, also by nature, He is devoid of need (*g̲h̲anī*). We are thus assured, according to al-D̲jubbāʾī, that God is incapable of doing evil, by virtue of the principle that anyone who recognises an act as bad, and does not need to commit it (and knows that he does not need, which is also the case), necessarily does not commit it (cf. *Mug̲h̲nī*, vi/a, 207. ll. 1-7). It is true that according to the same principle, it could be supposed that God does not do good either, since He does not need to do it! Against such an objection, al-D̲jubbāʾī and his successors set out to show that a good act, even on the part of man, can be performed for the sake of its own goodness (*li-ḥusnih faḳaṭ*), without need on the part of its agent (*op. cit.*, 223, ll. 17 ff.).

The fact that God is exempt from any evil act im-

plies in particular that He is "wise" (*ḥakīm*) and not "foolish" (*safīh*). This means essentially that, of necessity, He acts for a certain motive, towards a certain end, since otherwise His action would be a "vain act" (*ᶜabath*); now the vain act is, in itself, among the morally evil acts spontaneously acknowledged as such (*op. cit.*, 61, 9). Consequently, if God has created men and imposed a Law upon them, it is because He had a reason to do so, and the next task is to show, as is done by, among others, ᶜAbd al-Djabbār, how God has been "wise" in creating His creatures (*wadjh al-ḥikma fī 'btidāʾihi 'l-khalḳ*), then in imposing obligation upon them (*wadjh al-ḥikma fi 'l-taklīf*) (*Mughnī*, xi, 58, l. 16 and 134, l. 1). What then is this end? It cannot be self-interest, since in this case too God is devoid of need. Nor could it be conceived that God has created men and imposed a Law upon them with the sole object of tormenting them, which would be pure injustice. Consequently, the only motive which could, in this respect, determine divine action is the benefit, the good (*ṣalāḥ*) of creatures. "All the Muᶜtazila", according to al-Ashᶜarī, "agree in saying that God has created men for their advantage (*li-yanfaᶜahum*)" (*Maḳālāt*, 251, l. 4). Similarly, it is for their good that He has imposed a Law upon them, with the object of enabling them thereby to accede to the sublime form of happiness, which is the reward consecutive upon a pain endured (cf. *Mughnī*, xi, 387, l. 10 and 393, l. 2). Some Muᶜtazilīs even considered that, from all points of view and in all circumstances, God does for men what is to their greatest advantage (*al-aṣlaḥ lahum*) (otherwise, if He were to deny them any advantage, this would imply that He is "avaricious", and avarice is a sin); thus Abu 'l-Hudhayl, al-Naẓẓām, and subsequently and in particular Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī and the "Baghdādīs", for whom God is obliged to do for men that which is to their greatest advantage both "in their future life and their terrestrial life" (*fī dīnihim wa-dunyāhum*), a principle applying to the poor as to the rich, to the sick as to the healthy (cf. al-Mufīd, *Awāʾil al-maḳālāt*, Nadjaf 1393/1973, 64, ll. 4-5; al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, 165, 1, ll. 12-14). The Djubbāʾīs do not go so far, and oppose on this point the theses of the *aṣḥāb al-aṣlaḥ* (cf. *Mughnī*, xiv, 56 ff.). But they agree with them as regards life in the Hereafter: for all Muᶜtazilīs—with the minor exception of Bishr b. al-Muᶜtamir and his few supporters—God necessarily does (i.e. has an obligation to do) for men *al-aṣlaḥ lahum fī dīnihim*; it cannot be conceived that He does not grant to them all that they need in order to fulfil the obligations which He imposes on them, in other words, all the "graces" (*alṭāf*) which He can bestow on them (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 247, ll. 5-8 and 248, ll. 1-3). God, in any event, could not will their "perdition". For this same reason, al-Djubbāʾī went so far as to say that God is obliged to keep an unbeliever alive, if He knows that, in this case, the latter will become a believer (cf. especially the commentary of Abū Djaᶜfar al-Ṭūsī on Ḳurʾān, VI, 27; it was on this last point, with regard to the notorious problem of the "three brothers", that al-Ashᶜarī, originally a disciple of al-Djubbāʾī, broke with him; cf. Gimaret-Monnot, 313).

Finally, because He cannot will the perdition of men, it is not possible that God should will of them that which leads them thither, i.e. their disbelief and their sins. God wills of men only their good acts. (On the debate between Muᶜtazilīs and Sunnīs on this issue, cf. Gimaret, in *SI*, xl and xli.)

III. The definition of faith and the lot of the sinful Muslim.

The point hardly needs stressing, since the Muᶜtazila are clearly distinguished from the other schools only by the definition which, following Wāṣil b. ᶜAṭāʾ, they apply to the sinful Muslim (i.e. guilty of a serious offence, *ṣāḥib al-kabīra*). For them, as for the Ḥanbalīs and other *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, faith is not only adherence to the dogma of Islam but includes "works"; they most often define it as "the totality of acts of obedience (to God)" (*djamīᶜ al-ṭāᶜāt*), the only point of disagreement between them being as to whether acts which are simply recommended (*nawāfil*) constitute a part of this or not (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 266-9). This is why, according to them, if it is inappropriate to describe the sinful Muslim as *kāfir* (since this can only be said of one whose beliefs contradict the dogma of Islam, one, for example, who maintains that God is "the third of three"), it is likewise inappropriate to describe him as *muʾmin*, all the more so, according to al-Djubbāʾī, since on account of the Revelation, *muʾmin* has become a laudatory term (*ism al-madḥ*), whereas the sinner, on account of his sin, deserves only censure (cf. *Sharḥ*, 701, ll. 17ff.). This does not mean that, in the Hereafter, the sinful Muslim will not deserve just as much as the unbeliever to dwell for eternity in Hell (except that his punishment there will be less severe). As a result of this, it is said, al-Ashᶜarī regarded the Muᶜtazila as "effeminate Khāridjites" (*makhānīth al-khawāridj*), because, like the Khāridjites, they consign the sinful Muslim to eternal Hell, without daring however, like them, to describe him explicitly as "unbelieving". (In fact, as has been observed, not all were of this opinion; there were also, even during the "second period", Murdjiʾa Muᶜtazila for whom the possibility existed that the punishment of sinners might not be permanent.)

IV. Muᶜtazilī rationalism.

It is quite legitimate to consider the Muᶜtazila as "rationalists". It is, however, necessary to show precisely what is to be understood by this term, and in what respect their rationalism is specific.

They are clearly not rationalists in the sense of those who claim to formulate a system solely by the exercise of reason, independent of all revelation. As has been well underlined by A. Amīn, the Muᶜtazila are not philosophers (even though, in many regards, their speculations touch on philosophy), but theologians. Intimately involved in the internal debates of Islam, they reckon (just as their adversaries do!) to represent the true orthodoxy, in other words, what they consider, as Muslims, to be the correct interpretation of the Ḳurʾānic revelation.

But the Muᶜtazila are incontestably rationalists, in the true sense of the term, in that they consider that certain awarenesses are accessible to man by means of his intelligence alone, in the absence of, or prior to, any revelation. First, in the strictly theological domain, they say that God can be known to us through reasoning; it is, furthermore, only in this fashion that here below we can know Him (and this is why, according to them, the first of the obligations laid upon man is specifically reasoning to know God). Not only does reason enable us to establish that God exists, in the capacity of a creator (since this world has begun to exist, and everything which begins to exist implies that someone has brought it into being), it also informs us concerning His nature: that He is powerful (because every agent is necessarily powerful), wise (in that He is the author of acts "skilfully executed"), living (because one who is powerful and wise is necessarily so), endowed with hearing and sight (because every living being free of disabilities is capable of perceiving); that He is not a body; that He is self-sufficient (*ghanī*); that He is just and cannot do or will anything other than what is good; etc. It is only

once it has been shown—by reasoning, again—that Muḥammad is authentically the Messenger of God (in that his credentials are proved by miracles), that the Ḳurʾānic revelation can be taken into account. This revelation can, in fact, only confirm that which reason has established; there can be no contradictions between one and the other. Such contradictions as there are are only apparent, and can be resolved by an appropriate interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of the revealed text: this applies, as has been observed, to all the Ḳurʾānic formulae which could give the impression that God has a body similar to ours, that He is situated in a certain direction, that He can move from place to place, or that He can be seen, and to anything which apparently challenges the principle of divine justice. It is not, of course, the case that the revelation teaches us nothing that our reason has not already discovered: it is through the revelation that we know that God has imposed a Law upon men, that He will resurrect them, that He will reward and punish others. It remains true that all these facts, not demonstrable initially, must themselves correspond, according to their modalities, to the exigencies of reason, especially where the principle of *ᶜadl* is involved.

But the truth is that, on this point, the Muᶜtazila do not differ fundamentally from the rival theological schools. All, essentially, proceed in the same fashion, and it is in fact the entirety of *kalām* (i.e. the theology of the *mutakallimūn*) which should, by this reckoning, be termed "rationalist". The Muᶜtazila simply gave the example, opened the way (whether theology as a science was really born with them, as they claim, is a point which remains open to discussion). The Sunnī theologians also considered that the existence of God is known to us through reasoning, and by no other means. Thus the well-known argument first devised, it is said, by Abu ʾl-Hudhayl (according to *Sharḥ*, 95, ll. 9-12), demonstrating the existence of God by means of the principle of the "adventitiousness" of substances (*ḥudūth al-djawāhir*), itself demonstrated by the adventitiousness of accidents, was adopted with alacrity by all Ashᶜarī and Māturīdī theologians. Just like the Muᶜtazila, the Sunnī theologians are at pains to interpret the Ḳurʾān in their own fashion, such that it accords with their doctrinal positions. It may certainly be reckoned that in a number of cases the Muᶜtazila do greater violence to the letter of the Ḳurʾānic text (for example in the interpretation of *hudā* and *iḍlāl*), but this is simply because the Ḳurʾān, in its literality, is in general supportive of Sunnī theses.

Something else which may legitimately be seen as an element of "rationalism" is the formulation by the Muᶜtazila of a substantial system for explaining the world and mankind which, essentially, owes nothing to the Ḳurʾān, but much—initially—to fragments of Greek philosophy, and later, and more significantly, to their own speculations: the conception of bodies as agglomerates of atoms, the distinction between substance and accident, the explanation of all phenomena belonging to the physical world through the inherence of accidents in the atoms of which bodies are constituted; then, in this context, the genuinely "philosophical" project seeking to define, for example, location and movement; to establish the cause of the immobility of the earth, the nature of fire, or whether such a thing as a void exists in the universe; to understand the modalities of perception through the eye and through the ear; to consider how to define man (*insān*); what is to be understood by *rūḥ* and *nafs*; what are the different forms of will, and whether desire and hope should be included among them; etc. For modern tastes, it is here, without doubt, that Muᶜtazilī literature appears at its most interesting and most original. But in this case also, such considerations have not remained exclusively characteristic of this school; the Sunnī theologians, as already mentioned, adopted them as a whole for their own purposes, and this may furthermore be seen as a characteristic of *kalām* in general. Possibly such matters simply hold, for the Muᶜtazila, a more important status; there seems little likelihood in finding, in all Sunnī theological literature, a work exclusively devoted to the "rules of substances and accidents", as is the case with the *Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-djawāhir wa ʾl-aᶜrāḍ* of Ibn Mattawayh (partial, and seriously flawed edition by S. N. Luṭf and F. B. ᶜAwn, Cairo 1975). But it is sufficient to glance, for example, at what remains of the *Shāmil* of al-Djuwaynī to gain an impression of the interest taken by the latter in these issues.

On this point, as on the preceding, the rift is not between Muᶜtazila and Sunnīs taken as homogeneous wholes, but between those who accept the methods, problems and vocabulary of the *ᶜilm al-kalām* and those who reject them, such as the Ḥanbalīs in the first instance (which is not however true for the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaᶜlāʾ Ibn al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*], as consummate a *mutakallim* as al-Djuwaynī) or those who, in the very midst of the Ashᶜarī school (including for example Abū Bakr al-Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*]), maintain loyalty to the inspiration of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*.

Where there is a rationalism exclusive to the Muᶜtazila, it is in the sphere of ethics. For them, as has been observed, man is also capable of knowing by his reason alone that which is morally good or evil. Spontaneously, they say, he recognises as evil acts injustice, deceit, ingratitude; and recognises as obligatory the deed of repaying a debt, keeping himself clear of harm (*dafᶜ al-ḍarar ᶜan nafsihi*), or showing thankfulness towards a benefactor (whereby all are obliged to adore God, the supreme Benefactor, adoration representing the highest form of thankfulness). In this context also, the revelation can only confirm that which our reason tells us. Of course, the latter is not sufficient to make us aware of everything that is evil (i.e. forbidden), nor everything that is obligatory; only the revealed Law can inform us that it is obligatory, for example, to perform a prayer to God, according to a certain ritual, five times a day, or that it is forbidden to eat and drink during the days of Ramaḍān. It could even be supposed that there is a contradiction here between revelation and reason, bearing in mind that, spontaneously, reason makes us recognise as evil (because arduous, therefore harmful) the exercise of the rituals of prayer, and conversely obligatory (because it removes harm) the act of eating and drinking when one is hungry or thirsty. But, in fact, reason understands without difficulty the necessity to undergo a minor harm, as a means of avoiding the major harm which is the punishment promised by God to those who disobey Him. In this manner, even the prescriptions of the Law have a rational basis; if our reason were capable of knowing by itself that the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of a certain act would earn the torments of Hell for all eternity, it would necessarily know, by itself, that the act in question is either evil or obligatory (cf. Gimaret-Monnot, 270-1).

On this last point, the Muᶜtazila are, for once, very clearly in disagreement with the Ashᶜarī theologians. For al-Ashᶜarī, the sole foundation of good and evil, in all respects, is the revealed Law; that which God commands is obligatory, that which He permits good, that which He forbids evil. If deceit is morally evil, it

is because God has declared it so; if He had declared it good, it would be good (cf. *Lumaʿ*, § 171). However, not all Sunnīs shared this opinion; in this respect, al-Māturīdī and a large number of his supporters maintained a position comparable to that of the Muʿtazila (see al-Māturīdī, *K. al-Tawḥīd*, ed. F. Kholeif, Beirut 1970, 178, l. 16; al-Pazdawī, *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. H. Linss, Cairo 1383/1963, 207, ll. 9-13).

Bibliography: Over the past thirty years, with a quantity of new sources becoming available, studies relating to Muʿtazilism have progressed considerably, and given rise to a large number of publications, which cannot possibly be listed here in an exhaustive manner. A number of important references have already been indicated in the course of the article.

There does not yet exist a comprehensive study, taking account of recent gains in knowledge, of the history and doctrines of Muʿtazilism, with the exception of the substantial article by J. van Ess in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, New York 1987, x, 220-9. The works of Z. Djār Allāh (*al-Muʿtazila*, Cairo 1947) and A.N. Nader (*Le système philosophique des muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956) are out of date. The books by J. van Ess, *Une lecture à rebours de l'histoire du muʿtazilisme*, Paris 1984, and *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin-New York 1991, relate only to the "first period" (as far as Ibn al-Rāwandī), and is in the form of a simple outline of what the author expects to develop, and eventually correct, in his *Geschichte der frühen islamischen Theologie*.

The most important sources concerning the history of Muʿtazilism are the works of *ṭabaḳātʿ* devoted to this school. The *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazilaʿ* drawn from the *K. al-Munya wa 'l-amal* of the Zaydī Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1437) and published by S. Diwald-Wilzer (Beirut-Wiesbaden 1961) are a recasting (sometimes flawed) of those which figure in the *K. Sharḥ al-ʿuyūn* of al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī, themselves derived from a work of ʿAbd al-Djabbār entitled *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaḳāt al-muʿtazila*. F. Sayyid published (posthumously) in Tunis in 1393/1974, under the same title, a volume comprising: 1. the chapter of the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī which concerns the Muʿtazila; 2. the entire text of the book of ʿAbd al-Djabbār (or the first ten *ṭabaḳāt*); and 3. the section of the *Sharḥ al-ʿuyūn* of al-Djushamī dealing with the later period (or *ṭabaḳāt* 11 and 12).

The very valuable chapter of the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm on the Muʿtazila is almost entirely missing in the Flügel edition; it is to be found in the more recent edition of R. Tadjaddud, Tehran 1971.

Regarding the study of doctrines, a fundamental source (for the "first period") remains the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of al-Ashʿarī (2nd ed. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1963). The chapter of the *Maḳālāt* of al-Balkhī, mentioned above, is remarkably succinct in this respect. The information given in the *K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal* of al-Shahrastānī is the object of substantial critical annotation in D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, *Shahrastani, Livre des religions et des sectes*, i, Louvain-Paris 1986 (see especially pp. 177-289).

On Djubbāʾī's theses, the most accessible source is the compendium already mentioned (and to which the present article refers under the abbreviation *Sharḥ*) by the Zaydī Imām Mānkdīm Shashdīw, which is a collection of lecture notes (*taʿlīḳ*) on the *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār; this work, published under the same title of *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* by ʿA. K. ʿUthmān, Cairo 1965, was erroneously attributed by the latter to ʿAbd al-Djabbār himself (on this faulty attribution, see Gimaret, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xv [1979]). Of the enormous theological corpus of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ʿadl*, not all has been preserved; of the twenty volumes which it comprised, only fourteen figure in the Cairo edition (1960-5). For the missing sections, a substitute may be found in *al-Madjmūʿ fī 'l-Muḥīṭ bi 'l-taklīf* by Ibn Mattawayh, a paraphrase of the *Muḥīṭ* of ʿAbd al-Djabbār (two volumes published, Beirut 1965 and 1981).

Among the works concerning ʿAbd al-Djabbār or the Djubbāʾī school in general, three deserve particular attention: G.F. Hourani, *Islamic rationalism, the ethics of ʿAbd al-Jabbâr*, Oxford 1971; J.R.T.M. Peters, *God's created speech, a study in the speculative theology of the Muʿtazilî Qâḍî l-Quḍât Abû l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Jabbâr bn Aḥmad al-Hamaḏânî*, Leiden 1976; R.M. Frank, *Beings and their attributes, the teaching of the Basrian school of the Muʿtazila in the classical period*, Albany 1978.

It may be noted in conclusion that, as a result of the progress of studies since the inception of the new *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, some of the articles published in the earliest instalments are no longer up to date, and therefore it is recommended that, for the authors concerned, the more recent *Encyclopedia Iranica* (London 1985-) should also be consulted. This applies in particular to ʿAbd al-Djabbār and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī. (D. GIMARET)

AL-**MUʿTAZILA**, the name given by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, § 2226) to a group of four extremist Shīʿī (*ghulāt*) sub-sects. This same author divides the *ghulāt* into two categories each with four subdivisions: on one hand, the Muḥammadiyya [*q.v.*], also known as the Mīmiyya (sc. the initial of Muḥammad); and on the other, the Muʿtazila or ʿAlawiyya (and vars.). These last also deified Muḥammad and ʿAlī but invert the hierarchy and place ʿAlī first (whence their name of ʿAyniyya), make Muḥammad the envoy of his son-in-law and blame him for having preached in his own name; this is why they are further called Dhammiyya [*q.v.*]. (ED.)

AL-**MUʿTAZZ BI 'LLĀH**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. DJAʿFAR, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 252-5/866-9, and son of the earlier caliph al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] by his favourite slave concubine Ḳabīḥa.

The reign of al-Muʿtazz's predecessor, his cousin al-Mustaʿīn [*q.v.*], ended in strife and violence stirred up by the Turkish guards in Sāmarrā. Al-Mustaʿīn was forced to abdicate at Baghdād, and on 4 Muḥarram 252/25 January 866, al-Muʿtazz, having been brought out of jail, was hailed as caliph. The first part of the succession arrangements envisaged towards the end of his life by al-Mutawakkil, that his sons al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad should succeed after his other son al-Muntaṣir [*q.v.*], was thus realised; but the treacherous new caliph now proceeded to break his pledge of safety for the ex-caliph al-Mustaʿīn, having him murdered at al-Ḳāṭūl at Sāmarrā in Shawwāl 252/October-November 866, and he also killed his brother Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad after forcibly compelling him to renounce his succession rights. With the aid of his vizier and former secretary, Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl, he further succeeded in reducing the influence of the Turkish generals Waṣīf and Bughā al-Ṣaghīr—the former was killed by rebellious Turkish troops, clamouring for pay, in 253/867, and the latter killed by the caliph's own orders in the following year—and

he sent off the chief of the *barīd* system, Mūsā b. Bug͟hā al-Kabīr, to Hamadān (253/867).

However, Turkish influence in the state revived in 255/869 under Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf and Bāʾikbāk, whilst that of the Ṭāhirid governors and commanders of the guard in Bag͟hdād [see ṬĀHIRIDS] declined under Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh, inferior in capability to his brother ʿUbayd Allāh, whose dismissal the suspicious caliph had procured. Ṣāliḥ was now able to set aside the vizier Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl. The clamour of the Turkish soldiery for more pay could not be satisfied by the caliph; and at the end of Rad͟jab 255/mid-July 869, al-Muʿtazz was deposed by a combination of the Turks, the Farg͟hānans and the Mag͟hāriba. He died of ill-treatment three days later (2 S͟haʿbān 255/16 July 869) at the age of 24, and the Turks now raised to the throne al-Wāt͟hiḳ's son Muḥammad al-Muhtadī [*q.v.*].

The insecurity of al-Muʿtazz's four-and-a-half years' reign and his inability to master events in Bag͟hdād and Sāmarrā allowed the process of the attenuation of caliphal power in the provinces to proceed apace. His reign marks the beginning of what was in effect autonomy for Egypt under Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] (254/868); K͟hārid͟jī revolts in al-D͟jazīra and the Mawṣil region; the opening phases of the Zand͟j [*q.v.*] rebellion in the neighbourhood of Baṣra; ʿAlid outbreaks in the Ḥid͟jāz under the Ḥasanid Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf and in Ṭabaristān under the Zaydī al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*]; and above all, the advance into southern Persia of the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layt͟h [*q.v.*], although it was not until after al-Muʿtazz's death that Yaʿḳūb penetrated through Fārs into ʿIrāḳ itself and almost overthrew the caliphate in Bag͟hdād [see DAYR AL-ʿĀḲŪL].

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, ii, 593, 595, 603, 610-16; Ṭabarī, iii, 1394-1403, 1473, 1485 ff., 1502-4, 1507, 1542-1712, tr. G. Saliba, *The crisis of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1985, 2-3, 6-7, 34-165; Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, vii, 193, 273, 304-5, 364-79, 393-405 = §§ 2876, 2957, 2995, 3057-74, 3090-3108; idem, *Tanbīh*, 363-5, tr. 466-8; *Ag͟hānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*, s.v.; *K. al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*, 577-83; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ed. Beirut, vii, 95, 103-5, 112-13, 141 ff., 167-74, 178-84, 186-9, 195-8; Ibn S͟hākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1283-9, ii, 185, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, iii, 319-21; Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *Fak͟hrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 332-5; Ibn K͟haldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, iii, 287 ff.; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii, 355, 374, 385 ff.; Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, new edn. by Weir, 529, 531, 534-9; G. Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900, 171, 247, 311-13; E. Herzfeld, *Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, vi, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg 1948, 233-48; Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, i, 294-8; M. Forstner, *Al-Muʿtazz billāh (252/866-255/869). Die Krise des abbasidischen Kalifat im 3./9. Jahrhundert*, Germersheim 1976 (exhaustive study); H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London 1986, 173-4. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MÜTEFERRIḲA (T.), the name of a corps of guards, who were especially attached to the person of the sultan at the Ottoman Turkish court. The name is also applied to a member of the guard. Their occupations were similar to those of the *Čawus͟h* [*q.v.*], not of military character, nor for court service only, but they were used for more or less important public or political missions. Like the *Čawus͟h*, the Müteferriḳa were a mounted guard. The name appears early, e.g., in a *waḳfiyya* of 847/1443, one Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāḳ is mentioned as being one. In later times there were two classes, the *gedikli* or *ziʿāmetli* Müteferriḳa, and the fiefless. Their chief was the *Müteferriḳa Ag͟hasi*. In course of time their number constantly increased; at the end of the 11th/17th century, the maximum was fixed at 120 (*GOR*², iii, 890, after Rās͟hid), but in the beginning of the 19th century, von Hammer gives the number 500 for the total. The Porte needed sometimes to lay stress on the importance of the office in order to make them acceptable as extraordinary envoys by foreign governments (*GOR*², iii, 929, after Rās͟hid).

Among those who occupied this rank was the well-known first Turkish Islamic printer Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.* and MAṬBAʿA. 2. In Turkey].

Although different explanations of the title *müteferriḳa* are given, the most probable interpretation is that these functionaries were not given a special duty but formed originally a corps used for "various matters". This is still the use of the word in modern Turkish.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii, 55, 105; Ricaut, *Histoire de l'État Présent de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, 338; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 428-31; M.Z. Pakalın, *Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-54, ii, 637-8; *İA* art. s.v. (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin). (J.H. KRAMERS*)

MÜTEFERRIḲA, IBRĀHĪM [see IBRĀHĪM MÜTEFERRIḲA].

MUT͟HALLAT͟H (A.), also MUT͟HALLAT͟HA, pl. always *mut͟hallat͟hāt*, triangle; it forms the first category of plane surfaces bounded by straight lines (*al-basāʾiṭ al-musaṭṭaḥa al-mustaḳīmat al-k͟huṭūṭ* (cf. al-K͟hʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 206). Following Euclid's Elements, i, Ὅρος 24-9, the Arab mathematicians classify triangles from two points of view: either according to the sides (*ḍilʿ*, pl. *aḍlāʿ*) into equilateral (*al-mut͟hallat͟h al-mutasāwī 'l-aḍlāʿ*, in Euclid τρίγωνον ἰσόπλευρον), isosceles (*al-mut͟hallat͟h al-mutasawi 'l-ḍilʿayn*, τρίγωνον ἰσοσκελές), and scalene (*al-mut͟hallat͟h al-muk͟htalif al-aḍlāʿ*, τρίγωνον σκαληνόν), or according to the angles (*zāwiya*, pl. *zawāyā*), into right-angled (*al-mut͟hallat͟h al-ḳāʾim al-zāwiya*, τρίγωνον ὀρθογώνιον), obtuse-angled (*al-mut͟hallat͟h al-munfarid͟j al-zāwiya*, τρίγωνον ἀμβλυγώνιον) and acute-angled (*al-mut͟hallat͟h al-ḥādd al-zāwiya* [*zawāyā*], τρίγωνον ὀξυγώνιον).

In the equilateral triangle, the base is called *al-ḳāʿida*, the apex *al-raʾs* and the sides *al-ḍilʿān* (see above); in the right-angled triangle the hypotenuse is called *al-ḳuṭr*, i.e., "diameter" (because the hypotenuse represents the diameter of the circle described around the right-angled triangle); for the two sides, the term *al-ḍilʿān* is generally used.

Misāḥat al-mut͟hallat͟hāt as a technical term means trigonometry (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 163a).

MUT͟HALLAT͟HA (always with the feminine ending) is a technical term in astrology. Astrology divides the zodiacal circle (*minṭaḳa* [see MINṬAKAT AL-BURŪD͟J]) into four *mut͟hallat͟hāt* (Gr. τρίγωνα, Lat. *trigona*, *triquetra*), each of which includes three signs 120° apart. These "are situated together in the trigonal plane" (*tat͟hlīt͟h*, Gr. τρίγωνον, Lat. *aspectus trinus*); the word *tat͟hlīt͟h* itself is frequently found as a synonym of *mut͟hallat͟ha* which comes from the same root (*th-l-th*) (cf. Dozy, i, 162b).

In star nomenclature, Kawkab al-Mut͟hallat͟h is the constellation of the (northern) Triangle (in Eratosthenes Δελτωτόν, in Ptolemy Τρίγωνον) which is adjoined in the east by Perseus, in the north by Andromeda, in the west by Pisces and in the south by Aries. According to Ptolemy (*Almagest*) and al-Ṣūfī (ed. Schjellerup, 123), it consists of three stars of the

third magnitude and one of the fifth. The star at the apex (α Trianguli) is an astrolabe star and is called *Raʾs al-Muthallath*. The latter name is found in *Libros del saber de astronomia del rey D. Alfonso X de Castilla* in the corrupted form *alcedeles*.

Bibliography: Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895; Codex Leidensis 399, 1. *Euclidis Elementa ex interpretatione al-Hadschdschadschii*, Copenhagen 1893-1932, i; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī, *al-Kawākib wa 'l-ṣuwar* (*Description des étoiles fixes*), ed. H.C.F.C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874. (W. Hartner)

MUTHAMMAN (A.), "octagon, octagonal", describes in architecture plan figures and buildings of eight equal sides. The irregular octagon with four longer and four shorter sides—which may assume the shape of a square or rectangle with chamfered corners—was termed *muthamman baghdādī* ("Baghdādī octagon") in Mughal architecture, where it enjoyed a particular popularity.

With the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*] or Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem (72/691-2) the octagon made an impressive entry into Islamic architecture and, thereafter—true to the commemorative character of the prototype, and because of the symbolism of the number eight, alluding to the eight stages of the Ḳurʾānic Paradise (for the latter point, see A. Daneshvari, *Medieval tomb towers of Iran*, Lexington, Ky. 1986, 27-30)—octagons were at all periods and in all regions of Islam preferably used for tombs and mausolea [see also MAḲBARA]. An interesting purely secular memorial octagon is the tower built by Akbar in 996/1588 on an ancient Buddhist mound now known as "Čawkhandī" at Sarnath near Benares; according to its inscription it was to commemorate a visit of his father Humāyūn. Octagonal plans were also popular for (garden) pavilions and pleasure houses; known or extant examples belong to Tīmūrid, Ṣafawid, Deccani, and, in particular, Mughal architecture [*q.v.*]. A special plan—often inscribed in the figure of a *muthamman baghdādī*—is here the *hasht bihisht* ("Eight Paradises") of eight rooms (four oblong) [open] axial porches and four usually double-storeyed corner rooms) arranged around a central (often octagonal) domed hall. Octagons played also an important role in religious and secular water architecture, such as cisterns, basins or wells, and their superstructures; an early and striking example is the fountain pavilion at Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*, fig. A] between 105-25/724-43 (for further examples, see ḤAWḌ).

Octagons occur also—often as halves (*nīm muthamman*) or three-quarters of the full figure—as the shape of towers in a fortificatory context, which may also be adapted for residential purposes [see BURDJ, at I, 1323-4]. The shaft of minarets assumes often an eight-sided form, in particular in the lower stages [see MANĀRA]. In the construction of domes, octagons were throughout Islamic architecture a favourite plan figure for transition zones and drums, suitable to effect the transition to the polygonal or round base line of the dome. Octagons were also one of the most frequently used figures in Islamic ornament.

At times, eight-sided figures were even used for large-scale architectural planning. Ḥiṣn Ḳādisiyya, near Sāmarrā, a vast, quasi-regular octagon (the sides of which vary from 612 to 623 m.), was probably an unfinished city built by Hārūn al-Rashīd in the 790s (A. Northedge, in K.A.C. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture*, rev. and supplemented by J.W. Allan, Aldershot 1989, 279-80). Further examples are Shāh Djahān's no longer extant bazaar at Āgra (begun 1046/1637), which encircled a piazza (*čawk*) connecting the fort and the Djāmiʿ Masdjid; and the fortress palace of Shāhdjahānābād (1048-58/1639-48) at Dihlī [*q.v.*], a giant oblong *muthamman baghdādī* (the longer sides of which measure *ca.* 656 m., the shorter sides *ca.* 328 m. and the corner chamfers *ca.* 116 m.), but modified in the execution. Traditional courtyard building types of Islamic architecture may, at times, be given an octagonal shape. Noteworthy in particular are the Ḳapi Aghasi Medrese in Amasya [*q.v.*], Anatolia (894/1488); and Persian *kārwānsarāys* of the Ṣafawid period (for which see KHĀN, pl. xxviii; W. Kleiss and M.Y. Kiyānī, *Fihrist-i kārwānsarāhā-yi Īrān*, i, Tehran 1362, 14, 48 ff.).

The most outstanding contributions to the theme of the octagon in Islamic architecture were made by Indian tombs of the Dihlī Sultanate and, even more so, by mausolea of the Mughal period.

The Sultanate group attracts attention by adhering consistently over centuries to one clearly defined formula, first expressed in the Tughluḳ period. It is made up of an octagonal domed chamber surrounded by a lower octagonal ambulatory opening on each side into a tripartite arcade fashioned in the heavy membering of the Tughluḳ style. The building type can be traced back—via somewhat hypothetical Persian intermediary stages (for which see S.S. Blair, *The octagonal pavilion at Natanz*, in *Muqarnas*, i [1983], 69-94) and the Ḳubbat al-Ṣulaybiyya at Sāmarrā, probably 248/862 (Creswell, *op. cit.*, 372-4) (which has, however, not three but only one opening in each of the outer faces) to the Dome of the Rock (minus its second outer closed ambulatory). The Indian series—which thus represents the most remarkable formal offspring of the first building of Islam—begins at Dihlī with the tomb of the Tughluḳ official Khān Djahān Maḳbūl Tilangānī (d. 770/1368-9) (A. Welch and H. Crane, *The Tughluqs, master builders of the Delhi Sultanate*, in *Muqarnas*, i, fig. 7), was taken up again by the Sayyid rulers (tombs of Mubārak Shāh Sayyid, d. 838/1434-5 and of Muḥammad Shāh Sayyid, d. 849/1445-6), and was maintained in the Lōdī period (tomb of Sikandar Shāh Lōdī, d. 923/1517; the tomb of ʿĀlam Khān [Mewātī?] at Tidjāra) was brought to its apogee in the Sūrī period (tombs of Ḥasan Khān Sūr, *ca.* 950/1543-4; of Shēr Shāh Sūr, 952/1545; of Bakhtiyār Khān, *ca.* 952/1545; all at Sasarām in Bihār; of ʿĪsā Khān Niyāzī, Dihlī, 954/1547-8), and was also adopted with some stylistic changes by the early Mughals (tomb of Ādam Khān at Mihrawlī, Dihlī, d. 969/1562) [see HIND, at III, 442-3, 449]. After that, the building type was discontinued in funerary architecture but emerges instead—in a lighter trabeate idiom—in residential architecture (which in Mughal India is largely interchangeable with sepulchral architecture), a *čhatrī* may replace the sepulchral outer dome over the central chamber (Ḳūsh Khāna, Fatḥpūr Sikrī, 1570s; Čālīs Sutūn, Allāhābād Fort, *ca.* 991/1583 (not preserved); Shāh Burdj, Āgra Fort, completed 1046/1637). Finally, the type in its new lighter shape, is restored once more to sepulchral architecture in three of the subsidiary tombs of the Tādj Maḥall complex (1640s).

The most interesting and complex treatment of the octagon occurs, however, in the massive masonry tombs of the Mughals.

The standard type are variations on the regular or irregular octagonal tomb of Tīmūrid inspiration. The regular version has a central octagonal, square, or cruciform chamber and an arched niche in each of the eight outer faces (tombs of Shāh Ḳulī Khān, Nār-

nawl, 982/1574-5; of Ḳutb al-Dīn Khān, Baroda, d. 991/1583; of Bahādur Khān, and of Husayn Khān (with double storeyed outer niches), both Bahlōlpūr, Akbar's period (S. Parihar, *Mughal monuments in the Punjab and Haryana*, New Delhi 1985, 30-2); of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad, Sarhind, 1014/1605-6; of Āṣaf Khān (d. 1051/1641) and of ʿAlī Mardān Khān (*ca.* 1060/1650), Lāhawr; of "Ṣādiḳ Khān" between Sikandra and Āgra, with an upper gallery; and of "Shaykh Čilli", Thānesar, both of Shāh Djahān's period. The irregular octagonal tomb has usually rectangular axial outer niches (*pīshtāḳs*) communicating with the inner chamber and half octagonal niches (which may be double storeyed) in the shorter sides (Sabz Burdj, Nīlā Gunbad, Dihlī, both probably 1540s; tomb of "the Ustād", Nākodār, 1021/1612) representing thus an abbreviation of the *hasht bihisht* plan. Another distinct type, a Mughal invention occurring most frequently in Djahāngīr's period, is the octagonal version of the platform (*takhtgāh*) tomb which consists of an octagonal low platform (which may contain vaulted rooms) on which is placed in the centre an eight-sided domed sepulchral pavilion. In the periphery may be set other individual subsidiary structures such as gates, small mosques or pavilions (tombs of Ṣādiḳ Khān Harātī, Dhōlpūr, 1005-6/1596-7, which has no pavilion but an octagonal platform surrounded by a screen in the centre; of "Fīrūz Khān", Āgra; of "Tambulan Begam" in the Khusraw Bāgh at Allāhābād; of Muḥammad Wāsiṭ in the *dargāh* of Shāh Ḳāsim Sulaymānī at Čunār, all first third of the 17th century).

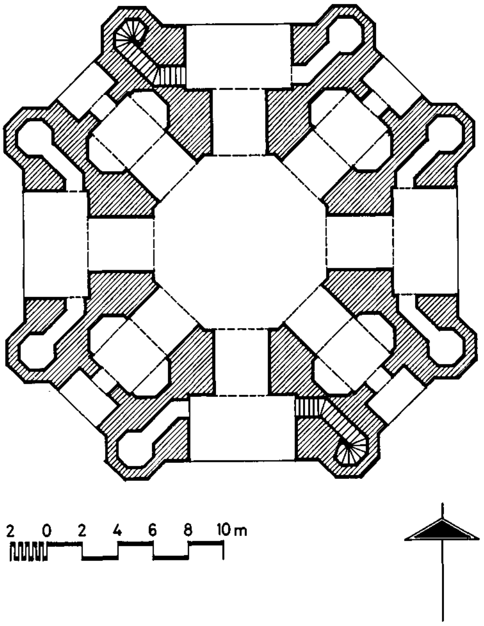

Fig. 1. Lahore, tomb "of Anārkalī", 1024/1615. Reconstructed ground plan.

The ultimate point of elaboration, perfecting the Tīmūrid-inspired tradition of consistent geometrical planning and intricate designs, is reached in three outstanding Mughal mausolea, all developed around a central octagonal domed chamber. Not only does the eight-sided Islamic tomb reach here its culmination but perhaps does also the treatment of the octagon in the general history of architecture altogether:

(1) The tomb of Humāyūn at Dihlī (970-8/1562-71); the main body of the tomb is raised on the figure of a radially-planned *hasht bihisht* inscribed in a *muthamman baghdādī*. The four corner units consist in turn of *hasht bihishts* echoing the spatial organisation of the main plan figure. The clear logic of the plan is reflected faithfully in the elevation; its structural components are brought into relief by the studied use of red sandstone highlightened with white marble.

(2) The tomb "of Anārkalī" at Lāhawr, completed 1024/1615 (Fig. 1); in the plan figure of an irregular octagon with half octagonal towers at its points is inscribed an octagonalised radial symmetrical *hasht bihisht* plan with two patterns of cross axes: a (+) that of the axial porches (*pīshtāḳs*) and b (x) that of diagonally placed composite rooms. The originality of the invention can be shown by comparing it with masterpieces of western architecture: it is as if Michelangelo's last design for the San Giovanni de' Fiorentini church in Rome (1559) were inscribed in the outline of Frederick II's Castel del Monte in Apulia, South Italy (*ca.* 1240)!

(3) The Tādj Maḥall at Āgra (1041-52/1632-43); a perfectly balanced radially planned *hasht bihisht* is inscribed in a *muthamman baghdādī*, the two cross axes (+ and x) are further interconnected by an inner square ambulatory surrounding the central octagonal chamber.

Bibliography: There is as yet no monographic treatment of the octagon in Islamic architecture. Individual aspects are discussed in the works cited in the text. See, in addition, for the octagonal tombs of the Dihlī sultanate, R. Nath, *History of sultanate architecture*, New Delhi 1978, 84-95; C.B. Asher, *The mausoleum of Sher Shāh Sūrī*, in *Artibus Asiae*, xxxix/3-4 (1977), 273-98. For the Mughal tombs, see MUGHALS. 7. Architecture ; E. Koch, *Mughal architecture: an outline*, Munich 1991. (EBBA KOCH)

AL-MUTHANNĀ B. ḤĀRITHA, Arab tribal chieftain and hero of the early Islamic conquest of ʿIrāḳ. Al-Muthannā's tribe, the Banū Shaybān, was part of the Bakr b. Wāʾil group and had its home on the eastern desert fringes of southern ʿIrāḳ in the late 6th and early 7th centuries A.D. Although the leading clans of Shaybān had been involved in battles against the Persians before the rise of Islam—most notably the famous battle of Dhū Ḳār (*ca.* 611 A.D. [*q.v.*])—the same clans seem initially to have opposed the Muslim advance into ʿIrāḳ; al-Muthannā, on the other hand, was from the minor Shaybānī clan of Saʿd b. Murra, and it may be that the Muslims employed a divide-and-conquer tactic in dealing with Shaybān, winning in this case a minor chieftain to their side, with whose assistance they were able to overcome other parts of the tribe who remained aligned with the Persians.

The sources tell us nothing of al-Muthannā's early life, nor do they give us a consistent picture of how he came to join the Muslims. With the collapse of Sāsānid control in southern ʿIrāḳ, al-Muthannā, along with other tribal chiefs such as al-Madhʿūr b. ʿAdī al-ʿIdjlī, appears to have engaged in raiding settled land. But the sources disagree on whether al-Muthannā's raids were undertaken independent of the régime in Medina, or whether they were carried out with Medina's blessings or even on its orders. A few accounts in late authors (Ibn al-Athīr's *Usd al-ghāba*, Ibn Ḥadjar's *Iṣāba*) portray al-Muthannā as part of a delegation of Shaybān tribesmen who came to the Prophet, and others have him coming to Medina early in Abū Bakr's caliphate (or even com-

ing at both times); in either case, he is said to have been authorised by the Prophet or caliph to undertake raids against the Persians. But these accounts may be later efforts to portray his raids in ᶜIrāḳ as part of a master plan for the Islamic conquests emanating from Medina, rather than as independent action on the part of al-Muthannā. Against such a centralised view we may note that several accounts suggest that al-Muthannā was unknown to Abū Bakr when his raiding was brought to the caliph's attention. Ibn Saᶜd's account of the Shaybān delegation to the Prophet makes no mention of al-Muthannā, and the accounts in the *Usd al-ghāba* mention al-Muthannā in the delegations but make another figure the leading character in the negotiations, suggesting that al-Muthannā's name may have been added later to existing accounts.

It seems likely, then, that al-Muthannā's first raids on ᶜIrāḳ were made on his own initiative. He must have been persuaded to join the Muslims some time during the *Ridda*, however, before the arrival of the first Muslim army sent from Medina to ᶜIrāḳ headed by Khālid b. al-Walīd (early 12/spring 633), for during the wars of the *Ridda*, al-Muthannā is mentioned among those sent by the Muslim commander al-ᶜAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī to prevent the defeated supporters of the rebel al-Ḥuṭam of al-Baḥrayn from fleeing to the island of Dārīn in the Persian Gulf in 11/632-3 (al-Tabarī, i, 1971).

Al-Muthannā played an important role in the initial phases of the conquest of southern and central ᶜIrāḳ after the arrival of the first Muslim armies sent there by Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Although the narrative sources contain many apparent contradictions and anomalies in reporting al-Muthannā's exploits, the general outlines of their presentation can be summarised as follows. Al-Muthannā served as a subordinate commander under Khālid b. al-Walīd during the Muslim conquest of al-Ḥīra and nearby localities (Ullays, etc.). He also appears to have led some raids across the Euphrates into the *Sawād*, both during the period of Khālid's command and later. When Khālid received Abū Bakr's order to reinforce the Muslims in Syria in early 13/spring 634, he took with him half of the Muslim forces in ᶜIrāḳ and left al-Muthannā in command of the remaining half. Al-Muthannā may have come to Medina at this time to plead with Abū Bakr for reinforcements to confront the Persians. Subsequently, the caliph ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb dispatched an army led by Abū ᶜUbayd al-Thaḳafī, who became the new supreme commander in ᶜIrāḳ. This army was, however, destroyed by the Persians at the Battle of the Bridge (13 or 14/634-6); in the accounts of this battle, al-Muthannā is described as having played a key role in protecting the defeated Muslims' rear so that they could repair a pontoon bridge and make an orderly retreat across it, thus saving countless lives among the Muslim forces. Al-Muthannā is generally reported to have received wounds at the Battle of the Bridge from which he died months later. In the meanwhile, however, he is said to have launched numerous raids into the *Sawād*. Some versions claim that al-Muthannā defeated a large Sāsānid army in a major pitched battle at a place called Buwayb, in the *Sawād*, an exploit that is presented in some sources as erasing the defeat at the Bridge. His death seems to have occurred just before the arrival in ᶜIrāḳ of the next major Muslim army, led by Saᶜd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, which was to be responsible for the decisive conquest of ᶜIrāḳ from the Persians. His death probably occurred, then, in 14/635-6 or 15/636-7.

The many inconsistencies or traces of apparent hyperbole in the narratives on which the aforegoing summary is based must lead us to question the historicity of numerous episodes in which al-Muthannā is said to have been involved. For example, some accounts claim that al-Muthannā raided far afield from his home territory near al-Ḥīra—to Ṣiffīn far up the Euphrates, Takrīt on the upper Tigris, and deep into the *Sawād* as far as the future site of Baghdād (a claim rejected already by al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 246). Similarly, the many reports of al-Muthannā's early raiding include a number that describe him as having engaged and defeated a Persian commander named Djābān, but the site of this encounter is variously said to have been Ullays (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2018), al-Namāriḳ (*ibid.*, i, 2163), Nahr al-Dam (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 242), or Tustar (*ibid.*, 245-6). According to the reports of Sayf b. ᶜUmar, the commander of a troop of reinforcements sent to ᶜIrāḳ after the débâcle at the Bridge, Djarīr b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Badjalī, willingly accepted al-Muthannā as commander and served under him at the battle of Buwayb; but according to Ibn Isḥāḳ, Djarīr refused to subordinate himself to al-Muthannā. In the accounts of the Battle of Buwayb and elsewhere, al-Muthannā's role is sometimes described in terms that seem to be seriously exaggerated; at Buwayb, for example, he engages in heroics while nursing fatal wounds suffered at the Bridge, and in other instances, where he is portrayed as negotiating with high-ranking Persian commanders, he responds with such finesse that the reports have the tone of purely literary inventions. These aspects of the traditional narratives lead us to question whether a major battle (rather than occasional small skirmishes and raids?) even took place at Buwayb.

Resolving these problems must await a fully detailed re-examination of the development of the accounts about al-Muthannā's campaign. On the other hand, in the present writer's opinion it must be accepted as certain that al-Muthannā was a historical figure, and that he played a significant role in the conquest of ᶜIrāḳ; it is merely that historiographical difficulties for the moment make unclear the exact scope of his activities.

With the rise of a specifically ᶜIrāḳī strain of Arab nationalism following the creation of the independent state of ᶜIrāḳ in the 20th century, the figure of al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha has become a symbol of ᶜIrāḳī national pride. For this reason, public and private monuments and institutions are sometimes named after him in modern ᶜIrāḳ. Noteworthy among these was the nationalist club of the 1930s and 1940s, the Nādī al-Muthannā.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Ibn Saᶜd, i/1, 56-9; vii/2, 120-1; Ibn Aᶜtham al-Kūfī, ed. M.A. Khān, Ḥaydarābād, Dcn. 1968, i, 88 ff.; Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Kitāb Dhikr al-ghazawāt al-ḍāmina*..., ms. Leiden Or. 343, fols. 125b ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ᶜAsḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, s.v. "al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha"; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, iv, 299-300, iv, 408-9 (on Mafrūḳ b. ᶜAmr al-Shaybānī); J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1899, 23, 37-44, 68-70; Caetani, *Annali*, ii/2 and iii, below; F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, index; M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, index; ᶜImād Aḥmad al-Djawāhirī, *Nādī al-Muthannā wa wādjihāt al-tadjammuᶜ al-ḳawmī fi 'l-ᶜIrāḳ, 1934-1942*, Baghdād 1984. (F.M. DONNER)

MUṬĪᶜ B. IYĀS AL-KINĀNĪ, a minor poet of Kūfa who lived in the last years of the Umayyads and the first ones of the ᶜAbbāsids, making him a *mukhaḍram* [*q.v.*] *al-dawlatayn*.

G.E. von Grunebaum (*Three Arabic poets of the early*

Abbasid age, in *Orientalia*, Rome) brought together, in the first part of his study (xvii/2 [1948], 167-204) 77 poetical fragments attributed to al-Muṭīʿ and also provided an exemplary critical study of the materials given by the biographers, anthologists and other authors of *adab* works, concerning this poet, whose personality is difficult to establish despite an image which appears superficially to be of perfect clarity but which reveals itself on closer examination as equivocal and strained.

His grandfather, or some more distant ancestor, was called Salmā b. Nawfal, and it happens that Ibn al-Kalbī, in his *Djamhara* (Tab. 43) terminates the line to which the poet belongs with this person. His father Iyās b. Muslim was sent by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān with the contingent meant to provide aid for al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf in his struggle against Ibn al-Zubayr, and then settled at Kūfa, and there is no reason to doubt his Arab lineage. Von Grunebaum in fact wrongly interpreted a passage of the *Aghānī* (xii, 96 = ed. Beirut, xiii, 309) and noted that, according to another tradition, Muṭīʿ was the son of a *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Hāshimī called Muḥammad b. Sālim, when in reality the text says that the poet had amorous relations with a certain Muḥammad b. Sālim, who was the son of a *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl; he mourned his death in a fragment which has been preserved (no. XXIII; metre *ṭawīl*, rhyme *-dū*).

Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, born in Kūfa at an unknown date, which must however have been in the first decade of the 2nd century/third decade of the 8th century, seems to have attempted very early to take up the career of a professional poet, whilst at the same time leading a dissolute life to which he owes, in great part, his place in literary history. The first episode marking his career—so far as we at present know—is the dedicating of a panegyric to the prince al-Ghamr b. Yazīd (d. 132/750; see Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Muʿdjam Banī Umayya*, Beirut 1970, no. 287), which is said to have brought him 10,000 *dirhams* (fragment III; metre *kāmil muraffal*, rhyme *-āʾih*), but it is not known when this event took place, the Umayyad hardly ever having left Damascus except to command a summer expedition (*ṣāʾifa*) against Byzantium. It is not impossible that this prince recommended Muṭīʿ to his brother al-Walīd b. Yazīd (caliph from Rabīʿ I 125 to 28 Djumādā II 126/February 743 to 17 April 744 [*q.v.*]) or else caused to intervene in his favour the singer Ḥakam al-Wādī (on whom see the index to al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj*). This last was a *mawlā* of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik who set to music several of Muṭīʿ's poems, notably nos. V (metre *ramal*, rhyme *-ābā*), XXXIII (metre *kāmil*, rhyme *-rī*), LXXI (metre *khafīf*, rhyme *-ānī*) and especially LXXII (metre *radjaz*, rhyme *-ānū*), Muṭīʿ being said to have attracted the attention of al-Walīd, perhaps at a moment when he had not yet achieved the throne. Whatever the case, the latter is said to have brought Muṭīʿ to Ruṣāfa by the horses of the postal service, but other versions have also been put forward. It is said that Muṭīʿ remained with the caliph until the latter's death, after which he returned to Kūfa. He is then found in the entourage of the ʿAlid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya b. Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*], who rebelled at Kūfa in 127/744 and was put to death by Abū Muslim in 129/747 or in 131. There is nothing to prevent us from thinking that his anti-conformism could go as far as filling him with sympathy for a partisan of the ʿAlids who was in open revolt against the Umayyad régime which he had nevertheless served until the moment when it was on the point of disintegrating. He must have remained in Kūfa in the first years of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, since we see him frequenting the salon of Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, governor of the town in 132/750. In the reign of al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]), since he was attached to the caliph's son al-Djaʿfar (d. before 158/775), on whom he exercised a pernicious influence, he is said to have been given the office, according to a very dubious tradition, of levying the *ṣadaḳa* at Baṣra, in order to get him away from the young prince. He attracted the latter's anger for having favoured the designation as heir presumptive, in 141/758-9, of the future al-Mahdī, who, moreover, much appreciated his poetry. It is known that he travelled to Rayy in 145/762, to the presence of Salm b. Ḳutayba (d. 159/776; see the index to the *Murūdj*). Subsequently, no outstanding events seem to have been recorded until his death in Djumādā I 169/November 785 at Baṣra.

Muṭīʿ b. Iyās probably owes the survival of his memory less to his poetic talent than to his membership of a group of individuals connected with *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*]. According to what is given in the *Aghānī* (xii, 89 = ed. Beirut, xiii, 296), his daughter, a victim of the hunting down of the Manichaeans, confessed before al-Rashīd that her father had taught her that religion, but that she had renounced it. This affirmation would confirm the accusation brought against Muṭīʿ and his companions of Manichaeism. He is said to have himself written books defending the dualists, but his "Manichaeism"—insofar as the term can be applied to him—was certainly only a façade and consisted of a conduct contrary to the morality of Islam, a nonconformism characteristic of the upper levels of society at that time, a complete indifference to religious precepts, and the current practices of drunkenness, homosexuality and debauchery in general. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isfahānī, in no way shocked by happenings of this kind which were quite rife in a certain stratum of society, sums up in three words Muṭīʿ's nature, and describes him as *ẓarīf*, *khalīʿ* and *mādjin*, terms whose meaning, difficult to render precisely, corresponds substantially to a person of refinement (= witty, depraved and libertine).

This poet is rarely cited by himself, since he was inseparable, in the minds of the contemporaries and, by *taḳlīd*, of the succeeding generations, from the group of his friends, of the same stamp, "who formed, it might be said, one soul" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 447-8) and amongst whom may be distinguished the three Ḥammāds (ʿAdjrad, al-Rāwiya and Ibn al-Zibriḳān), Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb and Abān al-Lāḥiḳī, to mention only the best-known. In sifting through the lists appearing in the sources, G. Vajda (*Les zindīqs en pays d'Islam*, in *RSO*, xvii [1937], 137-229) did justice to the accusations of *zandaḳa* brought against these rather pretentious individuals, who flaunted a scepticism which went as far as atheism.

As for Muṭīʿ's work, is it certainly varied and probably touched on all the poetical genres cultivated at that time, but it would be imprudent to make a definite pronouncement, given that his *dīwān* has not been preserved. Of the 77 fragments gathered together by Von Grunebaum, 71 are certainly by this poet, comprising 391 verses out of 412, which can only represent a small proportion of his total production, estimated by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 162 = ed. Cairo, 230) at about a hundred leaves. Among these fragments, 4 are panegyrics (notably of Maʿn b. Zāʾida [*q.v.*]), 5 are *marthiyas* [*q.v.*] of his companion in debauchery Yaḥyā b. Ziyād (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 467-8), to whom he addressed several other pieces of

verse in various circumstances, a dozen are more or less obscene satires, 3 offend by their vulgarity, some 24 concern love and women (especially *ḳiyān* [see ḲAYNA]) and some 8 are recitals of drinking sessions. It is perhaps astonishing to learn that the poem which was most admired (no. 71; metre *khafīf*, rhyme *-ānī*) is an address to the Two Palm Trees of Ḥulwān, begging them to console him for his separation from "the *dihḳān*'s daughter" left behind at Rayy, and threatening them with a gloomy destiny (*naḥs*) of being likewise separated. These verses are not only frequently cited, but the Two Palms of Ḥulwān became a motif dealt with on several occasions by other poets; the story goes, moreover, that al-Manṣūr and then al-Mahdī had the plan of cutting them down, but changed their minds, not wanting to be the instrument of the *naḥs* announced by Muṭīʿ. In total, the fragments preserved simply reveal a poet who was certainly a debauchee, but neither more or less of this than his contemporaries.

In regard to poetic form, one would hardly expect frequent usage of the *ṭawīl* and *basīṭ* metres (5 and 7 times, respectively) in poetry as light as that of Muṭīʿ, which requires less majestic metres. One nevertheless notes a remarkable variety of metres used, since out of the 16 known, 13 are used in these fragments alone; out of these, 12 are used between one and nine times, but the thirteenth, *khafīf*, is clearly dominant, with 19 attestations. As a whole, the language is simple, somewhat scabrous in some poems but with an unexpectedness in some others, especially when sincere feeling is expressed.

Bibliography: The essential study is that of Von Grunebaum, cited in the article, and the main biographical source is *Aghānī*, xii, 87 ff. (= ed. Beirut, xiii, 274-336). Among other works which can usefully be consulted are: Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 38; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 390-1; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 447-52 and index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 770-1; Ibn Khallikān, i, 166, tr. de Slane, i, 474; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 480; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, Cairo 1325, i, 99-100; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 318-21; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 225; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 159-66; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iv, 58-63; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, iv, 286. Of modern studies, see Brockelmann, I^2, 71-2, S I, 108; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 280-4; A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii, 368-9; F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xv (1934), xvii (1935); Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, i, 182-212; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 161-2; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, xii, 296; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 467, ix, 288.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-**MUṬĪʿ LI 'LLĀH**, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-FAḌL, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 334-63/946-74, son of al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*] by a Ṣaḳlabī slave concubine called Mashʿala, brother of al-Rāḍī and of al-Muttaḳī [*q.vv.*].

Al-Muṭīʿ was a bitter enemy of al-Mustakfī [*q.v.*] and therefore went into hiding on the latter's accession, and after Muʿizz al-Dawla [*q.v.*] had become the real ruler, al-Muṭīʿ is said to have taken refuge with him and incited him against al-Mustakfī. After the deposition of the latter in Djumādā II or Shaʿbān 334/January or March 946) al-Muṭīʿ was recognised as caliph. His reign marks a very unfortunate period in the history of the ʿAbbāsids. The caliph himself had not the slightest authority; the power was in the hands of Muʿizz al-Dawla and after his death (356/967) in those of his son ʿIzz al-Dīn Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*]. The Fāṭimids were growing more and more powerful, and until 344/955 the Sāmānids also declined to recognise al-Muṭīʿ as the legitimate suzerain. The Ḥamdānids were weakened by their wars with the Būyids and the Fāṭimids. In Baghdād, the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs were fighting one another and several Shīʿī usages were introduced by the Būyids, who had ʿAlid sympathies. At last the weak and sickly caliph, incapacitated by a paralytic stroke, was forced by the Turks to abdicate in favour of his son ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ṭāʾiʿ (13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 363/5 August 974). Al-Muṭīʿ died in Muḥarram 364/September-October 974 in Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl.

The character of al-Muṭīʿ hardly emerges from the exiguous mentions of him by historians of the period such as Miskawayh, events in Baghdād being dominated by the activities of Muʿizz al-Dawla and ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār. On his succession to power there, Muʿizz al-Dawla assigned the caliph 2,000 *dirhams* a day for living expenses, but chose for him all his household officials; the chroniclers regard al-Muṭīʿ's reign as the lowest ebb of the caliphate before events began to revive somewhat under his eventual successors al-Ḳāʾim and al-Ḳādir [*q.vv.*]. Rivals to al-Muṭīʿ for the caliphate from the progeny of the preceding caliph al-Mustakfī and his brother ʿĪsā led risings in Adharbāydjān (349/960) and ʿIrāḳ (357/968), but the protection of the Būyids enabled al-Muṭīʿ to survive as ruler for nineteen years, a long reign compared with those of his immediate predecessors, and to preserve the ʿAbbāsid caliphate permanently in the line of al-Muḳtadir.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 399-400, tr. 506-7; idem, *Murūdj*, ix, 1-2 = §§ 3571-2; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ii, 87, 105-6, 112, 114-15, 283, 327-8, tr. v, 91, 110-11, 115, 117, 303, 354; Ḥamdānī, *Takmilat Taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Kanʿān, i, 150-214; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 343-5, vii, 66-8, 79; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 451-3, 637; Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 390-1; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1283-9, ii, 125, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, iii, 182; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii, 1-2; W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, new edn. by Weir, 578-9; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 27 ff.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

MUṬLAḲ (A.), passive participle of form IV verb *ṭ-l-ḳ*, "to loose the bond (*ḳayd*) of an animal, so as to let it free" (e.g. Muslim, *Djihād*, trad. 46; Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, *bāb* 100). The term is also applied to the loosening of the bowstring (al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, *bāb* 170), of the garments, the hair, etc. Thence the common meaning absolute, as opposed to restricted (*muḳayyad*), and further the accusative *muṭlaḳan* "absolutely". The use of the term is so widely diffused that a few examples only can be given.

In grammar, the term *mafʿūl muṭlaḳ* denotes the absolute object (cognate accusative), i.e., a verbal noun (either *maṣdar* or *ism al-marra* [noun of a single instance] or *ism al-nawʿ* [noun of manner]) derived, mostly, from the verb of the sentence and put in the accusative to serve as an object, even if the verb is intransitive. The verbal noun may be used alone, often for emphasis, or modified by an adjective or a genitive; it may itself be governed by an elative. The following basic types result: *ḳaʿada ḳuʿūdan* ("he sat down for good" [emphasis]); *ḳuʿūdan sarīʿan* ("quickly"), *ḳuʿūda sāʾilin* ("like a beggar"), *ḳaʿdatan*, *ḳaʿdatayni*, *thalātha ḳaʿadātin* ("once", "twice", "three times"), *ḳiʿdatan ʿadjībatan* ("in a strange manner") and *aswaʾa ḳiʿdatin* ("in the worst manner").

In the doctrine of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the term is applied to the *mudjtahids* of the heroic age, the founders of the *madhhabs* who are called *mudjtahid muṭlaḳ*, an epithet which none after them has borne [see IDJTIHĀD].

In dogmatics, the term is applied to existence, so

that *al-wudjūd al-muṭlaḳ* denotes Allāh as opposed to His creation, which does not possess existence in the deepest sense.

In ontology, the term is also applied to existence (*wudjūd*) in connection with the question of the nature of the latter. Here *al-wudjūd al-muṭlaḳ* is opposed to *al-wudjūd al-maḥmūl li 'l-mawḍū*ᶜ (see MANṬIḲ).

In other contexts, the term has the meaning "general" as opposed to *khāṣṣ*; cf. the definition in al-Djurdjānī's *Ta*ᶜ*rīfāt*: *muṭlaḳ* denotes the one without specification. Cf. further al-Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the technical terms*.

On the meaning of *rawī muṭlaḳ* in prosody, see ḲĀFIYA.

Bibliography: S. de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*[2], i, Paris 1831, 298; W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic language*[3], Cambridge 1933, ii, 54 ff.; M.S. Howell, *A grammar of the Classical Arabic language*, Allāhābād, 1883, i, 139-42; Th. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de moh. wet*, Leiden 1925, 24; C. Snouck Hurgronje, in *ZDMG*, liii, 140 ff. (= *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii, 385 ff.); M. Horten, *Die speculative und positive Theologie im Islam*, Leipzig 1912, Anhang I and II, s.v.; Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*. Constantinople 1239, 184-5; Djurdjānī, *Ta*ᶜ*rīfāt*, ed. G. Flügel, 233; Tahanawī, *Dict. of the technical terms*, Calcutta 1862, 921-4.

(A.J. WENSINCK)

MUṬRĀN [see KHALĪL MUṬRĀN].

AL-**MUTTAḲĪ LI 'LLĀH**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM, ᶜAbbāsid caliph, reigned 329-33/940-4, son of al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*] and a slave-girl named Khalūb.

At the age of 26 on 21 Rabīᶜ I 329/24 Dec. 940 he succeeded his half-brother al-Rāḍī [*q.v.*]; by this time the caliphate had sunk so low that five days passed after the death of al-Rāḍī before steps were taken to choose his successor. Al-Muttaḳī at once confirmed the *Amīr al-Umarā*ʾ Bedjkem [*q.v.* in *EI*[1]] in office; after his death however, in Radjab 324/April 941, the Turks and Daylamīs in the army began to quarrel with one another. Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Barīdī [see AL-BARĪDĪ] seized the capital but could only hold it a few weeks. He was driven out by the Daylamī chief Kūrtigīn who, however, was soon overthrown by Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*]. When Abū ᶜAbd Allāh sent his brother Abu 'l-Ḥusayn with an army against Baghdād, the caliph and Ibn Rāʾiḳ escaped to al-Mawṣil to the Ḥamdānids (Djumādā II 330/February-March 942). After the assassination of Ibn Rāʾiḳ, the Ḥamdānid Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan was appointed *Amīr al-Umarā*ʾ and received the honorific title of Nāṣir al-Dawla, his daughter ᶜUlayya marrying the caliph's son. The occupation of Baghdād offered him no difficulty; the Turkish general Tuzun rebelled a little later and Nāṣir al-Dawla had to evacuate the capital which was entered by Tuzun in Ramaḍān 331/June 943 as *Amīr al-Umarā*ʾ. Al-Muttaḳī soon found himself forced to seek the protection of the Ḥamdānids again and at the beginning of the following year (autumn 943) he fled to al-Mawṣil. Then he settled in al-Raḳḳa, but when Tuzun made peace with Nāṣir al-Dawla, al-Muttaḳī appealed for help to the Ikhshīdid of Egypt Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*]; the latter came to al-Raḳḳa in Radjab 332/March 944; the negotiations however were unsuccessful and finally the caliph put his trust in Tuzun, who, after assuring him of his loyalty by the most sacred oaths, had him blinded (19 Ṣafar 333/11 October 944). Al-Muttaḳī was then declared to have been deposed. He died in Shaᶜbān 357/July 968.

Al-Muttaḳī was famed for his piety, proclaiming that his boon-companion was the Ḳurʾān. At his accession, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad continued as vizier, as he had functioned in the previous reign, but there then followed a series of ephemeral viziers, ending with Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī Ibn Muḳla, son of the famed vizier of al-Muḳtadir and al-Ḳāhir [see IBN MUḲLA]. The veteran statesman ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā [*q.v.*] also acted as judge of *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] during the early part of the reign. But in fact, as the historians note, the vizierate as an effective office ceased to exist at this time, all power in the state lying with first Bedjkem and then Tuzun.

Bibliography: Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaḳī*, ed. Heyworth Dunne, 186-285, Fr. tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1950, ii, 5-131; Masᶜūdī, *Tanbīh*, 397-8, tr. 503-5; idem, *Murūdj*, viii, 344-76 = §§ 3506-34; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ᶜAbbasid Caliphate*, ii, 2-72, tr, v. 1-76; Ḥamdānī, *Takmilat Taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Kanᶜān, i, 117-43; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vi, 316-19, 330-1, 338-9, vii, 43; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 368-9, 371-7, 379-84, 399, 400-1, 406-12, 418-19; Ibn al-Tiḳtaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 385-8; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii, 680 ff.; Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, new edn. by Weir, 572-4; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, 56, 195; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ᶜAlí ibn ᶜÍsà, 'The Good Vizier'*, Cambridge 1928, 364-85; Sourdel, *Vizirat ᶜabbāside*, ii, 493-4.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-**MUTTAḲĪ** AL-**HINDĪ**, author of several works in Arabic, whose full name was ᶜALĀʾ AL-DĪN ᶜALĪ B. ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN ᶜABD AL-MALIK B. ḲĀḌĪ KHĀN AL-SHĀDHILĪ AL-ḲĀDIRI, was born at Burhānpūr in Gudjarāt of a respectable family of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*]. He first joined the Čishtī order, as a disciple of ᶜAbd al-Karīm b. Shaykh Bādjan at Burhānpūr, and afterwards went to Multān where he read with Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaḳī, after whom he is called al-Muttaḳī. He spent the remaining portion of his Indian life at Aḥmadābād during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, but left India for Mecca after Humāyūn defeated Bahādur Shāh in 941/1534. He spent his last days in Mecca, where he lived for thirty years more, during which he read with Ibn Ḥadjar al-ᶜAsḳalānī and others and entered the Ḳādirī and Shādhilī orders. His high spiritual life and learning led many people to become his *murīd* (spiritual disciple). He died a highly respected saint and scholar in Mecca 975/1567 at the age of ninety. He is the author of some twenty works including the following:

1. *al-Burhān fī ᶜalāmāt Mahdī ākhir al-zamān*, an account of the Mahdī and of his coming at the end of the world;
2. *al-Burhān al-djalī fī maᶜrifat al-walī*;
3. *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī ᶜalāmāt Mahdī ākhir al-zamān*;
4. *Djawāmiᶜ al-kalim fi 'l-mawāᶜiẓ wa 'l-ḥikam*, a collection of sentences on morals;
5. *Hidāyat rabbī ᶜinda faḳad al-murabbī*;
6. *al-Ḥikam*;
7. *Kanz al-ᶜummāl fī sunan al-aḳwāl wa 'l-afᶜāl*, a combined edition of al-Suyūṭī's *Djāmiᶜ al-masānīd* or *Djamᶜ al-djawāmiᶜ* or *al-Djāmiᶜ al-kabīr*, newly arranged according to chapters (printed Ḥaydarābād 1312);
8. *al-Mawāhib al-ᶜaliyya fī djamᶜ al-ḥikam al-Ḳurʾāniyya wa 'l-ḥadīthiyya*;
9. *Mahhadj al-ᶜummāl fī sunan al-aḳwāl wa 'l-afᶜāl*, an abridgement of al-Suyūṭī's well-known alphabetically arranged work *al-Djāmiᶜ al-ṣaghīr* containing a collection of traditions from authentic sources, newly-arranged according to chapters together with a supplement;
10. *Mukhtaṣar al-Nihāya*, an abridgement of Madjd al Dīn Ibn al-Athīr's dictionary of traditions entitled *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*;

11. *Niʿam al-miʿyār wa 'l-miḳyās li-maʿrifat marātib al-nās*, a short tract on the classification of mankind. For a full list, see Brockelmann, II², 503-4, S II, 518-19.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, 249; Āzād al-Bilgrāmī, *Subḥat al-mardjān*, 43; Faḳīr Muḥammad al-Lahawrī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafiyya*, 382; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan al-Kannawdjī, *Abdjad al-ʿulūm*, 895; Rieu, *Persian cat.*, 356.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUWĀḌAʿA (A.).

1. In Islamic law, this means the rescission of a sale or transaction (synonym, *mutāraka*); see for lexical aspects of the term, *LA*¹, x, 282; *TA*¹, v, 535; Freytag, *Lexicon*, iv, 476.

2. In mediaeval Eastern Islamic administrative usage, it denotes the contract of service of officials, in accordance with the term's further meaning of "the laying down of conditions for an agreement with some one". We possess the texts of two *muwāḍaʿas* made by early Ghaznavid viziers with their sovereign: one made by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Maymandī [*q.v.*] with Sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] on his appointment in 422/1031, and the other by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Shīrāzī with the same master in 431/1040. In both cases, the ministers in question feared interference from other officials in their own spheres of duty and recrimination from the ruler, hence were concerned to define and delimit their duties and responsibilities (Sayf al-Dīn ʿUḳaylī, *Āthār al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Urmawī, Tehran 1337/1959, 179-85; Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ḳāsim Ghanī and ʿA.A. Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945; cf. M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 130-2, and C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 62-3, 74, 230.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also M.Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, ii, 587-8. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**MUWAFFAḲ**, ṬALḤA B. DJAʿFAR, normally known by his *kunya*, Abū Aḥmad, son of the caliph al-Mutawwakil and a slave girl Umm Isḥāḳ, regent and virtual ruler of the caliphate during the time of al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*]. As a young man he witnessed the murder of his father by the Turkish military leaders in 247/861. In 251/865 his brother al-Muʿtazz, then caliph in Sāmarrāʾ, chose him as his army commander against their cousin al-Mustaʿīn and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir in Baghdād. It was probably at this time that he developed the links with the Turkish army which were to be the foundations of his success. When al-Muʿtazz attempted to curb the power of the Turkish generals, Abū Aḥmad distanced himself from the caliph and went into exile while maintaining close relations with them. The death of al-Muhtadī in 256/870 left Abū Aḥmad, who hastily returned from Mecca, and his chief lieutenant Mūsā b. Bughā in effective control although his brother al-Muʿtamid was nominally caliph.

Abū Aḥmad was governor of ʿIrāḳ and Arabia until 261/875 when he took over responsibility for the east as well and was given a place in the succession after al-Muʿtamid's son al-Mufawwaḍ. He became the chief ʿAbbasid military commander and set about restoring the power of the caliphate. He was dependent on his contacts among the Turkish military, notably Mūsā b. Bughā and, after his death in 264/877, on Kayghalagh and Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj, but they remained subordinate to him and never challenged his authority. He also had his own *wazīrs*, Sulaymān b. Wahb, Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad and Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul. Al-Muʿtamid was effectively confined to Sāmarrāʾ, especially after his attempted escape to Egypt in 269/882, while al-Muwaffaḳ effectively ruled from Baghdād.

The first major challenge he faced was from the Ṣaffārids. From 255/869 Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth had been trying to assert his power in Fārs, but was opposed by a local adventurer Muḥammad b. Wāṣil al-Tamīmī and al-Muwaffaḳ. In 262/876 there was a final trial of strength when Yaʿḳūb invaded ʿIrāḳ but was defeated by al-Muwaffaḳ and Mūsā b. Bughā at Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl [*q.v.*]. This victory left al-Muwaffaḳ and his commanders free to turn their attentions to the Zandj of southern ʿIrāḳ. This rebellion had begun in 255/869, but it was not until 266/879 that al-Muwaffaḳ and his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās [see AL-MUʿTAḌID] began a systematic campaign against them. After four years of careful amphibious warfare, the rebellion was finally extinguished in 270/883.

After the end of the Zandj rebellion, al-Muwaffaḳ was much less active. In 271/884-5 he was content to send his son to oppose Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] in southern Palestine. In 276/889 he left Baghdād for al-Djibāl, apparently in search of money, and only returned in 278/891 when he was already mortally ill. Relations between him and his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās had deteriorated; in 275/889 he had him arrested, but they were reconciled just before his death in Ṣafar 278/June 891.

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(H. KENNEDY)

AL-**MUWAḤḤIDŪN**, the name given to the adherents of the reformist movement of which the principal element was the divine unicity, *tawḥīd*; the promulgators of this doctrine ruled during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries over the empire which they had founded in North Africa and in Spain. From this Arabic term is derived the name "Almohads" by which they are designated in western literature.

The origins of the Almohad movement. For the life and works of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, founder of the movement and originator of the Almohad doctrine, see the article devoted to him. This study will be confined to elements of this initial phase of Almohad history which bear directly on subsequent events, or to aspects of the Almohad doctrine which have come to light since the composition of the above-mentioned article.

As regards the origins of the movement, the publication of numerous chronicles from shortly after the Almohad period, a more assiduous reading of the circumstances surrounding the emergence of the Almohad doctrine and new studies of the subject, have recently illustrated in a more precise fashion the importance of the Berber context in the elaboration of this doctrine and, above all, in the political development of the movement, which did not begin with the return of Ibn Tūmart from the East to the Maghrib (510/1116 or 511/1117), but rather with his return to his Berber origins among the Maṣmūda in 517/1123. The mission of the Mahdī, initially proclaimed as an effort aimed at moral reform, was transformed into a political movement seeking the overthrow of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] after he took up residence at Tinmallal (Tinmel), an isolated village in

the Atlas mountains. The influence of the Berber setting is also illustrated by the fact that the political organisation of the movement evolved simultaneously with the written formulation of the doctrine within Berber circles and by the revelation of the existence of Khāridjite-Ibāḍī notions among the Berbers of the region where Ibn Tūmart was born (D. Urvoy, *La pensée d'Ibn Tūmart* in *BEO*, xxvii [1974], 19-44). According to al-Marrākushī, Ibn Tūmart, on arriving in Tinmallal, began by teaching religious knowledge to the Berbers and composed for them an *ʿaḳīda* in their own language. Subsequently, the *Murshida* was written, again for the benefit of the Berbers and in their language. Both of these exist today in Arabic. The fact that a version of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* [see MĀLIK B. ANAS], attributed to Ibn Bukayr and transmitted by Ibn Tūmart to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, his disciple, exists today in copies of the very highest quality produced in 590/1193 for the third Almohad caliph, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, suggests that the works of the Mahdī were originally composed under the influence of and for the needs of the Berbers. The Arabic versions of these works which we possess today were probably written some time after ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's death, for al-Manṣūr, responsible for a reform of the doctrine (J. Schacht, *Deux éditions inconnues du "Muwaṭṭaʾ"*, in *Studi orientalistici in onore de Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, ii, Rome 1956, 477-92). The composition in Berber of the *ʿaḳīda* is in accordance with the replacement of *khaṭībs* and *imāms* in the mosques by religious functionaries capable of pronouncing the *tawḥīd* in Berber, and the increased value given to "Berber matters" by the assimilation of the Mahdī to the Prophet. These elements suggest that the origins of the movement are to be associated with the social, religious and intellectual tensions which stirred the parties, ethnic groups and communities of Morocco in this period, and attention should be given to the question posed by W. Montgomery Watt, whether opposition to Mālikism does not rather reflect the aspiration of the Berbers to assert themselves in relation to the Arabs (*Philosophy and social structure in Almohad Spain*, in *IQ*, viii [1964], 46-51). The chroniclers record a period of political stability and economic prosperity under the Almoravids, but, as was often the case in mediaeval North Africa, social discord was expressed in terms drawn from the religious context (M. Shatzmiller, *The legacy of the Andalusian Berbers in the 14th century Maghreb: its role in the formation of Maghrebi historical identity and historiography*, in *Relaciones de la Peninsula Ibérica con el Maghreb*, Madrid 1988, 205-31).

The foundation of an empire. The military occupation of North Africa and Spain by the Almohads did not begin until after the death of Ibn Tūmart (524/1130). The occupation of Morocco was a lengthy process, lasting over a period of some twenty years from the first abortive offensive against Marrakech in 523/1129 until its capture in 542/1147. A coalition of the Maṣmūda tribes, established under Ibn Tūmart, embarked on military campaigns supervised by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*]. Chosen as his successor by the Mahdī during his lifetime, in spite of his Zanāta origins, he was proclaimed caliph in 524/1130. In their war against the Almoravids, the Almohads adopted the tactic of staying constantly in the shelter of the mountains and avoiding confrontation in open country. The conquest of Morocco was of a brutal nature. The massacres and the persecutions of the civilian population led Ibn Taymiyya to accuse the Almohads of having killed thousands of good Muslims, the fact that they were Mālikīs being no excuse. Frequent revolts by tribes and towns against the "Almohad pact" provoked immediate military reprisals. The intolerant nature of the Almohad occupation was reinforced by a "purge" (*tamyīz*) among the Muwaḥḥidūn themselves (A. Merad, *ʿAbd al-Muʾmin et la conquête d'Afrique du Nord, 1130-1163*, in *AIEO*, xv [1957], 110-63).

After establishing his rule in Marrakech (542-5/1147-50), ʿAbd al-Muʾmin spent two years in the port of Salé, building up a large army. Instead of taking the short crossing in the direction of Spain, the Almohad army marched towards the central Maghrib. In this region, as well as in Ifrīḳiya, the towns and the countryside were in a parlous political and material state. Invasions of nomadic Arab tribes arriving from the direction of Egypt had crippled economic and social structures, thus facilitating the Norman Christian offensive against the coastal cities of the Mediterranean. The Almohad conquest was therefore rapid and easy: Algiers, Bougie, the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād and Constantine were taken in 547/1152. In 554/1159, the city of Tunis, seized from the Ifrīḳiyans, Mahdiyya, Sfax and Tripoli seized from the Normans, were the last conquests leading to the creation, for the first time in North Africa, of a single state, ruled by the Almohads.

The Almohad empire attained its highest point of material and cultural success under the three successors of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 558/1163): Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (558-80/1163-84), Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) and Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (595-610/1199-1213) [*q.vv.*], in spite of having to devote unrelenting military efforts to retaining the territories conquered in the Maghrib. The Almohad army was invincible. Consisting of Berber troops of the Maṣmūda and Zanāta tribes, it was complemented by a large and powerful fleet, which played a decisive role in maritime engagements. Naval dockyards were established in the ports of the Atlantic and Mediterranean ports. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn tried to obtain the support of this fleet at the time of the siege of Acre in 585/1189, an appeal refused by al-Manṣūr (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Une lettre de Saladin au calife almohade*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 279-304). According to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Manṣūr subsequently changed his mind and sent the Egyptian sultan 190 ships. In Spain, the temporary halt of the Reconquista coincided with the arrival of the Almohads and the independence, probably precarious, of towns and regions which took advantage of the weakness of the Almoravids to cast off their yoke. The Almohad military intervention in Spain began under ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, but Almohad authority was never completely established in that country. Almohad sovereignty was first recognised by the cities of Cadiz and Jerez in 541/1146, a recognition followed by the intervention of Almohad troops and the capture of Seville in 542/1147. In 545/1150, a delegation of *amīrs* from Spain came to Salé at the invitation of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to offer official recognition of Almohad authority. It was during the reign of his son, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, that the major Almohad military involvement in Spain took place. An initial offensive had the object of occupying eastern Spain (568/1172) and of wresting the cities of Valencia, Jaen and Murcia from the hands of their chieftains. It was in 591/1195, at Alarcos [see AL-ARAK] that the decisive victory of the Almohads over Castile took place. In North Africa, meanwhile, an Almohad military effort was required in the direction of Ifrīḳiya which was threatened by princes of the Almoravid family, the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*]. With the aid of their fleet, a remnant of the former Almoravid fleet, they succeeded in establishing themselves in the Balearic Islands,

a base from which they extended their power over Ifrīḳiya and the central Mag͟hrib. During this period of intense military activity, the Almohads, always aware of the need to reinforce their ranks with new recruits, decided, in 583/1187, to transfer nomadic Arab tribes to Morocco by force. There was thus introduced into the land a factor which disrupted the delicate equilibrium between nomads and sedentary dwellers, between cities and the countryside. The increase in the number of nomads interfered with the habitual life-style of the Berber tribes and forced them to change their routes in quest of new pastures. This action unleashed the process of the formation of the Marīnid power [see MARĪNIDS], which was to replace that of the Almohads some fifty years later. Although the army of the fourth Almohad caliph, Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, liberated the eastern region of the Mag͟hrib and the Balearic Islands from the hold of the Banū G͟hāniya in 602/1205, it was unable to sustain resistance in Spain, where the defeat of Alarcos had contributed to the formation of a powerful coalition of Spanish kings and knights, inspired by the call to crusade issued by the bishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada. The defeat of the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa (609/1212 [see AL-ʿIḲĀB]) not only loosened their hold on Spanish towns and rural areas, it also marked the end of the first period of Almohad ascendancy and the beginning of its decline.

The military weakness which characterised the second period of the political history of the Almohads was accompanied by anarchy, rebellions of towns, defection of allies and, finally, repudiation of the Almohad doctrine by the caliph al-Maʾmūn. The rulers of this second phase succeeded one another at a rate accelerated by the weakening of central authority and the decline in the personal status of the dynasty. Sometimes acclaimed as caliphs in Spain but rejected by the Almohad *s͟hayk͟hs* of Morocco, sometimes supported by the Arab tribes but not recognised by the city-dwellers, eight Almohad caliphs, all of the Muʾminid family, are mentioned by the chroniclers: Yūsuf b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Mustanṣir (610-20/1213-23), Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Mak͟hlūʿ (621/1224), Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿĀdil (621-4/1224-6), Yaḥyā b. Nāṣir al-Muʿtaṣim bi-llāh (624-33/1227-35), contemporary with Abu 'l-ʿUlā Idrīs al-Maʾmūn (624-30/1227-32), ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Ras͟hīd (630-40/1232-42), Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Saʿīd (640-6/1242-8), Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Murtaḍā (646-65/1248-66), Abū Dabbūs al-Wāt͟hiḳ bi-llāh (665-8/1266-9). Despite political instability and the collapse of political and administrative structures, the city of Marrakesh remained a centre of artistic life and of vigorous intellectual activity during the second phase of Almohad history. The regions situated at the extremities of the empire, which had been the last to submit to the Almohads, were also the first to detach themselves. Almohad policy, which consisted in appointing a member of the family as independent governor in the towns and the regions, supplied with troops and a high degree of financial independence, had encouraged and accelerated this process of fragmentation. In 627/1229-30, the Ḥafṣid governor of Ifrīḳiya had declared the independence of his province, to be followed in 637/1239 by the chief of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād, ruler of Tlemcen and of the central Mag͟hrib. A campaign of resistance led by the deposed caliph Yaḥyā b. Nāṣir had cut off the south from its capital of Sid͟jilmāssa [*q.v.*], an important post of trans-Saharan trade. In Morocco, the Marīnids, nomadic Zanāta tribes of the plains, began during this period to take control of towns situated at a distance from the centre of Almohad power and ultimately eliminated the Almohads with the conquest of Marrakesh (668/1269) and of Tinmallal, cradle of the *Tawḥīd* and of the Muwaḥḥidūn (676/1276).

Organisation. A number of political, monetary, literary, artistic, architectural and even titulary innovations came into being under the Almohads, and survived them to a certain extent. The first innovation was the structuring of the Almohad community on hierarchical principles, which took place with the arrival of Ibn Tūmart in Tinmallel. The new order placed at the head of the community a group of persons related to the Mahdī, his "house", constituting a supreme inner council. At the second level there were two committees, one of ten relatives of the Mahdī, the other of fifty tribal representatives. The Maṣmūda tribes themselves were arranged in descending order and, in the community as a whole, a categorisation according to profession was instituted (*muḥtasibūn, sakkākūn, muʾad͟hd͟hinūn*). The various units of the army were also described in terms of organisation, social customs and institutions of the Berbers. This form of organisation also illustrates the concern to honour the first loyal adherents of the Mahdī, both individuals and tribes, by assimilating them into the Islamic tradition. According to another interpretation, the Almohad hierarchy was the embodiment of a philosophical principle cherished by Ibn Tūmart, as by al-G͟hazālī and Ibn Rus͟hd. It is a fact nevertheless that the Almohad hierarchy has not been mentioned by the chroniclers as existing beyond this initial phase in the formation of the community, and that it never genuinely took root. Besides the Council of Fifty, an established part of the caliph's retinue throughout the Almohad period, the other structures initiated at Tinmallal were abandoned. With the accession of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the Almohad government adopted more traditional patterns. By naming his son Muḥammad heir-presumptive, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin inaugurated the Muʾminid dynasty, which remained in power until the end of the Almohad empire. In addition to the title of *k͟halīfa*, the Almohad sovereigns also bore that of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, a novelty perpetuated by the Ḥafṣids, who inherited the Almohad structures, and, periodically, by the Marīnids. The administrative machine of the Almohad state was not particularly sophisticated. As Ibn K͟haldūn indicates, the Almohads were barely civilised at the outset, and the protocol of the court was not properly established until the end, with the predominance of Andalusian personnel. In response to the administrative requirements of an army, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin needed teams of trained staff which he personally organised at the court. These functionaries had undergone religious studies but were also skilled swimmers, archers and horsemen. A stratum of such officials was sent out into the provinces, headed by a governor descended from the Muʾminid family who was assisted by an Almohad *s͟hayk͟h*.

The administration of the Almohad caliph's court at Marrakesh was initially dominated by a *kātib*, personal secretary, who, at the outset, performed the functions of a *wazīr*. Later, the title *wazīr*, which denoted a function considered by Ibn K͟haldūn as comparable to that of the *ḥād͟jib*, did not appear under the Almohads. The office of *ṣāḥib al-as͟hg͟hāl* was of considerable importance in the Almohad administration of the court, since the holder of this title was responsible for the collection of taxes and other revenues as well as for expenditure, and supervised the other officials of the capital and of the provinces. Like him, the *ḥākim*, chief of police, was an Almohad *s͟hayk͟h*. The

official religious policy of the Almohad sovereigns, starting with the Mahdī and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, was to replace Mālikism with the new doctrine, at the expense of existing religious institutions and functionaries. The most renowned victim of this policy was the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] of Ceuta, a Mālikī writer and leading protégé of the Murābiṭūn, who was exiled to Marrakesh after the rebellion of his city and dismissed from his functions. The Mahdī had not, however, undertaken a revision of the judicial code or produced manuals codifying the practices of everyday life according to the new doctrine. Thus Mālikī law continued to regulate the lives of Mag͟hribis, and Mālikī jurists in the Mag͟hrib, and especially in Spain, continued to practise their functions unhindered. The Almohads also continued to appoint *ḳāḍī*s and retained the post of *ḳāḍī 'l-d͟jamāʿa*, an office frequently held by Andalusians. At least three of the latter were known Mālikīs (see the list of names of Almohad *wazīrs*, *kātibs* and *ḳāḍīs* in Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, Appendix ii).

Monetary reform. The Almohads changed the design and the weight of the coinage, and these new dimensions remained the norm in later dynasties. Almohad gold *dīnārs* measured 19 to 22 mm. in diameter and weighed 2.4 g. The inscription took the form of a square *nask͟hī* script. The Almohads also struck double *dīnārs* as well as fractions of *dīnārs* to facilitate transactions in gold coinage. It was also under the Almohads that the square *dirham* made its appearance, to remain the standard form of silver money. Like the Almoravids, the Almohads made no use of copper coinage. No money seems to have been coined in the lifetime of the Mahdī, but his name, as well as that of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and his descendants, always features in the inscription, except for the brief period of the reign of al-Maʾmūn, who had repudiated the Almohad doctrine. Usually, dates are not stamped on the coins, and the names of mints seldom appear. The quality of the metal used and the standard of workmanship were both excellent, and mints were in operation in the following towns: Bid͟jāya, Tadg͟ha, Tūnis, Salā, Fās, Marrākus͟h, Miknās, Is͟hbīliya, D͟jayyān, Ḳurṭuba, Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ, Tilimsān and Sid͟jilmāssa. The Almohad period also saw the appearance in North Africa of millarés, silver coins struck by the Christians after the pattern of the Almohad *dirhams* and exported to Muslim countries (A. Bel, *Contribution à l'étude des dirhems de l'époque almohade d'après un groupe important de ces monnaies récemment découvert à Tlemcen*, in *Hespéris*, xvi [1933], 1-68).

Relations with Christians and Jews. On the arrival of the Almohads, the only Christian presence in Morocco consisted of the militia, incorporated into the Almohad army with their commander, son of the famous Reverter, Count of Barcelona. In the early stages the Almohad Christian militia, like the Almoravid one before it, was recruited for the most part among prisoners taken into slavery. From 625/1227 onward, it was constituted of free men who enlisted of their own accord, mostly Castilians, but also some Catalans, recruited in Spain by the Almohads and then sent to Morocco. In 626/1228, al-Maʾmūn, preparing in Spain for the conquest of Morocco, had recruited 500 Christian knights (not 12,000, the figure put forward by Ibn Abī Zarʿ in the *Ḳirṭās*). Either at the request of the Spanish king, or on his own initiative, al-Maʾmūn had undertaken the construction of a church in Marrakesh to enable the soldiers to practice their faith. An exchange of letters between the Popes Innocent III (1198), Honorius III (1226), Gregory IX (1233) and Innocent IV (1245) and the Almohad caliphs, on the subject of the ransom of prisoners and the sending of missionaries in the very ill-founded hope of stimulating conversion, has been preserved. Five Franciscan friars minor, arriving as missionaries in 1220 in Marrakesh, and seven others who came in 1227 to Ceuta, were put to death by the Almohads (E. Tisserand and G. Wiet, *Lettre de l'Almohade al-Murtaḍā au Pape Innocent IV*, in *Hespéris*, vi [1926], 27-53). The military success of the Almohads and the extension of their empire were observed with great interest in Christian Spain. The ecclesiastical authorities, eager to show sympathy towards Islamic theology with a view to the eventual conversion of the Muslims, entrusted the translation of the creed of Ibn Tūmart to Mark of Toledo, already known for his translation of Arabic texts, including one of the Ḳurʾān (M.-T. d'Alverny and G. Vajda, *Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart*, in *al-And.*, xvi [1951], 99-140, xvii [1952], 1-56).

Numerous indigenous Jewish communities, augmented by immigrants from Spain, lived in all the towns, great and small, of the Almohad empire. A first wave of persecutions was unleashed upon them in the initial phase of the conquest (536-43/1141-8). Letters of Jewish merchants originally from this region, discovered recently in the Geniza of Cairo, confirm the fact that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin offered the Jews a choice between conversion to Islam and death. Massacres of Jews were perpetrated at Sid͟jilmāssa, Marrakesh and Fez (D. Corcos, *L'attitude des Almohades envers les Juifs*, in *Zion* [Jerusalem 1967], 137-60, in Hebrew). These measures forced a large number of Jews to leave their country for Christian Spain, Sicily, Italy and the Middle East. This was in particular the case of the future physician and philosopher Maimonides [see IBN MAYMŪN], who had left his native city, Cordova, for Fez in 544/1149 or thereabouts, then, in 560/1165, emigrated to Palestine before finally settling in Cairo. It was in this city that Maimonides was accused of having abjured the Islam to which he had been converted in the Mag͟hrib. In fact, the similarity, in philosophical terms, between the Almohad and Jewish creeds explains how a temporary conversion could be envisaged by the Jews. A second wave of persecutions of Jews and converts was instigated by the caliph Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, who compelled them, according to al-Marrākus͟hī, to wear distinctive signs, clothing of absurd appearance and of different colours, and destroyed their synagogues. The period of the reign of al-Manṣūr, which also saw the temporary imprisonment of Ibn Rus͟hd and the burning of his books, ended with the temporary disappearance of the Jewish communities of Morocco, an absence which was to last until the end of the 7th/13th century.

Economic life. Surveys of agronomy composed in Spain during the Almoravid period reveal, on the part of the farmers, an intimate knowledge of the land, of fertilisers and of methods of cultivation. The diffusion of a large number of new plants, combined with an effective system of irrigation, contributed to the development of a prosperous agricultural sector. The almanac of Ibn al-Bannāʾ, born in Marrakesh towards the end of the Almohad period, gives the impression that knowledge of agronomy in the Mag͟hrib, although less advanced than in Spain, was well-established. The system of land ownership in Spain was not subject to interference on the part of the Almohads, but in North Africa, to facilitate the collection of taxes and the distribution of *iḳṭāʿ*s to the Arab and Berber tribes, the Almohads introduced a land reform, bringing the allocation of land under a single system. The author of the *Ḳirṭās* relates that this novel-

ty, dating back to 554/1159, was instituted by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who had imposed *kharādj* on arable land. As for urban industries, the structures of craft and manufacture common to Muslim cities were maintained under the Almohads. The dimensions of industrial production are illustrated by a list of the manufacturing establishments and workshops of the city of Fez during the reign of the caliph al-Nāṣir, a monarch who had a particular commitment to this city: 3,490 weaving-shops, 27 soap manufacturers, 86 tanneries, 116 dye-works, 12 forges, 11 glassworks, 472 water-mills, 135 factories making construction materials, 1,170 bakeries, 400 paper-mills, 180 potteries, 9,082 shops selling various wares and 2 mints. The same list, probably compiled for purposes of taxation, also provides information on other establishments: 89,236 housing-units, 17,040 private homes, 93 public baths and 42 other baths, 80 public fountains, 785 mosques, 467 inns. The beginning of the Almohad period coincided with the great expansion of European commerce in the direction of North Africa. Peace and trade treaties preserved in European archives show that from 1150 onward agreements were signed between the Almohads and various cities of Europe. These agreements, intended to guarantee the security of commerce, became increasingly precise. They outlawed piracy and guaranteed the good-will of the authorities towards traders and their merchandise. The Pisans, always regarded with favour in Ifrīḳiya, were present in Tunis in the period of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who signed two peace treaties with Pisa (1133 and 1166) and a trade treaty with it (1157). Two further treaties with Pisa (1186 and 1189) regularised trade with Ceuta, Oran, Bougie, Tunis and Spain. The republic of Genoa had concluded numerous treaties between 1155 and 1164 to regulate commerce with the cities of Tripoli, Ceuta, Tunis, Salé and Bougie. Marseilles signed an agreement for the wine trade with Ceuta, Oran, Bougie and Tunis in 1228. In 1181, a treaty was signed between the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Balearics under the princes of the Banū Ghāniya. In 1184 the latter signed a peace and trade treaty with Pisa and, in 1188, with Genoa. Morocco saw the first contacts with a view to commercial penetration from the direction of Catalonia. Contacts were limited to the Mediterranean ports, since piracy, a particular scourge on the Atlantic coast, made commercial relations there more difficult [see ḲURṢĀN]. During the 7th/13th century Italians, Provençals and Catalans were in evidence at Ceuta, which negotiated regular contacts with Barcelona in 1227 and with Montpellier in 1233. Other small ports to the east of Ceuta were visited and, to the west, Tangiers, from where coral was exported towards Europe. Trade with Salé was boosted by gold originating from the western Sudan, and penetration by the Castilians towards the interior of Morocco is recorded at a later date. A larger number of the treaties dating from the latter stages of the Almohad period was signed with Tunis, when the Ḥafṣid dynasty was on the point of declaring itself independent from the Almohad state. Products exported at the end of the 6th/12th century from Morocco and sold in Flanders originated from Fez (wax, leather, furs), from Marrakesh (cumin, sugar), from Sidjilmāssa (dates, white alum), from Bougie (leather) and from Tunis (wax, lead sulphate).

Cultural life. The appearance and expansion of Ṣūfism in North Africa and the development of philosophy under the Almohads was often confronted by the intellectual and religious intolerance characteristic of the Almohad movement in its early stages. This spiritual renewal was linked to the intellectual tensions created by the Almohad movement. Justification for the new liberalism was found in an application of the Ghazālian theology, open to philosophy, which dominated the thinking of Ibn Tūmart. The rationalism of Almohadism and, in particular, its attitude towards the attributes of the divinity allowed these two movements to co-exist. The two great philosophers of the age, Ibn Ṭufayl (*ca.* 499-581/1105-85 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Rushd (520-80/1126-84 [*q.v.*]) lived and wrote at Marrakesh under the patronage of the sultans Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf and his son Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb. Another Andalusian, the Ṣūfī philosopher Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 668 or 669/1270 [*q.v.*]), lived at Ceuta, where he wrote his reply to philosophical questions posed by Frederick II, king of Sicily, to the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Rashīd. The Almohad caliphs were no longer opposed to the diffusion of Ṣūfism. The two central figures of Maghribi Ṣūfism, Abū Madyan and Ibn Mashīsh [*q.vv.*] were protected by the Almohads, and a large number of saints, a hundred at least, were interred at Marrakesh during the Almohad period. A significant corpus of literary production made its appearance, in the domains of poetry, history, geography and sciences, often with the encouragement and participation of the sovereign.

Creativity in the traditional literary channels benefited broadly from the effects of the demographic displacement and from more regular contacts between regions created by the Almohad occupation. The arrival of the Andalusians in North Africa contributed to literary activity in general, while their influence was particularly apparent in the functions which they occupied in the Almohad administration and at the court.

The study of monuments and the archaeological excavations conducted since the beginning of this century, most of all in Morocco, by H. Terrasse, H. Basset, J. Meunié, G. Deverdun, J. Caillé and A. Hainaut, have brought to light the principal features of the remarkable Almohad architecture. The major period of monumental construction was limited to the first fifty years, an era of prosperity corresponding to the reigns of the first four sovereigns. The monuments—mosques at Taza, Marrakesh, Tinmallal, Seville, Rabat, Fez; citadels and fortresses at Marrakesh and Rabat; fortifications at Rabat—are still partially in existence today, although the Almohad palaces, the construction of which is described by the chroniclers, have not survived. Almohad architecture combines a puritan simplicity of décor with extraordinary dimensions for the walls and, especially, the minarets. The use of ashlar, dressed stone, brick and wood in construction reveals that in the field of design, as in other areas, the Almohads adopted Hispano-Moorish techniques of construction and had them applied by craftsmen from Spain. At the same time, they retained oriental motifs and techniques as well as local influences. Almohad urbanism, especially visible in the capital Marrakesh but also present at Fez and at Seville, was realised by a series of works of enlargement, management of water, construction of reservoirs and gardens under ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, and crowned by an administrative centre constructed under Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb.

The decline. The Almohad historical experience, with exceptional grandeur on the one hand and dismal decadence on the other, has deeply affected mediaeval and modern Maghribī historiography and thought. In his *Muḳaddima*, Ibn Khaldūn reveals the extent to which his historical vision was inspired by the

Almohad phenomenon: a large number of his sociological and political theories are illustrated by examples drawn from Almohad history (Shatzmiller, *L'historiographie mérinide. Ibn Khaldun et ses contemporains*, Leiden 1982, 54-65). For modern historians, the Almohad decline needs to be clearly separated from that of the doctrine, even though the process of their disappearance unfolded simultaneously. R. Le Tourneau and A. Merad see the submission of the state to the Muʾminid dynasty as the principal cause of its disintegration. The appropriation of political power and material benefits in the interests of a dynasty had alienated the Berbers and deprived Berber society of its initial strength. H. Terrasse and Ch.-A. Julien consider Maghribī unity, realised for the first and last time under the Almohads, as a moment of glory, aborted by "the individualism of the Berbers" and "the anarchy of the Arabs". For A. Laroui, Almohad prosperity was built on the riches of an empire, but riches which the Almohads, centred on Morocco, did not themselves produce, and this accounts for their failure. In Spain, the collapse of the Almohad régime was owed to different circumstances. There the opposition of the Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ* was accompanied by general antagonism. The Almohads did not have in Spain the support of the Berber masses which had provided their power-base in North Africa, and the régime was seen as a foreign military occupation. The disappearance of the doctrine is explained by the fact that it never genuinely took root. Almohadism provided neither a corpus of judicial works which could have replaced the Mālikī judicial system nor a response to the spiritual needs of the Muslim community, needs demonstrated by the triumph of Ṣūfism in the same period. In Spain, Almohadism was useful to those who felt the need to approach religion through logic. But those who were capable of harmonising the rational theology developed by Ibn Rushd with Almohad doctrine constituted a tiny minority. Almohadism only affected the circles in which the movement was born and it remained marginal throughout the duration of the Almohad state, while Mālikism continued to be the dominant force.

Bibliography: Documentation concerning the Almohads is very rich in contemporary and later sources, as well as in studies which cannot possibly be listed here in full. A special place in the gamut of contemporary sources is occupied by the fragments published by E. Lévi-Provençal: in the collection *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, manuscript fragments from the 1919 "legajo" of Arabic material in the Escorial (Paris 1928), the *Memoirs* of al-Baydhaḳ, companion of the Mahdī, as well as extracts from the *Kitāb al-Ansāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, have been published; publication of these texts enabled G.S. Colin to study the influence of the Berber language on the spoken and written Arabic of the period (*Sur l'arabe marocain de l'époque almohade*, in *Hespéris*, x [1930], 104-20). Also published by Lévi-Provençal is a collection of letters sent by the Almohad administration (*Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades*, Rabat 1941). The chronicle of Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt (d. 549/1198), *Taʾrīkh al-mann bi 'l-imāma*, ed. A. Tazi, Beirut 1965, is essential for events occurring in Spain during the 6th/12th century. For North Africa and the early years of the Almohads, one available source is the chronicle of al-Marrākushī, composed in Egypt in 621/1224, *al-Muʿdjib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. R. Dozy, Leiden 1847, French tr., *Histoire des Almohades*, Algiers 1893. Among the chroniclers of the 7th/13th century, the recent discovery and publication of part of the chronicle of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, court secretary during the last years of the Almohad caliph al-Murtaḍā, *Naẓm al-djumān*, ed. M.A. Makki, Tetuan, undated (1964?) provides a detailed account of events as far as the year 533/1138. Fragments of this chronicle have been published by E. Lévi-Provençal under the title *Fragments de chronique almohade anonyme*, in 1925 and 1930. The authors of the 8th/14th century, the century of the great Maghribī historians, supply the best overall view of Almohad history. The most important of these, Ibn ʿIdhārī (d. 712/1312), *al-Bayān al-mughrib fi 'khtiṣār akhbār mulūk al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, iii, ed. A. Huici Miranda, Tetuan 1960, supplies useful information regarding both the reign of the Almohads in Spain and the transfer of power into the hands of the Marīnids, subjects otherwise poorly documented; Ibn Abī Zarʿ (d. 726/1326), *al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, ed. C.J. Tornberg, Uppsala 1834, 110-84, and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 810/1406), *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Beirut 1959, vi, 464-551, French tr. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, ii, 161-257. In the 9th/15th century, the anonymous chronicle *Kitāb al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-marrākushiyya*, ed. I.S. Allouche, Rabat 1936, contains further unpublished information.

Secondary studies concentrate on political history, while the absence of a survey regarding the society and economy of this important period is sorely felt: two monographs, by A. Huici Miranda, *Historia politica del imperio almohade*, 2 vols., Tetuan 1956-9, and R. Le Tourneau, *The Almohad movement in North Africa in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, Princeton 1969, as well as chapters in the general history of Morocco and the Maghrib, H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1949, i, 261-367; Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1952, 92-131; A. Laroui, *L'histoire du Maghreb: un essai de synthèse*, Paris 1970, 162-185, Eng. tr. *The history of the Maghrib*, Princeton 1977, 174-200. On communities within the Almohad empire, A. Bel, *Les Benou Ghaniya, derniers representants de l'empire almoravide et leur lutte contre l'empire almohade*, Paris 1903; P. de Cénival, *L'Église chrétienne de Marrakech au XIIIe siècle*, in *Hespéris*, vii (1927), 69-83; and, on the Jews, H.Z. Hirschberg, *A history of the Jews in North Africa*, Leiden 1974, i, 123-39. As regards Almohad doctrine and the thought of Ibn Tūmart, a revision of Goldziher's study has been presented by R. Brunschvig in two articles: *Sur la doctrine du Mahdi Ibn Tūmart*, in *Ignace Goldziher memorial volume*, Jerusalem 1958, ii, 1-13, and *Encore sur la doctrine du Mahdī*, in *Folia Orientalia*, xii (1970), 33-40; see also Le Tourneau, *Sur la disparition de la doctrine almohade*, in *SI*, xxx (1970), 193-201. The organisation and hierarchy of the Almohads are described and analysed by Gaudefroy-Demombynes in the introduction to his translation of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Paris 1927, pp. ix-lxviii, and J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, London 1958, 85-111; the monetary reform, by A. Prieto y Vives, *La reforma numismatica de los almohades*, in *Miscelánea de estudios y textos árabes*, Madrid 1915 11-115, and the coinage by H. Hazard, *The numismatic history of late medieval North Africa*, New York 1952, 64-8, 143-58, 263-73. On commerce, M.L. de Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce*, Paris 1866, ii; A.-E. Sayous, *Le commerce des Européens à Tunis depuis le XIIe siècle*, Paris 1929; Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIIIe et XIVe siècle*, Paris 1966, 157-61. On aspects

of material and cultural life, especially with regard to the city of Marrakesh, G. Deverdun and M.B. Abdeslem, *Deux taḥbīs almohades*, in *Hespéris*, xli (1954), 411-25, and G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, 151-301; on Fez under the Almohads, details are to be found in Djaznāʾī, *Zahrat al-ās*, text and French tr. A. Bel, Algiers 1923. On Almohad monuments, numerous studies exist, foremost among these being *Sanctuaires et forteresses almohades*, Paris 1932, by H. Basset and H. Terrasse (mosques of Tinmallal and Marrakesh), with an analysis of techniques of construction and decoration. A study of recent excavations in the mosque of Tinmallal: J. Hassar-Benslimane, C. Ewert, A. Touri, J.-P. Wisshak, *Tinmal 1981*, in *Madrider Mitteilungen*, xxiii (Mainz 1982). Also by H. Terrasse, *La mosquée des Andalous à Fès*, Paris 1942, and *La grande mosquée de Taza*, Paris 1943, and by J. Caillé, *La mosquée de Hassan à Rabat*, Paris 1954. (M. SHATZMILLER)

AL-**MUWAḲḲAR**, a place in the desert fringes of the early Islamic region of the Balḳāʾ [*q.v.*], in what is now Jordan, some 22 km./14 miles southeast of ʿAmmān and 16 km./10 miles northeast of the Umayyad palace of Mshattā or Mushattā [*q.v.*].

Visible there are the remains of an Umayyad settlement. These include traces of a palace, a tower which may have been part of a mosque, and signs of an extensive irrigation system in the form of sites of three dams nearby plus a fine stone-lined cistern, still much used by Bedouins of the Banū Ṣakhr for watering their herds. When this cistern was being cleaned out in the 1940s, a column and capital were found, the latter with an inscription ascribing the construction work there to one ʿAbd Allāh b. Salīm for the caliph Yazīd [II] (101-5/720-4); the column has gradation marks to show the depth of water (see R.W. Hamilton and L.A. Mayer, *Some eight-century capitals from al Muwaqqar*, etc., in *QDAP*, xii [1946], 63-74; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *Dirāsāt fī taʾrīkh al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī*, Beirut 1972, 110-11; the capital is now in the ʿAmmān Museum). According to al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, Riyāḍ 1394/1974, 334, al-Muwaḳḳar lay in the territory of the Banū Salīḥ [*q.v.*]. The site may well have been a Byzantine one, on the *limes* facing the desert Arabs, but was certainly a favoured haunt of the Umayyad caliphs, as attested in contemporary poetry (see al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1364-71/1945-51, iii, 1280; Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, v, 226; A. Musil, *Palmyrena*, New York 1928, 283, and the references there to the *Aghānī*). From a verse by Abū Nukhayla al-Ḥimmānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] praising the caliph al-Saffāḥ (*Aghānī*, ed. Būlāḳ, xviii, 150 = ed. Dār al-Kutub, xx, 415), it appears that the early ʿAbbāsids destroyed al-Muwaḳḳar together with others of the Umayyads' desert residences.

There was also, apparently, another al-Muwaḳḳar in Yemen; see al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, 124, 249.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Musil, *Ḳuṣejr ʿAmra*, Vienna 1907, i, 27 ff., 174; Gertrude L. Bell, *Syria, the Desert and the Sown*², London 1908, 52-4; H. Lammens, *La "bādia" et la "ḥīra" sous les Omayyades. Le problème de Mśattā*, in *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930, 338-45; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 197; G. Lankester Harding, *The antiquities of Jordan*², London 1967, 162. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUWAḲḲIT [see MĪḲĀT].

MUWALLAD (A.), a word belonging to the vocabulary of stock-breeders and designating the product of a crossing (*tawlīd*) of two different animal breeds, thus a hybrid, of mixed blood. It is hardly surprising that it was extended to humans from the time when the feeling arose that the purity of the Arab race had been altered following the conquests, the influx of elements of other stocks and mixed marriages. In a more limited sense, *muwallad* designates a cross-breed, half-caste or even, as Dozy states (*Suppl.*, s.v.) "one who, without being of Arab origin, has been born among the Arabs and received an Arabic education". (ED.)

1. In Muslim Spain. In al-Andalus, the *muwalladūn* constituted a particular category of the population, but it is notable that neither the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* nor the *Vocabulista* contain this word, which Pedro de Alcala translated as *adoptado*. *Muwallad* has given to Spanish *muladí* and, according to Eguilaz (an opinion rejected by Dozy), *mulato*. The mediaeval Latin transcription was *mollites*.

The occupation, in 92/711, of the Iberian peninsula by Berber-Arab troops encouraged the appearance of neo-Muslims: *musālima* or *asālima*. More precisely still, *aslamī* was used to designate the ex-Christian convert, whereas the term *islāmī* was reserved for the former Jew. Probably due to the fact that, in historical terms, it is statistically more exact to speak of the occupation of al-Andalus than of the conquest, the majority of the population were covered by a pact (*muʿāhid*) that was far superior to that of "vanquished people", a circumstance which implies the minor importance of the number of those who "submitted", susceptible of being transformed into *mawālī* [*q.v.*], a fact confirmed by the *Wathāʾiḳ* of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] which stated that "in al-Andalus the *walāʾ* of conversion is not considered identical to that of manumission (*walāʾ al-iʿtāḳ*)". The clientage of conversion does not entail personal connections or socio-economic obligations and its members are clients not of an individual but of the whole community. The judicial authorities only register this clientage (of conversion) in the case where the individual comes to reside "in a land where it is effective". Consequently, al-Andalus was to have a slightly different evolution from the rest of the Arabo-Muslim empire, for it did not experience the problems provoked by the incorporation of the *mawālī* of the old Sāsānid empire. For Muslim Spain, the question presents itself differently, sc. in terms of *muwalladūn*.

This word, often badly translated (from an ethnocentric angle) as "renegades", designated the descendants of non-Arab neo-Muslims, brought up in the Islamic religion by their recently-converted parents. Thus they are the members of the second generation (the sons) and, by extension, those of the third generation (the grandsons). It should be noted—contrary to a current Hispano-nationalist presumption—that the sons of an Arab father and indigenous mother did not feel themselves to be and were not regarded as *muwallads*. Since the sire was Arab, the offspring was also Arab. This explains why a family of mixed stock (such as the Sevillian Banū Ḥadjdjādj, descendants in the maternal line, through Sara the Goth, of Witiza the penultimate Visigothic monarch) might be the chiefs of the Lakhmid group and upholders of the "hard" Arab policy of exterminating *muwalladūn* and local Christians. It is thus time to accept that Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya was "Arab" and to stop setting him up as a prototype of a group that he in no way represented.

These *muwalladūn* sometimes kept Roman "family names": Banū Angelino, B. Sabanico, B. al-Longo, B. al-Ḳabṭurno, B. Kūmis, B. Ḳārlo, B. Ḳārlumān, B. Martīn, B. Gharsiya, Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*], Ibn Ḳuzmān [*q.v.*], etc.

The *musālima*, imperfectly integrated, were not in a

position to claim the effectiveness of their theoretical assimilation (they had to appear not to be seeking their socio-political and economic advancement; furthermore, their conversion was invalid if it had been motivated "by the attraction of a reward"). However, their descendants, being born into Islam, were no longer open to such criticisms and could freely claim the complete assimilation to which they had the right. When this did not take place, the *muwalladūn* felt themselves discriminated against (the Arabs called them *banu 'l-ḥamrā'*, *banu 'l-ʿabīd* or the vile rabble (*al-adhall*), and they reacted violently.

This reaction developed the name of an ideology, that of Muslim egalitarianism. It should be stressed that no example is known of a *muwallad* movement advocating a return to Christianity (the rumour, true or false, of the conversion of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*] alienated from him all his Muslim allies). Their culture and language were Arabic. It is notable that the leaders of this indigenous party expressed themselves in Arabic, and examples of preserved Romanisms are only exceptionally attributed to them. When the Toledan Ghirbīb b. ʿAbd Allāh instigated his fellow citizens against the Cordovan state, he did so in Arabic verse. The political model in no way envisaged the re-establishment of a Visigothic state, but the setting up of an autonomous Islamic unit.

The 3rd/9th century saw the rise of the *muwalladūn*. Whether as auxiliaries of the government (ʿAmrūs in Toledo, Saragossa and Tudela), as collaborating "seigneurs" (the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] in the Upper March [see THAGHR]) or, on the other hand, as dissidents. There are the Toledan rebellions which resulted in the battle of Wādī Salīṭ (240/854), the uprising of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Djillīḳī (261/875), who founded his "capital", Badajoz; Saʿdūn al-Surunbākī at Monsalud, Ibn al-Shāliya at Somontin, Daysam b. Isḥāḳ at Murcia and Lorca and, above all, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn at Malaga, Granada and Jaen. The local *muwalladūn* were regarded as a danger to Arab sovereignty, by the Ḳaysī Yaḥyā b. Suḳāla at Elvira and by Kurayb b. Khaldūn at Seville, who attempted to eliminate them. These indigenous Muslims could form a "maritime republic" as did those of Mariyat Badjdjāna [*q.v.*] or call for Christian assistance (that of Ordoño requested by the Toledans and of Alphonso III of Leon by Ibn al-Djillīḳī).

They were a group (*ḳawm*) still very close to the autochthonous non-Muslims, and we frequently see them uniting against the Arabs. The texts provide quite numerous references to these alliances: *al-muwalladūn wa 'l-naṣārā, al-musālima wa 'l-naṣārā, muwallad wa-asālimat al-dhimma, al-muwalladūn wa 'l-ʿadjam*, etc. They were organised, and their bard (*shāʿir al-muwalladīn*), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAblī, was the champion of their cause (*al-muḥāmī ʿan*). In opposition to him was al-Asadī, *shāʿir al-ʿArab al-ḳā'im fīhā maḳām al-ʿAblī fī 'l-muwalladīn*, whom he rivalled in *ʿaṣabiyya* [*q.v.*], each exciting his own people (*ḳawm*). We know that Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Talīd (d. 295/908) was *shadīd al-ʿaṣabiyya li 'l-muwalladīn*. But it is curious that there was no Andalusian *shuʿūbiyya* [*q.v.*] except at a late date and not of a "national" character, for its rare representatives only plagiarise the old Persian clichés.

This "party" of indigenous Muslims, so important throughout the 3rd/9th century, disappeared when the group was accepted and integrated into Andalusian society, a phase which may be dated during the first half of the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*]. This movement, one of the principal factors of instability from 181/797 to 320/932, was to be so totally effaced that when, after the *Fitna* [*q.v.*], al-Andalus was divided up under the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* [*q.v.*], certain *taifas* would claim to be Arab, while others regarded themselves as Berbers or slaves, but none as *muwallad*.

Bibliography: *al-Akhbār al-madjmūʿa*; *Fatḥ al-Andalūs*; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, ii, iii, v; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarā'*; F. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*.

(P. CHALMETA)

2. In Arabic language and literature. Here it refers to any word, linguistic form, or literary feature that is not found in the classical *ʿarabiyya* of pre- and early Islamic times nor the literature written in it, thus: "post-classical". The term is partly due to a semantic extension of the word *muwallad* meaning "not of pure Arab (Bedouin) stock" (see above) from denoting people to characterising their language, and partly based on a figurative understanding of the literal meaning: "s.th. that is produced by making s.th. else give birth to it", thus "a word newly derived from a known root" or "a poetic motif extracted from a known motif".

In the study of language *muwallad* may characterise a word (e.g., virtually all technical terminology of the sciences in Islam is *muwallad*) or any other linguistic phenomenon such as phonetic changes (e.g., *bidāya* for *badā'a* from root *b-d-'*). For the classification of loanwords as *muwallad* see MUʿARRAB.

In literary studies, *muwallad* may refer (a) to poets of the "post-classical" era (already in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 71: *wa-min khuṭabā' al-amṣār wa-shuʿarā'ihim wa-'l-muwalladīn minhum Bashshār al-Aʿmā*, i, 74: *shuʿarā' al-muwalladīn*, again mentioning Bashshār and others). As such, *muwalladūn* is often synonymous with *muḥdathūn* [*q.v.*], although the latter is sometimes restricted in use to the early generation of "modern" poets with *muwallad* referring to the later generations. It refers (b) to "new poetic motifs extracted from old ones" (*al-maʿānī al-muwallada*, cf. al-Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, i, 6, here used with a negative connotation!). Ibn Rashīḳ [*q.v.*] gives a brief description of the mechanism of *tawlīd*, in wich he states that it stands midway between *ikhtirāʿ* "original invention" and *sariḳa* "plagiarism" (*ʿUmda*, i, 263-5). Finally, the term is used (c) to denote non-classical proverbs (*mathal* [*q.v.*]) in the great collections of proverbs such as al-Maydānī's *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, Cairo [4]1375/1956; Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, i, Cairo 1380/1961; Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al Ḥamīd, i, Cairo 1383/1963; Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Badīʿ al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Ḥifnī Muḥammad Sharaf, Cairo [2]n.d., 207-11; Tahānawīf, *Kashshāf*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, s.v.; Ḥilmī Khalīl: *al-Muwallad fī 'l-ʿarabiyya*, Beirut [2]1405/1985.

(W.F. HEINRICHS)

MUWĀRABA, (A.), verbal noun from the form III *wāraba*, meaning "to use stratagems, to trick", also has two rare significations, each distant from the other and apparently not reducible to a common root.

In the first place, *muwāraba* denotes in rhetoric the ability to remedy a gaffe or an offensive phrase by repeating the expression in an attenuated form, if not radically modified, or else by trying to make the person addressed believe that he has not properly understood what has been said to him (see Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 123-4; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.).

Secondly, the same term appears in the *K. al-*

Mug̲h̲rib fī d̲h̲ikr bilād Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Mag̲h̲rib of al-Bakrī (ed.-tr. de Slane, 3rd ed. Paris 1965, Ar. text 106, tr. 201) with a quite separate and special sense, since it denotes at that time (5th/11th century) a usage widespread among the great Berber tribe of northwestern Morocco, the G̲h̲umāra [*q.v.*] and particularly flattering, the author states, for "their wives' amour propre. At the moment when a man who has just married a virgin is about to consummate the marriage, the young men of the locality clandestinely carry off the recently-married woman and hold her far from her husband for a month or even more; then they bring her back. It often happens that the same woman is carried off several times in succession, especially when she is distinguished by her beauty. The more she is sought out in this way, the happier she is."

The custom described here does not seem to have been attested elsewhere, but it is difficult not to see a link with the Kabyle *ləmwarba*/*ləmb^{w}arba*, in which the agglutination of the Arabic definite article *l-* shows the origin of this term, which must have been equally used in Arabic. The noun is the *maṣdar* of the verb *wareb*, which means, notably, in the Kabyle forms of speech, "sleep away from home (of a man); to leave any dwelling or place either after an agreement with the subject or with a third party" (J.-M. Dallet, *Dictionnaire kabyle-français*, Paris 1982, 873), but this meaning applied to a man is totally secondary, since the *ləmwarba* is basically concerned with women and consists for them in returning to their parents, in leaving the conjugal home without having been divorced (Dallet, *loc. cit.*). One thus learns, in effect, that in Kabylia, a husband had the power, without having to pronounce the divorce formula, to send back his wife, who is then *tamwarəbt*/*t̲h̲amwarəbt̲h̲*; she could be brought back again without any other formalities if her parents and she herself were agreable about this, provided that the return of the wife had not been provoked by some grave fault, such as adultery. In this last case, the wife was ignominiously expelled, sometimes with a shaven head, and there was no longer for her any question of returning to her husband, her return in that case being equivalent to having been divorced (see A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, 2nd ed., Paris 1893, 181).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(CH. PELLAT)

MUWAS̲H̲S̲H̲AḤ (A.) (*muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* or *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥa*, pl. *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥāt*), name of a certain genre of stanzaic poetry, which according to indigenous tradition developed in al-Andalus towards the end of the 3rd/9th century. It is reckoned among the seven post-classical genres of poetry in Arabic [see KĀN WA-KĀN].

Structure. The *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* has a particular rhyme scheme and a special final part (*k̲h̲ard̲j̲a*). The main body of the poem is always composed in Classical Arabic, while the language of the final part is mostly non-Classical (vernacular Arabic or Romance mixed with vernacular Arabic to a larger or lesser extent [macaronic]; very rarely pure Romance). The stanzas of a poem are all built alike and show a regular alternation of two elements: at the beginning we have lines that rhyme with each other, the rhyme changing from one stanza to the next ("separate rhymes"); they are followed by lines whose rhyme scheme remains the same throughout the poem ("common rhymes"). The number of stanzas, in the vast majority of poems, is five; rarely one encounters poems with four, six, or seven stanzas. The first stanza is mostly, but not always, preceded by two or more introductory lines (*maṭlaʿ*) which, with regard to rhyme scheme and metre, always exactly correspond with the lines having common rhyme. The number of lines with separate rhyme is mostly three or four, whereas the number of lines with common rhyme is two, three, and quite often also more; the latter may be of different length and are often quite short. The common-rhyme lines of the last stanza are almost always identical with the *k̲h̲ard̲j̲a*. The rhyme schemes of two simple types of *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* are the following:

muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ with *maṭlaʿ*	*muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* without *maṭlaʿ*
.... *a* .... *b*	
...... *c*	..... *a*
...... *c*	..... *a*
...... *c*	..... *a*
.... *a* .... *b*	..... *b* ..... *b*
...... *d*	..... *c*
...... *d*	..... *c*
...... *d*	..... *c*
.... *a* .... *b*	..... *b* ..... *b*

The lines with separate rhymes are sometimes divided into two (more rarely three or four) segments. The segments of a line may be of equal or different length. The ends of corresponding segments within a stanza usually rhyme.

..*a*..*b*..*c*..*a*
....*d*..*e*
....*d*..*e*
....*d*..*e*
..*a*..*b*..*c*..*a*
....*f*..*g*
....*f*..*g*
....*f*..*g*
..*a*..*b*..*c*..*a*

Poems with exceedingly complicated and even irregular rhyme schemes may be encountered. The *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* in the following example has eight common-rhyme lines and the separate-rhyme lines have two parts: *abcdefcd ghghgh abcdefcd, ijijij abcdefcd, klklkl abcdefcd*, etc.

Name and terminology. Different explanations have been proposed for the name *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*. The ancient indigenous philologists, followed by J. Ribera and S.M. Stern, derive it from *wis̲h̲āḥ*, "an ornament worn by women (consisting of) two series of pearls and jewels strung or put together in regular order, which two series are disposed contrariwise, one of them being turned over the other" (cf. Lane, s.v.). A *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* would thus be a poem in which the rhymes alternate in the manner of a *wis̲h̲āḥ*. According to I. ʿAbbās, however, the basic meaning of *al-muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* would be "that which is characterised by a colour different from its normal colour (or by striped pattern), or an embroidered or ornamented garment"; the transposition would thus find its explanation in the comparability of the ornamentation of the material consisting of regularly recurring stripes and the lines of the poems (cf. *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-adab al-andalusī*, 220 f.). The *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* poet is called *was̲h̲s̲h̲āḥ*; composing such poems is termed *taws̲h̲īḥ* (this term is also used as a synonym of *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*). A *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* with introductory lines (*maṭlaʿ*) is called "complete" (*tāmm*), one without *maṭlaʿ*, "bald" (*aḳraʿ*). The terminology for the various parts of a poem is not homogeneous. The one most commonly used today is found in Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī-Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 390 ff.): stanza = *bayt*; separate-rhyme lines in each stanza = *g̲h̲uṣn*; common-rhyme lines = *simṭ*. Ibn Sanāʾ

al-Mulk, however, uses the term *bayt* instead of *ghuṣn* and *ḳufl* instead of *simṭ*. While Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk has no specific term for "stanza", later the term *dawr* is commonly found in this meaning (cf. *Dīwān* of Ibn al-ʿArabī). The *khardja* (but not the *maṭlaʿ*!) is also called *markaz*.

Themes. One should differentiate between the theme of the poem's main body and that of the *khardja*. With regard to the former, the *muwashshaḥs* are for the most part love poems and panegyrics. Wine poems are also quite common (with the drinking scene often set against the backdrop of a description of nature). Among the love poems those dealing with unrequited love and the distant beloved are preponderant. The panegyrical *muwashshaḥs* mostly begin, as do panegyrical *ḳaṣīdas*, with an amatory prelude (*nasīb*). The existence of *muwashshaḥs* with the theme of ascetism and renunciation of the world (so-called *mukaffirāt*) is attested to by the theorist Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (38). These poems are said always to have been *muʿāraḍas* of secular models. Thematically the *muwashshaḥ* does not differ from *ḳaṣīd* poetry. To be sure, certain themes of the *ḳaṣīd*, such as lampoon (*hidjāʾ*), dirge (*rithāʾ*), and the hunt (*ṭard*), do not occur in the *muwashshaḥ* of the early period. Beginning with the 7th/13th century—possibly even earlier—the *muwashshaḥ* was used by Ṣūfī poets (e.g., Ibn al-ʿArabī) for their purposes. Such mystical *muwashshaḥs*, which continue, as it were, the tradition of the *mukaffirāt*, are often *muʿāraḍas* of secular models.

The *khardja* is a—real or fictitious—quotation, often of a song (or a part thereof). The quotation is put into the mouth of either a person (the honoree, the beloved, a girl in love, the poet himself) or an animal (e.g. a dove) or, finally, a personified thing or concept (e.g. love, a battle). The transition from the poem's main body to the *khardja* in the last stanza is effected by formulae such as "I sang, said; he/she/it sang, said." In a remarkably high number of *khardjas* composed in Romance, the quotation is introduced by a third person feminine singular. As to content, the *khardja* often represents a condensation, a focusing of the gist of the *muwashshaḥ*. "The *khardja* is the seasoning of the *muwashshaḥ*, its salt and its sugar..." (Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, 32). The Romance and macaronic *khardjas* express with particular frequency feelings of separation on the part of the girl for her absent lover. Occasionally the girl in such cases directs her lament to her mother, whom she may address as "mamma". In addition, however, one also encounters coquettish and almost obscene utterances. *Khardjas* of erotic content can also be found in panegyric *muwashshaḥs*: as these mostly start with a *nasīb* (see above), they exhibit a double change of themes: (love - praise - love). Different *muwashshaḥs* may share the same *khardja*, since the poets as well as the critics consider it legitimate to take these quotations over from other poems.

Khardja research. Although the majority of *khardjas* are in vernacular Arabic and, consequently, those written, completely or partially, in Romance form a small minority (8% according to Jones, of which 8% of these, i.e. two or three only, are in pure Romance), the latter have attracted an enormous amount of attention among scholars. Together with the prosody of Hispano-Arabic poetry, they form without doubt one of the most controversial issues in the study of Arabic literature. The existence of Romance *khardjas* has been noticed by earlier scholars, but S.M. Stern must be considered the first who made them generally known and who put *khardja* research on a firm basis. In his article *Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwaššaḥs hispano-hébraïques*, in *And.*, xiii (1948), 290-346, he had presented 20 Romance *khardjas* that were characteristically culled from Hebrew *muwashshaḥs* (on this, cf. below). Soon thereafter, however, Stern also discovered the first Romance *khardja* in an Arabic *muwashshaḥ* (and published it, *ibid.*, xiv [1949], 214-18). E. García Gómez followed with *Veinticuatro Jarŷas romances en muwaššaḥas árabes* (*ibid.*, xvii [1952], 57-125). Whereas Stern had always proffered as a mere hypothesis the suggestion that the Romance *khardjas* might be pre-existing *Frauenlieder* related to the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas de amigo* and simply quoted by Arab (and Hebrew) poets in their *muwashshaḥs* (cf. Stern, 58 ff.), certain Romance and German scholars (D. Alonso, R. Menéndez Pidal, Th. Frings, L. Spitzer), rather considered the *khardjas* as proof for the existence of a pre-literary "Mozarabic" *Frauenlyrik* in al-Andalus. The *khardjas* would thus be the oldest extant Romance secular poetry. Criticism of this opinion was first voiced by the Romance scholar H. Lausberg. According to him, the *khardjas* have been composed by the Arab poets themselves "als agudeza- und pathoshaltige Inhaltsgipfel" of the *muwashshaḥs* (in *Arch. f.d. Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, cxcii [1955] 208-90). A further development of this approach was offered by W. Ross. That the poets themselves had pieced together the *khardjas* was, according to Ross, proven by the fact that these lines are written in a mixed language and reflect the milieu and the universe of motifs characteristic of the mixed Andalusian culture of the 11th and 12th centuries (*ibid.*, cxciii [1956], 129-38). This latter opinion, though dormant for some time, has been resuscitated, with a slight shift in emphasis, during the last few years. This happened under the impact of the severe arbitrariness and partial untenability so often characteristic of the decipherment and/or reconstruction of the *khardjas*. Especially García Gómez' book *Las Jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco* (Madrid 1965, 2nd ed. Barcelona 1975) met with criticism in this regard. Today, while one side continues to believe that the *khardjas* are "if not authentic popular songs from Muslim Spain, then at least poems of a popular type" (J.T. Monroe, in *Islam: past influence and present challenge*, ed. A.T. Welch and P. Cachia, Edinburgh 1979, 168), the other side is convinced that "there are no cases where the readings are sufficiently certain to justify the assertion that, when taken together, such Romance words constitute a poem in Romance" (R. Hitchcock, in *La Corónica*, xiii [1985], 243). A solid basis for further research is A. Jones' *Romance kharjas* (see *Bibl.*), which contains facsimile reproductions, from the manuscripts, of the analysed *khardjas*.

Prosody. The prosody of the *muwashshaḥ* is as controversial as the nature of the Romance *khardjas*. While Spanish scholars (J. Ribera, E. García Gómez) and lately also American ones (J.T. Monroe, D. Swiatlo) have opined that the prosody of the *muwashshaḥ*, under the influence of Romance poetry, had at least originally been stress-syllabic, non-Spanish European and Arab scholars are mostly convinced that we are dealing here with quantitative metres (first proposed by M. Hartmann; also S.M. Stern, H. Ritter, W. Hoenerbach, T.J. Gorton, A. Jones, J.D. Latham, G. Schoeler, I. ʿAbbās, S. Ghāzī). To be sure, alongside the unchanged Khalīlian metres (*ramal*, e.g., occurs rather often, also *khafīf*, *mudjtathth*, as well as others), there occur, according to this opinion, also modified Khalīlian metres and combinations of feet that do not exist in the Classical *ḳaṣīd* poetry in the same way. It has, therefore, been called an extended or expanded *ʿarūḍ*. The indubitable fact that there is a strong relationship between the *ʿarūḍ* system

and the prosody of the Hispano-Arabic stanzaic poetry (*muwashshaḥ* as well as *zadjal*) has recently led one scholar to propose something like a compromise solution (F. Corriente, in *JAL*, xiii [1982], 76-82, and *JAL*, xvii [1986], 34-49). According to this, the metres of *muwashshaḥ* (and *zadjal*) represent an Andalusian adaptation of *ʿarūḍ*, in the sense that the long quantity of syllables in Classical Arabic prosody is replaced by their stress. The proponent of this hypothesis has to concede, however, that the (allegedly) stressed syllables are almost always graphically long and the unstressed syllables very often graphically short, so that his metrical determinations often do not materially differ from those of the adherents of the quantitative theory. (For a critique of his theory, cf. G. Schoeler, in *BiOr*, xl [1983], cols. 311-32, and A. Jones, in *JSS*, xxvii [1982], 128-30.) At any rate, it is undeniable that practically all *muwashshaḥ*s known to date have metres that display a regular alternation of long and short syllables (thus also J.T. Monroe, in *La Corónica*, x [1981-2], 124). Though rarely, even *kāmil* and *wāfir*, which are heterosyllabic metres, occur. Admittedly, one has to allow for certain poetical licences, all of which by the way have their place in Classical Arabic prosody, especially in *radjaz* (e.g. a less strict handling of *hamza*; *ishbāʿ*, i.e. the lengthening of short syllables; and, vice-versa, the shortening of long syllables, especially in end position). Finally, one should notice that the *aghṣān* and the *asmāṭ* of a poem often have different metres.

Music. The *muwashshaḥ* is a poem meant for musical recitation. This does not mean that a tune was immediately composed for each *muwashshaḥ*. Many *muwashshaḥ*s may very likely never have been sung. From later Hebrew sources (cf. Stern, 26-7) we learn about a specific way of performing the *muwashshaḥ*. Here a chorus would repeat the *maṭlaʿ*, after it had first been sung by a soloist, repeating it after each stanza *aa AA bbbb aa AA*, *cccc aa AA*, etc.). This manner of performance is also indicated in the *Dīwān* of al-Shushtarī by the often-encountered refrain-like repetition of the *maṭlaʿ* after each stanza. About the music itself we know nothing for sure, since contemporary sources are lacking. All attempts at reconstruction are purely hypothetic. They are either based on concerts (*nawbas*) of North African urban singers who, until very recently, had Andalusian *muwashshaḥ*s in their repertoire, or else on mediaeval European-Iberian songs, transmitted with musical notation, which in their formal structure resemble Hispano-Arabic stanzaic poetry and have possibly been influenced by the latter (*Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso el Sabio). Two recent works may nevertheless be cited here: D. Wulstan, in *JAOS*, cii (1982), 247-64, and L.J. Plenckers, in *The challenge of the Middle East*, ed. I.A. El-Sheikh *et alii*, Amsterdam 1982, 91-111.

Origin. Ibn Bassām, in the article on Ibn Māʾ al-Samāʾ in his *K. al-Dhakhīra*, has preserved an old indigenous tradition on the origin of the genre (ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, 468 ff.). According to it, the inventor is said to have been a certain Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (or Ḥammūd) al-Ḳabrī. (According to a similar report, going back to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥidjārī (d. 584/1188) and quoted by Ibn Saʿīd-Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 390), he is alleged to have been Muḳaddam b. Muʿāfā al-Ḳabrī [*q.v.*], a court poet of the Umayyad ʿAbd Allāh (*regn.* 275-300/888-912).) Muḥammad al-Ḳabrī is said to have taken "vernacular and non-Arabic phrases" (*al-lafẓ al-ʿāmmī wa 'l-ʿadjamī*) which he called *markaz* (= *khardja*) and to have built the *muwashshaḥ* upon it. (Because of the terminology, which is difficult to interpret, no-one has up till now succeeded in understanding the report clearly in every detail.) Ibn Bassām continues that, according to another version, the inventor of the *muwashshaḥ* had been Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]), the author of the *K. al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*; other poets, cited by name, then carried on the further development up to the full-fledged *muwashshaḥ* (with segmented lines). Since M. Hartmann, European scholars have been of the opinion that the *muwashshaḥ* has been developed from the *musammaṭ* [*q.v.*], an older, simpler stanzaic genre of poetry (thus García Gómez, S.M. Stern (with reservations), A. Jones, explicitly G. Schoeler). Others assume an origin independent of the *musammaṭ* (I. ʿAbbās, J.T. Monroe). It is, however, difficult to deny a connection between the two stanzaic genres. Both the *musammaṭ* and the *muwashshaḥ* stanza are divided into lines with separate rhyme and lines with common rhyme (*simṭ*, from which *musammaṭ*). In both cases, there exists a type with *maṭlaʿ* and one without. The basic form of the *musammaṭ* shows the rhyme scheme (*aaa a*) *bbb a, ccc a, ddd a*, etc. (cf. the specimen *apud* Abū Hiffān, *Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, ed. ʿA.A. Farrādj, Cairo 1953, 57-8; an example for a *musammaṭ* with a *maṭlaʿ*, rhyme scheme *aa bbbb a, cccc a*, is adduced by Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 179). The further development toward the *muwashshaḥ* may have consisted in the inventor's first replacing the last *simṭ* of the *musammaṭ* (only one line in all types!) by the *khardja* (consisting of two or more lines), which was found or created by him, and then, for the sake of symmetry, assimilating all the remaining *asmāṭ* to the rhyme (and metre) of the *khardja*. The close connection between *musammaṭ* and *muwashshaḥ* is also proven by a recently-made discovery: in Ibn Bishrī's anthology of *muwashshaḥāt*, *ʿUddat al-djalīs*, we find a *muwashshaḥ* with the rhyme scheme *aaaa b, cccc b* (no. 164), which has, as can be seen, only one *simṭ* and could thus be classified as a *musammaṭ* (cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, 11, 24). The convention of closing a poem with a quotation existed already long before the origin of the *muwashshaḥ*; numerous wine poems in Abū Nuwās (all, to be sure, in *ḳaṣīd* form) end with the poet putting the last line or hemistich into the mouth of a singer or songstress; in one case he lets a *mudjūniyya* end in a Persian quotation (ms. Fatih 3775, fol. 101a; cf. E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1964, 214-15, 430).

The great Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* poets. The first poet of whom *muwashshaḥs* are extant is ʿUbāda Ibn Māʾ al-Samāʾ (d. after 421/1030 [*q.v.*]) from the period of the petty kings. Further important *washshāḥūn* from this period are Ibn al-Labbāna (d. 507/1113 [*q.v.*]) and Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda al-Ḳazzāz (on whom see S.M. Stern, in *al-Andalus*, xv [1950], 79-109). The acme of this development is considered to be the time of the Almoravids, in which flourished Ibn Baḳī (d. 545/1150-51 [*q.v.*]), possibly the most famous *muwashshaḥ* poet of all; al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī (d. 525/1130-31 [*q.v.*]; and the philosopher Ibn Bādjdja (d. 533/1139 [*q.v.*]). In the era of the Almohads the most important representative of the genre is the physician Abū Bakr Ibn Zuhr (d. 595/1198-99 [*q.v.*]); for the later period may be mentioned Ibn Sahl al-Isrāʾīlī (d. 649/1251 [*q.v.*]), Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375 [*q.v.*]), who also compiled a collection of *muwashshaḥs* entitled *Djaysh al-tawshīḥ*, and Ibn Zamrak (d. after 795/1393 [*q.v.*]). Among the mystical and religious poets who used the *muwashshaḥ* for their own purposes one may mention, in addition to Ibn al-ʿArabī (see above), Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Djudhāmī (7th/13th century; on him, see S.M. Stern, *op. cit.*, 86-8), who composed "love

poems" addressed to the Prophet (mostly *muʿāraḍas* on well-known secular *muwashshaḥs*), and the most famous of them all, al-Shushtarī (d. 668/1269); on him, see Brockelmann, I, 274, S I, 483-4; Stern, *op. cit.*, 89-91). In his *Dīwān*, consisting exclusively of mystical poems, one encounters, in addition to *zadjals*, also *muwashshaḥs*, often difficult to distinguish from the former.

Diffusion. Originating in Spain, the *muwashshaḥ* soon conquered the rest of the Arab countries. Via North Africa where, however, remarkably few indigenous *washshāḥūn* can be found (if one excludes Andalusian immigrants) it reached Egypt, Yemen and the Orient. A collection of *muwashshaḥs*, entitled *Dār al-ṭirāz*, whose introduction contains the well-known poetics of the genre, was compiled by the Egyptian Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1211 [*q.v.*]). In the second part of this work, he presents *muwashshaḥs* of his own (35 specimens). While his *Dīwān* does not yet contain any *muwashshaḥs*, such can be found, together with *ḳaṣīdas*, in many later collections of poetry, e.g. those of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 750/1349) and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731 [*q.v.*]). In North African cities, popular musicians have until recently been using *muwashshaḥs*, among them a considerable number of classical Andalusian ones, as libretti for their concerts (*nawbas*).

Imitations and later survivals. In the *Dīwān* of Ibn Ḳuzmān (d. 555/1160 [*q.v.*]), which consists exclusively of *zadjals*, a large number of these poems show the formal structure of *muwashshaḥs* (so-called *muwashshaḥ*-like *zadjals*). Several of them are *muʿāraḍas* of older *muwashshaḥs* (cf. Stern, *op. cit.*, 171-85). Already, much earlier, Spanish Hebrew poets had imitated the Arabic *muwashshaḥ* and composed secular as well as liturgical *muwashshaḥs* in the Hebrew language. Some specimens date back to the 5th/11th century. The most famous Hebrew *washshāḥūn* are Moshē b. ʿEzra (d. 1135), Yĕhuda Halevi (d. 1140) and Abraham b. ʿEzra (d. 1165). Very often their poems are *muʿāraḍas* of well-known Arabic *muwashshaḥs*. Yĕhuda Halevi, e.g., who was born in Tudela, imitates his compatriot al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī. The importance of the Hebrew *muwashshaḥs* lies not least in the fact that they contain the most readily legible and highest-quality *khardjas* in Romance. The earliest Provençal Troubadour, William of Aquitaine (d. 1127), who flourished at about the same time as the above-mentioned Hebrew *muwashshaḥ* poets, uses stanzaic forms that closely resemble the *muwashshaḥ* (several times the rhyme scheme *aaa bab*, *ccc bcb*, *ddd bdb*, etc., is found in his poetry). This fact is one of the main arguments of the so-called "Arabic theory" which proposes to explain the genesis of Provençal poetry, at least in part, through Arabic influence. The revival of *muwashshaḥs* and other mediaeval Arabic stanzaic forms played an important role at the beginning of modern Arabic literature in the 19th century. The old stanzaic forms were used not only in original poetic efforts but also in the translation of Western poetry (cf. S. Moreh, *Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, 11 ff.).

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(G. Schoeler)

MUWĀṬIN (A.), the modern Arabic word for "citizen", in the legal sense of the term (meaning "one holding the citizenship or nationality of a sovereign state"). It was coined around the turn of the 20th century from *waṭan*—initially a place of residence and, by extension, a country or *patrie*.

Until the 20th century, there existed no Arabic expression for citizen. The usual term indicating the status of members of the political community was *raʿiyya* [*q.v.*], or its plural form *raʿāyā*, a collective noun best translated as "subjects", with an emphasis on submission to the ruler and also implying the pastoral duties of the ruler. In the 19th century, the

latter expression, traditionally common in Islamic contexts, was extended to include both subjects and citizens of states in the West as well. Only towards the end of the century did writers of Arabic begin to feel uncomfortable with identifying citizens as *raʿiyya* and turned to look for another term.

Like "citizen", *muwāṭin* signifies relation to a place rather than subjection to a ruler. Yet the term seems to carry an import somewhat different from that which is connoted by "citizen". Whereas the latter, having evolved from the Latin *civis* (a member of the *civitas*), has always implied civic status and rights, relation to a *waṭan* has not. What initially characterised a *muwāṭin* was his being a fellow-member of the fatherland, a compatriot (cf. *muʿāṣir*, "contemporary"), as distinct from an *adjnabī*, a foreigner. Such a relation, while capable of evoking powerful emotions, carried no necessary civic or political implications. These came to be attached to the term only in recent years, with the gradual adoption in Arab countries of the ideas of individual political rights. Nowadays, while its equivalence with "citizen" in the strict legal sense is universally accepted, the extent of political rights which the word connotes by implication differ from one Arabic-speaking country to another, according to their respective political realities.

Bibliography: For the modern legal use of *muwāṭin* and related terms, see Shams al-Dīn al-Wakīl, *al-Mūdjaz fī 'l-djinsiyya wa-markaz al-adjānib*, Alexandria 1966, esp. 60 ff. See also ḤURRIYYA.

(A. Ayalon)

al-**MUWAYLIḤĪ**, the name of a well-to-do family of silk merchants which traced its ancestry back to the town of Muwayliḥ on the Red Sea coast of Arabia. Two of its members, father and son, became famous at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

1. Ibrāhīm, Egyptian political journalist and writer (1844-1906).

When his father died in 1865, he and his younger brother, ʿAbd al-Salām, took over the administration of the family business. In the same year, a long association between Ibrāhīm and the Egyptian Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] began when the latter gave him positions in the Council of Merchants and in the Court of First Instance. In 1868 Ibrāhīm helped found a publishing house, the first of many such initiatives throughout his career, but in 1872 he suffered a financial setback when he lost the entire family fortune in speculation on the newly-established Stock Exchange. Once again, the Khedive appears to have played a role by rescuing him from financial ruin. In 1879 Ismāʿīl was forced to abdicate and go into exile. Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī followed him to Italy as tutor to his children and continued to publish newspapers, most notably *al-Ittiḥād*, whose critical commentaries aroused the ire of the Ottoman sultan. Joined by his son, Muḥammad [*q.v.*], Ibrāhīm travelled in 1884 to Paris, where he is said to have assisted Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.vv.*] in producing their influential newspaper, *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthkā*. While in France, he himself published a further issue of *al-Ittiḥād* which was so critical of Ottoman foreign policy that his expulsion from France was engineered by the Ottoman authorities. Via Brussels, the two al-Muwayliḥīs travelled to London. There Ibrāhīm changed his tack somewhat, writing articles attacking the policy of the British government of Gladstone and supporting the Ottoman sultan. As a result, Ibrāhīm was invited to Istanbul and, after some initial diffidence, accepted the offer.

In Istanbul, Ibrāhīm was given a formal appointment on the Education Council and made the acquaintance of Münīf Pasha [*q.v.*], the Minister of Education, a contact that provided both Ibrāhīm and his son with an entrée to the famous Fātiḥ Library and its collection of manuscripts. But much of Ibrāhīm's time was taken up with continuing involvement in political intrigue, both local and international. He managed to capture a great deal of the flavour of the political atmosphere in Istanbul in his famous work, *Mā hunālik*, a series of articles first published in the Egyptian newspaper *al-Mukaṭṭam* (beginning with no. 1903 of 20 January 1895), under the pseudonym *Aḥad al-ʿUthmāniyyīn al-afāḍil* ("an Ottoman worthy"). Besides describing the governmental structure and court protocol in Istanbul, the series went into great detail about the operations of the secret police and every possible aspect of bribery and intrigue. Ibrāhīm returned to Egypt in 1895 and published his articles in book form in the following year, but the work was immediately banned and all copies were ordered sent to Istanbul.

On 14 April 1898, Ibrāhīm began publishing his most famous newspaper, *Miṣbāḥ al-Shark*, which Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī in his *al-Mudhakkirāt* ("Memoirs", 1948-51) termed "the best weekly". Both he and his son Muḥammad contributed articles, including commentary on current events, political and social issues, and extracts from works of literature transcribed from the manuscripts in the Fātiḥ Library. The repute of the newspaper reached its height during the publication (November 1898-December 1900) of Muḥammad's series of episodes, *Fatra min al-zaman*, which, after much revision, were published as *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* (1907). During the publication of Muḥammad's episodes, Ibrāhīm also contributed to the genre, with a series of nine episodes entitled *Mirʾāt al-ʿālam aw Ḥadīth Mūsā ibn ʿIṣām* (June-July 1899, June-September 1900). As Ibrāhīm resumed his career as political consultant to the Khedive, Muḥammad seems to have gradually taken over the editorial functions at the newspaper. Under his control, the pungent critical articles that had so contributed to the paper's reputation diminished in both quality and number; original articles were replaced by lengthy quotations from Western sources and advertisements. The newspaper ceased publication on 15 August 1903. Ibrāhīm continued to publish articles in newspapers and even founded yet another newspaper named *al-Mishkāt* in 1905. However, he fell gravely ill in December of that year and died on 29 January 1906.

According to Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī was "the greatest writer of his day and a man who could write entertainingly on the dullest subject". Kurd ʿAlī goes on to disapprove of the way in which Ibrāhīm misquoted their professor, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, but suggested that "some higher authority was behind Ibrāhīm Bey". Incisive critic, brilliant stylist in the traditional mode, and inveterate political schemer, such is the picture of Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī that emerges from a reading of contemporary accounts, one that is often embellished by many apocryphal tales, the dissemination of which he himself often provoked and encouraged.

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2. MUḤAMMAD, son of the preceding, journalist and author of *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* (1858?-1930).

The date of his birth is a subject of debate: if 1858, then only fourteen years separate father and son; if 1868, then Muḥammad would have begun to work as a clerk in 1882 at the age of fourteen. The more public early part of his life is inextricably bound up with that of his father, a career that involved contacts with many influential men of Egypt at the time and political activity on both the local and international levels. When the Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] was forced to abdicate and go into exile in 1879, Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī joined him in Italy. Muḥammad, nominally in the care of his uncle, ʿAbd al-Salām, in fact left on his own during the turmoil that preceded the ʿUrābī Revolt of 1882, was arrested for distributing a leaflet written by his father, and condemned to death. However, the sentence was commuted to exile, and Muḥammad joined his father in Italy.

Both al-Muwayliḥīs now participated in the flurry of political activity surrounding the exiled Khedive and, in particular, his complex relationships with his homeland and the Ottoman Sultan. Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad were heavily involved in newspaper publication, most notably *al-Ittiḥād* (see 1. above). Eventually, Ibrāhīm was invited to the Ottoman capital, and when, after sending his son, Muḥammad, to assess the situation, he had assured himself of the Sultan's good intentions, he himself moved to Istanbul in 1885. Both al-Muwayliḥīs were now given access to the Fātiḥ Library, where Muḥammad in particular was able to transcribe a number of famous works of Arabic literature, including those of his favourite poet Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*], that were later published on the pages of *Miṣbāḥ al-Shark*.

In 1887 Muḥammad left his father in Istanbul and returned to Egypt. He resumed his career as a journalist, producing articles for a number of newspapers; in *al-Mukaṭṭam*, for example, he wrote —using a variety of pseudonyms (such as "an Egyptian who knows his country" and "*al-Badīʿ*")— about a number of political issues of the time, most especially the Nationalist Party. It was during this period that Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī made the acquaintance of the Englishman Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who had been so closely involved in the defence of Aḥmad ʿUrābī after the collapse of the 1882 revolt. He also gained an entrée into the circle of Princess Nāzlī Fāḍil, the niece of the ex-Khedive Ismāʿīl, a côterie that brought together a remarkable group of figures concerned with the reform of Egyptian political and intellectual life, including Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Saʿd and Aḥmad Fatḥī Zaghlūl, Ḳāsim Amīn, Muṣṭafā Fahmī, ʿAlī Yūsuf and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm. In 1895, Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī returned to Egypt. In the following year, *Mā hunālik* was published. On 14 April 1898, there appeared the first issue of *Miṣbāḥ al-Shark* edited by Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī (although the former gradually relinquished editorial control to his son). Most of the articles were written by the al-Muwayliḥīs themselves and discussed current political and social issues in a forthright and often sarcastic manner. It was in this newspaper that Muḥammad's most famous work initially appeared in the form of a series of articles under the heading *Fatra min al-zaman*. They were an immediate success; at the instigation of colleagues and friends, they were substantially revised and published as *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* in 1907. The work has gone through at least nine editions since then; in 1927, it was adopted as a school text, a process that regrettably led to the exclusion of several of its more critical chapters or sections and the addition of a second, less significant section describing a visit to Paris. It was also in *Miṣbāḥ al-Shark* that Muḥammad's other two major publications first appeared: *Naḳd Dīwān Shawḳī*, a pedantic and somewhat personal series of articles criticising the collected poetry of Aḥmad Shawḳī [*q.v.*], and *ʿIlādj al-nafs*, a collection of philosophical essays published posthumously in 1932.

Within the development of modern Arabic prose narrative, the significance of Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī's *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* lies in its function as a bridge between the classical genres and the emerging tradition of modern Arabic fiction: the former evidenced by the evocation of the *maḳāmāt* of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] both through the use of a similarly named narrator, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām, and the beginning of each episode in the newspaper with a passage of extremely polished *sadjʿ* (rhyming prose); the latter through the accurate and sarcastically critical portrait of Egyptian society during the British occupation. The excursions of ʿĪsā and his companion, the Pasha, through the byways of the Egyptian legal system and later, as observers of a provincial *ʿumda* and his venal companions, through the seedier parts of a rapidly westernising Cairo, provided a vivid and powerful social commentary that stood in marked contrast to the philosophical and romantic-historical focus of the incipient and imported novel genre in Arabic at this period. While Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī's work was clearly neo-classical in form and style, and while his views were mostly conservative, *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* focussed relentlessly on the foibles of Egyptian society, and, by so doing, paved the way for the emergence of later works which formed the beginnings of the novel genre in Arabic.

The final issue of *Miṣbāḥ al-Shark* (15 August 1903) notes that publication would have to be temporarily suspended due to the editor's illness, but no further issues appeared. Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī gradually withdrew from society, something that some writers attribute to a public scandal (the so-called *ʿĀmm al-Kaff* ("Year of the Slap") in which he found himself embroiled in 1902). Following the death of his father in January 1906, he rarely appeared in public, although between 1910 and 1914 he did serve as Director of the Waḳf Administration. The rest of his life was spent in retirement, from which he would only emerge periodically as a name in a newspaper in order to express his views about topics that aroused his ire. His last published article (in *al-Ahrām*, 30 December 1921) is typical: under the title *Ṣawt min al-ʿuzla* ("Voice from Retirement") he gave his reasons for retiring, and proceeded to express his feelings about the second expulsion of Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*] from Egypt. A few weeks after finishing the editorial work on *ʿIlādj al-nafs* ("Cure for the Soul"), he died in Ḥulwān on 28 February 1930.

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MUWAYS B. **ʿIMRĀN** B. DJUMAYʿ B. ZIYĀD AL-BAṢRĪ, Abū ʿImrān, eminent *mawlā* of Baṣrā who lived in the second half of the 2nd/8th century.

His name is considerably distorted in the sources and in studies, such that the variants encountered include Mūsā (by confusion with Mūsā b. ʿImrān = Moses), Muʾnis, Mawīs, etc.; furthermore, his name would not feature in history at all were it not that al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*] mentions him quite frequently and that he participated in the movement of politico-religious ideas which developed at Baṣra in the 2nd and 3rd/8th-9th centuries. It is understood that he was wealthy, but it is not known whether he engaged in a lucrative occupation; seeing that he employed a secretary (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 52, tr. Pellat, 85), it is possible that he held an administrative function or traded profitably on the basis of inherited or acquired wealth; alternatively, this assistant may have been involved in the management of the revenues which he earned from an estate called Ziyādān[u] (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 362; Yāḳūt, i, 645, s.v. al-Baṣra, ii, 964, s.v. Ziyādān), which had been bequeathed to his ancestor Ziyād, *mawlā* of the Banu 'l-Hudjaym, who was also the maternal grandfather of the grammarian and Ḳurʾān reader ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī (d. 149/766 [*q.v.*]) and of his brother Ḥādjib.

Al-Djāḥiẓ, whom he had helped out of an awkward situation in his youth with a gift of 50 *dīnārs* (al-Murtaḍā, *Muʿtazila*, 38) and with whom he did not cease to maintain excellent relations, seems to have regarded him with a deep sense of gratitude, for he always speaks of him with respect and does not fail to eulogise his qualities (see, e.g., on his sincerity, *Ḥayawān*, v, 468). There is no doubt that Muways was a generous patron, and others named as having been beneficiaries of his largesse include Abū Nuwās (see Ibn Manẓūr, *Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1924, i, 227), al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk (see *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, vii, 180; Mūsā b. ʿImrān) and Muḥammad b. Yasīr, who did not hesitate to ask him for the gift of a mule (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 292-3).

He seems to have brought together in his salon various Baṣran personalities, and it is not impossible that al-Djāḥiẓ made at his home the acquaintance of al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*], who is presented as being the mentor of both men. Muways is in any case a striking example of the lack of clarity prevailing in his time regarding the specificality of each of the theological sects and schools which the heresiographers have subsequently taken pains to distinguish one from another and regarding the adherence of militants to a particular one of them. He is, in fact, generally counted among the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*], but, while al-Baghdādī (*Farḳ*, 190) lists three possible combinations among the latter: *irdjāʾ* with *ḳadar*, *irdjāʾ* with *djabr* and pure *irdjāʾ*, al-Shahrastānī (in the margins of Ibn Ḥazm, i, 186) adds the Khāridjī-Murdjiʾa and includes Muways among the Ṣufriyya [*q.v.*], before making him (i, 190) one of the Murdjiʾī followers of Abū Thawbān (the Thawbāniyya); al-Murtaḍā (*Muʿtazila*, 38) calls him a Muʿtazilī and notes his adherence to the school of al-Naẓẓām, although, for al-Khayyāṭ (*Intiṣār*, ed.-tr. Nader, 93/145), he is one of those whom the Muʿtazila prefer not to attach to their group, after Ibn al-Rāwandī has mentioned him among the theologians who agree with the Muʿtazila regarding the principles of divine unicity (*al-tawḥīd*) and justice (*al-ʿadl*), but differ from them regarding the *manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* [*q.v.*]; he must equally have disagreed with their doctrine concerning "the promise and the threat" (*al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd*).

From all these contradictory data, it may be concluded that Muways was not sufficiently sectarian to involve himself specifically with any of the schools mentioned or to embrace exclusively its doctrine, which must in any case have been still imprecise. If he sought the company of Abu 'l-Hudhayl [*q.v.*] or al-Naẓẓām, he could quite well have fashioned for himself an eclectic system which, while borrowing elements from the most moderate Khāridjī sect, that of the Ṣufriyya, as well as from the Murdjiʾa, constituted a tendency towards agreement with the Muʿtazila. Whatever the true position, all these speculations seem to a large extent superfluous, since Muways never committed his theological preferences to writing and was probably content with expressing his opinions in the course of discussions in which he took part; hence arise, no doubt, the inconsistencies which have been noted.

Bibliography: To the references cited, add Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, *Bayān*, *Bukhalāʾ*, indices; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 259; Ṭabarī, iii, 943; Pellat, *Milieu*, index; J. van Ess, *Muwais b. ʿImrān*, in *Recherches d'Islamologie*..., Louvain n.d., 337-58. (CH. PELLAT)

AL-**MUẒAFFAR**, the honorific *laḳab* by which the second of the ʿĀmirid dictators of Muslim Spain is best known, the son of the celebrated al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], ABŪ MARWĀN ʿABD AL-MALIK IBN ABĪ ʿĀMIR AL-MAʿĀFIRĪ. He was invested with the office of *ḥādjib* by the caliph Hishām II, on the death of his father, on 28 Ramaḍān 392/10 Aug. 1002, and ruled as absolute master the territory of al-Andalus until his death from angina as he was setting out on an expedition against Castille on 16 Ṣafar 399/20 Oct. 1008.

The relatively short period of the *ḥidjāba* of ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar was, until quite recently, almost unknown for lack of documents, and in his *Histoire* Dozy had to pass it over almost in silence, in spite of his importance in the history of the early 11th century in Spain. It has been possible to fill this gap, thanks to the discovery of accounts of the ḥādjibate of al-Muẓaffar in the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām and the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī and the chapter devoted to him by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*. The result is the discovery that the septennium of ʿAbd al-Malik was for Muslim Spain a period of peace and prosperity, a regular golden age, just on the eve of the first upheavals which preceded the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate; the chroniclers compare this period to the first week of a marriage (*sābiʿ al-ʿarūs*; cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 626-7).

Al-Manṣūr had actually left his son and successor an empire not only completely pacified and solidly organised but also enjoying an economic prosperity hitherto unprecedented. ʿAbd al-Malik aimed at following scrupulously the line of conduct laid down for him in his father's last wishes: to preserve and justify the popularity of the ʿĀmirid régime by peace

at home and the continual harassing of the Christian foe beyond the marches (*thughūr*). Every year of Muẓaffar's rule was therefore marked by a summer expedition (*ṣā'ifa*) or a winter one (*shātiya*); in 393/1003 he led his armies against Catalonia (*bilād al-Ifrandj*), laid waste the country round Barcelona and destroyed 35 strongholds before returning to Cordova; in 395/1005, an expedition was led against Castile by the *ḥādjib*; in the following year his objective was the town of Pampeluna [see BANBALŪNA], which he seems to have approached but not reached; in 397/1007 took place, against Catalonia, the expedition known as the "victorious" (*ghazāt al-naṣr*): ʿAbd al-Malik forced his way into Clunia and carried off a vast booty. This triumph earned for him from the nominal sovereign the title of "Victor" (*al-Muẓaffar*) which henceforth replaced his previous *laḳab* of Sayf al-Dawla. In the course of the winter of 398/1007-8, there was an expedition which ended in the capture of a castle of San-Martin which has not been identified. The last expedition undertaken by him as mentioned above came to nothing, but at least enabled him to die like his father on the way to wage war on the infidel.

At home, al-Muẓaffar maintained intact the strong administrative organisation which dated from the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*] and which al-Manṣūr had maintained intact, while removing from it the representatives of the Arab aristocracy. On his accession to office, he won the good graces of the Cordovans by reducing taxes by a sixth. He was easily able to dispose of several conspiracies against him. He left to his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchol a heritage which the latter might easily have preserved if he had not at once exasperated his subjects against him by displaying a hateful partiality and attempting to arrogate to himself the caliphate completely.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, iv, 58-66 (with an extract from the history of the ʿĀmirids by Ibn Ḥayyān); Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930, 3-37, and tr. in the new edition by the same of the *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* of R. Dozy, Leiden 1932, iii, 185-214; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iʿmāl al-iʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 97-104; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (*Analectes*), ed. Leiden, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv; M.M. Antuña, *El canciller de Córdoba Almodáfar*, in *Religion y Cultura*, xiv (1931), 321-30, xvii (1932), 5-16; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 273-90 and index. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-**MUẒAFFAR**, AL-MALIK, TAḲĪ 'L-DĪN ʿUMAR b. Nūr al-Dawla Shāhanshāh b. Ayyūb, born 534/1139, nephew and army commander of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb (Saladin), one of the leading military and administrative personalities of the 12th century. He was the founder of the branch of the Ayyūbids which ruled in Ḥamāt from 574/1178 until 742/1341.

Only two years younger than Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], he became the latter's personal adviser and one of his most capable army commanders. Already in 565/1169 Taḳī 'l-Dīn proved his military competence when he put a successful end to the siege of Damietta by the Franks, two months after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had taken over power in Egypt. During the latter's vizierate, Taḳī 'l-Dīn advised him for instance in Alexandria in 567/1172 in the question of developing and realising a strategy for Egypt and the North African coast as far as Barḳa. Later, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was to go back on the plan to expand his power towards Ifrīḳiya under his own leadership or that of Taḳī 'l-Dīn. The latter also advised his uncle to rebel openly against the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn b. ʿImād al-Dīn [*q.v.*], a plan which was prudently foiled by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's father Yūsuf b. Ayyūb.

It was only after Nūr al-Dīn's death in 569/1174 that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn assumed full power. Henceforth he entrusted Taḳī 'l-Dīn with important commands, and finally with key positions in his domains. In 571/1175-6 Taḳī 'l-Dīn was governor of Damascus, and as such, accompanied by his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], still a child at the time, he assisted Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn during his campaigns in Syria. Meanwhile, two of Taḳī 'l-Dīn's *mamlūks*, Ḳarāḳūsh and Naṣr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, were on campaigns of conquest in North Africa, which lasted until 582/1186. The actual exploitation of the sources does not permit to decide to what extent Taḳī 'l-Dīn himself wanted to make conquests in Ifrīḳiya at the expenses of the Almohads but could not pursue them as he wished because of other commitments. The chronicle of his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr is reticent on answering this question (*Miḍmār*, 34-8, 53-7, 68-72, 164-8, 292-4, 309-30. The report for the year 578/1182 is missing in the *Miḍmār*).

In 573/1177 Taḳī 'l-Dīn was present at the battle of Ramla [*q.v.*], ill-fated for the Muslims. He bravely resisted the Franks, but lost his youngest son Aḥmad (*Kāmil*, xi, 442), which made him into an implacable hater of the Christians, if Abū Shāma's words are to be believed (*Rawḍatayn*, i, 673-4). Taḳī 'l-Dīn's eldest son Shāhanshāh, favoured by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, had been a prisoner of the Templars for seven years, until he was set free against a high ransom and the liberation of all the Templars taken prisoner. In 574/1178 Taḳī 'l-Dīn received from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn his first dominions in northern Syria, among which were the frontier town of Ḥamāt and its surrounding places, strategically important with respect to Aleppo, then still in Zangid hands, and to Antioch which was in the hands of the Franks. In 575/1179 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn turned Taḳī 'l-Dīn's tactical competence to his advantage when he, following the other's advice, did not negotiate with the Franks about the surrender of the fortress of Bayt al-Aḥzān; instead, with the money provided for the surrender (100,000 dīnārs), he mustered troops (*Miḍmār*, 24-31). As so often before, Taḳī 'l-Dīn, during the arduous siege and capture of the fortress, showed unusual courage, bravery, urge to attack and loyalty to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He almost died of an injury sustained at this occasion. Shortly before, he had won his greatest victory in the main strategic task entrusted to him, namely to defend the northern frontier of the Ayyūbid realm against the Franks of Antioch and the Rūm Saldjūḳs in Anatolia. With 1,000 men only, he had succeeded in defeating near Ḥiṣn Raʿbān the Rūm Saldjūḳ Ḳilīdj Arslān II [*q.v.*] who was at the head of 20,000 men (Ibn al-Athīr, xi 458).

The *Miḍmār* (43, 60, 93, 95, 105, 106, 110-12, 136, 143, 151, 153) mentions Taḳī 'l-Dīn's military assistance to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the following circumstances: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's campaign against Shāh Arman b. Leon, king of Lesser Armenia (576/1180-1); his return to Ḥamāt; the preparation in 577/1181-2 of the campaign against Karak [*q.v.*], occupied by the Templars, and his taking part in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's fruitless siege of the fortress in 578/1182; the march of the sultan's army to Damascus; the siege of Tiberias and Baysān [*q.v.*]; the campaigns against al-Ruhā (Edessa) and al-Raḳḳa in al-Djazīra; the siege of al-Mawṣil and the conquest of Naṣībīn; the march against Sindjār, on which his son accompanied him, and the return to Ḥarrān via Ḥamāt after the conquest of the town; the siege of Āmid in 579/1183; the surrender of Aleppo to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; the return to

Ḥamāt and the campaigns against Baysān and Karak. After all these military exploits, Taḳī 'l-Dīn was entrusted with the vice-regency of Egypt in Sha^cbān 579/October-November 1183 (*Miḍmār*, 154-8: *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] and context; *Barḳ*, 233-5; *Rawḍatayn*, ii, 51-3: investiture of the *wilāya* [*q.v.*]). He also received several *iḳṭā^c*s [*q.v.*] (his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr, who accompanied him, reports on their revenues, see *Miḍmār*, 154-5). He was also responsible for the education of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's son and designated successor al-Malik al-Afḍal [*q.v.*], who was in Cairo. Yet problems arose between tutor and ward. One after the other was summoned to Damascus (*Mufarridj*, iii, 308-9 contains several of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's messages to Taḳī 'l-Dīn regarding Egypt). Disappointed and full of bitterness, Taḳī 'l-Dīn considered whether he should not join his *mamlūk*s in North Africa instead of keeping unconditional loyalty to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He arrived in Damascus in 582/1186, where the sultan redistributed crown properties and the most important leading functions. Taḳī al-Dīn complied with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's plans and, as compensation for Egypt, he received in northern Syria and al-Djazīra as his possessions Manbidj, Ma^carrat al-Nu^cmān, the former Artuḳid town of Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*] and Kafar Ṭāb (*Mufarridj*, ii, 177-8, 180-2).

The regions under Ayyūbid control were now connected and directly in the hands of one and the same dynasty. Eastward they stretched beyond the Euphrates. It was in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's interest to control and secure this area, so extremely important for recruiting and supplying troops. Al-Mawṣil still was in the hands of a latently hostile vassal, and there was the hidden danger of the Ildeñizids [*q.v.*], of the Rūm Saldjūḳs and, last but not least, of the ^cAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*] who, like Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself, was engaged in an expansive policy in northern Mesopotamia.

At the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*] in 583/1187, Taḳī 'l-Dīn commanded the right wing, and in the same year the victory of ^cAkkā [*q.v.*] and the conquest of Tibnīn and siege of Tyre occurred (*Rawḍatayn*, ii, 119; *Fatḥ*, 73-4; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 541-2). In acknowledgement of this loyalty, Taḳī 'l-Dīn was given the ports of Djabala and al-Lādhiḳīya [*q.v.*] which had been reconquered from the Crusaders (Ibn Shaddād, *Sīra*, 89, 94). Thus Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had put into Taḳī 'l-Dīn's hands all the resources and communications which he needed himself for his campaigns against the Crusaders in northern Syria. Taḳī 'l-Dīn had become the most powerful member of the dynasty in that region and in al-Djazīra. His position of power was only equalled by that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother al-Malik al-^cĀdil [*q.v.*], the vicegerent of Egypt.

The advance of the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's army induced Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to send Taḳī 'l-Dīn to the north in order to watch the Crusaders. Between Djumādā I and Shawwāl 587/June-November 1190, Taḳī 'l-Dīn impeded their advance by brief skirmishes. The situation, at first favourable to him, changed when the siege of ^cAkkā, started by the Franks in 585/1189 as a seemingly hopeless enterprise, dragged on for more than two years. This siege took Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn unaware and unprepared, for ^cAkkā, conquered by the sultan in 583/1187, counted as one of the richest and best-fortified towns of the former kingdom of Jerusalem. In political and economic respects, it had since long outdone Jerusalem, and therefore this siege became a matter of power and prestige for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. This is probably the reason why contemporary Ayyūbid and pro-Ayyūbid historiographers impute the fault which had led to the loss of this town, not only to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, but also to Taḳī 'l-Dīn, who had been absent at the strategically decisive phase; he thus became the scapegoat.

The Muslim defence of the town was indeed unsuccessful because the troops so urgently requested from al-Djazīra failed to arrive. According to the historiographers, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's secretary ^cImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and Abū Shāma [*q.vv.*] in the first place—and also including Ibn al-Athīr who, though being anti-Ayyūbid, relies in this respect on al-Iṣfahānī's *Fatḥ*—it was mainly Taḳī 'l-Dīn's fault that the troops requested did not appear; he thus caused Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's defeat (*Fatḥ*, 322, 358, 402-3; *Rawḍatayn*, ii, 186). But they overlooked—or did not want or else not dare to see—that Taḳī 'l-Dīn's reasons for staying away were altogether different from those of the vassals of al-Djazīra, namely the Zangids of al-Mawṣil, of Djazīrat Ibn ^cUmar and of Sindjār, as well as of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökbüri of Irbil, and that these reasons cannot be connected.

However, it still requires investigation whether Taḳī 'l-Dīn, loyal until then, instead of recruiting troops in the Artuḳid states of Āmid (Diyār Bakr) and Mārdīn [*q.vv.*], as Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had ordered him, attacked the vassals there in order to enlarge, against the sultan's will, his own sphere of influence while disregarding the cause of the *djihād*. It is certain that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Ṣafar 587/February 1191, before his nephew and comrade-in-arms struck camp in Syria, entreated him to have the troops arrive in time and not to permit that any event whatsoever occur in the region of Diyār Bakr during his mission, which was not without danger (*Fatḥ*, 322-3). A final conclusion, perhaps with new data, may be reached after all the letters of the Ayyūbid and ^cAbbāsid state chancelleries, now spread all over the world, have been taken into account.

Taḳī 'l-Dīn probably lost control of his enterprise when he tried to penetrate into the unstable and potentially hostile region of the Artuḳid vassals, who in the preceding year had refused military service, and tried to find means for financing the troops destined for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by distributing Artuḳid land property as *iḳṭā^c*. He first conquered the towns of Suwaydā' and Ḥānī (*Fatḥ*, 290), possibly while marching on Mayyāfāriḳīn, but then had to defend the latter town against the ruler of Khilāṭ (*Mir'āt*, fol. 245b. This passage is lacking in the Ḥaydarābād edition), to lay siege to Khilāṭ (*Fatḥ*, 402-3, 405); different version in *Kāmil*, xii, 62-3) and, as a result of this, to attack Malāzgird, 40 km. north of Khilāṭ. The Artuḳid and Ayyūbid troops were thus tied up. The outcome was catastrophic. Taḳī 'l-Dīn died during the siege of Malāzgird on 19 Ramaḍān 587/11 October 1191 (*Fatḥ*, 401-2; *Mufarridj*, ii, 375-9; *Nawādir*, 197-8; *Kāmil*, xii, 63).

It seems that the troops from al-Mawṣil, Sindjār and Djazīrat Ibn ^cUmar were also tied up, independently of Taḳī 'l-Dīn's situation. Djazīrat Ibn ^cUmar was besieged by a local ruler; Gökbüri, for reasons of his own, was not in a position either to send troops to ^cAkkā. These reasons were probably the collapse of Saldjūḳ power in Persia and the attempts at expansion in northern Mesopotamia by the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. The disaster of Taḳī 'l-Dīn's expedition in al-Djazīra forced Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to enter into negotiations with the Crusaders. Taḳī 'l-Dīn's troops accepted his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad [*q.v.*] as his successor.

It is not easy to assess Taḳī 'l-Dīn's personality. He was certainly brave, courageous, daring and

impulsive, and as harsh against non-Muslims as pious in practising the *sharīʿa*. In Alexandria he studied *ḥadīth* with famous traditionists (*Takmila*, i, no. 150). His important foundations (*waḳf*) in Cairo, in Fayyūm and in al-Ruhā (*Wafayāt*, iii, 456, no. 501) were famous. He had the lower and upper town of Ḥamāt, his residence, walled and the citadel on a hill near the curve of the Orontes fortified. He wrote poetry (quoted in *Mirʾāt*, fols. 245b-246b), and his *dīwān* was appreciated by Ibn al-Dawādārī and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (*Kanz al-durar*, vii, 91; *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 84).

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(ANGELIKA HARTMANN)

AL-**MUẒAFFAR** B. **ʿALĪ**, commander (*ḥādjib*) high in the service of the local ruler of the Baṭāʾiḥ [*q.v.*] or marsh lands of lower ʿIrāḳ, ʿImrān b. Shāhīn [*q.v.*], and then petty ruler there during the second half of the 4th/10th century. After ʿImrān's death in 369/979, al-Muẓaffar set aside his sons and set up a grandson, a minor called Abu 'l-Maʿālī (373/983-4). He himself in practice exercised all power, although he set up further puppet rulers of the line of ʿImrān until his own death in 376/986-7, after which al-Muẓaffar was succeeded in the Baṭāʾiḥ by a nephew under the title of Muhadhdhib al-Dawla as tributary to the Būyid ruler of Fārs and ʿIrāḳ Sharaf al-Dawla b. ʿAḍud al-Dawla.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 30-1, 50.

(ED.)

MUẒAFFAR AL-**DĪN SHĀH ḲADJĀR**, Shāh of Persia, the fifth ruler of the dynasty, was born at Tehran on 25 March 1853, and was the fourth son of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*]. His mother was Shukūh al-Salṭana, a daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Mīrzā and a granddaughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. Two older sons of Nāṣir al-Dīn were appointed *walī ʿahd* before Muẓaffar al-Dīn, Muʿīn al-Dīn being the first in 1849. On his death on 6 November 1856, Muḥammad Ḳāsim received the title, but he too died as a child on 29 June 1858. It was then that Muẓaffar al-Dīn became *walī ʿahd*. (The designation of Muḥammad Ḳāsim was rather unusual, for his mother was not a Ḳādjār princess.) At the age of twelve Muẓaffar al-Dīn was appointed Governor of Ādharbāydjān. It was believed, for a time, that his elder half-brother Masʿūd Mīrzā (Ẓill al-Sulṭān) or a younger one, Kāmrān Mīrzā (Nāʾib al-Salṭana) might be tempted to contest Muẓaffar al-Dīn's succession, but no challenge was forthcoming when Nāṣir al-Dīn was assassinated on 1 May 1896. Muẓaffar al-Dīn was crowned in Tehran on 8 June 1896, and he died there after suffering much illness on 6 January 1907. He was married several times. The wife who gave birth to his heir Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] on 21 June 1872 was Umm al-Khāḳān. She was the daughter of Muḥammad Taḳī Khān (Amīr Kabīr) and ʿIzzat al-Dawla, a sister of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh; but Muẓaffar al-Dīn had divorced her before he became Shāh. On his death he left at least five more sons and twelve daughters.

Muẓaffar al-Dīn's reign was not a happy or auspicious one. When he came to the throne Persia was in a very difficult situation. The country was the focus of intense and growing rivalry between Britain and Russia, central government control over the outlying provinces was weak, and less and less tax revenue was reaching the Treasury. Corruption and venality were widespread in both central and provincial government. The army had fallen into serious decay, and the only effective and reliable body of men was the Cossack Brigade which had been established by Nāṣir al-Dīn in 1878. Soldiers from that force escorted Muẓaffar al-Dīn from Tabrīz to Tehran on his father's assassination, and their role in maintaining a minimal degree of law and order in the capital was crucial, but during Muẓaffar al-Dīn's reign the number of men in the Cossack Brigade never exceeded 1,800. Little sustained and effective administrative, economic or educational reform had been achieved, and a small, but steadily growing, number of Persians were beginning to realize the extent of their country's backwardness and to call for change.

Muẓaffar al-Dīn's character and personality were ill-suited to the tasks of governing so troubled, and potentially turbulent, a country. He was by nature shy, timid and vacillating. He was also sentimental and inclined to be rather superstitious. Several people who knew Muẓaffar al-Dīn well remarked upon "his nervous disposition", and this was in no way reduced by the manner of his father's death. Muẓaffar al-Dīn suffered poor health from an early age, and his sense of hypochondria was well-founded. His most serious illnes was a recurrent kidney infection, but he also suffered from several other conditions, including a weak heart. Despite this, he shared the love of many of his ancestors for riding and hunting and was a good shot. His education was largely traditional, and he had a great fondness for classical Persian poetry and a great love for Persian gardens. As a youth at Tabrīz he had had some European tutors, and while he learned French he was never very confident using that language.

When Muẓaffar al-Dīn ascended the throne he rapidly became aware of the depleted state of the Treasury, and in 1897 he accepted one of the Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam's (Amīn al-Dawla) schemes for administrative reform, namely, the employment of Belgian officials to re-organise and run the country's Customs service. The first of those experts arrived in March 1898 (see

A. Destrée, *Les fonctionnaires belges au service de la Perse 1898-1915*, Tehran-Liège 1976). The reforms introduced were certainly effective, but they were also unpopular. The central government soon began to receive greater income, but the merchants gained little benefit from the higher dues which they now had to pay, while members of the religious classes objected to Christians levying taxes on Muslims. For many Persians, the growing number of Belgians in the country, and the wider range of tasks which they began to undertake, were further evidence of their country's unwelcome subservience to foreign powers. Even the efforts of the Belgians could not meet the government's need for more money and two substantial loans were raised from Russia in January 1900 and April 1902. These further strengthened the view of many Persians that the Shāh was prepared to sell their country to foreign powers.

Some of the money raised by the Customs reform, and the two loans, was used to make good serious arrears in pay which were owed to some members of the army, but much of the money was also used for the payment of inflated pensions to corrupt officials. One of the other sources of wasteful expenditure was the responsibility of the Shāh, for Muẓaffar al-Dīn had, like his father, developed a fondness for visiting Europe; he made three journeys there in 1900, 1902 and 1905. While there were medical reasons for these visits, they were, nevertheless, extravagant and expensive; they also gave the Shāh opportunity to indulge both his curiosity in mechanical inventions, and his sometimes lavish generosity. The first journey, but not apparently the others, resulted in a travel diary similar to the two produced by his father, *Safarnāma-yi Mubārak-i Shāhanshāhī* (first edition Tehran 1901, several later editions, Tehran and elsewhere; see G.M. Wickens, *Shah Muzaffar al-Din's European tour, A.D. 1900*, in E. Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran: political, social and cultural change, 1800-1925*, Edinburgh 1983, 34-47).

Muẓaffar al-Dīn's first journey was supposed to include time in England, but the sudden death of one of Queen Victoria's children meant that part of the journey had to be abandoned. When the Shāh did reach England in August 1902, the visit was marred by King Edward's refusal to bestow the Order of the Garter on the Persian monarch (see Sir Denis Wright, *The Persians amongst the English, episodes in Anglo-Persian history*, London 1985, ch. 14). In February of the following year, a special British envoy, Lord Downe, conferred that honour on the Shāh in Tehran. The timetable of the 1902 European visit was drawn up to meet Muẓaffar al-Dīn's express wish not to be in France on the 14th of July.

Between his second and third visits to Europe, Persia experienced a severe epidemic of cholera (see R.M. Burrell, *The 1904 epidemic of cholera in Persia: some aspects of Qajar society*, in *BSOAS*, li/2 [1988], 258-70). When the disease reached Tehran in late June 1904, Muẓaffar al-Dīn quickly left the city for a camp in the hills near Ṭāliķān. After cases of cholera were confirmed in the vicinity of that camp, Muẓaffar al-Dīn immediately sought to flee the country; and it was only under intense pressure from the Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam and his two British doctors that the Shāh was persuaded that such a course of action was likely to be as politically dangerous to his tenure of the throne as it was medically unnecessary, and the scheme was abandoned. The outbreak of cholera also meant that many Belgian officials, as well as British ones along the Persian Gulf coast, were active in trying to enforce measures which would limit the spread of the epidemic, and this too increased their unpopularity with many Persians.

As well as raising foreign loans and increasing the revenues from the Customs administration, Muẓaffar al-Dīn's government also had resort to another economic device used by his father, the sale of commercial concessions to foreign entrepreneurs. Some of these brought little benefit to Persia, but it should be remembered that it was Muẓaffar al-Dīn who, on 28 May 1901, signed a petroleum exploration concession with William Knox d'Arcy which later led to the emergence of the country's oil industry.

There is clear evidence that the standard of provincial government in Persia declined during the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn. In Ādharbāydjān, the *walī ʿahd* governed in a very rapacious and greedy manner, as did his half-brother, Shuʿāʿ al-Salṭana, who held the governorship of Fārs on several occasions (that province had ten changes of governorship between 1896 and 1907). By 1905 it was difficult for the government to find officials who were willing to take up administrative posts in turbulent provinces such as Luristān and ʿArabistān. Further evidence of growing unrest and lawlessness is provided by a series of anti-Bābī attacks in several provinces.

It was against this background that the events of the Constitutional Revolution of 1905 and 1906 unfolded (for their sequence, see DUSTŪR. iv. Īrān). The initial demands for administrative, economic and military reforms could have been met by an active and vigorous Shāh and they need not have involved any serious challenge to the monarchy's claim to absolute power. But as has been noted, to expect such a response from an ailing and fearful Muẓaffar al-Dīn was to expect too much. By the summer of 1906, some Persians were beginning to demand that Persia should have an elected Parliament and a written Constitution. The speed of political events in Tehran in the latter months of 1906 was remarkable. The rush to create a Parliament and to enact the *Ķānūn-i Asāsī* (the Fundamental Law) was influenced by fears on the part of the "Constitutionalists" about the deteriorating health of the Shāh and the likelihood that his successor Muḥammad ʿAlī would quickly seek to reassert the authority of the monarchy. Both anxieties were to prove well-founded. Muẓaffar al-Dīn died barely a week after he had signed the Fundamental Law on 30 December 1906, and the new Shāh quickly showed himself to be a man more akin in character and temperament to his grandfather than his father.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see the Bibls. to DUSTŪR. iv. Īrān; ḤUKŪMA. ii. Persia; and ĶĀDJĀR. (R.M. BURRELL)

MUẒAFFAR SHĀH [see GUDJARĀT].

MUẒAFFAR SHAMS BALKHĪ, mediaeval Indian Ṣūfī master.

Born of a family from Balkh in Afghānistān, the date of his birth is unknown, but may have been in the decade of the 720s/1320s. After an education in Dihlī, he joined his father in Bihār Sharīf. His intellectual disposition led him to become a disciple of Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad Manērī (d. 782/1381) [see MAKHDŪM AL-MULK]) instead of Aḥmad Čarmpūsh, his father's poetically-inclined but less well-educated guide. Muẓaffar was sent back to Dihlī again for further studies, and then the Tughlukid Sultan Fīrūz Shāh appointed him lecturer in the royal *madrasa*. After a conversion experience, he returned to Bihār, where Sharaf al-Dīn Manērī continued his spiritual formation. He reached the stage when he felt liberated from all worldly attachments, except from his wife, but exclaimed to his guide that he would divorce her.

Approving of the sentiment, but not of the idea, Sharaf al-Dīn announced that his training was complete.

Muẓaffar was incapable of staying in one place. He journeyed far and wide, spending time in Mecca and eventually dying at Aden in 803/1400. He received more than 200 letters from his spiritual guide Sharaf al-Dīn, of which only 28 are extant (as *maktūbāt-i djawābī*, in Sharaf al-Dīn, *Sih ṣadī maktūbāt*, Lahore n.d., 301-31). There is an extant, though unpublished collection of Muẓaffar's own letters (mss. Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, Pers. no. 2619, and Acc. no. 1859/2 (181 letters in each ms.); a third ms. in the private library of Balkhī Ṣāḥib, Patna), and a small *dīwān* (ed. Patna 1959). His compendious commentary on Raḍī al-Dīn Ṣaghānī's *Mashāriḳ al-anwār* (see Brockelmann, I², 443, S I, 613-14) has not come to light. Although he was the chief successor to Sharaf al-Dīn Manērī, he is more remembered as an intellectual than as a spiritual guide. He was succeeded in this latter role by his nephew Ḥusayn.

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MUẒAFFARIDS, one of the successor dynasties which arose in Kirmān, Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam following the disintegration of the Īlkhānid empire. Their ancestor, Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Ḥādjdjī, was allegedly a member of an Arab family from Khʷāf, in Khurāsān, who during the Mongol advance had migrated to Yazd and entered the service of its *atabeg*. His grandson Sharaf al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar was entrusted with the towns of Maybud and Nadūshan; but he was subsequently presented to the Īlkhān, receiving the office of *yasaʾul* or chamberlain, then the command of a thousand (*hazāra*), and later still the task of guarding the roads from Ardistān to Kirmānshāh and from Harāt (not to be confused with the famous city in Khurāsān) to Marwast and Abarḳūh. In 707/1307-8 the hostility of the great *wazīr* Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*] obliged him to return to Yazd.

His son, Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, who inherited Sharaf al-Dīn's offices in 713/1314, was the real founder of the dynasty. In 718/1318-19 he collaborated with the Īndjūid [*q.v.*] Kay Khusraw b. Maḥmūd Shāh in the overthrow of the last *atabeg* of Yazd, Ḥādjdjī Shāh b. Yūsuf Shāh, and in 719/1319-20 was recognised as governor of Yazd by the Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd. After Abū Saʿīd's death in 736/1335, and the outbreak of conflict between the great *amīrs*, he repulsed an attempt on Yazd by the Īndjūids and gave his allegiance to the Čūbānid [*q.v.*] warlord Pīr Ḥusayn. Rewarded with the governorship of Kirmān, Mubāriz al-Dīn in 740/1339-40 wrested the province from its ruler, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn b. Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Burhān; the latter briefly recovered it with the aid of the Kartid [*q.v.*] *malik* of Herat, but was definitively expelled in Djumādā II 741/November-December 1340. Bam was occupied a few years later following a protracted siege, and Mubāriz al-Dīn was able also to levy tribute on the rulers of Hurmuz, although he had to compete with the Īndjūids.

During the first half of his reign, Mubāriz al-Dīn was faced with repeated bids by the Īndjūid Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ on Kirmān and Yazd. He had, however, gained the upper hand by 754/1353, when he took Shīrāz from his rival. In 757/1356 Iṣfahān in turn fell to the Muẓaffarid forces, and Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ was captured and put to death. Prior to this, in 755/1354, Mubāriz al-Dīn's army had suppressed the principality of Shabānkāra in western Fārs. But his efforts further to expand his dominions by profiting from the overthrow of the Čūbānids by the Golden Horde were unsuccessful. Invading Ādharbāydjān in 758/1357, he defeated the Golden Horde general Akhīčūḳ, but was soon compelled to abandon the region to the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*]. His favour towards a grandson, Shāh Yaḥyā, caused friction with his sons, who in conjunction with their cousin Shāh Sulṭān deposed and blinded him on his return to Iṣfahān in Ramaḍān 759/August 1358. He died in Rabīʿ I 765/December 1363-January 1364.

Already under Mubāriz al-Dīn, the Muẓaffarid dominions were parcelled out as appanages for various princes of the dynasty. His eldest son, Shāh Muẓaffar, who predeceased him in 754/1353, is found in charge of Yazd (Kutubī, 26), and after the capture of Shīrāz, which became the capital, Kirmān was granted to the second son, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ (for the correct form of the name, see J. Aubin, *La fin de l'état sarbadâr du Khorassan*, in *JA*, cclxii [1974], 101-2, n. 32). After Mubāriz al-Dīn's deposition, this practice was retained, but led to constant internecine strife. Initially Shāh-i Shudjāʿ became the head of the dynasty, with his residence at Shīrāz, while of his two younger brothers Shāh Maḥmūd ruled in Iṣfahān and Abarḳūh and Sulṭān Aḥmad held Kirmān; their nephew Shāh Yaḥyā was shortly installed in Yazd. But in 765/1363-4 Shāh Maḥmūd rebelled, repulsed Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's punitive campaign against Iṣfahān, and with the aid of Shāh Yaḥyā and the Djalāyirids drove his brother from Shīrāz. Not until the end of 767/late summer of 1366 was Shāh-i Shudjāʿ, who had meanwhile seized Kirmān, able to reoccupy the city. In 768/1366-7 the threat to move on Iṣfahān secured Shāh Maḥmūd's recognition of his sovereignty, but the conflict continued to surface thereafter, and at the time of his death on 9 Shawwāl 776/13 March 1375 Shāh Maḥmūd was host to Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's son Sulṭān Uways, who had rebelled against his father. Despite the existence of a party within the city which favoured Sulṭān Uways, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ was able to take over Iṣfahān without a struggle.

This was perhaps the pinnacle of his success. Like his father, he endeavoured to conquer north-western Iran, briefly occupying Tabrīz, Ḳarābāgh, Arrān and Nakhčiwān [*q.vv.*] in 776/1375 on the death of the Djalāyirid ruler Shaykh Uways, before the onset of winter obliged him to retreat to Fārs. Nor was he yet free from difficulties with his kinsmen. An attempt to chastise Shāh Yaḥyā in Yazd misfired when the prince commanding the expedition, Shāh Yaḥyā's brother Shāh Manṣūr, went over to the enemy, and Shāh-i Shudjāʿ had to go in person to bring his nephew to heel. Not long afterwards, Shāh Manṣūr, who sought help from the Djalāyirids, was established in Shushtar, whence he attacked Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's ally, the ruler of Lur-i Buzurg [*q.v.*]. Shāh-i Shudjāʿ had just returned from an unsuccessful campaign against Shāh Manṣūr when he died on 22 Shaʿbān 786/9 October 1384.

Shāh-i Shudjāʿ had appointed his son Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn as his successor in Shīrāz and had compensated his brother Sulṭān Aḥmad with the renewed grant of Kirmān. But Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn was destined to enjoy his inheritance for only a brief space. First, Shāh Yaḥyā made himself master of Iṣfahān at the in-

THE MUẒAFFARID DYNASTY

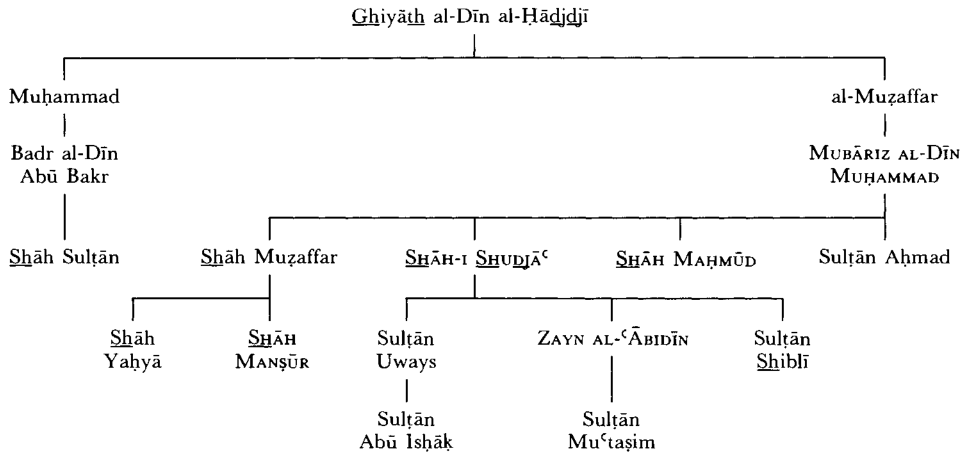

(Capitals indicate those who acted as paramount rulers from Shīrāz, the principal city)

vitation of its populace and even tried to take Shīrāz also. He was shortly expelled from Iṣfahān, however, and Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn put his own governor in the city. A far more formidable threat was posed by the Čaghatays of Transoxiana under Tīmūr-i Lang [*q.v.*], to whom the dying Shāh-i Shudjāʿ had written a conciliatory letter and whose sovereignty was in 787/1385-6 recognised by Sulṭān Aḥmad in Kirmān. On Tīmūr's first invasion of southern Iran in 789/1387, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn fled towards ʿIrāḳ, only to be captured by Shāh Manṣūr and incarcerated at Shushtar. Tīmūr replaced him in Shīrāz with Shāh Yaḥyā, while Sulṭān Aḥmad and Sulṭān Abū Isḥāḳ ruled in Kirmān and Sīrdjān respectively as the conqueror's subordinates. These arrangements were overturned by Shāh Manṣūr; he took advantage of Tīmūr's withdrawal to advance from Shushtar and wrest Shīrāz from Shāh Yaḥyā, who fled once more to Yazd. Shāh Manṣūr's aggressive activities soon provoked a coalition against him, consisting of Sulṭān Aḥmad, Shāh Yaḥyā and Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, who had meanwhile escaped from prison and ensconced himself in Iṣfahān. But the allies were unable to act in concert, and their defeat in Ṣafar 793/January-February 1391 permitted Shāh Manṣūr to occupy Iṣfahān and blind Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. Shāh Manṣūr's efforts to construct an alliance against Tīmūr were unavailing. He spent his last months devastating his relatives' territory, and at length fell fighting against Tīmūr's forces in 795/1392-3. The other members of the dynasty had been well received by the conqueror, but in Radjab 795/May 1393 an order was issued for their execution; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and Sulṭān Shiblī were spared in view of their blindness and taken to Samarkand. Of the Muẓaffarid territories, Fārs and Iṣfahān became the principality of Tīmūr's son ʿUmar Shaykh, and Kirmān was conferred on the *amīr* Edigü Barlās. Later, in the confusion following Tīmūr's death, a son of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn named Sulṭān Muʿtaṣim attempted to seize Iṣfahān, but was killed in 810/1407-8 or 812/1409-10 (Faṣīḥ-i Khwāfī, *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, ed. M. Farrukh, Tehran, 1339 sh./1960, iii, 184, 197).

The Muẓaffarids took pains to display an unimpeachable orthodoxy. Mubāriz al-Dīn acquired a reputation for dour enforcement of public morals, and during his conflict with the Īndjūids sought a legitimate basis for his power. In 755/1354 he did homage (*bayʿat*) to the representative of the puppet ʿAbbāsid caliph at Cairo, al-Muʿtaḍid, whose name he inserted in the *khuṭba* and on the coinage, and received a diploma of investiture; it is possible that he had previously negotiated with a scion of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty in India, though our sole source for this episode, Faryūmadī's continuation of Shabānkāraʾī's *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* (ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith, Tehran 1363 *sh.*/1984, 316), may be confused. Shāh-i Shudjāʿ in turn obtained a diploma from Cairo in 770/1368-9.

Cultural life flourished under the Muẓaffarids. Khwādjū Kirmānī [*q.v.*] dedicated to Mubāriz al-Dīn his *Gawhar-nāma*. Shāh-i Shudjāʿ was himself a man of talent who composed verse, and was the patron of poets, notably Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], and scholars such as al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.*]. Yet if the Muẓaffarid era appears as a golden age for men of letters, it is difficult to reject the comment by Tīmūr's biographer Shāmī (i, 135), admittedly a hostile witness, on the damage done to the agrarian economy of southern Iran by the princes' incessant feuds.

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coinage of Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar at Yazd and Kirman, in Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam, ii (1974), 157-71; and for relations with Hurmuz, J. Aubin, Les princes d'Ormuz du XIIIᵉ au XVᵉ siècle, in JA, ccxli (1953), 107-111. (P. JACKSON)

MUẒAFFARPUR, a town in northern Bihār State of the Indian Union (lat. 26° 7′ N., 85° 24″ E.), and also the name of a District of which it is the administrative centre; the District covers the ancient region of Tirhut between the Ganges and the southern border of Nepal. The region was attacked in the 8th/14th century by the Muslim rulers of Bengal; in the next century it passed to the S͟harḳī rulers of D̲j̲awnpur [*q.v.*], and then to Sikandar Lōdī of Dihlī. The town of Muẓaffarpur enshrines the name of its founder, the Emperor Akbar's commander Muẓaffar Khān, *dīwān* or head of revenue and finance [see DĪWĀN. v] and then governor of Bengal and Bihār in the later 10th/16th century, and under the Mug͟hals Tirhut was a *sarkar* of the *ṣūba* of Bihār. Under British rule, there was some unrest around Muẓaffarpur during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8; during this same century it became a great centre for indigo growing.

The town was, until the creation in 1912 of the province of Bihār and Orissa, within Bengal. In 1951 the population of the District was 10% Muslim. The town had in 1971 a population of 127,045, and is now the seat of the University of Bihār.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 93-107; *Bihar District gazetteers. Muzaffarpur*, Patna 1958. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**MUZANĪ**, ABŪ IBRĀHĪM ISMĀʿĪL B. YAḤYĀ (in the *Fihrist*, Ibrahīm), a pupil of al-S͟hāfiʿī, the "champion" of the S͟hāfiʿi school of law, was born in 175/791-2 and lived in Egypt. Although he compiled a celebrated compendium (*mukhtaṣar*) of the writings and lectures of his teacher, he was an independent thinker, who differed from his master on many points but not on the fundamentals (*uṣūl*), as the *Mukhtaṣar* eloquently shows (for example, his master's views are bluntly described as wrong: iv, 26; v, 20; etc.). There is even mention of a special *mad͟hhab* of al-Muzanī (al-Subkī, i, 243; al-Nawawī); in this connection reference may be made to the work of Ibn Suraydj (d. 305/917-18), *Kitāb al-Taḳrīb bayn al-Muzanī wa 'l-S͟hāfiʿī* (*Fihrist*, 213). His pupils spread al-S͟hāfiʿī's teaching in Syria, in ʿIrāḳ, and in K͟hurāsān; among others who attended his lectures was al-Ṭaḥawī, later a Ḥanafī (d. 321/933). The Mālikīs and Ẓāhirīs also conducted disputations with al-Muzanī (*Fihrist*, 201, 218). He died in Miṣr on Thursday, 24 Ramaḍān 264/29 May 878 (so in Ibn K͟hallikān, quoting Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīk͟h*; the statements in the *Fihrist*, Wednesday, 29 Rabīʿ I, and in al-Masʿūdī, Thursday 24 Rabīʿ I, cannot be right, as the days of the week do not fit) and was buried near the *turba* of al-S͟hāfiʿī in the cemetery of al-Ḳarāfa at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam Hills.

His principal work, which al-Nawawī (4) still regards as one of the five most important S͟hāfiʿī works, is the already mentioned *Mukhtaṣar*; according to the *Fihrist*, there were two editions of it: a larger which had fallen into oblivion by the time of the *Fihrist*, and a smaller which was much read and annotated. *Pace* Heffening's statement in *EI*¹ art. s.v., concerning the longer edition, this no longer exists, according to Sezgin. A version which offers a better text without these additions is given in the Gotha ms., Pertsch, *Katalog*, no. 938 (corresponding to the printed text, i, 3-iii, 254). Of the shorter version, which may be the same as the *Mukhtaṣar al-Mukhtaṣar* mentioned in al-S͟hīrāzī, Ibn K͟hallikān and Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, there exists only a fragment in the Berlin ms. Landberg 561 (corresponding to the printed texts, iii, 64-79, but very much abbreviated) and in a commentary (not the work itself, as Ahlwardt, no. 4,442 says) which belongs at the earliest to the 5th/11th century. It has not so far been possible to identify it with one of the numerous commentaries mentioned in Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, no. 11,628.

His other works, which have not survived, were, according to Ibn K͟hallikān and al-Subkī: 1. *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-kabīr* (also mentioned in Ibn Tag͟hribirdī; quoted in the Landberg ms. 561, fols. 5b and 20b); 2. *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-ṣag͟hīr* (also in Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī); these two works do not appear to be the same as the two editions of the *Mukhtaṣar*, as Wüstenfeld thought; 3. *al-Mant͟hūr*; 4. *al-Masāʾil al-muʿtabara*; 5. *al-Targ͟hīb fī 'l-ʿilm* (according to Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, no. 2,934); 6. *Kitāb al-Wat͟hāʾiḳ* (also *Fihrist* and Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, no. 14,174) perhaps identical with the book mentioned by Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, iv, 47, on the *s͟hurūṭ*. Al-Subkī (i, 245) also had seen: 7. *Kitāb al-ʿAḳārib* (also Ḥ. K͟halīfa, no. 10,315) in which al-Muzanī propounded 40 questions and which was handed down by al-Anmāṭī (d. 288-901); al-Subkī gives a few quotations; 8. *Kitāb Nihāyat al-ik͟htiṣār* (?lost), a very brief work giving for the most part al-Muzanī's own views; quotations are given by al-Subkī.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, viii, 56; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i, 212; S͟hīrazī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, no. 120 (in ms.); Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, GMS facs. ed., fol. 527a; Nawawī, *Tahd͟hīb* ed. Wüstenfeld, 775; Ibn K͟hallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i, 71; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s͟hāfiʿiyya*, Cairo, i, 238-47; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, *Annales*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 40; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām el-Shāfiʿī*, no. 30 (*Abh. GW Gött.*, xxxvi); R. Brunschvig, *Le livre de l'ordre et de la défense*, in *BEO*, xi (1945-6), 145-96 [sc. *K. al-Amr wa 'l-nahy*, presumably from *al-Masāʾil al-muʿtabara*]; Brockelmann, I², 190-1, S I, 305; Sarkīs, *Muʿd͟jam*, Cairo 1928, col. 1741; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 492-3. (W. HEFFENING*)

MUZĀRAʿA (A.), a legal term denoting a lease of agricultural land with profit-sharing. In this widespread type of verbal or written contract the owner of the land arranges with a husbandman (*ʿāmil*) for the latter to have the use of his land for a specified period, during which the husbandman sows, tends and harvests an agricultural crop. The seed may be provided by either the landowner or the husbandman. When the crop is harvested the two parties to the contract divide the proceeds in agreed shares, the share of the landowner constituting the rent (*ud͟jra*) for the lease of his land.

To comply with the requirements of the *s͟harīʿa*, the *muzāraʿa* must meet eight conditions: (1) the contracting parties must be of sound mind, but need not be free or of legal majority; (2) the location of the land must be certain (*maʿlūm*), and suitable for tillage during the period of the contract; (3) free access to the land must be allowed to the husbandman; (4) the period of the *muzāraʿa* must be stipulated, and must be long enough for one crop (if the crop has not matured at the expiry of the period stipulated, the husbandman is entitled to a wage until the maturity of the crop, deductible from the share of the landowner); (5) the contract must specify whether the landowner or the husbandman is to provide the seed; (6) the share of the profits accruing to the party who has not supplied the seeds must be specified; (7) the type and species of the seed must be specified; and (8) the shares in the produce must be unallocated (*s͟hāʾiʿ*), *i.e.*, neither party to the contract may take his profits from the

produce from one particular area of the leased land. Unilateral cancellation (*faskh*) of this contract is permitted to the provider of the seeds up to the time they are actually sown; otherwise cancellation may occur (as in any other *idjāra*) (1) through the death of one of the contracting parties (unless the immature crop is still in the ground, in which case the contract persists Until it is mature: the heirs of one party cannot force the other to clear the land until the crop has ripened); or (2) through legitimate excuse (*ʿudhr*), *e.g.*, if a judge orders the sale of the land to pay a debt.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Abu ʾl-Fatḥ, *K. al-Muʿāmalāt fi ʾl-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya wa ʾl-ḳawānīn al-miṣriyya*², Cairo 1340/1922, ii, 453-61; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazīrī, *K. al-Fiḳh ʿalā ʾl-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*⁵, iii, 1-20; Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḳūdar, *Natāʾidj al-afkār fī kashf al-rumūz wa ʾl-asrār*, Cairo 1356, viii, 32-45; *Muʿdjam fiḳh Ibn Ḥazm al-Ẓāhirī*, Damascus 1385/1966, ii, 930-4; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Zaylaʿī, *Naṣb al-rāya li-aḥādīth al-hidāya*, iv, 179-81; E. Pritsch and O. Spies, *Klassisches islamisches Recht*, in *Orientalisches Recht* [= *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abt., Ergänzungsband III, Leiden and Cologne 1964, 229. (M.J.L. Young)

MUZĀWADJA (A.), paronomasia, a play on words consisting in the "coupling" (root *z-w-dj*) of two terms which are similar in external form or in meaning and linked by the conjunction *wa-*. For example: (*bayna-hum*) *hardj wa-mardj* "between them there are disagreements", where the two elements have an independent existence; the same applies, in particular, to the formulas used to express totality: *al-kabīr wa ʾl-saghīr*, *al-kathīr wa ʾl-ḳalīl*, *al-sahl wa ʾl-waʿr*, etc., or additionally, expressions such as *al-ghanīma wa ʾl-iyāb* "booty and return (safe and sound)".

Every writer concerned with stylistic expression may take advantage of this procedure and enrich as he pleases the arsenal of clichés at his disposal; as a whole, these go back to the period when Arabic was an exclusively oral and hence expressive language. But even in dialect, where a more vivid use of *muzāwadja* might be expected, the puns thus formed seem rather formalised. L. Brunot (see *Bibl.*) has listed about a hundred examples among which there are some which derive from the classical language, such as (*dār l-ʿərs b-əl-ʿożōr w-əl bōżōr* "he held an extravagant marriage ceremony", corresponding to the expression *ʿudjaruh wa-budjaruh* "his apparent and hidden faults", in which each of the elements has preserved a valid meaning and may be employed separately, unlike the terms of the dialectal expression, which have lost their original sense. In addition, the "tandem" formed by *muzāwadja*, while being fundamentally an intensive form, sometimes possesses a form totally different from the sum of its components. Thus *lā səbt wā-lā ḥadd* "neither Saturday nor Sunday" = "without a pause"; *b-əl-ḥmāl wa-əž-žmāl* "with the loads and the camels" = "in great quantity". This is also the case, for example, with *maʿṭōṣ-mənṭōṣ* (*mən bābāh*) "he is the spitting image (of his father)" (lit. sneezed on).

But here, we are confronted with a particular form of *muzāwadja* known as *itbāʿ*. This figure of speech is essentially constituted by the repetition of a qualifying term to which there is added a metaplasm, i.e., the deliberate alteration of a radical consonant, usually the first, but never the third. The phenomenon is very well described by al-ʿAskarī (*Ṣināʿatayn*, 194) with regard to repetition: "When the Arabs introduce a qualificative (*ṣifa*) and wish to reinforce it (*tawkīd*), they are unwilling to repeat it purely and simply; therefore they change one letter (*ḥarf*) and place the word thus formed after the first. For example, they say *ʿaṭshān naṭshan* ("very thirsty"); not wishing to repeat *ʿaṭshān*, they replace the *ʿayn* with a *nūn*. Similarly, *ḥasan basan* ("wonderfully attractive"), *shayṭān layṭān* ("a veritable demon"), etc. The first element of the new lexical unity is called *matbūʿ* or *mutbaʿ*, and the second *tābiʿ*; sometimes the group is strengthened by a third, as in *ḥasan-basan-ḳasan*; only the first has a genuine existence, but *basan* has, curiously, given birth to a denominative verb, *absana* "to be fair of face".

In principle, a true *itbāʿ* must obey three conditions: (1) It should be performed by simple juxtaposition, without a conjunctive particle; (2) It is characterised by a second element formed by a modification of R^1; and (3), it is denied independent existence in the Arabic lexicon.

The first condition poses no difficulty, since the presence of a particle transfers the couplet into the category of *muzāwadja* examined above. The phoneme replacing R^1 is a labial (*b* or *m*), a nasal (*n*) or a liquid (*l*) in 80% of cases. It happens sometimes that the metaplasm ($R^1 > R'^1$) points to a second radical which already exists, as in *fāḍiḥ-māḍiḥ* "one who abuses with his slanders", so long as this "root" does not itself derive from a *tābiʿ* detached from its *matbūʿ*. In this respect, an interesting example is presented by *djāʾiʿ-nāʾiʿ* "very hungry", which the *LA* discusses at length, concluding, erroneously, that the word *nūʿ* is independent. In fact, this is a true case of *itbāʿ*, but *nāʾiʿ* has been taken for the second term of a couplet quite naturally expressing thirst after hunger; once detached, this *tābiʿ*, considered as meaning "to be thirsty", has given rise to a substantive, which also figures in a *muzāwadja*: *al-djūʿ wa ʾl-nūʿ* "hunger and thirst", and even to a verb *nāʿa/yanūʿ* "to be thirsty".

Finally, two qualificatives which have at least R^3 in common and possess similar or complementary senses give the impression of constituting an *itbāʿ* since, being not contradictory and mutually exclusive, they are simply juxtaposed: *mudjarrab-mudarrab* "very experienced", *djāmiʿ-māniʿ* "of unassailable thoroughness", *shāʾiʿ-dhāʾiʿ* "of public notoriety". These are not true cases of *itbāʿ*.

Bibliography: Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiḳh al-lugha*, Beirut 1383/1964, 270; idem, *K. al-Itbāʿ wa ʾl-muzāwadja*, ed. R. Brünnow, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 225-48; ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1952, 194; Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Ḥalabī, *K. al-Itbāʿ*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, Damascus 1380/1961; Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, Cairo n.d., i, 244-51 (who cites Ibn Fāris, *Itbāʿ*, Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*, al-Kisāʾī, al-Ḳālī, Thaʿlab, Ibn Durayd, *al-Djamhara*, etc., and gives a certain number of examples); M. Grünert, *Die Alliteration im Alt-Arabischen*, Vienna 1888; A. Fischer, *Ausdrücke per merismum im Arabischen*, in *Streitberg-Festgabe*, Leipzig 1924, 46-58; L. Brunot, *La* muzāwadja *dans les dialectes citadins du Maroc*, in *Mélanges L. Massignon*, Damascus 1956, i, 251-82; Ch. Pellat, *Un fait d'expressivité en arabe, l'*itbāʿ, in *Arabica*, iv/2 (1957), 131-49. (Ch. Pellat)

Muzāwadja is also a technical term in rhetoric, again denoting "coupling", but of two themes conveying comparable effects by means of two parallel expressions, as in these verses of al-Buḥturī (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1329, 317):

idha ḥtarabat yawman fa-fāḍat dimāʾuhā tadhakkarati l-ḳurbā fa-fāḍat dumūʿuhā.

"When (the knights) fight one day and *their blood* flows freely,

they remember their kinsmen and *their tears* flow freely".

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī al-Khaṭīb, *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, Cairo 1322, 354; Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1304, 435; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1873, 87. (M. Bencheneb)

MUZAYNA, an Arab tribe. They were reckoned by the genealogists among the sons of ʿAmr b. Udd b. Ṭābikha, of ʿAdnān; the *nisba* is Muzanī. At the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, when Muzayna first becomes visible to the historian, it resided south of Medina and consisted predominantly of poor nomads; some members of the tribe may have resided in small villages in the area. It seems fair to assume that they were dependent on Medina for market goods and, perhaps, occasional employment as herdsmen or labourers. An anecdote about the Prophet reflects Muzayna's close ties with Medina, and with the Prophet. According to it, the latter assigned residences (*manāzil*) and places of prayer (*masādjid*) to every clan of the nomads (*al-ʿarab*) except for Muzayna; when they came to ask him why, he said, "My place of prayer is your place of prayer; you are my nomads (*badw*) and I am your settlement (*ḥaḍar*)". This suggests that the Muzayna were seen as virtual nomadic extensions of the population of Medina itself. The tribe had some famous poets, notably Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā and his son Kaʿb during the *Djāhiliyya* and Maʿn b. Aws in the early Islamic era; their poetry was favoured by the caliph Muʿāwiya.

Muzayna evidently embraced Islam and allied itself with the Prophet from the beginning of his consolidation of control over Medina. The sources mention individuals of Muzayna as participants on the Muslim side at the battles of Badr and Uḥud, and they played a major role in later campaigns of the Prophet such as Ḥudaybiya, Khaybar, the conquest of Mecca and Ḥunayn. At the conquest of Mecca (A.H. 8), Muzayna is said to have contributed 1,300 warriors (or, according to Ibn Hishām, 1,003) out of a total of 10,000 troops, in any case one of the largest single tribal contingents; only the Anṣār, with 4,000, and Djuhayna, with 1,400 (but al-Wāḳidī says only 800) contributed more. At Ḥunayn, according to al-Wāḳidī, the Muzayna tribesmen were led under three separate banners. Some members of the tribe, such as Maʿḳil b. Sinān, were granted a tract of land (*ḳaṭīʿa*) by the Prophet. Although it offered significant backing to the Prophet and may have been numerous, however, Muzayna does not appear to have been particularly powerful; it is difficult to get a clear idea of its clan structure from surviving information, and no major clans or clan leaders are prominent during the life of the Prophet or in later events.

Muzayna remained loyal to Medina during the *ridda*, and helped Abū Bakr defend Medina against other local tribes who tried to overcome it after the death of the Prophet. With the Islamic conquests, some members of the tribe campaigned outside Arabia in the Muslim armies. Most prominent were those who participated in the conquest of ʿIrāḳ and western Persia. There al-Nuʿmān (b. ʿAmr) b. Muḳarrin, his brother (?) Suwayd, Maʿḳil b. Yasār, Bishr b. al-Muḥaffiz, and others are mentioned in Khālid b. al-Walīd's first raids in ʿIrāḳ, at the decisive battle of al-Ḳādisiyya, at the conquest of al-Madāʾin, in the conquest of southern ʿIrāḳ, at the battle of Nihāwand (especially al-Nuʿmān and his brothers), and at Hamadhān, Rayy, Ḳūmis, Ṭabaristān, and Djurdjān. During the conquest era, some Muzanīs were appointed to district governorships (e.g. of Kaskar or of Djundayshāpur) by the caliph ʿUmar.

Following the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, colonies of Muzayna tribesmen took root in Baṣra and Kūfa. Maʿḳil b. Yasār settled in Baṣra, and the Maʿḳil canal constructed there by Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān is said to have been named after him; in the late first century, Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muzanī was a somewhat prominent figure in the town's religious life. Other than these details, however, little information has survived on the Muzayna in Baṣra. As for Kūfa, Sayf b. ʿUmar's account of the original settlement of the town states that Muzayna was allocated a quarter along one of the camp's roads; they were apparently reckoned part of the *ahl al-ʿāliya*, who in Kūfa were called the quarter of Medina. Some Muzayna tribesmen came from Kūfa to back ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib before the battle of the Camel (A.H. 36), and in A.H. 65 thirty Muzanīs from Kūfa were among the "Penitents" (*tawwābūn*) who fought to the death in remorse for their failure to support al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Incidental mentions of the Muzayna quarter during the rebellion of al-Mukhtār (A.H. 66) and of Shabīb (A.H. 76) suggest that they lived on the edge of Kūfa or a little apart from other settlements of the town. Thereafter, we read nothing more of the Muzayna of Kufa; presumably they were assimilated to other groups in the vicinity.

Muzayna appears to have taken no significant part in the conquest of Syria, but some may have been recruited under ʿUthmān to help garrison Egypt. Later, a few prominent Muzanīs (especially the Shāfiʿī scholar Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā al-Muzanī [d. 264/878]) were active in Egypt; but the Muzanīs of Egypt were always a small group, far outnumbered by the South Arabian immigrants (Khawlān, Tudjīb, Ḥaḍramawt, Maʿāfir, etc.). A settlement of Muzayna tribesmen in Spain, at Baena, *ca.* 60 km southeast of Cordova, may have come from Egypt, or may have come directly from the Ḥidjāz.

The majority of Muzayna appears to have remained for centuries near its home territories in the Ḥidjāz following the rise of Islam. Reports of the severe drought of A.H. 18, by which they were hard hit, reveals that Muzayna was still living near Medina and that the tribe still seems to have consisted mainly of nomads. Some Muzanīs, along with other local tribesmen, participated in the siege of ʿUthmān in Medina at the beginning of the first civil war. In A.H. 145, the Medinans and some local nomadic tribes, including Muzayna, backed the rebellion in the Ḥidjāz of the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] "the Pure Soul" (*al-nafs al-zakiyya*), and a number of Muzanīs were taken hostage by the government. The 4th/10th century geographers mention some places south of Medina, and several farther to the east and north-east along the pilgrim road from ʿIrāḳ, as being in Muzayna territory or as being settlements (*manāzil*) of Muzayna, and Muzayna also appears to have made up part of the population of Medina at this time. Increasingly, however, former Muzayna settlements south of Medina were taken over by the Ṭālibids or by the South Arabian tribe of Ḥarb, which entered the area beginning in the later 3rd/9th century. Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī (d. 685/1286-7) states that in his day, the region just south of Medina was no longer Muzayna territory. Like many other tribes between Mecca and Medina, Muzayna joined the Ḥarb tribal coalition; unlike many others, however, Muzayna preserved its old name and its identity as a separate group or clan within Ḥarb. In the latter 10th/16th or first half of the 11th/17th century, a significant part of Muzayna-Ḥarb migrated northwards from the Ḥidjāz into Sinai, where they joined the ʿUḳaylāt and Ṣawāliḥa tribes to form the Ṭawara confederation. Muzayna's territories lay in the southern part of Sinai, where they

lived from the produce of the few oases (Nabk, Dhahab) and from sparse flocks, as well as from transport services. The remainder of the Ḥarb-Muzayna left the area near Medina during the early 19th century, making their way to Wādī al-Rima and Ḳaṣīm in central Arabia, particularly during the wars between Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha and the Wahhābīs in 1815-16.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, index; Wāḳidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Oxford 1966, index; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, Cairo 1967, 320; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv A, 21, 99; *ibid.*, v, 99; Hamdānī, 130, 176, 179; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. Reisülküttap 598, Istanbul, fols. 813-28; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 312, 314; Samʿānī, 420; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿarab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAmmān 1982, 471; M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii, Leipzig 1943, 156-60, 319, 365-8, 375, iii, Wiesbaden 1952, 10, 63 (indispensable, particularly on the later centuries); W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, i, Tafel 88, ii, 10-11, ii, 439; E. Shoufani, *Al-Riddah and the Muslim conquest of Arabia*, Beirut and Toronto 1972, index; F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, index and appendices, for references to Muzanīs during the conquest; ʿAbdulwāḥid Dhanūn Ṭāhā, *The Muslim conquest and settlement of North Africa and Spain*, London and New York 1989, 56, 130; M. Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*, Jerusalem 1989, index. For a study of the Sinai Muzayna (Mzeina) in recent years, see Smadar Lavie, *The poetics of military occupation: Mzeina allegories of Bedouin identity under Israeli and Egyptian rule*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1990, with references to other accounts of the Muzayna in the later 20th century.

(F.M. Donner)

al-**MUZDALIFA**, a place roughly halfway between Minā and ʿArafat where the pilgrims returning from ʿArafat spend the night between 9 and 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, after performing the two evening *ṣalāts*. On the next morning they set off before sunrise and climb up through the valley of Muḥassir to Minā. Other names for this place are *al-Mashʿar al-ḥarām*, from sūra II, 194, and Djamʿ (cf. *Laylat Djamʿ*: Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 129, l. 6); but Djamʿ, according to another statement, comprises the whole stretch between ʿArafat and Minā, both included, so that *Yawm Djamʿ* (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vi, 30 l. 11) is explained as the day of ʿArafat and *Ayyām Djamʿ* as the days of Minā. The rites associated with the night of Muzdalifa go back to the old pagan period, which the Arabs themselves recognise when they make Ḳuṣayy introduce the kindling of the sacred fire in this night and say that guiding of the departure for Minā is a privilege of the family of Adwān.

The sacred place in Muzdalifa was the hill of Ḳuzaḥ [see ḳawṣ ḳuzaḥ]. Even after Muḥammad, in deliberate contrast to the pagan practice, had declared all Muzdalifa to be *mawḳif* [see ḥadjdj, i], this hill retained its ancient sanctity. According to Azraḳī, there was a thick round tower upon it on which the Muzdalifa fire was kindled; in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd it was a fire of wood; later, it was illuminated with wax-candles. In the Muslim period, a mosque was built about 400 yards from the tower, of which al-Azraḳī gives a detailed description, while al-Muḳaddasī speaks of a place of prayer, a public fountain and a minaret. Burton also mentions a high isolated tower at Muzdalifa, but the illumination in the night of Muzdalifa now takes place on the mosque.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 77; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 41; ii/1, 125, 129; Ṭabarī, i, 1105, 1755; Azraḳī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 36, 130, 411 ff., 415 ff.; *BGA*, i, 17; ii, 24; iii, 76-7; Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 243-4, 509-10; Yāḳūt, iv, 519; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, 412-13; Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah*, London 1856, iii; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, 154-8; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 81-2, 120; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, 157. (F. Buhl)

MUZDAWIDJ (a.), a technical term of philology, rhetoric and prosody.

It means among philologists the use of two terms in which the form of one is changed to make it resemble that of the other. For example, in this *ḥadīth* (Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, Cairo 1313, ii, 246): *irdjiʿna maʾzūrāt ghayr maʾdjūrāt*, "return home laden with sin and not with rewards", the word *mawzūrāt* from the root *w-z-r* has been changed into *maʾzūrāt* to give it the same form as *maʾdjūrāt*. It is similar in the phrases (cf. *LA*, xix, 353): *ghadiyyāt wa-ʿashiyyāt*, *ghudayyānāt wa-ʿushayyānāt*, *bi 'l-ghadāyā wa 'l-ashāyā* "mornings and evenings" in which the form of the first word has been adapted to that of the second.

The *muzdawidj*, among rhetoricians, consists in establishing a kind of alliteration between two adjacent words having the same form, the same metrical quantity and the same rhyme (*rawī*); e.g., in this verse of the Ḳurʾān (XXVII, 22): *wa-djiʾtuka min Sabaʾin bi-nabaʾin* "I have brought thee news from Sabaʾ" where we have the resemblance between *Sabaʾin* and *nabaʾin*. We may give as another example this *ḥadīth* (Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1911, iv, 291 under *h-y-n*): *al-muʾminūn haynūn laynūn* "Believers are peacable and mild in character" and the phrase (cf. xvii, 280, 331) *hayn layn, hayyin layyin* (cf. muzāwadja).

The object of the *muzdawidj* among poets is to make the hemistichs of a poem rhyme together two by two. As a rule, it is used in didactic *urdjūzas* (like the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik); Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, however, in his *Kashkūl* (Cairo 1302) has used it with the *wāfir* and *ramal* metres (76, 78, 83). In Persian and Turkish, it is called *mathnawī* [*q.v.*]. The court astronomer of the caliph al-Manṣūr, al-Fazārī, composed several didactic *urdjūzas*, some of which at least displayed the rhyme scheme *aaa bbb ccc* etc. According to al-Bīrūnī, *Ifrād al-maḳāl*, Ḥaydarābād 1367/1948, 142-4, he imitated in this the Indian star tables, which were written in the poetic form *shulūk* (*śloka*). Yāḳūt, who quotes the opening of al-Fazārī's *zīdj* poem (*Irshād*, ed. Rifāʿī, xvii, 118-19), calls it a *muzdawidja*, but adds at the end that it consists of repetitions of "three verses" (*thalāthat akfāl*). There is a kind of poem in the *radjaz* metre (and sometimes some verses follow strictly the *sarīʿ* metre) called *muzdawidjāt* (a collection of them was published in Cairo in 1299); they consist of strophes of five hemistichs in which the first four hemistichs rhyme together and the fifth ones have a common rhyme. Sometimes the strophe has only four hemistichs, the first three rhyming together and the fourth rhyming jointly, as in *al-Iʿlām bi-muthallath al-kalām* of Ibn Mālik (Cairo 1329) and *Nayl al-arab fī muthallathāt al-ʿArab* of Ḥasan Ḳuwaydir al-Khalīlī (Būlāḳ 1301). The *ḳaṣīda muzdawidja* was also used for narrative, often historical, poems; the earliest are by Abān b. Lāḥiḳī, ʿAlī b. al-Djahm, Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, Constantinople 1307, 142; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Constantinople 1317, i, 199, 672; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musul.*, Paris 1873, 375; G.E. von Grunebaum, *On the origin*

and early development of Arabic muzdawij *poetry*, in *JNES*, iii/1 (1944), 9-13; J.T. Monroe, *The historical Arjūza of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, a tenth-century Hispano-Arabic epic poem*, in *JAOS*, xci (1971), 67-95.

(M. BENCHENEB*)

MYSORE [see MAHISUR].

MYSTICISM [see TAṢAWWUF].

MYTILENE [see MIDILLI].

MZĀB (MZĀB), a region of the Algerian Sahara which currently corresponds to the *wilāya* of Ghardaia (Ghardāya). It extends over an area of approximately 8,000 km², between latitudes 32° and 33° 20′ N. and longitudes 0° 4′ and 2° 30′E. It has the appearance of a vast stony plain, declining in altitude from 700 m. in the west to 300 m. in the east, intersected by deep and tortuous valleys, whence its name of Chebka (*shabka* = network) of the Mzab. This enormous expanse, travelled by the nomadic tribes of the Chaanba, Mekhadma, Said Otba (Shʿāmba, Mkhādma, Saʿīd ʿUtba), contains five centres of sedentary population. First of all there is the Pentapolis, the heart of the Mzab, with its five cities founded by the Ibāḍīs [*q.v.*] in the 5th/11th century which are strung out along the valley of the wadi Mzab over a distance of some 12 km, from east to west: El Ateuf, Bou Noura, Beni Isguen, Melika and Ghardaia (al-ʿAṭf, Bū Nūra, Bni Isgen, Mlīka, Ghardāya). Situated on the meridian of Algiers, it lies 500 km from the latter as the crow flies (600 km by road). In the 11th/17th century, two new ksour (sing. ksar, *kaṣr*, pl. *kuṣūr*) were founded: Guerrara (Garāra), 85 km to the north-east, then Berriane (Barryān), 40 km to the north of the Pentapolis. The ksar of Metlīlī, 25 km to the south, is a Chaanba fiefdom, closely linked to the Pentapolis. Daya Ben Dahoua (Ḍāyat Ibn (?) Daḥwa) has been developed since the beginning of the 20th century; its palm-groves, cultivated by the Mdabih (Mdābiḥ), grow luxuriantly at a distance of 8 km upstream from Ghardaia. Finally, the most recently established, the oasis of Zelfana, is a site for the sedentarisation of nomads around an area irrigated by deep artesian wells.

The climate of the Mzab is arid with very little rainfall: an annual average of 60 mm over 50 years, with extreme values of 1 mm, recorded in 1895, and of 176 mm. in 1923. Temperatures are mild in winter (11° being the December-January average), although frost sometimes occurs, and even snow in exceptional circumstances. In summer, they rise to an average of 34° C. for July, with a maximum of 50°. The daily amplitude can then be in excess of 20°. The dryness of the atmosphere and the intensity of evaporation prevent the growth of any vegetation other than a variety of coarse grass (*ʿishb*) which flourishes briefly after rainfall, a few tufts in the base of the wadis, and, especially, irrigated crops in the oases. All life is thus dependent on hydraulic resources. These are the flood-waters of the wadis which, diverted by dams, directly irrigate the date palm plantations and add to the subterranean water-level. In former times, the waters of the wadi Mzab (the name is linked by popular etymology to the Arabic *mīzāb* "gutter"), the wadi Nsa or the wadi Metlili used to flow to distances between a 100 and 200 km before disappearing, but the retention-dams constructed for the benefit of the date palm plantations, to encourage filtration and the building up of subterranean stocks, have tapped considerable volumes of water. The subterranean level is reached by wells to a depth of 20 to 30 m, the height of the water varying considerably according to time of year and place. On the other hand, limestone rocks dating from the Cretaceous period contain water-bearing levels, of the type known as "Albian"; the ceiling is at a depth of 400 m in the Pentapolis, supplying water at a depth of 80 m, which implies pumping onto the surface. In Guerrara and Zelfana this water flows naturally, under strong pressure, which ought to facilitate the irrigation of vast areas, but it is also very hot (45° to 55°) and full of impurities causing sealing or furring-up, which poses formidable problems of exploitation.

The Mzab makes its first appearance in history with the Arab conquest. The Khāridjites, many of them Ibāḍīs, fleeing from persecution on the part of the Umayyads as well as on that of the supporters of ʿAlī, arrived in the Maghrib, founded communities in the Djabal Nefūsa [*q.v.*], in Wadi Rīgh and in Wadi Mya, and probably within a fairly short time converted certain Berber tribes of the Mzab, in particular the ancestors of the Saʿīd ʿUtba, currently Mālikīs, whose nomadic itineraries linked Wadi Mya, Mzab and Sersou, where Tāhart [*q.v.*] was for a century-and-a-half the capital of the Ibāḍī kingdom of the Rustamids [*q.v.*]. In 296/909, the last Rustamid *imām* took refuge at Isedraten (Sedrata), a confederation of ksour founded at the end of the 1st/7th century, probably some eight km from what is currently Ouargla (Wārgla < Wārgilān). But the prosperity of the Wadi Mya attracted too much envy: an entrepôt and a northern gateway to the desert, dealing in gold, slaves, cereals, leather and dates, the oasis was too accessible to outside interference, to such an extent that from the beginning of the 5th/11th century the Ibāḍīs began to establish new communities, in the heart of the labyrinth of the Chebka, among their "Beni-Moçab" (Bni Muṣʿab) co-religionists. Tajnint/El Ateuf was founded in 402/1012, At Bounour/Bou Noura in 437/1046 or 440/1048, At Tisjen/Beni Isguen in 440/1048 or 445/1053 and Taghardayt/Ghardaia in 445/1053 or 478/1085. Regarding At Amlight/Melika, the sources are more contradictory: a first ksar was constructed at the base of the slope, around 442/1050; having been destroyed, it was rebuilt on the summit, either in the 6th/12th or the 7th/13th century. In the 11th/17th century, the *djamāʿa* of Ghardaia decided to prohibit any new construction upstream in the valley of the wadi Mzab, to protect its date palm groves from the damage caused by lack of flood-water, such damage having already been inflicted on the trees of Melika and El Ateuf (the groves of Beni Isguen and of Bou Noura, in the neighbouring valleys, were less affected). Under the pressure of demographic growth, it became necessary to found new settlements further afield: Lagara/Guerrara, in 1630, in the valley of the wadi Zegrir and Berriane in 1090/1679 in that of the wadi Nsa. Isedraten was destroyed in 467/1075, and the majority of its inhabitants reached the Mzab, the others taking refuge at Ouargla.

The population of the Pentapolis was estimated in 1896 at 18,892 inhabitants; in 1954, the number had risen to 25,541; and in 1966, to 46,630, to which should be added the 40,975 inhabitants of the other towns of the Mzab. In the census of 1987, the *wilāya* of Ghardaia comprised 216,140 residents, including 35,351 for Guerrara and 21,361 for Berriane. To the 111,350 of the Pentapolis (Ghardaia: 62,251, Beni Isguen-Melika: 21,744, Bou Noura: 18,642, El-Ateuf: 8,713), may be added the Daya ben Dahoua (5,621), which gives a total of 116,691 inhabitants for the valley of the Mzab. Metlili has a further 23,616 residents, Zelfana, 4,345, and four other small settlements, including Sebseb, accommodate a few thousand more. This spectacular demographic increase, by

no means untypical of northern Algeria, has shattered the ancient urban structures. The five ksour, formerly enclosed within their ramparts, are now linked by a virtually continuous strip of urban construction, extending from upstream of Ghardaia to Bou Noura, El Ateuf remaining, for the time being, outside this urban proliferation.

However, the Mzab has been able to preserve its originality, architectural as well as religious, despite the temptations of modernity. The houses of the ksour are often redesigned internally to respond to modern requirements of comfort, and while some have the appearance of somewhat inhospitable blocks of concrete, many have retained their traditional outward aspect, totally integrated into the hierarchical pyramid which rises towards the mosque. The more modern suburbs which have been developed at their feet are composed of villas or town-houses of the European type, with a garage or even a shop on the ground floor, and often with the addition of an extra storey, family resources permitting. More or less rectangular axes are imposed on these new suburbs, but any centrality of symbolic hierarchy is absent from them. The most coveted ones encroach upon the date palm groves, where the vast gardens, formerly affording summer residences for the wealthy, are increasingly threatened by modern housing needs.

The Mzabite Confederation which links the Pentapolis, Berriane and Guerrara, demonstrates the cohesion of this heterodox Berber society. Although Berber-speaking Ibāḍīs represent only about 60% of the population of the Mzab, they remain the dominant elements. The Mālikīs, formerly sedentary or nomadic Arabs tolerated only in peripheral sectors, have been reinforced by migrants from the north, temporary or permanent, providing administrative services and industrial manpower. But Ibāḍī society, whether confined within its ramparts or, apparently, more accessible in the new suburbs, remains in fact closed to them.

Social constraints, such as were described by M. Mercier in 1932, have evolved little, and the fundamentalist drive which has overtaken the whole of Algeria has done nothing to diminish the austerity of the "desert puritans". However, while the situation of women (see A.-M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927) has changed little, except materially (electricity, running water, gas and household appliances), the field of activity open to men has expanded considerably. The ancient and strictly-codified exile of Mzabite grocers in the north having been vigorously opposed but not brought to an end during the Socialist period, the traditional spirit of enterprise has been applied to new sectors. The two largest industrial units, the plaster-works and the tube factory of Noumerate (an industrial zone situated 20 km. south of Ghardaia, near the airfield), as well as the central distribution of electricity and gas, are dependent on the state. But private investment finances long-distance commerce—a Mzabite tradition—as well as the transportation and manufacture of consumer goods: principally textiles (carpets, linen, canvas, woollens, hosiery, including Algeria's first establishment for the production of socks, at Guerrara), and also plastics and metals, while the construction industry is particularly buoyant. The various trades benefit from a skilled and inexpensive workforce, while the local reinvestment of profits also supports the maintenance of the date palm grove, which following the agrarian revolution and the suppression of the *khamāsa* [see MUZĀRAʿA] had often been neglected.

The date palm groves of the ksour have often been considered as a luxury. They are in fact a necessity, not only for the production of food, since they could never claim to feed the entire population of the valley, but for other vital purposes. The only vegetation in this world of stones, they provide shade and shelter for fragrant gardens, the summer residences of the wealthy and places of recreation for city-dwellers fleeing the pressure and the stifling alleyways of the town. Furthermore, the date-production of the more recently established plantations, such as those of Daia ben Dahoua or Zelfana, is by no means negligible, and vegetables and fruit (lemons, pomegranates, medlars or figs) are much prized locally. In 1987, 4,266 farmers were counted among the sedentary population, and 955 farmers or stock-breeders among the nomads of the *wilāya*, i.e., close to 13% of the working population.

Thus the Ibāḍī society of the Mzab, which has sought to preserve its religious and consequently its social identity by means of a radical retreat into an arid and inaccessible desert, has succeeded in finding the means of survival in organised and lucrative commercial activity. Despite its isolation and the absence of any local resources other than energy (the gas of Hassi R'mel = Ḥāsī Rmel), it has shown remarkable aptitude in adapting to the contemporary industrial world. But demographic and urban expansion threatens the unity of its population and of its architecture—the jewel of the Sahara—while rising standards of living, new material needs and the influence of the media threaten its religious cohesion and the traditional structures which provided its former vitality.

Bibliography: Of the general references given by M. Mercier in his article in *EI*[1] Suppl., the following are the main ones which should be noted: Duveyrier, *L'oued Mzab et le chemin de Metlili*, in *Bull. Soc. Geogr.* (1876); A. de Calassanti Motylinski, *Guerara depuis sa fondation*, Algiers 1884; idem, *Notes historiques sur le Mzab*, Algiers 1889; J. Brunhes, *Les oasis du Souf et de Mzab*, in *La Géographie* (1902); M. Mercier, *La civilisation urbaine au Mzab*, Algiers 1932. To these should be added: R. Josse, *Croissance urbaine au Sahara*: *Ghardaïa*, in *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, no. 89 (Bordeaux 1970), 46-72; B. Benyoucef, *Le processus d'urbanisation et les transformations sociales au M'zab*, thesis, Paris IV 1983, unpubl.; J. Bisson, *L'industrie, la ville, la palmeraie au désert*, in *Maghreb-Machrek*, no. 99 (1983), 5-29; idem, *Villes du Sahara algérien*, in *ibid.*, no. 100, 25-41; J. Lethielleux, *Ouargla, cité saharienne, des origines au début du XX*[e] *siècle*, Paris 1983; S. Faath, *Die Banû Mîzâb, eine religiose Minderheit in Algerien zwischen Isolation und Integration*, Scheesel 1985.

(M. ROUVILLOIS-BRIGOL)

The Berber dialect of the Mzab (*tagawbant*/*tamazight*) has been the object of several studies which are old, but by no means out-of-date, if the requirement is for concrete information and not theorising. In the first place there is the monograph of R. Basset, *Étude sur la zenatia du Mzab, de Ouargla et de l'Oued Rir'*, Paris 1893, followed by Lounis, *Grammaire mozabite*, Algiers 1897; E. Masqueray, *Comparaison d'un vocabulaire du dialecte des Zenaga avec le vocabulaire correspondant des Chawia et des Beni Mzab*, in *Missions scientifiques*, v (1878), 473-533; J. Biarney, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines*, Paris 1924, 165-265; from 1946 onward, the *Fichier de Documentation Berbère* has recorded the results of research carried out in the Mzab.

It is worth noting that the *ʿAkīda* which provides the

basis of the religious education of the Ibāḍīs of the Mzab, of Djarba and of the Djabal Nafūsa has been written down in Berber and in Arabic letters, then translated into Arabic (see Motylinski, *L'Aqida des Abadhites*, in *Recueil de Mémoires*... Algiers 1905, 505-45). But it is Arabic which the Mzabites used for their religious or historical books, which constitute the greater part of their written literature (see Motylinski, *Les livres de la secte abadhite*, Algiers 1885; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 64-7); worth mentioning in particular are the *Kitāb al-Sīra wa-akhbār al-aʾimma* of Abū Zakariyyāʾ (5th/11th century [*q.v.*]), tr. E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1879; the *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh* of al-Dardjīnī (7th/13th century [*q.v.*]), supplemented by the *K. al-Djawāhir* of al-Barrādī (8th/14th century [*q.v.*]); the *K. al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī, Cairo undated. A work dedicated to Ḳurʾānic exegesis is the *Kitāb al-Nayl (al-Nīl) wa-shifāʾ al-ʿalīl* of the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1808 at Beni Isguen), which has been given a lengthy (8 vols.) commentary by ʿAṭfiyāsh (1820-1914 [*q.v.*]) in his *Sharḥ K. al-Nīl wa-shifāʾ al-ʿalīl*, Cairo 1305-43 (see also the list of his works in the article devoted to him in *EI*²).

The individuality of the legislation of the Mzabites has, for its part, attracted the attention of scholars, including the following: Zeys, *Législation mozabite*, Algiers 1886; M. Morand, *Les qanouns du Mzab*, Algiers 1910; M. Mercier, *Étude sur le waqf abadhite*, Algiers 1927.

A French protectorate since 1853, the Mzab was annexed in 1882, and the rules of administration which had been in force there were not retained. In each town there were two *djamāʿas*: the *ḥalḳa* of the *iʿazzaben* or of the *ṭolba* (from a pl* *ṭulabāʾ*) and the *djamāʿa* of the *ʿawāmm*. The first had the primary function of determining, in *ittifāḳāt*, the scale of corporal or other punishments executed by the *djamāʿa* of the *ʿawāmm*, which became, before the independence of Algeria (1962), the essential organ of municipal administration. (M. Mercier*)

N

NAʿĀM (a.) (singular *-a*, pl. *-āt*, *naʿāʾim*) collective noun designating the ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) without any distinction of sex.

The only representative of the family of struthionids, of the sub-class of ratities or runners, the ostrich, sometimes called "ostrich-camel" (Greek στρουθο-κάμηλος, Persian *ushturmurgh* "camel-bird", Turkish *devekushu* "camel-bird"), at present lives only in equatorial and southern Africa, although some were still alive in the deserts of Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Arabia until the first quarter of our century; it is said that it was from the most ancient times familiar to the Arab nomads of these countries, as it was to the Berber tribes of the Maghrib and to the Touareg (in Tamashek, *enhel* pl. *inhal*, fem. *tanhelt* pl. *tinhal*). In Mesopotamia, where the sub-species *Str. cam. syriacus* was known, the Sumero-Akkadian tablets mention it generally (Sumerian *gha-shir-mushen*, Akkadian *lurmu*). The Bedouins had the leisure to observe in detail this large biped with the silhouette of a camel, and its inability to fly caused it not to be regarded as a bird but as a near neighbour of the camel family. An abundant terminology (some fifty adjectives) defined, among the people of the desert, the external characteristics, bearing and habits of the ostrich whose plumage, meat and eggs were quite sought after; fixed by the poets of the tribes, this linguistic baggage was preserved in the works of the Arabic-speaking lexicographers, encyclopaedists and naturalists (see *Bibl.*). The sexual dimorphism of the ostrich was much noted by numerous epithets applied to each sex according to its characteristics. The male (*salḳaʿ*), larger and stronger than the female, is commonly called *ẓalīm* (pl. *ẓulmān*, *ẓilmān*, *aẓlima*) "oppressed", for, according to the Bedouin fable, his ears were cut short when he was attempting to have horns; despite such an explanation, it seems that one should see in *ẓalīm* an intensive with the meaning of "very dark", an attribute of its plumage, similarly as with its other adjectives *asḥam* and *ghayhab*. As it takes its turn sitting on the eggs, as well as the three or four females of its harem, it is surnamed *abu 'l-bayḍ* "father of the eggs" and *abū thalāthīn* "father of thirty [eggs]", as a parallel to the sitting hen, who is *umm al-bayḍ* and *umm thalāthīn* "mother of the eggs", "mother of thirty [eggs]". In the mating season, the male becomes *khāḍib* "red-thighed", for the skin of his thighs and his beak takes on a coral hue; the female always remains *ramdāʾ* or *rabdāʾ* "grey" or *hirḍ* "yellowish" due to her ashen plumage, whereas the male is *akhradj* "mottled black and white" and *akhṣaf* (same meaning). One of the most striking characteristics of the ostrich's anatomy is its long, thin and bare neck, which earned it the names *hayḳ*, *haykam*, *ṣaʿl*, *akhdaʿ*, *asḳaf*, *asṭaʿ*, *ʿaslaḳ* and, for the female, *khayṭāʾ*; a group of ostriches also used to be called *banāt al-hayḳ* "long-necked ones". The smallness of the flat head with the sparse, wiry hair of the ostrich and the hardness of its skull were also described by the words *ṣuntuʿ* and *ṣiʿwann*, while it is called *addjam* due to its strong beak, elongated like the muzzle of a camel and often slightly curved. The absence of an external ear, common to all birds, led the Bedouins to believe that the ostrich did not have ears and was consequently *maṣlūm*, *muṣallam*, and totally lacking in the sense of hearing (*asakk*); it supplemented this, according to them, with its faculty of sight and a very subtle sense of smell, hence the simile *ashamm min al-naʿāma* "with a better sense of smell than the ostrich". As a means of defence and safeguard, the ostrich only has at its disposal the rapidity of its flight (*zadjadj*), always with its face to the wind, being able to equal the swiftness of a horse spurred into a triple gallop; this aptitude for running has caused many adjectives with the same meaning to be attributed to it, which today have fallen out of use, such as *djafl*, *idjfīl*, *mudjfil*, *arʿash*, *raʿshana*, *zafzaf*, *zafūf*, *hizaff*, *hāliʿ*, *hizrūḳ*, *hadadjdadj*, *ʿasannadj*, *dhiʿlib*, *khafaydad*, *niḳniḳ*, *ṭimm*, *wadjdj* and *safannadj*, most of them quadriliteral words and proper to each particular tribe. Many of them were also applied to the camelids, a fact establishing the constant relationship between ostrich and camel. Both have feet with a flat sole (*khuff*) and very hard horny nails (*mansim*). On their upper feet the young female camel and young

female ostrich have the attribute of *ḳalūṣ* in common. The young ostrich is not lacking in descriptive titles, the most current being *raʾl*, *hiḳl*, *djaʿwal*, *hamak*; in common with the young camel he is described as *ḥaffān* up to one year, and his trembling walk (*hadadjān*) is that of the old man. A whole group of young ostriches are defined as *ḥatak*, *ḥarshaf* and *ḥiskil*, while a flock of adults is called *khayṭ*, *khayṭā*, *daysakā* and *rafaḍ*. The ostrich emits sounds, and the cry of the male (*ʿirār*) has a different tone from that (*zimār*) of the female; from the latter, al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*], speaking of the ostrich, derived the name *al-zammāra* "flautist" (32nd *maḳāma*, Cairo 1929, 345). In the mating season, the male ostrich, like the camel, has a high-pitched voice (*hadjhādj*), making different raucous sounds with its complex shrill cry (*naḳʿ*), when it is frightened. Despite being oviparous (*ḍahūl*), the female ostrich does not make a nest; she is content to scratch and flatten in the sand a shallow hole (*udḥī*, *idḥī*, *udhuwwa*, *udḥiyya*, *madḥā*, *balad*) which is sufficient to accommodate her clutch (*tūm*) of six to eight eggs in general. As several females of the same male pool their eggs in the same breeding place for security and to make it easier to sit on them, the Bedouins used to attribute this behaviour to the stupidity (*khurḳ*) of this large bird, which seemed to desert its own eggs for those of others and which, in the hottest hours, going to forage, left it to the sun's heat to take care of the incubation, when "this simpleton" of a male did not take its turn; for them, one could not be *aḥmaḳ min naʿāma* "stupider than an ostrich" or *ashrad min naʿāma* "more cowardly than an ostrich" or *adhall min bayḍat al-balad* "viler than the egg [of an ostrich abandoned] in the sand". Besides, to the credulous and superstitious spirit of the nomads, the ostrich was the mount of the demon ogre (*ghūl* [*q.v.*]) of the desert, the terror of travellers. Further, the mania of the ostrich for swallowing indiscriminately all kinds of small objects made them believe that it digested without difficulty stones, metals and even the glowing cinders of a hearth, all being rejected (*ifdjādj*) with its dung (*ṣawm*). Added to these beliefs is the tale according to which the hunted ostrich believes that it screens itself entirely from the view of its pursuer by hiding only its head behind some rugged ground.

At all times, the plumage of the ostrich was, for man, a coveted object; the most sought after was that of a large male (*hiḳab*, *hidjaf*) with black and white contrasted (*akhṣaf*) plumage, which could be compared with a thick-pile carpet (*khaml*, *khamāla*, *khamīla*) due to its fineness, brilliance and softness. Headdresses and princely ornaments, full-dress military uniforms, streamers and banners and, finally, fantasies of Western feminine fashion of "La Belle Époque", when the plumage industry flourished, all paid such tribute to the species of struthionids that it led almost to its disappearance; acclimatisation, domestication and organised breeding have saved it from extinction. Arab authors on hunting such as Kushādjim [*q.v.*], al-Asadī and Ibn Manglī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] mention, in their treatises, the different methods used in hunting the ostrich. Of these, the most widespread was by pursuit (*ṭarad*); it needed resourceful, swift mounts, specially trained for this race with the support of greyhounds (*salūḳiyya*). It was this kind of hunting that was practised in the Algerian Sahara, to the south of Laghouat, in the middle of the last century by General A. Margueritte; his detailed and spirited account is enough for us to imagine the atmosphere of the Arabs' cavalcades in pursuit of the ostrich, since the pre-Islamic period, of which there is an echo in some ancient poems. In the Middle Ages, the ostrich was also hunted with the coursing of the saker falcon; al-Asadī devotes a chapter to this flight which was practised in the middle of summer. It required five saker falcons got ready and trained upon an artificial ostrich made of gathered sticks baited in places for catching the birds; one of the falcons had to seize its head, two the neck and two the thighs. The assistance of one or two greyhounds was necessary in order to carry back the prey once it was bound. The secret of success was to force the ostrich, by a skilful manœuvre of the beaters, not to flee face to the wind, and the falcons had to be launched into flight as soon as the fleeing bird was in sight; at the same time, the supporting dogs set off on course as fast as their legs would carry them, closely followed by the falconers at full speed. A less supporting and less tiring method, that of the herdsmen without mounts, was to accustom a flock of ostriches to the sight of black rags hooked on sticks fixed in the sand and whose periphery was copiously sprinkled with something that ostriches like. Seeing them fond of the bait and familiarised with the black rags, the hunter himself dressed in black, would take up an immobile position in the midst of this set-up and, armed with a club, could easily knock out the imprudent birds who came within his reach. Another procedure for capturing them was to light, not far from a flock of ostriches, a large brazier; the sight of the flames stupefied the creatures and suppressed for a moment their instinct for flight, which allowed the hunter to approach them without trouble and seize them.

As game, the meat of the ostrich is recognised, in Islamic law, as being licit consumption, but it does not seem, according to the authors, that the Arabs appreciated it as much as that of the large, wild quadrupeds. As for the Maghrib, al-ʿUmarī (8th/14th century) and then Leo Africanus (9th/15th century) report that the population of Constantine freely captured young ostriches in large numbers in order to fatten them and put them on the spit. Among the Touaregs, the nobles abstained from eating the meat of the ostrich, but the *imghad* and slaves were fond of it, as were the sedentary people of the towns of the Sudan who bought it from the nomads. In the 10th/16th century, al-Maḥallī further mentions in his *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* (*apud* E. Fagnan, *Extraits*, 171) the abundance of ostriches and their eggs between Fās and Tlemcen. This remark confirms the interest shown, even from the prehistoric period, in ostrich eggs. The deposits in the sand of collective clutches, which could reach thirty eggs and more, were assiduously visited; a single egg constituted a substantial dish for several people, its weight equivalent to two dozen hens' eggs. To outwit the distrust of the sitting birds, the collector would content himself with lifting one or two eggs at a time, at the time when they were going to forage. The empty shells (*tarīka*, pl. *tarāʾik*) after the hatching of the chicks and those that were emptied (*ḳayḍ*) for the consumption of their contents, were carefully recovered and fashioned to serve many uses (receptacles, oil lamps, braising pans, etc.). Introduced in the mosques at first as a decorative element, these shells became the subject, in the late Middle Ages, of an export trade to the Christian countries. The early Church had made the egg a symbol of the Resurrection, and each religious building was set on possessing among its treasures one of these enormous and uncommon ostrich eggs, often mounted in an art object and set with precious metals; the first that arrived in Western Europe were taken, in the naive popular imagination, for those of the fabulous gryphon.

In the East, ancient therapeutic lore accorded specific properties to certain anatomical parts of the ostrich; al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī mention some of them to us. It is known that the gall, considered to be a violent poison, became an efficacious antidote for every other mortal poison, and, prepared as an eye lotion, constituted a beneficial remedy for blindness. On the other hand, the marrow of the long bones could, by absorption, cure consumption. The melted fat, used as an unguent, reabsorbed tumours, while the dung (*ṣawm*) burnt and ground into powder healed ulcers. The roasted meat facilitated the elimination of wind, bad mixtures of humours, warts and itching. Some fragments of ostrich egg shell thrown into the water of a cooking pot on a fire had, it seemed, the property of accelerating boiling considerably. Even more extraordinary, indeed magical, was the fact that the blade of a sword or dagger made of iron, having stayed in the ostrich's gizzard, was unalterable and unbreakable. Finally, a scrap of ostrich skin cut in the shape of a fish floated as soon as it was plunged into a bottle of vinegar. Until quite recent times, the people of the Sahara held in high esteem the marrow of the ostrich bone for, inserted into the ear afflicted with deafness, it woud restore hearing to it. Likewise, melted ostrich fat, a sovereign remedy against rheumatism, was also sold in Agadès by the litre in the last century; it was used, moreover, in the composition of cosmetics for women and served, in cooking, for frying. The extremely resistant tendons of the ostrich provided an excellent thread for shoemaking, for strong bow strings and for staunch binding cords. The ostrich skins plucked of their feathers were tanned to make saddlebags and ornaments of harnesses.

The Arab authors do not tell us explicitly if the ostrich was anywhere tamed and kept in captivity, without going as far as a reasoned and methodical programme of rearing, as it practised today in the South African countries. However, two short pieces of information seem to make allusion to it. The first is from al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 333), who writes: "People sometimes keep the ostrich in their homes and it is very harmful there, for, often, catching sight of the ears of the servant-girl or little girl wearing earrings with precious stones or pearl, it catches them in its beak in order to swallow them, and ears get torn! Often also it notices the jewel attached to the chest of a little boy or girl and strikes it with its beak, being able to cause serious injuries to the child." The second piece of information comes from the *Kitāb al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra* attributed to al-Djāḥiẓ (Fr. tr. Ch. Pellat in *Arabica*, i [1954], 159), according to which the ostrich figured among the imports from Arabia along with thoroughbred horses and camels. There is no way of knowing if the author means to speak of the import of feathers or young ostriches that would have been reared in captivity. It is certain that the ostrich was abundant in Arabia in Islamic times. Indeed, Ḳurʾānic legislation required of the pilgrim in a state of ritual taboo an expiatory fine if he killed an ostrich in the sacred territory or elsewhere; this fine was fixed at the sacrifice of a head of cattle (*badana*) or, in default of this, the distribution of alms in corn to the value of the sacrifice animal, a specified measure (*mudd*) for a poor man, or finally, at a fast of as many days as he would have had measures of corn. In the same conditions, the destruction of an ostrich egg entailed for the pilgrim responsible a reparation in kind according to the estimated value (*ḳīma*) of this egg at the time of the offence.

Such legislation has no longer in practice any justification, due to the fact of the total disappearance of the great running bird of the Near East, whom the poets voluntarily take as a model to boast of the speed and endurance of their mount. In current language, the ostrich has given rise to some metaphors applicable to certain human characters. Thus, of one who devotes himself whole-heartedly to an occupation, it was said *rakiba djanāḥ naʿāma* "he rode the wing of an ostrich", in allusion to the rapid but useless beating of its wings when it runs. The man who says one thing at one time and another thing at another time, did nothing but "join together the moufflon and the ostrich" (*djamaʿa 'l-urwī wa 'l-naʿāma*) because of the profound difference of their respective living areas, mountains and deserts. In the Tunisian South, among the Marāzig, the memory of the ostrich is preserved in this image: *ar-rabdā téled wu-ẓ-ẓelīm irabbī* "the female ostrich brings into the world and the male rears (the young ostrich)", when someone faces the consequences of the acts of others (G. Boris, *Lexique du parler arabe des Marāzig*, Paris 1958, sub *ẓ-l-m*).

In botany, the name ostrich is given to three plants. The first, *al-naʿām*, a nettle, is the pellitory of Judaea (*Parietaria judaïca*). The second, called *kiththāʾ al-naʿām* "the ostrich's cucumber", its real name being *al-ḥanẓal*, is the colocynth (*Citrullus colocynthis*), of whose fruits the ostrich is particularly fond. Finally, *ḥabb al-naʿām* "ostrich berries" designates the red fruit of the sarsaparilla or thorny bindweed (*Smilax bona nox*) of the liliaceae family.

In astronomy, the twentieth lunar house, composed of eight stars of the zodiacal constellation of Sagittarius (*al-Ḳaws*) bears the name *al-Naʿāʾim* "the Ostriches". These eight stars are devided into two groups of four: (a) *al-Naʿāʾim al-wārida* "the incoming ostriches" (because they are situated in the Milky Way) with γ, δ, ε, η Sagittarii; and (b) *al-Naʿāʾim al-ṣādira* "the outgoing ostriches" with φ,σ, τ, ζ Sagittarii. Still in the Milky Way and in the same constellation are to be found *al-Ẓalīmānⁱ* "the two male ostriches", *al-Ẓalīm al-shimālī* "the northern male" or μ Sagittarii, and *al-Ẓalīm al-djanūbī* "the southern male" or λ Sagittarii that is also called *Rāʿī al-Naʿāʾim* "the ostrich herder". The heliacal rising of the *Naʿāʾim* takes place in mid-December and corresponds to the period of extreme cold; several rhymed sayings note its rigorousness for the flocks and their shepherds (see Ch. Pellat, *Dictons rimés*). Finally, the twenty-first lunar house, *al-Balda* "the nesting place", is also called *al-Udḥī* "the nesting place of the ostrich eggs".

Below the zodiac, in the constellation of the Whale, the stars η, θ, ζ, τ, υ Ceti, situated in the middle of the body of the cetacean, are called *al-Naʿāmāt* "the Ostriches", while, in the constellation of Eridan, the star α Eridani bears the name *al-Ẓalīm* "the male ostrich" and the star group ζ, ρ, η, τ^1, τ^5 Eridani with ε Ceti and π Ceti form the *Udḥī al-Naʿām* "the nesting place of the ostriches"; the numerous small stars surrounding this group constitute *al-Ḳayḍ* "the clutch [of the ostriches]". Between α *Eridani* and α *Piscis australis*, the numerous small stars are called *al-Riʾāl* "the young ostriches".

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al-**NABARĀWĪ**, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī, Egyptian jurist and grammarian. He was born and lived most of his life in Banhā, and died in 1859 in Cairo, aged about seventy. He was the author of two treatises on *ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya*, and *bayān*, and a number of commentaries: (1) on Ibn Hishām's *Ḳaṭr al-nadā* on grammar; (2) on the *Sharḥ al-khaṭīb al-Shirbīnī, al-Iḳnāʿ fī ḥall alfāẓ Abī Shudjāʿ* on *fiḳh*, Būlāḳ 1289/1872; (3) on al-Suyūṭī's *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*, entitled *Ḳurrat al-ʿayn wa-nuzhat al-fuʾād*; (4) on the *Sharḥ al-Shabshīrī li'l-arbaʿīn* of al-Nawawī, entitled *ʿArūs al-afrāḥ* on *ḥadīth*, Būlāḳ 1291/1874; (5) on the *Sharḥ al-Sibṭ ʿalā 'l-manẓūma al-raḥbiyya* entitled *Farāʾid al-farāʾid al-durriyya*, Cairo 1293/1876; and (6) on Ibn ʿAḳīl's *Sharḥ al-Alfiyya*.

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NABĀT (a.), plants. Mediaeval Islamic interest in plants may roughly be divided into four categories: (a) philological-literary; (b) practical; (c) theoretical-philosophical; and (d) general.

(a) Philological-literary. Bedouin knowledge of desert life included that of desert vegetation, and this found its way into Bedouin poetry. The *nasīb* and *raḥīl* parts of the *ḳaṣīda* contain numerous references to plants, shrubs and trees (e.g. the mention of *ayhuḳān* (wild rocket) and tamarisk in Labīd's *Muʿallaḳa*). A certain amount of botanical lore is also found in proverbs, such as "whiter than truffles"; "like the showering of rain on the *ʿarfadj*". Further, the Ḳurʾān mentions a number of plants, like the lotus (sūra LIII, 14); *yaqṭīn*, probably a kind of Cucurbitacea (XXXVII, 144-6); the olive tree (XXIV, 35); and the date-palm (XIX, 25).

This material found its way into the works of the early lexicographers, who often devoted complete monographs to plants such as the vine and the date palm. Many of those early philological works are lost, such as that of Abū ʿAmr Isḥāḳ b. Mirār al-Shaybānī (d. *ca.* 205/820); al-Kilābī (d. *ca.* 204/820); Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231/844); al-Bāhilī (d. 231/845); and Ibn as-Sikkīt (d. 243/857). Their work, however, is extensively quoted in later works, among others by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī and Ibn Sīda. Well-known in this field is al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*], who wrote a—in its present version probably incomplete, cf. the quotations in Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī—*K. al-Nabāt wa 'l-shadjar*, ed. A. Haffner, Beirut 1899; also in Haffner and L. Cheikho, *Dix traités de philologie arabe, 2e ed. revue et corrigée*, Beirut 1914, 17-62. Two chapters on plants are found in the lexicological work of Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī, *K. al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*: ch. 12, on trees; ch. 14, on the date palm (ed. Ramadan Abd el-Tawab, diss. Munich 1962, unpubl.). Abū Ḥātim as-Sidjistānī (d. *ca.* 250/864 [*q.v.*]) wrote several monographs on different species, among them one on the date palm (ed. Bartolomeo Lagumina, *Il libro della Palma di 'Abu Hatim as-Sigistani*, in *Atti R. Acc. Lincei*, cclxxxvii [1890], Ser. IV Mem. Cl. di sc. mor., viii/1, Rome 1891, 5-41). Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī [*q.v.*] wrote a *Kitāb al-Nabāt* characterised as "the most comprehensive and methodically most superior work of this philologically-orientated botany" (Ullmann, *Nat.*, 66). His information is based on older written sources, on oral information from Bedouins, and, occasionally, on personal observation. The book consisted of two sections, one being an alphabetical inventory of plant names (and thus the first alphabetically-ordered specialised dictionary), the second one containing monographs on plants used for specific practical purposes (kindling; dyeing; bow-making); there also is a very interesting chapter on mushrooms "and similar plants" (to the latter belong the parasitic broomrapes (*Balanophoraceae*)). The chapter (included in Lewin's edition, see below) gives important information on the gathering, use, and growth of a number of mushrooms. Abū Ḥanīfa's work was long considered lost, but subsequently parts of it were discovered in different libraries. Together with the quotations extracted from later authors, they led to several partial editions: B. Lewin, *The Book of Plants of Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī, Part of the alphabetical section (alif-zāy). Edited from the unique MS. in the Library of the University of Istanbul, with an introduction, notes, indices, and a vocabulary of selected words*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1953; idem, *The Book of Plants. Part of the monograph section*, Wiesbaden 1974; and Muhammad Hamidullah, *Le dictionnaire botanique d'Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī (Kitāb an-Nabāt, de sīn à yāʾ) reconstitué d'après les citations des ouvrages postérieurs*, Cairo 1973. The contents and sources of al-Dīnawarī's book are discussed in T. Bauer, *Das Pflanzenbuch des Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī*, Wiesbaden 1988. The author observes that Abū Ḥanīfa had in mind a scope far beyond a mere botanical dictionary: he intended to describe all the aspects of Bedouin life which had a botanical component. The book also includes a survey of the complicated textual history of the *K. al-Nabāt*. Ibn Sīdā (d. 458/1066) dealt with plants extensively in his *K. al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Cairo 1316-21, 17 vols. The botanical section starts at the end of the 10th volume and goes on till the beginning of the 12th volume.

To eliminate doubt about the correct meaning of a botanical term, the philologists describe the plant, in-

cluding the names of its different parts as well as the synonyms which refer to it, among these the name which the plant carries during its different stages of growth. Literary sources, especially Bedouin poets, are quoted extensively.

As for systematics, there is no attempt in our modern sense; such classifications as are made serve to arrange the material in a more or less accessible way. Here, all kinds of different systems may be encountered, ranging from the simple alphabetical order to divisions according to practical use; divisions in trees, flowers, and garden vegetables; in trees (*s̲h̲ad̲j̲ar*, including shrubs) and plants, with a further subdivision of the latter group; trees may also be subdivided according to the edible qualities of the skins and kernels of their fruit, as by al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāya*, Cairo ed., ii, Contents). Given this approach, no systematic description which took into account a set number of unambiguous characteristics was developed. Greek influence can be discerned in occasional attempts at binary nomenclature, such as for instance the adding of *barrī* to wild varieties.

Extensive references to plants and flowers are not only found in the Bedouin poetry, as earlier mentioned, but also in later poetry, especially in the genres called *rawḍiyyāt, rabīʿiyyāt* and *zahriyyāt*, i.e. garden, spring and flower poems. See H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique, au XIe siècle*, Paris 1953, 161-201; G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung. Die zahrīyāt, rabīʿīyāt und rauḍīyāt von ihren Anfängen bis aṣ-Ṣanawbarī. Eine gattungs-, motiv-, und stilgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Beirut 1974.

(b) Practical. This category includes:

1. Agriculture (*filāḥa* [*q.v.*]). There are a number of works on this subject in Arabic (see Ullmann, *Nat.*, 427-51, Sezgin, *GAS*, iv, 303-46), one of them being the much-discussed, so-called *Nabataean agriculture* of Ibn Waḥs̲h̲iyya [*q.v.*]. The discussion, which has gone on for more than a century, is summarised in Sezgin, *op. cit.*, 318-29. Muslim Spain was especially proficient in this field. Latin sources in some form may have been accessible in this region (Sezgin, *op. cit.*, 108-9). A description of the agricultural situation in Islamic Spain is given by Th. F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the early Middle Ages, comparative perspectives on social and cultural formation*, Princeton 1979, 51-109. The material provided by the authors in this field is to a large extent included in later compilations such as Ibn al-ʿAwwām's [see FILĀḤA. II] *K. al-filāḥā*, which offers descriptions of all the economically-exploited plants (including roses and other garden plants), as well as instructions about their culture, such as preparing the soil, planting, watering; different techniques of grafting, including a method of cutting a plant off at the root, leaving intact the root system, and then embedding the seed of a plant of a different species in the remaining stump; avoiding certain combinations of plants which tended to have a damaging effect on each other, such as palms and junipers, and combining others that furthered each other's growth.

A certain overlap between the literary and the practical genres is found in texts such as a *maḳāma* on palm-protection (*s̲h̲irāḥa*), written *ca.* 1800 in Ḥaḍramawt, edited by R.B. Serjeant, in *JNES*, xl (1981), 307-22, and Ibn Luyūn's (d. 750/1349) *urd̲j̲ūza* on agriculture, *K. Ibdāʾ al-malāḥa wa-inhāʾ al-rad̲j̲āḥa fī uṣūl ṣināʿat al-filāḥa*, ed. and tr. J. Eguaras, Granada 1975.

2. Pharmacology. Islamic pharmacology [see ADWIYA], of which knowledge of plants was an important part, largely worked along the lines set out by Dioscorides (1st century B.C. [see DIYŪSKŪRĪDĪS]), whose *Materia medica* was translated into Arabic (via Syriac) in the 3rd/9th century. Several illustrated copies of this translation are known to have existed; on the (mainly botanical) illustrations of the copy in the Leiden University Library see M.M. Sadek, *The Leiden Dioscorides. A study of an Arabic illuminated manuscript of Dioscorides'* De Materia Medica *with special reference to the Vienna and Pierpont Morgan Codices*, diss. New York 1969, unpubl.; idem, *The Arabic* Materia Medica *of Dioscorides*, Quebec City 1983. See also A. Dietrich (ed.), *Dioscurides triumphans: ein anonymer arabischer Kommentar (Ende 12. Jahrh. n. Chr.) zur Materia medica: arabischer Text nebst kommentierter deutscher Übersetzung*, 2 vols., Göttingen 1988. The Persian tradition was also of some importance in pharmacology, as can be inferred from the Persian names of a number of plants and drugs (see Ullmann, *Nat.*, 88-9).

For a survey of the field, see Ullmann, *Med.*, 257-320, and Sezgin, *GAS*, iv; also M. Levey, *Early Arabic pharmacology, an introduction based on ancient and medieval sources*, Leiden 1973 (the subject is treated rather superficially, but the work contains illustrative translations from source material). A recent study of a pharmacological text, the *Aḳrābād̲h̲īn* of al-Ḳalānisī (*ca.* 1200), was made by J. Feldmann (1986, Beiruter Texte und Studien 35). Among the mediaeval authors, special mention should be made of al-G̲h̲āfiḳī [*q.v.* in Supplement] (*flor.* probably in the first half of the 6th/12th century), *K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, and of Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248 [*q.v.*]), *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-kabīr li-ḳuwā al-adwiya wa 'l-ag̲h̲d̲h̲iya*, who are considered as the great authorities in this field; their plant descriptions quote intensively from older sources. For botanical descriptions, al-Bīrūnī's [*q.v.*] *K. al-Ṣaydana* deserves attention. It contains elaborate plant descriptions in which the author often refers to Dioscorides, but also gives many details of his own. The latter include, for instance, botanical details such as the question whether flowering is axillary or otherwise; shape, colour and structure of flowers, leaves, tubers and roots; smell and taste; manner of growing; habitat; comparison with other plants which may easily be confused with them; etc.

Modern pharmacological tradition still remains to a large extent continuous with the past. Modern herbalists consult the handbooks of the mediaeval authorities, even though using the results of modern chemistry to give a scientific basis to the traditional practices. A number of studies on herbalists' practices in modern Middle Eastern and North African countries have recently appeared, which include inventories of plants used by these herbalists. These studies have appeared in *Studia Islamica* (Tokyo University), no. 2 (1976), Miki, *Index of the Arab herbalists' materials*; no. 8 (1979), Miki, Honda, Ahmed, *Herb drugs and herbalists in the Arab Middle East*; no. 19 (1982), Miki, Honda, Bellakhdar, *Herb drugs and herbalists in the Maghreb*; no. 27 (1986), Baser, Honda, Miki, *Herb drugs and herbalists in Turkey*, and no. 28 (1986) Ushmanghani, Honda, Miki, *Herb drugs and herbalists in Pakistan*. See further H. Venzlaff, *Der marokkanische Drogenhandler und seine Ware. Beitrag zur Terminologie und volkstümlichern Gebrauch traditioneller arabischer Materia medica*, Wiesbaden 1977 (31-145 about plants). Pharmacological literature, too, gives many interesting details about plants, but no fixed set of characteristics is described. The authors generally add the quality of the plant according to humoral principles (dry, cold) and mention its medical use. In this genre of works illuminated mss. such as the above-mentioned

Dioscorides mss. are found. Some information about the actual practice of botanical illustration is given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 219, who reports the botanical observations of al-Ṣūrī (7th/13th century, a pupil of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī). When going out botanising, al-Ṣūrī took along a painter, whom he made draw the plants in their different stages of development; he also registered such details as colour and size of leaves, branches and roots. The attitude which some Islamic scholars took towards botanical illustrations (lawful) as opposed to zoological ones (unlawful) is noteworthy; about a remark of this kind in al-ʿUmarī's (d. 749/1349) *Mamālik al-abṣār*, which has only botanical, not zoological, illustrations, see B. Farès, *Un herbier arabe illustré du XIVᵉ siècle*, in *Archaeologica orientalia in memoriam E. Herzfeld*, New York 1952, 86.

(c) Philosophical-theoretical. A very interesting part of mediaeval Islamic botany is found in the work of scholars who discuss botanical problems of a more general nature. Such discussions may also be found in a theological context, where they serve as proof of God's wisdom, for instance in al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) *al-Ḥikma fi 'l-makhlūḳāt* (ed. Cairo 1934), in which he describes creation, from the heavens down to the plants (not the minerals, as one might expect). Another example is Ibn al-Nafīs's minute description of how the different parts of plants develop from the seed (*al-Risāla al-Kāmiliyya/Theologus Autodidacticus*, ed. and tr. M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht, Oxford 1968, 42). Most important, however, in this respect are the natural philosophers, who discuss subjects such as the place of plants on the scale of living beings (transitional forms between the animal and the vegetable worlds, between the vegetable and mineral world, are discussed); the concept of species, and the measure in which species were fixed or variable; reproduction, including spontaneous and artificial generation, the latter belonging to the field of magic and alchemy; the measure of sensibility of plants; and the function of their different parts.

These topics were already discussed by the Greek philosophers. Theophrastus's *De causis plantarum* was reportedly translated by Ibn Bakkūsh in the 4th/10th century, but the translation—if it was ever completed—seems to have disappeared at an early date; no quotations from it are known. Of Aristotle's lost book on plants, the Arabic tradition, just as the older Middle Eastern one, only possessed Nicolaus Damascenus's (b. 40 B.C.) commentary (also lost in the original, but preserved in Syriac and in subsequent Arabic, Hebrew, Latin and even Byzantine Greek (made from the Latin) versions). The Semitico-Latin translations of Nicolaus were published by H.J. Drossaart Lulofs and E.L.J. Poortman, *Nicolaus Damascenus* De Plantis. *Five translations* (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks deel 139, Amsterdam etc. 1989). In this commentary parts of Theophrastus have been incorporated. It is noteworthy that the mediaeval Arabic version contains elements which are alien to Aristotle's thought, such as a reference to astrological influence on the growth of plants (ed. Drossaart Lulofs, 184). It had considerable influence on Arabic philosophers such as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bādjdja and Ibn al-Ṭayyib [*q.vv.*]; the latter wrote a compendium which closely follows the text (included in Drossaart Lulofs' ed.). The work is also quoted in the botanical section of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's *K. al-Ifāda*, which contains an interesting description of the banana tree.

Special attention should be paid to the concepts of natural philosophy found in the work of Balīnūs (Pseudo-Apollonios of Tyana; 1st century A.D.; see BALĪNŪS). Book IV of his *K. Sirr al-khaliḳa* or *K. al-ʿIlal* (ed. Weisser, Aleppo 1979; tr. idem, *Das* Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung *von Pseudo-Apollonios von Tyana*, Berlin-New York 1980) deals with plants. It gives a theory for the development of the vegetable kingdom, based on the author's theory of the four elements. Noteworthy is his insistence on the importance of the airy element in the generation of plants, whereas Aristotle, according to Nicolaus (ed. Drossaart Lulofs, 172) admits here only earthy, watery and fiery powers. Balīnūs also discusses the intermediate forms: corals are of mineral substance, but have a vegetable spirit. A parallel is drawn between the five main divisions of the vegetable kingdom (grasses; aromatic plants; corn; large, non-fruiting trees; fruiting trees) and a similar division in the animal kingdom. The dependence of Djābir b. Ḥayyān's [*q.v.*] natural philosophy on Balīnūs has been analysed by Paul Kraus (*Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, Cairo 1943, 270-303).

The theory of these philosophers concerning the generation and the diversity of plants is largely based on some form of elemental theory, sometimes mixed with astrological influences; from here to the artificial production of plants (not to be confused with artificial pollination, as was practised in date-palm culture), as described in the Djābir b. Ḥayyān corpus (in the *K. al-Tadjmīʿ*, see Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, i, *Textes choisis*, Paris-Cairo 1935, 380 ff.) is but a step. In this context, Ibn Waḥshiyya's strange recipes (see Ullmann, *Nat.*, 76) are not as outlandish as they may seem at first sight, and do in fact fit in with generally accepted ideas about the possible artificial generation of, for instance, banana trees (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *Ifāda*, Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Filāḥa*). Related to this is the question of the variability of species (denied by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Ullmann, *Nat.*, 77) but considered possible by Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Bādjdja (Ullmann, *Nat.*, 80 n. 5); Ibn Sīnā points out that the variation of species depends partly on geographical location: cabbages, transported into different regions, change their appearance (*Ḥayawān*, ed. Cairo 1970, 404); it also depends on geographical location whether a palm shoot develops into a date- or a coconut-palm.

(d) General. This category includes the botanical information offered by geographers, who describe the flora, especially the commercially relevant plants, of the countries they are dealing with (material exhaustively collected by A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle. III. Le milieu naturel*, Paris 1980, 391-483). Their information has occasionally found its way even into fictional travel literature: the fifth voyage of Sindbad the Sailor contains a description of the pepper plant, which has a large leaf protecting the flower against sunshine and rain, and bends aside when protection is no longer needed. The information found in the botanical sections of the encyclopaedic works, abundant in the period after 1200, is also of a general nature. These sections compile literary-philological as well as practical information from older sources and thus sometimes preserve material that is otherwise lost. An interesting botanical section is found, for instance, in Ibn al-Athīr's (7th/13th century; this is an otherwise unknown Ibn al-Athīr) *Tuḥfat al-ʿadjāʾib* (for mss., see Ullmann, *Nat.*, 37; two more mss. in Cairo, Dār al-Kutub).

Identification. It is often extremely difficult to discover the botanical identity of plants mentioned in

mediaeval sources. Of invaluable help in this respect is I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, i-iv, Vienna-Leipzig 1924-34, repr. Hildesheim 1967; idem, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, Leipzig 1881, repr. Hildesheim 1971. Both works take into account Arabic source material. The modern dictionary of E. Ghaleb, *Dictionnaire des sciences de la nature*, 3 vols., Beirut 1965-6, is useful but should be used with caution in respect to mediaeval sources. M.M. al-Dumyāṭī has gathered the plant names from the *Tādj al-ʿarūs* into a small dictionary which also provides English and scientific names (*Muʿdjam asmāʾ al-nabāt al-wārida fī Tādj al-ʿarūs li ʾl-Zabīdī*, Cairo 1965). Muḥ. Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn's *Muʿdjam al-nabāt wa ʾl-zirāʿa*, Baghdād 1986, collects the botanical material from 58 classical sources, but without giving modern equivalents of plant names. There is also Ismāʿīl Zāhidī, *Wāzha-nāma-yi giyāhī. Nām-i ʿilmī-yi giyāhān*, Tehran 1337/1958, giving English, French, German, Arabic and Persian equivalents.

Bibliography: Given in the article. An exhaustive bibliography of literature before 1970 is found in the surveys of M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970 (257-321 on pharmacology); idem, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972 (62-95, 427-51). For the period of the first four centuries of Islam, see the relevant volumes of F. Sezgin's *GAS*, esp. iii, *Medizin, Pharmazie*, and iv, *Botanik, Agrikultur*. In the field of modern botany, a large number of studies on North Africa and the Middle East have appeared. Floras of the different regions are published both by Western and local botanical institutions, e.g. V. and G. Tackholm and M. Drar, *Flora of Egypt*, Cairo 1941-69; V. Tackholm, *Students' flora of Egypt*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1974; A. Parsa, *Flore de l'Iran*, Tehran 1951-60 (includes an index of local names); R. Maire, *Flore de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1952-67; K.-H. Rechinger, *Flora Iranica*, Graz 1963- [in Latin]; P. Davis *et alii*, *Flora of Turkey and the East Aegean Islands*, Edinburgh 1965-88, 10 vols.; E. Nasir and S.I. Ali, *Flora of West Pakistan*, Rawalpindi 1970- ; D. Heller and C. C. Heyn, *Conspectus florae orientalis*, Leiden 1980- ; S.I. Ali and S.M.H. Jafri, *Flora of Libya*, Tripoli 1975- (145 families published so far); M. Zohary, *Flora Palaestina*, Jerusalem 1966-86 (very good illustrations); J. Léonard, *Contribution à l'étude de la flore et de la végétation des déserts d'Iran*, Jardin Botanique National de Belgique, 1981- . For lexicological aspects, see I. Hauenschild, *Türksprachige Volksnamen für Kräuter und Stauden mit den deutschen, englischen und russischen Bezeichnungen*, Wiesbaden 1989. Valuable information on the vegetation of Middle Eastern countries can also be found in the *Beihefte* of the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Of Reihe A (*Naturwissenschaften*), Wiesbaden 1977- , vols. i-iii, v-viii, x-xi, xv, xx, xxii, xxiv-xxv, xxx deal with vegetation aspects. (Remke Kruk)

NABATAEANS [see NABAṬ]

NABAṬ or Nabīṭ (coll.), Nabaṭī (sing.), Anbāṭ (pl.), the name given by the Arabs to the Nabataeans, amongst whom they distinguished the Nabaṭ al-Sham (i.e. of Syria), installed at Petra towards the end of the Hellenistic imperial era and at the beginning of the Roman one, and the Nabaṭ al-ʿIrāḳ (i.e. of ʿIrāḳ).

[The Editors of the *EI* have decided to retain unchanged the following two articles, despite the inevitable overlappings in their present forms.]

1. The Nabaṭ al-Shām. The Arabic term, occurring in Aramaic inscriptions, *nbṭ/nbṭw*, appears very often in the royal titulature of the Nabataeans of Petra in the expression "king of Nabataea" (*mlk nbṭw*). In other contexts, it is clear that *nbṭ* represents an ethnic designation, rather than a geographical region. At Petra, it appears also as a anthroponym, indicating that it probably represents an eponym, which Greek transcriptions suggest was vocalised as *Nabaṭu*. The root **nbṭ* is well known from ancient Semitic languages, attested in both Akkadian *nabāṭu* ("light up, shine, radiate") and in Amorite ("to shine, appear, look") for the illumination of planetary bodies, metallic objects or the human face. In Biblical and post-Biblical Hebrew, *nbṭ* appears almost entirely in *Hiphʿil* with the meaning "to look at, gaze". Nebaṭ is also the name of the father of Jeroboam I, the first king of Israel (I Kings xi, 26). In pre-Islamic Arabic, *nbṭ* is attested as a personal name in Safaitic, Minaic and Sabaic. In the South Arabian onomasticon, it appears also with theophoric elements and in other associations: *nbṭʾl*, *nbṭʿly*, *nbṭkrb*, *nbṭm* and *nbṭyfʿ* are attested in Minaic, Qatabanian or Sabaic. The verb *nbṭ* also occurs in Sabaic texts with the meaning "to dig [a well] down to water"; cf. Arabic *nabaṭa* "to gush out".

The relation of nbṭ *to* nbyt. It remains disputed whether the "Nabataeans" (*nbṭw*) are to be equated with the Aramaean tribe of *Nabayat/Nabaiati* known from Neo-Assyrian cuneiform texts from the reign of Assurbanipal (668-627 B.C.) amd the *Nᵉbāyôt* of the Hebrew Bible, who appear in the biblical geneaologies as the eldest son of Ishmael and brother of Qedar (Gen. xxv, 13). The correspondence of the terms is indicated by the Jewish Targums (for Gen. xxv, 13; I Chron. i, 29; Isa. lx, 7; Ezek. xxvii, 21), and was widely accepted among scholars until J. Starcky argued that the transformation of a *taw* to a *ṭeth* and the loss of the *yodh* made any relationship of the terms highly unlikely. Discovery of several pre-Islamic Thamudic texts on Djabal Ghunaym near Taymāʾ [*q.v.*] that mention a "war against Nabayāt (*ḍr nbyt*)" was considered the *coup-de-grâce* to the theory that the same people were involved, since the Arabic spelling contained neither a *yodh* nor a *ṭeth*. As a result, it was assumed that the *-ati/-ôt/-at* ending of NBYT represented an inflectional suffix. This linguistic argument is not as convincing as it may appear, since the Semitic root *NBY is poorly attested in pre-Islamic Arabic, whereas *NBT is fairly common. It then remains possible that the *y* is not part of the root and has another linguistic explanation. As for the transformation of a final *t* to a *ṭ*, this shift is attested elsewhere in Semitic languages and provides no real obstacle in equating the terms. Nor is Starcky's argument persuasive that the Nabayat/Nᵉbayot were Aramaeans, not Arabs. The names of Natnu and his son Nuḫuru, the kings of the Nebayat in the Assyrian chronicles, are both well represented in the Pre-Islamic Arabic onomasticon.

Of some importance for deciding this issue is the vexed question of the homeland of the Nabataeans. Starcky assumed an origin in South Arabia, but neither the Nabataean pantheon nor their material culture contains any vestiges of South Arabia as their native land. In contrast, Knauf argues the Nabaṭu originally constituted one of the Arab clans of the Qedarite tribal confederation that dominated North Arabia in the 8th-5th centuries B.C. During this time, it is argued, they formed part of the indigenous population of Edom, whereas the Nabayat or Nebayot are placed in the region of Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*]. But other possibilities seem more likely. Of importance in this regard is Diem's observation that the Arabic orthography contained in the Nabataean onomasticon

employs that used in Aramaic of the Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid Persian period, such as the *-w* suffix in *nbṭw*, which represents the *-u* of the nominative case. These elements embedded in the Arabic dialect of the Nabataeans suggest they arose in the Syrian-Mesopotamian sphere, providing credence for Milik's view that the Nabataeans migrated from the area of the al-Hufūf [*q.v.*] district of north-east Arabia. If this is the case, the equation of the Nabayat with the Nabaṭ or Nabataeans remains feasible, in spite of the linguistic difficulties.

Although no author of a Nabataean Aramaic inscription uses the political or ethnic term *nbṭ* as a self-designation, such references are contained in other Aramaic and Arabic dialects, as well as in Greek. At Palmyra in A.D. 132, a cavalryman probably serving in the Palmyrene cavalry stationed at Ana on the Euphrates, designates himself as "the Nabataean, the Rawāḥaean" (*nbṭyʾ rwḥy*[ʾ], *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, ii, 3973 = *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, no. 285). The tribe of Rawāḥ is known from Safaitic (*CIS*, v, 5162) and Nabataean (*RES*, no. 2065) texts from the vicinity of Umm al-Djimāl in the southern Ḥawrān. At Nemāra, a cavalryman named Mushammar from the III Cyrenaica legion identifies himself as a descendant from the *geno(s) Nabas*, *i.e.* a Nabataean (*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, iii, 1257). Finally, a Safaitic text from the *ḥarra* in Jordan indicates he is "Dārib b. Ḳayn the Nabataean" (V. Clark, *A study of new Safaitic inscriptions from Jordan*, Ph.D. diss., Melbourne, unpubl., no.661, *hnbṭy*). All of these texts are from the northern frontier of the Nabataean realm and date to the period after the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom by Rome in A.D. 106. Other references to the NBṬ are from South Arabia and more difficult to interpret. A Sabaean text from Nadjrān [*q.v.*] records a confrontation at a place named NBṬ (Philby-Tritton) or with the people called NBṬ (Beeston, Jamme). Another Sabaean text is dated to the "year 316 (of the era) of NBṬ" (*RES* 4196), one of several co-existing chronological computations used in the region. If the beginning of this era is set in the 1st century A.D., approximately in A.D. 62 (± 15 years) according to J. Pirenne, this text is to be dated to the late 4th century A.D. Just before the dawn of Islam, "Nabataean" merchants (the *nabīṭ* or *anbāṭ*) from Syria were active in Medina (al-Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, iii, 989, 1,051; Ibn Hishām, 911) where there was a *sūḳ al-nabaṭ* (al-Waḳidī, *Maghāzī*, i, 395). But the *al-anbāṭ* or *an-nabaṭ* of Syria and ʿIrāḳ of the same period appear to be Aramaic-speaking "soil-tillers" and "hired workers", not the descendants of the Nabataeans (as Nöldeke realised) (see 2. below).

Bibliography: For the references to *nbṭ* in Semitic texts, see W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1972, 697; I. Gelb, *Computer-aided analysis of Amorite*, Assyriological Studies 21, Chicago 1979, 332; J.C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean dialect*, Harvard Semitic Studies 25, Chico. Calif., 1982, 290; G.L. Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971. For analysis of the onomasticon, see R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian periods: an onomastic study*, Jerusalem 1977, and in *ZDMG*, cxxxi (1981), 42-84. On the *nbyt*/*nbṭ* problem, see J. Starcky, *Pétra et la Nabatène*, in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vii (1966), 900-3 (fundamental). For the Djabal Ghunaym texts [Tay 11, 13, 15], see F.V. Winnett and W.L. Reed, *Ancient records from North Arabia*, Toronto 1970, 99-101; E.C. Broome, *Nabaiati, Nebaioth and the Nabataeans: the linguistic problem*, in *JSS* xviii (1973) 1-16 (unconvincing). Most important is the orthographical analysis of W. Diem, *Die nabatäischen Inschriften und die Frage der Kasusflexion im Altarabischen*, in *ZDMG*, cxxiii (1973) 227-37; I. Ephʿal, *The ancient Arabs: nomads on the borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th-5th centuries B.C.*, Jerusalem-Leiden 1982, 221-3; M: Abu Taleb, *Nabayati, Nebayot, Nabayat, and Nabaṭu: the linguistic problem revisited*, in *Dirasat*, xi/4 (Amman 1984) 3-11; E.A. Knauf, *Ismael: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden 1985; idem, *Nabataean origins*, in *Arabian studies in honor of Mahmoud Ghul*, Wiesbaden 1989, 56-61 (arguing against any association of the terms). In contrast, J.T. Milik, *Origines des Nabatéens*, in *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan*, i, Amman 1982, 261-5, and D.F. Graf, *The origin of the Nabataeans*, in *Aram*, ii (1990), support the equation of NBYT/NBṬ. Sabaean references: A. Jamme, *Un déserte nabatéen devant Naǧrān*, in *Cahiers de Byrsa*, vi (1956), 165-71 [with earlier bibliography]; J. Pirenne, *A palaeographical chronology of the Sabaean-dated inscriptions with reference to several eras*, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, vii (1973), 118-30. See also S.K. Hamarneh, *The role of the Nabateans in the Islamic conquests*, in *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan*, i, Amman 1982, 347-9; K. Schmitt-Korte, *An early Christian record of the Nabataeans: the Maslam inscription (ca. 350 AD)*, in *Aram*, ii/1-2 (1990), 123-42; A. Negev, *Personal names in the Nabatean realm* (= *Qedem*, Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, 32), Jerusalem 1991.

(D.F. GRAF)

2. The Nabaṭ al-ʿIrāḳ.

In Arabic, the root *n-b-ṭ* supplies various meanings, including the following: to gush forth (in reference to water), to dig to obtain water (form IV), to extract (products from the land); to explain, draw a conclusion from a text, from a law, etc. (form X), while in Semitic (Hebrew, Aramaic, Akkadian), it signifies "to shine" (moon, stars), "to make resplendent" (in connection with the god Nabū). Cf. *LA*, ed. Dār Bayrut, iii, 568; W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, ii, 697; *The Assyrian dictionary*, Chicago 1980, ii/1, 22-4.

As an ethnic term, Nabaṭū denotes two groups of different origin: in an Aramaic text of Ḥegrā (*CIS*, ii, 199; other references, see G. Cantineau, *Le nabaṭéen*, ii, 123), Nabaṭu is named alongside Shalamu, the Salamians, whom Stephen of Byzantium associates with the Nabataeans (cf. J. Starcky, *Pétra et les Nabaṭéens*, in Pirot, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, suppl. vii, Paris 1966, cols. 886-1018, where an excellent study of the question is to be found). For relations between the Nabaṭaeans and the Arab tribes of the North, cf. D.F. Graf, *Rome and the Saracens: reassessing the nomadic menace*, in T. Fahd *et alii*, *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, Leiden 1989, 241-400.

In an Akkadian text, cited in Luckenbill, *Ancient records*, ii, no. 274, Nabaṭu denotes an "Aramaean" tribe living in Mesopotamia (cf. J. Starcky, *loc. cit.*, col. 903).

Numerous explanations have been suggested for this name (cf. E.C. Broome, *Nabiati, Nebaioth and the Nabataeans: the linguistic problem*, in *JSS*, xviii [1973], 1-16), but none of them covers both the areas involved. In fact, what we have here are homonyms referring to two groups, one of them inhabiting northern Arabia and the other Mesopotamia. The former group is of Arab origin, as is attested by the personal names of its kings (cd. Th. Nöldeke, *Die Namen der arabischen Nation*

und Sprache, in *ZDMG*, xxv [1871], 122-3; an interpretation shared by J. Starcky, *loc. cit.*, but *contra* E.M. Quatremère, *Mémoire sur les Nabatéens*, in *JA*, xv (1835), 5-55, 97-137, 209-271, who claimed that these people were Aramaeans; this view was repeated by Glaser, *Skizze*, ii; Hommel, *Die altismaelitische Überlieferung*, 202). These Arabs spoke a western Aramaic dialect very close to what was to become the Arabic of the earliest inscriptions. Imperial Aramaic, which had become the language of Persia, was still, at the end of the Greco-Roman period, the official language of the Near and Middle East.

The second group is of Aramaean origin, and spoke an eastern Aramaic dialect, close to Mandaean, from which Syriac was derived, the language in which the *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* was composed, i.e., *al-suryāniyya al-ḳadīma*, as is stated by the translator Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*].

The Arabs distinguish between these two groups: they called the first Nabaṭ al-Shām and the second Nabaṭ al-ʿIrāḳ. On the first, we find in Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, s.vv. Salʿ and Wādī Mūsā, the two names designating Petra and its valley (cf. T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 218, n. 5), without any reference to the Nabaṭaeans. Dusares (Dhu 'l-Sharā), a god venerated by the Nabataeans and the Dawsites, was part of the Meccan pantheon (on this divinity, see Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 71-5); Yāḳūt mentions him (s.v. Sharā) without any reference to the Nabataeans. The only information which seems to refer to Nabataea, then under Byzantine domination, is the assertion that the descendants of Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], the reformer of the cult at Mecca and the rallier of the Ḳurayshites, were Nabataeans (*kawm mutanabbiṭūn*; cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, 121 ff.). In the long article which the author of the *LA* devotes to the root *n-b-ṭ*, there is a single reference to the Nabaṭ al-Shām, of whom Ibn Abī Awfā says: "We used to pay the Nabataeans (*nabīṭ*) of Shām in advance for their merchandise".

On the second, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ii, 93 = § 520), speaking of the Assyrian kings (*aththūriyyūn*) says that "the inhabitants of Nineveh (were) of those whom we have called Nabataeans (*Nabīṭ*) and Syriac-speaking people (*Suryāniyyūn*); they are", he emphasises, "of the same race and they speak the same language". Speaking of the kings of Babylon (ii, 95 ff. = §§ 522 ff.), he says: "These are the Nabataeans (*Nabaṭ*) and others, known by the name of Chaldaeans (*Kaldāniyyun*)... It is they," he adds, "who erected the buildings, founded the cities, established the administrative divisions, dug the canals, planted the trees, sank the wells, worked the land" (ii, 100 = § 527). Further on, speaking of the Seleucids (*Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif*), he informs us that "the Ardawān (the Artabanids, last kings of the Parthian dynasty) were kings of the Nabataeans (*mulūk al-Nabaṭ*); they reigned in ʿIrāḳ, from the vicinity of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra, Saḳī 'l-Furāt, al-Djāmiʿayn, Sūrā, Aḥmad Ābād and Nars, as far as Ḥinnabā and Tall Fakhār and the whole of this region" (ii, 134 = § 558). It was Ardashīr I (226-41) who killed the last Parthian, Artaban IV (in 224), in a duel on the bank of the Tigris and seized his crown (ii, 135, 161 = §§ 539, 585). Al-Ṭabarī (i, 737-8), speaking of the Ardawāniyyūn, Seleucid kings, says that "they reigned between Niffar [*q.v.*] (the ancient Nippur), in the Sawād al-ʿIrāḳ, and al-Ubulla and the fringes of the desert. They were at war with the Aramaeans who reigned in Babylonia and as far as the region of Mawṣil. These Aramaeans," he says, "are the Nabataeans of Sawād al-ʿIrāḳ".

For Ibn Khaldūn, in his *Muḳaddima*, the Nabataeans were the native inhabitants of Mesopotamia before the Islamic conquest of ʿIrāḳ (i, 7). Assyrians, Babylonians and Chaldaeans are called Nabataeans (iii, 128); they were renowned for their magical practices (iii, 125) and for their expertise in agricultural matters, an expertise recorded in the *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (iii, 120). Speaking of their language, he says that it is the writing system of the Nabataeans and the Chaldaeans (iii, 244 and 283).

This, then, is a summary of what was known by Arab historians concerning the Nabataeans. Besides the confusion between Nabataeans of ʿIrāḳ and Nabataeans of Shām, there was the confusion between Assyrians, Aramaeans, Ardawānites, Djarāmiḳa and Ninevites (Aththūrians), who are, according to al-Masʿūdī (*K. al-Tanbīh*, tr. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1897, 131 ff.) Chaldaean tribes. He speaks of Nabataean Chaldaeans (127), of Aramaean Nabataeans (114) and of Nabataeans or Syrians (265), while acknowledging the antiquity of the Nabataeans who dominated Babylonia following the period of the legendary Nimrūd or Namrūd [*q.v.*] (59). He associates them with the Persians in the divisions of inhabited land (49) and makes them their neighbours, as were the Greeks and the Romans (247). It was, in short, a powerful nation which ruled ʿIrāḳ in the distant past and whose period of domination was brought to an end by the Sāsānids (152).

Of this nation, certain reminiscences survive in folkloristic Arabic accounts. The author of the *LA*, mentioned above, collected several of them. For the Arabs, the Nabīṭ, Nabaṭ or Anbāṭ constitute a nation (*djīl*) inhabiting the Sawād, the Sawād al-ʿIrāḳ, i.e., the cultivated plains of Lower Mesopotamia, and the marshes between the two ʿIrāḳs, i.e., the two cities of Baṣra and Kufā. The denomination of Nabaṭ does not necessarily indicate an ethnic origin; this may be deduced from the following saying of Ayyūb b. al-Ḳirriyya, "The inhabitants of ʿUmān are "Nabaṭised" (*istanbaṭū*) Arabs and those of al-Baḥrayn are "Arabised" (*istaʿrabū*) Nabataeans (*Nabīṭ*). To become "Nabataean" was to practise agriculture and everything associated with it, in particular the quest for subterranean water, as opposed to the pastoral or military life. The caliph ʿUmar b, al-Khaṭṭāb is alleged to have said, "Become "Maʿaddites" (*tamaʿdadū*) and not "Nabataeans" (*lā tastanbiṭū*), in other words, "Imitate Maʿadd [*q.v.*] and not the Nabataeans", the meaning of this being "become nomads Bedouins, and not farmers". He is furthermore supposed to have said "Do not become city-dwellers (*lā tanabbaṭū fi 'l-madāʾin*)", in other words, "Imitate the Nabataeans neither in abode, nor in sedentary living, nor in possession [of land]". Caravan trading also seems to have been one of the occupations of the Nabataeans; in fact, the remark is attributed to ʿAlī: "Whosoever enquires into our genealogy [will find that] we are Nabataeans, originally from Kūthā (Yākūt, iv, 488; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 215; on Kūthā (the homeland of Abraham), see *ibid.* and art. s.v.). The same origin is asserted by Ibn ʿAbbās, who says: "We, the Ḳurayshites, we are Nabataeans originally from Kūthā-Rabbā", the town where Abraham was born and where the Nabataeans lived (*LA. loc. cit.*).

Regarding the expertise of the Nabataeans in matters of commerce and the exploitation of the earth, an assessment made by ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karib, concerning Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, in reply to a question posed by the caliph ʿUmar, gives an impression of this: "Arab in his talents (*hibwatihi*), Nabataean in the levying of taxes (*djibwatihi*)"; meaning that he was as

skilful and as ingenious as the Nabataeans in such matters as the levying of taxes and exploitation of the land. They were, adds the author of the *LA*, "the inhabitants of ʿIrāḳ and its masters (*arbābuhā*)".

A forgotten nation, the Nabataeans of ʿIrāḳ have returned to the attention of scholarship through the efforts of orientalists who, from E.M. Quatremère, in 1835, to M. Plessner in 1929, have applied themselves to study of the *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*, an agricultural treatise of controversial origin (for the history of this dispute, see IBN WAḤSHIYYA). The title of this compilation is not original; it was given to it by the translator, Ibn Waḥshiyya, the former title having been *K. Iflāḥ al-arḍ wa-iṣlāḥ al-zarʿ wa 'l-shadjar wa 'l-thimār wa-dafʿ al-āfāt ʿanhā* ("Book of cultivation of the land, the care of cereals, vegetables and crops, and their protection"). In the body of the text, the name Nabaṭ is used in the translator's glosses; the farmers in question are called, according to the manuscripts, Kaldāniyyūn, Kasdāniyyun or Kardāniyyūn. The first of these names was applied to nomads related to the Aramaeans, the Kaldu, who dominated Lower Mesopotamia in the mid-9th century B.C. (cf. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Araméens*, Paris 1949, 24, 73). Thus on the ethnic level, Chaldaeans and Aramaeans are neatly distinguished. There are references, in the inscriptions, to "land of Kaldu" and to "land of Aramu" (*ibid.*, 76 and *passim.*). As for Kardaeans and Kasdaeans, these are probably dialectical modifications. Ancient nomenclature, compared with what has survived, shows many examples of this kind (cf. Melid for Malaṭiya, Gurgum for Djurmuḳ; the inhabitants of the latter, the Djarāmiḳa, are frequently mentioned in the *K. al-Filāḥa*). On this point, a useful reference is *La Toponymie antique*, in *Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antique*, iv, Leiden 1977).

The book is written in "the ancient Syriac language" (*al-suryāniyya al-ḳadīma*). Eastern Aramaic, which is the language in question here, was current "throughout Mesopotamia, from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf." It was established, at the outset of the Christian era, in literary texts and inscriptions, in three dialects: Judaeo-Babylonian, Mandaean and Syriac (Dupont-Sommer, *op. cit.*, 101; F. Rosenthal, *An Aramaic handbook*, Wiesbaden 1967, i, 1-2 and ii, 1-2). The basic text of the book, developed and embellished by the three compilers (Saghrīth, Yanbūshād and Ḳuthāmā) must have been written in Syriac; originally it would have consisted of long extracts, intermingled in some cases and arranged consecutively in others, from quoted *auctores*. It may be added that Syriac, the language of Edessa, an intellectual metropolis situated within the great loop of the Euphrates not far from the ancient Kharan (Ḥarrān), in a region Aramaicised since the end of the second millenium B.C., had been promoted from the status of a dialect to that of a classical language in the Church of Edessa, and later in the Christian communities of Mesopotamia and Syria. It served as the vehicle for an immense corpus of literature, most of it as yet unpublished. The origin of Syriac was in one of those "eastern" Aramaic dialects spoken by the Aramaeans of Mesopotamia.

The contents of the *Kitab al-Filāḥa* are very rich; it is comparable with that of Greek and Latin geographical writing and, on certain points, much more detailed. The author of the present article has described it at length in *Matériaux pour l'histoire d'agriculture en Irak: al-Filāḥa n-nabaṭiyya*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, i, 6. 6/1, Leiden 1977, 276-377, and a critical edition in three volumes has been prepared for publication by the French Institute for Arabic Studies of Damascus.

Finally, let us glance at the religious concepts and magical data revealed in this work, in the course of long digressions. These data represent only a minute proportion of the whole, but their impact was so great throughout the Middle Ages that the *K. al-Filāḥa* was considered a treatise on magic and classified as such. An Andalusian author, Ibn al-Raḳḳām, purged it of all religious and magical references and another, the Ps.-Madjrīṭī, used the same data in his well-known work entitled *Ghāyat al-hakīm* (ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig 1933), translated into Latin under the title *Picatrix* (ed. M. Plessner, London 1962).

As for the particular character of this material, it may be deduced that the central principle is a variety of solar "theology", where the Moon appears sometimes as subordinate to the Sun, sometimes as an independent divinity. "In fact, sometimes the Sun appears as a unique source of knowledge and revelation, and the other planets, in particular the Moon (as 'god' of fertility) and Saturn (as 'god' of agriculture) serve as intermediaries between him and mankind, sometimes each of the seven planets reveals directly to mankind the knowledge that relates to its own domain" (cf. T. Fahd, *Données religieuses de l'Agriculture nabaṭéenne*, in *ZDMG*, Suppl. iii, 1 (1977), 362-6). We therefore have here a theology where "revelation" plays a pivotal role, a theology with three levels: rational level (*logos*), civic level (*nomos*) and mythic level (*mythos*), a division of theological knowledge which characterises the end of paganism (cf. P. Hadot, *La fin du paganisme*, in *Histoire des Religions*, ii, Paris 1972, 81 ff.). Three major socio-religious groups, clearly defined and differentiated by doctrinal and social disagreements, are opposed on the topic of "messengers" granted astral revelations.

For the Ḳukaeans, known from the Syriac authors, whose leader was Ḳuthāmā, author of the third edition of the *K. al-Filāḥa*, a Kasdaean born at Sūrā and a major landowner, and for the Sethians, disciples of Seth, son of Adam, well-known to historians of gnosticism, it is the revelations made to Adam by the Moon and conveyed in the "Books of Adam" which form the basis of their doctrines. Their disagreements concern the origin, the nature and the modalities of the inspiration (*waḥy*) of Adam (see details in our article mentioned above). For the Messians, disciples of Māsa al-Sūrānī, a "sophist", a native of Sūrā and a landowner, like Ḳūthāmā, whose writings are quoted extensively in the *K. al-Filāḥa*, it was Jupiter who made revelations to Adam. If it could be established that the context in which this compilation was composed was that of Babylonian gnosis, the sectarian group involved would be that of the "followers of Messos to whom, with Seth (the Allogene), Nicotheus, Zostrian and Zoroaster, certain sectarians, such as Adelphius and Aquilinus, opposed by Porphyrus and Amelius, attributed revelations" (cf. J. Doresse, *La Gnose*, in *Histoire des Religions*, ii, 376).

Historically, Sethians, Ḳukaeans and Messians flourished in Mesopotamia during the 2nd century A.D., a period shortly preceding the transfer of power from the hands of the Arsacids to those of the Sāsānids. It is not impossible that this is the political change to which reference is made in the *K. al-Filāḥa*, disguised by the fictitious allusions to Kasdaeans and Canaanites. It may be concluded from this that the work was compiled in an environment where Hellenistic and Roman paganism had a tendency to survive. There is, furthermore, no involvement here of either Judaism or Christianity. The last great upsurge of paganism in ʿIrāḳ was that inspired by Julian the Apostate (d. in Mesopotamia in 363 A.D.). From Apollonius of Tyana (d. 97 A.D.) to Julian the

Apostate, by way of Philostratus (d. 247), author of the legendary *Life of Apollonius*, paganism enjoyed numerous revivals, especially with the Ḥarranians.

Bibliography: Besides the sources and studies mentioned in the text, see, in particular, for the latter section: T. Fahd, *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'Agriculture en Irak: al-Filāḥa n-nabaṭiyya*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, i, 6, 6/1: *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit*, Leiden-Cologne 1977, 176-377 (cf. 376, for a list of our studies devoted to this work); idem, *Données religieuses de l'Agriculture nabatéenne*, in *ZDMG*, Suppl. iii, 1 (1977), 362-6. See also J.M. Fiey, *Les «Nabaṭ» de Kaskar-Wāsiṭ dans les premier siècles de l'Islam*, in *MUSJ*, li (1990), 51-87. (T. Fahd)

NABAṬĪ (a.), the name given to the popular vernacular poetry of Arabia. Opinions differ regarding its origin and nomenclature. One view is that it is the direct descendant of Classical Arabic but termed *Nabaṭī* to indicate that it does not conform strictly to the rules of literary Arabic. Another view, one hardly to be taken seriously, holds that *Nabaṭī* poetry is older than Classical Arabic, was colloquial in origin, and flourished under the dynasty of al-Anbāṭ, i.e., the Nabataeans, who ruled in Petra until 105 A.D. and who were said to be originally nomads from the Mecca area [see nabaṭ. 1]. Whatever its precise origins, *al-shiʿr al-nabaṭī* constituted until recently an unbroken link with a poetic tradition created by the particular socio-economic and linguistic conditions of tribal central Arabia, in which poetry had a political as well as a social function. The poet incited his listeners to war by the power of his verse and shaped their conduct by appealing to traditional Bedouin values such as honour and generosity. In pre-modern Arabia, poetry was well-suited to mobilise public opinion, since it was the most popular medium of expression and the most effective channel of communication. The increasing isolation of Arabia after the early period of Islam led to the development and—in the eyes of most mediaeval Arab scholars—the "corruption" of this vernacular poetic variety away from literary Arabic. However, in spite of linguistic differences, *Nabaṭī* poetry and Classical Arabic poetry share many prosodic, thematic, and functional similarities. In the 19th century, early (although unreliable) compilations of *Nabaṭī* poetry appeared, edited by Western orientalists; but it was not until the mid-20th century that definitive collections were published by al-Faradj (1952) and al-Ḥātam (1968), the former being based on the notebooks of devotees of this type of poetry at the court of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd.

Nabaṭī poems vary in length from a few lines to 100 or more verses which are divided into two hemistichs, metrically identical but each having a different rhyme. Transmission was not entirely oral, since by no means all *Nabaṭī* poets were illiterate and some drew deliberately from the Classical tradition in order to enrich their own vernacular compositions.

Since the 1970s, *Nabaṭī* poetry has witnessed something of a revival, being the subject of a Saudi Arabian television series *Min al-Bādiya* and many poems have been saved from extinction by the tape-recorder. There has also been renewed interest in *Nabaṭī* poetry in Arab Gulf states, where it may coexist with other indigenous forms of popular poetry.

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NABHĀN, the name of a tribe in ʿUmān, whose tribes are divided into independent *fakhūdh* (sing. *fakhdh*), with leaders generally denominated *shaykh*, each one considering himself independent of the others, and acknowledging no superior.

S.B. Miles reported in 1881 that 400 "Beni Nebhán", a Ḳaḥṭānī (Ghafirī) tribe, dwelt at Semáil (*sic* for Samāʾil), on the coast in 23′ 18° N., 58′ 58° E. They appear to have been of minor importance.

J.R.L. Carter gives a genealogy of Nabāhina *shaykhs* of the Banū Riyān, exclusively from traditional oral sources, who used the title *malik*. Of these, Sulaymān b. Sulaymān was elected Imām, reigning as overlord for a short while. A *shaykh* and others were living in 1982.

Sirḥān b. Saʿīd b. Sirḥān (1728) describes a Nabhānī dynasty of rulers of ʿUmān with the title of *malik*. They had an inland capital south of the Djabal Akhḍar, and reigned, he says, over an undefined territory from *ca.* 1100 until 1624, when they were extinguished by the Yaʿrubī dynasty [*q.v.*]. In 731/1330 (Miles) or 732/1331 (Hrbek), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the then ruler, called Abū Muḥammad Ibn Nabhān. He gives him the title *sulṭān*, and says that every Nabhānī *sulṭān* was called by this name. Somewhat disapprovingly, he recorded that Abū Muḥammad was of the Ibāḍī *madhhab*; and that from his capital at Nizwa [*q.v.*] he ruled over a number of coastal villages, including the port of Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*], but that most of ʿUmān was under the government of Hurmuz. The Nabhānī court was very simple, and there was no chamberlain or vizier.

The Nabhānī dynasty of Pate [*q.v.*] in the Lamu archipelago of East Africa is stated in the traditional *Habari za Pate* (History of Pate) to be an offshoot of the Nabhānī dynasty of ʿUmān that fled when the Yaʿāriba extinguished that dynasty. This event took place in 1624, whereas the very full details that we possess of the dynasty of Pate claim that it was founded *ca.* 1200. A living senior representative of the Pate family regards the descent from the ʿUmānī dynasty as unfounded in fact, and it would seem to be a separate *fakhdh*.

On Songo Mnara Island adjacent to Kilwa [*q.v.*], Sir Richard Burton reported a Nabhānī mosque decorated with Persian tiles. He states that his island was conquered by the Nabhānī, and it is possible that this tradition is an echo of the claim in the traditional History of Pate that Sultan ʿUmar the Great (*ca.* 1331-48) conquered the coast as far as Kilwa. The account reads, however, more like one of a raid than as a conquest, and for certain it was not consolidated. The name Nabhānī is still found in the Kilwa area, and the family may constitute a distinct *fakhdh*.

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Miles, *The countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, 2 vols., London 1919; Sirḥān b. Saʿīd b. Sirḥān, *Annals of Oman*, ed. and tr. E.C. Ross, repr. London 1984; and information kindly communicated in Mombasa by Shaykh Ahmed Sheikh Mohamed Nabhany. (G.S.P. Freeman-Greenville)

NĀBĪ, Yūsuf, an important, highly renowned Ottoman poet of the second half of the 11th/17th and beginning of the 12th/18th centuries.

He came from Urfa (Ruhā, hence Ruhāʾī); on the members of his family cf. M. Diriöz, *Nâbî'nin âilesine dâir yeni bilgiler*, in *Türk Kültürü*, xiv, 167 (1976), 668-73. From mentions in his writings, we know that he was born in 1052/1642-3 and that he moved to Istanbul in his early twenties, i.e., during the reign of sultan Meḥemmed IV (1058-99/1648-87). In Istanbul he enjoyed the patronage of Muṣāḥib Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a (cf. *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iv, 403-4), who appointed him *dīwān* secretary. In 1089/1678-9 he made the pigrimage, and upon his return Muṣāḥib Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a made him his steward (*ketk̲h̲udā*). Following the Pas̲h̲a's death in 1097/1686, Nābī settled in Aleppo, where he remained for about 25 years. In 1122/1710 Aleppo's governor Balṭad̲j̲ī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], in whose entourage he had been, was appointed grand vizier for the second time, and he returned to Istanbul with the Pas̲h̲a. Here Nābī was first appointed head of the mint office (*ḍarb-k̲h̲āne emīni*), then of the accounting office for Anatolia (*Anadolu muḥāsebed̲j̲isi*), and lastly of the registration office for the particulars and salaries of the *Ḳapïḳulu* cavalry other than the *sipāhīs* and the *silāḥdārs* (*süwārī muḳābeled̲j̲isi*). He died on 3 Rabīʿ I 1124/10 April 1712 and was buried at Üsküdar in the Ḳarad̲j̲a Aḥmed cemetery.

Nābī shows great versatility as to subject matter and style in his writings. He wrote both poetry and prose. While some of his work is in more or less straightforward Turkish, some of it is written in a heavily Persianised manner. It can be said that Nābī's prose is generally ornate, whilst his poetry is at least in part composed in relatively plain language. It is his philosophising, moralising tone and his didactic vein that have secured a special position for him in the Ottoman world of poetry. This disposition of his is suitably reinforced by his mastery in the incorporation of proverbs (*irsāl-i met̲h̲el*). Nābī was immensely popular for a long time, and the title of "king of poets" was bestowed on him. Among his disciples we find Sāmī (d. 1146/1733-4), Rās̲h̲id (d. 1147/1734-5), Seyyid Wehbī (d. 1149/1736-7), and Ḳod̲j̲a Rāg̲h̲ib Pas̲h̲a (d. 1176/1763).

Nābī's poetical works comprise: (1) His extensive Turkish *Dīwān*, renowned especially for its *g̲h̲azels* which dominate in number and in importance. Lyricism, however, is not their strong point; they are characterised by a relatively unadorned language and a sententious style. The *g̲h̲azels* are in alphabetical order, with a *rubāʿī* heading each new letter. Nābī's *Dīwān* has been printed twice: in Būlāḳ in 1257 and in Istanbul in 1292. (2) His Persians *dīwānče* containing about 50 poems (*g̲h̲azel* and *tak̲h̲mīs*). (3) *K̲h̲ayriyye* is Nābī's most famous work. He composed this *met̲h̲newī* in Aleppo in 1113/1701-2 for his son Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayr. It is a book of advice (*naṣīḥat-nāme*) from father to son meant as a guide to life. It is composed in a terse style and contains Nābī's reflections of an educational nature on all aspects of life. This is the work in which his predilection for moralising and philosophising remarks is most in evidence. *K̲h̲ayriyye* had great popularity and impact; for example, Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī of Erzurum (d. 1194/1780) quoted a number of its *beyts*, albeit without mentioning their provenience, in his *Maʿrifet-nāme* (cf. İ. Pala, *Erzurumlu İbrahim Hakkı'da Nabî tesiri*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, x [1990], 195-209). *K̲h̲ayriyye* was printed both together with the *Dīwān* and separately (e.g. *K̲h̲ayriyye-i Nābī*, Istanbul 1307). Cf. also *Conseils de Nabi Efendi à son fils Abou 'l-Khair, publiés en turc avec la traduction française et des notes par M. Pavet de Courteille*, Paris 1857, as well as *Şair Nabi, Hayriye* (*hzl.* İ. Pala), Istanbul 1989. (4) *Sūr-nāme* (full title: *Weḳāyiʿ-i k̲h̲ïtān-ï s̲h̲ehzādegān-ï ḥaḍret-i sulṭān Meḥemmed G̲h̲āzī*): This *met̲h̲newī* of almost 600 verses is a description of the festivities on the occasion of the circumcision of sultan Meḥemmed IV's sons in Edirne in 1086/1675. Its diction is clear and simple, and it is of some historic and social interest. It was printed in Roman characters, cf. A.S. Levend, *Nâbî'nin Sûrnâmesi*, Istanbul 1944. (Its only known ms. is in the İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, *Ty*, no. 1774, *Mecmua*, margins of 406-58a.) (5) *K̲h̲ayr-ābād* is Nābī's last *met̲h̲newī* (composed in 1117/1705-6) and is not considered one of his more successful works. It is a story of adventure and love in a language laden with Arabic and Persian words. (6) *Terd̲j̲üme-yi ḥadīt̲h̲-i erbaʿīn*: This is regarded as one of the best translations into Turkish of D̲j̲āmī's [*q.v.*] *Ḥadīt̲h̲-i arbaʿīn*. It is in strophic form in relatively plain Turkish, and the translation is not literal but rather free. This work was printed for the first time in *Millī Tetebbuʿlar Med̲j̲mūʿasī*, ii/4 (1331), 155 ff.

Nābī's prose works are: (7) *Fetḥ-nāme-yi Ḳameniče* or *Tārīk̲h̲-i Weḳāyiʿ-i Ḳameniče* or simply *Tārīk̲h̲-i Ḳameniče*. This is an account of the conquest in 1083/1672 of the fortress town Kamieniec in Podolia (Kamenets Podolskiy; see kamāniča). Nābī inserted some verses into this *fetḥ-nāme*, which he wrote upon Muṣāḥib Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a's behest in his youth. It was printed under the title *Tārīk̲h̲-i Ḳameniče* in Istanbul in 1281. (8) *Tuḥfet el-Ḥaremeyn* is an account of his pilgrimage which he wrote a few years after accomplishing it, that is in 1093/1682. He interspersed the prose text, which is written in a rather heavy style, with verses composed by himself and others. This has been printed twice: *Tuḥfet el-Ḥaremeyn*, n.p. [Istanbul] 1265 and *Tuḥfe*, Istanbul 1288. (9) *D̲h̲eyl-i Siyer-i Weysī*: This is Nābī's continuation of Weysī's (d. 1037/1628) *Siyer*; it was printed at Būlāḳ in 1248. His style here is ornate. Nābī wrote a second *D̲h̲eyl* after an interval of about twenty years: *D̲h̲eyl d̲h̲eyl el-Nābī*. These two *D̲h̲eyls* are together in some mss., separate in others. (10) *Müns̲h̲eʾāt*: This is a collection of official and private letters and as such not devoid of interest.

Bibliography (in addition to the titles cited above): ʿĀṣim, *D̲h̲eyl-i Zübdet el-es̲h̲ʿār*; Ṣafāyī, *Ted̲h̲kire*; Sālim, *Ted̲h̲kire*; Belīg̲h̲, *Nuk̲h̲bet el-āthār li-D̲h̲eyl-i Zübdet el-es̲h̲ʿār*; *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iv, 530-1; *ʿOt̲h̲mānlï müʾellifleri*, ii, 448-50; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOD*, iv, 49-70; Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 325-48; F. Babinger, *GOW*, 237-9; A. Karahan, in *İA*, art. *Nâbî* (cf. for information on mss. of Nābī's works, as also F. Babinger, *GOW*, 238-9, and idem, in *EI*¹ art. *Nābī*; on the printed copy of *Tārīk̲h̲-i Ḳameniče* cf. *JA*, i [1868], 471 ff.); idem, *Nâbîʾnin el yazısı, imzası, mührü ve sûrnâmesine dâir*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, ii (1948), 133-40; idem, *Nâbî, hayatı, sanatı şiirleri*, Istanbul 1953; idem, *İslam türk edebiyatında kırk hadis toplama, tercüme ve şerhleri*, Istanbul 1954, 230-2; idem, *Nâbî*, Ankara 1987; M. Kaplan, *Nâbî ve "orta insan" tipi*, in *IÜEFTDED*, xi (1961), 25-44; M. Mengi, *Çağının insanı olarak Nabî*, in *Ömer Asım Aksoy armağanı*, Ankara 1978, 177-84; idem, *Divan şiirinde hikemî tarzın büyük temsilcisi Nâbî*, Ankara 1987; T.

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NABĪ DJIRDJĪS [see DJIRDJĪS].

NABĪ YŪNUS [see NĪNAWĀ].

NABĪDH (A.), a comprehensive designation for intoxicating drinks, several kinds of which were produced in early Arabia, such as *mizr* (from barley), *bitᶜ* (from honey: al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 60, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 4; *Adab*, *bāb* 80) or from spelt (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 402), *faḍīkh* (from different kinds of dates (al-Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 3, 21). These ingredients were steeped in water until they were fermented, and the result of this procedure was a slightly intoxicating drink. There were also combinations of raisins, dates and honey to be found. *Nabīdh* was sometimes consumed mixed with strong intoxicating ingredients like St. John's wort or different kinds of cannabis, so that it had strong intoxicating and hallucinogenic effects (al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 243 = § 3391; al-Washshāʾ, *K. al- Muwashshā*, 196). Later on, in some countries of the Islamic world, there has been a change of meaning. In today's Syria, for example, *nbīd* is used for any kind of intoxicating drinks, while in Egypt *khamr* and *nibīd* are used with the same meaning.

Side-by-side with milk and honey, *nabīdh* was also a beverage that was offered to the pilgrims in Mecca. The institution of *al-siḳāya* (also the name of the building, close to Zamzam, where the distribution took place), was an office held by the ᶜAbbāsī family (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 372; Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, trad. 347; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik, bāb* 90). The descriptions by Ibn Saᶜd (d. 230/845) and al-Azraḳī (d. 244/858) give the impression of referring to the present state of things; in the time of al-Muḳaddasī (d. *ca.* 1000 A.D.) the institution had already passed into desuetude. For details, cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Pèlerinage*.

There was a lively discussion among the *fuḳahāʾ* as to whether the consuming of this kind of beverage is allowed or forbidden. One argument in favour of *nabīdh* was put forward, for example, by the Muᶜtazilī al-Djubbāʾī [*q.v.*], who argues that God has created things which resemble those things which were allowed in Paradise but are forbidden on earth. Among them is *nabīdh*, which is allowed for the believers so that they can guess what *khamr* will be like in the hereafter (al-Tanūkhī, tr. Margoliouth, *Tabletalk*, 1931, 575; for details on the legal discussion, see KHAMR and MASHRŪBĀT).

Nabīdh, like *khamr*, was used to discredit certain individuals or groups. Thus the calligrapher Ibn al-Waḥīd (647-711/1249-50 to 1312) was suspected of putting wine or *nabīdh* in the ink which he used for copying the Ḳurʾān (Rosenthal, *The herb*, 154), or else there was a rumour about the Ḳarmaṭians, that among them *nabīdh* was forbidden and wine allowed in order to underscore the antinomian character of this movement (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 488).

Bibliography: Cf. those to KHAMR and MASHRŪBĀT; further: M.M. Ahsan: *Social life under the Abbasids*, London 1979; R. Gelpke, *Vom Rausch im Orient und Okzident*, Stuttgart 1966; R. Hattox, *Coffee and coffeehouses. The origins of social beverage in the Medieval Near East*, Seattle 1985; P. Heine, *Weinstudien. Untersuchungen zu Anbau, Produktion und Konsum des Weins im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1982; F. Rosenthal, *The Herb. Hashish versus medieval Muslim society*, Leiden 1971.

(P. HEINE)

AL-NĀBIGHA AL-DHUBYĀNĪ, Ziyād b. Muᶜāwiya (var. ᶜAmr) b. Ḍabāb b. Djābir (var. Djanāb) b. Yarbūᶜ b. Salāma of the Banū Murra (Ghaṭafān), one of the most renowned poets of the *Djāhiliyya*. With Imruʾ al-Ḳays and Zuhayr [*q.vv.*] he eclipsed the earlier poets (Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Shākir, i, 50, 56-9; Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, Amman 1984, i, 172).

The traditions relating to al-Nābigha are concerned with a brief period of his life, confined to the years 570-600, and show the poet being received by the Ghassānid tribal chieftains at Djābiya and subsequently by al-Nuᶜmān III at Ḥīra. The rest is enveloped in total silence.

From the time of his arrival on the scene, at an unknown date but certainly prior to 580, he pleaded the cause of keeping the defeated ᶜAbs within the fold of the Banū Ghaṭafān and preventing at any price their migration and installation among the Banū ᶜĀmir, the consequences of which would be inauspicious (*Dīwān*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1985, xii, xvii, xviii; Caskel, *Djamhara*, ii, 607d; E. Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, 140-1 and n. 41-5, 149-50; ᶜU. al-Dusūḳī, *al-Nābigha al Dhubyānī*, Cairo 1956, 121-3). At a later date, he is seen calling upon his fellow-tribesmen, on numerous occasions, to renew their *ḥilf* (alliance) with the Asad (Banū Murra [*q.v.*]; see *Dīwān*, IV, V, XI, XXIII, XXXIX). In a very finely wrought *ḳaṣīda*, he states that the Asad have fought courageously to defend their Dhubyānī allies (Dhubyān and Murra being interchangeable in ancient times) and to assure their glory (*Dīwān*, V; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ii, 132-8, v, 169; Derenbourg, *Nābigha*, in *JA* [Sept. 1868], 214-17). Furthermore, history has justified the poet in adopting these positions; the alliance, declared in the mid-6th century on Mount Khāl, seems to have well served both economic interests, in guaranteeing the protection of zones of pasture and the palm-groves of Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, and military interests since it enabled them to resist the expansionist aspirations of the Ghassānids. The area of contention seems to have been Dhū Uḳur, a fertile oasis full of water and salsuginous grass (*aḥmāḍ*), ideal for camels. This territory had belonged since time immemorial to the Banū Murra, but it was forcibly appropriated by the Ghassānids who declared it a forbidden zone (*Dīwān*, title of IX; al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Bilād al-ᶜArab*, Riyāḍ 1388/1968, 73-81, 153-4, 400; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. *Uḳur*; Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, 211; Nöldeke, *The Princes of Ghassān from the House of Djafna*, Beirut 1933, 42-3; cf. art. MURRA, BANŪ, the last two references relating to the conquest of fertile lands formerly the property of the Asad Dhubyān). This alliance, which proved its worth at Yawm al-Nisār, seems to have entered into customary thought; the two tribes are habitually named the *ḥilfān* or the *aḥlāf* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 362; E. Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, 100-33). However, certain reservations seem to have been evident among the Banū Murra in relation to this activity on the part of the poet, to such an extent that he found himself obligated to seek aid and protection from the ᶜUdhra, his neighbours to the north (*Dīwān*, XIV, and title of XVI).

In the same period, he made his first visit to the

house of Djafna. Six poems dedicated to al-Nuʿmān, the son of al-Ḥārith al-Aṣghar, survive (*Dīwān*, IV, IX, XIV, XIX, XXII, XXXII; Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 41-2). The first three represent a fine example of tribal poetry at its highest level: intercession for his fellow-tribesmen and reproofs are intermingled; moreover, the poet went so far as to warn al-Nuʿmān that his army would be defeated if he dared to attack the *aḥlāf* (*Dīwān*, XIV). Among the three poems, which relate to specific circumstances, special mention should be made of the lament which he composed on the death of al-Nuʿmān, considered a very fine specimen of the genre.

The death of the latter marks a turning-point in the life of al-Nābigha, who seems to have understood that the dispute between Banū Djafna and Dhubyān proceeded from a long-lasting geopolitical situation, and that it was thus impossible to bring about peace and harmony between the two parties. On the other hand, al-Nuʿmān III (who reigned at Ḥīra from 580 to 602, see LAKHMIDS) had inaugurated a new policy, abandoning the major confrontations of his predecessors with the Ghassānids and supporting the tribes established to the north of the Nadjd with the objeet of embroiling his Syrian enemies in a guerilla war with the Bedouin [see LAKHMIDS]; al-Nābigha was received at the court of Ḥīra with all the respect due to his dual status as representative of the Asad-Murra allies and as a distinguished poet. According to the sources, he became the intimate companion and poet laureate of the sovereign, at the expense of other poets who arrived in large numbers hoping to benefit from his patronage.

For a reason which remains obscure, the king decided to execute the poet. Various fanciful theories, which seem hardly credible, have been presented; almost all of them concern a scurrilous portrait of the queen al-Mutadjarrida; Murra b. Ḳurayʿ al-Tamīmī or al-Munakhkhal al-Yashkurī [*q.v.*] are cited in turn as protagonists. Others mention a *hidjāʾ* against al-Nuʿmān, which is just as problematical since the identity of the author is not definitely known. He owed the saving of his life to the chamberlain ʿIṣām b. Shahbar al-Djurhumī. This Lakhmid episode does not seem to have encouraged al-Nābigha's inspiration. Only three fragments of eulogies have been gleaned by all the collected editions (*Dīwān*, XXVII, XXXVII, LX). Their mediocre quality contrasts vividly with the outstanding poems dedicated to the Ghassānids.

The poet found a refuge in the household of ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith at Djābiya. This second period among the Ghassānids, in spite of a poem in which the bitter defeat of the Lakhmids at Yawm Ḥalīma is evoked (*Dīwān*, III, V, 20), could not have been seen by him as other than an interim arrangement. In fact, he sent to al-Nuʿmān three compositions, in which his excuses are intermingled with dithyrambic eulogies; these are the famous *iʿtidhāriyyāt* (*Dīwān*, I, VIII, LXXV). Evidently both parties were in favour of a reconciliation, and normality was restored through the good offices of two Fazārī *sayyids*, Manẓūr b. Zibbān and Sayyār b. ʿAmr, influential friends of the king of Ḥīra. The poet was not to enjoy his regained favour for long. Al-Nuʿmān was deposed by Khusraw Parwīz and died a hideous death. The aged poet abandoned all his activities and returned to his tribe, where he sank into total anonymity.

The *Dīwān* of al-Nābigha has earned the greatest of respect: it has been the object of a dozen *riwāyas* and commentaries; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. 164/780), Abū ʿAmr (al-Shaybānī) (d. 203/820, *Dīwān*, editor's introd., 6), Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/825, quoted in numerous instances by al-Aṣmaʿī, see *Dīwān*, 54, 121, 143, 167, 192), al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/818, see introduction by al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī, 11) (all quoted by Ibn ʿAshūr, *Dīwān*, Algiers-Tunis 1976, introd., 8), Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 224/859, published by Shukrī Fayṣal, Beirut 1388/1988), Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231/846), al-Sukkarī (d. 275/888; al-Dusūḳī, *op. cit.*, 98), Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 337/950, published at Algiers-Tunis, 1976), al-Ṭūsī (d. 340/958, *Dīwān*, editor's introd., 6, 124-5), al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 494/1100, numerous editions, the best that of Nāṣīf ʿAwwād, Beirut 1968) and al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109; the annotated *dāliyya* has been published by Ch. Lyall, *A commentary on ten ancient Arabic poems*, Calcutta 1894, 152 ff.; on the ms. of Feyzullah, see Sh. Ḍayf, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī*, i, Cairo 1976, 276)—all of these have had their contribution to make. Blachère rightly comments that this abundance of material points to the undeniable interest and considerable success of the work of al-Nābigha (*HLA*, ii, 299). Profound differences exist between these diverse editions; they relate to the variants, the number of verses and of poems. The collection in the edition of al-Aṣmaʿī comprises 22 poems and fragments combined according to the conceptions of the Baṣran school. Although excellent, the edition of al-Aṣmaʿī has been judged too strict and fragmentary by al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī, who added to it 7 poems from the *riwāya* of al-Ṭūsī which was influenced by the school of Kūfa. With the benefit of this surplus, important details of biography and works have been made clearer. The most extensive edition is unquestionably that of Ibn al-Sikkīt. No fewer than 46 poems and fragments, of which the mode of transmission is completely unknown, have been added. All of this shows that in the final analysis, the *dīwān* of an ancient poet reflects a choice on the part of the transmitter and that the edition of al-Aṣmaʿī cannot make exclusive claims to authenticity.

The quality of the poetry of al-Nābigha amply justifies the interest of the transmitters. Undeniably his *hidjāʾ*, generally very short, his *nasīb*, certain panegyrics quoted especially in the edition of Ibn al-Sikkīt (*Dīwān*, Beirut 1968, X, XI, XVIII) and his laments appear rather impersonal (with two exceptions in the case of the laments: the poem composed at the time of the death of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Ḥārith and that which mourns his brother, mentioned by Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, Bonn 1828, 408). The *dāliyya* with which the *Dīwān* opens was not included by Ḥammād al-Rāwiya at the time of the definitive codification of the *Muʿallaḳāt* (it is known that various written collections of these poems which feature the piece by al-Nābigha were in circulation between the reign of Muʿāwiya and the end of the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, see M.J. Kister, *The Seven Odes*, in *RSO*, xliv [1969], 27-36). Later, it might have been added by Ibn al-Naḥḥās on account of its superior quality (*Khizānat al-adab*, iii, 186-7, iv, 5, viii, 450). The *iʿtidhāriyyāt*, hybrid pieces containing a combination of excuses and panegyric, were particularly appreciated by ancient criticism (whence the judgment that attained the status of an aphorism: al-Nābigha is the best of poets when he is gripped by panic, *al-Aghānī*, viii, 77, xv, 97; Ibn Saʿid, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, ii, 567; *Khizānat al-adab*, i, 175).

However, the essential genius is to be sought elsewhere: by virtue of his verbal imagination, the poet has raised the poems appropriate to circumstances, the panegyrics and tribal addresses, to the status of vivid and colourful representations. For this purpose, he resorts to metaphor drawn from the pictorial register. Thus, in Piece I, on the theme of the

generosity of al-Nuʿmān IV, the sovereign is compared with the Euphrates. A description, which stands in a purely hypothetical relationship to reality, transports the hearer towards an impressive rolling river with enormous waves; like a skilled painter, the poet then introduces a human element, the mariners and their embarkation and a series of dialectical contrasts between the power of the river/king and the weakness of the men/mariners, the grandiose opposed to the limited and the imperturbable opposed to the fearful. This passage (three verses, 44-6) establishes the symbol and gives to a problematical poetic genre, *madḥ* (eulogy), a certain artistic dimension. This method is one to which al-Nābigha frequently returns; in his address to the Banū Ḥunn, the clan of ʿUdhra, the description of the date-palms, symbolising the power of the tribe, is drawn on the same register (*Dīwān*, XIV, 5-7). The same applies to his impassioned appeal for the preservation of the Asad-Dhubyān alliance (*Dīwān*, V); here he presents two very expressive imaginary tableaux, the Banū Ghāḍir (Asad) embroiled in warfare, their women abandoned as if they had been impure (verses 14-20), and the bucolic tableau of the horses of al-Rumaytha (verses 24-6). Finally, in more than one instance, in addresses to his fellow-tribesmen, he readily sketches hypothetical scenes in which their women-folk, taken captive, would be subjected to the most hideous treatment: forced marches, rape, etc. (*Dīwān*, III, 12-16, XXV, 8-13, XXVI, 12-17), set-pieces of the kind which would not be out of place in an epic poem.

From another angle, al-Nābigha has to a considerable extent given expression in his poetry to the customs, folklore and legends current in Djāhilī society. In particular, he evokes the myth of the foundation of Palmyra (Tadmur) by Solomon, who imposed on the *djinns* the task of constructing the city (*Dīwān*, I, 21-3). Some critics have protested that this is a forgery, seeing here the hand of Muslim transmitters. However, Buhl (see PALMYRA in *EI*[1]) and the Jewish sources (*Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem 1973, xv, 107b, ll. 5-7) have suggested that Solomon (Sulaymān) and this legend were known in the pre-Islamic period (Arabic sources: al-Tibrīzī in *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa*, 435; al-Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, vi, 223; the legend would have been propagated by Djāhilīs who had embraced the Jewish faith). The well-known parable of the two brothers and the serpent could be seen as an experiment in the introduction of fable into ancient poetry (Blachère sees here an Arab response to Aesop's fable "The Labourer and the Serpent"; his reservations arise from the plain style, differing from that of the poet; cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, iv, 203-5; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. De Goeje, 73).

This great creator of images was incapable of using dialogue in his poems, where no example is evident. We know to what extent Zuhayr and his school had shown their predilection for this process, which was such an integral part of the development of the *ḳaṣīda*. Moreover, he seems to have been completely lacking in narrative sense; al-Nābigha is incapable of telling a story. It is for this reason that his few attempts at composing poems according to the tripartite scheme came to an abrupt end: his passages dealing with camels appear lifeless; the dramatic tension inherent in descriptions of the wild bull at bay and the arrangements required for the slaughter of the wild ass, is stylised in his work and far from convincing. This being the case, the claim that al-Nābigha belonged to the school of Zuhayr, who accorded the greatest importance to these elements, appears debatable (the thesis developed by Ṭāha Ḥusayn, *Fī 'l-adab al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1968, 265-8, according to which al-Nābigha belonged to the school of Zuhayr, is matched by the point of view of G.E. von Grunebaum, *Pre-Islamic poetry*, in *MW*, xxxii [1942], 147-53).

The surname of the poet reflects the quality and the limitations of his poetry. The term signifies, according to Derenbourg's fine expression (*op. cit.*, 206-8), "a sudden gushing" or better "gushing spring" (cf. the "master poet" of Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 334). A maxim attributed to al-Aṣmaʿī clarifies well the meaning of this surname: al-Nābigha, he says, is a *maṭbūʿ* (born) poet who gives free rein to his inspiration without undue effort at working on his verses; he compares him with Zuhayr and al-Ḥuṭayʾa, who accorded a primordial importance to *ṣanʿa* (*Aghānī*, ii, 25). A number of clues support al-Aṣmaʿī's view: a number of cases of enjambement (*taḍmīn*) are attested (*Dīwān*, I, 39-40, 44-7, VI, 11-12, VII, 17-18, XXIII, 16-17; in the last case he uses *innī* for the rhyme and relegates the rest of the phrase to the following line). The vice of *iḳwāʾ* occurs frequently in his poetry (Ibn Saʿīd, *op. cit.*, 563-4; *Dīwān*, XIII, 3 and 18, XIV, 6, XV, 1, XXV, 10). As regards metre, he employs *iḳʿād* in the *ṭawīl* where *mafāʿīlun* in the *ʿarūḍ* is transformed into *mafāʿil* (*Dīwān*, LIV, 1), a procedure condemned by scholars.

However, all of this should be kept in proportion, and these are merely the minor solecisms of a poet confident in his talent. This *faḥl* poet set his seal on classical poetry for many centuries. The greatest poets were influenced by his art (al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 203-4, 242, 252-3; Bashshār, Abū Nuwās and Ibn al-Rūmī took inspiration from his poetry; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, iv, 289-92); in this context, a special place belongs to al-Mutanabbī, who mentions him by name in his poems and imitates him in several instances (Ps.-al-ʿUkbarī, *al-Tibyān*, Cairo 1355/1956, iv, 55-6; see also, i, 25, 22, 110, 287, 299, ii, 255).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned above, see Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 298-300 and index; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, index; Caskel, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Leiden 1966, ii, 607; Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938-45, index (very important information); Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣinaʿatayn*, Cairo 1971, index: Djurdjānī, *al-Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa-khuṣūmih*, Cairo 1386/1966, index; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿArab*, Amman 1982, ii, 562-77; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1967-86, index (more than 40 quotations); Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, Amman 1984, 145-59 and index; Renata Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, Wiesbaden 1972, index; Shawḳī Ḍayf, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī*, i, *al-ʿAṣr al-djāhilī*, 1976, 266-99; E. Landau-Tasseron, *Aspects of the Ridda Wars*, diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1981, unpubl., 134-51.

(A. ARAZI)

AL-NĀBIGHA AL-DJAʿDĪ, Ḳays b. ʿAbd Allāh, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, Ḥibbān (var. Ḥassān) b. Ḳays b. ʿAbd Allāh, according to al-Ḳahdhamī, of the Banū Djaʿda (ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa), poet of the *mukhaḍramūn* [*q.v.*] and a Companion famed for his longevity, to which he owes the honour of being included among the *muʿammarūn* [*q.v.*] by Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī.

The biographical details concern the Islamic period only, and nothing or virtually nothing is known of his origins (the sole vestige, *Dīwān*, ed. Maria Nallino, no. IX, vv. 8-16). In 9/630, he took part in the *wafd* or deputation of the Banū Djaʿda to Medina. His gift

of repartee and his youth having probably pleased the Prophet, the latter blessed him and he retained right up to his death at a very advanced age a perfect set of teeth. In 21-2/641-3, he migrated in company with his tribe to Baṣra (*Dīwān*, no. XI, vv. 6-8, an evocation of the journey). Certain episodes of this stay there, punctuated by an expedition for the conquest of Khurāsān, have been presented in his *Dīwān* (a, no. XII; M. Nallino, in *RSO*, xiv [1934], 383-4). They bear witness to the influence of the desert and the tribe, and it is within this context that one should place the contests in *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] which set him up against Aws b. Maghrāʾ and al-Akhṭal around 40/660 on the famous Mirbad [*q.v.*] of Baṣra. Al-Nābigha is reported to have replied to an accusation hurled at one of his fellow-tribesmen of having handed over the Banū ʿAwf to Busr b. Arṭāt (*Dīwān*, a, no. VII). It was on this occasion that al-Akhṭal used a key term of tribal *hidjāʾ*, the diminutive *ḳubayyila* (i.e. a wretched mini-tribe, see *Ḥamāsa*, Bonn 1828, 758), to designate the Banū Djaʿda (on al-Nābigha's invective, see *Dīwān*, no. XI, vv. 14-16).

Under ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, he took part at the latter's side at al-Nukhayla and at Ṣiffīn [*q.vv.*] (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 36-Ṣafar 37/656-7) (*Dīwān*, no. V, vv. 33-6; a, no. V). This gained him mention in one of the most prestigious of Imāmī Shīʿī *ridjāl* books, the *Tanḳīḥ al-maḳāl* of al-Māmaḳānī (no. 12, 367) and led to his suffering grave harm under Muʿāwiya's rule; his property was confiscated and only given back to him after two supplications addressed to the caliph (*Dīwān*, no. I, vv. 5-19; b, no. IV). A little later, the poet found himself at Iṣfahān in the company of his fellow-tribesmen and of the Banū Ḳushayr. There he exchanged invectives with Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and her husband Sawwār b. Awfā al-Ḳushayrī, who seems to have taken the initiative in the hostilities by attacking the poet and his maternal uncles, the Azd. Al-Nābigha replied savagely and composed *al-ḳaṣīda al-fāḍiḥa* which listed the *mathālib* [*q.v.*] of Ḳushayr and ʿUḳayl; Laylā intervened, and the quarrel got even more acute (*Dīwān*, a, nos. VII, XII; b, nos. XXIX, XXX). However, very remarkably, the remainder of his poetry gained in depth; he set about reflecting on the first civil war, and his past mistakes seem to have preoccupied him to the highest degree (*Dīwān*, no. V, vv. 4-30; VIII).

Between 63 and 65/683 and 684-5, he gave his allegiance, not without reluctance, to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. After Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*], the poet made himself the defender of the Ḳays supplanted by the Kalb or Yemenites. The policy of reconciling and appeasing tribal conflicts followed by ʿAbd al-Malik caused a change of tone in al-Nābigha, and he now preached harmony between the two groups (*Dīwān*, no. I, 20-7, with reference to the Djaʿdī Ziyād b. al-Aṣbaḥ, who had vainly tried to make peace between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya). His last years were spent in Khurāsān in relative tranquility, and he died there in *ca.* 79/698-9.

Al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī's poetry does not seem to have been made the subject of an independent recension; the various *riwāyāt* of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries seem to have been collected together in the work of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī (d. 203/820), the *K. Banī Djaʿda*. The present edition of Maria Nallino is an excellent reconstitution from all points of view (the edition of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Rabāḥ, Damascus 1964, brings nothing new, and simply reproduces Nallino's edition). It is very hard to estimate the quality of his poetry and his conception of the *ḳaṣīda*. However, in regard to his themes, one can discern a profound influence from Labīd [*q.v.*], notably in the confrontation between the poet and his time and the unavoidable triumph of death. Especially worthy of mention in this connection is piece no. III, whose 48 verses form a reminiscence of the *Muʿallaḳa* of his ʿĀmirī predecessor on all levels, including those of style and the use of metaphors and comparisons; the central episode, that of the wild cow and her calf devoured by wolves, is identical in both poets. Moreover, Ibn Sallām places him at the side of Labīd in the company of al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār and of Abū Dhuʾayb al-Hudhalī in the third class of *fuḥūl* (*Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1974, 123). The main contribution of this mediocre satirist—he was in actuality *mughallab*, i.e., defeated in the verbal jousts—apart from his animal descriptions (his description of the horse, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 330) and his tribal poetry resides in the strongly marked expression of the poetry of the *muʿammarūn*. In his collection, it has a depth and thematic variety rarely equalled. His poetry is in fact dominated by death and by his weariness in having to continue living when his dear ones, his seven brothers and the great men of his tribe, have departed and he has to take over their memory. The vocabulary of recollection frequently recurs in his poems; he recalls his carefree youth, the bacchic gatherings, his lives and the encampments of his tribe in the Faladj which he can never see again.

Bibliography: Maria Nallino, *al-Nābiġah al-Ǧaʿdī e le sue poesie. I. Notizie biografiche*, in *RSO*, xiv (1934), 135-90, 380-423; eadem, *Le Poesie di an-Nābiġah al-Ǧaʿdī: raccolta critica dei testi, traduzione e note*, Rome 1953; Blachère, *HLA*, index; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii. 245-7, ix, 274; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, ii, 455-6; Ṭabarī, iii, 2397 (notice); Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1405/1985, iii, 177-8, and partly unpubl. bibl. cited; ʿUkbarī, *Tibyān*, Cairo 1355/1936, index; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿArab*. ʿAmmān 1982, 441; Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, ʿAmmān 1984, 142-3; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, Cairo 1401/1981, 553; Khalīl Abū Dhiyāb, *al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī ḥayatuh wa-shiʿruh*, Beirut-Damascus 1407/1987. (A. ARAZI)

NĀBITA, (A.). a term of Classical Arabic which means in particular "rising generation", but one which today has acquired the pejorative sense of "bad lot, rogue" which the plural *nawābit* and the expression *nābitat sharr* previously possessed. These meanings were noted by the mediaeval lexicographers, but one finds in Ibn al-Nadīm a section (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 255-7, ed. Tadjaddud, 229-31) devoted to the *mutakallimū 'l-mudjbira* [see DJABRIYYA] and to the *nābitat al-ḥashwiyya*, amongst whom the main exponent was allegedly Ibn Kullāb [*q.v.* in Suppl.], whilst al-Zamakhsharī specifies (*Asās al-balāgha*, s.v.) that the *nābita*/*nawābit* are the Ḥashwiyya. This last author belonged to the Muʿtazilī school, and it is precisely in an ardent exponent of *iʿtizāl* [see MUʿTAZILA] that the Nābita are denounced with the greatest vigour, sc. al-Djāḥiẓ, who has left behind an opusculum called *Risāla fī 'l-Nābita* (see Ch. Pellat, *La nâbita de Djâhiz*, in *AIEO Alger*, x [1952], 302-25). For al-Djāḥiẓ, the term applies essentially to the Ḥanbalīs [see AḤMAD B. ḤANBAL], whom he stigmatises as adherents of the Umayyads (the *risāla* has the alternative title of *Risāla fī Banī Umayya*), denouncing the veritable cult which they have built up around the memory of Muʿāwiya (see Pellat, *Le culte de Muʿāwiya*, in *SI*, vi [1956], 53-6). He further condemns their use of *kalām* [*q.v.*] for combatting the Muʿtazila, and the different points in their doctrine, sc. the created Ḳurʾān, a refusal to

anathematise tyrants, *tadjwīr* (the attribution to God of evil actions as well as good ones), anthropomorphism and determinism, these last two articles of faith clearly pinpointing their impiety.

Ibn Ḳutayba, for his part, avoids all links with the Ḥanbalīs but castigates the extremist traditionists who behave in a disordered fashion and are called "sometimes *ḥashwiyya, nābita* or *mudjbira*, and sometimes *djabriyya*" (*Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, 96, tr. G. Lecomte, §§ 108-9). Because of their predilection for the Umayyads, there is a tendency to link the Nābita with the ʿUthmāniyya, but these last, like the ʿAlids, rejected the dynasty founded by Muʿāwiya. On the other hand, against the partisans of ʿAlī, they recognised the caliphate of ʿUthmān and, through that, those of his two predecessors (cf. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, Paris 1965, p. XXIII, 336-41, who appears to follow I. Goldziher (in *Muh. St.*, ii, 119-20), who mistakenly makes the equation ʿUthmāniyya = partisans of the Umayyads).

Bibliography: On the mss. and edition of the *Risāla fi 'l-Nābita*, see Brockelmann, S I, 242, no. 7, and Pellat, *Nouvel inventaire*, in *Arabica*, xxxi (1984), 151, no. 162. In addition to the references given in the article, see further A. Khālid, *Shakhṣiyyāt wa-ṭayyārāt*, Sousse 1970, 236-40; Rashīd Riḍā, in *Manār*, vii (1904-5), 620-4; C.E. Bosworth, *Al-Maqrīzī's "Book of Contention and Strife"*, JSS Monographs no. 3, Manchester 1980, 38-40; and *Bibl.* to ḤASHWIYYA. Starting from the mention, by al-Fārābī, of the *nawābit* who are, grosso modo, the opposition, Ilai Alon has been led to analyse the concept expressed by the term, not only by the author of *al-Madīna al-fāḍila*, but additionally in the works where it figures, from the time of al-Djāḥiẓ onwards; see his *Fārābī's funny flora: al-nawābit as "opposition"*, in *Arabica*, xxxvii (1990), 56-90.

(CH. PELLAT)

NABOB [see NAWWĀB].

NĀBULUS, a town in central Palestine, the name of which is derived from that of Flavia Neapolis built in honour of Vespasian. Its Old Testament predecessor was Shechem, which however lay more to the east on the site of the present village of Balāṭa (the name is explained by S. Klein, in *ZDPV*, xxxv, 38-9; cf. R. Hartmann, in *ibid.*, xxxiii, 175-6, as "platanus", from the evidence of the pilgrim of Bordeaux and the *Midrash Gen. rb.*, c. 81, § 3). According to Eusebius, the place where the old town stood was pointed out in a suburb of Neapolis. The correctness of this identification of the site of Shechem has now been completely proved by Sellin's excavations; and this also explains how the old name did not as usual drive out the late Greek one. In the time of the Arab writers, the name Shechem was long forgotten and what they tell us refers to Neapolis-Nābulus.

Nābulus is in a long valley (running form east to west) formed by two chains of hills, on the south side Garizim, Arabic Djabal al-Ṭūr or al-Ḳiblī (2,900 feet high), on the north side Ebal, Arabic Djabal Islāmiyya or al-Shamālī (3,140 feet high). G. Hölscher (*ZDPV*, xxxiii, 98) refers the older name of Neapolis, Mabartha (Mamortha) in Pliny and Josephus, i.e. "crossing", *maʿbartā*, to the low saddle running right across the valley. The town with its 22 springs is unusually rich in water, which can be heard running everywhere and produces a very luxuriant vegetation. Where the road from the south turns westwards into the valley there is a well with the ruins of a church. Unanimous tradition since the 4th century A.D. locates here Jacob's well, and it is undoubtedly the same as is mentioned in John, iv, 5. About a thousand yards to the north is a building where tradition locates Joseph's grave.

In the post-exilic period, Shechem belonged to the territory of the mixed people of the Samaritans, whose capital it became after they had built on the hill of Garizim (the Samaritan text of Deut., xxvii, 5, has this name instead of Ebal) a temple as a rival to that of Jerusalem. They were continually at strife with the Jews, and in the end John Hyrcanus in 129 B.C. destroyed Shechem and its temple. At a later date, this always turbulent people was equally hostile to the Romans, which caused Vespasian to attack them on Garizim, when a large number were slain. Christianity gradually spread in the country and Neapolis became a bishopric. The result was that the Samaritans now turned their arms against the Christians and treated them with great cruelty. After a deadly raid by them, the Byzantine Emperor Zeno (474-91) had them driven from Garizim and built a church there. They wrought still greater havoc in the time of Justinian, who punished them with great severity and destroyed their synagogues while he rebuilt the churches. This finally broke their spirit; many of them fled to Persia while others became Christians. Their part had been played out by the time that Nābulus, with many other towns, fell into the hands of the Muslims.

The notices of the Arab authors about the town are very scanty. They know that it was inhabited by Samaritans [see SĀMIRIYYA] and some add that, according to the Jews, they are found nowhere else; but it should be noted that al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 158, speaks of Samaritans in Filasṭīn and Urdunn. Al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions (*Buldān*, 328, tr. Wiet, 181), Nābulus as a town near two sacred hills with a population of Jews, foreigners and Samaritans. Below the town is a subterranean city, hewn out of the rock. Al-Muḳaddasī says "Nābulus lies in a valley between two hills, is rich in olive-trees and a stream flows through it. The houses are of stone and there are mills there; the mosque in the centre has a beautiful paved courtyard". In the Crusading period, Nābulus is mentioned as unfortified. On 23 Jan. 1120, an assembly of prelates and secular notables was held here with the object of improving the morals of the Christians. Al-Idrīsī mentions the well of Jacob where Christ had the conversation with the woman of Samaria; a fine church had then been built on the spot. The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (1160-73) records that there were no Jews in Nābulus, but about 100 Kutaeans (Samaritans), who offered burned offerings on the altar on Garizim at the passover and on other feast-days. His contemporary ʿAlī al-Harawī says the Samaritans are very numerous. He, as does Yāḳūt, always writes Garizim as Kazirim, a corruption which we already have in the "Agazaren" of the pilgrim of Bordeaux. A terrible earthquake in 1202 added to the miseries inflicted on the town by the continual wars between Franks and Muslims. Under the great Mamlūk Sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] it finally passed into possession of the Muslims. Yāḳūt remarks on the wealth of water and fertility of the district; here, he says, is the hill on which according to the Jews, Abraham wanted to sacrifice Isaac (not Ishmael as many of the Muslims say). When praying, the Samaritans turn towards Garizim. Al-Dimashḳī says that Nābulus is like a palace surrounded by gardens; he mentions the pilgrimages of the Samaritans to Garizim where they sacrificed lambs. The Muslims had a fine mosque in the town, where the Ḳurʾān was recited day and night. Accord-

ing to Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (d. 872/1467), the area included 300 villages.

During the Ottoman period, and till the time of the appearance of the Egyptian commander Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha in the 1830s, Nābulus and the Jordan valley to the east remained virtually independent of Istanbul and under the control of local feudal lords. During the First World War, the Turks constructed a 37 km./23 mile-long narrow gauge railway from Ṭulkarm eastwards into the hills via Masʿūdiyya to Nābulus.

Nābulus has always been a strongly Muslim town, with few Jews and Christians and a very small community of Samaritans (161 in the 1931 census), and from the 1930s onwards became a centre of resistance to Jewish immigration into Palestine; it was there in 1936 that the first "Arab National Committee" was founded in the wake of the communal violence at that time. Until 1931, Nābulus had been a flourishing centre of olive-oil pressing and the manufacture of olive-oil soap, but the export of this soap was hit by Egyptian protective tariffs and the rise of an indigenous Egyptian soap-making industry.

Bibliography: Sellin, in *ZDPV*, xlix, 295-6, l, 205 ff., 265 ff. (on the excavations in the ancient Shechem); Hölscher, in *ibid.*, xxxiii, 98 ff.; R. Hartmann, in *ibid.*, xxxiii, 175; P. Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, 93, 108-9; Robinson, *Palästina*, iii, 336 ff.; Guerin, *Samarie*, i, 390 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 328-9, tr. Wiet, 181; Iṣṭakhrī, 58; Muḳaddasī, 174; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 511-14; Sir George Adam Smith, *Historical geography of the Holy Land*, index, s.v. Nablus; *The itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. A. Ascher, 1840, i, 66-8; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 724; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 200; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Königsreichs Jerusalem*, 146, 205, 411, 684 and *passim*; Propst, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästinas nach Wilhelm von Tyrus*, i, 55-6; *Murray's Handbook, Syria and Palestine*, London 1903, 155-7; *Baedeker's Palestine and Syria*[5], Leipzig 1912, 219-23; H.C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, *The Handbook of Palestine and Transjordan*[2], London 1930, 129-30, 206; Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Palestine and Transjordan*, London 1943, 127, 166-7, 263, 332-3, 342, 369-70; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 198-200.

(F. Buhl-[C.E. Bosworth])

al-**NĀBULUSĪ** [see ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Ismāʿīl].

NADHĪR (a., pl. *nudhur*, Ḳurʾān, LIII, 57), from form IV of *n-dh-r*, with the meaning of warner; sometimes also as a verbal noun, e.g. LXVII, 17. The plural *nudhur* is also found in the sense of an infinitive, e.g. LXXVII, 6. The term occurs frequently in the Sacred Book, where it is even said to be synonymous with *rasūl*; its opposite is *bashīr*, *mubashshir*. *Nadhīr* as well as *bashīr* are applied to the prophets, the former when they are represented as warners, the latter as announcers of good tidings (cf. XVII, 106; XXV, 58; XXXIII, 44; XLVIII, 8; *mubashshiran wa-nadhīran*). As an epithet it is used especially in connection with Noah, the great warner before the Deluge, and with Muḥammad himself who thereby receives the stamp of a second Noah (cf. XXVI, 115; L, 51; LXXI, 2, with XXIX, 49; XXXV, 21; XXXVIII, 70; LXVII, 26). Sometimes the Ḳurʾān insists on the fact of Muḥammad's being only a warner (sūra XLVI, 8), or his being the first warner who was sent to his people (XXVIII, 46; XXXIV, 43).

The term is found in *ḥadīth* apart from the common use, known from the Ḳurʾān, in the curious expression *al-nadhīr al-ʿuryān* (Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, *bāb* 26; *Iʿtiṣām*, *bāb* 2; Muslim, *Faḍāʾil*, trad. 16) with which Muḥammad denotes himself when he says: "Myself and my mission are like a man who went to some people saying: I have seen the army (of the enemy) with my eyes, and I am the naked warner". Several anecdotal stories are told by the commentators in explanation of this expression. It is also said, by some of them, that in early Arabia, a man who saw an approaching danger stripped himself of his clothes and wound them around his head in order to warn his tribespeople. The meaning "Nazirite", which in several dictionaries is given to the term *nadhīr*, in the first place does not occur in the Kurʾān, nor in *ḥadīth*, nor in *Lisān al-ʿArab* nor in *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, it is however, used in translations of the Bible.

Bibliography: *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii, 54 ff.; *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, iii, 561-2; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, iv, 136; Ḳasṭallānī, ix, 305; Nawawī's commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, v, 71.

(A.J. Wensinck)

NADHĪR AḤMAD DIHLAWĪ (Mawlwi/Deputy) (1836-1912), Urdu prose writer, is often described as "the first real novelist" in the language. But this description presupposes that by "novels" we mean fiction dealing with contemporary social themes, more or less following Western models (for fiction prior to Nadhīr Aḥmad, and that on other themes, see ḳiṣṣa 5. In Urdu. The same article provides information on five of Nadhīr Aḥmad's novels).

He was born in a village of Bidjnawr district, not far from Dihlī, of an impoverished and improvident father, who also tried to prevent him from studying English. The family moved to Dihlī where, at the age of nine, he was admitted to a *madrasa* attached to a mosque. He had to support himself by begging and working as a servant. In 1847, an injury that he sustained in a crowd outside Dihlī College brought him to the attention of the Principal, who was so impressed by him that he gave him a scholarship to study there. Nadhīr Aḥmad left in 1854, and began his working life as a teacher in the Pandjāb. It would appear that his early success in his career stemmed, in part, from the gratitude of the British authorities for his "support". During the Mutiny (1858) he saved the life of an English lady, and he was appointed Deputy Inspector of Schools at Allāhābād. He had already begun teaching himself English, and made such progress that he was appointed to translate into Urdu first the Income Tax Regulations (1861), and then the Indian Penal Code. His career thus changed from education to finance, and in 1867 he was appointed Deputy Collector of Settlements. In 1877 he was invited to Hyderabad, and earned a high salary as a member of the State Revenue Board. He retired on pension in 1883, and returned to Dihlī, where he remained till his death.

Nadhīr Aḥmad's work as a translator must have enhanced his command of language, and his literary works indicate an extensive Urdu vocabulary, including many Persian, and more especially Arabic, words. At the same time, the efforts he had made in mastering English must have commended him to British government officials. This in its turn encouraged his work as a novelist, though it was only a part-time occupation; seven novels spread over more than twenty years hardly constitute a large output.

His first novel, *Mirʾāt al-ʿarūs* (1869), was written for his daughters, as he was struck by the lack of Urdu educational material suitable for Muslim girls. Its theme is the aptitude of girls for marriage, two sisters being contrasted. The manuscript was seen by the British Director of Public Instruction for the North

eastern Provinces, with the result that it was published with the support of the Indian Government, and became not only a text book but also a best-seller. Equally successful was his third novel, *Tawbat al-Naṣūḥ* (1877), the subject of which is a father's duty to give his children moral guidance. Both these two books have run into numerous editions for over a hundred years, and until the end of British rule, they were used as set books for the Higher Urdu Examination for expatriate Indian Government officials.

Na<u>dh</u>īr Aḥmad's final two novels, *Ruʾyā-yi-ṣādiḳa*, an exposition of the fundamentals of Islam, and *Ayāma*, a plea for widows' re-marriage, rely too much on dialogue and discussion. These were important elements in his previous novels but had been kept in check. All his novels are didactic in aim, as he freely admits in his prefaces. This accords with ideas of the ʿAlīgarh Movement, which did not set much store by "art for art's sake", and tended to give content and meaning precedence over style and form. This is, perhaps, the reply to those critics who complain—with justice—that the characters in these novels are types rather than individuals. Na<u>dh</u>īr Aḥmad was himself a trustee of ʿAlīgarh College and a supporter of the Movement.

The language of his novels is generally regarded as a model of the Classical Urdu of Dihlī—*Dihlī ki ṭaksālī* (literally, "mint") *zabān*, though some do not approve of his use of the colloquial while others think there are too many Arabic words. As for the plots, some modern critics find that they do not sustain interest and are at times thin and unequal. This is the view of Muhammad Sadiq (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 320), but he excludes *Tawbat al-naṣūḥ* from this criticism.

Na<u>dh</u>īr Aḥmad also wrote theological works: *al-Ḥuḳūḳ wa 'l-farāʾiḍ*, *I<u>dj</u>tihād* and *Ummahāt al-umma*. The last-named is an attempt to answer criticisms of the Prophet (no doubt made by Christian missionaries) for the number of his wives. This naturally gave offence, and unsold copies were publicly burnt (Sadiq, 317).

More recently, his letters have aroused interest. A collection of them was published in Lahore in 1963, ed. Ifti<u>kh</u>ār Ahmad Ṣiddīḳī (see *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: There are many studies of Na<u>dh</u>īr Aḥmad, now acknowledged as one of the great Urdu writers. However, *Ḥayāt al-Na<u>dh</u>īr*, by ʿĀlim Bilgrāmī, Dihlī 1912, is still a standard reference. Among shorter accounts, that in Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, must take pride of place. For the letters, see Na<u>dh</u>īr Aḥmad, *Mawʿiẓat-i-Ḥasnā*, ed. Ifti<u>kh</u>ār Aḥmad Ṣiddīḳī, Lahore 1963, with introduction and notes. For Na<u>dh</u>īr Aḥmad's novels, there are so many editions that it is pointless to list them. For further references, particularly to place these novels in the context of the general history of Urdu fiction, see ḲIṢṢA. 5. In Urdu. (J.A. HAYWOOD)

NA<u>DH</u>R (A.), vow. This procedure was taken over into Islam from the pre-Islamic Arabs and underwent modification by the new religion. The idea of dedication is associated with the root *n-<u>dh</u>-r* which is also found in South Arabian, Hebrew and Aramaic and to some extent in Assyrian. An animal could be the object of dedication among the Arabs. For example, they dedicated by *na<u>dh</u>r* certain of their sheep etc., for the *ʿatīra* feast in Ra<u>dj</u>ab (*Lisān al-ʿArab* and al-<u>Dj</u>awhari, s.v.); the dedication, which was expressed in solemn formulae, signified that the animals were removed from the mundane sphere and placed in the sacred one.

As a rule, a sacrifice was dedicated in order to obtain good fortune in a particular respect. The promise to dedicate an animal when the herd had reached the number of a hundred (*op. cit.*) had an effect on the prosperity of the animals because the word anticipated the fact. According to the story, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib similarly dedicated a son to be slain beside the Kaʿba if he should have ten sons and they grew up (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 97-8) but for his *na<u>dh</u>r* 100 camels were substituted.—A childless woman could also vow if she had a son to dedicate him to the sanctuary (*ibid.*, 76; perhaps this story is a literary borrowing). According to the *ḥadīth* of Maymūna bint Kardam, her father promised to sacrifice 50 sheep if he had a son (Yāḳūt, i, 754; Abū Dāwūd, *Aymān*, *bāb* 19; Ibn Mā<u>dj</u>a, *Kaffārāt*, *bāb* 18). If a child was sick, its mother could dedicate it by a vow as *aḥmas* (from *ḥums* [*q.v.*]) if it recovered (al-Azraḳī, 123, 8 ff.). Escape from every difficulty was sought by a *na<u>dh</u>r*. During a battle, a camel used to be dedicated as a sacrifice (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 39). The traveller in the desert used to make a vow on account of the danger (see the verse in Lane and *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v.). In distress at sea one promised offerings to God or a saint or vowed to do something oneself, such as fasting (sūra X, 23, XXIX, 65; Abū Dāwūd, *Aymān*, *bāb* 20; see also Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 311). During a drought ʿUmar vowed to taste neither *samn* (i.e. ghee), nor milk nor meat till the rain fell (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2573, 12 f.).

Even if a sacrifice were promised, the vow also affected the person concerned, as we see from the fact that he had his hair shorn not only on the *ḥa<u>dj</u>dj* but also, for example, when sacrificing after a journey (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 15, 749; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 324, 381, 429-30; al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Ḥa<u>dj</u>dj*, *bāb* 125); for the cutting of the hair ended, as in the case of the Israelite Nazirite, the state of consecration. The vow therefore had always more or less the character of a self-dedication. This aspect was often quite prominent. Ordinary sacred duties such as participation in the *ḥa<u>dj</u>dj* were assumed as a consecration by *na<u>dh</u>r* (sūra XXII, 30) at which special obligations were assumed e.g. to go to the sanctuary on foot, or barefooted (al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *<u>Dj</u>azāʾ al-ṣayd*, *bāb* 27; al-Tirmi<u>dh</u>ī, *al-Nu<u>dh</u>ūr wa 'l-aymān*, *bāb* 17). The sacred condition of *iʿtikāf* was assumed as a *na<u>dh</u>r*; thus before his conversion ʿUmar vowed to make a nightly *iʿtikāf* in the Meccan sanctuary (al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Ma<u>gh</u>āzī*, *bāb* 54; *Aymān*, *bāb* 29). Such a vow to separate oneself from everyday life in some special way was very frequent among the ancient Arabs; for Labīd (17, 17) compares an antelope buck alone among the bushes to one fulfilling his vow (*ḳāḍī 'l-nu<u>dh</u>ūr*).

This isolation had the definite object of spiritual concentration and strengthening the soul and thereby influencing the deity. Abstinence was therefore practised in preparation for great deeds, especially in war. The Arabs "touched no perfume, married no woman, drank no wine and avoided all pleasures when they were seeking vengeance, until they attained it" (*Ḥamāsa*, 447, v. 5 schol.); avoidance of wine (*Ḥamāsa*, 237, v. 4 ff.) and women (*Kitāb al-A<u>gh</u>ānī*[2], xv, 161, 154) is specially mentioned. These abstentions like the *ḥa<u>dj</u>dj* rites and the *iʿtikāf* are also the objects of a *na<u>dh</u>r*. The form of this vow is for example "wine and women are *ḥarām* to me until I have slain 100 Asadīs" (*A<u>gh</u>ānī*, viii, 68, [2]65). A definite term may be fixed, such as drinking no wine for 30 days in order to obtain vengeance (Ḳays b. al-<u>Kh</u>aṭīm, ed. Kowalski, iv, 28). Forms of abstention are not to eat meat, not to wash the head, so that the *<u>dj</u>anāba* is not removed (*A<u>gh</u>ānī*, ix, 149, [2]141, xiii, 69, [2]66; Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 543, 980;

Hudhailitenlieder, ed. Wellhausen, no. 189), not to anoint oneself (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 201). Refraining from meat, wine, ointment, washing and sexual intercourse are mentioned together (*Aghānī*, vi, 99, ²97, viii, 68, ²66; Ibn Hishām, 543; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 73, 94). There is also evidence of complete fasting (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 105, 402). The abstentions, the offering and the deed to be done form the content of the *nadhr*. It is said: *nadhartu ʿalā nafsī* and *nadhartu mālī* (al-Djawharī and *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v.) as well as *nadhara dam^a^ fulān* (ʿAntara, 21, 84; Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, 52, 5). After a wish has been fulfilled a vow of gratitude may also be taken (al-Wāḳidī, 290).

The consecration placed the person making the vow in connection with the divine powers, the *nadhr* was an *ʿahd* (sūra IX, 76, XXXIII, 27 XLVIII, 10), whereby he pledged himself. A neglect of the *nadhr* was a sin against the deity (Imruʾ al-Ḳays, 51, 10). The sacred obligation of living made this a *nadhr* or (synonymous) *naḥb*, which one should fulfil (*ḳaḍā*), instead of wandering aimlessly (sūra XXXIII, 23; al-Wāḳidī, 120; Labīd, 41, 1; Kumayt, *Hāshimiyyāt*, ed. Horovitz, 4, 48). The importance of the binding pledge gradually becomes more prominent (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, where *nadhara* is explained by *awdjaba*, ironically *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, 7, 2); the emphasis on the material dedication gradually became less. The abstinences mentioned receive their importance on the one hand from works meritorious to the deity, on the other from the unpleasant deprivations, by which the person taking the vow disciplines himself. Both points of view are seen in the examples quoted. The releasing of slaves or divorcing of wives often form the subject of a kind of vow by which a man pledges himself under certain conditions. A man may also vow to sacrifice all his camels if he is lying (*Ḥamāsa*, 667, v. 3). The strict obligation inherent in the *nadhr* makes it closely related to the oath [see ḲASAM].

One can also bind one's family by a vow. A mother swears not to comb her hair or to seek shade until her son or daughter fulfils her wish (*Aghānī*, xviii, 205, ²205; Ibn Hishām, 319, ii, 90). The strength of this kind of "conjuration" is based on the relationship between the two partners. If a dying man vows that his tribe shall slay 50 to avenge him, this binds the tribe (*Ḥamāsa*, 442-3). There thus arose in Islam the problem of how far unfulfilled vows had to be fulfilled by the descendants (Muslim, *Nadhr*, trad. 1; al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 19; cf. Goldziher, *Ẓâhiriten*, 80).

In Islam the vow and the oath are treated together. In the Ḳurʾān it is prescribed that unconsidered expressions (*laghw*) in an oath may be broken and expiated (sūra II, 225, V, 91). The context shows that the reference is to vows of abstinence, especially relating to food and women. Sūra II, 226-7, in continuation says that those who bind themselves by *īlāʾ* not to touch a woman should either break the vow after 4 months or pronounce the formula of divorce. The breach of the oath then requires the *kaffāra*. The *ẓihār* formula is absolutely forbidden (sūra LVIII, 1-5; cf. XXXIII, 4); it is a great sin in the eyes of the law, while the *īlāʾ* is not a sin (see Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 284 ff.; Sachau, *Muh. Recht*, 13, 68 ff.). The "release from the oath" promised in sūra LXVI, 2 refers to a vow of continence. The same *kaffāra* holds for a broken vow as for an oath. It is probable in this case that we have Jewish influence (cf. *Mishna*, *Nᵉdārīm*) but the principle of releasing oneself from a vow by doing something else is certainly also originally Arab. But with Islam comes the view that *nudhūr* are useless because they cannot influence God (al-Bukhārī, *Aymān*, *bāb* 26; *Ḳadar*, *bāb* 6; Muslims, *Nadhr*, trad. 2). Thus we find *ḥadīths* which urge the fulfilment of vows as well as those that forbid them. Following hints in the *ḥadīths*, we find a systematic division into vows of piety (*nadhr al-tabarrur*), which are intended to acquire merit by a pious deed (*ṭāʿa*), and vows by oaths which, since they are conditioned, serve to incite, prevent or strengthen. The latter are called *nadhr al-ladjādj wa 'l-ghaḍab*. They are deprecated but must be treated like oaths. Their matter must not be sinful; according to some, such a vow is invalid, according to other, it is valid but must be broken. Their matter must not already be an individual duty (*wādjib ʿaynī*). The person taking the vow must, like him taking an oath, be *mukallaf* and be acting of his own free-will.

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(J. PEDERSEN)

NADHR AL-ISLĀM, ḲĀḌĪ, Kazi Nazrul Islam, (1899-1976), revolutionary Bengali poet, and the greatest Muslim contributor to modern Bengali literature.

He was born on 24 May 1899 to Ḳāḍī Faḳīr Aḥmad and Zāhida Khātūn of Čurūliyā, a village in the district of Burdwān in what is now the Indian province of West Bengal, to which his ancestors had moved from Patnā in the reign of the Mughal emperor Shāh ʿĀlam. As the title of *Ḳāḍī* denotes, his ancestors were judges in the Muslim administration. His father, a lover of Persian and Bengali poetry, died while Nadhr al-Islām was only eight years old. He had a miserable childhood, which explains why he was nicknamed *Dukhū Miyāṇ* ("the unhappy one"). He had his primary education in the village *maktab*, reading Ḳurʾān, Arabic and Persian, and taught there for a year. He then joined the village *Lēṭō* (folk drama) group for about three or four years, composing songs and plays. Thereafter, he moved to the nearby town of Āsansōl and worked there at a bread shop. His talents attracted the attention of a Muslim police officer, who got him admitted to the high school in his village in the district of Mymensingh, now in Bangladesh; a year later, he moved to study in Burdwān. Before he could appear for the matriculation examinations, he joined the army in 1917 at the age of 18, influenced by one of his teachers who was a member of the revolutionary Djugantar Party. The idea was that the military training thus acquired could be used later in the anti-British struggle. He was posted at Karachi as part of the 49th Bengali Regiment with a rank of havildar (sergeant) quartermaster.

Nadhr al-Islām's first published poem, *Muktī* "Release", sent from Karachi, appeared in the July-August 1919 issue of the Calcutta journal *Bangiya Musalmān Sāhitya Patrikā*, organ of the Bangiya Musalmān Sāhitya Samitī (BMSS), a literary platform established by Bengali Muslim writers and poets who were not taken seriously by the Hindu-dominated Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad (Bengali Literary Academy). His first short story in print,

Bhānḍuler Ātamkathā ("Autobiography of a vagabond"), believed to be his own story, was also published the same year by a Calcutta Muslim journal, *Sawghāt*. During his military days, Nadhr al-Islām wrote two short story collections, *Bāythar Dān* ("Gift of pain"), in which he was influenced by the Communist Revolution in Russia, and *Rikter Bēdan* ("Open pain"), consisting of love stories, mainly tragic. While in Karachi, Nadhr al-Islām befriended a Pandjābī *mawlawī* in his regiment who taught him Persian and helped him translate selections from Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī's *Rubāʿiyyāt* into Bengali. These were published in various magazines and later completed and collected as *Rubāʿiyyāt-i Ḥāfiẓ* (Calcutta 1930). He continued this interest into the 1930s and translated the *Rubāʿiyyāt* of ʿUmar Khayyām, published in book form in 1960.

With the end of the First World War, Nadhr al-Islām's regiment was disbanded in March 1920. He returned to live in Calcutta and became closely associated with the BMSS, where his friends persuaded him not to seek government employment but to promote his literary potentialities. It was a time of great turmoil with the Non-Cooperation and Khilāfat movements raging in India against the British colonial rule. The BMSS's Muẓaffar Aḥmad, later founder of the first Communist Party in India, proved a vital factor in Nadhr al-Islām's evolution as the first poet of avowedly Communistic inspiration in Bengal, if not in India. He soon took to political journalism and joined in July 1920 a daily evening paper, *Nawa Djug* ("New era") as a co-editor with Muẓaffar Aḥmad. The government imposed various fines on the radical paper until its financier, A.K. Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ, a prominent Calcutta lawyer, advised the editors to tone down its anti-British line. This prompted Nadhr al-Islām to quit the paper in December 1921. Two months later he returned to the paper for a short while. His editorials were collected in a book, *Djugabānī* (Calcutta 1922) which was promptly proscribed by the government.

Nadhr al-Islām, popularly called "Nadhrul", became the poet of the Swarādj (freedom) era, just as Tagore was the poet of the Swadēshī days when the emphasis was on self-reliance and use of local products. He wrote the immortal song of the Swarādj movement, *Bhangar Kathā* ("Story of destruction"), which was a forerunner of *Bidrōhī*. It was banned by the British, but people sang it from thousands of platforms throughout the years of the national struggle right up to 1947. Many of Nadhr al-Islām's earliest published poems are on Islamic themes, like *Ḳurbānī* ("Sacrifice"), *Muḥarram*, *Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab* (an address by a Bengali soldier to ʿIrāḳ about the common slavery of his country and "the land of the great martyrs"), and *Fātiḥa dawāzdahum* (on the Prophet's birthday). He also wrote poems in praise of Muslim leaders like Muṣṭafā Kemāl, Enwer Pasha, Saʿd Zaghlūl and Muḥammad ʿAlī.

In December 1921, Nadhr al-Islām composed his immortal poem *Bidrōhī* ("The rebel"), which expressed the popular mood of rebellion against British rule. It was an event in the literary and political life of Bengāl and was warmly received in all parts of the country. It established him as a great Bengali poet, as a result of which he was often called *Bidrōhī Kabī* ("the rebel poet"), an apt description of the first phase of his literary life.

Nadhr al-Islām served the daily *Sēbak* for two months in the summer of 1922 before launching his own bi-weekly *Dhūmkētū* ("Comet") on 12 August 1922, "first and foremost to demand the full and complete independence of India", as one of its editorials said. The first issue came out with a revolutionary poem bearing the same title, *Dhūmkētū*. Soon his militant writings and fiery poems landed him into trouble, and he was sentenced to a year's rigorous imprisonment in January 1923 on charges of sedition. The magazine had to be closed down before he could be released in December.

In April 1924, Nadhr al-Islām married a Hindu girl, Pramīlā, to the dislike of both Hindus and Muslims. A year later he participated in the foundation of the (pro-Communist) Labour Swarādj Party of the Indian National Congress (subsequently the Workers' and Peasants' Party) and became the co-editor of its weekly organ *Lāngal* ("Plough"). Its first issue appeared on 25 December 1925. He published in *Lāngal* a series of *sarbahārā* ("have-nots") poems, each with a sub-title like "God", "Man", "Sin", "Prostitute", "Woman", "Workers", etc. These were the first such poems in Bengali in honour of the proletariat. He sang for the rights of the poor, equality of men and women and proclaimed revolt against orthodoxy. *Lāngal* later changed its name to *Gānābānī* in September 1926 to become the first professed organ of Marxism in India. Nadhr al-Islām was the first to translate the Communist *Internationale* into Bengali, but he never became a member of the Communist Party because political polemics did not interest him. He was considered to be the leader of the rebel *Kallōl* group of writers who challenged the existing literary norms and moral values of the Bengali educated élite.

The 1920s were Nadhr al-Islām's most productive years. He produced a large number of collections of poems, essays, plays, short stories and novels, including poems and plays for children. His collection of poems, *Prālāy shīkhā* ("Flame of destruction"), published in 1930, was found by the authorities to be preaching sedition. The publisher was sentenced to two years' jail, while Nadhr al-Islām was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. He was released, however, before reaching jail as a result of the Irwin-Gandhi pact in March 1931.

Nadhr al-Islām was far from being financially well-off with his prose and poetry until 1928 when he was introduced to HMV, a British gramophone company. His songs were sung first by professional artists, then by himself. He took expert lessons in music and was soon employed by HMV as a music composer. Now in his second and last literary phase, Nadhr al-Islām softened his militant approach and wrote sweet love and devotional songs and *ghazals* which were produced by various gramophone companies. Two of his stories, *Widdyābatī* and *Sapērā*, were filmed. He acted as a music director of an Urdu film, *Čowrangī*. He also wrote plays and composed their music. Towards the end of the second phase, he again started writing Muslim songs for the record companies. These include *Ḥamd* and *Naʿt*, poems and songs in praise of Allah and the Prophet respectively, *Marthiyas* [*q.v.*] (elegies, especially of the Imām Ḥusayn), as well as songs for Muslim festivals. During his editorship of the revived *Nawa Djug* (1940-2), he wrote many songs and poems dedicated to Muslims. He also wrote Hindu devotional songs like *Bhadjans* and *Kīrtans*. He makes frequent use of Hindu mythology in his poetry. It has been estimated that Nadhr al-Islām composed about 3,500 songs, out of which about 2,500 are largely difficult to trace.

Nadhr al-Islām's luck proved to be brief. His second son Bulbul (born 1926), to whom he was highly attached, died suddenly in May 1930. He never recovered from the shock of Bulbul's death, and

with it ended his apparent atheism. Henceforth, his work was marked by a new seriousness and sadness. He became increasingly preoccupied with dubious Tāntric (Hindu occult) practices, yearning to establish communion with Bulbul. In the later phase of his life, a return to Islam is visible, with repentence and a confession of sinfulness. He also started to write a biography of the Prophet in verse. This incomplete work was later published as *Marū Bhāskar* ("Moon of the desert") (Calcutta 1957)).

Nadhr al-Islām returned to political journalism in 1940 when *Nawa Djug* was re-published, again with him as its editor. In the same year, his wife was paralysed and remained so until her death in 1964. Soon he too was totally crippled on 9 July 1942 by an incurable brain disease. Despite local and foreign medical attention, he never recovered from his semi-conscious condition. He received great recognition and tributes during his lifetime. In 1945 he was granted by the Calcutta University the Djugātarīnī Medal, until then the greatest Bengali literary award. The governments of West Bengal and Pakistan (Bangladesh since 1971) granted him special pensions. In 1976 he was moved to Dhākā, where he died on 29 August of the same year and was buried with full state honours in the Dhākā University campus.

Nadhr al-Islām is generally placed next only to Rabindra Nath Tagore in modern Bengali literature. He was fond of using Urdu and Persian words in his poems and writings, and introduced *ghazal* into Bengali in 1926. He also started the translation of the Ḳur'ān into Bengali verse, but the work was never completed. His translation of the last (30th) part of the Ḳur'ān was published as *Kawya ʿamm pārah* (Calcutta 1933). For all his multi-faceted contributions, Nadhr al-Islām was basically a poet. He had great command over rhyme and metre, using Arabic and Persian ones as well as inventing new ones. The basic theme of his poetry was to arouse people to struggle for the freedom of their country and recover their rights, but he had no coherent philosophy to offer. As he said in his "explanation" (*Amār kafiyat*, 1926) he was "a poet of the present, not the prophet of the future".

Bibliography: Nadhr al-Islām wrote poetry, prose, short stories, novels, songs, plays, books for children as well as the translations mentioned above. *The national bibliography of Indian literature, 1901-53* (ed. Kesavan and Kulkarni, New Delhi 1962, i, 94, 120, 193, 220) lists 35 works by him, but the National Library of India at Calcutta has on its shelves 77 of his works without taking reprints into account. Several attempts have been made to collect Nadhr al-Islām's works; the biggest collection, apparently incomplete, is *Nadhrul račanāwalī* (Dhākā 1984).

There is a rich literature on Nadhr al-Islām in Bengali, published in both West Bengal and Bangladesh. Important works include: Aẓhar al-Dīn Khān, *Bangla sāhityē Nadhrul*, 3rd ed., Calcutta 1959; Muẓaffar Aḥmad, *Ḳāḍī Nadhrul prasangē*, Calcutta 1959; idem, *Ḳāḍī Nadhr al-Islām samritī kathā*, Calcutta 1965; Sūshīl Kumār Guptā, *Nadhrul čarit mānas*, Calcutta 1960; Ṣūfī Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Ḥaydar, *Nadhrul Djīwaner sēs adhyāy*, Dhāka 1964; Wiswānāth Dē, *Nadhrul samritī*, Calcutta 1970; Prantōs Čattōpādhyāy, *Ḳāḍī Nadhrul*, 2nd ed., Seorāphūlī 1973; ʿAṭā al-Raḥmān, *Nadhrul kawya samikshā*, 3rd ed., Dhakā 1974; Gawrī Sankar Bhattāčāryā *et al.*, *Nadhrul sangā-o prasangā*, Calcutta 1976; Sudhīr Randjan Gūhā, *Martālōker Dhūmkētū*, Calcutta 1978.

Works on Nadhr al-Islām in other languages include: Kazi Abdul Wadud, *Creative Bengal*, Calcutta 1950; Yūnus Aḥmar, *Ḳāḍī Nadhr al-Islām, zindagī awr fann*, Karachi 1967; Basudha Chakravarti, *Kazi Nazrul Islam*, New Delhi 1968; Gopal Haldar, *Kazi Nazrul Islam*, New Delhi 1973; Serajul Islam Choudhury, *Introducing Nazrul Islam*, Dhākā 1974. Shorter accounts of his life and literary career are found in S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of national biography*, Calcutta 1973, ii, 309-11, and Naresh Kumar Jain (ed.), *Muslims in India — a biographical dictionary*, New Delhi 1983, ii, 89 f. Selections from Nadhr al-Islām have been translated into English and various Indian and Soviet languages. These include: *Bāghī*, tr. Dayānand Keshawdās Manshāramānī, Karachi 1944; *Ṭughyān*, tr. Yūnus Aḥmar, Delhi 1945; *Selected poems*, tr. Kabir Chowdhury, Dhākā 1963; *The Rebel and other poems*, tr. Basudha Chakravarty, New Delhi 1974) and *The fiery lyre of Nazrul Islam*, tr. Abdul Hakim, Dhākā 1974.

(ẒAFARUL-ISLĀM KHĀN)

NADHR MUḤAMMAD B. DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. Djānī Muḥammad b. Yār Muḥammad, the fifth great khān of Mā warā' 'l-nahr and Balkh [*q.vv.*] of the Tuḳāy-Tīmūrid (Djānid [*q.v.*], Ashtarkhānid) family of the Djūčid line of Čingiz Khān. Nadhr Muḥammad was born in 1000/1591-2, probably at Khargird in eastern Khurāsān to a descendant of Čingīz Khan and the daughter of a Riḍawī *shaykh* from Mashhad. He was given an appanage at Balkh *ca.* 1015/1606-7 during the khānate of his uncle Walī Muḥammad. For thirty-five years, until Shaʿbān 1051/November 1641 when he succeeded his brother, Imām Ḳulī Khān, as grand khān at Bukhārā, he governed a region south of the Amū Daryā corresponding to what is today northern Afghānistān, including Badakhshān. He died at Simnān while making the *ḥadjdj* on 29 Djumādā al-Thānī 1061/19 June 1651.

During his tenure, Balkh witnessed its last florescence as a great urban centre. Art, architecture, and literature all blossomed under Nadhr Muḥammad's sponsorship. His most important act of patronage was commissioning the universal history *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāḳib al-akhyār* which is the only detailed account of the rise of the Tuḳāy-Tīmūrid family. Its author, Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, credits him with some twenty-five major building projects, including several hunting lodges, a palace complex, a congregational mosque, several *čahār bāghs*, a *madrasa* with a 2,000 volume library and four lecture halls, and several hydraulic works. (*Baḥr al-asrār*, vi/4, *passim* but esp. fols. 213a-216a).

Bibliography: Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāḳib al-akhyār*, vi/4, India Office Library ms. 575, London; Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. Īradj Afshār, 2 vols. Iṣfahān n.d.; Ināyat Khān, *The Shah Jahan Nama of ʿInayat Khan*, tr. A.R. Fuller, edited and completed by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, Delhi 1990; B.A. Akhmedov, *Istoriya Balkha (XVI-pervaya polovina XVIII v.)* ("A history of Balkh from the 16th to the first half of the 18th century"), Tashkent 1982.

(R.D. MCCHESNEY)

NADĪM (A.) "drinking companion" and, by extension, friend, courtier (or confidant) of kings or of wealthy persons; his function is to entertain them, eat and drink in their company, play chess with them, accompany them in hunting and participate in their pastimes and recreations.

Lexicography (*LA*, xvi, 50 f.; *TA*, ix, 74; the Concordance of Ancient Arabic Poetry, edited by A.

Arazi, contains more than 90 references to *nadīm*) and mediaeval Arabic literature (which includes, among other literary forms, a special branch of anthologies devoted to drinking, feasting and pleasure; see *Bibl.*) supply an etymological explanation according to which the term *nadīm* (pl. *nidām*, *nudamāʾ*, *nudmān*; sing. *nadmān* and pl. *nadāmā* are also encountered) would be derived from the verb *nadima* "to regret". Writers (e.g., Kus͟hād͟jim, *Adab al-nadīm*, ed. Cairo, 3; al-Ḳayrawānī, *al-Muk͟htār min ḳuṭb al-surūr*, 136; and the bibliographical sources noted above) disagree as to the reason for this "regret": does the friend of the *nadīm*, or his master, regret the fact that the convivial experience, enjoyed in the company of the *nadīm*, must come to an end, or, on the contrary, does the *nadim* regret indiscretions, of deed or of word, which he has committed while in a state of intoxication? This disagreement reveals the artificial nature of the false etymology proposed by mediaeval authors. The *nadīm* already appears in accounts relating to the pre-Islamic period, such as the account concerning *al-Farḳadān*, the two *nadīms* (*nadmāns*) of the Arab prince D͟jad͟hīma al-Abras͟h [*q.v.*]. His court, situated at Ḥīra, was dominated and influenced by that of the Sāsānids. However, the style and the vocabulary of these Arabic accounts are the handiwork of writers of the Islamic period. These texts may be of assistance in clarifying the origin of the *nadīm* concept (see below, the Persian influence), but not the etymology of this term.

However the term *muʿāḳara*, denoting the action of two or more friends who drink together, is an ancient Arabic word dating back to the pre-Islamic period. This term presents the mutual aspect of the verbal form III *ʿāḳara* and the noun of action *mufāʿala*; the same applies to the action of the *nadīm*, which is *munādama* = "drinking together", as *muʾānasa*, *mud͟jālasa*, *mulāʿaba* and *musāmara* refer to the activities of courtiers in the court and elsewhere, which will be examined in the course of this article. The Arabic lexicographers (*LA*, vi, 8-9top; *TA*, ii, 414) explain that the term *muʿāḳara* is derived from *ʿuḳr* (which also resembles *ḳaʿr*, having the same or almost the same sense), meaning "the bottom of a glass or a cup"; the action in question would thus consist of draining the cup to the dregs. *Muʿāḳara*, in the sense of a meal taken with friends, is explained, however, as deriving from the ancient Arab custom of competing in generosity with rivals, all being members of the same tribe. Each, in turn, attempts to outdo the others in slaughtering camels (by cutting the veins of the lower limbs) and distributing the meat to the people of the tribe. *Muʿāḳara* thus possesses two senses at once: eating and drinking, in other words, a meal and wine. But the question then arises as to why there should be two different etymologies for the two senses. It is evident that the explanation linking *muʿāḳara* with a competition of some sort is very revealing as to the initial sense which is likewise concealed in the custom of *munādama*; this sense will be elucidated below.

The concept of *munādama*, for its part, also in fact retains the mutual aspect and the competitive spirit of the activity. Certain rules concerning the etiquette of the *nadīm* bear indirect witness to the primal importance of the competitive spirit in this occupation. The rules forbid a *nadīm* to leave the presence of his "superior" (one of the *ʿuẓamāʾ* = the aristocracy, of the *mulūk* = kings, *raʾīs* = chief, even *raʾs* = head, assuming that this is not the result of an error on the part of the copyist or the printer) after an even number of glasses have been drunk. He is permitted to leave after an uneven number. It cannot be doubted that the authors dealing with this subject (see, e.g., Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Fuṣūl al-tamāt͟hīl*, Cairo 1925, 71) have not succeeded in perceiving the significance of this evidence which they copy or reformulate in terms of the code of etiquette. The explanation which they propose is insufficient: "so that he (i.e., the *nadīm*) should leave a remainder..." as if the uneven number is incomplete and thus encourages the *nadīm* to return to his "superior" and resume the feast. What we have in fact is an important leap in the evolution of etiquette which presents, at the same time, an anthropological aspect. It is permissible to compete in generosity with an "equal" (*naẓīr*) friend, of the same social class, in a drinking session. But this is not allowed with the sovereign who is the "superior" of the drinking companion. Even in the court, an archaic notion of competition has been preserved: in the past (long before the Islamic period, apparently), the first glass was reckoned to be the gift of the "superior", the second to be provided by his companion, the third to be a gift of the "superior", etc. But, according to an unstated rule, it is always appropriate to let the king win in this supposed competition (to all appearances, the totality of drinks served comes from the king's cellars). It is for this reason that all those who wish to leave must do so after the "uneven number".

A similar code of etiquette is found in the Bible, in the Book of Esther (i, 8), which attributes it to the Persian court of the Achaemenids. Here there are three types of behaviour appropriate to a feast: (a) drinking in free fashion (the text does not specify what this means; it emerges from the presence of the two following possibilities), probably in reference to feasts held on other occasions, or by other groups, outside the royal court; (b) drinking under obligation, because the king imposes it (Hebrew: *onés* = "one who forces"), with the aim of preventing those invited from drinking each to his own taste; and (c) drinking according to the code, according to some custom (= *kad-dat͟h*, an expression which has given rise to various interpretations, in ancient and mediaeval translations and commentaries). This possibility finds expression in certain limits which occupy an intermediate position between total liberty and constraint. Obviously, there are no exact parallels to be established between the ancient Persian court, described in the Bible, and that of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (influenced, besides, by the Sāsānid Persian kings, as will be seen in the course of this article), in the Islamic Middle Ages. However, there is a certain similarity to be noted between the two royal courts.

The rules of conduct observed by the *nadīm* symbolise, at least in part, the evolution of ceremonial in the courts of Muslim sovereigns. The commensal is in effect a special case of the more general concept of "companion of the sovereign" (*ṣāḥib al-sulṭān*, *i.e.*, one who belongs to the entourage and plays a role in the service of the sovereign). The diverse activities, political intrigues and secrets associated with this occupation have been minutely described by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, at the dawn of the development of Arabic literature (cf. M. Inostranzev, *Iranian influence*; F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xi, 292-305; Ch. Pellat (tr.), *Couronne*, Introd., 8-10). Mediaeval readers were enabled to discover some traits characteristic of Sāsānid ceremonial in certain sources such as the *Tād͟j* ("Book of the Crown") attributed to al-D͟jāḥiẓ and the "Meadows of Gold" (*Murūd͟j*) of al-Masʿūdī, which reflect the ambience in Muslim courts, as well as the Persian precedents (cf. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides*; idem, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*; Sadan, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, 138-9). Certain advice

given in the text of the above-mentioned book of pseudo-Djāḥiẓ, and especially in Kushādjim's book (for example 27-8, giving detailed instructions as to how and in the company of whom one may wash one's hands), is formulated in a fashion which suggests that the rules of the Persian court were not followed, in the ʿAbbāsid period, with absolute rigour. However, in courts situated to the east of the ʿAbbāsid empire, there is evidence of a more pedantic tendency in this respect (see Sadan, in *REI*, liv, 295, 299: an episode at the Sāmānid court).

The fact that the Sāsānid code served as a model for the etiquette of the commensal is clearly attested by a series of instructions addressed to the royal *nadīm*. While stressing the danger which attends the occupation of the *nadīm*, these instructions teach him to combine opposing qualities and patterns of behaviour: serenity and gaiety, or "the respectable behaviour of old men with the joy (*mirāḥ*, which alternates in the texts with *mizāḥ* = humour) or urchins". A drinking companion who is unable to decide, on the basis of the gestures and reactions of his master during the *munādama*, which quality would be appropriate to a given situation, risks his life (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 155-6 = § 580; Kushādjim, *op. cit.*, 7-8 (cf. *addenda*, supplied by I. ʿAbbās, in *ʿAhd Ardashīr*, 94-5); al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, (incomplete Damascus edition), 289; idem, *al-Mukhtār min Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, 136; anon., *Ādāb al-mulūk ʿalā 'l-sharāb*, m.s. B.L. Or. 5314, fol. 2b; anon., *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb*, ms. Cairo, Taymūriyya, *Adab*-152, fol. 95b). The Arab authors, with the exception of al-Masʿūdī, do not mention the source of these instructions, which is the *ʿAhd Ardashīr*, bequeathed to Arab culture by Persian literature. It is impossible to know how many other fragments of the Persian code are cited by Arab authors in such a way that their origin cannot be identified. Furthermore, even when the sources reflect the courtly life of the Muslim era, they describe customs influenced by the Persian heritage (see D. Sourdel, in *REI*, xxviii, 121-48; only M. Canard, in his magisterial study of comparative ceremonial in *Byzantion*, xxi, 355-420, further stresses the Byzantine influence on the Fāṭimid court; but when he wrote this, Canard lacked additional detailed sources concerning the ʿAbbāsid ceremonial which influenced the Fāṭimids. Certainly, their court rivalled that of their adversaries, the ʿAbbāsids, in its sumptuous conditions; nevertheless, in an earlier period, among the Umayyads, the Byzantine influence is discernible (see O. Grabar, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, 51-60).

Ibn al-Muʿtazz (*loc. cit.*) indicates that the role of the *nadīm* is exceedingly complicated, and he declares his intention of tackling the subject elsewhere (in another work, unknown to bibliographers, which must have been composed specifically for this purpose). Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, i, 182, and al-Nawādjī, *Ḥalba*, 25-6, cite a variant version of these remarks of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and continue to describe in detail the rules of conduct of the *nadīm*, as if they were conversant with this lost work. However, it is quite reasonable to see here a later blending of instructions belonging to the code of conduct of commensals, which these two authors have found elsewhere and which they quote (without indicating the title of their common source), immediately after the remarks of Ibn al-Muʿtazz.

The rules of conduct which the *nadīm* must observe envisage all situations which are liable to arise in the court and in the homes of wealthy people. The Arabic sources advise him to show good taste and perfect cleanliness. He should perfume himself, clean his teeth, purify his breath by chewing aromatic herbs, take good care of his clothing (including undergarments), conform to the rules of politeness and observe the rules of good manners as determining the choice of seat at the table (al-Nawādjī, *op. cit.*, 26; al-Ghuzūlī, *op. cit.*, 180: according to his rank = *martaba*; knowledge of the arrangement of seats in hierarchical terms was a firm requirement; cf. Sadan, in *REI*, xl, 51-70), as well as the manner of sitting, posture, drinking (always in moderation; see al-Nawādjī, *loc. cit.*; al-Ghuzūlī, *loc. cit.*; Sadan, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, 258-66, 271) and conversation. He must observe table manners during the meal (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 67-8, 76-7, speaks of table manners known in a certain class of the Persian aristocracy, the *dahāḳīn*, but not observed by the purely Arab aristocracy, *ahl al-buyūtāt* (cf. H. Kindermann, *Sitten*, 1964, *passim*; see also al-Aḳfahsī, *Ādāb al-akl*, Beirut 1986; al-Ghazzī, *Ādāb al-muʾākala*, Rabat 1984; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *K. al-Walāʾim*, Damascus 1987). It is thus appropriate that the *nadīm* should be one of the *ẓarīf*s (the "refined ones" described by al-Washshāʾ in al-*Muwashshā*; cf. M.F. Ghazi, in *SI*, xi, 40-41; M. Bergé, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tuwḥīdī*, Damascus 1979, 55-6), but it cannot be deduced from this that every *ẓarīf* is necessarily a *nadīm*; *munādama* often consists of *muʾānasa* (= maintaining the friendship of somebody, participating in a reunion of friends), *mudjālasa* (= being seated in the company of some person, or in the company of friends) *musāmara* (= keeping company, at night, with one or more friends, telling them stories), *mulāʿaba* (= playing with somebody at chess, etc.) and *muzāmala* (= accompanying, on horseback, some person setting out for the hunt, or on a journey; see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 108 ff. = §§ 2791 ff., for a summary of the rules). In mediaeval courts, it was most often the case that poets, *adībs* (men of letters), singers (Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and his son Isḥāḳ) and even grammarians (al-Aṣmaʿī) belonged to the entourage and played the role of *nadīm*, *djalīs*, etc. This latter had to have a repertoire of captivating stories and amusing anecdotes, for the purpose of entertaining his master. Furthermore, it is preferable that he be a man of letters, or a scholar, and that he possess poetic and artistic talents. All in all, the activities of the *nadīm* reflect the ambience prevailing in the courts and literary circles of the Islamic Middle Ages and colour in, at least in part, the image of the *muḥāḍarāt* (gatherings in the course of which the participants converse and exchange information, quotations and stories) of oral *adab* [*q.v.*].

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al-**NADĪM** [see ibn al-nadīm].

al-**NADĪM**, al-Sayyid ʿ**ABD ALLĀH** b. Miṣbāḥ al-Ḥasanī, (1843-96), radical Egyptian orator and propagandist, noted for his daring use of the vernacular in print and his caustic journalism, endeavouring *inter alia* to stem European intervention and limit the power of the Khedives. He was born in Alexandria, and he studied at the mosque of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Pasha. Running away from there, he worked as a telegraph officer in Banhā, and then later at the residence of the mother of the Khedive Ismāʿīl in Cairo. While in the capital he followed courses at al-Azhar, and met the leading literati. On his dismissal, he pursued various occupations in the Delta, spending years as an itinerant versifier (*udabātī*), entertaining village notables, earning the epithet of *nadīm*, "boon companion." On returning to Alexandria in 1879, he participated in the secret political society Djamʿiyyat Miṣr al-Fatāt/Union de la Jeunesse Egyptienne, a group of young intellectuals challenging Riyāḍ Pasha's authoritarian government, but not long afterwards he left it to found a more open charitable society, al-Djamʿiyya al-Khayriyya al-Islāmiyya in 1879. As head of its school he wrote two plays: *al-ʿArab* or *al-Nuʿmān*, and *al-Waṭan wa-ṭāliʿ al-tawfīḳ* in colloquial. He was forced to leave the school in 1881, allegedly at the instignation of Riyāḍ.

He contributed, in the main anonymously, to several newspapers, *Ḥaḳīḳat al-Akhbār*, *Miṣr*, *al-Maḥrūsa*, and *al-ʿAṣr al-Djadīd*, the last three belonging to Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh [*q.v.*], and founded in 1881 his own satirical paper, *al-Tankīt wa 'l-Tabkīt*, and then *al-Ṭāʾif*, that became before and during the revolt the organ of the ʿUrābists [see ʿurābī pasha], for whom he had been an early and popular campaigner. He pioneered a new, less heavily ornamented style of prose in his newspapers, and ventured as far as writing entire articles in colloquial Arabic. After the collapse of the revolt, accused with others of responsibility through his speeches for inciting the massacre of 11 June in Alexandria, of calling for rebellion, and of participating in the burning of the city on 11 July, he spent years in hiding. In 1891 he was arrested and then released on condition that he leave Egypt. He went to Palestine, but in 1892 was pardoned by the Khedive ʿAbbās II. Returning to Egypt, he founded the satirical magazine *al-Ustādh* (1892-93), opposing the British occupation. Exiled again to Jaffa and then Istanbul, Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] thought to silence him with a sinecure, appointing him to the Education Ministry, and then inspector of publications until his death.

Various selections from his works have been published: *Madjmūʿat muḥāwarāt fukāhiyya*, Alexandria n.d.; *Kāna wa-yakūnu*, Cairo 1892, 1926; Alexandria 1893; *Sulāfat al-nadīm fī muntakhabāt al-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm*, Cairo 1896, n.d. (1897?)-1901, 1914 (with a biography by Aḥmad Samīr, 3-23); *Maḳālāt ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm*, Cairo 1909 and *Mukhtārāt li-ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm*, Alexandria 1911. *al-Masāmīr*, n.p. (Cairo?) n.d., a violent satire lampooning the Sultan's advisor Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī, was published after his death. Many of his works have been lost, including his three *dīwāns* of poetry. With his brother ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Nadīm he published *Tahniʾa saniyya bi 'l-afrāḥ al-riyāḍiyya*, Cairo 1310. His *zadjal* [*q.v.*], unsurpassed by his contemporaries, was innovative, inspired as it was by his political fervour.

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NADĪM, AḤMAD [see nedīm, aḥmed].

NADIR [see naẓīr al-samt].

NAḌĪR, Banu 'l-, one of the two main Jewish tribes of Medina, settled in Yathrib from Palestine at an unknown date, as a consequence of Roman pressure after the Jewish wars. Al-Yaʿḳūbī (ii, 49) says they were a section of the Djudhām Arabs, converted to Judaism and first settled on Mount al-Naḍīr, whence their name; according to the *Sīra Ḥalabiyya* (Cairo, iii, 2) they were a truly Jewish tribe, connected with the Jews of Khaybar [*q.v.*]. This seems the more probable, but a certain admixture of Arab blood is possible; like the other Jews of Medina, they bore Arabic names, but kept aloof from the Arabs, spoke a peculiar dialect, and had enriched themselves with agriculture, money-lending, trade in armour and jewels.

They were clients of the Aws, siding with them in their conflicts with the Khazradj, and entering with them into the compact with Muḥammad known as the Constitution of Medina in 1 a.h. Their most important chief at this time was Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, whose daughter Ṣafiyya became Muḥammad's wife in 7 a.h. For a list of Muḥammad's worst enemies among the Banu 'l-Naḍīr, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 351-2.

Their fortresses were half a day's march from Medina, and they owned land in Wādī Buṭḥān and Buwayra; their dwelling places were south of the city.

The Banu 'l-Naḍīr seem to have been in (commercial?) relations with Abū Sufyān before the battle of Uḥud. In 4 Rabīʿ I, owing to difficulties about the Banu 'l-Naḍīr's contribution to a certain payment of blood-money which was being collected from the whole Muslim community in Medina, Muḥammad, who had personally negotiated the matter with their chiefs, became convinced of their enmity towards himself and suspected them of intending to kill him. He decided to get rid of such dangerous neighbours, and ordered them through Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Awsī to leave the city within ten days, under penalty of death, allowing them to take with them all their movable goods, and to return each year to gather the produce of their palm-groves.

The tribe, having no hope of help from the Aws, agreed to leave, but ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy al-Khazradjī, chief of the *Munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*], persuaded them to resist in their fortresses, promising to send 2,000 men to their aid. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, hoping the Banū Ḳurayẓa [*q.v.*] would also help them, prepared to resist, in the face of opposition from moderate elements in the tribe.

The siege lasted about a fortnight, help from the *Munāfiḳūn* was not forthcoming, and when the Muslims began to cut down their palms the Banu 'l-

Naḍīr surrendered. Muḥammad's conditions were much harder than formerly; their immovable property was forfeited, and nothing left to them but what they could take away on camels, arms alone excepted. After two days' bargaining, the tribe departed with a caravan of 600 camels; some went to Syria, others to Khaybar.

The Banu 'l-Naḍīr's booty Muḥammad did not divide in the usual manner; the land was distributed among the *Muhādjirūn*, so as to relieve the *Anṣār* of their maintenance; part of it the Prophet kept for himself.

Sūrat al-Ḥashr (LIX) was revealed upon the expulsion of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr.

From Khaybar, the exiles planned with the Ḳuraysh the siege of Medina in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 5/April 627. The treasure of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr was captured by Muḥammad in Khaybar in 7 A.H.

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NĀDIR SHĀH AFSHĀR, ruler of Persia (1147-60/1736-47).

Nadr- (or Nādir-)ḳulī Beg was born in Muḥarram 1100/November 1688 into an undistinguished family of the Ḳirḳlu (Ḳirkhlu) clan of the Afshār Turkoman tribe, at Dastgird in northern Khurasan, during the seasonal migration to winter pastures in Darra Gaz district. As a youth, Nādir joined the retinue of Bābā ʿAlī Beg Kūsa-Aḥmadlū, governor of Abīward, who gave him successively two daughters in marriage (one bore his eldest son Riḍā-ḳulī, and the other Naṣr Allāh and Imām-ḳulī) and left him his property on his death in 1723. In the anarchy that followed the invasion of Persia by the Ghalzay Afghāns, Nādir entered the service of Malik Maḥmūd of Sīstān, who had occupied Mashhad. After various intrigues with chieftains of the Afshār and Djalāyir Turkomans, Nādir formed his own band of raiders and, in alliance with the Čamishgazak Kurds of Khabūshān (Ḳūčān), contested control of Mashhad with Malik Maḥmūd. This brought him to the notice of the Ṣafawid heir-apparent Ṭahmāsb Mīrzā who, together with his chief supporter, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Ḳādjār, in 1139/1726 recruited Nādir and his force of some 2,000 to their cause. The intense rivalry between the prince's Ḳādjār and Afshār "protectors" was soon settled in Nādir's favour: Ṭahmāsb had Fatḥ ʿAlī executed on suspicion of plotting against him. Nādir then secured Mashhad through treachery; Malik Maḥmūd was permitted to retire to a cell in the shrine of Imām Riḍā, but was later executed after allegedly instigating a revolt.

The Ṣafawid restoration. Nādir was now appointed *ḳūrčī-bāshī* (guard commander) with the honorific Ṭahmāsb-ḳulī (slave of Ṭahmāsb: the name by which, corrupted as e.g., [Tamas] Couli-cam, he came commonly to be known in Europe of the time). Nevertheless his relations with the indecisive young prince—or rather, the prince's jealous ministers—remained strained. After crushing repeated local rebellions, Nādir secured Ḳāʾin on his southern flank and prepared to subdue the Abdālī Afghāns of Herat, in his strategic rear, before acceding to Ṭahmāsb's desire for a march on Iṣfahān. The clash of wills stalled effective operations during 1727-8; then in 1729 Nādir subdued the Abdālīs, taking some chiefs into Ṭahmāsb's service, though diplomatically confirming their leader, Allāh-yār Khān, as governor of Herat. That same autumn he relieved Simnān, under siege by the Ghalzay leader Ashraf, and decisively defeated the Ghalzay at Mihmāndūst, near Dāmghān, on 6 Rabīʿ I 1142/29 September 1729. Ashraf evacuated Iṣfahān after further defeats and fled via Shīrāz and Lār into Ḳandahār province, where it appears he was killed by a Ghalzay rival, Ḥusayn Sulṭān. Ṭahmāsb was installed in the former Ṣafawid capital as *shāh*, though clearly on sufferance (Nādir married one of his sisters, Raḍiyya Begum, without the *shāh*'s prior consent).

Ṭahmāsb now wrote to the Ottoman sultan demanding the return of the occupied territories. Without waiting for a reply, Nādir in 1730 marched from Shīrāz to defeat Ottoman forces at Nihāwand and Malāyir and recapture Hamadān. By 12 August he had recovered Kurdistān and entered Tabrīz. In July the sultan had declared war on Persia, but mutinies and disturbances at Istanbul prevented any action being taken. Nādir returned to Mashhad in November and the following spring marched on Herat to subdue the Abdālīs, who had raided up to the gates of Mashhad during his absence. After a ten-months' blockade and several reverses, Nādir finally occupied Herat; on 1 Ramaḍān 1144/27 February 1732 his rebellious client, Allāh-yār Khān, was exiled to Multān, and 60,000 Abdālīs were deported to Khurāsān.

During Nādir's absence, Ṭahmāsb was persuaded by his ministers to reopen hostilities on the Turkish front. Having appointed his own governor in Tabrīz, the *shāh* marched on Erivan in the spring of 1731. He was outmanoeuvred and forced to withdraw; soon afterwards, Aḥmed Pasha of Baghdād, having captured Kirmānshāh, routed Ṭahmāsb's force near Hamadān. The *shāh* retired to Iṣfahān, and in the ensuing peace negotiations regained only Tabrīz (10 January 1732). Three weeks later, at Rasht, the *shāh*'s representatives signed a treaty with Russia, by which the latter relinquished Gīlān; Bākū and Darband were to be held until Persia had regained her territories beyond the Araxes from Turkey. Nādir in a public manifesto denounced the treaty with Turkey, dismissed many of Ṭahmāsb's governors, and in August arrived in force at Iṣfahān. Here he convened a conference (*kingāsh*) of the Ḳizilbāsh and leaders and persuaded them to depose Ṭahmāsb on grounds of drunkenness and incompetence and in favour of his infant son ʿAbbās. The ex-*shāh* was sent under guard to Mashhad; Nādir now dropped his sobriquet of Ṭahmāsb-ḳulī and adopted the viceregal titles of *wakīl al-dawla* and *nāʾib al-salṭana*.

Nādir as regent. Having put down revolts among the Bakhtiyārī, Nādir pushed through the Turkish defences west of Kirmānshāh and by January 1733 was blockading Baghdād. Aḥmed Pasha sued for terms, but prevaricated until a large Ottoman force under Ṭopal ʿOthmān Pasha was approaching the city. On 7 Ṣafar 1146/19 July 1733, the Turks won a pitched battle and recovered Baghdād; Nādir withdrew to Hamadān, where within two months he had replaced and re-equipped his army. Ṭopal ʿOthmān, on the other hand, received none of the reinforcements and supplies requested from Istanbul. Nādir lured the Turkish army into the defile of Aḳ Darband, north of Kirkūk, and on 9 December defeated them decisively; Ṭopal ʿOthmān fell in battle. Nādir, however, threatened by a rebellion of Muḥammad Khān Balūč in Fārs, soon raised the siege of Baghdād. He marched across Khūzistān, routed the rebel army, and on 1 February 1734 re-occupied Shīrāz.

Returning to Iṣfahān, Nādir received envoys from

Istanbul and St. Petersburg in quick succession. Each power was determined not to relinquish its foothold in northwestern Persia until the other had first withdrawn. The Ottoman envoy was informed that no peace was possible until Armenia, Georgia and Adharbāydjān were retroceded; the Russian delegate, Prince S.D. Golitsïn, was promised a mutual alliance against Turkey, and accompanied Nādir on his next campaign. Nādir began with an attack on an Ottoman vassal, Surkhāy, the Ghāzī-Ḳumūḳ governor of Shīrwān. After occupying Shamākhī, Nādir pursued Surkhāy into his mountain fastnesses and destroyed Ḳumūḳ; he received the submission of Khāṣṣ Fūlād Khān, the former *shamkhāl* of Tarkhān, and restored him in that office. In November 1734 Nādir laid siege to Gandja, assisted by Russian engineers and artillery. The fortress held out for over eight months, until after Nādir's defeat of a relief force under ʿAbd Allāh Pasha Köprülüzāde on 27 Muḥarram 1148/19 June 1735 at Baghāward, near Erivan. Tiflīs also surrendered on 12 August, and Erivan on 3 October, after Aḥmed Pasha (appointed as successor to ʿAbd Allāh) sued for peace. Nādir accordingly raised his siege of the Ottoman frontier fortress of Ḳārṣ and proceeded personally to settle affairs at Tiflīs, the capital of the Christian Georgian kingdom of Kakheti-Kartli, which had been the Ṣafawid state's most important vassal and buffer in the region. Here he departed radically from Ṣafawid precedent in appointing as governor the Muslim ʿAlī Mīrzā, nephew of King Taymurāz II, with Ṣafī Khān Bughāyirī and a Persian garrison as watchdogs. Taymurāz fled to Circassia; later he was reinstated, and his son Irakli accompanied Nādir on his Indian expedition.

Already on 10 March (21 N.S.) 1735 Nādir had signed the Treaty of Gandja with Russia, whereby he agreed to a defensive alliance and the Empress Anna undertook to return Darband and Bākū to Persia. Though Nādir refused to sign a treaty with Turkey unless Russia was also included, it was now evident that his recent campaigns had secured Russia from the threat of a Turkish advance to the Caspian and had freed Persia from both these menaces. Ḳaplan Girāy, the *khān* of the Crimea, who on orders from Istanbul had advanced to Darband and appointed governors in the towns of Dāghistān, then withdrew, and Nādir spent the early winter months re-establishing control over this strategic region.

Nādir as king. In January 1736 Nādir presided over a national assembly (*ḳūrultāy*) on the Mughān Steppe to which he had summoned army commanders, governors, nobles and *ʿulamāʾ* from all over his realms. The dignitaries (perhaps as many as 20,000, and including the Ottoman envoy Gandj-ʿAlī Pasha) were informed that Nādir, having liberated Persia, now wished to retire to Khurāsān, and they were free to choose a Ṣafawid scion to rule them. Of course, all protested that only Nādir should be their *shāh*. After a few days, Nādir generously relented, on condition that the Sunnī faith be adopted in place of the heretical Shīʿī cult introduced by Shāh Ismāʿīl, which had caused much bloodshed between Persia and Turkey. This was agreed in a document signed by all present. The terms of the treaty with Turkey were next drafted, including stipulations that the Persians, having abjured Shīʿism, were to be recognised as a fifth orthodox rite, the *madhhab-i Djaʿfarī* (i.e. that of the Imām of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ); this was to be accorded a place of prayer (*rukn*) at Mecca, and a Persian *amīr al-ḥadjdj* was to be recognised equally with the Syrian and Egyptian leaders of the annual Pilgrimage. Nādir Shāh was formally enthroned on 24 Shawwāl 1148/8 March 1736.

Resuming his progress south by way of Ḳazwīn, he quelled a pro-Ṣafawid revolt among the Bakhtiyārī and wintered in Iṣfahān. Ṭahmāsb and his sons were imprisoned at Sabzawār. (In 1740, after rumours of Nādir's death arrived from India, they were massacred by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ḳādjār on Riḍā-ḳulī's orders; Ṭahmāsb's sister—Riḍā-ḳulī's wife—committed suicide on learning of this.)

India and Turkistān. The following spring Nādir led a large army against Ḳandahār, where Ḥusayn Sulṭān Ghalzay, brother of the Invader Maḥmūd, was the last reminder of Persia's humiliation. Ḳandahār capitulated on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1150/24 March 1738, after a year's siege; the Ghalzay citadel was demolished and the population of the city resettled in Nādirābād, a new city built by Nādir on the site of his camp. This success marks the completion of Nādir's irredentist and essentially conservative campaigns to restore the territorial extent of the Ṣafawid empire. His army reinforced with Abdālī and Ghalzay recruits, he now embarked on an invasion of India. Kābul, Djalālābād and Peshāwar fell before the end of the year, and Lahore on 23 January 1740. Nādir's seventeen-year-old son Riḍā-ḳulī Mīrzā was sent back to Mashhad as viceroy of Persia. The Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*] had by now gathered an army reportedly of 300,000 men with 2,000 elephants and artillery at Karnāl, seventy-five miles from Dihlī. On 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1151/24 February 1739, the Persians decisively defeated this force. Muḥammad Shāh, after a ceremonial luncheon with the victor (which followed the traditional etiquette of the Ṣafawid and Mughal courts, the conversation being conducted in Turkī), was escorted to Dihlī. Here the *khuṭba* was read and coins were struck in Nādir's name. On 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/26 March a rumour spread that Nādir had been assassinated, and in a popular uprising thousands of Persian soldiers were massacred. The next day Nādir ordered a general massacre and sack of all quarters where his men had been attacked, in which perhaps 20,000 Dihlī citizens perished.

Twelve days later, Naṣr Allāh Mīrzā was married to a Mughal princess. At a grand *darbār* on 3 Ṣafar 1152/12 May, Nādir reinstated Muḥammad Shāh as king of Hindustān, in return for which all lands west of the Indus were ceded to Persia. Nādir exacted an enormous sum as reparations (at least 700,000,000 rupees in cash and kind, including the Peacock Throne [see TAKHT-I ṬĀWŪS] and the Kūh-i Nūr diamond [*q.v.*]), and declared a three-year tax amnesty in Persia. A week later Nādir's army with its huge baggage-train left Dihlī for Kābul. After a detour south into the desert to chastise the rebellious Khudāyār Khān, ruler of Sind, they reached Nādirābād on 7 Ṣafar 1153/4 May 1740, having lost several thousand men and a quarter of the booty in crossing the swollen Čenāb and Kurram rivers.

During Nādir's campaigns south of the Hindu Kush, Riḍā-ḳulī Mīrzā had extended his father's realms in Balkh and the steppes south of the Oxus. This had provoked threats from Īlbars Khān of Khʷārazm, whom Nādir resolved to punish on his way back. Arriving at Herat on 10 June, he crossed the Oxus at Čārdjūy late in August, by means of boats specially constructed by Indian shipwrights. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Khān of Bukhārā resisted in vain; Nādir reinstated him as ruler, while annexing all lands south of the Oxus. With reinforcements of Özbegs and Turkomans, Nādir set off in October 1740 for Khīwa, the army and fleet proceeding parallel along the Oxus. The city and several other fortresses were bombarded into submission, and Īlbars Khān was put to death. At

least 12,000 Persians (and ten Russians) were liberated from slavery. On 10 December Nādir left Kh^w^ārazm and reached Mashhad at the end of Shawwāl/17 January 1741.

Return to the western fronts. During Nādir's Indian expedition, his brother Ibrāhīm had been killed on campaign in Dāghistān. In spring of 1741 Nādir marched to exact vengeance on the Lazgīs, who had moreover renewed their raids on Georgia. On his arrival at Shīrwān, the rulers of the Caspian littoral (including Surkhāy Khān) hastened to make obeissance, but Nādir's attempts to subdue the mountaineers of Avaria were frustrated. The Russians, suspecting that he had designs on the northern Caucasus, in May 1742 reinforced their base at Kizlyar (Ḳîzlar). For eighteen months the Persian army suffered Lazgī ambushes, lack of provisions, an epidemic, and severe winter weather, but Nādir refused to quit; only a message from the Ottoman ambassador rejecting his proposals concerning the Djaʿfarī rite provided him with the excuse, on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1155/10 February 1743, to march south in preparation for a new campaign against Turkey.

During the *shāh*'s passage through Māzandarān in May 1741, an unknown sniper had wounded him. Later the marksman was found, and denounced Riḍā-ḳulī Mīrzā as the author of the attempt. The prince was brought to Dāghistān and, despite his protestation of innocence (which most accounts endorse), was blinded. Nādir was grief-stricken. Soon afterwards he learned that his vassal in Kh^w^ārazm had been ousted and killed by rebels.

Nevertheless, the suspended hostilities with the Ottoman empire were now resumed. Marching via Kirmānshāh, where he began construction of a large fortress and arsenal and reviewed an army of a nominal 375,000 men from all over his empire, Nādir bombarded Kirkūk into submission in Djumādā II 1156/August 1743. Mawṣil resisted stoutly; Nādir negotiated a truce and, under the aegis of his old adversary Aḥmed Pasha of Baghdād, visited both Shīʿī and Sunnī shrines in ʿIrāḳ. On 24 Shawwal/12 December, at Nadjaf, he convened a council of *ʿulamāʾ* from ʿIrāḳ, Persia, Afghānistān and Turkistān, to discuss the religious question. In the resulting communiqué, all deplored the extremist Shīʿī policies of the Ṣafawids, and approved the device of the Djaʿfarī rite (Suwaydī, 1906 and 1973); whether this reflected more the disinterested magnanimity of theologians, or Nādir's prompting and his wife's presents to the shrine, it was doomed in the face of popular and political realities. Meanwhile, a Persian force that had been besieging Baṣra was withdrawn in December. In order to fund these campaigns in the west, Nādir had rescinded the tax amnesty declared in India and redoubled his exactions from the Persian populace. The consequent insurrections in his rear were now too serious to ignore.

Rebellion and disintegration. Pretenders to the Ṣafawid throne provided the focus in several disaffected areas. In Ādharbāydjān and Dāghistān, revolts led by one Sām Mīrzā were defeated in turn by Nādir's nephew Ibrāhīm Khān and his younger son Naṣr Allāh in 1743, and in October of that year one Ṣafī Mīrzā, his cause sponsored by the Ottomans, was reported to be advancing via Ḳārṣ. In January 1744 the Beglerbegī of Fārs, Taḳī Khān Shīrāzī, a favourite of Nādir's, led a widely-supported revolt; Nādir's forces stormed and sacked Shīrāz in June, and Taḳī Khān was blinded in one eye and castrated. In Kh^w^ārazm, the Yomud and Salur Turkomans rebelled against Nādir's appointees in Khīwa, and order was restored only in 1745 by the *shāh*'s other nephew, ʿAlī-ḳulī. Despite these dangers, Nādir himself had not withdrawn farther east than Hamadān, and when in February 1744 he was informed of Turkey's refusal to ratify the treaty, he marched northwest and besieged Ḳārṣ from May until early October. Nādir wintered north of the Kura, surprising the Lazgīs and forcing their submission. Next summer the Ottoman *serʿasker* Yegen Pasha crossed the frontier, and in Radjab 1158/August 1745, at Baghāward, Nādir repeated his victory of 1735, aided by a mutiny in the Turkish camp and the death of Yegen Pasha. Nādir again opened peace talks, this time without insisting on recognition of the Djaʿfarī rite.

Returning to Iṣfahān in December, Nādir extorted funds and punished officials with renewed ferocity, as he did at each stage of his return journey to Khurāsān during February and March 1746. From Mashhad he went to inspect the construction of the new treasury at his fortress of Kalāt [see KILĀT-I NĀDIRĪ]. Soon after, he set out westward again with an imposing entourage to meet the Ottoman ambassador at Kurdān, near Sāwdj Bulāgh (Mahābād); here on 17 Shaʿbān 1159/4 September 1746 was signed the treaty with Turkey, which essentially restored the frontiers of 1639. At Iṣfahān once more, Nādir again behaved with arbitrary cruelty; reports of contemporary Europeans confirm that he was widely judged to be deranged (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 258-9). A levy of 300,000 tumans imposed on Sīstān provoked an insurrection, to subdue which the *shāh* dispatched ʿAlī-ḳulī Khān; on arrival, however, his nephew—learning that he, too, had been assessed 100,000 tumans—made common cause with the rebels. Nādir left Iṣfahān for Kirmān and Khurāsān, erecting towers of heads wherever he halted. From Mashhad he moved first against the Kurds of Khabūshān, who had declared for ʿAlī-ḳulī. While encamped near their fortress on 11 Djumādā II 1160/20 June 1747, a group of his Persian, Afshār and Ḳādjār officers, fearing that he had already ordered his Afghān troops to arrest them, cut him down in his tent. Nādir's army disintegrated, his treasure was plundered and his progeny killed (with the exception of a grandson, Shāhrukh Mīrzā). On 27 Djumādā II/6 July, ʿAlī-ḳulī was raised to the throne as ʿĀdil Shāh.

Policies and achievements. Nādir Shāh excelled as a strategist, and is to be credited with rescuing Persia from partition and foreign domination. His campaigns against Turkey indirectly benefited Russia, and his humiliation of the Mughal empire hastened its eventual demise under British suzerainty. His career of conquest parallels that of Tīmūr (Tamerlane), and even argues conscious emulation: e.g., his grandson was named Shāhrukh, after Tīmūr's third son, and Nādir removed Tīmūr's tombstone from Samarḳand to Mashhad (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 186, 188). He employed freely the traditional policy of deporting tribal populations (notably Kurds and Afghāns, to Khurāsān), but this was disruptive rather than constructive (Perry, *Forced migration*). He appreciated the advantages of seaborne commerce and power, and purchased or built ships for both the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. His background was Shīʿī, and his periodic gifts to Shīʿī shrines indicate that his declared aim of restoring a form of Sunnī Islam to Persia was more a matter of pragmatics than of conscience (i.e., to facilitate a treaty with Turkey, and perhaps as a preparation for a greater Islamic empire). His imperious personality and ruthlessness ensured obedience even after his con-

quests turned sour; but the cumulative effect of his reversal of Ṣafawid policies—his confiscation of *waḳf* properties and threatened abolition of state Shīʿism, his favouring of (Sunnī) Afghāns and Özbegs over his original (Shīʿī) Persian and Turkoman *Ḳizilbāsh* officers, his unmitigated *Raubwirtschaft* and arbitrary punishment of officials—alienated key elements of society whose attitudes and expectations had been formed under the Ṣafawids.

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NĀDIRA (A.) pl. *nawādir*, literally "rare thing, rarity", denotes a pleasing anecdote containing wit, humour, jocularity and lively repartee, (*nukta*, pl. *nukat*; *mulḥa*, pl. *mulaḥ*; *fukāha*, etc.) of the type which has never ceased to be an integral feature of all social gatherings, whether intimate or official.

A taste for this variety of entertainment seems to have developed in the 1st/7th century in the Holy Cities of Islam, especially at Medina, where instruction in the art of composing and delivering anecdotes [see AL-DJIDD WA 'L-HAZL] began at a very early stage, in the same period that saw the birth of schools of music and singing, for reasons which have been revealed in the above-mentioned article. With the arrival of the ʿAbbāsids, demand increased; instruc-

tion in the art of the anecdote was transferred to the cities of ʿIrāḳ, prospering in Baṣra and most of all in Baghdād, where the caliphs, the aristocrats and the wealthy merchants maintained entertainers charged with the task of distracting them from the cares of the world, and felt no qualms about listening to and rewarding individuals otherwise known for the gravity of their activities, such as al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828 [*q.v.*]), to whom the following admission is attributed: "through knowledge, I have received gifts, and through pleasantries (*mulaḥ*) I have attained riches" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 199; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, i, 160).

Literature has preserved the names of a score of raconteurs from the earliest centuries of Islam; a list of them is to be found in F. Rosenthal, *Humor*, 7 ff., and mention here will be limited to those who seem to be the best known: Ashʿab [*q.v.*], Muzabbid al-Madanī, Abu 'l-Ḥārith Djummayn, al-Djammāz, for example. It is probable that the répertoire of the entertainers mentioned in later works was in part their own invention, but they also had the opportunity of drawing from the dozens of anonymous collections which existed in the time of Ibn al-Nadīm (end of 4th/10th century [*q.v.*]); among these works, some bear more or less expressive titles which cannot be identified, but a more interesting series presents real or fictitious characters around whom a lasting legend is woven, such as Abū Ḍamḍam, Abū Nuwās, Djuḥā [*q.vv.*]; another in this line who was to be distinguished much later is Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja [*q.v.*]. A third category of sources is constituted by anthologies owed to compilers who, although capable of devising their own anecdotes, seem rather to have collected here and there material which they reckoned worthy of handing on to posterity, to be placed at the disposal of future entertainers; among this group are distinguished names such as those of al-Madāʾinī, Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.vv.*], Abu 'l-ʿAnbas and Abu 'l-ʿIbar [*q.vv.* in Suppl.].

Following a puritan reaction, the copyists, deprived of a readership, ceased reproducing these collections, which are therefore not preserved in their entirety and are not easily reconstructed today, although the materials that they contained are to be found in part, reproduced and enriched, in later literature. It should in fact be stated that the genre known as *adab*, which seeks to instruct and to edify without being tiresome, implied on the one hand the insertion into the most solemn, even severe, or austere of topics, of anecdotes intended to distract the reader and awaken a flagging attention, and on the other hand, the choice of witticisms and vignettes as an element in conversation as a means of impressing others with the breadth and versatility of one's cultural attainments. It is thus possible to trace the progress of this corpus of entertainment which, exclusively oral at the outset, has been the object of a specific treatment which can be tentatively analysed: collected and put into writing, from the 2nd/8th century onward, by compilers anxious to ensure its preservation and working in parallel with the *ruwāt* [see RĀWĪ], with editors of ancient poetry and transmitters of historico-literary traditions, a mass of anecdotes has constituted a very rich source which has subsequently been divided into categories and exploited by the authors of works of *adab*, before finally falling back into the oral domain.

Among these latter authors, some were content to make use of the collections at their disposal whenever they felt the need to quote a *nādira* to illustrate or enliven a passage considered somewhat tedious, but others, and not the least of them, proceeded to the stage of synthesis, in the sense that they also used the material compiled by their predecessors, added to them personal or borrowed elements and in their turn compiled special collections intended to enrich the general culture of contemporary and future generations. One of the most striking examples of such collections is certainly the *Djamʿ al-djawāhir* of al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 412/1022 [*q.v.*]) which is remarkable for the propriety of the material assembled. Other authors concentrated their attention on a particular theme and collected vignettes which could, if detached from these syntheses, have resulted in the composition of comedies. Worthy of particular note are anecdotes concerning misers (al-Djāḥiẓ; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), *al-Bukhalāʾ*, ed. A. Maṭlūb and others, Baghdād 1384/1964); women (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]), *Akhbār al-Nisāʾ*, ed. N. Riḍā, Beirut 1964); simpletons (Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]), *Akhbār al-ḥamḳā wa 'l-mughaffalīn*, ed. ʿAlī al-Khāḳānī, Baghdād 1386/1966); blunderers (Ghars al-Niʿma Ibn al-Ṣābiʾ (416-80/1025-87 [see AL-ṢĀBIʾ]), *al-Hafawāt al-nādira*, ed. Ṣ. al-Ashtar, Damascus 1386/1967); etc. A rather specific genre is that known under the title *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda*; authors whose concern was to show that misfortune (*al-shidda*) is not necessarily lasting and that relief (*al-faradj*) can always be expected, naturally called upon all kinds of more or less authentic stories. The creator of this genre was said to be al-Madāʾinī (135-228/752-843 [*q.v.*]), whose collection, entitled *al-Faradj bayn al-shidda wa 'l-ḍīḳ*, was reckoned too short by al-Tanūkhī; he was followed by Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā [*q.v.*]), who was an author concerned mainly with the edification of his readers, and a *ḳāḍī* named Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿUmar b. Abī ʿAmr. The master of the genre was nevertheless the *ḳāḍī* al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]) who made use, not without criticism, of the works mentioned above. (For an overall view of this genre, see A. Wiener, *Die Farağ baʿd aš-Šidda Literatur*, in *Isl.* iv [1913], 270-98, 387-420.)

Proof of the interest taken in the profession of raconteur and quite simply in the narration of amusing stories is to be found in the fact that several authors enunciate the rules which should be followed, if the narrator is to win success and to be assured, in the case of professionals, of a reasonable income. The first, naturally, was al-Djāḥiẓ who, in the introduction to his *Bukhalāʾ* (ed. Ḥādjirī, 6, tr. Pellat, 11), wrote: "Anecdotes are only truly interesting when one knows the characters and can trace them back to their sources by establishing a kind of contact with their protagonists. If they are separated from their elements and their context, then a half of their piquancy and originality is suppressed." On the other hand, specifying the identity of the heroes presented two dangers: first, there was the risk of offending them if they were still living and, second, the risk of supplying historians with invented facts, especially when it was a matter of stories concerning eminent persons allegedly recounted by equally distinguished narrators, as in the cases of ʿĀʾisha and of Ibn Abī ʿAtīḳ, related in the *Bighāl* (ed. Pellat, §§ 12-13) βυ αλ-Djāḥiẓ, who declares elsewhere that his work on misers would be irrevocably damaged by the suppression of anecdotes the heroes of which could be recognised and which would nevertheless constitute "the most important and most interesting chapter".

Al-Ḥuṣrī, for his part, gives a series of useful tips in his *Djamʿ al-djawāhir* (7 ff.). First, he observes that a "tepid" anecdote is fatal to the narrator since, being neither entertaining nor serious, neither hot nor cold, it becomes boring, as is demonstrated by the proverbial saying "more boring than a mediocre enter-

tainer". The person telling stories should be sparing of gestures, should express himself with elegance and eloquence, and display neither violence nor cruelty. He should adapt himself to all situations, be capable of utilising all his abilities adeptly, and be ready to discontinue when he senses that his presentation is not appreciated by the audience. As regards the form of anecdotes, it is appropriate to conform to the normal language of the persons depicted and to avoid the use of *iʿrāb*, except when the story concerns scholars who generally respect grammar and do not omit the endings of words. On the other hand, it is possible to make comedy out of the faults committed by the semi-educated, who say, for example, *radjul māta wa-taraka abīh wa-akhīh*. As for the substance, no rule is enunciated, no advice is given to the composers of anecdotes. It should be said that in principle the materials constituting the collections intended for the instruction and edification of readers are carefully chosen and contain nothing at all indecent, while those required only to entertain are very often characteristic specimens of obscenity and scatology, such that the texts which have preserved them are difficult to translate; this applies, for example, to the anonymous *Nuzhat al-udabāʾ wa-sulwat al-ghurabāʾ* (mss. B.N. of Paris 6008 and 6710). To show that there were all the same some decent anecdotes, the following are two examples which must have been composed in the 4th/10th century to illustrate the legendary ugliness of al-Djāḥiẓ. The first is constructed on a formula of which the western equivalent is as follows. A well-known woman says to an eminent man: "You should marry me; I would give you a son who would have your intelligence and my beauty".—"Yes, but supposing he has your intelligence and my beauty?" In the Arabic text, it is a slave who asks al-Djāḥiẓ to buy her and not to marry her. One only lends to the rich, and yet it is curious that the latter here occupies the same place as Mark Twain in an American version and as Sacha Guitry in a French one. In the second anecdote, the same al-Djāḥiẓ is accosted one day, in the street, by a woman who invites him to follow her; being of a curious nature, he agrees willingly, even eagerly, to join in this game. So he allows himself to be led by the unknown woman to the workshop of a jeweller, to whom she says only "like him", before leaving hurriedly. Intrigued, al-Djāḥiẓ asks the meaning of this laconic phrase and the artisan replies: "A few days ago, she asked me to engrave an image on the jewel in a ring, and because I couldn't imagine what it looked like, she brought you here".—"And what was this image?"—"That of Satan!"

The titles of the collections cited in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm are presented under the form *Kitāb Nawādir fulān*; later, as has been seen with Ibn al-Djawzī and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, it is *akhbār* which is employed in place of *nawādir*, perhaps to confer a sort of respectability on the documents collected and to prepare them to be treated as accounts of historical facts, although most often these are clearly anecdotes produced by the imagination of entertainers or of writers. In this regard, attention should be drawn to the biographical notices of famous men which in many cases contain doubtful *akhbār*. Elsewhere (s.v. MUKADDĪ) there has been mention of a person, Khālid b. Yazīd, to whom Yāḳūt devoted a biography drawn from a chapter of the *Bukhalāʾ*!

The substitution of the word *akhbār* for *nawādir* was perhaps dictated by the possibility of confusion arising at a time when very diverse authors started adopting the latter term and entitling their works *Kitāb al-Nawādir*, often without any other specification. In such cases, *nawādir* generally has the sense of "curiosities, originalities, rarities" and is applied to studies of religion, philology, mathematics, astrology, botany, medicine, etc. Sezgin cites a total of 144 titles in which *nawādir* never has the meaning of anecdotes (*GAS*, i, 900:16; ii, 789:54; iii, 561:2; iv, 384:2; v, 495:3; vii, 463:8; viii, 366-7:51; ix, 376-7:16), but since of these only two apply to medicine and three to mathematics, more than a hundred are to be located in the linguistic sciences, grammarians and lexicographers being particularly interested in discovering and defining "rarities".

Bibliography: See AL-DJIDD WA 'L-HAZL as well as the references cited in the present article. The most complete study is that of F. Rosenthal, *Humor in Islam and its historical development*, Leiden 1956, which is centred on Ashʿab; see also the notices devoted to the humorists mentioned above. Among collections available to western readers, worthy of note are A. Galland, *Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots et les maximes des Orientaux*, Paris 1694; [J. von Hammer], *Rosenöl, erstes Fläschchen oder Sagen und Kunden des Morgenlandes aus arabischen, persischen und türkischen Quellen gesammelt*, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1813, 2 vols.; R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1924-7, 3 vols. See also M. Cardonne, *Mêlanges [sic] de littérature orientale, traduits de différens [sic] manuscrits turcs, arabes & persans de la Bibliothèque [sic] du Roi*, 2 vols., Paris 1770; Sam Kabbani (tr.), *Altarabische Esclesien. Humor aus dem frühen Islam*, Stuttgart etc. 1965; U. Marzolph, *Arabia ridens. Die humoristisch Kunstprosa der frühen adab-Literatur im internationalen Traditionsgeflecht*, 2 vols., Frankfurt 1992.

(CH. PELLAT)

NADJADĀT, Khāridjite sub-sect which was especially widespread in Baḥrayn and Yamāma.

The name derives from that of its founder Nadjda b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥarūrī. It is known of him that he rebelled in Yamāma at the time of al-Ḥusayn's death in battle (61/680) and that in 64/683 he gave military help to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr when he was besieged in Mecca by the Syrian army. Once the siege was raised, Nadjda, in company with other Khāridjite chiefs, including Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ, went first to Baṣra, where he was amongst those who in 65/684, under the leadership of Nāfiʿ, took part in the *khurūdj* against Muslim b. ʿUbays who, at the head of the Meccan troops sent by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, was posed to attack the city. He was subsequently in al-Ahwāz, which was to become the headquarters of the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*]. But Nadjda did not remain here for long; his differences with Nāfiʿ, above all concerning the fate of the quietists (*ḳaʿada*), led him, during this same year, to separate from him and to return to Yamāma. We have a great deal of information about his activities in this region from Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi, 125-47.

The Yamāma Khāridjites had chosen Abū Ṭālūt Sālim b. Maṭar as chief, as a temporary stop-gap until they could find a better candidate. In 65/684, Abū Ṭālūt seized control of Djawn al-Khaḍārim, a large expanse of Yamāma occupied by Muʿāwiya, established himself there and divided up as plunder, amongst his partisans, the agricultural lands and the 4,000 slaves who worked them. In the next year, Nadjda, captured at Djabala a caravan coming from Baṣra and destined for Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. He led it to Abū Ṭālūt in Khaḍārim, divided up the booty among his partisans, allowed the slaves to cultivate once again the communally-held lands, as had been the previous practice and proposed himself as chief in place of Abū Ṭālūt. The Khāridjites present there, including Abū Ṭālūt, unanimously recognised his merits and gave him formally their *bayʿa*, assuring

him that they would have deposed him only if he had been guilty of a clear injustice. Some short time afterward, Nadjda, at the head of the Yamāma Khāridjites, attacked the Banū Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa at Dhu 'l-Madjāz, and, after a bloody battle, captured from them the provisions of corn and dates which they had plundered from the market. This event, which became widely known, marked the beginning of an uninterrupted series of victories which, helped by the feebleness of Ibn al-Zubayr's rule, enabled in a very short time, as we shall see, the Nadjadāt to subjugate almost the whole of Arabia. It seems that the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik even had the intention of making Nadjda his lieutenant in central Arabia and that he briefly discussed this idea with Nadjda, naturally without result.

In 67/686, leaving behind a governor in Yamāma, Nadjda went personally to Baḥrayn and, helped by the Azdīs, defeated the ʿAbd al-Ḳays in Ḳaṭīf and installed himself in the town. Ḥamza b. al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd Allāh, who represented his father at Baṣra, sent an expedition, commanded by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmayr al-Laythī, to expel Nadjda from Ḳaṭīf. The Zubayrid troops were put to flight and the Nadjadāt, under ʿAṭiyya b. al-Aswad al-Ḥanafī's leadership, invaded and conquered ʿUmān. A local rising then expelled them, and ʿUmān returned to the control of the two sons of ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh. Nevertheless, Nadjda extended his territory into northern Baḥrayn (Kāẓima), and forced the Banū Tamīm to pay him the *zakāt*. In 68/687, some divisions arose among the Nadjadāt. One group, under ʿAṭiyya b. al-Aswad, who reproached Nadjda strongly for his friendly relations with the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, seceded from him and migrated to Kirmān, thence to Sidjistān, where he founded his own subsect, called after him the ʿAṭawiyya. In the same year, Nadjda raided westwards from Yamāma and conquered part of Yemen, with its capital Ṣanʿāʾ, and one of his lieutenants, Abū Fudayk, also subjugated Ḥaḍramawt. At the end of the year, Nadjda appeared at Mecca and took part in the Pilgrimage rites; on this felicitous occasion, not less than four chiefs conducted groups of mutually-hostile partisans: Ibn al-Zubayr, Nadjda himself, an Umayyad and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. In the following year, he marched on Medina, renouncing however attacking it when he heard that the son of ʿUmar, the caliph particularly venerated by the Khāridjites, was preparing to oppose him. He then turned aside towards Ṭāʾif, isolating it completely from the Ḥidjāz, and advanced as far as Tabāla. In this district he organised his own administration and, after having appointed deputies, returned to Baḥrayn. Whilst avoiding launching his arms against the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, he nevertheless did not hesitate in blocking their food supplies, until the moment when Ibn ʿAbbās, comparing his conduct with that of Muḥammad, demonstrated to him that this was not a legitimate action.

Thus Nadjda was near to dominating the whole Arabian peninsula. But his authority was already being undermined by divisions among his partisans who, like all the Khāridjites, disliked any long period of domination. The opposition to Nadjda, which naturally manifested itself in the form of religious criticism, was led by two of his most capable deputies, ʿAṭiyya b. al-Aswad, who came out worst and had to flee, as noted above, to Kirmān, and Abū Fudayk [*q.v.*], who, in 72/691-2, killed him and made himself master of Baḥrayn. At the end of this same year, the latter repelled an attack sent against him from Baṣra by ʿAbd al-Malik and commanded by Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh, brother of the governor of Baṣra Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī; but in the next year (73/692-3), a second expedition, under ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar, managed to defeat him at al-Mushakkar [*q.v.*] and to put him to death. This marked the end of the Nadjadāt principality in Yamāma and Baḥrayn, but not of their school; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, who lived at a period straddling the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, tells that there were still Nadjadāt in Sidjistān during his time.

Doctrines. The main religious ideas attributed to the Nadjadāt were, according to al-Ashʿarī, the following: (1) the admissibility of *idjtihād* and *raʾy*; (2) justification for an error committed in ignorance of the law, with the exception of the obligatory precepts (*wādjib*); (3) those who lagged behind in making the *hidjra* to their own group were branded as *munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*]; (4) those who declared it illicit to shed the blood of the *ahl al-muḳām* (= *dhimmīs*) *fī dār al-taḳiyya* and to confiscate their goods, were to be branded with *takfīr*; (5) the assertion that it is not known whether God will punish the believers for their sins, but if He does, it will not be with Hell Fire; and (6) the one who commits lesser sins and persists in his error is a *mushrik*, whereas the one who commits graver sins without persisting in them is a *muslim*. Other details are provided by al-Shahrastānī and al-Baghdādī: (7) permission for *taḳiyya*, whether in words or in actions; (8) the world does not need an *imām*, but it is sufficient that it should be well governed; (9) *ḳuʿūd* is permissible, but *djihād*, where possible, is better; (10) those who declare *ḳuʿūd* illicit are to be branded with *takfīr*; and by Ibn Ḥazm, curiously. Finally, according to al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 615, there was no difference between the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] and the Nadjadāt.

Bibliography: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, Cairo 1950, i, 162-4; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, Cairo 1328, 66-70; Ibn Ḥazm, *K. al-Fiṣal fī 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwāʾ wa 'l-niḥal*, Cairo 1321, iv, 190; Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, 91-3; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 261, 270, 317, 378, and xi, ed. Ahlwardt, 125-47; Dīnawarī, ed. Guirgass and Kratchkovsky, 313; Ṭabarī, ii, 401, 402, 425, 517, 737, 782, 783, 829; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 36, 541, 604, 607, 611, 613, 703; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 314, 320, 325, 326; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 414; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 230, 440, vi, 25 = §§ 1737, 1994, 2190, 2258 and index; *Aghānī*, xii, 25, 27-8; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 93, 98, iv, 80, 144, 417; idem, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 210; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1320, iv, 98-101, 168, 192; J. Wellhausen, *The religio-political factions in early Islam*, Eng. tr. Amsterdam 1975, 47-59, 64; R.E. Brünnow, *Die Charidischiten under den ersten Umaiyaden*, Leiden 1884; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, ii, 753, iv, 774, 776, 787, 801, 813, 814, 824, 850, 854, 860, 871; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 201; J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 261; R. Rubinacci, *Il califfo ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibāḍiti*, in *AIUON*, N.S., v (1953), 99.

(R. Rubinacci)

AL-**NADJAF** or MASHHAD ʿALĪ, a town and place of pilgrimage in ʿIrāḳ 10 km 6 miles west of al-Kūfa. It lies on the edge of the desert on a flat barren eminence from which the name al-Nadjaf has been transferred to it (A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 35), at an altitude of 37 m/120 feet in lat. 31°59′ N. and long. 44°20′ E.

According to the usual tradition, the Imām al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] was buried near al-Kūfa, not far from the dam which protected the city from flooding by the Euphrates at the place where the

town of al-Nadjaf later arose (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 760), also called Nadjaf al-Kūfa (al-Zamakhsharī, *Lexicon geographicum*, ed. Salverda de Grave, 153). Under Umayyad rule, the site of the grave near al-Kūfa had to be concealed. As a result, it was later sought in different places, by many in al-Kūfa itself in a corner above the *ḳibla* of the mosque, by others again 2 *farsakhs* from al-Kūfa (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 82-3; Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 163). According to a third story, ʿAlī was buried in Medina near Fāṭima's grave (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 289 = § 1612), according to a fourth, at Ḳaṣr al-Imāra (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, x, 1926, 967-8, A.H. 40, § 99). Perhaps, then, the sanctuary of al-Nadjaf is not the real burial-place but a tomb held in reverence in the pre-Islamic period, especially as the graves of Adam and Noah were also shown there (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, i, 416; G. Jacob, in A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelâ*, Berlin 1909, 38, n. 1). It was not till the time of the Ḥamdānid of al-Mawṣil Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ that a large *ḳubba* was built by him over ʿAlī's grave, adorned with precious carpets and curtains and a citadel built there (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 163). The Shīʿī Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in 369/979-80 built a mausoleum, which was still in existence in the time of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, and was buried there, as were his sons Sharaf al-Dawla and Bahāʾ al-Dawla. Al-Nadjaf was already a small town with a circumference of 2,500 paces (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 518; Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 32: in the year 366/976-7). Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl, who died about 414/1023-4, built the defensive walls of Mashhad ʿAlī (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 154). The Mashhad was burned in 443/1051-2 by the fanatical Sunnī populace of Baghdād, but must have been soon rebuilt. The Saldjūḳ sultan Malikshāh and his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, who were in Baghdād in 479/1086-7, visited the sanctuaries of ʿAlī and Ḥusayn (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 103). The Īlkhān Ghāzān (694-703/1295-1304), according to Mustawfī, built in al-Nadjaf a Dār al-Siyāda and a dervish monastery (*khānaḳāh*). The Mongol governor of Baghdād in 661/1263 led a canal from the Euphrates to al-Nadjaf but it soon became silted up and was only cleared out again in 914/1508 by order of Shāh Ismāʿīl. This canal was originally called Nahr al-Shāh (now al-Kenāʾ) (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, ii, Baghdād 1930-1, 458). This Shīʿī Ṣafawid himself made a pilgrimage to the *mashhadānⁱ* of Karbalāʾ and al-Nadjaf. Süleymān the Magnificent visited the holy places in 941/1534-5. A new canal made in 1793 also soon became silted up, as did the Zherī al-Shaykh and al-Ḥaydariyya canals, the latter of which was made by order of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. In 1912 iron pipes were laid to bring water from the Euphrates to al-Nadjaf (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, ii, 458-9, 491).

A considerable part of ʿIrāḳ, with Baghdād, al-Nadjad and Karbalāʾ, was temporarily conquered by the Persians in 1032/1623, but restored to Ottoman control in the winter of 1048/1638-9. Over the next two centuries or so, al-Nadjaf was at times harried by Bedouins from the direction of the Syrian Desert and also by Wahhābī raids [see WAHHĀBIYYA], culminating in those of 1806 and 1810; and a recurrent factor within al-Nadjaf during this period was also factional strife between the two groups of the Zugurt and Shumurd. Nevertheless, the town, with its Shīʿī religious leadership of *mudjtahids* and of the *kilīd-dār* or guardian of the shrine, managed to retain a virtual autonomy under Ottoman rule, at times rebelling against what was regarded as the Porte's heavy hand, so that Ottoman troops had severely to repress revolts there in, e.g., 1842, 1852 and 1854; and attempts to introduce conscription there in 1915-16 caused a further outbreak.

During all these centuries, al-Nadjaf maintained its function as a centre for Shīʿī pilgrimage and burial, and in the 19th century its *mudjtahids* benefitted from the Oudh Bequest, that of the Shīʿī king of Oudh [see AWADH], distributed till the First World War by the British Resident. In the post-war years, it remained a centre of disaffection, a focus for anti-British opposition during the Arab revolt in ʿIrāḳ of 1920 and subsequently of opposition to King Fayṣal; and the residence in al-Nadjaf from 1965 to 1978 of the Āyatallāh Rūḥ Allāh Khumaynī helped revive the role of the ʿIrāḳī shrine cities as centres of clerical opposition immune from Persian official control.

In present-day ʿIrāḳ, al-Nadjaf falls within the *muḥāfaẓa* of Karbalāʾ, and in 1970 had an estimated population of 180,000, of whom some quarter (at least before the expulsions of Persians from ʿIrāḳ during the recent ʿIrāḳ-Īrān War) have always been Persians; the population has of course tended to become swollen seasonally by the pilgrimage traffic.

According to the Arab geographers, al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] lay on the eminence of al-Nadjaf (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, tr. Wiet, 140, 309, Massignon (*MIFAO*, xxviii, 28, n. 1) thinks that al-Ḥīra lay on the site of the present al-Nadjaf, while Musil, (*op. cit.*, 35, n. 26) places the centre of the ruins of al-Ḥīra south-east of the *tell* of al-Knēdre which lies half-way between al-Kūfa and al-Khawarnaḳ. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa entered Mashhad ʿAlī, which he visited in 726/1326, through the Bāb al-Ḥaḍra gate which led straight to the Mashhad. He describes the town and sanctuary very fully. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī (*loc. cit.*), the ridge on which al-Nadjaf stands once formed the shore of the sea which in ancient times came up to here. For the number of its inhabitants and its architectural beauty, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reckoned the town among the most important in ʿIrāḳ. It now has a Shīʿī college and celebrated cemetery in the Wādī al-Salām. Near al-Nadjaf were the monasteries of Dayr Mār Fāthiyūn (Yāḳūt, ii, 693) and Dayr Hind al-Kubrā (Yāḳūt, ii, 709), also al-Ruhba (5 hours southwest of the town; Yāḳūt, ii, 762; Musil, *op. cit.*, 110, n. 61) and Ḳaṣr Abi 'l-Khaṣīb (Yāḳūt. iv, 107). The lake of al-Nadjaf marked on many older maps has long since completely dried up (Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien*, 105).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn al-Athīr, index, ii, 808 (Mashhad ʿAlī), 817 (al-Nadjaf); Ṭabarī, Indices, 784; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, Būlāḳ 1323, ii, 116, v, 88, 121, viii, 161, ix, 117, xi, 24, xxi, 125-7; Muḳaddasī, 130; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 163, 177, 187; Ibn Rusta, 108, tr. Wiet, 121; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud, 300, tr. Guyard, ii/2, 73; Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, iii, 6; Ibn Djubayr, ed. Wright and de Goeje, 210; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 164, 302, 354, 364, 573; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 414-16; Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 9, 31, 165-6, 267; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien u.a. umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1778, ii, 254-64 (inscriptions: 263); J.B.L.J. Rousseau, *Description du pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 75-7; Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien*, Brunswick 1895, 103-11; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii, 137, 274, 281; Le Strange, *Lands*, 76-18; A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelâ*, Berlin 1909, *passim*; H. Grothe, *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei*, Leipzig 1909, p. XIII and tables lxxv-lxxix with illustr. 132-4, 137; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie (1907-1908)*, Cairo 1910, i, 50b-51b, ii, 88, n. 1, 114, 137, n. 3 (= *MIFAO*, xxviii, xxxi); Gertrude Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, 160, 162; S.H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, index; A.

Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 35, n. 26; Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944, 291, 328, 356, 545-6; Longrigg, *ʿIraq, 1900 to 1950, a political, social and economic history*, Oxford 1953, 20-1, 85; D̲jaʿfar al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bāḳir Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī al-Nad̲j̲af wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, Nad̲j̲af 1955-7. See also ʿATABĀT in Suppl.

(E. HONIGMANN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

NAD̲J̲ĀḤIDS, a dynasty of Abyssinian slaves with their capital in Zabīd [*q.v.*], reigned 412-553/1022-1158.

- Nad̲j̲āḥ (d. 452/1060)
  - Saʿīd (d. 481/1088)
  - D̲j̲ayyāsh (d. *ca*. 500/1107)
    - Ibrāhīm
    - (al-)Fātik I (d. 503/1109)
      - al-Manṣūr (d. 518/1124)
        - Fātik II (d. 531/1137)
      - Muḥammad
        - Fātik III (d. 553/1158)
    - ʿAbd al-Wāḥid
- Nafīs (d. 412/1022)

The best historical source for an understanding of the dynasty is ʿUmāra (see Kay, in *Bibl.*), but it should be stressed that ʿUmāra's account is sometimes confused, frequently anecdotal with interruptions of little or no relevance and lacking in dates. Other published sources which can be used as a control on ʿUmāra's text are listed below, though many depend ultimately on him, being transmitted in the main through other writers.

When the last Ziyādid [*q.v.*] had been put to death during the rule of the Abyssinian *wazīr*, Mard̲j̲ān, by one of his slave governors, Nafīs, the other, Nad̲j̲āḥ, came forward to avenge him. After fighting, Nafīs was killed and Nad̲j̲āḥ in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 412/February 1022 entered Zabīd, where he had the vizier built alive into a wall in exact revenge for the Ziyādid. As his rival, Nafīs, had already done, Nad̲j̲āḥ assumed the insignia of royalty, struck his own coins and inserted his own name in the *k̲h̲uṭba* after that of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. The latter recognised him under the title of al-Muʾayyad Nāṣir al-Dīn. His territories extended northwards from Zabīd as far as Ḥaraḍ in northern Tihāma [*q.v.*], while the highlands remained divided among petty rulers. When among the latter the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] came to considerable power, their relations with the Nad̲j̲āḥids decisively affected the history of the latter. The first Ṣulayḥid, ʿAlī, is said to have had Nad̲j̲āḥ poisoned about 452/1060 through a slave girl sent to him as a gift. In the confusion that followed, ʿAlī occupied Zabīd and Nad̲j̲āḥ's sons fled to the Red Sea island of Dahlak [*q.v.*]. While the eldest, Muʿārik, committed suicide, the other two resolved to regain power in their lands: Saʿīd al-Aḥwal and Abu 'l-Ṭāmī D̲j̲ayyāsh, whose lost work, *al-Mufīd fī ak̲h̲bār Zabīd*, is much quoted by ʿUmāra. Saʿīd made his preparations in a hiding place in Zabīd and arranged for D̲j̲ayyāsh to arrive later. The two then came out openly, fell upon and killed ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī, who was heading for Mecca, in 473/1081. Zabīd at once recognised Saʿīd as lord, he appealing in particular to the large number of Abyssinian slave troops. But Asmāʾ, the widow of ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī who was kept prisoner in Zabīd, persuaded her son, al-Mukarram, to rescue her in 475/1083. The Nad̲j̲āḥids again escaped to Dahlak. In 479/1086 Saʿīd returned as ruler, but in 481/1088 he was put to death at the instigation of the Ṣulayḥid queen, al-Sayyida, al-Mukarram's wife. D̲j̲ayyāsh escaped to India with his vizier K̲h̲alaf b. Ṭāhir, returned to Zabīd disguised as an Indian, plotted with his compatriots and easily regained power in 482/1089. With his death in 498/1105 or 500/1107, confusion reigned. He himself had domestic difficulties and his former helper, K̲h̲alaf, had to flee and there were fierce family feuds among his descendants. His son, Fātik I, the son of a slave girl bought in India, had to defend himself against his half-brothers, Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. He died young in 503/1109. The latter's infant son, al-Manṣūr, was set aside by his uncles, who were quarrelling with one another, and fled to al-Sayyida, whose favourite, al-Muẓaffar b. Abi 'l-Barakāt brought him back in 504/1111 as a vassal of the Ṣulayḥids.

Because he was still a minor, the dynasty's viziers began to take full control. Al-Manṣūr's vizier, Anīs, even assumed royal honours. When he attained his majority, al-Manṣūr murdered him with his own hand in 517/1123. Al-Manṣūr, however, in his turn was at once poisoned by the next vizier, Mann Allāh. The latter made the boy Fātik II ruler, the son of al-Manṣūr and a slave, ʿAlam. This woman, who died in 545/1150, endeavoured with great skill to preserve the rights of her house against the encroachments of the viziers. Mann Allāh was killed at her instigation in 524/1130. His successors were the slaves Ruzayḳ and later al-Mufliḥ. Against the latter ʿAlam put forward her favourites Surūr and Iḳbāl, who were however not themselves on good terms. During their quarrels the various parties brought other petty Arab rulers against Zabīd. Iḳbāl had Fātik II killed in 531/1137. He was followed by his cousin, Fātik III. Surūr, who had been in effective control since 529/1135, was murdered in a Zabīd mosque in 551/1156 by an envoy of the Mahdids [*q.v.*]. When the Zaydī Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaymān was summoned to help by the Nad̲j̲āḥids, he made it a condition that Fātik should be deposed and he himself recognised as lord of Zabīd. This was agreed, but in 554/1159 the Mahdids entered Zabīd.

The Ziyādids before them and the Nad̲j̲āḥids continually brought over to the Yemen shiploads of Abyssinian slaves to recruit their troops and thus continued that mixture of races which had already existed and is still very marked in Tihāma today. There is a further point to note in this regard. Although he appears to get the date of the building of Ḥays [*q.v.*] wrong—it was probably built in earlier Ziyādid times—Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwir (*Mustabṣir*, 235) indicates that the new town in Tihāma was populated by

Abyssinians brought over specifically for that purpose: "It is said that there was not a single house of Arabs, every one of them being of blacks."

The striking of Nadjāḥid coins is mentioned by most of our sources, although no great caches of such coins have been discovered. Bikhazi (*Coins*, 1970, 106) claims to have read the legend of a coin struck in Zabīd in 534, although the ruler's name is illegible. The coin is otherwise unpublished and is in the British Museum. He lists three others minted in Ṣanʿāʾ and suggests all are Nadjāḥid coins. He does not, however, explain how the Nadjāḥids were minting coins in Ṣanʿāʾ. Much more promising is the research carried out by Lowick (*Coins of the Najāḥids*, 1976) and, despite problems, he argues convincingly that the four coins listed in his publication, all minted in Zabīd, are indeed Nadjāḥid.

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AL-**NADJĀSHĪ**, loanword from the Ethiopic, used in Arabic to designate the ruler of Ethiopia at the time of the Prophet and in the early period of Islam. In Geʿez, *nägâśi*, pl. *nägäśt* is the *nomen agentis* of the verb *nägśä* "to rule, to become king" (Leslau, *Comparative dictionary*, *392-3*), used both as a proper noun (cf. *ḳayṣar*) and as a *nomen appellativum*, yielding the form in western European languages *negus*. For the evolution of ancient Semitic *g* to *dj*, see DJĪM and Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 47. Ethiopic *ś* (known as *negus śä* i.e. the *ś* used in the word *neguś*), is rendered in Arabic by *sh* (*shayṭān*, *nadjāshī*), see Nöldeke, *ibid.*, and Beeston, *Sabaic grammar*, 9-10. The formula *ḥeyäw aba nägâśi* "long live the king" (e.g. I Samuel, x, 24), probably borrowed from the spoken language when the Bible was translated into Geʿez, may indicate that the Abyssinian king was addressed or spoken of as *nägâśi* instead of the more common *negus* (Dillmann, *Lexicon*, *s.v.*). Nägâśi meaning "King" (of Aksum) also occurs in Sabaic, see Beeston *et alii*, *Sabaic Dictionary*, Louvain etc. 1982, 93, *sub* NGS² [ngs²y-n, pt.ngs²t].

The Nadjāshī is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, but to a considerable extent in the *Sīra*. It may well be that the Prophet in his youth acquired some knowledge about Abyssinia and its king through his paternal grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib [*q.v.*], who is said to have had relations with Abraha [*q.v.*] and to have entertained trading relations with Abyssinia (Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, *Sīra*, 24 ff.). According to Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889), Muḥammad's nurse was an Ethiopian woman named Umm Ayman (Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 367), and Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, iv/1, 72) remarks that Muḥammad spoke Abyssinian (see also al-Suhaylī (d. 581/1185-6), *Rawḍ*, i, 205; al-Bukhārī, 56, 188). Ibn Isḥāḳ relates (Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, 180) that, according to his information, the Prophet "used often to sit at al-Marwa at the booth of a young Christian called Djabr, a slave of the Banu 'l-Ḥaḍramī". Al-Bayḍāwī adds that the Prophet used to stop and listen to Djabr and his fellow-Christian Yasāra as they read aloud the Torah and the Gospel (Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qurʾan*, 161). The use of some two hundred words in the Ḳurʾān that are connected with Geʿez—many of them are loan words from Greek and Syriac—indicate some early contact with Christian elements from Abyssinia (Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary*, 305-7; Fraenkel, *Aramäische Fremdwörter*, 323).

According to al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 32, the Nadjāshī was invited to act as an arbitrator in the case against Ḥarb b. Umayya, accused of killing a Jew who was a neighbour and a protégé of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. The Nadjāshī is said to have refused to act thus. (Hamidullah, *Le Prophète*, i, 34-5). In any case, his name is connected with Islam as early as 615 A.D. Since the events of the 6th century [see ABRAHA; AL-FĪL; Conrad, *Abraha and Muḥammad*], Aksum and its Christian kings had been well-known in Mecca, and the Prophet must have considered the Nadjāshī as an ally, at least not as an adversary, when he gave some of his followers the advice to emigrate to Abyssinia (Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, 109 ff.; Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, *Sīra*, 146; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 142 ff.). In Arabic sources, the Abyssinian king is named Aṣḥama, Aṣmaḥa, Ṣaḥama, etc. (Weisweiler, *Buntes Prachtgewand*, 49; M. Hartmann, *Der Naǧāšī Aṣḥama*; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 736). An unpublished Ethiopian chronicle (Hable Sellasie, *Ancient history*, 185) relates that in the times of a certain king Adriaz (603-23 A.D.), "the infidel Mohammad arose in the East, occupied all countries, killed the magicians of Egypt, burned their books and came as far as Habab, the land of Sudan. But he could not subdue the kingdom of Abyssinia".

A group, sent by the Ḳuraysh in pursuit of the emigrants, arrived too late at the bay of Shuʿayba near Djudda [*q.v.*]. Whether there were two separate and distinct emigrations to Abyssinia or a single stream of emigrants, all sources agree that the Muslims were well-received by the Nadjāshī. He supported them against ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿa b. al-Mughīra and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], who had come on behalf of the Ḳuraysh to persuade the king to expel the Muslims. At an audience before the king and his bishops, Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet's cousin, summarised Muḥammad's achievements (Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, *Sīra*, 151), and by quoting sūras IV, 169, and XIX, 16-34, he made it appear as if Islam was a form of Christianity. ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAmr returned to Mecca and the Muslims continued to live in peace.

While Muḥammad's followers were in Abyssinia, the Nadjāshī was accused by his people of having left his religion, but he succeeded in placating them in a way which, according to Ibn Isḥāḳ, could be explained as favourable towards Islam. The Nadjāshī permitted some thirty-three followers to return to Mecca, and also agreed to Muḥammad's betrothal to Umm Ḥabība after her husband ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djaḥsh, who had become a Christian while in Abyssinia, had died. Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*]

acted as *walī*. This daughter of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*] had been among the first emigrants and it was she who, together with Umm Salāma who had also been to Abyssinia, described for the Prophet on his deathbed the wonders of the church of St. Mary in Aksum (W. Muir, *The Life of Mohammed*, 490).

According to Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i/2, 15 ff.), the Prophet in 7/628 sent envoys to six rulers of the surrounding countries, among whom the Nadjāshī, summoning them to embrade Islam. The letter for the king of Abyssinia, who is named as al-Aṣḥam b. Abdjar, was delivered by ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Damrī (see the references in Van Donzel, *A Yemenite embassy*, 239 n. 8; on the historicity of these letters, see Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 345-6; Hamidullah, *Documents*, 19; idem, *Le Prophète*, i, 205-7; Dunlop, *Another Prophetic letter*). According to Muslim tradition, the Nadjāshī became a Muslim so that "when the Negus died, the Prophet prayed over him and begged that his sins might be forgiven" (Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, *Sīra*, 155; cf. Raven, *Some early Islamic texts*, 209).

In 9/630-1 the Prophet sent ʿAlḳama b. Mudjazzaz al-Mudlidjī to chase Abyssinian pirates from an unnamed island (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/1, 117-8), but this expedition was not directed against the Nadjāshī himself. Neither was this the case with the naval expedition which ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 19/640 is reported to have sent against the Abyssinians under the command of the same ʿAlḳama. The outcome was so disastrous for the Muslims that ʿUmar would have no more to do with the sea (Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 219, 366-7).

It is not known whether the perhaps regular raids against the Arabian coast by Abyssinian pirates—or by those who were said to be Abyssinians—have influenced the attitude of the Muslims towards the Nadjāshī. According to Trimingham (*Islam in Ethiopia*, 46), Abyssinian pirates raided and sacked al-Djudda in 83/702. However, his references to Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, ii, 44, and to Sprenger, *Mohammed*, iii, 430, are not correct, since the first, *loc. cit.*, deals with Abraha's expedition against Mecca and the second with ʿAlḳama's expedition.

The Nadjāshī is again met with under the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd (86-96/705-15), who built the famous palace at Ḳuṣayr ʿAmrā in Transjordan [see ARCHITECTURE], where, according to the traditional interpretation, are represented "the enemies of Islam defeated by the Umayyads" (*ibid.*). The question may be asked whether the presence of the Nadjāshī among the *Ḳayṣar* (the Byzantine emperor), Rōdorīk (the Visigoth's king of Spain), Khusraw (Chosroes) and two others whose names have been obliterated, reflects a change in the mentality towards the Abyssinians since the time of the Prophet.

In later times, the Nadjāshī held a special place in Muslim historiography because of his role in early Islam. Abu 'l-Faradj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.* (d. 597/1200]) wrote his *Tanwīr al-ghabash fī faḍl al-sūdān wa 'l-ḥabash* (see Van Donzel, *Quelques remarques*), and the Zaydī Imām of Yemen al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh Ismāʿīl (d. 1079/1668) quotes the Prophet's letter and the Nadjāshī's reply in his correspondence with the Ethiopian king Fāsiladas (see Van Donzel, *A Yemenite embassy*, 237 ff.).

Another element in Muslim tradition about the Nadjāshī is that his land was said to be exempt from *djihād*. According to a tradition recorded by Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855; references in Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *Abyssinians*), the Prophet said: "leave the Abyssinians as long as they leave you" (*atrukū 'l-ḥabasha mā tarakūkum*) and elsewhere in Abū Dāwūd and in al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915): "let the Abyssinians be as long as they let you be, and leave the Turks alone as long as they leave you alone" (*daʿū 'l-ḥabasha mā waddaʿūkum wa-trukū al-turk mā tarakūkum*). Apart from the pun between *taraka* and *turk*, the presence of the Turks in this tradition weakens its value as far as the Abyssinians are concerned. Whether traditions such as these have led to statements like "Abyssinia is territory not subject to the *djihād*" (Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 52) cannot be ascertained. But it should be remarked that the reference in this connection to Ibn Ḥawḳal (*ibid.*) is wrong. In his *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (*Opus geographicum*, i, 56), Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the Budja [see BEDJA] and remarks *wa-laysa dāruhum bi-dār ḥarb*, which Kramers-Wiet (*Configuration*, i, 54) translate with "and their region is not a territory of war", i.e. no war is going on there. This passage in Ibn Ḥawḳal's text thus does not contain any reference to *djihād* at all. The reason why Abyssinia was not overrun by the Muslims in the 7th and 8th centuries is not to be found in the fact that tradition judged favourably on the Nadjāshī and his land, but in the fact that Abyssinia could only be reached through naval expeditions, a technique not well developed in early Islam. Another reason may have been that the Nadjāshī's kingdom was poor in comparison with the Byzantine and Sasanid empires (Hourani, *Arab seafaring*, 46). On the gradual penetration of Islam into the highlands of Ethiopia, see ḤABASH, ḤABASHA.

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NADJĀT, Mīr ʿAbd al-ʿĀl, a Persian poet, born about 1046/1636-7, the son of a Ḥusaynī Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad Muʾmin of Iṣfahān.

Little is known of his life. Only this much is certain, that he, like many other Persian poets of this time, worked in the offices of different Persian dignitaries. For example, he was a *mustawfī* [*q.v.*] with the *Ṣadr* Mirzā Ḥabīb Allāh, later occupied the same office in Astarābād and ended his career in 1126/1714 after being for many years *munshī* with the Ṣafawid princes Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1666-94) and Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-35/1694-1722). He owes his fame mainly to a long poem *Gul-i kushtī* ("The rose as a challenge to fighting") which he finished in 1112/1700-1 and which deals with the theme of the *zūr-khāna* [*q.v.*] still very popular in Persia. As the Persian athletes still form a special closed corporation they use a special language (an argot) which is full of the technical terms of their art and is not intelligible to the outsider. Nadjāt used these technical terms very skilfully in his poem, which makes it very difficult for laymen to understand. This produced several commentaries on his work, of which those of Ārzū, Ratan Singh Zakhmī (printed Lucknow 1258/1842) and Gobind-Rām (lith. Murādābād 1884) are the best known. Of Nadjāt's contemporaries, some did not approve of his peculiar style and thought his poem degraded the poet's art with its vulgar expressions and low humour. As a matter of fact, Nadjāt's tone suffers considerably from the traditional lofty style of Persian court poetry and approaches the language of the Persian middle classes; this makes his work of considerable importance for the history of the Persian language. Besides the poem, we only know of a collection of lyrics by Nadjāt of which there are manuscripts in several libraries (see below).

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NADJĀTĪ [see nedjātī].

NADJD (a. "uplands"), conventionally defined as the plateau region of the Arabian peninsula lying to the east of the Red Sea lowlands (al-Tihāma [*q.v.*]) and the mountain barrier running down through the western side of the peninsula (al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*]).

1. Geography and habitat.

The exact application of this originally topographical conception is very differently understood, and sometimes it means more generally the elevated country above the coastal plain or the extensive country, the upper part of which is formed by the Tihāma and the Yaman and the lower by Syria and ʿIrāḳ, or the part of Arabia which stretches from the frontiers of al-Yamāma to al-Madīna and thence across the desert from al-Baṣra to Baḥrayn on the Persian Gulf (al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal) or the territory between ʿIrāḳ (al-ʿUdhayb) and Dhāt ʿIrḳ (Ibn Khurradādhbih) or from ʿIrāḳ to al-Tihāma (Ḳudāma) or the land which lies behind the so-called Ditch of Chosroes (Kisrā) as far as the Ḥarra (al-Bāhil), or lastly, the territory between the depression of the Wādi 'l-Rumma and the slopes of Dhāt ʿIrḳ (al-Aṣmaʿī). That originally the name was applied to the plateau only is evident not only from the fact that Nadjd appears in combination with various place-names; thus al-Aṣmāʿī (Yāḳūt, iv, 745) knows of Nadjd Barḳ (in al-Yamāma), Nadjd ʿUfr, Nadjd Kabkab (near ʿArafāt), Nadjd Marīʿ (in the Yaman), al-Bakrī (ii, 574) besides the three last named mentions Nadjd al-Yaman, Yāḳūt (iv, 750-1) further mentions Nadjd al-Ḥidjāz, Nadjd Alwadh in the country of Hudhayl, Nadjd al-Sharā, and al-Hamdānī (55) Nadjd Ḥimyar and Nadjd Madhḥidj along with a number of places not otherwise known which are combined with Nadjd. Al-Hamdānī (177) further makes a distinction between upper Nadjd (*Nadjd al-ʿUlyā*) which is regarded as Nadjd proper (*al-Nadjd*) and in which he includes the district (*kūra*) of Djurash and the town of Yabambam, and lower Nadjd (*Nadjd al-Suflā*) which is described as *Arḍ Nadjd* and with the Ḥidjāz and al-ʿArūḍ forms Central Arabia ($1,_{5}$-2, $36,_{18}$-37), the territory in which pure Arabic is spoken ($136,_{18}$-137). The original meaning is also seen in the dual Nadjdān[i], which, it is interesting to note, is used for two mountains in the Adjaʾ range, as well as in the place-name Nadjdā Marīʿ and in the spring pasture ground Nadjdān[i] in the land of the Khathʿam mentioned by the poet Ḥumayd b. Thawr (Yāḳūt, iv, 745).

That the wide interpretation of the name Nadjd above given is not unjustified is shown by the foundation in the second half of the 5th century A.D. by al-Ḥārith, chief of the Kinda, of a short-lived kingdom which extended from the Syrian *limes* and Medina to al-Yamāma or from the hill of Ṭumīya in the N.E. on the Wādi 'l-Rumma to Dhāt ʿIrḳ. At a later date, the whole of al-Nadjd belonged to the administrative district of al-Yamāma (Yāḳūt, iv, 746).

The widest idea to which the name Nadjd has ever been applied is probably that of the present kingdom of Saudi (Suʿūdī) Arabia, which owes its origin to the Wahhābī chief ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd, who, as Amīr of Nadjd conquered al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*] in 1903, was chosen as ruler of Nadjd and the adjoining lands in the summer of 1921, on 10 January 1926 conquered the Ḥidjāz and on 19 January 1927 was proclaimed king of Nadjd and its dependencies at al-Riyāḍ. The northern frontier of his territories, which was delineated by treaties between the ruler of Nadjd with ʿIrāḳ and Great Britain on the one side (signed at ʿUḳayr on 2 December 1922) and Nadjd, Great Britain and Transjordan on the other (signed on 2 November 1925 at Ḥadda in the Ḥidjāz) runs along the neutral zone between Nadjd and ʿIrāḳ (29-30°N. lat. and 45-46°E. long.) and is then continued in a line running N. and N.W. to the intersection of 39°E. long. and 32°N. lat. and leaves the Djabal ʿAnēze on its north, then S.W. to the Wādī

Radjil and passing through the S.E. the point where 38°E. long. and 30°N. lat. intersect. The Wādī Sirḥān is thus still in Nadjd. This line continues towards the south from 25' to 38°E. long. and crosses the former Ḥidjāz railway towards ʿAḳaba. The extent of the territory is estimated at 900,000 square miles. The capital is al-Riyāḍ; the more important towns are Burayda (Berēde), ʿAnayza (ʿAnēze), Ḥāʾil (Ḥāyil), Tharmala, Shaḳrā, Madjmaʿa, Ḥuraymala (Ḥarēmle), al-Hufhūf and al-Ḳaṭīf. The population, which with the exception of al-Ḥasā with a considerable number of Shīʿīs, has almost entirely adopted Wahhābism, belongs to the tribes of Muṭayr (Meṭēr), Ḥarb, ʿUtayba (ʿAtēbe), Subayʿ, Dawāsir, al-ʿUdjmān, al-ʿAwāzim, al-Suhūl, Banī Murra and Ḳaḥṭān [see further, SUʿŪD, AL-].

The North Arabian Nadjd forms a part of the great desert plateau, which is formed of primary rock with overlying sandstone and volcanic outbursts and has two great mountain ranges running through it; that in the north is about 64 km/40 miles long and at its northeastern end some 1,470 m/4,500 feet high, known in ancient times as Djabal Ṭayyiʾ or Djabalā Ṭayyiʾ, i.e. Adjaʾ and Salmā (al-Hamdānī, 125_{15}) is now called Djabal Shammar or Djabal Idjā (Adjaʾ).

Both ranges, which rise out of a table land levelled by weathering, are of granite. The Djabal Adjaʾ stretches from N.N.E. to S.S.W., about 56km/35 miles S.E. of it in approximately the same direction the Djabal Salmā, in front of which in the S.W. lies the Djabal Ramān, while S.E. of the Djabal Salmā lies the Ḥarra of Fayd, of volcanic origin.

S.E. of this rises the sandstone plateau, overlaid with limestone, of Djabal Ṭuwayḳ (Ṭuēḳ) running N.W. to S.E., which forms the western declivity of a plateau which has come into existence through weathering and slopes towards the Persian Gulf on the one side and the sands of the desert of Rubʿ al-Khālī on then other. It begins S.E. of the district of al-Ḳaṣīm (S.E. of the Ḥarra) and stretches E. from al-Washm to al-ʿĀriḍ with the town of al-Riyāḍ and then turns, west of the Khardj oasis, S.S.W. towards the Wādī 'l-Dawāsir. The most important peak on this edge of the plateau is the Djabal ʿAmmāriyya or Djidd, which towers some 152m/500 feet above the ridge usually 610-1070 m/2,000-3,500 feet high. The long southern part of the Ṭuwayḳ is intersected by numerous *wādīs* which lead the water that falls in the rainy season to the Rubʿ al-Khālī. Its most important part is the Aflādj, 64 km/40 miles long, with the oasis of Layla.

Nadjd is in the main steppe and desert. The Nafūd and Dahnāʾ [*q.vv.*] occupy the greater part of northern Nadjd, while the Rubʿ al-Khālī joins them on the S.E. There are no perennial streams in Nadjd, so that the country has to rely upon subterranean channels of supply which are at various depths and have to be reached by wells. In the oasis of al-Khardj the wells are from 6m to 12m/ 20 to 40 feet deep, in Aflādj 15 to 18m/50-60 feet, in Ḥāʾil and al-Riyāḍ about 24m/80 feet. Sometimes these springs form ponds, for example, in al-Khardj, the springs of which form three pools, the largest of which is 150 paces long and 80 broad (cf. the picture in Philby, ii, 34) while the springs of Aflādj feed a lake nearly a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad (Philby, ii, pl. at p. 86). These supplies sometimes dry up suddenly, probably because they have found a subterranean exit, as has happened in the case of two waterholes in Aflādj and the two larger ponds in al-Khardj. The hydrographic conditions of the country are therefore exceedingly dependent on the rainfall from the summer and winter rains. The former (*wasmī* or *maṭar al-ṣayf*) fall in August and September and particularly refresh the pastures which the summer sun has dried up, while the latter produce a springlike effect in the land on which they fall. The classic phrase *saḳā 'llāhᵘ Nadjdᵃⁿ min rabīʿⁱⁿ wa-ṣayfⁱⁿ* (al-Bakrī, ii, 627) eloquently sums up this state of affairs. Heavy rainfalls were also observed in April 1871 in the central Wādi 'l-Rumma and in May in ʿAnēze between Djabal Salmā and ʿAnēze (1884, Ch. Huber), and Philby (ii, 10) noticed thunder showers in May as well as drizzle, while Doughty met with hail at Khabra (near ʿAnēze) in April. That the climate here cannot have changed very much is evident from Ibn Djubayr, who records very heavy showers in this district in Ṣafar 584/April 1184. Huber met with rain in June 1884 between ʿAnēze and Mecca, Sadlier at the end of July 1819 between al-Ḥasā and Ḍarʿiyya heavy thunderstorms and rain, which however was described by the natives as unprecedented. Philby (i, 141, 147) records thunder and rain in December. The rainwater collects in the hollows below the thick layer of sand and enables palms to grow and also, on chemically decomposed fertile soil, wheat and barley, vegetables and fruit trees. The hot summer of course everywhere makes it necessary to water the crops from wells. On the other hand, the frequently very sudden flooding of the water-courses led in quite early times to the building of dams to hold back and store the water; such were built in the Wādī 'l-Rumma at ʿAneize (al-Bakrī, i, 207; Yāḳūt, iii, 738), Ḍarʿiyya (al-Bakrī, ii, 637) and on the road from al-Yamāma to ʿAneize (al-Hamadhānī, 174, 192). Doughty found remains of such dams in the Djabal Adjaʾ.

The district of al-Sharaf is the richest part of al-Nadjd, and the valleys of the Wādī 'l-Djarīr and Wādī 'l-Miyāh are celebrated for their pastures. Here the early caliphs had vast grazing grounds (*ḥimā*) e.g. in Ḍarʿiyya [see AL-DIRʿIYYA], al-Rabadha [*q.v.*], Fayd [*q.v.* in Suppl.], al-Nīr, Dhu 'l-Sharā and Naḳīʿ. The most famous was that of Ḍarʿiyya, where the caliph ʿUmar I secured an area six Arab miles in diameter as pasture for 300 horses and 30,000 camels for the army. ʿUthmān extended this area until the diameter was ten miles. The ʿAbbāsid al-Mahdī abandoned it, as the policy of this dynasty was to neglect Arabia deliberately, in contrast to the Umayyads who, for example, intensively colonised western Nadjd. In the 6th century A.D. Nadjd was still well wooded, and al-Sharuba, south of the Wādī 'l-Rumma, and Wadjra were particularly celebrated in this respect, while at the present day they only possess scanty remnants of these forests. Many areas seem to have been ruined by drought or disastrous inundations (Philby, i, 115; ii, 9); the decline of al-Yamāma is probably due to the latter cause. Crops are sometimes damaged by sharp frosts—in winter (January) the temperature sometimes sinks from a maximum of 53° F. by day to below 23° and ice and snow have been occasionally seen at the higher levels—while the summer drought with a maximum temperature of 113° destroys the crops. The two most important *wādīs* are the Wādī 'l-Rumma about 650 miles long, which runs right across the plateau of North Arabia, rising in the Ḥarra of Khaybar and entering the Euphrates plain at Baṣra, and the Wādī 'l-Dawāsir. These have formed since ancient times the two main routes of traffic in Central Arabia.

With the aim of sedentarising the Bedouin, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd established in Nadjd, in the first quarter of the present century, settlements called *hidjra*, pl. *hidjar*; on these, see AL-HIDJAR and J.S.

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2. History. See AL-ᶜARAB, DJAZĪRAT, vii.

3. The period since the development of the oil industry.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was proclaimed on 22 September 1932, and the east of the country was allotted for oil exploration to Standard Oil of California (later operating within Aramco) in 1933, thus setting the political and economic stages for the development of the country as one of the world's most important oil economies during the following decades.

Saudi Arabia's greatest oilfields are found mainly in the east of the country, but Nadjd, in the contemporary period named Central Province, including al-Riyāḍ, al-Ḳaṣīm and Ḥāʾil [*q.vv.*] districts loosely extending over the region traditionally called Nadjd, has benefited from the rapid expansion of the oil industry which began in earnest during the 1950s. Crude oil, natural gas and oil products have been made readily available in Nadjd as part of a deliberate national policy. An oil pipeline was built from al-Dammām [*q.v.*] to al-Riyāḍ refinery, while during the 1970s Petroline carried crude from the east to the west coast via Nadjd, making oil available for industrial and related developments on a large scale. More important than the direct effects of the oil industry was the growing amount of government expenditures within a series of economic development plans permitted by augmenting oil revenues, especially in the years after 1973. Nadjd was central to this development process, containing the capital, al-Riyāḍ, and receiving earliest and most favoured treatment in the allocation of financial resources.

Agriculture retains importance in the oases and smaller towns of the Nadjd. Good quality dates are grown in the oases. Other crops include wheat and barley, while the livestock holding in the region is large and increasing. A modern dairy industry containing a third of all the kingdom's cattle, is based on al-Khardj [*q.v.*]. Al-Riyāḍ has one of the most rapidly growing populations of the country, totalling 1.3 million in 1987. Many of the small villages around al-Riyāḍ have been absorbed into the metropolitan area. The greatest growth of the city is taking place through immigrants concentrating in the areas around the railway station and the adjacent industrial area. Recent development has been notable along the airport road and in the vicinity of the royal palace at al-Nāṣiriyya. Principal employers in al-Riyāḍ are the expanding government ministries and official agencies. Marked expansion is characteristic of all other towns of Nadjd area.

In all, the population of the Central Province was put at 3.6 million in 1985. Well over half of the Nadjd's population is urban resident, and approximately a quarter of the urban dwellers are foreign immigrants. Nadjd is favoured by recent transportation development. A railway was opened between al-Riyāḍ and al-Dammām in 1951, while al-Riyāḍ is the central node of the trans-Arabian highway completed in 1957 and of the remainder of the national road network.

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NADJDA B. ᶜĀMIR [see NADJADĀT].

NADJDJĀR, carpenter [see KHASHAB, MASHRABIYYA, etc.].

AL-**NADJDJĀR**, AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD ABŪ ᶜABD ALLĀH, Murdjiʾī Djabrī theologian of the period of al-Maʾmūn. Born in the city of Bamm, he apparently grew up there as well, and worked as a weaver at the embroidery house (*dār al-ṭirāz*); according to another version, he worked at a factory which

produced metal weights. The sources are silent with regard to the dates of his birth and death; however, if we accept as true the report that he died of sorrow over his argument with al-Naẓẓām, the Muʿtazilī theologian, it is reasonable to assume that al-Nadjdjār died after the end of the third decade of the 3rd/9th century.

Al-Nadjdjār's doctrine became well-known towards the end of the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) in the region of Rayy in the eastern provinces, in the shadow of the Ṭāhirid line of governors. Although he was still alive at the beginning of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] or inquisition, we have no proof that he himself took part in it, as did his teacher and contemporary Bishr al-Marīsī [*q.v.*]. But there is no doubt that his opinions contributed to the spread of the inquisition, through his follower, the theologian Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, known as Burghūth [*q.v.*], who was invited to Baghdād from Baṣra by al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42), together with Muʿtazilī theologians, in order to participate in the controversy with the leader of the traditionalist party Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; his active role and tough stance was a considerable burden to the persecuted *imām*.

The very fact that al-Nadjdjār was a follower and pupil of the Murdjiʾite theologian Bishr al-Marīsī, did not prevent him from being influenced in certain issues by the opinions of Ḍirār b. ʿAmr [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who wrote a number of books attacking the Murdjiʾa, although al-Nadjdjār did not follow Ḍirār blindly. He rejected a number of his opinions, presenting totally contradictory opinions in their place. His circle of sources was not limited to these two figures; rather, it was broad enough to include as Ibāḍī and Ḥanafī sources, but his openness to a variety of viewpoints was not enough to remove him from the ideological framework characterised by the school headed by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr.

However, this was not the picture of al-Nadjdjār painted by Islamic heresiographic literature. Reports concerning his doctrinal identity are not unanimous: while al-Ashʿarī classifies him amongst the Murdjiʾa, al-Shahrastānī places him amongst the Djabriyya "determinists", and stresses that most of the Muʿtazila around the Rayy region were faithful to his doctrine. On the other hand, several reports associate him decisively with the Muʿtazila, while others classify him and his followers as belonging to the *ahl al-ithbāt* "the affirmationists", i.e. those who affirm God's *ḳadar*. (It is reasonable to assume that the *ahl al-ithbāt* were those who emphasised the createdness of the Ḳurʾān.) The lack of unanimity regarding al-Nadjdjār's views undoubtedly stems from the fact that his opinions on the theological questions which interested the *ahl al-kalām* were not all alike: on some issues his opinions suited those of the *ahl al-sunna*, while on others they suited the views of the Muʿtazila, as reflected in the heresiographic works that have reached us, which enumerate the points of discord and of accord between al-Nadjdjār on the one hand and the two opposing doctrines on the other. Disputes on various occasions between al-Nadjdjār and his follower Burghūth, on the one hand, and the two Muʿtazilīs Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām and Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf [*q.vv.*] on the other, as well as the keen argument between Burghūth and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, not only corroborate reports regarding the doctrinal dispute between him and them; they also point to the independent orientation which characterises the man and his doctrine. The stormy dispute between al-Nadjdjār and upholders of the Sunnī doctrine lacked the power to distort the ideological proximity bonding some of the basic principles common to both doctrines; the scholars of the Sunna continued to consider al-Nadjdjār the closest to them amongst all the other doctrinal streams; on certain issues his views were even adopted by al-Ashʿarī, and it is reasonable to assume that because of this relationship, al-Nadjdjār's opinions were preserved and did not vanish. But his views, as reported by the heresiographers, were not well-formed enough and were even quoted in a disjointed and out-of-context fashion, whence the lack of clarity which characterises his opinions with regard to certain issues. Nor is the long list of monographs attributed to him able to dispel this lack of clarity.

Nevertheless, the general account of his views as represented in the heresiographical works may help to identify the main concepts distinguishing him from the contemporary theologians. Faith (*īmān*), according to him, consists in the knowledge of God, of His apostles and His commandments and in the profession of this knowledge by the mouth. It consists of several qualities (*khiṣāl*), each of which is an act of obedience (*ṭāʿa*); complete faith is the sum of all the *ṭāʿāt*. Faith may increase but not diminish; it can be completely lost only through unbelief. Al-Nadjdjār's concept of faith is closer to the Sunnī one, but it is not the same as that of the Murdjiʾa. Concerning the attributes of God (*ṣifāt*), al-Nadjdjār has a special stand which differs from that of the proponents of the Sunna and the Muʿtazila; he has taken over Ḍirār's view of the negative character of the divine attributes, claiming, for example, that God is ceaselessly generous (*lam yazal djawād^an^*) in that avarice is denied of Him. (This theory of the negative character is not Islamic; its origins are related to Albinus of the 2nd century A.D., and it seems that this idea became known to Muslim theologians through Plotinus' works; see ʿAbd al-Madjīd ʿIrfān, *Dirāsāt al-firaḳ wa 'l-ʿaḳāʾid*, Baghdād 1967.) He also maintains Ḍirār's doctrine concerning God's quiddity (*māhiyya*) but rejects his innovation of the sixth sense as a means of seeing God on the Resurrection Day; instead, he maintains that the eye may be given the power of knowing. As for human power (*istiṭāʿa*), introduced as an atomistic conception in contrast to Ḍirār's view, he claims that power never precedes an act but accompanies it; for each act there is a power originated when the act is originated, and the power does not endure. According to him, the body consists of assembled accidents (*aʿrāḍ mudjtamiʿa*); those accidents which do not form part of the body do not endure. This view was probably developed by Ḍirār and then adopted by al-Nadjdjār and some Ibāḍī theologians.

In accordance with his deterministic orientation, al-Nadjdjār presumed that all that takes place in the world comes from the incessant and unrestricted activity of God; He who creates the actions of man, who himself can do nothing to avoid the will of God. But God is able to do favour (*luṭf*) by which the unbeliever becomes believer. The activity of man is restricted to *kasb*, i.e. to his appropriation of divine will. Like the Muʿtazila, he presumed that he who commits a heinous sin is doomed to Hell, but (in contrast to the view of the latter) will emerge from there. Moreover, like Bishr al-Marīsī, his master, he claimed that infidels would not remain forever in Hell; similarly, believers not deserving an eternal stay in Paradise would not remain there forever. He also denied the punishment of the tomb (*ʿadhāb al-ḳabr* [*q.v.*]), probably because of his deterministic tendency. As for the word of God (*kalām Allāh*), he maintains like Bishr that it is created; is is accidental (*ʿaraḍ*) when it is read, and it is body (*djism*) when it is written. Clearly, al-

Nadjdjār was a prominent thinker whose views influenced the Muʿtazila in their formative period by his keen opposition to some of their views. In the meantime, his opinions paved the way for the Sunnī scholars' defence of their doctrine on the basis of reasoned arguments which were unavailable before him.

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(H.S. NYBERG-[KHALĪL ʿATHĀMINA])

AL-**NADJDJĀRIYYA**, also called AL-ḤUSAYNIYYA, the followers of al-Ḥusayn al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*], an early, specifically Ḥanafī sect of *kalām* (see W. Madelung, *Religious trends in early Islamic Iran*, Albany 1988, 29) which flourished during the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), and whose representatives took part in the controversies throughout the course of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] or inquisition. But this doctrine, unlike the Muʿtazila, was compelled to withdraw from Baghdād and from the borders of ʿIrāḳ and to move on to the eastern provinces in the wake of the abolition of the *miḥna* by al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) and the bold reaction of adherents of the Sunna against opposing doctrines. There, and particularly in the provinces of Rayy, Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān, the Nadjdjāriyya took root and even attracted a large following; testimony from the 4th/10th century shows that it became one of the four main doctrines in those provinces, at a time when its followers had dwindled to a very small minority in Baghdād, although the doctrine had not completely disappeared there.

Heresiographers are not unanimous in their classification of the followers of this doctrine: in one case they classify them as Muʿtazila and in another as Murdjiʾa—a situation which probably arises from the fact that this doctrine presents opinions identical to those of other doctrines on specific theological subjects. Particularly prominent are reports which emphasise the connection between the Nadjdjāriyya and the doctrine attributed to Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], a context which is undoubtedly intended to discredit the doctrine in the eyes of its opponents. Still, there are reasonable grounds to assume that the eminent proponents of this doctrine were part of the group of theologians known as *ahl al-ithbāt* "those who affirm God's *ḳadar*". Nevertheless, and despite the diversity of the origins of the ideas of al-Nadjdjār, who founded this doctrine, it is possible to discern the independent orientation of this group, which cultivated its own unique theological principles and which had its own characteristic traits. The Nadjdjāriyya, like other doctrines, gave rise to various sectarian sub-groups—in this case over ten of them—the most prominent of which was known as Burghūthiyya, named after Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā Burghūth [*q.v.*], who disagreed with al-Nadjdjār on the question of *mutawallidāt* "generated effects", attributing them to the nature (*ṭabʿ*) concealed by God within objects themselves. He also disagreed with al-Nadjdjār on the question of *iktisāb*, "acquisition", claiming that one who acquires an act cannot be called the doer (*fāʿil*) of it.

A second sub-group was known as Zaʿfarāniyya, composed of the followers of a man known as Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Zaʿfarānī. This group disagreed with the mainstream with regard to the matter of the createdness of the Ḳurʾān and developed paradoxical opinions in this context; they displayed extreme enmity toward the Muʿtazila in the region of Rayy.

A third sub-group was known as Mustadrika, "revisionists", and these developed contradictory opinions on the same question and displayed considerable admiration toward the first generations of Islam.

Despite the controversy which evolved amongst the various streams, all of them remained loyal to certain fundamental principles which al-Nadjdjār, in particular, had established: the rejection of divine attributes and the notions that seeing God is impossible and that the divine word is created.

Bibliography: See that for AL-NADJDJĀR.

(KHALĪL ʿATHAMINA)

NĀDJĪ, IBRĀHĪM (1898-1953), influential Egyptian Romantic poet. He graduated from the Medical School in 1923, going into private practice. He was then employed by Egyptian Railways, and later became Director of the Medical Department of the Ministry of *Waḳfs*. He associated with and influenced the Romantic poets ʿAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī al-Hamsharī and Ṣāliḥ Djawdat, like him all connected with the *Apollo* magazine, founded

by Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī [*q.v.*] in 1932. An outstanding lyrical poet, much of his work concerns his personal relationships, in particular his second collection *Layālī al-Ḳāhira* (Cairo n.d. and 1988). According to Jayyusi (*Trends*, 397) "he restored to Arabic love poetry, a tenderness, a sustained devotion and a direct, uncomplicated, even humble approach unknown since the days of the bedouin Umayyad poets." His first *dīwān*, *Warā᾽ al-ghamām* (Cairo 1934, Beirut 1973, Beirut-Cairo 1983) shows the influence of the English romantics. The third, *al-Ṭā᾽ir al-djarīḥ*, was published posthumously (Cairo n.d. and 1983, Beirut 1973). His by no means complete poetic works, *Dīwān Nādjī* (Cairo 1961), mistakenly includes poems by Kamāl Nash᾽at. Further *dīwān*s have appeared, *Dīwān Ibrāhīm Nādjī* (Beirut 1973, 1980 and 1988), as has other poetry, *Fī maʿbad al-layl* (Beirut 197?, Beirut-Cairo 1983), and *Ḳaṣā᾽id madjhūla* (Cairo 1958). Amongst other works he translated Dostoyevsky's *Crime and punishment*, and poetry by Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du mal* (Cairo 1954). Though editor of *al-Ḳiṣṣa* magazine, his fictional writing is of much less importance. He founded the monthly medical magazine *Ḥakīm al-Bayt* in 1934.

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NADJĪB (Neguib) [see muḥammad nadjīb].

NADJĪB b. Sulaymān al-**ḤADDĀD** (1867-99). Syro-Egyptian journalist, poet, novelist, playwright and prolific translator, born in Beirut. His family moved to Alexandria in 1873. He was a journalist on *al-Ahrām* for more than ten years, founded the *Lisān al-ʿArab* and *al-Salām* newspapers, and edited the *Anīs al-Djalīs* magazine. Considered an excellent poet, his youthful *dīwān* was published as *Tadhkār al-ṣibā* and later selections from his poetry and prose appeared. One of the most competent translators of the period, he translated fiction by Alexandre Dumas *père*, Lamartine and others. His greatest contribution to literature was, however, his twenty or so plays, written in prose and verse in literary Arabic, into which he interpolated songs. These did much to invigorate the theatre in Egypt at the turn of the century. Amongst his own works were his popular *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī*, inspired by Walter Scott's *Talisman*; a tragedy *ʿAmr b. ʿAdī*; *al-Mahdī*; and a drama about Iphigenia, *al-Radjā᾽ baʿd al-ya᾽s*. His usually faithful, if melodramatic, adaptations include the classical tragedies of Corneille, *Le Cid, Oedipe* and *Cinna*; Victor Hugo's *Les Burgraves/Thārāt al-ʿArab*, and *Hernani/Ḥamdān*; Molières *L'avare* and *Le médecin malgré lui*; Racine's drama *Bérénice*, and the tragedies *Phèdre* and *La Thebaïde*; Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet/Shuhadā᾽ al-gharām*; Voltaire's *Oedipe* and tragedy *Zaire*. The actor Salāma Ḥidjāzī's performance as Romeo became the talk of the town. Most plays were published, and five of his adaptations have been reissued in Muḥammad Yūsuf Nadjm's *al-Masraḥ al-ʿArabī*, vi (Beirut 1966). His plays, performed by all the leading troupes, remained popular for a decade or so after his death.

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NADJĪB al-**DAWLA**, Afghān commander in northern India during the 18th century, whose power-base was in Rohilkand, where he founded the town of Nadjībābād [*q.v.*].

Involved in the confused struggles for power in Dihlī during the reigns of the *fainéant* Mughal Emperors Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur [*q.v.*] and ʿĀlamgīr II in the 1750s, as opponent of the *Nawwāb-wazīr* of Awadh (Oudh) [*q.v.*] Ṣafdār Djang, he worked closely with the Afghān ruler Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] and received from him in 1757 the title of *amīr al-umarā᾽* and custodianship of the Emperor ʿĀlamgīr II. At this period, strong pressure was being exerted on the Muslims' position by the expansionist Marāthas [*q.v.*], and in 1759 Nadjīb al-Dawla invited Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī to intervene in India for a fourth time, himself fighting at the third battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*] (14 January 1761), when the Marāthās were decisively crushed. Over the next few years, he became regent and virtual ruler for the puppet Shāh ʿĀlam II, holding the title also of *Mīr Bakhshī*. His main preoccupation was to ward off the militant Sikhs from the upper Dōāb and to stem pressure from the Djāt ruler Suradj Mal and his successors (repelled in 1765). He thus managed, with consummate military skill and diplomacy, to maintain the integrity of the truncated Mughal empire before retiring with failing health to Nadjībābād (March 1768), leaving power in the hands of his deputy Ḍābiṭa Khān. But a new, massive Marāthā invasion of Hindūstān in 1770 brought him back to negotiate a settlement with them just before he died in October 1770.

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NADJĪB MUḤAMMAD SURŪR (1932-78), a leading experimental Egyptian dramatist, director, actor and poet. He studied law at the College of Law and drama in Cairo and Moscow, working for several years in the Arabic section of Radio Moscow. Back in Cairo from 1964 onwards, in a flourishing era of Egyptian theatre, using Brechtian devices, he utilised the Egyptian folk heritage and music, and classical and modern poetry as source material for his colloquial plays, telling the story of the struggle of the ordinary Egyptian people for social justice against foreign and local forces of oppression. In his verse tragedies, *Yāsīn wa-Bahiyya, Yā Sittī Bahiyya, Yā Bahiyya wa khabbirīnī* (published in his critical work *Ḥiwār fī 'l-masraḥ*, Cairo 1969), *Āh, yā layl, yā ḳamar*, he tells the epic story of the eponymous ill-fated lovers. In the seventies his plays *Ḳūlū li-ʿAyn al-Shams* and *al-Kalimāt al-mutaḳāṭiʿa* (unpublished), were performed. Several of his dramas, the tragic folk tale of Ḥasan and Naʿīma *Min ayn agīb nās?*, the prose play *al-Ḥukm ḳabl al-mudāwala*, and *al-Dhubāb al-Azraḳ* (unpublished), on the aftermath of Black September, were not performed in his life time. He translated and directed Chekhov and successfully adapted Bertolt

Brecht's *The Threepenny Opera* (1928)/*Malik al-shaḥḥātīn*, setting it at the time of the British occupation of Egypt. Four *dīwāns* of his poetry, *al-Trādjīdiyā al-insāniyya*, *Luzūm mā yalzam*, *Brūtūkūlāt ḥukamāʾ Rīsh*, and *Rubāʿiyyāt* have been published. His short caustic articles about cultural life in Egypt have appeared as *Hākadhā ḳāl Djuḥā*.

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(P.C. SADGROVE)

NADJĪBĀBĀD, a town in the western part of the Rohilkhand region of modern Uttar Pradesh state in India (lat. 29° 37′ N., long. 78° 19′E.), the centre of a *taḥsīl* of the same name in the Bijnor District. The town was founded by the Afghān commander and *wazīr* of the Mughal Emperors, Nadjīb al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who in 1168/1755 built a fort, Patthagaṛh, one mile to the east. Sacked by the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*] in 1186/1772, it passed two years later to the *Nawwābs* of Awadh [*q.v.*] (Oudh). Nadjīb al-Dawla's great-grandson Maḥmūd participated in the Great Rebellion of 1857-8, and his palace was destroyed. In 1901 the population of the town was 40% Muslim. According to the 1961 census, the total population was 34,310.

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NADJIS (A.), impure, the opposite of *ṭāhir* [see ṬAHĀRA]. According to the Shāfiʿī doctrine, as systematised by al-Nawawī (*Minhādj*, i, 36 ff.; cf. Ghazālī, *al-Wadjīz*, i, 6-7), the following are the things impure in themselves (*nadjāsāt*): wine and other spirituous drinks, dogs, swine, *mayta*, blood and excrements; and milk of animals whose flesh is not eaten.

Regarding these groups, the following may be remarked. On wine and other spirituous drinks cf. the arts. KHAMR and NABĪDH.—Dogs are not declared impure in the Ḳurʾān; on the contrary, in the description of the sleepers in sūra XVIII [see AL-KAHF] the dog is included (verses 17, 21). In *Ḥadīth*, however, the general attitude against dogs is very strong, as may be seen in KALB. Goldziher considered this change due to an attitude of conscious contrast (*mukhālafa*) to the estimation of dogs in Zoroastrianism. It must not, however, be forgotten that the Jews also declared dogs to be impure animals, just as were swine. The latter are already declared forbidden food in the Ḳurʾān (XVI, 116; VI, 146; V, 4; II, 168). Regarding the eating of meat which has not been ritually slaughtered, see MAYTA. Blood is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (XVI, 116; VI, 146; V, 4; II, 168) as prohibited food; for the religious background of this prohibition see DAM in Suppl. As for excrements, and several kinds of secretions of the body, the theory and practice of Jews and Christians sufficiently explain the attitude of Islam in this respect. It must also be admitted, though data are very scarce, that in early Arabia religious impurity included some of these things. Details are to be found in the large legal works of each of the *madhhabs* (see *Bibl.*).

Of the differences of the schools regarding this subject, the most important only may be mentioned. Spirituous drinks are not impure according to the Ḥanafīs [see NABĪDH]. Living swine are not impure according to the Mālikīs. The Shīʿa add to the things mentioned above the human corpse and the infidels. The human corpse was one of the chief sources of impurity according to Jewish ideas (cf. already Num., xix). A current in early Islam tending to follow the Jewish customs in ceremonial law was very strong; the Shīʿī view regarding the human corpse may be a residuum of it. The impurity of infidels is based upon sūra IX, 28, where the polytheists are declared to be filth (*nadjas*). The Sunnī schools do not follow the Shīʿa in the exegesis of this verse.

The *nadjāsāt* enumerated above cannot be purified, in contradistinction to things which are defiled only (*mutanadjdjis*), with the exception of wine, which becomes pure when made into vinegar, and of hides, which are purified by tanning. On purification, see ṬAHĀRA, GHUSL, WUḌŪʾ.

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(A.J. WENSINCK)

NADJM AL-DĪN KUBRĀ [see KUBRĀ].

NADJM AL-DĪN RĀZĪ DĀYA, Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Shahāwar Asadī (573-654/1177-1256), Ṣūfī of the Kubrawī order [see KUBRĀ, NADJM AL-DĪN] and author of several important works in Persian and Arabic. He left his native city of Rayy at the age of twenty-six and travelled widely in Syria, Egypt, the Ḥidjāz, ʿIrāḳ, and Ādharbāydjān. He ultimately turned eastwards, passing through Nīshāpūr before arriving in Khʷārazm where he became a *murīd* of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā [*q.v.*], eponym of the Kubrawiyya. Kubrā assigned his training to a senior disciple, Madjd al-Dīn Baghdādī (d. 607/1204), and it is to him that Dāya refers as "our *shaykh*". He is strangely silent concerning Kubrā himself, although he sometimes cites the Persian quatrains that are attributed to him.

At a date that cannot be precisely determined, Dāya—clearly a restless man, even by the peripatetic standards of the age—left Khʷārazm to resume his wanderings in western Persia. Sensing the onset of the Mongol storm, he abandoned his family in Rayy (by his own admission), and after a return visit to the Ḥidjāz travelled by way of Hamadān, Irbīl and Diyārbakr to central Anatolia, arriving in Kayseri in Ramaḍān 618/October 1221.

Saldjūḳ-ruled Anatolia offered a haven to many scholars and mystics, and among those Dāya is reputed to have encountered there were Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūn(y)awī, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Awḥad al-Dīn

Kirmānī. The first figure of note he met was Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Suhrawardī; Dāya crossed paths with him in Malaṭya as the latter was returning from a mission to the Saldjūḳ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād [*q.v.*] on behalf of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh. According to Dāya, Suhrawardī suggested to him that he compose a work on Ṣūfism and present it to Kayḳubād in order to gain his patronage. However, Ibn Bībī's chronicle of the Saldjūḳs reports not only that Dāya had completed the work in question—*Mirṣād al-ʿibād ilā ʾl-mabdaʾ wa ʾl-maʿād*—before his arrival in Malaṭya but also that he had already decided to dedicate it to Kayḳubād (*Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure*, Turkish text, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1902, 226). The two recensions in which the *Mirṣād* exists may explain the contradiction. One was completed soon after his arrival in Kayseri and intended as "a gift to true seekers and veracious lovers", and the other in Sivas, in Radjab 620/August 1223, dedicated to Kayḳubād.

Despite the generally acknowledged excellence of the *Mirṣād* and the encomium to Kayḳubād with which it concludes, Dāya was evidently disappointed by his reception in the Saldjūḳ capital of Konya, for before long he moved on to Erzincan. There he composed another work in Persian, *Marmūzāt-i Asadī dar mazmūrāt-i Dāwūdī*; the second half of the title contains an allusion to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Dāwūd, the Mengüček ruler of Erzincan. It seems that Dāya did not fare much better in Erzincan than in Konya. He quit Anatolia definitively less than four years after his arrival in Kayseri, and in 622/1225 we find him travelling from Baghdād to Tabrīz on a diplomatic mission for the caliph al-Ẓāhir. While in Tabrīz, Dāya met Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārazmshāh, who was fleeing before the Mongol invaders, and it was in the company of his ambassador, Ḳāḍī Mudjīr al-Dīn, that he returned to Baghdād. It was probably in Baghdād that he spent the rest of his life. He died there in 654/1256 and was buried in the Shunayziyya cemetery near such luminaries of Ṣūfism as Maʿrūf Karkhī and Djunayd Baghdādī.

Dāya trained no *murīds*, with a single exception, and his posthumous fame and influence were due entirely to his writings. Among them, the *Mirṣād* clearly stands out as a masterpiece, being comprehensive in its treatment of the major themes of Ṣūfism and written with a fluency, vigour and eloquence that qualify it for comparison with the best of classical Persian prose. Among its themes, logically and systematically arranged, are the origins of the various realms and orders of creation; prophethood and the different dimensions of religion; the ritual practices, mores and institutions of Ṣūfism; and the ways in which different professions and trades may yield spiritual benefit if properly practised. The interest of the Kubrawī masters in dreams, visions and the phenomenology of the Ṣūfī path is apparent on many pages of the *Mirṣād*, as is—more subtly and without direct attribution—the influence of Ibn ʿArabī.

The *Mirṣād* exercised wide and lasting influence throughout the lands where Persian was spoken or understood; manuscripts of it are numerous. It was known in India at least as early as the 8th/14th century, thanks to the efforts of the Čishtī order, and some hundred years later a Turkish translation was made for Sultan Murād II. It was known even in China; manuscripts of the work exist with marginal glosses in a North Chinese idiom written in the Arabic script. Echoes of the *Mirṣād* and quotations from it are to be found in a wide variety of Persian, Turkish and Pashto works.

The *Marmūzāt-i Asadī* may be characterised as a "special edition" of the *Mirṣād*. It contains much of the material of Dāya's masterpiece with the strictly Ṣūfī portion diminished and the sections on kingly power greatly expanded. Extant only in a single manuscript, the *Marmūzāt-i Asadī* appears not to have exerted great influence.

The second major work of Dāya consists of his contribution to a Ṣūfī *tafsīr*—known varyingly as *Baḥr al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, *ʿAyn al-ḥayāt*, and *al-Taʾwīlāt al-Nadjmiyya*—begun before him by Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā and completed after his death by another Kubrawī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī. Dāya took up this commentary at *Sūrat al-Baḳara* and was able to advance it as far as *Sūrat al-Nadjm*; the major portion of it is thus his. His relentless insistence on discovering metaphorical senses for nearly every verse of the Ḳurʾān sometimes verges on the arbitrary and the artificial, but there can be no denying the popularity and influence of the work. It has never been printed, but substantial portions of it are quoted in a *tafsīr* of which several printings do exist: the *Rūḥ al-bayān* of Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī al-Burūsawī.

Dāya also wrote several minor works, of which *Risāla-yi ʿIshḳ u ʿaḳl*—a preliminary essay for certain sections of the *Mirṣād*—deserves mention.

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(HAMID ALGAR)

NADJRĀN, a city in northern Yaman and a major urban centre in the Arabian Peninsula in ancient times. It was an agricultural, an industrial, and a trade centre, owing all this to the facts of geography. It was celebrated for its cereals, fruits and vegetables and also for its leather and textiles, situated as it was in the midst of a fertile *wādī*, which also bore the name Nadjrān. Its importance as a caravan city was owed to the fact that it was located at the intersection of two main caravan routes, one that ran from Ḥaḍramawt through Ḥidjāz to the eastern Mediterranean and another that ran to the northeast through Yamāma into Mesopotamia-ʿIrāḳ.

It was important enough early in the 4th century A.D. to attract the attention of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, "king of all the Arabs" (d. A.D. 328), and three centuries before, it was captured by Aelius Gallus, whom Augustus dispatched against South Arabia. But it was really in the 6th century that it attained international fame through an extraordinary sequence of events, the prime mover of which was the introduction of Christianity into the city in the previous century, by one of its native merchants (Ḥayyān or Ḥannān).

Although the initial Christian impulse came from Ḥīra, where Ḥayyān was baptised, other Christian missionary currents converged on Nadjrān from Byzantine Syria and from Ethiopia, all of which made Nadjrān the main centre of Christianity in South Arabia. Various Christian denominations existed side-by-side in Nadjrān, but Monophysitism was the one that prevailed.

Around A.D. 520 the Judaising king of Ḥimyar Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*] captured Nadjrān and faced its inhabitants with the dilemma of either apostasy or death. Consequently, many of the Christians of Nadjrān became martyrs. The Christian world, represented by Byzantium and Ethiopia, responded by sending a joint expedition against South Arabia, the former contributing a fleet, the latter an army, which under the command of Negus Ella-Aṣbeḥa conquered South Arabia around A.D. 525 and converted it into an Ethiopian dependency and a Byzantine sphere of influence for some fifty years. This half-century was the golden period in Nadjrān's history, during which it functioned as an Arabian martyropolis, a city of martyrs, a great pilgrimage centre for the Christians of the Peninsula. Monophysitism and the cult of relics in the 6th century received a great impetus from the blood and bones of so many martyrs in Nadjrān. The chief among them was al-Ḥārith b. Kaᶜb, the *sayyid* of the city and of the Arab tribe in Nadjrān; and as St. Arethas, he became a saint of the Universal Church whose feast is celebrated on 24 October. The chief Arab tribe in Nadjrān was also called al-Ḥārith b. Kaᶜb, (Balḥārith), and it most probably belonged to the large tribal group of al-Azd, to whom belonged the Ghassānids, the Arab allies of Byzantium in Oriens, Bilād al-Shām, and this tribal affinity was an important fact in the history of the Ghassānids. In this half-century, Nadjrān became a city of churches and monasteries, but above all the city of Kaᶜbat Nadjrān, the great martyrion to which the pilgrimage was performed. Its custodians were from Banū ᶜAbd al-Madān, the chief clan or house within the tribe of Balḥārith. Thus Nadjrān became the Holy City of the Christian Arabs at this time, and one of the holy cities of the Christian Orient, alongside Edessa in Mesopotamia, Etchmiadzin in Armenia and Axum in Ethiopia.

The year 570 brought about a sharp reverse in the fortunes of Nadjrān when the Persians occupied South Arabia. The region was no longer under the domination of a Christian protective power, Ethiopia. Zoroastrian Persia was hostile to both Christianity and Byzantium, and naturally, Nadjrān as a great Christian centre was adversely affected. But it was the rise of Islam and the Muslim conquest of Arabia that finally dealt Christian Nadjrān a fatal blow, and this eclipse and final extinction during the Islamic period falls into three phases: (a) in the Meccan period of Muḥammad's mission (610-22) the Ḳurʾān is well disposed to Christianity, and Nadjrān was possibly implied in Sūrat al-Burūdj (LXXXV, 4-9) in which there is reference to the Aṣḥāb al-Ukhdūd [*q.v.*]; (b) in the Medinan period (622-32), there was a hardening of attitude. In 630, a delegation from Nadjrān came to Medina. This was a significant Muslim-Christian confrontation which was to have included a *mubāhala* [*q.v.*], an objurgation, but the Nadjrānites decided to withdraw from the contest. The Prophet then let the Nadjrānites practise their religion, but demanded from them the payment of the tribute and especially the contribution of 2,000 robes; and (c) in the caliphate of ᶜUmar (634-44), the Nadjrānites were ordered to evacuate the city, which they did, and they emigrated to ᶜIrāḳ where most of them settled in a locality called al-Nadjrāniyya not far from Kūfa. But apparently not all of them left the city, since Christians are attested in Nadjrān in later Islamic times, including bishops in the 9th and 10th centuries.

Nadjrān survived its evacuation by most of its Christian inhabitants. Some of the Balḥārith evidently converted to Islam and decided to stay on in their city, but apparently evacuated the pre-Islamic site at a later date in favour of a locality a few miles to the northwest, which grew into Islamic Nadjrān. Situated in the midst of a rich oasis, Islamic Nadjrān continued to prosper and remained an important centre in the economic life of the region. Its chiefs were influential in early Islamic times, especially as the mother of the first ᶜAbbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ (750-4) was Rayṭa, a woman from Banū ᶜAbd al-Madān, who were thus referred to as al-Akhwāl, the maternal uncles of the ᶜAbbāsids.

Ancient pre-Islamic Nadjrān, nowadays called Ukhdūd, survives as a heap of ruins to the southeast of the present-day city of Nadjrān, which is in the province of ᶜAsīr [*q.v.*] in Saudi Arabia, but in the consciousness of mediaeval Christendom it vividly survived as the city of the Arab martyrs, as it still does in the churches of the Christian Orient.

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AL-NAḌR B. AL-ḤĀRITH b. ᶜAlḳama b. Kalada b. ᶜAbd Manāf b. ᶜAbd al-Dār b. Ḳuṣayy, a rich Kurayshite who, in the pre-Islamic period, carried on trade with al-Ḥīra and Persia, from where he is said to have brought back books (?) and to have brought back also one or more singing slave girls (*ḳayna* [*q.v.*]).

He represented ᶜAbd al-Dār in the group of the *muṭᶜimūn*, i.e. the Meccans who were charged with supplying food for pilgrims, and he occupied a fairly eminent position in the town. He was a strenuous opponent of the Prophet, scoffing at him and not failing to speak up and evoke the glories of the kings of Persia when Muḥammad recalled the miserable fate of past nations. In particular, he accused Muḥammad of retailing tales of the ancients (*asāṭīr al-awwalīn* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), and two Ḳurʾānic verses containing precisely this expression (VIII, 31; LXXXIII, 13) are stated to have been specifically connected with him. The Ḳurʾān is likewise said to have alluded to this personage, amongst other enemies of the Prophet, in various passages, notably VI, 8-9, XLV, 6-7/7-8. He fought at Badr [*q.v.*] in the pagan ranks and was captured. Muḥammad then killed him personally and ᶜAlī cut off his head with a blow of his sword, but the fact is disputed since a *ḥadīth* says that the damned who will suffer the cruellest punishment on Judgement Day are those who have killed a prophet or whom a prophet has killed. The most accredited version is that ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib executed him in cold

blood after having secured him in bonds (*ṣabr^an*) in a place called al-Ṣafrā'; but al-Uthayl is also cited (see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v., i, 121). (On the reproaches launched at "orientalists" that they have exploited this incident, see A. Wessels, *A modern Arabic biography of Muḥammad*, Leiden 1972, 240 n.)

His death inspired his sister (or his daughter) Ḳutayla (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iv, 44, calls her Laylā) to compose verses in which she weeps over him but nevertheless does not blame Muḥammad, who is said to have regretted this execution. Although doubt has been expressed regarding their authenticity (see al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-adab*, i, 28-9), these verses, frequently cited and highly appreciated, have perpetuated al-Naḍr's memory. He has, moreover, a place in the history of Arabic music as poet, singer and lute player, who is said to have learnt this last instrument at al-Ḥīra and to have introduced it amongst the Meccans (see Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *al-Ḳiyān wa 'l-ghinā'*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1968, 115, 116, 118, 131).

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(CH. PELLAT)

AL-**NAḌR** B. **SHUMAYL** b. Kharasha al-Māzinī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, Arab scholar who, born in Marw al-Rūdh in 122/740, was brought up at Baṣra.

He led a miserable life there, but was able to derive instruction from the most famous masters of the time (see Pellat, *Milieu*, *passim*), notably al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], whose *K. al-'Ayn* he was to enrich by an introduction. He probably lived for some time (allegedly 40 years, which must be an exaggeration) among the Bedouins, whom he was also able to question at the Mirbad [*q.v.*]. He was interested in the various branches of knowledge cultivated in his time and became an expert in matters of lexicography, grammar, poetry, *ḥadīth* and even *fiḳh* and the history of the Arabs. Since his activities were not bringing him adequate means of subsistence, he decided to return to his native land, with which he must have kept up links. In Baṣra he had nevertheless acquired such renown that, according to tradition, not less than 700, even 3,000 (*sic*) traditionists, *fuḳahā'*, grammarians, etc. came to greet him on the Mirbad at the time of his departure and expressed their regret at seeing him go; he replied that he would be ready to stay if anyone would guarantee a measure (*kayladja*) of beans for him each day, but no-one was willing to promise this. It seems that Abū 'Ubayda [*q.v.*] exploited this incident in his book on the *mathālib* [*q.v.*] of the Arabs. He therefore returned to Marw, where he held the office of *ḳāḍī* and "made the Sunna dominant" (*aẓhara al-sunna*), which was one of his specialities. It was there that he had occasion to frequent al-Ma'mūn's *madjlis* and to display to him his knowledge of grammar and poetry; he accordingly received from the prince and his entourage a rich reward. He is said to have died in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 204/May-June 820, but the year 203 is also mentioned.

Al-Naḍr b. Shumayl's work was copious, judging by the lists given by his biographers, but none of these works has survived. Probably the most important was the *K. al-Ṣifāt fi 'l-lugha* in 5 volumes, of which the *Fihrist* (52; ed. Cairo, 77; ed. Tehran, 58; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 58) provides a fairly detailed summary. This work was a kind of dictionary or encyclopaedia— the first of its genre —and it was used by authors fairly near to it in time, such as Abū 'Ubayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838 [*q.v.*]) in *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*. His other works bear witness to his erudition and to his intellectual curiosity: *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, *al-Ma'ānī*, *al-Wāḍiḥa* or *Mathālib al-'Arab wa-manāḳibuhā*, *al-Anwā'*, *al-Djīm* and *al-Shams wa 'l-ḳamar*.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 542; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, see index s.v.; Marzūḳī, *Azmina*, i, 324, 325, 331, ii, 181-5, 223; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 52-4 and index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 736; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 121; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 593-6; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, index; idem, *Irshād*, vii, 218-22 = *Udabā'*, xix, 238-43; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 404-5; idem, *Muzhir*, ii, 287; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 348-52; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 7; Ziriklī, viii, 357-8; Kaḥḥāla, xiii, 101; Brockelmann, I², 101, S I, 161; Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 123-4; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 71; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 113, 114, 262, 509, ii, 58, 60, iii, 363, 365, 367, iv, 308, 332, vii, 340, viii, 58-9 (biog.) and index, ix, 43, 312. (CH. PELLAT)

NADRŪMA, NEDROMA, a small town of northwestern Algeria, situated 58 km/33 miles from Tlemcen, 45 km/28 miles from the Moroccan border and only 17 km/10 miles from the coast, from where in clear weather the dark mountains of the Sierra Nevada can be seen. It lies in the heart of the Traras, the coastal chain of moderate altitude, which is nevertheless very broken by the eroding effects of the hydrographic system, where Nedroma spreads along the lower slopes of the ridge of the Dj. Fillawsen. Thus it dominates a mass, until recently compact, of orchards and gardens intersected by a network of irrigation channels, bearing witness to the long-established occupation of these lands by successive generations intimately linked with the life of the town, which has itself been the centre of extensive connections and varied relations in a zone directly open to interventions by neighbouring principalities situated on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar.

Despite the divisive effects of the physical relief of the area, Nedroma has constantly evolved within the shade and the orbits of these principalities, whilst nevertheless tenaciously retaining its own personality and economy. Hence it has been able to survive after the successive disappearance of the Naṣrids [*q.v.*] of Granada and the 'Abd al-Wādids of Tlemcen. Indeed, the vestiges and the memories of this long and rich past, essentially an urban one, are perceptible until now in the poorly-preserved architectural remains and in certain structures of the historic town, as well as in the vigorous remnants of ancient families who have, since 1962, regularly engendered technocrats, ministers and diplomats.

If Nedroma still preserves some ruins of constructions attribuable to the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'min and represented by a city wall dating to 555/1160, the town nevertheless emerges into history well before then. In this connection, the details given by al-Ya'ḳūbī in the 3rd/9th century are very useful for the exact identification, in particular, of the site. It must be admitted, following R. Basset, that the name given by this geographer, Fallawsen, must correspond to that of the foundation of Nedroma and consequently to the locality itself. But there must have been a town already fairly well developed and forming part of the Idrīsid realm and governed by Muḥammad b.

Sulaymān. This accordingly marks a definite stage, but one whose distant origins cannot be brought into the clear light because of the lack of documentation. However, the succeeding stages which are at the same time the origin of the leading dynasties working towards a unification of both sides of the western Mediterranean, and of the trans-Mediterranean commercial movements, brought Nedroma definitively into being, strengthening its urban character and its main functions, well noted by al-Idrīsī.

Hence the Almoravids provided it with an important mosque and *minbar*, clearly reminiscent of that in the famous great mosque of Cordova, according to G. Marçais. Such attention on the part of these prestigious rulers was well-deserved, since, according to al-Bakrī, the diversity of its agricultural produce, and the nearby inlet to the sea, that of Māsīn, making possible maritime transactions, gave Nedroma the merited appellation of "a considerable town". In this way it acquired a religious dignity and even an official character, shown in the acquisition of typical urban features. But under the Almohads it was unable to claim any other dignity, considering its geographical position. At all events, the founder of the dynasty assigned to it a strategic role, which at the same time entailed a depopulation of the Traras, given the importance of the military contingents from this region which followed the monarch towards Marrakesh in the 6th/12th century, the Kūmya.

Whatever the case, the unification of the two coasts of the Mediterranean was beneficial in that it permitted the continuation and the intensifying of multifarious exchanges, material and cultural in origin, in the latter case, of the Andalusian heritage of Nedroma as visible at the present day in its musical heritage, the origin of certain families and, above all, in deep-rooted cultural traditions.

Regarding the appearance of the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*], this is marked by the strengthening of links with their nearby capital, Tlemcen [see TILIMSĀN]. The two towns, both enjoying the charm of the Traras mountain chain and the proximity of the coast, came to complement each other. Nedroma became a place of rural retreat for certain rulers of Tlemcen and their descendants, as happened with Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf when he renounced the throne in 749/1348. The residence takes the shape of a fortress, the Ḳaṣaba, of which some traces are still visible below the Magh̲niyya road, to the south of the heart of the old town, and whose toponym *ḳṣar es-solṭān* still today recalls a lively chapter from that brilliant period. Other princes furthermore honoured this residence by prolonged stays, such as that of Abū Ḥammū II, who reigned 760-91/1359-89 at Tlemcen, and it was there that the latter's son Abū Tas̲h̲fīn II was born.

Subsequently, Tlemcen's decay and the constant ambitions and aims of its rival Fās had a certain direct effect on the commercial movements beyond the region and on the general balance of forces in the town. With the final end of the kingdom of Granada (897/1492), parallel to the dislocation of the trans-Saharan trade in the wake of the great oceanic movements, Nedroma became necessarily more thrown back on its own resources, aggravated more and more by the physical relief of the coastlands and, at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, by the *Reconquista*, with the occupation of the former main port of the ʿAbd al-Wādids, Oran, in 913/1507 and then of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] in 941/1535. Hence a certain shrinkage of horizons was inevitable and enduring, but not entirely without some continuation of liveliness, as the information from this date from Leo Africanus shows with regard to the vigour of artisanal activity and the continuation of the irrigated system of agriculture in the rural hinterland of the town. Cotton goods were spun there, showing how the town adapted to the new conditions caused by change, both internal and those common to the Magh̲rib, and also to the whole Mediterranean-Atlantic region. It was as a result of these two activities, henceforth the exclusive ones of the town and its hinterland, that the commercial effects began to affect the whole Trara region and beyond, into the areas of traders coming from Tlemcen, Magh̲niyya, Oud̲j̲da, and even Sefrou and "beyond". In this period, Nedroma had a garrison representing the *beylik* of the West, bringing with it some oppressive effects but more often inciting the citizens to further efforts, the origin of the remarkable diversity of artisanal activities before the French occupation of Algeria (see *Nedroma 1954-84*).

Throughout this latter period, the town's being thrown back on its own resources necessarily increased by continual emigration to the urban centres and also abroad, to France, movements not always by the less privileged classes but in good measure by the relatively better-off and by those who acquired a bilingual culture in particular. The first official school opened in 1865, and one can trace from 1880 onwards the emergence of the first elements of the present-day élite, seen in the physician M. Nekkach, the first doctor from the colony itself to practice in Orania (Sari, 1990) and Si M'hamed ben Rahal, a personality of the political, religious and literary world from the end of the 19th century (Djeghloul, 1977), illustrating the continuing effects of the ancient heritage of Nedroma, even though the town is still affected by the rural exodus caused by the national war of liberation and its consequences in a frontier zone, which efforts to stabilise the population have not succeeded in stemming; its population of 17,175 in the 1987 census shows a rate of growth below the national average.

Bibliography: In addition to Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, tr. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 222, see Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Ar. text, 80, Fr. tr. 161-2; Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, tr. Dozy and de Goeje, Leiden 1866, Ar. text, 172; Fr. tr. 209; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Epaulard, index; Marmol, *L'Afrique*, tr. Paris 1667, ii. 324-5; Canal, *Monographie de l'Arrond. de Tlemcen*, in *Bull. soc. d'arch. et de géolog. d'Oran*, viii (1888), 62-5; R. Basset, *Nédromah et les Traras*, Paris 1901; A. Bel, *Tlemcen et ses environs. Guide illustré du touriste*², Toulouse n.d., 92-4; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954; A. Djeghloul, *M'hamed ben Rahal et la question de l'instruction des Algériens (1866-1925)*, in *Mad̲j̲allat al-Taʾrīk̲h̲* (Algiers 1970), 43-100; G. Grandguillaume, *Nédroma, l'évolution d'un médina*, Leiden 1976; *Nédroma 1954-84*, Algiers 1986 (collective vol.); Dj. Sari, *Les villes précoloniales, Nédroma, Masouna, El Kalâa*, Algiers 1977; idem, *L'un des premiers médecins de l'Algérie contemporaine*, in *El Moudjahid* (Algiers, 11 July 1990), 12.

(A. BEL-[DJ. SARI])

NADWA [see DĀR AL-NADWA].

NADWAT AL-ʿULAMĀʾ, a Muslim educational and reform society established at Kānpūr (Cawnpore) in north India in 1310/1892 (moved to Lucknow in 1316/1898) to (a) evolve a new educational system by amalgamating the "old" and the "modern" curricula, and (b) to eliminate sectarian differences among Muslims. As *Nadwa*, as it is popularly called, failed to impress upon other *madrasas*

to adopt its suggested curricula, it established in 1898 at Lucknow its own educational institution, Dār al-ʿUlūm, which is now more famous than the society itself.

During the first half of the 19th century, English-language schools had cropped up all over British India but certificates of the usually state-run *madrasas* teaching basically *Dars-i Niẓāmī*, the curriculum laid down by Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn (d. 1679) to produce administrators for the Mug̲h̲al state, were generally recognised up to the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8 as sufficient qualifications to join the state machinery. After the events of 1857 and the subsequent attitudes of disfavour towards Muslims by the British, the former started to establish private *madrasas* geared only to imparting religious education. The first such *madrasa*, Ḳāsim al-ʿUlūm (now known as Dār al-ʿUlūm), was established at Deoband in north India in 1865 and soon a chain of similar private *madrasas* sprang up all over India.

It was soon felt, especially by S̲h̲iblī Nuʿmānī [*q.v.*], that new *madrasas* should be set up in order to integrate the "old" and the "new". The new movement was called *Taḥrīk-i Iṣlāḥ-i Niṣāb* ("curricula reform movement"). The "reform", however, did not exceed the deletion of some old textbooks and the introduction of some new ones on history, geography, mathematics in addition to English, as well as the replacement of Persian by Urdu as the medium of instruction.

Nadwa aroused great controversy in its early years among the Muslims of India. Opponents published dozens of pamphlets against the society, which they considered another form of the ʿAlīgaṙh movement of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. Supporters of the *Nadwa* responded with counter-pamphlets (some of these are found in the *Nadwa* library).

Annual conferences to popularise its ideas and to ensure mass participation in various Indian cities continued from 1894 to 1927 (printed and ms. reports are available in the library and archives of *Nadwa*). The only other general conference was the institution's 85th anniversary celebrated in 1975 (report in Muḥammad Ḥasanī, *Rūdād-i čaman*, Lucknow 1976).

Nadwa has a big library which includes 650 rare books and 3,000 mss. It published an Urdu journal, *al-Nadwa* (1904-12, 1912-16, 1940-5) and an Arabic journal *al-Ḍiyāʾ* (1932-5). Currently, its various wings publish three periodicals, monthly *al-Baʿt̲h̲ al-Islāmī*, the fortnightly *al Rāʾid* (both since 1959) in Arabic, and the fortnightly *Taʿmīr-i Ḥayāt* (1964-) in Urdu. Dār al-ʿUlūm has a printing press as well as a publishing arm in addition to the *Nadwa*'s Academy of Islamic Research and Publications (established 1959) which has published over 250 titles in various languages including Arabic and English.

In addition to primary and secondary education (5 years each), the Dār al-ʿUlūm awards the degree of *ʿĀlimiyya* after a study of 4 years in its "Arabic", i.e. Islamic, section. After a further two years' study and presentation of a small dissertation graduates are given the degree of *faḍīla*, with specialisation (*tak̲h̲aṣṣuṣ*) in either Islamic *S̲h̲arīʿa* or Arabic literature. Dār al-ʿUlūm, like other *madrasas*, does not charge tuition fees. Most of the students live in dormitories and the majority of them are provided with free board and lodging. As with similar institutions in the Subcontinent, expenses are met by voluntary Muslim donations and *zakāt*. Degrees are generally recognised by the departments of Islamic Studies and Arabic in Indian, as well as by some Arab, universities. In the 1970s and 1980s Dār al-ʿUlūm has seen great progress in terms of buildings, but its overall impact on the intellectual life of Muslims in India remains marginal. Dār al-ʿUlūm today is in practice yet another *madrasa* which positively discourages modern education. Its point of distinction is the emphasis on Arabic as a living language. Among its outstanding graduates was Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī (d. 1953 [*q.v.*]) who besides other works, completed the *Sīrat al-Nabī* left incomplete by his mentor S̲h̲iblī Nuʿmānī. *Nadwīs*, i.e. the graduates of Dār al-ʿUlūm, were the mainstay of India's premier institution of Islamic research, Dār al-Muṣannifīn, at Aʿẓamgaṙh.

Bibliography: In addition to the material referred to above, the official, albeit sanitised, history of the *Nadwa* is found in *Tārīk̲h̲ Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ*, vol. i by Muḥammad Isḥāḳ D̲j̲alīs Nadwī and vol. ii by S̲h̲ams Tabrīz K̲h̲ān, Lucknow 1983-4. Other material may be found in ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Nadwī, *Marākiz al-Muslimīn al-taʿlīmiyya wa 'l-t̲h̲aḳāfiyya wa 'l-dīniyya fi 'l-Hind*, Madras *ca.* 1967, 34-52; S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Ikrām, *Mawd̲j̲-i Kawt̲h̲ar*, Lahore 1979, 187-93, 221-48; Mus̲h̲īr al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Musalmān awr secular Hindustān*, New Delhi 1973, 47-81. More material will be found in the following works on personalities closely connected with the *Nadwa*'s early years: Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī, *Ḥayāt-i S̲h̲iblī*, Aʿẓamgaṙh 1943; Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī, *Sīrat-i Mawlānā Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Mungayrī*, Lucknow 1964; Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ḥasanī Nadwī, *Ḥayāt-i ʿAbd al-Ḥayy*, Lucknow 1970; S̲h̲ams Tabrīz K̲h̲ān, *Ṣadryār D̲j̲ung*, Lucknow 1972.

(ẒAFARUL-ISLĀM K̲H̲ĀN)

NADWĪ, Sayyid Sulaymān (1884-1953), Indian scholar of Islam. He was born at Desna, near Paṫnā, on 22 November 1884. After receiving traditional Urdu and Persian education in his village and neighbouring towns, he joined Dār al-ʿUlūm of the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ [*q.v.*] at Lucknow in 1901 and graduated in 1906. His talents were recognised by S̲h̲iblī Nuʿmānī [*q.v.*] who became his mentor and appointed him as the assistant editor of *al-Nadwa* magazine in 1907. He also started teaching *kalām* and Arabic literature in Dār al-ʿUlūm (1908-13) and in 1923, became the chairman of its educational committee (*Muʿtamad taʿlīmāt*), a post which he held for over two decades. He helped S̲h̲iblī in his *Sīrat al-Nabī* project launched in 1910, and later completed this encyclopaedic work on the life of the Prophet (vols. iii-vi published during 1924-38) after S̲h̲iblī died leaving it incomplete in 1914. The incomplete seventh volume of this work was published posthumously in 1980.

In 1915 Nadwī established the Dār al-Muṣannifīn at Aʿẓamgaṙh [*q.v.*], the most notable Muslim research institution in India, and launched its magazine *Maʿārif* a year later. He took part in Indian nationalist and Muslim politics in the 1910s and 1920s and was a member of delegations sent to London (1920) and the Ḥid̲j̲āz (1924, 1926). As a rare recognition in those days, Nadwī was awarded an honorary D.Lit. by the ʿAlīgaṙh Muslim University (AMU) in 1943.

He was appointed the Chief Justice (*Ḳāḍī al-Ḳuḍāt*) of the princely State of Bhopāl [*q.v.*] as well as the rector of its D̲j̲āmiʿa Mas̲h̲riḳiyya in June 1946. His status was devalued after the absorption of Bhopāl into the Indian Union in 1947, but he stayed on until April 1950. He migrated to Pakistan in June the same year and was appointed in August 1952 as the chairman of the Idāra Taʿlīmāt Islām, an official body instituted to assist the new government in framing the constitution according to the teachings of Islam.

Nadwī, generally considered to be the greatest

Indian Muslim scholar of this century, died at Karachi on 23 November 1953. An enlightened traditionalist, Nadwī later reverted to rigidness in the wake of initiation in 1940, by the Ṣūfī *murshid*, Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī (d. 1943), to the point of recanting in January 1943 some of his earlier views.

Bibliography: In addition to the volumes iii-vii of *Sīrat al-Nabī*, cited above, Nadwī's other works include: *ʿArḍ al-Ḳurʾān*, 2 vols., Aʿẓamgaṛh 1916, 1918; *Sīrat-i ʿĀyisha*, Aʿẓamgaṛh 1924; *Khuṭbāt-i Madrās*, lectures on the life of the Prophet in 1925, Aʿẓamgaṛh 1926; *ʿArab awr Hind ke taʿallukāt*, lectures on the Indo-Arab relations at Allāhābād in 1929, Allāhābād 1930; *Khayyām*, Aʿẓamgaṛh 1933; *ʿArabon kī djahāzrānī*, lectures on the history of the Arab navigation, at Bombay in March 1930, Bombay 1935; *Nuḳūsh-i Sulaymānī*, a collection of Urdu literary articles and lectures, Aʿẓamgaṛh 1939; *Raḥmat-i ʿālam*, a book on *Sīra* for children, Aʿẓamgaṛh 1940; *Ḥayāt-i Shiblī*, the life of his mentor, Aʿẓamgaṛh 1944; *Yād-i raftagān*, Karachi 1955. *Maḳālāt-i Sulaymān* (3 vols.) is a posthumous collection of Nadwī's articles. Collections of his letters have also been published in India and Pakistan. A collection of his Urdu poems has been compiled by Ghulām Muḥammad as *Armughān-i Sulaymān* (see *Maʿārif*, 108/1 [July 1971], 5).

Maʿārif, 75/5 (May 1955) and *Riyāḍ*, Karachi (March 1954), published special issues on Nadwī. Other works on him include: Ghulām Muḥammad, *Tadhkira-yi Sulaymān*, Karachi 1960; Shāh Muʿīn al-Dīn Aḥmad Nadwī, *Ḥayāt-i Sulaymān*, Aʿẓamgarh, 1973; Sayyid Muḥammad Hāshim, *Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī: ḥayāt awr ʿilmī kārnamey*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, AMU 1982; ʿAbd al-Ḳawī Desnawī, *Yādgār-i Sulaymān*, Patnā 1984; ʿAtīḳ Aḥmad Ṣiddīḳī (ed.), *Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī*, proceedings of a seminar held by the Department of Urdu, AMU in 1984, ʿAlīgaṛh 1985; Āfāḳ Ṣiddīḳī (comp.), *Awrang-i Sulaymān*, Karachi 1985; Muḥammad Naʿīm Ṣiddīḳī Nadwī, *ʿAllāma Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī*, Lucknow 1985; Masʿūd al-Raḥmān Khān Nadwī and M. Ḥassān Khān (eds.), *Muṭālaʿa-yi Sulaymānī*, proceedings of a seminar in 1985, Bhopāl 1986; Khalīḳ Andjum (comp.), *Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī*, Delhi 1986; Sayyid Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Mawlānā Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī kī taṣānīf*, i, Aʿẓamgarh 1988. (ẒAFARUL-ISLĀM KHĀN)

NAFAL [see GHANĪMA].

NAFAS [see NAFS. I. *c*, and NEFES].

NĀFIʿ, the *mawlā* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], according to early tradition sources a major transmitter of Prophetic *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], who is described as having been a resident of Medina. His year of birth does not seem to be recorded and his year of death is variously given as 117/735, 118/736, 119/737 or 120/738 (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 414, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. A.Ḍ al-ʿUmarī, 256).

The sources contain hardly any information on his person and the little they say is often contradictory. Ibn ʿUmar is alleged to have acquired Nāfiʿ on a campaign in which he participated but which one is left unspecified. Nāfiʿ is said to have hailed from Abrashahr (Nīsābūr) according to Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 190, 460, but according to Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, 206, he was one of the captives at the conquest of Kābul in 44/664. What is most striking about him in the early sources is his near-absence from those in which he should have been mentioned in the first place. Thus there is no trace of him in Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaḳāt*, in which one would expect his name to be included among the *mawālī* Successors of Medina (ed. Sachau *et alii*, v, 208-29), which, by all standards, presents a seemingly exhaustive list. (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 413, quotes a remark attributed to Ibn Saʿd that he was a *thiḳa* and *kathīr al-ḥadīth*; whether or not this non-committal evaluation was an original part of the *Ṭabaḳāt* remains to be investigated). Even if it is maintained that Ibn Saʿd's text in its current editions may not be complete, the reason why Nāfiʿ did not receive mention among Medina's Successors in Ibn al-Djawzī's *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, ii, 42 ff., or for that matter in a number of comparable sources, remains to be explained. In sources other than *ḥadīth* he turns up only occasionally as a purveyor of legal as well as historical data. He never does so, however, as a person whose historicity could be postulated, acting or speaking against a tangible historical backdrop, but rather as a mechanical *isnād* insert. If Nāfiʿ was indeed a historical figure, he received singularly little attention in all those sources which are otherwise typified by their generous treatment of Nāfiʿ's peers, those who preceded him as well as those who came later.

His fame rests mainly in his alleged position in *isnāds* [*q.v.*] in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections. One *isnād* in particular was considered by al-Bukhārī [*q.v.*] as the soundest in the entire tradition literature: Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] → Nāfiʿ → ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar → Prophet (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 6). Moreover, Mālik is reported to have said: When I hear Nāfiʿ transmit traditions on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar, I do not mind that I did not learn them from somebody else (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 413). This encomium, although at first sight undeniably positive, may not be rooted in reality: if we set store by the age Mālik is said to have reached at his death in 179/795, namely *ca.* eighty-six (lunar) years, and if he did hear traditions directly from Nāfiʿ, he must have been still very young at the latter's death, which fell sometime between 117 and 120 (735 and 738). And this does not tally with another piece of information describing Mālik as still a *shābb*, or (in a variant) even a *fatā*, some 14 or 17 years after Nāfiʿ's death (see Yaʿḳūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī, *K. al-Maʿrifa wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, i, 682; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 7). If the indications *shābb* or *fatā* for Mālik in the year 134/751 are taken as factual, he must have been born approximately at the time Nāfiʿ is recorded to have died, a computation more in line with Mālik's year of death, and this especially in view of the life expectancy for a man in those days. (For studies on the 7th and 8th century practice of artificially stretching one's age into the past, see *Bibl.*) On the basis of the latter chronology, traditions on the alleged authority of Nāfiʿ cannot have reached Mālik in a way other than as written material, which must have come into his possession a good number of years after Nāfiʿ's reported year of death.

That Mālik may eventually have come by one or more *ṣaḥīfas* [*q.v.*] in circulation which purportedly contained traditions recorded by Nāfiʿ on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar and others, is not entirely out of the question, although this is suggested nowhere in the sources. Transmitting traditions according to the procedure that goes by the technical term *ʿarḍ* or *muʿāraḍa* (which means that someone claimed that he had "presented" a *ṣaḥīfa* in which he had copied a certain master's traditions to that master for approval, after which he was free to transmit them to his own pupils) was a practice which seems to have come into existence some 110 years after the death of the Prophet (cf. al-Fasawī, ii, 157). The general practice

was that these pupils then passed on to their pupils what they had copied on the direct authority of the first master, with or without mention of the intermediary, the original owner of the *ṣaḥīfa*. (For a convincing example of this practice, compare Fasawī, ii, 157, 176 f. and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Kifāya fī ᶜilm al-riwāya*, 267, with al-Mizzī [*q.v.*], *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf*, vi, nos. 8452 ff.) For good measure, Mālik is recorded to have stated that he saw no difference in acceptability between *samāᶜ* (i.e. the pupil listening to the personal instruction of the *shaykh*, either memorising or taking dictation) and *ᶜarḍ* (*Kifāya*, 270).

Further reports in the early sources involving Nāfiᶜ's person are for the most part equally non-committal. The one alleging that ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz [*q.v.*] sent him to Egypt to teach the population the *sunan* (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 414), is questionable, not only because of the doubtless topical mention of ᶜUmar II, but also because it has not left a trace in the source best known for information on Egypt, al-Kindī's *K. al-Wulāt wa'l-ḳuḍāt*. Nāfiᶜ did receive a brief reference as one of the *fuḳahā'* of the 2nd/8th century in al-Yaᶜḳūbī's *Ta'rīkh* (cf. index s.n.), but that is about all. However, if Nāfiᶜ had indeed been a *fiḳh* expert, it is incomprehensible why the early sources such as the pre-canonical *muṣannafs* [*q.v.*], which have preserved countless legal opinions (*aḳwāl*) of the great Ḥidjāzī *fuḳahā'* of the 1st/7th century, have preserved hardly any attributed to him.

Of the traditions with Nāfiᶜ in the *isnād* listed in the canonical collections, the most striking feature is the supposedly overwhelming reliance on Ibn ᶜUmar: al-Mizzī (*Tuḥfa*, vi, nos 7469-8549) lists in all 1,080 *isnād* bundles and strands ending in Nāfiᶜ → Ibn ᶜUmar → Prophet (with just 22 in *Tuḥfa*, viii, nos. 10550-71, in which ᶜUmar's name is inserted between that of his son and the Prophet, but mostly presenting equivalents of Ibn ᶜUmar-supported *matns*), whereas he is recorded with only one to ten traditions or so on the alleged authority of each of just a handful of other Companions. Of those 1,080 Ibn ᶜUmar strands, some three-fifths are supposedly passed on by Nāfiᶜ to just a few later transmitters: 90 to Ayyūb b. Abī Tamīma al-Sakhtiyānī from Baṣra, 435 to ᶜUbayd Allāh b. ᶜUmar al-ᶜUmarī, a man who is said to hail from Medina, 50 to the Egyptian Layth b. Saᶜd, 82 to Mālik b. Anas and 58 to Mūsā b. ᶜUḳba from Medina. Of these 715 strands, the majority are single strands (in other words: not showing up common links), while of the remaining strands from Nāfiᶜ to others than the persons just mentioned, the vast majority are also single strands.

What this quantification amounts to is that Nāfiᶜ in the *isnāds* of the canonical tradition literature constitutes a well-nigh perfect example of a "seeming" or, depending on one's outlook, an "artificial common link" (for a definition of these and other newly-coined technical *ḥadīth* terms, see *Bibl.*). In sum, the Nāfiᶜ → Ibn ᶜUmar → Prophet strand is a prime example of such late strands as were used by late collectors to "snow under" older Medinese as well as ᶜIrāḳī bundles. This is confirmed by another salient feature of Nāfiᶜ strands, namely that they almost invariably support *matn* versions which fit into clusters of at times wholly similar, other versions of that *matn*. These *matn* clusters consist more often than not of *matn* versions of non-Ḥidjāzī as well as Ḥidjāzī origin, both with relatively early common links. Differently put, the Nāfiᶜ → Ibn ᶜUmar → Prophet strand supports in the main the relatively late Ḥidjāzī counterparts of *matns* first brought into circulation elsewhere, as well as *matns* of earlier Ḥidjāzī origin. Thus, because of all these numerous versions of one particular *matn*, which are tantamount to as many repetitions, with just a few, mostly irrelevant, modifications added or none at all, the bulk of the material registered in the canonical collections as allegedly supported by the Nāfiᶜ → Ibn ᶜUmar → Prophet *isnād* strand should not be conceived of as in any way commensurate with the huge numbers of strands all separately listed in al-Mizzī's *Tuḥfa*. Rather, conspicuous accumulations of one particular strand, which all allegedly figure the same transmitters, such as the more than thousand numbers in al-Mizzī with the Nāfiᶜ → Ibn ᶜUmar → Prophet strand, constitute a sure sign of *matn* clusters covering just a limited number of legal and/or ritual-related issues.

Bibliography: Given in the art. For the proliferation of the name Nāfiᶜ in early *isnād* development, see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, ch. iv, esp. 142 f. Furthermore, for the age-stretching phenomenon in early Islam, see MUᶜAMMAR at VII, 258; Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, index, s.v. "age trick"; idem, *The role of* muᶜammarūn *in the early development of the* isnād, in *WZKM* (1991). For the technical terms "common links", "single strands", "*matn* clusters", *isnād* "bundles", "snowing under", etc., see idem, *Some* isnād-*analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman-demeaning sayings from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *al-Qanṭara*, x (1989), 343-84; idem, *Muslim tradition*, index s.v.; idem, *Some notes on the earliest* fuqahā' *of Islam distilled from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *Arabica*, xxxix (1992). For "seeming" or "artificial common links" as well as an analysis and categorisation of Nāfiᶜ-supported traditions, see idem, *Nāfiᶜ, the* mawlā *of Ibn ᶜUmar and his position in Muslim* ḥadīth *literature*, forthcoming in *Isl.*, lxx (1993).

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

NĀFIᶜ B. AL-**AZRAĶ** al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥanẓalī, Abū Rāshid (said to be the son of a freedman of Greek origin who was a blacksmith; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 56), Kharidjite who played quite a considerable role in Islamic history as leader of an extremist fraction of that sect known after him as the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] or Azraḳīs, which lived on substantially after his death; he is furthermore said to have laid down their doctrines.

The sequence of events in which he was involved is difficult to establish, since there is a certain confusion in the narratives involving him. From them one learns first of all that, after having given military assistance to ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], besieged in Mecca by the Syrian troops (64/683), he went to Baṣra with his followers and, taking advantage of the troubles consequent on the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiya (54/684), he seized control of the town, opened the doors of the prisons and brought about the assassination of the governor appointed there by ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr al-ᶜAtakī. However, the Azd in Baṣra reacted strongly against the murderers of Masᶜūd, their fellow-tribesmen, and temporarily expelled the Azraḳīs. After a fresh attempt against the town, Nāfiᶜ and his partisans were forced to flee to al-Ahwāz, where they set up their headquarters and from which they continued to threaten the recently-founded metropolis of southern ᶜIrāḳ. The new governor there, ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Hāshimī, called Babba, took energetic measures against them and sent the Zubayrid general Muslim b. ᶜUbays to combat them. In the course of a battle which took place at Dūlāb (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 574, 622-3), Nāfiᶜ and the leader of his opponents were both killed (65/685).

Nāfiᶜ is considered as the first theoretician of

Khāridjism. His doctrines, still rudimentary, included in particular *istiʿrāḍ* [*q.v.*], which his partisans practised shamelessly, and if one leaves aside a few details clearly added by the Azraḳīs at a later time, these doctrines can be summed up under four headings: separation from the quietists; putting intending adherents of Khāridjism to the test; "excommunication" of those Muslims who did not make the migration to their group; and the licitness of killing the women and children of their enemies.

Bibliography: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, Istanbul ²1382/1963, 86-7 and index; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, Cairo 1328, 62-7; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1321, iv, 189; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 512; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 56; idem, *Ansāb*, ivB, 95 ff.; Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, 89-91, tr. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, 374-80 and index; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 279, 282, 284; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 220 = § 1993; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 381 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 317, 324; M.Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islâm*, Leiden 1875, 28 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionparteien*, in *Abh. GW Gött.*, N.S., v/2 (1901), 28 ff.; R.E. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omaiyaden*, Leiden 1884; Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 762; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, index; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 209-11; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 80-2. (A.J. Wensinck*)

NĀFIʿ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Nuʿaym **al-Laythī**, one of the seven canonical Ḳurʾān "readers" who was born in Medina and died there in 169/785 (other dates between 150/767 and 170/786 are also mentioned in biographies). He is reported to have studied with 70 of the *tābiʿūn* in Medina. He transmitted one of the seven Ḳurʾān readings [see ḳirāʾa] which were recognised by Ibn Mudjāhid [*q.v.*]. Two of his pupils, Warsh (d. 197/812) and Ḳālūn (d. 220/835), are recognised as the main transmitters of his reading. The transmission of the Ḳurʾān from Warsh on the authority of Nāfiʿ is still used in the Muslim world, especially in West Africa. This transmission has certain noticable characteristics: for example, it has fewer instances of *hamzat al-ḳaṭʿ* compared to the more widespread transmission of Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim. The actual significance of this and other variations within the system of the "seven readers" is not certain.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, ed. Bergsträsser, Cairo 1932-3, no. 3718; Sezgin, i, 9-10; Nöldeke, *et alii*, *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 160-205; A. Brockett, *The value of the Ḥafṣ and Warsh transmissions for the textual history of the Qurʾān*, in A. Rippin, *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qurʾān*, Oxford 1988, 31-45 and references. (A. Rippin)

NĀFILA (a.), pl. *nawāfil*, from *n-f-l* "to give something freely", a term of law and theology meaning supererogatory work.

1. The word occurs in the Ḳurʾān in two places. Sūra XXI, 72, runs: "And we bestowed on him [viz. Ibrāhīm] Isaac and Jacob as an additional gift" (*nāfilat^an*). In XVII, 81, it is used in combination with the vigils, thus: "And perform vigils during a part of the night, reciting the Ḳurʾān, as a *nāfila* for thee".

In *ḥadīth* it is frequently used in this sense. "Forgiveness of sins past and future was granted to him [Muḥammad] and his works were to him as supererogatory works" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 250). In another tradition, it is said with reference to the month of Ramaḍān, that God "writes down its wages and its *nawāfil* even before its beginning" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 524). Of peculiar importance, also in a different respect, is the following *ḥadīth ḳudsī*: "When My servant seeks to approach to Me through supererogatory works, I finally love him. And when I love him I become the hearing through which he heareth, the sight through which he seeth, the hand with which he graspeth, the foot with which he walketh", etc. (al-Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, *bāb* 38).

Finally, the following tradition may be translated: "Whoso performs the *wuḍūʾ* [*q.v.*] in this way (viz. in the way described in the foregoing part of the tradition), receives forgiveness of past sins and his *ṣalāt* and his walking to the mosque are for him as a *nāfila*" (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 8; Mālik, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 30). In the parallel tradition (Muslim, *loc. cit.*, trad. 7), the term used is *kaffāra* "expiation". This parallelism is an indication of the effect ascribed to supererogatory works in Muslim theology, viz. the expiation of light sins (cf. al-Nawawī on Muslim, Cairo 1283, i, 308).

Further, it must be observed that in theological terminology *nāfila* is often applied to those works which are supererogatory in the plain sense, in contradistinction to other works which have become a regular practice. The latter are called *sunna muʾakkada*, the former *nāfila* or *sunna zāʾida* (cf. below, 2).

The place of supererogatory works in theology is further accurately defined in the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, art. 7: "We confess that works are of three kinds, obligatory, supererogatory and sinful. The first category is in accordance with God's will, desire, good pleasure, decision, decree, creation, judgment, knowledge, guidance and writing on the preserved table. The second category is not in accordance with God's commandment yet according to His will, desire" etc.

The term for supererogatory works used here is not *nāfila* but *faḍīla*.

2. *Nāfila* is used in *ḥadīth* especially as a designation of the supererogatory *ṣalāt* (al-Bukhārī, *ʿĪdayn*, *bāb* 11; *Tahadjdjud*, *bāb* 5, 27). Sometimes it appears in the combinations *ṣalāt al-nāfila* (Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma*, *bāb* 203) and *ṣalāt al-nawāfil* (al-Bukhārī, *Tahadjdjud*, *bāb* 36).

In *fiḳh* this terminology is often, but not always followed, the other term for the supererogatory *ṣalāts* being *ṣalāt al-taṭawwuʿ* (e.g. Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, 26), a term that goes back to Ḳurʾān II, 153, 180; IX, 80, and which occurs also in canonical *ḥadīth* (Abū Dāwūd has a *Kitāb al-Taṭawwuʿ* in his *Sunan*). The whole class of supererogatory *ṣalāts* is called *nawāfil* as well as *sunan*. *Nawāfil*, as a general designation of supererogatory *ṣalāts* covers three subdivisions. The following juxtapositions may give a survey of the terminology:

Nawāfil	*sunna* *muʾakkada* *mandūba*	(Khalīl, tr. Guidi, 95, Mālikī)
Nawāfil	*sunna* *mustaḥabba* *taṭawwuʿ*	(al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, i, 174, Shāfiʿī)
Nawāfil	*sunna* *mandūba* *taṭawwuʿ*	(*Fatāwī* *ʿĀlamgīriyya*, i, 156, Ḥanafī)
Sunan	*muʾakkada* *raghība* *nāfila*	(Fagnan, *Additions*, 23, Mālikī)

It may be added that the term *rawātib* is used especially for the supererogatory *ṣalāt*s preceding or following the *maktūba*; they belong to the first subdivision.

In Shīʿī *fiḳh*, *nawāfil* is the widest term; by *muraghghabāt* the daily and non-daily supererogatory prayers are designated.

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NAFĪR [see NEFĪR].

NAFĪSA, AL-SAYYIDA, a mausoleum situated to the south of the Fāṭimid city of al-Ḳāhira in the northern part of the cemetery area of the City of the Dead (al-Ḳarāfa), to the south of the Mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn in the direction of the sepulchral mosque of al-Shāfiʿī. Among the female saints [see WALĪ] in Cairo next to Sayyida Zaynab bint Muḥammad [*q.v.*] and "Sitt Sekīna" (Sukayna) "Sitt Nefīsa" takes a very prominent place. In the official recitations of the Ḳurʾān, al-Sayyida Nafīsa, where the reading is held on Sundays, takes third place among them all, immediately after Imām al-Shāfiʿī and Imām al-Ḥusayn (see Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xxi [1933], 110). The sanctuary is visited by both men and women, especially in the evening. The door leading to the sarcophagus itself is only opened once a year, on the occasion of the *mawlid* [*q.v.*] of "Sitt Nefīsa". The foundation contains a number of other buildings besides a mosque, including a library and Ṣūfī cells. The land around it is a much sought-after place of interment.

Nafīsa was a daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. She came to Egypt with her husband Isḥāḳ al-Muʾtamin, a son of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*]. She had a reputation for learning and piety. Al-Shāfiʿī frequently visited her to collect traditions; on his death, his body was brought to her house so that she might say the prayer for the dead over him. She had children, but her descendants soon died out. She herself died in Ramaḍān 208/January 824. Legend credits her with great *karāma* [*q.v.*]; for example, as is told of several Egyptian, and not only Muslims saints, it is said that her prayers produced a great rising of the Nile in a single night. In contradiction of a story that her husband wanted to take her body to the family burial place in the al-Baḳīʿ [*q.v.*] cemetery in Medina but was prevented by her devotees, is the general opinion that this is her tomb which she built with her own hands and in which she read the Ḳurʾān long before her death. Several rulers took part in the development of the sanctuary, ʿAbbāsids and later Fāṭimids and Ottoman governors. The cupola over the grave was restored by the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ in 532/1138 and the mosque in 693-4/1294-5 by the Mamlūk al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, Būlāḳ 1299, ii, 238-9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo 1349, ii, 185-6; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, i, 292-3; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311-12, i, 34. — On the history of the building, cf. the references in Maḳrīzī, Sakhāwī, Djabartī, etc. and their continuation in ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda al-tawfīḳiyya*, Būlāḳ 1305-6, v, 133-7; Dorothea Russell, *A note on the cemetery of the Abbasid caliphs of Cairo and the shrine of Saiyida Nafīsa*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1939), 168-74. See also AL-ḲĀHIRA. Monuments. (R. STROTHMANN)

NAFĪSĪ, SAʿĪD, Persian scholar, fiction writer and poet, was born on 8 June 1896 in Tehran.

His family on his father's side had a long medical tradition, which also included his father, ʿAlī Akbar Nafīsī (d. 1303/1924), who held the title of Nāẓim al-Aṭibbāʾ, and was a distinguished physician of his time. Nafīsī received his early education in Madrasa-yi Sharaf and Madrasa-yi ʿIlmiyya, and in 1288/1909 went to Neuchâtel, in Switzerland, for further studies. His family wanted him to go into medicine. In Neuchâtel, Nafīsī joined the Collège Latin and learned Greek and Latin, which were necessary for one's enrolment in Swiss and French medical schools. After a year's residence in Switzerland, Nafīsī went to France. In 1290/1911 he published his first work, a translation concerning dental care. From his residence in Switzerland and France, Nafīsī acquired a great love of the French language and its literature. Hence on returning to Iran in 1297/1918 he was hired to teach French in the nationally famous Aḳdasiyya School and in the Saint Louis Catholic School, later called the Tehran School. In Tehran he was drawn to the capital's literary milieu. He became acquainted with the celebrated poet Malik al-Shuʿarā Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār (1886-1950), and helped him in the production of his literary journal, *Dānishkada*, which appeared from April 1918 to April 1919. Nafīsī's publishing experience contributed to his appointment in 1918 as editor of *Falāḥat wa tidjārat*, a journal issued by the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Welfare. He held this job until 1921 and also worked with the ministry in several other positions, finally ending as director of its advanced business school. Subsequently, he served under the Ministry of Education teaching history and literature in various institutions. When Tehran University was founded in 1935, Nafīsī joined its staff, and in Shahrīwar 1315/August-September 1936 he was confirmed as professor to teach the history of Islam in Persia. Meanwhile, he was elected as one of the first permanent members of the Iranian Academy. In 1949 he took premature retirement from teaching, but returned to the university in Bahman 1337/January-February 1959, and joined its College of Literature. During his career he made numerous trips to foreign countries, where he was frequently invited by universities, cultural societies and government bodies. A few years before his death he was appointed to the government's Educational Council as well as to the board of trustees for the Pahlawī Library. Towards the end he settled down in Paris, visiting Iran periodically. He attended the International Congress of Iranologists when it was convened in Tehran from 31 August to 7 September 1966. This was his last visit to Iran, for he died in Tehran on 12 November 1966.

Saʿīd Nafīsī was a prolific writer and the author of an exceedingly large number of books, monographs and articles. His scholarly and literary activity covered a wide and varied field which included political and literary histories, accounts of poets and their writings, editions of manuscripts, lexicons, original works of fiction poetry, and translations from foreign literature. Among his better known literary works is the collection of historical short stories entitled *Māh-i Nakhshab* ("Moon of Nakhshab"), first published in 1328/1949. He also wrote three novels, namely *Farangīs* (1311/1932), *Nīma rāh-bihisht*

("Halfway to paradise", 1332/1953) and *Ātish-hā-yi nihufta* ("Hidden fires, 1339/1960). His important translations include Homer's *Iliad* (1334/1955) and *Odyssey* (1337/1958). In addition to *Falāḥat wa tidjārat*, mentioned earlier, he edited three other journals, *Ummīd*, *Shark* and *Payām-i naw*. He commanded a facile pen, and his prose style has won generous acclaim for its polished and lucid expression.

Bibliography: *Rāhnamā-yi kitāb*, ix/5, Tehran 1345/1967 ("Sargudhasht-i Saʿīd Nafīsī" by Īradj Afshār, 463-76, and "Sargudhasht-i man" by Saʿīd Nafīsī, 477-84; *Madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt-i Tihrān*, xiv/3 (1346/1967) (articles by various writers as well as a chronology of Saʿīd Nafīsī's life and a bibliography of his works); Parīmarz Nafīsī (ed.), *Yādnāma-yi Saʿīd Nafīsī*, Tehran 1351/1972; eadem, *ʿUmrī bā Saʿīd Nafīsī*, in *Payām-i nuwīn*, x/1 (1972); ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrinkūb, *Dar bāra-yi Saʿīd Nafīsī*, in *ibid.*; J. Green, *Iranian short story writers: a bio-bibliographic survey*, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1989; Muḥammad Ṣadr Hāshimī, *Tārīkh-i djarāyid u madjallāt-i Īrān*, i-iv, Iṣfahān 1363-4/1984-5. (MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

NAFS (A.), soul. *Nafs*, in early Arabic poetry meant the self or person, while *rūḥ* meant breath and wind. Beginning with the Ḳurʾān, *nafs* also means soul, and *rūḥ* means a special angel messenger and a special divine quality. Only in post-Ḳurʾānic literature are *nafs* and *rūḥ* equated and both applied to the human spirit, angels and *djinn*. Since the two concepts of *nafs* and *rūḥ* are so closely connected, both will be considered here.

I. The Ḳurʾānic uses. *A. Nafs* and its plurals *anfus* and *nufūs* have five uses: 1. In most cases they mean the human self or person, e.g. III, 54: "Let us call... ourselves and yourselves"; also XII, 54; LI, 20, 21. 2. In six verses *nafs* refers to Allāh: V, 116b, "Thou [Allāh] dost know what is in myself [says ʿĪsā], but I do not know what is in Thyself (*nafsika*)"; also III, 27, 28; VI, 12, 54 and XX, 43. 3. One reference, XXV, 4 (cf. XIII, 17), is to gods: "They [*āliha*] do not possess for themselves (*anfusihim*) any harm or benefit at all!" 4. in VI, 130 the plural is used twice to refer to the company of men and *djinn*: "We have witnessed against ourselves (*anfusinā*)". 5. It means the human soul: VI, 93: "While the angels stretch forth their hands [saying,]. Send forth your souls (*anfus*)"; also L, 15; LXIV, 16; LXXIX, 40, etc. This soul has three characteristics: *a.* It is *ammāra bi 'l sūʾ*, commanding to evil (XII, 53). Like the Hebrew *nefesh*, the basic idea is "the physical appetite", in Pauline usage ψυχή, and in the English New Testament "flesh". It whispers (L, 15), and is associated with *al-hawā*, which, in the sense of "desire", is always evil. It must be restrained (LIXXIX, 40) and made patient (XVIII, 27) and its greed must be feared (LIX, 9b). *b.* The *nafs* is *lawwāma*, i.e. it upbraids (LXXV, 2); the souls (*anfus*) of deserters are straitened (IX, 119). *c.* The soul is addressed as *muṭmaʾinna*, tranquil (LXXXIX, 27). These three terms form the basis of much of the later Muslim ethics and psychology. It is noteworthy that *nafs* is not used in connection with the angels.

B. Rūḥ has five uses: 1. Allāh blew (*nafakha*) of His *rūḥ*, *a.* into Adam, giving life to Adam's body (XV, 29; XXXVIII, 72; XXXII, 8), and *b.* into Maryam for the conception of ʿĪsā (XXI, 91 and LXVI, 12). Here *rūḥ* equates with *rīḥ* and means the "breath of life" (cf. Gen. ii, 7), the creation of which belongs to Allāh. 2. Four verses connect *rūḥ* with the *amr* of Allāh, and the meanings of both *rūḥ* and *amr* are disputed. *a.* In XVII, 87, it is stated: "They ask thee [O Muḥammad] about *al-rūḥ*; say: *al-rūḥ min amri rabbī*, and ye are brought but little knowledge". *b.* In XVI, 2, Allāh sends down the angels with *al-rūḥ min amrihi* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to say: "Warn that the fact is, There is no God but Me, so fear". *c.* In XL, 15, Allāh "cast *al-rūḥ min amrihi* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to give warning". *d.* In XLII, 52: "We revealed (*awḥaynā*) to thee [O Muḥammad] *rūḥan min amrinā*; thou knewest not what the book was, nor the faith, but We made it to be a light by which We guide whomsoever We will of Our creatures". Whatever meanings *amr* and *min* may have, the contexts connect *al-rūḥ* in *a.* with knowledge; in *b.* with angels and creatures, to give warning; in *c.* with creatures, for warning, and in *d.* with Muḥammad, for knowledge, faith, light and guidance. Therefore this *rūḥ* is special equipment from Allāh for prophetic service. It reminds one forcibly of Bezalel, who was "filled with the spirit of God in wisdom, in understanding and in knowledge" (Exodus, xxxv, 30, 31). 3. In IV, 169, ʿĪsā is called a *rūḥ* from Allāh. 4. In XCVII, 4; LXXVIII, 38 and LXX, 4, *al-rūḥ* is an associate of the angels. 5. In XXVI, 193, *al-rūḥ al-amīn*, the faithful *rūḥ*, comes down upon Muḥammad's heart to reveal the Ḳurʾān. In XIX, 17, Allāh sends to Maryam "Our *rūḥ*", who appears to her as well-made man. In XVI, 104, *rūḥ al-ḳudus* sent the Ḳurʾān to establish believers. Three other passages state that Allāh helps ʿĪsā with *rūḥ al-ḳudus* (II, 81; ii, 254; v, 109). This interrelation of service and title imply the identity of this angelic messenger, who may be also the *rūḥ* of 4. Thus in the Ḳurʾān *rūḥ* does not mean angels in general, nor man's self or person, nor his soul or spirit. The plural does not occur.

C. Nafas, breath and wind, cognate to *nafs* in root and to *rūḥ* in some of its meanings, does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, but is used in the early poetry (F. Krenkow, *The poems of Ṭufail and aṭ-Ṭirimmāḥ*, London 1927, 32). The verb *tanaffasa* (sūra LXXXI, 18) is derived from that meaning, while the only other Ḳurʾānic forms from the same radicals are *fa-l-yatanāfasi 'l-mutanāfisūna* (LXXXIII, 26) and are derived in al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, Cairo 1321, xxx, 57, probably correctly, from *nafisa* "he desired".

II. Umayyad poetry first uses *rūḥ* for the human soul (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xvi, 126, last line; Cheikho, *Le Christianisme*, Beirut 1923, 338) where the Ḳurʾān had used *nafs* as in no. 5 above.

III. Of the early collections of traditions, Mālik's *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Cairo 1339, i, 126, uses *nasama*, which does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, and *nafs* (ii, 262) for the soul or spirit, while Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* uses *nasam* (vi, 424), *nafs* (i, 297, ii, 364, vi, 140) and *nafs* and *rūḥ* (iv, 287, 296). Muslim, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Constantinople 1331, viii, 44, 162-3, and al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1314, iv, 133, both use *rūḥ* for the human spirit.

IV. The *Tādj al-ʿarūs* (iv, 260) lists 15 meanings for *nafs* and adds two others from the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, as follows: spirit, blood, body, evil eye, presence, specific reality, self, tan, haughtiness, self-magnification, purpose, disdain, the absent, desire, punishment, brother, man. It states that most of these meanings are metaphorical. The *Lisān* (viii, 119-26) finds examples of these meanings in the poetry and the Ḳurʾān. Lane's *Lexicon* faithfully reproduces the material (2827b). The lexical treatments of *nafs* disclose these facts: 1. Any attribution to Allah of *nafs* as "soul" or "spirit" is avoided. 2. In man, *a. nafs* and *rūḥ* are identified, or *b. nafs* applies to the mind and *rūḥ* to life, or *c*, man has *nafsāni*, two souls, one

vital and the other discriminative, or *d.* the discriminative soul is double, sometimes commanding and sometimes forbidding.

V. The influences that affected the post-Ḳurʾānic uses of both *nafs* and *rūḥ* were the Christian and Neo-Platonic ideas of *rūḥ* with human, angelic and divine applications, and the more specifically Aristotelian psychological analysis of *nafs.* These influences are clearly shown in the records of the religious controversies.

A. Al-As͟hʿarī [*q.v.*] (H. Ritter, *Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islam von Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī bin Ismāʿīl al-Asʿarī*, Istanbul 1929) reports the Rāfiḍiyya doctrines of the incarnation of *rūḥ Allāh* in Adam and its transmigration through the prophets and others (6, 46), as well as the conflicting positions that man is body (*d̲j̲ism*) only, body and spirit, and spirit (*rūḥ*) only (61, 329 ff.). His creed of the orthodox (290-297) omits any statement about the nature of man.

B. Al-Bag͟hdādī [*q.v.*] (*al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, Cairo 1328) records the same heretical doctrines about man's nature (28, 117 ff., 241 ff.), says the transmigration theories were held by Plato and the Jews (254) and describes the incarnation beliefs of the Ḥulūliyya sects [see ḤULŪL] among whom he includes the Ḥallād̲j̲iyya (247). His position is "The life of Allāh is without *rūḥ* and nourishment and all the *arwāḥ* are created, in opposition to the Christian doctrine of the eternity of the Father, Son and Spirit" (325).

C. Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*] uses *nafs* and *rūḥ* interchangeably of man's soul (*Kitāb al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal*, Cairo 1317-21, v, 66). He excludes from Islam all who hold metempsychosis views, among whom he includes the physician-philosopher Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (i, 90 ff., iv, 187-8). He rejects absolutely the doctrine of some of the As͟hʿariyya of the continual re-creation of the *rūḥ* (iv, 69). He taught that Allāh created the spirits of all Adam's progeny before the angels were commanded to prostrate to him (sūra VII, 171), and that these spirits exist in al-Barzak͟h [*q.v.*] in the nearest heaven until the angel blows them into embryos (IV, 70).

D. Al-S͟hahrastānī [*q.v.*] (*Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. Cureton, i, London 1842), in his description of the belief of the pagan Arabs concerning survival after death, does not use the terms *nafs* or *rūḥ*, but says the blood becomes a wraith-like bird that visits the grave every hundred years. One of his most important sections (203-40) deals with the orthodox and heterodox doctrines of *al-rūḥ*. Al-Ḥunafāʾ [see ḤANĪF], or true believers, debate with al-Ṣābiʾa [*q.v.*], who are dualists, emanationists and gnostics. His account of the views of the Ṣābiʾa faithfully reflects the doctrines of the Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafāʾ (*Rasāʾil*, Bombay 1305), who taught that man is a whole compounded of a corporeal body and a spiritual *nafs* (i/2, 14), and that the substance (*d̲j̲awhar*) of the *nafs* descended from the spheres (*al-aflāk*). But al-S͟hahrastānī rejects the Neo-Platonic idea that human souls (*nufūs*) are dependent upon the souls of the superhuman spirit world (*al-nufūs al-rūḥāniyyāt*) (210, 224-5), and the Hermetic doctrines that the *nafs* is essentially evil (236) and that salvation consists in the release of the *rūḥ* from material bodies (226-7). He applies the term *rūḥānī* to all spirits, good and evil (213). His description of the natural man (216 ff.) with three souls, vegetative, animal and human, each with its own source, place and powers, resembles that of the Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafāʾ (*Rasāʾil*, i/2, 48 ff.). Indeed, the Aristotelian analysis of the human soul as given in *De Anima*, and handed on by Alexander of Aphrodisias and Porphyry, had been adopted with little modification by the Muslim philosophers, such as al-Kindī [*q.v.*], al-Fārābī [*q.v.*] each of whom wrote a *Kitāb al-Nafs*, Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] who wrote two, and Miskawayh [*q.v.*], whose *Tahd̲h̲īb al-ak͟hlāḳ* has the same immaterial (1) and functional (7) psychology for its ethical basis. Al-S͟hahrastānī achieved the long-needed interpretation of the conflicting usages of *nafs* and *rūḥ* in the Greek and Christian heritage, and in the Ḳurʾān and Muslim tradition. But the philosophers, even with his support, were not able to force the Greek psychology upon orthodox Islam. The *mutakallimūn* [see KALĀM] and the great majority of Muslims broadened the Ḳurʾānic terminology, but retained the traditional views of the nature of the soul as a direct creation of Allāh having various qualities.

VI. Aristotle's principle of the incorporeal character of spirit had nevertheless found a permanent place in Muslim doctrine through the influence of Islām's greatest theologian, al-G͟hazālī [*q.v.*]. In al-Tahānawī's *Dictionary of the technical terms*, ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, are extracts of the doctrines of al-G͟hazālī on man's *rūḥ and nafs*. He defines man as a spiritual substance (*d̲j̲awhar rūḥānī*), not confined in a body, nor imprinted on it, nor joined to it, nor separated from it, just as Allāh is neither without nor within the world, and likewise the angels. It possesses knowledge and perception, and is therefore not an accident (547 at top; cf. *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, Cairo 1302, 72). He devotes the second section of *al-Risāla al-laduniyya* (Cairo 1327, 7-14) to explain the words *nafs*, *rūḥ* and *ḳalb* (heart), which are names for his simple substance that is the seat of the intellectual processes. It differs from the animal *rūḥ*, a refined but mortal body in which reside the senses. He identifies the incorporeal *rūḥ* with *al-nafs al-muṭmaʾinna* and *al-rūḥ al-amīn* of the Ḳurʾān. He then uses the term *nafs* also for the "flesh" or lower nature, which must be disciplined in the interests of ethics.

VII. This position of al-G͟hazālī's was that of the theistic philosophers in general, as well as some of the Muʿtazila and the S͟hīʿa, but it has never dominated Islam. The great analytical philosopher and theologian, Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], could not bring himself to accept it. In his *Mafātīḥ al-g͟hayb*, v, 435, commenting on sūra XVII, 85, he quotes as the opinion of al-G͟hazālī the statement that is in the latter's *Tahāfut* (72; cf. also al-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo 1323, 164), but on 434 (l. 9 and 8 from below) of the *Mafātīḥ*, he acknowledges the strength of the corporeal doctrine, and in his *Maʿālim uṣūl al-dīn*, on the margin of the *Muḥaṣṣal*, 117, he definitely rejects as baseless (*bāṭil*) the view of the philosophers that the *nafs* is a substance (*d̲j̲awhar*) which is not a body (*d̲j̲ism*) and not corporeal.

VIII. Al-Bayḍāwī's [*q.v.*] system of cosmogony and psychology is given in his *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* (lithograph ed. with commentary by Abu 'l-T͟hanāʾ al-Iṣfahānī and gloss by al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, Istanbul 1305, 285 ff.; Brockelmann, I², 533, S I, 742-3). He discusses 1. the classes of incorporeal substances; 2. the heavenly intelligences; 3. the souls of the spheres; 4. the incorporeality of human souls; 5. their creation; 6. their connection with bodies; and 7. their survival. His cosmogony follows: Allāh, because of his unity, created only one Intelligence (*ʿaḳl*). This Second Intelligence, that emanated first (*al-ṣādir*) from Allāh, is the cause (*ʿilla*) of all other potentialities and is not body (*d̲j̲ism*), nor original matter (*hayūlā*) nor form (*ṣūra*). It is the secondary cause (*sabab*) of another intelligence with soul (*nafs*) and sphere (*falak*). There emanates from the second a third intelligence and so on to the tenth (288) who is the *rūḥ* of sūra LXXVIII,

38 (cf. al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl*, ed. Fleischer, ii, 383, l. 4), whose effective influence is in the world of the elements and who is the producer of the spirits (*arwāḥ*) of mankind. Below these intelligences are the high or heavenly angels, which the philosophers call *al-nufūs al-falakiyya*, and the low *nufūs*, which are in two classes: earthly angels, in control of the simple elements and the earthly souls, such as the reasoning souls (*anfus nāṭiḳa*) controlling particular persons. In addition (285), there are the incorporeal substances, without effect or control, who are angels, some good (*al-kurūbiyyūn*) and some evil (*al-shayāṭīn*) and the *djinn*, who are ready for both good and evil. This is the classification he refers to in his comment on sūra II, 28 (ed. Fleischer, i, 47, 25). His psychology resembles that of al-Ghazālī, whom he mentions (294). For the incorporeality of the soul (*tadjarrud al-nafs*) he presents five arguments from reason, four Ḳur'ānic verses and one tradition. His commentator remarks (300) that these prove only that the soul differs from the body. He then argues that all *nufūs* are created when their bodies are completed. The *nafs* (303) is not embodied in and is not close to the body, but is attached as the lover to the beloved. It is connected with that *rūḥ* which comes from the heart and is generated from the finest nutritive particles. The reasoning *nafs* produces a force that flows with that *rūḥ* through the body, producing in every organ its proper functions. These functional powers are perceptive, which are the five external senses, and the five internal faculties of the *sensus communis*, imagination, apprehension, memory and reason, and the active (*al-muḥarrika*) which are voluntary (*ikhtiyāriyya*) and natural (*ṭabīʿiyya*, 308).

IX. The dominant Muslim doctrine concerning the origin, nature and future of *al-rūḥ* and *al-nafs* is most fully given in the *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* of Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.v.*] (Ḥaydarābād ²1324). Of his 21 chapters, Ibn Ḳayyim devotes the 19th to the problem of the specific nature of the *nafs* (279-342). He quotes the summaries given by al-Ashʿarī (*op. cit.*, 331-5), and by al-Rāzī (*Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, v, 431-4). He denies al-Rāzī's statement that the *mutakallimūn* consider man to be simply the sensible body, and says all intelligent people hold man to be both body and spirit. The *rūḥ* is identified with the *nafs*, and is itself a body, different in quiddity (*al-māhiyya*) from this sensible body, of the nature of light, high, light in weight, living, moving, interpenetrating the bodily members as water in the rose. It is created, but everlasting; it departs temporarily from the body in sleep; when the body dies it departs for the first judgement, returns to the body for the questioning of Munkar and Nakīr [*q.v.*], and, except in the cases of prophets and martyrs, remains in the grave foretasting bliss or punishment until the Resurrection. He rejects (256) Ibn Ḥazm's doctrine that Adam's progeny are in al-Barzakh [*q.v.*] awaiting their time to be blown into embryos. He presents 116 evidences for the corporeality of the *rūḥ*, 22 refutations of opposing arguments and 22 rebuttals of objections. He represents traditional Islam.

X. The earlier Ṣūfīs had accepted the materiality of the *rūḥ*. Both al-Kushayrī [*q.v.*] (*al-Risāla*, with commentary of Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī and gloss of al-ʿArūsī, Būlāḳ 1290, ii, 105 ff.) and al-Hudjwīrī [*q.v.*] (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, ed. Nicholson, London 1911, 196, 262) call the *rūḥ* a fine, created substance (*ʿayn*) or body (*djism*), placed in the sensible body like sap in green wood. The *nafs* (*al-Risāla*, 103 ff.; *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, 196) is the seat of the blameworthy characteristics. All together make the man.

In addition to the philosophical position of the immateriality of *al-rūḥ* that al-Ghazālī had made orthodox, another interpretation of spirit developed which is essentially philosophical. Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] (H.S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*, Leiden 1919, 15, 11, 7 ff.) divides "things" into three classes: Allāh, Who is Absolute Existence and Creator, the world, and an undefinable *tertium quid* of contingent existence that is, joined to the Eternal Reality and is the source of the substance and the specific nature of the world. It is the universal and common reality of all realities. Man likewise is an intermediate creation, a *barzakh* (22, 42) between Allāh and the world, bringing together the Divine Reality and the created world (21, 42) and a vicegerent connecting the eternal names and the originated forms (96). His animal spirit (*rūḥ*) is from the blowing of the divine breath (95), and his reasoning soul (*nafs nāṭiḳa*) is from the universal soul (*al-nafs al-kulliyya*), while his body is from the earthly elements (95-6). Man's position as vicegerent (45-6) and his resemblance to the divine presence (21) come from this universal soul, who has various other names, holy spirit (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*), the first intelligence (51), vicegerent (*khalīfa*), the perfect man (45) and the *rūḥ* of the world of command (*ʿālam al-amr*), which al-Ghazālī held to be Allāh's direct creation ($122,_1$). In his *Fuṣūṣ*, lith. ed., with commentary by al-Ḳāshānī, Cairo 1309, 12 ff., he says that Allāh appears to Himself in a form which thus becomes the place of manifestation of the Divine essence. This place receives a *rūḥ*, who is Adam, the *khalīfa* and the perfect man. He discusses (Nyberg, *op. cit.*, 129 ff.) the essence and properties of the *rūḥ*, quoting among others the view he says is "attributed" to al-Ghazālī which is in *al-Tahāfut* (as above). He finds the differences of doctrine harmless, since all agree that the *rūḥ* is originated. In his tractate on the *nafs* and *rūḥ* (M. Asín Palacios, *Tratado acerca del conocimiento del alma y del espíritu*, in *Actes du XIVème Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Paris 1906, iii, 167-91), he describes how men may reach the distinction of "the perfect man" through the cultivation of the qualities of the *rūḥ* and the suppression of the *nafs*.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's contemporary, the poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*] (Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, ch. iii), at times identifies his own *rūḥ* with that from which all good emanates (*al-Tā'iyya al-kubrā*, on margin of *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Cairo 1319, ii, 4-5) and with the "pole" (*ḳuṭb*) upon which the heavens revolve (113, 115). Al-Kāshānī, the commentator of *al-Tā'iyya*, explains that this identity is with the greatest spirit (*rūḥ al-arwāḥ*) and the greatest "pole". The compiler of the commentaries on the *Dīwān* states (ii, 196) that incarnation (*ḥulūl*) and union (*ittiḥād*) with Allāh are impossible, but there is real "passing away" (*fanā'*) and attainment (*waṣl*) of the *rūḥ* and *nafs* in the *nafs* of Allāh, for His *nafs* is their *nafs*.

ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlānī carries his position of existential monism on to straight animistic pantheism. In *al-Insān al-kāmil*, Cairo 1334, the terms *rūḥ al-ḳudus*, *rūḥ al-arwāḥ* and *rūḥ Allāh* stand for a special one of the aspects of the Divine Reality (*al-Ḥaḳḳ*), not to be embraced under the command "be" nor created. This spirit is the divine aspect in which stand the created spirits of all existences, sensible and intelligible (94). Existence itself subsists in the *nafs* of Allāh, and His *nafs* is His Essence (*dhāt*). Moreover, every sensible thing has a created spirit (*rūḥ*) (194). One of the aspects of the angel of sūra XLII, 52, who is named the command (*amr*) of Allah, and who is an aspect of Allah as above, is given to the *rūḥ* mentioned

in the verse. That angelic and divine *rūḥ* thereby becomes the Idea (*ḥaḳīḳa*) of Muḥammad (95-6) and he thereby becomes the "perfect man" (96, 131 ff.). The *rūḥ* which is the specific nature of the human *nafs* has five names: animal, commanding to evil, instinctive (*al-mulhama*), reproving, and tranquil. When the divine qualities actually describe the *nafs*, then the names, qualities and essences of the gnostic (*ʿārif*) are those of the One Known (*Maʿrūf*) (130-1).

XI. In geomancy (*ʿilm al-raml*), the first "house" (*bayt*) of the *ummahāt* is called *nafs* because it guides to problems concerning the soul and spirit of the inquirer, and to the beginning of affairs (Muḥammad al-Zanātī, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī ʿilm al-raml*, Cairo n.d., 7; cf. Henr. Corn. Agrippae, *Opera*, Leiden, n.d., but early 17th century, 412: *nam primus domus personam tenet quaerentis*).

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(I.R. Netton)

NAFṬ. 1. In pre-Islamic times. The Greek word *naphtha* is probably borrowed from Semitic, for in Akkadian literature from Northern ʿIrāḳ the word *napṭu* is well attested. There the substance could be easily found and its special qualities soon discovered. In Sumerian it is described as "mountain oil", in contrast to "fish oil" and "vegetable oil". In Aramaic it has been linked by assonance with the root *n-ṭ-p*, which commonly describes oozing blood or dripping water, but the link is weak and it is safer to assume the nominal stem has been simply borrowed in Greek.

Akkadian literature distinguishes between clear and dark naphtha. Esarhaddon, for example, describes a "well of white naphtha" he discovered, but one of the melancholic poets speaks of human skin turning "as black as pitch or naphtha". It may be thick enough to eat, according to a description of a particular dream, or thin enough for the oleomancer to mix with water. The ancient physician would make an ointment by compounding naphtha with fish oil or honey, but it may well have been a painful treatment since political rebellion was discouraged with the threat of making dissidents "eat bitumen, drink donkey's urine, and be smeared with naphtha".

The danger of using naphtha as fuel is emphasised within Judaism by the prohibition on using it for lamps, but this legislation produced questions about whether that law should apply equally to the Jews of Cappadocia, who were presumably used to handling it. The word does not occur in Biblical Hebrew, where vegetable oil seems to have been the normal fuel source, but its discovery is graphically described in the intertestamental book of Maccabees where the legend of Nehemiah's sacrifice is recounted.

Nehemiah chose to make an important sacrifice after he had rebuilt the temple in Jerusalem. To mark the solemnity of the occasion he sent to Persia for a secret substance, which the earlier exiles were supposed to have hidden there, and this was added to the sacrifice. Everyone present was astounded when the heat of the rising sun caused a sudden explosion on the altar. According to tradition this was the event that gave rise to a word in Hebrew, *nephthar*, apparently from the important root *p-ṭ-r*, "free, ransom"; moreover it also provided the King of Persia with his first revenue from oil. The historical, philological and theological presuppositions of this story need careful scrutiny.

Bibliography: For the references to Akkadian literature, see *The Assyrian dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago 1955-, s.v. *napṭu*; for references to Early Judaic literature, see M. Jastrow, *A dictionary of the Targumim* ..., New York 1950; for the story of Nehemiah, see II Maccabees i:18-ii:15. (M.E.J. Richardson)

2. In the mediaeval Byzantine and Arab-Islamic worlds.

This term is used in the Arabic sources on one hand as a generic, vague appellation for a substance which is basically petroleum (see 1. above), and on the other it is applied for the specially-prepared incendiary weapon frequently used on mediaeval warfare.

Nafṭ, often accompanied or replaced by the term *nār* (= fire), corresponds to the Greek term *hygron pyr* or *mēdikon pyr* ("liquid or Persian fire"). The 14th century Egyptian author Ibn Manglī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in his *Aḥkām* clearly identifies *nafṭ/nār* with the Greek liquid fire.

The *nafṭ*-carrying ships called *ḥarrāḳa* in the Arabic sources correspond to the Byzantine ships known as *pyrphora* or *kakabopyrphora* vessels. It is obvious, therefore, that no thorough study of either the use of *nafṭ* by the Arabs or the *hygron pyr* of the Byzantines can be undertaken separately, and that only through a comparative study of both Greek and Arabic sources can we understand the function of this formidable weapon, whose limited direct effectiveness seems to have been enhanced by its strong psychological impact (a typical example of the uselessness of the monolithic approach to a study of *nafṭ-hygron pyr* is the recent work by Th. Korres, *"Hygron pyr", ena oplo tēs Byzantinēs nautikēs taktikēs* Thessaloniki 1989, based solely on the Greek and Latin sources).

A study of the substance involves the following problems: origin and dating of this invention, its composition and its method of launching, the last two affected by a constant development of *nafṭ/hygron pyr* over the centuries.

The Hellenistic origins of nafṭ/hygron pyr

Incendiary weapons have been widely used in warfare since ancient times. The Byzantine sources, nevertheless, report that a special incendiary weapon was invented by the Byzantines in the last quarter of the 7th century. Theophanes (9th century A.D.) explicitly states that a certain Kallinikos from Syria invented it and that it was successfully applied in the Arab siege of Constantinople (674-8) (*Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, 354, ll. 13-17). The Byzantine sources report that Greek fire was again successfully launched during another Arab siege of Constantinople in 717-18. In addition, the Arabic *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, which was written much later, probably in the 13th century A.D., but which contains material from earlier sources, also mentions explicitly that during this same siege, *nafṭ* was used by the Arabs (for this siege, *ibid.*, 24-33).

Most probably, the so-called invention by Kallinikos was simply a perfection of an old weapon in advanced form. He must have brought to Constantinople the tradition of Hellenistic science, during which period a system of missile-shooters and incendiary weapons was used, along with a number of catapults in land and naval warfare (see G.E.R. Lloyd, *Greek science after Aristotle*, London 1973, 96-9; K.D. White, *Greek and Roman technology*, London 1984, 217 f.). The most revealing artistic evidence of an advanced incendiary weapon is a graffito in an Alexandrian tomb dated to the 1st century B.C., published by A. Schiff (*Alexandrinische Dipinti*, i, Leipzig 1905, pl. I) and, recently, by L. Casson (*Ships and seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, fig. 115). It depicts a vessel with a firebasket hanging from two poles projected from the prow; as has been correctly pointed out by W.W. Tarn (*Hellenistic military and naval developments*, Cambridge 1930, 145), when the enemy ships rammed prow-to-prow, the baskets would fall on the other ship's deck and set it on fire.

The Hellenistic and Roman periods were marked by the writing of treatises on warfare as well as the construction of numerous war machines, including those involving fire. Some of the most important authors of these periods are: Ktesibius of Alexandria (3rd century B.C.), Philo of Byzantium (ca. 200 B.C.), Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (ca. 25 B.C.), Hero of Alexandria (ca. 60 A.D.) and Dionysius of Alexandria (2nd century A.D.). The last one, Dionysius, invented a rapid-fire-repeating catapult, an automatic weapon called *polybolos* (J.G. Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World*, London 1978, 183 ff.). These must have been the sources for a number of Arab manuals

of warfare (for these older treatises, see A.G. Drachman, *Ktesibios, Philon and Heron, a study in ancient pneumatics*, Copenhagen 1948; E.W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman artillery, technical treatises*, Oxford 1971).

In late Roman times, various incendiary mixtures which became the basis of later developments, i.e. sulphur, resin, asphalt and pitch swathed in oakum soaked in crude oil were used, (R.J. Forbes, *Studies in ancient technology*, i, Leiden 1955, 101), and in this light, we can infer that Kallinikos' chemical composition was not any outstanding innovation but simply a convenient synthesis of well-known materials placed on ships and used in a systematic way along with other missiles, at a time which is marked by a drastic change in naval warfare, i.e. the abandonment of the ram. Such composition would include the basic element, i.e. crude petroleum. No secret formula was involved, but a variety of formulae applied according to the nature of each warfare action, and Byzantine folklore about a divine secret kept zealously by special families is obviously sheer mythology (H.R.E. Davidson, *The secret weapon of Byzantium*, in *BZ*, lxvi [1973], 61-74).

The question which naturally arises is how the parallel development of *nafṭ* took place in the Arabo-Islamic world. Byzantine nautical and naval warfare practice was, as noted above, immediately adopted by the Arabs, but the written Greek tradition appears much later, well into the ʿAbbāsid period.

It was also during the late Hellenistic and Roman periods that stone-throwing catapults were mounted on ships and used for naval warfare. If we take into consideration that in the late Roman period various incendiary mixtures were invented or perfected, as for example that described by Vegetius (4th century A.D.), which was fixed to an arrow, i.e. a mixture of sulphur, resin, asphalt and pitch to which crude oil was added, we understand that the elements for the invention of Kallinikos already existed in the late Roman tradition and that he simply perfected the "Greek fire". (For various incendiary mixtures in Roman times, see Forbes, *loc. cit.*)

The Islamic period

Kallinikos' perfection of Greek fire based on the Alexandrian legacy came at the turning-point of some important changes in naval warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean. In late Roman times, speed and the use of ram became again important after an obvious neglect in Hellenistic times. Procopius, writing in the middle of the 6th century, describes the *dromōn* as a light warship. A century later, at the famous battle of Dhāt al-Ṣawārī, no ram was used (see Suppl. s.v., and Christides, *The naval engagement of Dhāt al-Ṣawārī A.H. 34/A.D. 655-656. A classical example of naval warfare incompetence*, in *Byzantina*, xiii [1985], 1331-45). When the perfected Greek fire was used by the Byzantines in the Arab siege of Constantinople in 670, the revolution in naval warfare was completed; ramming had been abandoned and replaced by an extensive use of stone-throwing machinery, to which the launching of fire was added.

The use of Greek fire in 670 was therefore part of the new important weaponry and its use was emphasised and somewhat exaggerated by the Greek sources and by a number of Arabic and Syriac sources—the *Kitāb al-ʿUnwān*, the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* and the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*—which were closely interwoven with the Byzantine sources (for the complex interrelationship of the sources, see the pioneering work of L.I. Conrad, *Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition: some indications of intercultural transmission*, in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, xxv [1990], 1-44).

The Byzantines used Greek fire successfully in the Arab siege of Constantinople of 715-17, but as the Arabic sources inform us, the Arab fleet was also equipped with *nafṭ*, and it was also about this time that Muhammad b. al-Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] used fire-throwing engines in his Indian expedition. (F. Gabrieli, *Muhammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī and the Arab conquest of Sind*, in *East and West*, xv [1964-5], 282, n. 1b).

From the small number of passages from the Arabic sources concerning the use of *nafṭ*, collected and translated by Mercier and Canard, by the middle of the 7th century the Muslims were using *nafṭ* and its use accelerated with the passage of time (see M. Canard, *Textes relatifs à l'emploi du feu grégeois chez les Arabes*, in *B. Et.Ar.*, vi [1946], 3-7).

Several Arabic treatises dealing with warfare include important information concerning *nafṭ*, sometimes accompanied by drawings (M. Reinaud, *De l'art militaire chez les Arabes au moyen âge*, in *JA* [Sept. 1848], 193-237; K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen*, Helsinki 1941; A.R. Zaky, *Military literature of the Arabs*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire Egyptienne*, ser. VII, fasc. 3 [1955], 149-60; N. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *al-Khayl wa 'l-riyāḍa*, Cairo 1976). The most commonly used of these treatises is the work of Ḥasan al-Rammāḥ, ed. A. ʿAbādī, *al-Furūsiyya wa 'l-manāṣib al-ḥarbiyya*, Baghdād 1984. Valuable also is the work of the 13th century author Marḍī or Murḍā Ibn al-Ṭarsūsī, ed. and tr. Cl. Cahen (*Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, xii [1947-8], 102-63).

The most valuable of the *furūsiyya* works on Greek fire are those of Ibn Manglī, most of which are not published. In his *Aḥkām*, carelessly edited by M. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, there are passages referring to the Greek fire translated from the *Naumachica*, written by Leo VI in the middle of the 10th century (Christides, *Naval warfare in the eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th centuries)*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], 137-148). Ibn Manglī equates the *hygron pyr* of the Byzantine sources with *al-nafṭ* and/or *nār*. He even used the Arab term *al-nār al-maṣnūʿa*, for the Greek *eskeuasmenon pyr* ("made-up fire").

Nafṭ/Greek fire was used by the ʿAbbāsid armies (see e.g. the *naffāṭūn*, *nafṭ*-throwers, and their *naffāṭāt*, equipment for hurling it, used by al-Afshīn against the Khurramī rebel Bābak in 222/837, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1215), through the periods of the Būyids and Saldjūḳs (see Spuler, *Iran*, 493-4) to that of the Mongols (Chinese *nafṭ*-throwers in the army of Hülegü, see *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 341). During the Crusading Wars, it was mainly used for land warfare [see ḤIṢĀR. iv, at vol. III, 475b-476a], and although sporadically used at sea as late as the 15th century, it was finally replaced by gunpowder [see BĀRŪD].

The composition of Greek fire

An examination of all sources—Arabic, Greek and Latin—reveals that there was no secret recipe zealously kept by any party, but undoubtedly there was a great variety of incendiary mixtures whose numbers grew steadily. One cannot therefore accept the statement in the otherwise useful work by Cheronis, "It may be rightly said that Constantinople was the butt of the attack from the Asiatic invaders, and that relying chiefly on Kallinikos' fire, they were able to resist for several centuries". (N.D. Cheronis, *Chemical warfare in the Middle ages: Kallinikos' prepared fire*, in *Journal of Chemical Education*, xiv [1937], 361).

In the Greek and Arabic sources, the typical incendiary ingredients of *nafṭ*/Greek fire included sulphur, pitch, quicklime and cypress resin, which thickened the mixture, and in the Arabic *furūsiyya* literature are

many detailed recipes supplementing the more general information found in the Byzantine sources. Of course, the problem of trustworthiness of these sources has been occasionally challenged, but as D. Ayalon has correctly pointed out, while they are not clear in their references to the later period when gunpowder was used, they are valid for the earlier period of simple, incendiary weapons (*Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom*, London 1956).

According to Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, at the time of the caliph al-Manṣūr (754-75) a *Kitāb al-Naft* existed. A number of *furūsiyya* treatises bear the names of Alexander the Great or his teacher Aristotle, and these may be based on Greek originals.

Ibn al-Manglī, who has preserved much earlier material from an assortment of previous sources, and Murḍā Ibn al-Ṭarsūsī reveal the extensiveness of Arabic formulae for *naft*/Greek fire, including those for Greek fire "floating on the water" and many other types. In addition to the main elements, the ingredients included quicklime, cow and goat fat, eggshells, soda (*naṭrūn* [*q.v.*]), etc. Of great interest is a fragment of the Arabic ms. Istanbul, Ahmet III no. 3469 (15th century), in which there is a formula in which *bārūd* is mentioned (see appendix A of V. Christides, *The conquest of Crete by the Arabs* (*ca. 824*). *A turning point in the struggle between Byzantium and Islam*, Athens 1984): "You take 3½ *dirhams* (⅛ of an ounce) of *faḥm* (a sort of charcoal), 2¼ *dirhams* of sulphur and 5 *dirhams* of *natrūn* which should be refined and thin, and 10 *dirhams* of *bārūd*, and work so that you reach your aim". *Bārūd* in this context is not gunpowder, but salpetre used as a propellant. This is an obvious case of the intermediate state of the use of *bārūd* as a strong propellant, and because it was the most important element of gunpowder, its name finally meant the gunpowder itself; see further BĀRŪD.

Thus it is clear that from the time of Kallinikos in the 7th century until the Crusades there was a constant development of various formulae of *naft*/Greek fire. In the Byzantine sources it is usually referred to in connection with naval activities; in the Arab *furūsiyya* treatises, although there are references to its use in land warfare, it is usually mentioned in connection with *marākib* (ships). Again, it should be emphasised that it is superfluous to try to trace any special, secret formulae for *naft*/Greek fire (see e.g. H.W. Hime, *The origin of artillery*, London 1915, 33; E. Pászthory, *Über das "Griechische Feuer"*, in *Antike Welt*, xvii [1986], 28); instead, there were numerous formulae based on petroleum and additional ingredients. The various types of *naft*/Greek fire explain why the sources report that its launching was either accompanied by a loud sound and/or smoke or only by a flame (see some examples from the Arabic sources in Canard, *Textes relatifs à l'emploi du feu grégeois chez les Arabes*, 3-7).

The use of *naft*/Greek fire gradually fell into disuse, mainly because of the various ways of protection against it existing from ancient times, mainly the use of sand instead of throwing water, vinegar, hides and others. The Arabic sources, furthermore, inform us that the troops hurling *naft*, *al-naffāṭūn*, corresponding to the Greek *siphōnophoroi*, were protected by special garments known as *libās an-naffāṭīn* (see Christides, *Protective fire-proof equipment in the warships of Ancient and Middle Ages*, in *Tropis* iv, forthcoming. Such garments are illustrated in the Arabic ms. of Ibn al-Manglī's *Tadbīrāt al-sulṭāniyya*, Leningrad Public library, no. C-726).

The launching of naft/*Greek Fire*

This is a complex problem which needs further research by means of a thorough correlation between the literary evidence of Arabic and Greek sources with the numerous drawings in Arabic sources, most of them still in unpublished manuscripts. These drawings emphasise the use of pots, made mainly but not exclusively, of clay. Thus in an often-cited drawing of an Arabic manuscript, such fire bombs appear prominently on various places of the ship (see Pászthory, *Über das "Griechische Feuer"*, fig. 2). Such fire bombs, according to the literary Arabic sources, could be thrown from a basket attached to the main-mast (from the crow's nest) by hand. A great variety of machines for throwing fire pots appear in Arnbayghās's *al-ʿAnīḳ* reproduced in *Khizānat al-silāḥ*, ed. N.M. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Cairo 1978. The Byzantine sources, and in particular Leo VI's *Naumachica*, report that the main fire-thrower is placed on the prow and some minor ones on the sides, while light fire-throwers were carried by hand.

The passage of Leo VI's *Naumachica*, 1,6, is translated into Arabic and preserved in Ibn Manglī's *Aḥkām* (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, 21). The parallel examination of Leo VI's text with the Arabic translation sheds some light on the position and function of this main fire-thrower (see Christides, *Naval warfare in the eastern Mediterranean* (*6th-14th centuries*), in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], and *Navigation and naval warfare in the eastern Mediterranean*, *the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean* (*6th-14th centuries A.D.*), to appear in *Nubica* [1993]).

From the literary and pictorial evidence it is obvious that both Arabs and Byzantines used various types of fire-throwing machinery based on tension or torsion or on the sudden releasing of heavy weights. Such machinery could be sometimes the same as that for stone-throwing, as is mentioned in the *Stratēgicon* of pseudo-Mauricius, in which the *petrobolos* (= stone throwing machinery) also launches *chouzia* (pots of earthware), full of fire, and moved by the power of *antibarēmatōn* (the release of heavy weights). While the function of the pot-throwing machinery can be easily understood, it is not easy to determine exactly the function of the machinery which launched directly *naft*/Greek fire (see the attempt by J. Haldon and M. Byrne in their edition of the above-mentioned work and their drawing).

The Arab fire-throwing machines, as well as those for stone-hurling, were further developed under Chinese influence which reached its peak during the Mongol period; during the 13th century, when the use of the magnetic compass passed to Europe [see MAGHNĀṬĪS. 2]. Chinese influence is definitely discernible in the construction of Arab-Islamic war machinery and fire bombs (see Christides, *The transmission of Chinese maritime technology by the Arabs to Europe*, in *The American Neptune*, 52/1 [1992], 38-45).

It should be note finally that Ibn Manglī mentions small vessels with great mobility equipped only with fire arrows which could sink large ships.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see J.R. Partington, *A history of Greek fire and gunpowder*, Cambridge 1960, 186 ff.; Ibn Manglī, *al-Adilla al-rasmiyya fi 'l-taʾābī al-ḥarbiyya*, ed. Maḥmūd Sayyid Khaṭṭāb, Baghdād 1409/1988; N.I. Serikoff, *Leo VI Arabus?*, in *Macedonian Studies* (1991). (V. CHRISTIDES)

3. In the modern sense of oil: the Middle East and South East Asian oil industries.

I *Introduction*

The discovery and development of oil resources in Islamic countries was, as elsewhere, initially dependent on the natural distribution of deposits and their exploitation by commercial interests with the

necessary technical skills, capital availability and distribution facilities.

Early oil production was dominated by the United States and Russia at the end of the 19th century. As the 20th century emerged new oil fields were discovered in Europe, the East Indies, Burma and Iran, which became the precursor of the later immense importance of the Middle East area. Thus by the first decade of the 20th century oil discoveries were already occurring in regions of Islamic culture. The economic importance of oil and its accompanying technical advances and growing consumption has also been affected by contemporary political and nationalist influence.

Some countries began to limit the freedom of foreign private enterprise to operate within their borders by challenging the terms of the original concessions or even expropriating them and forming international companies as in Romania, South America and Mexico, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s. This process accelerated in the 1950s and 1960s as the established major oil companies faced greater competitive pressure and increasing demands from oil producing-countries with enhanced political prestige and rising economic expectations. Besides, demand for oil for industrial requirements grew as coal consumption fell. Thus with the formation of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) on 4 September 1960 in Baghdād the first phase of the oil era was drawing to a close. Members include (with date of joining); Iran, ʿIrāḳ, Kuwayt, Saʿūdī Arabia and Venezuela, September 1960; Ḳaṭar, January 1961; Indonesia and Libya, June 1962; United Arab Emirates, January 1968; Algeria, July 1969; Nigeria, July 1971; Ecuador, November 1973, and Gabon, 11 June 1975.

The second phase, although still influenced by commercial considerations, emphasised optimising revenue, asserting the sovereignty of national natural resources and exercising control over the pricing and production of petroleum products, and was essentially achieved by 1973. The first decade of OPEC's existence was one of aspiration, the second of positive consolidation and the third of adjustment to changing political and economic circumstances in the markets. Its response to problems has generally been one of action through consensus, but serious conflicting interests have inevitably arisen among the members, who by no means included all oil-exporting countries. Whilst there has been an organisation formed for Arab oil interests, OAPEC (Organisation of Arab Petroleum Countries) (January 1968), there has been no concerted Islamic approach, though individual countries have acted within their own concept of Islamic theory and practice. In general, considerations of real political and economic power rather than religious principles have predominated, though some countries have engaged in oil boycotts and embargoes in connection with Arab-Israeli hostility, or in conflict among themselves such as Iran and ʿIrāḳ. Oil revenues have had a deep effect on the life style of Islamic countries which have had such an experience.

II. *Individual Countries*

1. *South-East Asia.*

Indonesia [*q.v.*] declared itself an independent state in 1945, after which there began gradually the Dutch withdrawal from the islands formerly comprising the Dutch East Indies. Oil was struck near the north coast of Sumatra at Telega Tunggat in Langkat on 15 June 1885, but it was not till 28 February 1892 after a pipeline and a refinery were built that oil was processed for the first time by the Royal Dutch Company. On 8 January 1897 oil was discovered at Balik Papan in the Kutei Province of South-East Borneo.

Oil was discovered in southern Sumatra in the Palembang district on 24 January 1897, becoming the most prolific field up to 1939, when the whole region was the fifth largest producer in the world. The oil installations suffered great damage during the Second World War. However, in the 1960s the oil industry had become the most dynamic sector of the economy and had replaced rubber as the principal export. It has a low sulphur content and in the 1970s became the most important single supplier of the Japanese market. The management and financial position of the national oil company, Pertamin, was under suspicion in the mid-1970s, but it has since recovered its reputation.

2. *Middle East.*

(a) Iran. Muẓaffar al-Dīn S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] granted an oil concession in 1901 and oil was subsequently discovered after years of hard endeavour in difficult terrain on 26 May 1908 at Masd̲j̲id-i Sulaymān.

In April 1909, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was formed to exploit the Concession, and by 1913 a pipeline of some 130 miles had been completed and a refinery constructed at Ābādān which by 1950 was the largest in the world. The acquisition in 1914 by the British Government of a majority shareholding in the company caused added political complications to the inevitable concessional and commercial disagreements, particularly during Riḍā S̲h̲āh's drive to modernise the country. The concession was cancelled in 1932, renewed in 1933 and nationalised in 1951 while Dr Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*] was Prime Minister. On behalf of the state company, the National Iranian Oil Company, an international consortium of companies drawn from the major oil companies and some American independent concerns virtually controlled the Iranian oil industry till the emergence of OPEC and the action taken by Muḥammad Riḍā S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The province of K̲h̲ūzistān in south-western Iran has remained the principal location for oil fields.

(b) ʿIrāḳ. This became the second area of oil importance in the Middle East when the discovery well drilled by the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC), an international consortium constituted to develop the concession, came in at Baba Gurgur north of Kirkūk on 27 June 1927. Oil was first exported in 1934. It became a highly politicised issue as a result of the Arab-Israeli confrontation from 1949 onwards and as a result of the coup d'état of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] on 14 July 1958. It was fitting that the first meeting of OPEC was held in Bag̲h̲dād. Like Iran, ʿIrāḳ has been transformed by its oil revenues from an agricultural to an industrial society since the 1960s.

(c) Saʿūdī Arabia. In 1944 geological evidence confirmed that the location of the greatest oil reserves was centred in the Middle East. The strategic, political and economic consequences of this development have been immense, especially in Saʿūdī Arabia, whose austere and traditional Islamic way of life has had to face modernising influences, political problems and international exposure on an unprecedented scale. Tribal encampments have jostled with high-rise office blocks. In the search for alternative sources of oil outside the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, the Standard Oil Company of California obtained a concession from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd on 29 March 1933 and was joined by the Texas Oil Company three years later. Early in 1938 oil was first struck near D̲h̲ahrān (Ẓahrān [*q.v.*]).

American interest has remained very strong, and

even during the Second World War the American Government, through its Petroleum Reserves Corporation, proposed taking a shareholding in Saʿūdī Arabian oil and constructing a pipeline with a Mediterranean outlet. However, a refinery at Raʾs Tanūra and later the pipeline were constructed while the company, renamed the Arab-American Oil Company (ARAMCO), expanded to include the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) and the Standard Oil Company (New York), thus exclusively American owned. It introduced into the Middle East at the end of 1950 the 50:50 division of profits which had already been conceded in Venezuela, completely changing the concessional pattern and greatly increasing the revenue-earning capacity of oil with its economic implications.

(d) Syria has recently began the production and processing of oil, mostly for its own consumption.

3. *The Persian Gulf*

Oil was discovered in Baḥrayn in May 1932, Kuwayt in April 1938, Ḳaṭar in December 1939, Abū D͟habī off-shore in September 1958 and on shore 1960. In ʿUmān, production began in August 1967 and in 1966 and in Dubayy September 1965.

4 *North Africa*

Oil was discovered first in Algeria under French auspices at Hassi Messaoud (Ḥisy Masʿūd) and on the fringe of the Sahara early in 1956, and provided substantial revenues for the new state after the Accords of Evian in March 1962 with France regarding independence. In Libya, oil exports began in 1961, and with the coup d'état of Colonel Gaddafi (Ḳad͟hd͟hāfī) against King Idrīs in 1969, the new régime adopted a radical stance in oil affairs. Tunisia has minor oil production.

5 *Elsewhere*

Before 1939 there was some oil production in Egypt, but it was boosted in 1974 by legislation pro-

Table 1

Spot Crude Prices US Dollars per Barrel

	Arabian Light
1972	1.90
1973	2.83
1974	10.41
1975	10.70
1976	11.63
1977	12.38
1978	13.03
1979	29.75
1980	35.69
1981	34.32
1982	31.80
1983	28.78
1984	28.07
1985	27.53
1986	12.97
1987	16.92
1988	13.22
1989	15.69

Source: BP Statistical review of world energy, June 1990

Table 2

Proved reserves at the end of 1989

Middle East	*Thousand Million Tonnes*	*% Share of Total*
Abū D͟habī	12.1	9.1
Dubayy and Emirates	0.8	0.4
Iran	12.7	9.2
ʿIrāḳ	13.4	9.9
Kuwayt	13.0	9.3
Neutral Zone	0.7	0.5
ʿUmān	0.6	0.4
Ḳaṭar	0.6	0.4
Saʿūdī Arabia	34.7	25.2
North Yemen	0.1	—
South Yemen	0.4	0.3
Syria	0.2	0.2
Others	Less than 0.05	0.3
Total Middle East	89.3 (49.2)*	65.2 (55.3)*
Africa		
Algeria		
Egypt		
Libya		
Tunisia		
Asia		
Indonesia	1.1	0.8
Malaysia	0.4	0.3
OPEC	104.2	75.6
World	136.8 (88.9)	100.0

* 1980

Source: BP Statistical review of world energy, June 1990

Table 3

Major Islamic country production 1938-89 million tonnes

	1938	1957	1960	1963	1966	1969	1972	1975	1978	1981	1984	1987	1989	1989 Share of total
Middle East														
Abū Dhabī	—	—	—	2.6	17.3	28.9	50.6	67.3	69.7	54.5	38.9	56.1	75.4	2.4
Dubayy & Other Emirates	—	—	—	—	—	—	7.6	12.6	18.0	18.3	19.2	24.2	23.2	0.7
Iran	10.4	38.2	52.6	73.1	105.1	168.1	251.9	267.7	262.3	65.8	109.3	114.7	142.2	4.6
ʿIrāḳ	4.4	22.0	47.5	56.7	68.0	74.9	72.1	110.0	125.7	44.0	60.3	102.4	138.6	4.5
Kuwayt	—	57.3	81.9	97.2	114.4	129.5	153.0	94.0	97.0	48.2	48.9	53.5	79.4	2.6
Neutral Zone	—	3.5	7.3	16.7	22.3	23.3	29.3	25.8	23.9	19.4	21.1	20.2	20.9	0.7
ʿUmān	—	—	—	—	—	—	14.2	17.1	15.8	16.4	21.0	29.1	29.4	0.9
Ḳaṭar	—	6.6	8.2	9.1	13.8	17.0	23.2	21.0	23.6	20.2	20.1	15.9	18.7	0.6
Saʿūdī Arabia	0.1	49.0	62.1	80.5	119.4	148.6	287.2	343.9	409.8	491.3	233.0	212.2	256.5	8.3
Others	1.1	1.6	2.2	2.4	3.3	24.0	9.5	14.7	13.0	11.1	11.4	14.9	29.7	1.0
Total Middle East	16.0	176.2	261.8	338.3	463.6	614.3	898.6	975.1	1058.8	789.2	383.2	643.2	814.0	26.3
Algeria	—	—	8.8	23.9	33.8	44.5	49.8	47.5	57.2	46.3	46.1	48.9	50.4	1.6
Egypt	—	—	—	—	—	—	17.6	14.8	24.2	34.1	42.5	45.9	44.5	1.4
Libya	—	—	—	22.4	72.3	149.8	108.2	71.3	95.5	58.7	53.0	47.9	54.8	1.8
Indonesia	7.4	16.1	20.6	22.5	23.5	35.3	53.4	64.6	81.0	82.2	68.5	63.3	66.9	2.2
Malaysia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12.4	21.7	24.6	28.3	0.9
Total OPEC	—	—	—	5388.4	7121.4	10059.6	13396.2	1540.2	1152.7	1150.3	904.7	928.6	1130.0	36.5
Total World	278.2	672.1	1090.5	1352.6	1695.9	2145.0	2633.8	2954.3	3094.1	2903.6	2838.9	2926.7	3089.8	100.0

Source: BP Statistical review of world energy, June 1990

moting a policy of *infitāḥ* opening-up to foreign investment, and the oil sector benefited from this change of policy.

Both parts of the Yemen have recently begun modest production, as has Malaysia.

III *Economic statistics*

An idea of the price levels for crude oil 1972-89, taking Arabian light crude as the marker; of the massive concentration of oil reserves in the Middle East; of oil production in Islamic countries 1938-89; and of the growth and decline of OPEC oil revenue figures 1963-86, is given in Tables 1-4 respectively.

Table 4

Total OPEC oil revenue (with countries included from year of full membership)

	Revenue ($bn)
1960	
1961	
1962	
1963	3.0
1964	3.5
1965	3.9
1966	4.2
1967	4.9
1968	5.4
1969	6.3
1970	7.3
1971	11.0
1972	13.7
1973	22.6
1974	87.0
1975	92.4
1976	107.9
1977	122.5
1978	114.3
1979	192.6
1980	275.0
1981	247.7
1982	192.9
1983	153.9
1984	158.6
1985	132.0
1986	77.1

Source: OPEC 1983, 1984, 1986

Bibliography: L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *Persian oil, a study in power politics*, London 1955; F.C. Gerretson, *History of the Royal Dutch Shell Company*, 4 vols., Leiden 1958; G. Lenczkowski, *Oil and state in the Middle East*, Ithaca 1960; Ashraf Lutfi, *Arab oil. A plan for the future*, Beirut 1960; J.E. Hartshorn, *Oil companies and governments. An account of the international oil industry in its political environment*, London 1962; S.H. Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East, its discovery and development*³, Oxford 1968; Fuad Rouhani, *A history of OPEC*, New York 1971; Zuhayr Mikdashi, *The community of oil-exporting countries. A study on governmental cooperation*, London 1972; Fereidun Fesharaki, *Development of the Iranian oil industry, international and domestic aspects*, New York 1976; J.C. Hurewitz (ed.), *Oil, the Arab-Israel dispute and the industrial world, horizons of crisis*, Boulder, Colo. 1976; Edith and E.F. Penrose, *Iraq, international relations and national development*, London 1978; H. Mejcher, *Die Politik und das Öl im Nahen Osten*, Stuttgart 1980; J.B. Kelly, *Arabia, the Gulf and the West. A critical view of the Arabs and their oil policy*, London 1980; A.-D. Miller, *Saudi Arabian oil and American foreign policy, 1939-1949*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1980; J.A. Allan, *Libya, the experience of oil*, London 1981; Mary Ann Tetreault, *The Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries. History, policies and prospects*, Westport, Conn. and London 1981; H.I. Anderson, *ARAMCO, the United States and Saudi Arabia. A study of the dynamics of foreign oil policy 1933-1950*, Princeton 1981; R.W. Ferrier, *The history of the British Petroleum Company. I. The developing years, 1901-1932*, Cambridge 1982; Frauke Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, London 1982; W.J. Levy, *Oil strategy and politics, 1941-1981*, Boulder, Colo. 1982; Fereidun Fesharaki and D.T. Isaak, *OPEC, the Gulf and the world petroleum market. A study in government policy and downstream operations*, Boulder, Colo. 1983; K.-J. Gantzel and H. Mejcher (eds.), *Oil, the Middle East, North Africa and the industrialised states*, Paderborn 1984; J.A. Bill and W.R. Louis (eds.), *Musaddiq, Iranian nationalisation and oil*, London 1988; I. Skeet, *OPEC. Twenty-five years of prices and politics*, Cambridge 1988; Jill Crystal, *Oil and politics in the Gulf. Rulers and merchants in Qatar*, Cambridge 1990. OPEC publications are available from their Information Dept. in Vienna. (R.W. Ferrier)

NAFṬA (Nefta), a small town in the oasis of the same name in southwestern Tunisia, situated on the isthmus separating the depressions of the Shaṭṭ al-Djarīd and the Shaṭṭ al-Gharsa. It is 473 km/295 miles from Tunis, 321 km/200 miles from Ḳayrawān and 35 km/21 miles from the Algerian border. This geographical position, added to an abundance of water resources, accounts for the role played by this oasis since Antiquity. It has thus been able to retain its own originality, whilst at the same time being affected by the great historical movement of its hinterland.

The original site was that of Nepta or Aggarsel-Nepta, a post erected along the track linking it with Tusuros (Tozeur) and Aquae (al-Ḥamma) by a forward road of the Roman and Byzantine *limes*. The actual site must be at present envelopped by the sands and near the modern urban agglomeration. Various facts, however, demonstrate the continuous history of the place's occupation. The dam constructed on the Wed Nefṭa is made from blocks of Roman stone (Tissot), and there are other later constructions such as the town's wall (al-Yaᶜḳūbī). However, the religious aspects of its history are more telling here, seen in the late persistence there of Khāridjite doctrines in the 4th/10th century (Ibn Ḥawḳal), of Shīᶜīs in the next century (al-Bakrī) and of Christians until the 8th/14th century (Ibn Khaldūn). These various layers of religious life, the basis of Nafṭa's designation of "little Kūfa", should be considered side-by-side with the solidly-based populations inhabiting rich lands, favouring religious contemplation, but lands also affected by the political currents and counter-currents traversing this axial point of the eastern Maghrib.

Thus as a result of the Hilālian invasions [see hilāl, banū] and of the continual state of flux of its socio-demographic composition, Nafṭa had to come to terms with the nomads, being governed by a council of notables presided over by the influential family of the Banū Khalaf in the 8th/14th century. A certain equilibrium became established, in large part through the commercial exchanges which took place along the trans-Saharan commercial axis of which Nafṭa and

Tozeur were two flourishing and lively links, all the more so since the local agricultural production included a large range of sought-after crops and products, made possible by a carefully constructed irrigation system.

This, in general outline, was Nafṭa's general evolution, but it was accompanied by a certain decline more and more marked as the caravan traffic fell into disorganisation. Nevertheless, this was to some extent compensated by the rise of maraboutism, making Nafṭa one of the main centres of important dervish orders like the Raḥmāniyya, an order which was Algerian in origin and which provided asylum for certain figures in the resistance efforts of neighbouring countries in the 19th century, seen in the example of a Nacer ben Chora (Rey-Goldzeiguer, 513).

In recent times, the town's evolution has been dominated by the fact of continued emigration, seen in the decline of population between 1936 and 1975, from 13,500 to 12,500, with a low point of 11,500 in 1966. However, during the last decade, since 1980 and since the opening of an international airport at Tozeur and the oasis's modernisation, Nafṭa has been able to become integrated into the national economy by opening itself extensively to international mass tourism, even if the surplus working population cannot be entirely absorbed by these new activities. In 1984, the population had arisen to 15,000 people, which nevertheless showed a lower rate of growth than the national average.

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(G. Marçais-[D̲j̲. Sari])

NAFŪD (A.), a term used to refer to certain Arabian sand seas, and derived from *nafd*, pl. *anfād*, with the meaning of "a large sand dune". Nafūd is used to describe a number of Arabian sand tracts (e.g. Nafūd al-Sirr, Nafūd al-T͟huwayrāt, Nafūd al-Mazhūr), but the term refers particularly to the Nafūd al-Kabīr (Great Nafūd) in northern Saudi Arabia. The Nafūd al-Kabīr is the lesser of the two great sand seas of the Arabian Peninsula, the second being the so-called Rubʿ al-K͟hālī [*q.v.*] in the south. The Nafūd encompasses some 72,000 km² and varies in its limits between 300 to 400 kms from east to west and, at its greatest limits, is about 250 kms from north to south. These Aeolian sands are a strong reddish colour, affected to some extent by the sandstone formations further west. The sands take on a variety of formations, including linear ridges, star dunes and compound crescentic dunes. The dunes reach as much as 100 m in height, with deep hollows (*fald̲j̲*) which, in certain cases, reach down to the bed-rock beneath the sands. Musil called these hollows *ḳaʿara*. Rainfall is very slight in the area; to the north an annual rainfall is recorded of 41 mm at Badana and of 35 mm at Rafḥāʾ. To the south, this rises to 102 mm at Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*]. However, rainfall vanishes in the sands, failing to produce pools. The Nafūd is fertile in winter and spring and travellers comment on the good grazing in the dunes, including *ḥamḍ* and *yerta*. According to the S͟hammar, the land ceases to be Nafūd where the plant *raẓa* finds the sand too shallow to put down roots. In the northern Nafūd there are wells at al-S͟haḳīḳ, and in the south at the oasis of D̲j̲ubba are wells and a small village. The location of the various Nafūd wells used to be essential to caravans crossing the desert between D̲j̲abal Ad̲j̲āʾ and al-D̲j̲awf.

There is evidence of activity in the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic period in the sands of the Nafūd and at D̲j̲ubba. D̲j̲ubba is also especially rich in T͟hamūdic epigraphic material and rock drawings. These show animals that include bovids and human figures, and they have been termed the D̲j̲ubba-style in the region as a whole. Ptolemy in the 2nd century A.D. does not mention the sands, but he seems to locate the Sarakenoi in the Nafūd, since he places them east of the Thamudenoi, and beyond the Scenitae who lived in the northern Ḥid̲j̲āz (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 138-9; Musil, *Northern Neǵd*, 311-12). Sprenger (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 171, no. 275) and Euting (*Inner-Arabien*, i, 151) identify Ptolemy's Aina with the wells at D̲j̲ubba. The Nafūd is generally known to the Arab geographers as the *Raml ʿĀlid̲j̲* (al-Hamdānī, i, 178, 205, 206, 222; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1-2, 214, ii, 2, 1212; Yāḳūt, iii, 417, 591), although other terms are also used. Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. De Goeje, 30; cf. al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, ed. De Goeje, 24 and al-Idrīsī, fasc. ii, *Sectio sexta*) refer to the sands of al-Habīr lying near to the mountains D̲j̲abal Ad̲j̲āʾ and D̲j̲abal Salmā, of the ancient Arab tribe of Ṭayyiʾ. Al-Hamdānī also speaks of the sands of al-Habīr and al-Dahnāʾ: al-Habīr seems synonymous with the *Raml ʿĀlid̲j̲*, i.e. the Nafūd, while al-Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*] is the narrow sand running from the eastern end of Nafūd to the Rubʿ al-K͟hālī in the south.

Part of the Nafūd is described as al-Dud̲j̲ūd̲j̲ (Yāḳūt, ii, 554-5, iii, 713, iv, 1024), and is apparently in the western part of the sands, extending from the prominent mountains known as ʿAlam al-Saʿd towards Taymāʾ. Another term used is al-Dāḥī, a sandy waste which Yāḳūt (iii, 460) places west of D̲j̲abal Salmā, although Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K͟halīfa places the wells at al-Shaḳīḳa in the northern Nafūd within al-Dāḥī (tr. Norberg, ii, 208, 209). The Nafūd was within the lands of the Banū Kalb, whose territories extended far to the north into Syria (al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 664). The *Ramlat ʿĀlid̲j̲* was also in the lands of the Banū Buḥtur of the Ṭayyiʾ who dominated D̲j̲abal Ad̲j̲āʾ and D̲j̲abal Salmā to the south of the Nafūd. According to al-Sakūnī (Yāḳūt, iii, 59.), the Banū Buḥtur lived in the Nafūd in safety as no-one could reach them in the sands. In modern times, the northern desert has been largely occupied by the Ruwālāʾ, with the area to the south tending to be occupied by S͟hammarī tribes. A fort at al-Hayyāniyya on the eastern side of the Nafūd was built by Ibn Ras͟hīd in 1853. The Nafūd had been included within Saʿūdī territory in the late 18th century, and it passed once more under Āl Saʿūd authority in 1921-2.

Recorded itineraries generally cross from the northern side of the Nafūd to the south. Musil argued that no ancient caravan routes passed from east to west. While the terrain of massive sand-dunes is difficult, it is really the scarcity of water that dictates travel in the Nafūd. The caravan route via the D̲j̲awf villages in the north to Ḥāʾil passes al-Shaḳīḳa and

Djubba, the only wells in the central area of the sands (Palgrave, i, 91-9; Blunt, i, 187-92; Euting, i, 141-56; Polk and Mares, 173-228). Another route from the north-west was followed by Nolde, while Gertrude Bell only skirted the south-western edge of the Nafūd, using the wells at Hayzān. The pilgrim road from al-ʿIrāḳ, the *Darb Zubayda* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], only touches the eastern side of the Nafūd, approaching it in the area of al-Thaʿlabiyya. Modern asphalt roads generally have avoided the deep sands of the Nafūd. However, in the course of the 1980s, a highway was started across the Nafūd from Ḥāʾil to al-Djawf.

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(G.R.D. King)

AL-NAFŪSA, in Berber Infūsen, name of a Berber tribe. According to the common genealogical scheme (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, i, 107-17), the Nafūsa are one of the four branches of the large body of the Butr, whose name derives from their chief Mādghīs al-Abtar. At present, the dwelling place of the Nafūsa is south-west of Tripoli in Libya, on the plateau of the same name [see AL-NAFŪSA, DJABAL] which from the frontier between Tunisia and Tripolitania tends eastward, and, if taken in the largest sense, comprises the regions of Nālūt, Fassāṭo and Yefren. The inhabitants of this region are generally called Nafūsa, although, in a genealogical sense, this name can be applied to some groups only. Probably the name Djabal Nafūsa (in Berber *adrar n Infūsen*), which originally belonged to a part of the plateau, was extended to a large area between Wāzzen and Yefren on account of the fact, that of the tribes inhabiting it, the Nafūsa were of prominent importance. This use of the name in its widest sense is also to be found in the book by Ibrāhim b. Sulaymān al-Shammākhī, *Relation*, in which all the territories of Yefren, Fassāṭo and Nālūt are described.

The scarce data on the history of the Nafūsa which we possess, are to be found, for the largest part, in Arabic sources. In the Greek and Latin authors of pre-Islamic times there is no single sure allusion to them. The name occurring in Corippus' *Johannis* (second song, l. 146, *Quaeque nefanda colunt tristis montana Navusi*), does not refer, in all probability, to a place or a tribe of Tripolitania, but rather of the Aurès (Awrās), its plateau or its neighbourhood. The fact that Navus represents a form closely connected with Nafūsa proves only that the name was widely spread among the Berbers.

In Islamic times, the name is recorded for the first time in connection with the capture of the town of Tripoli by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (22 or 23). According to Ibn ʿIdhārī (i, 2-3), during the siege the inhabitants called to their aid the Nafūsa, who came to their aid. At that time they were residing also in the vast plain of Djafāra, situated between the Djabal and the sea; one of their chief towns, if not their capital, was Ṣabra on the coast (Roman Sabratha, formerly Phoenician), west of Tripoli, which by Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, i, 181, l. 8) is called "the city of the Nafūsa". This town was taken by surprise and plundered by a body of cavalry sent by ʿAmr. This raid was probably undertaken not only to continue the conquest farther westward, but also to punish the Nafūsa, whose territory ʿAmr had invaded in order to conquer it (cf. al-Bakrī, 9, 10), and which he had to abandon by order of the caliph.

According to some sources, the Nafūsa at that time were Christians; according to other reports, however, they were Jews. Our latest local information makes it probable that Christianity had spread widely among them, though the conversion of single groups to Judaism is not excluded. In fact, traces of Byzantine basilicas have been found on the plateau, e.g. at Temézda, Iṭarmīsen, etc., which are also mentioned in some sources and which must have been used by large numbers of the indigenous population.

When the Arabs had conquered North Africa, the Nafūsa of Ṣabra and of the coastal region retired, according to the common opinion, to the plateau, where they remained hostile towards the conquerors. A fresh study of the Tripolitan population, however, makes it clear that a part of them must have stayed in their old dwelling-places where they intermarried with other tribes and, in course of time, became arabicised. In fact, there are tribes in the Western Djafāra and in Tripoli, the town and its surroundings (the regions of al-Sāḥil, Tadjura, etc.), that, according to the local genealogy, derive from the Nafūsa. Apart from this ethnic tradition, there is the fact, recorded in several sources, that after the first case of intervention of the Nafūsa in the affairs of the town of Tripoli—which may have been partly due to a Christian opposition to the Muslim invasion—they wanted, under successive dominations, to make their presence felt and their influence preponderant in the northwestern region of Tripolitania, so that the outlines of the history of the

small, but strong and civilised Berber unit may be supposed to be the following. Having its centre in the plateau, it intended to make felt, as often as possible, its dominion in the coastal region and thus keep the control of the main way of communication between Egypt and Ifrīḳiya, which ran along the coast and which was followed by the various expeditions to the Maghrib. Even at present, such aspirations may be stirred in the minds of the most cultivated of these populations, to such an extent that some of them have reckoned with an eventual reoccupation of their old territories in Western Djafāra.

The period in which the Nafūsa, according to the sources available to us, were most vigorous and active and took a part in the events happening in North Africa, was that of the great Khāridjī [*q.v.*] revolts, which began in 122/739-40 and did not cease until the beginning of the 4th/10th century, i.e. before the era of the Fāṭimids. When the Wahbī [see AL-WAHBIYYA] doctrines began to spread among the North African populations in the 2nd/8th century, they embraced them and so joined the rebellious movement of the Berbers against the Arab conquerors, a movement which, prepared by several other causes, found also some support in the Khāridjī heterodoxy. The Nafūsa embraced the Ibāḍī [see AL-IBĀḌIYYA], i.e. the more moderate form of the Khāridjī doctrine, and remained ever faithful to it with heroic attachment. In alliance with other Berber tribes, either Ibāḍīs or other branches of the sect, they repeatedly made war upon the Arab governors of Ifrīḳiya.

In 140/757-8 they elected as their *imām*, probably with the intention of founding an Ibāḍī principality—an intention which manifested itself also at other times—an Arab called Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Maᶜāfirī [*q.v.*], one of the missionaries of Ibāḍism in North Africa. Under his command and in conjunction with other Berber groups, they occupied Tripoli, fought against the Ṣufrī [see AL-ṢUFRIYYA] Wafardjūma, who had sacked Ḳayrawān where they had settled, and against the armies sent by the ᶜAbbāsids to reconquer Ifrīḳiya. Finally, in 144/761-2, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and a large number of his followers perished near Tauorgha (Tāwurghā) in a great battle against the general Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath al-Khuzāᶜī, the governor of Ifrīḳiya.

Another well-known *imām* of the Nafūsa was a Berber, Abū Ḥātim Yaᶜḳūb al-Malzūzī [*q.v.*], whose enterprises survive in oral tradition on the plateau, which speaks of his 375 encounters with the Arabs. He was killed in battle in 155/771-2.

When the Ibāḍī kingdom of the Rustamids [*q.v.*], which had Tāhert as its centre, had been founded, the Nafūsa did not elect an *imām* of their own any more but formed a part of this kingdom under a governor who depended upon it. Some of these governors, e.g. Abū ᶜUbayda ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Djanāwunī (of Igennāwen), and Abū Manṣūr Ilyās (of Tendemmīra), are often praised by the Berbers of the Djabal for their importance and ability in maintaining the interests of Ibāḍism, and also for their learning and piety.

The Nafūsa were a valuable support of the Rustamids, of whose principality they formed the eastern bulwark. Being near the territory of the Aghlabids [*q.v.*], they shared to some extent the vicissitudes of this state which had arisen in Ifrīḳiya in the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. The town of Tripoli was in the possession of those princes; western Djafāra, on the other hand, till near the Sea, and probably also part of eastern Djafāra, was in the power or under the influence of the Nafūsa. When Tripoli was beleaguered in 267/880-1 by the Ṭūlūnid prince al-ᶜAbbās [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who, having revolted against his father Aḥmad, sought to conquer Ifrīḳiya at his own risk, the Nafūsa were called to aid, and, appearing without delay, they defeated the army of the invaders (according to other sources, their help was invoked by the inhabitants of Lebda). This fact, which reminds one of the first siege of Tripoli by the Muslims, proves clearly the influence which the Nafūsa possessed in northwestern Tripolitania and it accounts also for the severe blow dealt to them in 283/896-7 by the Aghlabids, when Ibrāhīm II b. Aḥmad, who led an expedition from Tunis to Egypt, found his passage through the coastal region of Tripolitania barred by the Nafūsa. The bloody battle of Mānū, which was followed by acts of terrible cruelty inflicted upon hundreds of Nafūsa prisoners, and which is narrated in a more or less anecdotical form in the Sunnī as well as in the Ibāḍī sources, is ascribed, ultimately, to the desire of the caliph to punish the Nafūsa who were the principal support of the heretical state of Tāhert; or to the resentment of the Aghlabids at acts of enmity committed by the Berbers, as well as in the humiliation they had suffered when the expedition of the Ṭūlūnid al-ᶜAbbās, which was directed against them, had been averted by the Nafūsa, to whom this exploit became a point of glory.

In reality, however, taking into account the whole political situation as well as the historical antecedents, it is evident that that battle, which is still mentioned in the oral tradition of the Ibāḍīs as the most terrible disaster they ever suffered, was the inevitable encounter between the Aghlabid power and the supremacy of the Nafūsa exercised in the former's immediate vicinity and even in its own territory.

When the power of the Aghlabids as well as that of the Rustamids had been destroyed by the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*], the Nafūsa found themselves face to face with those new masters of Eastern Barbary. There exist reports of an instance of their strenuous opposition to Fāṭimid power, which endeavoured to subdue them in 310/922-3 and which defeated them in the following year.

There are, however, reports concerning the part taken by the Nafūsa, or at least by tribes from the plateau, in the great Khāridjī rebellion, which was led by Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] and which ended with the victory of the Fāṭimids. Probably the Ibāḍī populations of the Djabal, although having given up the idea of forming one large autonomous state, endeavoured to avoid any dependence upon the various kingdoms and empires which successively held the supremacy in North Africa, while the latter, on the other hand, endeavoured, as far as possible, to obtain a footing also in the mountainous region which forms the strategic key to the plain stretching towards the coast.

When the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN] undertook the conquests of eastern Ifrīḳiya under ᶜAbd al-Muᵓmin (554-5/1159-60), the Nafūsa were also subdued by his army. Their territory became the scene of violent struggles and massacres, of raids and partial conquests during the long period of the revolt of the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*] who attempted to restore the Almoravid empire and who, from 580/1184-5 onwards, for nearly half-a-century and with varying succes, fought chiefly in eastern Barbary. In these fights, Arabs of the tribe of Dabbāb (belonging to the Banū Sulaym), who had come to Tripolitania during the well-known invasion of the Banū Hilāl and Sulaym, took part. Some clans of the Dabbāb, especially the Maḥāmīd and the Djuwārī, settled in the coastal region west of Tripoli, where the Nafūsa had exercised their power before. Yet the great mass of the latter

must have retired to the plateau not at the time of the conquest but in consequence of the Arab invasion.

The Nafūsa remained in nearly the same attitude of defence of their independence, during the supremacy in Ifrīḳiya of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*], and, afterwards, of the Ottomans. While other populations in the neighbourhood gave up their Ibāḍism in order to embrace Sunnism, and consequently became arabicised, the Nafūsa stuck to their faith and to their Berber vernacular, withdrawing themselves to the rough crests of their mountains, and from time to time taking part in the acts of hostility and in the rebellions which the interior opposed to the efforts of the government of Tripoli to maintain its own authority and, chiefly, to levy taxes.

In the 19th century, the Ottomans, after having retaken in 1251/835-6 the direct administration of Tripoli, had to fight long and bitterly for the conquest of the plateau of the Nafūsa also. The struggle lasted, with varying success, till 1274/1857-8. In this period the *shaykh* Ghūma b. Khalīfa distinguished himself by courage and endurance; he is usually represented as the hero of Berber independence defended against the Turks. In reality, however, he was an Arab and the Arab tribe of the Maḥāmīd had the largest share in the wars, while the Berbers, according to all appearance, did not take part in them on a large scale. During the Italian occupation of Tripolitania, which began in 1911, the Nafūsa were at first hostile in accordance with their old aspiration to found an independent Ibāḍī kingdom which should extend up to the Sea and include the region of Sabratha. Defeated in 1913 by General Lequio near al-Aṣābaʿa, they offered their submission to the Italian authorities and subsequently became faithful subjects during the period of Italian rule.

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NAFŪSA, DJABAL, a limestone escarpment running from the Libyan Mediterranean coast slightly to the west of the Tripolitanian town of al-Khums in a west-south-western direction to Nalut (*Kharīṭa al-Djamāhiriyya al-ʿArabiyya al-Lībiyya al-Shaʿbiyya al-Ishtirākiyya*, Beirut, n.d.). Thereafter the highlands break up as a set of lower tablelands lying on an axis oriented to the north-west, eventually merging into the Monts des Ksour. The Djabal is an important and complex geological feature of North Africa. The north-facing scarp rises steeply from the flatlands of the Djifāra and is composed mainly of Mesozoic rocks within the Upper Triassic to Upper Cretaceous range (A.Y. El-Zouki, *Stratigraphy and lithofacies of continental clastics, NW Libya*, in M.J. Salem and M.T. Busrewil [eds.], *The geology of Libya*, London 1980, 394-5). Altitudes vary from less than 500 m in the east (505 m near Tarhuna) and a maximum of 971 m above Gharyan to 725 m close to Kabow further west. Heights diminish gradually westwards towards Nalut (693 m) (*al-Aṭlas al-Waṭanī*, Tripoli 1977, 33-4). The Djabal was traditionally divided into four physical and tribal districts, the Djabal Nafūsa proper around Nalut, the Djabal Yafran running east from Zintan, the Djabal Gharyān in the centre and the Djabal Tarhuna-Msellata in the extreme east (Admiralty, *Handbook of Libya*, London 1920, 13). The western Djabal attracts a good rainfall. Gharyan in the centre receives a mean annual rainfall of 315 mm, though further west towards Nalut, the average rainfall drops to 150 mm or less (J.A. Allan, K.S. McLachlan and E.T. Penrose [eds.], *Libya: agriculture and the economic development of Libya*, London 1973, 28).

Human settlement of the D̲jabal Nafūsa has historically been associated with groups seeking refuge. The Berbers moved away from the invasions of the Arabs of the Banī Hilāl and Banī Sulaym [*q.vv.*] in later mediaeval Islamic times, while the Jews escaped from Tripoli during the incursion of the Spanish in the 16th century (H.E. Goldberg, *Cave dwellers and citrus growers: a Jewish community in Libya and Israel*, Cambridge 1969, 11). In the G̲h̲aryān, the main district of the D̲jabal at the time of the Italian occupation of Libya immediately preceding the First World War, there was a population of 29,850 persons, of which 14,985 were Berbers, 4,870 were of mixed Arab-Berber origin, 9,295 were Arabs, 400 were Culughli [see KUL-OG̲H̲LU] and 300 were Jews. At that time, many of the Arabs were nomadic or semi-nomadic while the Berbers and Jews were sedentary (E. de Agostini, *Le popolazioni della Tripolitania, notizie etniche e storiche*, Parte 1a, Tripoli 1917), living in troglodyte dwellings (Goldberg, *op. cit.*). In 1963 the Muḥāfaẓa of G̲h̲aryān contained 76,700 persons, of which 17 per cent was nomadic. (M. Alawar, *Urbanization in Libya*, in E. Joffe and McLachlan [eds.], *Social and economic development of Libya*, London 1982, 331-53). Estimates suggested a population of 204,300 persons in the district in 1988 (*Encyclopaedia Britannica Book of the Year 1990*, Chicago 1990, 659). Important demographic changes took place in 1948 following the flight of Jews. In the period after the exploitation of oil in 1961, population grew rapidly in the region at 4% annually (IBRD, *World development report*, Oxford 1989, 215), though many males lived and worked in large cities such as Tripoli while keeping their families in the villages of the D̲jabal.

The D̲jabal Nafūsa has a limited but thriving agriculture. Dryland farming on the top of the scarp is confined to tree crops, including figs, apricots, almonds and olives. Tobacco is grown in the G̲h̲aryān area and kitchen garden crops are widespread. Grain, principally wheat, is produced in great quantities at the foot of the scarp on lands traditionally owned by the people of the D̲jabal. Cultivation of the man-made terraces on the scarp face has generally been abandoned in recent decades. There has been little industrialisation in the D̲jabal, and the principal economic advances of recent years have been in improved roads, communications, housing and health facilities (M.M. Buru, *The Tripoli agglomeration land-use changes and land-use options*, in Buru, S.M. Ghanem and McLachlan [eds.], *Planning and development in modern Libya*, London 1985, 110-29.

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(K.S. McLachlan)

AL-**NAFŪSĪ**, Abū Sahl al-Fārisī, Ibāḍī scholar of the Rustamid family, who lived in Tāhert [*q.v.*] in the 3rd/8th century. Some say that he was one of those who by their learning and religious zeal helped to make that town famous. He was a complete master of Berber, and served as interpreter under the *imām* Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (on whom see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 586) in the first half of the 3rd/8th century or even till 258/871-2, and under Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf b. Muḥammad who, with a short interruption, was *imām* 281-94/894-907. This shows that the Rustamid princes of Tāhert spoke Arabic, as was to be expected from their Oriental origin, and needed interpreters in their dealings with the Berber-speaking peoples. When the Fāṭimids had destroyed the Ibāḍī power, Abū Sahl settled at Marsa 'l-K̲h̲araz (La Calle, between Bône and the Tunisian frontier); or at Marsa 'l-Dad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (Port-aux-Poules) on the Algerian coast, between ʿAyn Taya and Cape D̲jinet (cf. e.g. al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, 64-5, 82).

Al-Nafūsī is best known as the author of an extensive Berber *Dīwān*, containing religious and historical poems, both dealing probably with the doctrines and history of Ibāḍism. It has been lost, like so many other works of Berber Ibāḍīs; yet perhaps parts of it may be recovered by further search in the Mzāb, at D̲jarba and among the Nafūsa. At any rate, Abū Sahl has an important place in the literary history of the Berbers, especially the Ibāḍiyya, who composed books on theology and law, chronicles, poetry and biographies.

Such a literary movement is usually explained by the need which the K̲h̲arid̲j̲ite heretics felt of making clear their doctrine, especially the points in which it differed from the Sunna, to the inhabitants of the interior of the central and eastern Mag̲h̲rib, who did not know Arabic, and who must have been numerous about 1000 A.D. Yet another thing, which can be seen to-day, must not be forgotten, viz. the attachment of these peoples to their own tongue as a symbol of opposition to the Arabic-speaking world in general and Muslim orthodoxy in particular. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, some Berber groups in the neighbourhood of Yefren in Tripolitania were led by Sanūsī propaganda to give up their old Ibāḍī faith and embrace orthodoxy. This change in its turn caused the Berber dialect to be less used, as if heresy were bound up with the national language, and the giving up of the heresy removed the last obstacle to complete arabisation. This assumption is confirmed by some religious poems (which deserve to be called literature) in the region of Fassāṭo, where the love of the national language is still strong. In them, the author says explicitly that he uses Berber to uphold and strengthen the Ibāḍī faith, which once flourished gloriously, but afterwards decreased, and is now well-nigh disappeared. In past times also, the Berber literature of the Ibāḍīs was partly a symbol of nonconformity and nationalism; so when Abū Sahl, who was rooted in Arabic civilisation by his origin, devoted himself to the study of Berber so as to become the best Berber scholar of his time and to compose in it his works, he must have felt in his deeply religious mind the connection between that language and the faith he professed.

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(F. Béguinot)

NAFY (a.), "negation", a technical term of Arabic grammar. The sole grammarian to define negation is al-D̲jabrānī (d. 668/1270): "It is the information pointing to the non-existence (*ʿadam*) of what is being talked about". It is the opposite of affirma-

tion (*īdjāb*), which the same grammarian defines as being "the information pointing to the existence (*wudjūd*) of what is being talked about" (Paris, B.N. ms. arabe 4067, fol. 148, l. 27). Concerning the links which exist between negation and affirmation, Ibn Yaʿīsh declares: "Know that negation depends on (*ʿalā ḥasab*) affirmation, since negation being the denial (*ikdhāb*) of affirmation, it is necessary that it should be in accord (*ʿalā wafḳ*) with its expression and that there should be no difference between them except that one is a negation and the other an affirmation" (*Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, viii, 107).

Following Sībawayh, the Arab grammarians enumerate six particles (*ḥurūf*) whose signification (*maʿnā*) is negation; three of these (*mā, lā, in*) can be used in a verbal or nominal phrase, and three of them (*lam, lammā, lan*) only in a verbal phrase.

In a verbal phrase, the six particles negate the action, at the same time placing it in a temporal framework:
(1) *mā*, followed by a verb in the imperfect indicative, negates an action in the present (*ḥāl*); followed by a verb in the perfect aspect, it negates an action in a past still close (*muḳarrab*) to the present; and in combination with the conjunction *li-* followed by the subjunctive, *mā* also expresses the denial (*djuḥūd*) of the action.
(2) *lā*, followed by a verb in the imperfect, negates an action in the future; followed by a verb in the imperfect apocopate, it negates an order, i.e. expresses a prohibition (*nahy*). Followed by a verb in the perfect, it may, under specific circumstances (e.g. *lam yaʾkul wa-lā shariba* "he did not eat or drink", where *lā* continues a previous negative), negate an action in the past, or it expresses an optative (*duʿāʾ*).
(3) *lam*, followed by a verb in the unaccomplished apocopate, negates an action in the past.
(4) *lammā*, followed by a verb in the unaccomplished apocopate, negates an action in the past nearest (*aḳrab*) to the present.
(5) *lan*, followed by a verb in the imperfect subjunctive, negates an action in the future; being more strong and energetic (*ablagh*) than *lā*, it strengthens (*akkada*) negation in the future, just as the particles *sa-* and *sawfa* strengthen affirmation in the future.
(6) *in*, like *mā*, followed by a verb in the imperfect indicative, negates an action in the present; followed by a verb in the perfect aspect, it negates an action in the past.

In a nominal phrase, the particle *mā* can mean the negation of the predicate in the present; from the viewpoint of rection, the norm (*ḳiyās*) is that is exercises no rection; but the Ḥidjāzīs assimilate it to the verb *laysa*, making it entail the vowel / *u* / in the noun in initial position (*mubtadaʾ*), and the vowel / *a* / or the preposition *bi-* and the vowel / *i* / in the predicate. But in opposition to this, the Banū Tamīm do not allow it any rection.

More rarely than *mā*, the particle *lā* can be employed like *laysa*, but only when the noun in initial position is indefinite (*nakira*); likewise the particle *in*, which, in combination with *illā*, expresses an exception (*istithnāʾ*), but without exercising any rection.

Finally, the particle *lā* is used before the noun in first place in order to deny it categorically. This is the negation in totality (*istighrāḳ*) of the class (*djins*), which certain grammarians also call "exemption" (*tabriʾa*); if the noun is indefinite, the particle entails the vowel / *a* / without *tanwīn* (or *-āti* in the fem. sound pl.); if the noun is definite, (*maʿrifa*), the particle exercises no rection.

Bibliography: G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, 204-5; Mubarrad, *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, ed. ʿUḍayma, iv, 188-201, 357-88; Ibn al-Sarrādj, *K. al-Uṣūl*, ed. Fatlī, 92-7, 379-408; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo, i, 105-9, viii, 107-13.

(G. Troupeau)

NAFZA (Nefza), the name of a Berber tribe (ethnic: Nafzī) belonging to the group which the mediaeval genealogists and historians mention under the name of Butr [*q.v.*]. It had spread out over a large part of Barbary, between Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*] and Fās, passing through the region of Constantine, Oran, Tlemcen and the Rīf. In contemporary Tunisia, to the east of the massif of Kroumirie [see khumayr], there extends the country of the Nafzas, a fertile region fringed with woodlands abounding in game. Near the Djabal al-Abyaḍ, at *ca* 150 km/96 miles to the west of Tunis by road and 140 km/90 miles by railway, a station on the Tunis-Ṭabarḳa [*q.v.*] line bears the name of Nafza.

In the manner of other Berber tribes, sections of whom had crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, the Nafza established themselves in particular in the valley of the Guadiana, upstream from Mérida [see mārida], where they had a stronghold known as Ḥiṣn Umm Djaʿfar. There was also a group at Játiva [see shāṭiba], but it was the first one which played the most important rôle on account of their connections with the Umayyads. It happened that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I al-Dākhil [*q.v.*], whose mother was a Berber captive originally from this tribe, had spent some time before crossing into Spain in the principality of Nakūr [*q.v.*], on the Moroccan coast of the Rīf inhabited precisely by some of the Nafza, who henceforward continued to have privileged connections with Cordova.

The Berbers seem to have been proud of the numbers of *fuḳahāʾ* and *ḳāḍīs* belonging to this tribe who became famous in Spain.

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(Ed.)

NAFZĀWA, a tribe belonging to the group which the genealogists distinguished under the name of the Butr [*q.v.*] and which formed one of the two great Berber peoples, the other being the Barānis [*q.v.*]. They seem to have become fixed fairly early in Libya and to have spread over all the Maghrib, where the elements which are encountered there sporadically were largely sedentaries or sedentarised. Mediaeval authors mention Nafzāwa as far as Sidjilmāsa and even as far as Awdaghost [*q.vv.*], but this tribe is known above all today for having given its name to a region of Tunisia to the south-south-east of the Chott el Djerid [see al-djarīd]. The Nafzāwa (Nefzaoua in European usage) had their administrative centre, during the French protectorate, at the place Gbīlī (Kébili), the seat of an Office for Native Affairs, whose archives contain documents of a geographical, ethnological or economic nature; since Tunisia's achievement of independence, a second Delegation has been created at Douz.

The Nafzāwa, whose history is essentially the same as that of the Djerid/Ḳasṭīliya [*q.v.*], only played a secondary rôle, and authors cite them mainly because the geographical peculiarities of the region allowed it

to serve as a refuge for rebels or for authorities in difficulty. More than its history, it has been the terrain and its inhabitants which have interested Western travellers and researchers (see *Bibl.*). Economists and sociologists have been especially concerned with the way of life of the population, which has evolved considerably since the beginning of the century, notably, as the consequence of a movement of gradual sedentarisation of the semi-nomads stimulated by the increase in the drilling of artesian wells which favour both the growth of agriculture in the zone of lands suitable for agricultural working and also the extension of palm groves in the oases, the main one of these last being El Glia (al-Ḳulayʿa), to the south of which regions suitable for nomadism, still practised by the 10,000 Marāzīg, stretch as far as the Erg (ʿIrḳ [see ṢAḤRĀʾ] and Ghadāmes [*q.v.*]. Finally, one should not forget that a part of the Nafzāwa area is made up of salt marshes (*sabkha*, pl. *sibākh*), which justify the expressive title which P. Moreau gave to his monograph, *Des lacs de sel aux chaos de sables: le pays des Nefzaoua*, Tunis 1947.

The great richness of the region lies in its date groves [see NAKHL], which are treated with more and more care, since they provide the population with very appreciable resources and contribute moreover to the settlement of persons. In this regard, the statistics are eloquent: from *ca.* 160,000 palm trees in 1889, a figure of one million was approached in 1967. The mediaeval geographers and travellers take care to place an emphasis on the abundance of these trees growing in the oases around some centres of population which they cite. In this context, they remark that the tribe which, at some indeterminate date, gave its name to the region, had already given this name to a place situated at six days' march to the west (in reality, to the south-south-west of Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*], at three days' march from Gabès [see ḲĀBIS] and at two from Gafsa [see ḲAFSA]. According to their description, this population centre was surrounded by a stone and unfired brick wall pierced by six gates; it had a Great Mosque, baths and flourishing markets, and had groves of dates, olives and various other fruit trees, but, on the testimony of Leo Africanus, there were no cereals there. For al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318), Nafzāwa reminded one of Baṣra because of the irrigation canals which furrowed it, but this comparison seems, to say the least, exaggerated. Al-Bakrī situates at Nafzāwa a plentiful spring called Tawrgha (modern ʿAyn Tāwrgha), whose name, he realised, was Berber; in effect, it comes from the root *w.r.gh* which implies an idea of "yellow". Al-Tidjānī, who travelled through the region at the opening of the 8th/14th century, situates it at Bashrī (modern Bechri) and adds the information that, each year, a man was killed there. It is probable that Bashrī was the successor to Nafzāwa.

The Romans, who occupied the region, have left there buildings, ruinous since mediaeval times, and traces in the toponomy. Thus amongst the places in the region, the geographers cite especially Ṭurra (Lat. Turris Tamelleni, modern Telmine, near Kébili), which Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya [see GHĀNIYA, BANŪ] treated harshly in 602/1205 in order to punish the inhabitants there, who had betrayed him. The town was surrounded by a rampart and ringed by plantations similar to those of Nafzāwa. The *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* mentions a third place, whose name, read as أيتمليلن could be composed of the Berber word Ayt [*q.v.*] (son, in the pl. = Banū), followed by a name which is related to that of Turris Tamelleni, this latter element possibly to be compared with the radical *m.l.l.* (*imlal* "to be white"). The anonymous author of this work and, before him, al-Bakrī, whom he copies, were interested in the route from Nafzāwa to Ḳasṭīliya, i.e. Tozeur (Tawzar [*q.v.*]), in a north-westerly direction. The track, which went through salt marshes, was marked out by means of wooden stakes planted in a ground so shifting that "it resembled soap", and the authors who mention it do not fail to recount the accidents which had struck groups of travellers or soldiers lost there and made them disappear without trace. A system of markers such as this existed still in the first decades of the 20th century.

The Nafzāwa of Tunisia, who were Ibāḍīs [see IBĀḌIYYA], early absorbed members of other Berber-speaking tribes of the same ethnic group, in particular, the Lawāta and the Maghrāwa [*q.vv.*]; in Ibn Khaldūn's time (8th/14th century), the population still included not only Jews but also some Christians (some Afāriḳa). As a result of the infiltration and invasion of allogenous elements which ended up with the upper hand over them, the Nafzāwa came to feel themselves totally arabised, to the point even of attributing to themselves an Arab origin and to speaking only Arabic (on the speech of the Marāzīg, see G. Boris, *Documents linguistiques et ethnographiques sur un region du Sud-Tunisien* (*Nefzaoua*), Paris 1952, and *Lexique du parler arabe de Marazig*, Paris (1958).

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(CH. PELLAT)

NAGAR, the name of many towns and cities in India (Skr. *nagara* "city"). Those of significance for Islam are as follows:

1. Nagar, familiar name locally for Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*], being even used on signposts. C.R. Singhal, *Mint-towns of the Mughal emperors of India*, Bombay 1953, 7, describes a coin of typical Aḥmadnagar fabric where the mint-name is simply Nagar.

2. Nagar, a large town in Karnātaka, some 55 miles west of Shimōgā, once a capital of local *rādjās*, captured in 1176/1763 by Ḥaydar ʿAlī [*q.v.*], and so for a short time known as Ḥaydarnagar; Ḥaydar ʿAlī

established his principal arsenal and a mint there.

3. Nagar = Nagar Kōt, with its stronghold (Kōt) Kāngŕā, commanding the Kāngŕā valley in the western Pandjāb (now Himachal Pradesh), was an important centre of Hindū pilgrimage at the intersection of trade routes, which brought immense wealth to the temple of Devī there. This (or possibly another temple within the fort) was plundered in 399/1008 by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī (Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, i, 12); it fell to Fīrūz Shāh the Tughlukid in 762/1360, (Badāʾūnī, *ibid.*, i, 248-9) when the temple was again plundered. A rebellion in *ca.* 980/1572 (Badāʾūnī, *ibid.*, ii, 161-2; Badāʾūnī refers also to his own visit there in 998/1590) led to its being garrisoned by the Mughals, and Akbar's visit to it ten years later is recorded (*Akbar-nāma*, iii, 348). It fell to the Sikhs in 1775 until the district was ceded to the British in 1846. The town and fort were destroyed in the 1905 earthquake.

4. Nagarnagar, the original name of the fort on the Hari Parbat, outside Shrīnagar, Kashmīr, where Akbar later built his own fort. (J. Burton-Page)

NĀGAWR, modern spelling Nagaur, Nagor, a town and district in the division of Jodhpur in the Rajasthan state of the Indian Union, formerly within the princely state of Jodhpur in British India; the town lies in lat. 27° 12′ N. and long. 73° 48′ E. at 75 miles/120 km. to the northeast of Jodhpur [see djōdhpur], and in 1971 had a population of 36,433.

The walled town is said to have derived its name from its traditional founders, the Nāga Rādjputs. In the later 12th century it was controlled by the Čawhān (Čahamāna) ruler of Dihlī Pṛithvīrādja III, then by the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad [see ghūrids], although there are indications of an earlier Muslim presence before the Ghūrid conquest, under the old governments of Sind and Multān. It remained an important stronghold for the sultanate of Dihlī, controlling both Sind and southern Rādjāsthān until the decline of the Tughluk dynasty in the late 8th/14th century, when it fell into the hands of Muẓaffar Shāh I of Gudjarāt; he gave the state of Nāgawr to his brother Shams Khān Dandānī, and the Dandānī dynasty lasted for over a century until Muḥammad Khān Dandānī submitted to Sikandar Lodī in 915/1509-10. After the Lodī period it passed to Rādjā Maldev of Djōdhpur, who built the fort and incorporated much old Muslim building in its walls. It fell again to the Dihlī sultanate under Shēr Shāh, subsequently becoming part of the Mughal empire until its final fall; thereafter it reverted to the Mahārādjā of Djōdhpur. By the 8th/14th century it had become a centre of the Čishtī Ṣūfī order [see čishtiyya] and was already a renowned home of Muslim mysticism and scholarship, starting with Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Suwali Nāgawrī (d. 673/1274) (early genealogy in Shokoohy, *op. cit.* below, 75). In the 10th/16th century, it was the birthplace and early home of Shaykh Mubārak Nāgawrī (911-1001/1505-93), later influential, as was his younger son Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*], at Akbar's court as an exponent of a more liberal and eirenic view of the role of Islam in India than that held by the rigorist *ʿulamāʾ* who opposed Akbar's religious policies [see akbar and dīn-i ilāhī] (see Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, 168-9; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, Delhi 1975, 76-103).

Muslims remain the second largest religious group of the town and district, amounting in 1961 to 18% of the Nāgawr District population.

Monuments. Inscriptions from many of the earlier buildings, including one from the time of Muḥammad b. Sām, and several of the Khaldjī and Dandānī periods, are set into the upper walls of the fort. The oldest standing monument, and the finest, is the Buland Darwāza, also known as Darwāza-yi Tārikīn, a gateway leading to the enclosure around the shrine of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn. An inscription refers to its construction in 733/1333, i.e. in the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluk, but this must refer to a restoration, since the style and the surface decoration are more consonant with the buildings of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish; a fine Kurʾānic inscription above the gateway is in a typical 7th/13th century chancery script. The Shamsī talāʾō, the Shamsī ʿīdgāh and the Shamsī masdjid, in earlier writers attributed to Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, are in fact rather of Shams Khān Dandānī. The Shamsī masdjid, large and impressive, has a western prayer-hall in the beam-and-bracket style, with five domes (the central now fallen) and two tapering corner turrets resembling those of Lodī buildings, faced by a makṣūra-screen of five arches, similar in type to mosques of Gudjarāt. Other mosques of a similar period (Ek mīnār kī masdjid, Sūrī masdjid) are also trabeate, but the Akbarī masdjid of 972/1564-5 is entirely arcuate, in the early Mughal style. There are many small mosques of Mughal reigns up to Awrangzīb in the various *maḥallas* of Nāgawr city.

Bibliography: J. Tod, *Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan*, passim; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 298-9; *Rajasthan District gazetteers*, *Nagaur*, Jaipur 1975. H.B.W. Garrick, *Report of a tour in the Punjab and Rajputana* = *ASI*, xxiii, 1887, 48-72; M.A. Chaghtai, *Nāgaur: a forgotten kingdom*, in *Bull. Deccan Coll. RI*, ii, 1941, 166-83; B.S. Mathur, *Side-lights on the mediaeval history of Nagaur*, in *Procs. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, xxvii, Mysore 1966, 139-44. Many inscriptions have been reported in *EIM* and *Ep. Ind. Ar and Pers. Suppl.*, all now superseded by Mehrdad Shokoohy in *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, xlix (Rajasthan I), London 1986, 68-86, and plates 62a-80c, mostly of inscriptions but including some buildings.

(C.E. Bosworth and J. Burton-Page)

NAGIR [see hunza and nagir].

NĀGPUR, the name of a city, district and division of the state of Maharashtra in the Indian Union, formerly in the Central Provinces of British India; the city lies on the Nāg river in lat. 21°10' N. and long. 79°12' E.

The history of this area, which roughly corresponds to Gondwāna, has been profoundly influenced by the long range of the Sātpura hills through which the Burhānpur-Asīrgaŕh gap provided the chief route from Hindustān to the Dakhan. When the Muslim invaders first came into contact with Gondwāna, it contained four independent Gond kingdoms: the northern kingdom of Garhā-Mandlā; two central kingdoms with their capitals at Dēogarh and Khērla respectively; and a southern state with its capital at Čānda. In the reign of Akbar the imperial forces overran the northern kingdom, forcing it to pay tribute, despite the heroic efforts of the Dowager Rānī Durgāvatī. After this, the political predominance of the Gond chiefs shifted to Dēogaŕh which in its turn also suffered from the aggressive schemes of the Mughal emperors. Early in the reign of Awrangzīb, a punitive force under Dilīr Khān entered both Čānda and Dēogaŕh, with the result that, in 1081/1670, the ruler of Dēogaŕh embraced Islam as the price of the restoration of his kingdom (*ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*, 1022-7). Both these states paid tribute to the emperor through

a Muslim agent stationed at Nāgpur in the Islamic period, for the *Pādshāh-nāma* of Lāhawrī describes its capture by Khān Dawrān in 1047/1637 (for a still earlier identification, see Hira Lal, 10).

The most famous ruler of Dēogarh was the converted Gond chief Bakht Buland, who visited the court of Awrangzīb (*Ma'āthir-i ʿālamgīrī*, 273). Because of his contumacious attitude he was replaced by another Muslim Gond named Dīndār (*ibid.*, 340). For some years after this, Bakht Buland remained in imperial service, until, escaping from imperial control, he once more raised the standard of revolt in Dēogaṙh (Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, ii, 461). Although Dēogaṙh was recaptured for a time by Awrangzīb's forces, Bakht Buland remained in open rebellion and was never really subdued. Eventually, under this able ruler the Dēogaṙh state comprised the modern districts of Čhindwāra and Betūl, together with portions of Nāgpur, Seonī, Bhandāra and Bālāghāt. The last important Gond ruler was Čānd Sulṭān who died in 1152/1739. It was he who fixed the capital at Nāgpur, which he converted into a walled town.

Internal dissensions led to the intervention of Raghudjī Bhonsla, who was governing Berār [*q.v.*] on behalf of the Marāthā Pēshwā [see MARĀTHĀS and PĒSHWĀ]. Eventually, in 1743, the Marāthā leader took over the administration of the country. By granting a nominal authority to the Gond Rādjā, Burhān Shāh, and his descendants, the Bhonslas possessed a useful pretext for disavowing, when expedient, the rights of the Pēshwā, but in practice reference was usually made to Pūna [*q.v.*] on important matters, such as the succession. Burhān Shāh's descendants continued to occupy the position of state pensioners, and the representative of the family resided at Nāgpur in British Indian times with the title of Rādjā or Sansthānik. Raghudjī's reign witnessed a great influx of Kunbīs and other Marāthās into Nāgpur. The treacherous attitude of his successor Djānodjī led to his defeat by the combined forces of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] and the Pēshwā, and to his acknowledgement of the latter's supremacy.

It was under Raghudjī II that the Nāgpur kingdom attained its greatest extent and included practically the whole of the later Central Provinces and Berār, together with Orissa and certain of the Čutiā Nāgpur states. Unfortunately for the solidarity of his kingdom, he joined forces with Sindhia against the British, and, in 1803, after the battles of Assaye and Argāon, was compelled to subscribe to the treaty of Dēogāon, by which he was deprived of a third of his dominions (Aitchison, i, 415-17). He was succeeded in 1816 by his son, Parsodjī, an imbecile, who was murdered in the following year by the notorious Āppā Ṣāḥib. On the outbreak of war between the British and the Pēshwā in 1817, Āppā Ṣāḥib attacked the British Residency but his troops were defeated in the brilliant action at Sītābaldī. This resulted in the deposition of Āppā Ṣāḥib, who was succeeded by Raghudjī III, on whose death, in 1853, without heirs, natural or adopted, this dependent principality was declared by the Viceroy Lord Dalhousie to have lapsed to the Paramount Power.

The British administered Nāgpur by means of a Commission until the formation of the Central Provinces in 1861. Then after independence in 1947, Nāgpur became the capital of Madhya Pradesh state and then after 1956 the district headquarters of Maharashtra state, alternating with Bombay as the seat of the state legislature. Modern Nāgpur city (population in 1971, 866,144) is a major industrial and commercial centre (especially for textiles and metalworking), situated as it is at the junction of road and rail routes connecting Bombay and Calcutta, Delhi and Madras. It has had a university since 1923 and possesses an institute for Islamic religious studies, the Djamʿiyyat-i ʿArabiyya. The Muslim community includes Bohorā and Khōdja Ismāʿīlīs as well as Sunnīs; the total Muslim population of the Nāgpur District in 1961 amounted to 134,861, almost all Urdu-speaking.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES*)

NAGYVÁRAD (Ottoman Turkish: *Warād*, *Wārād*, *Warāt*, etc., Romanian: Oradea, German: Großwardein), an important town originally in the Hungarian county of Bihar, part of Transylvania after the creation of this principality, centre of an Ottoman *wilāyet* [*q.v.*] between 1660 and 1692, and today a place of regional significance in Romania with a considerable Hungarian population.

As a fortified place since the 10th century and as seat of a bishop since the 11th century, Várad acquired early importance among Hungarian towns. Partly destroyed by the Mongols in 1241, it flourished again in the 14th and 15th centuries.

After the Battle of Mohács [*q.v.*] in 1526 and especially after the capturing of Buda [see BUDĪN] by the Turks in 1541, the strategic importance of Várad near the Ottoman-Transylvanian border came into the foreground. The fortress was repeatedly strengthened, among others by five huge new bastions, following Italian models, during the 16th century. The place was in Habsburg hands between 1551-7, then it belonged to Transylvania again. The fortification resisted a five-week long Turkish attack in 1598.

Under the 17th-century princes, a remodelling of the inner castle was realised, according to Italian examples again, with a pentagonal structure resulting in a solitary masterpiece of Central European architecture. A new Ottoman siege was feared in 1659, consequently the town itself was also strengthened. This attack, led by the *serdār* [see SARDĀR] Köse ʿAlī Pasha in July-August 1660 was successful in the end, due to two main factors, besides the overwhelming Turkish superiority in numbers: they were able to drain the fosse, and an explosion annihilated most of the defenders' war materials. The terms of surrender were quite mild: beside permission to leave freely, the transportation of the printinghouse, with semi-finished Bible texts, together with the archives of the local chapter was permitted.

After the prince of Transylvania, Ákos Barcsay, was forced to accept the loss of Várad and its dependencies to the Turks (cf. İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Barcsay Akos'un Erdel kırallığına ait bazı orijinal vesikalar*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, iv [1952], 62-5) a *wilāyet* was created here. Its first *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*], a certain Sinān Pasha, possessed this place and Adana (!) simultanously (cf. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi*, 434, f. 7a). The yearly revenue of the *mīrmīrān* [*q.v.*] of Várad amounted to 948, 700 [*penz*] in 1665 (cf. Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tapu defteri, 795, p. 7). The ter-

ritory of the province contained extensive regions east of the Tisza river in the counties of Bihar, Doboka, Közép-Szolnok, Külso-Szolnok, Kraszna, Szabolcs and Szatmár; most of these names were also used as *nāḥiye* denominations by the Turks. Beside the *sandjāḳ* of Várad, a separate *liwā* was established around the castle of Szentjobb (Ottoman: *Senkōb*, Romanian: Sîniob); its *sandjāḳbegi*'s income was usually low: 115, 948 [*penz*] (cf. Tapu defteri, 795, p. 76).

The *tīmār defteri* of 1075/1665 enumerates 6 *khāṣṣ*es, 29 *ziʿāmet*s and 235 *tīmār*s in the *liwā* of Várad, while 1 *khāṣṣ*, 2 *ziʿāmet*s and 46 *tīmār*s in the *liwā* of Szentjobb (*ibid.*, pp. 3-87). The *wilāyet* probably consisted of two *ḳaḍā*s [*q.v.*], for a *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*] can be demonstrated in each of Várad and Szentjobb respectively.

The Grand Vizier Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] had a large *wakf* [*q.v.*] here and in the neighbouring *sandjāḳ*s, a rare phenomenon in Ottoman Hungary (published by Imre Karácson, *Török-magyar oklevéltár, 1533-1789* ["A collection of Turkish Hungarian documents"], ed. Thallóczy Lajos, Krcsmárik János and Szekfű Gyula. Budapest 1914, 247-72).

Almost nothing is known about the population of the town itself, except for the sum which they had to pay to the *beglerbegi*, sc. 100,000 [*penz*] (Tapu defteri, 795, p. 7).

Várad was besieged in 1691 and taken on 5 June 1692 by Habsburg forces led by Donathus Heissler.

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NAHḌA (a.), a term derived from the Arabic root *n-h-ḍ* which signifies "to rise", "to stand up", with an active perspective, the connotation "to be fit", "to be ready for", which is to be found explicitly in the definition given by the *LA*: *al-nahḍa = al-ṭāḳa wa 'l-ḳuwwa* (*nahḍa* = power and force). The substantive *Nahḍa* is used to designate the rebirth of Arabic literature and thought under Western influence since the second half of the 19th century. It has often been translated by "Renaissance", a problematic translation since it refers implicitly to 16th century Europe and to the movement of return to the Greco-Roman past. In an attempt to avoid the "Euro-centrist" approach, an attitude for which Arabists are frequently criticised, a translation such as "Awakening", although less often used, would be closer to the sense of the root and therefore more satisfactory. It is moreover the title given to the famous statue by the sculptor Mukhtār, situated in the square in front of the Cairo railway station, *Nahḍat Miṣr* "The Awakening of Egypt".

In order to define with greater precision the concept conveyed by the term *Nahḍa*, according to the realities of the Arab world, it would be useful also to analyse the manifestations of this "movement".

The *Nahḍa*, unlike the Renaissance of the 16th century, is not a return to the "classical" heritage. It is not a neo-classicism seeking to revive the models supplied by the past. On the contrary, the past, until recently still a very potent force, was becoming academic and restrictive for the creative imagination. The great reformer Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905 [*q.v.*]), reacting against this all-too intrusive past, wrote: "Islam deflects us from an exclusive attachment to things inherited from our fathers, it brands as ignorant and narrow-minded those who blindly follow the sayings of the ancestors" (*Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, 1879, quoted by R. Brunschvig, in *Classicisme et déclin culturel de l'histoire de l'Islam*, 37).

Djurdjī Zaydān (1861-1914 [*q.v.*]), in his monumental "Literary History of Arabic Language" *Taʾrīkh adab al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* (4 vols., Cairo 1914), is the most eminent of the pioneers to speak of *Nahḍa*. He associates this movement with the beneficial contribution of the West to the East, a contribution which he sees as beginning with Bonaparte's invasion (see Introduction to vol. iv).

Among Arabic scholars, Gibb promulgates the concept of *Nahḍa* in his article in *BSOS* (1928), where it is his opinion that the movement began not with Napoleon's Egyptian campaign but only in the second half of the 19th century. It is primarily the literary historians who employ the term. Blachère (in *Classicisme et déclin culturel*, 284) defines the "origins" of the *Nahḍa*: "By its origins, this movement could not be the continuation of literary doctrines tied to a past civilisation. Western influences, the introduction of unknown or barely known genres such as the theatre or the European-style novel, the adoption of poetic formulae approaching symbolism and even going beyond, all these were factors impelling poets, writers, novelists, essayists and critics into new paths where, after some resistance, the public was ultimately to follow them..."

Among historians and Islamic scholars, however, the term *Nahḍa* is seldom used. It does not feature in the indexes of works such as, for example, Albert Hourani's *Arabic thought in the Liberal age, 1878-1939*, Oxford 1962, nor in Montgomery Watt's *Islamic surveys. I. Islamic philosophy and theology*, Edinburgh 1962, where there is reference, at the end of the book, to "New Dawn", but the term *Nahḍa* is not used. It does not appear in *L'Islam au Proche Orient*, Paris 1960, by Jean-Paul Roux, who refers to "reform of Islam" and "modernism" but not to *Nahḍa*, nor in Nadav Safran's *Egypt in search of political community. An analysis of the intellectual and political evolution in Egypt 1804-1952*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961. Even younger orientalists such as Peter Gran (*Islamic roots of capitalism. Egypt 1760-1840*, Austin, Texas 1979), or Charles Wendell, (*The evolution of the Egyptian national image*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1972), speak of "reformist" Islam, of *umma*, of nationalism and of *waṭan* ("homeland"), but without mentioning the word *Nahḍa*. G. von Grunebaum (*Modern Islam*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962) uses the term only once (285) and even then in a very marginal fashion, in a footnote.

The fact is that Islamic scholars are not confronted by the same situation as that which faces literary historians. The movement of reformism and openness, in the religious and political spheres, was the outcome of a previous upsurge of consciousness, the premises of which date back to the 18th century, with Wahhābism. The "reformists" therefore do not reject the principles of the past; on the contrary, they reinforce them. In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the might of the Ottoman empire had suppressed the language and the cultural activities of the "Arab prov-

inces''. After Bonaparte's conquest, Egypt regained under Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] a *de facto* independence which permitted the diffusion of religious reformism, in association with literary openness, but distinct in its origins. Muḥammad ʿAbduh interpreted the religious law having regard for the needs of his society: he sought to "purge" Islam of the practices of sects which exploited popular credulity. He called for a reform of education and the reformulation of Islamic doctrine in the light of modern thought. Following his lead, Ḳāsim Amīn (1865-1908 [*q.v.*]) campaigned for the "Liberation of women" *Taḥrīr al-marʾa* (1899), and Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid (1872-1963 [*q.v.*]) for the constitutional solution of political problems, according to the spirit of the early centuries of Islam. Their "reformist" ideas gained many converts in the Arab world (Khayr al-Dīn, 1810-90, or Muḥammad Bayram, 1840-89, in Tunisia, [*q.vv.*]; the Alūsī family in Baghdād; Ṭāhir al-Djazāʾirī, 1851-1920, in Syria; etc.) where the aim was to reconcile traditional and modern areas of knowledge in a spirit of openness to the world, without destroying the values of Islam and Arab identity.

It is paradoxical that, in the wake of the reformists, the *ʿulamāʾ* themselves, as Gibb writes, "contributed to the spread of secularism, for in the Muslim world it was mainly by the influence of the Sufi orders that the tendency to worldliness among the educated classes was counter-acted" (Gibb, *Modern trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947, 51). But, as R. Brunschwig points out, "this (reformist) notion is less revolutionary than the use of such terms could suggest: it avoids any kind of iconoclasm, since it is definitively in the return to the example of the first Muslims or at least to the admirable principles of conduct attributed to them, that essential progress consists" (*Classicisme et déclin culturel*, 38).

This movement of rebirth and awakening, marked by faith in the future and by a deep confidence in the inevitable progress of societies, gave rise, in the mid-19th century, to two complementary manifestations. The one, endogenous, sought an internal revision of the Islamic phenomenon, and this is what is known as "reformism". The other, exogenous, was born out of East-West contact and is correctly defined as *Nahḍa*—a liberation and rejection of the shackles of the past, as well as an advance towards modernism as represented by foreign models.

More or less simultaneously, the *Nahḍa* was marked by various manifestations. For purposes of clarity, these will be examined successively, but in fact they are closely intermingled, in itself a characteristic feature of the movement.

(1) The *Nahḍa* restored with the West a dialogue in which one of the two participants, technically still less advanced than the other, recognised this situation and the need to rectify it. This was a dialogue of hope, with the confidence that technical, scientific and cultural progress would provide the means of emergence from darkness and ignorance. If the beginning of the movement may be dated in the 19th century, with the dispatch of students to educational establishments in Europe and other efforts at modernisation on the part of Muḥammad ʿAlī and later the Khedive Ismāʿīl, its end may be seen in the aftermath of the First World War, when foreign occupation, maintained in the majority of Arab countries, destroyed the hopes of liberty which had previously accompanied the dialogue, giving rise instead to feelings of frustration and rejection.

(2) The *Nahḍa* was nourished, from the outset, by translations of foreign works, technical and scientific at first, soon to be followed by dramatic and fictional pieces. The translations of drama and fiction were usually very free adaptations, tailored to accord with Arab usages; translators had no qualms about altering names, speeches and attitudes of the original characters and versifying the text, to the extent of making Hamlet sing in Shakespeare's play [see MASRAḤ. 1. In the Arab East]. The school of translation of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-73 [*q.v.*]) had produced more than 2,000 scientific translations, paying meticulous attention to the need for accuracy. But the movement which ensued in the literary sphere developed liberties which al-Ṭahṭāwī himself used to advantage in his "translation" of Fénelon's *Télémaque*; similarly, Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl [*q.v.*] felt free to use dialect in the adaptation of numerous French books (*Paul et Virginie*, the *Fables* of La Fontaine, the plays of Molière). Al-Manfalūṭī even adapted texts without any knowledge of the original language, working from translations dictated to him by a reader.

(3) The *Nahḍa* is also, in the history of modern Arab culture, the period marked by the appearance of those who have been dubbed "pioneers" (*ruwwād*), without the pejorative connotation applied at other times to innovators. In the realm of literary creation, they showed themselves particularly revolutionary in introducing genres hitherto unknown to the Arabs, such as the theatre, the short story, the novel, inspired by the large number of adaptations. They also overturned the norms of composition by no longer giving priority to mediaeval rhetoric; in this they were helped by the journalists of the nascent press, who accelerated the process of liberation of the language, impelled by the demands of the contemporary information to which newspapers were obliged to give precedence (cf. N. Tomiche, *Remarques sur la langue*, in *L'Égypte au XIX s.*).

For these "pioneers" there then arose the problem of the antithesis between *aṣāla* "authenticity" and *ḥadātha* "modernity". From 1819 onward and until the beginning of the 20th century, a number of writers, Syrians in the main, undertook a campaign of resistance to what was considered the excessive modernisation of the language and of literary genres. Philologists, encyclopaedists and essayists were at pains to restore "purity". The Bustānīs [*q.v.*; one of whom, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, 1819-82, edited the first Arabic encyclopedia, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*], the Yāzidjīs (including Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī, author of *maḳāmāt*, of poems inspired by al-Mutanabbī, of treatises on grammar, rhetoric, etc.) demanded the cultivation of "elegant" language and literary forms, in other words, purged of Turkish, dialectal or western influences, but also adapted to contemporary civilisation.

This was an intermediate period, the time of the "almost-novel" *kitāb yakād yakūn ḳiṣṣa*, to borrow a felicitous expression of Mārūn ʿAbbūd (*Ruwwād*, 131). Compositions still retained the memory of works of the past, for the purist pioneers, or were designed as imitations of Sir Walter Scott, of Dumas Père et Fils and of moving melodramas, for the modernists. The First World War, with the *Zaynab* of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal [*q.v.*], inspired by the daily life of his society and by personal experience, was to mark the end of this stage of imitation and a return to authenticity.

The "pre-*Zaynab*" period is thus characterised by the existence of two groups of works which represent, in the one case, the continuation of genres such as the *maḳāma* or the *riḥla* (account of a journey) and, in the other, a "renewal" animated by moralising or philosophical novels, by the genre of the historical or melodramatic novel.

In the first group, suitable examples are the *Takhlīṣ*

al-ibrīz fī talkhīṣ Bārīz by Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, published in 1834, the *Kitāb al-Sāḳ ʿalā 'l-sāḳ fī mā huwa 'l-Fāryāḳ* by Fāris al-Shidyāḳ (1804-87 [*q.v.*]), published in Paris in 1855, and the *Ḥadīth ʿIsā b. Hishām* by Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī (1868-1930 [*q.v.*]), which appeared in serial form in *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharḳ* from 1898 onwards. These works present some common characteristics: they belong to the genre of the *riḥla* in simple (al-Ṭahṭāwī) or rhymed prose. These journeys conduct the reader abroad or to places in his own country, in Egypt (al-Muwayliḥī) with the object of showing him practices and customs both elsewhere and "at home" (as in the case of the resurrected Pasha in the *Ḥadīth ʿIsā b. Hishām*, a witness from a bygone age). The characters of this human comedy are paraded in such a manner as to allow an implicit social critique, a caricature of the various established systems of education, law, finance, etc. But these "almost novels" lack consistency in plot, in structure of characters and in progression towards a "denouement". They are marred by an element which was to become increasingly important in literature, this being the description of the woman, depicted in all three works as demanding and imperious or sensual and lascivious, and seldom as agreeable and human.

The works of the second group are inspired by adaptations and translations. Numerous examples are supplied by prolific authors such as Salīm al-Bustānī (d. 1884) who produced historical serial-novels (*Zanūbiyyā* "Zenobia", appearing in *al-Djinān*, 1871, *al-Hiyām fī futūḥ al-Shām*, in *Djinān*, 1874) and melodramas (*Asmā*, in *Djinān*, 1873), or Djurdjī Zaydān (*Istibdād al-mamālīk*, in *al-Hilāl*, 1892). Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874-1922 [*q.v.*]) was particularly disposed towards philosophical novels; Djubrān Khalīl Djubrān (1883-1931 [*q.v.*]) was a novelist and poet, moralist and visionary (*al-Adjniḥa al-mutakassira*, New York 1912).

In this second group, in which it may be noted that the most representative examples are supplied by Christians, the novels are distinguished, "in the western manner", by a progression of the action towards a climax and a conclusion, in a framework, with characters and problems relevant to the society of the author. Under the influence of reformist ideas and European novels, the image of the woman is softened. She often appears as a victim of male society or as a person of wisdom, intelligence and goodwill.

The protagonists of these novels challenge the despotism of political or religious leaders, but they retain hope in the civilising potential of knowledge and rational thought.

The novel thus creates dualist worlds where the Good are in conflict with the Bad. It is then shackled by the manifestly moralising intention of the author, his vision of the grandeur of the Arab past, of the danger of over-servile imitations of "western-style" life, of pretence, of ignorance, of ambition, of snobbery, etc. (cf. N. Tomiche, *Naissance et avatars du roman arabe avant Zaynab*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xvi [1980]).

(4) The press was to play an essential role; the *Nahḍa* is distinguished by the development of a vocabulary of nationalist sentiment. From the beginning of the 19th century, the revolt against Ottoman policies, against the political order, was a factor of renewal, in Egypt as in Syria, in ʿIrāḳ or Tunisia. Attachment to the "homeland", to the "nation", even beyond the Arab and Muslim past, dates back to the Pharaohs, the Phoenicians and the Hittites. This nationalism evolved in proportion to the increasing exploitation of the Arab lands by Europe, after the collapse of Turkey.

The new philosophical, ideological, political, social and economic ideas lacked a suitable vocabulary for their expression. It is in this respect that the press was to contribute significantly to the forging of a language capable of stating new ideas by the re-use of ancient words or by direct borrowings (*oyl, naft, zayt* for "oil", *waṭan* for "homeland", *duwalī*, instead of *dawlī*, becoming "international"), by the manufacture of words with affixes (*lā-nihāya* "infinite"). The press transformed the language still more profoundly with the introduction of a more clearly defined tense system (in addition to the existing concepts of perfect and imperfect aspects) by means of the intensive use of composite verbs. It made syntax more flexible through the further development of the relative clause and other grammatical forms borrowed from Arabic dialects or from foreign languages. This evolution proceeded gradually, in such a way as to circumvent the obstacle of the purists. Hypocritically, the press denounced its own "faults" in articles intitled: "Say... and do not say..." *Ḳul... wa-lā taḳul...* It continued to use flowery rhetorical figures of speech in the analysis of social and political problems, and even rhymed prose, so that the tradition and the innovation were simultaneously exposed. But the pastiche twisted the traditional formulas and clichés in such a way as to infuse them with new meaning.

Thus, progressively, the press became the principal forum of innovation. Being open to political and social essays and even to popular science, to information received from abroad as well as to serial fiction, short stories and theatrical articles, it contributed to the development of vocabularies suitable for these various manifestations of culture. It was all the more audacious in that it was edited, in most cases, by novelists, playwrights and adaptors impatient for change.

Besides the weekly official journal published from 1828 onwards under the title *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-miṣriyya* and edited by al-Ṭahṭāwī from 1842, a non-governmental press, often created by Syro-Lebanese expatriates in Egypte, developed very polemical attitudes. *Wādī 'l-Nīl* (1866) entered into a vigorous debate with *al-Djawāʾib*, which had been edited in Istanbul by Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāḳ since 1860. The weekly *Nuzhat al-afkār* (1869), was directed by Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī and ʿUthmān Djalāl, in other words by a writer-novelist and a much-respected translator.

It was most of all during the decade of the 1870s and thereafter that the organs of the press proliferated and became decisive in the liberating effort of the *Nahḍa*. The first important periodical, *al-Djinān*. edited by Buṭrus al-Bustānī, appeared from 1870 to 1886, at which date it was forced to cease publication under the censorship of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, and published a considerable number of novels and short stories, many of them owed to Salīm and Saʿīd al-Bustānī. *Al-Muḳtaṭaf*, founded by Yaʿḳūb Ṣarrūf (1839-1912), playwright and novelist, and Fāris Nimr (1859-1951 [*q.v.*]) in Beirut in 1876, was transferred in 1884 to Cairo, where the two men founded, in 1889, the daily *al-Muḳaṭṭam*. *Al-Ahrām*, founded by Bishāra and Salīm Taḳlā, a periodical transferred from Beirut to Alexandria in 1875, became a daily newspaper in Cairo in 1882 and has continued to exist to the present day. With *Abū Naḍḍāra zarḳā*ʾ, Yaʿḳūb Ṣanūʿ launched the genre of the satirical press. Adīb Iṣḥāḳ founded *Miṣr* (1877) and, with Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh, *al-Tidjāra* in 1878. *Al-Hilāl*, founded in Cairo in 1892 by Djurdjī Zaydān, continues to appear today. The whole of this press was nationalist, reformist and very "literary". It disseminated the utterances of the thinkers, writers and novelists who

were bringing into being new approaches to life and thought.

(5) This period also saw the emergence of a new kind of public, which gradually proved to be the sole patron of the writers, supplying them with paying readers of the organs of the press and of edited works. This public consisted then of a majority of men, but there was also a relatively high percentage of women, who had a particular liking for romantic literature. It was for their benefit that there was a proliferation of works characterised by eponymous heroines and serialised romances that further boosted the circulation of newspapers: *Dhāt al-khiḍr* (1884) by Saʿīd al-Bustānī; *Ẓabyat al-bān* (1890) by Aḥmad al-Ṣarrāf; *Ghādat djabal Anāṣiyā* (1897) by Aḥmad Saʿīd Baghdādī; *ʿAdhrāʾ al-Hind* (1897) by Aḥmad Shawḳī; *Ghādat al-Andalus* (1899) by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ismāʿīl; *al-Fatāt al-rīfiyya* (1905) by Maḥmūd Khayrat; *Fatāt Miṣr* (1905) by Yaʿḳūb Ṣarrūf; *Ḥawwāʾ al-djadīda* (1906) by Niḳūlā Ḥaddād; *ʿAdhrāʾ Dinshiwāy* (1906) by Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaḳḳī.

At the turn of the 20th century there also appeared female magazine editors and novelists: Hind Nawfal founded *al-Fatāt* (1892), Maryam Mazhar, *al-Ḥasnāʾ* (1896), Alexandra Afrīnūh, *Anīs al-djālis* (1898), Labība Hāshim, *Fatāt al-Shark* (1906); to these names may be added those of short story writers, essayists and novelists such as Marie Anṭūn Ḥaddād, Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif [*q.v.*] and ʿĀʾisha al-Taymūriyya.

This public could be formed at an early age, from school-days, although it must be remembered that only privileged children had access to schools. Mārūn ʿAbbūd relates (*Ruwwād*, 122) that in 1900, his teacher encouraged the pupils to read *al-Durar* by Adīb Isḥāḳ, *Kanz al-raghāʾib* by Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāḳ, *Ghābat al-haḳḳ* and *Mashhad al-aḥwāl* by Francis Marrāsh [*q.v.*]. Labība Hāshim's magazine *Fatāt al-Shark*, which appeared from 1906 until the eve of the Second World War, with an interval during the years of the First World War, was disseminated in girls' schools by the national education authorities of Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and ʿIrāḳ.

But the *Nahḍa* bore within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. Aroused by foreign ideological movements, it evolved nationalist and anti-colonialist concepts which inspired a defiant attitude towards the Western powers. The pen and politics were then often seen as mutually complementary, as in the case of Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī (1839-1904 [*q.v.*]), an eminent poet but also a nationalist minister, exiled to Ceylon for more than seventeen years (1882-1900), after ʿUrābī's insurrection and the occupation of Egypt by the British.

Beyond doubt, the *Nahḍa* had instigated a profound change in patterns of thinking. It had loosened the attachment of Arab societies to traditions reckoned inappropriate to modern civilisation and to the achievements of science and medicine. It had disseminated notions of liberty, of respect for the individual, of constitutional democracy. But the foreign source of this evolution and of these achievements remained painfully obvious, the more so as intellectuals, ideologues and political theorists proved themselves incapable of founding a coherent system, Arab or Muslim, of ideas conforming to modernity. Recourse to European concepts, in societies outraged by colonialist aggression, became increasingly intolerable. In the aftermath of the First World War, the *Nahḍa* lost one of its essential elements: it lost the hope (not so long before, still a certainty) of constructing a future combining the best features of the European present and of the Arab past. The victory of the western Allies was followed by the imposition of mandates [*q.v.*] and various colonialist arrangments. The West discovered then (and is continuing to discover) with amazement that peoples whose national dignity had been injured will turn to their cultural and religious heritage, however mediaeval and obscurantist this may be, and find there the words and the weapons to express its anger.

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(N. Tomiche)

NAHDJ AL-BALĀGHA ("The Way of Eloquence") is an anthology of dissertations, letters, testimonials and sententious opinions, traditionally attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661 [*q.v.*]).

The authorship of this work has been an issue attended by constant and lively polemic, from the Middle Ages to the present.

Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1283 [*q.v.*]) seems to have been the first to raise doubts concerning the *Nahdj*. "It is not known," he writes, "which of the two brothers, al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015 [*q.v.*]) or al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044 [*q.v.*]) put together this work. Some assume that the compiler would also be its author, but that he would have attributed it to ʿAli" (*Wafayāt*, Beirut 1968-78, iii, 313).

The majority of later writers, beginning with al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 [*q.v.*]; *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, Beirut 1963, iii, 124), continuing with Ḥadjdji Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657 [*q.v.*]; *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Tehran 1947, ii, 1991), and concluding with Brockelmann (I, 405, S I, 704 f.), have in their turn revived these suspicions.

Misled by the surname *al-Murtaḍā* ("the one accepted by God"), which appears on the frontispiece of the ms. of the *Nahdj* in the B.N. (no. 2423, fol. 2b), de Slane concluded that the reference could be to al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā. He also attributes the work to the latter (*Cat. des mss. arabes B.N.*, Paris 1895, 425; cf. Veccia Vaglieri, *Sul* Nahğ al-balāġa *e sul suo compilatore al-Raḍī*, in *AIUON*, viii [1958], 13 f.)

However, al-Murtaḍā is a surname often used to designate ʿAlī, not only among the Shīʿīs but also among the Sunnīs (cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *ʿAlawiyyāt*, Beirut 1972, 137 and *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1962-7, xi, 120; Ibn Arabī, *La Profession de foi*, tr. R. Deladrière, Paris 1985, 209.).

Furthermore, it is stated explicitly, at the end of the ms., that this is a collection of the sayings of ʿAlī (*kitāb*

Nahdj al-balāgha min kalām... ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; B.N. fol. 351b). Also to be found here is a biographical notice devoted to al-Raḍī, in the role of compiler, followed by another relating to ʿAlī and his "marvels" (ms. B.N., fol. 1a).

The Muʿtazilī Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1258 [*q.v.*]) has no doubts as to the authenticity of the work. For him, in fact, it is a work of ʿAlī, compiled by al-Raḍī (*Sharḥ*, x, 128 f.). The Shīʿīs, ancient as well as modern, are unanimous in this regard. According to them, the work is of undoubted authenticity. Furthermore, all mss. of the *Nahdj*, in the East as in the West, attribute the book to ʿAlī and the compilation to al-Raḍī (for a list of the mss., see Brockelmann, I, 405, S I, 705).

It is undeniable—as has been shown by Laura Veccia Vaglieri (*op. cit.*, 1-24)—that a large portion of the *Nahdj* could indeed be attributed to ʿAlī, especially certain historical and panegyrical passages, although it is difficult to ascertain the authenticity of the more apocryphal sections. In fact, numerous authors, long before the time of al-Raḍī, had related the sermons of ʿAlī. The compiler himself specifies certain of his sources, in particular the *Djamal* of al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/823; *Nahdj*, iii, 149), the *Bayān* of al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869; *op. cit.*, ii, 76) and the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *op. cit.*, iii, 243). Other collections of homilies of ʿAlī, previous to the *Nahdj*, were also compiled, such as the *Khuṭab ʿAlī* by Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 96; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, Nadjaf 1961, 37), the *Khuṭab ʿAlī wa-kutubuh ilā ʿummālih* by al-Madāʾinī (d. 255/840; Ibn al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, 27; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, Cairo 1928, v, 315), etc. (cf. Ḥusaynī, *Maṣādir Nahdj al-balāgha*, Nadjaf 1968, i, 48-92).

Moreover, it has been possible to identify a considerable number of passages, accompanied by complete *isnāds* dating back to the time of ʿAlī. These texts have been recounted by ancient scholars of repute such as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Masʿūdī, al-Djāḥiẓ and many others (cf. Djebli, *Encore à propos de l'authenticité du Nahdj al-balāgha*, in *SI*, lxxv (1992), 33-56.

As for the compilation of this book, it is most likely the work of al-Raḍī. In three of his works, the latter refers to the *Nahdj*: *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-taʾwīl* (Nadjaf, undated, v, 167), *al-Madjāzāt al-nabawiyya* (Cairo 1971, 59, 140, 171) and *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-aʾimma* (Nadjaf 1949, 87). On the other hand, the compiler evokes, in the *Nahdj*, these latter two writings (i, 254, and ii, 263, respectively).

Whatever the case may be, the *Nahdj al-balāgha* is one of the great masterpieces of Arabic literature. Through the centuries, it has gained considerable admiration.

As its title reliably indicates and in accordance with the aspiration of its compiler, this book asserts the "joys of the Arabic language" (*Nahdj*, i, 2). The powerful assonance of its prose, its sometimes studied rhetoric, its remarkable eloquence, its gripping images, its sober, unpolished and relatively obscure mode of expression, Bedouin wisdom and sensibility blended with Islamic delicacy and vision—all of these constitute the literary worth of the *Nahdj*. This is supplemented by further values, moral and social. In fact, this book has a tireless appeal, full of fervour and sincerity, on behalf of faith in God and in His Prophet, of piety, of integrity, of justice and of rising above the vanities of this world.

Since its first appearance, the *Nahdj* has been the object of a considerable corpus of commentaries, translations and studies, some 210 titles, according to Ḥ. al-ʿĀmilī in his *Shurūḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1983. The *Nahdj al-balāgha* has been edited on numerous occasions with, in particular, the annotations of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Beirut 1885, Cairo 1903, 1910, and of al-Marṣafī, 1925. Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ has published it recently, with a glossary and a wide-ranging index (pp. 560-853), Beirut 1983.

Translations are numerous, particularly in Persian, such as the *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha* of ʿA. Fayḍ al-Islām (bilingual ed., 2 vols., Tehran 1947; cf. Ḥusaynī, *op. cit.*, i, 315-66), in English, including that of ʿA. Razā, *Nahdj al-balāgha: selection from sermons, letters and sayings of ʿAli*, Tehran 1980, and in French, in a partial bilingual edition, *La Voie de l'éloquence*, by ʿA. Abu 'l-Nadjā and others, published Beirut 1986.

Among the commentaries, that of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd remains the most important. With its eight volumes, this monumental book is a truly encyclopaedic work, a literary as well as a scholarly achievement (for the other commentaries, see Brockelmann; Ḥusaynī, *op. cit.*, 247-314; Ḥ. al-ʿĀmilī, *op. cit.*, 35-106.)

Bibliography: For biographical articles relating to al-Raḍī, see Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, Beirut 1969, vi, 329-30, and Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1961, ix, 261-2. For the *Nahdj*, in addition to the texts mentioned previously, see in particular: H. al-Shahrastānī, *Mā huwa Nahdj al-balāgha?*, Ṣaydā 1933, Nadjaf 1961 and 1979; Z. Mubārak, *La Prose arabe*, Paris 1931, 27-33, 128-9, 185-92; idem, *al-Nathr al-fannī*, Cairo 1934, i, 64-70; idem, *ʿAbḳariyyat al-Raḍī*, Cairo 1952, i, 203-17; L. Massignon, *Conférences sur le Nahdj*, in *Annuaire de l'EPHE*, Paris 1936; Dj. Sultan, *Étude sur le Nahdj al-balāgha*, Paris 1940; Blachère, *HLA*, Paris 1952-66, ii, 308, iii, 721 f.; Browne, *LHP*, Cambridge 1953, iv, 354 f.; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Observations sur le Nahdj al-balāgha* in *Procs. of the 24th Congress of Orientalists*, Munich 1957, 318-19; M. Ḳazwīnī, *Sharḥ Nadj al-balāgha*, Tehran 1960; H. Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ, *Mustadrak Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut n.d.; M. Mughniyya, *Fī ẓilāl Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1972; Ḥ. al-Amīn, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-shīʿiyya*, Beirut 1972-77, i, 68-123, xii, 355-63; M. Djaʿfarī, *Pazhūhishī dar asnād wa madārik-i Nahdj al-balāgha*, Tehran 1977; W. al-Ḳāḍī, *An early Fatimid political document*, in *SI*, lviii (1978), 71-108; R. Ustādī, *K. Nāmā-yi Nahdj al-balāgha*, Tehran 1980; M. al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Aghrāḍ al-idjtimāʿiyya fī Nahdj al-balāgha*, Tehran 1980; M. al-Amīnī, *Nahdj al-balāgha wa-atharuh fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī*, Tehran 1980; idem, *Aʿlām Nahdj al-balāgha*, Tehran 1980; M. Shams al-Dīn, *Dirāsāt fī Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1981; ʿA. Āl Ibrāhīm, *Fī riḥāb Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1982; I. ʿArshī, *Istinād Nahdj al-balāgha*, Tehran 1984; K. Muḥammadī, *al-Muʿdjam mufrahras li-alfāẓ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1986.

(M. Djebli)

AL-NAḤḤĀS, Muṣṭafā (1879-1965), Egyptian statesman. Of peasant background, he studied law at Cairo University after which he went into practice. For several years he sat as a judge but he was quickly drawn into politics, particularly during the growing anti-British agitation in Egypt in 1919. He became Saʿd Zaghlūl's [*q.v.*] first lieutenant in the newly formed Wafd party and went with him into his second term of exile in the Seychelles. He was elected member of Parliament in 1924 on his return and took over leadership of the Wafd when Zaghlūl died in 1927. From then on he was at the centre of Egyptian politics, often in office, fighting a relentless battle against the British presence. He also led a constant struggle for influence against King Fārūḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and the other Egyptian politicians.

As leader of the Wafd he had certain advantages—he claimed that the Wafd was the Egyptian people—

and in free elections he usually gained a large majority. In 1936 he led the party to victory, formed a government and headed the all-party delegation which negotiated the Anglo-Egyptian treaty which gave the country nominal independence. In 1937 disputes between himself and Fārūḳ led to his dismissal and the Wafd was beaten in rigged elections in 1938. The previous year, Naḥḥās had been shot and wounded by the Royalist greenshirts, a fascist-type organisation.

During the Second World War, the British authorities became worried by the increasingly pro-Axis attitudes of the Egyptian government, when the British ambassador, Sir Miles Lampson, made his famous démarche in February 1942 forcing Fārūḳ to dismiss the government and appoint Naḥḥās prime minister. This by no means meant that Naḥḥās was pro-British, but he stood firm during the advance of Rommel towards Alexandria. The reputation of the Wafd was somewhat in decline, however, being seen as having been put in power by the British, accused of corruption and inefficiency and suffering from the autocratic methods of Naḥḥās and the baleful influence of his wife. As long as Lampson was there he was safe, but during his absence abroad Fārūḳ took the opportunity to dismiss Naḥḥās in October 1944.

He moved into opposition with a virulent anti-British campaign which Fārūḳ did nothing to hinder. In the elections of January 1950, the Wafd was once again returned to power and Naḥḥās immediately demanded the withdrawal of the British and the unification of Egypt and the Sudan. As he made no progress in negotiations, he unilaterally abrogated the 1936 Treaty and declared a state of emergency. A period of great tension with Britain ensued, culminating in the burning of Cairo on Black Saturday in January 1952. Naḥḥās proclaimed martial law and appointed himself military governor. The next day Fārūḳ yet again dismissed the Wafd.

Naḥḥās was in Europe when the Free Officers executed their coup in July 1952. He flew back in the belief that the Wafd was to be restored to power. It was too late. The time for cooperation between the ageing, rather discredited politician and the dynamic young officers was past. The Wafd was compelled to dismiss him from its leadership and his wife was tried on charges of corruption, was heavily fined and her property confiscated. Naḥḥās was deprived of his civil and political rights until 1960.

He took no further part in Egyptian political life. If the Wafd was the people, Naḥḥās as its leader was to a certain extent the embodiment of the leadership of the people. He was the natural leader of the majority, the majority which the Wafd considered its inherited right. He was a popular figure in Egypt, valued for his contributions to the struggle for independence, and his funeral in 1965 was the occasion for a large, sympathetic demonstration.

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(D. HOPWOOD)

NAḤĪFĪ, SÜLEYMĀN, an Ottoman poet and translator who lived in Istanbul in the second half of the 11th/17th and first half of the 12th/18th centuries. After having learned the art of calligraphy from the distinguished penman Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān (d. 1111/1699-1700; cf. *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 421-2), he became a junior clerk at a public office (sc. the *yeñi-čeri ḳalemi*). In 1109/1697 he went to Persia as secretary in the suite of the ambassador Meḥmed Pasha (cf. *SʿO*, iv, 210, and F.R. Unat, *Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefaretnameleri*, Ankara 1968, 11, 18, 241). After his return he became the head clerk (*dīwān efendisi*) of Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha [see ʿALĪ PASHA, DĀMĀD]. In 1131/1719 he went to Vienna in the suite of the ambassador Ibrāhīm Pasha (cf. *SʿO*, i, 120; Unat, *op. cit.*, 52-3), and upon his return was rewarded for his services with the appointment to head an office of revenue accountancy (sc. the *bash-muḳāṭaʿadjīlīḳ*). Finally, in Djumādā II 1138/beg. 4 February 1726, he was granted one of the highest positions in the Treasury (*defterdār-ī shiḳḳ-ī thānī*). He died in 1151/1739-9 (as the chronogram on his tombstone is reported to attest: *Bu Süleymān Naḥīfī rūḥina el-Fātiḥa*) and was buried outside Ṭopḳapï in Istanbul.

Naḥīfī made a name for himself both as a translator and a poet. His Turkish *Dīwān* contains mainly *ghazels* in the so-called *ʿāshiḳāne* style which captivate through their affectionate tone. In addition to this *Dīwān*, he composed a series of *naʿts* on Muḥammad bearing the title *Ḥilyet el-enwār* as well as poems about the Prophet's birth (*mawlid*), the *hidjra* and the miraculous journey (*miʿrādj*). Also well-known is a *takhmīs* in Arabic, Persian and Turkish on the celebrated Arabic poem by al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*] entitled *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya* (which came to bear the name *al-Burda*); this *takhmīs* was printed in Istanbul in 1297 under the title *Takhmīs-i Ḳaṣīde-yi Bürde*. Other *takhmīs* of his are on the Arabic *ḳaṣīda* called *Bānat Suʿād* by Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] (which also came to be known by the name *al-Burda*) and on three Persian *naʿts* by Djāmī [*q.v.*]. The work on which his reputation is mainly based, however, is his masterly translation in verse form of the *Methnewī of* Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]. This is a literal rendering in which he preserved the form and metre of the original. It was printed in 1268 in Būlāḳ and in 1962 in Istanbul.

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(E.G. AMBROS)

AL-**NAHĪKĪ**, a *nisba* referring to a number of scholars of the Al Nahīk in al-Kūfa. The best known is ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, a member of the extremist Muḥammadiyya [*q.v.*] sect. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb, who was al-Muʿtaḍid's vizier between 279/892 and 288/901, appointed him, in recognition of past services, to the influential post of *ʿāmil* (director of taxes) of the Bādūrayā [*q.v.*] district south-west of Baghdād. Two years later he was dismissed after being accused by the Banu 'l-Furāt of embezzlement (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, viii, Damascus 1348/1930, 16-18; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 76-7). Both he and another member of the Muḥammadiyya, al-Fayyāḍ b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Fayyāḍ (executed under al-Muʿtaḍid, *r.* 279-89/892-902), wrote works refuting the *K. al-Ṣirāṭ* of Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad al-Nakhaʿī al-Aḥmar al-Kūfī (d. 286/899) of the ʿAlyāʾiyya (or ʿAyniyya) sect. Al-Fayyāḍ's work is entitled *al-Ḳisṭās*; the title of al-Nahīkī's work is not recorded (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, ii, 258, § 1135; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fī 'l-*

milal wa 'l-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal, ed. M.I. Nuṣayr and ʿA. ʿUmayra, Beirut 1405/1985, v, 47; for "al-B-h-n-kī" read "al-Nahīkī"). Neither text is extant.

Two other members of the family are : (1) Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿUbayd Allāh (or ʿAbd Allāh) b. Aḥmad b. Nahīk al-Nakhaʿī (*fl.* mid-3rd/9th century), who is credited with a *K. al-Nawādir* (al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, ed. al-Zandjānī, Ḳumm 1407, 232 no. 615; cf. al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, Beirut 1403/1983, 133 no. 448; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamā'*, Nadjaf 1380/1961, 75 no. 501) and who transmitted many uṣūl works to Ḥumayd b. Ziyād (d. 310/922-3) (al-Ṭūsī, *Ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1381/1961, 480; cf. Kohlberg, in *JSAI*, x [1987], 133-4). Al-Nahīkī is apparently to be distinguished from his namesake, the Imāmī Shīʿī scholar of Kūfa ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, whom al-Nadjāshī regards as trustworthy (*thiḳa*) (*Ridjāl*, 225 no. 605) and who appears in the *isnād* of some traditions in al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*. (2) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad Daḥmān (or Duḥām), who was suspected of extremist tendencies (al-Ardabīlī, *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, Ḳumm 1403, i, 446).

Bibliography (in addition to the references in the article): Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, Tehran 1375, ii, 288, 667, vi, 196, 473, 505; I. Friedlaender, *The heterodoxies of the Shiites*, New Haven 1909, i, 66-7, ii, 102-3; L. Massignon, *Recherches sur les Shiʿites extrémistes à Bagdad à la fin du troisième siècle de l'hégire*, in *ZDMG*, xcii (1938), 378-82, repr. in *Opera minora*, i, 523-6; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, 336, 340; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1936-8, Tehran 1941-78, xxiv, 334, nos. 1762-3; H. Halm, *Das "Buch der Schatten". Die Mufaḍḍal-Tradition der Ġulāt und die Ursprünge des Nuṣairiertums*, in *Isl.*, lv (1978), 219-66, lviii (1981), 15-86, at 63-4; idem, *Die islamische Gnosis*, Zürich-Munich 1982, 225 (for "al-Nahkīnī" read "al-Nahīkī"); F. Rosenthal (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxviii. *The return of the caliphate to Baghdad*, Albany 1985, 178, n. 864; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Khū'ī, *Muʿdjam ridjāl al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1409/1989, x, 107, 318, xxiii, 152.

(E. Kohlberg)

NĀḤIYE (A. *nāḥiya* "district, vicinity"), an administrative term of the Ottoman empire. It is found as a general term for the subdivisions of a *wilāyet* or province as early as the 9th/15th century, but only later becomes a specific term for the rural subdivision of a *ḳaḍā'* [*q.v.*] or *ḳażā*; this latter term may be compared with the French *arrondissement* and is governed by a *ḳā'im-maḳām* [*q.v.*], while the *nāḥiye* is under a *mudīr*. This official, who used to be appointed by the *wālī*, the governor of the province, received his instructions from the *ḳā'im-maḳām*, to whom he was subordinate. The subdivisions of the *nāḥiye* are called *ḳarye*, i.e. village. Usage of the term has carried on into the Turkish Republic with the *nāḥiye* as a subdivision of the *ilçe* or district.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892-5, i, p. v; *İA*, art. *Nâhiye* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin). (F. Babinger*)

NAḤL (A.), a singular noun with the value of a collective (sing. *naḥla*) designating domestic or social bees (apid family) (Pers. *naḥl*, Turk. *arı*, Kabyle *thizizwa*, Tamahaḳ *ehenkeker en turawet*, pl. *ihenkukar*) with the species *Apis melliferalmellifica* in Europe and North Africa and *Apis fasciata* in Egypt and the Near East.

One cannot trace here the primordial economic role that, thanks to honey, bees have played in man's nutrition since prehistoric times. The sedentary populations of the mountainous and wooded zones of the Mediterranean rim, following the example of the Greeks, very soon domesticated the bee and organised bee-keeping (*niḥāla, tarbiyat al-naḥl*, Turk. *arıcılık*) quickly took its place among agricultural activities, successfully taking over from the hazardous collection of wild honey.

With Islam, the bee's beneficial nature for humanity was clearly described in sūra XVI of the Ḳur'ān entitled precisely *al-Naḥl* "the Bees" and in which it is stated (verses 68-9): "Your Lord has revealed to the bees: Establish your dwellings in the mountains, in the trees and in the places built by men, then eat all the fruits. Follow meekly in that way the paths of your Lord./From the bodies of the bees comes forth a drink of various hues which is a healing for men". The Prophet Muḥammad confirmed this divine protection on several occasions; according to one of his *ḥadīths*, "Every fly is destined for hellfire, except the bee". He said further, "Among the small creatures, there are four that should not be killed: the ant (*namla*), the bee (*naḥla*), the shrike (*ṣurad*) and the hoopoe (*hudhud*)". Finally, speaking of honey, he declared, "For you [Muslims] there are two remedies: the Ḳur'ān and honey". Besides, among the paradisial delicacies reserved for the elect are promised "Rivers of purified honey (*anhār min ʿasal muṣaffā*)", XLVII, 15). Several other maxims of the Prophet give the bee as a model to follow for every Muslim, as much in his private life as in the heart of the community; after the fashion of the industrious insect, all his acts will aspire to the good and the beautiful and reject the bad and the ugly. The physiological process of making honey (*al-ary*) in the body of the bee staying unexplained among the scholars of Antiquity, the Muslims saw in it a clear sign of divine intervention beyond human comprehension.

On the scientific level, it must be noted that the Arabic-speaking naturalists who spoke of the bees, such as al-Djāḥiẓ (3rd/9th century), al-Ḳazwīnī (7th/13th century) merely reproduced what had been said by Aristotle (*History of animals*, Fr. tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, i, 341-9, ii, 655-73) and then the poet Virgil (*Georgics*, Book iv) and Pliny the Elder (*Historia naturalis*, Book ix), and they add nothing new. Despite this, we find, in the 4th/10th century, an excellent synthesis of all that was known until then about bees in one of the *Epistles* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' [*q.v.*] in which (*Rasā'il*, Beirut 1957, ii, 201 f.) the representative of the bee race makes a vibrant indictment of man who, in every age, has exploited for his own profit the hard work of his fellow bees. Later, it is the authors of treatises on agronomy who, in applied zoology, deal with bee-keeping and, more especially, the Hispano-Arab agronomists such as Ibn Baṣṣāl of Toledo (5th/11th century) and Ibn al-ʿAwwām of Seville (7th/13th century) [see FILĀḤA. ii. Muslim West]. Finally, some practical information was supplied by the "calendars" on times for different operations which are necessary in the practice of bee-keeping, such as the *Calendar of Cordova* (text and Fr. tr. Ch. Pellat, Leiden 1961) and the *Cinq calendriers égyptiens* (text and Fr. tr. Pellat, Cairo 1986).

The internal life of the hive (*khaliyya, ʿassāla, kiwāra, shūra, mishwāra, mushtār*, Maghrib *djabḥ, djabḥa*, Syria *manḥala*, Kabyle *thighrasin*, Turk. *arı kovanı*) was quite well observed after Aristotle, and the three social categories comprising a community of bees were already recognised. This community formed from a swarm (*dabr, thawl, ḥizḳ, khashram*, Maghrib *farḳ, sirb*) is grouped around the "chief" (*yaʿsūb, amīr, malik*, Kabyle *agellid*, Pers. *pādishāh*, Turk. *kıral*) who reigns

as sovereign and who, in fact, is the queen; but it was not until the 17th century that the two naturalists, the Dutchman Swammerdam (1635-85) and the Frenchman R. Ferchault de Réaumur (1683-1757) discovered that this monarch is a female and that she is the only one who lays the eggs in the cells of the honeycomb after having been fertilised outside by the males. Until then, no-one had discovered the exact origin of the seed (*bazr, bizr*) which gives birth to the larvae of the broodcomb (*raṣaʿ, dudjā, daysam*); it was most often attributed to the class of workers (*ʿassālāt, ʿāmilāt*) who constitute almost the whole population of the hive and who, alone, ensure its subsistence by producing the bee-glue (*ʿikbir, khatm, dundj*), wax (*shamʿ*, Pers. *mūm*, Turk. *balmumu*) and honey (*ʿasal* pl. *aʿsāl, ʿusūl, ʿusul, ʿuslān; mihrān*; Turk. *bal*, Tamahak, *turawet*). The third category of bees, in the hive, is that of the drones (*yamkhūr*, pl. *yamākhīr*, Kabyle *agaimru*, pl. *igwirma*, Turk. *eşek arısı*), males who are useful only for the fertilisation of a new young queen at the time of her exodus with her first swarm (*daysam, lūth, riḍʿ, ṭard*) to found a new hive; as soon as their unique function as sires is completed, they are inexorably rejected and suppressed by the workers.

Since the distant time when man had the idea of setting up hives for bees, relieving them of their concern to search for a precarious natural refuge, bee-keeping remained "fixist", that is to say, the honeycombs were welded to the wall of the dwelling. It was only in 1780 A.D. that the Swiss F. Huber imagined the "moving section" (*naḥīta*, pl. *nuḥut*), thus initiating the modern apiarist technique known as "mobilist". The primitive hive, generally cylindrical in shape, could at first be made out of bark of cork-oak (the French term *ruche* "hive" coming from the Low Latin *rusca* "stripped of bark") or clay applied to a framework of wood or wickerwork; it could also be a large earthenware jar with a lid, or a hut of plaited straw, or, finally, as in Persia, a large whitewashed calabash outside a protective plastered wall. Whatever the model of hive used, the harvesting of the honey (*shawr, shiyār, taʿsīl*), after fumigating (*awm, ayām, djalāʾ, djalwa*) the interior by burning dry grasses or dung to neutralise the occupants, could only be done by smashing the "cake" (*shahd, kurṣ, hiff*) to detach it from the walls; the honey spread on them was recovered with the aid of wooden scrapers (*mashwar, mishwār, miḥbaḍ, miḥdjān, minzaʿa*) of different kinds. The modern hive in storeys (*kafīr*, pl. *kufrān*) with its moving sections, has greatly facilitated this operation; likewise, the fluting (*damgh*) in sheets of the wax forming the bases of the honeycombs, invented in 1857 by J. Mehring, further adds to the simplicity of the handling and considerably reduces the flow of honey. The architecture of the wax comb has never ceased to arouse admiration; the geometry of the assemblage of alveoles or cells (*nukhrūb*, pl. *nakhārīb, thukba*, pl. *thukab*) in hexagonal section in which the eggs (*ʿamiyy*) of the broodcomb are enclosed and the young bees (*abkār*) develop, appears as a work of genius in the eyes of architects, for it does not leave the least interstice or space unoccupied, and the Arab authors see in this also divine inspiration.

In every land and at every time of the year, the beekeeper (*ʿāsil, ʿassāl, naḥḥāl, murabbī 'l-naḥl*, Maghrib *djabbāḥ*) has always had to struggle against the many parasites and enemies of the bees, both within the hive and outside it. On the inside, he has to eliminate the intruders attracted by the honey: ants, mice, field-mice, shrews and, in particular, the death's-head moth (*Acherontia atropos*; *ṣaml al-simsim, abu 'l-hawl al-asmar*). The parasites of the larvae are formidable, including the meloe (*Meloe variegatus*) and its carnivorous larva or triongulin (*muḥrika, milwad*) and the bee louse (*Braula coeca; dimmat al-naḥl*). The wax is also attacked by the wax moth (*Galleria grisella; ṣaml al-naḥl al-ṣaghīr, nāriyyat al-shamʿ al-ṣaghīra*) and the wax mite (*Galleria cerella; ṣaml al-naḥl al-kabīr, nāriyyat al-shamʿ al-kabīra*). However, the larvae of the clarion (*Clerus apiarius; būk al-naḥl*) were for a long time wrongly considered to be parasites of the hives. Early methods of combatting parasites amounted to fumigation with sulphur and sprinkling with salt. As for the exterior enemies of the bee, they are firstly certain wasps and, notably, the bee eater hornet (*Philantus apivorus; dabr al-naḥl, ilk al-naḥl*) which kills the bees to feed its larvae. The danger is even greater with certain insectivorous birds such as the bee eaters (*Merops apiaster* and *M. superciliosus, M. orientalis; warwār, khuḍdār, khuḍayrāʾ*, Maghrib *yāmūn*), woodpeckers (*Picus viridis, P. syriacus; nakkār, karrāʿ, nākūba*, Maghrib *tabbīb, nakkāb, bū kabbūs*) who, with their sharp beaks, do not hesitate to perforate the hives; and, especially, the terribly rapacious honey buzzard (*Pernis apivorus; ḥawwām al-naḥl*, Maghrib *bghəl al-summān*) who, as its name indicates, feeds solely on bees and wasps. Against these winged predators nothing can be done except to surround the hives with protective trellises.

As honey is made from different gathered nectars and as some time passes between its production and its collection, it may appear in several colours and various consistencies. On its formation, it is very runny (*wadīs*) and smooth-flowing (*saʿābīb*), and this is the new honey (*ṭirm, ṭārim, ṭarim*); then it congeals and hardens (*ḥamīt, djals*). In the combs of a hive, it stays fluid (*dhawb, shuhd*), whereas wild honey (*ʿasal al-barr, ḍarab, ḍaraba*), exposed to the air, becomes thick and white by natural alteration (*iḍṭirāb*). In the lands of Islam, among the most-appreciated honeys were the one called *balla* taken from the flowers of the honey mimosa (*Acacia mellifera; sanṭ ʿasalī, ẓubba*, Yemen *samur*) and the one called *ʿaraba* plundered from the wild lavender (*Lavandula vera; khazam, khuzāma*). From Morocco to India, each region favourable for bee-keeping had its famous honey, traded locally and exported. The Moroccan Sous also produced the excellent *maṭānī* (see E. Fagnan, *Extraits*, 179) rivalling the honeys of Kabylia, Egypt and Persia. Besides, the geographer al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century [*q.v.*]) notes the commercial activity in honey and wax from Fās, Tahert, Algiers, Constantine, Djidjelli, Mostaganem and Bône. He also mentions the important apiarist work of the rural populations of the region of Barka and the mountains of Cyrenaica, whose honey used to go directly to the market in Alexandria. In Egypt, furthermore, Cairo used to receive, at the beginning of summer and by river, the honey of Kūṣ and Lower Egypt; the Egyptian beekeepers each year were able to carry out a removal of the hives, by boats, to areas where selected plants were the most abundant. The Egyptians used to consume large quantities of honey; it was, with dry raisins (*zabīb*), a principal element in the drink called *shamsī* of which they were very fond (al-Maḳrīzī-Bouriant, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 125) as well as in another alcoholic drink, *bitʿ*, a mixture of honey and wine. In the 4th/10th century, at the court of the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh (366-86/976-96), the annual consumption of honey was five *kinṭārs* (about 225 kg) (see Rodinson, *Cuisine*, 152). In the same period, the geographer Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī reports (tr. H. Massé, *Abrégé*, 82) that the Egyptians "gain glory from their mead (*sharāb al-ʿasal*) which is preferred in their land to the wine of Babylon on account of its sweetness, its perfume and its heady

power". Later (85-6), he adds: "The Egyptians say, It is in our country that there are the most slaves, honey in combs, sugar and candy and money... They also say, We have wax, honey and ostrich feathers". Within the Near East, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Arabia equalled the Mediterranean countries in honey production, but, like that of Cairo, the scale of consumption of the large towns and capitals, Baghdād and Damascus, necessitated additional imports from Persia, with its famed honey from Iṣfahān, whether in combs with the wax, or virgin and pure (see Ch. Pellat, *Tabaṣṣur*, 160) or in an extracted dry form (*khushkandjubīn*). It is known, moreover, that in Persia, in the 7th/13th century, the tax on beekeepers was paid in kind, in the form of so many thousands of litres (see A. Mazaheri, *Vie quotidienne*, 250-1), which shows production at a very high level.

The role of wax as fuel for lamps was not inferior to that of honey for feeding the Muslim populations, and one only has to recall the etymology of the French *bougie*, a corruption of the name of the Algerian port of Bidjāya [*q.v.*] which, in the Middle Ages, was one of the principal centres in the Maghrib for commercial relations with the Christian countries; wax there constituted one of the main products for export from the end of the 7th/13th century, an age in which the wax candle replaced the smoky and nauseating tallow candle. In the 12th/18th century, the English archaeologist-traveller Thomas Shaw mentioned (*Voyages*, i, 112) with regard to "Boujeiah"/Bidjāya/Bougie: "The Kabyles also bring there on every market day a large quantity of oil and wax, which is transported to Europe and the Levant". On Bona/Bône (now al-ʿAnnāba [*q.v.*]) he also remarks (119): "...there is sent out from Bona by sea a large quantity of corn, wool, leather and wax". Finally, he mentions (122), on this wax trade, the bank of the "Compagnie des Français en Afrique" established in La Calle and exporting to France and Italy. The need in Christendom for wax resulted especially from the high consumption of candles by chapels, churches and cathedrals, as much for lighting as for the rites and ceremonies of the cult. This wax market began, in the 13th/19th century, to experience some decline after the discovery, by Chevreul, in 1811, of stearic acid which, in the commercial form of stearin, replaced the bees' produce for candles and tapers. While passing through Judaea, Shaw noted there (*Voyages*, ii, 61) the abundance of wild honey which, he laments, was at that time no longer collected, the agricultural countryside being completely abandoned.

The extraction of the wax was carried out, as at present, according to the process of liquefaction with boiling water and pressing. But before obtaining the wax, it was necessary to purify (*taṣfiya*) the honey extracted from the combs by filtering (*tarshīḥ*) through cloths to rid it of its dross of debris (*djathth*), its scum (*khirshāʾ*) and dead bees (*maḥārīn*), so as to obtain a perfectly virgin honey (*mādhī*) which was preserved in water-skins of different capacities (*misʾab, badīʿ, ḥamīt, ḥumt*, Tamaḥaḳ *akerebreb*) to facilitate its transport. The prudent beekeeper only took a third of the honey from the hive, the rest being the nourishment necessary (*kuwwāra, ās, wathan*) for the occupants until the following season. The treatment of the harvested combs, firstly those empty of honey (*makhārib*), was clearly the same as that of olives for the extraction of oil. Pressing with a screw (*miʿṣara, miʿṣār*) worked by hand was the most widespread in the countryside and, notably, in Kabylia (see A. Hanoteau, *La Kabylie*, i, 535-7). The combs emptied of honey are packed tight in pressing bags (*talālīs*, Kabyle *tisnatin*) of horsehair or alfalfa, then put in boiling water and pressed; the liquefied wax ran into the pots serving as moulds to form, on becoming cold, loaves ready for sale. The whitening of the wax by grailing was not practised.

We are not able to enumerate all the pastries, side-dishes and sweets in which honey formed an essential ingredient, each land of Islam having its own specialities. It was the main sugary substance along with dates, for sugar cane (*ḳaṣab hindī, ḳaṣab al-sukkar*) was only cultivated in the delta regions of the Euphrates and Nile, and sugar from beet (*shamandar, shawandar, bandjar, ṣawṭala*, Maghrib *lift ṣūrī, lift ḥalū*) was not made until the beginning of the 13th/19th century. A very early Arab foodstuff was *talbīna*, a mixture of honey and flour or bran and which, according to a *ḥadīth* reported by ʿĀʾisha, was "a tranquilliser (*madjamma*) for the sick". It is certain that honey possesses many specific virtues, and ancient Greek and then Arab therapeutics recognised almost all of them. Al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt*, ii, 348) cites some of them for us, the majority of which are recognised by modern medicine. In the words of the Ancients, honey, a hot and dry element, is diuretic and laxative; it is a powerful tonic, an effective antidote against poison and rabies and an excellent preserver of perishable goods, meats and fruits, when they are brushed with it. Mixed with musk, it is a beneficial eye-lotion to cure cataract and other eye infections and, made into a salve, it gets rid of nits and lice. Finally, massaging with wax or chewing it helps to relieve worries and anxieties. Nowadays, medical authorities recognise in honey its richness in dietetic elements, its beneficial action in cardiac equilibrium, its hepato-protective and sedative role, its antiseptic properties and its effectiveness in increasing the rate of haemoglobin of the blood. The same authorities conclude that the regular use of honey is a ticket to health and that it should be made part of the daily diet of sportsmen. We may thus conclude that the Ḳurʾānic statement "From the bodies of the bees comes forth a drink of various hues which is a healing for men" is amply confirmed.

In the literary field, bees and honey have not attracted much attention from Arab poets; they have not, on this theme, equalled the lyricism in Latin of a Virgil (*Georgics*, Book iv, 565 ff.) or a Columella (*De re rustica*). Before Islam, it is in the works of the two famous "vagabond" poets (*ṣuʿlūk*, pl. *ṣaʿālīk*), al-Shanfarā [*q.v.*] and Taʾabbaṭa Sharr^an^ [*q.v.*], that we find mention of the gathering of wild honey. The former evokes, in his *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* (verse 30), a familiar scene of his wandering life spent close to nature, that of the gatherer of honey (*muʿassil*) from the wild swarm. The second poet did not hesitate to go to plunder the honey in a grotto of the territory of the Banū Hudhayl, his enemies; he narrowly missed becoming a victim, for the Hudhalīs, taking him by surprise, barred the entrance of the grotto to him, but he managed to escape from them through a crack in the rock in which he emptied his honey, letting himself slide on it with his waterskin. He boasted of this enterprise in ten verses (see *Madjānī ḥadītha*, i, 16). In the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, the Hudhalī poet Abū Dhuʾayb [*q.v.*] composed two fine poems on the subject of wild bees and the collection of their honey, a familiar occupation of the people of his tribe. Thereafter, we must wait until the 4th/10th century when the Andalusian Ibn Shuhayd (382-426/992-1035 [*q.v.*]) assigns five verses to the plunder-seeking bee (*Dīwān*, ed. Ch. Pellat, Beirut 1963, 141), while Kushādjim (d. after 350/962 [*q.v.*]) describes in six verses a candle given to him as a present (*Dīwān*,

Baghdād 1970, 235). The wax candles of the court of the Artuḳid prince of Mārdīn, al-Manṣūr Nadjm al-Dīn Ghāzī (693-712/1294-1312), excited the admiration of the poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (677-752/1277-1351 [*q.v.*]), who composed about thirty verses on them in which he uses fifteen images to define them (*Dīwān*, Beirut 1962, 273-6). In the 7th/13th century, we find, in rhymed prose, an apology for the bee and wax (*ishārat al-naḥl, ishārat al-sham*ᶜ) in the *Kashf al-asrār* ᶜ*an ḥikam al-ṭuyūr wa 'l-azhār* of ᶜAbd al-Salām Ibn Ghānim al-Maḳdisī [*q.v.*] (see *Madjānī 'l-adab*, Beirut 1886, iv, 136-8). In current usage, the bee has only been made the subject of two proverbial metaphors; owing to its remarkable sense of direction, it has been said *ahdā min naḥla* "a better guide than a bee", and its untiring activity in going and coming has led it to be compared to the traveller exhausted by long journeys who returns *anḥal min naḥla* "thinner than a bee". Finally, the contradiction, in an individual, between his words and deeds has been stigmatised in this image: *kalām ka 'l-*ᶜ*asal wa-fi*ᶜ*l ka 'l-asal* "language [sweet] as honey and action [violent] as the point of a pike".

In botany, bees and honey are evoked in ten Arab names of plants, some useful for the hive, some dangerous for its occupants. We find: (a) *al-thawl* "swarm" for the yellow wood sorrel (*Oxalis corniculata*); (b) *al-naḥlī* "pertaining to bees" for the moon trefoil (*Medicago arborea*) which is sown intentionally in the vicinity of hives; (c) *zahr al-*ᶜ*asal* for the honey flower (*Melianthus major*); (d) *turbat al-*ᶜ*asal* or *turāb al-*ᶜ*asal* "honey ground" for the mangosteen tree (*Garcinia mangostana*); (e) *ḥāfiẓ al-naḥl* "guardian of the bees" for the euphorbium gum thistle (*Euphorbia resinifera* = *E. officinarum*); (f) *ḳātil al-naḥl* "bee-killer" and *maḳābir al-naḥl* "cemeteries of the bees" for the water lily (*Nymphaea coerulea*) whose flower, on closing, imprisons the bees who plunder there; (g) the same name "bee-killer" is also given to the summer savory (*Satureia hortensis*); (h) *al-*ᶜ*asal* "honey" for the esel wood (*Cadaba farinosa*); (i) the same name "honey" is also given to the African salsola (*Suaeda monoica*); (j) ᶜ*asal al-naḥl* "honey of the bees" for the lemon balm (*Melissa officinalis*); and (k) in the Maghrib, *al-*ᶜ*assāliyya* "honey-bearer" is the name of the giant fennel (*Ferula communis*).

Derived from ᶜ*asal*, the adjective ᶜ*asalī* describes the yellow shade "honey colour"; similarly, the adjective *naḥlī* taken from *naḥl* designates a dark brown "bee colour". In mediaeval falconry, in Egypt, the name *saḳāwā naḥlī*, bee-coloured lanner falcon, was applied to two neighbouring Mediterranean species, Eleonora's falcon (*Falco eleonorae*) and the sooty falcon (*Falco concolor*), both having a very dark brown coat.

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(F. Viré)

NAHR (A.), pls. *anhār*, *anhur*, etc., running water, hence a perennial watercourse, river, stream of any size (thus opposed to a *wādī*, a watercourse filled only at certain times of the year or a *sayl*, periodic torrent).

1. In the Middle East. Al-Masᶜūdī lays down that "all running water is a *nahr*, the place where water flows out is a spring (ᶜ*ayn*); and the place where a great amount of water is found is a *baḥr*" (*Murūdj*, i, 281 = §304). In fact, the latter term [*q.v.*], or its equivalent borrowed from the Hebrew, *yamm*, was accordingly applied not only to the seas and oceans but also, uniquely, because of its outstanding size, to the Nile [see NĪL] (al-Masᶜūdī, *op. cit.*, ii, 360 = §1777). In addition to being applied to natural running waters (e.g. the Nahr al-Sind, Nahr Balkh, Nahr al-Urdunn, etc.), *nahr* could be used for artificially-contrived running watercourses, i.e. canals and navigations, this usage being especially frequent in low-lying, extensively-irrigated Mesopotamia (e.g. Nahr al-Ubulla, Nahr Ṣarāt, Nahr ᶜĪsā, in the last instance named after the constructor of the canal, the ᶜAbbāsid prince ᶜĪsā b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-ᶜAbbās, uncle of the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr).

Nhr appears in all the Semitic languages, including Akkadian (*nāru*), Ugaritic and Epigraphic South Arabian (ʾ*nhr* "irrigation channel", Beeston *et alii*, *Sabaic dictionary*, 94), with the exception of the Ethiopic ones. Fraenkel surmised that *nahr* first came into Arabic when the Bedouins of riverless Arabia came into contact with the peoples of Mesopotamia and their rivers and canals (*Aram. Fremdwörter*, 285).

It is, of course, a frequent term in the Ḳurʾān, running waters, streams and fountains being features of Paradise (see, e.g., II, 23/25, III, 13/15 *et passim*), no doubt forming a pleasing vision for the first Muslims, whose background was that of the parched Arabian peninsula, where the few running waters and springs were precious sources of rest and refreshment for men and their herds.

Bibliography: See A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, iii, Paris-The Hague 1980, 113 ff. See also for water in general, its legal aspects and its role in irrigation, MĀʾ; for subterranean irrigation channels, ḲANĀT; for navigation on rivers, MILĀḤA and SAFĪNA; and for water-raising devices on rivers and canals, NĀᶜŪRA and SĀḲIYA.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. In Muslim India.

Canals were certainly known in India before Muslim times, but there was a great extension of their use in the early Dihlī sultanate, certainly under Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ and his son Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (some details in the anonymous *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ms. Bankipore, 159-61). The canal systems were greatly expanded under Fīrūz Shāh of the Tughluḳ dynasty, the best known man-made example

being his west Djamnā canal (later re-excavated and re-aligned under Shāhdjahān); "man-made" is used here because former river-beds, cleared of silt, which might fill up during the annual rains, were in use as natural canals. The man-made canals were of two classes, "perennial" and "inundation", the former drawing off water from a river at about low-water level, sometimes with the help of a weir (although this may reduce the water-supply lower downstream); inundation canals take water from rivers at a level considerably higher than the normal low-water level, and consequently provide water only in the ice-melt and flood seasons, say from May to September.

The essential purpose of the canals was for irrigation (few are navigable to any great extent), the intention of which was to bring larger areas under cultivation and thereby engender more revenue to the state; private construction of canals was therefore encouraged, and jurists decreed that the constructor was entitled to *ḥaḳḳ-i shirb* as 10% of the gross produce; if the canal had been constructed by the state on the sultan's behalf, then the sultan's *ḥaḳḳ-i shirb* went into his own privy purse. Shams al-Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., 129-30, gives details of these rulings, which have been ably interpreted by I.H. Qureshi, *The administration of the sultanate of Dehli*[4], Karachi 1958, Appx. G. The development of agriculture by irrigation and other means was regarded as so important by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ that he brought it under a special ministry, the *dīwān-i amīr-i kūhī* (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., *passim*, see Index.

Other important canals constructed in the days of Muslim rule were the east Djamnā canal of the early 12th/18th century, Fīrūz Shāh's Satladj canal, the Mughal inundation-canals taken from the upper Ravī, the Khānwā in the Indus delta, and many more. The original works are now hard to trace, since they have been incorporated in a vast extension of canal resources made in British times. A comprehensive account of these works is in *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], iii, 326-54; see also O.H.K. Spate, *India and Pakistan: a general and regional geography*, London 1954, 204-8, 465-77. ʿAlī Mardān Khān's canal, which took water for the Red Fort at Dihlī, tapped the Djamnā some 100 km/60 miles upstream (see MĀʾ. 12).

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(J. BURTON-PAGE)

AL-**NAHR** [see NUDJŪM].

NAHR AL-ʿ**ĀṢĪ** [see AL-ʿĀṢĪ].

NAHR AL-**MALIK** [see DIDJLA].

NAHR ABĪ FUṬRUS, the name used by the mediaeval Muslim writers for the modern river Yarkon which runs into the Mediterranean through Tel Aviv about 5 km. to the north of Jaffa. In the Bible it is called *Me Yarkon*, probably "the Green Waters" (Joshua, xix. 46). In the later Middle Ages and in modern times, the river assumes a new Arabic name, that of Nahr al-ʿAwdjāʾ, "the Crooked River". The Crusaders called it "La Grand Rivière" (G.A. Smith, *The historical geography of the Holy Land*[4], London 1897, 116 n. 6).

The name Abū Fuṭrus is the Arabic corruption of Antipatris, the fortress and town built in about 20 BC by Herod, in honour of his father Antipater, on the site of ancient Afeq (Josephus, *Wars*, Bk. 1, ch. xxi, 9; Acts, xxiii, 31). The site of Afeq-Antipatris—a hill near the springs which constitute the sources of the river—has been, through the ages, one of the most important strategic positions on the major route connecting Egypt with Syria. In modern times the river sources at Antipatris are called Raʾs al-ʿAyn or fountain head. The river forms the southern border of the Biblical plain of Sharon and northern border of Judaea. In the 12th century BC it was the northern border of Philistine settlement along the coastal plain of Palestine. Some of the Muslim writers refer to the river as the border between Djund Filasṭīn and Djund al-Urdunn (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 425-6, cf. idem, *Buldān*, 327), or as belonging to both the provinces of Filasṭīn and Urdunn (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 75-6 = §§ 2297-8). This reference is rather strange because the border between the provinces of Filasṭīn and Urdunn was the same as the Byzantine border between Palaestina Prima and Palaestina Secunda, namely along the Valley of Jezreel and Beth Shean (Baysān) (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 59).

The river being wide and deep, even in the summer could not be forded along the 30 km. of its running waters. In many places, especially near its sources, its vicinity was covered with swamps. The river, and the sand dunes to the north and south of it, decided the main course of the *Via Maris*, the major road between Egypt and Mesopotamia, which has remained the same since ancient times almost to the present day. Running along the Mediterranean coast after Gaza, the route turned inland in a north-easterly direction, and following the river-bed until Afeq-Antipatris, it turned northwards and eastwards towards Damascus (Smith, *op. cit.*, 116). The general direction of the route in the vicinity of the river from east to west explains the reference of the sources to the travellers and armies, moving along this route, as coming either from the east or from the west. Yāḳūt and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ note that many great battles were fought along the river banks and that the winner was always the army that came from the west.

The examples which are given by these sources are: the victory of the ʿAbbāsid army led by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās over Marwān II (132/750); the success of the Ṭulūnid Khumārawayh in his battle against the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (271/884); the capturing of Aftakīn the Turk by the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz (367/977); and the killing of Abū Taghlib Ḥamdān by the Fāṭimid general al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ (Yāḳūt, iv, 831).

Abu 'l-Fidāʾ adds that in his time, the early 8th/14th century, the citadel of Madjdalyābā to the east of the river sources was in ruins. The citadel was built over the ancient site of Migdal-Afeq Ἀφεχοῦ πύργος, (Josephus, *Wars*, II, xix, 1) the twin fortress of Antipatris, built directly on the sources of the river. In 1863 the French traveller V. Guérin visited the village of Madjdalyābā and noticed the remnants of a church and a Greek inscription commemorating it or some other *martyrion* in the area. The fortress of Madjdalyābā was used by the Crusaders and must have been destroyed with the rest of the coastal fortifications by Baybars or one of his immediate successors. Under the later Mamlūks or the early Ottomans, a village grew around the ruined castle, which was partly rebuilt. In modern times the village was called Madjdal Ṣādiḳ. In 1948, during the first Arab-Israeli war, the village was deserted and fell into ruins.

Nahr Abū Fuṭrus figures in the Islamic eschatological tradition. According to a tradition attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*], the Muslims will have to fight the Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*] near this river (*maʿḳiluhum min al-dadjdjāl nahr abī fuṭrus*, Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1329, i, 52).

The passages concerning the river in Yāḳūt and

Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud, Paris 1840, 48) refer to some of the major events which happened in the vicinity of the river. In 132/750 it was the scene of the final attempt of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muḥammad, to hold out against the ʿAbbāsid army under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī in Syria. Unable to secure the support of the Arab tribes in Palestine, Marwān was compelled to withdraw to Egypt, where he found his death. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī captured some 80 members of the Umayyad royal family and cruelly massacred them at Abū Fuṭrus, probably in the fortress of either Ra's al-ʿAyn (Antipatris) or Madjdalyābā (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 47-8, 51; al-Masʿūdī, Murūdj, *loc. cit.*; idem, Tanbīh, 329; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 327; idem, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 425-6; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ, iii, 131).

Early in 271/884, al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*], the brother of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtamid, tried to break the Ṭūlūnid power in Syria, soon after the death of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn and the succession of his son Khumārawayh [*q.vv.*]. The ʿAbbāsid army met the Egyptians near Abū Fuṭrus and initially won the day, causing Khumārawayh to flee to Egypt. However, an Egyptian ambush, left behind under the command of Saʿd al-Aʿsar, fell upon the unsuspecting army of al-Muwaffaḳ, winning a crushing victory for Khumārawayh and securing his rule over most of Syria. The Battle came to be known as the "Battle of the Water-Mills", *waḳʿat al-ṭawāḥīn*, probably after the water-mills on the river (Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, 1982, vii, 414-15; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 321; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, iii, 50).

In 365/975 Aftakīn, the Turkish *mawlā* of the Buwayhid Muʿizz ad-Dawla, took over Damascus and tried to cross swords with the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz Nizār, who had just assumed power after the death of his father al-Muʿizz. Aftakīn got the support of the Carmathians in Syria, and together they made an attempt to attack a few of the coastal cities of Lebanon and Palestine. Some of the Bedouin tribes of the area joined Aftakīn as well. In 367/977, al-ʿAzīz and his general Djawhar met Aftakīn near Abū Fuṭrus ("in the vicinity of Ramla"); they beat his armies and compelled the Carmathian leader to withdraw to al-Ḥasā. In spite of the victory, al-ʿAzīz was highly interested in the services of Aftakīn, who was taken to Egypt in great honour (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 656-61; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iv, 54 and index).

Another attempt at snatching Syria from the Fāṭimids was made by Abū Taghlib Faḍl Allāh b. Nāṣir ad-Dawla the Ḥamdānid, who represented the Mawṣilī branch of the dynasty. He made common cause with the ʿUḳaylids of Syria and moved into Palestine, where he was met at Abū Fuṭrus by the Egyptian army of al-ʿAzīz under his general al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ. Abandoned before the battle by his ʿUḳaylid allies, he was defeated and fell into the hands of the Bedouin leader of the Banū Ṭayyi' in the vicinity of Ramla, Daghfal b. al-Mufarridj b. Djarrāḥ, who killed him and sent his head to Cairo (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 699-700).

The next event connected directly with Abū Fuṭrus is a battle fought there between the Durūz leader Fakhr al-Dīn II [*q.v.*] and the Bedouin leader of northern Palestine Aḥmad b. Ṭurabāy. After returning from a five-years' exile in Europe in 1618, Fakhr al-Dīn II continued his policy of widening his rule over the *sandjaḳ*s of Nābulus and ʿAdjlūn. The Bedouin family of Ṭurabāy led by Aḥmad created a coalition of Bedouins and peasants in order to check his move southwards from the Lebanese coast. In 1622, the two armies met on the Abū Fuṭrus river, now called al-ʿAwdjā', and Fakhr al-Dīn's army was defeated. The defeat put an end to his plans to capture northern Palestine and marks the beginning of the deterioration of his power (al-Khālidī, *Lubnān fī ʿahd al-Amīr Fakhr ad-Dīn al-Maʿnī*, Beirut 1936, 139 ff.).

During the operations in Palestine in the First World War, one of the major battles between the British army (mainly the 52nd Division under General Hill) and the Turks was fought on 20 and 21 December 1917, at the end of which the bridges over the river were captured to create a new British front, from which the attack on the Turks in Samaria and Galilee began.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources quoted, see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 55; V. Guérin, *Description de la Palestine*, Paris 1880, index; M. Gil, *Palestine during the first Muslim period*, 634-1099 [in Hebrew], Tel Aviv 1983, i, 293-4 and index; M. Sharon, *The political role of the Bedouins in Palestine in the 16th and 17th centuries*, in *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman period*, ed. M. Maʿoz, Jerusalem 1975, 28-29.

(M. SHARON)

NAHRWĀL, also NAHRWĀLĀ and NAHLWĀR, corruptions in the Muslim chronicles of the place-name Anhilwād, Skr. Anahilwāda, the chief Muslim town of Gudjarāt before the foundation of Aḥmadābād; it was also known as Anahilwāda-Paṭṭana, whence the name of the moden town as simply Pātan [*q.v.*].

AL-**NAHRAWĀLĪ** (NAHRAWĀNĪ), ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAlā' al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḳāḍī Khān Maḥmūd, al-Makkī, al-Ḥanafī, al-Ḳādirī, al-Kharḳānī, eminent 10th/16th-century Meccan *muftī*, *ḳāḍī*, teacher, *ḥadīth* scholar and chronicler of Mecca and early Ottoman Yemen. He was born in 917/1511-12 in Lahore, India, into a scholarly family, originally from Aden but long established at Nahrawāla (present-day Patan) in Gudjarāt [*q.v.*]. (Several accounts, including old ones, name him al-Nahrawānī.) His early education was obtained from his father, a *muftī* and *ḥadīth* scholar. The young Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was removed by his father to Mecca, where he studied under several scholars, including the Yemeni chronicler al-Daybaʿ (d. 944/1537), before journeying in 943/1536-7 to further his education in Egypt. There he encountered many outstanding teachers, among them some students of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), and was introduced to the Ottoman governor, Khosrew Pasha Dīwāne [*q.v.*] and to al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad (d. 950/1543), formerly the last shadow ʿAbbāsid caliph.

The Mecca of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn lay within the Ottoman sultan's realm, a reality which he embraced and exploited. An early-acquired fluency in Turkish enabled him to cultivate acquaintanceships among the many Ottoman officials visiting or posted in the region. Also, his knowledge of Turkish and skill in Arabic formal composition (*inshā'*) brought him employment by the Sharīfs of Mecca in their dealings with the Ottomans. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn became the most sought-after guide for Mecca's Ottoman visitors, whose generous compensation he used for accumulating choice manuscripts. His favour among the empire's rulers earned him lucrative teaching positions and recognition as *muftī* of Mecca. In Djumādā I 975/November 1567 he was awarded the first Ḥanafī professorship in Sultan Süleymān's newly-completed college for the four orthodox rites, a handsomely rewarded appointment which, with the *muftī*-ship, he held for the rest of his life.

Ḳuṭb al-Dīn travelled twice to Istanbul and was

each time presented to Sultan Süleymān (r. 926-74/1520-66). In 943/1536-7 he accompanied the vizier of Bahādur Shāh [*q.v.*] of Gudjarāt on his mission to secure Ottoman military assistance for his master. His second trip, in 965/1557-8, was for the Sharīf of Mecca, who sought unsuccessfully to have a troublesome Ottoman official replaced. Travelling through Syria and Anatolia, he recorded the details of his journey for inclusion in his book *al-Fawāʾid al-saniyya fi 'l-riḥla al-Madaniyya wa 'l-Rūmiyya*. Among his experiences were an encounter, near Kütahya, with Prince Bāyezīd on the eve of hostilities with his brother, attendance in Istanbul at the funeral of the sultan's wife, Khürrem [*q.v.*] (Djumādā II/April 1558), and a meeting with the celebrated *shaykh al-Islām*, Abū 'l-Suʿūd Efendi [*q.v.*].

The probable date of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's death in Mecca was 26 Rabīʿ II 990/20 May 1582. He was apparently survived by at least one son, Muḥammad, who composed a book (*Ibtihādj al-insān*...) for Ḥasan Pasha, the long-serving Ottoman governor of Yemen (988-1012/1580-1604). Best known among his relatives, however, was a nephew, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥibb al-Dīn (961-1014/1554-1606), who succeeded him as *muftī*. Although Ḳuṭb al-Dīn himself never visited Yemen, two brothers, a nephew, and a son served there as *ḳāḍīs*.

Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's several compositions deal chiefly with religion, literature or history, and are described by al-Djāsir and Brockelmann. Some, including those on Ḥanafī *ʿulamāʾ* (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya*) and *ḥadīth* (*al-Djāmiʿ li-kutub al-sunna al-sitta*...), were lost when fire destroyed his home and library in 959/1552. The *al-Iʿlām bi-aʿlām bayt/balad Allāh al-ḥarām*, a chronicle of Mecca completed in 985/1577, was translated into Turkish by the poet Bāḳī [*q.v.*] and published by Wüstenfeld. Containing several excursuses, including one on the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus (978-9/1570-71), it was abridged and extended by his nephew ʿAbd al-Karīm (*Iʿlām al-ʿulamāʾ al-aʿlām*...). His chronicle on Yemen, entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-ʿUthmāniyya li 'l-aḳṭār al-Yamaniyya* and later changed to *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī fi 'l-fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, he completed in 981/1573 and shortly recast. It was commissioned by the Ottoman vizier (and later five times grand vizier) Sinān Pasha (d. 1004/1596 [*q.v.*]), when Ḳuṭb al-Dīn accompanied him at Mecca in 978/1570-71 following the reconquest of Yemen. Sinān provided him with details of his eighteen-month campaign (976-8/1568-70) and (possibly later) an epic poem on the subject composed in Turkish (*Futūḥ-i Yaman*) by Muṣṭafā Rumūzī, an Ottoman official in Yemen; yet Ḳuṭb al-Dīn devoted half of his chronicle to Yemen's history from the beginning of the 10th/16th century. Two Turkish renderings of it were made, one before 998/1590, and it has been published by al-Djāsir.

Bibliography: Details of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's life emerge in both *al-Barḳ* and *al-Iʿlām*, particularly in the latter, which was first published by F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, Leipzig 1857; and a useful collection of information is found in the introduction to the published version of *al-Barḳ* by Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *Ghazawāt al-djarākisa wa 'l-atrāk fī djunūb al-djazīra*, al-Riyāḍ 1967. Other sources are Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, Damascus 1973, ii, 439 ff. (who met Ḳuṭb al-Dīn in Aleppo); al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, Beirut 1945-59, iii, 44-8 (whose father met Ḳuṭb al-Dīn in Mecca and Damascus): ʿAṭāʾī, *Dhayl al-shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, Istanbul 1268/1852, 268 f.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 126, 239 f., ii, 1098, 1298, 1513, 1832; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Cairo 1351/1932-3, viii, 420 ff.; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, ii, 57 f.; S. de Sacy, in *Notices et extraits*, iv (1788), 412-504 (a paraphrase of *al-Barḳ*), 538-91; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, Göttingen 1882, Abtheilung 3, pp. 81 ff.; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr al-Dīn, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād 1962-70, iv, 285-90; Brockelmann, II^2, 500-1; S II, 514-15; Babinger, 89 ff.; A.F. Sayyid, *Maṣādir taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1974, 213 ff.; H. Yavuz, *Yemen'de Osmanlı hakimiyeti*, Istanbul 1984, 216 ff. (J.R. Blackburn)

AL-NAHRAWĀN, a town and canal system in the lower Diyālā (Tāmarrā) region east of the Tigris River in al-ʿIrāḳ. The lower part of the canal may have been originally the lower course of the Diyālā and irrigated the land east of Ctesiphon, where fan-like settlement patterns in the Parthian period already suggest the existence of branch canals. In the 6th century A.D., a major canal system was created by the Sāsānid ruler Khusraw Anūshirwān (531-79) who dug a long feeder canal, the Ḳātūl al-Kisrawī, from the east bank of the Tigris near the later Sāmarrāʾ that joined the Diyālā below Baʿḳūba. Some 30 km/20 miles downstream a branch canal was drawn from the right bank to the Tigris that eventually became the lower course of the modern Diyālā, while the main canal was directed to the southeast below the town of Djisr al-Nahrawān (mod. Sifwa), which became the Nahrawān canal proper. A huge Sāsānid weir (*shādhurwān*) was built at al-Ḳanṭara above Iskāf (or Uskāf, modern Semak), below which settlements fanned out along branch canals. The administrative district of Bāzidjān Khusraw was created along the Nahrawān canal system for the city of Veh Antiokh-i Khosraw founded by Anūshirwān at Ctesiphon/al-Madāʾin [*q.v.*] in 540. The NRVAN mint-mark attested for Hurmizd IV (579-90) may stand for al-Nahrawān, where there was a Sāsānid treasury in 16/637, and may have survived as the post-reform Islamic mint of al-Djisr.

Djisr al-Nahrawān (or simply al-Nahr) was the location of a battle between the caliph ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and the Khawāridj under ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb [*q.v.*] on 9 Safar 38/17 July 658. Of 2,800 men left with ʿAbd Allāh after defections, eight fled during the battle, 400 were wounded, carried off the battlefield and pardoned by ʿAlī, and the rest were killed.

In early Islamic times, the weir at al-Ḳanṭara was rebuilt and the Nahrawān canal system reached its greatest development and density of settlement. In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries there were three tax districts of Upper, Middle, and Lower Nahrawān. Baʿḳūba was in the upper district. The town of Djisr al-Nahrawān was divided by the canal with markets, a *masdjid*, and *khāns* on both sides. Below it the canal passed the upper Shādhurwān, Djisr Būrān, ʿAbartā, Iskāf Banī Djunayd (divided into upper and lower Iskāf) and emptied into the Tigris at Mādharāyā below Djabbul.

This canal system was subject to retraction and restoration from the 4th/10th century onwards. In 326/937-8 Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*] breached the Nahrawān and diverted it into the lower Diyālā in a vain attempt to impede Badjkam's march against Baghdād from Wāsiṭ. The taxes were ruined, people died of hunger, and sites in the middle and lower Nahrawān region were abandoned wholesale until Muʿizz al-Dawla [*q.v.*] closed the breaches fourteen years later and the survivors returned. In spite of efforts by the Saldjūḳ governor Bihrūz to restore the Nahrawān between 534/1139-40 and 536/1141-2, according to Yāḳūt the

irrigation system was ruined by fighting among the Saldjūḳs. Reduced water flow and silting led to the general abandonment of the countryside by the 7th/13th century when the canal system no longer functioned.

Bibliography: Ḳudāma, *K. al-Kharādj*, 239; Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, 321; Ibn Serapion, ed. and tr. G. Le Strange, *Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad*, in *JRAS* (1895), 19, 267-70; Ṭabarī, i, 2439, 3365, ii, 900; Ibn Rusta, 90; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, Beirut 1965, 63; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād 1358/1939, x, 84, 95; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 252, 472, 812, iii, 604, iv, 16, 381, 846-51; M. Streck, *Die Alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden 1900, 33-36; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 18, 57-61, 36; M. Ionides, *The regime of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1937; J. Walker, *A catalogue of Arab-Sassanian coins*, London 1941, pp. cxl-cxli; F.D.J. Paruck, *Mint-marks on Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins*, in *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vi (1944), 117; R. Mc C. Adams, *Land behind Baghdad*, Chicago 1965, 67, 76-9, 81, 86, 94-5, 99-105, figs. 5, 6, 8, 9, 18, 19; Ṣ. al-'Alī, *Minṭaḳat Wāsiṭ*, in *Sumer*, xxvii (1971), 161-2; Adams, *Heartland of cities*, Chicago 1981, 194, 196, 211-12, 225, figs. 42, 46, 51, 52; M. Morony, *Continuity and change in the administrative geography of late Sasanian and early Islamic al-'Irāq*, in *Iran*, xx (1982), 18-20; F. Rahimi-Laridjani, *Die Entwicklung der Bewässerungslandwirtschaft im Iran bis in sasanidisch-frühislamische Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1988, 117-18, 164.

For the battle of al-Nahrawān, see Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 543. 559; Dīnawarī, 215-24; Ṭabarī, i, 3367-8, 3380-85, ii, 17, 20, 31; Bal'amī, tr. H. Zotenberg, *Chronique*, Paris 1938, iii, 689, 691, iv, 10; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-farīd*, Cairo, 1363/1944, i, 17; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 313; E. Salem, *The political theory and institutions of the Khawarij*, Baltimore, 1956, 17. (M. MORONY)

NAḤW (A.), a word signifying "path, way" in the literal and "fashion, manner" in the figurative sense, which has become the technical term used to denote "grammar". The scholar al-Khwārazmī declares that this art (*ṣinā'a*) is called *grammatikē* in Greek (*Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, 42), and the lexicographer al-Azharī observes that the Greeks describe *naḥw* as "the science of words and the study of this science" (quoted by Ibn Manẓūr in the *Lisān al-'Arab*).

The majority of sources agree in seeing Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī [*q.v.*] as the founder of Arabic grammar. It was at the request of the caliph 'Alī and of the governor of 'Irāḳ, Ziyād b. Abīh, that he undertook the composition of the first grammatical work, having heard Arabs and Persians making mistakes in reciting the Ḳur'ān or in expressing themselves (see the refutation in Pellat, *Milieu*, 130, n. 5). As to the reason for which this science was called *naḥw*, the sources differ; according to some, 'Alī submitted a portion of his own grammar to Abu 'l-Aswad, who asked his permission to do as (*naḥwa*) he had done; according to others, on completion of his book of grammar, Abu 'l-Aswad said to the people: "Follow (*unḥū*) this path (*naḥw*)" (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, 40; al-Zadjdjadjī, *al-Īḍāḥ*, ed. M. al-Mubārak, 89-90; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Iḳtirāḥ*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, 84-5).

1. *Definitions*

Numerous definitions of *naḥw* have been proposed by grammarians, of which four are particularly worthy of mention, being apparently the most representative: (a) "By grammar, I mean that the speaker who has learned it, follows the path (*naḥw*) of the language of the Arabs; it is a science which the Ancients have inferred (*istakhradja*) from meticulous examination (*istiḳrā'*) of the language of the Arabs, in such a way that beginners in this language will be made aware of the purpose (*gharaḍ*) to which it aspires" (Ibn al-Sarrādj, *al-Uṣūl*, ed. A. al-Fatlī, i, 35); (b) "The object, in grammar, is the distinction (*tabyīn*) between correctness (*ṣawāb*) and error (*khaṭā'*) of expression, according to the method (*madhhab*) of the Arabs, by means of analogy (*ḳiyās*)" (al-Rummānī, *al-Ḥudūd*, ed. M. Djawād, 38); (c) "The grammar of Arabic is the act of following the way (*samt*) of the language of the Arabs in its behaviour (*taṣarruf*), in flexional endings and other matters, such as the dual, the plural, diminution, the broken plural, annexation and relativeness, etc., so that one who is not a native speaker of the Arabic language may be the equal in clarity (*faṣāḥa*) of those who are, in speaking it (*naṭaḳa*)" (Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣā'iṣ*, ed. M. al-Nadjdjār, i, 34); and (d) "Grammar is the science of norms (*maḳāyīs*), inferred (*mustanbaṭa*) from the meticulous study of the language of the Arabs" (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Luma' al-adilla*, ed. 'A. 'Āmir, 44).

2. *Origins*

It was the Semitist A. Merx who was the first to claim that Arabic grammar has borrowed from Aristotelian logic the tripartite division of speech, the distinction of genres, the concepts of content (*ẓarf*) and of state (*ḥāl*), the notions of time and of agency (*Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros*, Leipzig 1889, 137-53). Subsequently, H. Fleisch also admitted that the first Arab grammarians could have borrowed Aristolelian concepts, observing however that the logic of grammarians is quite unrelated to that of philosophers (*Esquisse d'un historique de la grammaire arabe*, in *Arabica*, iv 1 [1957], 1-22). M.G. Carter, on the other hand, has dismissed the hypothesis of Greek influence and has showed the close links which exist between grammar and law (*fiḳh*), in the domains of method and terminology (*Les origines de la grammaire arabe*, in *REI*, xl [1972], 69-97). For his part, C. Versteegh has undertaken to illustrate the influence of Greek grammar and logic on Arabic grammatical thinking (*Greek elements in Arabic linguistic thinking*, Leiden 1977), whereas the author of the present article has shown that the terminology of Sībawayhi was totally different from the terminology used by the translators of the *Hermeneutics* and the *Poetics*, the two works in which Aristotle addresses grammatical ideas (G. Troupeau, *L'origine de la grammaire arabe à la lumière du Kitāb de Sībawayhi* [in Arabic], in *Journal of the Jordan Academy of Arabic*, i [1978], 125-38; idem, *La logique d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' et les origines de la grammaire arabe*, in *Arabica*, xxviii [1981], 242-50). Finally, A. Elamrani-Jamal has criticised the "Greek hypothesis" in relation to the origins of Arabic grammar, and has examined the relationship between logic and grammar in the works of philosophers of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries (*Logique aristotelicienne et grammaire arabe*, Paris 1983).

Without denying the influence which Aristotelian logic might have exercised on the grammarians of Baghdād from the 4th/10th century onward, it may be supposed that the grammar took shape, unaffected by any foreign influence, simultaneously with other Islamic sciences such as exegesis and law, which originated during the first half of the 2nd/8th century in the two great intellectual centres of southern 'Irāḳ, Baṣra and Kūfa.

3. *The schools*

According to Arab tradition, the grammarians of Baṣra and those of Kūfa allegedly formed two distinct

and rival "schools", each having its own grammatical system (*madhhab*); subsequently, following a meeting of grammarians representing these two "schools" in Baghdād, in the 3rd/9th century, a third "school" came into being, its representatives operating a synthesis of the two former, through blending (*khalaṭa*) their systems.

While this traditional point of view was adopted by G. Flügel (*Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862), it was rejected by G. Weil (*Die grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufer*, Leiden 1913), who showed the artificial and belated nature of this division into three "schools". But it remains true that even if the systems of the grammarians of Baṣra and of Kūfa were fundamentally the same, they nevertheless presented certain divergencies which should not be ignored.

These divergencies were first manifested in the area of terminology, the Kūfans using a number of terms different to those of the Baṣrans, for example: *madjrī* (= *munṣarif*); *khafḍ* (= *djarr*); *ʿimād* (= *faṣl*); *maknī* (= *muḍmar*); *nasaḳ* (= *ʿaṭf*); *ṣifa* (= *ẓarf*); *ṣila* (= *ḥashw*). Differences also appeared in the context of general concepts, such as the nature of words, since, unlike the Baṣrans, the Kūfans considered that the noun of the agent (*ism al-fāʿil*) belongs not to the category of the noun but to that of the verb, and that it expresses present time (*fiʿl al-ḥāl*); similarly, they considered that it is the noun of the action (*maṣdar*) which is derived from the verb and not the converse.

But it is especially in the sphere of flexional endings that the differences between the two systems abounded, since it has been observed that in the *K. al-Inṣāf fī masāʾil al-khilāf* of Ibn al-Anbārī, 61 out of 122 questions (i.e. a half), dealt with problems of rection (*ʿamal*) and of the governor (*ʿāmil*).

4. *Development*

At the end of the 2nd/8th century all the grammatical material drawn from pre-Islamic poetry and from the Ḳurʾān was codified in two seminal works, of which only the first survives: the *Kitāb fi 'l-naḥw* of the Baṣran Sībawayhi (d. 177/793) and the *K. Ḥudūd al-naḥw* of the Kūfan al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822).

In the 3rd/9th century, these two works were taught in Baghdād, which had become the centre of grammatical studies, the first by al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898) and the second by Thaʿlab (d. 291/904); by virtue of the clarity of his teaching and the conciseness of his *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, in which he presented a simplified version of the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi, al-Mubarrad imposed the Baṣran method in the ʿAbbāsid capital.

In the first half of the 4th/10th century, it was Ibn al-Sarrādj (d. 316/928), the youngest disciple of al-Mubarrad, who guaranteed the definitive establishment of the Baṣran method in Baghdād, introducing the divisions of logic in the *K. al-Uṣūl* and its abridged version the *K. al-Mūdjaz*; but some grammarians still followed the method of Kūfa, while others blended the two methods; al-Zadjdjādjī (d. 338/949), who was their pupil, composed, besides a manual, the *K. al-Djumal*, one of the first works on the causes of grammatical phenomena, the *K. al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿilal al-naḥw*.

The second half of the 4th/10th century was a veritable golden age of grammatical studies in Baghdād, where three grammarians of Muʿtazilī leanings were teaching: al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/979), renowned for his major commentary on the *Kitāb*; al-Fārisī (d. 377/987), author of the *K. al-Īḍāḥ wa 'l-takmila*, a treatise dedicated to the Būyid prince ʿAḍud al-Dawla; and al-Rummānī (d. 384/994), also the author of a commentary on the *Kitāb*, of whom it was said that he blended logic with grammar and who composed one of the first collections of grammatical definitions, the *K. al-Ḥudūd*. The greatest grammarian of this period was without doubt Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002), whose manual the *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* and three other important works have survived: the *K. al-Munṣif*, on morphology, the *K. al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*, on methodology, and the *K. Sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb* which, despite its title, does not deal with syntax but with phonetics. A contemporary of Ibn Djinnī, the Persian Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004), deserves mention for his innovative treatise on philology intitled *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiḳh al-lugha*, named after the vizier al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād to whom it is dedicated.

The 5th/11th century is marked by a dearth of grammatical production, after the proliferation of the preceding century; the only writer worthy of mention seems to be the Persian al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078), author of the *K. al-ʿAwāmil al-miʾa*, which was to be one of the first studies of Arabic syntax to become known in the West, since it was translated into Latin by Erpenius at Leiden in 1617.

The 6th/12th century saw a resumption of grammatical production, first with the Persian al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), author of a clear and concise study, the *K. al-Mufaṣṣal*, which was to be the subject of a copious commentary by a scholar of Aleppo, Ibn Yaʿīsh (d. 643/1245); then with another Persian, al-Muṭarrizī (d. 610/1213), author of a small manual, the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ*, which was subsequently to be the object of numerous commentaries; as to the ʿIrāḳī Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181), whose *K. al-Inṣāf* has already been mentioned, he was also the author of a manual in the form of questions and answers, the *K. Asrār al-ʿarabiyya*, and of a treatise on methodology, the *K. Lumaʿ al-adilla*.

In the 7th/13th century, the Egyptian Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 647/1249) abridged al-Zamakhsharī's treatise in two opuscules, the *K. al-Kāfiya*, on syntax, and the *K. al-Shāfiya*, on morphology, which were both to be the object of commentaries by the Persian al-Astarābādhī (d. 688/1289); for his part, the Syrian Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273), condensed grammar in two works, one in prose, the *K. Tashīl al-fawāʾid*, and the other in verse, the *K. al-Alfiyya*, a poem of about a thousand verses, belonging to a genre inaugurated a short time previously by the Egyptian Ibn al-Muʿṭī (d. 628/1231); during the same period, in the West, the Andalusian Ibn ʿUṣfūr (d. 670/1271) presented the two branches of grammar in the *K. al-Muḳarrib fi 'l-naḥw* and the *K. al-Mumtiʿ fi 'l-ṣarf*.

Finally, in the 8th/14th century, the Egyptian Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360) composed two short treatises with his own commentary, the *K. Shudhūr al-dhahab* and the *K. Ḳaṭr al-nadā*, as well as a considerably more thorough work, the *K. Mughnī 'l-labīb*, which was to become, and has remained until this day, the standard manual for the teaching of Arabic in the universities of the Arab countries.

5. *Divisions*

Following the lead of Sībawayhi in the *Kitāb*, the authors of grammatical works divide the matter of *naḥw* into a large number of chapters (*bāb*). In spite of their apparent disorder, these chapters may be grouped within two major divisions, according to a logical order which appears in a particularly neat fashion in works such as the *K. al-Uṣūl* of Ibn al-Sarrādj and the *K. al-Muḳarrib* of Ibn ʿUṣfūr.

The first division of *naḥw* is devoted to the study of the behaviour (*madjārī*) of the ending of words in articulation (*kalām*). It comprises nine sections in which the endings (*awākhir*) of the three types of Arabic word (nouns, verbs and particles) are

examined successively, according to their inflexion (*iʿrāb*) or their basic form (*bināʾ*):

(1) the ending of nouns inflected (*muʿrabāt*) in the governing function (*ʿawāmil*):

a. nouns raised (*marfūʿāt*) by the vowel /u/;

b. nouns rectified (*manṣūbāt*) by the vowel /a/;

c. nouns drawn out (*madjrūrāt*) by the vowel /i/.

(2) the ending of nouns assimilated (*mushabbaha*) to inflected nouns.

(3) the ending of nouns dependent (*tawābiʿ*) on other nouns for their inflexion.

(4) the ending of inflected nouns variable (*munṣarifa*) or invariable (*ghayr munṣarifa*) with the suffix *-nūn*.

(5) the ending of invariable nouns (*mabniyyāt*).

(6) the ending of inflected verbs in the governing function:

a. verbs raised (*marfūʿa*) by the vowel /u/;

b. verbs rectified (*manṣūba*) by the vowel /a/;

c. verbs with vowel cut off (*madjzūma*).

(7) the ending of invariable verbs.

(8) the ending of invariable particles.

(9) the ending of words modified by factors other than inflexion.

The second division of *naḥw* is concerned with study of the transformation (*taṣrīf*) of the forms (*abniya*) of words in themselves, in vocabulary (*lugha*). This division comprises two parts in which the following are described:

(1) morphological transformations which influence the form of words: diminutiveness (*taṣghīr, taḥḳīr*), brokenness (*taksīr*) for the plural, annexation (*iḍāfa, nasab*), derivation (*ishtiḳāḳ*) of verbs and nouns from the verbal noun (*maṣdar*);

(2) phonetic transformations which influence the phonemes of words: augmentation (*ziyāda*), substitution (*ibdāl*), suppression (*ḥadhf*), conversion (*taḥwīl*) and insertion (*idghām*).

It is this bipartite division, inherited from the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi, which is to be found in all Arabic grammatical works, even though, within these two major divisions, the order of the constituent parts may vary slightly.

Bibliography: To the references indicated in the course of the article, the following may be added: F. Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, *Grammatik*, Leiden 1984, 1-27; C. Versteegh, *Arabische Sprachwissenschaft* (*Grammatik*), in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, ii, Wiesbaden 1987, 148-76. (G. Troupeau)

NĀʾIB (a.), literally "substitute, delegate" (*nomen agentis* from *n-w-b* "to take the place of another"), the term applied generally to any person appointed as deputy of another in an official position.

1. In pre-modern usage.

The term was used, more especially, in the Mamlūk and Dihlī Sultanates, to designate (*a*) the deputy or lieutenant of the sultan, and (*b*) the governors of the chief provinces. In the Mamlūk system the former, entitled *nāʾib al-salṭana al-muʿaẓẓama wa-kāfil al-mamālik al-sharīfa al-islāmiyya*, was the vice-sultan proper, who administered all the territories and affairs of the empire on behalf of the sultan. This was, however, only an occasional office, and its holder is to be distinguished from the *nāʾib al-ghayba*, the temporary governor of Cairo (or Egypt) during the absence of the sultan, or of Damascus during the absence of the *nāʾib al-salṭana*. The six *niyābas* of Syria which replaced the Ayyūbid *mamlakas*—Damascus, Ḥalab, Tripoli, Ḥamā, Ṣafad and al-Karak (their number was from time to time increased by the erection of Ghazza and other districts into separate provinces)—were each administered by a *nāʾib al-salṭana* (also entitled *kāfil al-mamlaka*), who was an "*amīr* of a thousand", the *nāʾib* of Damascus being superior to the others. At the end of the 8th/14th century, Egypt also was divided into three similar *niyābas*: Alexandria (from 767/1365-6), Upper Egypt (*al-wadjh al-barrī* or *al-ḳiblī*) and Lower Egypt (*al-wadjh al-baḥrī*). The plain title of *nāʾib* was held by the commandants of the citadels of Cairo, Damascus, Ḥalab, etc., who were not under the jurisdiction of their respective governors, and by various *amīrs* of lesser rank holding subordinate commands. (For an instance of more recent use, see shāmil.)

In the Dihlī Sultanate, the *nāʾib* was the powerful minister who was the deputy of the king himself. The earliest reference to the office seems to be the appointment of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Āytigīn as deputy on the accession of Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh in 637/1240 (Minhādj al-Dīn Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Bibl. Ind., 191). In fact, the support of the nobles was conditional upon the appointment of this person to the deputyship. Although this was a separate office from that of the *wazīr*, nevertheless under powerful *nāʾibs*, like Malik Kāfūr in the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī and Khusraw in the reign of Mubārak Shāh, its existence was not conducive to the growth of the powers of the *wazīr*.

In its most common acceptation, in Persian and in Turkish as well as later Arabic, *nāʾib* signified a judge-substitute, or delegate of the *ḳāḍī* in the administration of law. In modern Arabic political usage, it denotes a parliamentary deputy, so that *madjlis al-nuwwāb* means "chamber of deputies" [see madjlis and 2. below]. In modern legal usage, *al-nāʾib al-ʿumūmī* is the public prosecutor. *Nāʾib* is further found in military usage as a term, with *shāwīsh*, for the rank of sergeant.

The form *nawwāb* (possibly a frequentative or intensive adjectival form, not however used in Arabic, but more likely a *pluralis dignitatis* connected with *nuwwāb*, pl. of *nāʾib*) became much used in Indo-Muslim practice as the titles Nawwāb or Nawāb; for this, see nawwāb.

Bibliography: In addition to the standard histories: E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks*, Paris 1840, i/2, 93-9; M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicum*, Paris 1903, i, 209-28 (analyses the epigraphic evidence): M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923. (H.A.R. Gibb*)

2. In modern politics.

Until the early 19th century, *nāʾib* had carried only the traditional meaning of official deputy, the lieutenant of a ruler, governor or judge. The term has retained this import, and is still used in this sense in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Meanwhile, with the Middle Eastern exposure to Western political ideas, *nāʾib* —in Arabic usage only— has acquired the additional meaning of people's representatives in government.

Like so many modern Arabic political expressions, *nāʾib* gained its new sense first through the discussing of political phenomena abroad. Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] seems to have been the first to employ it with such meaning in the 1830s, applying it to members of the French *Chambre des Députés* (Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, *Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz*, 3rd ed. Cairo 1958, 141; idem, *al-Kanz al-mukhtār*, Cairo 1834, 22, 57). Resorting to calque, he chose the word *nāʾib* to render the French *député*, which carried the double meaning of "appointed official" and "popular representative". Thereafter the term was occasionally used with this new denotation, but it gained broad currency only following the creation of the Egyptian *madjlis shūrā al-*

nuwwāb (Consultative Council of Deputies) by the Khedive Ismāʿīl in 1866. The membership of this institution, having been assembled through a combined procedure of appointment and election, clearly reflected a novel concept, and its designation as *nuwwāb* lent the term a similarly novel, if somewhat ambiguous implication. Lasting until 1882, the Khedive's Council was the only official body in the region whose members were so formally designated prior to World War I.

Assemblies of deputies have emerged in the Middle East under different régimes since the disintegration of the Ottoman empire, their membership formed through various mechanisms. The name *madjlis al-nuwwāb* has often been applied to such institutions, whether unicameral bodies or lower houses of bicameral ones. Thus were named institutions in monarchical Egypt (1923-52), Iraq (1924-58) and Libya (1951-69); mandatary, then independent Syria (1932-63); Sudan (1951-8); Lebanon (since 1926); Trans-Jordan, then Jordan (since 1946), and Morocco (since 1962). Members of similar bodies with other names—*madjlis al-shaʿb* ("people's assembly"), *madjlis al-umma* ("nation's assembly") etc.—have likewise been commonly known as *nuwwāb*. In their representative nature, political role and public standing these bodies have varied broadly in the Arab states, according to their respective political realities.

Bibliography: For the 19th century evolution of the term and concept of representation, see A. Ayalon, *Language and change in the Arab Middle East*, New York 1987, ch. V. For Ismāʿīl's *madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*, and the development of representative institutions in the 20th century, see MADJLIS, 4, and the Bibl. therein. (A. AYALON)

NĀʾILA [see ISĀF].

NĀʾILĪ, properly PĪRĪ-ZĀDE (after his father Pīrī Khalīfe Muṣṭafā Čelebi, a celebrated Ottoman poet of the 17th century, d. in 1077/1666-7. To distinguish him from the 19th century poet and Mewlewī adherent Ṣāliḥ Nāʾilī of Monastir (who died in 1293/1876 in Cairo) he has since been called Nāʾilī-yi Ḳadīm, "old Nāʾilī", the later poet being referred to as Nāʾilī-yi Djedīd, "new Nāʾilī".

Nāʾilī was born in Istanbul presumably about the beginning of the 17th century (as we are led to assume based on indications in his *Dīwān*). He enjoyed a good education, upon the completion of which he entered the government office of finances called *maʿden ḳalemi* as clerk. This was to be his life-long job, and he ultimately became *bash-khalīfe* there (thus following in his father's footsteps, a clerk and *khalīfe* in the same office). Unable to secure a more important post, he had to content himself with the life of a civil servant of restricted means until towards the end of his life he was sent into exile by the grand vizier Ḳöprülü-zāde Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pasha for unknown reasons. Allusions in one of his *ḳaṣīdes* point to his having later been allowed to return to Istanbul. Nāʾilī died in 1077/1666-7; the location of his tomb cannot be ascertained.

Nāʾilī was a weak, delicate man of feeble constitution, inclining to hypersensitivity and pessimism. There are indications in his *Dīwān* that he belonged to the Khalwetī order. Nevertheless, he was not only one of the greatest Ottoman poets of the post-classical period but one of the most interesting and important poets in the entire history of Turkish literature. He was an innovator, but mainly in the field of style and language, being the pre-eminent follower of the *Sebk-i hindī* [see SABK-I HINDĪ] style in Ottoman poetry.

Nāʾilī's characteristics are a polished, elegant, individual style of great gracefulness, succinctness of expression and a language full of Persian words, constructions (often of considerable length, such as e.g.: *djihān-ī wāzhgūn-naʿl-i maḥabbet*, "the land of love with the horseshoes turned backwards"; horses used to be fitted with horseshoes turned backwards in order to confuse pursuers) and metaphors, many of which were new to Turkish usage. A good number of his verses contain so many foreign elements that they are unintelligible to a Turk who does not know Persian. An example from a *ghazel*:

Zūr-ī bāzū-yī nigāhuñ dest-bürd-i ʿishwedür
Čāk-rīz-i djeyb ü dāmān-ī taḥammüldür baña

"The force of your glance's arm is coquetry's victory;
It is the tearing into pieces from collar to hem of
(my) endurance to me."

Furthermore, Nāʾilī's language is so compact and free from all redundance that the meaning is often hard to decipher at first sight, and some of his verses become intelligible only when one has recourse to interpreting them in a Ṣūfī sense. However, the use of *taṣawwuf* ideas and allusions, at which Nāʾilī is a master, is only a matter of inspiration and style for him; he cannot be called a Ṣūfī poet. His poetic imagination was not as powerful as his mastery of language and style, but he influenced both his contemporaries and later poets down to the 19th century.

Nāʾilī's literary work consists only of a *Dīwān*, put together by the poet himself. It was printed in Būlāḳ in 1253/1837 (only about a third of his poems were printed, however). All of his work is included in the critical edition prepared by Haluk İpekten (Istanbul 1970) (for the preparation of this critical edition, all known 31 mss. of the *Dīwān* were studied). The complete *Dīwān* consists of two *münādjāts*, ten *naʿts*, 29 *medḥiyyes*, a *merthiye* written in the form of a *terdjīʿ-i bend* on the death of his brother who died young, four *müseddes*, one *terkīb-i bend*, one *takhmīs*, 390 *ghazels*, one *müstezād*, 18 *ḳiṭʿas*, eight *rubāʿīs*, five *beyts*, eleven *sharḳīs* and six *tārīkhs*.

Most of Nāʾilī's religious poetry is in the *ḳaṣīde* form. Of the ten *naʿts*, eight are in honour of the Prophet and one each in honour of ʿAlī and of Ḥusayn; 27 of the 29 *medḥiyyes* are also *ḳaṣīdes* (the other two being a *ḳiṭʿa* and a *naẓm*). Nāʾilī's *medḥiyyes* are dedicated to Murād IV and Meḥemmed IV [*q.vv.*] to the grand viziers Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, Sulṭān-zāde Meḥmed Pasha [see MEḤMED PASHA, SULṬĀN-ZĀDE], Ṣofu Meḥmed Pasha, Ṣāliḥ Pasha, Hezār-pāre Aḥmed Pasha, Ḳöprülü-zāde Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pasha [see KÖPRÜLÜ], to the *shaykh al-islāms* Zekeriyyā-zāde Yaḥyā Efendi, Bahāyī Efendi [see BAHĀʾĪ MEḤMED EFENDI], Meḥmed Emīn Ṣunʿī-zāde Efendi, to various *defterdārs* and others.

Nāʾilī's most important work is, however, his collection of 390 *ghazels*. These *ghazels*, the majority of which are of only five verses, have been considered samples of *münaḳḳaḥiyyet*, the art of expressing oneself in such a way that words and meaning are perfectly balanced. In some of them there is a lightness of tone that reminds one of Nedīm [*q.v.*], in others a pessimistic, and at times philosophising, vein calling to mind Nābī [*q.v.*]. Thus first and foremost, Nāʾilī is considered a poet of *ghazels*.

His *sharḳīs* have a special importance in that they are the first poems of this genre and in that he wrote them in a very simple language (with passages such as *bizümle yār söyleshmez*, "the beloved does not speak with us") that is totally different from the elaborate language of his other poems.

Bibliography: Riḍā, *Tedhkire*; ʿĀṣim, *Dheyl-i Zübdet el-eshʿār*; Güftī, *Teshrīfāt el-shuʿarāʾ*, Mudjīb,

Tedhkire; Ṣafāyī, *Tedhkire*; Belīgh, *Nukhbet el-āthār li-Dheyl Zübdet el-eshʿār*; Sheykhī, *Waḳāyiʿ el-fuḍalā*; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 529; *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, ii, 443-5; Müstedjābī-zāde ʿIṣmet, *Nāʾilī-yi Ḳadīm*, Istanbul 1318; idem, *Nāʾilī-yi Ḳadīm*, in *Khazīne-yi fünūn*, ii (1312), 320-3, 326-9 (*Eslāf*, no. 76); Muʿallim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, Istanbul 1308, 312-3; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOD*, iii, 467-9; Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 304-11; Th. Menzel, in *EI*[1], s.v. *Nāʾilī*; H. İpekten, in *İA*, s.v. *Nâʾilî*; A. Gölpınarlı, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîm*, Istanbul 1953; İ. Kutluk, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîm, hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1962; idem, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîmʾin sanatı ve kişiliği*, in *Belleten*, (1963), 269-305; H. İpekten, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîm divânı, edisyon kritik*, Istanbul 1970; idem, *Nâʾilî, hayatı, edebî kişiliği ve bazı şiirlerinin açıklamaları*, Erzurum 1987. Unpublished theses: H. Kayı, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîm divanının edition critiqueʾi* (*tenkitli neşri*) (Istanbul 1941-2, Türkiyat Ens., T 143); M. Merzifonluoğlu, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîm ve gazellerinin tetkiki* (Istanbul 1950-1, Türkiyat Ens. T 362; N. Vardarlı, *Nâʾilî divânı transkripsiyonu ve edisyon kritiği*, (Ankara 1951, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi).

(E.G. Ambros)

NAʿĪM al-DĪN of Temesvár, Timişoara, Ott. Ṭīmīshwar, Ṭīmīshwarī al-Ḥādjdj Ibrāhīm (1107/1695-?), Ottoman author, with the penname (*takhalluṣ* [*q.v.*]) Naʿīm(ī).

Born in Ṭīmīshwar [*q.v.*] as an offspring of a typical borderer family, he left his native town after the Habsburg conquest of 1716 and spent his further life in the service of high dignitaries (Muḥsin-zāde ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, Ghāzī al-Ḥādjdj Ḥusayn Pasha, Nāʾilī ʿAbd Allāh Pasha) as *dīwān kātibi*. Works: (1) *Ḥadīḳatüʾl-shühedāʾ*, finished in 1157/1744, but enlarged by an appendix (*dhayl*) of 1178/1764, is of a mixed character, containing a compilation of Ḳurʾānic verses and traditions concerning the topics of *djihād*, *ghazā*, *shahāda* [*q.vv.*], etc., illustrated by examples from the biographical literature on the Prophet and his Companions or from hagiographical sources, sometimes also from the local oral tradition of the Hungarian borderland; a survey of Ottoman history 1094-1157/1682-1744, based on Meḥmed Rāshid's [*q.v.*] chronicle, but enlarged by references to historical events, based on eyewitnesses or on his own experience; biographical data on his chiefs; autobiographical notices; popular songs (*türkü* [*q.v.*]) of folk-minstrels (*ʿāshiḳ* [*q.v.*]) like Gewherī [*q.v.*] (elegy on the death of one of the author's ancestors, Aḥmed Agha of Eger) and Derwīsh ʿAshīḳ Ḥasan (songs on the fall of Buda 1686 and Belgrade 1688 and the siege of Temeshwar 1688-90); poems of his own; etc. (2) *Pend-nāme*, finished in 1182/1768, a short didactic *mathnawī* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, vii, p. vi; ix, 208; *Bosna ve Hersek wilāyeti sālnāmesi*, vii, Sarāy Bosna 1306/1889, 40-56; Babinger, 279-80; A.S. Levend, *Gazavât-nâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Gazavât-nâmesi*, Ankara 1956, 149-51; *Türkiye yazmaları toplu kataloğu*, xxxiv/1, Ankara 1981, 111.

(M. Köhbach)

NAʿĪMĀ (1065-1128/1655-1716) Ottoman historian.

Muṣṭafā Naʿīm, known by the *makhlaṣ* Naʿīmā, was born in Aleppo, probably in 1065/1655, the son of a Janissary commander. As a young man he entered, *ca.* 1100/1688-9, the palace corps of *balṭadjīlar* [*q.v.*] in Istanbul and received a thorough scribal education, developing particular interests in literature, history and astrology. He may also have attended classes at the Beyazīd mosque. Graduating from the *balṭadjī* corps, he was apprenticed to the *kātibs* of the *dīwān-i hümāyūn*, and appointed secretary to Ḳalaylîḳoz Aḥmed Pasha, also a former *balṭadjī*. He remained a member of the *dīwān-i hümāyūn kātibleri* for the remainder of his career, serving in various administrative posts.

Sometime around 1110/1698-9, Naʿīmā was commissioned by the Grand Vizier ʿAmūdja-zāde Ḥusayn [Köprülü] Pasha [*q.v.*] to complete the Ottoman history left in draft form by the *müderris* Shāriḥ al-Menārzāde Aḥmed Efendi (d. 1067/1657 (Naʿīmā, *Tāʾrīkh*, i, Istanbul 1281/1864, 10-11). His principal remuneration at this period was a daily wage of 120 *aḳče* drawn upon the Istanbul customs revenues; this was augmented in the usual way by ad hoc gifts from the Grand Vizier as sections of the history were presented to him. Naʿīmā's work on the history had probably ceased by the time of his appointment in mid-1116/late 1704 to the post of *Anadolu muḥāsebedjisi*, with the principal scribal rank of *khʷādjegān* [*q.v.*] (Djemāleddīn, *ʿOthmānlî taʾrīkh ve müwerrikhleri* (*Ayīne-yi ẓurefā*), Istanbul 1314/1896, 43).

Thereafter Naʿīmā's career fluctuated. In 1118-9/1706-7 he was exiled from Istanbul by the Grand Vizier Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] (Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altınay], *Menfada Naʿîmâ Efendi*, in *TTEM*, v (1931), 52-5), probably because some of his astrological forecasts had offended certain powerful individuals. After his return he held simultaneously the posts of *teshrīfātdjī* and *ḳalyonlar defterdārī*, and in 1124/1712 was again promoted to be *Anadolu muḥāsebedjisi*. While still high in the favour of the Grand Vizier Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], he was appointed *defter emīni* [*q.v.*] (1125/1713) and shortly thereafter *bash muḥāsebedjisi*. However, rumours, spread maliciously, of his opposition to the same Grand Vizier's Morea campaign of 1714-15, resulted in temporary demotion to the post of *silāḥdār kātibi* (Ṣafar 1127/March 1715). Restored for a third term as *Anadolu muḥāsebedjisi* in mid-1127/June 1715, he was finally demoted later that year to the post of provincial *defter emīni* for the Morea, where he remained. Naʿīmā died at Patras in 1128/1716, and was buried there. (The fullest original sources for Naʿīmā's life are: Sālim, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1315/1897, 681-2; Shehrī-zāde Saʿīd, *Newpeydā*, Istanbul University Library ms. TY 3291, fols. 21a-22b, quoted in (Ṭayyār-zāde) ʿAṭā, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, Istanbul 1293/1876, 36-40; and the information given at various points by Naʿīmā in the *Taʾrīkh*, for which see L.V. Thomas (ed. N. Itzkowitz), *A study of Naima*, New York 1972, *passim*.).

Naʿīmā's reputation as a leading Ottoman historian rests upon his *Rawḍat al-Ḥusayn fī khulāṣat akhbār al-khāfiḳayn*, dedicated to ʿAmūdja-zāde Ḥusayn Pasha, terminated *ca.* 1704, and known generally as *Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā*. The work is a compilation in largely traditional, annalistic format, covering 1000-70/1591-1660, and including the by then customary obituaries of significant individuals. It contains almost all of Shāriḥ al-Menārzāde's chronicle and was strongly influenced by the *Fedhleke* of Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*]. Both independently and also through these two principal sources, the *Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā* draws upon most of the major Ottoman histories of the late 16th and the 17th centuries, including those of Ḥasan Beg-zāde, ʿĀlī, Pečewī, Wedjīhī, and Ḳara Čelebizāde ʿAbd ül-ʿAzīz, as well as many other lesser-known writers and some oral informants. Naʿīmā's own comments and assessments appear regularly, particularly with regard to significant issues and where his sources conflict. A substantial introduction, setting out Naʿīmā's views on history and

government, bears similarities to the 17th-century reform memoranda, or *lāʾ iḥat* literature, but acknowledges particularly the influence of Kātib Čelebi's *Düstūr al-ʿamel*, and Ibn Khaldūn's theory of the rise and decline of states (Thomas, *A study of Naima*, 68-83; C. Fleischer, *Royal authority, dynastic cyclism, and "Ibn Khaldunism" in sixteenth-century Ottoman letters*, in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, xvii/3-4 [1983], 199-203).

Naʿīmā's aim was to produce a reliable and accurate history, written in a graceful yet accessible prose style, which would be a source both of information and of instruction for Ottoman statesmen. A widely-read and highly-regarded history, the *Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā* was one of the first Ottoman printed works, being published in two volumes by İbrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.*] in 1147/1733 (the first volume of which was reprinted in Istanbul in 1259/1843). Second and third editions, each in six volumes, were published in Istanbul in 1280/1863-4 and 1281-3/1864-6 (on the mss., editions, and partial translations, see Babinger, 246; *İstanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları kataloğu*, ii, Istanbul 1945, 200-7; M. Münir Aktepe, *Naima Tarihi'nin yazma nüshaları hakkında*, in *TD*, i/1 [1949], 35-52).

Naʿīmā also collected material for a continuation of the history to 1110/1698-9, but his drafts appear not to have survived. A daybook of contemporary events apparently kept by him during at least the Grand Vizierate of ʿAmūdja-zāde Ḥusayn Pasha (1109-14/1697-1702), and perhaps for almost a decade beforehand, served as a source for the historian Rāshid (*Taʾrīkh-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1282/1865, 449 ff.). Naʿīmā's only published writing on contemporary affairs is an account of the *Edirne waḳʿasī* and the deposition of Muṣṭafā II [*q.v.*] in 1115/1703, which was printed as an appendix to the *Taʾrīkh*.

Although Naʿīmā is traditionally regarded as the first Ottoman official historian, or *weḳāyiʿ-nüwīs* (later *waḳʿa-nüwīs* [*q.v.*]), he does not refer to himself specifically as such, and it is doubtful whether either the title or the post were formally instituted until Rāshid was appointed, in 1126/1714, to continue Naʿīmā's work (Thomas, *A study of Naima*, 36-42; Bekir Kütükoğlu, *İA*, art. *Vekayi-nüvis*).

Bibliography: For an extensive list of primary and secondary sources, see the bibl. to M. Cavid Baysun, *İA*, art. *Naima*, upon which the present article draws heavily. (Christine Woodhead)

NĀʾĪN, Nāyin, a small town (lat. 53° 05' E., long. 32° 52' N., altitude 1,408 m/4.620 feet) on the southwestern edge of the Great Desert of central Persia and on the road connecting Yazd with Iṣfahān and Ḳum. The town seems to have a pre-Islamic history, but nothing is known of this. The mediaeval Islamic geographers place it in the *sardsīr* or cooler upland regions and describe it as administratively within Fārs (al-Iṣṭakhrī) but as dependent on either Yazd or Iṣfahān. According to Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 69, tr. 77, its citadel (whose ruins are still visible) had walls of 4,000 paces in circumference. The geographers also mention silver mines in the adjacent mountains, and in Ṣafawid times a fine kaolin clay of the Nāʾīn region was used for making porcelain at Ḳāshān (see H.E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 149); today, Nāʾīn is a notable centre for carpet-weaving.

Nāʾīn is notable for its ancient Friday mosque, dating back to the 4th/10th century (*ca.* 349/960), containing a fine early 8th/14th century *minbar*; see S. Flury, *La mosquée de Nāyin*, in *Syria*, xi (1930)m 43-58, and M.B. Smith, *The wood Minbar in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ, Nāīn*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 21-8, with an *Epigraphical notice* by P. Wittek at 33-5. The modern town of Nāʾīn is the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* or district of the same name in the province of Iṣfahān; agriculture there was until recently by *ḳanāts*. The town had a population in *ca.* 1960 of 6,235.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 129 = § 29.31; Le Strange, *Lands*, 207, 285; Schwarz, *Iran*, 12, 21, 659; Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, x, 193-4. (C.E. Bosworth)

NĀʾĪNĪ, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Gharawī (1277-1355/1860-1936), a prominent Shīʿī religious leader, an active supporter of the Persian constitutional revolution of 1324/1906, and a noted constitutionalist ideologue. He was born into a religiously distinguished family of Nāʾīn [*q.v.*] where his father, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, and his grandfather, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Muḥammad Saʿīd, both in turn held the title of *Shaykh al-Islām*. He received his primary education in Nāʾīn; and then, in 1294/1877, he moved to Iṣfahān, pursuing his studies in *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (fundamentals of Islamic law), Islamic philosophy and theology under the then noted teachers including Ḥādjdjī Shaykh Muḥammad Bāḳir Iṣfahānī (d. 1301/1883) and the latter's son, Shaykh Muḥammad Taḳī Iṣfahānī, known as Āḳā Nadjafī [*q.v.*] (for his life and activities, see Abdul-Hadi Hairi, art. *Āqā Najafī*, in *EIr*). Nāʾīnī migrated to ʿIrāḳ in 1303/1885, and after a short stay in Nadjaf he went to Sāmarrāʾ where the then greatest *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] of the Shīʿa, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Shīrāzī (d. 1313/1895), was residing.

While there for eleven years, Nāʾīnī continued his Islamic studies under Shīrāzī and other *mudjtahids* such as Sayyid Ismāʿīl Ṣadr and Sayyid Muḥammad Fishārakī Iṣfahānī. Owing to the fact that Nāʾīnī was associated with Shīrāzī also as a secretary, it is possible that he was involved in the widespread campaign led by Shīrāzī against the tobacco concession of 1308/1890 signed by the then ruler of Persia, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (see, *inter alia*, Ibrāhīm Taymūrī, *Ḳarārdād-i 1890 Régie: taḥrīm-i tanbākū awwalīn muḳāwamat-i manfī dar Īrān*, Tehran 1949). After Shīrāzī's death, Nāʾīnī moved to Karbalā and then, in 1316/1898, to Nadjaf where he became one of the special companions of Khurāsānī [*q.v.*] who, after Shīrāzī became a great *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* and the leading figure in the Persian constitutional revolution (Hairi, art. *Āḵūnd Mollā Moḥammad-Kāẓem Ḵorāsānī*, in *EIr*).

It was in association with Khurāsānī that Nāʾīnī began his constitutionalist activities, which included the writing of his celebrated book, *Tanbīh al-umma wa-tanzīh al-milla* ("The admonition and refinement of the people") (Nadjaf 1327/1909). In this, which proved to be very precise, systematic, coherent and fairly comprehensive, Nāʾīnī as a leading *Ithnāʾ ʿasharī Shīʿī mudjtahid* argued that constitutionalism, despite its being a Western idea, was in harmony with Shīʿism. As a matter of fact, Nāʾīnī's argument in favour of constitutionalism, and particularly the Persian constitutional revolution, was a response directed against the position of the anti-constitutionalist groups led by a prominent Shīʿī *mudjtahid* of Tehran, Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (1258-1327/1842-1909 [*q.v.*]).

Nūrī had declared that constitutionalism would destroy the Islamic beliefs and practices and would lead Islam to ruin, and called the Persian constitutional law "the book of errors" (*ḍalālat-nāma*). Meanwhile, in 1326/1908, the then despotic Ḳādjār ruler, Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (reigned 1325-7/1907-09 [*q.v.*]), bombarded parliament, punished the constitutionalists and abrogated the new constitutional

régime. It was in reference to these developments that Nūrī strongly supported the Shāh as "the just King" and "the King of Islam", and thus prayed to God for him: "Do corroborate our king and his army; eternalise his life; immortalise his kingship and rule". (Hairi, *Shaykh Faḍl ʿAllah Nūrī's refutation of the idea of constitutionalism*, in *MES*, xiii [1977], 327-39).

In refuting the position of the anti-constitutionalists in general and that of Nūrī in particular, Nāʾīnī argued that in the absence of the Twelfth *Imām* whose rule, according to the Twelver Shīʿa, is just, ideal and perfect, the Persians may establish either a despotic or a constitutional form of government. Despotism imposes tyranny and oppression, and involves all types of evils and lawlessness, whereas constitutionalism brings law, benevolence, and justice. It goes, therefore, without saying that under the then circumstances one's obvious religious and national duty was to overthrow the despotic rule of the Ḳādjārs [*q.v.*] and to establish a constitutional form of government which may be at the same time not in contrast to Islam (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977).

To ensure harmony between Islam and the Persian constitution, Nāʾīnī, of course, fully endorsed the second article of the supplementary fundamental law which ruled: "...there shall at all times exist [in Parliament] a committee composed of not less than five *mujtahids*...so that they may...reject and repudiate, wholly or in part, any such proposal which is at variance with the sacred law of Islam" (E.G. Browne, *The Persian revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910, 372-3). Nāʾīnī, however, dissociated himself from every constitutionalist activity because the Anglo-Russian meddling in Persia was overwhelming and the deviation of the Persian political system from constitutionalism was obvious, so that Nāʾīnī is said to have collected copies of his book on constitutionalism and thrown them in the Tigris River (personal interview with Nāʾīnī's son in 1970).

In 1339/1920, Nāʾīnī and other Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* of ʿIrāḳ participated in the ʿIraḳī uprising of that time and opposed British mandatary rule in that country. This resulted in their exile to Ḳum, where Shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḥāʾirī [*q.v.*] had just founded the circle for religious studies (*ḥawḍa-yi ʿilmīyya*). Soon, however, Nāʾīnī and other banished *ʿulamāʾ* returned to ʿIrāḳ after signing statements in which they committed themselves not to interfere in ʿIrāḳī politics (ʿAlī al-Wardī, *Lamaḥāt idjtimaʿiyya fī taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-ḥadīth*, Baghdād 1976, vi, 261-2). From then on, no open political activities by Nāʾīnī in the form of opposition to the rulers either of Persia or of ʿIrāḳ are heard of. Rather, he had friendly relations with Riḍā Shāh and the ʿIrāḳī kings Fayṣal and Ghāzī (Hairi, *Shīʿism*, 149-9; Muḥammad Muḥsin Shaykh Āghā Buzurg, *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1954, i, 595). Instead, he concentrated upon teaching *fiḳh* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* for the rest of his life, through which he trained some of the subsequent Shīʿī *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* such as Ḥādjdjī Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khuʾī who until his death in 1992 lived in ʿIrāḳ.

Bibliography: The only book devoted entirely to Nāʾīnī's political life and thought written in any Western language is Hairi's *Shīʿism*. In addition to the works cited in the article, see Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1960, xliv, 258, no. 2012; Muḥammad Hādī Amīnī, *Muʿdjam ridjāl al-fikr wa 'l-adab fī al-Nadjaf khilāl alf ʿām*, Nadjaf 1964, 435; Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥudjdjat Balāghī, *Ansāb-i khāndānhā-yi mardum-i Nāʾīn: madīnat al-ʿurafāʾ wa kitāb-i shaṭrandj al-ʿurafāʾ*, Tehran 1949, 51-3; idem, *Kitāb-i farhang-i Nāʾīn*, Tehran 1949, 101-2; idem, *Tārīkh-i Nāʾīn*, Tehran 1949, 188-9; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ridjāl fī tarādjim al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-udabāʾ*, Nadjaf 1964, i, 46-9, 284-8; Vanessa Martin, *Islam and modernism: the Iranian Revolution of 1906*, London 1989; Manūčihr Khudāyār Muḥibbī, *Pīshwāyān-i madhhab-i Shīʿa*, in *Waḥīd*, iv, no. 11 (1967), 994-5; Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, Tabrīz n.d., vi, 127; Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī al-Mūsawī Iṣfahānī al-Kāẓimī, *Aḥsan al-wadīʿa fī tarādjim mashāhīr mudjtahid al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1968, 254; Mahdī Nāʾīnī, *Sharḥ-i zindigānī-yi marḥūm-i āyat Allāh Nāʾīnī aʿlā Allāh maḳāmahū*, in *Nāʾīn-ī bīdār* (29 April 1955), 1-2; ʿAlī Naḳī al-Naḳawī, *Āyat Allāh al-Nāʾīnī wa-mawḳifuhū al-ʿilmī bayn al-ṭāʾifa*, in *al-Riḍwān*, ii, no. 8 (1936), 18-20; Fereshteh M. Nouraie, *The constitutional ideas of a Shiʿite Mujtahid: Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nāʾīnī*, in *Iranian Studies* (1975), 234-47; Humā Riḍwānī (ed.), *Lawāyiḥ-i Āḳā Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī*, Tehran 1983.

(Abdul-Hadi Hairi)

NAITIAS or Naʾitas, originally Nawāts, meaning seamen, is a regional Indian term applied to Muslims of Arab and Persian descent who settled on the coast of Konkan (the coastal plain of Mahārāshtra state; hence they are also known as Konkanī Muslims) and in Kanara (region along the Malabar [*q.v.*] coast of the Arabian Sea in what is now western Karnātaka state; see K.B. Faridi, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, ix, pt. 2, Gujarat population, Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay 1899, 14-15). They are the descendants of the earliest Muslim trading communities on the western coast of India. Flourishing maritime trade with India during the ʿAbbāsid caliphate provided Muslim merchants with new opportunities, and the Muslim population of Konkan and Kanara was augmented by adventurers and political refugees. The Arab historian al-Masʿūdī, who visited Ṣaymūr (the ancient port Chaul, south of Bombay) in 304/916-17, found 10,000 Muslims living there, many having migrated from Baṣra, Baghdād, Sīrāf, ʿUmān and other places; while others were descended from earlier Muslim settlers who had intermarried with the indigenous population (*Murūdj*, ii, 85-6 = § 515). The Muslim community enjoyed a measure of internal autonomy; they were allowed to build mosques and appointed a *ḳāḍī* to decide their disputes. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the western coast in the middle of the 8th/14th century and met several religious leaders of the Naitias, has left a vivid description of them. He states that they were pious, devout, and followed the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. They were engaged in maritime trade and were powerful at sea and were able to fight naval battles. In the city of Hinawr (also spelled Hannaur and Honavar, situated on the coast of Malabar), which was ruled by Sultan Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, there were thirteen schools (*maktab*) for girls and twenty-three for boys (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 66). Measured by the number of its schools, the Muslim community of Hinawr must have been very large.

In what is now the city of Bombay, the Naitias first settled on Māhīm [*q.v.*], the northernmost of the seven original islands, which was a military outpost of the sultans of Gudjarāt (1407-1534) and an important trading centre. In 1534, the islands of Bombay were taken over by the Portuguese, which led to a large migration of Naitias from the mainland of Konkan into Bombay, where they established a sizeable colony

(S. Edwardes, *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Bombay 1909, ii, 23-4, 34-5). As the city grew from a settlement of rock and swamp to the proud position of the commercial metropolis of India under the British, the Naitias became the most influential Muslims in the city and retained that powerful position until the 19th century, when other Muslim trading communities started migrating into Bombay. They speak a dialect of Marāthī [*q.v.*] called Konkani (spoken in coastal Mahārāshtra south of Bombay, in Goa and on the Mysore coast). Some members of the community have played an active role in politics of both Mahārāshtra and Karnātaka states and have served in the Congress Party ministries.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Aḥmad Mahāʾimī (d. 835/1431-2), who is buried in Māhīm and who belonged to this community, is considered to have been the greatest exponent of Ibn al-ʿArabī in India. He also wrote several commentaries on Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, and a commentary on the Ḳurʾān entitled *Tabṣīr al-raḥmān wa-taysīr al-mannān* (Dihlī 1286/1869-70; see *Maharashtra State Gazetteers. Language and literature*, Bombay 1971, 457; his name is given as ʿAlī al-Mahaymi).

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the text, see Nawwāb ʿAzīz Djang Bahādur, *Taʾrīkh al-Nawāʾiṭ*, Ḥaydarābād 1922; S. Edwardes, *The rise of Bombay*, Bombay 1902, 60; H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867-72, i, 77, 85-6, ii, 85; Farishta, *Taʾrīkh-i Farishta*, tr. J. Briggs, *Rise of Mohammedan power in India*, Calcutta 1910, ii, 370; M. Lombard, *L'Islam dans sa première grandeur*, Paris 1971, 222; Eng. tr. Joan Spencer, *The Golden age of Islam*, Amsterdam 1975, 221; Satish Misra, *The rise of Muslim power in Gujarat*, London 1963, 193-5. Some of the information given is derived from personal interviews. (I. Poonawala)

NAḲĀ (a.), a term connected with *nuḳāwā*, a generic noun denoting alkaline plants utilised for washing linen and whitening cloths. These are plants which grow stems without any leaves; as soon as they dry up, they become white. They give linen a dazzling white colouring.

By analogy, the term denotes also a "rite of reconciliation" which was used in the Ḥidjāz and which was used for righting injuries. This was done in the following manner: The party causing the offence stops on the threshhold of the aggrieved party, holding a knife in each hand, and says: *al-naḳā naḳānā wa 'l-naḳā naḳiyyu 'l-ridjāl alladhī kamānā* "May (the rite of) *naḳā* whiten us! The *naḳā* is the whitest of men who will have covered us". After having pronounced this formula, the offender's face became white. The aggrieved person had then to appear at the door and cover the supplicant's hand with a *ṣimāda* (a cloth used for covering the head underneath the turban). Then he would kill a sheep and celebrate the reconciliation (cf. W. Robertson Smith, in *Jnal. of Philology*, xiv [1886], 126).

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(T. Fahd)

NAḲĀʾIḌ (a.) "contradicting poems, flytings", pl. of *naḳīḍa* (from the verb *naḳaḍa* "to destroy, undo, rebut, oppose"), synonymous with *munāḳaḍāt* (from the verbal form III *nāḳaḍa*): a form of poetic duelling in which tribal or personal insults are exchanged in poems, usually coming in pairs, employing the same metre and rhyme. It is thus part of invective poetry or *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*]. Such duels were an established form in pre-Islamic times, and had their origin in the slanging-matches between members of different clans or tribes which took the place of, or formed the preliminaries for, a fracas or battle. Originally, the term may have referred to the "undoing" of the magical power of invective verse.

The genre reached its apogee in the Umayyad period with the *naḳāʾiḍ* of al-Akhṭal, Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*], which were popular with rulers and common people, and remained so with philologists and critics on account of their highly entertaining content and their poetic and linguistic skill. Sometimes the poems are short and monothematic; but very often they are long poems in *ḳaṣīda* form, with a peculiar juxtaposition of different themes: amatory, vaunting and invective verse. They are rich in historical, political and social allusions, but on the whole their political significance is second to their role as entertainment. This they provide by means of funny descriptions, powerful imagery, grotesque exaggerations and gross obscenities; expressed in a variety of dictions ranging from the high-flown and stately to the simple near-colloquial. The "rebutting" implied by the term *naḳīḍa* does not consist in a point-by-point refutation of the opponent's poem. Rather than defending himself against slander and abuse, the replying poet attacks in his turn. Often a number of the rhyme words of the first poem re-appear in the second, but this is not done systematically. The most famous series of *naḳāʾiḍ* in Arabic literature, those of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ (both of the same tribe, Tamīm), were made in the course of some forty years. They show little development and revel in the reiterated description of shameful incidents and characteristics. This static character has been called "perhaps the gravest artistic fault" of the genre (Salma Jayyusi, in *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period* (= *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*, i), Cambridge 1983, 411).

Among the examples from subsequent periods one could mention *Naḳāʾiḍ Ibn al-Muʿtazz wa-Tamīm Ibn al-Muʿizz* (ed. Aḥmad Sayyid Muḥammad, 2nd ed. Cairo 1981). Sometimes the term *naḳīḍa* is used for what is more properly termed a *muʿāraḍa* [*q.v.*], sc. a poem with the same metre and rhyme as another, made by way of emulation or in order to surpass, without the invective element (see e.g., the first volume of the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], ed. E. Wagner, Wiesbaden 1958, 24-105). The old tribal poetic duelling survived, with little changes, into modern times: Saad Abdullah Sowayan, *Nabaṭi poetry: the oral poetry of Arabia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1985), 142-4, describes the *riddiyyih* in which two poets alternately improvise a few lines with the same metre and rhyme.

Bibliography: In addition to the titles mentioned in the text, and the relevant titles in the articles on the poets mentioned above and in the article hidjāʾ by Ch. Pellat, see also Aḥmad al-Shāyib, *Taʾrīkh al-naḳāʾiḍ fi 'l-shiʿr al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1946; Maḥmūd Ghinnāwī al-Zuhayrī, *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ: dirāsa adabiyya*, Baghdād 1954. For a list of ancient compilations and commentaries of *naḳāʾiḍ*, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, Leiden 1975, 62-3.

(G.J.H. van Gelder)

al-**NAḲB** (in Bedouin pronunciation, Nagb), the Negev desert of southern Palestine, in what is now the State of Israel. It stretches from the coastal plains of Madjdal and the southern Hebron hills down to the Gulf of ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*]. The name Negev is originally Hebrew, meaning "the dry land", and is mentioned several times in Genesis (e.g. xii.9, xiii.1, xx.1, etc.) as the place where Abraham often encamped with his livestock and where he dug the well eventually called

Beʾers̲h̲evaʿ (Ar. Biʾr al-Sabʿ [*q.v.*]). The place-name Nagb is not found in Classical Arabic historical or geographical literature. After Israel adopted Negev as the modern designation for the southern desert of the country, the Bedouins resident there Arabicised Negev to Nagb, which, meaning "a mountain pass" (Classical *naḳb*), has popularly been thought to derive from the famous pass through which the former Mecca-bound Egyptian pilgrim caravan descended from the central Sinai heights to the head of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba.

During the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, Gaza (G̲h̲azza [*q.v.*]) was the centre of administration, at the head of which was a *ḳāʾimaḳām* or sub-district governor. In 1901, the Ottomans built Beersheba, which has been the administrative centre of the Negev ever since.

The earliest recorded Bedouin tribe in this area was the Balī, who aided the Byzantine emperor Heraclius to fight the invading Muslim forces (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2347, 2392). The D̲j̲ud̲h̲ām, who aided ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to invade Egypt, may also have lived there (al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Nihāya*, 193). The present-day D̲j̲ubārāt were there by the 14th century A.D. (al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *al-Bayān*, 169) and the Wuḥaydāt by the 16th century, when they expelled the ʿĀyid, that had dominated the southern sector for 300 years (al-D̲j̲azīrī, 461). Throughout the ages, the Negev was a refuge for Bedouin groups from north-west Arabia fleeing from vengeance or drought, who appended themselves to local tribes and confederations, some eventually growing and gaining tribal independence, such as the ʿUḳba tribe and the Ẓullām confederation.

The major contemporary Bedouin confederations in the Negev, the Tiyāhā and the Tarābīn, originally came there with the invading army of Bonaparte, in 1799, driving the dominant Wuḥaydāt confederation north. They were subsequently joined by the ʿAzāzna. Throughout the 19th century, these confederations fought each other over territory and, internally, over leadership, the al-ʿAṭāwna and the Huzayyil contending to head the Tiyāhā, and the al-Ṣūfī and Abū Sitta vying within the Tarābīn. These wars continued until 1890, when the final tribal borders were set.

During the Arab-Israeli War of 1948, most of the Bedouin population fled the Negev to neighbouring countries, only 13,000 out of 65,000 remaining; but by 1990, the Bedouin population was again put at 65,000, almost all of whom had become sedentary.

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(C. Bailey)

NAḲD (A.), the portion of the dowry handed over at the conclusion of a marriage, see MAHR. In modern Arabic, it has the sense of "money", see SIKKA.

NAḲḌ AL-MĪT̲H̲ĀḲ (A.), denotes the act of violating a religious covenant (*ʿahd* or *mīt̲h̲āḳ*), occasionally used in S̲h̲īʿism and, more commonly, Bahāʾism [*q.v.*], where the standard English term is "covenant-breaking". The terms *ʿahd* and *mīt̲h̲āḳ* are Ḳurʾānic (II, 27, 63, 83; III, 81; VIII, 56; XIII, 20, 25; XVI, 91, etc.), where they refer to God's general covenant with men or His prophets, or to specific covenants, such as that with the Banū Isrāʾīl [see MĪT̲H̲ĀḲ]. In S̲h̲īʿī tradition, the Prophet entered into a specific *mīt̲h̲āḳ* concerning the succession of ʿAlī. Each Imām in turn enters into a covenant concerning his successor, who must be appointed in his lifetime by means of an explicit declaration (*naṣṣ*). The imāmate itself is "a known covenant (*ʿahd*) on the part of God to named individuals" (al-Kulaynī, ii, 54:3). (For other uses, see al-Aḥsāʾī, ii, 15, 39-40, 41, 42).

In Bahāʾism, the terms are generally used of two covenants: that of God with men concerning His successive prophets and that of each prophet or *waṣī* concerning his successor. In the latter sense, loyalty to the covenant and, more specifically, the individual appointed by it (the *markaz al-mīt̲h̲āḳ*) constitutes a central motif in Bahāʾī doctrine.

The Bahāʾī covenant system closely resembles that of S̲h̲īʿism. Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Bahāʾ Allāh appointed his eldest son ʿAbbās (ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ) as his *waṣī*; ʿAbbās in turn appointed a grandson, Shoghi Effendi, as the first of a succession of "Guardians" (*walī-yi amr Allāh*); Shoghi died childless, and authority passed six years later to an elected body, the *bayt al-ʿadl al-aʿẓam* (Universal House of Justice).

The punishment for challenging the authority of the central figure or body is wholesale excommunication. Numerous individuals and small groups have been expelled from the body of the movement, but no important sects have yet developed. In the absence of an explicit law of apostasy, the precise compass of *naḳḍ al-mīt̲h̲āḳ* has yet to be determined. In Western Bahāʾī writing, the S̲h̲īʿī origins of the covenant motif are routinely ignored and the system treated as though it is unique.

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AL-NAK̲H̲AʿĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. YAZĪD, AL-KŪFĪ, ABŪ ʿIMRĀN, a Successor (*Tābiʿī*), Kūfan traditionist and lawyer, who enjoyed a certain fame, b. *ca.* 50/670, d. *ca.* 96/717. His informants were above all ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [*q.v.*] but also Anas b. Mālik and ʿĀʾisha [*q.vv.*]. He seems to have been part of the latter's circle, and transmitted from her a fair number of items concerning in particular the behaviour of women and husband-and-wife relations, beginning with her own marriage with the Prophet. It is not without significance that a number of these items of information were critically examined by an Ibn Ḳutayba.

But it is above all as a jurisconsult that Ibrāhīm al-Nak̲h̲aʿī played a major rôle. He appears to have been one of the first great defenders of the use of *raʾy* [*q.v.*], personal judgment, whose use he nevertheless only envisaged when tied closely to tradition. His teaching seems to have strongly influenced, through the intermediacy of pupils like Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān, various front-rank jurists, above all Ḥanafī ones, but

also those belonging to other law schools, such as Abū Yūsuf, al-Shaybānī, al-Shāfiʿī and even Saḥnūn [*q.vv.*], who accord him quite a large place in their works.

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NAKHĀWILA [see AL-MADĪNA. 3].

NAKHČIWĀN, NAKHČUWĀN, the name of a town in Transcaucasia which is also the chief town of a region of the same name, until the early 19th century a largely independent khanate and in former Soviet Russian administrative geography part of the Azerbaijan SSR but an enclave within the Armenian Republic. Both town and region lie to the northwest of the great southern bend of the Araxes river, since 1834 here the frontier between Persia and Russian territory. The town of Nakhčiwān is situated in lat. 39° 12' N. and long. 45° 24' E. The region is mostly mountainous, with peaks rising up to 12,808 ft./3,904 m, except for the plains along the Araxes, and is in the seismically highly active zone which extends from northern Persia into eastern Turkey.

The town Ναξουάνα is mentioned in Ptolemy, v., ch. 12. The Armenians explain the name of Nakhčawan (Nakhčuan) by a popular etymology as *nakh-idjewan* "(Noah's) first stopping-place" (although the name is apparently compounded with *awan* "place") and locate the town in the province of Vaspurakan (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 122), or in that of Siunikh. According to Moses of Chorene, i, ch. 30, Nakhičewan was in the area peopled by Median prisoners (*mar*) in whom we should see the ancestors of the Kurds of this region (cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 200: *nahr al-Akrād*). In the early Arab sources we find the form Nashawā, al-Balādhurī, 195, 200; Ibn Miskawayh, ii, 148; al-Samʿānī, 560: Nashāwā. In the Saldjūḳ and Mongol period, the predominant form is Naḳdjuwān (as early as Ibn Khurradādhbih, 122).

The town was conquered under ʿUthmān by Ḥabīb b. Maslama. It was rebuilt under Muʿāwiya by ʿAzīz b. Ḥātim. In 87/705 the Arabs hanged a large number of Armenian notables, and thereafter the town acquired a Muslim character. For a short time (about 900) the power was in the hands of the Bagratuni, but the town was reconquered by the Sādjids [*q.v.*] and belonged henceforth to the domain of their vassal, the *amīr* of Golthn (Ordūbād [*q.v.*]); cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, Vienna 1930, preface, 79, 93, 99-101, 115, text, 300, 362, 567. It figures in the wars of the Daylamī period (Ibn Miskawayh, ii, 148) and in the events of the Saldjūḳ period (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, under 514/1120).

Nakhčuwān is more particularly associated with the family of Īldegizid Atābegs of Ādharbāydjān (531-632/1136-1225 [*q.v.*]), cf. Mīrkhʷānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, Lucknow 1894, 875-6), whose main centre it was, as is shown by the fine buildings: (*a*) the tomb (*mashhad*) of *al-raʾīs al-adjall Rukn al-Dīn Djamāl al-Islām muḳaddam al-mashāʾikh Yūsuf b. Kathīr* (?), dated 557/1162-3; (*b*) the tomb built by Shams al-Dīn Nuṣrat al-Islām Ildegiz for the *malika Djalāl al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muʾmina Khātūn* (probably his wife, former wife of the Saldjūḳ Ṭughril II, d. 568/1172-3, see Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 472); on Ildegiz's stay at Nakhčiwān in 568, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 290; (*c*) the portico (now in ruins) built in 582/1186 by the Atābeg Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad Pahlawān b. Ildegiz. Some localities depending upon Nakhčiwān (Erndjak, etc.) were given in fief to the Georgian prince Elikum Orbelian by his brother Ḳïzïl Arslan. When the Khʷārazmshāh Djalāl al-Din exercised power in Ādharbāydjān, Nakhčiwān belonged to al-Malika al-Djalāliyya, daughter of Muḥammad Pahlawān (al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, 76, 266. 300). Under the Mongols the town was devastated, as is attested by Rubruck who visited it in 1253, ed. 1839, 384, cf. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, 82. The town suffered also from the wars between Turkey and Persia (under Murād IV); Ewliyā Čelebī, ii, 240, Tavernier (1664), ed. 1713, i, 53-5, and Chardin (1673), ed. 1711, i, 179, found it in ruins. Nakhčiwān was only rebuilt after 1828 when the khanates of Eriwān and Nakhičiwān were ceded to Russia. Under the Persians, Nakhičiwān (with the district of Āzā-Djirān = Ordubād) was directly under Ādjarbāydjān and not Eriwān. Kalb ʿAlī Khān of Nakhičiwān was blinded by Āḳā Muḥammad, founder of the Ḳadjār dynasty. The last chief of Nakhičiwān before the Russian occupation was Karīm Khān Kangarli. The *nāʾibs* appointed by the Russians were Iḥsān Khān and Shaykh ʿAlī Beg. The *maḥall*s of the khānate were: Nakhičiwān, Alindja-čay (Armenian Erndjak), Mawāzī-khātūn, Khok, Daralagez, and those of Āzā-Djīrān: Ordūbād, Akulis, Dasta, Bilāw and Činanāb. Among the dependencies of Nakhčiwān, Djulfa (since 1828) on the Russian-Persian frontier is very well known (Armenian Djuta) with the ruins of the old town and of an old bridge (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 399; *pul-i Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk*) and the bridge on the Tabrīz-Djulfa railway (built in 1906).

In 1834, after the Russian occupation, the khanate (the town and 179 villages) numbered 30,323 inhabitants (besides 11,341 inhabitants of Ordūbād and its 52 villages) (Dubois). In 1896 the town numbered 7,433 inhabitants (4,512 Muslims and 2,376 Armenians) and the district (*uyezd*) 86,878. In 1913 the town had 8,946 and the district 121,365. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the greater part of Nakhičiwān was in 1924 made into an autonomous republic dependent on the Azerbaijan SSR, with an area of 2,124 sq. miles/5,500 km^2. The town of Nakhčiwān, lying on the Yerevan-Baku railway and now an industrial centre of some significance, had in 1970 a population of 33,000, whilst the republic of the same name depends largely on irrigated agriculture and stock-raising, with some mining, and in 1970 had a population of 202,000, mostly Muslim and Azeri Turkish-speaking.

Nakhičiwān on the Don in the present-day Russian Federation is the settlement of Armenian colonists founded in 1780 on the Don and is at the present day a suburb of Rostov.

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(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

NAKHL (A.), substantive of a collective nature (unit. *nakhla*, pl. *nakhīl*) denoting the date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*) of the order *Palmae*, sub-order *Coryphineae*. In Persian it is *nakhl* or *khurma*, in Turkish *hurma aghadjī*, in Hebrew *tāmār* and in Tamaḥaḳ, according to the sex, *azzayltazzayt*, *émellé/tamellalt*, *tadamant*.

This attractive tree with dioecious flowers is probably one of the first to be known and exploited by mankind in the hot and arid zones of Africa and the Orient. The important role which has always been played by the date palms and their fruits [see TAMR] in the diet of sedentary and nomadic populations of these zones is attested, in Arabic, by the rich terminology devoted to them. Regarding the tree itself, each element of its structure is defined by one or several terms which, for the most part, have been retained in the local dialects.

After germination of the stone of the date (*nawāⁿ*; Tamaḥaḳ, *akebbu*, pl. *ikebba*), there emerges from the sand a turion (*fasīla*, *sālī*, *wadiyya*; Tamaḥaḳ, *alkem*) which can be transplanted. The young cultivated plants (*ashāʾ*) are arranged in rows to form and orchard (*ṣawr*, *ḥāʾish*). When the stem of each (*djidhʿ*) has its crown of young palms within reach of human hand, it is known as a *ḳāʿid* (Tam., *tegheleft*, *tesakent*) and, above the height of a man, it is called *raḳla*, then *ʿaydāna*. When, after five to six years, it has attained its final height, which can be between 15 and 20 m., it becomes the *bāsiḳa* or *ʿawāna* if it is a single isolated tree. The date palm planted beside water is called *kāriʿa* or *mukraʿa*. If it leans excessively and is in danger of being uprooted, it needs propping up and, when supported, it becomes *rudjabiyya*. In old age, the date palm loses its garland of palms and bears no more fruit; it becomes desiccated and is then *saḥūḳ* or *ṣunbūr*, suitable for felling. The overall mass of foliage (*khūṣ*) in a cluster consists of some fifty broad leaves serrated in pinnate fashion; the leaf or palm (green, *shaṭba*, dry *saʿaf*; Tam., *takarart*) has a firm central stem known as *djarīd* which, when stripped of the leaf, is used for various purposes. It is this *djarīd*, used in the manner of a javelin, which gave its name to the well known equestrian sport (see DJERĪD and L. Mercier, *La Chasse*, 204-12) which has been so popular in Abyssinia, the Near East and Turkey, from the period of the Mamlūks to the present day, rivalling the game of polo [see ṢAWLADJĀN] and the "bouzkachi" of the Afghans and Mongols. The inflorescence, in spike or spadix form (*talʿa*, *ḍabba*) is enveloped in a bract (*ḳināba*, *ḳunnāba*), the spathe (*kāfūr*, *kufurrā*, *kathar*) which opens with the blossoming of the flowers (*ḍaḥk*, *gharīḍ*, *ighrīḍ*; Tam., *aghatū*, *eherer*). Those of the male date palm (*fuḥḥāl* and pl. *dhukkāra*) produce pollen (*lāḳāḥ*) which, in natural conditions, is transported by the wind and honey-gathering insects and deposited in the calyx of the female flowers to fertilise them. Natural fertilisation (*talḳīḥ*, *djibāb*) is often imperfect, being too dependent on chance, and at a very early stage humans developed a procedure for artificial pollination (*tadhkār*, *taʾbīr*) of female date palms, climbing the tree and shaking a bundle of male flowers over the female flowers to ensure good fertilisation. This practice was followed by the Babylonians, according to Herodotus, and was later mentioned by Aristotle's pupil, Theophrastus, and by Pliny; it is still in use in commercial palmeries. The fertilised female date palm is called *maʾbūr* and at its first pollination it is described as *muhadjdjana*. Certain date palms can be precocious in producing (*bakūr*, *bakīr*, *mutahadjdjina*) while others bear fruit only in alternate years (*sanhāʾ*). It can also happen, according to the atmospheric conditions of the season, that the dates of a productive tree fall when they are still green; the tree is then described as *khaḍīra*.

The attention required by cultivated date palms amounts to no more than an annual pruning or thinning-out of the foliage (*ṣirām*, *djibāb*, *djidād*, *djirām*, *shimrākh*, *ḳiṭāʿ*) of male trees, when the palms become dry; all that is left of these are stumps cut short at the base (*kirnāfa*, *karab*). Shoots growing from the trunk are also removed and some are replanted to assure the continuity of the palmery.

The date palm is often cited in the Ḳurʾān (19 mentions) as an example of the beneficence of Divine Providence towards humanity; it is often associated here with the vine, the olive, the pomegranate and with cereals. Worth recalling is this touching legend evoking the miracle of the birth of Jesus Christ (sūra XIX, 24-26): the Virgin Mary retires alone beneath a palm-tree to give birth to her child and the latter having arrived, she laments, driven to despair by her desolation and loneliness; but the God-child, placed at the foot of the tree, is immediately able to speak and advises his mother to shake the tree; succulent dates fall from it in profusion, while a spring of fresh and limpid water emerges from the sand. Refreshed and nourished, the Virgin takes heart and, strengthened by divine support, she rejoins her kinsfolk with her child.

Besides dates, the date palm provides other useful products. In dietary terms, the pith of the young trunk or palmite (*kathar*, *djadhab*, *sidhāb*, *djummār*), white and of starchy consistency, resembles cheese and is a delicacy still much appreciated by gourmets. Similarly, when boiled, the outer bounds or "palm-cabbage" taste rather like artichoke. The sap rising in the trunk may be extracted, providing the drink known as "palm-wine" (*lāgmī*); it is obtained either by pollarding the tree and surrounding the cut section with a receptacle which fills rapidly, or by slashing the stem vertically, and collecting the secretions in a manner similar to the procedure used for the extraction of rubber. This very sweet and refreshing liquid has the disadvantage of fermenting quite quickly, becoming charged with alcohol which renders it intoxicating; as such, Muslims must abstain from consuming it. In the field of craftsmanship, the dried folioles of the palms are collected by the basket-maker (*khawwāṣ*) who weaves them into mats (*ṭalīl*, pl. *ṭilla*, *ṭulul*, *aṭilla*) and small baskets for dates (*dawkhala*, pl. *dawākhil*). The ligneous fibres (*khulb*, *latīf*) of the trunk are very durable and provide the material for stout cables and ropes much used by fishing fleets and coastal trading vessel; after carding, this fibre provides excellent packing material (*disār*) for the caulking of ships and the stuffing (*hashw*) of mattresses and cushions, especially those of pack-saddles and stools. Finally, for the carpenter (*nadjdjār*), the large trunks, well dried and squared, constitute the base material for building work in the form of girders, rafters and pillars.

For the desert populations, the palmeries (*ḥadāʾiḳ al-nakhl*) have always been centres of sedentarisation and

civilisation. In Biblical times the date palm was quite abundant in Palestine, and Phoenicia or "land of palms" owes to it its name, from the Greek φοινιξ. Theophrastus and Pliny agree in attesting the abundance of date palms in Judaea, and this is confirmed by other historians, Strabo, Pausanias, Tacitus and Aulius Gallus. These testimonies explain the representation of the date palm on the Roman and Hebrew coinage struck in this country, as a symbol of prosperity. It is thus that the city of Jericho was known as the "city of palms", and Strabo described its rich palmery with admiration. Similar evidence is to be found in accounts of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in various periods, until the 17th century. The enclosed valley of the Jordan and the region of the Dead Sea also enjoyed this source of nourishment, as did the outskirts of Jerusalem, Samaria and Galilee. According to the remnants of Egyptian and Assyrian monumental decorations, it may be asserted that the date palm was to be found in abundance from the Nile to the Euphrates. Solomon had built the city of Tadmur (Palmyra) "city of palms" between Damascus and the Euphrates; it was destroyed by the Emperor Aurelian in 273 A.D. For their part, Muslim geographers and travellers of the Middle Ages have not neglected to mention in their accounts the great palmeries and oases [see WĀḤA] from the Maghrib to ʿIrāḳ and Persia. It is necessary only to follow Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who, in the 8th/14th century, travelled throughout the Muslim world, from Morocco to the Indies, to have, by means of his valuable *Riḥla*, a virtually exhaustive list of the great palmeries of the period, most of which still exist today. In particular, he notes the comparable excellence of the dates of Baṣra and those of Sidjilmasa and Iwalaten, in southern Morocco. At the present, the renown of the succulent *daglāt al-nūr* "fingers of light" of Algeria and Tunisia [see BISKRA; NAFṬA], exported to all parts of Europe, needs hardly to be stressed.

The coverage and shade provided by the palmery create conditions favourable to animal as well as vegetal life. Thus the date palm has its share of arboreal guests who use it both as a habitant and a source of food. Among these, the most common is the Palm Rat or Alexandria Rat (*Mus alexandrinus*) which, as a result of maritime trade, has spread as far as Italy. It builds its nest at the top of the tree and, when hunted, it blows itself up like a balloon and, consequently, can drop to the ground without suffering any harm [see FAʾR]. It is often confused with the Cabbage-Palm Rat (*tunba*; Tam., *akkolen*) which in fact is a small squirrel (*Euxerus erythropos*) living on dates; its flesh, when pounded, is administered in pellet form to camels as a remedy against fits. In the Indies, the Cabbage-Palm Squirrel (*Sciurus palmarum*; *sindjāb al-nakhl*, *djulhum*) and the Reddish Rat (*Mus rufescens*) are found in a date palm habitat. In addition to these small mammals, a considerable population of fruit-eating passerines and wild doves is to be found nesting in the clumps of palms.

In the domain of art [see FANN], with the prohibition by Islam of pictorial representation, the date palm lost the role of being the favourite decorative motif accorded to it in architecture by earlier civilisations, Chaldaeo-Assyrian as well as Egyptian. The same applies to the symbolic quality of the palm, representing victory and joy and carried by all participants in Jewish and Christian religious festivals; only Palm Sunday survives as a vestige of this culture. In Christianity, currently, the palm, associated with laurels, still represents a mark of high distinction given as a reward for exceptional services to society and it constitutes the crown of religious martyrs.

In modern botany, the Arabic system of classification applies the term *nakhl* to a score of other palmaceous trees which are to be found from Asia to America, through the simple transposition of their vernacular names. These species are, for the most part, cultivated as elements of arboreal decoration (gardens, parks, avenues etc.) and, in each case, *nakhl* is accompanied by a qualificative; thus, the Eleis or Oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*) is defined as *nakhl al-duhn* and the Wax palm (*Ceroxylon*) is the *nakhl al-shamʿ*. These definitions are, understandably, not to found in the writings of the ancient Arab authors who, besides the date palm, were familiar only with the Coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*), known as *nardjīl rānidj*, *shuʿsūr*, and the Doum palm (*Hyphaene coccifera* or *thebaica*). On rare occasions, al-Masʿūdī used the expression *nakhl al-nardjīl* for the Coconut palm (*Murūdj*, §§ 269, 368, 872); the Doum palm is called *dūm*, *khidlāf*, *khazam*, *wakl*.

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(F. VIRÉ)

NAKHLA, the name of two valleys on the way from Mecca to al-Ṭāʾif, distinguished as Shaʾmiyya (Syrian, northern) and Yamāniya (Yemenite, southern). The name is presumably due to an abundance of palms (*nakhl*) in the valleys. On a height in Syrian Nakhla there was an idol of al-ʿUzzā which was specially venerated by Ḳuraysh and Banū Kināna. Some regarded the circumambulation of al-ʿUzzā as an essential for the completion of the *ḥadjdj* to the Kaʿba. Three Samura trees were closely associated with the deity. After the conquest of Mecca, Muḥammad sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to cut down the trees and destroy the idol. At another point in Nakhla there was an idol of Suwāʿ. On his way back from al-Ṭāʾif shortly before the *Hidjra*, Muḥammad halted at Nakhla, and the incident recorded in the Ḳurʾān (LXXII, 1, 2; XLV, 29-32), when djinn became believers, is said to have occurred. Nakhla is best known as the goal of an expedition in 2 A.H. led by ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaḥsh. This was the first occasion on which a Muslim killed a pagan and the Muslims captured a Meccan caravan. The Muslims violated the sacred month of Radjab, but this was condoned by a revelation (II, 217). After the battle of Ḥunayn, Muḥammad passed through Nakhla al-Yamāniya, and a mosque was built there.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 769-70; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, Cairo 1924, 17-27, 57; Ibn Hishām, 55, 281, 423-7, 839, 871; Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, 13-19, 914; Ṭabarī, i, 1273-9; Azraḳī, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1858, i, 79-81; J.

Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, ²Berlin 1897, 18, 34-45; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 5-10, 69.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

NAKHLĪ (see ḤĀFIẒ TANISH, in Suppl.).

NAKHSHAB, a town in the district of Bukhārā, also called Nasaf by the Arab geographers (cf. the similar evolution of Nashawā from Nakhčiwān). The town lay in the valley of the Kashka-Daryā, cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ²460, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 444: Kashk-rūdh, which runs southwards parallel to the Zarafshān (river of Samarḳand) and runs towards the Amū-Daryā [*q.v.*] but before joining it disappears in the sands. Nakhshab lay on the road joining Bukhārā to Balkh four days' journey from the former and eight from the latter (cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 344). In the time of al-Iṣṭakhrī (325) the town consisted only of a suburb (*rabaḍ*) and a ruined citadel (*kuhandiz*). The river ran through the centre of the town (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ²502, tr. 481).

The Mongols from the time of Čingiz-Khān (1220) used the region of Nakhshab for their summer encampments. The Čaghatayids Kebek (1318-26) and Ḳazan (killed in 1347) had palaces built there, as a result of which the whole district was called Ḳarshī ("palace" in Mongolian) [*q.v.*]. Ḳarshī is often mentioned in the time of Tīmūr (*Ẓafar-nāma* i, 111, 244, 259, etc.), but it was eclipsed by Kish [*q.v.*] or Shahr-i Sabz, the birthplace of Tīmūr, 3 days' journey above Ḳarshī. The citadel of Ḳarshī was of considerable strength and valiantly resisted Shaybānī Khān (cf. *Shaybānī-nāma*, ed. Melioransky, 29) and ʿAbd Allāh Khān of Bukhārā (in 965/1558). From the 18th century onwards, Ḳarshī began to rise at the expense of Kish, and before 1920 was the second town of the khānate of Bukhārā with a population of 60-70,000.

The problem of identifying the ruins in the district of Ḳarshī was studied on the spot by L.A. Zimin, who formulated his conclusions as follows: 1. The ruins of the ancient Nakhshab are around the hill of Shulluk-tepe (cf. Mahdī Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Nādiri*, on the events of 1149/1736-7) which marks the site of the old citadel, already in ruins in the 10th century. 2. As a result of the erection of the Mongol palaces somewhere to the south of the river, the town begins to shift southwards, and at the end of the 14th century, when Tīmūr built a citadel there, it must have occupied in part the site of the modern Ḳarshī. 3. The remains of this citadel (which Shaybānī Khān and ʿAbd Allāh Khān besieged in vain) should be sought near the ruins of Ḳalʿa-yi Zahāk-i Mārān (about 2 miles southwest of Ḳarshī).

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 470-1; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 134-42 (mentions about 60 villages dependent on Nakhshab); idem, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, Petersburg 1912, 126 (valley of the Kashka); L. Zimin, *Nakhshab, Nasaf, Ḳarshī*, in *ʿIḳd al-djumān* (Festschrift for V. Barthold), Tashkent 1927, 197-214. On a pseudo-local history, see R.N. Frye, *City chronicles of Central Asia and Khurasan: a history of Nasaf?*, in *60. doğum yılı münasebetiyle Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 165-8. (V. Minorsky)

NAKHSHABĪ, Shaykh Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn (d. 751/1350), a famous Persian author (not to be confused with the famous Ṣūfī Shaykh Abū Turāb Nakhshabī, d. 245/860). Very little is known of his career. His *nisba* suggests that he came from Nakhshab [*q.v.*], but he went to India where he became a *murīd* of Shaykh Farīd, a descendant of the celebrated Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgūrī. The *Akhbār al-akhyār* of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (Dihlī 1309/1891-2, 104-7) says that he died in Badāʾūn after a long and contemplative life and that his tomb is there. Nakhshabī was a prolific writer who used his knowledge of Indian languages to translate Indian books into Persian. His best known work is the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* ("Book of the Parrot"), very popular in India and Central Asia, based on the Sanskrit *Çukasaptatī* (partly translated into Greek by D. Galanos, Athens 1851). In the preface to this book, Nakhshabī tells us that one of his patrons showed him an old Persian translation of this work and persuaded him to do it again as the language of the old translation was too simple and artless. Nakhshabī set to work and made a book of 52 chapters (called "nights") replacing some stories which did not seem to him sufficiently interesting by better ones.

The book, completed in 730/1330, is in the usual form of a framework with inset stories and is characterised by unusually fine language and bold metaphors and similes. Nakhshabī's language however seems to have been too difficult and precious for later generations, as by command of the Emperor Akbar, Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Mubārak rewrote the book in a simplified version (Rieu, 753b). This version, however, was completely supplanted by Muḥammad Ḳādirī (11th/17th century) who reduced it to 35 chapters. Ḳādirī's version became the foundation of a large number of translations into Hindī (Āwārī and Ghawwāṣī), Bengalī (Caṇḍicaraṇa Munshī), Turkish (Ṣarī ʿAbd Allāh Efendi, printed Būlāḳ, 1254/1838-9 and Constantinople 1256/1840-1) and Ḳazan Tatar. There is also a metrical version in Persian by Ḥamīd Lāhūrī (Bland, in *JRAS*, ix, 163). The same theme is taken by a number of popular versions which were disseminated in Persia in cheap lithographs under the title *Čil* (*čihil*) *ṭūṭī* ("40 parrots"). The text of one of these was published by V. Zhukovski (St. Petersburg 1901). Nakhshabī's work was known in Europe as early as 1792, when M. Gerrans published a free English translation of 12 nights. Ḳādirī's version was translated into German by C.I.L. Iken (Stuttgart 1822); this edition contains an essay on Nakhshabī and specimens of his *Ṭūṭī-nāma* by Kosegarten. The Turkish version was translated into German by L. Rosen (Leipzig 1858). So far, no complete translation of the original work of Nakhshabī has been published, although there is a French translation in ms. in Munich. E. Berthels has translated the book into Russian, but this version is also still in manuscript. The eighth night was published in original text and German translation by H. Brockhaus (Leipzig 1843, and in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 1843, nos. 242, 243, pp. 969 ff.). Nakhshabī's other works never attained anything like the popularity of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* but have almost all come down to us. Among them are: *Gulrīz* "Scattered roses", a tale dealing with the loves of Maʿṣūm-shāh and Nūshāba (printed by Agha Muḥammad Ḳāẓim Shīrāzī and K.F. Azoe, Calcutta 1912, in Bibl. Ind.); *Djuzʾiyyāt u kulliyyāt* ("Particulars and generals") also called *Čil nāmūs* (Rieu, 740a), an allegory which deals with the descriptions of the various parts of the human body considered as the noblest work of God and as proof of His greatness; *Ladjdjat al-nisāʾ*, a Persian version of the *Koka-sāstra*, an Indian work on different temperaments and sexual intercourse; *Silk al-sulūk*, a collection of sayings of celebrated mystics (lith. Dihlī 1895), and *Naṣāʾiḥ u mawāʿiẓ*, a brief treatise of a Ṣūfī nature (Rieu, 738a). His treatise *ʿAshara mubashshara* is only known from its mention in the *Akhbār al-akhyār* (see above). All the prose works of Nakhshabī are embellished with *ḳiṭʿas* scattered through them, which show that he was also an excellent poet.

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(E. Berthels)

NAḲĪB (a.), pl. *nuḳabāʾ*, "chief, leader", of a tribe or other group, a term used in various senses at different times of Islamic history. For its sense as head of the community of ʿAlid descendants, see NAḲĪB AL-ASHRĀF.

1. In early Islamic history. One of the term's usages in early Islamic history is in connection with the preparatory stages of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution of 129-32/746-50. The term *naḳīb* had already established itself in the story of the Prophet Muḥammad's career, when the Medinans negotiating with him about the *hidjra* from Mecca to Medina were asked to appoint 12 *nuḳabāʾ* as representatives, although they do not appear to have filled any functions and it has been suggested that these representatives were introduced into the *Sīra* as parallels to Moses' helpers and Jesus's twelve Apostles (see W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 145, 147-8).

The figure twelve apparently thus became normative, for the historians (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1358) speak of the ʿAbbāsids, then living at al-Ḥumayma [*q.v.*] in southern Jordan, in 100/718-19 nominating 12 *nuḳabāʾ* to further their interests in Khurāsān. This is dubious, but it does seem that the idea surfaced 30 years later when Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] was organising revolutionary propaganda in the Marw oasis. The *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya* (3rd/9th century) enumerates 12 *nuḳabāʾ* or representatives, 7 genuine Arabs and 5 *mawālī*, and including figures who later were prominent in the wars of the Revolution or in early ʿAbbāsid history, such as Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb [*q.v.*], Ṭalḥa b. Ruzayḳ and Sulaymān b. Kathīr (ed. ʿA.ʿA. al-Dūrī and ʿA.Dj. al-Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 216). Outside this nucleus, the sources mention a further 18 regional *nuḳabāʾ*, equal in status to the Marw ones, and a wider body of up to 70 persons who operated also in other towns of Khurāsān (see M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East. The establishment of the ʿAbbāsid state—incubation of a revolt*, Jerusalem 1983, 189, 192 ff.).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. In India. This was an official in the Dihlī sultanate courts of lower rank than the *ḥādjib* (chamberlain), probably best translated "usher". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 221 ff., tr. Gibb, iii, 660 ff., describes the role of the *naḳībs* in court ceremonial; at the public audience there might be a hundred of them, under the orders of the *naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ*, who cry *bismillāh* at the sultan's entry; at public meals the *naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ* delivers a formal eulogy of the sultan before the meal commences, and the *naḳibs* escort the food from the kitchens. On the sultan's formal procession from his palace for the *ʿīd* ceremonies, some three hundred *naḳībs* would walk in front of the sultan, each wearing a high conical golden hat, a golden girdle, and carrying a gold-handled whip. The *naḳībs* were used to proclaim orders to the assemblies on these occasions. They had also a military role: the *Ādāb al-ḥarb* of Fakhr-i Mudabbir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], describing a review of the army by the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik*, shows the *naḳībs* standing with the *ʿāriḍ* at the scrutiny of each soldier and his mount, and the *naḳībs* had charts for assigning to each soldier his correct place in the battle-order, and would shout orders to the troops as required. They had similar duties in the organisation of the royal hunt.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Burton-Page)

NAḲĪB AL-ASHRĀF (a.), "the marshal of the nobility (i.e., the descendants of Muḥammad's family, *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*])". *Naḳīb* is derived from the root *n-ḳ-b*, meaning "to bore, to pierce", then also "to investigate, to verify, to examine". Thus *naḳīb* is the person who verifies something with regard to its correctness; following from this, *naḳīb* is an expert (*ʿarīf*) in his business, acting as trustee (*amīn*) and protector (*kafīl*) (cf. *LA*, s.v. *n-ḳ-b*).

Although the term *ashrāf* (one of the plurals of *sharīf* [*q.v.*]) originates from pre-Islamic times when, among the Arab tribes, it meant those free men who could claim an eminent position (*sharaf*) because of their pure descent (*nasab*) from illustrious ancestors that gave superiority by either birth or acquired merit (*ḥasab*) to its possessors [see ḤASAB WA-NASAB], *naḳīb al-ashrāf* is an Islamic creation. The historical development of the *naḳīb* and his office (*niḳāba*) has so far not found appropriate attention by scholars. There is no work exclusively focusing on *naḳīb al-ashrāf* throughout the different regions and periods in Islamic history.

1. In the central Islamic lands.

The institution was most certainly established by the ʿAbbāsids, who were concerned with the justification of their caliphate by linking their claim to legitimate rule with the concept of *sharaf*, embodied since the rise of Islam in the offspring of Muḥammad's family. According to one *ḥadīth*, his family included both the descendants of ʿAlī (and his brothers) and of al-ʿAbbās; a tradition on which the ʿAbbāsids based their contention of membership in Muḥammad's family and thereby also in the group of *ashrāf*. Ever since then, the *ashrāf* have been broadly divided into two branches, the Ṭālibids (after ʿAlī's father Abū Ṭālib) or ʿAlids [*q.v.*] and the ʿAbbāsids [*q.v.*] (for more details, see SHARĪF). It is very doubtful that the office of *naḳīb al- ashrāf* already existed under the Umayyads, as was assumed by one scholar (A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna 1875, repr. Aalen 1966, i, 449, n. 1). However, the date of appearance of the office is quite unknown. References to *naḳībs* are not earlier than from the 3rd/9th century. Yet, for the following centuries the office of *naḳīb* is reported time and again. It evolved into an institution with considerable influence, both socially and politico-religiously (H. Halm, *Die Schia*, Darmstadt 1988, 64-5; Angelika Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1225)*, Berlin-New York 1975, 153-4 and *passim*). Quite often, the office became hereditary in one family; for example, in Nīshāpūr during the 5th/11th century (R.W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 234-40).

Since some time towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, all larger towns had their *naḳībs* who were supervised by a chief *naḳīb* (*naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ*). In principle, each *naḳīb*, himself from among the *ashrāf*, was appointed by the government's representatives. Until

the 4th/10th century, all members of the *ashrāf*, both ᶜAbbāsid and Ṭālibid-ᶜAlid, were probably headed by one *naḳīb*. By the end of that century, each branch had its own *naḳīb*. This can be explained by the gradual decline of the ᶜAbbāsids' influence on the one hand, and the rise and spread of the different forms of Shīᶜism (politically represented, for example, through Būyid rule, through the Fāṭimid caliphate, etc.), to which the Ṭālibids (or ᶜAlids) adhered, on the other (A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922, repr. Hildesheim 1968, 145; H.L. Bodman, Jr., *Political factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1963, 85-6).

Whatever the origin, development and organisation of the office, the functions of the *naḳīb* are better known, at least as far as they are stated in the law books by al-Māwardī and Abū Yaᶜlā b. al-Farrāʾ (5th/11th century). According to them, the duties of the *naḳīb* comprised genealogical, material and moral matters, the latter partly overlapping with the realm of the judge (*ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*]). The *naḳīb* had to keep a register of nobility, to enter births and deaths in it and to exclude false claimants from intrusion into the corps of *ashrāf*. He had also to prevent the women of noble blood (*sharīfas*) from marrying men not their equals in nobility. The *naḳīb* was enjoined to urge the financial claims of the *ashrāf*, in particular, on the state treasury concerning their pensions. Further to this, he had to watch over the proper administration of endowments (*awḳāf*) established for the *ashrāf*. With regard to morality, the *naḳīb* was liable to control the behaviour of the *ashrāf*, to restrain them from excess and to admonish them to avoid anything detrimental to their prestige.

Following the jurists, there were two types of the post of *naḳīb*, the special position (*al-niḳāba al-khāṣṣa*) and the general one (*al-niḳāba al-ᶜāmma*). Perhaps this division was only theoretical, but it pointed to the different quality of functions attributed to the *naḳīb*. Within the general *niḳāba* fell considerable judicial powers, including the execution of Ḳurʾānic punishments (*ḥudūd*, pl. of *ḥadd* [*q.v.*]) and the judgement of litigations between *ashrāf* (al-Māwardī, *K. al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. M. Enger, Bonn 1883, ed. Cairo 1960, ch. 8; French tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, 199-207; Abū Yaᶜlā b. al-Farrāʾ, *K. al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1938, ch. 5 [both texts correspond with each other]; see also E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden 1960, 554-8). The close relation between the (general) *naḳīb* and the judge became also apparent in terms of organisation: comparable to the chief judge there was a chief *naḳīb* (cf. L. Massignon, *Cadis et naqibs bagdadiens*, in *WZKM*, li [1948], 106-15).

For the post-ᶜAbbāsid periods, the history of the *niḳāba* is even worse investigated, with the exception of 18th century Aleppo and of Egypt under Ottoman rule and after. In Aleppo, the *ashrāf* and the *naḳībs* constituted a vital political force vis-à-vis the Ottoman provincial government and the troops of the Janissaries (H.L. Bodman, Jr., *op. cit.* 86 ff., 103 ff.). In Egypt, the *naḳīb al-ashrāf* rose from a relatively low position at the end of Mamlūk and the beginning of Ottoman rule to become an influential functionary in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Yet, from the time of Muḥammad ᶜAlī [*q.v.*] onwards, the *naḳīb* was curtailed again, only to become further reduced to a mere honorific in the present century (M. Winter, *The Ashrāf and Niqābat al-Ashrāf in Egypt in Ottoman and modern times*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xix [1985], 17-41; for the Ottoman period, see also H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, i/2, London 1957, 93-4, 100 ff., and esp. for Damascus, see Linda Schatkowski Schilcher, *Families in politics. Damascene factions and estates of the 18th and 19th centuries*, Stuttgart 1985, 124 ff., 194 ff.).

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2. In Muslim India. See hind. ii. Ethnography, and naḳīb. 2. In India.

NAḲĪḌA [see naḳāʾiḍ].

NAKĪR [see munkar wa-nakīr].

NAKĪR [see munkar].

NAḲḲĀRA-KHĀNA, Naḳāra-Khāna (p.), kind of military band. The origins of the *naḳḳāra-khāna*, so-called after the *naḳḳāra* or kettle-drum, which was one of the instruments of the military band belonging to rulers and military leaders, are obscure. There are references to it from an early period when it appears to have been synonymous with the *ṭabl-khāna* [*q.v.*]. Originally, its purpose was probably military and it retained this function in the Persian army until modern times. It also had ceremonial functions and these tended in the course of time to overshadow its military aspect. It was part of the ceremonial of the caliph and in the early centuries reserved for him alone. It was composed of various instruments, kettle-drums, horns, trumpets and reed pipes, and played five times a day at the times of prayer at the caliph's residence [see nawba], hence the expression *naḳḳāra-i saḥarī* (or *naḳḳāra-i ṣubḥ*), the *naḳḳāra* played at the time of the dawn prayers, which is frequently found in later Persian texts. The *naḳḳāra-khāna* also played on special occasions such as when news was received of a military victory or at other times of public rejoicing, hence the expression *naḳḳāra-yi shādmānī* and *naḳḳāra-yi shādiyānī* (*shādiyāna*), also met with in Persian texts. In 967/1559-60 Shāh Ṭahmāsp ordered the *naḳḳāra-yi shādiyānī* to be played for three days when Georgia was granted to Īsā Khān, who had been converted to Islam (Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳumī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāḳī, Tehran AHS 1359/1980-1, i, 412). Sometimes the *naḳḳāra* might be suspended as a sign of mourning [see ṭabl-khāna].

When the caliphate began to fragment, governors and semi-independent rulers were granted, or arrogated to themselves, the right to the *nawba* and had their own *naḳḳāra-khānas*. In 368/978-9 the caliph al-Ṭāʾiᶜ gave the Būyid ᶜAḍud al-Dawla the right to three *nawbas*, to be played at the time of the morning, midday and evening prayers. The Ghaznawid historian Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī does not apparently mention the *naḳḳāra-khāna*, though musicians were

associated with the royal court and played on special occasions such as receptions for envoys and friendly rulers (cf. Spuler, *Iran*, 270). The Saldjūḳ sultans marked their sovereignty by exercising the privilege of the *nawba* and granted this also to subordinate rulers and governors, as had the caliphs. Both the caliph and the sultan might, and sometimes did, refuse the *nawba* to those who demanded it [see ṬABL-KHĀNA]. The right to play drums was occasionally granted to officials of the bureaucracy, who, so far as they had private armies, presumably also had military bands. in 427/1035-6 the Ghaznawid Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd gave various honours to his chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) Sübāshī when he appointed him *ḥādjib-i buzurg*, or chief minister, including the right to drums (*ṭabl wa duhul*) (Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad AHS 1350/1971, 427). In a draft document for the appointment of a *wazīr* in the *Dastūr al-kātib* by Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjiwānī (8th/14th century) the recipient is granted various insignia, including the right to drums (*ṭabl*), a standard (*ʿalam*) and the *naḳḳāra* (ed. A.A. Alizade, ii, Moscow 1976, 76).

The Īlkhāns and their followers, like preceding rulers, had military bands. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, describing the ceremonial observed by the military forces of Abū Saʿīd (d. 756/1355), states that each of his *amīrs* had trumpets, drums and standards. When Abū Saʿīd mounted, drums, trumpets and pipes were sounded for his departure. His chief wife and the other princesses (*khawātīn*) and the *wazīr* all had their own drums which were beaten at the appropriate time (*The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325-1354*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962, 342-4). The playing of military music whenever the ruler set out was probably normal practice. Muʿīn al-Dīn Zamčī Isfizārī states that "it had always been the custom that when Shāhrukh Sulṭān [d. 850/1447] went anywhere on horseback *naḳḳāračīs* would go before him beating kettle-drums" (*Rawḍat al-djannāt fī awṣāf Madīnat Harāt*, ed. S.M. Kāẓim Imām, Tehran AHS 1339/1960-1, ii, 85). Isfizārī also mentions that when a number of *amīrs* came to Yādgār Muḥammad in Rādkān in 895/1489-9 the kettle-drums of joy (*naḳḳāra-yi shādiyāna*) were beaten and on the following day the *khuṭba* was read in his name (*ibid.*, 350). Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān, describing the celebration of the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* in Bukhārā in 910/1504-5, states that the *naḳḳāračīs* played drums, pipes and other instruments to announce the arrival of the Özbeg sultan, Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān, and that drums, pipes and standards preceded him as he rode from the *muṣallā* to the Čahār Bāgh (*Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran AHS 1341/1962, 192-3, 196).

Under the Mamlūks, Ottomans, Great Mughals of India and the Ṣafawids the *naḳḳāra-khāna* continued to be one of the insignia of rule [see ṬABL-KHĀNA]. In the capitals and major cities it was played from an elevated place over the entrance of royal residences or over the city gates. In Cairo under the Mamlūks in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries it was played over the Bāb Zuwayla, the southern Fāṭimid gate of the city. In Iṣfahān under the Ṣafawids and later it was played from a balcony above the Ḳayṣariyya, the entrance to the bazaar on the north side of the Great Maydān. In provincial towns which had had independent or semi-independent dynasties, tradition believed the site of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* to have been in the citadel (*arg*) or in some high tower. Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳumī mentions a high tower in Yazd known as the *naḳḳāra-khāna* (*Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, i, 85). A.V. Williams Jackson states that some ruins on a high ridge about two miles distant from Hamadān were called the *naḳḳāra-khāna* (*Persia past and present*, New York 1906, 173).

Each provincial leader who aspired to independence or semi-independence probably had a *naḳḳāra-khāna* in his residence. Capture of this by enemies signalled defeat. When Shāh ʿAbbās marched on Ḳazwīn in 995/1587 to assert his sovereignty, the opposing army having scattered, the employees of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* took their instruments into the city and sounded them in the name of Shāh ʿAbbās (Iskandar Beg, *Tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, Tehran AHS 1334/1956, i, 370). Provincial rulers under the Ṣafawids received, as they had in former times, or arrogated to themselves, the right to the *naḳḳāra*. When the ruler of Diyār Bakr came with his followers to Ismāʿīl in 910/1504-5, he had with him his standards and *naḳḳāra* (Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳumī, *op. cit.*, i, 90). Humāyūn, the Great Mughal, when he took refuge with Ṭahmāsp in Ḳazwīn, was given various gifts, including drums, standards and the equipment for a *naḳḳāra-khāna*. Ṭahmāsp also gave a standard and a *naḳḳāra* to Bayrām Khān, one of Humāyūn's followers (Iskandar Beg, *op. cit.*, i, 99). It would appear that different contingents of the Ṣafawid army each had, as in the Īlkhānid army, a military band. When Ṭahmāsp reviewed the army in 936/1529-30, he ordered all the *naḳḳāra-khānas* which were at the royal camp to play and to lead the various contingents in the review (Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳumī, *op. cit.*, i, 198). Shortly after the accession of Shāh Ṣafī in 1038/1629 there was an abortive rebellion in Gīlān, headed by Kālindjār Sulṭān, whose followers gave him the *laḳab* ʿĀdil Shāh and played the *naḳḳāra* in his name. (ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūminī Gīlānī, *Tārīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran AHS 1349/1970, 262 ff.).

Chardin, describing the coronation of Shāh Ṣafī II (Sulaymān) in 1077/1668 states that the *naḳḳāra* was played from two balconies on the top of the Ḳayṣariyya in Iṣfahān. It sounded, he wrote, "more like the noise of war than musick" and lasted twenty days and nights without intermission (*The coronation of Solyman III*, 51, published with *Travels of Sr. John Chardin into Persia and ye East Indies*, London 1686). Thévenot, who was in Iṣfahān in 1664-5 states that the *naḳḳāra* was played at sunset and midnight from balconies or galleries over the gate of the bazaar at the north side of the *maydān* (*Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Levant*, London 1687, ii, 79). Tavernier, who visited Persia several times between 1632 and 1668, states that the *naḳḳāra-khāna* played at midnight, sunrise and sunset for a quarter of an hour in all towns where the ruler resided and in those which had khāns as governors. It was played from an elevated place in the town so that the noise could be heard throughout the town. It was also played on festivals and when a new governor was appointed (*Voyages en Perse*, repr. Geneva 1970, 287-8). Both Tavernier and Du Mans allege that the *naḳḳāračīs* would send one or two or more of their number, according to the status of the persons involved, to play at the door of a house where the birth of a boy had taken place and did not cease to play until they received their due (*Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Paris 1890, 123). Kaempfer, who was in Persia in the reign of Shāh Sulaymān, states that the *naḳḳāra* was played daily at sunset and two hours before sunrise. It was also played when the new moon appeared, on religious holidays and at royal banquets. There were in all some forty drummers, pipers and other musicians (*Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs: 1684-1685*, German tr. W. Hinz, Tübingen-Basel 1977, 157).

Although the *naḳḳāra-khāna* was still one of the essential insignia of rule, it was by the 10th/16th century increasingly associated with less formal aspects of court life and with singers and dancers. This is indicated by a diploma for the *naḳḳārači* Ustād Muḥammad contained in the *Sharaf-nāma* of ʿAbd Allāh Marwārīd, *muḥtasib* and later *ṣadr* at the court of Ḥusayn Bayḳara (d. 922/1516), who became keeper of the great seal in 1501 (text in facsimile with introduction, commentary and bibliography by H. Roemer, Wiesbaden 1952). The document states that Ustād Muḥammad was to hold office as the head of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* jointly with a certain ʿImād al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who was the leader (*muḳaddam*) of the headmen (*kalāntarān*) of the *nawbatiyān* of the court. The pipers, trumpeters and other musicians were to consider him their headman (*kalāntar*). Various groups or corporations were also placed under him, including storytellers (*ḳawwālān*), bathkeepers (*ḥammāmiyān*), barbers (*dallālān*) and others (Doc. no. 15 and see Roemer's commentary, 174-5).

According to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, the *naḳḳāra-khāna* seems to have been united with the *mashʿal-khāna*, the palace lighting department. The accessories of the band were kept in that department (facs., text ed. V. Minorsky, London 1943, ff. 51b-52a). The *Dastūr al-mulūk* of Mīrzā Rafīʿā states that in Ramaḍān the chief astrologer (*munadjdjim-bāshī*) and other astrologers would go to the *naḳḳāra-khāna* on those nights when the shah declared that the *naḳḳāra-yi saḥar* should be sounded and at their indication the *naḳḳāra-khāna* would play (*Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, Tehran University, *Rev. de la faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines*, xvi/3 [1968], 310). There was also at the Ṣafawid court a master of musicians (*čalidjī bāshī*). He was in charge of musicians and dancing-girls attached to the court and was under the *mashʿaldār-bāshī* (Du Mans, *op. cit.*, 24, Kaemper, *op. cit.*, 87). Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp the role of the *ahl-i ṭarab* was played down. He dismissed a number of them, retaining only a certain Ustād Ḥusayn Shustarī and Ustād Asad, who was the *surnāʾī* of the royal *naḳḳāra-khāna*. Towards the end of his life, he also turned out some more musicians from the royal court, imprisoned Ustād Ḥusayn several times and finally made him swear that he would only play the *surnā* in the royal *naḳḳāra-khāna* (and not in musical assemblies) (*Tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, i, 190). However, the restrictions on the *naḳḳāra-khāna* and its associated musicians were temporary. The *Dastūr al-mulūk* states that the *čalidjī-bāshī* was head of the *ahl-i ṭarab*. It was his duty to ensure that a number of musicians were always at the royal court whether the Shah was in residence at the capital or on an expedition (xvi/5 [1969], 559). Although special groups of singers and dancers were attached to the court, there were many other groups of entertainers who were attached only loosely, if at all, but who, on special occasions, joined in celebrations. This was also the case in the 19th century. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Taḥwīldār, writing in 1877, includes among the various classes of the population of Iṣfahān the *ahl-i ṭarab* and the employees of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* (*Djughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Iṣfahān AHS 1342/1962-3, 126). The latter presumably received payment from the governor.

In the 19th century the *naḳḳāra-khāna* continued to have a ceremonial role. It was one of the royal offices (*buyūtāt-i salṭanatī*) (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagānī-i man*, Tehran AHS 1324/1945-6, i, 39, 562). According to E. Aubin, the *iḥtishām-i khalwat* nominated the head of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* in the provincial towns. In Tehran the *naḳḳāra-khāna* consisted of about one hundred musicians and a dozen or so dancers. Their annual cost to the state was 6,000 *tūmāns*. The head of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* in Tehran, Ḳāsim Khān Bāshī, whose father had held the office before him, also presided over the corporation of dancers and musicians (*La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 230-1).

After the grant of the constitution there was an attempt to stop the *naḳḳāra-khāna* on the grounds that it was old-fashioned or obsolete and the wages of the *naḳḳāračīs* were withheld. However, they were undeterred and continued their daily celebrations without pay, until some months later the payment of their wages was resumed (Mustawfī, *op. cit.* i, 563). When Riḍā Shāh seized power, he took possession of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* to mark his sovereignty and removed it from the gate of the citadel to the Maydān-i Mashḳ, where it remained (*ibid.*, 563-4). The custom of playing the *naḳḳāra-khāna* survived in Tehran, Ḳazwīn and Yazd until the late 1930s. In Mashhad there had formerly been two *naḳḳāra-khānas*, one of which played in the name of the contemporary ruler and the other, attached to the shrine of the Imām Riḍā, played in the Imām's name. The *naḳḳāra-khāna* of the shrine was abolished in AHS 1315/1936-7. In Tehran in 1937 the *naḳḳāra-khāna* still played daily at sunset in the balcony of the gateway at the south end of the Maydān-i Mashḳ and at *saḥar* in Ramaḍān. At some time after the grant of the constitution the *naḳḳāra-khāna*, which then numbered some one hundred persons, broke away from the *ahl-i ṭarab*. It had a strong hereditary tendency and a corporate organisation. It appointed its own *kadkhudā*, to whom a small contribution was paid in return for which he settled disputes between the members of the corporation. Gradually the *naḳḳāra-khāna* dwindled in numbers. By AHS 1314/1935-6 it had only fourteen members. In the following year its numbers decreased to nine owing to the death of five persons. The government, wishing, no doubt, to bring what they regarded as an old-fashioned custom to an end, refused to allow them to increase their number. At that time each member of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* had to hold a government licence. Each received a small wage and two suits of clothes annually from the *iḥtishām-i khalwat*, who was no longer a member of the court but now belonged the Ministry of the Interior. The *naḳḳāra-khāna* in Ḳazwīn consisted of only two persons in 1937 and came under the municipality. Formerly its members had received a small wage from the governor. The members of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* of the shrine of the Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, prior to its dissolution, were paid a nominal wage in cash and kind by the shrine.

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(A.K.S. LAMBTON)

NAKKĀSH [see GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN].

AL-NAKKĀSH, MĀRŪN B. ILYĀS (b. Sidon, 9 February 1817, d. Ṭarsūs, 1 June 1855), pioneer of modern playwriting in Arabic. A Maronite, al-Nakkāsh belonged to that Christian group which had already begun to display cosmopolitan tendencies, particularly in Beirut, where he resided from 1825 onwards, eventually assuming several positions in municipal administration. He knew Arabic, Turkish, Italian and French well. As a merchant, he travelled frequently, e.g. in 1846 he visited Egypt and then Italy, where he attended theatre and opera performances. His own theatrical activity, which extended over less than a decade, resulted in the writing and production of three high-quality, full-length plays. In late 1847, al-Nakkāsh introduced the première of his first play with a long speech in *sadj*ᶜ about Oriental backwardness, followed by his own views about the role of theatre and opera in reforming this situation; according to him, these new genres ostensibly provide entertainment but bear reform as well: "Human failings are revealed in these plays, so let the wary draw their lesson... while enjoying them... Plays are truly a terrestrial paradise."

To a certain extent, al-Nakkāsh applied these criteria to his own plays. Of these, *al-Bakhīl* ("The miser") was performed at his own home in Beirut in late 1847; likewise, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-mughaffal aw riwāyat Hārūn al-Rashīd* ("Abu 'l-Ḥasan the artless, or, the tale of Hārūn al-Rashīd") in late 1849 and subsequently; and *al-Salīṭ al-ḥasūd* ("The envious wicked one") at a public building in Beirut in 1851 and subsequently, after a *firmān* had permitted him to inaugurate his own theatre-hall. The text was enlivened by music, both vocal and instrumental; men (mostly from al-Nakkāsh's own family), dressed as women, played the female roles. The audience, too, was almost exclusively male, as attested by David Urquhart (see *Bibl.*, below). Thus he established patterns for theatrical performances, including stage terminology, which remained in force throughout most of the 19th century.

The five-act *al-Bakhīl* was inspired by Molière's *L'avare*, although the plot and humour were adapted to Beirut and the names of the *dramatis personae* Arabicised—up to the inevitable concluding moral: "Let every miser learn his lesson!" Most of this comedy was written in literary Arabic, in verse and *sadj*ᶜ, except for the vernacular which better suited the roles of several characters. These features, too, served as models for many playwrights in Arabic. In the three-act *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-mughaffal*, perhaps the first original full-length play in Arabic, al-Nakkāsh was inspired by one of the tales in *Alf layla wa-layla* which recounts the story of a caliph-for-a-day. He developed the plot more intricately, in *sadj*ᶜ and prose, presenting the naïve character as a full-fledged one (see H. Ben Halima, in *Arabica*, xi [1964], 73-9). Finally, the three-act *al-Salīṭ al-ḥasūd* described the deeds and sentiments of an excessively jealous suitor whose beloved had been promised to someone else by her father. The play, in prose and verse, displays some inspiration from Molière (chiefly from *Le Misanthrope* and *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*), but the plot, locale and characters again maintain a Syrian-Lebanese flavour. Al-Nakkāsh's methods and style have since certainly been imitated and possibly surpassed, yet he remains renowned for having introduced new patterns into the Arabic theatre.

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The development of early Arabic drama (1847-1900), London and New York 1984, 31-79; Maḥmūd Taymūr, *Ṭalāʾiʿ al-masraḥ al-ʿArabī*, Cairo n.d., 11-12.

(J.M. LANDAU)

NAKKĀSH ḤASAN (PASHA), Ottoman painter (d. 1031/1622?).

Raised and educated in the Topkapî Sarayî, he is one of the few court painters whose names have been successfully attributed to specific manuscripts in 16th and early 17th century Ottoman ateliers. At the same time, his official political career is well documented. The first record of his career appears in a document from 989/1581, where he is identified as assigned to the *ketkhudā* of the Treasurer, ʿOthmān Agha, in the Topkapî Sarayî. He appears in palace payment records as Nakkāsh Ḥasan in 996/1588, 998/1590 and 1003/1594. By at least 1006/1597, Nakkāsh Ḥasan is listed as *agha* and again in 1012/1603 he is cited in gift and payment records as *ikindji kapidji bashi* Nakkāsh Ḥasan Agha and again as *Yeni Čeriler Aghasî* Nakkāsh Ḥasan Agha (Meriç, 56-7). He is said to have been made a *pasha* (Uzunçarşılı, 569, and Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi*, 42). His death is recorded as 1031/1622 (Uzunçarşılı, 569). This record indicates that he was a product of the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*], since an education as a palace page was a common route to such positions (see C.G. Fisher and A. Fisher for more detailed descriptions of palace promotion). If so, this is one of the few clues that at least some pages were trained and/or worked as painters [see NAKKĀSH-KHĀNA]. Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi*, 42, reports that in 1014/1605 Nakkāsh Ḥasan was ordered to "make the Bursa Palace ready" for a visit by Sultan Aḥmed I. He also drew the plan for a *tughra* for Aḥmed I, now housed in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, GY 1394.

The fourteen years that separate the first two dates in his recorded career are those in which specific references and several attributions are made to paintings done by him for royal manuscripts. As early as 990/1582, he is associated with the *Sūr-nāme* (TSK H. 1344). He is also connected with three *Shāh-nāmes* (TSK A. 3592, R. 1300, and Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi 1965). Tanındı notes the reference made to him as the painter by the calligrapher Talʿīk-zāde in the colophon of the *Egri fetḥnāmesi*, otherwise known as the *Shāh-nāme* of Meḥemmed III (TSK H. 1609). Finally, his name is associated with the team who produced the monumental six-volume *Siyer-i Nebī* of Murād III (TSK H. 1221, H. 1222 and H. 1223; New York Public Library, Spencer Collection 157, and Chester Beatty Library 419) and the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūkāt* (TSK A. 3632). As his political career advanced, he seems to have closed his active career as a painter.

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(CAROL G. FISHER)

NAKKĀSH-KHĀNA (A. and P.), the name of the Ottoman royal painting atelier.

The *nakkāsh-khāna* has been a source of curiosity for many Ottoman scholars. Although the word *nakkāsh* may be translated in several ways, including "an artist who embellishes surfaces", "illuminator of manuscripts", "an embroiderer", "wall decorator" (Redhouse, 863), *nakkāsh-khāna* in the 16th-18th centuries seems to refer to the palace scriptorium (Rogers and Ward, 120-4).

The 16th century and later documents portray an organisation of craftsmen under state supervision of the *Ahl-i ḥiref*. Similar sub-organisations also existed in the provinces for provincial governors. The *Ahl-i ḥiref* contained workers from a variety of professions, only one of which was the *Djemāʿat-i nakkāshān*, which loosely covered artisans creating designs of a variety of decorative schemes. Quarterly payroll registers for the *Ahl-i ḥiref* were prepared and several survive (Atil, 30; Meriç, 1953). Registers listing holiday (*bayram*) gifts from master craftsmen to the Ottoman court survive from the 16th and 17th centuries (Meriç, 1963).

Where the *nakkāshān* plied their craft is unknown. Until recently, scholars assumed that painters assigned to royal manuscripts worked within the precincts of Ṭopkapî Sarāyî or in its provincial equivalents. Filiz Çağman suggest that this was so at least throughout the 16th century (Çağman). Now it seems likely that, at least from the 17th century, these may have served as gathering spots for commissioned works produced in various parts of the Ottoman empire (Atil, 32). There is no evidence for the placement of a large painting atelier in the palace itself. In his extensive analysis of the palace organisation, Uzunçarşılı noted that such cultural activities as poetry, calligraphy, and music went on in the palace, but fails to mention any painting ateliers. Bobovi made no mention of such an atelier in his detailed description of the Ṭopkapî Sarāyî, although this former palace page provides much detail on virtually all rooms identified in the first three palace courtyards. Because of his exacting detail, the existence of the ateliers within the walls of the palace proper is doubtful (Fisher and Fisher, 1987, 118-20). Gülrü Necipoğlu notes that to the left of the first courtyard were extensive artisan shops which seem to have been used by artists involved in the extensive palace repairs (Necipoğlu, 251-3). Finally, Ewliyā Čelebi describes the plethora of guilds and workshops outside the palace walls that are used both by the palace officials and by the bourgeoisie of the town (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 607-12).

The disbursement of the workshops has led several scholars to investigate or document the connections of painting ateliers with outlying Ṣūfī *tekyes* (Fisher, diss., 93-7) where manuscripts were commissioned by Murād III and later transported to Ṭopkapî Sarāyî, or with provincial centres such as Baghdād, where manuscripts were made for such patrons as Ṣokollu Meḥmed Pasha (Milstein, 1984, 130-1, and Milstein, 1990) that may have supplemented the city guild ateliers.

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(Carol G. Fisher)

NAKL (a.), transport.

1. In the central Islamic lands and North Africa.

See for this ʿARABA; BARĪD; DJĀMŪS in Suppl.; FARAS; FĪL; IBIL; KĀRWĀN; KHĀN; MAWĀKIB; MILĀḤA; SAFĪNA; TIDJĀRA.

2. In India.

Travel on foot is obviously such an everyday occurrence between village and village that it receives scant mention in the texts; pilgrimages might be made on foot entirely, for pietistic reasons, such as Akbar's to the tomb of Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī from Āgrā to Adjmēr, but generally foot-journeys are the accompaniment to a baggage-train. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, on his journey into India, writes of selling the horses which drew the wagons, replacing them by camels; and his journey cannot have been without comfort, for "everybody eats and sleeps in his waggon while it is actually on the move, and I had in my waggon three slavegirls" (*Riḥla*, iii, 1, tr. Gibb, iii, 539).

Transport depending on foot includes the various litters, *ḍōlī*, *miyāna* and *pālkī*. The *ḍōlī* is a simple rectangular frame or bedstead, usually suspended by the four corners from a bamboo pole and carried by two or four men; when used by women there are usually curtains hanging from the bamboo. They were much used for the transport of sick persons, and in war to carry casualties off the battlefield. A form where the frame is supported on two poles is used as the bier (*djanāza*) to transport a corpse to the burial-ground, and an upright chair may similarly by carried by four men to carry someone up a steep hillside. Simpler than the *ḍōlī* is the *ḍanḍī*, essentially a hammock slung from a pole (the word *andor/andora* in old Portuguese descriptions of the same vehicle seems to be the Hindi *hinḍōlā/hanḍōlā* "swing"). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 386-7, tr. Gibb, iii, 740) refers to *ḍōlī*-bearers plying for hire outside the gates of royal and other houses, and to the possibility of longer journeys being carried out by relays of *ḍōlī*-bearers. The *pālkī* "palanquin", is an enclosed variety of litter, its central pole having an upward curve to afford more head-room for the passenger. In its common form it was in use for considerable journeys, relays of palanquin-bearers being provided at *ḍāk*-stations [see BARĪD]; Colonel Yule, one of the authors of *Hobson-Jobson*, underwent "hardly less than 8,000 or 9,000 miles of travelling in going considerable distances" by such vehicles (*Hobson-Jobson*, 659b). A more elaborate form, with its carriage and pole covered with plates of silver, was in use in royal processions [see MAWĀKIB. 5. In Muslim India], and specimens of such are to be seen in Indian museums. A smaller form of *pālkī*, called simply *miyāna* "middle-sized", was provided with side-curtains rather than the box enclosure. Runners of the postal service (*ḍāk*) carried not only the post but could also be used for the rapid transport of luscious fruit from Khurāsān, or to carry water from the Ganges near Hardwār to the sultan at Dawlatābād (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 3-4).

The Indian armies and hunting camps were regularly supplied by the *bandjārās*, dealers rather than mere commissariat carriers, who travelled all over the country with large droves of laden cattle, who could of course move over rough country where carts were impracticable. All kinds of animal were used for pack transport: horses, donkeys, mules, camels, cows, elephants, and even sheep. Donkeys regularly carried laundry for *dhōbīs*, earthenware goods for potters, and were slung with panniers of earth or gravel for the gangs of road-builders; pack-horses and mules carried equipment for the armies in the field (many illustrations in Mughal painting, e.g. in the *Akbar-nāma*), and were regularly used for transporting goods on hill paths. Merchandise from the north-west was brought to northern and even eastern India by the camel *ḳāfila*, the northern two-humped camel being substituted by the one-humped at *sarāʾīs* in Peshāwar or Lahore. Cattle being driven over long distances were often required to carry panniers of goods (as by the *bandjāras* referred to above), and even sheep being driven into India from Tibet or Nepal might carry panniers of rock-salt or borax. Elephants, besides their use as carriers of heavy pieces of artillery, were continually employed to transport logs in forests or timber-yards. For the use of animals in the Indian armies, see ḤARB, vi.

Riding animals were especially common and in use by all classes. Enormous numbers of horses were required by the army, for the cavalry was its backbone; horses were imported from the Arabian peninsula and from the north-west, besides being bred in the royal *pāygāhs*, under the care of an *ākhūr-bek* (see I.H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, Karachi 1958, 70-1, with refs. especially to Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī and Shams al-Sirādj ʿAfīf). Besides the regular cavalry, foot-soldiers were accompanied by led horses. The importance of horses in the court was signalised by the royal saddle-cover being recognised as one of the insignia of royalty [see GHĀSHIYA]. For the use of horses in processions, see MAWĀKIB. Special riding-camels were also known, employed especially in campaigns in the west in semi-desert territories. Elephants were also used in the armies for the transport of soldiers: Barbosa (*The book of Duarte Barbosa*, tr. and ed. M.L. Dames, London 1918, i, 118) writes that "they build wooden castles on the elephants' backs which will hold three or four men with bows, arrows, arquebuses and other weapons..."; the elephants were armoured with steel plates, examples of elephant armour being not uncommon in Indian museums. See also FĪL. Working and processional elephants carried men on a litter on the animals back, either a long platform from which the passengers' legs hang over each side, or a more elaborate boxed-in structure with flat cushions which afforded more protection during tiger and lion hunts, as exemplified in Mughal painting; both these types are known as *hawda*. The seat on processional elephants has the *hawda* covered by a canopy, often jewelled, and is known as *ʿamārī*.

The commonest Indian mode of transport of goods has always been the two-wheeled cart drawn by a pair of bullocks, whose design varies subtly between one region and the next but in any region is remarkably conservative (R.E. Mortimer Wheeler, *Civilisations of the Indus valley and beyond*, London 1966, shows on pp. 46-7 illustrations of a terracotta model of a cart, 1500-1000 B.C., and its modern Sind counterpart, with little change); long convoys of bullock-carts, often moving at night, were a familiar features of Indian roads before the coming of motor transport. The bullock-cart provided with a domed canopy is the *ratha*, used

particularly by women on journeys—whose escorts may walk on foot beside them, cf. Kipling's description of the Sahiba's pilgrimage in *Kim*. The *ratha* may also be used in formal processions [see MAWĀKIB. 5]. Flat wheeled carts may also be drawn by horses, bullocks, buffaloes, camels and even by elephants (Fīrūz Shāh's banners were so heavy that they had to be carried on elephant-carts). For light transport, especially within towns, small horse carriages (*ekkā*, *tangā*) were in general use (Tavernier's *Travels* describes such carriages, although he does not use either word); they might also be used for longer journeys, when the horses could be changed in relays on the *dāk*-system. More elaborate carriages after European models were introduced at the end of the Mughal period, and in provincial courts such as Lucknow. Mention should also be made of the hand-cart, commonly used to transport goods in towns.

There was also the possibility of transport by water on the great rivers; the canals [see NAHR. 2. India] were for irrigation purposes, and were not navigable. The common river-boat was the *badjrā* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Budgerow), a sort of barge without a keel, propelled by poles or by oars, on the deck of which cabins might be mounted. For the *ahawrā* which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 109 ff., tr. Gibb, iii, 600-2) describes in the river-procession of the governor of Laharī in Sind, see the account in MAWĀKIB, 5, above. Fanny Parks, *Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the picturesque*, London 1850, describes a royal pleasure-boat on the river Gōmatī at Lucknow as being "made in the shape of a fish". A sort of raft was used by Fīrūz Shāh to transport one of Ashoka's pillars to Dihlī from the Mīraṭh district, see J.A. Page, *A memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, Delhi* (= *Memoir ASI*, lii), Dihlī 1937, with illustrated extract from the anonymous *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī*. There were also, of course, smaller craft without number on the rivers. Sea transport across the Arabian Sea, especially for the pilgrim traffic to the Ḥidjāz, was by the vessels known as *ghurāb* [see SAFĪNA] and "carrack" (?Ar. *ḳarrāḳa*; see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v.).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also S. Digby, *War-horse and elephant in the Delhi Sultanate*, Oxford 1971, which, although concerned primarily with military aspects, is useful in general, especially regarding the supply of transport animals.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

NAḲSH [see KITĀBĀT].

NAḲSHBAND, KHWĀDJA BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (718-91/1318-89), eponym of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*], a still active Ṣūfī order that has been second in the extent of its diffusion only to the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] (with which it has often been intertwined, especially in India and Kurdistān). The epithet Naḳshband is sometimes understood in connection with the craft of embroidering, and Bahāʾ al-Dīn is said, in fact, to have assisted his father in weaving the embroidered Bukhāran cloaks known as *kimkhā* (Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Bāḳir b. Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Maḳāmāt-i Shāh-i Naḳshband*, 8). More commonly, however, it is taken to refer to the fixing, in the purified tablet of the heart, of the imprint of the divine name *Allāh* by means of silent and permanent *dhikr*. To the people of Bukhārā, whose patron saint he became, Bahāʾ al-Dīn was known posthumously as *khwādja-yi balāʾ-gardān* ("the averter of disaster"), with reference to protective powers bestowed on him during his novitiate. Elesewhere, especially in Turkey, he is popularly called *Shāh-i Naḳshband*.

Descent from the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ has been attributed to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband, but although the Imām does always appear in his initiatic *silsila*, contemporary and near-contemporary sources make no mention of *sayyid* ancestry. They stress rather the position of Bahāʾ al-Dīn as the seventh in a series of Central Asian masters (*khwādjagān*) of Ṣūfism which was inaugurated by Abū Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 534/1140 in Marw). Soon after his birth in Muḥarram 718/March 1318 in the Bukhāran hamlet of Ḳaṣr-i Hinduwān (later renamed Ḳaṣr-i ʿĀrifān, out of deference to him), Bahāʾ al-Dīn was adopted as the spiritual son (*farzand*) of Khwādja Muḥammad Sammāsī, the fifth descendant of Hamadānī. Sammāsī immediately assigned the infant's future spiritual training to his own principal *murīd*, Khwādja Amīr Kulāl. Kulāl counts as Bahāʾ al-Dīn's immediate predecessor in the *silsila*, for it was he who transmitted to him the essentials of the Path: the link of companionship (*nisbat-i ṣuḥbat*), instruction in the customs of the Path (*taʿlīm-i ādāb-i ṭarīḳat*), and the inculcation of *dhikr* (*talḳīn-i dhikr*) (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 381).

Nonetheless, as befitted the founder of a new order, Bahāʾ al-Dīn kept the company of a wide variety of spiritual instructors. Early during his association with Amīr Kulāl, he had a vision in which he saw his six predecessors in the *silsila*, beginning with Khwādja ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Ghidjuwānī (d. 617/1220), a successor of Hamadānī. This vision amounted to a second initiation, for Ghidjduwānī enjoined on Bahāʾ al-Dīn—among other things—the exclusive practice of silent *dhikr*, as opposed to the vocal *dhikr* in which Amīr Kulāl and his circle customarily engaged. Once back in the world of external reality, Bahāʾ al-Dīn began to comply with this command, but Amīr Kulāl continued to hold him in high esteem. He ultimately pronounced his preceptorial duties to be at an end and freed Bahāʾ al-Dīn to seek out other *shaykhs*, "both Turk and Tādjīk".

The ethnic and linguistic differentiation between Turk and Tādjīk was reflected, in 8th/14th century Transoxianan Ṣūfism, in a dichotomy between the Yasawī order (founded by Khwādja Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1167 [*q.v.*], another disciple of Hamadānī), which flourished among Turkic speakers, and the Persian-speaking *khwādjagān* and their adherents. Since the Naḳshbandiyya was destined to spread to almost every region of the Turkish world in the space of a few generations, it was appropriate that Bahāʾ al-Dīn should spend part of his apprenticeship with the Yasawī masters who were known to their contemporaries as the "Turkish *shaykhs*" (*mashāyikh-i turk*).

First, however, Bahāʾ al-Dīn spent seven months in the company of another Tādjīk *shaykh*, Mawlānā ʿĀrif Dīkgarānī, perfecting under his guidance the practice of the silent *dhikr*. He next spent two or three months with Ḳutham Shaykh, a Yasawī master resident in Nakhshab, before joining the following of a second Yasawī *shaykh*, Khalīl Atā, for a full twelve years.

The chronological problems posed by the sources (works of hagiography, the Tīmūrid chronicles, and the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) are impossible to resolve, but it seems certain that Khalīl Atā is identical with Ḳadān/Ghazān Khān, a singularly ferocious individual who ruled over the Čaghatayid khanate for roughly a decade. It is tempting to see in Bahāʾ al-Dīn's association with Khalīl Atā the origin of the penchant of several later Naḳshbandīs for establishing ascendancy over rulers, but such an interpretation is excluded by a careful reading of the sources.

After the overthrow of Khalīl Atā, Bahāʾ al-Dīn retired to his birthplace to begin training his own disciples, most of whom came from Bukhārā and its environs. He left the region himself only three times,

twice to perform the *ḥadjdj* and once to visit Herat. There he met with the ruler, Muʿizz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, and explained to him the principles of his path.

He died on 3 Rabīʿ I 791/2 March 1389, and was buried at Ḳaṣr-i ʿĀrifān. Surrounded by a continually expanding complex of buildings, the tomb became a place of pilgrimage for Muslims from all over Asia as well as the site, for Bukhārans, of spring festivities known as *ʿīd-i gul-i surkh* ("red rose festival"; see O.A. Sukhareva, *Bukhara v XIX veke*, Moscow 1966, 38).

Bahāʾ al-Dīn's principal successors were Khwādja ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 802/1393), whom he had honoured with marriage to his daughter; Khwādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419), a prolific author who counts as founder of the learned traditions of the Nakshbandī order; and Mawlānā Yaʿkūb Čarkhī (d. 851/1447), who originated in the region of Ghaznī. ʿAṭṭār was the leading figure among these three, but it was Čarkhī who proved the most important for the continuation of the Nakshbandī line; he was the preceptor of Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 896/1490 [*q.v.* in *Suppl.*]), under whose auspices the Nakshbandiyya both established its supremacy in Central Asia and began its expansion in the wider Muslim world.

Bahāʾ al-Dīn left behind no writings (with the possible exception of the litany named after him, *Awrād-i Bahāʾiyya*), and he even discouraged his disciples from recording his sayings. The precise outlines of his teachings are, then, hard to discern, not because of the profusion of hagiographic legend that enshrouds so many Ṣūfīs, but because of the exiguous and sometimes elliptic nature of the sources. It is particularly difficult to establish why he should have become an eponymous figure, the central link in the *silsila* of which he is a part, instead of, for example, Ghidjduwānī. The eight principles of spiritual conduct (*kalimāt-i ḳudsiyya*) first enunciated by Ghidjduwānī have, after all, been reiterated in Nakshbandī handbooks down to the present; precisely the fact that Bahāʾ al-Dīn added three further principles to the eight would seem to reinforce the primacy of Ghidjduwānī. These three were: *wuḳūf-i zamānī* ("temporal awareness"), the constant examination of one's spiritual state during *dhikr*; *wuḳūf-i ʿadadī* ("numerical awareness"), the enumeration of the times *dhikr* is performed in order to discourage the intrusion of distracting thoughts; and *wuḳūf-i ḳalbī* ("awareness of the heart"), the direction of attention to the physical heart in order to make it participate in the work of *dhikr*.

All three principles relate, then, to *dhikr*; combined with the fact that Bahāʾ al-Dīn set himself apart from the other disciples of Amīr Kulāl through insistence on silent *dhikr*, this suggests that the question of *dhikr* was crucial for the early coalescence of the Nakshbandī order.

Other features of early Nakshbandī practice were also linked to the concern for sobriety and anonymity implied by the choice of silent *dhikr*. Among them are the repudiation of music and dance (*samāʿ*); the deprecation of charismatic feats (*karāmāt*); the avoidance of retreats in favour of the keeping of pious company (*ṣuḥbat*); and the shunning of distinctive forms of dress. All these features are highly reminiscent of the Malāmatī movement of Nīshāpūr, and it may be suggested that Bahāʾ al-Dīn Nakshband was the heir to the traditions of the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] although not in a formal, initiatic sense.

Other recurrent features of the Nakshbandī path, such as fidelity to the *sharīʿa* in the political and social spheres as well as in devotional life, and a marked hostility to Shīʿī Islam, were established in later periods; they cannot be traced directly to Bahāʾ al-Dīn. Similarly, the mildly critical attitude to Ibn ʿArabī adopted by some Nakshbandīs of the Mudjaddidī line cannot be attributed retroactively to Bahāʾ al-Dīn and his circle. Although there is no trace of acquaintance with the concepts of Ibn ʿArabī in the dicta of Bahāʾ al-Dīn, both ʿAṭṭār and Pārsā were enthusiastic exponents of his work.

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(H. Algar)

NAKSHBANDIYYA, an important mystical *ṭariḳa* [*q.v.*] or order.

1. In Persia

It is a paradox of Nakshbandī history that although this Ṣūfī order first arose among Persian-speakers and virtually all its classical texts are written in the Persian language, its impact on Persia has been relatively slight. This statement requires qualification only for the period of the genesis of the Nakshbandiyya when, it might be argued, Transoxania and the eastern reaches of Khurāsān still counted as parts of the Persian world.

The rise of the Nakshbandiyya to supremacy in Transoxiana appears to have begun already in the time of Khwādja Bahāʾ al-Dīn Nakshband [*q.v.*] himself, although the nascent order did not yet exercise political influence and in the Kubrawiyya [*q.v.*] it faced a still formidable competitor. Khwādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419), sole adherent of Bahāʾ al-Dīn among the *ʿulamāʾ* of Bukhārā, had to endure the hostility of his colleagues for a number of reasons, not least being his enthusiasm for the works and concepts of Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. However, it was also in connection with Pārsā that the Tīmūrids established their links with the Nakshbandī order, when Mīrzā Shāhrukh secured the return of Pārsā to Bukhārā after a period of banishment. Those links, important for

the ascendancy of the order, were consolidated in the time of Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 896/1490 [q.v. in Suppl.], who several times intervened decisively in the political sphere (according both to the chronicles and to the hagiographic sources) and through his numerous disciples made the Naḳshbandiyya supreme in most regions of Transoxiana.

The influence of the Naḳshbandiyya spread during the same period southward to Harāt, partly through the influence of Aḥrār and partly through that of Saʿd al-Dīn Kāshgharī (d. 860/1456), a third-generation descendant of Khwādja Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband. Together with the Zaynī order, with which it came to enjoy fraternal relations in Istanbul as well as Harāt, the Naḳshbandiyya dominated the religious and cultural life of late Tīmūrid Harāt. The principal initiate of Kashgharī was the great poet and mystic ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī (d. 898/1492 [q.v.]), whose rich and varied opus contains a treatise devoted to the Naḳshbandiyya (*Sar-rishta-yi ṭarīḳ-i khwādjagān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kābul 1343 sh./1964), as well as many references to the order and its personalities scattered throughout his works. The closeness of Djāmī to his Naḳshbandī preceptor may be measured by the fact that the two men lie buried in a single enclosure in the Khiyābān district of Harāt. Averse by temperament to the formal training of *murīds*, Djāmī nonetheless initiated at least two persons into his line of the Naḳshbandī order: ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Lārī (d. 912/1507) and one of his own sons, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 919/1513). He also brought about the adherence to the order of the well-known littérateur and statesman Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [q.v.], and inclined Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyḳarā [q.v.] to look favourably upon it.

The presence of the Naḳshbandiyya in Transoxiana and Harāt has proved permanent. By contrast, the implantation of the Naḳshbandiyya in north-western Persia that took place in the late 9th/15th century was relatively shortlived. The Naḳshbandiyya was brought to Ḳazwīn by a *murīd* of Aḥrār, Shaykh ʿAlī Kurdī. Originally from ʿAmādiyya, he spent a number of years serving Aḥrār as tutor to his children before settling in Ḳazwīn. He was put to death by the Ṣafawids in 925/1519. At least one of his six *khalīfa*s suffered the same fate, while several others fled before the Ṣafawid onslaught. However, Naḳshbandī influence remained strong in Ḳazwīn for several decades and may have been one of the reasons for the relatively long resistance put up by the people of the city against the imposition of Shīʿism. Tabrīz, the first Ṣafawid capital, was also a centre of Naḳshbandī activity, stemming from the presence there of Ṣunʿ Allāh Kūzakunānī (d. 929/1523), a disciple of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Maktabdār (d. 892/1486), one of the *khalīfa*s of Saʿd al-Dīn Kāshgharī in Harāt. He enjoyed some influence at the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu court and evidently managed to survive the Ṣafawid conquest. His son, known as Abū Saʿīd-i Thānī, was imprisoned and tortured by the Ṣafawids, but was able to escape and ultimately to migrate to Istanbul, where he found favour with Sultan Süleymān. Another successor of Kūzakunānī, ʿAlī-djān Bādāmyārī, established himself in the village of Bādāmyār near Tabrīz, where his initiatic line continued for two more generations.

There are also traces of the Naḳshbandiyya in Sāwa and Hamadān in the immediate pre-Ṣafawid and early Ṣafawid period. In general, however, the rise of the Ṣafawid state sounded the knell for the Naḳshbandī order in northern and western Persia, for with their strong loyalty to Sunnism the Naḳshbandīs became a special target of persecution. Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīfī, a Sunnī scholar who took refuge with the Ottomans, writes that whenever anyone was seen engaging in *dhikr* or *murāḳaba*, it would be said, "This is a Naḳshbandī; he must be killed" (*al-Nawāḳiḍ li-bunyān al-rawāfiḍ*, ms. British Museum Or. 7991, fol. 96a). The Naḳshbandiyya probably survived for a time in Urūmiyya and possibly in other Kurdish-inhabited areas of Persia. Otherwise, the order was so thoroughly extirpated that Mullā Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī (d. 1110/1699 [q.v.]) felt safe in declaring, towards the end of the Ṣafawid period, that the names of the Naḳshbandī masters listed by Djāmī in *Nafaḥāt al-uns* were unknown to all but "the ignorant Uzbeks" (*ūzbakān-i nādān*; quoted in Rasūl Djaʿfarīyān, *Rūyārūʾī-yi faḳīhān va ṣūfīyān dar ʿaṣr-i Ṣafawiyyān*, in *Kayhān-i Andīshah*, xxiii [Ādhar-Day 1369/November-December 1990], 123).

When in the 13th/19th century Naḳshbandīs again became visible in Persia, it was exclusively in the Sunnī-inhabited regions on the fringes of the country. Harātī resistance to Persian attempts at establishing control over the city were led by a certain Ṣūfī Islām, a Naḳshbandī dervish from Bukhārā; although he died in battle in 1222/1807, the branch of the order he founded at Karrukh outside Harāt continued to exercize an influence across the frontier among the Ḥanafīs of Persian Khurāsān. Six years after the death of Ṣūfī Islām, Khwādja Yūsuf Kāshgharī, a Naḳshbandī *shaykh* from Eastern Turkistan, led an unsuccessful uprising of the Yomut and Göklan Turkumāns against Ḳādjār rule. A similar Naḳshbandī-led Turkumān revolt was quashed in Astarābād in 1257/1841. It was also in the first half of the century that Khwādja Muḥammad Yūsuf Djāmī established a still active centre of the Mudjaddidī branch of the order at Turbat-i Djām near the Afghān border.

Infinitely more important than all these developments in the east was the rise of the Khālidī branch of the Naḳshbandī order, established by Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1243/1827), a Kurd from Shahrazūr. The Khālidiyya supplanted almost entirely all other branches of the Naḳshbandiyya in the Middle East, and in Kurdistān it wrested supremacy from the Ḳādiriyya to become the chief order of the region. Although the principal Kurdish *khalīfa*s of Mawlānā Khālid all resided in Ottoman territory, their influence was considerable among the Kurds of Persia, not least during the great Kurdish uprising of 1880 which, led by Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh of Shamdīnān, engulfed much of Ādharbāydjān as well as most of Kurdistān. In addition, the Khālīdiyya expanded from Kurdistān to Ṭālish [q.v.], the Shāfiʿī enclave on the shores of the Caspian: Shaykh ʿUthman Sirādj al-Dīn of Tawēla—a *khalīfa* of Mawlānā Khālid—initiated into the order a certain Mullā ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḳizildjī from the village of ʿAnbarān in central Ṭālish and instructed him to spread the order in his homeland, which he did with great success. Most Shāfiʿīs in Ṭālish retain to this day an allegiance to the Khālidī Naḳshbandī order.

In 1958, after the overthrow of the ʿIrāḳī monarchy, a namesake of ʿUthmān Sirādj al-Dīn quit Biyāra to establish himself at the village of Durū on the Persian side of the frontier. With the active encouragement of the Pahlawī court, he sought to bring under his sway all three areas of Naḳshbandī presence in Persia—Kurdistān, Ṭālish and Turkumān Ṣaḥrā. In this he had some success, but his activities were brought to an end by the Islamic Revolution of 1978-9. Shaykh ʿUthmān organised an army to combat the revolutionary government, but it was soon defeated

and he withdrew to ʿIrāḳ. Despite this removal of Shaykh ʿUthmān, the Naḳshbandī order remains strong among the Kurds of Persia (particularly in the region of Mahābād [*q.v.*] and in Ṭālish (especially Hashtpar and its surroundings). By contrast, it is now moribund among the Turkumāns.

Bibliography: Hamid Algar, *Reflections of Ibn ʿArabī in early Naqshbandī tradition*, in *İslami Araştırmalar* (Ankara), V/1 (Jan. 1991), 1-20; anon., *Naḳshband wa Naḳshbandiyya ba indimām-i sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Ḥaḍrat Shaykh Muḥammad ʿUthmān Sirādj al-Dīn*, Tehran n.d.; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāʾī, *Rawḍāt al-djinān wa djannāt al-djanān*, ed. Djaʿfar Sulṭān al-Ḳurrāʾī, Tehran 1344 sh./1965, i, 98-103; Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Ḳazwīnī, *Silsila-nāma-yi Khwādjagān-i Naḳshband*, ms. B.N., supplément persan 1418, fols. 18a-21b; Sayyid ʿAlī Mīrniyā, *Waḳāʾiʿ-i khāwar-i Īrān dar dawra-yi Ḳādjār*, Tehran 1367 sh./1989, 14-17; Malā ʿAbd al-Karīm Mudarris, *Yādī Mardān II: shaykha Naḳshbandiyakānī Hawramanū handī la muridū mansūba diyarakāniyān*, Baghdād 1983; Abū Bakr Sipihr al-Dīn, *Zindagānī-nāma-yi ʿĀrif-i Rabbānī Ḥaḍrat Shaykh Yūsuf mulaḳḳab ba Shams al-Dīn Burhānī*, Urūmiyya 1368 sh./1990; Hārūn Shafīḳī, *ʿUrafāʾ wa ʿulamāʾ-yi ʿAnbarān*, Hashtpar 1365 sh./1986; ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Tawakkulī, *Tārīkh-i taṣawwuf dar Kurdistān*, Tehran n.d.

(Hamid Algar)

2. In Turkey

The first implantation of the Naḳshbandiyya among the western Turks took place in the 9th/15th century, less than a hundred years after the death of its eponym. This was an important part of the general expansion of the Naḳshbandiyya outside its Transoxianan homeland, for the order was well placed to gain the loyalty of the Ottoman Turks with its emphatically Sunnī identity and insistence on sober respect for the *sharīʿa*.

The first Ottoman Naḳshbandī was Mollā ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī of Simav, who travelled to Samarḳand where he became a disciple of Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. After his training was complete, he returned to his birthplace for a number of years before reluctantly accepting an invitation to settle in Istanbul. There, at the Zeyrek mosque, he established the first Naḳshbandī centre in Turkey and found himself surrounded by a large number of devotees. Preferring, however, a life of seclusion and scholarship, he left Istanbul for Vardar Yeñičesi in Thrace, where he died in 895/1490. Ilāhī's principal successor was Amīr Aḥmad Bukhārī (d. 922/1516), who had accompanied him back from Samarḳand. Under Bukhārī's auspices, three Naḳshbandī hospices were established in Istanbul and the order attracted numerous scholars and littérateurs, the most famous of whom was the poet Maḥmūd Lāmiʿī Čelebi (d. 933/1532 [*q.v.*]) of Bursa. Although the hospices founded by Bukhārī continued functioning into the early 20th century, the initiatic line he inaugurated appears to have died out in the space of a few generations.

Considerably younger than Ilāhī, but like him a *murīd* of Aḥrār, was Bābā Ḥaydar Samarḳandī (d. 957/1550), for whom Sultan Sülaymān Ḳānūnī founded a *tekke* at Eyyüb. This served as a hostel for Naḳshbandīs coming from Central Asia until it was destroyed by fire in 1912.

Naḳshbandīs continued to migrate from Central Asia to Istanbul and other points in Turkey for several centuries, as is indicated by the names of certain *tekkes* such as Bukhārā, Kāshghar and Özbekler. Among them were men of distinction such as Khazīnī, a dervish of triple Naḳshbandī, Yasawī and Kubrawī affiliation, who arrived from Bukhārā during the reign of Sultan Murād III, and ʿAbd Allāh Nidāʾī, an 11th/17th century migrant from Kāshghar who established a *tekke* near Eyyüb.

In general, however, the history of the order in Turkey came to reflect the developments it underwent in India, which was its principal intellectual centre from the time of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī the *Mudjaddid* (d. 1034/1624) [*q.v.*, and see 3. below]. The Mudjaddidī branch of the order established by Sirhindī was first transmitted to Turkey by Shaykh Muḥammad Murād Bukhārī (d. 1141/1729), a *murīd* of Khwādja Muḥammad Murād Maʿṣūm, Sirhindī's son and principal successor. Muḥammad Murād spent about five years in the Ottoman capital towards the end of the 11th/17th century, during which time he gained numerous *ʿulamāʾ*, including the *Shaykh al-Islām* Feyḍ Allāh Efendi, as his followers. The next thirty years were spent primarily in Damascus, but he returned to Istanbul in 1141/1729, dying shortly thereafter. The *tekke* that was established next to the tomb of Muḥammad Murād Bukhārī in the Nishāndjī Pasha district became a fountainhead for the Mudjaddidiyya, not only in Istanbul but also in Anatolia and the Balkans.

A second transmission of the Mudjaddidiya to Turkey came by way of Mecca, which remained until the late 19th century an important centre for the diffusion of the Naḳshbandiyya among pilgrims coming from Turkey as well as many other regions. The representative of Khwādja Muḥammad Maʿṣūm in the Holy City was Shaykh Aḥmad Djūryānī Yakdast, who initiated into the Mudjaddiyya Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn of Tokat (d. 1158/1745). When Muḥammad Amīn returned to Istanbul in 1129/1717, he took up residence at one of the hospices founded by Amīr Aḥmad Bukhārī and began initiating members of the Ottoman bureaucracy. Particularly noteworthy among the *murīds* of Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn was the polymath Sulaymān Saʿd al-Dīn Mustaḳīm-zāde (d. 1202/1787 [*q.v.*]), who translated the letters of both Sirhindī and Khwādja Muḥammad Maʿṣūm into Ottoman Turkish. The letters of Sirhindī have remained popular reading material among Turkish Naḳshbandīs down to the present, although it is now more commonly an Arabic translation that is used.

Several of the early Turkish Mudjaddidīs also had Mewlewī affiliations, among them being Pertew Pasha and Ḥālet Efendi [*q.vv.*], both of whom exerted considerable political influence during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd II.

An entirely new era in the history of the Naḳshbandiyya in Turkey begins with the rise of the Khālidī branch in the first quarter of the 19th century. Before the emergence of the Khālidiyya, the Naḳshbandīs were certainly prominent and respected, both in Istanbul and elsewhere, but they never came close to enjoying the near-monopoly on Ṣūfī activity that they exercised in Central Asia. The Khālidīs, however, made the Naḳshbandiyya the paramount order in Turkey, a position it has retained even after the official dissolution of the orders.

Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1242/1827) was a Kurd from Shahrāzur who obtained initiation into the Naḳshbandiyya in Dihlī at the hands of Ghulām ʿAlī Dihlawī (d. 1240/1824), a *shaykh* of the Mudjaddidī line. Although Mawlānā Khālid was hostile to the local *amīrs* in Kurdistān and acted there as an advocate of Ottoman power, the first appearance of the Khālidiyya in the Ottoman capital was greeted with suspicion. Mawlānā Khālid's first representative there, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, made matters worse by

attempting to exclude non-initiates from public mosques during the performance of Khālidī rituals. The next representative, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Sūsī, was, however, able to make inroads among the Ottoman élite. Like other key figures in the history of the order in Turkey, he recruited numerous *ʿulamāʾ*, bureaucrats and men of letters; mention may be made of Mekkī-zāde Muṣṭafā ʿĀṣim, several times *Shaykh al-Islām*; Gürdjü Nedjīb Pasha and Mūsā Ṣafwetī Pasha; and Kečedji-zāde ʿIzzet Mollā, *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul. It was suggested to Sultan Maḥmūd II by Ḥālet Efendi, the Mudjaddidī-Mewlewī, that this swift expansion of the Khālidiyya posed a danger to the state, and in 1828 all prominent Khālidīs were in fact banned from the city. This period of disfavour was temporary, for in 1833 Mekkī-zade was reappointed *Shaykh al-Islām*.

Much of the impetus behind the early propagation of the Khālidiyya in the Ottoman lands had been political; it was the wish of Mawlānā Khālid to reinforce the allegiance of the Ottoman state to the *sharīʿa* and thus to make of it a viable focus for Muslim strength and unity. This aim gradually slipped beyond reach, and even in the period of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, the *shaykhs* of other orders were more intimately associated with the sovereign than were the Naḳshbandīs.

Nonetheless, the Khālidī branch of the Naḳshbandiyya possessed a wide popular appeal; it struck root throughout Anatolia, and even in Konya, the hallowed ground of the Mewlewī order, the Khālidīs were supreme. By the close of the 19th century, they had more *tekkes* in Istanbul than any other order.

Among the *shaykhs* of the second half of the century, Shaykh Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Gümüshkhānewī (d. 1894) may be singled out for mention both because of the size and nature of his following and because of the prolongation of his initiatic line down to the present. His *tekke* in the Čaghaloghlu district of Istanbul was probably the most frequented of all Ṣūfī meeting places in the city, being visited not only by members of the Ottoman élite but also by many Muslims from abroad. In addition, Gümüshkhānewī wrote extensively, in both Arabic and Turkish, and by compiling a collection of *ḥadīth*, *Rāmūz al-aḥādīth*, he inaugurated a tradition of *ḥadīth* study still continued by his initiatic descendants in present-day Turkey.

Gümüshkhānewī further distinguished himself by fighting, together with his followers, in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. This example of military engagement was followed by several other Naḳshbandī *shaykhs* who fought on various fronts during the First World War and the Turkish War of Independence. Nonetheless, the Naḳshbandīs found themselves denied all legitimacy under the dispensation brought in by the Turkish Republic when all the Ṣūfī orders were proscribed in September 1925. The immediate pretext for the ban was furnished by the uprising led in the same year by Shaykh Saʿīd of Palu, a Khālidī *shaykh* of eastern Anatolia. However, the rebellion was more an expression of Kurdish grievances and aspirations then it was of fidelity to the traditional political ideals of the Khālidiyya. Frequently cited as another exemplar of militant Naḳshbandī opposition to the Turkish Republic is Shaykh Muḥammad Asʿad (Mehmed Esad, d. 1931). Originally from Irbīl, a physical as well as spiritual descendant of Mawlānā Khālid, he took up residence at the Kelāmī *tekke* in Istanbul in 1888 before being banished to his native city by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. He returned in 1908 to take his place among the leading *shaykhs* of the Ottoman capital. In 1931, he was arrested on charges of complicity with those responsible for the notorious Menemen incident. Although the evidence of his involvement was exceedingly slight, his son was executed and he himself died in prison hospital.

Initiatic descendants of Mehmed Esad as well as other Khālidī *shaykhs* continue to be active in Turkey; among those who have died in recent times we may mention Sami Ramazanoğlu (d. 1984) and Mehmed Zahid Kotku (d. 1980). Arrests of Naḳshbandīs and other forms of harrassment have remained common, but the subversive potential and aspirations often ascribed to the Naḳshbandīs in contemporary Turkey are, at best, grossly exaggerated. It can even be said that certain Naḳshbandīs have integrated themselves into the political structure of Turkey by their involvement in ventures such as the National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi) and its successor, the Prosperity Party (Refah Partisi). The present-day significance of the Naḳshbandīs in Turkey is to be sought not so much in their political activity as in the support they provide for traditional religiosity, a support greatly weakened by the debilitating trends of more than half a century.

Bibliography: Turkish Naḳshbandīs have produced a copious literature which it is not feasible to list here. The following are the principal secondary sources: Butrus Abu-Manneh, *The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman lands in the early 19th century*, in *WI*, N.S. xxii (1982), 1-36; Hamid Algar, *Der Nakşibendi-Orden in der republikanischen Türkei*, in *Jahrbuch zur Geschichte und Gesellschaft des Vorderen und Mittleren Orients 1984*, ed. J. Blaschke and M. van Bruinessen, Berlin 1985, 167-96; idem, *Boḳārī, Amīr Aḥmad*, in *EIr*, iv, 329; idem, *A brief history of the Naqshbandī order*, in *Naqshbandīs: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, ed. M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic and Th. Zarcone, Istanbul and Paris 1990, 17-19, 27-35, 40-1; idem, *Political aspects of Naqshbandī history*, in *ibid.*, 129-30, 137-43; idem, *The Khalidi Naqshbandis of Ottoman Turkey and their devotional practices*, in *The Dervish lodge in Ottoman Turkey*, ed. R. Lifchez, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992, 209-27; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de mezhepler ve tarikatler*, Istanbul 1969, 217-24; İrfan Gündüz, *Osmanlılarda devlet-tekke münasebetleri*, Ankara 1984, 39-69; idem, *Gümüşhanevi Ahmed Ziyauddin (KS)*, Ankara 1984; Mustafa Kara, *Molla İlahi'ye dair*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, vii-viii (1988), 365-91; idem, *Tekkeler ve zaviyeler*, 2nd ed., Istanbul 1980, s.v. *Nakşibendiye*; K. Kreiser, *Kaşgari Tekyesi—ein Istanbuler Naqšbandi-Konvent und sein Stifter*, in *Naqshbandīs: Cheminements* ..., 331-6; Kasim Kufrali, *Molla İlahi ve kendisinden sonraki Nakşbendiye muhiti*, in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, iii/1-2 (November 1948), 129-51; idem, *Nakşibendiliğin kuruluş ve yayılışı*, diss., Türkiyat Enstitüsü, Istanbul 1949, unpubl.; ʿOthmānzāde Ḥüseyin Waṣṣāf, *Sefīnet ül-ewliyā*, ii, ms. Süleymaniye (yazma bağışlar 2306); Zakir Şükri Efendi, *Die Istanbuler Derwisch-Konvente und ihre Scheiche* (*Mecmu'a-ı Tekaya*), ed. Kreiser, Freiburg im Breisgau 1980; Th. Zarcone, *Remarques sur le rôle socio-politique et la filiation historique des şeyh nakşbendi dans la Turquie contemporaine*, in *Naqshbandīs: Cheminements* ..., 407-21; Ruşen Çakır, *Ayet ve slogan: Türkiye'de İslami oluşumlar*, 3rd ed. Istanbul 1991, 17-72. (Hamid Algar)

3. In India

Introduced into India by Khwādja Bāḳī Bi'llāh (972-1012/1564-1603) during the closing years of the 10th/16th century, the Naḳshbandiyya order became an influential factor in Indo-Muslim life and for about

two centuries it was the principal spiritual order in India. Though some saints of the *silsila* had visited India during the time of Bābur (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, ii, 631) and Humāyūn (Shaṭṭārī, *Gulzār-i abrār*, ms.), the credit of establishing the first Naḳshbandī *khānḳāh* in India goes to Khʷādja Bāḳī Bi'llah who came to Dihlī from Kabul and, in his own words, "planted the *silsila* in India". The Khʷādja died at the age of only forty, but he made deep impact on the lives of the people by his unassuming ways and deep humanitarian spirit. He attracted both religious and political figures to his fold. A believer in pantheism, he gave expression to his cosmic emotions in spirited verses (*ʿIrfāniyyāt-i Bāḳī*, Dihlī 1970). Among his disciples, two persons were pre-eminent: (i) Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624 [*q.v.*]), generally known as *Mudjaddid-i alf-i thānī* ("Reformer of the second millennium"), who expanded the order so successfully that, according to Djahāngīr, his disciples reached every town and city of India (*Tūzuk*, ed. Sir Syed, 272-3). (ii) Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ of Dihlī (d. 1642), who came to be known as *muḥaddith* on account of his contribution to the popularisation of *Ḥadīth* studies in India. Shaykh Aḥmad gave to the Naḳshbandī *silsila* a distinct ideology, a motive power and an effective organisation. He broke away from the earlier mystic tradition in India by rejecting pantheism (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*) and propounded his theory of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (unity of the phenomenal world). He raised his voice against the innovations (*bidʿāt*) introduced by the Ṣūfīs, the Emperor Akbar [see DĪN-I ILĀHI] and the *ʿulamā'-i sūʾ* (the worldly *ʿulamāʾ*). He opposed Akbar's experiments to work out a synthesis of Hindu and Muslim religious attitudes, and declared "Muslims should follow their religion, and non-Muslims their ways, as the Ḳurʾān enjoins 'for you yours and for me my religion'" (*Maktūbāt*). As Ibn ʿArabī's approach had sustained these religious trends, Shaykh Aḥmad criticised his views trenchantly. He did not believe in keeping away from the state and the ruler. He struggled hard to bring about a change in the outlook of the ruling classes and carried on a brisk correspondence with Mughal nobles like ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān [*q.v.*] Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōkā [*q.v.*], Farīd Bukhārī and others, and won them over to his point of view. When Djahāngīr ascended the throne, Farīd Bukhārī obtained a promise from him that he would not do anything against the *sharīʿa* (*Akbar and the Jesuits*, 204; *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, 3). However, in 1619, acting on the mischievous reports of his opponents (Dārā Shukōh, *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ*, 197-8), Djahāngīr imprisoned him in the Gwāliyār fortress. He was set free after a year but remained with the Emperor for some time. He spoke in the court on themes like prophethood, the Day of Judgement and the instability of reason. Shaykh Aḥmad's work was zealously carried forward by his sons and descendants. Awrangzīb came under the influence of Naḳshbandī saints and showed deep respect to Khʷādja Maʿṣūm (whose collections of letters contain several letters addressed to him) and Khʷādja Sayf al-Dīn, Khʷādja Muḥammad Naḳshband and others. In the ideological shift of the Mughal state as typified in the differing approaches of Akbar and Awrangzīb, the Naḳshbandī saints played an important role.

The Naḳshbandī mystic ideology differed from other mystic *silsilas* in several respects: (a) It developed a dynamic, active and assertive outlook as opposed to the quiet, unobtrusive and cosmic approach of the Čishtīs. Even their litanies and practices were coloured by this approach. (b) It closed the channels of ideological contact with other religions by rejecting Ibn ʿArabī's thinking. Bernier found the country in the grip of a bitter controversy between the supporters and the opponents of the pantheistic approach. The *Maʿāridj al-walāyāt* gives the text of a *fatwā* issued against Sirhindī's views. (c) Its belief in the need for providing guidance to the state created a new situation which bridged the gulf between the Ṣūfīs and the state on one side but gave birth to new problems on the other. (d) While other *silsilas* had propagated their teachings through *malfūẓāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (utterances of *shaykhs*), the Naḳshbandī saints communicated their views through *maktūbāt* (letters). The Naḳshbandī mystical thought may, therefore, be studied in the compilations of letters left by Shaykh Aḥmad, Khʷādja Maʿṣūm, Khʷādja Naḳshband, Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī and others. (e) While the earlier saints had propounded the idea of *walāyāt* (spiritual territories assigned by the mystic master), the Naḳshbandīs propounded the concept of *Ḳayyūmiyyat* (a type of spiritual axis on whom the world depended for its functioning). This concept, instead of strengthening the *silsila*, honeycombed its structure and diffused its activities. The *Rawḍat al-ḳayyūma* reveals the anarchy of thought caused by this concept.

In the 12th/19th century two Naḳshbandī saints made significant contributions to the *silsila* by re-stating some of its basic ideological postures. Shāh Walī Allāh (d. 1762 [*q.v.*]) sought to bring about a reconciliation between the conflicting approaches of Ibn ʿArabī and Shaykh Aḥmad and declared that difference between their approaches was one of simile and metaphor. Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i Djānān (d. 1782 [see MAẒHAR]) adopted a broad and catholic attitude towards Hinduism and accepted the Vedas as a revealed book. Shāh Walī Allāh played an important role in revitalising the religious sciences, particularly *Ḥadīth*, and by translating the Ḳurʾān into Persian, particularly for soldiers, artisans, etc., as he himself says in the Preface to *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*. He developed a new *ʿIlm-i kalām* (scholasticism) which aimed at a fresh interpretation of Islamic teachings in the light of the new problems of the age (see M. Iḳbāl, *The reconstruction of religious thought in Islam*). He played a significant role in the political developments of the period. His political letters addressed to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, Muḥammad Shāh, Niẓām al-Mulk and others reveal a clear understanding of the contemporary political situation (*Shāh Walī Allāh kay siyāsī maktūbāt*, ed. Nizami, ²Delhi 1969).

Ḳāḍī Thanāʾ Allāh Pānīpatī (d. 1810), a disciple of Mīrzā Maẓhar, made significant contribution to religious literature. His book on *fiḳh*, *Mā lā budd min* (ʿAlawi Press, Shāhpur 1270 A.H.) and his exegetical study of the Ḳurʾān (*Tafsīr-i Maẓharī*, Nadwat al-Muṣannifīn, Dihlī 1962-70) came to be widely appreciated. His treatise *Irshād al-ṭālibīn* (Mudjtabāʾī Press, Dihlī 1915) contains an exposition of Naḳshbandī mystic principles. Other spiritual descendants of Mīrzā Djān-i-Djānān, like Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī, Shāh Abū Saʿīd (author of *Hidāyat al-ṭālibīn*, Mudjtabāʾī Press, Dihlī n.d.), and Shāh Aḥmad Saʿīd (author of *al-Fawāʾid al-ḍābiṭa fī ithbāt al-rābiṭa*, Meerut 1331 A.H.), played an important part in propagating the Naḳshbandī ideology. The descendants of Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī resented British occupation of the country and supported anti-British attitudes and activities.

Of the mystic orders that have flourished in India, the Naḳshbandī-Mudjaddidī *silsila* alone attracted the attention of the people of Afghānistān, Turkey and Syria. The *khānḳāh* of Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī (d. 1824) had, according to Sir Syed, thousands of visitors from

different Asian and African countries (*Āthār al-ṣanādīd*, Karachi 1966, 209). His disciple Khālid Kurdī established the order in Damascus and made it a significant factor in the life of the people. (A. Hourani, *Shaikh Khalid and the Naqshbandi order*, in *Islamic philosophy and the classical tradition*, Columbia, S.C. 1972).

Khʷādja Mīr Nāṣir (d. 1758), though associated with the Mudjaddidi-Nakshbandī *silsila*, founded a new order called *Ṭarīka-yi-Muḥammadi*. His son Khʷādja Mīr Dard (d. 1776) wrote *ʿIlm al-Kitāb* (Anṣārī Press, Dihlī 1308 A.H.), a work characterised by deep insight in mystical thought, and gave a new orientation to the Nakshbandiyya discipline. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd of Rāē Barēlī (d. 1831 [see AḤMAD BRĒLWĪ]) also originally belonged to the Mudjaddidī order, but set up a new method, the *Ṭarīka-yi Nubuwwat*, broadly within the framework of the Nakshbandiyya. An important aspect of the Nakshbandiyya order was its virility of thought and capacity to differ from its elders. Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī differed from his mentor on the question of pantheism; Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i Djānān disagreed with his elders on their approach to Hinduism, and Shāh Ghulām ʿAli differed from him on this point. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd disagreed with Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1823) on the concept of *taṣawwur-i shaykh* (visualising the spiritual mentor in spiritual practices).

Thus the main characteristic of the Nakshbandiyya *silsila* in India has been its rejection of innovations (*bidʿāt*) and its involvement in political struggles.

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(K.A. NIZAMI)

NAKSHE (Gr. NAXOS/AXIA), Turkish name of the largest Aegean Cycladic island (1981 pop.: 14,037), east of Para [*q.v.*] and north-west of Amorgos, celebrated since Antiquity and the Middle Ages for its products (wine, olive oil, dairy ones: cf. Vakalopoulos, ii², 492-3; iv, 473-4); in mid-12th century, al-Idrīsī refers to its extensive cattle raising (*Opus geographicum*, 642: Naksiyya). Its chief port and capital, Naxos or "Chora", on the western coastal ancient and mediaeval settlements, became a centre of commerce in the Latin and Turkish periods (early 13th-early 19th centuries), while several Byzantine, post-Byzantine and Frankish monuments, chiefly churches and fortifications, survive. In Byzantine years (cf. Elis. Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire Byzantine, 8e-12e s.*, Paris 1988, 216 ff. and s.v.; further refs. in A. Savvides, *Notes on Naxos and Paros—Antiparos in Byzantine times* [in Gk.], in *Pariana*, xliii [1991], 227-37), with its capital at the southern castle of "Apalyres", Nakshe suffered from Arab raids, mostly from the Cretan amīrate [see IḲRĪṬISH], since it lay in a crucial spot of the major south-eastern Mediterranean trade routes (Constantinople-Aegean-Crete-Syria-Egypt); the raid of 904 carried off Naxiot captives to Crete, while Nakshe paid tribute to the *amīr* (see V. Christides, *Conquest of Crete*, Athens 1984, 6, 128, 131, 165-6, 167), though by 910 it was in Byzantine hands (Malamut, 62, 82). Clear traces of Muslim influences on Naxiot frescoes are recorded in that period (Christides, 128 ff.) and, apart from the surviving Byzantine coinage (Malamut, 210, n. 10), of particular importance is a rare Saldjūk coin, probably of Kay Khusraw I [*q.v.*], discovered on Nakshe (mid-1950s) and associated with Christian refugees from Antalya and Alanya [*q.vv.*], who settled on the island (early 13th century) in view of the Saldjūk advance in south-western Anatolia (refs. in Savvides, in *Byzantinos Domos*, iii [1989],159-60).

Turcoman raids, mostly associated with the Aydîn Oghullarî [*q.v.*], commenced in the early 1300s, almost a century after the foundation of the Latin Archipelago Duchy with Nakshe as capital (1207-1566). In 1304 and 1309-10 the Sanudo Duke assisted the Genoese to capture Chios [see SAKÎZ] and the

Hospitallers to seize Rhodes [see RODOS], driving the Turcomans off those islands; yet raids on Naḳshe are recorded in 1324 and 1326, which were intensified after 1340, since the Duke had participated in the planned 1343 crusade against Aydîn; in 1341 ʿÖmur Beg abducted 6,000 Naxiots and obtained tribute (refs. in M-L, ii, 352-3, 357, n. 1, 358-9; Melas [see PARA], 9-10; Frazee, 90-1), but the *amīr*'s menace ceased following the 1343 sack of Izmīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The Crispo dynasty faced new raids (late 14th century onwards) and Buondelmonti *ca.* 1420 sadly records the island's depopulation to the effect that there were no husbands for Naxiot women (ed. Legrand, ch. xvii, 56, 58; M-L, ii, 371; Melas, 18-19; Vakalopoulos, i^2, 130). The first Ottoman raid under the *ḳapudan pasha* Čalî Bey occurred in 1416 [see PARA], but Venetian control over the Duchy was recognised by Meḥemmed I, Murād II and Meḥemmed II [*q.vv.*] in the treaties of 1419, 1426, 1446, 1451 and 1454 in return for a tribute (M-L, ii, 377-8, 383, 388; D. Pitcher, *Hist. geogr. of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, 67, 84). In the Turco-Venetian war of 1463-79, extensive raids hit the island (particularly in 1477) and, according to some western sources, Naḳshe and Para were Turkish in 1479 (cf, Setton, ii, 237, n. 43), though the 1479 pact rather ratified the previous *status quo*; soon, however, Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] protested to the Venetian Senate that the Duke harboured western pirates (the Genoese Spinola had briefly captured it in 1431) (M-L, ii, 378, 389 ff., 394; Pitcher, 85). In the 1499-1503 war there was another raid on Naḳshe, which is mentioned in the 1503 pact (refs. in M-L, ii, 399; Krantonelle, 91), yet in 1517, despite a recent treaty renewal, the Crispo Duke was abducted by Turkish corsairs and later launched desperate appeals to Venice (1521, 1523, 1532), while in 1532 money and gifts convinced the pirate Kurtoghlu not to sack the island (M-L, ii, 402, 405; Krantonelle, 62, 69-70, 79, 102, 111, 121, 399). In the extensive raids of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] in the Cyclades (1537-8) the Duke was spared, through Naḳshe was looted for 3 days (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Eng. tr. Mitchell, 58; *Byzant. Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, i, nos. 56/17, 70/52; ii, 575-6; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*^{5}, ii, 1988, 375, 459), though some Greek sources record that upon its capitulation (11 Nov. 1537) the island agreed to pay *kharādj* and was thus spared the fate of Para [*q.v.*] (*Ecthesis Chronica*, 80; Chronicle of 1603, ed. Amantos, *Hellenika*, i, 1928, 49; idem, *Relations between Greeks and Turks* [in Gk.], i, 167). Khayr al-Dīn actually collected his tribute (1538), while the Turco-Venetian treaty of 1540 established Ottoman suzerainty over the Duchy (M-L, ii, 412 ff.). Although the last Crispo secured a favourable *ʿahd-nāme* (29 Aug. 1565) from Süleymān II [*q.v.*], the definitive annexation occurred in 1566, when Piyāle Pasha [*q.v.*] seized Keos and Andros (M-L, ii, 420, n. 2, 424; Vakalopoulos, iii, 219-20, 280 ff.; D. Polemis, *Hist. of Andros* [in Gk.], 1981, 70). Selīm II [*q.v.*] then ceded the Duchy to his favourite, the Jewish adventurer "Duke" Joseph Nasi, who ruled through an administrator until 1579 (C. Roth, *The house of Nasi, Duke of Naxos*, Philadelphia 1948; M-L, ii, 422 ff.; Vakalopoulos, ii^2, 43, 347; iii, 233 ff., 238 ff., 274 ff.; Slot, *Archipelagus*, 88 ff.), a period that witnessed the devastating raid of Uludj Beg in 1572 on Naḳshe and Para (Vakalopoulos, iii, 259, 274).

A new era for the Cyclades commenced with the *ʿahd-nāmes* of 1580 and 1646 [see PARA]; Naḳshe became the seat of the first *sandjaḳ beg*, "*Soleiman bei de ducat di Naxia, signor di Andro*" (1579-80 or 82) (cf. Vakalopoulos, iii, 286-7; Slot, 98 ff.); from now onwards the Sultanate leased the island to Turkish *sandjaḳ begs* or to Greek-Italian notables (as "dukes"), like Constantine Cantacuzenus (1582), John Choniates, "Duke of Axia, Paros and Andros and voivode of all the Aegean" (1598), Otural Bey, whose taxing exertions resulted in his dismissal by the Porte (1606), and Gasparo Gratiani (1617-18), an ambassador of the Ottomans to Vienna (cf. Vakalopoulos, iii, 287 ff.). On the other hand, from the 1640s, several Jesuits and Capuchin friars, driven away from Istanbul by Murād IV, arrived on the island, where a period of thriving Catholic monasticism began [see PARA]. In mid-1651 or 1652 the Venetians defeated between Para and Naḳshe an Ottoman fleet bringing supplies to the besiegers of Crete during the Turco-Venetian war of 1645-69 (details in PARA), yet Ottoman rule in Naḳshe had in fact been loose since the 1646 *ʿahd-name*, regulating local government through a *voivode* and 6 annual local notables; a series of raids by French pirates between 1675-8 resulted in the abduction of many Christian and Muslim settlers from Naḳshe, wherefrom additional refugees began to emigrate to Smyrna, as recorded early in the 17th century by Coronelli [see PARA].

The Passarowitz Treaty (1718 [see PASAROFČA]) ended the Latin presence in the Cyclades, with the Venetians forced out of Tenos (Slot, 250 ff.); it was in 1770, during the Turco-Russian war of 1668-74, that the Russians seized the island, with Para and Antiparos, until expelled by the Ottomans in 1774. In the 1821 Greek War for Liberation, the Naxiots, contrary to the Parians, did not participate fervently, probably on account of the influence of the local Latin element, yet Naḳshe, which suffered heavily from Cretan and Kassian pirates (1823-4, 1825-7), received many refugees from Chios, Psara and other islands. Finally, several Naxiots distinguished themselves elsewhere in Greek uprisings until the incorporation of their island to the Kingdom of Greece in 1830 (see Vakalopoulos, iv, 717, 736, 895; vi, 112, 118, 513, 516, 940, 954, n. 211; vii, 383, 392, 805, 811 ff.).

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NAKŪR (Nukūr) was the name of a town in northern Morocco (Rīf) situated approximately 140 km./90 miles (by road) to the west of Melilla [*q.v.*], in a plain which extends between two small coastal rivers, joining at a place called Agdal [on this term, see ĀGDĀL], then separating before flowing into the Mediterranean, the Nakūr and the Ghays/Ghīs; a *ribāt* [*q.v.*] had been constructed on an elevation. The town itself was built some 10 km/7 miles from the Mediterranean coast among inlets which sheltered a number of small harbours. The best known, al-Mazimma, was situated at the rear of a bay protected by several islands; the Spaniards gave it the name of Alhucemas [see *EI*[1], s.v.] the French, that of Albouzeme/Albouzemes and modern Moroccans call it al-Ḥusayma [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; this locality has become a popular seaside resort, having in the past been devasted three times, as noted by Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 277-8).

Nakūr was surrounded by a wall of coarse brick and possessed a large mosque, of which the roof was supported by pillars of thuya (abundant in the region, as was cedar), prosperous markets, gardens and orchards of pears and pomegranates.

The history of the town is inseparable from the somewhat turbulent history of a principality of which it was the capital and which was governed for several centuries by the descendants of a companion of the conqueror ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ (d. 63/683 [*q.v.*]) called Ṣāliḥ b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī—although this South Arabian origin for him is disputed by al-Yaʿḳūbī (*K. al-Buldān*, 357, tr. Wiet, 222), who associates him rather with the Berber tribe of the Nafza [*q.v.*]. According to tradition, this ancestor of the Ṣāliḥids established himself at Tamsāmān, on the coast, and succeeded in converting the population of the region which belonged to the Berber groups of the Ghumāra and the Ṣanhādja [*q.vv.*]; but these new converts were not slow to apostasise and to expel Ṣāliḥ from the principality which he had founded in 90/709, under the caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (88-98/705-15 [*q.v.*]), taking as their leader a certain Dāwūd al-Rundī (who probably was not a native of Ronda). Ṣāliḥ was nevertheless reinstated and, on his death, the date of which is unknown, his son al-Muʿtaṣim succeeded him. Later, following a series of various somewhat confused vicissitudes, his grandson Saʿīd b. Idrīs b. Ṣāliḥ founded in 143/761 the town of Nakūr to serve as capital of the small state. He was obliged to face numerous rebellions, but retained his throne until his death in 188/804. He left some ten sons, of whom the one who seems to have been the eldest, Ṣāliḥ, succeeded him. At an unknown date, one of his brothers, named Idrīs, rebelled against him, but he was captured and executed. In 244/858, Nakūr suffered a violent attack on the part of the "Northmen" [see MADJŪS, at V, 1119a] who sacked the town and took prisoner the women of the Ṣāliḥid family; the latter were ransomed by the *amīr* of Cordova Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86 [see UMAYYADS OF SPAIN]); al-Andalus in fact maintained cordial relations with Nakūr since the time that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya b. Hishām, known as al-Dākhil [*q.v.*], fleeing from the ʿAbbāsids, had spent some time in the principality before embarking for Spain in 138/755. The chronology is far from certain, and it is possible that a link is missing from the genealogy of Abu 'l-Muṭarrif ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who, described as a brother of the founder of Nakūr, became famous in Spain; he was a devout man, a *faḳīh* who had made the Pilgrimage to Mecca four times. Having landed at Malaga with a small army to oppose ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn (d. 306/918 [*q.v.*]), he fell into an ambush, but succeeded in escaping and was able to continue his *djihād* under the orders of the Umayyad general Aḥmad b. Abī ʿAbda, in whose company he perished on 14 Rabīʿ I/4 September 917.

Al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 284/897 [*q.v.*]) describes the principality of Ṣāliḥ b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī in some detail; according to him "it extends over a distance of ten days' march, amid numerous constructions, fortresses, villages, staging-posts, cultivated land, herds of cattle, pastures". There does not seem to be any exaggeration here, except perhaps in relation to the dimensions of the territories of Ṣāliḥ.

The latter must have died in 250/864, after a very long reign, and he was succeeded by his son Saʿīd, who was obliged to confront a mutiny on the part of the Slavs (Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*]); the latter, Slavonic slaves purchased in order to constitute a kind of praetorian guard, demanded their freedom and civil rights. Their movement was suppressed, and they were forced to take refuge in their cantonment, the Ḳaryat al-Ṣaḳāliba, while awaiting their punishment. Some cousins of Ṣāliḥ, who had been involved in the rebellion, were condemned to death, thus provoking one of the conspiracies which are a feature of the history of the Ṣāliḥids.

Although a sister of Ṣāliḥ, Umm al-Saʿd, had married, in Nakūr, a descendant of Fāṭima, related in fact to the Idrīsids who were under threat from Ḳayrawān, a certain Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Al-Ḥasan (b. al-Ḥasan) b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Saʿīd rejected an invitation from the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh (285-323/898-934 [*q.v.*]) to recognise his authority. The Fāṭimid Imām reacted vigorously to this defiance and ordered his vassal Maṣāla b. Ḥab(b)ūs to invade the territory of the Ṣāliḥids. A member of the family, a certain Ḥamad b. ʿAyyāsh, having betrayed Saʿīd, Nakūr fell into the hands of the invader on 3 Muḥarram 305/26 June 917; the town was sacked, the women and children taken captive; the head of Saʿīd, who had died fighting after a spirited resistance, was sent to Ḳayrawān with those of many of his relatives, and the Fāṭimids mounted them on pikes and displayed them on the walls of Raḳḳāda. Those members of the family who succeeded in escaping took refuge at Malaga and Pechina; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III invited them to settle at Cordova, but they preferred to remain on the coast, closer to their homeland, to which they hoped to return. Having spent some time travelling through the territory of the principality, Maṣāla left in Nakūr a governor named Dalūl, supported by a small garrison of Fāṭimid troops (*mashāriḳa* [*q.v.*]), who ultimately abandoned their leader. It was then that the three sons of Saʿīd—Idrīs, al-Muʿtaṣim and Ṣāliḥ—who had found refuge in Spain, separately took to see to return to Nakūr. The first to arrive, Ṣāliḥ, landed near Tamsāmān and was greeted with enthusiasm by the Berbers of the region, who gave him the title al-Yatīm and marched with him against

Nakūr; they captured Dalūl and his supporters and hanged them. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, informed of this success, congratulated Ṣāliḥ and promulgated throughout Spain the news of the recovery of the principality and of its capital, which in fact seem henceforward to have been placed under the sovereignty of the Umayyads who, as mentioned previously, had a long-standing relationship with the Ṣāliḥids.

However, in 308/920-1, Maṣāla recaptured Nakūr, which he held for a short time. Ṣāliḥ died and was succeeded by his grandson, al-Muʾayyad b. ʿAbd al-Badīʿ b. Ṣāliḥ, who was attacked in 316/928 by a vassal of the Fāṭimids, the lieutenant and successor of Maṣāla, Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya (d. 327/938 [*q.v.*]), then governor of a province of which the capital was Guercif [see GARSĪF], and Nakūr was razed the following year. Abū Ayyūb Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Idrīs b. Ṣāliḥ, a grandson of the hero of the *ḏjihād* against Ibn Hafṣūn, regained power and rebuilt the town. Since the Fāṭimids had no intention of allowing the Umayyads to retain a bridgehead on the coast of the Maghrib, al-Ḳāʾim (322-34/934-46 [*q.v.*]) entrusted to a Slav named Ṣandal the task of recapturing Nakūr; after an exchange of letters and envoys—some of whom were executed by Ismāʿīl—the Fāṭimid officer arrived to lay siege to the capital in Shawwāl 323/September 935 and captured it after eight days of fierce fighting. Ismāʿīl and almost all of his supporters lost their lives, and the women and children were taken away in captivity. Once more, the inhabitants of the town, who had been expelled from it, succeeded in returning, executed the governor appointed by Ṣandal and sent his head to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (324/936). After the defection of Mūsā b. Abı 'l-ʿĀfiya, who went over to the Umayyads in 320/932, the loss of Nakūr was strongly resented by the Fāṭimids. The citizens had taken as their leader a member of the ruling family, Mūsā, known as Ibn Rūmī, but he was expelled by one of his kinsmen, ʿAbd al-Samīʿ, and went into exile at Pechina with his supporters. In 336/948-9, another Ṣāliḥid was to be called to power, Djurthum (?) b. Aḥmad, who reigned until Dhu l-Ḳaʿda 360/September-October 971. It was during his reign or that of his predecessor that Ibn Ḥawḳal visited the region; he says (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 75) that Nakūr had lost some of its importance, but retained reasonable proportions, and he speaks of its port, al-Mazimma. Two centuries later, al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] locates 20 miles from the town of Bādis (*Opus geographicum*, v, Naples-Rome 1975, 533) the port of Dū Dhukūr, "an ancient town, today (548/1154) in ruins, called Nakūr in the history books", which is rather surprising.

After 360/971, information regarding the town becomes rather obscure. It seems that the last Idrīsid *amīr* [see IDRĪSIDS], al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim Gannūn (343-63/954-74 and 375/985), established himself at Nakūr, before yielding to the Umayyads in 362/973. The town must subsequently have passed into the hands of the Zīrids [*q.v.*], since historians relate that in 388/998, al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (d. 392/1002 [*q.v.*]), in the course of his campaign against Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya (see H.R. Iris, *Zirides*, index), sent his general, the Slav Wāḍiḥ, to Morocco, and the latter occupied a number of towns including Nakūr (*Mafākhir al-Barbar*, 29). It is probable that the descendants of the last Ṣāliḥid to be cited by name were able to recover their throne and to retain it until 410/1019-20, at which date they were obliged to go into exile in Malaga. They returned, however, to Mazimma, whence they were expelled by Yaʿlā b. al-Futūḥ al-Azdādjī of Orania. The descendants of the latter were still in residence there at the time when al-Bakrī was writing his *Description* (460/1068). In 477/1084, the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tashfin (453-500/1061-1107 [*q.v.*]) captured and definitively destroyed Nakūr, the site of which is today only of archaeological interest (see A. Makinasi, *Reconomientos arqueológicos en el Rif*, in *Tamuda*, vii/1-2 [1959], 156-8).

Information is lacking regarding the social, economic and intellectual life of the town, but it may be supposed that it was not greatly distinguished fromt the rest of Morocco. It is known only that a few *dirhams* were struck there between 372 and 397/902-1007 (see G.C. Miles, *The coinage of the Umayyads of Spain*, New York 1950, 52-3) and that close commercial relations had been established with Spain, and in particular with Malaga, which was the nearest port. From a cultural point of view, Berber was certainly the language of the people, but Arabic was not unknown, and it may be supposed that poets frequented the court; proof of this is constituted by a fragment attributed, in 305/917, to a certain Aḥmad b. al-Marwazī, whose patronym could also (if this reading is correct) be an indication of the prestige enjoyed by the little principality of Nakūr.

Bibliography: The principal sources are Bakrī,

Approximative genealogical table of those Ṣāliḥids who reigned

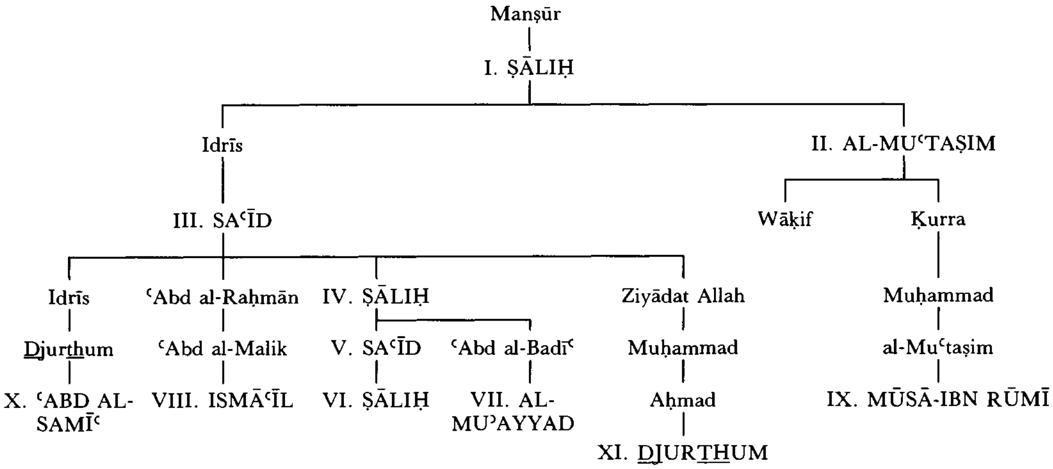

Kitāb al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib, ed. and tr. de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, 2nd ed., Algiers 1911-13, repr. Paris 1965, Ar. 90-9, tr. 180-97; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 176-81; see also Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, ed. Muʾnis, Cairo 1963, i, 193; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924 (45: Waṭwāṭ, *Manāhidj al-fikr*; 211: Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*); Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, v, ed. P. Chalmeta, Madrid 1979, index; *K. al-Istibṣār*, partial ed. Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Alexandria 1958, 136; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, tr. de Slane, index; Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, i, 94-5; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, 21; Ch. Diehl and G. Marçais, *Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081*, Paris 1944, 424; E. Lévi-Provençal, *HEM*, i-iii, index (detailed account); J. Bosch Vilá, *Los Almoravides*, Tetouan 1951, 31, 124; Idris, *Zīrīdes*, 11-16 (*passim*); M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 378, 392-3; F. Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide au Maghreb*, Tunis 1981, 150, 151, 163. The general historians of the Maghrib, and especially, of Morocco, generally mention Nakūr.

(Ch. Pellat)

NĀḲŪS (a.), pl. *nawāḳīs*, a kind of rattle once used and in some places still used by Eastern Christians to summon the community to divine service. It is a board pierced with holes which is beaten with a rod. The name, which comes from the Syriac *nāḳōshā*, is not infrequently found with the verbs *ḍaraba* or *ṣakka* in the old Arabic poets, especially when early morning is to be indicated, e.g. ʿAntara, app.; Labīd, 19, 6; *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 215; Mutalammis, ed. Vollers, 178, v. 6; al-Aʿshā, in Nöldeke's *Delectus*, 26; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xix, 92. According to tradition, Muḥammad hesitated between this instrument and the Jewish trumpet before deciding on the call to prayer by the *muʾadhdhins* [see adhān].

Bibliography: Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 2466; Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter*, 276; G. Jacob, in *6. Jahresbericht d. geogr. Gesellsch. zu Greifswald*, 1896, 4; idem, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 22, 233; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 346 ff.; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, iii/2, 87.

(Fr. Buhl)

NALDRUG, a small town in the former ʿUthmānābād district of Ḥaydarābād State, situated in 17°49′N., 76°29′E., now in Mahārāshṭra; its fort, standing above the ravine of the Bōrī river, is one of the best fortified strongholds in the Deccan. The name also appears as Naldurg, perhaps the better form (*durg* = Skr. *durga* "fort").

It does not figure in the Deccan campaign of Muḥammad b. Tughluk, and so probably came into Bahmanī possession after the imperial forces had withdrawn, in the late 8th/14th century; its stone fortifications, which appear to be of Bahmanī work although elaborated later under the ʿĀdil Shāhīs of Bīdjāpur, may have replaced an earlier Hindū (? Čālukya) mud fort. Thereafter, Naldrug incurs frequent mention in the dynastic squabbles of the Deccan, lying as it does on the border of the ʿĀdil Shāhī and Niẓām Shāhī territories of Bīdjāpur and Aḥmadnagar respectively, having later even attracted the attention of the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs of Golkondā. Thus Muḥammad Khān, the brother of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II Bahmanī, in rebellion in 840/1436, is reported to have occupied Naldrug as well as Mudgal, Rāyčūr, and Shōlāpur; after the fragmentation of the old Bahmanī kingdom, when Naldrug became a bone of contention between the rival sultanates, there was a war between Ḳāsim Barīd and Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān in 897/1492, when Ḳāsim was humiliated; in 914/1508 Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh unsuccessfully demanded Naldrug from Yūsuf as his price for neutrality against the rival claims of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī and ʿAlī Barīd. In 938/1531 Amīr Barīd had entered into an alliance with Burhān Niẓām Shāh against Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh and marched on Naldrug, but was defeated by Ismāʿīl; Vidjayanagara entered the contest when in 970/1562-3 the lands of Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar were invaded by Rām Rādj of Vidjayanagara, now allied to ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjāpur; but Rām Rādj withdrew after his camp was flooded in the rains, whereupon ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh withdrew to Naldrug and carried out some rebuilding, including a dam across the river Bōrī, to improve the water supply to the garrison. In 989/1581, after the death of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh, Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh attempted to recover Shōlāpur and Naldrug, now with the help of Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb Shāh of Golkonda; but the allied forces, on seeing Naldrug's great strength, moved rather to Bīdjāpur itself; the siege of Naldrug, however, was prolonged under the next Ḳuṭb Shāhī sultan, Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, the following year.

In 1003/1595 Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjāpur invaded the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom; in an ensuing battle at Naldrug Ibrāhīm Niẓām Shāh was killed. But there was now a greater danger on the horizon, and the ʿĀdil Shāhī and Ḳuṭb Shāhī forces were allied at Naldrug against the Mughals. During the Mughals' Deccan campaign the Niẓām Shāhī sultanate was in 1046/1636 invaded by Shāhdjahān's general Shāʾista Khān, who after his success turned his attention to the ʿĀdil Shāhī kingdom, conquered Naldrug and occupied the region between Shōlāpur and Bīdar, although the Mughal success was then short-lived; in 1087/1676 the Mughal general Bahādur Khān failed in a further siege against Naldrug, although Naldrug fell to the Mughals the following year; this was of course an important possession for the Mughals in view of the growth of the hostile Marāṭhā [*q.v.*] power. There seems to be no record of when Naldrug finally came into the possession of the Marāṭhās.

The fort is an imposing building, but now disfigured with mean squatters' buildings. An interesting addition to its fortifications is a multi-lobed circular bastion on the south wall, similar to but smaller than the one at Golkondā fort. The water-palace and other palace buildings, and the mosque, have not been adequately described or published, but an inscription in the water-palace (Pānī maḥall) refers to the erection of a dam in 1022/1613 (*EIM* [1917-18], 3). There are illustrations of the Pānī maḥall and the multi-lobed bastion in *ARAD Hyd.*, 1327F./1917-18, Pl. III. A survey of Naldrug, with further descriptive work, is badly needed. Besides those within the fort, there are several mosque buildings in the vicinity of Naldrug, which appear to be of the late ʿĀdil Shāhī style and period.

Bibliography: The above is mostly extracted from Muḥammad Ḳāsim "Firishta", *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, *passim*, and Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, *passim*; for the ʿĀdil Shāhī period only, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zubayrī, *Basātīn-i salāṭīn*, and Hāshim Beg Astarābādī, *Futūḥāt-i ʿĀdil Shāhī*, which also covers the Mughal period in the Deccan (portions of the latter tr. S.K. Basu, in *JBOHS* [1938]); G. Yazdani, *Inscriptions of the Bijapur kings ... from Naldrug*, in *EIM* (1917-18), 1-3

(J. Burton-Page)

NĀMA (p.). a Persian word, derived as an adjective from the common Iranian root *nāman-*, "name". Already in Middle Persian the form *nāmag* can be

found also as a substantive referring to an inscription, a letter or a book. In the orthography of Pahlavī, the word could be written either phonemically, as *n'mk'*, or by means of any of two heterographs: SHM-k', which was based on the Semitic word for "name", and MGLT', i.e. the Aramaic *m^egill^eta*, "scroll" (cf. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Leiden 1953, 1091). It occurs also in compounds, especially in the titles of books. Some of these denote certain genres of writings, e.g. *kār-nāmag* ("book of deeds"), *pand-nāmag* or *andarz-nāmag* ("book of admonition"); others specify the subject-matter of a particular text, such as *Khudāy-nāmag* ("The Book of Kings"), or contain the name of the main protagonist of a story, like the title of the eschatological *Ardā Wirāz-nāmag* ("The Book of Arda Wiraz").

These usages of the word lived on in Islamic times when *nāma* became in many ways the equivalent of the Arabic *kitāb* [*q.v.*], especially in the titles of books. The straightforward Persian titles often contrast with the much more extensive and flowery style of titles in Arabic. Sometimes the former came into use as an alternative title to an Arabic one, as in the case of Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma* which is also known as *Siyar al-mulūk*; the title *Saʿdī-nāma* occurs next to the more poetic Persian title *Būstān*.

As an independent word *nāma* continued to have the generic meaning of a letter, frequently occurring in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. A specific connotation is that of a royal edict or diploma, as in the expressions *nāma-yi khāḳānī* or *nāma-yi humāyūnī*. In the sense of a register it is used in the religious notion of the *nāma-yi aʿmāl*, the book recording good and bad deeds which will be brought forward at the Day of Judgement.

In the traditional lexicography of Persian, a number of other meanings are given which need not be discussed here. In present-day Persian, *nāma* continues to be a very productive morpheme. It helped to form neologisms (e.g. *asās-nāma* "statute", *shinās-nāma* "identity card", *guwāhī-nāma* "certificate"), but also to give contemporary meanings to words already existing in the classical language (e.g. *dānish-nāma* "encyclopaedia", *rūz-nāma* "journal, daily newspaper", *lughat-nāma* "dictionary").

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NAMĀRA, the name of several places in the Near East.

According to the *LA*, the root *n-m-r* has, amongst its meanings, that of sweet, drinkable, abundant water, suitable for beasts and for irrigating crops. This explains why a certain number of settlements, provided with a *ḥawḍ* [*q.v.*] and which have developed around a source of water, a well or a natural reservoir of water (*birka*), are called Namāra, Nāmir, Namr or Nimrā. R. Dussaud and F. Macler noted that during Antiquity, there were in Syria a good number of sites bearing this name. The best known are four places localised in the Ḳibliyya, the southern fringe of the province of Dimashḳ [*q.v.*] or Damascus, forming part of the vast rural region (*rustāḳ*) of the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*]. The relief of the Djabal al-Durūz [*q.v.*] is characterised by numerous volcanic cones which are also landmarks visible a long distance away.

Links between the villages are by roads or by tracks marked out by low walls of stones in order to prevent people from losing their way in the zones of lava flows, and in order to facilitate the passage of camels, which find difficulty in picking their way through terrain scattered with lava blocks of varying size. Since Roman times there have been roads with paving or stone surfacing, important parts of which were used during the centuries before the appearance of the motor car.

1. The Namāra in southern Syria which is situated, like Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ [*q.v.*], Ḳalʿat al-ʿAlka and Djabal Says [*q.v.* in Suppl.] on the fringe of Roman Arabia (*Provincia Arabia*) in the *ḥarra* [*q.v.*] of al-Ṣafā, a strenuous day's march to the east of the oasis of Taymāʾ [*q.v.*] and of Tarba. According to N. Pigulevskaya, Namāra is a little distance from the ancient route transformed by Diocletian into the *Strata romana diocletiana*.

Namāra is situated at the extreme edge of the steppe, in an oasis of the Wādī 'l-Shām, a wide and long valley which begins in the region of Mushannaf to the northeast of the Djabal al-Durūz and crosses a plain covered with blackish stones coming from the lava flows of volcanoes long since extinct, before losing itself in the fertile Ruḥba depression. The basalt region of the Ḥawrān benefits in winter and spring from abundant rains, which bring floods into the valley, this latter being dry the rest of the year, and filling man-made reservoirs (*aḥwāḍ*, sing. *ḥawḍ*) which, since early Antiquity, have helped to conserve the water. Namāra, whose *ḥawḍ* had, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, one of the best supplies of water in the region, lasting practically for the whole year through, was probably, like the post of Djabal Says, one of the stages on the road followed by the caravans starting from Tadmur [*q.v.*] or Palmyra and heading for Boṣrā [*q.v.*] or for Filasṭīn [*q.v.*]. The alluvial soils which soaked up water allowed the cultivation of high-yielding cereal crops without irrigation, and these excited the greed of nearby nomads.

Built on a height in the middle of the valley at the Wādī 'l-Sawṭ confluent, the post of Namāra protected the road coming from the northeast and leading to Boṣrā, whilst Ḳaṣr Burḳuʿ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] guarded the east and Ḳaṣr Azraḳ controlled access from the south. Namāra's function was to protect the security of caravans and the flocks of pastoral nomads in the Ruḥba. Its strategic role is marked by a small Roman fort and a rectangular Romano-Byzantine guard tower built on the model of those which guarded the main routes converging on Syria. In Antiquity, this type of tower assured the rapid transmission of information by neans of signals visible from other posts. Namāra's importance is further confirmed by the title of *Nemārāh ha-Sulṭān* which appears in Safaitic texts, as noted by G. Ryckmans.

From the 2nd century A.D., the Romans took control of the Bathaniyya [*q.v.*], whose Arabo-Nabataean population became their tributaries before becoming liable to the *kharādj* of the incoming Muslims. Its defence was the responsibility of the Third Cyrenaican Legion stationed at Boṣrā, whose garrison included units of camel riders (*dromedarii*) recruited locally, thereby explaining the presence of Nabataean soldiers at Namāra, attested by numerous Safaitic graffiti rudely traced by them on neighbouring pieces of rock. Although Namāra was abandoned by the Romans at the beginning of the 4th century, as the presence near the site of the tomb of Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] indicates, the military system established there by them was not changed and actually benefited in the following century by the incorporation of Arab nomads into the army.

After the victory of Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] over the Byzantines in the summer of 13/634, the Muslims occupied the Ḥawrān region. Two years later, after the success of the commander Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] at the battle of the Yarmūk, Namāra was integrated within the *djund* [*q.v.*] of Dimashk from the time of the Umayyads' advent to power.

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The inscription of Imru᾽ al-Kays [*q.v.*]

Around 1 km to the southeast of the fortified post of Namāra, Dussaud discovered in 1899 the famous "Nabataeo-Arab" inscription in the name of "Maru 'l-Kays bar ʿAmru... king of all the Arabs" and dated 7 Kaslūl 223 of the Boṣrā era (= 7 December 328). The power of Imru᾽ al-Kays, son of the founder of the Lakhmid dynasty, stretched from southern Syria to the northern part of the Arabian peninsula. Dussaud thought that this inscription came from the period of ancient Arabic, since it was "written in Nabataean characters but in practically pure Arabic". C. Rabin, for his part, thought that a western dialect was involved. In fact, M. Sartre points out that we have an Arabic text transcribed in the Nabataean alphabet; he further believes that the dead man buried on 7 December 328 must have himself assumed the title of "king of all the Arabs", which would thus confirm the departure of the Romans since the beginning of the 4th century A.D. This inscription, of which Pigulevskaya has given a translation slightly different from that of the *RCEA*, attests, she says, to the fact "that the Ghassānids and Lakhmids [*q.vv.*] did not enjoy a stable position as allies of Iran and of the Empire".

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2. Namāra (Waddington, nos. 2172-85), now called today Nimrā, in one of the six rural districts (*rustāk*) of the Ḥawrān in the middle of a region covered with lava flows to the east of the Djabal Durūz. This Druze village is situated to the east of Ṭafḥa and Shahba (the ancient Philippopolis), to the south of Shakka, to the west of the oasis of Taymā᾽ and to the northwest of Mushannaf. The large number of prehistoric sites in this region bears witness to a very old occupation of sites favoured by the basalt nature of the soil which, thanks to 300 mm of rain annually, gives a good cereal yields.

The actual village, with a population in 1945 of 824, is built like an eagle's nest at *ca.* 1,400 m.

altitude, at the top of a tell which dominates the high valley of the Wādī Nimrā which, from this spot onwards, assumes the name of the Wādī Liwā and which forms, downstream, the eastern limit of the La<u>dj</u>āʾ [*q.v.*], the ancient Traconitides. A Roman road made use of this valley, marked out by Ṭafḥa, <u>Sh</u>ahba, Umm al-Zaytūn, <u>Kh</u>al<u>kh</u>ala and Burāḳ, from where the Roman road continues northwards to Damascus, whilst the flow of the wādī eventually forms, further to the east, the Baḥriyyat Burāḳ, a fine natural reservoir of water, situated to the south of <u>Sh</u>ukrāniyya. A track came from the north via <u>Sh</u>aḳḳa to Namāra, from where another one led towards Taymāʾ, Tarba and Mu<u>sh</u>annaf, where it took a southwards direction to join Ṣalkhad by means of Sala (ancient Salamamistra), whilst there branched off towards the east a track which eventually joined Namāra (1) via the Wādī al-<u>Sh</u>ām, where the terrain covered with lava chips made painful going, during the dry season, for the camels of caravans and mounted troops.

At the crossing point of the Wādi Liwā there developed a lower quarter of Namāra; at the foot of the lava streams there are still remains of a fortified tower from the Roman period, which had the function of protecting this obligatory crossing place.

A short distance downstream, on the right bank of the wādī, traces of a church have been found: an unornamented building, like the greater part of the Christian buildings of the Ḥawrān of the early period. This church is reminiscent of the basilica of Ṭafḥa a little further away to the west. Moreover, below the fording place, there is on the left bank a large, ruinous building called Dayr al-<u>Sh</u>ahīb which, a long time ago, was transformed by the local inhabitants into a rudimentary defence point. In this region, the local ways of communication, providing links between the villages and in greater part dating from Antiquity, have lasted up to our own time. There are some tracks possible for vehicles, in particular, between Namāra and al-Ḳrayya.

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3. Modern Nāmir (Namr, Nimr) al-Hawāʾ

This lies at an altitude of 580 m. to the south of Izraʿ, southeast of <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Maskīn, north of <u>Kh</u>irbat al-<u>Gh</u>azāla, northwest of Ḥarak and northeast of A<u>dh</u>riʿāt [*q.v.*].

Like Namāra (1), Nāmir is situated in a region where the nature of the soil and the amount of rainfall have furnished, since Antiquity, an appreciable agricultural richness and have provided its *ḥawḍ* with a respectable amount of water. In Hellenistic times, this place was called Εὔτιμη. In 4th century A.D., Eusebius of Caesarea called it κώμη μεγίστη ἐντῇ βαταναίᾳ in his *Onomasticon* (138, 114). At the opening of the 5th century, St. Jerome cites it as an important settlement (*vicus grandis*). It was at that time a centre for the Nabataean nomads with their large tents to gather together. In mediaeval times, under the Mamlūks [*q.v.*], Nāmir was included administratively in the *wilāya* of A<u>dh</u>riʿāt (the chief town of the Ba<u>th</u>aniyya). In 1925, at the time of the rebellion in the <u>Dj</u>abal al-Durūz, Nāmir al-Hawāʾ found itself on the no. 3 road which linked the <u>Dj</u>abal with the port of Ṣaydā via Izraʿ. At the present time, this place is situated 3 km/2 miles to the west of the Syrian Darb al-Ḥa<u>djdj</u> and the Damascus-Ḥi<u>dj</u>āz railway.

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4. The name Namāra (Namr, Nam(a)ra, Nimré) appears on an ancient military boundary marking the frontier between the territory of <u>Dj</u>āsim (Gasimea) and its own one. Namr is situated in the large, undulating plain of the Nuḳra, the veritable granary of Syria. It is probably the ancient city of the land of Canaan. Cited in the Bible under the name of Nimré (Numbers, xxxii, 3, and Samuel, v, vi) or of Beth Nimreh (Numbers, xxxii, 34,36), it appears there as a strong urban centre, with grazing grounds for sheep, surrounded by meadows suitable for herds. Over the centuries, it experienced various fortunes; in the 13th century B.C., notably, it suffered a violent conflagration and was reconstructed in 1230 B.C. by one of Jacob's grandsons.

Namr lies to the south of ʿAḳrabā [*q.v.*], the ancient residence of the <u>Gh</u>assānid princes and at the foot of the <u>Dj</u>abal al-Ḥāra (1,127 m in altitude) which dominates the plain of the village of al-Ḥāra (Εὔτιμη) which is on the southern side, at the foot of this height, to the east of the Nahr ʿAllān, an affluent of the Yarmūk, to the north of Nawā and to the west of the La<u>dj</u>āʾ. According to Dussaud, Namr, which was a place of some importance in a region dominated by

the Monophysites, subjects of the Ghassānids, would be a more fitting place to be qualified as κώμη μεγίστη ἐντῇ βαταναίᾳ than Namāra (2), situated to the north-west of Mushannaf. The confusion seems to arise from an indication given by Eusebius of Caesarea which Waddington (no. 2176), Thomsen and Nöldeke followed.

Al-Masʿūdī places Namr some miles to the north of Djābiya [*q.v.*] and Nawā in the district of the Djawlān [*q.v.*]. The troops of Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], setting off to campaign in Egypt, encamped on several occasions in this proximity, notably in 563/1168 and 565/1170.

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(N. Elisséeff)

NAMĀZ [see ṢALĀT].

NAMĀZGĀH (P.), "place of prayer", in India an alternative name for *ʿīdgāh*, the open structure built usually to the west of a town, consisting solely of what in a mosque would be the western wall, with *miḥrāb*(s) and *minbar* and, essentially, within a spacious enclosure which should be capable of accommodating the entire adult male Muslim population; the wall-structure may stand at the western end of a large paved area (*ṣaḥn*), but there is usually no *ḥawḍ* for ablutions. The structure is used only for the celebration of the two *ʿīd* festivals (*ʿīd al-aḍḥā* and *ʿīd al-fiṭr* [*q.vv.*]), and no special sanctity attaches to it; this may account for the destruction of many old *ʿīdgāhs*.

The *namāzgāh*/*ʿīdgāh* in Muslim settlements in India is often a substantial building of some artistic merit, e.g. the Bahmanī *ʿīdgāh* at Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*]; the splendid *ʿīdgāh* at Čandērī (not described *s.v.*) in Mālwā with its *miḥrāb* wall, canopied *minbar* in typical Mālwā (e.g. Māndū, Čandērī) style, and tapering end buttresses with domes; the early Tughluḳid Kharērā *ʿīdgāh*, near Sirī in old Dihlī (from the *minbar* of which Tīmūr possibly held his open-air court; an earlier *ʿīdgāh* to the west of Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā has also been suggested, further from Tīmūr's battlefield. The *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī*, tr. in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 443, does not state the location precisely); the very early (possibly of the time of Iltutmish, with Khaldjī and Tughluḳid additions) *ʿīdgāh* of Badāʾūn, with octagonal end buttresses, domed, the central *miḥrāb* under a half-dome faced with a tall arched opening almost double the height of the main wall; there is a tall canopied *minbar* and, most unusually, an arched opening beside the *minbar* leading to the rear of the structure (K.V. Soundara Rajan, *Islam builds in India*, Delhi 1983, 68-9 with plan and elevation, and Pl. 29); the vast *ʿīdgāh* at Dihlī (presumably of Fīrūzābād, situated north-west of the Ḳadam Sharīf, see DIHLĪ, map on p. 258), probably of Tughluḳid times but with later additions, stands within a well-fortified enclosure. At Gulbargā, the growth of the town is expressed by the presence of *three ʿīdgāhs* to the west of the town (J. Burton-Page *et alii*, *Gulbarga: a memoir*, in preparation). There are many more fine *ʿīdgāhs* all over the country, but unfortunately few have been published.

The word *namāzgāh* is also used for those small areas seen in sparsely-populated regions in Balučistān and the North-West Frontier region, sometimes simply a square or rectangle demarcated by whitewashed stones, with a larger stone at the western end to designate the *ḳibla*, and where there is no pretence of an enclosure.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also MUṢALLĀ. (J. Burton-Page)

NĀMIḲ KEMĀL [see KEMĀL MEḤMED NĀMIḲ].

NAMIR and **NIMR** (A.) (fem. *namira*, pl. *anmār, numūr, numur, numr, nimār, nimāra, anmur*; Maghrib *nmer*, pl. *nmūra*), masculine noun designating the panther (*Panthera pardus*) better known, in Africa, by the name of "leopard" (from *leo-pardus*; Old French leupart, liepart, lyépart; Old English leparde, lebarde, libbard). In Berber, it is called *kinas, agarzam*, in Morocco, *aghilas* in Kabylia, and *damesa, anaba, washil* in Tamahaḳ. In Turkish it is known by the name of *pars* and in Persian as *palang*.

This large feline, the most ferocious of the family, along with the lion and tiger, is ubiquitous in hot climates and frequents the scrub, thick forests and high wooded uplands; it appears in numerous geographical varieties in Africa as well as Asia, and one also finds, in the Islamic lands, the varieties *P.p. panthera* in the Maghrib, *P.p. leopardus* in West Africa, *P.p. reichenowi* in Cameroon, *P.p. chui* in Uganda, *P.p. shortridgei* in Central Africa, *P.p. melanotica* in South Africa, *P.p. adersi* in Zanzibar, *P.p. antinorii* in Eritrea, *P.p. nimr* in Abyssinia and Arabia, *P.p. jarvisi* in Sinai and Palestine, *P.p. minor* in Syria, *P.p. tulliana* in Asia Minor, *P.p. dathei* in Central Persia, *P.p. saxicolor* in North Persia and *P.p. sindica* in Baluchistan, not to mention those of India and Asia.

Besides the generic name *namir*, al-Damīrī gathered (ii, 364-5) some ten names (*kunya*) given to the panther, with *abū* for the male and *umm* for the female. The lexicographers added (Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 65) some archaic words such as *abrad, arḳaṭ, ʿusbur, ḍardjaʿ, muʿīl, kalad*; the word *ghaylas* (Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.) was borrowed from Berber and *ḳablān baṣtā* from Turkish *kaplān* "tiger". In the Maghrib, *tultī* (= *thulthī*) designated the panther as well as the tiger (*babr*). The female of the panther was also called *fazāra, khutaʿa* and *khaythama*. The nouns *khathʿam, sindaʾa* and *sabantā* are polyvalents for the panther, lion and wolf (*dhiʾb*).

The Arab naturalists and encyclopaedists of the Middle Ages merely repeated with regard to the panther the sayings of the Greek and Latin authors, including Aristotle and Pliny the Elder, as they did for the cheetah (*fahd* [*q.v.*]); i.e., they reiterate the fables of which these two carnivores, among others, were made the subject in Antiquity, as a result of ignorance and imagination. Among the most improbable of these inventions was the origin of the giraffe (*zarāfa*), a product of mating the female panther and the camel, hence its name written in Persian as *ushtur-gāw-palang* "camel-cow-panther". Further, it was asserted that the young of the panther had, at their birth, a viper coiled round the neck. Al-Djāḥiẓ (3rd/9th century), who reports these beliefs (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 222, vi, 34, 128, vii, 128, 241) does not fail to refute them and categorise them as absurdities, but al-Ḳazwīnī (7th/13th century) (*ʿAdjāʾib*, ii, 249) and al-Damīrī (8th/14th century) (ii, 364-5) and others after them still echo these stories . On the other hand, al-Djāḥiẓ, no doubt through an error of the Arab translator of Aristotle (*History of animals*, Fr. tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, ii, 600), substituted (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 228) the cheetah for the panther in the name leopard's bane, panther strangler (*Doronicum pardalianches*) and made it into *khānik al-fuhūd* "cheetah strangler" instead of *khānik al-namir* "panther strangler", which is the meaning of παρδαλιαγχές, for the Greeks did not know

the cheetah. From Aristotle is also borrowed the statement that the panther gives off an agreeable odour to other wild animals and that it knows how to use it to attract its prey. Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (3rd/9th century) himself suggests that the cheetah may be the result of crossing the lioness and the male panther (*Abrégé*, 107). The polygraph poet Kushādjim (4th/10th century), in his treatise on hunting (*Maṣāyid*, 211-12) states that there are two breeds of panthers, one of a large build with a short tail, the other of a small build with a long tail; this theory was repeated word-for-word by al-Ḳalḳashandī (8th/14th century) in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ* (Cairo 1913 ii, 37). However, wiping the slate clean of all these erroneous interpretations, a single author, in the 6th/12th century, the famous knight Usāma b. Munḳidh (d. 584/188 [*q.v.*]), who was personally as fully familiar with the cheetah, which he owned, as with the panther that he encountered on several occasions, was able to make a clear distinction between these two carnivores (*Iʿtibār*, 110-11) and to outline the anatomical differences which make the two species quite distinct: the structure of the skull, elongated in the panther, short and rounded in the cheetah; eyes very different in shape and colour; dissimilar coat, flecked with plain black spots in the cheetah; eyes circling a black spot in the panther.

In the case of the panther, we cannot speak of hunting methods as with large game, but of processes of capture and destruction, when it was able to strike terror into the population and cause serious depredations among the flocks. The authors are unanimous in recognising that, unlike the lion who, once satiated, runs off and is very little on the offensive, the panther is in all circumstances extremely aggressive and particularly dangerous due to his jumps of prodigious length and his aptitude for climbing large trees in order to crouch in them and lie in wait for his victims. To get rid of this undesirable visitor, several stratagems were in use. Firstly, there was the camouflaged pit (*ruḳba, zubya, ṭinʾ*) with live bait, a goat or sheep, tied up near to it; but the innate distrust of the beast often thwarted this trick. Kushādjim notes that the panther is fond of alcoholic drinks and that the hunters, making it drunk, thus had it at their mercy. The most widespread of the processes of destruction was a direct attack on it with the boar-spear and side arms; a good precaution, adds the author, was to coat oneself with hyena fat, which was believed to possess a talismanic virtue. In his huge encyclopaedia on hunting (*al-Djamhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara*, mss. Escurial, Ar. 903, and Ayasofya, 3813) composed around 638/1240, the Baghdādī ʿĪsā al-Asadī gives details as to the manner of tackling the panther, and the Mamlūk Ibn Manglī, in his abridgement of al-Asadī of 773/1371 (*Uns al-malā*, Fr. tr. F. Viré, *De la chasse*, Paris 1984, 83-4) reproduces the text in full. One learns also that he who wanted to measure himself against the animal had to wear a very thick felt jacket (*lubbād*), with a protective hood pierced with two holes so as to see, and to put on leggings of the same material going from his feet to the top of this thighs. The sleeves of the jacket had to come right down to the fingers. Thus clothed, the man would defend himself with three daggers, one at each hip and one against his chest, then with a strong, very hard, wooden cudgel at each end of which was fixed a metal ring, and a solid leather strap linked these two rings. Once the panther was spotted, the man would go right up to it and, before it leapt, he would turn his back to it, leaning slightly forward to receive the animal on his shoulders. As soon as it set out to bite savagely into the felt, the hunter would skilfully throw his wooden cudgel backwards, over his head and that of his attacker such that it would fall across the latter's back! Scarcely was the stick in place before the man would push with both arms suddenly and violently forwards on the leather strap; under traction, the cudgel, becoming a vice, crushed the vertebral column of the beast, neutralising it instantaneously. If the cudgel did not fall down well across the panther's back, it became useless, and the man could only lie down, face to the ground and use the dagger to stab the belly and flanks of the beast who clung to his back. Indeed, such a method required, apart from muscular power, a rare courage and composure. The author does not say if there were many bold men to risk themselves in this dangerous exercise. Less hazardous was the method of encircling the beast with archers letting fly at it volleys of arrows. A popular belief held that in order to put a panther to flight it was sufficient to show it a human skull. Here we meet again the fictions of Antiquity, such as the idea, among the Greeks, that the panther, intoxicated by absorbing leopard's bane or "panther strangler", sought a remedy for it by swallowing human excrement; so the hunters hung some up for it in a container very high in a tree and the beast strove to jump in vain to seize its antidote which, with the effect of the poison, quickly led it to total exhaustion, if we are to believe Aristotle. The geographer al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century), speaking of the towns of Malindi and Mombasa on the coast of Kenya (*Opus*, i, 59-60), mentions that the natives (*al-Zandj*) hunt the panther, which is very abundant in this country, with red-haired mastiffs and that, as a precaution, they get the sorcerer who is called *maḳanḳā* who has the power to bewitch the ferocious beasts, a procedure which, they claim, removes much of the danger.

In the whole of Africa, the main concern of panther hunters was to obtain intact skins of the animal of a kind that would be saleable; also, the best method of capture was and still is the trap-box snare (*rudjba, budjdja, aghwiya, mighwāt, mughawwāt*), built of solid masonry with an entrance concealed by a heavy flat stone which acts like a portcullis; this, running between wooden boards, was kept raised by a latch tied with rope to the live bait (often a dog) attached to the inside of the box. The panther, in leaping on the bait which struggled, pulled up the latch, and the suspended stone fell down immediately between its grooves, enclosing the beast in the box. In Gaboon, the inhabitants construct, with strong, high stakes in a palisade, a narrow zigzagging corridor (*wadjra*) leading to a cul-de-sac where the live bait is tied up. As soon as the panther is caught in this type of corral, the entrance of it is shut with a portcullis fence worked by a draw-string, and the beast remains at the mercy of the hunters, for the narrowness of the passage prevents it from jumping and turning round. In the same region, the panther is also caught with a trap working with a horizontal snare which closes up the animal's paw (see E. Mérite, *Les pièges*, Paris 1942, 74 f.). In Kabylia, in the last century, when the remains of an animal devoured by a panther were found, they were removed and replaced by a large piece of meat crossed with strings tied to the triggers of guns levelled at the bait. When the beast returned to its prey, it was literally shot to bits and fell down struck.

The panther or leopard is of so refractory a nature that it is one of the hardest animals to tame, indeed, impossible in the case of many specimens captured in their wild state; also, the question of its supposed

training to hunt gazelles belongs in the field of invention and is due to the constant confusion made, in the travel accounts of Westerners in the Middle Ages, between the panther and the cheetah. Thus it is Marco Polo who reports (*La description du monde*, Paris 1955, 29) that the Great Khān has "lions, leopards and wolves trained to catch animals" and that they are transported in chariots to the hunting grounds. There is never, in the Arab authors, any echo of this training, and we can only recall the anecdote taken from the "Book of flying birds" (*Kitāb al-Djawāriḥ*) of Ghiṭrīf b. Ḳudāma (2nd/8th century) and taken up by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 37-8 = § 475); it throws into relief the intractableness of the panther and the sullen hostility of the two monarchs of the time, that of Byzantium and that of Persia. Thus a certain "Caesar" sent to a Chosroes an eagle supposed to be trained to fly at wild asses, wolves and foxes. But the eagle, as soon as it arrived at the Persian prince's court, set out to seize the latter's son and killed him. In order not to be left behind, Chosroes sent to Caesar a ferocious panther, presenting it to him as being a cheetah perfectly trained to hunt gazelles and deer; the result was that the beast, on coming out of the cage, leapt on a son of Caesar and tore him to pieces. The two rulers were thus even with each other, victims of each one's crafty policy.

As he does for each animal cited, al-Damīrī does not fail to list the specific virtues of some anatomical elements of the panther. Its head attracts, wherever it is buried, a crowd of rats and mice. Its gall, which is a mortal poison never to be swallowed, can be used as an eye-lotion and cures cataract and increases sharpness of sight. Eating five *dirhams* of panther meat immunises against snake venom. The melted fat of the feline made into a pomade heals every wound, new or old; the smell of this fat puts all panthers to flight. Burning panthers' hair drives off scorpions, and stock made from its penis soaked in spirits stops urinary incontinence and all bladder ailments. For the sufferer from haemorrhoids, it is beneficial to sit constantly on a panther skin. Always, the panther skin was regarded by jurists as impure (*nadjis*) both before and after tanning, and so could not be used as a prayer carpet; moreover, a prophetic *ḥadīth* states that the angels do not frequent gatherings in which there is a panther skin. Another *ḥadīth* goes further in proscribing sitting on any skin of a carnivore. Ibn Manglī adds (*op. cit.*) that one should abstain from sitting on a panther skin, as this can incite one to the vice of passive sodomy (*ubna*). By contrast, according to him, panther meat, although illicit for consumption a priori, is salutary in the case of hemiplegia, and its blood, made into a lotion, makes freckles disappear. There results from the preceding prohibitions that for Muslims, the panther skin could not serve as a saddle cloth for mounts (*ṣuffa, mīthara, bidād*), any more than any material dyed purple.

Among all the Arab poets, hardly anyone other than Kushādjim wrote verses on the panther; he devoted to it an *urdjūza mashṭūra* of eighteen hemistichs (*Maṣāyid*, 211; *Dīwān*, 97-8) praising the beauty of its spotted coat in unusual and rare words.

It is evidently for its splendid coat that the panther excited the covetousness of man and his eagerness to produce it, in order above all to make clothing from it, as is the case among certain African peoples; among them, Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī cites the people of Ghāna, and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 2 = § 845) the people of the Zandj (Somalia, Eritrea and Kenya). Very quickly, the skins of the leopard and the African panther, became, with ivory, objects of trade and export to the lands of Europe and Central Asia. Al-Masʿūdī mentions furthermore the important import into the Near East and Turkey of leopard skins for the saddlery of cavalry. Al-Idrīsī notes (*Opus*, iii, 311) the tanneries treating these skins in Barḳa [*q.v.*], a port from which they were exported; they reached there from East Africa (the land of Sofāla) by transit caravan through the Libyan oasis of Awdjila [*q.v.*]. In the Maghrib, Ḳayrawān and Gafsa were, for tanning, two reputed centres, which is confirmed, in the 10th/16th century, by Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, iii, 80, 163-9); all these leopard skins went to the Turks of Central Asia, Byzantium and as far as the peoples of the Danube and southern Russia (see M. Lombard, *La chasse et les produits de la chasse*, 578). For the Near East, Aden was the centre of trade in the skin of the leopard called *barbarī* (sc. of Berbera), from its place of origin; via the Arabo-Persian Gulf, the skins reached Baghdād and Cairo, where they were given a final dressing. Pseudo-Djāḥiẓ provides interesting comments on the choice of these skins from Berbera (*Tabaṣṣur*, tr. Pellat, 158) in these words: "(12) The best skins of panthers (*numūr*) are those of Berbera (*barbarī*), with spots on the flanks (*muwashshah*), the clear parts being very spotless, the black parts very dark, with long spots recalling the plumage of a starling (?) (*sābānī*). The most sought-after skins are those which contain in the middle of the back a small, very evident, black point. If the black spots are joined by a light black streak (*shaẓiyya*), it is even more beautiful. A skin containing red with shiny (*yaḳaḳ*) white and very dark black is more beautiful and more expensive. The panther skins of Berbera are small and one of them is hardly sufficient to cover a saddle; the maximum price of a skin is 50 *dīnārs*. The skins of the Maghrib and India are wider and larger, but they do not fetch a high price and are not of superior quality. The most beautiful skins are those with designs." It is also known that skins came from India and, even, live animals, as the author later confirms: "(14) Imports from India are: tigers (*babr*), panthers (*nimr*), elephants, panther skins...", and "(15) Imports from Barbary and the borders of Maghrib include panthers." These animals were certainly destined for the menageries of some great rulers. In the 4th/10th century, the caliph al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32) was particularly interested in wild animals, creating, near his "Palace of the Pleiades" (*Dār al-Thurayyā*), a zoological and hunting park (*ḥayr al-wuḥūsh*), of which the menagerie numbered a hundred animals; it was thus a reminiscence of the famous parks of the emperors of Persia. Al-Maḳrīzī (9th/15th century) informs us (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 587) that the live captured panther served, in Nubia, as tribute (*baḳt* [*q.v.*]) in kind; also, after the suppression of the revolt of the Nubian king Dāwūd by the sultan Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī [*q.v.*] in 674/1276, the annual tribute was three elephants, three giraffes, five female panthers, a hundred redhaired camels and four hundred cattle. As for modern times, the inconsiderate tapping practised for one or two centuries of the natural stock of panthers in order to satisfy tastes for luxury (saddlery, military uniforms, decoration of living rooms, feminine fashion) and the curiosity of the public (amusement parks, menageries, circuses) has led to a limiting and severe control of captures, indeed, to a total protection of the species in the East as well as in the states of the Maghrib and in the great natural reserves of Africa and Asia.

The name of the panther is connected with the noun *numra*, pl. *numar* "small spot", synonym of *nukta*, on account of its hide, which is dotted with spots

and, after the external appearance of the animal, *namir* was applied to a "dappled" cloud, just as the derived adjective *anmar* describes the dappled grey coat of the horse; *namira* also designates the black and white variegated cloak, as well as the black ink of the writing contrasting with the white of the page. Apart from analogies with the typical coat of the panther, its irascible and vicious character is at the origin of the following metaphor *fulān labisa li-fulān djild al-namir* "So-and-so wore the panther's skin in regard to so-and-so", to define a break in relations between two individuals who have become hostile to one another, hence the meaning of the verbs *namira, nammara, tanammara*, synonyms of *ghaḍiba* "to be irritated, angry".

Among the nomads are to be found the tribes of Namir, Numayr, Numāra and Anmār, the latter being a section of the Khuzāʿa; all these tribal groups derive their names from patronyms such as Nimr, Namir, Nimrān, Numāra, quite current in the pre-Islamic period.

Toponomy also supplies mentions of places where the panther was once present. Thus in Palestine, in the land of Moab, are to be found Tell Nimrin and the *wādī* of the same name, a tributary of the left bank of the Jordan, 15 km/10 miles to the north of the Dead Sea. This valley sheltered, in Antiquity, panthers and cheetahs, which justifies the name Bethnemra (*Bayt al-namira*) or Nemra for a locality of the place mentioned in the Biblical texts and now disappeared. Similarly, to the south of the Dead Sea and on its eastern bank, in the land of Kerak, runs the Nemeira Wādī (*Wādī Numayra*), whose marshy and bushy approaches provided a haunt for wild beasts.

In botany, the name of the panther is associated with several plants. As mentioned above, *khāniḳ al-namir* "panther strangler" and *ḳātil al-namir* "panther-killer" designate the Panther strangler, Leopard's bane (*Doronicum pardalianches*, compositae); the same two names are also given to two ranunculuses, the Wolf's bane (*Aconitum lycoctonum*) and the Monk's hood (*Aconitum napellus*). The roots of these three plants were once used in the making of poisoned bait to kill harmful carnivores. These two names are found applied to the Black chameleon (*Cardopatium corymbosum*, compositae). The expressions *shadjarat al-namir* (in the Yemen) "panther tree" and *ḥaniyyat al-namir* "panther arch" describe the African asparagus (*Asparagus africanus*, liliaceae). Finally, the Ochna (*Ochna inermis* and *O. parvifolia*, ochnaceae), shrubs of tropical countries, are called *ʿuyūn al-namir* "panther eyes" because of their flowers.

In the field of art, the motif of the panther seems to have been slightly eclipsed by those of the lion and cheetah; confusion between panther and cheetah reigned, most often, in the mind of the artists. In miniatures, carpetwork and ceramics, one recognises, however, the panther in the representations of the wild Persian-style parks and in the scenes of hunting such as was practised by the Sāsānid rulers. Some very realistic animal "designs" of the Tīmūrid-Persian school (9th/15th century) show us the animal in its jungle. In embossing techniques, these same hunting scenes, more or less stylised, are found with the engravings decorating caskets and pyxidia in ivory, ewers in rock crystal and glass, containers and other utensils of copper and bronze, sometimes encrusted with precious metals. We will only draw attention to a plate (Benaki Museum of Athens) of Egyptian Fāṭimid provenance (end of the 5th/11th century). The motif which decorates it is presented as being "the man with the panther" (D. and J. Sourdel, *Civilisation*, 380, fig. 143); of a purely Hellenistic, indeed Christian, inspiration; we see here a "sage", one knee on the ground, speaking to a spotted animal, a panther or cheetah, docilely seated and attentive to the man's speech. It is possibly a reminiscence of the Prophet Daniel in the lion's den or of a Christian delivered to the ferocious beasts of the Roman circus. Finally, Mamlūk heraldry was familiar with the panther as an emblem in the armorial bearings of the sultan Baybars I, which are found engraved on bronze panels from the door of his *madrasa* (664/1266) in Cairo and now kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

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(F. VIRÉ)

AL-NAMIR (NAMR) B. **TAWLAB** AL-**ʿUKLĪ**, Abū Rabīʿa, a *mukhaḍram* [*q.v.*] Arabic poet, who probably died before 23/644 at an extremely advanced age (al-Sidjistānī, *Muʿammarīn*, 70, makes him live 200 years, and cites six verses in which he speaks of his great age; other authors refer equally to his senility). The generosity of which he seems to have given proof on various occasions makes one think that he was rich and powerful within his tribe, which he represented in heading a delegation to the Prophet at Medina. The oldest sources (Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 137, in the first place) reproduce a letter which Muḥammad is supposed to have addressed to him and which contained the *amān* given to the Banū Zuhayr b. Uḳaysh on condition that they respected the requirements of Islam. However, the circumstances in which this document is brought forward at the Mirbad [*q.v.*] of Baṣra by a Bedouin with dishevelled locks who is said to be no other than al-Namir, make it very suspect, all the more so given the fact that if this last person's grandfather was in fact called Uḳaysh, there does not exist any clan called Zuhayr b. Uḳaysh. The mention of the Mirbad is nevertheless an authentic detail, since the

poet settled at Baṣra, where he seems to have spent the last years of his life.

Al-Namir (according to Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *apud* al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 185, and Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 193, one should read al-Namr) was not a very prolific poet, but his *dīwān*, transmitted by his grandson Ḥammād b. Rabīᶜa b. al-Namir, was nevertheless made the subject of several recensions by al-Aṣmaᶜī, Ibn al-Aᶜrābī and al-Sukkarī (in al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 158 = ed. Cairo, 224) and of a commentary by Ibn Ḥabīb (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Cairo 1299, i, 155), not to mention the fact that it was known as far as al-Andalus (Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 397). Some fragments of his work, cited in a certain number of biographical and literary texts, were brought together by F. Krenkow, *Three poems by an-Namir ibn Taulab al-ᶜUklī*, in *RO*, xvii (1951-2), 122-37, with an Eng. tr.; subsequently, an attempt to reconstitute them has been made by N. Ḥammūdī al-Ḳaysī, *Shiᶜr al-Namir b. Tawlab*, Baghdād 1968.

Ibn Sallām places him in the eighth class of the pre-Islamic poets and considers him to be *faṣīḥ*. His wisdom, emphasised by Abū ᶜAmr Ibn al-Aᶜlā who calls him al-Kayyis, inspired him with lines from which posterity drew various proverbs and proverbial sayings. One part of his work is devoted to his wife who, held captive among the Asad, had been offered to him by his brother al-Ḥārith b. Tawlab; since she hated him, she finally took refuge with her own family, and he felt from this a sorrow which the news of her death renewed afresh within him; she was called Djamra (var. ᶜAmra and even Ḥamza) bint Nawfal al-Asadiyya. He also mourned the death of his brother, but his position within his tribe freed him from the necessity of composing panegyrics and satires.

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(CH. PELLAT)

NAML (A.), substantive of a collective nature (unitary noun *namla*, pl. *nimāl, namul, numul*) denoting ants (Persian *namal, mūr*, Turkish *karınca*, Tamaḥaḳ *anellugh*, pl, *inellughen*, Hebrew *nemālah*, pl. *namālim*. These hymenopters living in organised societies comprise more than 1,600 species worldwide, and are divided into two groups: "formicines" (genera *formica, camponotus, lasius*) which do not possess an aggressive sting, and "myrimicines" (genera *myrmica, tetramorium, aphenogaster*) which are thus equipped. These classifications being of interest only to specialist entomologists, the majority of laymen, in the Arab and Berber world as elsewhere, differentiate between the numerous species of ant only according to the external criteria of size, colour and behaviour. For the city-dweller as for the nomad, there are only large or small ants (*dharr, dabāⁿ*) or, in addition, those which sting or bite and the harmless ones, although certain of the latter are capable of spitting a corrosive liquid, formic acid (*ḥamḍ al-naml*), causing severe burns. Similarly, attention is often paid only to the colour, with black ants on the one hand and yellow-red ants on the other. Arabophone naturalists of the Middle Ages such as al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*], al-Djāḥiẓ and al-Damīrī, reproducing the statements of Aristotle, Pliny the Elder and Aelianus, added nothing to these forms of distinction. Their only contribution was to supply the nicknames (*kunya*) given to ants in local dialects including, for the male, *abū mashghūl* and, for the female, *umm tawba* and *umm māzin*.

Since early Antiquity, ants have been an object of admiration on account of their prescience, the feverish activity with which they provide for their sustenance and the perfect organisation of their societies. The Bible refers to them as an example (Proverbs, vi. 6-8, xxx. 24-5). With the arrival of Islam, Muslims were obliged to consider them a privileged "race" (*umma*), since the Ḳurʾān, in the sūra *al-Naml* (XXVII, 18), recalls the legend attributed to Solomon who, arriving with his army in the "Valley of the Ants" (*Wādī 'l-naml*) in Syria, is supposed to have heard the sentinel of the local population calling to his companions to return with all possible speed to the ant-hill (*ḳaryat al-naml, djurthūma, manmala*) to avoid being trampled underfoot by the soldiers. Solomon smiled, seeing here a direct message from the Most High who had granted him the supernatural gift of understanding the language of animal and, in particular, that of the birds. In corroboration of this divine protection enjoyed by ants, a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad prohibits the killing of the following four animal species: the ant, the bee [see NAḤL], the hoopoe (*hudhud*) and the shrike (*ṣurad*). However the exegetes of the four judicial schools of Islamic orthodoxy permit the destruction of small ants (*dharr*) when they intrude upon the human domain and attack foodstuffs, causing significant damage in homes, shops and gardens or when they display aggression with stings and bites; the only means of repression formally prohibited is the use of fire. Al-Damīrī suggests a number of conjuratory talismanic formulas for inducing ants to abandon the places that they have invaded (*manmūl, arḍ namila*); these formulas are similar to those used for repelling grasshoppers [see DJARĀD]. The same author also describes certain practical and effective measures for being rid of unwelcome ants; these include smothering the ant-hill with cow-dung or depositing there the excrement of a cat. If extermination is the object, it is sufficient to place on the site a piece of calamite or "Lover's stone" (*ḥadjar al-maghnāṭīs*) or to sprinkle it with ground carraway (*karāwiyā*) or cumin (*kammūn*) or to spray with rue-water (*sadhāb*) or tar-water (*ḳiṭrān*) or to grind sulphur (*kibrīt*) in the vicinity. Finally, ants will not approach an object on which the stained linen of a menstruating woman has been placed.

According to Ḳurʾānic law, the consumption of ants is absolutely forbidden, as is the consumption of the cocoons or false "eggs" (*bayḍ, maʾzin, māzin, ḥawrāʾ, ḥawriyya, ᶜadhrāʾ*) and of the foodstuffs (*zibāl, zubāl*) which the workers transport with their mandibles and their feet.

The "specific qualities" (*khawāṣṣ*) attributed to ants tend to be negative. Thus the cocoons, if ground to a powder and applied to the skin, prevent any growth of hair. In order to disperse and put to flight a group of persons, it is enough to throw at them a few of these cocoons; a concoction of these taken in the dose of a single *dirham* entails severe intestinal disorders. Finally, an ointment composed of seven large ants soaked for a day and a night in a solution of calomel (*duhn al-ziʾbaḳ*) and smeared on the sexual organs is reckoned to be a powerful aphrodisiac. In oneiro-

mancy, to see ants arriving in one's house with their stocks of provisions is an omen of prosperity, while seeing them leave presages misfortune. An invalid who dreams of ants covering his body is sure to die.

The feverish activity and small size of ants have given rise in Arabic to a number of adages in the form of analogies; examples include *aḥraṣ min al-naml* "more greedy than the ants", *aḍʿaf wa-akthar wa-aḳwā min al-naml*, "more feeble, more prolific and more vigorous than the ants", *arwā min al-naml* "more prescient than the ants", *alṭaf min dharra* "more slender than a small ant, *ashamm min dharra* "having more flair than a small ant", *aḍbaṭ min namla* "more tenacious than an ant".

The Arab philologists of the Middle Ages have recorded, in reference to ants, certain local nomenclatures; thus for example *djathla* denotes both the Reaper ant or Robber ant (*Formica sanguinea*) and the Amazon ant (*Formica rufescens*). The Fierce ant (*Formica animosa*) is called *ḳaʿaṣ* and *ḳaʿsāʾ*; winged males and females are distinguished from wingless workers with the terms *rimma*, *mūḳ*, *duʿāba*, *duʿbūb*, *shayṣabān*, *tathradj*. Considering only the colour, there is the range of black ants with *fāzir*, *ḥabashiyya* for *Formica nigra*, *F. fusca*, *F. Fuliginosa* and *ʿudjrūf*, *djuʿrūf* for the *F. Camponotus*. In the range of the yellow-fawn and the brown-red, *namla fārisiyya* is idenfified with the light *Formica flava* (or *Lasius flavus*) and *djaʿbī*, *sumsuma*, *simsima*, *ʿukfān*, qualify the dark *Formica rufa*, *F. pratensis*, *F. truncicola*, *F. sanguinea*. In Tamāhaḳ, the Tuaregs distinguish only between the large ant with *aheberhebar*, pl. *iheberhebāren*, and the small with *kaidedekkūm*, pl. *kaidedekkūmen*.

Among mammals, the order of edentates (*athram*, pl. *thurm*, *adrad*, pl. *durd*) feeds almost exclusively on ants and termites (*araḍ*, *suraf*); these animals are described as *ākilāt al-naml* "ant-eaters" (myrmecophageous in entomological terms) and may also be called *dubb al-naml* from the English term Ant-bear. The most common of these edentates identified in Arabic are: (a) *umm ḳirfa* for the Scaly Ant-eater (*Manis tetradactyla*) of western Africa; (b) *nāmila* for the Great Ant-eater (*Myrmecophaga jubata*) of South America; (c) *khinzīr al-arḍ*, *abū aẓlāf*, *dawbal* and *abū dhaḳan* for the Aardvark or Earth-pig (*Orycteropus afer*). Found in Australia and New Guinea is the *ḳunfudh al-naml*, Porcupine ant-eater, also called *naḍnāḍ* "long-tongue", terms applied to the three species of *Echidna*.

Finally, ants encounter some formidable enemies among birds, with the Woodpecker family and in particular with the Wryneck (*Jynx torquilla*) which is called *lawwāʾ*, *abū luwway*, *mulawway* according to Arabic dialects and which is not much larger than a sparrow.

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(F. Viré)

NAMRŪD, also Namrūdh, Nimrūd, the Nimrod of the Bible, is associated in Muslim legend, as in Haggada, with the story of the childhood of Abraham. The Ḳurʾān, it is true, does not mention him but probably, as in many other cases, only from dislike of mentioning names. That the legend of Namrūd was known is evident from the following verses. "Do you not see how he disputed with Ibrāhīm about the Lord who had granted him dominion? When Ibrāhīm said: It is my Lord who gives life and death, the other replied: I give life and I slay. When Ibrāhīm said: God makes the sun rise in the east; do you make it rise in the west; then the liar was humbled" (II, 260/258). The Ḳurʾān exegists are probably right when they see Namrūd here disputing with Ibrāhīm and also when they refer to Namrūd the verse: "What did Ibrāhīm's people answer? They only said: Kill him, burn him; but God saved him from fire" (XXIX, 23/24). The legend is already richly developed in al-Ṭabarī, but it is at the beginning of the romance of ʿAntar in the Abraham midrāsh that we find its most luxurious development.

Al-Ṭabarī already numbers Namrūd among the three or (with Nebuchadnezzar) four kings who, like Sulaymān b. Dāwūd and Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, ruled the whole world. His astrologers told him that a child would be born who would overthrow his kingdom and destroy his idols. Ibrāhīm thus becomes one of those heroes of legend who are persecuted from the moment of birth by a tyrant, to whom they are destined to prove fatal, like Moses, Gilgamish, Semiramis, Sargon, Karṇa (in the *Mahābhārata*), Trakhan (King of Gilgit), Cyrus, Perseus, Telephus, Aegisthus, Oedipus, Romulus and Remus, Jesus (see Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii, 437-55). Ūsha, the wife of Āzar of Tārikh (Terakh), is able to deceive Namrūd and his searchers. Ibrāhīm is born in concealment; maturing rapidly, he engages in a religious disputation with Namrūd; Namrūd cannot be God, for God gives life and death. Namrūd replies that he can do this also, for he can execute or pardon a man condemned to death. Namrūd has Ibrāhīm thrown into the fire; it becomes a cool health-resort. An angel keeps Ibrāhīm cool, at which Namrūd marvels, like Nebuchadnezzar at the preservation of the three young men in the fiery furnace (Daniel iii, 24-5). Namrūd resolves to attack the God of Ibrāhīm in his heaven. He feeds four young eagles on meat and wine till they are of a great size, ties them to the four corners of a chest, fastens a spear at each corner with a piece of meat on the point and sits in the chest; the eagles, trying to reach the meat, fly higher and higher. The mountains appear like ant heaps and later the whole world looks like a ship in the water. It is in vain, however, for he falls to earth. Next, he builds a tower in order to reach the god of Ibrāhīm, then the tongues are confused; in place of one Syriac tongue, 73 arose. God's angels admonish Namrūd. But he equips his armies against God. God sends an army of gnats against him, who eat the flesh and drink the blood of Namrūd's men. A gnat enters Namrūd's brain through his nose. For 400 years he had exercised his tyrannical rule, and for 400 years he was tortured by the gnat until he died.

Muslim legend derives the name Namrūd from *tamarrada*, sc. he who rebelled (against God). But there is another derivation, viz. from *namira* "leopardess or female panther" in that version of the Namrūd legend in which Namrūd is suckled by this animal. This ver-

sion resembles the Romulus and Remus story (Jean de l'Ours) and culminates in the Oedipus story for Namrūd, brought up unknown, kills his father and marries his mother. Al-Kisāʾī has preserved this version and it is given at greater length in the introduction to the romance of ʿAntar.

Namrūd's father Kanaʿān b. Kūs̲h̲ has a dream which troubles him; it is interpreted to mean that his son will kill him. The child is born, a snake enters his nose, which is an ominous sign. Kanaʿān wants to kill the child, but his mother Sulk̲h̲aʾ entrusts him secretly to a herdsman; the latter's flocks scatter at the sight of the black flat-nosed infant. The shepherd's wife throws the child into the water; the waves wash him to the bank where he is suckled by a female panther. Already dangerous when quite a boy, as a young man he becomes a robber leader, attacks Kanaʿān with his band, kills him (without knowing that he is killing his father), marries his own mother and becomes king of the country and later lord of the world. Āzar (already in the Ḳurʾān the father of Ibrāhīm) builds him a marvellous palace flowing with milk, oil and honey, with mechanical singing birds —in the mediæval epic, the wonderful feature of the Chrysotriclinium in Byzantium. The lore of astrology, the inheritance of Idrīs and Hermes, he acquires by force from the pupils of Idrīs. Iblīs teaches him magic. He was himself worshipped as a god. Then dreams, voices and omens frighten him. In spite of all Namrūd's cruel orders, Ibrāhīm is born, brought up and soon shatters the belief in Namrūd. Namrūd throws those who believe in God to the wild animals, but they do not touch them. He denies them food; the sand of the desert becomes corn for them; on every grain of it is written "gift of God". Namrūd throws Ibrāhīm into the fire but he is unharmed. Namrūd builds up a pile of fuel, the flames of which burn the birds for miles round— it is impossible to approach it. Iblīs then designs a ballista which hurls Ibrāhīm on to the flaming pile. Ibrāhīm spends the finest time of his life there under blooming trees and amid rippling brooks. Namrūd then decides to attack the God of Ibrāhīm in heaven. Starved eagles fly up with his litter, until he hears a voice saying that the first heaven is 500 years in width, it is 500 years between heaven and heaven, then comes infinity. Namrūd shoots an arrow against God; the arrow comes back stained with blood. Namrūd suddenly becomes grey and old and falls to the ground. But he prides himself on having slain God. Then a gnat puts an end to his life.

The history of the Namrūd legend. Very little can have been taken from the Bible. Ḳurʾān expositors and collectors of legends call Namrūd *d̲j̲abbār* (tyrant) no doubt after the *gibbor* applied to Namrūd in the Bible (Gen. x. 6); Geiger also sees in *d̲j̲abbār ʿanīd* (xi, 62) an allusion to Namrūd. Al-Ṭabarī (i, 217) also describes Namrūd as a *mutad̲j̲abbir*. Muslim legend and Haggada (*Targ. S̲h̲eni* on Esther I, i; Midr. Hagadol, ed. Schechter, 180-1; Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, N. I) make Namrūd ruler of the world. From Haggada comes the association of Namrūd with the Tower of Babel and, in particular, with the childhood of Abraham, and with the latter's rescue from the fire (*Gen. Rabba*, xlix, 1.). The death of Namrūd caused by the gnat is also based on Haggada, which makes Titus, the destroyer of the Temple, die in this way. Nebuchadnezzar comes to a similar end (see Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 97-9). The flight to heaven, especially, in the romance of ʿAntar, with the intervals of 500 years, recalls the ascent of Nebuchadnezzar in the Talmud (*Chagiga*, p. 13a). But the flight has far more resemblance to that of S̲h̲āh Kay-Kāwūs as described by Firdawsī (ed. Mohl, ii, 31-4). The Namrūd legend borrows from many directions. Al-Ṭabarī (i, 253) mentions that Namrūd had been identified as the Persian Ḍaḥḥāk [see ZAHĀK], but he refutes this idea (i, 323, 324). Bible, Haggada and Persian epic were further developed, the marvels increased, an early history was invented, Namrūd made an Oedipus, and in the *Sīrat ʿAntar* he becomes the hero of a romance. The Muslim Namrūd legend then found its way into the late Jewish legend of Abraham. Bernard Chapira (see below) has published one such in Hebrew and Arabic. He is certainly wrong in taking seriously the authorship of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār; this is one fiction out of many thousands. But the mutual influence of Haggada and Muslim legend is indisputable. The later *Midrās̲h̲*, as M. Grünbaum has clearly shown, *Pirḳē R. Elieser, Tanna de bē Eliyahu, Midrās̲h̲ Haggādōl, Sēfer haiyās̲h̲ār, S̲h̲ēbeṭ Mūsār* of R. Eliyah Hakkohen from Smyrna, is influenced in the section of Abraham and Nimrod by Muslim literature.

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(B. HELLER)

NĀMŪS (A.) is a word of many meanings.

1. As a religious and philosophical term. In St. John's Gospel, xv. 26, the coming of the paraclete is announced. In the preceding verse a passage from the Psalms referring to the haters is quoted and ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτῶν given as source. The verses in the Gospel from xv. 23 on were already known to Ibn Isḥāḳ in an Arabic version which came from a Syriac one, as the reproduction of "paraclete" by *al-manaḥmānā* shows. In the same source the word νόμος was left untranslated, for we find it in Ibn His̲h̲ām (150) in the form of *nāmūs*. Biographical tradition makes Waraḳa b. Nawfal expressly assert the identification of Muḥammad with the paraclete promised by Jesus mentioned in the passage from the Gospel. The oldest forms of the tradition giving this episode represent a combination of the Gospel passage with sūra LXI, 6. In later developments of the tradition, the idea of a paraclete gradually falls into the background till it was finally interpreted as the name of an individual and even received an epithet. Thus we read in Ibn His̲h̲ām, 153, that Waraḳa replied as follows to his cousin who asked him about Muḥammad's first vision: "If thou hast reported the truth to me then truly the greatest *nāmūs* has come to him, who used to come to Mūsā, and then he (Muḥammad) is the prophet of this *umma*, etc." In al-Ṭabarī the "greatest *nāmūs*" is in a gloss expressly said to be D̲j̲ibrīl.

As the personal interpretation is not sufficiently explained by meanings, known to be really old, of the

true Arabic word *nāmūs* (root *n-m-s*), which exists alongside of the Greek loanword, and meanings like "the trusted one, confidant of a secret" seem rather to come from the Greek loanword already known in its reference to Djibrīl (against Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), it was natural to look for a specific use of the word νόμος which admitted of a personal interpretation and could at the same time have been known to the Arabs. Nyberg was reminded by the *nāmūs* doctrine of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (see below) of the pseudo-Clementine writings; and Tor Andrae derived the *nāmūs* of the Waraḳa tradition from the νόμος αἰώνιος of the pseudo-Clementines, which according to the book Κήρυγμα Πέτρου was revealed to Adam, and afterwards again appeared to all prophets worthy of such an honour, lastly, to Moses and to Jesus. However startling the agreement of the conception of νόμος αἰώνιος with the later forms of the Waraḳa tradition, the question still remains open, by what way a personal conception of νόμος could have entered Islam. Baumstark quoted a passage from the liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem, ἐκάλεσας αὐτὸν διὰ νόμου, ἐπαιδαγώγησας διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, and observes that the liturgy was the authoritative one in the Bedouin camps and must have existed in an Arabic translation. It is really quite natural to understand νόμος personally here. No explanation of our Waraḳa tradition can on the other hand be obtained from Mandaean writings, as Lidzbarski has already pointed out in his translation of the *Ginzā*, 247-8.

That there is a true Arabic word *nāmūs* has already been mentioned. The dictionaries give such varied meanings for it that we can only consider as old and original those that are confirmed by quotations. This holds for the meanings "hiding place, hunter's hut, monk's cell" probably also for "buzzing insect, midge" as *nomen agentis* from *n-m-s* to "buzz" (for this sense, see section 2. below). On the other hand, not only the meaning "cunning" and its derivatives must be secondary, but also the already-mentioned meanings referred to persons, the latter especially because the word, so far as we know, is used also in the later literature predominantly in the material sense and the person connected with the idea is called *ṣāḥib al-nāmūs*, etc. (counter-example: Dozy, s.v.). Just as the material meanings predominate generally, so also does the meaning of the Greek loanword predominate, apart of course from the old poetry, from which the meaning "midge" and particularly the word *nāmūsiyya* "mosquito net" have survived into the modern vernacular. Below we shall therefore deal only with the development of meaning of the Greek loanword.

The favourite meaning is divine law, with or without the addition of *ilāhī*. This law is revealed through the prophets, and only men of prophetic spirit can be *wāḍiʿ al-nawāmīs* in this sense. The double character, political and religious, of the Muslim constitution naturally very much favoured this conception. Thus, for example, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, Cairo 1903, 280, gives as the first among the *ʿulūm sharʿiyya*, *ʿilm al-nawāmīs al-mutaʿallaḳ bi 'l-nubuwwa*. Ibn Sīna expressly observes in his encyclopædia *Aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya* (in *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil*, Cairo 1328, 230-1) in treating of politics that the pertinent works of Plato and Aristotle understand by νόμος not "cunning" and "deceit", corresponding to the usage of the vernacular, but *sunna*, revelation, etc., for the laws of the community are dependent on prophecy and the divine law; similarly Sprenger, *Dict. of technical terms*, i, 40. Abu 'l-Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī devotes the fourth of his *Muḳābasāt* to the *nāmūs ilāhī* (ed. Cairo 1929).

Here we may mention Miskawayh's definition which is also of literary interest. In connection with his discussion of the function of the *dīnār* as a measure of the equivalence (*ʿadāla*) of service and reward (*Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ*, *maḳāla* iv, Cairo, Khayriyya, 1322, 38; Fr. tr. M. Arkoun, *Traité d'éthique*, Damascus 1969, 181-2), he quotes an alleged saying of Aristotle according to which the *dīnār* is a just *nāmūs*. *Nāmūs*, he adds, in striking contrast to Ibn Sīna, means in Greek, *siyāsa* and *tadbīr*; Aristotle says in the *Eth. Nic.*. that the greatest *nāmūs* proceeds from God, the second is the judge, the third the *dīnār*; the first, as a condition for just settlement between the claims of men, is the example which the two others follow. The well-known filiation of the Muslim books on Hellenistic ethics has resulted in this explanation finding a place in later derivatives from Miskawayh, e.g. in Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī*, i, 2, 7 (Tabrīz 1320, 152), also Ḳīnālīzāde ʿAlī b. ʿAmr Allāh al-Ḥinnāʾī, *Akhlāḳ-i ʿalāʾī* (1248, i, 78), and each more fully than the preceding. As a result of these expositions, al-Ṭūsī in the economic part of his book (ii, 2, 254), calls gold briefly the smallest *nāmūs* (tr. in Plessner, *Der* οἰκονομικός *des Neupythagoreers "Bryson"*, 1928, 63); and Ḳīnālīzāde also follows him (ii, 7).

The *nāmūs* doctrine of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ can only be briefly outlined here. In part i, 56 (Bombay ed.), the *nāmūs* is defined as a spiritual kingdom (*mamlaka rūḥāniyya*) which is upheld by eight kinds of men. God appears as the *wāḍiʿ al-nāmūs*. *Ṣāḥib al-nāmūs* is from the context Muḥammad, in so far as one can identify from the context any individuals in the pages of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ. A few pages later, Muḥammad is described as the *wāḍiʿ al-nāmūs*. In part iv, 57, the angels appear as teachers of the *aṣḥāb al-nawāmīs*. Any one who does not guide his life according to the commands and prohibitions of the latter has no share in divine *nāmūs* (iv, 147). This spiritual kingdom is the element of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ; they slept in the cave of their father Ādam [*q.v.*] for a long period until the fore-ordained time (*mīʿād*) came under the rule of the Lord of the greatest *nāmūs* (Muḥammad?), and they perceived their spiritual state (*madīna*) which was raised in the air and from which Adam and his wife had been banished (iv, 107). If the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ by common effort and uniform self-instruction succeed in building a perfect spiritual state (*fāḍila*, cf. al-Fārābī), this state will belong to the kingdom of the Lord or the greatest *nāmūs*, who has dominion over souls and bodies (iv, 211). The *nāmūs* thus even becomes a kind of divine being, where there is a discussion of the "philosophic service of God", which represents the higher stage in comparison with that of the Muslim teaching regarding obligations and duties. This philosophic service of God had been, they say, practised by the ancient Greeks on the first, middle, and last day of the month. The night of the first day was divided into three parts. The first was spent in worship of *nāmūs*, the second in meditation on the *malakūt*, the third in humble prostration before the Creator, confession of sins and repetition of prayers by Plato, Idrīs and Aristotle until the break of day (iv, 273 ff.). Nevertheless, the *nāmūs* here has not exactly taken the place of God. But in several passages of the encyclopædia he is represented as giving names. Thus he calls the spirits of the planets angels (ii, 97; cf. iv, 244); he does the same with the natural forces (ii, 102) and (iii, 10) with the nature of origin and decay. Above the spheres (*dawāʾir*) of the three kingdoms of nature and of man is the sphere of the divine *nāmūs*, whose members deal with the affairs of the *nawāmīs* and the divine revelations and which corresponds to the "sur-

rounding" (ninth) sphere of the astronomers (iv, 251). As the *nāmūs* and the ability to become creative in him involves a special organisation of man, he has found an allegoric place in the physiology and psychology of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'; here indeed the conception changes from page to page. Thus in the first part of the work (second half, 48), five kinds of soul are described, two above and two below that of man. The former two are the soul of the angels and the divine (*ḳudsiyya*) soul, one of which is the stage of the soul of wisdom, the second that of *nāmūs* prophethood. On the very next page the one is the intellectual soul of wisdom and the other the *nāmūs*-like angel soul. On p. 54, we find the following gradation: nature, soul, intellect, *nāmūs*. Nature receives through the soul free will, through the intellect the power of thought and through the *nāmūs* commands and prohibitions. The parts of the soul are as follows: vegetable, animal, logical (human), intellectual (wise), *nāmūsiyya*, angelic, which latter serves the *nāmūs*. Here again there is the tendency to personification. It is in keeping with this when in iv, 119 (cf. also iv, 146), the story of Socrates in prison (in agreement with the Greek tradition and mentioning the *Phaedo*), it is related that Socrates will not escape from prison for fear of the *nāmūs*; he justifies his attitude with the words "He who does not respect the *nāmūs* is slain by it". When, immediately afterwards, the *nāmūs* is identified with the *sharīʿa*, it is difficult to say whether this is serious or only done out of caution. It is nevertheless remarkable that the sixth essay of the fourth part which treats of the nature of divine *nāmūs*, of the qualifications for prophethood and the qualities of a prophet, does not contain the word *nāmūs* at all, but instead of it always has *sharīʿa*. The Ikhwān have spiritual powers of their own; these form a series of four stages, the third of which is the *ḳuwwa nāmūsiyya*; man attains it at 40 and it is the special characteristic of kings and rulers. Possessors of this power are called the distinguished and noble (*fuḍalā'*, *kirām*) brethren. Above it is only the *ḳuwwa malakiyya* (iv, 134-5).

The origin of the meaning "cunning" cannot be given with certainty; it possibly comes from the Arabic meaning "place of concealment". That it was particularly common in the spoken language is evident from the quotation given above from Ibn Sīna. In any case, this meaning has undergone a remarkable amalgamation with the Greek "law" in the literature of magic, for the word is there used for magical formulae, particularly those which are based on illusions of the senses. The pupil of al-Anṭākī [*q.v.*] in his *Dhayl* on the latter's *Tadhkira*, s.v. *sīmiyā'* (iii, Cairo 1924, 56), gives the *namāwīs* as the first section of the science known by this name. But the meaning of the word is not limited to this kind of magic formulae.

Through translations from the Arabic, the word entered the Hebrew literature of the Middle Ages with the meaning "law, religious law (of other peoples), morality, propriety"; in the latter meaning it has survived in the modern Hebrew vernacular. It is interesting to note that in the modern dialect of Mecca, a similar change of meaning is found; according to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, no. 10, *nāmūs* means the "spotless, honourable name", which one has among men; its opposite is *ʿār*, "shame".

The word *nāmūs* also occurs as the title of a book; cf. Ivanow, *Catalogue*, i, 335-6.

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2. In zoology. Here, *nāmūs* is a masculine noun used in the collective sense (unity, *nāmūsa*) denoting the totality of dipterous, nematoceratous insects or mosquitoes and embracing the family of Culicidae, which includes Gnats (*Culex pipiens*), Anopheles (*Anopheles maculipennis, A. pharaonensis*), Stegomiae (*Stegomia fasciata*), Aedes (*Aedes cantans, A. aegypti*) and Phlebotomi (*Phlebotomus papatasi*). In all these species, only the females bite humans and animals to feed on their blood.

The root *n-m-s* evokes either the notion of being hidden, of concealing oneself, since mosquitoes emerge only at night and spend the day immobile in dark and damp places, or the notion of the colour grey, the adjective *anmas* being a synonym of *armad* and *akdar*. Besides the sense of mosquitoes, *nāmūs* is the "hide" or the ditch in which the hunter squats to watch for game; it has the same sense as *ḳarmūṣ, zarb, zarība, ḳutra*. In fact, with reference to mosquitoes, *nāmūs* (less often *nāmis*) is a term exclusive to Egypt and to the Maghrib; it seems to have been unknown in the Near East and it has gradually superseded *baʿūḍ* which, with *barghash* and *khamūsh*, was the only term known in the time of the Prophet Muḥammad to denote harmful insects. Thus it is said in the Ḳur'ān (II, 24/26): "Allāh does not disdain to give a parable about a gnat (*baʿūḍa*) or that which is greater." In ʿIrāḳ, mosquitoes are called *baḳḳ*, a collective term which in the Maghrib denotes bed-bugs (*Cimex lectularius*), while in Syria Culicidae and Phlebotomi are known as *djirdjis* or *ḳirḳis*.

The life of the mosquito is linked to an aquatic environment, and its larva (*duʿmūṣ*, pl. *daʿāmīṣ*) can develop only in stagnant water; thus the places infested with mosquitoes (*mabʿaḍāt*) in the lands of Islam are the marshy zones of the deltas of the Nile and of the Tigris-Euphrates, the *baṭā'iḥ*, the domain of the buffalo (*djāmūs* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). This creature protects itself from the attacks of the mosquito by keeping itself immersed or by covering itself in mud, as is also the practice of elephants, bovines and the wild boars of Africa and Asia. Al-Damīrī relates (*Ḥayāt*, i, 127 f., ii, 339) that in ancient times the tyrants of Mesopotamia used to leave to the mosquitoes the task of executing, with their bites, those whom they had condemned to death, leaving them, with hands and feet tied, in the marshes. Describing this region of the *Baṭīḥa* [*q.v.*], al-Djāḥiẓ recounts (*Ḥayawān*, v, 399-400) the quick death of a sailor who, following an argument, was thrown into the marsh by

his drunken ship-mates and suffered the same fate. He also mentions that, according to legend, the city of Antioch possessed a talisman against the scourge of the mosquitoes infesting the valley of the Orontes.

The permanent danger presented by mosquitoes and in particular the Anopheles is the transmission of paludism or malaria with its telluric fevers [see MĀLARYĀ], by injection of the coccidium *Laverania malariae*, a parasite of the red blood-corpuscles which affects the liver, the spleen and the blood, identified by the bacteriologist A. Laveran (1845-1922). Paludism, with its endemic nature in marshy regions, was defined in Islam as "three-day fever" (*ḥummā 'l-ghibb*) or "four-day fever" (*ḥummā 'l-ribʿ, ḳild*) according to the cycle of its recurrence; in a more general fashion it was known by the names *ḥummā ʿadjamiyya, ḥumma 'l-murūdj, buradāʾ, burūda, bardiyya, sakhūna, sakhāna*. Individual means of protection against mosquitoes were restricted for a very long time to the use, at night, of a mosquito-net (*killa, nāmūsiyya*), fine muslin isolating the bed of the sleeper. One remains sceptical as to the efficacy of the remedy prescribed by al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib*, in the margin of *Ḥayat*, i, 303) to subdue the four-day fever, which consists of making three pills of wax, wrapping a mosquito in each and swallowing them on the day that the fever is due to return. The discovery in 1820 of quinine (*rūḥ al-kīna*), extracted from the bark of the quinquina (*Cinchona*) brought an enormous advantage in the treatment of paludism [see MĀLĀRYĀ]. As for preventive measures against the mosquitoes, the only effective method is to destroy their larvae by treating stagnant waters and marshes with petroleum and to suppress the bushy vegetation which grows there, its humid foliage being the day-time refuge of the adults. Among other plants, this applies especially to the *diflā*, rose-laurel/oleander (*Nerium oleander*). On the other hand, certain odoriferous plants (*rayāḥīn*) have the effect of repelling mosquitoes with their emissions of perfume; this would apply, so it is said, to the *ḥabaḳ*, basil (*Ocimum basilicum*), a herb dear to all Muslim populations and carefully cultivated in pots in every household from Morocco to Indonesia. In dwellings, fumigation with dried herbs still takes place. In the natural world, gnats (*sharrān*) and mosquitoes have enemies for which they provide the staple diet; by day, these are swallows (*khuṭṭāf*, pl. *khaṭaṭīf, sunūnū*) and swifts (*samāma*, pl. *samāʾim*) and, by night, night-jars (*subad*, pl. *sibdān*) and bats (*khuffāsh*, pl. *khafāfīsh, waṭwāṭ*). Al-Djāḥiẓ suggests (*Ḥayawān*, iii, 320, vi, 400) that, in households, flies can be useful because they chase and devour mosquitoes that have perched on the walls; but he does not forget the equally important role played, in this respect, by spiders (iii, 336, iv, 295, v, 411, 415).

In literature, mosquitoes have given little inspiration to poets, which is understandable. However, al-Djāḥiẓ has been able to collect (*Ḥayawān*, v, 402-9) a few scattered verses, most of them in *radjaz* metre and by anonymous writers, evoking the rustlings of the nocturnal dance of these "long-nosed creatures" (*dhawāt al-kharāṭīm*), all grey (*rumd*), elusive and blood-thirsty, the sleeper's nightmare. In contemporary usage the mosquito, by its tiny and fragile constitution, has given rise to metaphors such as *aḍʿaf min baʿūḍa* "more puny than a mosquito" and, to define something practically impossible to obtain, the saying is *aʿazz min mukhkh al-baʿūḍ* "more rare than the marrow of a mosquito". Still with the notion of insignificance, a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet states *lā yazinu ʿind Allāh djanāḥ baʿūḍa* "(this) will not weigh, for Allāh, even as much as (the weight of) a wing of a mosquito", referring to the Day of Judgment and the wealth accumulated by the powerful of this world. On the other hand, seeking to show that this present, lower world has some importance for Allāh, the Prophet also said: "If, for Allāh, this world weighed no more than the wing of a mosquito, He would not grant an infidel one mouthful of water." Finally, to express a cheated hope, the Moroccans have the following saying, complete with assonance: "I thought I saw a fig-tree bearing figs (*karmūs*) and now I see it was only a ruin infested with mosquitoes (*nāmūs*)!".

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NĀNAK, commonly called GURŪ NĀNAK, Hindū religious reformer, born in the village of Talwandī some 50 km/30 miles south-west of Lāhawr, in 874/1469, some half a century after Kabīr [*q.v.*] and died in 945/1538; there is much in common between the two teachers, both in the rejection of formal Hinduism and in the acceptance of ideas derived from Islam, especially an uncompromising monotheism. The Talwandī district was well forested, and the young Nānak is said to have resorted often to the religious recluses who had settled there, Hindū and Muslim. He is said to have learnt Persian, in order to assist his father in accountancy, and also to have rejected investiture with the Hindū sacred thread, and to have spent many years in wanderings and meditation; he attracted followers, and the poems used in their worship have been preserved in his *Ādī Granth*, including many by other religious reformers, but especially Kabīr.

Nānak cannot be said to have influenced Islam in India directly, although an indirect influence is tangible through his effect on the intellectual climate of his age; for this saw the growth of the *bhakti* movement in Hinduism, a movement directed to individual freedom of religious thought and to the perception of the relationship between God and Man, to the displacement of priestly authority and dependency on formalised and ritualised expressions of worship. There was much contact between Hindū and Muslim mystics, as frequently observed in the Indian hagiographies, and many Ṣūfīs encouraged friendly relations; the growing popularity of the monism of Ibn al-ʿArabī did much to make the acceptance of Hindū mysticism easier for liberal Ṣūfīs. (None, perhaps, went as far as ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Bilgrāmī, whose *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-Hindī* sought to reconcile the expressions and symbols of the *bhakti* poets with the doctrines of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*.) There was, moreover, considerable contact between Hindūs and Muslims at a more popular level. There is a percipient account of this period in S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Agra 1965, esp. 59 ff. Nānak himself attracted many legends, not excluding his visit to Mecca in the pilgrim dress, all of later invention.

Nānak's followers were distinguished by the title of "pupil", Skr. *śiṣya*, Pandjābī *sikkh*, Hindī/Urdū *sikh*, and their involvement with Islam became political rather than religious. For these see SIKH.

Bibliography: The fullest account is in M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh religion*, 6 vols., Oxford 1909. Useful shorter accounts are in N. MacNicol, *Indian*

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(J. Burton-Page)

NĀNDEŔ, a town situated in 19°9′N., 77°20′E., a former district headquarters in Ḥaydarābād State, now in Mahārāshṭra, on the north bank of the River Godāvarī. Once a fort of the Kākatīya dynasty, it was conquered early in the 8th/14th century by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī [see dihlī sultanate], passing through Tughluk hands to the Bahmanīs; on the disintegration of the Bahmanī state it passed to the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs of Golkondā, forming a defence on their north-east frontier with the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar, and apparently was later in the possession of the latter since a mosque at Nāndeŕ was built by Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*]. In 1009 Ilāhī/1601 the Mughal forces engaged Malik ʿAnbar in battle at Nāndeŕ, putting him to flight (Abū 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, iii, 791 f.; tr. iii, 1185-6); it seems that Nāndeŕ finally fell to the Mughals after Shāhdjahān's arrival in the Deccan in 1046/1636. Hereafter its history is vague, until a Marāthā clan captured it about 1110/1698. The last Sikh gurū, Govind Singh, pursued by Mughal forces, eventually made his way from the Pandjāb and settled in Nāndeŕ, where he was stabbed by an Afghān in the Mughal service in 1120/1708.

There appears to be no reliable description of Nāndeŕ, which is said to have a Ḳuṭb Shāhī mosque as well as that of Malik ʿAnbar, the shrines of several Muslim saints, and the *gurūdwāra* of Gurū Govind Singh, a pilgrimage centre for Sikhs from all over India. The town is noted for very fine gold-edged muslin.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 349-55. (J. Burton-Page)

NANDURBĀR, an ancient town of India in west Khāndēsh [*q.v.*; Map], situated in lat. 21°22′N., long. 74°14′E., in the valley of the River Tapti and formerly an important trade centre. As Nandigara it is said to have been founded by Nanda Gawlī, a local tribal chief, and it is asserted that it remained in his family "until conquered by the Muhammadans under Muin-ud-din Chishti" (*IGI*², xviii, s.v. 362-3, *Nandurbar*); this sounds improbable, and perhaps refers to an early Ṣūfī settlement. Its possession seems to have changed at various times between Gudjarāt and Khāndēsh. For example, first Rāy Karan, *ca.* 706/1306-7, then ruling Gudjarāt from Anahilwāḍa, escaped from general slaughter and plunder there and went via Deogīrī to Nandurbār, where he is said to have rebuilt the town and the fortress. After 814/1411 the various sultanates of western India become involved in the area. Aḥmad Shāh of Gudjarāt, opposed to Hūshang Shāh of Mālwā, hurried to its defence on the report of the invasion of Nandurbār by Mālwā troops; in 832/1429 Aḥmad Shāh, now allied with Khāndēsh against Mālwā, marched against Hūshang, but moved north hearing of Hūshang's invasion of Gudjarāt, and Nandurbār was occupied by Nāṣir Khān of Khāndēsh; by 841/1437 even the Bahmanīs appeared on the scene, in conflict with Khāndēsh, and a Bahmanī general was chased from Nandurbār by Mālwā and Gudjarāt forces and compelled to withdraw to the Deccan. There were many more examples of such petty squabbles between neighbouring powers, the position of Khāndēsh often being weakened by the fratricidal disputes between members of the royal family. It was not until the mid-10th/16th century that the Gudjarāt sultan formally bestowed the Sulṭānpur and Nandurbār districts on Mubārak Fārūḳī of Khāndēsh; but shortly after this other contenders were appearing on the scene, with the Mughal advance on Mālwā and the depredations of the Niẓām Shāhīs [*q.v.*] of Aḥmadnagar. Relations were good with the Mughal powers while Rādjā ʿAlī Khān was alive, but after his death in 1005/1597 fighting for the Mughals against a Deccan confederacy, relations worsened until in 1009/1601 Khāndēsh was annexed and became a *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire.

West Khāndēsh and the Nandurbār region appear to have been less disturbed than the east, and the district was so well-known for its fertility (grapes, melons) and its strategic position on trade-routes that an English factory was established, English factors moving here from Aḥmadābād in 1080/1670. But all Khāndēsh declined under the Marāthās [*q.v.*], and Nandurbār was half-deserted by the time it was occupied by the British in 1816.

Bibliography: Nandurbār is mentioned sporadically, though not at any great length, in the chronicles dealing with Gudjarāt, Mālwā, and Khāndēsh; for these see the *Bibl.* to fārūḳids.

(J. Burton-Page)

NANGRAHĀR, Ningrahār, the name of the province of modern Afghānistān (post-1964 administrative organisation) which covers essentially the basin of the middle Kābul River from the Pakistan frontier near Landī Kōtal to a short distance to the west of the province's administrative centre, Djalālābād [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and the mountain regions on each bank. Before Laghmān and Kunaŕ provinces were carved out from it in 1964, Nangrahār province extended northwards to include Nūristān (L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 156-7).

The name itself goes back to the pre-Islamic period and to Buddhist Gandhara, when it had the form Nagarahāra, whence the Chinese form *Na-ki-lo-ho* in the travel account of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 284; Abdur Rahman, *The last two dynasties of the Śāhis*, Islamabad 1979, 14). In early Islamic times the region formed part of the kingdom of the Hindūshāhīs before being conquered by Sebüktigin and his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna [see hindūshāhiyya and ghaznawids]. The name appears only sporadically in the Islamic geographers, in particular, in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (end of the 4th/10th century), tr. Minorsky, §§ 6.13 and 10.50, tr. 72, 91, comm. 252-3, which describes Nīnhār as a district whose ruler made a show of Islam but whose population were largely idol worshippers. Hence the use of this toponym in modern Afghān administrative geography is a revival. The present population of the province is largely composed of Pashto-speaking Pushtūns, but there are also Pashaʾī speakers [see afghān. i, ii, and dardic and kāfir languages].

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also kāfiristān and lamghānāt. (C.E. Bosworth)

NĀR (a.), pl. *nīrān*, denotes fire, whereas *nūr*, pl. *anwār*, denotes light. In Akkadian, Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, the root *n-w-r* simply denotes "flash", "dazzlement", "florescence", "tattooing", anything, in short, which gives light and anything which stands out clearly. The other Arabic term which signifies light, *ḍawʾ*, is to be associated with the Sanskrit *dev/w* which appears in Zeus, Dieu, *dies*, and expresses the notion of the personification of the luminous and calorific phenomena of nature.

Nār occurs 129 times in the Ḳurʾān, of which 111 are references to the eternal fire of Hell; only six apply to fire as a utility (II, 17, XIII, 17, XVIII, 96, XXIV, 35, XXXVI, 80, LVI, 71), four to cosmogonic fire (VII, 12, XV, 27, XXXVIII, 76, LV, 15), three to

the fire of Sinai (XX, 10, XXVII, 7-8, XXVIII, 29), three to fire as punishment (II, 266, XXI, 69, XXIX, 24), one to celestial fire as proof of the prophetic mission (III, 183), one to fire as a sign of divine omnipotence (LV, 35).

Al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9) devotes a lengthy section of his *K. al-Ḥayawān* to fire (ed. Hārūn, Beirut 1388/1969[3], iv, 461-92, and v, 4-148, with numerous digressions). This section, intitled "Fires and their varieties" is located at the end of a chapter dealing with the male ostrich, and the connection is established as follows: "The fire of the stomach (of flying creatures) is unlike the fire (obtained) from flint and stone". This statement emerges from an anecdote describing how a precious stone swallowed by a male ostrich diminished in size by a half during the time that elapsed between the swallowing and the discovery of the fact. However, what this stone lost in weight it gained in colour and as a result its value was increased.

In this section al-Djāḥiẓ proposes to study "the full range of knowledge concerning fires and their varieties, concerning the role of each of them, concerning those attributed to non-Arabs and those attributed to Arabs". Furthermore, he declares his intention to speak of fires of religious and non-religious nature, of those who have venerated them and those who have scorned them, of those who have elevated their veneration of fire into the status of a cult. There will also be mention of the places where the cult of fire has been implanted (iv, 461). There follows a list of different types of fire, a list interspersed with long digressions and frequent repetitions.

The present article will proceed to examine material relating to fire in the Ḳurʾān and in ancient Arabic writings, a subject tackled by T. Fahd in *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 9-18, and in *Le feu dans le Proche-Orient antique*, Leiden 1973, 43-61. Fires will be discussed in the following order: those of religious nature, those of tribal nature, and others.

1. *Nār al-Ḳurbān* ("the fire of the sacrifical offering"), also called *nār al-riḍā* (the fire of acceptance), a fire established by God to test the sincerity of the Children of Israel and the purity of their intentions. This fire recalls Ḳurʾan, III, 183, but also Genesis, iv, 3-5 (the offerings of Cain and Abel) and I Kings, xviii, 21 ff. (Elijah on Mount Carmel). Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, i, 40) establishes a link between this fire and the account in Genesis. He writes: "After Ḳābīl (Cain) had killed Hābīl (Abel) and fled before his father to the Yemen, Iblīs came to him and said: "If the offering of Hābīl was accepted and consumed by the fire, it is because he served the fire and worshipped it; you too should set up a fire which will be for you and for your posterity". He then erected a pyre (*bayt nār*) and was also the first to build (a sanctuary for) the fire and to worship it".

2. *Nār Ibrāhīm* ("the fire of Abraham"). In two instances the Ḳurʾān speaks of the punishment by fire inflicted on Abraham by his polytheist adversaries, before his departure from Mesopotamia (XXI, 69, XXIX, 24). It is not impossible that this fire could be a reminiscence of Daniel, iii, 13 ff. (the three Hebrews in the furnace). Traditional accounts collected by al-Ṭabarī in connection with Ḳurʾān XXI, 69, reveal certain similarities to the Biblical version. Here it is stated: "They imprisoned him in a construction built for this purpose, collected a great quantity of wood and piled it up beneath this construction. Then, Abraham looked up towards the heavens. Heavens, earth, mountains and angels said: 'Lord God, Abraham is about to be burned for our sake!'—'I know that better than you', God replied, 'If he calls on you for help, grant it.' Abraham addressed God, saying: 'O God, You are the only one in Heaven, and I am the only one upon earth, since no one other than me worships You. I place my trust in You!' He was pushed into the fire. The Archangel Gabriel said then: 'O fire, be for Abraham coolness and protection!' The fire was extinguished at once and Abraham was seen in the company of another man who wiped the sweat from his brow. This man was the angel of the shadow. Abraham came out and was introduced to the king, in whose presence he had not been previously" (*Tafsīr*, xxvii, 29).

3. *Nār Sīnā*ʾ ("the fire of Sinai"). This fire is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (see above), where Moses appears like Prometheus, acquiring fire for the human race. "Have you heard the story of Moses?", Allah asked Muḥammad. "When he saw a fire, he said to his family: 'Stay here! I have just seen a fire; perhaps I shall bring to you a brand (*ḳabas*) from it or I shall find, thanks to it, good guidance'. Having approached it, he heard a voice saying: 'I am your Lord; take off your sandals! You are in the holy Valley of Ṭuwāʾ'" (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xvii, 94 ff.).

4. *Nār al-istisḳā*ʾ ("the fire of rogation"), called also *nār al-istimṭār*, refers to a practice dating back to the earliest Antiquity. In times of prolonged drought, the people gathered together all the cattle which they could find; then they tied to their tails and between their knees branches of cisse (*salaʿ*) and calotrope (*ʿushar*), made them climb to a barely accessible peak, set fire to the branches and raised to the sky their cries of supplication. They believed that this could cause rain to fall. The poet al-Walīd b. Hishām al-Ḳaḥdhamī (d. 222/837) says in regard to this: "How great must have been the delusion of those who sought to obtain rain in time of drought by means of *ʿushar*! [How did you conceive the idea] of taking cattle adorned with *ʿushar* as intermediaries between God and you?" (quoted by al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 468). For further details, see *Panthéon*, 10 ff. and ISTISḲĀʾ.

5. *Nār al-taḥāluf wa 'l-ḥilf* ("the fire of the conclusion of pacts"). This fire served to give a solemn nature to the conclusion of a pact. The parties gathered around the fire, its usefulness was invoked and prayers were offered to the Divinity, calling upon Him to deprive of it whichever of the two parties might break the alliance. They declared a formulaic oath and approached the fire to the point where they risked being burnt. This actually happened to the Muḥāsh ("the Burnt"), a sub-group of the Banū Murra b. ʿAwf (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 471).

According to al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāya*, i, 111), sulphur and salt were thrown on the fire without the knowledge of the contracting parties, with the purpose of intimidating them with the crackling sound. Hence the name *nār al-hawla* (the fire of intimidation) which is sometimes given to it. A *kāhin* [*q.v.*] presided over the ceremony; it was he threw the salt in the fire (*Aghānī*, ed. Cairo, xx, 39, 1. 38); he is called *al-muhawwil* (the intimidator) and the fire *nār al-ḥilfān* in a verse of al-Kumayt (d. 126/743), quoted by al-Nuwayrī, *loc. cit.* In another verse of Aws b. Ḥadjar (6th century A.D.), this fire is called *nār al-muhawwil* (the fire of the intimidator).

There also existed a pact involving salt called *al-taḥāluf wa 'l-taʿāḳud ʿalā 'l-milḥ*, which could be analogous with the "salt of the covenant" of Leviticus, ii, 13, but which is understood otherwise by al-Djāḥiẓ who gives to the term *milḥ* (salt) two mean-

ings: the first being *marḳa*, "meat soup" and the second *laban*, "milk", while in Arabic lexicography, *milḥ* denotes, in addition to the current sense of "salty" and "briny", "grease" (*s̲h̲aḥm*), "butter" (*samn*), "the sacred thing", in particular the alliance, the pact (*ḥurma, ḥilf, d̲h̲imām*), "knowledge" (*ᶜilm*) and "scholars" (*ᶜulamāʾ*), in the sense of Matthew, v, 13. *Mulḥa* is the benediction (*baraka*), the witticism (*al-kalima al-malīḥa*); it is also whiteness, by analogy with that of salt and, hence, fine colour, attractive face (*malāḥa*). *Mumālaḥa*, a term whose antiquity is disputed by the author of the *TA* (ii, 233, 1. 29), is the act of breaking bread with someone and sharing food, an act which symbolises the establishment of sacred and privileged links by the consumption of salt, present in the food or distributed to the commensals, as among the Hebrews, at the beginning of the meal. It is said that salt (*milḥ*)—currently bread and salt (*k̲h̲ubz wa-milḥ*)—exists between Person A and Person B when they are linked by a pact, an alliance. It is stated in *TA*, ii, 233 1. 13: "The Arabs venerated salt, fire and ash", and a little further on: "The Arabs swore by salt and water on account of the reverence that they had for them" (1. 19).

6. *Nār al-musāfir* ("the fire of the traveller"), also called *nār al-ṭard* ("the fire of return"). It was lit after the departure of an unwelcome guest, in the hope that he would never return. It was applied in particular to those who came to claim blood reparations or to collect the proceeds of ransom or tribute. The following formulaic curse was then declared: "May God take him far away for ever! May he light (*wa-awḳada* in al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *wa-awḳadū* in al-Nuwayrī) a fire after him and upon his footprints!"

7. *Nār al-ḳirā* ("the fire of hospitality"). This was one of the most popular themes of ancient Arab poetry, in both eulogistic and satirical contexts. It was lit most often in winter to guide travellers towards a warm haven and nourishing food. The higher the place in which the fire was lit, the greater was the credit accorded to the host (*Ḥayawān*, v, 134-6, numerous verses on this subject). A Ḳuray s̲h̲ite poet, Ibrāhīm b. Harma, says in praise of the hospitality of the Hās̲h̲imite clan: "If their guest loses his way, they set up for him, in the blackness of night, red poles (*alwiya*) of fire" (quoted by al-Nuwayrī, i, 113).

8. *Nar al-salāma* ("the fire of safe return"), lit on the return of a traveller, arriving home safe and well and anticipating a successful outcome from his journey (al-Nuwayrī, i, 111, not mentioned by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ).

9. *Nār al-ḥarb* ("the fire of war"), also called *nār al-ind̲h̲ār* ("the fire of warning") and *nār al-uhba* ("the fire of preparations for war"), lit on high ground to warn those who were far away and to summon them to a muster. When the attack was imminent and the muster urgent, two fires were lit simultaneously. Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896) mentions them in this verse: "There are two fires: the fire of hospitality and the fire of war. You see them both glowing" (quoted by al-Nuwayrī, i, 111; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, v. 133 f., supplies other quotations). Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwir, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, ii, 214, speaks of luminous signs which marked the route of the Raḍrāḍ, linking Nad̲j̲rān with Baṣra.

10. *Nār al-fidāʾ* ("the fire of ransoming"), lit, after a raid, by the victorious tribe. It signified, for the leaders of the defeated tribe, that they could come and reclaim that which the victors were willing to give back, and redeem that for which a price was demanded. This encounter took place at night, on the one hand to spare captive women the shame of exposure in broad daylight, and on the other, to enable the victors to conceal the real value of the things that they chose to keep, those which they were prepared to give back, and those for which ransom was demanded (a fire mentioned by al-Nuwayrī, i, 112; no mention in al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ).

11. *Nār al-g̲h̲adr* ("the fire of treachery"), lit on al-Ak̲h̲s̲h̲ab, the mountain overlooking Minā, during the Pilgrimage, to denounce the treachery of a patron towards his protegé (*d̲j̲ār*). This was accompanied by a proclamation in these terms: "Such is the treachery of such a one" (al-Nuwayrī, i, 111; not mentioned by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ).

12. *Nār Muzdalifa* ("the fire of Muzdalifa"), inaugurated by Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], reformer of the cult at Mecca. It served to guide pilgrims in their nocturnal journey between ᶜArafa and Muzdalifa, at the very beginning of the Pilgrimage (see ḤAD̲J̲D̲J̲; mentioned by al-Nuwayrī, i, 109, not mentioned by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ).

13. *Nār al-ṣayd* ("the fire of the hunt"), lit for the hunting of gazelles and young ostriches. These animals are dazzled by the fire; similarly the lion, on seeing it, stops and stares at it; the frog stops croaking. Thus, they can be taken by surprise. This fire is also used for seeking out the eggs of the ostrich in hollows and crevices.

14. *Nār al-g̲h̲ūl* ("The fire of the ogre"). The nomadic Arabs believed that ogres (*g̲h̲īlān*), ogresses (*saᶜālī*) and d̲j̲inns lit fires to lead travellers astray.

15. *Nār al-salīm* ("the fire of the bitten one, lit., of the safe and healthy, by antiphrasis), lit to keep awake one who has been stung by a snake or a scorpion, or bitten by a rabid dog (al-Nuwayrī, i, 112; omitted by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, who speaks instead of the suspension over the bitten person of jewels and small chains which keep him awake with their tinkling, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 24).

16. *Nār al-wasm* ("the fire of branding"), lit for the purpose of branding livestock. It denotes the different marks placed on the herds. When someone was asked: "What is your fire?", he replied: *ᶜilāṭ* ("broad mark") on the neck of a camel, or *siṭāᶜ* ("long mark") in the same place, or *k̲h̲ibāṭ* ("mark on the thigh") which may be long or broad (as in the case of the Banū Saᶜd) or *ḥalaḳa* ("round mark like a ring") on the thigh or at the base of the ear, etc. (cf. Ibn Sīda, *Muk̲h̲aṣṣaṣ*, vii, 154-6: *simat al-ibil*). With the aid of these marks of origin, knowledgeable persons could distinguish the qualities and defects of camels offered for sale.

There exists a series of fires which are more in the nature of proverbial or metaphorical expressions. A selection follows:

17. *Nār al-ḥubāḥib*: this denotes any fire which is seen but cannot be put to practical use (the glow-worm, sparks from flint or from horse-shoes). Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ compares it with the *nār al-barḳ*, quoting the saying of an Arab nomad: "The fire of the lightning renews the greenness of the branches, while any other fire burns them", since the lightning presages rain (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 488).

18. *Nār al-k̲h̲ulaᶜāʾ wa 'l-hurrāb*: this denotes the absence of fire; since these outcastes and fugitives cannot run the risk of lighting fires, lest they be located.

19. *Nār al-miᶜda* (the fire of the stomach): this refers to the organic fire of digestion. Good health depends on its strength, its weakness causes ill-health (al-Nuwayrī, i, 114; not mentioned by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ).

20. *Nār al-ḥummā* ("the fire of fever"). In this regard, it is said: "The fires are three in number: a fire which neither eats nor drinks, this is the fire of the Afterlife; a fire which eats and drinks, this is the fire of fever which consumes the flesh and drinks the blood; a fire which eats and does not drink, this is the fire of here

below" (al-Nuwayrī, i, 114; not mentioned by al-Djāḥiẓ).
21. *Nār al-shawḳ* ("the fire of desire").
22. *Nār al-sharah* ("the fire of greed").
23. *Nār al-shabāb* ("the fire of youth").
24. *Nār al-sharāb* ("the fire of drink").
25. *Nār al-ghaḍā* ("the very hot fire of tamarisks").
26. *Nār al-ʿarfadj* ("the fire of fast-flowering rosaceous plants").
27. *Nār al-ḥalfāʾ* ("the fire of the alfalfa which flares up and withers with equal rapidity").

Finally, two fires of a quite specific nature should be mentioned:
28. *Nār al-iḥtiyāl* ("the fire of guile"). This refers to tricks which priests, guardians of sanctuaries (*sadana*), performed with fire to deceive the people. Al-Djāḥiẓ mentions the trickery of the monks of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem with their lamps, pretending that the oil was ignited without fire on the eve of some of their festivals. Al-Masʿūdī states (in *Murūdj*, iii, 405 = § 1288) that, on 5 October, fire descends from Heaven in Jerusalem, in the Church of the Resurrection, but in the *Tanbīh* (ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo 1357/1938, 123), fire appears on Holy Saturday (*al-sabt al-kabīr*) in the church built by Saint Helena. This appears to be a reference to the Paschal candle.
29. *Nār al-ḥarratayn* ("the fire of the two *ḥarras*, two volcanic regions"). This is a reference to the Ḥarrat laylā of the Banū Murra and the Ḥarrat al-nār of the Banū Ghaṭafān, both situated close to Medina. This fire forms part of the legend of the Arab prophet Khālid b. Sinān who was sent by God to extinguish it (for details, see *Le feu chez les anciens Arabes*, 56 ff.).

Yāḳūt, s.v., lists twenty-two *ḥarras* dispersed between the east of Ḥawrān and Medina. The best known is Ḥarrat al-nār near Khaybar; it was still active at the dawn of Islam, under the caliphate of ʿUmar. Medina is situated between the Ḥarrat Wāḳim, to the east, which last erupted in 652/1254 (the lava failed to reach Medina) and Ḥarrat Wabra, situated to the west of the town, at the start of the road leading to Mecca.

Regarding the cult of fire, Arab polygraphs have accumulated a considerable amount of data testifying to the influence of Iranian culture in Arab circles. According to al-Djāḥiẓ, this cult, deriving from excessive initial veneration, has existed among all peoples. In particular, there was adoration of the celestial fire (Ḳurʾān, XXVII, 24): the cult of the Sun at Sabā; the Sun, the Moon and Venus worshipped by the persecutors of Abraham (Ḳurʾān, VI, 74; XXXVII, 86, XLI, 37). The People of the Book make the appeal to God: "Do not let the fire in my home be extinguished" (cf. Leviticus, vi, 6). This is why fire is lit night and day in synagogues, churches, places of worship (*buyūt al-ʿibādāt, buyūt al-nīrān*, in al-Nuwayrī, i, 107). Well-paid employees of the cult (*sadana*) are assigned to the maintenance of fires in sanctuaries (*buyūt*). Al-Masʿūdī, Murūdj, iv, 72-86 = §§ 1399-1412, supplies a long list of places of worship in the Sāsānid empire, a list subsequently reproduced by heresiographers like al-Shahrastānī and by encyclopaedists like al-Nuwayrī.

Concerning the various philosophical conceptions of fire, inspired for the most part by the *Meteorologics* and the *Treatise on sensation and sensibles* of Aristotle, al-Djāḥiẓ has preserved a lengthy *disputatio* between one of his masters, al-Naẓẓām the eminent Muʿtazilī, and his opponents. It is followed by a series of reflections on fire and on colours (*Ḥayawān*, 5 ff., 81 ff.).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources and studies cited in the article, see Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038), *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, ed. Cairo 1326/1908, extracts from which have been translated by F. von Hammer-Purgstall and published in German in *ZDMG*, v-ix (1852-5), cf. ix (1855), 372-6, where the principal source of information concerning fire is Djāḥiẓ; Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332), *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923-37, i, 103-29; Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Cairo 1331-8/1913-29, i, 409-10, xiv, 398-402 (the Tatars); al-Raghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, ed. Beirut 1961, iv, 622-6; Alūsī (d. 1342/1923), *Bulūgh al-arab fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-ʿarab*, i-ii, Cairo 1924.

(T. Fahd)

NARĀḲ, Nirāḳ, a small town of Persia (lat. 34° 00′ N., long. 50° 49′ E.), in the modern province of Ḳum, 60 km/38 miles to the west of Kāshān and at the northwestern end of the Kūh-i Kargas. It is not mentioned in the classical Islamic geographers, but has some fame as the origin of the scholar Muḥammad Mahdī b. Abī Dharr Nirāḳī (d. ?1209/1794-5), author of Persian and Arabic works on rhetoric, the Shīʿī martyrs, mathematics, etc. (Storey, i, 219-20, iii, 213; Brockelmann, S II, 824) and of his son Mullā Aḥmad Nirāḳī (d. 1244/1828-9), theologian and poet with the *takhalluṣ* of Ṣafāʾī (Browne, *LHP*, iv, 411).

The modern town is the chief-lieu of a *dihistān*, group of villages, of the same name in the *shahrastān* or district of Maḥallāt. In *ca.* 1960 it had a population of 3,600 (Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, i, 222).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also Ḥasan Narāḳī, *Āthār-i taʾrīkhī-yi shahrastānhā-yi Kāshān wa Naṭanz*, Tehran 1348/1970.

(C.E. Bosworth)

NARĀḲĪ, Ḥādjdjī Mullā Aḥmad (1185-1245/1771-1829), a Shīʿī religious leader, a man of letters, a social critic and a religious polemicist, was born in Narāḳ [*q.v.*], a village 60 km/40 miles from Kāshān, Persia. He studied under his father, Hādjdjī Muḥammad Mahdī Narāḳī (d. 1209/1794) who was also a well-known *mudjtahid* [*q.v.*]. After his father's death he migrated to ʿIrāḳ where he continued his studies on Islamic philosophy, theology and jurisprudence and attended the teaching circles of Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Āḳā Sayyid ʿAlī, and a number of other disciples of Āḳā Muḥammad Bāḳir Bihbihānī. It is said that Narāḳī did not study under a sufficient number of professors, and owed his great learning achievements mainly to his own sagacity and intelligence (Muḥammad Tunukābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehran 1976, 132). Nevertheless, his proficiency in the Islamic sciences not only is shown in his various books he wrote on *fiḳh* and *ʿuṣūl al-fiḳh* but was also particularly admired by Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī [*q.v.*], a disciple of Narāḳī and himself the most prominent Shīʿī religious leader of the 19th century.

Narāḳī spent most of his life in Kāshān where he enjoyed a great deal of social popularity and influence to the extent that he is said to have expelled an oppressive governor appointed by the Ḳādjār ruler Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (Tunukābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 130). This is, of course, not to say that Narāḳī was opposed to the Shāh; rather, he praised Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in most of those books which he wrote for the benefit of the general public and had dedicated some of them to him.

Narāḳī's attitude toward rulership forms the most interesting and thought-provoking part of his writings, and the study of it, though difficult, seems to be of paramount importance. His approach to the problem of government took three different forms. He had great respect for Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and depicted him as an example of goodness and excellence, and likened

him to God and called him "the Shadow of God" (Narāḳī, *Taḳdīs*, Tehran, 1954, 4,9). To legitimise and support his rule, Narāḳī went as far as to quote a *ḥadīth* reported on the authority of the Seventh Shīʿī *Imām*, that "if the Shāh is just, do ask God to perpetuate his life; if his is tyrannical, you should ask God to lead him to the right path because your being righteous is dependent upon your sultan's righteousness" (Narāḳī, *Miʿrādj al-saʿāda*, Tehran n.d., 360).

Despite his friendly relations with the Shāh and his legitimisation and admiration of Ḳādjār rule in his popular books, in dealing with the Shīʿī theory of government in a book meant to be read by the student of religion, he refused to recognise the legitimacy of the Shāh's rule. In this line of discussion, Narāḳī refers to nineteen *ḥadīth*s through which he argues that, during the Greater Occultation (*ghaybat-i kubrā*) of the Twelfth *Imām*, and after the death of the latter's four Specified Agents (*nuwwāb-i khāṣṣ*), it is only the qualified *faḳīh*s who carry the authority of the Hidden *Imām* as his General Agents (*nuwwāb-i ʿāmm*) and are genuinely legitimate rulers of the Muslim community (for more details on this subject, see Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977, 55 ff.). Basing himself on another *ḥadīth* reported on the authority of the Prophet Muḥammad, Narāḳī considers the *faḳīh*s as "the trustees of the Prophet", and warns the Muslims to dissociate themselves from those *faḳīh*s who are tied up with kings (*ʿAwāʾid al-ayyām fī bayān ḳawāʿid al-aḥkām wa-muhimmāt masāʾil al-ḥalāl wa 'l-ḥarām*, 1913, 185-8).

As is obvious, this type of argumentation shows a volte-face in Narāḳī's approach to the problem of rulership, and it was the latter line of argument which provided an important source of reasoning for the founder of the post-1979 régime in Persia to formulate his own theory of government put into operation in 1399/1979 ([Rūḥ Allāh Mūsawī], *Ḥukūmat-i Islāmī*, 1971; for an English tr. of this book, see Khumaynī, *Islam and revolution: writings and declarations of Imam Khomeini*, tr. and annotated Hamid Algar, Berkeley 1981, 27-166).

In the third type of his treatment of the problem, Narāḳī not only does not attempt to legitimise the rule of either the king or the *faḳīh* but rather he renounces both of them. In some of his lyrics and mystical poems, he regrets his past activities which were in favour of the Shāh, remarking, "I disdain to be associated with the royal crown and throne" (*zi tādj-u takht-i ṣultanim ʿār ast*) (Narāḳī, *Ghazal-i Mullā Aḥmad Narāḳī mutakhalliṣ bi Ṣafā*, ed. Akhtar Narāḳī, 1972, 118-9, 121). He also condemns all things related to asceticism (*zuhd*), the prayer-carpet (*sadjdjāda*), the rosary (*subḥa*), the religious college (*madrasa*), the people, the Islamic preachers and the *faḳīh*s; he even declares the latter to be barriers to progress (*sadd-i rāh u mānīʿ-i takmīl shud*) (Narāḳī, *Taḳdīs*, 104, 279, 323). In fact, being a religious leader, Narāḳī was in practice himself a target of his own criticism.

The explanation for these contradictory views seems to be that Narāḳī in theory believed in the legitimacy of the *ʿulamāʾ*'s rule. In reality, however, power and authority were in the hands of the Ḳādjār ruler who at the same time needed the *ʿulamāʾ*'s support to protect "the Islamic territory" (*bayḍa-yi Islām*) against internal corruption and external invasion. Consequently, Narāḳī gave his full support to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, especially when the latter was involved in the long, bloody wars with the Russians in the years 1219-28/1804-13 and 1242-4/1826-8. It was in this connection that Narāḳī declared a *djihād* against the Russians (M.T. Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh: salāṭīn-i Ḳādjāriyya*, Tehran 1974, i, 184); and, according to Willock, he even, in 1241/1826, "arrived at the royal camp clad in shrouds" as a sign of his own "preparation for jihad and martyrdom" (cited in Hamid Algar, *Religion and state in Iran 1785-1906*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, 89).

Narāḳī's criticism of Islamic customs, institutions and even the *faḳīh*s suggests that he did not find contemporary Islamic society—as well as the custodians of religion, including himself—on the right path, but since he was not able to break with the community, he acted reluctantly in harmony with its displeasing characteristics.

In the arena of religious polemics, Narāḳī was certainly not inactive. In 1226/1811 when the British Protestant clergyman, Henry Martyn, wrote a treatise in Persian against Islam, a number of Persian men of the pen and religious leaders including Mullā ʿAlī Nūrī, Mullā Riḍā Hamadānī and Narāḳī wrote books in refutation of Martyn. Narāḳī's refutation appears to have enjoyed a wider readership as it was, it seems, the only book of this nature which did not remain in the form of a manuscript. (For a detailed treatment of this subject, consult Hairi, *Nakhustīn rūyārūyīhā-yi andīshagarān-i Īrān bā du rūya-yi tamaddun-i burzhuāzī-yi gharb*, Tehran 1988, 507-45.)

In compiling his refutation, Narāḳī studied the Bible and consulted a group of learned authorities from among the Christians and Jews. It was in this context that he found an opportunity heavily to attack the European way of life. His sharp criticism was particularly directed against the European Christians who permitted the consumption of wine, pork, snake meat, etc., and gave men and women freedom to have physical contact and kiss each other without having been married to each other. Narāḳī also considered the Christians' reverence for the Cross and their worship before it as an idolatrous act (Narāḳī, *Sayf al-umma wa-burhān al-milla*, 1912, 84, 87-8).

Narāḳī finally died of cholera in the village of his birth, Narāḳ, when he was 58 years of age (Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, Tabriz, n.d., vi, 160-3, and the various sources cited there).

Bibliography: In addition to sources cited in the article, see Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *The legitimacy of the Qajar rule as viewed by the Shīʿī religious leaders*, in *MES*, xxiv/3 (1988), 271-86; Riḍā Kulī Khān Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran 1960, ix, 645; Ahmad Kazemi Moussavi, *The establishment of the position of Marja ʿiyyat-i Taqlid in the Twelver-Shīʿi community*, in *Iranian Studies*, xviii (1985), 35-51; Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i idjtimāʿī wa siyāsī-yi Īrān dar dawra-yi muʿāṣir*, Tehran 1965, ii; Mullā Aḥmad Narāḳī, *al-Khazāʾin*, 1890; Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, Tehran 1903, 384.

(Abdul-Hadi Hairi)

NĀRANDJ, Arabised substantive borrowed from the Persian *narang* (derived from the Sanskrit, with the meaning of "red") and designating in a collective manner, in parallel with *laymūn*, hesperideous or aurantiaceous fruits, including oranges and lemons (modern Arabic *ḥamḍiyyāt*). The term *nārandj* has passed, at a relatively late stage, along with the introduction of these fruits, into the majority of European languages, sometimes with alterations (loss of the initial *n*). Thus, at the beginning of the 14th century A.D., French adopted the expression "la pomme d'orenge", while Spanish preserved the Arabic form with *naranja*. Arabic dialects have also retained

nārandj, but under the forms *narendj*, *nanerdj* in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine and *larendj*, *lārendj* in Morocco. It is surprising that Ibn Manẓūr (7th/13th century) made no mention of the term *nārandj* in his copious *Lisān al-ʿArab*. Furthermore, it should be noted that in some Arabic-speaking countries, *nārandj* is not the prevalent term for the designation of hesperideous fruits; the names in usage are those which refer to their far eastern origin; thus in the Maghrib the expression *letshīna* ("from China", cf. German *Apfelsine*) may be heard. It is believed that Arab caravan-traders would have been responsible for introducing the orange to the Near East and the Maghrib, while the Portuguese would have brought it from the Indies to Spain and Portugal, whence its current name *burtuḳāl*/*burtuḳān* (Turkish *portakal*) which has supplanted *narandj* in numerous local dialects; modern botanical science has created *burtuḳāliyyāt* to define these fruits. In Western Europe, the Crusaders are credited with the introduction of oranges and lemons, whence, for the latter, the old French name "poncire" (from the Provençal "pomsire" = Syrian apple).

From the scientific point of view, the hesperideous or aurantiaceous fruits are classed in the family *Rutaceae*, and as fruitgrowers began, by artificial means, to increase the number of types and varieties, the latter were distinguished in Arabic by local names other than *nārandj*, which seems to have been applied originally to the Bitter, or Seville orange (*Citrus aurantium amara* or *vulgaris* or *bigaradia*) also called *naffāsh*. The Common orange (*Citrus sinensis Osbeck*) is known, besides *nārandj*, by the names *Abū ṣuffayr, zuffayr*, and in the Yemen, *shamsh*. The Mandarin orange (*Citrus aurantium deliciosa, nobilis, madurensis*) is known as *Yūsuf Afandī, yūsufī*. The Grapefruit tree or shaddock (*Citrus decumana* or *macrocarpa*) is the *zunbūʿ, zanbūʿ*. Among lemons, it is the Cedrate tree or Adam's apple (*Citrus medica Risso*, var. *cederata*) which bears the greatest number of names with *utrudj, utrudjdj, turundj, ṭurundj, utrundj, matk, mutk, mitk, kabbād, kubbād, tuffāḥ māhī, tuffāḥ māʿī* and, in the Maghrib, *ḳars, ḳāriṣ*. As for the Bergamot orange (*Citrus bergamia*), native to southern Italy, although called *laymūn aḍālya*, it is often confused with *zunbūʿ*, the Grapefruit tree; the perfume known as bergamot (*ʿiṭr barghamūt*) is extracted from it. The varieties of lemons are all included in the collective substantive *laymūn, līmūn, līm*, differentiated by the adjectives *ḥāmiḍ* for the Common lemon (*Citrus medica*) and *ḥulw* for the Sweet lemon tree (*Citrus aurantium aurantifolia* or *limetta*). The *laymūn baladī* or *banzahīr* is the Egyptian small lime (*Citrus limonum pusilla*).

The well-known legend of the "Golden apples of the Hesperides" (τὰ Ἑσπεριδῶν χρύσεα μῆλα) guarded by the Nymphs, daughters of Atlas, and the Dragon, plucked away and carried away by Hercules for his eleventh "labour", a truly daunting task, has given rise to various hypotheses regarding the location of this fabulous orange-grove. It is supposedly located in Mauritania Tingitana, near the Phoenician trading-centre of Lixus (Larache), or in Cyrenaica, in the city of Hesperis (Benghāzī), or in Spain, near Gades (Cadiz), or, finally, in the "Fortunate Isles" (*al-Khālidāt*), the Canaries. All these imaginary interpretations are an invitation to contemplate the existence of a distant memory of the introduction, at a very early stage, of certain fruits of this kind into the western Mediterranean region, and the Phoenicians may well have had a hand in this.

It is impossible to ignore the primal place which citrus fruits of all types have occupied and continue to occupy in culinary preparations, as well as in baking, confectionery, perfumery and the making of refreshing drinks; orange-trees and lemon-trees supply flowers, fruits and leaves suitable for all these purposes. Arab authors writing about the culinary art in the Middle Ages have left us a large number of recipes and descriptions in which these fruits play a major role. Thus in the range of perfumes, odiferous powders include a powder made from the Cedrate tree (*utrundja*) and another from orange-blossom (*zahriyya*). Among drinks, orangeade and cedrate syrup were known; acidic juices were obtained from lemons and bitter oranges. Among cooked dishes, familiar examples are chicken with orange, meats with the juice of the bitter orange (*nārandjiyya*) or the lemon (*laymūniyya*) or with the pulp of one or the other (*ḥummāḍiyya*). These fruits could also be salted and preserved. One of the major scented waters obtained by distillation continues to be orange blossom water (*māʾzahr*), an effective means of enhancing the flavour of desserts. Finally, the buds of the blossom of the bitter orange provide, in perfumery, oil of Neroli (*ʿiṭr al-ḳaddāḥ, duhn al-* ...) first extracted, in the 17th century, by an Italian princess of this name.

Arab agronomists, geographers and travellers of the Middle Ages have mentioned, in their works and accounts, citrus fruits and the places where they were cultivated. Thus following al-Idrīsī, in the 7th/13th century the Andalusian Ibn al-ʿAwwām, in his *Kitāb al-Filāḥa*, quoting the *Kitāb al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* [see FILĀḤA], repeats that the Hesperides emanate from India. In the following century, the Moroccan Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, having spent a considerable period of time in that country, specifies three varieties which are cultivated there, one sweet, one bitter and one between the two called *ʿanba*, a kind of sweet lemon the fruit of which is salted while still green.

In literature, oranges and lemons have made some appeal to the imaginations of Arab poets; over the space of three centuries, from the 3rd to the 5th/9th to 11th, at least four major poets are known to have evoked the golden fruits. The first is Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] who, in three verses (*ṭawīl* metre, *-ri* rhyme) compared the orange with the cheeks of young maidens and, in two verses (*sarīʿ* metre, *-ri* rhyme), with a golden ball used in a game of polo which was apparently caught up in the foliage. Lemons are for him, in two verses (same metre, same rhyme), golden phials of perfume. In the following century, in three verses (same metre, same rhyme), clearly patterned on those of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Kushādjim [*q.v.*] refers to the contrast between the golden oranges and their emerald foliage. The same poet evokes the same image, in four verses (*munsariḥ* metre, *-īlā* rhyme), for lemons. Also in the 4th/10th century, al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ used this imagery (see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 111-16). Finally, inspired by these two predecessors, the Andalusian poet Ibn Khafādja (7th/11th century [*q.v.*]), has composed a fine description of the orange-tree in eight verses (*mutaḳārib* metre. *-ab* rhyme) using the same image of gold against a background of emerald.

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plantes, Beirut², 1401/1981 (s.v. *citrus*), 51-2; Kus͟hād͟jim, *Dīwān*, Bag͟hdād 1390/1970, 242, 388-9, cf. A. Giese, *Waṣf bei Kušāǧim*, Berlin 1981, 265-7.; H. Leclerc, *Les Fruits de France, historique, diététique et thérapeutique*, Paris 1925, 236; A. Poiteau and Risso, *Histoire naturelle des orangers*, Paris 1819; H.P.J. Renaud and G.S. Colin, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb, Glossaire de la matière médicale marocaine*, Paris 1934, 124-5, no. 279; M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI* (1949), 131-2. (F. Viré)

NARBONNE [see ARBŪNA].

NARCISSUS [see NARD͟JIS].

NARD (P.), a word of Persian origin designating the game of backgammon (trictrac). The form attested in Pehlevi treatises, *nēv-artak͟hs͟hēr* "brave Ardas͟hīr", was contracted to *nardas͟hīr* (widely attested in Arabic) and the latter abridged to *nard*. This development is quite probable (cf., for instance, the place name Nēw Hormizd Ardas͟hīr > Narmas(h)īn, see R.N. Frye, in *JSAI*, xiii [1990], 40); nevertheless the doubts raised by T. Nöldeke (*Persische Studien. II*, in *SBWAW*, Philos.-hist. Cl. cxxvi [1892], 25-6) remain valid, especially in view of the fact that the probably oldest known occurrence (Bab. Talmud, Keth. 61b) already shows the contracted form *nrds͟hyr*; *nēv-artak͟hs͟hēr* could possibly be popular etymology. Attempts to explain *nardas͟hīr* from two Persian words, *nard* and *s͟hēlīr*, were already made by Arabic lexicographers and continue to have their supporters.

No detailed old descriptions of the precise rules of the game as played in the past have become known so far. It is doubtful whether the few lost works supposedly dedicated exclusively to *nard* filled the gap. We learn that the board had twenty-four (twice twelve) points (fields, *bayt*), and the game was played with thirty (twice fifteen) men ("dog" *kalb*, Persian *muhra*), see al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, i, 99-100; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, i, 157-8 = § 161); a pair of six-sided dice was used, and the pips were indicated by Persian numerals. The word *nard* could also be used to refer to any kind of dicing (Rosenthal, *Gambling*, 36, also 41 [*kūba*]). A strange transformation is its use to translate Greek *orchēseōn hyphēgetas* "dance masters" as *ʿālim bi 'l-nard* "expert in *nard*" (correct *Gambling*, 36, with reference to D. Pingree's edition of Dorotheus, *Carmen astrologicum*, Leipzig 1976, Ar., 79, tr. 234, Greek, 359). According to Murray, *Board-games*, 54, Firdawsī described a somewhat different game as *nard* (Nōs͟hirvān, ed. Mohl, 2792 ff., ed. Moscow, 2714 ff.).

The traditional stories of its origin are didactic and unhistorical. It is said to have been invented for an Indian king or for the Persian Ardas͟hīr in order to depict the universe and time reckoning or to symbolise the dependence of all worldly goods on luck or fate (al-Yaʿḳūbī and al-Masʿūdī).

The game has remained extraordinarily popular through modern times. Its popularity greatly frustrated the jurists, who had little choice but to consider it strictly forbidden gambling. It was obviously a game of chance, in addition to being a diversion that interfered with religious observance; one's sense of time was lost when playing, as Ibn Bād͟jd͟ja put it (P. Lettinck, *Aristotle's Physics*, Amsterdam 1991, 286). In order to be really enjoyed, it also required the exchange of stakes between winner and loser. A quotation from an *Āyīn-nāma* states that on the highest social levels, playing chess or *nard* without a stake (*k͟haṭar*) was actually forbidden because it would detract from the players' full concentration (*Books on Chess*, ms. facsimile published by Fuat Sezgin, Frankfurt a/M 1986, 8; cf. *EIr*, I, 692, s.v. *Āʾīn-nāma*). Whether historical or not, a number of important early Muslims could be cited as devoted to *nard*, and it is clear that the game was familiar to Muslims in the 1st/7th century. A tradition such as that playing *nard* without stakes (*ḳimār*) was permissible, while with them it was forbidden, circulated widely (cf. also Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 324), obviously as something to fall back on if legal cases of a minor nature should arise, although problems most likely occurred in connection with gambling in notorious public places. One of the negative traditions compared playing *nardas͟hīr* to putting one's hand in pork meat and blood (*Concordance*, vi, 405). This could be modified, in the name of Abū Hurayra, to read: "One who plays *nard* with stakes (*ḳimārᵃⁿ*) is like one who eats pork; one who plays without stakes is like one who puts his hand in pig's blood; and one who watches the game is like one who looks at pork meat" (al-Buk͟hārī, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, ed. M.F. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1375, 326-8). However, it does not seem possible for us to document in detail any influence of the jurists' negative consensus on the popularity of the game.

Nard was in no way comparable to chess, with which it is often mentioned in one breath, but in a story that originated in the heyday of the Muʿtazila in the early 3rd/9th century, it was praised—no doubt, with tongue in cheek—as superior to chess, since with its reliance on pure luck, it implied greater trust in God (*Gambling*, 165 ff.). On a less exalted level, *nard*, or some variant of it, was also praised and recommended to scoundrels as superior to chess for defrauding people (al-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 133, ed. Hārūn, ii, 367, quoting, he says, ʿUt͟hmān al-K͟hayyāṭ's *Waṣiyya li 'l-s͟huṭṭār wa 'l-luṣūṣ*).

For artistic representation of the backgammon board, from a Sāsānid silver bowl to the famous manuscript of Alfonso el Sabio and to a *S͟hāh-nāma* illustration, see, for instance, M. Rosen-Ayalon, in *JSAI*, iv (1984), 78, pls. 4, 7; A. Steiger, *Libros de acedrex, dados e tablas*, in *Romanica Helvetica*, x, Geneva-Zürich 1941, pls. 73, 75, showing the use of three dice which distinguishes the Western from the Eastern game; and O. Jacoby and J.R. Crawford, *The Backgammon book*, New York 1970, 12.

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(F. Rosenthal)

NARD͟JIS, the narcissus, in Turkish *nergis*, in Persian *nargis* and also *ʿabhar* (cf. F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī*, Wiesbaden 1963, i, 251).

In classical Arabic, Persian and Turkish poetry the narcissus appears both in descriptions of nature and in erotic poetry. Instances of the narcissus as one of the items of the garden can be found in the exordia of panegyric *ḳaṣīdas*, in wine and love poetry (*k͟hamriyyāt*, *g͟hazaliyyāt*) and, of course, in the specialised genres of garden, flower and spring poetry (*rawḍiyyāt*, *zahriyyāt*, *rabīʿiyyāt*). A number of Arab poets, e.g. Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.vv.*], discuss the respective merits of the narcissus and the rose in the *munāẓara* [*q.v.*] (altercation, *Rangstreit*) genre, the former poet preferring the rose, the latter the narcissus (a fine example is his *dāliyya*, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār,

Cairo 1973, ii, 643). Word counts of Persian *ghazal* poetry (Ḥāfiẓ, Ḳabūlī) show that "*gul*" (rose) occurs roughly five times as often as "*nargis*" (narcissus). Some poets, e.g. Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān*, ed. Baḥr al-ʿulūmī, Tehran 1970, *bayts* 1628-1711) and in his wake Salmān-i Sāwadjī and others, have used *nargis* for the *radīf* of lengthy *ḳaṣīdas*.

The white colour of the petals and the yellow, red or brownish colour of the crown are the basis for most of the poetic images used in connection with the narcissus. The petals may be compared to stars (e.g. Farrukhī, *Dīwān*, ed. Dabīrsīyāḳī, Tehran 1957, *bayt* 5948), silver dirhams (e.g. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḳazwīnī and Ghanī, Tehran n.d., no. 119) or ointment-boxes made of pearl (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, in ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, *Asrār al-balāgha*, ed. Ritter, Istanbul 1954, 85), and the crown to the moon, a beaker full of wine or the stone cornelian respectively. Most common, however, is the comparison of the narcissus to the human eye. The poets speak of "the eyes of the narcissi" and use "narcissus" as a common metaphor for "eye" (e.g. Abū Nuwās, in Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Beirut 1972, i, 294; ʿUnṣurī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḳarīb, Tehran 1945, 128; Nedīm, *Dīwān*, ed. Nihād, Istanbul 1338-40/1919-22, 138). Adjectives used to characterise the narcissus when it is compared to or used as a metaphor for the eyes of the beloved in Persian, Čaghatāy and Ottoman Turkish, are *bēmār/bīmār* (ailing), *mast* (drunken), *khʷāb-ālūd* (sleepy), referring to the languorous lustre of the eyes, or simply *shahlā* (reddish-brown or of a dark blue colour).

As an item of the poetic lexicon of the *ghazal*, "narcissus" has also entered the dictionaries of mystical symbolism, e.g. the *Iṣṭilāḥāt* ascribed to Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī [*q.v.*] (cf. *Kulliyyāt*, ed. Nafīsī, Tehran 1959, 421) where the expression *čashm-i nargis* (narcissus-eye) is said to stand for "the secret of the states and perfections and the elevation of the rank of the [mystic] ..."

Bibliography: G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung—Die Zahrīyāt, Rabīʿīyāt, Rauḍīyāt von ihren Anfängen bis aṣ-Ṣanaubarī*, Beirut 1974 (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 15); C.H. de Fouchécour, *La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane du XIe siècle*, Paris 1969. (M. Glünz)

In al-Andalus, the narcissus figures among the objects which poets were required to deal with in the course of their more or less official meetings. In this repect, they imitate their eastern colleagues and pile up the metaphors. Three terms are used: *nardjis ḳādūsī* (the meadow narcissus; rare), *n. aṣfar* (jonquil) and above all *bahār* (< *ʿabhar*?). Ibn al-Rūmī's and Ibn al-Muʿtazz's preferences are well known, and Ibn Burd al-Aṣghar [*q.v.*] follows in the way of the first of these in a *risāla* written in defence of the rose (extracts in vol. ii of Ibn Bassām's *Dhakhīra*, cf. A. Ḍayf, *Balāghat al-ʿArab fī 'l-Andalus*, 153-6; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 196-200), whilst Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī replies to his compatriot by proclaiming, in *al-Badīʿ*, the superiority of the *bahār*. Still further comparisons are met with, notably that of the violet, which is preferred to the narcissus, or the *bahār* considered as superior to the jonquil. See H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse, en arabe classique, au XIe siècle*, 2nd ed. Paris 1953, index s.v. narcisse. (Ed.)

NARGHĪLA [see tütün].

NARKH (p.), a term used in Ottoman Turkish for the prices determined by official authorities for various goods. Although under Islamic law, buying and selling principally take place with the mutual consent of both sides, and the state's intervention with regard prices is acceptable only in extraordinary circumstances, the Ottomans gave great importance to *narkh* in order to secure the comfort of the public. Thus authors of "books of advice" (*naṣīḥat-nāme*) made frequent reference to this subject (e.g., Lüṭfī Pasha, *Āṣaf-nāme*, Üniv. Ktb. TY. no. 786, fols. 63b-65a; Ālī, *Fuṣūlu 'l-ḥall ve 'l-ʿaḳd ve uṣūlu 'l-khardj ve 'n-naḳd*, Nuruosmaniye Ktb. no. 3399, fols. 2a-b; Hezārfen Ḥüseyin Efendi, *Tenḳīḥ-i tewārīkh-i mulūk*, *Telkhīṣu 'l-beyān fī ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿUthmān*, Nuruosmaniye Ktb, no. 3265, fol. 272b; Tewḳīʿī ʿAbdurraḥmān Pasha, *Ḳānūn-nāme*, in *MTM*, i/3, [1331], 499, 503-4; Defterdār Ṣārī Meḥmed Pasha, *Neṣāyiḥu 'l-wüzerā we 'l-umerā*, ed. H.R. Ugural, Ankara 1969, 25-7; and Ḳoči Bey, *Risāle*, ed. A.K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 114).

Although *narkh* prices were determined for almost all commodities, food, shoes and some other basic goods were the ones that were most meticulously adjusted.

Normally, the *narkh* for food was given according to the seasonal changes. The prices were determined almost every day for early fruit and vegetables, until they became ripe. On the other hand, the prices for commodities made of meat and milk were fixed only two or three times a year, in the spring, a few days before the first lamb of the year was cut (*rūz-i khiḍir*, May). Bread prices were lowered just after threshing time, and were thereafter adjusted according to the stock level of flour. In order that people could have a good Ramaḍān, the prices for principal foods were reviewed at the end of the previous month, Shaʿbān.

However, in some extraordinary circumstances, such as droughts and floods, wars (Ḥasan Kāfī, *Uṣūlü 'l-ḥikem fī niẓāmi 'l-ʿālem*, ed. M. İpşirli, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 10-11, 253) and blockades (Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1283, vi, 214), and after changes in the parity of currency, price adjustments were also realised. Prices would go up considerably at times of inflation; following the readjustment of the value of money, called *sikke taṣḥīḥi*, the prices of all goods were re-adjusted (see M.S. Kütükoğlu, *1009 (1600) tarihli narh defterine göre Istanbul'da çeşidli eşya ve hizmet fiatları*, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 9; idem, *1624 sikke tashihinin ardından düzenlenmen narh defterleri*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 34; idem, *Osmanlılarda narh müessesesi ve 1640 tarihli narh defteri*, Istanbul 1983).

Narkh was to be established under the supervision of the *ḳāḍī*, according to the proposals of craftsmen such as the *kedkhudā*, *yighitbashi*, and the *ehl-i wuḳūf*, and the suggestions of the *muḥtesib*. The price of products that were made using various raw materials were determined by computing the sum of the prices of ingredients and then adding a 10-12% profit margin to this sum. Upon the determination of the *narkh* prices, these figures were recorded in the *ḳāḍī sidjilli*, and were consequently announced to the craftsmen and to the public by *münādīs* (public criers [*q.v.*]). In Istanbul, where there were four *ḳāḍīlīḳs*, the prices were determined at the metropolitan *ḳāḍīlīḳ*, and thereafter sent to the Üsküdar, Galata and Eyüb *ḳāḍīlīḳs*, who in turn informed the courts that were connected to them. The *ḳāḍī* also used to send a copy of the price lists to the *Bash-muḥāsebe Ḳalemi*, an important office where the state's financial affairs were audited.

The conformity of the craftsmen's prices to the given *narkh* were verified by various inspections. The *ḳāḍī*, who was responsible for the administration of the *narkh*, performed his daily controls via the *muḥtesib* and *ḳol oghlanis* in his company, as well as by his occasional inspections. The *ḳāḍī* also attended the inspections by the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* (called *ḳola djikmak*, which started at

Sultan Ahmed, and continued through the Eminönü-Unkapanı-Zeyrek route). Those found not to conform with the *narkh* were punished if they were not *dirlik* owners; otherwise, they were handed over to their officers (*Tewḳīʿī ʿAbdurraḥmān Pasha ḳānūn-nāmesi*, 503-5).

In settlements other than Istanbul, *aʿyān* and *eshrāf* (the chief men) of the town also participated in the determination and control of the *narkh*. As a basis for the prices, the *narkh* values of Istanbul could be sent to the provincial cities (e.g. *Tekir-daghi sidjilli*, dated 1034/1624, 117a, and *Bursa sidjilli*, dated 1050/1640, 122, in Ankara Milli Kütüphane).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text: Meḥmed b. Aḥmed, *Defter-i teshrīfāt*, Üniversite Ktb, TY, 9810, fols. 60b-63b; *Narkh defteri*, Istanbul Müftülüğü Şerʿī Siciller Arşivi, Istanbul kadılığı sicilleri, no. 201; Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Künhu ʾl-akhbār*, Üniversite Ktb, TY, 5959, fol. 90b; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 120; ʿUthmān Nūrī Ergin, *Medjelle-i ʿumūr-i belediyye*, Istanbul 1922, i, 393-460; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, Ankara 1948; H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1950, i/1, 283; Sabri Ülgener, *Tarihte darlık buhranları ve iktisadi muvazenesizlik meselesi*, Istanbul 1951, 65; *Kitābu meṣāliḥi ʾl-müslimīn we menāfiʿi ʾl-müʾminīn*, ed. Yaşar Yücel, Ankara 1980, 94-5; Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, XV. *asrın sonunda bazı büyük şehirlerde eşya ve yiyecek fiatlarının tesbit ve teftişi hususlarını tanzim eden kanunlar. I. Kanunnâme-i ihtisab-ı Istanbul el-mahrûsa*, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, i/5, 326-40; *II. Kanunnâme-i ihtisab-ı Bursa*, ii/7, 15-40; *III Kanunnâme-i ihtisab-ı Edirne*, ii/9, 168-77; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1962; Hikmet T. Dağlıoğlu, *Onaltıncı asırda Bursa*, Bursa 1940; Uriel Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973, 229-34; Halil Sahillioğlu, *Osmanlılarda narh müessesesi ve 1525 yılı sonunda Istanbul'da fiatlar*, in *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, no. 1 (1967), 36-40; Barkan, *XVI. asrın ikinci yarısında Türkiye'de fiyat hareketleri*, in *Belleten*, xxxiv/136 (1970), 557-607.

(M.S. Kütükoğlu)

NARMĀSHĪR, Narmāsīr, a town and a district of eastern Kirmān [*q.v.*] in mediaeval Islamic Persia, lying to the south-east of Bam [*q.v.*], adjacent to the southern end of the Dasht-i Lūṭ and on the road connecting Kirmān with Sīstān. The classical Islamic geographers list the district as one of the five *kūras* of Kirmān and describe the town as prosperous and populous, the resort of merchants who travelled from Khurāsān to ʿUmān and an emporium for Indian goods. It had a protective wall with four gates, a citadel and a congregational mosque constructed out of fired brick. As late as the 8th/14th century, Mustawfī describes the town as still in existence, but by the 19th century, when travellers such as E. Pottinger (1810) and Sir Percy Sykes (1895) traversed the area, it had disappeared. Its site seems to be marked by ruins at the site of a small village now known as Čughukābād "Sparrow town", administratively in the *bakhsh* or sub-district of Fahradj.

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī, 459, 463; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 125, comm. 375; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Beirut, v, 281; Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 141, tr. 140; Sir Percy Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, index; Le Strange, *Lands*, 313; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 228-9; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, index; Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, viii, 113. (C.E. Bosworth)

NARNĀLĀ, a hill-fort in the Barār region of India [see berār], in lat. 21°15′N. and long. 77°4′E., in the former Ḥaydarābād native state (now in Maharāshtra State), at the southernmost end of the Satpura hills. The fortress is presumably pre-Muslim, since Firishta (*Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*), states that it was restored and repaired by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī between 828-31/1425-8, and the earliest buildings there appear to be of the Bahmanī period, although later the fort passed into ʿImād Shāhī [*q.v.*] hands. It played an important role in the warfare of the rulers in the Deccan of the Bahmanids, Khāndesh sultans, ʿImād Shāhīs and Niẓām Shāhīs [*q.vv.*], being held for the latter princes 979-1005/1572-97 till its capture by the Mughals [*q.v.*].

The fortifications comprise three distinct but conjoined forts, with a competent and still well-preserved water supply. There are insufficient remains of the old Djāmiʿ masdjid to relate it now to the characteristic ʿImād Shāhī style, although there are features of the excellent main central (Mahākālī) gateway, of 892/1487, which seem to have determined the later mosque architecture: a central arch of fine dressed stone within a larger arch, under a pylon crowned with trefoil merlons, and liberally decorated with stringcourses, embossed medallions and rosettes; there are flanking chambers and galleries, with projecting balconies on corbelled brackets, and fine lattice tracery. This is an architectural achievement of a high order, and important in the development of the ʿImād Shāhī style. The other buildings (*ḥammām, bāradārī*, stables, etc.) are of less value; there is also a small mosque of the time of Awrangzīb.

Bibliography: See also *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 379-80; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan*, ii, A.P. Govt. 1975, with full description of the gateway at 257 and illustration on Pl. xxvi. (J. Burton-Page)

NĀRNAWL, an ancient town of India, in lat. 28°3′N. and long. 76°10′E., in the modern Haryana State, some 80 miles south-west of Dihlī. It was probably (Ishwari Prasad, *Life and times of Humayun*, 95) the birthplace of Shīr Shāh, his family having been associated with the place for some time. But Nārnawl has much older Islamic associations, with the inscription at the *dargāh* of Shāh Wilāyat showing that the saint was living here in and before 531/1137, i.e. over fifty years before the Muslim conquest of Dihli; his *dargāh* shows signs of the pre-Muslim style of coffered-roof construction, familiar from such early sites as Adjmēr and Bayāna (description and discussion in K.V. Soundara Rajan, *Islam builds in India*, Delhi 1983, 89-90), and may well be contemporary with the saint. Indeed, the town could well be earlier, since the approach from a distance reveals it as an obvious *tell*; but unfortunately Nārnawl has not been excavated. In the 18th century it was at times held by Rādjput princes and the Marāthās [*q.v.*]. Its Muslim Nawwāb was involved in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, hence the town was afterwards awarded to the loyal Maharādjā of Patiālā.

There is evidence of all phases of Indian Muslim building, from early Dihlī sultanate, through Khaldjī, Tughluḳid and Lōdī, to early and late Mughal and to Mughal-inspired Rādjpūt. The earlier phases are mostly to be seen in and around the *dargāh* complex; many Lōdī-style buildings, frustratingly but typically undated, occur not only in Nārnawl itself but also sporadically all the way to Dihlī (at, e.g., Rewārī, Sōhnā and Gurgāʾōn); the best example of the late-sultanate styles is in the tomb of Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, which stands within the *dargāh* complex. Ibrāhīm was the grandfather of Shīr Shāh, and the building of this

tomb was Shīr's first preoccupation after his arrival in Dihlī, having expelled Humāyūn in 947/1540. It is a tall square structure in polychromatic stonework (sandstone, schist and marble), well decorated with carved and inlaid stone, the dome surrounded by a high octagonal drum with ornate polychrome *guldastas* and with *čhatrīs* at the four corners; the walls, with a slight batter, and the trabeate entrance doorways, continue the traditions of the Lōdī style. Other buildings show the Mughal styles at their most felicitous, with tombs and pavilions set within gardens and tanks, showing again fine stonework, such as the Djal maḥall and the tomb of Shāh Ḳulī Khān, the latter introducing the octagonal type. Within the town there is, among other fine buildings, a particularly fine *hawēlī*, the Čhattā Rāʾi Bāl Mukund Dās, with courtyards surrounded by elegant marble pillars, fountains, projecting balconies, richly bracketed eaves, and culminating in a curved-cornice *bāradārī* of the "Bengali" style introduced to north India in the time of Shāh Djahān and later to be so popular in Rādjpūt building. Unfortunately, Nārnawl has not been adequately surveyed, or even photographed, and a monograph on the site would be valuable and instructive.

Bibliography: G. Yazdani, *Narnaul and its buildings*, in *JASB*, N.S., iii (1907), 581-6, 639-44; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 380-1. K.V. Soundara Rajan, *op. cit.* above, provides an imaginative description and discussion, with some good illustrations. (J. Burton-Page)

NARRATOR, NARRATION [see ḤADĪTH, ḤIKĀYA, ḲĀṢṢ, KHABAR, ḲIṢṢA, NĀDIRA, RĀWĪ, RIWĀYA].

NARSHAKHĪ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar b. Zakariyyāʾ, historian of the Sāmānid period. Presumably from Narshakh in the vicinity of Bukhārā (cf. al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 77-8), nothing however is known of his life except that he composed in Arabic a history of Bukhārā and presented it to the *amīr* Nūḥ b. Naṣr in 332/943-4; this is the only book of his known. The history was translated into Persian by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ḳubāwī (sc. from Ḳubā in Farghānā, cf. *ibid.*, x, 322-3) in 522/1128 because, it is there said, people did not want to read the Arabic original; also, Ḳubāwī omitted "tedious" passages, but brought the history up to 365/975-6. Then in 574/1178-9 one Muḥammad b. Zufar abridged this, added information from other works, and presented this to the *Ṣadr* or spiritual leader of the Ḥanafīs in Bukhārā Burhān al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz II b. Muḥammad (see Bosworth, art. *Āl-e Borhān*, in *EIr*). Finally, an unknown author added details in the Mongol period about the Mongol conquest of Bukhārā. Thus the Persian text as we know it (ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892, ed. Mudarris Raḍawī, Tehran n.d. [*ca.* 1939]; Russian tr. N. Likoshin, Tashkent 1897, Eng. tr. with comm. R. N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954; cf. Storey, i, 369-70, 1300, Storey-Bregel, ii, 1108-12) must be much altered from its original form and supplemented by other hands.

The *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā* is very valuable for the early Islamic history of Central Asia and for the Ṭāhirid and Sāmānid periods there, with many details from local traditions going back to the pre-Islamic period and with information from otherwise lost works like ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Nayshābūrī's *Khazāʾin al-ʿulūm* and Muḥammad b. Ṭālūt al-Hamadhānī's *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* and also from the work of the well-known historian ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī [*q.v.*] on the Arab conquest of Transoxania and the rise of the Sāmānids.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 13-15. (C.E. Bosworth)

NASĀ, Nisā, the name of several places in Persia. Yāḳūt enumerates Nasās in Khurāsān, Fārs, Kirmān and the district of Hamadhān in Djibāl, but W. Eilers has assembled a much larger number of Persian place names containing the element *nasā(r)* or containing linguistic elements apparently connected with it. Scholars like Bartholomae and Marquart sought an etymology in Old Iranian *śai-* "to lie" (Grk. κεῖσθαι), with the ideas of "settlement" or "low-lying place"; Eilers however explains it as from NP *nasā, nasa(r), nisā*, "place lying in the shade (e.g. of a mountain)" (*Iranische Ortsnamenstudien*, in *SB Österr. Akad. der Wiss.*, 465. Band, Vienna 1987, 64-71).

1. Nasā in Khurāsān was situated in the cultivated zone which lies north of the range separating Khurāsān from the Turkoman steppes, near the modern Ashkhābād in the Turkmen SSR. It corresponds to the Νίσαια, Νίσαιον πεδίον of the classical authors, celebrated for its breed of horses (Herodotus, iii, 106; cf. Strabo, xi, ch. xiv, § 7). Alexander the Great is said to have built an Alexandropolis at Nisaia. According to Isidore of Charax, ed. W. Schoff, Philadelphia 1914, 8, the tombs of the Parthian kings were in the town of Νίσα. Rawlinson, in *JRAS* (1839), 100, believed he saw in the stock of Turkoman horses descendants of the ἵπποι Νίσαιοι (Avesta, *Vīdēvdāt*, i, 7, seems to have a different locality in view).

According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, the town of Nasā was very like Sarakhs and had much water, many gardens and green places and the country round about was very fertile. Al-Muḳaddasī, 320, 331-2, says that the ten gates of the town were buried in verdure. He confirms the abundance of springs but says the water was not of good quality. Muḥammad al-Nasawī, *Sīrat Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, 22, says that the place was very unhealthy on account of its very hot and humid climate and that the Turks could only live a short time there. According to al-Nasawī, 50, the town had a strong citadel. The number of tombs of *shaykhs* and famous men was so great that the Ṣūfīs called Nasā "little Damascus", cf. Muḥammad b. Munawwar's biography of Shaykh Abū Saʿīd al-Mayhanī [*q.v.*], the *Asrār al-tawḥīd*, ed. V.A. Zhukovski, St. Petersburg 1899, 45, written in the 7th/13th century.

Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, places Nasā 5 days' journey from Marw, one day from Abīward and 6-7 days from Nīshāpūr. Of its dependencies, he mentions: i, 480: Bālūz (Fīrūza); i, 857: Taftāzān; iii, 343: Shahristān; iii, 866: Farāwa (= Ḳizil-Arwat); iv, 328: Kawk. Durūn, with the fortress Ṭāḳ (afterwards Yazir) also belonged to Nasā, cf. Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, 37-41. Cf. also the *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī* of Mahdī Khān (Nādir's stud was at Khurrābād, cf. under the year 1144/1731-2. The ruins of the capital of Nasā are near the little town of Bagir about 12 miles from Ashkhābād and 8 from the station of Bäsmäʾīn on the Trans-Caspian railway.

2. The Nasā in the district of Hamadhān is probably the Old Persian Nisāya- , a region in Media, Akkad. [kur]Ni-is-sa-a-a, Herodotus's "Nisaean plain" (vii, 40), where Darius defeated the false Smerdis, mentioned in that Emperor's Bisutūn inscription, § 13.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 393-4; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, index; idem, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 89-90; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 103, § 23.9, comm. 326.

For the scholars of Nasā in northern Khurāsān, see Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 84-92, 95-7.

(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

NASAB (a.) "connection, pedigree, genealogy" designates the most fundamental organising principle of Arab society. It would seem to be an inheritance from the earliest times. Since no convincing cognate has as yet been determined in other Semitic languages, it is not entirely implausible to suggest a prehistoric relationship between the roots *s-b-b* and *n-s-b*, unconsciously reflected in the parallelism of *nasab* and *sabab* "rope, connection" in the *ḥadīth* (*Concordance*, ii, 388).

Genealogy provides the historical validation of kinship and all that it involves. Kinship always dominated group life in human society and to a large extent still does today. In Arabia, the remarkable aspect of genealogy was its connection with tribes rather than individuals. With the coming of Islam and its social imperatives, combined with the enormous increase of people constituting society and the growing reduction of the Bedouin component, it could be expected that the power of kinship would change and diminish. However, kinship continued to remain a most important factor in Muslim society, for reasons such as the enduring determination of "nobility" with its attending privileges on the basis of tribal descent (and descent from the Prophet and ʿAlī) and, for instance, the survival of pre-Islamic social custom, the strong trend toward heredity in the bureaucracy and in the crafts and trades, or the eventual domination of the scholarly establishment at certain periods by family relationships. This contributed to the continuous cultivation of a genealogical literature. By dint of their work, genealogists (*nassāba*, sing. and coll., also *nassāb*, *nāsib*, pl. *nussāb*) exercised a certain influence which at times made their motives suspect; it is not by chance that an emphatic remark of the Prophet that genealogists could be liars is displayed prominently in the *nasab* literature (e.g. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 180, Eng. tr., i, 166; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, ed. Ḥasan, 17; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 12; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, beginning).

It appears clear that interest in genealogy somehow found written expression already in pre-Islamic Arabia, in whatever language this may have been and regardless of whether one accepts or does not accept I. Shahid's argumentation in favour of written pre-Islamic documents dealing with tribal relationships (forthcoming). There can be no doubt that genealogical relations were put into writing in the first century of Islam. Tribal registers for military and tax purposes are reported to have already been commissioned by ʿUmar [see dīwān]. For the activities of the many dimly-remembered early genealogists such as Daghfal or Ibn Sharya [*q.v.*], we have no reliable historical information; at any rate, they appear to have found no expression in authentic published works. But literary genealogical writing—at first, it seems, dealing mostly with individual tribes—is well attested among the earliest Arabic works. In the bibliographies of the historians of the first ʿAbbāsid century (see, for instance, al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, al-Madāʾinī, Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb), genealogical works are preponderant. Titles including *nasab*, pl. *ansāb*, were numerous; unfortunately, practically nothing is preserved in its original form. We are on safe ground with the assumption that genealogy, in pre-Islamic times and when books were published on the subject in Islam, was always a repertory of tribal lore going far beyond simple filiations and containing stories (*akhbār*) of all sorts, discussing excellence [see faḍīla] and the political and legal subject of tribal rivalries [see mathālib and mufākhara], and, above all and most basic, featuring poetry. The so far earliest preserved small monograph by Muʾarridj al-Sadūsī (d. *ca.* 200/815-16), edited by Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid (Cairo 1960), attests to it, and so does the large standard work, which was never surpassed, the *Djamharat al-nasab* compiled by Hishām b. al-Kalbī (d. 204 or 206/819-21) on the basis of information gathered by his father Muḥammad b. al-Kalbī (see al-kalbī; recent editions by Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus 1983, vol. i only?) and Nādjī Ḥasan (Beirut 1407/1986); Ḥasan has also edited *Nasab Maʿadd wa 'l-Yaman al-kabīr* (Beirut 1408/1988) and plans to edit Yāḳūt's *Muḳtaḍab* of the *Djamhara*. While the authorship of *Nasab Maʿadd* goes back to Ibn al-Kalbī, its identification as the missing part of the *Djamhara* is doubtful. Scattered quotations of earlier works in the preserved literature hardly allow their reconstruction, as each work's character was governed by the extent to which the various ingredients were represented in it, which holds good also for the subsequent literature (see Shākir's introduction to his edition of al-Zubayr's *Djamhara*, 4-6). Government records such as those referred to probably contained only barebones genealogy without any further material, but they were not meant to be literary or scholarly efforts.

With the 3rd/9th century, the pre-occupation with genealogy was firmly entrenched as part of the literary and historiographical heritage. Apart from family history, it also became a strictly scholarly undertaking as attested, among other things, by the fact that specialised scholars not only wrote on the subject but also copied older works with great care and thus preserved some of them for posterity. *Adab* works such as Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's *ʿIḳd* included a special long chapter on genealogy (which was a subject of much interest in Spain). Genealogy as the prime expression of historical consciousness in Arabia and the source of information for early Muslim history maintained its alliance with historiography. Already al-Zubayr b. Bakkār's *Djamharat nasab Ḳuraysh* (vol. i, ed. Maḥmūd M. Shākir, Cairo 1381) could be called a work of *akhbār* rather than *ansāb* (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 469, cf. similarly Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, introd., of al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*). From near the end of the century, al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb* is indeed more historical/biographical than genealogical. Vice-versa, family history and individual biography tried to present as much genealogical information as possible, and much of Shīʿī historiography would naturally rest in a genealogical framework. Although quite different from genealogy, another term from the same root, *nisba*, pl. *nisab* [*q.v.*], the naming after an ancestor or tribe but also after a locality or profession, was seen as the same thing. ʿUmar is supposed to have spoken contemptuously of the native inhabitants of ʿIrāḳ as leading their *nasab* back to their villages (*ʿIḳd*, iii, 312; for the significance of the passage, see R.P. Mottahedeh, in *IJMES*, vii [1976], 161-82), but for the lexicographers as, for instance, al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, xiii, 14-15, the extended understanding of *nasab/nisba* was taken as a fact, as it was in the basic reference work on *nisba*s by al-Samʿānī.

As bibliographical references show, in the 3rd/9th century, if not earlier, attempts began to be made to present the essence of genealogical works in "tree" form (*tashdjīr*, *mushadjdjar*), see al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, ed. Löfgren, i, 6, l. 8, and Löfgren, in *Studi Orientalistici ... G. Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, ii, 94. This procedure became frequent in the course of time, see Rosenthal, *A history*², 97-8. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, for

instance, describes it in connection with al-Zubayr b. Bakkār's Djamhara, i, 105, 321, 379. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 14, praises graphic representation in tree form (with its central *ʿamūd* "column") as providing an immediate understanding of genealogical relationships; the Būlāḳ edition reproduces these trees in print.

The Muslim approach to the eternal debate about the greater worth, for society and individual, of either noble descent or personal qualities is succinctly expressed by *ḥasab wa-nasab* [*q.v.*]. The two words were originally allied, since noble descent and noble qualities were celebrated in Arabia as inseparable for true glory. In Islam, they tended to split into contrasting concepts, *nasab* being defined as nobility by parentage and *ḥasab* as nobility in character and deeds; the lexicographers' arbitrary re-interpretation of a verse by al-Mutalammis (ed. Vollers, no. I, v. 2) as embodying the contrast is typical for the process (al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, iv, 329a = *LA*). Islam distinctly preferred the egalitarian view (and the religious attitude later found firm support in philosophical ethics). In Ḳurʾān, XLIX, 13, the statement declaring the best person to be the one most pious followed upon a recommendation of "mutual acquaintance", something later understood as the core of *nasab* relationship; ignorance of *nasab* ultimately means exclusion from humanity (e.g. *ʿIḳd*, iii, 312). The reputed radical proponents of equality, the Shuʿūbiyya/Ahl al-taswiya, supposedly argued that "human beings differ in worth not through ancestors and *aḥsāb* but through their deeds and character qualities, their personal nobility and highmindedness" (*ʿIḳd*, iii, 410, cf. Mottahedeh, *loc. cit.*). The continuing debate on the topic is marked by speculations such as that of al-Kindī's pupil al-Sarakhsī who, as befits a courtier, favours the view that noble ancestry plus outstanding achievement constitutes double nobility, while lack of personal achievement vitiates ancestral distinction (al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, ed. Ḳāḍī, ix, 198 ff.), and it is, for instance, illustrated by al-Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Būlāḳ 1286-7, i, 208 ff., where it is seen as a matter strictly concerning individuals and is no longer tribally oriented; noble descent has its advantages, but individual worth is decisive and may even compensate for ancestral misdeeds.

The importance of blood lines in animals such as horses and racing pidgeons was well-known, and treatises were written on them [see ḤAMĀM and KHAYL]. G. Levi Della Vida's standard edition of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Nasab al-khayl* (*Les "livres des chevaux"*, Leiden 1928) has been followed by more recent printings (Cairo 1948; Beirut 1407/1987); see also Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 128, 272.

Bibliography: For the early *ansāb* literature, see *Fihrist*, 89-115; Marzubānī, *Nūr al-ḳabas*, Wiesbaden 1964, ed. R. Sellheim, 347 ff. For tribal lore and history, F. Wüstenfeld's *Genealogische Tabellen der arabischen Stämme und Familien*, Göttingen 1853-4, has been superseded by W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām Ibn al-Kalbī*, Leiden 1966, the most complete treatment of tribal genealogy and, in its introduction, the best treatment so far of the problems of Arabic genealogical literature. By its very nature, the subject comes up constantly in studies of Arab history and literature, without having as yet found the exhaustive treatment it requires, but cf., for instance, Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 177-207, Eng. tr. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, London 1967, i, 164-90; Bishr Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes*, Paris 1932, 81-8; S.D. Goitein's introd. to his edition of Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, Jerusalem 1936; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 95-100; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, *Baḥth fī nashʾat ʿilm al-taʾrīkh ʿind al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1960, 39-43, Eng. tr. L.I. Conrad, Princeton 1983, 50-4; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 244-8, 256 ff., ii, 36 ff.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

NASAF [see NAKHSHAB].

AL-**NASAFĪ**, the *nisba* of several religious figures and scholars from Nasaf or Nakhshab [*q.v.*] in the environs of Bukhārā (see al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 92-4).

I. ABU 'L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-BAZDAWĪ or AL-BAZDAHĪ (i.e. from the village of Bazda near Nasaf), distinguished philosopher-theologian of the Ismāʿīlīs in Sāmānid Khurāsān and Transoxania, who is generally credited with the introduction of Neo-Platonic philosophy into Ismāʿīlī circles. He succeeded Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marwazī in the headship of the *daʿwa* [*q.v.*] of Nīshāpūr. As a *dāʿī* he travelled to Transoxania and succeeded in converting the Sāmānid ruler Naṣr b. Aḥmad and several dignitaries of the court to the Ismāʿīlī faith. This success, however, was short lived, and the fortunes of Ismāʿīlīs were reversed when the Turkish army revolted and effected a complete reversal of policy under Naṣr's successor Nūḥ. Al-Nasafī, along with a large number of Ismāʿīlīs and their sympathisers, was massacred in 332/943. For this reason Nāṣir-i Khusraw calls him *Khʷādja-yi Shahīd* and *Shaykh-i Shahīd*.

The *K. al-Maḥṣūl* was the major work of al-Nasafī wherein Neoplatonism was adapted to Ismāʿīlī doctrines. This caused a sharp reaction within Ismāʿīlī circles and raised a bitter controversy. His contemporary Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], the chief *dāʿī* of Rayy, wrote his *K. al-Iṣlāḥ* to rectify the errors in the *Maḥṣūl*. He criticises al-Nasafī with regard to some of his metaphysical conclusions, such as the precedence of *ḳaḍāʾ* over *ḳadar*, the imperfect nature of emanation of the Soul from the Intellect and the dissociation of *sharīʿa* from the first *Nāṭiḳ*, i.e. Ādam. Soon afterwards, Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī [*q.v.*] wrote his *K. al-Nuṣra*, in which he criticised al-Rāzī but upheld the conclusions of al-Nasafī. This, in turn, led Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Kirmānī [*q.v.*] to compile his *K. al-Riyāḍ fī 'l-ḥukm bayn al-ṣādayn* (i.e. *al-Iṣlāḥ* and *al-Nuṣra*). The *Maḥṣūl* has not survived, but some fragments and excerpts have been preserved in other works. An attempt to reconstruct the contents of the *Maḥṣūl* from those fragments is a desideratum. Two manuscripts, entitled *K. Kayfiyyat kawn al-ʿālam*, to be found in private Ismāʿīlī collections in India, are ascribed to al-Nasafī.

Bibliography: The main sources about al-Nasafī's activities are Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tadjaddud, Tehran 1971, 239-40; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1962, 267-75; These were studied by S.M. Stern, *The early Ismāʿīlī missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxii (1960), 78-80. For a full description of his works and sources, see Ismail Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 40-43.

(I. POONAWALA)

II. ABU 'L-MUʿĪN MAYMŪN B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD...B. MAKḤŪL...AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-MAKḤŪLĪ (d. 508/1114), one of the *mutakallimūn* [see KALĀM] whose scholastic position is between that of the early period as represented by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], who is still endeavouring to find a convenient arrangement and an adequate formulation of the contents of *kalām*, and the younger *mutakallims* who have

at hand the necessary formulas for ready use. At least five works by him are known, including: 1. *Tamhīd li-ḳawāʿid al-tawḥīd* (Cairo, ms. 2417, fols. 1-30; cf. *Fihris... Miṣr*, ii, 51), a treatise in which the contents of the creed are proved according to the scholastic method. The first chapter consists of an exposition of the doctrine of cognition, the last of the doctrine of the imāmate. The work closes with a *murs̲h̲ida* which contains the *doctrina de Deo* in an abridged form; 2. *Tabṣirat al-adilla* (Cairo, mss. 2287, 6673; cf. *Fihris... Miṣr*, ii, 8), an elaborate work on dogmatics of nearly the same scheme as the *Tamhīd*; 3. *Baḥr al-kalām*, printed at Cairo 1329/1911 differs from the two foregoing works in so far as it deals with heresies and is polemical. It is identical with *Mubāḥat̲h̲at ahl al-sunna wa 'l-d̲j̲amāʿa maʿa 'l-firaḳ al-ḍālla wa 'l-mubtadiʿa* (Leiden, cod. or. 862) as well as with *ʿAḳāʾid* (Berlin, no. 1941; cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, ii, 400). The work is preserved in several libraries under one of these titles, and Brockelmann, I², 547, SI, 757, lists two others.

Bibliography: Given in the article; cf. also Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, ed. Flügel, index, no. 6453.

III. ABŪ ḤAFS ʿUMAR NAD̲J̲M AL-DĪN AL-MĀTURĪDĪ (d. 537/1142), jurist and theologian. Of his works the only one edited is the *ʿAḳāʾid*, which has the form of a catechism. It became popular and was much commented, probably because it was the first abridged form of the creed according to the scholastic method of the new orthodoxy. In Europe it became known as early as 1843 through the edition by Cureton (*The pillar of the creed*, no. 2). For editions of and commentaries on this work as well as for the other works of this scholar that have come down to us, cf. Brockelmann, I², 548-50, SI, 758-62.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A.J. WENSINCK)

IV. ḤĀFIẒ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-BARAKĀT ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. MAḤMŪD, an important Ḥanafī legist and theologian, born in Nasaf in Sogdiana, was a pupil of S̲h̲ams al-Aʾimma al-Kardarī (d. 642/1244-5), Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Ḍarīr (d. 666/1267-8) and Badr al-Dīn K̲h̲ʷāharzāde (d. 651/1253). He taught in the Madrasa al-Ḳuṭbiyya al-Sulṭāniyya in Kirmān, came in 710 to Bag̲h̲dād and died in Rabīʿ I 710/August 1310 (according to Ḳuras̲h̲ī and Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī : 701) apparently on his way back to Īd̲h̲ad̲j̲ (in K̲h̲ūzistān), where he was buried. His pupils were Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ibn al-Saʿātī, author of the *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-baḥrayn* (d. 694/1294-5), and Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Sig̲h̲nāḳī, a commentator on the *Hidāya* (d. 714/1314-15) [see AL-MARG̲H̲INĀNĪ].

The best of his works is thought to be the *Kitāb al-Manār fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, a concise account of the foundations of law (Delhi 1870, Constantinople 1326 and often later); there are numerous later commentaries, but he himself wrote two, one of which is entitled *Kas̲h̲f al-asrār* (2 vols., Būlāḳ 1316). Out of his original plan of writing a commentary on the *Hidāya* of al-Marg̲h̲inānī [*q.v.*] there came the law book modelled on it *Kitāb al-Wāfī*, on which he composed in 684/1285 a special commentary, the *Kitāb al-Kāfī* (delivered in lectures in Kirmān in 689/1290). He had previously prepared a synopsis of the *Wāfī* entitled *Kanz al-daḳāʾiḳ* (Cairo 1311, Lucknow 1294, 1312, etc.) which Ibn al-Saʿātī in 683/1284 (this is no doubt the correct reading for 633 in Kaffawī) heard him deliver in Kirmān. This synopsis was used as late as the 19th century in Damascus and at the al-Azhar in Cairo (v. Kremer, *Mittel-Syrien u. Damaskus*, Vienna 1853, 136; idem, *Ægypten*, Leipzig 1863, ii, 51). The best-known printed commentaries on the *Kanz* are: (*a*) *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of al-Zaylaʿī (d. 743/1342-3) in 6 vols., Būlāḳ 1313-15; (*b*) *Ramz al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451) in 2 vols. Būlāḳ 1285 and 1299; (*c*) *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of Mollā Miskīn al-Harawī (written in 811/1408-9), Cairo 1294, 1303, 1312; (*d*) *Tawfīḳ al-Raḥmān* of al-Ṭāʾī (d. 1192/1778), Cairo 1307 etc.; (*e*) the most important: *al-Baḥr al-rāʾiḳ* of Ibn Nud̲j̲aym (970/1562-3) in 8 vols., Cairo 1334.

He also wrote a series of commentaries, e.g. two on the *Kitāb al-Nāfiʿ* of Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Samarḳandī (d. 656/1258) entitled *al-Mustaṣfā* and *al-Manāfiʿ*; on the *Manẓūma* of Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (d. 537/1442-3) on the differences of opinion between Abū Ḥanīfa, his two pupils, and al-S̲h̲āfiʿī and Mālik entitled *al-Mustaṣfā*, as well as a synopsis entitled *al-Muṣaffā* (finished on 20 S̲h̲aʿbān 670/22 March 1272); cf. Brockelmann, I², 550, S I, 761; also on the *Muntak̲h̲ab fī uṣūl al-dīn* of al-Ak̲h̲sīkatī (d. 644/1246-7; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, no. 13095). On the other hand, he did not write a commentary on the *Hidāya*, as Ibn Ḳuṭlūbug̲h̲ā and Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, vi, 484, say (cf. the story of the origin of his *Wāfī* according to al-Itḳānī (d. 758/1357) in Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, vi, 419). He also wrote a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, *Madārik al-tanzīl wa ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-taʾwīl* (printed in 2 vols., Bombay 1279, Cairo 1306, 1326).

His confession of faith *al-ʿUmda fī uṣūl al-dīn* (apparently also called *al-Manār fī uṣūl al-dīn*: Ḳuras̲h̲ī, Ibn Duḳmāḳ) became known quite early in Europe from Cureton's edition (*Pillar of the creed*, London 1843). In it he closely follows the *ʿAḳīda* of Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn al-Nasafī (see III. above) and also wrote a special commentary on it, *al-Iʿtimād fi 'l-iʿtiḳād*.

Bibliography: The following borrow from the same unknown source: Ḳuras̲h̲ī, *al-D̲j̲awāhir al-muḍīʾa*, Ḥaydarābād 1332, i, 270; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Naẓm al-d̲j̲umān fī ṭabaḳāt aṣḥāb al-nuʿmān*, ms. Berlin, Pet. ii, 24, fol. 147b; Ibn Ḳuṭlūbug̲h̲ā, *Tād̲j̲ al-tarād̲j̲im*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1862, no. 86; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Arabe 2071, fol. 16a. Also Kaffawī, *Iʿlām al-Ak̲h̲yār*, ms. Berlin, Sprenger 301, fols. 282a-283b (extract: Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya*, Cairo 1324, 101); Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Kas̲h̲f al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, index; Flügel, *Classen d. hanafit. Rechtsgelehrten*, Leipzig 1860, 276, 323, where the date of death is wrongly given; Brockelmann, II², 250-3, S II, 263-8; Sarkīs, *Dictionnaire de bibliogr. arabe*, col. 1852-3; N.P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, New York 1916, 176, 181.

(W. HEFFENING)

AL-**NASĀʾĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. S̲H̲UʿAYB B. BAḤR B. SINĀN, author of one of the six canonical collections of traditions [see ḤADĪT̲H̲], b. 215/830, d. 303/915. Very little is known about him. He is said to have made extensive travels in order to hear traditions, to have settled in Egypt, afterwards in Damascus, and to have died in consequence of ill-treatment to which he was exposed at Damascus or, according to others, at Ramla, in consequence of his feelings in favour of ʿAlī and against the Umayyads. On account of this unnatural death he is called a martyr. His tomb is at Mecca. Al-Nasāʾī's collection of traditions is divided into 51 chapters, each of which is subdivided into *bābs*. As to the subjects, considerable space is given to traditions dealing with the ceremonial duties (*ʿibādāt*); the chapters *iḥbās, nuḥl, ruḳbā* and *ʿumrā* (forms of bequest, donation etc.) do not occur in any of the other collections, although a part of the materials contained in them appears under different heads. On the other hand, chapters on eschatology (*fitan, ḳiyāma*, etc.), on the recounting of

virtues (*manāḳib*, etc.), on the Ḳurʾān, are lacking. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 167-9, cf. Brockelmann, I², 170-1, SI, 269-70, mentions nine other works by al-Nasāʾī, either extant or known by citations, in addition to his *Sunna*. These include a work on the virtues of ʿAlī, the *K. al-Khaṣāʾiṣ fī faḍl ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, printed Cairo 1308/1890-1; a work on weak and unreliable narrators of traditions, the *K. al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa 'l-matrūkīn*, printed Agra 1323/1905-6 and Allahabad 1325/1907-8; a *Tasmiyat fuḳahāʾ al-amṣār*; a *Tafsīr*; etc.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 77-8, tr. de Slane, i, 58-9; Dhahabī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 266 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325, 1907, i, 36 ff.; Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, facs. fol. 559, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 87-8; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 141, 249 ff.; idem, in *ZDMG*, 1 (1896), 112; Wüstenfeld, *Der Imâm el-Schâfiʿî und seine Anhänger*, in *Abh. GW Gött.*, xxxvii, 108-9; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 164. (A.J. WENSINCK*)

NAṢĀRĀ, plural of Naṣrānī, rarely Naṣrān, Naṣrāna in the feminine form, a noun which currently denotes Christians in the Muslim Arab world, is used fifteen times in the Ḳurʾān and is interpreted, by the majority of commentators and Arab geographers and lexicographers, as derived from the name of the locality of Nazareth (al-Nāṣira [*q.v.*]) (A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾan*, Baroda 1938, 280-1).

This designation refers to the name given to Jesus by his contemporaries, who called him Jesus of Nazareth, or the Nazarene, whence his disciples were initially called "Nazarenes" by the Jews, as is shown in the Acts of the Apostles (xxiv, 5), where Saint Paul is described as "a leader of the sect of the Nazarenes". This name, the most ancient applied to the Christians, is attested in ancient Armenian, and is still in use today in the Malayalam dialect, in the form "Nazranikal", as the name of the evangelist of southern India, St. Thomas.

The name "Nazarenes", preserved by the Ḳurʾān, thus precedes the name "Christians" which appears for the first time, in Antioch, in approximately 50 A.D. (Acts, xi, 26). It is true that in sources later than the apostolic era of Christianity but previous to Islam, there is a distinction made between "Nazarenes" and "Christians", the term "Nazarenes" being then applied to Judaeo-Christian sects which "acknowledged the Messiah as Son of God, but conducted themselves in all respects as Jews", as stated by Theodore bār Ḳūnī, as late as 800 A.D.

This distinction is attested in Iranian sources (inscription of Kartir at Naḳsh-i Rustam, around 286 A.D.), as well as in Greek sources (references, for example, in J.M. Magnin, in the journal *Proche Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, 1973-8) and in Syriac sources (Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, cols. 1821 and 2444, and S.P. Brock, *Some aspects of Greek words in Syriac*, Göttingen, Symposium on *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*, 91-5).

But the term "Naṣārā" does not seem to have had the Judaeo-Christian connotation in the Ḳurʾān, where it appears rather to involve the more ancient denomination mentioned above and continuing in use, in the form "Nazeri", among the Jews, more numerous than Christians in the regions of Mecca and Medina (*Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem, 4th edition, 1978, xii, col. 1521). It recurs in the malediction against the Nazarenes contained in the official prayer of the Synagogue, the Tephilla, in the form codified by Rabban Gamaliel II towards the end of the first century (cf. J. Bonsirven, *Le judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus Christ*, ii, Beauchesne 1935, 146).

The influence of groups specifically described as "Nazarene", Ebionites or Elkasaites (M.P. Roncaglia, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, xxi [1971], 101-26) which, it has been claimed, are perceptible in the Ḳurʾān, have led some to believe that the Ḳurʾān was a "Nazarene preaching mission" (cf. *al-Ḳurʾān daʿwa naṣrāniyya*, Paulistes, Harissa 1969, by "al-Ustādh Ḥaddād", a thesis summarised in French by the author, in fact the archimandrite Joseph Dora-Ḥaddād, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, xxiii [1973], 148-55), but no such conclusions are to be drawn from the presence of the word "Naṣāra" in the Ḳurʾān. Here the word denotes Christians in general, in the eastern groups known to the Muslims, groups which were to be distributed in the classical sources on *al-milal wa 'l-niḥal* into sects: Nestorian (Naṣṭūriyya), Melkite (Malkāniyya) and Jacobite (Yaʿḳūbiyya).

As for the term *masīḥī* (pl. *masīḥiyyūn*), Arabic transcription of the Greek Χριστιανοί, and derived from the name of Christ (*al-Masīḥ*), it was only used, according to the Muslim writer al-Samʿānī (*al-Ansāb*, v, 300), in the 6th/12th century, by Christians among themselves. The forenames Masīḥ, Masīḥī, or ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, provided the *nasab* of a Muslim of the 4th/10th century, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Maṣīḥī of Baghdād. This was also the name of a Nestorian family, also of Baghdād, consisting of physicians and a Catholicos [see MASĪḤĪ]. However, in their works, even Christian writers habitually use the terms al-Naṣrānī and al-Naṣārā when referring to Christians. Only one writer, apparently, Sulaymān al-Ghazzi (6th/end of 11th century), uses either al-Nasrāniyya or al-Masīḥiyya to refer to Christianity.

The other terms used denote either the Byzantine Christians (*Rūm*) or, especially after the Crusades, the western Christians (*Ifrandj*).

Specific histories of the various religious communities.

The doctrinal position of the Ḳurʾān, of *ḥadīth* and of polemicists in regard to Christians in general has been examined in the article AHL AL-KITĀB. Similarly, general aspects of the behaviour of Muslims towards non-Muslims, on the level of institutions and of day-to-day social life, have been dealt with under the heading AHL AL-DHIMMA. The studies cited, both of Tritton and of Fattal, have already given historical examples of the application of different Ḳurʾānic and judicial principles.

Some histories of particular groups have already been or are soon to be the subject of articles, for example the Copts (s.v. ḲIBṬ, AL-ḤĀKIM, FĀṬIMIDS) or the Melkites (s.v. RŪM).

This article will therefore be limited to a summary of the condition of the remaining groups, the Syriacs, divided, as is well known, into two groups: the first, the western or "Jacobite" Syriacs, suspected of Monophysitism, belonging to the patriarchate of Antioch, were particularly well represented in the Syrian region of the formerly Roman and subsequently Byzantine empire, with extensions into the formerly Persian empire. As for the eastern Syriacs, Nestorians, owing allegiance to the Catholicos (*al-djathalīḳ*) of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (al-Madāʾin [*q.v.*]), they were particularly abundant in the former Persian empire, in what are now ʿIraḳ and Persia. They were also to be found in the Arabian Peninsula and, further afield, in Central Asia, extending as far as India, China and Tibet.

Christians of Arabia and the Gulf.

New references regarding Christianity in the Arabian Peninsula are to be added to those—still useful—of the NAṢĀRĀ article in *EI*¹. The following list

is by no means exhaustive: J. Ryckmans, *Le christianisme en Arabie du sud préislamique*, in *L'Oriente christiano nella storia*, Acad. Lincei, quaderno no. 62 (Rome 1964), 413-53; C. Hechaïme, *Louis Cheikho et son livre "Le christianisme dans la littérature chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam"*, in *Recherches*, Institut de lettres orientales de Beyrouth, 2nd series, xxxviii (Beirut 1967), especially 54-122; J. Spencer Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in pre-islamic Times*, Beirut 1973 (useful for the documentation, with reservations as to interpretation); Irfan Shahid, *Byzantium in South Arabia*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxxiii (1979), 25-94; idem, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, Washington D.C. 1984; J. Beaucamp and Chr. Robin, *Le christianisme dans la péninsule arabique d'après l'epigraphie et l'archéologie*, in *Travaux et Mémoires*, viii (Paris 1981) 45-61; G. Fiaccadori, *Yemen nestoriano*, in *Studi in onore di Edde Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 195-212.

Following Beaucamp and Robin, it is possible to identify two zones of Christianity in the peninsula in the period before Islam: first the south-western corner, comprising the high territories of the Yemen, dominated at that time by the tribe of Ḥimyar and inhabited by a population composed largely of sedentary farmers, speaking a Semitic language distinct from Arabic, South-Arabian; and the rest of the peninsula, inhabited mainly by nomadic herdsmen, speaking Arabic and belonging to fluctuating tribal confederations.

The oases of the South, Nadjrān, Ma'rib and the Ḥaḍramawt, were familiar with Christianity, especially as a result of the Byzantine-Ethiopian invasion of the 6th century. In 518, they had been subjected to violent persecution [see AṢḤĀB AL-UKHDŪD, DHŪ NUWĀS, NADJRĀN, and the studies of Irfan Shahid]. As for the northern Ḥidjāz and the western shore of the Arabo-Persian Gulf, with ʿUmān and the island of Ṣukuṭrā, these had been evangelised progressively from the north, placed by the Sāsānids under the control of the Arabs of Ḥīra [see AL-ḤĪRA, LAKHM], and attached to the diocese of Perside (Fars). They formed, from the 5th century onward, a district with numerous bishoprics (Mashmahīdj, Dayrīn, Māzun (ʿUmān), Hadjar and Yamāma, Hatta (al-Khaṭṭ) and Suḳuṭrā), often having separatist tendencies with regard to the Nestorian see of Madā'in (cf. J.M. Fiey, *Diocèses syriaques orientaux du Golfe Persique*, in *Memorial Mgr G. Khouri-Sarkis*, Louvain 1969, 177-219, repr. in *Communautés syriaques en Iran et Irak, des origines à 1552*, Variorum Reprints, London 1979.

It is difficult to summarise the fluctuating situation of the communities of the eastern coast. Numerous conversions to Islam came about as a result of heavy taxation, a half of all property according to al-Balādhurī and the letters of the patriarch Īshōʿyabh III (cf. Fiey, *Ishoʿyaw le Grand*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, xxxvi/2 [Paris 1970], 31-41), especially in Baḥrayn and ʿUmān.

References to the last known bishops of the dioceses mentioned above date from 676. However, there were still Christians in Yamāma and Baḥrayn between 893 and 899, when the Ḳarmaṭī Abū Saʿīd seized power for a brief period and treated the Christians with benevolence.

The see of Mashmahīdj (Samāhidj) still had a bishop in 900 (J. Beaucamp and Chr. Robin, *L'évêché de Mashmahidj dans l'archipel de Bahrayn (Vᵉ-IXᵉ siecles)*, in *Dilmun* [Berlin 1983], 171-96). A Syriac text of 1007 indicates that the ecclesiastical province of Perside still had ten suffragan bishops; unfortunately, the sees are not named. The last Nestorian bishop of Suḳuṭrā is mentioned in 1283.

In the south-west of the peninsula, Ṣanʿā' and the Yemen were still served by a bishop between 837 and 850 (Thomas of Marga, *Livre des supérieurs*, iv, ch. 20).

The situation of the Christians of the peripheral Arab tribes has already been surveyed in the articles BAḤĪRA, BOṢRĀ, GHASSĀN and AL-ḤĪRA.

The Christians of ʿIrāḳ in the first centuries of Islam.

The years immediately preceding the Islamic conquest of what is today ʿIrāḳ had seen an important change in the situation of the Christians. Since 486, the Church of the "Lands of the Persians" had been officially Nestorian. However some dissidents, later to reveal themselves openly as Monophysites, had survived and had evolved an embryonic hierarchy. The conquest of the whole of northern ʿIrāḳ by Heraclius, in 628-9, radically altered the situation. Under the shadow of Byzantine military might, and with a Byzantine governor established in Takrīt, the western Syriacs were enabled to establish a community with a Grand Metropolitan (later called Maphrian) at Takrīt itself and eight (later ten) dioceses, covering all of the conquered sector. Although in his own territory Heraclius favoured the Melkites and persecuted the Jacobites, in the annexed territories he pursued a different policy. Here he favoured the Jacobites against the local Nestorian church, which had links with the Sāsānids. The Jacobites thus enjoyed new privileges, while the Nestorians lost their former pre-eminence.

The welcome given in 635 to the conquering Muslims by the two rival groups had the aim of gaining their support, in one case for the preservation of privileges recently gained, in the other, for the recovery of lost ascendancy. In the absence of Byzantine troops to defend the towns, bishops of both camps were seen welcoming the Muslims and offering them hospitality (cf. Fiey, in *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, Amman 1987, 96-103).

From the outset, as was to become a common occurrence, the divided Christians exchanged mutual accusations in their dealings with the new authorities. There were few reported cases of forcible conversion on the part of the latter, but the imposition of the *djizya* provoked numerous defections, so numerous that al-Ḥadjdjadj b. Yusuf, governing ʿIrāḳ on behalf of the Umayyads, was obliged to forbid the Syriac Nabaṭ of Kaskar-Wāsiṭ to embrace Islam, even inventing bogus *ḥadīths* to this effect (cf. Fiey, *Les Nabaṭ de Kaskar-Wāsiṭ dans les premiers siecles de l'Islam*, in *MUSJ*, li [1990], 51-87).

Further inter-Christian rivalries and the intervention of the physician Sargūna led the Muslim authorities to support the interloper John the Leper against the Nestorian patriarch Ḥnānīshōʿ (685-700), which resulted in a fourteen-year vacancy at the head of the patriarchal see (Mārī, *Akhbār baṭārikat al-mashriḳ*, 63-4; Ṣalība, same title, 59). On the other hand, the governor Khalīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (the "son of the Christian") upheld the authority of the patriarch Pethion (731-40) (Mārī, 66).

For their part, the western Syriac chronicles paint a rather black picture of the tribulations endured by the peasants of Syria (perhaps not only the Christians) under the Umayyad caliphs, against a background of incessant natural disasters and wars between rival princes. A word which constantly recurs in the chronicles, always with an air of doom about it, is "census". For the people this meant new taxes, levied for the building of magnificent palaces from which only the princes benefited, or for the building of canals to irrigate their gardens. Worse still was when the caliph died before the completion of his project,

and all proved to have been in vain. The Christian chroniclers, unlike their Muslim colleagues, saw the world from the point of view of the people, and this was not always rosy (cf. Fiey, *The Umayyads in Syriac sources*, in *Proceedings of the third Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, Amman 1989, ii, 11-25).

Under the ʿAbbāsids.

During the period of the ʿAbbāsids, it was not primarily as a result of taxation that the numbers of Christians continued to diminish. The most important factor in conversion to Islam, especially among the educated classes, physicians or *kuttāb*, seems to have been social pressure. Institutionally, the Christian occupied a marginal position and could not be fully integrated into society except through conversion. This was often necessary in order to retain a post or to gain promotion to a higher post.

This fact is made clear in three texts which cover the whole period and thus illustrate the situation in an unbroken sequence. These emanate from the Nestorian philosopher and physician Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 260/873), from the Muslim poet Abū ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1058) and from the Jewish philosopher and oculist Ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284) (cf. Fiey, *Conversions des juifs et de chrétiens a l'Islam sous les Abbassides, dans les sources arabes et syriaques*, 17th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Madrid 1990). Such self-interested conversions were treated with scepticism by the Muslims, by the caliph al-Maʾmūn for example, but over the course of time, families continued to observe the new faith adopted by their ancestors.

There were, certainly, blemishes in the record, popular demonstrations accompanied by the pillage and destruction of churches, provoked by the announcement, true or false, of a victory of the Byzantines, or later of the Crusaders, of a massacre of Muslim prisoners, or by the preaching of a fanatic. The Christians, perhaps more vulnerable than the Muslims, were sometimes the victims of extortion on the part of greedy princes, but apart from the execution of a few renegades, there were no massacres of any significance.

It is a fact, however, that Christians gradually disappeared from whole regions of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, expecially in those where fighting between local principalities, out of the control of central authority, provoked instability.

Any attempt at a quantitative evaluation of defections, based on the examination of names (such as has been undertaken, for example, by R.W. Bulliet in *Conversions to Islam in the mediaeval period*, Cambridge, Mass. 1979) is unlikely to succeed, since names such as ʿAlī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were born by Christians as well as by Muslims (cf. Ḥabīb Zayyāt, *Names, forenames and surnames of Christians in Islam* (in Arabic), in *al-Khizāna al-sharkiyya*, i, Beirut 1952, 1-22).

As regards the conversions of the common people, documentation is more sparse. There are, however, recorded cases of Muslim demonstrations of popular piety which resulted in large-scale collective conversions. The funeral of Ibn Ḥanbal in Baghdād, in 211/855, is supposed to have induced the conversion of 20,000 Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians.

As for the survival of the dioceses, there seems to be no point in distinguishing (as was done by J. Spencer Trimingham, *op. cit.*) between "Arab" dioceses and "Aramaean-Arab" dioceses; the former, having no roots in Arab consciousness, would have disappeared more quickly. Among the "Arab" dioceses, Sindjār and the western Syriac Beth ʿArabāye (of which the last see was the Dayr al-Muʿallaḳ near Balad, to the west of Mawṣil), and which comprised the Ṭuʿāyē, ʿAḳulāyē and Tanūkhāyē nomads, is attested until the 8th/14th century, Karma and the diocese of the middle Tigris until the 6th/12th century, and its neighbour Baḥrīn and the Djazīra until about the 3rd/9th century. As for the originally Taghlibī dioceses, that of the south, "ʿĀna and the tribes" was to last until the 4th/10th century, that of the north, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, until 1915; Takrīt remained the see of the western Syriac "Maphrian" until 551/1156. The Nestorian diocese of Balad is attested until the 7th/13th century.

The fact that Christians survived until these various dates does not mean that they felt at ease with their status as *dhimmīs*. It may well be supposed that they dreamed of reversing the situation, throwing off their subjugation and taking power in their turn.

From this point of view, the impact of the Crusades [*q.v.*] cannot be ignored. It is true that the Crusaders did not penetrate as far as Mawṣil and Baghdād, but, just as in former times the Christian envoy of the Sāsānids felt his heart melt when he experienced the noise of the ten thousand semantrons (wooden boards) of the Byzantine camp, so the Syriac Christians may well have dreamed of a terrestrial kingdom, finally established with the help of strangers from foreign lands overseas, a kingdom such as would enable them to mention the names of "Christian kings" in the diptychs even though they had not felt the same emotional attachment towards the Byzantines, who considered them heretics.

Even if it is possible to refute the accusations of Ibn Naḳḳāsh and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya of active collusion of the Christians with the Crusader enemy, except in the territories conquered by the latter, it cannot be denied that the Christians of Baghdād considered as "martyrs" the Frankish prisoners executed there between 1149 and 1195/544-91, and buried in the church of Sūḳ al-Thalātha.

When, in 557/1162, Georgian Crusaders came to Mawṣil for an exchange of prisoners and paraded in the streets of the town on horseback (a forbidden act for Christians), with crosses (also forbidden) displayed on the tips of their lances, a naive Jacobite sculptor was inspired to depict the patron of his monastery (a saint of the 4th century) in Crusader costume, striking down the demon, i.e. "the other", Islam. This small picture (reproduced in J. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, 11, Beirut 1965, before p. 593) says more than any number of texts about the mentality of the time. Al-Mutawakkil had only recently commanded the Christians to place wooden images of the Devil on the doors of their homes, and here the situation was totally reversed, if only in a dream.

The hopes which the Syriacs had pinned on the Crusaders were dashed when, in 583/1187, Salāḥ al-Dīn recaptured Jerusalem. This loss was felt by the Christians, Nestorian as well a Jacobite, as a cause for national lamentation, as the colophons of manuscripts testify. But their sensibilities were wounded most of all when, in 1189, after Salāḥ al-Dīn had sent to Baghdād the official, great cross carried in battle captured from the Crusaders, this cross was buried in the threshold of the gate known as Bāb al-Nūbī al-Sharīf, so that passers-by could trample it underfoot and spit on it. Did whoever was responsible for devising this humiliation evidently remember that the very name of this gate came from the ceremonial entry, in 836, of George, son of the King of Nubia, with bishops and a veritable retinue of horsemen, bearing crosses of gold?

The gulf between Christians and Muslims was now firmly fixed. It became even deeper when the Christ-

ian dream was shattered once more by the capture of Saint Louis, in 1250. The Christians of Baʿlabakk, for example, "veiled and covered the faces of their idols", their icons in other words, as a sign of mourning. The Muslim authorities permitted the Jews to take revenge on them (cf. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbasides*, CSCO, vol. ccccix, Subsidia t. 52, Louvain 1980, Arabic tr. Ḥusnī Zayna, *Aḥwāl al-Naṣārā fī khilāfat Banī 'l-ʿAbbās*, Beirut 1990).

Syriac Christians under the Mongols.

However, other hopes for the Christians were appearing on the horizon. After 1221 a Syriac chronicler noted: "Advance from the north of pagan Turks. Complete and humiliating defeat of Djalāl al-Dīn, the great king of the Turks (of Khʷārazm), by Turks who are called in the Turkish language Tatars, and in Syriac the Huns".

After 1232 the same author (an unnamed citizen of Edessa) noted with interest that these barbarians "were determined to annihilate Turks rather than Christians, Muslims rather than Jews". This was because numerous Mongol tribes, Uighurs, Naimans and Keraits, were in fact Christians.

Initial contacts with the vanguard of the invading hordes were somewhat painful. There were some deplorable massacres among Christians and monks, but in the course of time new developments became increasingly favourable to the Christians. In 1244 Haythum, king of Armenia, made an alliance with the Mongols. The prince of Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*], failing to gain support from the frivolous caliph al-Mustaʿṣim, capitulated in his turn.

At the same time western envoys, Franciscans and Dominicans, had begun to make contacts with the Mongol princes. Initially these contacts consisted, on the Mongol side, of ultimata demanding universal submission to the "Master of the World", and on the Christian side of exhortations to accept baptism, but relations were established and Eastern Christians participated in diplomatic legations dealing with Europe.

When the Il-Khān Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] was approaching Baghdād, the caliph himself included the Nestorian Catholicos in the delegation sent to meet him. But he was too late. The delegation was not received and, in 656/1258, Baghdād was taken and sacked.

Although Arab chronicles exaggerated the atrocities and the scale of destruction, there were nevertheless some 90,000 deaths. The Christians (and those Muslims who were able to take refuge with them) were systematically spared, on the insistence of the all-powerful Nestorian wife of Il-Khān, Doḳuz Khātūn. The caliphal palace known as Dār al-Duwaydār, as well as the Dār al-Falak and a women's *ribāṭ*, were given to the Catholicos, who established a church there and struck semantrons, which the Muslims considered an impertinence. The euphoric mood engendered among the Christians by this new situation is accurately reflected by an illustration in a Jacobite gospel of 1260, representing the "new Constantine" and the "new Helena", responsible for the "triumph" of the Cross, bearing the features of Hūlāgū and Doḳuz Khātūn (Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures*, ii, Geuthner 1964, 99, upper right corner).

Christian governors were installed in numerous towns, Mawṣil, Irbil, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, etc.

Only a few days after the completion of the illustrated manuscript which has just been cited (cf. Fiey, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxviii/1-2 [1974], 64-99), a first warning was delivered to the Christians that the reign of the Mongols could not last, this being their defeat at ʿAyn Djalūt [*q.v.*]. It was to take a further twenty years and the battle of Ḥimṣ in 680/1281 for the tide of invasion to be definitively stemmed in Syria, but the Christians were so intoxicated by the prospect of enjoying real power, at last, that they failed to act with circumspection, especially in their dealings with Muslims. They were to pay dearly for having overstepped the "threshold of tolerance". The majority of Christian governors were to be assassinated. (For an analysis of the situation of Christians in Damascus during the brief Mongol occupation of the city in 658/1260 and during the 7th/13th century in general, see L. Pouzet, *Damas au VIIᵉ/XIIIᵉ siecle, vie et structures religieuses dans une métropole islamique*, Coll. Recherches, 15 A, Beirut 1988, 306-34, 450-9.)

Among those belonging to this "golden age" of the Syriacs under the Mongols was Bar Hebraeus [see IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ], the Jacobite Maphrian who, among other scientific activities, collaborated with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and numerous scholars, including a Chinese, in constructing the magnificent observatory of Hūlāgū at Marāgha. He died in 685/1286.

After an initial alarm under Aḥmad Tegüder (see Fiey, *Pourquoi la tentative de rapprochement Mongols-Mamelouks échoua-t-elle sous Tegüder-Ahmad et Ḳalāwūn?*, in *Annales d'histoire et d'archéologie*, Faculty of Letters, Université St. Joseph, Beirut, iii [1984], 1-33), the Islamisation of the Mongols, begun by the common people and continued by the *amīrs*, gained the upper hand in 694/1295. Despite the occupation of the catholical see by an Ongüt Turk from China, Yahwlāhā III (1281-1317), the Christians once again fell into disfavour (cf. Fiey, *Le grand catholicos turco-mongol Yahwalaha III*, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, xxxviii [1988] 209-28). The reaction of the Muslims against the Christians was often violent, in response to what the Muslims saw as provocations. Thus at Irbil [*q.v.*] in 708/1309, almost the entire Christian population of the town was massacred. Yahwālāhā himself barely escaped death.

The Il-Khānid period in Persia ended in anarchy during the reign of Abū Saʿīd (716-36/1316-35). During the 8th/14th century, the Black Death decimated the Middle East. At the end of the century, came the ravages of Tīmūr; much of Christendom perished at this time. (Cf. C. Lemercier-Quelquejay, *La paix mongole*, xiii, 1970; Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Mongols*, CSCO, vol. ccclxii, subsidia t. 44, Louvain 1975.)

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(J.M. FIEY)

AL-**NASAWĪ**, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Khurandizī al-Zaydarī (d. 647/1249-50), secretary and biographer of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*] Mingīrnī (for this name, usually rendered as Mangubirtī, see Jackson, in *Iran*, xxviii [1990], 51, n. 1). He was born in Khurandiz, a fortress near the town of Zaydar and among the dependencies of Nasā in Khurāsān (Yāḳūt, ii, 415); according to al-Nasawī, his family was believed to have held the place from the establishment of Islam in the region (*Sīra*, ed. Houdas, 53). When Nasā became the first town in Khurāsān to fall to the Mongols, al-Nasawī bought off the invaders with gifts including 10,000 cubits (*dhirāʿ*) of cloth, so that Khurandiz was spared. For his aid to a Khʷārazmian official on this occasion he obtained a large *iḳṭāʿ* from Uzlāgh-Shāh, son and heir-presumptive of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Muḥammad (*ibid.*, 57-9); though in the circumstances it is unlikely that he ever enjoyed the grant. Al-Nasawī entered the service of the new ruler of Nasā, Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Zangī

b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Ḥamza, who at the time of the Mongol invasion had recovered his patrimony following a period of internment in Kh^wārazm (*ibid.*, 50, 99). As Zangī's representative on the staff of Īnānč Khān, a fugitive Kh^wārazmian *amīr*, he was present at the victory near Nasā over a Mongol detachment and also at Īnānč Khān's defeat by the Mongols in the plain between Djurdjān and Astarābād in 619/1222-3, after which al-Nasawī returned to Khurandiz (*ibid.*, 65-9). He then became *nā'ib* to Nuṣrat al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. ʿUmar, Zangī's successor at Nasā (*ibid.*, 104). In the dispute among the Kh^wārazm-Shāh's sons following his death, Nuṣrat al-Dīn favoured Djalāl al-Dīn and declined to read the *khuṭba* for Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who therefore launched against him an army under Īnānč Khān's son Doluḳ (Ṭuluḳ). Al-Nasawī, sent to appease Ghiyāth al-Dīn, learned en route that most of the prince's commanders had deserted to Djalāl al-Dīn; he thereupon joined the latter's forces. The money destined for Ghiyāth al-Dīn was instead presented to Djalāl al-Dīn's *wazīr* Sharaf al-Mulk, who ordered Doluḳ to raise the siege. But within a few days news came that Nasā had fallen and that Nuṣrat al-Dīn had been killed. Al-Nasawī's dependants were massacred and his property pillaged, despite his services to Doluḳ's father (*ibid.*, 106-9).

From this point al-Nasawī's fortunes were closely intertwined with those of Djalāl al-Dīn, who in 622/1225 made him *kātib al inshāʾ* after the fall of Marāgha (*ibid.*, 110). Al-Nasawī came to acquire considerable standing at the Kh^wārazm-Shāh's court. Having superseded Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mawdūd as *wazīr* of Nasā, he faced a conspiracy by Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk and his ally Sharaf al-Mulk, but Djalāl al-Dīn upheld al-Nasawī, and Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk died soon afterwards (*ibid.*, 149-50). In 627/1230 al-Nasawī was sent on an embassy to Alamūt [*q.v.*] to demand that the Assassin leader ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad read the *khuṭba* in the Kh^wārazm-Shāh's name; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was allegedly impressed by his boldness. After rejoining his master at Tabrīz, he fled with him into Mūghān on the news that Mongol forces had arrived in pursuit. Al-Nasawī was employed in unsuccessful missions to woo the rebellious city of Gandja and to persuade al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī, the Ayyūbid ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn, to furnish Djalāl al-Dīn with reinforcements against the Mongols. During the Kh^wārazm-Shāh's final battle with the Mongols in 628/1231, al-Nasawī escaped to Āmid, where he was incarcerated for two months by its Artuḳid [*q.v.*] prince, and thence went to Irbil and Mārdīn before returning by way of Ādharbāydjān to Mayyāfāriḳīn; it was here that he learned of Djalāl al-Dīn's death at the hands of a Kurdish bandit. After staying some years at Mayyāfāriḳīn, he joined the Kh^wārazmian general Berke Khān in northern ʿIrāḳ, serving as his *wazīr* until Berke Khān's death in battle with the Egyptians in 644/1246. He spent his last few years at Aleppo (Ḥalab), where he died in 647/1249-50. Al-Nasawī is to be distinguished from another of Djalāl al-Dīn's chancellery officials, Nūr al-Dīn Munshī, with whom he has in the past been identified.

Al-Nasawī wrote two works: *Nafthat al-maṣdūr*, written in 632/1234-5, an account in Persian of his tribulations prior to his arrival at Mayyāfāriḳīn; and *Sīrat al-sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Mingīrnī*, a history of the Kh^wārazm-Shāh, which dates from 639/1241-2, in Arabic. The latter work is cited by a number of authorities from the middle of the 7th/13th century onwards, beginning with Abū Shāma (*al-Dhayl ʿalā al-rawḍatayn*, ed. M.Z. al-Kawtharī, *Tarādjim ridjāl al-ḳarnayn al-sādis wa 'l-sābiʿ*, Cairo 1347/1966, 101). There exists also a Persian translation dating from the late 7th/13th century (but according to Mīnuwī, no earlier than 660/1261-2); this important version unfortunately omits some material, particularly of an autobiographical nature.

Bibliography: *Sīrat al-sulṭan Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. O. Houdas, *Histoire du sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, Paris 1891, tr. Paris 1895; for some corrections, see J.A. Boyle, *Minorsky's marginal commentary on Houdas's translation of Nasavi's Life of Sultan Jalâl al-Dîn Khwârazm-Shâh*, in *Yādnāme-ye Irāni-ye Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 30-6; *Sīrat-i Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Mudjtabā Mīnuwī, Tehran 1344 Sh./1965 (2nd ed. 1365 Sh./1986), introd.; *Nafthat al-maṣdūr*, ed. Amīr Ḥasan Yazdigirdī, Tehran 1343 Sh./1965; Brockelmann, I², 389, and S I, 552; Storey, ii, 1088-90; Storey-Bregel, ii, 755-8; H.L. Gottschalk, *Al-malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, 13-14. (P. Jackson)

NAṢB (A.) "setting up, raising", a technical term of Arabic grammar denoting the vowel /a/ which affects the final consonant of words (nouns and verbs) which are inflected (*muʿrab*). The term does not indicate a function, but the position of the tongue raised (*manṣūb*) in the middle of the palate in order to pronounce the vowel /a/. European grammarians see in this vowel the mark of the accusative case in nouns and that of the subjunctive in verbs. For the Arab grammarians, the /a/ vowel affects the nouns which the speaker mentions in order to increase the concern (*fāʾida*) of the speaker, after a complete (*tāmm*) speech utterance (*kalām*) or a complete noun.

Nouns which are "raised up" by the vowel /a/ after a complete speech utterance are of two kinds. (1) The noun on which an action is exerted (*mafʿūl*), that which specifies time or place, i.e. is identical with the *ẓarf* (*mafʿūl fīhi*), that which is the cause for the action (*mafʿūl lahu*), and that which accompanies it in its operation (*mafʿūl maʿahu*); that which exercises rection (*ʿāmil*) is a verb for which its agent (*fāʿil*) is sufficient (*istaghnā*). (2) The assimilated noun (*mushabbah*) in the name of what is acted upon. This noun can be the same as the agent noun, for which it is a state (*ḥāl*) or a specification (*tamyīz*). That which exercises rection may be a true verb, or a word which has the form of a verb, which can vary and behave like a verb, but which is not a true verb (*kāna* and its sisters), or a fixed and invariable particle (*inna* and its likes). However, this noun may also be something other than the agent and be a part of it, sc. the excepted noun (*mustathnā*); the regent is a verb appropriate for its agent.

As for nouns "raised up" after a complete noun, these are of two kinds. (1) The noun which specifies (*mayyaza*) a noun of lineal measure (*miḳdār*), of surface area (*misāḥa*), of volume (*kayl*) or of weight (*wazn*), annexed (*muḍāf*) to another noun. (2) The noun which specifies a noun of number (*ʿadad*) to which a *nūn* is suffixed (like the tens) or which is built up (*buniya*) with another number (like the units with the tens). In both cases, the regent is the noun made complete by annexation, a suffix or a construction, which prevents the noun specified being itself annexed.

In the verb, only the imperfective aspect can be "raised up", because it is analogous (*muḍāriʿ*) to the agent noun. The Arab grammarians considered that the vowel /a/ which affects the imperfective is determined by two kinds of particles. (1) The particles *an* "that" (after a wish, hope, etc.), *kay* "in order that", *idhan* "then" (if this particle introduces a reply (*djawāb*) and if the verb which follows it refers to the

future) and *lan* as the negation of an action in the future. These four particles determine the vowel /a/ by themselves (*bi-anfusihā*). (2) The particles *ḥattā* "until, in order that", *li-* "so that", *aw* "unless", *wa-* "with the fact that" and *fa-* "with the result that" (only after an order, prohibition, negation, question, wish or offer). These five particles do not determine the vowel /a/ by themselves, but by the implicit (*muḍmara*) and "supposed" (*muḳaddara*) particle *an*, which can only be made explicit (*muẓhara*) by use after the particles *li-* and *wa-*.

Bibliography: G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, 202-3; Mubarrad, *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, ed. ʿUḍayma, ii, 6-43, iv, 166-72, 299-318; Ibn al-Sarrādj, *K. al-Uṣūl*, ed. Fatlī, i, 158-60, ii, 147-56; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo, i, 109-31, ii, 2-117, vii, 15-40. (G. Troupeau)

NASDJ [see bisāṭ in Suppl., ḥarīr, ḳuṭn, libās, ṣūf].

NASHĀṬ, Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of Iṣfahān, one of the best Persian poets and stylists of the period of the early Ḳādjārs. He was a physician in Shīrāz and *kalāntār* [*q.v.*] and governor in his native city, devoting his leisure hours to poetry in which he displayed a great facility. He wrote verse in Arabic, Persian and Turkish and was further celebrated for his great skill in *shikasta*. Rumours of his poetical gifts induced the Ḳādjār Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834) to invite him to Tehran as court poet. There Nashāṭ soon rose to great honour and in 1809 was appointed Munshī al-Mamālik (secretary of state [see munshī]) with the title of Muʿtamad al-Dawla. In this capacity he carried through several important negotiations for the Shāh, such as the restoration of peace among the nomad tribes of Khurāsān in 1812 and 1818. Besides his own poems, he wrote an introduction to Ṣabā's famous *Shāhanshāh-nāma* and drew up a whole series of important diplomatic documents. Specially celebrated is the letter written by him to George III of England in which he expressed regret at the interruption of the friendly relations between England and Persia. He died in 1244/1828-9. He collected his poems into a book subsequently published in Tehran in 1266/1850 under the title *Gandjīna-yi nashāṭ* (the "Treasury of Joy"). Nashāṭ's *ghazals* are all imitations of those of his great predecessors, particularly Ḥāfiẓ, but are distinguished by elegance and simplicity, smooth rhythm and considerable depth of feeling.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, in *G I Ph.*, ii, 313-14; E.G. Browne, *LHP*, iv, 225, 307, 311; E. Berthels, *History of Persian literature* [in Russian], Leningrad 1928, 81-2; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 327-8; the text and English tr., with commentary, of 100 *ghazals* (for some reason only nos. 76-175) has been published by Kh. Sh. Dastur, *Dīwān-i Nashāṭ*, Bombay 1916. (E. Berthels)

NASHAWĀ, name given by the geographers writing in Arabic to the city of Nakhčiwān [*q.v.*].

al-**NĀSHIʾ** al-**AKBAR**, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik al-Anbārī, called (Ibn) Shirshīr, poet and Muʿtazilī theologian who died in 293/906.

All we know about his life refers to the period when he lived in Baghdād, obviously as a state official (*kātib*); when he left ʿIrāḳ before 280/893, possibly in connection with the downfall of the vizier Ibn Bulbul in 279/892, in order to go to Egypt, he disappears from our sources. He was a man of vast culture, but he used his knowledge mainly for criticism and therefore did not always win friends. He attacked the philosopher al-Kindī [*q.v.*] as well as the logicians and the adherents of Greek medicine; he also found fault with *uṣūl al-naḥw* and the metrical system of al-Khalīl. Al-Marzubānī saw in this an immature quest for originality, but others who had a chance of looking at Nāshiʾ's books admired him for his independent judgement. Even as a Muʿtazilī theologian he remained an outsider. He did not have much in common with his contemporary al-Djubbāʾī [*q.v.*], who was going to shape the outlook of the Baṣran school and much of later Muʿtazilī scholasticism. He rather shared the ideas of the "Murdjiʾite" wing which was represented during his time by Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ṣāliḥī. He therefore believed that even mortal sinners will not be eternally punished in Hell as long as they are Muslims, and defined belief as a mere act of consent, without works. He stressed the singularity of God in a way unheard of in the Muʿtazila up to that time, by denying even nominal similarity with creation: God is the absolute Other in contrast to whom man cannot be said to possess positive attributes (like knowing, acting etc.) unless in a metaphorical way. The only exception he made was with respect to the Prophet: when Muḥammad brought forth the revelation he spoke the truth in a veritative, not only in a metaphorical way. Moreover, the metaphorical character of human action did not entail determinism; man has a free will because he possesses a soul which grants him free disposition of his body.

None of Nāshiʾ's books has been preserved in its entirety. But there are excerpts from a doxographical work which seems to have born the title *al-Kitāb al-Awsaṭ* (*fi 'l-maḳālāt*). We also possess a few fragments of his *K. Naḳd al-shiʿr*. The *K. Uṣūl al-niḥal* attributed to him of which the first chapter (on *imāma*) is preserved is spurious; the book may have been composed by Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb. Nāshiʾ's poetry has recently been collected by Hilāl al-Nādjī, in *al-Mawrid*, xi/1 (1982), 89 ff.; no. 2, 61 ff.; no. 3, 43 ff.; no. 4, 27 ff., and xii (1983), no. 1, 57 ff.

Bibliography: J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut 1971; W. Madelung, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie: das* Kitāb al-Uṣūl *des Ǧaʿfar b. Ḥarb ?*, in *Isl.*, lvii (1980), 220 ff.; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 564 ff., ix, 301; Y.Ḥ. Bakkār, *Ḳaṣīdat al-Nāshiʾ al-akbar fī madḥ al-nabī wa-nasabihī*, in *Madj. Kull. al-Lugha*, iii-iv (1979), 76 ff.; M. Zaghlūl Sallām, *Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nāshiʾ al-akbar wa-kitābuhū fi 'l-shiʿr*, in *Madj Kull. Ādāb, al-Riyāḍ*, v (1977-8), 173 ff. (J. van Ess)

NASHĪD (a., pl. *anāshīd, nashāʾid, anshād*), a piece of oratory, a chant, a hymn and a form of vocal music. The root *n-sh-d* signifies to search for (a lost object), to ask for it, plead for it; and in its form IV *anshada* means to recite poetry. "The original sense of *inshād*", according to the *TA*, "is the raising of the voice (*nishda*), whence derives *inshād al-shiʿr*, a protracted poetical recitation delivered in a loud voice." The term *nashīd*, itself considered as referring to the raising of the voice, probably took on its musical connotation at the time when the melodious recitation of poetry in public became fashionable. The term as it appears in literature relating to music, from the 3rd/9th century onward, denotes, in addition to its general sense of singing, various forms associated with scholarly music. This type of *nashīd* is always placed at the head of a vocal composition, or at the start of a musical performance in the guise of a prelude leading to the main theme, borrowing from it the fragment of text which is essential to its development; the sources assign different lengths to it.

To demonstrate the artistic brilliance of the great

musician Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, the author of the *K. al-Aghānī* (v, 128) relates: "He began the song with a *nashīd* followed by a *basīṭ*; he employed in it the technique of octaviation, he included a refrain ... and all this in the singing of only four words." This testimony reveals that the *nashīd* developing on one or two words constituted a type of vocal improvisation followed by the *basīṭ*, a musical form of metrical character following the specifications of al-Fārābī and of other later authors. The sequence *nashīd, basīṭ*, etc., appears in an extensive form of composition introduced into Spain by Ziryāb. "It was established in al-Andalus that the one beginning a musical performance would intone the *nashīd* at the outset of his song irrespective of the rhythm; he would then bring in the *basīṭ* and conclude with *muḥarrikāt* and *anzādj* (rapid singing with light rhythms) following the rules laid down by Ziryāb" (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 88). Al-Ḥasan al-Kātib (5th/11th century) relates that al-Kindī, Ibn al-Ṭayyib (al-Sarakhsī) and certain others declare that the *nashīd* consists of singing at the beginning of a poem, or at the beginning of a speech which is not in verse, a number of words in an unspecified tempo, and that the *istihlāl* consists of declaiming, at the beginning of a song, a single word in a free rhythm (A. Shiloah, *La perfection des connaissances musicales*, 128-9). Al-Fārābī, in his *Kitāb al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr*, provides a lucid definition of the *nashīd* and of the *istihlāl*. Speaking of different methods of commencing a song, the author lists: simple vocalisations, octaviation (a highly-regarded technique of interpretation) and preludes based on the text of the song, adding that "The Arabs give ... the name of *istihlāl*, when the words which are adapted to it constitute a small part of the logos, or indeed a larger position which is still inferior to a medium part. This will be the *nashīd* if this portion is a medium part of the logos or a more extensive portion" (R. d'Erlanger, *La musique Arabe*, ii, 85). For the 9th/15th century author Fatḥ Allāh al-Muʾmin al-Shirwānī, the *nashīd* or *nashīd al-ʿArab* is composed of two verses on free notes, then two others on timed notes. The *basīṭ* is, according to him, an isolated fragment sung on a heavy rhythm (*op. cit.*, iv, 233; see also A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings*, Munich 1979, 331-3).

In the contemporary period, the term *nashīd* (and also *unshūda*) is employed as the equivalent of "hymn"; thus *nashīd waṭanī* or *ḳawmī* denotes a national anthem, *al-nashīd al-umamī*, the Internationale. It seems that this sense of *nashīd* derives from the type of popular usage described in the *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, where it is stated that "the people use *nashīd* in the sense of *madḥ* (praise, e.g. hymn)" and also from the translations of Biblical canticles, such as *nashīd* Deborah or *nashīd al-anshād* for the Song of Songs. The term is also employed in specific cases to denote for example official songs, the songs of children, the songs of Boy Scouts and even the serenade (*nashīd laylī*).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. Shiloah)

NASHĪṬ, a singer of Persian origin, acquired as a slave by ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*], and who flourished in the second half of the 1st century A.H. in Medina. His Persian style of singing was a great success there, compelling other singers to imitate it, but Nashīṭ himself had to learn the Arab style and songs in order to enlarge his repertoire. He was one of the teachers of the *ḳayna* [*q.v.*] ʿAzza al-Maylāʾ and of the renowned singer Maʿbad b. Wahb [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[1], iv, 61, 63, vii, 188, xvi, 13; H.G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music to the XIIIth century*, London 1929, 48-9, 54-5.

(Ed.)

NASHWĀN b. **SAʿĪD** b. Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī al-Yamanī, an Arab philologist, d. ?573/1178.

The reports on this individual and his career are exceedingly scanty. In Yāḳūt's *Irshād* and in Suyūṭī's *Bughya* he is described in laudatory terms in the usual phrases as a great scholar, authority on *fiḳh*, philology and *naḥw*; he was also distinguished as a historian and poet and was equally versed "in the other branches of *adab*". He compiled a dictionary entitled *Shams al-ʿulūm wa-dawāʾ kalām al-ʿArab min al-kulūm* in eight (according to others eighteen) volumes which his son later revised and condensed into two volumes; he also wrote a treatise on rhyme, *Kitāb al-Ḳawāfī*, and a book of a religious and philosophical nature, *Kitāb al-Hūr al-ʿīn wa-tanbīh al-sāmiʿīn*. We know neither the year nor the place of his birth, nor with whom he studied nor in what places he lived. Only one story of his life has survived and that sounds improbable. Yāḳūt says he was a great chief who besieged cities and fortresses and ruled over a hill-tribe in the Ṣabr range. Al-Suyūṭī takes this story from Yāḳūt. According to al-Suyūṭī, he was a follower of the Muʿtazila. He is said to have died on 24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 573/13 June 1178. The importance of Nashwān lies in the fact that he was particularly well-acquainted with the South-Arabian tradition. He took up from his predecessor al-Hamdānī [*q.v.*], the task of rescuing from oblivion the legends of the South Arabian kingdoms. He uses these as the basis of his work and gives long quotations from the writings of his predecessor. His famous so-called Ḥimyarite *Ḳaṣīda*, *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Ḥimyariyya*, is based on such traditions of the Ḥimyarite rulers; it celebrates their deeds and the splendour of their ancient kingdom. In the commentary on this poem the annotator gives very full notes, in which he narrates legends of South Arabian princes and their history. Von Kremer supposed, relying on internal evidence, that the author of the *Ḳaṣīda* and the commentator are the same person, i.e. that Nashwān himself wrote the commentary on his *Ḳaṣīda*. At any rate, the commentator, whose name is not given, must have been very well acquainted with Ḥimyarite tradition. In the already-mentioned dictionary *Shams al-ʿulūm*, Nashwān again uses his knowledge of South Arabian history. Whether all the facts given by him are historical cannot be discussed here; many of them are certainly based on tradition, since Nashwān himself, as his *nisba* shows, was of South Arabian blood.

In recent times, renewed interest in Nashwān and the other "authorities" on pre-Islamic South Arabian history has led Arab, especially Yemeni, scholars to make fresh studies on him and to bring out new editions of some of his works. However, the negative consensus on their historical value remains (see, though in a different context, A. Rippin, in *JSAI*, xiii, 162 n. 21). Yet his works played a part in the struggle of the tribes of South Arabian origin against the northern Arabs for predominance in the Muslim world.

Bibliography: *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwāns im Šams al-ʿulūm*, ed. ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad, in *GMS*, Leyden-London 1916; Brockelmann, I^2, 364, S I, 527-8; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 68; *Die Himjarische Ḳasīde*, ed. A. von Kremer, Leipzig 1879; idem, *Die südarabische Sage*, 45; D.H. Müller, in *SBWA*, lxxxvi (1877), 171; idem, in *ZDMG*, xxix, 620-8; R.A. Nicholson, *A literary history of the Arabs*, London 1907, 18-19; Nöldeke, in *GGA* (1866), no. 20; W.F. Prideaux, *The lay of the Himyarites*, Lahore 1879; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, 403; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 206; Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, *Maṣādir taʾrīkh al-Yaman fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1974; ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-

Ḥibs͟hī, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-ʿArabī al-Islāmī fi 'l-Yaman*, Ṣanʿāʾ *ca.* 1980; Nas͟hwān, *Mulūk Ḥimyar wa-aḳyāl al-Yaman*, ed. ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Muʾayyad and Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Djarāfī, n.p. 1396. See further on the *S͟hams al-ʿulūm*, R. Weipert, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums. II. Lexicographie und Grammatik*, in *Zeitschr. für Gesch. der Arab. Islamischen Wiss.*, v (1989), 225-64, see esp. 228. Editions: by K.V. Zettersteén, 2 vols. Leiden 1951-2 (up to and inc. *djīm*); Cairo 1951, 2 vols., repr. Beirut n.d. [1981]; Masḳaṭ 1403-4/1983 (up to and inc. *s͟hīn*). In 1990 Prof. Tryggve Kronholm of Uppsala announced plans for a continuation of Zettersteén's edition of the *S͟hams al-ʿulūm*.

(Ilse Lichtenstädter)

NASĪʾ (A.), intercalary month, intercalation, or person (pl. *nasaʾa*) charged with the duty of deciding on intercalation. The word occurs in Ḳurʾān, IX, 37, and in Muḥammad's sermon at the Farewell Pilgrimage (Ibn His͟hām, 968; see HADJDJ). *Nasiyy, nasy* and *nasʾ* are variants and the word is connected with *nasaʾa* to "postpone" or "add" or with *nasiya* to "forget". In any case, it is given in Islamic tradition a meaning which brings it into connection with the method of reckoning time among the pagan Arabs. The Ḳurʾānic verse describes *nasīʾ* as "a further expression of unbelief" and it is therefore forbidden to the believers.

The context of the above-mentioned passages, where sometimes the number of months in the year is put at twelve and sometimes the number of "holy" months at four, allows us to connect *nasīʾ* with the calendar. Ḳurʾānic exegesis as a rule connects *nasīʾ* with the "holy" months and explains it sometimes, it is true, as the postponement of the Pilgrimage from the month fixed by God for it, but sometimes, and preferably, as "transference of the sanctity of one holy month to another, in itself not holy". The expositors are also able to give the reasons for such a postponement in full detail. As a rule, however, these are pure inventions in which suggestions and perhaps memories of old traditions are freely expanded. A collection of such expositions in the form of regular *ḥadīt͟hs* is given in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 2nd ed., x, 91-3.

The critical examination of these explanations reveals, however, traces of an older conception not quite unknown to Tradition, even in the form in which we have it, according to which *nasīʾ* denotes neither the intercalation of an intercalary month nor the month itself. This interpretation of the word is the only one really acceptable in the circumstances. The association of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage with annual markets made it necessary to fix the *ḥadjdj* in a suitable season of the year. For that purpose, a prolongation of the lunar year in some way was necessary, and nothing contradicts that older tradition according to which it was obtained by the intercalation of an intercalary month. The lunar month was the only unit of time available for the purpose because it was the only one which the Bedouins, the customers at the markets, could observe directly. Thus one had only to let them know at the *ḥadjdj* of a year whether they had to reckon to the next *ḥadjdj* twelve or thirteen months.

Definite evidence of this intercalation of a month is found in the astronomer Abū Maʿs͟har al-Balk͟hī (d. 272/886 [*q.v.*]) in his *Kitāb al-Ulūf* (see *JA*, ser. 5, xi [1858], 168 ff.), and, following him, in al-Bīrūnī, who also deals at length with this intercalation in his *Chronology* (ed. Sachau, 11-12, 62-3). According to him, the Arabs took this intercalation from the Jews. How much in what these scholars tell us is really historical knowledge, and how much intelligent reconstruction, can hardly be decided. It is remarkable, however, that al-Bīrūnī when dealing fully with the Jewish intercalation (*op. cit.*, 52, l. 17) connects the Hebrew word for intercalary year, *ʿibbūr*, with *meʿubbärāth* "pregnant woman" and observes: "they compare the addition of a superfluous month to the year to the woman carrying something which does not belong to her body". In this connection we may recall that al-Ṭabarī (*op. cit.*, 91, l. 6) explains the Arabic *nasīʾ* as *nasūʾ* "pregnant woman", among other interpretations, saying *nusiʾat al-marʾa* "on account of the increase which the child in her means". This agreement in the two explanations, which can hardly be accidental, might really indicate that *nasīʾ* in the sense of intercalation or intercalary month is modelled on the Hebrew word *ʿibbūr* and thus support al-Bīrūnī's statement which is in itself not impossible. Caussin de Perceval (*JA*, ser. 4, i, 349) even quotes the Hebrew *nāsī* (prince) as a title of honour of the leader of the Sanhedrin, to whom fell the duty of dealing with the intercalation (cf. *Bab. Talmud, Sanhedrin*, 11^{a}: "the intercalation of the year may only be done with the approval of the *nāsī*"). According to one of the meanings of the Arabic *nasīʾ* given in Tradition, it was really the "name of a man", a meaning which is all the more remarkable in this connection as it does not suit the Ḳurʾānic passage. There is a definite agreement on the fact that in the Jewish intercalation only the month following Adar was an intercalary month while in the Arab system, as the critical examination of Tradition — contradicting the literal interpretation of its text— shows, only the month following D͟hu 'l-Ḥidjdja, i.e. the intercalated month, in both cases was inserted between the normally last month and the normally first one of the year, Nisān (or, amongst the Arabs, al-Muḥarram).

Nothing certain is known about the process of intercalation among the Arabs. It can only have been periodic and irregular attempts at correction based on observation of nature, particularly vegetation. The technical part must have been exceedingly simple and primitive. The same is true of the Jewish intercalation in the older period (see *Bab. Talmud, Sanhedrin*, 10b-13b). As the Jewish system served to move the feast of Pesaḥ to a suitable season of the year, the Arab system can only have been intended to do the same for the *ḥadjdj* and the fairs associated with it in the vicinity of Mecca. It was not intended to establish a fixed calendar to be generally observed. The Bedouins had never had one and they have no use for one. According to Tradition, the management of the *nasīʾ* was a prerogative of the Banū Kināna [*q.v.*]; and, indeed, fairs were held on their lands.

Bibliography: A. Moberg, *An-nasīʾ in der islāmischen Tradition*, Lund-Leipzig 1931, where the most important references are given; J. Fück, *Zu an-nasīʾ (Koran, 9, 37)*, in *OLZ*, xxxvi (1933), cols. 280-3; M. Plessner, in *Isl.*, xxi (1933), 226-8; R. Paret, *Der Koran, Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart 1971, 202-3.

(A. Moberg)

NASĪʾ (Hebr.), a title used in Judaeo-Islamic societies generally to designate descendants of the house of David, who were accorded particular respect. Many individuals of Davidic descent held this honorific title, which was inherited through the patrilineal line. Davidic descent alone did not confer political authority. The *nasīʾ* Daniel b. Azarya, who served as head of the Palestinian academy, pronounced that members of the house of David were not authorised to hold public office except when appointed by him (T.-S. 12.229, cited in Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, ii, 19 and n. 47). Nonetheless,

individuals of the house of David did on occasion claim authority for themselves in Jewish communities, and by the end of the 12th century A.D., *nasī'*s had established themselves throughout the Islamic world. The Muslim authorities recognised their special status within the Jewish community and stipulated that the head of the Jews should treat them with deference (*ḥurma*) [see Gottheil, 530 top line].

Since the exilarch or head of the diaspora (*rōsh ha-gōlā, rēsh gālūthā, ra's al-djālūt*), an official serving as secular head of the Jews, was always of Davidic descent, he also bore the title *nasī'*. But the title *nasī'* alone does not designate the office of exilarch. David b. Daniel, the son of Daniel b. Azarya, was called "our *nasī'*," "our lord the *nasī'*," and "the *nasī'* of all Israel" in documents up to the year 1089, when he first advanced his claims to the exilarchate. But it was only after he was actually elevated to the office of exilarch that he came to be designated specifically as "our lord the head of the diaspora." Similarly, Daniel b. Ḥasday (d. 1174), whose title was "exilarch of all Israel" (*rōsh galūyōt kol yisrā'ēl*) was described by the 12th century Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela as having a "pedigree going back to David King of Israel." The Muslim authorities, he tells us, referred to him as *sayyidnā ibn dā'ūd* (our master, the son of David).

Bibliography: J.H. Gottheil, *An eleventh-century document concerning a Cairo synagogue*, in *JQR*, O.S. xix (1906-7), 530; J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid caliphs*, 2 vols. 1920-2, repr. 2 vols. in 1, New York 1970, index; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, ii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, 18-19 and nn. 45-9; M.R. Cohen, *Jewish self-government in medieval Egypt*, Princeton 1980, 9-10, 38, 190-200.

(P. Sanders)

NASĪB (A.), a generic term in Arabic literature applied in mediaeval sources to love poetry. In its modern understanding it denotes the amatory prologue of the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], the polythematic ode, as distinguished from *ghazal* [*q.v.*], the independent love-poem. According to Arabic lexicography, the term is derived from the root *n-s-b* in its special meaning *nasaba bi 'l-nisā'i* "to make amatory verses about women" (*shabbaba bi-hinna fi 'l-shiʿr wa-taghazzala; LA*, i, 756a). Another derivation is suggested by R. Blachère, who considers a connection with the term *nasb*, "a kind of camelmen's lament" [see ghazal].

1. *Nasīb* in Arabic poetics.

The meaning of *nasīb* is rarely defined by mediaeval scholars, nor can the semantic relation between the terms *nasīb* and *ghazal* be established with precision. As a generic term *nasīb* first appears in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarā'* by Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī (d. 231/845 [*q.v.*]), together with *fakhr* [see mufākhara], *madīḥ* [*q.v.*] and *hidjā'* [*q.v.*]. According to this classification, which must be older than the *Ṭabaḳāt*, the four terms constitute "the houses of poetry" (*buyūt al-shiʿr*), i.e. the principal poetic themes (ed. Hell, Leiden 1916, 87). It is evident that *nasīb* here refers to love poetry in general, for Ibn Sallām not only uses the term when discussing the *ḳaṣīda* but also with regard to *ghazal* poets. Thus he reports a tradition saying that Djamīl [*q.v.*] surpasses Kuthayyir [*q.v.*] in his "amatory verses" (*fi 'l-nasīb; op. cit.* 124). The meaning of *nasīb* is limited to the emotional aspect of love poetry in Ibn Ḳutayba's (d. 276/889) [*q.v.*]) famous description of the tripartite *ḳaṣīda* (*Shiʿr*, 14), for in the tradition which he quotes a distinction is made between *nasīb* and the poet's complaint at the "deserted campsite", a leitmotif of the amatory prologue. This differentiation seems unusual and is, apparently, not supported by other sources.

A list of "poetic themes" (*aghrāḍ*) containing the term *nasīb* is provided by Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (d. 320/932 [*q.v.*]) in his *Naḳd al-shiʿr* (ed. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956, 23). He is the first theorist, moreover, to attempt a definition of *nasīb* as contrasted to *ghazal* (*op. cit.* 65), which has influenced later authors. According to Ḳudāma, *nasīb* denotes the poetic expression of the traditional amatory themes, whereas *ghazal* means love and preoccupation with women; *nasīb* is "the expression of *ghazal*" (*dhikru ghazal*), and *ghazal* is "the content itself" (*al-maʿnā nafsuh*).

From the 10th century onwards both terms are used in works of literary theory with varying semantic connotations, but *nasīb* apparently remains the more general concept. This is evidenced in *al-Muwāzana bayna shiʿr Abī Tammām wa 'l-Buḥturī* by al-Āmidī (d. 370/981). He applies the term to the whole variety of erotic themes and motifs employed by the two poets, for after a detailed survey he declares that now "all subdivisions of the *nasīb* have been treated" (*maḍat anwāʿ al-nasīb kulluhā*), and proceeds to discuss the transition from *nasīb* to *madīḥ* (ed. Ṣakr, Cairo 1965, ii, 291). As to *ghazal*, it is clearly conceived by al-Āmidī as a "subdivision" (*nawʿ*) of *nasīb*, specified as "description and praise of women, passionate desire, remembrance, longing and grief" (ii, 59).

In a later treatise, *al-ʿUmda fī maḥāsin al-shiʿr* by Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1064 or 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), a whole chapter is devoted to *nasīb* (ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1963[3], ii, 116-28). As in the *Muwāzana*, the term denotes love poetry in general and is explained by Ibn Rashīḳ as a synonym of *taghazzul* and *tashbīb*. With regard to *ghazal*, however, he explicitly refers to Ḳudāma, slightly rephrasing his definition (ii, 117). But Ibn Rashīḳ is not quite consistent in his application of the term. In a previous chapter of the *ʿUmda*, when discussing the point that every occasion demands its own kind of speech, he enumerates, by way of demonstration, several generic terms, among them *ghazal*, which is listed together with *mazḥ* (jest), *mukātaba* (correspondence), *mudjūn* [*q.v.*] (frivolous verses), *khamriyya* [*q.v.*] (bacchic poem). There can be no doubt that these terms signify genres in the modern understanding, i.e. texts of a certain kind. The list suggests that Ibn Rashīḳ has been influenced by *dīwān* recensions of "modern" (*muḥdath*) poetry, which are often arranged according to genres. All terms mentioned in this context figure as headings of chapters, *ghazal* being employed with reference to love poems. Since the amatory prologue forms part of a greater unit, it is not listed, but must have been subsumed under the heading of *madīḥ* (G. Schoeler, *Die Einteilung der Dichtung bei den Arabern*, in *ZDMG*, cxxiii [1973], 9-55, cf. 42 ff.). Thus Ibn Rashīḳ, without being aware of it, referred to two different systems of genres.

From the evidence of the *ʿUmda* it would seem that a semantic evolution of the term *ghazal* towards the notion "love poem" had taken place, but if so, it has not been accepted unanimously by later authors. Al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109) in his introductory lines to the *Bāb al-nasīb* of Abū Tammām's [*q.v.*] *Ḥamāsa* (*Sharḥ dīwān ashʿār al-Ḥamāsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1385) heavily relies on Ḳudāma, without mentioning him, however, and Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239 [*q.v.*]) uses the term *ghazal* when discussing the amatory prologue of the *ḳaṣīda* (*al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, ed. Ṭabāna, Cairo 1959, iii, 96). In the same chapter (118), *ghazal* and *nasīb* are united in one sentence. While commenting on the introduction of a particular *ḳaṣīda*, Ibn al-Athīr states that the poet presented an apology "in the guise of love poetry" (*fī hay'at al-ghazal*), expressing it "in the form of *nasīb*" (*fī maʿriḍ al-nasīb*), as G.J. van Gelder translates (*Beyond the line*, Leiden 1982, 148).

Here, again, *ghazal* and *nasīb* seem to be conceived, in accordance with Ḳudāma's definition, as content and form.

The semantic relation of the two terms in mediaeval sources deserves a more detailed study, but a few conclusions can be drawn from the material presented above. It is evident that *nasīb* constitutes the older generic term, and that it has always been applied to love poetry in general. Its accepted meaning hardly changed, on the whole, whereas *ghazal* has been conceived in different ways: *a.* as content (*maʿnā*) of *nasīb*, *b.* as subdivision (*nawʿ*) of *nasīb*. *c.* as independent love poem.

Turning from the question of terminology to the genre itself, the amatory prologue of the *ḳaṣīda*, there is some information on it in mediaeval poetics, usually in connection with a discussion of the ode. As in other literatures, the origin of the genre is attributed to the ingenuity of an individual person. The first *ḳaṣīda* was allegedly composed by Muhalhil b. Rabīʿa, the uncle of Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] (Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 13). The aspect of proportion is discussed by Ibn Rashīḳ, who quotes a tradition to the effect that the amatory theme should not exceed the *madīḥ* in weight and length (ii, 123). He also treats the question whether a *marthiya* [*q.v.*] might be introduced by amatory verses, which he denies (ii, 151). It is true that the combination of love poetry and a lament of the dead has never been accepted as a convention in classical Arabic poetry, but there is some evidence of it in early Islamic and Umayyad texts. The structure of the ode, and how the amatory prologue should be linked to subsequent themes, has been widely discussed in mediaeval poetics. The subject is studied in detail by G.J. van Gelder (*op. cit.*, see Index).

Western scholars from the 19th century onwards have always applied the term *nasīb* to the first section of the ode, whereas *ghazal* has been conceived as "love poem". In the following survey, *nasīb* and *ghazal* will be used as generic terms in the Western tradition, denoting the amatory prologue and the independent love poem respectively. It should be kept in mind, however, that modern studies by Arab scholars usually employ *nasīb* in an unspecific sense, in accordance with mediaeval poetics, and that the first section of the *ḳaṣīda* is often referred to as "prologue" (*maṭlaʿ*, *muḳaddima*).

2. *Nasīb* in Arabic poetry.

Arabic love poetry in the classical period, whether *nasīb* or *ghazal*, is based on a common heritage, a reservoir of formulas, motifs and images from the Bedouin past. As a result, the two genres present certain similarities and have often been treated together without differentiation. However, since the *nasīb* constitutes an integral part of a greater unit, it is related to other themes and influenced in its composition by the form as a whole. With the gradual transformation of the tribal *ḳaṣīda* into the ceremonial ode of Islamic times, moreover, its components changed as to structure and function. Accordingly, the *nasīb* must be considered from two different aspects, as love poetry within its social context, and as structural unit of the polythematic ode.

a. Pre-Islamic period.

The *nasīb* is the only kind of love poetry preserved from the *djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*]. The earliest texts date back to the end of the 5th century, but the *ḳaṣīda* appears already fully developed and suggests a well-established tradition. As is characteristic of oral literature, the poet rarely refers to his own individual experience. Although he always speaks in the first person, his verses are based on a collective experience, which is recreated in such a way that each member of the tribal aristocracy can identify himself with it. In the *nasīb*, as in other sections of the ode, the poet conducts himself as the hero, the Bedouin par excellence (cf. A. Hamori, *The Poet as hero*, in *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, Princeton 1974, 3-30). The attitudes he adopts, the problems he encounters, and the moral solutions he offers represent the main aspects of Bedouin life and conform to the values of tribal society. Repeating them means safeguarding the tribal system. This is the principal function of the *ḳaṣīda* and provides a key to the interpretation of the *nasīb*.

Pre-Islamic odes extend from 30 to more than 100 verses. The *nasīb* varies from 3 to about 20 verses, but not necessarily in proportion to the length of the ode. It consists of short narrative units, interrupted by descriptive passages and allusions to the poet's emotional state. The basic situation is always the same, the separation of lovers belonging to neighbouring tribes. In spring the tribes camp together, but when the season of abundant pasture ends, they depart and lovers must separate. The *nasīb* invariably refers to a love-affair of the past, or to the time of separation. The following three motifs are most frequent (cf. I. Lichtenstädter, *Das Nasīb der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, in *Islamica*, v [1931-2], 17-96):

1. On his desert journey the poet and two friends discover a "deserted campsite" (*dār, manzil*), where he once spent happy days together with his beloved. He describes the "traces" (*aṭlāl*) consisting of hearth stones, tent-pegs and trenches almost obliterated by wind and rain. He alludes to the loneliness of the place, which is now visited by wild animals, and calls out to it, but receives no answer. After indulging in memories, tears and complaints, he resolves to forget his beloved, since there is no hope for a reunion.

2. The poet and his fellow-travellers rest at night in the desert. While his companions are asleep, the poet is awake, or suddenly awakened, and perceives the "vision" (*khayāl, ṭayf*) of his beloved, whom he knows to reside in a distant place. He wonders how she managed to cross the perilous desert on foot to reach him. The *khayāl* evokes memories of the past and renews love and sorrow, but finally he overcomes his grief and sends the *khayāl* back. The "vision" has been interpreted by mediaeval scholars as a dream, but the narrative structure of early versions indicates that the *khayāl* originally was conceived as an apparition confronting the poet in the external world (cf. R. Jacobi, *The Khayāl motif in early Arabic poetry*, in *Oriens*, xxxii [1990] 50-64).

3. One morning, the poet discovers to his dismay that the beloved's tribe is about to depart. He watches the preparations, describes the litter bearing his beloved, and at last observes it passing out of sight, while the tears are streaming down his face. He imagines the route her tribe is going to take and contemplates following her, but the feeling of futility and loss prevails.

Not all conventional details of the narrative are present in each version. The poet chooses among them, sometimes uniting two motifs in one *nasīb*, or alluding to it in a few lines. There are two further situations of tribal life occasionally referred to. The poet perceives camels bearing litters of women from afar, and asks himself whether his beloved is travelling in one of them, or he watches the lightning of an approaching thunderstorm shining from the direction where her tribe dwells.

A detailed description of the beloved can be inserted at different points of the narrative. It usually

constitutes a sort of catalogue, whereby her beauty is praised and her social standing emphasised with stereotyped epithets and comparisons. As the poet is the Bedouin hero, she is the heroine, whose perfection is never questioned. As to her character, she is depicted as capricious, unyielding at first, unfaithful in the end. It is she who takes the initiative in ending the affair, who "severs the bond". In the pre-Islamic *nasīb*, the woman seldom appears emotionally engaged in the relationship. The poet, on the other hand, displays violent passion and grief, which manifests itself in copious tears and sleeplessness by night. A favourite motif in this context is "the long night", whose stars seem never to disappear; its most famous rendering is a passage in the *Muʿallaḳa* [*q.v.*] of Imruʾ al-Ḳays (vv. 42-6).

The concept of love implied in the *nasīb* is closely related to the norms of tribal society, where individual interests are subordinated to the interests of the group. Illicit love affairs between members of neighbouring tribes were obviously tolerated, or even approved of, since the poet boasts of them. They heightened his prestige and did not disparage the woman, whose freedom of choice indicates the strength of her social position in the *d̲j̲āhiliyya* (cf. Lichtenstädter, *op. cit.*, 81 ff.). But faithfulness after separation, the perseverance in futile love, was not demanded by tribal ethics, since it would threaten the collective welfare. The woman is expected to depart with her tribe, and the poet is blamed by his friends, the voice of reason, who advise him to leave his folly and to regain his soberness of mind. This seems to be the principal message of the *nasīb*. Love means pleasure and prestige; if there is no longer hope to gain these ends, it should be abandoned.

There are compensations, however, which brings us to the question of how the *nasīb* is connected with subsequent themes. Several patterns of the *ḳaṣīda* can be established, one of them closely related to a motif of the *nasīb*, the poet's complaint of his old age and failing success with women. His melancholy mood is then compensated by memories of the pleasures and activities of his youth. Here, the *nasīb* serves as a justification of the poet's self-praise, which fits in with G. Richter's theory that the polythematic ode generated from the *nasīb*. It is consistent with a limited number of texts, but cannot be generally applied (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, in *ZDMG*, xcii [1938], 552-69; cf. also R. Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣide*, Wiesbaden 1971, 101 ff.).

The *nasīb* is usually followed by a description of the poet's camel, sometimes without transition (*tak̲h̲alluṣ*), but there are also formulaic expressions connecting *nasīb* and camel section. After narrating the departure of the beloved's tribe, the poet reflects whether his camel will be able to catch up with her, and embarks upon a praise of its strength and endurance. If the *nasīb* ends with the decision to forget his love affair, he turns to his excellent camel for consolation. Some odes are composed without a camel theme; in this case, the poet resolves to forget his beloved, and turns to more important issues, e.g. praising his patron.

In the tripartite ode the camel section is followed by a self-praise [see MUFĀK̲H̲ARA], a praise of the poet's tribe, or a panegyric [see MADĪḤ]. In some panegyrical odes from the end of the 6th century, *nasīb*, camel theme and *madīḥ* appear to constitute a narrative sequence. The poet stops at a "deserted campsite", then continues his journey, and finally reaches the adressee of his *madīḥ* (cf. Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik*, 85 ff., 104). The panegyrical ode is most important for the history of the *nasīb*, as it is the main form to survive in later court poetry.

Pre-Islamic odes present characteristic features of oral literature, e.g. additive style and semantic independence of detail. As a consequence, the *nasīb*, like all thematic units, retains a certain degree of autonomy, even if it is linked up to other themes. In this respect, texts from the *d̲j̲āhiliyya* differ from odes composed in Islamic periods, which must be kept in mind when the origin of the genre and the function of the *nasīb* within its context is considered. Various theories have been advanced, some of them from the aspect of comparative literature, either suggesting influence or pointing out analogy (see *Bibl.*), but no explanation has been generally accepted so far. Most of these studies contain valuable points, however. Thus A. Bloch drew attention to the mnemonic function of the *nasīb*, which usually includes a sequence of place names, motivated in accordance with the narrative unit selected by the poet (*Qaṣīda*, in *Asiatische Studien*, ii [1948] 106-32). It is conceivable that they constitute ancient itineraries inserted into the *nasīb* so as to be more easily remembered.

At our present stage of knowledge, the origin of the *ḳaṣīda* remains a matter of speculation, but a careful assessment of the evidence presented by pre-Islamic texts points to a gradual assimilation of independent genres, at first united by metre and rhyme, and later growing into a coherent form. The *nasīb* seems appropriate as an introduction, if viewed from the aspect of tribal ethics. It is concerned with a love affair of the past which the poet tries to forget. His feelings are still involved, and when he is reminded of his beloved by the *aṭlāl* or the *k̲h̲ayāl*, his sorrow is renewed, he weeps and complains, but then recovers and returns to the manly pursuits expected of him by his tribe. Thus the *nasīb* seems meaningful and has a definite function within the structure of the ode. With the breaking up of tribal society, however, the "heroic" attitude becomes obsolete, and later poets are faced with the alternative either to abandon the *nasīb*, or to reinterpret it and to provide it with a new function.

b. Early Islamic period.

In the first half of the 7th century, the time of the *muk̲h̲aḍramūn* [*q.v.*], poets still follow pre-Islamic tradition, but they also seek new modes of expression, and there are subtle changes with regard to concepts of thought and moral attitudes. Instead of alluding to a love affair of the past, the *nasīb* now sometimes refers to a present affair the poet wishes to continue. Thus the Hud̲h̲alī poet Sāʿida b. D̲j̲uʾayya promises to remain faithful to his beloved for years after separation (*S̲h̲arḥ as̲h̲ʿār al-Hud̲h̲aliyyīn*, ed. Farrād̲j̲, Cairo 1384/1965, no. IX 2, p. 1173), and his clansman Abū D̲h̲uʾayb [*q.v.*] expresses his firm belief in a reunion (*op. cit.*, no. XVIII 1, p. 121). Another *muk̲h̲aḍram* even dispenses with the habitual gloom of the *nasīb* and gaily declares that "we will soon sport again with Laylā" (*sa-nalhū bi-Laylā*), since her tribe is not pasturing far away (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, Oxford 1921, no. CXIV 2, p. 742). Both the elegiac and the frivolous attitude are incompatible with the function of the traditional *nasīb*, since the poet projects his hopes into the future.

Some poets manifest a degree of psychological insight unknown before. This is evidenced in the *dīwān* of al-Aʿs̲h̲ā Maymūn, who is famous, moreover, for the introduction of bacchic themes into the *nasīb* (cf. K. Dalgleish, *Some aspects of the treatment of emotion in the Dīwān of al-Aʿs̲h̲ā*, in *JAL*, iv [1973], 97-111). It is even more striking in the verses of Abū

Dhu'ayb, one of the most innovative poets of the period. He seems to be the first to treat love as an independent theme, and he also tries out the combination of *nasīb* and *marthiya* in an ingenious way (cf. R. Jacobi, *Die Anfänge der arabischen Gazalpoesie: Abū Du'aib al-Hudalī*, in *Isl.*, lxi [1984], 218-50). In the *nasīb* the conventional motifs are sometimes replaced by individual scenes, and the woman seems to take a more active part in the relationship than in the *djāhiliyya*. The introduction of the poet's individual experience is also evidenced in the verses of Ka^c^b b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*], who in a *nasīb* describes a quarrel with his wife (*Dīwān*, ed. ^c^Abd al-Ḳādir, Cairo 1368/1949, 153 ff.). Significant changes are further apparent in the rendering of conventional motifs. The "vision" (*khayāl*) of the beloved, once haunting the sleepless poet, is now conceived as a pleasant dream fulfilling his secret wishes (cf. Jacobi, *The khayāl motif*, 58 ff.). There is also an attempt to transfer the motif from its Bedouin setting to urban environment (cf. Ibn Muḳbil, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥasan, Damascus 1381/1962, no. 37, 1-2).

The *nasīb* in the early Islamic period anticipates the development of Umayyad love poetry in several ways. The most important aspect is a new concept of love indicating that the ideal of the "Bedouin hero", who renounces love and the beloved, is about to disappear. This implies a shift of emphasis from tribal loyalties to individual commitments. It also suggests that poets gained more insight into their emotional needs and problems, which means discovering a new kind of reality, their own self (cf. Jacobi, *Time and reality in Nasīb and Ghazal*, in *JAL*, xvi [1985], 1-17). These changes can hardly be due to the immediate influence of Muḥammad's preaching, but must be regarded as a result of the same intellectual and social tensions which preceded and accompanied the rise of Islam.

c. Umayyad period

In the course of the 7th century, pre-Islamic oral tradition is gradually transformed according to the demands of a literate urban society. The *ghazal*, both in its elegiac and in its frivolous variant, now constitutes the principal erotic genre voicing the intellectual and moral trends of the time. As a consequence, the *nasīb* looses some of its former significance, but poets in the employment of the caliphs and their governors continue to introduce their odes with amatory verses as a rule, expressing love, longing and sorrow, as also the melancholy and resignation of old age. The pre-Islamic "heroic attitude", however, the proud rejection of the beloved, is abandoned, and when al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*] boasts, in the spirit of tribal *fakhr*, of the many women he forgot (*Dīwān*, ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo 1354/1936, 78, 5 f.; cf. also 87,-1), he speaks as an individual, and not as a representative of his social group.

The Umayyad *nasīb* develops in contact with *ghazal* poetry and assimilates some of its innovations in content and style. It therefore differs considerably from the pre-Islamic *nasīb*. The traditional inventory of motifs and images is still in evidence, but the structure of narrative units is dissolved, the "deserted campsite" or the "departure of the beloved" being only alluded to in one or two lines as a rule. A notable exception is the *nasīb* of al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*], the most conservative of Umayyad court poets. He continues the tradition of al-A^c^shā, moreover, of inserting bacchic scenes into his *nasīb*. Poets also lost interest in descriptive detail, which figures so prominently in verses from the *djāhiliyya*. Instead, they concentrate on their emotional state and on their relation with the beloved, whose beauty and perfection are praised but not catalogued as before. Memories are not evoked to be soon forgotten; as in *ghazal* poetry, their function is to justify the poet's concern in his present love affair. The emotional impact of the *nasīb* is frequently enhanced by stylistic means (exclamation, repetition). A further innovation is the blending of motifs which in pre-Islamic oral tradition are kept strictly apart.

The *nasīb* varies in length from 4 to more than 20 verses. It occurs in combination with *hidjā'*, *madīḥ* and, very rarely, with *marthiya*. The juxtaposition of love poetry and satire, usually without transition, was favoured by professional poets, as evidenced in the *Naḳā'iḍ* [*q.v.*] of Djarīr [*q.v.*] and al-Farazdaḳ, and must have been appreciated by their audience (cf. van Gelder , *Genres in collision: Nasīb and Hijā'*, in *JAL*, xxi [1990], 14-25). In the panegyrical ode, the *nasīb* is either placed before the *madīḥ*, or it is followed by a *raḥīl*, the poet's desert journey to his patron (*mamdūḥ*), which in the tripartite *ḳaṣīda* now replaces the former description of the poet's camel, and is sometimes blended with the *madīḥ* (Jacobi, *The camel-section of the panegyrical ode*, in *JAL*, xiii [1982], 1-22; cf. 14-19). The poet's aim to impress the dangers of the way and the hardships he endured on the way to the *mamdūḥ* is also apparent in the *nasīb*, where elements of the *raḥīl* are introduced under various pretexts. In the motif of the nocturnal "vision", the only narrative unit substantially changed and elaborated by Umayyad poets, the *khayāl* visits a group of travellers, all of them asleep. Besides dwelling on the pleasures he enjoyed in his dream and on his disenchantment in the morning, the poet always emphasises and sometimes describes at length the traces of hardship and exhaustion visible on the sleepers and their mounts (cf. al-Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān*, 219; Djarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo 1353, 526, 10 ff.). Thus in the Umayyad ode the panegyrical function not only determines the camel-section, but also affects the composition of the *nasīb*.

The *khayāl* motif frequently forms the end of the amatory prologue, and is now sometimes used as a transition to the following section. This is a favourite technique of Dhu 'l-Rumma [*q.v.*] (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. Macartney, Cambridge 1919, nos. 1, 25, 41, 52, 67, 68, 78). The *nasīb* of Dhu 'l-Rumma deserves special attention as one of the great achievements of Umayyad poetry. In contrast to most contemporary poets, he retains the descriptive elements of the ancient *nasīb* and vividly depicts sceneries of the desert, thereby creating an atmosphere of Bedouin life. But the result is far from being an imitation of the pre-Islamic *nasīb*, for his amatory verses, despite of their richness in descriptive detail, reveal the emotional depth and heightened tension of Umayyad love poetry, together with a nostalgia for a mode of life about to disappear.

There are different reactions to the changes of society, however. At the beginning of the 8th century, the elegiac prologue of the *ḳaṣīda* is not accepted without reserve. Al-Farazdaḳ composed 50% of his panegyrics without *nasīb*, and explicitly preferred *ghazal* verses of ^c^Umar b. Abī Rabī^c^a [*q.v.*] to the "weeping at the *aṭlāl*" (*Agh.*[1], ii, 134). He also sometimes describes sensual pleasures in his *nasīb*, if only in a dream (*Dīwān*, 349). About the same time, an anonymous persiflage of the *aṭlāl* was recited and received with enthusiasm at the court of al-Walīd b. Yazīd [*q.v.*] (*Agh.*[1], ii, 27), the first "anti-*nasīb*" in Arabic poetry.

d. ^c^Abbāsid period

The ^c^Abbāsid *nasīb* reflects in all its aspects the intellectual brilliance and sophistication of the time. This regards content, style, and, above all, its func-

tion within the structure of the ode. As to the first aspect, "modern" (*muḥdath*) poets like Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*] and Muslim b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] add to the Umayyad elegiac concept of love a courtly dimension. The social superiority of the beloved, her cruelty and power are emphasised and contrasted to the poet's devotion, which is never compensated, but heightens his moral standard. The courtly attitude is to be perceived in varying degrees in *ghazal* and *nasīb* alike, but whereas in *ghazal* verses the poet's love affair is often provided with an urban background, in the *nasīb* a Bedouin setting is retained as a rule, forming a stylised world deliberately opposed to reality. As a result, the poet's message acquires a timeless validity appropriate to the ceremonial function of the ʿAbbāsid ode.

The transformation of the "Bedouin encampment" referred to by pre-Islamic and Umayyad poets into a place of symbolic significance could only be achieved by techniques of the "new style" [see BADĪʿ]. Rhetorical devices, e.g. parallelism, antithesis, allusion, and particularly metaphor, are ingeniously applied so as to produce an intricate pattern, in which the lines of the *nasīb* are related to each other and to the following sections of the ode on different linguistic levels. This is evidenced in the *dīwān* of Bashshār (J. Scott Meisami, *The uses of the Qaṣīda: thematic and structural patterns in a poem of Bashshār*, in *JAL*, xvi [1985], 40-60), and in the odes of the great court poets of the 9th century, Abū Tammām (S. Pinckney Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām and the poetics of the ʿAbbāsid age*, Leiden 1991; cf. Part II) and al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*] (S. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1989, cf. 28 ff.). Topoi of the ancient *nasīb* are assimilated by various techniques. One of the most important devices is turning them into metaphor, whereby the symbolic world of the *nasīb* and the poet's inner world seem to merge in each other . By metaphorical transformation, his heart becomes a "campsite", where the "trace" (*ṭalal*) of love is not yet effaced (al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1963, iv, no. 806,7).

The *nasīb* can be combined or even blended with a bacchic theme and with the description of flowers and gardens, another innovation starting with Bashshār and continued by Muslim b. al-Walīd and other *muḥdathūn* (cf. G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung*, Beirut 1974, 48 ff.). Some poets stay faithful to convention by describing desert sceneries in spring, whereas others, e.g. al-Buḥturī and Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*], mostly refer to urban gardens (Schoeler, *op. cit.* 133 ff., 167 ff.). The description of gardens later sometimes replaces the *nasīb*, especially in Andalusian poetry.

A variation of the bacchic theme is the "anti-*nasīb*", the poet's rejecting the complaint at the *aṭlāl* in preference of wine and the enjoyment of life. It is a favourite opening of the *khamriyya* and becomes a convention of the genre, but it is also used before a panegyric by Muslim b. al-Walīd and, in particular, by Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], whose *nasīb* presents the greatest variety of modes and themes. He occasionally conforms to convention, but he often introduces urban themes and even dispenses with the courtly attitude, describing erotic pleasures in his *nasīb* (cf. E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 234 ff.). The "anti-*nasīb*" and other innovations motivated by the intellectual and social aspirations of Persian *mawālī* seem to be limited to the early ʿAbbāsid period, as far as the ode is concerned.

The ʿAbbāsid *nasīb* can be fully appreciated only when it is considered as an integral part of the *ḳaṣīda*. The ceremonial ode is bipartite in structure as a rule, *nasīb* and *madīḥ* being juxtaposed without transition, or linked up by a few lines of the travel theme, now a mere introduction to the panegyric. The *nasīb* usually extends over 10-15 lines, independent of the full length of the poem. As has been pointed out by S. Sperl with reference to caliphal odes, the two sections constitute a carefully structured antithesis, "strophe and anti-strophe", each theme of the *nasīb* being echoed, as it were, in the *madīḥ* (*Islamic kingship and Arabic panegyric poetry in the early 9th century*, in *JAL*, viii [1977], 20-35). The antithesis is based on an analogy supported by the ideal of courtly love: the relation of poet and beloved on the one hand, and of poet and patron on the other. Loss and frustration experienced in love are compensated by the caliph's grace and generosity; the transitoriness of human affairs, symbolised by the *aṭlāl*, are counterbalanced by the cosmic power of the ruler to rejuvenate the earth. The analogy is not limited to odes to the caliph, and can be put to different use, moreover, by forming a parallel, the patron's behaviour equalling that of the beloved (cf. Meisami, *op. cit.* 48 ff.).

The technique of contrasting *nasīb* and *madīḥ* is still in evidence in odes of the Būyid-period poet Mihyār al-Daylamī [*q.v.*] (cf. Sperl, *Mannerism*, 48 ff.), but further analysis is required in order to establish its application in later poetry. As for al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], one of the most famous panegyrists of mediaeval Islam, a certain weariness of the *nasīb* is apparent, although there are brilliant specimens in his *dīwān*. Many of his *Sayfiyyāt* are composed without a *nasīb*, however, and in an often-quoted verse referring to the convention of beginning an ode with amatory verses, he doubts whether "all poets can be in love" (*Dīwān*, ed. Dieterici, Berlin 1861, 439, 5). Despite his or other poets' reserve concerning the *nasīb*, odes with amatory prologues continued to be composed throughout the Middle Ages up to the 19th century, and even after the *ḳaṣīda* had become obsolete as a genre, *aṭlāl*, *khayāl* and other topoi of the *nasīb* did not lose their æsthetic appeal to modern Arabic poets and their readers.

As has been established, the amatory prologue underwent considerable changes in the course of the first centuries of Islam. It remains to ascertain the generic features which determine its identity as a literary form. If we disregard individual attempts to change the character of the *nasīb*, and innovations limited to a particular period, they are to be defined as follows: *a.* an elegiac concept of love, *b.* the evocation of memories and *c.* a Bedouin setting alluded to by generic signals, i.e. place-names of the Ḥidjāz, traditional names of the beloved, terms and formulas from pre-Islamic love poetry. Since they constitute a linguistic code which must be understood, they depend on a society familiar with a normative poetic convention. Thus it is to be assumed that the *nasīb*, more perhaps than most other genres, served as a means of identification for the intellectual élite of mediaeval Islam.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see *EI*[1] act. s.v. In addition to studies mentioned in the article, see general works on Arabic literature, in particular: R. Blachère, *HLA* (Index); *GAP*, ii (Index); *CHAL*, i, ii (Index); E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, Darmstadt 1987 8, i, 83 ff., ii, 113 ff..—For a detailed analysis of texts, cf. R. Blachère, *Les principaux thèmes de la poésie érotique au siècle des Umayyades de Damas*, in *AIEO Alger*, v (1939-41), 82-128 (= idem, *Analecta*, Damascus 1975, 333-78); ʿAdnān ʿA. al-Baladāwī, *al-Maṭlaʿ al-taḳlīdī fī 'l-ḳaṣīda*, Baghdād 1974; Ḥ.

ʿAṭwān, *Muḳaddimat al-ḳaṣīda al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-shiʿr al-djāhilī*, Beirut 1987²; idem, *Muḳaddimat al-ḳaṣīda al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-umawī*, Beirut 1987²; idem, *Muḳaddimat al-ḳaṣīda al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-awwal*, Beirut 1987²; ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ḥifnī, *Maṭlaʿ al-ḳaṣīda al-ʿarabiyya wa-dalālatuhā 'l-nafsiyya*, Cairo 1987.—Studies from the aspect of comparative literature: I. Guidi, *Il "nasib" nella qasida arabe*, in *Actes du XIVᵉ Congrès international des Orientalistes, Alger 1905*, Algiers 1907, iii 8-12; C.J. Lyall, *The relation of the old Arabian poetry to the Hebrew literature of the Old Testament*, in *JRAS* (1914), 253-66; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1946, 113 ff. (Hellenistic influence); T.M. Johnstone, *Nasīb and Mansöngur*, in *JAL*, iii (1972) 90-5. (R. Jacobi)

NAṢĪBĪN, Naṣībīn, classical Nasibis, modern Turkish form Nusaybin, a town in upper Mesopotamia, now in modern Turkey. It is situated on the modern Görgarbonızra Çayı, the classical Mygdonios river, the early Arabic Hirmās, Syriac Nehar Māsā or Māshī, in the plain to the south of the mountain region of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn [*q.v.*], and today faces the Syrian town of al-Ḳāmishlī.

Naṣībīn is an ancient town, its name being probably Semitic. In classical sources we find the form Νάσιβις and on coins ΝΕΣΙΒΙ. In Armenian, it is usually Mcbin, Nsepi or Nsepin. The countryside between Naṣībīn and the Tigris was known to the Syriac Christians as Bēth ʿArbāyā and to the Armenians as Arvastan. The town is mentioned as early as Assyrian times under the name of Naṣibina and was subsequently under the rule of the Seleucids and then, according to Armenian historians, was the capital of the Armenian Arshakunid kings, but then in early Christian times possession of it alternated between the Parthians and Romans. In 195 A.D. Septimius Severus came to Nisibis and made it the capital of a new province, Septimia Nesibi Colonia Metropolis, according to Dio Cassius. In the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., control of it was disputed by the Sasanids, and after 363 was more or less permanently in Persian hands. It was during this period that Nisibis became the centre of the theological school of the same name, founded by the monk Jacob of Nisibis, and in 489 the Nestorian academy of Edessa was transferred thither by the Metropolitan Barṣawmā because of persecutions by the Byzantines, so that for several centuries it remained the intellectual centre of Nestorian Christianity (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *K. al-Tanbīh*, 150). (For a detailed consideration of Naṣībīn's pre-Islamic history, see E. Honigmann, *EI*¹ s.v.).

In the year 18/639 the Arab commander ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm advanced against Naṣībīn which after a brief resistance submitted to the Arabs on the same terms as had been granted to al-Ruhā (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv, 35, 37, 55, 57, year 18 A.H., § 83, 87, 127, 129; according to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 175-6, and al-Khʷārazmī, ed. Baethgen, in *Abh. f.d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, viii/3. 110-11, not till the following year; cf. Caetani, *op. cit.*, 165, 19 A.H., § 42b, 43). In the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik in 684 A.D., Burayda rebelled in Naṣībīn (Mich. Syr., ii, 469; Barhebr., *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 111; Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, i, 755, 65 A.H., § 15). An earthquake devastated the town in 717 (al-Khʷārazmī, *op. cit.*, 122, year 99 A.H.). The Metropolitan Cyprianus in 758-9 completed the choir of the Church (κόγχη) and the altar of the Cathedral of Naṣībīn (al-Khʷārazmī, *op. cit.*, 128, year 141 A.H.). In the period of troubles in Mesopotamia, the people of Dārā, Naṣībīn and Āmid used to go out on plundering expeditions (Mich. Syr., iii, 103; Barhebraeus, *Chr. syr.*, 153). A band of Ḳarmaṭians in 315/927-8 attacked Kafartūthā, Rās al-ʿAyn and Naṣībīn (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 384).

The Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] began his campaign against Armenia in 328/940 from Naṣībīn (Freytag, in *ZDMG*, x, 467). Byzantines in 331/942 under John Curcuas invaded Mesopotamia and took Mayyāfāriḳīn, Arzan and Naṣībīn (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, 179; Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, ii, 690). Naṣībīn by this time probably belonged to the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla [*q.v.*] (cf. Barhebraeus, 183, under the year 347/958, *ZDMG*, x, 482). After his death in 358/968-9, his son Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Ḥamdān was for a short time governor of Naṣībīn (*ZDMG*, x, 485). The Byzantines again attacked the town under the Domesticus (the Armenian Mleh) on 1 Muḥarram 362/12 Oct. 972, and instituted a dreadful massacre in it (Barhebraeus, 192; *ZDMG*, x, 486; Weil, iii, 19-20; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, ed. Kračkovskiy-Vasiliev, 145 = *Patrol. Orient.*, xxiii, Paris 1932, 353 wrongly makes the Emperor John Tzimisces himself conduct the campaign; cf. against this D.N. Anastasievič, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xxx [1929-30], 403-4).

The Saldjūḳid Ṭoghrïl Beg's army in 435/1043 laid waste the country round Naṣībīn (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, 226). Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 1106 sent Abū Manṣūr al-Djawalī, lord of al-Mawṣil, to Naṣībīn against the Franks (Mich. Syr., iii, 193). Soon afterwards the Artuḳid Īlghāzī Nadjm al-Dīn took the town (Mich. Syr., *loc. cit.*; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, 273) and after the Sultan had granted it to the *amīr* Mawdūd b. Altuntakin (Mich. Syr., iii, 215) Ilghāzī took it again in 513/1119-20 (*ibid.*, 217). But it changed hands again very soon, when in 515/1121-2 Sultan Maḥmūd gave it to the *amīr* Bursuḳī along with al-Mawṣil, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and Sindjār (Barhebraeus, 283). The Franks in 523/1128-9 advanced as far as Āmid, Naṣībīn and Raʾs al-ʿAyn (Barhebraeus, 289). In 1134, Zangī put down a rising in Naṣībīn (Mich. Syr., iii, 242). Bābak, installed there as governor by Zangī himself, destroyed all the fortresses in the neighbourhood so that Zangī might have no base against him (Mich. Syr., iii, 264). Nūr al-Dīn of Ḥalab in 566/1171 took the town without opposition and dealt rigorously with the Nestorian Christians there. All their new buildings were destroyed, the treasuries plundered and about 1,000 volumes of their writings burned (Mich. Syr., iii, 339-40). After his death, his nephew Sayf al-Dīn of al-Mawṣil seized the town (Mich. Syr., iii, 360). It surrendered to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 578/1182 (Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, 360). In the following year, the latter gave to ʿImād al-Dīn Sindjār, Naṣībīn and other towns in exchange for Ḥalab (Barhebraeus, 362) and he ruled there till his death in 594/1198 (Barhebraeus, 398, 402). In the region of Naṣībīn there was fierce fighting in 582/1186-7 between Kurds and Turkomans (Barhebraeus, 370). ʿImād al-Dīn was succeeded in 594/1198 by his son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, but Nūr al-Dīn Arslānshāh of al-Mawṣil immediately took the town from him. But when a severe epidemic wrought great havoc in his army, he abandoned it and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn returned thither (Barhebraeus, 402). Nūr al-Dīn in 600/1203-4 had to break off a second siege of Naṣībīn prematurely (Barhebraeus, 416-17). Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil took the town in 606/1209-10 from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (Barhebraeus, 424). After his death (615/1218-9) it passed to al-Malik al-Ashraf of Urfa (Barhebraeus, 424, 439).

The Arab geographers placed Naṣībīn in the fourth clime, the southern boundary of which ran about 12 *farsakhs* south of the town on the direction of Sindjār

(al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 32-3, 35, 44). According to Yāḳūt, it lay on the upper course of the Hirmās in the midst of numerous gardens. Ibn Ḥawḳal, who in 358/968-9 visited the town, which lay at the foot of Djabal Bālūsā, speaks of the pleasant life in it, apart from the dangerous scorpions found there. Al-Muḳaddasī describes the fine houses and baths, the market, the Friday mosque and the citadel. Ibn Djubayr also visited it in 580/1184-5, and mentions its gardens, the bridge over the Hirmās inside the town, the hospital (*māristān*), several schools and other places of interest. In the 8th/14th century it was already for the most part in ruins; but the Friday mosque was still in existence and the gardens around it from which rose-water was exported (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, according to whom the walls had a circumference of 6,500 paces, praises its fruits and wine but laments the unhealthy moistness of the climate, the large number of scorpions and the plague of midges.

Hūlāgū in 657/1259 occupied al-Ruhā, Naṣībīn and Ḥarrān (Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv, 10). The Mongol Khān Mangū-Tīmūr [*q.v.*] died, poisoned in Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, on his way from there to Naṣībīn, on 16 Muḥarram 681/26 April 1282 (Barhebraeus, 546-7). When Tīmūr Khān in 1395 was on his way to Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, the people of Naṣībīn and Maʿarra hid in caves from the Mongols but were suffocated in them with smoke (Appx. to Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, ed. Wallis Budge, ii, p. xxxiv). The Ḥasanāyē Kurds in 1403 pillaged Naṣībīn and the country around (*ibid.*, p. xxxvi).

The town passed into the hands of the Ottomans in 921/1515 (von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, Pest 1828, 449). It became the capital of a *sandjaḳ* in the *pashalīḳ* of Āmid (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihan-numā*, Istanbul 1732, 438). Later, it was placed in the *sandjaḳ* of Mārdīn in the *pashalīḳ* of Baghdād (St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i, Paris 1818, 161-2).

In the present century, Nusaybin's strategic importance has arisen not only from its position on the southern fringes of the eastern Anatolian highlands but also from the passing through it, with a station, of the Istanbul-Aleppo-Baghdād railway. In contemporary Turkey, Nusaybin town (lat. 37° 03' N, long. 41° 13' E) is the chef-lieu of an *ilçe* or district of the *il* or province of Mardin, agriculturally prosperous from cereal and rice growing and from stock-raising. In 1970 the town had a population of 13,941 and the district one of 43,309.

Bibliography: Khʷārazmī, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. v. Mžik, *ibid.*, v, 29 (no. 260: read *Madīnat Naṣībīn*); Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ii, 175 (no. 158); iii, 238; Iṣṭakhrī, 72-8; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 139-43, 149; Muḳaddasī, 54, 90, 137, 140, 145-6, 149, 159, 390; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 132-3, 227, 233; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 95-6, 116, 172; Ḳudāma, 214-15, 227, 245; Ibn Rusta, 97, 106; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 362; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 32-3, 35, 44, 150. 384; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 559, iv, 787; Ibn Djubayr, ed. Wright, 240; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 140; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, Bombay 1311, 167; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 175, 178; Ibn al-Athīr, index, ii, 818; Ṭabarī, indices, s.v.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 87, 94-5, 97, 124-5; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, index, 316, under *Nṣībʰīn*; J.S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, i, 442-6; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 392; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii, Berlin 1900, 29-36; V. Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1907, 317-19; C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler* (*XVII. wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*), Leipzig 1911, 39-43; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii, Berlin 1920, 336-46, pls. cxxxviii f. and figs. 314-16; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 482, 490-3, 496-99, 522-3; Murray's *Handbook. Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, London 1895, 292-3; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, Leipzig 1912, 425-6; Admiralty Handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1942-3, ii, 247-50, 345, 477-8, 576; Carole Hillenbrand, *A Muslim principality in Crusader times. The early Artuqid state*, Istanbul 1990, index.

(E. Honigmann-[C.E. Bosworth])

NĀṢĪF AL-YĀZIDJĪ [see AL-YĀZIDJĪ].

NAṢĪḤAT AL-MULŪK (A.), literally "advice for rulers", a phrase under which may conveniently be considered the genre of pre-modern Islamic literature which consists of advice to rulers and their executives on politics and statecraft (*siyāsa* [*q.v.*] or *tadbīr al-mulūk*); the ruler's comportment towards God and towards the subjects or *raʿiyya* [*q.v.*] whom God has entrusted to his charge; the conduct of warfare, diplomacy and espionage; etc. All these themes correspond to the genre of mediaeval European literature known as that of "mirrors for princes" or *Fürstenspiegel* (see on this, *Dict. of the Middle Ages*, New York 1982-9, viii, 434-6, art. *Mirror of princes* (Patricia J. Eberle)).

In their more theoretical aspect, these Islamic works overlap the fields of practical ethics (for which see AKHLĀḲ (i)) and of the testament or *waṣiyya* [*q.v.*] of a chief or ruler, which (in the examples known to us, such as the testaments of ʿUmar I, Muʿāwiya and al-Manṣūr) seem often to have contained advice on rulership and its problems, aphorisms on the responsibilities of power, exhortations to justice and godly rule, etc. intended for the testator's heir. But many of them also have a distinctly practical aspect. The emphasis here is often on *Realpolitik* as a mainspring of political action, so that contemporary pragmatic attitudes to the exercise of power are revealed; and, in the later, Persian mirrors for princes there is often a considerable amount of historical information conveyed as anecdotes or as illustrative, practical examples of general principles. They thus contain material of value to students of Islamic history and of Islamic administration and its institutions.

The genre has a further significance for the unfolding of early Islamic culture in that it constitutes a meeting-point for various ethical, philosophical and practical strands. Some of these developed purely within the Islamic religious tradition, such as the concept of the caliph-*imām* as deriving all his power from God and only deserving his exalted position so long as he exercised this authority in conformity with the *sharīʿa* [*q.v.*]. Others were non-Islamic. The Persian bureaucratic tradition, already influential in Islamic administration by the later part of the Umayyad period (see below), was strengthened in the ʿAbbāsid period by the formation of the influential body of secretaries or *kuttāb* [see KĀTIB. i. In the caliphate] imbued with ancient Persian ideas and ideals; whence the frequency in the mirrors for princes literature of stories illustrating the beneficent and just government of Sāsānid emperors like Ardashīr I Pāpakān, Bahrām [*q.v.*] Čūbīn, Khusraw I Anūsharwān [*q.v.*] and Khusraw II Aparwīz, and the wisdom of their ministers such as Buzurgmihr [*q.v.*]. A lesser influence was mediated from India through such animal fables has those of Bidpay, the later Arabic *Kalīla wa-*

Dimna [*q.v.*], going back to the Sanskrit *Pančatantra*, but much more significant was the classical Greek and Hellenistic component, derived in great part through translations and illustrated by the roles as sages assigned to Plato and Aristotle [see AFLĀṬŪN and ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS] and to Alexander the Great, regarded as the pupil of the latter philosopher, as an exemplar of wise rule [see AL-ISKANDAR].

1. In Arabic literature.

The genre, as known to us in Arabic, may be said to develope towards the end of the Umayyad period when, during the caliphate of Hishām (105-25/724-43), a distinct interest in Persian administrative ways is discernible (see H.A.R. Gibb, *The social significance of the Shu^cūbīya*, in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, Boston 1962, 62-3). His caliph's chief secretary, the *mawlā* Abu 'l-ᶜAlāʾ Sālim, seems to have composed a collection of epistles which purported *inter alia* to contain advice on ruling given by Aristotle to Alexander, in particular, a *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa al-ᶜāmmiyya*, almost certainly in large part deriving from a Greek original but with distinct Persian-derived touches, and possibly having a practical aim with regard to Hishām's policies in Khurāsān and the increasing difficulties of the Umayyad governors there [see J.D. Latham, *The beginnings of Arabic prose literature: the epistolary genre*, in *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature* [i.] *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, Cambridge 1983, 154-64, and the works of M. Grignaschi listed on p. 533).

Sālim's successor in the Umayyad *dīwān al-rasāʾil*, the celebrated ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib [*q.v.*], wrote a lengthy and elaborate epistle to the designated *walī 'l-ᶜahd* and son of the last Umayyad caliph Marwān (II) b. Muḥammad (127-32/744-50), ᶜAbd Allāh. It comprises an ethico-political section on the moral qualifications necessary for princes, the practical responsibilities of the prince for maintaining good government, followed by a more strictly practical discourse on questions of military organisation (see Latham, in *op. cit.*, 167-72).

The genre has thus a respectable prehistory dating from at least a generation before the work of the figure who was, in the past, usually taken (e.g. by G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älterer arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1932, 4 ff.) as the pioneer composer of an Arabic mirror for princes, ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Mukaffaᶜ (d. *ca.* 140/757 [see IBN AL-MUKAFFAᶜ]). The latter's work as a communicator of the imperial Sāsānid Persian governmental tradition through his translations from Pahlavi into Arabic, is well-known. His *Risāla fi 'l-Ṣaḥāba*, apparently addressed to the second ᶜAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]), hence stemming from Ibn al-Mukaffaᶜ's last two or three years of life, treats of the importance for the ruler of choosing reliable companions and executives but also of more general political and military topics, and especially, of the importance of justice in the practical exercise of authority (see text and Fr. tr. in Ch. Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, mort vers 140/757 "Conseilleur" du calife*, Paris 1976; Latham, *Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ and early ᶜAbbasid prose*, in *CHAL* [ii.] *ᶜAbbasid belles-lettres*, Cambridge 1990, 64-72). More clearly in the specific mirrors for princes genre is his *K. Ādāb al-kabīr*. The second part of this is probably addressed to the caliph's son and enjoins him to acquire *adab* [*q.v.*], whilst the third part is addressed to the caliph's minister or companion and advises him on the correct *adab* for the ruler's service, and the fourth part appears to deal with personal relations within the secretary's own milieu, stressing the value of true friendship. In its emphasis on the importance of the heritage of the ancients and their transmitted wisdom, Ibn al-Mukaffaᶜ clearly had in mind the Greek authorities and also the old Persian monarchical and secretarial traditions—from the latter of which he and his father stemmed directly—but these strands were mingled with his own first-hand experience of political life: the morality of the epistle is Machiavellian rather than elevated in tone (see Richter, *op. cit.*, 4-22; Latham, in *op. cit.*, 57-64; and the Bibl. to Gabrieli's art. IBN AL-MUKAFFAᶜ).

Over the next two centuries, Arabic *adab* literature continued to include, as one of its components, elements of advice on the ethics of rulership and the practical conduct of affairs. From the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], well-known for his interest in the movement for translation from Greek into Syriac and Arabic and for the mediation of classical scientific and philosophical knowledge to the Islamic world, dates the terse but meaty epistle of the Khurāsānian commander Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn [*q.v.*] addressed to his son ᶜAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] when the latter was in 206/821 about to take up a provincial governorship. Notable here is the dominant place accorded to Islamic religion and the vitalness of the ruler's behaving in conformity with both the old Arab tribal virtues (*ḥilm*, *murūʾa* [*q.vv*]) and also the Ḳurʾān and Sunna; the influence of the old Persian ideals of rulership and ideas about subjects' obedience is here very subordinate. Possibly it was this strongly Arab-Islamic ethos, combined with the literary appeal of its elegant and balanced phrases, which made the epistle popular with later generations; as well as figuring in the surviving portion of the *K. Baghdād* of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr [*q.v.*], it is given by al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn (see Richter, 80-3; Eng. tr. in C.E. Bosworth, *An early Arabic mirror for princes: Ṭāhir Dhū l-Yamīnain's epistle to his son ᶜAbdallāh (206/821)*, in *JNES*, xxix [1970], 25-41).

The many-sided genius of al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]) absorbed the wisdom of the Greeks and Persians through the translations which had been appearing since the time of Ibn al-Mukaffaᶜ, and was in close contact, if not with caliphs, with viziers, chief judges and members of the ᶜAbbāsid family of his time. A largely lost *K. Akhlāḳ al-wuzarāʾ* (Pellat, *Nouvel essai d'inventaire de l'oeuvre ǧāḥiẓienne*, in *Arabica*, xxxi [1984], 163 no. 238) must have been a manual for the use of viziers, but the *K. al-Tādj*, dedicated to al-Mutawakkil's commander and courtier al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [*q.v.*], hence from the middle years of the 3rd/9th century, and dealing with the comportment of the monarch, the organisation of his court and the conduct required of his boon-companions (*nudamāʾ*, sing *nadīm* [*q.v.*]), is obviously one of the many apocryphal works of al-Djāḥiẓ. Given the prominent role in it of Sāsānid-derived material, it was probably written by an ethnically Persian author imbued however with Arabic culture also; its title is indeed reminiscent of a Pahlavi *Tādj-nāmak* said to have been one of the works translated by Ibn al-Mukaffaᶜ (see the Fr. tr. of Pellat, *Le Livre de la Couronne ... attribué a Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1954, introd., and also Richter, *op. cit.*, 47-60; as Richter notes, 39, the authenticity or otherwise of al-Djāḥiẓ's authorship does not affect the work's significance as a product of the cultural atmosphere of the time).

Certain of the *adab* works of the writers one generation after al-Djāḥiẓ like Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 275/889 [*q.v.*]) and of two generations later like Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]) merit consideration for material within them which is very much in the genre of advice to princes, although treated very much in a

literary and bellelettristic vein. The former's *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* includes lengthy sections entitled *kitāb al-sulṭān* on the qualities necessary for rulership, *k. al-ḥarb* on the conduct of warfare and *k. al-suʾdud* on the quality of leadership and success in worldly affairs (see Richter, 39 ff., and G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba (mort en 276/889), l'homme, son oeuvre, ses idées*, Damascus 1965, 145-6). Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi likewise opens his *adab* collection *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd* with sections on government (*sulṭān*), the conduct of war and a subsequent one on the addressing of kings, and appears to have drawn upon sources parallel to those of Ibn Ḳutayba (see Richter, 72-9);

The *Fürstenspiegel* genre continued in Arabic literature for at least two or three centuries more. Works which were either themselves mirrors for princes or contained elements of the genre include two works, both extant, by al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058 [*q.v.*]), including a *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* and a *K. Ḳawānīn al-wuzarāʾ wa-siyāsat al-mulūk*, the latter being one of several composed on the *adab al-wazīr* (see on this, D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿaabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 13-14). Al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038 [*q.v.*]) composed at the court of the Khwārazm-Shāh Maʾmūn b. Maʾmūn [see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS] a *K. Ādāb al-mulūk al-khwārazmshāhi* (ed. and Eng. tr. Tevfik Topuzoğlu, *Kitāb ʿAdāb al-Mulūk al-Khwārazm-Shāhī of ... ath-Thaʿālibī*, Ph.D. diss., Manchester 1974, 2 vols., unpubl.).

Such works were as popular in the Muslim West as in the central and eastern Islamic lands, as already evidenced by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi's *ʿIḳd* (whose contents, however, are entirely within the Baghdād-centred traditions of the Mashriḳ; it does not seem that any distinctive, local versions of the genre ever developed in al-Andalus or the Maghrib); see, e.g., Ibn Abī Randaḳa al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520/1126 or 525/1131 [*q.v.*])'s *Sirādj al-Mulūk* (Span. tr. M. Alarcón, *Lámpara de los príncipes por Abubéquer de Tortosa*, Madrid 1930-1), and the *Sulwān al-maṭāliʿ fī ʿudwān al-atbāʿ* of the Sicilian emigrant to Mecca, Ḥudjdjat al-Dīn Ibn Ẓafar (d. 565/1169 or 568/1172 [*q.v.*]), which contains many animal fables and stories of Indian origin, not all of them taken from *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Ital. tr. M. Amari, *Conforti politici*, Florence 1882; see also Richter, *op. cit.*, 90-2). Closely connected with, and dependent upon, Ibn Ẓafar's work was the mirror for princes of the easterner Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 654/1256 [*q.v.*]), the *Kanz al-mulūk fī kayfiyyat al-sulūk*, who omitted, however (possibly because of the rigorist attitudes from his Ḥanbalī family background) the animal and bird fables much used by Ibn Ẓafar (ed. G. Vitestam, *The treasure of princes on the fashion of behaviour ascribed to Sibṭ ibn al-Djauzi*, Lund 1970).

The most notable author of these times to compose in the genre was the great theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]). As well as touching on the topic of rulership and its duties in such works of his as the *K. al-Mustaẓhirī* and the Persian-language *Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat*, it seems that al-Ghazālī wrote a special treatise on the Islamic religious ideals required of a godly ruler and on practical questions of statecraft for a Saldjūḳ prince, either Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh or his brother Sandjar [*q.vv.*], and this forms the first part of the work which has been generally attributed to him and called the *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*. The second part of this, however, is probably the work of an unknown Persian author of a generation or so later working very much in the Persian ethical and political tradition (see Patricia Crone, *Did al-Ghazālī write a Mirror for Princes? On the authorship of Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, in *JSAI*, x [1987], 167-91). Both parts of this Persian-language work were subsequently translated into Arabic (according to Ibn Khallikān, by Ṣafī 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Irbilī for a Turkish Atabeg of Mawṣil towards the end of the 6th/12th century) as *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, and this had a much wider circulation than the Persian original, being frequently copied in Mamlūk and Ottoman times, whereas so few of the Persian version circulated that Goldziher, e.g. believed that it had been irretrievably lost (*Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte*, Leiden 1916, 98) until mss. turned up in Istanbul and Tehran. As well as imparting the usual Islamic and pre-Islamic Persian counsels for the ruler, al-Ghazālī's part of the work expresses the Ṣūfī view of life which one would expect from such a noted practitioner of Ṣūfism as its author: the ruler's spiritual life is of paramount importance. Following the traditional Islamic view, al-Ghazālī stresses that kingship is a gift bestowed by God, for which the ruler will be fully accountable on the Last Day; the ruler does not owe his power to his fellow-men and is not accountable to them, hence he must be especially careful to avoid the meretricious attractions of this world. The patently different emphasis of the second part, on the qualities required by kings, is seen in the extensive quotation of the examples set by the Sāsānid Persian emperors and in its praise of the justice and benevolent rule of the "Magians" for some 4,000 years until God decided to send the Prophet Muḥammad for mankind and to let the political sovereignty pass to the Arabs; even so, the fame of the wise and just Khusraw Anūsharwān still redounds during Islamic times because his salient qualities of justice and magnanimity are valid for all times and valid during all manifestations of God's favour to subsequent religions and dynasties. The anonymous author recognises, in the period of the decline of the caliphate's effective power, the fait accompli of the practical exercise of power by the *sulṭān* [*q.v.*], and regards this last as divinely-inspired also; maxims like "the sultan is God's shadow on earth" are cited with approval, and the sultan's power is viewed as being consecrated by the old-Persian idea of the "divine effulgence" (*farr-i īzadī*) (see on the whole work, Richter, *op. cit.*, 67-9; Eng. tr. with extensive and valuable introd., F.R.C. Bagley, *Ghazālī's Book of Counsels for Kings*, London 1962; Carole Hillenbrand, *Islamic orthodoxy or Realpolitik? Al-Ghazālī's views on government*, in *Iran JBIPS*, xxvi [1988], 91-3; A.K.S. Lambton, *The theory of kingship in the Naṣīḥat al-mulūk of Ghazālī*, in *IQ*, i [1954], 47-55; idem, *State and government in medieval Islam*, Oxford 1981, 117-26).

2. In Persian literature.

The genre in Arabic was always of a pronounced literary cast, reflecting the dominant role accorded to *adab* and its practitioners in Arab-Islamic culture. The literary, idealising element remains discernible in the Persian mirrors for princes, but practical considerations obtrude much more perceptibly here, perhaps in part reflecting the fact that two of the outstanding Persian composers of works in the genre, Kay Kāwūs b. Iskandar and Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.vv.*] were themselves exponents of the art of practical politics and far from being academic theoreticians.

It was seen in section 1. above that the contributory pre-Islamic Persian strand in the development of the genre, derived from the collections of animal and bird fables and from works on the conduct of the Sāsānid emperors and the organisation of their courts, was always notable. Furthermore, Middle Persian literature had quite an appreciable amount of moralising works containing admonitions, ethical directives

and advice on correct behaviour in various walks of life, the so-called *andarz* "teachings" and *pand-nāmak* "book of counsels" literature (see J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 37-9), and this emphasis was carried over into the Islamic period when New Persian Islamic literature developed from the 3rd/9th century onwards; it may further be seen in the moralising element prominent in such literary collections of stories as the *Gulistān* and *Būstān* of Saᶜdī [*q.v.*].

As in Arabic, the genre in Islamic Persian literature begins with works on a modest scale or with sections in works essentially concerned with broader or with different topics. From the middle years of the 5th/11th century are the references within the *Taʾrīkh-i Masᶜūdī* of the Ghaznawid author Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*] to earlier works like Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ's translation of the pre-Islamic Persian *Khudāy-nāmak* "Book of kings", which he calls the *Taʾrīkh-i Mulūk-i ᶜAdjam*, and his comments on the ideal conduct of the ruler, his coercive powers and the subjects within his jurisdiction (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 48-50; Marilyn R. Waldman, *Toward a theory of historical narrative, a case study in Perso-Islamicate historiography*, Columbus, Ohio 1980, 69-70). The founder of the dynasty, Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] allegedly left behind a *waṣiyya*, a collection of aphorisms and pieces of advice on the business of kingship, the *Pand-nāma*, known to us from its inclusion in a general history of the 8th/14th century, Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī Shabānkāra'ī's *Madjmaᶜ al-ansāb*, but that a Turkish steppe barbarian like Sebüktigin could have put together this sophisticated opuscule, whose contents include much that is discernible in the longer and more elaborate Persian mirrors for princes, is highly unlikely, and it must surely have been composed well after his death in 387/997 and attributed to him in later Ghaznawid times as the heroic founder of the dynasty (see M. Nazim, *The Pand-Nāmah of Subuktigīn*, in *JRAS* [1933], 605-28; Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii [1963], 18-20 = *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, Variorum Reprints, London 1977, no. XIII). This process of attribution happened not infrequently in Persian literature where the supposed aphorisms or counsels of a prominent figure were involved. Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma* (see below) was "edited" in some degree and probably added to, after his death, by Muḥammad Maghribī, and the great vizier's so-called *waṣāyā* or *naṣāʾiḥ* were not compiled till the 9th/15th century, though apparently from genuine family traditions and possibly from contemporary or near-contemporary materials (see H. Bowen, *The* sargudhasht-i sayyidnā, *the "Tale of the three school-fellows" and the* waṣāyā *of the Niẓām al-Mulk*, in *JRAS* [1931], 776-8).

The second half of the 5th/11th century saw the appearance of the three greatest, complete-work mirrors for princes, the *Ḳābūs-nāma*, the *Siyāsat-nāma* and the *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*. That they should appear within a span of three or four decades can hardly be fortuitous. It may possibly reflect the recognition by their ethnically Persian (in fact, largely eastern Persian) authors that the centre of gravity of the orthodox Sunnī world was now Persia rather than ᶜIrāḳ or Syria or Arabia, that the division of caliphate and sultanate—the latter under the Saldjūḳs, now at the height of their power—was permanent and irrevocable, and that treatises on statecraft and kingship ought to take account of these changed conditions. The work of the most conservative and traditional in ethos of these writers, al-Ghazālī, and of his more pragmatic unknown colleague/continuator in Persian, has already been considered in section 1. above.

The Ziyārid prince of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān Kay Kāwūs b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] named his *Ḳābūs-nāma*, written in 475/1082-3, after his ruthless and cunning grandfather Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr [*q.v.*], whom Kay Kāwūs clearly admired and regarded as a fine exponent of *Realpolitik* unrestrained by the more noble ethical considerations of fairness and charity towards opponents, when these conflicted with necessity and expediency. At the top level, the book gives advice on statecraft, the arts of war and diplomacy, and the organisation of court life, but also, on a lower level, with the practice of various more humdrum professions and with the successful conduct of daily affairs like buying slaves or horses. R. Levy (introd. to his Eng. tr., *A mirror for princes, the Qābūs-nāma*, London 1951, p. ix) justly characterised it as combining "the functions of popular educator, manual of political conduct and text book of ethics, with expediency as its motto" (see E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in medieval Islam, an introductory outline*, Cambridge 1968, 78-91, Bagley, *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings*, introd., pp. xiii-xiv). Its brisk practicality made it a favourite with later generations of the Perso-Islamic cultural world, and at least five Ottoman Turkish translations of it were made.

The vizier to the Saldjūḳ sultans Alp Arslan and Malik-Shāh [*q.vv.*], Niẓām al-Mulk, composed his *Siyāsat-nāma* or *Siyar al-mulūk* at the court of the latter sultan in 484-5/1091-2, possibly at Malik-Shāh's suggestion, and placed within it the distilled wisdom of some four decades of administrative activity in Persia; the result is the supreme work of its kind in Persian. In some ways, it was a political manifesto, setting forth the things which he considered his master the sultan should undertake and reproving his lack of concern with certain vital affairs of rule; his exemplars here are not only the old Persian kings but also such forceful Islamic despots as the Būyid ᶜAḍud al-Dawla and Maḥmūd of Ghazna. But Niẓām al-Mulk's basic premise for all human affairs is the divine authority of the ruler, whether he be caliph-*imām* or sultan, as being designated by God and as holding his power in trust from God, with the corollaries that the ruler's supreme task is the furtherance of right religion and the suppression of all religious and social deviance and that it is the duty of subjects to give unconditional obedience. This concept of the ruler's untrammelled power was to live on throughout the Islamic lands virtually unchallenged until modern times, and in this wise, Niẓām al-Mulk, good Muslim though he was, was restating the old Persian traditions of government based on force majeure and opportunism, as distinct from the traditional Islamic idea of true authority being based on the Ḳurʾān and *Sharīᶜa*. Because of the high proportion of illustrative anecdotal and historical material within it, the *Siyāsat-nāma* is a significant, if not always totally reliable, straight historical source, above all for the period of the caliphate's decline and disintegration on the rise of provincial dynasties like the Sāmānids, Ṣaffārids and Ghaznawids, and for various socio-religious protest movements arising in the Persian lands, from Mazdakism to Ismāᶜīlism (see Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 81-3; Bagley, *op. cit.*, introd. pp. xiv-xv; Lambton, *The dilemma of government in Islamic Persia: the Siyāsat-nāma of Niẓām al-Mulk*, in *Iran JBIPS*, xxii [1984], 55-66).

Even more in the traditional Islamic mould than al-Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, and in fact heavily depen-

dent on that author's *Kimiyā-yi saʿādat* and, to a lesser extent, on his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, is the *Baḥr al-fawāʾid* (tr. Julie S. Meisami, *The sea of precious virtues* (Baḥr al-Favāʾid), *a medieval Islamic mirror for princes*, Salt Lake City 1991). This was written in Syria, probably at Aleppo, by an unknown author for one of the Aḥmadīlī [*q.v.*] Atabegs of Ādharbāydjān, and its tone is homilectic rather than prosaic and practical, with its examples almost entirely Islamic; it reflects the atmosphere of *djihād* against the Crusaders and the contemporary resurgence, under the Saldjūḳs and Zangids, of Sunnī orthodoxy, and not the continued influence of the Persian past.

The genre of mirrors for princes retained an enduring interest for later generations of Persian writers, and this interest is visible in such works as the *Dhakhīrat al-mulūk* of the Kubrawī Ṣūfī saint of Kashmīr, Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadhānī (d. 786/1385 [see ʿALĪ B. SHIHĀB AL-DĪN HAMADĀNĪ]; the *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, written in 813/1411 by Djalāl al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ Ḳazwīnī for the Tīmūrid Shāhrukh [*q.v.*]; and the *Sulūk al-mulūk* of Faḍl Allāh Rūzbihān Khundjī (d. 927/1521 [*q.v.*]), written as a guide for the strongly Sunnī Shaybānid ruler ʿUbayd Allāh Khān (see Rypka *et alii*, *op. cit.*, 427).

Hamadhānī's work was written in Muslim India, and mirrors for princes remained equally popular within the Persian cultural world of India. This Indian aspect of the genre has not been thoroughly studied, but a concern with statecraft, the art of war and political ethics were of burning relevance to a Muslim society like the Indian one, which had to maintain itself against strong non-Islamic internal forces such as the Hindu princes and against invaders from outside the subcontinent like the Mongols and Tīmūr. Muslims never became anything like a numerical majority of population over the country as a whole, hence writers in India were more exercised by such topics as *djihād* and by the status of non-believers within the Indian *Dār al-Islām* than were writers in the Persian lands proper. Some Indo-Muslim writers in the mirrors for princes vein during the Sultanate period, like Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārak Shāh (*flor.* late 6th-early 7th/late 12th-early 13th centuries [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) recognised in his *Ādāb al-mulūk* that unbelievers should be treated justly and assigned a protected, if subordinate, place in society; whereas the Tughluḳid period author Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī (d. after 758/1357 [*q.v.*]), in his mirror, the *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī*, took up a rigorist attitude on the treatment of infidels, involving the necessity of humiliating them. The Mughal empire saw the production of various mirrors, such as the *Akhlāḳ-i Humāyūn* of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Ḥusayn (written in 912/1506-7 for Bābur's son Humāyūn [*q.v.*]), and the *Akhlāḳ-i Ḥakīmī* by Ḥasan ʿAlī Munshī (wrote 987-8/1579-80 for the half-brother of the Emperor Akbar, Muḥammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). From the reign of Djahāngīr—whose interest in ethical and didactic literature may have stimulated the composition of these works—in the first part of the 11th/17th century stem no fewer than three works in the genre, Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Khāḳānī's *Akhlāḳ-i Djahāngīrī*, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī's *Risāla-yi Nūriyya-yi sulṭāniyya* (the only one of these works by an *ʿālim* who was not also a courtier; and the *Mawʿiẓa-yi Djahāngīrī* of Muḥammad Bāḳir Nadjm-i Thānī (d. 1047/1637 [*q.v.*]), recently ed. with Eng. tr. as *Advice on the art of governance ... an Indo-Muslim mirror for princes*, by Sajida Sultana Alvi, Albany N.Y. 1989. This last work does not seem to show that the genre had developed much originality in Muslim India, although a lessened pre-occupation with threats from the infidels may reflect the more secure conditions of the time compared with the earlier, troubled Sultanate period (see Alvi's introd., 29-34). Finally, Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, 427, mentions a *Tuḥfa-yi Ḳuṭbshāhī* written in this same 11th/17th century by ʿAlī b. Ṭayfūr Bisṭāmī for the Ḳuṭb-Shāhī ruler of Golkondā [*q.v.*] ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [see ḲUṬB SHĀHĪ].

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

NĀSIKH [see NASKH].

NĀSIKH, SHAYKH IMĀM BAKHSH (d. 1838), a leading Urdu poet of the Lucknow School, though often now considered more important as an arbiter of the language, as opposed to the literary Urdu of Dihlī. This is no doubt the reason for his *takhalluṣ Nāsikh* "abrogator". He was born in Fayḍābād (Fayzabad), and became the adopted son and heir of a tent-maker, Khudā Bakhsh. He studied Persian and Urdu, and took Sawdā [*q.v.*] as his model in poetry. His formative years were spent at the court of a nobleman Mīrzā Ḥadjdjī, where he was able to indulge his pre-occupation with language. His relations with other patrons were not so friendly, and at times he feared for his life. Moreover, Khudā Bakhsh's real sons resented what they considered the poet's depriving them of their rightful inheritance. Nevertheless, Nāsikh soon achieved fame as a poet in both Urdu and Persian, as a teacher and as a corrector of other men's poetry, especially in respect of their language. Nawnahārwī (190-7) lists 86 poets as his pupils.

Nāsikh came on the scene when the establishing and standardising of Urdu as the literary language of Indian Muslims was developing, especially in Lucknow, to which political events had led many Dihlī poets to emigrate. Nāsikh became the leader of language reform, aimed at replacing many idioms current in Dihlī by others considered superior, particularly for the use of poets, it is in this that Nāsikh's poetry gained importance: it constitutes a show-case for the reformed language. It consists of three *dīwāns* and a handful of *mathnawīs*. His favourite poetical form was *ghazal*, but he also wrote shorter pieces such as quatrains, chronograms, didactic poems and gnomic verse (*tamthīliyyāt*). He did not write *ḳaṣīdas* in Urdu, though it was often said that almost all his poetry is *ḳaṣīda*-like in tone. He was a master of poetic technique. Such was his reputation that it was claimed that mss. and editions of his poetry are probably more numerous than those of any other Urdu poet. There is also a Persian *dīwān*, written in uncomplicated style.

The same cannot be said of his Urdu style, and this may account for the decline of his reputation in the 20th century. His failings are clearly explained by Muhammad Sadiq in his *A history of Urdu literature* (134-7). He says: "Nasikh is one of those poets who make up in ingenuity for what they lack in inspiration". Sadiq also mentions his "excessive interest in conceits and other artificialities", stating that one rarely hears a personal note. The poet is also accused of being "excessively devoted to difficult rhymes". Saksena (101) refers to his "florid and ornate poetry, full of rhetorical embellishments, metaphor, hyperbole and far-fetched similes". But he describes him (102) as the founder of the Lucknow School.

His reform of the Urdu language include the

following matters: the elimination of Hindi words, and preference for those of Arabic and Persian origin; determination of the gender of nouns, which had been vague from the days of Dakhani Urdu, and of the spelling of common words, particularly in the use of long or short vowels. Thus *idhar* (here/hither) and *udhar* (there/thither) were preferred to *īdhar* and *ūdhar*.

Nāsikh also wrote, in Persian, a very short treatise on Urdu rhyme, *Risāla-yi-ḳāfiya*, of no great importance.

Bibliography: For a detailed study of Nāsikh, see Shabīb al-Ḥasan Nawnahārwī, *Nāsikh: Tadjziya wa taḳdīr* Lucknow 1975. A shorter study is the 130-page Introduction to selected verse, Rāshid Ḥasan Khān, *Intikhāb-i-Nāsikh*, New Delhi 1972. For shorter accounts, see Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, Oxford 1962, 17, 133-6, and Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 17, 101-6. Among many editions of his *dīwāns*, the one published in Lucknow in 1923 may be recommended. (J.A. Haywood)

AL-**NĀSIKH** WA 'L-**MANSŪKH** [see NASKH].

NASĪM, Dayā Shankar Kawl (1811-32), a Kashmīrī paṇḍit who studied poetics under the *ghazal* poet of Lucknow Ātish [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. His fame rests entirely upon one poem, a romance called *Gulzār-i Nasīm*, composed when he was 22. It greatly resembles Mīr Ḥasan's *Siḥr al-bayān*, and is generally awarded the second place among Urdū poetic romances. Nasīm also translated the Arabian Nights into Urdū. Nasīm is among the great Urdū *mathnawī* [*q.v.*, 4. in Urdu] (*mathnawī* in the sense of poetic romance) writers, and is one of the very few Urdū authors who were Hindūs.

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NASĪM-OGHLU [see AḲ ḤIṢĀRĪ].

AL-**NĀṢIR** [see AL-UṬRŪSH].

AL-**NĀṢIR**, honorific of the fourth sovereign of the dynasty of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. He was proclaimed on the death of his father on 22 Rabīʿ I 595/25 Jan. 1199. The beginning of his reign was marked by the suppression of a rising led by an agitator in the mountainous country of the Ghumāra [*q.v.*] and a long stay at Fās, during which the rebuilt a part of the wall of the *ḳaṣaba* of the city. Hearing of the rising of Yaḥyā b. Isḥāḳ Ibn Ghāniya [see GHĀNIYA, BANŪ] in Ifrīḳiya, he set out for the eastern part of his empire and laid siege to the town of Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] which was taken on 27 Djumādā I 602/ 9 Jan. 1206. He returned to Morocco in the following year, leaving as his deputy in Ifrīḳiya the *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ al-Hintātī, ancestor of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*]. In 599/1202-3 he had despatched from Algiers against Majorca [see MAYŪRḲA], which had belonged to the Banū Ghāniya since the period of the last Almoravids, a fleet which took the island; this remained in Muslim hands till 627/1230. In 607/1211, al-Nāṣir sent an expedition to Spain which ended in a disaster for the Muslim troops at Las Navas de Tolosa [see AL-ʿIḲĀB] on 15 Ṣafar 609/16 July 1212. This severe reverse deeply affected al-Nāṣir, who returned to Morocco and made his subjects take the oath of allegiance to his son Yūsuf. He then retired to his palace. He died at Rabat (Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ [*q.v.*]) on 10 Shaʿbān 610/25 Dec. 1213. According to some chroniclers, he died a violent death on the same date in Marrakesh, his capital, the victim of a conspiracy hatched by his viziers.

This ruler, whose reign marks the beginning of the decline of the Almohads, left behind virtually nothing of lasting memory, and no inscription in his name seems even to have been carved at Marrakesh, where, on the night of 11 Rabīʿ I 607/2-3 September 1210, the Ḳayṣāriyya was devastated by a catastrophic fire. It is nevertheless recorded that he built a workshop for coining money at Fās.

Bibliography: See that for AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

AL-**NĀṢIR**, the name of two Ayyūbid sultans.

I. al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Dāwūd b. al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, born in Djumādā I 603/ December 1205) in Damascus.

After the death of his father at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 624/November 1227 Dāwūd succeeded him on the throne of Damascus and the Mamlūk ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak acted as regent. Dāwūd's uncle however, covetous of territory, did not leave him long in peace. Al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*] first of all claimed the fortress of al-Shawbak [*q.v.*], and when it was refused him he occupied Jerusalem, Nābulus and other places (625/1228). In this perilous position, Dāwūd appealed to another uncle al-Malik al-Ashraf, who administered the Ayyūbid possessions in Mesopotamia. The latter came to Damascus, but then took al-Kāmil's side and arranged with him a formal division of the whole kingdom. By the arrangement between the two brothers, al-Ashraf was to receive Damascus and Dāwūd Ḥarrān, al-Raḳḳa and Ḥimṣ, while al-Kāmil took southern Syria with Palestine, and Ḥamāt was left to Dāwūd's brother al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. But when Dāwūd would not consent to this, al-Ashraf began to besiege Damascus. After al-Kāmil had concluded peace with the Emperor Frederick II, he joined al-Ashraf and after a three months' siege, forced his nephew to yield (Shaʿbān 626/June-July 1229), whereupon al-Ashraf was recognised as lord of Damascus under al-Kāmil's suzerainty while Dāwūd had to be content with al-Karak [*q.v.*], al-Shawbak and several other places. In spite of this unfriendly treatment, Dāwūd remained loyal to al-Kāmil when the other Ayyūbids combined against him, and entered his service in Egypt. Soon after al-Kāmil accompanied by Dāwūd had taken Damascus, he died in Radjab 635/March 1238 and Dāwūd, whom al-Kāmil had appointed governor of Damascus, had to return to al-Karak. In Egypt, al-Kāmil's son al-Malik al-ʿĀdil was recognised as his successor and appointed his cousin al-Malik al-Djawād Yūnus governor of Damascus. When Dāwūd tried to assert his claims to Damascus, he was defeated at Nābulus. In the following year Yūnus, who did not feel secure against al-ʿĀdil, exchanged Damascus with his cousin al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb for Sindjār, al-Raḳḳa and ʿĀna. This pleased neither al-ʿĀdil nor Dāwūd, so they joined forces for an attack on Ayyūb.

The events that followed are related in AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ NADJM AL-DĪN AYYŪB, so that the reader may be referred to it. After Dāwūd had lost all his possessions except al-Karak, he appointed his youngest son al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā as his deputy and fled to Aleppo (647/1249-50), where he was kindly received by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (see below). His private fortune in the form of valuable jewels, valued at least 100,000 *dīnārs*, he entrusted to the care of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim [*q.v.*], who acknowledged the receipt of them but never could bring himself to restore the treasure entrusted him. Soon afterwards, Dāwūd's

two older sons, who had felt themselves neglected, turned to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and offered him al-Karak in return for fiefs in Egypt, which offer the latter gladly accepted. Alleging unfavourable reports about Dāwūd, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf had him brought to Ḥimṣ in the beginning of Shaʿbān 648/October 1250 and put under arrest. In 651/1253-4, he was released on the intercession of the caliph, on condition that he was not to stay in any lands under the rule of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf. He therefore wanted to go to Baghdād, but was not admitted into the city. He then lived for a time very wretchedly in the region of ʿĀna and al-Ḥadītha until he found a place of refuge in al-Anbār. His appeals to the caliph were not answered; finally, however, the caliph obtained for him permission to settle in Damascus. After several unsuccessful efforts to get back his property in Baghdād which had been confiscated, he was in the desert when he was taken prisoner by al-Malik al-Mughīth, then lord of al-Karak and al-Shawbak, and brought to al-Shawbak. As the caliph thought he could be of use to him in the impending fight with the Mongols, he sent an envoy to al-Shawbak to fetch him; the envoy was bringing him back to Damascus when he heard of Hūlāgū's capture of Baghdād; he thereupon left Dāwūd who went to al-Buwayḍāʾ, a village near Damascus. Here he died of the plague on 27 Djumādā I 657/21 May 1259. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ speaks highly of Dāwūd's eloquence and poetical gifts.

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II. al-Malik al-Nāṣir, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf, often referred to as al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the last Ayyūbid ruler of Aleppo and Damascus (ruled 634-58/1236-60).

Born in 627/1230, he came to the throne as a child, owing to his father al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad's premature death, and his long reign was a troubled and ultimately tragic one, for he died in the autumn of 658/1260 as a prisoner of the Mongols. His reign falls into three phases: (i) the regency of his grandmother Ḍayfa Khātūn, 634-40/1236-42; (2) the ascendancy of the *amīr* Shams al-Dīn Luʾluʾ al-Amīnī, 640-8/1242-51; and (3) his fully independent rule, 648-58/1251-60. The first two phases were successful and even triumphant; his dominions grew until by 648/1250 he controlled almost the whole of Syria and Ḍiyār Muḍar. But these achievements were lost in his last decade of rule and by the time the Mongols appeared in Syria, his régime was on the verge of disintegration.

Ḍayfa Khātūn proved a vigorous and effective regent, whose power was never challenged despite Islam's rejection of a legitimate role for women in public affairs; she wielded in fact far greater real power than the more famous Shadjar al-Durr [*q.v.*]. Her main task was to preserve Aleppo's autonomy in the period of disorder around the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*], having already before the latter's death allied with al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā of Damascus and with the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, so that Kay Khusraw II (634-43/1237-46 [*q.v.*]) was formally recognised as al-Nāṣir's suzerain, including on the coinage of Aleppo. She also fought off the expansionist efforts of the Atabeg of Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*] and the ravages of undisciplined bands of Khʷārazmian troops, the remnants of Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu's [*q.v.*] army, not definitively suppressed till 640/1242.

But the hopes of Ḍayfa Khātūn that by her death (640/1242), her grandson's patrimony would be secure, proved illusory; the Rūm Saldjūḳ allies of Aleppo were crushed by the Mongols at Köse Dagh [*q.v.*] (641/1243), bringing Mongol raiders into the fringes of northern Syria. More immediately pressing, however, over the next seven years was Aleppo's mercurial relationship with al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt, whose ambitions embraced not only Damascus but also al-Djazīra. The *amīr* Shams al-Dīn Luʾluʾ accordingly allied with the rulers of Ḥimṣ, Damascus and even the Franks of Acre, and the distraction of the Crusade of King Louis IX of France enabled Aleppo to consolidate its position in northern Syria, so that by 648/1250 al-Malik al-Nāṣir entered Damascus, which was to remain his capital for the rest of his reign.

His principality now almost replicated that of Nūr al-Dīn a century before, with a centralised polity and recognition of his overlordship by e.g. the local, autonomous rulers of Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabīʿa. At this point still only 18 years old, he remained under the influence of Shams al-Dīn, but the latter was killed in an abortive invasion of Egypt (winter of 648/1251), depriving the ruler of his wisest and most trusted counsellor; for the rest of his reign, he was to be reduced to passivity and indecision. Despite peace with the Mamlūk régime in Egypt, his freedom of action was seriously reduced by the factionalism of his Turkish *mamlūks* (including those of the Baḥriyya *mamlūks* of Egypt who in 651/1254 fled to his lands under Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī [*q.v.*]) and the Kurdish elements (including the Ḳaymariyya and Shahrazūriyya) among his troops.

By now, the shadow of the Mongols was becoming threatening, especially with the election of Mönggke as Great Khan in 1251 and the decision to resume expansion in both China and the Middle East. The Khan's brother Hülegü [*q.v.*], having sacked Baghdād in 656/1258, marched towards Syria in the following year, and in Ṣafar 658/January 1260 captured and sacked Aleppo. Al-Nāṣir could only abandon Damascus and flee to Gaza, where he sought an alliance (in effect his submission) with the Mamlūks. The towns of central and southern Syria submitted to the Mongols, and despite Hülegü's withdrawal to Ādharbaydjān when Mönggke died in August 1259, al-Nāṣir lost his nerve and surrendered to the Mongol commander in Syria, Kitbuḳa. He was taken to Marāgha and at first treated well, but on the news arriving of the Mongol defeat at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*], he and every male member of his family except for his son al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad were put to death; the Ayyubid princes who henceforth remained in Syria at Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt and Karak were in effect Mongol puppets.

Al-Nāṣir was a notable patron of religious architecture, although, oddly enough, he built nothing in his own name at Aleppo. But Damascus saw several major foundations during the decade of his rule there, despite the strained financial situation, including a

madrasa intra-muros to the north of the Umayyad Mosque and a (no longer extant) *dār al-ḥadīth-ribāṭ* complex said to have been the most elaborate religious edifice founded by any Ayyūbid prince in the city.

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al-**NĀṢIR**, the regnal title of five Mamlūk sultans:

1. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, *regn.* 693/1293-4, 698-708/1299-1309, 709-41/1310-41.
2. al-Nāṣir Aḥmad b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, *regn.* 742-3/1342.
3. al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, *regn.* 748-52/1347-51, 755-62/1354-61.
4. al-Nāṣir Faradj b. Barḳūḳ, *regn.* 801-8/1399-1405, 808-15/1405-12. See FARADJ.
5. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳāʾitbāy, *regn.* 901-4/1496-8.

1. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (684-741/1285-1341). His mother, Ashlūn Khātūn, was the daughter of a Mongol notable, Shaktāy, who migrated from Anatolia to Egypt in 675/1276. This ancestry may explain why until 715/1315-16 al-Nāṣir and his Mamlūks wore their hair long in the Mongol fashion. When his elder brother, al-Ashraf Khalīl [*q.v.*] was murdered in Muḥarram 693/December 1293, al-Nāṣir, aged 8, was installed as sultan by the loyalist faction headed by Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī, who took office as his vicegerent (*nāʾib al-salṭana*) but usurped the throne in Muḥarram 694/December 1294. Lādjīn [*q.v.*] who dethroned Kitbughā in Muḥarram 696/November 1296, exiled al-Nāṣir to al-Karak in Ṣafar 697/January 1298. He was recalled to Cairo in Djumādā I 698/February 1299, and again enthroned as sultan. The actual government was headed by two senior *amīrs*, Salār al-Manṣūrī the vicegerent and Baybars al-Djāshnikīr the steward (*ustādār*). The sultan accompanied the army which was routed by the Īlkhān Ghāzān [*q.v.*] at Wādī al-Khāzindār in Syria (Rabīʿ I 699/December 1299), and participated also in the expedition against a second Mongol invasion, which was defeated at Shakhab (Ramaḍān 702/April 1303). Ghāzān's death in the following year marked the virtual end of the threat to the Mamlūk sultanate from the Mongols. The conquest of the island of Arwād (i.e. Rhodes) in Muḥarram 702/August-September 1302 finally deprived the Franks of a base from which to menace Syria-Palestine. Al-Nāṣir's second reign thus saw the elimination of the external dangers which had nurtured the rise of the Mamlūks to military and political dominance. Meanwhile, the young sultan was building up his own military household, the Nāṣiriyya Mamlūks, and becoming increasingly restive under the duumvirate of Salār and Baybars. An attempt in Muḥarram 707/July 1307 to use the Nāṣiriyya in a military coup miscarried, and the sultan was formally reconciled with the regents. He now had recourse to another expedient. In Ramaḍān 708/February 1309 he announced his intention of making the Pilgrimage, and left Cairo with an escort of Nāṣiriyya. On reaching al-Karak, he garrisoned the fortress with his Mamlūks, and perhaps notified the regents of his abdication. In any event, the throne was vacant, and Baybars was recognised as sultan with the title of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, while Salār continued in office as vicegerent.

Under the surface, deep divisions existed. The most powerful group in Cairo were the Burdjiyya, the Circassian Mamlūks recruited by Ḳalāwūn. They had insisted on the election of their fellow-countryman, Baybars, as sultan instead of the Mongol, Salār. This ethnic polarisation appeared also in Syria, where the new régime was supported by the Circassian governor of Damascus, Āḳḳūsh al-Afram, while Ḳabdjaḳ (i.e. Ḳipčaḳ) al-Manṣūrī of Ḥamāt, Asandamur Kurdjī (Georgian) of Tripoli, and Ḳarāsunḳur al-Manṣūrī of Aleppo secretly corresponded with al-Nāṣir, who left al-Karak on 1 Shaʿbān 709/4 January 1310. He entered Damascus without meeting any resistance 11 days later. Baybars abdicated and fled, and on 2 Shawwāl 709/5 March 1310 al-Nāṣir was again enthroned as sultan.

During the 31 years that followed, al-Nāṣir was concerned to secure his own position, and to establish his personal autocratic rule. He proceeded first to eliminate his opponents. Baybars was brought to Cairo on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 709/15 April 1310, and forthwith strangled. Salār was allowed to retire to al-Shawbak but was soon summoned to Cairo, arrested and starved to death. The Syrian kingmakers were seen as potential rivals. Although they had been rewarded for their assistance, and even Āḳḳūsh was pardoned, they quickly disappeared. Ḳabdjaḳ died in 710/1310. Asandamur was arrested and imprisoned in

Cairo in the same year. Ḳarāsunḳur and Āḳḳūsh prudently fled early in 712/1312 to the Īlkhān Öldjeytü [*q.v.*], who made a final and abortive raid into Syria on their behalf. Al-Nāṣir steadily increased his Mamlūk household, and promoted its members, e.g. in Shawwāl 709/March 1310 he created 32 new *amīrs*. He also carried out the difficult operation, which had been fatal to some earlier sultans, of substituting his own Mamlūks for veteran *amīrs* in the great offices. The key post of vicegerent of Egypt was given to Arghūn al-Nāṣirī in Djumādā I 712/September 1312, while another of his Mamlūks, Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī, had been appointed governor of Damascus in the previous month. Two years later the other Syrian governors were ordered to communicate with the sultan only through Tankiz, thus making him virtually governor-general of all Syria. To strengthen the financial basis of his régime, al-Nāṣir carried out a cadastral survey (*rawk*) of his dominions, followed by a re-allocation of the assignments of revenue (sing. *iḳṭā*ʿ [*q.v.*])—a measure which had been disastrous for Lādjīn. A pilot survey of the province of Damascus (713/1313-14) was followed by the great *rawk* of Egypt (completed 716/1316), and by similar operations in Tripoli (717/1317) and Aleppo (725/1325). The result was to increase the share of assignments held by the sultan's fisc (*khāṣṣ*) from 1/6 to 5/12, while the remaining 7/12 were allocated to the *amīrs* and the *Ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*]. The central place of the fisc in the sultan's administrative system is indicated by the unusual prominence in the chronicles of two of its supervisors (sing. *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*), who were not Mamlūks but civilians and converts from Christianity. Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr held office from early in the reign until Rabīʿ II 723/April 1323, when he was suddenly disgraced and arrested. Al-Nashw was supervisor of the fisc from Radjab 732/April 1332 to Ṣafar 740/August 1339, when he too lost the sultan's favour, and was put to death. The vast profits of office accumulated by both these officials were sequestrated when they fell.

Throughout his third reign, al-Nāṣir had a series of confidential advisers, who acquired great wealth from the sultan's lavish bounty. Two of them held great offices of state: Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī, governor of Damascus to 740/1340, with whom al-Nāṣir was constantly in correspondence, and Arghūn al-Nāṣirī, vicegerent of Egypt until 727/1326. Two others, Baktamur al-Muʿaẓẓamī and Ḳawṣūn al-Nāṣirī, held the high domestic office of cupbearer (*sāḳī*) in the middle and last years of the reign respectively. Ḳawṣūn lived in perpetual rivalry with another of the sultan's favourites, Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī. Their careers give some indication of the sultan's precarious favour. Tankiz was, after long years of service, imprisoned and put to death; Arghūn, more fortunate, was in effect banished as governor of Aleppo, while Baktamur died with his son in suspicious circumstances. Ḳawṣūn and Bashtāk succeeded in briefly outliving their master. A less intimate but safer friendship was enjoyed by the loyal and somewhat obsequious al-Muʾayyad Ismāʿīl (Abu 'l-Fidā, [*q.v.*]), the Ayyūbid prince for whom al-Nāṣir revived the autonomous sultanate of Ḥamāt. Still further outside the court circle but nevertheless influential in Syrian affairs was the great tribal chief of Āl Faḍl, *amīr al-*ʿ*Arab* Muhannā b. ʿĪsā, one of the sultan's principal agents for the purchase of Arabian horses.

Unlike his successful predecessors in the Mamlūk sultanate, al-Nāṣir did not owe his position and authority to leadership in war. In a Syro-Egyptian state no longer threatened by external enemies, he built up his autocratic power by the force of his pertinacious, devious and ruthless personality. The security he established for himself is shown by the fact that, unlike any other sultan, he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca three times (712/1313, 719/1320, 732/1332). He confirmed the hereditary nature of the sultanate, although competing *amīrs* usurped the power under the later Ḳalāwūnids.

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2. AL-NĀṢIR AḤMAD (742-3/1342). He was the son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by a concubine, the singing-woman Bayāḍ. From the age of about 10 he lived almost continuously in the castle of al-Karak. He was explicitly rejected as heir to the sultanate by his dying father (18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 714/4 June 1341). The *amīr* Ḳawṣūn, ruling in the name of the infant al-Ashraf Kudjuk (Küčük), fearing an attack, sent an expeditionary force against al-Karak under the *amīr* Ḳuṭlūbughā al-Fakhrī (Rabīʿ II 742/October 1341), who, however, went over to Aḥmad, and proclaimed him sultan in Damascus (Radjab 742/January 1342). In Cairo, Ḳawsūn was overthrown, Kudjuk deposed, and Aḥmad invited to come to his capital. He was reluctant to leave al-Karak, and only after much pressure did he arrive in Cairo, in Arab dress and with a small retinue (28 Ramaḍān 742/6 March 1342). His enthronement on 10 Shawwāl/19 March was a splendid occasion, attended by the notables of both Egypt and Syria. However, he profoundly alienated the magnates who had installed him by secluding himself in the Citadel with a circle of favourites from al-Karak, on whom he entirely relied. On 2 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 742/9 May 1342 he left for al-Karak at a day's notice, taking with him the two chief financial and secretarial officials as well as the regalia, his father's treasures, horses, cattle and sheep. Again secluded in al-Karak, he neglected state business and refused to return. The magnates thereupon deposed him, and installed his brother, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, as sultan. A series of military expeditions sent against al-Karak ended in Ahmad's capture. He was put to death on 6 Rabīʿ I 745/18 July 1344 at the age of 26.

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3. AL-NĀṢIR ḤASAN, (748-52/1347-51, 755-

62/1354-61). He was the son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by a concubine. He was enthroned at the age of 11 on 14 Ramaḍān 748/18 December 1347, after his brother, al-Muẓaffar Ḥādjdjī, had been overthrown and killed by a conspiracy of the magnates. A council of regency was set up, but the real power was held by two brothers, the *amīrs* Baybughā Urus and Mandjak al-Yūsufī, together with Shaykhūn (or Shaykhū) al-ʿUmarī, all three veterans of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Mamlūk household. On 24 Shawwāl 751/25 December 1350 Ḥasan took advantage of the absence of Baybughā on Pilgrimage and Shaykhūn on a hunting expedition to declare himself of age, and to assume full sovereign powers. This period of personal rule was brief. He was deposed by *amīrs* who feared that they were threatened by him, and his brother, al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ, was installed as sultan (28 Djumādā II 752/2 August 1351). During this reign, the Mamlūk realm was ravaged by the Black Death (*al-wabāʾ*), which reached Syria in Djumādā I 748/August 1347, and spread in Egypt throughout 749/1348-9. Another revolt of the *amīrs* brought about the deposition of Ṣāliḥ and the restoration of Ḥasan on 2 Shawwāl 755/20 October 1354. He was, however, under the domination of Shaykhūn and another Nāṣirī veteran, Ṣarghatmush. The former died late in 758/1357, and on 20 Ramaḍān 759/26 August 1358 Ḥasan arrested Ṣarghatmush, who had been plotting his overthrow. A fight followed between the Royal Mamlūks and those of Ṣarghatmush, and the former were victorious. Ḥasan now sought to secure his position by promoting his own Mamlūks and also, most unusually, the descendants of Mamlūks (*awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*]) to key positions. Growing resentment between the sultan and his own Mamlūk, Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, led to an armed clash in which Ḥasan was defeated. He was captured and put to death on 9 Djumādā I 762/17 March 1361 by Yalbughā, who installed Ḥādjdjī's son, al-Manṣūr Muḥammad. Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan left as his chief memorial his beautiful *madrasa*-mosque in Cairo.

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5. AL-NĀṢIR MUḤAMMAD (901-4/1496-8). He was the son of al-Ashraf Ḳāʾitbāy [*q.v.*] by a Circassian concubine, Aṣalbāy, and born in Shawwāl 887/November-December 1482. When his father died, the ascendancy in Cairo was held by the faction of Ḳānṣawh Khamsumiʾa min Ṭarābāy and Kurtbāy al-Aḥmar, who had recently expelled the chief of the rival faction, Āḳbardī al-Dawādār, Ḳāʾitbāy's cousin. Ḳānṣawh Khamsmiʾa had designs on the throne, but on the day before Ḳāʾitbāy's death, 26 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 901/6 August 1496, he brought about the accession of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He was himself appointed *atābak*, while his accomplice, Kurtbāy, accumulated the offices of *wazīr*, *ustādār* and chief *kāshif*. The appearance of Āḳbardī at Gaza, and the mutual sympathy between him and the young sultan, provoked Ḳānṣawh Khamsumiʾa to attempt a coup. On 28 Djumādā I 902/1 February 1497 al-Nāṣir was formally deposed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil, and Ḳānṣawh Khamsumiʾa usurped the sultanate. Al-Nāsir, however, held the Citadel, and aided by his maternal uncle, another Ḳānṣawh, maintained a stout resistance, in which artillery and firearms were used by both sides. Seriously weakened by desertions to the sultan, Ḳānṣawh Khamsumiʾa was defeated, and on 1 Djumādā II/4 February he fled, while al-Mutawakkil obligingly reinstated al-Nāṣir. The power behind the throne was the sultan's uncle, who held only a minor domestic office. Ḳānṣawh Khamsumiʾa unsuccessfully attempted another coup on 18-19 Djumādā II/21-22 February, and again fled. After fighting with Āḳbardī at Khan Yūnus, he was put to death Aḳbardī returned to Egypt, and accumulated the offices of *amīr silāḥ*, *dawādār*, *wazīr*, *ustādār* and chief *kāshif*. A new factionalism developed in which Āḳbardī confronted Ḳānṣawh, who was supported by the former partisans of his namesake. Āḳbardī attempted a rising on 4 Ramaḍān 902/6 May 1497, was defeated, and fled to Upper Egypt. Urged by the sultan to return as a liberator, he entered Cairo on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/25 July, accompanied by uncouth tribesmen of Banū Wāʾil and Banū ʿAzzāla. Thereupon Ḳānṣawh brought in tribesmen of the Banū Ḥarām, and disorder ensued. Again the Citadel was besieged, but by late Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/August Āḳbardī was in flight to Syria. Ḳānṣawh was now appointed *dawādār* and subsequently *wazīr* and *amīr silāḥ*. His relations with his nephew deteriorated, and in Radjab 903/February-March 1498 the sultan's mother made them swear mutual loyalty, but to no avail. On 15 Rabīʿ I 904/31 October 1498 al-Nāṣir was assassinated, probably at the instigation of *amīrs* of his father's Mamlūks in league with Ḳānṣawh, who was duly elected sultan two days later.

Although al-Nāṣir was a transient and insignificant figure, his reign presents points of interest. It is notable for the unprecedented use of firearms and artillery in factional warfare. The sultan himself had a force of 500 black slaves carrying firearms—an innovation which alarmed the antiquated Mamlūk cavalrymen. The murder of the black commander, Faradj Allāh, in a skirmish with Mamlūks on 27 Djumādā II 903/20 February 1498, and the subsequent dispersal of the force (perhaps by sale to the Ottomans) probably marked the turning point in the sultan's fortunes. Another feature of interest is the employment of Arab tribal warriors by the factional leaders, anticipating the polarisation of Ottoman Egypt into Niṣf Saʿd and Niṣf Ḥarām.

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AL-**NĀṢIR** B. ʿALENNĀS (the last name is also written ʿAlnās, ʿAnnās and even Ghilnās by Ibn ʿIdhārī), fifth ruler of the Ḥammādid dynasty, succeeded his cousin Buluggin b. Muḥammad in 454/1062. His reign marks the apogee of the little Berber kingdom founded by Ḥammād [*q.v.*]. The ephemeral rise of the Ḥammādids was the immediate result of the downfall of their relations and neighbours, the Zīrids of Ifrīḳiya, the first victims of the Hilālī invasion [see HILĀL, BANŪ]. On his accession, al-Nāṣir, who lived in the Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād [*q.v.*], was already ruler of a little kingdom, the chief towns of which were Ashīr, Miliana, Algiers, Hamza (Buira), Ngaus and Constantine. Shortly afterwards, he regained Biskra, whose governor had rebelled against Buluggīn; but his chief hope of extending his territory lay in the decline of the kingdom of Ḳayrawān.

The abandonment of the old capital by the Zīrid al-Muʿizz [*q.v.*] and his flight to al-Mahdiyya in 449/1057 had left Ifrīḳiya a prey to anarchy. The country districts were in the hands of the Arabs, and the towns had chosen their own rulers; on all sides governors were in rebellion; leaders of the tribes imposed their authority on the threatened citizens; some towns turned to the Ḥammādids who were able to protect them. The people of Ḳasṭīliya [*q.v.*] for example sent a deputation to al-Nāṣir to convey him their homage; the people of Tunis did the same. At their request, the Ḥammādid sent them as governor ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ of the Ṣanhād̲j̲a family of the Banū K̲h̲urāsān. The latter worked wonders; he negotiated agreements with the marauding Arabs which secured the safety of the city. Later, after casting off Ḥammādid suzerainty, he made Tunis the capital of a kingdom.

If the arrival of the invading nomads had meant an immediate accession of strength to al-Nāṣir and an increase of population and economic activity to his capital, they were not without danger as neighbours. The Arabs soon involved him in a dangerous adventure. In 457/1064 the At̲h̲bad̲j̲, one of their tribes, asked him to help them against their enemies, their brethren the Riyāḥ, who had joined the Zīrid ruler Tamīm [*q.v.*]. Al-Nāṣir agreed, seeing an opportunity to invade and perhaps annex Ifrīḳiya. He put himself at the head of a large army which included Arabs, Ṣanhād̲j̲a, and even Zanāta, led by the king of Fās, al-Muʿizz b. ʿAṭiyya. The Riyāḥ in their turn received subsidies and arms from al-Mahdiyya. The armies met at Sbība, near the ancient Sufes. From the first, the Zanāta of Fās, won over by the enemy, gave way, which resulted in the rout of al-Nāṣir. With great difficulty, he reached Constantine with 200 men, then the Ḳalʿa, the outskirts of which were systematically sacked by the Arabs.

After this disaster, al-Nāṣir tried to make terms with the prince of al-Mahdiyya; the negotiations failed, perhaps through the fault of the ambassador, and al-Nāṣir, incited again by the At̲h̲bad̲j̲, resumed hostilities against the unfortunate Zīrid kingdom. He entered Lurbus (the ancient Lorbeus) and Ḳayrawān (460/1067), but these successes led to nothing; he had to abandon them again as he could not hold his conquests. These adventures, into which he was dragged by the Arabs and which brought him no lasting advantage, lasted for some then years. In 470/1077 al-Nāṣir made peace with the Zīrid Tamīm and gave him his daughter in marriage.

The Arab scourge which had ruined the kingdom of Ifrīḳiya began now to threaten seriously the Ḥammādid kingdom. The Zanāta, hereditary enemies of the Ṣanhād̲j̲a lords of the Ḳalʿa, found among the immigrant nomads allies always ready to resume the conflict. In 468/1075, the Zanāta chief Ibn K̲h̲azrūn, supported by the Arab Banū ʿAdī of Tripolitania, seized Msīla and As̲h̲īr [*q.vv.*]. Al-Nāṣir succeeded in driving him back to the desert where, drawing him into a trap, he had him murdered. He sent his son al-Manṣūr against the Zanāta Banū Tūd̲j̲īn, who had joined the Banū ʿAdī and were laying waste the country districts of the central Mag̲h̲rib. The rebels were caught and tortured.

The At̲h̲bad̲j̲ Arabs themselves, of whom al-Nāṣir had hoped to make valuable auxiliaries, proved most undesirable neighbours. Although he seems to have put down—not without cruelty—the majority of the revolts, life in his ancestral capital became more and more difficult from year to year. This decided him to select another. Occupying the lands of the Bid̲j̲āya Berbers, he founded there, on the site of the ancient port of Saldae, a town which was first called al-Nāṣiriyya and later became known as Bid̲j̲āya [*q.v.*] (Bougie). There he built the splendid Palace of the Pearl (*Ḳaṣr al-Luʾluʾ*). "Having peopled his new capital he exempted the inhabitants from the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* and in 461/1069 he settled there himself" (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn). The exodus of the Ḥammādid royal family to the coast was caused by the same event as had led the Zīrids of Ḳayrawān to move to al-Mahdiyya: the settlement of the nomad Arabs in Barbary and the insecurity which resulted in the interior. This exodus was only completed under al-Nāṣir's successor, his son al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], who assumed power at his father's death in 481/1088.

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NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD ALLĀH, a prince of the Ḥamdānid dynasty [*q.v.*]. From the year 308/920-1 he acted as lieutenant to his father, Abu 'l-Hayd̲j̲āʾ ʿAbd Allāh in the governorship of al-Mawṣil, and on the latter's death in 317/929 succeeded to the leadership of the Ḥamdānid family. Owing to the part played by Abu 'l-Hayd̲j̲āʾ in the second temporary deposition of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*], the latter, on his restoration, attempted to put an end to the Ḥamdānids' control of al-Mawṣil by appointing a governor unconnected with them. Nevertheless, when this officer died during the same year, al-Ḥasan was confirmed in all his father's holdings.

The Ḥamdānids profited by the rapid decline in the power of the ʿAbbāsids, that set in from this time, to extend their rule; and though they remained tributary to the caliphs, by 332/943-4 they had secured control of most of the D̲j̲azīra and of northern Syria. Al-Ḥasan also made two unsuccessful attempts, in 322/934 and 326/938, to add Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān to his dominions. During the early part of this period of expansion, al-Ḥasan was much occupied in the suppression of local rebellions. He was anxious also to remain in the caliph's good graces, and for this reason declined to assist the general Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*] in his quarrel with al-Muḳtadir, which ended in the latter's death. In 323/935, however, the caliph al-Rāḍī attempted to displace him in the governorship of al-Mawṣil in favour of his uncle Saʿīd. Al-Ḥasan thereupon had Saʿīd murdered; and though al-Rāḍī at first sought to impose his will by force of arms, he was in the end obliged to agree to al-Ḥasan's restoration.

The reign of al-Rāḍī saw the final collapse of the traditional ʿAbbāsid system of government with the appointment of Ibn Rāʾiḳ as *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*]. This development resulted in a still greater weakening of the caliph's power; and in 327/938-9 al-Ḥasan made an attempt to withhold his dues, which, however, were promptly exacted by Ibn Rāʾiḳ's successor, Bad̲j̲kam [*q.v.*]. In 330/941-2 again, when the caliph al-Muttaḳī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Rāʾiḳ (who had meanwhile been restored) fled to al-Mawṣil from Bag̲h̲dād on its occupation by the brothers al-Barīdī [*q.v.*], al-Ḥasan

had Ibn Rā'iḳ assassinated, forced the caliph to give him the amīrate together with the *laḳab* Nāṣir al-Dawla, and later married his daughter to the caliph's son. But though he and his more celebrated brother ʿAlī, who was at the same time entitled Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*], were able to restore al-Muttaḳī to his capital and drive the Barīdīs back to al-Baṣra, they were almost immediately obliged by a revolt of the Turkish troops under Tūzūn to retire again to al-Mawṣil. Al-Muttaḳī now appointed Tūzūn *amīr* in Nāṣir al-Dawla's place. But his evident helplessness encouraged Tūzūn to abuse his power; and in 332/943-5 the caliph again sought refuge with the Ḥamdānids. Sayf al-Dawla now tried, though without success, to defeat Tūzūn in battle, while al-Ḥasan removed the caliph for greater safety from al-Mawṣil to al-Raḳḳa. After some months, however, al-Muttaḳī was persuaded by Tūzūn's professions of loyalty into returning to Baghdād, only to be met on the way by the *amīr*, who blinded and deposed him. On this Nāṣir al-Dawla again withheld his dues. But Tūzūn and al-Mustakfī [*q.v.*], the new caliph, came against him and forced him to pay. Tūzūn, however, died in 334/945-6, whereupon Nāṣir al-Dawla made a bid to recover the amīrate. But later in this same year Baghdād was occupied by Aḥmad b. Būya Muʿizz al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; and henceforward Nāṣir al-Dawla's career hinged chiefly upon the maintenance of his power against that of the Būyids.

The struggle began immediately. As soon as he was established in Baghdād, Muʿizz al-Dawla led an expedition against the Ḥamdānids, and though Nāṣir al-Dawla forced him to return to the capital by himself occupying the east bank and blockading the Round City, in the end he drove the Ḥamdānid forces out. Nāṣir retired to ʿUkbarā, and from there sued for a peace that should grant him the tributary lordship of all the country north of Takrīt, as well as Syria and Egypt. But a revolt among his Turkish troops forced him to flee before this was concluded, and it was only by the aid of a force sent by Muʿizz al-Dawla that he succeeded in suppressing it. Muʿizz al-Dawla's object in helping him was no doubt to preserve some order in the Ḥamdānid dominions until he should be ready to absorb them. For he now took one of Nāṣir al-Dawla's sons as a hostage for his obedience, and two years later led another expedition against al-Mawṣil. This again came to nothing, however, since Muʿizz al-Dawla was obliged to make peace before attaining his object, owing to the outbreak of trouble in Persia, where his brother required his assistance. Nāṣir al-Dawla now agreed to pay tribute for Diyār Rabīʿa, the Djazīra and Syria, and to have the names of the three Būyids pronounced in the *khuṭba* after that of the caliph throughout this territory.

It was not till 345/956-8 that further trouble arose between the rival potentates. In that year Muʿizz al-Dawla was called away from Baghdād to deal with a revolt, whereupon Nāṣir al-Dawla sent two of his sons to occupy the capital. Muʿizz al-Dawla, however, succeeded in overcoming the rebel; and on his return the Ḥamdānids decamped. Yet in spite of this provocation Muʿizz al-Dawla contented himself with exacting an indemnity and a renewal of Nāṣir al-Dawla's contract to pay tribute, and it was only when Nāṣir al-Dawla withheld the second year's payment that he took further steps against him. He then advanced into his territory, took al-Mawṣil and Niṣībīn, and finally sent a force to al-Raḥba. Nāṣir al-Dawla, who had fled first to Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*] and then to Aleppo, which was now held independently by Sayf al-Dawla, attempted to make peace. But Muʿizz al-Dawla rejected his advances, and came to an agreement only when Sayf al-Dawla offered to take his brother's place as tributary for al-Mawṣil, Diyār Rabīʿa and al-Raḥba.

Five years later, in 353/964, Nāṣir al-Dawla opened negotiations to recover his position as tributary for these territories. But he included in his demands one for the recognition of his son Abū Taghlib al-Ghaḍanfar as his successor, which Muʿizz al-Dawla was unwilling to grant. He again attacked the Ḥamdānids, occupying both al-Mawṣil and Niṣībīn. But they were more successful in withstanding him on this occasion; and an agreement was arrived at whereby Abū Taghlib undertook the payment of tribute for his father's former holdings.

In 356/967 both Muʿizz al-Dawla and Sayf al-Dawla died. Almost the last action recorded of Nāṣir al-Dawla is the advice he then gave his sons to refrain from attacking Muʿizz al-Dawla's son and successor Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*] till he should have exhausted the resources bequeathed to him. For on the death of Sayf al-Dawla, to whom he had been much attached, Nāṣir al-Dawla lost all interest in life, and so antagonised his family by his avarice that they resolved to take the control of affairs into their own hands. Abū Taghlib, who had in any case taken his place as tributary, and his mother, Nāṣir al-Dawla's Kurdish wife Fāṭima bint Aḥmad, contrived to gain possession of all his property and fortresses; and when Nāṣir al-Dawla attempted to enlist the help of another son, they imprisoned him in the castle of al-Salāma in the fortress of Ardumusht. He died, still in confinement, either the next year, 357/968 or the year after.

Nāṣir al-Dawla's rule was disastrous for the territory over which he had control. The contemporary Ibn Ḥawḳal [*q.v.*] refers in several passages to his ruinous exactions and tyrannical seizures of land (see his descriptions of al-Mawṣil, Balad, Sindjār and Niṣībīn); and Miskawayh notes that by bringing fictitious claims against landowners he would force them to sell to him at low prices, till he became not only the lord, but also the owner, of most of the region of al-Mawṣil.

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NĀṢIR al-DAWLA [see IBN BAḲIYYA].

NĀṢIR al-DĪN [see ČIRĀDJ-I DIHLĪ; HUMĀYŪN; MAḤMŪD I; MAḤMŪD II].

NĀṢIR al-DĪN ḲUBAČA [see SIND].

NĀṢIR al-DĪN al-ṬŪSĪ [see al-ṬŪSĪ].

al-NĀṢIR LI-DĪN ALLĀH, honorific title of several Zaydī *imāms*.

I. Among the Caspian Zaydīs, this title was borne by 1. al-NĀṢIR al-KABĪR al-UṬRŪSH [see ḤASAN al-UṬRŪSH] and his great-grandson 2. al-NĀṢIR al-ṢAGHĪR al-ḤUSAYN b. al-ḤASAN b. ʿALĪ. The latter gained for himself a dominion beginning in Hawsam, where he could find associations with the earlier period of Zaydī rule. He laid great emphasis on the religious character of Zaydism; he gave out of the state treasury funds to support people who learned the Ḳur'ān by heart. He was also a poet. After his death (476/1083), his tomb in Hawsam was a much visited place of pilgrimage.

II. Among the Yaman *imāms*, this title was borne by 1. al-NĀṢIR AḤMAD, son of al-Hādī Yaḥyā and his

brother's daughter Fāṭima; on him, see the next article. All succeeding bearers of the title except the next one: 2. ABU 'L-FATḤ AL-NĀṢIR AL-DAYLAMI, so-called from his first Caspian sphere of activity, were of his family although of different lines. In the Yaman, in contrast to his predecessors, he began operations south of Ṣanʿāʾ, fell in 447/1055 fighting ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī [see ṢULAYḤIDS] there and was buried near Dhamār. The life of 3. AL-NĀṢIR ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN was marked by internal strife which ultimately caused his death. In the first half of the 8th/14th century, several *imāms* had disputed the succession. About the middle of the century, his father al-Mahdī ʿAlī b. Muḥammad attained considerable influence, which was however much reduced in the period before his death at Dhamār in 774/1372. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn became sole *imām* and advanced as far as the Tihāma against the Rasūlids [*q.v.*]. But when in 793/1391 he died at Ṣanʿāʾ, his death was concealed for two months on account of the insecurity, and his body was concealed in the castle in a coffin covered with plaster. It was only when rumours of his death reached the Ḳāḍī al-Dawwārī in Ṣaʿda that the latter arranged for his burial in Ṣanʿāʾ. The son ʿAlī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn could only obtain recognition as "Imām of the Djihād" and fell in 840/1336, one of the many victims of the great plague. When in spite of opposition a Zaydī power was once more built up, it was destroyed by the young dynasty of the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] from the Tihāma (850-923/1446-1517), especially by its second member ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Dāwūd, from 883/1478, until at the end of the 9th/15th century al-Hādī ʿIzz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan again re-established and extended their power. His son 4. AL-NĀṢIR AL-ḤASAN B. ʿIZZ AL-DĪN (*ca.* 900-929/1494-1523), who had primarily inherited from his father a love of learning, could only maintain a limited power in the north. He had to put up for a long time with an anti-*imām* al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sarādjī in Ṣanʿāʾ. 5. AL-NĀṢIR AL-Ḥasan b. ʿALĪ B. DĀWŪD at the end of the 10th/16th century organised in the north one of the centres of resistance to the Turks, who had been penetrating into the country since 927/1521 and 943/1536, but was taken prisoner by them in 1004/1596-7. Among the pretenders within the family of al-Manṣūr b. al-Ḳāsim (d. 1029/1620), the liberator from the first Turkish conquest, was 6. AL-NĀṢIR MUḤAMMAD B. ISḤĀḲ B. AL-MAHDĪ AḤMAD; he set up first in 1136/1723-4 in the north in the hills of Sufyān among the Banū Bakīl, then in 1139/1726-7 away in the south at Ẓafār, but had finally to submit to his cousin's son al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Mahdī Aḥmad and died in 1167/1753 as a private individual in Ṣanʿāʾ. In 1252/1836, the dissatisfied troops who had been discharged by the very extravagant *imām* al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b. al-Mahdī ʿAbd Allāh summoned 7. AL-NĀṢIR ʿABD ALLĀH B. ḤASAN to the imāmate. He had inherited strong religious tendencies from his grandfather al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad and from his great-grandfather al-Mahdī ʿAbbās, and isisted on the strict observance of the neglected *sharīʿa*. He had even to appoint teachers to instruct in the divine service. He was ambushed and murdered with 6 followers in 1256/1840 while on a peaceful excursion to the Wādī Ḍahr northwest of Ṣanʿāʾ by people of the Banū Hamdān, and was succeeded by the brother of his predecessor, al-Hādī Muḥammad b. al-Mahdī ʿAbd Allāh, who had been long kept in prison by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan. As required of an *imām*, most of the above wrote a great deal; a number of works, chiefly of a legal nature, have survived, mainly by the earlier Yaman *imāms*.

Bibliography: See that to ZAYDIYYA.

(R. STROTHMANN)

AL-**NĀṢIR LI-DĪN ALLĀH**, AḤMAD ABU 'L-ḤASAN, third incumbent of the Rassī Zaydī imāmate in northern Yemen and a son of its founder, Yaḥyā al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ [see ZAYDIYYA]. The date of his birth cannot be determined from extant sources. Neither can it be assumed that he was younger than his full brother and predecessor, Imām Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā [*q.v.*], both of whom accompanied their father to Yemen from their native Ḥidjāz in 284/897. Although noticed in accounts as early as 285/898, Aḥmad is first referred to as a military leader for his father only in 294/907-8.

Aḥmad al-Nāṣir was elected *imām* at Ṣaʿda in Ṣafar 301/September 913, following his return to Yemen from a lengthy sojourn in Ḥidjāz and some time after the abdication, amid rather unclear circumstances, of his brother Muḥammad, who apparently supported Aḥmad's candidacy. With the allegiance of forces drawn mainly from the northern lands of Hamdān, Nadjrān and Khawlān, this vigorous *imām* struggled against the aggressive followers of Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimid *dāʿīs* in Yemen, particularly those concentrated in Djabal Maswar [see MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN]. These operations culminated during Shaʿbān or Ramaḍān 307/January 920 in a major three-day contest near Nughāsh, northwest of Ṣanʿāʾ. Imām Aḥmad's forces triumphed, while the more numerous ones of the Ismāʿīlī leader, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad, lord of Djabal Maswar, were routed disastrously. Thereafter, the unity and influence of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs—often referred to as Ḳarāmiṭa or Bāṭiniyya—remained shattered beyond recovery.

Except for his subsequent conquest of Aden, possibly in 310/922-3, the sources make scant further references to al-Nāṣir before his death, at Ṣaʿda, reported variously to have occurred in 315/927-8, 322/934 or 325/937, with most accounts favouring the latter. Although he produced five sons, at least two of whom declared themselves his successor, the Zaydī imāmate in Yemen entered a period of political obscurity following his demise. All of Imām Aḥmad al-Nāṣir's compositions, of which al-Ḥibshī lists nine and Zabāra eight, are doctrinal in nature and, with one exception, no longer extant.

Bibliography: For ms. sources, a list of al-Nāṣir's compositions, and biographical details about him, see Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 19 ff. Printed materials include the *Sīrat al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī, ed. S. Zakkār, 2nd ed. Beirut 1981, and used extensively by C. Van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imâmat zaidite au Yemen*, tr. J. Ryckmans, Leiden 1960; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. S.A.A. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1968, i, 173-215 *passim*; H.C. Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892, 316 n. 127; Zabāra, *Aʾimmat al-Yaman*, i, Taʿizz 1372/1952, 43, 58-65; Djurāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 106 ff.; ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. Karmalī, Cairo 1939, 33-4; Wāsiʿī, *Furdjat al-humūm*, 3rd ed. Ṣanʿāʾ 1982, 179-81; and Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 568.

(J.R. BLACKBURN)

AL-**NĀṢIR LI-DĪN ALLĀH**, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD (reigned 575-622/1180-1225), 34th ʿAbbāsid caliph, was born in 553/1158. Son and successor of al-Mustaḍīʾ bi-Amr Allāh [*q.v.*], he had strained relations with his conservative father, who had kept him in seclusion for a while for fear that he might be influenced by harmful innovations. Yet, after his father's death, he successfully defended his claim to the throne against the court clique. His relations with his

mother, a Turkish slave called Zumurrud Khātūn, were more balanced. During al-Mustaḍīʾ's and al-Nāṣir's caliphates, she made a name for herself by establishing important pious foundations and by energetically interceding for positions for the Ḥanbalīs in Baghdād.

After the secular power of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had been restricted for centuries, and had even disappeared completely because of the dominance of the Būyids and the Saldjūḳs [*q.vv.*], al-Nāṣir succeeded in restoring ʿAbbāsid sovereignty. He strengthened and consolidated the caliphate against all kinds of military, political and ideological attacks. For the period of his own reign, and down to that of his grandson al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*], he restored this specifically Islamic institution to its former prestige. On the other hand, he unintentionally contributed to the later fall of the caliphate of Baghdād at the hands of the Mongols.

Al-Nāṣir's policy aimed at orienting and obligating all Muslims towards the caliphate as the sole spiritual and secular centre of this world. The way to this aim he saw in a rapprochement of the different opposite dogmatic trends in Islam, perhaps even in an attempt to reunite them. The same objective was served by a sophisticated policy of alliances with Islamic and non-Islamic partners, by the reorganisation of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], that is to say by establishing it as a men's confederation attached to the caliph himself, and by the systematic spread, inside the Islamic world, of an encyclical from his own hand dealing with *ḥadīth*.

1. Political events. Al-Nāṣir again disposed of an army of his own, but the most important strategic advantages came from his policy of alliances. With the support of the Khʷārazmshāh Tekish [*q.v.*], in whom he had recognised the strongest rival of his own most feared opponent, the Saldjūk Ṭughrïl III, he succeeded in wiping out once and for all the Saldjūḳ dynasty in Persia by having the ruler killed by the sword on 29 Rabīʿ I 590/25 March 1194. The decline of the Saldjūḳ empire had revealed itself long since by internal unrest in Persia. Already in 583/1187 al-Nāṣir had ordered in Baghdād the ancient Saldjūḳ palace, the symbol of tutelage by a foreign régime, to be torn down (*Kāmil*, xi, 560). There are enough reasons to justify the opinion that the caliph addressed a direct request to the Khʷārazmshāh to intervene against the Saldjūḳ sultan. Yet the contemporary sources do not provide a consistent presentation (cf. *Mirʾāt*, fols. 263a-264a [the decisive passage is missing in the Ḥaydarābād edition, viii, 444-5], with *Kāmil*, xii, 106-8). A message of the caliph to Tekish, in which he is said to complain vehemently of the Saldjūḳ sultan (*Kāmil*, xii, 107), is considered to be an important document in this context.

Shortly after having overthrown Ṭughrïl III, al-Nāṣir, for the same reasons which had induced him to invoke Tekish's help against the Saldjūḳs, felt forced to look for military support from the outside against Tekish himself. This he received from the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] (*Kāmil*, xii, 135-7). Only one year after the fall of the Saldjūḳs, the caliph found himself confronted, in the person of the Khʷārazmshāh, with a new power that was more dangerous to him than that of the Saldjūḳs. Tekish, after the death of his brother Sulṭān Shāh in 589/1193, had not only become absolute ruler of the region south of the Aral Sea, including Khurāsān (Marw), but also considered himself as the heir to the entire Saldjūḳ empire. In his quarrel with the caliph over the province of Djibāl, i.e. Persian ʿIrāḳ, he felt that the right of exercising secular power was entirely on his side, as it had been with the Saldjūḳs before him. Apart from the military confrontation (590/1194: *Kāmil*, xii, 108-9; *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 32-3; 591/1195: *Mirʾāt*, viii, 445; 592/1196: *Kāmil*, xii, 112; *Mirʾāt*, fols. 265b-266a [missing in the Ḥaydarābād edition, viii, 449]; *Tarīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 38. Only Khūzistān remained temporarily as the caliph's gain; later he had to acknowledge that it belonged to the Khʷārazmshāh's territory, just like Khurāsān and Turkistān), the dispute between Tekish and al-Nāṣir expanded into a wide-ranging legal fight, which reached its climax after Tekish's death in 596/1200 (*Kāmil*, xii, 156-8) during the reign of his son Muḥammad II [*q.v.*]. In a much harsher tone than that of the Saldjūḳ, Muḥammad II claimed recognition of his sovereignty (*Siyar*, xxii, 139-43), which was to be also expressed by mentioning his name in the *khuṭba* in Baghdād. According to *Kāmil*, xii, 135, Tekish too had demanded this, and in case of refusal he had threatened to march against Baghdād. Years of mutual provocation (*Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī*, fol. 132a-b; *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 120; *Sīra*, 51; *Kāmil*, xii, 298, 319) and several wars waged by the Ghūrids in the name of the caliph (*Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 47-66) now followed. The non-Muslim Ḳarā Khiṭāy [*q.v.*], who in the end were on the side of the militarily stronger Khʷārazmshāh (*Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī*, fols. 123a-125a) were also implicated. The Khʷārazmshāh, whose power reached from the Caspian Sea to the Indus and from the Jaxartes to the Gulf of ʿUmān (*Kāmil*, xii, 316-8), arrogated to himself the title of "second Alexander" and questioned altogether the legitimacy of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. With the help of a *fatwā*, he declared al-Nāṣir deposed, nominated as anti-caliph a Shīʿī from Tirmidh who was a direct descendant of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and had his name, ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk, placed on the coinage and mentioned in the *khuṭba* (*Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 120-2). Through diplomacy, al-Nāṣir tried to resolve this conflict and the threat of Muḥammad II's march against Baghdād in 614/1217-18, but he failed (cf. *Mirʾāt*, viii, 582-3, and *Sīra*, 51-2, for the unsuccessful mission of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] to Muḥammad II regarding the function of the caliphate). Baghdād was nevertheless spared a direct attack, for the Khʷārazmian troops, while advancing into ʿIrāḳ, withdrew to Khurāsān and Transoxiana in the winter of the following year (*Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 98; *Sīra*, 64; *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, 449). During the Friday sermon, Muḥammad II had the ʿAbbāsid caliph declared dead (*Kāmil*, xii, 318).

According to the approved method, al-Nāṣir probably had entered into negotiations with the Mongols about delaying and overpowering the Khʷārazmshāh. If credence can be given to a contemporary western source (*Epistulae*, 144-7,7, Letter of 1221), al-Nāṣir, driven to extremity by the advance on Baghdād of the Khʷārazmian army, had ordered the Catholicos of the Nestorians to request the intervention of the "mysterious King David", i.e. Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] against the Khʷārazmshāh. The army of the Mongol ruler in fact included numerous Nestorian Christians. All Muslim historiographers are silent on this indeed extraordinary, but by no means unlikely, mission of a Christian dignitary on behalf of the highest Muslim ruler to obtain military aid from unbelievers against a Muslim army. In the 7th/13th century it was only surmised that al-Nāṣir summoned the Mongols into the Muslim territories by means of an embassy which is not specified any further (e.g. *Kāmil*, xii, 440; the same conjecture later in *Bidāya*, xiii, 106-7; *Sulūk*, i, 218). A description of a delegation sent by al-Nāṣir is only found in the 9th/15th century, but there is no allusion to Christians

either (*Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, iv, 397-400). Other historiographers, however, explain the penetration of the Mongols into the Islamic territory of the Kh^wārazmshāh as follows. The members of a Mongol trade mission had been accused by Muḥammad II of spying and had therefore been tortured or killed; this is said to have provoked the Mongol's vengeance (*Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī*, fols. 136a-140a; *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 99; *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, 85-7). It is not possible to discover completely the actual events, but in any case one of the greatest tragedies in Islamic history began with the Mongol invasion of the Kh^wārazmian empire. After the death of Muḥammad II in 617/1220, his son Djalāl al-Dīn Kh^wārazmshāh (Mankubirnī or Mingīrnī [see AL-NASAWĪ]) [*q.v.*] (*Siyar*, xxii, 326-9) continued his father's legal claim against the caliph. In 622/1225-6 he invaded ʿIrāḳ and extended his conquests as far as 200 km from Baghdād (*Kāmil*, xii, 425-8; *Mirʾāt*, viii, 234; *Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī*, fol. 149a-b). His battles against the caliph as well as those against the Mongols he declared to be *djihād*.

The year 618/1221-2 (cf. *Akhbār*, 109; *Mirʾāt*, viii, 619; *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, fol. 135a; *Siyar*, xxii, 238-9, and the quotations from ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, in *BEO*, xxiii [1970], 125-8) showed how unstable the alliance between al-Nāṣir and the Mongols, if it ever existed, in fact was. The Mongols were preparing for battle in ʿIrāḳ, and al-Nāṣir had to reckon with a direct attack on Baghdād. Renouncing earlier enmities and summoning up all power, the rulers of Irbil and al-Mawṣil joined forces with the caliph on behalf of *djihād*. As already had been the case with the Kh^wārazmian call to *djihād* against the east, the Ayyūbids did not see their way to lend a helping hand against the Mongols. A battle did not take place because Čingiz Khān withdrew to the east. Thus the Mongol threat against ʿIrāḳ seemed to have been warded off for the time being.

A few years after al-Nāṣir had come to power, the Ayyūbids for their part complained of his lack of interest in the "Holy Combat" of Muslims. Their bitter disappointment influenced the situation in the eastern Arab lands and in south-east Asia Minor. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and al-Nāṣir, each with his own appetite for expansion, sought to enlarge their territories wherever an occasion presented itself, especially in al-Djazīra. The caliph extended his territory northward exactly at a time when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn urgently needed his assistance at the ill-fated siege of ʿAkkā [*q.v.*] by the Crusaders, which lasted for two years (585-7/1189-91). In 585/1189 al-Nāṣir conquered Takrīt (*Rawḍatayn*, ii, 178; *Kāmil*, xii, 42), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's birthplace, which had submitted to the Ayyūbids in 579/1183-4, together with Irbil (*Miḍmār*, 215). Other places on the Euphrates were also captured by al-Nāṣir (*Kāmil*, xii, 58-9) and Salāḥ al-Dīn's rights, as well as his projects of expansion in al-Djazīra, thus were curtailed. The caliph's subversive lack of interest vis-à-vis Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was apparently rooted in the fear that military successes of the Ayyūbids, especially after Jerusalem had been reconquered from the Franks in 583/1187, might spread to the caliph's territory. After all, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's army, having conquered the strategically-important town of al-Mawṣil in 1186, had been only 200 km. from Baghdād. Notwithstanding an active exchange of delegations during the entire period of his caliphate, al-Nāṣir showed himself clearly aloof, even distrustful, towards Ayyūbid requests to grant diplomas of investiture (*taḳlīd*, pl. *taḳālīd*) and to give military assistance against the Franks (*Miḍmār*, 51: *taḳlīd* granted in 576/1180; *Miḍmār*, 62-5: necessity of the *djihād* and exhortation of the caliph in 577/1181-2; *Miḍmār*, 162-4: negotiations regarding the situation in al-Mawṣil in 579/1183-4; *Miḍmār*, 184-5: repeated exhortations concerning the *djihād* addressed to the caliph in 580/1184-5). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was severely criticised in Baghdād when he awarded himself the epithet *al-Malik al-Nāṣir* (*Bidāya*, xii, 327). In 586/1190 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn put a region directly bordering on the caliphate under the administration of a vassal who, at that time, was well-disposed towards him (*Kāmil*, xii, 56; Gökbürī of Irbil is invested with the region of the Banū Ḳifdjāḳ).

After the reign of the Saldjūḳs had come to an end in 590/1194, the interest in this region of both the caliph and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's successor al-Malik al-Afḍal [*q.v.*] intensified. Al-Afḍal skilfully tried to build good relations with al-Nāṣir. He expected to be able to use the caliph as a possible intermediary in present and future conflicts with the Zangids of al-Mawṣil. On the other hand, the concept of *djihād* against the Crusaders gradually lost impact in the letters exchanged with the caliph after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death in 589/1193. In the same way, requests for a premature grant of a *taḳlīd* or for military assistance stopped. In 615/1218, at the time when the Crusaders attacked Damietta, the caliph declined a call for help, but in 616/1219 he summoned local rulers to assist al-Malik al-Kāmil in Damietta (*Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī*, fol. 136a).

In 618/1221 al-Nāṣir in his turn directed unsuccessful requests to al-ʿĀdil's son, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ashraf [*q.v.*]. Instead of executing his planned march to Egypt, al-Malik al-Ashraf, together with caliphal forces, was to take up positions against the Mongols, who were advancing from Khurāsān. But the official Ayyūbid propaganda kept silent about the Mongol danger, and the political mission in 621/1224 of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, the theologian-counsellor of the caliph, did not bring about the desired military alliance against Djalāl al-Dīn Kh^wārazmshāh, who was threatening Baghdād. The Ayyūbids had not forgotten that the caliph had refused them any real support since the Fifth Crusade.

Al-Nāṣir neither could nor would associate himself with the type of unity of Islam so urgently being called for by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn when he stressed the notion of *djihād*. According to the caliph, Islam should close ranks in the struggle against the eastern dynasties which fought against the sovereignty of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Nor could this unity be restored, as had been hoped for, by al-Nāṣir's policy towards Ḳatāda b. Idrīs [*q.v.*], the Sharīf of Mecca (*Kāmil*, xii, 401-2; *Mirʾāt*, viii, 217-18), towards the Zaydī Imāms of Yemen or towards the Ayyūbids of Egypt who had occupied southern Yemen at the turn of the 13th century (*Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī*, fols. 113a-120a). Only economic revival and important financial reserves, which might have enabled this caliph, his predecessors or successors, to maintain an adequate army, could again have brought about political unity and therefore a fundamental and lasting regeneration of the ʿAbbāsid state.

2. The *futuwwa*. Against the background of these events and shortcomings, the unification and reorganisation of the federal system of the *futuwwa*, carried through by al-Nāṣir, was neither bizarre (*Kāmil*, xii, 440: pure bragging) nor an isolated political idea. To al-Nāṣir the credit is due of having consolidated on a moral basis the various forms of the *futuwwa* which, at his accession to the throne, hardly kept to the virtuous requirements of the original ideal

of the *fatā*. These forms were developed by al-Nāṣir into a mean of political power in the service of the caliphate. The reformed *futuwwa* provided the caliph with the framework for a new awareness of solidarity among Muslims of all confessions and social ranks up to the princes. At the same time, the renewed rules of this new community, related directly to the person of al-Nāṣir, entailed dependence on the ʿAbbāsid caliph as the highest authority (*ḳibla*) in the Islamic world (*Tuḥfa*, fol. 108b).

In his chronicle, the *Miḍmār*, al-Malik al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] gives information about the separate steps leading to the final execution of the reform. Soon after assuming power, the caliph joined a branch of the *futuwwa* which was influenced by Ṣūfism. In 578/1182-3 its *shaykh* performed with him the rite of initiation, which consisted in putting on the trousers (*sarāwīl*) of the *futuwwa* (*Miḍmār*, 86). Al-Nāṣir also established contacts with other leaders of Ṣūfī groups of *fityān* (*Miḍmār*, 177). The caliph's turning to the Ṣūfī manifestation of the *futuwwa* incited an important section of the population to follow his example and to take more seriously the required virtues, which had regained influence in public life.

3. Supervision of communications. Moreover, already before the actual reform, al-Nāṣir succeeded in realising important parts of his political and social aims. For example, he gradually concentrated in his own person the permission to shoot with pellets (*al-ramy bi 'l-bunduḳ*). He also tried to bring pigeon breeding under his control. This brought the advantage of being able to supervise communications. In 590/1194 he had all fully-grown carrier pigeons killed in Baghdād in order to force the population to use only his young pigeons, which flew on courses fixed by himself (*Mirʾāt*, viii, 437), so that any pigeon post first came into his hands or into those of his confidants. In order to obtain an audience with the caliph, one had to have received a pigeon from him first, which honour guaranteed the noble character of the receiver. Thus the following saying came into being in Baghdād: receipt of a pigeon from the caliph, adherence to the *futuwwa*, and "shooting with pellets" (*al-ramy bi 'l-bunduḳ*) make it impossible for a man to tell a lie (*Miḍmār*, 180).

4. The reform. From 599/1203 onwards, al-Nāṣir personally decided on the admission into the *futuwwa* of princes and governors (*Mirʾāt*, viii, 513: al-ʿĀdil's admission). In doing so, the caliph confirmed them as rightful and absolute leaders of the *fityān* in their territories, but, since he himself was their superior in the hierarchy of the *futuwwa*, their adherence increased their dependence on him. The adherence of any prince automatically caused the admission into the *futuwwa* of all his subjects. This should have prevented any individualistic trend in the Islamic community. Notwithstanding this, there remained a great number of different groups and gangs (*ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*]) of the *futuwwa*, which vied with each other and, because of their great power in the districts of Baghdād, often conjured up situations that were close to civil war (*Djāmiʿ*, ix, 222, 226, 228). This caused the caliph in 604/1207 to issue a decree in which the *futuwwa* was fundamentally reformed. Non-observance of this decree was a capital offence. The new *futuwwa* was described as "the purified *futuwwa*" and was completely centralised on al-Nāṣir under the following principles: 1. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is the unquestionable foundation of the *futuwwa*; he is the basis of all legal decisions. 2. Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh is explicitly recognised as emulator of ʿAlī. 3. It is the *futuwwa*'s task to perform a "purified, imāmite duty, which grants victory to the religion of Allāh". 4. Any *fatā* who maltreats a fellow-member is expelled from the *futuwwa*. 5. *Ḥadīths* of the Prophet himself confirm the caliph's legal position when issuing this decree (*Djāmiʿ*, ix, 223-5).

In his *Tuḥfat al-waṣāyā*, al-Khartabirtī, a contemporary inclined to Shīʿism, gives information on the reform. Al-Nāṣir changed the genealogy of the *futuwwa* by having its tree brought down to his own name from Adam, through the Prophet Muḥammad and his son-in-law ʿAlī (*Tuḥfa*, fol. 117a-b). He also claimed the exclusive right to grant *futuwwa* titles and orders. In his *Kitāb al-Futuwwa*, written in the spirit of Islamic law, Ibn al-Miʿmār (d. 642/1244) describes the hierarchic structure of the entire society of the *futuwwa*. All members were comrades (*rafīḳ*, pl. *rifāḳ*), but were related as a younger one (*ṣaghīr*) to an elder one (*kabīr*) or—with the same meaning—as a son (*ibn*) to his father (*ab*) and grandfather (*djadd*). The community of *rifāḳ* is called "house" (*bayt*), and several *buyūt* are brought together into a "host" (*ḥizb*, pl. *aḥzāb*). Supreme master of all these groups was the caliph (*Kitāb al-Futuwwa*, 190-9). In al-Nāṣir's *futuwwa*, the function of head (*naḳīb*) of the nobility was held by a member of the ʿAlid family al-Maʿiyya (or al-Muʿayya?) (*ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, 150).

By indicating himself as the highest authority (*ḳibla*, see above) for all *fityān*, al-Nāṣir established a relation between *sharīʿa* and *futuwwa*. For this, it was necessary to find a compromise between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. Inside the *futuwwa* the caliph could not favour one group over the other, nor could he accept both groups as being independent from each other if he wanted to attain his aim, namely, keeping the community of the believers within the structure of the state. His policy had to be built unconditionally on the points of agreement between the two parties. In this way, he succeeded in making the *futuwwa* confederations, disorganised and quarrelling among each other before his reform, into "an element of social solidarity" on behalf of the caliphate. Al-Nāṣir thus created a powerful organisation which, more than his army, made his caliphate acceptable as a binding form of sovereignty for all religious and political factions in Baghdād and in the Islamic lands. The authority which the caliph thus exercised over his subjects allowed him also to regain an important portion of his secular power and prevented, after the downfall of the Saldjūḳs, tutelage by an outside secular ruler. The reorganisation of the *futuwwa* was more than a tactical measure. It was not "an artificial resuscitation of the caliphate"—as still assumed by Taeschner (*Futuwwa*, in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, lii [1956], 143)—but an effective means of making policy, in which greater importance was attributed to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. This structure of the federal system continued under al-Nāṣir's successors, but the *ʿayyārūn* resumed their attacks as a result of the weakening of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty in the last years of its existence in Baghdād. This form of courtly *futuwwa* came to an end with the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate at the conquest of Baghdād by the Mongol Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] in 656/1258. From 659/1261 onwards, an aftermath survived in Mamlūk Egypt [*q.v.*].

5. The theory of the caliphate. For his legitimation as caliph, and for the *futuwwa* as instrument for the theoretical foundation of his claim to power, al-Nāṣir found an energetic propagandist in the Shāfiʿī Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, who supported the union between *sunna* and moderate Shīʿa on the one hand, between *futuwwa* and Ṣūfism on the other. In his works, the *futuwwa* is part of *taṣawwuf*,

and his theory on the caliphate definitely posited that Ṣūfism could be sanctioned by the caliphate. In his *Idālat al-ʿiyān ʿalā 'l-burhān* he develops a theory in which the concepts of *futuwwa*, Ṣūfism and caliphate are coordinated in an ascending order. In analogy with the relation between *shaykh* and *murīd* [*q.vv.*], he considers the caliph as the mediator (*wāsiṭa*) between the Unique One and the people, appointed by God (*Idāla*, fol. 88a). As such, he is "God's representative on earth". This is not the standard argument in the orthodox Sunnī theory on the caliphate because the reference to consensus is missing. Since the concept of *khalīfat Allāh* cannot be deduced from the Ḳurʾān, the argument that the caliphate is a necessity is put by Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*] on the same level as the assertions according to which the caliphate is required by mere reason; the consensus itself (*idjmāʿ*) comes only in the second place and confirms the reason (*al-ʿIbar*, i = *al-Muḳaddima*, 339-40). Al-Nāṣir's court theologian does not mention *idjmāʿ* at all. He does not seem to have omitted unintentionally this important concept of Sunnī law, because when he explains that the Imām is the absolute mediator between God and man, he comes close to Shīʿī notions according to which the Imām, because of his authority as teacher and his charismatic function, is beyond consensus. According to al-Nāṣir and al-Suhrawardī, the Imām holds the function of mediator in an absolute way, just as the Ṣūfī, once he has obtained the dignity of *shaykh*, is a mediator between God and the novice (*ṭālib* or *murīd*) (*Idāla*, fol. 88a).

The concept of *khalīfa* was in any case widening in the 7th/13th century. It was not only used in its legal and political meaning of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, but, in the language of the mystics of the Ṣūfī orders, it was also understood as indicating the "leader of a *ṭarīḳa*" [*q.v.*]. This double meaning of the term appears with al-Suhrawardī and al-Nāṣir and is used theoretically and practically, in both the mystical and the political sense. After the centuries-old distrust of Islamic mystics by the ruling power, al-Nāṣir was willing to draw the political consequences from the requirements established by al-Suhrawardī. Under his caliphate, a purposeful, officially directed turn to Ṣūfism took place: "The exalted caliphate is a register (*daftar*) and *taṣawwuf* is part of it; *taṣawwuf* in its turn is a register of which the *futuwwa* is a part. *Futuwwa* is specified by pure ethics (*al-akhlāk al-zakiyya*); *taṣawwuf* includes pious acts and private religious practices (*awrād*); the noble caliphate comprises mystic situations, pious acts and pure ethics" (*Idāla*, fol. 89a-b). The comparison of the caliphate, to which *taṣawwuf* and *futuwwa* are subordinated, with a register reminds one of the likewise hierarchical rank of the concepts *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīḳa* and *ḥaḳīḳa* found in al-Suhrawardī's *Risālat al-Futuwwa*, fol. 186b. *Khilāfa* and *sharīʿa* are the higher concepts which, in their relations to each other, require unconditional unity. With these axioms, the caliph, through his protagonist al-Suhrawardī, took the wind out of the sails of those critics who maintained that he neglected the requirements of the *sharīʿa*. At the same time, he opened the caliphate to two forms of organisation of human society which came into being simultaneously and which apparently were mutually conditional, namely, the reformed confederation of men, the *futuwwa*, and the order of *taṣawwuf*.

According to contemporary statements, the caliph "in the middle of his reign" intended to give up his governmental function in favour of ascetic practices and the life of a Ṣūfī (*Akhbār al-zuhhād*, fols. 96b-101b; *Siyar al-nubalāʾ*, xxii, 202, cf. 197: at this time al-Nāṣir was also engaged in transmitting *ḥadīths*, cf. *Nakt al-himyān*, 95; *Wāfī*, vi, 314). After some time, however, he distanced himself from this intention and returned completely to governmental business. All the same, by recognising a direct relation between mystics and the caliphate, al-Nāṣir had created the possibility of being accepted on a larger basis.

6. Al-Nāṣir's religious programme (*daʿwa hādiya*). The caliph's religious-political propaganda (*daʿwa hādiya*, roughly "guiding call") also bears witness to such a wider basis. In order to spread it, he sent messengers to Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor and Persia. Al-Nāṣir's *daʿwa* was quite different from the Sunnī orthodox one of his father and predecessor al-Mustaḍīʾ [*q.v.*], as well as from that of the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn b. ʿImād al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Al-Nāṣir was no longer concerned about the "moral armament and unity of the Sunnīs" against the Shīʿa, but about equating all Islamic confessions. In this respect, the rapprochement of the Ismāʿīlis under their Grand Master Rukn al-Dīn Ḥasan III [*q.v.*] towards Sunnī Islam was convenient on the one hand, while on the other he had succeeded in protecting the legitimacy of the caliph against the claims of the ʿAlids by involving *futuwwa* and *taṣawwuf* in the theory of the caliphate and in meeting, perhaps personally, the moderate Shīʿa, as his domestic policy clearly shows. He was in close contact with the *naḳībs* of the ʿAlids and was surrounded by Imāmī viziers and other high officials and counsellors. In an inscription found in the Ghaybat al-Mahdī in Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*], which he caused to be renovated expensively and to be enlarged into a mausoleum (*mashhad*), he designates himself as builder and protector of the Shīʿī sanctuary (*Miḍmār*, 178). Nor did he seclude himself from certain branches of the Ismāʿīliyya: in the inscription on the Bāb al-Ṭilasm in Baghdād [*q.v.*] (*Djāmiʿ*, ix, 215) he borrowed the Ismāʿīlī eulogy, and his messengers of the *daʿwa hādiya*, as well as his *futuwwa* emissaries, were provided with a special warrant, the *wakāla djāmiʿa* or *wakāla sharīfa* (*Djāmiʿ*, ix, 222 *et passim*). The caliph's attempt to control, as far as northern Syria, the supervision of the markets and its centralisation is perhaps to be placed in connection with this propaganda activity. When receiving the warrants, al-Nāṣir's officials committed themselves through reciprocal absolute vows of fidelity to each other and, altogether, to the caliph.

7. Anti-philosophical tendencies. From al-Nāṣir's domestic policy it is clear that he did not consider the Shīʿīs as a threat and an undermining influence in the Muslim community. For him, the danger of inner disintegration came rather from the philosophers and their followers. Although he had occupied himself with "the sciences of the ancient Greeks" (*ʿulūm al-awāʾil*), if only in a rudimentary way, razzias, auto-da-fés and all possible reprisals took place against suspects (*Idāla*, fol. 85b; *Rashf*, fol. 16a: destruction of philosophical literature; *Dhayl*, i, 445, ii, 71, 73; *Akhbār al-khulafāʾ*, 119-21; *Djāmiʿ*, ix, 81; *Bidāya*, xiii, 45: burning of libraries; *Dhayl*, ii, 66-8; *Bidāya*, xiii, 65: denunciations). From this period dates al-Suhrawardī's *Rashf al-naṣāʾiḥ al-īmāniyya wa-kashf al-faḍāʾiḥ al-yūnāniyya*, the most important polemic against philosophy, which is at the same time a written defence of the caliphate as understood by al-Nāṣir. One of the most striking features of this work is that it keeps its distance from any polemic against the Bāṭiniyya [*q.v.*], considered to be the promoters of the "Greek sciences". This attitude is perhaps related to the conversion to Sunnī Islam of Ḥasan III, ruler of the Assassins of Alamūt [*q.v.*] in 608/1211-2 (*Kāmil*,

xii, 306-7; *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 120, 242-3), by which the Bāṭiniyya ceased for a number of years to be the most dangerous enemy of the ʿAbbāsids. Indeed under al-Nāṣir the Assassins, so feared before, became loyal allies, a fact which the caliph considered as his greatest success in religious matters, his greatest political achievement being the destruction of the Saldjūḳs.

8. The accusation of Shīʿī inclinations. Al-Nāṣir is often reproached by Sunnī chroniclers as having been a partisan of the Shīʿīs (*mutashayyiʿ*; *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh al-bashar*, iii, 142: *kāna yatashayyaʿu*: *Mufarridj*, iv, 163; *Fakhrī*, 232; *Siyar*, 200). Two remarks should be made in this connection. Because of his excellent spy network (*Siyar*, 200), al-Nāṣir was considered on the one hand to be "all-knowing", even in religious matters. A later chronicler remarks that the Shīʿīs indeed considered him as the infallible, sinless Imām, for "the infallible Imām knows what is in the womb of a pregnant woman and what lies behind the wall" (*Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, 449). On the other hand, the caliph's tolerance toward the Shīʿa—apart from his personal propensities—is to be seen as a reaction to the concrete political situation. If al-Nāṣir wanted to raise the caliphate in Baghdād to a real and effective power, he could only succeed by taking into account *and* by exploiting the interests of the Shīʿīs who formed about half of Baghdād's population. He had to shape his subjects' political consciousness in such a way that the person of the caliph was forearmed against accusations from the outside (i.e. that he was the ʿAlid anti-caliph against the Khwārazmshāh) and from the inside (i.e. against the criticism of the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Djawzī, *Dhayl*, ii, 420). During al-Nāṣir's reign the cutting edges of the conflict between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs, which for such a long time had shaken the ʿIrāḳī metropolis, seemed to have been blunted.

9. The caliph as traditionist and reformer. Al-Nāṣir also recognised the importance of religious propaganda of the *ʿulamāʾ*; in particular, he acquired the duties and authority of the traditionists by concerning himself personally with the science of *ḥadīth*. Since all his undertakings were directed towards abolishing the traditional separation of powers—the worldly power in the hands of the caliph or the sultan, the spiritual power in the hands of the *ʿulamāʾ*—and towards uniting them in his person, he claimed that, as successor of the Prophet and as the instructing authority, it was his duty to look after the well-being of the Islamic community in this world and in the hereafter.

Al-Nāṣir reformed education in Baghdād insofar as he succeeded—as the Saldjūḳs had done before him—in bringing the nomination for the chairs at the Great Mosque under his control. Besides influencing intellectual life, this also, or rather above all, had economic consequences because it meant control of the sources of income which were at the origin of different conflicts of interest in the city. Al-Nāṣir, in collaboration with al-Suhrawardī, thus not only showed new directions in educational policy, but he created a *novum* in the history of state control of education in Islam. Since the arrival of the Saldjūḳs, law, together with its propaedeutic disciplines such as Ḳurʾān exegesis, *ḥadīth*, grammar, literary theory and the first principles of mathematics, had been taught exclusively in the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] (exegesis of the Ḳurʾān and law also in the mosque), and medicine mainly in the hospitals (*bīmāristān* [*q.v.*]), while "foreign sciences" (*ʿulūm al-ʿadjam* such as mathematics, physics and philosophy, were taught privately. Al-Nāṣir systematically tried to enlarge or found convents, the so-called *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*] and to regain control of the educational system as a whole, lost since the *madrasas* had come into existence (Chabbi, *Ribat*, 116-20; Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir*, 126-7, 198 ff.). The *ribāṭs*, already under al-Mustaḍīʾ officially recognised as institutions (*Muntaẓam*, x, 233), were solidly integrated by al-Nāṣir into the spiritual life of Baghdād as homiletic institutions, as establishments for teaching law and as meeting-places for Ṣūfīs. In the first half of his reign he founded six new *ribāṭs*, where the doctrines of ʿIrāḳī Ṣūfism, combined with Ṣūfī-inspired traditional homiletics and sciences, were spread. In the *Ribāṭ al-Mustadjadd* (also called *Ribāṭ al-Marzubāniyya*), the most famous of them, all fields of knowledge, i.e. of external and internal *ʿilm*, were to be united in the person of the caliph.

Al-Nāṣir's reforms consisted in creating a new harmony between the sciences and in making an attempt to suppress in the Islamic community *kalām* and the tendencies favourable to philosophy. Only one generation before, in the second half of the 6th/12th century, a fierce fight had been waged concerning the recognition of paraenesis as an official field of science, but in al-Nāṣir's time the audience in the *ribāṭs* very often were students at the *madrasa*, a fact which is very well-documented by ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's circle of students. In this way, the subject-matter of the convent influenced the lectures at the theological colleges. The caliph visited regularly intellectual occasions and heard sermons and put all items necessary for maintenance and study at the disposal of the students free of charge. If coming from outside, the students for a greater part also lived in the *ribāṭs* (*Djāmiʿ*, ix, 99; *Mirʾāt*, viii, 513; *Ḥawādith*, 74). Al-Nāṣir also earned merit for renovating and enlarging in 589/1193 the Madrasa al-Niẓāmiyya. The newly-built part was called after him al-Nāṣiriyya (*Kāmil*, xii, 104; *Bidāya*, xiii, 6). It was also in the period of the foundation of the *ribāṭs* that the Ṣūfī mystical communities developed into hierarchically-organised orders. The caliph's attention to the *ribāṭs* and the origin of the orders apparently coincided with the reorganisation of the *futuwwa*.

Following the example of the Prophet, al-Nāṣir succeeded in being recognised in the field of *ʿilm*. Having become a *mudjtahid*, he transmitted, in order to underpin this claim, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad* to Ḥanbalī scholars as part of *samāʿ* collections (*Dhayl*, ii, 218; *Mirʾāt*, viii, 556). He further put together seventy *ḥadīths* which went back to the Prophet. Through *idjāza*, he transmitted them equally to representatives of all four Sunnī *madhāhib* (*Mirʾāt*, viii, 543-4; *Siyar*, xxii, 197-8; Bundārī, *Dhayl*, fol. 28a; Dubaythī, *Dhayl*, fol. 10a). Under the title *Rūḥ* (*Rawḥ*) *al-ʿārifīn*, al-Nāṣir had this collection of *ḥadīths* propagated systematically in ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt, in Rūm Saldjūḳid Asia Minor, in Persia and in the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. It was a programmatic work with a moral tendency, fundamental for this caliph's view of his own function (*Mirʾāt*, viii, 564-5; 543; *ibid.*, fol. 319b (missing in the Ḥaydarābād edition); *Siyar* xxii, 198; *Sulūk*, i, 180; *Mufarridj*, iv, between 163 and 170). The *ḥadīths* of the *Rūḥ al-ʿārifīn* touch on the following subjects: moral information and instructions for the believers, warnings against the temptations of the world, appeals to observe the religious duties and guidelines for life after death. In the 9th/15th century, al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] was critical of the enthusiasm for the *Rūḥ al-ʿārifīn*, maintaining that the work had originated from political expediency and personal career-making, and not for the sake of

religion. According to him, the work does not stand up against the standards of *ḥadīth* criticism (*Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, 448). Among other contemporary historians, Ibn al-Dubaythī (*Dhayl*, fol. 10a) and al-Bundārī (*Dhayl*, fol. 28b) quote from the *Rūḥ al-ʿārifīn*. The theologian al-Taftazānī [*q.v.*] quoted from it in the 8th/14th century, and in the 11th/17th century it was known to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, i, 915). ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's [*q.v.*] commentary (*Siyar*, xxii, 197; see also his memoirs, ed. Cl. Cahen, 105), together with al-Nāṣir's *ḥadīths* mentioned above, have survived under the title *Futūḥ al-waḳt* (B.L. Cat.Ar. 6332, fols. 30b-76b, which includes a copy of an *idjāza* of the commentator and his autographic *placet*, fols. 76b-82b; cf. Cat. Or. 5780; Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir*, 206-32). Another commentary of the *Rūḥ al-ʿārifīn* by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 654/1257 [*q.v.*]) is considered to be lost. Numerous *ḥadīths*, mostly from other collections of al-Nāṣir, have found their way into al-Suhrawardī's *Rashf al-naṣāʾiḥ*.

10. Conclusion. The aim and, in the end, also the essence of al-Nāṣir's ideas about his function was that the caliph should get back the position of a *mudjtahid*, act in politics as the guardian and propagator of the traditions of the Prophet on behalf of all dogmatic trends, and retain his own judgement as the recognised expert in the matter of text interpretation. After these tasks and their fulfilment had been curtailed for several centuries, al-Nāṣir's caliphate to a large extent again met the standards set as an ideal for the function of the Prophet's successor.

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NĀSIR AL-DĪN S̲H̲ĀH (*r.* 1848-96), fourth ruler of the Ḳād̲j̲ār dynasty [*q.v.*] of Persia. Born on 6 Ṣafar 1247/17 July 1831 in the village of Kuhnamīr near Tabrīz to the then Prince Muḥammad Mīrzā (later Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, r. 1834-48) and Malik-D̲j̲ahān (later Mahd-i ʿUlyā: Queen Mother, d. 1873), daughter of a powerful Ḳād̲j̲ār chief, Nāṣir al-Dīn epitomised the eventual union of the contesting Ḳuwānlū and Davalū clans of the Ḳād̲j̲ār tribe. The young Crown Prince's right of succession to the throne was not fully secured before 1847, when a complex power struggle within the royal family, fuelled by rival officialdom and by European envoys, turned to Nāṣir al-Dīn's momentary advantage. His childhood and early youth turned out to be even less cheerful because of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh's contempt for Nāṣir al-Dīn and his mother, haphazard education, irregular allowance and isolation within the palace even though he benefited from his mother's full moral support. His brief but eventful governorship of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān ended upon the death of his ailing father when he was declared the Shah in 14 S̲h̲awwāl 1264/13 September 1848. Crucial to success of the young Shah's swift and unchallenged accession was the capable and ambitious commander of the Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān New Army, Mīrzā Taḳī K̲h̲ān Amīr Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who in collaboration with the British consul in Tabrīz organised the young Shah's triumphant march to the capital in October 1848. Equally instrumental was Mahd-i ʿUlyā's interim government consisting of a fragile coalition of high-ranking officials who orchestrated the removal of the previous prime minister, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mīrzā Āḳāsī.

The first phase of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign (1848-1858) was characterised by a prolonged struggle to assert the monarchical authority over the office of the Prime Minister (*ṣadr aʿẓam*), to weaken the Ḳād̲j̲ār nobility, challenge the restraining policies of European powers, and suppress popular and religious dissent. Although at first he willingly delegated full power to Amīr Kabīr as the royal guardian (*atābak*), the Prime Minister, and the commander-in-chief of the army (*amīr-i niẓām*), the Shah found it exceedingly difficult to reconcile the Prime Minister's stern conduct and his draconian reform measures in the areas of finance, military, and the administration with the vested interests of the nobility. Mahd-i ʿUlyā's sustained opposition to Amīr Kabīr was shared by the discontented bureaucrats and Ḳād̲j̲ār notables. The Shah's own desire for greater political initiative and for a larger allowance eroded Amīr Kabīr's support base leading to his dismissal in November 1851 and shortly afterward his tragic execution in January 1852. The much-bemoaned episode, which was in part exacerbated by the undue intervention of the British and the Russian ministers and their proxies, remained a dark spot in the Shah's political career. Even in his short term of office, Amīr Kabīr consolidated Nāṣir al-Dīn's throne, not only by bringing a semblance of order to the otherwise chaotic government but also by destroying the internecine Dawalū revolt in K̲h̲urāsān (1848-51). Even more crucial for the survival of the Ḳād̲j̲ār throne was Amīr Kabīr's harsh suppression of the Bābī movement [*q.v.*] which culminated in the execution of the Bāb [*q.v.*] and the crushing of the Bābī armed resistance. The Shah's fear of the Bābīs, who in August 1852 tried to assassinate him, persisted throughout his reign and was shared by the high-ranking *ʿulamāʾ*. After the fall of Amīr Kabīr, the Shah acquiesced in their almost unhindered monopoly of the civil judiciary, the charitable endowments, the mosques and education.

During the seven-year term of office (1851-8) of Mīrzā Āḳā K̲h̲ān Nūrī, Iʿtimād al-Dawla, the Shah's drive for monarchical ascendancy was contained by the manoeuvres and machinations of his pro-British Prime Minister, who nevertheless had an important influence on the Shah's political behaviour. In search of greater security but also to balance the British influence at the close of the Crimean War (1854-6) the Shah entertained an old ambition of the Ḳād̲j̲ār rulers for the reassertion of Persia's sovereignty over the long-disputed vassalage of Herat. Moved by patriotism and by military glory, he took advantage of the chaotic condition of Herat to break relations with Britain over a scandalous affair involving Charles Murray, the British Minister in Tehran. Soon he launched an expedition under the command of his uncle Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā Ḥusām al-Salṭana, who eventually captured Herat in October 1856. Faced with a British declaration of war, Nāṣir al-Dīn's conditional proposal for withdrawal from Herat was answered by the landing of a sizeable Anglo-Indian force in Būs̲h̲ihr in December 1856. The waning Persian resistance soon encouraged the British to move to the interior, forcing upon the Shah a humiliating withdrawal from Herat and a hasty compliance with the terms of the Paris Peace Treaty of March 1857. Faced with increasing popular criticism at home, but partly as a result of intrigues within the harem and the bureaucracy, in August 1858 the Shah dismissed Āḳā K̲h̲ān Nūrī and sent him to a lifetime exile. Defeat in war and the disastrous collapse of the subsequent expedition against the Turkomans of Marw in October 1860 convinced Nāṣir al-Dīn as to the expediency of diplomatic accommodation with the neighbouring powers, a hallmark of the remaining years of his rule.

The second phase of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign (1858-71) was marked by the abolishing of the office of *ṣadr aʿẓam* and the appointment of ministers to the newly-created ministries, with the Shah acting as his own Prime Minister. After a brief period of lukewarm experimentation with western-style reforms (1858-60), the Shah's personal supervision drew him further into a complex political game in which his prime objective was to obstruct the monopoly of power by any one minister or faction. Having been exposed as early as 1855, but more so after 1858, to the reformist views of the celebrated Mīrzā Malkum Khān [*q.v.*], the Shah increasingly adopted an autocratic approach

while ignoring Malkum's rationalisation reform plans. His constant juxtaposition of ministers, and a redefining of their functions and responsibilities, contributed to the confusion in the administration. The Shah's main rationale was to preserve a fragile balance between the powerful conservative camp headed by Mīrzā Yūsuf Mustawfī al-Mamālik, the chief state accountant, and the weaker reformist wing championed by Farrukh Khān Amīn al-Dawla. The selective nature of the reforms initiated by the Shah from mid-1860s is most visible in the construction of the telegraphic network. Direct and speedy contact with the provinces increased the Shah's control while at the same time he remained loyal to the Ḳādjār practice of delegating to the provincial governors enormous power. Up to 1888 the Shah's eldest son Masʿūd Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān governed from his provincial capital in Isfahan over as many as sixteen provinces and governorates in central and western Persia.

The rise of the celebrated reformer Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla [*q.v.*, and see DUSTŪR, iv, Iran) to the premiership (November 1871) marked the beginning of the third phase of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's reign (1871-86). Royal tours to Ottoman ʿIrāḳ (November 1870-January 1871) and to Europe (May-September 1873, to include Russia, Prussia, England, France, Italy, Austria and Turkey), the first by a Persian royalty, provided the Shah with first-hand experience of the outside world and allowed greater recognition of the Persian state. Nāṣir al-Dīn's diaries of these tours, as well as diaries of his later visits to Europe (March-August 1878 and May-October 1889), register his sincere and occasionally amusing impressions of prosperous and exotic Europe. He remained more impressed with the royal splendour, the natural scenery, and the trivia rather than with the political institutions or industrial achievements. Throughout, the Shah and his retinue were received with great esteem and fascination, often one reminiscent of the old Persian monarchy. During the first tour, the granting of the Reuter concession, notorious for its all-embracing monopoly of Persia's natural resources, its finance and communication, was also finalised under the auspices of Mushīr al-Dawla. On his return, in response to a palace revolt orchestrated by the conservatives the Shah was forced to demote his premier to the rank of Minister of War and repeal the Reuter concession. The administrative, military and judicial reforms that were implemented by Mushīr al-Dawla until his dismissal in 1880 and which were largely on the model of the Ottoman *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] were meant to strengthen and rationalise the government by restraining the arbitrary power of the monarch. Yet Nāṣir al-Dīn, in spite of his apparent support for reforms, managed to utilise the resistance of the conservative princes and *mustawfīs* in order to deflect Mushīr al-Dawla and eventually to concentrate power in his own hand. In the area of foreign policy the Shah exploited the tense rivalry between his imperial neighbours, especially after 1881, in order to maintain a fragile equilibrium conducive to tranquility, the stabilisation of the frontiers at the expense of dispensing with the periphery (Khīwa, Marw, Sarakhs, Herat, eastern Sīstān, and Baḥrayn) and the restraining of European imperial access to the interior at the cost of refraining from infrastructural reforms such as railways and navigation, which were hardly in any case feasible because of the rivalries of outside powers.

A shift in Nāṣir al-Dīn's political conduct, characterised by personal disillusionment and growing popular discontent, marked the fourth and the final phase of his reign (1886-96), beginning with the death of the conservative patriarch Mīrzā Yūsuf Mustawfī al-Mamālik who served as nominal premier since 1881. After more than a decade of stiff resistance, the Shah's consent to the opening of the Kārūn river navigation (October 1888) and the granting of the British-operated Imperial Bank of Persia (January 1889) announced a new era. The Shah was persuaded to grant concessions by the British envoy Sir Henry Drummond Wolff in an attempt to resuscitate the repealed Reuter concession, but the opening-up to Europe was further facilitated by the rise of a younger generation of statesmen trained in the Shah's inner court and in the foreign service. The rise of the young Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣghar Khān Amīn al-Sulṭān (d. 1907) to the premiership (officially appointed in 1888) was largely due to his willingness to augment the Shah's personal gains and to negotiate on his behalf with foreign powers. He gratified Nāṣir al-Dīn's narcissistic profligacy and exploited his emotional insecurities in exchange for greater control over the government and foreign policy, while the Shah promoted his own younger son, Kāmrān Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana, the War Minister, as a counterbalance to the premier. The advice of the reform-minded Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān Amīn al-Dawla (d. 1904), the head of the State Consultative Council, had some moderating influence on the Shah's conduct. The nationwide protest in 1891-2 against the Régie tobacco monopoly granted to a British subject in 1889 nevertheless indicated an imbalance in Nāṣir al-Dīn's domestic policy and a dramatic turning-point in popular discontent against the Shah and his premier. In order to pay for the growing bureaucracy and royal expenditure through the sale of concessions, limited though this was, the Shah disenfranchised the merchants of the bazaar and alienated their *ʿulamāʾ* beneficiaries, who now were lionised by activists such as Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī "al-Afghānī" [*q.v.*]. The growing domestic dissent continued even after the cancellation of Régie. The Shah's assassination on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1313/1 May 1896 inside the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm and on the eve of his fiftieth jubilee (according to the lunar calendar) was not an isolated and unpredictable event. His assassin, Mīrzā Riḍā Kirmānī, a devotee of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn, was a typical victim of the petty oppression of the late Nāṣirī police apparatus controlled by Kāmrān Mīrzā. Nāṣir al-Dīn was buried in an adjacent room of the same shrine.

One of the longest-ruling Persian monarchs, Nāṣir al-Dīn left his discreet stamp on the Persian government and society of his time. His chief achievement was his often unappreciated diplomatic skill which helped in preserving Persia's sovereignty and territorial integrity in an age of imperial threat, a credit which nonetheless is tainted by his domestic shortcomings and failures to implement reforms. His capricious vacillations between modernisation and conservatism were determined as much by expediency and fear of social upheavals as by his deep-seated suspicions. Distrustful and self-indulging, the auctioning of government offices, the currency depreciation swindle, unceasing hunting and outdoor excursions, his obsessive infatuation for his favourite page-boy Malīdjak ʿAzīz al-Sulṭān, his whimsical and at times cruel treatment of his subjects, his ceaseless search for personal wealth, and his intolerance for dissent severely battered his image. His complex personality was embellished however by his artistic and literary accomplishments, historical and topo-

graphical interests, patronage of mixed Perso-European art, architecture and urban development as well as secular and religious scholarship, high and popular literature, Persian music, and Shīʿī passion plays (*taʿziya* [*q.v.*]). Many European innovations, from postal services, passports, street cars and gas lighting, to photography, museums, military music, modern outfits and appearance (including shaving of the beard), fireworks, and modern furniture were introduced by Nāṣir al-Dīn himself. His numerous diaries of his domestic and international travels, mostly published in his own time, are unique among the Islamic rulers of his time for portraying him as an avid though not specially perceptive observer with an eye for details and a lucid style. His preoccupation with details is also evident in the affairs of the government and the army, at the cost of his losing sight of the broader picture. His astute handling of the *ʿulamāʾ*, the nobility and foreign representatives was complemented by his royal façade and his promotion of pomp and circumstance. In contrast, Nāṣir al-Dīn's informal court and pleasure-seeking private life has generated a lopsided, often farcical, image of him in modern Persian history.

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(A. Amanat)

NĀṢIR ʿALĪ SIRHINDĪ (d. in Dihlī on 6 Ramaḍān 1108/29 March 1697, one of the best of the Persian poets of India, who were by this time very numerous; their productions however are for the most part of little artistic value. Of his life we know only that he travelled a great deal but finally settled in

Sirhind, where he enjoyed the favour of the governor Sayf Khān Badakhshī and of the *Amīr al-Umarā*ʾ Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Khān. His principal work is a version of the love story of Madhumalat and Manūhar in Persian verse, the original having been written in Hindī by Shaykh Djammān. The same subject was taken up after Nāṣir ʿAlī by Mīr ʿAskar ʿĀdil Khān Rāzī (d. 1107/1696), one of the governors of Dihlī under Awrangzīb (1659-1707), who called his poem *Mihr u māh*. Besides the poem, Nāṣir ʿAlī wrote a short *mathnawī*, Ṣūfī in character, and a description of Kashmīr, both of which still survive. His lyrical *Dīwān* was collected by his friends after his death; it consisted of the usual *ghazals*, some *sāķī-nāmas* and poems in praise of the Ḳalendar dervishes (lith. Lucknow 1244, 1281, and Cawnpore 1892).

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NĀṢIR-i KHUSRAW, whose full name was Abū Muʿīn Nāṣir b. Khusraw b. Ḥārith al-Ḳubādhiyānī, Persian poet and prose writer, a noted traveller, and an Ismāʿīlī philosopher and *dāʿī* [*q.v.*]. He was born into a family of landowners and officials in 394/1004 in Ḳubādhiyān [*q.v.*] on the right bank of the Oxus River. What little we know about his early life comes to us primarily from references in his own works. Such autobiographical details reflect Nāṣir's own retrospective arrangement of his life to reflect what he regards as phases in his moral and spiritual evolution.

During the period of Ghaznāwid control of the area, he probably worked as an official. After the establishment of Saldjūḳ rule in 431/1040, he served in an administrative capacity in Marw, where his brother held a prominent position. There are references to Nāṣir's early interest in philosophy, science, mathematics and poetry, which he seems to have pursued while maintaining an active social life in court circles.

The next, more dramatic phase of his life, is marked by his resignation from his post in 437/1045 and his decision to set out on pilgrimage to Mecca. He departed for what would eventually turn out to be a seven-year journey, accompanied only by his brother and a servant. In the *Safar-nāma*, the classic account of his travels, he explains his reasons for leaving by reference to a dream, a visionary experience that depicts a spiritual transformation, which he subsequently elaborated upon more fully in one of his poems. It portrays a "conversion" climaxed by an oath that commits him to the service of the Fāṭimid [*q.v.*] Ismāʿīlī *Imām* of the time in Cairo, al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh, and to the cause of the *daʿwa* of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*].

Some scholars have understood Nāṣir's conversion as an instant event that caused him to leave a hitherto dissolute lifestyle in Marw in quest for a more meaningful life, which eventually led him to Cairo. Others, including Corbin and Ivanow, have suggested that he was probably already involved with Ismāʿīlism before leaving on his journey and that his description of his conversion should be understood as an allegorical account of an inner quest and transformation that eventually culminated in his official appointment to the *daʿwa* while at the Fāṭimid court in Cairo.

The first phase of his journey took him to Mecca by way of Nīshāpūr, Tabrīz, Aleppo and Jerusalem. After performing the pilgrimage, he set out for Egypt, arriving in Cairo in 439/1047. He lavishes praise on Cairo, its prosperity, administration, order and its social and intellectual life. He stayed in Cairo for about three years, becoming familiar with the tradition of Ismāʿīlī learning and was in all probability attracted to its message by al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], the eminent Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*. During his stay in Egypt, Nāṣir undertook two more pilgrimages to Mecca.

He left Cairo in 441/1050, proceeded to Mecca, remaining there for six months, performed the pilgrimage and then left to go to Balkh, where he arrived in 444/1052. This marked the end of his period of travels and the beginning of the next phase in his life, where he assumed the task of preaching on behalf of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. In his own writings, Nāṣir constantly refers to himself as the *ḥudjdja* [*q.v.*] of Khurāsān, indicating his leadership role in charge of the Fāṭimid *daʿwā*'s activities in the region. This phase of his life, which in a sense is the most productive in terms of output as a writer, is also the most obscure. Faced by obvious opposition in the predominately Sunnī, Saldjūḳ-controlled milieu of Balkh, he was forced to seek refuge in the valley of Yumgān in Badakhshān [*q.v.*], which was then under the control of a sympathetic Ismāʿīlī local ruler. It is during this period that some of his key surviving works and poems were composed. His work reflects the ambivalence he felt about his work and "exile" in Yumgān. He laments the lack of intellectual fellowship, the sense of isolation and the climate of opposition within which he had to work. On the other hand, he draws comfort in his writings from his commitment to the work of preaching, his sense of his mission in life, and his literary pursuits. The exact year of his death is not known. It fell sometime between 465/1072 and 471/1078. He is buried in Yumgān, where his modest tomb has become the site of pilgrimage.

The works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw that have survived indicate a wide range of intellectual and poetic discourse. They represent a significant contribution to Muslim literature in Persian during the 5th/11th century, and his Ismāʿīlī writings are the only contributions in Persian that have survived by a major figure of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*. They are a continuation and elaboration of the pattern of intellectual exposition initiated by early Fāṭimid writers such as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934) and Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. after 411/1020-21) [*q.v.*]. Though it is very probable that some of the distinctively Ismāʿīlī elements in his writings might have undergone change through revisions by non-Ismāʿīlī writers. Nāṣir's ideas and works were preserved and had a substantial impact on the subsequent development of Ismāʿīlism among Persian-speaking Muslims and have exercised a continuing influence on the Ismāʿīlīs of Central Asia, Afghānistān and Iran. The impact of his writings, however, has not been limited to the Ismāʿīlis and his poetry and prose have earned Nāṣir-i-Khusraw a reputation as an important figure in mediaeval Persian literature.

The *Dīwān*, a collection of poetry, is probably his best known work. Some of the poems, in particular the famous "confessional ode", are reflections on his inner conflicts and spiritual development. His commitment to the cause of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* is explicit in the poems but is informed by a much wider range of human and religious concerns. The tone throughout is moral, exhortative and occasionally philosophical.

The *Safar-nāma*, an account of his travels, falls within the genre of mediaeval Muslim travel literature. It is a description of places, persons and

events, as well as an interpretation of contemporary Muslim society and culture, enlivened by Nāṣir's personal observations and insight.

Nāṣir's other surviving works, fall within the tradition of Fāṭimid, Ismāʿīlī literature, and reflect the basic framework of its religious system and interpretation of Islamic thought and practice. Among them are

(i) The *Rawshanāʾī-nāma* ("The book of enlightenment"), a poetic work on standard Ismāʿīlī themes.

(ii) *Wadjh-i dīn* ("The face of religion"), an exposition of the major doctrines and practices of Islam, with an interpretation of their inner significance, illustrating the use of the hermeneutic method, of *taʾwīl* in Ismāʿīlī thought.

(iii) *Gushāyish wa rahāyish* ("Emancipation and respite"), a philosophical work that sets out a framework dealing, through questions and responses, with key Islamic ideas.

(iv) *Khwān al-ikhwān* ("A banquet for the brethren"). A summary of basic principles and practices of the faith.

(v) *Zād al-musāfirīn* ("Sustenance for travellers"), surveys the philosophical positions of some of the ancients, including Plato and Aristotle, and argues against some of the views of early Muslim philosophers like Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (Rhazes, d. 312/926).

(vi) *Djāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn* ("The sum of two wisdoms") in which Nāṣir seeks to synthesise positive religion with the resources of philosophy. His goal is to create harmony between the language of the Ḳurʾān and the rational and logical tools of the intellectual sciences.

(vii) *Shish faṣl*, a summary in six chapters, of the Ismāʿīlī interpretation of Islamic tenets; it is also called the prose *Rawshanāʾī-nāma*.

In addition there are a number of works attributed to Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, for which there is no evidence of his authorship.

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(AZIM NANJI)

AL-**NĀṢIR** AL-**SALĀWĪ**, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. KHĀLID B. ḤAMMĀD AL-NĀṢIRĪ, a Moroccan historian born at Salé on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1250/20 April 1835, died in the same town on 16 Djumādā I 1315/13 October 1897. The genealogy of this writer can be traced in a direct line to the founder of the Moroccan brotherhood of the Nāṣiriyya [*q.v.*], Aḥmad b. Nāṣir, who was buried in his *zāwiya* at Tāmgrūt in the valley of the Wādī Darʿa (Drā). He studied in his native town, which had in those days some reputation as a centre of learning, and was a minor rival of Fās, the intellectual capital of the country. His principal teachers were Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maḥbūba and the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad ʿAwwād; without neglecting theological and legal studies, he acquired a profound knowledge of profane Arab literature. At the age of about 40, Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī entered the legal branch of the Sharīfī government's service as a notary or superintendent of the state domains. He held more or less important posts from time to time in this service. He was stationed at first at al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ (Casablanca) 1292-3/1875-6, and made two stays at Marrākush, where he was employed in the financial administration of the imperial household. He then lived some time at al-Djadīda (Mazagan) where he was attached to the customs service. He next spent some time in Tangier and Fās and towards the end of his life returned to his native town where he devoted himself to teaching. On his death he was buried in the cemetery at Salé outside the Bāb Maʿalika Gate. Al-Nāṣirī was a minor civil servant who was also a man of letters and a historian. In addition to his historical work, which gained him a certain reputation even outside of Morocco, he left other works which would alone have probably sufficed to attract attention to him and secure him an honourable position among contemporary Maghribī men of letters. These are, in addition to the six opuscula detailed in Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens des Chorfa* (353, n. 1): 1. A commentary on the *Shamaḳmaḳiyya*, a poem by Ibn al-Wannān which he called *Zahr al-afnān min ḥadīḳat Ibn al-Wannān* (lith. at Fās in 1314 A.H., 2 vols.); 2. A survey of the heresies and schisms in Islam entitled *Taʿẓīm al-minna bi-nuṣrat al-sunna* (Rabat ms., no. 66; cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Catalogue*, i, 23); 3. A monograph on the family of the Nāṣiriyya to which he himself belonged: *Ṭalʿat al-mushtarī fi 'l-nasab al-djaʿfarī* (lith. at Fās, 2 vols., n.d., new ed. 1320/1902; a French synopsis has been given by M. Bodin, *La Zaouïa de Tamegrout*, in *Archives Berbères*, 1918). This work, which the author finished in 1309/1881, is a good history of the *zāwiya* of Tāmgrūt, with much interesting information, which compensates for all the discursions in which the historian tries to prove the authenticity of his family genealogy with the help of somewhat unconvincing arguments.

Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī's great work is the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*. Its publication was an event unparalleled in Maghribī historiography. The author produced not a limited chronicle but a general history of his country, one, moreover, printed in the Muslim Orient (Cairo 1312/1894, 4 vols.; 2nd ed. Casablanca 1954-6, 9 vols.). Welcomed by European orientalists on its publication, it was not long in attracting the attention of the historians of North Africa, for whose work it became a much consulted document, especially as a French translation in the *Archives Marocaines* soon made the last quarter—the history of the ʿAlawid dynasty—accessible even to non-Arabists.

It was soon recognised that this chronicle was like all the other products of western Arab historiography: it was only a compilation, the most appreciable merit of which was to have collected in a continuous narrative, items of political history scattered about the chronicles or biographical collections written in the country. But it must be confessed that al-Nāṣirī was the first of his compatriots to attempt to exhaust a subject of which his predecessors had only dealt with parts. But this was not his primary object: the author of the present article has shown elsewhere (*Shorfa*, 357-60) that the starting point in the compilation of the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣāʾ* was a work of some length on the Marīnid dynasty of Morocco, based mainly on the historical works of Ibn Abī Zarʿ and Ibn Khaldūn, to which he had given the title of *Kashf al-ʿarīn fī luyūth Banī Marīn*. His residences in the different capitals of Morocco, having enabled him to get access to sources

for other dynasties also, he had the idea of composing a complete history of Morocco. He finished his work on 15 Djumādā II 1298/15 May 1881, before the end of the reign of the ʿAlawid sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, to whom he dedicated it. But he was poorly recompensed for this act. On the death of this ruler, the author decided to have his chronicle printed in Cairo, after continuing it down to the year of accession of sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

The reader may be referred to *Les historiens des Chorfa* for an examination of the Arabic sources of the history of al-Nāṣirī, and for a list of works from which he adopted or quoted textually passages. Here we shall simply point out that the chronicler was the first Moroccan writer to use European as well as Arabic sources; he only learned of them by chance; these were the history of Mazagan (Ar. al-Djadīda) under Portuguese rule entitled *Memorias para historia da praça de Mazagao*, by Luis Maria do Couto da Albuquerque da Cunha, Lisbon 1864, and the *Descripción historica de Marruecos y breve reseña de sus dinastías*, by Manuel P. Castellanos, Santiago 1878, Orihuela 1884, Tangier 1898.

In the arrangement of his chronicle al-Nāṣirī does not differ from the other historians of his country. But he sometimes gives evidence of a critical sense; we have a feeling that he is a historian by accident and a literary man by vocation. He sometimes gives evidence of considerable independence of spirit and of some breadth of view. As to his style, it is clear and chastened and only rarely resorts to metaphors and rhymed prose. The writer seems to be the Moroccan historian of his time who writes with most facility and elegance.

The first three volumes of the Cairo edition have been translated into French by A. Graulle, G.S. Colin and I. Hamet, in *AM*, xxx (1923), 1-302, xxxi (1925), 1-238, xxxii (1927), 1-283, xxxiii (1934), 1-621; the fourth one was done by E. Fumey, *Chronique de la dynastie ʿalaouie au Maroc*, in *ibid.*, ix (1906), 1-399, x (1907), 1-424. An epitome of the work was made by Aḥmad al-Raḥīmī al-Tiṭwānī, under the title *Taḳrīb al-aḳṣā min Kitāb al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, Tetouan 1346/1927, and then epitomised and continued by al-Tuhāmī al-Wazzānī (1359/1940).

Bibliography: A general study of the life and works of al-Nāṣirī was made by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1923, 350-68. This contains (355) judgements on the *Istiḳṣāʾ*, to which may be added R. Ricard, *Les ravages de l'«Istiqṣāʾ»*, in *Hésperis*, xlviii (1956), 201-2. Other references are limited; one may merely cite Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Marrākushī, *Iʿlām*, ii, 236-9; Brockelmann, S II, 888-9; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*, 1040.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-NĀṢIRA, Modern Hebrew Nāṣerat, Nazareth, the home of Jesus, a town of northern Palestine, since 1948 in Israel, situated in lat. 32° 42' N. and long. 35° 17' E. at a height of 505 m/1,600 ft. It lies in a depression sloping to the south surrounded by hills in a fertile district. While the hills to the north and northeast are not very high, in the northwest the Djebel al-Sīkh rises to 1,600 feet above sea-level. The name of the town, which does not occur in the Old Testament, is found in the New and in the Greek fathers of the Church in the varying forms Ναζαρα, Ναζαρετ and Ναζαρεῦ with ζ, but according to Jerome it had in Hebrew a *ṣade*, which is confirmed by the Syriac Nāṣrāt and the Arabic Nāṣira as well as by the Talmudic derivative form N.w.ṣ.r.y, pl. N.w.ṣ.rīm, while the Christian Arabic has ζ. All these forms as well as Ναζαρηνός (Mark i. 24) have in the first syllable an *a* obscured to *o* in Talmudic. In Christian Aramaic there is a subsidiary form N.ṣ.w.r.t, with *o* in the second syllable with which is connected the derivative Ναζωραῖος (Matt. xxvi. 71; John xviii. 5), cf. τῶν Ναζωραίων αἵρεσις (Acts, xxiv. 5). The Mandaean term Naṣoraean (e.g. Dalman, *Aram. Gramm.*^{2}, 178; Gressmann, in *ZATW*, xliii, 26 ff.) is usually connected with this, but Lidzbarski (*Mandäische Liturgien*, p. xvi; *ZS*, i, 230 ff.) wants to explain it as "observers", while Zimmern (*ZDMG*, lxxiv, 429 ff., 76, 46) seeks its origin in the Babylonian *nāṣira*. That the Arabic *naṣārā*, Christians, sing. *naṣrānī* and abstract *naṣrāniyya*, come from the name of the town was known to the Arab writers.

Nazareth, which in the time of Jesus was a little town of no importance (cf. John i. 47: "what good can come out of Nazareth"?; it is not even mentioned by Josephus), was not in the early Christian period one of the places of the New Testament to which large numbers of pilgrims went. According to Epiphanius, it was inhabited exclusively by Jews till the time of Constantine the Great. The number of Christians however gradually increased and was maintained after the Muslim conquest (636). In the time of Arculf (*ca.* 670) it had two churches, and in 332/943 al-Masʿūdī mentions a church held in great veneration there, no doubt the church of St. Mary. Before Galilee was conquered by Tancred and the Crusaders, Nazareth was destroyed by the Saracens; it revived under Christian rule, especially after the bishopric of Scythopolis was transferred thither. The Russian abbot Daniel (1113-15) has given a very good picture of the Church of the Annunciation and of the Well of Mary there in this period. In 583/1187, the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] took Nazareth and at the peace between him and Richard I of England (1192) it remained in his hands. In 1251, during the last unsuccessful crusade, Louis IX undertook a pilgrimage from ʿAkkā to Nazareth. Yāḳūt (623/1225), who relies on the Gospel story instead of Muslim legend, mentions al-Nāṣira as a village 13 miles from Ṭabariyya. In 661/1263 the Mamlūk sultan Baybars ordered the *amīr* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn to destroy Nazareth and particularly the Church of St. Mary. Al-Dimashḳī (*ca.* 1300) calls it a Jewish town belonging to the province of Ṣafad and inhabited by Yamanīs, and Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (d. 872/1468) numbers it among the townlike villages in Ṣafad. The Christian visitors, however, describe Nazareth as a wretched village inhabited by very few Christians with a ruined church and complain of the hostile attitude of the Muslim population. It was not till 1620 that better days dawned when the Druse chief Fakhr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] opened the town to the Franciscans. The Roman Catholic monastery with the Church of the Annunciation was rebuilt, although not completed till a century later. There were only a few Christians in addition to the monks in the town, until in the middle of the 18th century the Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿAmr of ʿAkkā increased its prosperity after which they gradually grew in number. In 1890, according to G. Schumacher, there were 7,419 inhabitants in the town of whom 1,825 were Muslims, 2,870 Greek Catholics and the remainder Christians of other confessions. Jews were not allowed to live there. The great monastery with the Church of the Annunciation in the southeast belongs to the Roman Catholics, the Church of the Annunciation in the northeast to the Greek Church. The Muslims have a mosque of considerable size and five *walīs*. The well of Mary, which has a dome over it and is open on one side, has its water brought from a spring below the Greek Church of the Annunciation.

Nazareth was the headquarters of the Ottoman ar-

mies during World War One, being captured by the British in September 1918. During the Arab-Israeli War of 1948, it was the headquarters of Arab forces under Fawzī Ḳāwuḳdjī until these were defeated, with the resultant surrender of Nazareth without a fight. Modern Israeli Nazareth is an important market centre for the Arab population of northern Galilee, and is the chef-lieu of the Northern District of Israel. It is also the largest, virtually all-Arab town of Israel, with a population in the 1970 estimate of 34,000, the majority Christian.

Bibliography: Ibn Saᶜd, ed. Sachau, i/1, 26; Masᶜūdī, i, 123 = § 119; Yāḳūt, iv, 729; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 212; R. Hartmann, *Khālil al-Ẓāhirī's Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, 1907, 47-8; *Die Pilgerfahrt des russischen Abtes Daniel*, tr. Leskien, in *ZDPV*, vii, 17 ff.; Propst, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästinas bei Wilhelm Tyr.*, i, 55; Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königr. Jerusalem*, 441, 444, 885, 920 and *passim*; Robinson, *Palästina*, iii, 419 ff.; Sir George Adam Smith, *Historical geography of the Holy Land*, index s.v.; Tobler, *Nazareth in Palästina*, 1868; G. Schumacher, in *ZDPV*, xiii, 235 ff. (with map and photograph); G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 301-2; H. C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, *The handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*, London 1930, 137; Admiralty Handbooks, *Palestine and Transjordan*, London 1943, 333-4, 535-6; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 116-17, 200-1. (F. BUHL-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

NĀṢIRĀBĀD [see SĪSTĀN].

AL-**NĀṢIRIYYA**, a town of southern modern ᶜIrāḳ and the chef-lieu of the governorate of Dhū Ḳār. It is situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, above the Hawr al-Ḥammār of the marshlands [see AL-BAṬĪḤA], some 177 km/110 miles to the northwest of Baṣra (lat. 31°04′N., long. 46°17′E.).

The town was founded *ca.* 1870 by the paramount chief of the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*] confederation, Nāṣir Saᶜdān Pasha, who aided the administration of Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*] in extending Ottoman Turkish influence over this largely Shīᶜī region against local tribal interests. In July 1915 it was captured by British and Indian forces under General G.E. Gorringe. After 1930 it acquired a station on a spur from the Iraq Railways' Baghdād-Baṣra line. The population of the town according to the 1985 estimate was 138,842.

Bibliography: Admiralty Handbook, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944, 547-8; S.H. Longrigg, *ᶜIraq 1900 to 1950, a political, social and economic history*, London 1953, index. (ED.)

AL-**NĀṢIRIYYA**, a branch of the Ṣūfī order of the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*], which originated in southern Morocco, at the *zāwiya* of Tāmgrūt [*q.v.*], which had been founded in 983/1575 by a member of a family of marabouts. The order owes its name to the Ibn Nāṣir family [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who headed the *zāwiya* from the time of the *shaykh* Maḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Nāṣir b. ᶜAmr b. ᶜUthmān (1015-85/1603-74), the founder (1070/1660), onwards. It was however his son Aḥmad b. Maḥammad (1057-1129/1647-1717) who was responsible for organising the order.

Bibliography: To the sources cited in IBN NĀṢIR and TAMGRŪT, add in particular, L. Rinn, *Marabouts et khouan*, Algiers 1884; Ch. de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1888; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 479; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 133; E. Montet, in *RHR*, xlv, 20-1; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 99; G.S. Colin, *La zāouia de Tamgrout et les Naciriyine*, in *Rens. coloniaux* (1938), 205-23; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, ⁴1955, 257. On a secondary branch, see E. Michaux-Bellaire, *La zaouia d'Ahançal*, in *Arch. Mar.*, xviii (1927), 87-113. It will be remembered that the author of the *K. al-Istiḳṣā'*, al-Nāṣirī [*q.v.*], has furthermore left behind a history of the family called the *Ṭalᶜat al-mushtarī fi 'l-nasab al-djaᶜfarī*, lith. Fās n.d.; a résumé of this work has been given by M. Bodin in *Arch. Berb.*, xviii (1927), 87-113. (ED.)

NASKH (A.), or AL-NĀSIKH WA 'L-MANSŪKH, is the generic label for a range of theories advanced in the fields of *Tafsīr*, *Ḥadīth* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* since a comparison of verse with verse, *ḥadīth* with *ḥadīth*, *ḥadīth* with verse and both Ḳur'an and *Ḥadīth* with the *Fiḳh* suggested frequent, serious conflict.

That the Prophet's mission had extended over a quarter of a century inspired the idea of gradual development in the details of the regulations introduced in both Ḳur'ān and Sunna. *Naskh* applies to each of the two sources and to the relations between them. Most accepted the *naskh* of the Ḳur'ān by the Ḳur'ān and the *naskh* of *ḥadīth* by *ḥadīth*. The *naskh* of Ḳur'ān by *Ḥadīth* and of *Ḥadīth* by Ḳur'ān raised more delicate issues which divided the scholars.

ᶜAbd Allāh b. Masᶜūd reports that before he emigrated to Abyssinia, he used to greet the Prophet on passing him at prayer and the Prophet would return his greeting. On his return, ᶜAbd Allāh did this, but the Prophet ignored him, and ᶜAbd Allāh was perplexed. Completing his prayer, the Prophet explained, "God introduces such regulations as He pleases, and He has decreed that when we pray there must be no talking." In this instance of *naskh* in the *Ḥadīth*, a later regulation has replaced an earlier practice.

The ruling in Ḳur'ān, II, 180, that the Muslim make testamentary provision for parents and nearest kin was thought to have been revoked on the revelation of IV, 10-11, whose rulings allot to the relatives specific shares in a deceased's estate. Many verses counsel patience in the face of the mockery of the unbelievers, while other verses incite to warfare against the unbelievers. The former are linked to the Meccan phase of the mission when the Muslims were too few and weak to do other than endure insult; the latter are linked to Medina where the Prophet had acquired the numbers and the strength to hit back at his enemies. The discrepancy between the two sets of verses indicates that different situations call for different regulations. This is an instance of *naskh* in the Ḳur'ān. Chronology is the key to the resolution of the difference, since a divine book cannot contain contradictions, IV, 82.

The principal component of the general concept of *naskh* is "change", "replacement". To this was joined the notion of "withdrawal", "omission", but solely in relation to the operation of *naskh* upon the Ḳur'ān. The idea had originated in the exegesis. According to interpretation, LXXXVII, 6-7, XIII, 39, XVII, 86, XXII, 52 and II, 106, the last two of which actually employ the term *naskh*, appear to suggest the possibility of Muḥammad's forgetting revelations; the impossibility of his doing so, or divinely controlled forgetting by means of which the divine author would determine the final contents of His Book. The disputed exegeses were precipitated in appropriate anecdotes and the resulting references to "events" in the life of the Prophet consolidated the notion of his forgetting and contributed to the even-

tual shaping of the theories of *naskh*. Of special importance were allegations of actual omissions from the revelation such as those recording the "loss" of a verse in praise of the Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*] martyrs, the Ibn Ādam "verse" and reports on the alleged originally longer versions of sūras IX or XXXIII, said to have once been as long as sūra II and to have been the locus of the stoning "verse". Lists were compiled of revelations verifiably received by Muḥammad and publicly recited during his lifetime until subsequently withdrawn (*rafʿ*), with the result that when the divine revelations were finally brought together into book-form, there was collected into the *muṣḥaf* [*q.v.*] only what could still be recovered following the death of the Prophet. The *muṣḥaf* has from the outset been incomplete relative to the revelation, but complete in that we have all that God intended us to have.

Interpretation similarly supplied the impulse behind and the vocabulary deployed in discussions on *naskh*, or the replacement of regulations. Prominent in this regard were the interpretations of Ḳurʾān, XVI, 101, and II, 106. Equation of the term *āya*, used in both verses, with "a Ḳurʾān verse", facilitated the claim that God had declared that "alteration", "substitution", even "omission", would affect the texts. The interpretation could be reinforced by production of what appeared to be numerous instances of actual change. Ḳurʾān, VIII, 66, for example, was held to have been revealed to reduce from ten to two the number of unbelievers against whom the Muslim was required in v. 65 to fight; LVIII, 13, had apparently rescinded the order in the immediately preceding verse to forward a fee in advance of an audience with the Prophet. II, 180 and IV, 10-11, have been mentioned; II, 142-4, in association with II, 150, afforded the clearest indication of the historical change affecting the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*]; XXIV, 2, had replaced the measures introduced in IV, 15-16, to deal with sexual impropriety. Instances of the *naskh* of Ḳurʾān rules adduced in the specialist works are numbered in the hundreds. Sūra IX, 5, for instance, the so-called "sword-verse", alone was thought to have replaced one hundred and twenty-four verses.

The significant fact that II, 106, the chief Ḳurʾānic proof-text, juxtaposed forgetting with *naskh*, interpreted in the light of XVI, 101, to mean *tabdīl* "replacement", led to the formalisation of reported forgetting as a type of *naskh*, the *naskh* of both wording and ruling, where, however, *naskh* retains its XXII, 52, sense of "withdrawal", "suppression". Alleged cases of clash of regulations derived from either Ḳurʾān verses or *ḥadīth*s, could, on the same pattern, be referred to as the *naskh* of the ruling but not of the wording. The formula is hybrid, since *naskh* carries both the sense of "replacement", referring to the ruling and "withdrawal", for the original wording has not been withdrawn.

In addition to the *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān by the Ḳurʾān and the *naskh* of the *Ḥadīth* by the *Ḥadīth*, examples of which we have considered, the majority speak also of the *naskh* of the *Ḥadīth* by the Ḳurʾān and the *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān by the *Ḥadīth*. In the case of the change in the *ḳibla*, the Ḳurʾān states that God had appointed the previous direction of prayer, without, however, identifying it. Some, therefore, saw this as an instance of the *naskh* of Ḳurʾān by Ḳurʾān, whereas, since the Ḳurʾān lacks mention of the earlier direction, others saw it as an instance of the *naskh* of the *Ḥadīth* by the Ḳurʾān. It was argued that there is no real conflict between IV, 10-11, and II, 180. Inheritance differs from testamentary provision and sūra IV regulates both in a single context. But, as a *ḥadīth* attributes to the Prophet the words "There is to be no *waṣiyya* in favour of an heir", many argued that here was an undoubted example of the *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān by the Sunna. The strongest opposition to both principles that the Ḳurʾān could repeal the *Ḥadīth* and that the *Ḥadīth* could repeal the Ḳurʾān is the hall-mark of the source theory developed by al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/819) which revolutionised *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. He campaigned tirelessly to justify use of the Sunna as the second primary source alongside the Ḳurʾān against those who would accord the *Ḥadīth* no role in the derivation of the *sharīʿa* on the argument that the degree of conflict in the *Ḥadīth*, the inadequacies of the guarantee against corruption, fraud or error afforded by the *isnād*s rendered the *Ḥadīth* unfit for the sacred role of declaring the divine intent underlying the Ḳurʾān's declarations. These opponents being deaf to all but Ḳurʾān evidence, al-Shāfiʿī referred them to IV, 65, XXIII, 73, LIII, 2-3, LIX, 7; to verses linking obedience to the Prophet to obedience to God Himself, III, 132, IV, 80; and to the series of verses which speak of the Prophet's being granted, in addition to the Book, the *Ḥikma*, identified by al-Shāfiʿī as the Sunna. He drives home the point that, in the Ḳurʾān, God imposed upon every Muslim the religious obligation to obey the Prophet as he obeyed God. The only access to knowledge of the Prophet's commands being through the Sunna, al-Shāfiʿī could insist that God, in His Ḳurʾān, had thus imposed on every Muslim unquestioning adherence to the Sunna. Simultaneously, in a parallel confrontation with the Mālikīs and the Ḥanafīs, he sought by emphasising the wording of XVI, 101, "*We* substitute one *āya* for another *āya*", and II, 106, "*We naskh* an *āya*", to impose the view that the *naskh* of a Ḳurʾān verse was an exclusively divine prerogative. As a corollary, he next exploited "We shall bring one better than or similar to it", of the same verse to promote his view that, as nothing could be thought of as superior to or even similar to the Sunna of the Prophet, his opponents' regular procedure of ignoring *ḥadīth*s from the Prophet in favour of reports from Companions and others showed their failure to appreciate the unique status bestowed by God upon the Prophet and hence the special role of the Sunna of the Prophet. Nothing can *naskh* that Sunna save only that Sunna.

He further exploited X, 15, "It is not for me to alter it on my own initiative, I merely follow what is revealed", to argue that Ḳurʾān and Sunna are never in actual conflict. As both come from God, they cannot conflict. The Sunna follows, that is, elucidates the precise intent of the Ḳurʾān, XVI, 44. The Sunna cannot *naskh* the Ḳurʾān. Only the Ḳurʾān can *naskh* the Ḳurʾān and only the Sunna can *naskh* the Sunna.

Theological objections were raised to the theory of *naskh*. Following development of the *iʿdjāz* [*q.v.*] doctrine, it was argued that, being of divine authorship and hence individually perfect, all Ḳurʾān verses could be said to be similar, but no one could be said to be superior to another. *Naskh* could not, therefore be predicated of the Ḳurʾān. Nor, since the wording was of undoubted human origin, could any *ḥadīth* be thought to be similar, let alone superior to any verse. The *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān by the Sunna could not therefore be posited. The scholars easily evaded this difficulty, as is shown by al-Shāfiʿī's and al-Ṭabarī's regular insistence that *naskh* is not a matter of wording but of rulings. As the ruling of any *āya* could be said to be similar or even superior to that of any other *āya*, so also, the ruling of any *sunna* might be said to be similar or even superior to that of any *āya*. Al-Shāfiʿī's theory of *naskh* is thereby shown to have been short-lived.

As lengthy lists of instances of greater or lesser

incongruity between verses of the holy book had resulted from the efforts of the first exegetes, further theological considerations were urged which rendered necessary a clear distinction between the divine application of *naskh* and the evidence of deficient knowledge or of inadequate reflection suggested by a change of regulation. Merely human knowledge may develop and merely human decisions may be altered but that is inconceivable in the case of divine decisions. The Omniscient knew from all eternity all that would ever happen and when precisely it would happen. That knowledge would render *naskh* unnecessary. This objection made essential a distinction between the divine knowledge and the divine will. *Naskh* is a consciously applied process, planned in advance and intended to be applied to the content of revelation until the process of revelation finally ceased on the death of the last prophet. *Naskh* appears to our deficient human knowledge to be change, *tabdīl*. In reality, it is the announcement by a prophet of the termination of the duration of a regulation and the commencement of the duration of another, whether the earlier regulation was announced by the same prophet or by another prophet. A second objection arose from the view that what is good is commanded and what is evil is forbidden. In prohibiting what had been permitted or permitting what had been forbidden, *naskh* would be to declare good evil and evil good. *Naskh* cannot, therefore be posited as a divine activity. Being concerned with regulations, *naskh* theorising is hostile to the concept of inherent good or evil. The function of divine commands is to test human obedience. That explains why regulations may differ from religion to religion or from period to period. Since men will either be rewarded for obedience or punished for disobedience, God may command what He pleases and prohibit what He pleases. Dependent solely upon the divine will, regulation becomes wholly arbitrary and so may change at any moment. Only what God commands is good; only what He forbids is evil and, as regulation is linked to the divine will and not to the divine knowledge, objections based on the inconceivability of change of the divine mind, or development of the divine knowledge, known as *badāʾ*, inevitably fail. *Naskh* involves only commands which on first institution could have been declared temporary and are such as are indifferently capable of being regulated or of being unregulated. Excluded therefore, are the central tenets of the faith, but also all regulations of the Ḳurʾān expressly stated to be temporary.

To discuss the relations between the two primary sources of the *Fiḳh*, the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna of the Prophet, which, in his discussions on *naskh*, he had rigorously insulated one from the other, al-Shāfiʿī resorted to a technique which he referred to as *takhṣīṣ*, particularisation, actually, alleged exclusion. The sūra IV regulation on sexual impropriety has been mentioned. That had been replaced by the XXIV, 2, flogging penalty. The *Fiḳh* introduced a distinction between adultery and fornication, on which the Ḳurʾān is silent, and assigned the sūra XXIV flogging to the latter sin. For the sin of adultery, the *Fiḳh* decreed death by stoning, thus raising the critical question of its origin. Stoning was rejected by some Muslims, on the grounds that they could not find two penalties in the Book of God. The sūra IV regulations had been flagged as temporary, "or until God appoint a process for these women". Deriving the distinction between fornication and adultery in the difference in tone between the harshness of IV, 15, and the mildness of IV, 16, the majority traced in XXIV, 2, the process promised in sūra IV while they presumed that stoning derived from the Sunna, as documented, for example, in the ʿUbāda *ḥadīth* to the effect that the Prophet had said, "Take it from me! Take it from me! God has now appointed a process for females: the unmarried with the unmarried, one hundred lashes and twelve months' banishment; the married with the married, one hundred lashes and death by stoning". Further reports show the Prophet extending the dual penalties to males, while other reports, in which Muḥammad applied to married persons the stoning penalty alone, were taken to indicate that he had alleviated this element of the penalties by declining to flog in addition to stoning. Confronting the problem, al-Shāfiʿī argued that the ʿUbāda statement was the first revelation to follow sūra IV and was thus its *nāsikh*. The other *ḥadīth*s in which the Prophet did not flog those whom he stoned were simultaneously the *nāsikh* of the ʿUbāda report and the elucidation of XXIV, 2. The Prophet's conduct showed *takhṣīṣ*, particularisation. Flogging is specific to those who are not stoned, those who are stoned being excluded from its provisions. Stoning exemplifies the *naskh* of the Sunna by the Sunna, although al-Shāfiʿī does state that the ʿUbāda *ḥadīth* was an instance of the *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān.

The reply to those who rejected stoning since they could not find two penalties in the Book of God, as indicated by al-Shāfiʿī's teacher, Mālik, was supplied in the statement attributed to ʿUmar that a stoning verse had indeed been revealed to Muḥammad which had been memorised by those in his company and recited as Ḳurʾān in the ritual prayers. The Prophet, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar had applied its provisions and it was merely the fear that he might be accused of adding to the Book of God that inhibited ʿUmar from writing the verse into the *muṣḥaf*. The majority, both before and after al-Shāfiʿī, were satisfied that stoning was one clear instance of the *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān by the Sunna. Al-Shāfiʿī had denied the very possibility yet had failed to resolve the problem of the origin of the *Fiḳh* penalty, justifying Schacht's conclusion that, on this question, al-Shāfiʿī's theory of repeal breaks down.

Later scholars, under the powerful influence of al-Shāfiʿī's theory on the role of the Sunna in relation to the Ḳurʾān and impressed by ʿUmar's claim that a stoning verse had been revealed, formalised stoning as a third type of *naskh*: the withdrawal of the revealed wording but not of the ruling.

It was on quite a separate matter, arising from the exegesis of IV, 23, the precise definition of the number of breast-feedings required to set up a permanent barrier to the marriage of males and females related through having shared a common wet-nurse, that al-Shāfiʿī committed himself to this third type of *naskh*. His normal assiduity to ascertain the Prophet's views on disputed legal matters led him to accept a *ḥadīth* which, however, comes not from the Prophet, but from his widow. ʿĀʾisha declared that God had revealed a Ḳurʾān verse stating that the minimum number was ten; subsequently a second verse was revealed, declaring that the minimum was five and that this second verse was still being publicly recited when the Prophet died. Mālik had drily rejected this report as not being in conformity with the "practice". Al-Shāfiʿī embraced it and made it the basis of his *Fiḳh*. This second instance of *naskh al-tilāwa dūna 'l-ḥukm* can fairly be attributed to al-Shāfiʿī's attitude.

The third and final instance of this type of *naskh* was contributed by the Ḥanafīs who insisted, on the grounds of a reading attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b.

Masʿūd, that the fast mentioned in V, 89, should be of three consecutive days. This reading was, admittedly, that of a single Companion, but, as the *ḥadīth* from a single Companion was probative, his Ḳurʾān information deserved the same treatment. The ʿAbd Allāh reading was still in circulation in the time of Abū Ḥanīfa, who had adopted it in reaching his conclusion.

Neither *idjmāʿ* nor *ḳiyās* [*q.vv.*] can repeal. As *naskh* concerns the documents of the Tradition, and as *idjmāʿ* and *ḳiyās* must be based on a document, it is the document which is the *nāsikh*. Besides, neither was resorted to until after the death of the Prophet and after the death of the Prophet, *naskh* is inconceivable, since *naskh* may be effected only at the hands of him by whom the revelation is mediated.

Bibliography: The extensive literature includes the relevant sections of the *tafsīrs*, the special chapters in the *ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* works and a large number of specialist studies. For lists of the latter, see Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin, in *al-Mawrid*, Baghdād, vi/1 (1977), 195-6; ix/4 (1980), 481-3. For the first discussion of the principles of *naskh*, see Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla*, ed. A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1358/1940, 106-46; idem, *K. Ikhtilāf al-Ḥadīth*, in margin of *K. al-Umm*, vii, Cairo 1322-4/1904-6; the oldest systematic work is that of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *K. al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, ed. J. Burton, GMS, Cambridge 1987; Abū Djaʿfar al-Naḥḥās, *K. al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh fi 'l-Ḳurʾān al-Karīm*, Cairo n.d.; Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *K. al-Īḍāḥ*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥasan Farḥat, Riyāḍ 1976; Hibat Allāh b. Sallāma, *K. al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, Cairo 1379/1960; Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥāzimī, *K. al-Iʿtibār fi 'l-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh min al-āthār*, Ḥaydarābād 1319/1901; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Nawāsikh al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut n.d.; M. Zayd, *al-Naskh fi 'l-Ḳurʾān al-Karīm*, 2 vols., Cairo 1383/1963; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, ms. Berlin, Petermann 555. See also ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Djabrī, *al-Naskh fi 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Cairo n.d.; idem, *al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, Cairo 1407/1987; J. Burton, *The collection of the Qurʾān*, Cambridge 1977; idem, *The interpretation of Q.87,6-7*, in *Isl.*, lxii (1985), 5-19; idem, *The exegesis of Q.2,106*, in *BSOAS*, xlviii (1985), 452-69; A. Rippin, *Al-Zuhrī, naskh al-Qurʾān and the problem of early* tafsīr *texts*, in *BSOAS*, xlvii (1984), 22-43; Burton, *The sources of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1990.

(J. Burton)

NASKHĪ [see KHAṬṬ].

NASNĀS/NISNĀS [see ḲIRD].

NASR (A.) "vulture", one of the five deities said to date from the time of Noah and to have been adored by the people then (Ḳurʾān, LXXI, 23). Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, our sole source regarding this, makes it the idol of the Ḥimyarites, who worshipped it at Balkhaʿ in the land of Sabaʾ (*TA*, iii, 572, at the end, cites al-Djawharī, who says that Nasr was the idol of Dhu 'l-Kilāʿ of the Ḥimyarite country). It was Maʿdī-Karib, of the sub-group of Dhū Ruʿayn, who received it from ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, the first known reformer of the cult in Arabia; he discovered these five idols on the beach at Djudda, where they had become buried since the Flood. At the time of the Pilgrimage, he summoned the tribes to their cults: Ḳuḍāʿa took Wadd, Hudhayl took Suwāʿ, Madhḥidj took Yaghūth, Hamdān took Yaʿūḳ and Ḥimyar took Nasr.

Following A. Jamme, only five South Arabian inscriptions mention the idol's name with certainty: CIS 189, 1; 552, 2; RES 4048, 4; 4048, 2; RY. 196, 2 (*Le panthéon sud-arabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques*, in *Le Muséon*, lx [1947], 130). Moreover, no theophoric name composed with this name has been found amongst the Ḥimyarites and none of their poets mentions it. The only pieces of evidence, apart from those in Ibn al-Kalbī, attesting the existence of a cult of the vulture amongst the Arabs, are found in the *Babylonian Talmud ʿAbda Zara* (tr. Goldschmidt, ix, Berlin 1934, i/3, 468) and in the *Doctrine of Addai* (ed. and tr. Philipps, London 1876, 24).

One should note that the divinity's representation in animal form, lacking in Central Arabia, was fairly current in South Arabia, where Ilumḳuh assumed the form of an ibex, bull, lion and sphinx: ʿAthtar had the antelope and the bull's head as emblems, Saḥar (the dawn) that of the serpent, etc. (cf. G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, 2nd ed. Louvain 1951 [= Bibliothèque du Muséon, 25]; A. Grohmann, *Göttersymbole und Symboltiere auf südarabischen Denkmälern*, in *Denkschriften der kais. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien*, phil.-hist-Kl., lviii/1 [1914], pp. 104).

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(T. Fahd)

NASR (A.) masculine noun (pl. *ansur, nusūr, nisār*) denoting the vulture irrespective of species; the term is cognate with Akkadian *nashru* which is also encountered in the Hebrew *nesher* (Turkish *akbaba*, Persian *dāl*, Berber *tamādda*).

From the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, in the lands of Islam eight species of vulture are known, almost all of them resident and localised in mountainous regions and at the desert fringes. Four of these species are common there, and they are: (a) The Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*); this is the *oripelargus* of Pliny which was formerly known as *Catharte alimoch* and Pharaoh's Chicken. Besides its contemporary names of *rakhma* and *anūḳ*, the Egyptian vulture has inherited, according to the locality, numerous nicknames such as *umm ḳays, umm risāla, umm kabīr, umm ʿadjīna, umm ʿadjība, umm djuʿran, umm rakham Allāh, ḥafṣa, ʿuḳāb al-salāwāt*; in Lebanon, it is called *shūḥa*, in Kabylia *isghī* and in Persia *kerkes*. Moreover, the male is called *yarkhūm* and *ʿudmul* and, in Egypt, *firʿawn*; the young in the nest are *naḳāniḳ*. This carrion-eating bird is especially well-known to the Egyptians and is tolerated everywhere on account of its valuable contribution to the cleaning of streets in towns and villages. In the age of the Pharaohs, this vulture, deified and representing the sun, was the object of the greatest veneration; respect for the bird has been retained over the centuries and into the present day. In the 18th century, the English traveller T. Shaw relates (*Voyages*, ii, 91-2) that the Pasha of Egypt at that time donated two oxen every day to feed these vultures, beloved of the city populations.

(b) The Griffon vulture (*Gyps fulvus*), with bright plumage and known as *kishʿām, aklaf, khathaḳ*, in Kabylia *idjidar, gder*; it is confined to mountain ranges.

(c) The Black vulture, Hooded vulture (*Aegyptius monachus*) known as *nasr al-djiwāʾ, satal*. In the Maghrib, it is found only as a winter resident in Morocco.

(d) The Bearded vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus*); this is the *ossifragus* of the Ancient world and, in Arabic, the *kāsir al-ʿiẓām*. It is also lent the names *bulaḥ, bulat, mukallifa, fayna, abū dhaḳan, abū liḥya*, in Kabyle *afalku* (from the Latin *falco*) and in Persian *humā* [*q.v.*].

The four other species are much less common and very localised, especially in the Sudan. These are: (a) The Nubian vulture (*Torgos tracheliotus nubicus*) which is found only in Morocco, in southern Tunisia, in

Sinai and in the Sudan, where it is fairly common; it has the nicknames *abū wudān* and *abū sansala* (for *silsila*). This is the largest of all the vultures and has a bald head and neck, with reddish skin; like the Black or Hooded vulture, it nests in isolated trees in the savannah.

(b) Ruppell's vulture (*Gyps ruppelli*), which is native to the Sudan and an accidental visitor in Egypt and Sinai.

(c) The White-headed vulture (*Trigonoceps occipitalis*), common in the Sudan, with the names *nusnūs* and *nasr ḳunbaranī*.

(d) The White-backed vulture (*Pseudogyps africanus*) which is seen only in the Sudan; the sub-species *bengalensis* is found in Baluchistan and Pakistan.

The root *n-s-r* contains the notion of slashing, ripping to shreds and, in the context of raptors, tearing with stabs of the beak (*minsar*) the flesh of the prey which is to be eaten. In Arabic, vultures of all kinds are known, besides *nasr*, by the names *ʿatīḳ, lammāʿa, ʿabann, hawzab*. The male is called *ḍarīk*, the female *ʿanz*, the chick *haytham, muḳʿad*, and the eggs *raḳan*. If the vulture has plentiful plumage, it is *ghudāf* or *ahdab*, and the old, reddish-coloured vulture is the *maḍraḥī*; the smaller species are nicknamed *falatān*. To all these terms, there should be added the list compiled by al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt*, ii, 348) of *kunyas* attributed to the vulture: *abu 'l-abrad, abu 'l-iṣbaʿ, abu 'l-minhāl, abū Mālik, abū Yaḥyā* and, for the female, *umm ḳashʿam*.

The Arab-speaking naturalists, including al-Djāḥiẓ, al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī, have with regard to the vulture faithfully repeated the accounts of Aristotle and Pliny, who noted that, for self-preservation, it nests in inaccessible cliffs and for this reason its eggs are very seldom found; hence adages such as *abʿad min bayḍ al-anūḳ*, "more inaccessible than the eggs of the vulture" and *aʿazz min bayḍ al-anūḳ* "more precious than eggs of the vulture". This voracious raptor (*min sibāʿ al-ṭayr*) is dubbed "ignoble" (*lāʾim, laʾīm*) because it does not have talons and feeds on dead flesh as opposed to the "noble" raptors (*djawāriḥ, kawāsir*), falcons and hawks, which hunt and catch their prey alive. However, the vulture is endowed with powerful eyesight which enables it to identify the carcases of animals over great distances; al-Damīrī, exaggerating somewhat, gives it a range of 400 parasangs (approx. 2,000 km!). This sharpness of vision has given rise to the erroneous belief that it is accompanied, in the vulture, by a sophisticated sense of smell which can detect smells of decomposition from a great distance; modern science has proved that its olfactory faculties are as limited as those of all other birds. Its sustained and gliding flight enables it to cover enormous expanses, such that it used to be said, among those with unbridled imagination, that in a single day it could join East to West. As Aristotle noted, the insatiable appetite of the vulture drives it to follow armies on the march and caravans, in quest of rubbish thrown out along the way and, ultimately, the carcases of dead animals. Horror is evoked by mention of the sinister "Towers of Silence" or *dakhmas*, necropolises of the fire-worshipping Parsees, where corpses were offered to the greedy vultures. Later, it was the same lugubrious cortège of hungry carrion-eaters which accompanied the funeral caravans of the Shīʿīs travelling to the burial-grounds of Karbalāʾ. Thus it is hardly surprising that, in the minds of all peoples, the vulture is generally associated with macabre spectacles.

However, this sombre image which is currently associated with the vulture was not the major preoccupation of the Arabs, whose attitude to the bird was conditioned by awe at its legendary longevity. There was, for example, a story according to which King Solomon discovered, on a journey through Egypt, a splendid palace, utterly deserted and guarded by a lone vulture. Questioned by the king who could converse with animals, the raptor told him that he had been there for 700 years without ever seeing a human being. This longevity of the vulture, which is entirely mythical, is also found in the fabulous story of the Sage Luḳmān [*q.v.*] who is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (XXXI, 11-12/12-13). This Sage had reared and kept until their death seven vultures in succession, each of them having lived eighty years; the first was called Amad and the last, named Lubad, died with his master who, according to some, was then 1,000 years old. This Lubad has become the theme of adages such as *ṭāl al-abad ʿalā Lubad* "Lubad has not done with living" and *ahram min Lubad* "much older than Lubad", applied to anyone who has lived a very long time. In the same context, there is also the saying *aʿmar min al-nasr* "longer-living than the vulture". In short, Luḳmān and his vulture Lubad evoked for the Arabs the same model of longevity as that evoked for Christians by Methuselah.

Through its enormous size, its terrifying appearance and aggressiveness which drives away all other carnivores from the prey, the vulture has acquired the title of "Lord of the birds" (*sayyid al-ṭayr*), a title confirmed by a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad to whom the Angel Gabriel is supposed to have said (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ii, 290): "Every thing requires a lord; for humanity it is Adam, for his descendants it is you..., for birds it is the vulture..." It is this status conferred on the vulture which is ratified in the practical advice given in the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* by Ibn Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] in these terms: "The best lord is he who resembles a vulture surrounded by carrion and not he who resembles carrion surrounded by vultures" (quoted in *Ḥayawān*, vi, 330).

Lord or not, the vulture can be the victim of its own greed for, once gorged, it can hardly fly and can only become airborne by making a laborious series of leaps; a child can then fell it with a blow from a stick. Furthermore, al-Djāḥiẓ denounces (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 38) the stupidity and awkwardness of the vulture, characteristics which it shares with the bustard (*ḥubārā*).

The habits of vultures were quite well known to the Ancients, but often erroneously interpreted. According to them, the two eggs or the single egg were laid on bare rock, and their incubation left to the heat of the sun; only a few plane-leaves were placed around them with the object, apparently, of protecting them from bats which were believed to be partial to eggs. This is clearly sheer fable, since the eggs are always laid on a thick bed of grass and leaves based on a solid foundation of branches, and they are incubated in turn by the female and the male. Another fiction, related by al-Ḳazwīnī, with regard to laying, was that the male, when this was imminent, would travel as far as the East Indies to search in certain mountains for a stone called *ḥadjar al-nasr* "vulture's stone" or *ḥadjar al-ʿuḳāb* "eagle's stone" and *ḥadjar al-ṭalḳ* "stone of confinement"; al-Ḳazwīnī adds the name *abūṭafyūn* (?) or *abūṭāḳyūn* (?) which is possibly meant to correspond to the Greek ἀποθήκη "pharmacy" or ἀπότεξις "childbirth". On returning to the eyrie, the vulture would place this stone beside his mate, who would then lay with the minimum of discomfort. Among .he Greeks, this stone was given as a talisman to pregnant women, supposedly to prevent them miscarrying. In fact, this was the "aetites", a hollow nodule of

argillaceous oxide of iron surrounding a loose nucleus which is heard to rattle when it is shaken; this geological phenomenon suggested the notion of the foetus in the womb of its mother or the embryo of the chick in its shell, hence this myth of the "stone of confinement" (see *Tuḥfa*, no. 49). However, this still does not explain why the stone needed to be sought so far afield and why its benefits were confined exclusively to the eagle and the vulture.

According to al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, v, 392, 398), the vulture carries in its plumage a small parasite called *ḳamlat al-nasr* "vulture's louse" and *dadah* in Persian, which it drops in rocky areas and whose bite can be fatal for humans. This could be a reference to blood-sucking mites of the Acaridae family such as the *Dermanyssus gallinae* and the *Argas persicus*, or to lice such as the *Liperus robustus* and the *Goniodes colchici*; all of these parasites are very dangerous, being the bearers of serious and sometimes fatal diseases.

An account of eastern legends concerning the vulture would not be complete without a mention of the improbable ascent into space of the despot Nimrod [see NAMRŪD] who sought proof that God was indeed in Heaven, as stated by Abraham. As the story is told by al-Thaʿlabī (5th/11th century) in the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* and by al-Damīrī, this sovereign ordered the construction of a large gondola fitted with a trap-door above and another in the floor; motive power for the ascent was provided by four requisitioned vultures, each tied by the feet to one side of the gondola. To incite them to greater effort by exploiting their greed, a tall mast fixed to the cabin was crowned with a bait of carrion. Nimrod took his place in the gondola accompanied by a page equipped with a bow and arrows; insatiable appetite impelled the vultures to take to the air and to rise higher and higher, transporting with them these two proto-astronauts. The ascent continued for two days, until the moment when the two travellers no longer saw anything but shadows below them and, above them, the infinite celestial canopy where the dwelling-place of this God of Abraham was still invisible. In his chagrin, Nimrod shot an arrow into space, but this returned immediately covered in blood and a storm arose which sapped the enthusiasm of the rocket vultures. Nimrod had no choice but to reverse the baited mast; seeing their meal below them the four raptors dived towards the ground at a headlong pace and the whistling produced by the giddy descent of the vehicle, followed by its violent impact on the ground, made the mountains shake and created the impression that the Day of Judgment had arrived (a reference to Ḳurʾān, XIV, 46/47). This, with the collapse of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues, was a celestial punishment reserved for this idolatrous despot.

The specific qualities attributed to various parts of the vulture's anatomy were numerous, all of them belonging to superstition. The gall, dissolved in an eyewash and smeared seven times around the eye, cures cataracts and other ocular complaints. The liver, roasted, pulverised and mixed with a drink is a potent aphrodisiac; placed in a lambskin bag, it is beneficial for the leper who carries it. The heart, carried in a wolf-skin bag, is a talisman against ferocious beasts and draws to the bearer the consideration and sympathy of all those whom he approaches. The brain, mashed with a little pure tar and olive-oil and poured into the nose of one whose face is disfigured by dry impetigo (*djudhām*), makes all trace of it disappear; the same treatment is also effective against depression. This potion of the brain is even salutary for the leper who swallows it over a period of seven days. The eye of the vulture worn on the arm is a talisman against evil spirits and enables the wearer to approach his sovereign. The cranium worn in an amulet is beneficial against headaches. The dried and salted entrails are taken as a potion against urinary incontinence. The tendons of the vulture's feet serve as a talisman against gout in the legs, those of the right foot for the right leg and those of the left for the left leg. The left thigh of the vulture cures its bearer of all wounds and old scars. The servant equipped with a large vulture's bone need no longer fear the anger of his master, while the upper mandible worn in a handkerchief around the neck guards against attack from any flying creature. The ash of the humerus of the right wing of a vulture, dissolved in a drink, is an infallible love-philtre. The radius and the ulna, after boiling, are thrown into a vessel full of water and, while one floats on the surface, the other sinks to the bottom; rubbing a person's shoulders with the latter is a sure method of obtaining his consent to any request. The plumage of the vulture also has its properties. Thus a single feather placed on a woman in labour assures her a quick and painless delivery. Fumigating a place with vulture's feathers repels snakes and vermin. In warfare or hunting, archers took care to fit their arrows with the tail-feathers of the vulture, thus ensuring a tight and rectilinear trajectory, a factor of precision. The melted grease of the vulture, poured luke-warm into the ear, guards against deafness; mixed with honey, it is an effective treatment for all ocular complaints. The flesh of the vulture, its consumption forbidden under Islamic law, when boiled and mixed with salt, white cumin, honey, the sap of the Ceylon cornel tree (*wars*) and the rhododendron (*ʿaṣal*), constitutes an excellent ointment against insect-stings and snake bites. The blood of the vulture when drunk as a potion reduces quartan fever. Finally, a vulture's egg, well-beaten, is supposedly an aphrodisiac when smeared on the sexual parts.

In botany, the name of the vulture is associated with four plants, as follows: (a) *djanāḥ al-nasr* "vulture's wing" for the Cardoon (*Cynara cardunculus*); (b) *kaff al-nasr* "vulture's foot" for the Scolopender or Hart's tongue (*Scolopendrium vulgare*); (c) the same name for the Water milfoil (*Myriophyllum verticillatum*); (d) *ẓufr al-nasr* "vulture's claw" for the Greek Catananche (*Hymenonema Tournefortii* or *Catananche graeca*). On the other hand, the dialect term *nasrī* or *nisrī* denoting the Dog rose (*Rosa canina*) is a corruption of the Persian *nisrīn* and has no connection with *nasr*.

Arab astronomers placed the two attitudes of the vulture, flight and repose, in the names of two well-known stars, names which have been retained: (a) Altair (alpha *Aquilae*) derived from *al-Nasr al-ṭāʾir* "the Vulture flying", in the 17th Boreal constellation of the Eagle; (b) Vega (alpha *Lyrae*) derived from *al-Nasr al-wāḳiʿ* "the Vulture perched", in the 19th Boreal constellation of the Lyre.

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NAṢR b. **AḤMAD** [see al-khubza'aruzzī].

NAṢR b. **AḤMAD** b. **ISMĀʿĪL**, Sāmānid *amīr* of Transoxania and Khurāsān (301-31/914-43), given after his death the honorific of *al-Amīr al-Saʿīd* ("the Fortunate").

Naṣr was raised to the throne at the age of eight on the murder of his father by the Turkish *ghulāms* of the army, with a regency of the vizier Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Djayhānī [see al-djayhānī in Suppl.]. The early years of his reign were seriously disturbed by rebellions at Samarḳand, at Nīshāpūr and in Farghāna by various discontented members of the Sāmānid family, and the amīrate was not at peace till after 310/922 when Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh Balʿamī [see balʿamī] became vizier, although the Sāmānid army had operated, with sporadic success, in the west against the Zaydīs of the Caspian provinces and against various Daylamī adventurers, maintaining some degree of authority in Rayy, granted to the Sāmānids by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (see G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1936, 137 ff.).

In *ca.* 318/930 a revolt broke out in the capital Bukhārā in favour of Naṣr's imprisoned brothers, in which one of these last, Yaḥyā, was temporarily raised to the throne. Then during Naṣr's last years, in the vizierate of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Djayhānī, an extensive Shīʿī *daʿwa* appeared in Transoxania, building on the existing Shīʿī centres in Khurāsān and helped along by envoys from the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimids of North Africa, under the directorship of the *dāʿī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Nakhshabī or Nasafī [see al-nasafī]. He made many converts to Ismāʿīlism amongst dignitaries at the court of Bukhārā, culminating in the *Amīr* himself, according to the accounts in the *Siyāsat-nāma* and the *Fihrist*, until a reaction led by the Sunnī *ʿulamā'* and the Turkish military classes forced him to abandon this heresy and violently to massacre its adherents (see S.M. Stern, *The early Ismāʿīlī missionaries in north-west Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii [1960], 78-80).

Naṣr died, probably naturally, in Radjab 331/April 943, and was succeeded by his son Nūḥ (I) [*q.v.*]. Naṣr's court was one of the focuses of the New Persian literary and cultural revival, where poets like Rūdakī, Muṣʿabī [*q.vv.*], Murādī, etc., flourished (see J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 144-5).

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Gardīzī and Ibn al-Athīr, both utilising material from the lost *Ta'rīkh Wulāt Khurāsān* of Sallāmī; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xlvi; Narshakhī, *Ta'rīkh-i Bukhārā* (tr. Frye, 95-6). Of studies, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 240-6; Frye, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 141-3. See also sāmānids. (C.E. Bosworth)

NAṢR b. **MUḤAMMAD** al-**SAMARḲANDĪ** [see abu 'l-layth].

NAṢR b. **MUZĀḤIM**, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Minḳarī al-Tamīmī, early Shīʿī historian (though probably not, as Sezgin rightly observes, the first one) and traditionist; his date of birth is uncertain, but he died in 212/827. He lived originally in Kūfa but later moved to Baghdād; amongst those from whom he heard traditions was Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*]. His own reputation as an *akhbāri* and *muḥaddith* was, however, weak, and he was regarded by some Sunnī authors as a fervent (*ghālī*) Shīʿī. He is best known for his *Kitāb Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (this has been reconstructed, from the passages cited from it in al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā's *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, by ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥ. Hārūn, 2nd ed. Cairo 1381/1962-3), which apparently enshrines authentic contemporary information and which offers a Shīʿī approach to the subject [see ṣiffīn]. But he seems also to have written several other books whose titles alone are known to us, on other topics significant for the Shīʿa, such as the Battle of the Camel and the killing of al-Ḥusayn.

Bibliography: A.A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, Princeton 1983, 47-8, 144; Brockelmann, S I, 214; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 313. The *Kitāb Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* has been used extensively by, *inter alios*, M. Hinds, see his articles in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv (1971), 3-31; *IJMES*, ii (1971), 346-67; and *ibid.*, iii (1972), 450-69. (C.E. Bosworth)

NAṢR b. **NUṢAYR** al-Ḥulwānī, Abu 'l-Muḳātil, a blind Shīʿi poet of the 3rd/9th century who owes the fact of his not having fallen into total obscurity to a *maḳṣūra* [*q.v.*] (of which there are two verses given in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 3462) and a *nūniyya*, both composed in praise of the *dāʿī* Muḥammad b. Zayd (d. 287/900 [*q.v.*]). Thirty-six verses of this last *ḳaṣīda* (metre *ramal*, rhyme *-ānī*) have been preserved, solely by al-Masʿūdī, it appears (*Murūdj*, § 3518), whilst the *maṭlaʿ* (*lā taḳul bushrā...al-mihradjānī*):

Do not say "One piece of good news", but "two pieces of good news": the face
of someone whom I love and that of *mihradjān*,

cited in various circumstances, became more or less proverbial. As it happened, the *dāʿī* saw in the first words of the verse a bad augury and, irritated, threw the poet out, after however proposing himself modifying it in the following manner:

If you say one piece of good news, I have two of them ...

(al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 432). It is likewise criticised by Ibn Sharaf (*Questions de critique littéraire*, 88/89), who suggests simply reversing it:

The face of someone whom I love and that of *mihradjān*, there is
a very good piece of news, or what shall I say, two pieces of good news.

In the *Yatīma* (i, 146), al-Thaʿālibī attributes the verse to one Ibn Muḳātil (instead of Abu 'l-Muḳātil), whilst Ṣāliḥ al-Ashtar (the editor of Ghars al-Niʿma's *al-Hafawāt al-nādira*, 28) and M. ʿAwwād (the editor of Hilāl al-Ṣābi''s *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, 63) identify with al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim al-ʿAlawī [*q.v.*] the *dāʿī* whose name is not explicitly given in the text.

Bibliography: Given in the text. (Ch. Pellat)

NAṢR b. **SAYYĀR** al-Laythī al-Kinānī, the last

governor of Khurāsān under the Umayyads, d. 131/748.

Naṣr's whole career seems to have been spent in Khurāsān and the East. In 86/705 he campaigned in the upper Oxus region under Ṣāliḥ, brother of the governor of Khurāsān Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*], and received a village there as reward. Then in 106/724 he was campaigning in Farghāna under Muslim b. Saʿīd al-Kilābī, and served as governor of Balkh for some years. Hence on the death of the governor of the East Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], the caliph Hishām was advised to appoint as his successor Naṣr, then 74 years old, and known to be "abstemious, experienced and wise" (*ʿafīf mudjarrab ʿāḳil*), having a Tamīmī wife and therefore able to count on the support of several of the main North Arab or Muḍarī tribal groups in Khurāsān. Naṣr now began what was to prove the last Umayyad period of power in Khurāsān, now separated administratively from ʿIrāḳ.

Naṣr relied on the support of the old-established Arab *muḳātila* settled in Khurāsān, but soon became involved in disputes with the Yemeni supporters of the former governor Asad al-Ḳasrī, with the armed rebellion of these groups at Marw (now the capital for the province in place of Balkh) in 126/744 under Djudayʿ b. ʿAlī al-Kirmānī, chief of the Azd, who was demanding vengeance for the Muhallabids [*q.v.*] whom the Umayyads had hunted down. More dangerous was the long-running defiance of the Umayyads on the part of al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], who before Naṣr's arrival had been allied with the Ḳaghan of the Western Turks or Türgesh in Transoxania. Naṣr's expedition against the Turkish region of Shāsh in 122/740, followed by a raid into Farghāna, seems to be connected with attempts to dislodge al-Ḥārith, who nevertheless continued as an opposition force amongst the Arabs of Khurāsān till his death in 128/746 at the hands of Djudayʿ's troops.

Naṣr's attempts at redressing the grievances of the Arabs in Khurāsān and at healing tribal tensions included in 121/739 fiscal reform in the Marw region, where the local Persian landowners, the *dihḳāns*, had been —it was alleged— using their social influence to discriminate against the Muslim settlers: now, all Muslims and non-Muslims alike were to pay *kharādj* or land-tax for their lands and the non-Muslims (probably in large part Zoroastrians) were to pay additionally the *djizya* or poll-tax.

Naṣr's position in later years became increasingly difficult as the Umayyad caliphate was plunged into civil strife on Hishām's death in 125/743. The dead caliph's ephemeral successors endeavoured to place their own nominees in the governorship of Khurāsān, but Naṣr refused to move and was finally confirmed in office by both Yazīd (III) b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and by the last Umayyad Marwān b. Muḥammad [*q.vv.*]. With ʿIrāḳ by 128/746 inflamed by Khāridjite activity and the revolt of the ʿAlid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], Naṣr's communications with the centre of the caliphate were cut, and with them the hopes of receiving troop reinforcements to strengthen the Muḍarī side against the anti-government Azd and then, from 129/747 onwards, against the leader of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* at Marw, Abū Muslim [*q.v.*]. In the face of the strength of ʿAlī b. Djudayʿ and Abū Muslim, Naṣr had in 130/748 to evacuate Marw. His son Tamīm was defeated at Ṭūs, so that Naṣr then had to abandon Nīshāpūr and flee westwards. Fresh troops were belatedly sent from ʿIrāḳ by Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra [see IBN HUBAYRA], but these were defeated at Rayy by Abū Muslim's lieutenant Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb [*q.v.*]. Still retreating, Naṣr fell ill and died in Sāwa [*q.v.*] in northwestern Persia, on 12 Rabīʿ I 131/9 December 748, aged 85, "out of chagrin" (*kamad*) according to al-Masʿūdī, thus allowing the ʿAbbāsid advance westwards to gain fresh momentum.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. See for these, K.V. Zetterstéen, *EI*[1] art. s.v. 2. Studies. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 192-4; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 176-7, 298-306, 323-36, Eng. tr. 283, 474-91, 523-40; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 89 ff.; M.A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 128-31, 135-7, 159-61; E.L. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule 747-820*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979, 44-5, 55-7, 74-6; M. Sharon, *Black banners from the east. II. Revolt, the social and military aspects of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Jerusalem 1992, 35 ff. (C.E. Bosworth)

NAṢR b. SHABATH al-ʿUḳaylī, the leader of a rebellion of the North Arab or Ḳaysī tribesmen in al-Djazīra against the central authority of the ʿAbbāsids during the caliphates of al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn.

We find him mentioned in 196/811-12 as the head of *zawāḳīl*, lawless bands of Arabs, mainly Ḳaysīs, who had taken advantage of the breakdown of rule during the civil war (see on the term *zawāḳīl*, D. Ayalon, *The military reforms of caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, their background and consequences*, unpubl. paper presented to the Internat. Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi 1964, xerox Jerusalem 1963, 14-20); Naṣr's main aim seems to have been to uphold the Arab cause against the *Abnāʾ* of Baghdad and against what was regarded as the domination of the *ʿAdjam*, the Persianised supporters of the ʿAbbāsids (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 845). The rebellion went on for some 14 years; in 198/814 Ṭāhir Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn [*q.v.*] was sent against Naṣr, and he in turn in 205/821-2 deputed his son ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] to conduct operations against Naṣr from a base at al-Raḳḳa on the middle Euphrates. It was not till 209/824-5 that Naṣr submitted and his fortress at Kaysūm (modern Tkish. Keysun, to the southwest of Adıyaman) was demolished; in the next year he was brought to Baghdad, and subsequently disappears from mention (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 975, 1044-6, 1069-72, 1073-4, tr. Bosworth, *The reunification of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1987, 10, 106, 108, 110, 140-4, 145-6).

Bibliography: Given above; see also H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates*, Harlow 1986, 155. (C.E. Bosworth)

NAṢR ALLĀH b. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Niẓām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī, also known as Naṣr Allāh Munshī, a Persian author and statesman who was born at Ghazna in a family which came from Shīrāz. He served as a secretary in the *dīwān* of the Ghaznawids. Under Khusraw Malik (555-82/1160-86) he rose to the rank of a vizier but he fell into disgrace with this sultan and was executed while in prison (cf. ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, 92 ff.).

Naṣr Allāh Munshī's fame rests on his version (*Tardjuma*) of the Indian mirror for princes *Kalīla wa Dimna* [*q.v.*] into Persian prose, which was based on the Arabic of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḳaffaʿ and was completed between 538/1143-4 and 540/1145-6. He added a new preface to the text dedicating it to Sultan Yamīn al-Dawla Bahrāmshāh (511-47/1117-52). Further additions to the original in this rather free rendering are a great number of verses in Arabic and Persian, quotations from the Ḳurʾān and the *Ḥadīth* and proverbs. To be noted is an anecdote cited from the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* of his contemporary Sanāʾī (cf.

Meier, *loc. cit.*). The Arabic verses became the subject of a special commentary (cf. Rieu, *loc. cit.*).

Until the present day, Naṣr Allāh's translation is regarded as a model of elegant Persian style. It served as the basis for the metrical version composed by Ḳāniʿī for the Saldjūḳ sultan of Konya about 658/1260 and for a series of Turkish translations. It was not superseded by the celebrated *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, "The lights of Canopus", written in the late 9th/15th century by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ al-Kās̲h̲ifī [*q.v.*], who claimed to have made a simplified version but really produced the opposite effect (see the comparisons between the two Persian versions by Browne and Arberry).

Already the earliest manuscripts contain the text in varying lengths. It is likely that the author himself brought his work out in different forms. The *Tardjuma* has been printed several times since the middle of the 19th century. By far the best edition available now is the one published by Mudjtabā Mīnuwī (Tehran, 1343 s̲h̲/1964).

Bibliography: Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1881, ii, 745-6; H. Ethé, *GrIPh*, ii, 327-8; Browne, ii, 349-53; M.T. Bahār, *Sabks̲h̲ināsī yā taṭawwur-i nat̲h̲r-i fārsī*, Tehran n.d., ii, 248-96 (discusses various aspects of language and style); A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, London 1958, 95-7; D̲h̲. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, ii, 3rd ed., Tehran 1339/1960, 948-52; F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī*, Wiesbaden 1963, 49-53; Mahdawī Dāmg̲h̲ānī, in *Yag̲h̲mā*, xv-xvi, 1341-2 s̲h̲./1962-3 (on Arabic verses in the *Tardjuma*); M. Mīnuwī, *Dībāča* to his edition, pp. *zāl-kāf* [vii-xx].

(E. Berthels-[J.T.P. de Bruijn])

NAṢR AL-DAWLA, Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Marwān, third and most important prince of the Marwānid dynasty [*q.v.*] of Diyār Bakr. He succeeded to the provincial sovereignty on the death of his elder brother, Mumahhid al-Dawla Abū Manṣūr Saʿīd, in 401/1010-11, after a struggle with the latter's murderer, and was in the same year formally recognised by the ʿAbbāsid al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], from whom at the same time he received his *laḳab*, and by the Būyid *amīr*, Sulṭān al-Dawla. Though now established in the capital Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*], he was unable to obtain effective control of Amid, the next most considerable city of the province, until 415/1024-5, when his tributary, Ibn Damna, who had hitherto ruled it, was assassinated; and during his reign of over fifty years, he suffered several ineffective attacks on his territory from the ʿUḳaylids of Diyār Rabīʿa, to whom he appears, at one period at all events, to have paid tribute (see Ibn At̲h̲īr, ix, 121), and to whom, in order to compose a quarrel arising out of his divorce of a lady of that family, he was obliged, in 421/1030, to cede Niṣībīn [*q.v.*]. In 433/1041-2, Diyār Bakr was invaded from Ād̲h̲arbāydjān by the bands of the G̲h̲uzz Turkmens which had pushed northwestwards on the advance of the Saldjūḳ leaders into Djibāl and for two years parts of it were subjected to their depredations. Otherwise, the province enjoyed, throughout his reign, a tranquility remarkable in this troubled age.

The ruler of Diyār Bakr was regarded as a principal guardian of the frontier of Islam in eastern Anatolia, and as such was expected to harass the Christians whenever opportunity offered (see the letter addressed to Naṣr al-Dawla by the Saldjūḳ Ṭog̲h̲rïl Beg: Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 275). Nevertheless, Ibn Marwān's relations with the Byzantine Empire were for the most part amicable, being based on a pact of mutual non-aggression, to which both parties appealed when it was infringed. The only important breaches of this agreement occurred in 418/1027 when Naṣr al-Dawla seized al-Ruhā (Edessa), which, however, was recovered by the Greeks four years later, and in 426/1034-5, when an attempt was made by the Christian inhabitants of that city, in league with Arabs of the Numayr [*q.v.*] tribe, to invade his territories. Later, their good relations were of use to the Emperor Constantine X, who in 441/1049-50 obtained Ibn Marwān's help in securing from Ṭog̲h̲rïl Beg the release of the Georgian general Lipariti, with whom he had been in league against the Georgian king, and who had been captured the year before by Ṭog̲h̲rïl's half-brother Ibrāhīm Ināl. Up to 436/1045, Armenia, which also marched in part with Diyār Bakr, was still independent of the Empire; and in 423/1032 a Marwānid commander led a successful raid into this country. In 427/1035-6, on the other hand, a *Ḥadjdj* caravan from northern Persia was attacked and looted near Ānī [*q.v.*] by Armenians of the Sunāsuna tribe, upon which Ibn Marwān forced the aggressors to give up their prisoners and booty.

Early in Naṣr al-Dawla's reign, the north of Syria and parts of the Djazīra contiguous to Diyār Bakr were obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Fāṭimid caliphs, though their hold on these parts remained somewhat precarious. Also, his own territories were menaced by Fāṭimid pretensions when in 430/1038-9 the governor of Damascus, Anūs̲h̲tikīn al-Dizbirī, who was then reasserting his rule in northern Syria, projected an attack on Diyār Bakr. This, however, came to nothing.

The reign of Naṣr al-Dawla saw the rise of the Saldjūḳs from some obscurity to the empire of Persia and ʿIrāḳ. His first communication with them occurred as early as 435/1043-4 on the G̲h̲uzz invasion of Diyār Bakr, when he addressed a letter of protest to Ṭog̲h̲rïl, who, though he was scarcely in a position to do so, undertook to restrain the marauders. (It may be noted, nevertheless, that Ibn al-Azraḳ describes this G̲h̲uzz invasion as having been actually instigated by Ṭog̲h̲rïl, who, he says, granted the province as a fief to its two leaders in advance; cf. Amedroz, *The Marwānid dynasty of Mayyāfāriqīn*, 137. Surely this author is mistaken in considering the date 434 as wrong, since it agrees exactly with those given by Ibn al-At̲h̲īr.) Eight years later, Naṣr al-Dawla acceded to Ṭog̲h̲rïl's demand for recognition as suzerain; and this subservience, which was renewed in 446/1054-5, when Ṭog̲h̲rïl made a triumphal tour through Ād̲h̲arbāydjān and Muslim Armenia, spared Diyār Bakr the experience of a Saldjūḳ visitation. In the following year, however, Ṭog̲h̲rïl's attention was drawn to the murder of a Kurdish chieftain by Naṣr al-Dawla's son Sulaymān, his lieutenant in the Djazīra; and in 448/1056-7, when the sultan was obliged to visit al-Mawṣil in order to oppose a combination of S̲h̲īʿī leaders headed by al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], he forced an indemnity from Ibn Marwān by laying siege to Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar.

Naṣr al-Dawla was sagacious, or fortunate, in his choice of the two *wazīrs* who served him in turn, namely Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Mag̲h̲ribī [*q.v.*] (in office 415-28/1025-37) and Abū Naṣr Ibn Djahīr (afterwards entitled Fak̲h̲r al-Dawla) [see djahīr, banū] (in office 430-53/1039-61). It was no doubt owing in part to their abilities that the remarkable tranquility enjoyed by Diyār Bakr during his reign was turned to advantage and resulted in an equally remarkable prosperity. This Naṣr al-Dawla fostered by a reduction of taxation and by renouncing the practice of

mulcting the rich in order to augment the revenues. Nevertheless, his court is said to have surpassed those of all his contemporaries in luxury, and many instances are quoted of his profusion and generosity. Mayyāfāriḳīn became during his reign a centre for men of learning, poets and ascetics, as also a refuge for political fugitives. Among the latter were the Būyid prince al-Malik al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], who was ousted from the amīrate in 436/1044-5 by his uncle Abū Kālīdjār [*q.v.*], and the infant heir of the ʿAbbāsid al-Ḳāʾim —afterwards al-Muḳtadī [*q.v.*]— who was removed with his mother from Baghdād on the occasion of its occupation in 450/1058 by al-Basāsīrī.

Naṣr al-Dawla is described as being resolute, just, high-minded and methodical, and though much addicted to sensuality, he was strict in his observance of religious injunctions. He died, aged about eighty, on 24 Shawwāl 453/11 November 1061, leaving Fakhr al-Dawla Ibn Djahīr still in office to secure the succession to his second son, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Naṣr, Niẓām al-Dīn.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ix, x; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, tr. de Slane, i; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Popper, ii, Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, iv; H.F. Amedroz, *The Marwānid dynasty of Mayyāfāriqīn*, in *JRAS* (1903), 123-54; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 24; and see MARWĀNIDS. (H. BOWEN)

NAṢR AL-DĪN KHODJA (modern Turkish: Nasreddin Hoca) is the label of the most prominent protagonist of humorous prose narratives in the whole sphere of Turkish-Islamic influence, ranging from the Balkan area to the Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia. Naṣr al-Dīn is a legendary character whose historical existence none of the various theories regarding his alleged lifetime has succeeded to prove beyond doubt. The character from the 10th/16th century onwards increasingly served as a point of crystallisation for an otherwise amorphous popular tradition of aphorisms, witticisms, jokes, jests, and anecdotes of various origins.

The period of Naṣr al-Dīn's supposed historical existence might be fixed some time in the 7th/13th to the 8th/14th century, the region where he probably was active as a *khodja* (from Persian *khʷādja*, designating a man of distinction, and definitely not a distortion of the name of the related Arabic jester Djuḥā [*q.v.*] as supposed by Basset) somewhere in southern-central Anatolia, maybe even in Aḳ Shehr [*q.v.*], where a mausoleum bearing his name is preserved. In an apparent contradiction, characteristic however for any popular tradition such as the one focusing on Naṣr al-Dīn, facts about the circumstances of his life become known in an increasingly detailed manner the more distance from his alleged lifetime one gets. This is all the more the case since, in late 20th century Turkey, Naṣr al-Dīn, explicitly employed for touristic interests, is being promoted as an international ambassador of Turkish good-natured mentality and hospitality.

The earliest anecdotes about Naṣr al-Dīn in a Turkic language are quoted in Lāmiʿī Čelebi's (d. 939/1531) *Leṭāʾif* (ms. Istanbul, Ayasofya Kütüphanesi 4233, fols. 17b-18a, 31b, 34b, 35b-36a) and Ebu 'l-Khayr-i Rūmī's (d. 885/1480) *Saltuḳ-nāme* (ed. Ş.H. Akalın. Istanbul 1988, 140-2, 181-2). While Lāmiʿī Čelebi mentions Naṣr al-Dīn as a contemporary of Sheyyād Ḥamza (8th/14th century), the decisive impact for subsequent popular tradition, and notably, later European learned discussions, derives from Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited Naṣr al-Dīn's alleged tomb in Aḳ Shehr in the 17th century and quotes an anecdote in which Naṣr al-Dīn is depicted together with the Mongol ruler Tīmūr (died 807/1405 [*q.v.*]). Any such attempts at historicising the character of Naṣr al-Dīn are to be judged as speculative as the often-quoted date 386 in the inscription on Naṣr al-Dīn's tomb (ostensibly a posthumous joke to be read in reversed order as 683/1284) and even the charters of endowment (*waḳfiyya*) of the year 655/1257 and 665/1266 respectively, mentioning the appearance before the *ḳāḍī* of a certain "Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja", which are quoted at the beginning of the 20th century by Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād (cf. *Manzûm Nasreddin Hoca fikraları*, ed. A. Çatıkkaş, Istanbul 1980, 14 f.).

The early manuscript tradition of anecdotes on Naṣr al-Dīn presents a comparatively small repertoire, which in subsequent centuries was continuously enlarged. The first printed Turkish collection (Istanbul 1253/1837) comprises 134, later lithograph and printed collections some 125 anecdotes. While in the late 19th century such writers as Čaylaḳ Tewfīḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] pioneered the Naṣr al-Dīn literature in modern Turkish, most recent Turkish publications rely on Bahāʾī (i.e. Weled Čelebi [İzbudak]), who in 1323/1907 published his collection of almost 400 anecdotes, *Leṭāʾif-i Naṣreddīn Khodja raḥmetü llāhi ʿaleyh*, drawing on earlier prints as well as manuscripts and oral tradition. The printed collections in Northwest- and Middle-Asiatic Turkic languages mostly derive from the first Tatar imprints (*Lätaifi Xuğa Nasiretdin Äfändi*, Kazan 1261/1845, reprinted more than 30 times), themselves constituting almost identical renderings from the Ottoman Turkish.

Originating in Turkish tradition, Naṣr al-Dīn's fame soon spread all over the regions of Ottoman dominion, the character meanwhile integrating narrative materials originally attached to other protagonists, such as Ḳarāḳūsh [*q.v.*] or Buhlūl [*q.v.*], some of them anonymous or of local importance only, such as Ahmet Akaj (Crimean Tatar), Navoi (Özbek) or Aldarkösö (Kirgiz). Naṣr al-Dīn is known in Central Asia as Ependi or Apandi (from Turkish Efendi, here meant as term of respectful address), a term which by way of Uighur adaptations eventually resulted in the modern Chinese word *A-fan-t'i*, trickster. In the area of Persian influence, the character is designated as Mollā Naṣr al-Dīn (first Persian printed edition 1299/1881). This applies to Persia, Afghānistān, and the Pashtō language regions in the East as well as to Kurdish and most of the Caucasian languages, whereas the tales on Naṣr al-Dīn in Tādjīk tradition rather seem to be influenced by surrounding Turkic languages. In Azeri tradition, Naṣr al-Dīn gained fame as the eponym of a renowned satirical magazine at the beginning of the 20th century. In the Balkan area, Naṣr al-Dīn, besides being richly documented in the Greek (Nastradin), Albanian, Serbian and Croatian languages, still today in Bulgarian and Macedonian popular tradition serves as an antagonist of the national hero Chitūr Petūr (Iter Pejo).

Previous research on the historical development of the stock of Naṣr al-Dīn anecdotes (Basset; Horn; Christensen; Wesselski) has only succeeded in elucidating singular traits, at the same time thoroughly misunderstanding or ignoring others. Recent philological comparisons of the narrative repertoires of Djuḥā and Naṣr al-Dīn have led to the following conclusions. Some, though relatively few, of the earliest versions of anecdotes that in later sources are told in the name of Naṣr al-Dīn are to be traced to the mediaeval stock of tales on Djuḥā, whose con-

tents may be reconstructed from Arabic *adab*-literature (e.g. al-Ābī [died 421/1030], *Nat͟hr ad-durr*, v, ch. 17) contemporary to the mention of a Book of Anecdotes on D̲j̲uḥā (*Kitāb Nawādir D̲j̲uḥā*) in Ibn an-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*. However, the narrative tradition on D̲j̲uḥā and Naṣr al-Dīn, as it is documented in manuscript collections of their tales, developed separately from each other until the 19th century; at any rate, a Turkish translation of the Arabic booklet never existed. It is not until the printed collections of the 19th century that a direct connection between the narrative repertoires on D̲j̲uḥā and Naṣr al-Dīn becomes manifest. One of the first printed collections in Turkish—probably that of Būlāḳ 1256/1840 containing a repertoire slightly different from the edition Istanbul 1253/1837—was translated into Arabic (Būlāḳ 1280/1864 or earlier) while being considerably enlarged. The anonymous compiler added to the translation of the Turkish original some 100 jests adapted from mediaeval Arabic *adab* literature; these tales as a rule, notably in the original sources, were not told in the name of D̲j̲uḥā, Naṣr al-Dīn's Arab predecessor, but rather belong to the basic stock of jocular tales prevailing throughout entertaining *adab* literature since its beginning (cf. U. Marzolph, *Arabia ridens* Frankfurt 1992, 2 vols.). This Arabic translation, or rather adaptation, was in turn translated into Persian (1299/1881), once more being enlarged by coining tales taken from mediaeval (Arabic and Persian) literature on Naṣr al-Dīn. Here again it is interesting to note that the compiler did not draw on the stock of anecdotes on D̲j̲uḥī (the Persian form of D̲j̲uḥā) as it is documented in the works of Anwarī (died *ca.* 586/1190), D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī (died 672/1273), ᶜUbayd-i Zākānī (died 772/1371) or in the *Laṭāʾif al-ṭawāʾif* by ᶜAli b. Ḥusayn Wāᶜiẓ Kās̲h̲ifī, commonly known as Ṣafī (d. 939/1532). The interchange of the additional repertoire thus introduced by the Arabic and Persian versions with subsequent Turkish tradition has not yet been scrutinised; but it is obvious that at the latest by the end of the 19th/beginning of the 20th century Naṣr al-Dīn had gained such an amount of popularity in the whole region under Ottoman dominion that the provenance of the narrative materials attached to him did not play a decisive role; on the contrary, it had become permissible to attach to the character any tale that might fit into the general frame outlined by popular perception. This may serve as an explanation for the fact that some of the more recent collections of tales on Naṣr al-Dīn can present a remarkably large repertoire (e.g. K̲h̲aritonov: 1238 items).

It is necessary to point out that the above conclusions with a necessary degree of certainty are only valid for printed or rather literate tradition, which is subject to distinctive mechanisms of selection and adaptation. On the other hand, oral tradition is subject to other criteria, which in the case of Naṣr al-Dīn can only be a matter of speculation. Current research has so far to a minor extent only focused on orally-narrated tales about Naṣr al-Dīn (cf., e.g. Kúnos), which presumably enjoy an overwhelming popularity in traditional but probably less in modern Near Eastern societies.

As for the scholarly pre-occupation with Naṣr al-Dīn, his charming character seems to have had a tremendous and in fact devastating impact on most attempts at a detached analysis of Near Eastern humorous narratives. National Turkish research still mainly consists of futile attempts to argue beyond doubt for Naṣr al-Din's historical existence or to demonstrate the essential traits of his character by reconstructing the supposed original stock of anecdotes attached to him. On the other hand, most Western researchers have all too readily identified Near Eastern humour on a general level with Naṣr al-Dīn, and—corresponding to contemporary propagated Turkish tradition—have succumbed to the temptation of reducing him to a charming, lovable, intrinsic but morally harmless philosopher. As for the historical evidence of the narrative repertoire linked with Naṣr al-Dīn's name, it is obvious that since the earliest known manuscripts this repertoire contained a considerable proportion of scatological, sexual, sodomite, and otherwise explicitly provoking anecdotes.

From a point of view contemporary to the manuscript tradition, it may safely be assumed that these tales did not constitute a major offence; rather it is to be supposed that they represent humorous attitudes of a direct and outspoken kind, not yet submitting to restrictions by the requirements in content and form that later were established by refined literary developments. While it must remain doubtful whether the early collections represent anything that safely might be termed as "folk" literature, it seems most certain that this kind of crude anecdote still today enjoys a wide popularity and not only in rural areas of the Near East. Even though contemporary Turkish research encourages attempts to "domesticate" Naṣr al-Dīn—such attempts as are practised by recent Turkish collections—by eliminating this part of the historical repertoire or denying its claim to originality, a strictly historical evaluation should bear in mind that moral standards are subject to frequent changes.

Apart from the intentionally offensive portions, the repertoire of anecdotes on Naṣr al-Dīn contains a large amount of tales otherwise documented in international narrative tradition. For these tales the attachment to the character of Naṣr al-Dīn is often but one station on the way they travel through times and regions, more than once securing their survival and wide dissemination throughout the Near East, the Balkan region and the Mediterranean.

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NAṢRĀWĪ [see NAṢĀRĀ].

NAṢRIDS, Ar. BANŪ NAṢR, also known as BANU 'L-AḤMAR, so called from the name of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ibn Naṣr Ibn al-Aḥmar, founder of what was to be the last major Muslim dynasty in the Iberian Peninsula, ruling a kingdom in the far south of Spain from its capital city, Granada (Gharnāṭa [*q.v.*]) and claiming as its remote ancestor the Khazradjī leader Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, a Companion of the Prophet. Although the dynasty was born on 26 Ramaḍān 629/18 April 1232, its association with Granada dates only from around Ramaḍān 634/May 1237 when that city passed into the hands of the dynasty's founder—now known to us as Muḥammad I—coming into prominence as the seat of his power only from 644/1246. Thereafter Granada remained the Naṣrids' true capital until their rule came formally to an end on 2 January 1492 with a public ceremony following an improvised capitulation on the previous day.

1. History.

For the period running from the latter part of the 8th/14th century until the loss of Granada to the Christians there are many aspects of Naṣrid history on which, despite some notable scholarly progress over the last fifty years, we are still ill informed. For this the relative paucity of Arabic source material is mainly responsible. Where such material is lacking we are compelled to have cautious recourse to evidence—only too often tendentious—contained in the chronicles of the Iberian Christian states, which at times are our only resource for even such basic matters as dates.

The following list of Naṣrid rulers will, as regards later members of the dynasty, be found to differ in certain details from C.E. Bosworth's revised list contained in his *Islamic dynasties* (revised edition Edinburgh 1980, 18-19) and should be regarded as replacing it. From the list below it will be seen that after the death of Yūsuf III there comes a confusing series of changes of monarch. For the period 1417-54, however, L.P. Harvey provides a most helpful schema in his *Islamic Spain* (see *Bibl.* below), 245. It should be noted that where only dates of the Christian era are given in the list, the reason is that the date A.H. is not to be found in any known Arabic source.

1. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad I *al-Ghālib bi 'llāh*: 629-71/1232-73 (in Granada 634-71/1237-73).
2. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad II *al-Faḳīh*: 671-701/1273-1302.
3. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad III *al-Makhlūʿ*: 701-8/1302-9.
4. Abū 'l-Djuyūsh Naṣr: 708-13/1309-14.
5. Abu 'l-Walīd Ismāʿīl I: 713-25/1314-25.
6. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad IV: 725-33/1325-33.
7. Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjadj Yūsuf I *al-Muʾayyad bi 'llāh*: 733-55/1333-54.
8. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad V *al-Ghanī bi 'llāh*: 755-60/1354-9 (reign interrupted by Ismāʿīl II, then Muḥammad VI) and 763-93/1362-91.
9. Abu 'l-Walīd Ismāʿīl II: 760-1/1359-60.
10. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad VI *al-Ghālib bi 'llāh* (to the Castilians *el Bermejo* "The Red", *el rey Bermejo* "The Red King"): 761-3/1360-2.
11. Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf II *al-Mustaghnī bi 'llāh*: 793-4/1391-2.
12. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad VII: 794-810/1392-1408.
13. Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf III *al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*: 810-20/1408-17.
14. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad VIII *al-Mutamassik* (*al-Ṣaghīr*/*el Pequeño* "The Little One"): 1417-9 (reign interrupted by Muḥammad IX) and 1427-9.
15. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad IX al-Ghālib bi 'llāh (*al-Aysar*/*el Zurdo* "The Left-handed"): (1) 1419-27 (reign interrupted by Muḥammad VIII); (2) 1430-1 (reign interrupted by Yūsuf IV); (3) 1432-45 (reign interrupted by Muḥammad X); (4) 1447-53.
16. Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf IV (*Ibn al-Mawl*/*Abenalmao*): 1431-2.
17. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad X (*al-Aḥnaf*/*el Cojo* "The Lame"): Jan.-Jun 1445 (reign interrupted by Yūsuf V) and 1446-7.
18. Yūsuf V Ibn Aḥmad/Ibn Ismāʿīl (*Aben Ismael*): 1445-6 (reign interrupted by Muḥammad X) and Sept.-Dec. 1462.
19. Muḥammad XI (*el Chiquito* "The Little Fellow"): 1451-5 (in association with Muḥammad IX until the latter's death in 1453, then in competition with Saʿd from mid-1454 until mid-1455).
20. Abū Naṣr Saʿd *al-Mustaʿīn bi 'llāh* (*Ciriza* <Sīdī Saʿd/*Muley Zad*/*Çah*): 1454-64 (in competition with Yūsuf V in 1462-3).
21. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (Muley Hacén): 1464-82 (reign interrupted by Muḥammad XII in July 1482) and 887-90/1482-5.
22. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad XII (*Boabdil*): 887/1482; 891-7/1486-92.
23 (?). Muḥammad XIII b. Saʿd (*al-Zaghal* "The Brave"), brother of Muḥammad XII's father, ʿAlī (no. 21): 890/1485. (Al-Zaghal had himself proclaimed king not too long after his infirm brother ʿAlī had appointed him regent early in 1485, and in fact in early 891/1486 Muḥammad XII recognised him as king for a while. Until al-Zaghal's departure for North Africa in 1489 the Naṣrids' subjects were deeply divided in their allegiance, and the picture is very confused and confusing.)

A. Birth of the Naṣrid Kingdom. 1. Muḥammad (I) b. Yūsuf. In 620/1224 the Almohad caliph Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf II al-Mustanṣir died, leaving no son and hence a legacy of dynastic quarrels that were soon to rob al-Andalus of all central administration. The ensuing period of confusion and weakness was to be fully exploited not only by the Banū Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] in Valencia and the Banū Hūd [*q.v.*] in Murcia (to whom the future ruler of Granada was politically subordinated for a year or two), but also, and far more importantly, by Ferdinand III of Castile following the union of his crown with that of Léon in 1230; for, from 1231 onwards, his forces drove deep into the Muslim heartlands in a series of campaigns that were eventually to win for him Cordova (632/1236) and Seville (646/1248). For Andalusian Islam the loss of

these once-great cities would leave it no solid base in the Guadalquivir, thus presaging the loss of effective Muslim control of all but a small part of the Iberian Peninsula.

Such was the nature of the times which witnessed the conception, birth and growth of a memorable dynasty that was to rule a kingdom which, in the final analysis, owed its existence mainly to the adroit manoeuvres of Muḥammad (I) b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr in response to the many threats posed by disintegrative forces to the very survival of Islam in 13th-century Spain.

The new dynasty came into being in Arjona (Ardjūna), a small frontier town south of the Guadalquivir, some 30 km to the north-west of the city of Jaén (Djayyān [*q.v.*]). It was there that in 629/1232 Muḥammad b. Yūsuf managed to establish himself as the effective ruler of a relatively small region including Jaén and extending south-eastwards as far as Guadix (Wādī Āsh) to the north-east of Granada and as far east as Baeza (Bayyāsa [*q.v.*]) on the north bank of the Guadalquivir.

Of vital importance to the establishment and consolidation of Naṣrid rule was the unwavering support of another Hispano-Arab family with Arjona connections, viz. the Tudjībid Banū Ashkīlūla (or, in Castilian sources, Escayola). With their military assistance, close political co-operation and a loyalty underpinned by multiple marriage ties with members of the Naṣrid family, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf was able not only to make himself master of Arjona and later to accept the invitation of Granada's notables to assume control of their city (634/1237), but also, after his loss of Arjona (642/1244) and then of Jaén (643/1246) to the Christians, to transform Granada into an enduring political entity.

To a proper understanding of the nature of that entity an appreciation of the religious side to its founder's life is crucial. Early in his career Muḥammad had come into prominence as a charismatic leader of frontiersmen, a man with a religious mission (*daʿwa*), displaying all the outward signs of the typical Muslim mystic and maintaining, immediately upon his accession in Granada, the image of an ascetic by avoiding the direct exercise of governmental power. This, together with command of the army, he assigned to his right-hand man, ʿAlī Ibn Ashkīlūla, the then head of his family. Whatever the exact nature and extent of the religious thinking that initially informed the faith and practice of Muḥammad, it is clear that, once ensconced in Granada, he embraced and indeed strictly enforced the doctrines of its Mālikī religious establishment. Moving gradually towards self-assertion and away from his undertaking to share his kingdom with the Banū Ashkīlūla, he made clear his intention to restrict power to the Naṣrid family by naming, in 655/1257, his sons Muḥammad and Yūsuf as his heirs in direct succession to himself. Whether it was this act or the Naṣrid's decision in 662/1264 to make use of Maghribī forces that opened a rift between him and the Banū Ashkīlūla—until then his sole military mainstay—is a moot point. What is not so is the rift itself, which, as it widened into a gulf, separated the Banū Ashkīlūla, in their main governmental base in Malaga (Mālaḳa [*q.v.*]), from the amīrate in Granada. Finally, in 644/1266 fearing that Granada would take their city from them, Malaga's overlords rebelled. Open conflict, with Castilian involvement on both sides, ensued, but victory fell to neither, and, in the event, the struggle dragged on into the reign of Muḥammad II.

In Muḥammad I's political life the Banū Ashkīlūla's role is commonly eclipsed by the prominence accorded to that of Castile. Castile does, of course, loom large in his career: there was, first, his not disinterested subservience to Castilian policy on the eve of the loss of Cordova to Ferdinand in 1236; secondly, ten years later, in surrendering Jaén, there was his agreement to buy peace from Ferdinand at the price of accepting the latter as his overlord along with the payment of a considerable sum in annual tribute; thirdly, there was his active participation in the Castilian campaign that in 1248 wrested Seville from Islam, to say nothing of his passive contemplation of Castilian victories in southern Spain in 1261-2. That he was no martyr for Islam in the primary, religious sense of the word is clear. Yet, equally clear is his commitment to Islam: without it he could hardly have survived in a kingdom so very consciously Islamic as Granada and so very much under the watchful eye of a powerful Mālikī religious establishment; without it his successful appeals to the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*] of Tunis, the Marīnids [*q.v.*] of Fez and Castile's Mudéjars [*q.v.*] for support in a spirited, if abortive, campaign against Alfonso X in the period 1264-6 may have carried less conviction than they did.

If at the time of his death (671/1273) Muḥammad I had neither gained spectacular victories nor made territorial gains, he had at least "managed to snatch from disaster...a relatively secure refuge for Islam in the peninsula" (Harvey, *op. cit.*, 40). Add to which his creation of a viable régime along with a seat of government that was to increase in splendour, stature and renown and stand as a lasting memorial to the Naṣrids: the Alhambra (*al-Ḥamrā*ʾ; see GHARNĀṬA).

B. Consolidation of the Kingdom. 2. Muḥammad II. Muḥammad I's successor was his son Muḥammad al-Faḳīh ("the Jurist"), a man in his late thirties with a ready grasp of the pressing need to frustrate Castilian aspirations to total hegemony and, as one means to this end, to bring to heel the rebellious Banū Ashkīlūla, by then well entrenched principally in Malaga and Guadix. In Granadan-Castilian relations Muḥammad I had been able to damp any joy his Ashkīlūla problem might have brought to Alfonso X by gaining the support of a large contingent of disaffected Castilian nobles—*Ricos Hombres*—led primarily by the powerful Nuño González de Lara. Although with their aid Muḥammad II was able to wrest Antequera from the Banū Ashkīlūla (671/1273), he came to fear the nobles' return to Alfonso's fold and therefore sued for peace with Castile—peace for which he finally agreed to buy for an annual tribute of 300,000 *maravedís*. Having abandoned the *Ricos Hombres* as part of the bargain and then finding good reason to suspect that Alfonso would thenceforth deal with the Banū Ashkīlūla on terms best suited to his own interests, the Naṣrid turned for help to the Marīnid sultan Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, to whom the Banū Ashkīlūla had already been appealing for assistance.

In the event, Abū Yūsuf answered both calls, and, once in control of Tarifa and Algeciras (al-Djazīra al-Khaḍrāʾ [*q.v.*]), both won by an advance expeditionary force, he directed a massive shipment of troops across the Straits. These he himself joined in Ṣafar 674/August 1275 and went on to lead a highly successful *djihād*, in which, *inter alia*, the *Ricos Hombres*, now allies of Alfonso, suffered defeat and humiliation, Nuño González losing his life. To detail here all the moves made in the complex game that developed in the wake of the Marīnid intervention is impracticable: it was a game with many rules made and broken by various players ever ready for a change of partner

should a change of tactics so demand. It must suffice to note only some of the most salient points.

From the Marīnids Muḥammad II initially gained little to his liking. Aggrieved at their treating him as no more than the equal of his subjects, the Banū As͟hḳīlūla, he had left Algeciras in disgust, showing little zest for their joint *d̲j̲ihād*. He thus allowed so close a relationship to develop between the two allies that in 676/1278 the Banū As͟hḳīlūla handed Malaga to a Marīnid governor. Little did they dream that early in 677/1279 it would revert to the Naṣrids: a justifiable sense of insecurity, created by Muḥammad's intrigues with the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*] of Tlemcen and with Alfonso, had prompted a Marīnid withdrawal to the Mag͟hrib, and Muḥammad had then struck a bargain with Malaga's Marīnid governor. With Malaga Granada had both gained access to the Mediterranean and greatly enhanced prospects of political and economic viability.

Anger at the machinations and treachery—suffered notably by Alfonso—whereby Muḥammad II had achieved his ends in 1279 resulted in a tripartite offensive against him launched by Alfonso, Abū Yūsuf and the Banū As͟hḳīlūla, the latter now with their main base in Guadix. The war, waged on northern and southern fronts, lasted from May 1280 to April 1281. Granada's survival owed much to a rift between Alfonso and his heir Sancho, whose military support brought great relief to Muḥammad.

In early April 1285 Granada faced a new major problem: responding to an As͟hḳīlūla call for help against Sancho IV (as he had become on Alfonso's death in 1284), Abū Yūsuf once more crossed the Straits for war. After a few months Sancho sought a truce and agreed to withdraw from the Granadan imbroglio. Then, before long the new Marīnid ruler Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, facing internal problems in the Mag͟hrib, made peace with the Naṣrid and abandoned all territorial claims apart from those to Algeciras, Tarifa and Guadix. In early 686/1288 came the end of the Banū As͟hḳīlūla: accepting Abū Yaʿḳub's offer of the governorate, in Morocco, of Ksar el-Kebir (al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*]) and all that went with it, their leader ceded Guadix to Granada and emigrated with his clan and his troops and their families to Ksar, where they established a small dynasty, still remembered in the 20th century.

To gain some control of the Straits of Gibraltar and to weaken that of the Marīnids as well as the strength of their position in Spain became Muḥammad's next main objective. This he thought to achieve by pitting the Castilians against the Marīnids in Tarifa. To this end he embarked on a policy that was to culminate in an anti-Marīnid alliance involving Granada, Castile, Aragon and Tlemcen. When in October 1292 Sancho, with Aragonese naval assistance, took Tarifa, Muḥammad expected Sancho to observe one of the terms of an agreement he had made with him by delivering Tarifa to him. When Sancho did not, Muḥammad sought and gained Marīnid support for a new siege of Tarifa. In August 1294 the venture failed: Granada, with its main forces tied to operations elsewhere in Spain, had been of little help. Convinced of the futility of further involvement in Spain, Abū Yaʿḳūb withdrew all his forces, and in 694/1295 ceded to Muḥammad all Marīnid strongholds in the Peninsula. It was now Muḥammad's aim to occupy all vacant positions. In Ronda and neighbouring western areas, however, his past policy of concentrating African troops there, well away from Granada, rebounded adversely upon him: for a year a rebellious enclave, born of local resentment at suffering under Mag͟hribī soldiery and led by the Banu 'l-Ḥakīm of Ronda, denied him access. Access, when it finally came, came on Ronda's terms (D̲j̲umādā II 695/January 1296): *inter alia*, no kinsman of the Naṣrid would thenceforth reside in the area and no Mag͟hribī troops would be billeted on the local population.

Following Sancho's death in April 1295 and the accession of his son Ferdinand (IV), a mere boy, divisions within Castile and more especially between Castile and Aragon had attracted a Granadan offensive on the northern marches. Among Muḥammad's successes the most notable were the capture of Quesada (Ḳayd̲j̲āṭa) at the end of 1295 and of Alcaudete (al-Ḳabd̲h̲āḳ) in June 1300. At the time of his death on 8 S͟haʿbān 701/8 April 1302 he had negotiated a treaty with Aragon recognising Granada's right to Tarifa and other places and was preparing for a new campaign against Castile.

3. Muḥammad III, by all accounts a sadist suspected of patricide, inherited a situation of military advantage which he failed to develop. His preference was for a peace which, however favourable to Granada in certain important respects, imposed upon him a three-year term of vassalage from 1303 and in 1304 drew him, as the vassal of Castile, into a Castilian-Aragonese accord. As Castile and Aragon grew closer in their new relationship, so the outlook for Granada worsened. By 1308 the two Christian powers felt able to spell out in the treaty of Alcalá de Henares the way in which the Kingdom of Granada should be divided between them.

For the Marīnids Muḥammad III cared nothing. In 1303 he had, to their chagrin, isolated them from his dealings with Castile, and in May 1306 his troops managed to seize Ceuta, not for return to the Marīnids, against whom its masters, the Banu 'l-ʿAzafī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], had rebelled, but for annexation by himself. Deporting the ʿAzafids to Granada, he proclaimed himself lord of Ceuta in 1307. He had achieved his aim to control a commanding position in the Straits, but, in doing so, he had laid the foundations of his downfall. Neither the Marīnids, once disburdened of their war with Tlemcen (May 1307) and set on asserting themselves at home, nor the Castilians and Aragonese, once reconciled and bent on achieving the ends spelt out at Alcalá de Henares, could accept a Naṣrid Ceuta: they would all stand shoulder to shoulder in an anti-Granadan tripartite alliance. The threat was too great for the Granadans to stomach: forced to abdicate, Muḥammad went into retirement in Almuñecar, and his chief minister, Ibn al-Ḥakīm, a member of the erstwhile ruling family of anti-Mag͟hribī Ronda, was assassinated (March, 1309) as much, no doubt, for his influence on policy as for his affluence and extravagant living.

4. Naṣr, at the age of twenty-two, came to rule a kingdom in an unprecedentedly parlous position as it straddled the Straits of Gibraltar at war with the Castilian-Aragonese axis, on the one hand, and the Marīnid-Aragonese alliance, on the other. With no hope of official aid from Tlemcen, now at peace with Fez, Granada faced a lonely fight for survival. Fortunately as it turned out for Granada, the Ceutans themselves soon exchanged Naṣrid for Marīnid rule (10 Ṣafar 709/20 July 1309). Ceuta regained, Fez no longer needed Aragon and was now ready to consider Naṣr's proposals for peace and amity, the need for which became pressing with Castile's conquest of Gibraltar in early September 1309. By mid-month all was settled: Algeciras and Ronda and their dependencies would go to the Marīnids in exchange for

assistance. Thereafter Granada's future began to look brighter, not least because of the late and ill-coordinated start that Castile and Aragon had made in the land and sea offensive against Algeciras and Almeria. In mid-November 1309 an important Castilian contingent left the besiegers of Algeciras, and, in Sha^c^bān 709/January 1310, the siege ended as Ferdinand IV, eager to be rid of a now heavy burden, readily accepted Naṣr's offer to become his tributary and at the same time return certain frontier strongholds earlier taken from Castile. As for Almeria, Christian delay had enabled it to stockpile for an expected siege that materialised only in mid-August 1309 with the arrival of Aragonese seaborne forces. Dependent on seaborne supplies, which began to fail as soon as autumnal weather prevented eastward movement of their merchantmen, the Aragonese moved into winter at the mercy of the weather at sea with no prospect of effective Castilian aid on land. By the end of December the siege was over: a truce had been called, and in January 1310 the Aragonese left as best they could, never to return to war in Granadan territory. Naṣr could be said to have served Granada well: his gain in containing the Reconquest far outweighed his losses, for, territorially, the only major Christian gain had been Gibraltar. With Ferdinand's death in September 1312 the Castilian offensive ended, and, not long afterwards, the siege of Alcaudete upon its falling to Castile.

On 21 Shawwāl 713/8 February 1314 Naṣr, who, for reasons not wholly clear, had become unpopular and been dethroned by his kinsman Ismā^c^īl, son of the governor of Malaga, left Granada for Guadix, where he was permitted to rule as governor.

5. Ismā^c^īl I assumed power as Naṣr was planning to regain it by invoking his rights as the tributary of Castile. In due course a sizeable Castilian force made for Guadix and in Ṣafar 716/April-May 1316 engaged intercepting Muslim troops led by the able Marīnid commander, ^c^Uthmān b. Abi 'l-^c^Ulā. The ensuing battle, fiercely fought near Alicún at Wādī Fortūna, was perhaps—there is a conflict of evidence—narrowly won by the Christians, for they were subsequently able to move operations much closer to Granada. But one gain at least accrued to Isma^c^īl: Naṣr was never again able to embark on such a venture as that which had so signally failed.

In the Straits Granada began to regain strength thanks to the naval cooperation of the ^c^Azafī governor of Ceuta, Yaḥyā b. Abī Ṭālib. Be that as it may, in 1319 Castile launched an all-out attack on Granada. Beating a path right through to the Vega, the army of the Infantes Don Pedro and Don Juan, regents for the young Alfonso XI, finally reached the city walls. A short siege gave way to the so-called Battle of the Vega, in which, largely thanks to the Marīnid ^c^Uthmān, Castile suffered a crushing defeat and both Infantes perished (26 June 1319). Now leaderless, Castile agreed to an eight-year peace, signed 18 June 1320.

With Naṣr no longer any possible threat (he died in 722/1322) and the Castilian court in disarray and dissension, Ismā^c^īl set about consolidating his position on the frontiers. In 724/1324 he recovered Baza, and, in 725/1325, Orce, Huescar, Galera and Martos, but then on 27 Radjab 725/6 July 1325, following a quarrel with his cousin, Muḥammad b. Ismā^c^īl, governor of Algeciras, he was assassinated.

6. Muḥammad IV, the eldest of Ismā^c^īl's four sons, acceded as a minor under the tutelage of his father's powerful vizier, Ibn al-Maḥrūḳ, who was soon in bitter conflict with ^c^Uthmān b. Abi 'l-^c^Ulā. Their divisive rivalry ended only with the vizier's assassination on the king's orders in Ramaḍān 729/June 1329.

In 1327 Alfonso XI, now of age, had begun an offensive so encouraging for Castile that Muḥammad IV had applied, successfully, for Marīnid reinforcements. Now fearful of a growth of Maghribī forces in Spain, Castile and Aragon had together with Navarre, Bohemia, England and France planned a huge crusade against Granada. Blighted by Christian disunity, the crusading force had, in spring 1329, left Castile and Aragon to start their own campaign. With no stomach for the fight, Aragon contributed little to it and indeed had to go on the defensive. Fighting alone, Castile won several northern strongholds as well as Teba, west of Antequera (August 1330). Yet again Marīnid aid was sought and gained. Gibraltar was then recovered from Castile. Thereupon Alfonso XI immediately signed a truce (August 1333), as Aragon had done a month before. On his way home from Gibraltar Muḥammad was assassinated on 25 August 1333 by Abū Thābit and Ibrāhīm, sons of ^c^Uthmān b. Abi 'l-^c^Ulā, either because of too friendly a relationship with the Marīnid sultan in Fez or too cordial a trucial meeting with Alfonso.

7. Yūsuf I, the younger of two brothers of Muḥammad IV, was proclaimed king by the loyalist Riḍwān, a future Naṣrid minister of consequence. His first official act was to expel, along with all other Banū Abi 'l-^c^Ulā, Abū Thābit, who, on ^c^Uthmān's death, had succeeded him as commander of the Maghribī volunteers (*shaykh al-ghuzāt*), and to replace him with a senior Marīnid, Yaḥyā b. ^c^Umar b. Raḥḥū.

Early in Yūsuf's reign truces made with Castile gave way to a tripartite peace treaty between Castile, Granada and Fez (1334), and in 1336 Pedro IV of Aragon agreed to extend the term of Alfonso IV's peace with Granada. Neither Alfonso XI of Castile, anxious eventually to close Andalusia's doors on the Marīnids, nor Abu 'l-Ḥasan of Fez, eager to keep them open for Marīnid expansion, had long-term peaceful intentions. Each was developing his fleet, the one with Catalan aid, the other with help from the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*]. Finally, in April 1340 the Muslim ships, in a pre-emptive strike, wrecked the Castilian fleet in the bay of Algeciras. Heady with success, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, accompanied by all his entourage, led a massive army into a siege of Tarifa. The subsequent battle of the Salado (7 Djumādā I 741/30 October 1340) was a Muslim disaster: Alfonso, supported by his brother-in-law, Alfonso IV, the king of Portugal, and using the heavily armoured cavalry charge that Muslim light horse would, in more open terrain, have easily outmanœuvred, smashed through to victory. Fearing repercussions at home, Abu 'l-Ḥasan beat a hasty retreat to Morocco via Algeciras, and Yūsuf fled to Granada. Whereas the Salado rout curbed Marīnid enthusiasm for expansion into Spain, it spurred Alfonso into frontier action which gained for him Alcalá de Benzaide (now Alcalá la Real), Priego and Benamejí. Then, in August 1342 his siege of Algeciras, his major goal, began. Forces from all over Europe, even England, rallied behind him in what was one of the very earliest major operations (predating Crécy, 1346) in which effective use was made of cannon—not by the Castilians, as often thought, but by the Muslims. As the siege dragged on Alfonso faced problems, notably from the withdrawal of foreign contingents and the attitudes of the Genoese on whose ships he depended. But sheer determination sustained him until he could win peace on his own

terms. When at last Granadan troops, plunging into action from nearby Gibraltar, failed to raise the siege, Yūsuf exchanged Algeciras for a 10-year truce (12 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 744/27 March 1344), favourable terms for the evacuation of its Marīnid garrison and inhabitants, and tribute to Castile. In 1349 Alfonso broke the truce with an attempt to take Gibraltar, but, like many of his troops, he died of the Black Death (March 1350). His son, Pedro I, gladly reached an accord with Yūsuf, whose subsequent good relations with Castile and a readiness to harbour Marīnid rebel princes gradually soured Granada's friendship with Fez. But Yūsuf's days were numbered: on 1 S̲h̲awwāl 755/19 October 1354 a lunatic stabbed him to death in the Great Mosque in Granada. An able ruler and diplomat, trusted by his subjects, Yūsuf had achieved far more than his setbacks would suggest. Through his refusal to put his kingdom's heartlands at risk he had preserved them intact, and under his wing Granada had moved well along the road leading to literary and architectural brilliance.

8. (1). Muḥammad V, Yūsuf's eldest son, began his rule at sixteen under the benign tutelage of his father's wise and able *ḥād̲j̲ib* [*q.v.*], Riḍwān, in whose service was the gifted young Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb [*q.v.*]. Granada's main objective was a general peace, and Muḥammad, agreeing to pay tribute to Pedro I, soon established good relations with Castile. With Aragon he met with no such rapid success: Pedro IV's initial preference was for warfare on his frontiers. By 1357, however, Granada's diplomatic persistence had led to better relations and the signing of an accord. With Fez, ruled by the Marīnid Abū ʿInān, Granada was also keen to improve relations, and to this end a mission, led by Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, was sent to the sultan (755/1354). Little of substance came of the mission, but in 760/1359 on the accession of the latter's brother, Abū Sālim, who, as Marīnid pretender, had found asylum in Granada, a Naṣrid-Marīnid alliance soon followed. By 1385 the accord with Aragon was at an end: Castile and Aragon were at war, and Muḥammad V's special ties with Castile left him little option but to side with Pedro I, much to the chagrin of Pedro IV, whose enemy he now became. In 1359 the Castilian fleet, earlier augmented by three Granadan galleys, was granted port facilities at Malaga, and Muḥammad was just about to move against Aragon on land when he was ousted in a palace revolution (Ramaḍān 760/August 1359) by his half-brother, Ismāʿīl, son of Yūsuf I's widow Maryam, an ambitious *éminence grise*. Aided by her son-in-law Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (to the Christians *el Bermejo*), Ismāʿīl's cousin and brother-in-law, Maryam had the palace stormed by an assault force. Riḍwān was killed, but Muḥammad V, outside the Alhambra at the time, escaped to Guadix and thence to Fez (November 1359) to the safety of Abū Sālim's court.

9. Ismāʿīl II, a weak, unprepossessing man, reigned only a few months. Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb's dislike of him can have done him no good, but worse came from elsewhere. *El Bermejo* held the reigns of power, and it was he who had Ismāʿīl, along with his brother Ḳays and most of their circle, assassinated (8 S̲h̲aʿbān 761/24 June 1360).

10. Muḥammad VI, *el Bermejo*, a man coarse in manners and dress, was no more popular at court than Ismāʿīl had been. Formally aligning himself with Aragon, he discarded tribute to Castile. Accordingly, Pedro I, after defeating the Aragonese at Nájera (1360) and later concluding with them the Treaty of Terrer (May 1361), turned his attention to Muḥammad V, whom he had helped to return from Fez and to set up a government in Marīnid Ronda (763/1361). In alliance the two took the offensive, though with little initial success. A Castilian incursion into the Vega with Muḥammad V in full view failed to gain him Granada. Then, at Guadix in Rabīʿ I 763/January 1362 a Castilian defeat reaped Muḥammad VI a rich harvest of prisoners. But then the tide turned. One fortress after another fell to the alliance, notably Iznájar, and Muḥammad V, after gaining Malaga, soon had Loja, Antequera, Vélez and Alhama in his hands. Muḥammad VI fled Granada in panic and in D̲j̲umādā 763/March 1362 foolishly threw himself on the mercy of Pedro I of Castile, who had him done to death at Tablada, not far from Seville, on 2 Rad̲j̲ab 763/25 April 1362.

8. (2). Muḥammad V began his seond reign on 20 D̲j̲umādā II 763/16 March 1362. He was to rule uninterruptedly for almost thirty years, during which time deft avoidance of war, wherever possible and expedient, gave Granada the longest stretch of peace in its history. Initial prospects for peace were not bright. In Castile Pedro I was at war with rebels led by his half-brother, Enrique of Trastamara, supported by Pedro IV of Aragon. Loyal to Castile, Muḥammad V sent in cavalry which duly participated in the conquest of Teruel (1363). But success was short-lived, and Pedro had to fall back on his beloved Seville (1364). Then, with mercenary companies recruited in France and led by Bertrand du Guesclin, Enrique penetrated Spain via Catalonia and was proclaimed Enrique II of Castile on 16 March 1366. For Pedro I Granadan support proved no asset: branded a "Moor-lover" and no longer welcome even in Seville, he fled his country. As for Muḥammad, fear of an imminent attack on Almeria and possible invasion of his shores by Christian navies drove him to seek help from North Africa. Despite a positive response from Fez and Tlemcen—the latter with a large input of money, troops and supplies—Christian success on land and sea and Muslim unrest in Almeria made it increasingly clear that peace would be in Granada's best interests. Accordingly Muḥammad switched his allegiance from Pedro I to Enrique II and then went on to conclude a peace treaty with Aragon (Rad̲j̲ab 768/March 1367). Later in 1367 Pedro I returned to Castile, aided by England's Black Prince, and Muḥammad, having reversed his allegiance, joined forces with Castile, sacking Jaén, taking Priego and pillaging Úbeda and Baeza. But, failing to take Cordova in the spring of 1368, he returned to Granada. By the end of March 1369 Pedro I was dead. Enrique II, his conqueror and assassin, was back, but too preoccupied internally to prevent Muḥammad from taking, first, such strategic frontier positions as Cambil, Haver and Rute, and then the prized Algeciras (D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 770/July 1369). With no military response from Enrique, Muḥammad, already party, along with Aragon and the Marīnid Mag̲h̲rib, to a tripartite truce, decided to make peace with him. On 31 May 1370 an eight-year truce was agreed and, in 1375, renewed. From 1370 onwards the diplomatically astute Muḥammad negotiated a series of treaties and agreements of various kinds which gained for Granada a lengthy peace with its Christian neighbours that was only seriously threatened on the death of Enrique II (1379) when hostilities broke out between Granada and Castile. These were short-lived: Enrique's son and successor, Juan I of Castile, at war with England and Portugal, opted for peace with a truce that he renewed in 1390.

Among the various facets of Muḥammad V's

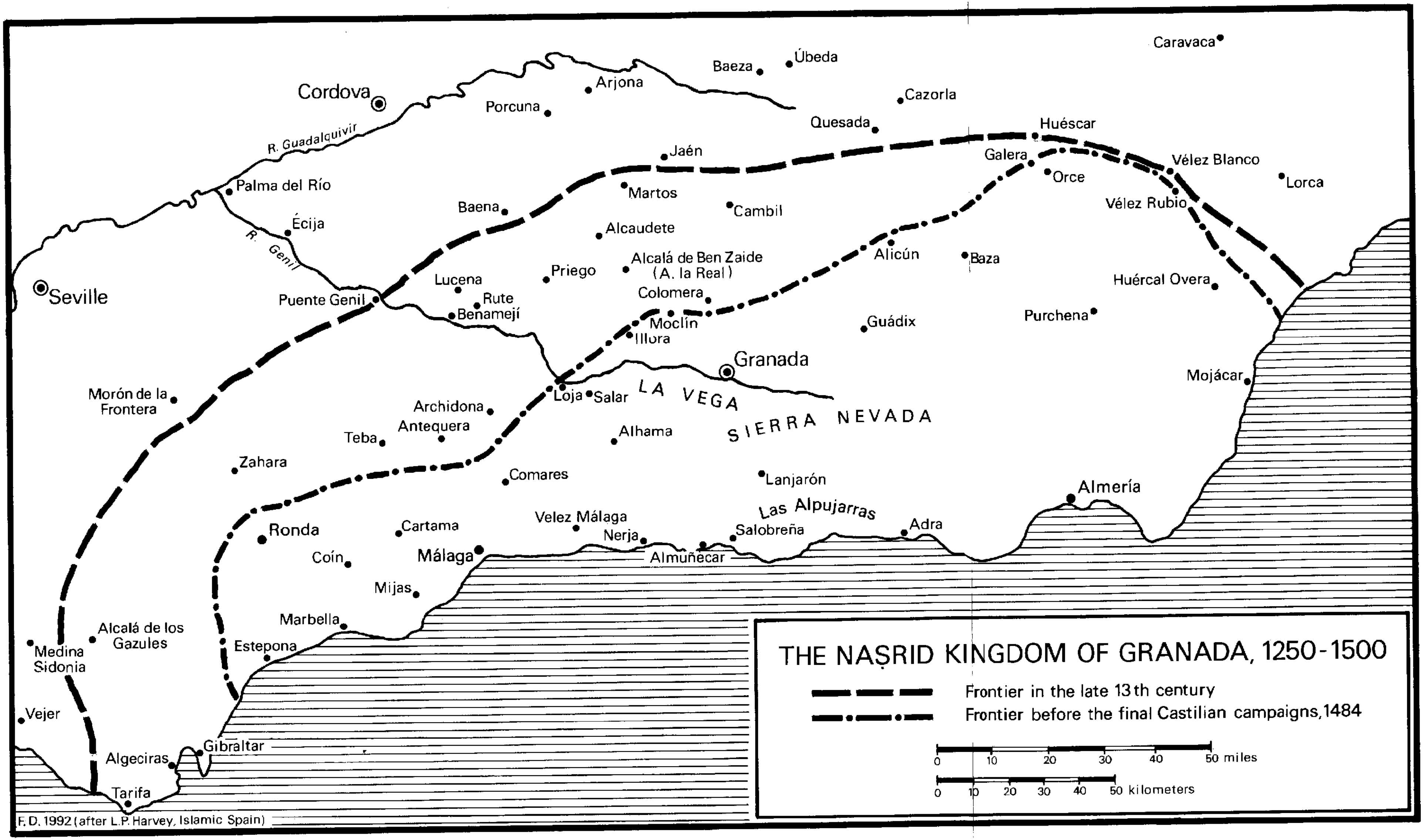

Modified and expanded from L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain* (see Bibl.), map facing p. 1. All rights reserved. ©by the University of Chicago.

policy for Granada two are specially noteworthy: first, his dismantling of Algeciras's massive defences; second, his introduction, in 1372, of direct Naṣrid command of the Maghribī *ghuzāt*, until then always commanded by a royal Marīnid. Both measures were aimed at assertion of his independence of Fez—over which in fact he was soon to gain something of a political upper hand—but the first may also be seen as a move, in Granada's best interests, to make the Straits a less attractive international battleground (see Harvey, 216-17). It remained only to recover Gibraltar from the Marīnids, and this goal was achieved in 1374. Among those necessarily prominent on the Naṣrid-Marīnid stage was the renowned Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], Muḥammad's chief minister, who, being pro-Marīnid, gradually came to fear for his safety and fled his country in 773/1371-2, eventually finding asylum in Fās. There, through the machinations of his successor and former protégé, Ibn Zamrak [*q.v.*], he was tried for heresy by a Granadan tribunal and later murdered in prison (776/1375).

When Muḥammad V died on 10 Ṣafar 793/16 January 1391, he was at the height of his power. For Granada he had achieved relative stability, which had enabled it to prosper. Under him art and literature flourished, and it is to him that we owe much of what we admire in the Alhambra today.

11. Yūsuf II, Muḥammad V's eldest son, was at first dominated by his father's freedman-minister Khālid, who had the ruler's brothers Saᶜd, Muḥammad and Naṣr imprisoned and executed. Ibn Zamrak was imprisoned in Almeria. On being told that Khālid was to imprison him Yūsuf had him slaughtered in his presence. Externally the Christian kingdoms were no threat, but Yūsuf, who died on 16 Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 794/3 October 1392, had opened the door to internal instability.

12. Muḥammad VII, Yūsuf II's younger son, owed his throne to a palace plot to which he was a party, the elder son, Yūsuf, being consigned to prison in Salobreña. Ibn Zamrak, whom Yūsuf II had restored to office, was soon dismissed and, in the summer of 1393, dispatched. For events in the reign of Muḥammad VII and his successors, Muslim testimony, without the detailed and often controlling witness of Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], is relatively sparse, and the best has to be made of the evidence of sources that are largely Christian, shedding little or no light on Muslim motives for Granadan actions.

The need to avoid war, felt by Muḥammad V, was certainly not felt by his grandson. Thinking to profit from strife at the court of Enrique III of Castile (1390-1406), he began his reign with a not wholly successful raid on Caravaca in the region of Lorca (1392), thereby opening an era of frontier warfare. Though mainly aimed at seizing cattle and harvests, raids from both sides, inspiring with their heroics the famous courtly Castilian border ballads (*romances fronterizos*), became the order of the day. In April 1394 a populist crusade against Granada, led by one Martín Yáñez de la Barbuda, ended in disaster with consequences that could have been grave had Enrique not had other problems and Muḥammad not agreed to keep the peace. But Muḥammad's word could not be his bond; many of his frontiersmen acted on impulse, and the raids went on. By 1404 a stronger Enrique was eager to move against Granada in concert with Aragon, which did not, however, share his enthusiasm. In 1405 Muḥammad made the first move, which, though a débâcle on the eastern front, won him, much to Castile's dismay, Ayamonte, near Ronda in the west. Only after long negotiations, which Castile saw as a device to enable Granada to prepare for further action, was a truce agreed. The action, when it came, was aimed at Quesada and Jaén. The Castilian massacre that followed at the battle of Collejares (October 1406) stung Enrique into adopting a policy designed to gain popular support and sound financial backing for a campaign against Granada. That policy did not end, as it might once have done, with his death in December 1406: it was taken up by his brother Fernando and his widow Katherine of Lancaster, regents for the infant Juan II. Voted money by the Cortes, the regents moved swiftly into action late in 1407. There was to be no quick and easy victory for either side, and a truce negotiated in April 1408 afforded both sides a welcome respite. In May Muḥammad died. Already a deterioration in Granada's position vis-à-vis Castile was becoming predictable. As Granada's military capacity, no longer underpinned by an organised Maghribī component, faced decline, that of Castile gained ground with a growth of manpower after recovery from the ravages of the Black Death. Combined with increasing strength and advancing superiority in the use and deployment of artillery, the example of Fernando's pertinacity and disinclination for compromise augured ill for Granada's future.

13. Yūsuf III, long his younger brother's prisoner in Salobreña, sought and won from Castile a truce, which, when extended, ran till 1 April 1410. Only four days later Zahara, a stronghold won by Fernando in 1407, was attacked by Granada and sacked. Bent on revenge, Fernando decided to drive into the Muslim heartland to try to win for himself not a mere fortress but Antequera, a populous town set in a highly fertile agricultural region. The town came under heavy siege, and Muslim efforts to negotiate a peace came to nothing. In arguments over vassalage and tribute, which Granada had not paid since the 1370s, neither side would yield. Thus a bitter struggle between besiegers and besieged went on, ending only when a means of access had been gained in a surprise attack by a Castilian assault force on 16 September 1410. Yūsuf decided to sue for peace, and on 10 November a truce was finally signed. Fernando's victory, which earned him the honorific *el de Antequera* ("he of Antequera"), came as a severe blow to Granada. Others may well have followed in due course had not Fernando, on becoming king of Aragon in 1412, had new preoccupations. For the Naṣrids the truce of 1410 opened a relatively long period of comparative peace between Granada and her neighbours that was to last till 1428. Yūsuf died on 9 November 1417, the year after the death of his old enemy, Fernando, and the year before that of the regent Katherine of Lancaster, to whom Granada had been making gifts in place of tribute.

C. The Naṣrid kingdom from 810/1417 to its fall in 897/1492. The history of this period is such a tangle that only skeletal treatment of it can be attempted here. Fortunately, not too much need be told of the sad story of Granada as a house divided against itself since a fair picture of its internal history, which from 1419 is clearly inseparable from that of the politically powerful and ruthlessly ambitious Banu 'l-Sarrādj (best known to Europe as the "Abencerrajes", "Abencérages", etc.) may be gained from the article IBN AL-SARRĀDJ [*q.v.* in Supplement]. In 1419 Muḥammad VIII, Yūsuf III's eight-year old son and successor, was ousted by the Sarrādj candidate, Muḥammad IX, who in 1427 had to flee the country through Granadan fury at his failure to secure the

extension of a truce with Castile. With the aid of the anti-Sarrādj leader, Riḍwān Bannigash (Banegas/ Venegas), Muḥammad VIII returned, but late in 1429 dissatisfaction with his handling of Castile led to Muḥammad IX's return. The second of the latter's four reigns was short: in 1431, after a show of force at the so-called battle of La Higueruela, Castile imposed on Granada, at Riḍwān's suggestion, Yūsuf IV, a short-lived puppet with no real support. In 1432 Muḥammad IX returned for his third and longest reign, which was interrupted by the confused reigns of Muḥammad X (1445 and 1446-7) and Yūsuf V (1445-6). His fourth and last reign he chose, in an attempt to end internal strife, to share with Muḥammad XI (1451-3), son of Muḥammad VIII, whom he had had executed in 1431. Granada's loss from the Naṣrids' feuds was a source of gain for Castile which it readily exploited if able to do so and if free from internal divisions or clashes with Aragon. Juan II of Castile (d. 1454) was not, nor could have been, a Fernando "of Antequera", but he was a big thorn in Granada's side, bent on trying, by whatever means, to keep the Naṣrids divided; to avoid long truces if possible; to subject Granada to fealty and tribute and so deny it its cherished hope of peace with independence; to use whatever military capacity he had to erode the frontier through piecemeal conquest of Granada's bastions and to demoralise townsmen and villagers within the kingdom through operations aimed at reducing to wasteland the carefully cultivated, but highly vulnerable, countryside that richly sustained them. During the 1430s Granada did win some victories, but the very size and increasing strength of Castile was beginning to tell and might well have prevailed but for an internal crisis in 1439 which gained for Granada a three-year truce. A divided Castile emboldened the Naṣrids, and the 1440s were militarily successful years for them. In 1447 they recovered most of what they had lost to Fernando "of Antequera" in the east. In 1449 they even devastated Cieza, north-west of Murcia, while in the west their raiders almost got as far as Seville. That same year Juan II, finding Navarre allied with Granada, sought a truce, which Muḥammad IX granted so that he could deal with Yūsuf V, then ensconced in Malaga. By 1451 Granada was planning a full-scale invasion of the kingdom of Murcia. In 1450 it had actively aligned itself with the Murcian rebel Alonso Fajardo, who was later, as the danger of invasion loomed, to sink his differences with his many Christian enemies. All closed ranks and in 1452 inflicted a heavy defeat on advancing Granadans at the battle of Alporchones, not far from Lorca.

On the death of Muḥammad IX, Castile was too preoccupied with internal crises to secure the succession of its preferred candidate, Yūsuf V, and Muḥammad XI might have succeeded him without more ado but for the Banu 'l-Sarrādj and Juan II's successor, Enrique IV, who together backed Yūsuf III's middle-aged nephew Saʿd (1453-64). From Archidona Saʿd ruled an area westward towards Ronda, while from the Alhambra Muḥammad XI ruled Granada, Malaga and Almeria until too costly a truce with Castile lost him Granada and his throne to Saʿd in 1455. After capture by Saʿd's son, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, Muḥammad met his death in the Alhambra along with all his heirs. As ruler of Granada Saʿd rejected Castile's demands for subordinate, tributary status. Ensuing hostilities ran a now familiar course: raids, truces, battles lost and won on either side in the ebb and flow of a war largely governed by the state of the parties' internal stability. By the end of 1462 Granada, however, had little cause to rejoice: in July Saʿd, in a sudden break with the Banu 'l-Sarrādj, had had two of the most eminent members of the family murdered in the Alhambra but had not prevented others from fleeing to Malaga, where they declared allegiance to Yūsuf V; in August a weak and betrayed Gibraltar had surrendered to the feuding Castilian leaders of the Medina Sidonia (Guzmán) and the Cadiz (Ponce de León) factions; in September Archidona had fallen; by November Yūsuf V had occupied Malaga and Saʿd's lands to the west and then Granada itself. Saʿd's subsequent recovery of his capital and the death of Yūsuf V late in 1463 availed him little: in August 1464 his son Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, in concert with the Banu 'l-Sarrādj, overthrew him and had him imprisoned.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan began his reign by strengthening Granada's economy and military capacity, and in 1470 he was well able to suppress a rising by his brother, Muḥammad, in Malaga and to extirpate its prime movers, the Banu 'l-Sarrādj, some of whom escaped death only by fleeing to Castilian protectors. Yet, nothing that Abu 'l-Ḥasan did or did not do could do more than defer the fall of the Granadan kingdom, which in fact owed its survival for a little over twenty years longer as much to Castile's own problems during the 1470s as to Granada's tenacity and sporadic heroic stands. For Granada's long-term future the events of 1479 boded ill: on Juan II's death the crown of Aragon passed to Fernando (V), husband of Isabel of Castile, whose throne, contested since her accession late in 1474, then came to rest on more secure foundations with the Treaty of Alcáçobas (4 September 1479), which ended civil war in Castile, ratified its peace with Portugal and brought about the pacification of the Extremadura. Fernando and Isabel, "the Catholic Monarchs" could now focus attention on Granada and the Reconquest.

In February 1482 the taking of the supposedly impregnable Alhama, commanding the main route from Granada to Malaga and Ronda, was the first major step on the road to final Christian victory. Abu 'l-Ḥasan's valiant efforts to recover it between February and July failed, but in mid-July his rout of forces before Loja dashed any Castilian hopes of an easy passage. At this point, however, he fell prey to a palace plot, hatched by the leader of the Banu 'l-Sarrādj faction and the powerful Yūsuf Ibn Kumāsha (Abencomixa), to replace him with his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh (Boabdil, i.e. Muḥammad XII). Unable to regain Granada, he left with his brother Muḥammad b. Saʿd (M. al-Zaghal) for Malaga, which he made his capital. The kingdom was now divided around Granada and Almeria in the east and Ronda and Malaga in the west. In March 1483 Castilian invaders were soundly beaten in an area east of Malaga. Prompted perhaps by his father's triumph, Boabdil rashly struck at Lucena deep in Castile. In the ensuing retreat he lost first-class officers, and he himself was captured. He thus enabled Abu 'l-Ḥasan to return to Granada. There, for some, the latter ruled as lawful king, for others not, and, when physically incapacitated by a stroke early in 1485, he was replaced by Muḥammad al-Zaghal and taken to Almuñecar, where he died. Al-Zaghal could be described as Muḥammad XIII, for he had made himself king in succession to his brother (*Nubdha* (see *Bibl.*), 13: *istawlā ʿalā 'l-mulk baʿdahu*), and in October 1483 most of the Granadan *fuḳahāʾ* had, by *fatwā*, denied Boabdil's right to the throne. Moreover, in 1486 Boabdil himself did acknowledge him, however insincerely or temporarily, as king. Be that as it may, for their own reasons, Boabdil was the Catholic

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE NAṢRIDS
(Dates in parentheses are those of reigns)

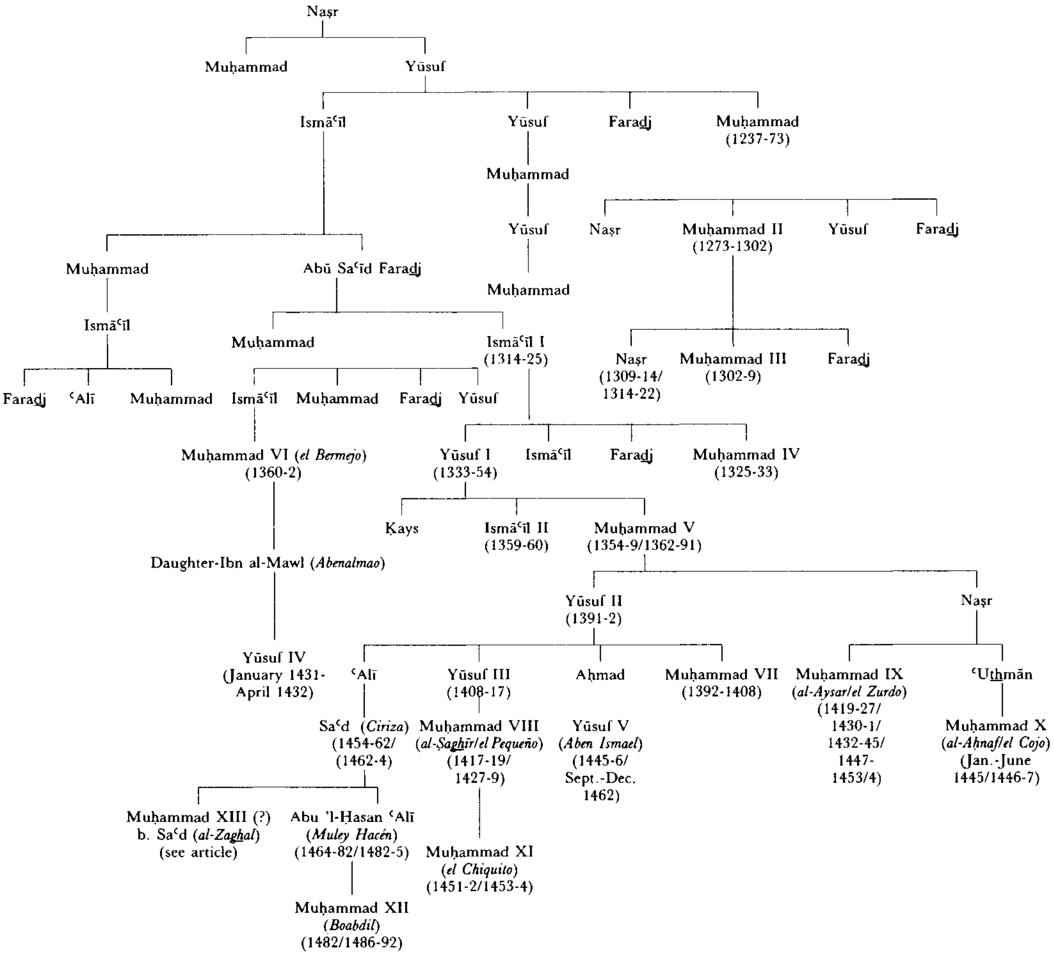

After R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*

Monarchs' king, and he it was who formally surrendered Granada to them on 2 January 1492. By that time the kingdom of Granada had become but a shadow of its former self. One town after another, large and small had fallen, sometimes not so easily, into Christian hands, e.g. Coín, Cártama, Ronda, Marbella (1485): Loja, Salar, Illora, Moclín, Colomera, Montefrío (1486); Vélez-Málaga, Malaga—hard won (1487); Vera (1488); Baza, Purchena, Almería, Almuñecar, Salobreña, Guadix (1489). After surrendering Almeria and Guadix in return for a tiny semi-autonomous principality in the Alpujarras, al-Zaghal had sold all his lands in 1490 and sailed for Oran in the Maghrib. Under the Capitulations of Granada, Boabdil had rights as a Mudéjar [*q.v.*], and, having left his old capital for his country estates, stayed on a while before leaving for the Maghrib. In 949/1533-4 he died and was buried in Fez, where in 1027/1617-18 his descendants were to be found living in penury.

The last decade of Naṣrid rule is so involved and in some respects enigmatic that it is not covered here in any detail. The main causes of its extinction, however, may be adumbrated. To begin with, the Catholic Monarchs' ability to tackle the problem of internal dissension and to find judicious ways of uniting most of their subjects in pursuit of a common cause was not matched by the Naṣrids, who failed abjectly to resolve family quarrels and to shed factional strife. Even outside palace circles, a wholly united front could not be guaranteed since the interests of, for instance, merchants, traders, cultivators and the influential *fuḳahāʾ* did not always coincide. But most damaging of all was the split between Boabdil and al-Zaghal, which in 1486 made Granada itself the scene of bloody, bitter fighting. Of the two, Boabdil was the more valuable to Castile, for, though a vacillator, he was a more ready collaborator. Al-Zaghal was by far the better soldier, the more successful leader and the staunch defender of Islam's interests until—perhaps despairing of Boabdil—he gave up and left the latter to his own devices. Politically and otherwise, Castile exploited all perceptible divisions within the Naṣrid camp. Militarily, it moved gradually into a position of superiority through its ability to keep an army in the field and to deploy its artillery with increasing efficiency. It also ensured, as far as possible, that its forces continued the war of

attrition aimed at undermining the economy and morale of the enemy by systematic devastation of *extra muros* cultivated land. Heroism, of which the last years of Naṣrid rule witnessed some striking examples was no substitute for military reinforcements of the kind that the Maghrib had so effectively supplied in time past, but could no longer supply because of its own decadence and weakness. When, in response to an appeal for aid in 1487, Mamlūk Egypt—no naval match for Christian Spain—had nothing more to offer than diplomatic intervention and goodwill, it was only a matter of time before the Naṣrid kingdom fell.

Bibliography: The indispensable standard work, covering not only political history, but also institutions and social, economic, cultural and other aspects of life under the Naṣrids is R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides (1232-1492). Réimpression suivie d'une postface et d'une mise à jour par l'auteur*, Paris 1990, which adds 49 pp. to the 1973 impression (see my review, *JSS*, xx [1975], 278-81), containing a complementary bibliography, addenda and errata; L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250-1500*, Chicago and London, 1990, dealing with Mudéjar [*q.v.*] as well as Naṣrid history, offers some new insights into the latter (though in the matter of dates it should be used with caution). Between them the very full bibliographies of Arié and Harvey offer comprehensive coverage of the essential primary and secondary sources, etc. From the end of the 8th/14th century the only Arabic account we have to control the Castilian chronicles' version of Naṣrid history is *K. Nubdhat al-ʿaṣr*, etc. (anon.) ed. Bustānī, *Fragmento de la época*, etc. (tr. C. Quirós) (see Arié, 14; Harvey, 355), covering the period 882-97/1477-92 (and, laconically, to the end of the century). The entry in *EI²*, Supplement, 398 f., cited as relevant to the Banu'l-Sarrādj, calls for two comments: (1) In *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, ii, Madrid 1989, 173-5, A. Labarta cogently argues that the "Zegríes" (399b) derive their name *not* from *thaghrī*, as long thought, but from the name "Zakrī"; (2) it was Muḥammad XI, *not* Muḥammad IX, who was murdered as described (*ibid.*, last para.). (J.D. LATHAM)

2. Art and architecture.

Naṣrid architecture may be considered under four periods, reaching its apogee in the 14th century: (1) a first period, under Muḥammad I-III and Naṣr (1232-1314) inherited and adapted Almohad artistic forms; (2) under Ismāʿīl, Muḥammad IV and Yūsuf (1314-54) classically monumental architecture was created; (3) under Muḥammad V and the intrusive rulers of his reign (1354-91) decoration reached its optimum richness in complex architecture with ingenious ground plans, elevations and perspectives; and (4) under Muḥammad VII and Yūsuf III (1392-1417) there was only a brief flowering of decoration. Thereafter, internal dynastic quarrels caused a decline.

Military architecture. This inherited Almohad features in its enclosures, *ḳaṣabas*, *ḥiṣns* and *ḳalahurras* or towers with luxurious residences. Work began in 1238 when Muḥammad I "went up to the place called al-Ḥamrāʾ, inspected it, marked out the foundations and left someone to direct the work" (for a detailed consideration of the Alhambra, see GHARNĀṬA. Monuments. B). Characteristics of this military architecture are: (1) a progressive accumulation of walls and towers in defended precincts; (2) monumental towers with vaulted chambers on various levels, with the largest tower in an angle of the fortress (Alhambra: Vela Tower; Granada: Ḥiṣn al-Tawwābīn; Gibraltar: *al-ḳalahurra*; Malaga and Antequera *ḳaṣabas*: Homage tower). The gates have straight or bent interior passages, leaving the attacker exposed (cf. Vitruvius, *De architectura*, I, v, 2); the internal bend (*bāshūra*) is single in the first period but simple, double or triple in the second one. Precincts of the second and third periods have external (*barrāniyya*) towers, linked to the walls by an arch (Antequera; Malaga; Gibralfaro), and a lower defensive wall (called in al-Andalus *sulūḳiyya*) encircles some walls (Granada: Bāb Ilbīra; Malaga; Gibralfaro). See also ḤIṢN. I. The Muslim West.

Of *ḳalahurras* (so-called by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and in the poetry of Ibn al-Djayyāb and Ibn Zamrak), the largest in al-Andalus was built at Gibraltar (between 1333 and 1349) by the Marīnid sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. This impressed Yūsuf I, who erected his own *al-ḳalahurra al-djadīda* in the Alhambra. *Ḳaṣaba*s might have an inner precinct enveloped by an outer one (Malaga) or connected to an outer one by towers (Granada), or a main precinct reached by crossing others that do not envelop it (Almeria; Gibraltar). The Malaga one adapted the 11th century fortress and has a complex entrance between walls, towers and gates, leading into the first outer precinct. Within the *ḳaṣaba*s of Malaga and Almeria were military quarters with *ḥammām*s, wells and prisons/silos; important *ḳaṣabas* had palaces for the sovereign (Almeria, Malaga, Guadix). Towers (*ṭāliʿa*) on hills and vantage points reported the movements of enemy troops by land or sea.

Religious architecture. Remains of this are few. First period ones show Almohad features: concrete and brick walls, arcades on brick pillars, and pointed horseshoe arches. Of the Alhambra mosques of Muḥammad III and Ismāʿīl I, only the ground plans remain. The three Alhambra oratories of the second and third periods have rectangular ground plans. Yūsuf I inaugurated the *madrasa* of Granada, whose portico entrance was similar to the *funduḳ al-djadīda* (see below), with a courtyard of Marīnid type and with a highly-restored oratory having a square plan ascending to an octagonal lantern. The only surviving *rābiṭa* (the hermitage of St. Sebastian) by the river Genil, has a square plan, a vault of crossed arches leaving the centre free and a covering roof.

Civic architecture. Muḥammad II built the arsenal of Malaga, which Muḥammad V enlarged. The only remaining Naṣrid *funduḳ*, al-Djadīda, is Yūsuf I's Corral del Carbón, with a square plan, central courtyard and three storeys with galleries on pillars leading to the guest rooms; its projecting *īwān* entrance shows clear oriental Islamic influence. The Granada *māristān* or hospital was built by Muḥammad V in 1365-7 after successful military campaigns and partially survives on its southern and eastern sides; it was structurally similar to the *funduḳ* and had a central pool with two large seated lions as water-spouts (now re-sited in the Alhambra). Naṣrid houses varied with social class. The excavated military and artisan quarters of the Alhambra and the Malaga *ḳaṣaba* show small, irregular houses with bent entrances, neighbouring latrines and stables, and a courtyard giving on to the rooms. More luxurious houses had two storeys, as in the Casa de los Girones (Granada), with its richly painted stucco decoration. The numerous Naṣrid *ḥammāms* have lost their access and *bayt al-maslakh* and it is mainly the steam rooms and furnaces which survive (Granada; Baza; Ronda; Gibraltar; Alhama).

Palace architecture. This mainly survives in the Alhambra and Granada, such as Muḥammad III's Partal palace, Yūsuf I's *ḳalahurra djadīda* (Cautiva) in

the Alhambra and his reconstruction of the Comares palace in 1350, completed by Muḥammad V; the latter ruler's Riyāḍ or Lions palace; etc. On these, see GHARNĀṬA. Monuments. B.

Gardens. The Generalife, the ruler's country pleasure palace, with lands, cattle and orchards, preserves the only Naṣrid gardens, containing inter alia the interior sunny patio of the Acequia and the shaded garden of the Water Stairs, offering shade at differing levels.

Decoration and aesthetics. The *dīwān al-inshā*ʾ or chancery also directed architecture and decoration, and four of its poet-viziers who have left beautiful epigraphed poems and Ḳurʾānic texts on the palace walls are known to us: Ibn al-Djayyāb, Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], Ibn Zamrak [*q.v.*] and Ibn Furkūn (whose epigraphed texts are lost). Naṣrid Kūfic writing evolved its own geometric compositions, often combined with floral-geometric designs. Coloured ceramic tiling was used for large geometric compositions, and colouring was an essential element in Naṣrid decoration and architecture, often employing red, blue and green with a white, silver or gold foreground.

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(A. FERNÁNDEZ-PUERTAS)

NAṢṢ (A.), a religio-legal term. The meaning of the root appears to be "to raise", especially "to elevate a thing so that it is visible to all". The word does not occur with this sense in either Ḳurʾān or *Ḥadīth*, but it may be etymologically connected with *naṣaba*. In the technical vocabulary of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the term refers to a text whose presence in either Ḳurʾān or Ḥadīth must be demonstrated to justify an alleged ruling. In his *Risāla*, al-Shāfiʿī uses it to refer to rulings textually referred to in either Ḳurʾān or *Sunna*, (81, 83, 88, 138, 149, 158-9, 166, 173), although he appears also on occasion to use the term of an explicit Ḳurʾān statement (91, 106) to contrast it with *djumla*, i.e. a general Ḳurʾān statement made more specific only by a *ḥadīth* which supplies a more precise definition. Similarly, the usage referred to in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, "the *naṣṣ* of the Ḳurʾān or of the Sunna," means the ruling which the *ẓāhir* [*q.v.*], or the words actually present in the text of the Ḳurʾān or the Sunna actually indicate, i.e. without resort to further interpretation. Possibly connected with the basic meaning is the other usage, the *naṣṣ*, or "raising" (*rafʿ*) of a *ḥadīth*, that is, its attribution to its originator, not necessarily the Prophet. To be noted also is the labelling of the Shīʿī principle that the Prophet had designated ʿAlī to be his successor as *naṣṣ wa-taʿyīn*. Other meanings of the term are supplied by Lane, Dozy and the Arabic dictionaries.

Bibliography: Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla*, Cairo 1357/1938; Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the technical terms*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, 1405 ff.

(A.J. WENSINCK-[J. BURTON])

AL-**NASSĀDJ** (A.) "weaver, textile worker", synonymous with *ḥāʾik*, and including sedentary weavers of the towns and villages and also those of the pastoralists and Bedouins. These were usually freemen, but sometimes slaves. *Nassādj* was a less derogatory term than *ḥāʾik* but on the whole the status of the weaver was low in Islamic society, an attitude crystallised in a saying attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, "Walking with a weaver (*nassādj*) on the road increases a man's livelihood; talking to him is inauspicious, and visiting his workshop stupefies a person" (al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā*ʾ, Beirut 1961, ii, 459-60). This low status was associated with a relatively meagre income and was affirmed by *kafāʾa* "equivalence in status" [*q.v.*], denying the weaver the right to marry outside his own social level. Hence social mobility was low within this trade, a fact observable till the mid-20th century in a traditionally-organised centre of production like Fās in Morocco (see H.M. Miner. *Traditional mobility among the weavers of Fez*, in *Trans. of the Amer. Philosophical Soc.*, cxvii/1 [1973], 17-36).

We find *al-Nassādj* often used as a *nisba* [*q.v.*]. Al-Samʿānī (*Ansāb*, facs. fol. 559a-b, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 81-4) cites several traditionists and Ṣūfīs with this affiliation, including Abū Hamza Mudjammaʿ al-Taymī of Kūfa, Abū Muḥammad of Baṣra, a *mawlā* of Bilāl b. Abī Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (d. *ca.* 120/738), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Khayr b. ʿAbd Allāh, known as Khayr al-Nassādj (d. 322/934), famed Ṣūfī with a *ḥalḳa* in Baghdād, etc. It is, indeed, not improbable that there was a connection between their status as craftsmen and Ṣūfism.

The weaver's product was usually exempt from taxation (*ḍarāʾib, mukūs*). When the Būyid *amīrs* of Baghdād imposed taxes on silken cloth (*ḥarīr* [*q.v.*], *ibrism*) and on fine cotton cloth of the *ʿattābī* variety, artisan riots against them led to their abolition in 390/999. In the 6th/12th century the Saldjūḳs imposed some *mukūs* on textiles.

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2. Studies. Wensinck, *Concordances*, vi, 427; R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972; M.A.J. Beg, *Social mobility in Islamic civilization*, Kuala Lumpur 1981, 51-73. (M.A.J. BEG)

NASSADS, the common European form of the name given to the light wooden warships built in Nassau or Hohenau (Lower Austria), the "Nassauer" or "Hohenauer", Magyar *naszád*, pl. *naszádok*, Slav. *nasad*, which were used on the Danube. They were usually manned by Serbian seamen who were called *martalos* [*q.v.*] (from the Magyar *martolóc*, *martalóz*, lit. "robber"). According to a Florentine account, this Danube flotilla in 1475 consisted of 330 ships manned by 10,000 "nassadists" armed with lances, shields, crossbow or bow and arrow, more

rarely with muskets. The larger ships had also cannon. About 1522 the commander of the Danube fleet was Radić Božić, who reorganised it at Peterwardein (cf. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, ii/1, 258). Through want of money, the Serbian seamen then deserted to the Turks (*ibid.*, 262), who after the fall of Belgrade seized the Danube fleet and developed it into a powerful arm. About 1530 the Danube fleet consisted of 800 nassads and was commanded by the voivode Ḳāsim (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 85).

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(F. Babinger)

NASSER [see ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir, in Suppl.].

NASTAᶜLĪḲ [see khaṭṭ].

NASṬŪRIYYŪN, Nasāṭira (a.), sing. Nasṭūrī, the Nestorian Christians. The term derives from Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, whose Christological doctrine was condemned by the council of Ephesus in 431. But the reasons for the separation of East Syrian Christianity ("Nestorianism") from the Byzantine Church and the West Syrian patriarchate of Antioch were political (the conflict between the Roman and the Persian empires) rather than doctrinal. The term "Nestorians" is also usually rejected (especially in modern times) by the East Syrians themselves. In this article the traditional designation will be used for the sake of convenience.

Already a council in Seleucia-Ctesiphon [see al-madāʾin] in 410 defined the organisation of the independent East Syrian Church in six metropolitan provinces, under the supremacy of the catholicos residing in the capital of the Sāsānid empire: 1. Babylon = Bēth Armāyē (centre: Seleucia-Ctesiphon, with the bishop of Kashkar as acting catholicos in times of vacancy); 2. Susiana = Bēth Ḥūzāyē (centre: Bēth Lāphaṭ = Gondēshāpūr [*q.v.*]); 3. Northern Mesopotamia = Bēth ᶜArbhāyē (centre: Nisibis); 4. Mesene = Mayshān (centre: Perāth de-Mayshān = Baṣra [*q.v.*]); 5. Adiabene = Ḥedhayyābh (centre: Arbīl); 6. Garmaea = Bēth Garmay (centre: Karkhā de-Bēth Selōkh = Kirkūk [*q.v.*]). The number of metropolitan provinces was subsequently increased: 7. Persis (5th cent.) and 8. Marw (6th cent.).

From Marw, Nestorian missionary monks followed the trade routes to Central Asia and China, where additional ecclesiastical centres were established. Evidence of one of the most remarkable missionary enterprises in history is found on a marble pillar erected in Shianfu in the Chinese province of Shensi in 781. The bilingual Chinese-Syriac inscription relates the arrival of the first Syriac missionary Alopen in 635. Three years later the Chinese emperor—according to the stele—invited his subjects to embrace the new religion and ensured the free propagation of Christianity in his empire. The heyday of Nestorianism in China lasted two centuries. By about 1200 Chinese Nestorianism seems to have vanished. From an early date there were also East Syrian communities in India—especially along the Malabar Coast, which was connected with Western Asia by maritime trade routes.

Along the trade routes to India Nestorian traders and missionaries had also settled among the Arabs in the Persian Gulf (e.g. Ḳaṭar and al-Baḥrayn), and in South Arabia (e.g. Nadjrān, Ṣanᶜāʾ and Mārib). Though the early history of South Arabian Christianity—due to political reasons—was primarily influenced by Byzantine missionary activity and competing Monophysitism, the Persian conquest in 597 brought about a Nestorian dominance. North of the Arabian Peninsula, the Arab population in the buffer state of the Lakhmid [*q.v.*] kingdom—with al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] as its capital—had belonged to the East Syrian (Nestorian) Church for centuries. But it was only their last king, al-Nuᶜmān III (580-602 [*q.v.*]), who was officially baptised into the Nestorian Church.

Comparatively tolerated by the Sāsānid emperors, the Christians were from time to time subjected to severe persecutions, e.g. under Shāpūr II (309-79), Yazdagird I (399-420) and Bahrām V (420-38). The vacancy in the office of the catholicos 608-28 was the consequence of a persecution initiated by Khusraw II (591-628). Initially, therefore, the Nestorians in Mesopotamia seem to have welcomed the Arab conquerors as liberators from Sāsānid persecutions. In addition, the new Islamic religion was in principle tolerant towards Christians (including Nestorians) as members of the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb* [*q.v.*]). Muḥammad himself is supposed to have signed a treaty with Sayyid, king of Nadjrān, and Abu 'l-Ḥārith, Nestorian bishop of Nadjrān. This treaty guaranteed the Christians a protected status [see ahl al-dhimma] in return for the payment of the *djizya* [*q.v.*], from which priests and monks were to be exempted. It is the first of a series of similar treaties regulating the relations between Christians and their Muslim rulers. The most famous of these covenants is attributed to the second caliph ᶜUmar ("the covenant of ᶜUmar", *ᶜahd ᶜUmar*). Often such treaties are unhistoric documents of more recent date, legitimising certain rights or restrictions. It is clear, though, that the Prophet himself had a positive attitude towards Nestorians. In his religious views he was strongly influenced by the Nestorian missionaries he met in Yemen and on the trade route between Yemen and ᶜIrāḳ (cf. T. Andrae). One of these Nestorians was Ḳuss b. Sāᶜida [*q.v.*] of Nadjrān whom Muḥammad is supposed to have heard preaching in ᶜUkāẓ.

Though the relationship between the Arab-Muslim invaders of ᶜIrāḳ and the Nestorian inhabitants was mutually positive at first, conversions to Islam (already the catholicos Īshūᶜyāb III [649-59] found it difficult to prevent the Arab tribes of the Persian Gulf from adopting Islam) and political pressure on the Nestorians weakened the Nestorian Church and caused internal dissension. While the Umayyads in Syria encouraged the appointment of Christian (usually Melkite) officials and therefore treated the Christians well, provocations caused trouble in Mesopotamia. The ambitious governor al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] (in ᶜIrāḳ 75-95/694-714) interfered in the internal affairs of the Nestorian Church and encouraged rivalry within the hierarchy. Such rivalry continued even later on during the ᶜAbbāsid period, and occasionally gave rise to double appointments of bishops by rival catholicoi. No doubt dissension within the Church was a contributory cause of the increasing number of conversions to Islam. Another cause was the persecutions which broke out from time to time. Especially under the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd [*q.v.*] (170-93/786-809) and al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] (232-47/847-61) were the restrictions imposed on the Christians, according to the covenant of ᶜUmar, rigidly applied.

In between periods of persecution, and especially

after the establishment of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate in 132/750, relations between the catholicate and the caliph's court were close. Before the end of the 8th century the catholicoi had moved their centre from Seleucia-Ctesiphon to Baghdād. Many Church leaders, such as the catholicos Timothy I (780-823), were highly thought of in the caliphal court. As a result, the Nestorian catholicos became the official representative of all the Christians within the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate. During the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries Nestorian government officials played an important part in the ᶜAbbāsid administration. The employment of Christian secretaries [see KĀTIB], especially in Syria, had been widespread during the first Islamic century, the conquerors having initially left the pre-Islamic systems of administration intact. But even after the Arabisation of these earlier administrative systems Christian clerks were widely employed not only in Syria and Egypt but also in ᶜIrāḳ—at least after the ᶜAbbāsid revolution. In ᶜIrāḳ there were Nestorian monasteries [see DAYR] which provided the ᶜAbbāsid empire with competent officials. Some of these officials attained high positions and could even be appointed viziers, in which case they normally had to convert to Islam. The most famous of these ᶜIrāḳī monasteries was Dayr Ḳunnā [*q.v.*] with the school of Mar Mārī. Here, such successful viziers as ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā (245-334/859-946 [*q.v.*]) of the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ family began their careers. Here, too, future Nestorian catholicoi like Israel (960-2) and Īshūᶜyāb b. Ḥizḳiyāl (1020-5) were teachers. As a member of the teaching staff at Dayr Ḳunnā the famous Nestorian logician Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 940), one of Yaḥyā b. ᶜAdī's (d. 974) teachers, may be mentioned too.

One of the reasons why relations between the Nestorian Church and the Muslim rulers were often so good may be the outstanding rôle which the Nestorians played in the field of medicine, science and philosophy. There were famous Nestorian schools of learning in Edessa, Nisibis and Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Many Greek philosophical and medical works by Aristotle [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS], and his commentators, and by Ptolemy [see BAṬLAMIYŪS], Hippocrates [see BUḲRĀṬ], Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS], etc., were soon translated into Syriac. Further to the east, Gondēshāpūr was famous especially as a medical centre. The Nestorian Bukhtīshūᶜ [*q.v.*] family produced prominent physicians for generations. They provided the leadership at the medical school at Gondēshāpūr and served as court physicians to the caliph in Baghdād from 148/765. While the early translations from Greek into Syriac and from Syriac into Arabic were of a literal type, the translations produced by the school of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 873)—leader of the academy or *Bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] founded in Baghdād by the caliph al-Maʾmūn—were more polished. Besides, translations into Arabic became more and more common, whether through a Syriac intermediary or directly from Greek. In this academy Ḥunayn's son Isḥāḳ and nephew Ḥubaysh were also active. Often enough the translations were provided with commentaries. In a third phase of the translation movement, revisions of older versions were made, textual criticism was applied, and the interest was more purely philosophical than earlier. In this phase Nestorian scholars of the Aristotelian school in Baghdād such as Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 940) and ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043) took part.

Besides their prominence as translators, philosophers, scientists and practitioners in the fields of medicine, pharmacy, banking, etc., the Nestorians during the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate produced an enormous religious and ecclesiastical literature—in Syriac as well as in Arabic. Though Arabic was adopted fairly early, the Nestorians (and the Jacobites, or West Syrians) never abandoned Syriac as a literary medium. This should be compared to the situation among the Copts in Egypt. Here, Arabic on a wide scale was introduced only in the 4th/10th century, but soon more or less replaced Coptic, which was thereafter restricted to liturgical and philological contexts. Within the enormous corpus of Nestorian literature there are important works relevant to the history of Islamic-Christian dialogue and the situation of the Nestorian Church during the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate. The catholicos Timothy I (780-823) was not only a collector of canonical materials and a translator of Aristotle but also engaged in a theological dialogue with the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) dealing with most of the classic points of discussion: Christology, the Trinity, moral and ritual differences between Christians, Muslims and Jews, the Prophethood of Muḥammad, the *taḥrīf* [see AL-INDJĪL] of the Scriptures, the veneration of the Cross, etc. Though originally in Syriac, Timothy's apology is better known in its Arabic versions. Another Nestorian writer from the first ᶜAbbāsid century, writing in Syriac, is Theodore bar Kōnī. His *Scholion* or compendium of Nestorian theology includes an apologia for Christianity against the Muslims. The importance of this work lies in the fact that it provides the framework of the ecclesiastical philosophy and the basic outline of the Christian approach to Islam which was to become standard in future apologies. In contrast to the two previous authors, ᶜAmmār al-Baṣrī wrote his *Kitāb al-Burhān* and his *Kitāb al-Masāʾil wa 'l-adjwiba* in Arabic, presumably during the caliphate of al-Muᶜtaṣim (218-27/833-42). Being himself a *mutakallim*, ᶜAmmār in his Trinitarian apology refutes an Islamic conception of the attributes of God (*ṣifāt Allāh*) which corresponds to the doctrine held by the Muᶜtazilī scholar Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ᶜAllāf [*q.v.*]. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, Abu 'l-Hudhayl also wrote a refutation of ᶜAmmār entitled *Kitāb ᶜalā ᶜAmmār al-naṣrānī fī 'l-radd ᶜalā 'l-naṣārā*. Like ᶜAmmār, another Nestorian Arabic writer, Isrāʾīl al-Kaskarī (d. 872), defended the doctrine of the Trinity in the genre of questions and answers. Here, too, Muᶜtazilī conceptions (al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar's [*q.v.*]) are refuted. Another important point of reference in Isrāʾīl's doctrine on divine Unity and Trinity is Yaᶜḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī's [see AL-KINDĪ] philosophy. Isrāʾīl was also engaged in a public debate with al-Kindī's disciple Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī [*q.v.*]. One of the most prolific Nestorian writers was Elia of Nisibis, or Iliyyā al-Naṣībī (975-1046). In 417/1026 Elia had seven discussions with the Muslim vizier Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī al-Maghribī (d. 418/1027 [see AL-MAGHRIBĪ, BANŪ], a refugee from al-Ḥākim's Egypt. The sessions which took place in Nisibis and were collected under the title *Kitāb al-Madjālis*, deal with the standard topics of the Christian-Muslim dialogue, but also with profane matters such as syntax, lexicography and calligraphy. In the field of ecclesiastical history during Islamic times, Mārī b. Sulaymān's *Kitāb al-Madjdal* (*ca.* 1160) and the revisions and additions made by ᶜAmr b. Mattā and Ṣalībā b. Yūḥannā in the 14th century provide the most exhaustive information available on the relations between the Nestorian hierarchy and the Muslim government. A fair amount of historical criticism has to be applied in order to interpret the statements and the explanations of events made by Mārī, ᶜAmr and Ṣalībā. Often enough there are traces

of a later generation having touched up an original story. The historical section in the *Kitāb al-Madjdal* is only a small part of the entire work, which is a compiled encyclopaedia—a Nestorian counterpart to al-Muʾtaman b. al-ʿAssāl's *Madjmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn* (13th cent.) in the Arabic literature of the Copts. A similar, but far less comprehensive, theological compendium was written by ʿAbdīshūʿ (d. 1318), the last of the great Nestorian writers.

Though the ʿAbbāsid caliphate officially lasted until 656/1258, the effective rulers 334-447/945-1055 were the Shīʿī Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS]. This fact hardly aggravated the situation for the Nestorians. As was the case in Fāṭimid Egypt, the Shīʿī Būyids were rather more tolerant than the Sunnīs towards the Christians. When the Sunnī Saldjūḳs in 447/1055 replaced the Būyids as effective rulers many Nestorian churches and monasteries were damaged. But on the other hand, this was the fate of all religious minorities. And when the Saldjūḳs had finally established themselves the situation for the Nestorians seemed once more to have improved. When the Saldjūḳs extended their power over Syria and Palestine, this in fact facilitated the expansion of the Nestorian Church in the West. Also, in the East the Nestorian Church appears still to have been flourishing during this period. About 25 metropolitan provinces (including those in India and Central Asia) were subordinate to the catholicos.

In Central Asia, Nestorianism, from an early date in hard competition with Manichaeism and Buddhism (cf. the discoveries in the Turfān oasis), had been established through traders and missionaries. Nestorian Christianity was encouraged by the tolerant Mongol rulers, and when the Mongols conquered the Eastern parts of the caliphate and sacked Baghdād in 656/1258, there were numerous Nestorian Christians among the advancing Mongols and Turks. In Baghdād the Christians and the Shīʿīs were tolerated while the Sunnīs were treated as enemies. In 680/1281 a monk of Mongol descent was elected catholicos under the name Yabalāhā III (1281-1317). During his catholicate the Nestorian Church experienced its last period of peace, but also a change of fate when the Mongol rulers adopted Sunnī Islam. The Nestorians suddenly lost their privileged status and were once more subjected to persecutions. Because of the privileges the Christians had enjoyed during the past decades, the Muslims sought revenge. Under these circumstances it is probable that numerous native ʿIrāḳī Nestorians also converted to Islam. Over the following decades the Nestorian Church lost all its eastern provinces. The final blow was delivered by the invasion of Tīmūr Lang, whose reign of terror lasted from 771/1369 to 807/1405, and his hordes, in whose footsteps nothing but destruction, persecution and murder followed.

Those Nestorians who did survive the invasion of Tīmūr fled through northern ʿIrāḳ up into the Hakkārī Mountains to the west of Lake Urmiya. Presumably to prevent disintegration, the catholicate (from now on called "patriarchate") was made hereditary in 1450. The office went from uncle to nephew (who was designated before birth). On the one hand, rivalry between different candidates and their supporters was avoided by this procedure. On the other hand, the opposition against this rule was inevitable. When, in 1551, the patriarchal see became vacant, part of the Church refused to acknowledge the nephew of the deceased, Shimʿūn VIII Denḥā, as the new patriarch.

The Nestorians on the northern plains of ʿIrāḳ preferred a pro-Roman bishop, Yūḥannā Sulāḳā, to Shimʿūn VIII Denḥā. In 1553 Yūḥannā Sulāḳā visited Rome and was consecrated by the Pope. Contacts with Rome had been made earlier in the history of the Nestorian Church. Already in the catholicate of Yabalāhā III in 1287 and 1297 there had been connections between the Nestorian catholicate and the Roman curia, but nothing serious had come out of it. Not even in the 16th century were the endeavours to have lasting results. It was not until the 19th century that an effective Chaldaean Patriarchate of Babylon was finally established. The present *ca.* 500,000 members of this Church—of Nestorian origin, but now in union with Rome—are called Chaldaeans. Since 1989 Raphael I Bidawid has been the patriarch of the Church, and resides in Baghdād.

In the mountain area of Hakkâri province in modern Turkey, the Nestorians held on to the hereditary patriarchate of Shimʿūn VIII Denḥā and had no relations with Rome. In the 19th century, Protestant missionaries and amateur archaeologists regarded the Nestorians of the mountains as descendants of the ancient Assyrians. As a result of this, the Nestorians were increasingly called Assyrians—an epithet they themselves generally accepted. During the 20th century—especially in the diaspora in America and Europe—a national Assyrian movement has grown strong. This movement was greatly inspired by the severe persecutions which the Assyrians suffered during World War I, when the community was suspected of supporting the British, with whom Turkey was at war. About one-third of the Assyrian population died in these massacres. In ʿIrāḳ, where the majority of the survivors had fled, a new massacre further scattered the community in 1933, when the British mandate ended. In the same year the patriarch, Mar Shimʿūn XXIII, lost his ʿIrāḳī citizenship and took up residence in San Francisco, USA. In protest against the office of the patriarch being hereditary and the Patriarch's adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1964, members of the Church in ʿIrāḳ found support from the Assyrian Metropolitan of India, Mar Thomas Darmo, who was elected patriarch in Baghdād in 1968. In 1970 he was succeeded by Mar Addai of Baghdād. Shortly thereafter the ʿIrāḳī government invited Mar Shimʿūn XXIII to return to ʿIrāḳ, and gave him legal recognition as head of the Assyrian community. However, in 1973 he resigned from his office and married. He was assassinated in San Francisco in November 1975. In October 1976 the bishop of Tehran was elected patriarch and took up residence in Morton Grove, Illinois, USA, as Mar Denḥā IV. At the same time he declared the end of the patriarchal dynasty. Although the main reason for the schism between the two groups—now about equally strong—was then removed, a full reconciliation has not yet been achieved. Substantial progress towards a solution was made in early 1990 when bishops of the two parties negotiated together. In all, the Assyrian Church of the East counts about 500,000 members. Together with the Chaldaean Catholic Church, the number of the spiritual offspring of the East Syrians, or Nestorians, amounts to about a million.

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NAṢŪḤ PASHA (d. 1023/1614), an Ottoman grand vizier, was of Christian descent and was born either in Gümüldjine [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (the modern Komotini, Thrace, Greece) or in Drama. According to some sources (e.g. Baudier and Grimestone, in Knolles), he was the son of a Greek priest; according to others (e.g. Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*[1], 283, *arnaʾud djinsi*), of Albanian origin.

He came early in life to Istanbul, spent two years in the old Seray as a *teberdār* (halbardier) and left it as a *čawush*. Through the favour of the sultan's confidant Meḥmed Agha, he rapidly attained high office. In quick succession, he became voivode of Zīle (Anatolia), master of the horse and governor of Fülek (Hungary). He married the daughter of the Kurdish Mīr Sheref and thereby obtained riches as great as his power, which every one was now beginning to fear. His ambition and arrogance, his venality and cruelty, knew no bounds and he was even said to be aiming at the throne. In 1015/1606, he was to conduct the campaign against Persia, as the son-in-law of Mīr Sheref and on account of his local knowledge, with the rank of third vizier and *serʿasker*, but his attention was claimed by the trouble in Anatolia which was affecting the whole of Asia Minor; through Kurdish treachery he lost a battle, and it was only in the autumn of 1017/1608 that his troops joined the army of the grand vizier, who received him very coolly (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 412-13). In 1011/1602 Nāṣūḥ Pasha had been appointed governor of Siwas, the next year of Aleppo and in 1015/1606, of Diyārbakr. His goal was the grand viziership. He did not hesitate to ask the sultan to give him the imperial seal and the post of commander-in-chief in return for a sum of 40,000 ducats and the maintenance of the army at his own expense. Aḥmed I handed on the offer to the grand vizier, who summoned Naṣūḥ Pasha to him and fined him that sum as a punishment (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 446-7). When soon afterwards the grand vizier, the Croat Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha, died at the age of over 90, Naṣūḥ Pasha became his successor (22 August 1611). In the following year he married ʿĀʾisha, the three-year old daughter of Sultan Aḥmed I (February 1612). His arrogance now knew no bounds; all his opponents were ruthlessly disposed of. His personal qualities dazzled everyone: "Of imposing appearance, brave and eloquent, never weary of talk or action, but at the same time passionate, impetuous, quite incapable of kindly conduct and flattering words and always intent on humbling the other viziers" (von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 472). As human life was nothing to him but wealth everything, he accumulated vast treasures. Sycophants and astrologers nourished in him the delusion that he was born to rule. The number of his enemies increased from day to day as a result of his intrigues and his ruthlessness. When on Friday, 13 Ramaḍān 1023/17 October 1614, he was to accompany the sultan to the mosque, suspecting no good, he said he was ill. The *bostāndjï bashï* sent to him had him strangled by his own garden guards. His body was buried on the Oḳ Meydān. His estate, which fell to the coffers of the state, was enormous: pearls, jewels, carpets, cloth and bullion without number (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 474-5, quoting Mezeray, ii, 195).

Naṣūḥ Pasha left several sons, one of whom, Ḥuseyn Pasha (d. 1053/643; cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, v, 260 and Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, ii, 226), had a son named Meḥmed. The latter wrote a history of the Ottoman empire (*Dheyl-i Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*) from the death of Murād IV in 1048/1639 to 1081/1670, the original ms. of which is in Dresden (cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 211).

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Nassouf, sa mort estrange, et des grandes richesses qui lui on esté trouuees, Paris 1615, 8 pp. 8° (rare pamphlet); N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti: Turchia*, i, 259; Hurmuzaki, *Suppl.*, i, 142-3; Hans Jakob Amann, *Reiss ins Globte Land*, ed. A. F. Ammann, Zurich 1919-21, 44, 107-8, 119, 125, 127-130. — On an Arabic work dealing with Naṣūḥ Pasha's governorship in Aleppo, cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 211, n. — Sources of secondary value are *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 556, and *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, 59 ff. (with many errors). — On the rumour that Naṣūḥ Pasha had made an arrangement with the Persians and that the discovery of this treachery caused his death, cf. the contemporary stories mentioned by von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 474, n., as well as the Paris pamphlet of 1615. See also *İA* art. *Nasûh Paşa* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin).

(F. Babinger)

NAʿT (a.) "qualification", a technical term of Arabic grammar used to designate a qualifying adjective and its function as an epithet. It is synonymous with *ṣifa* and *waṣf*, which Sībawayh uses more frequently than *naʿt* itself.

Al-Zamakhsharī defines qualification as being that of the noun which indicates one of the states of the essence (*dhāt*), used to distinguish two homonyms (*mushtarak* [*q.v.*]), to particularise (*takhṣīṣ*) something unknown or to clarify (*tawḍīḥ*) something known; but the quality can also simply be used for praise (*thanāʾ*), blame (*dhamm*) or confirmation (*taʾkīd*).

One can qualify by means of a derived noun (*mushtaḳḳ*) of the process (*maṣdar*): agent (*fāʿil*), that acted upon (*mafʿūl*), a qualification assimilated (*mushabbaha*) to the agent, or by means of the process itself; one can also qualify something unknown by means of a verbal or nominal phrase (*djumla*) or by circumstantial expression (*ẓarf*).

The qualification may be applicable to the thing qualified (*manʿūt*, *mawṣūf*) or to anything which has a connection with it (*min sababihi*). It agrees (*wāfaḳa*) with what is qualified in number (sing., dual or pl.), in determination (definite or indefinite) and gender (m. or f.).

The personal pronoun (*muḍmar*) can neither be qualified nor qualify; a proper noun (*ʿalam*) cannot qualify but can be qualified; the demonstrative pronoun (*mubham*) can only be qualified by a noun determined by the article.

From the aspect of desinential inflexion (*iʿrāb*), the qualifying *naʿt* is one of the five nouns dependent (*tawābiʿ*) on other nouns for their inflexion. It must normally accompany what is qualified, but, in certain cases where it is understood, it can replace what is qualified.

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NAṬANZ, a small town of western Persia (lat. 33° 29' N., long. 51° 57' E., altitude 1,372 m/4,500 feet) on the lower, southeastern slopes of the Kūh-i Kargas mountains and just off the modern Tehran—Ḳum—Kāshān—Yazd road.

The early Islamic geographers do not mention it, but Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, v, 292, describes it as a small town, administratively dependent on Iṣfahān and in the province of Djibāl [*q.v.*], and situated 20 *farsakhs* to the north of Iṣfahān; and Mustawfī (8th/14th century) describes it as protected by the nearby fortress of Washāḳ. This may be the fortress of Naṭanz mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 495-6, year 433/1041-2, as the focus of disputes between the Kākūyid ruler of Iṣfahān Abū Manṣūr Farāmarz and his rivals for power after the death of his father ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār [see kākūyids]. The town is thus in fact an old one, possessing remains of a Sāsānid fire-temple and important mediaeval Islamic buildings, including a Friday mosque of the Būyid period and the tomb of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Iṣfahānī from 707/1307-8. Al-Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 136-8, mentions a famous *adīb* in both Arabic and Persian, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Naṭanzī, *d.* 497/1103. The modern town is situated in the *shahrastān* or district of Kāshān, and is the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* or sub-district of the same name; the town and its village dependencies had a population of *ca.* 12,000 in 1960.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 209; Schwarz, *Iran*, 655; A. Godard, *Naṭanz (Province de Kāshān)*, in *Āthār-é Īrān*, i (1936), 75-106; Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, iii, 303-4; Ḥasan Narāḳī, *Āthār-i taʾrīkhī-yi shahristānhā-yi Kāshān wa Naṭanz*, Tehran 1348 *sh.*/1970; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*, London 1972, 172; Sheila S. Blair, *The octagonal pavilion at Natanz: a re-examination of early Islamic architecture in Iran*, in *Muqarnas*, i (1983), 69-94; idem, *The Ilkhanid shrine complex at Natanz, Iran*, Cambridge, Mass. 1986.

(C.E. Bosworth)

NATĪDJA (a.), the usual name for the conclusion resulting from the combination of the two premisses (*muḳaddimāt*) in the syllogism (*ḳiyās*). It corresponds to the Stoic ἐπιφορά; this word in the works of Galen known to the Arabs is applied to the various discharges from the body but also means, as with the Stoics, the conclusion. Aristotle used the words συμπέρασμα: that which concludes or completes the syllogism.

In place of the usual *natīdja* we also find *ridf* or *radf* (= deduction). (Tj. de Boer)

NĀṬIḲ [see sabʿiyya].

al-**NĀṬIḲ** bi 'l-**ḤAḲḲ**, the honorific given by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Amīn [*q.v.*] to his son Mūsā in 194/809, when he designated him as heir presumptive in place of al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], whereas their father Hārūn al-Rashīd had specified that the inheritance of the caliphate should pass to al-Maʾmūn and had taken the precaution of sending a circular letter on this subject to all the provinces and of attaching to the *kisāʾ* of the Kaʿba a copy of this, for the tearing-down of which al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ [*q.v.*] sent a *ḥādjib*. It was in effect this vizier of al-Amīn's who led the caliph into taking this measure which was to unleash a fratricidal war between Hārūn's two sons. Mūsā was the son of an *umm walad* [*q.v.*] called Naẓm, who was al-Amīn's favourite, and if he had ascended the throne, he would have been the first caliph not to be of ʿAbbāsid blood on both paternal and maternal sides. At the time of his nomination, his very tender years drew criticisms from hostile poets, like a certain ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (*sic*) who was a partisan of al-Maʾmūn's (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 438-9 = § 2645, but cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 804).

Bibliography: The historians of the ʿAbbāsid period speak of al-Amīn's measure (*sub anno* 194). See especially, Ṭabarī, iii, 795-6; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 292-3, Eng. tr. Whitting, 211-12; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 290, 292; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 384; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ii, 145; Maḳdisī, *Badʾ*, vi, 105. See also the *Bibls.* to the arts. al-amīn and al-maʾmūn. (Ch. Pellat)

NATION [see umma].

NATIONALISATION [see TAʾMĪM].

NATIONALISM [see ḲAWMIYYA].

NATIVITY [see MAWLID, MĪLĀD].

NAṬRŪN, in Arabic mineralogy and pharmacology considered to be one of the at least six kinds of *bawraḳ* [*q.v.*]. It is the νίτρον/*nitrum* of the ancients, but indicates not our saltpetre but a compound of sodium carbonate ($NaCO_3$) and sodium bicarbonate ($NaHCO_3$) with several impurities. In reverse *bawraḳ*, because of the vagueness of the term (see Dietlinde Goltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus*, Wiesbaden 1972, 248-50), is considered as a kind of *naṭrūn* (Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 51). *Naṭrūn* was obtained partly from natural crystallisations occurring in sodium-containing lakes, and partly artificially, like in Egypt where Nile water was directed to sodium beds (*nitrariae*), cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi, 109: *Et hoc quidem nascitur, in Aegypto autem conficitur, multo abundantius...fit paene eodem modo quo sal, nisi quod salinis mare infundunt, Nilum autem nitrariis.* The production of sodium is very old: Old Egyptian *nṯry(t)*, Akkadian *nit(i)ru*, Hebrew *neter*, Aramaic *niṯrā*, Greek νίτρον. Sodium was used for mummification, for ritual purification, for fumigation, for the production of faience (as a binding agent), and also in medicine (see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, iv, 1982, 358 f., and, for Islamic times, BAWRAḲ in Suppl.).

Sodium was of primary importance for Egyptian trade. The richest mineral area was Wādī Naṭrūn. According to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, no other lake as small as Birkat al-Naṭrūn—only 1,000 *faddāns* in extent—produced so much money, sc. 100,000 *dīnārs*. Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir, the dreaded financial administrator under the Ṭūlūnids, had reintroduced Ptolemaic Roman taxes in the form of state monopolies, which included the exploitation of sodium. This situation lasted till the Mamlūk period, when the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* had to survey the sultan's monopolies. In 833/1429 Sultan Barsbāy [*q.v.*] forced the merchants to buy (*ṭarḥ*) great quantities of sodium for increased prices. For the lucrative sodium trade, see S.Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens in Spätmittelalter (1171-1517)*, Wiesbaden 1965, 165, 247, 315, 406.

In modern Morocco, the term *naṭrūn* (var. *litrūn*, *liṭrūn*) indicates a mixture of gypsum and rock salt, see Helga Venzlaff, *Der marokkanische Drogenhändler und seine Ware*, Wiesbaden 1977, 108 f.

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NAṬṬĀḤA [see IBN AL-KHAṢĪB].

NATURE [see DHĀT, ḲAWN, KHALḲ, ṬABĪʿA].

NAUPLION (Class. Gk. Nauplīa, A. Anaboli, vern. Gk. Anāpli[on], Lat. Anapoli Romaniae, Ital. Napoli di Romania, Tk. Anabolu-Inebolu), a coastal town and capital of Argolis *nomos* (=diocese), in northeastern Morea [see MORA] or Peloponnesos, 13 km southeast of Argos (A. Argho, Tk. Arhos). A handy refuge for mariners, it is situated at the head of the Argolic Gulf, sitting on the northern slope of twin crags, the western Akronauplīa (Hellenistic/Roman/Byzantine/Frankish), i.e. Tkish. Ič Ḳalʿe, forming a small peninsula in the bay, and the much higher Venetian Palamēdi(on), dominating the post from the southeast (1981 pop.: 10,611).

1. The Byzantine and Frankish periods (to 1389)

Nauplion emerges in the 6th-7th centuries as one of the few Moreote settlements to sustain the Avar-Slavonic raids, and its history throughout the Byzantine period, as part of the Peloponnesos "theme", is more or less linked with that of Argos until the Latin conquest of 1210-12 and the Ottoman seizure of Argos in 1463 (see below; cf. Lamprynides, 17-38); an important Venetian *quartiere* (11th-12th centuries), it was entrusted by the Byzantine Angelus dynasty (late 12th century) to the local archontic family of Sgurus, and Leo Sgurus held it against the Frankish onslaught following the Fourth Crusade until *ca.* 1208; Sgurus' widow bequeathed it to the Epirot ruler, who was, however, forced to cede it to the Achaia ruler, Villehardouin (1210-12) (refs. in Savvides, in *Byz. and Mod. Greek Studs.*, xii [1988], 289 ff.; M. Kordoses, *Conquest of Southern Greece*, 79 ff., 92 ff., 111 ff., 123 ff.) In the early 10th century, raids off Nauplion by the Cretan amirate [see IḲRĪṬISH] are recorded, while in 1032 the town's Byzantine strategus defeated a fleet of African Muslims [see IFRĪḲIYA] in the Adriatic (cf. *JOAS*, ii, 52 f.); in the mid-12th century al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] lists "Argho" and "Anaboli" among the 13 chief Moreote cities and praises their countryside (*Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, Fr. tr. Jaubert, ii, 125; *JOAS*, ii, 54). After 1212 Villehardouin divided the town into the western *Castello di Greci* and the eastern *C. di Franchi*, and soon ceded it to the de la Roche family, who, together with the Fourcherolles, de Brienne and d'Enghien houses, dominated its history in the Frankish era (1212-1389: Lamprynides, 39-53; Pitcher, map VIII), facing imminent Italian corsair attacks (late 13th century) and warding off Catalan and Turcoman raids (14th century) (cf. Vakalopoulos, i², 127; Setton, *Papacy*, i, 428, 447-8); the Turkish attacks actually continued in the Ottoman period (mid-15th to the 1st half of the 16th centuries: Sathas, *Turkish-dominated Greece*, 39 ff.; Vakalopoulos, iii, 122-3; Krantonelle, *Hist. of piracy*, 54, 56 ff. and *passim*). In 1388-9 the d'Enghien family ceded the town to Venice, but the latter was able to establish its control only in 1394, after a brief capture by the Florentine Acciaiuolis and the despot of Mystras [see MEZISTRE in Suppl.] (cf. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, 132-3; Miller-Lampros, ii, 12-13; Cessi, in *NAV*, xxx, 152; Setton, *Catalan domination*, 190 ff.; idem, in *Hist. Crusades*, iii, 1975, 246-7, 252; Luttrell, in *PBSR*, xxxiv, 42 ff., 47 ff.; Pitcher, 65; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, ii, 337 f.; E. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, Venice 1983, 98-9; *JOAS*, ii, 60).

2. The Venetian and Turkish periods (1389-1822)

The long first Venetian rule (1389-1540: Lamprynides, 54-92; Pitcher, maps XIII, XIV, XVI; Panagiotopoulos, *Populations*, 21 ff. and maps) is the best known, with extensive commercial activity, profitable treaties with the Menteshe Oghullarī [*q.v.*] (in 1403 and 1407: Zachariadou, 102, 231, 237) and the Ottomans (in 1419 and 1479; cf. Setton, *Papacy*, ii, 8, 514), a population growing, no doubt associated with extensive Albanian settlements since the late 14th century (cf. Zakythenos, i, 343 [add. C. Maltezou]; Vakalopoulos, i², 32; iii, 37, 51, 89; Ploumides, *Venetian-dominated lands*, 41) and also with large numbers of refugees following the fall of Morea (1460-1) and Eghriboz [*q.v.*] (1470) (Vakalopoulos, ii², 75 f.). The 1529-30 census records *ca.* 13,300 inhabitants. Important reconstructions (Akronauplīa) and fortifications (*Castello di Toro* [*ca.* 1400]; coastal walls [1501-5]; "Five Brothers" gunnery in the northwestern section) took place (cf. Bon, *Moree*, 491 ff., 676 f.); in 1471 the architect Gambello built the *Castello (Scoglio) di Santo Teodoro* or *C. Pasqualino* (after the *proveditore*'s name), renamed Boūrtzi by the Turks after the little island in the Argolic bay. Nauplion

withstood four major Ottoman attacks by Yaʿḳūb Beg in 1396-7, in 1426-7, by Maḥmūd Pasha in 1463—in the course of which Argos was conquered (cf. Saʿdeddin, *Tacüt-tevarih*, i, 504; Uzunçarşılı, ii, 1988^{5}, 26 ff.; Vakalopoulos, iii, 19; Panagiotopoulos, 108 f.)—and between 1500-2, when it was valiantly defended by Greeks, Italians and Albanian *stradioti* (on the Turkish raids, see Schreiner, ii, 360-1, 433-4, 507, 532 ff., 541; *JOAS*, ii, 61, 65; Sathas, 11 ff., 61, 63 f.; Cogo, in *NAV*, xviii, 366, 390 ff.; Miller-Lampros, ii, 235; Pitcher, maps X, XVI; Vakalopoulos, iii, 76, 78; Setton, *Papacy*, ii, 248-9, 516, 521 ff.; Uzunçarşılı, ii^{2}, 218-19). With the 1503 treaty, it remained in Venetian hands and refortifications were carried out in the harbour of the lower town. In 1537 the Morea *sandjaḳ beg*, Ḳāsim Pasha, began a three-year siege of the town, which ended with the surrender of the *proveditore* Contarini on 21 November 1540, to be soon followed by the surrender of Monemvasia [see MENEKSHE] (cf. Von Hammer, *Histoire*, v, 283 ff., 316 f.; Miller-Lampros, ii, 252 ff.; Zinkeisen, ii, 803; Sathas, 119 ff., 125 f.; Amantos, *Relations*, 168; Schreiner, ii, 580-1; Vakalopoulos, iii, 30 map, 152-3, 159 ff.; Pitcher, 115; Runciman, *Mistra*, 118 ff.). Several Naupliote scholars fled to the Ionian islands and the West (P. Petres, in *Peloponnesiaka*, iii-iv [1958-9], 371-2; Vakalopoulos, iii, 162, 183; Panagiotopoulos, 110 f.).

The first Ottoman rule (1540-1686: Lamprynides, 93-109) witnessed a comparative tranquillity and the conqueror's tolerance, ecclesiastical privileges and a noteworthy artistic and cultural prosperity (cf. T. Gritsopoulos, in *Pelopon.*, xvii [1987-8], 95 ff., 113 ff.; idem, in *Acts 2nd Argolic Congr.* [1989], 263; Vakalopoulos, ii^{2}, 264-5). Commercial activity continued and the population grew to *ca.* 40,000, including some Jews (Vakalopoulos, ii^{2}, 396; iv, 45-6), while a modest programme of Muslim religious building (e.g. Süleymān *khān* or Fetḥiyye *djāmiʿ* on Akronauplīa) was effected, according to Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*], who visited Argos and Nauplion in mid-1668 and left an important account of the town's fortifications, many inhabitants, mosques and about 200 Muslim households (cf. Th. Kostakes, in *Pelopon.*, xiv [1980-81], 239, 279-83, with mod. Gk. trans.-comm.). Until the 1574 Morea reorganisation into two *sandjaḳs* (Balyabadra/Patras and Mezistre/ Mystras), Nauplion was seat of the *sandjaḳ-beg*. In 1686 Morosini, in the course of his Moreote campaign, heavily bombarded the town, forcing its governor, Muṣṭafā Pasha, to capitulate on 20-1 August (Sathas, 347 ff.; Vakalopoulos, iv, 19 ff.; Uzunçarşılı, iii/1, 1983^{3}, 479 f.; cf. Von Hammer, xii, 224 f.).

The second Venetian rule (1686-1715: Lamprynides, 110-56) commenced with five *proveditori*, soon replaced by Morosini (1692), whose sudden death (December 1694: Sathas, 400-1; Vakalopoulos, iv, 32-3, 37) was followed by new struggles with the sultanate, temporarily patched up by the Carlowitz Treaty (1699) [see ḲARLOFČA], which allowed Venice to refortify the town with extensive fortifications of the imposing Palamēdi (Tk. Planota) rock (1711-14), renovations of Akronauplīa and Bourtzi (Bon, *Moree*, 493, pls. 132-3) and constructions of the *Porta di Sagredo*, massive barracks, churches and fountains to replenish St. Mark's fleets (between 1701-13). "*Napoli di Romania*" (as opposed to "*Napoli di Malvasia*", i.e. Monemvasia) became the capital of *Provincia di Romania* (including Corinth, Argos, Tripolitsa, Tzaconia, Porto Porro and Thermesi) and seat of the *proveditore generale di Regno di Morea* (Sathas, 364-5; Vakalopoulos, iv, 52-3; Panagiotopoulos, 161, 163, 164 ff., 176: records 2,551 families; *ibid.*, 132-3, 148-9, 184, 187-8, 199, 291, 313, with details on the towns and villages of the *territorio di Napoli di Romania* and on the population according to the censuses of 1700 [9,685, i.e. diminished on account of the 1687 and 1690 plague] and 1711 [6,548].). Commerce continued to thrive, and famous visitors like the *proveditore generale* Corner (1690), Coronelli (1687) and B. Randolf (1689) lavishly praise Nauplion as the fairest and the most populous city of the Orient, with its safe port and celebrated fortifications; the Venetian era closes with the 1714-15 land-and-sea siege by massive forces led by the *wezīr* ʿAlī Pasha, the *serʿasker* Dāwūd Pasha and a 50-strong fleet under Djānīm Khodja; the *proveditore* Delphino had only 1,747 defenders and the treacherous Palamedi *castellano*, De la Salle, who betrayed the fortress to the Turks, was immediately murdered by the enraged Naupliotes; the capitulation (9 July 1715) was followed by extensive slaughter and looting (Sathas, 443 ff.; Vakalopoulos, iv, 77-8; Runciman, 127-8).

The second Turkish rule (1715-1822: Lamprynides, 157-95), ratified by the Passarowitz Treaty of 1715 (cf. Uzunçarşılı, iv/1, 1982^{3}, 104 f., 107, and PASAROFČA), was harsher, with no privileges, extensive confiscations by the newly settled aghas, church persecutions (cf. Gritsopoulos, *Pelopon.*, xvii, 118 ff.) and a dwindling commercial activity of the locals (Sakellariou, *Peloponnesos*, 118 f.). The sultan himself [see AḤMAD III] visited the town (Sathas, 446 f.), where more Muslim buildings were erected (e.g. Vouleutērion *djāmiʿ*, 2 *menteshes* and several baths and fountains: cf. Uzunçarşılı, iii/2, 1983^{2}, 305). Until 1770, with the transferral of the Morea Pasha's seat to Tripolitsa, Nauplion was capital of the Mora *wilāyet* (Sakellariou, 99-100, 255 ff.); its participation in the 1770 uprising (Gritsopoulos, *Orloffika*, *passim*; Uzunçarşılı, iv/1, 397-8), caused the massive extermination of the local Albanians by the *ḳapudan-pasha* Ḥasan, who in 1779 pushed them from Palamēdi into perdition (Sathas, 527-8; Uzunçarşılı, iv/1, 434-5). Henceforward the locality was called "Arvanitiā". The decreased population, intensified by the 1790 plague (Leake, *Travels*, ii, 359), is recorded by Pouqueville (7,000 in 1799 and 11,780 in 1816), who also gives details on the town's trade and products (cheese, cotton, silk, wool, hides), fortifications, buildings and Christian-Muslim population (*Voyage en Morée*, i, 233, 356, 501; iv, 342 ff.; v, 215, 233; vi, 263 ff.; cf. Sakellariou, 216 ff., 266, 270, 284).

In the early stages of the Greek War for Liberation, the Greeks, assisted by the clergy, repeatedly besieged Nauplion between April 1821 and late 1822 (Lamprynides, 196-243; Vakalopoulos, v, 734 ff.; vi, 207-8, 263 ff., 273 ff.); temporary succour by Maḥmūd Pasha in mid-1822 prolonged the surrender of ʿAlī Pasha of Nauplion to the Greek Klepht chief Koloktrōnes until 30 November, following the fall of Palamēdi to Staikopoulos. Liberated Nauplion was to become the first capital of the modern Kingdom of Greece from 8 January 1823 until the transferral to Athens by the decree of 18 September 1834.

Bibliography: Mostly given in the article; for older references and titles of modern works, see MORA, NAVARINO and MEZISTRE in Suppl. On the pre-1389 period, see A. Savvides, *Nauplion in the Byzantine and Frankish periods* [forthcoming]; the most detailed monograph is M. Lamprynides, *Nauplia from antiquity to modern times* [in Greek], Nauplia 1975^{3} (till the late 19th century). Other contributions: G. Cogo, *La guerra di Venezia contro i Turchi*, in

Nuovo Archivio Veneto [= *NAV*], xviii (1899), 5-76, 348-421; xix (1900), 97-138; R. Cessi, *Venezia e l'acquisto di Nauplia et Argo*, in *NAV*, xxx (1915), 147-73; A. Luttrell, *The Latins of Argos and Nauplia*, in *Papers, British School at Rome* [= *PBSR*], xxxiv (1966), 34-55. On the fortifications, see above and K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, Princeton 1953, 90-105; A. Paradisses, *Fortresses and castles in Greece*, ii, Athens-Thessalonica 1974, 146-52; and [in Greek]: J. Sphekopoulos, *Medieval castles of the Morea*, Athens 1968, 97-100; D. Antonakatou, *Nauplion* (1971), *passim*; S. Karouzou, *Nauplion* (1979), *passim*; see also refs. in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, i-iv, and Vakalopoulos, *Hist. of modern Hellenism*, i-vi. Finally, on Argive and Naupliote bibliographies (esp. on the mediaeval and early modern periods), see V. Konte, in *Symmeikta*, v (1983), 175 ff., 193 ff., 199 ff.; Savvides, in *Jnal. Or. and Afr. Stud.* [= *JOAS*], ii (1990), 49, 52-3, 54, 60, 61-2, 65; *Medieval Peloponnesian bibliography... 396-1460*, Athens 1990, 14, 17, 21 ff., 24-5, 26, 30 ff., 33, 39-40, 42, 44 ff., 47 ff., 50, 53-4, 56-7; E. Stassinopoulos, *Argolic bibliography*, in *Acts 2nd Argolic Congr.* (Athens 1989), 377 ff. The etymology of Nauplion is summarised by D. Vagiakakos [in Gk.], in *Istoria Eikonographemēne*, fasc. xxcvii (1975), 142-3. (A. Savvides)

NĀʿŪRA (a.), more rarely Naʿūra, pl. *nawāʿīr*, a word designating current-driven, water-raising wheels, Eng. and Fr. noria. The term has no obvious derivation from Arabic, and is probably of Aramaic origin (see Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter*, 134; also Dozy, *Supplement*, ii, 689-90).

The nomenclature for water-raising machines is very variable, and often the only way of knowing which machine is being referred to is from the context; for example, if a machine is driven by running water it is almost certain to be a noria. To avoid confusion, the Syrian usage will be followed, in which the *nāʿūra* is always the current-driven wheel and the *sāḳiya* [*q.v.*] is the geared machine driven by an animal [see māʾ. 3. Hydraulic machines].

The noria can be constructed of timber or metal. In East Asia, bamboo is used, not only for the framework, but also for the containers for raising the water. In the Middle Ages, the construction of most norias in the Islamic world probably followed the pattern of the well-known wheels at Ḥamāt on the Orontes. The only metal member is the axle. The timber framework, wedged to the axle, and the inner rim are first constructed, care being taken to ensure that the wheel turns in a single vertical plane. Finally, the outer rim for the compartments is mounted, or norias may have earthenware pots, similar to those of the *sāḳiya*, lashed to the rim. Paddles are fitted to the rim between the compartments or pots. The noria is erected in bearings fixed in two columns in the stream. The paddles dip into the water and rotate the noria; the containers fill at the bottom of the travel and discharge at the top. The Ḥamāt wheels discharge into an aqueduct that carries the water to the town and the fields, the diameter of the wheels being about 20 metres. A similar system with one huge noria of 90 cubits—say 50 m—in diameter is described by al-Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, 187 (Arabic), 228 (French).

The first known description of a noria occurs in Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, Book 10, Ch. 5. It is brief but unambiguous. In classical and Hellenistic times information about norias is very scanty, but in Islamic writings there are abundant references. The first mention we have is in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 363, describing how Bilāl b. Abī Burda al-Ashʿarī erected norias on the banks of a canal in the Baṣra area. As Abū Burda [see al-ashʿarī, abu burda] died in 103/721-2 or 104/722-3 aged over eighty, the event probably took place about 20 years earlier. Al-Muḳaddasī mentions large numbers of norias (which he calls *dawlāb*) at Ahwāz (411) and on the river Kūr in Fārs (444). There is no doubt that they were in widespread use in Islam. T.F. Glick has plotted the locations of norias in the Iberian peninsula, see his *Irrigation and society in medieval Valencia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1970, 178-9. It spread into other parts of Europe and eventually to the New World (G.M. Foster, *Culture and conquest*, Chicago 1960, 63, 69 n. 9). Even today the noria is found to be effective in many parts of the world, given the right hydraulic conditions. The well-known noria at Murcia, for example, was still in use in 1990.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the article): E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über Vorrichtungen zum Heben von Wasser in der islamischen Welt*, in *Jahrbuch des Vereins Deutscher Ingenieure*, viii (1918), 121-54; G.S. Colin, *La noria marocaine et les machines hydrauliques dans le monde arabe*, in *Hespéris*, xiv (1932), 22-60; idem, *L'origine des norias de Fès*, *ibid.*, xvi (1933), 156-7; T. Schiøler, *Roman and Islamic water-lifting wheels*, Odense 1973, deals mainly with the *sāḳiya*, but norias are discussed on 37-9; D.R. Hill, *A history of engineering in Classical and Medieval times*, London 1984, 127-54. (D.R. Hill)

NAVARINO (a. Irūda, t. Anavarin), a seaport of the southwestern Morea [see mora] or Peloponnesos, in Messenia, associated with modern Pylos town, which was built between 1828 and 1832 (population in 1971, 2,258), and situated behind the southern headland of Navarino Bay, a deepwater channel, as capital of Pylia *eparchia* (= province) of Messenia *nomos* (= diocese). Locally called Neokastron ("new fortress") after the 16th century Turkish fortifications, it should not be confused with the 13th century Frankish Palaiokastron ("old fortress"), known to the Franks as Port-de-Jonc, still commanding the northern channel to the harbour and lying deserted to the southwest of Homeric Pylos, on Koryphasion promontory.

Sheltered by Sphakteria island, Navarino harbour was considered amongst the safest of the Morea ports in post-mediaeval Italian portulans, and is closely connected with various important mediaeval and modern events. The etymology of the name is uncertain: it may be a survival of Avar rule in the Morea in the early Dark Ages; it has been identified with the Navarrese, although these did not appear in the Morea till the 14th century, and the name Navarino existed before then; most probably, its origin may be (Bulgaro-) Slavonic. In Byzantine times, there is a single mention of Pylos in connection with raids of the Cretan Arabs [see iḳrīṭish] on the western Morea *ca.* 872-3; this area was included in the late 9th century in the Peloponnesos "theme" (refs. in A. Savvides, *On Pylos-[N]avarino-Zonklon in the Byzantine period*, in *Byzantina*, xvi [1992]).

The earliest mention of the Greek form Avarīnos appears in a 12th century ecclesiastical *Notitia* ("*Pylos, nunc vocatur Abarinus*"), in a Palaiologan imperial chrysobull of 1293 and in the Greek version of the *Morea chronicle* (see below), whilst the earliest mention of the Arabic name is in the *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* of al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*], tr. Jaubert, ii, 124, where the town of Irūda is referred to as "a commodious port" (see R.-J. Lilie, *Handel und Politik 1081-1204*, Amsterdam 1984, 203; Savvides, in *JOAS*, ii [1990], 53).

1. The pre-Ottoman period to 1500. Information on Navarino increases after the 1204-5 Frankish

conquest of southern Greece. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the Frankish fortress of Palaiokastro or Port-de-Jonc became the seat of various Latin estates, which were often affected by Latin fratricidal strife, especially in the Veneto-Genoese naval clash of 1354 which ended in the Republic's defeat. Around this time, Albanian settlers established themselves in the area, whilst in 1381-2 a company of Navarrese, Gascons and Italians appeared. In 1417 the Venetians seized the harbour and the Frankish fortress and in 1423 became lawful owners by purchase from a Genoese baron; eventually, in 1479, Navarino was acknowledged by the Ottoman Turks as Venetian, and it then developed into an economic and commercial centre. It had suffered from Turkish raids since 1423, and in summer 1460 Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] had laid waste the countryside around Navarino, so that by later that year only Navarino and such other Venetian possessions as Modon, Koron, Nauplia [*q.vv.*], Argos, Monemvasia [see MENEKSHE] and Maina had remained in Christian hands.

2. The Ottoman conquest: the Turkish and Venetian periods (1500-1828). The annexation in A.M. 7008-9 (= A.D. 1500-1) by Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*], shortly after the fall of Modon and Koron, has been recorded in, among other places, thirteen Greek short chronicles (here called Avarīnos, Anavarīnos, Novarīno) and in Kātib Čelebi's [see ḤĀDJDJĪ KHALĪFA] *Tuḥfat al-kibār* (tr. J. Mitchell, *History of the maritime wars of the Turks*, London 1831, 21 ff.). In August 1500 the Venetian castellano Contarini surrendered, although his garrison numbered 3,000 and he had provisions for three years, but soon afterwards the Venetians recaptured it and destroyed a Janissary garrison. It fell definitively to the Turkish commander ʿAlī Pasha advancing by land and Kemāl Reʾīs attacking by sea on 20 May 1501 (see V.J. Parry, in *The new Camb. mod. hist.*, i, 403-4; Pitcher, 87 and map XIV; Uzunçarşılı, ii, 219 and refs.; cf. Savvides, in *JOAS*, i [1989], 212). This cession was confirmed by the 1503 treaty, and henceforth Navarino became a base for piratical operations in the Ionian and Adriatic Seas, being often a concentration point for the Turkish fleet. In 1571-2, shortly after the Lepanto disaster [see AYNABAKHTĪ], a rebuilt Turkish armada under Ulūdj ʿAlī Pasha defeated off Navarino a Christian fleet under Don John of Austria. Kātib Čelebi mentions that the town's original name was Anavarin(o) (von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna geographisch Beschrieben von ... Hadschi Chalfa*, Vienna 1812, 122-3; Pitcher, map XXVI), whilst Ewliyā Čelebi states that Navarino's revenues were reserved for the sultan (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 309-10; Th. Kostakes, *Evliyā Čelebi in Peloponnesos* [in Greek], in *Pelopon.*, xiv [1980-1], 262-3; Pitcher, *loc. cit.*). In 1572-3, according to Ulūdj's plans, there was erected the Neokastro (Anavarin ḳalʿesi) to distinguish it from the old Frankish structure or Palaiokastro (S. Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, Frankfurt 1674, 244; Vakalopoulos, iii, 261; Baltas, 46 ff., 128, 140 ff.).

From 1500-1 till 1828, Navarino and its bay remained in Turkish hands except for two Venetian periods of rule (1644-8, 1686-1715) and one of Greek rule (1821-5). In the early stages of the Veneto-Turkish war of 1645, the Ottomans used Navarino as a base against Crete (Kretschmayr, iii, 315), while in late 1685-mid-1686 Francesco Morosini, aided by the Swedish Count Von Königsmark, stormed Koron and captured both Neo- and Palaio-Navarino, defended by Muṣṭafā Pasha and Djaʿfer Pasha, together with Modon, Kalamata, Zarnata, Passava, Celefe and Vitylo (von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 222-3; C. Sathas, *Turkish-dominated Greece 1453-1821* [in Greek], repr. Athens 1990, 343-4, 346-7; Kretschmayr, iii, 345-6; Vakalopoulos, iv, 19-20, 33 map; Hasiotes, in *IEE*, xi, 22-3). About that time Coronelli published in Venice (1685; and in French, Paris 1687) his *Memorie istoriografiche* and Randolf his *Present state of the Morea* (London 1689[3], repr. Athens 1966), both containing important details on Navarino, which was made seat of St. Mark's, Messenian possessions until 1715 (Kretschmayr, iii, 354; Vakalopoulos, iv, 52, 77, 79; Hasiotes, xi, 43; Topping no. IX, 313, 316, 325). Population estimates of that period give 1,413 (1689 Corner census) and 1,797 inhabitants (*ca.* 1700 Grimani and *ca.* 1711 Querini-Stampalia census) (cf. Sakellariou, *Peloponnesos*, 57,118 ff., 285; Panagiotopoulos, 138-9, 144-5, 225 ff., 231 ff., with charts and index: s.v.). The second *Tourkokratia* commences in 1715 with the creation of the *Anavarin wilāyeti* (= province; sometimes referred to as a *ḳaḍāʾ* = judicial and administrative district), within the Morea *sandjaḳ* (Pouqueville, *Voyages en Morée*, i, 233; iv, 342 ff.; vi, 73; Sakellariou, 95 ff.; 107, 255 ff.). The area's social and economic life is described by Pouqueville and Leake (refs. in Sakellariou, s.v.), while from the late 18th century the French also played an important rôle in the town's development (Pouqueville, vi, 264; Sakellariou, 128; Vakalopoulos, iv, 155, 273; for the post-1828 period, cf. D. Themelē-Katephōre, *French interests in Greece* [in Greek], Athens 1985, 62, 65, 157). During the First Russo-Turkish War (1768-74), Navarino was temporarily taken. After a six-day stubborn defence by the Ottoman garrison and the Muslim civilian population (Pouqueville, vi, 72, lists 600 Turks and 130 Greeks), the Russians on 10 April 1770 forced the fortress (Neokastro), no longer strongly fortified but still amply provided with munitions and artillery, to capitulate (see P. Kontogiannes, *The Greeks during the First Russo-Turkish War of Catherine II* [in Greek], repr. Athens 1989, 136 ff., 183 ff.; Sakellariou, 177 ff.; 182 ff.; Vakalopoulos, iv, 389 map, 391 ff.). By the terms of the treaty, the Turks left for Chania (Crete) leaving behind them a number of Christian women, whom they had imprisoned in their harems. The Russians immediately refortified the fortress, making it their principal base for their Moreote operations, but soon they were forced to evacuate it: on 1 June 1770 Aleksei Orlov sailed away with the Russian ships and on the next day the Turks occupied the well-placed fortress, which was in part burnt and destroyed (Sakellariou, 190 ff.; Simopoulos, *Foreign travellers*, ii, 1985[2], 368, 593, 679-80; details on the 1770 Greek uprising and its consequences in T. Gritsopoulos, *Ta Orloffika*, Athens 1967).

In the last decades of Ottoman rule, the Turkish family of Bekir Agha of Navarino played a prominent part. Soon after the outbreak of the Liberation War, the Greeks laid siege to Navarino on 29 March 1821, where the Turks of Arkadia (Kyparissia) had also taken refuge. Between 1-7 August the Turks surrendered and the Greeks, despite all agreements, massacred them mercilessly (Striebeck, *Tagebuch*, 35 ff., 92 ff.; Lieber, *Tagebuch*, 20-1; cf. Vakalopoulos, v, 350, 780, 785; vi, 49 ff.; 106 ff.; *The information of the German philhellene Striebeck on certain historical facts in Neokastron in 1821-2* [in Greek], in *Pelopon.*, xvi, 57 ff.; *The Greek troops of 1821* [in Greek], repr. Thessalonica 1991, 22-3, 44, 160; see also J. Philemon, *Essay on the Greek Revolution* [in Greek], Athens 1859-61, esp. i, 112; iii, 61, 114-15). In the spring of 1825, however, Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] of

Egypt invested the area; in spite of a heroic Greek defence, Palaiokastro and Neokastro were occupied on 29 April and 11 May respectively (Vakalopoulos, vi, 695, 762, 900; vii, 96, 110; *Greek troops*, 193). What has given Navarino its special place in history is the naval battle fought on 20 October 1827 in its harbour, the "last great battle of the age of sail" (R. Clogg, *A short hist. of modern Greece*, Cambridge 1986², 65), between the combined fleets of England, France and Russia under the British vice-admiral Sir Edward Codrington and of Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia under Ṭāhir Pas̲h̲a. The Muslim forces were destroyed, with three-quarters of their vessels sunk and about 6,000 Turks killed compared with only about 1,000 among the European allies (details in C. Woodhouse, *The battle of Navarino*, London 1965 and updated Greek tr., Athens 1977; *Modern Greece: a short history*, London 1977, 147 ff.; cf. Vakalopoulos, vii, 830 ff.). Ibrāhīm was cut off on the Moreote mainland from his supplies and was soon forced to conclude a truce with Codrington, though Neokastro remained in Turkish hands until the spring of 1828; finally, in the autumn of 1828, Ibrāhīm withdrew to Egypt and the French troops under General Maison relieved the Egyptian-Turkish garrison. In *ca.* 1832 A. Reumont (*Reiseschilderungen und Umrisse*, 83 ff.) gives an important description of Navarino under French occupation, especially on the building activities resulting in the foundation of modern Pylos (Vakalopoulos, viii, 260); new road connections with Methone were constructed in 1830 (Themelē-Katephōre, 168). Following the *Tourkokratia*, Navarino-Pylos was elevated to an important administrative unit within the newly-founded Kingdom of Greece (see beginning of the article and Stadtmüller, 156 map.; S. Loukatos, *Politeiographika of Koron, Modon and Neokastro in 1830* [in Greek], in *Pelopon.*, xv [1984], 209 ff.; E. Frangaki-M. Wagstaff, *Settlement pattern changes in the Morea/Peloponnesos c.A.D. 1700-1830*, in *Byz. and Mod. Greek Stud.*, xi [1987], 177 map, 178 table).

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(N. BÉES-[A. SAVVIDES])

NAVARRA (Eng. and Fr.: Navarre), a province of northern Spain, whose capital, Pampeluna, abandoned its allegiance to the Muslims in 182/798 and made itself into a semi-independent kingdom. Its history, at the time of Muslim domination, becomes intermingled with that of Pampeluna [see BANBALŪNA] and with that of the majority of its inhabitants, the Basques or Vascons [see BAS̲H̲KUNIS̲H̲]. (ED.)

LAS NAVAS DE TOLOSA [see AL-ʿIḲĀB].

NAVIGATION [see MILĀḤA].

NAWʾ [see ANWĀʾ].

NAW BAHĀR, a pre-Islamic sacred site and monastery at Balk̲h̲ [*q.v.*] in what is now northern Afg̲h̲ānistān, destroyed by the Arab invaders, but famed in early Islamic history as the place of origin of the Barmakī family of officials and viziers in early ʿAbbāsid times, the eponym Barmak having been the head or abbot (*pramuk̲h̲a*) of Naw Bahār. See on the shrine, almost certainly a Buddhist one, AL-BARĀMIKA. 1. Origins; to the *Bibl.* there should be added Le Strange, *Lands*, 421-2; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 14-15; R.W. Bulliet, *Naw Bahār and the survival of Iranian Buddhism*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, XIV (1976), 140-5, emphasising the existence of several other Naw Bahārs in the northeastern Iranian region. (ED.)

AL-**NAWĀD̲J̲Ī**, S̲H̲AMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿUT̲H̲MĀN AL-ḲĀHIRĪ, an Arab scholar, poet and man of letters, born in Cairo in 788/1386 and died there in 859/1455, a typical representative of the literature of the post-classical period.

Of his many teachers we may mention the authority on *ḳirāʾāt* al-D̲j̲azarī (751-832/1350-1429; cf. Brockelmann, II², 257-8, no. 6) and al-Damīrī [*q.v.*]; he mentions the latter in the preface to his stylistics (Paris ms., de Slane, no. 4453); among his literary friends were Ibn Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a al-Ḥamawī [*q.v.*] against

whom he later directed his polemic *al-Ḥudjdja fī sariḳāt Ibn Ḥidjdja* (Leiden ms., no. 509). His official position was teacher of *ḥadīth* in several of the *madrasas* of Cairo; he was closely connected with Ṣūfī circles. In addition to several journeys in Egypt, he twice made the *ḥadjdj*. As was the custom with scholars of the time, he wrote a number of commentaries and glosses on well-known textbooks and several works on rhetoric and poetics. As a poet he made his way by panegyrics on high officials and many Maecenases richly rewarded him. In obedience to the taste of his patrons, he compiled anthologies of poems on subjects which were particularly popular with the upper classes of his time; as usual, some of these are on the borders of belles-lettres and erotica. The majority of these anthologies still exist only in manuscript (see Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*); the best known and perhaps the most important from the point of view of scholarship is *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, whose title refers to the poets who vie with one another in descriptions of wine (see his own explanation of the name, ed. Būlāḳ 1276, 7, 17-19). It was finished at the end of Shawwāl 824/end of October 1421 (339 ult.) and first called *al-Ḥubūr wa 'l-surūr fī waṣf al-khumūr*. Cf. *Ḳuṭb al-surūr fī awṣāf al-khumūr* by Ibn al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 417/1026) (Brockelmann, I², 161, S I, 252), a work often cited by al-Nawādjī, 6, 143, 163). Neither this change of name nor the last section, which is devoted to the regret and shame caused by wine, prevented the author from being vigorously attacked (see al-Sakhāwī, in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfā, iii, 106-7, no. 4607); many regarded his book not only as frivolous but even as sinful. Al-Nawādjī continued the long series of anthologies on wine which from the 3rd/9th century onwards occupy a special place in Arabic literature. Ibn al-Muᶜtazz's [*q.v.*] work *Tabāshīr al-surūr* (see *Bull. USSR Acad. of Sciences* [1927], 1163-70) was perhaps the earliest and was also used by al-Nawādjī (*ibid.*, 1169, n. 6). Of his predecessors (in addition to the two mentioned), he quotes not only purely literary but also scientific works: Kushādjim (d. *ca.* 350/951 [*q.v.*]), *Adab al-nadīm*; al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]), *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*; ᶜAlā᾽ al-Dīn b. Ẓāfir al-ᶜAsḳalānī (5th-6th/11th-12th centuries), *Badā᾽iᶜ al-badā᾽ih*; al-Tīfāshī (d. 651/1253), *Surūr al-nafs bi-madārik al-ḥawāss al-khams*; Ibn Saᶜīd al-Andalusī (d. *ca.* 685/1286), *al-Murḳiṣ wa 'l-muṭrib*; Ibn Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318), *al-Mabāhidj*; Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī (d.768/1306), *Sarḥ al-ᶜuyūn*; Ibn Abī Ḥadjala (d. 776/1375 [*q.v.*]), *al-Sukkardān*; al-Ghuzūlī (d. 815/1412), *Maṭāliᶜ al-budūr*; Ḥasan b. Zufar al-Irbilī, *Rawḍat al-djalīs wa-nuzhat al-anīs*; Muḥammad al-ᶜAnbarī, *al-Nawr al-mudjtanā min riyāḍ al-udabā᾽*; Ibn Bukhtīshūᶜ, *al-Khawāṣṣ*; ᶜAlī b. Ḥazm al-Ḳurashī (d. 687/1288), *Mūdjiz al-ḳānūn fī 'l-ṭibb*; al-Damīrī [*q.v.*], *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*.

He also dealt with contemporary poetry and belles-lettres. His encyclopaedia of wine contains 25 chapters and a concluding one, not always systematically arranged and often only loosely connected (e.g. the chapter devoted to the Nile or long poems of the *zadjal* type). With a critical sifting of his sources, the anthology may produce much not only of purely literary value but also of interest for the history of culture. In spite of vigorous attacks on it, the *Ḥalbat al-kumayt* has always been very popular (cf. V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, ix, Liege 1905, 59-60, no. 70) and has exercised considerable influence. Even as late as the 18th century the ᶜIrāḳī scholar Amīn b. Khayr Allāh al-ᶜUmarī (1737-89; see al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, i, Cairo 1927, col. 129) continued his tradition in the anthology *Nawādir al-minaḥ fī aḳsām al-malāḥa wa 'l-mulaḥ* (see Dāwūd al-Čelebī, *Kitāb Makhṭūṭāt al-Mawṣil*, Baghdād 1927, 50-2, no. 65). In Europe also, al-Nawādjī early attracted attention: in the 17th century d'Herbelot (1625-95) devoted an article to him in the *Bibliothèque orientale* (Maastricht 1776, 657). In the 18th century, Sir William Jones (1746-94) wrote of his book "Est hic liber Athenaei Δειπνοσοφισταῖς simillimus, sed mea quidem sententia jucundior, ornatior, copiosior" (*Poeseos asiaticae commentariorum libri sex*, Leipzig 1777, 355). In the first half of the 19th century we often come across extracts and translations from his anthology (see Chauvin, *op. cit.*); in recent literary investigations, it has now been thrust into the background by earlier works in Arabic literature.

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NAWĀ᾽Ī, ᶜALĪ SHĪR [see MĪR ᶜALĪ SHĪR NAWĀ᾽Ī].

NAWĀR [see ČINGĀNE, LŪLĪ, ZUṬṬ].

AL-**NAWĀWĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜUMAR B. ᶜARABĪ AL-DJĀWĪ, an Arabic writer of Malay origin, born in Tanāra (Banten), the son of a village judge (*pangalu*), after concluding his studies made the pilgrimage to Mecca and settled there permanently in about 1855, after making a short visit to his native land. After he had studied further and completed his education with the teachers of the holy city, he set up as a teacher himself and gained great influence over his fellow countrymen and their kinsmen. From 1870 he devoted half his time to authorship. He was still alive in 1888.

He wrote a large number of commentaries on popular textbooks, which are listed by Brockelmann, II², 651-2, S II, 813-14, in addition to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 362 ff. Of these, the following may be mentioned, with some information additional to what is contained in these two works.

He expounded the Ḳur᾽ān in his *al-Tafsīr al-munīr li-maᶜālim al-tanzīl al-musfir ᶜan wudjūh maḥāsin al-ta᾽wīl*, Cairo 1305. In the field of *fiḳh*, he annotated the *Fatḥ al-karīb* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1512), a commentary on Abū Shudjāᶜ al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Taḳrīb*, entitled *al-Tawshīḥ*, Cairo 1305, 1310, and again entitled *Ḳūt al-ḥabīb*, Cairo 1301, 1305, 1310. — He wrote a commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-hidāya* under the title *Marāḳī 'l-ᶜubūdiyya*, Būlāḳ 1293, 1309, Cairo 1298, 1304, 1307, 1308, 1319, 1327. — On the *Manāḳib al-ḥadjdj* of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī al-Khaṭīb (d. 977/1569), he wrote *al-Fatḥ al-mudjīb*, Būlāḳ 1276, 1292, Cairo 1297, 1298, 1306; Mecca 1316. — On the *Safīnat al-ṣalāḥ* of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī he wrote the *Sullam al-munādjāt*, Būlāḳ 1297, Cairo 1301, 1307. — He wrote a commentary on the 601 questions of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zāhid (d. 819/1416), put into verse by his fellow-countryman Muṣṭafā b. ᶜUthmān al-Djāwī al-Ḳārūṭī as *al-Fatḥ al-mubīn* on *ṣalāt*, alms, fasting and pilgrimage under the title *al-ᶜIḳd al-thamīn*, Cairo 1300; the *Safīnat al-nadjā᾽* of Sālim b. Samīr of Shiḥr in Ḥaḍramawt, completed in Batavia, was expounded under the title *Kāshifat al-sadjā᾽*, Cairo 1292, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1305, Būlāḳ

1309. — On the exposition of the *uṣūl al-dīn* by his colleague Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Ḥasab Allāh entitled *al-Riyāḍ al-badīʿa*, he wrote the commentary *al-Thimār al-yāniʿa*, Cairo 1299, 1308, 1329, Būlāḳ 1302.

In the field of dogmatics, he annotated al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn* (d. 892/1496), entitled *Dharīʿat al-yaḳīn*, Cairo 1304; the *ʿAḳīdat al-ʿawāmm* of Aḥmad al-Marzūḳī (*ca.* 1281/1864) entitled *Nūr al-ẓalām*, Cairo 1303, 1329; al-Bādjūrī's *Risāla fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd* entitled *Tīdjān al-darārī*, Cairo 1301, 1309, Mecca 1329; the *Masāʾil* of Abu 'l-Layth entitled *Ḳaṭr al-ghayth*, Cairo 1302, 1303, Mecca 1311; the anonymous *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* entitled *Ḥilyat al-ṣibyān* in a *Madjmūʿa*, Mecca 1304; and the *al-Durr al-farīd* of his teacher Aḥmad al-Naḥrāwī entitled *Fatḥ al-madjīd*, Cairo 1298.

In the field of mysticism, he wrote a commentary on the *Manẓūma hidāyat al-adhkiyāʾ ilā ṭarīḳ al-awliyāʾ* of Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī (d. 928/1522) entitled *Salālim al-fuḍalāʾ*, Cairo 1301, Mecca 1315; and on his *Manẓūma fī shuʿab al-īmān*, he wrote the *Ḳāmiʿ al-ṭughyān*, Cairo 1296. On the *al-Manhadj al-atamm fī tabwīb al-ḥukm* of ʿAlī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Hindī (d. 975/1567) he wrote *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulm*, Mecca 1314. — His commentaries on stories of the life of the Prophet may be classed as edifying popular literature; such he wrote on the *mawlid al-Nabī* under the title *al-ʿArūs*, Cairo 1926, which is ascribed by some to Ibn al-Djawzī, by others to Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Ḥarīrī, entitled *Fatḥ al-ṣamad al-ʿālim ʿalā mawlid al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. Ḳāsim wa-yusammā al-Bulūgh al-fawzī li-bayān alfāẓ mawlid Ibn al-Djawzī*, Būlāḳ 1292, entitled *Bughyat al-ʿawāmm fī sharḥ mawlid Sayyid al-Anām li-Ibn al-Djawzī*, Cairo 1927, and *Fatḥ al-ṣamad al-ʿālim ʿalā mawlid al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. Ḳāsim*, Mecca 1306, as well as on the *Mawlid* of Djaʿfar al-Barzandjī (d. 1179/1765) entitled *Targhīb al-mushtāḳīn*, Būlāḳ 1292, and again under the title *Madāridj al-ṣuʿūd*, Būlāḳ 1296, and on his *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-nabawiyya* entitled *al-Durar al-bahiyya*, Būlāḳ 1299. He made an excerpt from al-Ḳasṭallānī's (d. 923/1517) *Mawlid* entitled *al-Ibrīz al-dānī fī mawlid Sayyidnā Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-ʿAdnānī*, Cairo 1299.

In the field of grammar, he wrote a commentary on the *Ādjurrūmiyya* entitled *Kashf al-murūṭiyya ʿan sitār al-Ādjurrūmiyya*, Cairo 1308, and on a versification *Fatḥ ghāfir al-khaṭiyya ʿala 'l-kawākib al-djaliyya fī naẓm al-Adjurrūmiyya*, Būlāḳ 1298; and on ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿIwaḍ al-Djirdjāwī's (*ca.* 1271/1854) *al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya fi 'l-abwāb al-taṣrīfiyya* entitled *al-Fuṣūṣ al-yāḳūtiyya*, Cairo 1299. In the field of rhetoric, he completed in 1293/1876 a commentary on the *Risālat al-Istiʿārāt* of Ḥusayn al-Nawāwī al-Mālikī entitled *Lubāb al-bayān*, Cairo 1301.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. Brockelmann)

AL-**NAWAWĪ** (or AL-NAWĀWĪ), MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀʾ YAḤYĀ B. SHARAF B. MURĪ [following Nawawī's own spelling, Suyūṭī, fol. 53b] B. ḤASAN B. ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD B. DJUMʿA B. ḤIZĀM AL-ḤIZĀMĪ AL-DIMASHḲĪ, a Shāfiʿī jurist, born in Muḥarram 631/October 1233 in Nawā south of Damascus in Djawlān. The ability of the boy very early attracted attention and his father brought him in 649/1251 to the Madrasa al-Rawāḥiyya in Damascus. There he first of all studied medicine but very soon went over to Islamic learning. In 651/1253 he made the pilgrimage with his father. About 655/1257 he began to write and was called in 665/1267 to the al-Ashrafiyya *dār al-ḥadīth* in Damascus in succession to Abū Shāma who had just died. Although his health had suffered severely during his life as a student, he lived very frugally and even declined a salary. His reputation as a scholar and a man soon became so great that he even dared to approach the Mamlūk sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] to ask him to free the people of Syria from the war taxes imposed upon them and to protect the teachers in the *madrasas* from a reduction in their income. This was in vain, however, and Baybars expelled al-Nawawī from Damascus when he alone refused to sign a *fatwā* approving the legality of these exactions. (This action of al-Nawawī's is commemorated in the popular romance *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, Cairo 1326, xli, 38 ff. in which the sultan, cursed by al-Nawawī, becomes blind for a time.) He died unmarried in his father's house in Nawā on Wednesday, 24 Radjab 676/22 Dec. 1277. His tomb is still held in honour there.

Al-Nawawī has retained his high reputation to the present day. He had an exceptional knowledge of Tradition and adopted even stricter standards than later Islam; for example, he admits only five works on Tradition as canonical, while he expressly puts the *Sunan* of Ibn Mādja on a level with the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (cf. *Sharḥ Muslim*, i, 5; *Adhkār*, 3). In spite of his fondness for Muslim, he gives a higher place to al-Bukhārī (*Tahdhīb*, 550). He wrote the principal commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo 1283); as an introduction to this, he wrote a history of the transmission of this work and a sketch of the science of Tradition. He gives not only observations on the *isnāds* and a grammatical explanation of the traditions, but he also comments on them, mainly from the theological and legal aspect, quoting when necessary not only the founders of the principal schools but also the older jurists like al-Awzāʿī, ʿAṭāʾ, etc. He also inserted headings (*tardjama*) in Muslim's work. We may also mention his frequently annotated *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn* (Būlāḳ 1294 and often since) and portions of commentaries on al-Bukhārī and Abū Dāwūd (Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, fol. 10b); and an extract from Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, with the title *al-Taḳrīb wa 'l-tafsīr*, partly tr. Marçais, in *JA*, ser. 9, xvi-xviii, and printed at Cairo 1307, with a commentary by al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*.

Al-Nawawī's importance as a jurist is perhaps even greater. In Shāfiʿī circles he was regarded, with his *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* (finished 669/1270-1; Cairo 1297 and frequent later eds.; ed. van den Berg with French tr., Batavia 1882-4; cf. thereon Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, vi, 3-18), as the highest authority along with al-Rāfiʿī, and since the 10th/16th century the two commentaries on this work, Ibn Ḥadjar's *Tuḥfa* and al-Ramlī's *Nihāya*, have been regarded almost as the law books par excellence of the Shāfiʿī school. The book consists of excerpts from the *Muḥarrar* of Rāfiʿī and, as the author himself says, is intended to be a kind of commentary on it. It certainly owes the estimation in which it is held also to the fact that it goes back via al-Rāfiʿī and al-Ghazālī to the Imām al-Ḥaramayn. We should also mention the *Rawḍa fī mukhtaṣar sharḥ al-Rāfiʿī* (on al-Ghazālī's *Wadjīz*) finished in 669/1270-1, on which commentaries have often been written, the commentaries on Shīrāzī's *al-Muhadhdhab* and *al-Tanbīh* (Brockelmann, I^2, 485) and al-Ghazālī's *al-Wasīṭ*, which do not seem to have survived, and a collection of *fatwās* put together by his pupil Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (Cairo 1352).

His biographical and grammatical studies resulted in the *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa 'l-lughāt* (Part 1 on the names, Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1842-7; Part 2 only in ms. in Leiden; included by Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār among the unfinished works and there are certainly gaps in it) and *al-Taḥrīr fī alfāẓ al-tanbīh* completed in 671/1272-3. To his mystical tendencies —he had attended lectures

on the *Risāla* of al-Ḳus͟hayrī and transmitted it— we owe works like the *Kitāb al-Ad͟hkār* on the prayers, finished in 667/1268-9 (Cairo 1331 and frequent later eds.), the *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn* (finished in 670/1271-2; Mecca 1302, 1312, Eng. tr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, London 1975) and the incomplete *Bustān al-ʿārifīn fī 'l-zuhd wa 'l-taṣawwuf*. For his complete works, see Brockelmann, I², 496-501, S I, 680-6.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 724/1324), *Tuḥfat al-ṭālibīn fī tard̲j̲amat S̲h̲ayk̲h̲inā al-Imām al-Nawawī* (with many *mart̲h̲iyas*), ms. Tübingen, no. 18; Sak̲h̲āwī (d. 902/1496-7), *Tard̲j̲amat Ḳuṭb al-Awliyāʾ ... al-Nawawī*, ms. Berlin, Wetzstein, ii, 1742, fols. 140-207 (Ahlwardt, no. 10125); Suyūṭī, *al-Minhād̲j̲ fī tard̲j̲amat al-Nawawī*, ms. Berlin Wetzstein II, 1807, fols. 53a-68a (Ahlwardt, no. 10126); Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲āfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, v, 1658; D̲h̲ahabī, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād n.d., iv, 259-64; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-d̲j̲anān*, Ḥaydarābād 1339, iv, 182-6; the other sources are printed in Wüstenfeld, *Über das Leben und die Schriften des Scheich Abu Zakarija Jahja el-Nawawi*, Göttingen 1849; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii, 387-8. (W. HEFFENING)

NAWBA (A.), in the art-music of the Islamic Middle East and North Africa, a complex form made up of a number of individual pieces arranged in a standard sequence. (For the use of *nawba* in relation to the military and ceremonial ensemble, see NAḲḲĀRA-K̲H̲ĀNA and MEHTER.)

The term *nawba* appears already in the *Kitāb al-Ag̲h̲ānī* of Abū 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-Iṣbahānī (284-356/897-967 [*q.v.*]), but in its non-technical meaning of "turn". It refers either to the practice, established at the latest by the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, of having a given musician perform regularly at court on a particular day of the week, or to several musicians taking turns to sing during a single *mad̲j̲lis*. However, for all their references to features of etiquette, missing from the many accounts in the *Kitāb al-Ag̲h̲ānī* of musical *mad̲j̲ālis* at the ʿAbbāsid court is any indication of the existence of a large-scale conventional sequence of songs, let alone of any complex cyclical form. The choice of which song to sing next was governed by various and sometimes unpredictable factors, and the patron would often demand to have a particularly pleasing item repeated several times (see Sawa, *Music performance practice*, 115-16, 166-70).

The notion of a preferred or most effective order of events is, however, attested by the end of the 4th/10th century. The singer is advised in the *Kamāl Adab al-g̲h̲ināʾ* of al-Ḥasan al-Kātib (late 4th/10th or early 5th/11th century) and in the *Ḥāwī 'l-funūn* of Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān (d. after 449/1057) to begin with slow and serious songs and to conclude with faster and more frivolous ones: such a plan, it is urged, will accord with the changing mood (and increasing inebriation) of the audience. Given this broad framework, it might be expected that more specifically musical considerations would lead to the development of particular conventional groupings either of individual songs or of types of song (involving some pattern of unity or contrast relating to modal, rhythmic or formal parameters). But these two works, despite their concern with the practicalities of music making, fail to indicate the existence of any such compound structure, and the term *nawba* does not occur in them. It does, however, appear shortly after, in the phrase *nawbat-i muṭribī*, in the *Ḳābūs-nāma* (475/1082-3) of Kay Kāʾūs [*q.v.*], where we encounter the first tentative association with formal organisation, even if it is clear from the context that we are still dealing with nothing more precise than the general trajectory or changing character of the various pieces that make up a complete performance, moving again from slow to fast, from stylistically complex to simple.

A similar overall design, but rather more explicit in its articulation, is to be found in Spain. Al-Maḳḳarī (986-1041/1578-1632) quotes Ibn Ḥayyān (377-469/987-8-1076 [*q.v.*]) to the effect that the conventional order was to begin with *nas̲h̲īd* [*q.v.*], followed by *basīṭ*, both of these being slow, and conclude with the faster *muḥarrakāt* and *ahzād̲j̲*. The particular pairing of *nas̲h̲īd* and *basīṭ* is mentioned already (*Ag̲h̲ānī*³, v, 427) in relation to Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī (150-235/767-850 [*q.v.*]) and the sequence as a whole is closely related to the format discussed by al-Ḥasan al-Kātib. For him *nas̲h̲īd* and *basīṭ* constitute successive stages within a single piece, but one occurring at the beginning of a performance, while *hazad̲j̲* is specified as one of the lighter, quicker rhythms that are saved till the end.

If this suggests that there were still similar concepts of large-scale (but loosely structured) organisation in both East and West in the 5th/11th century, the testimony of al-Tīfās̲h̲ī (580-651/1184-1253) shows that two centuries later there were two well-established but distinct complex forms, both called *nawba*. That in the West began again with a *nas̲h̲īd*, but followed now by *ṣawt*, *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* and *zad̲j̲al*. The first two seem to have been differentiated by a technical feature, the inclusion in the first and omission from the second of an initial section called *istihlāl*; the last two relate to strophic verse/song forms.

The Eastern *nawba*, in contrast, consisted for al-Tīfās̲h̲ī of five pieces: *ḳawl*, *g̲h̲azal*, *tarāna*, *zamāna* and *ḳawl (-i) dīgar*. There is, however, no mention of it in the treatises of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 693/1294), and given that he does refer to other forms it may not yet have become as important as the prominence accorded it by later theorists would suggest. Nor, indeed, is it singled out for emphasis in the next work to cite it, the so-called *S̲h̲arḥ Mawlānā Mubārak S̲h̲āh bar adwār* (777/1375) (which lists, incidentally, only three movements: *ḳawl*, *g̲h̲azal* and *tarāna*), so that it is not until the beginning of the 9th/15th century, in the treatises of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Marāg̲h̲ī (d. 839/1435), that it comes to the fore. (In an interesting autobiographical anecdote, he relates how he won a wager to compose one whole *nawba* each day for a month.) The cyclical implication in al-Tīfās̲h̲ī's account of the final return to the initial song type suggests that the slow to fast trajectory had either been abandoned or had never been relevant to the Eastern *nawba*, and confirmation of this is given in ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Marāg̲h̲ī's description of what seems to have been its normative form during the 8th/14th and early 9th/15th centuries. All of the now canonic four movements (*ḳawl*, *g̲h̲azal*, *tarāna* and *fīrūdās̲h̲t*) are unified not only by identity of melodic mode but also by being restricted to a small number of rhythmic cycles. What distinguishes them is not, therefore, a progressive change of character, nor particular features of formal structure, but rather the language and type of the verse: the *ḳawl* set Arabic verse, the *g̲h̲azal* Persian, the *tarāna* a *rubāʿī*, the *fīrūdās̲h̲t* again Arabic verse. The Eastern *nawba* (or, in full, *nawba murattaba/nawbat-i murattab*) cannot, therefore, be seen as a crystallisation of an earlier large-scale format, but is rather just one (even if the only compound) form among many, and in a larger performance context it was probably assigned to the initial, slower block of pieces.

Some idea of the later history of the *nawba* can be gleaned from song-text collections of the late 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. It is clear, for example, that

the theorists' specification of a *rubāʿī* for the *tarāna* had been abandoned in practice: normally just one line (and usually, indeed, the same line) was set. They also show that ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Marāghī's attempt to add a fifth movement (*mustazād*) which would repeat material from the previous four had not proved successful: no other composer tried to emulate him. But of far greater significance is the fact that they reveal how the *nawba* itself, despite the high prestige it had earlier enjoyed, was rapidly falling out of favour. Already by the end of the 9th/15th century few were recorded entire, and by the middle of the 10th/16th it had virtually ceased to exist: we find a bare handful of examples, a few *ḳawl* plus *ghazal* pairs, and a scattering of individual movements.

Its disappearance from the repertoire at this time inevitably calls into question the supposition of continuity and subsequent transformation. There is no evidence to sustain the notion that more recent large-scale cyclical forms such as the Ottoman *faṣil* or even the Central Asian *shashmaḳom* [*q.v.*] gradually evolved out of the *nawba*. The earliest description of the *faṣil*, that of Demetrius Cantemir, dates from *ca.* 1110/1700, although it is no doubt the case that it had been in existence for some time. But the crucial argument against a derivation of *faṣil* from *nawba* is that the two have virtually nothing in common apart from the primary fact of being conventional assemblages of individual pieces considered to form a complex whole. Whereas the *nawba* consisted of four specific and highly uniform vocal compositions by a single composer, the *faṣil* in its classical form can be defined as a variable selection of pieces, usually by different composers, fitting into a series of prescribed slots organised in such a way as to emphasise, within the overall unity of mode, contrast and variety. It thus alternates between instrumental and vocal, unmeasured and measured, and juxtaposes vocal pieces using contrasting rhythmic cycles.

In the Maghrib, on the other hand, the term *nawba* is still current and there must, therefore, be a reasonable possibility of continuity from the Western form as specified by al-Tīfāshī down to the present. Unfortunately, this must remain supposition: the word may surface in 12th/18th century sources such as *al-Ḥāʾik*, but there is no documentary evidence to chart any of the stages of what must have been a complex evolution leading to the present form, which has many more components than its 7th/13th century antecedent and retains none of its formal terminology. In current Moroccan practice, for example, the *nawba* consists broadly of a number of introductory pieces largely serving the purpose of modal exposition (an instrumental prelude, *mīshāliyya*, followed by the choral *inshād ṭabʿ al-naghma* and a briefer instrumental *bughya*), and then an instrumental prelude, *tūshiya*, leading to five core groups of vocal pieces (*ṣanʿa*) selected from a wide repertoire of more than 1,000 songs in, successively, the rhythmic cycles *basīṭ*, *ḳāʾim wa-niṣf*, *baṭāʾiḥī*, *daradj* and *ḳuddām*. Within each of these groups the tempo gradually accelerates, so that we may detect here an echo or even, possibly, a direct survival of the ancient concept of transition from slow to fast. The essentially choral nature of the performance of these songs may be varied by the insertion of solo display pieces (*baytayn* or *mawwāl*) which allow the individual vocalist's virtuosity to come to the fore. Many of the singers are at the same time instrumentalists: the ensemble consists of the bowed *rabāb* (considered the leader) and a varying number of performers on violin (braced vertically against the thigh), *ʿūd*, and percussion instruments. Considerable regional variations occur across the Maghrib with regard to the nature and size of the ensemble, the repertoire, and its technical terminology (for details on these, see Guettat, *La musique classique du Maghreb*, which also contains a discography).

Bibliography: Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Cairo 1927-74; al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Kātib, *Kamāl Adab al-ghināʾ*, ed. Khashaba, Cairo 1975, tr. A. Shiloah in *La perfection des connaissances musicales*, Paris 1972; Ibn Ṭaḥḥān al-Mūsīḳī, *Ḥāwī 'l-funūn wa-salwat al-maḥzūn*, Dār al-Kutub ms. f. dj. 539, facsimile in Publications of the Institute for the history of Arabic-Islamic science, series C, 52, Frankfurt 1990; Tīfāshī: see Ṭandjī; *Sharḥ Mawlānā Mubārak Shāh bar adwār*, British Library ms. Or. 2361 fols. 68b-153, tr. in D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, iii, Paris 1938, 185-565; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Marāghī, *Djāmiʿ al-alḥān*, ed. Taḳī Bīnish, Tehran 1987; idem, *Maḳāṣid al-alḥān*, ed. Taḳī Bīnish (*madjmūʿa-yi mutūn-i fārsī*), Tehran 1966, 2nd ed. 1977; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*; Demetrius Cantemir, *Kitāb-i ʿIlm al-mūsīḳī ʿalā wedjh al-ḥurūfāt*, facsimile and tr. in Popescu-Judetz, *Dimitrie Cantemir*, 1973; Muḥ. b. Ṭ. al-Ṭandjī, *al-Ṭarāʾiḳ wa 'l-alḥān al-mūsīḳiyya fī Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Andalus*, in *al-Abḥāth*: *Quarterly Journal of the American University of Beirut*, xxi/2,3,4 (1968), 93-116; E. Popescu-Judetz, *Dimitrie Cantemir*: *cartea stințėi muzicii*, Bucharest 1973; M. Guettat, *La musique classique du Maghreb* (La bibliothèque arabe), Paris 1980; A.J. Racy, *The waslah*: *a compound form principle in Egyptian music*, in *Arab Studies Quarterly*, v/4 (1983), 396-404; K. and U. Reinhard, *Die Musik der Türkei*, 2 vols., Wilhelmshaven 1984; A. Jung, *Quellen der traditionellen Kunstmusik der Usbeken und Tadschiken Mittelasiens* (Beiträge zur Ethno-musikologie 23), Hamburg 1989; G.D. Sawa, *Music performance practice in the early ʿAbbāsid era*, Toronto 1989; W. Feldman, *Cultural authority and authenticity in the Turkish repertoire*, in *Asian Music*, xxii/1, 1990-1, 73-111.

(O. Wright)

NAWBAKHT, a Persian patronymic (*naw* or *nay* + *bakht* "new fortune"), was borne in Baghdād during the first two ʿAbbāsid centuries by a family remarkable for its influence on the advancement of learning and on the political legitimism of the Imāmī Shīʿa.

It claimed descent (see al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, ed. Beirut, 115) from the Persian hero Gīw son of Gūdarz celebrated in the *Shāh-nāma* (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 399, and Christensen, *Kayanides*, 59, 117). Its first known representative Nawbakht, an astrologer, owed his fortune to the future caliph al-Manṣūr, to whom in prison he is said to have foretold his accession to the throne and later the victory over the Zaydī rebel Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]; in the same year (144/762) in which he drew up the horoscope of Baghdād, the new capital, he was granted fiefs in it. His son Abū Sahl Tīmādh (on this curious praenomen, cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. A. Müller, Leipzig 1884, iii, p. xli, and H. Ritter, postlude to his edition of Ḥasan al-Nawbakhtī's *Firaḳ*, 9) (d. 170/786) had seven sons by his wife Zarrīn, the founders of the various branches of the Āl Nawbakht, in which we find theologians like Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāḳ b. Abī Sahl (wrote about 350/961 the *Kitāb al-Yāḳūt*, on which a commentary by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī has been found by A. Iḳbāl; an earlier commentary had been written by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, according to his *Sharḥ al-Nahdj*, iv, 575; and the *Kitāb al-Ibtihādj*), Abū Sahl Ismāʿīl [see al-nawbakhtī], Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ, third *wakīl* of the Imāmīs [see ibn rūḥ], and Ḥasan b. Mūsā [see al-

NAWBAKHTĪ]; astronomers like al-Faḍl b. Abī Sahl (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 275, who has been confused with al-Maʾmūn's minister) and Mūsā b. Ḥasan Ibn Kibriyā; secretaries of state; and finally, enlightened students of poetry to whom the editors of the *dīwāns* of Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Rūmī and al-Buḥturī went to establish the texts.

At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the Nawbakhtīs seem to have been closely linked, like another Shīʿī family of the time, the Banū Bisṭām, with the policies of the caliphal vizier Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] (see Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 514 and AL-NAWBAKHTĪ).

Bibliography: ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī*, Tehran 1933, with a genealogical tree, and useful indices, among others that of the Shīʿī sects, 249-67; H. Ritter, in his edition of the *Firaḳ* of Ḥasan al-Nawbakhtī [*q.v.*]; see also Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima* and *ʿIbar*, indices.

(L. MASSIGNON)

AL-**NAWBAKHTĪ**, AL-ḤASAN B. MŪSĀ, Abū Muḥammad, scholar and theologian, and proponent of Imāmī Shīʿism, member of the renowned Nawbakht family [*q.v.*] (d. between 300 and 310/912-22). His ancestor, Abū Sahl b. Nawbakht, a famous astronomer, converted to Islam, and participated with al-Manṣūr in the constructing of Baghdad. On the family Nawbakht, see also ʿAbbās Iḳbāl (Eghbal), *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī*.

Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā was a nephew of Abū Sahl Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Nawbakhtī, a prominent Imāmī theologian (d. 311/923; see Brockelmann, S I, 319; Iḳbāl, 96-124). These two members of the Banū Nawbakht were the founders of the first school which fused Muʿtazilī theology with Imāmī teachings. They professed Muʿtazilī tenets on divine attributes and justice, denial of the beatific vision of God (on which both of them wrote works), and rejection of the view that God creates human acts. But they opposed the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the Imāmate, espousing the impeccability and infallibility of the Imāms, although (along with the Muʿtazilīs) denying their miracles (Iḳbāl, 128; Madelung, *Imāmism and Muʿtazilite theology*, 14-16).

Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 177, tr. Dodge, 441), who calls al-Nawbakhtī "a theologian and philosopher", places him in the company of a group of translators of philosophical books—Abū ʿUthman al-Dimashḳī, Isḥāḳ (b. Ḥunayn), Thābit (b. Ḳurra), and others. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa tells (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, i, 216) of an encounter between al-Nawbakhtī and Thābit b. Ḳurra at the time when the former was a young man.

Al-Nawbakhtī wrote on theology, philosophy and sects, and composed polemical works. Forty-four titles are mentioned in bio-bibliographical sources; see Ritter (ed.), *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, Introd., 17-20; Iḳbāl, 129-35. He also copied many works.

His most important book, the *K. al-Ārāʾ wa 'l-diyānāt*, is known mainly from citations by Ibn al-Djawzī in his *Talbīs Iblīs*; and also from al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, and Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*; Ritter, Introd., 22-6; Iḳbāl, 136-40. (Brockelmann, S I, 319, mistakenly says that *K. al-Ārāʾ wa 'l-diyānāt* was edited by Ritter). The extant fragments discuss the Sophists (Sceptics); Dualists; Greek philosophers (Socrates); views of Stoic philosophers; Indian religions (Barāhima); Ṣābians and Madjūs; astronomers and astrologers; views of Djahm b. Ṣafwān, doctrine of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam on anthropomorphism; and views of Muḳātil b. Sulaymān, Naʿīm (Nuʿaym) b. Ḥammād, and Dāwūd al-Djawāribī.

The *K. al-Ārāʾ wa 'l-diyānāt*, as Madelung has shown (*Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq*), made use of Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ's (d. 247/861) *K. Ikhtiṣāṣ madhāhib al-ithnayn* and/or *K. al-Maḳālāt* for knowledge of dualistic religions, the Manichaeans, Marcionites and the Bardesanians. Al-Nawbakhtī's reports on these topics were used in turn by ʿAbd al Djabbār, al-Shahrastānī and Ibn al-Murtaḍā.

Al-Nawbakhtī's polemical works include a refutation of extremist Shīʿīs (*al-Radd ʿalā 'l-ghulāt*); see Ritter, 27; Iḳbāl, 135-6; a refutation of Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī's refutation of astrologers; and physical proofs from Aristotle refuting those who claim that the sphere is living and rational. His philosophic interests are also expressed in his epitome of Aristotle's *De Generatione et Corruptione* and by a work on atomism.

Al-Nawbakhtī is best known for his book on Shīʿī sects, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* (*K. fīhi madhāhib firaḳ ahl al-imāma wa-asmāʾuhā* ...), which was edited by H. Ritter (Istanbul 1931). The work was subsequently edited (but apparently based on Ritter) by Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ al-Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Nadjaf 1355/1936).

A Persian translation of *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* was done by M. Dj. Mashkūr, *Tardjamat Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* (Tehran 1325 A.S./1946), see also the French translation by M.J. Mashkour (Mashkūr), *Les sectes shiites*: *traduction annotée avec introduction*, 2nd ed. (Tehran 1980), which first appeared in *RHR*, cliii (1958), 68-78, 176-214; cliv (1958), 67-95, 146-72; clv (1959), 63-78 (and published separately, Tehran 1958). There is a Russian translation by S.M. Prozorov, *Shiitiskie sekti*, with Eng. summary (Moscow 1973).

The *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* treats the question of the Imāmate (on which al-Nawbakhtī wrote one or two independent works) as well as Shīʿī sects. A question exists whether the *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* is the work of al-Nawbakhtī or rather derived from the *K. al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ* of his contemporary, Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī al-Ḳummī (d. 299/911) (ed. Mashkūr, Tehran 1964), as many parallels exist (see the list of most of them in Iḳbāl, 144-54) between the *Firaḳ* and al-Ḳummī's book. The explanation that commends itself is that al-Ḳummī used al-Nawbakhtī's work and added sources of his own (see Madelung, *Bemerkungen*).

Madelung suggests that al-Nawbakhtī used Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *K. Ikhtilāf al-nās fī 'l-imāma* for the first part of his book, a source used also by al-Nāshiʾ in his *K. Uṣūl al-niḥal*, which parallels al-Nawbakhtī in several places (J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, 26, 39, 54; Madelung, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, 225).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 119-20; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl (Eghbal), *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī*, Tehran 1311/1932-3; W. Madelung, *Imāmism and Muʿtazilite theology*, in *Le Shīʿisme imâmite*, ed. T. Fahd, Paris 1979, 13-29; idem, *Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq über die Bardesaniten, Marcioniten und Kantäer*, in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients. Festschrift für Bertold Spuler...*, Leiden 1981, 210-24; idem, *Bermerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur*, in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 37-52; idem, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, in *Isl.*, lvii (1980), 220-36 (all repr. in *Religious schools and sects in medieval Islam*, London 1985); J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut 1971.

(J.L. KRAEMER)

NAWBANDADJĀN, NŪBANDADJĀN (also Nūbandjān, according to Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Beirut, v, 307), a town of the province of Fārs in mediaeval Islamic Persia. It lay in the district of Shābūr Khurra roughly midway between Iṣṭakhr and Arradjān [*q.vv.*] on the road linking Shīrāz with Khūzistān. The geographers describe the town as populous and

flourishing, with fine markets and a good running water supply. It flourished under the Būyids, was destroyed by the Shabānkāra Kurds of Abū Saᶜd in the 5th/11th century, but was rebuilt by the Saldjūķ Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh's governor of Fārs and Kirmān, the Atabeg Čāwulī Saķāw (d. 510/1116) (Ibn al-Balkhī, tr. Le Strange, *Description of the province of Fars in Persia*, London 1912, 57-8). It then fell into ruins, which were identified by the Russian traveller C.A. Bode (see *JRGS* [1845], 78; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 172).

Two *farsakhs* from Nawbandadjān was the *shiᶜb Bawwān*, the valley accounted by the Muslims one of the four earthly paradises and praised by al-Mutanabbī in one of his most famous *ᶜAḍudiyyāt* odes.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ᶜālam*, tr. 128; Le Strange, *Lands*, 264-5; Schwarz, *Iran*, 34-5.

(C.E. Bosworth)

NAWFAL, banū, a clan of the Meccan tribe of Ķuraysh. The genealogists reckon Nawfal as one of the sons of ᶜAbd Manāf, and brother of ᶜAbd Shams, Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib. Nawfal himself is said to have been specially concerned to develop trade with ᶜIrāķ and the Persian empire, and is also reported to have quarrelled with ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim (Muḥammad's grandfather).

Some information has been preserved about the mutual relations of the clans of Ķuraysh. At one period, all the descendants of ᶜAbd Manāf together with some other clans formed a group known as the Muṭayyabūn ("the perfumed ones") which challenged another group known as the Aḥlāf ("confederates") led by the clans of ᶜAbd al-Dār and Makhzūm. Later, however, the clans of ᶜAbd Shams and Nawfal, which often seem to have acted together, left the first group and came closer to the wealthy and powerful clan of Makhzūm, though still maintaining a degree of separation. The clan of Nawfal appears to have been small in number, and there is no member of it in the lists of early Muslims apart from the confederate ᶜUtba b. Ghazwān. The clan joined with most of the rest of Ķuraysh in boycotting the clan of Hāshim when Abū Ṭālib as leader refused either to stop Muḥammad preaching or to withdraw clan protection (*djiwār*) from him; but the leader of Nawfal, al-Muṭᶜim b. ᶜAdī, was one of five men who brought about the ending of the boycott. Abū Ṭālib died and was succeeded as leader by Abū Lahab, who seems to have refused to continue protecting Muḥammad. As a result, after Muḥammad's abortive visit to al-Ṭāʾif seeking support, before he could re-enter Mecca he had to arrange for the protection of another clan; and it was al-Muṭᶜim b. ᶜAdī of Nawfal who gave him this, though presumably on condition that he stopped preaching. Al-Muṭᶜim is not mentioned after the *Hidjra*, but other members of the clan persisted in opposition to Muḥammad.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 85-7, 251, etc.; Ṭabarī, i, 1084-5, 1203, etc.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, and *K. al-Munammaķ*, Ḥaydarābād, 1942, 1964, see indices; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 6-8, 92, 140, 174, etc.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

al-**NAWFALĪ**, the *nisba* of a Hāshimite family of *akhbārīs* who transmitted from father to son traditions of a historical character.

On the death of Yazīd (I) b. Muᶜāwiya (64/683 [*q.v.*]), ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] was confirmed in his office of governor of ᶜIrāķ by the Baṣrans, who nevertheless speedily retracted this when they learnt that the Kūfans had stoned his emissaries. It was at this point that Baṣra designated as its governor ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, whose grandfather and father had been Companions of the Prophet. When he was still a baby, this personage had received from his mother, Hind bt. Abī Sufyān, the surname of Babba "the fat one" because he was, it was said, plump. At Baṣra, he showed himself rather placid and inept in exercising his delicately-placed functions, so that he only retained them for a month, after which all trace is lost of him until the revolt of Ibn al-Ashᶜath (towards 80/699 [*q.v.*]), in which he participated; subsequently, he had to end his days in ᶜUmān (see Ibn Ķutayba, *Maᶜārif*, index; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 437, 446, 463 and index; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVB, 100, 104, 109; Muṣᶜab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ķuraysh*, 30-1, 86; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 7, Register, II, 111; al-Thaᶜālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 27; etc.).

One gets the impression that all the persons bearing the *nisba* of al-Nawfalī are indeed the descendants of Babba, but there are certain homonymities and gaps in continuity which hinder research here. The oldest member of this family of *ruwāt* must have been (I) Sulaymān b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, whose name figures in some *isnāds*, but the transmitter thus named, who is cited several times by al-Ṭabarī (ii, 446, 1885, iii, 346, 347, 533), is probably not Babba's son, for, whilst belonging to the same line, he was living at a later time; al-Masᶜūdī (*Murūdj*, vii, 218-19 = § 2902) mentions him in fact in the story of an occurrence which is said to have taken place at the court of the ᶜAbbāsid caliph al-Muᶜtaṣim (218-27/833-42 [*q.v.*]) and in which he is represented as rather necessitous, although related to the ruler (*min ahlihi*). Al-Masᶜūdī mentions in total six members of the family, and these have been put together in a genealogical table (index of the ed. of Ch. Pellat, s.v. al-Nawfalī), but it is likely that this table is incomplete. It is certainly right to add a brother of Sulaymān, (II) ᶜĪsā b. ᶜAbd Allāh, cited in an *isnād* by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (*Maķātil*, 155). The following one is a nephew of ᶜĪsā, (III) Muḥammad b. Sulaymān who, in al-Djāḥiẓ's *K. al-Ḥayawān* (iii, 16) retails a dialogue between a Medinan and a Kūfan concerning the love which their respective homelands bear for the Prophet. This *rāwī* is also an authority for al-Masᶜūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 36-9 = § 2267) and, in greater detail, for al-Ṭabarī (iii, 451-5) regarding relations between this personage with Abū Djaᶜfar al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]) whom he accompanied in 158/775 and at whose death he was present. It is his son (the no. VI above) who is the transmitter of this story.

There then come Muḥammad's brother, (IV) ᶜAlī b. Sulaymān, then his son, (V) Djaᶜfar b. Muḥammad cited in the *Murūdj* (v, 183, 409-10 = §§ 1948, 2161) concerning a tradition about al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī and about a *khabar* regarding Sulaymān b. ᶜAbd al-Malik (96-9/715-17 [*q.v.*]). The best-known member of the family is nevertheless (VI) Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad, son of no. III above whom al-Masᶜūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 11 = § 8) and al-Sakhāwī (F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 506) count among the number of historians. The first, who cites him several times (v, 4, 41, 177, 183, 185, 187, 189, vi, 36 = §§ 1762, 1795, 1942, 1948, 1950, 1951, 1953, 2267) attributes to him a *K. al-Akhbār*, which must have been utilised by later authors (probably by al-Ṭabarī, who mentions this *rāwī* at least 25 times (until the year 173/789) and borrows from him lengthy accounts; likewise Abu 'l-Faradj, *Maķātil*, 85, 155, 338, 427). To judge by the nature of the traditions transmitted

by this aristocratic family, it is probable that it showed some sympathy for the ʿAlids.

Now this latter consideration might justify identifying this ʿAlī b. Muḥammad with a Nawfalī of absolutely identical name, with the same *kunya* and *ism*, who is, in regard to the founder in Morocco of the Idrīsid dynasty, Idrīs I (d. 175/792 [*q.v.*]), a source for al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. and tr. de Slane, text 122, tr. 238-9). Rosenthal (*loc. cit.*) seems to doubt the possibility of this identification, and R. le Tourneau (*Fès*, Casablanca 1950, 34) considers al-Nawfalī as an Andalusian, but it is wise to retain a prudent attitude here. In any case, it was al-Bakrī's citation (without *isnād*, hence, probably, given after a book, the *K. al-Akhbār*?) which allowed E. Lévi-Provençal (see his *Islam d'Occident*, Paris 1948, 15-16) to attribute the foundation of Fās to Idrīs I and not to Idrī II, as was previously done (see also Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 218, tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1901, 104; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, Cairo 1963, i, 53-54). The last member of the family whose name has been brought to light is (VII), ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar, son of no. V.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 312, devotes a notice to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (no. VI) but makes no allusion to al-Bakrī's source.

(Ch. Pellat)

NAWRIYYA (a.), from *nawr* "flower", a term which, like *zahriyya*, designates poetry devoted to the description of flowers; it is practically impossible to separate it, as a genre, from the *rawḍiyya* or *rabīʿiyya* (descriptions of gardens or of the spring, respectively).

Already in the middle of the 5th/11th century, Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. 440/1048) sets forth these genres together; he divides his *al-Badīʿ fī faṣl al-rabīʿ* into (1) poems on the spring, without descriptions of flowers; (2) poems in which are described two or more flowers; and (3) poems on one flower in particular. The appearance of this kind of poetry is closely connected with contacts with ancient Persia and the progressive urbanisation of the Arabs after the conquests. The process is already discernible in the pre-Islamic period (poets at the court of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]), but does not attain the status of a separate genre before the ʿAbbāsid period. At the outset, the ʿAbbāsid poets followed, in the *ḳaṣīda*, the pre-Islamic tradition of describing the floral decoration of taverns in Bacchic scenes, but in the specific *khamriyyāt* [*q.v.*], the gardens where feasts are held begin to be described. Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] generally inserts these descriptions after the theme of the *aṭlāl*, the normal starting-point for his *khamriyyāt*; he describes a restricted number of flowers, which he compares to parts of the body (rose = cheek, narcissus = eyes) or to precious stones, which are in fact the most common images in later poetry. Abū Tammām [*q.v.*] was the first to replace, in a poem, the *nasīb* by a description of spring and its flowers, as an imperfect reflection of the *mamdūḥ*, and this enjoyed an extraordinary success, not only among the Arab panegyrists but also among the Persian, Turkish and Jewish poets. In Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*], the description of gardens and flowers becomes an independent poem. There are two types of *nawriyyāt* in this poet's *dīwān*, either descriptions of spring or of a garden, where nature is depicted as an animate being which praises God by its beauty; or else the description of one or two flowers, generally the narcissus and rose, which, in a famous poem, are the object of a *munāẓara* [*q.v.*] in which Ibn al-Rūmī judges in favour of the narcissus (and which was later, at the opening of the 5th/11th century, to give rise to a series of replicas by authors in al-Andalus, in both prose and verse, collected together by al-Ḥimyarī). Up to al-Ṣanawbarī (d. 334/945 [*q.v.*]), one is not conscious of floral poetry as being a genre ouside that of *waṣf*. This particular poet is considered as the main representative, and indeed the creator of this genre, through the abundance of *nawriyyāt* in his *dīwān*, which take the form of short poems (*ḳiṭaʿ*) as well as lengthy *ḳaṣīdas*, and because his descriptions of nature are present in all the poetic genres.

In al-Andalus, this genre was especially appreciated, to the point that practically all Andalusian poetry may be considered as floral poetry. The reasons which are given for justifying this clear preference (exhuberance of nature, the abundance and variety of flowers in al-Andalus) seem to disregard the fragmentary character of the poetic corpus from al-Andalus. Already in al-Ḥimyarī's work, the greater part of the *ḳiṭaʿ* are fragments of the floral prelude of panegyrics, in the manner of Abū Tammām. The most remarkable poets are Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*], called al-Djannān, and his nephew Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ [*q.v.*].

The describing of flowers lends itself to the use of a recherché language and of conceits, which led to *nawriyyāt* entering at a very early date the books on *maʿānī* and on comparisons (*tashbīhāt*), as well as in anthologies in general.

Bibliography: Ḥimyarī, *al-Badīʿ fī waṣf al-rabīʿ*, ed. H. Pérès 1940, new ed. Dār al-Āfāḳ al-Djadīda, al-Maghrib 1989; Pérès, *La poésie andalouse, en arabe classique, au XIe siècle. Ses aspectes généraux, ses principaux thèmes et sa valeur documentaire*, 2nd ed. Paris 1953; G.E. von Grunebaum, *The response to Nature in Arabic poetry* , in *JNES*, iv (1945), 137-51 (repr. in *Themes in medieval Arabic literature*, Variorum Reprints, London 1981, VII); A. Hamori, *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, Princeton 1974, 78 ff.; G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung. Die Zahrīyāt, Rabīʿīyāt und Rauḍīyāt von ihren Anfängen bis aṣ-Ṣanaubarī. Eine gattungs-, motiv- und stilgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1974; Miḳdād Raḥīm, *al-Nawriyyāt fi 'l-shiʿr al-andalusī*, Beirut 1406/1986.

(Teresa Garulo)

NAWʿĪ, Muḥammad Riḍā of Khabūshān, in the vicinity of Mashhad, a Persian poet of the 10th/16th century. The son of a merchant, in his youth he spent some time in Kāshān where he studied under Mawlānā Muḥtasham. Moving to Marw, he became intimate with Ḥākim Nūr Muḥammad Khān there. Like the majority of Persian poets of his time, however, he was attracted by the brilliant court of the Mughals and went to India, where at first he found a patron in the person of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī, but soon afterwards entered the service of the Khānkhānān [*q.v.*] Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm and remained with him and the prince Dāniyāl till his death, which took place in Burhānpūr in 1019/1610. Nawʿī's best work is his poem *Sūz u gudāz* ("Burning and melting"), which has a touching theme, the devotion of a Hindu princess who accompanies her late husband in death on the funeral pyre. It is written in excessively artificial language and distinguished by the originality of its subject, which had not been taken by any Persian poet before Nawʿī. Nawʿī's works were very highly esteemed in India, and he is said to have received 10,000 rupees, an elephant and a horse with valuable trappings for a *Sāḳī-nāma* dedicated to the Khānkhānān. His *Dīwān*, which is entitled *Lubb al-albāb*, has come down to us but has so far attracted little attention.

Bibliography: G. Ouseley, *Biographical notices of Persian poets*, London 1846, 161-6; Ethé, *G I Ph*, ii,

254-5; Badāʾūnī, iii, 361; Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, tr. Blochmann, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, 606; Rieu, *Catalogue*, 674a; *Sūz u gudāz*, Lucknow 1284 (at the end of the first part of the *Akbar-nāma*). It has been translated as *Burning and melting: being the Sūz u-Gudāz of Muḥ. Riżā Nauʿī of Khabūshān*. Translated into English by Mirza J. Dawud of Persia and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy of Ceylon, London 1912.

(E. Berthels)

NAWRŪZ (P.), New (Year's) Day.

1. In the Islamic heartlands. The word is frequently represented in Arabic works in the form *Nayrūz*, which appears in Arabic literature as early as the verse of al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*] (see al-Djawālīkī, *Muʿarrab*, ed. A.M. Shākir, Tehran 1966; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, 408). It was the first day of the Persian solar year and is not represented in the Muslim lunar year (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 416-17 = §§ 1301-2). In Achaemenid times, the official year began with Nawrūz, when the sun entered the Zodiacal Sign of Aries (the vernal equinox). Popular and more ancient usage however would appear to have regarded the midsummer solstice as Nawrūz (al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, 185, 201). It was the time of harvest and was celebrated by popular rejoicings, but it also marked the date when the *kharādj* [*q.v.*] was collected. The two different dates were retained in Persia proper and also in ʿIrāḳ and Djibāl under Islam, and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī states (*Taʾrīkh*, Berlin 1340 [1921], 104) that Nawrūz in the first year of the Hidjra fell on 18 Ḥazīrān (June), which he erroneously equates with 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda. Confusion arose, however, because the intercalation of one day every four years which allowed the date to correspond with the position of the sun was omitted in Islam (Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 215), and unscrupulous revenue officials found it to their advantage to keep to the false calendar date rather than to the correct traditional one, because it permitted them to collect their dues earlier (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv, 263-4). By the time of the caliph al-Mutawakkil the date of collection of *kharādj* had advanced by almost two months, and in 245/859 he fixed the date of Nawrūz as 17 Ḥazīrān, which approximated to the old time (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1448; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 36-7). The reform had no lasting effect and the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid was compelled again to move the date which was fixed as 11 Ḥazīrān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2143). Later again, in the Saldjūḳ sultan Malikshāh's reform of the calendar [see DJALĀLĪ], the Persian astronomers proclaimed the vernal equinox as Nawrūz (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 34; 467 A.H.), and the first day of the new era fell on 10 Ramaḍān 471/15 March 1079.

Nawrūz was celebrated also in Syria, and was adopted in Egypt, as elsewhere, and has been retained by the Copts as the New Year's Day (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 241-2), but it now falls on 10 or 11 September, see Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. XXVI "Periodical public festivals, etc."; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan festivals*, New York 1951, 54-5.

Popular festivities have marked Nawrūz wherever it has been celebrated. In Sāsānid Persia the kings held a great feast, and it was customary for presents to be made to them while the people who gathered to make merry in the streets sprinkled each other with water and lit fires. Both in ʿIrāḳ and Egypt, these customs persisted in Muslim times (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2163; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 277 = § 2962; al-Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*; al-Ḳalḳashandī, ii, 410), and although al-Muʿtaḍid attempted to prevent the customary horseplay in the streets during the midsummer saturnalia, he was unsuccessful (al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*). In the various parts of the Ottoman Empire, the day was celebrated as a public holiday, and in Persia it has throughout its history been marked by great festivities as the chief secular holiday of the year.

Many of the features of these celebrations in Persia are familiar from other cultures where a new year or a new phase of life is being marked, such as the donning of new clothes just before the New Year actually begins, or where the end of the season of winter is marked, in rural society by such practices as the lighting of piles of thorn and brushwood and then the jumping over them by the family, friends and neighbours. But above all characteristic of the New Year celebrations is the preparation on New Year's Day of the *haft sīn* "the seven items beginning with the letter *sīn*" (sc. *sīb* "apple", *sīr* "garlic", *sumāḳ* "sumac", *sindjīd* "jujube", *samanū* "a kind of sweetmeat", *sirka* "vinegar" and *sabzī* "greens"), which are placed on a cloth spread on the floor in front of a mirror and candles in company with dishes of certain foods. See Bess A. Donaldson, *The wild rue. A study of Muhammadan magic and folklore in Iran*, London 1938, 120-3.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 190-200, etc.; ʿUmar Khayyām, *Nawrūz-nāma*, ed. M. Minovi, Tehran 1312/1933; A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islâms*, 400-1; Lane (tr.), *Thousand and one nights*, ii, 496-7; Carra de Vaux, *Notice sur un calendrier turc*, in *Studies presented to E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 106-7; A.V.W. Jackson, *Persia past and present*, New York 1906, 99-100; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan festivals*, repr. London 1976, 53-6.

(R. Levy-[C.E. Bosworth])

2. In East Africa.

As recently as 1971 Tibbetts reported that the Nawrūz calendar, as modified by Sidi Çelebi, was used by navigators throughout the Indian Ocean. He had corrected the practice followed in the works of Aḥmad b. Mādjid and by Sulaymān al-Mahrī, who did not observe an intercalary day in each fourth year, so that their Nawrūz calendar receded ten days in each forty years. On the eastern African coast, Swahili fishermen and agriculturalists all used the unreformed Nawruz calendar, finding the Islamic calendar suitable only for religious purposes. In Swahili, Nawrūz is vocalised as *Nairuzi*. Its earliest attestation is in an Arabic *History of Kilwa* redacted *ca.* 1550, recording the Portuguese arrival on the coast in 1498 and using both calendars. Doubtless it had been in use long before.

The *Nairuzi* ceremonies in Zanzibar and Pemba display a syncretism between Islam and earlier religious practices. In the 1950s they were studied in Zanzibar by Sir John Gray, then Chief Justice. Study in Pemba by the late Dr P.L. Lienhardt in 1958 has not yet seen the light of day.

The ceremonies are organised by *wavyale*, with a view to propitiating *mizimu*, best described as *genii loci*. These are often hereditary from father to son, but women also may act. The *mizimu* may be malign or benign, and it is wiser not to offend them, on land or at sea. This is especially important in the seven days before *Nairuzi*. A feast is held on the first days, after which fishing and collecting firewood are banned for the week. On the sixth day Ḳurʾān school pupils assemble at the teachers' houses. They recite from the Ḳurʾān, partake of a meal, and sleep in the teacher's house. Next day they proceed to the beach for a further recitation. These recitations are apparently the only Islamic element among the ceremonies. The

pupils and older persons then bathe ceremonially, and put on clean clothes. In Zanzibar, women danced and sang and waved branches in the streets. A ceremonial meal followed, women preparing rice, and men preparing a *kitoweo* (savoury stew). Then, at a given signal, all fires were extinguished, to be relit with firesticks, the most primitive of all human methods. The old ashes were carried to crossroads, where a dance for women only took place. During this the *wavyale* erected a small hut. This the women now pelted with stones and set on fire, to drive away evil spirits for the ensuing year. A men's dance followed, with tridents, swords and daggers. It was concluded by a stick dance, the men using sticks only.

While some elements in these ceremonies can be paralleled elsewhere, their origin, meaning and purpose is not wholly clear in this context.

Bibliography: J.R. Gray, *Nairuzi or Siku ya Mwaka*, in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, no. 38 (1955), with detailed bibl.; W.H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar, its history and its people*, London 1931; G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean*, London 1971; S.A. Strong, *The History of Kilwa*, (Arabic text), in *JRAS* (1895); information communicated to the author by Dr Lienhardt in 1958.

(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

al-NAWSHARĪ [see al-nūsharī].

NĀWŪSIYYA, Nawūsiyya, the name of an extremist Shīʿī sect (*rawāfiḍ*) attached to a certain Ibn Nāwūs or Ibn Nawus (sometimes changed into Ibn Mānūs), whose personal name varies according to the sources (ʿAdjlān, ʿAbd Allāh, Ḥamlān, etc.), or else attached to a place in the vicinity of Hīt called Nāwūsa (see Ibn Khurradādhbih, 72, 217; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 179: Yāḳūt, s.v.; al-Idrīsī, index; Le Strange, *Lands*, 64-5).

The Nāwūsiyya were characterised by the idea (sometimes attributed to the caliph Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr, 138-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]) that the *imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765 [*q.v.*]) was not dead but would reappear since he was al-Ḳāʾim al-Mahdī [see ḳāʾim āl muḥammad].

Bibliography: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 25; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, 108; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index s.v. ʿAdjlān; Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 31; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, xx, 179; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 180; Maḳdisī, *Badʾ*, v, 129, 135; Mufīd, *Irshād*, 101; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 61; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Badrān, 338, tr. Gimaret-Monod, i, 487 and bibl. given there.

(Ed.)

NAWWĀB, Nawāb, a title used in Muslim India. The form must be a hypercorrection from A. *nuwwāb*, pl. of *nāʾib* [*q.v.*], used, as often in Persian usage (cf. *arbāb* "master", *ʿamala* "workman", and see D.C. Phillott, *Higher Persian grammar*, Calcutta 1919, 65) as a singular.

The title was originally granted by the Mughal emperors to denote a viceroy or governor of a province, and was certainly current by the 18th century, often in combination with another title, e.g. the Nawāb-Wazīr of Oudh (Awadh), the Nawāb-Nāẓim of Bengal. A nawāb might be subordinate to another governor, as was the Nawāb of Arcot (Ārkāt) to the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, and the title tended to become a designation of rank without necessarily having any office attached to it. Several of the rulers of princely states in British Indian times bore this title, e.g. the Nawābs of Bhopal and Rāmpūr [*q.vv.*].

In the later 18th century, the term was imported into English usage in the form Nabob, applied in a somewhat derogatory manner to Anglo-Indians who had returned from the subcontinent laden with wealth (cf. Sir Percival Spear, *The Nabobs, a study of the social life of the English in eighteenth-century India*[2], London 1963). The word gained currency in England especially after the production in 1768 of Samuel Foote's play, *The Nabob*, and eventually passed into other languages, including French (cf. the title of Daudet's *Le Nabab, mœurs parisiennes*, 1877).

Bibliography: E. Balfour, *The cyclopaedia of India*[3], London 1885, ii, 1070; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, A glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*[2], 610-12. (C.E. Bosworth)

NAWWĀB SAYYID ṢIDDĪḲ ḤASAN KHĀN al-Ḥusaynī al-Bukhārī al-Ḳannawdjī (1248-1307/1832-90), Indian writer, statesman and poet.

He was born at Bareilly in Rohelkhand on 19 Djumādā I 1248/14 October 1832, the son of Sayyid Awlād Ḥasan and a daughter of the *Muftī* Muḥammad ʿIwaḍ, his family claiming descent from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, hence from Fāṭima and the Prophet. According to the family genealogy, the family moved from Medina to Baghdād and thence to Bukhārā, until Sayyid Djalāl Gulsurkh moved to India in 635/1237-8; his grandson was the famed mystic and traveller, Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], known as Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān Djahāngasht, d. 785/1384, who is buried at Uččh near Multān. His great-great-grandson Sayyid Djalāl Thālith moved from Multān to Dihlī where the Sultan Bahlūl Lōdī [see lōdīs] gave him a *djāgīr* (fief) at Ḳannawdj [*q.v.*] which became the family seat for many generations. Sayyid ʿAlī Aṣghar of the fifth generation there became a Shīʿī when the area fell under the Nawwābs of Awadh (Oudh). The family remained Shīʿī for the next five generations until Sayyid Awlād ʿAlī Khān "Anwar Djang Bahādur" (d. 1218/1803), keeper of the Golkondā Fort under the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, Deccan, whose son, Sayyid Awlād Ḥasan (d. 1253/1837) renounced Shīʿism and severed relations with the Shīʿīs in the family. Awlād Ḥasan was one of the deputies of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī *Shahīd* (d. 1246/1831 [*q.v.*]), and Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan was the second of his three sons.

Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan acquired a traditional Islamic education in his home town and the north Indian cities of Farrukhābād, Kānpūr and Dihlī, where he studied under its *Muftī* Ṣadr al-Dīn Āzurdah (d. 1285/1868) for about two years. Memories of his father's association with the *Djihād* movement and education under Āzurdah, influenced Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan to become one of the major advocates of the new creed of the *Ahl-i Ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], who rejected *taḳlīd* in *fiḳh*. He began his career as a junior clerk in the princely states of Bhopāl (1855-6) and Tonk (1858). A year later he was appointed to write the official history of Bhopāl and married Dhakiyya Begum, daughter of the Prime Minister (*Madār al-Mahāmm*) of Bhopāl, Munshī Djamāl al-Dīn Khān, in 1860. He performed the Pilgrimage in 1285/1869, meeting many *ʿulamāʾ* in the Yemen and Ḥidjāz, and acquiring mss. of important Arabic works. On his return, he was appointed inspector of schools. A year later he became the state's head clerk (*Mīr Munshī*) and was awarded the title of *Khān*.

He found the great opportunity of his life when Nawwāb Shāh Djahān Begum (reigned 1868-1901) married him in May 1871, with formal British consent. Her first husband, Nawwāb Bāḳī Muḥammad Khān, had died in 1284/1867. Two months later he was elevated to the post of *Muʿtamad al-Mahāmm*, second only to that of the Prime Minister. In September 1872 the Begum prevailed upon the British authorities to award Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan all the official

honours bestowed on her late husband, including a *dj̲āgīr* worth Rs. 75,000 a year. A month later, the British Government conferred upon him the title of *Nawwāb Walādj̲āh Amīr al-Mulk*, with entitlement to a 17-gun salute within British India.

Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan's marriage to the Begum was resented by a group in the royal family, especially by her daughter and heir-apparent, Sulṭān Dj̲ahān Begum (reigned 1901-26), who feared being bypassed if a male child were to be born of the new marriage. The dissident party found the British Political Agent at Bhopāl, Sir Lepel Griffin, more than sympathetic. On his advice, the first British accusation of publishing "seditious material" was made on 21 March 1881, which curtailed Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan's powers as the *de facto* ruler of the state (the Begum being in purdah). Being a staunch supporter of the *Ahl-i Ḥadīth*, he had alienated Ḥanafī *ʿulamāʾ* as well as the Shīʿīs. The British were wary of the movement because of its recent military role in the Frontier region. Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan was also accused of a number of administrative malpractices, causing rifts in the royal family and maintaining contacts with foreign personalities, including the *Mahdī* of the Sudan. Griffin had originally recommended to the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, the death sentence for the Nawwāb or transportation for life. But the Viceroy, perhaps taking into account the state's traditional loyalty to the British, opted for his deposition, which came into effect on 28 August 1885, with all his honours and authority revoked. Hence forth, his loyal wife became a figurehead, and real power was exercised by her daughter, Sulṭān Dj̲ahān Begum and the Prime Minister henceforth appointed by the British, whilst Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan remained under house-arrest in his private residence, Nūr Maḥall. He died on 20 February 1890 at the age of 59 years; the Government of India restored his honours posthumously and the state was allowed to refer to him in official communications as the "Late Nawab and Husband of the Ruler."

Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan was already writing books when he joined the Bhopāl civil service. He is reported to have sent a copy of his *Tuḥfa-yi faḳīr* (a treatise on coffee and tea) to the Nawwāb of Tonk in 1276/1859. However, his marriage with the Begum placed enormous funds at his disposal. He had free access to eight official printing presses and a team of court *ʿulamāʾ*, which included some Yemenis. He dispatched emissaries to various parts of India and Arab lands to buy rare mss. for him. Many Indian and Arab *ʿulamāʾ* and poets came to live in Bhopāl because of his patronage. He embarked on an unprecedented writing career in Arabic, Persian and Urdu on a wide range of religious, technical and literary subjects. His son lists 222 titles (74 Arabic, 45 Persian and 103 Urdu) to his credit (*Maʾāt̲h̲ir-i Ṣiddīḳī*, iv, appendix). These range from two-paged treatises to multi-volume works. Revenues from his *dj̲āgīr* and the Bhopāl treasury allowed him to print his books in India, Cairo and Istanbul for free distribution worldwide. A latter-day al-Suyūṭī, his writings are rarely original. His rôle hardly goes beyond recompiling, abridgment, enlargement, interpretation or translation from one language to another. Moreover, some works attributed to him were authored by a team that worked for him, and in some of these, like the *Riyāḍ al-murtāḍ* and *al-Dīn al-k̲h̲āliṣ*, he is quoted as a third person. Indeed, one of his books, *Luḳṭat al-ʿadj̲lān* (Istanbul 1296/1879, 717-20) says that there is no harm on one's ascribing his book to someone else (cf. Saeedullah, 87 f.).

In his religious writings, Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan repeats a limited range of topics: e.g. opposition to *fiḳhī taḳlīd* (which he regarded as responsible for the Muslims' intellectual stagnation), *taṣawwuf* and *fiḳhī* rigidness, necessity of *idj̲tihād*, admonition on wasteful expenditure in religious and civil ceremonies, and exposition of the conditions preceding the Day of Judgement. Unscrupulous copying from previous works attracted sharp criticism from some contemporary *ʿulamāʾ*, e.g. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī (*Ibrāz al-g̲h̲ayy* and *Tad̲h̲kirat al-rās̲h̲id*, Lucknow 1301/1884). His literary activities were greatly curtailed in the wake of his deposition. His important works nevertheless include: *Fatḥ al-bayān (tafsīr)*, *Abdj̲ad al-ʿulūm* (on *ʿilm*), *al-Tādj̲ al-mukallal*, *Tiḳṣār dj̲uyūd al-aḥrār* and *Itḥāf al-nubalāʾ* (biographies), *Nas̲h̲wat al-sakrān* (on love) and *Gul-i raʿnā* (Persian and Urdu *dīwān*).

Bibliography: S̲h̲āh Dj̲ahān Begum, *Tādj̲ al-iḳbāl*, Kānpūr 1289/1872; E. Van Dyke and Muḥammad al-Biblāwī, *Iktifāʾ al-ḳanūʿ*, Cairo 1313/1896, 106 f., 118, 313, 497; Sulṭān Dj̲ahān Begum, *An account of my life*, tr. C.H. Payne, London 1912; Nawwāb Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥasan "Ṭāhir", *Maʾāt̲h̲ir-i Ṣiddīḳī* (or *Sīrat-i Walādj̲āhī*), Lucknow 1924-5, 4 vols.; Brockelmann, S II, 859-61; Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥayy and Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Nadwī, *Nuzhat al-k̲h̲awāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād, Deccan 1390/1970, viii, 187-95; Raḥmān ʿAlī , *Tad̲h̲kira-yi ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*, tr. Muḥammad Ayyūb Ḳādirī, Karachi 1961, 250 f.; Saeedullah, *Life and works of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal*, Lahore 1973; S.M. Idj̲tibāʾ al-Nadwī, *Musāhama al-Amīr Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan K̲h̲ān fi 'l-maʿārif al-Islāmiyya bi 'l-Hind*, unpubl. PhD thesis, Aligarh Muslim Univ. 1976; S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Ikrām, *Mawdj̲-i Kawt̲h̲ar*, Lahore 1979, 66 f.; Raḍiyya Ḥāmid, *Nawwāb Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan K̲h̲ān*, Bhopāl 1983.

(Ẓafarul-Islām K̲h̲ān)

NAYRĪZ, Nīrīz, the name of a mediaeval Islamic region and of a town of Fārs in southern Persia.

The Nayrīz plain is essentially a landlocked region in the southern Zagros mountains, drained by the Kūr and Pulwār rivers which rise in the Zagros and flow southeastwards into the shallow lake known in mediaeval Islamic times as the Lake of Nayrīz and in more recent ones as Lake Bak̲h̲tigān [*q.v.*, and also E. Ehlers, art. *Baktagān Lake*, in *EIr*]; although the lake itself is salt, the plain forms an agriculturally prosperous region, and in ancient times was the heartland of Achaemenid Persia, where lay Pasargadae and Persepolis.

In mediaeval Islamic times, the chef-lieu of the region was the town of K̲h̲ayār (thus in al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, the modern K̲h̲īr/K̲h̲ayr in al-Muḳaddasī), whilst Nayrīz lay one stage to the east on the Kirmān road. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 138, 240, tr. 138, 232-3, states that both K̲h̲ayra (*sic*) and Nayrīz had fortified citadels. The geographers place Nayrīz in the *sardsīr* or cold region and mention iron mines, white clay used like chalk for writing and for bleaching, and black clay used for sealing, as being found in the vicinity. The mosque which al-Muḳaddasī mentions at the side of the market is presumably the existing Friday mosque, which has an inscription dating from 362/973. In more recent times, Nayrīz was the centre of Bābī rebellions in 1850 and 1853 led by Sayyid Yaḥyā Dārābī (Waḥīd); see *The Dawn-Breakers, Nabīl's narrative of the early days of the Bahāʾī revelation*, Wilmette, Ill. 1932, 465-99; M. Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i religions 1844-1944*, Oxford 1981, 106-13, 147-52.

At present, the town (lat. 29° 14' N., long. 54° 18'

E., altitude 1,587 m./5,205 feet) is in a district frequented by both Khamsa and Ḳashḳā'ī [*q.v.*] nomads; it is the chef-lieu of the sub-district of *bakhsh* of the same name in the *shahrastān* or district of Fasā, and *ca.* 1960 had a population of 15,391.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 289-90; Schwarz, *Iran*, 104-5; A. Godard, *Le Masdjid-é Djumʿa de Nīrīz*, in *Āthār-é Īrān*, i (1936), 163-72; Admiralty Handbook, *Persia*, London 1945, 74-6; Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, vii, 237; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*, London 1972, 262. (C.E. Bosworth)

NAYRŪZ [see NAWRŪZ].

AL-**NAYRĪZĪ**, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Ḥātim, Persian geometer and astronomer, about whom almost nothing is known, though his *nisba* refers to the town of Nayrīz [*q.v.*] in Fārs. Because he mentions the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid in several of his works, it is commonly assumed that al-Nayrīzī flourished around 900 A.D. in Baghdād.

Al-Nayrīzī is well-known in the history of mathematics because he wrote a commentary to the Arabic translation of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar [*q.v.*] of the *Elements* of Euclid (300 B.C.). The translation and commentary have been preserved in Arabic (Books I-VI) and in a mediaeval Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona (Books I-X). In his commentary, al-Nayrīzī preserved extracts of the ancient commentaries on the *Elements* by Hero of Alexandria (*ca.* A.D. 100) and Simplicius (*ca.* A.D. 500), which are not otherwise extant. In particular, al-Nayrīzī presents a "proof" of Euclid's famous parallel postulate by Simplicius and another such proof by one Aghānis, who was probably a contemporary of Simplicius.

In a separate treatise, al-Nayrīzī gave his own "proof" of the parallel postulate, which is similar to that of Aghānis, and which is based on the assumption that parallel lines are equidistant. Al-Nayrīzī wrote two other mathematical works: a treatise on an exact method for the numerical determination of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*], based on four applications of the spherical theorem of Menelaus, and a hitherto unpublished text on an instrument for measuring the height of mountains, the width of rivers, the depth of wells etc.

Al-Nayrīzī's most important astronomical works, his commentary on the Almagest and two *Zīdjs*, are now lost. His treatises on the spherical astrolabe and on astrological conjunctions are extant.

Bibliography: Sezgin, GAS v, 283; vi, 191-2; vii, 156, 268-9; B. Rosenfeld, G.P. Matvievskaya, *Matematiki i astronomy musulmanskogo srednevekovya i ikh trudy*, Moscow 1983, ii, 116-118 (useful bibliographies). On al-Nayrīzī and the parallel postulate, see A.I. Sabra, art. *al-Nayrīzī*, in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, x, New York 1974, 5-7; Kh. Jaouiche, *La théorie des parallèles en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1986, 127-137. (J.P. Hogendijk)

NAẒAR (A.), lit. "theory, philosophical speculation", probably did not receive until the 9th century A.D. the meaning of research in the sense of scientific investigation as translation of the Greek θεωρία. With Aristotle, e.g. *Metaph.* 1064 b2 (translated by Eustathius/Usṭāth at the beginning of the 9th century), and the Greek *Prolegomena* (Προλεγόμενα τῆς φιλοσοφίας) to the commentaries on Prophyry's *Isagoge*, the philosophies were then divided into theoretical (*naẓariyya*) and practical (*ʿamaliyya*); the latter seek to obtain the useful or the good for man, the former pure truth, in physics, mathematics and metaphysics (see Hein, *Definition* 146 ff.).

Naẓar is primarily an epistemological conception and after the example of Ammonius Hermiae, a pupil of Proclus, is dealt with among the Arabs in the already-mentioned *Prolegomena* prefixed to the *Isagoge* of Porphyry [see *Manṭiḳ* in *EI*²]. *Naẓar* is also discussed as an activity of the human *ʿaḳl* [*q.v.*] in psychology, but in this case as a rule under synonymns like *fikr*, *tafakkur*, etc.; cf. e.g. ʿAbd al-Djabbār: see Peters 58 f.; Bernand, *Problème*, 202 ff.

The history of this terminology has still to be written. In the oldest version of Aristotle's logic, a compendium written by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ (executed 139/756 or later) or his son Muḥammad, *ʿilm* and *ʿamal* are already distinguished as branches of philosophy (*ḥikma*), but *ʿilm* is defined as a *tabaṣṣur* and *tafakkur* of the *ḳalb* (i.e. of the mind); cf. G. Furlani, *Di una presunta versione araba di alcuni scritti di Porfirio e di Aristotele*, in *RRAL*, ser. VI, vol. vi [1926], 207 = *al-Manṭiḳ li-Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ*, ed. M. Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, Teheran 1977, 2,21 ff.

The oldest speculative theologians of Islam were perhaps more familiar with the distinction *ʿilm ʿaḳlī/sharʿī* than with *naẓarī/ʿamalī*. The *ʿaḳl* is generally recognised as a "root" of the Muʿtazilī system. The Zaydī al-Ḳāsim mentioned it (beginning of the 3rd century A.H.) among his *uṣūl*: *ʿaḳl*, Ḳur'ān and *sunna* (Madelung, 129). *Naẓar* was felt to be an innovation like *ra'y* and *ḳiyās* in *fiḳh*; the Ḥanbalī school objected to the adoption of *naẓar* (see Laoust, 9, n. 1). Contrary to it, the Ẓāhirī theologian Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*] admitted *ʿaḳl* without hesitation—of course the *ʿaḳl* created and equipped by God—as a source of knowledge. Not blind belief (*taḳlīd*) nor deduction from the unknown (*ḳiyās*) were to lead it to the acceptance of the Ḳur'ān, *sunna* and *idjmāʿ*, but quite certain knowledge. There is nothing which Ibn Ḥazm insists upon so often and so emphatically as this; there is no other way to certainty than that of tracing it to sensual perception (*ḥiss*) and intuition of the intelligence (*ʿaḳl*). Indeed, sensual perception is so much preferred by him that comprehension by the reason is called a sixth *idrāk* (*Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, i, Cairo 1899, 4-7). The philosophical position of Ibn Ḥazm recalls Hellenistic eclecticism, according to which all human cognition arises either from sensual perception or intuition or is derived from these sources through the intermediary of proof. Many, however, emphasise the direct evidence of sensual perception (cf. already sūra X, 101 etc.; van Ess, 239), and regard the method of proof as a difficult and uncertain one. Hence we have the emphasis laid on general agreement (A. *idjmāʿ* and *idjtimāʿ*) as a possible, but often doubted (cf. van Ess 308 ff.), criterion of truth. Only where there is no agreement is investigation necessary.

The dualistic epistemology of the eclectics (senses x reason) was very greatly modified in Islam by the penetration of the intellectual monism into Neo-Platonic mysticism and Aristotelian logic. While different stages in human knowledge were distinguished, true knowledge was only to be attained by rational intuition and the intermediary activity of the mind. The main thing for the Neo-Platonist was intuition (*naẓar, baṣar*). It is remarkable how in the Neo-Platonic *Theology of Aristotle*, the latter is made to say (Arabic text ed. Fr. Dieterici, Leipzig 1881, 163): "Plato recognised all things *bi-naẓar al-ʿaḳl* (intuition), *lā bi-manṭiḳ wa-ḳiyās*", i.e. Plato as the divine perceives everything at once like God himself and pure *ʿaḳl*. *Naẓar* in this sense of direct perception is constructed with *ilā*, in other cases, however, with *fī*. For *naẓar fī*, transmitted reflection of the human intelligence, the *Theology* generally uses *fikr* and *rawiyya* and the world of senses, with which our soul is associated, is called *ʿālam al-fikra wa 'l-rawiyya*. Following the *Theology*, the

Muslim mystics generally used *naẓar* for spiritual perception (cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, index).

In *Kalām*, however, in the disputes of the theological sects, whose members sometimes are called *ahl al-naẓar* [*q.v.*], *naẓar* receives the dialectical meaning of "reflection", "rational, discursive thinking"; it is an obligation of man, can produce knowledge (*ʿilm*; see Gardet-Anawati, 350 ff.) and may be classified as *naẓar al-ḳalb* (cf. van Ess, 238 ff.; Peters, 57 ff.; Bernand, *Problème*, 201 ff.). In his *Maḳālāt* (ed. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden [2]1963, 51-2), al-As̲h̲ʿarī gives a survey of the different views of the eight parties of the *Rawāfiḍ fī 'l-naẓar wa 'l-ḳiyās*. According to him, groups 1-3 consider all cognition (*maʿārif*) as necessary (*iḍṭirār*) (i.e. given with the mind itself or not given), so that *naẓar* and *ḳiyās* can add nothing to them; these, as well as group 8, which traces all knowledge to the Prophet of God and the Imām, differ from the rest on this point. The other four recognise some kind of acquired knowledge (in both cases the reference is to the apprehension of God) as follows: 4 (the Aṣḥāb Hishām b. al-Ḥakam) by *naẓar wa 'l-istidlāl*; 5 (al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā) possibly by a kind of *kasb* which cannot be more exactly defined (cf. this *kasb* with the *kasb al-afʿāl* of the later As̲h̲ʿarī school); 6 and 7 (anonymous) by *naẓar wa 'l-ḳiyās*, with appeal to the testimony (*ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a*) of the *ʿaḳl*. We are also told (144) of a section of the Murd̲j̲iʾīs who hold that a belief (*īmān*) without *naẓar* is in their opinion not a perfect belief.

Al-As̲h̲ʿarī himself is probably the best evidence of the fact that the speculation of the human *ʿaḳl* was not regarded as a source (or method) of knowledge of God for the first time in his school but before him by several sects. *Naẓar* (like *raʾy* in *fiḳh*) was most probably applied to the activity of the mind of the reflecting theologian (besides *naẓar* we find terms, often used with differing connotations, like *baḥth*, *ḥads*, *raʾy*, *faḥṣ*, *fikr*, *fikra*, *ḥadīth al-nafs* (see van Ess, 240 f.), *tafakkur*, *taʾammul*, *ṭalab*; perhaps also others). The logical methods here used are called (perhaps here still synonymous) *ḳiyās* (deduction by analogy) and *istidlāl* (proof by circumstantial evidence). From what we know of *ḳiyās* in *fiḳh* [see ḲIYĀS] (and of *ḳiyās* in medicine (see Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 40, vii, 172 ff. = §§ 1368, 2857 ff.), we have probably to think of a process which is a mixture of induction and deduction, often used very arbitrarily. Analogous cases, often superficially regarded as similar (cf. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, repr. 1968, 8-9), were sought for, the *ʿilla*, i.e. not the actual cause (*causa*) but the reason (*ratio*) in a higher conception of method or species, under which the further cases could be grouped. For Aristotle and his followers in Islam (al-Fārābī, etc.), deduction had one meaning; they believed in causality or even in the creative activity of abstract thought. The great majority of Muslim theologians, jurists and physicians did not rise so far. It was not till the school of al-As̲h̲ʿarī that the method of *naẓar* superficially grasped penetrated into *kalām*, and *kalām* was defined as *ʿilm al-naẓar wa 'l-istidlāl*. Rejected at first by the majority, gradually tolerated and used as an instrument against heretics and sophists, *naẓar* in the orthodox school was finally recognised as a religious obligation.

Let us now turn back to the general conception of the *ʿulūm naẓariyya*. Al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) distributed them from the philosophical point of view in a special treatise (*Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, ed. ʿUthmān Amīn, Cairo [2]1968) in a way which became the model for later times. It was he who first worked on the logic of Aristotle, whence his school was often called that of the *Manṭiḳiyyūn*. He assumed, with Aristotle, that the *ʿaḳl* contained in itself the fundamental principles of all knowledge, the evidence of which had simply to be acknowledged. But the way of reflection and proof leads to the non-evident, the culmination of which, apodeictic proof (*burhān*), is described in the *Posterior Analytics*. From this eminence, the branches of knowledge can be surveyed. After some observations on philology (ch. i; cf. the Stoics) there follows the chapter on logic—whether as instrument of philosophy or as a part of it is a matter of indifference. Logic itself is, of course, a *naẓar* with an object of its own. Next come the sciences of physics, mathematics and metaphysics with main and subsidiary branches. Each is a *naẓar*. But it is noted that, for example, among the physical sciences, medicine is a mixture of theoretical and practical, and similarly music and mathematical subjects. Metaphysics is, however, like logic purely theoretical. Finally, the three practical sciences of Aristotle, sc. ethics, economics and politics, are united under the head of political science, with the addition of *fiḳh* and *kalām*; al-Fārābī remarks that the science of *fiḳh* and the art (*ṣināʿa*) of *kalām* have to do partly with opinions (*ārāʾ*), partly with actions (*afʿāl*).

In conclusion, let us compare with this philosophical division that of the As̲h̲ʿarī theologian ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Bag̲h̲dādī (d. 429/1037-8) in his *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 8-14 (cf. Wensinck, 250-63). After the distinction between divine knowledge and the knowledge possessed by other living creatures is laid down, the latter is classified as follows:

I. *ḍarūrī*
(necessary, directly evident)
1. *badīhī* 2. *ḥissī*
(internal and external perception)
II. *muktasab* (= *ʿulūm naẓariyya*)
(acquired)
1. *ʿaḳliyya* *s̲h̲arʿiyya*
(knowledge acquired by reason and by law)

The *ʿulūm naẓariyya* are further divided into four, according to the way in which they are acquired:

1. *Istidlāl bi 'l-ʿaḳl min d̲j̲ihat al-ḳiyās wa 'l-naẓar* (speculative theology);
2. *Maʿlūm min d̲j̲ihat al-tad̲j̲ārib wa 'l-ʿādāt* (e.g. medicine);
3. *Maʿlūm min d̲j̲ihat al-s̲h̲arʿ* (legal science);
4. *Maʿlūm min d̲j̲ihat al-ilhām* (aesthetic judgment).

Compared with the *ʿaḳl* monism of al-Fārābī, this division still looks rather eclectic. But from the 11th to the 13th centuries A.D. philosophy and theology, without becoming one, were approaching one another more closely, Ibn Sīnā, who builds upon al-Fārābī, was the intermediary. Al-G̲h̲azālī sought to combine the *naẓar ilā* of the Neo-Platonic mysticism with the *naẓar fī* of the rationalist thinkers, and Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī appropriated the methods of proof of Aristotelian logic to a much greater extent than his theological predecessors.

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NAZARETH [see AL-NĀṢIRA].

NĀZILA (A.), active participle of the verb *nazala* "to go down", made into a noun with the specialised use (mainly among the Mālikīs of the Maghrib, but, occasionally, elsewhere and among other law schools) as a legal term meaning "specific case, case in question". The plural *nawāzil* figures in the title of a fairly considerable number of collections, the greater part of them still in manuscript, put together by jurists practising law in a *maḥkama* [*q.v.*] or by independent specialists, using material from their own experience and from the works of their predecessors in order to offer the public, but above all, the *ḳāḍīs* [*q.v.*], a choice of questions bearing on specific cases and accompanied by the solutions in practice adopted.

The principle of the *nawāzil* is inscribed in the Mālikī school's tradition, whose founder Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] already preferred to deal with real cases rather than construct a doctrine based upon theoretical solutions for hypothetical problems. In one sense, the *nāzila* would appear to be identical with the *fatwā* [*q.v.*]; it is nevertheless to be distinguished from it by the fact that it is not, properly speaking, a juridical consultation but a case which is set forth as a real case and the way in which it was resolved by such-and-such jurist designated by name in the case when the detailing of the matter and the decision are taken from an earlier work. One should however add that a certain imprecision in the use of the technical terms introduces a kind of confusion and prevents one from being too categorical over the proposed definitions. Thus one finds, at the side of the term *nawāzil*, *fatāwīlfatāwā*, *aḥkām* and *adjwiba*, not to mention *ʿamal* [*q.v.*], all without detectable nuances of meaning.

Hence a collection of *nawāzil* furnishes a body of jurisprudential doctrine close to practical and daily life and adopted to the human, social and economic realities of a local character, in such a way that, by means of this expedient, *fiḳh* [*q.v.*] is able to evolve, not however without provoking amongst jurists fertile controversies on particular points. The question naturally arises, how to ascertain in what measure custom (*ʿāda* or *ʿurf* [*q.vv.*]) has inspired such-and-such solution, but the frequent use of the term *mashhūr* "what is current" leads one to think that, in many situations, it must have intervened in some form or other.

The *nawāzil* collections are numerous, whether the actual term figures in the title or not. Thus Mohamed El Mokhtar Ould Bah has registered close to two dozen stemming from the jurists of Mauretania (*La littérature juridique et l'évolution du Malikisme en Mauretanie*, Tunis 1981, 118-19), which witnesses to the Moors' adaptation of *fiḳh* to the special conditions of their land. The author of this work isolates for study from the body of these collections two particular ones which he considers interesting, those of Ibn/Wuld al-Aʿmash (d. 1107/1695-6) and of al-Gasrī (13th/19th century), from which he reproduces some decisions mainly based on the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn (d. 6 or 7 Radjab 240/1 or 2 December 854 [*q.v.*]), a work which forms the basic core of the fundamental doctrine of Maghribī Mālikism, and on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (d. 13 Rabīʿ I 776/22 August 1374 [*q.v.*]), which is the manual generally used, despite its obscurity.

Amongst the best-known authors of *Nawāzil*, one can mention Saḥnūn's son Muḥammad (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]), who has left behind some *Nawāzil al-ṣalāt min Dīwān* (sic) *Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 473), and Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī (d. 373/983 [*q.v.*]), who is credited with a collection of Ḥanafī jurisprudence, the *K. al-Nawāzil fi 'l-furūʿ* (see the list of his sources in *GAS*, i, 447), followed by a *Mukhtaṣar* in which *fatāwī* and *nawāzil* are mingled together (see Brockelmann, S I, 347). It does not seem that, over the succeeding centuries, the authors of *nawāzil*—who certainly existed—were particularly distinguished since, without exception, one must make a great leap to find a known work, that of al-Burzulī (d. 841/1438 [*q.v.*]), the *Djāmiʿ al-masāʾil mimmā* nazala *min al-ḳaḍāyā bi 'l-muftīn wa 'l-ḥukamāʾ*, which is one of the main sources of the famous *K. al-Miʿyār al-mughrib wa 'l-djāmiʿ, al-muʿrib ʿammā taḍammanahu* fatāwī *ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib* of al-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1508 [*q.v.*]), lith. Fās 1315, 12 vols., repr. Beirut, partial tr. E. Amar, in *AM*, xii, 1908. In the second half of the 19th century, a Moroccan jurist, al-Mahdī al-Wazzānī, obviously wished to remodel and update, whilst mainly utilising, al-Wansharīsī's master work, by taking up again its title, *al-Miʿyār al-djadīd*, lith. Fās 1328/1909, 11 vols. Out of this enormous mass of documents, J. Berque has extracted the *Nawazil al-muzāʿara* which he has extensively commented upon and translated (Rabat 1940). The list of sources upon which al-Wansharīsī seems directly to have drawn (60-1) comprises nearly two dozen texts, amongst which only six bear the title of *nawāzil* and three that of *fatāwīlfatāwā*, that is to say, as often happens in Arabic, several terms are used side-by-side to express a single concept without one being able to discern nuances of meaning amongst them, since their terminology is so shifting. The result is that semantic evolution distorts classifications which seem to have become established, so that *nāzila* and *fatwā* end up being employed interchangeably, just as e.g. *risāla* ends up being used for *maḳāma* and vice-versa.

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NĀẒIM FARRUKH ḤUSAYN (*ca.* 1016-81/1607-70), a Persian poet. Mullā Nāẓim, son of Shāh Riḍā Sabzawārī, was born in Harāt about 1016/1607 and spent the greater part of his life there. Little is known of his career, except that he made a journey to India and, after spending several years in Djahāngīrnagar, returned to his native town where he died in 1081/1670-71. He was court poet of the Beglerbegis of Harāt and his greatest work, the *Yūsuf*

u Zulaykhā, begun in 1058/1648 and finished in 1072/1661-2, was dedicated to one of these governors, ʿAbbās Ḳūlī Khān Shāmlū. This, a poem of considerable length, is an imitation of Firdawsī's work of the same name and follows the original quite closely but endeavours to surpass it by using the most elegant language. Ethé calls the language of Nāẓim's images distorted and thinks that some of the details put in by him can only have a humorous effect on the reader. But it must be agreed that Nāẓim judged the taste of his period very well, for his work became extremely popular, especially in Central Asia. While Firdawsī's poem is now known to only a few enthusiasts, manuscripts of Nāẓim's *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* are still quite common in the bazaars of the larger cities of Central Asia, as are those of the even more celebrated version of the same subject by Djāmī [*q.v.*]. His lyrical *Dīwān* is less well known, but it contains many excellent poems (especially *ghazals*), some of which are even at the present day sung by the classically-trained singers of Bukhārā and Samarḳand.

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NĀẒİM ḤIKMET (Nâzim Hikmet (Ran), Nazım Hikmet Borzecki), Turkish poet, born at Salonica on 15 January 1902, died in Moscow on 3 June 1963. He was the grandson of Meḥmed Nāẓīm Pasha, the last Turkish Mayor of Salonica on one side and of Muṣṭafā Djelāl el-Dīn Pasha (Polish in origin, formerly Constantin Borzecki) on the other, and the son of Ḥikmet Nāẓīm and Djelīle. He started his secondary education at Ghalaṭasarāy Lycée, moved to Nishāntashī Lycée (1917) and then to the Naval Academy (Heybeli Ada Baḥriyye Mektebi). His first poems were published in *Yeñi Medjmūʿa* in 1918. These poems were written with the traditional syllabic metre and had death, love and longing as their themes. After his graduation, he retired from the Navy on health grounds (1921).

He went to Bolu and worked as a teacher for a while. During this period Nāẓīm met Ṣādīḳ Akhī, a Spartacist, who influenced him with his views on socialism. Curious to learn about Russia and the revolution, Nāẓīm went to Batum and then to Moscow with his friend Wālā Nūr el-Dīn, and there studied economics and political science. During these years, he was deeply influenced by the Russian poet Vladimir Mayakovski, and from this point on wrote very much in Mayakovski's style, popularising free verse in Turkish, becoming a devoted proponent of Marxism and the Marxist interpretation of the arts [see mārk(i)siyya]. He made his first marriage (to Nüzhet) around this time.

Nāẓīm came back to Turkey in 1924. He published his poems and articles in the newspaper *Aydīnlīḳ*. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in 1925 because of his political activities, but hid in İzmir for a while and then fled to Moscow. His first book of poems was published in Baku. In 1928 he married for the second time. The same year, wishing to take advantage of the general amnesty in Turkey, he came back but was arrested. Later acquitted of the charges, he started to work as technical secretary at the journal *Resimli Ay* (1929), and between the years 1929-33, he published his ideological works *Sesini kaybeden şehir, Gece gelen telegraf, Benerci kendini niçin öldürdü?*. He married for the third time (to Piraye). His two plays *Kafatası* and *Bir ölü evi* were staged. In 1933 he was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment but benefited from the general amnesty declared for the 10th anniversary of the Republic in 1934. He began to write for the newspapers *Akşam* and *Tan* using the pen name "Orhan Selim". Later he began working in the film studios. Two of his most famous works were written during this period. *Şeyh Bedreddin destanı* ("The epic of Sheikh Bedreddin") is epic in style and a synthesis of Dīwān and Folk Literatures. It takes place in the early 15th century, the story of a heretical sect that preached communism. *Memleketimden insan manzaraları* ("Human landscapes from my country"), an episodic verse saga, gives a general view of Turkish history between 1908 to the end of World War II; in it, people of different backgrounds are portrayed using styles of drama, short story, poetry and novel in 20,000 lines. In 1938, he was charged with conspiracy and spreading communism among military cadets and was sentenced to 28 years and 4 months of imprisonment. He spent some 12 years in the prisons of Istanbul, Çankırı and Bursa but was able to write. Imprisonment, longing for freedom, love and hope were the central themes of his works during this period, and the optimistic tone of his works is striking. In 1949 there were widespread protests urging the government to release him, and he was released under the amnesty declared in 1950. He married Münevver Andaç, by whom his son Mehmet was born. Alarmed by threats to his life he fled once more, first to Romania, then to Bulgaria and Poland and Moscow, becoming a Polish citizen and taking the name "Borzecki". His Turkish citizenship was taken away from him in 1951. In 1959 he married Vera Tulkova. His poems of this last phase reflect his longing for Turkey and his bitterness. He died on 3 June 1963 in Moscow of a heart attack.

Much of Nâzım's work complains of social injustice and oppression of the masses, and yearns for revolutionary change. His love poems are, however, tender and optimistic. He is lyrical and full of rhythmic effects and onomatopoeia. The meaning of his poems is embodied in their structures. He used short but picturesque descriptions of nature, powerful similes, striking metaphors and amost theatrical and cinematic techniques to give his message.

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(Çiğdem Balim)

NĀẒİM, Muṣṭafā, an Ottoman poet of the 11th/17th century whose poetry is so far known only from the samples found in the *tedhkires* and *medjmūʿas* (although Belīgh reports the existence of a complete *dīwān*; cf. also *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*). Born in Istanbul as the son of Yeñi Baghčeli Ördek Ismāʿīl Efendi, a *yeñičeri efendisi*, i.e. head of the government registry office for the names and salaries of the Janissaries, he himself first rose to the position of *bash-khalīfe* (head clerk) in the same office and later was appointed to the same position his father had held. He died in 1108/1696 returning from Muṣṭafā II's second campaign against Austria.

The samples of Nāẓīm's poetry that we have seen point to moderate poetic qualities without striking individuality. It is reported that he also had musical talent and composed. His brother ʿOthmān Ḥamdī (died 1132/1719-20 [*q.v.*]) was also a poet besides being a well-known calligrapher.

Bibliography: Ṣafāyī, *Tedhkire*; Sālim, *Tedhkire*; Belīgh, *Nukhbet el-āthār li-dheyl Zübdet el-Eshʿār*; *sheykh el-islām* Meḥmed Esʿad Efendi, *Aṭrāb el-āthār*; Müstaḳīm-zāde Süleymān Saʿdeddīn Efendi, *Tuḥfe-yi khaṭṭāṭīn*, 298; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 534; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii, 572-6; Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-koniglichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, i, 664-5; K.J. Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Istanbul 1910, 127; Th. Menzel, in *EI*[1], s.v. Nāẓım; M.C. Baysun, in *İA*, s.v. *Nâzım Mustafa Efendi*. Hammer-Purgstall, Flügel and Basmadjian confused Nāẓīm with the more important poet Yaḥyā Naẓīm [*q.v.*] either with respect to biography or to oeuvre. These three sources apparently led Menzel to attribute to Nāẓīm part of the large *dīwān* of Naẓīm, who is erroneously named Nāẓım in *EI*[1] (see *Nāẓım, Yaḥyā*).

(E.G. Ambros)

NAẒĪM, Yaḥyā, the most important Ottoman religious poet of his period, as is apparent from his epithet *Naʿt-gū*, the singer of hymns. Born in 1059/1649 in Ḳāsim Pasha at Istanbul, he entered the Serai as a boy, where he received the education of the *Enderūn* and had the opportunity to acquire special proficiency in Arabic and Persian. He showed a talent for poetry and considerable musical ability. His beautiful voice and his work as a poet and composer gained him the favour of Sultan Murād IV. He was given important offices at the court as a result: the office of a *ḳoghush aghasi* to the *kilār-i khāṣṣe*; he next became *newbetdji bashi* and *ḳuru yemishdji bashi* and attained considerable influence. He then retired of his own accord and became *bazar bashi*. Later, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He remained in Medina as a *mudjāwir*, where he died at the age of 80 in 1139/1726. According to another statement (Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir), he died in Edirne.

He flourished under Meḥemmed IV and down to the reign of Aḥmed III. He was a member of the Mewlewī order. Sheykh Neshātī-yi Mewlewī was his teacher in poetry and probably also in music. Naẓīm is the most religious poet of his period. He devoted the whole of his poetical talent to the *naʿt* or hymn. His *Dīwān* therefore resembles a warrant of pardon (*berāt-i ghufrān*). He also gave special attention to the devotional forms of the *tewḥīd*, *taḥmīd* and *munādjāt*.

His *Dīwān*, first printed in Constantinople in 1257/1841, forms a thick volume of 500 pages, of which one-third is devoted to the *naʿt* in the form of 60 *ḳaṣīdas*, hundreds of *ghazels*, *ḳiṭʿas*, *terdjīʿ* and *terkīb*, *müseddes* and *mukhammes*, *rubāʿī* and a *methnewī* for the Prophet. The *Dīwān* is divided into five parts, each of which is in turn a kind of *Dīwān* in itself. He also wrote *medḥiyyes* for Meḥemmed IV and Muṣṭafā II, Aḥmed III, Selīm Giray Khān, Muṣāḥib Muṣṭafā Pasha and the vizier Aḥmed Pasha; also *taʾrīkhs* in imitation of Nefʿī and Nābī and *sharḳis* in imitation of Nedīm. The recent critical edition of the *Dīwān* (Istanbul 1957) is based on 5 Istanbul mss. plus a ms. *dīwānče*.

Naẓīm was a clever technician who gave expression to his effort for variety and change, not in the matter but in the form. In all his works, however, a deep religious belief, even fanaticism, is marked. His poems are a true reflection of the inclination of the period for religion and Ṣūfism.

Bibliography: Feṭīn, *Tezkere*, Istanbul 1271, 415-16; Ṭayyār-zāde Aḥmed ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1293, iv, 151-96; *Khazīne-i funūn*, Istanbul 1312, ii, 245-7 (*Eslāf*, no. 72); Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānli müʾellifleri*, ii, 452; Köprülü-zāde Meḥmed Fuʾād and Shihāb al-Dīn Suleymān, *Yeñi ʿothmānli taʾrīkh-i edebiyyāti*, Istanbul 1332, 371-4; I. Nedjmī, *Taʾrīkh-i edebiyyāt dersleri*, Istanbul 1338, i, 170-1; Abū Isḥāḳ Ismāʿīl Efendi-zāde Esʿad Meḥmed Efendi, *Aṭrab al-āthār fī tadkirat ʿurafāʾ adwār* (*tezkere* of the singers); *İA* art. *Nazîm, Yahya* (Halûk İpekten).

(Th. Menzel)

NAẒĪR, Naẓīr al-samt (a.), Eng. and Fr. nadir, the bottom, the pole of the horizon (invisible) under the observer in the direction of the vertical, also the deepest (lowest) point in the sphere of heaven. The nadir is the opposite pole to the zenith [see samt al-raʾs].

The word *naẓīr* (from *naẓara* "to see", "to observe") originally (and generally) means the point diametrically opposite a point on the circumference of a circle or the surface of a sphere; we find *muḳābal* as a synonym of *naẓīr* in this general meaning [see also muḳābala].

(W. Hartner)

NĀẒIR AL-MAẒĀLIM [see maẓālim].

NAẒĪRĪ, the pen-name of the Indo-Muslim Persian poet, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, who flourished during the 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries, d. 1021/1612-13. He belonged originally to Nīshāpūr, from where he went to Kāshān during his youth. There he participated in poetical contests with the leading local poets of the day. He was among the first Persian poets who migrated from their native land

during the Ṣafawid period to seek their fortune at the Mug̲h̲al court. On his arrival in India (*ca.* 993/1585-6), he attached himself to ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ānān [see K̲H̲ĀN K̲H̲ĀNĀN], and although he subsequently gained access to the imperial court under both Akbar and D̲j̲ahāngīr, his continued association with K̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ānān's establishment remained unbroken till the end. Around 1002/1593-4 he decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, for which his expenses were paid by his patron. Attacked by the Bedouins during the journey, he lost his possessions, but was able to fulfil his mission thanks to the help he received from Akbar's foster brother, K̲h̲ān-i Aʿẓam (Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kokā [*q.v.*]), who also happened to be on his way to Mecca at the same time. On returning from the pilgrimage he settled down at Aḥmadābād in Gud̲j̲arāt. It is reported that he spent the last twelve years of his life in retirement devoting himself to the learning of Arabic and the study of the *ḥadīt̲h̲* and exegesis. When D̲j̲ahāngīr became ruler, he invited Naẓīrī to the court. In 1019/1610-11 the poet presented himself with a *ḳaṣīda*, for which he was handsomely rewarded and admitted to the royal service. The emperor also gave him a substantial land grant in appreciation of a *g̲h̲azal* which Naẓīrī composed as an inscription for a building. The poet died in Aḥmadābād in 1021/1612-13, and was buried there.

Naẓīrī was a man of considerable means. He depended not only on poetry for his source of income; he was also engaged in commercial pursuits, and, according to the *Maʾāt̲h̲ir-i Raḥīmī*, had a successful business as a goldsmith. He is praised by various writers for his hospitable nature and for his openhandedness and generosity towards friends and visitors. He belonged to the S̲h̲īʿī sect, and his devotion to that faith is reflected in his *ḳaṣīdas* honouring the eighth S̲h̲īʿī imām, ʿAlī al-Riḍā. It would seem that he held fixed religious views, for in a *ḳaṣīda* addressed to Akbar's second son, Murād (d. 1008/1599), he denounces as heretics the authors of the eclectic religion that Akbar tried to promote [see DĪN-I ILĀHĪ], and praises the prince for his efforts to counter the new creed.

Naẓīrī holds a place of distinction among the leading poets of the Mug̲h̲al period, and his achievements have been rightly acknowledged by contemporary and later sources. He has left a sizable *dīwān* comprising *ḳaṣīdas*, *g̲h̲azals*, *tarkīb-bands*, *tard̲j̲īʿ-bands*, *ḳiṭʿas* and *rubāʿīs*. His poetic skill is evident in all the genres, but it is the *g̲h̲azal* in which his true talents are revealed. Naẓīrī's *g̲h̲azals* contain mystical and philosophical ideas, and are conspicuous for their modes of thought and expression as well as for their music. He is also the author of several elegiac compositions which are noted for their poignant and sincere feelings. His poems are often patterned after those of early masters, such as Anwarī and K̲h̲āḳānī [*q.vv.*], who provide the models for his *ḳaṣīdas*, and Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], who sets the tone for his *g̲h̲azals*.

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NAẒMĪ, MEḤMED (according to the *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*: Naẓmī Niẓāmī), **EDIRNELI**, Ottoman poet of Edirne (Adrianople) in the period of Süleymān al-Ḳānūnī. He was the son of a Janissary, later himself became a Janissary, then *silihdār* and *sipāhī*. He died in 962/1555, or thereafter, at Edirne, where he is buried in the *türbe* of S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ.

Naẓmī possessed great poetic gifts and ability, which he displayed particularly in the clever and accurate imitation of other poets, in so-called *naẓīres* (pl. *naẓāʾir*). He also himself wrote *g̲h̲azels*. He rendered a great service to Ottoman literary history by collecting an enormous anthology of the best Ottoman poems, arranged under the eight principal metres. This anthology, the *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-neẓāʾir*, contains 4,000 *g̲h̲azels* by 125 Turkish poets and *naẓīres* by himself, in addition. He presented this work, which he brought down to the year 930/1524, to the Sultan. Von Hammer deals fully with it, as it deserves.

He also wrote a *g̲h̲azel* with the rhyme *elif* on each *baḥr* of the *Risāle-i ʿarūḍiyye* of Waḥīd-i Tabrīzī.

Perhaps Naẓmī's main claim to a place in the history of Turkish literature is, however, as an exponent of the more simple style of Turkish poetry, *türki-yi basīṭ*, which harked back to the earlier stages of Turkish literature [see ʿOT̲H̲MĀNLÎ. III. Literature. A] before the *dīwān* style, heavily influenced by Persian and Arabic, had developed. See on this poetry of his, M.F. Köprülü, *Millî edebiyat cereyânın ilk mübeşşirlerinden Edirneli Nazmî*, in *Hayat Meʿmuası*, nos. 107-8 (1928); idem, *Millî edebiyat cereyânın ilk mubeşşirleri ve Türki-i basît*, Istanbul 1928, including the text of the poems.

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(T. MENZEL*)

NAẒMĪ, S̲H̲EYK̲H̲ MEḤMED B. RAMAḌĀN, Ottoman poet and K̲h̲alwetī *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲*. The son of a merchant named Ramaḍān b. Rüstem, he was born in Istanbul in the Ḳod̲j̲a Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a quarter in 1032/1622-3. He became a disciple of ʿAbd al-Aḥad

al-Nūrī. In 1065/1654-5 he became *sheykh* (*pūst-nishīn* [*q.v.*]) in the Khalwetī monastery of Yawashdje Meḥmed Agha near Shehr Emīni, later (1105/1693) also preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) at the Sulṭān Wālide mosque. He died on 24 Shawwāl 1112/3 April 1701 and was buried in a special *türbe*. His son was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Rafīʿā. Naẓmī was considered a high authority on *ḥadīth*. He wrote a number of works, none of which have been printed, including the *Hadiyyat al-ikhwān* ("Present of the Brethren"), comprising biographies of the seven greatest Khalwetī personalities (Yūsuf Makhdūm; Muḥammad Rakiyye; Shāh-Kubād-ī Shīrwānī; ʿAbd al-Medjīd-i Shīrwānī; Shams al-Dīn-i Sīwāsī; ʿAbd al-Medjīd-i Sīwāsī; ʿAbd al-Aḥad al-Nūrī) and some accounts of their successors.

His poetical works consist of the rhymed Turkish translation of the first book of the *Methnewī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; a *dīwān* of the usual type (with many hymns and sacred songs); and the *Miʿyār al-ṭarīkat* ("Touchstone of the order").

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(T. Menzel)

al-**NĀẒŪR** (a.), a term used in Muslim Spain and certain parts of the Maghrib (*nāḍūr*) in mediaeval times to denote a look-out or watch-tower of one kind or another, and, in parts of the 19th-century Maghrib at least, a lighthouse. Based on one of the so-called intensive forms of the participial pattern *fāʿil*, used to convey the idea of habitual or occupational activity, the word can be said originally to have denoted the man whose business it was to keep watch, for it is clearly in this sense (*pace* Dozy's "une tour" (*Suppl.*, s.v.)) that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] uses it (iv, 364-5) in an account of a Christian descent on the Andalusian coast from ships lying off Suhayl, now Fuengirola. He does, it is true, speak of his coming upon the *burdj al-nāẓūr* in the vicinity of the port, but he then goes on to say how he learned that at the time of the attack *lam yakun al-nāẓūr bi'l-burdj*—which can only mean "the watchman was not in the tower".

Corroboration and clarification of the primary sense of *nāẓūr* are to be found in the Valencian *Vocabulista in arabico* (ed. C. Schiaparelli, Florence 1871) attributed to Raimon Martí and dating from the second half of the 13th century. There the term is translated by the Latin *speculator* and glossed as *qui custodit portum* (p. 586). Mis-translated by Dozy (*loc. cit.*), the gloss means *not* "the man who keeps watch on a gate" ("l'homme qui fait le guet sur une porte"), but "the man who watches over a port". As a synonym, the *Vocabulista* (*loc. cit.*) offers *ṭāliʿ*, pl. *ṭawāliʿ*, *ṭullāʿ*, lit. "man who goes up" (sc. into a high place, tower or the like).

Two composite place-names in which *al-nāẓūr* is the second element are to be found in a source earlier than those so far cited, viz. Idrīsī, *Maghrib* (6th/12th century). Of these, one is Ṭaraf al-Nāẓūr (*op. cit.*, 193/235), identifiable as Santa Pola on the coast of southeastern Spain, some 16 km/10 miles as the crow flies, south of the seaport of Alicante. The other is Ḥiṣn al-Nāẓūr (*ibid.*, 93/108; cf. Ibn Khaldūn-de Slane, ii, 55: "Le Nador"), now unidentifiable, but situated in the Central Maghrib, well inland, on the road from Bidjāya [*q.v.*] to al-Kalʿa [see kalʿat banī ḥammād] in a region notorious for the depredations of Arab tribes. In neither of these two cases is the sense of *nāẓūr* unequivocal, for there is nothing to indicate whether the referent is the agent or the place of his work. Like the English "look-out" and the Spanish *mirador* and *vigía*, each of which is both a *nomen agentis* and a *n. loci*, the sense of *nāẓūr* in a neutral context defies determination. What is required is information such as that offered by one al-Anṣārī, the author of an early 15th-century monograph on Ceuta (Sabta).

Speaking of Ceuta's formidable defence system as he knew it prior to the Portuguese occupation (1415), al-Anṣārī describes the unrivalled—his term—principal look-out (*al-ṭāliʿ al-kabīr*) as "*the* look-out of Ceuta [situated] at the top of its harbour's mountain [= Djabal al-Mīnāʾ, now Monte Hacho] and known locally as Al-Nāẓūr". Here there can be no doubt that *al-nāẓūr* denotes *not* "the watchman" or "the observer", but "The Watch-Tower" or "The Observatory". What also emerges from the passage is, first, that *ṭāliʿ*—whence the Spanish *atalaya* "watch-tower", *pace* Dozy and Engelmann, who misinterpret Pedro de Alcala's transliteration and offer *al-ṭāliʿa* as the etymology (*Gl. Esp.*, 209; for abbrev., see Dozy, *Suppl.*, p. xxii)—is, as in the *Vocabulista*, synonymous with *nāẓūr*, though in the sense of the place rather than that of the person, and, secondly, that, on the face of it, *ṭāliʿ* is thought by the author to be a more literary term than *nāẓūr*.

The nature of Ceuta's al-Nāẓūr as known to al-Anṣārī is worth detailing if only because it may well be thought to shed some light on the nature of Ḥiṣn al-Nāẓūr in the Central Maghrib (see above). The watch-tower from which it took its name was not an isolated edifice; it formed just one, albeit the main, part of a true fortress (*ḥiṣn*) with its own *enceinte*, gates and a large *kalahurra* (calahorra) accommodating a mosque within. The sum of its parts, then, constituted a true stronghold, and, since it could function as an independent unit, it was considered a refuge and safeguard against the dangers to which siege or internal upheaval might expose the town of Ceuta on the isthmus. Its main value to the Ceutans, however, lay in the intelligence it could gather of potential danger from the sea. In the best weather conditions nothing could pass unobserved through or across the Straits of Gibraltar, for al-Nāẓūr afforded a clear prospect of the coasts of both Spain and northern Morocco. From it an observer could survey the coast of the Rīf as far as Bādis [*q.v.*], and the view of the Andalusian littoral could extend as far as Málaga in the east and beyond Tarifa in the west. It was, so al-Anṣārī tells us, built by the Almoravids as a fortress (*ḥiṣn*) "for the benefit of the observer garrisoned in the watch-tower" (*li 'l-nāẓir al-rātib bi-hi* [sc. *al-ṭāliʿ*]) and constructed with the help of the Kāḍī ʿIyāḍ [see ʿiyāḍ b. mūsā].

E. Terés has drawn attention to the existence of a number of place-names both in Spain and Morocco, which, either in whole or in part, derive or can reasonably be supposed to derive from *al-nāẓūr* (with the phonetic shift *ẓ*>*ḍ*, common in the Muslim West). Thus, in Morocco, only a few kilometres down the coast from the Spanish enclave of Melilla (Malīla [*q.v.*]), lie the town and district of what the Spaniards know as Nador, above which rise heights commanding a wide view of land and sea and bearing the Spanish name "Tetas de Nador". On the Atlantic seabord of Morocco an urban quarter of Larache (al-ʿArāʾish [*q.v.*]) in the coastal sector of the town which pushes out towards the lighthouse also takes its name—in Spanish "el barrio de Nador"—from the Arabic *al-nāẓūr*. From the latter, it may be added, derives also the name of an inland mountain pass, crossed at 1,514 m/4,970 ft. near an old military post

on the post-1956 Route de l'Unité running from Ketama (Kutāma) in the north to the city of Fez (Fās).

In Spanish place-names, *al-nāẓūr* has survived, both singly and in compounds, either in barely disguised garb (e.g. Anador, Castillo Añador, Anaor) or in less obvious attire resulting from contamination of one sort or another (e.g. Dañador, Torre del Andador, Cala (<*ḳalʿa*) del Nadador).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see J.D. Latham, *The strategic position and defence of Ceuta in the later Muslim period*, in *IQ*, xv (1971), 189-204, esp. 189 (on al-Anṣārī), and also in idem, *From Muslim Spain to Barbary*, London, Variorum Reprints 1986; E. Terés, "*An-Nāẓūr*", "*al-Manẓar*" *y* "*an-Naẓra*" *en la toponomia hispanoárabe*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxxvii (1972), 325-9; P. de Alcala, *Petri Hispani de Lingua Arabica libri duo*, ed. P. de Lagarde, Göttingen 1883, 107 s.v. *atalaya*; cf. F. Corriente, *El léxico árabe andalusí según P. de Alcalá*, Madrid 1988, 128 col. a, line 5; L. Brunot, *Notes lexicologiques sur le vocabulaire maritime de Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920, 143 (on *nāẓūr*: in use at Mustaghānim, western Algeria, but unknown in Rabat-Salé).

(J.D. LATHAM)

NAZWA [see NIZWA].

AL-**NAẒẒĀM**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM b. Sayyār b. Hāniʾ, Muʿtazilī theologian, who died between 220/835 and 230/845 while still, as it seems, at the height of his powers. He had been trained in Baṣra, mainly in the circle of his maternal uncle Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf [*q.v.*], but he succeeded in getting access to the court at Baghdād after 204/819 when the caliph al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] had returned from Marw. He may have owed his career to his poetical and rhetorical talent as well. His poetry, though not copious, was highly appreciated for its modernity. Like Abū Nuwās, whom he admired, he excelled in celebrating wine and the ethereal beauty of youths. His poetical style combined an imaginative use of metaphors with a certain intellectual touch which was due to the introduction of abstract terms taken from theology and metaphysics. While still in Baṣra, he had already taken part in debates which were arranged in bourgeois circles and which went far beyond a mere theological purpose; this is why he appears in al-Djāḥiẓ's *K. al-Ḥayawān* as one of the two speakers who, in the first part of the book, vie in defending the precedence of the dog and the cock respectively.

Al-Djāḥiẓ was his pupil also in theological matters. But in this field, al-Naẓẓām's reputation waned rather quickly. He fell victim to his own wit and imagination; some of his ideas were regarded as wild, and even al-Djāḥiẓ rejected them. He had built his theology on a broad speculative basis of natural philosophy which was more elaborate than and differed from that of Abu 'l-Hudhayl. Abu 'l-Hudhayl had been an atomist; he had regarded bodies as aggregates of juxtaposed, isolated particles which are held together merely by God's omnipotence. Al-Naẓẓām, on the contrary, thought that the elements which make up the body permeate each other and may be either visible at its surface or hidden in its interior [see KUMŪN]. God created them all at once; when bodies undergo a change they do normally not add on a new accident but rather bring a hitherto hidden component to the surface. Change is therefore not abrupt, but slow and imperceptible. The only accident which al-Naẓẓām acknowledged was movement; here the transition from rest is abrupt. Even rest, though, results from an inherent force (*iʿtimād*) which may be interpreted as movement without locomotion and which sets the body in motion once all obstacles are removed. Movement has a wider range than locomotion, anyway; it comprises "all actions depending on man's will: Praying and fasting, acts of willing, knowing and ignorance, speech and silence (!), etc.". Al-Naẓẓām thus makes a sharp difference between the realm of man, which is dominated by free will, and the realm of nature where everything acts and reacts *bi-īdjāb al-khilḳa*, i.e. according to an inherent mechanical impetus which was added to it by creation. His idea of locomotion, however, was affected by his rejection of atomism. If a finite distance cannot be subdivided into a finite number of fractions but is subject to infinite divisibility, locomotion has to include a leap (*ṭafra*) since not every imaginable point on the surface on which it proceeds can be touched. This concept which, as many of his other ideas, was suggested to al-Naẓẓām by speculations prepared in Asiatic Hellenism did not catch on in Islam; it was rejected by the theologians (*mutakallimūn*) as well as by philosophers like Ibn Sīnā.

For al-Naẓẓām, this outline of physical theory was, in spite of very elaborate discussion, not a purpose in itself but part of his theology. He shared a good number of the aforementioned axioms with Iranian dualism, especially with Manichaean opponents whom he used to attack, but he differed from them in assuming that the ingredients contained in the physical bodies do not mix by themselves but through an independent force which brings them together, in spite of their diversity and opposition, namely God. Therefore he called the element which guarantees the identity of acting bodies *khilḳa* and not only *ṭabīʿa* "nature". In the same way, it is God who is responsible for good and bad effects in the things He has created. His omnipotence only stops in front of man's free will. But even man's ability of choosing between good and evil is only a result of an enforced mixture between his body and his "soul" or "spirit" (*rūḥ*) which is a "body", i.e. a material entity, too. For if the spirit were left alone it would only perform the good; it is merely through the integration into the body which acts as a harm (*āfa*) to it that it discovers the possibility of evil and is able to do it. Permeation implies that not only is the body penetrated by the soul, but the soul, for its part, invaded by "bodies" perceived by the senses, e.g. sounds contained in the air. The soul therefore serves as a *sensus communis*. It is not located at a specific place, e.g. in the heart; it has rather to be equated with life which is "interlaced" with all limbs. Life guarantees capability of acting (*istiṭāʿa*), but during the actual performance man has to take into account the *khilḳa* of the object which is affected by it, for instance by profiting from the weight or the "movability" of a stone when throwing it.

The act of knowing is a "movement", too; as an accident it has no permanence. But it may lead to rest; this is why al-Naẓẓām defined truth as "tranquillity of the heart" (*sukūn al-ḳalb*). His criterion of truth was therefore a subjective one, namely, inner certitude. But the truth itself is completely independent of the person pronouncing it. Therefore an isolated saying of the Prophet (*khabar al-wāḥid*) may well be true, whereas a tradition of multiple attestation (*mutawātir* [*q.v.*]) may be false if external criteria prove it to be so. Man should argue on the basis of free *idjtihād*; even the *fatwās* reported from the Companions are not binding. Al-Naẓẓām showed that they contradict each other; the material he collected was later on especially appreciated by Shīʿī writers.

In his concept of God, al-Naẓẓām advocated a rigorous *via negativa*. He did not therefore develop a

doctrine of attributes as elaborate as that of his uncle Abu 'l-Hudhayl; he devoted closer examination only to God's will and power, in connection with the problem of theodicy. He limited God's omnipotence by saying that He not only avoids doing evil but is not even capable of it. In spite of that, God is just and good not out of necessity but by free choice; His power still extends to unlimited possibilities, the only restriction being that all of them would be equally good for man, a benefit (*luṭf*) of the same magnitude as the one realised in creation. God always does what is most fitting (*aṣlaḥ*), but there is an infinite number of alternatives. His power is on line with His always being most perfect. The miracles He produces serve to prove the veracity of His prophets. In the case of Muḥammad, this was not achieved through the rhetorical insuperability of the Ḳur'ān but through the predictions contained in it. Muḥammad's pagan adversaries were not permanently incapable of producing anything linguistically comparable to his revelations, but temporarily "averted" from using their rhetorical and poetical skill (*ṣarfa*).

Al-Naẓẓām's works are lost except for a few fragments. Most of them come from his *K. al-Nakth* (see J. van Ess, *Das Kitāb an-Nakṯ des Naẓẓām und seine Rezeption im Kitāb al-Futyā des Ǧāḥiẓ*, Göttingen 1972; another *ca.* 35 fragments are now found in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Maḥṣūl fī ʿilm uṣūl al-fiḳh*, ed. Ṭāhā Djābir Fayyāḍ al-ʿAlwānī, Riyāḍ 1399-1400/1979-80, ii/1, 438 ff.). Others belong to his *K. al-Ṭafra, his K. al-Djuz'*, possibly his *K. al-Radd ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ithnayn*, and to a treatise in which he criticised the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* (see J. van Ess, *Ein unbekanntes Fragment des Naẓẓām*, in *Der Orient in der Forschung, Festschrift O. Spies*, 170 ff.).

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME II

P. 862[b], **FĀṬIMIDS**, *add to Bibl.*: H. Halm, *Das Reich des Mahdi. Der Aufsteig der Fatimiden (875-973)*, Munich 1991.

VOLUME III

P. 736[b], **IBN BAṬṬŪṬA**, *add to Bibl.*: H.A.R. Gibb (tr.), *The travels*, iii, Cambridge 1971; R.E. Dunn, *The adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim traveller of the 14th century*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1986.

VOLUME V, p. 88[b], **ḲIBLA**, and VOLUME VI, p. 187[a], **MAKKA**. 4, *add to Bibliography*: See the addenda and corrigenda to the reprints thereof in King, *Astronomy in the service of Islam*, Aldershot 1993, and add R.P. Lorch, *The Qibla table attributed to al-Khāzinī*, in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, iv, (1980), 259-64; J.L. Berggren, *A comparison of four analemmas for determining the azimuth of the Qibla*, in *ibid.*, 69-80, and idem, *The origins of al-Bīrūnī's "Method of the Zījes" in the theory of sundials*, in *Centaurus*, xxviii (1985), 1-16; J. Carandell, *An analemma for the determination of the azimuth of the Qibla in the* Risāla fī ʿilm al-ẓilāl *of Ibn al-Raqqām*, in *ZGAIW*, i (1984), 61-72; Takanori Suzuki, *A solution of the Qibla-problem by Abu 'l-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghandajānī*, in *ibid.*, iv (1987-8), 139-48; King, *The earliest Islamic methods and tables for finding the direction of Mecca*, in *ibid.*, iii (1986), 82-146, repr. in idem, *Astronomy in the service of Islam* (see above), no. XIV; J. Samsó and H. Mielgo, *Ibn Isḥāq al-Tūnisī and Ibn Muʿādh al-Jayyānī on the Qibla*, in Samsó, *Islamic astronomy and Medieval Spain*, Aldershot 1994, no. VI; J.P. Hogendijk, *The Qibla-table in the* Ashrafī Zīj, in Anton von Gotstedter (ed.), *Ad radices - Festband zum 50jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften Frankfurt am Main*, Stuttgart 1994; and Ahmed Dallal, *Ibn al-Haytham's universal solution for finding the direction of the Qibla*, in *Arabic Science and Philosophy*, forthcoming.

P. 231[b], **KITĀBĀT**. 9. Iran and Transoxania, *add to Bibl.*: Sheila S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxania* (Studies in Islamic art and architecture, supplements to *Muqarnas*, v), Leiden 1992.

P. 807[a], **LUGHZ**, *add to Bibliography*, Shams Anwari-Alhosseyni, *Loġaz und Moʿammā. Eine Quellenstudie zur Kunstform des persischen Rätsels*, Berlin 1986.

VOLUME VI

P. 750[a], **MASRAḤ**. 1. In the Arab East, *add to Bibl.*: S. Moreh, *Live theatre and dramatic literature in the medieval Arabic world*, Edinburgh 1992.

VOLUME VII

P. 793[a], **MUʿTAZILA**, l. 28, *omit* and is in the form of a simple outline of what the author expects to develop, and eventually correct, in his *Geschichte der frühen islamischen Theologie.*

P. 816[b], AL-**MUẒAFFAR**, l. 20, *for* 292-4, 309-30, *read* 202-4, 209-30.

P. 913[a], **NAḤW**, ll. 3-4, *for* which has become the technical term used to denote "grammar", *read* which has become the technical term used to denote "grammar" in general (to be contrasted with *lugha* "lexical studies"), and more specifically, "syntax" (which is the counterpart of *ṣarf* or *taṣrīf* "morphology" (so that for "grammar" one also finds the phrase *naḥw wa-ṣarf*).

P. 913[b], l. 16, *for* relativeness, *read* relativity (i.e. subordination of clauses)
l. 43, *for* Greek grammar and logic, *read* Greek grammar and logic, and, especially, rhetorical education.

P. 914[a], l. 31, *for* flexional, *read* inflectional.
l. 22 from below, *for* in the ʿAbbāsid capital, *read* in the ʿAbbāsid capital, which remained the dominant theory ever after.

P. 914[b], l. 11, *for* philology, *read* lexicology
ll. 17-18, *replace* the Persian...*al-miʾa*, *by* the Persian al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078, [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), author, among other works, of the *K. al ʿAwāmil al-miʾa*

P. 915[a], *add to Bibl.*: G. Bohas, J.-P. Guillaume, D.E. Kouloughli, *The Arabic linguistic tradition*, London and New York 1990; M. Carter, *Arab linguistics. An introductory classical text with translation and notes*, Amsterdam 1981 (ed. and tr. of Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī al-Khaṭīb, *Nūr al-sadjiya fī ḥall alfāẓ al-Ādjurrūmiyya*); G. Bohas and J.-P. Guillaume, *Étude des théories des grammairiens arabes. I. Morphologie et phonologie*, Damascus 1984; J. Owens, *The foundations of grammar. An introduction to medieval Arabic grammatical theory*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia 1988; idem, *Early Arabic grammatical theory: heterogeneity and standardization*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia 1990. See also special issues of the following journals: *Arabica*, xxviii (1981) (*Études de linguistique arabe*); *Historiographia Linguistica*, viii (1981) (*The History of Linguistics in the Near East*). For the proceedings of the Symposia on the History of Arabic Grammar, see; *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*, xv (1985) (*Proceedings of the First Symposium on the History of Arabic Grammar, held at Nijmegen, 16-19 April 1984*); K. Versteegh and M. Carter (eds.), *Studies in the history of Arabic grammar. II. Proceedings of the 2nd Symposium on the History of Arabic Grammar, Nijmegen, 27 April-1 May 1987*, Amsterdam 1990; *The Arabist. Budapest Studies in Arabic*, 3-4 (1991) (*Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Grammar, Budapest, 1-7 September 1991*). On basic terms and methods, see G. Weil, *Zum Verständnis der Methode der moslemischen Grammatiker*, in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 380-92; C.H.M. Versteegh, *The Arabic terminology of syntactic position*, in *Arabica*, xxv (1978), 261-81; idem, *The origin of the term "qiyās" in Arabic grammar*, in *ZAL*, iv (1980), 7-30. For a bibliographical survey, see Werner Diem, *Sekundärliteratur zur einheimischen arabischen Grammatikschreibung*, in *Historiographia Linguistica*, viii (1981), 431-86, continued by Versteegh in *ZAL*, x (1983), xi (1983), xii (1984), xiv (1985), and xvi (1987).

P. 920b, AL-NAĶB, *add to Bibl.*: al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-uman wa ʾl-mulūk*, Cairo 1326/1908.

P. 963b, NARDJIS, *add to first paragraph*: Note also that in the Arab West *nardjis* refers to the "daffodil", while *bahār* is the term for "narcissus" (see H. Pérès, *La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, Paris 1953, 170-3).

P. 964a, *add to Bibl.*: W. Heinrichs, *Rose versus narcissus. Observations on an Arabic literary debate*, in *Dispute poems and dialogues in the ancient and mediaeval Near East*, ed. G.J. Reinink and H.L.J. Vanstiphout, Leuven 1991, 179-98.

P. 977a, NASHWĀN B. SAʿĪD, *add to Bibl.*: Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, *Naschwān Ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī und die geistigen, religiösen und politischen Auseinandersetzungen seines Epoche*, in Werner Daum (ed.), *Jemen*, Innsbruck and Frankfurt/Main 1987, 205-16 (English ed. 1988).

P. 996b, AL-NĀṢIR LI-DĪN ALLĀH, Aḥmad Abu l'-Ḥasan, *add to Bibl.*: W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965 (on al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh's life and teachings); his theological work published by idem, *Kitāb al-Najāt. Streitschrift des Zaiditenimams Aḥmad an-Nāṣir wider die ibaditische Prädestinationslehre*, Wiesbaden, 1985; and his biography published by idem, *The* Sīra *of Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh from Musallam al-Laḥjī's* Kitāb Akhbār al-Zaydiyya bi l-Yaman, Exeter 1990. See also for al-Nāṣir's father, AL-HĀDĪ ILĀ 'L-ḤAĶĶ in Suppl.

P. 1027, NAṢRIDS, in genealogical table, *for* the date of Muḥammad XI (*el Chiquito*), *read* (1451-2/1453-5).

P. 1027a, l. 7 from below, *for* 949/1533-4, *read* 940/1533-4.

VOLUME VIII

P. 81a, NIẒĀMĪ GANDJAWĪ, *add to Bibl.*: J.C. Bürgel, *Die Geschichte von König Bahram Gor und seinem Sklavenmädchen*, in *Bustan*, viii/2 (1967), 26-35; idem, *Nizami über Sprache und Dichtung*, in *Islamwissenschaftliche Studien Fritz Meier zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. R. Gramlich, Wiesbaden 1974, 9-28; G. Krotkoff, *Colour and number in the Haft Paykar*, in R.M. Savory and D. Agius (eds.), *Logos islamikos, studia islamica in honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens*, Toronto 1984, 97-118; J.S. Meisami, *Medieval Persian court poetry*, Princeton 1987, chs. iii-v, vii; eadem, *Allegorical gardens in the Persian poetical tradition: Nezami, Rumi, Hafez*, in *IJMES*, xvii (1985), 229-60; eadem, *Kings and lovers: the ethical dimension of Persian courtly romance*, in *Edebiyat*, N.S. i (1987), 1-27; eadem, *The Grand Design: medieval Persian poetic microcosms*, in *Procs. 12th Internat. Comparative Lit. Assoc. Congress, Munich 1988*, Munich 1990, iii, 438-63; eadem, *Fitnah or azadah? Nizami's ethical poetic*, in *Edebiyat*, N.S. i/2 (1988), 41-75; eadem, *The theme of the journey in Nizami's Haft Paikar.*, forthcoming in *Festschrift for Prof. George Krotkoff*, 1994.

P. 84a, NIZĀRĪ ĶUHISTĀNĪ, *add to Bibl.*: M. Muṣaffā (ed.), *Dīwān*, i, Tehran 1371 sh./1992 (contains also the *Dastūr-nāma*); Č. Gh. Bayburdī, *Zindagī wa āthār-i Nizārī*, transl. by M. Ṣadrī, Tehran 1370 sh./1991.

P. 172a, ÖMER SEYFEDDIN, *add to Bibl.*: Kemal H. Karpat, *The reflection of the Young Turk era (1908-1918)*, in *The literary work of Ömer Seyfeddin (1884-1920)*, in C.E. Bosworth *et al.* (eds.), *The Islamic world. Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton 1989, 551-75.

P. 378b, RADJAZ, Section 4, *instead of the headline* As a term of non-metrical poetry *read* As a term denoting line structure.

P.422a, RAMAL, l. 8 should read: the alternative form of (3/2)♩♩𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 which was con-.

P. 428a, RAMZ, l. 23, *for* allegories, *read* allegoreses.
l. 57, *for* signal, *read* sigla.

P. 461b, AL-RĀWANDIYYA, l. 12, *for* the imāmate was no longer believed to have started with ʿAlī rather than with al-ʿAbbās, *read* the imāmate was no longer believed to have started with ʿAlī but rather with al-ʿAbbas, ...

P. 683b, SABK-I HINDĪ. Delete comma in heading.

SUPPLEMENT

P. 150a, BÖLÜKBASHI, RIḌĀ TEWFĪĶ, *add to Bibl.*: Tahir Alangu, *100 ünlü Türk eseri*, Istanbul 1960; Seyit Kemal Karaalioğlu, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, iii, Istanbul 1985; Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, *Bir varmış bir yokmuş portreler*, Istanbul 1960; Mahir Ünlü and Ömer Özcan, *20. yüzyıl Türk edebiyatı*, Istanbul 1987.

N

CONTINUATION

NEDĪM, Aḥmed, an Ottoman poet, born in Istanbul, the son of a judge named Meḥmed Bey who had come from Merzifun. His grandfather (according to Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 30) was a military judge named Muṣṭafā. Aḥmed Refīḳ mentions as his great-grandfather Ḳara-Čelebi-zāde [*q.v.*] Maḥmūd Efendi, who also was a military judge. The genealogy given by Aḥmed Refīḳ is, however, wrong because he confuses Ḳaramānī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] with Rūm Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a. The statement that Aḥmed Nedīm is descended from D̲j̲elāl al-Dīn is therefore simply the result of confusion. Little is known of his life. He was a *müderris*, later on intimate terms with Aḥmed III and his grand vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a [see al-dāmād]. He probably got his *laḳab* Nedīm from this friendship. Latterly he held the office of librarian in the library founded by his patron Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a. On hearing of the end of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a and the deposition of the sultan, Nadīm lost his life at the beginning of Rabīʿ I 1143/October 1730 in a horrible way; while escaping from the mob leaving the grand-vizier's palace he fell from the roof and was killed. He was buried in Ayās Pas̲h̲a in Pera beside the historian Fïndïḳlïlï Silāḥdār Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a [*q.v.*].

Aḥmed Nedīm is regarded as one of the greatest of Ottoman poets, one who is still appreciated for his pure language, free from foreign additions. Many literary historians have discussed his merits as a poet (cf. the specimens collected by Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 30 ff.). His collected poems (*Dīwān*; printed Būlāḳ, n.d.; a critical edition with introductions by Aḥmed Refīḳ Bey and Meḥmed Fuʾād Bey appeared in 1338-40 in Istanbul; the most recent critical edition is that of Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Nedim divanı*, Istanbul 1951, 2nd ed. Istanbul 1972; there are manuscripts of the *Dīwān* in Europe in Munich, London and Vienna) enjoys great popularity. Nedīm translated into Turkish the history of Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im-bas̲h̲ï [*q.v.*] Aḥmed Efendi (cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 234-5; cf. thereon *JA* ser. 7, xiii, 272); he was also one of the Turkish translators of ʿAynī's history (cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 259 ff.; the edict relating to this in Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Hicri on ikinci asırda İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, Istanbul 1930, 85-5) but the manuscript seems to be lost.

Bibliography: Aḥmed Refīḳ's preface to his edition of the *Dīwān*; *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*, iv, 549 (very superficial; here his grandfather is said to have been a certain *Ṣadr* Muṣliḥ al-Dīn and his father the judge Meḥmed); Bursalï Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOt̲h̲mānlï müʾellifleri*, ii, 453-4; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *GOD*, iv, 310 ff. (who does not appreciate him highly); Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 30; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 385-8; *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 448; Fahir İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım*, Istanbul 1966-7, i, 92-107, 400-5, 442, 467-8, 521, ii, 530; W.G. Andrews, *Introduction to Ottoman poetry*, Minneapolis 1976, index; idem, *Poetry's voice, society's song, Ottoman lyric poetry*, Seattle 1985, index; L. Miller, *Ottoman Turkish writers, a bibliographical dictionary of significant figures in pre-Republican Turkish literature*, New York etc. 1988, 105-7 (lists many relevant works in Turkish); Ahmet Evin, *Nedim, poet of the Tulip Age*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1988; *İA* art. *Nedîm, Aḥmed* (Fevziye Abdullah Tansel).

(F. Babinger*)

NED̲J̲ĀTĪ BEY, properly ʿĪsā (Nūḥ, also given, is not certain), the first great Turkish lyric poet of the pre-classical period, one of the founders of the classical Ottoman poetry. Born in Edirne (Amasia and Ḳasṭamūnī are also given), the son of a slave, obviously a Christian prisoner of war for which reason he is called ʿAbd Allāh, the name given to converts, he was adopted by a well-to-do lady of Edirne, received a good education and was trained by the poet Sāʾilī. In spite of the fact that his non-Turkish origin was generally known, he was regarded as their equal in every way by the Turks in keeping with their democratic ideas. He came to Ḳasṭamūnī early and there began his poetic career, soon gaining a great reputation. His poems are said here and there to bear traces of the Ḳasṭamūnī dialect. Coming to Istanbul, he at once gained the favour of Sultan Meḥemmed II by a *ḳaṣīda* on winter; in 886/1481 he celebrated the accession of Bāyezīd II in a *ḳaṣīda* and was rewarded by an appointment as secretary in the *Dīwān*. He gained such favour with the Sultan that he was appointed secretary to his eldest son ʿAbd Allāh and was given the title of *bey* when the prince went to Ḳaramān as governor (*müteṣarrif*). After the prince's early death (888/1483), Ned̲j̲ātī returned to the capital with an elegy on the death of the prince which showed deep emotion. After a long interval in which he wrote a great deal but was in continual need, through the influence of Muʾayyad-zāde [*q.v.*] he became *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ï* [*q.v.*] to Bāyezīd's younger son Maḥmūd when the latter went to Ṣārūk̲h̲ān in 910/1504. Ned̲j̲ātī wrote his finest verse while on the staff of this prince; this was the happiest period of his life. Maḥmūd also died prematurely in 913/1507 in Manisa, the capital of Ṣārūk̲h̲ān, and Ned̲j̲ātī again lost his patron. He returned with a beautiful elegy to Istanbul and finally retired from the service of the court on a modest pension. He took a house on the Wefā Meydānï, where many friends gathered round him, especially his pupils, the poet and *ted̲h̲kered̲j̲i* Edirneli Sehī and the poet Ṣunʿī. Ned̲j̲ātī died on 25 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 914/17

March 1509. He was buried near his own house, at the monastery of Sheykh Wefā and a tombstone was put up by Sehī for him.

He left a *Dīwān* which he had collected on the advice of Muʾayyad-zāde and dedicated to prince Maḥmūd. There is also attributed to him a *methnewī*, which is not otherwise known, entitled *Münāẓara-yi Gül u Khosrew*, also quoted as *Layla u Medjnūn* and *Mihr u Māh*. Even more uncertain seems to be the existence of the *methnewī* mentioned by Sehī, *Gül u Ṣabā*. Nedjātī is also mentioned as a translator of Persian works, but his pupil Sehī says nothing of this. He is said to have translated for prince Maḥmūd the *Kīmiyā-yi seʿādet* of al-Ghazālī (the Persian version of the Arabic *Iḥyāʾ*) and the *Djāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (properly *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt wa-lawāmiʿ al-riwāyāt*) from the Persian of Djamāl al-Dīn al-ʿAwfī.

His *Dīwān*, of which there are 21 mss. in Istanbul libraries has been edited by Ali Nihad Tarlan, *Necati Bey divanı*, Istanbul 1963, and gives Nedjātī a very prominent place in Ottoman literature; the *Dīwān* was regarded as a model for all Ottoman poets. Nedjātī, whom Idrīs Bidlīsī in his *Hasht bihisht* calls *Khosrew-i Shuʿarāʾ-i Rūm* and others *Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ* and *Ṭūsī-yi Rūm* (i.e. the Firdawsī of Anatolia), was regarded as the best poet of Rūm. He does not, it is true, reach the heights of Nesīmī, but he surpasses all his predecessors, of whom Aḥmed Pasha and Dhātī were the greatest, in originality and creative power. Only Bāḳī and Fuḍūlī have surpassed him. The problem to be solved by Aḥmed Pasha, Nedjātī and Dhātī was to incorporate completely into Turkish the matter borrowed and translated from Persian literature, which was still felt to be foreign, to adapt Turkish to Perso-Arabic metres and to domesticate fully the Arabic and Persian vocabulary. This was a great achievement for the time. Nedjātī brought about a great change in the literature as regards outlook, feeling and language. In him the age of Sultan Bāyezīd is most clearly reflected. Although he is not to be claimed as a very great poet, he was the king of the gild of poets of his time, who started a great literary movement. Nedjātī combined a thorough knowledge of Persian with a masterly command of Turkish. In the number of his *ghazels* he far surpasses Bāḳī. His work as a poet of *ḳaṣīdas* was original and stimulating. He was specially celebrated for his skill in the use of the proverb.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 511, iii, 317, v, 285, 347; Laṭīfī, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1314, 325-30; Sehī, *Hesht bihisht*, 1325, 75-7; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 541; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 435; F. Reshād, *Taʾrīkh-i Edebiyyāt-i ʿothmāniyye*, i, 188-200; idem, *Terādjim-i aḥwāl-i meshāhīr*, Istanbul 1313, 3-16; Ibrāhīm Nedjmī, *Taʾrīkh-i edebiyyāt dersleri*, Istanbul 1338, i, 69-73; Shihāb al-Dīn Süleymān, *Taʾrīkh-i edebiyyāt-i ʿothmāniyye*, 1328, 52-8; Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād and Shihāb al-Dīn Süleymān, *ʿOthmānlī taʾrīkh-i edebiyyātī*, 1332, 243-47; Muʿallim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, 1308, 317; Von Hammer, *GOD*, i, 162-78; Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 93-122; Smirnov, *Očerk istorii Turtskoi literaturī*, St. Petersburg 1891, 476; idem, *Obrazotsovīya proizvedeniya Osmanskoi literaturī*, St. Petersburg 1903, 445-8; Rieu, *Catalogue*, London 1888, 171a; Flügel, *Katalog*, i, 624; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature turque*, Constantinople 1910, 44-5; *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 429-30; A. Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Florence 1969, 325-8; M. Çavuşoğlu, *Necatî divanı'nın tahlili*, Istanbul 1971; W.G. Andrews, *Poetry's voice, society's song*, Seattle and London 1985, 84-5; *İA*, art. *Necatî Bey* (Fevziye Abdullah Tansel). (Th. Menzel*)

NEFES (t., from Ar. *nafas* "breath"), the name given to the Turkish folk religious poetry of the Bektāshī Ṣūfī order and other ʿAlawī, Shīʿī or Shīʿī-tinged groups, often performed with a certain *maḳām* [*q.v.*] or melodic musical line.

Legends on the origin of the *nefes* connect Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh [see bektāshiyya] with the early 8th/14th century popular mystical poet Yūnus Emre [*q.v.*], recounting that the reluctant Yūnus eventually received the *nefes* or inspiration of the saint, and poured forth hymns on the theme of divine love which themselves became known as *nefesler* "breaths". The *nefes* also expresses strongly love for the Prophet Muḥammad, for ʿAlī and for the Ahl al-Bayt [*q.v.*] in general, and it came to be particularly, though not exclusively, identified with the Bektāshī order. It (and the similar *ilāhī* "divine [hymn]", which had slightly less of a folk character) was often performed to the accompaniment of the *sāz*, a stringed instrument, by the so-called *sāz shāʿirleri* or *ʿāshiḳlar* [see ʿāshiḳ].

Only a few *nefesler* were composed in the classical *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] metre, and the vast majority are in *hedje* or syllabic metre, usually of 11 syllables divided 6-5 with one caesura or of 7 or 5 syllables with no caesura. They thus form part of the general body of Turkish folk poetry called *koshma* [*q.v.*] or *türkü*, often sung to a free musical accompaniment.

Most of the writers of the considerable corpus of *nefesler* which has come down to us are anonymous, probably reflecting the secrecy with which the Bektāshīs veiled their rituals; the words of a *nefes* might be written down but not generally made public, and almost none of the musical accompaniments was ever recorded in any kind of notation. We do, however, have some poems after Yūnus Emre's time associated with such famous figures as Ḳayghusuz Abdāl (d. 818/1415 [*q.v.*]), and the *nefesler* of Khaṭāʾī (i.e. the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*]) are still sung by the Bektāshīs today; and by the 19th century, the names of several Bektāshī *sāz shāʿirleri* are known, such as Seyrānī (d. 1866), Turābī (d. 1868), Dertli (d. 1874), Mirʾātī (*flor.* in the 19th century) and Ḥilmī Dede Baba (d. 1907). The famous poet and philosopher Riḍā Tewfīḳ (d. 1949) [see bölükbashī riḍā tewfīḳ, in Suppl.] also wrote several highly valued poems in the genre.

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malan, vii (Istanbul 1962), 2909-11; A. Gölpınarlı, *Alevi-Bektaşi nefesleri*, Istanbul 1963; B. Noyan, *Bektaşilikte musiki*, in *Musiki ve nota*, Istanbul 1970-1; Gölpınarlı, *Türk tasavvuf şiiri antolojisi*, Milliyet Yayinları, Istanbul 1972; P.N. Boratav, in *PTF*, ii, 29-47, 92; C. Sunar, *Melâmîlik ve Bektaşilik*, Ankara 1975; N. Birdoğan, *Samahlar*, in *Folklor ve Etnografya Araştırmaları Yıllığı* (Istanbul 1984), 31-51; T. Koca and Z. Onaran, *Güldeste, nefesler-ezgiler*, Ankara 1987; N. Özcan, *Bektaşî mûsikisi*, in *Türkiye Diyanet Ansiklopedisi*, v, Istanbul 1992, 371-2; A.Y. Ocak, *Bektaşilik*, in *ibid.*, 373-9.

(Tevfik Rüştü Topuzoğlu)

NEFʿĪ (980-1044/1572-1635), the greatest satirist of the Ottomans. ʿÖmer Efendi, whose nom-de-plume (*makhlaṣ*) was Nefʿī, came from the village of Ḥasan Ḳalʿa near Erzerūm (eastern Anatolia). Not much is known of his early life. He spent his early years in Erzerūm where the historian ʿĀlī [*q.v.*], who was a *defterdār* there, became acquainted with him. During the reign of Aḥmed I, fate brought him to the capital Istanbul where he worked for a time as a book-keeper. He failed in an attempt to gain the sultan's favour or that of his son, the unfortunate ʿOthmān II, with some brilliant *ḳaṣīdas*. It was not till the reign of Murād IV that he gained the imperial favour, but his malicious, sarcastic and indecent poems soon brought him into disgrace. He was appointed to the office concerned with the levying and collection of the *djizya* [*q.v.*], and later again became a member of the sultan's circle. His irresistible impulse to make all the notables of the empire the butt of his mockery made him a host of enemies. A satire on Bayrām Pasha, the sultan's brother-in-law and vizier, who had succeeded in being recalled from banishment and again attaining influence, cost him his life. The *muftī* gave his sanction to the execution of the great poet. With the sultan's consent he was shut up in the wood-cellar of the Imperial Palace, then strangled and his body thrown into the sea. The year of his death was Shaʿbān 1044/February 1635, not 1045 as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, ii, 183, wrongly says (cf. on the other hand his *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, iii, 318, 631, where the correct date is given).

Nefʿī wrote Turkish and Persian with equal ease. His mastery of technique and natural poetical talent make him one of the greatest Ottoman poets; he is also undoubtedly one of the greatest, although hitherto little-known satirists. The reason why he is so little known is that a scholarly edition with full annotations of his Turkish *Dīwān* entitled "Arrows of Fate", *Sihām-i ḳaḍāʾ*, has so far never been undertaken, so that at the present day hardly any one is able to understand the countless allusions to particular circumstances and the veiled attacks on the individuals dealt with. The publication of his poems demands a knowledge of the conditions of his period, and particularly of life at court, which it is hardly possible to attain and which it would be very difficult to gather from the existing sources. Many of his flashes of wit and allusions are very difficult to understand. Many of his poems are distinguished by an obscenity which can hardly be surpassed and, however great may be their importance for the social history of his time, they are of little value as evidence of his poetic gifts. The "Arrows of Fate" are directed against almost every one prominent in politics and society in his time. In *GOD*, iii, 241, J. von Hammer has compiled a list of them. Some of his poems which pillory existing institutions, like the popular saints, the Ḳalender dervishes [see ḳalandariyya] etc., are of value for social history. Hardly one important contemporary was able to escape his scorn and ridicule. They were all made targets for his "Arrows of Fate" without mercy. He attacked the theologians (*ʿulemāʾ*) particularly unsparingly. Nefʿī's Turkish *Dīwān* has been several times printed: two parts at Būlāḳ in 1253, and in 1269 at Istanbul. Selections (with ample evidence of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's censorship!) were published by Abu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ Tewfīḳ in 1311 at Istanbul. There are mss. in European collections in London, Leiden and Vienna. A short *Sāḳī-nāme* by Nefʿī is mentioned in the catalogue of mss. of the Leipzig council library by H.L. Fleischer (p. 547^b). His Persian *dīwān*, not yet printed in its entirety, exists in several mss.; a Turkish translation, based on four mss. has been made by Ali Nihad Tarlan, *Nef'i'nin farsça divânı tercümesi*, Istanbul 1944. A collection of *münsheʾāt* is attributed to him, though it is dubious whether this was ever an independent collection.

On the circumstances of his death, see al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284/1867-8, iii, 228-9; Farāʾiḍī-zāda, *Taʾrīkh-i gülshen-i maʿārif*, i, Istanbul 1252, 668; and Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 489.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned, see also Gibb, *Ottoman poems*, 208, and *HOP*, iii, 252 ff.; the history of Naʿīmā, i, 586, and Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 441 (according to which parts of his Persian *Dīwān* were published in the *Khazīne-yi Fünūn*); A. Karahan, *Nef'i*, Istanbul 1954; A. Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Florence 1969, 370-3; Karahan, *Nef'i divanında seçmeler*, Ankara 1985, ²Istanbul 1986; M. Çavuşoğlu, *Ölümünün üçyüzellinci yılında Nef'i*, Ankara 1987; *İA*, art. s.v. (Abdülkadir Karahan). Examples of Nefʿī's poems are given in Fahir İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım*, Istanbul 1966-7, i, 17-19, 70-86, 120-4, 519, 528-9. (F. Babinger)

NEFĪR (a.), a term alluding in Ottoman usage to a musical instrument similar to a horn that comprised a part of the Ottoman band [see mehter]. The person playing the instrument was referred to as *nefīrī*, and, according to the 1755 and 1776 Ottoman salary registers, there were twelve such players in the sultan's band of approximately sixty members. This band, and similar ones like it belonging to high-level Ottoman officials, travelled with their owners wherever they went, and normally played during the day before three prayers, sc. the afternoon one, the one two hours after sunset, and then the one in the morning. They also performed during ceremonial events such as upon a sultan's accession, or during celebrations such as upon the arrival of the news of an Ottoman campaign victory.

The term, in its military usage, alludes to a body of men assembled for a common purpose. The Ottoman practice of the recruitment of volunteers by a general call to arms, referred to as *nefīr-i ʿāmm*, was resorted to on the declaration of war against Russia in 1769 by Muṣṭafā III. He took such a measure because of his reluctance to rely on the ill-trained and financially demanding Janissaries. *Nefīr-i khāṣṣ*, on the other hand, referred to the mobilisation of only a certain well-defined group of people.

Bibliography: For the musical usage, see Rāshid Meḥmed Pasha, *Tārīkh-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1865, iii, 70, 82; M. D'Ohsson *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1791, vii, part 6; I.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilatı*, Ankara 1984, 150, 273, 275, 277, 449; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, Ankara 1984, 208. For the military usage: Gibb-Bowen, i/1, 194; Baron de Tott, *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tatares*, Amsterdam 1784, iii, 4-5; M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1953, 672.

(F. Müge Göçek)

NEGEV [see AL-NAKB].

NEMČE (NEMSE; A. *al-Nimsā*), a term (meaning "mute") borrowed from the Slavonic used by the Ottomans to indicate the Germans. In a broader sense, they also used it for the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, which lasted until 1806, and in a restricted sense for the territories under Habsburg rule within the boundaries of modern Austria.

In more recent Arabic sources, Germany is indicated by two terms which occur simultaneously: *Almāniyā* and *Djarmāeniya*. In Ottoman sources *Al(a)mān*, and occasionally *Djermāniya*, also occur next to *Nemče*, without further differentiation. It was only after the foundation of the Austrian Empire in 1804 that the Ottomans, in the course of the 19th century, adopted *Almanya* and *Awusturya* (*Aghusturya* being the older form) as different concepts. In Arabic, on the other hand, *al-Nimsā* was accepted as indicating Austria.

1. In Arabic sources.

Already in the 10th century, al-Mas^cūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 63 = § 906) mentions the Nāmdjīn as a tribe of the Slavs. Amongst the travellers and merchants who travelled through their territory (Germany), al-Mas^cūdī's contemporary Ibrāhīm b. Ya^ckūb [*q.v.*] deserves particular mention, although the name of the territory cannot be established from his account. The most comprehensive mediaeval source in Arabic concerning Austria is al-Idrīsī's *Nuzhat al-mushtāk* where information about Austrian toponyms is found in the various climes and sections. The name *al-Nimsā*, however, does not appear. The only Austrian region named specifically is Carinthia (*Karantāra*), whose territory stretches out over wide parts of Austria, Hungary and other adjoining states. Cities in Styria, like Graz (*Ikrīzā*), and in Carinthia, like Villach (*Bilāh*), are described in greater detail, but Vienna (*Wiyāna*) appears only in an itinerary. The rivers Danube (*Nahr Danū*) and Drau (*Nahr D-r-wa*) are given as boundaries of Carinthia, while the Alps (*Munt Dj-w-z* – Mont [Mons] Jovis) are also attributed to other territories. Al-Idrīsī's criterion for including Austrian cities in his *Geography* apparently was their significance as trading places. He may have been informed by merchants.

Endeavours to identify an Austrian (Styrian) city from Abu 'l-Fidā's *Takwīm al-buldān* (Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ii/1, 311, quoted after Ibn Sa^cīd al-Maghribī, cf. *Kitāb al-Djughrāfiyā*, ed. al-^cArabī 1970, 194) have been unsuccessful.

Bibliography: P. Engels, *Der Reisebericht des Ibrāhīm b. Ya^cqūb*, in *Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. A. von Euw and P. Schreiner, i, Cologne 1991; H. Eisenstein, *Kärnten in al-Idrīsī's Geographie (1154)* in *WZKM*, lxxxiii (1993). (H. EISENSTEIN)

2. In Ottoman sources and in Ottoman-Habsburg relations.

The hereditary provinces of the Habsburgs had their first contacts with the Ottomans when Carniola, Styria and Carinthia were repeatedly attacked by Ottoman incursions. Sultan Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] and the Emperor Maximilian I having sounded out diplomatic relations in 1497, 1504 and 1510-11, Ottomans and Habsburgs were brought into continuous, immediate and hostile contact through the political situation in Hungary after the battle of Mohács [*q.v.*] in 1526. Sultan Süleymān I [*q.v.*] undertook two campaigns against Habsburg territory, in 1529 against Vienna and in 1532 across southern Lower Austria, Styria and Carniola. After part of Hungary had been put under direct Ottoman rule in 1541, it was only in 1547 that Ferdinand I succeeded in concluding a treaty, which compelled him to pay to the sultan a yearly tribute of 30,000 golden ducats. This liability of the Habsburgs to paying tribute, interrupted only by war, lasted until the treaty of Zsitvatorok in 1606. At the beginning, the open state of war was interrupted by truce treaties, which were fixed for several years and repeatedly renewed and extended. Only in 1747 did Habsburg diplomacy succeed in concluding an unrestricted treaty (... *mesāgh-ï sher^cī oldughï vedjhile müddet-i memdūde* ...). The wars of the 16th and 17th centuries found their origin in the conflict of interests about political power in Hungary. The unsuccessful attack against Vienna in 1683 of Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*] was for the Ottomans the climax of a protracted war, marked by great losses, which led to losing Hungary to the Habsburgs. In the 18th century the latter, due to their alliances with Venice and Russia, and to their political ambitions on the Balkan Peninsula, became involved in three further wars with the Ottoman Empire.

After 1547 the Habsburgs continuously kept ambassadors at the Porte and, during the period of tribute—but only in times of peace—missions were sent yearly to deliver the tribute. After 1606 important embassies used to be sent on specific occasions like the ratification of a treaty or the access to the throne of a new sultan. At first, the Ottomans sent to Vienna *čā'ūshs* [*q.v.*], dragomans [see TARDJUMĀN] and the like in emergency cases only; in the 17th century they also began to send important missions but only for specific purposes. A permanent diplomatic representation of the Ottoman Empire in Vienna began only in 1797 (with a vacancy between 1823 and 1832).

The Treaties of Vienna of 1615 and of Karlowitz [see KARLOFČA] of 1699 already contained articles on reciprocal trade. In 1718 a separate commercial treaty was concluded at Passarowitz (Požarevac) [see PASAROFČA], in which it was permitted for Habsburg subjects freely to establish consulates in the ports and on the islands of the Mediterranean, and to organise free shipping on the Danube (the Black Sea excepted). In the twenties of the 18th century, commercial and navigation treaties were also concluded with local leaders of the Barbarian states which were part of the Ottoman Empire. An agreement of 1783 with the Ottomans aimed at protecting Habsburg subjects from piracy and settling questions of compensation. In the commercial treaty of 1784 Habsburg subjects were granted the privilege of free commercial navigation on the Black Sea, a right given to Russia already a year earlier.

Next to the Habsburg Emperors, the Dutch Republic and the Kings of Prussia were the only powers within the Holy Roman Empire to maintain independent diplomatic relations with the Ottomans before the 19th century. During the last war between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs (1788-91), Prussia, in the Convention of Reichenbach of 1790, forced the Emperor Leopold II to renounce any conquest of Ottoman territory.

Apart from the detailed description of the campaigns of Sultan Süleymān I in 1529 and 1532, of the siege of Vienna by Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha in 1683, and of the warfare in Hungary and later on in the Balkan Peninsula, Ottoman historiography contains, from the middle of the 17th century onwards, references to the political events in Europe, including the Holy Roman Empire. The data, at first sparse and sporadic (for instance in Kātib Čelebi, Münedjdjim-Bashī Aḥmed, Muṣṭafā Na^cīmā, Silāḥdār Fïndïklïlï Meḥmed [*q.vv.*]), became increasingly extensive and ac-

curate in the course of the 18th century because diplomatic contacts intensified and interest in information grew. From the second half of the 17th century onwards, the official embassy reports (*sefāret-nāme*), the travel accounts of those who accompanied the important diplomatic missions, and individual treatises provided the Ottomans with a detailed and differentiated picture of the political situation in Europe. Among the travel accounts, a particular place is taken up by Ewliyā Čelebi's description of his journey to Vienna while in the train of the Ottoman embassy of 1665. Further information undoubtedly came from Ottoman prisoners of war: Ḥasan Esīrī left a description of the campaign of 1683 against Vienna, and ʿOth̲mān Ag̲h̲a of Temesvár provides us with information about his stay in Styria and in Vienna during his captivity.

Samples of the German language are given by Ewliyā Čelebi, who put together a highly imaginative etymology of the term *Nemče* (= *nem Čeh*/Hungarian *nem Cseh* "not Czech").

Bibliography: See the general works on the history of the Ottoman Empire by von Hammer, Zinkeisen, Iorga, Uzunçarşılı, Shaw, etc.; Z. Abrahamowicz-V. Kopčan-M. Kunt-E. Marosi-N. Močanin-C. Serban-K. Teply, *Die Türkenkriege in der historischen Forschung*, Vienna 1983; *Die Autobiographie des Dolmetschers ʿOs̱mān Aġa aus Temeschwar*, ed. R.F. Kreutel, Cambridge 1980; K. Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar*, Istanbul 1985; idem, *1790 Osmanlı-Prusya ittifâkı*, Istanbul 1984; L. Bittner, *Chronologisches Verzeichnis der österreichischen Staatsverträge*, i-iv, Vienna 1903-17; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, vii, German tr. of the relevant section by R.F. Kreutel, *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels* ..., ed. E. Prokosch and K. Teply, Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1987; *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen/Relations Habsbourg-ottomanes* ..., ed. A. Tietze, Vienna 1985; M. Köhbach, *Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Österreich und dem Osmanischen Reich*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, iv (1984); B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, New York-London 1982; E.D. Petritsch, *Regesten der osmanischen Dokumente im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. 1 (1480-1574)*, Vienna 1991; A.C. Schaendlinger. *Die osmanisch-habsburgischen Beziehungen in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jhs.*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, iv (1984); A.C. Schaendlinger-C. Römer, *Die Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian I. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien*, Vienna 1983; K. Teply, *Türkische Sagen und Legenden um die Kaiserstadt Wien*, Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1980; F.R. Unat, *Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefaretnâmeleri*, Ankara 1968; A.H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, Leiden-Istanbul 1978. (M. Köhbach)

NEPAL, a Hindu kingdom with an area of 147,000 km² (80°-88° 15′E, 26° 20′-30° 10′N) rising up on the southern edge of the Himalayas between the Ganges plain (India) and Tibet (China). The southern plain and the central mountains, with a sub-tropical climate suitable for rice culture, nourish a dense population of Indian origin and who speak Indo-Aryan languages: the Hindus of the plain speak Hindi, and the Indo-Nepalese of the mountains speak the official language, Nepali, a branch of Pahāṛī; they dominate tribes speaking Muṇḍā and Tibeto-Burmese languages [see hind. iii. Languages.]. The high valleys shelter a thinly-scattered population of Tibetans. The total population was 19,360,000 according to the 1991 census. It is almost 90% Hindu, and Hinduism is the official religion. The main religious minorities, whose numbers fluctuate from one census to another, are the Buddhists (between 5 and 10%) and the Muslims (*ca.* 3%).

The toponym Nēpāl, with no known etymology (written *Naypāl* or *Nīpāl*, نيپال), is attested from the 4th century AD in Sanskrit epigraphy, and was known to the Muslims of the 5th/11th century through al-Bīrūnī's India (Eng. tr. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, London 1910, i, 98); it designated solely the valley of Katmandu (Kāṭhmāṇḍū). Hindu kings ruled there over an ethnically Tibeto-Burmese population, the Newār (largely Hindu with a strong Buddhist minority) which prospered thanks to trade with India, Tibet and China. The valley recognised the suzerainty of the Dihlī sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī (695-715/1296-1316 [see khald̲j̲īs]); it was raided by the Bengal sultan S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Ilyās (746-59/1345-58) in 750/1349 (L. Petech, *Medieval Nepal*, Rome 1958, 103-4, 118-22, 177; *Hommage à Sylvain Lévi*, Paris 1964, 23). According to the chronicles, the first Muslim merchants coming from Kas̲h̲mīr established themselves at Kāṭhmāṇḍū under Ratna Malla (1482-1512); their presence is attested from the 17th century onwards by the Catholic missionaries then established in Tibet and Nepal, and, from 1738 onwards by official Nepali documents. The remainder of what is now modern Nepal was shared out amongst some fifty kingdoms; the land of the plain cultivated by the petty rulers of the mountains came, in the 14th century, under the control of the Dihlī Sultans, those of Bengal and then the Mug̲h̲al emperors; these petty rulers, like the kings of the Kāṭhmāṇḍū valley, paid tribute to them in the form of elephants. The population of the Nepal plain thus included some Muslims from that time; some of these, makers of glass bracelets above all, became established in the mountains during the 17th century.

With the decline of the Mug̲h̲als, whilst the English East India Co. secured a foothold in northern India, the present Indo-Nepalese dynasty of Gorkha created the modern state of Nepal. Prithwī Narāyaṅ (1742-74) conquered the Kāṭhmāṇḍū valley in 1768-9 (despite armed intervention by the Nawwāb of Bengal and the British) and subdued the eastern districts, including Sikkim; his successors continued the policy of expansion towards the west until, in 1814, their lands became contiguous with those of the Sikhs. Prithwī Narāyaṅ secured British recognition and that of the puppet Mug̲h̲al emperor S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam II (1759-1806) in a *farmān* of 1184/1771 (B. Āčārya, *S̲h̲rī 5 baṛā-mahārād̲j̲ādhirād̲j̲ Prithwī Narāyaṅ S̲h̲āh-ko sankśipta d̲j̲īwanī*, Katmandu 1967, iv, 713-18). Tribute was paid from that time onwards to the British until the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16 and the treaty of 1818 which blocked Gorkha expansion and set up the frontier between Nepalese and British territories. The Rāṅās, mayors of the palace who directed affairs in the country from 1846 to 1951, put relations with Britain on a normal footing; they helped them in 1857-8 to recover Lucknow, but gave refuge to some S̲h̲īʿī nobles from that city. The independence of Nepal was recognised in a treaty of 1923.

The evidence of travellers like Francis Hamilton and the British Residents in Nepal like Brian H. Hodgson, confirmed by the archives and by legal texts, has brought out the religious policy of the new dynasty. It strengthened the Hindu character of the kingdom. Faithful to the tradition already set forth by al-Bīrūnī (*op. cit.*, i, 19-20), it insisted on the impurity of Muslims; they were considered as "barbarians" (*mlečcha*) and severely punished if they caused the pollution of Hindus of pure caste. It introduced new measures in forbidding them to proselytise (allowed

until then), as also were forbidden Christian missionaries, who were definitively expelled, together with their converts. The Muslims were nevertheless (apart from a temporary expulsion of Kas͟hmīrī traders at the end of the 18th century) able to stay, to engage in commerce and to enjoy freedom to practise their religion. They did not have any personal law of their own; in regard to marriage (except for prohibited degrees), divorce, inheritance and the administration of pious foundations, they were always subject to Hindu law and answerable to Hindu judges. The discriminatory clauses regarding them were enshrined in the legal codes of 1854 and 1935; they remained in force until the Code of 1963. This last abolished the penalties to which Muslims were liable for breakages of the caste rules; but despite the suppression of the principle of religious discrimination in the 1962 Constitution, it retained the prohibition of proselytism, and this last was even inserted in the Constitution of 1990.

Meanwhile, with the fall of the Rāṅās in 1951, the land was opened up to modernisation. Censuses and ethnological fieldwork allow us to construct an ethnology of the Muslims of Nepal. Amounting to some 570,000 persons, they are almost all living on the plain, where they make up an average of 10% of the population there. They are petty traders, artisans and peasants; also, some 2,000 petty traders (Kas͟hmīrīs and Hindūstānīs) live in the Kāthmāndū valley, whilst the 10-15,000 manufacturers of bracelets in the mountains to the west of Kāthmāndū live by agriculture and the peddling of ornaments. All of these originate from the Ganges plain and speak dialects of Hindi; stemming mainly from Hindus converted to Islam, they form a very hierachical society, an Islamic version of the Hindu caste system. They are almost all Ḥanafī Sunnīs, with a few Twelver S͟hīʿīs attested in the plain. The religious life has an Indian character and is heavily impregnated with Ṣūfism and the cult of saints [see HIND. ii. Ethnography]. This fidelity to the cult of saints, current in the highest classes, amongst the Kas͟hmīrīs of Kāthmāndū in particular, is under fire in the more popular circles from the reform doctrines (called "Wahhābism" by their opponents) of the Deoband [*q.v.*] and of the Ahl-i Ḥadīt͟h [*q.v.*] schools introduced as far as the mountains by migrant workers who come back from the towns of India bearing cheap, edifying literature in Urdu; mosques and village Ḳurʾān schools have multiplied, and a few scores of Nepalis make the *ḥad͟jd͟j* each year.

The firm and constant policy of the monarchy has been to forbid all violence against religious minorities, so that, despite the legal discrimination under which they live, the Muslims have always felt themselves more secure in Nepal than in India. Facing an internal opposition more and more active since 1979, the monarchy has since then cultivated its Muslim subjects, whose vote is a valuable support.

Bibliography: For a general survey of Nepal, see M. Gaborieau, *Le Népal et ses populations*, Brussels-Paris 1978. On the history and position of the Muslims there, there are two outstandingly important pieces of evidence: F. Hamilton, *An account of the kingdom of Nepal*, Edinburgh 1819, repr. Delhi 1971; and B.H. Hodgson, *Some account of the system of law and police as recognized in the State of Nepal*, in *JRAS*, i/2 (1834), 258-79. The general body of sources (to be completed by the references given in the text of the article) are gathered together, and often edited for the first time, in Gaborieau, *Récit d'un voyageur musulman au Tibet*, Paris 1973; idem, *Minorités musulmans dans le royaume hindou du Népal*, Paris 1977. For the ethnology and political evolution of these minorites, see also Gaborieau, *Muslim minorities in Nepal*, in R. Israeli (ed.), *The crescent in the East Islam in Asia Major*, London 1982, 79-101; idem, *Ni Brahmanes, ni Ancêtres: colporteurs musulmans du Népal*, Paris 1992. (M. GABORIEAU)

NERGISĪ, NERGISĪ-ZĀDE MEḤMED EFENDI (d. 1044/1635), pre-eminent Ottoman prose stylist.

He was born in Sarajevo, probably around 994/1586, son of the *ḳāḍī* Nergis Aḥmed Efendi, and completed his education in Istanbul, becoming a protégé of Ḳāf-zāde Fayḍ Allāh Efendi (d. 1020/1611), from whom (and not, as in some accounts, from his son Kāf-zāde ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Fāʾiḍī Efendi) he received his *mülāzemet* [*q.v.*]. He may have served briefly as a *müderris*, but his principal employment was as *ḳāḍī* in various posts in Rūmeli, mainly in Bosnia. Following early appointments (during the period *ca.* 1022-27/*ca.* 1613-18) to Gabela and Čayniče, he was invited by Ḳāf-zāde Fāʾiḍī, then *ḳāḍī* of Salonica, to act as his *nāʾib* (early 1028/1619). On Ḳāf-zāde's dismissal in early 1029/1620, Nergisī again sought a *ḳāḍīlıḳ*, and was appointed, successively but with intervals, to Mostar (1030/1620-1) and shortly afterwards to Yeñi Pazar, to Elbasan (1034/1624-5), Banjaluka (1038/1628-9), and Monastir (1042/1632). In 1044/1634-5 he was appointed by Murād IV as *waḳʿa-nüwīs* for the Revan campaign, but died at its outset, near Gebze on the Gulf of Izmit, as the result of a fall from his horse (9 S͟hewwāl 1044/28 March 1635). (On Nergisī's career, see Ö.F. Akün, *Nergisī*, in *İA*, ix, 194-6.)

Though a minor figure as a *ḳāḍī*, Nergisī was recognised as one of the leading prose writers of his day, aided by his friendship with the Ḳāf-zādes and with fellow littérateurs such as Weysī and S͟heyk͟h al-Islām Yaḥyā among others. His principal works fall into three groups:

1. *K͟hamse*, printed Būlāḳ 1255/1839 (once in *taʿlīḳ* script, once in *nesk͟h*), and Istanbul 1285/1868-9. In chronological order of composition, these five works are: (i) *G͟hazawāt-i Mesleme* (1030/1620-1), a brief account (attributed to Ibn al-ʿArabī, Muḥyi l'-Dīn [*q.v.*], but generally considered spurious) of the campaign of the Umayyad general Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] against the Byzantines and his five sieges of Istanbul. The work was translated into French in 1741 (E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, Paris, 1933 ii, 38). (ii) *Ḳānūn al-res͟hād*, written 1033/1623-4 as an accession gift for Murād IV. Initially a translation of a 16th-century Persian "mirror for princes" written for S͟hāh Muḥammad K͟hudābanda [*q.v.*], the work was considerably expanded with Nergisī's own observations on Ottoman history. (iii) *Mes͟hāḳḳ al-ʿus͟hs͟hāḳ* (1034/1624-5), originally a collection of ten love stories, of contemporary origin and significance, apart from two tales taken from the *ted͟hkire* of ʿĀs͟hıḳ Čelebi [*q.v.*]. Nergisī later re-used six of the stories in the *Nihālistān*. (iv) *Iksīr-i seʿāda* (or *Iksīr-i dewlet*, 1041/1632), a translation of part of al-G͟hazālī's [*q.v.*] *Kimiyāʾ al-saʿāda* on ethics. Nergisī's text became a popular Ottoman version and was separately printed several times. (v) *Nihālistān*, (1042/1632-3, his last work). Containing 25 stories arranged in five sections (*nihāl* = "offshoots"), this was compiled as a collection of ethical, exemplary and cautionary tales intended as an Ottoman literary and cultural *naẓīre* to Saʿdī's *Gülistān* and the *Bahāristān* of D͟jāmi [*q.vv.*]. Like *Mes͟hāḳḳ al-ʿus͟hs͟hāḳ*, it too is significant for the use of contemporary allusions.

2. *Müns͟heʾāt*. Nergisī's autograph collection of his

own letters (finally totalling 38) was first made for presentation to Sheykh al-Islām Yaḥyā during the latter's first meshīkhat (1031/1622-3) and later expanded to include letters down to 1036/1626-7 (published in J.R. Walsh, *The* Esālību 'l-mekātīb (Münşe'āt) *of Meḥmed Nergisī Efendi*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, i [1969], 213-302). Manuscripts of a later collection, probably made by Shaykh Meḥmed b. Meḥmed Sheykhī, contain over 50 letters.

3. *al-Waṣf al-kāmil fī aḥwāl al-wazīr al-ʿādil* (1038/1628), an account of the exemplary character and deeds of Murtaḍā Pasha as governor of Buda 1626-8. (On the various mss. of this unpublished work, see A.S. Levend, *Gazavāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in gazavāt-nāmesi*, Ankara 1956, 105-6.)

Nergisī was also an accomplished poet, and renowned as a calligrapher both for his skill in the *taʿlīḳ* script, and for his speed of copying.

For two centuries after his death, Nergisī was honoured as master of the mature Ottoman *inshā'* prose, and his style was widely imitated. However, with the rising popularity of a simpler, more direct literary style in the *Tanẓīmāt* era and later, he was reviled for promoting what was considered a stilted and unnaturally affected style, a florid elegance which was held to have completely sacrificed sense to sound in a bombastic, overladen language. In the wake of this extreme critical reaction, his works have become largely neglected. It is nonetheless accepted that his influence upon the development of the Ottoman *inshā'* style was profound.

Bibliography: The scanty details on Nergisī's career are found mainly in his own works listed above; for entries (not always reliable) in Ottoman *tedhkire* and other biographical works, see the bibl. to Ö.F. Akün's essential article s.v. in *İA*, ix, 194-7.

(Christine Woodhead)

NESH'ET Khōdja Süleymān, an Ottoman poet. He was born in Edirne in 1148/1735, the son of the poet Aḥmed Rafīʿ Efendi, then in exile; the latter is known as *Muṣāḥib-i Shahriyārī*. With his father, who had regained the sultan's favour by writing a *sharḳī* which met with general approval, he came to Istanbul. He also accompanied his father on a journey to the Ḥidjāz, and the young *Ḥādjdjī*, on his way back, joined the Mewlewī order in Ḳonya. After his father's death, he devoted himself to study, especially Persian, in order to understand the *Methnewī*. In Persian, which he came to love passionately, he attained a high degree of perfection, with the result that he had more pupils than an ordinary school in his house in Mollā Gūrānī, where he taught Persian and expounded the *Methnewī* (*Methnewī-khʷānlïḳ*). He enjoyed great prestige among the people. Later he attached himself to the Naḳshbandī Sheykh Bursawī Emīn Efendi. He held a fief, and therefore took part in 1182/1768 in the Russian campaign. He could use the sword as well as the pen. Nesh'et died in 1222/1807 and was buried outside the Top Ḳapu.

He received the nom-de-plume of Nesh'et from Djūdī. Nesh'et was a moderate poet but an admirable teacher. No-one would say an unkind word about him, and they winked at his smoking the *čibuḳ*, which was otherwise forbidden. He wrote poetry in Turkish and in Persian. Many of his pupils far surpassed him, such as Ghālib Dede [*q.v.*]. He left a *Dīwān*, collected together in 1200/1785 by his pupil Pertew Efendi, which was printed in two parts in Būlāḳ (1252/1836). His *Makhlaṣ-nāmes* (about 20 in the *Dīwān*) are distinctive in character; these are poems in which he bestowed epithets upon gifted pupils. In addition, he left writings on the Naḳshbandiyye: *Ṭūfān-i maʿrifet; Tardjamat al-ʿishḳ; Maslak al-anwār wa-manbaʿ al-asrār*. His *Terdjeme-i sharḥ-i dū-ʿbayt-i Mollā Djāmī* was printed at Istanbul in 1263. A biography of him by Pertew Efendi which was continued by Emīn Efendi is said to exist.

Bibliography: Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlï mü'ellifleri*, ii, 461; Muʿallim Nādjī, in *Medjmūʿa*, no. 8, 74-6; idem, *ʿOthmānlï shāʿirleri*, 64-70; *Khazīne-yi funūn*, Istanbul 1312, ii, 230 (*Eslāf*); Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 552; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, vi, 4576; Meḥmed Djelāl, *ʿOthmānlï edebiyyātï nümüneleri*, Istanbul 1312, 263; Flügel, *Die arabischen ... Hss. ... zu Wien*, i, 686; *İA*, art. *Neş'et* (Fevziye Abdullah Tansel). Two of his *ghazels* are given in Fahir İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım*, Istanbul 1966-7, i, 435-6.

(Th. Menzel)

NESHRĪ (d. before 926/1520), Ottoman historian.

Neshrī's one, partially-surviving, historical work, the *Djihān-nümā*, marks a pivotal point in both the development and the study of Ottoman historiography. However, very little is known with certainty about its author, aside from his *makhlaṣ* Neshrī, which occurs at the end of the history in a *ḳaṣīda* addressed to the reigning sultan Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*]. From scanty and largely unreliable references by later Ottoman writers such as Laṭīfī, ʿĀshïḳ Čelebi, ʿĀlī and Kātib Čelebi [*q.vv.*], it was long thought that his given name was Meḥmed and that he lived mainly in Bursa, for some time as *müderris* at the Sulṭāniyye *medrese*. References in the *Djihān-nümā* implying a personal knowledge of Bursa support the assumption of his residence there, and the style of his history suggests that he was a member of the *ʿulemā'*. Otherwise, there is nothing in the history or in other known contemporary sources to confirm either his name or his profession. A certain Neshrī Ḥüseyn b. Eyne Beg mentioned in a Bursa court register of 884/1479 may or may not be identical with the historian. The only explicitly personal information in the *Djihān-nümā* establishes that Neshrī was present in the Ottoman camp at the time of Meḥemmed II's death in 886/1481, and that his account of the subsequent Janissary riots in Istanbul is based on personal observation. The date of his death is also uncertain, though it is possible that, as stated by Laṭīfī, he lived into the reign of Selīm I (for biographical discussion, see F. Taeschner, *Ğihānnümā. Die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlānā Meḥemmed Neschrī*, Leipzig, i, 1951, 9-14; M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, *Neşrî*, in *İA*, ix, 214-15; V.L. Ménage, *Neshrī's History of the Ottomans: the sources and development of the text*, London 1964, 1-5).

Neshrī's *Djihān-nümā* was originally conceived as a universal history in six parts, but only the last section is known to be extant. This consists of an introduction, and three *ṭabaḳas* covering respectively the Oghuz Turks, the Saldjūḳs of Rūm and the Ottomans; it chronicles events down to 890/1485 (Bāyezīd II's conquest of Akkerman), and concludes with a list of the principal viziers and holy men of the Ottoman period, followed by the dedication to Bāyezīd II. The style is a relatively straightforward Ottoman prose. The work was probably completed between 892/1487 and Rabīʿ II 898/February 1493 (Ménage, *Neshrī's History*, 9). Neshrī's sources are not named in the text, but for the Ottoman period appear to have been principally ʿĀshïḳ-pasha-zāde's history, a chronological list, *taḳwīm*, of the mid-15th century, and an anonymous chronicle of the late 15th century (P. Wittek, *Zum Quellenproblem der ältesten osmanischen Chroniken (mit Auszügen aus Nešrī)*, in *MOG*, i [1921-2], 77-150; Ménage, *op. cit.*, 10-19). The *Djihān-nümā*

thus amalgamates the three principal Ottoman historiographical traditions then existing (H. İnalcık, *The rise of Ottoman historiography*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 152-67; Ménage, *The beginnings of Ottoman historiography*, in Lewis and Holt (eds.), *op. cit.*, 168-79). The *Djihān-nümā* became a principal source for many later Ottoman historians (e.g. Idrīs Bidlīsī, Saʿd al-Dīn, ʿĀlī, Solaḳ-zāde and Müneddjim-bashī [*q.vv.*]), and thus had a major influence upon subsequent interpretations of early Ottoman history. It was also one of the main sources used in Leunclavius's *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum ... libri xviii*, Frankfurt 1591, and so entered into European writing on the Ottomans (Ménage, *Neshrī's History*, 31-40, on the "Codex Hanivaldus").

The *Djihān-nümā* has been published twice, once in facsimile (F. Taeschner, *Ǵihānnümā* ..., i [Codex Menzel], 1951, ii [Codex Manisa], 1955), and once as an edition with modern Turkish transcription (F.R. Unat and M.A. Köymen (eds.), *Mehmed Neşrî: Kitâb-i Cihân-nümâ, Neşrî tarihi*, i, Ankara 1949, ii, Ankara 1957).

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned above, see F. Babinger, *GOW*, 38-9; F. Arık, *Onbeşinci asır tarihçilerinden Neşrî'nin hayatı ve eserleri* Istanbul 1936; F. Taeschner, *Neşri tarihi elyazıları üzerine araştırmalar*, in *Belleten*, xv (1951), 497-505.

(Christine Woodhead)

NESĪMĪ, Seyyid ʿImād al-Dīn, known as Nesīmī, an early Ottoman poet and mystic, believed to have come from Nesīm near Baghdād, whence his name. As a place of this name no longer exists, it is not certain whether the *laḳab* should not be derived simply from *nasīm* "zephyr, breath of wind". That Nesīmī was of Turkoman origin seems to be fairly certain, although the "Seyyid" before his name also points to Arab blood. Turkish was as familiar to him as Persian, for he wrote in both languages. Arabic poems are also ascribed to him. Little is known of his life; part of it fell in the reign of Murād I (761-91/1360-89), as his biographers tell us. He was at first a member of the school of Shaykh Shiblī (247-334/861-945), but about 804/1401 he became an enthusiastic follower of Faḍl Allāh Ḥurūfī [*q.v.*], with whom he was undoubtedly personally acquainted. He championed the views of his master with ardour and at the risk of his life. The poet Refīʿī, author (811/1408) of the *Beshāret-nāme* (copies in London, cf. Rieu, *Cat.*, 164-5, and Vienna, cf. Flügel, *Katal.*, 461, 462, two mss.; the second more complete), and presumably a *Gendj-nāme* (in Vienna, cf. Flügel, *Kat.*, i, 720) was his pupil. A certain Shāh Khandān who was a dervish mystic is mentioned as his full brother. Nesīmī met a cruel death in 820/1417-18 at Aleppo, where he was flayed for his heretical poems, on a *fetwā* of the extremely fanatical *muftī*. He is considered the greatest poet and preacher of the Ḥurūfī sect.

His work consists of two collections of poems, one of which, the rarer, is in Persian and the other in Turkish. The Turkish *Dīwān* consists of 250-300 *ghazels* and about 150 quatrains, but the existing mss. differ considerably from the printed edition (Istanbul 1298/1881). No scholarly edition has so far been undertaken, but a study of his vocabulary is given by Jahangir Gahramanov, *Nasimi divanynyn leksikasy*, Baku 1970. The Persian *Dīwān* has been edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Marʿashī, *Khurshīd-i Darband. Dīwān-i ʿImād al-Dīn Nasīmī*, Tehran 1370 *Sh*./1991. Nesīmī's spiritual influence on the dervish system of the earlier Ottoman empire was considerable. The pro-ʿAlid guilds, in particular, honour Nesīmī as one of their masters, testimony to whose far-reaching influence is found even in the earlier European travellers like Giov. Antonio Menavino (*ca.* 1540; cf. F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi. 19, n. 1, from which it is evident that Nicolas de Nicolay copied him and therefore cannot be regarded as an independent source, as Gibb, *HOP*, i, 356-7, thought) and Sir Paul Ricaut (17th century; cf. Gibb, *HOP*, i, 357 ff.). Nesīmī's importance as a poet and mystic can only be estimated and realised in connection with a thorough study of the older Ḥurūfī texts, among which a most important one is that mentioned but not recognised by W. Pertsch, *Pers. Handschr. Berlin*, 264-5, no. 221, by Sayyid ʿAlī al-Aʿlā (d. 822/1419) because it might show the connection of the Ḥurūfiyya with the Bektashiyya. Nesīmī's poems were made popular in earlier times, especially by the wandering Ḳalendar dervishes [see ḲALANDARIYYA] and were known to everyone.

Bibliography: Gibb, *HOP*, i, 343 ff.; J. von Hammer, *GOD*, i, 124-5; Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Nesimi-Usuli-Ruhi*, Istanbul 1953; Kathleen Burrill, *The quatrains of Nesimi*, The Hague 1972. *İA*, art. s.v. (Gölpınarlı); also the Ottoman biographers of poets who, however, contribute practically nothing to the life history of Nesīmī. Some examples of his work are given in Fahır İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım*, Istanbul 1966-7, i, 154-6, 522-6.

(F. Babinger*)

NEWʿĪ, Yaḥyā b. Pīr ʿAlī b. Naṣūḥ, an Ottoman theologian and poet, with the nom de plume (*makhlaṣ*) of Newʿī, was born in Malghara [see MALḲARA] (Rumelia), the son of Shaykh Pīr ʿAlī, in 940/1533. Up to his tenth year he was taught by his learned father and then became a pupil of Ḳaramānī-zāde Meḥmed Efendi. His fellow pupils were the poet Bāḳī [*q.v.*] and Saʿd al-Dīn, the famous historian [*q.v.*]. He was an intimate friend of the former. He joined the *ʿulamāʾ*, became *müderris* of Gallipoli in 973/1565 and after filling several other offices became a teacher in the Medrese of Mihr u Māh Sulṭān [*q.v.*]. In 998/1598 he was appointed *Ḳāḍī* of Baghdād, but before he could take up office, Sultan Murād III appointed him tutor to his son Muṣṭafā and to the princes Bāyezīd, ʿOthmān and ʿAbd Allāh. When after Murād III's death (1003/1595) the usual slaughter of the princes deprived him of all his charges, he retired completely from public life and lived on a pension granted him by the new sultan. He died at Istanbul in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1007/June 1599 and was buried in the court of the Sheykh Wefāʾ mosque. His son was Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭāʾī [*q.v.*].

Newʿī was a man of great learning, and his encyclopædic knowledge was most clearly revealed in the best-known of his works, the *Natāʾidj al-funūn wa-maḥāsin al-mutūn*, in which he surveyed the twelve most important branches of learning; on it see [J. von Hammer] *Encyklopädische Übersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients*, part i, Leipzig 1804, 22 ff., and the German translation of the story of Shādān and Beshīr, *ibid.*, 24 ff., which forms the concluding section of this work. Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir gives a list of other prose works in his *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, iii, 437-8, with references to the libraries in which they are. In poetry, Newʿī imitated the style of his contemporary Bāḳī without however reaching his level. His poems which were collected in a scarce *Dīwān* (ms. in Istanbul, Ḥamīdiyye library), lack ease and betray too readily the learned author who frequently makes his work difficult to understand with unusual words and obscure allusions. He tried his skill in different forms of verse, the *ḳaṣīda, ghazel* and *methnewī*, without however

attaining popularity in any one of them. His fame as a poet was completely overshadowed by that of his contemporary and friend Bāḳī. Newʿī's high position as an author he owes to his learned work, particularly the already-mentioned encyclopædia, which was very popular, as is evident from the numerous mss. still in existence in European collections (e.g. Berlin, Bologna, Dresden, Leiden, London [3 copies], Uppsala, Vienna). A *Süleymān-nāme* by him (Paris, *Bib. Nat.*, cod. reg. 44, Cat. no. 308 und F. Babinger, *GOW*, 76) does not seem to be mentioned by his biographers. His son Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭāʾī wrote a very full life of him (418-27 of the *dhayl* to Ṭashköprüzāde's work), mentioning that he wrote over 30 *risāles* on *kalām, fiḳh, ʿaḳāʾid, manṭiḳ, taṣawwuf*, etc.

Bibliography: Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 634; Von Hammer, *GOD*, iii, 108; Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 171 ff.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i, 120 ff., also the biographies of poets by Ḳinalī-zāde and ʿAhdī; Brockelmann, II², 587-8, S II, 658; *İA* s.v. (Abdülkadir Karahan). (F. Babinger)

NEWʿĪ-ZĀDE [see ʿAṬĀʾĪ].

NEWRES, the names of two Ottoman poets.

1. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, known as Newres, or more accurately, Newres-i Ḳadīm, "Newres the Elder", to distinguish him from ʿOthmān Newres [see below], came from Kirkūk in northern ʿIrāḳ and was probably of Kurdish origin. He seems, however, to have come to Istanbul at an early age to prosecute his studies. Here he became a *müderris* but in the year 1159/1746 entered upon a legal career. According to the *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, he held the office of *ḳāḍī* in Sarajevo and Kütahya. His sharp tongue, which found particular expression in daring and malicious chronograms (*tawārīkh*), earned him banishment to Rethymno (Crete) along with the poet Hashmet and then to Bursa; he was later, according to Wāṣif (*Taʾrīkh*, 211), sent back to Kütahya. In any case, he died in Bursa in Shawwāl 1175/May 1762 and was buried in the cemetery opposite the entrance to the mosque of Pīr Uftāde Meḥmed, the founder of the order of the Djalwatiyya. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Newres composed a *Dīwān* in Persian and Turkish (printed Istanbul 1290 and probably 1304), and also a history of the war with Nādir Shāh in 1143/1730 in which he took part on the staff of Ḥekīm-Oghlu ʿAlī Pasha. The little book called *Tebrīziyye-i Ḥekīm-Oghlu ʿAlī Pasha* is written in ornate language and is of no historical value. The fair copy in the author's hand is preserved in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Cod. Or. 8°, 2186). Newres also enjoyed the reputation of being a distinguished *munshiʾ*. Excerpts from his *inshāʾ* are given by J. von Hammer in his *GOR*, ix, 643-4. His *Dīwān* is called *Mabāligh al-ḥikam*, which gives the year 1172/1758 for its completion (cf., however, a similarly titled work in Vienna: Flügel, *Cat.*, iii, 486, no. 1991).

Bibliography: See F. Babinger, *GOW*, 294-5, with further references; von Hammer, *GOD*, iv, 321-7; Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 133-9, vi, 287-90; *İA* art s.v. (Ömer Faruk Akın).

2. ʿOthmān, called Newres or, to distinguish him from his older namesake, Newres-i Djedīd, came from Chios. He held several military posts in the capital and died there in 1293/1876 in retirement. He is buried in the Ḳaradja Aḥmed cemetery in Üsküdār. His collected poems have been twice printed at Istanbul in 1257 and in 1290 (by Yūsuf Kāmil Pasha) (*Dīwān-i ʿOthmān Newres*). In 1302 there was published at the suggestion of ʿAbd al-Karīm Nādir Pasha in Istanbul under the title *Ether-i nādir* specimens of his prose and verse. A Turkish translation of the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī [*q.v.*] by him exists in ms. ʿOthmān Newres had a very thorough command of the three languages of Islam and wrote poetry in all three.

Bibliography: Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, iii, 465-6; *İA*, art. s.v. (Fevziye Abdullah Tansel). (F. Babinger)

NEWROKOP, Nevrokop, a town in southwestern Bulgaria, in Ottoman times (*ca.* 1380-1912) *chef-lieu* of a *ḳāḍīlīḳ* of the *sandjaḳ* of Siroz (Serres) and a centre of Islamic life of considerable importance. Nevrokop is situated in a wide plain (30 × 10 km) between the Rhodopes and Pirin Mountains, at an altitude of 565 m, 20 km to the north of the present Greco-Bulgarian frontier. The river Mesta (Kara Su), whose valley constitutes the only traffic artery of any importance, passes the town a few kilometres to the east.

Nevrokop is the indirect successor of the ancient town of Nicopolis ad Mestum, whose ruins are situated 9 km to the east of the town, opposite the river. The *Notitiae Episcopatuum* mention this town as the seat of an archbishopric until the 11th century. Near the present town of Nevrokop, the ruins of a 9th-10th century castle and a settlement have been found, which are the more direct forerunner of the present town. The district in which Nevrokop is situated must have been conquered by the Ottomans between 1374 and 1383 (capture of the nearby key-fortresses of Drama and Serres; see siroz). With the capture of the Nevrokop valley and that of Razlog more to the north-west, connection could be made with the Thracian plain around Filibe (Plovdiv), by following the upper course of the Mesta and then across a low pass to the valley of Čepino, which is in direct communication with Thrace, which was in Ottoman hands since the late 1360s. The town is first mentioned with its present name in the Ottoman *Taḥrīr defter* Mal. no. 525 from 1445, in which it is described as a large Christian village numbering 137 households. With *ca.* 600 inhabitants, it was by far and wide the largest settlement in the area. After this date, Nevrokop was to develop rapidly and in a century changed into a predominantly Muslim town. The *Taḥrīr* T.D. 3 from 1453-4 has Nevrokop with 265 Christian and twelve Muslim households, or roughly 1250 inhabitants. Great changes occured in the interval 1454-1517, when Muslim civilians came to settle in the town, and Yürüks from Anatolia by way of the Aegean plains settled in or next to many formerly entirely Christian Bulgarian villages. The *Taḥrīr* T.D. 70, of which the actual census was taken in 1517, mentions Nevrokop as a town, containing 167 Muslim households and 319 households of Christians, or *ca.* 2070 inhabitants. The settlement, which in 1454 was only 4% Muslim now had 34% Muslims. Further rapid expansion is shown by the register T.D. 167 from 1529. By then the Muslims had gone up to 281 households and the Christians to 385. This gives a town of almost 4000 inhabitants, of which 42% was Muslim. The *Taḥrīr* of 1569/79 (KuK 194, Ankara) shows a different pattern. In the 40 years after 1529, the positions are reversed. The Muslims had grown slowly, to 318 households whilst the Christians had declined sharply, to 186 households. In the interval, some Islamisation of the local population must have taken place. The 1569-70 register shows that 14% of the Muslim households were of convert origin. This suggest that besides conversion, immigration must have played an important role. The outcome of these movements was that the population of the town was now composed of 63% Muslims. The number of *mahalles* also show the reversal of the pattern: in 1529 5 Muslim *mahalles* and 13 Christian *mahalles*, in 1569 13 Muslim *mahalles* and

6 of Christians. The transformation of Nevrokop from a Christian village into a predominantly Muslim town was stimulated by the erection of a monumental domed mosque and a school by Meḥmed Bey, son of the *Beylerbey* of Rumeli, Dayī Ḳarača Pas̲h̲a. The latter died in 1456 before Belgrade. His son Meḥmed must have erected his buildings in Nevrokop in the 1480s or 1490s, to which the stylistic features point. Shortly before his death in 1512, the favourite of Sultan Bāyezīd II, Ḳod̲j̲a Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a, founded another important mosque in Nevrokop, as well as a school and a *ḥammām*. The 1529 *Taḥrīr* mentions both buildings, as well as the fact that their founders were dead (*merḥūm*), and adds a *mesd̲j̲id* of Dāwūdlī. The register also mentions that Meḥmed Bey had constructed a bridge over the Kara Su and had allotted the yearly rent of 10 watermills in Nevrokop and Drama, 50 shops and rooms in Selānik and some important urban property in Filibe, totalling 57,000 *aḳčes*, for the upkeep of his foundations. The buildings of Ḳod̲j̲a Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a in Nevrokop were financed by his enormous *ewḳāf* in many places in Rumeli. These included also five villages in the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Nevrokop. An order in the *Mühimme defter* 6 from S̲h̲ewwāl 972/May 1565 discusses the problems of erecting a mosque and a *muṣallā* on orders of Sultan Süleymān for the memory of his son S̲h̲ehzāde Meḥmed . The *Taḥrīr* of 1569-70 gives other information on the growing importance of Nevrokop as an Islamic centre. In that year there were three Friday mosques and seven *mesd̲j̲ids*. The register mentions 12 imāms in the town and 14 muezzins besides four school teachers and a large number of craftsman, both Muslim and Christian (hatters, tanners, shoemakers, soapmakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, quiltmakers, goldsmiths).

In the villages of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Nevrokop a similar process of slow Islamisation can be observed. According to the 1445 *Taḥrīr*, the entire district numbered not a single Muslim. An isolated few are mentioned in 1453-4, but by 1529, 13% of the rural population was Muslim and some 28% in 1569-70. This process had the same two aspects as in the town: settlement of a substantial number of Turkish (*Yürük*) settlers after 1517, secondly a creeping process of Islamisation of a part of the rural, Bulgarian-speaking population. By 1900 the entire *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Nevrokop, with 123 villages, numbered 12,500 Turkish-speaking Muslims, 26,960 Bulgarian-speaking Muslims (Pomaks) and 35,310 Bulgarian Christians, the latter including some Greek-orientated Vlachs. These numbers show that Islam in the western Rhodope resulted from a slow process of colonisation and an even slower process of Islamisation, instead of being the result of one violent, government-ordered, campaign of mass Islamisation, which is supposed to have taken place in the second half of the 11th/17th century under the Köprülü administration. This last-mentioned viewpoint is usually taken in the Bulgarian historiography.

A 16th century list of bishoprics belonging to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople mentions a "see of Nikopolis, that is Nevrokop", but names of bishops of Nevrokop are only known since 1622.

In the 17th century the expansion of the town must have slowed down. Kātib Čelebi mentions Nevrokop as the seat of a *ḳāḍīlïḳ* and noted the presence of rich iron mines near the town. The official list of *ḳāḍīlïḳs* of 1078/1667-8 has Nevrokop in the fourth rank of the twelve ranks of *ḳāḍīlïḳs* of Rumeli, which illustrates its importance. The most detailed description of Ottoman Nevrokop is given in vol. viii of the *Seyāḥat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi, although the town appears under the wrong name of Vetrine (modern Neon Petritsi in Greece), which is historically and geographically impossible, since it never was a *ḳaḍā*ʾ centre. Ewliyā called the town large and fine, with many mosques, dervish *tekkes*, *k̲h̲āns*, *ḥammāms*, schools and very beautiful houses and the seat of an elaborate provincial administration. In the 18th century, the town must have grown slowly. In 1847 the traveller Viquesnel saw a thousand houses (in 1569, 500), inhabited by Turks and a few Greeks and Bulgarians. He saw 12 minarets and a fairly large bazaar with many *k̲h̲āns* and coffee shops. In 1809-11 the Christian community of Nevrokop had constructed the small church of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. In 1833-41 they built the large and monumental church of the Holy Virgin, expression of the changed conditions under the *Tanẓīmāt*. In the 1820s, the last great domed mosque of the town was built, of which only old photographs remain. The *Sālnāme* of the *wilāyet* of Selānik of 1324/1906-7 mentions that the town had 20 *maḥalles* with 1,432 houses, 598 shops, 12 Friday mosques, four *mesd̲j̲ids*, two churches and no less than eight *tekkes*, pointing to a well-developed Islamic life. Besides this, there were seven schools for Muslims and two for Christians. A Greek source from 1908 mentions that the town had 5,900 inhabitants: 3,865 Turks, 490 Muslim Gipsies, 595 Christians belonging to the Greek Orthodox church and 900 Christians belonging to the Bulgarian Exarchate. The same source mentions that the population of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Nevrokop was in majority Muslim, sc. 51,000 of the 83,000 inhabitants (=61%). The *Sālnāme* of 1303/1885-6) gives slightly lower numbers but has the same percentage of Muslims. The statistics of Verković and Kănčev give 55% and 53% respectively, with slightly varying numbers.

The Bulgarian conquest of 1912, during the Balkan Wars, led to a mass exodus of the Muslim population of the town and, to a lesser extent, of the villages. Their place was immediately taken by Bulgarian refugees from the *ḳaḍā*ʾs of Drama and Serres, which had been conquered by the Greek army and were to remain part of the enlarged Greek state. The Bulgarian census of 1926 shows these changes clearly. By then the town numbered 1,057 Muslim inhabitants, but the number of Bulgarians stood as high as 5,882. The 1934 census show that the new trend continued: 824 Muslim and 7,726 Christian inhabitants. After 1912 the mosques, *tekkes* and *ḥammāms* disappeared one after the other. The oldest mosque of the town, that of Meḥmed Bey ben Ḳarača Pas̲h̲a, was the last to be given up. It still stands as a ruin (1990). Apart from a few Muslim Gypsy families, Islam has disappeared from Nevrokop, which after 1912 was rebuilt in a new fashion. In the late 1960s, culminating in the events of 1973, the Pomak population of the mountain villages of the Nevrokop district was put under heavy pressure when the Communist government tried to "lead them back into the Bulgarian nation" with help of the army units using poison gas. After the opposition had been broken, large sections of the Pomaks were deported to northern Bulgaria, given other names and scattered among purely Christian Bulgarian villages. After the end of Communist rule, many returned to their native homes, reverting to their simple Islamic community life. After their ordeal, they decided to identify completely with Turkish Islam, learning to speak Turkish instead of Bulgarian and identifying themselves as descendants of the Bulgarised Pečeneg and Kuman settlers in the Rhodope to which the 12th-13th century

Byzantine sources refer. This process is now in full swing. The restoration of Islamic life to the Nevrokop villages has been seen in the large-scale rebuilding during 1991-2 of the mosques of the district destroyed in the assimilation campaign of 1985.

Nevrokop, which in 1978 rose to 17,805 inhabitants, saw its name changed to Goce Delčev (in 1950). Ottoman Nevrokop was the native town of some Ottoman men of letters. Among them is the very learned poet Raʿna Muṣṭafā Efendi, a Naḳs̲h̲bendī dervish and for long in the service of Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt. He died in 1248/1832-3 in his native Nevrokop. It was very probably this man who constructed the last domed mosque in the town, showing close similarity with the buildings of Muḥammed ʿAlī in Kavalla (erected 1818-1821). Of more importance is Zühri Aḥmed Efendi, the founder of the Zühriyye branch of the K̲h̲alwetiyye order. Zühri Efendi died in Selānik/Thessaloniki in 1165/1751-2 and was buried in the *tekke* which he had himself founded in that city.

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NEWS̲H̲EHIR, modern Turkish Nevşehir, a town of central Anatolia in the Cappadocia of classical antiquity. It lies 60 km/40 miles to the west of Kayseri [see ḲAYṢARIYYA] and 13 km/9 miles south of the Kızıl Irmak river [*q.v.*] at an altitude of approx. 1,180 m/3,600 feet (lat. 38° 38′ N., long. 34° 43′ E.). It is now the chef-lieu of an *il* or province of the same name; in 1970 the town had a population of 57,556 and the *il* one of 231,873.

The News̲h̲ehir region was in the 6th to 9th centuries AD known for its monastic caves, and became a frontier region during the Arab invasions. The inhabitants protected themselves by digging underground refuges into the soft tuff; these consisted of several floors, with tables and benches, water supply and cooking hearths. Often special arrangements prevented the smoke from escaping in times of danger, and thus betraying the hiding place. Most of these "underground cities" were discovered only in the 1950s, and little is known about them from written sources. The largest such shelters are located in Kaymaklı and Derinkuyu (Melegübü in 10th/16th century Ottoman sources), within the modern province of Nevşehir.

Until the Grand Vizierate of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a News̲h̲ehirli (killed in 1143/1730 [*q.v.*]), the settlement called Nevşehir today was known as the village of Mus̲h̲kara, located in the judicial district (*ḳaḍā*) of Ürgüb. The latter *ḳaḍā* was sometimes included in the *sandjak* of Niğde and at other times in that of Kayseri. Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, who was born in Mus̲h̲kara, elevated it to the status of a town and renamed it News̲h̲ehir. He established a foundation, consisting of a mosque, library, *medrese,* and *ʿimāret*, and associated with it were shops and an official residence for the foundation administrator. Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a also had the small Saldjūḳ fortress on the hilltop overlooking the settlement restored. The foundation inscriptions were composed by the major Istanbul poets of the time, among whom Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a organised a competition explicitly for this purpose. Seyyid Wehbī's, Nedīm's and ʿĀṣim's inscriptions have been published (by Aḥmed Refīḳ, 1340/1921-22). These texts emphasise that the Grand Vizier owed everything to his master the Sultan (Aḥmed III [*q.v.*]), but also glorify the founder: one of them even contains his elaborate *curriculum vitae*.

Among the architects of the *külliyye*, we know a Sargis K̲h̲alfa, who supervised the construction process. Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a also involved the Chief Architect Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a, ordering him to send some of his junior colleagues to visit the Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a mosque in Gebze and other important vizierial mosques of western Anatolia. The architects were enjoined to study the aesthetic appearance of the buildings and also construction details, bringing back drawings for the Grand Vizier's inspection. The latter apparently reserved for himself the ultimate decision, and, taking an eclectic approach, consciously modelled his foundation on the buildings put up by 10th/16th century Grand Viziers.

As 12th/18th century Anatolia was only sparsely inhabited, many of the measures designed to further News̲h̲ehir were to the detriment of nearby Ürgüb. The seat of the district *ḳāḍī* was moved from Ürgüb to News̲h̲ehir, and so was the market; in spite of the distances involved, Ürgüb residents were ordered to henceforth conduct their business in News̲h̲ehir. Wealthy people recently settled in Kayseri were ordered to move to News̲h̲ehir, and to ensure a stable urban population, well-to-do residents of the new town were forbidden to move their families to Istanbul; 800 families of central Anatolian nomads were also to settle in News̲h̲ehir. Scrub land was assigned to the townsmen which they could convert into gardens and vineyards, and they were also granted the land of certain abandoned villages for farming and pasture. In the early 12th/18th century, the urban population must have been a few thousands.

In the 13th/19th century, News̲h̲ehir was a small town in the *sandjak* of Niğde, in majority inhabited by Muslims, but with an active community of Turcophone Orthodox Christians. Out of 17,660 townsmen in 1316-17/1899, 10,972 were Muslims and 6,080 Orthodox. Grape cultivation and wine-making constituted one of the region's principal economic activities. The exchange of populations which followed the war between Greece and Turkey (1923) resulted in a decline of the vineyards, as the new settlers from Thrace were not familiar with viticulture. However as natural conditions (low rainfall, frosts in spring and fall) limited agricultural options, raisin and wine production soon resumed.

Down to the present day, the News̲h̲ehir district has remained an agricultural region. In 1978, 78.6% of the economically-active population was employed in agriculture (1965: 86.2%, 1955: 87.6%). The productivity of many agricultural enterprises is low, due to limited investment in erosion control, irrigation and seed selection. The employment of tractors and the cultivation of sugar beet and potatoes on irrigated land have, however, become sufficiently widespread to push down the demand for family labour. This

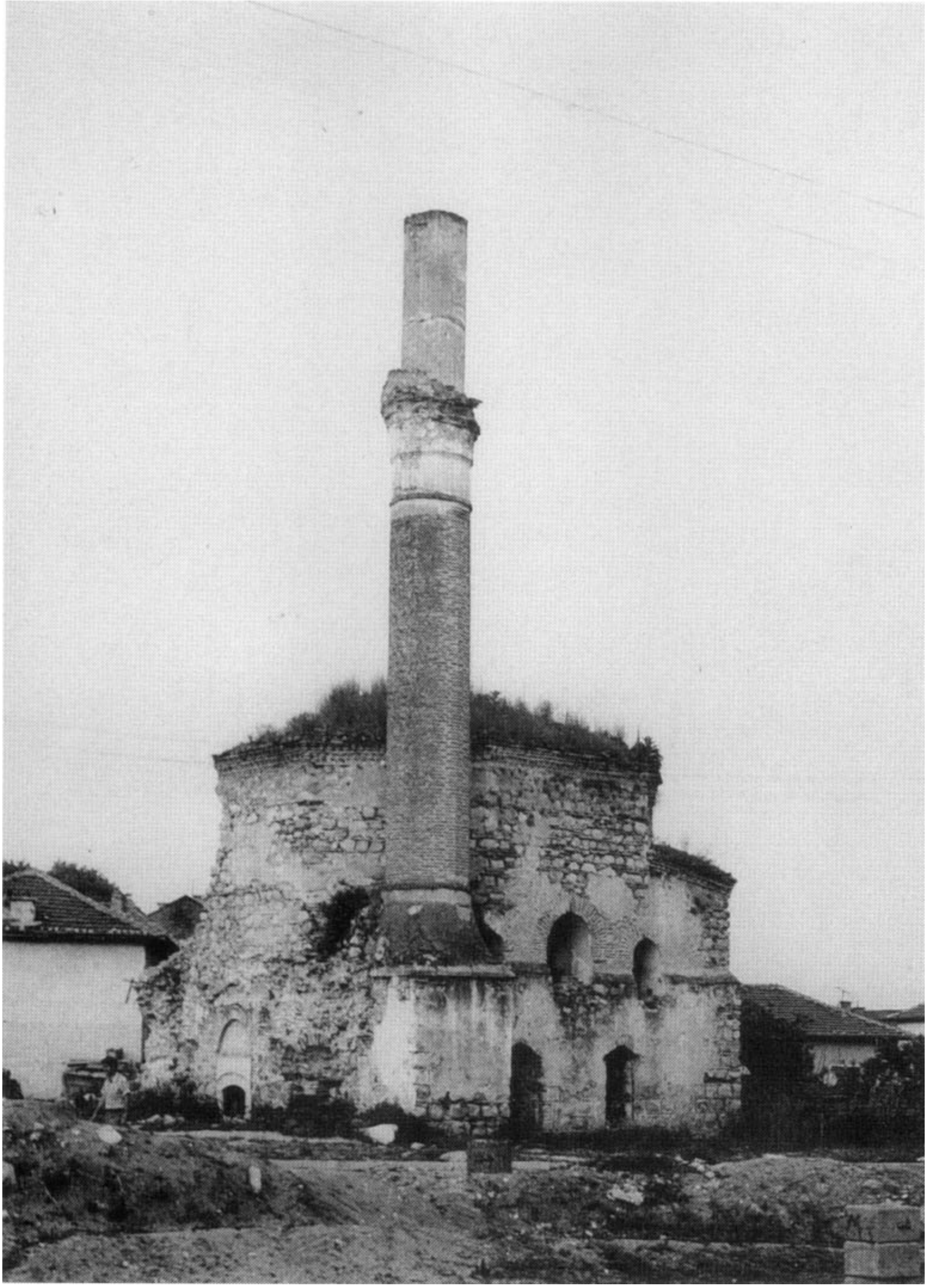

Mosque of Meḥmed Bey ibn Karadja Pasha, *ca.* 1490. Only surviving Ottoman building in Nevrokop.
(Photo: Arch. Julii Fărkov, 1992)

decrease particularly affects women; while in 1965, 46% of the labour force consisted of women, by 1975 this percentage had dropped to 41%. Since opportunities in manufacturing (cotton textiles, wine-production, food processing) are also limited, out-migration is widespread. In spite of a high birthrate, the district's population has recently declined.

From the 1960s onwards, tourism has become a significant source of gain, as both Turkish holiday-makers and foreign tourists have visited the cave churches of Göreme, the "underground cities" of Derinkuyu and Kaymaklı and the extraordinary tuff formations of this volcanic landscape. In 1982, the district recorded 50,000 Turkish and 82,000 foreign visitors, who have given a boost to retail trade, transportation and the manufacture of *objets d'art* from locally available agate. However, to date this injection of capital has had only a limited impact upon the region, as the owners usually prefer to invest in other parts of the country.

In the cultural life of the region, the former main lodge (*zāwiye*) of the Bektās͟hī order of dervishes once again has a role to play. The complex (located in the town of Hacıbektaş, *il* of Nevşehir) contains the mausolea of Ḥād͟jd͟jī Bektās͟h and Balīm Sulṭān, constructed in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, as well as a meeting room and an elaborate domed kitchen. In the latter there is a large kettle, which an inscription identifies as a Janissary gift. A silver door was donated by an 11th/17th century governor of Ḳīrs͟hehir [*q.v.*]. After the abolition of all dervish orders in 1925, the complex was allowed to deteriorate; but once a museum had been established, largely through community efforts, the building was restored and local residents voluntarily returned many former possessions of the lodge. Now the town of Hacıbektaş hosts an annual cultural festival. It is attended by a large number of Alevî families, who combine a visit to the shrine with attendance at concerts and recitals of a more secular nature.

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(Suraiya Faroqhi)

NICOBARS, the name of a group of nineteen islands in the Indian Ocean, to the south of the Bay of Bengal and lying between lats. 6°40′ and 9°20′ N.; the largest southernmost of them, Great Nicobar, is 190 km/120 miles to the northwest of the northern tip of Sumatra. Their area is 1,953 km²/627 sq. miles. The Arabic geographers place them at 15 days' voyage from Sarandīb (= Ceylon) and 6 days' voyage from Kalah [*q.v.*] (= probably in the Malacca peninsula or, less probably, at Kedah).

The Nicobar Islands appear in Arabic travel and geographical literature as early as the *Ak͟hbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* (237/851), ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, § 7, text and tr. 5, comm. 38-9 (*Land͟jabālūs*, linked here with *Andāmān*, i.e. the Andaman Islands to the north, whose inhabitants are described as dark-skinned and cannibals); Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 66 (*Alankabālūs*); al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j al-d͟hahab*, i, 338-9 = § 372 (*Land͟jabālūs*); Buzurg b. S͟hahriyār, *K. ʿAd͟jāʾib al-Hind* (first half of the 4th/10th century), tr. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville. *The book of the wonders of India*, London 1981, § 81, pp. 74-5 (*Lad͟jbālūs*). The forms *Lankabālūs*/*Land͟jabālūs*, etc., became the standard renderings for the Islands, appearing e.g. some two centuries later in al-Idrīsī's text and on his map, with the distances mentioned above for the Nicobars' distance from Ceylon and the Malay peninsula (tr. S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the* Kitāb Nuzhat al-mus͟htāq ..., §§ 42-5, 48, tr. 32-3, 34, comm. 117-18). As characteristics of the islands' people are mentioned their unintelligible language (in fact, the Nicobarese languages are of the Austro-Asiatic family, either a branch of the Mon-Khmer group or a separate branch, in any case demonstrating older ethnic connections with South-East Asia and Indonesia); their white skins and nakedness; their hospitableness; and their trading of ambergris and coconuts for iron by means of dumb barter with the voyagers who called there en route from Ceylon to China; their diet of coconuts, freshly-caught fish, bananas, etc. (see the above references, plus *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, § 4.10, p. 57, comm. 188; Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān b. Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, ch. xv, § 10, tr. 57-8, comm. 158-9).

Various explanations have been proffered for the name of the islands. Sauvaget, *op. cit.*, comm. 38, cited a Chinese phrase *lang-pʾo-lu-seu*, denoting western Sumatra, as the original of the Arabic form, though this seems less likely. Minorsky cited an etymology from *laṅkā* "island" + *Bālūs* = Baros on the southwestern coast of Sumatra, cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 4.8, p. 57, comm. 187, but as more probable *al-Nankabār* or *Nakavvar* > Nicobar "the naked" (*Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī*, comm. 158-9). Certainly, on the Catalan Map of 1375 we have the *Insulae Nudorum*.

Marco Polo briefly mentions the island which he calls Necuvaran as being about 150 miles north of Sumatra (Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, London 1871, ii, 248-50), but there is much more detail on the island of Nicoveran in the account of the voyages of Friar Odoric of Pordenone (1316-30), who travelled from the Coromandel coast to Sumatra en route for China (Yule and H. Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither*, Cambridge 1915, ii, 248-50, describing the inhabitants as having dogs' faces (*Cinocofuli*), a detail more often attached to the Andaman islanders).

In more recent times, the Nicobars were probably visited by Portuguese missionaries, but in 1756 Denmark took them over as a colony affiliated to their trading factory at Tranquebar on the Coromandel coast. In 1848 the Danes formally relinquished sovereignty, and in 1869 Britain took formal possession of them. After an occupation by the Japanese 1942-5, the Nicobars passed in 1947 to India and are now part of the Union Territory of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, with the seat of the Lieutenant-Governor at Port Blair in the Andamans. The population of the Nicobars (1961 census) is 14,563.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

NIFFAR, Nuffar, a ruined site, ancient Nippur, in southern ʿIrāḳ, situated in lat. 32°7′ N. and long. 45°10′ E., now in the *liwā* or province of al-Ḳādisiyya; close by lies the K͟hōr al-ʿAfak.

The site is very extensive. Rising 20 m above the

plain, it has proved to be one of the earliest cities to have developed in the region. Even before neighbouring Uruk and Akkad became political centres in the last centuries of the third millennium Nippur seems to have been a religious centre for the independent communities, no doubt because, according to the Sumerian version of the Flood Story, man was first created at Nippur. So it was here that Ur-Nammu, king of Ur built the temple for Enlil, the god of storms, with its great ziggurat. The associated library is one of the richest sources for Sumerian literature even though so many of the original documents have been lost; much of what remains was preserved accidentally since the clay documents were used as fill for the walls of later houses. A beautifully decorated chlorite vessel with a cat-like figure in conflict with a snake has been described as a representation of Inanna (Ishtar). When Layard visited the site in 1854 he was overcome by its appearance, and from 1889-1900 an American excavation under the supervision of J.P. Peters (University of Pennsylvania) carried out the first thorough study of the site. More recent excavations have been conducted by McGown (University of Chicago). It was being built on up to the Parthian period. But what Peters described as "Parthian columns" still standing when he was at the site had disappeared by 1948 when the Chicago team were there. The site is particularly suited to new historical assessments, as evidenced by the work of Stone, who integrates linguistic, archaeological and anthropological material in her study. In an unusual Akkadian satirical poem a poor man from Nippur, who has been oppressed by the mayor of his town, is able by his guile to humiliate his oppressor; this may well reflect the attitude of contemporary society to the place, for Nippur is often mentioned in lists of places that are excused the taxation burdens imposed on other towns.

Nippur was also an inhabited place in Muslim times; for example, we find it mentioned in 38 /659 on the occasion of a rising against the caliph ʿAlī (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3423, 3424) as well as during the Khāridjī troubles (*op. cit.*, ii, 929, 7); cf. also Yāḳūt, iv, 275, 798, and Ibn al-Faḳīh, 210. In the later Middle Ages we find Niffar mentioned as a Nestorian bishopric in the chronicles of the Patriarchs (*Akhbār Faṭārika kursī al-Mashriḳ*, ed. Gismondi, Rome 1897-9), of ʿAmr b. Mattā (83, 95,) and of Marī b. Sulaymān, in the period 900-1058 A.D. (cf. also Sachau, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.* [1909], no. 1, p. 31). When the town was abandoned by its inhabitants and became completely desolate we do not know. It was probably the result of one of the Turco-Mongol invasions, that under Hülegü or that under Tīmūr, which dealt their deathblow to so many flourishing places in Mesopotamia.

According to the cuneiform inscriptions, Nippur must have in ancient times lain on the Euphrates itself or at least in its immediate vicinity (cf. e.g. *OLZ*, xx, 142, n. 1); this fact forces us to the assumption that this river in the Babylonian period must have taken a much more easterly course below Babylon than in the middle ages and present day. The inner city is divided into two parts by a canal now dry but once navigable, which the natives call Shaṭṭ al-Nīl. This was an important watercourse which, according to Hilprecht, was in many places at one time 20-25 feet deep and 150-190 feet broad and which the modern inhabitants rightly describe not as a mere *nahr* (stream, canal) but as *shaṭṭ* (river).

According to the mediaeval Arab geographers, Nahr al-Nīl was the name of one of the canals leading off from the Euphrates to the Tigris. It still survives in its entirety; as in the Middle Ages, it starts from Babylon and flows a little above lat. 32°30′ N. in an almost straight line eastwards. The geographer Suhrāb or Ibn Sarābiyūn [*q.v.*], writing in the 4th/10th century, observes that this canal bears the name Nahr al-Nīl only after passing the town of al-Nīl (the modern ruins Nīliyye). At the present day, it is called only Shaṭṭ al-Nīl throughout its course. Somewhat east of Nīliyye a side-canal, now dry, branches off to the south for which, not only in its lower part where it flows by the ruins of Niffar but along its whole extent, the name Shaṭṭ al-Nīl, the same as that of the main canal, was and is usual. Yāḳūt, however, says (iv, 77, 798) that Niffar lay not on the Nahr al-Nīl but on the bank of the Nahr al-Nars, a canal dug, it is said, by the Sāsānid king Narsē b. Bahrām (293-303 A.D.) which leaves the Euphrates at al-Ḥilla a little below the Nahr al-Nīl and turns southeastward. It was presumably connected by a branch with the southern small canal of the same name which branches off from the Nahr al-Nīl, so that the occurrence of the two names Nahr al-Nīl and Nahr al-Nars for the river in Niffar is explained. It should be noted also that the nomenclature of the Babylonian canals changed several times already in the Middle Ages. On the Nahr al-Nīl or Shaṭṭ al-Nīl and Nahr al-Nars, see W.K. Loftus, *Travels and researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, 238; G. Le Strange, in *JRAS* (1895), 256, 260-1, and idem, *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 72-4; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, i, Leiden 1900, 30-1; Herzfeld, in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäolog. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i, Berlin 1911, 134-5; Hāshim al-Saʿdī, *Djughrāfiyyat al-ʿIrāḳ al-ḥadītha*[2], Baghdād 1927, 34, 35.

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(M. Streck-[M.E.J. Richardson])

AL-NIFFARĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, Ṣūfī mystic, whom the principal Ṣūfī biographers fail to mention, and who flourished in the 4th/10th century, and, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, died in the year 354/965, but more probably in *ca.* 366/976-7. His *nisba* refers to the town of Niffar [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāḳ, and one ms. of his works asserts that it was during his residence at Niffar and Nīl that he committed his thoughts to writing. Al-Niffarī's literary reliquiae consist of two books, the *Mawāḳif* and the *Mukhāṭabāt* (ed. A.J. Arberry, London 1935), together with a number of fragments. It is improbable that Niffarī himself was responsible for the editing of his writings; according to his principal commentator, ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291), either his son or his grandson collected his scattered writings and published them according to his own ordering. The *Mawāḳif* consists of 77 sections of varying length, made up for the most part of brief apothegms touching on the main aspects of Ṣūfī teaching, and purporting to be inspired and dictated by God; the *Mukhāṭabāt* is similar in content, and is divided into 56 sections. Al-Niffarī's most characteristic contribution to mysticism is his doctrine of *waḳfa*. This term, which would appear to be used by him in a peculiarly technical sense, implies a condition in the mystic which is accompanied by direct divine audition, and perhaps even automatic script. *Mawḳif* is the name given to the state of the mystic in which *waḳfa* is classed higher than *maʿrifa*, and *maʿrifa*

is above *ʿilm*. The *wāḳif* is nearer to God than any other thing, and almost transcends the condition of *bas̲h̲ariyya*, being alone separated from all limitation. Al-Niffarī definitely maintains the possibility of seeing God in this world; for he says that vision (*ruʾya*) in this world is a preparation for vision in the world to come. In several places, al-Niffarī distinctly touches on the theory of the Mahdī [*q.v.*], and indeed appears to identify himself with the Mahdī, if these passages are genuine; and this claim is seemingly in the mind of al-Zabīdī, when he describes al-Niffarī as *ṣāḥib al-daʿāwā wa 'l-ḍalāl*. Al-Tilimsānī, however, interprets these passages in an esoteric and highly mystical sense; and it does not accord with the general character of the author that he should make for himself such extravagant claims. Al-Niffarī shows himself in his writings to be a fearless and original thinker. While undoubtedly influenced by his great predecessor al-Ḥallād̲j̲ [*q.v.*], he acknowledges no obligations and has a thorough conviction of the reality of his own mission.

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(A.J. ARBERRY)

NIFṬAWAYH, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH IBRĀHĪM b. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿArafa b. Sulaymān b. al-Mug̲h̲īra b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra al-ʿAtakī al-Azdī, grammarian, lexicographer, *ak̲h̲bārī*, leading expert in poetry, Ḳurʾānic readings and well-authenticated *muḥaddit̲h̲*, who owed his nickname, derived from the term *nifaṭ* (naphtha) to his dark complexion; this name is formed according to the same pattern as that of Sībawayh, whom he admired, whose grammatical methods he followed and on whose *Kitāb* he composed a commentary. Born at Wāsiṭ in 244/858, he lived and studied in Bag̲h̲dād where he died on 12 Rabīʿ I 323/20 February 935.

He studied grammar and *lug̲h̲a* with the eminent scholars al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), T̲h̲aʿlab (d. 291/904) and Muḥammad b. al-D̲j̲ahm (d. 277/891). Among his masters in *ḥadīth*, his biographers mention numerous traditionists including Isḥāk b. Wahb b. Ziyād al-ʿAllāf (d. after 255/869 according to Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb al-Tahd̲h̲īb*, i, 259) and ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Wāḳid al-Dūrī (d. 271/885). He studied the Ḳurʾān with, in particular, Ibn al-D̲j̲ahm and S̲h̲uʿayb b. Ayyūb al-Ṣarīfīnī (d. 261/875), collected *ak̲h̲bār*, took an interest in *fiḳh* and in history and learned by heart a considerable quantity of poems, including the entire *dīwāns* of D̲j̲arīr, of al-Farazdaḳ and of D̲h̲u 'l-Rumma. He himself composed some short pieces, mostly in the *g̲h̲azal* genre of amorous poetry, numerous fragments of which have been preserved by Yāḳūt (*ʿUdabāʾ*, i, 257-71) and al-ʿĀmilī (*Aʿyān*, ii, 222-3).

His erudition and his reputation as an upright and rigorous scholar were recognised during his lifetime, and attracted to him a number of pupils, notably including the *faḳīh* and *adīb* al-Nahrawānī (d. 390/1000), the *muḥaddit̲h̲* Ibn S̲h̲ād̲h̲ān (d. 383/993), the biographer and *adīb* al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994), the grammarian Ibn K̲h̲ālawayh (d. 370/980), the lexicographer al-Azharī (d. 370/980), the exegete al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950), the *lug̲h̲awī* Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 382/993), al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967) and the philologist Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī (d. 356/967). The last-named is noted for having cited in his *Amālī* (ed. Dār al-Kutub n.d., i, 23, 30, 47 ff., ii, 83, 110, 191, 199 ff.), hundreds of verses which he had read in Nifṭawayh's presence or had heard recited, with critical comments, by him.

Of the various titles given him by his biographers, it is that of *naḥwī* which is most prominent. The majority of them, with the exception of al-Zubaydī (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 154), credited him, besides his mastery of the linguistic sciences and his integrity in the transmission of *ḥadīt̲h̲s* and in readings of the Ḳurʾān, with an outstanding grammatical ability which earned him admission to the prestigious *ṭabaḳa* which included among other grammarians of renown Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/911), al-Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (d. 311/923) and Abū Bakr al-Anbārī (d. 328/940) (see al-Azharī, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, i, 28; al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, Cairo n.d., iii, 455). Furthermore, they stress that he was neither Baṣran nor Kūfan, but rather an eclectic who blended the two schools (*k̲h̲alaṭa al-mad̲h̲habayn*: *Fihrist*, 121). On the other hand, opinions differed regarding the school of *fiḳh* to which he belonged. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar (*Lisān*, i, 109) and al-ʿĀmilī (*Aʿyān*, ii, 220) classed him among the S̲h̲īʿīs. Al-Farg̲h̲ānī (d. 398/1007), quoted by Yāḳūt (i, 270), relates that he adopted the point of view of the Ḥanbalīs who maintain that the noun is the thing named (*al-ism huwa al-musammā*). For others, more numerous, he was a *ẓāhirī* partisan of the Dāwūdiyya and was regarded as a master of it (*raʾasa fī-hi*; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vi, 130; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *loc. cit.*).

It is highly probable that Nifṭawayh was, in *fiḳh* as in *naḥw*, an eclectic who stood aside from partisan controversies. His close friendship with the eminent Ẓāhirī jurist Ibn Dāwūd (d. 294/907) does not necessarily signify that he was exclusively Ẓāhirī, nor does the fact that the Ḥanbalī al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941) recited the funeral prayers at his burial indicate that he was a master of Ḥanbalism. Regarding other questions, this versatility of mind was superseded by fixed and frankly polemical opinions. Thus he categorically rejected the principle of derivation (*is̲h̲tiḳāḳ*) among the Arabs and accused one of its proponents, the illustrious Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), of having composed his dictionary (*al-D̲j̲amhara*) by altering (*g̲h̲ayyara*) the *Kitab al-ʿAyn* of al-K̲h̲alīl (d. 175/791). Regarding the origin of the language, he declared that Arabic was a natural (*ṭabīʿiyya* = *tawḳīfiyya*), not a conventional (*taʿlīmiyya* = *iṣṭilāḥiyya*) language, and he refuted the Muʿtazilī notion according to which the Ḳurʾān is created.

Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 121) lists fourteen of his works: 1. *K. al-Taʾrīk̲h̲*; 2. *K. al-Iḳtiṣārāt*; 3. *K. G̲h̲arīb al-Ḳurʾān* (a very large book, according to al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, vi, 159); 4. *K. al-Muḳniʿ fi 'l-naḥw*; 5. *K. al-Istit̲h̲nāʾ wa 'l-s̲h̲urūṭ fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt* (var. *Wāfī*, vi, 132, ... *wa 'l-s̲h̲arṭ fi 'l-Ḳurʾān*; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 215: *al-Istīfāʾ fi 'l-s̲h̲urūṭ*); 6. *K. al-Ḳawāfī*; 7. *K. al-Radd ʿalā man ḳāla bi-k̲h̲alḳ al-Ḳurʾān*; 8. *K. al-Mulaḥ*; 9. *K. al-Amt̲h̲āl*; 10. *K. al-S̲h̲ahādāt*; 11. *K. al-Maṣādir*; 12. *K. al-Radd ʿalā man zaʿama anna 'l-ʿArab tas̲h̲taḳḳu 'l-kalām baʿḍahu min baʿḍ*; 13. *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Mufaḍḍal fī naḳḍih ʿalā 'l-K̲h̲alīl*; 14. *Fī anna 'l-ʿArab tatakallamu ṭabʿan lā taʿalluman*.

Yāḳūt revised the list of the *Fihrist* and added three titles to it: *K. al-Amt̲h̲āl fi 'l-Ḳurʾān*, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ* and *K. al-Bāriʿ*. Ibn K̲h̲ayr (*Fahrasa*, 372, 376, 407) mentioned three other titles: *K. Aṭrag̲h̲as̲h̲s̲h̲a* (= "to recover, regain strength", cf. *LA*, root *ṭ-r-g̲h̲-s̲h̲*) *fi 'l-lug̲h̲a*, *Masʾalat subḥān* and *K. al-Amālī*. Finally, Ismāʿil Pas̲h̲a (*Hadiyya*, i, 5) adds a *Ḳaṣīda fī g̲h̲arīb al-lug̲h̲a*.

With the exception of the brief survey (8 folios) *Masʾalat subḥān*, and a work entitled *al-Maḳṣūr wa ʾl-mamdūd* which is attributed to him but is mentioned in none of the biographies, all the other works have been lost. The *Masʾala* has been edited by Y. Muḥ. al-Sawwās, in *RAAD*, lxiv/3 (1989), 361-91, on the basis of the Ẓāhiriyya ms., *madjmūʿa* 79. In it Nifṭawayh examines 32 Ḳurʾānic verses containing the words *subḥān* or *tasbīḥ* and comments on them from a linguistic viewpoint, with the support of numerous examples drawn from ancient poetry, *ḥadīth* and Ḳurʾānic exegesis. As for *al-Maḳṣūr wa ʾl-mamdūd*, Ḥ. Sh. Farhūd believes it to be the work of Nifṭawayh and as such has published it in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb, Djāmiʿat al-Riyāḍ*, iv (1973) (cf. U. Haarman, in *Studia Arabica et Islamica, Festschr. for I. ʿAbbās*, Beirut 1981, 169 n. 31).

The majority of the lost works were known, however, either by the title or by the quotations drawn from them. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī (*Nifṭawayh wa-dawruh fi ʾl-kitāba wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Baghdād, xv [1972], 71-102) gives a list of the quotations which are to be found in literature, without any indication of title (cf. F. Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 149). Certain of these works feature among the sources for *al-Amālī* of al-Ḳālī, for the *Iʿrāb al-Ḳurʾān* of al-Naḥḥās (ed. Ghāzī Zāhid, introd., 15, 48), for the *K. al-Murūdj* of al-Masʿūdī (§§ 11, 2889, 3391), for the *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* of al-Dhahabī (vi, 69, vii, 55, x, 281, 302 ff.) and for *al-Khizāna* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī (ed. ʿA. Muḥ. Hārūn, vi, 458, ix, 146, xiii, 26). Of his numerous recensions, it seems that only two have survived. In one, he edits the *dīwān* of Suḥaym ʿAbd Banī ʾl-Ḥasḥās (ed. Maymanī, introd., 7) and in the other, that of al-Samawʾal (ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1910).

The disappearance of almost all of his literary works cannot fail to raise questions. For, while it is generally accepted that the loss of a great many Arabic books is most often due to the natural or human scourges which have ravaged the Islamic metropolises, it is remarkable that all the works of a writer of Nifṭawayh's versatility should have suffered the same fate. It may be suspected that the loss of his work is to be accounted for, to a certain extent, by the eclecticism of this author in questions of *fiḳh*, his intransigence in questions of language (concerning *ishtiḳāḳ* and the nature of language), his polemics against the Muʿtazila or the absence of one or more disciples dedicated to passing on his teaching.

Furthermore, a point made by Ibn Khayr (*Fahrasa*, 395-6) may provide a partial explanation of the cause of this loss. In effect, he states that al-Ḳālī brought with him from Baghdād to Spain (in 220/942) a large quantity of the recensions and works of al-Nifṭawayh, in addition to those which he had left behind and which had been taken from him in Ḳayrawān.

Bibliography (in addition to the works cited in the text): Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Arabic index, vi, 85; Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, Cairo 1964, i, 27-8; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳat al-naḥwiyyīn wa ʾl-lughawiyyīn*, Cairo 1954, 154; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Beirut 1978, 121; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931, vi, 159-62; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, Saragossa 1893, 395-6, 398 ff; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1950, i, 176-82; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, Cairo 1936, i, 254-72; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1953, vi, 250; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1948, i, 30-1; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1986, xv, 75; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vi, 129-33; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1965, iii, 64, 269 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Beirut 1985, xi, 195; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1932, iii, 250; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1329, i, 109; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326, 187; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Cairo n.d., ii, 299; G. Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 213-15; Brockelmann, S I, 184; Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1951, i, 5; Muḥsin al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1983, ii, 220-3; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 57; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, i, 102; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, index, viii, 149-51.

(Omar Bencheikh)

NĪGDE, modern Turkish form Niğde, a town of south-central Anatolia in a fertile trough between mountainous regions, hence important in earlier times as a station on the trade route connecting Cilicia with the interior of Anatolia and with Sinope on the Black Sea coast. It lies in lat. 37° 58' N. and long. 34° 42' E. at an altitude of 1,250 m/4,100 feet.

The town is first mentioned in the Turkish period; previously, the chief town of the district was Tyana (Ar. Ṭuwāna), but it is probable that the striking hill which commands the important road from Cilicia across the Taurus to Ḳaysāriyye at its entrance to a pass over the mountains had a fortified settlement upon it in the pre-Turkish period. The old place-name may be the origin of the modern one, an older form of which was Nekīde (Yāḳūt, iv, 811, Nakīdā; Ibn Bībī and others, also in inscriptions down to the 10th/16th century, Nakīda; the modern form Nīgde is already found in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 99). In this particular district, some villages have retained their ancient names (Andaval-Andabalis, Melegop-Malakopaia), and considerable numbers of descendants of the original Christian inhabitants survived until the early 20th century (R.M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1916, 16 ff.).

Nīgde is first mentioned in connection with the partition of Saldjūḳ territory among the sons of Ḳilīdj Arslān II (685/1189), when it was allotted as an independent lordship to Arslān Shāh (Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma, in *Rec.*, iv, 11). Nīgde had perhaps previously belonged to the Danishmendids [*q.v.*], but Ewliyā Čelebi, iii, 189, cannot be taken as evidence of this. Kay Kāwūs I granted Nīgde to the Amīr-i Ākhūr Zayn al-Dīn Bashāra (Ibn Bībī, 44), who shortly before his death built the important mosque of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn here (620/1223). In the 7th/13th century Nīgde was the headquarters (*sar-i lashkarī*) of one of the great military districts of the Ṣaldjūḳs. Under Ḳilīdj Arslān IV, Ibn al-Khaṭīr Masʿūd held this office. At first an ally of the all-powerful Muʿīn al-Dīn Parwāne [*q.v.*], with whom he killed the sultan in 662/1264, he endeavoured to remove the young Kay Khusraw III out of the Parwāne's influence and brought him to Nīgde (674/1276). But the help for which he had appealed to Egypt came too late, and he succumbed to the Parwāne, who was supported by the Mongols (Ibn Bībī; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv, 80-1). He built a well in Nīgde opposite the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque (666/1268). Under the Īlkhāns, there ruled in their name, or in the name of their Anatolian governor Eretna, Sunḳur Agha, who is known only from inscriptions and is, it is remarkable to note, not mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Nīgde about 1333 (ii, 286-7, tr. Gibb, ii, 433); he made himself independent after the death of sultan Abū Saʿīd. He gave the town a large mosque, on the wall of which facing the Bezistān is a Persian inscription, in which he grants Christian foreigners exemption from *djizya* and *kharādj* (736/1335). The Saldjūk princess Khudāwand Khātūn, buried in 732/1332 in her splendid *türbe* built in 712/1312, on the other hand, probably did not rule

in Nīgde although she resided there. She was, if the lady buried beside her in 745/1344 was her daughter, the wife of the *amīr* Shudjāʿ al-Dīn, who is mentioned as the father of the lady on her sarcophagus; he ruled, according to al-ʿUmarī (ed. Taeschner, 31), in the Bulghardagh, where a *wilāyet* called Shudjāʿ al-Dīn is still mentioned in Saʿd al-Dīn (i, 517, following Idrīs) and where lies Ulukîshla, which, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Djihān-numā*, 617), was also called Shudjāʿ al-Dīn. After the period of Sunḳur's rule, Nīgde probably passed directly to the Ḳaramānoghlu, who held it against the attacks of the Eretnid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī (*ca.* 781/1379) (ʿAzīz b. Ardashīr, *Bezm u rezm*, 141 ff.). In 792/1390 Nīgde surrendered with other Ḳaramānid towns to the Ottomans, but was restored to the Ḳaramānids, who defended it successfully against Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, lord of Ḳaysāriyye and Siwās (*Bezm u rezm*, 424, 523). After Tīmūr's invasion, the power of the Ḳaramānids extended northwards as far as Deweli Ḳaraḥiṣār, which previously belonged to Ḳaysāriyye itself. Nīgde then ceased to be a frontier town. Apart from a temporary occupation by Mamlūk Egyptian troops in 822/1419 (Weil, v, 146 ff.), it enjoyed peace and prosperity and the special care of the Ḳaramānids, who had one of the bulwarks of their power there till the end of the dynasty. A series of buildings, the first of which not only in time but also in size and quality is the Aḳ Medrese of the year 812/1409, is evidence of their interest in the town. Nīgde surrendered in 875/1470 to the Ottoman general Isḥāḳ Pasha, who had the defences of the town restored. In 878/1473 the Ottoman *sandjaḳ-bey* of Nīgde, Koči Bey, forced Deweli Ḳaraḥiṣār, which still belonged to the Ḳaramānoghlu, to surrender to prince Muṣṭafā. The latter died on the way back at Nīgde (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 517, 550).

The *sandjaḳ* of Nīgde belonging to the *beylerbeylik* of Ḳaramān, contained the *ḳaḍāʾ*s of Ürgüb, Bor, Dewelu, Deweli Ḳaraḥisār and Ulukîshla. In about 1132/1720 the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha transformed his birthplace of Mushkara in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ürgüb into the imposing town of Newshehir [*q.v.*], and the fiefs for the garrisons of the decayed fortresses of Nīgde and Deweli Ḳaraḥisār were transferred to the new foundation (von Hammer, *GOR*^{2}, iv, 250-1). At the end of the Ottoman period, the *sandjaḳ* of Nīgde, to which the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Aḳ Saray also belonged, contained 148,700 Muslims and 49,551 Christians, the latter mainly natives and mostly speaking Turkish. Nīgde was the residence of the metropolitan of Konya. The town numbered at this time 11,526 inhabitants, but in 1927 (after the exchange of populations with Greece) only 9,463.

Nīgde (now on the Kayseri-Ulukışla railway) consists of an upper town running north and south, now largely uninhabited (Tepe Wirāne), at the highest point of which in the north stands the imposing citadel, and the lower town (Shehr altî) which was also once surrounded by a wall. In the upper town is the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque, one of the oldest mosques in Anatolia, with an architect's inscription in Persian. Before the gate of the upper town at its south end is the Gothic-influenced mosque of Sunḳur (*ca.* 1330), showing influences from Little Armenia and Cyprus, and the bazaar. West of and below it is the Ḳaramānid Aḳ Medrese of 812/1409. A little apart to the west of the town, separated by a broad road, running north and south is the modern quarter of Ḳayabashî with a few remains of the old cemetery and a group of *türbes*, among which that of Khudāwand Khātūn from the year 712/1312 is prominent.

Modern Niğde is also the chef-lieu of an *il* or province of the same name; in 1970 the town had a population of 84,427 and the *il*, which has good agricultural land where it can be irrigated, one of 408,684.

Bibliography: Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 839 ff.; *Türkiyyenin ṣiḥḥī we-idjtimāʿī djoghrafiyasî medjmūʿasî*, no. 2, *Nīgde* (1922); A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, i, 1931, 105 (historical and Muslim monuments of Nīgde, Bor and Ulukîshla). — Inscriptions: Khalīl Edhem, in *TOEM*, ii, 747 ff., iii, 821 ff., 873 ff., and A. Tewḥīd, in Gabriel, *op. cit.* — On the Christian monuments of the region see Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 1908; and De Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres de Cappadocie*, 1925. See also Admiralty handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1942-3, ii, 575-6; *İA* art. s.v. (Besim Darkot).

(P. Wittek*)

NIGER, the great river of West Africa, with its source in the southeastern Fūta Djallon [*q.v.*] at an altitude of 800 m/2,624 ft. It runs northeastwards to the Sahara Desert, and then it turns southeastwards before descending southwards and ending in its delta on the Gulf of Guinea, in present-day Nigeria [*q.v.*].

Under the name of al-Nīl, the Niger river appears early in Muslim geographical writing, perhaps first in Ibn al-Faḳīh [*q.v.*], whose *Kitāb al-Buldān* was completed after 290/903. For many centuries, however, Muslim geographical analysis of the river was straitjacketed by widespread deference to the Ptolemaic model linking the Niger to the Nile. The early geographers seem frequently also to have regarded the Niger and Senegal rivers as one and the same. It was the northernmost part of the Niger, the so-called Niger bend (*boucle* in French), flowing eastwards through the desert, which first became known to the outside world in some detail.

Two major centres of trade, political centralisation, and religious change here first attracted Muslim attention, Ghāna [*q.v.*] some distance west of the bend but with its sphere of influence extending to the river, and Gao [*q.v.*] (variously Kūkū, Kawkaw, KRKR, Kāghū, etc.) lying on the river after it has turned south at the eastern tip of the bend. Ghāna and Gao were known in the first half of the 3rd/9th century, even before the Niger. Al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*], who died in 380/990, was perhaps the first to associate Gao with the river; his own work is lost, but Yāḳūt quotes the following passage:

> Kūkū, the name of a people and a country of the Sūdān .... Their king pretends before his subjects to be a Muslim (*yuẓāhir bi 'l-islām*) and most of them pretend to be Muslim too. He has a town on the Nile, on the eastern bank, which is called Sarnāh, where there are markets and trading houses (*matādjir*) and to which there is continuous traffic from all parts. He has another town to the west of the Nile where he and his men and those who have his confidence live. There is a mosque there where he prays but the communal prayer-ground (*muṣallā* [*q.v.*]) is between the two towns. In his own town he has a palace which nobody inhabits with him or has resort to except a eunuch slave (*khādim maḳṭūʿ*). They are all Muslims ...

It seems unclear exactly how much of this is from al-Muhallabī; there is an internal inconsistency concerning the extent of local Islam. The passage, nonetheless, is interesting. The river here is a meeting-point, with markets and trading houses nearby, implying considerable trans-shipment between land and water transport. A religious meeting-point too: the reference to a pretended Islam may indicate "mixed" religion, with Muslim and traditional elements commingled; isolation within the royal palace may echo an earlier (and still surviving?)

divine kingship. The river is at the same time a barrier: Sarnāh, the trading town, is east of the Niger, outside the bend; in another town, on the western, inner bank, the king lives with his own people, with those in whom he has confidence—suggesting that there were some traders and other visitors whom the king mistrusted.

As well as a meeting-point, and a dividing line, the Niger was also a channel of communication. Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī [*q.v.*], writing in or before 460/1068, well described the route from Ghāna to Kawkaw, mentioning markets, agriculture, routes into the desert, and locating pagan Sūdān south of the river, Muslim Berbers to its north. Al-Bakrī places the town of Kawkaw inside the bend, curiously not mentioning any settlement on the opposite bank here. Journeying north and west along the Niger, from Gao back towards Ghāna, al-Bakrī has the traveller encounter the cannibalistic Damdam, whose local religion is described; whether these details are correct or not, they do suggest that the traveller is inside the bend, while the described route from Ghāna to Gao follows the northern, desert bank. Al-Bakrī vividly pictures Gao, comprising two towns, one Muslim, the other the royal residence. During the royal meals, a drum is beaten, women dance, and all business in the town ceases; leftovers are then thrown into the Niger with the courtiers boisterously shouting, the whole clearly indicating pre-Islamic ritual intimately associated with the river. The king is Muslim, "for they entrust the kingship only to Muslims".

The celebrated geographer, al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*], in the mid-6th/12th century, refers often to the Niger, but his double conviction that a branch of the Nile flowed westward across Africa, and that as all civilised life in Egypt depended upon the Nile, so in western Africa all cities must be riverain, makes his account less reliable than al-Bakrī's.

Because of its length (approx. 4,000 km/2,486 miles), difficulties of crossing, occasional rapids obstructing navigation, islands and inundation, and the different climate zones through which it flows, the Niger could also be a refuge. In 1591, with Moroccan invaders threatening the Songhay empire, then the major power on the Niger bend, the clerics of Timbuktu proposed evacuating the city southwards across the river—sound advice turned down because men of religion were judged unfit for counsels of war. An estimated 2,000 boats were available to evacuate Gao, but again no full-scale withdrawal occurred. The Moroccans, having occupied Timbuktu, and desperate for boats, cut down every tree, even stripping houses of their doors. A branch of the legitimate *askiya* dynasty retreated downstream from Gao, to the Dendi region, where, protected by rapids, forest, and the river barrier, an independent Songhay presence successfully survived. Comparable patterns of raiding and sanctuary-seeking, depopulation and repopulation, communication and conflict, recur at divers times and places: Samuel Crowther's 1854 journal, for example, of travel on the lower Niger and the Benue, gives many instances in the aftermath of the Sokoto *djihād*.

The liminal experience of river crossing figures in many accounts of pilgrimage, *djihād*, etc. Abdullahi dan Fodio's *Tazyīn al-waraḳāt* mentions several cases, one of special interest. Describing a raid across the Niger early in the Sokoto *djihād*, the prose version recounts the plucky, and lucky, finding of a practicable ford. The verse recension, coloured by the Ḳurʾān (VII, 160, XX, 77-80, XXVI, 63), elaborates:

When we came to the river it obeyed, parting
To the staff of (divine) assistance, all its creatures obedient,
Its water creatures were turned on their backs,
Their teeth and their fangs broken;
They became for us as food offered to a guest; like game animals they became tractable, and its water
Became like quails and manna—a limpid cup,
Until we returned...

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(H.J. Fisher)

NIGER (The Republic of Niger, La République du Niger, Djumhūriyyat al-Naydjar), a modern state of West Africa, formerly the French colony of that name.

The Niger Republic is, to quote Djibo Mallam Hamani (though specifically of the Ayar Massif, which fills the north of it), a "carrefour du Soudan et de la Berbérie". Its geographical position on the map, and the multi-ethnic character of its societies, has had a profound effect on the Islamic life of the *Nigériens* throughout their history.

1. Geography and peoples

The Niger Republic covers an area of some 1,267,000 km^2. However, 800,000 of these are within the Sahara, much of which is uninhabited or is uninhabitable. The bulk of the remainder of the country is Sahel. It is only along the banks of the Niger river [*q.v.*] (where Niamey, the capital, is located) that there is any intensive cultivation and continuous settlement. Within the Sahara area are found the mountains of Ayar (Aïr [*q.v.*] or Azbin). This massif extends approximately 480 km from north to south and about 240 km from east to west. Within it there is a region of lush vegetation. Its capital is the important city of Agadès (Agadez) and this whole northerly massif contains some 600,000 inhabitants. Niger borders upon Libya and Algeria to the north, Chad to the east, Nigeria to the south and Mali and Burkina Faso, formerly Haute Volta, to the west. The total population of Niger is estimated to number upwards of 6,500,000 people; 97% of them are nominally Muslim, though this has not prevented ethnic tensions. All of them are Sunnīs and are Mālikī in *madhhab*. Some 45% of these are Hausaphone. The remainder are very mixed; Songhai and Zerma comprise 21.2%; Fulanis 13.8%; Tuareg (Tamashegh-speakers), who are largely nomadic, 11.2%; and Kanuri (who border on Lake Chad) 7.5%. Other minorities include Tubu (Teda) in the region of Kawār and Agadem, Gourmantche and Arabophone Awlād Sulaymān, Kunta and Tādjakānt. The wealth of the country is principally in agriculture, in trans-Saharan trade, cattle herding and pastoral nomadism, and in the past, its salt caravans. Recent droughts have devastated the herds. The discovery of uranium at Arlit (in 1965) now makes Niger the world's fifth-largest producer.

2. Islam in Niger

Next to Mauritania [see MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ], Niger is, by repute, the most Islamised of the territories of former

French West Africa. Even so, pockets of paganism survive. For example, the Wodaabe Fulani are still pagan in many of their beliefs and in their practices (see Carol Beckwith and Marion Van Offelen, *Nomads of Niger*, London 1984, and A. Maliki Bonfigliori, *Dudal*, Cambridge-Paris 1988), though belief in magic, in charms, in *d̲j̲inn* and demonic forces is to be found amongst all the *nigérien* communities (see, for example, the *kel esuf* among the Ayar Tuareg, in D. Casajus, *La tente dans la solitude*, Cambridge-Paris 1987). Throughout its Islamic history, Niger has witnessed the growth of Ṣūfī [see TAṢAWWUF] movements of a kind and of a diversity unmatched elsewhere in the Sahelian countries. It has also been sensitive to puritan reformist movements inspired by the works of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Mag̲h̲īlī [*q.v.*], by the teaching of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿUmar D̲j̲ibrīl, by the Sokoto *d̲j̲ihād* of Shehu ʿUt̲h̲mān dan (b.) Fodio (Fūdī) [*q.v.*] and by reformers inspired by the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*]. The Tuareg scholar community (*inesleman*) has played a major rôle in composing literary works in Arabic, or in religious verse in Arabic and Tamas̲h̲eg̲h̲, out of all proportion to their meagre numbers (see below).

When Niger became independent in 1960, it was established as a secular republic. In the 1970s it sought closer ties with the Arab World. On August 15 1974, steps were taken to constitute a Niger Islamic association and plans were pursued to found an Islamic university. This has now been established at Say, south of Niamey. Students from all over Muslim West Africa are taught there. *Nigérien* students have been sent to study in the Arab East, and there is constant encouragement to teach classical Arabic at all levels. According to J.-L. Triaud, *Islam and state in the Republic of Niger (1974-81)*, in *Islam and the state in the world today*, ed. O. Carré, New Delhi 1987, 253, "The new regime has drawn from this Arabized group to fill high level posts in the Islamic structure. The students have in general received a solid grounding in Arabic and religious studies. They embody a position which could be termed 'moderate reformism', based on openness to the outside world, refusal of superstition and unsophisticated practices and opposition to simplistic or fanatical formulations. The creation of the Islamic Association is in many ways an alliance between the central power and these reformist leaders against little local Marabouts or against the activism of certain fundamentalist tendencies".

3. An outline of the important phases of Islamic history in Niger

Islam has become integrated into the life of the *nigériens* over the centuries through a gradual process of Islamisation. It has produced a number of Arabic scholars and poets worthy of a place beside those from Timbuctoo in Mali, or from several towns in Mauritania. The following periods, religious leaders, regions, cities and events, have played a key part in determining that Islamisation:

(a) The earliest encounters between the Arabs, led by the Companion, and commander 'Uḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*] and the inhabitants of the oases of Kawār, on the Fazzān border. This was followed by commercial contacts between the communities of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] in the Fazzān and towards the region of Ayar (see, in particular, K. Vikør, *The Oasis of Salt, the history of Kawar, a Saharan centre of salt production*, Bergen 1979, 97-111). Vikør furnishes a useful selection of passages from important Arab geographers (159-76 together with English translation) including Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 258/871-2), al-Yaʿḳūbī (wrote 278/891), al-Bakrī (wrote 460/1067-8), al-Idrīsī (wrote 548-1154), Yāḳūt (wrote 621/1224), Ibn al-At̲h̲īr (d. 630/1233), Ibn Saʿīd (wrote 638/1240) and al-Ḥarrānī (wrote *ca.* 1330). (See also T. Lewicki, *Etudes maghrébines et soudanaises*, i, Warsaw 1976, 59-60.)

(b) The establishment of Berber Massūfa Ṣanhād̲j̲a (who originated in Mauritania and Mali) centres in the vicinity of Takaddā (Teggidan Tesemt/Azelik), and later within the Ayar massif itself. The area was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*], in 754/1353, who mentions the names of two *ḳāḍīs*. Two noted scholars from Takaddā and its satellite Anū Ṣamman were al-ʿĀḳib b. ʿAbd Allāh, d. after 955/1548-9, and al-Nad̲j̲īb b. Muḥammad, d. after 1004/1595-6. Both of them wrote substantial works on the *Muk̲h̲taṣar* of al-K̲h̲alīl and left other religious compositions (see J.O. Hunwick, *The Central Sūdān before 1800, biographies and bibliographies*, in *Arabic literature in Africa*, no. 1, Northwestern University, Evanston 1985, 23-41). The great Algerian reformer ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Mag̲h̲īlī [*q.v.*] allegedly visited this area for a while on his way to Gao.

(c) The religious significance of the foundation of the Agadès sultanate, recognised by the caliphate, in the 15th century, its supplanting of Takaddā, its temporal subordination to the Askias and to Borno, its rôle as a clearing house for trans-Saharan commerce and its growth as a focus and haven for scholars who were in touch with D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] by correspondence, and who visited the Arab East. Each and all made an impact on more southerly areas of Niger.

(d) The establishment of Ḳādiriyya lodges in Ayar, for example, at Agalal and in Agadès city. Other Ṣūfī orders followed. Prominent amongst them was the Shād̲h̲iliyya. Evidence of a S̲h̲ād̲h̲ilī presence in the city of Agadès in the mid-17th century may be found in the biography of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿUt̲h̲mān b. al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī al-Ḥuḍayrī whose compositions are cited in a manuscript (now being edited in Libya), of a work attributed to Aḥmad al-Dardīr al-Ḥuḍayrī. It contains the biographies of leading Fazzānī scholars. A specifically Tuareg and Fulani order that was founded by a little-known Oriental darwīsh, Sīdī Maḥmūd al-Bag̲h̲dādī, martyred in the early 16th century, has become the focal point of Ayar Ṣūfīsm in general. He would appear to have been an eclectic divine (the only Maḥmūdiyya found elsewhere is a sub-order of the Nuḳṭawiyya dating from about the same period, though it is to be doubted whether there can be any connection). Later, both the local Suhrawardiyya and the K̲h̲alwatiyya adopted, adapted and possibly "sanitised" many of the teachings and practices (*ādāb*) that were handed down in the Maḥmūdiyya.

Ṣūfīsm spread from Ayar into adjacent Azawag̲h̲, and at a later date into the Imanan canton, in Zerma country, and to a Ṣūfī *zāwiya* established, under Borno's aegis, at Kalumbardo, near Lake Chad, though within Niger's existing borders. In Agadès city, the sultanate attracted scholars and sustained a number of *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ* who were revered amongst the city's mixed population.

(e) The reform movement of the Agadès-born D̲j̲ibrīl b. ʿUmar (died after 1198/1784). He visited Egypt and Mecca and his pupils included S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Fūdī. The latter at a later date criticised his master's view that one who commits a grave sin (*kabīra*) becomes an unbeliever, a view that was akin to that used by earlier petty Tuareg *mud̲j̲āhidūn* from the Iborkarayan and Aït Awari in the region, in order to justify their razing of Ṣūfī centres in villages of Azawag̲h̲ and Ayar.

(f) The Sokoto *d̲j̲ihād* itself, during which the

Islamic movement embraced large Hausa areas of Southern Niger, especially Gobir, the Agadès sultanate, the Aït Awari (where Muḥammad al-Djaylānī their leader tried to settle his followers) and other Tuareg groups such as the Kel Geres. The Hausa and Zarma river areas were subject to inroads from the Iwillimmeden Tuareg whose "chaplains", the Kelessuk, were often adepts of the Kunta Ḳādiriyya and who habitually fabricated charms and potions and who issued *fatwās* and composed sermons.

(g) Sanūsī [*q.v.*] penetration into northern Niger from 1870 onwards. The revolt and struggle of Kaoussen against the French in Agadès and Ayar, were backed by German-Turkish military sponsors based in the Fazzān. The consequences of the French expedition, mounted from Zinder in 1906, and which achieved the defeat of Kaoussen's *mudjāhidūn* in 1916, was to lead to a mass emigration of population from Ayar and major destruction of its Muslim centres (see F.R. Rodd, *People of the veil*, London 1926, A. Salifou, *Kaoussan ou la révolte sennoussiste*, in *Etudes Nigériennes*, no. 33, Niamey 1973, and F. Fuglestad, *A history of Niger, 1850-1960*, Cambridge 1983).

(h) The current Islamic revival; this has included a Khalwatiyya headquarters in Ayar at Egandawel (accompanied by an agricultural settlement at Tabellot-Akririb) inspired by a revivalist, Mūsā Abatūl, a resurgence of Islamic practice in Agadès (see Aboubacar Adamou, *Agadez et sa région*, in *Etudes Nigériennes*, no. 44, 318-21), and growth of the Niassist Tidjāniyya amongst Hausa and Zerma, led by Shaykh al-Ḥādjdj Abū Bakar, from Kiota, near Dosso, who married a daughter of the master, from Kaolack in Senegal. The Niassists, the *madrasa* at Say, neo-Wahhābīsm, fundamentalism, and the Niger Islamic Association, and the reformist movement, strong around Maradi, aiming at an increase of wealth, and the building of *madrasas*, known as *izāla* (*djamāʿat izālat al-bidʿa wa-iḳāmat al-sunna*) to name the most important centres of power, all make a significant contribution or compete for the souls of the Muslims in Niger today.

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NIGERIA, the largest of the West African coastal states.

i. Modern Nigeria

Nigeria was put together in 1914 from the former British protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria, to become the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. It is bounded in the south by the Gulf of Guinea, in the west by Benin, in the north by Niger, in the north-east by Chad [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and in the east by Cameroon. The administrative capital is Abuja. The chief towns include Lagos, Ibadan, Ilorin, Kano and Sokoto. The population as at 1984 was 88,148,000 in an area of 923,768 km²/356,574 sq. mls. This comprises more than 250 tribal groups, of which the largest are the Hausas [see HAUSA], the Fulani [see FULBE] and the Kanuri of Bornū [*q.v.*], in the north; the Yorubas in the south-west; and the Ibos in the east.

The terrain encompasses the sandy shoreline and mango swamps of the coast, behind which lies a belt of tropical rain forest. This gradually gives way to orchard savannah as one moves north, to the area of Zaria. From there on the country becomes progressively drier and more barren until one reaches the thin scrub savannah and the near-desert conditions of the immediate sub-Saharan north.

Nigeria has numerous rivers, of which the Niger [*q.v.*], the Benue and the Gongola have been historically important. The coastal areas have two rainy seasons. The highest annual rainfall exceeds 2,500 mm/100 ins. This decreases the farther north one travels. The northern dry season extends from October to April and is the time of the harmattan, the hot, dust-laden wind from the Sahara.

The main religions of Nigeria are Islam (*ca.* 50%);

Christianity (*ca.* 34%) and a receding African animism.

A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, in his *The linguistic statistics of northern Nigeria: a tentative presentation*, in *African language review*, vi (1967), 75-101, lists some fifty-three "'Other' northern languages" in addition to Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri (of Bornū), Tiv, Nupe and Yoruba that were still spoken in northern Nigeria *ca.* 1952. The total number of languages spoken in the whole of Nigeria has been put at 250. Hausa, Yoruba, Edo and Ibo are now the most widely used indigenous tongues. English is the official language of the present Federal Republic of Nigeria, although there is strong pressure in the north for Hausa to be adopted as the national language. The minor northern vernaculars, some of which are confined to individual villages, are becoming extinct, replaced mainly by Hausa.

On 1 October 1954, the Federation of Nigeria was established under British tutelage. It consisted of an Eastern Region, a Western Region and a Northern Region, together with the Southern Cameroons and the Federal Territory of Lagos. The Federation was granted independence on 1 October 1960, within the British Commonwealth. It consisted of Northern Nigeria, Western Nigeria, Eastern Nigeria and the Federal Territory of Lagos. In 1963 it became the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Nigeria experienced widespread disturbances, a military coup and then a civil war during the period from 1966 to 1970. During this time the Republic of Biafra was declared in the former Eastern Region. It surrendered to the Federal Republic in 1970, at the end of the civil war. After a further period of military rule, a return to parliamentary government based on democratic elections was cut short by a military coup in 1983, followed by another in 1985. The Federal Republic is at present governed by a President with an Armed Forces Ruling Council, which appoints a Council of Ministers. In 1985 it comprised 19 states and a federal capital district. In 1991 the number of states was increased to 30.

Nigeria had a varied and mainly agricultural economy until oil production began in the late 1950s. This gave rise to an oil boom. It was short-lived. The country later suffered from the drop in world oil prices and sustained a damaging revaluation of its currency.

The recent general history of Nigeria, up to and including the declaration of independence, is most conveniently available in Sir Alan Burn's *History of Nigeria*, eighth revised edition, London 1972.

The following sections of this article will set out briefly the course and extent of the adhesion to Islam of certain non-Hausa peoples of Nigeria; and will consider recent trends in Islam in Nigeria.

ii. The *Banza Bakwai*

The modern Hausas believe they spring from seven traditional Hausa states, the *Hausa Bakwai* [see HAUSA]. They also distinguish seven neighbours—the *Banza Bakwai*, the "Bastard Seven"—not of Hausa stock, who have supposedly adopted the Hausa language and way of life, and with whom their history has been continuously involved. They are the people of Zamfara, Kebbi, Yauri, the Yorubas, the Nupes, the Kwararafas and the Gwaris. These people are now, for the most part, drawn together with the Hausas within modern Nigeria.

The kingdom of Zamfara was located north-west of present Zaria, between Kebbi and Kano. Islam was introduced there, reputedly in the 11th/17th century. It probably came as a consequence of Zamfara's involvement in the trans-Saharan and sub-Saharan trade. The so-called "Fulani" *djihād* overtook Zamfara early in the 13th/19th century. Its trading pre-eminence thereupon declined. It became absorbed into the Islamic empire of Sokoto [*q.v.*].

The ancient kingdom of Kebbi, located north-west of Zamfara, may have come under Islamic influences during the hegemony of the Songhay empire. Its ruling family had accepted Islam by 921/1515. Its inclusion among the *Banza Bakwai* is tenuous. For the Kebbawa appear to have used Hausa only as a trade language; while their claim to Islam is as ancient as that of the Hausas.

Yauri lies south-east of Kebbi, astride the route to the gold-bearing regions of the Volta. By 1025/1616 it seems that Muslim-Hausa traders were settled in the kingdom. Under their influence the Yaurawa were won over to Islam by the end of the 11th/17th century.

The Yorubas dwell south-west of the Niger-Benue confluence. They are yet more doubtful candidates to be regarded as *Banza Bakwai* than even the Kebbawa. They retain their ancestral tongue to this day. They use Hausa only as a *lingua franca*. Their Islam, though incomplete, has ancient roots. It surely stems from the Mandingo empire of Mali [*q.v.*], that reached its Islamic apogee in the 8th/14th century. This is reflected in the Yoruba word for a Muslim—*Imale*. Subsequent Yoruba history has included a tussle between the ancient cult of Oduduwa, centred on Ile-Ife, and an intrusive Islam from the north. A substantial Muslim community had developed among the Yorubas by *ca.* 1078/1667. As a result of political rivalries within the Yoruba empire of Oyo [*q.v.*], an Islamic party revolted against the traditional authority early in the 13th/19th century. Consequently, most Yorubas were drawn into the aftermath of the Islamic *djihād* [*q.v.* and also MUDJĀHID] in the north and were formally incorporated into the empire of Sokoto, as the emirate of Ilorin, in 1246/1831. But other Yorubas remained outside the emirate, in Lagos and elsewhere. They have continued to be subject to Islamic influences, none the less.

Islam is less complete among the Yorubas than it is among the northern Hausas and Fulani. Many are Christians, or adhere to the ancestral belief system. It is not uncommon to find Muslims and Christians in the same Yoruba extended family.

The Nupes, located within the northern angle of the Niger-Benue Confluence, resemble the Yorubas in their continuing attachment to an ancestral cult and language. They were in trading contact with the Muslim Hausas as early as the 9th/15th century, and have experienced Islam from that point on. Yet there is no firm evidence of the official adoption of Islam among them until early in the second half of the 12th/18th century. Thereafter, there is evidence of a swing back to the traditional belief system among some Nupes, later in the century. In modern times, Islam has become stronger among them; but not all Nupes are Muslims, even today.

The Kwararafas are a warlike people inhabiting the Gongola and Benue valleys. They have been traditional enemies of the Hausas to their north. A Muslim tradition among them cherishes a fantastic legend of origin in Yemen, which echoes the *Sīra* [*q.v.*] story of the Prophet's letters to erstwhile hostile neighbours, calling them to Islam. It is surely an importation of visiting Muslims. It is as likely to reflect Kwararafa hostility to the Muslim Hausas as any conversions to Islam. It probably arose *ca.* 905/1500, as a result of the establishing of Islam in Zaria at that time. Despite their improbable legend of origin, Islam has until recently made scant impression upon the Kwararafas. Up until *ca.* 1370/1950, they remained substantially

committed to polytheism. However, more recent pressures for a uniform, Sunnī, Mālikī Islam throughout northern and riverain Nigeria now impinge upon them.

The Gwaris are scattered in the country of southern Zaria. Their Islam is of uncertain date and tenuous substance. Some venerate an *Allah Bango*, "Allah-of-the-book-boards", surely a reference to the presence of literate Hausa *malams* (Hausa = *ᶜulamāʾ*) among them. Another of their deities is "Sheshu" or "Shekohi", probably reflecting Hausa "Shehu" (*shaykh*) ᶜUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*]. Yet another is "Mama", alias, no doubt, Muḥammad. While the origin of these Islamic fragments is uncertain, their most likely provenance is the Muslim drive south that followed the 13th/19th-century *djihād* in northern Nigeria. As is frequent among the Muslim Hausas' smaller neighbours, a reformist, Sunnī Islam has recently pushed aside most of what obtained before it. Islamic names and the ubiquitous Hausa *riga*, the Muslim gown, now make most Gwaris—at any rate in the towns and villages—indistinguishable from the surrounding Hausas.

This account, a more detailed version of which will be found in M. Hiskett's *The development of Islam in West Africa*, London and New York 1984, 110-19, covers most of the non-Hausa peoples of present Nigeria. There remain the Fulani [see FULBE], Borné [*q.v.*], the Ibos, *et alii*, of the former Eastern Region and certain smaller, animist groups such as the Dakarkaris and the Plateau people.

iii. Recent trends in Islam in Nigeria

Lugard's amalgamation of Southern and Northern Nigeria resulted in bundling the Ibos, Ibibios and other non-Muslim peoples of what, during the colonial period, was known as the Eastern Region, together with the Muslim northerners , in one federation. These people had remained untouched by Islam—except as potential slaves—up to the colonial occupations. Many had by this time become protégés of Christian missionaries from the Coast. They were mainly Roman Catholics. They continued under missionary tutelage until Nigerian independence, the civil war, the oil boom and a series of military coups, brought about sweeping changes.

During the colonial period these inveterate petty traders from the east flocked north in the train of the British. Because of their missionary education many became minor civil servants. They set up *Sabon Garis* "New Towns", outside the northern Muslim cities. With Nigerian independence approaching, they became the victims of ethnic and religious hostility on the part of the Muslim northerners, which their own posturing prior to the declaration of Biafra did nothing to diminish. Immediately before the outbreak of the civil war, a mass exodus of Ibos from the north, back to the east, took place, against the background of an ugly blood bath.

After the civil war, and in the more congenial atmosphere of the Nigerian oil boom, Ibos and other easterners returned to the north, as traders and in certain professional capacities that ranged from bank clerk to lecturer in the new northern Nigerian universities. However, they faced different conditions from those that had obtained under the British colonial administration. For there was among radical northern Muslims a wide consensus that such returning easterners should subscribe to Islam, as a condition of their new acceptability in the Muslim north. This was not official and was seldom openly expressed. It was, however, the unspoken extension of the policy of "Northernisation" that the old Northern Region had officially adopted during the terminal days of the colonial administration, and continued ever since. While Christian enclaves of eastern and Coastal Nigerians remain in northern townships, there are, nonetheless, an increasing number of "Musas", "Muhammadus", "Aliyus" *et alii* in northern Nigeria who, apart from such names and the Hausa-Muslim *riga*, display all the characteristics of a southern, Coastal Christian mission upbringing. How significant such conversions of convenience may be, is questionable. Nonetheless, they represent a widening of Islamic influence.

Such pressures have a precedent. From *ca.* 1380/1960 to his assassination in 1385/1966, the Sardauna of Sokoto, then Premier of the Northern Region, pursued a policy of "Islamisation", the purpose of which was to persuade—or coerce—all indigenous northern Nigerian peoples to accept Islam. It had the fervour of "Djihād of the Heart" behind it. It also involved some harassment, as well as bribery, of residual animist groups such as the Dakarkaris and the Plateau people. And it convinced, or allowed certain Ibo army officers to claim, that the Sardauna was preparing Holy War against all non-Muslims. This then became part of their justification for declaring an independent Biafra. In the event, the Sardauna's campaign resulted in widespread nominal conversions, in which chiefs, village heads, etc., adopted Islamic names in addition to their traditional ones. This was taken as sufficient to establish the Islam of their people as a whole. Once again, it is questionable how deep such mass "conversions" go. But certainly the Sardauna's essay after the hearts and minds of his non-Muslim countrymen has been a precedent after the renewal of which in a more thoroughgoing fashion, northern Muslim radicals now hanker. They enjoy some support in this among certain Yoruba Muslims.

The period from the end of the Second World War to the granting of northern independence in 1960, is known to the Hausas as *Zamanin siyasa*, "The Time of Politics". It saw the rise of Nigerian political parties, superficially resembling those of the British parliamentary system. In fact, the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) was identified with the interests of the aristocratic Fulani emirates and the "Native Authority" (NA) system that sustained them. It advocated a modified Islamic theocracy for independent northern Nigeria. This party was challenged in the north by the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), ostensibly mimicking the European left but also representing the ancient antagonism of Hausa commoners towards their Fulani overlords; and pursuing a tradition of Islamic dissidence. It was closely associated with the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] *ṭarīka*, that had, hitherto, reflected this dissidence. Both parties vied with one another in their claims to represent the true Islam, and excoriated the other for betraying that Islam. By and large, the establishmentarian NPC had the better of the radical NEPU, a consequence, no doubt, of the prevailing ethos of Sunnī, Mālikī conservatism at that time. Their tussle produced a plethora of ding-dong Hausa political verse, admirably recorded by Haruna Abdullahi Birniwa (*Conservatism and dissent; a comparative study of NPC/NPN and NEPU/PRP Hausa political verse from circa 1946 to 1983*, PhD thesis, University of Sokoto, Nigeria 1987, unpubl.).

The Nigerian civil war, the oil boom and the military administrations shattered the old Islamic party lineaments and created new interests and alliances. While the People's Redemption Party

(PRP), launched in 1978, continued to reflect certain attitudes of the old NEPU, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), founded in the same year, had a more Federal base. It represented Christian-Yoruba and other minority-Christian interests, as well as those of the Muslim Hausas. Moreover, it eschewed Islamic theocracy. But the party system was short-lived in Nigeria. Under the military, party politics were banned. What has taken their place is a division between modernists and moderates on the one hand, who favour a democratic, pluralist federation; and on the other, Muslim iconoclasts who want no more truck with democracy and call for the north to return to Islamic theocracy. As the banners of radical-Muslim campus demonstrators put it, on the eve of the fall of the egregious Shagari administration on 31 December 1983, "Democracy is unbelief! We do not want a constitution! We want government by the Koran alone!" It is surely the military administration alone that keeps this tendency at bay.

Some recent scholarly comment has suggested that polygyny in Islam has given way to monogamy, as education and emancipation have their influence upon Muslim women. The assumption is unsafe in the case of Nigeria. Here, undoubtedly, some loosening of purdah has occured. Muslim women in Kano, Sokoto and elsewhere, teach in schools and universities and fulfil other professional roles. But there are unspoken conditions. Virtually all are married. They are expected to deport themselves with exemplary Islamic modesty. They are indeed educated. Some are university graduates. But this greater freedom has led them to see themselves not as victims of the Islamic system but as its articulate defenders. Most of them uphold Islamic polygyny within the strict construction of the Mālikī *madhhab*, and contrast what they regard as the admirable stability of the Muslim extended family with the decline of the Western nuclear family, the growth of the "one-parent family", abortion and the rest, which frankly horrify them.

As for the men, especially the Muslim academics to whom the growth of universities in the north has given considerable influence, many are among the most ardent advocates of polygyny, though once again with due regard for the law. They regard it as essential to defend an Islamic way of life, increasingly threatened by secularism. Whatever may be happening elsewhere in the Islamic *umma*, the decline of polygyny in northern Nigeria is not evident.

Expatriate Europeans have been largely replaced in northern Nigeria by Muslims from Pakistan, Egypt and the Republic of the Sudan, who now work as university lecturers, educationists, agriculturalists and in other roles once filled by Europeans. Some turn out to be tutors in an Islamic radicalism that resembles the popular notion of "fundamentalism". Especially influential have been Egyptian disciples of the *Ikhwān al-muslimīn* [*q.v.*]. Though an older generation of Sunnī, Mālikī *malams* still fights shy of such immoderation, a younger generation of Muslim activists has taken to it fervently. The Hausa Muslim tendency known as the *'Yan Izala* broadly mimics the stance of the Saudi Wahhābiyya.

The Middle East imbroglio, through the rise of Khomeini (al-Khumaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) to the seizure of the Masdjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca in 1400/1979, had its repercussions in northern Nigeria. For, while the conservative Sunnī *malams* were chary of what was a largely Shīʿī enthusiasm, the activists had no such hesitations. In this they received encouragement from certain expatriate Muslims. For in the ardour of the times, these Sunnī radicals were ready to side with Shīʿīs they might otherwise have execrated. Likewise, President Muʿammar al-Ḳadhdhāfī (Gaddafi) became an object of radical Muslim admiration, until his meddling in Chad turned Nigerian sentiment against him. Indeed, many Nigerian Christians joined with their Muslim countrymen in hailing both al-Khumaynī and al-Ḳadhdhāfī. They thus illustrated the way in which so-called Islamic fundamentalism and more generalised third-world sentiment converge at many points.

The most spectacular Nigerian concomitant to the seizure of the Grand Mosque of Mecca and all it represented, was the gruesome Mai Tatsine riots that disturbed northern Nigeria from 1980 to 1984. This eruption, widely misunderstood as just another outbreak of Iranian-style Islamic radicalism, had complex origins. It is best described as a manifestation of traditional Islamic messianism—21 November 1979 marked the beginning of A.H. 1400, a fact that excited many Nigerian Muslims to apocalyptic expectations—mixed with resurgent African animism that was wholly un-Islamic. Thus the protests of outraged Sunnī *malams* that this was not Islam but downright *kafirci* (Hausa "unbelief"). An assessment of these events by M. Hiskett will be found in *The Mai Tatsine riots in Kano, 1980: an assessment*, in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, xvii/3 (1987), 209-23.

By 1985 the lid was still held down firmly on what seemed at that time to be a cauldron of Islamic militancy in Nigeria, by the Military Administration. This Administration's policy of increasing the number of states, which enjoy considerable internal autonomy, is apparently intended to reduce ethnic and religious tensions as far as is possible. It remains to be seen whether it will prove successful in restraining the Islamic radicalism that undoubtedly exists among northern Muslims.

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Much of the most valuable work on recent developments in Islam in Nigeria will be found in unpublished MA and PhD dissertations. Birniwa's work, cited above, not only provides primary source material in the form of Hausa verse; it also includes an acute analysis of the history of the northern Nigerian political parties. Muhammad Sani Aliyu's *Shortcomings in Hausa society as seen by representative Hausa Islamic poets*, MA thesis, Bayero University, Kano 1983 unpubl., throws light on the *malam*'s reactions to secularism; Samaila Mohammed's *Some aspects of the culture and institutions of the Dakarkari people examined in the light of their contiguity with the Hausa people*, MA thesis, Bayero University, Kano 1982 unpubl., is an admirable study of contacts between the Muslim Hausas and an animist society; Abdullahi Bayero Yahya's *A critical anthology of the verse of Aljaji Bello Gidawa*, MA thesis, Bayero University, Kano 1983 unpubl., enshrines valuable source material for studying the genesis of NPC. (M. Hiskett)

NIGHT WATCHMAN [see ʿasas].

NIHĀL ČAND LĀHAWRĪ, Indian man of letters, Hindū by religion, was born in Dihlī, but left it in early life and went to Lahore where he lived for a considerable time. Owing to this circumstance he called himself Lāhawrī. Search for a livelihood led him to Calcutta. Here he was introduced to Dr. J.B. Gilchrist, who asked him to translate into *Hindī rek͟hta* the story of Tād͟j al-Mulūk and Bakāwalī. He consented, and thus became one of the famous band of Fort William translators. He made the translation from *Gul-i Bakāwalī*, a Persian rendering by S͟hayk͟h ʿIzzat Allāh, 1772, of an old Hindī story, which has been reproduced in Urdu verse by Dayā S͟hankar Kawl Nasīm [*q.v.*], in his well-known *mat͟hnawī Gulzār-i Nasīm*.

Nihāl Čand called his work *Mad͟hhab-i ʿis͟hk*. It is in very good prose mixed with verse. The title gives the date 1217/1802. Apart from the above-mentioned facts, nothing is known about the writer.

Bibliography: M. Yaḥyā Tanhā, *Siyar al-muṣannifīn*, i, 117-19; Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature hindouie et hindoustanie*, 2nd ed. Paris 1870, ii, 468-70; T. Grahame Bailey, *A short history of Urdu literature*, Oxford 1931, 82; R.B. Saksena, *Hist. of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 249. (T.G. Bailey)

NIHĀWAND, a town in the Zagros Mountains of western Persia, in the mediaeval Islamic province of D͟jibāl [*q.v.*], situated in lat. 34° 13' N. and long. 48° 21' E. and lying at an altitude of 1,786 m/5,860 feet. It is on the branch of the Gāmāsāb which comes from the south-east from the vicinity of Burūd͟jird; the Gāmāsāb then runs westwards to Bisūtūn. Nihāwand lies on the southern road which, coming from Kirmāns͟hāh (Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 198), leads into central Persia (Iṣfahān) avoiding the massif of Alwand (ʼΟροωτης) which rises to the west of Hamad͟hān. Hence the importance of the town in the wars of Persia with her western neighbours.

The French excavations of 1931 (Contenau) showed that the site of Nihāwand was inhabited from prehistoric times. The ceramics ("I-bis style") which have been found there, seem to be older than those of style I and II of Susa. Ptolemy, VI, 2, knows of Νιφαυάνδα and according to Ibn Faḳīh, 258, the town already existed before the Deluge. In the Sāsānid period the district of Nihāwand seems to have formed the fief of the Kārin family (al-Dīnāwarī, 99). There was a fire-temple there. According to Ibn Faḳīh, 259, there could be seen on the mountains near Nihāwand two figures of snow in the form of a bull and a fish (similar talismans are said to have existed at Bitlīs also, cf. the steles of *wis͟hap* ("dragons", protectors of waters) in Armenia west of Lake Sewan which combine these symbols, *Zap.*, xxiii/3 [1916], 409). The same legend is reflected in the name of the river Gāmāsāb (*Gāw-māsī-āb* = "water of the bull and fish"; *māsī* is the Kurdish form of the Persian *māhī*).

Among the products of Nihāwand, the Arab authors mention willow wood which was used for polo-sticks (*ṣawālid͟ja*), aromatic reeds (*ḳaṣabat al-d͟harīra* or *al-ḳumḥa al-ʿirāḳiyya*) which were used like *ḥanūṭ* (a perfume put in coffins) and black clay used as wax for sealing letters. The district of Rūdrāwar [*q.v.*] was under Nihāwand (cf. de Morgan, *Mission*, ii, 136: *Rūdīlāwar*) and was famous for its abundance of saffron (al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, 199). For a list of the places more or less dependent on Nihāwand, cf. Schwarz, *Iran*, 505-9. In the Mongol period, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* mentions three districts of Nihāwand: Malāyir (now Dawlatābād), Isfīd͟hān (= Isbīd͟hahān, see below) and D͟jahūḳ.

Near Nihāwand was fought the famous battle which decided the fate of the Iranian plateau and in which the Kūfī commander al-Nuʿmān b. Muḳarrin defeated the Sāsānid generals. The commander-in-chief is given different names: D͟hu 'l-Ḥād͟jibayn Mardāns͟hāh (cf. al-Balād͟hurī, 303 n. *e*; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 113 identifies him with the *darikpet* K͟hurrazād) of Fīrūzān (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2608; the latter also gives the names of his generals: Zarduḳ, Bahman D͟jādōya and the commander of the cavalry Anūs͟haḳ). The Arab camp was at Isbīd͟hahān and that of the Persians at Wāyk͟hurd (?). The sources do not agree about the date: Sayf b. ʿUmar (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2615-19) gives the end at the year 18/639 or the beginning of 19/640 (cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 1899, 97), while Ibn Isḥāḳ, Abū Maʿs͟har and al-Wāḳidī, followed by Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv, 1911, 474-504, put the battle in 21/642.

The district of Nihāwand (formerly called Māh-Bahrād͟hān or Māh-Dīnār) was finally incorporated in the possessions of the Baṣrans and called Māh Baṣra ("the Media of Baṣra"; al-Balād͟hurī, 306).

Nihāwand is often mentioned in the period of the wars between the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans. In 998/1589 at the beginning of the reign of ʿAbbās I, the Ottoman vizier Čig͟hāle-zāde [*q.v.*] built a fortress at Nihāwand (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 372). After the death of Murād IV, a rebellion took place among the garrison of Nihāwand; the Ottomans were driven out by the S͟hīʿī inhabitants. As a result, in 1012/1603 war again broke out with Turkey (*ibid.*, 440). In the spring of 1142/1730 Nādir S͟hāh [*q.v.*] took Nihāwand again from the Turks.

In modern Persia, Nihāwand is the chef-lieu (population in 1960, 26,452) of a *s͟hahrastān* of the same name (population 70,000) in the fifth *ustān* or province of Kurdistān.

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Caliphate, 196-7; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, i, 498-509, index; G. Conteneau and R. Ghirshman, *Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Tépé-Giyān, près de Néhavand, 1931*, in *Syria* (1933), 1-11; Admiralty handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 368; Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, v, 460-2; A. Noth, *Isfahan-Nihawand, eine quellenkritische Studie zur frühislamischen Historiographie*, in *ZDMG*, cxviii (1968), 274-96; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*, London 1972, 115; W. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 180-1, 208.

(V. Minorsky)

NIHĀWANDĪ, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī b. Abī Bakr Kurd, Indo-Muslim historian of the Mughal period (978-after 1046/1570-after 1637). Of Kurdish origin from Djūlak near Nihāwand [*q.v.*], he served the Ṣafawids as a tax official and eventually became a *wazīr* in the administration. But then he fell from grace, and like many Persians of his age, decided to migrate to India, and entered the service of the Khān-i Khānān [*q.v.*] Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, one of Akbar's generals, subsequently holding official posts in the Deccan and Bihār. The Khān-i Khānān asked him to write a biography of himself, the *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī*, completed by ʿAbd al-Bāḳī in 1025/1616 (ed. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1910-31) an important source for the period, which also contains a history of Muslim India in his own and previous times, starting with the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Storey, i, 522-3, 1315.

(C.E. Bosworth)

NIHĀYA (a.), a term of Islamic philosophy which (together with its negation *mā lā nihāya lahu*) is entirely governed by its lexical meaning. Ibn Manẓūr, in *LA*, defines it thus: "the extremity (*ghāya*) and final limit (*ākhir*) of a thing; and this is because its final limit prevents it from being prolonged (*yanhā-hu ʿan al-tamādī*), so that it is stopped (*fa-yartadiʿ*)". This definition of *nihāya* is based on its etymology, since the verb *nahā* means "to forbid". The *nihāya* is thus that which forbids access to something beyond a certain limit. Ibn Manẓūr explains the Ḳurʾānic phrase *sidrat al-muntahā* (LIII, 14) by saying that it is the lotus "which one reaches by arriving at it and which one does not go beyond (*wa-lā yutadjāwaz*)".

This concept of not going beyond can apply to such realities as time, space and the division of bodies. Does time have a limit in the past (an original time) or in the future (a final time), limits before or beyond which there is no more time, or is there an extension of time into infinity, an eternity of time *a parte ante* (*al-lam-yazal*) which has never ceased to exist in the past, and *a parte post* (*al-lā-yazāl*) which will never end in the future? The same question can be put regarding space: does there exist an infinite space, or is all existing space limited? Likewise, is there or is there not a limit to the division of bodies; is a body composed of an infinite number of parts, or is it built up from a finite assemblage of indivisible atoms? But the concept of not going beyond is also applicable to the operations of thought: does it reach as far as definitive conclusions, i.e. can it define final and "completed" truths, without being obliged to to go back incessantly and infinitively in its reasonings, "until there is no *nihāya*", which is, in the eyes of logicians, the sign of a defect in a proof? One can thus discern that the concept of *nihāya* is involved in everything touching such problems as what is finite, the infinite and the undefined.

The question in regard to space and time was treated in the discussions of the opposing views of al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd in the two *Tahāfuts*. Is there a parallelism between space and time in regard to their limits? Al-Ghazālī, in an eristic form of augumentation against the philosophers, supports it. He remarks that the future and the past are relative to each other, since all future becomes a past, and all past is merely such in as far as it precedes the future. But these are equally relative to the human soul which, in its present form, represents these two dimensions of time thanks to its faculty of imagination (*wahm, tawahhum*) which, itself, cannot come to a halt, neither to an initial term nor to a final one. Hence it has no *nihāya*. But the same is true in regard to space; our imagination cannot stop at a higher or lower limit, so that one can conceive of an undefined growth of the world in space (or, contrariwise, an undefined contraction), which raises the question of our knowing whether the world could have been created greater or smaller than it in fact is. Further, one can ask oneself if it could have been created earlier or later. In effect, if spatial dimension accompanies a body, then temporal dimension accompanies movement. If one thus admits, in spite of the imagination, that the body of the world is limited and that it does not exist beyond the created world as it actually is, neither open space nor empty space, as the philosophers, following Aristotle and his theory of place (τόπος, cf. *Physics*, book IV), then they must be compelled to recognise that, beyond the movement of the world, there exists no empty time nor filled time, and, as a result, that the world has a temporal *nihāya* just as it has a spatial one. If the philosophers refuse to grant that the world has a first beginning at which one must stop when one traces back the succession of movements which are characteristic of it, despite being carried away by the imagination, then they are not in conformity with their own beliefs, since they admit a *nihāya* for space but refuse it for time whilst the case of time is identical with that of space.

Ibn Rushd replies that, if the future and past are relative to our own imagination, they are not then "things which exist in themselves; they have no existence outside the soul and are only a creation of the soul (*shayʾ tafʿalu ʾl-nafs*)". The fact that the imagination goes beyond all spatial limit as much as beyond all temporal limit does not imply that, in reality, the case of time is the same as that of space. Or, to be precise, there exists, from the point of view of real existence, a great difference: this is that every body, as such, forms a whole, an ensemble which can be added up into a totality, which is not the case with movement which, on the contrary, by its very nature flows along and cannot be halted in a total stop. This is why, according to reason, and not this time according to the imagination, one can conceive of a spatial limit to the world, whilst one cannot conceive of a limit to movement and, consequently, to time, since time is made up of a enumerated number of movements, on which it depend. This is the explanation why, when there is a question of a reality which comes into existence (*al-muḥdath*) after its non-existence, one must not trace back the anteriority (*ḳabliyya*) of its non-existence to an act of the imagination, since if one does that, one suppresses the reality of what comes into existence (cf. *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, Beirut, 72-80).

Another question regarding creation *ab aeterno* also brings in the concept of *nihāya*. The two *Tahāfuts* are clearly opposed on this point. How can one conceive of an eternal creation? asks al-Ghazālī, when the eternity of the world is impossible. In effect, the revolution of the Sun takes place over a year and that of Saturn over 30 years. The Sun's revolution is thus

one-thirtieth of the revolution of Saturn, or, putting it another way, for one revolution of Saturn, there are 30 revolutions of the Sun; for two revolutions of Saturn, there will be two times 30 revolutions of the Sun. When one takes a finite number *n* of revolutions of Saturn, one will have a finite number 30*n* revolutions of the Sun. The relationship between the totality of the revolutions of Saturn and the totality of the revolutions of the Sun remains the same in relationship to the parts of these totalities, i.e. 1:30. Ibn Rus̲h̲d replies, however, that if there are an infinite number of revolutions of Saturn and the Sun, this relationship disappears, since there is no conceivable relationship between infinity "once" and "30 times" infinity. Hence infinities of revolutions are impossible, and the world cannot have been created *ab aeterno*. These considerations are already to be found in the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm. Furthermore, is the infinite number of these revolutions an even or an odd number, or both at the same time, or is it neither? One must say that it is either one or the other. But if one says that it is an equal number, it will become an odd number by the addition of a unity, and if one says that it is an odd number, it will become an even number by the subtraction of a unity. But how can one conceive adding a unity to or taking a unity away from what is infinite? One can only reply that the infinite number is neither odd nor even, which is contrary to the nature of the concept of number. Finally, Ibn Rus̲h̲d's reply rests on a completely Aristotelian principle: sc. that an infinite number of revolutions is only infinite in potentiality, and that there does not exist any act of any kind such that one can take it as a whole which is defined and genuinely capable of being totalised (cf. *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, 12-18).

Another question involving *nihāya* arises in regard to the division of bodies. Ibn Sīnā discusses it, in particular in his *Is̲h̲ārāt* (ed. Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo 1957, ii, 130 ff.). Should one come to a stop at indivisible atoms, in finite number, or not? If division proceeds to the infinite, are the final parts of which bodies are made up bodies themselves or something else? This question raises numerous difficulties. It is a fact that, if one defines a body geometrically as that which has three dimensions in space, sc. length, breadth and depth, it is always possible for the imagination to divide up a line, surface or volume infinitely. But how can one put together again a body from constituents thus arrived at? According to Ibn Sīnā, what makes up a body as such is not three-dimensionality but "corporeity" (*d̲j̲ismiyya*), a principle which is not divisible, unlike geometrical dimension. It should be observed that Ibn Sīnā is raising here the important question of the continuous and the discontinuous.

The theologians also tackled this question of the constituting of bodies. Let us merely cite al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*], a Muʿtazilī of the Baṣran school, who denied the existence of the indivisible part or atom. The division of bodies can go on infinitely, which brings into consideration their continuity and, at the same time, the question of the nature of space and the possibility of movement. He resolved it by his doctrine of the "leap" (*ṭafra*); a moving body which cannot pass by means of an infinite number of positions from A to B "leaps" from one point to another. ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Bag̲h̲dādī, in his *Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, remarks that this idea of the possibility of divisibility as far as the infinite brings in the thesis of the simultaneous occupation of bodies of a single space (*tadākhul al-ad̲j̲sām fī ḥayyiz wāḥid*). In practice, as Ibn Sīnā discerned clearly, one cannot explain the contact of parts thus infinitely divided up in order to take into account the composition of the body, except by considering that they have two distinct extremities (*ṭarafān*), so that contact with one is different from contact with the other; which is contrary to the hypothesis of division to infinity. Furthermore, one must freely admit that the elements which are supposed to be in contact become completely penetrated within each other, which cannot explain the constituting of the volume of bodies.

These are the main problems which the concept of *nihāya* raises.

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(R. Arnaldez)

NIĶĀBA (a.), a term whose sense has been fixed in the 20th century for "trade union", i.e. association for defending the interests of and promoting the rights of wage and salary earners, can also however denote the liberal professions and even those of employers. The term derives from the corporative function of the *naḳīb*, with the adjective *niḳābī* (in practice applied as a substantive only to wage and salary earners) and the abstract *niḳābiyya* "syndicalism"; there is no verbal form in this sense.

The term's usage became general after the First World War. Trade unionism, free from the theoretical non-differentiation between employers and employees of the guilds, is already attested in those countries in which capitalist enterprise was most advanced. In Algeria (1880 onwards) it referred primarily to the dominant Europeans, with some slight reference to the autochthonous peoples, and utilised the French term *syndicalisme*. In Egypt, where the corporative system was abolished in 1890, the first trade unions (1899 onwards), at first dominated by foreign or Ottoman-minority elements, but later mixed, became known as associations (*d̲j̲amʿiyya*). This term prevailed when Egyptian trade unionism was put on a nationalist basis (1908-14). *Niḳāba* came into usage at the same time in the terminology of the Nationalist (*Waṭanī*) Party of Muḥammad Farīd [*q.v.*], from 1908 onwards. It referred to an agricultural co-operative, in the Italian co-operativist sense (*niḳāba zirāʿiyya*) and at the same time to the *Niḳābat al-Ṣanāʾiʿ al-Yadawiyya* (Union of Manual Workers), an educational and co-operative association under the patronage of Nationalist lawyers, with individual and group, interprofessional, membership, including artisans. It did not exclude the *d̲j̲amʿiyyāt*. Muḥammad Farīd's projects for labour legislation, inspired by British Labour Party's activity, established *niḳāba* as the equivalent of trade union/syndicat. Henceforth, the Egyptian press used the term to translate the titles of trade unions formed by foreign workers.

In the Ottoman empire, the corporative system, although in decay, remained longer in usage, with mutual insurance societies only permitted to foreigners and to members of the minorities employed in the foreign concessionary companies. The first trade unions arose at the time of the strikes during the 1908 Revolution, which however hardly touched the Arab provinces. Laws were passed (1908-12) to counter and to regulate the movement. Trade unions were forbidden and the old corporations dissolved. They were replaced by professional associations, comprising employers and employed, with representativeness reserved for the former. In the Arab version, for a long time after the War, *niḳāba* denoted corporative groups (*niḳābat al-aṣnāf, n. al-ḥiraf wa 'l-ṣanāʾiʿ*), whilst *d̲j̲amʿiyya, pace* the case in Egypt, referred to legal "associations", not trade unions.

After the War, whilst modern Turkey adopted, in order to remove ambiguity, the loan form *sendika*, *niķāba* became the predominant term in the Arab-speaking lands.

The history of Arab trade unionism went, briefly speaking, through three phases. Until the 1940s, under colonial domination, it became firmly established in Egypt, spread through the British and French mandates of the Near East and became general in the three countries of French North Africa. In this context, it acquired a strong political tinge, within the framework of the combined stakes of class and nationalism. The first vehicle of diffusion of the form and the term was the current which claimed to belong to the Communist International and the International Red Trade Union Movement, i.e. within the organic link between the Communist Party and trade unionism till the middle of the 1930s. In the Near East, where these organisations were independent of those of the metropolises, the first Egyptian federation (*Ittiḥād Niķābat al-ʿUmmāl*) was crushed by the Wafdist repression of 1924, and the sole lasting effect of this current was in Lebanon. Trade unionisation was slower in Syria, and more pluralist there. In ʿIrāķ, it enjoyed periods of expansion and contraction. The tendency of the mandatary or tutelary authorities was to suppress this movement, considered as a prop of nationalism, or at most to oppose to it the Ottoman regulations regarding associations, for long maintained in force. The demands made were as much juridical as economic, and in view of the resistance encountered, nationalist. With its class current broken, Egyptian trade unionism was taken over, through the exertion of political patronage, by the nationalist parties, on reformist lines close to the International Trade Union Federation, connected with the Second Socialist International. But the use of their capability of mobilising on the streets and in strikes served largely for these parties to embarrass their enemy in power. Once the power was taken over, repression began again. The presence of a colonial population in French North Africa allowed the securing of more rights. The lines of cleavage were those of the metropolis, opposing the reformist movement to the current class, until the reunification of the Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T.) in 1936. The second current, also anti-colonialist, was aimed, despite prohibitions and repression, at unionising the indigenous peoples and even supported, in Tunisia, a first experience of trade union federation on national class bases (C.G.T.T., 1924: *Djāmiʿat ʿUmūm al-ʿAmala al-Tūnisiyya*). The sole attempt at a take-over by a nationalist party failed (Tunisia, 1937-8). The implanting of Zionist trade unionism in Palestine (from 1920 onwards) did not favour an ethnic mix of workers. The Communist Party envisaged it, but failed. Arab associations or trade unions were formed, but without avoiding the cleavages of the two main nationalist clans.

The second phase, beginning in 1942 during the Second World War, was one of an increase in struggles and the acquisition of legal rights. Class orientations prevailed, but in pluralist structures, either running parallel to or in alliance with a national movement which led up to the first manifestations of political independence. This was also true for Palestine before the partition in 1948. The creation of the World Trade Union Federation (W.F.T.U.) from 1945 onwards favoured the exchange of experiences. Extended coverage was made (Sudan, Libya, Somalia and Aden). The politics of economic development increased the numbers of salaried members. The new governments used, however, the split in the World Trade Union Movement (I.C.F.T.U. after 1949) to install here an official trade unionism, and to forbid there all syndicalist activity. The context favoured the swallowing up of Maghribī trade unionism by the dominant nationalist parties.

The last phase is thus characterised by the permanent introduction of democratic stakes, until then never permanently resolved: liberty to form trade unions, and their autonomy regarding the state and political parties. Under the influence of the nationalist-reformist currents, dominant since the 1950s, an International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (*al-Ittiḥād al-Duwalī li-Niķābāt al-ʿUmmāl al-ʿArab* = I.C.A.T.U.), autonomous of the central world organisations but open to co-operation with them, was created in 1956. It assured inter-Arab trade union solidarity with repressed movements, at the same time getting involved politically in regional happenings (Arab-Israeli conflict, oil, etc.). It concerned itself with the harmonisation of Arab legislation on labour, after 1965 in liaison with the Arab Labour Organisation (*Munaẓẓamat al-ʿAmal al-ʿArabiyya* = A.L.O.). But apart from the two Yemens (unified in 1990) and Kuwayt, which had old-established federations, there is strong resistance within the Arab peninsula to expanding the labour legislation on trade union rights. Clandestine trade union structures are severely repressed there.

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NIKĀḤ (a.), marriage (properly, sexual intercourse, but already in the Ķurʾān used exclusively of the contract of marriage). In the present article, marriage is dealt with as a legal institution; for marriage customs, see ʿurs.

I. in classical islamic law
II. in the modern islamic world
1. The Arab, Persian and Turkish lands of the Middle East
2. In Muslim India up to 1930 [see ʿurs]
3. In Muslim India after 1930
4. In Indonesia
5. In East Africa
6. In Nigeria

I. In Classical Islamic Law

1. The essential features of the Muslim law of marriage go back to the customary law of the Arabs which previously existed. In this, although there were differences according to districts and the conditions of the individual cases, the regulations governing marriage were based upon the patriarchal system, which permitted the man very great freedom and still bore traces of an old matriarchal system. It is true that before the coming of Islam, a higher conception of the marriage state had already begun to exist, but the position of the woman was still a very unfavourable one. The marriage contract was made between the suitor and the "guardian" i.e. the father or the nearest male relative of the bride, the latter's consent not being regarded as necessary. But even before Islam it had already become generally usual for the dowry to be given to the woman herself and not to the guardian. In marriage, the woman was under the unrestricted authority of her husband, the only

bounds to which were consideration for her family. Dissolution of the marriage rested entirely on the man's opinion; and even after his death his relatives could enforce claims upon his widow.

2. Islam reformed these old marriage laws in far-reaching fashion, while retaining their essential features; here as in other fields of social legislation Muḥammad's chief aim was the improvement of the woman's position. The regulations regarding marriage which are the most important in principle are laid down in the Ḳurʾān in sūra IV (from the period shortly after the battle of Uḥud): "3. If ye fear that ye cannot act justly to the orphans marry the women whom ye think good (to marry), by twos, threes or fours; but if ye fear (even then) not to be just then marry one only or (the slaves) whom you possess; this will be easier that ye be not unjust. Give the women their dowry freely; but if they voluntarily remit you a part of it, enjoy it and may it prosper you.—26. Marry not the woman whom your fathers have married (except what is already past); for this is shameful and abominable and an evil way. 27. Forbidden to you are your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your aunts paternal and maternal, the daughters of your brother and sister, your foster-mothers and foster-sisters, the mothers of your wives and the step-daughters who are in your care, born of your wives, with whom ye have had intercourse—but if ye have not had intercourse with them, it is not a sin for you—and the wives of the sons, who are your offspring, also that ye marry two sisters at the same time except what is already past; Allāh is gracious and merciful. 28. Further married women except (slaves) that you possess. This is ordained by Allāh for you. But he has permitted you to procure (wives) outside of these cases with your money in decency and not in fornication. To those of them that ye have enjoined give their reward as their due, but it is no sin to make an agreement between you beyond the legal due. Allāh is all-knowing and wise. 29. If however any one of you has not means sufficient to marry free believing women (let him marry) among your believing slaves, whom you possess; Allāh best knows (to distinguish) your faith. Marry them with the permission of their masters, and give them their dowry in kindness; they should be modest and not unchaste and take no lovers". Also sūra II, 220 (uncertain date), the prohibition of marriage with infidels, male or female (cf. sūra IX, 10), sūra XXXIII, 49 (probably of the year 5), an exception in favour of the Prophet, and sūra V, 7 (of the farewell pilgrimage in the year 10), permission of marriage with the women of the possessors of a scripture. Other passages of the Ḳurʾān which emphasise the moral side of marriage are sūra XXIV, 3, 26, 32, and sūra XXX, 20. In Tradition, various attitudes to marriage find expression; at the same time, the positive enactments regulating it are supplemented in essential points. The most important is the limitation of the number of wives permitted at one time to four; although sūra IV, 3, contains no such precise regulation, this interpretation of it must have predominated very early, as in the traditions it is assumed rather than expressly demanded. The co-operation of the "guardian", the dowry and the consent of the woman is regarded as essential, and competition with a rival, the result of whose suit is still in doubt, is forbidden.

3. The most important provisions of Islamic law (according to the S̲h̲āfiʿī school) are the following. The marriage contract is concluded between the bridegroom and the bride's *walī* (guardian), who must be a free Muslim of age and of good character. The *walī* is in his turn bound to assist in carrying out the contract of marriage demanded by the woman, if the bridegroom fulfils certain legal conditions. The *walī* should be one of the following in this order: 1. the nearest male ascendant in the male line; 2. the nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the father; 3. do. among the descendants of the grandfather, etc.; 4. in the case of a freed woman the *mawlā* (manumitter) and (if the case arises) his male relatives in the order of heirs in intestacy [see MĪRĀT̲H̲, 6, *b*]; 5. the representative of the public authority (*ḥākim*) appointed for the purpose; in many countries it is the *ḳaḍī* or his deputy. In place of the *ḥākim* the future husband and wife may agree to choose a *walī* and must do so if there is no authorised *ḥākim* in the place. The *walī* can only give the bride in marriage with her consent, but in the case of a virgin, silent consent is sufficient. The father or grandfather, however, has the right to marry his daughter or grand-daughter against her will, so long as she is a virgin (he is therefore called *walī mud̲j̲bir, walī* with power of coercion); the exercise of this power is, however, very strictly regulated in the interests of the bride. As minors are not in a position to make a declaration of their wishes which is valid in law, they can only be married at all by a *walī mud̲j̲bir*. According to the Ḥanafīs, on the other hand, every blood relative acting as *walī* is entitled to give a virgin under age in marriage without her consent; but a woman married in this way by another than her ascendant is entitled on coming of age to demand that her marriage be declared void (*fask̲h̲*) by the *ḳāḍī*. A bridegroom who is a minor may also be married by his *walī mud̲j̲bir*. As a kind of equivalent for the rights which the husband acquires over the wife, he is bound to give her a bridal gift (*mahr, ṣadāḳ*) which is regarded as an essential part of the contract. The contracting parties are free to fix the *mahr*; it may consist of anything that has value in the eyes of the law; if it is not fixed at the conclusion of the contract and if the parties cannot agree upon it, we have a case for the *mahr al-mit̲h̲l*, a bridal gift fixed by the *ḳāḍī* according to the circumstances of the bridegroom. It is not necessary to pay the *mahr* at once; frequently a portion is paid before the consummation of the marriage and the remainder only at the dissolution of the marriage by divorce or death. The wife's claim to the full *mahr* or the full *mahr al-mit̲h̲l* arises only when the marriage has been consummated; if the marriage is previously dissolved by the man, the wife can only claim half the *mahr* or a present (*mutʿa*) fixed arbitrarily by the man; these regulations go back to sūra II, 237-8 (cf. XXXIII, 48). In form, the marriage contract, which is usually prefaced by a solicitation (*k̲h̲iṭba*), follows the usual scheme in Muslim contracts, with offer and acceptance; the *walī* of the bride is further recommended to deliver a pious address (*k̲h̲uṭba*) on the occasion. The marriage must be concluded in the presence of at least two witnesses (*s̲h̲āhid*) who possess the legal qualifications for a witness; their presence is here not simply, as in other contracts, evidence of the marriage but an essential element in its validity. On the other hand, no collaboration by the authorities is prescribed. But since great importance is usually attached to fulfilling the formalities of the marriage contract, upon which the validity of the marriage depends, it is usual not to carry through this important legal matter without the assistance of an experienced lawyer. We therefore everywhere find men whose profession this is and who usually act under the supervision of the *ḳāḍī*. The part which they take is to pronounce the necessary formulae to the parties or even to act as authorised agents

of one of them, usually the *walī* of the bride. The most important impediments to marriage are the following: 1. blood relationship, namely between the man and his female ascendants and descendants, his sisters, the female descendants of his brothers and sisters as well as his aunts and great-aunts; 2. foster-relationship, which, by extension of the Ḳurʾānic law, by tradition is regarded as an impediment to marriage in the same degrees as blood relationship; 3. relationship by marriage, namely, between a man and his mother-in-law, daughter-in law, step-daughter, etc., in the direct line; marriage with two sisters or with an aunt and niece at the same time is also forbidden; 4. the existence of a previous marriage, in the case of a woman without limitation (inclusive of the period of waiting after the dissolution of the marriage, *ʿidda* [*q.v.*]), and in the case of a free man with the provision that he cannot be married to more than four women at once; 5. the existence of a threefold *ṭalāḳ* [*q.v.*] or of a *liʿān* [*q.v.*]; 6. social inequality; the man must not be by birth, profession, etc. below the woman (unless both the woman and *walī* agree); a free Muslim can only marry another's slave girl if he cannot provide the bridal gift for a free woman, and the marriage between a master (or mistress) and his slave (or her slave) is quite impossible (a master is however permitted concubinage with his slave); 7. difference of religion; there is no exception to the prohibition of marriage between a Muslim woman and an infidel, while the permission given in theory for marriage between Muslim men and the women of the possessors of a scripture is, at least by the Shāfiʿīs, so restricted by conditions as to be prohibited in practice; 8. temporary obstacles, such as the state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, the law knows no minimum age for a legal marriage. If a marriage contract does not fulfil the legal requirements, it is invalid; the Ḥanafīs and especially the Mālikīs, but not the Shāfiʿīs, distinguish in this case between invalid (*bāṭil*) and incorrect (*fāsid*), according as the error affects an essential or unessential element in the contract; in the former case, there is no marriage at all, in the second, its validity may be attacked but (according to the Mālikīs) consummation removes any defect. Marriage does not produce any community of property between husband and wife, and the woman retains her complete freedom of dealing; but certain laws regarding inheritance come into operation [see MĪRĀTH, 6, *c*]. The man alone has to bear the expense of maintaining the household and is obliged to support his wife in a style befitting her station (*nafaḳa*); if he should not be in a position to do so, his wife may demand the dissolution of the marriage by *faskh* [*q.v.*]. The man can demand from his wife readiness for marital intercourse and obedience generally; if she is regularly disobedient, she loses her claim to support and may be chastised by the man. The latter, however, is expressly forbidden to take upon himself vows of continence (*īlāʾ* and *ẓihār*). Children are only regarded as legitimate if they are born at least six months after consummation of the marriage and not more than 4 years (the predominant Shāfiʿī view) after its dissolution; it is presumed that such children are begotten by the husband himself; the latter has the right to dispute his paternity by *liʿān*. Parentage can also be established by the husband's *iḳrār* [*q.v.*], while both recognition and adoption of illegitimate children are impossible.

4. The laws regarding the rights and duties of husband and wife cannot be modified by the parties at the drawing-up of the contract. This can, however, be effected by the man pronouncing a conditional *ṭalāḳ* [see ṬALĀḲ, vii.] immediately after the conclusion of the marriage contract; this shift to secure the position of the woman is particularly common among Indian Muslims. For the rest, the couple are left to private agreements which need not be mentioned in the marriage contract. The actual position of the woman in marriage is in all Muslim countries entirely dependent on local conditions and on many special circumstances. It is not a contradiction of this to say that the legal prescriptions regarding marriage are most carefully observed as a rule. In spite of certain ascetic tendencies, Islam as a whole has been decidedly in favour of marriage.—In modern Islam, the problem of the woman's position in marriage and polygamy is especially discussed between conservatives and adherents of modern social ideas. For the different views resulting from these conditions, see the works in the *Bibliography* cited below.

5. Alongside of the usual form of the old Arabian marriage, which in spite of its laxity aimed at the foundation of a household and the procreation of children, there existed the temporary marriage in which the pair lived together temporarily for a period previously fixed. Such temporary marriages were entered upon mainly by men who found themselves staying for a time abroad. It is by no means certain that these are referred to in sūra IV, 28, although the Muslim name of this arrangement (*mutʿa* [*q.v.*], "marriage of pleasure") is based on the literal meaning of the verse; it is, however, certain from Tradition that Muḥammad really permitted *mutʿa* to his followers especially on the longer campaigns. But the caliph ʿUmar strictly prohibited *mutʿa* and regarded it as fornication (*zināʾ*) (a group of traditions already ascribes this prohibition to the Prophet). As a result, *mutʿa* is permitted only among the Shīʿīs but prohibited by the Sunnīs. The latter have, however, practically the same arrangement; those who wish to live contrary to the law as husband and wife for a certain period simply agree to do so without stipulating it in the marriage contract.

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II. In The Modern Islamic World

1. The Arab, Persian and Turkish lands of the Middle East

i. *Impetus for reform*

Increasing dissatisfaction in recent years with traditional marriage law, particularly the discord between legal norms adapted to the patrilineal, patriarchal family, and changing social conditions, has spawned reforms motivated by a desire to adapt *sharʿī* norms to the transition from the extended to the nuclear family, to strengthen the position of women *qua* women and equitably to redefine the rights and duties of spouses.

Juristic basis for the reforms has been provided by a wide gamut of methods: the procedural expedient coupled with denial of judicial relief; the "eclectic" (*takhayyur*) expedient; stipulations in the marriage contract; extension of the court's discretion; penal and legal sanctions; "modernistic" interpretation of textual sources (neo-*idjtihād*); and substantive legislation with no apparent basis in the *sharīʿa* [see MAḤKAMA. 4. xiii, at VI, 40-1].

Relevant legislation: *Egypt*—Law No. 25, 1920; Law No. 56, 1923; Law No. 25, 1929; Code of Procedure No. 78, 1931; Law No. 62, 1976; Presidential Decree No. 44, 1979, repealed and re-enacted by Law No. 100, 1985; *Iran*—Family Protection Act, 1967, replaced by Family Protection Act, 1975 (repealed in 1979); *ʿIrāk*—Personal Status Law No. 188, 1959, amended by Act No. 11, 1963; *Israel*—Marriage Age Law, 1950, amended in 1960; Women's Equal Rights Law, 1951; Maintenance (Assurance of Payment) Law, 1972; *Jordan*—Law of Family Rights, No. 92, 1951, replaced by Law of Personal Status, No. 61, 1976; *Kuwait*—Law of Personal Status, 1980; *Lebanon*—[Ottoman] Family Rights Law, 1917 (hereafter referred to as Ottoman Family Law), put into effect by Decree No. 241, 1942 and reasserted in 1962; *North Yemen*—Family Law, 1978; *South Yemen*—Family Law, No. 1, 1974; *The Sudan*—Judicial Circulars: No. 17, 1915; No. 28, 1927; No. 41, 1936; No. 45, 1936; No. 54, 1960; *Syria*—Decree No. 59, 1953, on Personal Status Law, amended by Law No. 34, 1975; *Turkey*—Turkish Civil Code, 1926.

ii. *Impediments to marriage*

Sharʿī impediments to marriage, excepting foster relationship, have been completely abandoned in Turkey. A reform unique to Kuwait to safeguard the family's integrity prohibits a man's marrying a woman he has deliberately and viciously turned against her former husband.

iii. *Marriage guardian*

The marriage guardian's role has been virtually restricted to protecting the interests of wards physically mature but under the statutory age of competence for marriage. Moreover, the court is empowered to permit marriage even against the guardian's will. Under Ottoman family law (still applicable in Lebanon and Israel), as well as in Jordan, Syria, and ʿIrāḳ (all bound by the Ḥanafī school), the marriage guardian's right to contract a valid compulsory (*idjbār*) marriage, even with regard to minors, has almost completely been abolished through innovative changes in the minimun age for marriage (see below, v). In the Sudan (1960), the traditional Mālikī rule that an adult woman must be given in marriage by her guardian still obtains, although the woman's consent is now as a rule essential for its validity.

iv. *Equality in marriage*

Criteria for equality between spouses (*kafāʾa*), as well as the guardian's right to demand annulment of the marriage on grounds of inequality, have been curtailed. Ottoman family law explicitly mentions as criteria only profession and property (out of which the prompt dower can be paid and the wife's maintenance provided). In Jordan the only remaining criterion is property. In Kuwait religious piety is the sole criterion. In Syria equality is a matter of local convention, not law. So far ʿIrāḳ alone totally ignores this institution, implying its complete abandonment. However, a new criterion has emerged: parity in age between the spouses (see below, vi).

v. *Age of marriage*

Restrictions on child-marriage are intended to prevent the harmful social implications of premature marriage. Distinction has been made to this end between an age of competence for marriage and a minimum age below which marriage is never possible, the parties being presumed to be under puberty. Most Middle Eastern countries have followed the precedent set by Ottoman family law in prescribing the age of competence for marriage: eighteen for a boy and seventeen for a girl. Marriage below these ages is permissible, however, on proof of sexual maturity (see below). Simultaneously, traditional *sharʿī* (and Ottoman family law) age limits (nine for girls, twelve for boys), below which no claim of sexual maturity will be heard (in effect, minimum ages for marriage), have been raised: fifteen or sixteen for a boy, and between thirteen and sixteen for a girl. In Egypt (1923, 1931) no distinction is drawn between puberty and competence for marriage. Prescribed ages for marriage are eighteen for a boy and sixteen for a girl. Marriage below these ages is not permissible (nor registered—see below, viii) even on proof of sexual maturity. In the Sudan (1960) a pre-pubescent girl at least ten years old may be given in marriage with the consent of the court where there are grounds for anxiety about her morals.

Adolescents having reached the prescribed ages of puberty but not of competence for marriage may marry in the interim period of two or three years (irrelevant under Ḥanafī law), subject usually to the marriage guardian's consent and always to the court's permission. In Israel the "good defences" (physical maturity and the guardian's consent) against a charge of contravention of age-of-marriage legislation were abrogated (1950), but simultaneously a district judge was empowered to permit the marriage of a girl who was pregnant or had given birth or, since 1960, had reached the age of sixteen.

Ottoman family law concerning marriageable age has directly affected the validity of marriage. Marriage in violation of the provisions pertaining to the age of competence to marry and the conditions concerning permission to marry is deemed irregular (*fāsid*) with no legal effects before consummation. In North Yemen, the marriage of a boy (not a girl) below fifteen is not valid. Laws in other Middle Eastern countries evade this issue. Courts, however, tend to validate such marriages retroactively once the parties reach puberty.

Other devices intended to enforce reformist restrictions on child-marriage are prohibition of registration of any union in which the parties have not reached the

legal ages for marriage (Egypt, 1923; Kuwait; Israel, 1950), preclusion of courts from entertaining any matrimonial cause whatsoever in such marriages, i.e. the marriage is valid but not effective (*nāfidh*) (Egypt, 1923, 1931), and rendering the parties liable to statutory penalties (Jordan, Iran, Lebanon, Israel).

vi. *Disparity in age*

Prohibition, by means of registration, of a marriage in which there is a gross disparity in age between the parties (unless there is some genuine benefit in the union) is intended to defend the wife's interests. Jordan was the first to act on this issue: marriage of a woman under eighteen is prohibited if the husband-to-be is more than twenty years her senior, unless it is established in court that she consents of her own free will and that the marriage is in her interest. In Syria disparity in age may lead the court to withhold permission for marriage, taking into account the welfare of the parties. In South Yemen, marriage in which there is a twenty-year disparity in age is prohibited unless the wife has reached thirty-five.

vii. *Stipulations in the marriage contract*

Application of the mechanism of inserting stipulations benefiting the wife into the marriage contract (provided they do not conflict with marriage aims, affect the rights of others, or restrict the liberty of the husband), is intended mainly to improve the position of married women. Anchored in the Ḥanbalī school, this mechanism rests on voluntary agreement between spouses. Non-observance of a stipulation is grounds for dissolving the marriage at the wife's request without prejudice to her financial rights. Ottoman family law first introduced this mechanism. Jordan, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Iran and Kuwait followed suit. The stipulations pertaining to marriage are (1) that the wife should not be removed from a locality agreed upon between the parties; (2) that the husband should not marry a co-wife (see below, ix); (3) that the wife may work outside the matrimonial home; and (4) that the wife may complete her studies (Kuwait).

viii. *Registration of marriage*

Registration (performed by the *sharīʿa* court or its authorised notary; in Syria, a district judge must review the marriage application), a wholly new departure from the traditional legal system, has become a necessary legal formality in most Muslim countries. Its purpose is to strengthen state control over marriage proceedings and to impose reforms relating to marriageable age and compulsory marriage (see above, iii). Registration is enforced by (1) the *sharīʿa* court's deeming an unregistered marriage (though not invalid under the *sharīʿa*) not effective (*nāfidh*), unless or until pregnancy becomes apparent (South Yemen, Lebanon, Syria); (2) considering the registration certificate as the sole proof of marriage, lacking which the parties will be denied judicial relief (Egypt 1931); and (3) making the solemniser, bridegroom (or both spouses), and witnesses liable to penal sanction (Jordan, ʿIrāḳ, North Yemen).

ix. *Polygamy*

Reforms aimed at consolidating monogamy restrict polygamy to the extent of complete abolition. Polygamy has been totally abolished as yet only in Turkey. In ʿIrāḳ it was first abolished (1959), only to be reduced to prohibition (1963). Complementary measures taken concerning polygamy are:

(1) Stipulation in the marriage contract (see above, vii). Ottoman family law allows a woman to stipulate in her marriage contract that her husband shall not marry another wife and that should he do so, either she or the polygamous wife will be divorced. Jordan followed suit, though the first wife may dissolve only her own marriage, not that of the co-wife.

(2) Prohibition. Polygamy has been prohibited (in Iran this presumably applies to both permanent and temporary marriage) unless permitted by court (district court in South Yemen) on the basis of "good defences": The court must be satisfied that the husband is financially able to properly maintain multiple wives (Syria; Iran, 1967); that the co-wives will be treated with equal justice (ʿIrāḳ, Iran, 1967); and that the first wife consents to the marriage, is unable or unwilling to co-habit, has been sentenced to imprisonment, is addicted to drink, drugs or gambling, has deserted the family or disappeared, or has become barren, insane or afflicted with incurable disease (Iran, 1967, 1975). In South Yemen a medical certificate to this effect is required. In ʿIrāḳ these defences are presumably implied by the phrase "some lawful benefit in the polygamous marriage". In Israel (1951) the defence available to Muslims *qua* Muslims against a charge of polygamy (prohibited by the Mandatary authorities) was abolished and replaced by two defences against such a charge: prolonged absence or mental illness of the spouse.

Prohibition of polygamy, unlike abolition, does not in itself invalidate polygamous marriage, though those failing to obtain the court's permission are liable to penal sanctions.

(3) Divorce. This obtains in circumstances where no stipulation barring co-marriage has been inserted in the marriage contract or where permission for polygamy has been granted by court. A woman finding the position of co-wife intolerable may dissolve her own marriage on grounds (anchored in the Mālikī school) of injury (extended to cover unequal treatment of co-wives), or disputes between the spouses (once again extended to cover cases of unequal treatment), in which case the marriage will be dissolved through the arbitration procedure. With slight variations this remedy obtains in the Sudan (1915), Lebanon and Israel (under Ottoman family law), Jordan, South Yemen, and ʿIrāḳ (1959). In Egypt (1979, 1985) the wife's option to dissolve the marriage lapses one year after the conclusion of the polygamous marriage. The husband and the solemniser must inform the first wife when a co-wife is taken, failing which they are liable to penal sanction. In Iran (before 1979), a wife who had not consented to a polygamous marriage might petition the court on these grounds asking for a certificate of impossibility of reconciliation and subsequent divorce.

x. *Void and irregular marriages*

Modern legislation in this respect aims to mitigate the harsh legal effects of prohibited marriages. Ottoman family law, and in its wake Jordan (1951) and Syria, reduced the category of void (*bāṭil*) marriage, entailing no legal effects whatsoever, solely to marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim. In Jordan this category applied also to the marriage of a man to a woman related to him within the prohibited degrees (*maḥram*) and (since 1976) to marriage of a Muslim man to an adherent of a non-revealed religion (*ghayr kitābiyya*). All other prohibited marriages are deemed irregular (*fāsid*) which, if consummated, entail some of the legal and financial effects of valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*) marriage.

Syria introduced an innovative reform (with no apparent basis in the *sharīʿa*) entitling the wife to maintenance even in a consummated irregular (*fāsid*) marriage, provided she was not aware of its irregularity. In ʿIrāḳ (1959) it is indicated, though not explicitly, that even in cases of void (*ghayr ṣaḥīḥ*) marriage, the woman is entitled to dower and must observe the waiting period.

The general aim of reformist legislation pertaining

to temporary marriage (*mutʿa*) is the curtailment of some of its legal effects to the point of complete abolition of the institution. Temporary marriage is no longer valid in ʿIrāḳ (1959), although a child born of such a liaison is considered legitimate with all attendant consequences. In Iran (before 1979) temporary marriages were valid, though it seems that mutual rights of inheritance between partners might no longer be created. Traditional *mutʿa* was reintroduced after the 1979 revolution. Under Ottoman family law, and in its wake Jordan, temporary marriage is deemed irregular, not void.

With the abolition of slavery in Saudi Arabia (1962), concubinage, i.e. a man's *sharʿī* right to have sexual relations with an unlimited number of his female slaves, ceased to exist.

xi. *Dower*

In Ottoman family law, and in its wake Jordan, Syria and ʿIrāḳ (1959), no mention is made regarding minimum dower, implying abandonment of *sharʿī* doctrine in this respect. In South Yemen, dower (prompt and deferred combined) must not exceed one hundred dīnārs, contrary to traditional doctrine which does not acknowledge a maximum dower.

Egypt (1929) and the Sudan (1935) introduced, via *takhayyur* with the Ḥanafī school, that where a married couple or their respective heirs dispute the amount of dower stipulated, the burden of proof falls on the wife. Syria, Kuwait, and Jordan (1976) followed suit.

Ottoman family law, and in its wake Jordan but not other countries, followed the view of those jurists within the Ḥanafī school who maintain, unlike others, that the wife must not be compelled to buy the trousseau (*djihāz*) out of her dower.

In Jordan (1976) any agreement that all or part of the dower be deferred shall be recorded in writing, otherwise the whole dower shall be deemed prompt. Non-payment of the prompt dower before consummation has become (since 1951), contrary to the Ḥanafī view, grounds for dissolution [see ṬALĀḲ].

xii. *Maintenance between the spouses*

General trends in this respect favour either one spouse or the other, depending on the circumstances.

(1) Definition of maintenance. In Jordan, and in its wake Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Egypt (1979, 1985) and Kuwait, the definition of maintenance has been extended to cover medical treatment in addition to traditional components. In Egypt (1979) maintenance also includes "everything that is requisite by custom," "custom" being replaced in 1985 by "*sharīʿa*".

(2) Criteria for fixing maintenance. Egypt (1929) and the Sudan (1936) and, with some variation, Kuwait, innovated via *takhayyur* that a wife's maintenance shall be calculated by exclusive reference to her husband's means, regardless of her own condition. Jordan, Syria, and Egypt (1979, 1985) followed suit with the proviso that the rate of maintenance must not be below minimum sufficiency.

Though maintenance may be increased or decreased depending on the husband's condition and the cost of living (as in traditional law) no application shall be heard before the expiration of a certain time period (six months in Syria and Jordan, one year in Kuwait, but no time period in ʿIrāḳ) from the date of the court order, save in exceptional emergencies.

South Yemen introduced an unprecedented innovation—in glaring contradiction to the *sharīʿa*—according to which spouses bear the expenses of their common life as well as the maintenance of their children according to their respective means and abilities. This reflects a radical concept, anchored in 1974 law, according to which a marriage is a contract between two parties equal in rights and duties.

(3) Arrears of maintenance. Egypt (1920), and ʿIrāḳ (1959) in its wake, acknowledged via *takhayyur* the principle of arrears of maintenance: maintenance of a wife who has submitted herself, even putatively, to her husband is deemed a debt owed by him from the time when he fails to support her, not (as in Ḥanafī law) from the time when she sues him in court. The Sudan (1927) adopted a less radical approach: arrears of maintenance still lapse on the death of either party unless the wife has been given judicial permission to raise maintenance on credit. In Jordan and Syria, as in Ottoman family law, arrears of maintenance are created solely by mutual agreement or by judicial judgment (in conformity with traditional law), however—contrary to the Ḥanafī school—they lapse only by payment or renouncement, not on the death of either party or on dissolution.

In Egypt (1931), and the Sudan (1936) in its wake, as a precaution against dubious claims for maintenance alleged to have been due over many years, courts were forbidden by the procedural expedient of denial of judicial relief from entertaining claims of arrears of maintenance in regard to any period more than three years (one year in Egypt since 1979) prior to the suit. In Syria the court will not allow the wife more than four months' arrears of maintenance.

(4) Provisional maintenance. In Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Kuwait and Egypt (1979, 1985) the court may order payment of provisional maintenance before handing down its final decision.

(5) Collection of maintenance. The Sudan (1915), and Egypt (1920) in its wake, decreed that if a husband has property out of which his wife's legally entitled maintenance can be obtained, a decree to this effect will be executed. In Lebanon, Israel (both under Ottoman family law), Jordan, and ʿIrāḳ, such a judicial decree is possible only if the husband is absent.

In ʿIrāḳ, where maintenance cannot be collected from the husband and in the absence of any person willing to lend money to the wife who, in her turn, is incapable of earning a living, maintenance shall be provided by the state. Egypt (1976) and Israel (1972) transferred the burden of maintenance payment fixed by judicial decree to governmental authority, which in turn recoups itself from the judgment debtor.

(6) Non-provision of maintenance as grounds for divorce. In Egypt (1920), Jordan, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Iran (before 1979), and South Yemen, failure to provide the wife with maintenance due to unwillingness or hardship on the part of the husband (provided, in some of the countries, that he has no property out of which maintenance may be obtained, and that a period of delay has been exhausted) is deemed, via *takhayyur*, legal grounds for judicial divorce [see ṬALĀḲ].

(7) Maintenance of a working wife. Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Jordan (1976) explicitly deny the right to maintenance to a wife who works away from home without her husband's consent. In Egypt (1979, 1985) and Kuwait, however, the husband's permission for that purpose is not required, provided the wife's exercise of her right to a lawful job is not abused or in conflict with the family's interest, and that she was not forbidden by the husband to attend her work. This, with some variation, applied also in Iran (before 1979).

xiii. *Inheritance rights between the spouses* (see MĪRĀTH. 2. In modern Islamic countries, at VII, 111-13).

xiv. *Obedience*

Reform in this respect was aimed at correcting

injustice and abuse of women. In Egypt (1967) and the Sudan (1969), the institution of *bayt al-ṭāʿa* (i.e. police-executed enforced obedience of rebellious wives, which has no apparent basis in the *sharīʿa*) was abolished. In Egypt (1979) a disobedient wife wishing to object to the written request of the husband for her return to the conjugal home may do so, on *sharʿī* grounds, within ten days (30 days since 1985) of the court's request. The court will try to reconcile the parties, failing which it will refer them to arbitration. If arbitration is unsuccessful, judicial dissolution may be granted [see ṬALĀḲ].

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(A. LAYISH and R. SHAHAM)

2. In Muslim India up to 1930 [see ʿURS].

3. In Muslim India after 1930

Marriage in Islam, not being a sacrament but a contract between husband and wife, is literally termed in Indian Islam *ʿaḳd-e-nikāḥ* ("marriage contract"). Among Indian Muslims, however, *nikāḥ* is considered to be the establishment of relationship between the families of the bride and the groom, which is reflected in the formal procedure and series of ceremonies which precede the final *nikāḥ* ceremony.

In spite of the impact of modern education among Indian Muslims, allowing some degree of freedom in expressing preference for selecting marriage partner by both boys and girls, the formal *nikāḥ* proposal (*nikāḥ ka payghām*) is sent—or conveyed—by the elders of the boy to the elder family members of the girl. The ceremonial modesty requires some delay in accepting the proposal (*payghām*). After the formal declaration of engagement (*nisbat*), an auspicious date is fixed for the *nikāḥ*. Generally, the month of Muḥarram and the following thirteen days of Ṣafar are avoided for *nikāḥ* ceremony by both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs in commemoration of martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn.

On the appointed day, the marriage party (*nikāḥ ki bārāt*), comprising the male relatives and friends of the groom's family, proceeds to the house of the bride, where they are received by the male members of that household. Soon afterwards, the preparations for the main ceremony begin, which includes changing of the groom's clothes into a completely new set prepared and provided by the bride's family. For the *ʿaḳd* ceremony, besides the *ḳāḍī* (usually a Mawlawī or Muslim religious scholar) and a *wakīl* (representing the bride), two witnesses are required. It is the privilege of the bride's family to choose a Mawlawī to act as *ḳāḍī*; whereas the *wakīl* (to be a neutral person in any unforeseen future dispute) is usually the bride's maternal uncle or her paternal or maternal aunt's husband. The two witnesses are selected from among the relatives of the bride. In order to obtain advance consent of the bride, the *wakīl* and the two witnesses proceed to the women's quarter, where the *wakīl* in a loud voice asks the bride three times her consent for her *ʿaḳd-e-nikāḥ* (specifying the name of the groom and the amount of her *mahr*), to which she is expected to respond in her modest and subdued voice. Thereafter, the *wakīl*'s party returns to the male gathering and informs the *ḳāḍī* that the bride's consent has been obtained for her *nikāḥ*. It is followed by a brief religious ceremony in which the *ḳāḍī* loudly recites in Arabic the marriage sermon (*nikāḥ ka khuṭba*), which consists of some Ḳurʾānic verses and a history of successful marriages in an Islamic context, citing those of Adam and Eve, Abraham and Hagar, Muḥammad and his four prominent wives, and ʿAlī and Fāṭima. After this recital, the *ḳāḍī* sits in front of the groom, facing towards him; the *wakīl* and both the witnesses, already sitting close to the groom, lean slightly towards him so that they can hear his consent clearly. The *ḳāḍī*, in a low voice as if maintaining secrecy, asks the groom three times in the following words (in the native language): "I marry you to such-and-such girl, daughter of so-and-so person against so much amount of *mahr*. Do you accept?" Each time the groom is expected to reply in clear voice, "I accept." After the acceptance, the *ḳāḍī* recites in Arabic a long prayer, again in a loud voice, blessing the newly-married couple with a future happiness like those of all the early marriages cited in Islamic history. This brings the *ʿaḳd-e-nikāḥ* to its conclusion, which is followed by a feast prepared by the bride's household. Finally, the *rukhṣati* (departure of the bride) with the groom's party back to the groom's house takes place.

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(GHAUS ANSARI)

4. In Indonesia

In Bahasa Indonesian, the country's national language, there are two words for marriage: *nikah* and *perkawinan*. *Nikah* generally refers to the conclusion of a marriage between Muslims. *Perkawinan* is a broader concept which prevails nowadays in national legislation, in popular use and even in Islamic writings. *Hukum perkawinan*, marriage law, includes the rules concerning polygamy, divorce and alimony (*nafkah*).

The sources of Indonesian marriage law include those of national law, religious law, *adat* law [see ʿĀDA] and colonial law. Over the past forty years, the relevance of colonial law and *adat* law has significantly decreased. Since Independence, efforts have been made to enact a national marriage law for all citizens. This goal was reached with Law no. 1 of 1974 concerning marriage and its executive regulations, which will be referred to as the "national law".

Historically speaking, customary or *adat* law came

first. Within Indonesian society, the relationship between *adat* law and Islamic law has been debated for centuries. The debate carried over to the Dutch when L.W.C. van den Berg claimed in the 1870s that Islamic law should be applied in its integrity to Muslims in Indonesia. Van den Berg was opposed by Snouck Hurgronje, who held the view that Islamic law should only be applied insofar as accepted by society through its customary law. This so-called "reception theory" came to prevail in the colonial government, and it was eventually incorporated in the colonial constitution of 1925. After independence, this theory lost favour in Indonesia. At the same time, the political appeal of *adat* law has considerably weakened. As a result, recent debates on marriage have mainly focussed on national law and Islamic law and the relationship between the two.

Law no. 1 of 1974 says that in order to be valid, a marriage has to be concluded according to religion and belief. For most Indonesians this means Islamic marriage law. Some provisions of the law seem to contain codified Islamic law. However, the wording of the law is not always unequivocal. As differences of interpretation arise, in conservative Muslim circles national law is considered binding upon Muslims but "God's law" provides the final standard: thus interpretations of the national law cannot go against Islamic law. Among liberal Muslims, modernists and nationalists, the supremacy of national law is honoured. The latter groups aim at improvement of the position of women and unification of the law, whereas the former tend to maintain the unfavourable position of women and hold the *umma* above the nation-state.

The marriage contract between Muslims is laid down in an *akta nikah*, which according to national law has to be approved by the Marriage Registrar, an official of the local Religious Office (*Kantor Urusan Agama, K.U.A.*) which is a branch of the Ministry of Religion. In practice, centrally-designed and printed model contracts are commonly used. Procedures are explained to the people with the help of citizens with a specific religious function in village or neighbourhood government. Besides these, however, *adat* ceremonies often take place at the time of the wedding. The national law permits in principle only monogamous marriages, but the religious courts may allow a man to marry more than one wife on certain grounds and conditions, such as the consent of the first spouse. National law has altogether forbidden polygamy between partners who belong to the civil service or the army.

Unilateral divorce, generally called *talak*, has been embedded in a court procedure as well. The judge first has to check whether there is a valid motive as specified by national law in a limitative list of divorce grounds. If this is the case, he functions as an official witness to the *talak*. The old custom of concluding *taklik talak* upon marriage has been continued through the uniform model contract that reiterate the same divorce grounds as those mentioned in national law.

In colonial times, the government had found various types of Islamic courts deciding marriage disputes among Muslims, in what was regarded to often be an unsystematic way. In the 1870s, L.W.C. van den Berg was commissioned to draft a law on Islamic courts. This became the Law on Priest Courts of 1882, which remained the basic law on Islamic jurisdiction until its replacement by Law no. 7 of 1989 concerning religious jurisdiction. This law has made the religious courts competent not only in all marriage and divorce cases between Muslims but also in matters of inheritance. The decisions of the religious courts, however, can be subject to final appeal to the Supreme Court, the *Mahkamah Agung*.

Religious courts, *K.U.A.*s and institutes of higher Islamic learning (*I.A.I.N.*) where the Islamic law is taught, are all under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Religion. Interpretations of Sunnī schools other than the S̲h̲āfiʿī one have gained currency, contributing to flexibility of reasoning. In this respect mention has even been made of a fifth *mazhab*, the *mazhab Indonesia*. Nevertheless, Juynboll's *Inleiding* is still held in high esteem among Islamic scholars.

There are indications that the religious courts, the *K.U.A.*s and the local functionaries, do not always apply the law as it appears to have been intended by the national legislator. This happens notably when the national and the *s̲h̲arīʿa* norms seem to be incongruent. Consequently, the protection of women as intended in the national law can be undermined. Also, marriages between partners of different religions, which have since long been allowed in national law, are becoming increasingly difficult in practice.

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(J.M. Otto and S. Pompe)

5. In East Africa

The number of Muslims in East Africa can only be estimated; it has been given as 20% of the total population, but 10% is more realistic. That is still more than six million persons; of these only a few hundred thousand live in Uganda, more than five million in Tanzania, and over a million in Kenya. They all follow the S̲h̲āfiʿī school, except the Indian Muslims, who are Ḥanafīs, or Ismāʿīlīs, Bohorās [*q.v.*], Twelver S̲h̲īʿīs and a few others. Of the African Muslims, only the Somalis retain their own language, except when they settle in the towns. All other Muslims in East Africa are Swahili-speaking, or adopt Swahili when converting to Islam. Marriage is probably the commonest reason for conversion for either sex.

In many ways, Islam requires few changes for a convert. The proposal for a marriage is made by a senior member of the family, usually but not necessarily, the groom's family. This proposer, the *mposa*, has to make numerous journeys between the two family homes until all the details of presents have been settled. The "bride price" is called *mahari* in many East African languages; it is an ancient custom, although strictly speaking *mahr* [*q.v.*] is not the same as the "bride price" of customary law. Some Swahili scholars insist that *mahari* should be only a token sum, others that it is payment to the bride's father for the trousseau, including furniture. On the Coast, some marriages are uxorilocal: the bridegroom moves in

with his wife. Elsewhere, almost always the bride is taken ceremoniously to the bridegroom's home. Traditional songs accompany every stage of the proceedings.

The preferred marriage partners are parallel cousins, in the paternal lineage; since many houses are the family homes of brothers living together, the bride and groom will have known each other since childhood. Since everyone has to obey his father, the latter can and does decide on the choice of partner for both his sons and his daughters.

The Ḳurʾānic impediments are not always enforceable, e.g. in many parts of Africa it is customary for a man in certain circumstances to marry two sisters; often it is obligatory for a man to marry his father's widows, his brother's widows (this is not forbidden in the Ḳurʾān), and even his father's brother's widows, so that he has to marry his aunts to raise seed for the patrilineal clan. In many African villages it is normal for any lactating woman to suckle a baby crying with hunger. A Muslim scholar's objections are shrugged off. As a result, two persons may marry who have sucked the same breast.

In Africa, many women cultivate their own plot of land within the area of land belonging to their husband's clan. They can sell their produce and cook for the family when it is their turn. As a result, they will not be so much affected by their husband's neglect as a townswoman would be. However, the husband is anxious not to neglect his wives because they might take lovers. In Africa, Islam has become diluted with local customs so that numerous forms of syncretism are found. Though most men have only one wife, the chiefs may have more wives than the four permitted by Islam. Since Africans are keen to have surviving children, the type of marriage called *mutʿa* [*q.v.*] is rare. Sailors and traders may have a wife in each of the towns where their business takes them more or less regularly, and have children by all of them. Although slavery was abolished at the beginning of the century, a rich man can still obtain a girl by paying her father *mahari*, which in this case acquires a new meaning. There is no minimum age for girls to marry, but the majority of the men will be in their twenties when marrying. *Kufu*, a husband of equal socio-economic class [see KAFĀʾA], is essential for a girl born of the *ḳabāʾila*, the established clans on the East Coast. If a virgin takes a lover of a lower class, this is considered a scandal that affects the whole family, to the extent that girls are known to have been executed for it.

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6. In Nigeria

Whereas the Northern Region of Nigeria, as it then was, adopted a new penal and criminal code based on the Sudan code in 1960, the year of independence, personal law and family law have continued to be administered according to the traditional Mālikī *madhhab*. In practice, however, this has become much distorted by customary and non-canonical observances at which the strict *malams* (Ar. *ʿulamāʾ*) protest, mostly in vain. An illustrative example of this occurs in the poem *Hakuran zama da iyali* ("Living patiently with the family") by Alhaji Sadisu Lawal Sugogi:

> The useless things that they have to provide (for the bride)
> Place marriage beyond the reach of every husband.
> Even those that wish to add another wife
> Must certainly suffer financially as a result of this.
> Once you enter into the marriage contract
> It is with difficulties that you get out of it.

(Muhammed Sani Aliyu, *Shortcomings in Hausa society as seen by representative poets from ca. 1950 to ca. 1982*, M.A. diss. Bayero University, Kano 1983, unpubl.)

The Sultan of Sokoto, Abubakar III, on realising the extent of the problem, set up a committee in 1967 to examine alcohol and drug abuse and extravagant wedding customs. The committee's findings were largely ignored because it proved impossible to pass legislation to enforce compliance with the suggested regulations, including those relating to wedding gifts. The same fate met the recommendations of a second committee convened in 1969. Undeterred, and prompted by increased concern over drunkenness, prostitution and deviant marriage customs, the Sultan established a third committee, this time under the chairmanship of Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the first executive President of Nigeria from 1979 to 1983. This committee received 1,200 letters and conducted 600 interviews; its findings were summarised in a booklet *Nasiha ga Musulmi kan yaki da shashanci da almubazzaranci* ("Good advice to Muslims about the battle against immorality and extravagance") which was distributed in 1973 by the influential organisation *Jam'atu Nasaril Islam* ("People for the victory of Islam"). The Sultan said he wished *Nasiha ga Musulmi* to be a public record of the endeavours of the *ulama* to stem the tide; its tone was uncompromising. The following is an example:

> There are some customs which give rise to such extravagance that marriage has become a kind of trade in itself. For that reason the custom known as *lefe* is abolished completely. Any dress-lengths of cloth the bridegroom intends to give to the bride should not be handed over to her until she is under his roof, whereupon he can give her as many dress-lengths as he likes and it is entirely his own business. It is expressly forbidden to allow them to be paraded about for inspection.

Some of the recommendations later became bye-laws of the Sokoto Local Authority but proved to be as unenforceable as before, especially in the climate created by the 1970s oil boom when newly-rich entrepreneurs and bureaucrats vied with each other in the marriage market.

In 1981 the Federal Law Reform Commission proposed a bill for the reform of the Marriage Act. It fail-

ed to recognise religious and cultural sensibilities and was therefore dropped. However criticisms continued to surface and women's groups, notably FOMWAN (The Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria) aroused awareness of the issues through its nationwide organisation which had attracted university-trained Muslim women. In 1991 a four-day seminar, *Better Protection for Women and Children under the Law*, was organised by the Federal Ministry of Justice. Aisha Lemu, a FOMWAN executive member and the wife of the Grand Kadi of Niger State, addressed the seminar on the subject "Muslim women and marriage under the Shari'a". Her remarks on the financial and marital rights of Muslim women echoed some of the earlier views expressed in *Nasiha ga Musulmi*, but went further and blamed the courts for not implementing the law in respect of divorce and the custody of children. She said:

> The main problems faced by Muslim women in Nigeria are caused by pre-Islamic customs. In the North women who are ready to take their cases to the Shari'a courts can sometimes still fail to get their rights in the lower courts because of either ignorance of the Shari'a or corruption. However, if they are patient and persistent enough to appeal to the higher Shari'a courts their rights will be upheld.

In the multi-cultural context of Nigeria, which is a secular state, it is difficult to see how the Federal Law Reform Commission will be able to effect change without causing deep resentment in one section of the country or the other. Gradual shifts in attitude may, however, be engineered by women's pressure groups characterised by FOMWAN and others, notably *The Women's Commission* in Kano, which are backed by Muslim intellectuals predominantly based in Northern Nigerian universities.

Bibliography: A detailed and scholarly account of marriage customs and law in Northern Nigeria has yet to be written. Meanwhile, see A. Phillips and H.F. Moons, *Marriage laws in Africa*, 1971; Edwin Nwogogu, *Nigerian family law*; Awwalu Hamisu Yadudu, *Islamic law and law reform discourse in Nigeria*, diss. Harvard Univ. 1986, unpubl.; Zainab Kabir, *Law and marital problems in Kano State*, in *The Muslim Woman*, i/2 (1990); Beverley Mack and Catherine Coles (eds.), *Hausa women in the 20th century*, Madison 1991. (Jean Boyd)

NĪKBŪLĪ, Nikbūlī, the most commonly used Ottoman Turkish form of the Byzantine town of Nikopolis, modern Bulgarian Nikopol, a town on the southern bank of the Danube in lat. 43° 43' N. and long. 24° 54' E., famed as the scene of a battle between the Ottomans and the European Crusaders in 1396.

This Nikopolis, founded by Heraclius (*ca.* 575-642), has often been confused, especially in mediæval literature, with Nikopolis *ad Istrum* or *ad Haemum*, founded by Trajan in 101 in commemoration of his victory over the Dacians (ruins excavated near modern Niküp in the upper valley of the D̲j̲antra by Mt. Haemus). The Byzantine Nikopolis is sometimes called Nikopolis Major to distinguish it from Trajan's Nikopolis and Nikopolis Minor on the opposite bank of the Danube near the Rumanian town of Tornu Magurele.

The importance of Nikopolis as a trade centre and military post is due chiefly to the command which it holds over the Osma and the Aluta, the two Danubian arteries reaching into the heart of Bulgaria and Rumania respectively. Situated on a naturally fortified plateau, it dominates the plains to the south, the Danube to the north, and the eastern gorge connecting the interior of Bulgaria with the river. The mediæval double walls and strong towers surrounding Nikopolis were destroyed by the Russians during their occupation of the city in 1810 and 1877.

Nikopolis was first captured from the Bulgarians in 791/1389 by ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Čāndārlī [see ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Čāndārlīzāde]. Seven years later, it was the scene of the famous battle in the Crusade which is called by its name. The acquisition of Bulgaria by the Turks and their continual irruptions north of the Danube into territories claimed by Hungary, together with a state of comparative peace in Western Europe in the last decade of the 14th century, made it both necessary and possible for most Catholic countries to participate in the expedition. An army of about 100,000 Crusaders (according to the most reliable estimates) from France, Burgundy, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Wallachia and Transylvania marched along the Danube, seized Vidin and Rahova, and finally set siege to Nikopolis while an allied Veneto-Genoese fleet blockaded the city from the river. The siege lasted about fifteen days, during which Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] abandoned the siege of Constantinople, burnt the siege machinery, and summoned his Asiatic and European contingents to arms. A Turkish army of perhaps 110,000 men met at Adrianople and, marching through the Shipka Pass, descended into the valley of the Osma and pitched their camp on the southern hill commanding the Nikopolis plain.

The battle took place on Monday 21 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 798/25 September 1396, and the Crusaders were completely routed owing to the superiority of Ottoman tactics and the dissensions amongst the leaders of the Christian host. Bāyezīd divided his army into two large sections. The first, consisting of two large bodies of irregular cavalry and of irregular infantry, occupied the slope of the hill. Between the cavalry vanguard and the infantry rearguard of this section, the Turks planted a field of pointed stakes. Beyond the skyline on the other slope of the hill, hidden from their unsuspecting enemy, the second and more important section, consisting of Bāyezīd with his Sipāhīs and Stephen Lazarović with his Serbs, watched for the right moment to advance against the exhausted Christians. These tactics proved to be effective when the Crusaders' vanguard of French and foreign auxiliaries defeated the Turkish irregular cavalry and, after forced dismounting to uproot the stakes, routed the irregular infantry and pursued them uphill to face the new and unseen forces. Meanwhile, a stampede of riderless horses produced confusion in the Crusaders' rear which comprised the Eastern European armies. Mircea and Laczković, who had no sympathy for Sigismund of Hungary, retired with their Wallachian and Transylvanian auxiliaries who constituted the left and right wings of the rearguard. After desperate fighting for the relief of the French and foreign contingents, the Hungarian nobles persuaded their king to board a Venetian galley and escape by way of Byzantium and the Morea to Dalmatia. The rest were either killed or captured, only to be massacred on the following day by Bāyezīd in order to avenge in this way the severe losses which he had sustained. A small number of nobles were, however, saved from the massacre for a ransom of 200,000 gold florins.

The immediate result of the Ottoman victory was the extension of the conquests into Greece and the submission of Wallachia to Ottoman suzerainty. More important, however, was the breathing-space it gave for the consolidation of the Turkish territories in Europe, which enabled the Ottoman empire to sur-

vive the critical struggles of the next decades. In later history, Nikopolis plays only a minor part. During the wars of the 19th century it was thrice captured by Russian armies (September 1810; July 1829; July 1877), and by the Treaty of Berlin (13 July 1878) was included in the tributary principality of Bulgaria. The modern town of Nikopol (estimated population 1970, 5,715) lies in the province (*okrŭg*) of Pleven (Ottoman Turkish Plewne [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: See the standard histories of the Ottoman Empire. For the Crusade, a full and classified bibliography of the extensive ms. and printed sources, both Eastern and Western, is contained in A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis*, London 1934. See also the following older monographs: A. Brauner, *Die Schlacht bei Nikopolis, 1396*, Breslau 1876; J. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIVème siècle*, Paris 1886; H. Kiss, *A Nicapolye ulkozet*, Magyar Academiai ertestito, 1896; I. Köhler, *Die Schlachten bei Nikopoli und Warna*, Breslau 1882; F. Šišic, *Die Schlacht bei Nikopolis*, Vienna 1893. Of more recent studies, see *İA*, art. *Niğbolu* (M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ); Halil Inalcık, *The Ottoman empire. The classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 15-16; H.W. Hazard (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, iii. *The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, Madison 1975, 21-6, 82-5; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 33-4. (A.S. Atiya)

NĪKSĀR, the classical Neo-Caesarea in Bithynia, a town lying on the southern rim of the Pontic mountain chain of Asia Minor (the modern Turkish Kuzey Anadolu Dağları) on the right bank of the Kelkit river. It is situated at an altitude of 350 m/1,150 feet in lat. 40°35′ N. and long. 36°59′ E.

The nucleus of the town is picturesquely situated at the foot of a hill, crowned by the ruins of a mediaeval castle which was erected from the material provided by the numerous buildings of antiquity there. Here in remote antiquity was Cabira and after its decline Diospolis founded by Pompey, later called Sebaste. In Church history Nīksār is famous as the scene of a Council (314 A.D.) and as the birthplace of Gregory the miracle-worker. In the Muslim period it became important under the Saldjūḳs, of whom numerous and important buildings have survived to the present day. It became more important under the Dānishmandids [*q.v.*], whose founder Malik Dānishmand Aḥmad Ghāzī took Nīksār among other places. His grandson Muḥammad successfully resisted a siege by the emperor Manuel in Nīksār. His son Yaghibaşan (537-62/1142-66), of whom there survives an inscription of the year 552/1157, died in 562/1166, whereupon Nīksār was taken by the Byzantine emperor Manuel (Kinnamos, 296-7, 300) although only for a short time. In 799/1397 Nīksār passed to the Ottomans and gradually lost its former importance. It remained noted for its very prolific orchards, celebrated already in al-Ḳazwīnī's time (*Āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848) the special produce of which, very large and sweet cherries, pears, figs etc., were famous at all times. Ewliyā Čelebi (cf. *Seyāḥat-nāma*, ii, 389, v, 14; *Travels*, ii, 102) who visited Nīksār in 1083/1672, describes the town in his usual extravagant fashion, mentioning 70 schools, 7 monasteries, many mills and waterwheels and 500 shops with a large number of shoe-makers. The pomegranates there, he says, are the size of a man's head and weighed 1 *oḳḳa*. The remains of the Islamic period, so far as they bear inscriptions, have been published by Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, *Kitābeler* (Istanbul 1345/1927), 58-73. The *türbe*s (sepulchral cupolas) of Malik Ghāzī and of Ḥādjdjī Čiḳrīḳ are worth mentioning; among old dervish monasteries there are the Ishīḳ-tekke and the Ḳolaḳ-tekke. Nīksār has often been visited and described by modern travellers. The population before the First World War (*ca.* 4,000) was one-quarter Christian; they were mainly engaged in the silk and rice trades.

In modern Turkey, Nīksār is the centre of an *ilçe* or district in the *il* or province of Tokat. In *ca.* 1960 it had a population of 10,550.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 628; F. Taeschner, *Anatol. Wegenetz*, i, 216 ff., ii, 12 ff.; Gyllius, *Bosph. Thrac.*, 334; J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 339, 426; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Kleinasien*, i, 221 ff.; J. Morier, *A journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople*, London 1812, 42; R. Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia*, etc., London 1821, 700; W. Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East*, London 1819, 484; J.B. Fraser, *Winter journey*, London 1838, 209; J.E. Alexander, *Travels from India to England*, London 1827, 235; Eli Smith and H.G.O. Dwight, *Missionary researches in Armenia*, London 1834, 46; W.J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, London 1842, 346; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 734-5; Admiralty handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1942-3, ii, 576; *İA*, art. Niksar (Besim Darkot); *PW*, xvi/2, cols. 2409-13 (W. Ruge). (F. Babinger)

NĪĶŪLĀʾŪS, the Arabised form of the name of Nicolaus of Damascus, born 64 B.C., distinguished politician (adviser of King Herod, friend of Emperor Augustus), and scholar of vast erudition and versatility. Greek fragments of his rhetorical, historical and biographical works have survived, but philosophical fragments are scarce. On the other hand, his literary legacy was unknown in the Orient, but Syriac and Arabic translations of his philosophical works have recently come to light.

1. The *Book on Plants*: *K. Arisṭūṭālīs fī 'l-nabāt, tafsīr Nīḳūlāʾūs* is probably an adaptation of Aristotle's lost work Περὶ φυτῶν. The Arabic translation was discovered in 1923, edited by Arberry (1933) and Badawī (1954). See now Drossaart Lulofs and Poortman, *Nicolaus De plantis, five translations*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.* (1989) (= *DLP*). Because in the Latin version by Alfred of Sareshel (1200 A.D.) the words *tafsīr Nīḳūlāʾūs* were omitted, *De plantis* was attributed to Aristotle himself. Some 160 mss. testify to its popularity in the Middle Ages, and yet it was eclipsed by the Greek retroversion from Alfred's text (13th cent.), which from 1539 onwards figured as an appendix to all Greek editions of Aristotle, but was generally considered spurious. In 1841 Alfred's Latin version was edited by E.H.F. Meyer, who knew the title in Arabic from Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel v, 162, no. 10564). In his commentary, Meyer marked off a long digression (§§ 66-*ca.* 130) on the parts of plants that was borrowed from the *History of Plants* by Theophrastus, whose name was not mentioned. Apparently, Nicolaus inserted this detailed account because Aristotle used to maintain that the parts of plants were few and simple. A comparison with Theophrastus' Greek text shows that Nicolaus, in compiling, sometimes left out important words, e.g. restrictive particles, and had the habit of conflating parallel passages. Consequently, the tenor of the original work was often distorted and obscured. Obviously, he did the same to the Aristotelean part. Glossators swamped the text with enigmatic glosses and digressions on alien matters. Hence the rambling character of the book.

In the Orient, many authors have used the *K. al-Nabāt*, and though some of them (e.g. Ibn al-Ṭayyib) had a poor opinion of it, Ibn Rus̲h̲d appears to have written an epitome (*DLP*, 363 ff.). The fragment of a long commentary in Hebrew (Oxford Hunt. 576) is a clever imitation. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 73 ff., rightly asserts that the book has primarily been one of the few sources for the knowledge of Theophrastean botany among the Arabs. And indeed, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn al-Ṭayyib, for instance, had a strong preference for the relevant part which, of course, they attributed to Aristotle.

2. *On the Philosophy of Aristotle* in at least 13 books. In this extensive compendium of Aristotle's physical treatises, Nicolaus acted as a pioneer; at the time when commentators used to begin with *Logic*, he turned to the philosophy of nature. The remnants in Europe are very scarce, but a curtailed Syriac version in the mutilated Cambridge ms. Syr. Gg. 2.14 was discovered in 1901. Drossaart Lulofs edited the first five books in 1963 (= Nicol. *Philos.*). Owing to the rapidly increasing mutilation of the ms. leaves, the others are less accessible.

Some remarkable features are that: (a) throughout the whole work the same habit of compiling and the same use (and abuse) of conflation is observed as in *De plantis*; (b) a compendium of the *Metaphysics* is added and placed after (!) the *Physics*; (c) Ibn Rus̲h̲d's objections against Nicolaus' peculiar way of adjusting the *Metaphysics* to his purpose, which were discussed from Th. Roeper (1844) onwards, can now be explained (Nicol. *Philos.*, 27-34); and (d) abridged excerpts of *Meteorology*, i-iii, are interspersed with parts of Olympiodorus' *Commentary* in a very bad translation. In the Paris ms. B.N. Syr. 346, some of these comments are collected and wrongly ascribed to Nicolaus. In editing these quotations under Nicolaus' name, F. Nau (in *ROC*, xv [1910]) created confusion. (e) In Nicolaus' book, *Meteor.*, iv, is concerned with mineralogy and deviates from Aristotle because Nicolaus has supplemented Aristotle's own short and unfinished observations on the subject (at the end of *Meteor.*, iii) with quotations from Theophrastus, *De lapidibus*. So, just as in *De plantis*, Nicolaus turned to Theophrastus where Aristotle failed.

Large parts of the compendium have been translated from Syriac into Arabic, and both translations have been used by Oriental authors as a kind of source book of Aristotelian tenets. A case in point is Barhebraeus, who possessed an unabridged copy of Nicolaus in Syriac, of which in the *Candelabrum* and the *Butyrum sapientiae* he often availed himself without mentioning the Damascene (see *DLP*, 17-49). On the other hand, Ibn Rus̲h̲d inserted a lengthy passage from Nicolaus' (unabridged) summary of the *Metaphysics*, where his copy of the Arabic translation of Aristotle's work had a lacuna, see Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *Tafsīr mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*, 843.8-850.7 Bouyges = Nicol. *Philos.*, F. 22.

Bibliography: Th. Roeper, *Lectiones abulpharagianae*, Gedani 1844, 35-43, contain the first discussion of Nicolaus' philosophical fragments known at the time. See further the bibl. in H.J. Drossaart Lulofs, *Nicolaus Damascenus on the Philosophy of Aristotle*, Leiden 1969², 6-7; P. Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen I*, in *Peripatoi*, v (Berlin 1973), 445-514; Drossaart Lulofs, *Aristotle's ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΤΩΝ*, in *Jnal. of Hellenic Studies*, lxxvii/1 (1957), 75-80; idem, *Aristotle, Barhebraeus and Nicolaus*, in *On nature and living things*, ed. A. Gotthelf, Bristol 1985, 345-357; idem, *Das Prooimion von ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΤΩΝ*, in *Aristoteles' Werk und Wirkung*, ed. J. Wiesner, ii, Berlin 1987, 1-16. (H.J. Drossaart Lulofs)

NĪL, also *nīladj̲* (Persian, from Skr. *nīla* "blue") is *Indigo tinctoria* L., *Indigoferae*, the oldest known organic dye. It is the main component of natural indigo, which can be obtained from various kinds of indigofera (*Isatis tinctoria, Cruciferae*) and from the knotweed (*Polygonum tinctorium, Polygonaceae*). For thousands of years indigo has been used in India, China, as well as in Egypt, to paint and dye various fabrics. Classical antiquity knew indigo as a medicine; the Arabs cultivated the plant and produced the dye themselves.

The Arab translators of Dioscurides did not find an equivalent for *isāṭīs*, and so the early Arab authors confused the ἰσάτις of Dioscurides—Pliny's *glastum* (*Nat. Hist.* xxii, 2), *Isatis tinctoria*—with Dioscurides' ἰνδικόν, Pliny's *indicum* (xxxv, 27), Arabic *nīl* = *Indigo tinctoria*. In the Middle Ages, the Arabs used the word *nīl*—actually indigo—to indicate woad. However, they realised the difference: al-Suwaydī, *K. al-Simāt fī asmāʾ al-nabāt* (ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 198b, 10), referring to the identification of *isāṭīs* with *nīl*, only remarks that many scholars have a different opinion, but al-G̲h̲āfiḳī (in Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Dj̲āmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, iv, 186, 28-30) expresses himself more clearly: Dioscurides' *nīl* (= ἰσάτις) is known in Spain under the name *al-samāʾī* ("the sky-blue"), but it is not much used in the land of the Franks, whereas the *nīl* of the dyers is said to be *al-ʿiẓlim*, the (Indian) *nīl*, whose description applies to indigo. The constant confusion between the two plants led to a series of Arabic synonyms, like *ʿiẓlim, wasma (wāsima), k̲h̲iṭr, nīla, ṭīn ak̲h̲ḍar*, etc., which were used indifferently for the two plants.

Both isatis and indigo were used as medicines, especially as astringents, by way of compresses, for wounds, tumours and sores. Indigo was an important commercial product, used for colouring fabrics and wool. The main source of exports was always India, Bag̲h̲dād being the intermediate place of transfer. From here the dyeing plant reached mediaeval Europe as "Baghdad indigo" (see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1885-6, repr. Amsterdam 1959, 626-9). Outside India, the indigo plant was also grown on Persian soil, in Kirmān and K̲h̲ūzistān (see P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 273, 276, 422). In modern times, it is mostly synthetic indigo which comes on the market.

Bibliography: A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans. Ein anonymer arabischer Kommentar (Ende 12. Jahrh. n. Chr.) zur Materia medica*, Göttingen 1988, 636-7, with references to sources and literature.

(A. Dietrich)

AL-**NĪL**, the river Nile. The Nile is one of the large rivers (length *ca.* 6,648 km./4,132 miles) which from the beginning have belonged to the territory of Islam, and the valleys and deltas of which have favoured the development of an autonomous cultural centre in Islamic civilisation. In the case of the Nile, this centre has influenced at different times the cultural and political events in the Islamic world. Thus the Nile has, during the Islamic period, continued to play the same part as it did during the centuries that preceded the coming of Islam.

The name al-Nīl or, very often, Nīl Miṣr, goes back to the Greek name Νεῖλος and is found already in early Arabic literary sources, though it does not occur in the Ḳurʾān (in sūra XX, 39, the Nile may be meant by *al-yamm*). The Christian habit of calling the river Gēḥōn, after one of the rivers of Paradise, as found in the works of Ephraim Syrus and Jacob of

Edessa and in the Arabic-Christian author Agapius (*Patrologia Orientalis*, v, 596), is not followed by the Muslims who know only the Oxus under this name. Al-Zamakhsharī (*Kitāb al-Amkina*, ed. Salvedra de Grave, 127) mentions as another name al-Fayḍ, no doubt a poetical allusion to the yearly flood. Already in the Middle Ages, the word *baḥr* having come to acquire in Arabic the meaning of "river", the Nile is also called al-Baḥr or Baḥr Miṣr (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i, 218), which is also the case with several separate parts of its river system, such as Baḥr Yūsuf or Baḥr al-Ghazal. In the Delta, the different ramifications of the river are occasionally also called Nile, but where necessary the main stream (*ʿamūd*) is distinguished from the minor branches (*dhirāʿ* or *khalīdj*) and the canals (*turʿa*).

The geography of the Nile is treated here only from a historico-geographical point of view so far as the knowledge of Islamic science is concerned. The geographical knowledge of the Nile among the Muslims, so far as we can learn from their literary sources, is based partly on direct observation, but for the most part on legendary or pseudo-scientific traditions which go back to local beliefs or to classical knowledge. For a long time during the Middle Ages the limit of Islamic territory on the Nile was well fixed; it ended at the first cataract near the island of Bilāḳ (Philae) to the south of Uswān (Assouan); here began, since the treaty (*baḳt* [*q.v.*]) concluded by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ with the Nubians, the Nubian territory [see NŪBA], where for long centuries Christianity prevailed (al-Balādhurī, 236; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 188). The first locality on Nubian territory, where tribute was paid, was called al-Ḳaṣr (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 40-1 = § 883).

Historical tradition has preserved parts of the alleged correspondence between ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and the caliph ʿUmar on the subject of Egypt, then newly-conquered; here the Nile is described as a river "whose course is blessed", while the flood and the inundations are praised in poetical terms (ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Kindī, *Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, ed. Østrup, 204; al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 109). The same correspondence reveals the perhaps historical fact that ʿUmar did not wish to see the Arab army established in Alexandria, because there would be then a great river between the army and the caliph (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 91; cf. also what is said on p. 128 about those who went to live in al-Djīza).

The principal towns by which the Nile passed in mediaeval Egypt in Upper Egypt, between Uswān and al-Fusṭāṭ, were Adfū (Edfu, on the left), Isnā (Esne, l.), Armant (l.), Ḳūṣ (r.), al-Aḳṣur (Luxor, r.), Ḳifṭ (r.), Ikhmīm (Akhmīm, r.), Usyūṭ (Asyūṭ, Suyūṭ, l.), al-Ushmūnayn (l.), Anṣina (r. opposite al-Ushmūnayn), Ṭaḥā (l.), al-Ḳays (l.), Dalāṣ (l.), Ahnās (l.) and Iṭfīḥ (Aṭfīḥ, r.). This succession of towns is given for the first time by al-Yaʿḳūbī (331-4), while Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. de Goeje, 95) is the first to give a table of the distance between these towns, expressed in *barīd*s, the entire distance being 21 days' journey (al-Idrīsī, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, 52, gives 25 days' journey for the same distance). Shortly before al-Ushmūnayn, there branched off on the left the canal that conducted the water to al-Fayyūm, which is known to Ibn al-Faḳīh (74) as Nahr al-Lāhūn and to al-Idrīsī (50) as Khalīdj al-Manhī: this canal, which according to unanimous tradition was dug by Joseph, occurs already on the ms. map from the year 479/1086, of Ibn Ḥawḳal in Istanbul, Top Kapu Saray ms. no. 3346 (reproduction on fol. 658 of *Monumenta Africae et Aegypti* by Youssouf Kamāl). It is the Baḥr Yūsuf of our days; on it was situated al-Bahnasā. The banks of the Nile in Upper Egypt are not very completely described by the geographers; one finds repeated everywhere the assertion that the borders were cultivated without interruption between Uswān and al-Fuṣṭāṭ (cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, 50), but that the width of the cultivated territory varied during the river's course, dependent on the greater or lesser distance of the two mountain ranges that border the stream. Ibn Ḥawḳal (Istanbul ms., see above) describes two extremely narrow strips, one between Uswān and Atfū (now called Gebelein) and one between Isnā and Armant (now called Gebel Silsile). The curves in the course of the Nile, especially in the upper part of the Ṣaʿīd, are not indicated on the maps of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal. The oldest extant Arab map of the Nile, however—which is at the same time the oldest Arab map that we know of—gives clear indications that its sinuous course was a known fact. This map is found in the Strasbourg ms. of the year 428/1037 of al-Khʷārazmī's *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* and has been reproduced in the edition of that text by H. v. Mžik (*BAHUG*, iii, Leipzig 1926). The representation of the Nile here is connected with the classical tradition of astronomical geography; al-Khʷārazmī himself, and after him Suhrāb (Ibn Serapion) and Ibn Yūnus (ms. 143 Gol. of the University Library at Leiden, where on p. 136 a special table is given of the towns lying on the banks of the Nile), give exact indications as to the longitudes and latitudes of the Nile towns, but these indications need many very uncertain corrections to allow of the reconstruction of a map, as von Mžik has tried to do for al-Khʷārazmī in *Denkschr. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, lix, Vienna 1916, and J. Lelewel for Ibn Yūnus in pl. ii of the Atlas annexed to his *Géographie du Moyen-âge*, Paris 1850. But the fact that the course of the Nile runs from south to north was well known to all the Arabic sources, which often repeat the assertion that the Nile is the only river in the world for which this is the case. Only the text of Ibn Ḥawḳal seems to imply that the Nile reached al-Fusṭāṭ from the south-east (96).

The Delta of the Nile begins to the north of al-Fusṭāṭ, where the distance between the two mountain ranges widens, while these hills themselves become lower and pass gradually into the desert. Immediately below al-Fusṭāṭ began the canal that was dug by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to link up the Nile with the Red Sea; this canal (Khalīdj Miṣr or Khalīdj Amīr al-Muʾminīn) was made in 23/644 according to Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī (cited by al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, ii, 143; cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 466) and served for the conveyance of provisions to the Ḥidjāz until the reign of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; afterwards it was neglected and even obstructed by the order of the caliph al-Manṣūr, so that, in the 4th/10th century, it ended at Dhanab al-Timsāḥ in the lakes to the north of al-Ḳulzum (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 97 = § 1426).

The two principal arms of the Nile in the Delta began about 12 miles to the north of al-Fusṭāṭ (a little further than nowadays, according to Guest) and had, as now, a great number of ramifications which communicated in many ways and ended for the greater part in the big lakes or lagoons stretching behind the sea coast from west to east; these lakes were called in the Middle Ages: Buḥayrat Maryūṭ (behind Alexandria), B. Idkū, B. al-Burullus or B. al-Bushtīm and the very large B. Tinnīs, which last contained a large number of islands with Tinnīs as the most important. On the land tongue, where the two main arms

separated, was situated the town of Shaṭnāf. The western arm went as now to the town of Rashīd (Rosetta), after which it reached the sea; near the town of Shābūr a branch parted from this arm in the direction of Alexandria, ending in the Buḥayrat Maryūṭ; this branch was only filled with water in the time of the flood (see a very complete survey of the different "canals" of Alexandria by P. Kahle, in *Isl.*, xii, 83 ff.). The eastern arm ran, as is still the case, past Dimyāṭ (Damietta) and reached the sea shortly afterwards; it had several branches that went to the Buḥayrat Tinnīs, one of which continued one of the Nile mouths of antiquity. Though many sources, based on a pseudo-historical tradition, repeat after each other that there are seven Nile arms (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 6; further, al-Khʷārazmī, Ḳudāma, Suhrāb, al-Masʿūdī, Ibn Zūlāḳ), the more realistic authors (Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Rusta, al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Idrīsī) only know of the two main arms. These were linked up by a canal system which, in the Middle Ages, differed considerably from the present situation. The chief sources from which we know them are Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Idrīsī, who give itineraries following the different branches, but as the places named in these itineraries have been identified only in part, an integral reconstruction is not yet possible (on this problem cf. R. Guest, *The Delta in the Middle Ages*, in *JRAS* [1912], 941 ff., and the map annexed to this article). The description in the text of Suhrāb (ed. von Mžik, *BAHUG*, v) has little value as an endeavour to trace back to his time (4th/10th century) the seven legendary arms; among these arms special attention is paid to the "arm of Saradūs", which, according to tradition, was dug by Hāmān (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 6; cf. Guest, *op. cit.*, 944, and Maspéro and Wiet, *Matériaux*, in *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 104). Al-Maḳrīzī has preserved a detailed description of the canal system in the province of al-Buḥayra, to the east of Alexandria, from the *Kitāb al-Minhādj* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Makhzūmī, who wrote in the 6th/12th century (*MIFAO*, xlvi, 167 ff.). It seems possible that a study of the ancient maps (especially the Delta map of the Istanbul ms. of Ibn Ḥawḳal and the maps of al-Idrīsī) may be useful for a more complete reconstruction of the mediaeval situation.

The Nile arms have always been decisive for the administrative division of the Delta, which the sources call by the name of Asfal al-Arḍ or Asfal Arḍ Miṣr. The region to the east of the eastern branch was called al-Ḥawf; the texts of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal place al-Ḥawf to the north of the Nile, which may be understood in connection with the view referred to above that the Nile at al-Fusṭāṭ had a direction from S.E. to N.W. The region between the two main arms was called al-Rīf (a name sometimes used for the entire Delta as well) or Baṭn al-Rīf, while the country to the west of the western arm was called al-Buḥayra and later al-Ḥawf al-Gharbī, the original Ḥawf being called then al-Ḥawf al-Sharḳī. The three sections were divided into *kūras*, the limits of which were determined by the more important branches; the bigger administrative units of later times [see MIṢR] depended likewise on the river system. The present geographical aspect of the Delta is the result of the new irrigation works that began in the 19th century under Muḥammad ʿAlī; the most conspicuous new canals are the Maḥmūdiyya canal, dug from Fūwa on the western arm to Alexandria, the Tawfīḳiyya, Manūfiyya and Buḥayriyya canals that were completed in 1890, and the Ismāʿīliyya canal, which links up the Nile with the Suez canal.

As to the knowledge of the course of the Nile to the south of Egypt, the Islamic geographical literature begins rather late to give information based on direct observation. At first, these sources content themselves with saying that the Nile comes from the country of the Nūba; for the rest, there were ancient sources of a different kind that helped to complete the geographical conception of the course of the great river. This conception involved also the origin of the Nile, covered since antiquity by a veil of mystery. The real origin of the Nile always remained unknown to Muslim scholars and travellers. It is a curious fact, however, that the information on this subject which we find uniformly repeated in the Islamic sources from the treatise of al-Khʷārazmī (*ca.* 215/830) onwards gives an idea of the origin of the Nile which does not correspond entirely to the data furnished by the classical sources. This conception makes the Nile emerge from the Mountains of the Moon (Djabal al-Ḳamar) to the south of the equator; from this mountain come ten rivers, of which the first five and the second five reach respectively two lakes lying on the same latitude; from each lake one or more rivers flow to the north where they fall into a third lake and it is from this lake that the Nile of Egypt begins. This conception is largely schematised and corresponds only partly to Ptolemy's description of the Nile sources; Ptolemy knows only of two lakes, not lying on the same latitude and does not speak of a great number of rivers coming from the Mountains of the Moon. The third lake especially is an innovation (cf. von Mžik, in *Denkschr. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, lxxxix, 44); in later authors such as Ibn Saʿīd and al-Dimashḳī this third lake is called Kūrā and may be connected with some notion of Lake Chad (the same authors change the name of Djabal al-Ḳamar into Djabal al-Ḳumr, which pronunciation is commented on by al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i, 219), but this is not probable for the time of al-Khʷārazmī; the knowledge of more equatorial lakes, however, may perhaps be traced to the experiences of the two centurions despatched by Nero to explore the Nile and who reached, according to Seneca, a marshy impassable region, which has been identified with the Baḥr al-Ghazal. The system described by al-Khʷārazmī of the origin of the Nile is represented on the map in the Strasbourg ms. and is repeated many times after him (Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ḳudāma, Suhrāb, al-Idrīsī and later authors). Al-Masʿūdī, in describing a map he has seen, does not speak of the third lake (*Murūdj*, i, 205-6 = § 215) and Ibn Rusta (90) says that the Nile comes from a mountain called B.b.n and also knows only two lakes. Al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, on the contrary, frankly admit that the origin of the Nile is unknown, which is also illustrated by their maps. Still the system of al-Khʷārazmī continued to be a geographical dogma and is found as late as al-Suyūṭī. Al-Khʷārazmī also took over from Ptolemy a western tributary of the Nile, which comes from a lake on the equator; this river is called by Ptolemy Astapos and may perhaps be identified with the Atbara. A later development, which connects with the Nile system a river that flows to the east in the Indian Ocean, is found for the first time in al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 205-6, ii, 383-4 = §§ 215, 796); this view is later taken up again by Ibn Saʿīd and al-Dimashḳī.

Another category of notions about the origins of the Nile is connected with the Jewish and Christian traditions which make the Nile come from Paradise. Mediaeval cosmographical theory places Paradise in the extreme East, on the other side of the sea (cf. the maps of Beatus), so that the Nile, like the other rivers

of Paradise would have to cross the sea. This state of things is actually described in an old tradition, probably of Jewish origin, of a man who went in search of the sources of the Nile and had to cross the sea, after which he reached Paradise (al-Mas^cūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 268-9 = § 288 and *Akhbār al-zamān*, ms. Vienna, fol. 156a-b; al-Muḳaddasī, 21). With this origin in Paradise is perhaps connected the view, which all sources attribute to al-Djāḥiẓ in his lost *Kitāb al-Buldān*, that the Nile and the Mihrān [*q.v.*] (Indus) have the same origin (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 55), a view which is sarcastically criticised by al-Bīrūnī (*India*, 101). To the same origin may go back the idea, often found in Islamic sources, that, when the Nile rises, all the rivers of the earth go down in level.

Thirdly, there is a cycle of geographical conceptions which link up the western part of Africa with the river system of the Nile. Herodotus already had sought a western origin and Pliny quotes the *Lybica* of King Juba of Mauritania, who makes the Nile rise in western Mauritania. Marquart (*Benin-Sammlung*, 125 ff.) explained this view from a corruption of the name of the river Nuhul, which he identifies with the Wādī Nūl and which has its origin in the Mauritanian Atlas. Traces of this western Nile are to be found in Ibn al-Faḳīh (87) who, following an authority of the time of the conquest, places the origin of the Nile in al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā. Al-Bakrī for the first time identifies this western Nile with the river Niger, although we find already in al-Masʿūdī the knowledge of a great river, far to the south of Sidjilmāsa (*Murūdj*, iv, 92-3 = § 1420). Al-Bakrī describes the Nile as passing through the territory of the Sūdān (ed. de Slane, 172) and enumerates a number of Berber and Sūdān tribes and their towns which border the river; the westernmost town is with him Ṣanghāra, followed in an eastern direction by Takrūr, Sillā, Ghāna, Tiraḳḳā and finally the country of Kawkaw. After al-Bakrī, a similar description is given by al-Idrīsī, but this last author goes back to another source than al-Bakrī when he places the mouth of the Nile in the neighbourhood of the salt town Awlīl, thus identifying the lower course of this Nile with the Senegal (Marquart, *op. cit.*, 171). Al-Idrīsī likewise shows himself informed on the course of the Nile to the east of Kawkaw, though he is in doubt whether Kawkaw is situated on the Nile itself or on a side arm (ed. Dozy and de Goeje, 11); he finally derives this western Nile from the third of the big Nile lakes mentioned above, thus connecting the Nile of the Sūdān with the Nile of Egypt in one river system. So long as the complete text of al-Bakrī is not known, we cannot ascertain if this conception goes back already to that author. Al-Idrīsī's Nile course is clearly indicated on his maps of the 1st to the 4th sections of the first climate. After him, it is especially Ibn Saʿīd who described the western Nile in this way and who was followed again by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. Al-Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren, 89) gives the same representation; this last author even makes the third lake, which he calls like Ibn Saʿīd the lake of Kūrā, give birth to three rivers: the Nile of the Sūdān, the Nile of Egypt, and a third river running in eastern direction towards Maḳdishū [*q.v.*] in the Zandj country on the Indian Ocean. This last river, which was also connected by al-Masʿūdī with the Nile (see above) is probably identical with the Webi river in Somalia.

While the geographical authors constructed in this way the Nile system with a good deal of credulity and imagination, the real knowledge of the Nile south of Egypt advanced but slowly. The southernmost point reached by the Arab conquerers was Dongola [*q.v.*] (al-Kindī, ed. Guest, 12), and it was well-known that this town was situated on the Nile; its latitude and longitude are given by al-Khʷārazmī and Suhrāb. Al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Taʾrīkh*, i, 217) knows that, in the country of the Nūba called ʿAlwa, whose people live behind the Nūba in the region called Muḳurra, the Nile divides into various branches; this same author, however, places Sind behind ʿAlwa. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 31-2 = § 873) knows that the country of the Nūba is divided into two parts by the Nile. Ibn Ḥawḳal (Istanbul ms.) describes two places where there are cataracts (*djanādil*), namely the one above Uswān, which is the "first cataract", and one near Dongola, of which it is not certain whether the "second" or the "third" cataract is meant. About the same time, however, a traveller named Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī wrote a valuable description of the middle Nile course, which has been preserved in al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Wiet, in *MIFAO*, xlvi, 252 ff.). This Ibn Sulaym, on whom al-Maḳrīzī's *Kitāb al-Muḳaffā* gives some information (cf. Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, ii), had been sent by the Fāṭimid general Djawhar to the king of the Nūba on a diplomatic errand, and was the author of a *Kitāb Akhbār al-Nūba wa 'l-Muḳurra wa-ʿAlwa wa 'l-Budja wa 'l-Nīl* (Fr. tr. G. Troupeau, in *Arabica*, i/3 [1954], 276-88), in which a detailed description is given of these countries. He says that the region between Uswān and Dunḳula is inhabited in the north by the Marīs [*q.v.*] and more to the south by the Muḳurra [*q.v.*]; the northern part is barren and the great cataracts are correctly described. The country between Dunḳula and ʿAlwa (this last spot is the region of Kharṭūm [*q.v.*]) is described as highly flourishing; the big winding of the Nile here is perfectly known to Ibn Sulaym. The Nile "is divided" then into seven rivers; from the description it is clear that the northern one of these rivers is the Atbara, coming from the east; further south the "White Nile" and the "Green Nile" join near the capital of ʿAlwa, and the "Green Nile", which comes from the east, is again the result of four rivers, one of which comes, as the author thinks, from the country of the Ḥabasha, and one from the country of the Zandj; this last, incorrect, statement may have been influenced by learned tradition. Between the "White Nile" and the "Green Nile" there stretches a large island (*djazīra*, as it is still called on our maps), which has no limits in the south. This is about the only description in mediaeval Islamic literature that shows how far the knowledge of the middle Nile really went. Only a little of it seems to have reached the systematic geographic treatises; al-Idrīsī, e.g., describes this part of the river in a way which only shows that he did not make good use of the inadequate sources that were at his disposal.

The exploration of the upper Nile and its sources since the end of the 18th century was the work of European travellers. They discovered, or perhaps rediscovered, the really large Nile lakes and identified the Ruwenzori mountain range with the Moon Mountains, the name of which was found again by the explorer Speke in the name of the Unyamwezi country, the "country of the moon". A part of the exploration of the Nile was due, however, also to Egyptian initiative. The well-known military expedition of 1820-2 under Muḥammad ʿAlī's son Ismāʿīl Pasha, during which the city of Kharṭūm was founded, established Egyptian domination in the Egyptian Sūdān and opened the way for further scientific exploration. In the years 1839-42 three Egyptian expeditions went up the White Nile, and during the reign of Ismāʿīl Pasha b. Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] the Egyptian government

repeatedly tried to cleanse the swamps of the White Nile above Sobat from the masses of vegetation (*sudd*) which hindered navigation.

The yearly flood of the Nile (*ziyāda, fayḍ, fayaḍān*) is the phenomenon to which Egypt has been at all times indebted for its fertility and prosperity, as it provides, in compensation for the almost complete lack of rain in the country, a natural and almost regular irrigation for the lands on its borders and in the delta. It is the foundation of all cultural life and justifies entirely the attribute *mubārak* so often given to the river. On the same account, the Nile is considered, as well as the Euphrates, as a "believing" river (al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, *MIFAO*, xxx, 218). The flood deeply influences the private and public life of villagers and townsfolk alike, and already the oldest Islamic traditions about Egypt reflect the feelings of wonder and thankfulness that animated the people of Egypt before them (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 109, 205). Having reached its lowest level towards the end of May at Aswan and in the middle of June at Cairo, the Nile begins to rise again, reaching its highest level in the beginning of September at Aswan and in the beginning of October at Cairo. This regularity brings about a similar regularity in the methods of irrigation in the several parts of Egypt, in the times of the sowing and reaping of the different crops and consequently in the modes of levying the land taxes (e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Būlāk, i, 270, which text comes from Ibn Ḥawḳal); all the dates referring to these occupations have always continued to be fixed according to the Coptic solar calendar.

There is much discussion in the literary sources about the causes of the flood. The most ancient belief, which at the same time corresponds best with reality, was that the flood is caused by heavy rainfalls in the countries where the Nile and its tributaries have their origin. This is expressed in a somewhat exaggerated way in a tradition that goes back to ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ, according to which all the rivers of the world contribute, by divine order, with their waters to the flood of the Nile (Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, *loc. cit.*, and 149). This implies the belief that all other rivers fall while the Nile rises, but, on the other hand, it is sometimes observed that other rivers also show the same phenomenon of rising and falling, especially the Indus, and this again is considered as a proof of the common origin of the two rivers (al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, *MIFAO*, xxx, 227). There are, however, other views, which attribute the cause of the flood to the movement of the sea, or to the effect of the winds; these views have been inherited from sources of the pre-Islamic period, among others from the treatise on the flood of the Nile attributed to Aristotle, and they are discussed and refuted at length in a special chapter of al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (*MIFAO*, xxx, 236 ff.).

Up to the 19th century, the irrigation system of Egypt continued along the same lines. When the flood began, all the outlets on both sides of the main stream and its principal arms in the Delta were closed, to be opened again about the time of the highest flood, when the water level had reached the necessary height according to the different places. The most important of these yearly "openings" was that of the canal (*Khalīdj*) of Cairo, which, until recent times, remained a public festival. In Cairo the flood is complete (*wafāʾ al-Nīl*), when it has reached 16 *dhirā*ᶜs, generally in the first decade of the Coptic month of Mesore (about the midst of August), and this was proclaimed everywhere in the town (cf. the description by Lane, *Manners and customs*, ch. XXVI, and E. Littmann, *Ein arabischer Text über die Nilschwelle*, in *Festschrift Oppenheim*, Berlin 1933, 66 ff.; cf. for older times, al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 516).

The height of the level of the Nile has been measured since olden times by the Nilometers [see MIḲYĀS]. Many of these *miḳyās* are recorded by the sources, the southernmost being that of ᶜAlwa and the most celebrated the one of al-Fusṭāṭ, constructed by Usāma b. Zayd al-Tanūkhī in *ca.* 92/711 and often restored afterwards (a complete survey of all the *miḳyās* is given in Omar Toussoun, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire du Nil*, ii, 265 ff.). These instruments generally were made of stone, with marks upon them, but they were sometimes of other material (e.g. a fig-tree near the monastery of Safanūf in Nubia; cf. Evetts, *Churches*, 262). The level necessary for the operations of irrigation varied in different places; in the capital the average level had to be 16 *dhirā*ᶜs above the lowest level of the Nile; if the flood surpassed 18 *dhirā*ᶜs it became dangerous, while a flood not exceeding 12 *dhirā*ᶜs meant famine (cf. e.g. al-Idrīsī, 145, 146). In the history of Egypt, the years after 444/1052 and especially the year 451/1059 were notorious for the famine and disaster caused by the failure or practical failure of the flood. A historical account of the flood from the years 152-1296/769-1879 is given in Omar Toussoun, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire du Nil*, ii, 454 ff.

The regulation of the main stream and its branches are ascribed to the ancient Egyptian kings (al-Maḳrīzī, on the authority of Ibn Waṣīf Shāh), but no real irrigation work of a wider scope existed in the Middle Ages and later except the famous canal system of al-Fayyūm [*q.v.*], which all the sources ascribe to the prophet Yūsuf. In the rest of Egypt the water was allowed to flow freely over the lands after the piercing of the dams, so that large areas were completely inundated for some time; the Arabic sources contain some vivid descriptions of the large stretches of water, above which rose the villages, communication between the villages being only possible by means of boats during that time of the year (al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 162-3 = § 778; Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, 205). From the reign of Muḥammad ᶜAlī [*q.v.*] new irrigation works were planned with the aim of making the country more productive, a possibility at which already the mediaeval authors hinted more than once. The first efforts, however, failed. About 1840 was begun the construction of a great barrier across the two arms of the Nile at the apex of the Delta, according to the plans of the French engineer Mouget, but this enterprise began to bear fruit only fifty years later when this barrage project, including the Tawfīḳiyya, Manūfiyya and Buḥayriyya canals, had been completed in 1890. The later great irrigation works were executed higher up the river, such as the great dam and locks at the head of the cataracts near Philae above Aswan in 1902, which was raised again in 1912 and again in 1933. While allowing, on one side, a better regulation of the distribution of Nile water in Egypt, these barrages higher up enabled at the same time a better irrigation of the borders to the south of Egypt. Herewith is connected the enormous barrage of Makwār, near Sennār on the Blue Nile above Kharṭūm, which permits the irrigation of the region called al-Djazīra, between the Blue Nile and the White Nile. This work was finished in 1925 and was completed by a similar barrage on the White Nile (1937), on the Atbara (1964) and on the Blue Nile (1966). In this way, the control of the Nile waters passed to a certain extent out of Egypt itself; it recalls the days of the great famine in 451/1059, when the Egyptians thought that the Nubians were holding up

the flood of the Nile. The same problem came up in the 1930s with regard to the new project of constructing a dam on the frontier of the Sūdān and the Belgian Congo, and the question was raised whether this dam would prove a *fāʾida ʿādjila* or a *fāʾida ādjila* for Egypt (cf. the newspaper *al-Balāgh* of 17 March 1934). Since the establishment of the Egyptian Republic in 1953, the most notable change in the Egyptian part of the Nile's course has been the construction (1959-71) of the High Dam (*al-Sadd al-ʿĀlī*) at Aswān, *ca.* 965 km/600 miles upstream from Cairo, with the aim of providing controlled water for irrigation in the lower Nile valley, protection against unusually high floods and the generation of hydroelectric power. The reservation formed behind the barrage, Lake Nasser, stretches 480 km/300 miles upstream well into the Sudan. Whilst there have been great benefits for land reclamation and increased power generation in Egypt, there have on the other hand been indications of some deleterious effects also for the ecology of the Nile valley, such as increased salinisation of the river valley in Lower Egypt and alterations to the water flow in the Sudd region of southern Sudan.

It has already been shown how the flood of the Nile was the occasion of popular festivals such as the opening of the canal of Cairo. But in other respects also, the Nile is connected with traditional customs of a religious character, which are to be traced back through the Greco-Christian period into very ancient times. When the Arabs conquered Egypt, the sacrifice of the "Nile Bride" was still in use; every year a richly apparelled young virgin was thrown into the Nile to obtain a plentiful inundation. According to a tradition first recorded by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (150), this custom was abolished by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and the Nile resumed its flood after a note of the caliph ʿUmar had been thrown into it requiring the river to rise if the flood was willed by God. In later times, a symbolic offering of a girl called *ʿArūsat al-Nīl* was still practised on the Coptic *ʿĪd al-Ṣalīb* (Norden, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*, 1757, 63-5); Lane (*Manners and customs*, ch. XXVI) mentions a round pillar of earth, near the dam of the canal of Cairo, which pillar was called *al-ʿArūsa*. Another custom, practised formerly by Christians and Muslims alike, was to bathe in the Nile on the eve of the Epiphany, in memory of the Baptism of Christ (cf. Evetts, *Churches*, 129). Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 364-5 = §§ 779-80) describes this festival, which he calls *Laylat al-Ghiṭās*, for the year 330/942. Lane describes the same ceremony, but in his time the Muslims did not take part in it. But bathing in Nile water in general procures *baraka* (cf. W. Blackman, *The Fellāḥīn of Upper Egypt*, 32, with regard to bathing in the Baḥr Yūsuf).

The quality of the Nile water is a matter of discussion in medical treatises. Ibn Sīnā (*al-Ḳānūn fi 'l-ṭibb*, ed. Būlāḳ 1294, i, 98; cited by al-Maḳrīzī) holds that the circumstance that a river flows from south to north has a bad influence on the water, especially when a south wind blows, and on this account he thinks that the abundant praise given to the Nile is exaggerated. The Egyptian physician Ibn Riḍwān (d. 453/1061) says that the Nile water reaches Egypt in a pure state, owing to healthy conditions in the country of the Sūdān, but that the water is spoilt by the impurities that mix with it on Egyptian soil (cited by al-Maḳrīzī, *MIFAO*, xxx, 275 ff.). This same author describes very clearly the turbid condition of the water when the flood begins. He discusses likewise the influence of the Nile on the climate of Egypt and the medicinal properties of its water.

Other authors speak at length of the fauna of the Nile, giving especial attention to the fish. A very long list of fishes is given by al-Idrīsī (16 ff.), with a description of their often curious qualities. The animals most frequently described by the geographers are, however, the crocodiles, and the animal called *saḳanḳūr*, which is said to be the result of a cross between a crocodile and a fish, but which seems to be in reality a kind of skunk.

The possibilities which the Nile afforded for navigation are best seen from the historical sources. Seagoing vessels do not seem ever to have entered its arms, while the traffic on the river was maintained by small craft; various names of Nile boats occur in literature; in the 19th century the vessel called *dhahabiyya* is especially known. In earlier times, the term *zallādj* is used for a Nile boat (al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarāʾ*, ed. Guest, 157; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.). The skill of the fishermen in their sailing boats on the lakes in the Delta is often recorded; in shallow places, however, as well as on the inundated lands, boats had to be moved by means of oars or poles. The rapids between Egypt and Nubia were, as nowadays, an insurmountable barrier to river traffic; the loads were conveyed along the shore to the other side of the falls (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ms. Ahmet III, no. 3346, fol. 86).

The cataracts above Aswan for a long time continued to form a barrier to the spread of Islam towards the countries bordering the Nile to the south of Egypt, which forms a curious contrast with the part played by the Nile in the introduction of Christianity into Nubia (cf. J. Kraus, *Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien*, diss. Münster 1930). Islam penetrated only slowly into Nubia and became more generally disseminated in the Sūdān only in the 19th century [see NŪBA; SŪDĀN].

Something has been said already about the praises of the Nile and its descriptions in poetical terms, by which this river has contributed to Arabic literature. Al-Maḳrīzī (*loc. cit.*, 270 ff.) cites some fragments of poems in praise of the Nile and its flood; among the poets whom he names are Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz [*q.v.*] (d. 375/985) and Ibn Ḳalāḳis (d. 567/1172). Further, Yāḳūt (i, 592, iv, 865) cites some poems which he attributes to Umaiya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt; this poet is probably Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayya b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 528/1134) who wrote a treatise *al-Risāla al-Miṣriyya*, from which also al-Maḳrīzī makes quotations. The earliest Arabic poems on the Nile are probably those found in the *Dīwān* of Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt [*q.v.*], the court poet of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Marwān at the beginning of the 8th century. Several treatises have been especially devoted to the Nile. Ibn Zūlāḳ (d. 387/997) says in his *Faḍāʾil Miṣr* ms. arabe no. 1818 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, fol. 31a) that he has written a book on the importance and the salutary qualities of the Nile, which now seems to be lost. Further, there are a treatise *Tabṣirat al-akhyār fī Nīl Miṣr wa-akhawātihi min al-anhār* (ms. in Algiers; cf. Brockelmann, II², 666), and two short opuscula by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 863/1459) and al-Suyūṭī, which are found together in the ms. Or. 1535 of the British Museum (Rieu, *Suppl.*, no. 1198; Brockelmann, II², 138).

Bibliography: As the aim of the present article is to give only an account of the Nile from the point of view of Islam and its history, it seems superfluous to quote here even the most important modern works and articles belonging to the abundant bibliography of the Nile. The earlier Islamic authors have all been named in the text; the later ones, such as Yāḳūt, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, al-Ḳalḳashandī, al-Maḳrīzī, al-Suyūṭī (*Ḥusn al-*

muḥāḍara), al-Nuwayrī and others are in most cases a compendium of earlier earlier views and statements. A very important later Islamic source is *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya* by ᶜAlī Bāshā Mubārak. The Islamic literary sources have been used in the following works: Else Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Aegyptens im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1903, 31-61; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Egypte*, in *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 215 ff.; and very profusely, Omar Toussoun, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire du Nil*, i, ii, iii, in *Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Egypte*, viii, ix, x, Cairo 1925. The last of these three volumes contains a series of cartographical reconstructions. A number of ancient Islamic maps of the Nile are to be found in the *Mappae Arabicae*, ed. K. Miller, Stuttgart 1926-30, and more completely in vol. iii of the *Monumenta cartographica Africae et Aegypti* by Youssouf Kemal; in this same work all the geographical references to the Nile are also to be found in a chronological order.

(J.H. KRAMERS*)

NĪLŪFER KHĀTŪN, wife of the Ottoman sultan Orkhan and mother of Murād I [*q.vv.*], apparently the Greek Nenuphar (i.e. Lotus-flower) (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 59), was the daughter of the lord of Yārḥiṣār (Anatolia, near Bursa; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 659) and according to one story was betrothed to the lord of Belokoma (Biledjik). ᶜOthmān [*q.v.*], the founder of the dynasty which bears his name, is said to have kidnapped and carried her off in 699/1299 and to have destined her to be the wife of his son Orkhan [*q.v.*], then only 12 years old. Idrīs Bitlīsī, and following him Neshrī, tell the story of the rape, but the Byzantine sources make no reference to it. Nīlūfer Khātūn became the mother of Murād I and also of Süleymān Pasha. The river which flows through the plain of Bursa bears the same name, as also does the bridge over it in front of the town and monastery there. The bridge and monastery are said to have been endowed by Nīlūfer Khātūn. Nothing more is known of her life. She was buried beside Orkhan in his *türbe* at Bursa. That Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 323-4, tr. Gibb, ii, 453-4, really means Nīlūfer Khātūn by Bayalūn Khātūn, which both F. Giese (cf. *ZS*, ii [1924], 263) and F. Taeschner (cf. *Isl.*, xx, 135) think to be obvious, as they take *B.y.lūn* to be a corruption of *N.y.lūf.r*, is, however, by no means proved, because Bayalūn is a name which occurs again in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa for a Byzantine princess (cf. ii, 393-4). Besides, the mention in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who paid his respects to the princess at her court in Iznīḳ (*ca.* 740/1339), is very brief. F. Taeschner suggests that Nīlūfer (cf. Pers. *nīlūfar* "water lily" and Greek i.e. λουλούφερον and νούφαρα with the same meaning) has been derived from the Greek. Nīlūfer was and is also popularly known as Lulufer (e.g. in the early Ottoman chronicles) or Ulufer, as in the river Ülfer Čay; cf. F. Taeschner, *op. cit.*, 135-6.

Bibliography: von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 59-60; *Sidjill-i ᶜothmānī*, i, 86 (according to Neshrī); F. Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx, 133-7; *İA*, art. *Nilüfer Hatun* (C.B.).

(F. BABINGER)

NĪMĀ YŪSHĪDJ, modern Persian poet, born ᶜAlī Isfandiyārī on 11 November 1897 in Yūsh, a village in the Āmul township of Māzandarān, died in 1960. His pen name, Nīmā Yūshīdj, which he later took for himself, and which has come to replace his real name in popular use, described his place affiliation, since Yūshīdj, in the local dialect, means "a native of Yūsh". The poet's father, Ibrāhīm Nūrī, was a farmer and cattleman. Nīmā Yūshīdj's early boyhood was spent in the tribal environment which distinguished the life of his region. He received his initial education in his native village and subsequently went to Tehran where he was enrolled in the Saint Louis High School, an institution operated by Roman Catholic missionaries. From there he graduated on 15 June 1917, acquiring a competent knowledge of the French language. Together with French, he also learned Arabic, which he studied in a separate school. During his school days, he came to know the poet Niẓām Wafā, who was a teacher at the Saint Louis High School, and whose encouragement and guidance initiated Nīmā Yūshīdj into the art of composing poetry.

After his graduation, Nīmā Yūshīdj was in and out of work for several years. The jobs which he held were short-lived, and there were periods when he had no regular employment. His first assignment involved a low-paid job in the Ministry of Finance. Subsequently, he worked as a school teacher, first in Āstārā and afterwards in Tehran. When the journal *Mūsīḳī* came out in early 1939 under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, he was appointed as a member of its editorial board, a position which he held until the journal ceased publication at the end of 1941. To this journal he contributed numerous poems as well as a series of articles dealing with the individual and social basis of creative arts. The articles were later published as a book under the title *Arzish-i aḥsāsāt* ("The value of feelings"). After the suspension of *Mūsīḳī*, Nīmā Yūshīdj remained without work for some years. In 1326/1947-8 he found a job in the printing and publication department of the Ministry of Education. He continued to work in that capacity till the time of his death, which took place in early January 1960.

Nīmā Yūshīdj's writings began to appear in print from 1921. Among the first journals to publish his works were *Naw bahār* and *Ḳarn-i bīstum*. Some of his poems were included in the *Muntakhabāt-i āthār*, a literary anthology published in 1342/1923-4. Until the poet's association with the journal *Mūsīḳī*, his works appeared sporadically. After that, they began to be published on a more regular basis. During the forties and fifties, his poetical works came out in *Payām-i naw*, *Nāma-yi mardum*, *Khurūs-i djangī*, *Andīsha-yi naw*, *Kawīr*, and several other journals upholding new literary tendencies. A volume of his selected poems appeared in 1955, and a complete edition of his verse was published in 1364/1985-6.

The earliest work of Nīmā Yūshīdj was his long poem *Ḳiṣṣa-yi rang-parīda* ("The pale story"), which was published in 1921. It was composed in the *mathnawī* form, employing the same metre as the one used in Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī*. Its theme was personal, and it showed the poet's involvement with love and its unhappiness, alienation from society, and disgust with city life and its people. In spite of its conventional form and style, the poem represented a departure from the ordinary trend, in that it depicted a new sensibility based upon the Western concept of literary romanticism.

The next important work of Nīmā Yūshīdj, and in fact his masterpiece, was another long poem entitled *Afsāna* ("Myth"). Composed in 1922, it was published partially, soon afterwards, in *Ḳarn-i bīstum*. This poem, which evokes a vague comparison with Alfred de Musset's *Les Nuits*, may be said to have heralded the beginning of modernism in Persian poetry. It contained a dialogue between a lover, dismayed by his experience, and the Myth which consoles him in his sorrow. Besides setting a new example in amatory verse, *Afsāna* was unique for its impres-

sionistic approach to the subject as well as for using an imagery derived from personal observation.

Many of Nīmā Yūshīdj's poems had a strong social appeal. Notable specimens reflecting this aspect of his verse included *Maḥbas* ("Prison"), *Khānwāda-yi sarbāz* ("The soldier's family"), *Āy ādamhā!* ("O you people!"), *Nāḳūs* ("The bell"), *Kār-i shab pā* ("The night watchman"), and *Murgh-i āmīn* ("The amen bird"). Works such as these show a predilection for popular causes, and pro-leftist sympathies could be discerned among them.

Nīmā Yūshīdj left an unmistakable mark on contemporary trends in Persian poetry. The generation of poets that emerged after the forties recognised him as their leader. One of his most important contributions was his effort to provide Persian poetry with a new formal structure, and he was the first to popularise free verse, which became the major vehicle of expression for future poets.

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(Munibur Rahman)

NIʿMAT ALLĀH b. AḤMAD b. Ḳāḍī Mubārak, known as Khalīl Ṣūfī, author of a Persian-Turkish dictionary entitled *Lughat-i Niʿmat Allāh*. Born in Sofia, where as an enameller he made a reputation as an artist, he moved to Istanbul and there entered the Naḳshbandī order. Association with the Naḳshbandī dervishes made him more closely acquainted with literature and especially with Persian poetry. Niʿmat Allāh decided to make accessible to others the knowledge he had acquired by an ardent study of Persian literature, and thus arose his lexicographical work, which he probably compiled at the instigation and with the assistance of the famous Kemāl Pasha-zāde (d. 940/1533 [*q.v.*]). He died in 969/1561-2 and was buried in the court of the monastery at the Edirne gate in Istanbul. His work, which survives in a considerable number of manuscripts, is divided into three parts: verbs, particles and inflection, and nouns. His sources were: 1. *Uḳnūm-i ʿAdjam* (see Oxford, Bodleian, Uri, 291, no. 108); 2. *Ḳāsima-yi Luṭf Allāh Ḥalīmī* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 503); 3. *Wasīla-yi maḳāṣid* (Flügel, *Vienna catalogue*, i, 197); 4. *Lughāt-i Ḳarā-Ḥiṣārī* (Rieu, 513a); 5. *Ṣiḥāḥ-i ʿAdjam* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 91 and *Leiden catalogue*, i, 100). Besides making careful use of these sources, Niʿmat Allāh added much independent material, of which his dialect notes and ethnographical observations are especially valuable. This work is of considerable scientific importance and deserves greater attention than it has so far received.

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(E. Berthels)

NIʿMAT ALLĀH b. ḤABĪB ALLĀH HARAWĪ, a Persian historian. His father was for 35 years in the service of the Great Mughal Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) where he was a *khāliṣa* inspector. Niʿmat Allāh himself was for 11 years historian to Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-28), then entered the service of Khān-Djahān Lōdī [*q.v.*] whom he accompanied in 1018/1609-10 on the campaign against the Deccan. Soon afterwards he became acquainted with Miyān Haybat Khān b. Salīm Khān Kākar of Sāmāna, who persuaded him to write a history of the reign of Khān-Djahān. Niʿmat Allāh began his work in Malkāpūr in Dhū 'l-Ḥidjdja 1020/February 1612 and finished it on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1021/2 February 1613. The work is dedicated to Khān-Djahān, and is entitled *Taʾrīkh-i Khāndjahānī* and consists of a *muḳaddima*, 7 *bābs* and a *khātima*. It deals with the history of the Afghāns, beginning with their legendary descent from the Banū Ismāʿīl and treats with special fullness of the history of Bahlūl Lodī, Shīr Shāh Sūr and Nawwāb Khān-Djahān Lōdī. The last chapters are devoted to the genealogy of the Afghān tribes and the reign of Djahāngīr. The *khātima* contains biographies of famous Afghān *shaykhs*. There is also an abbreviated version of the work entitled *Makhzan-i Afghānī*.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, in *GIPh*, ii, 362-3; Rieu, *Catalogue*, 210a, 212a, 903b; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, v, 67-115. The shorter version is translated by B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans: translated from the Persian of Neamet Ullah*, in *Orient. Transl. Fund*, London 1829-36. See also Storey, i, 393-5, 1302; Storey-Bregel, ii, 1209-14.

(E. Berthels)

NIʿMAT-ALLĀHIYYA, a Persian Ṣūfī order that soon after its inception in the 8th/14th century transferred its loyalties to Shīʿī Islam. The Niʿmat-Allāhiyya first took root in south-eastern Persia where it continued to prosper until the time of Shāh ʿAbbās. For the next two centuries it survived only in the Deccani branch that had been established in the 9th/15th century. Reintroduced into Persia with considerable vigour in the early 13th/late 18th century, the Niʿmat-Allāhiyya became the most widespread Ṣūfī order in the country, a position it has retained until recent times.

1. The founder and the development of his order.

The eponym of the order, Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Nūr

al-Dīn b. ᶜAbd Allāh Walī (sometimes designated additionally as Kirmānī, especially in Indian sources) was born in Aleppo, in either 730/1329-30 or 731/1330-1. His father was a *sayyid*, claiming descent from Ismāᶜīl b. Djaᶜfar (which may help to account for the loyalty given the Niᶜmat Allāhī order by several Nizārī *imāms* of the Ḳāsim-Shāhī line), and his mother was descended from the Shabānkāra rulers of Fārs. The stylistic superiority of Niᶜmat Allāh's Persian to his Arabic writings suggests that he must have been brought to a Persian-speaking environment while still a child. In any event, he is recorded to have studied during his early youth in Shīrāz with theologians such as Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārazmī and ᶜAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī (d. 756/1355). Niᶜmat Allāh was initiated into Ṣūfism by the well-known Yemeni historian and *muḥaddith*, ᶜAbd Allāh al-Yāfiᶜī (d. 768/1367), whose spiritual lineage went back through three generations to Abū Madyan (d. 590/1194). Niᶜmat Allāh joined al-Yāfiᶜī's circle in Mecca when he was twenty-four years of age, and stayed with him until his death. Most probably it was al-Yāfiᶜī, who frequently described the Ṣūfīs as "kings" in his writings, who bestowed the title of Shāh on Niᶜmat Allāh.

After the death of his master, Niᶜmat Allāh embarked on a long series of travels. These brought him first to Egypt, where he spent a period of retreat in the cave on Mt. Muḳaṭṭam that had been used for the same purpose by the Bektāshī saint Ḳaygh̲usuz Abdāl [*q.v.*]. He then travelled through Syria and ᶜIrāḳ to Adharbāydjān, meeting in Ardabīl with the progenitor of the Ṣafawids, Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn and possibly with Ḳāsim al-Anwār (although the latter can have been little more than an adolescent).

It was in Transoxiana that Niᶜmat Allāh first presented himself as a *murshid* and the propagator of a new order. Conditions there must have appeared propitious, for the Turkic nomads of the area, awaiting Islamisation, offered a vast pool of potential recruits on which other Ṣūfī *shaykhs* were already drawing. It was, however, precisely the extent of Niᶜmat Allāh's success in establishing *khānaḳāhs* in several locations and, more importantly, in recruiting a large number of nomads in the area of Shahr-i Sabz that aroused the suspicion of Tīmūr [*q.v.*] and led to Niᶜmat Allāh's expulsion from Transoxiana. Accounts differ regarding the precise circumstances of his departure; several of them attribute it to the jealousy of Amīr Kulāl (d. 772/1370), the spiritual master of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband (J. Aubin, *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shah Niᶜmatullah Wali Kirmani*², 12-15). There is, however, no mention in the sources on Amīr Kulāl of any clash with Niᶜmat Allāh, which could, after all, have been presented in favourable and even triumphant terms. On the other hand, the clearly deliberate omission of Niᶜmat Allāh by the Naḳshbandī ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī from his *Nafaḥāt al-uns* may indeed reflect some inherited distaste for the founder of the Niᶜmat-Allāhiyya.

From Transoxiana, Niᶜmat Allāh went first to Ṭūs and then to Harāt, arriving there probably in 774/1372-3. He emerged from a period of seclusion to marry the granddaughter of Amīr Ḥusayn Harawī, a well-known poet, and to engage in agriculture, a pursuit he continued to follow for the rest of his life and to recommend to his disciples as "the true alchemy". At the suggestion of the followers whom he acquired while in Harāt, he moved the following year to Kirmān, an area which may have seemed desirable because of its comparative remoteness from the main centres of power of the day. At first he settled in Kūhbanān, outside the city; it was there that Shāh Khalīl Allāh, his only son, was born. Later he moved to the city itself and then to its suburb of Māhān, leaving the Kirmān area only rarely to visit Yazd, Taft and, in 816/1413-14, Shīrāz, in response to an invitation by Iskandar b. ᶜUmar Shaykh, the Tīmūrid governor of Fārs. Niᶜmat Allāh died in Māhān in 834/1430-1 and was buried in the proximity of the *madrasa* and *khānaḳāh* he had constructed there.

This last period in the life of Niᶜmat Allāh was by far the most fruitful. Apart from his disciples in Kirmān, he had several thousand devotees in Shīrāz, who are said to have included the Ṣūfī poet Shāh Dāᶜī Shīrāzī, the theologian Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Djurdjānī and the gastronome-poet Busḥāḳ-i Aṭᶜima (by contrast, a somewhat later poet, Ḥāfiẓ, is said to have condemned Shāh Niᶜmat Allāh obliquely for his claims to spiritual eminence, in the poem that begins "Might those who transmute the soil with their gaze also glance briefly on us?", *Dīwān*, ed. Ḳazwīnī and Ghanī, Tehran n.d., 132-3).

Shāh Niᶜmat Allāh also wrote profusely; many hundreds of treatises have been attributed to him. Even allowing for exaggeration and misattribution and taking into account the fact that many of the "treatises" are brief notes or communications, the size of Shāh Niᶜmat Allāh's literary corpus remains impressive. His writings include exegetical essays on the Ḳurʾān and the dicta of earlier *shaykhs* and, more importantly, treatises that expound leading themes in the Ṣūfism of Ibn ᶜArabī, especially *waḥdat al-wudjūd*. He also composed a commentary on Ibn ᶜArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, claiming that he had been vouchsafed a perfect comprehension of the book by inspiration from the Prophet, just as the author had received the book itself from the same infallible source.

Better known and more widely read than Niᶜmat Allāh's treatises is, perhaps, his *Dīwān*, which consists for the most part of verses expounding *waḥdat al-wudjūd* with a particular emphasis on the impossibility of ontological multiplicity. Despite the manifest influence on Niᶜmat Allāh's poetry of ᶜAṭṭār and Rūmī, his fondness for the technical terminology and conventional symbols of Ṣūfism detracts heavily from the poetic effect of his verse. The most frequently cited poems in his *Dīwān* are those of prophetic or apocalyptic nature which have been interpreted as foretelling events as diverse as the rise of the Ṣafawids, the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan and the Islamic Revolution in Iran of 1978-9. These verses, the authenticity of at least some of which is open to question, have tended to make of Shāh Niᶜmat Allāh the Persian equivalent of Nostradamus (Browne, *LHP*, iii, 463-73).

There can be little doubt that Niᶜmat Allāh remained a Sunnī throughout his life. His master al-Yāfiᶜī was a Shāfiᶜī, and he himself frequently cited the *ḥadīths* of Abū Hurayra in his works, something unthinkable in a Shīᶜī author. Nonetheless, elements that may have facilitated the later transition of the Niᶜmat-Allāhiyya to Shīᶜism are also to be encountered in his writings. These include a belief in Twelve Poles (*aḳṭāb-i dawāzdah-gāna*) of the spiritual universe and an emphasis on *wilāya* as the inner dimension of prophethood.

Shāh Niᶜmat Allāh Walī was succeeded by his son Shāh Khalīl Allāh, then fifty-nine years of age. Not long after his father's death, he was summoned to the court of the Tīmūrid Shāhrukh in Harāt. According to the hagiographical sources, this invitation was a sign of the monarch's veneration for him, but it is more likely that Shāhrukh sensed a political danger in

the strength and number of the Niᶜmat-Allāhīs. That relations between Khalīl Allāh and the ruler were not altogether harmonious is shown by Shāhrukh's refusal to exempt the family lands from taxation. For whatever reason, some time between 836/1432 and 840/1436, Khalīl Allāh decided to leave Persia. Entrusting the shrine at Māhān to one of his sons, Mīr Shams al-Dīn, he departed for the Deccan with his two other sons, Muḥibb al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh and Ḥabīb al-Dīn Muḥibb Allāh.

Aḥmad Shāh Bahman, the ruler of the Deccan [see BAHMANIDS], had already sent a delegation to Shāh Niᶜmat Allāh inviting him to settle at Bīdar [*q.v.*] in his kingdom. Formerly a devotee of the Čishtī saint Gīsū darāz, he was searching for a new preceptor, one who might enjoy prestige among the immigrant élite, the so-called Āfāķīs, on which he was coming increasingly to rely. Shāh Niᶜmat Allāh had refused the invitation, but he sent Aḥmad Shāh a letter of initiation that also granted him the title of *walī*. Some years later, Aḥmad Shāh sent a second delegation to Māhān, this time asking for Khalīl Allāh to be sent to the Deccan. This request, too, was refused, but his grandson Nūr Allāh was sent by way of compensation. Aḥmad Shāh received him with great honour, giving him his daughter in marriage and elevating him over all the indigenous Ṣūfīs by naming him *malik al-mashāyikh*.

Now that Khalīl Allāh had finally come, he and his party were greeted with similar enthusiasm. Although links with Persia were not entirely broken, the leadership of both the Niᶜmat-Allāhī family and order was now to remain in the Deccan for several generations: Khalīl Allāh died in 860/1456, and was succeeded in turn by Ḥabīb al-Dīn; Mīr Shāh Kamāl al-Dīn; Burhān al-Dīn Khalīl Allāh II; Mīr Shāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad; Mīr Shāh Ḥabīb al-Dīn Muḥibb Allāh II; Mīr Shāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad II; Mīr Shāh Kamāl al-Dīn II; and Mīr Shāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad III. The leadership of the Niᶜmat-Allāhī order then passed out of the family to a certain Mīr Maḥmūd Dakkanī. Although the Niᶜmat-Allāhīs retained their influence among the Deccani aristocracy even after the dynasty that had brought them there was replaced by the Ķuṭb Shāhīs [*q.v.*], they never succeeded in putting down roots among the population at large.

The Niᶜmat-Allāhīs who stayed in Persia initially enjoyed good relations with the Ṣafawids. One of them, Mīr Niẓām al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Bāķī, was appointed *ṣadr* by Shāh Ismāᶜīl in 917/1511-12, and subsequently became the *wakīl-i nafs-i humāyūn* (regent). ᶜAbd al-Bāķī's son mediated between the next Shāh, Ṭahmāsp, and his brother in 956/1549, and the new reign saw several marriages between the Niᶜmat-Allāhī family and the Ṣafawid house. The relationship began to sour in the time of Shāh ᶜAbbās I when one member of the family, Amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mīrmīrān, became involved in an Afshār rebellion in Kirmān. Thereafter, although members of the family continued to hold the posts of *naķīb* and *kalāntar* in Yazd until at least 1082/1671-2, the Niᶜmat-Allāhiyya seems to have disappeared from Persia as a functioning Ṣūfī order. The only trace left of its existence consisted of the Niᶜmatī gangs that, oblivious to their Ṣūfī origins, waged intermittent warfare with their Ḥaydarī rivals in a number of Persian cities, often with royal encouragement.

The Niᶜmat-Allāhī order was reintroduced into Persia by a certain Maᶜṣūm ᶜAlī Shāh Dakkanī, sent there for the purpose by Riḍā ᶜAlī Shāh Dakkanī (d. 1214/1799), the grandson and second successor of Mīr Maḥmūd Dakkanī. With his ecstatic mode of preaching, Maᶜṣūm ᶜAlī Shāh swiftly gained a large following, particularly in Shīrāz, Iṣfahān, Hamadān, and Kirmān. The resurgent Niᶜmat-Allāhiyya had, however, to confront the hostility of the Shīᶜī *mudjtahids*, newly invigorated by the triumph of the Uṣūlī doctrine which assigned them supreme authority in all religious affairs. Maᶜṣūm ᶜAlī Shāh and several of his followers fell victim to this hostility; he was put to death himself at Kirmānshāh in 1212/1797-8, while *en route* from Nadjaf to Mashhad, by Āķā Muḥammad ᶜAlī Bihbahānī, a *mudjtahid* popularly known as *ṣūfīkush* ("Ṣūfī killer").

Maᶜṣūm ᶜAlī Shāh's principal companion and disciple was Nūr ᶜAlī Shāh of Iṣfahān, a prolific author in both poetry and prose. His works are replete with theopathic utterances; themes of *ghulāt* Shīᶜism that seem to echo the verse of Shāh Ismāᶜīl; and criticisms of the Shīᶜī *ᶜulamāʾ*. (The combination of these elements suggests that the renascent Niᶜmat-Allāhiyya of the time had doctrinally little in common with the order as first established by Shāh Niᶜmat Allāh and his immediate descendants.) Particularly provocative of *ᶜulamāʾ* indignation was, no doubt, Nūr ᶜAlī Shāh's assertion that the Ṣūfī master is the true deputy (*nāʾib*) of the Hidden Imām. Nūr ᶜAlī Shāh accompanied his master on all his journeys except the last, fatal one, dying himself the same year in Mawṣil, allegedly from poison administered by agents of Bihbahānī.

Four years later, Bihbahānī himself died, and the antagonism between the Niᶜmat-Allāhīs and the *ᶜulamāʾ* began to decline. This development was furthered by the adoption of more circumspect doctrines and attitudes by the Niᶜmat-Allāhīs themselves, which permitted them to establish themselves as a lasting although subordinate element of Persian religious life. No longer seeming subversive, the Niᶜmat-Allāhīs also ceased to arouse the hostility of the Ķādjār monarchs, one of whom, Muḥammad Shāh, himself became an initiate of the order. The Niᶜmat-Allāhī order was thus able to grow throughout the 13th/19th century. However, as it expanded, it divided into several, often mutually hostile branches, only the more important of which will be mentioned here.

Muḥammad Djaᶜfar Kabūdar-āhangī Madjdhūb ᶜAlī Shāh (d. 1238/1823) was the last leader to exercise undisputed control over the whole order. Three separate claimants to the leadership arose after him: Kawthar ᶜAlī Shāh (d. 1247/1831); Sayyid Ḥusayn Astarābādī; and Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn Shirwānī Mast ᶜAlī Shāh (d. 1253/1837-8). The first became the eponym of a sub-order known as the Kawthariyya, which has survived down to the present, although with a very small membership; its best-known leader in modern times was Nāṣir ᶜAlī Shāh Malik-niyā (still living in the late 1970s). The line descended from Astarābādī also reached into the 20th century, producing one of the most celebrated Persian Ṣūfīs of recent times, Sayyid Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Shams al-ᶜUrafāʾ (d. 1353/1935), after whom it is retrospectively known as the Shamsiyya. Its following, too, has generally been very restricted.

The main line of Niᶜmat-Allāhī descent is that which passes through Mast ᶜAlī Shāh. He was the author of several important works refuting the legalistic criticisms that were still being directed against Niᶜmat-Allāhī Sufism (see in particular his *Kashf al-maᶜārif*, Tehran 1350 *Sh.*/1971) and three compendious travelogues, valuable for the detailed information they contain on the Ṣūfīs of diverse affiliations whom Mast ᶜAlī Shāh met in the course of his travels.

After the death in 1278/1861 of Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn

Raḥmat ᶜAlī Shāh, the successor of Mast ᶜAlī Shāh, a further trifurcation took place, one more serious than the first because it affected the main body of the Niᶜmat-Allāhīs. The first of the three claimants to leadership was Saᶜādat ᶜAlī Shāh Ṭāwūs al-ᶜUrafāʾ (d. 1293/1876 in Tehran), who is said to have been a Ṣūfī of the traditional ecstatic type, the clarity of whose heart was unclouded by any learning. His successor, Sulṭān ᶜAlī Shāh Gunābādī from Bīdukht in Khurāsān, was a man of quite different type. He studied philosophy with the celebrated Mullā Hādī Sabzawārī before embarking on the Ṣūfī path, and even after beginning to train his own *murīds* he continued to give instruction in the formal religious sciences at his *khānaḳāh* in Bīdukht. He wrote a well-regarded commentary on the Ḳurʾān of a mystical-philosophical nature, entitled *Bayān al-saᶜāda*. Murdered by an unknown assailant in 1327/1909, he was succeeded by his son, Ḥādjdj Mullā ᶜAlī Gunābādī Nūr ᶜAlī Shāh-i Thānī (d. 1337/1918). This introduction of hereditary succession gave rise to a new sub-order known as the Gunābādī, with reference to the area surrounding Sulṭān ᶜAlī Shāh's place of origin. Ḥādjdj Mullā ᶜAlī was succeeded first by Ṣāliḥ ᶜAlī Shāh (d. 1386/1966) and then by Riḍā ᶜAlī Shāh Tābanda (still living in 1992). Although the Gunābādīs generally eschew the designation Niᶜmat-Allāhī and cannot therefore be regarded as representing the main line of the Niᶜmat-Allāhī order, they have been for several decades the largest single group of Niᶜmat-Allāhī descent in Iran. It is no doubt because of the sober, *sharīᶜa*-oriented nature of their Ṣūfism that they have been able to retain this position even after the establishment of the Islamic Republic.

The Ṣafī-ᶜAlī-Shāhiyya, another offshoot of the Niᶜmat-Allāhī order emerging from the dispute over the succession to Raḥmat ᶜAlī Shāh, developed in a quite different direction. Its eponym, Ḥādjdj Mīrzā Ḥasan Iṣfahānī Ṣafī ᶜAlī Shāh, spent some time in India promoting his father's mercantile interests before returning to Iran and becoming a disciple of Raḥmat ᶜAlī Shāh. On the death of his master, he initially accepted the authority of Munawwar ᶜAlī Shāh, another of Raḥmat ᶜAlī Shāh's disciples, but the following year he declared himself the immediate successor of Raḥmat ᶜAlī Shāh and proclaimed his independence. Like his contemporary and rival, Sulṭān ᶜAlī Shāh Gunābādī, he also wrote a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, but it was widely criticised, both because of its contents and because it was composed in verse. On Ṣafī ᶜAlī Shāh's death in 1316/1899, the leadership of the order was assumed by Ẓahīr al-Dawla Ṣafā ᶜAlī Shāh, minister of the court and brother-in-law of the ruling monarch, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh; not surprisingly, this gave a somewhat aristocratic complexion to the Ṣafī-ᶜAlī-Shāhiyya. Given the incipient westernising tendencies among the Iranian political élite, it was perhaps natural that a further transformation should also have set in during Ṣafā ᶜAlī Shāh's lifetime. He established a twelve-man committee to supervise the operations of the order which under its new designation *Andjuman-i Ukhuwwat* ("Society of Brotherhood") was effectively transformed into a pseudo-masonic lodge; many of its members were, in fact, also initiates of *Bīdārī-yi Īrān* ("The Awakening of Iran"), the first masonic lodge in Iran affiliated with the French Grand Orient. The society abandoned virtually all the traditional rites of Ṣūfism, but continued to flourish among certain classes until the advent of the Islamic Republic, when its activities were brought to an end, together with those of all other masonic organisations. Its last leader was ᶜAbd Allāh Intiẓām (d. 1982).

It is the line of a third claimant to the succession of Raḥmat ᶜAlī Shāh, Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Āḳā Munawwar ᶜAlī Shāh (d. 1310/1884) that has the best claim to be regarded as the main line of Niᶜmat-Allāhī descent; its adherents continue to designate themselves exclusively as Niᶜmat-Allāhī, although the clarificatory expression "line of Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn" (an epithet borne by the third successor to Munawwar ᶜAlī Shāh) is sometimes additionally used. Munawwar ᶜAlī Shāh was succeeded in turn by Wafāʾ ᶜAlī Shāh (d. 1336/1918), Ṣādiḳ ᶜAlī Shāh (d. 1340/1922) and Ḥādjdj Mīrzā ᶜAbd al-Ḥusayn Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn Muʾnis ᶜAlī Shāh (d. 1372/1953). A man of wide erudition, Muʾnis ᶜAlī Shāh enjoyed great respect during the thirty years he directed the order, but its unity could not be maintained on his death. The traditional pattern of discord reasserted itself as thirteen claimants to the succession came forward. The most visibly successful of them was Dr. Djawād Nūrbakhsh, a psychiatrist. He managed to recruit many members of Tehran high society at a time when the profession of a certain type of Ṣūfism was becoming fashionable; to build a whole series of new *khānaḳāhs* around the country; and to publish a large quantity of Niᶜmat-Allāhī literature, including many of his own writings. As the Islamic Revolution of 1978-9 approached victory, Nūrbakhsh left Iran, and he now administers a mixed following of Iranian émigrés and Western converts resident in many cities of Europe and North America.

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2. Niᶜmat Allāh and his family at the Bahmanī court of South India.

When Khalīl Allāh b. Niᶜmat Allāh arrived in the Bahmanī capital Bīdar after his father's death in 834/1431, he established there a *khānḳāh* for his kinsfolk and followers, and his own tomb (*čawkhandī*) became a prominent landmark near the royal tombs, where many of his descendants still live. The Bahmanī sultan Aḥmad Shāh's own tomb is liberally embellished with extracts from the *dīwān* and other writings of Niᶜmat Allāh (the texts are given *in extenso*, with translations, in G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947, 115-28, with some illustrations on Pls. LXIX-LXXIV).

The tomb of Niᶜmat Allāh at Māhān, some 20 miles/36 km south-east of Kirmān in eastern Persia, was erected in 840/1437 by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī's orders, although the splendid dome dates from the time of the Ṣafawid Shāh ᶜAbbās I and the minarets at the entrance are from the early Ḳādjār period.

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NIᶜMAT KHĀN, called ᶜĀLĪ, Mīrzā Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Ḥakīm Fatḥ al-Dīn Shīrāzī, a Persian author, was born in India and came of a family several of whom had been distinguished physicians in their ancestral home in Shīrāz. He entered the service of the state under Shāh-Djahān (1037-68/1628-57) and was appointed keeper of the crown jewels with the title of *dārūgha-yi djawāhir-khāna*. He attained his highest honours under Awrangzīb (1069-1118/1659-1707), who gave him the title of Niᶜmat Khān (1104/1692-3), which was later changed to Muḳarrab Khān and then to Dānishmand Khān. He died at Dihlī on 1 Rabīᶜ II 1122/30 May 1710. Niᶜmat Allāh, who wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of ᶜĀlī, was exceedingly prolific and wrote a number of works in prose and verse, of which the following are the most important: 1. *Waḳāʾiᶜ-i Ḥaydarābād*: a description of the siege of Ḥaydarābād by Awrangzīb in 1097/1685-6. This work is characterised by a biting wit and describes the siege in a satirical form, which procured the little book the greatest popularity; 2. *Djang-nāma*, a chronicle which covers the last years of Awrangzīb's reign and the war which broke out after his death among his sons; 3. *Bahādur-Shāh-nāma*, a chronicle of the first two years of the reign of Shāh ᶜĀlam Bahādūr-Shāh (1119-24/1707-12); 4. *Ḥusn u ᶜIshḳ*, also called *Katkhudāyī* or *Munākaḥa-yi Ḥusn u ᶜIshḳ*, an allegorical love story, an imitation of the celebrated *Ḥusn u Dil* of Fattāḥī [*q.v.*]; 5. *Rāḥat al-ḳulūb*, satirical sketches of a number of contemporaries; 6. *Risāla-yi hadjw-i ḥukamāʾ*, anecdotes of physicians and their incompetence; 7. *Khān-i niᶜmat*, a work on cookery; 8. *Ruḳaᶜāt*, letters to Mīrzā Mubārak Allāh Irādat Khān Wāḍiḥ, Mīrzā Muḥammad Saᶜīd, the head of the imperial kitchen, and others, which were very highly thought of as models of a choice style of letter writing; 9. a lyrical *Dīwān*; 10. a short *Mathnawī* without a title, which deals with the usual Ṣūfī ethical themes. This survey shows a great versatility on the part of Niᶜmat Khān, but it must be pointed out that, with the exception of the satirical works which are really original and of great value for the characterisation of his age, none of them rises above the level of pale imitations of classical models.

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NIMR, Fāris, Syro-Lebanese journalist, scientist and politician, born in Ḥasbayyā, South Lebanon, in 1855 to an Arab Orthodox family, died in 1951. He studied Arabic, English, German and mathematics in Jerusalem, Mount Lebanon and Beirut. In 1870 he entered the Syrian Protestant College (SPC, subsequently renamed the American University of Beirut), and graduated with a Bachelor degree in Arts and Science. In 1874 he was appointed assistant to the American missionary Dr Cornelius Van Dyck (1818-95) in the Astronomical Observatory at SPC, and taught subjects such as Latin, chemistry and astronomy. During the same year, and after his conversion to Protestantism, he joined the Beirut Masonic Lodge, becoming eventually its Master. Together with four other Christians he formed in 1875 a secret society which agitated for Syrian independence within the Ottoman empire by means of posting anonymous placards in Beirut and other Syrian cities.

In 1876 Fāris Nimr and his colleague at the SPC Yaᶜḳūb Ṣarrūf (1852-1927) began to publish, under the patronage of Van Dyck, the famous scientific magazine *al-Muḳtaṭaf*. His adoption of Darwinism

under the influence of Dr Edwin R. Lewis (d. 1907), a chemistry teacher at the SPC, seems to have alienated various influential individuals and institutions, including the Board of Trustees of his college. Consequently, in 1885 the SPC terminated his contract and that of his colleague Ṣarrūf. This decision prompted both Nimr and Ṣarrūf to transfer their magazine to Cairo.

Once in Egypt, Nimr was received with open arms by British and Egyptian officials. In 1888 he married the daughter of the British Consul in Alexandria, and one year later he founded a daily evening paper, *al-Muḳaṭṭam*. Subsidised by the British Agency in Cairo, *al-Muḳaṭṭam* accepted the principle of the British occupation of Egypt while criticising at the same time the details of certain policies and attitudes connected with European influence. His editorship of *al-Muḳaṭṭam* and that of *The Sudan Times*, an English and Arabic bi-weekly founded in 1903, consumed much of his time and energy, forcing him to give up his work in *al-Muḳtaṭaf*.

In 1907 Nimr announced the foundation of a new political organisation, the Liberal National Party. Its main aim was to refute the nationalist ideas of the Egyptian leader Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874-1908 [*q.v.*]), but this was a short-lived and marginal episode in his career. Nimr continued the publication of his newspapers until his death in 1951. The new régime of the Free Officers closed down both *al-Muḳaṭṭam* and *al-Muḳtaṭaf* in 1952.

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NIMRŪD, a ruined site of ancient Assyria, now in northern ʿIrāḳ some 30 km/20 miles south of al-Mawṣil [*q.v.*] in lat. 36°5′N. and long. 43°20′E.

The ruins on the plateau of Nimrūd are those of the ancient Assyrian city of Kalkhū, apparently mentioned in Gen. x. 11-12 as Calah. It is mentioned in Syriac sources, but the mediaeval Islamic geographers mention it only incidentally and under differing names; thus Yāḳūt, i, 119, iii, 113, says that al-Salāmiyya is in the vicinity of the ruins of the town of Athūr, which can only mean the ruins of Kalkhū. The modern name Nimrūd for the site appears first in Niebuhr, who was in al-Mawṣil in 1776, and the name is probably modern, being associated in the popular local mind with the legendary hunter Nimrod first mentioned in Gen. x. 8-9 and connected in Muslim legend, as in the Haggada, with Abraham [see NAMRŪD].

The ziggurat at Nimrūd is one of the most impressive landmarks in northern ʿIrāḳ and the recent discovery (in 1988 and 1989) of more than one thousand items of gold jewellery (earrings, necklaces, brooches, armlets and other items) has revived the flames of popular interest in what was already considered to be one of the most important cities of ancient Assyria. It was first built as an alternative capital to Ashur by the 13th century king Shalmaneser I after he had viciously reasserted his political authority in the land of Urartu (southern Armenia). But sited as it was at the important confluence of the Upper Zāb and the Tigris, it was naturally developed by later Assyrian kings as their main residence. Ashurnasirpal (883-859) moved there from Ashur, providing a water supply from the river and a sewerage system. He settled there people from many different parts of his empire and developed parkland. His successors all contributed to extensions and improvements there. Here lived Sammurammat, the queen of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.) made famous in Greek traditions as Semiramis, and the recently discovered gold belonged to Yabay, the queen of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727), Banitu, the queen of Shalmaneser V (726-722) and Ataliya, the queen of Sargon II (721-705). Amidst the archives associated with the great temple of Nabu (in Greek Nebo, the god of knowledge) and his consort Tashmetum, which was called Ezida, "the house of truth", there was found the "will of Esarhaddon (680-669), a document in which he decrees that after his death one of his sons should become king of Babylon, and the other, Ashurbanipal, the king of Assyria. In fact, Ashurbanipal was the last king to control Assyria and Nimrūd was overthrown by the revolutionary forces before the final attack on Nineveh brought the Assyrian empire to an end. The two hundred letters found in the archives are an important addition to our knowledge of Assyrian statecraft.

From the ruins excavators have retrieved many marvellous limestone reliefs which decorated the inner walls of the palace rooms most of which, along with those from Khorsābād [*q.v.*] and Nineveh [see NĪNAWĀ], have found their way to museums in the West (especially the British Museum). Fragments of beautifully glazed bricks (which presuppose a sophisticated knowledge of industrial chemistry using tin-glaze) dating back to the 9th century have also been found. The site has provided the largest collection of carved ivory which was worked by expatriate Phoenician craftsmen resident (probably obligatorily) in what must have been one of the major artistic centres of the time in the Fertile Crescent. The life-sized female mask exquisitely carved from one piece of ivory is especially famous.

The importance of the site was recognised by the 19th century British excavator Layard, who dug there in 1845-51, but the archaeological work of Mallowan, who followed his footsteps in this century from 1949 to 1958, has been much more thoroughly recorded. Bronze saddlery fittings and Aramaic mason's marks which have been found confirm that there is still much more to be learned about the position of foreign workmen at the site.

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(M.E.J. Richardson)

NIMS (A.), masculine noun (pl. *numūs, numūsa*) denoting the ichneumon or Egyptian mongoose (*Herpestes ichneumon*), a small carnivore of the family Viverridae, native to Africa and common in Egypt, Morocco and Palestine. In Egypt, with the geographical sub-species *pharaonis*, the ichneumon was called "Pharaoh's rat" (*faʾr Firʿawn*) and sometimes "Pharaoh's cat" (*ḳiṭṭ Firʿawn*), since in the time of the Pharaohs it enjoyed a sacred status and was embalmed after its death. In the Maghrib there is the sub-species *numidicus* (Moroccan Berber *sarrū*, Kabyle *izirdi*, Tunisian *zīrda*). In the Aïr district of the Sahara there is the sub-species *phoenicurus saharae* and, in the rest of Africa, the sub-species *albicaudus* (white-tailed). Persia is the home of the sub-species *persicus* or *auropunctatus*, which is given the Arabic name *djuraydī 'l-nakhl* "palm-tree rat" in ʿIrāḳ. Afghānistān and India have the sub-species *griseus* or *mongo* (Indian mongoose) and *edwardsi*.

For the Greeks, Aristotle and Herodotus (*History*,

ii, 67) had already mentioned the ichneumon (ἰχνεύμων "which follows the trail of the crocodile") as a major domestic destroyer of the rodents and reptiles infesting the households of Egypt as well as of the eggs of the crocodile. Aristotle gives details (*History of animals*, Fr. tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, ii, 453, 601) of the stratagem used by this mongoose when biting a snake to death; it rolls beforehand in slippery clay so that the reptile cannot take a grip on its body which it tries in vain to enwrap.

On the other hand, al-Djāḥiẓ describes, quoting an anonymous source (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 120) another tactic of the ichneumon which belongs to fable. At the approach of the snake, the wily mongoose huddles itself up, emptying its lungs as far as possible, and plays dead; the reptile wraps itself around its body to choke it and, abruptly, the mongoose takes a deep breath to inflate its rib-cage, which has the effect of breaking the snake into several pieces like an over-tensed spring.

After al-Djāḥiẓ, the few Arab authors who have mentioned the ichneumon confine themselves to repeating these accounts; this is true in the case of Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (3rd/9th century) (Fr. tr., *Abrégé*, 76, 252), of al-Masʿūdī (4th/10th century) (*Murūdj*, ii, 57 = § 492) and of al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt*, ii, 365). However, there is no doubt that the ichneumon was useful in Egypt, and because of the ease with which it was tamed it successfully played the role of the domestic cat; tradesmen, watchmen and caretakers could not dispense with this valued ally which rid them of unwanted guests—rodents and reptiles being especially abundant in the humid regions of Lower Egypt. The only precaution to be taken with this mongoose was to deny it any access to chicken coops and dovecotes, for the safety of their occupants and of their eggs.

The extreme vigilance of this small carnivore passed into metaphor and it was said of someone who had sharp eyesight *ʿaynuhu ka-ʿayn al-nims* "he has the eye of an ichneumon". To describe somebody as *nims* was to express admiration for his great perspicacity.

In some parts of the Islamic world such as the Maghrib and Lebanon, the term *nims* has been erroneously applied to the weasel (*Mustela nivalis* [see IBN ʿIRS]). According to fable, both these creatures enter the stomach of the crocodile, when it is sunbathing, to devour its entrails, not being content with stealing its eggs, like those of turtles, snakes and birds. As a result of similar confusion, some Arabic dialects employ *nims* to identify various other members of the sub-family Mustelidae such as the stone-marten (*Martes foina*), the polecat (*Mustela putorius*) and the ferret (*Mustela putorius furo*); the term is even found erroneously applied to that other viverrine, the civet (*Genetta genetta*). As for the two expressions *ḳūr* and *lashak* which Dozy attributes to the ichneumon (*Supplément*, s.vv.), one is found in a manuscript of the Escurial and the other in al-Idrīsī, where the context is the topic of the crocodile; they do not seem to have any connection with the mongoose.

As is the case with every animal studied, al-Damīrī does not fail to list the specific qualities of various organs of the ichneumon. Thus if a dovecote is fumigated with the burning tail of an ichneumon, all the pigeons are put to flight irrevocably. The spleen mixed with the white of an egg is an excellent eyewash, curing conjunctivitis. A *ḳīrāṭ* of blood diluted in a woman's milk and poured into the nose of a lunatic restores his reason. A broth made from the animal's penis and taken as a drink cures retention of urine. The right eye wrapped in linen reduces the four-day fever of an invalid; on the other hand, in the same conditions, the left eye causes the recurrence of this fever. An ointment based on mashed brain mixed with horse-radish juice and oil of rose is a violent irritant of the skin, the equal of scabies; only a mixture of the animal's excrement with oil of jasmine can suppress its noxious effect. Finally, the same excrement diluted in water and swallowed plunges the drinker into agony and into terror of demons which he imagines are in pursuit of him.

In botany, the Arabic name of the ichneumon is given to two plants: (a) *al-nims* is, in the Maghrib, Downy koelaria (*Koelaria pubescens*) a graminaceous plant related to Fescue grass (*Festuca*); (b) *biṭṭīkh nims* "ichneumon melon" or *biṭṭīkh ʿayn al-nims* "ichneumon's eye melon" is a nickname given to the watermelon (*Citrullus vulgaris*, of the variety *ennemis*).

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(F. VIRÉ)

NĪNAWĀ. 1. An extensive area of ruins in northern ʿIrāḳ, on the left bank of the Tigris and opposite the city of al-Mawṣil [*q.v.*]. Where the river Khawsar joins the Tigris was a natural place to build a city and those early settlers of the seventh millennium spawned the greatest metropolis of Ancient ʿIrāḳ. Sedimentation has now moved the main course of the Tigris more than a kilometre westwards. In 1932 R. Campbell Thompson dug a pit 30 m deep from the top of the mound to virgin soil. At the lowest level he found obsidian flints from Southern Armenia (Van) and later pottery can be traced to Southern ʿIrāḳ (Uruk, Halaf and Ur types are represented). It seems always to have been a place where different cultures easily met, so when Sennacherib, who had campaigned far and wide to extend his empire, laid out the walls of his great city containing a "palace with no equal", he was building in a long tradition.

Epigraphic and archaelogical research of the last decades has shown that it must have measured 180 x 190 m and contained 80 rooms, many of which were lined with beautifully carved limestone reliefs depicting and recording his domination of the surrounding nations. To walk all round the walls means a journey of 12 km, and access was through one of fifteen large gates. Tariq Madhloum's excavations of one of them have shown it to be an extremely elaborate construction with an arched ramp crossing two watercourses. Sennacherib had brought water from the hills to the city by constructing an aqueduct at Jerwan 40 km away. Later kings continued to build, but many of their splendid monuments were ruined once and for all when the military alliance led by Babylon smashed and burned their way through the city in 612 B.C. to mark the end of the Assyrian Empire and the beginning of the Babylonian.

It is very easy to reach the site across the river from al-Mawṣil and the visitor will notice two important

areas. The first, Ḳoyundjik, was an old Yazīdī village whose inhabitants were massacred in 1836; it has also been known as al-Ḳalʿa "the citadel". Here Layard began his excavations on behalf of the British Museum from 1845-51 and found the rich library of Ashurbanipal; it was shipped to London and still today it represents one of the richest archives we have of Sumerian and Akkadian literature. Because it contained many late copies of important historical, religious and scientific literature it provides special opportunities to study how texts were transmitted in the scribal circles of the ancient Near East. The other important area is Nabī Yūnus where Esarhaddon carried out building works. This place has a rich aetiological tradition with the prophet Yūnus (Jonah), whose mission to convert the terrible Assyrians was accomplished because God brought him there in the "belly of the great fish", and is mentioned in Jewish, Christian and Muslim sources [see YŪNUS]. Hence both a monastery and then a mosque were in turn built on the ancient mound, known as Tall al-Tawba "hill of repentance". The tomb of Nabī Yūnus has long been the most esteemed shrine of northern ʿIrāḳ, much visited by Sunnīs, and the large modern cemetery on the east of the mound continues the old tradition of corpses being brought there for burial. Outside the eastern wall of the former city is the sulphurous thermal spring known as ʿAyn Yūnus and visited by pilgrims for its curative powers; and some local inhabitants perpetuate the tradition that the "great fish" is buried at Ḳoyundjik.

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2. A place in central ʿIrāḳ, after which a district (*nāḥiya*) was named, to which Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*] belonged (cf. Yāḳūt, iv, 470). Nīnawā is frequently mentioned in the history of the Muslim wars of the first three centuries of the Hidjra: e.g. in connection with the tragedy of Karbalāʾ of 61/680 when al-Ḥusayn met his death (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 287, 307, 309), in 122/739 in connection with the fighting with the ʿAlid Zayd b. ʿAlī ([*q.v.*] and Ṭabarī, ii, 1710), in the account of the subjection of a later ʿAlid rebel in 251/865 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1620, 1623; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 110), and lastly in the history of the Ḳarmaṭian troubles in 287/900 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2190). Nīnawā (Ninā, Ni-na-a) is mentioned in old Babylonian inscriptions as a place not very far from Babylon (cf. e.g. *ZA*, xv, 217). It is not to be confused with a place of the same name mentioned in old Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions as a suburb or quarter of the South Babylonian Lagash (the modern ruins of Telloh). On the Nineveh in Babylonia of the cuneiform inscriptions, see Hommel, *Grundriss der Gesch. u. Geogr. des alten Orients*, Munich 1904-26, 392-3 and *passim* (consult the Index, 1083, s.v. Ni-ná-a or Ninua). According to A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 43, 44, the site of Nīnawā is marked by the mound of ruins called Ishān Nainwa, below the modern town of Musayyib, 2 miles east of the Euphrates and about 20 north-east of Karbalāʾ, in 32°45′N. (see Musil's map).

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(M. STRECK)

NING-HSIA, a Muslim autonomous region in Northwest China under the People's Republic of China.

The province of Ning-hsia was created in 1929 separately from the province of Kansu [*q.v.*] under Republican China. After the PRC was established in 1954, the greater part of Ning-hsia province was incorporated into Inner Mongolia (Nei-Mengku) and the central part was newly-raised to the status of Ning-hsia Hui-tsu Autonomous Region in 1958, with its present boundaries redrawn in 1976. This Region is situated along the middle reaches of the Yellow River and its tributaries, and it borders on Inner Mongolia in the north, on Kansu in the west and southeast, and on Shen-hsi in the east. The capital is at Yin-chʿuan.

Ning-hsia is the most densely-populated region of *Hui-tsu* ("Islamic race") in the PRC. Its population is 3,895,500, of which *Hui-tsu* number 1,235,207, forming about one-third of the total population (1982 statistics). The origin of the Ning-hsia Muslims goes back to 13th century Yüan times, when the Mongol dynasty ruled China and when many Muslims emigrated from West and Central Asia to the Ning-hsia region. They were soon naturalised, as was also the case in other provinces, and consequently, communities of *Hui-min* or *Hui-tsu*, that is Chinese-speaking Muslims, were formed. Historical materials show that there were many Muslims there since early Ming times down to Chʿing times (15th-19th centuries), and they had regional relations with co-religionists of Kansu, Chʿing-hai and Sinkiang. Ning-hsia Muslims are traditionally Sunnīs of the Ḥanafī school, and among them there have always been a number of Ṣūfī groups, such as the Djahriyya (a branch of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*]), the Khafiyya or Khufiyya, Ḳādiriyya, Ikhwān, etc., and they still prevail among present-day Ning-hsia Muslims. These last have now more than 1,400 *masdjids* (*chʿing-chen ssu*), distributed over the region, and a class of religious leaders including *ahongs*, *khalīfas*, *mullās*, *murshids*, etc. Ning-hsia was the headquarters of Ma Hua-lung's [*q.v.*] Northwest Hui Rebellion (1862-77), and his successors have been leaders of the Djahriyya order of Ning-hsia until the present time; but Ning-hsia Muslims now coexist with the Han Chinese under the PRC régime.

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NĪRANDJ (A.), derived from Persian *nayrang*, *nīrang*, pl. *nīrandjāt*, *nīrandjiyyāt* (Ibn Sīnā, ms. Paris; Brockelmann, S I, 828), *nārandjiyyāt* (al-Djināʿī, ms. Strasbourg 4212, fol. 102b), designates, in the two languages, the operations of white magic, comprising prestidigitation, fakery and counter-fakery, the creating of illusions and other feats of sleight-of-hand (*ḥiyal*). A certain al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Iskandarī al-Kūshī al-ʿAbdarī described the whole set of these operations in his work *Fī 'l-ḥiyal al-bābiliyya li 'l-khizāna al-kāmiliyya* (ms. Bursa, Haraççioğlu 1221, ff. 119, 18.5 x 14 cm, *naskhī*, copied in 881/1476 from another ms. of the same *Khizāna* dated 632/1234). Both author and work are virtually unknown, and it seems useful to give here the titles of the chapters, as already given by the present author in *Sources orientales*, vii, Paris 1966, 184-5:

I. The principles of this art; how to get to know it; appreciation of its subtlety and finesse.
II. Tricks involving the air and atmospherical vapours.
III. Lamps and wicks; description of them in seances.
IV. Tricks with fire and the illusions produced in the minds of the spectators.
V. The making of talismans and the trickery involved in the conjuration of spirits.
VI. Bottles; the devices and tricks that can be done with them.
VII. Cups and glasses; the satisfaction which they can bring about.
VIII. Eggs; devices and tricks in their usage.
IX. The sowing of seed, germination and fruits outside their seasons.
X. Wax effigies; their putting together, taking apart and reconstitution.
XI. The taming of animals by means of traps on terra firma, and by fishing in the sea.
XII. The concealment of hidden objects and the ruses used to uncover thefts.
XIII. Enthusiasm for the manual arts and the transformation of colours and dyes.
XIV. Writing, the preparation of the ink well (read *layḳ* and not *līḳ*, the black powder of collyrium), the removal of writing and the colour of the paper.
XV. The natural characteristics and the distinction between drunkenness and sleep.

(Cf. the classification of magic and its branches given by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, i, 34-5 (and vi, 412: definition of the *ʿilm al-nīrandjāt*), set forth in T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 40; see also KIHĀNA.)

According to al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 369 ff.), Musaylima al-Kadhdhāb [*q.v.*] practiced *nīrandjāt*; he was the first to get an egg inside a bottle and to stick back on again the wings of birds which had been cut off (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 206, ed. ʿUkkāsha, 405). Al-Djāḥiẓ adds (cf. G. van Vloten, in *WZKM*, viii [1894], 71-3) that the pseudo-prophet had learnt these tricks in the markets frequented by the Arabs and Persians (Ubulla, Baḳḳa, Anbār and Ḥīra), which would explain the borrowing of the term *nīrandj* from Middle Persian.

But if the name itself comes from the Persian world, the matter which it denotes is found in a literary genre already in vogue since Hellenistic times, in late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages. This involves the literature of *physica* (*khawāṣṣ*), whose great disseminator, if not originator, is said to have been the "Pythagorean Bolus of Mendes (*ca.* 200 B.C.), who, under the pseudonym of the philosopher Democritus, is said to have gathered together everything marvellous and extraordinary which, in the realm of the natural sciences, both popular and learned fantasy, the experience of artisans and cultivators, and the charlatanry of the astrologers and magicians, had found" (P. Kraus, *Jâbir*, ii, 61). It was W. Wellmann who made the work known (see *Die φυσικά des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaos von Larissa*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W*, phil.-hist. Kl. (1928), 7; for other works on the subject, see Kraus, *loc. cit.*, n. 1). An apocryphal work in Syriac, attributed to Aristotle and probably dating from the 6th century, the *Ktābā da kʿyānāyātā* (= *physica*), marks the transition between the Greek literature and the abundant literature of the genre in Arabic, whose obvious representatives are ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, Ps. al-Madjrīṭī, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djibrīl b. Bukhtīshūʿ, al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Djildakī, Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, the numerous authors of books on agriculture, zoology, pharmacopeias and lapidaries (Kraus, *loc. cit.*). The work which best preserves this ancient heritage is the *K. al-Khawāṣṣ al-kabīr* of Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], set forth by P. Kraus (*op. cit.*, i, 148-52) and summarised by him (ii, 64-95). This work of Djābir's is an important source for numerous popular writings, still in manuscript. Two of them worth mentioning are: *al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār wa-hatk al-asrār* and the *K. al-Ḥalāl fi 'l-alʿāb al-sīmāwiyya* (= σημεῖα) of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djawbarī, publ. Damascus 1302/1884; these were used by E. Wiedemann in several of his works, notably in his *Über das Goldmachen und die Verfälschung von Perlen nach al Gaubarī*, in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, v (1905-6), 77-96, repr. in E. Wiedemann, *Gesammelte Schr. zur arab.-islam. Wiss.-gesch.*, 1. Bd, Frankfurt 1984, 262-81.

Finally, one should note that in the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* of Abū Maslama (and not Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maslama) Muḥammad al-Madjrīṭī (see Fahd, *Sciences naturelles et magie dans Ghâyat al-ḥakîm du Ps.-Madjrîṭî*, in *Ciencias de la naturaleza en Al Andalus. Textos y estudios*, i, ed. E. García Sanchez, Granada 1990, 11-21), *nīrandj* denotes amulets which have an extraordinary power over men and over natural phenomena, such as the magic ring which brings under its power anyone who looks at it, the amulet which protects against bad weather, that which neutralises the action of arms wielded by an enemy and that which calms the passions and desires of soldiers, who risk bringing about the victory of the enemy. The making of these *nīrandjāt* requires perfect precision and careful precautions against the poisonous materials which they comprise. These last include above all philtres having their effect through absorption or fumigations by means of powders and strange balms and greases (242 ff.).

Also to be classed under this name are the acts done by magicians; in the time of ʿUthmān's caliphate, a magician entered and left the stomach of a cow (*Aghānī*, iv, 186). Ibn Khaldūn speaks of magicians who had only to point their finger at a piece of clothing or a skin, whilst mumbling certain words, for that object to fall into shreds; with the same gestures, fixing upon sheep, they could instantaneously cleave them. These people were called *baʿʿādjūn* "cleavers", a name which already figures in the *Nabataean agriculture*, used by Ibn Khaldūn. A description of their art can be found in a treatise called *al-Khinzīriyya* (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 129/178, and 131-2/181-2); F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah*, iii, 165 n. 781, connects this name with the family of Ibn Abī Khinzīr which furnished some governors of Sicily in the 4th/10th century).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see KHAWĀṢṢ AL-ḲURʾĀN and al-Bāḳillānī, *K. al-Bayān ʿan al-farḳ bayn al-muʿdjiza wa 'l-karāmāt wa 'l-ḥiyal wa 'l-kihāna wa 'l-siḥr wa 'l-nārandjāt*, ed. as *Miracle and magic* by R.J. McCarthy, in *Publs. of al-Ḥikma University of Baghdad*, Beirut 1958.

(T. FAHD)

NIRĪZ, a place in Ādharbāydjān on the road from Marāgha [*q.v.*] to Urmiya [*q.v.*] south of the Lake of Urmiya. The stages on this route are still obscure. At about 15 *farsakhs* south of Marāgha was the station of Barza where the road bifurcated; the main road continued southward to Dīnawar, while the northwestern one went from Barza to Tiflīs (2 *farsakhs*), thence to Djābarwān (6 *farsakhs*), thence to Nirīz (4 *farsakhs*), thence to Urmiya (14 *farsakhs*); cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 121 (repeated by Ḳudāma with some variations); al-Muḳaddasī, 383.

The distance from Urmiya indicates that Nirīz was in the vicinity of Sulduz [*q.v.*], which would find con-

firmation in the etymology from *ni-rēz* "flowing". Sulduz lies in the low plain, through which the Gādir flows to the Lake of Urmiya. At the present day the name Nirīz is unknown, but a Kurdish tribe of the region of Sāwdj-bulak [*q.v.*] bears the name of Nirīzhī.

After the Arab conquest, a family of Ṭāʾī Arabs settled in Nirīz. The first of these semi-independent chiefs was Murr b. ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī, who built a town at Nirīz and enlarged the market of Djābarwān (cf. al-Balādhurī and al-Yaʿkūbī, ii, 466). One of his sons, ʿAlī, was among the rebels of 212/827 whom the governor of Ādharbāydjān Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī deported to Baghdād, but ʿAlī succeeded, it seems, in returning to his lands (cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119). Abū Rudaynī ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, appointed in 260/873 governor of Ādharbāydjān by the caliph, made war on his predecessor ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Azdī and killed him (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1886). He was supported by the Khāridjīs. Cf. the account in Sayyid Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gumnām*, Tehran 1929, ii, 27, 34.

In the 4th/10th century, al-Iṣṭakhrī, 186, and Ibn Ḥawkal, ed. Kramers, 337, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 329-30, mention the Banū Rudaynī as a dynasty already forgotten which had reigned over Dākharkān (read Djābarwān), Tabrīz (read Nirīz) and Ushnuh al-Ādhariyya [see USHNŪ].

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm., 493; Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, Cairo 1955, tr. 40, comm. 82-3.

(V. MINORSKY)

NĪRĪZ, in Fārs [see NAYRĪZ].

AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD b. Ḥabīb b. Ayyūb, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, was a famous littérateur and Ḳurʾānic scholar who died in either Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja or Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, 406/1015-16.

One of the most learned men of Nīshāpūr, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was considered the leader of his time in Ḳurʾānic sciences. He was not only a grammarian but was also knowledgeable in *maghāzī* (the accounts of the expeditions and raids of the Prophet) [*q.v.*], stories, and biography-history. Al-Nīsābūrī was a Karrāmī [see KARRĀMIYYA], who later became a Shāfiʿī. He transmitted *ḥadīths* [*q.v.*] on the authority of, among others, the famous Nīshāpūrī Shāfiʿī traditionist Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm (d. 346/957-8 [*q.v.*]). For personality, we have but one anecdote. He owned a well and an orchard and obliged guests to pay for his hospitality, the rich with money, the poor with labour. Works attributed to al-Nīsābūrī on the Ḳurʾānic sciences, including exegesis (*tafsīr*), for which Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa cites one work. Sezgin notes the existence of a *Kitāb al-Tanzīl wa-tartībih*, only a few folios in length.

Al-Nīsābūrī is most famous for his *ʿUḳalāʾ al-madjānīn* [see MADJNŪN], a collection on intelligent madmen, a work in the entertaining and informative sub-genre of *adab* [*q.v.*], sc. character literature. In the introduction to the work, al-Nīsābūrī places himself in the *adab* tradition, citing names like the famous al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā al-Ḳurashī (d. 281/894 [*q.v.*]). After a standard philological introduction, anecdotes centre on flag-bearers for the character type, like Buhlūl, as well as the famous Madjnūn Laylā [*q.v.*], and a number of anonymous men and women. Most fascinating in these anecdotes is their range, which extends from the silly to the elusively mystical.

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghabar*, Kuwayt 1961, iii, 93; idem, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Sh. al-Arnaʾūṭ, Beirut 1983, vii, 237-8; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi'l-wafayāt*, xii, ed. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Wiesbaden 1979, 239-40; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, i, 519; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn*, ed. ʿU.M. ʿUmar, Cairo 1976, 45-48; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn*, ed. ʿU.M. ʿUmar, Cairo 1972, i, 140-3; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Beirut n.d., iii, 181; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 460; Kh. al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, Beirut 1980, ii, 213; ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, Beirut n.d., iii, 278; *ʿUḳalāʾ al-madjānīn*, ed. M. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Nadjaf 1968; U. Marzolph, *Der Weise Narr Buhlūl*, Wiesbaden 1983.

(FEDWA MALTI-DOUGLAS)

NĪSĀN, the seventh month in the Syrian calendar. Its name is taken from the first month of the Jewish religious (seventh of the civil) year with the period of which it roughly coincides. It corresponds to April of the Roman year and like it has 30 days. On the 10th and 23rd Nīsān, according to al-Bīrūnī, the two first stations of the moon rise (the numbering of these two as first and second shows that the numbering was established by scholars for whom Nīsān was the first month) and on the 15th and the 16th set. In 1300 of the Seleucid era (989 A.D.), according to al-Bīrūnī, the stars of the 28th and 1st stations of the moon rose and those of the 14th and 15th set, while the rising and setting of the 2nd and 16th stations of the moon took place in Ayyār.

Bibliography: Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, 60, 70, 347-9; cf. also the *Bibl.* to TAMMŪZ.

(M. PLESSNER)

NĪSĀNIDS or Banū Nīsān, the name of a family of *ruʾasāʾ* (pl. of *raʾīs* [*q.v.*]), of a fabulous richness, who held power at Āmid [see DIYĀR BAKR] in the 6th/12th century under the nominal suzerainty of the Inālid [*q.v.*] Turcomans. They even placed their name on coins. Their rule came to an end with the conquest of the town by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who accused them of having cultivated the friendship of, and even to have provided assistance for, the Assassins [see ḤASHĪSHIYYA].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 103, 297; Abū Shāma, ii, 39; Cl. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires*, in *Arabica*, v/3 (1958), 20. (ED.)

NISBA (A.), the adjective of relation formed by the addition to a noun of the suffix *-iyy^{un}* in the masc. sing., *iyyat^{un}* in the fem. sing., *-iyyūna* in the masc. pl. and *-iyyāt^{un}* in the fem. pl. As a result of the increasingly frequent omission of the *tanwīn*, the long syllable of the masc. sing., henceforward in the final position, is abbreviated to **-iy*, and subsequently this diphthong is reduced to the vowel *-ī*, transliterated thus but further abbreviated to *-i* in pronunciation. A different, no longer productive, *nisba* formation is the pattern *faʿāli^{n}/al-faʿālī*, fem. *faʿāliya^{tun}*: *yamāni^{n}*, from *al-Yaman*, *shaʾāmi^{n}*, from al-*Shaʾm*, *tahāmi^{n}*, from *Tihāma^{tu}*.

1. In Arabic morphology

In general, the formation of these adjectives is a simple matter, the suffixation taking place directly without modification of the vocalisation or consonantal structure of the nouns to which it is applied: *shams* "sun", *shamsī* "solar"; *ḳamar* "moon", *ḳamarī* "lunar"; *Miṣr* "Egypt", *Miṣrī* "Egyptian", etc. It should be noted, however, that in certain cases alterations occur for which the grammarians have been at pains to codify rules. Only the most frequent modifications will be cited here: omission of the *tāʾ marbūṭa*: *Baṣra*; transformation of the final *-ā* (ا or ى) into *-aw-*: *dunyā* "world", *dunyawī* "material, etc."; *maʿnā* "sense, etc.", *maʿnawī* "semantic, etc.", even after omission of the final *-tāʾ marbūṭa*: *nawāt* "nucleus", *nawawī* "nuclear"; similarly the feminine

ending *-āʾ*^{u} is transformed into *-āwī*: *ṣaḥrāʾ* "desert", *ṣaḥrāwī* "belonging to the desert". There is a tendency to amplify short words by reinstating (or adding) a third radical (*w* or *y*): *ab* "father", *abawī* "paternal", *akh* "brother", *akhawī* "fraternal", *dam* "blood", *damawī* "sanguine, etc."; an *h* also appears sometimes: *shafat*^{un} "lip", *shafawī*/*shafahī* "labial". A *w* is even substituted for *y* in *ḳarawī* (instead of **ḳaryī*) "rustic", from *ḳarya* "village".

The internal vocalisation is modified in a number of *nisba*s formed from proper nouns of the pattern R^{1}aR^{2}īR^3, R^{1}aR^{2}īR^{3}a, R^{1}uR^{2}ayR^3 and R^{1}uR^{2}ayR^{3}a: *Balawī*, from *Baliy*, *Madanī*, from *al-Madīna* (but also *Madīnī*), *Ḳurashī*, from *ḳuraysh*, and *Muzanī*, from *Muzayna*. The two forms with or without *-ī-* > *-a-* also exist as a means of avoiding confusion: *Djazarī*, from al-Djazīra "Mesopotamia", but *djazīrī* "insular", from *djazīra* "island".

Since the Middle Ages, but especially in modern times, the *nisba* in the feminine has served to create a host of abstract nouns, apparently to be formed at will according to requirements: *insān* "man", *insāniyya* "humanity"; *taʿbīr* "expression", *taʿbīriyya* "expressiveness". There is also recourse to the intensive suffix *-ānī*: *nafs* "soul", *nafsī* "psychological", *nafsānī* "psychic", for example. Finally, certain particles and pronouns are used to support relative adjectives and abstract nouns: *kayfa* "how", *kayfī* "qualitative, etc.", *kayfiyya* "modality, etc."; *kam* "how much", *kammī* "quantitative", *kammiyya* "quantity"; *huwa* "he", *huwiyya* "identity"; *anā* "I", *anāniyya* "egotism".

In theory, a relative adjective is never formed from a plural (*lā yunsab ʿalā djamʿ*) but even in the earliest times this rule enunciated by the grammarians was already being circumvented: *Aʿrāb* "Bedouins", *Aʿrābī* "bedouin"; *Baṭāʾiḥ* "marshes in the vicinity of Baṣra", *Baṭāʾiḥī*, etc. Since mediaeval times, usages of this type have proliferated, especially for the formation of nouns of profession: *kitāb* "book", pl. *kutub*, *kutubī* "bookseller"; alongside *faraḍī* "specialist in *farāʾiḍ*" [*q.v.*], the form *farāʾiḍī* is also encountered. In certain cases, the plural appears to be artificial: *makhzan* [*q.v.*] "government of Morocco", has no plural in this sense, but *makhāzinī* > *mkhāzni*, pl. *mkhāzniyya*, denotes a horseman paid by the state; similarly, *kafta* "skewers" (no pl.) gives *kafāʾitī* "seller of skewers", etc.

Finally, it should be noted that in names such as Shawḳī, the suffix is not that of the *nisba*, but the personal pronominal affix of the first person.

Bibliography: See the Arab grammarians and the European manuals of Arabic grammar, in particular, W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic language*, Cambridge ^{3}1955, i, 149-65 (§§ 249-67). (Ed.)

2. In Arabic nomenclature

In nomenclature, the *nisba* or "noun of relation" is one of the components of the mediaeval Arabic proper name. Its function is to express the relation of the individual to a group, a person, a place, a concept or a thing. It is most often preceded by the definite article *al-*. Numerous *nisba*s are employed in the contemporary period in the function of family names.

In general, the individual who is the subject of a reference in a mediaeval Arabic biographical register possesses among the various elements of his name—along with *ism, kunya, laḳab* [*q.vv.*], professional designations—one or more *nisba*s which testify to inherited or acquired characteristics, to his path through life, geographical as well as intellectual, to his religious opinions and to the links that he has with his contemporaries. Inherited, the *nisba* relates the individual to a group, such as tribe, tribal subdivision, dynasty, family, eponymous ancestor, etc.; to a place, such as a country, region, city, village, quarter, street, etc.; or even to a nickname or a professional designation handed down by his ancestors. Acquired, the *nisba* takes into account the activity of the person: it originates with the names of places in which he has been resident, those of persons with whom he has established favourable links, the ideas which he has defended and his beliefs. Alternatively, the *nisba* may refer to quoted remarks or to a physical peculiarity. The following are examples of *nisba*s which denote the connection to a tribe: *al-Kindī* "of the tribe of Kinda"; to an ancestor: *al-Ḥusaynī* "the descendent of al-Ḥusayn"; to a place: *al-Dimashḳī* "the Damascene"; to a school of thought: *al-Mālikī* "the disciple of the Mālikī legal school"; to an event: *al-Badrī* "he who took part in the battle of Badr". There are also examples of *nisba*s which are rare, if not unique, and are analogous to nicknames; *nisba*s which denote a connection with a text: a person bears the *nisba* al-ʿAntarī because he has copied the *Sīrat ʿAntar* (F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*^{2}, Leiden 1968, 47); connection with a poetical work: one who knew by heart the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī is called al-Maḳāmātī (G. Gabrieli, *Il nome proprio arabo musulmane*, in *Onomasticon arabicum, introduzione e fonti*, Rome 1914, § 205).

*Nisba*s derived from professional designations should be considered separately, in that their termination in *-ī* appears to be optional: the cotton trader is called, apparently arbitrarily, *al-kaṭṭān* or *al-kaṭṭānī*. Other professional designations appear only with the *-ī* termination, such as *al-ṣaydalānī*, the chemist.

Role and limits of the nisba

In the earliest Arabic inscriptions, written in Sabaic script, the term *dhū* "he of ..." was used to signify the relationship of the member of a tribe to his group (see Ch. Robin, *Les plus anciens monuments de la langue arabe, dans l'Arabie antique de Karibʾīl à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions*, in *REMM*, lxi, 114-15). Subsequently, the *nisba* had the function of indicating to which tribe an individual belonged, either through his origins (*ṣarīḥ*^{an}) or through links of clientage, for example in the capacity of *mawlā* [*q.v.*]. This "tribal" *nisba* implicitly contains the genealogy of the tribe. Having in one's name an element such as al-Kindī signifies belonging to the tribe of the Banū Kinda, with its eponymous ancestor, its achievements, its history and its territory which forms a part of the *dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*].

It is also to the *dār al-Islām* that the *nisba*s refer which are acquired by individuals on the basis of geographical names. It may in fact be stated that the names listed by the biographers do not contains *nisba*s formed on the basis of the names of places which do not belong to the *dār al-Islām*. If an individual changes his abode, like the scholars who are identified by the sources as having travelled in search of knowledge, henceforward his *nisba*s, formed on the basis of the names of places in which he has resided, may be added to his name (a citizen of Damascus who goes to Baghdād will be called al-Baghdādī "the Baghdādī" on his return; while in Baghdād he would be known by the name of al-Dimashḳī, "the Damascene". On his death, a biographer could preserve in the wording of the name of this person both these *nisba*s: al-Dimashḳī (with the added detail: *al-Dimashḳī al-aṣl*, originally from Damascus), al-Baghdādī. But if he leaves the *dār al-Islām*, to travel for example to China (al-Ṣīn), India (Bilād al-Hind) or to Asia Minor (al-Rūm), countries which belong to the *dār al-ḥarb* [*q.v.*],

he will not bear the *nisbas* al-Ṣīnī, al-Hindī or al-Rūmī except in cases where these are employed as nicknames (see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb*, ii, 64: "he is called *al-Ṣīnī* because he has returned from China and he spends his time copying Chinese characters"). The individuals recorded in the biographical sources with the *nisbas* al-Ṣīnī, al-Hindī or al-Rūmī are natives of these countries; they are not, as a general rule, travellers who have become long-term residents in these countries, for in such cases the biographer would have described them as *nazīl*, followed by the name of the place in question.

In the context of the *dār al-Islām*, two further aspects of the process of formation of *nisbas* should be noted:
(a) Within the confines of the *dār al-Islām*, there are some quasi-mythical regions such as Khurāsān, the cradle of Ṣūfism. The *nisba* Khurāsānī is found in the names of scholars who are not natives of this region, who have not even visited it, but who seek to ally themselves with Ṣūfī masters, claiming a spiritual heritage emanating supposedly from Khurāsān (see *Les Cent et une Nuits*, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1911, 3; J. Sublet, *Le voile*, 169, with a further example: the *nisba* al-Ḳayrawānī, which could represent the Far West).
(b) In the spiritual centre of this *dār al-Islām* are the holy cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina, the names of which can only be used in the form of a *nisba* in specific circumstances. Performing the Pilgrimage does not confer the right to call oneself Makkī or Madanī. One who resides as a guest-scholar in a mosque or an educational establishment is entitled to the epithet *mudjāwir* [*q.v.*] or *djār Allāh*. Only those who are natives or established citizens of these places may use these *nisbas* which, furthermore, have become (without the article, such as Makkī and Madanī) what are known as proper nouns, *ism ʿalam* [*q.v.*], borne primarily, so it seems, by Sunnīs living in a Shīʿī milieu who are anxious to affirm their orthodoxy (see Sublet, *Le voile*, 99-102, 170-1). Also worthy of note are *isms* in the form of a *nisba* without the article, such as Balkhī and Bīrī (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb*, i, 140, 161).

In the Mamlūk period, *nisbas* have a specific role in the composition of the names of the Mamlūk slaves who, originally, have only an *ism*. They acquire a *nisba* formed on the basis of the name of the merchant who has imported them (for example, Azdamur al-Mudjīrī, see Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* (*Die Chronik des Ibn al-Dawādārī*), ed. Munajjid-Roemer-Haarmann, Cairo 1960 ff., ix, 71). When circumstances require it, the addition of one or more *nisbas* deriving from the name of the master who gives them their freedom is possible (the sultan Baybars I, for example, bore the *nisbas* al-Ṣāliḥī al-Nadjmī, which derived from the name of his master (al-Malik) al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm (al-Dīn Ayyūb). In Ayalon, *Names, titles and "nisbas" of the Mamluks*, in *IOS*, v (1975), 189-231, there is a list of these *nisbas* which were to be replaced, in the Circassian period, by the expression *min* followed by the name of the master (for example, Ṭūmānbāy min Ḳānṣawh).

The feminine nisba

The *nisbas* of women whose names are recorded in the mediaeval biographical sources are masculine or feminine, the two forms being capable of co-existing in the same name, according to whether the biographer considers them as forming part of the patrilineal genealogy or as elements of the woman's name. The order in which he writes the elements of the name, and in particular the *kunya*, seems to have a bearing on the gender of the *nisba* or *nisbas*. For example, where the *kunya* is placed at the beginning of the name, as in Umm al-Khayr *wa-tusammā* Saʿīda bint Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṭabarī al-Ḥusaynī al-Makkī, the *nisbas* are in the masculine form, being a part of the patrilineal genealogy. In the alternative formula, the *kunya* is placed after the genealogy and before the *nisbas*, as in Saʿīda bint Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Umm al-Khayr al-Ṭabariyya al-Ḥusayniyya al-Makkiyya; the *nisbas* placed after the *kunya* composed with Umm are in the feminine (see especially the volume devoted to female biographies by al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ*, Cairo 1934, xii). These feminine *nisbas* are seldom likely to supply information regarding the places visited by the women; some women performed the Pilgrimage, but they travelled far less than men, and if they were scholars, men tended to travel to them to receive or convey *ḥadīths* and to study texts under their supervision.

Children generally inherit the *nisbas* of their father, very rarely those of their mother. If sons or daughters are mentioned in the text of an article devoted to their mother, they are currently designated by their *ism* followed by the *nisba* most often used to designate their father or their father's family; for example: ʿĀʾisha bint al-Ḥarīrī... *wa-kānat* Umm Aḥmad al-Ḥidjāzī (see Sublet, *Le voile*, 117).

Composite (murakkab) *nisbas*

Derived from composite names, of persons and of places in particular, these *nisbas* can have two forms:
(a) A contracted form, e.g. the *nisba* ʿAbshamī corresponds to the name ʿAbd Shams, ʿAbdalī to ʿAbd Allāh, Marḳasī to Imruʾ al-Ḳays, Dāraḳuṭnī to the place-name Dar al-Ḳuṭn, Bābaṣrī to Bāb al-Baṣra and Rasʿānī to Raʾs al-ʿAyn.
(b) A simple form derived from one of the two elements of the name, e.g. the *nisba* Muṭṭalibī corresponds to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Bakrī to Abū Bakr, Zubayrī to Ibn al-Zubayr and Fakhrī to Fakhr al-Dīn.

On the other hand, certain *nisbas* are formed on the basis of several names. In the *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, Beirut 1979, i, 456, Yāḳūt gives the place name Baghdakhzarḳand. This is a fictitious name derived from a composite *nisba*, al-Baghdakhzarḳandī, borne by a single individual whose origin it describes: his father was Baghdādī, his mother Khazariyya and he was born in Samarḳand. Two other examples given by G. Gabrieli, *Il nome proprio*, § 20: al-Ṭabarkhazī is a composite of Ṭabarī (of Ṭabaristān) and Khwārazmī (of Khwārazm); Shafʿanatī is a composite of Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī, denoting one who was a Shāfiʿī and subsequently became a Ḥanafī.

A particular case: the fictitious nisba

Al-Suyūṭī mentions among the ten types of *ansāb* (*nasab* or genealogy and *nisba*) which he describes (*al-Muzhir*, ii, 444-7): *man nusiba ilā 'smihi wa 'smi abīhī*, giving the example of the name Numayr b. Abī Numayr al-Numayrī. The *nasab* is b. Abī Numayr, literally, "son of the father of al-Numayr" and the *nisba* al-Numayrī. This is one of the formulas used to give an identity to a person born of an unknown father (the supposed father is sometimes given the name of monetary units such as Dīnār or Dirham) or to an individual without a genealogy, a slave, for example. The *nisba* al-Numayrī is likewise derived from the *ism*; it appears with the name of the father as a repetition of this *ism*.

The nisba *in the sources*

The average number of *nisbas* borne by an individual (scholar, man of science, soldier or prince) whose biography is recorded in the mediaeval Arab sources is five. But this does not apply to the naming of eminent persons, for whom the biographer supplies

only one or two *nisbas*, which often form part of the name by which the individual is best known (Sublet, *Le voile*, 104-7). The fragile distinction between *nisba* and nickname is apparent here, as in the works devoted to *ansāb*. The latter in fact combine not only the *nisbas* (pl. *nisab*) a part of which refers to genealogy (*nasab*, pl. *ansāb*) and to the eponymous ancestor, but also *laḳabs* (nicknames) and professional designations. A specific form of biographical literature is devoted to homographic *ansāb*. The authors experiment with possible readings of the various consonantal patterns with their vocalisations and they determine the identity of those who bear these *nisbas*, these *laḳabs* and these professional designations, with the object of avoiding confusion between individuals, and in certain instances the authors of these erudite works have other objectives in mind, as in the case of Ibn Mākūlā [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Dictionaries of genealogy include Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, 13 vols., Ḥaydarābād 1962 ff.; available also are a facsimile of the complete manuscript, ed. D.S. Margoliouth, Leiden-London 1912, a summary with additions by ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-Ansāb*, 3 vols., Cairo 1938, and Beirut 1980, and a supplement to Ibn al-Athīr by Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-lubāb fī taḥrīr al-Ansāb*, ed. P.J. Veth, Leiden 1842, repr. Baghdād n.d.; Ḥāzimī Hamdānī Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUthmān, *Kitāb ʿUdjālat al-mubtadiʾ wa-fuḍālat al-muntahī fi 'l-nisab*, Cairo 1965. Dictionaries of homographs include Dhahabī, *al-Mushtabih fi 'l-ridjāl asmāʾihim wa-ansābihim*, 2 vols., Cairo 1962, and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tabṣīr al-muntabih bi-taḥrīr al-mushtabih*, 4 vols., Cairo 1964. On the nomenclature of *ḥadīth*, see ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Azdī, *al-Muʾtalif wa-mukhtalif*, Ḥaydarābād 1909, and Ibn Mākūlā ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh, *al-Ikmāl fī rafʿ al-irtiyāb ʿan al-muʾtalif wa 'l-mukhtalif min al-asmāʾ wa 'l-kunā wa 'l-ansāb*, 6 vols. Ḥaydarābād 1962, and Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmilat ikmāl al-Ikmāl fi 'l-ansāb wa 'l-asmāʾ wa 'l-alḳāb*, Baghdād 1957; Ibn Khaṭīb al-Dahsha, *Tuḥfat dhawī 'l-irab fī mushkil al-asmāʾ wa 'l-nisab* (... *über Namen und Nisben bei Buḫārī, Muslim, Mālik*), ed. T. Mann, Leiden 1905. On South Arabia, Hamdānī, *al-Iklīl min akhbār al-Yaman wa-ansāb Ḥimyar (Südarabische Muštabih)*, ed. Löfgren, Bibliotheka Ekmaniana no. 57, Uppsala-Leiden 1953, 1-54. Comprehensive works include G. Gabrieli, *Il nome proprio* (ref. in the article); J. Sublet, *Le voile du nom. Essai sur le nom propre arabe*, Paris 1991. (Jacqueline Sublet)

3. In Persian and Turkish

In Persian, the suffix *-ī* (MP-*īk*) is used to form relative adjectives, but with *-gī/djī* after the silent *hāʾ* at the end of words: (a) from places, e.g. Iṣfahānī, Dihlawī, Sāwadjī; some apparently irregular ones go back to earlier forms of place names, e.g. Rāzī < Rayy, Sagzī < Sidjistān/Sīstān. (b) from concrete nouns to form adjectives indicating function or craft, e.g. *khānagī* "domestic" < *khāna*, *ḳalʿadjī* "garrison soldier" < *ḳalʿa*, *shikārī* "hunter, pertaining to hunting" < *shikār*.

In Turkish, the suffix *-li* in its various realisations is used for relative adjectives of place, e.g. Izmirli, Ḳonyalî, Merzifonlu, Üsküblü, and—*dji/či* in its various realisations for adjectives denoting functions, professions, crafts, etc., e.g. *eskidji* "old clothes dealer", *awdjî* "hunter", *mumdju* "candlemaker", *baḳîrdjî* "coppersmith", *sütdjü* "milk seller". Several of these forms have survived in the colloquial Arabic speech of such lands as Egypt and the Levant, former parts of the Ottoman empire, e.g. *postadjī* "postman", *boyadjī* "shoe-cleaner", *ḳahwadjī* "coffee-house proprietor, servant", *sufradjī* "waiter".

Bibliography: D.C. Phillott, *Higher Persian grammar*, Calcutta 1919, 400-1; A.K.S. Lambton, *Persian grammar*, Cambridge 1953, 124; J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque, dialecte osmanli*, Paris 1921, §§ 531-2, 542-4; G.L. Lewis, *Turkish grammar*, Oxford 1975, 60-1. (Ed.)

NIṢF al-NAHĀR (a.) "half of the day", "midday", is used in astronomy in the expression which denotes the "meridian circle" (*dāʾirat niṣf al-nahār*) passing through the two poles of the horizon (*ḳuṭbā 'l-ufuḳ*) of a place, which it cuts at the two cardinal points (*djiha*, *watid*) North and South and through the two poles of the celestial equator (*muʿaddal al-nahār*, etc.). As the demarcation between the East and West of a place, the meridian serves as the determination of the longitude (*ṭūl* [see ḳubbat al-arḍ]) and for fixing the hour of midday prayer [see mīḳāt] by the passage of the Sun (*zawāl*). (Ed.)

NISH (in Serbian, Niš), the second town of Serbia, situated at a height of 214 m/650 feet in a fertile plain surrounded by mountains, on the two banks of the Nišava not far from its junction with the Morava. It forms an important communications centre, for roads and railway lines, on the international routes to Sofia-Istanbul and Salonica-Athens. The most important part of the town lies on the right bank, with the remains of the fortress on the right one.

In antiquity, Nish (Naïssus, Niz, Nissa, etc.) belonged at first to the Roman province of Moesia Superior and later became the capital of Dardania. Nish's greatest claim to fame is that it was the birthplace of Constantine the Great (306-37) and attained great prosperity in ancient times. The Romans had a state munition works here.

In the time of the migrations of the Huns, Nish was taken after a vigorous resistance by Attila (434-53) and destroyed but rebuilt and refortified very soon afterwards by Justinian I (527-65). By the middle of the 6th century, the first forces of the Slavs who had entered the Balkan peninsula in their endeavour to found states at the expense of the Byzantine empire appeared before Nish. Nish was thus in the 9th century usually in the hands of the Bulgars and until 1018 it belonged to a Slav state founded in Macedonia in 976 by the emperor Samuel. The Byzantines held it from 1018 to the end of the 12th century, when we find it described as large and prosperous; al-Idrīsī who calls it "Nīsu" (also on his map of 1154, ed. K. Miller) lays special emphasis on the quantity and cheapness of food and the importance of its trade. But even then it did not enjoy peace. In 1072 the Hungarians reached the town on a marauding campaign; in 1096 its inhabitants had to defend themselves in a strenuous battle "at the Bridge" against the Crusaders, in which the latter suffered very heavily, and in 1182 the town was taken by Bela III supported by the Serbian prince Nemanja. A little later Nemanja took Nish and the whole country as far as Serdica (Sofia). The town suffered considerably in these troubled times. The Third Crusade (1189) found it almost empty and practically destroyed. In spite of this, Nemanja was able to receive the emperor Barbarossa in Nish with great ceremony. From this time until the Turkish conquest Nish was generally in Serbian hands.

In the earlier Turkish chronicles (e.g. Shükrullāh, Urudj b. ʿĀdil, ʿĀshîḳpashazāde, Neshrī (Nöldeke), Anonymous Giese), there is no mention of the taking of Nish; Saʿd al-Dīn (i, 92-3), Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and Ewliyā Čelebi, then von Hammer (*GOR*², i, 157) and Lane-Poole (*Turkey*⁵, 40) on the other hand, assume that it took place in the reign of Murād I in 777/1375-

6. The Serbian chronicles, however, definitely give 1386, and this year, which Gibbons strongly urged as the correct date (*The foundations of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, 161-2), is now generally accepted.

During the Turkish period (1386-1878) Nis͟h had chequered fortunes. In 1443 it was taken by the Christian army under king Vladislav III and John Hunyadi and destroyed. After the fall of Smederevo in 1459 the Serbian despotate became a Turkish province and Nis͟h was even more securely in Turkish hands. For several days after 20 June 1521 a great fire raged in Nis͟h which would have destroyed it completely if the Beglerbeg Aḥmed Pas͟ha, who was leading an army against Hungary at the time, had not come at the last moment to its assistance (F. Tauer, *Histoire de la campagne du Sultan Suleyman Ier contre Belgrade en 1521*, Prague 1924, 26 (Persian text), 31 (tr.)).

Western travellers who visited Nis͟h in this period (Dernschwam, Contarini, etc.) were not particularly attracted by it.

Turkish writers give us an idea of the appearance of Nis͟h in the 17th century. Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa (*ca.* 1648) describes it as a great town and *ḳāḍīlīḳ* in the *sand͟jaḳ* of Sofia. The description which Ewliyā Čelebi (*ca.* 1660) gives is much fuller: it is a fortified town in the plain with 2,060 houses, 200 shops, three mosques (1. G͟hāzī K͟hudāwendigār; 2. Muṣlī Efendi; 3. Ḥusayn Ketk͟hudā), 22 schools for children, several *masd͟jids*, dervish *tekkes*, fountains, baths, many vineyards and gardens, etc.

On 23 September 1689, Nis͟h was taken by the Austrians under Lewis of Baden but abandoned the very next year to the Turks (1690). In 1737 Nis͟h was again taken by the Austrians under Seckendorf but left to the Turks again after two months' occupation. It is to this period that the city owes its fortifications.

When in 1804 the Serbians under Karadjerdje rebelled against the Turks, they soon won a number of successes and in 1809 were able to build redoubts against Nis͟h, in which Stevan Sindjelić, one of Karadjeordje's voivods, on May 31 blew up himself and the attacking Turks. Nis͟h was nevertheless not relieved and the Turks built the so-called Čele-Kula ("tower of skulls") with the heads of the Serbians killed there, of which A. de Lamartine gave a moving description on his way home in 1833 (cf. *Voyage en Orient*, Paris 1859, 255-6). It was not till 11 January 1878 that Nis͟h, hitherto the capital of a Turkish *liwā*, finally passed from the Turks. This induced many Muslims to migrate to Turkey.

Lying on the military road between Istanbul and Vienna and therefore exposed to every campaign, Nis͟h was by no means favourably situated to become a centre for the development of even a modest intellectual life. It appears, at least according to Gibb, that Nis͟h produced no Turkish poets or authors, except perhaps Sünbülzāde Wehbī (end of the 18th century), who celebrated in song his meeting with the young Sara in the Turkish camp at Nis͟h (*HOP*, iv, 259). In Nis͟h, however, two Turks worked for a time who later were to become celebrated: 1. Aḥmed Luṭfī (1815-1907), afterwards imperial historiographer, served in Vidin and Nis͟h from April 1845 (*GOW*, 384); 2. the famous statesman and author of the Turkish constitution of 1876, Midḥat Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], was appointed governor of Nis͟h and Prizren in 1861. (On the work that he did at Nis͟h between 1861 and 1864, see especially N. Göyünç, *Midhat Paşa'nın Niş valiliği hakkında notlar ve belgeler*, in *IÜEF Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, xii [1981-2], 279-316.)

At the end of the Ottoman period (1878), Nis͟h had 19 mosques, but because of the rapid disappearance of the city's Muslim population, their number speedily diminished; after 1886, there remained only "a few" (cf. *De Paris à Constantinople*, Collection des Guides Joanne, Paris 1886, 92). The next-to-the-last was destroyed in 1896 by a violent flood, and the last one, within the fortress, is still in place. As for the local Muslims, they were already no more than 3.7% of the 35,384 inhabitants of the town in 1931. According to the statistics of December 1933 (established on the basis of the marriage registers of the local imāmate), Nis͟h had at that time 1,982 Muslims spread over 365 households, chiefly Gypsies (the others being Serbo-Croat, Turkish and Albanian speakers). These Gypsies called themselves Muslims, bore Muslim names and married according to Islamic law, etc., but also observed some of the Christian festivals and from time to time prayed in churches. There still existed at this time in Nis͟h a regional *s͟harīʿa* court (set up in October 1929 after the abolition of the former jurisdiction of the local *muftī*, whose authority till then had extended over the whole of the former kingdom of Serbia, cf. *Glasnik Islamske Vjerske Zajednice*, i/11 [Belgrade 1934], 30-1). The new court extended over a part of that of the older jurisdiction (19 districts), whilst the rest were dependent on the *ḳāḍī* of Belgrade. The Muslims of Nis͟h also had a district *wakf meʿārif* council, a community council (*dzematski medzlis*) and a office for registration (*imāmat*). All these institutions disappeared in the course of the Second World War, and one only finds in Nis͟h now individual Muslims dependent on the *muftī* of Belgrade.

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(Fehim Bajraktarević-[A. Popovic])

NIS͟HĀN (p.), means a sign, banner, seal (and hence letter of a prince), or order/decoration. As a loanword in Ottoman Turkish, it basically denoted a sign or mark and also designated the sultan's signature, or *ṭug͟hra* [*q.v.*] and, by extension, a document bearing it (its scribe was a *nis͟hānd͟jī* [*q.v.*]); the standards of the Janissaries or *Yeñi Čeri* [*q.v.*]; the insignia on military, naval and other uniforms; and,

later, decorations bestowed by the sultan. In 19th and 20th century literary Arabic, *nis̲h̲ān (also nīs̲h̲ān)*, similarly a loanword, had essentially the same connotations. This entry considers orders/decorations alone. These are to be distinguished from medals (Persian *madāl*, Turkish *madālya*, Arabic *madāliya* or *midāliya*—all from Italian *medaglia*). The former, awarded by a sovereign ruler for extended service (frequently coinciding with promotion or retirement), were richly elaborate; medals, in contrast, designated a specific occasion and were rarely bejewelled. Among Muslims and others, the main intent of both was military (rewarding prowess), administrative (for officials), political (for foreign dignitaries and ambassadors), social (determining status in society) and cultural (encouraging educators and intellectuals).

While other marks of appreciation (e.g. coins or clothes) may have been bestowed by ᶜAbbāsid caliphs and Sald̲j̲ūḳ rulers, the practice of granting *nis̲h̲āns* was institutionalised in Ḳād̲j̲ār Persia, the Ottoman Empire and Afg̲h̲ānistān, visibly patterned on Western European practice in the early 19th century.

1. In the Middle East

Persia. The prevailing pattern was a star of bejewelled sunrays surrounding a central design; *nis̲h̲āns* were worn on the breast, frequently with a coloured sash. Every new *nis̲h̲ān* was first issued on the basis of a *farmān* [*q.v.*], setting down its classes (*martaba*), subdivided into degrees (*darad̲j̲a*) and the type and colour of the sash (*ḥamāyil*), as well as the services meriting reward and categories of recipients. The orders, manufactured at the government mint in Tehran, were accompanied by a document and, at times, a gift of money as well. Some orders had to be returned upon the recipient's death. The most noteworthy *nis̲h̲āns* were the following: the *Nis̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ūrs̲h̲īd* (Order of the Sun), instituted by Fatḥ ᶜAlī S̲h̲āh in 1807, who renamed it (in 1810) *Nis̲h̲ān-i S̲h̲īr ū K̲h̲ūrs̲h̲īd* (Order of the Lion and Sun) to increase its prestige. For generations, this remained a distinguished honour for notable Persians and foreigners, such as military officers and ambassadors to Tehran. It was an eight-pointed star, richly bejewelled and enamelled (each degree less costly than the one above it), with a central circle exhibiting a crouching lion and a sun rising behind its back. On the *nis̲h̲ān* for military recipients, the lion was standing and holding a sword. Fatḥ ᶜAlī also instituted a Red Crescent *nis̲h̲ān*, for foreigners, together with a green sash; and later a *Nis̲h̲ān-i Ẓafar* (Order of Victory), established in Tabrīz in 1243/1827-8, for notables. His successor, Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, decreed a *farmān* in 1252/1836-7 establishing all details of the *Nis̲h̲ān* of the Lion and Sun, its divisions and artistic characteristics, eligibility criteria and nomination procedures. He also established a *Nis̲h̲ān-i Timt̲h̲āl-i Humāyūn* (Order of the Royal Portrait—of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh), first distributed, apparently, to those responsible for law and order in Southern Persia.

Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh's long reign witnessed more activity in this domain. He laid down the formal rules for the *Nis̲h̲ān-i Timt̲h̲āl-i Humāyūn* in a *farmān* dated 1855: it was to comprise ᶜAlī's portrait, to be worn by the S̲h̲āh alone, or the S̲h̲āh's portrait, to be bestowed only on the Grand Vizier or distinguished military commanders. A later *farmān* of his, in 1287/1870, introduced three new orders to replace that of the Lion and Sun: the highest was the *Nis̲h̲ān-i Aḳdas* (Most Sacred Order), mostly for foreign rulers, less frequently for prime ministers (local and foreign), local governors and members of Persia's royal family; the *Nis̲h̲ān-i Ḳuds* (Order of Holiness), for ranking ambassadors and Persian governors; finally, the *Nis̲h̲ān-i Muḳaddas* (Sacred Order), for governors and generals. Their allocation was to be determined by a grand master, appointed by the S̲h̲āh. Yet another *farmān*, dated 1290/1873, established the *Nis̲h̲ān-i Āftāb* (Order of the Sun), intended for queens and royal princesses; one of the first recipients was Queen Victoria. The sun was represented by the full face of a female beauty. During his brief reign, Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh's son, Muẓaffar al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, instituted a *Nis̲h̲ān-i Timt̲h̲āl-i Humāyūn*, first bearing his father's likeness, then his own. The succeeding Ḳād̲j̲ārs do not seem to have innovated *nis̲h̲āns*, although they did insert their own respective likenesses.

The Pahlawīs, as a new dynasty, introduced new *nis̲h̲āns*, although some borrowed old *motifs*. Their details and awarding were published in the *Gazette d'Iran*. The highest civil order was the *Nis̲h̲ān-i Pahlawī* (Pahlawī Order), whose first class, with a collar, was worn only by the S̲h̲āh and the Crown Prince; the second, with a sash, and the third, with a riband, were bestowed on foreign heads of state and crown princes. *Nis̲h̲ān-i tād̲j̲-i Īrān* (Order of the Crown of Īrān), a star with the Persian crown at its centre, was awarded to high civil servants and, in special cases, to high-ranking foreigners. *Nis̲h̲ān-i humāyūn* (Royal Order), for distinguished persons, consisted of a star with an encircled lion and sun at its centre. In 1938, due to religious opposition, it was altered so that no human face appeared on the sun. The highest military *nis̲h̲āns* were *Nis̲h̲ān-i D̲h̲u 'l-Faḳār* (Order of D̲h̲u 'l-Faḳār), introduced in 1922, for gallantry in action, with ᶜAlī's figure in the centre; *Nis̲h̲ān-i Liyāḳat* (Order of Merit) and *Nis̲h̲ān-i Iftik̲h̲ār* (Order of Honour) were reserved for officers. Several other *nis̲h̲āns* and medals were established by Riḍā S̲h̲āh and continued under Muḥammad Riḍā S̲h̲āh, as reported annually in the *Iran Almanac and Book of Facts* (Tehran). The Islamic Republic of Iran abolished them all.

Ottoman Empire. *Nis̲h̲āns* were regarded as signs of sovereignty and the sultans jealously guarded their exclusive prerogative to grant them. In the second half of the 19th century, there were attempts by the Princes of Bulgaria, starting with Alexander von Battenberg, to strike and award their own *nis̲h̲āns*. One, sent by Prince Alexander to Alfonso XII of Spain, had to be returned by the latter because of Ottoman pressure. Ismāᶜīl Pasha [*q.v.*], K̲h̲edive of Egypt, did not strike his own *nis̲h̲āns*, but obtained permission from the sultan's court to award Ottoman ones.

From ᶜAbd ül-Med̲j̲īd I's reign, each *nis̲h̲ān* was prepared and distributed according to regulations (*niẓām-nāma*) published in the official *Düstūr*. Struck at the mint or *ḍarb k̲h̲āna* [*q.v.*], it usually had the form of a star, crescent or sunrays. As in Persia, each was a work of art, made of precious metals and gems, frequently accompanied by a sash (*s̲h̲erīṭ*) or riband. Presented by the Sultan or dispatched via a delegate, it was boxed and awarded with a specially-written *berāt* [*q.v.*], phrased in stylised language, mentioning the name of the recipient, the *nis̲h̲ān* and its class (if any), and the reason for the award. No one was permitted to wear a *nis̲h̲ān* without a suitable *berāt*, for which the recipient had to pay, the price varying with time and degree. Some *nis̲h̲āns* had only one degree (*rütbe*), others up to five. Above the first degree, even more prestigious *nis̲h̲āns* were elaborately adorned with diamonds or brilliants and called *muraṣṣaᶜ*. These and first-degree *nis̲h̲āns* were usually worn with a sash across the breast, with a small medal attached to the hip, resembling (but not identical to) the larger and

more valuable one worn on the breast. Lower degrees had only one decoration, tied around the neck with a riband or pinned to one's breast. All were of gold or silver (according to their degree), mostly enamelled in the centre and bejewelled. When presented to military personnel, many *nis̲h̲āns* had interlocking swords added at the top. Persons awarded a higher degree were expected to return the lower one. Most *nis̲h̲āns* could be inherited, but not worn by heirs, who were requested to pay a fee to keep them.

Medals predated *nis̲h̲āns* in the Ottoman Empire; Maḥmūd I, ʿOt̲h̲mān III and ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd I each issued a medal. The first *nis̲h̲ān* dates from the reign of Selīm III. There were still no decorations with which to reward Admiral Nelson following his 1798 destruction of the French navy at Abū Ḳīr in Egypt, but the matter was then accorded initial consideration. In 1216/1801, following the battle of Alexandria, the *Nis̲h̲ān-i Hilāl*, or *Hilāl Nis̲h̲ānî* (Order of the Crescent), sometimes called that of the *Waḳāʾiʿ-i Miṣriyye* (Order of the Battles of Egypt), was struck to be worn as a pendant around the neck. Made of gold and adorned with diamonds, its central ornaments were an enamelled crescent and the Ottoman arms. Its first recipients were an Ottoman naval officer, Aḥmed, and a British one, Hutchinson; later, it was presented to one of Napoleon I's generals, Sebastiani de la Porta.

During Maḥmūd II's reign, in 1831, the *Nis̲h̲ān-i Iftik̲h̲ār* (Order of Honour) was struck, with a crescent or star (depending on degree) at its centre. With this order, the sultan initiated the practice of distributing *nis̲h̲āns* among military officers, NCOs and administrative officials. The *Taṣwīr-i Hümāyūn Nis̲h̲ānî* (Order of the Imperial Portrait), struck a year later, comprised Maḥmūd II's portrait, in miniature, on ivory, in a rectangular frame ornamented with brilliants, set among yellow and pink roses, surrounded by blue flowers. Aware of criticism in religious circles for using a human portrait, the sultan presented this *nis̲h̲ān* to the *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām* himself (1248/1832).

Several *nis̲h̲āns* were issued during ʿAbd ül-Med̲j̲īd's reign. Some were smaller, more modest ones, rewarding the services of various officers, officials, engineering service personnel and others. These awards and many others were all recalled and sent back to the mint. Nonetheless, this remained an era of artistically significant *nis̲h̲āns*, three of which merit special mention: the *Nis̲h̲ān-i Iftik̲h̲ār* differed from the one similarly named under Maḥmūd II. Oval-shaped, it resembled a flat medal. The base was a golden plaque; the flowery *ṭug̲h̲ra* at its centre was silver-plated, surrounded by 32 silver sunrays, and the upper part was of gold. It bore a total of 160 gems. The *Nis̲h̲ān-i Imtiyāz* (Order of Distinction) had only one degree, but its makeup varied with the reward which the sultan thought suitable for services rendered. Thus in 1257/1841, Muṣṭafā Res̲h̲īd Pasha [see RES̲H̲ĪD PAS̲H̲A, MUṢṬAFĀ], Minister for Foreign Affairs, was rewarded for ably solving the problem of Egypt a year earlier with a beautiful ornamented *Nis̲h̲ān-i Imtiyāz*, whose centre bore the *ṭug̲h̲ra* within a red enamel laurel twig surrounded by 35 bejewelled sunrays. The *Med̲j̲īdī Nis̲h̲ānî* (Order of ʿAbd ül-Med̲j̲īd, popularly known as *Med̲j̲īdiyye*) was struck in 1268/1851. While the number of *nis̲h̲āns* struck for foreigners was not pre-determined, the quantity struck for Ottomans was: 1st degree, 50; 2nd, 150; 3rd, 800; 4th, 3,000; 5th, 6,000. In the centre of seven sections of sunrays, the *ṭug̲h̲ra* appeared as a sun in relief, around which the following terms were inscribed in gold: *ṣadāḳat* (fidelity), *ḥamiyyet* (patriotism) and *g̲h̲ayret* (zeal). This was awarded to the military, civil servants and intellectuals (succeeding sultans continued to award it). Not surprisingly, the regulations governing this Order stipulated that anyone guilty of treason, robbery, murder or corruption would have to return it.

The enamel-on-gold *Nis̲h̲ān-i ʿĀlī Imtiyāz* (Order of High Distinction), struck during ʿAbd ül-Azīz's reign, in 1861, greatly resembled the earlier *Nis̲h̲ān-i Imtiyāz*. The *Nis̲h̲ān-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī* (Ottoman Order), struck in the following year, was presented only to previous recipients of the *Med̲j̲īdī Nis̲h̲ānî*. Again, the number of pieces produced was strictly limited in advance (although foreigners were excluded from this quota), as well as the payment, by degree, for the accompanying *berāt*. The sultan's *ṭug̲h̲ra* was again the centre-piece, on red enamel and gold, surrounded by 35 sunrays.

During ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II's reign, the number of *nis̲h̲āns*, old and new, increased so much that their intrinsic value declined. This was due not only to his long reign, but also to his large-scale distribution of *nis̲h̲āns* among both Ottomans and foreigners as a means of gaining allies and saving the Empire. Even on such occasions as the sinking of the Ottoman frigate *Ertog̲h̲rul*, in a storm off the coast of Japan, *nis̲h̲āns* were sent to the local people who had tried to rescue and tend the shipwrecked. Only the more important orders will be mentioned. The *S̲h̲efḳat Nis̲h̲ānî* (Order of Compassion) was struck in 1878 for Ottoman women (and, in rare cases, for foreign ones) who had made efforts to help during wars, earthquakes, floods and similar disasters. This first Ottoman *nis̲h̲ān* for women was in gold and silver, in the form of a five-cornered star with a violet-coloured enamel at its centre, bearing ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd's *ṭug̲h̲ra* and the words *insāniyyet* (humanity), *muʿāwenet* (assistance) and *ḥamiyyet* (patriotism). Like ʿAbd ül-ʿAzīz, ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd issued his own version of *Nis̲h̲ān-i ʿĀlī Imtiyāz*. Struck in 1878, it was designed for military personnel, administrators and intellectuals—both Ottoman and foreign—who had performed exceptional services for the Empire. Of one degree only (plus the bejewelled, *muraṣṣaʿ* one), it looked like a rayed sun with golden laurel twigs at its base. The sultan's *ṭug̲h̲ra* was inscribed on green enamel, surrounded by the inscription *ḥamiyyet* (patriotism), *g̲h̲ayret* (zeal), *s̲h̲ed̲j̲āʿat* (courage) and *ṣadāḳat* (fidelity). The *k̲h̲ānedān-i Āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān Nis̲h̲ānî* (Order of the Ottoman Dynasty), struck in 1892, was intended for rulers of foreign states and their families, as well as members of the reigning Ottoman family and Turkish personalities who had excelled in service. Golden, oval-shaped, with the *ṭug̲h̲ra* at its centre, surrounded by a red enamel frame, it was usually worn on a grand formal uniform. The *Ertog̲h̲rul Nis̲h̲ānî* (Order of Ertog̲h̲rul), named for one of the Sultan's ancestors, was struck in 1901. Shaped like a star with gold enamel at its corners, it was intended for those whom ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd particularly liked.

In the time of Meḥemmed V Res̲h̲ād and the Young Turks, more *nis̲h̲āns* were struck. The *Maʿārif Nis̲h̲ānî* (Education Order), issued in 1910, was intended for persons distinguishing themselves publicly in teaching, culture and the arts. Made of gold-plated silver, the *ṭug̲h̲ra* was again in the centre on a red enamel background, surrounded by a white enamel crescent and terminating in a small five-pointed star joined to a green enamel laurel. An inscription set out the *nis̲h̲ān*'s intent: *ʿUlūm we-fünūn we-ṣanāʾiʿ-i nefīse*. Eligible recipients had to have been

employed for at least five years (3rd degree), ten (2nd) and another ten (1st). Teachers who had failed at their jobs could be requested to return their *nishāns*. Foreigners were equally eligible for this award. The *Meziyyet Nishānî* (Order of Excellence), considered even more prestigious then the *Medjīdī Nishānî* and the *Nishān-î ʿOthmānī*, was planned in 1910 and intended for both Ottoman and foreign subjects in the highest offices. This *nishān*, however, was never issued. The same is true of the *Zirāʿat Liyāḳat Nishānî* (Order of Capability in Agriculture), planned in 1912 for men particularly successful in agriculture. It was designed with a three-word inscription: *ḥürriyyet* (liberty), *ʿadālet* (justice) and *müsāwāt* (equality)—a common slogan in the Young Turk decade. The *Medjlis-i Mebʿūthān Aʿḍālarîna Makhṣūṣ Nishānî* (Order for the Members of Parliament) was issued in 1916 to all members in the 1916-19 Parliament. Made up of heptagonal groups of sunrays, its centre was a crescent-and-star in gold on white enamel.

In the successor states of the Ottoman Empire, heads of state variously continued to bestow orders and medals. In Turkey, a law passed in Parliament on 26 November 1934 and published in the *Resmî Gazete* three days later, forbade wearing Ottoman *nishāns* (unless won in war) or foreign decorations. Instead, the state provided the *Istiklâl madalyasî* (Independence Medal), approved by Parliament in 1920 and distributed in 1923 to Members of Parliament and later to all those who fought or assisted in the War of Independence. In Egypt, King Fuʾād instituted several orders: the *Ḳalādat Muḥammad ʿAlī* (Muḥammad ʿAlī Collar) for a limited number of kings; the *Ḳalādat Fuʾād* (Fuʾād Collar), for heads of state and eminent Egyptians; the *Nishān Muḥammad ʿAlī* (Order of Muḥammad ʿAlī), sometimes called *al-Wishāḥ al-akbar* (The Highest Decoration), for Prime Ministers, both Egyptian and foreign; the *Nishān Ismāʿīl* (Order of Ismāʿīl), for prominent Egyptians and others; the *Wishāḥ al-Nīl* (Nile Decoration), for ministers and pashas; and the *Wisām al-Kamāl* (Decoration of Perfection), for women only. King Fārūḳ introduced no new orders, while the Republic did, e.g. the *Wisām al-Nīl* (Nile Decoration), for heads of state, and the *Wisām al-istiḥḳāḳ* (Order of Merit).

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Ottoman Empire. *Nishāns* can be found in many museums in Turkey (such as the Topkapı and the military and naval museums in Istanbul) and elsewhere and in many private collections, worldwide. Copies of the *berāts* accompanying them, for 1262-1337/1845-1918, are housed in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Hümayun nişan defterleri*, vols. 1-44. Foreign recipients of *nishāns* were generally listed in the official *sālnāmes*. Regulations (*niẓāmnāme*) governing the awards were printed in *Düstūr*, e.g. 1st series, suppl. vols. (*dheyl-i düstūr*), iv, Istanbul 1302, 2-3. See also Meḥmed Tewfīḳ, *Nishān-î ittiḥād. Yādigār-î Madjaristān ʿaṣr-î ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd Khān*, Istanbul 1294; F. von Kraelitz, *Ilk ʿOthmānlî pādishāhlarînîñ iṣdār etmish olduḳlarî baʿḍî berātlar*, in *TOEM*, v/28 (1 Oct. 1330/1914), 242-50; Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, *Reisülküttaplık ve nişancılık*, in *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, i (1931), 198-201; Sermet Muhtar Alus, *Eski rütbeler, elkaplar, nişan ve madalyalar*, in *Resimli Tarih Mecmuası*, iii/33 (Sept. 1952), 1736-9; Hâlûk Y. Şahsuvaroğlu, *Nişan ve madalyalara dair*, in *Cumhuriyet* (1 Dec. 1958), 2; İbrahim Artuk, *Nişanı Osmani*, in *Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı*, x (1961), 74-6, plus plates; idem and Cevriye Artuk, *The Ottoman orders*, Istanbul 1967; İ. Artuk, *Orta ve yeni çağa ait sikke ve nişanlar*, in *VI. Türk Tarih Kongresi (20-26 Ekim 1961)*, Ankara 1967, 237-53; C. Artuk, *The medallion of glory*, in *Actes du 8ème Congrès International de Numismatique, New York and Washington, Sept. 1973*, Basel 1976, 489-93; eadem, *Şefkat nişanı*, in *I. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi (İstanbul, 15-20.X.1973). Tebliğler. I. Türk Tarihi*, Istanbul 1979, 7-14; İ. Artuk, *Nişân-ı Osmanî*, in *ibid.*, 15-22; C. Artuk, *İftihar madalyası*, in *Belleten*, xliv/175 (July 1980), 535-7; İsmet Çetinyalçın, *Liyakat madalyası*, in *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi (11-15 Ekim 1976)*, Ankara 1983, iii, 1723-32, plus plates; Afif Büyüktuğrul, *Sultan II. Mahmut döneminde rütbe alameti boyun nişanları*, in *Belleten*, xlvii/186 (April 1983) [publ. Ankara 1984], 537-46; *History of the Turkish frigate Ertuğrul*, n.p., n.d., 17, 21-3.

(J.M. Landau)

2. In the Maghrib

In North Africa, it was Tunisia which, whilst part of the Ottoman empire, was the first to award decorations. The oldest and most popular one is the *Nishān al-Iftikhār* ("Order of Honour"), begun in 1837 by Aḥmad Bey, modified in 1855, then on 29 Muḥarram 1300/10 December 1882 and on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1304/21 August 1887, before being definitively regulated by a beylical decree of 22 Shaʿbān 1315/16 January 1898 (apart from a few later modifications relating to the rights of chancellery).

The *Nishān al-Iftikhār* had at the outset only one class, whose insignia was a silver, enamelled plaque, oval in shape, on which the name of the Bey was picked out encrusted with diamonds. Later, it became an order arranged hierarchically in five classes. The highest decoration (the Grand Sash) was a silver plaque with carved faces, rounded and raised in its centre, in the form of a star with ten rays radiating outwards intertwined with each other; in the centre of the plate, on a green enamelled field, the name of His Highness the Bey stood out in incised silver letters. This decoration was worn over the left side of the breast, by means of a green silk ribbon with a double red bordering; this ribbon, 85 mm wide, had to be worn cross-wise over the right shoulder; at its ends, a

knot supported the plaque of a Commander (see below). The plaque of a Grand Officer was smaller and was worn on the right side of the breast. The plaque of a Commander, smaller still, differed only in detail; a green ribbon four cm wide had a double red bordering which allowed the insignia to be worn below the neck. The decoration of an Officer, smaller still, was supported by a green ribbon with a double edging, with a rosette, which was pinned on the left side of the breast. The decoration of a Knight (first and second classes) was simpler, but the ribbon was the same as for the other classes. The *Nishān al-Iftikhār* was awarded on the recommendation of the Prime Minister for Tunisian nationals, and of the Foreign Affairs Minister for other recipients.

In the same year as the *Nishān al-Iftikhār* was instituted (1837), the Bey founded the *Nishān al-Dam* ("Order of the Blood") for himself and members of his family, but this decoration was also granted to the Prime Minister and to foreign sovereigns and their families. Its insignia was a rounded plaque of gold, with rings set with diamonds, and it was worn crosswise by means of a green ribbon with two thin red borders. After the promulgation of the Fundamental Pact (*ʿAhd al-Amān* [see DUSTŪR, i]), the Bey Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ in 1860 created a special order, the *Nishān ʿAhd al-Amān*, reserved for princes and for Tunisian ministers, but also granted to generals and civilian officials of high rank. The insignia was a plaque in gold, round in shape, with a red enamelled surface and set with emeralds, and it was worn cross-wise by means of a green ribbon with two red borders on each side. In 1874 the same Bey inaugurated the *Nishān ʿAhd al-Amān al-Muraṣṣaʿ*, whose insignia was a golden plaque set (*muraṣṣaʿ*) with diamonds, but this decoration was granted only to a limited number of Tunisian dignitaries and foreign personalities: Marshal Lyautey, General de Gaulle and King Alfonso XIII of Spain. These four orders were thus placed in the following order of importance: *Dam*, *ʿAhd al-Amān al-Muraṣṣaʿ*, *ʿAhd al-Amān* and *Iftikhār*. All were abolished in 1957.

Once Tunisia became independent, it acquired three new orders plus a certain number of medals. The *Nishān al-Istiḳlāl* ("Order of Independence") was founded by a decree of 6 September 1956 and reorganised by the law 59-32 of 16 March 1959; it was intended to reward civil or military services from the time of the war of national liberation and has five classes (of Knight with Grand Cross). On the same day, law 59-33 instituted the *Nishān al-Djumhūriyya al-Tūnisiyya* ("Order of the Tunisian Republic") meant to reward the services of those who had contributed to the establishment of the republic; it also had five classes. Finally, the Order of 7 November 1987 (beginning of the new era) was set up by the law 88-78 of 2 July 1988 to reward the merits of those who had either contributed to the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the people and the strengthening of democracy or had worked for the consolidation of the gains of 7 November; it likewise has five classes. The President of the Republic is the Grand Master of these three orders, which may also be given to foreigners.

Furthermore, the government ministerial departments are able to grant decorations and medals for rewarding services rendered: the Medal of Honour of the State Security Service, of the National Guard, of Civil Defence, of the Prison and Rehabilitation Services, and for the Safety of the Head of State and of official figures, all medals stemming from the Ministry of the Interior. The Ministry of Education and Science has the National Order of Merit for the Universities set up by the law 85-41 of 15 April 1985 and comprising three classes, and the National Order of Merit for Teaching created by the law 79-41 of 15 August 1979, also of three classes; the president of the Republic is the Grand Master of these two orders. The Ministry of Public Health has a medal, whilst that of Agriculture has an Order of Merit for Agricultural Services set up by the law 71-44 of 28 July 1971 and comprising two grades, those of knight and officer. The Ministry of Youth and Children has two medals, for Merit in Sport and Merit of Youth. The Ministry of Social Affairs has the Medal of Social Merit and the Medal of Labour. There was attached to the Ministry of Culture the National Order of Cultural Merit created by the law 66-61 of 5 July 1966, but replaced, by law 69-23 of 27 March 1969, by the Medal of Culture, which also has five classes. Finally, the Ministry of National Defence has the Military Medal, whose holders form an Order, and the Medal commemorating the Battle and the Evacuation of Bizerta set up by the law 63-45 of 12 December 1963.

(This information concerning Tunisia has been kindly communicated by the National Foundation Beit Al-Hikma [*Bayt al-Ḥikma*] which had been given the task of drawing up a report on the Tunisian decorations.)

In Morocco, a dahir (*ẓahīr*) of 1 Ramaḍān 1386/14 December 1966 regulated the kingdom's orders; this document, which followed and summed up earlier ones, was itself modified or completed by the dahirs of 26 Ramaḍān 1388/17 December 1968, of 12 Rabīʿ II 1396/12 April 1976 and of 3 Rabīʿ II 1403/18 January 1983.

In descending hierarchical order, the nine orders designated by the term *wisām*, and not *nishān*, were as follows. (1) *al-Wisām al-Muḥammadī*, reserved for monarchs or heads of foreign states, the royal family and foreign princes. It has three classes. For the outstanding class, a gold plaque whose base in green enamel is surrounded by jewels and which is worn suspended from a collar of gold or of precious stones; for the other two classes, there is only a plaque, without the jewels for the third one. (2) *Wisām al-Istiḳlāl* ("Order of Independence") intended for those who contributed to the achievement of independence. It has three classes also: for the outstanding one, the gold medal forms a star with eight points hung from a red ribbon with black vertical stripes. For the other classes, the medal is in silver or bronze respectively. (3) *Wisām al-Walāʾ* ("Order of Fidelity"), meant for persons who have shown their devotion to the sovereign. It has only one class, and the plaque is a star in gold with five points. (4) *Wisām al-ʿArsh* ("Order of the Throne") is meant to reward civil and military officials. It has five classes; the gold medal (silver for the fourth class) is worn hung from a red band, with a green stripe on each side. (5) *al-Wisām al-ʿAskarī* ("Military Medal") is for private soldiers and NCOs in time of war, and also for general officers holding the *Wisām al-ʿArsh*. It has only one class; the medal is bronze, oval in shape, with a white and red ribbon. (6) *Wisām al-Istiḥḳāḳ al-ʿAskarī* ("Medal for Military Merit") is for career officers. It has five classes; the outstanding class comprises a gold plaque plus a gold medal with a green ribbon with a red border; the first class, a plaque and medal of silver; the others, only a medal in silver or bronze. (7) *Wisām al-Istiḥḳāḳ al-Waṭanī* ("National Order for Merit"), meant for civil and military officials. It has three classes, a gold medal for the outstanding level, one of silver or bronze for the other two, and red ribbon with

wide edges. (8) *al-Wisām al-ʿAlawī*, the celebrated Ouissam Alaouite, which has five classes. The highest (the Grand Sash), has for its insignia a plaque 84 mm in diameter with five clusters of silver rays, surmounted by a golden star 40 mm in diameter with five white enamelled branches, a red cord, held together by a cluster of palm leaves in green enamel with a 16 mm golden circle in its centre, on a red enamelled ground. This plaque is worn on the left side of the breast. Also, a gold star 60 mm in diameter, identical on both sides to that of the plaque, with a circle 25 mm in diameter in its centre; the second side bears a representation of the royal parasol, red in colour, on a golden ground; this star is hung from a ring of golden foliage by a wide ribbon in bright orange, 10 cm wide with, on each side, a white stripe. The Grand Sash is worn over the shoulder from right to left. For the rank of Grand Officer, the plaque is the same as above; it is worn on the right side of the breast, the star of an Officier (see above) on the left side. The Commander wears a star identical with that of the Grand Sash hung from a bright orange neck band 37 mm wide, with a white stripe on each side. The star of an Officer is like that of the Grand Sash with the same measurements as the star of the plaque; the ribbon, bright orange and 37 mm wide, has a white stripe on each side and bears a white-striped rosette. The insignia of a Knight is the same, except that it is hung from a silver (and not gold) ring and has no rosette. (9) *Wisām al-Mukāfaʾa al-Waṭaniyya* (no information about this order). (Ch. Pellat)

NIS̲H̲ĀND̲J̲Ī, secretary of state for the Sultan's *ṭug̲h̲ra*, chancellor, in Ottoman administration.

The Sald̲j̲ūḳs and Mamlūks already had special officials for drawing the *ṭug̲h̲ra*, the sultan's signature. As their official organisation was inherited in almost all its details by the Ottomans, this post naturally was included. Its holder was called *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* or *tewḳīʿī*. The *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* held the same rank as the *defterdārs* [*q.v.*] and indeed even preceded them, for we find *defterdārs* promoted to *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲īs* but never a *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* becoming a *defterdār*. The *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* was included among the "pillars of the empire" (*erkān-i dewlet*). The part which he played varied in course of time. Besides being secretary of state for the imperial *ṭug̲h̲ra* (*nis̲h̲ān*), he had originally considerable legislative powers and he was called *muftī-yi ḳānūn* (to distinguish him from the *muftī* proper, i.e. the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām*). In his office, the texts of the laws were prepared under his supervision. Most of the Ottoman codes of law (*ḳānūn*) that have come down to us go back to *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲īs*. As they had moreover the right to approve the contents of documents put before them for the imperial *ṭug̲h̲ra*, they had no slight influence on the business of administration. Of their official career we know that, according to the *Ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*] of Meḥemmed II, they had to be chosen from teachers acquainted with law (*müderris*), apparently because they had to display legislative ability, or from the *defterdārs* and *ruʾasāʾ ül-küttāb*. As their authority diminished more and more in course of time, so did their influence, and finally they were limited to preparing the *ṭug̲h̲ra*. According to Mouradjea d'Ohsson (*Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, iii, 373), the *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲īs* received from the state a salary of 6,620 piastres. On their official dress, see von Hammer, *GOR*, viii, 431, according to whom they wore red, in contrast to the other *k̲h̲od̲j̲agān* who wore violet.

Bibliography: See the article ṬUG̲H̲RA and the references there given; also J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 173, ii, 217, 229, iv, 3, viii, 431; idem, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i, 64, ii, 127, 135; M.Z. Pakalın, *Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-53, ii, 694-7 s.v. *Nişan*, 697-700 s.v. *Nişancı*; *İA*, art. *Nişancı* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin). (F. Babinger)

NĪS̲H̲ĀPŪR, the most important of the four great cities of K̲h̲urāsān (Nīs̲h̲āpūr, Marw, Harāt and Balk̲h̲), one of the great towns of Persia in the Middle Ages.

The name goes back to the Persian Nēw-S̲h̲āhpūr ("Fair S̲h̲āpūr"); in Armenian it is called Niu-S̲h̲apuh, Arab. Naysābūr or Nīsābūr, New Pers. Nēs̲h̲āpūr, pronounced in the time of Yāḳūt Nīs̲h̲āwūr, now Nīs̲h̲āpūr (Nöldeke, *Ṭabarī*, 59, n. 3; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge...*, 61, n. 530). The town occasionally bore the official title of honour, Īrāns̲h̲ahr.

Nīs̲h̲āpūr was founded by S̲h̲āhpūhr I, son of Ardas̲h̲īr I (Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, 48), who had slain in this region the Turanian Pahlčak (Pālēžak) (*Städteliste von Ērān*, § 13); some authors say it was not founded till the time of S̲h̲āhpūhr II (al-Ṭabarī, i, 840; al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, 529).

In the wider sense, the region of Nīs̲h̲āpūr comprised the districts of al-Ṭabasayn, Kūhistān, Nisāʾ, Bāward, Abars̲h̲ahr, D̲j̲ām, Bāk̲h̲arz, Ṭūs, Zūzan and Isparāʾin (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, 278; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2884); in the narrower sense, Nīs̲h̲āpūr was the capital of the province of Abars̲h̲ahr (Armen. *Apar as̲h̲k̲h̲arh*, the "district of the 'Απάρνοι"; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 74; idem, *Catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, 52), which was in turn divided into 13 *rustāḳs* and 4 *ṭassūd̲j̲* (names in al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 258; Ibn Ḥawkal, 313; Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 24; al-Yaʿḳūbī, 278; Ibn Rusta, 171). The latter were: in the west Rēwand (now Rīwend), in the south al-S̲h̲āmāt, Pers. Tak-Āb, in the east Pus̲h̲tfrōs̲h̲an (now Pus̲h̲t Farūs̲h̲) and in the north Māzūl (now Māsūl); cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 314-21.

In the Rēwand hills to the northwest of the town was one of the three most sacred fire-temples of the Sāsānids, that of the fire Burzīn-Mihr (G. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 290). Yazdad̲j̲ird II (438-57) made Nīs̲h̲āpūr his usual residence.

In the year 30/651 or 31/652 the governor of Baṣra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], took Nīs̲h̲āpūr (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3305; al-Balād̲h̲urī, 404), whose governor Kanārang (χαναράγγης: Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 75) capitulated. The town was then insignificant and had no garrison. During the fighting between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya (36-7/656-7), the Arabs were again driven out of Nīs̲h̲āpūr by a rising in K̲h̲urāsān and Ṭuk̲h̲āristān (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3249, 3350; al-Balād̲h̲urī, 408; al-Dīnawarī, 163). Pērōz III, the son of Yazdad̲j̲ird III and of the daughter of the Kanārang of Nīs̲h̲āpūr, is said to have lived for a period in Nīs̲h̲āpūr. K̲h̲ulayd b. Kaʾs was sent in 37/657-8 by ʿAlī against the rebellious town (al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*). Muʿāwiya reappointed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir governor of Baṣra in 41/661-2 and commissioned him to conquer K̲h̲urāsān and Sid̲j̲istān. The latter in 42/662-3 installed Ḳays b. al-Hayt̲h̲am al-Sulamī in Nīs̲h̲āpūr as governor of K̲h̲urāsān. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān in 45/665-6 made K̲h̲ulayd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥanafī governor of Abars̲h̲ahr (Nīs̲h̲āpūr). ʿAbd Allāh b. K̲h̲āzim rebelled in 63/683 against the Umayyads. He fell in 73/692 at Marw fighting against ʿAbd al-Malik, whereupon Umayyad rule was restored in K̲h̲urāsān.

Until the time when the Ṭāhirid governor of K̲h̲urāsān ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213-30/828-45 [*q.v.*]) made it his capital, Nīs̲h̲āpūr was of less consequence than the Arabs' first capital, Marw [*q.v.*]. But soon, helped by its more salubrious climate, it overtook

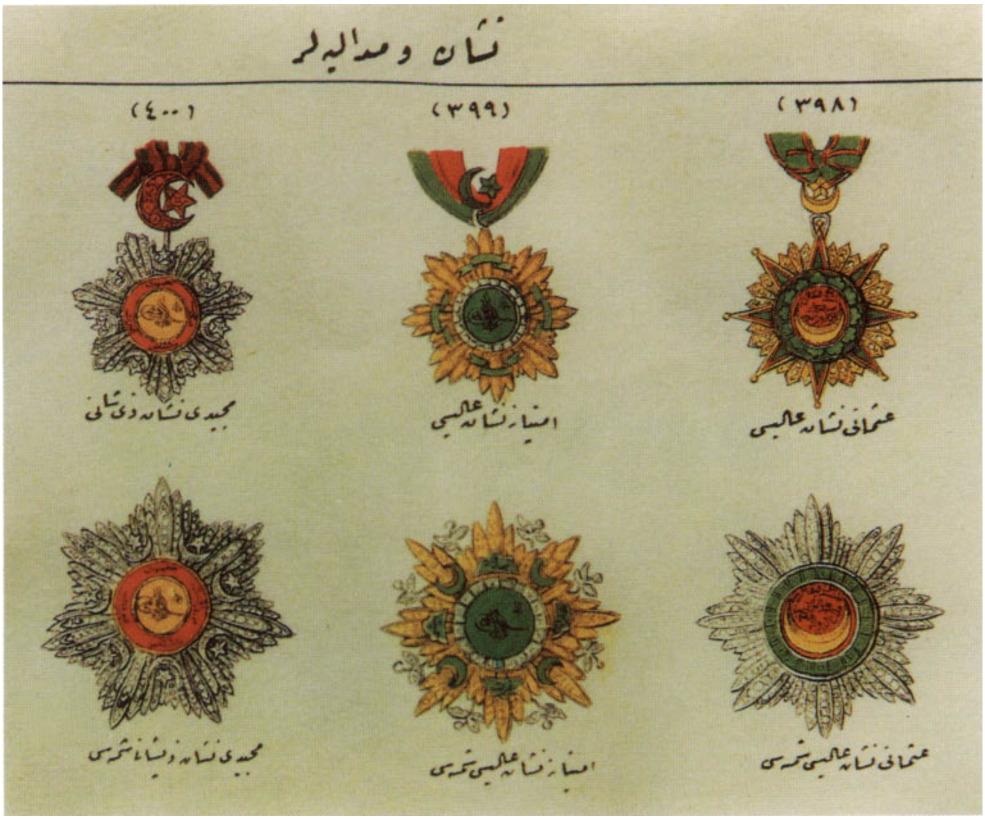

Some *nishāns* of the late Ottoman Empire (above with a riband, below with a pin for the breast). From right to left: *Nishān-i ʿOthmānī*; *Nishān-i ʿālī imtiyāz*; *Medjīdī nishānī*. From Mahmut Shevket's manuscript, *ʿOthmānli̊ ki̊yāfet-i ʿaskariyye*, Istanbul University Library, Türkçe Yazma 9393; with the kind permission of Istanbul University Library.

Marw in political importance, and also became a centre of economic activity (above all for its famed textiles, including luxury *ʿattābī* and *saḳlāṭūnī* cloths, cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, 133) and of cultural life. It ceased to be a provincial capital after the Ṣaffārid *amīr* Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth in 259/863 took over Khurāsān from the Ṭāhirids and entered the city, and for some 30 years control of it oscillated between the Ṣaffārids and various warlords and military adventurers like Rāfiʿ b. Harthama [*q.v.*] until ʿAmr b. al-Layth was defeated and captured by the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad in 287/900 (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 217-25; Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 114-21). But then under the Sāmānids (4th/10th century), it attained especial prosperity as the provincial capital of Khurāsān again and the base and residence of the commander-in-chief of that province. Arts and crafts, such as ceramic production, were notable, and the general prosperity of Nīshāpūr was reflected in the formation of an influential bourgeoisie, composed of merchants, craftsmen, officials and scholars and religious figures from the two main *madhhabs* of Khurāsān, the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfiʿīs, and from their rivals for popular support there, the members of the ascetic and pietistic sect of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*]. From this social group, which R.W. Bulliet has called a patriciate, stemmed notable scholars like Abū Muḥammad al-Djuwaynī and his son the Imām al-Ḥaramayn Abu ʾl-Maʿālī [*q.vv.*] and the traditionist al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, Ibn al-Bayyiʿ [*q.v.*], and also ambitious statesmen like Maḥmūd of Ghazna's minister Ḥasanak [*q.v.*] from the Mīkālī [*q.v.*] family (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994:1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 145-202; Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972). The large number of traditionists and lawyers which the city produced was undoubtedly a stimulus to the production of several biographical dictionaries of Nīshāpūr scholars, beginning with that of Ibn al-Bayyiʿ (d. 405/1014) in eight or twelve volumes, the starting-point for various continuations and epitomes (see R.N. Frye, *City chronicles of Central Asia and Khurasan. The Taʾrīx-i Nīsāpūr*, in *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, 405-20; facs. texts in idem, *The histories of Nishapur*, The Hague 1965; the *Muntakhab min al-siyāḳ li-taʾrīkh Naysābūr* of al-Ṣarīfīnī, ed. Muḥ. Aḥmad al-ʿAzīz, Beirut 1409/1989).

The Arabic geographers describe Nīshāpūr at this time as a thickly populated town divided into 42 wards, 1 *farsakh* in length and breadth (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 254) and consisting of the citadel, the city proper and an outer suburb in which was the chief mosque built by the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr. Beside it was the public market called al-Muʿaskar, the governor's palace, a second open place called Maydān al-Ḥusayniyyīn and the prison. The citadel had two gates and the city four: the Gate of the Bridge, the Gate on the road from Maʿḳil, the Gate of the Fortress (*Bāb al-Ḳuhandiz*) and the Gate of the Takīn Bridge. The suburbs also had walls with many gates. The best known market places were *al-Murabbaʿa al-Kabīra* (near the Friday Mosque) and *al-Murabbaʿa al-Ṣaghīra*. The most important business streets were about fifty in number and ran across the city in straight lines intersecting at right angles; all kinds of wares were on sale in them (on the products and exports of Nīshāpūr, see G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 429-30). Numerous canals were led from the Wādī Saghāwar, which flowed down from the village of Bushtankār or Būshtakān and drove 70 mills, whence it passed near the city and provided the houses with an ample water supply. Gardens below the city were also watered in this way. The district of Nīshāpūr was regarded as the most fertile in Khurāsān.

The town suffered many vicissitudes after this period. A great famine broke out there in 401/1011. At the beginning of the 5th/11th century Nīshāpūr was the centre of the pietist Karrāmīs led by the anchorite Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ. The Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg first occupied the town in 428/1037 and subsequently made it his capital. Alp Arslān also seems to have lived there (cf. Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 243). In Shawwāl 536/May 1142 the Khʷārazmshāh Atsïz took the town for a time from the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar. When it was sacked by the Ghuzz in 548/1153 the inhabitants fled, mainly to the suburb of Shādyākh which was enlarged and fortified by the governor al-Muʾayyid. Ṭughān Shāh Abū Bakr ruled the city during 569-81/1174-85 and his son Sandjar Shāh during 581-3/1185-7.

In Rabīʿ I or II 583/May or June 1187 the Khʷārazmshāh Tekish took Nīshāpūr and gave it to his eldest son Malik Shāh. At the end of 589/1193 the latter received Marw and his brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad became governor of Nīshāpūr. Malik Shāh died in 593/1197 in the neighbourhood of Nīshāpūr. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn called himself after his father's death) took Marw and Nīshāpūr in 598/1202 from the Ghūrids Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his brother Shihāb al-Dīn.

In addition to the wars and rebellions (e.g. 604-5/1207-8) which afflicted the town, it suffered from repeated earthquakes (540/1145, 605/1208, 679/1280). Yāḳūt who visited it in 613/1216 but stayed in Shādyākh, could still see the damage done by the first earthquake and by the Ghuzz, but nevertheless thought the town the finest in Khurāsān. The second earthquake was particularly severe; the inhabitants on this occasion fled for several days into the plain below the city.

In 618/1221 the Mongols under Čingiz Khān sacked the city completely (see Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 169-78). Although Nīshāpūr's palmiest days were ended by the Mongol devastations, it soon revived from the effects of these. The city's centre had been displaced to Shādyākh after the earthquakes of the early 7th/13th century, and the same cause lay behind its reconstitution on a third site towards the end of that same century. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes it in the 8th/14th century as highly flourishing, with extensive protective walls (*Nuzha*, 148-9, tr. 147-8), whilst Ibn Baṭṭūṭa calls it "Little Damascus" for its fertility and productiveness, and praises the *madrasas* and throngs of students which he saw there (*Riḥla*, iii, 80-2, tr. Gibb, iii, 583-5).

Thereafter, Nīshāpūr slowly declined in importance until its modest revival in the later 19th century. In 1890 G.N. Curzon found the Nīshāpūr region still fertile, and the famous turquoise mines in the district called Bār-i Maʿdin some 50 km/35 miles northwest of the town were still being profitably worked; but the walls of the town itself were ruinous (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 260-7). The modern town of Nīshāpūr is situated in lat. 36° 13' and long. 58° 49' E., and lies in an altitude of 1193 m./3,913 ft. and on the east side of a plain surrounded by hills. To the north and east of the town lies the ridge of Binālūd-Kūh, which separates it from the valley of Mashhad and Ṭūs. At its foot spring a number of streams, among them the Shūra Rūd and the river of Dizbād (Mustawfī) which irrigate the lands of

Nīs͟hāpūr and disappear in the salt desert to the west. North of the town in the mountains was the little lake of Čas͟hma Sabz out of which, according to Mustawfī, run two streams, one to the east and the other to the west. The tombs of her famous sons ʿUmar K͟hayyām and Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.vv.*] are still shown in the town. According to the 1365*s͟h*/1986 census, Nīs͟hāpūr had a population of 109,258.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): 1. Sources. For these, see *EI*[1] art. s.v. (E. Honigmann), to which should be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 102-3, comm. 325-6.
2. Studies. W. Tomaschek, *Zur historische Topographie von Persien*, in *SB Ak. Wien* (1883, 1885), i, 7708; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, 47, 49, 68-9, 74-5, 293, 301; C.E. Yate, *Khurasan and Seistan*, Edinburgh 1900; Le Strange, *Lands*, 382-8; P.M. Sykes, *A sixth journey in Persia*, in *GJ*, xxxvii (1911), 1-19, 149-65; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, index; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*[2], London 1976, 199-200; C. Wilkinson, *Nishapur. Some early Islamic buildings and their decoration*, New York 1986.

(E. Honigmann-[C.E. Bosworth])

NĪS͟HĀPŪRĪ, Ẓahīr al-Dīn, Persian author who wrote a valuable history of the Saldjūḳs during the reign of the last Great Saldjūḳ of Persia, Ṭog͟hrīl (III) b. Arslan [*q.v.*]; he must have died *ca.* 580/1184-5. Nothing is known of his life except that Rāwandī [*q.v.*] states (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, 54) that he had been tutor to the previous sultans Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] and Arslan b. Ṭog͟hrīl (II). His *Saldjūḳ-nāma* was long believed lost, but was known as the main source for Rāwandī's information on the Saldjūḳs up to the latter's own time (see *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, Preface, pp. XXVI, XXIX); hence it is essentially Nīshāpūrī's material which was utilised for the Saldjūḳs by later authors like Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū [*q.vv.*]. The *Saldjūḳ-nāma* is a concise, soberly-written history in Persian, of especial value for the history of the later sultans up to the accession of Ṭog͟hrīl (III) in 571/1176; see for an estimate of its worth, Cl. Cahen, *The historiography of the Seljuqid period*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 73-6. After its rediscovery, it was indifferently published at Tehran in 1322/1953.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

NIT͟HĀR (a.), verbal noun of *nat͟hara* "to scatter, spread abroad", in the pre-modern Middle East, the showering of money, jewels and other valuables on occasions of rejoicing, such as a wedding, a circumcision, the accession of a ruler, the victorious return from a military campaign, the reception of a diplomatic envoy, recovery from illness, etc. It was thus in part one aspect of the general practice of largesse and presentgiving by superiors to inferiors [see hiba, inʿām, k͟hilʿa] but also an aspect of charity to the poor. On occasion, the whole of the state treasury might be disbursed in this way (see Spuler, *Iran*, 347). *Nit͟hārs* are often mentioned in descriptions of court festivities under the early G͟haznawid [*q.v.*] sultans; see Gītī Falāḥ Rastgār, *ʿĀdāb u rusūm u tas͟hrīfāt dar bār-i G͟hazna az k͟hilāl-i Taʾrīk͟h-i Bayhaḳī*, in *Yād-nāma-yi Abu 'l-Faḍl-i Bayhaḳī*, Mas͟hhad 1349 *s͟h*/1970, 412 ff.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

In India. The occasions for the distribution of largesse to the court and to the multitudes attending processions have been detailed in marāsim. 5, and mawākib. 5, above; and references to the smaller coins used in the *nit͟hār* are made in mug͟hals. 11. Numismatics.

There are few specific references to *nit͟hār* in Indian dynasties before the Mug͟hal period, although it was an ancient Indian custom and so likely to have been perpetuated (cf. N.N. Law, *Ancient Hindu coronations and allied ceremonials*, in *Ind.Ant.* [June 1919], 84 ff.) in the Dihlī sultanate and elsewhere; for example, the shower of gold and silver coins, and jewels, over the head of a recent conqueror is referred to in the account of the conquest of Mālwā by Muẓaffar II of Gudjarāt and by Sikandar b. Muḥammad Mandjhū in the *Mirʾāt-i Sikandarī*, and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K͟haldjī is said to have used *mandjanīḳs* [*q.v.*] to scatter coins and "golden stars" among the Dihlī populace.

There are many references in the early Mug͟hal period to the practice under Bābur and Humāyūn (*Tūzuk-i Bāburī*, tr. Beveridge, 43; Gulbadan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, 112 *et passim*), when not only small gold and silver coins but also small gold and silver fruits (almonds, walnuts and filberts) and flowers were so scattered. This would appear to have been a Čag͟hataʾī custom inherited by the Mug͟hals, and it persisted until at least the time of Farruk͟hsiyar. Fanny Parks (*Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the picturesque*, London 1850) speaks of the custom of showering coins and jewels over the head of the new ruler in the Lakhnaʾū court. For the scattering of coins among the populace, besides the half- and quarter-rupees, smaller coins, usually thinner than those of the standard currency and not standing in any regular fractional relation to it, of gold as well as silver, and many of dainty and excellent workmanship, were known especially from the reign of Djahāngīr; *nit͟hārī* was for a short time the name of his quarter-rupee, though *nit͟hār*, *nūr afs͟hān* and *k͟hayr ḳabūl* are all used for largesse-coins in his reign. Occasions for the scattering of *nit͟hār* were especially the Imperial festivals and processions on anniversaries of accession-date, the emperor's solar and lunar birthdays, the births and marriages of royal princes and princesses, the formal weighing of the emperor against gold, silver and jewels, the *āb-pās͟hī* ceremony, ceremonial visits to Akbar's tomb and to the tombs of certain *pīrs* (especially at Fatḥpur Sīkrī and Adjmēr), and so on. It seems certain that much largesse-money was struck at provincial mints, possibly in connection with imperial visits, as many of the dated *nit͟hārs* correspond with dates in the chronicles.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see especially S.H. Hodivala, *Niṣārs*, no. XIV in *Historical studies in Mug͟hal numismatics*, Calcutta 1923; references *passim* in the coin catalogues mentioned in the *Bibl.* to mug͟hals. 11.

(J. Burton-Page)

NIYĀḤA (a.) "lamentation", the noun of action from *nāḥa* "to weep with great cries, lamentations, sighings and affliction". The term is used to designate the activity of professional mourners who play a great role in funeral ceremonies all around the Mediterranean. If it is mentioned here, it is because this practice, considered to be a legacy of paganism, was condemned by the Prophet. Indeed, he is made to say "Three pre-Islamic customs (*ak͟hlāḳ*; *Usd al-g͟hāba*, *fiʿl*) are not to be retained by the Muslims. They are: invoking the planets in order to receive rain (*istisḳāʾ bi 'l-kawākib*), attacking genealogies (*al-ṭaʿn fi 'l-nisba*) and lamenting the dead (*al-niyāḥa ʿalā 'l-mayyit*)" (al-

Ṭabarī, Appendix, extract from the *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*, iii[4], 2387; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, i, 299).

Weeping for the dead was something which could be done not only by women but also by men, some of whom become wellknown for this; the *Aghānī* cites, e.g. Ibn Suraydj (i, 99-100).

The pagan character of this practice is displayed in a text of Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 88, where it is written: "At the death of his son Ibrāhīm, the Prophet wept (*bakā*). Someone said to him, O Messenger of God, did you not forbid weeping?—He replied, I forbade raising one's voice (*nawḥ*) in two instances, both equally stupid and impious: a voice raised in a state of happiness (which shows itself) in celebrations, disporting and diabolical chantings (*mazāmīr shayṭān*) and a voice in times of misfortune (which shows itself) in mutilating one's face, tearing of clothes and a diabolical mourning cry (*rannat shayṭān* = the *nēnia* of the Romans = a funeral lament). My personal tears express my compassion (*raḥma*). Whoever has no compassion (for others), (these last) will have no compassion for him."

Another account, given by the same author (91), confirms the previous one. There was an eclipse of the sun on the day of Ibrāhīm's death; people saw in it a relationship of cause and effect. The Prophet rebutted this relationship and then let his tears flow. People said to him, "You are weeping, you, the Messenger of God!"—He replied, "I am a man; the eyes shed tears, the heart breaks and we say nothing which will irritate the Lord."

Finally, one should add that, amongst the ancient Arabs, the position of the woman weeping for her husband served as an indication of her future intentions. If she did this standing (*ḳāʾima*), it was assumed that she would not marry again (*Aghānī*, ii, 138).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see M. Abdesselem, *Le thème de la mort*, Tunis 1977, index s.vv. lamentations, mourners, etc. (T. Fahd)

NIYĀZĪ, an Ottoman poet and mystic. Shams al-Dīn Meḥmed known as Miṣrī Efendi, Shaykh Miṣrī, whose *makhlaṣ* was Niyāzī, came from Aspūzī, the former summer capital of Malaṭya (cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 15; von Moltke, *Reisebriefe*, 349), where his father was a Naḳshbandī dervish. Niyāzī was born in 1027/1617-18. The statement occasionally found that Soghanlî was his birthplace is not correct.

His father instructed him in the teaching of the order, then he went in 1048/1638 to Diyārbakr, later to Mārdīn where he studied for three years and finally to Cairo. There he joined the Ḳādirī order, travelled for seven years and finally settled down in the Anatolian village of Elmalî, once notorious as a centre of heresy, to devote himself to study under the famous Khalwetī Shaykh Umm-i Sinān (d. 1069/1658). He stayed with him for twelve years until he was sent by the Shaykh as his deputy to ʿUshshāḳ near Izmīr. After the death of his master, he moved to Bursa, where a pious citizen, Abdāl Čelebi, built a hermitage for him. The fame of his sanctity and his gifts of prophecy spread more and more and finally reached the ears of the grand vizier Köprülü-zāde Aḥmed Pasha [see KÖPRÜLÜ], who invited him to Edirne, entertained him with great honour for 40 days and finally sent him back to Bursa. When in 1083/1672 the army set out for Kameniec in Podolia [see ḲAMĀNIČA], he was summoned to Edirne; where he had great audiences as a preacher. As he had allowed himself to drop Kabbalistic allusions (*kelimāt-i djifriyye*), he gave offence and was banished to Lemnos. There he spent some years in exile until he received permission to return to Bursa. The fact that during his stay on the island it was spared Venetian attacks was interpreted as a miracle wrought by this holy man. But when he stirred up the people by "kabbalistic" preaching he was again banished to Lemnos in Ṣafar 1088/May 1677. All kinds of prophecies which were fulfilled, as well as the story that his coming had been foretold by Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], strengthened his reputation as a holy man and miracle-worker. He spent ten years on Lemnos until in 1101/1689 the vizier Köprülü-zāde Muṣṭafā Pasha allowed him to return to Bursa. In the next year he was summoned to Edirne; he again excited the people by political utterances and mystical allusions so that the Ḳāʾimmaḳām ʿOthmān Pasha had him taken, with all respect, by a guard of Janissaries and Čawushs out of the mosque and sent directly via Gallipoli to Bursa. From there he was again banished to Lemnos, but died on 20 Radjab 1105/17 March 1694. The date 1111/1699 given by von Hammer, *GOD*, iii, 588, must therefore be wrong.

Unfortunately, the contemporary notices give no information about the nature of the sermons by Niyāzī which gave offence from the political as well as religious point of view. The historian Demetrius Kantemir said Niyāzī was secretly a Christian. His *Dīwān*, in Arabic and Turkish, does not justify this suggestion, although the poem declared by von Hammer (*GOD*, iii, 589) to be apocryphal, given in translation by Kantemir, is really taken from his *Dīwān*, as Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 315, has proved. No study has yet been made of the *Dīwān* or of Niyāzī's position in the religious life of a Turkey generally.

The order founded by Niyāzī once possessed several monasteries on Greek soil, in Modoni, Negroponte (Eghriboz), Saloniki, Mytilene, also in Edirne, Bursa and Izmir. Cf. thereon the study by V.A. Gordlevski, *Tarikat Mîsri Niyazi*, in *Dokladî Akademii Nauk SSSR* (1929), 153-60.

The main source for the history of Niyāzī's life and work is the rare Turkish treatise of Moralîzāde Luṭfī (= Muṣṭafā Luṭfullāh), *Tuḥfat al-ʿaṣrī fī manāḳib al-Miṣrī*, published at Bursa in 1308/1890-1.

Niyāzī's poems were repeatedly published 1254 and 1259 at Būlāḳ, also 1260 and 1291 in Istanbul; cf. thereon von Hammer, in *Wiener Jahrbücher*, lxxxv, 36, and *JA*, ser. 4, vol. viii, 261. On his numerous other works, only available in mss., cf. Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, i, 173-4, with references to where they are preserved, and Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı, *İA* art. s.v.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned by J. von Hammer, *GOD*, iii, 587 ff., and Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 312 ff., and Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, i, 172 ff., cf. also the biographies of Ottoman poets by Shaykhī, Sālim, ʿUshshāḳī-zāde, etc.; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 89, 193; J.B. Brown, *The Darvishes*[2], London 1927, 203-5. On Niyāzī's religious attitude, cf. D. Kantemir, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Hamburg 1745, 636-7, 642, also Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, iv, 626, also von Hammer, *GOR*, vi, 337, 364, 578, vii, 161 (his tomb on Lemnos); L. Massignon, *al-Hallâj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, i, Paris 1922, 428 ff., 440. The Vienna ms. no. 1928 (cf. Flügel, *Katal.*, iii, 474 ff.) contains besides the *Diwān* many other works of Niyāzī; cf. thereon Rieu, *Catal. of Turk. mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, 261.

(F. Babinger)

NIYĀZĪ BEY, Aḥmed (1873-1912), Young Turk officer and one of the protagonists of the Ottoman

constitutional revolution of 1908. Niyāzī hailed from Resen (he was called Resnelī, i.e. "from Resen"), and was an Albanian by birth.

He went to military *rushdī* and *iʿdādī* schools in Monastir (Bitola) before entering the military academy (*Ḥarbiyye*) in Istanbul, where he graduated as a second lieutenant in 1896. After his graduation he saw service in the European provinces of the Empire and he made a name for himself during the battle of Beshpïnar in the 1897 Greek-Ottoman war. He was promoted to first lieutenant, captain and eventually adjutant-major, while serving with the Third (Macedonian) Army between 1898 and 1908. Between 1903 and 1908 he was in command of the Third Light Rifle Batallion in Ohrid and constantly engaged in combating the guerrilla warfare of Bulgarian bands in the area.

When the *ʿOthmānlï Ḥürriyet Djemʿiyyeti* (Ottoman Freedom Committee), which later merged with the Paris-based *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*] (Committee of Union and Progress), began to spread among the officers of the Third Army, Niyāzī was an early member. In July 1908, the Society suspected that a decision to break up and divide the Ottoman Empire had been reached by King Edward VII of England and Tsar Nicholas during their discussions at Reval, and it decided to act to force the restoration of constitutional rule in order to ward off foreign intervention. Niyāzī was the first of a number of Young Turk officers, who, on the orders of the Committee, started an insurrection in Macedonia. On Friday, 3 July 1908 he took to the hills with about two hundred men and began to demand the restoration of the constitution in cables sent to the authorities. He was soon followed by other officers, such as Enwer [*q.v.*].

After the restoration of the constitution on 24 July, Niyāzī, together with Enwer, was launched by the C.U.P. as one of the *Ḥürriyyet Ḳahramānlarï* ("Freedom Heroes") and he toured the Empire, receiving a rapturous welcome from the crowds. Later in the year the C.U.P. decided to have Niyāzī's memoirs (which were partly ghosted) published as *the* account of the revolution to the exclusion of all others.

One reason for this was probably that, unlike most of his Young Turk colleagues, Niyāzī did not have political ambitions and devoted himself to military matters. When, on 13 April 1909, a counter-revolution broke out in Istanbul and the constitutionalists were driven from the city, Niyāzī was instrumental in raising the Albanian volunteers who made up an important part of the *Hareket Ordusu* ("Operational Army") that reconquered the capital for the C.U.P. and the constitution two weeks later.

Niyāzī fought in Tripolitania during the Ottoman-Italian war of 1911 and then retired to his native Resen. On 17 April 1913 he was killed by an Albanian nationalist in Valona, while on his way to Istanbul.

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NIYYA (A.), intention. The acts prescribed by the Islamic *sharīʿa*, obligatory or not, require to be preceded by a declaration by the performer, that he intends to perform such an act. This declaration, pronounced audibly or mentally, is called *niyya*. Without it, the act would be *bāṭil* [*q.v.*].

The *niyya* is required before the performance of the *ʿibādāt*, such as washing, bathing, prayer, alms, fasting, retreat, pilgrimage, sacrifice. "Ceremonial acts without *niyya* are not valid", says al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1282, iv, 316). Yet a survey of the opinions of the lawyers regarding the *niyya* in connection with each of the *ʿibādāt* would show that there is only unanimity about the *niyya* as required before the *ṣalāt*.

Further, the *niyya* must immediately precede the act, lest it should lose its character and become simple decision (*ʿazm*). It must accompany the act until the end (Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, 3). Its seat is the heart, the central organ of intellect and attention. Lunatics, therefore, cannot pronounce a valid *niyya*.

So the *niyya* has become a legal act of its own. It is usually called obligatory, but in some cases, e.g. the washing of the dead, commendable. It can even be asked what the intention of the *niyya* is. According to al-Bādjūrī (i, 57), four conditions must be fulfilled in a *niyya*: he who pronounces it must be Muslim, *compos mentis*, well acquainted with the act he wants to perform, and having the purpose to perform this act. In some instances *adjmaʿa* is used, where the later language has *nawā* (e.g. al-Nasāʾī, *Ṣiyām*, *bāb* 68; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm*, *bāb* 33).

The term does not occur in the Ḳurʾān. It is found in canonical *ḥadīth*, but the passages show that is has not yet acquired in this literature the technical meaning and limitation described above. The development of this technical use appears to have taken place gradually, probably aided by Jewish influence. In Jewish law, the *kawwānā* has a function wholly analogous to the *niyya*. Al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) appears to be acquainted with the *niyya* in its technical sense (*Kitāb al-Umm*). In canonical *ḥadīth*, i.e. the literature which, generally speaking, reflects the state of things up to the middle of the 2nd/8th century, neither the verb *nawā* nor the noun *niyya* appear to have any special technical connection with the *ʿibādāt*. On the contrary, *niyya* has here the common meaning of intention.

In this sense, it is of great importance. Al-Bukhārī opens his collection with a tradition, which in this place is apparently meant as a motto. It runs: "Works are only rendered efficacious by their intention" (*innamā 'l-aʿmāl bi 'l-niyya* or *bi 'l-niyyāt*). This tradition occurs frequently in the canonical collections. It constitutes a religious and moral criterion superior to that of the law. The value of an *ʿibāda*, even if performed in complete accordance with the precepts of the law, depends upon the intention of the performer, and if this intention should be sinful, the work would be valueless. "For", adds the tradition just mentioned, "every man receives only what he has intended"; or "his wages shall be in accordance with his intention" (Mālik, *Djanāʾiz*, trad. 36). In answer to the question how long the *hidjra* is open, tradition says: "There is no *hidjra* after the capture of Mecca, only holy war and intention" (al-Bukhārī, *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, *bāb* 45; *Djihād*, *bāb* 1, 27; Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 85, 86, etc.). This higher criterion, once admitted, may suspend the law in several cases (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam und Phonograph*, in *TBGKW*, xlii, 393 ff. = *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii, 419 ff.). So the intention, in this sense, becomes a work of its own, just as the intention in its juridical application. Good intention is taken into account by God, even if not carried out; it heightens the value of the work. On the other hand, refraining from an evil intention is reckoned as a good work (al-

Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ, bāb* 31). In this connection, the (post-canonical) tradition can be understood, according to which the intention of the faithful is better than his work (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, xx, 223; cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, iv, 330 ff., where this tradition is discussed). In similar instances, *niyya* comes near to the meaning of *ikhlāṣ* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya*, Cairo 1303, i, 57; Shaʿrānī, *al-Mīzān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1279, i, 135, 136, 161, ii, 2, 20, 30, 42; Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-Wadjīz*, Cairo 1317, i, 11, 12, 40, 87, 100-1, 106, 115; idem, *Iḥyāʾ*, iv, book 7, also tr. into German by H. Bauer, Halle a.d. Saale 1916; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, i, 50, ii, 90; Th.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, index, s.v.; A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muh. tradition*, s.v. Intention; idem, *De intentie in recht, ethiek en mystiek der semietische volken*, in *Versl. Med. Ak. Amst.*, ser. 5, iv, 109 ff.

(A.J. Wensinck)

NĪZAK, ṬARKHĀN, ruler of the northern branch of the Hephtalite confederation which had in pre-Islamic times ruled both north and south of the Hindu Kush, from what is now Soviet Central Asia to northern India, that people known to the Arab historians as Hayṭal (<* Habṭal), pl. Hayāṭila [*q.v.*] (see on them, R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, Cairo 1958, 69 ff.). It is unclear whether the Ṭarkhān element of his name is in fact a personal name or the well-known Central Asian title (on which see Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, in *JRAS* [1965], 11-12).

The power of the northern Hephthalites, whose dominions were centred on Bādhghīs [*q.v.*] in what is now northern Afghānistān, was threatened by the advance of Arab armies under the command of Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*]. Uncertain of Nīzak's strength, Ḳutayba at first made peace with him, on condition that Nīzak provide military aid for his campaigns into Transoxania (87-90/706-9). But in 90/709 Nīzak led a rising against Ḳutayba of the Hephthalites and Turkish rulers of the upper Oxus lands, seeking help also from the Kābul-Shāh, apparently fearing that the Arabs were going to secure an irreversible grip on these eastern fringes of Khurāsān unless stopped. However, Ḳutayba and his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān defeated and captured Nīzak (91/710), and executed him, contrary to an earlier promise of *amān*, on the direct orders of the governor of the East al-Ḥadjdjādj. The collapse of the revolt marked the end of Hephthalite power north of the Hindu Kush, though the southern Hephthalite kingdom, centred on Zābulistān [*q.v.*], survived for some two centuries as a barrier to Muslim expansion through southern Afghanistan (see Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, Rome 1968, index s.v. Zunbīl).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 420; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 342; Ṭabarī, ii, 1184 ff., 1204-7, 1217-22, 1226; F.N. Skrine and E.D. Ross, *The heart of Asia*, London 1899, 56-9; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 271, Eng. tr. 435; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 32, 37-8, 80; Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 98-104; M.A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 65-7. For Nīzak's coins, see Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, 25 ff.

(C.E. Bosworth)

NIẒĀM (A.), the honorific title which became characteristic of the rulers of the Indo-Muslim state of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], derived in the first place from the fuller title Niẓām al-Mulk borne by the Mughal noble Ḳamar al-Dīn Čīn Ḳilič Khān [see NIẒĀM AL-MULK], who became governor of the Deccan in 1132/1720 and who also bore the title of Āṣaf Djāh. The process of the identification of the title Niẓām with the rulership of Ḥaydarābād was strengthened by the long reign there (1175-1217/1762-1802) of Āṣaf Djāh's fourth son Niẓām ʿAlī Khān, and henceforth the ruler was known in British Government of India parlance as "His Highness the Niẓām".

Bibliography: See H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*², London 1903, 628. (Ed.)

NIẒĀM BADAKHSHĪ, Indo-Muslim scholar of the 10th/16th century. He studied law and *ḥadīth* under Mawlānā ʿIṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm and Mullā Saʿīd in his native province of Badakhshān in eastern Afghānistān and was looked upon as one of the most learned men of his age. He was also the *murīd* (disciple) of Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khʷārazm. His attainments procured him access to the court of Sulaymān, prince of Badakhshān, who conferred upon him the title of Ḳāḍī Khān. Subsequently, he left his master and went to India. At Kānpūr, he was introduced to the Mughal Emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605). He received several presents, and was appointed *Parwānčī* writer. Akbar soon discovered in him a man of great insight, and made him a "Commander of One Thousand" (*yak hazārī*). He also bestowed upon him the title of Ghāzī Khān after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions. He died in Oudh at the age of seventy in 992/1584. He is the author of the following works: 1. *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-ʿAḳāʾid*, a commentary on al-Taftāzānī's commentary on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of al-Nasafī; 2. several treatises on Ṣūfism.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, iii, 153; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, ii, 857; Āzād, *Darbār-i Akbarī*, 815; Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, 440. (M. Hidayet Hosain)

NIẒĀM AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD MUḲĪM AL-**HARAWĪ** (d. 1003/1594), a Persian historian, author of the celebrated *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarshāhī*. He was a descendant of the famous *shaykh* of Harāt, ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī. His father Khōdja Muḳīm Harawī was major-domo to Bābur (932-7/1526-30 [*q.v.*]) and later vizier to the governor of Gudjarāt Mīrzā ʿAskarī. Niẓām al-Dīn himself held several high military offices under the Great Mughal Akbar and became in 993/1585 *Bakhshī* of Gudjarāt and in 1001/1593 even *Bakhshī* of the whole empire. According to Badāʾūnī (ii, 397), he died on 23 Ṣafar 1003/18 October 1594, aged 45. At his father's instigation he took up historical studies while quite a boy. His fondness for this subject increased as time went on and induced him to try writing himself. The lack of a complete history of India made him decide to fill the gap, and thus arose his celebrated work, called the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarshāhī* or *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* or *Taʾrīkh-i Niẓāmī* which was finished in 1001/1593. Niẓām al-Dīn used 27 different sources for this work, all of which he mentions by name, and in this way produced a very thorough piece of work on which all his successors have relied. He deals with the history of India from the campaigns of Sebüktigīn (366-87/977-97) to the 37th year of Akbar's reign (1001/1593). The work is divided into a *muḳaddima* which deals with the Ghaznawids, and nine *ṭabaḳāt* : 1. the Sultans of Dihlī from Muʿizz al-Dīn Ghūrī to Akbar (574-1002/1178-1594); at the end of this part are biographies of famous men at Akbar's court, *amīrs*, *ʿulamāʾ*, poets, writers and *shaykhs*; 2. the rulers of the Deccan (748-1002/1347-1594): the Bahmanī, Niẓāmshāhī, ʿĀdilshāhī and Ḳuṭbshāhī ones; 3. the rulers of

Gudjarāt (793-980/1390-1572); 4. the rulers of Mālwa (809-977/1406-1569); 5. the rulers of Bengal (741-984/1340-1576); 6. the Sharḳī dynasty of Djawnpūr (784-881/1381-1476); 7. the rulers of Kashmīr (747-995/1346-1567); 8. the history of Sind from the Arab conquest (86/705) to 1001/1593; 9. the history of Multān (847-932/1444-1525). The whole work was to have as a *khātima* a topographical description of India, but it was apparently never finished by the author.

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(E. Berthels)

NIẒĀM AL-DĪN AWLIYĀʾ, Shaykh, a widely venerated saint of the Čishti order [see čishtiyya] who raised his *silsila* to a pan-Indian position, was born at Badāʾūn [*q.v.*] (in U.P.) *ca.* 640-1/1243-4. He was given the name Muḥammad but became known by his title Niẓām al-Dīn. His grandfather had migrated to India from Bukhārā under the stress of Mongol invasions. His father died when he was a boy of tender age. His mother, Bībī Zulaykhā, a lady of fervent piety, brought him up and moulded his thought and character. In Badāʾūn, Shādī Mukrī taught him the Ḳurʾān, and Mawlāna ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Uṣūlī gave instruction on the works of al-Ḳudurī and the *Hidāya*. At the age of sixteen he reached Dihlī in order to complete his education. Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Zāhid, a pious and dedicated scholar, taught the *Mashāriḳ al-anwār* to him and he committed it to memory. During this early period Niẓām al-Dīn lived in Dihlī with his mother and sister under conditions of appalling poverty. At the age of twenty he left for Adjodhan (later known as Pak Pātan [*q.v.*], and joined the discipline of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar [*q.v.*]. Three years later, the Shaykh appointed him as his chief successor and directed him to settle in Dihlī and work for the expansion of the order. For about half a century he lived and worked in Dihlī in order to propagate the Čishtī mystical way and transformed the Čishtī order into a movement for mass spiritual culture (Baranī's *Ḥasrat-nāma* as cited in *Siyar al-awliyāʾ*, 346-7). As a result, Čishtī *khānaḳāhs* came to be established all over the country. According to Ghawthī Shaṭṭārī, he sent 700 deputies to different parts of the country. Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ died in Dihlī in 18 Rabīʿ II 725/3 April 1325. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] built a dome over his grave. His mausoleum is visited by hundreds of thousands of people every year. The area where the tomb stands is known as *Basti Niẓām al-Dīn*.

The Shaykh maintained an attitude of dignified aloofness from the court and never meddled in political affairs. His *khalīfas* were not permitted to accept government service or to consort with kings.

An erudite scholar of *ḥadīth*, with deep insight in Islamic jurisprudence, he was respected for his learning and large numbers of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Dihlī owed spiritual allegiance to him. He gave a revolutionary direction to religious activity by emphasising that service of mankind brought greater spiritual reward then mere formal prayers (*Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, 13-14). His *khānaḳāh* was a welfare centre where free food was served to all visitors, and money was distributed to the needy and the poor on a very large scale. Enormous *futūḥ* (unasked-for gifts) came to him, but he distributed everything and kept nothing for himself. Baranī (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, 343-7) has given a graphic account of his popularity in Dihlī.

The Shaykh's way of thinking endeared him to the people. He believed in returning evil with good, forgiving the insolent and adopting non-violent and pacifist ways towards those inviting retaliation. He looked upon bringing happiness to the hearts of men as the *summum bonum* of his mystic activity. He believed in hating the sin, not the sinner. His heart went out in sympathy to the weak and the downtrodden, and the thought of people who had slept on the shops and the mosques without food made morsels stick in his throat (*Siyar al-awliyāʾ*, 128).

The principal *khalīfas* of the Shaykh who worked to propagate his teachings were: Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh in Dihlī, Shaykh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Munawwar in the Pandjāb, Mawlānā Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb in the Deccan, Mawlāna Ḥusām al-Dīn in Gudjarāt, Mawlānā Wadjīh al-Dīn Yūsuf in Čanderi and Mawlānā Sirādj al-Dīn ʿUthmān in Bengal. Amīr Khusraw, the famous Persian poet, and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, the famous historian of medieval India, and Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā and Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn Zarrādī, eminent scholars of the period, were among his disciples. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ referred to him as *Sulṭān al-mashāyikh* ("King of the saints"), and throughout the centuries people of all walks of life have paid respectful homage to his memory.

The site where Humāyūn's tomb now stands was then a village known as Ghiyāthpūr, and the Shaykh had his hospice there. Part of his *khānaḳāh*, the *Čilla-khāna*, still stands (Bāyazīd Bayāt, *Taʾrīkh-i Humāyūn wa Akbar*, Calcutta 1941, 234).

Bibliography: Two collections of his utterances —the *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, compiled by Ḥasan Sidjzī (Nawal Kishore, Lucknow 1884), and *Durar-i-Niẓāmī*, compiled by ʿAlī Djāndār (ms. Sālār Djang Museum, Ḥaydarābād 61/5-99), and two biographical accounts—*Kiwām al-ʿakāʾid* by Djamāl Ḳiwām al-Dīn (ms. Osmania University Library, Ḥaydarābād) and *Siyar al-awliyāʾ* of Mīr Khwurd (Muḥibb-i Hind Press, Dihlī 1885) supply all the basic details about his life, thought and activities. For other sources, Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1860; Ḥamīd Ḳalandar. *Khayr al-madjālis*, ed. K.A. Nizami, ʿAlīgaṛh 1959; Ḥammād Kashānī, *Aḥsan al-aḳwāl*, conversations of Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, mss. Osmania University Library 478 and 1474; Akbar Ḥusaynī, *Djawāmiʿ al-kalim*, Kānpūr 1936; Rukn al-Dīn Kashānī, *Nafāʾis al-anfās*, ms. Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ Lucknow, no. 1366; Ghawthī Shaṭṭārī, *Gulzār-i abrār*, ms. As. Soc. Bengal D 262 ff. 26-8; Djamālī, *Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, Riḍwī Press, Dihlī 1315 A.H.; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Mudjtabāʾī Press, Dihli 1309 A.H.; for detailed bibliography see Nizami, *The life and times of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya*, Delhi 1991.

(K.A. Nizami)

NIẒĀM AL-DĪN, MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD, leading scholar and mystic of early 18th-century Awadh and the consolidator of the Niẓāmī *madrasa* curriculum which came to be used through much of South Asia down to the 20th century. Niẓām al-Dīn was the third son of Mullā Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Sihālwī whose murder in 1103/1692 led to the emperor Awrangzīb recompensing him and his three brothers by assigning them the property of a European indigo merchant in Lucknow and by granting them pensions to support their scholarship; they and their descendants came to be known as the Farangī Maḥall family [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

Niẓām al-Dīn, who was fourteen at the time of his father's death, studied under Mullās ʿAlī Ḳulī of Dja'is, Amān Allāh of Benares and Naḳshband of Lucknow. On finishing his education he established the teaching tradition in Farangī Maḥall, including amongst his many pupils not only members of his own family and the forerunners of the Khayrābād school of *maʿḳūlāt* studies but also students from Bengal and much of Awadh. At the same time through his powerful relationship with the illiterate Ḳādirī mystic, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ of Bānsa (d. 5 Shawwāl 1136/27 June 1724) he established his family's connections with the most dynamic saint of the region, who has been to the present day the prime source of the family's spiritual inspiration. He died on 1 Djumādā 1161/29 April 1748. His son ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (d. 12 Radjab 1225-13 August 1810) [*q.v.*] ranks with Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of Dihlī [*q.v.*] as the leading Indian scholar of his day.

Niẓām al-Dīn's greatest achievement was the consolidation of the Dars-i Niẓāmiyya. Through this curriculum the tradition of *maʿḳūlāt* scholarship, which had been boosted by the migration of many Persian scholars to northern India from the time of Faḍl Shīrāzī's arrival at Akbar's court in 1583, and which had been brought to new heights by the scholars of Awadh in the late-17th and early-18th centuries, was spread through much of India. Tradition has it that in developing this curriculum Niẓām al-Dīn was merely giving form to the customs of his father. These meant directing the student only to the most difficult and most comprehensive books on each subject so that he was both forced to think and had a chance of finishing his education while still a youth. They also meant in practice a strong bias towards the rational as opposed to the transmitted sciences. Champions of the curriculum assert that this need not necessarily be the case; the *Dars* was not a specific course of books but a special way of teaching.

Niẓām al-Dīn's writings reveal him to be at the heart of the development of Persian traditions of *maʿḳūlāt* scholarship in northern India. Among his more prominent works were: his notes on Mullā Ṣadrā's commentary on al-Abharī's [*q.v.*] *Hidāyat al-ḥikma*, his notes on Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī's [*q.v.*] commentary on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of ʿAḍud al-Dīn Īdjī [*q.v.*] and his notes on the *Shams al-bāzīgāh* of Maḥmūd Djawnpūrī and his commentaries on the *Manār al-anwār* of Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn al-Nasafī and on the *Musallam al-thubūt* of Muḥibb Allāh al-Bihārī [*q.v.*], his father's pupil. His writings also show him to be a supporter of the reformed understanding of Ibn al-ʿArabī promulgated by the 17th-century scholar and mystic, Shāh Muḥibb Allāh Ilāhābādī. This understanding is instinct in his record of the sayings and doings of his *pīr*, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ of Bānsa, *Manāḳib al-Razzāḳiyya*, in which, while supporting Ibn al-ʿArabī's concept of the "unity of being" (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*), he nevertheless insisted on a full observance of the *sharīʿa*. Niẓām al-Dīn's combination of *maʿḳūlāt* scholarship and moderate *wudjūdī* Ṣūfism remained the style of the Farangī Maḥall family and their followers through much of India down to the 20th century. Niẓām al-Dīn's shrine in Lucknow remains celebrated for the solace it can bring the mentally disturbed and scholars in difficulty.

Bibliography: The basic modern source for Niẓām al-Dīn is Muḥammad Raḍā Anṣārī, *Bānī-i Dars-i Niẓāmī*, Lucknow 1973; among other sources comprising the family tradition are: Niẓām al-Dīn Farangī Maḥallī, *Manāḳib al-Razzāḳiyya*, Lucknow 1313; Walī Allāh Farangī Maḥallī, *al-Aghṣān al-arbaʿa*, Nadwa ms., Lucknow; Alṭāf al-Raḥmān Ḳidwāʾī, *Aḥwāl-i ʿulamāʾ-i Farangī Maḥall*, 1907; ʿAbd al-Bārī, *Āthār al-uwal*, n.d., and *Malfūẓ-i Razzāḳī*, Kanpur 1926; Mawlawī ʿInāyat Allāh, *Tadhkira-yi ʿulamāʾ-i Farangī Maḥall*, Lucknow 1928; other major sources are: Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Maʾāthir al-kirām*, Ḥaydarābād 1913, and *Subḥat al-mardjān*, Bombay 1303/1886; Faḳīr Muḥammad Lahawrī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ḥanafiyya*, Lucknow 1324/1906; Nawwāb Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Abdjad al-ʿulūm*, Bhopal 1296/1878; Faḍl Imām Khayrābādī, *Tarādjim al-fuḍalāʾ*, Eng. trans. Bazmee Anṣārī, Karachi 1956; for broad context and interpretation see: F. Robinson, *Perso-Islamic culture in India from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century*, in R.L. Canfield, ed., *Turko-Persia in historical perspective*, Cambridge 1991; idem, *Scholarship and Mysticism in early eighteenth-century Awadh*, in A. Dallapiccola and S. Zingel-Ave Lallemant eds., *Islam and the Indian regions 1000-1750 AD*, forthcoming, and idem, *Problems in the history of the Farangi Mahall family of learned and holy men*, in N.J. Allen *et al.*, eds., *Oxford University Papers on India*, i/2, Delhi 1987. (F. Robinson)

NIẒĀM AL-MULK, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Isḥāḳ al-Ṭūsī, the celebrated minister of the Saldjūḳid sultans Alp Arslān [*q.v.*] and Malikshāh [*q.v.*]. According to most authorities, he was born on Friday 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 408/10 April 1018, though the 6th/12th century *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ* of Ibn Funduḳ al-Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*], which alone supplies us with detailed information about his family, places his birth in 410/1019-20. His birth-place was Rādkān, a village in the neighbourhood of Ṭūs, of which his father was revenue agent on behalf of the Ghaznawid government. Little is recorded of his early life. The *Waṣāyā-yi Khʷādja-yi Niẓām al-Mulk*, however (for a discussion of the credibility of which see *JRAS* [1931], *The Sar-gudhasht-i Saiyidnā*, etc.), contains several anecdotes of his childhood, and is also responsible for the statement that he became a pupil in Nīshāpūr of a well-known Shāfiʿī doctor Hibat Allāh al-Muwaffaḳ. On the defeat of Masʿūd of Ghazna at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 431/1040, when most of Khurāsān fell into the hands of the Saldjūḳs, Niẓām al-Mulk's father ʿAlī fled from Ṭūs to Khusrawdjird in his native Bayhaḳ, and thence made his way to Ghazna. Niẓām al-Mulk accompanied him, and whilst in Ghazna appears to have obtained a post in a government office. Within three or four years, however, he left the Ghaznawid for the Saldjūḳ service, first attaching himself to Čaghrī-Beg's [*q.v.*] commandant in Balkh (which had fallen to a Saldjūḳid force in 432/1040-1), and later, probably about 445/1053-4, moving to Čaghrī's own headquarters at Marw. It seems to have been now, or soon after, that he first entered the service of Alp Arslān (then acting as his father's lieutenant in eastern Khurāsān) under his *wazīr*, Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Shādhān. And he so far won Alp Arslān's regard as on Ibn Shādhān's death to be appointed *wazīr* in his stead (then, probably, receiving his best-known *laḳab*). During the period between the death of Čaghrī-Beg in 451/1059 and that of Ṭughrīl-Beg in 455/1063, therefore, Niẓām al-Mulk had the administration of all Khurāsān in his hands.

The fame which he thereby acquired, and the fact that by now Alp Arslān was firmly attached to him, played a considerable part in prompting Ṭughrīl-Beg's *wazīr* al-Kundurī [*q.v.*], first, before his master's death, to scheme for the throne to pass to Čaghrī's youngest son Sulaymān, and then, after it,

to do his utmost to prevent Alp Arslān's accession. For he calculated that Alp Arslān, on becoming sultan, would retain Niẓām al-Mulk rather than himself in office. In the event, al-Kundurī, who soon found himself too weak to oppose Alp Arslān, and thereupon sought to retrieve his position by acknowledging his claim, was retained in his post on the new sultan's first entry into Rayy. But a month later Alp Arslān suddenly dismissed him and handed over affairs to Niẓām al-Mulk. Al-Kundurī was shortly afterwards banished to Marw al-Rūd͟h, where ten months later he was beheaded. His execution was undoubtedly due to Niẓām al-Mulk, whose fears he had aroused by appealing for help to Alp Arslān's wife.

During Alp Arslān's reign, Niẓām al-Mulk accompanied him on all his campaigns and journeys, which were almost uninterrupted. He was not present, however, at the famous battle of Malāzgird [*q.v.*], having been sent ahead with the heavy baggage to Persia. On the other hand, he sometimes undertook military operations on his own, as in the case of the reduction of Iṣṭak͟hr citadel in 459/1067. Whose, his or Alp Arslān's, was the directing mind in matters of policy, it is hard to determine. Its main points, however, appear to have been the following: first, the employment of the large numbers of Türkmens that had immigrated into Persia as a result of the Sald͟jūḳ successes, in raids outside the *Dār al-Islām* and into Fāṭimid territory: hence the apparently strange circumstance that Alp Arslān's first enterprise after his accession, despite the precarious condition of the empire he had inherited, was a campaign in Georgia and Armenia [see AL-KURD͟J]; secondly, a demonstration that the sultan's force was both irresistible and mobile, coupled with clemency and generally with reinstatement for all rebels who submitted; thirdly, the maintenance of local rulers, S͟hīʿī as well as Sunnī, in their positions as vassals of the sultan, together with the employment of members of the Sald͟jūḳ family as provincial governors; fourthly, the obviation of a dispute over the succession by the appointment and public acknowledgement of Malik͟shāh [*q.v.*], though he was not the sultan's eldest son, as his heir; and lastly the establishment of good relations with the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳāʾim [*q.v.*], as the sultan's nominal overlord.

Niẓām al-Mulk did not really come into his own until after the assassination of Alp Arslān in 465/1072. But thenceforward, for the next twenty years, he was the real ruler of the Sald͟jūḳ empire. He succeeded from the outset in completely dominating the then eighteen-year-old Malik͟shāh, being assisted in this purpose by the defeat of Ḳāwurd's [*q.v.*] attempt to secure the throne for himself (for which service Niẓām al-Mulk received the title *atābeg* [*q.v.*], thus bestowed for the first time). Indeed, in one aspect the history of the reign resolves itself into repeated attempts by the young sultan to assert himself, always in vain.

Malik͟shāh undertook fewer campaigns and tours than his father, the prestige of the Sald͟jūḳ arms now being such that few would risk rebellion, and warlike operations being left largely to the sultan's lieutenants, as they had not been under Alp Arslān. Nevertheless, from Iṣfahān, which had by now become the sultan's normal place of residence, Malik͟shāh visited the greater part of his empire accompanied by Niẓām al-Mulk.

Policy continued on the same lines under Malik͟shāh as under his father. Niẓām al-Mulk, however, was notably less tender than Alp Arslān had been to insubordinate members of the Sald͟jūḳ family, insisting at the outset on the execution of Ḳāwurd, and, later, on the blinding and imprisonment of Malik͟shāh's brother Teke͟sh.

He also reversed during the earlier part of Malik͟shāh's reign the conciliatory policy originally pursued under Alp Arslān towards the caliph. He had been rewarded for the friendly attitude he first evinced—which formed a welcome contrast to that of al-Kundurī—by the receipt from al-Ḳāʾim of two new *laḳab*s, viz. *Ḳiwām al-Dīn* and *Raḍī Amīr al-Muʾminīn* (the latter believed to be the earliest of this type in the case of a *wazīr*); and up to 460/1068, his relations with the caliph's *wazīr* Fak͟hr al-Dawla Ibn D͟jahīr [see D͟JAHĪR, BANŪ] became more and more cordial; so much so, indeed, that al-Ḳāʾim in that year dismissed Ibn D͟jahīr, chiefly on account of his too-subservient attitude to the Sald͟jūḳ court. To secure this attitude in the caliph's *wazīr* was, however, the very aim of Niẓām al-Mulk; and on Fak͟hr al-Dawla's dismissal he sought to impose a nominee of his own in a certain al-Rūdhrāwarī, and subsequently in the latter's son Abū S͟hud͟jāʿ. Al-Ḳāʾim, to avoid this, reappointed Fak͟hr al-Dawla, though on condition that his relations with the Sald͟jūḳids should in future be more correct. In fact, they soon grew strained, till Niẓām al-Mulk came to attribute any unwelcome event in Bag͟hdād to Fak͟hr al-Dawla's influence. For many years, matters were prevented from coming to a head by the tact of Fak͟hr al-Dawla's son, ʿAmīd al-Dawla [see D͟JAHĪR, BANŪ], who won Niẓām al-Mulk's favour so far as to marry in turn two of his daughters, Nafsā and Zubayda; but in 471/1078 Niẓām al-Mulk demanded Fak͟hr al-Dawla's dismissal, which the caliph al-Muḳtadī [*q.v.*] (who had succeeded in 467/1075), was obliged to grant. Niẓām al-Mulk now hoped to obtain the office for his own son Muʾayyid al-Mulk; but to this al-Muḳtadī would not agree. Henceforward, accordingly, his dislike was deflected to al-Muḳtadī himself, and to Abū S͟hud͟jāʿ, his former protégé, whom the caliph now created deputy *wazīr* in an effort to conciliate him, leaving the vizierate itself unoccupied till the next year, when he appointed ʿAmīd al-Dawla. But in 474/1082 Niẓām al-Mulk in turn demanded the dismissal and banishment of Abū S͟hud͟jāʿ, and at the same time composed his quarrel with Fak͟hr al-Dawla, when the latter was sent on a mission to Iṣfahān, concerting with him a plan by which Fak͟hr al-Dawla should watch his interests at Bag͟hdād. As a result, al-Muḳtadī, who gave in with a bad grace, lost all confidence in the Banū D͟jahīr, and two years later replaced ʿAmīd al-Dawla with the offensive Abū S͟hud͟jāʿ; whereupon Fak͟hr al-Dawla and ʿAmīd al-Dawla fled to the Sald͟jūḳid headquarters. Niẓām al-Mulk, on this, vowed vengeance on al-Muḳtadī, and at first seems even to have contemplated the abolition of the caliphate (see Sibṭ Ibn al-D͟jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*), as a prelude to which he commissioned Fak͟hr al-Dawla to conquer Diyār Bakr from the Marwānids [*q.v.*], the sole remaining Sunnī tributaries of any consequence. The Marwānids were duly ousted by 478/1085, whilst al-Muḳtadī, on his side, showed himself consistently hostile to Niẓām al-Mulk. But the latter's feelings towards the caliph were in the following year completely transformed as a consequence of his first visit to Bag͟hdād (for the wedding of al-Muḳtadī to Malik͟shāh's daughter). The caliph received him very graciously; and thenceforward he became a champion of the caliphate in face of the enmity which developed between al-Muḳtadī and Malik͟shāh as a result of the marriage.

The celebrity of Niẓām al-Mulk is really due to the fact that he was in all but name a monarch, and ruled

his empire with striking success. It was not his aim to innovate. On the contrary, it was to model the new state as closely as possible on that of the Ghaznawids, in which he had been born and brought up. His position was similar to that of his forerunners, the Barmakids [see BARĀMIKA], and the notable Būyid *wazīr*, the Ṣāḥib Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād [*q.v.*]. All three may be said to have represented the old Persian civilisation (progressively Islamicised, of course) in the face of a rise to empire of barbarian conquerors, Arab, Daylamī and now Türkmen. The monarchs were in each case equalled, if not surpassed, by their *wazīrs*, and most of all in the case of Niẓām al-Mulk. For with him the invaders aspired to an emperor's position whilst still quite unacclimatised to their new habitat, so that his superiority in culture was the more marked (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 308). But in revenge, the Saldjūḳs' lack of acclimatisation stood in the way of a complete realisation by Niẓām al-Mulk of the now traditional Perso-Muslim state. Hence the lamentations that recur in the *Siyāsat-nāma*.

The *Siyāsat-nāma* or *Siyar al-mulūk*, written by Niẓām al-Mulk in 484/1091 with the addition of eleven chapters in the following year, is in a sense a survey of what he had failed to accomplish. It scarcely touches upon the organisation of the *dīwān*, for instance, partly, it is true, because the book was intended as a monarch's primer, but also because Niẓām al-Mulk, having absolute control of the *dīwān*, as opposed to the *dargāh* (cf. again Barthold, 227), had succeeded with the assistance of his two principal coadjutors, the *mustawfī* Sharaf al-Mulk and the *munshī* Kamāl al-Dawla, in exactly modelling this, his special department, on traditional lines. Of the *dargāh*, on the other hand, Niẓām al-Mulk complains that the sultans failed to maintain a sufficient majesty. They were neither magnificent (though he approves their daily free provision of food), formal, nor awe-inspiring enough. At their court, accordingly, the formerly important offices of *ḥādjib*, *wakīl* and *amīr-i ḥaras* had declined in prestige. Nor, as had his model potentates, would they maintain a sound intelligence or *barīd* [*q.v.*] service, whereby corruption might be revealed and rebellion forestalled. The *Siyāsat-nāma* consists in all of fifty chapters of advice illustrated by historical anecdotes. The last eleven chapters, added shortly before the *wazīr*'s assassination, deal with dangers that threatened the empire at the time of writing, in particular from the Ismāʿīlīs (on the work, see *Bibl.*, 3).

Niẓām al-Mulk's situation resembled that of the Būyid administrators in another respect. He was faced, as they had been, with the problem of supporting a largely tribal army, and solved it likewise by a partial abandonment of the traditional tax-farming system of revenue collection for that of the *iḳṭāʿ* or fief [*q.v.*], whereby military commanders supported themselves and their troops on the yield of lands allotted to them. Since in the decay of the ʿAbbāsid power provincial *amīrs* had tended to assume the originally distinct and profitable office of *ʿāmil*, the way for this development had been paved. The Būyids had later attempted to restore the older system; but the establishment of numerous local minor dynasties had favoured the new. Niẓām al-Mulk now systematised it in the larger field open to him. In the *Siyāsat-nāma* he insists, however, on the necessity of limiting the rights of fief-holders to the collection of fixed dues, and of setting a short time-limit to their tenures (see on this subject, Becker, *Steuerpacht und Lehnswesen*, in *Isl.*, v [1914], 81-92, and IḲṬĀʿ).

In the absence of the intelligence service he desired, Niẓām al-Mulk contrived to intimidate potential rebels and suppress local tyranny by a judicious display of the might and mobility of the Saldjūḳid arms. He also insisted on the periodical appearance at court of local dynasts such as the Mazyadids [*q.v.*] and ʿUḳaylids [*q.v.*], and proclaimed the sultan's accessibility to appeals for the redress of wrongs by means of notices circulated throughout the empire and exposed in public places (see al-Māfarrukhī, *Maḥāsin-i Iṣfahān*). He also gained the powerful support of the *ʿulamāʾ*, especially those of the Shāfiʿī school, of which he was an ardent champion, by the institution of innumerable pious foundations, in particular of *madrasas*, the most celebrated being the Niẓāmiyya of Baghdād (opened 459/1067), the earliest west of Khurāsān (see below), by the general abolition of *mukūs* (taxes unsanctioned by the *sharīʿa*) in 479/1086-7; and by undertaking extensive public works, particularly in connection with the *ḥadjdj*. After the Ḥidjāz had returned from Fāṭimid to ʿAbbāsid allegiance in 468/1076, he exerted himself to make the ʿIrāḳ road safe from brigandage for pilgrims, as well as to diminish their expenses; and from the next year until that of his death, the journey was accomplished without mishap. It was not until the second half of Malikshāh's reign that the full effects of Niẓām al-Mulk's achievement made themselves felt. By 476/1083-4, however, such were the unwonted security of the roads and the low cost of living that reference is made to them in the annals.

Niẓām al-Mulk was naturally much sought after as a patron. The poet Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] accuses him of having "no great opinion of poetry because he had no skill in it", and of paying "no attention to anyone but religious leaders and mystics" (see Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarkandī, *Čahār maḳāla*, tr. Browne, 46). But though his charity, which was profuse (see for example, al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, iii, 41), went in large measure to men of religion—among them the most notable objects of his patronage being Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*]—, he was clearly a lavish patron also of poets, as is attested by the *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* of al-Bākharzī [*q.v.*], the greater part of which is devoted to his panegyrists. In another sphere, the inauguration of the Djalālī calendar [*q.v.*] in 466/1074 was probably due to his encouragement, since at this time his ascendancy over Malikshāh was at its most complete.

Niẓām al-Mulk's name is especially associated with the founding of a series of colleges whose ethos and teachings were closely connected with the Ashʿarī *kalām* and the Shāfiʿī legal school, of which the vizier himself was an adherent. His reasons for the setting-up of a chain of *madrasas* in the main cities of ʿIrāḳ, al-Djazīra and Persia (and especially in his home province of Khurāsān) [see MADRASA. I. 4] are not entirely clear. But in the context of the age, with its reaction against Muʿtazilism in philosophy and dialectics and against political Shīʿism as manifested in the preceding Būyid and north Syrian amīrates and the still-powerful Fāṭimid caliphate in Egypt and southern Syria, it seems possible that he aimed at training a body of reliable, Sunnī-oriented secretaries and officials who would run the Great Saldjūḳ empire when Niẓām al-Mulk had moulded it along the right lines and thus further the progress of the Sunnī political and intellectual revival. In his patronage of such institutions as these colleges, he was by no means an innovator, for the Sunnī *madrasa*-building movement had been under way since the later part of the 4th/10th century, and other leading figures in the Saldjūḳ state were equally active in founding and

endowing *madrasas* and associated institutions like hostels for students, such as the Ḥanafī official of Alp Arslān's, the *mustawfī* Abū Saʿd, who built a *madrasa* attached to the shrine of Abū Ḥanīfa in Baghdād, and Niẓām al-Mulk's enemy at the court of Malikshāh, the *mustawfī* Tādj al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim (d. 485/1093), founder of the Tādjiyya college there (see G. Makdisi, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv [1961], 1-56; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 70-4). Niẓām al-Mulk may have intended to give an impetus to the spread of his own Ashʿarī and Shāfiʿī views (although, in fact, the Baghdād Niẓāmiyya, where the great Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī had taught, declined in the 6th/12th century, when the Ḥanbalī institutions of learning there showed greater vitality), but it seems reasonable to impute to him a wider vision of a Sunnī political, cultural and intellectual revival in the central and eastern lands of Islam, in which his own colleges would play a contributory role.

For the first seven years of Malikshāh's reign, Niẓām al-Mulk's authority went altogether unchallenged. In 472/1079-80, however, two Turkish officers of the court instigated Malikshāh into killing a protégé of the *wazīr*; and in 473/1080-1, again, the sultan insisted on disbanding a contingent of Armenian mercenaries against Niẓām al-Mulk's advice. Malikshāh now began to hope, indeed, for the overthrow of his mentor, showing extraordinary favour to officials such as Ibn Bahmanyār and, later, Sayyid al-Ruʾasāʾ Ibn Kamāl al-Mulk, who were bold enough to criticise him. Ibn Bahmanyār went so far as to attempt the *wazīr*'s assassination (also in 473), whereas Sayyid al-Ruʾasāʾ contented himself with words. But in each case, Niẓām al-Mulk was warned; and the culprits were blinded. In the case of Ibn Bahmanyār, in whose guilt a court jester named Djaʿfarak was also implicated, Malikshāh retaliated by contriving the murder of Niẓām al-Mulk's eldest son Djamāl al-Mulk, who had taken Djaʿfarak's execution into his own hands (475/1082). After the fall of Sayyid al-Ruʾasāʾ in 476/1083-4, however, the sultan left plotting till, some years later, a new favourite, Tādj al-Mulk, caught his fancy.

All went well with Niẓām al-Mulk till 483/1090-1. In that year, however, occurred the first serious challenge to the Saldjūḳid power, when Baṣra was sacked by a force of Ḳarmaṭians [see ḲARMAṬĪ]; and almost simultaneously their co-sectary the Assassin leader al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*] obtained possession of the fortress of Alamūt [*q.v.*], from which repeated attacks failed to dislodge him. Meanwhile, moreover, an awkward problem had arisen over the succession to the sultanate, on account of the death in turn of Malikshāh's two eldest sons, Dāwūd (474/1082) and Aḥmad (481/1088). These sons had both been children of the Ḳarākhānid princess Terken Khātūn (see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*), who had borne the sultan a third son, Maḥmūd, in 480/1087. She was eager for Maḥmūd to be formally declared heir. Niẓām al-Mulk, however, was in favour of Barkiyārūḳ [*q.v.*], Malikshāh's eldest surviving son by a Saldjūḳ princess. Hence Terken Khātūn became his bitter enemy, and joined with Tādj al-Mulk, who was in her service, in instigating Malikshāh against the *wazīr*.

Tādj al-Mulk accused Niẓām al-Mulk to the sultan, who by this time was in any case incensed with the *wazīr*'s championship of al-Muḳtadī, of extravagant expenditure on the army and of nepotism; and Malikshāh's wrath was finally inflamed beyond bearing by an unguarded reply made by Niẓām al-Mulk to a formal accusation of these practices. But even so, he did not dare to dismiss him. (The earliest historian to assert that he was dismissed is Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, who appears to have misunderstood the purport of some verses by al-Naḥḥās quoted in the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* of Rāwandī, and really composed after the *wazīr*'s death.)

Niẓām al-Mulk was assassinated on 10 Ramaḍān 485/14 October 1092 near Siḥna, between Kanguwar and Bisutūn, as the court was on its way from Iṣfahān to Baghdād. His murderer, who was disguised as a Ṣūfī, was immediately killed, but is generally thought to have been an emissary of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ. Contemporaries, however, seem to have put the murder down to Malikshāh, who died suddenly less than a month later, and to Tādj al-Mulk, whom Niẓām al-Mulk's retainers duly tracked down and killed within a year. Rashīd al-Dīn combines the two theories, stating that the *wazīr*'s enemies at court concerted it with the Assassins. The truth is therefore uncertain; but as Rashīd al-Dīn is one of the earliest historians to whom the Assassin records were available, his account would seem to deserve attention.

The extraordinary influence of Niẓām al-Mulk is attested by the part played in affairs after his death by his relatives, despite the fact that only two appeared to have displayed much ability. For the next sixty years, except for a gap between 517/1123 and 528/1134, members of his family held office under princes of the Saldjūḳid house.

Of Niẓām al-Mulk's family, Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk is remarkable as being his son by a Georgian princess, either the daughter or the niece of Bagrat I, formerly married, or at least betrothed, to Alp Arslān, after the campaign of 456/1064.

See further, on the sons and descendants of Niẓām al-Mulk in the 6th/12th century, NIẒĀMIYYA.

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(H. Bowen-[C.E. Bosworth])

NIẒĀM AL-MULK ČĪN ḲILIČ KHĀN, ḲAMAR AL-DĪN, founder of the Indian Muslim state of Ḥaydarābād in the early 12th/18th century and a dominant figure in the military affairs of the decaying Mughal empire from his appointment as governor of the Deccan by the Emperor Farrukh-siyar [*q.v.*] till his death in 1161/1748. In the early years of his governorship he was the deadly foe of his rivals for influence in the empire, the Bārha Sayyids [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and after his victory over them at Shakarkheldā in 1137/1724, virtually independent ruler in Ḥaydarābād with the additional title of Āṣaf Djāh. For further details, see ḤAYDARĀBĀD, b. ḤAYDARĀBĀD STATE, and MUḤAMMAD SHĀH B. DJAHĀN SHĀH.

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NIẒĀM-SHĀHĪ (i.e. *Ilčī-yi Niẓām-shāhī* "ambassador of the Niẓām-Shāh" of the Dakhan), a Persian historian whose real name was Khwurshāh b. Ḳubād al-Ḥusaynī. Born in Persian ʿIrāḳ, he entered the service of Sultan Burhān [see NIẒĀM-SHĀHĪS]. The latter being converted to the Shīʿa, sent Khwurshāh as ambassador to Ṭahmāsp Shāh Ṣafawī. Reaching Rayy in Radjab 952/September 1545, he accompanied the Shāh to Georgia and Shīrwān during the campaign of 953/1546 against Alḳāṣ Mīrzā. He stayed in Persia till 971/1563, perhaps with occasional breaks. He died at Golkonda on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 972/24 June 1565.

Khwurshāh's chief work is the *Taʾrīkh-i Ilčī-yi Niẓām-shāh*, a general history from the time of Adam based on such sources as al-Ṭabarī, al-Bayḍāwī, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, *Ẓafar-nāma*, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, the "Memoirs of Shāh-Ṭahmāsp", etc. The book is divided into a preface and seven *maḳāla*, each of which is again divided into several *guftār*. The most important part of this work is that which refers to the reign of Ṭahmāsp Shāh (in the Brit. Mus. ms. Or. 153, written in 972/1565, the events come down to 969/1561-2) and to the local dynasties of the Caspian provinces: Māzandarān, Gīlān, Shīrwān. The two manuscripts in the British Museum show differences in their contents: Add. 23,513 (written in 1095/1684) has passages added by some continuator and taken from the *Djihān-ārā* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghaffārī. The later additions of Or. 153 come down as late as 1200/1786.

According to Firishta, "Shāh Khwurshāh", during the reign of Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb-Shāh of the Deccan (957-988/1550-80) also wrote a history of the Ḳuṭb-Shāhīs [*q.v.*]. It is difficult to reconcile this with a continuous stay in Persia from 952 to 971.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catalogue*, 107-11; Schefer, in his *Chrestomathie persane*, Paris 1885, ii, 56-103 (notes 65-133), printed the sections relating to the Caspian provinces. See also Storey, i, 113-14, 1239; Storey-Bregel, i, 406-8. (V. Minorsky)

NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS, one of five Deccani dynasties, with its capital at Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*] which emerged in South India as the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] kingdom disintegrated. The chroniclers of the Niẓām Shāhīs emphasise territorial and power disputes and religious (and possibly racial) tensions. The history of the dynasty splits into four periods. Under the first four rulers, 895-994/1490-1586, there was the vigorous establishment of the kingdom. Under the five rulers from 994-1008/1586-1600, there was intensive internal dissension. The period from 1008-35/1600-26, although with Niẓām Shāhī rulers on the throne, was dominated by a Ḥabashī (of black African origins) prime minister who restored much of the kingdom's economic and political viability. By 1041/1632 the state was destroyed, with formal dispersal of the territories of the Aḥmadnagar kingdom occurring in 1046/1636.

The founder of the dynasty, later known as Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī, was the son of a high official in the Bahmanī court. He held various posts under the Bahmanīs and in 895/1490 he declared independence from them and consolidated the areas in northern and western Mahārashtra under his rule as Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh. Under the first four rulers (Aḥmad, 895-915/1490-1510; Burhān I, 915-60/1510-53; Ḥusayn I, 961-72/1554-65; and Murtaḍā I, 972-97/1565-88) the kingdom prospered despite military skirmishing with neighbouring Islamic successor states, with the Hindu state of Vidjayanagar, and with the first Mughal incursions in the 990s/1580s. Burhān I converted to Shīʿism, the choice reflecting to some extent the underlying tension between those considered natives (*deshis*) and those considered outsiders (*pardeshis*). Potentially, there were racial implications as well. Many of the foreigners were generally fairer than the Deccanis, but there were many Ḥabashī officers in the court and the exact causes for the continuous realignment of loyalties are rarely clear.

Militarily, the high point of this period came in Djumādā II 972/January 1565. The six major Deccani states aligned and realigned themselves attempting to extend their boundaries. In the early 1560s, the armies of Vidjayanagar became particularly rapacious and the Islamic kingdoms reached an accommodation. The major armies gathered in Talikota to organise an assault on the Vidjayanagar forces and also, apparently, for a certain amount of pre-battle carousing. In Djumādā II 972/January 1565 the forces marched out of Talikota and moved against the enemy, decisively defeating them and putting an end to that kingdom.

The rapid turnover in Niẓām Shāhī rulers from 996/1588 to 1008/1600 reflects the dissension and turmoil in the higher ranks of the Aḥmadnagar court. Ḥusayn II, a parricide, ruled during 997-8/1588-9. He was succeeded by a paternal cousin, Ismāʿīl, who ruled in 998-9/1589-91. Ismāʿīl was succeeded by his own father, Burhān II, 999-1003/1591-5, who had been a member of the Mughal court for some years but, having manoeuvred his way on to the Niẓām Shāhī throne, had to deal with serious Mughal forays into the Deccan. Burhān II was succeeded by his son and Ismāʿīl's brother, Ibrāhīm, for four months in 1003/1595. Rival leaders put forth different candidates for the throne, and Bahādur, son of Ibrāhīm and strongly backed by Čand Bībī, was finally declared ruler only to be captured and imprisoned by

the Mughals after the fall of Aḥmadnagar in Ṣafar 1009/August 1600.

Čand Bībī was a daughter of Ḥusayn I and, as part of unending Deccani negotiations and realignments, had been married to ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*]. After his assassination in 1580, she was regent to their young son, Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II. Later in the 1580s and in the early 1590s, Čand Bībī went back and forth between Bīdjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar as a sort of "emissary for safe keeping", as various leaders struck different bargains. After Burhān II was shot in 1003/1595, she was among those leaders who supported his grandson Bahādur to succeed him. By December of that year, the Mughals (led by Akbar's son Murād [*q.v.*], who died in Shawwāl 1007/May 1599 in the Deccan), who had been skirmishing, raiding, and attempting to seize territory in the Deccan, began the siege of Aḥmadnagar. In Djumādā II 1004/February 1596 they successfully mined one of the walls of the fort, and Čand Bībī valiantly led the rebuilding of that wall. She emerged with enough stature to unite some of the feuding Aḥmadnagar leaders and became a local heroine. In March, the occupants of the fort sued for peace and the Mughals withdrew.

In 1007/1599 the Mughals took Burhānpūr in Berār [*q.vv.*] which then served as their base of operations for attacking the Deccani states. The following year, accompanied by Akbar, the Mughals again set siege to Aḥmadnagar, this time led by his son Dāniyāl (died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1012/April 1604 in the Deccan). In the town and fort of Aḥmadnagar, the internal feuding had reached such a pitch that one faction accused Čand Bībī of planning to betray the Niẓām Shāhī forces and incited a mob which killed her. In Ṣafar 1009/August 1600 the Mughals took Aḥmadnagar.

The third period of Niẓām Shāhī history was dominated by Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*], an Abyssinian slave who was a soldier in the Niẓām Shāhī armies, then went to Bīdjāpūr as a soldier, and finally returned to Aḥmadnagar in the 1590s. He fought for the Niẓām Shāhīs against the Mughals and oversaw the installation of the first two of the last three rulers, Murtaḍā II (1008-19/1600-10) and Burhān III (1019-41/1610-32), followed by Ḥusayn III (1041-2/1632-3).

The bickering and skirmishing continued in the Deccan, and Malik ʿAnbar, an able general and politician, carved out larger territories for the Niẓām Shāhīs. He formed new alliances, embracing Hindu leaders who were later to become leaders of the Marāthā [*q.v.*] forces. With these leaders, more effective ways of waging war were developed, and swift moving, mounted soldiers of the Niẓām Shāhī armies would quickly attack the Mughal forces and then retreat into the hills and prepare for the next swift attack and retreat. Dissension among the sons of Djahāngīr pervaded the Mughal court, which was also embroiled in power and territorial disputes, and helped to frustrate repeated Mughal attempts to occupy the Deccan. In the meantime, Malik ʿAnbar embarked on a major land reform, similar to that done by Rādjā Ṭodar Mall [*q.v.*] for Akbar. In 1025/1616 the Mughals put Aḥmadnagar under siege yet again. In the end, Djahāngīr's son Khurram was victorious and received the title Shāh-Djahān. Malik ʿAnbar's administration and generalship continued, as did Mughal inability to secure the Deccan.

In Shaʿbān 1035/May 1626 Malik ʿAnbar died at the age of 80. In Muḥarram 1036/October 1626 in Burhānpūr, Parwīs, heir apparent to the Mughal throne and in charge of the Mughal forces trying to invade the Deccan, died. A year later, Djahāngīr died, and was succeeded by his only living son, Shāh-Djahān. In 1039/1630 Shāh-Djahān returned to Burhānpūr in a re-attempt at conquering the Deccan. Malik ʿAnbar had been followed in office by his son Fatḥ Khān, who was a schemer rather than a leader and administrator, although he was finally imprisoned by the inept Burhān III. The cohesiveness of the state began to disintegrate, hastened by a terrible famine in the Deccan and Gudjarāt during 1039-41/1630-2. Shāh-Djahān worked on bribing and suborning the leaders of the Niẓām Shāhī factions. In 1038/1629, partially as a result of Mughal tactics, Burhān III attempted to murder a group of Marāthā leaders, driving several factions from his court to that of the Mughals.

At Burhānpūr in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1040/June 1631, however, Shāh-Djahān's wife died in childbirth (having already borne eight sons and six daughters for him). Shāh-Djahān ultimately returned to the north to plan and oversee the building of the Tāj Maḥall [*q.v.*] among other matters. Burhān III brought Fatḥ Khān back into power but, in 1041/1632, the latter poisoned the sultan and tried to put Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh III on the throne. It was, in effect, the end of the dynasty. The following year, Fatḥ Khān had schemed himself into such a hopeless position that he took Ḥusayn III to Agra to petition Shāh-Djahān for help. In Rabīʿ I 1043/September 1633 Fatḥ Khān's lands were restored to him and Ḥusayn III was imprisoned.

In the Deccan, warring factions continued to fight. Shāhdjī Bhōnslē attempted to install a puppet, Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh III, but was not successful. In 1045/1636 Shāh-Djahān reached an agreement with Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh which divided the Niẓām Shāhī territories between the two of them and specified that Shāhdjī Bhōnslē was not to enter the court of either of them until he surrendered the territories which he still held. Shāhdjī's son, Shivādjī, was the creator of the Marāthā confederacy, the armies of which, in 1761, attacked Shāh-Djahān's descendants on the plain of Pānīpat [*q.v.*], north of Dihlī.

During the years that Aḥmadnagar (founded in 899/1494) was the Niẓām Shāhī capital, it was (like Golkonda [*q.v.*] under the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs and Bīdjāpūr under the ʿĀdil Shāhīs) a centre not only for soldiers but also for travellers, traders, artisans, craftsmen, painters, writers, scholars, holy men, architects, builders and those dissatisfied with their lot in other places in South Asia, Persia and the Middle East and beyond. European travellers and traders visited the Niẓām Shāhī court. On the west coast, there was fierce competition among the Niẓām Shāhīs, the ʿĀdil Shāhīs, the rulers of Vidjayanagar, and other groups (including pirates) for the trade increasingly dominated by the Portuguese. For the Deccani rulers, the most important item in this trade was horses and the rulers of Vidjayanagar (until 972/1565) reputedly paid the full price assessed at embarkation for every horse delivered to them whether alive or dead.

The Niẓām Shāhīs and many of their high officials commissioned palaces, mosques, gardens, tanks, canals, bath houses, hospices, hospitals, tombs, etc., the remains of many of which are still extant. The early rulers and nobility commissioned many canals as well as palaces/pleasure houses/gardens. Indeed, a tomb near the impressive tomb of Aḥmad I is reputed to mark the burial site of the elephant which captured the ruler of Vidjayanagar in 1565. The most famous Niẓām Shāhī architect and builder was Ṣalābat Khān II, an official under Murtaḍā I and Ḥusayn II. He not only extended the system of canals and tanks, but

rebuilt the Farāh Bakhsh Gardens. His own tomb is outside the city on a hill; unlike other tombs of the period, it is an extremely tall building with stairs to the top. It is said he wished to make it even higher so that he could see as far as Dawlatābād [*q.v.*].

There was an interest in literature and painting as well; an illustrated *Taʿrīf-i Ḥusayn Shāhī* (*ca.* 972-6/*ca.* 1565-9) survives at the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala in Poona and a portrait of Burhān II is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Some other miniatures have been attributed to the Niẓām Shāhī court and a few artists in the Mughal court came from the Niẓām Shāhī one. Unfortunately, the wars with the Mughals and subsequently with the Marāthās led to the despoiling and destruction of the libraries that contained the volumes of literature and science, many no doubt illustrated, that must have been in Niẓām Shāhī mosques, schools, and homes.

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NIẒĀM-Ī DJEDĪD (t.), literally, "new system, re-organisation", the new military units created by the Ottoman sultan Selīm III (1203-22/1789-1807 [*q.v.*]).

The Treaty of Sistova between the Ottoman Empire and Austria (August 1791) and that of Jassy between the Empire and Russia (January 1792) meant that Turkey had to recognise the loss of the Crimea and the fact of Russian control over much of the Black Sea, although Austria withdrew from its conquests in Serbia, Bosnia and the Danube Principalities. Moreover, the European powers were shortly to become increasingly pre-occupied with the threats posed to them by the extension of the French Revolutionary spirit and its ideas within Europe. Turkey thus had a breathing-space within which Selīm III could reorganise affairs in his remaining dominions and prepare against further threats to Turkey's territorial integrity. Above all, the sultan and his reform-minded advisers realised now that military and naval reforms were vital, although it was still hoped to reform and improve the existing military forces of the feudal cavalry, the Sipahīs, and the Janissaries, and the root-and-branch reform measures necessary to save the empire could not yet be contemplated and were probably not yet envisaged in the minds of contemporaries.

Selīm's efforts to improve the fighting efficiency and to reduce the bloated numbers of the traditional types of forces were not very successful, but reform was more successful in the newer, more technical arms: the artillery, the mortar-throwers, the mine-layers and sappers, the gun transport corps, etc., where younger officers trained by Baron de Tott two or three decades before and, after 1794, by further French advisers, made these corps the most efficient part of the Ottoman army.

However, the sultan decided that the only way forward in regard to the fighting forces themselves, sc. the cavalry and infantry, was to inaugurate a new infantry force parallel to, but entirely separate from, the older forces, so as not to alarm the latter unduly. Hence in 1793 Selīm created his "New Order", the *Niẓām-ī Djedīd*, to be a corps of troops properly trained in the European manner, with European-type discipline and with modern weapons. To finance these and other reforms, he initiated a special fund, the "New Revenue", *Īrād-ī Djedīd*, from taxes on brandy, tobaccoo, coffee, silk, wool, sheep and the yields from the fiefs of *tīmār*-holders in Anatolia who had neglected their duties in war and were therefore deprived of their fiefs.

The *Niẓām-ī Djedīd* was originally a volunteer body, and was originally formed from various nationalities, including Austrian and Russian deserters who had fled to Turkish territory during the 1787-92 war with Austria and Russia, hence at first it enjoyed little prestige amongst the Turks themselves. But by 1800 it comprised three regiments, with barracks well-removed from proximity to the older troops, at Lewend Čiftlik to the north of Istanbul and at Üsküdār, and by July 1801 its strength had reached 27 officers and 9,263 men. After 1802, a system of conscription was introduced into Anatolia, although the greater power of local magnates in Rumelia prevented its extension to the Balkans. Hence by the end of 1806 the *Niẓām-ī Djedīd* comprised 1,590 officers and 22,685 men, roughly half of them stationed in Anatolia and half in Istanbul. A large contingent of the new troops helped in the successful defence of Acre in Palestine led by Aḥmed Djezzār Pasha [see al-djazzār pasha, aḥmad, in Suppl.] against the attacks of Bonaparte during March-May 1799. The sultan employed foreign officers and advisers, mainly from England, Sweden and Spain, to train the soldiers and to oversee the management of arsenals, ship-building yards and fortifications. Extensive barracks and ammunition depots were built. The "New Revenue" earmarked for military purposes and supplying the necessary funds, amounted by 1797-8 to 60,000 purses, i.e. 48 million francs (see Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, viii, 139-40).

Internal difficulties, and, especially, the increasing number of opponents of reform, prevented the sultan from completely realising his plans. In 1805-6 Selīm established a new *Niẓām-ī Djedīd* corps at Edirne, with men to be recruited for it from the Balkans by conscription. But the power of local magnates there and the influence of the conservatives in the capital, including the Janissaries and the *ʿulamāʾ*, forced him to retreat from his design. A revolt against the sultan of Janissary auxiliaries (*yamaḳs*) broke out in May 1807; Selīm yielded to pressure from his enemies and disbanded the *Niẓām-ī Djedīd* before his enforced abdication, and *Niẓām-ī Djedīd* officers and men were hunted down and slaughtered in the general reign of terror. Under the new sultan, Muṣṭafā IV [*q.v.*], an attempt was made in 1808 by the *ser ʿasker* Muṣṭafā Pasha Bayraḳdār [*q.v.*] secretly to reconstitute the *Niẓām-ī Djedīd* under the new designation of *Niẓāmlī ʿAsker*, with the Austrian renegade Süleymān Agha, who had previously commanded the corps stationed at Lewend Čiftlik, charged with this task, but without success (see Zinkeisen, *GOR*, vii, 552-3).

It was only after the murder of the imprisoned former sultan Selīm and the overthrow of the feeble puppet Muṣṭafā in favour of Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], son of Selīm's predecessor ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I [*q.v.*], that more successful and more lasting measures in the direction of modernising the Ottoman Empire, its administration and armed forces, could eventually be embarked upon. For by then it had become clear that the previous *Niẓām-ī Djedīd* had represented merely a tinkering with an old system which was incapable of being transformed into a modern one; a totally new start was necessary.

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(F. Babinger-[C.E. Bosworth])

NIẒĀMĪ ʿARŪḌĪ SAMARḲANDĪ, Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, took the *taḵẖalluṣ* of Niẓāmī and the honorific Nadjm al-Dīn (or Niẓām al-Dīn); he was usually called ʿArūḍī (the "prosodist") to distinguish him from other Niẓāmīs (particularly the great Niẓāmī of Gandja [*q.v.*], cf. the anecdote quoted by E.G. Browne, *Lit. hist. of Pers.*, ii, 339). According to Browne, Niẓāmī is one of the most interesting and remarkable Persian writers of prose: "one of those who throw most light on the intimate life of Persian and Central Asian Courts in the twelfth century of our era". He was a court poet who served faithfully the Ghūrid [*q.v.*] princes for 45 years (he would thus be born at the end of the 5th/11th century), according to what he tells us at the beginning of the *Čahār maḳāla*, the only work by him that has come down to us. His verse has been lost, at least except for fragments; Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne, 60-1) only gives one couplet which does not seem to be by him. ʿAwfī (*Lubāb*, ed. Browne, 207-8) quotes five poetical fragments (mostly occasional pieces) and adds that Niẓāmī composed several *mathnawī*, the titles of which have not survived. The only biographical information we possess about Niẓāmī comes from himself. In 504/1110-11 he was in Samarḳand collecting traditions relating to the poet Rūdakī (*Čahār maḳāla*, text, 33); in 506/1112-13 he met ʿUmar Khayyām in Balkh (*ibid.*, 63) and three years later he was living in Harāt (*ibid.*, 44); in the following year (510/1116-17), finding himself in poverty in Nīshāpūr (*ibid.*, 9), he went to Ṭūs in the hope of gaining the favour of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*] who was encamped outside the town (40-1); in Ṭūs he visited the tomb of Firdawsī (51) and collected information about him which he put in his book (47-8). Encouraged by Muʿizzī [*q.v.*], Sandjar's poet-laureate, he succeeded in attracting the prince's attention; his fame and fortune probably date from this time; in 512/1118-19 we find him again at Nīshāpūr (69); and again in 514/1120-1 when he heard from the lips of Muʿizzī an anecdote about Maḥmūd and Firdawsī (50-51); in 530/1136 he returned to this town and visited the tomb of Khayyām (63); and in 547/1152 he fled into hiding after the defeat of the Ghurīd army by Sandjar near Harāt (87). His "Four Discourses" (*Čahār maḳāla*) were probably written in 551/1156. For the remainder of his life we have no data. There is reason to believe he practised medicine and astrology (cf. text, 65, 87). As to his poetry, in spite of the satisfaction he expresses with it, it is not of the first rank, to judge by the fragments that survive; in any case, it was very inferior to his prose, which Browne says is almost unequalled in Persian.

The *Čahār maḳāla* consists of four discourses, each of which deals with one of the classes of men whom the author regards as indispensable in the service of kings: secretaries, poets, astrologers and physicians. Each discourse begins with general considerations, which are followed by anecdotes, often from the writer's personal experience. The number of these anecdotes, which form the most interesting and valuable part of the book, is about forty; some give valuable information on the literary and scientific state of Persia. We may say that the "Four Discourses" (especially the second) and ʿAwfī's *Lubāb* are the two old works which deal systematically with Persian poetry. Dawlatshāh made a great deal of use of it (cf. Browne, *Sources of Dawlatshāh*, in *JRAS* [1899], 37-69). We may specially point out that it is to Niẓāmī that we owe the earliest notice of Firdawsī and the only contemporary reference to Khayyām. On the other hand, we must point out the historical inaccuracy of certain passages, even in the case of events in which Niẓāmī claims to have taken part. His book is mentioned or quoted by ʿAwfī (*Lubāb*), Ibn Isfandiyār (*Hist. of Tabaristān*), Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*), Djāmī (*Silsilat al-dhahab*), Ghaffārī (*Nigāristān*). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa speaks of a *Madjmūʿ al-nawādir* which he thinks is different from the *Čahār maḳāla*; but Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī has shown that this is another title of the same book.

Bibliography: Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī's work has been edited in full by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and tr. by E.G. Browne, Pers. text, 1910, English tr., 1921, French tr. Isabelle de Gastines, *Les quatre discours*, Paris 1968; lith. ed. Tehran 1305/1887, and an edn. by Muḥammad Muʿīn, Tehran 1333 *sh.*/1954. Cf. *GIPh*, ii, index; Browne, *LHP*, ii, index; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 221-2; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 4348; Riẓā Ḳulī-Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, i, 635; Muḥammad Niẓām al-Dīn, *Introd. to the Jawámiʿ ul-ḥikáyát*, London 1929, index.

(H. Massé)

NIẒĀMĪ GANDJAWĪ, Djamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ilyās b. Yūsuf b. Zakī Muʾayyad, one of the greatest Persian poets and thinkers. He was born and spent most, if not all, of his life in Gandja (called Elisavetpol and Kirovabad during the Imperial Russian and Soviet periods), Niẓāmī being his pen-name. In recognition of his vast knowledge and brilliant mind, the honorific title of *ḥakīm*, "learned doctor," was bestowed upon him by scholars. From his poetry, it is evident that he was learned not only in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, jurisprudence, history, and philosophy but also in music and the arts. His work is a synthesis of Persian literary achievements up to his time.

The traditional biographers, and some modern researchers, differ by six years about the exact date of his birth (535-40/1141-6), and as much as thirty-seven years about the date of his death (575-613/1180-1217). Now there is no doubt, however, that he died in the 7th/13th century, and the earlier dates must be discarded as erroneous. UNESCO recognised the 1141 date as his birth date and declared 1991 the year of Niẓāmī. To honour the 850th anniversary of his birth, there were international Niẓāmī congresses held in 1991 in Washington, Los Angeles, London and Tabrīz.

Usually, there is more precise biographical information about the Persian court poets, but Niẓāmī was not a court poet; he feared loss of integrity in this role and craved primarily for the freedom of artistic creation. His five masterpieces are known collectively as the *Khamsa*, Quintet, or the *Pandj gandj*, the Five Treasures. The five epic poems represent a total of close to 30,000 couplets and they constitute a breakthrough in Persian literature. Niẓāmī was a master in the genre of the romantic epic. In erotic sensuous verse, he explains what makes human beings behave as they do, revealing their follies and their glories, all their struggles, unbridled passions and tragedies.

Though he did not write for the stage, he could be

called a master dramatist. The plot in his romantic stories is carefully constructed to enhance the stories' psychological complexities. The characters work and grow under the stress of action to discover things about themselves and others and to make swift decisions. He delineated simple people with as much insight and compassion as the princely heroes in his *mat͟hnawīs*. Artisans were particularly dear to him. Painters, sculptors, architects and musicians are carefully portrayed and often play crucial roles. The romance of K͟husraw and S͟hīrīn is a very important source of information about the role of artists in pre-Mongol Persia as well as the education and training methods of the artists. The *K͟hamsa* serves as a principal source of our knowledge of 6th/12th century Persian musical composition and instruments. There have been few poets other than Niẓāmī in the long and rich history of Persian literature who have had such an influence and impact on poets, calligraphers, miniature painters, musicians and, in recent times, on people of the theatre, film and ballet, and his influence has extended beyond Persia proper to such adjacent regions as Central Asia, the Caucasus, Asia Minor and Muslim India.

Considered as one of the greatest poems of the Near and Middle East, the number of imitations of, and sequels to, Niẓāmī's *K͟hamsa* or the separate poems of it is without precedent. The most popular have always been the three romantic epics: *K͟husraw wa S͟hīrīn, Laylā wa Mad͟jnūn*, and *Haft paykar*. Besides the *K͟hamsa*, an incomplete *Dīwān* of Niẓāmī's poetry exists.

Mak͟hzan al-asrār, The Treasury of Mysteries, is the first *mat͟hnawī* poem in Niẓāmī's *K͟hamsa*. It is a didactico-philosophical poem with mystical overtones. It is the shortest *mat͟hnawī* of the quintet and is comprised of some 2,260 couplets written in the *sarīʿ maṭwī mawḳūf* metre. Most probably it was completed in the year 582/1184-5, though the majority of scholars have tended to consider the year 570 or 572 as the date of its completion, and was dedicated to a patron of art and culture, Fak͟hr al-Dīn Bahrāms͟hāh of the Turcoman Mengüd͟jek [*q.v.*] dynasty of Erzind͟jan; according to some historians and biographers, Niẓāmī was richly rewarded by Bahrāms͟hāh for the poem.

To Niẓāmī, truth was the very essence of poetry. On this principle, he attacks the court poets who sell their integrity and talents for earthly returns. The Islamic law served as the loom on which the philosophy of his *Mak͟hzan al-asrār* was woven in intricate patterns. He was looking for universal justice, and is trying to protect the poor and humble people and to put under scrutiny the excesses of the powerful of the world. The guidelines for people in the poem are accompanied by warnings of the transitory nature of life. *Mak͟hzan al-asrār* is an emulation of Sanāʾī's *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa*, and Niẓāmī acknowledges this but stresses his own superiority. The similarities between Sanāʾī's poem and Niẓāmī's are in the ethico-philosophical genre, but Niẓāmī used a different metre and organised the whole poem in a different way.

The language of Niẓāmī is unconventional. He introduces new and lucid metaphors and images as well as coining new words. Almost each couplet in *The Treasury of Mysteries* is enigmatic, making the poem one of the most difficult to understand in all of Persian literature. The difficult language, with its extremely austere ethical demands, made this poem not very popular among the general public. Nevertheless, it became a model for countless numbers of imitators throughout the East; in Persia alone, there were about forty first-class imitations of *Mak͟hzan al-asrār*.

Although some scholars consider *Mak͟hzan al-asrār* a mystical poem, the mysticism with its symbolism is apparent only in the introduction, which is infused with the essence of Ṣūfī thought. In the main body of the book one can detect scattered mystical overtones, but it is up to the reader to arrive at the final interpretation.

Structurally, the poem begins with a large body of introductory matter which contains about 825 couplets or a little more than one-third of the whole book. Here, Niẓāmī established a pattern for the introductory chapters not only of his later epics but also for almost all epics written thereafter. They include verses in worship of God, followed by a chapter of praise and veneration of the Prophet and a description of Muḥammad's ascension to the heavens. The twenty *maḳalāt* or discourses that follow cover some 1,400 couplets.

K͟husraw wa S͟hīrīn is the second poem of Niẓāmī's *K͟hamsa* and the first of his romantic epics. Its protagonists are K͟husraw II (590-628), the last great Sāsānid monarch, known as Parwīz [*q.v.*], the Victorious, and his mistress S͟hīrīn. Their love was recorded by many subsequent Islamic writers, and Firdawsī devoted more than 4,000 couplets to K͟husraw II's reign in his *S͟hāh-nāma*. It was Niẓāmī, however, who gave the story a real structural unity. Infusing it with his own profound experience of love and expanding it with his thoughts on religion, philosophy, and government, he created a romance of great dramatic intensity. The story has a constant forward drive with exposition, challenge, mystery, crisis, climax, resolution, and finally, catastrophe. The action increases in complexity as the protagonists face mounting complications. K͟husraw and S͟hīrīn are not able to meet for a long time, despite their untiring efforts and the help of their confidant. Then, after they do meet, they are forced apart by the political marriage of K͟husraw and Maryam. When K͟husraw promises S͟hīrīn to Farhād as a prize for completing a feat of daring and endurance, the story nearly comes to a premature conclusion.

After the death of Maryam and the murder-suicide of Farhād, it seems that all obstacles are removed and the lovers will be united. But Niẓāmī introduces an affair between K͟husraw and a girl from Iṣfahān that further complicates and delays his union with S͟hīrīn. Finally, on the lovers' wedding night, Niẓāmī creates a bizarre episode, a humorous entr'acte that gives the reader or listener a chance to take a deep breath before the epic's tragic climax. K͟husraw gets drunk and S͟hīrīn replaces her presence in the nuptial chamber with that of a knotty, wizened old crone. Through these dramatic devices, Niẓāmī makes a powerful commentary on human behaviour.

Niẓāmī's deep understanding of women is strongly expressed in *K͟husraw wa S͟hīrīn*. S͟hīrīn is the central character and there is no question that she is a poetic tribute to Niẓāmī's wife Āfāḳ. She is well educated, independent, fearless, resourceful, imaginative, erotic and humorous. Her loyalty knows no bounds. That she is a queen rather than a commoner, as is the case in Firdawsī's *S͟hāh-nāma*, gives the story a stately quality. Her association with Armenia is, perhaps, a reflection of its geographical proximity to Gand͟ja, and she is, like the Byzantine Maryam, a Christian; Niẓāmī was a pious Muslim, but he tolerated and respected other religions.

S͟hīrīn's sense of justice is so great that she forswears K͟husraw's love until he should regain his throne, thus fulfilling his responsibility to his people. Even after they are married, she continues to exert a

strong influence on Khusraw, educating him as always through example and love; as a result, the country flourished, justice was observed and strengthened, and science, religion and philosophy thrived.

The tension between the strength of Shīrīn and the weakness of Khusraw is enhanced dramatically by Niẓāmī's tight control of plot and setting, and in his development of the towering figure of Farhād. Episodes of meeting and of missing, of searching and of waiting, are richly entwined with scenes of the barren desert and of luxurious court life; asceticism vies with sensuality.

Niẓāmī's use of allegories, parables and words with double meaning raised the Persian language to a new height. The poem is written in the light, flowing, graceful *hazadj musaddas maksūr* metre, deliberately imitating that used by Gurgānī in *Vīs u Rāmīn*. There are about 6,500 couplets.

Its exact date of completion is uncertain. The year 576/1180 is given in some manuscripts, but many scholars believe, on internal evidence, that it was finished after 581/1184. Nor are the three dedicatory invocations—to the Saldjūḳ Sultan Ṭoghril III and to his regents, the Atabegs Muḥammad Djahān Pahlawān and Ḳizil Arslan—useful in establishing a secure date. Although the first Atabeg was the ruler of Gandja, where Niẓāmī lived, and the second one gave Niẓāmī title to a village, these dedications may well have been added by Niẓāmī for political reasons or may be later interpolations. The earliest extant text, dating from 763/1362, was written some 150 years after Niẓāmī's death and is suspected to contain many apocryphal verses.

The great Persian authority on Niẓāmī, Waḥīd Dastgirdī, calls *Khusraw wa Shīrīn* "the best historical fable of love and chastity, the treasure of eloquence, counsel and wisdom," whilst Bertels believed that *Khusraw wa Shīrīn* is "one of the great masterpieces of world literature. For the first time in the poetry of the Near East, the personality of a human being has been shown with all its richness, with all its contradictions and ups and downs."

Laylā wa Madjnūn is perhaps the most popular romance in the Islamic world. Versions appear in prose, song, and poetry in almost every language within the vast area stretching from the Chinese border to the Atlantic ocean. But because of the psychological depth and universality invested in the story, Niẓāmī's epic still serves as the model for all others. It was commissioned by Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Akhsitān Shirwān-Shāh, a Caucasian ruler proud of his Persian origin and a benefactor of Persian culture.

For centuries, the legend of Laylā and Madjnūn had been a popular theme of the short love poems and songs of the Bedouins, and during the early days of the Muslim era, it had been absorbed and embellished by the Persians. Madjnūn is traditionally identified with a poet known as Ḳays b. al-Mulawwaḥ, who probably lived in the second half of the 1st/7th century in the Nadjd desert of Arabia. Although it is probable that there was more than one love-crazed poet called Madjnūn, possessed by a djinn or a genie, the Russian scholar Kračkovski in 1946 erased most doubts as to his historical identity.

Neither the arid desert setting nor the spare plot of Madjnūn and Laylā's romance inspired Niẓāmī's poetic vision, but he could not refuse the royal commission. And so he expanded and deepened the plot and the personalities, creating from the fragmentary versions a full-scale dramatic poem.

For his romance, Niẓāmī chose an easy metre, the short *hazadj musaddas*. *Laylā wa Madjnūn* is comprised of at least 4,000 distichs. Niẓāmī wrote that it took him "less than four months" to compose it, which implies a trance-like state of writing. The exact number of distichs has long been a source of controversy, especially since those that are considered apocryphal alter the plot significantly. Waḥīd Dastgirdī's critical edition, based on thirty manuscripts copied between the 8th/14th and 11th/17th centuries, totals 4,650 distichs, of which Dastgirdī considers 600 to be spurious, added by later writers and scribes, who also transposed an additional 400 distichs to cover their handiwork. Gelpke consider Dastgirdī's the only authoritative text and based his prose adaptation of the poem upon it. Browne, Massé and Arberry, however, translated many passages as authentic which Dastgirdī and Gelpke consider interpolations. E.É. Bertels, the Russian editor of the Persian text published in 1965, found 4,659 distichs valid, using the ten most famous manuscripts. It is, of course, possible that Niẓāmī himself rewrote the poem, making his own changes and additions. Many of the great poets who imitated Niẓāmī included so-called spurious passages and plots, and their poetic sensibility should be respected.

Some manuscripts of *Laylā wa Madjnūn* bear the date 584/1188 as the year of completion, others, 588/1192; still others, as was common in copied manuscripts, give both dates. The earlier year is supported in the text by an *abdjad* dating. Whatever its length and its exact date of completion, there is no doubt that Niẓāmī used all the material, written and oral, available to him, adding, altering and transforming as his poetic genius prompted, in order to create this tragic masterpiece.

Niẓāmī's originality lies in his psychological portrayal of the richness and complexity of the human soul when confronted with intense and abiding love. Madjnūn's compulsions, anxieties, frustrations, and passions are not slighted as he moves inexorably toward an ideal love that involves renunciation and, ultimately, transcendence. Many critics have interpreted this as mystical love; but if there is a mystic strain in Niẓāmī, it is subtle and covert; it never destroys or blurs the sharp psychological and the physical identity of its protagonist. It is virtually impossible to draw a clear line in Niẓāmī's poetry between the mystical and the erotic, the sacred and the profane. The psychological profile of Laylā is less deeply drawn, but her enduring love is no less extraordinary an achievement.

Laylā and Madjnūn are scourged by separation, social ostracism, self-denial, and spiritual and physical suffering from the very beginning until their tragic ends. It is quite possible that, to soften the tragedy, Niẓāmī wrote a second version, weaving into it the love story of Zayd for his cousin Zaynab, which parallels that of Madjnūn and Laylā; the couples become messengers for one another and to some degree are able to mitigate the relentless curse of separation.

The expanded version of *Laylā wa Madjnūn* closes with a vivid dream sequence of Paradise. Madjnūn and Laylā, sitting on magnificent carpets, are radiantly embracing, wine cups in hand. Many scholars believe this to be an interpolation, but if its date can be drawn from the moving dedication to the Shirwān-Shāh's crown prince, in which Niẓāmī counsels his own son Muḥammad, addressing him as a boy of fourteen, the entire Zayd-Zaynab addition may well be Niẓāmī's own work.

Imitators of Niẓāmī's *Laylā wa Madjnūn* can be

listed by the hundreds, and the romance is popular even today. According to Bertels and A.A. Ḥikmat, counting only the most famous versions, there are twenty in Persian, forty in Turkish, three in Azeri Turkish, one in Uzbek, one in Kurdish and two in Tajik [see further, MADJNŪN-LAYLĀ].

Haft paykar is the fourth and the most intricate poem of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa*. It is a bedazzling exploration of the pleasures of love. At the same time, it can be interpreted as mystical. The seven stories told by the seven princesses can be interpreted as the seven stations of human life, or the seven aspects of human destiny, or the seven stages of the mystic way. In fact, the title of the story can be translated as the "Seven Portraits", the "Seven Effigies", as well as the "Seven Princesses". The poem is also known as the *Haft gunbad* or "Seven Domes".

In Islamic cosmology, the earth was placed in the centre of the seven planets: the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. These were considered agents of God, and in their motion influenced beings and events on earth. Niẓāmī firmly believed as well that the unity of the world could be perceived through arithmetical, geometrical, and musical relations. Numbers were the key to the one interconnected universe; for through numbers multiplicity becomes unity and discordance, harmony. Hence Niẓāmī used seven, the number that has always been pre-eminent among the people of the East, as the major motif of *Haft paykar*; for in Islam, seven is considered as the first perfect number.

In *Haft paykar*, the phantasmagoric movement of its hero, Bahrām Gūr, as he visits each princess, covers a symbolic path between black, or the hidden majesty of the Divine, and white, or purity and unity. The princesses and their pavilions are manifestations of specific planets, specific climes, colours, and days. The pavilions are domed, representing the structure of the heavens. Niẓāmī illustrates the harmony of the universe, the affinity of the sacred and the profane, and the concordance of ancient and Islamic Iran.

The number seven casts its magic spell throughout the *Haft paykar*. Completed in the year 593/1197, the *Haft paykar* was commissioned by and dedicated to the prince of Maragha, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kurp Arslan, who allowed the already famous Niẓāmī a free hand in choosing his theme. The poet chose an historical figure for his hero, the Sāsānid emperor and hero Bahrām Gūr, the "wild ass" or "the hunter of wild asses" [see BAHRĀM].

The main body of *Haft paykar* brings Niẓāmī's full creative power into play. It is made up of the stories told by the seven princesses to enchant Bahrām Gūr. Each has been installed in her own paradisial pavilion in a specially built seven-domed palace near to his own. Bahrām passes from one to another on succeeding days of the week, loving each and enthralled by each. There are stories within stories within stories, playing sensually on all the perceptions. The colours and ornamentation of the pavilions, the associated colours of the garments, the sparkling jewels of Bahrām and the princesses appeal to the visual instincts. The continuous background music pleases the ear. The musky perfumes and the pungent incense excite the olfactory nerves. Taste is aroused by mellow wines and exotic foods, and touch by the finest silks and brocades. All these serve as aphrodisiacs, stimulating sensual desire. But Niẓāmī, always true to moderation, tempers the erotic with restraint and hedonistic pleasure with responsibility to affairs of state. In spite of his delight in fabricating a myriad of tantalising scenes and metaphors, the essence of this *mathnawī* is that the physical passions are most preciously enjoyed when set in a context of virtue, simplicity, and kindness.

Haft paykar is written in graceful *khafīf* hexameters, and is estimated to contain from 4,637 to 5,136 couplets.

The Persian legend of Alexander the Great seems to overshadow all of the other fantastic Alexander stories, not only in the tales of the successful accomplishment of many a "mission impossible" but especially concerning the nature of his career. In Persia he rose from the stature of an evil foreign conqueror of the country to that of a national hero king, and even more, to that of a great prophet of God, preparing the nations for Islam [see AL-ISKANDAR].

Out of the many stories of Alexander in Persian literature, that of Niẓāmī is unsurpassed. It is a highly imaginative, dramatic and refined epic. In it, heroic behaviour is muted by psychological characterisation, piety and mysticism are balanced by common sense and situational humour, philosophy is counteracted by romanticism, and nationalism is softened by cosmopolitan ideals of Islam. The virtuosity of Niẓāmī's storytelling and his unbridled fantasy are matched by the brilliance of his language which is full of dazzling imagery and extended metaphor.

Niẓāmī's account of the adventures of Alexander the Great is probably the first work in Persian literature that is divided into two parts. The first half is called *Sharaf-nāma* (The Book of Honour) and the second part *Iḳbāl-nāma* (The Book of Wisdom). The two parts are also known, especially in India, as the *Iskandar-nāma-yi barrī* (The Adventures of Alexander by Land), and the *Iskandar-nāma-yi baḥrī* (The Adventures of Alexander by Sea). The two parts, although constituting a full span of Alexander's life from birth to death under the general title of *Iskandar-nāma*, are treated by the poet as two separate entities, each covering a cycle in Alexander's life. In the first cycle, Alexander appears as the conqueror of the world, in the second, as the philosopher and prophet.

The introduction to the first part of the *Iskandar-nāma* is a little more than twice as long as the introduction to the second part. The introductions reflect the length of both parts; the *Sharaf-nāma* contains about 6,800 couplets and the *Iḳbāl-nāma* about 3,680 couplets, making *Iskandar-nāma*, with about 10,500 couplets, the longest poem of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa*.

Confusion has been created among scholars by various dates given for the completion of the poem, as well as by the various people to whom it or its parts are dedicated in the available manuscripts. Some of them have considered the *Iskandar-nāma* to be the fourth of Niẓāmī's epic quintet, written in 587/1191 and dedicated to ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd I, the Zangid ruler of Mawṣil (572-89/1176-93). But because this date is contrary to many references and events in the text which would indicate a later date, some scholars believe that the work was dedicated to ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd II, of the same dynasty (607-15/1211-18). If this is the case, then the span of Niẓāmī's life would have to be stretched and the date of his death moved from the traditional one of 599/1203 or 605/1209 to some time after ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd II came to the throne in 607/1211.

In the preface to the *Sharaf-nāma*, Niẓāmī declares that he has already completed four *mathnawīs*. This would indicate that the *Iskandar-nāma* was the fifth and last of his epic poems and was, therefore, composed after 593/1197, the date of completion of *Haft paykar*.

Those whose names have come down to us in association with the manuscripts are: Nuṣrat al-Dīn

Djahān Pahlawān from the rulers of Ādharbāydjān, ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd from the rulers of Mawṣil, and Nuṣrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr Pīshkīn (Bīshkīn) from the rulers in the Caucasus.

No doubt Pseudo-Callisthenes' account of the life of Alexander was known to Niẓāmī [see ISKANDAR NĀMA], but it was, however, Firdawsī who was his source of inspiration in composing the *Iskandar-nāma*. He, therefore, chose for it the heroic epic *mutaḳārib* metre which Firdawsī had employed in his *Shāh-nāma*. The *Sharaf-nāma*, the first portion of the *Iskandar-nāma*, is devoted to Alexander's conquest of the world. His conquest, however, was already shaped by the idea of his future prophetic mission. It was, therefore, not for an empire that Alexander set out to conquer but for the purpose of liberating oppressed peoples; assisting the Egyptians in their struggle against the Zangīs; rescuing Queen Nushāba from the hands of the Russians; freeing the Persian people from the enslavement of Darius and the Zoroastrian priests; securing safe passage through bandit territories; guiding travellers on land and sea; and assisting in building towns.

The second part of the *Iskandar-nāma*, the *Iḳbāl-nāma*, portrays Alexander as a great sage and prophet. With the advent of Islam, Alexander found his place as Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn in Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 83/82-98, which encouraged Muslims to glorify him. After the conquest of the world, Alexander devoted his time to the spiritual gains of his conquests. He transported scholarly tomes from all parts of the known world to be translated for his library and surrounded himself with the greatest minds in the ancient world. Niẓāmī is not specific in describing Alexander's religion, but it is a kind of monotheism which prepares the way for Islam. Like Caesar who conquered the future lands of Christendom, Alexander conquered the future domain of Islam, so that he is the archetype of the ideal ruler and a wise prophet.

By comparison with his other *mathnawīs*, the *Iskandar-nāma* is very uneven. In the others, the stories not directly related to the main current are held together structurally, giving an impression of wholeness, whereas in the *Iskandar-nāma* they are loosely woven into the massive structure.

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NIẒĀMĪ, Ḥasan, a Persian historian whose full name was Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. Born in Nīshāpūr, he went on the advice of his *shaykh Muḥammad Kūfī to* Ghaznī to give an opportunity to his remarkable talents as a stylist. A severe illness forced him to leave Ghaznī, and he went to Dihlī were he obtained an appointment as court historian to the Ghūrid Sultans and began, in 602/1206, his great historical work *Tādj al-maʾāthir fi 'l-taʾrīkh*, which brought him great fame. It deals with the history of the first three sultans of Dihlī—the Ghūrid Muḥammad b. Sām (588-602/1192-1206), and his slaves Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak (602-7/1206-10) and Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-33/1210-35). The book begins with the capture of Adjmēr by Muᶜizz al-Dīn in 587/1191 and ends with the appointment of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad as governor of Lahore (614/1217). An Appendix contains a panegyric of Iltutmish and his campaigns of conquest. The work was very highly esteemed in the Muslim East as a model of elegant style. It is written in high-flown and difficult language and has a large number of poetical passages inserted in it. It is only with difficulty that the historical facts can be extricated from the medley of rhetoric, but nevertheless the book is of undeniable value for the history of India and Afghānistān.

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NIẒĀMIYYA, a term often used in the sources for Saldjūḳ history to designate the partisans and protégés of the great vizier Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], after his death attached to and operating with the sons and descendants of Niẓām al-Mulk. The influence of these partisans was especially notable in the years just after Sultan Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092, when they actively promoted the cause of and secured the sultanate for Berk-yaruḳ b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] against his infant half-brother Maḥmūd, the candidate of Malik Shāh's widow Terken Khātūn and her ally the vizier Tādj al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim. In this present article, it is the descendants of Niẓām al-Mulk, who filled many offices in the administrations of the Great Saldjūḳ sultans and also, at times, of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs, who will be considered.

At least nine of Niẓām al-Mulk's sons achieved some office, civil and/or military, in the decades after his assassination in 485/1092. There was a distinct feeling among contemporaries that, in accordance with the belief that the arcana and the expertise of certain professions or skills were handed down within the families of their original exponents, the supreme capability of Niẓām al-Mulk would manifest itself in his progeny. On the whole, this faith was unjustified.

Shams al-Mulk ᶜUthmān was *ᶜāriḍ al-djaysh* for Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*], and then *mustawfī* and an inefficient vizier to Sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] in the years 516-17/1122-3. No fewer than three of Niẓām al-Mulk's sons served Berk-yaruḳ as vizier: Muʾayyid al-Mulk ᶜUbayd Allāh, Fakhr al-Mulk al-Muẓaffar and the drunken and incompetent ᶜIzz al-Mulk Ḥasan. Fakhr al-Mulk also served Sandjar b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] as vizier until his assassination in Khurāsān in 500/1106 by a Bāṭinī. Muʾayyid al-Mulk was probably the most talented and competent of the sons of Niẓām al-Mulk, but was dismissed by the sultan in 488/1095 through the intrigues of Berk-yaruḳ's mother Zubayda Khātūn and Muʾayyid al-Mulk's rival Madjd al-Mulk al-Balasānī; after then, he served Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh as vizier until Berk-yaruḳ defeated his brother in battle at Hamadān in 494/1101 and executed his former vizier as a renegade. Fakhr al-Mulk had served Tutush b. Alp Arslan [*q.v.*], Saldjūḳ ruler in Syria, before entering the service of Berk-yaruḳ, and subsequently went to serve Sandjar until 500/1107 (his son Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭāhir was also later to serve as Sandjar's vizier from 527/1133 till his own death in 548/1153). Djamāl al-Mulk Muḥammad b. Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 473/1080-1) was governor of Balkh during his father's lifetime; and ᶜImād al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was vizier to Malik Shāh's brother Böri Bars (d. 488/1095), the governor of Herat.

Of the next generations, in addition to Fakhr al-Mulk's son Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭāhir (see above), his brother Ḳiwām al-Mulk Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad served Sandjar 500-11/1107-17, whilst Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭāhir's son Niẓām al-Mulk Ḳiwām al-Dīn Ḥasan served Sulaymān Shāh b. Muḥammad, briefly sultan in Baghdād 555-6/1160-1. Another of Niẓām al-Mulk's great-grandsons, Shams al-Dīn Yaᶜḳūb b. Isḥāḳ b. Fakhr al-Mulk, is mentioned as a patron of the local historian of Bayhaḳ, ᶜAlī b. Zayd Ibn Fun-

duḳ [*q.v.*] (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 216); with this generation, the descendants of Niẓām al-Mulk fade from public life and from mention in the sources.

Finally, of the great vizier's collaterals, his brother Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh's son Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Shihāb al-Dīn functioned as Sandjar's vizier 511-15/1117-21; and Ibn Funduḳ mentions several other collateral relatives as living in the Bayhaḳ district in the later half of the 6th/12th century.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

AL-NIẒĀMIYYA, AL-MADRASA, the designation given to the colleges of Sunnī instruction founded in ʿIrāḳ, al-Djazīra and Persia by the great Saldjūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*]. See for these, MADRASA, I. 4, and NIẒĀM AL-MULK. (Ed.)

NIZĀR B. MAʿADD, common ancestor of the greater part of the Arab tribes of the north, according to the accepted genealogical system. Genealogy: Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, A. 3). His mother, Muʿāna bint Djahla, was descended from the pre-Arab race of the Djurhum [*q.v.*]. Genealogical legend, which has preserved mythological features and folklore relating to several eponyms of Arab tribes, is almost silent on the subject of Nizār (an etymological fable about his name: *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, iii, 563, 15-17 from the *Rawḍ al-unuf* of al-Suhaylī (i, 8, 8-10) is without doubt of very late origin, as is shown by the connection which is established with the prophetic mission of Muḥammad; the same etymology from *nazr* "insignificant" is further found in Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, 20, 6; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, 763, 16, without the story in question). Tradition has more to say about his four sons Rabīʿa, Muḍar, Anmār, Iyād and about the partition of the paternal heritage among them, in connection with which they visited the Djurhumī *ḥakam* al-Afʿā. Their adventures on the journey (they are able to describe minutely the appearance of a camel they have never seen from the traces it has left) form the subject of a popular story which has parallels among other peoples; its object is to make the origins of the *ḳiyāfa* [*q.v.*] go back to the most remote period (al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *al-Fākhir*, 155-6, and the sources there quoted; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1108-10, etc.); it perhaps is of interest to note that the story was known to Voltaire who introduced it into his *Zadig*.

As Robertson Smith showed a century ago (*Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*[2], 5 ff., 283-9), and as Goldziher has confirmed by numerous quotations (*Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 78-92), the name Nizār only appears late in Arab poetry, while that of Maʿadd (which is found as early as the Byzantine historians Procopius and Nonnosus) appears quite early in it, although its ethnic character is rather vague (as to that of ʿAdnān, still more comprehensive, one of the oldest historians of Arab poetry, Muḥammad b. Sallām, d. 230/844-5, had already pointed out that his name was almost unknown in ancient poetry, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Hell, 5, 1; cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh ʿalā ḳabāʾil al-ruʾāh*, Cairo 1350, 48). Before the Umayyad period, the only trace we find of the use of Nizār as an ethnic is in a verse of the pre-Islamic poet Bishr b. Abī Khāzim (in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 667, 15) and in another of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1106, 10); in the verse of Ḥassān b. Thābit, ed. Hirschfeld, lx, 2, the reference is to another Nizār, son of Maʿīṣ b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy (Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, P. 15) belonging to the Ḳuraysh. The line in Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, ed. Schulthess, i, 10, in which the descent of the Thaḳīf from Nizār is celebrated, is apocryphal and is connected with the well-known dispute regarding the origin of the Thaḳīf. The story of the verdict of al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis al-Tamīmī in favour of Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī against Khālid b. Arṭāt al-Kalbī (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 141-2; cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 50), in which there is a reference to Nizār and which is placed before Islam, is not less suspect; its object is to defend the northern origin of the Badjīla (descendants of Anmār), often disputed, as well as that of their brethren the Khathʿam [*q.v.*], and to refuse the same origin to the Kalb, descendants of the Ḳuḍāʿa, to which it was attributed just at the time of the strife that raged around the succession to Yazīd I. The *radjaz* verses quoted by Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 49 (and often elsewhere; they are sometimes attributed to ʿAmr b. Murra al-Djuhanī, a contemporary of the Prophet, and sometimes to a certain al-Aflaḥ b. al-Yaʿbūb, otherwise unknown), in which we find used, with reference to Ḳuḍāʿa, the verb *tanazzara* "to announce oneself to be descended from Nizār" may be regarded as apocryphal. No stress need be laid on the isolated reference in al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, 276, 16) to the quarters (*khiṭaṭ*) of the Banū Nizār in Kūfa contrasted with those of the Yamanīs; his language simply reflects the position in the author's time or that of his sources, later than the great upheavals of the first century A.H.

It is only from this period, and, to be more exact, after the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ (65/684 [*q.v.*]) won by the Kalb over the Ḳays, that we begin to find the name Nizār recurring with increasing frequency. It occurs mainly in political poetry: Djarīr, al-Farazdaḳ, al-Akhṭal, al-Ḳuṭāmī and Zufar b. al-Ḥārith use it to designate the common source of the tribes of the north, contrasting it with the terms "Yaman" or "Ḳaḥṭān". The expression *Ibnā Nizār*[in] "the two sons of Nizār" becomes regular; it indicates the Muḍar (Ḳays ʿAylān) and the Rabīʿa as belonging to one ethnic group; they were previously regarded as unrelated to one another. The tribes descended from Anmār (cf. above) and Iyād (the fourth son of Nizār; but other sources make him a son of Maʿadd) appear only rarely as members of the group. This is what the genealogical systematisation seeks to explain by alleged migrations of Anmār and Iyād into the groups of Yamanī tribes.

But the application of the term Nizār continued to remain vague, more so than those of Ḳays, Muḍar and Rabīʿa, which represent very large groups, but more precise than that of Maʿadd, of which it tends to take the place. This is due to the fact that the term Nizār corresponds to a political ideal rather than to a historical reality; in the latter, the reigning dynasty, claiming descent from Ḳuraysh (themselves, consequently, Nizārīs) had as their henchmen the Kalb, one of the most powerful Yamanī tribes, while the Azd, another tribe of the south, bound to the policy of their most illustrious representatives, the Muhallabids [*q.v.*], were sometimes on the side of the Umayyads and sometimes against them. It was this complicated position that gave rise to the attempt to separate the Ḳuḍāʿa (i.e. the Kalb) from the southern stock in order to make them descendants of Nizār. The story told in *Aghānī*, xi, 160-1, al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*,

ed. Wüstenfeld, 14-15, is intended to explain the separation of the Ḳuḍāᶜa from the rest of the Nizār as a result of the murder of the Nizārī Ya<u>dh</u>kur b. ᶜAnaza by the Ḳuḍāᶜī Ḥazīma b. Nahd. The lines in <u>D</u>jarīr (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 994) sum up very completely the way in which the Ḳuḍāᶜa-Kalb were connected with the Nizār, while elsewhere (e.g. *ibid.*, 261: al-Farazdaḳ) Ḳuḍāᶜa and Nizār are opposed. Later, at the end of the Umayyad period and especially in the period of the struggle in <u>Kh</u>urāsān which was the prelude to the fall of the dynasty, Nizār (also in the form *Nizāriyya*) became the regular designation which was contrasted with *Yamaniyya*: henceforth the Banū Nizār were to be the representatives of northern Arabism; as early as the period of decline of the Umayyads, the poet al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī [*q.v.*] had composed a long poem, the *Mu<u>dh</u>ahhaba*, exalting the Nizār at the expense of the Ḳaḥṭān; nearly a century later, the Yamanī Diᶜbil [*q.v.*] replied to him; these poetical jousts on which the *ᶜaṣabiyya*, tribal rivalry, of the two great ethnic groups of the Arabs was nourished, continued down to quite a late date, especially among the Zaydīs of the Yaman.

From what has been said, it is evident that we cannot speak of Nizār as a tribe which had a real historical existence nor, as is the case with the Maᶜadd, as a comprehensive term indicating an effective grouping together of a number of tribes of different origin. Nizār is simply a fictitious invention, a label intended to serve political interests. One must, however, ask whence the name came and what were the precedents which suggested its use in the sense above outlined. It is possible that the history of the four sons of Nizār (cf. above), a popular story, the nature and diffusion of which seem to take it back to a very early period and which originally had nothing to do with genealogical tradition, supplied the names on which the *nassābūn* later gave their imagination free play. But this is a pure supposition, which would have to be confirmed by definite proofs.

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NIZĀR b. al-**MUSTANṢIR**, Fāṭimid claimant, born on 10 Rabīᶜ I 437/26 September 1045. On the death of his father, having been displaced by his youngest brother al-Mustaᶜlī [*q.v.*], Nizār fled to Alexandria, took the title of al-Muṣṭafā li-Dīn Allāh, and rose in revolt early in 488/1095 with the assistance of the governor, Naṣr al-Dawla Aftakīn, who was jealous of al-Afḍal, and the population of the city. He was at first successful in driving back al-Afḍal and advanced as far as the outskirts of Cairo, supported by Arab auxiliaries. Al-Afḍal again took the field against him, and after a short siege in Alexandria he surrendered towards the end of the same year, was taken to Cairo, and there immured by order of al-Mustaᶜlī.

By the Ismāᶜīlī organisation in Persia [see al-ḥasan b. al-ṣabbāḥ and ismāᶜīliyya], Nizār was recognised as the rightful successor of al-Mustanṣir, and this, with its offshoots in Syria, formed a new group (*al-daᶜwa al-<u>dj</u>adīda*), opposed to the Mustaᶜlian group (*al-daᶜwa al-ḳadīma*), now known as <u>Kh</u>ō<u>dj</u>as [*q.v.*] and Bohorās [*q.v.*] respectively. A party of the Nizāriyya at first held to the belief that Nizār was not dead and would return as the Mahdī or in company with him, but the majority held that the line of Nizār was continued by the Grand Masters of Alamūt [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: See that under al-mustaᶜlī; also Ibn <u>Kh</u>allikān, tr. de Slane, i, 160-1 (from al-Nuwayrī); *Si<u>dj</u>illāt* ... *al-Mustanṣir biʾllāh*, ms., SOAS, London, nos. 35 and 43 (cf. *BSOS*, vii, 307 ff.); M.G.S. Hodgson, *The order of Assasins*, The Hague 1955, 46-7, 62-78; B. Lewis, *The Assassins, a radical sect in Islam*, London 1967, 34-5, 49, 74-5; Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāᶜīlīs, their history and doctrine*, Cambridge 1990, 261 ff., 324 ff. (H.A.R. Gibb)

NIZĀRĪ ḲUHISTĀNĪ, Ḥakīm Saᶜd al-Dīn b. <u>Sh</u>ams al-Dīn b. Muḥammad, Persian poet, born 645/1247-8 in Bīr<u>dj</u>and [*q.v.*], where he died in 720/1320-1. The name Nizārī was not only his nom-de-guerre as a poet, but also seems to indicate the loyalty of his family to Nizār [*q.v.*], the pretender to the Fāṭimid imāmate in the late 5th/11th century whose claim was supported by most Persian Ismāᶜilīs. Reliable facts concerning his life can only be deduced from his own works. According to Borodin, followed by Rypka, he would have been attached to the court of the Kart [*q.v.*] Maliks of Herat, but Bayburdi identified the patrons mentioned by Nizārī as local rulers and Mongol officials in the near vicinity of his native Ḳuhistān. The most important were <u>Sh</u>ams al-Dīn ᶜAlī <u>Sh</u>āh (reigned 688-708/1289-1308), who belonged to a dynasty ruling over Sīstān, and the *wazīr* ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Hindū, the representative of the Īl-<u>Kh</u>āns in Khurasan. He worked for them both as an official and as a court poet. In 678-9/1280-1 he made a journey to the Transcaucasian lands, in his days the centre of Mongol power. In the *Ma<u>dj</u>ālis al-ᶜu<u>sh</u>shāḳ* of Kamāl al-Dīn Gāzurgāhī mention is made of two encounters with Saᶜdī [*q.v.*] which however belong to the realm of biographical fiction. The same applies probably to the statement in the same source that he ended his life as a humble farmer.

The literary output of Nizārī was considerable, but it has only been preserved in few copies. The most important are the manuscripts of his collected works extant in libraries of St. Petersburg (Public State Library, dated 837/1434) and Dushambe (Academy of Sciences, dated 972/1564-5). They are both divided into fifteen parts, comprising volumes of *ḳaṣīdas*, *<u>gh</u>azals*, quatrains and other lyrical forms, as well as several *ma<u>th</u>nawīs*. His earliest work, the *Safar-nāma*, contains a lively and valuable description of his journey to Transcaucasia. *Adab-nāma* (695/1295-6), in the metre *mutaḳārib*, is a didactical poem after the fashion of Saᶜdī's *Būstān*. The romance *Azhar u Mazhar* (written about 700/1300-1), a poem in *haza<u>dj</u>* of about 10.000 lines, is situated in the Arabian desert. The plot was inspired by the *<u>Kh</u>usraw-nāma* of Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār [*q.v.*]. A *tenzone* between Night and Day, in the metre *<u>kh</u>afīf*, was written by Nizārī to vindicate himself when he was accused of heretical convictions. *Dastūr-nāma* (710/1310) is a short didactical work in *mutaḳārib* (edited and translated by <u>Ye</u>.E. Bertel's in *Vostočniy Sbornik*, Leningrad 1926, i, 37-104).

Nizārī's name remained relatively obscure in the history of Persian literature. His Ismāᶜīlī background is noticeable in his works although this is often hidden behind Imāmī <u>Sh</u>īᶜī formulations more acceptable to his environment. There is also a strong Ṣūfī element, especially in the *<u>gh</u>azals*, which constitute the most important part of his lyrical poetry. Some of these poems were cited by the mediaeval anthologists <u>D</u>jā<u>dj</u>armī [*q.v.*] and Dawlat<u>sh</u>āh. A competent critic like <u>D</u>jāmī [*q.v.*] compared his poetic "taste" (*salīḳa*) to that of Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*]. Modern Russian and Tadjik

scholars have stressed his freedom of thought and the irreverent tone to be heard in his poetry.

Bibliography: Apart from the *Dastūr-nāma*, the works of Nizārī remained unpublished to date. A detailed analysis of his life and works can be found in Č.G. Bayburdi, *Žizn' i tvorčestvo Nizari*, Moscow 1966. See further: Djādjarmī, *Muʾnis al-aḥrār*, ed. M.Ṣ. Ṭabībī, ii, Tehran 1350 *sh*/1971, 974-5, 1010-3, 1117-8; Dawlatshāh, 231-4; Djāmī, *Bahāristān*, ed. Vienna 1846, 100; Amīn-i Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ed. Dj. Fāḍil, Tehran 1340 *sh*/1961, ii, 322-3; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, Vienna 1818, 223-4; A. Sprenger, *Catalogue of the Library of the King of Oude*, Calcutta 1854, i, 524; B. Dorn, *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibl. Impériale Publique de St. Pétersbourg*, St. Petersburg 1852, 365; H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian ... manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1889, 553; idem, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, Strassburg 1904, 297; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 154-5; S.G. Borodin, *Ḥakīm Nizārī-yi Ḳuhistānī*, in *Farhang-i Īrānzamīn*, vi/2-3, 1337 *sh*/1958, 178-203; J. Dorri, *Stalinabadskiy ekzemplyar kulliyata Nizari*, in *Izvestiya otdeleniya obshčestvennikh nauk*, *AN Nauk Tadžikskiy SSR*, i, Dushambe 1958, 112-20 (description of the Dushambe *kulliyyāt*); Murt. Mudjtahidzāda, *Nasīm-i bahārī dar aḥwāl-i Nizārī*, Tehran 1344 *sh*/1965; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 255-6; idem, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, 604-5; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, Tehran 1349 *sh*/1970, iii, 1895, and iv, 2811-2 (on *Dastūr-nāma*), 2911 (on *Safar-nāma*).

(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

NIZĀRIYYA, a major branch of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*], whose beginnings can be traced to the succession dispute following the death of the Fāṭimid [*q.v.*] Imām and caliph al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh (d. 487/1094). Those who gave their allegiance to Nizār, al-Mustanṣir's eldest son, as the designated successor and *imām*, and subsequently to those claiming descent from him, were called Nizāriyya. One of the most important figures in consolidating Nizārī identity in its early phase, particularly in Persia, was the well-known figure and *dāʿī* Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*], under whose leadership the Nizārīs were able to establish a confederation of principalities in Persia and Syria, linked to the mountain stronghold of Alamūt [*q.v.*]. The period also marks a re-interpretation of Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī doctrine, with a greater emphasis on the role of the Imām as the authoritative interpreter of Muslim doctrine and practice.

The Nizārī polity in Persia lasted over 150 years, before its brutal destruction by the Mongols, ending in 654/1256. The various communities in Syria and Persia subsequently struggled to survive under sometimes adverse conditions, and much of their history and development during this period is little known. However, the *daʿwa* successfully initiated missionary activity leading to the emergence of a community in the Indian Subcontinent, principally in Pandjāb, Sind and Gudjarāt, referred to as the Khōdjas [*q.v.*]. Over the next centuries, sporadic contact was maintained between the Imāms, living in different parts of Persia, and the Nizārī communities of Syria, the Subcontinent and Central Asia, each with their own distinctive literary heritage and tradition.

In its modern phase, Nizārī history has been distinguished by the transference of the *imāma* from Persia to British India in the 19th century and then to Europe, where the present headquarters of the current Imām, Shāh Karīm, Aga Khān (*Āghā Khān* [*q.v.*]) is located. Nizārī communities are found today in over 25 countries in Asia and Africa, as well as in Great Britain, Europe and the United States and Canada, where, based on a common constitution, they have organised strong community institutions. These are complemented by a development network headed by their Imām, concerned primarily with the development of the countries and peoples in which they live.

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(Azim Nanji)

NIZĪB, Nīzīb, the Ottoman Turkish forms for modern Turkish Nizip, a town and district of southeastern Turkey, lying in the plain to the southeast of the Kurt Dağları mountain chain on the Nizip river, a right-bank tributary of the Euphrates, 17 km/10 miles to the west of Birecik [see bīredjik], in lat. 37° 02′ N. and long. 37° 47′ E. at an altitude of 534 m/1750 feet. Nizīb and its surrounding district, extending to Kilis and the Syrian frontier, have long been famed for their extensive olive groves and sesame fields.

Ewliyā Čelebi visited Nizīb in the 11th/17th century and describes it as "an inhabited town in the middle of an unfertile district on the edge of a high hill, with inns, mosques, baths and a small market but without vineyards or gardens". Nizīb at this period was the residence of a judge on the salary scale of 150 *aḳčes*.

During the war (1831-40) between the Turks and Egypt under Muḥammad ʿAlī, Nizīb became the scene of a celebrated battle. Ibrāhīm Pasha, adopted stepson and general of Muḥammad ʿAlī, had crossed the Syrian frontier by the end of 1831 and after several victories advanced as far as Ḳonya, where he inflicted such a defeat on the Turks at the end of 1832 that they had to cede by the peace of Kütāhiya (1833) the whole of Syria to Muḥammad ʿAlī and the government of Adana to Ibrāhīm himself, both recognising the sovereignty of the sultan. But neither the sultan nor Muḥammad ʿAlī were satisfied with this, and both made preparations for another war. For this purpose, Maḥmūd II combined the four *wilāyets* of Diyārbakr, Kharpūt, Raḳḳa and Sīwās under one governor with the title of vizier, Čerkes Ḥāfiẓ Meḥmed Pasha (on his career, see *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, ii, 99-100), and commanded him to cross the Euphrates at the beginning of 1839. It was not till some time later, however, that fighting actually began. Moltke and the military experts in Čerkes Ḥāfiẓ Meḥmed's army then advised him not to cross the river but only to display his strength and frighten the Egyptian army into retreating; but Meḥmed Pasha would not take this advice, crossed the Euphrates and fought a battle at Nizīb, where he was completely defeated by Ibrāhīm Pasha on 24 June 1839.

Besides this great defeat on land, the Turks a few days later suffered an equally severe loss at sea. The traitorous *Ḳapudān-i Deryā* Aḥmed Fewzī Pasha, known as Firārī (i.e. "fugitive", "deserter"; details in *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i, 294-5), led the Turkish fleet, which was sent to Syrian waters at the time of the battle of Nizīb, to Alexandria and handed it over to Muḥammad ʿAlī. The Egyptians, however, were unable to take advantage of the victory at Nizīb because the Great Powers intervened and Muḥammad ʿAlī's aspirations were in 1841 limited to the hereditary governorship of Egypt. The defeat at Nizīb

led in the domestic politics of Turkey to the speedy proclamation of the *tanẓīmāt* reforms [*q.v.*].

The modern town of Nizip is in the *il* or province of Gaziantep and is the chef-lieu of an *ilçe* or district of the same name comprising 115 villages. In 1960, the estimated population of the town was 19,300 and of the district 68,200.

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(F. Bajraktarević*)

NIZWA, a town of inner ʿUmān. It lies in an oasis on the eastern side of the Djabal Akhḍār in central ʿUmān. It is divided between a walled lower town (*Nizwat al-Sufāla*) and an upper walled town (*Nizwat al-ʿAlāya* or *Samad al-Kindī*), which are situated on either side of the Wādī Kalbu. The water supply of ʿAlāya is provided by the *Faladj Dāris* and that of Sufāla is provided by the *Faladj Ghunduk*. Sprenger suggested that Ptolemy's *Ravana/Rabana/Rouana basileion* should be identified with either Nizwa or Rustāk, but this remains unproven. At the onset of Islam, Nizwa appears to have been the seat of the local Azdī Āl Djulandā princes, and it was subsequently to become the capital of the country. Even during occupation by an ʿAbbāsid army under Muḥammad b. Nūḥ in 277/890 during the caliphate of al-Muʿtamid, Nizwa remained the capital of the country and the election place of the Ibāḍī *Imāms* of ʿUmān under the Āl Djulandā and under their successors. It was only in later times that it was supplanted by Rustāk and Maskaṭ, although it never lost its importance as a centre of Ibāḍī teaching and scholarship. From the death of the second Ibāḍī *Imām*, al-Wārith, who drowned at Nizwa in a flood in the Wādī Kalbu, Nizwa was to become the usual burial place of the *Imāms*.

Al-Mukaddasī in the 4th/10th century mentions Nizwa, listing it among the principal *kaṣabas* of ʿUmān along with Maskaṭ, Ṣawḥār and Djulfār. Its name is merely mentioned by al-Idrīsī, but Yākūt in the 6th/13th century knew of it as a mountainous region with a number of large villages, where the local people were adherents of Ibāḍī doctrines [see IBĀḌIYYA]. In subsequent centuries, Nizwa seems to have retained its importance under its Nabhānī rulers, although it was eventually to give way to Rustāk and in the civil wars of the early 17th century, power shifted from the interior to the coast at Maskaṭ, with Nizwa losing its political importance.

The main mosque, the traditional place of election to the Imāmate, and *sūk* are in Sufāla, as is the *ḥiṣn*, a rectangular enclosure containing a massive circular tower, known as the *kalʿa*, *ca.* 43 m across at the level of the gun-platform. The *kalʿa* is the most prominent monument in Nizwa and the largest artillery tower in ʿUmān. It is attributed to the Yaʿrubī *Imām* Sayf b. Sulṭān (d. 1059/1649) and took 12 years and much gold and silver to build. It was designed to command the approaches to Nizwa from all directions, forming part of defences controlling the Wādī Samāʾil, the main access leading from the interior of ʿUmān to the Bāṭina coast. It was among the earliest towers in ʿUmān built as an artillery platform, and it was also able to withstand artillery bombardment because of its solid construction, with the lower 14 m of the main tower filled entirely with packed earth and stone. The water supply was secured by wells and a *faladj* which runs below the tower. According to Lt. Wellsted, dry well shafts in the tower were used as magazines for the artillery.

The first detailed description of the town was provided by Wellsted in 1835, who found Nizwa a stone-built town with houses of two storeys, an appearance which was little changed in 1975. In the early 1900s the largest tribe residing at Nizwa was the Banū Riyam, with a large number of houses of Banū Hina and Āl Bū Saʿīd, and a small number of households from other tribes.

The long association of Nizwa with the Imāmate revived in modern times when discontent with the Āl Bū Saʿīd sultan at Maskaṭ led to a coalition against his authority, culminating in 1913 in the election to the Imāmate of Salīm b. Rashīd al-Kharūsī, supported by an alliance of al-Ghāfirī and Hināwī tribal confederation, which seized Nizwa and installed the *Imām* at the ancient capital. Although a *modus vivendi* was eventually reached, Nizwa and its surroundings remained beyond the authority of Maskaṭ until 1955, when Sultan Saʿīd b. Taymūr entered Nizwa in a progress through the interior as far as Buraymī. However, between 1957 and 1959, the Imāmate based at Nizwa broke into open rebellion, backed by Saudi Arabia and by Arab nationalists in Cairo. The rebellion ended with the seizure of Nizwa by British troops and the Sultan's forces in 1959.

The surrounding oasis is said to have 25,000 palm trees, and accounts refer to the presence of sugar cane, cotton, and indigo among the crops of Nizwa. Traditional local manufactures include metal working, including gold and silver, and weaving. The latter is ancient, for Yākūt mentions a distinctive ornamental textile decorated with silk. According to Wellsted, the women would prepare cotton yarn, and men would work the looms. This division of labour was still apparent in the 1970s. In the 1970s, the oil wealth of ʿUmān brought growing prosperity to Nizwa and a transformation of its traditional economy, while the construction of tarmac roads improved its links with the rest of the country.

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(G.R.D. King)

NOGHAY, a Turkic-speaking people whose language belongs, together with Kazak and Karakalpak, to the Caspian branch of the Kïpčak-Turkic group. They number approximately 60,000, living mainly on a territory stretching to the west of the Caspian Sea between the Kuma and Terek rivers, a region sometimes referred to as the Noghay

Steppes. In the administrative aspect, the majority lived within the boundaries of the Dagestan Autonomous S.S.R., whilst others fell under the jurisdiction of Čečeno-Ingushetia and the Stavropol'skiy kray. All these regions belonged to the Russian Federation of the Soviet Union, but their administrative future within Russia, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991, is unknown.

1. Ethnogenesis and early habitats. The stabilisation of the Noghay ethnos went hand in hand with the formation of the Noghay state. The latter was formed by Edigü (in Russian sources, Edigey), the famous military commander of the Tatar state of the Golden Horde. The Noghay *ulus* (appanage) seceded from the Golden Horde in the 1390s, their original homeland being the vast pasture lands between the Emba and Yayîķ (now Ural) rivers. During the reign of Nūr al-Dīn, son of Edigü (1426-40), the Noghay tribes began to extend towards the Volga, and up to the 1550s they occupied the large territory between the Yayîķ and the Lower Volga rivers. In the 15th-16th centuries the Noghay Horde was a significant Tatar state, one of the successor states of the Golden Horde, comprising various Turco-Mongolian tribes which later on took an active part in the formation of numerous modern Turkic peoples, including the Ķazaķs, the Ķaraķalpaķs, the Bashkirs and the Ķazan Tatars. The leading political force of the Noghay Horde was undoubtedly the Mangît tribe, from which Edigü himself, the founder of the state originated. That is why even their self-appellation during the first century of their stately independence was *Mangît* [*q.v.*].

The Noghay ethnos was formed of various Turkic and Turkicised Mongol tribes coming together under the sovereignty of Edigü's successors. Even the Mangît tribe was of Mongol origin, although the family genealogy of the Edigü clan, obviously due to pious Muslim influence, traced back their alleged descent to the Prophet Muḥammad's time. The widest extension of the Noghay Horde was in the first half of the 16th century, when its historical rôle was at its zenith, and they actively participated in the wars of Muscovy, the Ķazan and the Crimean Khānates.

The application of the name Noghay to the Mangît-led confederation has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The term Noghay was first used for the Noghays in the Russian sources at the end of the 15th century, and it spread in Russia and Europe during the 16th century. According to the most accepted interpretation, the ethnonym Noghay is connected to the name of Noghay, famous warlord and *amīr* of the Golden Horde in whose army the Mangît tribe must have been a leading force. On the other hand, two facts severely hamper this theory: (a) it needs further elucidation why the ethnonym Noghay came into use only 150 years after Noghay's death in 1300; and (b) while Edigü's figure has been immemorialised in an extensive folk-epos, Noghay's personality has fallen out of folk-memory.

2. Economy and society. Up till the 1860s, the Noghays were *par excellence* nomadic stock-breeders (horse, sheep, cattle, camel). They had practically no agriculture (only millet was known) or handicrafts; all these products were acquired through trade and/or as booty. All adult males were warriors (200,000 in the 1550s), the total amount of inhabitants being approximately 350,000. Their society was organised according to clan and tribal principles, with an increasing number of feudal features from the 16th century onwards. The head of the political structure was the *biy*, whose sons and other male relatives, the *murzas*, stood at the head of the *ulus* or appanage. It was an amalgam of the clan and feudal system. The central power was very limited, and the *murzas* pursued sovereign foreign policies. Second in rank was the *nūraddīn* (called so after Edigü's son), whose duty was defending the western borderland, while the *kekovat* (third in rank) was in charge of the eastern frontier. The capital of the Noghays was Sarayčîķ on the eastern bank of Lower Volga. In addition to the tribal-feudal aristocracy, the Muslim religious dignitaries, especially the *sayyids*, also played an important role in the Noghay social structure.

3. Noghay-Russian contacts. From 1489 onwards, exchange of envoys had become regular between Russia and the Noghay Horde. After Ismāʿīl's death (1563), the heyday of the Noghay Horde was over and it soon dissolved. Part of them accepted Russian suzerainty, other tribes fell under Crimean Tatar and Ottoman rule, while the eastern part was assimilated by the Ķazaķs. In the 17th-18th centuries, a few independent Noghay hordes survived (e.g. the Yedisan, the Djemboyluķ, etc.), lingering between the Russian and Ottoman great powers. In the 1780s, subsequent to the annexation of the Crimean Khanate by the Russians, most Noghay groups fell under Russian jurisdiction. In 1858-66 a mass emigration of the Noghays to Turkey took place, but most of them were disappointed in their new homeland and returned to Russia. From the 1870s onwards, the Noghays have gradually been settled and forced to abandon their nomadism for agriculture. The vicissitudes of the Noghays continued in the Soviet era, their administrative borders being changed several times. During the past few years they have been struggling for more cultural and regional autonomy within the Russian Federation.

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(I. Vásáry)

NOUAKCHOTT, the capital of Mauritania [see MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ]. It was created *ex nihilo* near a site occupied by a small village and a ksar [see ĶAṢR]. The choice of its situation was made the object of serious studies, since it was necessary that it should be accessible, easily supplied with drinking water and distant

enough from the Senegal River to escape inundations like that of 1950. Several plans of urban design were put forward even before independence was conceded to Mauritania (1960), and construction work, begun in 1958, has not ceased since that date in order to respond to a rapidly-increasing demographic growth because of the tendency of the nomads to become sedentarised and fixed and because of the massive migration of the peoples of the interior, driven forth by the desiccation which became severe during the years 1968-73 and searching for work. With an estimated population in 1974 of 100,000, the number of inhabitants rose to 600,000 by 1992.

Situated in the midst of sand dunes, 7 km from the ocean, Nouakchott is the only real town of the country, and comprises three parts: a westernised official and business centre (ministries, embassies, banks, trading establishments), better-quality residential quarters and, further out, the area of more or less precarious habitations of the less favoured population elements (in 1971, there were still 200 tents of nomads within the urban area). It has a relatively temperate climate (annual average of max. temp. 32°, and minima 11°); rainfall is very variable from year to year, but the average is considered to be 135 mm. Water supply, from the wells in the Trarza, is a serious problem, and the town has a water-purifying plant. Retail trade is in the hands of Lebanese immigrants, who are always very active. External trade, in particular represented by the import of manufactured products and foodstuffs, and by the export of copper, hides and gum, has developed since 1966, thanks to the construction of docks 7 km to the south-south-west of the capital. Electricity is provided by a central generator, and telephone installations exist in the government offices and in private homes. Communications within the town are not always easy since metalled roads are still sparse, and vehicles often get stuck in the sands once they leave the main roads. Connections with outside countries, and even with the interior of the country, are now more and more by air travel, thanks to the modern airport of Nouakchott and the improvised landing-strips which many places of middling importance possess. It is in fact extremely difficult to maintain roads and even tracks amidst moving sands.

There remains an interesting question: the origin of the name Nouakchott, which even the Mauritanian government, which uses the French language, customarily spells thus. Its etymology has given rise to apparently endless controversies. For Mokhtar Ould Hamidoun and Cyr Descamps, *Que veut dire Nouakchott?*, in *Notes Africaines*, no. 118 (1969), 62-4, the town's name means "place where, when one digs a well, the water appears at a level where shells are found profusely". In reality, the Arabic form *Anwākshūṭ* is sufficiently clear, since it can be broken up as follows: *a-n-wakshut*, i.e. in Berber, "that of shells and shellfish", where *a* is a demonstrative pronoun, and *n* the copula introducing the state of annexation of the word *akeshshuḍ* (whose final emphatic is normally unvoiced to pass into Arabic as *ṭ*). It should be noted that in the Berber speech of Morocco, in which this word exists, it means "woods".

Bibliography: This is quite abundant, and has been felicitously utilised by J.-R. Pitte, *Nouakchott, capitale de la Mauretanie*, Paris 1977, to which one can refer.

(J.-F. Staszak and Ed.)

NOYAN (pl. *noyad*), a Mongolian title, rendered in the Muslim chronicles of the Mongol and Tīmūrid periods in the Arabic script as *nūyān*, *nūyīn*, *nuyīn*, etc. In the pre-Čingissid period the *noyad* were the hereditary clan chieftains. Under Čingis Khān and his successors, the title was granted initially as a military rank. According to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, § 191 [tr. Cleaves, 119], in 1203 Čingis Khān organised his army according to the decimal system so often used before in steppe armies, with groups of ten, a hundred and a thousand, each under the command of a *noyan*. Hence the term came to mean "commander" (Boyle) or "captain" (Cleaves). The *noyad* have been called the "new aristocracy" of the Mongol Empire, and were a means by which the Mongol rulers, in constructing their imperial machinery, were able to transcend the old clan system. The *noyad* were granted substantial rights of autonomy within their domains, and people and pasture in perpetuity. Under the Yüan régime in China, the term was used to refer to all officials serving in public posts (26,690 in the early 14th century, according to one reckoning).

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(D.O. Morgan)

NUʿAYM B. ḤAMMĀD al-Khuzāʿī al-Marwazī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, a traditionist originally from Marw al-Rūdh [*q.v.*] who lived for a while in Egypt but above all in Baghdād where, having been invited to recognise the created nature of the Ḳurʾān in the course of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*], he refused to give his opinion and was thrown into one of the prisons at Sāmarrā; he died there on 13 Djumādā I 228/18 February 843 (but other dates around this are also given). He received from Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya, ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak and other *muḥaddiths* [see ḤADĪTH] traditions which he in turn transmitted, notably to Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn or al-Bukhārī. He is nevertheless judged to have been suspect and is even freely accused by some scholars, such as al-Nasāʾī and al-Dāraḳuṭnī, of fabricating *ḥadīths* in support of the most rigorous form of Sunnī doctrine, of which he was a fervent defender. He is said, moreover, to have been a member of the Djahmiyya [*q.v.*] at one period, before changing his views and accusing Abū Ḥanīfa and ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd of having favoured the dissemination of this group's ideas. Whilst being thus discredited as a traditionist, he nevertheless acquired a reputation as a scholar regarding succession law (*farāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*]), to the point that he is sometimes dubbed Fāriḍ or Faraḍī.

His biographers attribute to him "some" books, but it is only known that he left behind a *Kitāb al-Fitan wa 'l-malāḥim*, of which there is a ms. in the B.L., London (9449) and which was abridged by Naṣr Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Tanūkhī (604-73/1207-74; see F. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, s.v. Ibn Shuḳayr, iii, 263c, who does not however cite this abridgement).

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und ihre Überlieferung in Spanien, in *Navicula Tubingensis. Studia in honorem Antonii Tovar*, Tübingen 1984; Ziriklī, ix, 14; Kaḥḥāla, xiii, 97; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 104-5. (CH. PELLAT)

NUʿAYMA, MĪKHĀʾĪL (spelled Naimy in English language publications), modern Arabic author (b. 1889, Biskinta, Lebanon, d. 1989 in Lebanon). He received his schooling at the "Russian" school founded by the "Russian Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society" in Biskinta, the training college instituted by the same society in Nazareth and the Diocesan Seminary in Poltava, Ukraine. In 1911 he joined his emigrant brothers in the USA, who financed his studies at the University of Washington in Seattle. There he became a member of the "Free Syria" movement which stood for an independent Syria and Lebanon under French protection. Later, he would become secretary of this movement in which most of Nuʿayma's literary friends took part. It may be regarded as a forerunner of *al-Rābiṭa al-ḳalamiyya*.

Mīkhāʾīl Nuʿayma obtained bachelor degrees in Law and in English Literature in 1916 and went to New York where his old-time friend Nasīb ʿArīḍa was publishing the Arabic literary magazine *al-Funūn* ("The Arts"). In New York he established contacts with Djubrān Khalīl Djubrān [see DJABRĀN KHALĪL DJABRĀN], Rashīd Ayyūb and Īlīyā Abū Māḍī. For his living he worked for the Russian delegation at the Bethlehem Steel Factories to purchase arms until Russia withdrew from the war in November 1917. He was then conscripted into the USA army and sent to France where he witnessed the last battles of the war. Early in 1919 he returned to New York and in 1920 he founded with his literary friends *al-Rābiṭa al-ḳalamiyya* (English, Arrabita = "The Pen League"). He earned his living as a travelling salesman. In 1932 he returned to Lebanon to devote himself to his pen.

Nuʿayma's literary career started in Poltava, where he became acquainted with the works of the great Russian authors of that time. He especially admired Tolstoy and his Yasnaya Polyana. He composed poetry during this period and he kept a diary. During his stay in Seattle he began to contribute critical essays to *al-Funūn*, calling for drastic changes in Arabic poetry and in criticism. He also contributed a serialised play *al-Ābāʾ wa 'l-banūn* ("Parents and Children"), which appeared in book form in 1917 in New York. His critical essays were published in *al-Ghirbāl* ("The Sieve") in 1923 at Cairo with a foreword by Maḥmūd ʿAbbās al-ʿAkkād [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In Seattle he became acquainted with the teachings of theosophy which were to have a permanent influence on his writings, culminating in the English-language publication *The book of Mirdad*, Beirut 1948, translated by the author as *Kitāb Mirdād*, Beirut 1952, and in books like *al-Yawm al-akhīr* ("The last day"), Beirut 1963, *Ayyūb* ("Job"), Beirut 1967 and *Yā ibn Ādam* ("O son of Adam"), Beirut 1969.

Nuʿayma published one collection of poetry *Hams al-djufūn* ("Eyelids' whispering") Beirut [1943], which inspired Muhammad Mandūr [*q.v.*] to call this new type of poetry *shiʿr mahmūs* ("whispered poetry"). Nuʿayma further wrote some 80 stories which he collected in the volumes *Kān mā kān* ("Once upon a time"), Beirut 1937, *Akābir* ("Notables"), Beirut 1956 and *Abū Baṭṭa* ("The fat-calved man"), Beirut 1959.

Nuʿayma's biography of Djubrān (Arabic edition, Beirut 1934, English edition, New York 1950), showing the weaker sides of Djubrān, produced a fierce shock to those who had already lifted Djubrān beyond good and evil. Nuʿayma's most impressive work is his autobiography *Sabʿūn* ("Seventy"), Beirut 1959-60, in which he describes his early years in Biskinta, Nazareth and Poltava (vol. i), his life in the USA and the formation of Arrabita (vol. ii), and his life in Lebanon from 1932 until 1959 (vol. iii).

Other works by Nuʿayma include: *al-Marāḥil* ("Stages"), Beirut 1933; *Zād al-maʿād* ("Food for the road"), Cairo 1936; *al-Awthān* ("The idols"), Beirut 1946; *Karam ʿalā darb* ("A vineyard by the road"), Cairo 1946; *Liḳāʾ*, Beirut 1946, translated as *Till we meet* ..., Beirut 1957; *Ṣawt al-ʿālam* ("The voice of the world"), Cairo 1948; *Mudhakkarāt al-arḳash*, Beirut 1949, translated as *Memoirs of a vagrant soul*, Beirut 1952; *al-Nūr wa 'l-daydjūr* ("Light and darkness"), Beirut 1950; *Fī mahabb ar-rīḥ* ("Windward"), Beirut 1953; *Durūb* ("Roads"), Beirut 1954; *Abʿad min Mūskū wa-min Washintun* ("Very far from Moscow and from Washington"), Beirut 1957; *Hawāmish* ("Marginals"), Beirut 1965; *Fī 'l-ghirbāl al-djadīd* ("In the new sieve"), Beirut 1972; *Nadjwā al-ghurūb* ("Confidential whispers at sunset"), Beirut 1973; *al-Madjmūʿa al-kāmila* ("The complete works") 8 vols., including *Maḳālāt mutafarriḳa* (= vol. vii, Uncollected essays) and *Rasāʾil* (= vol. viii, Letters), Beirut 1970-4.

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NŪBA, the mediaeval Islamic form for the land of Nubia, lying to the south of Egypt, and its peoples.

1. Definition

The names Nubia, Nubian, Nūba are commonly used without scientific precision and it is only in the linguistic sense that they have an unambiguous meaning. The frontier separating Nubia from Egypt proper is well defined as the first cataract of the Nile in the neighbourhood of Aswān, and the area where Nubian is spoken nowadays ends in the vicinity of the 18th parallel, but the southern limit of Nubia is sometimes placed as far south as the junction of the Atbara and the Nile or even the confluence of the two Niles. Nubia is often sub-divided into Lower Nubia from Aswān to Wādī Ḥalfa and Upper Nubia from Wādī Ḥalfa southwards, but neither term has any political or administrative significance.

The mediaeval Arabic writers are equally vague about the southern extent of Nubia: the region immediately bordering on Egypt, which bore the name of Marīs [*q.v.*], seems to have been regarded as Nubia *par excellence*; to the south of it lay Muḳurra with its capital at Dongola (Dunḳula, Dumḳula), and beyond this the kingdom of ʿAlwa, the capital of which was Sōba, near the site of the modern Kharṭūm. According to the 4th/10th century author ʿAbd

Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Salīm (Sulaym?, quoted by al-Maḳrīzī) Marīs and Muḳarra had distinct languages, and the frontier between them was situated three post-stations (*barīd*) to the south of the Third Cataract; politically, however, Marīs formed part of Muḳurra and this probably accounts for the fact that Ibn Salīm immediately afterwards places the commencement of Muḳurra at a day's journey from Aswān. The frontier between Muḳurra and ʿAlwa was the district of al-Abwāb, a name still in use for the country round Kabūshiyya in Berber province. ʿAlwa is generally placed outside Nubia, and the preamble to the treaty which governed the political relations between Nubians and Arabs makes its provisions incumbent on "the chief of the Nubians and all people of his dominions .... from the frontier of Aswān to the frontier of ʿAlwa"; yet al-Masʿūdī speaks of ʿAlwā as part of Nubia and states that it is under the political suzerainty of Muḳurra. According to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, v, 308-9, Nubia extends along the Nile a distance of eighty days journey, Dongola being situated halfway at forty days' distance from Aswān; of ʿAlwa he speaks, with obvious exaggeration of the distance, as a people beyond Nubia three months' journey from the king of the Nūba, whose official title is "King of Muḳurra and Nūba".

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2. History

(a) Up to the Fāṭimid period

Nubia was called in Pharaonic times the Land of Kush [*q.v.*], and is vaguely mentioned in Herodotus and other Greek authors as part of the land of the Aethiopes; the name Nubia has been used since mediaeval times (see W.Y. Adams, *Nubia, corridor to Africa*, Princeton 1977, 13). In the Arabic sources it is often imprecisely described as part of the *Bilād al-Sūdān* "land of the blacks", although the term Sudan with concrete references to a political entity appears only after the Turco-Egyptian conquest of 1821 (Y.F. Hasan (ed.), *Sudan in Africa*, Kharṭūm 1985, 1 ff.).

Nubians were renowned as archers and were recruited by the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies as mercenaries. In Roman times, there were military camps in Dodekaschoinos, i.e. the northernmost part of Nubia, but the Roman military presence ended in 298 A.D. when Diocletian withdrew the last Roman guards from the region and established the Roman frontier at Syene (modern Aswān). Meanwhile, the rest of Nubia formed a separate kingdom, already in existence since 750 B.C., inhabited by an African people and with its capital first at Napata and then at Meroe. But the latter state collapsed in the mid-4th century with the invasion of king ʿEzānā of Axum, after which various unknown peoples came in and merged with the existing population of Nubia, and amongst all these ethnic groups the names of the Blemmyes and Noubades are notable (see V. Christides, *Ethnic movements in southern Egypt and northern Sudan: Blemmyes-Beja in Late Antique and early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.*, in *Listy Filologicke*, ciii [1980], 129-43; L. Török, *Late Antique Nubia*, Budapest 1986, 27 ff.). In spite of their rivalry, these two groups seem to have tried to unite against the Byzantines in the mid-5th century, but the Byzantine emperors used Nubia in a grandiose plan to dominate the Red Sea region and extend their influence as far as Yemen (see Christides, in *Annales d'Ethiopie*, ix [1972], 115-46). Within Nubia south of Dodekaschoinos, three independent kingdoms emerged, sc. Nobatia, Makuria or Muḳurra [*q.v.*] and Alodia or ʿAlwa [*q.v.*].

The Arab conquest of Egypt inevitably affected Nubia, and according to the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā*, Bedja-Blemmyes [see BEDJA] and Noubades participated in the Byzantine defence of Upper Egypt against the Arabs (see J. Jarry, in *Annales Islamologiques*, ix [1970], 9-20). The first Arab raids against Nubia took place before the final conquest of Egypt in 645 A.D., but these were probably defensive actions against the harryings of the Nubians rather than evidence of a definite plan to invade the distinctly inhospitable region of Nubia, just as the Arabs' use of the shipyard at Clysma or Ḳulzum [*q.v.*] was aimed at safeguarding the flow of grain across the Red Sea against Bedja-Blemmyes pirates there. An Arab raid under Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳays al-Fihrī took place in 21/641-2 and another by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ in 31/651-2, when the Muslims penetrated as far as Dongola [*q.v.*], destroying its basilica. After this, a truce was made between the Arabs and the Nubians, sealed by the celebrated *baḳt* (*q.v.*, and also P. Forand, *Early Muslim relations with Nubia*, in *Isl.*, xlviii [1971], and M. Hinds and H. Sakkout, in Wadād al-Qāḍī (ed.), *Studia Arabica et Islamica, Festschrift for Iḥsān ʿAbbās*, Beirut 1981, 210 ff.). This comprised a trade agreement but was also a bilateral treaty of non-aggression and non-intervention between the two powers, and in future times was to play a significant role in Arab-Nubian relations.

During the Umayyad period, trade relations were important: Egyptian exports to Nubia included cereals and wine, whilst Nubia exported mainly slaves but also iron and camels, furnished by the Bedja-Blemmyes. An Arabic papyrus of 141/758, just after the fall of the Umayyads, sent from the governor of Egypt to the king of Nubia, refers to the mistreatment of Arab merchants (see Hinds and Sakkout, *op. cit.*; J.M. Plumley, *An eighth-century Arabic letter to the King of Nubia*, in *Jnal. of Egyptian Archaeology*, lxi [1975], 241-5; and in general, Christides, *Nubia and Egypt from the Arab invasion of Egypt until the end of the Umayyads*, in *Procs. of the Seventh Internat. Conference for Nubian Studies, Geneva 1990*). Towards the end of the Umayyad period, the king Kyriakos invaded Egypt in order to release the Patriarch Anba Mīkhāʾīl, who had been imprisoned by the Muslims; and it was to Nubia that two children of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II [*q.v.*], fled after the ʿAbbāsid Revolution (see Y.F. Hasan, *The Arabs in the Sudan*, Edinburgh 1967, 28 ff.; G. Vantini, *Christianity in the Sudan*, Verona 1981, 75 ff.).

During the ʿAbbāsid period, Nobadia gradually became incorporated in Muḳurra, whilst ʿAlwa followed a similar cultural pattern to the other states, so that a degree of homogeneity was achieved throughout Nubia; it was not however until the 9th century that the Bedja-Blemmyes seem to have formed an organised kingdom, when we hear of a punitive raid into their land of 218/831 under the Arab general ʿAbd Allāh b. Djahm, ended by a peace agreement in which an annual tribute to the Arabs of camels was promised (see al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 218; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, Cairo 1927, iii, 272-5; Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, 38-41). Later in this century, the presence of gold mines in their land seems to have become generally known to the Muslims, for al-Mutawakkil in 241/855-6 sent his general Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī on a successful expedi-

tion against the Bedja in order to secure access to the gold mines in their country on the western shores of the Red Sea (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1428-33, tr. J.L. Kraemer, Albany 1989, 141-5).

Over the next centuries, relations between Nubia and the Muslims revolved round the twin facts of the *baḳt*, with disputes over the number of black slaves to be delivered to the caliphs and with the penetration of Muslim traders into Nubia and the land of the Bedja-Blemmyes (seen in the number of Arabic inscriptions on tomb stones there from the mid-3rd/9th century onwards), and with the constant interference of the rulers of Nubia in the Christian church affairs of Egypt, since the Nubian kingdom was deeply theocratic, with the ruler as priest-king.

Under the Fāṭimids of Egypt, the *baḳt* continued to be sent, with the conqueror Djawhar sending an immediate embassy to King George II of Nubia (969-1002) regarding it, although the emphasis now seems to have been on the sending of beasts and exotica (see B.I. Beshir, *New light on Nubian-Fāṭimid relations*, in *Arabica*, xxii [1975], 15-24). The Fāṭimids managed to penetrate deeply into Nubia and to protect the maritime trade in the Red Sea, with a special fleet constructed against piracy there (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 468-9, 524). The Christian Church in Nubia continued to be dependent on the Patriarchate of Alexandria, with Monophysitism in the ascendant in Nubia after the Arab conquest of Egypt but with the emergence of a stronger Melkite element in the more tolerant Fāṭimid times, reflected in Nubia also; see U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, Rome 1938, 128 ff.

Bibliography: Given in the article. But see also for the study of Islamic archaeological evidence, still in its infancy, W.Y. Adams, *Islamic archaeology in Nubia, an introductory survey*, in T. Hagg (ed.), *Nubian culture, past and present*, Stockholm 1987, 327-61, and Ali Osman Mohamed Salih, *Nationalist archaeology: the case of the Sudan*, in *Procs. of the Seventh Internat. Conference for Nubian Studies, Geneva 1990*, and for relations between mediaeval Nubia and Africa, P.L. Shinnie, *The culture of medieval Nubia and its impact on Africa*, in Hasan (ed.), *Sudan in Africa*, 42-50. See also D. Ayalon, *The Nubian Dam*, in *JSAI*, xii (1989), 372-90. (V. Christides)

(b) From the Ayyūbid period to the 16th century

With the advent to power in Egypt of the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*] in 567/1171, Nubian affairs came into some prominence when in 568/1172-3 a coalition of the dispossessed Fāṭimids' black troops (*al-sūdān*) and the Nubians attacked an island just south of Aswān, provoking intervention by the troops of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn under the sultan's brother Shams al-Dawla Tūrān Shāh, who devastated Ibrīm (which had apparently reverted to Nubian control since the Ikhshīdid capture of it in 345/957) and carried off a large number of captives. Soon after this, in *ca.* 1208, Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (see on him, Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 338-40) composed his account of the churches and monasteries of Egypt (ed. and tr. B.T.A. Evetts and A.J. Butler, Oxford 1894-5), which contains some interesting details about Marīs, al-Muḳurra, and ʿAlwa, but must be used with caution owing to the confusion in the writer's mind between Nubia and Abyssinia and his uncritical use of older authorities.

The factors which brought about the disintegration of the Nubian kingdom and the islamisation of the country were the immigration of Arab tribes, the rise of the Banu 'l-Kanz [*q.v.*], and the intervention in Nubian affairs of the Mamlūk rulers of Egypt, especially during the reigns of al-Ẓāhir Baybars [*q.v.*] and al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*].

The Banu 'l-Kanz are first heard of in 397/1007 when the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim, as a reward for services rendered, conferred the hereditary title of *Kanz al-Dawla* on Abū Makārim Hibat Allāh, a chief of the Rabīʿa Arabs who had settled on the borderland between Egypt and the Sūdān. Already in the 4th/10th century the Rabīʿa had gained control of the mines of al-ʿAllāḳī and imposed their rule on the Bedja [*q.v.*] with whom they allied themselves by intermarriage. Another section, settled near Aswān, fraternised with the local Nubians, and the tribe, formed by this amalgamation and ruled by the Kanz al-Dawla dynasty, came to be known as the Banu 'l-Kanz; they are represented by the Kenūz of the present day. During the period of the Mamlūks, they were virtually in independent control of Upper Egypt, alternately in alliance with or in revolt against the Mamlūk government, and though repressed at times with a heavy hand, they remained a powerful tribe until the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. Before this event, however, they had played their part, together with nomad Arabs and Mamlūk troops, in the destruction of Nubian independence.

The Baḥrī Mamlūks, for reasons not apparent in our sources, departed from the traditional policy of Muslim Egypt, and actively intervened in Nubian affairs. The pretext for the expeditions undertaken by the generals of Baybars and Ḳalāwūn were non-payment of the tribute and, more frequently, the championship of Nubian pretenders who had solicited Egyptian support in order to gain the throne. On several occasions, such protégés of the Mamlūk government were installed in Dongola [*q.v.*] only to lose the throne again as soon as the Egyptian troops withdrew.

A formal treaty concluded with one of these kings virtually established an Egyptian protectorate. Meanwhile, the disintegration of the kingdom went on under the pressure of Arab immigration, and Arab chiefs who married into the royal house took advantage of the matrilinear line of succession to grasp at the throne. The age-long Christianity of Nubia was gradually undermined and in the 8th/14th century Muslim kings begin to appear. The first king to bear a Muslim name was Sayf al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh Barshambū, a nephew of the Christian king David, who was installed by a Mamlūk force sent out by Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn under ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak in 716/1316; the new king ʿAbd Allāh was, however, speedily overthrown by Kanz al-Dawla. From the manual for secretaries, *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī [*q.v.*] (written in 741/1340), we learn that at this date Christian kings still alternated with Muslims, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 753/1352 (iv, 396) speaks of the Nubians as Christians, but mentions a Muslim king (Ibn Kanz al-Dīn). Of the conversion of the common people we have no details: no doubt it was brought about by the absorption of the native inhabitants, or those who survived, in the Arab tribes.

The immigration itself has left little trace in the pages of the historians, though the outlines of the process can be reconstructed from occasional references and from oral tradition. The nomads who had entered Egypt in the wake of the first conquest can never have found that country congenial to their mode of life, and the rise of non-Arab dynasties tended to make conditions still less attractive, while the Sūdān seemed to offer all the advantages, from the nomads' point of view, that Egypt denied. For a long time, the

kingdom of Dongola formed an effective barrier to southward expansion, but a gradual infiltration of Arabs must have begun at a comparatively early date, even though the end of the process was not accomplished for several centuries.

The early stages of the movement are seen in the conditions depicted in the story of Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī, the events of which are laid in the reign of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (i.e. the later 3rd/9th century) (al-Maḳrīzī's *Kitāb al-Muḳaffā*, quoted by Quatremère, *Mémoire sur la Nubie*, ii, 59-80). Arabs of Rabīʿa and Djuhayna, led into the Sūdān by that adventurous prince, have fraternised with the Bedja and exploit the mines of the Eastern Desert, but the Nile is forbidden them and Nubia is too strong to be attempted by force of arms. A fratricidal struggle in the Nubian royal house provides an opportunity for an alliance between the Arabs and a princely pretender to the throne. Acts of unblushing treachery are committed on both sides and in the end the Arabs have the worst of the encounter. The end of the process is seen in the 8th/14th century, when the kingdom of Nubia ceased to exist except as a puppet state controlled by the Muslim Arab tribes who gradually overran the country, a process noted by Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, Beirut 1956-71, v, 922-3) as having led to something like anarchy in Nubia. The ascendancy of the nomads clearly affected Nubian Christianity adversely. The Churches of Alexandria and Nubia gradually became disassociated with each other, and churches and monasteries in Nubia must have been looted and dispersed at this time, although Nubian pilgrims were noted in Jerusalem (where in the 14th century the Nubians possessed a chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which soon, however, passed to the Armenians and then the Georgians) as late as *ca.* 1480.

Of ʿAlwa [*q.v.*] further to the south, little is heard at this time. It was a reservoir of slave manpower, frequented by Muslim slave traders and by merchants from al-Muḳurra to the north who came to collect slaves to pay the *baḳṭ*. Mamlūk pressure on al-Muḳurra (see above) was felt in ʿAlwa, and already in the time of Ibn Khaldūn (later 8th/14th century) we hear of branches of Djuhayna "close to the Abyssinians", that is to say no doubt on the upper reaches of the Blue Nile in the southern Djazīra. The kingdom of ʿAlwa nevertheless lingered on precariously and Nubian Christianity was still a living memory in the time of the Portuguese Alvarez (1520-7), but in *ca.* 1500 the capital Sōba fell to an alliance of Ḳawāsma Arabs (a branch of Rufāʿa-Djuhayna) and the negroid Fundj [*q.v.*], who here for the first time appear in history.

The 9th/15th century is almost completely barren of records relating to Nubia, and the historical memory of the present inhabitants remembers little of pre-Fundj days. With the coming of the Fundj, who soon extended their influence to Dongola, the history of Nubia is merged in that of the Sūdān, and the Nubians, now Muslims and deeply affected by racial mixture with their conquerors, survive only as a linguistic minority on the northern fringe of their ancient kingdom.

Lower Nubia, however, was politically separated from the Fundj kingdom by the Ottoman sultan Selīm I, who annexed the country south of Aswān as far as the neighbourhood of the Third Cataract, and garrisoned it with Turkish and Bosnian mercenaries (called Ghuzz by the people of the Sūdān).

For the subsequent history of the region, see FUNDJ; AL-MAHDIYYA; AL-SŪDĀN.

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(S. Hillelson-[C.E. Bosworth])

3. Languages

The name Nub(i)a is first attested in Eratosthenes (*ca.* 200 B.C.). Its etymology is probably an autochthonous word for "slave". The term *Nūba* was originally applied by the Arabs to the Nile Nubians and later extended to cover other enslaved groups. It has since come to represent an ambiguous linguistic designation based on geography. About 50 tribes living in the Nūba Mountains (*Dār Nūba*) of Southern Kordofan province, Sudan (an area of about 30,000 square miles), can be denoted as *Nūba*. Many are from diverse racial and linguistic backgrounds, having fled to the region as a result of the Arab slave trade of the 17th-19th centuries. Almost all are Muslims, except for some Hill groups. Many *Nūba* tribes are named after the hills in which they reside.

The Nūba (Mountains) languages belong to two families: (1) (Niger-)Kordofanian, and (2) the East Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan, which contains Songhai, Fur, Maban, etc.

(Niger-)Kordofanian is subdivided into Niger-Congo, the Kadugli-Krongo group (thought by some to be Nilo-Saharan), and Kordofanian proper. The latter, whose linguistic development occurred in the Nuba Mountains, has the longest history. Among the better known Kordofanian languages are the Heiban group, Moro and Otoro. Some Kordofanian languages go by different designations; thus Koalib (30,000 speakers) is also called Ka/owalib, N(g)irere, Rere, Nuba, Lgalige and Abri.

East Sudanic is subdivided into eastern and western branches, plus Kuliak and Nilotic (e.g., Shilluk, Dinka, Bari). An example of a Proto-East Sudanic reconstruction is PES **telo(ng)* "cow" > Birked *tei*, Kadaru *ti*, Majang *tang*, Murle *tang*, Gaam *tɔɔ* and Mongo *teenge* (Ross 1991).

The eastern group, which includes such languages as Daju (spoken in Chad), Nyimang and Temein, has three subdivisions: Eastern Jebel, Nubian and Surma. The Nubian group (disparagingly called *Barābra* by Arabs) is well documented, and has five constituents: (1) Central, including Birked (extinct) and Dongolāwī (Kenzī or Matoki); (2) Hill Nubian (Kadaru, Ghulfan, Debrī); (3) Unclassified Hill Nubian (Dair, Dilling, Karko, Wali); (4) Northern Nubian (Nobiin or Maḥas-Fadidja [Fadicca]); and (5) Western Nubian or M(e)īdōb. Thelwall and Schadeberg (1983) note that Birked and Hill Nubian once formed a single unit. Dongolāwī, with over a million speakers, is sometimes called Ratana, originally an Arabic pejorative label (< A. *raṭāna* "gibberish"), and has a 67% lexical similarity with Nobiin; cf. Nubi or Ki-Nubi (*rutáán núbi*), an East African Arabic creole emanating from the Sudan in the 19th century.

More is known about the Nubian past than that of

any other East Sudanic people. Although the Nubians established their Empire of Cush in *ca.* 850 B.C. with its capital at Meroe, Meroitic (written in a script derived from Egyptian Demotic) is unrelated to any form of Nubian. Lexicostatistics has shown that in the first millennium B.C., Nubians migrated from Dārfūr to the Nile. Old Nubian developed in the 6th century A.D. with the rise of the Christian Nubian kingdoms. It is a direct ancestor of Nile Nubian and is closest to Nobiin. All Old Nubian texts (the last in 1484 A.D.) appear to come from the Nobiin north. The geographical distribution of the two major Nubian dialects continues to remain puzzling. The Kenūz, who inhabit Upper Egypt north of Wadi Halfa and came from Dongola, speak a Nubian dialect hardly distinguishable from the Dongolāwī. However, these two groups are separated by the Nobiin, who are located along the Nile between them.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see Hillelson's *EI*[1] art. Of modern studies, see R. Thelwall and T.C. Schadeberg, *The linguistic settlement of the Nuba Mountains*, in *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika*, v (1983), 219-31 (fundamental); Marianne Bechaus-Gerst, *Sprachliche und historische Rekonstruktionen im Bereich des Nubischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Nilnubischen*, in *ibid.*, vi-vii (1984), 7-134 (useful); Schadeberg, *Kordofanian*, in *The Niger-Congo languages*, ed. J. Bendor-Samuel, Lanham, Maryland 1989, 67-80; J. Ross, *A preliminary attempt at the reconstruction of Proto-Eastern Sudanic phonology and lexicon*, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, M.A. thesis, 1991, unpubl.; Aleya Rouchdy, *Nubians and the Nubian language in contemporary Egypt*, Leiden 1991 (useful). (A.S. Kaye)

4. The modern peoples of Nubia

The Barābra, as a separate group from the Danāgla, are collectively referred to by other Sudanese as Ḥalfāwiyyin (literally: those who come from the town of Ḥalfa). The term Nūbiyyin (Nubians), on the other hand, refers to both the Barābra and the Danāgla. The Barābra live in Aswān Province in upper Egypt and the Northern State of Sūdān. The Danāgla live only in the Northern State. Both groups are small-scale cultivators, skilful boatmen and are renowned for their domestic service. Date-palms are grown as a cash crop and cultivators have taken advantage of mechanical irrigation, introduced early this century, to cultivate more land with a variety of crops. The narrow strips of arable land on the banks of the Nile are insufficient to meet the demands of a rising population, hence the Barābra and Danāgla are forced to emigrate. They are adaptable and enterprising, the men seeking work opportunities in other parts of Egypt, Sūdān and, more recently, in the oil-rich countries of the Arab world where they are engaged in various professions. Wherever they go they maintain a strong cultural identity and keep links with their homeland. Though the Barābra and Danāgla have been influenced by Arab culture and Islam, their cultural identity is manifest in their dialects, traditions and attitudes. Even in urban centres in Sūdān and Egypt this identity is maintained in the social clubs which they have established.

As a result of the agreement between Sūdān and in Egypt in 1959 to resettle the Nubians affected by the creation of the High Dam reservoir lake (the Nūbā Lake in Sūdān and Lake Nāṣir in Egypt), it is estimated that about 50,000 Sudanese and 70,000 to 120,000 Egyptian Nubians lost their homes, land and their date-palms. The resettlement scheme, located in eastern Sūdān along the upper Aṭbara River near the Sūdān-Ethiopia border, known as K͟hashm al-Girba, absorbed 40,000 Sudanese Nubians in 1964-5. Here the relocated Nubians were granted landholdings and new homes; a new town was named Ḥalfa al-D̲j̲adīda (New Ḥalfa) as a replacement to old Ḥalfa which was inundated by the reservoir lake. The new villages established by the scheme were named after those which had been inundated in their homeland. Many amenities were introduced and planners were anxious to recreate the traditional architecture and physical layout of the submerged villages. Despite their displacement, the Nubians have accepted the inevitable and established good relations with the neighbouring nomadic tribes. The Nubians in Egypt, who were affected by the inundation, were resettled in the region of Kom Ombo, about 60 km/35 miles north of Aswān, and the resettlement area was named New Nubia.

Before and since Sūdān's independence in 1956, the Barābra and Danāgla have played a part in the country's cultural development and politics. They are generally devout Muslims and most of them belong to the Mīrg͟haniyya (K͟hatmiyya [*q.v.*]) *ṭarīḳa*. They are keen to take advantage of education facilities and show an aptitude for the educational professions and business. Many have achieved prominent positions in government, politics, the arts and in the civil service. Three Nubian singers are popular and famous: the late K͟halīl Faraḥ, Muḥammad Wardī and Ḥamza ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. The most remarkable figure was Muḥammad Aḥmad [*q.v.*], the Mahdī of the Sūdān (d. 1885), who was a Dongolāwī, though his family claim to be *s͟harīfs*. Another Dongolāwī who has gained political prominence is D̲j̲aʿfar Muḥammad Numayrī, a military officer, who came to power through a military coup and ruled Sūdān from 1969 until 1985.

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(Ahmed al-Shahi)

NŪBĀR PAS̲H̲A (1825-99), a high-ranking official, statesman, and reformer of Armenian origin who held positions under six viceroys of Egypt at a time when the country was falling under European influence and control. Born in Smyrna and educated in France and Switzerland, Nūbār was translator for Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], Chief Translator for ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I [*q.v.*], Secretary and Director of Communications and Railways for Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a, and, under the Khedive Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], Chief Translator, Director of Public Works, Head of Foreign Affairs, and Director of Commerce. He also served as President of the Council of Ministers under Ismāʿīl and two subsequent viceroys, and was foreign minister in fact for over two decades. Nūbār was personally involved in many of the major developments of the time, particularly the Alexandria-Cairo railway project (1851), the Suez Canal arbitration award (1864), the procuring of the 1873 *firmān*, the establishment of the Mixed Courts (1875), and the political crisis of 1875-9. He also served as an agent in negotiating some of the private and public loans taken out by Saʿīd and Ismāʿīl, and helped reorganise Egypt's transportation system.

Crucial to Nūbār's rise and success were the well-placed connections of his family, which included in-laws in Istanbul and a powerful uncle in the Egyptian court, who secured him his first position; the support of European diplomatic representatives (something which occasionally brought him into the ruler's disfavour); and his own extraordinary ability to make himself useful to viceroys in need of men who knew and understood Europe (Nūbār was entirely Western in culture and spoke all the major languages of Europe).

In his memoirs, Nūbār presents himself as a grand reformer and defender of Egypt. Declaring his aim to be that of limiting the power of both the European consuls and the viceroy, Nūbār discusses his strategy for the independence and development of Egypt, which included an increase in its transit trade, the build-up of the ports of Alexandria and Suez, the introduction of European technicians and expertise, and the establishment of the rule of law by means of Mixed Courts, which, he claims, could have protected the country against exploitation.

Yet Nūbār did more to advance the cause of Europe than any other official in the viceroy's service. The Alexandria-Cairo railway project (which Nūbār had suggested to ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I) increased British influence; the huge indemnity imposed upon Egypt by the Suez Canal arbitration enriched European money lenders and despoiled the Egyptian treasury; the loans Nūbār helped negotiate led to Egypt's bankruptcy and the establishment of European fiscal control (in his memoirs, Nūbār denies all responsibility for Egypt's debt); and the Mixed Courts became instruments of European political intervention. Between 1875 and 1879, Nūbār allied himself with Europe in a successful effort to bring down the ruler, Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a, weakening the political structure and opening the way to a rebellion and the British occupation. Blinded by his own ambition to be maker of politics, Nūbār misjudged the amount of power that was left to local politicians and ended his days as an official in a British-controlled administration.

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(F.R. Hunter)

NUBĀTA b. **ʿABD ALLĀH** al-Ḥimmānī al-Tamīmī, Abu 'l-Asad, minor poet of the early ʿAbbāsid period whose verses are known only from citations in other works and whose dates of birth and death are unknown. A native of Dīnawar in western Persia, he was in the circle of the caliph al-Mahdī's vizier al-Fayḍ b. Abī Ṣāliḥ S̲h̲īrawayh, and was a companion of the famous singer ʿAllawayh [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

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(Ed.)

NUBUWWA (a.), "prophecy", Hebrew *nəb̲ūʾa*, substantive derived from *nabī* "prophet", Hebrew *nāb̲ī(ʾ)*, term denoting in the first instance the precognition given by the divinity (Yahweh, the Baʿl, Allāh) to the prophet and the prediction made by the latter of future contingencies. In the second instance, *nubuwwa* is identified with *waḥy*, "revelation", which simultaneously comprises dogmas, cultic regulations, moral education, precepts of social and political order. In fact, for the early Muslims, prophecy was regarded as being the source of all knowledge having any degree of superiority. "The Prophet is the way and the prophets are the guides," wrote al-Kisāʾī (quoted by Yāḳūt, iv, 741).

In early times, the later Muslim *nabī* is almost identical to the Aramaic *ḥāzē* and to the Hebrew *rōʾeh* (cf. T. Fahd, *Divination*, 112 ff.). I Samuel ix, 9, reads: "In former times, in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, he said 'Come, let us go to the seer (*rōʾeh*); for he that is now called prophet (*nabī*) was in former times called seer." It is for this reason that Muḥammad had considerable difficulty convincing his fellow-citizens that his inspiration was fundamentally different from that of seers of various specialities (*kāhin*, *ḥāzī*, *ʿarrāf*, etc.). He himself, at the outset of his vocation, dreaded being a *kāhin* (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 129-30). ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb, before his conversion, considered him as such (*Usd*, iv, 74). The intervention of revelation was required to convince him otherwise. "It is the word of an illustrious prophet," the Ḳurʾān states, "and it is not that of a poet, O men of little faith; nor is it that of a diviner, O men of little memory. It is a revelation (*tanzīl*) from the Master of the Universe" (LXIX, 40-3; cf. LII, 39-34; LXXXI, 19-25). The characteristic features of the Ḳurʾānic text sowed doubt in the minds of his fellow-tribesmen; the latter observed, especially in the first revelations, the distinguishing marks of the oracles of soothsayers, these being rhythm, the arrangement of components of a phrase, the concern

for verbal equilibrium, the choice of a vocabulary full of images, the use of uncommon words, as well as the manner of "veiling the head" at the moment of inspiration and of "enwrapping himself" (cf. LXXIII, 1; LXXIV, 1; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 184; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1890, l. 10).

The triumph of Islam at Medina, followed by the conquest of Mecca, put an end to such reservations; the apostasy (*ridda*) of the Yemeni tribes of Madhḥidj in 11/632, under the leadership of al-Aswad, soothsayer and conjuror, who "entranced the hearts of those who heard him speak" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1796), was the last manifestation of an entire Arab pagan tradition to which Islam put an end by the principle *lā kihāna baʿd al-nubuwwa* "no more divination after prophecy" (or rather, after "prophethood"). Henceforward, the gift of penetrating the mysteries of God is reserved for the Prophet alone, and the djinns who used to listen at the gates of Heaven, and inspire the *kuhhān*, are prevented from doing so by angels entrusted with the task of pelting them with shooting stars (XV, 15-18; XXXV, 6-9; XLV, 12; LXVII, 5; Ibn Hishām, 129-30; Ibn Saʿd, i, 1, 110).

However, *kihāna* [*q.v.*] is not formally forbidden either in the Ḳurʾān or in the Sunna; what is forbidden is, first, to visit a *kāhin* and believe what he says: this is to deny the revelation made to Muḥammad (Wensinck, *Concordance*, iv, 196); and second, to charge a fee in the capacity of *kāhin* (*op. cit.*, 505). Nowhere in the Ḳurʾān is there a prohibition analogous to that of Leviticus, xix, 31, where it is written "Do not turn to those that evoke spirits nor to soothsayers; do not consult them lest you be defiled by them." "This reluctance of the Prophet to deny any intrinsic worth to the content of divination is due to the conception, current in his time, of prophecy and of its intermediaries" (T. Fahd, *Divination*, 68).

Prophecy was, in fact, regarded as an extension of divination. For Ibn Khaldūn, for example, "a veil separates men from the unknown which nobody knows, except he to whom God reveals it in dreams or through the path of saintliness" (ii, 177/205). According to him, the difference between the prophet and the soothsayer resides, in the first place, in the absence of the ecstatic state in the case of the soothsayer, an absence which renders him incapable of a universal vision of the created being and of contingencies, and in the second place, in the imperfection of his source of information, subject to limitations which do not affect that of the prophet (i, 181-85/206-11; summarised in Fahd, *op. cit.*, 45 ff.).

As to this source of information, for the true prophets it emanates from angels, their inspirers and their guides; for soothsayers and false prophets it emanates from demons, their inspirers and seducers, while djinn, conceived after the fashion of man, can be either good or bad informants.

God has made the angels his envoys (*rusul*) (Ḳurʾān, XXXV, 1). The function of the "envoy" is to bear the message of the one who sends him. The demon is likewise an envoy and even the source of his message is the same as that of the angel; only the content is different. In fact, the angel who saved the life of Isaac, on the point of being sacrificed to Yahweh (Genesis, xxii, 11 ff.) was sent by the same Yahweh who permitted Satan, present before Him "with the sons of God", to test Job (Job, i, 6; cf. I Kings, xxii, 21 ff.)

Muslim authors, faced with the ambivalence of the divine message and its bearers, have established a distinction between "the angels of mercy", created from light, and "the angels of punishment", created from fire (al-Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī, *Badʾ*, i, 160, quoting Ibn Isḥāḳ), a distinction inspired by Ḳurʾān, LXVI, 6, which gives the impression that angels exist which are spiritual (*rūḥānī*), corporeal (*djismānī*), capable of growth (*nāmī*) and inanimate (*djāmid*) (*op. cit.*, 170), a notion comparable with the Neo-Platonic distinction between igneous and aerial demons and demons formed from earth (cf. Porphyrus, *De Abst.*, ii, 46; Proclus, *In Tim.*, ii, 11, 10; St. Augustin, *De civitate Dei*, x, 9, 2).

Demoniacal inspiration is opposed by the Ḳurʾān on account of the fascination which it exerts upon the minds of men. The typical example is that of poetic inspiration. Ḳurʾān, XXVI, 220-6, reads: "Shall I tell you to whom the demons (*shayāṭīn*) reveal? They reveal to every great liar and great sinner; they tell what they are supposed to have heard (at the gates of Heaven); but they are mostly liars. As for poets, they are followed only by the misled." It is not to be forgotten that the poets, described as *kilāb al-djinn* "the dogs of the djinns", were originally givers of oracles for their tribes (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 71; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, i, 17; Fahd, *Divination*, 74 f.).

The concept of inspiration and revelation in the formative years of Islam was influenced by that of angelology and of demonology, which was rudimentary and anthropomorphic (cf. in this context, T. Fahd, *Anges, démons et djinns en Islam*, in *Sources Orientales*, viii, Paris 1971, 155-213). The demeanour of the Prophet, at the moment of the onset of revelation, illustrates this point. Questioned about the processes of the revelation which he received, Muḥammad replied, "Revelation came to me in two manners: either Djibrīl brought it to me and communicated it to me as a man communicates with another man, but this eluded me; or it came to me like the ringing of a bell, such that it penetrated into my heart; this no longer eluded me" (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 131 f.; cf. al-Bukhārī, ii, 309 = 59 *khalḳ*, 6). "His physical condition was affected: he grew mournful, and his face darkened; he had the appearance of someone intoxicated and felt a great weight, to such an extent that his camel cried out and its legs buckled beneath him" (Ibn Saʿd, *loc. cit.*; Fahd, *Divination*, 76). A *ḥadīth* has him say, "The divine revelation comes to prophets in waking as well as in sleep," and he adds, "My eye sleeps, but my heart is awake" (Ibn Hishām, 266; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 113; other references in Fahd, *Divination*, 77, n. 1).

Finally, it should be noted that the initial identity of the source of information of the prophet and of the demon is further attested by the use of the verb *waḥā* "to reveal", and its derivatives, for one as for the other, as emerges from Ḳurʾān, VI, 111, where it is stated, "Thus we have appointed against every prophet an adversary (who is none other than) demons of human kind and of djinn who *reveal* to one another pleasing discourse (intended) to lead astray."

Still more suggestive regarding the manner of conceiving the phenomenon of prophecy in Islam are its "distinctive signs" (*ʿalāmāt, dalāʾil, imārāt al-nubuwwa*). An entire literature exists on this subject (cf. references in Fahd, *Divination*, 79, nn. 2 and 3). Ibn Khaldūn supplies a summary of these signs. "The mark (*ʿalāma*) of this type of men," he writes, "is, first, that they are in a state, during the onset of revelation (*waḥy*), of absence (*ghayba*) accompanied by choking (*ghaṭīṭ*), appearing to the eye like a loss of consciousness (*ghashy*) an unconsciousness (*ighmāʾ*), whereas in reality it is nothing other than a deep absorption (*istighrāḳ*) induced by the encounter with the spiritual kingdom and by the new faculty of com-

prehension which transcends the human faculty in an absolute manner. Then, from this ecstasy the man returns gradually towards a state of human awareness, either by hearing a sound of human speech which he attempts to understand, or by seeing represented before him the image of a person who speaks to him of that which the person has brought from the presence of God. Then this state is dissipated, once the man has absorbed that which has been communicated to him" (i, 165-6/185).

The second mark of the prophet is the moral infallibility (*ᶜiṣma*), by virtue of which the man is naturally drawn towards goodness and purity (*ibid.*). The third mark is expressed in his activity on behalf of religion, of worship, prayer, alms and chastity, virtues which he practises and which he induces others to practise (i, 167/187). The fourth assumes that the prophet is of noble descent, well-regarded among his kinsfolk (i, 168/188). The fifth consists in miracles and marvels (in words and in actions, adds Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 427) which prove the veracity of his statements. The greatest miracle in Islam is the Ḳurʾān (i, 171/194).

But the most important of these marks, according to Ibn Khaldūn, is that faculty, granted by God to the prophet, of abstracting himself from human nature, in the state of inspiration and of ecstasy (i, 178/202). He who does not exhibit these signs has no right to claim the ability to penetrate the unknown; he is nothing other than a liar seeking to sell his wares (i, 209/240).

For more thorough information concerning these marks, see, in particular, al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), *K. Aᶜlām al-nubuwwa*, Cairo 1319/1901 ff.; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, same title, extracts published by P. Kraus in *Orientalia*, n.s. v (1936), 35-56, 358-78; al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), *K. al-Ḥudjdja fī taṯhbīt al-nubuwwa*, ed. Sandūbī in *Rasāʾil al-Djāḥiẓ*, Cairo 1933; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Rāwandī (d. 250/864), *K. al-Zumurrud*, in which the author opposes the traditional doctrine of prophecy and introduces some foreign elements (cf. P. Kraus, in *RSO*, xiv [1933-4], 93-129, 335-79); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), *ᶜIṣmat al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1355/1936.

Other signs announce the coming or the presence of the Prophet. Ibn Saᶜd classifies these in two categories: signs prior to the vocation of Muḥammad (i/1, 96-111) and signs following the start of the revelation (112-26). This is a collection of miraculous sayings and deeds relating to the birth and infancy of the Prophet, often belonging to a typology the elements of which were diffused in the popular domain, owing to apocryphal biographies of Jesus and of other prophets (cf. on this subject Fahd, *Problèmes de typology dans la Sira d'Ibn Isḥāq*, in *La vie du prophète Mahomet*, Paris 1983, 67-75).

This group of signs is augmented by a chorus of predictions announcing the coming of the Prophet, made by idols, soothsayers, leading personalities of the period, Jews, Christians, demons and djinns, etc., predictions emanating from the whole of nature, a kind of *praeparatio coranica*, testifying by their spirit, their form and their expression, to the concept held by early Islam of prophecy and of its intermediaries: a spirit removed from any metaphysical and psychological pre-occupation, a form showing small regard for realities and fundamentally marked by excess of imagination; finally, an expression which has no qualms about being simplistic, often full of picturesque imagery (for details, cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 81-8).

This conception evolved considerably with the elaboration of philosophy and of theology in Islam. For Ibn Sīnā, prophecy is "one of the conditions necessary to the order which is demanded by the unfolding of *fayḍ*, so that it may expand to the point required" (M.-A. Goichon, *La distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1937, 334, see also further, 314-34; *Shifāʾ*, lith. Tehran 1313/1886, ii, 646 ff.; *Nadjāt*, ed. Cairo 1331/1913, 498 ff.; *Iṯhbāt al-nubuwwa*, in *Tisᶜ rasāʾil*, 6th *risāla*. On Ibn Sīnā's concept of prophecy, as it became known to scholars by means of Latin translations, cf. B. Decker, *Die Entwicklung der Lehre von der prophetischen Offenbarung von Wilhelm von Auxerre bis zu Thomas von Aquin*, diss. Breslau 1940, 15-24).

"For him, it is the Intelligences and the Souls of celestial bodies which transmit to the human soul certain hidden things, it being understood that the recipients possess particular perceptions and particular wills, emanating from a particular opinion" (Goichon, *Directives et remarques*, Paris-Beirut 1951, 507-8). And if the soul is of strong substance, it attains to ecstasy under a spiritual influence which sometimes "takes genuine control and then illumines the imagination in an evident manner". It is then that the soul is raised to the level of prophecy (*op. cit.*, 514). Finally, for him, the necessary conditions whereby a man may be a prophet are clarity and lucidity of intelligence, the perfection of the imaginative faculty and the ability to make himself obeyed by exterior matter (cf. *Psychologie d'Ibn Sīnā*, ed. Ján Bakoš, Prague 1956, i, 189-97 = *Shifā*, Physics, *fann* vi, *maḳāla* 4, ch. 4). See also L. Gardet, *Quelques aspects de la pensée avicennienne*, in *Revue Thomiste*, xlv (1939), 714; Decker, *op. cit.*, 16 ff. A brief analysis of Ibn Sīnā's doctrine concerning prophecy and the perception of the unknown is to be found in al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, 309 ff. (Metaphysics) and 425 (Physics), German translation by Haarbrücker, ii, Halle 1851, 317-18, 327-32.

Al-Ghazālī accepted the doctrine of Ibn Sīnā and developed it further. In fact, in the last six chapters of the Latin version of *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa* (tr. Dom. Gundisalvi, Venice 1506, of which the portion entitled *Metaphysics* has been edited by J.T. Muckle, *Algazel's Metaphysics, a medieval translation*, Toronto 1933; Arabic text ed. Cairo 1331/1912), which deal with vision, prophecy and marvels, al-Ghazālī revives Avicennan ideas (which he is to refute the same year, in 488/1095, in the *Tahāfut*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1927, 255-67; L. Gauthier, *La theorie d'Ibn Rochd sur les rapports de la religion et de la philosophie*, Paris 1909, 138-41) and reveals them in a clear and expressive style. For him, the vision of the unknown, in the state of waking, is subject to two conditions. On the one hand the soul must free itself from corporeal links and remove itself from the veil of the senses by a force which is peculiar to it; it is then elevated to the higher world where things appear to it in an instant brief as a lightning-flash. This is the first mode of prophecy. The other mode, decidedly imperfect in comparison to the first, comes about in the normal exercise of the senses. In fact, the temperament predisposed to melancholy and amazement and easily alienated from the senses enables the soul to withdraw from the body and to see and hear with eyes open that which normally it sees and hears only through the opaque veil of the senses (cf. *Metaphysics*, ii, 5,7, quoted by Decker, *op. cit.*, 25 f.). This agreement of the theologian with the philosopher on the subject of prophecy remains an isolated phenomenon; in fact, as M. Horten writes (*Texte zu dem Streite zwischen Glauben und Wissen in Islam. Die Lehre vom Propheten und der Offenbarung bei den islamischen Philosophen Farabi, Avicenna und Averroes*, Bonn 1913, 12), "in der Theorie über die

Prophetie stimmt er mit den Philosophen überein, die er sonst bekämpft." Whereas, in the *Tahāfut*, theories which present precognition and prophecy as the results of perfect nature, are countered by al-Ghazālī with the notion of revelation of things unknown, made by God to the prophet as to the dreamer, either directly or through the intermediary of an angel (see 260-1; cf. 252, 289, etc.).

Ibn Rushd does not share this view. For him, prophecy, dream and divination are three names denoting a single and identical reality. Our ignorance of the possible derives from our ignorance of the nature of being. Knowledge of this nature is either anterior to its object: it is the knowledge from which it follows, called *al-ʿilm al-ḳadīm*, prior or anterior knowledge; or it is posterior, *al-ʿilm al-ghayr ḳadīm*, or subsequent knowledge. "Knowledge of the unknown is nothing other than the knowledge of this nature" (*Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 533, ll. 2-3). It is the result of this knowledge which is called, in popular usage, *ruʾyā*, dream, nocturnal vision, and, by the prophets, *waḥy*, revelation (*op. cit.*, 532-3; on Ibn Rushd's doctrine of prophecy, see L. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, 124-58). This represents a fairly deep fissure in the rationalist system which bears his name, on account of his role as an arbiter in the conflict, then current, between theology and philosophy.

With Maimonides (d. 601/1204, see IBN MAYMŪN), the brilliant disciple of Ibn Rushd, the Avicennan trend is revived. In fact, in chapters 32 to 48 of the second part of his monumental study of Jewish religious philosophy, intitled *Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn* (= *Moreh Nebūkīm*), edited and translated into French by S. Munk under the title *Le guide des égarés. Traité de théologie et de philosophie*, i-iii, Paris 1856-66, Maimonides reveals at some length his opinion of prophecy and the various modes of perceiving the unknowable. According to him, prophecy is an emanation from God which, through the intermediary of an active intellect, influences first the rational faculty and subsequently the imaginative faculty; it is the highest degree of man and the ultimate perfection which the species may attain, and this state is the highest perfection of the imaginative faculty (ch. 35, tr. ii, 281). It assumes the existence in the man of a natural disposition which makes of him "a superior man, perfect in his rational and moral qualities" (ch. 32, tr. ii, 261 f.). Three perfections are required of the prophet: perfection of the rational faculty, perfection of the imaginative faculty and perfection of morals (ch. 36, tr. ii. 287). Dream and prophecy both belong to "the highest and most noble" activity of the imaginative faculty, which takes place only when the senses are in repose and cease to function; it is then that there occurs a certain emanation (*fayḍ*) which is the origin of true dreams and of prophecy and which "differs only in quantity and not in quality" (*Gen. Rabba*, c. 17, 44). In visions and in dreams, all the degrees of prophecy are contained (ch. 36, tr. ii, 282 ff. On Maimonides' conception of prophecy, see Z. Diesendruck, *Maimonides' Lehre von der Prophetie*, in *Jewish studies in memory of Israel Abrahams*, New York 1927, 82 ff.; Decker, *Entwicklung*, 37-8).

This close connection established by Maimonides between dream and prophecy corresponds precisely to the conception current in the early days of Islam. In fact, Tradition relates that before acceding to the full light of revelation as such, Muḥammad initially had dreams described as "veracious" (*ruʾyā ṣādiḳa*), supplying to him, in the words of L. Massignon (*Annuaire du College de France*, 41st year, 85), "in the form of isolated touches, light and sound, which he was unable to coordinate, that alphabet of ecstasy which he attempted later to represent, in the form of isolated consonants, at the heading of certain sūras (such is, at least, he adds, the reconciliation that we suggest)." This statement is based on the testimony of ʿĀʾisha, "The beginning of the prophecy of the Messenger of God, when God wished to make him His agent and the instrument of His mercy towards creatures, (was manifested) by veracious dreams; every dream which he saw in his sleep was as clear as the dawn. This made him love solitude; nothing was more pleasant to him than to be alone" (Ibn Hishām, 151; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 129). A *ḥadīth* confirms this remark of ʿĀʾisha. The Prophet is quoted as saying, "There exist no signs announcing prophecy other than the good dream; the Muslim sees it or it is seen for him" (Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 18; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, iii, 81/115). The term *bushrā* in Ḳurʾān, X, 64, is interpreted as *ruʾyā ḥasana* (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xi, 84 ff.). These "signs" or "preambles" form an integral part of prophecy, since the dream is said to be "a part of prophecy", an assertion repeated in all the prefaces of oneirocritical treatises. *Ḥadīth* goes further, specifying, following the Babylonian Talmud (*Berakhōt*, 57b, quoted by Maimonides, *op. cit.*, ii, 36), the proportions whereby dream is related to prophecy. The Prophet is quoted as saying: "The dream of the Believer is one of the forty (sixty, in the Talmud) parts of prophecy," a statement which al-Dīnawarī (*al-Ḳādirī fi 'l-taʿbīr*, ms. Paris, fol. 34b) explains as follows. "The Prophet means that the majority of prophets—peace be upon them!—did not see the angel, with the exception of a minority among them. It is during their sleep that they received the revelation." This amounts to saying that the Prophet first came to prophecy at the lowest level, i.e. the dream. It was at Ḥirāʾ that he graduated, for the first time, from dream to prophecy. In the year of his vocation—his fortieth year—he withdrew for a month of annual retreat (*taḥannuth*), accompanied by his wife. As he slept, the angel Gabriel appeared to him with a piece of some kind of silken fabric on which there was writing (*namaṭ min dībādj fīhi kitāb*). He said to him "Read!" "I cannot read" he replied. The angel stuffed the fabric into his mouth, almost suffocating him. "I believed," he says, "that this was death!" Then he released him, repeated the same question and inflicted the same treatment on him a second time, then a third. The fourth time, to escape this torture, Muḥammad asked him: "What must I read?", and the angel made him recite the beginning of the sūra *al-ʿAlaḳ* (XCVI, 1-5). Muḥammad adds, "I recited that which he had said, it was then that he finally left me. I woke up (*hababtu min nawmī*). (This phrase) was then as if inscribed in my heart. I went forth (wandering) and when I reached the middle of the mountain I heard a voice from Heaven saying 'O Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God and I am Gabriel'. I stopped, watching him, neither advancing nor retreating, then I looked away from him towards the horizons and the sky; whichever way I turned, I saw him just as he was. I remained in this position, neither advancing nor retreating, until Khadīdja sent men to look for me. Her envoys arrived at the high places of Mecca and returned from there, and I was still in the same position. Then he parted from me and I parted from him, returning to my wife" (Ibn Hishām, 152-3; cf. the vision of Ezekiel, i, 4 ff.).

This account, combining the triple appeal of the vocation of Samuel with the initiation, through absorption of the prophetic message, of Ezekiel (ii, 8 ff.; cf. Jeremiah, v, 10) comprises two parts: the

first took place in sleep, the second in a state of waking. Here there is a typical example of transference from dream to ecstasy (on dream and prophecy, cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 266-9, and on the dreams of Muḥammad, 255 ff.).

Bibliography: The essentials of the information contained in this article have been taken from T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden 1966, repr. Paris 1987. In addition to the numerous references cited in the text, see Tor Andrae, *Die Legenden von der Berufung Muhammeds* in *Le Monde Oriental*, vi (1912), 5-18; idem, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1917 (reconciliation with the gnostic conception of prophecy); Asterios Argyriou, *Coran et histoire* (extract from the journal Θεολογία, liv (1983) and lv (1984), ch. iii (1) revelation, 62-7, (2) the prophets, 67-87 and Table no. iii: Ḳurʾānic prophetology); M. Jastrow Jr., *Roʾēh and Ḥozēh in the Old Testament*, in *JBL*, xix (1900), 82-105; A. Jepsen, *Nabi. Soziologische Studien zur alt-testamentlichen Literatur und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich 1934; A. Haldar, *Associations of cult prophets among the ancient Semites*, Uppsala 1945; L. Gardet, *Quelques aspects de la pensée avicennienne*, in *Revue Thomiste*, xlv (1939), 708-20; A.R. Johnson, *The cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*, Cardiff 1944; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. J. Eisenberg, i-ii, Leiden 1922-3, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, *The tales of the prophets of al-Kisaʾi*, Boston 1978; A. von Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams. Der Gottesbegriff, die Prophetie* (135-308) *und Statsidee*, Leipzig 1868, repr. Hildesheim 1961, 135-308; O. Pautz, *Mohammed's Lehre von der Offenbarung quellenmässig dargestellt*, Leipzig 1898; F. Rahman, *Prophecy in Islam*, London 1958; T. Robinson, *Studies in Old Testament prophecy presented to Prof. T.H. Robinson*, Edinburgh 1950; H.H. Schaeder, *Die islamische Lehre von vollkommenen Menschen, ihre Herkunft und ihre dichterische Gestaltung*, in *ZDMG* (1925), 213 ff. (reconciliation of the Islamic conception of prophecy with that of the Clementine Epistles, through the intermediary of Manichaeism); R.B. Serjeant, *Hūd and other pre-Islamic prophets of Ḥaḍramawt*, in *Le Muséon*, vi (1954), 121-79; A. Vinnikov, *The legend of the vocation of Muḥammad in the light of ethnography* [in Russian], in *Recueil ... Oldenburg*, Leningrad 1934, 125-46 (reviewed by B. Nikitine in *JA*, ccxxvi [1935], 337); A.J. Wensinck, *Mohammed und die propheten*, in *AO*, ii, Oslo 1923, 158-99; G. Widengren, *Muḥammed the Apostle of God and his Ascension (King and Saviour)*, in *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, i, 1955.

(T. Fahd)

AL-**NUDJAYR**, a fortress in Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] where in 12/633 during the caliphate of Abū Bakr [*q.v.*] rebels under al-Ashʿath b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] took refuge against Ziyād b. Labīb al-Anṣārī, the Prophet's governor.

Late in the year 11/633, Abū Bakr had decided that Islamic authority could only be effectively imposed on the Yemen by military force. In particular, he was worried by the situation in Ḥaḍramawt where al-Ashʿath b. Ḳays, the leader of Kinda, had refused to give him the oath of allegiance as caliph. Abū Bakr entrusted the task to al-Muhādjir b. Abī Umayya, the governor of Ṣanʿāʾ, who marched eastwards from the capital to Ḥaḍramawt via Mārib. There al-Muhādjir received a letter from Ziyād, the Muslim governor in Ḥaḍramawt, urging him to proceed thither with speed. Leaving some of his army behind in Mārib, al-Muhādjir marched on Ḥaḍramawt. The rebels, in particular of Banū Muʿāwiya, a branch of Kinda (Madʿadj, 56, table 3), finally sought refuge in the fortress of al-Nudjayr. They could not, however, break out from the siege of the stronghold which was under the combined command of al-Muhādjir and Ziyād. The Banū Muʿāwiya finally surrended. Al-Ashʿath signed an agreement with the Muslim leaders, securing safe conduct for himself and his family. In return he opened the gates of al-Nudjayr. The Banū Muʿāwiya blamed al-Ashʿath for his betrayal, as many of their number were killed. However, the agreement put an end to serious anti-Muslim rebellion in Ḥaḍramawt and ensured a much stronger hold over the area by the Muslim authorities.

Al-Nudjayr is not mentioned further in the historical works and al-Hamdānī (87), writing in the 4th/10th century, describes the place as a ruin.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 2006-10; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, Beirut 1979, v, 272-3; ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Madʿadj M. al-Madʿadj, *The Yemen in early Islam (9-233/630-847), a political history*, London 1988, 54-7.

(G.R. Smith)

AL-**NUDJŪM** (A.), the stars. There are two words in Arabic carrying the notion of "star", *nadjm*, pl. *nudjūm* (from the root *n-dj-m*, "to rise"), and *kawkab*, pl. *kawākib* (see *WKAS*, i, 440 b 28; cf. already Babyl. *kakkabu*; a reduplication of a basic root *KB* "to burn, to shine"). For the etymologies of the two words, see Eilers [1], 96 ff.; [2], 115; [3], 6 f. Both words occur frequently in the Ḳurʾān. In LV, 6, it remains in dispute whether *al-nadjm^u* is to be understood as "the plants, or grasses" (as maintained by I.Y. Kračkovskiy and A. Fischer) or as "the stars" (see the recent German translation by R. Paret, and his commentary, 465, also the English translation of R. Bell and his *A commentary on the Qurʾān*, Manchester 1991, ii, 330). *Al-nadjm* is also used, in Arabic, as an alternative name for the Pleiades (otherwise called *al-thurayyā*; see Kunitzsch [2], nos. 186, 306). The two words are used indiscriminately in the general sense of "star(s)", but *kawkab* can mean "planet(s)" specifically, according to context.

The following article is subdivided into three sections, for the fixed stars, the planets and other celestial objects.

I. The fixed stars

The Arabs—inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula, mostly Bedouins—had a good knowledge of the stars since ancient times. They used the fixed stars for orientation in their nightly desert travels (*ihtidāʾ*), to determine seasons and to predict weather, especially rain. They had proper names for a good dozen prominent stars or other celestial objects, names of old standing, the meanings of most of which had been obscured or lost in the course of time so that they became the object of speculation of the Arabic philologists and lexicographers of later times. For these, no modern "translations" can be given, cf. *al-ʿayyūḳ* (α Aurigae, Capella), *al-shiʿrā* (α Canis Maioris, Sirius—also mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, LIII, 49), *al-simāk* (*al-s. al-rāmiḥ*, "the lance-bearing Simāk", α Bootis, Arcturus; and *al-s. al-aʿzal*, "the unarmed Simāk", α Virginis, Spica), etc.; cf. Kunitzsch [2], 20 f. For some of these old names there exist parallels in Babylonian astronomy; cf. Kunitzsch [8].

In addition, several hundred names for smaller, less conspicuous stars and asterisms were invented, most probably by poets, at various times and in various tribes and regions; see the name lists in Kunitzsch [2] and [7]. All these names were later assembled by the Arabic philologists and lexicographers in the so-called *anwāʾ* books (for these, see the bibliographies in AL-

ANWĀʾ and AL-MANĀZIL). In contrast to ancient Greek (and modern) astronomy, where large constellations are made up of numerous stars, in the indigenous Arabic stellar lore one star mostly represents one individual (mostly of a species of animals), a name in the dual represents two such individuals and a name in the plural represents a group of individuals. There are only a few Arabic constellations formed from a number of stars, such as e.g. the several *athāfī*, "fire-place(s) formed by a triangle of three stones on the ground" (cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 17-19). A classified survey of the asterisms of the old Arabs was given by Ideler, 407-28.

Of Iranian star names, only a few are known, and their astronomical identification remains uncertain; cf. Scherer 113 f., 118 f.; Eilers [1], [3]. Genuine Turkish star names are discussed by Bazin and Roux. In Islamic times the astronomers and poets of the Islamic world generally used the Arabic star names (but see the planets). Much of the Arabic stellar lore has lived on into modern times although the astronomical identifications and the calendrical usage may now differ; see the modern studies cited in AL-MANĀZIL and, for the Tuaregs, Bernus-Sidiyene.

Tradition has it that certain prominent fixed stars were worshipped by Arabic tribes in pre-Islamic times (cf. the allusion to *al-shiʿrā*, Sirius, in Ḳurʾān, LIII, 49), but, as it seems, these contentions still lack positive evidence; see Henninger.

Apart from perhaps some star names (see above), the old Arabs had also inherited from Babylonia—at unknown times, through unknown ways—some of the zodiacal constellations. But with them, several of these constellations were transferred to celestial areas different from their places in Babylonian and Greek (and modern) astronomy. Suffice it here to mention as a famous example *al-djawzāʾ* (a female name of uncertain signification) which, in the series of the zodiacal constellations, corresponds to Gemini, but which is located in the stellar figure known in Greek (and modern) astronomy as Orion; for more details, see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ.

The old Arabs themselves developed a popular stellar system of so-called *anwāʾ* (sing. *nawʾ*), stars and asterisms mostly situated near the path of Sun and Moon which were used for calendrical purposes and weather predictions [see AL-ANWĀʾ]. Later, the *anwāʾ* were merged into the system of the 28 lunar mansions which the Arabs received from outside, perhaps from India, and which divided the ecliptic according to the Moon's monthly revolution into 28 portions, each mansion being marked by a star or asterism carrying the name of the corresponding *nawʾ* located in that place [see AL-MANĀZIL; also Varisco].

The old Arabic stellar lore was much used in poetry. The poets liked to cite star names and to use them for comparisons or for poetic allusions to calendrical and meteorological events connected with them, and the like; cf. Kunitzsch [10], items xxvi and xxvii; Kunitzsch-Ullmann.

The period of indigenous, old Arabic folk astronomy ended with the expansion of Islam, when the Arabs came into contact with ancient Greek and Hellenistic science. Through, and after, the translations from Greek (and sometimes Persian and Indian) into Arabic, the period of Greek-based "scientific" astronomy in the Islamic civilisation begins which, in some areas, continued down to the 19th century.

The knowledge of the fixed stars (*al-kawākib al-thābita*, or simply *al-thawābit*) in the "scientific" astronomy of the Islamic period was completely based on and influenced by ancient Greek theory and material. The physical qualities and behaviour of the stars were understood according to the cosmological theories of Aristotle and Ptolemy: the stars were invariably fixed to the eighth sphere (beyond the planets), thus being unable to change places relative to each other, and were invariable in substance, size and colour. The eighth sphere (hence the stars fixed to it) performed a constant movement from West to East about the poles of the ecliptic, the so-called "precession" (*ḥarakat* or *sayr al-kawākib al-thābita*), which Ptolemy—following Hipparchus—assumed at a rate of 1° in 100 years. The astronomers of the caliph al-Maʾmūn arrived at an improved rate of 1° in 66½ years (*al-Zīdj al-mumtaḥan* [*Tabulae probatae*], 214/829-30), which afterwards—simplified as 1° in 66 years—was adopted by most of the succeeding authors of star catalogues (al-Battānī, al-Ṣūfī) and smaller star tables; another prominent value was 1° in 70 years (cf. the survey in Nallino, *al-Battānī, Opus astronomicum*, i, 292 f.; see also Mercier [1]).

The iconographical and topographical division of the stellar sky into constellations was also completely taken over from the Greeks. Here the main source was the star catalogue in Ptolemy's *Almagest* (epoch: A.D. 138) comprising 1,025 stars arranged in 48 constellations and registered with ecliptical coordinates, longitude and latitude, and (apparent) magnitudes. Of the *Almagest* several translations into Arabic were made from the late 8th to the late 9th centuries (cf. Kunitzsch [5], 15-82). The versions of al-Ḥadjdjādj and of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn (the latter emended by Thābit b. Ḳurra) have survived into our time (the star catalogue from these two versions was edited by Kunitzsch [11], vol. i); the "old" version made before al-Ḥadjdjādj's was used in the star catalogue of al-Battānī, and many coordinate values from it are also cited by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. These sources supplied the Arabic-Islamic astronomers with the terminology and nomenclature of the 48 constellations and the 1,025 individual stars and provided them with the basic coordinate values for these stars (for a complete survey of the names of the 48 constellations, followed by Greek, Arabic and Latin indexes, see Kunitzsch [5], 169-212; the complete terminology for the individual stars, again followed by Greek, Arabic and Latin indexes, is given in *ibid.*, 212-370). The Arabs also knew Aratus (3rd cent. B.C.) as the inventor of the constellations and cited from his *Phaenomena* and the *Scholia in Aratum* (cf. Sezgin, vi, 75-7; further, al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, 72; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, 54 f., 71).

The Arabic term for "constellation" was *kawkaba*, pl. *kawkabāt* (adapted from Ptolemy's ἀστερισμός), or *ṣūra*, pl. *ṣuwar*.

Apart from the textual tradition, iconographic documents from (Late) Antiquity seem also to have reached the Islamic period conveying to the Muslim astronomers the outlines of the pictorial representation of the 48 classical constellations. An early example for the continuation of classical iconographic material into Islamic times is the fresco in the cupola of the bath in the desert castle of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra (*ca.* 711-15 [see ARCHITECTURE]) showing a celestial hemisphere with constellation figures (cf. Saxl; Beer [1], [2]; Almagro). Also, instruments such as celestial globes and astrolabes of Greek provenience or tradition must have reached the Muslims; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (18, 72 f.) mentions the description of a Greek globe datable *ca.* A.D. 738, and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (*Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, 440) reports the existence of a globe made of copper (*nuḥās*), attributed to Ptolemy himself, in Cairo in 435/1043-4.

Several Islamic astronomers established star

catalogues in the manner of Ptolemy's catalogue: al-Battānī (only 533 out of Ptolemy's 1,025 stars; epoch A.D. 880; precession value = Ptolemy + 11°10′; edited in Nallino, *al-Battānī, Opus astronomicum*; cf. Kunitzsch [10], item v; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, Appendix ii, 97 ff.); Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣūfī (complete, accompanied by drawings of the constellations; epoch 964; precession value = Ptolemy + 12°42′; *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-kawākib*, ed. Ḥaydarābād 1373/1954, French tr. H.C.F.C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874, repr. Frankfurt-am-Main 1986; cf. Kunitzsch [10], item xi); al-Bīrūnī (complete; epoch 1031; precession value = Ptolemy + 13°0; in *al-Ḳānūn al-masʿūdī*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 1375/1956, Russian tr. S.A. Krasnovaya and M.M. Rozhanskaya, in *Istoriko-astronomičeskiye issledovaniya*, viii, Moscow 1962, 92-150,with comm. by B.A. Rosenfeld, in *ibid.*, 177-86); and Ulugh Beg (complete; epoch 1437; textually depending on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Persian translation of al-Ṣūfī's Book on the Constellations; astronomically claiming his own observation for the majority of the stars and dependence on al-Ṣūfī for the rest; edited by Th. Hyde, Oxford 1665; a modern recension of the coordinate values was made by Knobel; cf. further, Evans, 162-5; Shevchenko).

Besides these great, complete catalogues, innumerable smaller star tables were drawn up by Muslim astronomers of all times, mostly listing fundamental stars for use on astronomical instruments such as the astrolabe (see Kunitzsch [10], item i; for some edited specimens, see *ibid.*, items ii-iv, and Kunitzsch [3], I A and XII A).

The pictorial representation of the 48 classical constellations in Islamic astronomy, in books, on celestial globes and elsewhere, mainly follows the patterns set up by the drawings in al-Ṣūfī's Book on the Constellations; al-Ṣūfī, in turn, must have followed traditions from Late Antiquity (for the textual description of the stars he generally follows the *Almagest* version by Isḥāḳ-Thābit; in the star coordinates he chooses between the various translations of the *Almagest* and faithfully repeats the *Almagest* values in his star tables, notwithstanding his criticism of many of them). For each constellation al-Ṣūfī gives two drawings, one as seen in the sky, the other as seen on the celestial globe (where the figures are viewed from outside, on the convex surface of the globe, i.e. human figures seen in the sky looking towards the observer with their faces and front sides are seen on the globe with their back sides towards the observer; al-Ṣūfī, however, gives a "falsified" globe view, just the mirror image of the sky view representation; the reason for this is not obvious; most probably he just follows older models of Late Antique tradition; perhaps the intention was to keep the figures showing their faces to the observer under all conditions).

Outside the books, the fixed stars were used on various astronomical instruments. The astrolabe especially, but also quadrants, were instructed with the most important fundamental stars (see ASṬURLĀB; Kunitzsch [12]). While in the great star catalogues after Ptolemy, the stars were registered with ecliptical longitude and latitude, for use on the astrolabe another set of coordinates was more practical: *mediatio coeli* (*tawassuṭ*, or *mamarr*—passage at the meridian) and declination (*al-buʿd ʿan muʿaddil al-nahār*). These were usually obtained (from the ecliptical values) by calculation. Many astronomical handbooks (*zīdj*) and treatises on the astrolabe contain tables of astrolabe stars with one or both sets of these coordinates. Furthermore, the stars and their constellations used to be represented on celestial globes (up to now, a number of more than 130 celestial globes in the Islamic area has been found and registered, see Savage-Smith); here the stars were entered according to ecliptical coordinates; the styling of the constellation figures normally followed the models introduced by al-Ṣūfī. Celestial globes are the only form of mapping the entire sky known from Islamic astronomy; no plane star maps from the Islamic Middle Ages have been found, although some astronomers (e.g., al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb Tasṭīḥ al-ṣuwar wa-tabṭīḥ al-kuwar*, ed. A. Saidan, in *Dirāsāt/al-ʿUlūm al-ṭabīʿiyya* [Univ. of Amman], iv [1977], 7-22; cf. Berggren; Richter-Bernburg) discuss the construction of plane star charts. Instead of complete star maps we only have al-Ṣūfī's isolated drawings of the individual constellations. The late Persian astrolabist Muḥammad Mahdī al-Yazdī produced two astrolabes, to each of which he added a plate carrying, on both sides, maps of the northern and the southern celestial hemispheres with all constellations. One of these instruments is dated 1065/1654-5 (in Riyāḍ; it was on display in the exhibition *Saudi-Arabia, yesterday and today* in Washington D.C., July 1989; see the accompanying catalogue *Islamic science and learning*, 14); the other one, dated 1070/1659-60, was described by W.H. Morley, *Description of a planispheric astrolabe...*, London 1856, 48 f. (repr. in *Arabische Instrumente in orientalistischen Studien*, ed. F. Sezgin, i, Frankfurt-am-Main 1990, 302 f.). These veritable sky maps are, however, inspired by contemporary European star charts; they include, in the southern hemisphere, near the South Pole, some of the non-classical southern constellations which were introduced in the 16th and 17th centuries. Hence these plates reflect a new development in Islamic astronomy, with the influx of modern Western knowledge.

The question, to what extent the star tables and catalogues of Muslim astronomers represent the result of their own independent observation, is not always easy to answer. It appears convincing that a star table or catalogue with ecliptical coordinates, whose latitudes are identical to Ptolemy's and whose longitudes show a constant increase over Ptolemy's, was obtained by calculation rather than by observation. When the latitudes differ and the longitudes show varying differences against Ptolemy's, one would rather be inclined to assume independent observation. A few well-known outstanding examples of independent observation are: the table of 24 stars measured by al-Maʾmūn's astronomers and transmitted in *al-Zīdj al-mumtaḥan* ("*Tabulae probatae*"; epoch 214/829-30; cf. Kunitzsch [10], item iii), or the star catalogue of Ulugh Beg (see above), although for this latter one the question seems not yet definitely answered. Personal observations of Ptolemy's stars were made by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 1154), as can be understood in many places in his treatise *Fī sabab* .... Also, the most famous and most detailed Islamic author on the fixed stars, al-Ṣūfī (903-86), re-observed all of Ptolemy's stars and added, in his *Book on the Constellations*, to the description of each of the 48 constellations a special section reporting his criticism. Nevertheless, in the tables of his catalogue he merely repeated Ptolemy's coordinate values and did not enter any new or "better" values found by himself, except for the magnitudes. Since most of the *zīdjs* (astronomical handbooks with tables; cf. below) of the Islamic period are still unedited, it would be premature now to present final statements. It may be that in them one or another star table will be found that is built upon an author's own observations.

Surveys of the 48 Ptolemaic constellations are also

found—apart from the great star catalogues mentioned above—in some other works: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwārazmī (*ca.* A.D. 980), *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 210-13; al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm* 69-72 (on 77-81 follows a survey of indigenous old-Arabic star names, and on 81-5 the lunar mansions are listed); Zakariyyāʾ al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 29-41 (this section is extracted from al-Ṣūfī's *Book on the Constellations*; the section was separately edited and translated by L. Ideler and served as the nucleus for his voluminous study on the history of star names; on 41-51 follows a description of the 28 lunar mansions which is extracted from Ibn Ḳutayba's *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ*, cf. ed. Ḥaydarābād 1375/1956, 17 ff.). Of some interest for the continuity of the tradition is *Le traité sur les constellations* by Severus Sebokht, in Syriac, written in A.D. 660, i.e. in early Islamic times, but much before the famous Greek-Arabic translations; ed. F. Nau, in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, xxvii (1929-30), 327-410, xxviii (1931-2), 85-100. About 600 years later another Syriac description of the 48 constellations was given by Bar Hebraeus (Abu 'l-Faradj b. al-ʿIbrī) in his *Livre de l'ascension de l'esprit*, ed. Nau, Paris 1899-1900, text i, 110 ff., tr. ii, 94 ff., which now, however, is a mixed text including both Syriac and Arabic elements (cf. Kunitzsch [1], 32 f.).

A rare use of the 48 constellations was made by the Persian poet Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī in his epic *Vīs u Rāmīn* (written *ca.* A.D. 1050), where he presents a horoscope which is greatly expanded by including all the constellations of the fixed stars in the astrological configuration (cf. Kunitzsch [10], item xxviii; in a subsequent article in *Isl.*, lx [1983], 297-301, O. Neugebauer has dated this horoscope to A.D. 968).

The Arab seafarers in the Indian Ocean in the 15th and 16th centuries, Aḥmad b. Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, still knew and used some of the classical constellations and star names, though often in distorted form and in modified astronomical application. Especially Ibn Mādjid [*q.v.*] takes pride in naming the classical books he had studied, among them al-Ṣūfī's *Book on the Constellations* (here called *Kitāb al-Taṣāwīr*). On the other hand, the star nomenclature of these *muʿallims* contains several names of unknown and sometimes certainly non-Arabic origin. For discussions of these names, see the Index given in Kunitzsch [10], item xxix.

In astrology it was mostly the planets whose influence was considered. But since oldest times, the fixed stars could also be included in the astrological procedures. Already Ptolemy in his astrological handbook, the *Tetrabiblos* (*Kitāb al-Arbaʿa*), assigned to all the constellations and the major stars individually the "temperament" (κρᾶσις, A. *mizādj*, Lat. *complexio*, *temperamentum*) of one or two planets, cf. *Tetrab.* i, 9. Subsequently, lists of stars with their temperaments were drawn up, or in purely astronomical star tables the temperaments were added in a separate column. Further, to certain fixed stars was ascribed a bad influence on health, especially of the eyes, and also these stars were assembled in special lists. All this material reached the Arabic-Islamic civilisation, in the same way as the astronomical knowledge, and we find it reproduced directly, or in various adaptations, in Arabic texts.

Of the *Tetrabiblos* several Arabic translations were made (not all edited until now; cf. Sezgin, vii, 41 ff.). The famous astrologer Abū Maʿshar included in his comprehensive *al-Mudkhal al-kabīr*, ii, 1, a survey of the 48 classical constellations (without adding the astrological temperaments; see the facsimile ed.—made from ms. Istanbul, Carullah 1508, dated 327/938—by F. Sezgin, Frankfurt-am-Main 1985, 111 f.). For lists of stars doing harm to the eyes (cf. *Tetrab.*, iii, 12) see again Abū Maʿshar, *Mudkhal*, vi, 20 = facs. Frankfurt 351 f. (cf. Kunitzsch, *apud* Hübner 358 f.), and al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, 272-4 (§ 460). Another list of unlucky stars of Abū Maʿshar is in Kunitzsch [10], item xvii, 113-19. A very recent specimen for a horoscope introducing the fixed stars is the horoscope of Asad Allāh Mīrzā, 1830; cf. Elwell-Sutton (esp. 16-27, 94 f.). One ancient tradition on the "Thirty Bright Stars" appeared in Arabic under the name of Hermes; it must have come through (Middle) Persian mediation, because its badly distorted star names show signs of Persian influence (cf. Kunitzsch [10], item xiii), and the term for the fixed stars here used, *al-kawākib al-biyābāniyya* (in mediaeval Latin translation *stelle beibenie*), is Persian (from Pahlavi *a-wiyābān-īg*, which literally renders Greek ἀπλανής, the common term for the fixed stars; cf. W.B. Henning, *apud* Kunitzsch [10], item xiv, esp. 265; al-Bīrūnī's explanation of the term *al-kawākib al-biyābāniyya* as "desert stars", from New Persian *biyābān* "desert", in *Tafhīm*, 46 (§ 125), was mere guesswork and popular etymology). The Hellenistic astrological compilation in five parts ascribed to Zoroaster also reached the Arabs through a Persian intermediate stage; the star names in the chapter on the fixed stars of its fifth part, *Kitāb al-Mawālīd*, were transformed into Persian and were retained in this form in the Arabic version; cf. the ed. of the chapter in Kunitzsch [13]. Another tradition, on stars causing weather disturbances, tempest, etc., containing star names of unknown origin and meaning, has been found until now only in Byzantine and mediaeval Latin versions and it is uncertain whether an Arabic stage was also involved in its transmission; cf. Kunitzsch [10], items xv-xvi.

Yet another use of star names occurred in lot books (*kutub al-faʾl*) where they took the role of "judges" answering questions or guiding the interrogator to further questions. An example is the *Liber Alfadhol*, a lot book attributed to Hārūn al-Rashīd's astrologer al-Faḍl b. Sahl, of which also Latin and old German versions exist and which contains 144 "judges" carrying star names (including a few astronomical terms); cf. Kunitzsch, *apud* Lutz, 321-36, and idem, in *ZDMG*, cxviii (1968), 297-314, and cxxxiv (1984), 280-5. For other texts of this kind cf. Kunitzsch, *apud* Lutz, 321 n. 1; Kunitzsch [6], esp. 281 f.; Wetzstein.

In addition, it may be mentioned that Arabic texts of all the kinds described were translated into Western languages, into Byzantine Greek from the 11th century onwards and into Latin, in Spain, from the late 10th century onwards. In this way, Arabic star and constellation names became widely known in mediaeval and Renaissance Western science, and more than 200 "Arabic star names" can still be found in modern star atlases and astronomical textbooks today.

Since it is impossible to give here lists of the many Arabic star and constellation names, once more the literature is cited where all these names are completely listed and explained: for indigenous old Arabic star names, see Kunitzsch [2] and [7]; for the lunar mansions, see AL-MANĀZIL; for the zodiac, see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ; for the nomenclature of stars and constellations derived from Greek sources, mostly the *Almagest*, see Kunitzsch [5]; for specimens of Arabic star names in Byzantine texts, see Kunitzsch [10], item ii (types I and II); for Arabic star names in mediaeval Western and modern astronomical use, see

Kunitzsch [1] and [3] and Kunitzsch-Smart; and for the special usage of names with the navigators of the Indian Ocean, see the Index in Kunitzsch [10], item xxix.

Arabic star names and their use in Western science have been the object of philological and historical studies over centuries, starting with G. Postellus' treatise *Signorum coelestium vera configuratio aut asterismus*, Paris 1553; cf. a short survey in Kunitzsch [1], 23 f. The Arabic matter in the popular book of R.H. Allen, *Star-names and their meanings*, New York 1899 (repr. New York 1963), is often incorrect and misleading, cf. the warnings in Kunitzsch [10], item xxiv. Also, modern Arabic authors have paid their tribute to the subject, cf. M.H. Jurdak [Djurdāķ], A. Malouf [Maᶜlūf] and A.H.M. Samaha [Samāḥa], cited in the bibliography of Kunitzsch [1]; the most recent author is A.R. Badr, *Asmāʾ al-nudjūm fī 'l-falak al-ḥadīth, uṣūluhā wa-taṭawwuruhā*, in *RAAD*, lix (1404/1984), 81-96, 290-333, 761-89, lx (1405/1985), 86-103.

II. THE PLANETS

As in all civilisations, the five planets visible to the naked eye were also known to the old Arabs, because they had names for them which were obviously originally Arabic and were not obtained, through translation, from outside. There seems, however, not to have existed a special term for the planets (as distinct from the fixed stars) with the Arabs in their "pre-scientific" period. Some commentators assume that the terms *al-khunnas* and *al-kunnas* in Ķurʾān, LXXXI, 15-16, may refer to the planets; cf. *WKAS*, i, 387 a 2 ff., 442 b 41 ff. (not to be confused with the term *al-khussān* which, according to Ibn Durayd, *Djamhara*, i, 67 a 1-3, s.r. *kh-s-s*, designates the stars around the (North) Pole that never set, i.e. the circumpolar stars). In the "scientific" period of Arabic-Islamic astronomy which was based on translations from Greek, the most common terms for the planets (οἱ πλανώμενοι, sc. ἀστέρες) were (*al-kawākib*) *al-mutaḥayyira* (referring to the five planets alone) and (*al-kawākib*) *al-sayyāra* (for the five planets plus Sun and Moon), cf. al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 210, 228; al-Bīrūnī, *Ķānūn*, iii 987; *WKAS*, i, 442 b 28 ff., 35 ff. Other terms, in certain translated texts, were *al-kawākib al-mutaḥarrika* (*WKAS*, i, 442 b 39), *al-k. al-sayyāḥa*, *al-k. al-djāriya* and *al-k. al-ḍālla* (*ibid.*, i, 580 b 27 ff.).

The following table shows the names of the planets in Arabic, adding some alternative names used in the Western Arabic and Spanish Arabic area, and in Persian:

	Arabic	Western Arabic	Persian
Moon	*al-ķamar*		*māh*
Mercury	*ᶜuṭārid*	*al-kātib*	*tīr*
Venus	*al-zuhara*		[*a*]*nāhīd*
Sun	*al-shams*		*mihr*, *khurshīd*
Mars	*al-mirrīkh*	*al-aḥmar*	*bahrām*
Jupiter	*al-mushtarī*		*hurmuz*[*d*]
Saturn	*zuḥal*	*al-muķātil*	*kaywān*

For the etymologies of the names in Arabic and Persian, see Eilers [2] and [3]. The "Persian" name *kaywān* is of Babylonian origin (cf. *WKAS*, i, 518 b 9 ff.). For Jupiter another Arabic name of unknown background was *al-birdjīs*; cf. Ibn Ķutayba, *Anwāʾ*, 126 f.; Eilers [3], 81 ff. A survey of the planets' names in seven languages (Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew, Sanskrit and Khwārazmian) was given by al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 192 (= tr. Sachau, 172). In Arabic poetry in ᶜAbbāsid and later times, the Persian names were often used. In astronomy and astrology the names could be abbreviated by using only the last letter of the Arabic name, cf. Elwell-Sutton, 66. Further, the symbols for the planets introduced in Greek texts were also adopted by Arabic-Islamic astronomers and astrologers, see al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, 199 (§ 329); Ullmann, 345 f. The Arabic names shown above (including the Western Arabic alternative names) were also retained in many mediaeval Latin translations from the Arabic, in astronomical and astrological contexts. The complete set of the seven names even appears in Wolfram of Eschenbach's epic *Parzival* (*ca.* A.D. 1210), 782, 6 ff.; see Kunitzsch [4].

Planetary theory in Arabic-Islamic astronomy was mainly based on the teachings of Ptolemy in his *Almagest*. The planets rotate on seven successive spheres (*falak* [*q.v.*]) about the earth, the Moon being the nearest to the earth, in the first sphere, and Saturn being the farthest, in the seventh sphere; the eighth sphere was held by the fixed stars. The lower planets (below the Sun), Moon, Mercury and Venus, were called *al-kawākib al-sufliyya*, and the upper planets (beyond the Sun), Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, were *al-kawākib al-ᶜulwiyya*. The lowest point in a planet's orbit was called *ḥaḍīḍ*, the farthest point was *awdj* (from Sanskr. *ucca*, cf. D. Pingree, in *Viator*, vii [1976], 161; afterwards Latinised as *aux*, genitive *augis*). The two points of intersection of a planet's orbit with the ecliptic were each called by the Persian term *al-djawzahar* [*q.v.*] or—translated from Greek συνδεσμός—*ᶜuķda*, node. The ascending node (ἀναβιβάζων) especially was called *raʾs* (*al-tinnīn*) "(the Dragon's) head, *caput* (*draconis*)", and the descending node (καταβιβάζων) *dhanab* (*al-tinnīn*), "(the Dragon's) tail, *cauda* (*draconis*)". The planets performed a forward movement (*istiķāma*) along the ecliptic (*ilā tawālī al-burūdj*); at certain times they became stationary (*wuķūf*, *iķāma*) and then performed a retrograde movement (*rudjūᶜ*); this ended in a second stationary position after which they resumed the normal forward movement.

The knowledge about the planets' physical behaviour—motion, size, distances, etc.—was mainly laid down in the so-called *zīdjs*, i.e. comprehensive handbooks containing both theoretical chapters and the relevant tables. The word *zīdj* (pl. *zīdjāt*, *azyādj*, *ziyadja*) is of Persian origin (already in Pahlavi, *zīk*) and originally meant the thread(s) in weaving; from the arrangement of the threads in a piece of woven cloth it was extended to the network of lines drawn for astronomical tables and finally transferred upon complete works of tables with their introductory theoretical text. Very few such works have been edited so far, e.g. *al-Zīdj al-ṣābiʾ* of al-Battānī (ed. and tr. C.A. Nallino, i-iii, Milan 1899-1907); the Latin translation (by Adelard of Bath) of Maslama al-Madjrīṭī's redaction of the *Zīdj* of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī (ed. A. Bjørnbo, R. Besthorn and H. Suter, Copenhagen 1914; Eng. tr. and comm. O. Neugebauer, Copenhagen 1962); al-Bīrūnī's *al-Ķānūn al-masᶜūdī* (ed. Ḥaydarābād, i-iii, 1954-6; Russian tr. P.G. Bulgakov *et alii*, i-ii, Tashkent 1973-76; survey of the contents in English by E.S. Kennedy, in *Al-Abḥāth*, xxiv [1971], 59-81). About 130 *zīdjs* were listed, and twelve of the most important abstracted, in Kennedy [1]. More abstracts are in Toomer [1]; Mercier [2]. Of great historical interest are also works such as *The Book of the reasons behind astronomical tables* (*Kitāb fī ᶜilal al-zīdjāt*) of ᶜAlī b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī (ed.

and tr. F.I. Haddad, E.S. Kennedy and D. Pingree, New York 1981) which has preserved material lost, or not yet found, in the original; of the same character is *El libro de los fundamentos de las Tablas astronómicas* by the Spanish-Jewish scholar Abraham b. ʿEzra (written in Latin in A.D. 1154; ed. J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, Madrid-Barcelona 1947).

Popular estimated values for the (sidereal) revolution of the planets are mentioned by Ibn Ḳutayba, *Anwāʾ*, 127. According to him, Saturn travels in each of the twelve zodiacal signs 32 months (i.e. a total revolution of 32 years); Jupiter 1 year (i.e. a total revolution of 12 years); Mars 45 days (i.e. a total of roughly 1½ years); the Sun 1 month (i.e. a total of 1 year); Venus 27 days (i.e. a total of 324 days); Mercury 7 days (i.e. a total of 84 days); and the Moon 2⅓ nights (i.e. a total of 28 nights). He also mentions that Venus and Jupiter are of bright white colour, Saturn is yellowish, Mars is red, and Mercury also red, but it is seen only rarely because of its vicinity to the Sun.

Scientific astronomy has received and continued to use the precise Greek data in the *Almagest* and has, in the course of time, improved upon many of them, based on new independent observation. For details, one has to consult the *zīdjs* and their abstracts mentioned above.

While, on the whole, Ptolemaic astronomy remained valid in the Arabic-Islamic civilisation until in recent times contacts began with modern Western astronomy, on the other hand serious criticism of Ptolemy's planetary theory was brought forward by several Muslim astronomers. Among the names here to be mentioned are Ibn al-Haytham (in Egypt, d. shortly after 432/1041; cf. Sezgin, v, 251 ff.); Djābir b. Aflaḥ (*Geber*, Spain, 1st half 12th cent.; cf. R.P. Lorch, *The Astronomy of Jābir ibn Aflaḥ*, in *Centaurus*, xix [1975], 85-107); al-Biṭrūdjī (*Alpetragius*, Spain, 2nd half 12th cent. [*q.v.*]; idem, *On the principles of astronomy*, ed. and tr. B.R. Goldstein, i-ii, New Haven 1971). In the East, an important name was further—besides Naṣīr al-Dīn · al-Ṭūsī—Ibn al-Shāṭir (Damascus, 14th cent.), cf. the collection of papers *The life and work of Ibn al-Shāṭir*, ed. Kennedy and I. Ghanem, Aleppo 1976; Kennedy [2], section "Planetary theory"; idem, *Planetary theory: late Islamic and Renaissance*, in *Awrāḳ*, v-vi (1982-3), 19-24; Goldstein, *The status of models in ancient and medieval astronomy*, in *Centaurus*, xxiv (1980), 132-47; G. Saliba, *Theory and observation in Islamic astronomy: the work of Ibn al-Shāṭir of Damascus*, in *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, xviii (1987), 35-43. There have been observed similarities between certain new methods and solutions of problems in planetary theory by some 13th and 14th century Islamic astronomers and those of Copernicus. But it would be difficult to interpret these coincidences in terms of Arabic influence on Copernicus, since no direct lines of transmission from the Orient to Renaissance Western astronomers has been ascertained so far.

Islamic astronomers also devised—like Western scientists of late mediaeval and Renaissance times—instruments for the demonstration of the planets' movements, the so-called equatoria, see Kennedy [2], section "Equatoria"; Comes.

For the use of the planets in astrology and some of their astrological properties, see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ.

III. OTHER CELESTIAL OBJECTS

a. *Nebulae*. Ptolemy in the star catalogue of the *Almagest* had described five of his 1,025 stars as "nebulous". However, all of these were star clusters or double stars appearing to the naked eye as "nebulous", but not nebulae according to modern astronomical understanding. It was Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣūfī who, in his *Book on the Constellations*, independently and for the first time mentioned the Andromeda Nebula (M 31 = NGC 224), calling it *laṭkha saḥābiyya*, a "nebulous spot". In one of the drawings of the constellation of Andromeda he marked the position of the nebula by a number of small dots; see Kunitzsch [9]. As for the Magellanic Clouds, in the southern celestial hemisphere, near the South Pole, invisible from the Arabian Peninsula, a first reference to them seems to be in Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 501 f., where Yāḳūt cites several unnamed travellers (*ghayr wāḥid mimman shāhada tilka 'l-bilād*) who described that they saw in the sky a spot (*ṭāḳa*) about the size of the Moon looking like a white cloud (*ḳiṭʿat ghaym bayḍāʾ*); this description may refer to the Larger Magellanic Cloud (Nubecula Maior) which is better visible than the Smaller one. Later, the Arabic navigators of the Indian Ocean, Aḥmad b. Mādjid (d. *ca.* 1500) and Sulaymān al-Mahrī (1st half 16th cent.), knew and described the Magellanic Clouds (*al-saḥābatān*) in their writings. Ibn Mādjid even specified (in his poem *al-Sufāliyya*) that one of them is clearly visible (*bayyina li 'l-ʿayn*, i.e. the Larger Magellanic Cloud) and the other appears weak (*ṭamsāʾ*, i.e. the Smaller Magellanic Cloud); cf. I. Khoury, ed., *Sulayman al-Mahri's works*, iii, Damascus 1393/1972, 302. The assumption of L. Massignon that the asterism *al-baḳar* "the Cows", mentioned by al-Ṣūfī (cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 59 and 23), was identical with the Magellanic Clouds was rightly refuted by W. Petri, in *Die Sterne*, xxxviii (1962), 74-7.

b. *Comets*. The common Arabic term for a comet is (*kawkab*) *dhū dhanab* or *kawkab al-dhanab* "star with a tail". Also, the Greek term κομῆται was translated as *al-kawākib dhawāt al-dhawāʾib* (Aristotle). According to Greek cosmology, comets were regarded as atmospherical phenomena in the sublunar sphere, see Aristotle, *Fi 'l-samāʾ wa 'l-āthār al-ʿulwiyya* (Meteorology), ed. A.R. Badawi, Cairo 1961, 15 ff.; *Aristoteles' Meteorologie*, ed. P.L. Schoonheim, Leiden 1978, 70 ff.; Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, *Kompendium der aristotelischen Meteorologie*, ed. H. Daiber, Amsterdam-Oxford 1975, 58 ff.; *Aetius Arabus*, ed. Daiber, Wiesbaden 1980, 168 ff. Little attention was consequently paid to comets by the Islamic astronomers, because for them they were no regular celestial phenomena such as the planets, Sun and Moon and the fixed stars. On the other hand, since they were regarded as bad omens, they were often registered by historians, biographers, etc., and in astrology (cf. already Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, ii, 9 and 13). In the latter category of literature, special subgroups of comets were distinguished according to their apparent forms in the sky and were given various extra names. Some such names were already mentioned by Ptolemy, *Tetrab.*, ii, 9; for more names in Antiquity, cf. *inter alios* Lydus, *De ostentis*, ed. C. Wachsmuth, Leipzig 1897, 28 ff., 35 ff., 165 f. (from Pliny, *Nat. hist.*), 166 f. A pseudepigraphic tradition ascribed a list of ten such names to Aristotle or Apuleius; see further A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899 (repr. Brussels 1963), 357 ff., esp. 359 n. 1.

For the Islamic area, see Kennedy [2], 311-18 (first published 1957); idem, *Astronomical events from a Persian astrological manuscript*, in *Centaurus* xxiv (1980), 162-77 (with an appendix by O. Gingerich, 178-80). Several of the texts published by L. Thorndike, *Latin treatises on comets between 1238 and 1368 A.D.*, Chicago 1950, reflect Arabic material of this sort.

c. *Shooting Stars, Meteors*. Together with comets,

shooting stars were included, in ancient cosmology, among the atmospherical phenomena of the sublunar sphere; see Aristotle, *Fi 'l-samā'*, ed. Badawi, 18 ff.; *Meteorologie*, ed. Schoonheim, 74 ff.; Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, *Kompendium*, *loc. cit.* above; *Aetius Arabus*, *loc. cit.* above. The common Arabic terms for them were *s̲h̲ihāb*, pl. *s̲h̲uhub*, and *nayzak*, pl. *nayāzik* (of Persian origin); cf. C.A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti*, v, Rome 1944, 377-93 (first published in *RSO*, viii [1919-21]). Their quick movement in the sky when falling towards the earth was well known and was described as *inḳiḍāḍ*, *inṣibāb*, etc. Shooting stars (*s̲h̲uhub*) are several times mentioned in the Ḳur'ān (XV, 18; XXXVII, 10; LXVII, 8-9); the implication here is that *d̲j̲inns* or *s̲h̲ayṭāns* who try to spy on the angels are driven away by throwing *s̲h̲uhub* at them. This myth (the "Sternschnuppenmythus") afterwards often served as a motif in poetry, cf. Kunitzsch [10], item xxvi, 248 f. with n. 23. The quick motion of the shooting stars was also often used in poetical comparison, especially in the description of animals, cf. Kunitzsch [10], items xxvi, 247 f., and xxvii, 104 with n. 18. In astrology, shooting stars mostly ranged in the same rank with comets as bad omens, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrab.*, ii, 13; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, 362; Pseudo-Ptolemaeus, *Centiloquium*, *apud* Nallino, *loc. cit.*

d. *Novae* or *Supernovae*. The Arabic language, and the Islamic astronomers, had no specific terms for novae. This was quite natural since, according to classical and the subsequent Islamic cosmology, the heavenly bodies—Sun, Moon, the planets and the fixed stars—were not capable of any changes in substance, magnitude or (for the fixed stars) location. Therefore the idea of "new" stars was basically alien to their imagination. If a phenomenon of this kind was really observed, it had to be subsumed under the well-known categories, mainly among the sublunar phenomena such as comets. Authors describing such objects had to use the terms current for other known phenomena. There are two famous supernovae that were reported by Islamic authors: one in A.D. 1006, see Goldstein, *Evidence for a supernova in A.D. 1006*, in *The Astronomical Journal*, lxx (1965), 105-14. The best source here is ʿAlī b. Riḍwān's commentary on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*; in describing the object ʿAlī uses the terms *at̲h̲ar* (lit. "trace") and *nayzak* (properly, "shooting star"; cf. above). Ibn al-At̲h̲īr and Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, in reporting the same event, spoke of *kawkab kabīr yus̲h̲bihu 'l-zuhara*, "a large star similar to Venus" (Goldstein, *loc. cit.*, 107, 113 f.); the anonymous *Annales regum Mauritaniae* describe the object as *nad̲j̲m ʿaẓīm* [var. *g̲h̲arīb*] *min d̲h̲awāt al-d̲h̲awā'ib*, "a great [var. wondrous] star from among the comets", and further on call it a *nayzak* ("shooting star"; Goldstein, *loc. cit.*, 108, 114). The second supernova was that of A.D. 1054; in mentioning it, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*, ed. A. Müller, i, 242, 14-15, calls it *al-kawkab al-āt̲h̲ārī*, "the star leaving traces". On the subject, see also T. Velusamy, *Guest stars: historical supernovae and remnants*, in *History of Oriental Astronomy* (*IAU Colloquium 91*), Cambridge 1987, 265-70.

e. *Sunspots*. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲ al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. Lippert, 156, cites from a book by Muḥammad b. Hilāl b. al-Muḥ[as]sin al-Ṣābi' a report copied by the latter from a notice on comets written by D̲j̲aʿfar b. al-Muktafī bi'llāh; here it is also reported that on Tuesday, 19 Rad̲j̲ab, in the year 225 (25 May 840), during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim, there appeared in the Sun, near its centre, a black spot (*nukta sawdā'*); the report continues that al-Kindī said that this spot lasted for 91 days. It was taken as a bad omen, and indeed, some time afterwards al-Muʿtaṣim died. The report further says that al-Kindī had also maintained that the spot may have been caused by a passage of Venus in front of the Sun (*kusūf al-zuhara li 'l-s̲h̲ams wa-luṣūḳuhā bihā hād̲h̲ihi 'l-mudda*).

f. *Paranatellonta*. The paranatellonta are constellations, or portions of constellations, co-ascending or reaching other fundamental points of the sphere together with the decans (i.e. sections of 10 degrees) of the zodiac. The observation of the paranatellonta has belonged to astrological practice since Antiquity. The constellations here used include, besides the classical Greek constellations, a number of exotic, Egyptian and other figures, the so-called *sphaera barbarica*. Texts describing the paranatellonta are known, *inter alia*, from Teukros the Babylonian (perhaps 1st cent. A.D.), in Arabic Tīnkalūs, or Tankalūs̲h̲ā al-Bābilī. An Arabic version of the paranatellonta for the 36 decans of the zodiac was inserted by Abū Maʿs̲h̲ar in his astrological *Kitāb al-Mudk̲h̲al al-kabīr*, Book vi, ch. 1. The text was edited by K. Dyroff as Appendix vi, *apud* F. Boll, *Sphaera*, Leipzig 1903, 482-539. Abū Maʿs̲h̲ar gives as the epoch for the positions of the constellations in his text the year 1160 Seleucid era = Oct. 848-Sept. 849. For each decan (here called *wad̲j̲h*) Abū Maʿs̲h̲ar registers in a first section the paranatellonta (*ṣuwar*) according to the "Persians, Chaldaeans and Egyptians". The ascription to the Persians is correct insofar as Abū Maʿs̲h̲ar used a Persian translation from a Greek redaction of Teukros' text probably dating from A.D. 542 and afterwards converted into new Persian (cf. Boll, *op. cit.*, 416; see also Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 71 ff.). In a second section there follows the description of the paranatellonta according to the Indians. As Boll has shown, what there is described in this section are, however, not the paranatellonta, but rather the figures symbolising the decans themselves in Indian tradition (cf. Boll, 414 f.). The third section describes the paranatellonta formed from the 48 classical Ptolemaic constellations. Through Latin translations of Abū Maʿs̲h̲ar's work and through other channels, the paranatellonta and their nomenclature became of considerable influence in mediaeval and Renaissance Western astrological speculation (see the survey in Boll, 419 ff.). The astrologer Ibn Hibintā also included a description of the paranatellonta in his compilation *al-Mug̲h̲nī* which, according to Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 71 f., offers—at least in parts—a better text than Abū Maʿs̲h̲ar.

g. *Modern nomenclature of objects on the Moon, the planets and their satellites*. A last echo of the grandeur of the mediaeval Islamic astronomers is found in the modern nomenclature of features on the surfaces of the Moon, the planets and their satellites. In his map of the Moon (1651), Giovanni Baptista Riccioli introduced as names for the craters on her visible side the names of famous astronomers and scientists from various nations and times, a nomenclature which became standard until now in international astronomy. Among them there are the names of thirteen personalities of outstanding fame in astronomy and the science from the Islamic Middle Ages (two of them were added in 1837 by J.H. Mädler). All these names are spelled in their Latinised form as introduced and vulgarised in the West through the translations of the 12th century in Spain; examples are *Albategnius* [al-Battānī], *Alfraganus* [al-Farg̲h̲ānī], *Alhazen* [al-Ḥasan, Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am], *Almanon* [the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ma'mūn, famous as a patron of the translations from Greek into Arabic and of the sciences generally], *Azophi* [al-Ṣūfī], etc.; for details, see Mohd. A.R. Khan, *Names of thirteen Muslim*

astronomers given to some natural features of the Moon, in *IC*, xxvii (1953), 78-85. In recent times, after the exploration of the far side of the Moon, this kind of historical nomenclature has been continued. Among the names set up here—and which are approved of by the International Astronomical Union—there are five more of Islamic scientists: *Abul Wáfa* [Abu 'l-Wafā'], *al-Biruni* [al-Bīrūnī], *Avicenna* [Ibn Sīnā], *Ibn Yunus* [Ibn Yūnus] and *Omar Khayyam* [ʿUmar Khayyām]. With the exploration of the planets and their satellites by spacecraft, the naming of objects on their surfaces continues and will honour many more of the astronomers and scientists of Islamic civilisation.

At the end of this article, it should be mentioned that the textual tradition of the astronomical and astrological literature in the Islamic area was accompanied by a rich tradition of illustrations. In purely astronomical texts we find—beside the tables—the geometrical and other diagrams illustrating the various technical demonstrations and—in al-Ṣūfī's *Book on the Constellations* and in his imitators such as al-Ḳazwīnī in the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* or Shahmardān in the *Rawḍat al-munadjdjimīn*—drawings of the constellations. In astrology, moreover, there are illustrations of the planets, the decans, the zodiacal signs, the paranatellonta and other items. This rich tradition was continued, together with the translations of texts, in the West where illustrations inspired by the Arabic manuscripts are found in innumerable manuscripts and many early printed editions of the 15th to the 17th centuries.

Final hints: for details on the seasonal asterisms of the old Arabs, see AL-ANWĀʾ; for the Poles, see AL-ḲUṬB; for the Milky Way, see AL-MADJARRA; for the lunar mansions, see AL-MANĀZIL; and for the zodiac, see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ.

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In East Africa.

The Swahili people living along the East Coast of Africa between Mogadishu and Mozambique have a long tradition of sailing the Indian Ocean, to fish and to trade. Thus, from the Middle Ages, they have been familiar with the major stars and constellations of the tropical region as well as with the planets and their movements. Some of this vast knowledge of the Swahili navigators has been written down in manuscripts in Swahili in Arabic script. Some of these have survived and are now in the University Library, Dar es Salaam. In Swahili this science is called *elimu ya nujumu* or *elimu ya nyota* "knowledge of the stars", to be distinguished from *tanjimu* "astrology". So far, 105 Swahili names for planets, stars and constellations have been identified; the majority are adapted from Arabic. Native Swahili (i.e. Bantu) words are the sun *jua*, the moon *mwezi* and the Milky Way, *Njia Nyeupe* "the white path", also called *Mkokoto wa kondoo wa Sumaili* "the path along which Ismail's sheep was dragged", referring to the tale of the ram which God sent to replace Ismāʿīl as a sacrifice (Ḳurʾān, XXXVII, 107), an event still celebrated by Swahili Muslims. *Kilimio* "the Pleiades", lit. "What one cultivates by", is the Bantu-Swahili name; this constellation was well-known in pre-Islamic times because its appearance marks the moment when the rains should begin and so, the moment for the planting of millet.

A few of the star names are of Persian origin, e.g. *shahini* "royal white falcon" (Alshain, Beta Aquilae); *zanu* "knee" (Rukbat, Alpha Sagittarii); *bahu* "shoulder" (Gamma Orionis).

Most curious is the fact that the Swahili people have a solar calendar based on the Persian model; it is not known how, or when, this calendar came to be adopted by the Swahili. The New Year is called *nauruzi*, *noruzi*, or *nairuzi* (the latter form of this Persian word being the Indian alternant, though the Hindi dictionary gives *nauroj* for the Parsi New Year). This date falls when the sun enters the sign of Aries, the Ram (Swahili *Hamali*) on the 21st or 22nd of March [see further, NAWRŪZ. 2. In East Africa]. However, this calendar is now replaced by the Islamic lunar calendar, which in turn is regarded with less favour than the European (*Kizungu*) calendar since the latter permits a fairly accurate prediction of the start of the two rainy seasons.

Several other astronomical terms are also adapted from Arabic, e.g. the word for a comet, *shihabu* or *shuhubu*, also *nyota msafiri* "travelling star"; *ghurubu* "descent" and *shuruki* "ascent", though for the former *mshuko* is also used. The word for conjunction is *uungano* (Ar. *iḳtirān*); opposition is *uelekeano* (Ar. *muḳābala*, *muwādjaha*).

The most-watched heavenly body is the new moon, *hilali*, *mwezi mpya*, whose appearance is eagerly awaited on the last evening of Ramadhani. Loud cheers greet its appearance.

Swahili astrologers concentrate first and foremost on the signs of the Zodiac, *Buruji za Falaki*, whose names are all from Arabic:

Hamali,	Aries	*Mizani*,	Libra
Thauri,	Taurus	*Akarabu*,	Scorpio
Jauza,	Gemini	*Kausi*,	Sagittarius
Saratani,	Cancer	*Jadi*,	Capricornis
Asadi,	Leo	*Dalu*,	Aquarius
Sumbula,	Virgo	*Hutu*,	Pisces

Each sign creates a particular character in the person who was born under it, according to the Swahili *munajimu* or astrologer.

The Swahili names of the Planets are: Mercury, *Utaridi*; Venus, *Zuhura*; Mars, *Mirihi*; Jupiter, *Mushitari*; and Saturn, *Zohali*.

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NUDJŪM (AḤKĀM AL-), "decrees of the stars", expression denoting astrology [see also MUNADJDJIM].

Astrology comprises two branches: natural astrology, consisting in the observation of the influences of the stars on the natural elements, and judicial astrology, consisting in the observation of the influences of the stars on human destiny. The scientific term which describes them is Ptolemaism (derived from the astrological work of Ptolemy, entitled Κλαυδίου Πτολεμαίου τῶν πρὸς Σύρον ἀποτελεσματιχῶν, ed. F. Boll and Ae. Boer, in *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*, Leipzig 1940, translated into Arabic under the title of *K. al-Arbaʿa* (= *Tetrabiblos*). With the *Centiloquium*, translated into Arabic as *K. al-Thamara* (= χαρπός), which, being erroneously attributed to Ptolemy (cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 233), is regarded by the Arabs as constituting the fifth book of the aforementioned, this work forms the basis of Arab astrology (cf. *Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos or Quadripartite being five books on the influence of the stars, newly translated into English from the Greek paraphrase of Proclus with notes..., followed by the Centiloquy*, translation by J.M. Ashmand, London 1822, 272 pp.; on the two works, see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 41 ff.).

According to Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ii, 185-202/217-37, and Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, vi, 306 ff., the science of astrology has the object of drawing from the cyclical and permanent movements of the celestial bodies indications which have a bearing on this world of change and corruption. It comprises three parts: *mathematica* (*ḥisābiyyāt*), *physica* (*ṭabīʿiyyāt*) and *fantasmagorica* (*wahmiyyāt*). The first two are the ancestors of astrometry and astrophysics and constitute astronomy (*ʿilm al-hayʾa* [*q.v.*]), a science which has a merely descriptive role, while that of astrology is considerably more diverse. Astrology assumes a knowledge of astronomy, although it is probably anterior to it.

Under the heading of natural astrology, numerous procedures exist. Two of these are well known: *ʿilm al-anwāʾ* denotes the knowledge of the periods defined by the heliacal rising and the acronychal setting of certain stars (see ANWĀʾ, also Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 336 ff., and Fahd, *Divination*[2], 412-17). The art of inspecting the sky to detect any signs of rain was known in Oriental

and Greco-Roman Antiquity (cf. *ibid.*, 407-8). The pre-Islamic Arabs practised it; on account of its association with the astral cult, it was denounced by the Prophet (al-Bu**kh**ārī, i, 136).

More important is the art of drawing indications (*dalāʾil*) from the totality of atmospherical phenomena; these indications are gathered together in books bearing the title *malḥama*. The best known is that attributed to the Prophet Daniel (see MALĀḤIM, and *Divination*, 408-12).

This literary genre comprises a large number of astrological collections and agricultural almanacs, bringing together all the knowledge accumulated over the centuries in the region of the Near and Middle East, knowledge drawn from Arabic translation and adaptation of Sanskrit, Pahlavi, Greek and Syriac writings. One of these collections (Aya Sofya 2684, 139 fols., *nas**kh**ī* of 906/1499, 27.5 × 18 cm) has been described in *Divination*, 488-95. It is divided into three parts: (1) book of conjunctions, concerning relationships between the stars (fols. 1b-105a); (2) meteorological divination according to Daniel (fols. 106b-117a); and (3) the heliacal rising of Sirius according to Hermes (fols. 117-132). In an appendix, there is a compilation of indications drawn from the occasion of Nawrūz [*q.v.*], of the Coptic month of Ṭawba and the festival of Easter (fols. 137a-139b). For agricultural almanacs, see Fahd, *Le calendrier des travaux agricoles d'après* al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya, in *Orientalia Hispanica* (*Mélanges Pareja*), i, Leiden 1974, 245-72; Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 306 ff. on astrometeorology.

Since the articles ANWĀʾ and MALĀḤIM cover the subject of natural astrology in sufficient depth, the topic of judicial astrology may now be addressed; this too has been dealt with in a number of articles, in particular **DJ**AFR, ḤURŪF and **KH**AṬṬ, which are processes of divination in which astrology plays an important role.

Judicial astrology is applied in two important areas of human life: genethlialogy (*mawālīd*) and hemerology (*i**kh**tiyārāt*), areas in which great interest was taken in the mediaeval Arab and Islamic world. A rich corpus of literature on these subjects is available.

I. *Genethlialogy*. This is the art of deducing portents from the position of the stars at the time of birth, an art already practised in Assyro-Babylonian times (cf. Ch. Fossey, *Présages tirés des naissances*, in *Babyloniaca*, v, Paris 1914; L. Dennefeld, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geburtsomina*, in *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, xxii, Leipzig 1914; B. Meissner, *Über Genethialogie bei den Babyloniern*, in *Klio*, xix [1925], 432-4).

The ancient Arabs deduced portents from signs and events observed at the time of birth, but without explicit reference to the stars; these tended rather to be omens relating to *faʾl* or to *djafr* [*q.vv.*]. Examples are to be found in *Divination*, 480-1. Genethlialogy was born in the ʿAbbāsid period under Persian influence; in this period, the practice of drawing the horoscope of the new-born became an established custom.

But the literature which has survived attributes the origin of this art to Hermes and Ptolemy. An anonymous manuscript of Aya Sofya (2704, fols. 27a-43a and 44a-60b, *nas**kh**ī*, undated, 20 × 14 cm) contains two opuscules entitled *K. Mawālīd al-ridjāl* and *K. Mawālīd al-nisāʾ ʿalā raʾy Hirmis wa-Baṭlamyūs* (on the numerous writings attributed to them in Arabic astrological literature, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 41 ff., 50 ff.; cf. *Hermetis philosophi de revelationibus nativitatum*, ed. H. Wolf, Basel 1559; F. Boll, *Eine arabisch-byzantinische Quelle des Dialogs Hermippos*, in *SB Heidelberger Akad.* [1912], no. 18, ch. viii; *Taḥwīl sinī 'l-mawālīd li-Abī Maʿ**sh**ar*, ed. C. Bezold, 23-5, text, and 8-12, German tr.).

A third source was known and used by the Arab astrologers, this being the Ἀνθολογίαι of Vettius Valens, an eminent astrologer of the period of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius; this work was translated into Pahlavi under the title of *Vizī**dh**ak* (anthology), annotated by Buzur**dj**mihr, a courtier of Kisrā Anū**sh**irwān (531-78), to whom it is attributed, and translated into Arabic as the *K. al-Mawālīd* (see Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 238 ff.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 38 ff.). The same title is also attributed to a Babylonian astrologer, Teukros, known to the Arabs as Tankalū**sh**a, who lived at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. and who is the author of an astrological work, called Περὶ τῶν παρατελλόντων, translated into Pahlavi and thence into Arabic in the 2nd or 3rd/ 8th or 9th century as *K. al-Mawālīd ʿalā 'l-wu**dj**ūh wa 'l-ḥudūd*, used by Abū Maʿ**sh**ar in his *K. al-Mud**kh**al al-kabīr*, according to an extract made by Rhetorios (6th century A.D.). The Arabic text was published and translated into German by K. Dyroff and F. Boll, *Sphaera*, Leipzig 1903 (repr. Hildesheim 1967), 482-539 (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 11 ff., 71-3, 80-1; Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 246 ff.; idem, *Tracce di opere greche giunte agli arabi per trafila pehlevica*, in *ʿAjab-náma, E.G. Browne Festschrift*, Cambridge 1922, 345-63; AL-NU**DJ**ŪM. III. f.).

A fourth source in Pahlavi was used by the Arab astrologers: this is the *K. Zarādu**sh**t fī 'l-nu**dj**ūm wa-taʾ**th**īrātihā wa 'l-ḥukm ʿalā 'l-mawālīd*. On the Arabic writings attributed to Zarathustra, D. Pingree (quoted by Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 84) writes: "Thus, as the original Zaradusht text, having a Hellenic origin, was revised in Sassanian Iran in about 550 and then expanded with material from the Pahlavi Dorotheos in about 650, so the latter was revised in about 400, when it was expanded with material both from the Pahlavi Valens and from a Pahlavi translation of a Sanscrit text" (*Māshāʾallāh*: *some Sassanian and Syriac sources*, in *Essays on Islamic philosophy and science*, New York 1975, 5-14, cf. 8; V. Stegemann, *Astrologische Zarathoustra—Fragmente bei den arabischen Astrologen Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī 'r-Ridjāl* (*11. Jh.*), in *Orientalia*, N.S., vi [1937], 317-36).

From the Sanskrit, al-Bīrūnī (*Taḥḳīḳ mā li 'l-Hind*, 122 ff.) translated the *K. al-Mawālīd al-ṣa**gh**īr* (*ibid.*, 122) of Varāhamihira, identified by D. Pingree (*Astronomy and astrology in India and Iran*, in *Isis*, liv [1963], 234) with the *Laghujātaka*, and cited the *K. al-Mawālīd al-kabīr* by the same author, as well as a *K. al-Mawālīd* by Kalan Buram al-Malik (= Kaljana-Varnan). A *K. al-Mawālīd* is also attributed to Kanaka, astrologer at the court of Hārūn al-Ra**sh**īd (ms. Çorum 3001/5, fols. 156-159a, 11th/17th century; for the Pahlavi and Sanskrit writings, see Sezgin, vii, 68-97).

The first Arab astrologer to take an interest in genethlialogy is the eminent Jewish scholar Mā**sh**āʾallāh (d. *ca.* 200/815 [*q.v.*]). Two works bear his name: *K. al-Mawālīd*, where the topics addressed are as follows: (1) knowledge of the beginning of the formation of the foetus and the observation of its stages before birth, (2) knowledge of the position of the heliacal star at the moment of birth, (3) education, (4) knowledge of the age by means of *al-hīlā**dj*** (the *alhyleg* of the Europeans), its positions and those of the stars which are responsible for it, and (5) the form of the body, its external appearance and temperament. This work is often quoted by Arab astrologers dealing with this question. It has been the subject of two Latin

versions (cf. L. Thorndike, *The Latin translations of astrological works by Messahala*, in *Osiris*, xii [1956], 49-72; E.S. Kennedy and D. Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971).

Ibn al-Nadīm mentions a *K. al-Mawālīd al-kabīr* by the same author, comprising 14 chapters, which is known only from its Latin translation, made by Hugo de Santalla, with the title *Libellus de navitatibus 14 distinctus capitulis* (Oxford, Bodl. Savile 15, 72 fols.). A *K. Taḥwīl sinī 'l-mawālīd*, quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm, is known only from a Latin manuscript (B.N. Paris, Latin 7324, fols. 1-24) bearing the title *De revolutionibus nativitatum*, a title also attributed to Abū Ma^cs͟har, translated from the Greek according to F.J. Carmody (*Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation. A critical bibliography*, 95) and edited at Basel in 1559, under the name of Hermes (cf. L. Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, *A catalogue of incipits of medieval scientific writings in Latin*, revised and expanded ed., 1516).

A summary composed by ^cUmar b. al-Farrukhān using writings of Hermes, Dorotheos, Ptolemy and others, bearing the title *K. al-Mawālīd*, exists in mss. (cf. Sezgin, *loc. cit.*, 112). It was translated into Latin, under the title *De nativitatibus*, by Johannes Hispalensis (Carmody, 38-9) and edited by N. Pruckner as an appendix to *Firmicus maternus*, Basel 1551, 118-41.

Other writings bearing the same title, where the same sources are extensively quoted, are attributed to various eminent astrologers, including the following:

Abū ^cAlī al-Khayyāṭ, a disciple of Māshā'allāh, known to Europeans as Albohali. His work was translated into Latin as *De iudiciis nativitatum*, by Plato of Tivoli and Abraham b. Ḥiyya, known as Savasorda (cf. Carmody, 49-50; Sezgin, vii, 120-1, where the titles of the 38 chapters are given). This opuscule was edited by Joachim Heller in 1546 and 1549, and dedicated to Melanchthon (cf. M. Steinschneider, *Europ. Übersetz.*, 46).

Sahl b. Bishr, Zahel to Europeans, famous for his horoscopes; his work comprises two parts, of 8 and 10 chapters (Sezgin, vii, 126).

Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan b. al-Khaṣīb (or al-Khaṣībī), Abubather to Europeans; his work was translated into Latin, as *Liber de nativitatibus*, by Salio (or Solkeen), a canon of Padua, in 1218 (or 1248 or 1244), with the aid of a certain David Albubather, edited in Venice in 1492 and translated into German in the 15th century (cf. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 75, no. 107).

The author who brilliantly concludes this series of genethlialogical writings is Abū Ma^cs͟har al-Falakī (d. 272/886 [*q.v.*]), the greatest astrologer of the Arab and Latin Middle Ages. Numerous examples of the genre bear his name: (1) *K. Aḥkām taḥwīl sinī 'l-mawālīd*, a horological work in 9 chapters, preserved in numerous manuscripts (cf. Sezgin, vii, 142). The Arabic text has been edited and partially translated into German by C. Bezold (see above), translated into Greek in the 10th century and edited by D. Pingree, Albumasaris, *De revolutionibus nativitatum*, Leipzig 1968. The editor describes its contents in the *Dictionary of scientific biography*, i, 1970, 37, no. 19. (2) *K. al-mawālīd* (*al-kabīr* and *al-ṣaghīr* according to Ibn al-Nadīm), of which numerous manuscripts exist (Sezgin, 144-5). (3) *K. Aḥkām al-mawālīd* (*ibid.*, 145; D. Pingree, *op. cit.*, 39). (4) *K. Mawālīd al-ridjāl wa 'l-nisā'*, on the subject of the birth of men and of women (several mss. indicated in Sezgin, vii, 145; for the contents, see J.M. Faddegon, *Notice sur un petit traité d'astrologie attribué a Albumasar* (*Abū Ma^cshar*) in *JA*, ccxiii [1928], 150-58; D. Pingree, *op. cit.*, 38, no. 29).

With Abū Ma^cshar, genethlialogical literature reached its apogee. The following generation confined itself to reproducing and annotating his writings (cf. *Divination*, 482-3).

II. *Hemerology and menology*. It has been observed that genethlialogy is concerned with the fate of individuals and permits the compilation of their horoscope, starting from the date of birth. The *ikhtiyārāt* (καταρχαί, choices) consist rather in establishing the calendar of the auspicious (*sa^cd*) and of the inauspicious (*naḥs*). Choice depends upon years, months, days of the week and even hours. "Deciding the moment for action or for abstention, compiling, in terms of this moment, the list of things which may be undertaken with success and those which should be renounced, constituted one of the principal prerogatives of the astrologer who, in the ^cAbbāsid period, became a permanent functionary in the court of the caliph and at conferences of military leaders" (*Divination*, 483; cf. F. Boll, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung. Die Geschichte und das Wesen der Astrologie*, 3rd ed. by W. Gunkel, Leipzig-Berlin 1926; C.A. Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 38 ff.). Aḥmad Amīn, quoting al-Aṣma^cī, states that the choice of *ḳāḍī* and of *imām* in the Umayyad period was made by means of astrological procedures (*Ḍuḥā 'l-Islām*, 27, 28 ff.).

The discernment of auspicious and inauspicious days has existed among many peoples (for the ancient Orient, see R. Labat, *Hémérologies et ménologies d'Assur*, Paris 1939; idem, *Le Calendrier babylonien des travaux, des signes et des mois*, Paris 1965; F. Chabas, *Le calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes de l'année égyptienne* (Papyrus Sallier iv), Paris undated; A. Lods, *Le rôle des oracles dans la nomination du roi, des prêtres et des magistrats chez les Israélites, les Égyptiens et les Grecs*, in *MIFAO*, lvi [1942], 91-100 = *Mélanges Maspero*, i).

The Arabs were aware of this procedure and practised it. Various accounts testify to it (cf. *Divination*, 483 ff. and IKHTIYĀRĀT, of which the current article is the completion). It emerges that it was under Persian influence that astrology acquired respectability in the court of the caliph and among the ruling class. "In order to imitate the Sāsānid kings, the ^cAbbāsid caliphs, who in most cases had Persian tutors (in particular al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn), adopted customs which were at odds with the Arab spirit and Islam. This process of adaptation gave rise to the translations from the Pahlavi made by Ibn al-Muḳaffa^c, essentially comprising manuals for the education of princes (*Fürstenspiegel*), such as *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the *K. al-Tādj* and the *K. al-Ā'īn*" (*Divination*, 485. On these writings, see F. Gabrieli, *Opera di Ibn al-Muqaffa^c* in *RSO*, xiii [1932], 197-247; idem, *Etichetta di corte e costumi sasanidi nel* Kitāb aḫlāq al-mulūk *di al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, *ibid.*, xi [1928], 292-305).

According to the *Bāb al-^cIrāfa*, attributed to al-Djāḥiẓ, "the astrologers had examined the days of the week, judging them and appraising them in the interests of the king. They said, 'Each day has its star (*ṭāli^c*) which dominates it and its character which this star necessarily confers upon it.' Accordingly, they determined for each day of the week the tasks appropriate to it" (for details, see *Divination*, 485-6).

The auspicious and inauspicious character of days of the week depended on the planets to which they were dedicated. Similarly, the hours of the day were dedicated to the seven planets and characters conferred on them (cf. ms. Konya, Müze Kütüph. 5333, fols. 179a-181b, *naskhī* of 833/1429-30, 28 × 18 cm, *al-Ḳawl ^calā 'khtiyārāt al-ayyām wa 'l-a^cmāl fīhā min al-khayr wa 'l-sharr*). Various procedures were employed for the arrangement of the material: enumeration of

the days of the month with the comment "good" or "bad" for such-and-such a thing (ms. Esat Ef. 3554, *naskhī* of 1088/1677, 19.5 × 14 cm, attributed to Dja^cfar al-Ṣādiḳ), enumeration of actions advisable or inadvisable during the lunar months and the choice of days in any month, with justification (ms. Saray, Revan 1741, fols. 98a-107a, *naskhī*, 20 × 15 cm). More complex is the procedure described in the Köprülü ms. Fazıl Paşa 164, fols. 1-54b ((*naskhī* of 871/1466-7, 18 × 14 cm) arranged in the following manner: (1) Explanation of the method of application (fols. 1b ff.); (2) double column of actions; (3) circle of months; (4) thirty columns relating to the month and to the rubrics; (5) thirty rubrics: names of prophets, questions, positions of the moon, judgment according to the lunar houses; and (6) the lunar houses (for details, see *Divination*, 487).

The majority of Arab astrologers have left behind treatises or chapters relating to hemerology and menology. The following are the best known:

ʿUmar b. al-Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī, one of the earliest Arab astrologers, *K. al-Ikhtiyārāt* (ms. Alexandria, Balad 2033-d/2, fols. 42a-52b, 6th/12th century).

Sahl b. Bishr, Zahel to the Europeans, *K. al-Ikhtiyārāt ʿalā 'l-buyūt al-ithnay ʿashar*, in 12 chapters corresponding to the number and names of the signs of the Zodiac (ms. Nuruosmaniye 2785/1, fols. 1-11b, 6th/12th century; Escurial, 919/2, fols. 36-44, 8th/14th century), translated into Latin as *De electionibus*, ed. Venice in 1493 and Basel in 1551, by Nicolas Pruckner, as an appendix to *Firmicus maternus*, 102-14 (Thorndike, *Cat.*, 985, 988; Carmody, 41), a dubious attribution according to Sezgin (*GAS*, vii, 127). Also attributed to him is *Fatidica* or *Fastitica pronostica*, translated by Hermann of Carinthia (Thorndike, 1424; Carmody, 44-5). In his *K. al-Awḳāt* (Escurial 919/4, fols. 47-53, 7th/13th century), translated into Latin as *Liber temporum* (Carmody, *op. cit.*), he gives the significations of times in judicial astrology; attributed to him also is *De significatione temporis ad iudicia*, ed. Venice 1493 (Thorndike, *Cat.*, 1411).

Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Kindī, *Ikhtiyārāt al-ayyām* (ms. Leiden, Or. 199/2, fols. 19-20; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über einen astrologischen Traktat von Al-Kindi*, in *Archiv für Gesch. d. Naturwiss. und Technik*, iii [1912], 224-6, where the contents are described).

Abū Maʿshar, to whom three hemerological writings are attributed: *K. al-Ikhtiyārāt*, translated into Latin as *Electiones planetarum* (Carmody, 96); *Ikhtiyārāt al-sāʿāt*, translated probably as *Flores de electionibus* by John of Seville (Thorndike, 180, 738, 945; Carmody, 97); *al-Ikhtiyārāt fi 'l-aʿmāl wa 'l-ḥawāʾidj min umūr al-salāṭīn* (ms. Rabat D 769, fols. 1-73, 567/1171; cat. no. 2571).

ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿImrānī (d. 344/955), Haly Imrani to Europeans, *K. al-Ikhtiyārāt*, translated into Latin by Plato of Tivoli in collaboration with Abraham b. Ḥiyya, known as Savasorda (Thorndike, *Cat.*, 1363, 1007; Carmody, 138) and by John of Seville as *Regule de electionibus* (Thorndike, 1707; Carmody, 139).

Al-Isrāʾīlī, astrologer of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (386-411/996-1021), wrote for his master a treatise on *ikhtiyārāt* in the form of 133 aphorisms, translated into Latin as *Liber capitulorum Almansoris*, by Plato of Tivoli (cf. J.-Cl. Vadet, *Les aphorismes latins d'Almansor. Essai d'interprétation*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, v [1963], 31-130).

Abū Saʿīd al-Sidjzī, *K. al-Ikhtiyārāt*, in three lengthy sections (for the titles see Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 179).

Abū 'l-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ridjāl, known to Europeans as Haly Aben Ragel or Abenragel or even Albohazan, author of popular astrological writings widely circulated in the East and the West. Attributed to him is a *De electionibus* in 103 chapters (ms. Vatican 4082, fols. 161-84; Thorndike, *Cat.*, 734; on his work, see V. Stegemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Astrologie I*, Heidelberg 1935).

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Ikhtiyārāt al-ʿalāʾiyya*, in 9 chapters, translated by the author from Persian into Arabic (cf. ref. in M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 340).

As has been seen, the two main areas of judicial astrology considered in this article were widely known and practised in the mediaeval East and West. The principles which govern them derive from the observation and interpretation of the connections and interactions of stars. Knowledge of these connections constitutes the essence of astrological divination, of theurgy and of the talismanic art (cf. on this topic, Fahd's contribution to vol. vii of *Sources Orientales*, entitled *Le monde du sorcier en Islam*, Paris 1966, 157-204; summarised in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, art. *Magic*; reprinted in L.E. Sullivan (ed.), *Hidden truths. Magic, alchemy and the occult*, New York-London 1989, 122-30).

Bibliography: Numerous references to Arab astrological literature are to be found in vol. vii of Sezgin's *GAS*, Leiden 1979, 3-199 and in M. Ullmann's *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften in Islam*, Leiden 1972, 271-358 (Handbuch d. Orientalistik, i, Abt., Erg. vi, 2. Absch.); see also C. Nallino, *Astrologia e astronomia presso i Musulmani*, summarised in J. Hastings (ed.), *ERE*, xii, 88-101, and published in full in *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, v, Rome 1944, 1-41; in addition to historical and scientific information, this work contains an account of the polemics surrounding astrology (19 ff.); T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*², Paris 1987; Mūsā b. Nawbakht, *al-Kitāb al-Kāmil (fī asrār al-nudjūm). Horoscopos historicos*, ed. and tr. by Ana Labarta, preface by J. Vernet, Madrid-Barcelona 1982; L. Thorndike, *The true place of astrology in the history of sciences*, in *Isis*, xlvi (1955), 273-78; I. Goldziher, *Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften*, in *Abh. Akad. Pr.* (1915), no. 8; G. Thibaut, *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, Strassburg 1899 (*Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumkunde*, 3, 9); V. Stegemann, *Astrologie und Universalgeschichte. Studien und Interpretationen zu den Dionysiaca des Nonnos von Panopolis*, *Stoicheia*, Heft 9; J. Bidez and Fr. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès and Hystaspe*, Paris 1938; Bīrūnī, *K. al-Tafhīm li-awāʾil ṣināʿat al-tandjīm*, ed. from the B.L. London ms. with English tr. by R.R. Wright, London 1934; F.J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation. A critical bibliography*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1956; L. Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, *A Catalogue of incipits of medieval scientific writings in Latin*, 2nd revised and expanded edn., London 1963; D. Pingree, *The Thousands of Abu Maʿshar*, London 1968 (Studies of the Warburg Institute, 30); F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zürich and Stuttgart 1965 (Bibliothek des Morgenlandes).

(T. FAHD)

NŪḤ, the Noah of the Bible, is a particularly popular figure in the Ḳurʾān and in Muslim legend. Al-Thaʿlabī gives 15 virtues by which Nūḥ is distinguished among the prophets. The Bible does not regard Noah as a prophet. In the Ḳurʾān, Nūḥ is the first prophet of punishment, who is followed by Hūd,

Ṣāliḥ, Lūṭ, Shuʿayb and Mūsā. Ibrāhīm is one of his following (*shīʿa*) (XXXVII, 81). He is the perspicuous admonisher (*nadhīr mubīn*, XI, 27; LXXI, 2), the *rasūl amīn* "the true messenger of God" (XXVI, 107), the *ʿabd shakūr*, "the grateful servant of God" (XVII, 3). God enters into a covenant with Nūḥ just as with Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and ʿĪsā (XXXIII, 7). Peace and blessings are promised him (XI, 50). Muḥammad is fond of seeing himself reflected in the earlier prophets. In the case of Nūḥ, the Muslim Ḳurʾān exegetes have already noticed this (see Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 90). Muḥammad puts into the mouth of Nūḥ things that he would himself like to say and into the mouths of his opponents what he himself has heard from Nūḥ's opponents. Nūḥ is reproached with being only one of the people (X, 72-4). God should rather have sent an angel (XXIII, 24). Nūḥ is wrong (VII, 58), is lying, deceiving (VII, 62), is possessed by *djinn* (LIV, 9), only the lowest join him (XI, 29; XXVI, 111). When Nūḥ replies: "It is grievous to you that I live among you, I seek no reward, my reward is with God (X, 72-4; XI, 31); I do not claim to possess God's treasures, to know his secrets, to be an angel and I cannot say to those whom ye despise, God shall not give you any good" (XI, 31-3), we have here an echo of Muḥammad's defence and embarrassment about many of his followers. The Ḳurʾān pictures events as follows: God sends Nūḥ to the sinful people. Sūra LXXI, which bears his name, gives one of these sermons threatening punishment for which other analogies can be found. The people scorn him. Allah commands him to build an ark by divine inspiration. Then the "chaldron boils" (XI, 42; XXIII, 27). The waters drown everything; only two of every kind of living creature are saved and the believers whom Nūḥ takes into the ark with him. But there were very few who believed. Nūḥ appeals even to his son in vain; the latter takes refuge on a mountain but is drowned. When Nūḥ bids the waters be still, the ark lands on mount Djūdī ([*q.v.*] XI, 27-51). Not only Noah's son but also his wife (with Lūṭ's wife) are sinners (LXVI, 10). From the *Haggada* is developed, as Geiger shows, the following elements of this Ḳurʾānic legend of Nūḥ: 1. Nūḥ appears as a prophet and admonisher; 2. his people laugh at the Ark; 3. his family is punished with hot water (main passages: *Talm. Sanhedrin*, 108a-b; *Gen. Rabba*, xxix-xxxvi).

The post-Ḳurʾānic legend of Nūḥ, as in other cases, fills up the gaps, gives the names of those not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, makes many links, e.g. connects Nūḥ with Farīdūn of the Persian epic, although it is pointed out that the Magi (Persians) do not know the story of the flood. Nūḥ's wife is called Wāliya and her sin is that she described Nūḥ to his people as *madjnūn*. The names of Nūḥ's sons, Sām, Ḥām and Yāfith are known to Ḳurʾān exegesis from the Bible, but this exegesis also gives the name of Nūḥ's sinful son who perished in the flood, Kanʿān, "whom the Arabs call Yām". The Ḳurʾānic statement that Nūḥ was 950 years of age at the time of the flood (*ṭūfān*) (XXIX, 13, 14) is probably based on Gen. ix. 39, which says Nūḥ lived 950 years in all. Also, it serves as a basis for calculations which make Nūḥ the first *muʿammar*; according to the *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn* of Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (ed. Goldziher, in *Abh. zur arab Philologie*, ii), who begins his book with Nūḥ, he lived 1,450 years. Yet in his dying hour he describes his life as a house with two doors through one of which one enters, while he leaves through the other. Muslim legend knows the Biblical story of Nūḥ, his times and his sons, but embellishes it greatly, and in al-Kisāʾī it becomes a romance. From the union of Ḳābil's and Shīth's descendants arises a sinful people which rejects Nūḥ's warnings. He therefore at God's command builds the Ark from trees which he has himself planted. As he is hammering and building the people mock him: "Once a prophet, now a carpenter?", "A ship for the mainland?" The Ark had a head and tail like a cock, a body like a bird (al-Thaʿlabī). How was the Ark built? At the wish of the apostles, Jesus arouses Sām (or Ḥām) b. Nūḥ from the dead and he describes the Ark and its arrangements: in the lower storey were the quadrupeds, in the next the human beings and in the top the birds. Nūḥ brought the ant into the Ark first and the ass last; it was slow because Iblīs was clinging to its tail. Nūḥ called out impatiently: "Come in even if Satan is with thee"; so Iblīs also had to be taken in. The pig arose out of the tail of the elephant and the cat from the lion. How could the ox exist beside the lion, the goat alongside the wolf, or the dove beside the birds of prey? God tamed their instincts. The number of human beings in the Ark varies in legend between seven and eighty. ʿŪdj b. ʿAnaḳ was also saved along with the believers. Ḳābil's race was drowned. Nūḥ also took Adam's body with him, which was used to separate the women from the men, for in the Ark continence was ordered, for man and beast. Only Ḥām transgressed, and for this was punished with a black skin. The whole world was covered with water and only the Ḥaram (in al-Kisāʾī, also the site of the sanctuary in Jerusalem) was spared; the Kaʿba was taken up into heaven and Djibrīl concealed the Black Stone (according to al-Kisāʾī, the stone was snow-white until the Flood). Nūḥ sent out the raven, but finding some carrion it forgot Nūḥ; then he sent the dove, which brought back an olive leaf in its bill and mud on its feet; as a reward it was given its collar and became a domestic bird. On the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ every one came out of the Ark, men and beasts fasted and gave thanks to God.

There are many contacts with the *Haggada*: the (different, it is true) partitioning of the Ark, Nūḥ's anxiety about the animals, Ḥām's sin and punishment (*Sanhedrin*, 108a-b). The story that the giant ʿŌg escaped the Flood is also taken from the *Haggada* [see ʿŪDJ B. ʿANAḲ]. But Muslim legend goes farther than the Bible and Haggada in depicting Muḥammad, who sees himself in Nūḥ.

Bibliography: Principal passages are Ḳurʾān, VII, 57-62; XI, 27-51; XXIII, 23-31; XXVI, 105-22; XXXVII, 73-81; LXXI (whole); Ṭabarī, i, 174-201; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 27-9; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, 34-8; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. J. Eisenberg, i, 85-102, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, *The tales of the prophets of al-Kisaʾi*, Boston 1978, 91-109; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed...*, Leipzig 1902², 106-11; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 79-90; J. Horovitz, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii (1925) 151; idem, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1926, 13-18, 22-9, 32-5, 49-51, esp. 46; J. Walker, *Biblical characters in the Koran*, Paisley 1931, 113-21; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, Paris 1933, 26-7; H. Speyer, *Die biblische Erzählungen im Qoran*, Grafenhainichen *ca.* 1938, 84-115.—On the name Nūḥ: Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xxiv (1870), 207-11; on Nūḥ as *muʿammar*: Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, ii, Leiden 1899, pp. lxxxix and 2. (B. HELLER)

NŪḤ (I) B. NAṢR B. AḤMAD, Sāmānid *amīr* of Transoxania and Khurāsān (331-43/943-54), given after his death the honorific of *al-Amīr al-Shahīd* ("the Praiseworthy").

Continuing the anti-Shīʿī reaction which marked the end of the reign of Nūḥ's father Naṣr [*q.v.*], the early years of the new reign were dominated by the vizierate of the pious Sunnī *faḳīh* Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Sulamī, but very soon, ominous signs of decline began to appear in the state. There were revolts in the tributary kingdom of Khwārazm [*q.v.*] and in Khurāsān under its governor Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī, whom Nūḥ attempted to replace by the Turkish commander Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr. In 335/947 Abū ʿAlī succeeded in temporarily placing on the throne at Bukhārā Nūḥ's uncle Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad. Although this putsch collapsed and the *Amīr* now appointed Manṣūr b. Ḳaratigin as governor of Khurāsān, Abū ʿAlī was able to withdraw to his family territories on the upper Oxus [see ČAGHĀNIYĀN] and to preserve a dominant role in the state and in external warfare against the Būyid *amīr* Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*] until *Amīr* Nūḥ died in Rabīʿ II 343/August 954.

The costs of quelling internal rebelliousness and of the wars in northern Persia caused a financial crisis during Nūḥ's reign, with the army often going unpaid and the subjects complaining of increased taxation burdens. Hence Nūḥ left to his son and successor ʿAbd al-Malik a divided and disaffected kingdom, whose fortunes no subsequent *amīrs* were able to restore.

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Gardīzī and Ibn al-Athīr, both utilising material from the lost *Taʾrīkh Wulāt Khurāsān* of Sallāmī; and Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 97-8. Of studies, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 246-9; R.N. Frye, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 151; Erdoğan Mercil, *Simcûrîler. II. Ibrâhîm b. Sîmcûr*, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. x-xi (1979-80), 91-6. See also SĀMĀNIDS.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

NŪḤ (II) B. MANṢŪR B. NŪḤ, Sāmānid *amīr* initially in Transoxania and Khurāsān, latterly in the first province only (366-87/977-97), given after his death the honorific *al-Amīr al-Raḍī* ("the Well-pleasing").

The last of his line to enjoy a reign of any significant length, Nūḥ succeeded his father Manṣūr (I) [*q.v.*] at the age of 13, real power being in the hands of his mother and the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿUtbī, the last vizier to the Sāmānids worthy of the title. However, authority in the state fell more and more into the hands of the great military commanders, such as Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sīmdjūrī and his son Abū ʿAlī, Fāʾiḳ Khāṣṣa and Tāsh. Warfare against the Būyids went badly, and only the death in 372/983 of ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] prevented a Būyid invasion of Khurāsān. In the confusion, Abū ʿAlī secretly connived with Bughra Khān Hārūn, chief of the Turkish Ḳarakhānids in the steppes to the north of Transoxania [see ILEK-KHĀNS], to partition the Sāmānid kingdom, with Abū ʿAlī to have the lands south of the Oxus. Bughra Khān entered Bukhārā in 382/992, but soon withdrew. With Khurāsān also out of his control, Nūḥ remained ruler of the Zarafshān valley only, and in 383/993 he called in Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] from Ghazna [see GHAZNAWIDS] against Abū ʿAlī and Fāʾiḳ. Sebüktigin and his son Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] established themselves in the former Sāmānid dominions, now threatened by a further Ḳarakhānid invasion from the north, but in 386/996 Sebüktigin and the Ḳarakhānid Ilig Naṣr made an agreement whereby the latter took over the whole basin of the Syr Darya, whilst Sebüktigin became complete master over Khurāsān. Nūḥ himself died in Radjab 387/July 997, with the final end of Sāmānid rule in Transoxania only two years away.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

NŪḤ B. **MUṢṬAFĀ**, Ottoman theologian and translator, was born in Anatolia but migrated while still quite young to Cairo where he studied all branches of theology and attained a high reputation. He died there in 1070/1659. He wrote a series of theological treatises, some of which are detailed by Brockelmann, II², 407-8, S II, 432. His most important work, however, is his free translation and edition of Shahrastānī's celebrated work on the sects, his *Terdjeme-i Milal we-niḥal* which he prepared at the suggestion of a prominent Cairo citizen named Yūsuf Efendi (cf. Brockelmann, I², 551, S I, 763). It exists in manuscript in Berlin (cf. Pertsch, *Kat.*, 157-8), Gotha (Pertsch, *Kat.*, 76), London (cf. Rieu, *Cat.*, 35-6), Upsala (cf. Tornberg, *Codices*, 213), Vienna (cf. Flügel, *Kat.*, ii, 199) etc., and was printed in Cairo in 1263. On the considerable differences between this Turkish translation and the original Arabic, cf. Rieu in the British Museum Catalogue, 35b. In his *Mémoire sur deux coffrets gnostiques du moyen âge, du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*, Paris 1832, 28 ff., J. von Hammer gave some extracts from the latter part of the work. He also wrote on it in the *Wiener Jahrbücher*, lxxi, 50, and ci, 4.

In 1150/1741 a certain Yūsuf Efendi wrote a life of Nūḥ b. Muṣṭafā which exists in ms. in Cairo (*Cat.*, vii, 364).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1868, iv, 458.

(F. BABINGER)

NUḤĀM (A.), substantive of collective type (*nomen unitatis*, *-a*), denoting in ancient Arabic texts the Greater Flamingo ("flaming one") or phoenicopter (the Φοινικόπτερος "purple-winged" of the Greeks and the *iṣṣūr nūri* "bird of light" of the Akkadians), this being *Phoenicopterus ruber roseus* or *antiquorum* of the order of the Phoenicopteridae (*nuḥāmiyyāt*) which resemble waders with their long legs and palmipeds with their webbed feet. The term *nuḥām*, drawn from the root *n-ḥ-m*, which evokes the notion of growling, was given to this large and graceful bird on account of its discordant cries composed of howls and bellows. The same applies to *mirzam*, another mediaeval name for the flamingo, as the root *r-z-m* also contains the notion of growling.

Among the six Phoenicoperidae classified according to ornithological systems, the Greater Flamingo, the only species known in Arab lands, is present throughout the periphery of the Mediterranean, on the western shores of the Red Sea, in the Persian Gulf and in Kuwait; its chosen habitat is in marshy regions such as the estuaries of the Nile, the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, the Shaṭṭ al-Djarīd in Tunisia and the Rhône (Camargue), from which it draws its subsistence, living in large flocks. The southern coasts of Arabia are occasionally visited by the Lesser Flamingo (*Phoenicopterus minor*) which normally inhabits Somalia and Eritrea; it has no specific name in Arabic, being confused with its larger cousin.

Each region of the Arabic language has given the flamingo names belonging to local dialects; thus in Egypt, it is the *basharūsh* (old French "becharu", "bacerux"), which in Tunisia has become *shabrūsh* by

metathesis. Also found are the terms *nuḥāf*, *niḥāf*, *sur-khāb*, and it is sometimes nicknamed *rahū 'l-māʾ* "aquatic crane". For the Muslim bands of crossbow-archers (*rumāt ḳaws al-bunduḳ*) of the Middle Ages, the flamingo counted among the fourteen "obligatory birds" (*ṭuyūr al-wādjib*) required for scoring points in competitions. Hunters also called it *mirzam* and *turun-djān*, this last term being the only one which refers to the striking colour of the plumage.

According to Islamic law, consumption of the flesh of the flamingo is permitted; it is said to be, apparently, quite agreeable, not tasting excessively of fish, and according to a *ḥadīth* (related by al-Damīrī but regarded as dubious), the Prophet is said to have eaten it. On the other hand, it is known that the Romans used the tongue of this bird in a number of sophisticated dishes. Gastronomic interest apart, the flamingo was credited with several specific qualities (*khawāṣṣ*) in the therapeutic field; its fat, used as an ointment, was a remedy against hemiplegia (*fālidj*) and maladies of the joints. The same afflictions could also be treated by means of a plaster consisting of a mixture of oil and the paste obtained after the whole body of the bird, including plumage, had been boiled for a long period. Finally, the tongue of the flamingo, dried and soaked in oil, then pounded, produced a medication for the treatment of otitis.

Of the ancient Arab naturalist writers, only al-Damīrī mentions the *nuḥām*, to which he attributes bizarre behaviour, resulting from total ignorance of the ethology of this elusive bird. Thus he says that the female flamingo is fertilised by an oral regurgitation on the part of the male and not by copulation. Once the eggs have been laid on the pyramid of dried mud which serves as a nest, the male comes and covers them with his droppings, and only the warmth of the sun guarantees their incubation. The chicks hatch in an inanimate state, and it is the female who brings them to life, breathing air into their beaks; all of this is pure fable.

In poetry, the only mention of the flamingo is found in the work of the poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī of the 8th/14th century, who calls it *mirzam*, in a list of the fourteen "obligatory birds" contained in a long *urdjūza* of twenty-nine stanzas each with five hemistiches dedicated to the memory of the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575-622/1180-1225 [*q.v.*]), who reorganised the *futuwwa* of crossbow archery.

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(F. Viré)

NUḤĀS, the word most often used in Arabic for copper (Cu).

Next to gold and silver, this is one of the oldest known metals. The word is evidently common to all Semitic languages: Hebrew *nᵉḥōšeṯ*, Aramaic *nᵉḥāšā*, Ethiopic *nāḥes*; the Greek word χαλκός appears in transliteration as *khalḳūs*. Because the alchemists wanted the materials they used to be kept secret, there exist many pseudonyms for copper, which moreover were often changed and are for the greater part incomprehensible. The alchemists attach it to the planet al-Zuhara, i.e. Venus (see the survey in E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, 603-4). Most of these pseudonyms cannot be defined unambiguously; they certainly do not only indicate pure copper but also copper minerals such as primary ore, secondary products of erosion or sedimentary formations. According to al-Bīrūnī, copper is called in Greek *khalḳūs*, in Syriac *nuḥāsā*, in Arabic *al-nuḥās*, *al-miss* (in ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān) and *al-ḳiṭr* (i.e. brass) (*K. al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir*, Ḥaydarābād 1355/1936, 244-5). Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī distinguishes three kinds of copper: the red-white Greek one (*rūmī*), the red and dry Cypriot one (*ḳubrusī*) and the blood-red one from Sūs (in Khūzistān). He describes the extraction as follows: the quicksilver in the quarry having attracted and absorbed the sulphur, the heat in the quarry causes the sulphur to dominate the quicksilver; after that, the mass is transformed into a red rock which has a pungent taste. Fire or a long stay in the earth occasionally makes it slate-like, occasionally it oxidises into verdigris (*zindjār*, the ἰὸς ξυστός of Dioscorides), or it acquires a surplus of sulphur in the quarry and then becomes antimony (*rūsakhtadj*), which is pulverised to obtain the collyrium called *rāsukht*. Dipped several times in bee honey, it takes on a golden colour. A needle, sickle, knife or sword made from copper thus treated and dipped in the blood of a billy-goat (*dam al-tays*) causes incurable wounds, and the sickle prevents the herb from growing (al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. A.F. Mehren, Leiden 1874, repr. Amsterdam 1964, Ar. text 54, tr. 59-60).

Of primary importance for Arabic mineralogy became the so-called "Book of Stones of Aristotle". Its influence can be perceived not only from the great number of manuscripts but also through the rich secondary tradition. In J. Ruska's edition, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, the "stone" copper is described under no. 59, where the best among the numerous kinds of copper is said to be the red one, mixed with black. Verdigris (*zindjār*) is explained as a green substance hidden inside this kind of copper, which can be extracted by the use of vinegar. When brass (*ṣufr*) is cast and vitriol (*zādj*) and borax (*bawraḳ* [*q.v.*]) are added, something emerges which resembles gold and is solid as if it were gold. Food and drink taken from a brass vessel are harmful, occasionally lethal. If a victim of facial paralysis (*laḳwa*) enters a darkened house and looks at himself in a mirror made of *ṭāliḳūn* (a copper alloy = μεταλλικόν, hardly καθολικόν as in Dozy, *Supplement*, ii, 19), the paralysis disappears. Hot *ṭāliḳūn* dipped in water drives flies off and prevents

eyelashes from growing again after they have been depilated with a pair of tweezers. For these qualities of *ṭāliḳūn*, which probably is identical with "Chinese iron" (*k͟hār čīnī, ḥadīd ṣīnī*), see also J. Ruska (tr.), *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des... al-Ḳazwīnī*, Kirchhain, N.L. 1896, 28, and M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1972, 409 f.

Special healing properties were of old attributed to "burnt copper" (*aes ustum*), see Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, v, 76, κεκαυμένος χαλκός/Arab. tr. ed. Dubler and Terés, v, 59, *al-nuḥās al-muḥraḳ*: this copper preparation possesses astringent, dehydrating, diluting and purifying power and scars sores. Taken with honey, it is an emetic. This copper is made from nails coming from destroyed or sunken ships. The nails, sprinkled with sulphur and salt, are made white-hot in a kiln inside a closed melting-pot made of clay. According to the description, the σῶρυ of Dioscorides (Greek text v, 102, Arab. tr. *ṣūrī*, v, 84) is also a product of the copper quarry and resembles burnt copper.

Al-Tamīmī describes how copper ore, set aglow in a kiln, disintegrates into its components, among which is copper; in the Nīs͟hāpūr region a copper quarry is said to exist, from which turquoise (*fayrūzad͟j*) was extracted at the same time and therefore said to be a "copper-like" substance; next, al-Tamīmī develops a theory on the nature of verdigris (see Jutta Schönfeld, *Über die Steine. Das 14. Kapitel aus dem "Kitāb al-Muršid" des Tamīmī*, Freiburg 1976, 57, 81, 119).

According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, there were layers of copper in the mountains of Bārd͟jān in the province of Kirmān (65), in Farg͟hāna (115-16), Georgia (68), Kirmān (124), Sardan (Fārs, 129), Spain (154) and Ṭūs (103). Elsewhere, too, Persia is mentioned as the most important land of copper export: from Sardan it was exported to Baṣra and other regions, lucrative layers of copper ore were found near Damindān (in Kirmān), in the region of Iṣfāhān and in D͟jibāl (Media) (see P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 158, 268, 868). In the 3rd/9th century the copper quarries near Iṣfāhān paid taxes of 10,000 *dirhams*, and Buk͟hārā supplied copper for the shining domed roofs of the minarets (Mez, *Renaissance*, 416). According to Ibn K͟haldūn, the river bed of the Tiber (*sic*) was said to be covered with copper (Ibn K͟haldūn, tr. Rosenthal, i, 151).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the text): M. Berthelot, *La chimie au Moyen Age*, i-iii, Paris 1893, repr. 1967, *passim* (very often), see indexes, i, 428, ii, 382-3, iii, 245-6; I. Löw, *Fauna und Mineralien der Juden*, ed. A. Scheiber, repr. Hildesheim 1969, 229-50, esp. 232-7; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*, repr. 1986, 19, 21, 261; Dietlinde Goltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus*, Wiesbaden 1972, 256 f., 262 f. On the healing qualities of copper (selected sources): Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xxi, 612-7 (no. 882); Harawī, *al-Abniya ʿan ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-adwiya*, Tehran 1346/1928, 335; Ibn al-D͟jazzār, *K. al-Iʿtimād*, facs. ed. Frankfurt 1985, 163; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Būlāḳ 1294, i, 377; Ibn Hubal, *K.al-Muk͟htārāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1362/1943, ii, 135-6; Ibn Bayṭār, *al-D͟jāmiʿ*, iv, 178; Maimonides, *S͟harḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, nos. 142, 357, 373; Ibn Rasūl al-G͟hassānī, *al-Muʿtamad*, Beirut 1395/1975, 520; Suwaydī, *K. al-Simāt fī asmāʾ al-nabāt*, ms. Paris ar. 3004, 185a-b; Anṭākī, *Tad͟hkirat ulī 'l-albāb*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 329. (A. Dietrich)

AL-**NUK͟HAYLA**, a town in ʿIrāḳ, near al-Kūfa. It is known mainly from the accounts of the battle of Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*]. From the statements collected by Yāḳūt regarding its position, it appears that two different places of this name had later to be distinguished, namely one near al-Kūfa on the road to Syria, which is several times mentioned in the time of the caliphs ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, and another, a watering station between al-Mug͟hīt͟ha and al-ʿAḳaba, 3 *mīls* from al-Ḥufayr, to the right of the road to Mecca. Several encounters took place there during the second battle of Ḳādisiyya. According to al-K͟halīl in al-Bakrī, this al-Nuk͟hayla was in the Syrian steppe (*al-bādiya*); Ibn al-Faḳīh also seems to be thinking of this region. Caetani assumes that the reference in both cases is to the same place on the edge of the desert. According to Musil, it perhaps corresponds to the modern K͟hān Ibn Nuk͟hayle about 22 km/14 miles S. S. E. of Karbalāʾ and 64 km/40 miles N. N. W. of al-Kūfa.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿd͟jam*, iv, 771-2; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 163; Bakrī, *Muʿd͟jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 577; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, ii, 162; Ṭabarī, i, 2201-2, 3259, 3345; ii, 545; Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 245, 253-4, 256; Ibn Miskawayh, *Tad͟jārib*, ed. Caetani, 571; Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, iv, 417, v, 213, 253 = §§ 1536, 1722, 1976, 2016; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii/1, Milan 1910, 156, 254, 258, 261, A.H. 13, § 168, n. 2b, A.H. 14, § 11, 14a (with n. 3), 20; L. Massignon, in *MIFAO*, xxvii, 34b, 51, 53; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1928, 39, n. 31; 41, n. 32, 247, 329. (E. Honigmann)

AL-**NUKKĀR** (AL-NAKKĀRA, AL-NAKKĀRIYYA) "deniers": one of the main branches of the K͟hārid͟jī sect of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*]. The existence of this sect has already been proved by E. Masqueray, A. de C. Motylinski and R. Strothmann; cf., however, the opinion of G. Levi della Vida, according to whom al-Nukkār is simply "an insulting epithet applied to K͟hārid͟jīs in general" [see ṢUFRIYYA]. The name al-Nukkār comes from the fact that the members of this sect refused to recognise the second Ibāḍī *imām* of Tāhert, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam [see RUSTAMIDS]. The other names given to this sect are: 1. *al-Yazīdiyya*, from the name of the chief theologian of the sect ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī al-Ibāḍī (cf. below: to be distinguished from another Ibāḍī sect which bears the same name and was founded by a certain Yazīd b. Anīsa. 2. *al-S͟haʿbiyya*; we believe this name should be derived from that of S͟huʿayb b. al-Muʿarrif (see below). 3. *al-Mulḥida* (to be distinguished from another Muslim sect of this name = *al-Bāṭiniyya*). 4. *al-Nukkāt͟h* (*al-Nakkāt͟ha*); the *nisba* from this name is *al-Nākit͟hī*. 5. *al-Nad͟jwīya* (and not نجوية as Strothmann writes it, *Berber und Ibāḍiten*, 274, n. 4). 6. *Mistāwa*; this last name, which seems to be Berber (perhaps to be connected with the Berber tribe of *Meztaoua*, mentioned by Ibn K͟haldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, i, 182) was with the Nukkār the most used.

The Ibāḍī historical tradition of North Africa, fixed towards the end of the 5th/11th century by Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Ward͟jlānī [*q.v.*], places the first appearance of the Nukkār sect at the time of the election of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (in 168/784-5, according to Ibn ʿId͟hārī, *al-Bayān al-mug͟hrib*, tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1901, 283), and names as the founder of the sect Abū Ḳudāma Yazīd b. Fendīn al-Ifranī, who was later joined by a learned dissenting Ibāḍī from Cairo, S͟huʿayb b. al-Muʿarrif. According to this tradition, the origins of the Nakkārī sect are closely connected with the Mag͟hrib. On the other hand, from information supplied by the Ibāḍī theological

works, one may judge that there were other founders of the Nakkārī sect in addition to Ibn Fendīn and Shuʿayb. They are mentioned in a *risāla* of Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Khalīfa al-Mārighnī (an Ibāḍī author of North Africa of this name was living in the 6th/12th century, cf. T. Lewicki, *Quelques textes inédits en vieux berbère*, in *REI* [1934], 278), dealing with the different Muslim sects (of which there is a manuscript in the library of the University of Lwów, no. 1088 II in the collection of mss.): ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Abu 'l-Muʾarridj ʿAmr b. Muḥammad al-Sadūsī, and Ḥātim b. Manṣūr (fol. 1 b). According to passages in the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Shammākhī and Abū Zakariyyāʾ's book, one can distinguish among these individuals the representatives of three diverse tendencies in the Ibāḍiyya, or rather, of three separate schisms. The synthesis of these different ideas seems to have been the work of Shuʿayb after the death of Ibn Fendīn (E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 74-5). The earliest was the schism of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Abu 'l-Muʾarridj, Ḥātim b. Manṣūr and Shuʿayb, to which the Nakkārī sects owes its legal principles. The date of the secession of this group is perhaps rather earlier than the revolt of Ibn Fendīn: according to the Ibāḍī books, they detached themselves from the Ibāḍiyya in the time of Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma al-Tamīmī, the Ibāḍī *imām* of Baṣra who lived in the first half of the 2nd/8th century (cf. T. Lewicki, *Une chronique ibāḍite*, in *REI* [1934] 72). It should be noted that two doctors of this group, Shuʿayb and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, also fought against the Ḳadarī tendencies in the Ibāḍiyya represented by Ḥamza al-Kūfī and ʿAṭiyya; it is even said in connection with Shuʿayb that he had sympathies with the Djabriyya [*q.v.*]. Almost contemporary with the schism of Shuʿayb and his companions seems to have been that of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī, author of a theological system, later adopted by the Nakkārīs, and a traditionist highly esteemed by the Ibāḍīs (cf. T. Lewicki, *Une chronique*, 70). These two Ibāḍī schools were absorbed after 168/784-5 by that of Ibn Fendīn.

As to the latter, we know that he was one of the members of *al-shūrā*, the council constituted by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam following the example of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and composed of six men who, after the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, were to choose the future *imām*. Ibn Fendīn had facilitated the election of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, by conducting active propaganda in his favour among the Berbers, but afterwards he demanded of the new *imām* the adoption of two conditions (*sharṭ*), quite in keeping no doubt with the Berber spirit of the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib but quite foreign to the principles of Ibāḍī teaching: firstly, that he should only act in concert with a regular *djamāʿa*, and secondly, that he should resign if he found any one more worthy (*afḍal*) than himself. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, supported by the Ibāḍī doctors of the east whom he consulted, opposed the views of Ibn Fendīn, who in his turn was supported by Shuʿayb, who came with his followers to Tāhert to join the malcontents. The "Deniers" attacked the partisans of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, known as al-Wahbiyya (on this name, see Strothmann, *Berber und Ibāḍiten*, 274, n. 4). The sources mention two great battles, in which Ibn Fendīn was killed and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb won the day. The Nakkārīs withdrew, probably to the east of Barbary. Among the fugitives was Shuʿayb, who settled in Tripolitania. It was at this period that the complete rupture occurred between the Nukkār and the Wahbī section of the Ibāḍiyya, followed immediately by a *barāʾa* or excommunication of Shuʿayb and his followers by the Wahbī doctors.

Soon the Nakkārī propaganda became very active, but it was not till the end of the 3rd/9th century, after the fall of the imāmate of Tāhert (in 296/908-9) and the establishment of the dynasty of the Fāṭimids in the Maghrib, that the Nukkār acquired a preponderance among the Ibāḍīs of North Africa. The whole of the south of Tunisia and Algeria, from the Djabal Nefūsa [*q.v.*] to Tāhert, became Nakkārī. The historians speak of a vigorous propaganda by the Nukkār, the centres of which were, in addition to Tripolitania, the Djabal Awrās and the island of Djarba. As a result of this propaganda several Wahbī Ibāḍī districts were converted to the new sect. The Nakkārīs organised an imāmate separate from that of Tāhert. We know the name of a Nakkārī *imām* who lived towards the end of the 3rd/9th century: Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Aʿmā. It was his disciple Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād [*q.v.*] who in the first half of the 4th/10th century was the leader of a formidable Nakkārī rising in the Maghrib, which almost succeeded in its endeavour to destroy the Fāṭimid state. Abū Yazīd was elected by the Nukkār assembled in the Djabal Awrās as "the *shaykh* of the true believers", Abū ʿAmmār giving place to him (in keeping with the teaching on *al-afḍal*). He tried to put into practice the teachings of Ibn Fendīn; he formed a council of twelve members called *ʿazzāba* who were to rule, in conjunction with him, the Nakkārī imāmate. But later he associated himself with the Khāridjī extremists by authorising *istiʿrāḍ* [*q.v.*] or religious murder on the model of the Azraḳīs [see AZĀRIḲA].

After the defeat and death of Abū Yazīd, the influence of the Nukkār diminished and several tribes went back to Wahbism. Nevertheless, the Nakkārīs again took part in the general rising of the Wahbīs against the Fāṭimids in 358/968-9 and later in 431/1039-40 we find them mentioned in connection with a great rising of this sect on the island of Djarba. In the 6th-8th/12th-14th centuries they are again mentioned in the district of Yefren to the east of Djabal Nafūsa, on the island of Djarba, among the Banū Warghamma in southern Tunisia, and in the oases of Bilād al-Djarīd, Rīgh and Wārdjlān. Remnants of the Nakkārī sect have survived to the present century and, according to A. de C. Motylinski, Nukkār could be found *ca.* 1900 on Djarba and in Zawāgha.

Thanks to the exposition given by Abū ʿAmr, we are acquainted with the main principles which separated the Nukkār from the Wahbī Ibāḍīs. They number seven. Besides the doctrine regarding *sharṭ*, mentioned above, a fundamental tenet of the Nukkār was their thesis that the names of God are created. Another Nakkārī tenet concerns the relations of man and woman. For other details of their teaching, see al-Barrādī, *Kitāb al-Djawāhir al-muntaḳāt*, Cairo 1302, ii, 171-2.

Several Wahbī Ibāḍī theologians refuted the Nakkārī teachings in their works, some of them quite early. For example, al-Barrādī mentions the refutations of the thesis of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Shuʿayb by a Wahbī doctor of the 2nd/8th century named Abū ʿAmr al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb (*Kitāb al-Djawāhir*, 172) and al-Wisyānī mentions a scholar of Sāhil in Tunisia named Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid who lived earlier than the 5th/11th century and refuted the Nakkārī doctrines in his various works.

Bibliography: Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wārdjlānī, *Kitāb al-Sīra wa-akhbār al-aʾimma*, ms. no. 23 in the Smogorzewski collection in the university of Lwów, fols. 17b-23a, 46a-50a, 51b-

53b, 56b; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 53-80, 226-51, 268, 270-8, 289, 290; Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Sallām al-Wisyānī, *Taʾlīf*, ms. no. 277 in the library of the Islamic Institute of the university of Lwów, fols. 27, 28, 30, 31, 33-8, 46, 73, 102, 125, 128, 129, 145, 189; an anonymous Ibāḍī chronicle contained in the same ms., fols. 218, 221, 249, 257, 265, 275, 276; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Dardjīnī, *Kitāb Ṭabakāt al-mashāʾikh*, ms. no. 275 of the Islamic Institute of Lwów, fols. 16a-20a, 35a-37b, 77b, 144a-b; Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Barrādī, *Kitāb al-Djawāhir al-muntakāt*, Cairo 1302, 171-2, 174; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 104-5, 109-10, 119-20, 145-54, 280-2, 338, 345, 358, 359, 368, 370, 376, 381, 395, 416, 432, 458, 480, 502-4, 530, 557, 590; A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghîr*, in *Actes du XIVème congrès international des orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, 16-20, 72-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *Annales du Maghrib*, tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1901, 325, 338, 345, 367; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1901, i, 277, 311, 314-16; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, tr. A. Rousseau, in *JA*, ser. 4, vol. xx (1852), 112, 167, 171, ser. 5, vol. i (1853) 123; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, Algiers 1852-6, i, 232, 277, 285, ii, 530, 531, 537, iii, 201-12, 278, 286, 291, 301; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, ii, 225; Motylinski, in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, iii, 16, no. 2; idem, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1898-9, 69, 114; Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*[2], Leiden-Paris 1927, ii, 722; M. Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale*, Paris 1927, 48; R. Strothmann, *Berber und Ibāḍiten*, in *Isl.*, xvii (1928), 274, n. 4, 275. (T. LEWICKI)

AL-NUKRA, a plain west of the Djabal Ḥawrān on the border of Trachonitis in Transjordan. The name *al-Nukra* ("the cavity") is quite modern. It is applied to an area which includes the two districts of al-Bathaniyya (with its chief town Adhriʿāt) and Ḥawrān (west of the hills of the same name), i.e. the whole northern half of modern Jordan. In the wider sense, al-Nukra includes all the country from al-Ladjāʾ, Djaydūr and al-Balkāʾ to the foot of the Djabal Ḥawrān, in the narrower sense only the southern part of this; in any case it stretches from al-Ṣanamayn to the Djabal al-Durūz (Ḥawrān). To al-Nukra belong Mūʿatbīn or Mūʿtabīn, Tubnā (now Tibne), al-Maḥadjdja, Obṭaʿ, ʿOlmā, al-Musayfira and al-Faddayn already mentioned in Syriac texts of the pre-Muslim period.

Bibliography: Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxix, 431, n. 1; F. Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig 1896, 15, 43-4, 84; R. Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 323.

(E. HONIGMANN)

NUKṬAT AL-KĀF, an early work on the Bābī [*q.v.*] movement.

In 1910, E.G. Browne published a work entitled *Kitāb-i Nuqṭatu 'l-Káf*, a Persian history of the early Bābī movement, based on a "unique" manuscript (Suppl. persan 1071) in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This manuscript had been bought by the library in 1884, in a sale of books belonging to the late Comte de Gobineau. Authorship of the history was ascribed by the Bābī leader Ṣubḥ-i Azal [*q.v.*] to Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Djānī, a Kāshānī merchant killed in 1852.

Browne's text soon became the centre of a controversy that still continues. The Bahāʾī leader, ʿAbbās Effendi ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ, maintained that the work was a forgery produced by the Azalī Bābīs. This thesis was developed by the Bahāʾī scholar Mīrzā Abu 'l-Faḍl Gulpāygānī and his nephew Sayyid Mahdī in their *Kashf al-ghiṭāʾ* and, more recently, by H.M. Balyuzi. While this conspiracy theory is clearly unfounded, internal evidence suggests that the history was not written by Mīrzā Djānī. Recent conjectures favour authorship by his son or nephew, possibly in collaboration with a brother, using notes prepared by him. Some version of the *Nukṭat al-kāf* served as the basis for the later Bahāʾī *Tārīkh-i Djadīd* and its recensions. In spite of the controversy, there can be no doubt that the *Nukṭat al-kāf* remains one of the most important sources for the early history of Babism.

A full discussion of the problems of authorship, provenance, and dating may be found in MacEoin, together with a list of the twelve or so manuscripts now known to be in existence (Appendix 8).

Bibliography: H.M. Balyuzi, *Edward Granville Browne and the Bahá'í faith*, London 1970, ch. VII; E.G. Browne (ed.), *Kitáb-i Nuqṭatu 'l-Káf, being the earliest history of the Bábís, compiled by Ḥájjí Mírzá Jání of Káshán between the years A.D. 1850 and 1852*, Leyden and London 1910, Gibb Memorial Series, vol. XV; idem (ed. and tr.), *The New History (Táríkh-i-Jadíd) of Mírzá ʿAlí Muḥammed, the Báb*, Cambridge 1903, repr. Amsterdam 1975; Mīrzā Abu 'l-Faḍl Gulpāygānī and Sayyid Mahdī Gulpāygānī, *Kashf al-ghiṭāʾ ʿan ḥiyal al-aʿdāʾ*. Tashkent n.d. [1919?]; D. MacEoin, *The sources for early Bābī doctrine and history: a survey*, Leiden 1992, chs. 6 and 7, Appendix 8; Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Kitābī bī nām bā nāmī tāza*, in *Gawhar*, Year 2, parts 11-12 (1353/1974), 952-61; idem, *Tārīkh-i kadīm wa djadīd*, 2 parts, in *Gawhar*, Year 3, parts 5-6 (1354/1975), 343-8, 426-31. (D. MACEOIN)

NUKṬAWIYYA, an offshoot of the Ḥurūfiyya sect [*q.v.*] that after an incubation lasting a century emerged as a significant movement of politico-religious opposition in Ṣafawid Persia and, in India, played some role in the origination of Akbar's *Dīn-i Ilāhī* [*q.v.*]. Given its similarities not only with Ḥurūfism but also with Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, it may be regarded as one more link in the long chain of Persian heresies.

The designation Nukṭawiyya is said to be taken from the doctrine that earth is the starting point (*nukṭa*) of all things, the remaining three elements being derived from it; the term may also refer, however, to the use of two, three, or four dots, variously arranged, as cryptic abbreviations in the writings of the sect. The designation Maḥmūdiyya is also encountered, this being derived from the name of the founder, Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī. Born at the village of Pasīkhān near Fūman in Gīlān, Maḥmūd followed Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī (d. 796/1384), the founder of Ḥurūfism, until he was expelled from the movement for alleged arrogance (hence the epithets *Maḥmūd-i mardūd* "Maḥmūd the rejected" and *Maḥmūd-i maṭrūd* "Mahmud the banished"). He is said to have proclaimed himself the Mahdī and the bringer of a new dispensation in 800/1397, i.e. at the beginning of the 9th Islamic century. Virtually nothing is known of his life other than that he was still residing in Astarābād in 818/1415 when he finished the writing of one of his books, *Djawāz al-sāʾirīn*. He died in 831/1427-28, supposedly a suicide, having cast himself into the waters of the Aras, but this is dismissed as a calumny by the Nukṭawīs themselves.

Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī is said to have written sixteen books and 1,001 treatises (*nuskha*) in exposition of his doctrines; none of these has ever been published in full (for extracts from his principal work, *Mīzān*, see, however, Raḥīm Riḍā-zāda Malik's notes to his edition of Kaykhusraw Isfandiyār, *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, ii,

233-6, and Ṣādiḳ Kiyā, *Nuḳṭawiyān yā Pasīkhāniyān*, Tehran 1320 *Sh.*/1941, 73-132).

Nuḳṭawī works were composed in an extremely opaque style and are marked by frequent recourse to abbreviations and special signs similar to those found in Ḥurūfī literature, but the main themes of Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī's teaching can easily be comprehended. They consist in the first place of a peculiarly materialist type of metempsychosis according to which the particles of the body do not disintegrate on death but are absorbed as a single mass into the soil. They then re-emerge in vegetable or solid form, possibly to be consumed by animals or men, the level of existence on which they are finally reintegrated being dependent on the degree of virtue and knowledge attained by their previous owner. When a being rises or descends from one level of existence to another, the traces of his former existence are still visible and can be discerned by the insightful, a process known as *iḥṣāʾ* "enumeration" (whence yet another designation for the sect, Iḥṣāʾiyya). Thus dogs can be recognised as having been Ḳizilbāsh Turks, their tails being a trace of the swords they once carried and the word used in Persian to shoo away a dog, *čikh*, being identical with Turkish *čiḳ*; and waterfowl should be identified as transmogrified clerics, still obsessed in their new existence with making ablutions. Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī himself claimed to be the reincarnation on a higher plane both of the Prophet Muḥammad (something allegedly indicated in Ḳurʾān, XVII, 79 "your Lord will raise you to a praiseworthy station", *maḳām maḥmūd*) and of ʿAlī, citing a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet is reported to have said that he and ʿAlī were of one flesh. Other personal reincarnations are those of Moses in Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and the Pharaoh in Yazīd; it was because Yazīd remembered being drowned in the Red Sea at the hands of Moses when he was the Pharaoh that he took care to keep Ḥusayn away from the water of the Euphrates.

Pasīkhānī is reputed never to have married, and his doctrine recommends celibacy. The celibate are said to have reached the rank of *wāḥid* (a word which has the crucial numerical value of 19) and to be capable of advancing to the rank of *Allāh*, this being none other than man in his ultimate essence, termed "the manifest compound" (*al-murakkab al-mubīn*); the Nuḳṭawīs therefore summarised their creed as *lā ilāha illā 'l-murakkab al-mubīn*. Nuḳṭawīs disinclined to celibacy (who for some reason are designated as *amīn*, "trustworthy") are advised to copulate not more than once a week. This disdain of marriage earned the Nuḳṭawīs accusations of incest, promiscuity and pederasty from their opponents.

Also central to Nuḳṭawī doctrine was a cyclical concept of time, one clearly influenced by Ismāʿīlī antecedents. The total life of the world is said to consist of 64,000 years, divided into four periods of 16,000 years that are known respectively as *ẓuhūr* "outwardness", *buṭūn* "inwardness", *sirr* ("concealment") and *ʿalāniyya* ("manifestation"). Each of these periods is divided in turn into an 8,000-year "Arab epoch" (*dawra-yi istiʿrāb*), during which the guidance of humanity is entrusted to a "perfected Arab messenger" (*mursal-i mukammal-i ʿArab*), and an 8,000-year "Persian epoch" (*dawra-yi istiʿdjām*), presided over by a "perfected Persian expositor" (*mubayyin-i mukammal-i ʿadjam*). The emergence of Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī signified the beginning of one such "Persian epoch". This exaltation of Persian-ness is apparent also in the assertion that Gīlān and Māzandarān have now superseded Mecca and Medina.

It was during the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl I that the Nuḳṭawī movement first surfaced, significantly enough in the village of Andjudān near Kāshān, a principal centre of post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. Shāh Ṭāhir, thirty-first Imām of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī line, is reported to have so angered Shāh Ismāʿīl by gathering around him in Andjudān Nuḳṭawīs and other religious deviants that he had to flee precipitately to India (Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Djaʿfar Maḥdjūb, Tehran 1339 *Sh.*/1960, iii, 136). Another instance of Nuḳṭawī-Ismāʿīlī symbiosis is provided by Murād Mīrzā, thirty-sixth Imām of the Ḳāsim-Shāhī Nizārī line, whose combined Nuḳṭawī and Ismāʿīlī following in Andjudān was broken up by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 981-2/1573-4 and who was himself put to death (Aḥmad Thattawī, *Taʾrīkh-i Alfī*, cited in Kiyā, 36). Mention may also be made of two poets: Wuḳūʿī of Nīshāpūr whose beliefs are said to have been intermediate between Nuḳṭawism and Ismāʿīlism (Kiyā, 35), and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad Kūhpāyaʾī Amrī Shīrāzī, who praised two of the Ḳāsim-Shāhī Nizārī Imāms in his *Dīwān* and may have been a crypto-Ismāʿīlī (W. Ivanow, *A guide to Ismaʿili literature*, London 1933, 108).

Amrī Shīrāzī first came to the fore in the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who entrusted him with the administration of *awḳāf*, belonging to the Ḥaramayn but located in Persia, and who also employed his brother, Mawlānā Abū Turāb, famed as a master of the occult sciences, as court calligrapher. Denounced for heresy in 972/1565, the brothers were blinded and went into seclusion. In 984/1576, the last year of Ṭahmāsp's reign, still more Nuḳṭawīs were apprehended in Kāshān; they included the poet Ḥayātī, who was jailed for two years in Shīrāz before making his way to India.

Other centres of Nuḳṭawī activity were developing meanwhile in Sāwa, Nāʾīn, Iṣfahān and—most importantly—Ḳazwīn. Nuḳṭawism was propagated in Ḳazwīn by Darwīsh Khusraw, the son of a well-digger, who had gone to Kāshān to learn the Nuḳṭawī doctrines and established his headquarters in a mosque on his return. Denounced by the *ʿulamāʾ*, he was interrogated by Shāh Ṭahmāsp but giving suitably evasive answers was released with instructions no longer to hold forth in the mosque. On the death of Ṭahmāsp, he resumed his public preaching with such success that he was able to build a *takya* which came to house two hundred of his followers. Despite a further round of executions of Nuḳṭawīs in Kāshān in 994/1586 which numbered among its victims two musicians, Afḍal Dū-tārī and Mīr Bīghamī, Darwīsh Khusraw remained unmolested throughout the reigns of Ismāʿīl II and Khudābanda into the early years of rule by Shāh ʿAbbās.

Shāh ʿAbbās began by establishing a friendly and even intimate relationship with Darwīsh Khusraw, and was even initiated into the Nuḳṭawiyya, with the grade of *amīn*, by Darwīsh Turāb and Darwīsh Kamāl Iḳlīdī. The Ṣafawid chroniclers (e.g. Iskandar Beg Munshī, *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1350 *Sh.*/1971, i, 444), followed by most later historians, maintained that Shāh ʿAbbās cultivated the Nuḳṭawīs only as a means of surveillance. It is, however, possible that he had a genuine interest in their teachings. They had already attempted to proclaim Shāh Ṭahmāsp as the Mahdī, and when they made a similar connection between their chiliastic theories and the person of Shāh ʿAbbās, he may well have contemplated the possibility of using Nuḳṭawism as a new ideological basis for the Ṣafawid state. It seems probable at the

very least that his lifelong disregard for religious proprieties should have been in part the result of his exposure to Nukṭawī teachings (ʿAlī Riḍā Dhakāwatī Ḳarāgūzlū, *Nagāhī dīgar ba Nukṭawiyya*, 59-60).

The Nukṭawī movement was, however, not without its dangers for Shāh ʿAbbās. In 999/1591, a Nukṭawī insurrection centred on Iṣṭihbānāt broke out in Fārs; he had it mercilessly repressed, and the blinded poet Amrī was arrested in Shīrāz and torn to pieces at the bidding of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Shāh ʿAbbās's relations with Darwish Khusraw began to sour two years later when he was presumptuously warned by the Nukṭawī leader, on the eve of a campaign against rebels in Luristān, that unless he returned to Ḳazwīn by 1 Muḥarram 1302/27 September 1593, a Nukṭawī adherent, other than the Shāh himself, might be compelled for astrological reasons to seize the throne. When Shāh ʿAbbās was encamped at Kharraḳān, he was brought a similarly patronising message by Darwīsh Kūčik Bahla-dūz ("gauntlet-maker"), a principal lieutenant of Darwīsh Khusraw, warning him again to return as quickly as possible and offering to send 50,000 armed Nukṭawīs to aid in the suppression of the rebellion. By now thoroughly alarmed, Shāh ʿAbbās ordered Malik ʿAlī the *djārčībāshī* back to Ḳazwīn to attack the Nukṭawī *takya* and arrest its inmates in advance of his own return to the capital. The stealth employed in executing this command suggests that there was indeed the potential for a full-scale Nukṭawī insurrection in Ḳazwīn. The *djārčībāshī* surrounded the *takya* before dawn and sought an audience with Darwīsh Khusraw on the pretext of presenting him with a robe of honour. As he was draping the cloak around his shoulders, he suddenly felled him with a powerful blow to the head, and the soldiers rushed in, killing many Nukṭawīs and arresting the others. Among those captured was Darwīsh Kūčik; he committed suicide by ingesting a large amount of opium, promising to return swiftly in a new incarnation. Darwīsh Khusraw himself was interrogated by the *ʿulamāʾ* and publicly tortured to death over a period of three days, after which his body was exhibited on the gibbet for a week.

It happened that soon after these events a comet appeared in the heavens. This was interpreted by Djalāl al-Dīn Yazdī, the court astrologer, to mean that the king would be in mortal danger during 7-10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1002/25-8 July 1594. He therefore proposed that a substitute ruler worthy of death be placed on the throne for the duration of the critical period. Shāh ʿAbbās then asked one of the Nukṭawī captives, Darwīsh Yūsufī Tarkish-dūz ("quiver-maker") for his interpretation of the comet, and he replied that it was a sign that one of the Nukṭawīs would soon assume rule. The monarch countered that Darwīsh Yūsufī was the most suitable Nukṭawī for the throne, and immediately divested himself of the paraphernalia of monarchy and seated Darwīsh Yūsufī on the throne. At the end of the three days, during which Darwīsh Yūsufī made use of his glory only to have himself surrounded by handsome youths, he went straight from the throne to the scaffold, and Shāh ʿAbbās took back his regalia. This curious episode, illustrative both of Shāh ʿAbbās's imaginative sadism and of his superstitiousness, has inspired at least two literary treatments: a short story by the Ādharbāydjānī writer Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhūndzāda (= Akhundov, d. 1878: *Aldanmīsh kävakib: hekayati Yusufshah*, in *Äsärläri*, Bākū 1987, i, 209-34, Russian tr. Aziz Sharifov, *Obmanutyye zvezdy, rasskaz o Yusuf-shakhe*, in Akhundov, *Izbrannoye*, Moscow 1956, 29-57) and a novel by Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad (d. 1969: *Nūn wa 'l-ḳalam*, Tehran 1340 *Sh.*/1961).

Mass arrests and executions of Nukṭawīs then ensued in other cities, including once again Kāshān, where the discovery of a list of leading Nukṭawīs among the papers of the poet Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad Kāshī permitted the sect to be uprooted from the area once and for all. Shāh ʿAbbās personally beheaded Kāshī when he was in the midst of reminiscing concerning a previous existence, and then deftly bisected his headless trunk before it fell to the ground. He had a further confrontation with Nukṭawīs during his pilgrimage to Mashhad in 1010/1600-1; he discovered that his caravan had been infiltrated by his erstwhile initiators into the sect, and they were accordingly put to death in the caravanserai at Kūsha. The last Nukṭawī to be executed during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās was the astrologer Mullā Ayāz, put to death in 1020/1611.

Although curiously enough the Nukṭawīs continued to regard Shāh ʿAbbās as one of their own, discounting his hostility to them as a sign of immaturity, many of them found it prudent to take refuge in India. These refugees included an impressive number of poets: Wuḳūʿī Nīshāpūrī, Ḥayātī Kāshānī, ʿAlī Akbar Tashbīhī Kāshānī, Mullā Ṣūfī Māzandarānī (Āmulī), Ḥakīm ʿIbād Allāh Kāshānī and ʿAbd al-Ghanī Yazdī. Adjusting their calculations to make Akbar yet another candidate for millennarian rule, the Nukṭawīs found favour with the Mughal emperor and assisted him in the formulation of his imperial cult, the *Dīn-i Ilāhī*. One of their number, Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, even sat on the nineteen-member committee that elaborated the cult. It is possible, too, that Akbar's chief confidant, Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, had Nukṭawī sympathies; a letter from him was found among the papers of Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad Kāshī, and it was he who moved Akbar to write a letter to Shāh ʿAbbās, fruitlessly urging on him the merits of religious tolerance. The emperor Djahāngīr did not entirely turn his back on the Nukṭawīs, but their visible presence in India did not last long.

A brief resurgence of the Nukṭawī movement took place in Persia during the reign of Shāh Ṣafī I. In Ḳazwīn, a certain Darwīsh Riḍā who claimed alternately to be the Mahdī and his deputy gathered a vast following that allowed him to seize control of the city. The movement was bloodily suppressed and Darwīsh Riḍā was beheaded in 1041/1631-2. His followers expected him to return from the dead, and when the following year they discovered an obscure farrier who resembled him, they renewed their uprising, with the same result as before.

This marked the end of the Nukṭawiyya as a movement with insurrectionary capabilities. Some thirty years later, Raphael du Mans remarked on the presence in Iṣfahān of a ragged group of dervishes known as Maḥmūdīs (*Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1890, 87-8), but they were evidently too insignificant to warrant suppression. Despite its impressive longevity in the face of repression, the Nukṭawī movement never had a chance of long-term success, being composed almost entirely of artisans and literati in an age when the application of tribal power was decisive (the Ustādjlū chieftain Būdāḳ Dīnoghlī was the sole member of the Ṣafawid military aristocracy whom the Nukṭawīs were able to recruit).

A few vestiges of the Nukṭawiyya can nonetheless be traced in post-Ṣafawid Persia. According to Muḥammad ʿAlī Nāẓim al-Sharīʿa, Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī the Bāb was taught the doctrines of Nukṭawism during his confinement in Mākū and incorporated them directly in his *Bayān* (*Ḥadīda muḥammā*, quoted in Ḳarāgūzlū, *Nagāh-i tāzaʾī ba manābiʿ-i Nukṭawiyya*, 38). This is unproven, but there

are undeniable similarities between Nukṭawism and Bābism: a belief in metempsychosis, extravagant interpretations of Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, a claim to have abrogated the Islamic *sharīʿa*, and a fixation on the number nineteen. Also in the early nineteenth century, the Niʿmatullāhī Ṣūfī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī (d. 1253/1837-38) reports having met Nukṭawīs who concealed themselves in the guise of Ṣūfīs (*Bustān al-siyāḥa*, reprint, Tehran n.d., 182). A contemporary researcher, Nūr al-Dīn Mudarrisī Čahārdihī, mentions having met in Bihbahān a certain Bābā Muḥammad who regarded himself as a Nukṭawī, but he seems to have been nothing more than an isolated eccentric (*Sayrī dar taṣawwuf, dar sharḥ-i ḥāl-i mashāyikh wa aḳṭāb*, 320-1).

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(H. ALGAR)

AL-NUʿMĀN B. ABĪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD b. Manṣūr b. Ḥayyūn, famous *ḳāḍī* of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz li-dīn Allāh [*q.v.*], of whose origins and early life little is known. This small amount of information is insufficient to explain the exceptional rise and fortune of this obscure jurist of Ifrīḳiya after he had entered the service of the new masters of this province, the Fāṭimids. As a connection of the Banū Tamīm, to which the line of Aghlabid *amīrs* were attached, al-Nuʿmān rose rapidly in the hierarchy of the Shīʿī state to the high position of judge-in-chief (*ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*) of the community.

Hence the date of his birth is unknown, as is likewise his social position and the calibre of his intellectual training at Ḳayrawān at the moment when, towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, the Shīʿī Berber rebellion broke out, first of all in Little Kabylia, which was to sweep away the orthodox dynasty of the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] and end in the foundation, in Ifrīḳiya, of the Fāṭimid anti-caliphate. However, our sources agree on placing in 313/925 his nomination to the service (*khidma*) of the first Fāṭimid caliph, al-Mahdī bi 'llāh [*q.v.*] in an office whose exact nature is unknown. The speed of his adhesion to the doctrine of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and also his *kunya* of Abū Ḥanīfa make one think that he belonged to the Ḥanafī law school, solidly represented at Ḳayrawān and less hostile to Shīʿīsm than that of Mālik. It is more plausible that he joined the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* before the foundation of the Fāṭimid caliphate, as I.K. Poonawala has shown; referring, in particular, to an old Sunnī source, the *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya* of al-Khushanī, one of Nuʿmān's contemporaries, he has had the pertinent idea of identifying a certain Muḥammad b. Ḥayyān, mentioned as being among the jurists of Ḳayrawān professing the doctrine of *tashrīḳ*, sc. that of the *mashāriḳa*, the eastern Ismāʿīlīs, as being undoubtedly the father of al-Nuʿmān and of consequently correcting Muḥammad b. Ḥayyān into Muḥammad b. Ḥayyūn.

Thus al-Muʿizz's famous judge seems to have been raised and educated in the doctrine of the *Ahl al-Bayt* by a father who had already long been won over to Shīʿism, before the proclamation of the Fāṭimid caliphate in 297/310. This would, moreover, explain his rapid rise from being the modest *ḳāḍī* of a province, Tripoli, to the highest office of supreme *ḳāḍī* in 336/948. It was in fact from that town that the Fāṭimid caliph Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] summoned him to his new capital, al-Manṣūriyya, just after his triumph over the Khāridjite rebel Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], the famous "man on the donkey", in order to appoint him to this high office, in conditions which al-Nuʿmān himself describes in his *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt*: "Al-Nuʿmān, as soon as he had arrived in al-Manṣūriyya, was solemnly invested one Friday by the caliph, who awarded him robes of honour woven in the royal workshops and ordered him to proceed immediately to Ḳayrawān, since al-Manṣūriyya had not yet got a mosque which could allow him to lead the Friday worship in a *masdjid djāmiʿ* and to give the *khuṭba* there. Al-Manṣūr had him escorted by the officers of the guard, who accompanied him, with drawn swords, all the way along both the outward and the return journey. Some days later, the caliph sent a written mandate (*tawḳīʿ*) to the chancery where a nomination patent (*ʿahd*) was made out appointing him *ḳāḍī* of al-Manṣūriyya, al-Ḳayrawān, al-Mahdiyya and other towns and provinces of Ifrīḳiya."

Al-Nuʿmān's elevation to the most coveted position amongst the body of *faḳīh*s thus coincided with the consolidation of the state and of Fāṭimid power, after the crushing of Khāridjism, as also with the enfeeblement of the Sunnī party and the deterioration of relations between the central organisation of the Ismaʿīlī *daʿwa* at al-Manṣūriyya with the Ḳarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn. The reform of Fāṭimid doctrine undertaken by al-Mahdī immediately on proclamation of the

caliphate, with the obvious aim of adapting Ismāʿīlism to the realities of Ḳayrawānī orthodoxy in order the better to create a state *madhhab*, became more pronounced during the last years of al-Manṣūr's reign and became stronger all through the twenty years' reign in Ifrīḳiya of al-Muʿizz. Al-Nuʿmān's designation thus came at a specific moment when the supreme *ḳāḍī* was to have a prime role in the elaboration of the state doctrine. Whilst holding his office and giving to the position of *ḳāḍī* an exemplary image both by his own competence and by his high moral qualities, al-Nuʿmān was also to distinguish himself by his role as a fertile author who was to have the merit of constructing a juridical and doctrinal system accessible to the masses of Ifrīḳiya. From now onwards, he was to owe his fame to the elaboration and the teaching of a simplified and moderate doctrine (*samāʿ al-ḥikma*), at the same time giving to the office of *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* amongst the Shīʿīs the weightiness and effulgence which a Saḥnūn [*q.v.*] had given to the Mālikī *ḳaḍāʾ* a century earlier.

The exercise of his judicial function was to entail, for al-Nuʿmān, a didactic task. Since his high office meant that he was to fulfil, at the side of the Imām, the role of theoretician of Ismāʿīlism, he now began to devote himself to compose treatises of *fiḳh* according to the doctrine of the Imāms and to render their contents more widely known by public courses of instruction (*durūs al-ḥikma*). These courses were held after the *ʿaṣr* worship, and then sessions devoted to discussion and controversy were held in a special chamber. This *madjlis al-ḥikma* soon became a genuine institution in the shape of a centre of studies and propaganda which the Sunnīs called *dār al-Ismāʿīliyya*.

Since the Imām was the depository of all learning, according to the doctrine of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, it was in close collaboration with him that the supreme *ḳāḍī*, in his function of official *faḳīh* of the dynasty, wrote treatises on *fiḳh* and doctrine meant for teaching and for the use of regional judges, for governors and for students. Thus al-Nuʿmān consulted al-Muʿizz regularly whilst composing his main theological works, comprising the *K. Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, the *K. al-Himma* and the *K. Asrār al-taʾwīl*, and also, having entitled an abridgement of the doctrine of the *Ahl al-Bayt* the *K. al-Dīnār*, he modified this title, on the advice of the Imām, to *K. al-Ikhtiṣār li-ṣaḥīḥ al-āthār ʿan al-aʾimma al-aṭhār*. Al-Nuʿmān's merit thus consists in the construction of a juridical and legal system for the use of the state, one oriented in the direction of a reconciliation of the concepts of Ismāʿīlism with those of the orthodoxy of Ḳayrawān. Thus the points of doctrinal opposition between Sunnism and Shīʿism are not so flagrant, in al-Nuʿmān's works, as the geographical collections of biographies of orthodox scholars of Ḳayrawān would lead one to believe. If there remains a total divergence on the questions of the definition of faith or that of *walāya* (adhesion to the Imāms), the contradiction in fact concerns only minor questions concerning ritual and practice of the cult. Reading the *K. Daʿāʾim al-Islām* allows one to estimate the importance of al-Nuʿmān's endeavour to bring about a rapprochment between Ismāʿīlī doctrine and the theses of Sunnism. Endeavouring as much as he could to codify Fāṭimid *fiḳh* in a simple and clear manner and to popularise it in order to encourage obedience to a politics of moderation and realism, the supreme judge completed his task as official *faḳīh* with the intention, above all, of making out of a juridical and doctrinal system an instrument of politics adapted to the imperialist intentions of the Fāṭimid state. This explains al-Muʿizz's interest in the works which al-Nuʿmān wrote under his ultimate direction. For the caliph, observes Madelung, doctrine was in effect an instrument of politics. Hence he impelled his supreme *ḳāḍī* to elaborate a juridical system accessible and conformable to the universalist concept of the imāmate. Thus if the Ismāʿīlī supreme *ḳāḍī* offered the same image of simplicity and modesty, with the additional technical and moral qualities inherent in his office, as did the Sunnī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*, he nevertheless lived and worked within a total dependence of power. He ceased to be the mouthpiece of the *ʿāmma*, the censor of the palace, listened to by the sovereign and feared by the aristocracy. In this way, various special traits contribute to the image of the figure of the supreme judge, who became in the Fāṭimid state an official personage, a man of law caught up in the service of a cause, that of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Yet as a consummate theologian, a highly literate author and an official with recognised moral and technical qualities, al-Nuʿmān has the merit of being known as one of the most famous representatives of the Mālikīs and of preserving for the high office of *ḳāḍī* its dignity and lustre.

Bibliography: See above all Brockelmann, S I, 324-5; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 575-8; R.J. Gottheil, *A distinguished family of Fatimid cadis (an-Nuʿmān) in the tenth century*, in *JAOS*, xxvii (1907), 217-96; A.A.A. Fyzee, *Qadi al-Nuʿmān, the Fatimid jurist and author*, in *JRAS* (1934), 1-32; idem, ed. of the *K. Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, Cairo 1951, introd.; Kāmil Ḥusayn, ed. of *K. al-Himma*, Cairo 1948, introd.; Ḥabīb Fiḳī, Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ and M. Yaʿlawī, ed. of the *K. al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt*, Tunis 1978, introd.; Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, ed. of *K. Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, Beirut 1970, introd.; F. Dachraoui, ed. of *K. Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, Tunis 1975, introd.; idem, *Le califat fatimide au Maghreb (histoire politique et institutions)*, Tunis 1981; I.K. Poonawala, *A reconsideration of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's madhhab*, in *BSOAS*, xxxviii (1974), 572-9; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaten*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959), 34-88; idem, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *ibid.*, xxxvii-xxxviii (1961), 43-155.

(F. DACHRAOUI)

AL-NUʿMĀN B. BASHĪR AL-ANṢĀRĪ, Companion of the Prophet and governor of al-Kūfa and Ḥimṣ.

According to some Muslim authorities, al-Nuʿmān was the first Anṣārī to be born after the Hidjra. His father Bashīr b. Saʿd [*q.v.*] was one of the most distinguished of the Companions, and his mother, ʿAmra bint Rawāḥa, was the sister of the much-respected ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [*q.v.*]. After the assassination of ʿUthmān, al-Nuʿmān, who was devoted to him, refused to pay homage to ʿAlī. According to some stories which seem rather apocryphal, he brought the bloodstained shirt of the caliph, according to others, the fingers cut from the hand of his wife Nāʾila, to Damascus and these relics were exhibited by Muʿāwiya in the mosque. In the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] he faithfully stood by Muʿāwiya and he was always a favourite with him while the other Anṣār were kept at a suitable distance from the Umayyad court. In the year 39/659-60 al-Nuʿmān, by order of Muʿāwiya, undertook an expedition against Mālik b. Kaʿb al-Arḥabī, who had occupied in ʿAlī's name ʿAyn al-Tamr on the frontier between Syria and Mesopotamia and began to besiege it, but had to retire without accomplishing anything. Twenty years later he was given the governorship of al-Kūfa. He was not really fitted for this post, because his pronounced antipathy to ʿAlī and his followers did not suit the Shīʿī population of the town. In addition, he did not conceal his sympathy with the Anṣār, who were attacked by

Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya's favourite al-Akhṭal [q.v.], but freely expressed his opinion on the insult offered to his fellow-tribesmen.

After Yazīd had come to the throne in 60 Radjab/April 680, he nevertheless left al-Nuʿmān in office; but the latter did not long remain there. Al-Nuʿmān is described as an ascetic, and he knew the teachings of the Ḳurʾān thoroughly. But his asceticism was not of the strictest type, and his interest in musical entertainments was regarded as evidence of lack of dignity. In policy he proved very tolerant so long as it did not come to an open rising. When Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [q.v.], al-Ḥusayn's partisan, appeared in al-Kūfa to ascertain the feelings of the people and he found a number who were ready to pay homage to al-Ḥusayn, al-Nuʿmān adopted a neutral attitude and took no steps to check the vigorous propaganda. As a result, the followers of the Umayyads in al-Kūfa wrote to the caliph and called his attention to the fact that the threatening situation demanded a man of vigour who would be able to carry out the government's orders, while al-Nuʿmān, out of real or feigned weakness, was letting things take their course and only urging people to keep calm. When Yazīd was discussing this with his councillors, notably the influential Ibn Sardjūn, the latter showed him a document signed by Muʿāwiya shortly before his death, containing the appointment of the then governor of al-Baṣra ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [q.v.] to the same office in al-Kūfa. In spite of his antipathy to the proposal, Yazīd carried out his father's wish and made ʿUbayd Allāh governor of al-Kūfa without removing him from his post in al-Baṣra, whereupon al-Nuʿmān hastened back to Syria. When the people of Medina rebelled at the beginning of the year 63/682 and drove all the Umayyads out of the town, Yazīd wished to see what tact would do before resorting to arms and sent a mission to Medina under al-Nuʿmān to show the people the futility of armed resistance and to bring them to their senses. The mission was also instructed to go on to Mecca to induce the stubborn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr to pay homage. Al-Nuʿmān's warnings and threats had no effect on his countrymen, however, and there was nothing left for the caliph but to subdue the rebels in the two holy cities by force of arms [see YAZĪD B. MUʿĀWIYA]. After the death of Yazīd in Rabīʿ I 64/Nov. 683, al-Nuʿmān, who had in the meanwhile become governor of Ḥimṣ, declared openly for ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja of the same year/July-Aug. 684 and Muḥarram 65/Aug.-Sept. 684, however, the latter's leading follower al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī [q.v.] was defeated at Mardj Rāhiṭ [q.v.], and thus the fate of al-Nuʿmān was also decided. He attempted to save himself by flight but was overtaken and killed. According to the Arab historians, the town of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān [q.v.] takes its name from al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vi, 35; Ṭabarī, see index; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 514, ii, 85, 303, 382, iii, 154, 228, 315, 430, iv, 9, 15, 17, 19, 75, 88, 120, 123-5; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 219, 228, 278, 301, 304-5; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 239-40, 245, 247, 273; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 296-7, v, 128, 134, 204, 227-9 = §§ 1621, 1885, 1891, 1968, 1991; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reiske, i, 77, 385, 393, 405, 407; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, viii, 325, ix, 233, 355, x, 275 ff., see also index; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 47, 82, 94, 96, 110; Lammens, *Études sur le regne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwia Ier*, 43, 45, 58, 110, 116, 407; idem, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, 119 ff., 137, 140, 142, 207, 215, 221, 228; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, index.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-NUʿMĀN (III) B. AL-**MUNDHIR**, the last Lakhmid king of Ḥīra [q.v.] and vassal of Sāsānid Persia. He was the son of al-Mundhir IV [q.v.] and Salmā, the daughter of a Jewish goldsmith from Fadak. In the annals of the Lakhmids [q.v.], his reign (ca. A.D. 580-602) was the most memorable after that of his grandfather, al-Mundhir III (d. 554). His accession to the throne of Ḥīra he owed to ʿAdī b. Zayd [q.v.], the famous Christian poet and statesman of Ḥīra, and the Sāsānid Hormuzd celebrated that accession with an especially splendid crown.

Al-Nuʿmān was an assertive and strong ruler, and his reign witnessed tensions within Ḥīra and wars with the Arab tribes. The Ḥīra clan of the Banū Marīna had opposed his accession, and finally, the very friendly clan of the Banū Ayyūb was ranged against him. In addition to friction with the Taghlib tribe, he tried to withdraw the privilege of *ridāfa* (divisional leadership in battle) accorded to Yarbūʿ, a subdivision of the tribe of Tamīm, from them and transfer it to another subdivision, namely Dārim. Yarbūʿ contested this, and in a bloody encounter at Ṭikhfa, the Yarbūʿ were victorious. Al-Nuʿmān's brother Ḥassān and his son Ḳābūs led the Lakhmid troops but both were defeated and captured, and al-Nuʿmān had to ransom them for 1,000 camels.

The fall of the Ghassānids [q.v.] from grace ca. 580 brought about disarray in Ghassānid-Byzantine relations and with it a diminution of the Ghassānid military role in Byzantium's war with Persia in the 580s. Hence Lakhmid-Ghassānid encounters receive no mention in the sources, and these record only an echo of an expedition by al-Nuʿmān against Byzantine Circesium (Ḳarḳīsiyā [q.v.]). The conclusion of the Persian-Byzantine peace which lasted till the death of the emperor Maurice in 602 ruled out any serious Lakhmid military designs against Ghassānid or Byzantine territory. But before that peace was concluded, al-Nuʿmān had fought with Parwīz [q.v.], Hormuzd's son and successor, at the battle of al-Nahrawān against the rebel Bahrām Čūbīn.

During the reign of al-Nuʿmān, Ḥīra continued to develop as the greatest centre of Arab culture before the rise of Islam. In addition to the poetry of its most famous poet, the Christian ʿAdī b. Zayd, the splendid panegyrics of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī [q.v.], one of the poets of the *Muʿallaḳāt* [q.v.], were composed on this al-Nuʿmān. The earliest collection of Arabic poems are associated with his name, sc. panegyrics of various poets on members of the Lakhmid dynasty. The king converted to Christianity after most of his ancestors had resisted the temptation. But the Nestorianism to which he was converted was acceptable to Sāsānid Persia, and Parwīz himself had become well disposed towards Christianity after his marriage to the Christian Shīrīn and the peace with Byzantium in 591, which thus becomes the *terminus post quem* for al-Nuʿmān's conversion. Ḥīra became, even more than before, the centre of Arab Christianity in Sāsānid Persia, whence the Nestorian Church propagated Christianity among the Arabs of the Persian Gulf and Eastern Arabia.

The reign that started so auspiciously with the crown from Hormuzd ended disastrously for al-Nuʿmān, who, after harbouring suspicions towards ʿAdī b. Zayd to whom he owed his accession, had him incarcerated and put to death. ʿAdī's son, influential at the court of Parwīz, plotted against al-Nuʿmān in revenge for the murder of his father; al-Nuʿmān fled

from Ḥīra after sensing that Parwīz was in pursuit of him and took refuge with the tribe of Bakr. He nevertheless finally surrendered to Parwīz, who had him trampled to death by elephants.

Al-Nuʿmān's death represented the virtual end of the Lakhmid dynasty which had lasted for some three hundred years, the shield of Persia against the Arabs of the Peninsula. A few years later, the tribe of Bakr won the historic encounter of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*] against the Persians and their Arab condederates. It was the precursor of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] fought in 637, the battle that was to remove Sāsānid Persia from the stage of Near Eastern history.

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NUMAYR B. ʿĀMIR B. ṢAʿṢAʿA, an Arab tribe (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, F 15) inhabiting the western heights of al-Yamāma and those between this region and the Ḥimā Ḍariyya: a bare and difficult country, the nature of which explains the rude and savage character of the Numayr. Their name like that of Namir and Anmār borne by other ethnic groups (there are also in the list of Arab tribes a number of other clans with the name Numayr: among the Asad, the Tamīm, the Djuʿfī, the Hamdān, etc.) is no doubt connected with *nimr*, *namir* [*q.v.*], the Arabian panther; we know the deductions made by Robertson Smith from this fact and from other similar cases, to prove the existence of a system of totemism among the early Arabs (*Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*², 234). His theory is now abandoned.

The geographical dictionaries of al-Bakrī and Yāḳūt mention a large number of places in the land of the Numayr, especially their wells, and often even record a change of ownership from one tribe to another (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 802: the well of Ghisl, which formerly belonged to the Tamīmī clans of the Kulayb b. Yarbūʿ, later passed to Numayr); this wealth of references does not, however, mean that the Numayr played an important part in the history of Arabia. It is only due to the fact that the country of the Numayr is typically Bedouin in its scenery and lends itself to description by poets. The Numayr, besides, were much intermixed with the neighbouring tribes (especially the Tamīm, Bāhila and Ḳushayr) and the boundaries of their territory were rather vague.

The Numayr, a poor tribe without natural wealth, have always been brigands. The part they took in the pre-Islamic wars was a very modest one and they appear very rarely alongside of the other groups of the great tribe of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (they hardly played any part in the battle of Fayf-Rīḥ against the Banu 'l-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb and their allies, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 469-72). It is to this isolation that they owe the privilege of being known as one of the *Djamarāt al-ʿArab*, i.e. a tribe which never allied itself with others (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 372; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, 946; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, 841; on the different tribes to which this title is given, cf. *Tādj al-arūs*, iii, 107); the other designation of the Numayr "the *Aḥmās* of the Banū ʿĀmir", also gives them a special place within the great tribe from which they sprang; it indicates that they were thought not to have the same mother as the other clans of the Banū ʿĀmir (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 259, 12-15 = 771, 2-4; the source is the *Djamhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī, Brit. Mus. mss., fols. 120b-121a, now edited). Neither during the life of the Prophet, nor at the beginning of the caliphate, did the Numayr make any stir; they appear neither as partisans nor as enemies of Islam. It is only from the Umayyad period that the name begins to appear in histories, but only to record their insubordination to the central power or their exploits as brigands; in the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik, their refusal to pay tribute brought a punitive expedition against them (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 139; cf. *Aghānī*, xvii, 112-13, xix, 120-1). Another expedition of the same kind but on a larger scale was that sent against them under the famous general of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, Bughā al-Kabīr [*q.v.*], in 232/846, to put an end to their systematic plundering; it ended in the complete dispersal of the tribe (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1357-63, a most interesting account of Bedouin customs including on p. 1361 a detailed list of the Numayr clans, only one of which, the Banū ʿĀmir b. Numayr, devoted itself to agriculture and grazing, while the others lived only by brigandage). It appears, however, that the Numayr soon resumed their old habits and another expedition was sent against them with the same object as the earlier ones in the 4th/10th century by the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla (Yāḳūt, iv, 378).

An event of little importance in itself has given the Numayr considerable fame in literary history, although little flattering to them: this is the satire directed against them by the poet Djarīr [*q.v.*] which is one of the most famous examples of the invective of the *hidjāʾ* (especially the hemistich: "Cast down thine eyes: thou belongest to the Numayr"). The occasion of it was the unfortunate intervention of the Numayrī poet al-Rāʿī in favour of al-Farazdaḳ in the celebrated feud between him and Djarīr (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 427-51, no. 53; *Aghānī*, vii, 49-50, xx, 169-71, etc.). The memory of this quarrel survived for a very long time. It was probably no accident that the man who urged the *amīr* Bughā to the expedition against the Numayr was the great-grandson of Djarīr, the poet ʿUmāra b. ʿAḳīl b. Bilāl b. Djarīr; the Numayr moreover had slain four of his uncles (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, ed. de Goeje, 284, where we must read Banū Ḍinna [b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr] in place of Banū Ḍabba). The enmity between the family of Djarīr and the Numayr was probably revived by the proximity of the latter to the tribe of the poet, the Banū Kulayb b. Yarbūʿ.

To the Numayr belonged notable poets—in addition to al-Rāʿī and his son Djandal—like Abū Ḥayya (in the early ʿAbbāsid period) and Djirān al-ʿAwd whose *Dīwān* has been published (Cairo 1350/1931, publications of the Egyptian Library), cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 217.

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AL-**NUMAYRĪ, ABŪ ḤAYYA** [see ABŪ ḤAYYA AL-NUMAYRĪ in Suppl., and add to the *Bibl.* there: Y. al-Djubūrī, *Shiʿr Abī Ḥayya al-Numayrī*, Damascus 1975; R.Ṣ. al-Tuwayfī, *Shiʿr Abī Ḥayya al-Numayrī*, in *al-Mawrid*, iv/1 (1975), 131-52 (55 fragments), with the additions of S. al-Ghānimī, in *ibid.*, vi/2 (1977), 311-12. See also Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 464-5, ix, 288].

NŪN, the 25th letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed /*n*/, with the numerical value 50, according to the oriental order [see ABDJAD]. Nūn is also a name of the 68th *sūra* [see ḲURʾĀN, SŪRA].

1. In Arabic

Definition: an occlusive, dental, voiced nasal (Cantineau, *Études*, 38-40; Fleisch, *Traité*, i, 58, 84-5).

Sībawayh distinguishes two kinds of *nūn*: (a) the one whose point of articulation is the tip of the tongue and the region a little above the incisors; this is a clear (*madjhūr*) and hard (*shadīd*) "letter", but it is accompanied by a resonance (*ghunna*) of the nose (*anf*). (b) the light (*khafīfa*) *nūn*, whose point of articulation is situated in the nasal cavities (*khayāshīm*) (*Kitāb*, ii, 452-4; Roman, *Étude*, i, 52, 56, 60).

For al-Khalīl, *nūn* is an apical (*dhalkī*) letter, articulated with the tip of the tongue (*dhalk*) (*K. al-ʿAyn*, 65; Roman, *Étude*, i, 216-17).

As for Ibn Sīnā, he considers that *nūn* is realised by the tip of the tongue which touches the alveolar arch and holds in the air, then emits it through the nasal cavities (*khayāshīm*); the air becomes a resonance (*ghunna*) of the nose (*minkhar*) and a humming sound (*dawī*) (Roman, *Étude*, i, 263-4).

Phonologically, the phoneme /n/ is defined by the oppositions /n/-/m/, /n/-/r/ and /n/-/l/ (Cantineau, *Études*, 172).

Alterations: the realisation (*iẓhār*) of *nūn* can only take place before the four laryngeals /ʾ/, /h/, /ḥ/ and /ʿ/ and the two velars /kh/ and /gh/; before the bilabial /b/, there is conversion (*ḳalb*) to /m/; before the three pre-palatals /l/, /r/ and /y/ and the two bilabials /m/ and /w/, there is assimilation (*idghām*); before the other consonants, there is concealment (*ikhfāʾ*), i.e. reduction to the nasal resonance (Sībawayh, *Kitāb*, ii, 464-5; Roman, *Étude*, i, 306-7). See also TANWĪN.

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2. In Turkish

The earliest form of Turkish known to us, that of the Orkhon inscriptions (8th century A.D.), distinguished in the so-called "Runic" script two separate forms for use in back- and front-vowelled syllables, for the dental nasal /n/, plus further forms for the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the palatal nasal /ń/ (Talat Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington-The Hague 1968, 23-4, 82-3, 92-3). A century or so later, the Uyghur script distinguished /n/, and /ŋ/, and the Brahmi script a further sign /ṃ/ for the nasalisation of vowels arising out of /n/ (A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*², Leipzig 1950, §§ 9, 25, 30-1).

In the Arabic script used for Ottoman Turkish, the dental nasal /n/ was conveyed by the letter *nūn*, whilst the gutterally pronounced /ñ/, largely disappeared in standard Ottoman pronunciation, was written with the so-called *ṣāghīr nūn*, the Persian *gāf* (ڭ, ݣ ; in Central Asian Turkish, نك). It should be noted that /n/ is very rare in word-initial position in true Ottoman Turkish words and /ñ/ never occurs thus (J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte osmanli)*, Paris 1921, 19, 71-2, 76).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

3. Indian sub-continent

Arabic, Persian and Turkish words with *nūn* occur frequently in Indian languages, and occasion no difficulties or differences in their orthography; the signs for nunation (*tanwīn*) remain unchanged, and the *tashdīd* is used for the geminated *-nn-* whenever Arabic orthography requires it (although it may be neglected in early inscriptions). The sound-systems of the Indo-Aryan languages, however, have resulted in certain modifications to the Perso-Arabic script, as follows.

In most Indian phonologies there are nasalised vowels; these are normally indicated by the usual *nūn* following the nasalised vowel, although when a nasalised long vowel stands finally in a word, or even morpheme, the final form of *nūn* is written without its *nuḳta*, and is then called *nūn ghunna*. This is derived from the purely calligraphic forms of the Persian *nastaʿlīḳ* script, but the Indian significance is different. Also, geminated consonants can arise morphophonemically; e.g. in the Urdū verb *bannā* "to be made", root *ban* + infinitive suffix *-nā*, the *-nn-* must be written with two *nūns* and not with the *tashdīd*.

Most Indian sound-systems have a retroflex nasal (derived generally from a single intervocalic nasal in Middle Indo-Aryan) as well as the dental, but these have fallen together in standard Hindī and Urdū, and even where they are still differentiated in various rustic forms of speech they are never distinguished in the Urdū script. (They occur in Gudjarātī and Marāthī, but here there is no question of the Perso-Arabic script being used.) A retroflex nasal is required, however, in Sindhī and in Pashto, where new writing devices have been invented. In Pashto the *nūn*, medial or final, is written with its usual single *nuḳta* with the addition of a small subscript circle (or "bean") to either form. The Sindhī retroflex nasal substitutes a small *ṭāʾ* for the usual *nuḳta*. (Sindhī also distinguishes the velar and palatal nasals in speech, but the velar ṅ is represented by a *gāf* with two additional superscript *nuḳtas*, the palatal ñ by a *ḥāʾ* with two horizontal subscript *nuḳtas*.) The retroflex nasal also occurs in Pandjābī, but no standard writing system has yet been introduced.

Bibliography: Specimens of written (and printed) Pandjābī, Pashto and Sindhī are given in the appropriate volumes of G.A. Grierson, *Linguistic survey of India*. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

NŪR (A.), light, synonym *ḍawʾ*, also *ḍūʾ* and *ḍiyāʾ* (the latter sometimes used in the plural).

1. Scientific aspects

According to some authors, *ḍawʾ* (*ḍiyāʾ*) has a more intensive meaning than *nūr* (cf. Lane, *Arabic-English dictionary*, s.v. *ḍawʾ*); this idea has its foundation in Ḳurʾān, X, 5, where the sun is called *ḍiyāʾ* and the moon *nūr*. The further deduction from this passsage that *ḍiyāʾ* is used for the light of light-producing bodies (sun) and *nūr* on the other hand for the reflected light in bodies which do not emit light (moon), is not correct, if we remember the primitive knowledge of natural science possessed by the Arabs in the time of Muḥammad, nor is there any proof of it in later literature. The works on natural science and cosmology of the Arabs in the best period of the Middle Ages (Ibn al-Haytham, al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.vv.*] and later writers) in the great majority of cases use the term *ḍawʾ* and it therefore seems justified to claim this word as a technical term in mathematics and physics.

Besides dealing with the subject in his *Optics* (*Kitāb al-Manāẓir*), Ibn al-Haytham devoted a special treatise to it entitled *Ḳawl al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Haytham fī 'l-ḍawʾ* which has been published with a German translation by J. Baarmann in *ZDMG*, xxxvi (1882), 195-237, from which we take the following details:

As regards light, two kinds of bodies are distinguished, luminous (including the stars and fire) and non-luminous (dark); the non-luminous are again divided into opaque and transparent, the latter again into such as are transparent in all parts, like air, water, glass, crystal etc., and such as only admit the light partly but the material of which is really opaque, such as thin cloth.

The light of luminous bodies is an essential quality

of the body, the reflected light of a body in itself dark being, on the other hand, an accidental quality of the body.

In the opinion of the mathematicians, all the phenomena of light are of one and the same character; they consist of a heat from fire which is in the luminous bodies themselves. This is evident from the fact that one can concentrate rays of light from the brightest luminous body, the sun, by means of a burning-glass on one point and thus set all inflammable bodies alight and by the fact that the air and other bodies affected by the light of the sun become warm. Light and heat are thus identified with each other or regarded as equivalent. The intensity of light, like that of heat, diminishes as the distance from the source increases.

Every luminous body, whether its light is one of its essential qualities (direct) or accidental (reflected), illuminates any body placed opposite it, i.e. it sends its light out in all directions. All bodies, whether transparent or opaque, possess the power of absorbing light, the former having further the power of transmitting it again; that a transparent body (air, water, etc.) also has the power of absorbing light is evident from the fact that the light becomes visible in it if it is cut with an opaque body: the light must therefore have already been in it.

The penetration of light into a transparent body takes place along straight lines (proof: the sun's rays in the dust-filled air of a dark room). This transmission of light in straight lines is an essential feature of light itself, not of the transparent body, for otherwise there must be in the latter specially marked lines along which the light travels; such a hypothesis is however disproved by admitting two or more rays of light at the same time into a dark room and watching them.

The ray is defined as light travelling along a straight line. The early mathematicians were of the opinion that the process of seeing consisted in the transmission of a ray from the eye of the observer to the object seen and the reflection from it back to the eye. Opposed to this is Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am's view that the body seen—luminous or opaque—sends out rays in all directions from all points of which those going towards the eye of the observer collect in it and are perceived as the image of the body (cf. *Optics*, book i, 23: "Visio non fit radiis a visu emissis" and also book ii, 23).

There is no absolutely transparent body; on the contrary, every body, even the transparent one, reflects a part of the light which strikes it (explanation of the phenomena of twilight). According to Aristotle, the heavens possess the highest and most perfect degree of transparency. Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am challenges this statement and shows from a use of the theory of the mathematician Abū Sa^cd al-^cAlā^ɔ b. Sahl (2nd half of the 4th/10th century, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vi, 232-3), which is based on the well-known rules of the refraction of light in passing through media of different densities, that the transparency has no limits and that for every transparent body an even more transparent one can be found.

An explanation of the origin of the halo around the moon, of the rainbow, its shape and its colours, and of the rainbow to be seen at night in the steam-laden atmosphere of the bath, is given by al-Ḳazwīnī in his *Cosmography*, i (*ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849, 100-1; tr. Ethé, Leipzig 1868, 205 ff.). Al-Ḳazwīnī in his discussion replaces the raindrops by small looking-glasses; Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am, on the other hand, deals with the problem in a much more conclusive fashion by assuming a single or double reflection of light in spheres (cf. E. Wiedemann, in *Wied. Ann.*, xxxix [1890], 575).

Bibliography: Given in the article. New, corrected ed. of Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am's *al-Ḳawl fī 'l-ḍawʾ*, by ʿA.Ḳ. Mursī, Cairo 1938; critical Fr. tr. R. Rashed, *Le "Discours de la lumière" d'Ibn al-Haytham*, in *Revue d'histoire des sciences*, xxi (1968), 198-224. Cf. also the relevant chs. in Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am, *K. al-Manāẓir, maḳālāt* 1-3, ed. ʿA.Ḥ. Sabra, Kuwait 1983, tr. and comm. idem, *Ibn al-Haytham's Optics*, 2 vols., London 1989. (W. HARTNER)

2. Philosophical aspects

The doctrine that God is light and reveals Himself as such in the world and to man is very old and widely disseminated in Oriental religions as well as in Hellenistic gnosis and philosophy. We cannot here go into the early history; it will be sufficient to refer to some parallels in the Old and New Testaments, e.g. Gen., i. 3; Isaiah, lx. 1, 19; Zech., iv.; John, i. 4-9; iii. 19; v. 35; viii. 12; xii. 35; and Rev., xxi. 23-4.

How Muḥammad became acquainted with this teaching we do not know, but the Ḳurʾān has its "light" verses, notably XXIV, 35, the "light verse" proper; cf. XXXIII, 45 (Muḥammad as lamp); LXI, 8-9 (God's light); LXIV, 8 (the light sent down = revelation). The light verse runs (as rendered by Goldziher, in *Die Richtungen der Koranauslegung*, 183-5): "God is the light of the heavens and of the earth; His light is like a niche in which there is a lamp; the lamp is in a glass and the glass is like a shining star; it is lit from a blessed tree, an olive-tree, neither an eastern nor a western one; its oil almost shines alone even if no fire touches it; light upon light. God leads to his light whom He will, and God creates allegories for man, and God knows all things."

From the context it is clear that we have to think of the light of religious knowledge, of the truth which God communicates through his Prophet to his creatures especially the believers (cf. also XXIII, 40). It is pure light, light upon light, which has nothing to do with fire (*nār*), which is lit from an olive tree, perhaps not of this world (cf. however A.J. Wensinck, *Tree and bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.* [1921], 27-8). Lastly, it is God as the All-Knowing who instructs men and leads them to the light of His revelation (cf. LXIV, 8). It is clear that we have here traces of gnostic imagery but those rationalist theologians, who—whether to avoid any comparison of the creature with God or to oppose the fantastic mystics—interpreted the light of God as a symbol of His good guidance, probably diverged less from the sense of the Ḳurʾān than most of the metaphysicians of light. Passages in which God appears as the Knowing (*ʿalīm*) and the Guiding (*hādī*) are very frequent in the Ḳurʾān. One did not need to look far for an exegesis on these lines. As al-As<u>h</u>ʿarī observes (*Maḳālāt*, ed. Ritter, ii, 534), the Muʿtazilī al-Ḥusayn al-Na<u>djdj</u>ār interpreted the light verse to mean that God guides the inhabitants of heaven and earth. The Zaydīs also interpreted the light as God's good guidance [see SHĪʿA and ZAYDIYYA].

From *ca.* 100 A.H., we find references to a prophetic doctrine of *nūr*, and gradually to a more general metaphysics of light, i.e. the doctrine that God is essentially light, the prime light and as such the source of all being, all life and all knowledge. Especially among the mystics in whose emotional thinking being, name and image coalesced, this speculation developed. Meditation on the Ḳurʾān, Persian stimuli, gnostic-Hermetic writings, and lastly and most tenaciously, Hellenistic philosophy provided the material for new ideas. Al-Kumayt (d. 126/743 [*q.v.*])

had already sung of the light emanating through Adam via Muḥammad into the family of ʿAlī [see SHĪʿA]. The doctrine of light was dialectically expounded by Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) (see also Massignon, *Textes inédites*, 39, and SAHL AL-TUSTARĪ).

The first representatives of a metaphysics of light in Islam readily fell under the suspicion of Manichaeism, i.e. of the dualism of *nūr* and *ẓulma* (darkness) as the eternal principles. The tradition of al-Tirmidhī that God created in darkness [see KHALḲ] must have aroused misgivings. The physician al-Rāzī (d. 311/923), although a Hellenistic philosopher, adopted ideas from Persia and was for this refuted or cursed by various theologians and philosophers. Many mystics also (e.g. al-Ḥallādj; according to Massignon, *Passion*, 150-1, wrongly) were accused of this dualism.

But the speculations about *nūr* found powerful support from the 3rd/9th century in the monistic doctrine of light of the Neo-Platonists (we do not know of any Persian monism of light) which was compatible with the monism of Islam. The father of this doctrine is Plato, who in his *Politeia*, 506 D ff., compares the idea of the good in the supersensual world with Helios as the light of the physical world. The contrast is not therefore between light and darkness but between the world of ideas or mind and its copy, the physical world of bodies, in the upper world pure light, in the lower world light more or less mixed with darkness. Among the Neo-Platonists, the idea of the good = the highest God = pure light. This identification was also facilitated by the fact that, according to Aristotle's conception, light is nothing corporeal (*De anima*, ii, 7, 418b: [φῶς]... οὔτε πῦρ οὔθ' ὅλως σῶμα οὐδ' ἀπορροὴ σώματος). From the context, which is however not all clear, it appears that Aristotle regarded light as an effective force (ἐνέργεια). This is however of no importance here. Many Aristotelian forces and Platonic ideas are described by Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists sometimes as forces and sometimes as substances (spiritual). With Aristotle, σκότος (darkness) was conceived not as something positive but as στέρησις (*privatio*, the absence of light).

From this developed the doctrine which we find in the Arabic *Theology of Aristotle*. Not far from the beginning (ed. Dieterici, 3) it is said: the power of light (*ḳuwwa nūriyya*) is communicated by the prime cause, the creator, to the *ʿaḳl* and by the *ʿaḳl* to the world soul, then from the *ʿaḳl* through the world soul to nature and from the world soul through nature to the things which originate and decay. The whole process of this creative development proceeds without movement and timelessly. But God who causes the force of light to pour forth is also light (*nūr*; occasional synonyms: *ḥusn*, *bahāʾ*), the "prime light" (51) or (44) the "light of lights". Light (51) is essentially in God, not a quality (*ṣifa*), for God has no qualities but works through His being (*huwiyya*) alone. The light flows through the whole world, particularly the world of men. From the supersensual original (150), the first man (*insān ʿaḳlī*), it flows over the second man (*insān nafsānī*) and from him to the third (*insān djismānī*). These are the originals of the so-called real men. Light is, of course, found in its purest form in the souls of the wise and the good (51). It should be noted also that *nūr* as a spiritual force (*rūḥānī*, *ʿaḳlī*) is distinguished from fire (*nār*) which is said to be only a force in matter with definite quality (85). Fire, of course, like everything else, has its supersensual original. But this is more connected with life than with light.

The elevation of the soul to the divine world of light corresponds to the creative descent of light (8). When the soul has passed on its return beyond the world of the *ʿaḳl*, it sees there the pure light and the beauty of God, the goal of all mystics.

Although the author of the *Liber de causis* is of the opinion that nothing can be predicated regarding God, yet he has to call Him the prime cause and more exactly pure light (§ 5, ed. Bardenhewer, 69) and as such the origin of all being and all knowledge (in God is *wudjūd* = *maʿrifa*; see § 23, p. 103).

The light emanated by God may, if it is regarded as an independent entity, be placed at various parts of the system. Most philosophers and theologians connect it with the *rūḥ* or *ʿaḳl* or identify it with them, sometimes also with life (*ḥayāt*), but this must be more closely investigated.

The great philosophers in Islam, al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, connected the doctrine of light with the *ʿaḳl* in metaphysics as well as in psychology. Al-Fārābī is fond of using many synonyms for the light of God and the *ʿaḳl* (*bahāʾ*, etc.; see e.g. *Der Musterstaat*, ed. Dieterici, 13 ff.). In the biography of al-Fārābī in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ʿUyūn*, ed. Müller, ii, 134-40), a prayer is attributed to him in which God is invoked as the "prime cause of things and light of the earth and of heaven". Like al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā takes up the doctrine of light in theology and further develops it. In his psychological writings he regards the light as a link of the soul and body (cf. Sahl al-Tustarī, who places *nūr* between *rūḥ* and *ṭīn* in the four elements of man). In the *Kitāb al-Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 126-7) he even reads the whole metaphysical doctrine of the *ʿaḳl* of the Aristotelians into the light verse of the Ḳurʾān. Light is the *ʿaḳl bi 'l-fiʿl*, fire the *ʿaḳl faʿʿāl* and so on. God's *nūr* is therefore like the *nous* of Aristotle! This discovery of Ibn Sīnā's was incorporated in the pious reflections of al-Ghazālī (in *Maʿāridj al-Ḳuds fī madāridj maʿrifat al-nafs*, Cairo 1927, 58-9).

On the idea of light amongst the Ṣūfīs, see TAṢAWWUF.

Bibliography: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *La lampe et l'olivier dans le Coran*, in *RHR*, lxxxi (1920), 213-59; W.H.T. Gairdner, *al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-Anwār and the Ghazālī problem*, in *Isl.*, v (1914), 121-53; idem, *al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-Anwār*, tr. with introduction, London 1924. See also ʿAḲL, AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL, ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, ISHRĀḲIYYŪN, AL-SUHRAWARDĪ (AL-MAḲTŪL). (TJ. DE BOER)

NŪR ALLĀH AL-SAYYID B. AL-SAYYID SHARĪF AL-MARʿASHĪ AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-SHUSHTARĪ, commonly called Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh, was born in 956/1549. He was descended from an illustrious family of the Marʿashī Sayyids [*q.v.*] and settled in Shushtar. He left his native place for India and settled in Lahore where he attracted the notice of Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ (d. 997/1588) and through his presentation to Emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605), he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Lahore in lieu of al-Shaykh Muʿīn (d. 995/1586). ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, iii, 137, says that he was, "although a Shīʿī, a just, pious and learned man." He was flogged to death in 1019/1610, on account of his religious opinions, by the order of the Emperor Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-28). He is regarded as *al-Shahīd al-Thālith*, "the third martyr", by the Shīʿīs and his tomb in Akbarābād is visited by numerous Shīʿīs from all parts of India.

He is the author of innumerable works, of which the following may be quoted: 1. *Ḥāshiya ʿalā 'l-Bayḍāwī*, a supercommentary to al-Bayḍāwī's commentary on the Ḳurʾān entitled *Anwār al-tanzīl*: see Asiatic Society of Bengal mss., List of the Government Collection, 16; 2. *Ḥāshiya Sharḥ djadīd ʿalā 'l-Tadjrīd*, glosses to Ḳūshdjī's commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's compendium of metaphysics and

theology, entitled *Tadjrīd al-kalām*: see Loth, Ind. Off., no. 471, xv; 3. *Iḥkāḳ al-ḥaḳḳ wa-izhāḳ al-bāṭil*, a polemical work against Sunnism written in reply to Faḍl b. Rūzbahān's work entitled *Ibṭāl al-bāṭil*, a treatise in refutation of the *Kashf al-ḥaḳḳ wa-nahdj al-ṣidḳ* by Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī al-Ḥillī; see Bankipore Library, Khudā Bakhsh cat., xiv, 172; Farangī Maḥall Library, Lucknow, fol. 108; Rāmpūr Library, 281; Asiatic Society of Bengal (List of Arabic mss., 23); 4. *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, biographies of famous Shīʿīs from the beginning of Islām to the rise of the Ṣafawī dynasty in Persian: see Bankipore Library cat., 766; Asiatic Society of Bengal cat., 59; Ethé, Ind. Off., no. 704, and Rieu, *Cat. of Persian mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, 337a. Printed at Tehran 1268.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil fī ʿulamāʾ Djabal ʿĀmil*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Husaynī, Baghdād 1385/1965-6, ii, 336-7 no. 1037; Muḥammad Bāḳir b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Mūsawī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-sādāt*, iv, 220; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, iii, 137 and Rieu, *Cat. of Persian mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, 337b.

(M. Hidayet Hosain)

NŪR BĀNŪ Wālide Sulṭān (*ca.* 932-91/*ca.* 1525-83), Khaṣṣekī (principal consort) of the Ottoman sultan Selīm II [*q.v.*] and mother of the sultan Murād III [*q.v.*]. She was born on Paros [see para] as Cecilia, illegitimate daughter of Nicolo Venier (d. 1520), the penultimate sovereign ruler of the island and of Violante Baffo. The identity of this "Venetian Sultana" is often confused with that of her successor, the *Wālide Sulṭān* Ṣāfiye [*q.v.*]. Some Turkish historians persist in ascribing a Jewish origin to her. At the time of the conquest of the island in 1537, she was selected for deportation to the harem of the Sultan's palace and presented to Prince Selīm (II). Henceforward she is known as Nūr Bānū. In 953/1546 she gave birth to her eldest son, Murād. While at Maghnisa [*q.v.*] her daughters Shāh Sulṭān (951-88/1544-80), Djewher(-i Mülūk) Khān (? 951-86/1544-78), Ismikhān (Esmākhān) Sulṭān (952-93/1545-85) and Fāṭima Sulṭān (d. 988/1580) were born. Whether she was the mother of Selīm II's other six sons is not evident.

At the death of Selīm II (28 Shaʿbān 982/13 December 1574), it was she who ordered the corpse of the monarch to be put on ice to postpone burial till the time when her son arrived to succeed to the throne ten days later.

During the reign of Selīm II, her influence mainly affected official appointments by introducing the sale of offices. The imperial harem gradually extended its influence in this way to affairs outside the palace. During the reign of her son, Nūr Bānū was able to establish what is called the "Women's Sultanate" (*kadînlar salṭanati*). Apart from her daughters, the leading members of her clique were the princess Mihr-i Māh (d. 985/1578 [*q.v.*]), the *kedbānū* ("Mistress of the Female Household") from 991 till 1003/1595, Djānfedā *Khātūn* and Rāḍiye *Khātūn* (*Kalfa*) (d. 1005/26 June 1597), a lady companion since Maghnisa days. (cf. Selānikī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. İpşirli, 695). The Jewish *Kira* Esther Ḥandali (d. *ca.* 1590) also played a role in external contacts, e.g. with the financier Joseph Nasi, duke of Naxos (1514-69) [see naḳshe]. The *bābüsseʿādet aghasî* Ghazanfer Agha (d. 1603) and the leading *muṣāḥib* Shemsī Aḥmed Pasha (d. 988/1580-1) belonged to Nūr Bānū's faction.

During her son's reign, one of her main preoccupations was the rivalry with Ṣāfiye, first *khaṣṣekī* of Murād III whom Nūr Bānū was able to relegate to the Old Saray at the time of his accession.

In her day already, Nūr Bānū was compared to the queen (mother) of France, Catherine de Médicis (1519-89). The two exchanged letters in 1581 and 1582. The presents from the French "*Wālide Sulṭān*" to her Ottoman opposite number arrived too late in April 1584 and were redirected to Ṣāfiye Sulṭān by Esther *Kira* instead! Some letters of Nūr Bānū and her *Kira* to the Doge and Senate as well as to the *bailo*, Giovanni Correr (in Istanbul 1578-80), apart from the many presents and tokens of respect received, are evidence of the sultana's lasting favourable interest in the affairs of Venice.

Her regular income came from the so called *bashmaḳlîḳ* ('slipper money') and *waḳf* endowments [see wālide sulṭān].

Nūr Bānū possessed her own palace near Edirne Ḳapî, where in 1580 her son retired during a serious attack of epilepsy (Charrière, iii, 922 and n. 1). The *ʿAtîḳ Wālide* (*Eski Valide*) mosque complex at Üsküdar-Toptashî was built on her orders. Construction lasted from 978/1570 to 991/1583 (designed by Sinān [*q.v.*]). Two small mosques were built in her name elsewhere in Istanbul.

After an illness, she died in her garden palace near Edirne Ḳapî (according to Selānikī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. İpşirli, 141: Yeñi Ḳapî) on Wednesday, 22 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 991/7 December 1583. Her son put on mourning dress (the first time ever reported of an Ottoman sultan on such an occasion). He carried her out of the palace gate and accompanied the coffin as far as the mosque of Fātiḥ, where the funeral *ṣalāt* was performed. Nūr Bānū is buried in the mausoleum of Selīm II at the Aya Sofya.

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(A.H. de Groot)

NŪR DJAHĀN, name given to Mihr al-Nisāʾ, the famous queen of Djahāngīr, the Mughal Emperor. She was born at Ḳandahār in 985/1577 when her father, Ghiyāth Beg, was migrating from Persia to Hindustān (*Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, i, 129). In the reign of Akbar she was married to ʿAlī Ḳulī Beg, a Persian who had rendered distinguished military service to the Emperor and who, because of his bravery, was known as Shīr Afgan. The assassination of her first husband will always remain a matter of con-

troversy, some regarding it as a repetition of the story of David and Uriah, others holding the view that he had been suspected of disloyalty. It was not, however, until four years later, in 1020/1611, that she became, at the age of thirty-four, the wife of Djahāngīr [*q.v.*]. In the eleventh year of that monarch's reign her name was changed from Nūr Maḥall to Nūr Djahān (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, ed. Rogers and Beveridge, i, 319).

An extraordinarily beautiful woman, well-versed in Persian literature in an age when few women were cultured, ambitious and masterful, she entirely dominated her husband, until eventually Djahāngīr was king in name only. The chroniclers record that she sometimes sat in the *jharokā*, that coins were struck in her name, and that she even dared to issue *farmāns* (*Iḳbāl-nāma*, 54-7). She became the leader of fashion and is said to have invented the *ʿaṭr-i Djahāngīrī*, a special kind of rose-water. Her style in gowns, veils, brocade, lace, and her *farsh-i čandanī* (carpets of sandalwood colour) were known throughout the length and breadth of Hindūstān.

Ably assisted in political affairs by her father, now known as Iʿtimād al-Dawla, and her brother, Āsaf Khān, she dispensed all patronage, thus falling foul of the older nobility led by Mahābat Khān [*q.v.*]. The history of the last years of Djahāngīr's reign is the history of Nūr Djahān's efforts at paving the way for the succession of her son-in-law, Prince Shahriyār. But the death of her father, combined with the fact that Āṣaf Khān was supporting the claim of his own son-in-law, Prince Khurram, considerably weakened her power. On the death of Djahāngīr, in 1037/1627, she was completely outwitted by Āṣaf Khān, her candidate was defeated, and Prince Khurram ascended the throne as Shāh Djahān. The historians of Mughal India record little of the last eighteen years of this remarkable woman's life during the reign of Shāh Djahān.

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(C.C. Davies)

NŪR ḲUṬB al-ʿ**ĀLAM**, Sayyid, Ṣūfī saint of Pānduʾā [*q.v.*] in Bengal and pioneer writer in the Bengali vernacular, d. 819/1416. An adherent of the Čishtī order, he and his descendants did much to popularise it in Bengal and Bihār and to create an atmosphere favourable to the rise of the Bhakti movement there. In the literary field, he introduced the use of *rīkhta*, half-Persian, half-Bengali poetry. On the political plane, he secured the patronage of the Sharḳīs of Djawnpūr [*q.vv.*], and seems to have urged Sultan Ibrāhīm Sharḳī [*q.v.*] to attack the Islamised Hindu line of Rādjā Gaṇeśa [see rādjā ganesh] who were ruling in Bengal.

Bibliography: See bengali. ii, and čishtiyya. A. (Ed.)

NŪR MUḤAMMADĪ (a.), the Muḥammadan light. It is one of the most prominent names given to Muḥammad's pre-existent entity which preceded the creation of Ādam [*q.v.*]. The concept has its parallels in Jewish, Gnostic and neo-Platonic ideas (see I. Goldziher, *Neuplatonische und Gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīṯ*, in *ZA*, xxii [1909], 317 ff.; T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds*, Upsala 1917, *passim*. See also, L. Massignon, *Al-Ḥallāj*, Paris 1922, *passim*; idem, *Recueil...*, 1929, *passim*).

Not all Muslim scholars and theologians agreed on the nature of Muḥammad's pre-existence. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]) claimed that the primordial creation (*khalḳ*) of Muḥammad did not signify pre-existence at all, only predestination (*taḳdīr*). They were opposed by Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355 [*q.v.*]), who supported the dogma of Muḥammad's pre-existence. There was also disagreement on whether Muḥammad was pre-existent in body or in soul. The controversy brought about the adoption of a somewhat neutral name for the primordial entity of Muḥammad: *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-Muḥammadiyya* (see a survey of the various opinions in Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā wa 'l-rashād fī sīrat khayr al-ʿibād*, Cairo 1990, i, 91, 99-100). The latter term, meaning "the Muḥammadan reality", emerges also in the discussions about *al-Insān al-Kāmil* [*q.v.*], i.e., the Perfect Man, the archetype of the universe and humanity, which is identified with Muḥammad. In these discussions allusion is most often made to the Ḳurʾānic verse of light (XXIV, 35). Specific elaborations on the concept are current in the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] and among other Shīʿī extremist sects (U. Rubin, *Pre-existence and light; aspects of the concept of Nūr Muḥammad*, in *IOS*, v [1975], 107-9).

The idea of Muḥammad's pre-existence is implied in early *ḥadīth* material, where it is stated that Muḥammad was the first of all prophets to be created (e.g. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1960, i, 148-9). The idea is also implied in the commentaries on Kurʾān XXXIII, 7 (al-Ṭabarī, etc.) which mentions the covenant (*mīthāḳ* [*q.v.*]) of the prophets (Rubin, *art. cit.*, 69). Relevant are also the interpretations of Ḳurʾān VII, 172, which deals with the *dhurriyya* (offspring) of the children of Ādam (Rubin, *art. cit.*, 67-8).

In the early *ḥadīth* material, the Muḥammadan light is referred to as *nūr Muḥammad*, and is given a special function. It is identified with the spermatic substance of Muḥammad's ancestors. The light is said to have reached the corporeal Muḥammad from his progenitors through the process of procreation (see especially Abū Saʿd al-Khargūshī, *Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā*, ms. B.L., Or. 3014, fols. 7 ff.). This concept (traducianism) corresponds to the Arabian, pre-Islamic, belief that virtues, as well as vices, were passed on from the ancestors (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 41-2). Bearing (in their loins) the divine Muḥammadan substance, Muḥammad's Arab ancestors are presented as true Muslims, and sometimes even as "prophets" (Rubin, *art. cit.*, 71-83. See also the commentaries of al-Ḳummī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Ṭabarsī, al-Rāzī, al-Ḳurṭubī, etc. on Ḳurʾān, XXVI, 219: *wa-taḳallubaka fī 'l-sādjidīn*). The early *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]) already contains a detailed description of the emergence of a prophetic blaze (*ghurra*) on the forehead of ʿAbd Allāh, Muḥammad's father. It rested in his body till it was passed on to Āmina, when she became pregnant with Muḥammad (Ibn Hishām, 100 ff.). Shīʿī traditions hold that not only Muḥammad, but also ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and his family, including the Imāms, shared the same light. It is claimed that while being passed on through the ancestors, the light was split in two, so that both Muḥammad and ʿAlī received equal shares of it (Rubin, *art. cit.*, 83-98). There are also Sunnī counter-versions in which the first four caliphs are given a share in the Muḥammadan light (Rubin, *art. cit.*, 112 ff.).

There is also another kind of divine pre-existent light which is referred to as *Nūr Allāh*. It is said to have reached Muḥammad and the Shīʿī Imāms through the previous prophets (not the ancestors). It is being passed on at the end of each person's life, as part of his hereditary authority (*waṣiyya*) (see Rubin, *Prophets and progenitors in the early Shīʿa tradition*, in *JSAI*, i [1979], 41 ff.).

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(U. Rubin)

NŪR SATGUR (meaning "true teacher"), a per-

son whose name is generally associated with the beginnings of the Nizārī [see NIZĀRIYYA] or Satpanth (i.e. the true path) Ismāʿīlism in India but who remains more as an enigmatic and a symbolic figure around whom the Nizārī tradition has woven a colourful tapestry of legends representing the emergence of its *daʿwa* in the Indian subcontinent. As far as the historical sources are concerned, we are on very tenuous ground because of scanty material. Most of our information is therefore derived from the Nizārī sources which tend to be hagiographic. The major source of his biography is the community's indigenous religious literature known as *ginān*s (derived from Sanskrit *jñāna*, meaning "contemplative or meditative knowledge"). The *ginān*s are poetical compositions in Indian vernaculars, such as Sindhī, Pandjābī, Multānī, Gudjarātī and Hindī, are polyglot in nature, and are ascribed to various *pīr*s [*q.v.*] who were active in preaching and propagating the *daʿwa*. They resemble didactic and mystical poetry and are often anachronistic and legendary in nature. Moreover, as this literature was preserved orally in the beginning before it was committed to writing in Khōdjkī (or Khʷādja Sindhī) script, and printed during the second half of the 19th century in Gudjarātī without any critical apparatus, it poses a different set of problems concerning its antiquity, authenticity, transmission, and interpolation. Based on some *ginān*s ascribed to Nūr Satgur, he probably came from Persia to Pātan (in Gudjarāt), where he allegedly succeeded in converting the then reigning Rādjput king Siddharādja Djayasiṁha (1094-1143), the same king who is also reported to have been converted by the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī [*q.v.*] *daʿwa*. The second narrative in those *ginān*s traces Nūr Satgur's activities in another region, Dharanāgarī, after his exploits in Pātan, where he allegedly succeeded not only in converting the king but also in marrying the latter's daughter. (For details, see Azim Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī tradition in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, Delmar, N.Y. 1978, 50-3, where the Nizārī tradition about the commencement of the Nizārī *daʿwa* is analysed.) The existence of a shrine located in Navsārī, near Sūrat, ascribed to him, and the chronogram on his tombstone giving the date of his death as 487/1094, are of very little help in locating him historically, as the shrine was actually constructed towards the end of the 18th century (Nanji, *op. cit.*, 60).

Bibliography: For a full description of older sources and works ascribed to him, see I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 298; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 415, 478.

(I. POONAWALA)

NŪR AL-DĪN, ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR, Algerian scholar and teacher, born at Biskra *ca.* 1892 and died in Algiers on 12 April 1987.

Of modest origins, he attended the primary school in his home town and at 15 entered the Algiers medersa. Under the guidance of eminent teachers, in particular, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Madjdjāwī, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ben Smāya, Muḥammad al-Saʿīd Ibn Zakrī and Muḥammad Ben Cheneb, he followed classical studies in Arabic and French and obtained the Diploma of Higher Studies. He completed his education by helping with the courses of well-known *ʿulamāʾ* such as ʿAlī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥādjdj Mūsā, Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā b. al-Khūdja and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥafnāwī which they gave in the mosques of the capital. For several years, he functioned as adel (*ʿadl*, professional witness in the law courts) at Cherchell, but soon left this in order to devote himself in the future to teaching. He was appointed *mudarris* at Blida, then at Tlemcen and then, in 1945, at Algiers, in the al-Thaʿālibiyya *madrasa*, which became a Franco-Muslim lycée in 1951. Meanwhile, Nūr al-Dīn acted as *répétiteur* in Arabic at the Faculty of Letters in the University and *chargé de cours* at the Institute of Higher Islamic Studies. He had connections with the French Arabists, amongst others H. Pérès, M. Canard, J. Cantineau and H. Jahier of the Faculty of Medicine, and in collaboration with this last published five works concerned with medicine and the physicians of the Muslim West (see below).

In the course of his long teaching career, Nūr al-Dīn endeavoured above all to inculcate in his pupils the constitutive elements of the Arabic language and to bring to life the Arab-Islamic cultural heritage. This double task inspired his preferences and guided the choices which he made. On one hand, he put together a dozen manuals for lycée and medersa classes: précis of Arabic grammar, collections of classical and modern texts, with a lexicographical and grammatical commentary, followed by exercises, in which he strove to set forth the subject-matter in an easily comprehensible form. Having realised that certain ideas did not come easily to young minds, he tried to express them by concrete examples. Moreover, he thought that his pupils would more quickly grasp the syntactic relationships of words and would understand their functions better if he presented to them schematically certain examples, so that the arrangement of the different elements of the phrase might become clearer and more eloquent. All his educational works show great pedagogic care.

On the other hand, Nūr al-Dīn edited, translated into French and commented upon, in collaboration with Jahier, famous works of Ibn Rushd and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, wishing thereby to throw into relief that place which scientific texts, at the side of philosophical, religious and hagiographic ones, occupied in the Arabic literature of the Muslim West.

Of his historical works, one should mention his critical edition of *Ghazawāt ʿUrūdj wa-Khayr al-Dīn*, of a history of the town of Constantine by Ḥādjdj Aḥmad Ibn al-Mubārak and, above all, his *Ṣafaḥāt fī taʾrīkh madīnat al-Djazāʾir*, which is characterised by the solidity of its documentation, the clarity of its exposition and its easy style.

The essential quality of his publications shows that Nūr al-Dīn was a significant example of an Algerian *ʿālim*, with an Arabic and French education, who took up modern pedagogical methods and research techniques based on bibliography, the study of sources and manuscripts. With an absence of dogmatism and in a spirit of liberal-minded curiosity, he led a studious life devoted to learning. However, his published work is less important than the real value of the effects produced by his teaching, and it was in effect by his practical example that his influence was deepest. As a good teacher, well-informed, devoted and with a rare modesty, he brought much and inspired much not merely to his numerous pupils but also to his colleagues.

The chronological list of his writings is as follows:

A. Full-size works (all publ. Algiers unless otherwise stated)

1. *Muntakhab al-ḥikāyāt al-mithliyya*, 1346/1927. 2. *K. Ghazawāt ʿUrūdj wa-Khayr al-Dīn, chronique arabe du XVIe s.*, 1934. 3. *al-Ḳirāʾāt al-ifrīḳiyya al-mashrūḥa*, 1366/1937; 4. *Lāmiyyat al-afʿāl*, 1358/1940; 5. *al-Ḳawl al-maʾthūr min kalām al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb*, n.d. 6. *al-Ādjurrūmiyya ʿalā ṭarīḳ al-suʾāl wa*

ʾl-djawāb, grammatical analysis with exercises. 1365/1946. 7. *al-Muṭālaʿa al-ʿarabiyya al-ʿaṣriyya*, 1366/1947. 8. *al-Risāla al-ṣarfiyya bi ʾl-shakl al-tāmm*, n.d. 9. *Taʾrīkh madīnat Ḳusanṭīna li ʾl-Ḥādjdj Aḥmad Ibn al-Mubārak*, 1952. 10. *ʿArīb b. Saʿīd al-Kātib al-Ḳurṭubī, Le livre de la génération du foetus et le traitément des femmes enceintes et des nouveaux-nés, tr. et annoté par H. Jahier et A. Noureddine*, 1956. 11. *Avicenne, Poème de la Médecine, texte arabe publié, traduit et annoté, accompagné d'une traduction latine du XIIIe siècle, par H.J. et A.N.*, Paris 1956. 12. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *K. ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ bi-ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ (chap. XIII: médecins de l'Occident musulman), publié, traduit et annoté par H.J. et A.N.*, 1377/1958. 13. *Ibid., chap. IV, V, et VI: Hippocrate et les hippocratiques, Galien et ses successeurs, les médecins alexandrins, publié, traduit et annoté par H.J. et A.N.*, 1958. 14. *K. Iʿrāb al-djumal*, 1377/1958. 15. Ibn ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Fadjīdjī, *Rawḍat al-sulwān (Le Jardin de Consolation), publié, traduit et annoté par H.J. et A.N.*, 1378/1959. 16. *Anthologie de textes poétiques attribués à Avicenne, publié avec traduction française et notes par H.J. et A.N.*, 1960. 17. *al-Inshāʾ al-ʿarabī*, 1960. 18. *Asās al-ʿarabiyya li-taʿlīm al-ḥurūf al-hidjāʾiyya*, 1960. 19. *al-Muntakhab min ashʿār al-ʿArab*, 1961. 20. *K. al-Wasīla li-ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya*, n.d. 21. *Pages de la médecine arabe, avec préface et commentaire; gérontologie arabe au Moyen Âge*, n.d. 22. *Ṣafaḥāt fī taʾrīkh madīnat al-Djazāʾir*, Constantine 1385/1965. 23. *Mukhtaṣar fī ʾl-ʿibādāt, trad. française*, n.d. 24. *Dictionnaire français-arabe de Ben Sedira, revu et augmenté par N.A.*, n.d.

B. Articles

1. *Un épisode de l'histoire de l'ancient Alger*, in *Mélanges E.F. Gautier*, 1937. 2. *Un philanthrope maure du XIXe siècle, El Hadj Abderrahmane El-Kinai. Essai d'une biographie critique et commentaire*, in *Feuillets d'El-Djezair*, no. 2 (Algiers, Sept. 1942), 57-63. 3. *Rapprochement littéraire*, in *BEA*, no. 21 (Algiers, Jan.-Feb. 1945), 7-8. 4. *Ibn Khallikān, notice biographique sur Avicenne extraite des Wafayāt al-aʿyān, texte arabe présenté et traduit par N.A. et H. Pérès*, in *ibid.*, no. 52 (March-April 1951), 36-43. 5. *Nubdha min ṣafaḥāt fī taʾrīkh madīnat al-Djazāʾir...*, in *Madjalla Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, no. 1 (Algiers 1964), 3-32.

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(R. BENCHENEB)

NŪR AL-DĪN ARSLĀN SHĀH ABU ʾL-ḤĀRITH B. MASʿŪD B. MAWDŪD B. ZANGĪ, called al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, sixth ruler in Mawṣil of the Zangid line of Atabegs, reigned 589-607/1193-1211.

On the death of his father ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd [*q.v.*], Nūr al-Dīn succeeded him, but for many years was under the tutelage of the commander of the citadel of Mawṣil, the eunuch Mudjāhid al-Dīn Ḳaymaz al-Zaynī, till the latter's death in 595/1198-9. Nūr al-Dīn's early external policy aimed at securing control of Niṣībīn [*q.v.*] from his kinsman, the Zangī lord of Sindjār ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī and the latter's son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (594/1109), but was frustrated by the intervention in Diyār Bakr, leading to a siege of Mārdīn [*q.v.*], by the Ayyūbids al-Malik al-ʿĀdil and al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.vv.*]. Nūr al-Dīn was victorious there in 595/1199 and drove al-Malik al-Kāmil back to Damascus, but had himself to return to Mawṣil through illness. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad retained his formal allegiance to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (600/1203-4), and Nūr al-Dīn's capture of and attempt to hold Tell Aʿfar failed in the next year.

The pattern of alliances then changed, with a marriage union between Nūr al-Dīn's daughter and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil's son, when the Zangids of Mawṣil and the Ayyūbids for a while united Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, but this alignment changed with the intervention of the lord of Irbil, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökbüri, and the formation of an alliance against al-Malik al-ʿĀdil which now included the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm Kay Khusraw I [*q.v.*]. Nevertheless, in the end Ḳuṭb al-Dīn retained possession of Sindjār until 616/1219, but Nūr al-Dīn himself died in Radjab 607/January 1211, to be succeeded in Mawṣil by his son ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd al-Malik al-Ḳāhir.

Nūr al-Dīn left behind a reputation in Mawṣil as a benefactor to the town, building *inter alia* a *madrasa* there for the Shāfiʿīs when he himself passed from the Ḥanafī *madhhab* to that of the Shāfiʿīs.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

NŪR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD B. **ZANKĪ**, Zankid or Zangid sultan and successor to Zankī (d. 565/1174), who was murdered during the siege of Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar [*q.v.*] in Rabīʿ I 541/September 1146. The succession posed a series of problems since there were four heirs: Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, the eldest, represented his father at Mawṣil [*q.v.*], the second son, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, had accompanied his father in the majority of his military operations, the third, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Amīr-Amīrān, was to be governor of Ḥarrān [*q.v.*], the fourth son, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd [*q.v.*] was to succeed his eldest brother at Mawṣil. There was also a daughter who was to marry the *amīr* Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṣūrī.

After the death of his father, Nūr al-Dīn made his way to Aleppo [see ḤALAB], following the advice of Shīrkūh, a Kurdish *amīr* and friend of the former sultan. Sawār, the governor of the town, recognised Zankid sovereignty. Ḥamāt [*q.v.*], of which the titular *amīr* was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Yāghisiyānī, also rallied to his cause. At Mawṣil, the situation was more complicated, but the pro-Zankid *amīrs* succeeded in bringing Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī from Kurdistān and obtained from the sultan his appointment as ruler of Mawṣil.

Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch, did not hear the news of the assassination of Zankī until seven days after the establishment of Nūr al-Dīn at Aleppo. He dispatched two forces, one against Aleppo and the other against Ḥamāt, whereupon the Muslims compelled their opponents to withdraw to Antioch [see ANṬĀKIYA]. Edessa, eastern bastion of Frankish expansion for the previous half-century (1098-1144 [see AL-RUHĀ]), came again under Muslim control, but Armenian elements who constituted the majority of the population there succeeded in neutralising the effectiveness of the local Muslim garrison and called upon the aid of Joscelin, who was the son of an Armenian mother. After six days of forced marches from Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn was the first to arrive with siege machinery. The vigour of his operations induced the Armenians to evacuate the town. Joscelin found refuge at Sumaysāṭ on the right bank of the Euphrates. Edessa was then incorporated into the domain of Nūr al-Dīn. Relations between the latter and Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī became strained until, on the occasion of his brother's investiture, Nūr al-Dīn addressed

to him, from Aleppo, an official act of homage, recognising the primacy of his elder brother. He obtained guarantees for his eastern frontier where Ḥarrān took the place of Edessa and was charged with the responsibility of conducting the *djihād* [*q.v.*] against the enemy from the West.

Reviving the policy of his father, Nūr al-Dīn decided to take possession of Damascus [see DIMASHK] and to incorporate it into a Syrian federation, for political reasons in view of the presence of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem to the south, and for economic reasons since, being deprived of the Djazīra [*q.v.*], Syria needed the Biḳāʿ and also the Ḥawrān [*q.vv.*] to gain adequate supplies of cereals. In spring of 541/May 1147, Nūr al-Dīn and Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur together confronted the Franks in the Ḥawrān, where Altīntāsh, governor of Ṣalkhad and of Boṣrā [*q.vv.*] was seeking to make himself independent of Damascus with the aid of the Franks of Jerusalem, but the latter were forced to withdraw.

For the Latin states, the objective was to remove Nūr al-Dīn, but the absence of political direction among the Crusaders spared the latter a campaign which could have caused him serious problems. On 24 July 1148, following a series of debates in the Assizes of Jerusalem, the decision was taken to attack Damascus. In July, the Franks mustered at Tiberias and arrived before Damascus on the 24th. Muʿīn al-Dīn sent urgent appeals for help to Mawṣil and Aleppo and exploited the Zankid threat to repel the Franks, who raised the siege on 28 July.

The year 1149 was a time of considerable activity. Nūr al-Dīn was determined to counter the attacks of Raymond of Antioch. He decided, after receiving reinforcements from Damascus, to attack the region of Afāmiya [*q.v.*], then occupied by the Franks. He also laid siege to Inab which commanded the valley of the Ghāb [*q.v.*]. On 20 Ṣafar 544/29 June 1149, having defeated the Latins at a place known as ʿArḍ al-Ḥātim, Nūr al-Dīn occupied the land between the Rudj and the Orontes [see AL-ʿĀṢĪ]. He took Afāmiya and Ḳalʿat al-Muḍīḳ, and then Ḥārim [*q.v.*], where he installed a Muslim garrison and then resumed the siege of Antioch, where the antagonists concluded a truce.

On 23 Rabīʿ II 544/28 August 1149, on the death of Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur, there was tension in Damascus, where Mudjīr al-Dīn Aybak took control of the government. Seeking to intervene, Nūr al-Dīn found a pretext in the campaign currently being conducted by the Franks in the Ḥawrān. He appealed for the participation of a Damascene contingent in his support but, on the basis of previous agreements the Damascenes called upon the Franks of Jerusalem for help in resisting Nūr al-Dīn. Advancing with undiminished speed, the latter crossed the Biḳāʿ, traversed the Anti-Lebanon and deployed his army some ten km to the south-west of Damascus at a place known as Manāzil al-ʿAsākir, on 26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 544/25 April 1150. From his encampment, Nūr al-Dīn sent a declaration to the Damascenes, informing them that he had come to protect them from their supposed allies, the Franks. Since his supporters were still too few in number to control the city, Nūr al-Dīn decided to return to Aleppo, where his presence was necessary following the capture of Joscelin of Edessa by Turcomans in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 544/April 1150 and his incarceration in the citadel of Aleppo. This event gave rise to various repercussions: in the month of Muḥarram 545, the Saldjūḳ ruler of Rūm, Masʿūd b. Muḥammad, set out to blockade Tell Bāshir and invited Nūr al-Dīn to join him. The latter accepted, not wishing to allow his rival to be the sole beneficiary of the situation. While Masʿūd succceeded in taking all the places situated in the valleys to the west of the Euphrates, Nūr al-Dīn attacked the region of upper ʿAfrīn [*q.v.*] in order to take control of the communications routes linking Antioch with the north. In autumn 545/1150 he occupied the region downstream of al-Bīra [*q.v.*] on the right bank of the Euphrates. The frontier of the *Dār al-Islām* was thus transferred from the Euphrates to the Orontes.

At the end of 545/spring 1151 the problem arose of the renewal of the treaty concluded between Damascus and Jerusalem. It was then that Nūr al-Dīn established his base to the south of Damascus and issued an appeal to the population but, failing to prevent contacts between the Damascenes and the troops of Baldwin III, he withdrew to the valley of the Baradā [*q.v.*]. The Franks entered the city and, before returning to Jerusalem, claimed a portion of the indemnity promised in July 1151. After their departure, Nūr al-Dīn renewed the siege of Damascus and engaged in negotiations: Damascus agreed to recognise his sovereignty, to mention him in the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*] and to strike coinage in his name, but in fact the city retained its independence.

In April-May 1152 the Zankid prince sent troops to the coast, taking Ṭarṭūs, a port situated between al-Lādhiḳiyya [*q.v.*] and Ṭarābulus al-Shām, thus severing communications between the County of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch.

Mudjīr al-Dīn preferred the Frankish protectorate to the Zankid ascendancy. To win over the population of Damascus to the cause of Nūr al-Dīn, his agents engaged in subtle propaganda, while he himself resorted to more persuasive tactics: he intercepted the food supplies arriving from the south. Prices rose and famine threatened. While the city starved, Nūr al-Dīn had dealings with the heads of the *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*] and with the *zuʿʿār* who were recruited among the porters and lower echelons of the souks. Mudjīr al-Dīn appealed to the Franks, but before they had time to intervene, Nūr al-Dīn launched his operation. When his troops entered the town, the middle classes barricaded their homes against them and the mob went on the rampage, but within a few hours Nūr al-Dīn restored order, distributed provisions and undertook to respect private property. The population was reassured. Mudjīr al-Dīn, isolated in the citadel, accepted Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] in return for his capitulation. On the day of his departure, Nūr al-Dīn called a meeting, the participants including the *raʾīs* Raḍī al-Dīn al-Tamīmī and Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the *ḳāḍīs* and the *fuḳahāʾ*, as well as leading citizens and merchants. He repeated his conciliatory assurances and announced the abolition of taxes levied on the markets. The arrival of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus marked the beginning of a new era for all the victims of previous régimes; thus the *amīr* Usāma b. Munḳidh, who had left the city ten years earlier, returned at the start of Rabīʿ II 549/June 1154.

In eight years, Nūr al-Dīn was to achieve, by gradual stages, his objective of a united Syria. He began by consolidating his position at Aleppo; as a means of suppressing the Shīʿīs, he revived with increased vigour the measures which Zankī had inaugurated: the imposition of Sunnī Islam was to be one of the major objectives of his policy. Having relocated his eastern frontier on the Balīkh, he was assured of the neutrality of his elder brother. He also participated in the dismemberment of the County of Edessa, as a result of which he had, in the north, a common frontier with his father-in-law Masʿūd,

Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm. Whereas the power of Zankī had extended, from east to west, from Mawṣil to Aleppo, that of Nūr al-Dīn extended, in 549/1154, on a north-south axis from ʿAzāz [*q.v.*] and al-Ruhā to Boṣrā and Ṣalkhad, guaranteeing the food-supplies of the Muslim towns.

The following year, Nūr al-Dīn demanded the submission of the *amīr* Ḍaḥḥāk al-Biḳāʿī, since the region of Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*] was dependent on the province of Damascus. When his demand was refused, he did not hesitate to send a detachment to rid himself of the rebel, who capitulated on 7 Rabīʿ II/9 June 1155. This problem being settled, the treaty with Jerusalem renewed and another concluded with Antioch, Nūr al-Dīn was free to intervene in the struggle which had broken out between Saldjūḳs and Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] regarding the inheritance of his father-in-law who had recently died. He responded to the appeal of his brother-in-law Yaghī-basan, *amīr* of Sīwās, and took possession of the Saldjūḳ localities on the right bank of the Euphrates, including al-Bīra.

In the spring of 551/1156, weary of the skirmishes provoked by Renaud de Châtillon, the *amīr* Madjd al-Dīn, representative of Nūr al-Dīn in northern Syria, launched an attack in the direction of Ḥārim. Informed of the depredations committed by the Franks, Nūr al-Dīn left Damascus with a strong contingent to support the army of the north. Learning of his arrival, Renaud de Châtillon offered peace negotiations. An agreement was reached by which the treaty with Antioch was restored: Ḥārim remained in the hands of the Franks but produce and revenues were shared between the two states. Nūr al-Dīn returned to Damascus in Ramaḍān 551/November 1156 and renewed the treaty with Jerusalem, but at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 551/early February 1157 the Franks violated it. Baldwin III, pre-occupied by heavy debts and anticipating easy booty, launched an attack against the fertile region of the Djawlān [*q.v.*] where, under the terms of the treaty, Turcomans pastured a considerable number of horses and cattle; the Frankish cavalry seized these herds and took the herdsmen prisoner. This raid gave Nūr al-Dīn, who was eager to take possession of Baniyās [*q.v.*], an excellent pretext for intervention. In Ṣafar 552/early April 1157 he succeeded in persuading the Damascenes and the peasants of the Ghūṭa [*q.v.*] to contribute towards the cost of equipping his army with siege engines. Having reinforced the garrison of Baʿlabakk to guard against possible intervention from the north, Nūr al-Dīn sent an army commanded by his brother Nuṣrat al-Dīn in the direction of Baniyās, where Frankish reinforcements were reported to have arrived. On 13 Rabīʿ I/26 April 1157 the troops of Damascus inflicted a heavy defeat on the Franks and, although he succeeded in breaching the walls of Baniyās, Nūr al-Dīn learned of the advance of Baldwin, marching to the rescue of the besieged town, and taken by surprise, he gave the order to withdraw. Baldwin, believing that the troops of Damascus would not return, entrusted the task of restoring the town's defences to his infantry, and set out with his cavalry towards Galilee. Nūr al-Dīn set up an ambush near Djisr Banāt Yaʿḳūb [*q.v.*] on the Jordan, and when the Franks halted on the shore of Lake Tiberias he surrounded them and took them prisoner. This success had the effect of uniting all the Frankish factions against him.

Learning that the Crusaders had established their head-quarters in the Buḳayʿa [*q.v.*], not far from Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [*q.v.*], with the intention of attacking in the direction of the Middle Orontes, Nūr al-Dīn left Damascus in Radjab 552/August 1157 in order to repair the defences of fortresses damaged by the earthquakes of the previous month. Arriving at Sarmīn, he spent some time there. Shortly after the beginning of Ramaḍān 552/October 1157, he fell ill there and summoned Nuṣrat al-Dīn, Shīrkūh and his senior officers. Aware of the gravity of his condition, he gave instructions to be followed in the event of his death: he nominated Nuṣrat al-Dīn as his successor, to be resident at Aleppo; Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb was to remain military governor of Damascus and Shīrkūh was to be his representative there. In spite of intensive treatment, his condition worsened. The prince was transferred to Aleppo where he was lodged in the citadel. His health improving, he resumed the control of affairs and sent troops to occupy Shayzar. Henceforward the entire course of the Orontes was under the control of the Zankid power. Finally restored to health, Nūr al-Dīn returned to Damascus on 6 Rabīʿ I 533/7 April 1158 and immediately set about mustering an army with the object of taking revenge for recent French raids against the Ḥawrān and Dārayyā in the Ghūṭa. The army left Damascus on 9 Rabīʿ II 533/11 May 1158 with heavy equipment for laying siege to Ḥabīs Djaldaḳ, a cave fortified by the Crusaders which controlled Djawlān to the east and Lake Tiberias to the north-east. Learning that reinforcements were advancing, Nūr al-Dīn raised the siege and the two armies met near the Jordan on 14 Djumādā II/13 July. When some of the Muslim contingents were forced to give ground, Nūr al-Dīn ordered a strategic withdrawal; the Franks, fearing a trick on the part of the Damascenes, declined to pursue them.

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 553/December 1158-January 1159, Nūr al-Dīn once again fell ill in Damascus. Learning that Manuel was approaching from Cilicia, he urged the governors of the Syrian border regions to be vigilant. As his condition deteriorated, the prince summoned his senior *amīrs* to Damascus and warned his entourage against any sinister intentions towards him on the part of his brother Nuṣrat al-Dīn. To avoid any misunderstanding, he appointed as his successor his brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, ruler of Mawṣil.

At the beginning of 554/1159 Nūr al-Dīn was threatened by a proposed Franco-Byzantine coalition. He issued to his *amīrs* a summons to the Holy War, had an advanced bastion constructed at Aleppo and ordered the abandonment of certain sites which would be difficult to defend such as Kūrus. Learning that the Franks and the Basileus were intending to march against Aleppo, the prince set out to meet them. The latter had reached the ford of Balaneus on the ʿAfrīn, whilst other elements were advancing from ʿImm to the west of Aleppo. There then began a long series of negotiations which concluded, in Ṣafar 554/end of May 1159, with an agreement between Manuel and Nūr al-Dīn. An important element of this agreement was the latter's promise of support against Ḳilīdj Arslān II, the enemy of Byzantium. Manuel sought to conduct in northern Syria a policy of checks and balances, and it was fear of a Byzantine intervention which for many years prevented Nūr al-Dīn exploiting to the full his successes against the Franks. He entrusted Ḥarrān [*q.v.*] to the *iṣfahsālār amīr* Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī Küčük, ruler of Irbil [*q.v.*]. From Ḥarrān he descended towards the Euphrates and set about wresting control of al-Raḳḳa from the sons of the *amīr djāndār*, who had recently died. Worried by the ambitions of Ḳilīdj Arslān II, Nūr al-Dīn launched a campaign to coincide with a Byzantine expedition conducted against Eskishehir [*q.v.*]. Taking advantage of

the troubles of Ḳilīdj Arslān II, he occupied the former dependencies of the County of Edessa of which the Saldjūḳs had taken possession, and set out from Aleppo towards the north by way of Tell Bās̲h̲ir [*q.v.*]. He reached ʿAyntāb [*q.v.*] then took successively Raʿbān and Kaysūn, occupied Bahasnā then Marʿas̲h̲ [*q.v.*].

In 1160, Ḳilīdj Arslān II succeeded in obtaining from his brother-in-law Nūr al-Dīn a cessation of hostilities since, as the Byzantine menace grew more serious, he needed all his troops. Ultimately, the Saldjūḳ sultan signed a peace agreement with Manuel.

After two years of respite, Baldwin III, knowing Nūr al-Dīn to be occupied in campaigning in the north, attacked territory dependent on Damascus, sending his troops towards the Ḥawrān. Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb negotiated the withdrawal of the Franks and obtained a truce of three months. As Nūr al-Dīn had not returned by the expiry of this respite, the Franks once again invaded the province of Damascus. Nūr al-Dīn returned to Damascus and, in the autumn of 555/1161, opened negotiations which concluded with a two-year treaty with Jerusalem. He was able to return to Aleppo, and from there he followed the course of events unfolding around the succession to the Saldjūḳ sultan in Hamad̲h̲ān [*q.v.*], a crisis which was keeping the troops of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd far from Syria.

The situation of Antioch having been settled in the interests of Manuel, the treaty with Baldwin being still valid and the army of Mawṣil at his disposal, Nūr al-Dīn had no fear of imminent interference with his domains, and he seized the opportunity to perform the *ḥadjdj* [*q.v.*] in 556/1161. He set out from Aleppo with S̲h̲īrkūh, passed through Damascus and took the *darb al-ḥadjdj* in order to reach the Holy Cities of the Ḥidjāz where he showed considerable generosity to the local inhabitants, particularly in the improvement of wells. At Medina he restored the defences of the town and arranged for the construction of a second perimeter wall complete with towers, to guarantee the protection of the population against raids by Bedouin marauders. On his return from the Pilgrimage in Ṣafar 557/February 1162, informed of Frankish plans to intervene in Egypt, Nūr al-Dīn decided to engage in diversionary operations in the north in the hope of restraining the campaign of the king of Jerusalem against Fāṭimid Egypt. At the end of 557/1162, Baldwin III fell seriously ill in Tripoli, and Nūr al-Dīn took advantage of the situation to muster an army at Aleppo and once again lay siege to Ḥārim. When the Franks arrived to within a short distance of this site, Nūr al-Dīn challenged them to a pitched battle, but the heavy rains of November cut the engagement short. Nūr al-Dīn decided to raise the siege, and Ḥarīm remained in the hands of the Crusaders.

In Rabīʿ I 558/February 1163, a new phase in the reign of Nūr al-Dīn began with the accession of Amaury. Henceforward, the Franks turned their attention towards Egypt, and Nūr al-Dīn could not afford to be absent from this new theatre of operations, as each of the local powers sought to establish sovereignty in Cairo. Aware of the progressive disintegration of Fāṭimid authority, the king of Jerusalem began to take an interest in Egypt, where the *amīrs* were in revolt against Ṭalāʾiʿ, a vizier of Armenian origin, converted to Twelver S̲h̲īʿī Islam. He had tried, on numerous occasions, to establish relations with Nūr al-Dīn, but he was the victim of two assassination attempts in 556/1161, the second, 18 Ramaḍān/10 September, proving successful. Egypt then collapsed into chaos, at a time when the Latin states of the Orient seemed to have regained their equilibrium in opposition to Nūr al-Dīn.

In the spring of 558/1163, intending to attack the County of Tripoli, Nūr al-Dīn set out with his army and encamped on the plain of al-Buḳayʿa at the foot of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. Failing to take account of the fact that the Franks had recently gained reinforcements by sea, he was taken by surprise one day in May during the time of siesta. The Muslims were routed by the Frankish cavalry and Nūr al-Dīn, obliged to take flight for the sake of his own safety, did not halt until he reached the Lake of Qadesh (*Buḥayrat Ḳadis̲h̲*). A Romanesque fresco, dating from 1170, commemorates this battle in the Templars' chapel at Cressac in Charente. This defeat had a profound effect on the personality and the policies of Nūr al-Dīn since, after two successive defeats, he needed to restore confidence to the army and to the population. Henceforward, he was to embrace a life-style imbued with piety and religious observance, a development which earned him the respect of the religious classes and of the public but which was accepted only with some reservations by the *amīrs*. It was then that he decided to allocate *iḳṭāʿ*s to the orphans of combatants. Members of the religious classes, *ʿulamāʾ*, Ṣūfīs and Ḳurʾān readers received subsidies levied on the public treasury (*bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*]) but not on the spoils of war (*fayʾ* [*q.v.*]). Numerous inscriptions subsequent to 560/1165 feature two new composite titles in their protocol: *Nāṣir al-ḥaḳḳ bi 'l-barāhīn*, "Defender of the Truth by means of proofs" and *Munṣif al-maẓlūmīn min al-ẓālimīn*, "the Protector of the Oppressed against the Oppressors", titles expressing a part of the political programme of Nūr al-Dīn, that by which he sought to rally public support, presenting himself as the champion of the disadvantaged.

The course of events in Egypt was to pose an awkward problem for Nūr al-Dīn. In Rabīʿ I 559/January-February 1164, the vizier S̲h̲āwar, driven from Cairo by the revolt unleashed by the *amīr* Ḍirg̲h̲ām [*q.v.*] in Ramaḍān 558/August 1163, arrived at his court, imploring his aid. He reminded him that the deployment of Syrian units in Egypt would allow the creation of two fronts and the encirclement of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. S̲h̲āwar offered Nūr al-Dīn a third of the revenues of Egypt in exchange for his aid and the financing of the costs of the expedition. Furthermore, he promised to cede him part of the north-eastern province of the Delta and undertook to recognise his sovereignty. In Djumādā I 559/April 1164, impelled by public opinion, Nūr al-Dīn dispatched an army commanded by S̲h̲īrkūh with the objective of restoring S̲h̲āwar to power in Cairo. To protect the advance of this army, he conducted a diversionary manoeuvre in the direction of Baniyās, which enabled the troops accompanying S̲h̲āwar to reach the Delta of the Nile. Ḍirg̲h̲ām then issued a very urgent appeal to the Franks, offering Amaury a treaty of allegiance which, in the event of success on the part of the Franks, would have made Egypt a vassal of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem rather than a Syrian colony. Amaury accepted the offer but, harassed by the attacks of Nūr al-Dīn and not having sufficient troops to fight on two fronts, he was unable to send an army to Egypt in time to prevent S̲h̲īrkūh's arrival in the Delta. Having regained his authority in Cairo, S̲h̲āwar reneged on the promises made in Damascus, ultimately agreeing to accept the costs of the campaign but refusing to pay the promised tribute.

Nūr al-Dīn set out to invest Ḥārim, and the Franks

based in the northern Latin states reacted. The confrontation took place in the first ten days of Ramaḍān 559/end of July 1154. Nūr al-Dīn had deployed a significant quantity of heavy equipment but as the Franks advanced accompanied by Byzantine reinforcements, he raised the siege and, to avoid being encircled, he withdrew towards Artāḥ, not far from the ford of Balaneus to the east-south-east of the Lake of Antioch. Exploiting the tactic of withdrawal and counter-attack, *al-karr wa 'l-farr*, on 20 Ramaḍān 559/11 August 1164 he lured the Franks into a ferocious battle, in the course of which he inflicted heavy losses on them, a success which he immediately exploited, returning to Ḥārim, which capitulated the following day. This problem being settled, Nūr al-Dīn turned against the kingdom of Jerusalem, a large proportion of whose troops were then deployed in Egypt. He invaded Galilee and set about besieging Baniyās, which capitulated in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 559/October 1164. Nūr al-Dīn installed a garrison there, agreed to a treaty with the Franks and insisted on sharing the revenues of the district of Tiberias. His policy had secured its objective, sc. to prevent the defeat of Shīrkūh.

In the spring of 561/1165, fearing an intervention by Manuel and not wanting to see Amaury prolong his stay in Antioch, Nūr al-Dīn agreed to free Bohemond III for a ransom of 100,000 gold pieces. In order to maintain the balance of forces in northern Syria to the advantage of Islam, he sought to avoid any action liable to provoke the anger of the Basileus. The same year, taking advantage of the capture of Raymond III of Tripoli, he crossed the Biḳāʿ and regained from the Franks the fortress of Munayṭira.

While the second Egyptian campaign unfolded, Nūr al-Dīn, who had received reinforcements from Mawṣil, occupied the fortress of Ḥūnīn, not far from Bāniyās, in the Djabal ʿĀmila.

Although disappointed by his campaign in Egypt, Shīrkūh brought back a considerable sum of money from Cairo when he returned to Damascus on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 562/5 September 1167. To alleviate his disappointment, Nūr al-Dīn awarded him the fiefdom of Ḥimṣ, the wall and defences of which he had recently restored, then set out towards the coastal plain, where he laid siege to ʿArḳā. Having taken possession of Ḥalbā, the army of Nūr al-Dīn took the fortress of al-ʿUrayma, thus securing the lines of communication between Ṭarṭūs and Ṣāfīthā, but being unable to defend it he demolished it and returned to Ḥimṣ for the month of Ramaḍān 562/June-July 1167. After this success he fixed on the objective of Bayrūt [*q.v.*], in order to have a "window" on the Mediterranean and avoid the necessity of paying export dues to the Franks, but dissensions within the army prevented the realisation of this project.

In Radjab 563/April-May 1168 Bedouins of the tribe of the Banū Kalb [*q.v.*] captured Shihāb al-Dīn Mālik b. ʿAlī b. Mālik, ruler of Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar, while he was hunting to the north of the Euphrates. They took their prisoner to Nūr al-Dīn, who purchased him and held him in Aleppo. In exchange for Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar, he offered him money and a fief, but the offer was refused. Finally, it was Madjd al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn al-Dāya who succeeded, on 20 Muḥarram 564/26 October 1168, in persuading Shihāb al-Dīn to exchange the place for the important commercial centre of Sarūdj to the south-west of Edessa as well as the salt-flats of al-Djabbūl and Buzāʿā [*q.vv.*] in the district of Aleppo. Henceforward, he controlled this section of the Euphrates and was assured of freedom of communication with Mawṣil.

In the middle of the month of Muḥarram 564/20 October 1168, the Franks launched an attack in the direction of Cairo. While the population resolved to resist, Shāwar warned the caliph al-ʿĀḍid [*q.v.*] that the only chance of salvation was to appeal to Nūr al-Dīn, since the presence of Sunnīs was preferable to a Christian protectorate. The Fāṭimid caliph and Shāwar promised him a third of the revenues of Egypt as well as fiefs for the maintenance of the troops. Nūr al-Dīn decided to send a third expedition against the Delta, ordered Shīrkūh to Cairo and entrusted him with full powers. When the latter died on 22 Djumādā II/23 March 1169, his nephew, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, was appointed vizier by al-ʿĀḍid and commander of the Syrian forces in Egypt by Nūr al-Dīn. Amaury, concerned at the latter's seizure of Egypt, issued appeals for help to the whole of Christendom. The Franks responded and decided on Damietta (Dimyāṭ [*q.v.*]) as an objective, but the lack of co-ordination between Byzantines and Franks led to the abandonment of the siege of this locality. After this retreat, al-ʿĀḍid wrote to Nūr al-Dīn inviting him to recall to Syria the units sent as reinforcements to Egypt, keeping in Egypt only the original force commanded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The Syrian prince seems to have been worried by the attitude and the ambitions of the latter. He instructed Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb to remind his son that the struggle against the infidels was the first duty of the believers and that the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba* must be adopted in Cairo. Nadjm al-Dīn left Damascus on 27 Radjab 565/16 April 1170. To create a diversion, Nūr al-Dīn laid siege to al-Karak.

Following the great earthquake of 565/1170, Nūr al-Dīn left his headquarters at Tell ʿAshtārā to attend to the repairs needed for the defences of Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt, Bārīn and Aleppo.

On 1 Muharram 566/14 September 1170, the head of the Zankid family crossed the Euphrates opposite Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar and took possession of al-Raḳḳa [*q.v.*], its governor ceding the place to him in exchange for substantial compensation. Having taken control of the region of the Khābūr [*q.v.*], hitherto a dependency of Mawṣil, Nūr al-Dīn laid siege to Sindjār. At the approach of the Syrian troops, Fakhr al-Dīn placed himself under the protection of Shams al-Dīn Ildeñiz [*q.v.*]. The latter sent a deputation to Nūr al-Dīn forbidding to take any action against Mawṣil, but the Zankid, confident of the support of the caliph of Baghdād and that of the people of Mawṣil, made his entrance into the town on 13 Djumādā I 566/22 January 1171 and took up residence in the citadel. He suppressed all the *mukūs* and other abuses, and applied to the Djazīra the régime in force in Syria and in Egypt. He confirmed the authority of his nephew Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī over Mawṣil and gave him the district of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar [*q.v.*], while his nephew ʿImād al-Dīn, son of Mawdūd, received Sindjār. Before leaving Mawṣil to return to Aleppo, he laid the foundations of the Great Mosque. Then, after returning to Damascus to observe the fast of Ramaḍān (May-June 1171), Nūr al-Dīn regained possession of Tell al-ʿAshtārā, from which point he was able to observe the movements of the Franks of Jerusalem and eventually to support the operations of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

Until the year 567/September 1171-August 1172, the relations between Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn remained those between a chief and his subordinate. Thereafter, they soon found themselves in conflict over the manner in which the war against the Franks was to be waged; this was a conflict between two generations and two temperaments, one Turkish, the other Kurdish. Nūr al-Dīn, as Sir Hamilton Gibb (in

Setton and Baldwin, *A History of the Crusades*, i, 565) has underlined, operated within a political framework defined by the system of his times. For him, Syria was the principal field of battle against the Crusaders and Egypt represented nothing more than a source of additional revenue to cover the costs of the *djihād*. In that year, before attacking the County of Tripoli, he had ordered Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to gather all available forces in Egypt and lead them towards Frankish Palestine, thus trapping the Franks in a pincer-movement. The first objective was the castle of al-Karak; after ten days of siege the garrison offered to surrender to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. For him, the elimination of all obstacles between Egypt and Syria was not desirable, since henceforward he would be at the mercy of Nūr al-Dīn. He decided to return to Cairo and sent a letter to his sovereign, claiming the pretext of unrest in Cairo fomented by the Shīʿīs. Nūr al-Dīn did not accept this excuse, and announced his intention of going to Egypt in person in order to depose Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The latter, on the advice of his father, re-affirmed his loyalty to Nūr al-Dīn, who relented, and tension abated.

In Rabīʿ I 568/October-November 1172, when Nūr al-Dīn had been resident in Damascus for more than three months, the Franks launched an attack against the Ḥawrān and advanced as far as Shaykh Miskīn. The prince of Damascus set out with his troops and encamped at Kiswa in the Mardj al-Ṣuffar [*q.v.*]; the Franks withdrew towards Shallāla, where the Damascene army confronted them. Nūr al-Dīn established his camp at Tell al-ʿAshtārā and dispatched cavalry units to raid the district of Tiberias.

Having repelled the Franks, Nūr al-Dīn turned his attention to northern Syria, where he was able to assist the Armenian Mleh to expel the garrisons of Maṣṣīṣa, Adana and Ṭarsūs [*q.vv.*]. He would have been glad to obtain the support of the Saldjūḳ prince of Konya for operations against Antioch but, following a stern warning from Manuel, Ḳilidj Arslān II rejected the overtures of Nūr al-Dīn and turned against his neighbour, the Dānishmendid Dhu 'l-Nūn. The latter sought refuge with Nūr al-Dīn, who was also joined by the ruler of Malaṭya [*q.v.*] and the *amīr* of al-Madjdal. Nūr al-Dīn promised him his support and insisted that Ḳilidj Arslān restore the property taken from the *amīr* of al-Madjdal. When this ultimatum was refused, he felt justified in declaring war with a Muslim state; it was necessary for the interests of Islam since this prince was serving the cause of the infidels. While Mleh attacked Cilicia [*q.v.*] Nūr al-Dīn took Raʿbān, Marzubān, Ḳaysūn and Bahasnā, places held by the Saldjūḳs on the right bank of the Euphrates. On 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 568/3 July 1173 he occupied Marʿash. Shortly after this, Ḳilidj Arslān II appealed to him for a truce. Nūr al-Dīn required him to free the prisoners taken in the region of Malaṭya and to participate in the Holy War, either sending a contingent to join the struggle with the Franks, or operating independently against Byzantium.

To mark his independence vis-à-vis the major atabegs, Nūr al-Dīn sent as an envoy to Baghdād his trusted adviser Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Shahrazūrī to ask the caliph for a document conferring upon him all the territories and towns in which his authority was recognised. In granting this solemn deed of investiture to Nūr al-Dīn, the caliph deprived the successors of the Great Saldjūḳs of any authority over the lands situated to the west of the Tigris.

Taking advantage of the absence of Amaury, who had returned to Antioch, Nūr al-Dīn put into operation a plan of attack against the land of Trans-Jordania. His objective remained the same: to take possession of al-Karak and Shawbak, where the Frankish garrisons cut the route between Egypt and Syria, interrupting caravan traffic and hindering the Pilgrimage. He also needed to gain the support of the nomads, many of whom did not hesitate to serve the Franks as auxiliaries or guides. Once again putting the good will of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to the test, he instructed him to attack al-Karak. The latter obeyed in mid-Shawwal 568/May 1173. The siege had been in effect for some time when Nūr al-Dīn crossed the southern border of Syria in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 568/end of July 1173. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn learned that the Zankid army had reached al-Raḳīm, two days' march from al-Karak, he ordered his troops to return to Egypt, claiming, in a message to Nūr al-Dīn, that his father, Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, was gravely ill in Cairo and that he feared lest, in the event of his father's death during his own absence, Egypt would slip away from the authority of Nūr al-Dīn and would be removed from the authority of the Sunna. Nūr al-Dīn, not deceived, pretended to understand the reasons for the departure of the Ayyūbid prince. Through this gesture on the part of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the kingdom of Jerusalem gained a reprieve of forty years and Nūr al-Dīn was not to see in the al-Aḳṣā Mosque [*q.v.*] the wooden *minbar* [*q.v.*] which he had had made in advance in Aleppo as an *ex-voto* offering for the return of al-Ḳuds [*q.v.*] to Islam.

Returning from Aleppo in Muḥarram 569/September 1173 Nūr al-Dīn heard at Salāmiyya, to the south-east of Ḥamāt, the news of a Frankish attack against the Ḥawrān; while preparing to counter this, he was informed of the adversary's withdrawal. Returning to Damascus, he engaged in preparations for an expedition towards Egypt, the aim of which was to induce Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to intervene against the Franks. According to his plan, he left in Syria, confronting the Franks, troops from Mawṣil, under the command of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, and he himself was to set out for Egypt with his squadrons after Ramaḍān 569/early May 1174. A few days after the *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr* [*q.v.*], Nūr al-Dīn fell ill with an inflammation of the throat. Confined to his bed in the palace which he had had constructed in the citadel of Damascus, he summoned, according to Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, ix, 124), two doctors including Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥaydar al-Raḥbī al-Dimashḳī, his personal physician. Despite their efforts, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī died on Wednesday 11 Shawwāl 569/15 May 1174. At first interred in the citadel, his remains were transferred, when it was ready, to the funeral *madrasa* which he was having constructed to the south-west of the Great Mosque of the Umayyads. At the present time, his tomb is still the object of popular veneration.

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(N. Elisséeff)

NŪR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, the fifth ruler of the Turkmen Artuḳid dynasty [*q.v.*] in Ḥiṣn Kayfā and most of Diyār Bakr, d. in Rabīʿ I 581/June 1185.

He succeeded on his father Ḳara Arslan's death, in 562/1166-7 according to the chronicles (although numismatic evidence suggests that the latter may have lived till 570/1174-5), having promised his father to continue support for the Zangid ruler Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd's [*q.v.*] *djihād* against the Franks, a commitment which he in fact honoured by bringing troops to Niṣībīn in 566/1170-1. But after the Zangid's death in 569/1174, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad transferred his allegiance to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], and henceforth, he achieves prominence in the sources almost exclusively in the context of the Ayyūbid's career. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn valued an alliance with the Artuḳids in Diyār Bakr as a check on the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm, Ḳilīdj Arslan II [*q.v.*]. Hence Muḥammad frequently sent troops to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on the latter's request. He was awarded possession of Āmid, long coveted by the Artuḳids of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, in 579/1183, as a reward for aid at the siege of Mawṣil in the previous year; henceforth, Āmid became the seat of power for Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad's descendants. The Ayyūbid sultan bound his ally even more closely by an oath requiring the despatch of troops against the Franks whenever needed, and the Artuḳid was accordingly present at the siege of Karak in Djumādā I 580/August-September 1184. However, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn called for troops for his second attempt against Mawṣil, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad was too ill to go personally but sent a force to Dunaysir under his brother ʿImād al-Dīn. Muḥammad died within days, and his young son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Sukmān II immediately established himself in Ḥiṣn Kayfā as his father's successor, with continued allegiance to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, whilst ʿImād al-Dīn had to be content with taking Khartpert, where he established a minor Artuḳid line.

Little is known of internal affairs in Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Āmid under Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, but it may be assumed that he continued the courtly traditions of his father which had been sophisticated enough to attract Usāma b. Munḳidh [see MUNḲIDH, BANŪ] to spend some of his declining years at Ḥiṣn Kayfā. The extant copper coins minted there in Muḥammad's name follow the numismatic traditions of the Turkmen dynasties of Mesopotamia for this century. As well as conventional Arabic inscriptions on one side, they bear figures copied from classical models; one coin depicts Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad in the guise of Seleucus II (Lane Poole, *The coins of the Urtukí Turkumáns*, 125-7). The Aleppo Gate at Āmid has a celebratory inscription dated 579 AH announcing Muḥammad's occupation of the city. Van Berchem suggested that he may have taken the title of *sulṭān*, used by his successors, after his acquisition of Āmid; and he also quotes at length an anonymous, contemporary account describing in fulsome terms Muḥammad's just administration of the city (*Amida*, 71-2, 75-81).

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(Carole Hillenbrand)

NŪR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD II, Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *Imām* and the fifth lord of Alamūt (561-607/1166-1210). Born in Shawwāl 542/March 1148, he succeeded to the leadership of the Nizārī community and state on the death of his father, Ḥasan II, on 6 Rabīʿ I 561/9 January 1166. He devoted his long and peaceful reign of some forty-four years to managing the affairs of the Nizārī *daʿwa* and community, especially in Persia, from the central headquarters of the sect at Alamūt. A thinker and a prolific writer, he also contributed actively to the Nizārī teachings of his time.

Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II affirmed the Nizārid Fāṭimid genealogy of his father and, therefore, of himself; and, henceforth, the lords of Alamūt were acknowledged as *imāms*, descendants of Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir, by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community. In the doctrinal field, he systematically expounded and elaborated the important doctrine of the *ḳiyāma*, announced by his father in 559/1164, and placed the current Nizārī *imām* and his autonomous teaching authority at the very centre of that doctrine (see *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, ed. W. Ivanow, in *Two early Ismaili treatises*, Bombay 1933, 4-42).

Aside from petty warfare, the history of the Nizārī state in Persia was politically uneventful under Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad. However, the Syrian Nizārīs were more involved at this time in their own local alliances and conflicts. There are also indications that a widening rift had developed between this Nizārī

imām and Rās͟hid al-Dīn Sinān [*q.v.*], the contemporary leader of the Syrian Nizārīs, although a complete break was avoided. Ras͟hīd al-Dīn and other Persian historians also report a detailed story about how the Nizārīs of his time persuaded, initially through the intimidating dagger of one of their *fidāʾīs*, the famous Sunnī theologian Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]) to refrain from denouncing them in public. Having ruled longer than any other lord of Alamūt, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II died, possibly of poison, on 10 Rabīʿ I 607/1 September 1210.

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(F. Daftary)

NŪR AL-ḤAḲḲ AL-DIHLAWĪ, or Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-S͟hāhd̲jahānābādī, a traditionist and historiographer of Mug͟hal India who flourished in the 11th/17th century. The nickname "al-Turk al-Buk͟hārī" points to his origin from Central Asia. As a poet he adopted the pen name "Mas͟hriḳī". He was the son of the scholar ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] al-Dihlawī, a well-known *s͟hayk͟h* of the Ḳādiriyya order. Nūr al-Ḥaḳḳ succeeded his father as a religious teacher and was appointed a judge at Agra under S͟hāh D̲jahān. His death at Dihlī occurred in 1073/1662.

In *Zubdat al-tawārīk͟h*, Nūr al-Ḥaḳḳ enlarged the *Tārīk͟h-i Ḥaḳḳī*, a chronicle of Indian history written by his father, bringing it up to 1014/1605, the beginning of the reign of D̲jahāngīr. He wrote two Persian commentaries on canonical collections of *ḥadīt͟h*: *Taysīr al-ḳārī fī s͟harḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buk͟hārī* and *Manbaʿ al-ʿilm fī s͟harḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; the latter work was later revised and enlarged by his son Fak͟hr al-Dīn Muḥibb Allāh. *Nūr al-ʿayn*, an early work dedicated to his father, is a commentary on Amīr K͟husraw Dihlawī's [*q.v.*] historical *mat͟hnawī Ḳirān al-saʿdayn*; it is dated 1014 A.H. by a chronographical riddle (cf. Rieu, ii, 617b).

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(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

NŪRBAK͟HS͟HIYYA, a S͟hīʿī offshoot of the Kubrawī Ṣūfī order [*q.v.*], which functioned for part of its existence as a distinct sect because of the intermittent claims to the status of *mahdī* [*q.v.*] of its eponym, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Nūrbak͟hs͟h. Its importance lies primarily in exemplifying the messianic-tinged Ṣūfī-S͟hīʿī ferment that preceded and, in some measure, prepared the way for the establishment of the Ṣafawid state.

Nūrbak͟hs͟h was born at Ḳāʾin in Ḳuhistān in 795/1392. His father, supposedly a descendant of the Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, had come from Ḳaṭīf, a S͟hīʿī region of eastern Arabia, on pilgrimage to Mas͟hhad before settling in Ḳāʾin; he may therefore be presumed to have been a S͟hīʿī. Nūrbak͟hs͟h's grandfather was from al-Aḥsā [*q.v.*], likewise an area of S͟hīʿī settlement; this accounts for Nūrbak͟hs͟h's occasional use of the *tak͟hallus* Laḥsawī. While studying in Harāt in his early youth, Nūrbak͟hs͟h was recruited into one branch of the Kubrawī order by a follower of Isḥāḳ K͟huttalānī, the principal successor to Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī (d. 786/1384). Moving to the *k͟hānaḳāh* at K͟huttalān, he soon became the most prominent disciple of K͟huttalānī, who bestowed on him the title Nūrbak͟hs͟h ("Bestower of Light") in accordance with an indication contained in a dream. The account given by Nūr Allāh S͟hus͟htarī (d. 1019/1610) in his *Mad̲jālis al-muʾminīn* (ed. Tehran, 1375-6/1955-6, ii, 143-7)—followed almost unanimously by later writers—relates that on the basis of the same dream K͟huttalānī also declared Nūrbak͟hs͟h to be the Mahdī and incited him to style himself Imām and caliph and to lay claim to rule. He swore allegiance to him himself and ordered his disciples to do the same; all obeyed, with the exception of Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Barzis͟hābādī (d. *ca.* 856/1452). Nūrbak͟hs͟h asked for a delay in starting his insurrection, but K͟huttalānī refused, saying that the divinely-appointed time for rebellion (*k͟hurūd̲j*) had arrived.

The beginnings of the episode are recounted somewhat differently by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāʾī, a spiritual descendant of the dissident Barzis͟hābādī. He attributes a far more active role to Nūrbak͟hs͟h, claiming that he originated the claim to the status of *mahdī* himself and then had it endorsed by K͟huttalānī, who was too senile and decrepit to stand in his way. Barzis͟hābādī allegedly succeeded in having the endorsement temporarily withdrawn, but his influence over K͟huttalānī was no match for that of Nūrbak͟hs͟h, and preparations for the uprising proceeded (Karbalāʾī, *Rawḍat al-d̲jinān wa-d̲jannāt al-d̲janān*, ed. D̲jaʿfar Sulṭān al-Ḳurrāʾī, Tehran 1349 *S͟h.*/1970, ii, 249-50). This version of the affair seems at least as credible as that offered by S͟hus͟htarī. Nūrbak͟hs͟h certainly had a high estimate of his own worth; he claimed to possess superiority to Plato and Avicenna and absolute mastery of all the sciences. Moreover, he continued to advance claims to the status of *mahdī*, however sporadically, after the death of K͟huttalānī and wrote a treatise, *Risālat al-Hudā*, attempting to vindicate these claims.

In 826/1423, K͟huttalānī and Nūrbak͟hs͟h left the *k͟hānaḳāh* in K͟huttalān and ensconced themselves with their followers in the nearby castle of Kūh-tīrī. Before they could complete their military preparations, they were attacked and taken prisoner by Bāyazīd, the Tīmūrid governor of the area. K͟huttalānī, together with his brother, was put to death almost immediately, despite his advanced age. Nūrbak͟hs͟h himself was spared and sent in chains to the presence of S͟hāhruk͟h in Harāt. The contrasting fates of the two men might be taken to confirm S͟hus͟htarī's depiction of K͟huttalānī as the instigator of the whole affair; it is also possible, however, that K͟huttalānī was singled out for death because of his long-standing ties to local rulers in Badak͟hs͟hān who had sought to block the expansion of Tīmūrid power in the region (Devin DeWeese, *The eclipse of the Kubraviyah in Central Asia*, 60).

After interrogation, Nūrbak͟hs͟h was sent on from Harāt to S͟hīrāz; Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, S͟hāhruk͟h's governor of Fārs, subjected him to a further spell of imprisonment in Bihbahān before releasing him.

Nūrbakhsh then made his way in turn to Shushtar, Baṣra, Ḥilla (where he is said to have met the celebrated Shīʿī scholar Ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī) and Baghdad. Next he proceeded to Kurdistān and the Bakhtiyārī country where he revived with some success his claim to worldly sovereignty; loyalty was sworn to him and coins were struck, and the *khuṭba* was read in his name. It happened that Shāhrukh was campaigning in Ādharbāydjān at the time, and he had Nūrbakhsh seized and brought to his camp. Nūrbakhsh escaped and attempted to flee via Khalkhāl back to Kurdistān, but he was soon recaptured and after fifty-three days spent at the bottom of a pit he was sent to Harāt with instructions to mount the *minbar* at the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ and publicly disavow his claims. This he did, with obvious reluctance, in the following ambiguous words: "They relate certain things from this wretch. Whether I said them or not, 'O Lord, we have wronged ourselves; if You do not forgive us and have mercy upon us, we will certainly be among the losers' (Ḳurʾān, VII, 23)." He was then released anew, on condition that he restrict himself to teaching the conventional religious sciences (*ʿulūm-i rasmī*), a condition he appears to have broken, for in 848/1444 he was re-arrested with orders for him to be ejected from the Tīmūrid realm into Anatolia. Instead he was confined in turn in Tabrīz, Shīrwān and Gīlān, being definitively released on the death of Shāhrukh in 850/1447. Thereupon he made his way to the village of Sulfān near Rayy, remaining there until his death in Rabīʿ I 869/November 1464. These last years of Nūrbakhsh's life appear to have been relatively tranquil. It is probable that he reduced his public claims to spiritual eminence to those customary for a Ṣūfī *shaykh*, although he continued to designate himself by such suggestive terms as *maẓhar-i mawʿūd* ("the promised manifestation") and *maẓhar-i djāmiʿ* ("the comprehensive manifestation").

Nūrbakhsh wrote a number of treatises, only one of which has ever been published (M. Molé, *Professions de foi de deux Kubrawis*: *ʿAlī-i Hamadanī et Muḥammad Nūrbaḫš*, in *BEO*, xvii [1961-2], 182-204: Arabic text and French translation of *al-Risālat al-Iʿtiḳādiyya*), as well as a considerable quantity of verse (for samples see Mawlawī Muḥammad Shafīʿ, *Firḳa-yi Nūrbakhshī*, in *Maḳālāt*, ed. Aḥmad Rabbānī, Lahore 1972, ii, 45-74). The most interesting of his writings is perhaps the *Risālat al-Hudā* in which he clarifies his concept of the status of *mahdī*, one that deviates considerably from that of his ancestral Twelver Shīʿism. Nūrbakhsh utterly rejects the occultation (*ghayba*) of the Twelfth Imām, asserting that his body has decomposed and that his functions and attributes are now manifest (*bāriz*) in him, Nūrbakhsh. He defines "absolute imāmate" as reposing on four pillars: perfection of prophetic descent, perfection of knowledge, perfection of sanctity and the possession of temporal power. All the preceding Imāms, with the exception of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, lack the fourth pillar; Nūrbakhsh, destined as Mahdī to gain supreme political power, is therefore superior to them. The proofs cited by Nūrbakhsh for the status of *mahdī* consist largely of celestial signs and dreams and predictions by figures as varied as the Kubrawī saint Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya (d. 650/1252) and the scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). Some of the dreams related here foretell setbacks as well as ultimate triumph in the form of a universal rule lasting seven or eight years; this suggests that the treatise may have been written after Nūrbakhsh's coerced renunciation of the status of *mahdī* in Harāt (see Molé's synopsis of *Risālat al-Hudā* in *Les Kubrawiya entre sunnisme et shiʿisme*, in *REI*, xxix [1961], 131-6).

The most accomplished disciple of Nūrbakhsh was Shaykh Muḥammad Lāhīdjī (d. 921/1515), author of the *Mafātīḥ al-iʿdjāz fī sharḥ-i Gulshān-i rāz*, one of the most widely-read later Ṣūfī texts in Persian. He established a Nūrbakhshī *khānaḳāh* in Shīrāz, known as the Nūriyya, which was visited by Shāh Ismāʿīl. The direction of this *khānaḳāh* was inherited by an apparently unworthy and dissolute son, Shaykh-zāda Aḥmad Lāhīdjī, after whom there is no trace of this line of Nūrbakhshī transmission.

Nūrbakhsh had two sons: Sayyīd Djaʿfar, who went to the court of Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyḳarā in Harāt but, dissatisfied with the stipend offered him there, left for Khūzistān, where he spent the rest of his life; and Shāh Ḳāsim Fayḍbakhsh, his principal heir. Fayḍbakhsh also spent a period in Harāt, where he is said to have acquired Bāyḳarā as a disciple and to have worsted Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ*, such as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī, in public debate (Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, ii, 149). One of Fayḍbakhsh's sons, Shāh Bahāʾ al-Dīn, was likewise close to Bāyḳarā, and under his protection established a Nūrbakhshī *khānaḳāh* in Harāt. In general, however, the Nūrbakhshiyya appears to have been unable to strike root in Khurāsān, and first Fayḍbakhsh and then Bahāʾ al-Dīn left Harāt for more westerly regions. Fayḍbakhsh took up residence on his father's holdings near Rayy, which were considerably enlarged by a grant of land from Shāh Ismāʿīl. He died in 917/1511. Bahāʾ al-Dīn also initially enjoyed the favour of the Ṣafawid ruler, but after a few years he fell under suspicion and, as Khwāndamīr delicately phrases it, "in accordance with the requirements of fate he was interrogated and passed away" (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. Dj. Humāʾī, Tehran 1333 *Sh*./1954, iv, 611-12).

Relations between the descendants of Nūrbakhsh and the Ṣafawids were definitively ruptured in the time of Fayḍbakhsh's grandson, Shāh Ḳawām al-Dīn b. Shāh Shams al-Dīn. Already in his grandfather's lifetime, Ḳawām al-Dīn attempted to establish himself as the dominant force in Rayy and its environs, silencing opponents and rivals by force. He also attempted to enlarge the family lands still farther, and when the poet Umīdī refused to surrender to him a large and desirable orchard, he had him assassinated, in either 925/1519 or 930/1524 (Sām Mīrzā Ṣafawī, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, *ṣaḥīfa-yi pandjum*, ed. Iḳbāl Ḥusayn, Aligarh 1973, 32-3). Several years later, in the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Ḳawām al-Dīn was imprudent enough to begin building castles and fortifications on the family lands, and using the unavenged blood of Umīdī as pretext, the monarch had him arrested and brought to Ḳazwīn, where he was tortured to death.

It appears that towards the end of the life of Nūrbakhsh, and still more after his death, attempts were made to normalise Nūrbakhshī beliefs by aligning them with those of conventional Twelver Shīʿism. This is suggested by Shushtarī's assertion that Khuttalānī had never really believed in the status of *mahdī* of Nūrbakhsh, viewing it simply as a device to incite an uprising against Shāhrukh and to provide a transition to true Shīʿism (*Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, ii, 147). The messianic claim could, however, always be revived, and it was no doubt to eliminate the possibility of such a danger that the Ṣafawids—mindful of the circumstances under which they had risen to power—did away with the Nūrbakhshīs of Rayy.

After the death of Ḳawām al-Dīn, there are traces of Nūrbakhshī presence in Kāshān, Naṭanz, Nāʾīn and Ḳum, but it is plain that the organised activity of the order was at an end. It is true that a Nūrbakhshī lineage has been reported for such luminaries of the

Ṣafawid period as Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀmilī (d. 1030/1621 [*q.v.*]) and Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kās͟hānī (d. 1091/1680 [see FAYḌ-I KĀS͟HĀNĪ, in Suppl.]), not to mention Ṣūfīs of the 12th/18th and even 13th/19th centuries. If such *silsila*s have any validity at all, they should be taken as indicating an intellectual filiation, not membership in an organised and functioning Ṣūfī order. It is curious that the anti-Ṣūfī polemicist Mullā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Ḳummī (d. 1098/1686) should nonetheless assert that "most Persians follow the Nūrbak͟hs͟hī *silsila*" (*Tuḥfat al-ak͟hyār*, Tehran 1336 *S͟h*./1957, 202; see too Section Nine of the same author's *Hidāyat al-ʿawāmm wa-fāḍiḥat al-liʾām*, ms. 1775, Āyatallāh Marʿas͟hī Nad͟jafī Library, Ḳum). It may be that he wished to fix on all contemporary Persian Ṣūfīs the opprobrium of following Nūrbak͟hs͟h, who had falsely claimed the status of *mahdī* for himself. One indication that that claim had not been forgotten, despite subsequent adjustments in Nūrbak͟hs͟hī doctrine, is provided by Mullā Muḥammad Bāḳir Mad͟jlisī (d. 1110/1699) in his *ʿAyn al-ḥayāt* (Tehran 1341 *S͟h*./1963, 238), where he denounces Nurbak͟hs͟h for his gross and heretical error.

A prolongation of the original Nūrbak͟hs͟hī movement took place in Kas͟hmīr and Baltistān ("Little Tibet"), where it was introduced by Mīr S͟hams al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī, a disciple of S͟hāh Ḳāsim Fayḍbak͟hs͟h; for this, see ʿIRĀḲĪ, S͟HAMS AL-DĪN, in Suppl.

The supremacy of Sunnī Islam in Kas͟hmīr after the period of Nūrbak͟hs͟hī influence there was restored by Mīrzā Muḥammad Dug͟hlāt when he invaded Kas͟hmīr from Kās͟hg͟har in 940/1533. He sent the *Fiḳh-i aḥwaṭ*, a summation of Nūrbak͟hs͟hī doctrine written by S͟hams al-Dīn (although sometimes erroneously attributed to Nūrbak͟hs͟h) to the *ʿulamāʾ* of India for their estimate, and invoking their condemnatory *fatwā* attempted to extirpate the Nūrbak͟hs͟hiyya throughout Kas͟hmīr (Dug͟hlāt, *Tārīk͟h-i Ras͟hīdī*, tr. N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, London 1898, 434-5). He also summoned Dāniyāl, one of the sons of S͟hams al-Dīn, from Iskardo, and had him beheaded in 957/1550. A recrudescence of Čak [*q.v.* in Suppl.] dominance and Nūrbak͟hs͟hī influence took place after Dug͟hlāt's death the following year, and it was not until the full establishment of Mug͟hal power in Kas͟hmīr in the second decade of the 11th/17th century that the Nūrbak͟hs͟hīs of Kas͟hmīr were fully uprooted, despite occasional intervention on their behalf by the Baltistānī branch of the sect (Pardu, *A history of Muslim rule in Kashmir*, 303-4). The remaining Nūrbak͟hs͟hīs merged into the Twelver S͟hīʿī population, to such a degree that the tomb of S͟hams al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī was favoured by the Sunnīs as a target of desecration during the communal riots that were frequent in Srinagar. It was ultimately relocated to a safer site at Chadur (G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir*, i, 111-12).

The Nūrbak͟hs͟hiyya survived much longer in Baltistān, which was after all an extremely remote region. Adherents of the sect (called "Keluncheh" by Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, and Iskardo*, ii, 254) captured power in the 12th/18th century. As late as the second half of the following century, travellers reported that fully one-third of the population of Baltistān was Nūrbak͟hs͟hī; that the *Fiḳh-i aḥwaṭ* was still in circulation; and that the tombs of Mīr Muk͟htār and Mīr Yaḥyā, two other sons of S͟hams al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī, in Kiris and S͟higar, were still places of pilgrimage (J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta 1880, 118-25). A curious detail related by Biddulph is that the Nūrbak͟hs͟hīs would pray with their hands folded like the Sunnīs in the winter and with their hands hanging loose like the S͟hīʿīs in the summer.

It remains finally to be noticed that Amīr Sulṭān (d. 833/1429), the Buk͟hāran saint who migrated to Bursa and married a daughter of Bāyezīd I, has also been described as a Nūrbak͟hs͟hī. Although he is said, as a *sayyid*, to have had certain S͟hīʿī inclinations, it is chronologically impossible that he should have been a Nūrbak͟hs͟hī. The origin of the error lies, no doubt, in the fact that Amīr Sulṭān's father, ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Buk͟hārī, was a disciple of Isḥāḳ K͟huttalānī, together with Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbak͟hs͟h (Med͟jdī Efendi, *Terd͟jüme-yi S͟haḳāʾiḳ-i Nuʿmāniyye*, Istanbul 1269/1852, 77). That the Nūrbak͟hs͟hiyya was unknown in Turkey is indicated by its frequent misidentification as a branch of the K͟halwatiyya (see, for example, Şinasi Çoruh, *Emir Sultan*, Istanbul n.d., 29).

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(H. ALGAR)

NURCULUK (T.), the name given by the modern Turkish press and authorities to the entire body of the teachings of Saʿīd Nursī [*q.v.*], while Nurcular ("Nurists") refers to his followers. The names seem to indicate that *nurculuk* is a sort of Muslim

brotherhood (*ṭarīḳat*) not different from a variety of other Ṣūfī orders; but this is a misnomer. Nursī consistently rejected the view that he was a *sheykh* or *pīr*, bent on establishing his own *ṭarīḳat* and that his followers formed an organised body. He referred to his followers as *Risāle-yi Nūr ṭalebesi* (or *Ṭalebe-yi Risāle-yi Nūr*), that is, "students of the Book or Epistle of Light", but the word "disciples" is probably the best translation of *ṭalebe*. The negative image of the Nurists held in the West and by the secularists of Turkey was a direct consequence of politics; Nursī was repeatedly jailed for allegedly violating the secularist principles (article 163, now abolished) of the Penal Code. In the era of multi-party democracy, the Nurists have supported the Democratic Party and its successors, leading İsmet İnönü and his successors of the People's Republican Party leadership to accuse them of reactionary collusion.

The central concept of Nursī's philosophy is *nūr* conceived of as spiritual light (for the ordinary ray of light, he used the term *ṣua*). For Nursī's followers *nūr* is synonymous with *īmān* "faith", and their study is directed toward the achieving of divine illumination—the true faith through the study of the Ḳurʾān. The view that the Nurists are hierarchically organised into groups denominated as "student", "brother", *dost* "friend", and "beloved" according to their mastery of the teachings, veneration for the teacher, and devotion to the cause, is not supported by any definitive proof. The term *kardeş* "brother", commonly used by the *Risāle* students, is a general public form of address in Turkey and has no sectarian significance. Nonetheless, there is something of a natural selection among the Nurists; those who knew Saʿīd Nursī personally and who worked and lived with him for a long time, are held in higher esteem and respect than the latecomers to his philosophy. There are, of course, discussion groups and even periodic meetings usually held every three years for the consideration of his teachings. Originally, these meetings were regarded as religious seminars rather than devotional gatherings.

Nursī began to write the *Risāle*, which consists of his commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, in 1926, after he was forced to settle in Barla, in the province of Isparta, and after 1934 he wrote the last third part of his commentary in Kastamonu, but added supplementary sections right up until 1950. The *Risāle* was written originally in Arabic script and copied by hand. It was distributed first in Central Anatolia from a cluster of villages (Bedre, Islamköy, etc.) in Isparta province and then from Kastamonu. His first writings were called *Sözler* ("words"), but the name subsequently was changed to its present one due to what the author called a sort of divine inspiration. Sections of the *Risāle* have appeared in Latin script and been openly sold—despite occasional restrictions—mainly since 1958, under a variety of titles, e.g. *Şualar* (1960) and *Lem'alar* (Istanbul 1976). Increasingly, such titles are preceded by the general title *Risale-i Nur külliyatından*.

Various portions of the *Risāle* have been translated into English and published by the Risalat-i Nur Institute of America in California. After Nursī's death, a number of periodicals and newspapers, such as *Yeni Nesil* ("New Generation") and printing houses have become dedicated to publishing them and also commentaries on them. Some formal efforts at Nurist indoctrination were made, e.g. the brochure *Istikamet* ("Direction"), published in Istanbul in 1983. The periodical *Nur* is at present published in Turkish, Arabic, English and German and is widely distributed.

Contemporary *Risāle* students and discussion groups are concerned primarily with the meaning of Nursī's writings. His writings are at times quite ambiguous, sometimes rather cumbersome in style but interspersed with precise, clear and beautifully-written passages. The basic purpose of the Nurcular has been not to launch a religious movement or challenge the existing socio-political order. The Nurist publishing houses have been instrumental in popularising many scientific books, some being regarded as superior to the official textbooks; but Nursī opposed materialism and any other doctrine likely to undermine the spiritual essence of the human being. The Nurists, if they are a sufficiently well-defined group so as to be named, thus espouse an uncompromising religious orthodoxy, attaching the utmost importance to the faith reached through the study and understanding of the Ḳurʾān. However, on social, economic, and educational questions they adopt a middle-of-the-road ideology advocating humanitarianism, pluralism, fellowship, and national unity. (Nursī repeatedly stated that although he was a Kurd, he considered himself a member of the Turkish nation because of the Turks' lack of a sense of race, and for their faithful service to Islam.) The Nurists condemn both communism and capitalism for their excessive materialism and seem to favour a mild form of state intervention in the economy, provided it does not inhibit private initiative. This is a view that largely coincides with the economic policy of the recent Turkish governments. In social and political matters, the Nurists favour a pluralist approach, despite the danger that the advocacy of state-imposed social justice could provide justification for authoritarianism.

If the *Risāle* is considered in its entirety with regard to its theological message and preoccupation with human society, and taking into account the aspiration of those who follow its teachings and who come from every walk of life, then the Nurculuk must be regarded as one of the most democratic and advanced Islamic *iḥyāʾ* (rejuvenation) movements, and Nursī as among the foremost ranks of those Muslims who have attempted to reconcile the faith with their human and social environment. He was probably the first to advocate, in a doctrine openly based on the Ḳurʾān and Sunna, a total dedication to the faith along with acceptance of the philosophical, intellectual, and technological aspects of the modern age, whence Nurist groups have sprung up in a number of Muslim (Pakistan, Malaysia) and European (Germany) countries, making it in effect one of the strongest international Islamic revivalist movements. However, there is a latent danger of obscurantism as the movement spreads to the countryside and among the lower urban classes that tend to stress exclusively the devotional aspects of Nursī's teachings and ignore their modernist, change-oriented dimension. There has been lately a not unnatural tendency on the part of the dedicated Nurists to organise and regard themselves as forming a special group of illuminated, righteous ones and to develop an *esprit de corps* that gives the movement the appearances of a *ṭarīḳat*.

Nursī died without leaving a known disciple to continue his work and elaborate on his ideas. After his death, several newspapers and journals were published by the Nurists, one of them, *Yeni Asya*, taking a more activist stand. Differences and disagreements arose over the question of participation in the political process. The majority of Nurists seem to have supported Necmeddin Erbakan's Islamist parties, but felt betrayed when Erbakan in the late 1970s entered into

a political coalition with the Republican People's Party, former persecutors of Saʿīd Nursī. After the restoration of political freedom in 1982-3, one group of Nurists continued to support Süleyman Demirel's Straight Path Party, while others backed the Motherland Party of Turgut Özal, who had proclaimed himself an adherent of the Naḳshbandiyya. Thus in general, the Nurists have supported right and centre parties, but the shifting course of Turkish political life has caused a certain reticence regarding politics amongst many Nurists. At the present time (1992), there are five major Nurist groups in Turkey, as well as that of Mehmet Kaplan in Germany.

Bibliography: On the organisational aspects of Nurculuk, see Ali Mermer, *Aspects of religious identity: the Nurcu movement in Turkey today*, diss., Univ. of Durham 1985, unpublished (this includes the most complete list of Nursī's published writings until 1985); Ursula Spuler, *Nurculuk. Die Bewegung des Bediuzzaman Said Nursi in der Modernen Turkei*, in *Bonner Orientalistische Studien*, xxvii (1973), 100-83. For contemporary Nurcu groups, see Mehmet Metiner, *Yeni bir dünyaya uymak*, Istanbul 1987; Ruşen Çakir, *Ayet ve slogan. Türkiye'de Islami oluşumlar*, Istanbul 1990. (Kemal Karpat)

NŪRĪ, a common name in the Near East for a member of certain Gipsy tribes. A more correct vocalisation would perhaps be *Nawarī* (so Hava, Steingass, etc.), with plural *Nawar*. Minorsky [see lūlī, at V, 817a] gives *Nawara*. By displacement of accent we also find the plural form as *Nawār* (e.g. in Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes*, 90, and British Admiralty, *Handbook*, *Syria*, London 1919, 196, *Arabia*, London 1916, 92, 94). In Persia, the current name for Gipsy is *Lōrī*, *Lūrī* or *Lūlī* [*q.v.*]. It is not unlikely that by a natural phonetic transformation the form *nūrī* derives from *lūrī*, which, it has been suggested, originally denoted an inhabitant of the town of al-Rūr (or Arūr) in Sind. Quatremère advanced the theory (*Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, i/2, n. 5) that the name *nūrī* arose from the Arabic *nūr* (fire); he gives the form *n.ww.r.* because these vagrants were usually seen carrying a brazier or a lantern. Even today many of the *Nawar* earn their living as itinerant smiths. But it is more probable that the correct etymology is to be found in some Sanskritic dialect of northwestern India, the original home of the Gipsy tribes.

In the various countries of the Orient in which Gipsy families are located, we find several designations for them used. The older name, now much restricted in use, was Zuṭṭ [see zuṭṭ] or Jatts. The Turkish name Čingana passed into European languages under such forms as Σιχάνος, Tzigane, Zingaro, Czigany, Zigeuner, etc. Dozy (*Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, i, 605), quoting Caussin de Perceval, records the occasional use of the name *Zandjiyya*, but this is inexact [see zandj]. The commonest names, apart from those already mentioned, seem to be *Nawar* and *Kurbat* or *Ghurbat* (particularly in northern Syria and Persia), *Ghagar* and *Ḥalab* (especially in Egypt and North Africa) and *Dūman* (in ʿIrāḳ). For other sub-divisions, reference may be made to the bibliography, and particularly to E. Littmann's *Zigeuner-Arabisch*, which is an excellent summary of the whole subject, particularly on the linguistic side.

The collecting of data regarding the Gipsy tribes of the Orient is by no means easy. Even experienced orientalists and travellers have reached different conclusions regarding them. For example, Lane (in his *Modern Egyptians*, London 1836, ii, 108) in spite of his profound knowledge of Egypt, asserted that there were few Gipsies in the land, while numbers of well-educated local peoples today are still unaware of the presence of these tribes in their midst. The statistics of Massignon's *Annuaire musulman* (Paris [4]1954, 271), however, gave the number of Gipsies in Egypt as 2% of the population, consisting, namely, of two tribes of Ghagar and Nawar respectively, and four tribes of Ḥalab.

The Gipsies as a rule seem, chameleon-like, to take their creed, such as it is, from their surroundings. In Muslim countries these tribes usually profess Islam, in so far as they may be said to profess any religious views, many of them, indeed, being very superstitious and reported to be scoundrels and vagabonds. The same applies to the Muslim Gipsies of what was formerly European Turkey (Admiralty, *Handbook of Turkey in Europe*, London 1917, 62). In the Balkans, many of them are Greek Orthodox.

Persian and Arabic writers preserve for us the tradition that tribes of Jats (or *Zuṭṭ*) from the Pandjāb were conveyed westwards by command of the Sāsānid monarch Bahrām Gūr (420-38 a.d.) and their descendants proved a troublesome problem some centuries later for the caliphs of Baghdād. Once more, numbers of them were dispersed to the borders of Syria, where many of them were captured by the Byzantines, and thus found their way into the Eastern Roman Empire, thence to continue their migrations to other ends of the East and West. Many of them are even said to have risen to high rank, e.g. al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam b. Yūsuf al-Zuṭṭī, governor of Egypt (200-5/816-21). The name *Barāmika* is actually the designation in Egypt of a class of public dancers (*Ghawāzī*) of low moral character and conduct who have been regarded as of Gipsy blood, but it is more likely that the name arose from a parallel with the sad state of the fallen line of viziers. See L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides d'après les historiens arabes et persans*, Paris 1912, 110, 125.

The German traveller Ulrich Seetzen and the American missionary Eli Smith gathered valuable material in the Near East regarding those nomadic peoples which proved useful to later scholars. They were followed by Capt. Newbold (1856) on the Gypsies of Egypt, Syria and Persia; von Kremer, Austrian Consul at Cairo, on the Egyptian Gypsies (1863); Sykes (1902) dealt with the Persian Gypsies, while an excellent treatise appeared in 1914 from R.A.S. Macalister on the language of the Nawar or Zuṭṭ, the nomad smiths of Palestine. Macalister in this work had the rather difficult task of reducing to writing a language almost completely unknown, and interpreting and analysing the Nūrī stories and folk-elements recounted to him by members of the Nūrī settlement north of the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem. He employed several of these Nawar in the course of his excavations there. A small Syrian Gypsy vocabulary received by Miss G.G. Everest of Beirut from a friend at Damascus was also published in the *Journal of the Gipsy Lore Soc.* (Jan. 1890), in an article by F.H. Groome. The philological aspect of the question has received, in recent years, the attention of scholars such as E. Galtier and E. Littmann (see *Bibl.*).

In Egypt, the Ḥalab (sing. Ḥalabī) are to be found mostly in Lower Egypt carrying on their special occupations at the various markets and *mawālīd* [see mawlid], and as traders in camels, horses and cattle. Their womenfolk are noted seeresses and medicine-women, practicing all the arts of sorcery (*siḥr*): sand-divination (*ḍarb al-raml*), shell-divination (*ḍarb al-sadʿa*), bibliomancy (*fatḥ al-Kitāb*), etc. Their tribal subdivisions are variously given by Galtier (7) and

Newbold (291). Their name suggests some connection with Aleppo (Ḥalab), but they themselves proudly claim a South Arabian ancestry, their tribal chronicle being the popular broadsheet production, *Taʾrīkh Zīr Sālim*.

The Ghagar Gipsy tribe, however, have a rather unsavoury reputation, a fact that is reflected in the modern Egyptian colloquial Arabic verb *ghaggar* "to be abusive" (see M. Hinds and El-Said Badawi, *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*, Beirut 1986, 617). Their speech has fewer foreign ingredients, and Galtier is of the opinion that they are more recent arrivals in the Nile Valley, probably wanderers from Constantinople. The argot of the Egyptian Gipsies is called *al-Sīm*, and in modern colloquial Arabic in Egypt "to speak in enigmas" is *yatakallim bi 'l-Sīm* (see Hinds and Badawi, *op. cit.*, 446).

The word Nūrī in Egypt is almost synonymous with thief, and their thieving propensities are libellously associated in a popular proverb with the inhabitants of Damanhūr [*q.v.*] (*alf Nūrī wa-lā Damanhūrī*). According to the age-old policy of setting a thief to catch a thief, the Nawar are often recruited as estate watchmen (*ghuffār*).

Their pursuits and proclivities are varied in the extreme. Besides the myriad occupations of enchanters, amulet-sellers, quack-doctors, snake-eaters and astrologers, many of them travel about as hawkers, metal-workers, animal-trainers, professional tumblers, rope-dancers, acrobats, monkey-leaders, musicians and ballad-singers, while some are employed to circumcise Muslim girls, to tattoo lips and chins, and to bore ears and nostrils.

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AL-NŪRĪ, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN (or ABU 'L-ḤASAN) AḤMAD b. Muḥammad al-Baghawī, Ṣūfī mystic, of Khurāsānī background, was born (probably *ca.* 226/840, as he had met Dhu 'l-Nūn) in Baghdād, where he spent most of his life. He died in 295/907. The most extensive information about him is given by al-Sarrādj and al-Kalābādhī; the brief biographies of al-Sulamī and Abū Nuʿaym agree almost verbatim, as do the Persian notes in Anṣārī and Jāmī. ʿAṭṭār's biography elaborates on otherwise little-known details; Baḳlī devotes five chapters (§§ 95-9) of his *Sharḥ-i shaṭhiyyāt* to al-Nūrī.

It is said that he acquired his surname because "he radiated light when talking"; he claimed "I looked into the light until I became that light myself." A disciple of al-Sarī as-Saḳaṭī, he underwent extreme self-mortification: "Ṣūfism is leaving all pleasures of the *nafs*", and emphasised the true *faḳīr*'s reliance upon God alone. His best-known quality is *īthār*, i.e. that "it is a religious duty to prefer one's companions to oneself"; for "Ṣūfism consists not of forms and sciences but of *akhlāḳ*, good qualities." That is illustrated by his attitude during the trial of the Ṣūfīs by Ghulām Khalīl in 264/877, where he offered up his life for his friends, whereupon the caliph acquitted the Ṣūfīs. Al-Nūrī was quite emotional, and considered intellect to be "incapable"; contrary to the sober and prudent Djunayd he enjoyed participating in the *samāʿ*: "The Ṣūfī is one who hears the *samāʿ*", and Baḳlī asks in his threnody (*Sharḥ*, § 377) "Where is the singing, *tarannum*, of Nūrī?" That his death was caused by his running, in full ecstasy, into a freshly-cut reedbed and dying from wounds, fits into this picture, as does Anṣārī's remark that "he was more worshipping, *aʿbad*, than Djunayd." Al-Nūrī, who, according to ʿAṭṭār, was seen weeping along with the sad Iblīs, claimed to be a lover, *ʿāshiḳ*, which led the Ḥanbalīs to declare him a heretic; but for him, *maḥabba* (mentioned in Ḳurʾān, V, 59) was a higher stage than *ʿishḳ*, and "Love is to tear the veils and unveil the secrets." More dangerous seemed his remark "Deadly poison!", when hearing the *muʾadhdhin*'s call, but answering a dog's barking with *labbayka*; he intended to blame the one who performed religious duties for money, but understood every creature's praise of God, even from the dog's mouth.

Al-Kalābādhī mentions that al-Nūrī wrote about mystical sciences with *ishārāt*, symbolic expressions, but only recently did P. Nwyia discover his *Maḳāmāt al-ḳulūb*, which contains descriptions of the heart, that house of God, which is inhabited by the King Certitude, who is aided by two viziers, Fear and Hope. Such an allegorical interpretation of Ḳurʾānic data appears also in the comparison of the heart to a castle with seven ramparts (reminiscent of St. Theresa's imagery). The language of al-Nūrī, called by ʿAṭṭār *laṭīf ẓarīf*, "fine and elegant", is highly poetical, and a number of brief poems is attributed to him; the imagery of the heart as a garden which is fertilised, or else destroyed, by rain and in which laud and gratitude are the odoriferous herbs, prefigures Persian garden imagery. Al-Nūrī is called "the faithful one, *ṣāḥib al-wafāʾ*, and "prince of hearts", *amīr al-ḳulūb*, and, as a true love mystic, was one of the most remarkable companions of Djunayd, who said at his death, "half of Ṣūfism is gone".

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(ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL)

NŪRĪ, SHAYKH FAḌL ALLĀH, the most notable of the anti-constitutionalist *ʿulamāʾ* in the Persian Revolution of 1906.

Ḥādjdjī Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī was born in Tehran in 1259/1843-4 and went at an early age to study in the ʿAtabāt [*q.v.* in Suppl.] under his uncle Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nūrī, and under Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī (M. Turkamān, *Shaykh-i shahīd Faḍl Allāh Nūrī*, Tehran 1362 *Sh*/1983, i, 9). In about 1300/1883 he returned to Tehran, where he gradually emerged as the leading scholar and jurist. He was active in the movement against the Tobacco Concession in 1308-9/1890-1, but otherwise not particularly prominent politically until 1321/1903, when ʿAyn al-Dawla was appointed Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam and passed on to Shaykh Faḍl Allāh the responsibility for government business in the *sharīʿa* courts, which had previously come under the *mudjtahid* Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Bihbihānī (Mīrzā Muḥammad Nāẓim al-Islām Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i bīdārī-yi Īrāniyān*, Tehran 1361 *Sh*/1982, i, 210). Shaykh Faḍl Allāh supported ʿAyn al-Dawla's reforms of the finances in an attempt to preserve the traditional system of government and authority, but when the Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam's régime collapsed in Djumādā II 1324/July 1906, Shaykh Faḍl Allāh was forced to join what became the constitutional movement, although he had previously expressed doubts about constitutionalism (Nāẓim al-Islām, *Bīdārī*, i, 321-4).

He found himself in eclipse, however, until the accession of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1324/January 1907 gave him a powerful new ally. Having failed in discussion to modify the radical measures of the proposed Supplementary Fundamental Law he took *bast* [*q.v.*] or sanctuary in the Shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm from 9 Djumādā II to 8 Shaʿbān 1325/20 June to 16 September 1907, almost certainly financed by the Shah (Spring Rice to Grey, no. 143, 10 July 1907, FO 416/34 no. 136; Y. Dawlatābādī, *Tārīkh-i muʿāṣir yā ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, ii, Tehran 1337 *Sh*/1958, 129). From there he published a series of propaganda leaflets in which he argued for *mashrūṭa-yi mashrūʿa*, or more specifically *niẓām-nāma-yi islāmī*, an Islamic constitution (for the leaflets, see Turkamān, *Shahīd*, i, 231-368; H. Riḍwānī, *Lawāyiḥ-i Āḳā Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī*, Tehran 1362sh/1983). He also maintained that constitutionalism was contrary to the *sharīʿa*, most notably on the point of equality before the law (Turkamān, *Shahīd*, 287-8, 291-2). Following the fear and disarray induced in the court at the assassination of the then prime minister Amīn al-Sulṭān, the Shah appears to have withdrawn his support and Shaykh Faḍl Allāh emerged from *bast*. He participated in the royalist demonstrations of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1325/December 1907 but did not return to prominence until after the coup of Djumādā I 1326/June 1908. Then in a *fatwā* (M. Malikzāda, *Tārīkh-i inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, Tehran 1351 *Sh*/1972, iv, 211-21) and in a work entitled *Tadhkirat al-ghāfil wa-irshād al-djāhil* (Turkamān, *Shahīd*, i, 56-75), he provided the Shah with a legitimising ideology for his refusal to restore the *madjlis*, arguing most notably that the Shah was one of the two pillars of Islam together with the *ʿulamāʾ*, his role being to maintain order and stability (Malikzāda, *Mashrūṭiyyat*, iv, 217). He further contended that constitutionalism was pernicious, since it contradicted the five Muslim precepts (*al-aḥkām al-khamsa*), implying that it interfered with the soteriological purpose of Islam (V.A. Martin, *Islam and modernism: the Iranian Revolution of 1906*, London 1989, 178-9). In addition, he attacked the constitutionalists' source of legitimacy in representation of the will of the people, arguing that it had no basis for any claim to authority in Imāmī Shīʿī law (Malikzāda, *Mashrūṭiyyat*, IV, 211; Turkamān, *Shahīd*, i, 67, 89-90; Martin, *op. cit.*, 181-3).

After the abdication of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh in Radjab 1327/July 1909, Shaykh Faḍl Allāh declined the chance of refuge in the Russian Legation along with the Shah and his other prominent supporters (Malikzāda, *Mashrūṭiyyat*, v, 265, vi, 117). He was arrested, tried on 13 Radjab 1327/31 July 1909 and publicly executed immediately afterwards. On the scaffold he is said to have recited the verse, "If we were a heavy burden, we are gone; if we were unkind, we are gone" (E.G. Browne, *The Persian revolution 1905-9*, Cambridge 1910, 444; see also Nāẓim al-Islām, *Bīdārī*, ii, 535).

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(VANESSA MARTIN)

NURI KILLIĞIL [see ENWER PASHA].

NŪRĪ AL-SAʿĪD, fourteen times Prime Minister of ʿIrāḳ under the monarchy (1921-58) and one of the most robust Arab politicians of his generation, was born in Baghdād in 1888, the son of a minor administrative official, and was killed at the hands of a hostile crowd in Baghdād on the day after the ʿIrāḳī Revolution of 14 July 1958. Nūrī attended military schools in Baghdād and Istanbul, receiving his commission in 1906; after four years soldiering in ʿIrāḳ, he returned to the Staff College in Istanbul, participating in campaigns in Macedonia (1911) and in the Balkan Wars (1912-13). In common with many of his fellow Arab officers, he was attracted to the liberal aims of the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI], only to be disappointed by the increasingly centralising and pro-Turkish policies which it pursued when in power. Along with several other ʿIrāḳīs, Nūrī joined *al-ʿAhd*, a secret society of Arab officers in the Ottoman Army, founded by ʿAzīz ʿAlī al-Miṣrī.

At the outbreak of the First World War, Nūrī was in Baṣra where he surrendered to the British occupying forces. He was sent briefly to India and eventually made contact with ʿAzīz ʿAlī al-Miṣrī, whom he joined in Cairo at the end of 1915. Shortly afterwards he was asked to take part in the British-sponsored Arab

Revolt, which the Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca [*q.v.*] proclaimed against the Ottomans (or more specifically against the government of the Committee of Union and Progress), on 5 June 1916. Al-Miṣrī was the first commander of the Sharīfian forces, but he soon fell out with the Sharīf and returned to Egypt. His place was taken by Djaʿfar al-ʿAskarī, captured by the British in the Western Desert a few months earlier, who was doubly Nūrī's brother-in-law—the two men were married to each other's sisters. Nūrī himself became "coordinator and adviser-in-chief to the Sharīfian forces" and then "Chief of Staff" (Lord Birdwood, *Nuri as-Said: a study in Arab leadership*, London 1959, 45, 59). During his time in the Ḥidjāz and Syria, Nūrī developed close personal relationships with a number of British officers, and also with Ḥusayn's second son, Fayṣal (1885-1933 [*q.v.*]), remaining at the latter's side from August 1917 until, and well beyond, the capture of Damascus in October 1918. In the course of the War Nūrī received two British decorations for gallantry, the C.M.G. and the D.S.O.

In common with those with whom he was most intimately concerned, Nūrī would have had no clear idea of Britain's plans for the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire in event of the defeat of the Central Powers in the First World War. However, since Britain had given its backing to Sharīf Ḥusayn and his sons, it was reasonable to assume that they would be involved in whatever future settlement of the area might be reached. Early in November 1918, Fayṣal invited Nūrī to accompany him on his journey from Syria to London (via France) and then to the peace conference in Paris, where he was to represent the Ḥidjāz. The French made it clear to Fayṣal that they had no intention of recognising the "Arab kingdom" which he had established in Syria in October 1918.

Encouraged, perhaps, by the fact that almost a year passed before sufficient French troops arrived in Syria to enforce French policy, Fayṣal's supporters there were determined not to give up their state. The First Arab Congress, held in Damascus on 7-8 March 1920, proclaimed Fayṣal King of Syria and his brother ʿAbd Allāh King of ʿIrāḳ. A few weeks later, under the terms of the Treaty of San Remo, France was given the mandate for Syria and Lebanon, and Britain the mandate for ʿIrāḳ and Palestine-Transjordan. By this time there was a substantial French military presence in Syria; on 14 July 1920 the French delivered an ultimatum to Fayṣal to accept the terms of the mandate, and when this was not accepted, defeated his army at Khān Maysalūn [see MAYSALŪN] a few miles outside Damascus, ten days later. Fayṣal, with Nūrī at his side, left for Egypt, and eventually for discussions in London in the late autumn of 1920.

In the immediate aftermath of the First World War, British plans for the territory which was to become ʿIrāḳ were by no means clear. Most of the British administrators there had served in India, where they were used to a system of direct rule by British officials, and had little understanding of any expression of "national" or "Arab nationalist" aspirations. In the late summer of 1920 there was an uprising in ʿIrāḳ against the British occupation, which elicited a fundamental change in British policy. A provisional Arab government was formed at the end of October, and at the Cairo Conference in March 1921 it was decided to offer Fayṣal the throne of ʿIrāḳ, thus giving substance to the negotiations which had taken place in the course of his own and Nūrī's visit to London the previous October. Fayṣal arrived in Baṣra at the end of June, and was duly enthroned in Baghdād on 23 August.

Meanwhile, Nūrī had returned to Baghdād in January 1921, where he was made Chief of Staff of the ʿIrāḳī Army under his brother-in-law Djaʿfar, Minister of Defence in the provisional government. For most of the 1920s Nūrī concentrated on building up the ʿIrāḳī Army, in his capacity either as Chief of Staff (1921-2) or as Minister of Defence, an office he held in seven of the nine cabinets formed between November 1922 and March 1930. Between March 1930 and October 1932 he served as Prime Minister, and was intimately involved in the negotiations for the Anglo-ʿIrāḳī Treaty of 1930 which provided for the official withdrawal of British control over ʿIrāḳ and for ʿIrāḳ's entry into the League of Nations in 1932.

King Fayṣal's premature death in August 1933 left a power vacuum at the centre of ʿIrāḳī politics. His son Ghāzī, then aged 21, was both inexperienced and lacking in political acumen, with the result that control of the country passed increasingly to former or serving military officers. In October 1936, General Bakr Ṣidḳī led a coup against the government of (former Major-General) Yāsīn al-Hāshimī, in which Nūrī was serving as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Djaʿfar as Minister of Defence. Djaʿfar was shot at Ṣidḳī's instigation while trying to negotiate with the coup leaders; Yāsīn died in exile a few months later, and Nūrī was smuggled out of the country via the British Embassy. He returned to ʿIrāḳ in the autumn of 1937, a few months after the overthrow of Bakr Ṣidḳī, and proceeded to wage a relentless vendetta against the perpetrators of the coup of October 1936 in general, and in particular against those involved in his brother-in-law Djaʿfar's murder. Eventually, Nūrī formed his third cabinet, and, apart from a crucial few months out of office between January and October 1941, served as Prime Minister for much of the period between December 1938 and June 1944, often holding the Defence and/or Foreign Affairs portfolios at the same time.

Two incidents during these years were to have lasting effects upon Nūrī's subsequent career, and generally to alienate him from public esteem. The first of these was the persistent allegation that he was in some way involved in Ghāzī's death in a motor accident in April 1939. Nūrī was openly contemptuous of Ghāzī (whose evident character defects were redeemed in the eyes of many ʿIrāḳī "nationalists" by his anti-British posturings), and his death and replacement by his more malleable cousin ʿAbd al-Ilāh as Regent for Ghāzī's son Fayṣal II (who was four years old in 1939), certainly simplified matters for Nūrī and his British patrons. In any case, whether or not this allegation had any foundation was less important than the fact that it was widely believed (see Hanna Batatu, *The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq; a study of Iraq's old landed classes and its Communists, Ba'thists and Free Officers*, Princeton 1978, 342).

The second incident was the complex of events surrounding ʿIrāḳ's participation in the Second World War. There is little doubt that the anti-British movement initiated in 1940-1 by the so-called Golden Square (four Arab nationalist Army colonels, all some ten years younger than Nūrī) and their political mouthpiece Rashīd ʿAlī al-Gaylānī [*q.v.*], had immense popular appeal. Especially after the fall of France in 1940, the notion that ʿIrāḳ should either remain neutral—in defiance of the provisions of the Treaty of 1930—or even, in the minds of some, call upon Germany to force Britain out of ʿIrāḳ, began to gain ground. In April 1941 the Golden Square staged a coup which brought Rashīd ʿAlī to power. Nūrī and ʿAbd al-Ilāh fled to Jordan with British assistance,

while the ᶜIrāḳī Army fought a somewhat quixotic one-month campaign against a British force. The defeat of the ᶜIrāḳī Army was followed by a "second British occupation"; as for the Regent and Nūrī, "their return from abroad only after the country had been subdued by British power made them so odious among the people that, regardless of what they did afterwards, they were never able to command public confidence" (Batatu, *op. cit.*, 345).

By this time certain guiding principles of Nūrī's conduct may be discerned. As the First World War ended, he seems to have realised that some form of foreign control over the Arab provinces of the former Ottoman Empire was inevitable, and that his own career would be best served by a pragmatic acceptance of this situation. Nūrī saw the future of the Arab world in terms of a loose confederation of regions (and eventually of individual states) under the general aegis of Britain, and, if more reluctantly, of France. His patron Fayṣal's translation to ᶜIrāḳ in 1921 gave Nūrī the opportunity to assist in building up a state which was independent at least to the extent that it was no longer part of the Ottoman Empire, and which might eventually emerge as a leading regional force, largely through the agency of the Army, whose construction and organisation was one of his principal concerns throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

The major flaw in this design was that because Fayṣal and the Hā<u>sh</u>imite house on the one hand, and Nūrī and his circle on the other, were regarded by members of the "Old Social Classes" first as foreigners and outsiders and secondly (because of their lower class origins) as upstarts, both were forced to rely on Britain in ways which became more and more intolerable to the politically conscious sections of the ᶜIrāḳī population. Fayṣal died before these tensions had developed beyond the point of no return, although he earned considerable opprobrium towards the end of his life because of his acceptance of the restrictions on ᶜIrāḳ's independence in the Anglo-ᶜIrāḳī Treaty of 1930.

Realising the extent of his own isolation within ᶜIrāḳ, Nūrī tried to secure his base by placing trusted friends and colleagues in key positions in the army, so that in 1936, all of the Army's 3 major-generals, 3 of its 4 brigadiers and 6 of its 11 colonels were former <u>Sh</u>arīfian officers. In addition, as he gradually gained greater control of the state machinery, he was able to win over the tribal *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>*s and urban notables by co-opting them both politically and economically (see Batatu, *op. cit.*, *passim*), a process greatly facilitated during and after the Second World War by this group's hostility to and fear of a burgeoning spectrum of "opposition" parties and groups.

On his return to power after the Anglo-ᶜIrāḳī "War" of 1941, Nūrī began to root out the Pan-Arab supporters of the Golden Square from within the Army, while putting forward his own modest version of Arab nationalism, the "Fertile Crescent" scheme, in 1943. This involved the creation of a "Greater Syria" out of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, with which ᶜIrāḳ would be associated, possibly leading to a wider federation which might embrace Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Needless to say, this arrangement (whose details were extremely vague) was to come into being under the benevolent auspices of Britain. The Egyptians, Syrians and Saudis were intensely suspicious of anything that might smack of Hā<u>sh</u>imite domination, and in its place the Arab League, a loose arrangement which maintained the structures of the existing states and was designed to foster cooperation rather than Arab unity, came into being in May 1945.

British relations with ᶜIrāḳ, or more accurately with Nūrī and the Regent, remained close until the Revolution of July 1958, although British officials were often bothered by the extent to which "our eggs are concentrated in Nūrī's somewhat unstable basket" (quoted in Batatu, *op. cit.*, 347). Throughout the 1940s, and especially after the ill-fated attempt to extend the Anglo-ᶜIrāḳī Treaty of 1930 at Portsmouth in January 1948, the political situation in ᶜIrāḳ was characterised by mounting repression and increasingly dictatorial régimes, presided over either by Nūrī himself or by his acolytes and supporters. Britain tolerated this state of affairs for a number of reasons, not least among which were its concern to maintain the free flow of oil from ᶜIrāḳ, and to preserve the British air bases there, but also because no amount of prodding seemed sufficient to persuade Nūrī to change his ways, or to train up a less compromised successor. At the same time, Nūrī's relative lack of concern over Palestine, and his imperturbable championing of unpopular causes (notably ᶜIrāḳī membership of the Ba<u>gh</u>dād Pact in 1955) made it easier for Britain to overlook his shortcomings.

In time, popular resentment against Nūrī and his circle reached a crescendo, although, given the nature of the political system, it was impossible for the régime to be ousted other than by force. In the course of the 1950s, a conspiratorial movement of Free Officers emerged in the Army, which eventually took advantage of military manoeuvres in July 1958 to direct units commanded by its sympathisers to take control of key locations in Ba<u>gh</u>dād. On the morning of 14 July the Royal Palace was surrounded, and the King (Fayṣal II had attained his majority in 1953) and his uncle (the former Regent, now Crown Prince), were killed. Nūrī went into hiding, but was discovered on the afternoon of the next day; his body, and that of the Crown Prince, both of whom were the objects of particular hatred, were dragged through the streets and eventually torn to pieces by the mob.

Possibly as a result of their reluctance to face harsh realities, few British diplomats concerned with ᶜIrāḳ in the 1950s thought that a major change in the status quo was imminent (see here W.R. Louis, *The British and the origins of the Iraqi Revolution*, in R.A. Fernea and W.R. Louis, *The Iraqi Revolution of 1958: the Old Social Classes revisited,* London and New York 1991, 31-61). It is clear now that the perpetuation of the immense social inequalities over which Nūrī presided (which increased with the rapid rise in oil revenues and the inauguration of the Development Board in the early 1950s), together with his dictatorial style and his constant manipulation of the electoral and parliamentary systems, were major causes of the chaos and violence which erupted when the dam finally broke in July 1958. It is not clear either that this was "inevitable", or that Nūrī had "no choice" in acting as he did. While Nūrī was clearly Britain's most faithful servant in ᶜIrāḳ, the nature of his contribution to the history of his own country remains rather more difficult to assess.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the text, see Marion Farouk-Sluglett and P. Sluglett, *Iraq since 1958: from revolution to dictatorship*, 2nd revised ed. London 1990; W. Gallman, *Iraq under General Nuri: my recollections of Nuri al-said [sic], 1954-1958*, Baltimore 1964; Majid Khadduri, *Independent Iraq 1932-1958: a study in Iraqi politics*, 2nd ed., London 1960; idem, *General Nuri's flirtation with the Axis Powers*, in *MEJ*, xvi (1962), 328-36; W.R. Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East 1945-1951: Arab nationalism, the United States and postwar imperialism,*

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NURSĪ, SHEYKH BADĪʿ AL-ZAMĀN SAʿĪD (Modern Tkish. Bediuzzaman Said Riza-Nursi) (*ca.* 1876-1960), religious leader, of Kurdish origin, in late Ottoman and Republican Turkey.

Saʿīd Nursī, the author of the *Risāle-yi Nūr* "Epistle of Light" (or "Wisdom") from which the intellectual-religious movement known as Nurculuk [*q.v.*] sprang, was born in the village of Nurs in the province of Bitlis [see BIDLĪS] in eastern Turkey. His father apparently belonged to a local family of notables, as indicated by his surname Mīrzā. Nursī started his education in the *medrese* of Seyyid Nūr (the names of many places and people with whom he was associated, including that of his mother, Nūriyye, derived from *nūr* "light"), but he soon changed to an intensive, three-month-long study under Sheykh Meḥmed Djelālī in Beyazit; he received the title of Mollā [*q.v.*], and from then on he continued his education on his own. During his travels around the province he developed an interest in the life of the common people and a deep feeling for nature that stayed with him all his life. His growing erudition, communal involvement and occasional confrontation with Ottoman officials earned him first the title of *Meshhūr* ("famous") and later, around 1894, that of *Badīʿ al-zamān* or "beauty of the age". In 1909 he started to call himself *gharīb* ("stranger" or "dissident") in order to show that his way of thinking and behaving differed from that of his contemporaries, a strangeness displayed outwardly by his native garb and the gun and knife in his belt, resembling more his fellow-Kurdish tribesmen than a refined city *ʿālim*.

After spending two years in Bitlis as the guest of ʿÖmer Pasha, Nursī moved to Van in 1894, where he lived in the house of the provincial *wālī* or governor Ishkodralī Ṭāhir Pasha. There he acquainted himself with the physical and natural sciences and began to apply their methodology both to the teaching of Islam and to demonstrate the truth of the faith. At about this same time he began to move closer to the Ottoman establishment, away from the Nakshbandiyya Khālidiyya Ṣūfīs with whom he first studied and closer to the Ḳādiriyya. After making the acquaintance of modern science, Nursī adopted the view that progress and salvation lay not in the faith alone but also in the sciences and in government action. (The preoccupation with "philosophy", as he called it, engaged him until about 1920, when he rediscovered the superiority of faith.) During his stay in Van, according to his biographer, Nursī read a declaration attributed to Gladstone, the British Liberal statesman known for his anti-Turkish views, that "we [the British] cannot dominate the Muslims as long as we do not take the Koran away from them" (Şahiner, 1988, 73); he now swore to prove to the world that "the Ḳurʾān was a spiritual sun and indestructible" (*ibid.*). His religious dedication, coupled with his association with Ottoman officials, eventually secured for Nursī in 1907 an introduction to Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II. However, his coarse appearance, his petition for the establishment of modern schools in Bitlis province and his assertion that "Islam does not sanction tyranny" landed him first in the Yildiz military court and then in a mental hospital (in order to avoid the possible imposition of severe punishment). This incident shows clearly the difference between the two forms of Islamism or Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*] that dominated Ottoman society in the period 1870-1908. On the one hand, there was the caliph's Pan-Islamism that relied on the government, its bureaucracy and the traditional religious establishment for its survival; on the other hand, there was the populist, grass-roots form of religion that relied on community support. Nursī's advocacy of this latter, populist Islamism before the foremost proponents of the traditional view did not sit well with the bureaucrats.

He was, in fact, the product of socio-political changes occurring in Anatolia, which had passed from the rule of local feudal lords, thanks to the centralising policy of the government, but now came under the spiritual domination and the social guidance of the *ṭarīḳat sheykhs*, since, although theoretically under the rule of the new bureaucracy, the hinterlands were not in fact brought completely under the influence of the centre, allowing the *sheykhs* more power as leaders of local society. However, Nursī's communal, Nakshbandī Islam was also increasingly confronted not only by ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd's state-sponsored Pan-Islamism but also by the positivist and the liberal ideology of the growing modernist intelligentsia. Nursī accepted in varying degrees some of the tenets of all these ideologies, in the end opting fully for religious orthodoxy while evolving an Islamic-modernist-national philosophy of his own. His aims were not only to rejuvenate the faith but also to revitalise the society in which the faith found its expression. This preoccupation with the living society had the effect of elevating the local culture and the vernacular (Nursī only learned Turkish around the age of 14) to respectability and gave love of country (*waṭan*) and the natural aspects of human existence the sanction of religion. Yet the same forces that conditioned modernist and nationalist views also created disunity in society and a penchant for materialism, and these ills became Nursī's ultimate target.

From roughly 1895 to 1921, Nursī lived the life of an up-and-coming Ottoman rural intellectual. He came to share the patriotic and nationalist-religious views of this group of people as well as their search for social status and position which socio-economic and political change offered the opportunity to achieve. Thus he at first joined the Young Turk Revolutionaries, delivering in Salonica in 1908 a fiery speech glorifying the virtues of political liberalism; but later, in reaction to the positivist secularism of the Young Turks, he helped found the *Ittiḥād-i Muḥammedī* (Muslim Union), which staged the abortive counter-revolution of 1909. Arrested and tried, but acquitted, he went back to his native region where he taught for a while. Then he participated in the Turkish war effort and helped prepare the call to *djihād* against the Allies. In 1915, he went by submarine to Libya, in order to work with the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] against the Italians. Returning home, he took part in the defence of Bitlis, was captured by the Russians, but escaped in 1917 and returned home via Warsaw and Vienna. He held a teaching job in Istanbul for about three years, after which the ascetic, spiritual "new" Saʿīd replaced the activist, worldly "old" Saʿīd.

The change was caused as much by Nursī's increasing age as by the establishment of the Republic, the abolition of the caliphate (which he apparently accepted), and the passing of the old Ottoman order. Probably the "old" Saʿīd would have long been forgotten if the "new" one had not emerged. Nursī described his life until the early 1920s as a time of preparation and training necessary for the creation of the man who subsequently made himself into the

voice of the community and the faith. He criticised not the new régime, or even its reforms, but the spiritual and ethical void which it had created in society in the name of science and progress, which it saw as synonymous with "secularism". From 1925 almost until his death in 1960, Nursī was viewed as the enemy of the new régime, although the truth of this view was never proved. In 1925 he was arrested for alleged involvement in the Kurdish revolt of Sheykh Saʿīd, and although he was once more acquitted, he was forced to settle in the town of Barla in the Isparta province, where he wrote two-thirds of his *Risāle-yi Nūr* (originally called *Sözler*). He began to attract an increasingly large group of followers who copied by hand his writings in the Arabic script and distributed them all over Anatolia; eventually he permitted the printing of the *Risāle* in Latin script. Nursī repeatedly stated that all the persecutions and hardships inflicted on him were God's blessings, serving to define more clearly his path and his mission to save the faith. He held that the secularist régime in Ankara, having destroyed the formal religious establishment, had unwittingly left popular Islam as the only authentic faith of the Turks, allowing Saʿīd Nursī to become its spokesman, symbol and martyr.

Alarmed by the growing popularity of Nursī's teachings, which had spread even among the intellectuals and the military officers, the government arrested him again in 1934 and sent him, first, to Eskişehir and, later, to seven years' enforced exile in Kastamonu. He was subsequently arrested again in 1943, 1948 and 1952 for allegedly violating laws mandating secularism, but was finally acquitted in 1956. This was the result, among other things, of the official opinion issued by the *Diyanet* (Religious) Affairs Directorate which finally stated that Nursī's teachings were spiritual and Islamic. He had returned meanwhile to Isparta, which he considered his home, and there openly cast his vote for the Democratic Party, which had restored some religious freedom. He died in Urfa on 23 March 1960 and was buried there, but the military government that came to power on 27 May 1960 exhumed the remains (supposedly in response to his brother's request) and buried him in secret in an unknown place in the mountains of Isparta.

The broad range of Saʿīd Nursī's teachings rested on the fact that he considered himself not a *sheykh* but an *imām*, similar to al-Ghazālī and Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.vv.*], and followed the orthodoxy of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*]. Absolute faith (*īmān*) in God was the foundation of his belief. In this respect he departed from the Ṣūfī personalised love and search for unity with God as well as from the Naḳshbandī concept of the *ṭarīḳat* or brotherhood as the vehicle of the faith. He adopted the notion of *millet* (the nation) as the collectivity of the Muslims, with *Islāmiyyet* (the faith), the whole of this superseding ethnic, linguistic and local differences. The *millet* was, in fact, a new type of political-social entity, in which nature and humanity existed in harmony and balance, both being viewed as God's creations and the proof of His existence.

Religion, according to Nursī, operated in a social and human environment and had to take into consideration the changing nature of society and the needs of the human being. He regarded modern society—notably that of the West—and that espoused under the positivist-materialist policy of the Turkish government in the name of "secularism" as the source of materialism and spiritual impoverishment. He considered that the level of development of the faith was conditioned by the intellectual, moral, and economic level of development in society, and upheld the virtue of labour (*say-etmek, çalışkanlık* "exertion" or "activity"), mutual help, self-awareness and property rights, moderate acquisitiveness being a natural, God-given instinct. He criticised the *ulema* for turning their back on the physical sciences; in fact, he advised them to study these sciences. For him, ignorance (*cehalet*), poverty (*fakirlik*), and dissension were the worst enemies of society. Nursī's teachings lacked the dogmatism and rigidity that infected many other fundamentalist movements and appeared at times to say many things at once. This vagueness appealed to a variety of groups, ranging from modernists to moderate conservatives and dedicated Islamists. Above all, however, it was the example of the man and his life that has won him a wide following: a simple Kurdish villager with limited formal education, who eventually opted for membership in the newly-formed Turkish nation (he dropped the name Saʿīd-i Kurdī) as having the potential best to represent the brotherhood of Muslims.

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NUṢAYB al-Aṣghar, Abu 'l-Ḥadjnāʾ (not to be confused with Nuṣayb b. Rabāḥ [*q.v.*], who is sometimes given the *kunya* of Abu 'l-Hadjnāʾ), a negro poet of the Arabic language originally from Yamāma.

He is described as *mawlā 'l-Mahdī* to distinguish him from his homonym, because the future ʿAbbāsid caliph had bought him and freed him during the reign of al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75). It was he who gave him his *kunya* and married him to a female slave named Djaʿfara. Once established on the throne (158/775), al-Mahdī, whose companion he had become, offered him property in the Sawād and entrusted him with various missions, one of which is given considerable prominence by the biographers: having been sent to the Yemen to buy *mahriyya* camels [see MAHRA, at VI, 83 a-b) for a sum of 20,000 dīnārs which the governor was ordered to deliver to him, he spent this money on his personal needs and pleasures; imprisoned in the Yemen, then taken to Baghdād in chains, he gained the caliph's pardon as a result of the intervention of a certain Thumāma b. al-Walīd al-ʿAbsī to whom he expressed his gratitude; he was furthermore a friend of the latter's brother, Shayba, over whose death he wept. He also expressed his appreciation of al-Mahdī in a long *ḳaṣīda* (-*ʿu* rhyme, metre *ṭawīl*) and some other pieces (notably a poem in -*ʾuhā*, metre *ṭawīl*). His daughter Ḥadjnāʾ, also a talented versifier, addressed adulatory poems to the caliph and to his daughter ʿAbbāsa [*q.v.*]. After the death of al-Mahdī (169/785), Nuṣayb is encountered in the entourage of al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809), who even appointed him head of a province of Syria, where he exploited his authority for his own enrichment. Naturally enough, he composed, in a long *ḳaṣīda* (-*lū* rhyme, metre *ṭawīl*), the eulogy of this caliph, whose wife Zubayda [*q.v.*] was also the object of his praises, on the occasion of her pilgrimage to Mecca (-*mī* rhyme, metre *ṭawīl*).

During this period, he also maintained amicable

relations with the Barmakids, in particular with al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā (d. 193/808 [*q.v.*]), who offered him both a house and property. There is a general impression that at least some of his work is inspired by the exchanges of gifts with other, lesser-known individuals, by gratitude for the presents solicited or by anger when his expectations were disappointed. Although he is described by the *Aghānī* as *hadjdjāʾ malʿūn*, there are barely any traces of *hidjāʾ* in what has survived of his work, other than a satirical poem addressed to the governor of Ṣanʿāʾ, who had accepted his adulation but had not rewarded him (*-rī* rhyme, metre *ṭawīl*).

The *Fihrist* (163, Cairo edition, 231-2) estimates his corpus as comprising 70 compositions, but of this only a few verses have survived. The critics have been unstinting in their praises for his talent. They place him at the same level as his homonym, declare that al-Rashīd preferred him to other poets and speak highly of his qualities in the domains of amorous poetry, panegyric, satire and description, but it is difficult to corroborate their judgment.

Bibliography: The principal biography is that of the *Aghānī*, xx, 25-34 = ed. Beirut, xxiii, 400-37. See also Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, i, 273; Djāḥiẓ, *Burṣān*, 107, 108, 314; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Eghbal, 68-9; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 216-18 = *Udabāʾ*, xix, 234-7; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 356; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 539. (Ch. Pellat)

NUṢAYB al-Akbar b. **RABĀḤ**, Abū Miḥdjan, a negro poet of the Arabic language who is said to have belonged, originally, to a Kinānī of Waddān, a small village close to Medina (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Arabic index, s.v.); it could, however, be supposed that the locality in question is rather the main settlement of the oasis of Djufra [*q.v.*] which bears the same name, since the available information regarding the biography of Nuṣayb indicates that he was a native of Africa. In any case, attempting to establish his origin would be futile, since this has been the object of so many speculations that it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions (Abu 'l-Faradj reproduces these speculations conscientiously, without deluding himself as to their reliability). To explain the colour of his skin, he is supposed to have had Nubian parents, but according to the most trustworthy version, he was the son of a slave who was made pregnant by her master, who died before the birth of the child; his paternal uncle having offered him for sale, he was bought by a Kinānī of Waddān, but it is quite certain that accounts relating to this period of his life have no historical validity. The circumstances of his attainment of freedom are also variously explained. According to the most often repeated story, when he began to compose poetry the dignitaries of the tribe intervened on his behalf with his master, who sent him to Egypt where, after a long period of waiting, he succeeded in delivering a eulogy, at Ḥulwān, to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān [*q.v.*], governor of Egypt. The Umayyad prince having bought and then freed him, he became for posterity the *mawlā ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, as Nuṣayb al-Aṣghar [*q.v.*] was to become the *mawlā 'l-Mahdī*. He took on the role of accredited panegyrist of his benefactor, whom he mourned when he fell victim to an epidemic of plague in 85/704. He had already sung the praises of Bishr b. Marwān (d. 74/693-4 [*q.v.*]), and he went on to address eulogies to the caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (d. 86/705), Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 99/717) and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 101/720), and to other aristocrats of Medina; he lived in fact in the Holy City, but also resided in Damascus. He died between 108 and 113/726-31.

In the course of his career as a panegyrist, he had occasion to exchange verses with al-Farazdaḳ, Djarīr and ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, and he was also sometimes at odds with al-Kumayt or Dhu 'l-Rumma, but he always refrained from the practice of *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*]. Ibn Sallām places him in the sixth rank of poets of the Islamic period, and critics are particularly appreciative of his *nasīb*, always pure, and his *madīḥ*, which was in some respects his speciality and for which he possessed an acknowledged talent, although his panegyrics lack originality. In part, he owes his renown to the fact that some of his verses were set to music by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, who also devoted a monograph to him, *Akhbār Nuṣayb*, preceding al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, writer of another work with the same title.

Nuṣayb had married a white woman, whom he celebrated in the lyrical section of his work in such terms that he has been reckoned among the poetic lovers according to the ʿUdhrī tradition. (It is remarkable that the passage of the *Aghānī* relating to his wife was suppressed in the Cairo edition.) However, an original theme of his poetry was inspired by the colour of his skin on account of which he suffered considerable and intolerable racist abuse. He consoled himself, however, by insisting on his integrity and his greatness of soul. In this context, B. Lewis (*Race and color in Islam*, New York 1971, 12 ff. and *passim*; French tr., *Race et couleur en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1982, 29 ff. and *passim*) has raised the question of the extent to which awareness of his birth and his race affected this talented poet, of whom he recalls that he was one of the *aghribat al-ʿArab*, the "ravens of the Arabs". It is furthermore astonishing that the great champion of the Negroes, al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]) only quotes a few of his verses (*Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 188; *Bayān*, i, 219; *Ḥayawān*, i, 30 (anonymous verse), iii, 206) and, in particular, does not include him among the number of his racial brothers whom he celebrates in his *Fakhr al-Sūdān ʿalā 'l-bīḍān*, where his name is not even mentioned.

Bibliography: To the references quoted above, the first source to be added is the *Aghānī*, which contains the most thorough biography (i, 129-50 = Beirut edition, i, 302-51). Another useful source is Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 212-16 = *Udabāʾ*, xix, 228-34. Fragments of his work (which amounted to 50 pieces, *Fihrist*, 163) have been assembled by U. Rizzitano, *Alcuni frammenti poetici di ... Nuṣayb*, in *RSO*, xxii (1945), 23-35, and by D. Sallūm, *Shiʿr Nuṣayb b. Rabāḥ*, Baghdād 1967. The most complete modern articles are those of Rizzitano, *Abū Miḥǵan Nuṣayb b. Rabāḥ*, in *RSO*, xx (1943), 421-71; of R. Blachère, *HLA*, 603-6 (with valuable bibliography), and of Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 410-11 and index. For the rest, see Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 348, 529, 544-50; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 242-4 = Cairo ed., 371-4; Washshāʾ, *Muwashshā*, 84; Zadjdjādjī, *Amālī*, 31-5; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, *passim*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, index; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, i, 262-3; Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-aswāḳ*, Cairo 1291, i, 98-100; Brockelmann S I, 99; Nallino, *La letterature arabica*, French tr., 238, 248-9; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 194-6; Gabrieli, *Storia*, 120-1; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 355. (Ch. Pellat)

NUṢAYRIYYA, a Shīʿī sect widely dispersed in western Syria and in the south-east of present day Turkey; the only branch of extreme (*ghuluww*) Kūfan Shīʿism which has survived into the contemporary period.

1. Etymology

Pliny (*Hist. nat.*, v, 81) mentions a *Nazerinorum tetrarchia* in Coelesyria, situated opposite Apameia,

beyond the river Marsyas (not identified; probably the right-hand tributary of the Orontes passing to the east of the town), but this name is evidently not related to that of the sect. The Nuṣayriyya themselves derive the name from that of their eponym Ibn Nuṣayr, which would appear to be correct. In Arab-Islamic texts, the name is not attested in Syria before the establishment of the sect at al-Lādhiḳiyya in the 5th/11th century.

2. Current distribution

In Syria, the heartland of the Nuṣayriyya is the Djebel Anṣāriyye (known today as *Djabal al-ʿAlawiyyīn*) between al-Ḥaffa to the north and Tall Kalakh to the south. From this nucleus, the Nuṣayriyya have spread out to occupy parts of the surrounding plains: the coastal plain to the west, the Ghāb to the east and the plain of ʿAkkār to the south-west. Nevertheless, the towns which surround the Djebel have always maintained a non-Nuṣayrī majority (al-Lādhiḳiyya, Djabala, Bāniyās, Ṭarṭūs, Ṣāfīṭā, Tall Kalakh, Ḥimṣ, Maṣyāf, Ḥamāt). Nuṣayrī minorities are distributed to the south of Ḥimṣ, on the plateau between Maṣyāf and the Orontes, to the north-east of Ḥamāt and in the regions of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Idlib and Aleppo, as well as in Damascus. In 1964, the number of Nuṣayriyya in Syria was estimated at 600,000, or 11% of the population (more recent assessments do not exist). In Lebanon there is a Nuṣayrī minority immediately to the south of the Syrian frontier. Within the current boundaries of Turkey, sizeable minorities are to be found on the plateau of al-Ḳuṣayr, at Antakya (Antioch), on the plain of the Lower Orontes between Antakya and the estuary of the river, and on the coastal plain to the south-west of Iskenderun. Since the 19th century, Nuṣayrī colonies have become established in Cilicia, especially at Tarsus and Adana as well as in the surroundings of these two towns (approximately 80,000 in 1921; the current figures are not known. Cf. the maps in Weulersse, i, 58 f.).

3. Origins

The sect was formed in Irak in the mid-3rd/9th century. According to al-Nawbakhtī, 78 (cf. al-Ḳummī, 100-1; al-Kashshī, 520-1; Halm, *Gnosis*, 282-3), Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr al-Namīrī was a supporter of the tenth Shīʿī *imām* ʿAlī al-Hādī (d. 254/868). He proclaimed the divine nature of the *imām* (who cursed him for this reason; al-Kashshī, 520, 999) and claimed for himself the status of a prophet; he professed metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) and antinomianism (*ibāḥa*). At the court of Baghdād, he was supported by the *kātib* Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt al-Djuʿfī (al-Kashshī, 302, 554). According to Nuṣayrī tradition, Ibn Nuṣayr was the favourite disciple of the eleventh *imām* al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874), who entrusted to him a new revelation which was to constitute the nucleus of the Nuṣayrī doctrine. In the most ancient sources (al-Nawbakhtī, al-Ḳummī; even al-Baghdādī, 255-6), the sect is called *al-Namīriyya* (from the *nisba* of Ibn Nuṣayr); from the 5th/11th century onwards, the name *al-Nuṣayriyya* becomes current (Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī, d. 411/1020-1, quoted by al-Astarābādī, *Manhadj al-maḳāl*, 314; Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal*, quoted by Friedlander in *JAOS*, xxix [1908], 126 ff.; al-Samʿānī, fol. 562 b [ed. Hyderabad xiii, 121 ff.]; al-Shahrastānī, 143-5).

The literature of the Nuṣayrīs has revealed to us the lineage of the disciples of the founder, who wield authority in the tradition of the secret doctrine. Of Ibn Nuṣayr's successor, Muḥammad b. Djundab, nothing is known other than his name. His disciple Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Djunbulānī al-Djannān ("the gardener"), d. 287/900, seems to have been a Persian immigrant from the region of Fārs in ʿIrāḳ (Djunbulāʾ is situated between Kūfa and Wāsiṭ). It is probably he who was responsible for certain quasi-Iranian features of the Nuṣayrian doctrine, for example the adoption of the Iranian festivals of the equinoxes, *nawrūz* and *mihrgān* [*q.vv.*], which are celebrated by the Nuṣayrīs as the days when the divinity of ʿAlī is manifested in the sun. Al-Djunbulānī is the hero of a book intitled *Kitāb al-Akwār wa 'l-adwār al-nūrāniyya* ("The aeons and the cycles of the light"), from which numerous quotations have been preserved in the Calendar of festivals of the Nuṣayrīs and of which the author was possibly the disciple and successor of Ibn Djundab, al-Khaṣībī.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān al-Khaṣībī (d. 346/957) was the head of the Nuṣayrī community of the suburb of al-Karkh to the south of Baghdād, but he seems to have led a peripatetic existence. He was a poet of considerable talent (his *Dīwān* has been preserved) and seems to have earned his living as such at the courts of the Būyids in ʿIrāḳ and in western Persia, later at the courts of the Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil and Aleppo. It was evidently he who conveyed the doctrines of the sect to northern Syria; he dedicated his *Kitāb al-Hidāya al-kubrā* to Sayf al-Dawla, the Ḥamdānid *amīr* of Aleppo (*Taʾrīkh al-ʿAlawiyyīn* [= *TA*], 260, 318). Al-Khaṣībī died at Aleppo in 346/957 (*TA*, 257-9) or 358/969 (al-Astarābādī, *Manhadj al-maḳāl*, 112-23), and left behind numerous works. His tomb to the north of Aleppo, known by the name of Shaykh Yābrāḳ, is still venerated by Nuṣayrīs today (*TA*, 259).

The successor of al-Khaṣībī at Aleppo was Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Djillī (from al-Djilliyya on the estuary of the Orontes). He survived the reconquest of Cilicia and of Antioch by the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas (358/969) and of the Syrian coast by John Tzimisces (363/975) and was for a period of time a prisoner of the Christians. He died, probably in Aleppo, after 384/994 (*TA*, 260).

Surūr b. al-Ḳāsim al-Ṭabarānī, successor of al-Djillī at Aleppo, left the town in 423/1032 on account of the incessant warfare in the region and settled at al-Lādhiḳiyya (Laodicea), which at this time was still under Byzantine domination. Here, he was the true founder of the Syrian Nuṣayrī community; according to *TA*, 327, the local dynasty of al-Lādhiḳiyya, the Tanūkh, adopted Nuṣayrī doctrines. Unhindered by any Muslim authority, al-Ṭabarānī seems to have converted the peasants (possibly still pagan) of the mountainous hinterland of the town. Al-Ṭabarānī, whose works form the major part of the written tradition of the Nuṣayrīs, died at al-Lādhiḳiyya in 426/1034-5; his tomb, still venerated, is located inside the mosque of al-Shaʿrānī not far from the port (*TA*, 262-5).

4. History

The history of the Nuṣayri community in mediaeval times is obscure; the accounts contained in the *TA*, compiled at the beginning of the 20th century, are of dubious value; a study of this period has yet to be undertaken. In the early years of the 12th century, the western part of the territory of the Nuṣayrīs was conquered by the Crusaders; in 496/1103 al-Lādhiḳiyya was captured by the Norman Tancred after a long siege. From this time onward, the northern area of what is now the Djabal Anṣāriyya formed a part of the Norman principality of Antioch, but Christian penetration of the mountain region seems to have been ineffectual; in the Djabal itself, fortresses and other relics of the Crusaders are quite

rare (cf. *TAVO*, maps B viii 8, 10 and 12). In Latin sources, the Nuṣayrīs (*Nossorite*) are seldom mentioned (cf. Dussaud, 21-7, 30).

In 527/1132-3 the fortress of al-Ḳadmūs was sold by the *amīr* of al-Kahf to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt, who subsequently took possession of numerous fortresses in the southern Djabal: al-Kahf, al-Kharība (531/1136-7) and Maṣyāf (535/1140-1), then al-Khawābī, al-Ruṣāfa, al-ʿUllayka and Manīḳa. The establishment of Ismāʿīlīs (the *assassini* of the Latin sources) in the region provoked conflicts with the Nuṣayrīs; this is probably the context in which belongs the Nuṣayrī tradition of a "council" at ʿĀna (on the middle Euphrates) where representatives of the Nuṣayrī communities—two each from Baghdād, from ʿĀna, from Aleppo, from al-Lādhiḳiyya and from the Djabal—tried in vain to find a formula of conciliation (*tawḥīd*) with the Ismāʿīlīs (*TA*, 258, 365). The council (*al-madjlis al-dīnī*) of ʿĀna is undated; a second is recorded as having taken place in 690/1291 at Ṣāfīṭā, with equal lack of success (*TA*, 365).

Following the capture of Djabala, al-Lādhiḳiyya and the Frankish fortresses of Ṣahyūn and Balāṭunus by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 584/1188, the Djabal became part of the Ayyūbid sultanate. It is at the end of the Ayyūbid period that Nuṣayrī tradition places an event of extraordinary importance: the settlement in the Djabal of Bedouin tribes from the Djabal Sindjār, led by the *amīr* Ḥasan al-Makzūn al-Sindjārī. Answering an appeal from the Nuṣayrīs for help in repelling the attacks of the Ismāʿīlīs, the *amīr* invaded the Djabal for the first time in 617/1220. After being defeated, he withdrew to the Djabal Sindjār, returning in 622/1223 and establishing himself definitively in the region of Abū Ḳubays and of Siyānū; from his troops were to emerge the Nuṣayrī tribes of the Ḥaddādiyya, Matāwira, Mahāliba, Darāwisa, Numaylātiyya and Banū ʿAlī (*TA*, 358-64; for the expansion of the various tribes, cf. Weulersse, i, 330-1, and figs. 136 and 137).

In the Mamlūk period, Baybars, having taken the fortresses of the Ismāʿīlīs to the south of the Djabal, made numerous attempts to convert the Nuṣayrīs to Sunnism; he forbade initiations into the sect and ordered the construction of mosques throughout the country. After an uprising by the Nuṣayrīs, sultan Ḳalāwūn re-imposed the ban on all proselytism and repeated the order to construct in every township a mosque, for the maintenance of which the local population was to be responsible. But Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, touring the region in the mid-8th/14th century, relates that these mosques had been abandoned or even transformed into cattle-sheds or stables (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 177). The well-known *fatwā* of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]) condemned the Nuṣayrīs as more heretical even than idolators and authorised *djihād* against them (S. Guyard, *Fetwa*; Dussaud, 28-31). Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, tells of an expedition in 745/1344 in the course of which "books containing the dogmas of the Nuṣayrīs" were confiscated.

But the sect survived these persecutions and remained active until the Ottoman period, during which oppression seems to have eased. According to C. Niebuhr, who crossed the Djabal in 1766, the Nuṣayrīs were governed by four *muḳaddams* (at Bahlūliyya near al-Lādhiḳiyya, at Sumrīn, at the Bilād al-Shawābī and at Ṣāfīṭā), who were subsidiary to the Pasha of Tripoli (*Reisebeschreibung*, ii, 439). Such was still the situation in 1832 when the Egyptian general Ibrāhīm Pasha b. Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] crushed the resistance of the *muḳaddam* of Ṣāfīṭā. After 1854, the Turkish government was content to control the Djabal indirectly through the appointment of a local chieftain, the *mushīr al-djabal* Ismāʿīl Beg, governor of the district of Ṣāfīṭā; installing himself at Dreykīsh (close to Ṣāfīṭā), he put an end to the constant wrangling of the different rival families and subjected them to his authority. In exchange for a fixed tribute, the government allowed him unlimited power in the Djabal. But in 1858 this potentate was reckoned to have become too powerful, and he was deposed by Ṭāhir Pasha. On numerous occasions, in particular in 1870 and 1877, Ottoman troops ravaged the territory of the Nuṣayrīs and succeeded finally in breaking the power of the tribes and establishing a direct administration there (levying of taxes; recruitment of soldiers); mosques were constructed but they remained empty (Dussaud, 32-8).

During the last years of the Ottoman empire, a Nuṣayrī of Adana, Muḥammad Amīn Ghālib al-Ṭawīl, the chief of police in several *wilāyets*, composed his "History of the Alawites" (*Taʾrīkh al-ʿAlawiyyīn*), which was published in 1924 in Arabic. In this book, the term *Nuṣayrī*, in usage since the Middle Ages, was replaced for the first time by *ʿAlawī*, which was henceforward to be the norm. The *Taʾrīkh* had the object of ridding the Nuṣayrīs of their reputation for being heretics or even pagans and showing that in fact they were true Twelver Shīʿīs. It is for this reason that, from 1920 onward, "Djaʿfarī" (i.e. Twelver) judges were appointed in the towns of the south of the country (*EI*[1], s.v. *Nuṣairī*).

Following the disintegration of the Ottoman empire and the establishment of the French mandate in Syria, the territory of the Nuṣayriyya was divided into three parts: Cilicia was ceded to the Republic of Turkey, while the *sandjāḳ* of Alexandretta (Iskenderun) was separated from the remainder of Syria and placed under special administration. On 31 August 1920 the French established the "Autonomous Territory of the Alawites", which consisted of the former *sandjāḳ* of al-Lādhiḳiyya, the northern sector of the *sandjāḳ* of Tripoli and part of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Maṣyāf (*sandjāḳ* of Ḥamāt). On 12 July 1922, the Territory was proclaimed a State which, with the States of Damascus and Aleppo, formed the "Federation of States of Syria". At the beginning of 1924, the Federation was dissolved and the State of the Alawites became the "Independent State of the Alawites" headed by a French governor (Cayla; after 1925 Schoeffler) and a Council composed of nine representatives of the various minorities (9 ʿAlawīs, 3 Sunnīs, 3 Orthodox Christians, 1 Ismāʿīlī and 1 representative of the other Christian minorities). In 1930, the State of the Alawites was renamed "Government of Lattakia", and on 10 January 1937 it was transformed into a province (*muḥāfaẓa*) of the new Syrian State; the flag of the Alawites (a sun on a white background) was replaced by the Syrian tricolour. In 1939 the French ceded the *sandjāḳ* of Alexandretta to Turkey.

5. Doctrines

As *ghulāt*, the Nuṣayriyya venerate ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as supreme and eternal God (*al-ilāh al-aʿẓam*, *al-ḳadīm al-azal*). The basis of Nuṣayrī doctrine is a cosmogony of gnostic nature (Sulaymān, *Bākūra*, 59-61; Halm, *Gnosis*, 298 ff.). In the beginning of time, the souls of the Nuṣayrīs were lights, surrounding and praising God; then they rebelled against Him, disputing His divinity. From then onwards, they have been hurled down from the celestial heights and exiled on the earth, where they are enclosed in material bodies and condemned to metempsychosis (temporal *nāsūkhiyya* for the elect, eternal *nāsūkhiyya* for the damned). During their fall, the supreme God appears to them

seven times, calling for their obedience, but they refuse. In each manifestation, God, who is called "the Essence" (*maʿnā*), is accompanied by two subordinate hypostases, "the Name" (*ism*) which is also called "the Veil" (*ḥidjāb*) and the "Gate" (*bāb*). In earthly life, this trio is revealed in numerous instances: the *maʿnā* is incarnated successively in Abel, Seth, Joseph, Joshua, ʿAṣaf, St. Peter and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then in the *imāms* as far as the eleventh one, al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī; all of these are therefore manifestations of divinity. However, their true character is veiled by the presence of the *ḥidjāb* or *ism* (Adam, Noah, Jacob, Moses, Solomon, Jesus and Muḥammad), each of them is accompanied by a *bāb*. The central trio of the Islamic period is ʿAlī (*maʿnā*), Muḥammad (*ism, ḥidjāb*) and Salmān al-Fārisī (*bāb*). The *abwāb* of the eleven *imāms* are the intermediaries between the concealed divinity and initiated believers; for example, the eponym of the Nuṣayriyya, Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr, was the *bāb* of the eleventh *imām* al-Haṣan al-ʿAskarī, whose secret revelations he confided exclusively to the Nuṣayriyya. He who recognises the identity of the *maʿnā* is saved and may escape from metempsychosis; his soul, released from the body and transformed into a star, resumes its journey back across the seven heavens to arrive at the ultimate objective (*ghāya*), sc. contemplation (*muʿāyana*) of the divine light. Women are excluded from this because they are born of the sins of devils; for this reason, they are not entitled to participate in the rites of men (Sulaymān, *Bākūra*, 61). The popular religion of the Nuṣayriyya, especially that of women, retains traces of paganism (veneration of high places, of springs, of green trees). For the cult of saints (*ziyārāt*), cf. Weulersse, i, 255-62; for rites of initiation and festivals, cf. Dussaud, 104 ff., 136 ff., Weulersse, i, 259-61; Halm, *Gnosis*, 303 ff.

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AL-**NŪSHĀDIR**, also *nushādir*, *nawshādir*, Sanskrit *navasadara*, Chin. *nao-sha*, sal-ammoniac. The etymology of the word is uncertain; perhaps it comes from the Pahlavi *anōsh-ādar* "immortal fire" as we find the form *anūshādhur* in Syriac.

The oldest references to the occurrence of sal-ammoniac in a natural state are in the reports of Chinese embassies of the 6th-7th centuries, which were the subject of very full investigation in connection with a geological problem, the question of volcanoes in Central Asia, by H.J. von Klaproth, A. von Humboldt and C. Ritter. The reference was to mountains of fire, Pe-Shan, on the northern slopes of the Tien-Shan south of Ḳuldja [*q.v.*], Ho-Chou on the south side of the Tien-Shan near Turfan and the sulphur pits of Ürümči/Ürümqi. The mountain Pe-Shan was said to pour forth fire and smoke continually; on one side of it all the stones burn, and are melted and then after flowing some miles solidify again. *Nao-sha* and sulphur were obtained there for medicinal purposes but the stones could only be collected in winter when the cold had cooled the ground. Humboldt and Ritter do not accept a reference to the burning of coal by which sal-ammoniac and sulphur are obtained. The statement that the volcanoes of Central Asia produce sal-ammoniac in immense quantities is found in G. Bischof, and even G. von Richthofen still held the volcano theory. The botanist and geographer Regel, who travelled in these regions about 1879, was the first to dispute the existence of volcanoes. After Nansen, Le Coq and others had been unable to confirm the existence of volcanoes but established the fact that there were large deposits of coal on the surface, the old sources in Central Asia are now generally attributed to the burning of coal.

Almost all the Arab geographers who refer to Central Asia, from al-Masʿūdī, al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, to Yāḳūt and al-Ḳazwīnī, give fantastic stories about the method by which sal-ammoniac is procured in the Buttam hills east of Samarḳand. Here again the details suggest the burning of the earth rather than volcanic exhalations. The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], however, mentions deposits of sal-ammoniac and sulphur at Demāwend, and Ibn Ḥawḳal is acquainted with the volcanic sal-ammoniac of Etna; the latter was still exported to Spain in the 12th century. At an earlier date, they had begun to procure sal-ammoniac from the soot of camel dung. This product remained into modern times an important import by the Venetian traders and was only driven from the market by the modern cheap methods of production from gas liquor, etc.

The use of sal-ammoniac as a remedy in cases of inflammation of the throat, etc., is already mentioned by ʿAlī b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī. Ibn al-Bayṭār also quotes from other authors all kinds of remarkable uses of it, on which no stress need be laid. Djābir b. Ḥayyān reckons sal-ammoniac among the poisons, which is true of large doses.

The part played by sal-ammoniac in alchemy is much more important. Djābir adds it as a fourth to the three πνεύματα of the Greeks, quicksilver, sulphur and sulphide of arsenic (AsS or As_2S_3), and it is used by all Persian-Arab alchemists in countless recipes. The preparation of carbonate of ammonia through distillation of hair, blood and other materials is already fully described in the "Seventy Books" and other works of Djābir. These methods seem to have given the stimulus to the discovery of the Egyptian method of obtaining sal-ammoniac. All these things came with alchemy to Spain and thence into western alchemy.

In the earliest Latin translations, sal-ammoniac is still called *nesciador, mizadir*, etc., i.e. transliterations of the Arabic name. The general term *al-ʿuḳāb* is also found in the forms *aliocab, alocaph* or translated by *aquila*. The identification of this salt with the salt of the oasis of Ammon already mentioned by Herodotus is first found in Syriac authors and lexicographers.

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AL-NŪSHARĪ or AL-NAWSHARI, Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad, general (said to be Turkish, but perhaps an Iranian from Khurāsān, since al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 201-2, derives the *nisba* al-Nūshārī (*sic*) from Nūshār, a village in the district of Balkh) from the guard of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs at Sāmarrā and governor of Damascus on various occasions during the caliphates of al-Muntaṣir, al-Mustaʿīn and al-Muʿtazz [*q.vv.*] from 247/861 onwards. At the accession of al-Muʿtazz in 252/866, he expanded southwards into Palestine, displacing the Arab governor of Ramla [*q.v.*], ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh [*q.v.*], and subsequently defended his territories against rivals; but thereafter he fades from historical mention.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

NŪSHIRWĀN [see ANŪSHIRWĀN].

NUSKHA (A.). 1. In the central Islamic lands. *Nuskha* is the common Arabic word for "transcript", "copy", and in the manuscript era used in the meaning of "manuscript". Semantically directly related derived forms of the stem *n.s.kh* are *nassākh* are *nāsikh*, "copyist", and forms I, VIII and X of the verb *nasakha*, all meaning "to transcribe, to copy". In the following, *nuskha* will be more specifically used in order to denote the medium of the transmission of Islamic texts with exclusive reference to manuscripts. Other words for "manuscripts" which are commonly used are the Arabic *makhṭūṭāt*, the Persian *nuskha-hā-yi khaṭṭī*, and the Turkish *yazmalar*. Where in the following the examples are mostly taken from Arabic literature, one must realise that, especially for the earlier period, no significantly different circumstances are applicable to the transmission of Persian texts, or Turkish or other Islamic texts for that matter. It must in this connection be borne in mind that the process of transmitting handwritten texts in an Islamic cultural environment persisted till well into the 20th century, in contradistinction to the transmission of European texts, which were almost exclusively distributed in printed form ever since the art of printing became practiced, from the second half of the 15th century A.D. onward. The following aspects of *nuskha* in this sense will be distinguished here.

(a) *The rôle of the book in Islam*. The importance of the written word in Islam can hardly be underestimated. Muslims have always insisted that the Ḳurʾān, the divine revelation to the Prophet Muḥammad and God's own word, was Islam's own miracle, the *muʿdjiza* [*q.v.*], that was on equal footing with the miracles by which the earlier prophets had proved the truth of their mission. Also, the non-Muslims are divided in the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, the People of the Book who did have a divine revelation, corrupted as it had become in the course of time, and those unbelievers who had no book at all. The concept of the Celestial Book was not alien to other, pre-Islamic, cultures in the Middle East, of course, and this culture of the written word did, of course, not originate in 7th-century Arabia. The Nabataean, Syriac, Hebrew, Aramaic, Coptic, Greek, Latin, Persian, Indian and Ethiopic literatures were there already, before Islam, with a considerable production of texts. According to a report by Ibn al-Kalbī [*q.v.*], Arabic books seem even to have existed in pre-Islamic al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]. Islam's innovation seems to have been that the Book was given divine status, or rather that this divine status was so rigorously enforced. It is probably this new accent on the importance of the Holy Book that gave the book in Islam its central rôle. In the course of time, this pivotal importance of the book in Islamic culture has only increased and the result is, today, that there are many millions of Islamic manuscripts ranging in age from the earliest period till the beginning of the 20th century. When expressed in mere numbers of texts, the Islamic literature of the manuscript era can claim to be the largest literature on earth.

The Islamic book had become in less than two centuries after the death of the founder of Islam the repository of all knowledge of an increasingly internationally orientated culture, just as the Arabic language had developed into a main vehicle of that culture. Whereas in the earlier period the language of the manuscripts was Arabic, with the emergence of the local languages and the spread of Islam, manuscripts in the other Islamic languages, most notably Persian and Turkish, were made with the use of Arabic script. The number of languages for which Arabic script is used is only surpassed by those for which the Latin script is employed. In later time, Islamic manuscripts were also written in other alphabets than the Arabic. This mostly happened on the periphery of the Middle East, in countries such as China, Thailand, Sri Lanka and Indonesia. Within the Near Middle East, Albanian Islamic manuscripts may be mentioned in this respect.

(b) *Material aspects of the manuscript*. The study of the material, physical, aspects of the handwritten book is called codicology. This technical term for the study of the codex [see DAFTAR] is, by extension, also employed for the study of the non-codex forms of manuscripts. The earliest writing materials in the Islamic era were papyrus, *bardī* in Arabic, and parchment [see DJILD, RAḲḲ]. There are reports on a great variety of materials on which the earliest fragments of the Ḳurʾān were recorded (see the survey in Nöldeke and Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, ii, Leipzig 1919, 13-14), but, with the possible exception of leather or parchment and palm leaves, none of those can have been in regular use for the recording of texts in the Ḥidjāz during and shortly after the Prophet Muḥammad's lifetime. It is probably because of Islam's main orientation to the Hellenistic and Mediterranean civilisations that it chose papyrus and parchment as its prime writing materials, rather than palm leaf and tree bark, which were the common writing materials of South Asia at the time. When the Chinese techniques of manufacturing of paper [see KĀGHAD] were introduced from Central Asia into the Middle East in the course of the 8th century A.D., the production of manuscripts must have received an extra impulse. The advantages of paper over papyrus and parchment are obvious. Paper is a stronger material than papyrus and cheaper, though less durable, than parchment.

The bulk of Islamic manuscripts have been written on paper, although parchment has remained in use for special purposes, such as copies of the Ḳur'ān or special letters or documents, for a long time, and more in the Islamic West than elsewhere. Manuscripts made of a mixture of materials, paper and parchment, are known as well. The Leiden Latin-Arabic glossary (Or. 231), which recently was dated (by P.S. van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library*, Leiden 1976, 38-9) to Toledo 1193 A.D., consists of quires of which the outer and inner leaves are of parchment and the remainder of paper. Even if this particular manuscript was a codicological anachronism or exception, its mixed composition conveys an impression of the gradual westbound introduction of paper as *the* material of which manuscripts are made. Locally used writing materials, dating from early, possibly even pre-Islamic times, have remained in use in many areas. An example of this is apparently the use of wooden chips for notarial documents in North Africa. Another example is the use in Indonesia (see 2. below) of a great variety of natural products for the production of manuscripts, both Islamic and non-Islamic ones. For comparative codicology, the results of Beit-Arié's research in the field of Hebrew manuscripts are significant, since Hebrew copyists in the Middle East, and elsewhere, tended to use local materials and to adopt local bookmaking techniques.

The common shape of the book was, from the earliest period of Islam onwards, that of the codex as it had developed in Europe in the post-classical period (quires consisting of folded sheets, sewn through their hearts and then sewn together as to constitute a book). This shape had, well before the advent of Islam, superseded the scroll, which was the common shape of the book in classical antiquity. It would appear that Gregory's law (see Beit-Arié) concerning the positioning of parchment leaves was not observed in Islamic manuscripts. The most common composition of quires in the entire Middle East is that of five sheets, folded into ten leaves containing twenty pages.

In the entire manuscript period, however, scrolls have remained in use in the Islamic realm as vehicles for special texts, e.g. genealogies, amulets and prayers, and for special features such as micrography. The common proportions of the Islamic manuscript are vertically orientated, meaning that its height is larger than its width. Only during a relatively short period of time, Kūfic Ḳur'ānic manuscripts are known to have been made exclusively in an oblong format. A tendency in Western Islam seems to have been to produce manuscripts in an almost square format, or at least with less difference between height and width than was commonly done in the East. Yet another shape, which was in use for notebooks, is the *safīna*. Its architecture is that of an oblong-shaped book, but it is used in a vertical position, the sewing of the leaves being in the top edge, very much as present-day noteblocks.

Whereas there developed an extensive indigenous paper production in the Islamic East and West, this only seems to have lasted till the end of the 9th/15th century. Islamic papers had no watermarks, but different types of chain lines in the paper can be distinguished. Sometimes the paper mould of Middle Eastern paper makers must have had such a fine sieve that no marks at all are visible in the structure of the indigenous paper. Natural, vegetal, components are often visible in this type of paper. Especially the older "medieval" papers have a certain thickness, sometimes verging on cardboard quality (which is particularly the case with one of the very oldest dated Arabic manuscripts on paper, the Leiden manuscript Or. 298, *G̲h̲arīb al-ḥadīt̲h̲* by Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, which dates from 252/866). Papers are often coloured, usually shades of brown or cream, whereas paper of different colours (bluish, pink) was often used to liven up a quire. By the end of the 9th/15th century, paper production had developed a firm footing in the countries across the Mediterranean, most notably in Italy. It was from there that increasingly paper was exported to the Middle East, and to such an extent that the indigenous industry became almost extinct. Only paper of very coarse quality continued to be made locally, and this was seldom used for the manufacture of the handwritten book. The Italian papers were often provided with downright Islamic watermarks, such as the *trelune*, the three crescents, or with watermarks that were not offensive to Muslims. Crosses, crowns or coats of arms of unbelieving kings in watermarks were apparently avoided in papers destined for export to Islamic countries. These imported papers were often given an extra touch, such as an extra coating, a slight colouring and a thorough polishing, so that they would have the same appearance as the earlier indigenously produced papers, which would make them more attractive to Muslims.

As a necessary by-product of the codex, the Islamic art of bookbinding (A., *tasfīr*) developed. The typical Islamic binding of the "classical" period consists of a full leather binding with a flap covering the fore-edge. The boards and flap often have a blind or gold stamped ornament in geometric shape. It might be rewarding if ornaments on Islamic bookbindings could be studied in comparison with those on Oriental carpets. Sometimes the title of the book is stamped on the outer side of the flap, but usually it is written with ink on the lower edge of the paper. Books were stored in a flat position on book shelves, and that is how their titles could be read. In a later period and more to the East (Persia and beyond, from around the 18th century onwards) also lacquer bindings were used. For Ḳur'ān manuscripts, especially those divided into a number of *ad̲j̲zā'*, special types of furniture, cases, boxes and the like developed. About the production of ink we are reasonably well informed [see MIDĀD], but there is hardly any information on the practical use of different types of ink in Islamic manuscripts. There exists in Islam an extensive technical literature on the making of handwritten books, the manufacture of bookbindings and the production of inks.

(c) *Palaeographical aspects of the manuscript*. In the course of time, important and significant developments in the styles of writing of the Arabic script can be distinguished [see K̲H̲AṬṬ. ii, iii]. These can roughly be divided into a number of periods, and, in the later period, into geographically defined styles. The script employed in a handwritten book can, therefore, be used as a tool for the determination of the age and origin of a manuscript. From the methodological point of view, however, it must be added that the style of script is but one of a number of determining factors, and that it can, at best, be used as a corroborating argument, only in combination with other codicological and philological evidence. A holistic approach in this respect is the only safe way of looking at the handwritten book.

The discussion on the Arabic script must begin with the mention of the pre-Islamic development of the Nabataean script in and around the Arabian peninsula, which is only known from epigraphic evidence. There are no Islamic manuscripts written in this script. It is the direct forebear of the Arabic script

which was used in Mecca and Medina in the first half of the 7th century A.D. to note down the divine revelation. Its basic set of graphemes had probably come into use in the Ḥidjāz around the middle of the 6th century A.D. There are reports by early Islamic historians pointing to another, ʿIrāḳī, origin of the Arabic script, but concrete evidence for this is entirely lacking. In the early Islamic period, the geometrically stylised and highly monumentalised calligraphic script of the Ḳurʾān manuscripts developed into several sub-styles. The original manuscript of the ʿUthmanic recension of the Ḳurʾān—the first book in Islam—and its direct copies do not appear to have been preserved, nor any other of the manuscripts of early texts, notebooks and registers, for that matter. Only Arabic papyri give contemporary evidence for this stage in the development of the Arabic script.

The best distinguished types of these so-called Kufic styles of writing are *māʾil* (used in the Ḥidjāz in the 2nd/8th century, with its characteristically right-leaning shafts), *mashḳ* (used in the Ḥidjāz and Syria, with its typically horizontal extensions, mainly for Ḳurʾān manuscripts and always in oblong format), western Kūfī (with round shapes) and eastern Kūfī (also called *ḳarmaṭī*, with its typically edgy forms). Later direct developments of these Kūfī script styles are *maghribī* (used in al-Andalus and till the present day in the Maghrib [*q.v.*]) and *sūdānī* (used in sub-Saharan West Africa). The Kūfī and Ḥidjāzī styles, in turn, developed in the central lands of Islam into several types of bookhands. These can be seen in the (not too numerous) dated manuscripts which have survived from the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Comparative evidence for these, now obsolete and somewhat archaic-looking bookhands is adduced in the older Christian Arabic manuscripts of that period, although the dated ones in this group appear to be even more scarce than the Islamic ones. There is no survey of this corpus of manuscripts. Only quite recently, François Déroche has succeeded in producing a more detailed typology of the script in early Ḳurʾān manuscripts on the basis of the collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Application of this typology to other collections, most notably the *Şam Evrakı* in Istanbul and the fragments found in the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ, seems promising.

At the same time there developed from the earliest period of Islam onwards, for daily life purposes, mainly in Arabic papyri of administrative and occasionally also literary contents, cursive styles of scripts, in which the protoforms of the later classical styles of script can already be distinguished. The canonisation of these cursives into well-regulated and respectable calligraphic forms is in the Arabic tradition usually connected with the names of famous calligraphers such as the ʿAbbāsid *wazīr* Ibn Muḳla (died 328/939 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn al-Bawwāb (died 423/1032 [*q.v.*]), who are said to have invented these styles of writing and to have laid down their rules of orientation and proportion. There is a problem of authenticity of evidence, however. The description of the different calligraphic styles is, in most cases, not based on authentic models originating from the great calligraphers themselves or even from their lifetime, but rather on reports by historians such as Ibn al-Nadīm or al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.vv.*]. The models that are available are often reconstructions and interpretations by later calligraphers.

The classical six styles of calligraphy, called *al-aḳlām al-sitta*, which developed near the end of the 4th/10th century, are *naskh* (the most often used style of writing, the common indication for "bookhand", in which many styles can be distinguished, and—after a long development—the forebear of present-day printing type fonts of Arabic), *thuluth* (a monumental and decorative script which is used for titles, inscriptions, calligraphic panels and the like, but hardly ever to copy entire texts), *muḥaḳḳaḳ* (till the 8th/15th century in use for calligraphic Ḳurʾān copies), *rayḥānī* (a smaller and more slender version of *muḥaḳḳaḳ*), *tawḳīʿ* (used in the ʿAbbāsid chanceries, a script with round and flowing shapes with many interconnections) and *riḳāʿ* (a smaller version of *tawḳīʿ*, mostly used in titles, *sūra* headings, colophons and diplomas (*idjāza* [*q.v.*]). About the first of these six classical styles, *naskh*, the bookhand, it must be added that this is, in fact, an unworkable category. In the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries *naskh* was a clearly distinguished style of writing, but in the course of time numerous styles of writing, which are very much different from one another, have been designated as *naskh*, thereby making the term itself useless.

The most important later, regionally distinguished styles are *taʿlīḳ* (a development of *tawḳīʿ* and used in important documents and diplomas; there are two variants, Persian *taʿlīḳ* and Ottoman *taʿlīḳ*), *nastaʿlīḳ* (originated in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries as a mixture of *naskh* and *taʿlīḳ* and is now very much in use in Iran and the Indian subcontinent), *shikasta* (a highly cursive style developed from *taʿlīḳ* and *nastaʿlīḳ*, and now mostly in use in Iran, where it has become a means of expression of the new Islamic Iranian identity), *dīwānī* (developed in the Ottoman chanceries, of uncertain origin and in the Arab world still in use for decorative epigraphy), *dīwānī djalī* (a decorative variant of Ottoman *taʿlīḳ*), *ruḳʿa* (an edgy cursive style with remarkable contrast between thick and thin which developed in the end of the 12th/18th century in the Ottoman Empire and which has reached calligraphic peaks. A more common variant of this script has now become the cursive for daily use throughout the Middle East) and *siyāḳa* (a curious stenographic-like Arabic script in which diacritics are not used; it is of uncertain origin and was in use in the lower administrative echelons of the Ottoman Empire for cash registers [see DAFTAR] and the like). See for a more extensive description of the characteristics of these styles of writing, KHAṬṬ. ii, iii.

(d) *The manuscript as the medium of transmission of texts.* It should be borne in mind that, throughout the history of Islamic literatures, manuscripts have been abundantly available. They were never a rare commodity, though not all texts were available at all places at all times. The numbers given for the contents of royal libraries, exaggerated as they may seem and often are, are nevertheless a sign that numerous manuscripts were found there. Private collections of manuscripts, often with large and important holdings, were, and still are, a common feature in the Islamic world. Their existence was often guaranteed by converting them into a *waḳf* [*q.v.*]. The fact that a literary or theological education has always been an honorable pursuit and rewarding occupation for a Muslim has added to this. One can maintain that the combination of scholarly activities with texts and the respect for the book has resulted in this stupendous accumulation in Islam of handwritten books. They are in fact so numerous that their number in millions cannot precisely be estimated. The first effort ever to make a complete bibliographical survey of all Islamic manuscripts in the world is being undertaken by the London-based Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, which was founded by Sheikh Ahmad Zaki Yamani. The publication by this Foundation of a

World survey of Islamic manuscripts has been in progress since 1992. It is an inventorisation of all known and as yet unknown collections containing Islamic manuscript materials, not only in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but in a great number of other languages as well, including numerous materials in scripts other than Arabic.

The progress of bibliography can be illustrated by an example taken from Arabic literature. The Ottoman Turkish bibliographer Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (died 1067/1657 [see KĀTIB ČELEBI]) mentioned around 15,000 titles in his great bibliography, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*. Almost three centuries later, Carl Brockelmann mentions around 25,000 different titles in the index of his *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. Brockelmann's figures concern titled works that have been preserved. Now, almost fifty years after Brockelmann, these figures must probably be multiplied by several times, due to the enormous growth of cataloguing activities in the past years.

The view by Pedersen, *The Arabic book*, 20, that scholarly activities were mainly centred on the mosque [see also MASDJID] is too narrow, even if it is exclusively applied to the pursuit of the theological sciences. Writing, reading, discussing, commenting upon books (and buying and selling them as well!) were mostly private activities which were widespread in all periods of time and in many strata of Islamic civilisation, but not primarily in a purely religious connection. With a Book as its distinguishing miracle, Islam was—one may say—bound to devote special attention and a central position to the book as a source of learning, and, thereby, give learning itself a special emphasis. It may be surmised that literacy was relatively high among Muslims and producing texts must have been a common occupation in an Islamic environment. The ensuing interrelatedness of different texts on the same subject is a problem with which philologists must try to cope.

These scholarly activities involved the copying of manuscripts and the transmission of texts. This could happen in many ways. Many manuscripts carry on their title-pages, in their margins or near their colophons information on their readership (*samāʿāt*, *ḳirāʾāt*), on the authorisation to use a certain text (*idjāza*), or on its chain of transmission (*riwāya*). Manuscripts often reveal traces of their collation (*muḳābala*) with the exemplar (*aṣl*), and sometimes with other copies as well. All these marks provide an insight in the use and manufacture of a handwritten book. They are hardly less important for our knowledge of the status of a text than the text of the manuscript itself.

The production of the handwritten book was, in most cases, a private affair between author or teacher and reader or student. Anyone who wished to own a manuscript either had to buy it, or to borrow and copy it if it was not for sale. If he wished to read it with the author or a respected authority in the field, he often had to travel around (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*). In Islamic higher education it was not uncommon that students noted down (*istimlāʾ* [see MUSTAMLĪ]) what their teacher dictated (*imlāʾ*) from his own work to them, with the casual remarks of the author often written in the margin (sometimes provided with the note *min fam al-muṣannif*, "from the mouth of the author"). From this it is clear that scriptoria of the mediaeval European type were not a common source of book production in the Islamic realm. It is known, however, that for a quick and multiple publication of a text in the manuscript era mass dictation was used. The exact circumstances of this type of mass production of manuscripts are unknown.

Royal or noble patronage made it possible that lavishly illustrated or illuminated manuscripts were produced, often in magnificent bindings, and from the Ottoman and Mughal sultans it is known that they instituted palace workshops for the production of royal copies of important texts.

(e) *The end of the manuscript era.* The art of printing became widespread in the Middle East only in the course of the 19th century, although it had been practiced by Muslims in Istanbul since 1729 [see MAṬBAʿA. B.2]. In the end, printing superseded copying by hand. The age of transition is in this respect the 19th century. It can be observed that the manufacture and distribution of texts took place, for a while, in the shape of printed and handwritten books simultaneously. This could even mean that manuscripts were copied from printed exemplars. Those authors who had, for whatever reason, no access to the new medium of printing were more or less obliged to revert to the traditional, time-proven way of copying by hand, for the distribution of their texts. In course of time this decreased. The outward appearance of the manuscript had its direct influence on the typographical design of the early printed book. This is particularly evident from the lithograph editions, of which many have been made in the Islamic world. Lithography involves a minimum of technical requirements and therefore became immensely popular, notably in India, Persia and Morocco, to name but the best-known areas. But also the Egyptian editions from Būlāḳ, made with movable type, betray in their lay-out their handwritten models.

Bibliography: M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew codicology. Tentative typology of technical practices employed in Hebrew dated manuscripts*², Jerusalem 1981; G. Bosch, J. Carswell and G. Petherbridge, *Islamic bindings and bookmaking*, Chicago 1981; F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran. Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique*, Paris 1983; idem (ed.), *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient.* Actes du Colloque d'Istanbul, Istanbul-Paris 1989; idem, *The Abbasid tradition. Qurʾans of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD*, in J. Raby (ed.), *The Nasser D. Khalili collection of Islamic art*, London 1992; G. Endress, *Handschriftenkunde*, in W. Fischer (ed.), *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, Band I. *Sprachwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1982, 271-96; idem, *Die arabische Schrift*, in *ibid.*, 165-97; A. Gacek, *A select bibliography of Arabic language publications concerning Arabic manuscripts*, in *MME*, i (1986), 106-8; B. Gray (ed.), *The arts of the book in Central Asia. 14th-16th centuries*, Paris-London 1979; A. Grohman, *Arabische Paläographie*, Teil I-II, Vienna 1967-71; D. Haldane, *Islamic bookbindings in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London 1983; Mohamed A. Hussein, *Vom Papyrus zum Codex*, Leipzig 1970; D. James, *The master scribes. Qurʾans of the 10th to 14th centuries AD*, and idem, *After Timur. Qurʾans of the 15th and 16th centuries*, in *The Nasser D. Khalili collection of Islamic art*, ii-iii, London 1992; M. Levey, *Mediaeval Arabic bookmaking and its relation to early chemistry and pharmacology*, Philadelphia 1962; J. Pedersen, *The Arabic book*, Princeton 1984; Y. Porter, *Peinture et art du livre*, Paris-Tehran 1992; G. Roper (ed.), *World Survey of Islamic manuscripts* (in progress), London 1992- ; F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, Rome 1947; Y.H. Safadi, *Islamic calligraphy*, London 1978; Annemarie Schimmel, *Die Schriftarten und ihr kalligraphischer Gebrauch*, in *Gr. ar. Ph.*, i, 198-209; eadem, *Calligraphy and Islamic culture*, New York-London 1984; R. Sellheim, *The cataloguing of Arabic manuscripts as a literary problem*, in *Oriens*, xxiii-xxiv (1974), 306-11; J.J. Witkam, *Arabic Manuscripts in*

the Library of the University of Leiden ... A General Introduction to the Catalogue, Leiden 1982; and idem, *Establishing the stemma. Fact or fiction?*, in *MME*, iii (1988), 88-100. The scholarly journals *Islamic Art*, *Manuscripts of the Middle East* and *Muqarnas* contain articles on many aspects of the Islamic handwritten book. Electronic databases on codicological aspects of Middle Eastern manuscripts are maintained by M. Beit-Arié (Hebrew manuscripts) and François Déroche (early Islamic manuscripts).

(J.J. Witkam)

2. In Indonesia

Naskah designates here old manuscripts, Islamic or otherwise, alongside indigenous-language terms which designate the literary form and the basic text (*ḥikayat, carita, kidung, babad, serat tarikh sejarah, wawacan, pus(t)aka, pustaha*) and also the original text before being printed. Islam brought the Arabic script of the Ḳur'ān and the Arabic words necessary for its teaching. On the model of the extra characters added to the Arabic alphabet for Persian, Turkish and Urdu, Arabic characters were adapted for the vernaculars, and were called *pegon*, *jawi* or *melayu*, for these, see INDONESIA. iii. Languages, and for the *pegon* script of West Java, see H. Sukanda, *Agama Islam ngabudayakeun Basa jeung Sastra Sunda*, in *Kongres Bahasa Sunda*, Bogor 1988. The ways of writing have not been codified, but one can distinguish two sorts of scribes: the graduates of a *pesantren* [*q.v.*] and those of a *paguron* (Sukanda-Tessier, *Centres d'enseignements traditionnels de l'Islam...* , in *Séminaire Kiyai Haji Wasyid*, Banten 1988). (The term "Nusantarian", from Nusantara, is now used for all cultural matters relating to pre-Independen (17 August 1945) Indonesia, the term "Indonesian" being used only for post-1945 matters.)

The manuscripts in indigenous scripts correspond to three socio-cultural strata, distinguished as follows: (1) The pre-Islamic mss. have as their bases olla, *lontar*, palm leaves, *nipah*, tree bark prepared for writing, *daluwang*, thin sheets of bamboo, gold leaf or sheets of red copper. The characters used, of Indian origin, are called *aksara* (Balinese, Bugi/Makasar/Bima, Javanese/Kawi, Sumatranese (Batak, Karo, Lampung, Mandailing, Rejang, Toba), Sasak, Old Javanese, Old Malay and Old Sundanese, corresponding to the respective languages. The oldest texts, in Old Javanese, come from the 12th-14th centuries, and in Old Sundanese from the middle of the 15th century (see J. Noorduyn, *Bujangga Manik*, in *BKI* [1982]). There are numerous catalogues and critical editions of Malay and Javanese mss., but the Old Sundanese ones present difficulties of decipherment not yet completely resolved, neither for those in the Manuscript Collection of the National Library at Jakarta and in foreign collections nor for those in numerous special collections in Indonesia and the *kabuyutan* (Sukanda-Tessier, *Le triomphe de Sri en pays soundanais*, in *PEFEO*, ci [Paris 1977]).

(2) The Islamic mss. have the same materials, with the following chronology: olla, 15th-18th centuries; tree bark, 16th-19th centuries; filigrained European papers, 17th-20th centuries; Dutch registers, local folio papers and note books, 19th-20th centuries. The Ḳur'ān, *ḥadīth*, the combined precepts of the *rukun (al)-Islam* and *rukun (al)-Iman (share'at)*, *fiḳh (safīnat ul-nadjā, farā'iḍ* and *du'ā)* are written in Arabic characters. Works on Ṣūfism, *tarekat Satariyah* and *Kodiriyah*, *du'ā, sulūk, 'ilmu (l)-ladunī, adab*, Arabic hagiography and epics of the Islamisation of Java/Malay, Javanese and Sundanese chronicles, not to mention an important corpus of works on the *'ilmu falak*, cosmogony, medicinal plants, customs, rites and ancestral prayers linked to the agricultural round, calendars and propitiatory formulae of Hindo-Buddhist origin, are all written in *pegon*. The Islamic mss. are numbered in thousands, whether Malay from the various sultanates of Sumatra, Malaysia, Kalimantan, Maluku, Sulawesi and Lombok/Sumba/Sumbawa, or Sundanese from the sultanal courts of Banten and Cirebon or the princely ones of Banten, Galuh/Banyumas and Sumedang regions, or Javanese from the sultanates of Pajang, Demak, Mataram, Surakarta and Yogyakarta, or Balinese. The oldest of them, mostly from Shāfi'ī milieux, come from the beginning of the 16th century, including those of Sumatra and Banten. A large number of them are concerned with *taṣawwuf* [*q.v.*] and *'ilm al-uṣūl*, whilst the *fiḳh* texts are comparatively few, contrary to the tendency visible from the second quarter of the 20th century and assimilated to a "fourth" wave of Islamisation. The Old Javanese mss. only stem from West Java from the middle of the 17th century onwards, legitimated by the sultanate of Mataram. Some of them, recopied in the course of Islamisation—a process which lasted for several centuries—contain a few Arabic words, such as *mashhūr, sarwāl, wafāt, Nabī Muḥammad*, and are written in *aksara*.

(3) The first epics about Islamisation stem from pre-Islamic epics, oral and manuscript, salvaged by Islam from the 15th century onwards. Written in *aksara* on *lontar*, such as *Carita Nabī Yūsuf*, they represent a type of *da'wa* through the didactic aspect of their message, which is no longer delivered in the form of a harangue or sermon. The heroes are of Arab origin, such as Amir Hamdjah, Umarmaya, Lukmanul Hakim, Sama'un, Ahmad Muhammad, ('ab) Durrahman-('ab)Durrahim, Abu(n) Nawas, or Malay, such as Hang Tuah, Ken Tambuhan, Indraputra and Muhammad Hanafiah, or Sundanese like Silihwangi, Kean Santang, Ogin Amarsakti, Munding Sari Wiramantri, Hasanuddin and Walangsungsang, or Javanese like Damarwulan, Candrakirana, Rara Mendut, Sekartaji, Sunan Rahmat, Raden Patah and Senapati. The historical texts recount either the first contacts with Islam (?12th-15th centuries), which met with strong resistance in West Java, or else the second Islamisation (16th century), which only affected the northern coastlands of Java and the merchant sultanates outside Java, or else the third wave of Islamisation (17th to the beginning of the 20th century).

These epics belong to a living tradition of the preservation of writings. For the scribes who copy them, the readers, reciters and listeners, they are a *amal* and a *ganjaran (baraka)* which will earn merit in the Next Life, just like good acts which are non-obligatory, *sunna*, which can entail the pardoning of sins, or the equivalent of *'ibāda*. These much-revered epic texts are read and chanted in West Java from sunset to sunrise according to *belūk*, a vocal art which is in course of disappearing, marking religious, family and agrarian rites, and they are hedged by a narrow surveillance when, if they are very ancient ones, they were considered as sacred and preserved in the *kabuyutan* where they could only be seen at every twelfth *Mulud* (12 Rabī' I), together with ancient Arabic mss.

The indigenous Indonesian mss., which are of an unusual richness and number, have contributed extensively to unifying an entire nation in respect of the vast spread of differing religions and cultures. They have, moreover, given to Indonesian Islam its exceptional image of tolerance and examplariness.

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NUṢRATĀBĀD, the more recent name for the town of eastern Persia known in mediaeval Islamic times as Isfīdh, Sipih, Safīdj (written in al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal as Sanīdj, for *Sabīdj/Safīdj). It lay on what was the highway from Kirmān to Sīstān [*q.vv.*], and some of the classical Islamic geographers attributed it administratively to Sīstān and others to Kirmān, reflecting its position on the frontier between these two provinces. Muḳaddasī and others describe it as a flourishing and populous town with its water from *ḳanāt*s, the only town in the Great Desert. The ruins of the old town were still called by the local Balūč nomads, according to Sykes (1895), Ispi. Its modern successor Nuṣratābād (lat. 29°54′ N., long. 59°59′ E.), on the Kirmān-Bam-Zāhidān road, is the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* or subdistrict of the same name in the *shahrastān* of Zāhidān; in *ca.* 1960 it had a population of 700 Balūč.

This Nuṣratābād is to be distinguished from the town of the same name in Sīstān proper, in the 19th century the administrative centre of the region and the modern Shahr-i Zābul; for this, see sīstān.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 162; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 402-3, 413, 423, tr. 393, 402, 410; Muḳaddasī, 495; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 125, s.v. Sibih, com. 375; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 180, s.v. Asfīdh, iii, 269, s.v. Sanīḥ (*sic*); Sir Percy Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 36, 416; Le Strange, *Lands*, 325-6; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 250-1; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, index s.v. Nasratabad (Sipih); Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, viii, 410-11. (C.E. Bosworth)

NUṢRATĪ, Muḥammad Nuṣrat, Deccani Urdu poet of the 11th/17th century, whose work marks a stage in the history of Urdu language and literature. Born in the Carnatic as a relative of the ruling family there, he at first lived as a dervish but then moved to Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*], where he became an official and the poet-laureate of the ʿĀdil-Shāhī ʿAlī II b. Muḥammad (1066-83/1656-72 [see ʿādil-shāhs]. He wrote many poems, including *ḳaṣīda*s and *ghazal*s, but more especially a number of *mathnawī*s of substantial length. The most important of these was his *ʿAlī-nāma*, a eulogy of his patron and the history of his wars with the Mughals and Marāthās [*q.vv.*], and this he claimed to be a new form, an amalgam of Hindu and Persian epics; Sadiq, 48, states that this was no idle claim. His romantic *mathnawī*s include the *Gulshan-i ʿishḳ*, *Guldasta-yi ʿishḳ* and *Taʾrīkh-i Iskandarī*.

The language of this poetry is archaic and difficult compared with modern Urdu, and characterised by hyperbole and conceits, but according to Saksena, 40, sweet, flowing and melodious.

Bibliography: Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allah-abad 1927, 12, 39-40; Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, Oxford 1964, 46-9. (J.A. Haywood)

NUṢUB (a.), pl. *anṣāb*, Hebrew *maṣṣebōt*. The plural, more often used, denotes the blocks of stone on which the blood of the victims sacrificed for idols (*awthān*, *aṣnām*) was poured, as well as sepulchral stones and those marking out the sacred enclosure (*ḥimā*) of the sanctuary (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste*², 101-2; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 201 ff.). In nomadic circles, the *nuṣub* has been regarded in a few rare instances as the symbol of the divinity (cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iv/1, 159-60; R. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, translated from the Dutch by V. Chauvin, Paris-Leiden 1879, 9, quoting, after Ibn Ḳutayba, a contemporary of the Prophet, Abū Radjāʾ al-ʿUṭāridī. For the two examples, see T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 26). Among sedentary populations, the *nuṣub*, a rough stone, has become the *ṣanam*, "a stone carved with the image of the idols of the Kaʿba" (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 622: *fa-naḥata-hu ʿalā ṣūrat aṣnām al-Bayt*). "In every house", writes Ibn Hishām, "the occupants took an idol (*ṣanam*) which they worshipped. Whenever one of them set out on a journey, the last thing which he did before leaving, and the first on his return, was to touch it" (*Sīra*, 54 = al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār*, 78: *tamassaḥa bihi*; cf. Gen. xxxi, 14), as a token of benediction for a successful enterprise and as an act of thanksgiving (on the *masḥ* and its magical and therapeutic power, see Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 14, 47; Goldziher, in *Or. Stud. Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, i, 327, where numerous references to *ḥadīth* are to be found). To explain the proliferation of *anṣāb*, Ibn Hishām (51-2) makes them symbols of the Kaʿba, brought with them by the sons of Ishmael when they finally left Mecca, while Yāḳūt (iv, 622) asserts that "the cult of stones among the Arabs in their encampments has its origin in their deep attachment to the idols (*aṣnām*) of the *ḥaram*." These texts reflect a state of affairs prior to the reform of Ḳuṣayy

[*q.v.*]. Comparing them with certain Biblical texts, one should in fact, regard them as an echo of very ancient Semitic traditions (in particular, Gen. xxxi, 13, 19, 34-46). The *teraphīm* of the Canaanites, the *elōhīm* of the Hebrews and the *ilānī* of the Assyrians long outlasted monotheism in the shrines fashioned in stone, in sand mixed with milk (*Panthéon*, 91) and in wood (Ibn Hishām, 335) of pagan Arabia (on the equivalence between *elōhīm*, *teraphīm* and *ilānī*, cf. C. Gordon, *Parallèles Nouzéens aux lois et coutumes de l'Ancient Testament*, in *RB*, xliv [1935], 35-6; idem, in *JBL*, liv [1935], 139-44; cf. *Divination*, 132-50). Among the commonest finds in archaeological excavations are figurines representing "new divinities" worshipped in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Babylonia (cf. among others, Petrie, *Memphis*, i, pls. 8-13 and p. 7; E. Pilz, in *ZDPV*, xlvii, 165 ff.; J.B. Pritchard, *Palestine figurines in relation to certain goddesses*, 5-31; Parrot, *Sumer*, 238 and *passim*; idem, *Assur*, 250 and *passim*; J.B. Connelly, *Votive offerings from hellenistic Failaka: evidence for Herakles cult*, in *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, Leiden 1989, 145-58).

The cult of stones, deeply rooted among the Arabs of the Ḥidjāz, was not transformed as quickly as elsewhere into a cult of statues. It was in the mid-3rd century A.D. that Nabataean and Syro-Palestinian influences had the effect of promoting, in urban centres, the representational phase of the Arab pantheon; it was only then that the sacred stone became an idol. Wellhausen rightly asserts that "Die Bilder sind nicht echt arabischen; *wathan* und *çanam* sind importierte Worte und importierte Dinge" (*Reste*², 102). Henceforward, the *ṣanam*, made of wood (Ibn Hishām, 303) gradually took the place of the *nuṣub* made of stone. ʿIkrima, the son of Abū Djahl, Muḥammad's greatest enemy, was a maker of idols; merchants offered these to the Bedouin who purchased them and set them up in their tents. In Mecca, there was not a single house which did not have its own idol (al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, 77-8).

After the triumph of Christianity in the Orient, the Ḥidjāz remained the sole bastion of paganism; carvers of idols could still make a living there. It comes as no surprise to find that at the time of Muḥammad's arrival in Mecca there were three hundred and sixty idols in the Kaʿba (al-Azraḳī, 77; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 192), a number which probably has a symbolic significance but which confirms an abundance well corroborated by other sources.

The process of expansion of the cult of idols is described by Ibn al-Kalbī in the following terms: "The Arabs devoted themselves to the cult of idols: some constructed a sanctuary (*bayt*; regarding this term see *Divination*, 132 ff.), others acquired an idol (*ṣanam*); anyone who could neither possess an idol nor have a sanctuary constructed would set up a stone of his choice, facing the *ḥaram* or some other place, and then he would perform processions around it, as in the sanctuary (of Mecca). These stones were called *anṣāb* (as opposed to) *aṣnām* and *awthān*, which were statues (*tamāthīl*), and the procession made around them was called *dawār*" (*K. al-Aṣnām*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, Cairo 1914, 21, quoted in *Panthéon*, 59). On this evolution and the various names given to the idols, see the summary of a *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* by al-Djāḥiẓ, no longer available, in his *K. al-Ḥayawān*, i, 5; this information is also presented in *Divination*, 249-50.

Thus the *anṣāb* are represented as replicas of the Black Stone of the Kaʿba. They take on the form of sacred stones in nomadic and semi-nomadic societies. The contribution of sedentary civilisations reinforces and enriches the cults and the rites of the nomads, but at the same time introduces confusion and adds to the difficulties facing the historian of religions, who is inclined to seek out connections and influences and to establish comparisons and similarities (*Panthéon*, 182).

Nevertheless, whatever were the forms given to the divinities of the Arab pantheon, the Arab religions retained their quite primitive internal structure. The development of the "artistic" representation of gods had no effect on the conceptual evolution of the cult. The present writer's study, in *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, illustrates the static nature of the Arab religions, rooted in a desert environment.

Bibliography: The material contained in this article is borrowed for the most part from T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, Paris 1968, and from the same author's *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden 1966, ²Paris 1987. Abundant references and quotations relating to the subject are to be found in these two works. Other sources include W.W. Baudissin, *Über die Entwicklung des Gottesbegriffs in den Religionen der semitischen Völker, mit Nachträgen*, Giessen 1929; C. Brockelmann, *Allah und die Götzen. Der Ursprung des islamischen Monotheismus*, in *ARW*, xi (1923), 92-121; E. Dhorme, *Religion primitive des Sémites*, in *RHR*, cxxviii (1944), 1-27; idem, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, review of G. Ryckmanns, in *ibid.*, cxxxiii (1947), 34-48 (*Recueil Ed. Dhorme*, Paris 1951, 736 ff.); A. Jamme, *Le panthéon sud-arabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques*, in *Le Muséon*, lx (1947), 57-147; L. Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, Leipzig 1863 (study of a page of al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, 432); H. Lammens, *Le culte des Bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites*, in *BIFAO*, xvii (1919-20), 39-101; idem, *Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie Occidentale*, in *MUSJ*, xi (1926), 39-173; G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, ²1953 (*Bibl. du Muséon* 26/1951) = Quillet, *Hist. gen. des religions*, ²Paris 1960, ii, 199-228; J. Starcky, *Palmyrénéens, Nabatéens et Arabes du Nord avant l'Islam*, in *Hist. des religions*, Paris 1956, iv, 201-37; Djurdjī Zaydān, *Anṣāb al-ʿArab al-ḳudamāʾ*, Cairo 1906.

(T. Fahd)

AL-NUWAYRĪ, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Iskandarānī, local historian of his home Alexandria, who lived in the 8th/14th century but whose precise dates are unknown.

Between 767/1365-6 and 775/1373-4 he wrote a three-volume history of the city, the *K. al-Ilmām fīmā djarat bihi 'l-aḥkām al-maḳḍiyya fī wāḳiʿat al-Iskandariyya* purporting to describe the calamity of Muḥarram 767/October 1365 when the Frankish Crusaders, led by Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, descended on Alexandria, occupied it for a week and sacked it (see S. Runciman, *A history of the Crusades*, London 1952-4, iii, 444-9; A.S. Atiya, in H.W. Hazard (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, iii, Madison, Wisc. 1975, 16-18). Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī [*q.v.*], however, cited by al-Sakhāwī [*q.v.*], states that al-Nuwayrī spent so much time on the earlier history of the city that he barely had space to deal with the events of 767/1365. The work has now been edited by Atiya, 6 vols. Ḥaydarābād 1388-93/ 1968-73.

Bibliography: A.S. Atiya, *A Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedist from Alexandria. A Critical and Analytical Study of al-Nuwairy al-Iskandarānī's "Kitāb al-Ilmām"*, Salt Lake City 1977; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 155, 458-9 (= tr. of Sakhāwī's *Iʿlān*); Brockelmann, II², 44-5, S II, 34.

(C.E. Bosworth)

AL-NUWAYRĪ, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB al-Bakrī al-Tamīmī al-Ḳurashī al-Shāfiʿī, Egyptian encyclopaedist and historian.

Born at Akhmīm [*q.v.*] on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 677/5 April 1279, died in Cairo on 21 Ramaḍān 733/5 June 1333, he is the author of one of the four best-known encyclopaedias of the Mamlūk period. His family may have originated from a small township of the Egyptian Ṣaʿīd, al-Nuwayra, but he had no direct links with this locality. He claims only, and on numerous occasions in the course of his work, to be descended from the caliph Abū Bakr.

His father, Tādj al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (618-99/1221-99), who was possibly an official in the sultan's administration (Kratschowsky, *Ta'rīkh al-adab al-djughrāfī al-ʿarabī*, 408, and *EI*[1], s.v.), lived for most of his life in Cairo. According to an obituary notice written by his son, it is also known that he was born in the capital, at Miṣr, in an Ayyūbid *madrasa* known by the name of *Manāzil al-ʿIzz*. Speaking of him, his son stresses in particular his remarkable piety, his life and his death both demonstrating his close affinity with matters of faith. He died on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 699/7 September 1299 in *al-madrasa al-Ṣāliḥiyya al-Nadjmiyya*, in a room reserved for Mālikī teaching. Birth in a *madrasa* could be proof that his father belonged to the world of the *ʿulamā'*. He probably had another son, older than the author, named Muḥammad. A final point worth mentioning in connection with his father is that he was buried in the *turba* [*q.v.*] of the Mālikī supreme *ḳāḍī* Ibn Makhlūf al-Nuwayrī al-Djazūlī (d. 718/1318), an important figure in the world of the *ʿulamā'* who was supreme *ḳāḍī* for thirty-four years, during crucial periods in the history of Egypt and of Syria in the Mamlūk period, and who was probably the patron of the al-Nuwayrī who is the subject of this article. He had the same *nisba* as the latter, and according to al-Ṣafadī, he was a native of Nuwayra, but there is no indication that they were related.

Snippets of information gleaned from his vast encyclopaedia give the impression that before 698/1298, al-Nuwayrī must have lived for at least some of the time in Upper Egypt and in general in Egypt. Thus in the sections devoted to agriculture (M. Chapoutot-Remadi, *L'agriculture de l'Empire mamluk au Moyen Âge d'après al-Nuwayrī*, in *CT*, xxii [1974], 23-45) it seems that he is speaking from personal experience of regions visited and observation of practices. Similarly, in dealing with animals, he mentions the teeth of elephants which he saw at Ḳūṣ in 697/1298. Although not definitely established, it is probable that he stayed in Upper Egypt at least until this date.

It is difficult to compile an accurate list of his masters. It is known, however, that he attended courses given by some of the leading masters of his time such as ʿAbd al-Mu'min al-Dimyaṭī (d. 705/1305 [*q.v.*]), from one of whose books, entitled *Kitāb Faḍl al-khayl* (Aleppo 1930), he frequently quotes. His second master, Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd (d. 702/1302 [*q.v.*]), was a specialist in *ḥadīth*. The third is the grand *ḳāḍī* Ibn Djamāʿa (d. 733/1332 [*q.v.*]), who was *shaykh* of the *khānḳāh* [*q.v.*] *al-Nāṣiriyya*. His biographers also mention among his *shuyūkh* the *shaykha* Zaynab bint Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 735/1334). He continued throughout his life to take an interest in the teaching of *ḥadīth*, and in particular he attended seminars of transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī held by the *shaykha* Wazīra bint Munadjdjā (d. 716/1316) in 715/1315, as well as those held by the *shaykh* al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥadjdjār (d. 730/1329) at *al-madrasa al-Manṣūriyya*. He heard the *shaykh* Ibn al-Ṣābūnī (d. 720/1320) transmit the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd, Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Fityān b. ʿAbd al-Madjīd al-Ḳurashī, the *Kitāb al-Shifā bi-taʿrīf ḥuḳūḳ al-Muṣṭafā* in 708/1308 at *al-madrasa al-Nāṣiriyya*, and the Sharīf ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī (d. 715/1315), the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim. He also received an *idjāza* [*q.v.*] from the *shaykh* ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Fārūthī al-Wāsiṭī al-Rifāʿī.

For the first time, following his recording of his birth (xxx, 386-7), al-Nuwayrī mentions, in his account of the events of the year 698/1298, his recruitment to the *dīwān al-khāṣṣ* in Cairo and his residence at *al-madrasa al-Nāṣiriyya*, inaugurated by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā (694-96/1295-7) and acquired by Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn on his return to power in 698/1298. He speaks at length of this institution and reproduces the text of its *waḳf*. He openly criticises the administration of Ṭawāshī Shudjāʿ al-Dīn ʿAnbar al-Lālā (d. 724/1324), the tutor of the sultan who was entrusted with administration of the *waḳf*, accusing him of embezzlement and even demanding that he return some of the money owed to the staff of the *madrasa*.

Al-Nuwayrī travelled to Syria in the month of Djumādā II 701/January 1301, at the request of the sultan, to manage the property of the state, the *dīwān al-khāṣṣ*. Syria had then been in a state of turmoil since 699/1299 following the large-scale invasion of Ghāzān Khān [*q.v.*]. He participated in a battle against the Mongols on 29 Shaʿbān 702/18 April 1303 alongside Mughulṭāy [*q.v.*], and could thus describe the war against the Mongols and the victory of Shaḳḥab as an eye-witness. In 702/1303, the sultan appointed the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Djukāndār al-Manṣūrī to be *shādd* of crown property, and the two men became friends. Al-Nuwayrī seems to have travelled round the country; he mentions for example a journey in the Ghawr, and he describes the Ghūṭa of Damascus with the same attention to detail which he demonstrated in his description of Upper Egypt. He seems to have amassed a small fortune; in 703/1303, he possessed no fewer than ten horses, but an equine epidemic destroyed this resource, leaving him without even a horse for his own use. He stayed in Damascus for two years and four months.

Recalled to Cairo in Ramaḍān 703/April 1303, he resumed his administrative activities and, in his capacity as *mubāshir amlāk al-khāṣṣ al-sharīf*, he administered the *dīwān al-khāṣṣ*, the *bimāristān* [*q.v.*] *al-manṣūrī* and the whole range of *manṣūrī waḳf*s. Control was exercised, apparently, by the supreme *ḳāḍī* Ibn Makhlūf. He took up residence again in the *madrasa*, and was thus a witness to the early stages of the dispute between Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] and the *ʿulamā'* of Egypt and Ibn Makhlūf in particular. It was in the *madrasa al-Nāṣiriyya* that this affair began, lasting from 705/1305 to 709/1309. Al-Nuwayrī was induced to play a minor mediating role between his patron, implacable enemy of Ibn Taymiyya, and the governor of Damascus, Djamāl al-Dīn Aḳḳūsh al-Afram, ardent defender of the eminent *shaykh*. Numerous details indicate that al-Nuwayrī remained in Cairo during this period. In 705/1305, Ibn Ṣaṣrā [*q.v.*] was appointed supreme *ḳāḍī* of Cairo, and al-Nuwayrī was instrumental witness in some of the matters submitted to his judgment. At the time of the death of the *amīr* al-Turkumānī, al-Nuwayrī, who was then in the service of the sultan, was entrusted with the task of sequestering and liquidising his assets. The sultan subsequently instructed him to erect a *turba* for the *amīr* and to establish a maintenance *waḳf* with what

remained of his property. Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn made his way in person to al-Ḳarāfa to draw the plan of this *turba* on the ground.

The sultan Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, wearying of the tutelage exercised by the senior *amīrs*, abdicated and went to establish himself in the governorate of al-Karak [*q.v.*] in 708/1308. Baybars II took power in Cairo. Five months later, in Rabīʿ II 709/September 1309, al-Nuwayrī, a loyalist, joined Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn at al-Karak and only returned to Cairo with the sultan, who regained his throne at the end of Ramaḍān/early March of the same year. After this triumphant return, one of al-Nuwayrī's patrons, the steward of the sovereign, *wakīl al-k̲h̲aṣṣ*, Ibn ʿAbbāda (d. 710/1310), allowed him to work quite closely with the sovereign. This Ibn ʿAbbāda was himself the appointee of the supreme *ḳāḍī* Ibn Mak̲h̲lūf, who had given him the task of administering the property left behind by Ḳalāwūn. This individual rose very quickly in the favour of the sultan. In his turn, he seems to have noticed the talents of al-Nuwayrī, entrusting to him the administration of the great complex constructed by Ḳalāwūn and of *al-madrasa al-Nāṣiriyya*. Through his good offices, al-Nuwayrī had regular access to Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, and in numerous instances had occasion to work directly on his behalf. This excessively rapid promotion seems to have turned his head (*al-Ṭāliʿ*, 46; *Sulūk*, ii, 91; *Durar*) and he spoke disparagingly of his patron, for whom he had little regard. This conduct displeased the sultan, who denounced him to Ibn ʿAbbāda and gave the latter permission to punish him as he saw fit. Ibn ʿAbbāda did not hesitate to have him flogged and to confiscate his property; shortly afterwards he was sent away to Syria, but he does not even hint at this misfortune in his work and mentions only his transfer to Tripoli. In the course of the same year, Ibn Abbāda died; al-Nuwayrī devoted to him a dry and brief obituary in which he has considerably more to say about his successor than about the deceased.

He arrived at Tripoli in Ṣafar 710/July 1310 as *ṣāḥib dīwān al-ins̲h̲āʾ*, head of the office of correspondence. He replaced a senior functionary who had made a name for himself in this occupation, Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl (d. 711/1311), *mustawfī 'l-dawla*. A few months later, in the same year, he was appointed *nāẓir al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲*, replacing another functionary of Tripoli who had recently died, a certain Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn al-Ḳaṣīr, and he travelled extensively during his time in Tripoli, as he had done previously in Upper Egypt and in Damascus. He stayed in Tripoli until 712/1312 and witnessed the defection to the Mongols of the *nāʾib* of Damascus D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Aḳḳūs̲h̲ al-Afram. This *amīr-nāʾib*, before 708/1308, had been among the opponents of the restoration of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn; following his return to the throne the sultan, stung by his experience of two depositions, attempted to eliminate all the senior *amīrs* who could eventually pose a threat to his rule. Thus the governor of Aleppo, S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Ḳarāsunḳur, realising that his only hope of survival lay in flight, sought to win over to his side certain *amīrs* including the *nāʾib* of Tripoli, possibly with the intention of provoking an insurrection in Syria. Al-Nuwayrī, claiming amicable relations with the governor, sought to dissuade him from following Ḳarāsunḳur. He recounts his conversation with him and the arguments which he posed to convince him. In spite of everything, the *amīr* took flight and attempted to induce him to join him as well as the *amīrs* of Tripoli. He relates how he succeeded in persuading the latter not to follow him, with only one exception, and how he induced them to renew their oath of allegiance to the sultan. Al-Nuwayrī, who, with the exception of his father, never speaks of his immediate family—it is not known whether he was married or had children—mentions the *ḳāḍī* ʿImād al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī (d. 717/1317), his father's cousin in the maternal line, who died in Tripoli where he was *ṣāḥib al-dīwān*; he had previously been *nāẓir* in numerous places in Syria. Al-Nuwayrī left Tripoli in D̲j̲umādā I 712/September 1312 and arrived in Cairo on 20 Rad̲j̲ab/20 November of the same year, after a brief stay in Damascus during the return journey. The circumstances of his departure from Tripoli are obscure; the formula that he uses is ambiguous. His sojourn in Tripoli perhaps explains the place which it occupies in his chronicle. He describes the conquest of Tripoli by Ḳalāwūn, then retraces its history from the Arab conquest to 688/1289 and finishes by providing a list of its *nuwwāb*, governors, up to the year 725/1325. This passage is furthermore a synthesis of data compiled by his predecessors and contemporaries, and of information which he gathered himself. His interest in Tripoli persists throughout his work, and thus he does not omit to note, every year, the changes taking place, the appointments of *amīrs* and of functionaries, the cadastral revision, information concerning the Nuṣayriyya and climatic phenomena.

According to his biographers, on returning to Cairo he was appointed *nāẓir al-dīwān* of two provinces of the Nile Delta, al-Dak̲h̲aliyya and al-Murtāḥiyya (*Ṭāliʿ*, 46). He speaks of them indirectly in a biographical article concerning a major figure in the administration, a *ṣāḥib dīwān al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲*, the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲ (d. 729/1328; *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr*, iii, 312; *Sulūk*, ii, 315). It may be assumed that at least until 716/1316, al-Nuwayrī was engaged in administering the revenues of these provinces, while residing in Cairo, probably until the end of his life. It seems that he continued to reside in *al-madrasa al-Nāṣiriyya*, since he mentions a dream which he had at that time which took place in one of the *īwāns* of the *madrasa*, called *al-Īwān al-Baḥrī*, on the eve of Friday 13 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 729/8 September 1329. It is not known at exactly what date al-Nuwayrī abandoned administration to devote himself exclusively to the composition of his monumental work, but before turning to the latter, it would be useful to summarise the main points of his life and career.

The reconstructed biography of al-Nuwayrī shows a man often involved in the important events of his time such as the war against G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān and the victory of S̲h̲ak̲h̲ab, in which he was a participant. Even in *al-madrasa al-Nāṣiriyya*, which played such an important role in his life, he dared to challenge the administrator of the foundation, Ṭawās̲h̲ī S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dīn ʿAnbar al-Lālā, the sultan's tutor, insisting that he pay to the staff the salary owed to them; from the same vantage-point, he witnessed the controversies surrounding Ibn Taymiyya. During the reign of Baybars II, al-Nuwayrī sided with Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, whom he regarded as the only legitimate sultan, joining him in exile at al-Karak. While resident in Tripoli, decidedly at the centre of important events, al-Nuwayrī tried to dissuade the governor D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Aḳḳūs̲h̲ al-Afram from defecting to the Mongols with Ḳarāsunḳur; failing in this, he nevertheless succeeded in limiting the damage. Through his contacts, he was well informed concerning affairs of state, and he took advantage of his duties to travel widely in Egypt and Syria. His career was in itself quite distinguished; he played a major role in the administration of the three most important *dīwāns*, those of *al-k̲h̲āṣṣ*, *al-ins̲h̲āʾ* and *al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲*.

During the course of his career, he forged numerous amicable relationships with highly-placed members of the Mamlūk régime. In Damascus, his friends included three *amīrs*, Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Djukāndār al-Manṣūrī (d. 706/1306), Ẓāhir al-Dīn Mukhtār al-Manṣūrī (d. 716/1316) and ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Mughulṭāy (d. 707/1307) whom he had previously known in Cairo, and among the *ᶜulamāʾ*, members of the most distinguished Damascus families, Ibn Ṣaṣrā (d. 717/1317), Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (d. 715/1315) and his son Muḥibb al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 730/1330). In Tripoli, he showed the same propensity for making friends, among members of the Mamlūk élite as well as among his colleagues in the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* and the *dīwān al-djaysh*. He was also acquainted with some of the senior *kuttāb* of the Mamlūk administration, letters from whom he reproduces in numerous instances in his encyclopaedia. Each time, the terms which underline his privileged relations with one or the other are *rāfaḳtuhu* or *ṣāḥabtuhu*. As a man of his time, al-Nuwayrī was also acquainted with Ṣūfī *shaykhs*.

After a career of at least eighteen years, approximately from 698/1299 to 716/1316, he retired from public life and devoted himself to *adab* and to the writing of his encyclopaedia. From his administrative life, he would have learned *kitāba*, the establishment of roles, exercised *ḥisba*, land-surveying (*al-muḳāyasāt*), the management of accounts and revenues, *al-muḥāsaba wa 'l-taḥsīlāt*, *naẓar*, inspection of crops and of presses (*al-ghallāt wa 'l-iᶜtiṣār*), forage, sales (*al-mubāyaᶜāt*). He read and contemplated a great deal over the years and conceived the idea of writing a book, or rather a work large enough to provide a compendium of the fruits of his reading and of his administrative experience. He expresses it in his introduction in these terms: "I mounted the war-horse of reading and investigation and spurred him on. I then galloped in the region of consultation. When I succeeded in taming the horse and the source of knowledge became clear to me, I then undertook to compose a work which would keep me company and in which I would find my bearings, having recourse to my own administrative experience. I called upon God the Great and Merciful and I have produced five great Books (*funūn*) harmoniously composed and divided into sections and sub-sections."

Al-Nuwayrī died on 21 Ramaḍān 733/5 June 1333, at the age of fifty-six years, having composed a monumental work of 9,000 pages in thirty-one volumes which he intitled *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*. He thus bequeathed to posterity his experience and his culture in the form of a *summa*. His capacity for work was extraordinary since, while working on his encyclopaedia, he made copies of it which he sold before composition of the whole was complete. The first volume (p. 16) bears the date 714/1314. A single autograph manuscript survives from the first version of his encyclopaedia, volume 19 (corresponding to xxi in the printed edition, p. 540); it is dated 9 Djumādā II 718/8 August 1318. Volumes 29 and 30 are dated 725/1325, but it is certain that he made additions to volume 30, after 728/1328. It seems that he began making a second copy, the first volume of which was completed on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 721/11 December 1321, the fifth on 22 Djumādā I 722/8 June 1322, the seventeenth on 7 Ramaḍān 722/19 September 1322 and the eighteenth on 26 Ramaḍān/8 October, just 19 days later. He must thus have copied eighteen volumes in less than ten months. His biographers have noted his ability to fill three manuscript notebooks in a day, and this performance seems unequivocally confirmed, with the addition to what he copied and sold of eight copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. He was deemed an excellent calligrapher and bookbinder. He must then have written the totality of his work between 714/1314 and 731/1330, over a period of seventeen years, since his chronicle finishes in 731/1331, two years before his death.

The work is divided into five *funūn*; each *fann* comprises five parts which, in turn, consist of a certain number of chapters or *abwāb* (from two to fourteen). The first is a description of the Universe. Al-Nuwayrī begins with a cosmographic vision and then proceeds to the Earth and the elements of which it is composed. Earth and Heaven were conceived by God for Man's benefit. The *fann* concludes with a description of Egypt, its inhabitants and archaeological remains. The three succeeding volumes are devoted to living beings: Man is the principal theme of the second, while the third and fourth are concerned with fauna and flora. History is the subject of the fifth and last, and this is by far the most important; it represents more than two-thirds of the work. This section is conceived as a universal history, covering the period from Creation to 731/1331. Crucial episodes in this history are the story of the Prophet and of Arab expansion, then the ᶜAbbāsid period and finally, the history of Egypt since the Fāṭimids. The major preoccupation of al-Nuwayrī seems to lie in providing the reader with succinct summaries of the principal historical events. The work is conceived primarily as a work of reference, and the manner of compilation displays a concern to inform the reader in a qualitative manner; only works bearing authority are summarised here. The final volume of this important historiographer differs somewhat from the remainder. These are annals, or rather notes taken from day to day; the text is condensed and even displays a certain dryness. It contrasts strongly with the rest of the work, in which the style is in general mannered, sometimes even lapsing into rhymed prose. This abridged account of events personally experienced may have been written with a view to later revision, but he died without making any amendments.

In all, with a work gigantic in terms of the variety of subjects studied, the breadth of the information contained, al-Nuwayrī not only achieved his avowed object but even went further, since not only did he succeed in providing the sum of practical knowledge necessary for a good secretary and for the administrative world in general but he also reached a much broader public. The literary form of the work and the spectrum of subjects exposed, summarised and classified in the most accessible manner possible, clearly show that al-Nuwayrī wanted, beyond his readership of administrators, to contribute to the formation of a kind of "well-informed man". He states this himself occasionally.

Al-Nuwayrī was greatly inspired by the geographical encyclopaedia of his predecessor, al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318 [*q.v.*]) entitled *Mabāhidj al-fikar wa-manāhidj al-ᶜibar* (partial edition, Kuwait 1981), for the subdivision into *fann*s and even for the content. The four *fann*s of al-Waṭwāṭ recur in the work of al-Nuwayrī, who added history to form a fifth section. Furthermore, he mentions him by name, as he does with the majority of his sources. In the books devoted to natural history, fauna and flora, he makes a synthesis between three types of pre-occupation, naturalist, medical and literary. He thus describes the animal or the plant, mentions its medical and other attributes, the legends concerning his subject and the poems of which it has been the object. Science and *adab* are thus united. Amīna Muḥammad Djamāl al-

Dīn (see Bibl.) has listed seventy-five poets quoted in the book on fauna (148). The work reflects the author's education with his constant references to *ḥadīth*; the impact of traditions is also evident in his very approach of *khabar*, since he always adds to a work compiled by an authoritative person details gleaned either from his direct observation or from the testimony of a trustworthy person. He sometimes exhibits scepticism when he relates a story which he regards as fantasy, "this saying derives, in my belief, from the fables of the Arabs (*khurāfāt al-ʿArab*)" (ix, 276, or x, 209), but he has no qualms about relating marvels for the entertainment of the reader. Throughout his work he is guided by three principles: to adhere to the stated plan, not to go to excess over details and to avoid repetition. In the introduction to Book III, which concerns animals, he writes, "Were it not for the risk of saying too much, we could have composed an epistle for each animal, but we prefer to confine ourselves to the writing of others rather than to our own accounts" (ix, 225). He engages in a constant dialogue with the reader and explains his approach. To avoid repetitions, he often has recourse to postponements; he even has a system of double postponement which demonstrates simultaneously his attention to minute detail in his conception of the work as a whole and his unwillingness to weary the reader with repetitions (ix, 333, xii, 2). There remains a final important remark which is valid for the work as a whole; al-Nuwayrī's professional travels across parts of Syria and Egypt led him to take a constant interest in the countries and regions visited, and it is from this source that he draws all the concrete examples which are scattered throughout his work. Such personal notes occur on numerous occasions and in all parts of his encyclopaedia, on Tripoli, on Damascus, Upper Egypt, the Delta and Cairo, and in the historical section he borrows constantly from Syrian authors such as al-Djazarī or al-Birzālī, in a manner which enables him to sketch in, for each year, information concerning at least the places in which he has lived and worked at one time or another. Similarly, in the sections devoted to administration, his personal experience enables him to convey important information regarding the machinery of the financial administration of Mamlūk Egypt, with precise and meticulous descriptions. Furthermore, under the heading of administrative and financial information, al-Nuwayrī reveals indirectly, and without departing from his primary intention, certain aspects of the rural economy in the 8th/14th century. Thus his surveys of fiscal policy convey information on types of soil, crops, certain problems inherent in climatic or hydrographic conditions. In the same Book II, taking advantage of his access to important state documents and under the pretext of supplying models for the benefit of the *kātib*, he reproduces a series of letters emanating from, in particular, great sovereigns such as Baybars, Ḳalāwūn and his son Muḥammad. Other documents reproduced include certificates of investiture and records of *waḳfs*.

The first four *funūn* cover only ten volumes, while the section reserved for history accounts in itself for twenty-one. The importance of Book V accounts for the fact that his biographers consider al-Nuwayrī a historian before all else. He reveals his methodology in the introduction to his historical section: "When I saw that all those who wrote the history of the Muslims had adopted the annalistic form rather than that of dynastic history, I realised that by this method the reader was being deprived of the pleasure of an event which held his preference and of an affair which he might discover. The chronicles of the year draw to a close in a way which denies awareness of all the phases of an event. The historian changes the year and passes from east to west, from peace to war, by the very fact of passing from one year to another... The account of events is displaced and becomes remote. The reader can only follow an episode which interests him with great difficulty... I have chosen to present history by dynasties and I shall not leave one of them until I have recounted its history from beginning to end, giving the sum of its battles and its achievements, the history of its kings, of its kingdom and of its highways" (xiii, 2). Little (*Introduction to Muslim historiography*, 31; idem, *The historical and historiographical significance of the detention of Ibn Taymiyya*, in *IJMES*, iv [1973], 315) has already drawn attention to the originality of the method adopted by al-Nuwayrī in his willingness to break with chronology in order to give more coherence to his narrative. When he does this he alerts the reader and explains himself, then, when he has finished with his exposure of a topic, he writes as a general rule *wa-l-nardjiʿ li-siyāḳat al-akhbār* (or *al-taʾrīkh*) (Or 2n, fol. 15b) or *wa-l-nardjiʿ ilā baḳiyyat ḥawādīth al-sana* (Or 2n, fol. 29a). Following the stated pattern, proposing for example to deal with the history of the Mongols, he writes: "We shall give a brief account of (Čingiz Khān's) story and the circumstances of his appearance, his development and his reign. We shall explain this by means of what we have gained from our reading and by means of oral testimony which we have gathered... This kingdom was remote and vast, historians have not learned a great deal about it, we have not been able to verify... We have taken as our basis al-Nasawī and his Djalālī history (*Sīrat Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubirtī*) and Ibn al-Athīr and his *Kāmil*... If there are other historians who have studied this question, their work is not available to us" (xxvii, 300). These pre-occupations are very modern and they illustrate the author's constant concern to instruct his reader in the best way possible, providing him with the most reliable written and oral sources. But even in its historical section, al-Nuwayrī stresses the literary nature of his work, "Our book is not based on history only; it is a book of *adab*" (xiii, 5).

In the last part of his work which is devoted to the Mamlūk empire, Egypt, Syria and the Ḥidjāz, al-Nuwayrī departs from the stated plan and, for each sultan, after a biographical presentation, he gives an account of his battles, then of the events which took place under his reign, according to chronological order, giving obituary notices of distinguished persons at the end of each year. In spite of his wish to avoid repetitions, this pattern induces him to make them in numerous instances. Born some thirty years after the beginning of this dynasty, he begins by borrowing from his elders, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, Abū Shāma and Ibn Shaddād, then his contemporaries, al-Djazarī, al-Yūnīnī, al-Birzālī and Baybars al-Manṣūrī. As in other parts of his work, he usually mentions them by name but sometimes he is content to indicate his borrowings with *ḳāla* (or *ḥakā*) *al-muʾarrikh*; he sometimes adds the title of the work. He quotes the majority of his contemporaries, without saying whether he has known them personally. He adds to their material that which he has obtained from his friends and his professional contacts. He explains the choice of the plan which he has adopted at every opportunity (Or 2n, fols. 3a, 5b, 15b, 16a ...) even though, he says, he has not always conformed to the rules of history (*al-khurūdj ʿan al-ḳāʿida al-taʾrīkhiyya*).

Several authors have borrowed from the *Nihāya*;

reference should be made to the comparison of sources made by Little (*Introduction*...), with the aid of numerous passages, in order to attempt a clarification of the circulation of borrowings between the different authors of the Mamlūk period, while the severity of Ashtor's judgment of this work (*Studies*, 15) needs some attenuation, since its dimensions and its characteristics render impossible such an unequivocal judgment of the merits of this encyclopaedia.

The edition of the *Nihāya*, begun in Egypt by Aḥmad Zakī Pas͟ha in 1923, came to a halt with volume xviii in 1955, was then resumed in the 1970s and, after further interruptions, volume xxx appeared in 1991; however the two preceding ones, xxviii and xxix, are not yet available. The edition will comprise more volumes than the manuscript work, since the thirtieth which has just appeared deals with the beginnings of the Mamlūk period, while the years 678-731 have yet to be edited. Manuscripts of the *Nihāya* are to be found almost everywhere in Europe, in particular in Paris, Rome and Leiden, but also in Egypt. The work has been known and exploited for a long time [see *EI*[1], s.v.], but much remains to be drawn from it.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 175, S II, 173-4; Adfuwī, *al-Ṭāliʿ al-saʿīd*, Cairo 1966, 96, no. 51; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-d͟jāmiʿ al-g͟hurar*, Cairo 1971, viii, 391; al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abi 'l-Faḍāʾil, *al-Nahd͟j al-sadīd wa 'l-durr al-farīd*, Freiburg 1973, 55; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii, 165, no. 3097; idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr*, Frankfurt 1990, i, 82; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, i, 209, no. 507; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-aslāk*, Amsterdam 1846, ii, 358; idem, *Tad͟hkirat al-nabīh fī ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-banīh*, Cairo 1982, ii, 246; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, 363; idem, al-*Muḳaffaʿ*, Beirut 1991, 521, no. 508; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, *Nud͟jūm*, ix, 299; idem, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, i, 381, no. 203; idem, *al-Dalīl al-s͟hāfī*, i, 58, no. 199; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 255; ʿAli Mubārak, *al-K͟hiṭaṭ al-tawfīkiyya*, xvii, 15-16; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, 158; Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, *Kas͟hf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, iv, 397-8 no. 14069; Y. Sarkīs, *Muʿd͟jam*, 1884; Ismāʿīl Pas͟ha, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 108; E. Ashtor, *Some unpublished sources for the Baḥrī period*, in U. Heyd (ed.), *Studies in Islamic history and civilisation* (*Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix), Jerusalem 1961, 11-30; R. Blachère, *Quelques réflexions sur les formes de l'encyclopédisme en Egypte et en Syrie du VIIIe/XIVe siecle à la fin du IXe/XVe siecle*, in *BEO*, xxiii (1970), 7-20; Cl. Cahen, *Mea culpa sur D͟jazarī/Nuwayrī*, in *IOS*, iii (1973), 293; M. Chapoutot-Remadi, *Al-Nuwayrī encyclopédiste et chroniqueur égyptien de l'époque mamlūke*, in *Les Africains*, Paris 1978, x, 311-45; eadem, *Les encyclopédies arabes de la fin du Moyen âge*, in *L'encyclopédisme*, *Proceedings of the Symposium of Caen 12-16 Jan. 1987*, Paris 1990, 267-79; Amīna Muḥammad D͟jamāl al-Dīn, *al-Nuwayrī wa-kitābuhu Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, *maṣādiruhu al-adabiyya wa-ārāʾuhu 'l-naḳdiyya*, Cairo 1984; Shah Morad Elham, *Kitbuġā und Lāǧīn*, *Studien zur Mamluken-Geschichte nach Baybars al-Manṣūrī und Nuwairī*, Freiburg 1977, 27-37, 38-43, 54-61, 68-73; U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg 1969; idem, *L'édition de la chronique Mamlūke syrienne de Šams al-dīn Muḥammad al-Ǧazarī*, in *BEO*, xxvii (1974), 195-203; Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, *Muʾarrik͟hū Miṣr al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo 1969, 62-75; S. Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍāʾil*, Freiburg 1973, 24-7; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. A. Miquel and Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, Cairo 1985, 7-12.

(M. CHAPOUTOT-REMADI)

NUZHA [see MIʿZAF].

O

OB, one of the major rivers of Siberia, which flows from sources in the Altai Mountains to the Gulf of Ob and the Kara Sea of the Arctic Ocean. Its course is 3,680 km/2,287 miles long and 5,410 km/3,362 miles long if its main left-bank affluent, the Irtysh [see IRTIS͟H in Suppl.] is included. Its whole basin covers a huge area of western Siberia.

In early historic times, the lands along the lower and middle Ob were thinly peopled with such groups as the Samoyeds and the Ugrian Voguls and Ostiaks (in fact, the indigenous population of these regions today, only the upper reaches of the river in the Altai region being ethnically Turkish territory; see M.G. Levin and L.P. Potapov (eds.), *Narodï Sibiri*, Eng. tr. *The peoples of Siberia*, Chicago and London 1964, 305-41, 511-70). These Ugrian peoples are the ones whom the early Muslim geographers and travellers in Inner Asia knew as the Yūra (mediaeval Russ. *Yugra*) who lived beyond the Bulg͟hārs [*q.v.*] towards the *Baḥr al-Ẓulumāt* "Sea of Darkness", i.e. the Arctic, and supplied furs to the more southerly peoples by dumb barter (see J. Marquart, *Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen* (*uralischen*) *Länder aus dem 10. Jahrhundert*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, iv [1924], 289 ff., 303 ff., 321 ff.; V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, tr. 34, comm. 112-15; K. Donner, *La Sibérie*, Paris 1946, 124 ff.; P.B. Golden, in *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*, Cambridge 1990, 253-4).

It is probable that the Ob is to be identified with the river beyond the Ili, the Irtysh and a nameless one, and which Maḥmūd Kās͟hg͟harī calls the Yamār, locating along its shores the tribe of the Yabaḳu, who had their own language (? or dialect) but also spoke Turkish (*Dīwān lug͟hāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 29, 30, 79, iii, 28, etc. = tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-4, i, 83, 117, ii, 161, etc.; Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, 244, identifies the Yamār "probably" with the Ishim, a left-bank tributary of the Irtysh, hence further west than the Ob, but this seems too far west, in the light of the relative positions of the Turkish tribes in its vicinity, see below). The map accompanying Kās͟hg͟harī's text (reproduced by Dankoff and Kelly at i, 82; according to A. Herrmann, *Die älteste türkische Weltkarte*, in *Imago Mundi*, i [1935], 27, this is possibly by the author himself or was drawn according to his specifications) places the Yamār river beyond the lands of the Ḳay and Čömül tribes on the nameless river, again described as being beyond the Yabaḳu, but the Ḳay and Čömül territories may well have extended from the Irtysh to the

Ob, as apparently did those of the Basmil also (see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 285, 305; idem, *Marvazī*, comm. 96). There is also the precious information in Kāshgharī about an expedition northwards led by one Arslan-tigin (presumably a Ḳarakhānid [see ILEK KHĀNS]) against infidels who were led by a certain Budrač and who were routed, and the Turkish verses which Kāshgharī quotes mention the crossing of the Ili and the Yamār; also hostile to the Muslims were the Basmil (*Dīwān*, tr. Atalay, i, 144, 452, iii, 356 = tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 163, 340, ii, 330-1). Kāshgharī derived information directly from one of the participants in this *ghazw*, hence it must have taken place in the early or mid-5th/11th century, although the episode very soon became enshrouded in legendary accretions (Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 95-6, Fr. tr. *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 76-7).

Islam never penetrated to the Ugrian peoples of the lower and middle Ob, and the Turkic peoples of the upper reaches remained shamanists also. In the later 16th century, Kučum Khān, ruler of the Turco-Mongol khānate of Sibir [*q.v.*] centred on Isker on the middle Irtysh, was finally defeated by Russian forces in August 1598 on the Ob; the Russians had already penetrated to the Ob basin in their thrust eastwards through Siberia. A Russian army had reached the shores of the Ob in 1584; a fort was founded at Tomsk in 1604, and this place was later to be the seat of the first university in Siberia, inaugurated in 1888; Surgut was founded in 1595 and Barnaul erected into a town in 1771 (see Donner, *La Sibérie*, 144-6; J. Forsyth, *A history of the peoples of Siberia, Russia's north Asian colony 1581-1990*, Cambridge 1992, 28 ff.). The river itself, navigable on its upper course for some 190 days a year, became an important means of communication. Novosibirsk, where the Trans-Siberian railway crosses the Ob, was founded in 1893 and soon eclipsed Tomsk, later becoming the largest city of Soviet Asia. At present, the Ob basin falls within the Russian Republic, with only the river's headwaters in the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Oblast'.

Bibliography: Given in the text. See also *BSE*², xviii, 267-8, and SIBIR. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

OCHIALY [see ʿULŪDJ ʿALĪ].

OCHRIDA [see OKHRI].

OCSONOBA [see UKSHUNŪBA].

ODJAḲ (T.), "fireplace, hearth, chimney", a word which survives with a rather wide range of meanings in all Turkish languages and dialects. Originally *otčoḳ* < *otčaḳ* with the elements *ōt* "fire" and *-čaḳ* (perhaps to be connected with a rare suffix denoting a place, cf. S. Tezcan, *Eski Uygurca Hsüan Tsang biyografyası X. bölüm*, Ankara 1975, n. 1074; idem, *Das uigurische Insadi-Sutra*, Berlin 1974, n. 275). The connotation "iron ring (for a prisoner or criminal)" appears only in *Sanglākh* and in Sheykh Süleymān Bukhārī (G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1965 ii, 10-2, no. 421; G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 22). The term passed into Arabic (*wudjāḳ*), Persian and most Balkan languages (A. Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom-hrvatskosrpskom jeziku*, Sarajevo ³1973, s.v. *odžak*, etc.). There are place names derived from it, like Odžaci (district of Sombor, Bačka) and Odžak (a town in Bosnia, district Doboj and a locality near Livno).

Synonymously used with *yurt* [*q.v.*] in the sense of "family, inherited possession", *odjak* or *odjaklïḳ* means a special sort of *timar* (K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1973, 46 ff.) or a semi-independent *sandjaḳ* (N. Göyünç, *Yurtluk-ocaklık deyimleri hakkında*, in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na armağan*, Istanbul 1991, 269-77).

The *odjaḳ* was equally a unit of recruitment in the Ottoman military administration [see ʿADJAMĪ OGHLĀN, BOSTĀNDJÏ, DJEBEDJI]. The Janissaries in their totality were *the odjaḳ* par excellence [see YEÑI ČERI]. Their cognomen *Odjagh-ï Bektāshiyān* was coined for their close relation to the fraternity [see BEKTĀSHIYYA]. The Turkish soldiery in the Maghrib and Egypt was also referred to as the *odjaḳ* (M. Colombe, *Contribution à l'étude du recrutement de l'Odjaq d'Alger*, in *RAfr.*, lxxxvii [1943], 166-83; A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIᵉ siècle*, Damascus 1973-4, *passim*).

In the civil sphere we find groups of workmen formed into *odjaḳs* (e.g. L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, i, Budapest 1955, 761; C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda şehircilik ve ulaşım*, Istanbul 1984, 33: *ocağ-ı ahenger*).

The technical vocabulary of fraternities like the Bektāshiyya and the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*] assigns to the *odjaḳ* a special place in their *tekkes*. Bektāshī *tekkes* used to have an *odjaḳ* in front of the *ḳibla* between the *post* of Seyyid ʿAlī and the *Khorāsān postu*. In Mewlewī-khānes, *odjaḳ* was another word for the *maḳām* of the cook (*ashdjï dede*). Amongst the Alevis of Anatolia, *ocak-zâdes* are spiritual guides who belonged to one of the lineages stemming from the twelve imams (K. Kehl-Bodrogi, *Die Kızılbaş-Aleviten*, Berlin 1988, 167-79).

At the beginning of the 20th century, *odjaḳ* became an emotive word with nationalist overtones for the Turkist movement (seen in the *Türk Odjaghï* founded in 1911-12). The youth organisations of the more recent Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi were called *Ülkü Ocakları Dernekleri* (1968-78).

The traditional name for the month of January was replaced in 1945 by a literal translation (*calque sémantique*) from *Ḳānūn-i thānī* to *Ocak* (law no. 4696).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Gibb and Bowen, index; Pakalın, s.v. (K. KREISER)

ODJAḲLÏ [see ODJAḲ].

OFEN, first the German name of Pest [see PESHTE] (this meaning "cave or lime-kiln"), later and until recent times that of Buda [see BUDÏN], both today parts of the capital of Hungary.

OGĀDĒN, a vast arid expanse in the south-eastern part of Ethiopia approximately delimited by the Wadi Shebille to the south-west, the frontier of the former Somaliland to the north-east, the line Ferfer-Werder (the administrative capital) - Doomo to the south-east and the line Degeh Bur - Degeh Medo to the north-west. It is ranged over by Somali nomads belonging to the Dārōd group, the Ogādēn (from whom the region gets its name), and formed part of the province of Hararge (Harar) until 1991, when a new administrative set of arrangements on ethnic and cultural bases placed it within the "Somali province". It is claimed by the Republic of Somalia, and the fact that it actually belongs at present to Ethiopia explains the chevron-like shape of the Somalia territory. Certain fringe regions of Ogādēn (those of Jigjiga and the valley of the Shebelle) are cultivated by Somalis or by peasants who have come from other parts of Ethiopia. Explorations have revealed the presence there of natural gas.

It was after the conquest of the Muslim amirate of Harar [*q.v.*] in 1887 that the King of Shoa Menelik, the future Emperor of Ethiopia (b. 1844, regn. 1889-1913), ordered the conquest of Ogādēn, which was

completed in 1890. Carried out in the context of colonial expansion within the Horn of Africa (Britons, Italians and French installed themselves there in the years 1880-1890), this annexation was confirmed internationally by agreements concluded with Britian, which renounced part of the Haud pastures in favour of Ethiopia (1897), and with the Italians (1908), without however the frontiers being clearly delimited. Despite a certain amount of tension with the two European powers (the frontier incident of Wal-Wal in December 1934 was the pretext for the Italian agression against Ethiopia of 1935-6), the situation remained thus until 1960.

During the rebellion of 1900-20 of the *sayyid* Muḥammad ʿAbdille Ḥassān, the so-called "Mad Mullah" (who was of Ogādēn ancestry [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLAH B. ḤASSĀN]) against the British, some of the military operations took place in the territory of the Ogādēn, and these last made appeals to the Ethiopians for help on various occasions.

In 1960 the two former Italian and British colonies, Somalia and Somaliland, became independent and united to form the Republic of Somalia [*q.v.*]. Impelled by a militant pan-Somalia feeling, the new state proclaimed its rights over Ogādēn, claiming the provinces of Harargé (Harar), Bale, Sidamo and Arssi, hence much more than those territories actually inhabited by Somalis. It also claimed the French Coastal Region of the Somalis (which later became the French Territory of the Afars and Issas and then, after its achievement of independence in 1977, the Republic of Djibouti) and part of northern Kenya. From this time onwards, Ogādēn became one of the five territorial entities populated by Somalis and symbolised by the five points of the star in the national flag, to whose unity Somalian nationalism aspires.

The first war between Somalia and Ethiopia was begun by the former in 1964, and only international pressure prevented the Ethiopian military advance. The Khartoum Agreements in the spring of that year confirmed the status quo. After the fall of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, the Somalis took advantage of the disorder within Ethiopia to make another attempted invasion (1977). The Ethiopians only retrieved their position thanks to the Soviet Russian volte-face when the Soviets abandoned Somalia, their ally until 1970, for the Marxist Ethiopian régime and replaced American aid by their own. Thus the quite local problem of Ogādēn took on an international dimension.

The grave difficulties into which Somalia has fallen since 1991 have removed the imminent acuteness of the Ogādēn problem.

Bibliography: Material may be found in the general works dealing with Ethiopia, Somalia and the geopolitics of the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea regions. The following first two titles reflect the Ethiopian case in the Ogādēn dispute: Wolde-Mariam Mesfin, *The background of the Ethio-Somalia boundary dispute*, Addis Ababa 1964; S.P. Petrides, *The boundary question between Ethiopia and Somalia*, New Delhi 1983; I.M. Lewis, *A modern history of Somalia*³, London and Boulder, Colo. 1988. It may also be recalled that A. Rimbaud put together a *Rapport sur l'Ogadine* from the notes of the Greek merchant Sottiro (*Comptes-Rendus des Séances de la Société de Géographie, Paris* [1884]). (A. ROUAUD)

ÖGEDEY or ÖGÖDEY, the second Great Khān of the Mongol Empire. Born probably in 1186, he was the third son of Činggis Khan (Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*]) by his principal wife Börte. He was the first of the Mongol rulers to adopt the title Ḳaʾan: Djuwaynī always refers to him thus, almost as though it was regarded as a personal name. Čingis had during his lifetime indicated that Ögedey should succeed him, in preference to his other surviving sons Čaghatay and Toluy. It is often suggested that Ögedey was a generally acceptable conciliatory figure, and the empire seems to have been administered by Ögedey on the basis of family consultation rather than imperial autocracy. Ögedey does appear to have been, by Mongol standards, an unusually benevolent ruler, if the numerous anecdotes illustrating his tolerance and generosity which are preserved by Djuwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn are to be believed.

Čінggis's death in 1227 was, however, followed by a two-year interregnum before Ögedey was confirmed as Great Khān at a *ḳuriltay* in 1229 convened by his younger brother Toluy. Thereafter, the Mongol Empire continued to expand in both east and west. The conquest of the Chin Empire in north China was completed in 1234, and Mongol armies under the generals Čormaghun and Baydju campaigned in northern Persia from 1229. The most spectacular campaign undertaken during Ögedey's reign was that in Russia and eastern Europe. In 1235 a *ḳuriltay* decided to launch this expedition, which was to be headed by Batu [*q.v.*], son of Činggis's (deceased) eldest son Djoči, to whom the lands to the west had been allotted as his *ulus*. The campaigns, conducted triumphantly between 1237 and 1241, culminated in an invasion of eastern and central Europe, from Poland to Hungary and Austria, which was abruptly terminated in early 1242, probably at least in part because the news had reached Batu of the death of Ögedey on 7 December 1241 (possibly as a result of over-indulgence in drink: a not uncommon end among the Mongol notables). The enduring result of the expedition was the establishment of Batu's and his descendants' rule over what Westerners called the Golden Horde (known in the Islamic world as the Khanate of Ḳïpčaḳ).

The achievements of Ögedey's reign were not solely warlike. It was at this time that the Mongol Empire acquired a capital: Ḳaraḳorum, in the Orkhon [*q.v.*] valley of central Mongolia. Činggis seems previously to have used the site, but it was Ögedey who in 1235 had the city walled and who built the substantial though (according to the Franciscan traveller William of Rubruck, who was there in the 1250s) not enormously impressive buildings. Another significant achievement was the establishment in 1234 of the imperial communications system, the *Yām* [see MONGOLS, section 5]. This network of post stations was initially set up by Ögedey in the territories subject to his own direct rule, and it was then extended to include the lands subject to Čaghatay, Toluy and Batu. The reign saw the height of the (by no means unchallenged) influence of the Sino-Khitan minister Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, who managed to exercise some restraint on the Mongol leaders' more rapacious instincts; it is he who is credited with foiling the suggestion that the population of north China should be exterminated, and the land turned over to pasture for the Mongols' flocks and herds.

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Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, relevant section of the *Dj̲āmi*ʿ *al-tawārīk͟h*, ed. E. Blochet, GMS, Leiden and London 1911, or (better) ed. A. Alizade, Moscow 1980, tr. J.A. Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971.

2. Secondary sources: All general studies of the Mongol Empire contain some account of Ögedey and his reign. More detail is to be found in Barthold, *Turkestan*[4], London 1977, ch. 5, and L. de Hartog, *Genghis Khan: Conqueror of the World*, London 1989, chs. 13-15. On Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (conspicuous by his absence from the Islamic sources), see de Rachewiltz, *Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189-1243): Buddhist idealist and Confucian statesman*, in A.F. Wright and D. Twitchett (eds.), *Confucian personalities*, Stanford 1962, 189-216.

(D.O. Morgan)

OG͟HUL (t.), a word common to all Turkic languages (cf. W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1888-1911, i/2, cols. 1015-16), found as early as Ork͟hon Turkic and meaning "offspring, child", with a strong implication of "male child", as opposed to *ḳiz* "girl" [*q.v.*] (Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 83-4), original plural *og͟hlan*, still thus in Kās͟hg͟harī (*Dīwān lug͟hāt al-turk*, facs. ed. Atalay, iv, *Dizini*, 425-6; C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, Budapest 1928, 126).

In connection with the sense of "offspring, descendant", attention may be called to certain formations, such as *od̲j̲aḳ og͟hlu*, "son of a good house", *ḳul og͟hlu*, which used to be applied to the sons of the Janissaries. *Og͟hul* is very frequently found in family names where it takes the place of the Persian *zāde* or the Arabic *ibn*, e.g. Ḥekīm-og͟hlu or Ḥekīm-zāde for Ibn al-Ḥekīm, or Ramaḍān-og͟hlu for Ramaḍān-zāde or Ibn Ramaḍān (where it should be remembered that the Arabic *ibn* does not mean exclusively "son" but "descendant"). An incomplete survey of such formations in an early period is to be found in *Sid̲j̲ill-i* ʿ*ot͟hmānī*, iv, 778-812. Atatürk's law on family names has led in Republican Turkey to many names incorporating the element *oğlu* after the name of famous persons, families or tribes (e.g. Osmanoğlu, Şahsevenoğlu) or after the names of practitioners of trades and crafts (e.g. Saraçoğlu, Ekmekçioğlu, Tarakçıoğlu, Fırıncıoğlu, Dülgeroğlu).

From being an original plural, *og͟hlan* evolved into an independent singular, meaning "youth, servant, page, bodyguard", also found in certain compounds, e.g. *ič og͟hlan*, "sultan's page", *dil og͟hlan*, "language-boy", "interpreter". From *og͟hlan* we also get German Uhlan, the name for light cavalry.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also *İA* art. *Oğul* (F. Rahmeti Arat).

(F. Babinger-[C.E. Bosworth])

OG͟HUZ [see g͟huzz].

OG͟HUZ-NĀMA, a term which designates the epic tradition of the Og͟huz [see g͟huzz], Turkish tribes mentioned for the first time in the Ork͟hon [*q.v.*] inscriptions.

After the fall of the empire of the Kök or Celestial Turks (7th-8th centuries), the Og͟huz tribes migrated westwards. From the 8th and 9th centuries onwards, they are found installed in the basin of the middle and upper Syr Darya, between Lakes Aral and Balkas͟h in the modern Kazak͟hstan Republic, where they formed tribal confederations. The Sald̲j̲ūḳs, who invaded the Persian world and Asia Minor from the 11th century onwards, were part of these. The epic tradition of the Og͟huz rests on earlier legends and epic tales dating from before their adoption of Islam. The geographical setting reflects the regions of the Syr Darya. Like popular poetry and ethnic origin legends, this epic tradition was at first transmitted orally.

The title *Og͟huz-nāma* denotes the legend going back to the eponymous hero Og͟huz. The tales were transmitted by the *ozans* [*q.v.*] who recited and sang them to the accompaniment of the *kopuz*. Written *Og͟huz-nāmas* are signalled from the 13th century onwards, during the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period, but none has come down to us. The oldest text is that given by the Persian historian Ras͟hīd al-Dīn (646-718/1248-1318 [*q.v.*]) in his *Dj̲āmi*ʿ *al-tawārīk͟h* begun in the time of the Il-K͟hānid G͟hazan (694-703/1294-1304 [*q.v.*]) and presented to his successor Öld̲j̲eytü (703-16/1304-16 [*q.v.*]). The author based himself on oral information in which legend and reality are mixed together, which is why his history of the Og͟huz belongs more to the realm of folklore than history. Ras͟hīd al-Dīn's *Og͟huz-nāma* relates happenings from before the Og͟huz's conversion to Islam, but it also contains historical facts concerning the Sald̲j̲ūḳ conquests. The author must have used in the first place a text written in Turkish and then translated into Persian, since his narrative contains vocabulary elements from Mongolian and Eastern Turkish. He has added to this Ḳurʾānic verses and poetic quotations from the *S͟hāh-nāma*, as well as certain phrases aimed at making the subject more vivid, such as "in the towns of Talas and Sayram, Muslim Turks are living today".

In the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris there is preserved an *Og͟huz-nāma* in Uyg͟hur script (Suppl. turc 1001, fonds Schefer). According to P. Pelliot, it must have been written *ca.* 700/1300 in the region of Turfān, but the manuscript itself must have been copied in K͟hʷārazm at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. The story contains no Islamic traces, but Iranian influences and some Mongolian words have been detected in it. The story rests on the epic tradition of the ancient Turks. Cosmogonic myths and the confused memory of great exploits are linked with the eponymous hero Og͟huz. There is a totemistic substratum, such as the appearance of the "grey wolf". The heroes in it are the legendary Og͟huz K͟hān, of heavenly origin, and his Begs, who represent symbolically the Og͟huz tribes and confederations of tribes. The epic tradition was written between the 7th/13th and 9th/15th centuries. The copyists made no change at all to the basic text, apart from a certain Islamic gloss. They added details stemming from various periods and from various places inhabited by the Turks. An *Og͟huz-nāma* of 65 lines was inserted into the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Āl-i Sald̲j̲ūḳ* of Yazīd̲j̲ī-og͟hlu ʿAlī, who lived in the time of sultan Murād II (824-48, 850-5/1421-44, 1446-51 [*q.v.*]). Except for the latest part dealing with events contemporary with the author, the work is a translation of Ras͟hīd al-Dīn's *Dj̲āmi*ʿ *al-tawārīk͟h* for the Og͟huz and of Ibn Bībī for the Sald̲j̲ūḳids.

The *Og͟huz-nāma* gave birth to two works of fundamental importance. The first is the *Book of Dede Ḳorkut*, preserved in two manuscripts dating from the end of the 10th/16th century, one in the Vatican Library and the other at Dresden. Its subject is the epic-chevaleresque cycle of the Og͟huz and their fights with the evil Christian believers. Added to Central Asian motifs is material stemming from the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, when the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu occupied the lands of Persian Ād͟harbayd̲j̲ān and eastern Anatolia. The hero of the story, Bayïndïr, bears the name of an ancestor of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Dede Ḳorkut, to whom the story is attributed, represents the *ozan*, preserver of the oral epic tradi-

tion, who recites and sings the noble deeds of the old heroes. The second work drawn from the origins of the ancient *Oghuz-nāmas* is that of Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur (1012-74/1603-63 [*q.v.*]), a khān of Khwārazm who led an adventurous life, who belonged to the family of the Uzbek or Özbeg [*q.v.*] Shībānī and who was a descendant of Čingiz Khān. He wrote two works, one on the ethnic origins of the Turkmens, the *Shadjara-yi Tarākima*, and another, the *Shadjara-yi Turk*, written at Khīwa in the year of his death and forming a genealogical history of the Turks. The author used Rashīd al-Dīn's history, but he states that he used seventeen historical chronicles. The tradition of the legendary Oghuz lived on in Central Asia, where numerous *Oghuz-nāmas* written between the 9th/15th and 13th/19th centuries are to be found. On some occasions, Oghuz appears in them as a Muslim hero summoning his people to adopt the Islamic faith.

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(IRÈNE MÉLIKOFF)

OHRID [see OKHRI].

OKČU-ZĀDE, MEHMED SHĀH BEG (970-1039/1562-1630), Ottoman *nishāndji* and prose stylist.

Okču-zāde Mehmed Shāh (or Shāhī) Beg was born in 970/1562, the son of a long-serving Ottoman chancery official, later *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*] Okču-zāde Mehmed Pasha (d. *ca.* 995/1587). His own chancery career spanned 44 years. Appointed *kātib* of the *dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*] (988/1580), he held office as *re'īs ül-küttāb* (1005/1596), *defter emīni* (1006/1597), and *nishāndji* [*q.vv.*] (1007-10/1599-1601). He then served as *defterdār* [*q.v.*] of Egypt with the rank of *sālyāne begi* (1013-16/1605-8). After several years without official employment, he was reappointed *defter emīni* (*ca.* 1029/1620), then *nishāndji* briefly at the start of ʿOthmān II's Polish campaign (1030/1621), and again for a short final period (*ca.* 1031-3/1622-3) coinciding approximately with the second sultanate of Muṣṭafā I and the tenure of the office of *shaykh ül-Islām* by his friend and patron Yaḥyā Efendi. Okču-zāde died in 1039/1630 (Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭā'ī, *Dheyl-i Shekā'ik-i nuʿmāniyye*, Istanbul 1268/1852, ii, 730-1).

Considered by ʿAṭā'ī as second only to Tādjī-zāde Djaʿfer Čelebi for his skill as *nishāndji*, Okču-zāde's *inshā'* style is comparable with that of ʿAzmī-zāde, Nergisī and Weysī [*q.vv.*]. His principal works are: (i) *Münshe'āt al-inshā'*, a collection of about 80 letters, first compiled *ca.* 1038/1629, with a valuable autobiographical introduction; various manuscript versions exist. (ii) *Aḥsen al-ḥadīth* (published Istanbul 1313/1895-6), an elegant versification, with prose commentary, of *kırk ḥadīth* (cf. A. Karahan, *İslam-Türk edebiyatında Kırk Hadis toplama, tercüme ve şerhleri*, Istanbul 1954, 218-22). (iii) A prose translation of Kāshifī's [*q.v.*] *Tuḥfet al-ṣalāt* (completed 1021/1612). Samples of his verse are also found in *tedhkires* under the *makhlaṣ* Shāhī.

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(CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

OKHRĪ, OHRID, a former Ottoman *sandjak* capital and centre of an extensive *kaḍā'*, today a town of *ca.* 20,000 inhabitants situated in the south-westernmost part of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. The Ottoman name of Okhrī derives from the Slav Ohrid, which in turn goes back to the antique name Likhnidos. Throughout recorded history it was a major centre of Slav Christianity, the seat of an autocephalous patriarchate (976-1767 A.D.) and from 971 to 1018 capital of the West Bulgarian or Slav-Macedonian empire of Tsar Samuel. During the greater part of the Ottoman period (1385 or 1395-1912), it was the centre of a *sandjak* which comprised the south-western corner of modern Slav Macedonia and large stretches of central Albania. During the reorganisations of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], it was degraded to a *kaḍā'* in the *sandjak* of Manastīr [*q.v.*], which was also the centre of the *wilāyet* of Manastīr. Okhrī was further an Islamic centre of regional importance, possessing a number of mosques, *medreses* and dervish lodges, of which that of the Ḥayātiyye was the central *tekke* of this Khalwetiyye branch of supra-regional importance, having a large number of *tekkes*, especially in southern Albania.

Okhrī is situated at an altitude of 806 m/2,643 feet above sea level on the shores of Lake Ohrid, and is picturesquely built on the slopes of a promontory, which is on three sides surrounded by the lake and still carries the well-preserved castle and city walls of Tsar Samuel's time, repaired in the Middle Ages and maintained by the Ottomans till the 19th century. Its easily defensible position, on a lake full of fish and at the head of a fertile plain, ensured that the town was inhabited throughout recorded history as well as in pre-historic times. Moreover, Okhrī commands the Via Egnatia on the eastern approaches of Albania.

The old Ottoman chroniclers (ʿĀshıḳ-pasha-zāde, Orudj, Neshrī, Anonymus Giese) do not mention the conquest of Ohrid and present an inaccurate picture of the conquest of the adjacent districts (Manastīr, Pirlepe/Prilep to the east and Ḳarlī-Ili = Central Albania to the west), which are supposed to have been conquered in 787/1385. This date in fact represents a raid into Albania, ending with the Battle of the Vijoshe, after which a number of Albanian lords accepted Ottoman overlordship. It is possible that at that time the Albanian ruler of Ohrid, the Grand Župan Andrew Gropa, who in 1378 is mentioned as such on the foundation inscription of the church of Old St. Clement, was removed and direct Ottoman rule installed. It is nevertheless difficult to imagine

direct rule over the Ohrid area as long as Constantin Dejanović and Marko Kraljević were still ruling over almost all of Slav Macedonia (till their deaths in 1395) as Ottoman vassals. The town of Ohrid seems to have surrendered to the Ottomans without a fight and the annexation of the district went through without great disturbance. On one side, this is reflected in the fact that the Ohrid Christians continued to live inside the old walled town and kept almost all their old churches. Moreover, the flourishing Slav Christian arts of the 14th century, architecture, icon painting and wall painting, continued to flourish after the Ottoman administration was installed. This is shown by a long list of newly-built or painted churches in the villages around Ohrid and in the town itself (Radožda, 1400; Višni, 1400-5, Elšani, 1407-8; Njivica (Psarades), 1409-10; Velestovo, 1444, Godivlje, *ca.* 1450; Lešani Monastery 1451-2, Stefan Pancir-Gorica, 1450-60; Sts. Constantin and Helena in Ohrid, 1460; Leskoec, 1461-2; St. Nicolas Bolnica in Ohrid, 1467 and 1480-1; Kosel, 1490, mostly built by local Ohrid noblemen). Interesting is the gap between the 1410s and 1430s, an indication of the unsettled conditions during the civil war between the sons of Sultan Bāyezīd I and its aftermath under Murād II. The artists of this 15th-century "School of Ohrid" also left their works in present-day Greek territory (Banitsa, now Vevi, near Vodena-Edessa, 1460): in Bulgaria, Monastery of Dragalevtsi near Sofia, 1475-6; the Monastery of St. Demetrius of Boboševo near Dupnica, 1487-8, and the Monastery of Matka near Skopje, painted in 1496-7 at the expense of Lady Milica, also a member of the old nobility. Some churches have a list of their property in land and orchards, others mention the bishop in whose time the building was erected or painted, or they mention the ruling Ottoman Sultan, styled as "Tsar". As a whole, these preserved monuments of Christian art mirror the situation in the Ohrid *ḳaḍā*ʾ in a manner not recorded in any chronicle.

After the conquest, the Ottomans confiscated two of the major churches of Ohrid and turned them into mosques for the Muslim settlers who came to form the nucleus of the Muslim Turkish population of the town. The first church was the cathedral of St. Sofia, built in 1056 by the Byzantine archbishop Leo on the site of an older church, perhaps going back to K̲h̲ān or Tsar Boris or Michael after the Bulgarians/Macedonians had converted to Christianity (865 A.D.) and enlarged by a monumental exo-narthex by Archbishop Gregory in 1317. An Ottoman account of sizeable repairs of this building, dated 955/1548 (Maliyeden Müdevver no. 55, p. 522), gives us the name of the ruler responsible for the transformation of the church into a mosque: "the father of Sultan Murād K̲h̲ān, Sulṭān Meḥemmed K̲h̲ān", which is Meḥemmed I (1413-21). This sultanic mosque did not get a *waḳf* of its own. The expenditure for its maintenance and for the large staff of its servants (according to an account of 1047/1636-7, sixteen persons) was paid by the income of the Ok̲h̲rī *muḳāṭaʿa* (BBA, Maliyeden Müdevver no. 5625, p. 26). The second church, the then episcopal church of St. Clement, a tri-conchos, built in the late 9th century by St. Clement himself, must have been seized by Sultan Meḥemmed II when visiting the town during his Albanian campaign of 1466. In that year, there had been disturbances, of a further unspecified nature, in Ohrid, in which the Archbishop Dorothej and a part of the Ohrid clergy and nobility had been involved. This group was deported to Istanbul and to the town of Elbasan, newly-founded by Meḥemmed in that same year. The confiscation of the church is seen as an act of punishment.

This action would explain why the mosque is locally known as the "Mosque of Sultan Meḥemmed". In the last decade of the 15th century, the by then 600 year-old church was demolished, and on its foundations the large, single-domed mosque which we see today was erected in the pure Ottoman style of the time of Bāyezīd II. Before the confiscation, the Ohrid Christians were allowed to dig up the relics of St. Clement and to take all the icons and church books to the large monastery church of Panayia Perivleptos, built in 1295 by the Albanian lord Progon Sguros, son-in-law of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II. In this way, the Perivleptos church, thereafter called "St. Clement"', became the richest repository of mediaeval icons and manuscripts. It became the seat of the Patriarchate of Ohrid, and it remained there till the end of this institution, able to function legally within the framework of Ottoman law.

The walled town of Ohrid encloses a space of nearly 32 ha. Using the well-known formula of 130 to 150 inhabitants per hectare for a mediaeval walled settlement, this would indicate a population of about 4,000 inhabitants, which is a lot for its time and place. As, however, the western half of the enclosure was almost certainly empty (steep slopes, and no traces of mediaeval buildings whatsoever), we might suggest a pre-Ottoman population of 2,500-3,000. In the 15th century the number of the original inhabitants of Ohrid must have diminished. Almost immediately after the conquest of Constantinople, the Jews of Ohrid were deported to the new Ottoman capital. In 947/1540 the Jews from Ohrid living in Istanbul numbered only 16 families (Tapu Defter no. 210, pp. 45-72). In 1466 Sultan Meḥemmed II deported an unknown number of Ohrid Christians to his newly-founded town of Elbasan, an event only recorded in an marginal note in a Slavic church book. The Ottoman census register T.D. 367 from 1528-9, p. 432, describing Elbasan, gives an impression of the extent of this deportation. Out of the 174 households of Christians, 73 households are mentioned as deportees (*d̲j̲emʿat-i sürgünān-i gebrān-i nefs-i Ilbaṣan*), paying until then considerably lower taxes. The first preserved detailed survey of the urban population of Ohrid is apparently the census of 1583, contained in the *mufaṣṣal defter* of the Ohrid *sand̲j̲aḳ* preserved in the Cadaster Office in Ankara (Kuyudu Kadime, no. 25). It gives the names of 25 Christian *maḥalla*s in Ohrid, mostly called after their churches, having altogether 263 households. The Muslims are mentioned as one group with a total of 270 households. The names of the heads of households show us that a considerable part of them were converts to Islam in the first generation (ibn-i ʿAbd Allāh), 21% of the total. As a whole, the town might have numbered 2,600-2,800 inhabitants, including the military and the administration, or just about as many as in the 14th century. The 1583 register explicitly states that the Christians as well as the Muslim citizens were freed from paying the *ʿawāriḍ* and *tekālif* taxes [see ʿAWĀRIḌ] because they had long been entrusted with the maintenance of the town walls.

For the villages of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Ohrid, we have population numbers from 1519 and 1583 for the Muslims and the Christians, and for 1634 for the Christians only. The best available numbers for the late Ottoman population, from Vasil Kănčev, shortly before 1900, show us the end of the development. Especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, this shows a totally atypical demographic trend. For the two

towns of the *ḳaḍāʾ* (Ohrid and Ustruga/Struga) and 55 of its villages, constituting almost two-thirds of the whole, we have comparable numbers. In 1519 these settlements contained 2,745 households, of which 7% were Muslim, all living in the two towns. Instead of showing a massive population growth, as known from most of the Balkans and Anatolia (and all over Europe), the Ohrid area stagnated. In 1583 the Christians numbered 2,490 households, only 35 more than in 1519. The Muslims, on the other hand, had increased from 200 to 523, or to 17% of the total surveyable population. The numbers of 1634 (Nat. Libr. Sofia, Oh. 6-7) show that the Islamisation of a part of the population of the villages and the towns must have continued, but as a whole the total population suffered only a slight decline, and not the drastic losses known to have taken place elsewhere, in the Balkans, especially in the Greek lands and in Central Anatolia. The poll tax register of 1634 shows that the Christian population of the town of Ohrid had decreased to 210 households. A codex entry of the year 1664 mentions that the town had 142 Christian houses but no less than 37 churches. In 1670 Ewliyā Čelebi visited the town, which he describes as counting 160 well-built Christian houses, all situated within the castle walls, and over 300 Muslim houses, also well constructed and palace-like. These numbers look quite reliable. The mid-17th century seems to reflect the lowest point for the Ohrid Christians. In the subsequent period, they recovered, when the town again was witnessing expansion. The same is true for the village population. Some villages, which in the late 16th century seemed to be on the road toward total Islamisation (Delogožda, Livada, Misleševo, Moroišta, Novo Selo, Orovnik, Trebeništa, Vapila and Volino), had by 1900 no Muslims at all. Some later prominent Muslim villages, as Radolišta, Velešta or Zagračani, on the other hand, were in 1583 already one-third Muslim, showing that this process is much earlier than the 17th century, with its grave economic difficulties, than is usually assumed.

After the Ottoman conquest, the town of Ohrid began to spread outside the city walls. A *ḥammām* on the Struga road, to the north-east of the castle, with pronounced 15th-century features, still stands as an illustration of this process. The most important genuine Ottoman building in the town is the so-called "ʿImāret Dj̲āmiʿi", or "Emperor's Mosque" (Careva Džamija). Local legend connects it with Meḥemmed the Conqueror. In fact, it was built immediately before 897/1490-1, when its *waḳf-nāme* was written. In this important source, the founder was Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf Čelebi, son of Ḳāḍī Maḥmūd. This Sinān Čelebi is mentioned in 1479 as inspector of the sultanic *k̲h̲āṣṣeler* in Bosnia. He died in Radj̲ab 898/April 1493 and was buried in the graveyard next to his mosque, where his *türbe* and tombstone are still preserved. According to local legend, Sinān was a Pas̲h̲a and a descendant of a local Ohrid noble family. The *waḳf-nāme* provides for a *zāwiye*, a school and an *ʿimāret* where the poor of all creeds were fed daily. Very probably, Sinān Čelebi dedicated the mosque to Sultan Bāyezīd II, when the latter on his Albanian campaign of 1492 visited Ohrid. To the *waḳf* property belonged the large villages of Vraništa and Ležani near Ohrid, which he had received from Sultan Bāyezīd as a present, as well as a *k̲h̲ān* in Karaferya/Verria and some shops and water mills in and around Ohrid. The *ʿimāret* mosque fell into ruins in the late 19th century, but its four walls remain standing, the whole showing pronounced features of the architectural fashion of Bāyezīd II's time. All other Islamic buildings of any importance are situated outside the old town, to the east and the south of it, along the flat lake-side and on the plain along the roads to Manastīr/Bitola and Struga. Besides the above-mentioned buildings, the *waḳf* section of the 1583 census (BBA, TD 717, a *suret* from 1613, pp. 741-53) gives the names of a number of mostly small Islamic institutions and their buildings: the school (*muʿallim-k̲h̲āne*) of Süleymān Bey, the *mesdj̲id* of Iskender Bey, the *mesdj̲id* and school of Maḥmūd Čelebi, son of Ḥādjdjī Ṭurg̲h̲ut, the mosque of S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ S̲h̲udjāʿ b. Barak, the school of ʿAlī Čelebi b. Ḥamza, the school and *mesdj̲id* of Yūnus Voyvode and the *mesdj̲id* of Ḥamza the Bazargān. Ok̲h̲rī-zāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi, who founded a school in Struga, was the builder of a *ḥammām* in Ohrid, most probably the one on the Struga road. The fact that Islam was slowly spreading in the Ohrid villages is illustrated by the fact that a Meḥmed Bey b. Isḥāḳ had constructed a *mesdj̲id* and a school in the village of Delogožda, where in 1583 14 Muslim households were living, besides 73 Christian households (in 1900 Delogožda was entirely Muslim). The register also mentions the mosque of Ḥādjdjī Ḳāsīm in Ohrid but gives no details on its *waḳf*. The Aya Sofya mosque/church is not mentioned because it had no *waḳf* of its own, but was maintained from other sources.

In 1081/1670-1, Ewliyā Čelebi visited Ohrid, and he mentions that the town had 17 mosques and *mesdj̲ids*, of which the mosque of Ḥādjdjī Ḳāsīm, the Ḳulog̲h̲lu mosque, the mosque of Ḥaydar Pas̲h̲a and that of Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza were the most important, besides of course the Aya Sofya mosque/church and that of Sinān Čelebi, who in the 1583 lists and by Ewliyā is styled Ok̲h̲rī-zāde or Ok̲h̲rī-zāde Sinān Čelebi. Of *medreses*, Ewliyā mentions the "*tekke-medrese*" of Sultan Süleymān and the *medrese* of Siyāwus̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a, both unknown from the extant sources, including the comprehensive work of Cahid Baltacı. The official Ottoman list of *medreses* of Rūmeli from *ca.* 1660 (Özergin 1974), however, mentions the only *medrese* then active in Ohrid as being that of Ḥamza Bey, a person certainly identical with the founder of the mosque of "Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza" as mentioned by Ewliyā and the "Ḥamza Bazargān" of the 1583 *defter*. Besides these buildings, there were three *k̲h̲āns* in Ohrid and two *ḥammāms*. Illustrative is Ewliyā's remark that the Aya Sofya mosque was only used on Fridays, when its guards and servants came to pray there, but that on other days, against a small payment, Christians were admitted to perform their own ceremonies. Taken in all, the Ohrid of the 17th century was still a small town, in spite of its being the centre of an important *sandj̲aḳ*.

In 1767 the Ottomans, advised by the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople, dissolved the autocephalous archbishopric of Ohrid, which until that time still had the metropolitans of Kastoria, Prilep/Bitola, Strumica, Korça/Elbasan, Berat, Drač/Durazzo, Vodena/Edessa, Grevena and Sisanion under its jurisdiction, as well as the bishoprics of Debar/Kičevo, Veles, Prespa, Moglena, Gora-Mokra and Drimkol. In 1557 Ohrid had already lost its northern districts (Kalkandelen/Tetevo, Üsküp/Skopje, Istip/Štip, Gorna Džumaya-Nevrokop and Razlog), which came under jurisdiction of Serbian Patriarchate of Ipek/Pač, then restored by the Ottoman administration.

In the second half of the 18th century, the K̲h̲alwetiyye S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ Meḥmed Ḥayātī lived and worked in Ohrid and founded the Āsitāne-yi Ḥayātiyye, the mother *tekke* of a large number of others in

Macedonia and especially in Albania, as well as in the Greek Macedonian town of Kesriye/Kastoria. Meḥmed Ḥayātī is said to have studied in Edirne under the famous Ḥasan Sezāʾī (died in 1151/1738) and took the *khilāfet* from Shaykh Hüseyin of Siroz/Serres, after which he settled in Ohrid and transformed an old *medrese* into the first *tekke* of his new Khalwetī sub-order, which he and his followers propagated successfully.

From the end of the 18th century till 1830, Ohrid and its district was ruled by the Albanian *derebey* Djemāl al-Dīn Bey, son of the Wezīr Aḥmed Pasha, who is remembered locally for the restoration of the Ohrid town walls, done with harsh forced labour from the local Christian population. He also brought good drinking water to the town, a feat commemorated in a long Ottoman inscription on the Iḥtisāb Česhme in the old town square "Čınar", a work of the poet Süleymān Fehim (1203-62/1789-1846), dated 1237/1821-2. In 1830, the reformed Ottoman army, on its way to suppress the Būshātlī Wezīrs of Iskenderiyye/Shkodër, drove him away and reinstalled a regular Ottoman administration. In 1262/1846 the Ottoman *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* Sherīf Bey constructed a large new *medrese* in Ohrid, of which a long inscription still remains. In the course of the 19th century, a number of mosques were repaired or rebuilt in the style of the period. The most important is the domed ʿAlī Pasha mosque in the market-place.

In the course of the 18th century, the population of the town of Ohrid and its *ḳaḍāʾ* began to grow. This growth gained momentum in the 19th century and is in accordance with the general trend in Europe and in the Ottoman dominions. One of the characteristics was that the Christians grew considerably faster than the Muslims, having bigger families. The result was that by 1900, when Kǎnčev did his research, which is generally held to be the most reliable, the town's population, in 1583 fifty-fifty Muslim-Christian and in the mid-17th century two-thirds Muslim, became two-thirds Christian. Kǎnčev gives for Ohrid 8,000 Bulgarian-Macedonian Christians, 300 Albanian and 460 Vlach Christians, 5,000 Turks and 500 Albanian Muslims. In the three *nāḥiyes* of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ohrid, great changes had occurred. The mountainous *nāḥiye* of Debrica in the north-east had entirely kept its Christian character but in the *nāḥiyes* of Ohrid, and especially that of Ustruga/Struga, Islam had gained considerably, partly through conversion of the local Slav-Macedonian population, partly through the settlement of Muslim Albanians coming from the west. The large villages of Boroec, Labunište, Oktisi and Podgorci had become half-Muslim but had remained Slav-speaking; the villages of Bogovica, Delogožda, Frangovo, Kalište, Mislodežda, Novo Selo, Poum, Radolišta, Velešta and Zagračani had become entirely Albanian Muslim. Turkish-speaking Muslims were only living in the towns of Ohrid and Struga. As a whole, the population of the *ḳaḍāʾ* had risen to 60,305 inhabitants, of whom 16,837, or 28%, were Muslim. The Ottoman *Nüfūs Defter* of 1889 gives 36,621 Christians and 16,230 Muslims (= 31%), the difference being caused by the fast-growing Christian community. The *Sālnāme* of the Manastīr *wilāyet* of 1305/1887-8, intended for public use, gives falsified numbers (17,345 Christians and 29,360, 63%, Muslims!)

Nineteenth-century Ohrid was a prosperous place. The Christian population particularly flourished and lived in large and well-built houses, the fur industry being their principal occupation. J.G. von Hahn, travelling in the early 1860s, especially noted that there were very few poor people in Ohrid. In his time, the *ʿimāret* of "Sinān Pasha" was still functioning, but it had lost most of its income. Like Ewliyā Čelebi 200 years before him, Hahn praises this institution, distributing food to the needy regardless of their religion.

During the Balkan Wars, on 29 November 1912, the Serbian-Montenegrin army took Ohrid, which was then incorporated in the Serbian state. Late Ottoman Ohrid counted, according to the *Sālnāme* of the Manastīr *wilāyet* of 1308/1890-1, 13 *khāns*, two *ḥammāms*, nine mosques, two *tekkes* and one *medrese*. In 1934 Fehim Bajraktarević noted 12 mosques in Ohrid. Most of his names are the same as those encounted by Ewliyā Čelebi. After 1912 the St. Sofia church/mosque was reconverted to a church. The Ottoman additions, except for the fine marble *minbar*, were removed. In the years after World War II, the many surviving mediaeval churches and their paintings were restored and studied. To a lesser extent the same was done with the Ottoman monuments. In 1955-6 an important part of the Turkish-speaking Muslims of Ohrid and Struga emigrated to Turkey. Their place was taken by Albanian Muslims, who in the 20th century witnessed an expansive growth, turning Ohrid from a Turkish-Muslim into an Albanian-Muslim town, especially as the Christians hardly grew any more. The Asitāne of the Ḥayātī order under the leadership of Sheykh Ḳadrī (born 1932), a direct descendant of Meḥmed Ḥayātī, is functioning unbrokenly, its buildings in perfect shape (December 1992). This *tekke*, which is one of the most important of Macedonian Islam, shared in the general renaissance of Islam after the downfall of old Yugoslavia.

The various censuses of the 20th century, only available for the western half of the old *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ohrid, show that the Albanian Muslims and the Pomaks [*q.v.*] survived the turbulences of the Balkan Wars and the two World Wars. In 1900 the 39 settlements later constituting the Yugoslav district of Struga, basically the plain of Ohrid and the mountains facing Albania, contained 24,640 inhabitants, of which 38% was Muslim. In 1914 it stood at 25,970 inhabitants, 39% Muslim; in 1944; 31,341 inhabitants, of which 42% Muslim; in 1953; 33,319, 46% Muslim; and 1969; 40,172, 52% Muslim. Thus the 19th century pattern has been completely reversed, the Muslims having the larger families, and the Slav Christian population, especially since the 1970s, being almost static. In the early 1990s, the Muslim population, Albanian, Slav Macedonian and Turkish-speaking, must have reached two-thirds of the total population of the same area.

Since World War II, the entire old town of Ohrid has been declared a Monument of National Culture, to be preserved for the coming generations. The town, with its many monuments and oriental flavour, and the lake side, has developed into a centre of international tourism, the most important one of Slav Macedonia.

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OKTAY [see ÖGEDEY].

OKTAY RİFAT (Horozcu), Turkish author and poet, born in Trabzon in 1914. He was the son of Samih Rifat, author and poet and Governor of Trabzon. He finished at the Faculty of Law in 1936 and was sent to Paris on a government grant to further his studies. After three years he had to come back to Turkey without completing his doctorate because of the start of World War II (1940). He worked at the Directorate of Press and Information and later practiced law. He died in Istanbul on 18 April 1988.

His friendship with Orhan Veli, whom he met at secondary school, continued until his death. He wrote only poetry until 1960, drama after 1960 and novels after 1970. In all his works, his literary style and themes show great variation because he liked trying his hand at different forms of expression, always renewing himself. Expression of his feelings and his thoughts, and the symbols which he created, all stemmed from his keen observation of real life.

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OKYAR, ʿAlī Fetḥī (1880-1943), Turkish statesman and diplomat, was born and brought up in Macedonia, then under Ottoman rule. He entered the War College and Staff College in Istanbul, graduating as a Staff Captain in 1904. At the War College, he formed a lifelong friendship with Muṣṭafā Kemāl [Atatürk]. During service with the 3rd Army, he joined the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI], which brought about the revolution of 1908. He was then posted as Military Attaché in Paris (1908-11) before returning to serve in what is now Libya (1911) and in the first Balkan war (1912). He was briefly elected to the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies in 1912, and in 1913 he resigned from the army to become Ambassador in Sofia (1913-17). After re-election to parliament in December 1917, he joined the cabinet formed by ʿIzzet Pasha at the very end of the Great War. In March 1919 he was imprisoned by the succeeding government of Dāmād Ferīd Pasha [*q.v.*], and then transferred by the British to internment in Malta until 1921. After his release, Fetḥī joined the nationalist government led by Muṣṭafā Kemāl, becoming Minister of the Interior in October 1921, and twice Prime Minister (August to November 1923, and November 1924 to March 1925). He then left parliament, to become Turkish Ambassador in Paris. In August 1930 he returned to Turkey to establish the Free Republican Party (*Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*). This was set up with Atatürk's encouragement as a Liberal opposition to the ruling Republican People's Party. Unfortunately the experiment proved premature since, against Fethi's intentions, the party attracted the support of those opposed to the secular institutions of the republic. Accordingly, it was wound up in October 1930. Fethi was appointed Ambassador to London in 1934, staying there until 1939, when he re-entered the Turkish parliament. He served a term as Minister of Justice, but retired in 1942, and died after an illness in 1943.

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ÖLDJEYTÜ, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Khar-(later Khudā-)Banda Öldjeytü Sulṭān, eighth Mongol Īlkhān of Persia and the penultimate direct descendant of Hülegü to rule (704-16/1304-16). Born in 680/1282, he was like his predecessor Ghazan a son of Arghun, the fourth Īlkhān. He succeeded his brother without serious difficulty, and began a reign which was unusually peaceful by Mongol standards. Öldjeytü does not appear to have been a notable soldier, and his reign saw only three major military expeditions. In 706/1307 he attempted, at considerable cost, forcibly to incorporate the Caspian province of Gīlān, which had remained independent, into the Īlkhānate. In 712/1312-13 he mounted the last Īlkhānid invasion of Mamlūk territory, unsuccessfully besieging Raḥbat al-Shām [see RAḤBA] on the Euphrates; and in 713/1314 he was obliged to march east to ward off an invasion of Khurāsān by forces

Okhrī, ruin of Imaret Mosque, late 15th century. (Photo: M. Kiel, 1990)

Okhrī, Hayati Tekke, early 19th century. (Photo: M. Kiel, 1990)

from the Čaghatay Khānate. The early years of the reign had in fact seen an attempt, successful for a time, to re-establish peace and harmony between the various Khānates of the Mongol Empire. Öldjeytü refers to this in a Mongolian letter of 1305 to King Philip the Fair of France (A. Mostaert and F.W. Cleaves, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Arγun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel*, Cambridge, Mass. 1962).

Domestically there seems to have been considerable continuity with the previous reign; the reform programme associated with Ghazan continued in force, though it may perhaps have been pursued with reduced enthusiasm. The great *wazīr* and historian Rashīd al-Dīn continued to hold office throughout the reign, though his tenure was not untroubled. His colleague Saᶜd al-Dīn Sāwadjī fell from power and was executed in 711/1312, to be succeeded by Tādj al-Dīn ᶜAlī-Shāh. Relations between Rashīd al-Dīn and Tādj al-Dīn eventually became so bad that the empire had to be divided into two administrative spheres so that the *wazīrs'* responsibilities should as far as possible not overlap: Rashīd al-Dīn took the centre and south of the empire while Tādj al-Dīn was made responsible for the north-west, Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Early in the next reign, that of Öldjeytü's son Abū Saᶜīd, Tādj al-Dīn was able to engineer Rashīd al-Dīn's fall and execution (718/1318) before himself achieving the unparalleled feat, for an Īlkhānid *wazīr*, of dying of natural causes.

Rashīd al-Dīn presented to Öldjeytü his history of the Mongols which Ghazan had commissioned, and which was to form the first part of the *Djāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh*. Öldjeytü asked him to continue the work as a memorial to Ghazan. This continuation was to contain accounts of all the peoples with whom the Mongols had come into contact: the unique "world-history" sections of Rashīd al-Dīn's great history.

Öldjeytü's personal religious pilgrimage was complex even by the standards of the day, encompassing at one time or another almost every currently available faith. No doubt a residual shamanist, he had in infancy been baptised a Christian, with the name of Nicholas in honour of Pope Nicholas IV, with whom his father had negotiated. Subsequently he became a Buddhist, but after Ghazan's decisive conversion to Islam, he became a Sunnī Muslim, dallying in turn with the Ḥanafī and Shāfiᶜī *madhhabs*. Thereafter he became a Shīᶜī.

For much of the reign work continued on a new capital, Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*], on the plain to the south-east of modern Zandjān. The city had been founded by Arghun; it was completed in 713/1313-14. Since Öldjeytü maintained the nomadic habits of his ancestors, migrating seasonally from summer to winter quarters, Sulṭāniyya should perhaps be called his "chief seasonal residence" rather than his capital (C.P. Melville, *The itineraries of Sultan Öljeitü, 1304-16*, in *Iran*, xxviii [1990], 55-70). It is said that Öldjeytü wished to transfer the mortal remains of the Shīᶜī imāms ᶜAlī and Ḥusayn to a new shrine in Sulṭāniyya. This remarkable mausoleum eventually became, instead, Öldjeytü's own. It still stands, the only important building of the new capital to survive and the most striking positive memorial of the Mongol period in Persian history.

Bibliography: Primary sources: The most important is Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳāshānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ūljāytū*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969. The unique ms., Aya Sofya 3019, ff. 135a-240b, should if possible be consulted. See also Waṣṣāf, *Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, lith., ed. M.M. Iṣfahānī, Bombay 1852-3. Sources from the Tīmūrid period are also of value, e.g. Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl-i Djāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh*, ed. K. Bayānī, 2nd ed., Tehran 1972, as are Mamlūk sources, especially ᶜUmarī, in K. Lech, *Das mongolische Weltreich*, Wiesbaden 1968.

Secondary sources: J.A. Boyle in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, 397-406; Spuler, *Mongolen*[4], Leiden 1985, 90-8.

(D.O. Morgan)

OLENDIREK, Ottoman form of the Greek Lidoriki, a small borough in the central Greek Eparchy of Doridos, Nomos Efthiotis, 46 km west of Amphissa/Salona (16 km as the crow flies) and only urban centre of a large and particularly mountainous rural area. In Ottoman times it was the centre of a *ḳāḍīlīk*, first of the *sandjak* of Tirhala, after 1530 of Inebakhtī-Lepanto, which after that date was organised as a separate *sandjak*. It would remain within Inebakhtī until the end of the Ottoman period (here 1827). In the 17th and 18th centuries it was an Islamic centre of local importance.

Olendirek is situated in a small plain, 630 m above sea level, at the foot of the Giona Mountains (2510 m), at the crossing of the pass roads from Athens and Thebes (Istife) to Inebakhtī and from the Morea, via the small port of Vitrinitsa-Vodrunce, over the mountains to the Spercheios valley at Badračīḳ-Ypate in the north, and further to Thessaly and Macedonia, a route in modern times rarely used.

The place is mentioned as a seat of an Greek Orthodox bishopric from the late 9th century onward. After 1204 it belonged to the Despotate of Epirus and in 1327 it was included in the Catalan Duchy of Athens, as property of the Fadrique family. Sultan Yīldīrīm Bāyezīd reportedly occupied it in 1394 but lost it to the Despot of the Morea, Theodore Paleologus, three years later. Mediaeval Lidoriki must have had a castle, but nothing remains of it and nothing is known about it among the local population. S. Bommeljé and P. Doorn suggested that the castle of Velouchovo (now Kallion), 3 km outside the town, where antique and mediaeval ruins are preserved, is identical with the *Lodorich castrum* of the sources.

The exact date of the definitive Ottoman conquest of Olendirek is not known. Most probably it was taken during the reign of Murād II (1421-51) because the adjacent area immediately to the west, the likewise very mountainous district of Kravari, which also belonged to the *sandjak* of Tirhala, was firmly in Ottoman hands in 1454. This can be seen in the *Taḥrīr defter*, Mal. Müd. 10, which contains frequent references to an earlier Ottoman census of the same district. The section on Olendirek is not preserved in this incomplete register.

At the very beginning of Ottoman rule, a small Muslim Turkish colony was settled in the town, which became the nucleus of the much larger Muslim population of later times. According to the Ottoman census of 1466 (Mal. Müd. 66), the town was the centre of a district with 10 villages and 34 *katuns* (semi-permanent settlements of Albanian or Vlach cattle breeders) and had 24 Muslim households and 146 Christian ones. According to the 1569-70 census, (Ankara KuK 50) the Muslims had stagnated at 19 households, whereas the Christians had gone up to 243 households. The town had a privileged status as a *derbend* settlement, guarding the road from Morea, Ḳarlī-ili and Inebakhtī to the inland of Greece in exchange for exemption from the *ᶜawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] and *tekālīf* taxes and giving sons to the Janissary corps.

The sources for the 11th/17th century show partly a general decline of the population, and partly the effects of Islamisation of a large part of the local

population. In 1642 there were 85 Christian households liable to pay the *djizye* (BBA. Mal. Müd. 1000, 252), in 1646 69 households (Mal. Müd. 1000, p. 5), but in 1688-9 only 27 households (Sofia, Nat. Libr. F. 195/2), on top of which an unknown number of families must be counted who were too poor to pay, or otherwise exempted. An official Ottoman list of *ḳāḍīlïḳ*s of the European provinces of the empire, dating from 1670, mentions Olendirek in the eleventh of the 12 ranks of *ḳāḍīlïḳ*s, a pointer to the relative unimportance of the place (M. Kemal Özergin, *Rumeli kadılıklarından 1078 düzenlemesi*, in *Ord. Prof. Ismail Uzunçarşılı'ya armağan*, Ankara 1976, 276). Ewliyā Čelebi, who in 1081/1669-70, on his way from Salona to Karpenisi (Krenbesh), must have passed through Olendirek, does not mention it, as his travel notes of this section were apparently in disorder.

In 1805 the French traveller François Pouqueville describes Olendirek as a *bourg* of 180 families, Greeks and Turks all speaking the same language because the Muslims were "des apostats indigènes" (*Voyage de la Grèce*, iv, Paris 1826, 56-7). It was still the centre of a *ḳāḍīlïḳ*, having 42 villages. The Greek bishop and the Christian notables were residing in the nearby village of Klima.

In 1825, during the Greek War of Independence, the town was the centre of an Ottoman military district under ʿAbbās Pasha Dibra. In 1827 the Ottomans, the military and the civilians were driven out of town and district forever. Information on the modest Islamic spiritual life, or on Muslim building activity, seems to be non-existent, but the *Cevdet Evkaf Tasnifi* in the BBA may yield some names of mosques, schools or *tekkes*.

Throughout its history Lidoriki-Olendirek has remained very small. Bommeljé and Doorn thought that 1500-1600 inhabitants were the maximum in all times. In 1928, a peak of 1537 inhabitants was reached. During the Second World War, the town and the villages around it were destroyed by the Wehrmacht. In 1961 the town again had 1338 inhabitants, or just as many as in the Süleymānic age.

Bibliography: J. Koder and F. Hild, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Vienna 1976, 205; *Megali Elleniki Enkyklopedeia*, xvi, 101-2; S. Bommeljé and P.K. Doorn, *Aetolia and the Aetolians, towards the interdisciplinary study of a Greek region*, Utrecht 1987, with exhaustive bibliography. The Ottoman sources mentioned in the text are unpublished.

(M. Kiel)

OLGHUN, MEḤMED ṬĀHIR (Tahir Olgun, Tâhir-ül Mevlevî), Turkish writer and literary critic, born in Istanbul on 13 September 1877, died in 1951. He graduated from the Gülkhāne Rüshdiyye-i ʿAskeriyyesi (military high school) and Menshe'-i küttāb-i ʿaskeriyye. While working as a secretary at the War Ministry, he attended the Fātiḥ Mosque *medrese* and received his *idjāzet-nāme* from Methnewīkhwān Selānikli Meḥmed Esʿad Dede Efendi, whence his name Tâhir-ül Mevlevî. After 1903 he taught Persian, the history of Islam, history and literature in many schools, including the Dār üsh-shafaḳa high school and the Kuleli military high school. During his later years he worked in the cataloguing committees of the Istanbul libraries. He is known for his work on the leading figures of Islamic religion and on the history of Turkish literature.

Bibliography: 1. Selected works. *Mir'āt-i Ḥaḍret-i Mewlānā*, 1898; *Naẓīm we eshkāl-i naẓīm*, 1913; *Manzum bir muhtıra* (Tanzimat öncesi edebiyatı özeti), 1931; *Edebiyat lûgatı*, 1936; *Fuzuli'ye dair*, 1936; *Şair Nev'i ve Suriye kasidesi*, 1937; *Baki'ye dair*, 1937; *Müslümanlıkta ibadet tarihi*, 1946; *Germiyanlı Şeyhi ve Harnâme'si*, 1949.

2. Studies. İbnülemin M.K. İnal, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1970; K.E. Kürkçüoğlu, *Tahir-ül Mevlevî: Edebiyat lügatı*, Istanbul 1973; S.K. Karalioğlu, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1986.

(Çiğdem Balim)

ʿOMAR KHAYYĀM [see ʿumar-i khayyām].

OMDURMAN (Umm Durmān), a town on the west bank of the Nile at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles (lat. 15°38′ N., long. 32°30′ E.), now linked with Khartoum (al-khurṭūm [*q.v.*]) and Khartoum North as the principal conurbation of the Republic of the Sudan. The etymology of the name is unknown, although several fanciful explanations have been given.

Omdurman is first mentioned as the village of a holy man, Ḥamad b. Muḥammad al-Mashyakhī, known as Wad (i.e. Walad) Umm Maryūm (1055-1142/1645-6 to 1729-30) (see Ibn Ḍayf Allāh, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, ²Khartoum 1974, 174-82; cf. H.A. MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, ii, 242, no. 124). A Nile-crossing from Omdurman to the Djazīra, i.e. the peninsula between the Blue and White Niles, was used by the invading Turco-Egyptian army under Ismāʿīl Pasha in 1821. A fort, constructed to guard the western approaches to the capital, Khartoum, was surrendered to the forces of the Mahdī Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh [see al-mahdiyya] on 5 January 1885, and Khartoum itself fell three weeks later.

The Mahdī, now the victorious head of a Sudanese Muslim state, transferred the capital to Omdurman, where he died on 22 June 1885 and was buried. Under his successor, the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Taʿā'īshī [*q.v.*], the early settlement grew into a town. Like the Mahdī's earlier seats during the revolutionary war, it was officially styled *Buḳʿat al-Mahdī*, and the Mahdī's tomb (*ḳubbat al-Mahdī*) was a place of pilgrimage in lieu of the *ḥadjdj* to Mecca. Beside the tomb (now restored) are the Khalīfa's house (now a museum) containing a labyrinth of rooms, and to the west the great walled space which formed the mosque. Other official buildings were the arsenal-storehouse (*bayt al-amāna*, now a football stadium), the treasury (*bayt al-māl*), and the prison (*al-sāyir*, from the name of the gaoler). A great wall protected the inner city. From this central area ran three main roads: one southwards to the former Fort Omdurman (*al-kāra*), garrisoned by the Khalīfa's black troops (*djihādiyya*); one westwards to the parade-ground at the desert-fringe; and the ominously-named *darb al-shuhadā'* (the martyrs' road) northwards to the assembly-point for expeditions to Egypt. Around these roads, the greater part of Omdurman consisted of an unplanned huddle of dwellings, ranging from brick houses to straw huts, sprawling along the Nile bank for about 9 km/6 miles. Its depth of about 1½ km/a mile was limited by the distance to which river-water could conveniently be carried. For a detailed plan of Mahdist Omdurman, see R.C. Slatin, *Fire and sword in the Sudan*, London 1896 and later edns. The population of the town was greatly increased in 1888-9, when the Khalīfa more or less forcibly brought his tribesmen, the Taʿā'īsha, and other Baḳḳāra [*q.v.*] from Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] to Omdurman, where they formed a privileged élite, oppressive to, and highly unpopular with, the more sophisticated riverain sedentaries (*awlād al-balad*). Like other migrations to the presence of the living or dead Mahdī, this movement was designated *hidjra*. Accounts of life in

Omdurman by three former European prisoners, Slatin (as above), Father Joseph Ohrwalder (in F.R. Wingate, *Ten years' captivity in the Mahdi's camp*, London 1892), and Charles Neufeld, *A prisoner of the Khaleefa*, London 1899, have found a wide readership. It should be borne in mind that the first two were produced under the auspices of Wingate as Director of (Egyptian) Military Intelligence, while the third is an apologia by an adventurer, whose exploits aroused European disapproval. Sudanese accounts are provided by S.M. Nur (ed.), *A critical edition of the memoirs of Yūsuf Mīkhāʾīl*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, London 1962; Bābikr Badrī, *Taʾrīkh ḥayātī*, ?Khartoum 1959, tr. Y. Bedri and G. Scott, *The memoirs of Babikr Bedri*, i, London 1969.

During the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1899-1955), with the restoration of Khartoum as the capital, Omdurman lost its unique status, but acquired a new significance as the centre of Sudanese politics and culture. For example, in consequence of the settlement there of migrants from all parts of the country, the speech of Omdurman became the standard Sudanese colloquial Arabic (cf. J.S. Trimingham, *Sudan colloquial Arabic*, ²London 1946, Preface; V.A. Yagi, *Contes d'Omdurman*, Antibes 1981). An Islamic religious college, *al-Maᶜhad al-ᶜilmī*, was established with government assistance in 1912, and developed after independence into the Islamic University of Omdurman. The Graduates' General Congress, founded in 1938 but the successor to an older grouping, with its headquarters in Omdurman, became the leading nationalist organisation and the seedbed of future political developments.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the text, there are frequent references to Omdurman in standard works on the Mahdiyya and Condominium; e.g. P.M. Holt, *The Mahdist state in the Sudan 1881-1898*, ²Oxford 1970; M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, Cambridge 1986; idem, *Imperial Sudan*, Cambridge 1991. (P.M. HOLT)

ᶜÖMER ᶜĀSHİḲ famous Ottoman Turkish *saz* poet of the 11th/17th century, d. 1119/1707.

Apart from one or two sources, information on him stems mainly from what he says in his own *dīwān*. Basing themselves on such statements, some scholars (Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, Fuad Köprülü and Cahit Öztelli) have regarded him as coming from Gözleve (Gezlevi) in Konya province, whilst others (S. Nüzhet Ergun and, especially, Şükrü Elçin) place his home at Gözleve in the Crimea. Information in the *Menāḳıb-nāme* of Ketkhudāzāde ᶜĀrif (94), in a poem discovered by Üsküdārlî Ṭalᶜat (Ergun, 6), in the *Medjmūᶜa-yi tewārīkh* and in Şükrü Elçin's work, all strengthen the hypothesis that he came from the Crimea but settled in Aydîn. After what was believed to have been a long life, he died in 1119/1707, according to Üsküdārlî Ḥasīb's line *ola ᶜāshiḳ ᶜÖmeriñ djilwegehi ᶜadnî djelîl* ("may ᶜÖmer's promenade be the exalted heaven!").

From his poems, ᶜÖmer is known to have had a certain level of education, including a knowledge of Persian and Arabic. He gives his personal name as ᶜÖmer and his pen-name as ᶜAdlī, although he most frequently used ᶜÖmer, ᶜĀshîḳ ᶜÖmer, the pen-name Derwīsh Nihānī, and rarely, ᶜAdlī. It is very probable that he was an adherent of the Mewlewī order [see MAWLAWIYYA]. In addition to the *saz*, he played other stringed instruments like the *ṭanbūr* and is known to have been a *ḥāfiẓ*, i.e. one who knew the Ḳurʾān by heart. In his *Shāᶜir-nāme* he speaks of one Sherīfī, possibly his teacher, of whom he counted himself a follower. Whilst a Sherīfī, allegedly from the Crimea, appears in several of the *tedhkires* of Ottoman poets, such as those of Riḍā, Sālim and Ṣafāyī, this is not the same person as the Sherīfī named by ᶜÖmer. He is also known from his poems to have been a Janissary and to have travelled widely in the course of participation in warfare (Varna, Sakız, Bursa, Sinop, Istanbul, Edirne, etc.).

The oldest manuscript copy of his *Dīwān* is the 517-page one, formerly in the Yaḥyā Efendi Dergāhî, now housed in the Süleymaniye Library (Haci Mahmud 5097), copied in 1141/1728-9. Another important copy is Mevlana Museum, Konya 99, compiled 50 years later by Ḥüseyin Aywansarāyī in 1191/1782. There is also a lithograph edition from 1306/1888. Since he was widely read, his poems figure in almost every *djönk* or manuscript collection of folk poetry. The verse forms of both *dīwān* and folk literatures, such as the *destān*, *ḳoshma*, *ghazel*, *murabbaᶜ*, *takhmīs*, *müseddes* and *semāᶜī*, are encountered in his *dīwān*; the examples of the folk literature ones are the more successful of the two. Among his well-known poems is the *Shāᶜir-nāme*, consisting of 34 quatrains giving the names of the important poets, the *Istanbul destānî* describing various places in the capital, and the Bursa and Pire *destāns*. Influenced by such poets as Nesīmī, Fuḍūlī, Aḥmed Pasha and Khaṭāyī, ᶜÖmer in turn had an impact on poets who were his contemporaries as well as on those following him. Although post-*Tanẓīmāt* poets like Ḍiyā Pasha and Muᶜallim Nādjī disparaged him, they themselves could not deny having been influenced by him in their formative years. Many of his poems have been set to music; the miniaturist Lewnī made a miniature of him. Sünbülzāde Wehbī, Müstaḳīm-zāde and Üsküdārlî Mewlewī Ḥasīb mention him, and ᶜIzzet Mollā wrote a poem in emulation of one of his hemistichs employing the same metre and rhyme scheme (*taḍmīn*).

Bibliography: Emīn Ef., *Menāḳib-i Ketkhudā-zāde el-Ḥādjdj Meḥmed ᶜĀrif Ef. Ḥaḍretleri*, Istanbul 1305/1888, 94; Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ᶜOM*, ii, 312; M. Fuʾād Köprülü, *ᶜĀshîḳ ᶜÖmere ᶜāʾid baᶜdi notlar*, in *Ḥayāt Medjmūᶜasî*, no. 24 (12 May 1927), 2-3; idem, *Türk saz şairleri. II*, Ankara 1962, 253-69; Saᶜdeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Aşık Ömer hayatı ve şiirleri*, Istanbul n.d. [1936?]; Cahit Öztelli, in *Türk Ansıklopedisi*, xxvi, 1977, art. s.v., 257; Günay Kut-Turgut Kut, *Ayvansarayi Hafız Hüseyin b. İsmail ve eserleri*, in *Istanbul Üniv. Tarih Dergisi*, xxxiii (1980-1) [1982], 432-3; Şükrü Elçin, *Âşık Ömer*, Ankara 1987; Saim Sakaoğlu, *Türk saz şiiri*, in *Türk Dili Özel Sayısı III* (Halk Şiiri), no. 445-50 (Jan.-June 1989), 138-42; Abdülkadir Karahan, *Âşık Ömer*, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, iv, 1991, 1; Ḥüseyin Aywansarāyī, *Medjmūᶜa-yi tewārīkh.*, ed. Fahri Ç. Derin-Vâhid Çabuk, Istanbul 1985, 369.

(GÜNAY KUT)

ᶜÖMER EFENDI, an Ottoman historian, according to popular tradition originally called Elkazović or Čaušević, who belonged to Bosna-Novi (Bosanski-Novi). Of his career we only know that he was acting as *ḳāḍī* in his native town when fierce fighting broke out on Bosnian soil between the Imperial troops and those of Ḥekīm-Oghlu ᶜAlī Pasha (1150/1737). ᶜÖmer Efendi at this time wrote a vivid account of the happenings in Bosnia from the beginning of Muḥarram 1149/May 1736 to the end of Djumādā I 1152/end of March 1739; written in a smooth, easy style, this work is of considerable importance for social history. It seems to have been called *Ghazawāt-i Ḥekīm-Oghlu ᶜAlī Pasha*, but is usually quoted as *Ghazawāt-i diyār-i Bosna*, and sometimes as *Ghazawāt-nāme-yi Bānālūḳā* (i.e. Banjaluka in Bosnia).

As a reward for this literary effort, ʿÖmer Efendi was promoted to be one of the six judges (*rütbe-i welāy-i sitte*). Of his further life and death, nothing more is known. It is certain that he ended his days in Bosna-Novi and was buried there. The site of his grave is still pointed out but the tombstone has disappeared.

ʿÖmer Efendi's little book is fairly common in mss. (usually copies of the first printed text); cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 277, to which should now be added: Zagreb, South Slav Acad. of Sciences, coll. Babinger, no. 390, 391, as well as no. 631, iv (here called *Ghazawāt-nāme-yi Bānālūḳā*). The printer Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.*] revised and corrected ʿÖmer Efendi's narrative (cf. Ḥanīf-zāde, in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 14533: *Ghazawāt-i diyār-i Bosna*) and published it under the title *Aḥwāl-i ghazawāt der Diyār-i Bosna* (8 + 62 pp., Istanbul 1154; cf. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrh.*, Leipzig 1919, 17). On later editions cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 277. The book is also accessible in a rather bad German translation and a not very successful English one, cf. *GOW*, 277.

Bibliography: Safvetbeg Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj kniježevnosti*, Sarajevo 1912, 152; Babinger, *GOW*, 276-7; Meḥmed Handžić, *Kniježevni rad bosanski-hercegovačkikh muslimana*, Sarajevo 1934, 39-40; Muḥammad al-Bosnawī (i.e. Meḥmed Handžić), *al-Djawāhir al-asnā fī tarādjim ʿulamāʾ wa- shuʿarāʾ Bosna*, Cairo 1349, 112; *İA*, art. *Ömer Efendi* (A. Cevat Eren). (F. Babinger)

ʿÖMER SEYF ÜL-DĪN (Ömer Seyfeddin), late Ottoman and early modern Turkish writer (1884-1920).

A major figure of Turkish fiction, ʿÖmer Seyf ül-Dīn (modern rendering Seyfeddin or Seyfettin) was a pioneer of realism and the use of the common idiom. A 1903 graduate of the Istanbul War College, he served as an officer, saw action, fell captive, and retired upon his release in 1913. Having published poems, short stories and essays since 1900, he joined his nationalist colleagues ʿAlī Djānib and Ḍiyā (Ziyā) Gökalp in Salonica (1911) where they published the influential magazine *Genč Ḳalemler* ("Young Pens"). From 1914 until his death on 6 March 1920 he lived in Istanbul, where he served as a teacher of literature, editor-in-chief of the journal *Türk Sözü* ("Turkish Speech"), and a member of the Istanbul University Linguistic Research Board.

His 16-volume complete works comprise poetry, essays, children's stories, etc., in addition to fiction. He was not an accomplished poet. His articles and essays, which exerted considerable influence in launching the ideals of nationalism in literature for the benefit of a wider reading public, are concise, lucid and deft. Among his published translations are those of parts of the *Iliad* and *Kalevala*.

His fame rests essentially on his 138 short stories, mostly derived from childhood recollections, military life including combat, and everyday events. Many of them make use of traditional folk tales and legends, often recounting heroic deeds. In some, ʿÖmer Seyf ül-Dīn criticised entrenched institutions and superstitions. With a progressive spirit, he articulated the prospects offered by the awakening of Turkish nationalism for a better future. He took a stand against Ottomanism, cosmopolitan culture, and imitation of European models. He expressed faith in traditional Turkish culture blended with modernisation. He was one of the earliest among literary pioneers who brought the Anatolian countryside into urban literature. Reacting against the ornate élite poetry and prose of his predecessors, who were influenced by the Arabs and Persians, he wrote for and often about the common man in an attempt to make literature accessible "to the people."

His major novel, *Efrūz Bey* (1919), is an acerbic satire of the life and times of an opportunistic, quixotic pseudo-intellectual and is the author's most mature and most compelling work of realistic fiction. With several dozen of his well-made short stories, two or three novellas, and *Efruz Bey*, he brought new dimensions to, and earned an enduring place in, the history of Turkish fiction.

Bibliography: Ali Canip Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfettin, hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1935; O. Spies, *Die türkische Prosaliteratur der Gegenwart*, in *WI*, xxv (1943); Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, *Ömer Seyfettin*, 1964; Yaşar Nabi Nayır, *Ömer Seyfettin, hayatı, sanatı, eserleri*, 1965. (Talat Sait Halman)

ON IKI ADA, Turkish rendering of the Dodecanese (Dodekanesos, "Twelve Islands"), the greater part of the Southern Sporades archipelago; they are grouped in a north-west to south-east direction in the south-eastern segment of the Aegean along the Turkish coast. The concept and even the number is somewhat artificial and underwent different interpretations and political expressions in the course of history, hence the relativity of the definition as to how many and which islands constitute this archipelago. The earliest mention seems to occur under the Byzantine emperor Leo III the Isaurian (717-40), when the "Dodecanese or Aigion Pelagos" formed one of his three naval commands. In the later Middle Ages Italian maritime control asserted itself over much of the Aegean, and some of the Dodecanese became a Venetian possession, but others passed under the sway of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem after their establishment in Rhodes (1310). It was from the latter two powers that Ottoman Turkey seized control of the Dodecanese: those pertaining to the Knights as a result of the conquest of Rhodes in 1522, and those belonging to Venice during the *ḳaptan pasha* Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] Barbarossa's two campaigns in 1537 and 1538. It was then that twelve islands within this archipelago acquired a special status of "privileged islands" that gave the inhabitants a sense of cohesive identity and firmly established their group as a geopolitical unit; the islands were: Ikaria, Patmos, Leros, Kalimnos, Astipalea, Nisiros, Tilos, Simi, Chalki, Karpathos, Kasos and Meis; this was the result of their voluntary submission and consequent treaty sanctioned by Süleymān I, to be confirmed by a number of later *firmāns*; the mostly Greek and Orthodox islanders had self-rule, against payment of a fixed annual sum (*maḳṭūʿ*). An illustration of the administrative rather than geographical nature of this Ottoman Dodecanese is the fact that the group included Meis (also known as Kastellorizon, Italian Castelrosso), an islet by the southern Anatolian coast near Kas to the east of Rhodes, but not Rhodes itself; like Rhodes, Kos too was excluded, although geographically situated in the midst of the group. The islands of Simi, and later Patmos, appear to have constituted the centre of political gravity and representation of the islanders in their dealings with the Porte and eventually also with other powers.

The inhabitants extracted some livelihood from their deforested islands (fruit, olives, wheat, tobacco), but for the most part they depended on the sea: local shipping, fishing, and especially sponge-diving, were their traditional occupations. Their smooth relations with the Porte began to suffer with the appearance of Greek as well as Turkish nationalism in the 19th and early 20th century. Istanbul first tried to cancel the islands' privileged status and, following the constitu-

tional movement of 1909 and against the islanders' expectations, attempted to impose measures that amounted to incipient Turkicisation. The upheavals caused by the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-12, the Balkan War of 1912-13, and World War I brought about the final separation of the Dodecanese from Turkey and its establishment, enlarged by Rhodes as the administrative centre, as an Italian possession (Possedimenti Italiani dell'Egeo). Only in 1948 did the entire archipelago pass to Greece.

The Muslim Turkish population of the islands, numbering some 10,000, did not face any great changes during the period of Italian rule, and the community's newspaper, *Selām*, continued to appear in Arabic characters. But during World War II, from 1941 to 1944, the islands were occupied by the Germans (and the Jewish minority largely deported for extermination at Auschwitz), and then the Treaty of Paris of 1947 awarded the Dodecanese to Greece. From then on, under the pressure of Hellenisation, emigration to the Turkish mainland, especially to Izmir, accelerated; most of those who remained became Greek subjects, though retaining their Turkish language, with only a few of them retaining the Turkish citizenship which they had been able to keep since the time of Italian rule. In 1974 there were *ca.* 4,000 Muslims in their two main centres, Rhodes and Kos, those of Rhodes mainly in the town of Rhodes but those of Kos in a village popularly known as Türk Köyü. The communities are at present ageing ones since, under Greek aegis, young people find career prospects on the islands very confined, and the communities seem destined for gradual disappearance.

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(S. SOUCEK)

ORĀMĀR, URMAR, modern Turkish Oramar, a district (*nahiye*) of the extreme south-east of Turkey, just to the north of the frontier with ʿIrāḳ, and in the modern *ilçe* or district of Gawar (Yüksekova) in the *il* or province of Hakkari, with its chef-lieu of the same name (lat. 37°23′ N., long. 44°04′ E., altitude 1,450 m/4,756 ft.). In 1955 the settlement of Oramar itself had a population of 943, whilst the nine villages comprising the *nahiye* had a total population of 3,632.

The boundaries of Orāmār are on the north Ishtāzin and Gawar; on the south Rēkān; on the west Djilū, Bāz and Tkhūma and Artush; in the east Sāt [see SHAMDĪNĀN]. Orāmār is a group of hamlets scattered on the two sides of a rocky mountain spur above the Rūdbār-i Sin. On the spur itself, which is called Gaparāni Zhēr, at the place named Gīre Būti, is the capital of the group and the residence of the *aghas*, the Nāw Gund or "the middle of the town". A large cemetery occupies the promontory at the end of the spur. The name Gīre Būti, explicable as the "hill of the idol", seems to indicate the antiquity of the settlement. The fact that the slopes separated by the Gaparān are very carefully cultivated and present a complicated system of little terraces, each of which is a field or tiny kitchen garden, leads one to believe that man chose this site for habitation a long time ago, perhaps simply on account of its extreme isolation in the centre of a wild country.

Orography. Orāmār is at the east end of the curve traced by the system of the Djilū Dāgh. According to Dickson, the chains and valleys of Turkish Kurdistān run roughly along the parallels of latitude and take a south-eastern direction as they approach the Persian frontier and at the point where they change their axis form a complicated system of heights and valleys. The most complicated part near the centre of the change of axis in question may be called Harki-Orāmār.

Road system. Although they are really nothing but tracks used for intertribal communications, these routes must have played a more prominent part in ancient times. Orāmār is connected with Gawar via Shamsiki, the pass of Bashtazin, ʿAlī Kānī, Bāžirgā and Dizza. It is a road which shows traces of works undertaken at the more dangerous places. To the south, the road going through a very narrow defile leads first to Nerwa (cf. below) where it forks to the west and to the east. A third road goes from Nerwa to Nehri, the centre of Shamdīnān, via Razga, the heights of Peramizi (frontier of the three tribes—Rekāni, Harki, Duskāni), Deri, defile of Harki (Shīwa Harki), Begor, Mazra, Nehri.

Ethnography. The following Kurdish tribes may be mentioned in Orāmār itself and in the vicinity, with ramifications inevitable as a result of the Kurd migrations. After the name of each tribe that of the district and the number of households in *ca.* 1930 is given: Duskānī Zhūri (Orāmār, 2,000); Nirwei (Nerwa, *ḳaḍāʾ* of Amādiya, 800); Dīri (Gawar and Gelia Dīri, 1,000): Peniānish (between Gawar and Djulāmerk, and the part of the Pirhulki, near Bashkalʿa 4,000); Duskāni Zhēri (*ḳaḍāʾ* of Dehuk, 2,000); Mizūri Zhēri (*ibid.*, 5,000); Berwāri (*ibid.*, 4,000); Guwei, nomads (wintering at Dehuk; summering at Gawar and Orāmār, 1,400); Čeli (Djulāmerk, 6,000); Artūshi (summering at Firashin; wintering at Beriei Zhengār, 6,000); Artūshi (sedentary: Albāk, 1,000; Nurdīz, 1,000); parts of Artūshi: Gewdan, Mām Khōran, Zhirki (around Djulāmerk, 6,000).

History. Orāmār has a rich history full of associations with the Nestorian Christianity of south-eastern Turkey and adjoining areas. (V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, ii, 757, says that "the 40 Nestorian rayas domiciled in Orāmār are entrusted with the care of the two Nestorian churches in the Kurdish town (*sic*)"; one of these churches, that of Mār Dāniyāl at Nāw Gund was turned into a mosque towards the end of the 19th century or in the early 20th century.

A local tradition even suggests that the ancestor of the modern *aghas* came long ago into this Christian district and by stratagems and intrigues succeeded in driving out its inhabitants. The toponymy of Orāmār seems to confirm this. The name Orāmār is probably ancient, and the district was probably inhabited at a very early date. There are similar place-names elsewhere in the region: Ora Bishu, one of the slopes of Kiria Tawka; Orishu, a village beyond Gelia Nu; Uri, a Nestorian clan; finally Urmiya itself.

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Wiesbaden 1989, 218-19; *İA*, art. *Oramar* (Nikitine and Besim Darkot). On the Nestorians of the region, see M. Chevalier, *Les montagnards chrétiens du Hakkâri et du Kurdistan septentrional*, Paris 1985, index s.v. Oramar. (B. NIKITINE *)

ORAN [see WAHRĀN].

ORBAY, ḤÜSEYIN RAʾŪF (1881-1964), Turkish naval commander, statesman and diplomat, was educated as a naval officer. He served in the Turco-Italian war of 1911, before winning national fame in the Balkan wars of 1912-13 as the commander of the cruiser *Ḥamīdiyye* which carried out daring raids on enemy ports and warships. During the Great War he served as Chief of Naval Staff, becoming Minister of Marine in October 1918. In the same month, he headed the Ottoman delegation which signed the armistice of Mudros [see MONDROS]. He resigned from the navy in May 1919, and joined Muṣṭafā Kemāl (later Atatürk) and Fetḥī Okyar [*q.vv.*] in organising the national resistance movement in Anatolia. As a leading nationalist and a member of the last Ottoman Chamber of Deputies, Raʾūf was arrested by the British in March 1920 and deported to Malta. He returned to Turkey in March 1921 and was appointed Prime Minister in August 1922, but had serious disagreements with ʿIṣmet [İnönü], the chief Turkish delegate at the Lausanne Peace Conference. In August 1923 he resigned from the premiership, and became part of the opposition to Muṣṭafā Kemāl. Like other opposition leaders, Raʾūf feared Atatürk's dictatorial tendencies, and wished to clip his wings, but not to overthrow him entirely. In November 1924 he played a leading role in establishing the Progressive Republican Party (*Teraḳḳīperwer Djümhuriyyet Firḳasī*). After the forcible closure of the party in June 1925, Raʾūf went abroad for medical treatment. In August 1926, following the unsuccessful attempt on Atatürk's life in Izmir, Raʾūf and other leading members of the nationalist movement were placed on trial. Although the court could not show that he had played any part in the murder plot, he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment *in absentia*. He benefited from an amnesty proclaimed in 1933 and returned to Turkey in 1935, but did not fully clear his name until 1939. Following his political rehabilitation, he served as Turkish Ambassador in London between 1942 and 1944.

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(W.M. HALE)

ORDU (T.), thence in Mongolian, *orda*, "the royal tent or residence, the royal encampment", a term which became widespread in the mediaeval Turco-Mongol and then in the Persian worlds, acquiring from the second meaning that of "army camp".

1. In early Turkish and then Islamic usage

The word *ordu* appears in some of the earliest known texts of Turkish, sc. in the Kül-tigin inscription (Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkish*, Bloomington 1968, 237), and may have passed from such an Inner Asian people as the Hsiung-nu into Chinese as *wo-lu-to* (**oludu* = *ordu*) (G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. ii. Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1965, 35). Already in the Sāmānid period (4th/10th century), the geographer al-Muḳaddasī, 263, 275, mentions **Urduwā* as "the residence of the ruler of the Turkmen", and in the ensuing Ḳarakhānid period *Urdū* is recorded as a mint in Transoxania, possibly to be equated with their capital at Balāsāghūn (E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islam*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 42).

The cross-continental movements of the Turco-Mongol peoples in the 13th and 14th centuries ensured for the word a wide diffusion into Eastern Europe, including the East Slavonic, Magyar, Balkan and New Greek linguistic areas, finally entering such Western European languages as English and French *horde*, German *Horde*, etc. (Doerfer, *op. cit.*, 38).

Under the Ottoman Turks, *ordu-yu hümāyūn* was a general term for the imperial army, and appears also as an element in the names of various functionaries connected with the army, e.g. the *ordudju bas̲h̲ī/ag̲h̲asī*, who was the chief of a staff of tradesmen and technicians (*ehl-i ḥiref, arbāb-i ḥiref*) who accompanied the Janissaries [see YEÑI ČERILER] on their campaigns away from the capital (see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teskilâtından kapıkulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943-4, i, 368-73; M.Z. Pakalın, *Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-54, ii, 728-9).

In South Asia, through usage amongst the Mug̲h̲als [*q.v.*] of India, with the royal residence at Dihlī styled the *urdu-yi muʿallā* "exalted camp", the term *zabān-i urdu* was used for the mixed Hindustani-Persian-Turkish language of the court and the army, now the Urdu language of a large proportion of the Muslims in the subcontinent (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*,[2] 639-40; HIND. iii. Languages; and URDU). The term was still used in Ṣafawid Persia (cf. the *Tad̲h̲kirat al-mulūk*, tr. Minorsky, London 1943, tr. 51, 62), but must by the time when the latter work was written (early 18th century) have been archaic and obsolete.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In Mongol historical usage

In sources dealing with the period of the Mongol Empire, *ordu* is normally used in the sense of the camp or household of a Mongol prince, which would be under the supervision of one of his wives. He might therefore have several *ordus*. During the Īlk̲h̲ānate, "to go to the *ordu*" meant to travel to the ruler's presence, whether that was to be found at one of the fixed capitals such as Tabrīz, or wherever the royal encampment happened to be. This kind of usage was no doubt the origin of the Western term "Golden Horde" for what in the Islamic world was usually known as the k̲h̲ānate of Ḳīpčaḳ. Quatremère (*Raschid-Eldin, Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, 98, n. 25) suggested that the word *ug̲h̲ruḳ* was sometimes used to indicate, to some extent by contrast, the military camp in a more general sense. During his journey to Mongolia in the 1250s, William of Rubruck, whose Latin word for *ordu* is generally *curia*, picked up a confusion between *ordu* and *orta* ("middle"): "The court is called in their language *orda*, meaning 'the middle', since it is always situated in the midst of the men" (*The mission of Friar William of Rubruck: his journey to the court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253-1255*, tr. P. Jackson and ed. Jackson and D.O. Morgan, London 1990, 131 and n. 4). The transformation in English of the meaning of "horde" from the camp to the nomadic warrior people who (in large numbers) inhabited it was already established by the time of the OED's first cited reference (1555).

Bibliography: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, 32-9. (D.O. MORGAN)

ORDŪBĀD, a town in eastern Transcaucasia on the left bank of the middle course of the Araxes or Aras River, lying in lat. 38°54′ N. and long. 46° 01′ E. and at an altitude of 948 m/2,930 ft.

The Turco-Persian name "army town" implies a probable foundation during the period of the Mongol

invasions or of the ensuing Il-Khānids, especially as the latter made Ādharbāydjān the centre of their power. Certainly, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (mid-8th/14th century) describes it as a provincial town, one of the five making up the *tūmān* of Nakhčiwān [*q.v.*], watered by a stream coming down from Mount Ḳubān (= the modern Gora Kapydzik, 4,200 m/12,800 ft.) to the north (*Nuzha*, 89, tr. 90; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 167). In subsequent centuries, the khānates of both Eriwān [see REWĀN] and Nakhčiwān were dependencies of Persia, with Ordūbād forming the main town of the district of Āzā-Djirān in the eastern part of the khānate of Nakhčiwān; but after the Russo-Persian War of 1827 and the resultant Treaty of Turkmančay of 1828, these were ceded to Imperial Russia, so that henceforth, Ordūbād fell within Russian territory. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union, it is now within the Nakhčiwān region of the Azerbaijan Republic, forming an enclave of territory between the Armenian Republic and Iran.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see D. Krawulsky, *Iran—das Reich der Īl-ḫāne. Eine topographisch-historische Studie*, Wiesbaden 1978, 543. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ÖRIK, NAHĪD ṢIRRĪ (Nahit Sırrı Örik), Turkish author, journalist and literary researcher, born on 22 May 1894 in Istanbul, died in 1960. He was the grandson of Aḥmed Nāfidh Pasha of Olti, who was also a poet and the son of Örik Aghasī-zāde Ḥasan Ṣirrī, who was a government official and translator. Nahit Sırrı attended Galatasaray lycée, graduating in 1913. He lived in Europe until 1928, and after his return to Turkey, worked as a correspondent for the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* and as a translator for the Ministry of Education. He travelled in Anatolia and wrote articles, mostly concerning the archaeological and historical antiquities of the places he visited. He continued to work as a journalist until his death on 18 January 1960, never having married.

Nahit Sırrı admired and loved Istanbul deeply, and this is reflected in his works. The style he adopts for his historical novels is the objective, calm and good-humoured reporting of events with life in the Istanbul of the past a dominant subject for his works and his language remaining faithful to refined Ottoman style.

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(ÇIĞDEM BALIM)

ORISSA [see URISA].

ORKHAN, the son of the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, ʿOthmān I [*q.v.*], and of the daughter of *sheykh* Edebali, who seems to have exercised considerable influence upon his son-in-law through his connections with the fraternity of the *Akhīs* [*q.v.*] and with the group of dervishes known as the *Abdālān-i Rūm*. According to the Ottoman tradition, Orkhan had a brother, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who resigned from their father's possessions and accepted the office of the vizierate. Little is known about Orkhan's early life as most of the Turkish sources reporting about him were written more than one century after his death and are of a legendary character. Yakhshī Faḳīh, the son of his *imām*, wrote a chronicle about the house of ʿOthmān, which unfortunately has not been preserved in its original form but incorporated within a later chronicle, that of ʿĀshīk-Pasha-zāde (see V.L. Ménage, *The* Menāqib *of Yakhshi Faqīh*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi [1963], 50-4). One can find precise information about him in a few Ottoman documents, some of them preserved in the original, the oldest of which is of the year 1324; also in the Byzantine sources, especially the works of Gregoras and Cantacuzenus.

According to the Turkish sources, Orkhan was married to Nilüfer, the daughter of the Byzantine lord of Yār-Ḥiṣār, who, together with her father, was taken prisoner when this fortress was captured by ʿOthmān's soldiers, presumably in 1299. From this union were born Süleymān Pasha, the conqueror of Rūm-ili, and Murād, who succeeded his father [see MURĀD I]. Names of several members of Orkhan's family are known through Ottoman documents and also through the history of Cantacuzenus, who, among other things, describes a banquet in which Orkhan participated, accompanied by his four sons.

Orkhan took part in many military operations organised by his father, who resided in the region of Sögüt and Yeñi-Shehir. When he ascended the throne, in 1326, his father's troops had with their frequent raids reached the littoral opposite Constantinople, while the Byzantine towns of Bithynia had been blockaded for many years. Bursa [*q.v.*] surrendered in the same year and became the Ottoman capital. Orkhan continued his father's military activity directed against the Byzantines by raiding their territories. He was surrounded by several military chieftains bearing the title of *ghāzī* or *alp* [*q.vv.*]. A campaign organised by the Byzantine emperor Andronicus III Palaeologus in 1329 in order to expel the Turks from Bithynia ended with the defeat of his army, first in Pelekanon, and immediately afterwards in Philokrene. Nicaea/Iznik surrendered in 1331 and soon became a centre of Muslim intellectual life through its *medreses*. The Byzantine emperor was forced to conclude a treaty with Orkhan in 1333, undertaking to pay 12,000 *hyperpera* a year, while Orkhan promised to leave in peace the fortresses situated on the coast of Mesothynia. Nevertheless, in 1337 the port of Nikomedeia/Iznikmīd (later Izmīd) surrendered also to Orkhan, who in this same year, perhaps encouraged by the Genoese of Pera, performed his first important raid on Thrace reaching the suburbs of Constantinople.

According to the Egyptian author al-ʿUmarī and to the Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the Ottoman lands, the amirate of Orkhan was one of the strongest in Asia Minor in the early 1330s and he himself had much prestige resulting from the holy war that he continuously carried out against the "infidel" Christians. However, his power increased impressively during the last years of the Byzantine civil war (1341-7) between the legitimate heir to the throne, John V Palaeologus, and the pretender John VI Cantacuzenus. When the war began the latter obtained military support from the *amīr* of Aydīn, Umur; but in 1344, he appealed to Orkhan, who promptly responded, sending troops to Thrace to fight on Cantacuzenus' side. The alliance was corroborated by the marriage of Orkhan with the daughter of Cantacuzenus, Theodora. Under these circumstances, the

Ottoman troops learned the topography of Thrace and Macedonia, while they became rich by pillaging the property of Cantacuzenus' opponents and by taking them into captivity together with the peasants, who had remained faithful to the legitimate heir, in order to sell them as slaves. Cantacuzenus himself confesses that he could not control his Turkish allies. During the same period, around 1346, the Ottomans annexed the adjacent amirate of Ḳarasi [*q.v.*] thus gaining access to the Aegean Sea. Orkhan, who had a fleet of at least 36 vessels as early as the 1330s, acquired thus the important fleet of the Ḳarasi Turks who, experienced in naval warfare, began to collaborate successfully with the Ottomans by organising raids on the Greek littoral. The alliance between Cantacuzenus and Orkhan continued after the end of the civil war in 1347, because the former, insecure and suspecting that some of the Thracian towns were ready to revolt against him, frequently appealed to his son-in-law for military support. Orkhan's son, Süleymān Pasha, often resided in Thrace at the head of troops sent to assist Cantacuzenus.

The war between Genoa and Venice, which broke out in 1351 and in which the Byzantines were eventually involved, gave Orkhan the opportunity to emerge on the international scene. He supported the Genoese by supplying them first with victuals and later with soldiers, and he placed a little fleet consisting of 9 vessels at their disposal. In 1351-2 the first Genoese-Ottoman treaty was concluded. Around the same time, the powerful *kral* of Serbia Stefan Dušan, whose territories were harassed by the Ottoman raids, tried also to conclude an alliance with Orkhan and proposed to give his own daughter in matrimony to one of his sons. It is not certain that the marriage ever took place.

In 1352 Süleymān Pasha accomplished the first Ottoman conquest in Europe by occupying the fortress of Tzymbe. In 1354 an earthquake destroyed the walls of several towns in Thrace, including the strategically important fortress of Kallipolis/Gelibolu [*q.v.*]. The Turks who were encamped in the countryside proceeded immediately to occupy them, while their inhabitants fled before them to escape captivity. Süleymān Pasha immediately took care of Kallipolis by restoring its walls and by inviting some prominent Turks to settle in it. In this same year the Ottomans occupied two important towns in Asia Minor, Ankara and Krateia Gerede.

The Ottoman expansion was temporarily halted in 1357, when Orkhan's son Khalīl was captured by Genoese pirates and taken to Phocaea, a town nominally under Byzantine rule. Orkhan was obliged to ask for the help of the Byzantine emperor, who put forward as a condition the end of the Ottoman raids. A treaty was concluded and the Byzantines had a period of peace. Nevertheless, the Ottomans resumed their raids on Thrace, perhaps as a result of the activity of the papal legate Pierre Thomas, who visited Constantinople with his fleet and then proceeded to an attack on Lampsakos in the autumn of 1359. It was probably in 1361 that the Ottomans conquered Didymoteichon/Dimetoḳa [*q.v.*].

Orkhan died in March 1362 (P. Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ii, Vienna 1977, 290-1). He left a state extending over Asia Minor and Europe. He had consolidated his rule by organising the administration of his territory, which was divided into domains governed by his sons and by some military chiefs. According to the Ottoman chronicles, in his years, besides the irregular force of the *aḳindjis* [*q.v.*], a cavalry was created consisting of *müsellems* [*q.v.*] and an infantry of *yayas*. The information given by Idrīs Bidlīsī [*q.v.*] that the corps of the Janissaries was founded in Orkhan's days seems to be inaccurate (see V.L. Ménage, *Some notes on the Devshirme*, in *BSOAS*, xxix [1966], 64-78). Regulations regarding dress produced a clear distinction between the Ottoman army and that of the other amirates, and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn induced his brother to adopt the white cap (*börk*) for his soldiers.

Orkhan founded several mosques, establishments for dervishes, charitable institutions and schools. Religious life was vigorous in his days and *akhī* fraternities were active in the towns, as well as orders of dervishes, who remained popular religious leaders often inspired by heterodox doctrines. However, orthodox Islamic traditions became gradually predominant through the growing influence of theologians indicated in the sources as *dānishmend*. On the other hand, there existed close relations with the local Christian population, and the early Ottoman chronicles mention many a Byzantine lord, or even groups of Christians, who collaborated with the Ottomans. In 1354 Gregory Palamas, Metropolitan of Thessalonica and distinguished theologian, was taken a prisoner to the Ottoman territories, where he had the opportunity to meet the Christian communities and also to participate in a public theological debate organised by Orkhan in Nicaea.

The economic situation of the state which Orkhan left behind, was apparently prosperous. The currency was the silver *aḳče* [*q.v.*] struck in his name. Apart from agriculture and cattle-raising, the revenues of his state derived from booty, which was important as it included war captives sold as slaves or liberated after paying ransom; from the annual tribute paid by the Byzantines and the other Christian states and from the money paid by Christian states in order to be allowed to recruit soldiers within his amirate; and finally, from customs duties since trade was carried out, as suggested by the commercial treaty concluded with the Genoese.

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ORKHAN KEMĀL, Meḥmed Rās̲h̲id (Orhan Kemâl Öğütçü), Turkish short story writer and novelist, born in Adana, Ceyhan, on 15 September 1914, died in 1970. His father ʿAbd ül-Ḳādir Kemālī was a lawyer who became a first-term MP (1920-3) and Minister of Justice for a while and founded the Ehālī D̲j̲ümhūriyyet party in Adana but was forced to flee to Syria upon the closure of his party. Orhan Kemâl left secondary school and went with his father, and for a year they lived in Syria and Lebanon, where he worked at a printing house (reflected in his later novel *Baba evi*). In 1932 his father died and Orhan came back to Adana, working as a labourer, weaver, secretary and stock-taker in the cotton mills (1932-8). During his spare time he read extensively and began to write adventure novels and plays. While doing his military service, he wrote poetry under the pseudonym Raşit Kemali (later he also used that of Orhan Raşit). He was arrested on the allegation that he had engaged in political propaganda and was imprisoned for 5 years (1938-43). He published his first story *Balık*, in 1940, and between 1941-3, his stories were published in *Yeni edebiyat, Yürüyüş, İkdam, Yurt ve dünya*, and *Adımlar*. In Bursa prison he met Nâzım Hikmet [*q.v.*] and wrote prose under his influence, and in 1945, the literary journal *Varlık* declared him to be the most popular story writer. In 1943 he had come back to Adana, and when he could no longer find employment, moved to Istanbul with his family and tried to make a living as a writer. In 1949 *Ekmek kavgası* and his first novel *Baba evi* were published, and he then became famous; in 1958 *Kardeş payı* and in 1969 *Önce ekmek* won literary prizes. He still had to write for his living, and produced novels, short stories, interviews, scripts for cinema and theatre. In 1970 he was invited to Bulgaria, where he died on 2 June.

In his works Orhan Kemâl told of the small people who struggled to earn their daily bread—labourers who worked in the fields and factories of the Çukurova, people who lived in the slums of the big city. His characters therefore are workers, small government officials, beggars, garbage collectors, inmates, villagers, drivers, whores and the like. He played a great role in introducing "life in the prison" as a theme to Turkish short story. He was keen to reflect the social state of women and children in his works. His women have the traditional positive attributes, and his child heroes begin to work before they can enjoy their childhood. Some of his works reflect the conditions after the war years: effects of industrialisation, capitalism, changing traditions of the lower classes, especially in the Adana region. He reflected on his childhood, and the stories he heard from his inmates during his imprisonment. His works after 1946 are about the class war, and the bitter indifference of the big cities to poor people became a dominant theme. He does not describe the psychological dispositions of his characters, but this is reflected instead in the dialogues of the characters themselves. His language and style are plain, without metaphors and similes. Most of his works have been made into films, with the scripts by the author himself.

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ORKHAN SEYFĪ (Orhan Seyfi Orhon), Turkish poet and journalist, born in 1890 in Istanbul, died in 1972. He was the son of Colonel Emīn and Niʿmet. After finishing Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ (Istanbul Darülfünūn Ḥuḳūk Fakültesi, i.e. Faculty of Law) in 1914, the same year he became a secretary at the Ot̲h̲mānlī Med̲j̲lis-i Mebʿūt̲h̲ānī until its suspension. In 1913 he published a small book of poems *Fîrṭîna ve ḳār* in *ʿarūḍ* metre. His second book, *Peri ḳîzî ile čoban ḥikâyesi*, a poetic tale with a Turkic theme written in syllabic metre, was published in 1919. He taught literature at several schools in Istanbul, and then in 1922 he began to publish *Aḳ baba*, the famous satirical magazine, with Yūsuf Ziyā. In 1924 he launched *Resimli dünyā*, a children's magazine, followed by *Günes̲h̲, Papag̲h̲an* and *Yeñi ḳalem* magazines in 1927. In 1932 he published *Edebiyat gazetesi*, in 1935 *Ayda bir*, and in 1942 *Çınaraltı*. In 1946 he became an MP for the Halk partisi (Republican People's Party) from Zonguldak. In 1960 he returned to journalism. In 1965 he joined the Adalet partisi (Justice Party) as an MP from Istanbul. From 1969 until his death on 22 August 1972, he worked as a journalist.

Throughout his life, he wrote for many newspapers and magazines, including *Taṣwīr-i efkār, Cumhuriyet, Ulus, Zafer* and *Son Havadis*. As a poet, his first poems are in *ʿarūḍ/aruz*, but later he became one of the famous promoters of syllabic metre of the National literary movement between 1908-12. In fact, he is known as one of the group of young poets called the "Five poets of the syllabic metre" (Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel, Enis Behiç Koryürek, Halit Fahri Ozansoy and Yusuf Ziya Ortaç being the others). His popular poems have been set to music.

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ORKHON, a river of the northern part of what is now the Mongolian People's Republic; it joins the Selenga to flow northwards eventually into Lake Baikal.

For Turcologists, the banks of this river are of supreme importance as the locus for the Old Turkish inscriptions, carved in the middle decades of the 8th century in a so-called "runic" script, in fact derived ultimately from the Aramaic one [see TURKS. Languages]. These inscriptions are the royal annals of the Köktürk empire, centred on this region till its fall in 744 and supersession by a Uyghur [*q.v.*] grouping based on Ḳara Balghasun on the Orkhon; these Uyghurs were in turn dispossessed by the Ḳirghiz [*q.v.*] in 840 and forced to migrate southwards to Kansu and Turfan [*q.vv.*]. No Islamic geographers mention the Orkhon, but we know something of Ḳara Balghasun (whose ruins are still visible) from the visit to it by a Muslim traveller Tamīm b. Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwiʿ, which probably took place, in Minorsky's view, in 821 A.D.; this is the only first-hand Muslim account of the Uyghur kingdom in Mongolia.

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OROMO, a people of eastern Africa, partly Islamised, present in Ethiopia but also, although in small numbers only, in Kenya, Somalia and even in the Sudan. Among its constituent groups are the Arssi (Arusi), Boran, Guji, Karayu, Leqa, Macha, Raya (Azebo), Tulama, Wello, etc. The Amharas, amongst whom they have become installed, have for a long time given them the name of "Galla", whose etymology is uncertain.

Numerically, the Oromo form one of the leading ethnic groups of Africa. In Ethiopia they represent 40% of the total population, i.e. between some ten and fourteen millions. Linguistically, they are the majority, ahead of the Amhara speakers. Their language is called by themselves *afaan oromo* and by the Amharas *oromeñña* or *galleñña*, and belongs to the Cushitic group [see KŪSH] at the side of Afar, Agaw, Bedja, Saho and Somali. The writing of Oromo in Latin characters seems now to be becoming generalised, even though the Ethiopian or Arabic alphabets have sometimes been used for it also.

Religious differences (they include Christians faithful to the national church, Catholics and Lutherans, also Muslims, and also followers of their traditional religions), as well as the cultural diversity of their groups and the denial of their existence as a people before 1975, have not prevented the gradual formation of a common identity among the Oromo. This is based on a substantial degree of linguistic intercommunication and on common values (such as the *gada* system). For some people it shows itself in a nationalism which the setting-up of a new, decentralised Ethiopian administrative system (1992), which endeavours to regroup the Oromo lands into an entity called "Oromia", would probably not satisfy completely.

The cradle of the Oromo, originally nomads, is believed to have been the region which stretches from Lake Abaya to the upper course of the Webi Shebele. The most important warrior raids and migrations which pushed them northwards began in the middle of the 16th century. They were favoured, if not provoked, by the disorder brought about by the wars which had set the Christian empire against the Muslims in the first half of that century, and especially against the sultanate of Harar [*q.v.*]. These migrations brought them to the Blue Nile, to Tigré and, in the northeast, to Harar, in the midst of peoples whose customs and beliefs, and even language, they often adopted. In this way, some of them early became Muslim.

From the 18th century onwards, Muslim political entities took shape, often engaged in trading. In the north, the Tajju and Wello were capable of having an influence on the political evolution of the Christian states until 1853. In the south, petty kingdoms (Ennarya, Jimma, Gera, Gomma and Guma), originating from the middle of the 18th century, became Muslim under the influence of merchants, mainly Harari ones. Divided by internal rivalries, they were integrated into the empire by Menelik between 1881 and 1897, together with the Arssi region which had become Muslim in the second half of the century and the sultanate of Harar itself.

Oromo Islam is far from "orthodox", and its devotees are sometimes Muslim only in name. The famous pilgrimage to the *ḳubba* of Shaykh Nūr Husen takes place in the Arssi territory, and the rites practised there strongly resemble those of the traditional pilgrimages at Abba Mudda. The influential *ṭarīḳa*s have come from the Sudan (Tīdjāniyya, Sammāniyya) or from Arabia (Aḥmadiyya, Ḳādiriyya).

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ORONTE(s) [see AL-ʿAṢĪ].

ORTA (T.), literally "centre", in Ottoman Turkish military terminology, the equivalent of a company of fighting men in the three divisions (the *Segmen*, the *Djemāʿat* and the *Bölük*) of which the Janissary corps was eventually composed [see ODJAḲ and YEÑI ČERILER).

The number of *orta*s within the corps varied through the ages, but eventually approached 200; d'Ohsson reckoned the total at 229. The strength of each *orta* likewise varied; in the time of Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ [*q.v.*], they are said to have been composed of 50 men, but in the low hundreds at subsequent periods. The commander of an *orta* was called the *Čorbadjï* (literally, "soup purveyor" [*q.v.*]), and amongst the officers below him were, *inter alios*, the *Ashdjï* ("cook") and the *Bash Ḳara Ḳullukdju* ("head scullion"), reflecting the origin of much Janissary nomenclature in culinary terms. The several officers in an *orta* seem to have reflected a variety of military functions rather than a hierarchy of ranks, as in modern armies. Also, each *orta* had its own clerk, *oda yazïdjï*, who kept the rolls of the soldiers on the company's strength.

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ORTA OYUNU (T.), "entertainment staged in the middle place", a form of popular Turkish entertainment so-called because it takes place in the open air, *palanka*, around which the spectators form a circle. One side is reserved for the men, the other for the women. Behind the spectators is found the place where the actors get ready to enter the stage by means of a passage which is left free. The décor consists solely of a chair—or a table—called *dükkān* "shop, booth" and a folding screen, *yeñi dünyā* "new world". An orchestra made up of a *zurna*, oboe, a *čifte naḳḳāre* "double drum" and a *dawul* "big drum" plays a tune for dancing, and the dancers (*köček*) enter the stage, followed by the *djurdjunadjïs* "comic dancers". After this

preliminary demonstration, the actors proper appear. The two main characters, Ḳawuḳlu and Pīshekār, have, respectively, the same characteristics of those of Karagöz and Hacivad in the shadow theatre [see KARAGÖZ], likewise the character of Zenne "lady" (here a male actor in woman's dress) and the various other types representing the minority groups of the Ottoman empire: Jew, Armenian, Frank (here the Frenchman, or European, resident in Turkey) and the Anatolian peasant, here called Türk. The role of Bebe Ruhi of the shadow plays is here played by an actor genuinely a dwarf and hump-backed.

There are a large number of themes in common with the shadow theatre, and several of these are drawn from the repertoire of popular romances like those of Ferhād and Shīrīn, Leylā and Medjnūn, etc. As in the Karagöz plays, these are stripped of their serious nature, enriched by comic elements and provided with a happy ending. What distinguishes the Orta Oyunu from Karagöz is, so it would appear, its mode of presentation: the coming together of living persons who are entirely free to draw comic effects from the mimes. A burlesque dialogue between Ḳawuḳlu and Pīshekār is called *čene yarīshī* "chin competition", a term signifying in Turkish "contest in gossiping, talking at length"; the two actors, drawing upon the term's ambiguity, reinforce their repartee with a miming contest which consists of twisting and deforming the chin to produce the most comic effects of the face.

Certain types of *taḳlīd* "comic imitation" of the Turkish tradition attested from the 12th century onwards have some common features with the Orta Oyunu, but only the imitative element can be traced back to there. The same applies to the spectacle known as *ḳol oyunu* "entertainment with troupes" about which Ewliyā Čelebi speaks. One could also compare the Orta Oyunu with the improvised street displays of rural areas. Nevertheless, with the full array of its characteristics, the Orta Oyunu is only attested in written sources after the beginning of the 18th century.

Some Orta Oyunu texts, transcribed rather late, have been published in the works of Martinovitch (one text in translation) and of Cevdet Kudret (nine texts). In the work of Selim Nüzhet Gerçek appears a list of 46 titles.

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(P.N. Boratav)

ORTAČ, YŪSUF ḌIYĀ (Yusuf Ziyâ Ortaç), Turkish poet and journalist, born on 23 April 1895 in Istanbul, the son of engineer Süleymān Sāmī and Ḥurriyye, died in 1968. He finished *Wefā Iʿdādīsi* in 1915. By then he had already showed an interest in writing poetry and had won a prize for one of his poems, which was published in *Türk yurdu*. He taught literature first in İzmit, then at Galatasaray lycée. His poetry followed the tradition of the nationalist poets of the time. His first book of poems, *Aḳından aḳına* was published in 1916, followed by *Djenk ufuḳlarī* in 1917, a work which aimed to give moral support to the army and the nation during the war. In 1918 he began to write satirical poems. He launched a journal called *Shāʿir* and wrote in the journal *Diken* using the pseudonym of Čimdik. In 1919 he published his satirical poems in *Shen kitāb*, comprising twenty poems which criticise the social and administrative life of Istanbul. In 1922, he published *Aḳ baba*, a satirical magazine, with Orkhan Seyfī [*q.v.*], which became the forerunner of the journals of satire during the first years of the Republic. Yusuf Ziyâ wrote for the newspapers *İkdam* and *Cumhuriyet* between the years 1927 and 1933. In 1935, he published *Ayda bir* with Orhan Seyfi Orhon as well as *Her ay*, a journal devoted to arts, economy and politics, and also the journal *Çınaraltı*. He left journalism to work as a literature teacher and later became an MP between the years 1946-54. In 1962 he published his last book *Bir rüzgâr esti* and until 1967 he worked for the magazine *Akbaba*. He died on 11 March 1968.

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(Çiğdem Balım)

ORUDJ [see URUDJ].

OSMAN DAN FODIO [see ʿUTHMĀN IBN FŪDĪ].

OSMAN DIGNA [see ʿUTHMĀN ABŪ BAKR DIGNA].

OSMAN NŪRĪ [see ERGIN, OSMAN NŪRĪ].

OSRUSHANA [see USRUSHANA].

OSSETIANS, an Iranic-speaking people who live in the central part of the North Caucasus, primarily in the North Ossetian ASSR and neighbouring areas on the southern slopes of these mountains in Georgia. According to the 1989 census, of the approximately 598,000 Ossetians in the former Soviet Union, 335,000 live in North Ossetia and 164,000 in Georgia. Sixty-five thousand of the Ossetians living in Georgia live in what was the South Ossetian AO.

The Ossetians are divided into two major religious groups, the Orthodox Christian Ossetians (*Iron* and *Tuallag*) and those professing Sunnī Islam, the *Digor* Ossetians. The Iron, or Eastern Ossetians, live primarily in eastern North Ossetia, and the Tuallag in Georgia. The Digors live primarily in the mountains and valleys of the northwestern part of Northern Ossetia, in a small portion of eastern Kabarda, and in the major Ossetian urban centre of Vladikavkaz.

The Muslim Ossetians are a relatively small minority, constituting between 20 to 30% of the Ossetian population. The ancestors of the Digors accepted Islam under the influence of the neighbouring Kabardinians between the 16th to 19th centuries. Although both Christianity and Sunnī Islam are represented in Ossetia, both of these faiths form only a thin veneer over a strong residual influence of the ancient polytheist and animist beliefs of the north Caucasian tribes. Pagan rituals, deities and folkways of Caucasian culture have survived throughout Ossetia, mixing with traditional Christian and Islamic beliefs and

practices. For example, polygamy was practiced well into the Soviet period among both Christian and Muslim Ossetians, and both groups appear to have been relatively casual in practicing their respective faiths. This syncretic blend has resulted in a curiously unique and distinct Ossetian culture. In addition to adopting many beliefs of the local Caucasic peoples among whom they lived, including the Balkars, Ingush, Kabardinians, and Georgians, the Digors and other Ossetians also maintain fragments of the ancient cultural practices of their nomadic ancestors, the Alans.

The Ossetians are considered to be descendants of the ancient Scythian and Sarmatian tribes who inhabited the steppe region north of the Black Sea. In the fourth century A.D., the Alans, descendants of these tribes, were forced southward from their steppe homelands by more powerful nomadic tribes, including the Huns and the Mongols. Although they generally maintained their nomadic way of life, the Alans formed a loosely structured state called Alania in the foothills and mountain valleys between the upper Kuban River and the Darial Gorge of the Caucasus. Strong ties were established between Alania and the Byzantine Empire, and, in the 10th century, Christianity became the offical religion of Alania [see further, ALĀN].

Following the Mongol invasions of the 13th century, the Alans scattered. One group migrated to what is now Hungary and parts of western Europe; another followed the Huns to China. The Alans who remained in the Caucasus region moved deeper into the mountain valleys and on to the southern slopes of the mountain range, abandoning their nomadic way of life for the more sedentary Caucasian life style of stock raising and agriculture. After intermarrying and culturally mixing with the local Caucasian peoples, the Alans re-emerged three centuries later as a distinct ethnic group now known as the Ossetians.

The Ossetic language is the only survivor of the northeastern branch of Iranian languages, also known as Scythian. Ossetic is divided into two main dialects: "eastern" or Iron and "western" or Digor. Among the Digor Ossetians, a form of Ossetic developed incorporating linguistic elements from Kabardinian (Circassian), a Caucasic language. Many archaic linguistic terms and structures that no longer exist in Iron or Tuallag Ossetic were preserved in Digor. Iron and Tuallag are more heavily influenced by the Russian and Georgian languages, respectively. In the late 19th century a distinct Digor literary language was created, which used Arabic characters. At the same time, the Iron dialect was written in the Cyrillic alphabet and Tuallag in the Georgian alphabet. In 1923, all dialects of Ossetic were changed to the Latin alphabet, and in 1939, the Digor literary language was abolished and replaced by standard literary Iron, which again used the Cyrillic alphabet.

In 1944 the Digor were deported to Central Asia along with other Muslim peoples of the North Caucasus. In the late 1950s, the survivors of the deportations were permitted to return to homelands in the North Caucasus, and the Digor were resettled more or less in their traditional territories in the Digor Valley and the foothills of western North Ossetia, along the border of Kabarda. Today, the Digors live primarily by animal husbandry, settled agriculture, and many work in the nickel mining industry of North Ossetia. There are no major cities in the Digor region of North Ossetia and the Digor remain less urbanised than their Christian Iron neighbours and kinsmen.

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(NANCY E. LEEPER)

OSTĀDSĪS [see USTĀDHSĪS].

ʿOTHMĀN, ĀL-I ʿOTHMĀN [see ʿOTHMĀNLĪ].

ʿOTHMĀN I, eponymous founder of the Ottoman dynasty. It is impossible to establish the dates of his birth or of his accession to sovereignty. He was active during the first quarter of the 8th/14th century, and Ottoman tradition asserts that he died shortly after his son Orkhan's [*q.v.*] conquest of Bursa (on 6 April 1326. For this date, see P. Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ii, Vienna 1977, 231). However, this story which makes a son assume leadership already during his father's lifetime, may have originated in the early 9th/15th century simply as an ideal model of succession to contrast with the contemporary practice of succession by fratricide. A *wakfiyya* of ʿOthmān's son Orkhan, dated Rabīʿ I 724/March 1324 (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Gazi Orhan Bey vakfiyesi*, in *Belleten*, v/19 [1941], 277-88) already bears Orkhan's *tughra* [*q.v.*], suggesting—but by no means proving—that he had succeeded to full sovereignty by this date. In which case, ʿOthmān's death should perhaps be placed before March 1324. (For an argument in favour of 724/1324 as the date of Orkhan's succession, see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Gazi Orhan Beğin hükümdar olduğu tarih*, in *Belleten*, ix/33 [1945], 207-11.)

ʿOthmān's origins are unknown. However, Turkish sources beginning with the *Iskender-nāme* (*ca.* 1400) of Aḥmedī [*q.v.*] (ed. İsmail Ünver, Ankara 1983, 65b) are unanimous in naming his father as Ertoghrul [*q.v.*], and a silver coin stamped on the obverse and reverse "Struck (by) ʿOthmān son of Ertoghrul" supports this claim (İ. Artuk, *Osmanlı beyliğinin kurucusu Osman Gaziye ait sikke*, in *1st International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey. Papers*, Ankara [1983], 27-33). The names of ʿOthmān's children, apart from Orkhan, are also known, as they appear as witnesses to Orkhan's *wakfiyya* of 724/1324. They are Čoban, Ḥamīd, Melik, Pazarlu and Faṭma Khātūn. The Malkhatun daughter of ʿÖmer Beg, whose name also appears as a witness to the same document, may have been ʿOthmān's wife. Ottoman tradition from ʿĀshīḳ-pasha-zāde [*q.v.*] onwards name his wife as Malkhun, daughter of the legendary dervish Edebali. Neshrī [*q.v.*], however, while taking over ʿĀshīḳ-pasha-zāde's tale of ʿOthmān's marriage, adds a separate anecdote about ʿOthmān's love-affair with a lady called Malkhatun (ed. F. Taeschner, *Ğihānnümā. Die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlānā Mehemmed Neschrī*, i. Text of Codex Menzel, Leipzig 1951, 24. The copyist of the Manisa ms. renders this name as Malkhun Khātūn. See Taeschner, *Ğihānnümā*, ii. Text of Codex Manisa 1373, Leipzig 1955, 29). These tales may conceivably represent folk-memories of a real Malkhatun, a wife of the historical ʿOthmān.

The *Anonymous chronicles* (ed. F. Giese, *Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken*, Breslau 1922, 7) and Oruč (Oruč b. ʿĀdil, ed. F. Babinger, *Tevārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Hanover 1925, 12, 15-16) attribute only

two sons to ʿOthmān: Orkhan and ʿAlī Pasha. ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde (ed. ʿAlī, *Tevārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1332/1913-14, 39-40) adopts this scheme, but re-names ʿAlī Pasha as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bey]. Most later historians follow ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde. However, the figure of ʿAlī Pasha/ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pasha is wholly fictitious, despite inclusion in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. (For the origin and development of this legend, see C. Imber, *Canon and apocrypha in early Ottoman history*, in C. Finkel and C.J. Heywood (eds.), *Festschrift for V.L. Ménage*, Istanbul.)

The survival of a coin stamped with ʿOthmān's name confirms the Ottoman tradition that he declared himself an independent ruler, since the issue of coinage served as a declaration of sovereignty. There are no other Ottoman texts or artefacts from his reign. The only contemporary source to mention ʿOthmān is the Byzantine chronicle of George Pachymeres (1242-*ca.* 1310) (ed. I. Bekker, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologo,* Bonn 1835, ii).

Pachymeres' references to ʿOthmān are confused. His chronicle records a victory which ʿOthmān won over the Byzantine *hetaireiarches* Mouzalon at Bapheus, identified as the district around Nikomedia/Izmit (Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, 333). The battle, Pachymeres claims, "was the beginning of great trouble for the whole region." In a second attempt to defeat ʿOthmān, the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II sent another force against him under the *stratopedarch* Siouros. ʿOthmān defeated this army in a night attack near a fortress called Katoikia, which he had also occupied (Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, 414). Pachymeres follows his account of this victory with a statement that ʿOthmān next occupied Belokome/Biledjik [*q.v.*], thereby "gaining great wealth and living in prosperity, and using the fortresses as places of safekeeping for treasures" (Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, 414-15). The exact sequence of events is, however, unclear. In a slightly earlier passage, Pachymeres already refers to the loss of Belokome, together with Angelokome (İnegöl?), Melangeia (İnönü?), Anagourdia and Platanea (unidentified), without, however, attributing these conquests to ʿOthmān (Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, 413). It would perhaps be reasonable to assume that it was ʿOthmān who captured all these places, at about the time of his victory at Katoikia. Pachymeres reports that he also laid siege to Prousa/Bursa [*q.v.*] and to Pegai on the coast, where the besieged population suffered famine and plague (Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, 414), and finally that he made a determined but unsuccessful assault on Nikaia/Iznik [*q.v.*] (Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, 637). His final reference to ʿOthmān reads: "So in this way ʿOthmān was greatly inspired to ambitious plans. There was nothing in the regions around Nikaia, Pythia and everywhere right down to the coast which he did not control" (Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, 642). The disjointed sequence of events that Pachymeres describes must have occurred before 707-8/1308, the closing date of his chronicle. One can infer from this source that by this date the occupation of Belokome/Biledjik and other fortresses had given ʿOthmān a secure base in the Sakarya valley and that he controlled the countryside westwards as far as the Sea of Marmara.

The earliest Ottoman lists of ʿOthmān's conquests also indicate that his secure base was the Sakarya valley. The *Iskender-nāme* of Aḥmedī (*loc. cit.*) credits him with the capture of Biledjik, Inegöl and Köprüḥiṣār, at least the first two of which correspond with Pachymeres' narrative. A *Chronological list* of 824/1421 lists Biledjik, Yarḥiṣār, Inegöl and Yeñishehir (Ç.N. Atsız, *Osmanlı tarihine ait takvimler*, Istanbul 1961, 25), and the subsequent chronicles by Shükrullāh (*ca.* 1460) (ed. Th. Seif, *Der Abschnitt über die Osmanen in Šükrullah's persischer Universalgeschichte*, in *MOG*, ii [1923-6], 81) and Enwerī (*ca.* 1465) (ed. M.H. Yınanç, *Düstūr-nāme-yi Enwerī*, Istanbul 1928, 82-3) offer permutations of these earlier lists. The *Anonymous chronicles* (ed. Giese, 6), Oruč (ed. Babinger, 12) and ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde (ed. ʿAlī, 18), all deriving their information from a common source of *ca.* 825/1422, also refer to ʿOthmān's conquest of a fortress called Ḳara[dja]ḥiṣār ("Black Fortress"). This toponym may correspond to the Melangeia of Pachymeres, since alternative forms of this name are Melagina/Melaina, which resemble the Greek word *melaina* (f. sing. "black") and suggest that the Turkish name is a calque of the Greek. The correspondence of these places with the general locations of ʿOthmān's conquests to be inferred from Pachymeres suggests that in these few particulars the Ottoman tradition is historically accurate.

In general, however, Turkish traditions about ʿOthmān are clearly unhistorical and should be understood as belonging to the literary genres of folk-epic (*dāstān* [*q.v.*]) and *manāḳib* [*q.v.*]. These traditions appear in their most primitive and disjointed form in the *Anonymous chronicles* and Oruč, which derive the core of their material from the "common source" of *ca.* 825/1422. The *History* of ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde presents a fuller and more coherent narrative, adding a great deal to the stories which it shares with these two chronicles. For this reason, it is ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde whose narrative has come to form the basis of the modern historiography of ʿOthmān's reign. However, ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde's additional material is similar in type to what he took from the "common source". For example, he also derives the names of ʿOthmān's followers and companions from toponyms, and creates battle stories both from folk-etymologies of place-names and from the sites of shrines. An example of this last type is ʿOthmān's supposed victory over the Byzantines at Ḳoyunḥiṣār, which modern historians have over-optimistically identified with the Bapheus in Pachymeres. The original story comes from the "common source", and locates the battle at the site of a shrine, which popular tradition came to associate with the tomb of a fictitious relative of ʿOthmān who supposedly fell in a battle at that spot (Oruč b. ʿĀdil, *op. cit.*, 13). ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde (ed. ʿAlī, 21) adopts the same tale, but removes the battle-site to nearby Dinboz. This clearly reflects the influence of a tale preserved in the *Ottoman history* of Theodore Spandugino (for the recension of 1513, see *La cronaca italiana di Teodoro Spandugino*, in C. Villain-Gandossi, *La Méditerranée aux XII-XVIe siècles*, London 1983, 158-60; for the recension of 1538, see C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen-âge*, ix, Paris 1890, 138-9) of an Ottoman victory over the infidels at Dinboz. The starting point of Spandugino's story is the name Dinboz itself, which he understands as deriving from Turkish *dīn boz-* ("to destroy religion") and as being so named in commemoration of an Ottoman victory over the Greeks. ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde has simply conflated the two stories to create a new account of a battle, and this procedure is typical of his entire narrative.

In the 20th century, a number of historians have adapted Ottoman traditions relating to ʿOthmān and his forbears in order to construct new theories of the origins of the Ottoman Empire. M. Fuad Köprülü (*Les origines de l'Empire Ottoman*, Istanbul 1935) accepted that the Ottoman tradition making ʿOthmān a leader of the Ḳayï [*q.v.*] tribe is, at least in essence,

true. R.P. Lindner (*Nomads and Ottomans in mediaeval Anatolia*, Bloomington 1983) also postulated a tribal origin for ʿOthmān and his followers, but greatly modified the traditional stories to accord with modern anthropological theory. P. Wittek (*The rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1938) rejected the traditions of ʿOthmān as leader of a tribe, in favour of the view that he was leader of a *ghāzī* corporation and that these *ghāzī* origins pre-determined the future trajectory of the Ottoman Empire. (On the intellectual roots of Wittek's famous theory, see C.J. Heywood, *Wittek and the Austrian tradition*, in *JRAS* [1988], 7-25; idem, "*Boundless dreams of the Levant*": *Paul Wittek, the George-Kreis, and the writing of Ottoman history*, in *ibid.* [1989], 30-50. See also R.C. Jennings, *Some thoughts on the gazi-thesis*, in *WZKM*, lxxvi [1986], 151-61.) Another thesis harmonises the "nomad" and "*ghāzī*" theories (Halil İnalcık, *The question of the emergence of the Ottoman state*, in *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, ii/2 [1981-2], 71-80). Another view is that the Ottoman traditions concerning ʿOthmān's origins and forbears are myths, most of which developed during the course of the 9th/15th century and had the function of legitimising Ottoman dynastic rule (C. Imber, *The Ottoman dynastic myth*, in *Turcica*, xix [1987], 7-27; on the legitimising functions of the Ottoman genealogy, see Wittek, *op. cit.*, 1-15; Barbara Flemming, *Political genealogies in the sixteenth century*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, vii-viii [1988], 123-37).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. Imber)

ʿOTHMĀN II, sixteenth sultan of the Ottoman empire (regn. 1027-31/1618-22), was born on 19 Djumādā II 1012/15 November 1603; cf. *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i, 56), the son of Sultan Aḥmed I. After the death of his father in November 1617, the brother of the latter had been proclaimed sultan as Muṣṭafā I [*q.v.*] but ʿOthmān, taking advantage of the weak character of his uncle and supported by the *Muftī* Esʿad Efendi and the *Ḳïzlar Aghasî* Muṣṭafā, seized the throne on 26 February 1618 by a coup d'état.

The youth of the new sultan at first assured the promoters of the coup d'état of considerable influence. To them was due the replacement of Khalīl Pasha [*q.v.*] as grand vizier by Öküz Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] in January 1619. Khalīl had just concluded a treaty of peace with Shāh ʿAbbās I of Persia, after a campaign which had been indecisive. The relations with the other powers, Austria and Venice, with which the capitulations were renewed, were also peaceful. But in January 1620, after Meḥmed Pasha had been replaced by the very influential favourite Güzeldje ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], who removed from the court all possible rivals, the chances of war increased. This time it was a war with Poland, which broke out through the intrigues of the voivode of Moldavia. In the battle of Jassy on 20 September 1620, the Polish army was annihilated by the *ser-ʿasker* Iskender Pasha. The grand vizier, who held office mainly by satisfying the avarice of the young sultan, never lost an occasion to irritate and provoke the enmity of Austria and Venice. He died on 9 March 1621 and under his successor Ḥüseyn Pasha of Okhri, ʿOthmān II took part in person in the campaign of 1621 against Poland. This campaign ended in a check for the Turks and the Tartars, who, with great losses, had in vain tried to storm the fortified Polish camp on the Dniester near Choczim. A preliminary peace was signed under the same conditions as before under Süleymān I, and the sultan appointed a new grand vizier, Dilāwer-zāde Ḥüseyn Pasha.

Since the time when ʿOthmān, still considerably under the influence of the Ḳïzlar Aghasî Süleymān and his Khodja, Mollā ʿÖmer, had begun to act independently, he had not been able to gain the sympathy of the army on account of his brutal treatment of the Janissaries, nor of the people chiefly as a result of his avarice, nor of the *ʿulemāʾ*. The latter were particularly horrified at the sultan's wish to take four legitimate wives from the free classes of his entourage; he actually married the daughter of the *Muftī* Esʿad. His unpopularity increased still further when he wished to put himself at the head of an army to fight Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*], the Druze *Amīr*, and to go on and make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Preparations had already been made for this expedition when on 18 May 1622, a mutiny broke out among the Janissaries and Sipāhīs, who plundered the house of Mollā ʿÖmer. Next day, the rebels secured the cooperation of the chief *ʿulemāʾ* and demanded the heads of the Ḳïzlar Aghasî, the Khodja, the grand vizier and three other high officials. ʿOthmān at first refused, but after the rebels had forced the third wall of the palace he had to sacrifice the grand vizier and the Ḳïzlar Aghasî. But in the meantime, his uncle Muṣṭafā had been brought out from his seclusion in the harem to be proclaimed sultan. ʿOthmān tried during the night to secure his throne through the influence of the Agha of the Janissaries, but the latter was killed on the following morning and he became the prisoner of the Janissaries, who took him to their barracks. The rebels had no intentions against his life, but meanwhile the direction of affairs had passed to Dāwūd Pasha, the favourite and son-in-law of Māh-Peyker, the mother of Sultan Muṣṭafā. Dāwūd Pasha, being appointed grand vizier, had ʿOthmān taken to the castle of Yedi Kule, where he was put to death in the evening of 20 May 1622. He was buried in the *türbe* of his father Aḥmed I. ʿOthmān is praised for his skill as a horseman and for his intelligence. He was also a poet with the *makhlaṣ* of Fārisī. He was the first of three sultans to lose his life in a rising, the others being Ibrāhīm and Selīm III.

Bibliography: The Turkish sources are the works of Naʿīmā, Pečewī, Ḥasan Bey-zāde, the *Rawḍat al-abrār* of Ḳara Čelebi-zāde, and the *Fedhleke* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa. The *Waḳʿa-yi Sulṭān ʿOthmān Khān* of Ṭūghī is specially devoted to the deposition of ʿOthmān (tr. by A. Galland; cf. *GOW*, 157), while his whole reign is described in a *Shah-nāme* by Nādirī (*GOW*, 169). Among contemporary western accounts, see the *Relazione* quoted by von Hammer, in the note on p. 806 of *GOR*², ii, and that of Sir Thomas Roe. See also the general histories by von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/1, 337-41, iv/2, 370 ff.; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 246; R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, index; *İA*, art. *Osman II* (Şinâsî Altındağ).

(J.H. Kramers)

ʿOTHMĀN III, twenty-fifth sultan of the Ottoman empire (regn. 1168-71/1754-7) and son of Muṣṭafā II, succeeded his brother Maḥmūd I on 14 December 1754. He was born on 2 January 1699 (*Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i, 56) and had therefore reached an advanced age when he was called to the throne. No events of political importance took place in his reign. The period of peace which had begun with the peace of Belgrade in 1739 continued; at home only a series of seditious outbreaks in the frontier provinces indicated the weakness of the empire. In the absence of any outstanding personality, the sultan was able to

rule as he pleased, but his activities were practically confined to changing his grand vizier frequently (six times). His favourite, Silihdār ʿAlī Pasha, grand vizier from 24 August to 22 October 1755, had his career terminated by execution. The appointment on 13 December 1756 of Rāghib Pasha [q.v.] was an important one, as for five years this great statesman showed himself an excellent administrator of the empire under the following sultan Muṣṭafā III. ʿOthmān III's other activities were the suppression of cafés, of the liberty of women to show themselves in public and the regulation of the dress of his non-Muslim subjects. His name is associated with the great mosque of Nūr-i ʿOthmānī (Nuruosmaniye), which had been begun by Mahmūd I and was solemnly opened in December 1755. The reign of this sultan is remembered for the great fires in the capital in 1755 and 1756. He died on 30 October 1757 and was buried, like Mahmūd I, in the tomb of the Yeñi Djāmiʿ.

Bibliography: The *Taʾrīkh* of Wāṣif is the principal source. The reign is described in the great histories of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga. See also A. Danon, *Contributions à l'histoire des sultans Osman II et Mouçtafâ I*, in *JA*, 11th ser., xiv (1919), 69-139, 243-310; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, 132 ff., iii/2, 385 ff.; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 191-3; R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman*, Paris 1989, index; *İA*, art. *Osman II* (Şinâsî Altındağ).

(J.H. Kramers)

ʿOTHMĀN HAMDĪ (b. Istanbul, 1842; d. Kuruçeşme, 1910; buried in Eskihisar), Ottoman painter and archaeologist.

He was the eldest son of Ibrāhīm Edhem Pasha [q.v.], grand vizier under ʿAbd al-Hamīd II, and brother of Ismāʿīl Ghālib [q.v.] and Khalīl Edhem (Eldem [q.v.]). Sent to Paris *ca.* 1857 in order to study law, ʿOthmān Hamdī gravitated toward the École des Beaux-Arts, where he studied painting under the leading proponents of Academic painting, in particular G. Boulanger and J.-L. Gérôme; he also attended courses in archaeology. From his teachers he absorbed a knowledge of classical antiquity, a precise descriptive technique and a taste for "Oriental" themes. In 1867 he functioned as representative for the Ottoman section of the Exposition Universelle in Paris visited by Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. On his return to the Ottoman Empire in 1869, ʿOthmān Hamdī spent two years in Baghdād in the service of Midhat Pasha, then governor of ʿIrāk. For the 1873 International Exposition in Vienna he served as Head of the Turkish section and compiled a book, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie*. During the 1870s, he served in various administrative posts, pursued his artistic interests and became associated with the newly established Müze-yi Hümāyūn (Imperial Museum; continues as Arkeoloji Müzeleri). In 1881 he was appointed director of this museum and shortly thereafter participated in founding the Ṣanāyiʿ-i Nefīse Mektebi (School of Fine Arts, continues as Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi). During his years as museum director (1881-1910), ʿOthmān Hamdī was also responsible for overseeing archaeological activities in Ottoman territory and was instrumental in drafting the 1884 *Āthār-i ʿAtīka Niẓām-nāmesi*, a law which declared all antiquities to be the property of the State, forbidding to archaeologists a share of their finds and making clandestine excavation and antiquities smuggling criminal offences; the basic provisions of this law remain in force today. His father's position as Minister of the Interior (1883-5) facilitated the speedy enforcement of this law, which was soon to give the Müze-yi Hümāyūn an outstanding collection of antiquities as well as an archive of tablets excavated in ʿIrāk and Anatolia. ʿOthmān Hamdī's zeal for preserving the relics of the past led him to undertake excavations where finds of antiquities were reported. Most notable was his 1887 excavation of a necropolis in Sidon which yielded a sarcophagus portraying battles of Greeks and Persians initially thought to have been made for Alexander of Macedon. The finds from Sidon were published by ʿOthmān Hamdī in collaboration with Théodore Reinach (*Une nécropole royale à Sidon. Fouilles de Hamdy Bey*, Paris 1892). Antiquities from Sidon and other sites soon made it necessary to build a proper museum near the Çinili Köşk of Topkapı Palace which had been used since 1876 to house objects collected from pre-Islamic and Islamic sites in the Ottoman Empire. ʿOthmān Hamdī gained international recognition as archaeologist and museum director; among other awards for him were the title of Grand Officier of the Légion d'Honneur (1906) and the degree of Doctor Honoris Causa from Oxford University (1909).

Throughout his career as administrator and archaeologist ʿOthmān Hamdī continued to paint, and his works were exhibited in both Turkey and Europe. Most of his compositions were close variants of types used by his teacher, J.-L. Gérôme, and are characterised by a painstaking attention to detail in the rendering of setting, figures and ancillary objects. Because of this, it is possible to discern that many paintings are self-portraits or contain likenesses of his immediate family. Most of the settings are also recognisable, and include buildings in Bursa, Karaman and Istanbul. Several have as a background the Çinili Köşk and some of the objects he portrayed are known to have been part of the museum's collection. As a painter, administrator and scholar, ʿOthmān Hamdī devoted his life to the study and preservation of the artistic and cultural heritage of the Ottoman Empire, laying the foundations for institutions which continue to function in the Turkish Republic.

Bibliography: Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta batı'ya açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, Istanbul 1971, and *Bibl.*, 629-36; Refik Epikman, *Osman Hamdi*, Ankara 1967; Arif Müfid Mansel, *Osman Hamdi Bey*, in *Belleten*, xciv (1960), 291-301; V. Belgin Demirsar, *Osman Hamdi tablolarında gerçekle ilişkiler*, Ankara 1989; H. Metzger (ed.), *La correspondance passive d'Osman Hamdi Bey*, Limoges-Paris 1990; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, xviii (1970), 433-5, s.v. Hamdi Bey, Osman.

(P. and S. Soucek)

ʿOTHMĀN PASHA, Özdemir-Oghlī, Ottoman grand vizier and celebrated commander in the Ottoman-Ṣafawid war of 1578-90.

Born in Egypt in 933/1526-7, his father was Özdemir Pasha [q.v.], a *mamlūk* who became Ottoman governor (*beylerbeyi*) of Yemen and conqueror of Abyssinia (Habesh [q.v.]). The earliest documentary evidence of ʿOthmān's holding office in Egypt dates from Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 957/December 1550; yet it is claimed that by the age of twenty he was a *sandjakbeyi*, the rank he held in Rabīʿ I 968/December 1560 when appointed Egyptian *amīr al-hadjdj*.

ʿOthmān followed his deceased father as *beylerbeyi* of Habesh, probably in late 968/mid-1561. It has been suggested (Orhonlu, *Habeş eyaleti*, 49), though without supporting evidence, that he was chosen because he had earlier served there under his father and was familiar with the province's lands and peoples.

During his six years in this office, ʿOthmān Pasha apparently operated mainly in the coastal region south from Maṣawwaʿ [*q.v.*], seeking to forestall Abyssinian contacts with the Portuguese. He may also have taken measures aimed at linking Ḥabesh with Upper Egypt to counter the Fundj [*q.v.*] tribes, who in 971-2/1564 besieged Sawākin, the province's administrative centre.

Released from Ḥabesh in Ṣafar 975/August 1567, ʿOthmān returned to his native Cairo. There he shortly learned that, from 14 Djumādā II 975/16 December 1567, he had been appointed governor of Ṣanʿāʾ, then one of two *beylerbeyiliks* in Yemen [see MAḤMŪD PASHA] where a Zaydī rebellion was out of control. Although ordered to depart for Yemen immediately with a modest force in advance of a larger one under the *serdār* (commander-in-chief) Muṣṭafā Pasha Lala [*q.v.*], ʿOthmān lingered in Cairo and became drawn to Muṣṭafā Pasha in his bitter rivalry with Ḳodja Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*], the governor of Egypt. When finally he left Suez early in 976/mid-1568 with 3,000 troops, ʿOthmān's status had been elevated to *beylerbeyi* of the reunited single province of Yemen. His troops rescued the beleaguered Ottoman garrison at Zabīd in Djumādā II 976/November-December 1568 and quickly recovered Taʿizz in the interior. But ʿOthmān shortly came under close Zaydī siege until relieved in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 976/April 1569 by Ḳodja Sinān Pasha, then *serdār* in place of Muṣṭafā Pasha. Subsequent cooperation between the *beylerbeyi* and *serdār* proved elusive, owing to their dislike of each other. Thus the *serdār* exercised his discretionary authority to dismiss and expel ʿOthmān from Yemen.

The next several years of ʿOthmān Pasha's career remain somewhat obscure. Proceeding to Istanbul during 977-8/1570, he was initially refused domicile in the city by the grand vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], to whom Ḳodja Sinān Pasha had reported on him adversely. Nevertheless, his friend Muṣṭafā Pasha Lala [*q.v.*], now the popular conqueror of Cyprus, commended him to Sultan Selīm II and secured for him the governorship of al-Ḥasā in eastern Arabia. After a year there, he was transferred to al-Baṣra, where, as instructed, he organised for an assault on Hurmuz, before being named *beylerbeyi* of Diyār Bakr (980/1572-3). ʿOthmān held this office for four years, and, when replaced by a relative of Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed, he sought to escape the latter's machinations by remaining in Diyār Bakr.

When it was decided in 985/1578 to make war on Ṣafawid Persia, Muṣṭafā Pasha Lala, who was chosen *serdār*, invited ʿOthmān Pasha to participate. ʿOthmān accepted and was commissioned for the campaign on 20 Muḥarram 986/29 March 1578. Advancing with the main army east from Erzurum in the summer of 1578, ʿOthmān commanded forces which scored two decisive victories over the Ṣafawids, the first on 5 Djumādā II 986/9 August 1578 at Čildir, and the second a month later near the Alazan River. These successes both gained ʿOthmān renown and made possible the Ottoman occupation of, respectively, Georgia and Shirwān, including the key centres of Shamākhī and Derbend. Muṣṭafā Pasha subsequently withdrew the army to winter near Erzurum, having persuaded ʿOthmān to stay and defend the conquests with a modest army, the rank of vizier, and the status of governor-general of Shirwān and Dāghistān.

Predictably, the Ṣafawids reappeared once the main Ottoman army had departed. Despite the arrival of a support contingent of Crimean Tatars, ʿOthmān was compelled, after two sieges during Ramaḍān 986/November 1578, to abandon Shamākhī and retreat to Derbend on the Caspian. He maintained this Ottoman foothold in the Caucasus until Shaʿbān 987/October 1579, when, at Sultan Murād III's bidding, Meḥmed Girāy, the Crimean *khān*, arrived with a substantial force. Although shortly afterwards ʿOthmān Pasha and the Tatars recovered Shamākhī and swept the Ṣafawids from Shirwān, Meḥmed Girāy returned home, leaving only a token Tatar contingent under his brother, Ghāzī Girāy (II [*q.v.*]).

Thereafter, ʿOthmān withdrew to Derbend, his base until 991/1583. His communicating with the sultan directly to report his desperate circumstances resulted in the arrival at Derbend via the Crimea, towards the end of 990/1582, of an army of Rumelian reinforcements. With these, ʿOthmān Pasha the following spring won his greatest victory when he defeated a formidable Ṣafawid army between the Samur River and Shābirān. This engagement, known as the "Battle of the Torches (*Meshʿale Sawashī*)" because of the use of torches to fight by night, raged during 14-18 Rabīʿ II 991/7-11 May 1583 and resulted in the expulsion of the Ṣafawids from Shirwān and Dāghistān for some time hence.

ʿOthmān Pasha left the Caucasus in Shawwāl 991/October 1583, with more than five years' continuous service there and a reputation as a brilliant commander. He returned through the Crimea, under orders to execute Meḥmed Girāy Khān for not supporting the war in the Caucasus after 987/1579, and to instal as *khān* a brother being sent from Istanbul. Meḥmed Girāy was eventually assassinated, but only after the arrival of the Ottoman fleet in the spring of 1584 forced him to lift his 37-day siege of ʿOthmān in Kaffa and flee. The celebrated warrior reached Istanbul in early summer and received a hero's welcome by all but the envious viziers of the dome [see ḲUBBE WEZĪRĪ] and suspicious palace factions. Following an audience with Murād III, to whom he related his experiences, ʿOthmān was appointed grand vizier (*ṣadr-ī aʿẓam*) on 20 Radjab 992/28 July 1584.

When in Ramaḍān 992/September 1584 it was learned that there was renewed conflict in the Crimea, the grand vizier himself volunteered to resolve it. But while in winter quarters in Anatolia, the ailing ʿOthmān learned that matters in Bāghče Sarāy had been settled satisfactorily. He shortly also learned that he was to succeed Ferhād Pasha [*q.v.*] as *serdār* of the eastern front. With a vast army, ʿOthmān departed from Erzurum for Tabrīz; and, although too ill to mount up, on 28 Ramaḍān 993/23 September 1585 he oversaw the Ottoman occupation of Tabrīz that would endure nearly twenty years.

Özdemir-oghlī ʿOthmān Pasha died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 993/October 1585 while returning from Tabrīz, and was buried in the city of Diyār Bakr, as he wished. Surviving him was his wife, a Dāghistān princess said to have been a woman of remarkable beauty. Although a tireless warrior like his father, he was not without his critics, including Koči Bey [*q.v.*], who accused him of being the first both to meddle with the system of awarding military fiefs and to admit non-*ḳuls* into *ḳapuḳulu* regiments.

Bibliography: Ms. sources include the versified *Shedjāʿat-nāme* by Dāl Meḥmed Čelebi Āṣafī (who was ʿOthmān Pasha's secretary and assistant); Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Künh ül-akhbār* and *Nuṣrat-nāme* (the latter an eye-witness account of the 1578-9 campaign); the three works by Raḥīmī-zāde Ibrāhīm Ḥarīmī Čawush entitled *Ẓafer-nāme-i ḥaḍret-i Sulṭān Murād Khān*, *Gendjīne-i fetḥ-i Gendje*, and *Ḳündje-yi bāgh-i Murād*; the *Tebrīziyye* by Taʿlīḳī-zāde Meḥmed Čelebi Ṣubḥī; and the *Ghazawāt-nāme-i*

Özdemiroghlī ʿOthmān Pasha by Ebūbekir b. ʿAbdullāh (cf. A.S. Levend, *Gazavât-nâmeler*, 87).
Printed materials are Nahrawālī, *al-Bark al-Yamānī* = *Ghazawāt al-Djarākisa*, ed. al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1967, 205-45 *passim*; the anonymous relation in E. Albèri, *Relazioni*, Florence 1844, ser. 3, ii, 427-70; G.T. Minadoi, *Historia della Guerra fra Turchi et Persiani*, Rome 1587, 78-103, 257-78, 320-50; G. Le Strange (ed. and tr.), *Don Juan of Persia*, London 1926, 147-55, 176-86; Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1955, i, *passim* (tr. R.M. Savory, *History of Shah ʿAbbas the great*, Boulder, Col., 1978); R. Knolles, *The Turkish history*, 6th ed., London 1687, i, 658-66, 686-8, 696-701; Selānīkī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, 97-8, 146-202 *passim*; Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, ii, 17-18, 39-102 *passim*; Münedjdjim Bashī, iii, 539-58 *passim*; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, iii, 551-6, iv, 71-7, 88-97, 170-4; ʿOthmān-zāde Ṭāʾib, *Ḥadīkat ül-wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271/1854, 38-41; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 416 (faulty); Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1306-12, 3126-7; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Gotha 1910, iii, 236-45; Sheref, *Özdemir-oghlī ʿOthmān Pasha*, in *TOEM*, iv (1329/1911), 1289-1303, 1353-69, 1417-43, 1482-1516, v (1330/1912), 1-12; İ.H. Danişmend, *Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1963, ii, 374, 376-80, iii, 17-99 *passim*; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, 2nd ed., Ankara 1977, iii/2, 2 ff., 342 ff.; B. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-Iran siyasi münasebetleri 1578-90*, Istanbul 1962; M. Sālim, *al-Fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī al-awwal li 'l-Yaman*, Cairo 1969, 243-54; C.M. Kortepeter, *Ottoman imperialism during the reformation*, New York 1972, 53-75, 85-91; C. Orhonlu, *Habeş eyaleti*, Istanbul 1974, 48-52; C. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman empire*, Princeton 1986. (J.R. Blackburn)

ʿOTHMĀN PASHA, YEGEN, leader of *lewends* [*q.v.*], bandit, vizier, and *serʿasker* of the Ottoman army in Hungary. In 1096/1685 he was *bölük-bashī* [*q.v.*] of the *lewends* of *serdār* Sheyṭān/Melek Ibrāhīm Pasha in Hungary. After fleeing from the theatre of war, he sacked villages and towns between Sivas and Bolu (in Anatolia). Afterwards, he became the chief *bölük-bashī* of Khalīl Pasha, who was responsible for the pursuit of the bandits (*teftīshdji*). When the latter was dismissed (Djumādā II 1089/April 1689), ʿOthmān Pasha obtained the *sandjak* of Ḳaraḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib [see AFYŪN ḲARA ḤIṢĀR] with two horsetails (*tugh*) and was ordered to go on campaign with five hundred *segbāns* [*q.v.*] (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, Istanbul 1928, 266; M. Cezar, *Osmanlı tarihinde levendler*, Istanbul 1965, Fotokopi no. 6). In the capital he also enforced his nomination as *serčeshme*, i.e. leader of all *lewends*, and, being considered powerful, he was honoured several times by the sultan. After the Ottoman army had been defeated near Mohács [*q.v.*] on 3 Shawwāl 1098/12 August 1687 and the Grand Vizier Ṣarī Süleymān Pasha had fled, ʿOthmān Pasha took part in the meeting of the army commanders in which Siyāwush Pasha was made *serdār* and an account drawn up for the sultan. He did not, however, join the rebellious army in its advance against the capital, but stayed back at Edirne. He then proceeded to Istanbul, but pitched his tents before the city and carefully remained distant. After Meḥemmed IV had been deposed and Süleymān II had ascended the throne (2 Muḥarram 1099/8 November 1687), Siyāwush Pasha appointed him *beglerbegi* of Rumelia, but before ʿOthmān Pasha could march off, the Grand Vizier was killed by the rebels. His successor Ismāʿīl Pasha did not want to take command of the campaign personally, and had ʿOthmān Pasha appointed vizier, *beglerbegi* of Aleppo and *serdār*. The new vizier reinforced his *lewend* troops, extorted money on their behalf and had relatives and followers appointed as *sandjakbegs* and *beglerbegis*. When it became known that he had his eyes on the grand vizierate, he was removed from the supreme command, officially because he was going to be appointed *beglerbegi* of Bosnia. In fact, however, a legal prosecution was introduced against him (*firmān* at the end of April 1688, in A. Mumcu, *Osmanlı devletinde siyaseten katl*, Ankara 1963, 215 ff.), and the units of the *ṣarīdjas* and *segbāns*, the bases of his power, were disbanded. But the new Grand Vizier Bekrī Muṣṭafā Pasha confirmed him in his function because the Imperial troops were about to attack Belgrade and a new army command could not be organised in due time. At the advance of the enemy, ʿOthmān Pasha abandoned the camp before Belgrade and retreated to Niš, his *lewends* having looted the *bezistān* [see ḲAYṢARIYYA] and the *khāns* [*q.v.*] (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 373). Although now entrusted with the defence of the frontier, ʿOthmān Pasha, while looting villages, retreated further to Sofia, allegedly to spend the winter there. At consultative meetings held in the capital during the winter of 1688-9, it was again decided to disband the *ṣarīdjas* and the *segbāns*, and to put an end to the function of *serčeshme*. It was also decided to raise a general troop levy (*nefīr-i ʿamm*) against ʿOthmān Pasha (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 409-11; the *firmāns* of *ewāʾil Rebīʿ ül-ewwel* 1100/end of December 1688 are in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme defterleri* 98, 132-5). With a dwindling number of followers, ʿOthmān Pasha fled westwards, but at İpek (Peć [*q.v.*]) they were outmanoeuvred and killed by Maḥmūd Beg-zāde Maḥmūd (Djumādā II 1100/March-April 1689, Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 423-4; Defterdār, *Zübde-yi wekāyiʿāt*, ii, 170-1). Such a rise of Anatolian-Turkish *lewends* to leading positions in the Ottoman empire was symptomatic of the times, but remained only an episode.

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ʿOTHMĀN PAZAR (in modern Turkish orthography, Osman Pazar; in Bulgaria since 1934, Omurtag), the name of a minor town (population in 1981, 10,339) in central Bulgaria, situated at an altitude of 540 m/1,771 feet above sea level on an infertile wooded plateau to the north of the Balkan Mountains. In late Ottoman times (till 1878) the town was the centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the same name, which besides ʿOthmān Pazar contained three small towns: Ḳazghan/Kotel, Virbiče/Vărbitsa and Čitaḳ (after 1934: Tiča), and 82 villages with a total population of

44,220 Muslims and 9,660 Christians, the latter concentrated in the above four townlets and in two mixed villages (Konak and Kabdağ-i Zir/ Dolnja Kabda). The 19th century *ḳaḍāʾ* of O͟thmān Pazar, an area of some 50 km in length and 25 km wide, was composed of two historical landscapes with different geographic features, a different settlement history and a different administrative history. The south-eastern half of the *ḳaḍāʾ* is a hilly basin 300 m above sea level, which is surrounded on all sides by mountains. At least since the early 14th century, it was known by the Old Bulgarian name of Gerlovo, which became the Ottoman "Gerīlova" or "Gerīlābād" (first mentioned so in the *Taḥrīr* fragment OAK 45/29 (Sofia), from 1479). The north-western half of the *ḳaḍāʾ*, in popular parlance known as Tozluk/Tuzluk (officially, Slannik), constituted since at least the late 15th century the *nāḥiye* of Ala Kilise/Kenisa. This name is apparently first mentioned in the *Taḥrīr* no. 77 of 925, 1519 (BBA), which notes that a group of Yürüks of the Rhodopes (Tanrı Dağ) in southern Bulgaria had "forty years ago migrated to a place called Ala͟dja Kilise in Gerilova, in the direction of Dobru͟dja." Ala, or Ala͟dja, Kilise refers to the ruins of a conspicuous church, built of alternating courses of white stone (from the nearby Preslav Balkan) and red bricks in the style of the Bulgaro-Byzantine Middle Ages. Tozluk, or the district of Ala Kilise is an infertile plateau of about 600 m above sea level, largely covered with woods or shrubs. The population of this district, living in more than 50 small villages and hamlets (*maḥalles*), was in the past exclusively Turkish-speaking Muslim, disregarding the two mixed villages of Konak and Kabdağ on the northern edge of the area.

Very little is known about the pre-Ottoman Gerlovo. Its centre appears to have been Gerilgrad, the forerunner of Văbitsa, which is situated on the banks of the Gerila brook, a tributary of the Golema Kamčija. The ruins of a Byzantine castle are still to be seen on the hill of Grädište, where hundreds of Byzantine coins from the 12th century have been found. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Vărbitsa was by far the largest settlement of Gerlovo and almost wholly Christian. In Gerlovo are at least twenty deserted sites called Kiliselik, pointing to disappeared pre-Ottoman settlements. Bulgarian historiography has suggested that these sites were destroyed during the Ottoman conquest. Yet the only site which has been excavated in a proper manner, that near the village of Kara Demir (after 1934, Vinica), showed that this settlement, around a church, existed from the 9th till the 12th centuries. It seems that the great European economic and demographic crisis of the 14th century caused Gerlovo to become deserted, the inhabitants moving to the much more fertile lowlands, where after the depopulations there was enough room to settle. Vărbitsa, Čitaḳ (pointing to a pre-Ottoman Christian Turkic population) and Kotel remaining the corner stones of the Christian settlements in the area. Yürük settlers from Asia Minor arrived in Gerlovo as early as the second half of the 15th century. The oldest preserved *Tahrir* of the area, the incompletely preserved *Icmal* of 1479 (*Turski Izvori*, ii, 1966) mentions six *mezraʿas* in "Gerilova" which were worked by Yürüks (*Yürükler ekerler*): Ak Dere Yakası, Bolu'lu Süleyman, Dobroka (later known as Sağırcık), Gagrašentsi, Hisar Bey and Veysel. Together they paid 2900 *akčes*, which might indicate a population of 40-50 Yürük families. Ak Dere, Dobroka/Sağırcık and Veysel later developed into villages which still exist today (as Bjala Reka, Rătlina and Orlovo). According to the *Tahrir* of 1516, contained in the *Tapu Defter* 370 (BBA), pp. 549-55, which was compiled around 1530, the Christian population of Gerlovo still dominated. The Muslims lived in more than 20 very small villages, mostly bearing the name of their founders or the occupations of the first settlers. In the 16th century they witnessed a rapid expansion, partly through high birthrates but largely through the arrival of new settlers. The place names suggest a largely heterodox adherence (Aşıklar, Abdallar, Şah Veli, etc.). In 1936 Vasil Marinov found that the villages of Alvanlar, Küçükler, Topuzlar and Veledler were almost exclusively inhabited by Ḳīzīlba͟sh. Most likely the bulk of the Gerlovo Turks arrived after the suppression of the Ḳīzīlba͟sh in the reign of Selīm I and after the Ḳalendero͟ghlu rebellion, causing great unrest in Anatolia. The settlement of these Turkish nomads must have caused unrest in the area. To keep the Christian population in its place, the Ottoman government gave the three above-mentioned Christian settlements *derbend* status, so that they could defend themselves, and in the course of the 16th century formed Kabdağ and Konak as other gathering points for Christians, who moved from some small settlements, which became deserted afterwards (Dočina, Gerlova, Polane and Selište, in 1516 together 30 households), whereas "Dobrofča" became "Dobru͟dja" and Islamised completely after the end of the 16th century. So the ethno-religious composition remained thus till the 19th century, the only fluctuation being the number of households, which for both groups went up in the 16th century, down in the 17th and early 18th and steeply up again since the second half of the 18th century. Throughout that time, Ḳaz͟ghan/Kotel was the largest settlement of the area, with an almost entirely Christian Bulgarian population. Čitaḳ was partly Islamised; Vărbitsa came to house an important group of Crimean Tatars, who around 1780 followed the deposed Ḳal͟ghay Mesʿūd Giray. Their descendants still live in Vărbitsa, Meedalı Giray serving a number of decades as deputy in the Bulgarian Parliament (beginning of the 20th century). Their monumental late 18th century *saray* was destroyed by Bulgarian nationalists during the aftermath of the assimilation campaign of 1985. Vărbitsa is apparently the only place of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of ʿOthmān Pazar which is mentioned in the early Ottoman chroniclers, where Ne͟shrī in the Codex Manisa has it as "Virpič" (in other manuscripts and in the printed edition, very much mutilated and misidentified).

Of the district of Ala Kilise in pre-Ottoman times even less is known. It is much less fertile than Gerlovo and considerably cooler, little suited to agriculture. Disregarding the later Turkified village of Dobrofča/Dobru͟dja (1516, 25 Christian households; 1580, 43 of them), it must have been almost uninhabited when the first Turkish settlers arrived. Only extensive archaeological research might modify this picture. The village of Ala Kilise, 10 km to the west of ʿO͟thmān Pazar, was also known as Ḥasan Faḳīh. It is first mentioned in the 1752 *Mufassal Avariz Tahrīr*, but might have existed before. The Ottoman registers (1516, 1525, 1550, 1580, 1642 and 1752) give a picture of a unstable settlement pattern, with many very small tribal villages, continuously splitting into new *maḥalles*, often changing names and with many settlements being given up after a certain time. According to the ethnographic and linguistic research of Gadžanov at the beginning of the 20th century, the original settlers must have come from the region of Kastamonu in northern Anatolia. The Anatolian origin of the Muslim population of the district of

ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar is also not denied by modern Bulgarian historiography (cf. art. "Omurtag", in *Encikl. na Bălg.*, 1984), but usually the colonisation is thought to have taken place in the 17th and 18th centuries, whereas in reality the bulk of the settlers arrived shortly after 1500. Especially for the case of Gerlovo, the majority of the Muslims are held to be Turkified, former Bulgarian Christians (especially held by V. Marinov), whereby the case of a few isolated villages (Huyvan/Ivanovo, Trnovitsa, Jamna and Čerkovna, all situated inside Gerlovo but outside the *ḳaḍā*ʾ borders of the past) are taken to have been the general pattern.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, both the districts of Gerlovo and Ala Kilise were *nāḥiye*s of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of S͟humnu/Šumen. In the 1530s the northern part of this large *ḳaḍā*ʾ was cut off and added to the newly-formed *ḳaḍā*ʾs of D̲jumᶜa-yi ᶜAtīḳ/Eski D̲jumᶜa (now Tărgovište) and Hezārgrad/Razgrad. In the 1630s the *nāḥiye* of Ala Kilise was upgraded to the status of *ḳaḍā*ʾ, and ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar, then just founded, was made its seat.

The town of ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar itself came into being in the first half of the 17th century as a centrally-located market place for the entire village network. At the locality of Irincik near the town are the ruins of a Late Antique castle, which in the early 9th century was restored by the Turco-Bulgarian Khan Omurtag; the modern name of the town refers to that fact. According to local legends, written down by Felix Kanitz *ca.* 1870, the town was founded by the Turkish cartwright ᶜOt͟hmān, who "about 300 years ago" built an inn on the lonely plateau, which became the nucleus of the new settlement. The *Avariz Defter* MM 7086 from 1052/1642 (BBA) is apparently the first source which explicitly states that Ala Kilise was an independent *ḳaḍā*ʾ and that ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar, then counting 22 Muslim households, was its centre. This place was to develop relatively rapidly. The *Mufassal Cizye Defter* of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Ala Kilise from 1102/1690-1 (MM 3801, BBA) mentions that no less than seventy adult male Christians were found in the *ḳaṣaba* of ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar doing their jobs but were not permanent residents from there. The *Mufassal Avariz Defter* of 1165/1752 (BBA) calls the district: "*Ḳaḍā*ʾ of Ala Kilise, also known as [*ḳaḍā*ʾ of] ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar." The village to which the district owes its name "Ala Kilise, also known as Ḥasan Faḳīh", than contained 25 Muslim households, all mentioned person by person. According to the same source, a complete new *Tahrir* of a number of *ḳaḍā*ʾs in north-eastern Bulgaria, the town had 103 households, of which two were of convert origin. There were only two permanently settled Christian households. It is remarked that, "according to the old register", the town had but one *maḥalle*. Now there were two, the Maḥalle of the Mosque of Meḥmed Pas͟ha and Orta Maḥalle. After this date, the town saw a rapid development into the leading centre of crafts, especially textiles (abas, goat-hair blankets) and metalwork.

In the mid-19th century, the old *ḳaḍā*ʾ of ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar was considerably enlarged. It came to include the entire basin of Gerlovo (formerly only the western parts), which until that time had been a part of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of S͟humnu/Šumen, and the important Christian villages of Konak and Kapdaġ-i Zir, which were detached from Hezārgrad. On the other hand, the whole chain of old Bulgarian villages to the south of the Pre-Slav Balkan, which for long had belonged to Gerlovo (Smolvçe/Čaʾūs͟hköy, Jamla, Tirnovitsa, Čerkovna and Vardun) were now attached to the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Eski D̲jumᶜa. According to the *Sālnāme* of the Tuna *wilāyet* of 1290/1873-4, which contains the results of a census of six years earlier, the district had 86 settlements, of which only two had non-Turkish place names. The town of ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar then contained *ca.* 5,000 inhabitants, of which one-fifth was Christian (Aubaret, Kanitz). According to the *Sālnāme* of 1291/1874-5, the town had 958 houses, eight mosques, 310 shops, one *ḥammām* and one church.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, which led to the independence of Bulgaria, the town was burned down and suffered an eclipse because of the flight of an important section of its Turkish population. According to the Bulgarian census of 1887, ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar counted 3,755 inhabitants, of which 1,371 were Bulgarians and 2,382 Muslims, besides a few Gypsies, all Turkish-speaking. The town stagnated till after World War II, in 1934 its population being almost the same as in 1887, the religious-ethnic composition also remaining as it was. The same can be said for the villages of the former *ḳaḍā*ʾ of ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar. In Gerlovo, groups of old Turkish inhabitants emigrated to Turkey, and their place was taken by Bulgarians from elsewhere (details by V. Marinov). The north-western part of the old *ḳaḍā*ʾ, Tozluk/Tuzluk, remained overwhelmingly Turkish.

Throughout the late Ottoman period the three other urban centres of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ, Čitaḳ, Kotel and Vărbitsa, enjoyed a lively trade and developed crafts, especially the fabrication of abas and carpet (*kilim*) weaving, tailoring and wood turning. Kotel and Čitak, in particular, were the native towns of a disproportionally large number of writers, politicians and university professors, who played an important role in the intellectual development of Bulgaria after 1878. All three suffered a collapse after the country became independent, the merchants and craftsmen moving to the lowland cities, from which the Turkish inhabitants had largely fled or emigrated after 1878. Between 1878 and 1926 the three mountain towns lost more than one-third of their population. Kotel and Vărbitsa recovered more or less in the decades after World War II, Čitak/Tiča sank back to a village, being in 1972 still much smaller than in 1873.

In 1934 the entire historical toponomy of the old *ḳaḍā*ʾ of ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar was Bulgarised by decree of the new nationalist government. Only Kotel, Konak, Kabdağ and Vărbitsa kept their names. During the forced Bulgarisation campaign of 1985, the Gerlovo villages offered stubborn resistance, focussing on the Ḳïzïlbas͟h village of Alvanlar (since 1934, Jablanovo; population in 1972, 2,989).

In 1972 there were still three mosques in ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar: the Muftī, or Yuḳarï D̲jāmiᶜ, with an inscription on the minaret referring to a repair in 1219/1804-5, the Fïndïḳ D̲jāmiᶜi (serving as workshop), with a number of 18th and 19th century gravestones in its cemetery, and the Tekke D̲jāmiᶜ on the southern edge of the town, once part of the Tekke of Meḥmed Baba.

Its cemetery contained some 19th century tombstones, the oldest from 1250/1834-5. The church of St. Dimitri, rebuilt in 1860 in a grandiose style and testifying to the wealth of the small Christian community of ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar, is now a recognised historical monument. The Müftī D̲jāmiᶜi survived the upheavals of 1985 and still serves the Muslim community, which, since 1990 is reconstituting itself.

In 19th century ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar, there lived and worked the Ottoman scholar Niyāzī S͟heyk͟h Ismāᶜīl Efendi, who was born in the Gerlovo village of Kara Ehadlar (since 1934, Vrani Kon) and died in ᶜOt͟hmān Pazar in 1312/1894-5.

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ʿOTHMĀN-ZĀDE Aḥmed Tāʾib, a notable Ottoman poet, scholar and historian of the end of the 17th and first third of the 18th century. The son of the *rūz-nāmedji* (*māliyye tezkeredji*) of the pious foundations, ʿOthmān Efendi, he took up a theological career. The year of his birth is not recorded. From 1099/1687 he held the post of *müderris* in various *medreses* in Istanbul. At intervals he also worked in other places. For example, in 1107/1695 he went to Damascus with Kemānkesh Meḥmed Pasha when the latter was appointed governor there. In 1124/1712 he was appointed *müderris* at the Süleymāniyye, a post he had aimed at from the very beginning. He then went as chief judge (*Ḥaleb mollāsī*) to Aleppo in 1126/1716, and lastly as *Miṣr mollāsī* (chief justice of Cairo) to Cairo, where he died at the end of his year of office on 2 Ramaḍān 1136/25 May 1724. According to Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, there is in existence a biography of ʿOthmān-zāde composed by Ibn al-Emīn Maḥmūd Kemāl Bey.

ʿOthmān-zāde was regarded by his contemporaries as the most important poet of his period. He was particularly celebrated for his chronograms (*taʾrīkh*) and *ḳiṭʿa*. A chronogram on the birth of prince Ibrāhīm (1133/1720-1) made such an impression on Sultan Aḥmed III (1115-43/1703-30) that he gave ʿOthmān-zāde first, the title "chief poet" (*reʾīs-i shāʿirān*, and then that of "king of poets" (*malik* [*sulṭān*] *al-shuʿarāʾ*) and granted him a special *khaṭṭ*. ʿOthmān-zāde left behind him a *dīwān* of the usual type (*müretteb dīwān*) which consists of 12 *ḳaṣīdas*, 32 chronograms and 77 *ghazels*. Along with these are isolated poems, e.g. a satire (*hadjw*) on Thāḳib Efendi composed in 1124/1712. He also wrote in verse a commentary on the 40 *ḥadīths* entitled *Sharḥ-i Ḥadīth-i arbaʿīn*, which is also known as *Ṣiḥḥat-ābād*; it was written in 1128/1715.

It is, however, to his prose works that he owes his fame with posterity, especially his historical works, some of which are still popular and valuable at the present day. The most important is his biographical collection *Ḥadīḳat al-wüzerāʾ*, a most estimable and still important collection of lives of the first 92 grand viziers of the Ottoman empire, from ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Pasha to Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha, who was dismissed in 1115/1703. The work was composed six years before his death. It was printed at Istanbul in 1271/1854. ʿOthmān-zāde's idea was later taken up by others. His biographical collection was continued by: Dilāwer Agha-zāde ʿÖmer Efendi (ʿÖmer Waḥīd), a friend of Rāghib Pasha's who wrote a *Dheyl-i Ḥadīḳat al-wüzerāʾ*, also called *Idjmāl-i menāḳib-i wüzerāʾ-i ʿiẓām* or *Gül-i zībā*, which covers the period from the grand vizier Ḳowanos Aḥmed Pasha to Saʿīd Meḥmed Pasha; also by Aḥmed Djāwīd Bey, who compiled a continuation entitled *Wird al-muṭarrā* which covers the period 1172-1217/1758-1802, from Rāghib Pasha to Yūsuf Ḍiyā Pasha, the conqueror of Egypt; finally, by ʿAbd al-Fettāḥ Shefḳat-i Baghdādī, entitled *Berk-i sebz*, covering the period 1217-71/1802-54 from Ḍiyā al-Dīn Yūsuf Pasha to ʿĀlemdār Muṣṭafā Pasha.

All three continuations are printed as an appendix to the *Ḥadīḳat* of ʿOthmān-zāde, while the later continuation by Rifʿat Efendi, *Wird al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, appeared in a lithograph separately and the continuation by Meḥmed Saʿīd Shehrī-zāde entitled *Dheyl-i Ḥadīḳat al-wüzerāʾ* or *Gül-i zībā* or *Gülshen-i mulūk*, which deals with 31 grand viziers from Nishāndjī Aḥmed or Silihdār Meḥmed Pasha to Saʿīd Meḥmed Pasha, is still only available in mss.

The two sketches of Turkish history by ʿOthmān-zāde also attained great popularity. The longer one, *Idjmāl-i menāḳib* (or *tewārīkh*)*-i Selāṭīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, deals with the first 24 Ottoman sulṭāns, from the founder of the dynasty to Aḥmed III. The shorter version, *Fihrist-i Shāhān* or *Fihrist-i Shāhān-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* or *Mukhtaṣar-i Taʾrīkh-i Selāṭīn* or *Tuḥfet al-mülūk* or *Ḥadīḳat al-mülūk* covers the period from ʿOthmān to Muṣṭafā II. The number of varying titles shows the popularity of the work. The book, sometimes quoted as *Faḍāʾil-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, dedicated to Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha [see al-dāmād], seems to be only a variant title of one of these books.

In the year of his death (1136/1724), ʿOthmān-zāde wrote a history of Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha entitled *Taʾrīkh-i Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha*, which like most of his works is only accessible in mss. The *Munāẓare-yi dewletayn* ("struggle between the two kingdoms") in the form of questions and answers is also dedicated to Ibrāhīm Pasha (ms. in Vienna) and is an interesting contribu-

tion to the very highly developed *munāẓara* literature.

As further independent works may be mentioned *Īdjāz naṣāʾiḥ al-ḥukemāʾ* and *Tuḥfet al-nuʿmān*. Here we may mention his anthology *Djāmiʿ al-leṭāʾif* (a collection of anecdotes, jests etc.). His stylistic collection *Münsheʾāt-i Tāʾib Efendi* was intended for practical purposes; it is a collection of letters in three *faṣls* and a concluding chapter.

His extracts from and editions and translations of other works are very numerous. The greater part of his work is collected in his *Külliyyāt* with an introduction by Aḥmed Ḥanīf-zāde. Some titles, cited by von Hammer and Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, which apparently go back to Ḥanīf-zāde, the continuator of the *Kashf al-ẓunūn* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, are probably not correct and refer to double or subsidiary titles.—Translations by him are: *Meshāriḳ al-anwār* and *Meshāriḳ sherīf*, the latter entitled: *Ṭawāliʿ al-maṭāliʿ* on *ḥadīth*.—Extracts from or versions of other works are: *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī* (or *Mukhtaṣar-i Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī* or *Khulāṣat al-Akhlāḳ*) from the *Ethics* of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Kāshifī, who is known as Wāʿiẓ al-Harawī (d. 910/1504 [*q.v.*]). The original work, which was written in Persian for Mīrzā Muḥsin b. Ḥusayn Bayḳara, was translated by Pīr Meḥmed known as Gharamī, with the title *Anīs al-ʿārifīn* in 974/1566; *Akhlāḳ-i ʿAlāʾī*, an extract from the work of ʿAlī b. Amr Allāh, known as Ibn Ḥinnāʾī (Ḳinalî-zāde [*q.v.*]) which was written for the Amīr al-Umarāʾ of Syria, ʿAlī Pasha, and therefore called after him; the *Menāḳib-i Imām-i aʿẓam*, i.e. of Abū Ḥanīfa. We also have from his pen a synopsis of the *Hümāyūn-nāme*. The *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, the Persian version of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's Arabic version from the original Indian (Pahlawī) of Bidpāī, was the work of Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī, court-preacher to Ḥusayn Bayḳara of Harāt. This *Anwār-i Suhaylī* was translated into Ottoman Turkish by ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ ʿAlīsī Mollā ʿAlī Čelebi b. Ṣāliḥ, known as ʿAlī Wāsiʿ or Ṣāliḥ-zāde al-Rūmī, with the title *Humāyūn-nāme* and dedicated to Sultan Süleymān. ʿOthmān-zāde abbreviated the *Hümāyūn-nāme* to about a third of its length. This version was printed in Istanbul in 1256/1840 under the title *Thimār al-asmār*. In the *Külliyyāt* this extract is entitled *Zübdet al-naṣāʾiḥ*.

The version of the *Naṣāʾiḥ* (*Naṣīḥat*) *al-mulūk* of Reʾīs Efendi Sarî ʿAbd Allāh entitled *Talkhīṣ al-ḥikam* is also described as a synopsis of the *Humāyūn-nāme*. A synopsis of the *Medjālis al-akhbār* of ʿĀlī is also attributed to ʿOthmān-zāde.

Bibliography: Sālim, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1314, 178-81; Fatīn, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1271, 32; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, esp., however, Aḥmed Ḥanīf-zāde, *Nova opera* (*Āthār-i new*), *ibid.* in vol. vi; idem, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Istanbul 1321, i, 428; Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i, 242; Muʿallim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, Istanbul 1308, 92; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iii, 1261; Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, ii, 116-17; Hammer, *GOR*, ix, 238; idem, *GOD*, iv, 120-31; Babinger, *GOW*, 254 ff. et *passim*; the ms. catalogues by Flügel (Vienna), Pertsch (Berlin), Aumer (Munich), Rieu (Brit. Museum) and Uppsala, no. 292; *İA*, art. *Osman-zâde Tâib* (A. Karahan); W. Björkman, in *PTF*, ii, 448.

(Th. Menzel)

ʿOTHMĀNDJÎḲ, modern Turkish Osmancık, the administrative centre of an *ilçe* or district of the same name in the *il* or province of Çorum [see Čorum] in northern Anatolia, in the southern part of classical Paphlagonia. It lies on the Halys or Ḳîzîl Irmaḳ [*q.v.*] at an important crossing-point of that river by the Tosya-Merzifun road (lat. 40°58′ N., long. 34°50′ E., altitude 430 m/1,310 ft.).

The town is situated in a picturesque position at the foot of a volcanic hill which rises straight out of the plain and is crowned by a castle which formerly commanded the celebrated bridge said to have been built by Bāyezīd I. The settlement is probably very old, as is evident from the numerous rock chambers cut out of the cliffs; it is probably on the site of classical Pimolisa (see *PW*, xx/2, cols. 1386-7 [W. Ruge]). The importance for us of the place, however, lies entirely in the part it has played in Islamic history. The name ʿOthmāndjîḳ is connected with that of ʿOthmān I [*q.v.*], the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and it is said that ʿOthmān I took his name from this place which had been granted him as a fief. This suggestion, which is found as early as the 15th century (probably for the first time in the *Geschicht von der Turckey* of Meister Jörg v. Nürnberg, Memmingen n.d. but about 1496, and again in Spandugino, van Busbeek, etc.), has little claim to credibility although it has been revived in modern times, e.g. by Cl. Huart, in *JA*, ser. 11, vol. ix (1917), 345 ff., and by J.H. Kramers, in *AO*, vi (1927), 242 ff.; cf. thereon, W.L. Langer and R.P. Blake, in *American Historical Review*, xxxvii (1932), 496, note with other references. It is probable that ʿOthmān is the arabicised form of a Turkish name which may have sounded something like Atman, Azman, and we must not forget Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's assertion that the founder of the dynasty called himself ʿOthmāndjîḳ, i.e. "Little ʿOthmān" to distinguish himself from the third caliph. The Turkish sources are contradictory: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa says that the town of ʿOthmāndjîḳ took its name from the fact that in the 10th(!) century a leader named ʿOthmān conquered it. Ewliyā Čelebi (1647-8) says (ii, 180 ff.) that many see in ʿOthmāndjîḳ the birth-place of the *amīr* ʿOthmān. This opinion had become the current one about the middle of the 17th century, as may be seen from a passage in *Les voyages et observations* of François le Gouz (Paris 1653, 65). The place does not appear in the clearer light of history till 794/1392 when it was taken by Bāyezīd I from the lord of Kastamuni, Bāyezīd Kötürüm, and definitely incorporated in the Ottoman empire. The fact is worth mentioning that there was evidently a considerable Bektashī settlement here at an early date, and the tomb of the famous Bektashī saint Ḳoyun Baba [*q.v.*] in ʿOthmāndjîḳ has always been much visited. The inhabitants, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, belonged almost entirely to the order of the Bektashīs. See on this point, in reference to events in 1546, *Le voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887, 66 (where Cochiny-Baba should be read Ḳoyun Baba). Makarius of Antioch mentions a place called ʿOthmāndjîḳ near Marʿash. He visited the site where there was said to have been formerly a large town of this name also called Osman Dada (= ʿOthmān Dede?) (*Travels*, ii, 453 ff.).

The plain around modern Osmancık is a fertile agricultural region for cereals, fruit and vegetables. In 1953 the town had a population of 5,559.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 180 ff.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 625, middle; Maercker, in *ZGE*, xxxiv (Berlin 1899), 376; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i, 199-200, 205, 216; J.G.C. Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, i, Brussels 1903, 103 (with a picture of the bridge built by Bāyezīd II, not I); Von Flottwell, *Aus dem Stromgebiet des Qyzyl-Yrmaq*, in *Pet. Mitt.* (1895), Ergänzungsheft, no. 114, p. 11 (according to whom ʿOthmāndjîḳ is inhabited by the Ḳîzîlbash); F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, i, Oxford 1929, 95 ff. (on the saint Pambuk Baba); on the name, see also F. Giese, in *ZS*, ii (1923), 246 ff.

and A.D. Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, xxx (1876), 467; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1894, iv, 3127 ff.; Admiralty Handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1942-3, ii, 577-8; *İA* art. s.v. (Besim Darkot).

(F. Babinger*)

ʿOTHMĀNIYYE [see ergani].

ʿOTHMĀNLĪ, the name of a Turkish dynasty, ultimately of Og̲h̲uz origin [see g̲h̲uzz], whose name appears in European sources as Ottomans (Eng.), Ottomanes (Fr.), Osmanen (Ger.), etc.

I. Political and dynastic history
II. Social and economic history
III. Literature
IV. Religious life
V. Architecture
VI. Carpets and textiles
VII. Ceramics, metalwork and minor arts
VIII. Painting
IX. Numismatics

I. Political and Dynastic History

1. General survey and chronology of the dynasty

The Ottoman empire was the territorially most extensive and most enduring Islamic state since the break-up of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and the greatest one to be founded by Turkish-speaking peoples. It arose in the Islamic world after the devastations over much of the eastern and central lands of the *Dār al-Islām* by the Mongols and survived the further onslaught at the opening of the 15th century of Tīmūr. Also, it originated on the periphery of the Islamic world, in Anatolia, into which Muslim Turks had been infiltrating by the time of the establishment of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultanate of Rūm [see sald̲j̲ūḳs] and was to play a dominant role in the processes of Turkicisation and Islamisation—even though this was not to be completed till the very end of the Ottoman dynasty, in 1922—of the formerly Greek and Armenian land of Anatolia [see anadolu]. A further consequence of the rise of the Ottomans was the overrunning of most of mainland Greece and many of the Aegean islands, Albania, the Slav lands of the Balkans and much of Hungary, by the 10th/16th century, and although this tide of conquest subsequently receded, Turkish occupation has left permanent traces in the Balkans in the forms of pockets of Muslim Turks and of the indigenous peoples who adopted Islam [see muslimūn. 1. The old-established Muslim communities of Eastern Europe] (and even of Turks who adopted Christianity [see dobrud̲j̲a]).

Operating in Bithynia in northwestern Anatolia, the Ottomans gradually encircled the Byzantine empire, weakened as it latterly was from the Latin occupation of Constantinople in the 13th century, and eventually, in 1453, conquered Constaninople, the age-old goal of Muslim arms [see al-ḳusṭanṭīniyya. 1], at a time when ancient Balkan kingdoms such as Bulgaria and Serbia had already been overrun. Other states such as Wallachia and Bosnia were made tributary, and after 1526 [see mohácz], two-thirds of Hungary fell under Ottoman domination. In the east, the sultans took over the Arab provinces of Syria (1516) and Egypt (1517) from the Mamlūks [*q.v.*], and constituted themselves as the defenders of the orthodox Sunnī world against the S̲h̲īʿī Ṣafawids [*q.v.*], even carrying the war for a short time into the Persian province of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. The sultans had at this time a far-reaching political and diplomatic policy, which included links with the Crimean Tatars to the north of the Black Sea [see ḳīrīm] and with the South Indian and Malaysian sultanates threatened by Portuguese and other colonial powers' expansion along the Indian Ocean shores; in the Muslim West, the sultans supported the corsair states of North Africa [see ḳurṣān. 1].

The achievements of Ottoman culture, an amalgam of native Turkish traditions with Persian and Arabic literary and artistic currents, were quantitatively great and often of the highest aesthetic standard (see sections V-VIII below). The alliance of the sultans with the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* and with such Ṣūfī orders as the Mewlewīs [see mawlawiyya], later strengthened by the fact that they tacitly assumed for themselves the caliphate after the demise of the ʿAbbāsid puppet caliphs of Cairo in 1517 [see k̲h̲alīfa. (i)], led to the dominance of the Ḥanafī *mad̲h̲hab* of Islamic law over the central Turkish lands and over much of the Arab lands also, an influence not quite extinguished today [see maḥkama, 1, 2, 4, and med̲j̲elle].

But after the high point in the 17th century of the occupation of Crete (1645-69) and the siege of Vienna (1683), a period of slow decline set in for the empire. In the early centuries, the Ottomans had been vigorous and expansionist and the scourge of Christian Europe. Now, however, the stimuli to intellectual enquiry from the Renaissance and Reformation and the dying-down of religious passions in Europe after 1648, enabled the West to forge ahead scientifically and technologically, with the application of new ideas to the art of war and to economic and commercial activities, so that the Ottoman empire fell more and more on to the defensive, its frontiers vulnerable to superior military and naval techniques and its craft industries and commerce vulnerable to industrial mass production and new financial mechanisms evolved in the West. In the 19th century, the new forces of ethnic and linguistic nationalism released by the French Revolution meant that the subject peoples of the Balkans, for centuries peoples without history, were no longer content to accept a clearly-defined but subordinate place in the Ottoman empire, especially as, by reaction, it began in the later 19th century to grow more specifically Turkish [see pan-turkism]. Hence the frontiers of the empire receded in the Balkans, until by 1913 only Eastern Thrace remained of the European territories. Nor were the Arab lands of the empire unaffected by the new ethnic and cultural nationalisms, and already by 1914 the increasingly shadowy Ottoman authority in the North African countries and Egypt had been thrown off. Turkey's decision in November 1914 to enter the First World War on the side of the Central Powers proved the crowning disaster for the empire, and in the wake of the new Turkish nationalism aroused by the post-War dismemberment of the Ottoman empire, there was no place by 1924 for the Ottoman ruling family and the old Islamic religion-based culture which it epitomised.

Chronology of the Ottoman sultans

	Ertog̲h̲rul, d. *ca.* 679/1280
680/1281	ʿOt̲h̲mān I G̲h̲āzī
724/1324	Ork̲h̲an
761/1360	Murād I
791/1389	Bāyezīd I Yīldīrīm
(804/1402	Tīmūrid invasion)
805/1403	Meḥemmed I Čelebi (at first in Anatolia only, after 816/1413 in Rumeli also)
806/1403	Süleymān I (in Rumeli only until 814/1411)
814/1411	Mūsā Čelebi (counter-sultan in Rumeli until 816/1411)
824/1421	Murād II, first reign

824/1421 Muṣṭafā Čelebi, Düzme (counter-sultan in Rumeli until 825/1422)
848/1444 Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ ("the Conqueror"), first reign
850/1446 Murād II, second reign
855/1451 Meḥemmed II, second reign
886/1481 Bāyezīd II
918/1512 Selīm I Yavuz
926/1520 Süleymān II Ḳānūnī ("the Magnificent")
974/1566 Selīm II
982/1574 Murād III
1003/1595 Meḥemmed III
1012/1603 Aḥmed I
1026/1617 Muṣṭafā I, first reign
1027/1618 ᶜO<u>th</u>mān II
1031/1622 Muṣṭafā I, second reign
1032/1623 Murād II
1049/1640 Ibrāhīm
1058/1648 Meḥemmed IV
1099/1687 Süleymān III
1102/1691 Aḥmed II
1106/1695 Muṣṭafā II
1115/1703 Aḥmed III
1143/1730 Maḥmūd I
1168/1754 ᶜO<u>th</u>mān III
1171/1757 Muṣṭafā III
1187/1774 ᶜAbd ül-Ḥamīd I
1203/1789 Selīm III
1222/1807 Muṣṭafā IV
1223/1808 Maḥmūd II
1255/1839 ᶜAbd ül-Me<u>dj</u>īd I
1277/1861 ᶜAbd ül-ᶜAzīz
1293/1876 Murād V
1293/1876 ᶜAbd ül-Ḥamīd II
1327/1909 Meḥemmed V Re<u>sh</u>ād
1336/1918 Meḥemmed VI Waḥīd ül-Dīn (last sultan)
1341-2/1922-4 ᶜAbd ül-Me<u>dj</u>īd II (as caliph only)
(Republican régime of Muṣṭafā Kemāl)

See further, Zambaur, *Manuel de chronologie et de généalogie*, 160-74, with genealogical table O; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956; Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 136-40.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. The foundation and expansion of the Ottoman Empire

Recent research on the subject of the founding of the Ottoman state, especially epigraphic, numismatic and archival discoveries, have made clear many things that formerly had been seen mainly through the medium of Ottoman historical tradition as reflected in the sources belonging to the second half of the 9th/15th century and later, namely, the different versions of the chronicles of *Āl-i ᶜO<u>th</u>mān* and half-legendary sources of mystic orders known as *menāḳib-nāmes* and *wilāyet-names*.

The nucleus of the state of the Ottomans was a far advanced outpost (*u<u>dj</u>*) in the region of the Sakarya [*q.v.*] river, which for many centuries constituted the frontier zone between the old Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ state of Rūm and that of the Byzantines. The former had gradually relapsed into anarchy after its defeat by the Mongol army at the battle of Kösedağ [see KÖSE DA<u>GH</u>] in 1243. Asia Minor at that time had already been turcicised to a large degree; the greater part of the Anatolian Turks belonged to the O<u>gh</u>uz tribes [see <u>GH</u>UZZ] who invaded the country during the second half of the 5th/11th century, especially after the battle of Malāzgird [*q.v.*] (1071). Moreover, in the first half of the 13th century, the Mongol advance in Asia caused a new migration of Turkish tribes and of fugitives into the country; many of these fugitives came from the former <u>Kh</u>ʷārazmian state and were Persians. Part of the Anatolian Christian population, not abandoning its old religion, continued to live in the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ state in which there was no sharp social division between Muslims and Christians. On the contrary, there was a conflict between the townspeople and the nomads or Turkomans, who were roving all through Asia Minor, as they did also in the adjacent territories of Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. These Turkomans had still preserved many pre-Islamic religious traditions within the particular form of Islam to which they adhered. This form of Islam was the result of the preaching of wandering dervishes, known under the name of Ḳalenderiyye and Ḥayderiyye, who spread from the 5th/11th century all over northern Persia and Transoxania; their preaching was imbued with mystical doctrines containing a large amount of heterodox elements. After their immigration into Asia Minor, the Turkomans had remained under the same influences and those who exercised religious authority amongst them, called *babas*, had still much resemblance to the pre-Islamic *<u>sh</u>amans*. Under these religious leaders in 1239, the fearful revolt of the Bābāʾīs [*q.v.*] had taken place (cf. A.Y. Ocak, *La révolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIIIe siècle*, Ankara 1989). The government at that time had been able at last to suppress the revolt, but the heterodox opposition among the lower classes in Asia Minor still deeply influenced the history of the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire. These Turkomans were indeed far more numerous that the governing classes and the townspeople, as is shown by the present geographical nomenclature of Asia Minor; numerous villages, rivers and mountains have pure Turkish names of tribes such as Ḳayī, Salur, Bayat and Čepni (cf. Köprülü-zāde Fuat, *Oguz etnolo<u>dj</u>isine tārī<u>kh</u>ī notlar*, in *Türkiyyāt Me<u>dj</u>mūᶜasī*, i, 185 ff.). Insofar as the Turkoman tribes were still militant, the best use that could be made of them was as frontier guards and as conquerors of new territory. After settling down, they may have mixed with a good deal of the original rural population and this mixture explains the curious half-Christian views and customs that are reported in later times as existing among the lower classes in Anatolia.

The Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ government and the higher classes of society had followed the orthodox Sunnī Islamic tradition, which is to be traced back to the times of the Sāmānid empire in <u>Kh</u>urāsān and Transoxania. These were also the regions with which the Anatolian Turks had always been in constant contact. The higher culture was mainly Persian in character. These contacts explain also how the Ḥanafī *ma<u>dh</u>hab* became officially predominant in Anatolia and afterwards in the Ottoman empire. The upper classes of society were not free themselves from a strong mystical influence of a higher order. It had likewise its source in <u>Kh</u>urāsān, whence had come the theologian and mystic <u>D</u>jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], who lived in the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ capital Konya and who influenced for centuries Ottoman Turkish culture through the Mewlewī order [see MAWLAWIYYA]. So the townspeople were likewise familiar with the formation of fraternities on mystical lines, entering within the category of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. One of the fraternities which played an important rôle was that of the *A<u>kh</u>īs* (*q.v.*, and cf. F. Taeschner, in *Islamica*, iv/1 [1929]); a similar fraternity was formed by the *<u>Gh</u>āziyān*. On this basis of religious and social controversy is to be understood the development of events since the end of the 7th/13th century. In the many small principalities that appeared during the break-up of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ state we

see sometimes the influence of the orthodox element and at other times that of the heterodox Turkoman element as predominant.

When the Ottoman state was founded in Bithynia, presumably around 1299, it was one among several other small Turkish states, such as that of the Ḳarasī-og̲h̲lu [*q.v.*], the Ṣaruk̲h̲ān-og̲h̲lu [*q.v.*], the Aydîn-og̲h̲lu [*q.v.*], the Mentes̲h̲e-og̲h̲lu [*q.v.*], the D̲j̲andar-og̲h̲lu or Isfendiyār-og̲h̲lu [*q.v.*], the Ḳaramān-og̲h̲lu [*q.v.*], the Germiyān-og̲h̲lu [*q.v.*], the Ḥamīd-og̲h̲lu, etc. All these states had this in common with the Ottoman one, that they were established between the former Sald̲j̲ūḳ state and the Byzantine empire, on the frontier zone, that is, in the most remote regions from the Islamic cultural centre of Anatolia; their lords, bearing the Turkish title *beg* [*q.v.*] or the equivalent Arabic title *amīr* [*q.v.*], were descendants of the Turkoman chieftains who were frontier guards (*ud̲j̲ begleri*). Furthermore, they had the possibility to expand by attacking the coastal regions ruled by the Byzantines and the islands ruled by the Italian colonists. It was this opportunity of westward expansion, which proved most favourable for the ʿOt̲h̲mān-og̲h̲lu and secured them in the end the superiority over the other principalities.

The historical tradition of the Ottomans has preserved reminiscences of the Turkoman nomadic origin of the founders of the state. The father of ʿOt̲h̲mān, Ertog̲h̲rul [*q.v.*], is said to have established himself with his little tribe in the neighbourhood of Söğüt [*q.v.*] and the pedigree given for Ertog̲h̲rul and his father Süleymān S̲h̲āh shows them as belonging to the Ḳayî [*q.v.*] division of the Og̲h̲uz Turks. As the various reports about Ertog̲h̲rul have a good deal of a legendary character, his very existence was put under doubt until a coin of ʿOt̲h̲mān also bearing his father's name, was found (İ. Artuk, *Osmanlı beyliğin kurucusu Osman gazi'ye ait sikke*, in *Papers presented to the First International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey, Hacettepe University 1977*, Ankara 1980, 27-33). When Ertog̲h̲rul died, ʿOt̲h̲mān took over the leadership. It is not certain that his name was ʿOt̲h̲mān, that is, a prestigious Arabic name; his contemporary the Byzantine historian George Pachymeres wrote the name down as Atman, which is a simple Turkic name (cf. L. Bazin, *Antiquité méconnue du titre d'Ataman?*, in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies, Essays presented to O. Pritsak*, iii-iv [1979-80], 61-70). He was, at any rate, one of the *g̲h̲āziyān-i Rūm* and surrounded by other *g̲h̲āzīs* (Turkish *alp*) as well as by people belonging to the fraternity of the *Ak̲h̲īs*. His father-in-law, the *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲* Edebali, was deeply involved with the group of dervishes known as the *Abdālān-i Rūm*, which was connected with the mystic order of the Bektās̲h̲īs (*q.v.*, and cf. Irène Mélikoff, *Un ordre de derviches colonisateurs: les Bektachis*, in *Memorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan*, Paris 1980, 149-57). As a result of collaboration of these various elements, a small amirate was established. Its centre was the fortress of Ḳarad̲j̲a Ḥiṣār, the exact location of which remains unknown; its identification with the Byzantine Melagina proposed by von Hammer is not valid anymore (V. Laurent, *La Vita retractata et les miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa*, Brussels 1958, 10, 66, 74). During ʿOt̲h̲mān's reign, the history of the amirate was not different from that of the contemporary Anatolian principalities. By organising raids against the Byzantine territories, but also by stratagems and personal relations, he succeeded in extending his rule. In 1302 he inflicted a serious defeat on the Byzantines at Bapheus and his troops reached the littoral opposite Constantinople. At his death, in 1326, the Sakarya was practically the eastern boundary of the state, while the Byzantine towns of Bithynia had been blockaded for several years. During the early years of his son and successor Ork̲h̲an [*q.v.*], important towns, unable to resist any more, surrendered: Bursa, which became the capital, in 1326, Iznik (Nicaea) in 1331 and Iznikmid/Izmid (Nicomedeia) in 1337. In this year Ork̲h̲an also performed his first important raid on Thrace. On the other hand, he added the adjacent amirate of Ḳarasī to his dominions, around 1346, and by this acquisition his state became one of the prominent maritime amirates since the Ḳarasī Turks possessed fleets of light vessels and were experienced in naval warfare.

In Ork̲h̲an's years, the more orthodox Islamic traditions gradually became predominant, though the dervishes remained in high esteem as popular religious leaders. It is a noteworthy fact, however, in the history of ʿOt̲h̲mān and Ork̲h̲an that there apparently existed close relations with local Christian chiefs and commanders; the most representative of them was Köse Mīk̲h̲āl, lord of the fortress of K̲h̲armankaya, who collaborated with ʿOt̲h̲mān, eventually embraced Islam and was the ancestor of a notable military family in the Ottoman Empire [see MĪK̲H̲ĀL-OG̲H̲LU]. This early collaboration with Christian Greek elements makes it probable that, in this way, Byzantine traditions and customs early entered the Ottoman state, in the same way as was the case in some other contemporary maritime amirates. Both the Christian and the Muslim heterodox element were gradually assimilated by the growing influence of the orthodox *mollās*, often indicated in the older sources as *dānis̲h̲mend*; some of these belonged to the *Ak̲h̲ī* circles, as is said of the Ḳāḍī D̲j̲andarlî Ḳara K̲h̲alīl, later vizier to Murād I under the name of K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn Pas̲h̲a; many of them had also come from the more eastern parts of Asia Minor. During Ork̲h̲an's reign these fairly different elements contributed to the foundation of a typical form of administration and civilisation, from which the later development of the Ottoman state must be explained. The administration, similar to that of the other contemporary amirates, was basically a military one, following Sald̲j̲ūḳ tradition. The state belonged to the family and it was ruled by the father considered as the senior lord, or in Turkish, *ulu beg*. It was he who concluded treaties, struck coins and was apparently commemorated in the Friday public prayer. The territory of the amirate was divided into domains governed by his sons. Military chiefs were also granted territory by the *ulu beg* and this institution may have reposed on earlier Byzantine or Sald̲j̲ūk ones [see IḲṬĀʿ]. Apparently under Ork̲h̲an there was created a cavalry force of *müsellems* [*q.v.*] and an infantry of *yayas*, as the irregular force of the *akînd̲j̲îs* [*q.v.*], originally composed of Turkoman tribesmen, was no longer adequate. In this time also the title *pas̲h̲a* [*q.v.*], originally peculiar to military dervishes, began to be given to statesmen (e.g. Sinān Pas̲h̲a under Ork̲h̲an) and military commanders.

The natural extension of the young state was towards the west, in keeping with the naval raids of the Ṣaruk̲h̲ān-og̲h̲lu and mainly of the Aydîn-og̲h̲lu on the isles and on the Greek coast. Ork̲h̲an's military expeditions on the Thracian littoral became more frequent since the annexation of the Ḳarasī amirate, but the rise of his power is notably connected with his alliance with the emperor John VI Cantacuzenus during the Byzantine civil war which erupted in 1341. In 1352, however, began the conquest of towns on the European side when Ork̲h̲an's son Süleymān occupied the fortress of Tzymbe. In 1354 the Ottomans, profiting from an earthquake, occupied the

strategically-important town of Kallipolis or Gallipoli [see GELIBOLU]. In the meantime they established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Genoa and a commercial treaty was concluded in 1352. After Orkhan's death, in 1362, military operations were launched by Murad I, who conquered all the Byzantine territory to the west of Constantinople; Adrianople (Edirne [*q.v.*]), captured in 1369, became soon afterwards the European Ottoman capital. Then followed the wars against the Bulgarians and the Serbians, and the latter were crushed in the battle of Maritsa in 1371 [see MERIČ]. This victory assured to the Ottomans the greater part of the present state of Bulgaria while the Serbians and Byzantines were reduced to the status of tribute-paying vassals of the Ottoman sultan (cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *Byzance état tributaire turc*, in *Zbornik Radova*, v [1958], 49-58). The Serbians were crushed for a second time in the battle of Ḳoṣowa [*q.v.*] in 1389, where Murād was killed.

Bāyezīd I's military expeditions extended over a still wider range, including Hungary, Bosnia and southern Greece, but in these regions the Ottoman conquests were not yet permanent, notwithstanding the victory won at Nicopolis in 1396 over the allied Hungarian, French and German armies [see NĪKBŪLĪ]. Bāyezīd began a siege of Constantinople and the end of the Byzantine state seemed to have come. On the other hand, the Ottomans began to extend their rule in Asia Minor. Murād I acquired a large part of the Germiyān-oghlu territory, which included important mines of alum, as a wedding present to his son, and also the amirate of Ḥamīd-oghlu by sale. Bāyezīd I continued the conquest of the Anatolian amirates but in a brutal manner and with the assistance of his Christian vassals. Ṣarukhān, Aydîn and Menteshe were annexed in 1390 and the amirate of the Isfendiyār-oghlu in 1391. His policy provoked the intervention of the Turco-Mongol *khān* Tīmūr [*q.v.*] who invaded Anatolia with his army, crushed Bāyezīd's army in the battle of Ankara (1402) and captured him. Bāyezīd committed suicide in captivity in 1403.

While the sultans conducted the military operations, the organisation was in the hands of their statesmen, among whom Djandarlî Ḳara Khalīl is the most notable (see DJANDARLÎ and cf. F. Taeschner-P. Wittek, *Die Vezierfamilie der Čandarlyzade und ihre Denkmäler*, in *Isl.*, xviii [1929], 61-115). To him is attributed the institution of the Janissaries [see YEÑI-ČERI] in connection with the reservation of a fifth part of the war booty for the sultan. The Janissaries were usually taken from the captured Christians, but a Greek source indicates that the *devshirme* [*q.v.*] was already applied in Bāyezīd's days. Their organisation on the lines of a fraternity after the model of the *Akhīs* and the *ghāzīs*, and their connection in this respect with the dervish order of the Bektāshīs [see BEKTĀSHIYYA], shows again the influence of the peculiar religious tradition of the state.

The first *begs* of the Ottoman dynasty, in the older sources generally bearing the titles of *khān* and of *khūnkār*, had originally taken over some of the Saldjūḳ customs and traditions, such as the bearing of *laḳabs* [*q.v.*] composed with *dīn* and *dunyā*, but from the time of Murād I this custom was abandoned. Murād I is also the first to take the title *sulṭān* [*q.v.*] in inscriptions, although the Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*], who visited the Ottoman lands, mentions Orkhan with the title of sultan. These rulers followed also the traditions of other Anatolian rulers by marrying high-born Christian ladies: Orkhan was the first to take a Byzantine princess for his wife. To the same early time is to be traced back the investiture of the sultan by the girding on of a sword, which perhaps symbolised originally his admission to the order of the *ghāzīs* (*ḳilîdj alay* [see TAḲLĪD AL-SAYF]). An important fact of the first century of Ottoman history was the enforced migration of populations (*sürgün*), which ancient oriental custom was particularly applied by Bāyezīd I, mostly from the east to the west.

When Tīmūr left Asia Minor again, the country was as divided as it had been a hundred years before; from the river Euphrates up to the Aegean coast the amirates had been restored to their former lords. The Ottoman state passed through a period of political instability combined with dynastic war and social strife, and it remained divided until 1413. This period is known as the interregnum (*fetret dewri*), during which four sons of Bāyezīd staked a claim to leadership over the Ottomans, while the Christian states tried to take the maximum advantage from the division of the Ottomans by supporting one prince against the others. Although the European possessions, where a son of Bāyezīd, Süleymān, resided, had been left untouched by the Mongols, the restoration of the Ottoman state had again its centre in Anatolia, where another son, Meḥemmed, established himself as a master of a considerable territory having Amasya [*q.v.*] as its capital. Süleymān first concluded a treaty with the Christian powers of Romania (1403), making territorial concessions to them, abolishing taxes paid by them and confirming old commercial privileges. Then he crossed to Anatolia to fight against his rival brothers, ʿĪsā and Meḥemmed; another brother, Mūsā Čelebi [*q.v.*], appeared in the European territories and obliged him to return there.

It was Meḥemmed I who finally emerged victorious from the fratricide strife and restored the unity of the Ottoman state in 1413. Three years later, in 1416, this state was shaken by a revolt with deep social roots, apparently under the spiritual leadership of *sheykh* Bedr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], the ex-*ḳāḍīʿasker* of Mūsā. Meḥemmed suppressed the revolt by a huge massacre.

After a short period of peace, the chief military activity of the Ottomans was given to the expansion of their power in Europe. The sultans themselves resided most of the time there and led many campaigns in person. The campaigns became more frequent after Meḥemmed I's death (1421) under his son and successor Murād II. Since the second half of the 14th century, the chief opponent of the Ottomans in the Balkans had been Hungary. The conflict was exacerbated in the late 1430s and in the 1440s, and desire to control the silver-producing mines of Novobrdo in Serbia was one of the reasons. After some military operations, Murād II defeated the Hungarians and their allies first at Varna in 1444 and then at Ḳoṣowa in 1448. Despite warfare, most of the European territory was left under the administration of the old lords, who now were the sultan's vassals responsible for paying an annual tribute and offering military aid to him. Also, Constantinople and the rest of the Byzantine possessions kept for a long time their semi-independence in this way and succeeded even several times in defying a siege.

During the reigns of Meḥemmed I and of Murād II there began a second incorporation of the various Anatolian amirates into the Ottoman state, but this time this was effected gradually and without much bloodshed, with the exception of the Ḳaramān-oghlu state, the old rivals of the ʿOthmān-oghlu. But even there the Ottomans began by following a remarkably conciliatory policy. The descendants of these

dynasties were generally granted high military posts in Europe. During Murād's reign trade began to thrive. Venetian, Genoese, Ragusan and other merchants developed important activity in several Ottoman cities, which expanded considerably, such as Bursa with its silk market.

Murād II died in 1451 and was succeeded by his son Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*], who immediately began preparations to put an end to the Byzantine empire, which was then limited to the city of Constantinople, a few islands and some towns on the western Black Sea coast. Constantinople fell on 29 May 1453, and the Ottoman empire succeeded the Byzantine one. The capture of Constantinople, which made such a profound impression among the Turks as well as in the Occident, was only the realisation of a part of a political scheme of Meḥemmed II, that of bringing the whole Balkan peninsula under the direct government of the Ottoman state. After continuous military campaigns this scheme had nearly become a reality. There were still Venetian enclaves in the Morea and Albania, and in the north Belgrade was still held by the Hungarians; but even Bosnia had now passed under Ottoman rule. The large Aegean islands, except Rhodes, were incorporated in the same manner. Only the Danube principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia, and, since 1475, the Crimean K͟hānate, had remained vassals. Meḥemmed II also finished the conquest of Anatolia proper by the conquest of the empire of Trebizond in 1461 and when at last the Ḳaramānid dynasty was extinguished, in 1475, the Ottoman empire stood face to face with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] dynasty in the east and the Mamlūk state in the south-east. The dangerous policy of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu lord Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] came to an end in 1473 when Meḥemmed II defeated him at Otluk Beli. Under Bāyezīd II, this neighbour was succeeded by the young Ṣafawid dynasty of Persia; still, until the reign of this sultan, the Ottoman territory was not enlarged on the Asiatic front, though there were several inglorious frontier wars with the Mamlūk forces in Syria.

During all this time, the Christian powers were scheming and planning crusades to expel the Turks from Europe, while trying also to contract alliances with their Asiatic opponents. But no really great enterprise was ever undertaken; only temporary damage was done by the Hungarian Hunyádi, the Wallachian Wlad Dracul, the Albanian Skander Beg [see ISKENDER BEG] and by some Venetian naval expeditions. All these Ottoman military successes in Europe would not have been possible without the strong base in Turkish Anatolia. Still more astonishing is, perhaps, the permanence of the Ottoman occupation. The reason may be sought mainly in the lack of any sufficiently great political Christian power in the much-divided Balkan peninsula, and also in the deep hatred between the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church.

During Meḥemmed II's reign the Ottoman political system developed, but the beginnings of this inner evolution are to be sought in the reign of Murād II, parallel with the consolidation of the Ottoman type of religious orthodoxy. The overwhelming importance of the person of the sultan for the existence of the state is still more accentuated during this period. This is shown by the menace of military revolts after the death of nearly every sultan and the artifices by which his death was kept secret until the arrival of his successor, also by the grave disturbances caused by pretenders and the tradition of fratricide, probably inaugurated by Bāyezīd I but officially decreed by Meḥemmed II. The supporting of Ottoman pretenders was justly considered as one of the most effective means available to Christian enemies of the empire.

The new leading men in the state and in the army were now for the greater part of Christian origin, Albanians, Slavs, Greeks or, even more, westerners. They derived from war prisoners, the *dews͟hirme* levies, or they were simple renegades. The older families that had come from Asia Minor, such as the Mīk͟hāl-og͟hlu or the Ewrenos-og͟hlu [*q.v.*], receded into second place as owners of large land properties on the Danube and in Macedonia; the high position of the D͟jandarli̊ family as viziers ended with the execution of K͟halīl Pas͟ha shortly after the fall of Constantinople. The newly-converted Christians served the state to their best, but the all-dominating authority of the sultan and perhaps also the democratic tradition of Islam prevented the formation of a hereditary nobility; statesmen and military commanders (as *beglerbegi*s and *sand͟jaḳbegi*s) were the slaves (*ḳullar*) of the sovereign and much less independent than they had been in the 8th/14th century. Less dependent was the class of the scholars and jurists who provided the religious hierarchy with the *S͟heyk͟h al-Islām* at the head; among them there are signs of an upper class of theologians. So there was formed an Ottoman ruling class composed for the greater part of non-Turkish elements recruited from the ranks of the Christians. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that the administrative institutions should show the influence of Byzantine ideas, as was also the case with the court organisation. By *Ḳānūn-nāme*s [*q.v.*], of which those of Meḥemmed II and later of Süleymān the Magnificent are the best known, the hierarchy of officials was minutely regulated.

Besides the older troops of irregular *aḳi̊nd͟ji̊*s and *ʿazab*s [*q.v.*] the army consisted chiefly (a) of the cavalry of the *sipāhī*s, whose organisation was intimately connected with the military administration of the territory [see TĪMĀR], and (b) of the Janissaries, apparently levied in the time of Murād II by the *dews͟hirme*. Agriculture, constituting the financial support of the cavalry, was closely connected to the *tīmār* system. Firearms may also have been used for the first time during Murād II's reign [see BĀRŪD. iv]. The fleet [see GELIBOLU and DARYĀ-BEGI] was mainly manned with Christian renegades, *ʿazab*s and Christian prisoners as galley slaves. It began to be well-organised under Meḥemmed II.

The revenues of the state or rather of the sultan consisted for the most part of the constantly-increasing *d͟jizye* [*q.v.*] and *k͟harād͟j* [*q.v.*], both of them levied on non-Muslim subjects, and of the annual tributes paid by the vassal states. The different kinds of custom-duties were also considerable. Trade remained largely in the hands of the *d͟himmī*s, the merchant class having increased in number by the massive arrival of Jews from Spain and Central Europe. Exports and imports were also largely in the hands of foreigners, especially Italians, who had their communities in Constantinople [see G͟HALAṬA in Suppl.] and some other towns. These communities were treated in the same way as the indigenous non-Turkish communities; they were allowed considerable autonomy under their consuls, including consular jurisdiction. These privileges were granted by the sultans in the well-known form of "capitulations", in which were prescribed also the commercial duties to be paid by the foreigners, who, in accordance with the principles of Muslim law, were considered as *müsteʾminūn* [see IMTIYĀZĀT].

The civilisation of the Ottoman Empire of the later Middle Ages was not yet separated from central and western Europe by the wide gap that became characteristic for later centuries. It has been pointed out that the friendly relations between Meḥemmed II and Italian princes and artists and his liking for pictorial art entitles him, in a way, to a place among the Renaissance rulers of the time. In the days of his successor Bāyezīd II, however, the Muslim attitude to life began to be again more predominant.

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3. The empire at its zenith

After the relatively peaceful reign of Bāyezīd II, there is no more question about Asia Minor or the Balkan Peninsula. The struggle continued in Albania and Morea, but had on the whole a local character. The empire was now strong enough to face its new Asiatic neighbours. The war waged against Persia by Selīm I was in a way a continuation on an international scale of the former internal struggle against the Shīʿī opposition in Asia Minor itself. This war secured Turkey the temporary possession of Ādharbāydjān and the lasting domination over Kurdistān and northern Mesopotamia. Very soon afterwards the Egyptian state of the Mamlūks, with whom the Ottoman empire had clashed under Bāyezīd II in a rather inglorious way, was incorporated by Selīm in one single campaign. The consequence was the extension of Turkish overlordship to the holy cities of Islam and soon to Yaman. Finally, under Süleymān I the Magnificent, the empire obtained its greatest extension by the conquest of the greater part of Hungary, one of the two great mediaeval opponents in Europe; in the same campaign the Turks went even so far as to besiege Vienna. Only the other old rival, Venice, was not broken by the victorious empire. After Meḥemmed II's death, official wars with Venice had become rather an exception. The Ottoman empire never had acquired an absolute maritime superiority, and this weakness appeared almost immediately after the great period of conquest was over, in the battle of Lepanto. Rhodes was conquered, but Malta has never been Turkish and the maritime exploits of Kemāl Reʾīs [*q.v.*] under Bāyezīd and those of Barbarossa Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and others, which assured Turkey's political authority in the age of Süleymān on the north coast of Africa and in the Indian Ocean, never wholly lost the character of piracy. On the Asiatic front, the continuation of the conflict with Persia led for the time to the conquest of Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ, so that the sultan was now in reality *sulṭān al-barrayn wa 'l-baḥrayn*.

At the end of the reign of Süleymān I, the Ottoman empire found itself between two powerful continental neighbours: the Austrian monarchy in Europe and the Ṣafawid empire in Asia. In Europe, the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Hungary were the bulwarks against Austria, while farther to the east the half-independent principalities of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Tatar Crimea were allowed to exist; from the Turkish point of view also, Poland with its Cossacks, and even Muscovy, held similar intermediate positions between the two empires; during this period Turkey raised more than once claims to the suzerainty of the last-mentioned countries. In Asia, the geographical situation did not allow for the existence of this intermediary kind of state, with the exception of Georgia [see AL-KURDJ] which was invaded and brought under Turkish authority in 1578. In Asia, however, the Turkish feudal system left places for a number of petty local rulers who were given the title of Pasha. They were found on the Persian frontier in Kurdistān (the princes of Bitlis), but also in Syria (the Druse amīrs). The *sharīf* of Mecca occupied likewise a vassal position, while Yaman, after its reconquest in 1568-70, was again partly a more direct Ottoman possession. After 1550 the Turks had even obtained a footing in Maṣawwaʿ [*q.v.*] on the African coast and had begun to interfere with Abyssinian affairs; the opportunities here came to an end after the unlucky war of 1578. Egypt was at this time still somewhat under the control of the Turkish Pasha [see MIṢR. D. 6]; the Barbary states were nearly independent; the *sharīf* of Morocco recognised in 1580 the authority of the Turkish sultan.

This general political system of the empire was maintained throughout the third period, a kind of equilibrium being established between the Ottoman empire and the great continental powers.

Under Selīm II, or rather under the administration

of Meḥmed Soḳollu Pas̲h̲a, Cyprus was conquered (1570-1), but this conquest occasioned immediately the naval defeat in the battle of Lepanto [*q.v.*] in 1571, considered to be the first great military blow inflicted on the Turks. The impossibility of further military expansion brought about an inner weakening of the Empire that was marked on the whole by unsuccessful campaigns against Austria (defeat of Mezőkeresztes [*q.v.*] in 1596) and against Persia (loss of Tabrīz and Eriwān in 1603 and 1604) and found its expression in the unfavourable peace treaty of Zsitvatorok with Austria in 1606 and the peace of 1612 with Persia, then under the strong rule of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās the Great. In the last decade of the 16th century, Transylvania [see ERDEL] and the Rumanian principalities even made themselves for some time independent; from 1572 Poland also played often an active role in the complicated political and military course of events on these northern frontiers of the Turkish empire. The raids of the Cossacks in the Crimea had not yet the dangerous aspect of a century later, when the Muscovite power began to appear on the horizon. A favourable circumstance for Turkey was the weakening of Central Europe by the Thirty Years' War; among the west European countries the already existing friendly relations with France, followed in 1580 by England and in 1603 by Holland, were on the whole profitable for the empire, while Spain had ceased since the end of the century to be a serious maritime danger. In view of the never very strong maritime position of Turkey, the relations with Venice remained subject to surprises on both sides, such as the annexation of Cyprus; during the 17th century this was followed by the conquest of Crete (1645-69) and about 1655 by the important Venetian conquests in Morea and in the archipelago, so that for a moment even Istanbul was threatened. Still, the relations with Venice were on the whole friendly, Turkey being the stronger power on account of its continental position. On the Asiatic frontier, Turkey's weakness led temporarily to the loss of Bag̲h̲dād in 1623 and a renewed Persian danger. But here the old position of the empire was restored by the revival of its military strength under Murād IV; under his reign and after S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās's death, Persia was invaded by Ottoman troops, and Eriwān and Tabrīz, and finally Bag̲h̲dād reconquered (1638); in 1639 there began a long period of peace with Persia. After 1640 the stronger position of the empire was used, as well as for the conquest of Crete, for strengthening the authority of the Porte in Transylvania and the Danube principalities, and for a fortification of the frontier to the north of the Black Sea, where Azov was taken from the Cossacks, now under Muscovite authority, and fortified in 1660. In this same year the hostilities with the now-recovered Austria began again and took on at first a crusading character; even France was this time an ally of Austria (Turkish defeat of St. Gotthard 1664). But this was only a prelude to the final struggle with Austria that began in 1683 with the unsuccessful siege of Vienna, and finished in 1688 with the loss of the Ottoman province of Hungary and the invasion of the Balkan peninsula by Austrian armies, followed at last by the peace of Carlowitz (1699 [see ḲARLOFČA]) in which Turkey, considerably weakened again, had to give up nearly the whole of Hungary and its claim on Transylvania, while it had to recognise the authority of Venice in Morea.

The weakening of the Ottoman empire at the beginning of this period was mainly due to domestic reasons. During the 16th century it had already been observed that the empire in this form could only subsist by continuous warfare; it had to be adapted now to peaceful conditions, and this went beyond the possibilities of the personal rule of the sultan, which was based essentially on military conquest. The successors of Süleymān the Great were not equal to the task of meeting these new conditions; it is true that Meḥemmed III, ʿOt̲h̲mān II and Meḥemmed IV occasionally accompanied their armies, but Murād IV was the last sultan to revive the military traditions of his dynasty, the last real *g̲h̲āzī*. So the sultans, whatever their personal qualities were, became less directly concerned in the administration of the state, though their personality remained surrounded with the traditional veneration. This did not prevent, however, the deposition and murder of ʿOt̲h̲mān II in 1628, nor the deposition of Ibrāhīm in 1648 and of Meḥemmed IV in 1688. Instead of the sultans, the statesmen and generals became now more prominent, first in time and in importance Meḥmed Soḳollu Pas̲h̲a [see SOḲOLLU] under Selīm II, Sinān Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], the great enemy of the Austrians, under Meḥemmed III, Murād Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] under Aḥmed I and ʿOt̲h̲mān II; and in the second half of the century the great members of the Köprülü family [*q.v.*]: Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, his son Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a and their cousin Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a; to the same period belonged also Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], the besieger of Vienna in 1683. These military statesmen belonged to the numerically feeble renegade class and were supporters of the typical Ottoman government system as it had been perfected under Süleymān I, but they did not represent any considerable group of the strongly diverging population of the empire. There was not yet an Ottoman Turkish nation. Several other groups were competing with them in the direction of the state affairs; the most formidable being the military corps of the Janissaries and the Sipāhīs, who several times, especially after serious military defeats as at the time of the enthronement of Murād IV in 1632 and of Meḥemmed IV's deposition in 1688, were masters of the political situation. The Janissaries were now even less recruited in the ancient way from the Christian populations, while many abuses had ruined the former discipline of their corps. Several Grand Viziers fell victims to their fury. Another powerful group, that made occasional use of these military elements, was the court circle, led several times by a powerful *Wālide Sulṭān* or by a *Ḳïzlar Ag̲h̲asï*. Finally, the *ʿulemāʾ* with the *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ al-Islām* succeeded repeatedly in playing a decisive part in the direction of the state affairs (e.g. the *muftī* Saʿd al-Dīn under Meḥemmed III); the deposition of sultan Ibrāhīm was sanctioned by *fetwā* of the *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ al-Islām*. These symptoms of decay were truly analysed in Ḳoči Bey's [*q.v.*] famous *Risāla*. Only Murād IV was able to suppress, often by violent means, the influence of these different groups; he succeeded even in raising a new military force (the Segbāns) alongside of the Janissaries. In the capital there were several times outbursts of religious fanaticism directed against the Christians, as happened under Ibrāhīm I, but it cannot be said that political events were influenced by them; the great statesmen showed on the contrary a remarkable tolerance.

The non-Muslim element, though excluded from all direct influence on the government, had adapted itself to the circumstances. A new Greek aristocracy had arisen in Istanbul, which by wealth and intrigue had powerful relations in Turkish circles, as well as in the leading circles of the Christian principalities on the Danube; they likewise were able to control the nomination of the Greek patriarchs. To this time

belongs also the definite turn of the Ottoman Greeks towards Greek Orthodoxy under the influence of the patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris (executed in 1638); the consequence was a decisive rupture with the Roman Christian world and indirectly a strengthening of the Ottoman empire. The Ottoman Turks had still many religious traditions in common with the Greeks, and Christian saints were also venerated in Turkish circles. Next to the Greeks, the Jewish element, considerably strengthened since the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews under Bāyezīd I, played a great social role, chiefly as bankers; the best known representative of this group was Joseph Nasī [see NAḲSHE and NASĪʾ], the favourite of Selīm II.

The lower classes in Asia Minor participated as little in the direction of the state as those of European Turkey. Some dangerous revolts proved, however, that the old religious traditions of the 13th and 14th centuries had not wholly disappeared. In 1599 began the movement of Ḳara Yazîdjî [*q.v.*] in Urfa; much more dangerous for the unity of the empire was the revolt of Ḳalender-oghlu in Ṣarukhān (1606), who ruled for some years independently over a great part of western Anatolia, until he was crushed by Murād Pasha. Soon afterwards, in 1623-8 took place the insurrection of Abāẓa Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], the relentless persecutor of the Janissaries. Farther to the east, the movement for independence under the Kurd Djānbulāṭ [*q.v.*] in northern Syria like that of the Druse Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*] in the Lebanon had to be tolerated to some extent. The inclination to mysticism and veneration for mystic *sheykhs* (such as Maḥmūd of Scutari, where several grand viziers found asylum under ʿOthmān II) continued its hold on all classes of the population; several new mystical orders were founded during this period. The foreign trade remained as before in the hands of foreigners, Venetians and other Italians; of Italian origin were also many of the leading personalities of the Turkish navy that was rebuilt after the battle of Lepanto, such as Cighale-zāde Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*].

4. The period of decline

During the 18th century the inevitable action of the elements of decay began to be felt more and more in the empire and brought about a situation that has been, too superficially, described as decadence. The causes of the decline were to be sought mainly within the body politic; they were still the consequences of the transition from a conquering state to a peaceful administration, but they were now ever more exploited by foreign powers. Among these Austria was in the beginning still a formidable opponent; after the war of 1716-18 the peace of Passarowitz [see PASAROFČA] meant the loss of what had been left to Turkey of Hungary and Transylvania, and even of Belgrade, but the peace of Belgrade in 1739, in which this town itself was restored, proved that from the Austrian side the real danger had ceased. Moreover, in 1715, Morea had been reconquered from the Venetians by the grand vizier Djinn ʿAlī Pasha [see MORA], which success had shown that Venice also was no more to be feared. A new and formidable enemy had risen, however, in the form of the now much enlarged Russia, which, to the Orthodox Christians of Rumania and Serbia, seemed a more welcome liberator than even Austria had ever been. The war of 1711 with Peter I, intimately connected with the coming of Charles XII of Sweden to Turkey, ended with a Turkish victory at Poltava and brought back Azov to the empire in 1712, and the war of 1732, equally successfully closed by the already-mentioned Treaty of Belgrade in 1739, was not yet disastrous for Turkey; Russian navigation in the Black Sea was even formally prohibited. After 1739 there followed a period of peace for the empire in Europe. The military and peaceful relations with Persia during this time were mainly influenced by the political events in that empire, by which the Turks sought to profit. The successes of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] of Persia in 1730 were for a moment threatening; they even occasioned the deposition of Aḥmed III, but at last the peace of 1736 restored the frontiers of the time of Murād IV. The real military weakness of the Ottoman empire was finally revealed in the conflict with Russia that had begun in 1768 with a Turkish declaration of war; this war brought the Russian armies deep into Bulgaria and was ended by the memorable treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja [*q.v.*] in 1774, by which the Crimea became wholly independent (to be annexed in 1783 by Russia), while Turkey had to recognise the Russian protectorate in the Danube principalities. The right of religious protection accorded to the sultan with regard to the Muslims in the Crimea, was the beginning of the religious claims of Turkey that were to acquire such importance in its international relations in the 19th century. After an equally unhappy war with Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] in Persia (1776), in which Baṣra was temporarily lost, the Ottoman empire again suffered serious losses to the Russians by the war of 1784-92, closed by the peace of Jassy; this time the Dniepr became the frontier between the two empires. Austria also had tried to profit by this war and had occupied Bucharest, but in the separate peace of Zistowa (1791) Austria did not gain the expected profits.

During all this time, the friendly relations with the western countries, France, Britain and Holland, to which Sweden was added in 1737, Denmark in 1756 and Prussia in 1763, had often been of great value to Turkey by the services rendered by them as intermediaries in the peace negotiations; especially France, which obtained in 1740 its well-known final capitulations, had considerable influence by its right to protect the Roman Catholics. At the end of the century, however, the Ottoman empire began to be a factor in the new expansionist schemes of the western powers, in connection with their colonial acquisitions and political influence in South and East Asia. These interests did not show at that time any wish to possess Ottoman territory, but the rising colonial powers needed between themselves and their possessions a state over which they could exert control, since they saw the necessity of communicating with the Persian Gulf and India by a more direct way than the southern sea-route. The more immediate cause of the occupation of Egypt by the French in 1798 was the rivalry between France and Britain; this made for the moment Britain and even Russia allies of Turkey. But in 1802 peace with France was restored, to be followed some years later by a new war with Russia and hostilities with Britain (the British fleet before the capital in 1807). By the peace of Bucharest (1812), the Ottoman Empire again lost territory (Bessarabia [see BUDJĀḲ]) to Russia, while Britain, after the elimination of France's colonial power in India and the weakening of the Ottoman authority in Egypt, was for the moment satisfied. The empire was again severely affected by the ups and downs of the Greek insurrection that began in 1820 and ended in 1830 with the recognition of the independence of Greece, not, however, before a disastrous war with Russia—that had played from the beginning an important part in the Greek troubles—had obliged Turkey to conclude the peace of Adrianople (1829). Still, the action of the other European powers had prevented Russia from

realising its territorial aims; it had to be contented with a strong political ascendancy over Turkey, as was proved in 1833 by the Treaty of Khünkār Iskelesi, which, in a secret article, forced Turkey to become Russia's ally in the matter of the navigation in the Black Sea. This unnatural alliance with Russia was occasioned by the action of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Egypt (begun in 1831), who threatened for a moment to deprive the empire of Egypt, Syria and Cilicia, but led at the end only to the recognition of Egypt as a privileged part of the Empire under a hereditary dynasty (1840). This time again the intervention of the European powers had been decisive for the territorial status of the empire. The existence of the Ottoman empire was justly considered as a political necessity; already in 1789 there had been a treaty between Prussia and Austria to guarantee the northern frontiers of the Empire. About the year 1830, moreover, Turkey concluded several new treaties, on the lines of the capitulations, with the United States of America, Belgium, Portugal and Spain. The conquest of Algiers by France (1827-57) [see AL-DJAZĀʾIR] could hardly be called a loss to the empire.

The administrative system of the empire remained much the same during this period; in every direction the central authority was, however, losing its influence. At the beginning of the 18th century this was not yet very perceptible. Istanbul was still the brilliant capital of a powerful empire, where the court of Aḥmed III set the example of a luxurious life; to this time falls the curious passion for the cultivation of tulips, that makes the epoch known as *lāle dewri* [*q.v.*]. To this period also belongs the expansion of higher literary, specifically Ottoman, culture beyond the class of the *ʿulemāʾ*; a new class of literati came into existence, who were the precursors of the intellectual Turkish middle class that originated in the beginning of the 19th century. The abortive beginning of Muslim Turkish printing in 1727 [see IBRĀHĪM MÜTEFERRIḲA and MAṬBAʿA. 2] is likewise intimately connected with the new cultural orientation of the higher classes. Most of them served the government in higher or lower functions, and from this class came forth Grand Viziers, such as Dāmād Ibrāhīm and Rāghib Pasha [*q.vv.*]. This changed considerably the ancient military character of the government system; the home and foreign affairs of the empire were now treated in a more statesmanlike way by the Sublime Porte (Bāb-i ʿĀlī), and the modest office of the Reʾīs al-Küttāb [*q.v.*] now became more and more important, since the holders began to act as competent Ministers of Foreign Affairs; one of them, Aḥmed Rasmī [*q.v.*], is well known as one of the first Ottoman ambassadors. Still, this new class of functionaries was, according to tradition, the sultan's slaves; only under Maḥmūd II was their position regulated in a more liberal way. The new upper classes had manifold relations with the cultivated Greek Phanariots of their time [see FENER], many of whom occupied high offices in the government service, especially as dragomans (as e.g. Nikusios and Mavrocordato); there were no ties with the lower Muslim classes. Under these governing functionaries, the Janissaries and Sipāhīs, now that their discipline was loosened, more than once interfered in a dangerous way. The Janissary rebellion under Patrona Khalīl [*q.v.*] in 1730, which cost Aḥmed III his throne, seems to have been directed mainly against this new aristocracy. After Aḥmed III, court life became much more sober. The ruling classes and most of the sultans with them had begun to realise the weakness of the empire and sought now a remedy in the introduction of military reforms, in which they were aided by several foreigners, of whom the Frenchman Bonneval (d. 1747 [see AḤMAD PASHA BONNEVAL]) is the best known. Another French officer, De Tott, worked in the same direction under Muṣṭafā III, but the Russian war that broke out under this sultan showed how little effective the measures had been.

Selīm III undertook army reforms with much more energy, but even in his time very few leading people had real understanding for these things; the institution of the new troops (*niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*]) provoked another formidable rebellion of the Janissaries, seconded by a large proportion of the *ʿulemāʾ*. Maḥmūd II, finally, took up the question of reforms with more deliberateness; this sultan finally concluded there was no other way of imposing the reforms than by the famous massacre of the Janissaries in Istanbul on 16 June 1826; at the same time, the Bektāshī dervish order [see BEKTĀSHIYYA] was persecuted. The events showed, however, that so far, more destructive than constructive work had been done; still, this sultan succeeded at least in subjecting a number of powerful semi-independent local dynasts [see DEREBEY]. The weakening of the central authority had indeed been characteristic of the Ottoman empire of the 18th century. Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli were ruled by hereditary Beys; only Tripoli was brought by Maḥmūd again under the direct authority of the Porte. Egypt had seen in 1767 the usurpation of ʿAlī Bey. In Rūm-ili some powerful vassals had come forth from the ranks of the great *tīmār* [*q.v.*] holders or timariots; they were called *aʿyān* [*q.v.*]. Under Selīm III and Maḥmūd II the most noteworthy were ʿAlī Pasha Tepedelenli [*q.v.*] of Yanina and Paswān-oghlu [*q.v.*] at Vidin. In Anatolia there had been in 1739 the dangerous insurrection of Ṣari̊ Beg-oghlu, after which the so-called *derebeys* were as good as independent, as was also the case in Kurdistān. In Mesopotamia and ʿIrāḳ the same conditions were prevalent; in 1706 was formed in ʿIrāḳ the powerful Bedouin confederation of the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*], and under Selīm III Baghdād was ruled autocratically by Süleymān Pasha (d. 1810). In Syria, the Druses of the Lebanon had their own *amīrs* [see DURŪZ. ii], and on the coast ruled, in Selīm III's time, Djazzār Pasha [*q.v.*] of ʿAkkā. In Arabia, the Wahhābīs [see WAHHĀBIYYA] had taken Mecca in 1803, and Yaman and ʿAsīr could hardly be called parts of the Turkish empire. On the islands of the Aegean archipelago, hardly any Turks were to be found; here, as in Syria, there was strong European influence. Still, although the Ottoman real power had sunk everywhere, the Ottoman type of administration had put its seal on the cultural life of all these different regions; the great Ottoman tradition held them together and enabled Maḥmūd II and the statesmen who, after him, continued the centralisation of the Empire, to keep together their political unity for a century more to come.

5. The beginnings of reform and westernisation, and the end of the dynasty

In this period, the transition of the Ottoman empire to a national Turkish state was completed, but in a way not intended by the Christian powers, nor expected by the Turkish ruling classes themselves. The new course followed in the administration by the gradual application of the *Tanẓīmāt* measures [*q.v.*] had meant to establish, mainly after the French model, a modern state where all citizens, whatever their religion, had equal political and civil rights, under the direct authority of the Ottoman government; only Egypt, the Danube principalities and Serbia (since 1815) and in Asia the Ḥidjāz were allowed a privileged position. The ideal of the new Ottoman

state was, however, far from the democratic ideals that worked in Europe and which by now began to show their effect, especially among the Christian populations. The democratic revolutionary movement of 1849 in Moldavia and Wallachia [see BOGHDĀN and EFLĀḲ] was equally opposed by Turkey and by Russia, but had as result the convention of Balta Liman, by which the Turkish authority in these principalities was reduced to a negligible point. When Russia, as a result of a conflict over the Holy Places in Jerusalem, invaded again the principalities, in 1853, the Ottoman empire found Britain and France at its side; this was the beginning of the Crimean War. By the peace treaty of Paris (1856) the integrity of the empire seemed secured. In reality, the intervention of Britain and France and soon again of Russia was now more firmly established than ever. This was not only the case in political questions, as for instance the armed intervention in the Lebanese and Syrian troubles of 1845 and 1860, after the troubles of Djidda in 1858, and in the international regulation of the position of Crete in 1866. For the influence of the foreign powers was likewise extended to many points of internal administration, which kind of intervention was made possible by the capitulations. These originally unilateral privileges were looked upon now as bilateral treaties, but their contents had become incompatible with the new state conception that the *Tanẓīmāt* tried to realise. From 1856, indeed, the Porte had tried in vain to get rid of this international servitude, which, at the end of the 19th century, had taken on the character of a collective tutelage of all countries possessing capitulations. Not till 1914 did the conflict between the European powers enable the Turkish government to put the capitulations aside [see IMTIYĀZĀT].

In 1862 the Ottoman government was able to restore its authority in Montenegro [see ḲARA DAGH] and Herzegovina, while, on the other hand, Serbia, and the two Danube principalities, since 1861 united in one state, recovered a nearly complete independence in 1865. Twelve years later the Bulgarian troubles again brought about an armed conflict with Russia, which country, in 1870, had already broken the conventions of 1856 about the Black Sea. The preliminaries of San Stefano (1878), mitigated by the Treaty of Berlin (1879), brought the definite loss of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania, while Bulgaria was constituted a semi-dependent principality; on the Caucasian frontier, Turkey lost Ḳars and Batum [*q.vv.*], and Britain obtained the administration of the isle of Cyprus [see ḲUBRUS]. This abandonment of Britain's policy hitherto followed of respecting the integrity of Ottoman territory was followed in 1882 by the occupation of Egypt [see KHEDĪW and MIṢR. D. 7]. The remaining dates in the dismemberment of Turkey in Europe are the Greco-Turkish war (1897), by which the Greek territory was enlarged towards the north, the autonomy of Crete (1898) and, after the deposition of ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II, in 1909, the declaration of independence of Bulgaria and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. Then, after Tripoli had been lost in the war with Italy (1912, Peace of Lausanne), the Balkan War of 1912-13 reduced the territory of Turkey in Europe to Eastern Thrace, including Edirne, which town had even been occupied for some time by the Bulgarians.

During the 19th century, the relations with Persia had been on the whole peaceful; conflicts were only occasioned by frontier questions, such as the dispute about authority over the Kurdish territory of Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.*], which was settled in 1847 in favour of Turkey. The territory round the Persian Gulf had come more and more under the control of the British, but the territorial status in Asia remained for a long time unchanged. In the meantime, Turkey had been drawn gradually into the economic expansion schemes of the German empire as manifested by the project of the Baghdād railway; this diminished Britain's interest in the territorial integrity of the Ottoman state. So, when in the first year of the First World War, Turkey joined the Central Powers, Russia and Britian co-operated for the first time to take away Turkish territory. The attempts of the Allies to enter the Dardanelles by sea and by land failed, however, during the war; but the combined action of the French and British troops in Palestine and Syria, and the different British campaigns in ʿIrāḳ and Mesopotamia, succeeded at last in conquering these provinces from the Ottoman armies. In Syria, they were aided by forces of the Sharīf of Mecca, who had made himself independent in 1917 as king of the Ḥidjāz. The Russians, in the meantime, had made considerable progress in north-eastern Anatolia, but from this side the danger came abruptly to an end with the Russian Revolution, and the peace of Brest-Litowsk (3 March 1918) gave back to Turkey the lost territory, besides Ḳars, Ardahān and Batum. Soon afterwards, the war with the other powers came to an end by the armistice of Mudros [see MONDROS] (30 October 1918). Subsequently, Istanbul was occupied by Allied troops; France occupied the whole of northern Syria and Cilicia, Britian occupied the so far unconquered parts of northern Mesopotamia, including Mawṣil, and Italian troops landed in Antalya. Greece was allowed to occupy eastern Thrace and Izmīr in May 1919. All this the Istanbul government had to witness passively. The Turkish parliament, convoked in January 1920, took for a moment a firmer attitude by adopting the so-called National Pact (*mīthāḳ-i millī* [*q.v.*]); but when in March the Allied occupation of Istanbul was rendered more severe, the parliament was dissolved. Finally, in August, the Ottoman government was compelled to sign the Treaty of Sèvres, by which large parts of the remaining Ottoman territory, including Istanbul and Izmīr, were brought under the control of one or more foreign powers. In the meantime, another, interior, enemy had risen against the Ottoman government as a result of the organised national opposition against the foreign occupations, especially the Greeks' landing in Izmīr. In the course of 1920, the Istanbul government lost gradually all control over Anatolia, and the measures undertaken with Allied help to restore its authority failed. Under the growing successes of the nationalists, the authority of the sultan's government increasingly dwindled, and the Great National Assembly of Ankara, under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Atatürk [*q.v.*], was able at last to pronounce on 1 November 1922 the abolition of the Istanbul government and the deposition of sultan Meḥemmed VI Waḥīd al-Dīn. This meant nothing less than the extinction of the Ottoman empire and its dynasty. Istanbul and eastern Thrace were occupied by nationalist troops and the last sultan left his capital, which now ceased to be the capital of Turkey. The only remnant of the dynastic tradition was that ʿAbd ül-Medjīd II, son of sultan ʿAbd ül-ʿAzīz, continued to reside in Istanbul as *Khalīfa*. This dignity was abolished by decree of the Great National Assembly of 2 March 1924; ʿAbd ül-Medjīd, as well as all other members of the dynasty of ʿOthmān, were at the same time banished from Turkey; it was to be some fifty years before they were allowed back into Turkey.

Such was the outcome of a long series of events, in which the inner development of the empire played no less a part than the outward political circumstances. The *Tanẓīmāt* period, in fact, was a no less powerful factor in the dissolution than the political interest of foreign powers. The *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] were a more deliberate continuation of the reforming measures under Selīm III and Maḥmūd II, and they were by no means the execution of a programme supported by a large group of the population. Reshīd Pasha, ᶜĀlī Pasha and their helpers wanted to turn Turkey into a modern state ruled by a council of ministers, whose president kept the title of *ṣadr-i aᶜẓam*, but their methods were those of an absolute government in the name of the sultans, who did not in the beginning interfere. When, however, the first real constitution was elaborated by Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], it happened that the new sultan ᶜAbd ül-Ḥamīd II preferred to govern himself, and with the same absolutist methods as his predecessors; only his aim became ever less the copying of a western European state, but rather the strengthening and the securing of the position of the sovereign, to which end there was finally developed the notorious system of censorship and espionage which has made known this period in Turkish history as *dewr-i istibdād* "the period of despotism". This period cannot be called reactionary in that it abolished the institutions of the *Tanẓīmāt*; it opposed only some consequences of the reforms. The reforms had brought into existence a middle class of intellectuals of Turkish speech and Islamic religious tradition, mostly divided between the army and the state functionaries and, in a less degree, the *ᶜulemāʾ*. These intellectuals, of very different extraction, had developed a new ideal of patriotism, as reflected most eloquently in Nāmīḳ Kemāl's [*q.v.*] *Waṭan*, and they had begun to form a public opinion that claimed a certain influence in the government of the state. About this time was also born the Turkish daily press [see DJARĪDA. iii]. Gradually, as this social group took more definite forms, it became ever more separated from the different groups of the Christian and Jewish population, and also from the non-Turkish speaking Muslims in the Asiatic provinces. At the same time, however, relations between Christianity and Islam had worsened since the beginning of the 19th century as a result of the subjection of many Islamic countries to the rule of Christian powers.

By this process was generated Pan-Islamic feeling [see PAN-ISLAMISM] and Istanbul, as the capital of the relatively most powerful independent Islamic state, became the political capital of Islam. With a great many of the Turkish intellectuals, and among them chiefly the *ᶜulemāʾ*, Pan-Islamic feeling surpassed the still somewhat vague patriotism. Moreover, Islamic sentiment found sympathy with the lower classes of the Turkish population, still strongly imbued with mystical traditions, and with the non-Turkish Muslims of the empire. ᶜAbd ül-Ḥamīd, while emphasising his dignity as *Khalīfa*, relied mainly on Islamic sentiment, though, in course of time, the persons who surrounded the ever more suspicious monarch came to be of the worst kind. Utterances of patriotism were opposed in the most drastic way and many intellectuals had to take refuge abroad. The growing opposition against the *istibdād* found at last a means of organising itself in the province of Macedonia, since 1906 governed by a Turkish governor under European control. Salonica became the centre of the new patriotic, more conscious, Young Turkish movement, led by the Committee of Unity and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMᶜIYYETI] and supported to a great extent by the army. Its influence obliged the sultan to promulgate again the constitution of Midḥat Pasha on 24 June 1908 and to abolish at once the onerous system of censorship and espionage. In November, the first Ottoman parliament came together [see MADJLIS. 4. A. ii], but in the troubled years that followed this parliament never had the opportunity to exert a real influence on the government. On 13 April 1909 followed an attempt to re-establish the sultan's former authority; this time the Young Turkish cause could only be saved by the occupation of the capital by the Macedonian army and the deposition of the sultan (27 April).

Then, for a time, Ottomanism became the political ideal, meaning the equality of all Islamic and non-Islamic elements in the state. But it soon appeared that these elements were already too much estranged from each other, so that the foundation of a strong state on these principles became impossible. The Young Turks, under the influence of the ideas of Pan-Turkism [*q.v.*], began now a policy with the final object of making the Ottoman empire a state where the Turkish element should be predominant; they turned to the lower Turkish-speaking classes, especially in Anatolia, to form a real Turkish nation. Pan-Islamism, too, was propagated again by several persons as a way of attaining this aim, but this course was gradually abandoned, although used occasionally for outward political manifestations. The very unfavourable international development after the revolution, however, brought the Young Turkish rulers to measures that certainly were not originally on the programme, such as the Armenian massacres during the war and the severe government in Syria. And as a consequence of the final loss of nearly all non-Turkish territory in the war, Turkish nationalism was born at last, the simplest and at the same time the most effective form of Turkish patriotism, not hampered by any ideas of religion or original racial connections.

The statesmen who had carried out the *Tanẓīmāt* programme had been careful not to offend the religious scruples of the leaders of orthodox Islam. In spite of the remonstrances of foreign representatives, no measures were taken that were in direct conflict with the *sharīᶜa*, though the application in practice might have been changed. The *sharīᶜa* was also the basis of the new Civil Code or *Medjelle* [*q.v.*]. In Midḥat's constitution, Islam was declared the state religion and the *Sheykh al-Islām* was given a rank as high as the grand vizier. This wise religious policy could not prevent, however, occasional religious outbursts of which Christians were the victims, as in 1858 at Djidda and in 1860 at Damascus, both places situated outside the purely Turkish provinces. Under ᶜAbd ül-Ḥamīd, religious activity was mainly under the influence of Pan-Islamism, shown in the various attempts to enter into relations with Muslims in all parts of the world. Even the Young Turkish government did not refrain from proclaiming the Holy War on its entering the First World War. In their internal administration, the Young Turks clearly opposed the influence of the religious authorities, as was proved by their attempt in 1917 to bring the *medreses* under the administration of the Ministry of Public Instruction. Another break with the Islamic tradition was the reform of the calendar. In 1789 the Greek Julian calendar had already been introduced officially for the financial administration, but by a curious compromise the era of the Hidjra was preserved (*sene-yi māliyye*); and in 1917 the Gregorian calendar was adopted. The Christian era came gradually into use after the war.

It was also through the *Tanẓīmāt* measures that

domestic administration was separated from the military by the laws concerning the *wilāyets*. The chief occupation of the Department of the Interior was still for a long time tax-gathering. The Europeanisation and centralisation of the financial system proved to be one of the chief difficulties, as a reliable corps of functionaries had to be created at the same time. After the Crimean War, Turkey was able to conclude a number of foreign loans, but the money was not well administered nor well-used. In 1876, a state bankruptcy had to be declared, with foreign intervention as a consequence and the establishment of the service of the Public Debt, which was very much resented in all Turkish circles. A serious hindrance for the recovery of the finances was also the antiquated custom rules of the capitulations, although the original dues of 3% were several times raised. After the Young Turk Revolution, however, the greatest difficulties seemed to have been overcome.

The new Turkish army created gradually by conscription, after the suppression of the Janissaries, had during this period many occasions to show its valour. It contributed considerably to the strengthening of the patriotic Turkish spirit and played an important role in the Revolution. After 1856 it was theoretically admitted that Christians and Jews also could be enrolled, but in practice they always liberated themselves by paying an exemption tax, the *bedel-i ʿaskerī* [see BADAL]. It was only after the Young Turk Revolution that these non-Turkish elements also became Turkish soldiers.

Bibliography: Among the sources of Ottoman political history the historiographical literature of the Ottoman Turks themselves takes the first place. For this literature it is sufficient to refer to F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927. The study of documentary sources is still in its beginnings; historical documents have been published in various places, as in the *TOEM* (*TTEM*) and in the works of the Turkish historian Aḥmed Refīḳ. Some of the *Ḳānūn-nāmes* have been published in *TOEM* and other Turkish publications. For the treaties of the Ottoman empire, a most valuable collection is to be found in Gabriel Effendi Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, 4 vols., Paris 1897-1903. On the epigraphical sources there are important monographs, such as those of Khalīl Edhem and the less ancient publications of Mubārek Ghālib. The chief work on Ottoman numismatics is still Ismāʿīl Ghālib, *Taḳwīm-i meskūkāt-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1307, besides other publications (such as Aḥmed Refīḳ, *ʿOthmānlī imperator lughunda meskūkāt*, in *TTEM*, nos. 6, 7, 8, 10; *British Museum catal. oriental coins*, viii); but see further on this, below, IX. Numismatics.

Of non-Turkish literary sources, the Oriental ones have been partly treated by Babinger in his bibliographical work. Among the Western sources, the Byzantine historians are of extraordinary importance for the first centuries of the Ottoman empire (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondyles, Critobulos). Since the 15th century a very important place is also taken by the *Relazioni* of the Venetian bailos, to be consulted in the great publications of Albèri (Florence 1839-63) and Barozzi and Berchet (Venice 1856-77). To them were added in course of time the reports of the representatives of other governments that entered into relations with the Porte. To the same category may be reckoned the numerous descriptions of travels in the Ottoman empire by European travellers, beginning in the 16th century. Not sharply separated from the travel literature are the many descriptions of the Turks and of the Ottoman empire, of which the best known is d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, 3 vols., Paris 1787-1820. This kind of literature continued all through the 19th century (the important works of Ubicini) and the beginning of the 20th century.

The first great "general" work on Ottoman Turkish history was Josef von Hammer's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 10 vols., Pest 1827-35; zweite verbesserte Ausgabe, 4 vols., Pest 1834-6 (French translation by J.J. Hellert, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 9 vols., Paris 1835-43). This work is for the greater part based on Turkish literary sources and ends with the peace of Küčük Ḳaynardja in 1774; vol. x contains an extensive list of works concerning Ottoman history which had appeared in Europe until 1774. A work of the same scope is J.W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, 7 vols. (until 1812), Hamburg 1840 and Gotha 1854-63; Zinkeisen used Western sources much more than von Hammer, but did not draw directly from original Turkish sources. The same is the case with N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 5 vols. (until 1912), Gotha 1908-13. The *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* of de la Jonquière, 2 vols., Paris 1914, is important for its historical treatment of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Among the several works that treat only a certain period of Ottoman history may be mentioned G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei* (*1826-56*), Leipzig 1866.

As a result of the greater interest in Turkish history after the First World War, there began to be published in 1922 the *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, by F. von Kraelitz and P. Wittek, the first journal published in the West, before the advent of *Archivum Ottomanicum*, specifically devoted to Ottoman studies; it unfortunately ran for only two years, but more recently, various specialised journals and series have appeared in Turkey itself, such as *Belleten*, *Tarih Dergisi*, etc. carrying on the tradition of the Ottoman period and after *TOEM* (see above).

Of more recent works on Ottoman history, there is first of all a good bibliography by H.-J. Kornrumpf, *Osmanische Bibliographie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkei in Europa*, Leiden-Köln 1973. Of general works covering the post-1500 period, see R.H. Davison, *Turkey, a short history*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1968, repr. Beverley, Yorks. 1981; İ.H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, 2nd ed. 5 vols., Istanbul 1971-2; S.J. and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1976-7 (extensive bibls.); R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989 (authoritative chapters by various specialists).

For the earlier part of this post-1500 period, see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii-iv, Ankara 1949-59; Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman empire, the classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973; M.A. Cook (ed.), *A history of the Ottoman empire*, Cambridge 1976 (= chs. from the *Camb. hist. of Islam* and the *New Camb. modern history*).

For the later part of this same period, there is the unsatisfactory work of H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, 2 vols., London 1950-7, and the classic by B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, revised ed. London 1968; see also the chs. by H.J. Kissling, H. Scheel

and G. Jäschke in *The Muslim world, a historical survey* (= Hdb. der Orientalistik), iii. *The last great Muslim empires*, Leiden 1969, iv. *Modern times*, Leiden 1981.

For the Dhimmī communities, see the papers collected in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman empire, the functioning of a plural society*, 2 vols., New York 1982.

(J.H. Kramers*)

II. Social and Economic History

The periodisation current in Ottoman political history (see I. above) is only to a limited extent usable by social and economic historians. An alternative periodisation uses the manner of taxing the population as a starting point: a formative period down to the middle of the 9th/15th century, a "classical" age dominated by the *tīmār*, lasting to the end of the 10th/16th century, a "tax farming" period down to the middle of the 13th/19th century, followed by an age in which direct taxation gained ground, and which lasted to the end of the empire.

An alternative periodisation is based upon the development of commerce: again, a formative period lasts till the middle of the 9th/15th century, characterised by limited regional and local trade and concentration of international commerce in a few centres, principally Bursa. The second period continues to the end of the 10th/16th century, and its salient feature is the development of Istanbul into a giant city, by far the largest in both Europe and the Mediterranean region, providing a proportional stimulus to internal trade. A third period begins with the political and economic crisis of the 990s/1580s, when northern European merchants enter the Mediterranean in force. Their demands change patterns in the spice and silk trades and have an impact on production in certain regions, such as Syria or the Aegean seaboard. After the crisis of the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries, there is some recovery, which, however, is soon interrupted by the Habsburg-Ottoman war of 1095/1683 to 1110-11/1699. In the early 12th/18th century, most regions enter upon a prolonged expansion in commerce and manufacturing, whose end in the 1170s and 1180s/1760s-1770s coincides with a period of prolonged warfare. This decade should be regarded as the end of the third period. Economic dislocation and penetration by European powers characterise the fourth period, which can be subdivided by a date marking the time at which the transition of the most developed European countries to the factory system began to affect the empire's economy. Traditionally, the Anglo-Ottoman trade convention of 1254/1838 has been favoured; but since recent research has cast doubt on the significance of this date, the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 constitutes an alternative "turning point". This second division of the fourth period continued until the end of the Ottoman empire. Scholars working within dependency and world systems paradigms stress the late 10/16th century as the period when the Ottoman economy was first affected by European penetration, and the years around 1215/1800 when final incorporation ensued.

Thus periodisations according to different socio-economic criteria have resulted in "turning points" at about the same dates, and there is some similarity to the periodisation used in political history. This may be due to the strong impact of the Ottoman state upon the economic life of its subjects, but also to the habituation of present-day historians to these particular "turning points".

The governing class and its subjects

Ottoman society before the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] was divided into *ʿaskerīs* who served the Sultan as soldiers or officials, owing allegiance to him alone (many of them slaves, *ḳul*), and the tax-paying subjects or *reʿāyā* [see raʿiyya. 2]. *ʿAskerīs* were exempt from most taxes, and society's wealth was concentrated in their hands. Ottoman authors of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, particularly the historian Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, emphasised the rigidity of the *reʿāyā-ʿaskerī* boundary. In their view, *ʿaskerīs* were to be recruited from among the sons of *ʿaskerīs*, except in the case of officials with religious-juridical training (*ʿulemā*), the study of the *sheriʿat* being open to all. In reality, other *ʿaskerīs* were also recruited from among the *reʿāyā*. Soldiers distinguishing themselves on the frontier were awarded a *tīmār* and thus joined the ranks of the *sipāhīs*. Christian peasant boys recruited through the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] might rise to the rank of vizier, and the financial bureaucracy, which as a separate career evolved in the 10th/16th century, was entered by men from diverse social backgrounds. However, the status of many officials from non-*ʿaskerī* families and who were not recruited through the *dewshirme* was often precarious, with some of them experiencing denunciation and demotion.

As a *ḳul*, an Ottoman official was beholden for his entire career to the sultan, who could promote, demote and even execute him at will. His children did not inherit the right to any specific official post, even though by the 10th/16th century, the sons of *sipāhīs* by virtue of their birth could apply for a *tīmār* when they had reached the appropriate age. Other officials introduced their sons to potential patrons who might further their career in the military, scribal or financial services. Special rules of promotion applied to *ʿulemā*, who after completing their studies taught in a sequence of progressively higher-ranking *medreses* before they became eligible for the office of *ḳāḍī* [see ʿilmiyye]. Alone among the *ʿaskerīs*, *ʿulemā*ʾ officials' estates reverted to their heirs, while the estates of *ḳuls* were in principle confiscated. The extreme dependence of *ḳul* officials upon the ruler reminded contemporaries of slavery: an Egyptian *shaykh* of the 10th/16th century challenged Ottoman officials as unworthy of ruling over free Muslims, unless they could present formal proof of manumission.

The ascendancy of the *ḳuls* within the Ottoman ruling group dates to the reign of Meḥemmed II the Conqueror (848-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81 [*q.v.*]). He severely curtailed the role of the Anatolian Turkish aristocracy, from which his first Grand Vizier Čandarlīzāde Khalīl Pasha (killed 857/1453 [see djandarlî]) had come. Khalīl Pasha was executed, and many magnates were forcibly separated from their adherents by resettlement in Rūmeli. Numerous large landholdings and pious foundations were confiscated and converted into *tīmārs*. This measure increased the number of warriors at the disposal of the central state. But after Meḥemmed II's death, his son Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512 [*q.v.*]) returned many properties and pious foundations to their previous holders.

The 10th/16th century saw the *dewshirme*-recruited *ḳuls* at the height of their power. Their number included Grand Viziers such as Ḳānūnī Süleymān's one-time favourite Ibrāhīm Pasha (killed 942/1536) and his successors Rüstem Pasha (died 968/1561) and Sinān Pasha (died 1004/1596). While recruitment through the *dewshirme* remained a privilege of the sultan, high-ranking officials sometimes trained young *ḳuls* in their own households; these might be taken over into the sultan's service. Prominent administrators often had their relatives and countrymen recruited through the *dewshirme*; this gave rise to the

formation of patronage networks and regional groupings. A particularly successful example was the Soḳollu [*q.v.*] clan, founded by Soḳollu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a (killed 987/1579), who acted as Grand Vizier to Ḳānūnī Süleymān (926-74/1520-66 [*q.v.*]), Selīm II (974-82/1566-74 [*q.v.*]) and Murād III (982-1003/1574-94 [*q.v.*]). In the later 10th/16th century, the "easterners", who came from the Caucasus and often had seen service in the Persian administration, opposed the "westerners", a group which included Serbs, Croats and Albanians.

In the 11th/17th century, the *dews̲h̲irme* became less important as a mode of recruitment into the Ottoman ruling group. High-level officials now took promising young men into their households and launched them on to their careers, thereby securing their own positions. Loyalty to one's patron constituted one of the principal virtues of an Ottoman gentleman. Rivalries between members of different households were commonplace. The household of the *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām* Fayḍ Allāh Efendi (killed 1115/1703), well-documented through the *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām*'s autobiography, demonstrates the manner in which the system operated; yet Fayḍ Allāh in part fell from power because of excessive nepotism. Patronage relations continued to be important well through the *Tanẓīmāt* period, even though the differences in legal status between *ʿaskerīs* and *reʿāyā*, as well as the sultan's right to execute his servitors at will, were abolished by the guarantees of life, liberty and property promulgated by the *Tanẓīmāt fermānı̊*.

The coherence of the political structure was ensured by the sultan, in whose name the *ʿaskerīs* ruled and collected taxes. As the victor over heretics and infidels, the sultan legitimised the entire state. Spectacular failure in war was a reason for deposing a ruler, thus Meḥemmed IV (1058-99/1648-87 [*q.v.*]) and Muṣṭafā II (1106-15/1695-1703 [*q.v.*]) lost their thrones due to the outcome of the Ottoman-Habsburg war of 1095-1111/1683-99. Down to the late 10th/16th century, the ruler was expected to take the field in person, and the historian Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī censured Murād III for failing to do so. Well into the reign of Ḳānūnī Süleymān, the ruler dined regularly in front of his soldiers even in peacetime, thereby documenting his good health and preparedness for war. However, in his later years, Ḳānūnī Süleymān developed a different style of palace life; now the remoteness of the ruler and the fact that he rarely spoke in public were regarded as proof of his dignity. From the later 10th/16th century onwards, the sultan was no longer required to take an active role in government, and administration lay in the hands of Palace dignitaries and the Grand Vizier; the Grand Vizier's power was particularly great during the Köprülü vizierates (1066-1122/1656-1710 [see KÖPRÜLÜ]).

Tension between *ʿaskerīs* and *reʿāyā* focused on the status of men serving as soldiers without possessing the rights of *ʿaskerīs*. In the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, provincial governors recruited and paid their own forces; the latter possessed no official status and lost their jobs when the employing *pas̲h̲a* lost his, a frequent occurrence. In the 11th/17th century, these men often rose in rebellion to safeguard their positions, or else forced the employing *pas̲h̲a* to do so. Unemployed mercenaries turned to highway robbery, against which Anatolian villagers at the end of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries defended themselves by organising their own militias. Conflicts between mercenaries in the service of a *pas̲h̲a*, unemployed soldiers and village militias constituted the civil wars known as the D̲j̲elālī rebellions [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In Rumeli mercenaries of *reʿāyā* background fighting on the frontier were thrown out of employment when the Ottoman empire lost territory in the peace of Ḳarlofča (1110-/1699 [*q.v.*]) and later peace treaties; this was the background of the *hayduk* rebellions.

Peasant status and power in the countryside

Down to the end of the 10th/16th century, the Ottoman élite's principal means of controlling the *reʿāyā* was the *tīmār*. *Tīmār* holders (*sipāhīs*) at this time constituted the backbone of the army, but also were in charge of local administration. Peasants were not permitted to leave their farmsteads without the permission of the *sipāhī*. If they did, the *tīmār* holder could have them returned by applying to the *ḳāḍī*'s court within a delay varying between ten and twenty years according to the locality. However, the responsibility of proof was on the *sipāhī*, and many migrants were able to provide witnesses testifying to their residence for the requisite period. Ottoman regulations accepted the existence of *reʿāyā* not included in the official tax registers (*taḥrīr*) (*k̲h̲āridj̲ ez defter*). The latter migrated, and only if they continued to reside in the same place for a prolonged period of time, were they entered in the *taḥrīr* register.

Farmland and pasture normally belonged to the state, and the peasant owned only his house, gardens and vineyards. Peasant tenures passed from father to son, other relatives inherited against payment of an entry fine (*resm-i ṭapu*). Daughters were originally excluded; with the increasing impact of *s̲h̲erīʿat* inheritance rules from the end of the 10th/16th century onwards, they were admitted in the absence of sons. Peasants in the 10th/16th century were forbidden to sell their tenures without the consent of the relevant *tīmār* holder, foundation administrator or grantee of crown lands. However, such permission was often granted, and by the end of the century in some regions we encounter a lively land market. In the Kayseri area, fields formally owned as private property became widespread in the course of the 12th/17th century. The Ottoman land law of 1274-75/1858 [see MARʿĀ. 3. In Turkey] sanctioned the transition to private property, which in the Ottoman core lands had been going on for several centuries. But in those areas where land had been tribally owned this law furthered the formation of large-scale private property, as tribal leaders registered communal lands as their own.

Taxation rates varied from region to region; the determining factor was often historical circumstance, rather than the productivity of a given area. The tithe (*ʿös̲h̲ür*) was higher than one-tenth, as a share for the tax collector (*salāriyye*) was usually included. In parts of eastern and central Anatolia, where taxes were shared between the state and private landowners, the peasants paid a double tithe (*mālikāne-dīwānī*). In Syria and Palestine, tithes might amount to a quarter or a third of the crop. Tithes were demanded in kind; in addition, the peasants paid money taxes both to the *tīmār* holder and to the central administration. The proportion of total dues payable in money varied according to time and place.

In the early Ottoman period, peasants provided labour services for their *sipāhī* (*yedi ḳulluḳ*, "seven services"). When the regulations preceding Ottoman tax registers, the so-called *ḳānūn-nāme*, codified peasant-*sipāhī* relations in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, most labour dues had been commuted to payments in money and in kind. However, even at this time, peasants were obliged to build a tithe barn for their owner, and cart the *sipāhī*'s grain to the

nearest market. The judges' protocols (*ḳāḍī sid̲j̲illeri*) of certain provinces record the tensions ensuing from these relationships, such as disputes as to what constituted the nearest market. Conversion of dues in kind into money payments caused difficulties in areas remote from the main thoroughfares, where opportunities for commercialisation were few. In the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries, *reʿāyā* attempts to shake off *sipāhī* control can also be traced through the justice rescripts (*ʿadālet fermānlari̊*). The *ʿadālet-nāme* of 1058/1648 explains that it was not sufficient if peasants paid their taxes to the *sipāhī* or other legal claimant to the village revenue; they also owed him submission and obedience. But the *sipāhī*'s frequent absence on campaign, the limited material means at his disposal and peasant access to the *ḳāḍī*'s court made it impossible for the former to exercise full control over the peasants.

Down to the mid-9th/15th century, the Ottoman state probably was a "light" state, demanding but limited prestations from the *reʿāyā*. But the campaigns of Meḥemmed the Conqueror led to an increase in peasant taxes, and the contemporary chronicle of ʿĀs̲h̲ïḳ-pas̲h̲a-zāde reflects the dissatisfaction of a member of the Anatolian aristocracy with the newly-emerging, much more costly state. In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, taxes were normally collected by the holders of *timār, zeʿāmet* and *k̲h̲āṣṣ*, who owed military or administrative service and therefore did not remit much cash to the central administration. From the later 10th/16th century onward, the increasing costs of war induced the central administration to progressively substitute tax farming [see MÜLTEZIM]. Tax farmers acquired the right to collect taxes at auction. The contract in principle was awarded for three years, but could be terminated earlier if a higher bid was received. A tax farmer also acted as local administrator, but could be from the *reʿāyā*. A wealthy villager might bid for the taxes of a single settlement, while the major tax farmers were rich men and occasionally women, often close to the court.

In 1106-7/1695, a new kind of tax farm was instituted, the *mālikāne* [*q.v.*], which combined features of the *timār* and the old style tax farm. The *mālikāne* holder paid a large sum of money to the treasury upon entering possession. For the remainder of his or her life, annual payments were fixed at a moderate level. *Mālikāne* holders had to be part of the Ottoman ruling group. The *mālikāne* was instituted to ease the pressure upon the *reʿāyā*, as it was claimed that long-term holders would be concerned about the future of their tax base, while ordinary *iltizām* holders were concerned only with short-term gain. However, frequent subletting for short periods tended to nullify this advantage.

Tax farmers of different types were an important component of the *aʿyān* [*q.v.*], local power holders who from the late 11th/17th century onward dominated growing sectors of the Ottoman countryside without necessarily being landowners. A major source of *aʿyān* power was the right to apportion taxes, levied *en bloc* by the central administration, among individual settlements. This allowed *aʿyāns* holding land to spare "their" peasants at the expense of their neighbours, and thus to gather a clientèle. Prominent power holders became tax gatherers for absent provincial governors, and in coastal regions with opportunities for export, marketed the produce gathered as taxes in kind, along with the saleable surpluses belonging to villagers. The Ḳara ʿOt̲h̲mān-og̲h̲ullari̊ of Izmir and Manisa, for instance, rose to power in this fashion. Even though the sultans of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries often had the heads of *aʿyān* families executed, the treasury needed the family's services, and thus the following generation was allowed to follow in their fathers' footsteps.

Only in the reign of Maḥmūd II (1233-55/1808-38 [*q.v.*]) was this policy reversed; this sultan relied on European, particularly British, support to eliminate internal opposition. Many *aʿyāns* were executed and their possessions confiscated; those who remained were often still wealthy but no longer a political threat to Ottoman central government. Even though the major *aʿyāns* of the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries had considerable military forces at their disposal, only a few of them seem to have aimed at political independence. Culturally speaking, they looked toward Istanbul, and in their residences imitated the mural paintings then current in the Palace and the wealthy dwellings of the capital. Some of them fostered an interesting adaptation of rococo and empire decorative styles.

Landholdings in the hands of wealthy power holders are known as *čiftliks* [*q.v.*]. Recent research downplays the importance of market-oriented large-scale production before the 13th/19th century. Such production occurred, by the end of the 11th/17th century, in the western Black Sea region with a view toward the Istanbul market. In the 12th/18th century, *čiftliks* spread to Macedonia, and part of their production was now destined for export. Many *čiftliks* used sharecroppers in addition to wage labourers and a small number of slaves. Most of them were not large, and those that were, often appropriated some of the product which, under the earlier régime, had been left in the hands of the peasants. Saleable surpluses were normally produced by peasants, and the power holders reserved for themselves the profits of commercialisation.

Peasant production

In its vast majority, the Ottoman population consisted of settled peasants producing mainly for their subsistence and controlling their family farms. Peasants grew wheat and barley, leaving a one-year fallow period between crops. Rye and millet were of secondary importance. Oil was gained from plants, such as sesame, linseed or poppy; melted butter was also widely consumed. Olives were important in northern Syria, Crete and northwestern Anatolia. But olive oil was largely used for lighting; its use as a food seems to have been secondary. Grapes were consumed as raisins and grape syrup, most towns being surrounded by a belt of gardens and vineyards. Non-Muslims also produced wine, which Ḳānūnī Süleymān forbade them to sell in public. But at least in Ottoman Hungary, the prohibition was hard to enforce, as the *timār* holders of this area had taken over the monopoly of wine sales during part of the year (*monopolya*). Honey was also produced.

Certain regional specialities were highly esteemed; thus English merchants of the 11th/17th century were granted the privilege of exporting a small quantity of Aegean raisins for the table of their king. During the same period, Malatya was already renowned for high-quality fruit, while hazel nuts were found on the Black Sea coast. Cotton cultivation, according to 10th/16th century tax registers, was significant in certain parts of Syria [see KUṬN. 2. In the Ottoman empire], in the Adana region and on the Aegean coast, while flax was grown in northwestern Anatolia. Tobacco appeared in the central Anatolian countryside by the beginning of the 12th/17th century, introduced by soldiers who had become accustomed to its use on the Hungarian frontier. Tobacco cultivation spread in spite of

repeated prohibitions. Many specialty crops have persisted in the same locations for several centuries.

In the 10th/16th century, rice [see RUZZ] was still a luxury. It was cultivated mainly in the areas of Filibe (Plovdiv) and Boyabat in northern Anatolia. Rice was rarely grown by ordinary peasants, but by specialised labourers, working under supervision and without any farms of their own. They were exempt from the taxes payable by other peasants. Possibly they had originally been war captives, although there is room for debate whether rice growers were better or worse off than ordinary peasants. Maize entered western Rumeli and northern Anatolia during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. Villagers dependent on landlords (so-called *čiftlik* villagers) sometimes cultivated wheat for their masters and maize for their own consumption.

Small-scale irrigation [see MĀʾ. 8. Irrigation in the Ottoman empire] was widespread throughout the Empire, even though 10th/16th century plans to make a "second Egypt" out of the lake districts of central Anatolia did not come to fruition. Water power was used for industrial purposes, particularly the milling of flour; 10th/16th century tax registers record the number of mills in each village, and often the number of months during which available water supplies permitted operation. In villages near 10th/16th and 11th/17th century Salonica, water power was used for the fulling of woollen cloth, while in the Bursa-Izmit area, sawing mills were also water-driven. These activities were market-oriented and therefore located in the vicinity of larger towns.

Urban merchants in certain regions intervened in village production. In the second half of the 10th/16th century, Ankara merchants had angora wool spun in steppe villages, while in the more immediate vicinity of the city, cloth was woven. Similar arrangements existed in the Bursa and Aydın cotton manufactures. This putting-out system coexisted with the direct marketing of rural products by peasants.

Most peasant marketing was probably undertaken to earn the cash needed for taxes. In many parts of 10th/16th century Anatolia, markets expanded as population increased. Only occasionally did rural dwellers demand urban goods and services, such as jewelry or repairs to a heavy plough. Itinerant artisans catered for some of this demand, repairing copper kettles or putting up mudbrick walls. These migrant artisans, sometimes enrolled in the Janissary corps, competed with urban craftsmen. Peasant-nomad exchanges were less unequal; these took place at seasonal fairs, often sited on summer pastures used by both villagers and nomads.

Nomads and other herdsmen

Nomads in Rūmeli and Anatolia often grew some wheat, barley or cotton in their winter quarters. As many villagers on the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts migrated into the mountains in summer to escape the danger of malarial infection, social differences between peasants and nomads were less pronounced here than in sub-desert areas. Yet this did not preclude disputes about fields and gardens damaged by nomad flocks, or outright robbery on the part of armed and mounted tribesmen. Nomads and semi-nomads were important to the urban transport economy, as they raised the horses, camels and mules needed by merchants and officials.

But nomads were more difficult to tax than settled peasants, and due to their possession of horses and firearms, the administration regarded them as potential robbers and rebels. The settlement of Anatolian nomads was therefore officially encouraged. Animal taxes were sometimes levied in such a manner as to endanger the reproduction of flocks. If a degree of settlement had been reached, nomad groups were reclassified as low-level districts (*nāḥiye* [*q.v.*]) settled by peasants. In the 10th/16th century, Anatolia was a land of peasants, with a nomad minority varying in size according to the region. Migration from eastern to western Anatolia probably resulted in a higher percentage of nomads in the 12th/17th century, which the earliest official attempts at forcible settlement did not change. Settlement projects continued in the 12th/18th and particularly 13th/19th centuries, after the immigration of Muslim inhabitants from the Crimea and Balkan territories lost by the Empire necessitated the creation of new opportunities for peasant settlement. Particularly in southeastern Anatolia, commercial agriculture became possible after large numbers of nomads had been forcibly settled.

In Rūmeli nomads were an important component of the population, mainly in Thrace. These *yürüks* [*q.v.*] were detribalised at an early stage, and given a military organization. The *yürüks* were organized in units called *odjaḳs* [*q.v.*], some members participating in campaigns while the others financed the campaigners' equipment. From the 10th/16th century onward, nomads were no longer employed as fully-fledged soldiers but mainly as auxiliaries. Yet their services were still needed, and therefore the central administration penalised *yürüks* who settled by increasing their taxes. Ottoman Rumeli also was inhabited by Christian migrant herdsmen, the Vlachs, who enjoyed tax exemptions. With trade between central Europe and the Balkans increasing in the 12th/18th century, many Balkan herdsmen prospered as transportation entrepreneurs.

Trade

The bulk of Ottoman trade was internal. Istanbul was supplied through interregional trade, involving the shores of the Black Sea, the Aegean and even Egypt. Down into the 13th/19th century, wheat and barley came mainly from the western coasts of the Black Sea. Fruit, both fresh and dried, was supplied mainly by western Anatolia and Thessaly, while meat on the hoof came to Istanbul from the Balkan peninsula and to a lesser extent Anatolia. The capital's needs for timber and firewood were supplied largely from northwestern Anatolia, where certain forests had been set aside for the Imperial Arsenal. Around the turn of the 12th/17th century, Istanbul Janissaries were active in both the legal and the illegal trade in wood, the latter responding to the high demand for this commodity in Cairo. Melted butter arrived at the capital from the steppes to the north of the Black Sea. Agriculture and forestry in the region surrounding Istanbul thus conformed quite well to the ring pattern analysed by Von Thünen, modified by the fact that the Bosphorus permitted easy access to both the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Aleppo's hinterland was less vast, but still encompassed southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. The city received grain, cotton thread and cloth, silk, soap and olive oil from the surrounding region. Cairo was supplied by the Nile valley; at its ports there arrived grain, linen, linseed and vegetables.

But as the capital of the Empire, Istanbul possessed an economic advantage: as the taxes of the entire state accumulated there, purchasing power was concentrated in the city. Provincials, with limited access to the gold and silver imported through foreign trade, delivered agricultural produce and manufactured goods to Istanbul in order to earn back the cash

previously paid out as taxes. According to the price lists (*narkh defterleri* [see NARKH]) of Istanbul, fabrics, leather, copperware and other specialties arrived from remote provinces. But due to the city's political advantage, its inhabitants did not pay for the goods and services they received by offering others in return.

In the 9th/15th century, Anatolian manufactured goods were exported, principally to the countries north of the Black Sea. In exchange, oil, honey, skins and hides reached Ottoman territory. The merchants conducting this trade were mainly Muslims; the conquest of Genoese Black Sea bases gave the Ottomans an advantage over the Italians, and in the course of the 10th/16th century, the Black Sea was closed to non-Ottoman traders. After the conquest of the Arab provinces Ottoman merchants and administrators controlled the trade routes passing through Egypt and Syria. Traders based in Cairo dealt with India, importing Indian fabrics and spices by way of the Red Sea. The importation of coffee from Yemen became economically significant in the second half of the 10th/16th century [see ḲAHWA]. This trade was profitable enough to counterbalance the loss of transit trade in spices to Venice, after the Dutch had monopolised the importation of spices to Europe at the beginning of the 11th/17th century. Aleppo was a major entrepot of the silk trade, where raw silk from Persia was sold to Ottoman, Venetian, English and French merchants [see ḤARĪR. ii. The Ottoman empire]. Damascene traders supplied the pilgrimage caravans, and also delivered manufactured goods to the Ḥidjāz. This expansion of the area in which Ottoman traders operated stimulated the economy in general.

While the Venetians had specialised in the transit trade in silks and spices, the English merchants, who entered the Mediterranean during the closing years of the 10th/16th century, paid for the silk they purchased with moderately-priced English cloth; their competition caused the woollens of Salonica to disappear from the market. French merchants from Marseilles bought and sold a wide range of goods, which in the 12th/18th century included woollen cloth from Languedoc. They also purchased olive oil and grain in Tunisia, and acted as shippers. The depredations of pirates and corsairs gave European ships a competitive advantage over Ottomans [see ḲURṢĀN. 2. In Turkish waters], as they were able to offer better security, and by the 12th/18th century, even trade between ports of the Ottoman Empire was largely effected in European ships.

During the 11th/17th century, Ottoman non-Muslims gained ground *vis-à-vis* their Muslim competitors, benefiting from the expansion of European trade. As the capitulatory rights granted European merchants also became more important during this period [see IMTIYĀZĀT], many members of the minorities were able to gain tax privileges by registering as servitors of foreign consulates. However, this did not preclude lively competition between Ottoman and foreign merchants. In the 12th/18th century Greek traders benefited from French involvement in wars to expand their merchant marine and establish a successful diaspora not only within the Ottoman, but also the Habsburg and Russian empires. Syrian Catholics traded in Egypt, Serbs were active in Vienna, while the woollen cloth weavers of Filibe (Plovdiv) marketed their goods throughout Anatolia. In many areas, the transformation of local economies away from manufactured goods and toward the provision of grain and raw materials to European buyers did not take place until the 13th/19th century. Capital resources accumulated by non-Muslim merchants were often used to bolster the resistance of local economies against foreign control.

Integration into the European-dominated world market during the 13th/19th century did, however, politicise pre-existing communal tensions. In the 1260s-1270s/1840s-1850s Damascus merchants involved in the supply trades encountered serious difficulty due to the increasing export of grain to Europe in which non-Muslims were active. This was the economic background to an attack on the Christian quarters of Damascus in 1276/1860.

The Ottoman government of the *Tanẓīmāt* period (1255-93/1839-76 [*q.v.*]) responded to the threat of economic and political disintegration by the construction of railways and telegraph lines, and permitted the modernisation of the major ports. However, these investments were expensive, particularly the kilometric guarantees demanded by foreign investors in the railways, so that the latters' benefit to the Ottoman economy is open to question. Most lines linked a port to the hinterland or, in cases where the government imposed its will, strategic rather than economic considerations determined the course of the railways. Ottoman spending on war and infrastructure having led to bankruptcy in 1296-97/1879, major sources of revenue were pledged to the settlement of debts and committed to administration by a consortium of creditors known as the *Dette Ottomane*. For the remainder of the empire's existence, Ottoman public spending was limited by the constraints imposed by this consortium.

Monetary developments

While the use of cash continually expanded throughout Ottoman history, even the *timār* system in its early shape could not operate without a money economy. Down to 882/1477-78, when the first Ottoman gold coin was minted, roughly corresponding in weight and fineness to the Venetian ducat, the Ottoman mints turned out silver coins only. The *aḳče* [*q.v.*] before the devaluation effected by Meḥemmed the Conqueror weighed 1.01 gr. and 0.83 gr after this event. Throughout most of the 10th/16th century, the *aḳče* stood at 0.73 gr; a new wave of devaluation occurred at the end of the 10th/16th century, at a time when imports of silver from the New World had also resulted in a price rise. The latter was viewed by contemporaries as a major calamity, affecting not only the conduct of trade but the legitimacy of the state. In spite of several currency reforms, in the course of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries the *aḳče* was devalued to such an extent that it disappeared from the market and only survived as a money of account. Its place was taken by the *pāra* [*q.v.*], originally an Egyptian coin valued at twice or three times the rate of the *aḳče*, and by a number of European silver coins collectively known as *ghurūsh*. These were also debased, as the importation of low-quality European coins constituted a major business at the end of the 11th/17th century. Local mints virtually ceased operation. There was a brief experiment with a trimetallic system in the late 11th/17th century. Copper, which hitherto had been used only in small transactions, was now declared legal tender. Uncontrolled inflation led to a return to the bimetallic standard after three years.

Debasement as a means of raising revenue was abandoned in 1260/1844, when a new bimetallic system was established, based on the silver *ḳurush* and gold *lira* (100 *ḳurūsh* = 1 *līra*). This standard was adhered to till the very end of the Ottoman Empire, as monetary stability was now regarded as essential to the needs of trade. To cope with budget deficits, the

authorities occasionally issued paper money and then allowed it to depreciate, or contracted the loans which finally caused the bankruptcy of 1296-97/1879 (see further, below, IX. Numismatics).

Urban artisans

Many urban producers were organised in guilds, which had adopted rituals of the *Akhīs* [*q.v.*], organisations of young men which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa encountered in many early 8th/14th century Anatolian towns; however, the *Akhīs* were not organised by craft, and the exact link between guilds and *Akhīs* is little understood. Guilds were headed by a *sheykh*, whose role was in decline by the 12th/18th century. Daily business was conducted by the *ketkhüdā* and *yigitbashi̊*, who were elected by the guildsmen and confirmed by the administration; guild officials purchasing their offices are also on record. Guilds were composed of masters; apprentices and hired labourers (*ishčis*) were not members, and masters tried to discipline their employees through their guilds. In some places, such as 10th/16th century Jerusalem or 12th/18th century Bursa, the guilds could be entered easily. At times, it was probably sufficient to pay the requisite taxes to be considered a guild member. But in other instances, masters refused the entry of newcomers under the pretext of insufficient skills; in Bursa, where such cases are also on record, rejected masters sometimes formed new "business centres" on the outskirts of the city.

Guildsmen often procured raw materials collectively, by agreement with the farmer of a mine or else another guild. *Yigitbashi̊s* and *ketkhüdās* were in charge of distribution among individual artisans, and often the small masters complained that their more successful colleagues obtained more than their due; or else suppliers found it advantageous to sell to merchants at higher prices, particularly if the goods in question were also in demand in the export market. If the artisans whose interests were hurt by this intrusion of the free market made their complaints heard in Istanbul, export prohibitions were promulgated. In other cases, guildsmen preferred to abandon collective purchases altogether.

In the 11th/17th to early 13th/19th centuries, guildsmen developed a form of property known as the *gedik* [see ṢINF], which encompassed the locale and tools necessary for the exercise of a given trade. This was a response to increased demands for rent from property owners, particularly *waḳifs*, which resulted from the demand for revenue placed upon the latter by the Ottoman administration. Once a given property had been recognised as forming part of a *gedik*, it could only be turned over to another guildsman, and guild officials had to approve the transaction. This arrangement protected the interests of craftsmen in contracting trades, but made overall adjustments to changing demand more difficult. The Ottoman administration, torn between the need for increased revenue from *waḳifs* and the wish to protect its urban tax base, did not prevent *ḳāḍīs* from recognising the *gedik*.

From the government's point of view, the guilds were important as a means of securing control over the urban population. In wartime, the guilds were obliged to provide artisans accompanying the army and undertaking the maintenance and repair work needed by the soldiers. Other guilds were obliged to find rowers for the navy. Assessment was not equal, and gave rise to frequent disputes.

Prices demanded by artisans were decreed by the market inspector (*muḥtesib* [see ḤISBA]) or *ḳāḍī*, after consultation with the heads of the relevant guilds. In Istanbul and other large cities, official prices were recorded in special registers or entered into the *ḳāḍī sidjilleri*; in smaller towns only the prices for basic foodstuffs were officially promulgated. The Palace often demanded goods at less than the official price. Profit margins for artisans ranged between 10 and 20 per cent, while long-distance traders were much less closely controlled. Capital formation by artisans was difficult, although there were instances of craftsmen branching out into trade without severing their links to manufacture.

Craft guilds retained their vitality throughout the 13th/19th century, particularly in Istanbul. With European investment growing, especially in the transportation sector, guilds defended the interests of dockyard workers and others whose livelihoods were threatened by technical and organisational reshaping of enterprises. The Ottoman government, both before and after the revolution of 1326/1908, saw the revendications of these guilds as a means of augmenting its own bargaining power *vis-à-vis* foreign interests, and adopted a neutral or even favourable stance. In the long run, however, the restructuring of enterprises within the framework of dependent capitalism weakened the power of the guilds.

Not all urban handicraft workers were guild members. In 10th/16th and 11th/17th century Bursa, slaves were employed by silk weavers and merchants; after manumission, some of them set up independent businesses and then joined the guilds. Women working for artisans also were not usually members. New migrants to the city, unable to enter a guild, often made a living as street sellers; this was resented by the guildsmen, as these unorganised competitors paid no taxes. During the migrations which accompanied the Djelālī rebellions (late 10th/16th-early 11th/17th centuries) many such migrants were active in towns along the principal routes to Istanbul. Some of the migrants were destitute; at the end of the 10th/16th century, a prison was built in Üsküdar to facilitate catching these people and sending them back to their places of origin.

Urban society and spatial structure

In Ottoman cities, most artisan activities took place in the *čarshi̊*, a district filled by *khāns*, the covered market (*bedestān*) and *waḳf*-owned shops. Only transients renting accommodation in a *khān* resided in the *čarshi̊*. Down to the middle of the 13th/19th century, construction in residential quarters was not planned by any central authority, which only from time to time decreed that encumbrances in public thoroughfares needed to be removed, or that non-Muslims must not reside in Muslim quarters so that existing mosques would be ensured of a congregation. Most day-to-day affairs were in the hands of the *ketkhüdās* of town quarters or communities, disputes being adjudicated by the *ḳāḍīs*. From the *Tanẓīmāt* period onwards, newly-founded town quarters were sometimes designed according to a master plan; the Ottoman administration was concerned about securing streets wide enough for wheeled traffic and the passage of fire trucks. In Istanbul and Bursa, neighbourhoods in fashionable areas were reorganised according to criteria derived from contemporary French urban planning; by the late 13th/19th century, the results of such planning were seen in Anatolian provincial towns as well. To administer these projects, special administrations were instituted; these involved the creation of representative bodies through which urban élites influenced planning.

Building styles in vernacular architecture varied according to the region but also the time period involv-

ed. The impact of Istanbul models can be discerned in 13th/19th century houses in present-day Greece, Bulgaria and Albania and also in western and central Anatolia. In the area where Istanbul influences were strong, such as in Ankara from the late 11th/17th century onwards, multi-story buildings were common; in certain places, upper floors were often reserved for summer use. Houses of this type contained numerous windows overlooking the street, with special arrangements to prevent passers-by from looking in. In Syria, houses were built around a courtyard, turning only a blind wall to the street. Normally a house was inhabited by a single family, but exceptions to this rule were numerous, such as poor families sharing a single courtyard. "Apartments" were in use in Cairo and possibly also in parts of 12th/18th century Istanbul.

Social dynamics

In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, high and medium-level officials as well as merchants possessed opportunities for capital formation, but *ʿaskerīs* were the dominant group. *ʿAskerīs* enjoyed greater revenues than *reʿāyā*, although apart from the *ʿulemāʾ* they were not usually able to transfer their fortunes to their heirs. *ʿAskerīs* also controlled the economic power of the state apparatus, which was the largest single entrepreneur in the land. Mines were mostly owned by the state, and large enterprises such as the Arsenal and major building sites were financed and run by the central administration. Ottoman authors emphasised the submission of all officials to the will of the sultan, but many *ʿaskerīs* were able to use political opportunities for private gain. Merchant-*ʿaskerī* conflicts are only documented indirectly; late 10th/16th and 11th/17th century texts wax eloquent concerning the corrupting power of money, but nowhere do we find the assumption that the handling of money is exclusively the province of the merchant. Some Ottoman officials subscribed to the view, derived from the teachings of Ibn Khaldūn, that gainful activity should be reserved for the *reʿāyā*, but this view was challenged by others. In most instances, *ʿaskerīs* viewed their economic interests as coinciding with those of the state in general. The Ottoman state should not be viewed as an abstract entity totally separate from the *ʿaskerī* class.

Down to the second half of the 12th/18th century, Ottoman power rested on the agricultural revenues of a vast territory and on the control of internal trade routes. Revenues from international commerce were of secondary importance. Commercialisation of agricultural revenues was important from at least the 9th/15th century, and increased particularly in the 10th/16th and 12th/18th centuries. In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, Muslims dominated a large share of Ottoman trade, including certain branches of international commerce. Non-Muslims rose to prominence with the expansion of trade with Europe; but down to the late 12th/18th century, Muslims continued to be very active as merchants, although they had lost control of shipping, and certain, though not all, local industries succumbed to European competition. The role of many non-Muslim merchants involved not only co-operation with Europeans but also strenuous competition. The Ottoman realm was integrated into the world economy dominated by Europe only after a protracted struggle.

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III. LITERATURE

The literature to which the name of Ottoman is now generally given arises out of the literature of the Og͟huz Turks, who settled in Asia Minor in the Sald͟jūḳ period and later in the time of the Ottomans in Rūm-ili, where they founded a powerful empire. This literature, which had an uninterrupted development from the time of the Sald͟jūḳs up to the beginning of the 20th century, was based on the literatures of still older dialects and remained in touch with these in all periods of its evolution. Especially since the 16th century, it became the most important and richest branch of all the Turkish literatures and exercised an influence on the literature of the other dialects. Here the general evolution of this literature will be sketched, noting its main genres and principal personalities. We shall deal not only with the classical literature which was confined to the upper classes, but also—in their general features—with the literature of the masses, that of the poet musicians (*sāz s͟hāʿirleri*) and the literature of the various mystic groups.

Ottoman literature may be divided into three great periods, corresponding to the general development of the history of Turkey:

a. Muslim literature from the 13th century to the end of the 16th century.

b. After 1600 AD.

c. European-type and national literature, arising out of the development of the nationalist movement, to the end of the Ottoman dynasty.

These will be examined in chronological order, in order to avoid arbitrary distinctions.

(a) Until 1600 A.D.

1. *The beginnings*

We find the first written examples of Ottoman Turkish literature already flourishing in the 13th century, and the works of that literature can be divided into three types:

1. Classical mystical (Ṣūfī) literature;
2. Religious mystical folk literature; and
3. Classical (later called *Dīwān*) literature.

Given that the Mongol invasion of Anatolia gave an impetus to the spreading of mystical views there and to the literary activities based on them, we shall have to consider this period as the starting point. During the Mongol invasions, the migration from Persia and Turkestan to Anatolia was intensified: scholars, Ṣūfīs and dervishes of various sects (e.g. Nad͟jm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 1226 [*q.v.*]), Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar), and rich merchants settled down in Anatolia. Amongst them were major poets as well, such as Fak͟hr al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī (d. 1289 [*q.v.*]), author of the theosophical poem *Lamaʿāt*, Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī and S͟heyk͟h Nad͟jm al-Dīn Dāya (d. 1256). These Ṣūfīs settled in the cultural centres of Anatolia, such as Tokat, Kayseri and Sivas, and enjoyed the patronage and respect of the Rūm Sald͟jūḳ sultans, and attracted extensive popular followings. In this way, Ṣūfī concepts and ideas spread effectively amongst the folk masses over wide areas. In addition, when we consider that Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240), and his step-son and interpreter Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳonawī, both settled in Konya after having found peace and tolerance at the Sald͟jūḳ court, we can assume that already in the 13th century a cultural milieu for the future development of classical Ṣūfī literature had been prepared. Moreover, Rūmī both elaborated and popularised Ibn ʿArabī's mystical ideas within the spiritual and formal framework of classical Islamic literature. Thus he introduced the aesthetic conceptions and formal constructions of classical Islamic literature to Anatolia; he also played a most important role in the furthering of both classical (*Dīwān*) literature and the classical Ṣūfī literature of the Mewlewī order which arose after him [see MAWLAWIYYA].

The foundations of Ṣūfī literature were laid by Ḥad͟jd͟jī Bektas͟h Walī, one of the dervishes of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar who also came from K͟hurāsān and settled in Sulud͟ja Ḳara Höyük, in the vicinity of Ḳîrs͟hehir, spreading his Bābāʾī-Bāṭinī views. As with Mawlānā, he also laid the foundations of the so-called Bektas͟hī literature, the literature of the Ṣūfī order named after him, that which was greatly developed later on in Janissary circles [see BEKTĀS͟HIYYA].

Alongside this Ṣūfī folk literature there developed a religious folk literature based on the tradition of singing of poetry with musical accompaniment (*sāz*) [see also NEFES]. This became widespread among the army and the city folk, the Turcoman tribes and the frontier *g͟hāzīs*, and the folk minstrels, under the influence of the religious atmosphere, and it included heroic epic cycles and also short pious tales (e.g. the *Baṭṭāl-nāme, Dānis͟hmend-nāme*, the Tale of the Gazelle, Tale of the Dove, etc.) This religious folk literature should accordingly be added to the Turkish literature of the 13th century.

The works belonging to the classical Ṣūfī literature of this period were composed with the metres and forms of classical Islamic literature. This meant that the first poets had to face the difficult task of applying the rules of the *ʿarūḍ* metre to the phonetic system of Turkish. As a result, we witness in these early poems a lot of unnatural and forced expressions. Amongst these works we should mention the following: two religious *mat͟hnawīs*, the *Čark͟h-nāme* and the *Ewṣāf-i mesād͟jid-i s͟herīfe* of Ḥad͟jd͟jī Aḥmed Faḳīh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] from Ḳonya, the Turkish *g͟hazels* of Mawlānā Rūmī (d. 1273 [*q.v.*]), the Turkish poems found in Sulṭān Weled's (d. 1312 [*q.v.*]) *Rebāb-nāme* and *Ibtidāʾ-nāme*, Ṣeyyād Ḥamza's *g͟hazels* and his *mat͟hnawī* called *Dāstān-i Yūsuf*, and Ṣūlī Faḳīh's *Yūsuf u Zuleyk͟hā* which deals with the same story.

One may also include yet another version of this very popular biblical story, the *mat͟hnawī Yūsuf we Zuleyk͟ha*, translated by K͟halīl-og͟hlu ʿAlī from a Ḳipčaḳ original composed by a certain Maḥmūd from the Crimea into Anatolian Turkish, using the syllable metre and quatrain form typical of traditional folk poetry.

The first example of classical Turkish literature in this century came from the pen of K͟hod͟ja Dehhānī, poet at the court of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn III at Ḳonya; he wrote *ḳaṣīdes* and especially *g͟hazels* with non-religious themes, and was the first Turkish classical poet to sing

of the beauty of nature, and of carnal love, wine and the other pleasures of life.

2. *The 14th and 15th centuries*

With the collapse of the Saldjūḳ central government in Ḳonya around 1300, Turkish culture and art came to flourish in the capital cities of the beyliks, such as Kütahya, Aydîn, Antalya, Kastamonu, Kayseri, Sivas and Ḳonya. The material wealth of these cities and their lords, who did not know any language other than Turkish, attracted poets and writers who started to produce their literary works in their mother tongue. When the Ottomans started getting the upper hand over the Anatolian beyliks, cultural and artistic activities were channelled into the emerging Ottoman centres situated on important trade routes such as Bursa, Edirne, Amasya and Manisa (1410-53), and finally to Istanbul, so that the scholars, poets and writers who used to be active at the courts of the Anatolian beyliks now began to produce their works under the direct patronage of the Ottoman sultans and princes and of Ottoman dignitaries.

Among those poets who formerly served Germiyān-oghlu Yaʿḳūb II (1387-1428) and who transferred themselves to the court of the Ottomans, were Aḥmedī (1334-1413), Sheykh-oghlu (1350-?), Aḥmed-i Dāʿī (d. after 1421), and Sheykhī (d. 1429); they were finally active at the courts of Bāyezīd I, his son Amīr Süleyman (d. 1412), Meḥemmed Čelebī (d. 1421) and Murād II (d. 1451). These rulers were frequently poets themselves, e.g. Murād II had the pen-name Murādī, Meḥemmed II the Conqueror used that of ʿAwnī, Prince Ḳorḳud (d. 1512) that of Harīmī and Bāyezīd II (d. 1512) that of ʿAdlī. From amongst these sultan-poets, Meḥemmed II, his son Djem (d. 1495) and Bāyezīd II wrote enough poetry to form independent *dīwāns*.

The Ottomans took special care to promote culture and the arts in order to preserve their cultural identity and not to be absorbed by the neighbouring Byzantine Christian culture. To achieve this goal, they also had to prove themselves victorious in the cultural rivalries that had been going on for some time among the Anatolian principalities. The following example will illustrate just how strong this rivalry was. When Mollā Fenārī was seriously offended by the Ottoman sultan, he transferred to Ḳonya, where the Ḳaramān-oghlu ruler offered him a salary of 1000 *aḳčes* per day, as well as 100 *aḳčes* for each of his students, unheard of until that time. The flourishing economy of the Ottoman state (see section II, above) greatly contributed to the success of these literary and cultural activities, so that the living standards in provincial cities located on the trade routes across Anatolia to southeastern Europe such as Amasya, Trabzon, Bursa, Manisa, Antalya and Edirne increased significantly. That Meḥemmed Čelebi became governor of Amasya, Prince Ḳorḳud in Manisa, Prince Selīm (II) in Trabzon, Djem Sulṭān in Ḳastamonu and Ḳaramān, was not at all accidental! They brought with them their own scholars and poets, but they also encouraged and protected local literary figures. For instance, Nedjātī Bey [*q.v.*] (d. 1509), one of the greatest poets of the 15th century, was first at the court of the crown prince ʿAbd Allāh in Ḳaramān, and after the prince died, he also served as the head of the *dīwān* of the crown prince Maḥmūd in Manisa.

The most striking characteristic of the cultural and literary activities of the Ottomans during the 15th century was the admiration which the Ottomans felt towards the art and literature of the Tīmūrids at their courts in Samarḳand and Harāt, and especially towards Čaghatay literature; it would not be unfair to say that classical Ottoman literature was under the spell of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] whose influence reached its apogee at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, including also in the Persian literature of the time. Indeed, Persian literature, music, miniature painting and architecture were greatly refined under the patronage of the Tīmūrid sultans Shāhrukh (d. 1447), Ulugh Beg (d. 1449) and Ḥusayn Bayḳara (d. 1506) [*q.vv.*], and the attraction of this renaissance of Persian culture under Turkish political hegemony strongly influenced the Ottoman court, with echoes of that influence felt up to the 19th century.

The Tīmūrid court was taken as a model first in the political field. As is well known, at the cultural centres of Samarḳand and Harāt, the Uyghur alphabet was used side-by-side with the Arabic alphabet in literary texts as well as in the chancery. Wishing to compete with this Central Asian Turkish court, the Ottoman sultan Murād II (d. 1451) kept at his court in Edirne secretaries capable of composing *firmāns* in the Uyghur alphabet. The crown princes themselves were taught the Uyghur alphabet. Even at later dates, some Ottoman *firmāns* were composed in Čaghatay and written down in both the Arabic and Uyghur alphabets. Thus Meḥemmed II announced his victory over the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan in the form of a *fetḥ-nāme*, in which he addressed the local rulers of Eastern Anatolia in Čaghatay written down in Uyghur letters with an interlinear text in Arabic letters. However, all the Ottoman *firmāns* addressed to the European powers in Ottoman Turkish were in the Arabic script.

The Tīmūrid court was also taken as a model in the literary and artistic fields, since Ottoman poets and intellectuals took a great interest in Čaghatay and Persian literature. Aḥmed Pasha, who was Meḥemmed II's vizier and later on Bāyezīd II's *sandjaḳ-bey* of Bursa, used to await with enthusiasm and excitement ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī's latest *ghazels* carried with the caravans to Bursa. At one point, Nawāʾī sent 33 *ghazels* to Bāyezīd II, and Aḥmed Pasha wrote *naẓīras* to them at the order of the sultan. To write *naẓīras* to Nawāʾī's poems remained fashionable among Ottoman poets up until the 19th century, and even the greatest and proudest Ottoman poets such as Nedīm [*q.v.*] and Sheykh Ghālib followed that fashion. In the field of science many young men went to Central Asia to get a good education, and scholars and scientists from these lands were esteemed on Ottoman soil. One of these was the famous Uzbek *sheykh* Süleymān Efendi who dedicated his Čaghatay-Ottoman dictionary to ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II. The influence of the courts in Samarḳand and Harāt found its echoes in the music festivals of the Manisa court of the crown prince Ḳorḳud, so that during the 17th century Ewliyā Čelebi talks about music festivals called *Ḥusayn Bayḳara faṣîllarî*.

An important characteristic of the 14th and 15th centuries was the intensive translation movement from Arabic and Persian texts. Even though the Anatolian beyliks and the early Ottomans considered themselves as Islamic political entities, they still had not completely broken away from their ancestral Central Asian traditions, nor had they fully assimilated the new civilisation of which they were now part. So in order to bring Islamic culture to a wider audience, a concerted effort was undertaken to translate works in every field of Islamic learning and practice into a simple and clear Turkish. These translations may be classified as follows:

1. Works of *ʿilm-i ḥāl*, a kind of catechism of the

basic principles of worship and of behaviour within the family and the community. Alongside these, or perhaps later, there were made interlinear translations of the Ḳurʾān and translations of *tafsīr*, of the stories of prophets (*ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*), legends of saints (*menāḳib al-awliyāʾ*), etc.

2. Encyclopaedic manuals on medicine and drugs, on geography, astronomy and the interpretation of dreams, music treatises and dictionaries.

3. Translations in *mathnawī* form of love stories of typical Near Eastern content, as well as mystical Ṣūfī *mathnawīs*. The first texts to be translated in this category were Niẓāmī's (d. 1140) *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*, ʿAṭṭār's (d. 1193) *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* and Firdawsī's (d. 1020) *Shāh-nāma*.

It must be emphasised that these so-called translations were not direct word-for-word ones, but rather adaptions made by the Turkish writers, who, besides putting in their own phrases, frequently added chapters and their own corrections or improvements, so that sometimes the translation would be three times as long as the original.

The strongest supporter of the translation effort was Murād II, who was a passionate lover of poetry and the fine arts and who attracted large numbers of artists and writers to his court.

Naturally, original creations exist side-by-side with these translations. Amongst them are to be noted the *Gharīb-nāme* of ʿĀshıḳ Pasha (d. 1332 [*q.v.*]) which resembles Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, the allegorical *mathnawī* *Čang-nāme* of Aḥmed-i Dāʿī (d. after 1421) which expresses man's longing for immortality, the *Khar-nāme* by Sheykhī [*q.v.*] which is one of the best satirical works in the entire Turkish literature, the *Khawāṣṣ-nāme* by Tādjī-zāde Djaʿfar Čelebi (d. 1516) which describes Istanbul, the *Mewlid* of Süleymān Čelebi [*q.v.*] which narrates the Prophet's birth, his *miʿrādj* and death, and finally, the *Muḥammediyye* of Yazîdjî-oghlu Meḥmed (d. 1449 [*q.v.*]) which also deals with the Prophet's life and his miracles. Besides all this, we have to mention the greatest mystical folk poet, Yunūs Emre [*q.v.*] who has a place of his own within Turkish literature; soon after he died, many poets imitated his style, without however attaining the universalism of his appeal.

All these literary activities raise the issue of the history of the written language: was the Old Anatolian Turkish in existence before the migrations from Central Asia? Or did it arise in Anatolia after the migration? Some scholars have argued that the Oghuz tribes had established their own written language already in central Asia before their migration into Anatolia. However, this assumption does not seem to meet the basic precondition for the creation of a written language, namely that there should be a distinct political entity under whose auspices the written language can develop. Such a political structure existed in Ḳonya after the 11th century, but was absent for the Turkomans in Transoxiana. Thus we have to assume that the Turkomans established their written language for the first time under the political patronage of the Rūm Saldjūḳs and the beys of the Anatolian principalities. There is strong material evidence for this, namely, the fact that in the very first Old Anatolian Turkish texts we witness a typically Ḳurʾānic orthography: defective writing of the vowels and excessive usage of *tanwīns* for Turkish endings and any final syllables of words. This would indicate that they did not bring with them an orthography already established in Central Asia, where the Ḳarakhānid system was based on the full (*plene*) writing of the vowels.

3. *Classical Ottoman literature during the 16th century*

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Ottomans were established as a world-empire, and the literature of this century reflects well the new political situation. Starting from the most famous poets like Bāḳī (d. 1600) and Fuḍūlī (d. 1556) [*q.vv.*] down to lesser poets, one finds a strong feeling of confidence and self-assurance. Of course, this feeling finds diverse expressions. In Fuḍūlī it becomes a sense of pride that defies the world, especially in his famous complaint, *Shikāyet-nāme*, whereas in Bāḳī and in other poets it is evident in their majestic style and their placing themselves on a equal footing with the famous Persian poets. In Uṣūlī (d. 1538), Ḥayretī (d. 1534) and Khayālī (d. 1557 [*q.v.*]) it appears as an expression of disdain for the worthless material world, but in most works one can detect a celebration of victory and denial of humility. Considering that this atmosphere, one taken for granted in the historical writings, permeates love tales and even lyric poetry, one has to acknowledge that the psychology of triumph brought about by the successes of the Ottoman expansion deeply affected the literary works of this period. For instance, the love tale *Djem-Shāh ü ʿĀlem-Shāh* of Ramaḍān Bihishtī, a less than first-rate poet, which was dedicated to Süleymān the Magnificent (d. 1566), clearly expresses this ideal image of world domination in between the lines, for all that the poet presented his poem to his audience as a symbolic work expressing his own mystical ideas.

The literature of this age is mostly preoccupied with the material and living world, despite the great number of religiously-inspired works. The simple religious atmosphere of the previous centuries had vanished, and with it the simple language, which now gives way to a flowery idiom of word-plays and refined rhetorical devices. In prose, however, Turkish entered a mature period of clarity and accuracy of expression, despite the heavy borrowings from the Arabic and Persian vocabulary. The scribes of the secretarial class, increasing in size along with the empire's expansion, especially those attached to the *reʾis ül-küttāb* and the *nishāndjî* [*q.vv.*], well-versed in poetry and chancery skills (*fünūn-i kitābet*), played a significant role in the emerging literary trends. A good number of the poets of this period came from this class of government officers, e.g. Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī Efendi (d. 1599 [*q.v.*]) the famous historian, who wrote the *Künh ül-akhbār* and first introduced critical method into Ottoman historiography. It is not surprising that these secretary-poets had to extoll the pleasures of the material world, as this was part of their duties to please and entertain their superiors, up to the sultan himself. This would explain why suddenly the *ḳaṣīde* or ode became fashionable, and every poet of significance had to compose *ḳaṣīdes* for the sultan and the high dignitaries. Thus, in this period when the *ḳaṣīde* was so widespread, the poet was in essence forced to arrange both his inner and outer worlds according to the palace hierarchy: the sun, moon and stars of the nature became the sultan in the centre, with the Grand Vizier and other dignitaries around him; the sultan is the rose and his officials the other flowers; the beloved is the sultan, those around the beloved are the dignitaries of the palace and the lover, i.e. the poet, is the sultan's slave. The sultan was the centre of the universe and of the poet's personal world. This imagery was already present in its incipient form in the earlier centuries, but now acquired precision, continuing until this literature exhausted itself.

The most important representative of the classical literature flourishing in the palace circles was Bāḳī,

the court poet of Süleymān the Magnificent who was himself also a poet writing under the pen-name Muḥibbī. Bāḳī wrote *ḳaṣīdes* for Süleymān and his successors, Murād II (d. 1595) and Meḥemmed III (d. 1603). His superb skill in composing meticulously designed, geometrical and artistic poems remained unsurpassed by contemporary or even later poets, a skill seen in the elegy which he composed while still in his forties for the dead sultan.

Bāḳī's *dīwān* is quite voluminous, revealing not only refined feelings but a brilliant intelligence and eloquence. Eschewing ugliness, he made nature and realistic love his themes, showing his skill by hiding the intended image under perfectly chosen words.

The second most important poet of this period is Fuḍūlī, who excelled because of the liveliness of his artistic skill and the sincerity of his emotions in his *ḳaṣīdes* dedicated to the prophet Muḥammad and the sultan Süleymān. What distinguished him sharply from all other Ottoman poets is that he was not a poet from the capital but from Baghdād, which he greatly praises in his Turkish poems, all written in Ādharī or Azerī Turkish. He was influenced by the Ṣūfī poet Nesīmī (d. 1418 [*q.v.*]) and especially by ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī; the latter's poems provided inspiration for a lot of his compositions. He may be considered the poet of suffering. All his poems express a suffering and love that directly emanate from his nature. For all that his skills are as superb as Bāḳī's, this is not immediately apparent, since it takes a careful reading to unveil the complex images (*maḍmūn*) and word relationships hidden behind a seemingly effortless pleasing verse (*sehl-i mümteniʿ*).

In the 16th century, the *mathnawī* was still a very popular genre. In fact, we see an increasing number of poets who wrote love tales as well as mystical and religious subjects in the *mathnawī* form. Among the poets who wrote *mathnawīs* in the fashion of the famous Persian poet Niẓāmī [*q.v.*], with his *Khamsa*, two well-known poets can be mentioned here. One of these was Ṭashlīdjalī Yaḥyā (d. 1582 [*q.v.*]). His *Khamsa* consists of the following five *mathnawīs*: *Gendjīne-i rāz, Uṣūl-nāme, Shāh u gedā, Yūsuf u Züleykhā* and *Gülshen-i enwār.*

The second poet, who not only wrote one but two *Khamsas*, was Lāmiʿī Čelebi (d. 1532 [*q.v.*]), very well versed in Persian culture and literature, as well as Čaghatay literature, and very much influenced by the works of Djāmī (d. 998/1492 [*q.v.*]), Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī and other famous Persian poets. As a result of this, he translated their works into Anatolian, namely, Ottoman Turkish. Because of his great interest in Djāmī and because of his translations of the latter's works, he was given the title of Djāmī-i Rūm ("the Djāmī of Anatolia"). Lāmiʿī was an outstanding figure in both Ottoman verse and prose. Being very productive, he introduced works of diverse forms into Turkish literature. Among them, his *mathnawīs* included: *Absāl u Salāmān, Wāmiḳ u ʿAdhrā, Wīs u Rāmīn, Ferhād u Shīrīn, Tuḥfe-yi Lāmiʿī, Shehrengīz-i Bursā, Guy u Čewgān, Maḳtel-i Ḥusayn, Shemʿ u perwāne*, and *Heft peyker* (unfinished at his sudden death).

Along with the poets writing in the elaborate classical style we should mention Tatawlalī Maḥremī (d. 1535) and Edirneli Naẓmī (d. 1548 [*q.v.*]) who represent a group of poets who tried, with reasonable success, to apply the *ʿarūḍ* metres to a Turkish relatively purified of foreign borrowings. Whether writing love or mystical poetry, there was a conscious effort to address the larger audience of the folk masses; it may be that these poets took their inspiration from the popular story-tellers and their stories recited at various meeting places.

The absence of a religious and mystical atmosphere from classical poetry is the characteristic peculiarity of this period. (This is the only period during which the above peculiarity is valid for all poetry.) This is not to say that there is no mystical thought in these poems, only that this is pushed into the background. These poets used Ṣūfī terminology, but expressed their own personal emotions, so that there emerges, for the first time, a distinction between the mystical (Ṣūfī) and the mystical-style (*mutaṣawwif*) poet. Even in the love *mathnawī Leylā we Medjnūn* of Fuḍūlī, which is permeated with a mystical atmosphere, a story of worldly but Platonic love is narrated with same intensity as the love adventures and sufferings of two living people in love. The same can be said of the *mathnawī Shāh u gedā* by the period's greatest *mathnawī* writer, Ṭashlīdjalī Yaḥyā.

This interest in the material world made the poets of this period less and less interested in the classical themes of Persian literature, and they started to turn to stories taken directly from real life, to their immediate vicinity and to contemporary human types, along with the traditional classical topics; this so-called *maḥallīleshme* movement continued well into the 17th and 18th centuries, but, with the exception of Nedīm, eventually lost its impetus without ever achieving the creativity and universality which the poets were hoping for.

The main reason for this tendency to be interested in the real and material world is perhaps connected with entertainment literature.. Translation activity here had started in the 15th century, but was now intensified. In particular, Djelāl-zāde Ṭāhir Čelebi translated the tales of Fīrūz-Shāh and the extensive story collection in Persian *Djāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt wa-lawāmiʿ al-riwāyāt* of Muḥammad ʿAwfī [*q.v.*] for the benefit of the sultans and grand viziers. However, these stories were not read only in palace circles; the people would listen to them in coffee houses and public gatherings. Story-tellers had been active narrating religious-heroic cycles, love stories and excerpts from the *Shāh-nāma* from the 13th century onwards. During the 16th century, their repertory came to include unusual events and characters taken from everyday life. The custom of employing such story-tellers in the palace had been going on since the reign of Bāyezīd I, but acquired new significance in the 16th century, when the court story-tellers started being educated persons, to the point that some of them became the sultan's personal courtiers. New themes emerged. For instance, Muṣṭafā Djinānī (d. 1585) wrote his collection of stories for Murād II, who loved the new stories. Most likely the same motivation was behind the collection *ʿIbrat-nümā* of Lāmiʿī, the very knowledgeable translator of the Persian poet Djāmī. (It is in the *ʿIbrat-nümā* that we find the first serious mention of Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja [*q.v.*] and his extremely popular anecdotes.)

Finally, we have to mention one event of lasting consequence. In the 16th century the Ottomans became in closer touch with the Western world. This was the result both of accident and necessity, and the relations with the West were not deliberate and conscious but passive. The following example will illustrate how these contacts were reflected in literature: a writer using the pen-name Esīrī ("prisoner") narrates in his *Sergüdhesht* the story of his captivity during one of the Ottoman campaigns, his escape and adventures before reaching home again.

Another significant event in this regard was the introduction of the printing press into the empire since the reign of Bāyezīd II by the non-Muslim subjects, including Christians and the Jews who had been

welcomed into the Ottoman domains after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. Books on Judaism, on Christianity and on the works of European Renaissance-period authors were published, and their influence on Ottoman Muslim society, though not direct, cannot be dismissed altogether. Moreover, the old Turkish theatrical representations, *Orta oyunu* [*q.v.*], greatly expanded in the 17th century and were certainly influenced by the Sephardic Jewish theatrical traditions and the Italian folk-comedy, given that the Ottomans had close political and commercial relations with Genoa, Venice and other Italian principalities.

Throughout the 16th century, then, Ottoman literature and culture was still considerably influenced by the Turco-Persian literature flourishing in the courts of Khurāsān and Samarḳand, while themes from everyday life inevitably crept into them as well; furthermore, Ottoman society, was beginning to be influenced by the West, without being fully aware of it.

Bibliography: See the articles on the various literary figures mentioned in the article and the general surveys of earlier Turkish literature given in the more detailed *Bibl.* at the end of this section on Literature. (Gönül Alpay Tekin)

4. *Historical and geographical prose literature and popular poetry during the 16th century*

Prose in this century assumes a heavier and more artificial form; exaggerating Persian models, the simplest ideas are expressed by the most complicated images to the detriment of the subject. This lack of taste is found in the greatest stylists of the period: Lāmiʿī, Kemāl Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*], Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi [*q.v.*], Feridūn Beg [*q.v.*], ʿAzmī, the translator of the *Humāyūn-nāme*, ʿAlī Čelebi, Ḳinalī-zāde ʿAlī Čelebi [*q.v.*], Khwādja Saʿd al-Dīn [see khodja efendi] and others. This artificial tendency had a much more marked influence on prose than on poetry. Works written in simple language were despised by the educated classes. We find, however, that in very long works, it was only the preface that was written in this turgid and clumsy style. Many literary, historical, religious or moralising works of the period were in fact written in more simple language. The same applies to official correspondence and other state documents. In religious works intended for the people, every endeavour was made to write as simply as possible. The prose which we possess by Bāḳī and Fuḍūlī shows an elegant and comparatively simple language.

We shall begin with the historical works, a field in which great progress was made in this century, mainly on account of the interest taken by the educated classes in the military successes of the empire. Beside the rhymed chronicle, in continuation of the Saldjūḳ tradition, we find from the time of Bāyezīd II and Selīm I historical works in prose. The official Ottoman history written in Persian by Idrīs Bidlisī was translated into Turkish by his son. Other general histories were those of Ibn Kemāl, Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi, entitled *Ṭabaḳāt al-mamālik*, of Muḥyī al-Dīn Djemālī, of Luṭfī Pasha [*q.v.*], of Khwādja Saʿd al-Dīn and of ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. There are also a number of special histories, dealing with particular periods or certain events (the *Fetḥ-nāmes*) and biographical works (like the *Djawāhir al-manāḳib* relating to Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha). At the same time, the office of *Sheh-nāmedji* was maintained at the court. In the time of Süleymān, it was filled by Fetḥ Allāh ʿĀrif Čelebi, whose successors included Eflāṭūn Shirwānī, Seyyid Luḳmān and Taʿlīḳī-zāde (d. 1013/1604). These were also Turkish poets, but tradition demanded that the official *Sheh-nāme* should be written in Persian in the *mütekārib* metre, until Meḥemmed III ordered it to be written in Turkish. From the time of Taʿlīḳī-zāde, prose began to appear scattered through the text. From the historical point of view, these *Sheh-nāmes* are naturally of less importance than the non-official chronicles. While works like the *Tādj al-tawārīkh* of Saʿd al-Dīn were regarded as models of style, the *Taʾrīkh* of Luṭfī Pasha, whose style more resembles that of the old chronicles, and especially his *Āṣaf-nāme*, are very important for our knowledge of the social history of this period. The *Taʾrīkh* of Selānikli Muṣṭafā Efendi shows how corrupt the administration was at the end of the century. We must regard ʿĀlī as the greatest historian of the time, and his other works reveal him as a man of almost encyclopaedic learning. Not only his *Künh al-akhbār*, but also his *Naṣīḥat al-salāṭīn*, *Ḳawāʿid al-madjālis* and *Menāḳib-i hünerwerān* show that the author was a severe critic, well informed about the conditions of life of his time. The style of his historical works is relatively simple (on his life and works, see the introduction by Ibn ül-Emīn Maḥmūd Kemāl to the edition of the *Menāḳib-i hünerwerān*, Istanbul 1926). To this century also belongs the *Shaḳāʾiḳ-i Nuʿmāniyye* written in Arabic by Ṭashköprü-zāde [*q.v.*] and translated into Turkish with additions by Medjdī [*q.v.*] of Edirne and Khāḳī of Belgrade; also, an extensive biographical literature among which the biographies of the Turkish Ṣūfī *sheykhs* are of considerable historical interest. A similar interest is contained in a few light works of badinage (*mizāḥ*) like the *Nafs al-amr-nāme* of Lāmiʿī and of Nīksārī-zāde (see *Millī Tetebbuʿlar Medjmūʿasi*, no. 3).

Among historical works, those which deal with literary history occupy an important place. The first Ottoman *tedhkere* is the *Hesht bihisht* written in 945/1538 by Sehī [*q.v.*], in imitation of the *Madjālis al-nafāʾis* of Nawāʾī. He was followed by Laṭīfī [*q.v.*], ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi [*q.v.*], ʿAhdī of Baghdād and Ḥasan Čelebi [*q.v.*]. ʿĀlī also gives important notices of poets in his *Künh al-akhbār*. The compilation of collections of *naẓāʾir* on poems of other poets, like the *Djāmiʿ al-naẓāʾir* written in 918/1512 by Ḥādjdjī Kemāl, containing poems by 266 poets, and others, is a custom which is also found in the 16th century and has contributed greatly to our knowledge of Turkish poets.

It is in this century that we find geographical works and travels beginning to appear. In the 15th century we have only translations and excerpts from al-Ḳazwīnī and Ibn al-Wardī as well as a translation from the Greek of Ptolemy. In the 16th century, these two works are again translated, as well as those of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (by Sipāhī-zāde) and al-Iṣṭakhrī (by Sherīf Efendī) and ʿAlī Ḳūshdjī's work on mathematical geography, and geographical descriptions of Egypt. A *Čīn seyāḥat-nāmesi* written in Persian by the merchant ʿAlī Ekber Khiṭāyī was translated into Turkish for Murād III. The celebrated *Baḥriyye* of Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*] written in 935/1529, was a result of the maritime policy of the Turkish empire. It is based in part on older cartographers like Ṣafāʾī and on Italian maps. As a result of Süleymān's campaigns by land, we have Matrāḳdjī Naṣūḥ's [*q.v.*] work, full of admirable little sketches. Seyyidī ʿAlī Reʾīs wrote his *Muḥīṭ* as a result of his unfortunate exploit in the Indian Ocean, although the book is based entirely on earlier Arab works. The *Mirʾāt al-mamālik* by the same author is much more original. After it we have the *Seyāḥat-nāme* in verse of the merchant Aḥmed b. Ibrāhīm, describing his voyage to India. The *Menāẓir al-ʿawālim* of

Meḥmed ʿĀs̲h̲iḳ of Trebizond is very important; based on the old Arab geographies, it gives valuable new information about the Ottoman lands. Finally, we may mention a *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Hind-i g̲h̲arbī* on the discovery of the New World, translated in 990/1582 from a European language by Meḥmed Yūsuf al-Herewī (on this literature see F. Taeschner, in *ZDMG*, lxxvii [1923]).

Alongside classical Turkish literature, we find the literature of the people increasing, the knowledge of which was spread by the *ḳiṣṣa-k̲h̲ʷān*, the *meddāḥ* and the *ḳaragözd̲j̲i* in the popular cafés and in the barracks of the Janissaries. Many classical poets also wrote *türküs* [*q.v.*] intended for the masses. These *türküs* are in the *ʿarūḍ* metre and in the form of *mürebbaʿ*; later they were called *s̲h̲arḳī* [*q.v.*]. This form of poem goes back to the earliest forms of verse among the Turks. But the works of unlettered poets, like Enwerī, T̲h̲iyābī, Rāyī, Raḥīḳī and others, written in imitation of the classical poets, were more to the taste of the people. In popular gatherings such themes as *Abū Muslim*, the *Ḥamza-nāme, Baṭṭāl G̲h̲āzī*, etc. were enthusiastically received. This encouraged Ḥās̲h̲imī of Istanbul to write the *met̲h̲newī* entitled *Barḳī we-pūlād* taken from the *Ḥamza-nāme*, and inspired several authors and poets to write similar works. Sulṭān Süleymān had the story of *Fīrūz-s̲h̲āh* translated into Turkish in 8 vols. by Ṣāliḥ Efendi, translator of the *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* of ʿAwfī. There were *ḳiṣṣa-k̲h̲ʷāns* even in the palaces of the sultans. Alongside of old Islamic and Persian subjects, we find also collections of stories of everyday life like the *Bursalî K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a ʿAbd al-Reʾūf Efendi ḥikāyesi* by the poet Waḥdī, also called *Ana Bad̲j̲î ḥikāyesi*. The stories of everyday life by Muṣṭafā D̲j̲inānī of Bursa in an unaffected style give us a valuable insight into different aspects of the life of the people in these days. Another poet of this kind is Medḥī [*q.v.*], whose real name was Derwīs̲h̲ Ḥasan, who was the *meddāḥ* of Murād III (see Rieu, *Cat. of Turk. mss.*, 42).

In the 16th century we are a little better informed regarding the activities of the *ozan* [*q.v.*], although they are now generally known as *ʿās̲h̲iḳ* or *čögürd̲j̲ü*. These wandering musicians were to be found wherever the people congregated and used to recite their poems in syllabic metres, love-songs, heroic tales, *mert̲h̲iyes* and *türküs*. At the beginning of this century we have a portion of Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī's epic on the Egyptian campaign of Selīm I, and at the end of the century we have the names of Ḳul Meḥmed (d. 1014/1605), Öksüz Dede, K̲h̲ayālī and Körog̲h̲lu, and, in the garrisons of the Mag̲h̲rib, Čîrpanlî, Armudlu, Ḳul Čulk̲h̲a, Gadāmuşlu (see also Köprülüzāde M. Fuʾād, *Türk sāz s̲h̲āʿirleri*, Istanbul 1930). The influence of the various classes of society on one another even had the result that syllabic metre was sometimes used among the cultured classes (but especially in the *hezl*) and the *ʿarūḍ* metre in popular poems, just as had been the case formerly for poems of a religious character. The mystic poets however, following the tradition of Yūnus Emre, wrote their *ilāhīs* in syllabic metre. We may note the names of Ummī Sinān (d. 958/1551), Aḥmed Sārbān (d. 952/1545), Idrīs Muk̲h̲tefī (d. 1024/1615) and Seyyid Seyf Allāh K̲h̲alwetī (d. 1010/1601). But the greatest successors of Yūnus and Ḳayg̲h̲usuz were found among the Bektās̲h̲īs and Ḳîzîlbas̲h̲s, such as Ḳul Himmet and his pupil Pīr Sulṭān Abdal, a native of Sīwās who was executed in 1008/1600 by order of K̲h̲iḍr Pas̲h̲a (cf. Saʿd al-Dīn Nüzhet, *Pīr Sulṭān Abdāl*, Istanbul 1929). Other products of the popular literature of the period were *Ḥasan-og̲h̲lu türküleri, Ḳara-og̲h̲lan türküsü* and *Geyik destānî*.

(b) After 1600 A.D.

1. *The 17th century*

In spite of the political decline of the empire, we still find intellectual and literary life pursuing its normal course. The knowledge of the Ottoman literary language spread among the Muslim lower classes generally and also through districts with a non-Turkish population or speaking a non-Ottoman Turkish dialect like eastern Anatolia (Ād̲h̲arī dialect) and the Crimea. The Crimea [see ḲÎRÎM] began to produce a number of Ottoman poets, among them actually some of the K̲h̲āns. The influence of Turkish literature and culture is found as early as the 16th century in the use of Arabic characters by the Muslim Hungarians and Croats (cf. *Ungarische Bibliothek*, Budapest 1927, no. 14). There is also a Turkish-Serbian dictionary in verse, called *Potur s̲h̲āhidiyye*, composed by Hawāyī (*Bull. of the Soc. of Sciences Skoplje*, iii, 189-202), a similar Turkish-Bosniak vocabulary by Uskūfī and several rhymed Turco-Greek glossaries.

Istanbul was always the centre to which men of letters and learning flocked from all parts of the empire and from beyond its frontiers. With the exception of Murād IV, no sultan took an interest in literature, and among statesmen there were relatively few patrons of literature like Ilyās Pas̲h̲a, Muṣāḥib Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a, Rāmī Pas̲h̲a and the *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ al-Islāms* Yaḥyā and Behāyī. In spite of this and of the decline in the *medreses*, this century saw scholars of ability like Ṣarî ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], Ismāʿīl Anḳarewī, Isḥāḳ K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲asî, Aḥmed Efendi, and others. The various branches of religious learning and Arabic philology have, however, no great representatives in this century, and the conflict between the *medreses* and the *tekkes* known as the "question of the Ḳāḍī-zādes" shows what a narrow point of view still prevailed in the *medreses*. The persecutions of the Ṣūfī orders, which sometimes had a political object also, did not however prevent these orders from continuing to prosper throughout the empire.

The "classical" Turkish poetry of the 17th century was in no respect below the level of the Persian models. But in place of devoting themselves to imitations and translations, the Turkish poets were now working on original subjects. It is true, on the other hand, that the influence of contemporary Persian and Indo-Persian poets is still felt. Nefʿī shows the inspiration of ʿUrfī, Nābī of Ṣāʾib and Nāʾilī-yi Ḳadīm that of S̲h̲awkat.

Nefʿī [*q.v.*] may be regarded as the greatest Turkish master of the *ḳaṣīde*, on account of the power of his imagination, the richness of his language and the harmony of his style. His *g̲h̲azels* and his *hid̲j̲w* on the other hand are less successful. The influence of Nefʿī was always great on his successors, although his period saw several eminent *ḳaṣīded̲j̲is*, like Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭāyī, Ḳāf-zāde Fāʾiḍī, Riyāḍī, Ṣabrī and Riḍāyī. The greatest representative of the *g̲h̲azel* is the *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ al-Islām* Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] who may be regarded as the successor of Bāḳī, especially on account of his great power to express feelings and emotions. His fame likewise survived into the following centuries. Other representatives of the school of Bāḳī and Yaḥyā are the *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ al-Islām* Behāyī and Wed̲j̲dī. In contrast to the latter, the poets Fehīm [*q.v.*], Nāʾilī-i Ḳadīm [*q.v.*], S̲h̲ehrī and even the poet Nābī [*q.v.*] were under the influence of contemporary Persian poetry. Nābī, on whom can be noticed the influence of Ṣāʾib, became renowned for his *met̲h̲newī k̲h̲yriyyes* and his *g̲h̲azels*. His poems are characterised by the preponderance of intellectual conceptions, but this has not affected his popularity. In many of his poems he

describes and criticises the social life of his time. His young contemporary Thābit [*q.v.*] endeavours to show his originality by mingling proverbial expressions with his poetry. Among the masters of the *ghazel* in the 17th century we may also mention Nishāṭī Mewlewī, Djewrī and Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha.

ʿAẓmī-zāde Ḥāletī [*q.v.*] excelled in all poetical genres and is best known for his *rubāʿīs*. The *lughz* [*q.v.*] and the *muʿammā* became very popular, as did the *ta'rīkh* (chronogram). The *hidjw* and *mizāḥ*, composed in different forms, caused poets of the first rank to write very coarse things. Some products of this genre, however, can be appreciated, like the *tedhkere* in the form of a *methnewī* by Güftī in which the author depicts contemporary poets; the *hidjw* of Fehīm and of Djewrī, written in the form of *mulammaʿ*, are curious because the text is scattered with passages in non-Turkish languages.

Some *methnewīs* of the first half of the century show a remarkable perfection. The subjects of the old *khamsas* are gradually replaced by more topical subjects. The greatest representative of the style is Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭāyī [*q.v.*] who acquired his great reputation with his *Khamsa*, the subjects of which are taken from the life of his time. This poet reveals the influence of his Turkish predecessors like Yaḥyā of Tashlīdja and Djinānī (see above). After him we may note the following authors of *methnewīs*: Ḳāf-zāde Fā'iḍī, Ghanī-zāde Nādirī and Riyāḍī. It was mainly in this century that it became fashionable to write *Sāḳī-nāmes* in imitation of the Persian poet Ẓuhūrī, although this genre is already found earlier, as is shown by the *ʿIshret-nāme* of Rewānī (16th century). Among the *Sāḳī-nāmes* we may specially note those of ʿAṭāyī, Riyāḍī and Ḥāletī; all are tinged with mysticism. The *methnewī* thus served for all sorts of subjects taken from daily life, stories, descriptions, speculative works, tales of actual events, etc.

The number of religious and mystical works, lives of Ṣūfī saints and didactic works connected with the different *ṭarīḳas*, is very great in this century. Poetical forms were often used for them. Very well-known is the *Miʿrādjiyye* of Nādirī. Then there were panegyrics of the Prophet (*naʿt*), translations in verse of the *Ḥadīth-i arbaʿīn*, of *mawlids* etc. Among the Ṣūfī poets there were some who used the syllabic metre; we may note Niyāzī-i Miṣrī, founder of the Miṣriyye branch of the Khalwetiyye order, whose poems were long popular; the Bektāshīs also numbered several poets in their ranks. There are also a large number of historical works in verse, *Shāh-nāmes*, *Ghazā-nāmes*, etc., like the *Shāh-nāme* of Nādirī of the time of ʿOthmān II and others. The *Shehinshāh-nāme* written by Mülhemī by order of Murād IV has only the preface in Turkish; the rest is Persian in keeping with the old tradition. It is in this century also that the custom begins of writing brief Ottoman histories in verse; we have that of Ṭālibī, written in 1017/1608, of Nithārī (d. 1075/1664) written for Meḥemmed IV, and the *Fihrist-i Shāhān*, dedicated to Meḥemmed IV by Ṣolaḳ-zāde Hemdemī, and continued by a series of poets down to Ḍiyā (Ziyā) Pasha in the 19th century. This kind of work has neither much historical nor literary value.

Literary prose follows the same lines as in the preceding century. The great stylists (*münshī*), like Weysī, Nergisī [*q.v.*], Oḳdju-zāde [*q.v.*] and others, carried affection of language to a still more advanced degree. A fine specimen is given by the official documents addressed to the Persian court and written by *münshīs* like Ḥükmī; this same style was sometimes used even in private correspondence. The works which were considered to have no literary value in their day are those which are now most appreciated, like those of Ḳočī Beg, Kātib Čelebi, Ewliyā Čelebi and Naʿīmā. Histories, in this century also, take first place among prose works. There are several which have the character of semi-official chronicles like the *Shāh-nāme* written in prose by Ṭashköprüzāde [*q.v.*] for ʿOthmān II. Murād IV appointed Ḳābilī as *waḳʿa-nüwīs* for the Eriwan campaign. In 1074/1664 the *nishāndji* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha was appointed by Meḥemmed IV to chronicle events, as was Meḥmed Khalīfa [*q.v.*] of Fīndīḳlī by Muṣṭafā II. It is only later that Naʿīmā was appointed *waḳʿa-nüwīs*. The historical works of this century are translations of the general histories of Islam, original works on the same subject, general and special works and monographs on Ottoman history. From the historical point of view, the most important are the *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*, written in Arabic by Müneddjim Bashī [*q.v.*], the *Fedhleke* of Kātib Čelebi, the *Ta'rīkh* of Pečewī and the best that of Naʿīmā. The great encyclopaedist Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*] also reveals himself in his *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ* and *Dastūr al-ʿamal* as a historian of penetrating insight. Pečewī [*q.v.*], who made use of Christian sources, is also very valuable for his sound judgment and impartiality. Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] who possessed descriptive powers of the first order, gives vivid psychological analyses of historical characters. Ḳočī Beg [*q.v.*] examines in his celebrated *Risāle* the causes of the decline of the empire. Ḳara Čelebi-zāde is a *münshī* rather than a historian. We must also mention chroniclers like Wedjīhī, Ḥasan Bey-zāde and Ṣolaḳ-zāde, as well as the *dheyl* to the *Shaḳā'iḳ-i nuʿmāniyye* by Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭāyī and the continuation by ʿUshshāḳī-zāde.

The *tedhkere* is much below the level of the 16th century; the most notable is that of Riyāḍī written in 1018/1609. The *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarā'* of Ḳāf-zāde Fā'iḍī composed in 1030/1621 also contains specimens of the work of the poets dealt with in it. There is also the *dheyl* to this work by Meḥmed ʿĀṣim (d. 1086/1675), the concise *tedhkere* of Riḍā and that of Güftī already mentioned. The *Maṭāliʿ al-naẓā'ir* by Khiṣālī (d. 1062/1652) is a collection of *maṭlaʿs*.

In the field of geography, the most important works are those of Kātib Čelebi and Abū Bakr Dimashḳī. They use European as well as Muslim sources. The *Seyāḥat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] is important for the history of all aspects of social life. In spite of its defects it is a work without an equal in Turkish literature. In this century also the first *sefāret-nāmes* appear.

The great popularity of the *shehnāmedji*, *meddāḥ*, *karagözdji*, etc. continued in this century in all classes of society. At Bursa we have Derwīsh Kāmilī, Ḳurbānī ʿAlīsi and others, at Erzerūm Ḳaṣṣāb Ḳurd, Ḳandilli-oghlu, etc. In Istanbul there were eighty *meddāḥs*, who were organised in a gild (*eṣnāf*); the best known is Ṭiflī [*q.v.*] who was *nedīm* to Murād IV. Towards the end of this century, the *meddāḥ* Ḳīrīmī (d. 1120/1708) flourished.

The musician-poets (*sāz shāʿirleri*) became very numerous in the 17th century. We find them among the Janissaries, the *sipāhīs* [*q.v.*], the *lewends* [*q.v.*], the *Djelālīs* [see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.], and in the religious bodies like the Ḳïzïlbash and the Bektāshīs. They were always to be found in military retinues. The writer of this article succeeded in collecting and identifying the works and names of about thirty musician-poets of this century. The most notable are Gewherī and ʿÖmer ʿĀshïḳ [*q.v.*]; the latter has almost become the patron saint of the *sāz shāʿirleri* (cf. Köprülü-zāde

M. Fuʾād, *Türk sazşairlerine ait metinler we-tetkikler*, i-v, Istanbul 1929-30). The influence of this popular literature is felt even among the upper classes, as in the poems of the Khān of the Crimea, Meḥmed Girāy, who wrote under the *makhlaṣ* of Kāmil, and a *merthiye* of ʿAfīfe Sulṭān, one of the favourites of Meḥemmed IV. Several "classical" poets also wrote *sharḳīs* for the masses. The poem on the hero *Gendj ʿOthmān* by Ḳayïḳdjï Muṣṭafā has actually given rise to a folk-tale which still survives in Anatolia (Köprülü-zāde, *Kayıkcı kul Mustafa we-genc osman hikayesi*, Istanbul 1930). It is probable that several other folk-tales originated in this century, like those called *ʿĀshïḳ Kerem*, *ʿĀshïḳ Ghārib*, and *Shāh Ismāʿīl*. Lastly, we see from the statements of Ewliyā Čelebi that it was in this century that the *orta oyunu* [*q.v.*] began to be popular with the people.

2. *The 18th century*

Literature and culture in this century continued to follow the same lines as in the preceding centuries. There was a vast output in prose and poetry, while the intellectual links with Persia and Transoxania continued to exist. Persian poets, especially Shawḳat and Ṣāʾib, exercised a great influence on Turkish poetry. But in spite of all this, the tendency to a more individual development gained in strength and was shown in the endeavours to simplify the language. It is mainly due to the great poets of the beginning of this century that classical Turkish poetry entered on a path entirely independent of contemporary Persian poetry.

The period of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha [see IBRĀHĪM PASHA, DĀMĀD] is a very important one. Many works were written and translated by his orders or those of Sultan Aḥmed III. Committees were appointed to translate important works rapidly. Among the poets of this period we may mention ʿOthmān-zāde Aḥmed Tāʾib [*q.v.*], who was called the king of poets, Seyyid Wehbī, Sāmī, Rāshid, Neylī, Selīm, Kāmī of Edirne, Durrī, Thāḳib, ʿĀrif, Sālim, Čelebi-zāde ʿĀṣim, and ʿIzzet ʿAlī Pasha. Nedīm [*q.v.*] in particular acquired a great reputation in the second half of the century and later. His *ghazels* and his *sharḳīs* recall the period of Saʿdābād [see LĀLE DEWRI] and by his original subjects, rich imagination and harmonious language, he surpasses his predecessors and his contemporaries. In the *sharḳī* he reached a level which neither Nāẓim before him nor Fāḍil Enderūnī after him attained. It was also through the patronage of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha that Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.*] was able to inaugurate Muslim Turkish printing [see MAṬBAʿA. 2]; but for several reasons printing remained confined to a very restricted sphere throughout this century and did not exercise any particular influence on intellectual or artistic life.

Among the great poets of this century we must also make special mention of Ḳodja Rāghib Pasha [*q.v.*], the greatest representative of the school of Nābī, and Sheykh Ghālib [*q.v.*], the last great poet of the classical period. In the *ḳaṣīde* it was the influence of Nefʿī that dominated, while in the *ghazel* there was a rivalry between the disciples of Nedīm and Sāmī on the one hand and admirers of Nābī on the other. But towards the end of the century, a decline in both schools became apparent; poets like Fāḍil Enderūnī [*q.v.*] and Sünbül-zāde Wehbī [*q.v.*] are only mere imitators. The poets of this century practised all forms of poetry and special attention was devoted to genres characteristic of an epoch of decadence, like the *hidjw*, the *hezl*, the *muʿammā* (enigma) and the *taʾrīkh* (chronogram), while immorality and a general decline in good taste increased. On the other hand, true religious inspiration still continued, as may be seen from the *munādjāt* and the *naʿt* of Naẓīm [*q.v.*], the *Miʿrādjiyyes* of poets like Nāyī ʿOthmān Dede, Naḥīfī [*q.v.*] and ʿĀrif Süleymān Bey and the verse translation of the *Methnewī* of Mewlānā by Naḥīfī. The *methnewīs* of this period are numerous but of little literary value, the old subjects of the *khamsa* are entirely dropped, with the exception of the *Ḥusn-u ʿishḳ* of Sheykh Ghālib, the last masterpiece of this class. Finally, the rhymed historical works of this period and the Ṣūfī poems by initiates of the various orders are of little importance.

Literary prose tends to become gradually simpler, although we still find imitations of the style of Nergisī and Oḳčï-zāde. A well-known stylist like ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib openly declared against exaggerated artificiality in prose. Historical works occupy the first place. Among authors serving as *waḳʿa-nüwīs* [*q.v.*] we may mention Rāshid, Čelebi-zāde ʿĀṣim and Wāṣif, but none of them can be compared to their predecessors like Naʿīmā, although hundreds of people were writing biographical and historical works. The political and military decline of the empire caused a large number of *lāyiḥa* ("memoirs") to be written investigating the causes. The most remarkable of these memoirs is that of Ḳodja Segbān Bashï. From the point of view of geography, we may note a number of important *sefāret-nāmes*, of which the *Fransa sefāret-nāmesi* of Yirmi-Sekiz Čelebi Meḥmed Efendi [see MEḤMED YIRMISEKIZ] is a typical example; these works were occasionally, although rarely, written in verse. The *sūr-nāmes* written to celebrate the splendid festivals held by the sulṭāns are important sources for sociological research. Those best known are the *Sūr-nāmes* of Seyyid Wehbī and of Ḥashmet. The collections of biographies of poets are even more numerous than in the preceding century. We may mention the *tedhkeres* of Ṣafāyī and Sālim and that of Belīgh [*q.v.*]; the *tedhkere* of Esrār Dede [*q.v.* in Suppl.] is specially devoted to Mewlewī poets; to this century belong also the *Waḳāʾiʿ al-fuḍalāʾ* of Sheykhī, which is the final continuation (*dheyl*) of the *Shaḳāʾiḳ*. Lastly, the *Tuḥfe-yi khaṭṭāṭīn* of Mustaḳīm-zāde [*q.v.*]—whom we may regard as the greatest encyclopaedist of this century—is the most important source for the Muslim and Turkish calligraphers (*khaṭṭāṭ*). In the field of geography we have only translations and excerpts from European works.

The *meddāḥ*, *ḳaragözdji* and *orta oyundju* continued to enjoy the same popularity among all classes of society. The works of the musician-poets were also known everywhere; we may mention Ḳīmetī, Nūrī, Lewnī, Ḳaba Saḳal Meḥmed and Faṣīḥī, but the popularity of Gewherī and ʿĀshïḳ ʿÖmer continued; some of these poets were of Armenian origin, like Medjnūn and Warṭan who lived at the beginning of the century. This influence of Turkish musician-poets on the poems of the Armenian *ashūgh* perhaps begins as early as the 16th century (see KÖPRÜLÜ-ZĀDE, in *Edebiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmūʿasï* [1922], i, 1-32). The best example of the way in which the literary taste of the people had penetrated among the upper classes is the fact that the great poet Nedīm also wrote a *türkü* in the popular metre. This tendency became more marked as the century advanced.

3. *The 19th century*

At the beginning of this century, Ottoman literature had sunk to a very low level which continued till the period of the *Tanẓīmāt*. Wāṣif Enderūnī [*q.v.*] and ʿIzzet Molla [*q.v.*] alone show some originality. Wāṣif appeals to the popular taste and shows the influence of Nedīm as well as that of Fāḍil

Enderūnī. ʿIzzet Molla, while strongly influenced by Nedīm and Sheykh Ghālib, is, however, a much greater poet than Wāṣif, especially as regards the purity of his language and his poetical technique; in addition to *ḳaṣīdes* and *ghazels*, he wrote quite good *methnewīs*; he is the last "master" of classical poetry before the *Tanẓīmāt*. It is true that even after the *Tanẓīmāt*, many poets wrote *ḳaṣīdes* and *ghazels* in the ancient style, and among them the great advocates of literary innovations like Nāmiḳ Kemāl and Ḍiyā Pasha; to this period also belong Ghālib Bey of Leskofča, ʿAwnī Bey and ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Bey [*q.v.*], all imitators of Nāʾilī and Fehīm-i Ḳadīm. They had, however, no influence on the course of literary development. It was only natural that the old literary tradition could not disappear at one stroke; Shināsī and his school had to maintain a long and hard struggle against the old school.

The prose of the period before the *Tanẓīmāt* is not of much value, although the production was not less than in preceding centuries. In history, the *Taʾrīkh* of Müterdjim ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*] is remarkable for its style and critical ability; the author uses even simpler language in his translation of the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ* and of the *Ḳāmūs*. The *waḳʿa-nüwīs* Esʿad Efendi [*q.v.*], translator of the *Musṭaṭraf* of al-Ibshīhī and author of the well-known *Üss-i ẓafer* on the extermination of the Janissaries, is far below ʿĀṣim, with his insipid language and confused style. The same writer edited the *Taḳwīm-i weḳāʾiʿ*, and Sultan Maḥmūd II reproached him with the obscurity of his language in an account of a journey of the sultan which he had drawn up in this capacity. On the other hand, in his translation of the *Musṭaṭraf*, he recommends the use of Turkish instead of Arabic and Persian words and the simplification of literary style, which shows to what an extent the movement to simplify the language had made progress. Lastly, we must not forget the celebrated poet and stylist Meḥmed ʿĀkif Pasha [*q.v.*] who, in spite of several poems written in the popular metre and some works in simple prose, ought not to be regarded as the first to spread literary innovations. ʿĀkif Pasha, indeed, remained entirely unaffected by European culture and was one of the last representatives of the old literature.

Among the representatives of the popular literature we have information about the *meddāḥs* Pič Emīn, Ḳiz Aḥmed, Ḥādjdjī Müʾedhdhin, Kör Ḥāfiẓ and others, as well as of some writers of shadow-plays (*khayāldji*) like Sherbetdji Emīn, Ḥāfiẓ of Ḳāsīm Pasha, Muṣāḥib Saʿīd Efendi; it is only towards the end of the century that Kātib Ṣāliḥ in breaking with the ancient tradition began to imitate the modern theatre.

The best known musician-poets of this century are Derdli, Dhihnī of Bayburt and Emrāh of Erzerum, who acquired a great and well-merited popularity in Anatolia as well as in Istanbul among all classes (see KÖPRÜLÜ-ZĀDE, *Erzurumlu Emrah*, Istanbul 1929). Down to the end of the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, these *ʿāshiḳs* used to assemble in a café in Ṭawuḳ Pazarī. They had an organisation of their own with a chief (*reʾīs*) at their head, recognised by the government. This organisation was broken up later on, but in the early 20th century there were still found musician-poets in Anatolia.

This classical Turkish literature and especially the poetry had lost almost all its vigour and originality by the time the *Tanẓīmāt* began. Classical poetry had lost the ability to create anything new within its narrow limitations, and the poets could only produce imitations (*naẓīre*) of the great masters of the past, or in their efforts to show a little originality, fall into artificiality and platitude. As a result of continually repeating the same conceptions by the same limited means of expression, all the vitality of Turkish poetry was destroyed. Even great artists like Nedīm and Sheykh Ghālib had not been able to escape the rigid rules of the old models. On the other hand, the attempts to draw upon the language and literature of the people and to appeal more to popular taste and language, efforts such as we observe in Fāḍil Enderūnī and Wāṣif, only resulted in vulgarity and banality. In spite of the political and economic connection with Europe which had existed for centuries, the social structure of the Ottoman people had never emerged from the frame of traditional Islamic civilisation, which had kept it imprisoned in a mediaeval system of ideas. It is true that the continual military defeats and the gradual economic decline had impressed upon thinking people the material and technical superiority of Europe and that, as early as the 18th century, they had begun to take advantage of European skills to reorganise the army and the fleet. But it was much more difficult to admit the superiority of Europe in the field of culture. The *medreses*, which were in a very backward state compared with earlier centuries, still clung tenaciously to the mentality and tastes of the Middle Ages. Modern science was beginning to be introduced only in institutions founded for the army, like the Engineering School (*mühendis-khāne*) and the Medical School (*ṭibb-khāne*). These innovations owed a great deal to a few individuals, who had studied western languages and modern sciences, like Khodja Isḥāḳ Efendi, Gelenberī and Shānī-zāde. It was the need felt by Selīm III, and especially by Maḥmūd II, to reorganise the army and navy and to establish a central administration to prevent the empire being parcelled out between feudal chiefs, that led them to consent, in spite of the opposition of the *medreses*, to the reform of the teaching of mathematics and natural sciences.

From the end of the 18th century, there were in Turkey men who knew French and recognised the cultural superiority of Europe. In bringing teachers from France and sending students to Europe, the movement of Europeanisation was encouraged in Turkey. It was natural then that, as a result of all these needs, European influence began to show itself little by little in every branch of life, including the fields of thought and art.

(c) "European-type" Turkish literature. The period of the *Tanẓīmāt* and the new literature

The great industrial and capitalist development in Europe as well as the political expansion and rivalry of the imperialist Great Powers could not long ignore so vast and rich a field of exploitation as Turkey. At the same time, the mediaeval institutions of the empire had lost their power of resistance, and the revolutionary movements in France had propagated the principle of nationality among the non-Muslim elements. All these circumstances made the urgent need felt of introducing reforms in the social and administrative institutions of the empire. These reforms were to meet with considerable resistance, not only among the lower classes but also among those members of the educated classes who had been educated in the *medreses*. It was due to Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*] and his little group of followers that the reforms were gradually introduced into the country. In Turkish history these reforms are known as *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*].

The *Tanẓīmāt* were not confined to the fields of administration, justice and finance; with the object of

securing the progress of education among the Muslim Turks, primary and secondary schools were opened and plans made to found a university. An *Endjümen-i dānish* was formed to prepare schoolbooks (1269/1853) and students were sent to Europe. The *Endjümen-i dānish* was soon replaced by the *Djemʿiyyet-i ʿilmiyye-yi ʿothmāniyye* (1277/1860), which began to publish its own organ, *Medjmūʿa-yi fünūn*. In the following year, the Girls' School was opened and in 1279/1862 University courses were begun. In 1282/1865 was formed a *Terdjeme djemʿiyyeti*, in 1284/1867 the Civil School of Medicine (*Ṭibbiyye-i mülkiyye mektebi*) began its lectures, and in the following year, the Lycée of Galata Saray was opened, the curriculum of which was adapted from western secondary schools and French was used for teaching alongside of Turkish. The University (*Dār ül-Fünūn*) was opened in 1286/1869, but the intrigues of the conservative elements forced it to be closed two years later. In 1287/1870 the School of Law (*Ḥuḳūḳ mektebi*) was opened and in 1294/1877 a School of Political Sciences (*Mekteb-i mülkiyye*). At the same time, museums and libraries were founded as well as technical schools such as the engineering, agricultural and commercial schools. Thus there was gradually created an educated class outside the *medreses*. All this activity was accompanied by a gradual development of the daily press. In 1247/1831 the official publication *Taḳwīm-i weḳāʾiʿ* began to appear, which was followed by the *Djerīde-yi ḥawādith* in 1256/1840, the *Terdjümān-i aḥwāl* in 1276/1859 and the *Taswīr-i efkār* in 1278/1861 [see DJARĪDA. iii. Turkey]. These two last mark an important stage in the history of modern developments for it was through them that Shināsī, founder of the new literary school, and his disciple Nāmiḳ Kemāl addressed the public. Down to the period when the absolutism of ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II prevented any kind of publication, the Turkish press developed very rapidly. Many scientific and literary works were translated from European languages, especially from French, and the Turkish language began to be simplified, at the same time enriching itself with a large number of scientific expressions.

The three great figures of the new literature are Shināsī [*q.v.*] who had been educated in France, his great disciple Nāmiḳ Kemāl [see KEMĀL, MEḤMED NĀMIḲ] and Ziyā (Ḍiyā) Pasha [*q.v.*], both of whom had lived in France as exiles. Through these circumstances the new school was imbued with the French literature of the 18th and 19th centuries, and the principles proclaimed during the political revolutions in France. The innovators wished to sweep away the old feudal literature and proclaim the ideas of "fatherland" (*waṭan*), "liberty" (*hurriyyet*), "democracy" (*khalḳdjilik*) and "constitutionalism (*meshrūṭiyyet*); and they aimed at creating a "bourgeois" literature. It was in this way that journalism, political and literary criticism, the theatre, the translation of western literary works, the novel and the philosophical and sociological study began. Shināsī was neither a brilliant stylist nor a great poet, but his programme was well defined; he wished to free himself from the trammels of the old unintelligible language, and although he was not able to realise all this programme, his theories exercised a great influence on those around him. Ziyā Pasha, by his translations of Rousseau and Molière and by his literary and political criticism, gave great support to this movement. He was well versed in the classical literature, yet he went so far as to allege that this literature had no relation to the Turkish character; he upheld the thesis that one ought to follow nature, i.e. borrow from the popular language and literature. In reality, Ziyā Pasha had neither the strength nor the courage to put these theories into force.

It was undoubtedly Nāmiḳ Kemāl who assured the definite success of the new school. He was a great artist, a keen fighter, a prolific author and a great patriot. For him, art was a means of provoking a revival in the land and he contributed vigorously to the cultural and political revolution in Turkey by his political articles, his dramas, his novels, his patriotic poetry, his historical works, his critical essays and even by his private letters. He exercised a profound influence. The presentation of *Waṭan* was a great political event in the country. He attacked the old literature even more bitterly than Ziyā Pasha and thought that it was impossible to write Turkish poetry in the *ʿarūḍ* metre. However, not even Kemāl could cast off the old traditions entirely, nor could his friends. It is for this reason that Saʿd Allāh Pasha was able to write in 1297/1880 in an anonymous article in the journal *Waḳt*, that pupils should only be given literal translations of western works because the "new" writers had not been able to produce in reality anything really new.

ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid [*q.v.*], a pupil of Nāmiḳ Kemāl, brought about a great revolution in the field of poetry, which hitherto had not been able to free itself from ancient forms. This extremely prolific poet introduced into Turkish the lyric and the drama in which his models were Dante, Racine, Corneille and Shakespeare. Even Nāmiḳ Kemāl acknowledged that the new Turkish poetry begins with Ḥāmid. Other important figures were Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem [see EKREM] and Sāmī Pasha-zāde Sezāʾī [*q.v.*], but in proportion as the pressure of despotism increased, the second generation of the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* began to pursue purely artistic ends.

Many other thinkers or writers contributed to the cultural evolution of the country. We may mention the famous historian Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*], Aḥmed Wefiḳ Pasha [*q.v.*], Süleymān Pasha, and the great writer and encyclopaedist Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi [*q.v.*], as well as the lexicographer Shāms al-Dīn Sāmī Bey [*q.v.*]. Djewdet Pasha, well versed in Islamic learning and author of a Turkish grammar in collaboration with Fuʾād Pasha, wrote beautiful prose in Turkish. Aḥmed Wefiḳ, animated by western ideas, wished to revive national culture, and proclaimed the fact that the Turks of Anatolia were a branch of the great Turkish nation. He compiled the first dictionary of Anatolian Turkish, collected proverbs and translated the *Shadjara-yi Turk* of Abu 'l-Ghāzī. By his adaptations of the comedies of Molière, he played a great part in the development of the Turkish theatre. Süleymān Pasha, who reorganised the military schools, was a great patriot. He claimed that the language and literature should be called "Turkish" and not *ʿOthmānlī*; and in his *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlem* he devoted a special chapter to the early Turks, taking his material from J. de Guignes and other sources.

Lastly, Aḥmed Midḥat wrote and translated hundreds of volumes of a popular nature, beginning with books of the alphabet; he thus trained the people to read and contributed to raising the level of education, which was his only aim, for his books have no scientific or literary value. Sāmī Bey showed himself a worthy successor of Wefiḳ Pasha in his *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām* and *Ḳāmūs-i türkī*.

At the end of the 19th century appeared Muʿallim Nādjī [*q.v.*], who obtained great fame under the protection of Aḥmed Midḥat. Nādjī was well versed in

Islamic culture and wrote *ghazels* in the classical style alongside good poems in the new style. The followers of the old school expected from him almost a resurrection of classicism, although Nādjī was not at all a champion of such a reaction, as is shown by his beautiful simple prose (as in *ʿÖmeriñ čodjuklughu*). His quarrels with Ekrem Bey originated rather in personal reasons. At the same time Nābī-zāde Nāẓim, who died very young, came to the front; his novel *Zehrā* makes him a figure of first importance in literary history.

The most important event at the end of the 19th century is the literary movement begun by a group of youthful men of letters who had associated themselves, at the instigation of Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem, with the periodical *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*]; this movement marks the second and last stage of the Europeanisation of Turkish literature. It is dominated by the figures of Tewfīḳ Fikret and Khālid Ḍiyā (Ziyā) [*q.vv.*] and is very much under the influence of the literary movements in France at the end of the 19th century. Started in a period of absolute despotism and having only a short life of five or six years, this movement produced works of a neurotic and pessimistic sentimentality. Its motto was "art for art's sake". If we except Djenāb Shihāb al-Dīn, who acquired after the revolution the reputation of a great prose writer, Süleymān Naẓīf, who may be considered a pupil of Nāmīḳ Kemāl with an originality of his own, Fāʾiḳ ʿĀlī, an imitator of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid, and Ismāʿīl Ṣafā, an independent figure, who found his subjects in everyday life, all the poets who wrote in the *Therwet-i Fünūn* were imitators of Tewfīḳ Fikret. Khālid Ziyā, who had a very choice style, was the true founder of the literary novel in Turkish. He takes his subjects generally from the upper middle classes, but some of his short stories describe the life of the people. The latter genre was more successfully treated by the novelists Aḥmed Ḥikmet and Ḥüseyn Djāhid, in more simple language. Meḥmed Raʾūf [*q.v.*] was a novelist who made excellent psychological analyses, but his language was imperfect. In the field of science, philosophy and criticism, the collaborators on the *Therwet-i Fünūn* did no more than translate. But the severe censorship and the short life of the group did not enable them to show greater vitality.

While the school of Tewfīḳ Fikret and Khālid Ziyā reflected only the life of the upper classes, Ḥüseyn Raḥmī [*q.v.*] depicted in his novels various aspects of the life of the people; and at the same time the notable publicist Aḥmed Rāsim [*q.v.*] was dealing in several of his works with the same subject. Among the poets of this period, we may further mention Riḍā (Rizā) Tewfīḳ [*q.v.*] who wrote the finest lyrics in the style of the *ʿāshiḳ* poets and Bektāshīs, but in syllabic metre, the poetess Nigār Khānim and lastly Meḥmed Emīn Bey [*q.v.*], who suddenly became celebrated during the Turco-Greek war by his *Türkče shiʿrler*. Meḥmed Emīn employed a very simple language in the syllabic metre and wished to reach the people directly (*khalka doghru*), although the existing popular literature with its mentality, tastes and traditional forms were entirely unknown to him. As a man of letters he was entirely of the school of Fikret; he was not, however, an individualist like his contemporaries but imbued with the populist spirit (*khalkdjilik*). This was the first occasion on which a Turkish poet had descended to the level of the people. Perhaps it is right to charge him with a lack of lyrical feeling, but this does not prevent us from regarding him as an interesting figure in literary history. At the same time, the movement to simplify the language continued and even gave rise to an exaggerated purism. By the translation of the works of European scholars, the early history and culture of the Turks became known, while the journalistic activities of the young Turks abroad began to envisage Turkish nationalism from the political point of view. These were the main elements in the cultural and literary life of Turkey before the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.

This event, having brought about the abolition of the censorship, caused an extended literary activity. The patriotic pieces of Kemāl and Ḥāmid re-appeared on the stage and a large number of works of a sociological, philosophical and historical nature were translated into Turkish. At the same time, great improvements were made in education and the relations with Europe raised the general cultural level to a height never before reached.

The most important literary movement after the Revolution was that of the *Fedjr-i ātī* [*q.v.*], although it was a literary circle which lasted only a short time; its members began by following the school of Fikret and Khālid Ziyā, but the majority of them ended up as members of the national literary movement. Aḥmed Hāshim alone continued to develop in the way he had first chosen. He never abandoned the *ʿarūḍ* metre, nor the conception of "art for art's sake" in its strictest form. Besides, he had ideas of his own on the relation between music and poetry (see H. Duda, *Aḥmed Hāschim*, in *WI*, ii [1928], 200-44). The poet Yaḥyā Kemāl (Beyatlı) [*q.v.*], who had a great influence after 1912, had literary views entirely different from those of Aḥmed Hāshim, for he sought music rather in the exterior elements of his poems, while he retained the motto "art for art's sake". Another poet, who remained outside the national literature, was Meḥmed ʿĀkif (Ersoy), the advocate of Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*] and unrivalled master of the *ʿarūḍ* metre; in simple language he described the life of the people in its most realistic aspects. ʿĀkif, whose lyrics sometimes rose to great heights, remained quite uninfluenced by western poetry; he was a democratic poet, born of the people. In the work of these three poets, very different from one another, we see Turkish poetry striving to free itself from the too limited sphere of Tewfīḳ Fikret and his school; but under the stimulus of the great development of the nationalist movement, which manifested itself in the whole domain of art, poetry also ended by entering on new paths.

(d) The national literature

After the Revolution of 1908, it was the ideal of Ottomanism (*ʿothmānlilik*) that animated the governing classes. But the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; this was the national ideal, which had already revealed itself in the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* and which had existed through the Ḥamīdian period in a cultural form. After the revolution also, this movement began by assuming a cultural aspect. On 28 December 1908, the society *Türk Derneği* was founded, the object of which was to study the past and present of the Turkish peoples, to simplify the Turkish language and to make it a language of science. This society had not much power, but in November 1911 the periodical *Türk Yurdu* began to appear and on 12 March 1912, the *Türk Odjaghi̊* was founded. This movement was not confined to a few Turkish patriots; associated with it were a number of Turkish intellectuals from other countries who had fled from Russian expansionism, like Aghaoghlu Aḥmed, Ḥuseyn-zāde ʿAlī and Aḳ Čora-oghlu

Yūsuf. The movement was violently opposed by the followers of a badly-understood occidentalism (*gharb-djilik*) on the one side, and by the partisans of Pan-Islamism (*ittiḥād-i Islām*) on the other. At the same time, the periodical *Gendj Ḳalemler*, published at Salonika, again started, under a pretentious name, a campaign to purify the Turkish language, and Ziyā (Ḍiyā) Gök Alp [see GÖKALP, ZIYĀ] a member of the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI] began his activities. With the transfer of the central office to Istanbul, Ziyā Gök Alp joined the *Türk Yurdu*. Later, after the disastrous conclusion of the Balkan War, the younger generation also rallied to the national movement. The time was very opportune for the success of the national ideal; it only required a man capable of directing the national idea and laying down a programme and giving it a philosophical basis. It was Ziyā Gök Alp who did this. He exercised a great influence on the youth by his university courses, by his lectures and by his articles and poems; all his life, from the time of the Balkan War to the Armistice, when he was exiled to Malta, and later during his sojourn in Diyār Bakr and Anḳara, he displayed an uninterrupted activity: the résumé of his teaching is contained in his book *Türkdjülüğün esāslari* (Ankara 1339/1923, Istanbul 1940, Eng. tr., *Principles of Turkism*, 1968). His death, soon after, was a cause of general mourning throughout the land.

As in all branches of life, the national movement made its influence felt in literature: the syllabic metre attained the dominant position in poetry; the language was simplified; the motto "art for art's sake" was replaced by "art for life"; writers began to borrow from popular literature and its traditional forms; literature began to reflect the life and characteristics of all branches of society. Philological and historical studies were made on the works of the musician-poets, on the popular literature, the music of the people. In brief, the science of Turkology was founded, in large measure through the efforts of Meḥmed Fuʾād Köprülü (1890-1966 [*q.v.*]). All this contributed greatly to give a definite direction to the new literary movement.

Among the poets of this movement we may give first place to Fārūḳ Nāfidh, who in his last poems depicts the scenery of Anatolia, then Orkhān Seyfī [*q.v.*], Enīs Behīdj, Yūsuf Ziyā, Khālid Fakhrī and Nedjīb Fāḍil. All these show the influence of Ziyā Gök Alp and Yaḥyā Kemāl rather than of Meḥmed Emīn. In prose, progress was still more marked and the writers in it have still greater force. The greatest figure of the period is Khālide Edib Khanīm (Adıvar [*q.v.*]). After the stories of love and passion which are characteristic of her first period she wrote books in the style of *Ateshden gömlek* in which she describes the struggle of Anatolia for independence. ʿÖmer Seyfeddīn [*q.v.*], who died young, has left a number of very good little stories, some of which, like *Bombā*, are masterpieces of national literature. Refīḳ Khālid (Karay [*q.v.*]), who is perhaps the best writer of simple Turkish, describes in his *Memleket ḥikāyeleri* realistic scenes of Anatolian life, hitherto unknown to literature; his realism is however expressed in a merciless sarcasm, quite devoid of sympathy and feeling. Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī (Karaosmanoğlu [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) even in his novels, is more a stylist and a mystic poet than a story-teller. Other well-known figures in the new prose are Fāliḥ Rīḳī (Atay [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), who describes in *Atesh we-günesh* episodes of the war in Palestine, and Rūshen Eshref. Among the novelists Reshād Nūrī (Güntekin [*q.v.*]) achieved fame by his novel *Čalī ḳushu*.

The Western-type theatre enjoyed a great spurt in popularity as a result of the Young Turk Revolution and increased political liberalisation after the restoration of the constitution. Many of the plays of this period were patriotic ephemera only; but significant for the future evolution of the drama in Turkey was the first appearance in 1919 of a Turkish Muslim woman actress on the stage [see further, MASRAḤ. 3. In Turkey].

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(M.F. KÖPRÜLÜ*)

IV. RELIGIOUS LIFE

Religious life all through the life of the Ottoman empire, and indeed until Atatürk's secularist reforms of the mid- and late 1920s, had a two-fold aspect. First, there was the official religious institution of the *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ*, in varying extents connected with the ruling dynasty and headed by the *Sheykh ül-Islām* in Istanbul, whose functions included amongst others that of *muftī* or issuer of legal opinions or *fatwā*s. The training of these *ʿulamāʾ* rested on an extensive structure of orthodox Sunnī *madrasas* scattered throughout the empire (whose curricula still warrant further investigation), and the finished products filled various official posts, often by a kind of *cursus honorum*, as *müderris*, *ḳāḍīs*, *nāẓirs* of pious endowments or *ewḳāf*, *khaṭībs*, etc. They were expected to use their intellectual training and polemical powers, in the earlier centuries of the empire's existence, against the threats from syncretism, within the Ottoman lands of Anatolia and Rumelia, with the previously-dominant Greek, Armenian and Balkan Christianity, and in the 9th/15th to 11th/17th centuries against Shīʿism amongst Türkmen elements of eastern Anatolia and the Ottomans' Ṣafawid enemies in Persia. In subsequent times, the religious classes, including the numerous class of theological students, *softas*, were often a politically and socially reactionary element, at critical periods involved in riots and revolts in the capital Istanbul, as in 1808, 1876 and 1909.

Hence for this official religious institution, see FATWĀ. ii; ḲĀḌĪ. Ottoman empire; ḲĀḌĪ ʿASKER; KÜLLIYYE; MADRASA; MÜLĀZAMET; MULĀZIM; SOFTA; ʿULAMĀʾ.

Second, there has always been a strong current of Ṣūfī mysticism in Turkish religious life and in popular

devotion, a current which in Anatolia went back to the time of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, the Dānishmends [*q.vv.*] and the succeeding beyliks. Before they reached Anatolia, the Turks' Central Asian background had been strongly influenced by the Ṣūfism of such holy men of Turkistān as Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*], and this was subsequently reinforced in Anatolia by the establishment in Ḳonya [*q.v.*] during the time of the Mongol invasions of the father of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Mawlānā himself and his son Sulṭān Walad [*q.vv.*], making this capital of the Saldjūḳs and then city of the Ḳaramānids [*q.v.*] a centre of spirituality whose luminaries included also a figure like Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳōnawī [*q.v.*], the stepson of Ibn ʿArabī; the influence of Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*] was to be important in later Turkish mystical thought and poetry. As well as these religious elements of pre- and early Ottoman religious life stemming from Khurāsān, there seems also to have been considerable interaction at the popular level with the Christian and even pre-Christian substrata in Anatolia.

This is probably the case with a Ṣūfī order like that of the Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*], in which a distinct Shīʿī tinge is also discernible. The Bektāshīs became especially strong amongst the Turkish communities of the Balkans, and remained so up to the 20th century, latterly in a somewhat clandestine manner after the official suppression of the order's patrons, the Janissaries, in 1826. The Mewlewī [see MAWLAWIYYA] contribution to the Turkish mystical tradition—in some ways a more aristocratic one, the order being linked with the dynasty and the higher reaches of the administration—included an especial emphasis on their own particular forms of *dhikr* and *samāʿ* [*q.v.*]. But numerous other orders such as the Khalwatiyya, Shādhiliyya and Naḳshbandiyya [*q.vv.*] were to play important roles until the official suppression of the orders and their *tekke*s by Atatürk in 1926, and the Ṣūfī element in Turkish popular religious life is by no means unimportant today [see e.g. NURCULUK].

A product of this very perceptible Ṣūfī imprint is further seen in Ṣūfism's contribution to Ottoman literature, in both its Turkish and Persian embodiments, in the tradition of the simple mystical poems and hymns of Yūnus Emre (d. 721/1321 [*q.v.*]), exemplified in the Bektāshī hymns of the 9th/15th century poet Ḳayghusuz Abdāl [*q.v.*]. Also, prose hagiographical works in both Persian and Turkish became a distinct element of Ottoman literature [see MANĀḲIB].

See, in addition to the references given above to articles, ʿĀSHIḲ; BABA; NEFES; PĪR. 1; ṬARĪḲA; TAṢAWWUF; WALĪ. (ED.)

V. ARCHITECTURE

In the 14th century, Ottoman architecture developed from the simple cubes of such small mosques as that of Ḥādjdj Özbek at Iznik (734/1333). Tiled domes were later replaced by lead. A portico was important as a meeting-place. Early Ottoman rule required dervish centres, and so the mosque-*zāwiye* plan emerged in Anatolia and Thrace, such as that of Bāyezīd Pasha at Amasya (822/1419). A portico admitted to an inner court with a pool under the largest dome lit by an oculus. From this court, steps led to the prayer hall with a fine wooden *minbar* and tiled *miḥrāb* [*q.vv.*]. The bays on each side of the court formed open rooms, while the winter rooms off them had hearths and ornamental shelving. The plan consisted therefore of two large domes flanked by pairs of smaller domes, and the interior functions of a monument could be read from outside. The apotheosis of the plan in all its permutations was the Green Mosque (Yeşil Cami) at Bursa (822/1420), with sumptuous royal apartments on an upper floor. Tiles and ornament of all kinds were rivalled by those of the mausoleum (*türbe*) of Meḥemmed I (823/1421 [*q.v.*]). Viziers' foundations developed the mosque-*medrese* [see MADRASA] plan, as at that of Isḥāḳ Pasha at Inegöl (887/1482), where the college faces the mosque portico. With arcades added and the ground paved, this form became a hallmark of the Ottoman style.

The conservative tradition flowered into the 24 domes of the Ulu Cami (Great Mosque) at Bursa (802/1400). The plain square or multi-facetted Ottoman tomb whittled away the elaboration of its Saldjūḳ roots. By the 15th century, major monuments were built of ashlar limestone, although the Byzantine system of brick mixed with stone courses survived.

In the mid-15th century, Murād II built Üç Şerefeli Cami, the mosque of the Three Balconies, with a revolutionary central dome 24 m in diameter. This was carried on six massive piers, of which two were free-standing. The lateral areas were not walled off but were still roofed with twin domes. The large courtyard was also an innovation as were the (eventually) four minarets at each corner. The name of the architect is unknown, but by this date the names of builders emerge as ideas developed beyond those of masons working within a tradition. After the conquest of Constantinople, the influence of the twin half-domes of the church of Hagia Sophia was absorbed. Yet the urge to combine domed units continued. Fatih Cami (875/1470), the mosque of Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] in Istanbul, built by ʿĀtīḳ Sinān, failed to accommodate this influence, but the mosque of Bāyezīd II (911/1505) achieved a rigid version. Both mosques had grand courtyards and re-used Byzantine columns. At the Bāyezīdiyye, the bulky minarets [see MANĀRA] set abnormally far apart were the last before the evolution of the slender, stone style which were emblems of Ottoman supremacy.

In 1537, Sinān ʿAbd ül-Mennān [*q.v.*] was appointed chief architect. As a soldier, he was trained in organising large work forces and supplies. His strictly-disciplined subordinates could carry out his plans independently from the immaculate mosque of Selīm II, at Karapınar (971/1564) to the elaborate foundation of Murād III, at Manisa (944/1586). At Sinān's memorial complex to Meḥemmed Shehzāde in Istanbul (955/1548), four semi-domes brought the centralised plan to a logical conclusion, but the subordinate buildings of the complex lacked significant unity. This was achieved with the much larger educational and charitable complex (see KÜLLIYYE) built for Süleymān I in Istanbul (964/1557). The mosque is set on a vast esplanade raised on massive vaults. The fine quality of the decoration, including Iznik [*q.v.*] tiles, contrasts with the puritanical structure where no stone is purely ornamental. The subordinate courtyards are remarkable, and in that of the hostel, where the corner columns are the same size as the rest, a sense of flowing movement is achieved in the Italian Renaissance manner.

Sinān was skilled in the use of awkward sites. At the mosque-*medrese* of Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] in Kadırga, Istanbul (980/1572), a broad stairway admits to the courtyard under the central hall of the college. The tiled *miḥrāb* wall is unrivalled. At Edirne [*q.v.*], Sinān built his masterpiece for Selīm II. The use of eight piers inside create a sense of circular movement, and the decoration is sparingly but splendidly used. The four minarets abutting the dome are the tallest in Islam (70.89 m) and the dome is as broad as that of Hagia Sophia (31.28 m). Only the work of

Sinān's most gifted student, Dāwūd Agha, absorbed the influence of the Selīmiyye at the mosque of Nishāndjī Meḥmed Pasha in Istanbul (997/1588). The mosque of Meḥmed Agha in Istanbul (1026/1617) and the belated Yeni Valide Camii at Eminönü (1074/1663) ended the Sinān era.

The palaces of Topkapı and at Edirne expanded pavilion-by-pavilion, and the Baghdād Köshk (1048/1638), built for Murād IV at the former of these, is the noblest Ottoman room. Grander domestic architecture centred on a first floor chamber with rooms at each corner. The 18th and 19th centuries built standard wooden-frame mansions capable of infinite variation, often to create rectangular spaces where a site was misshapen.

Newshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha and Aḥmed III [*q.vv.*] imported a modified French rococo which blossomed into elegant water kiosks [see SABĪL]. The flowering of ornament did not disguise the square form of prayer halls: thus the decoration of the Nuru Osmaniye Camii in Istanbul, is superficial except for the horseshoe shape of the court. The Ayasma Cami at Üsküdar (1174/1760) and the Laleli one in Istanbul (1177/1763), however, achieved some freedom of interior planning. Ottoman bridges and aqueducts derived from Roman or Saldjūḳ precedents, in particular, Sinān's monumental bridge at Büyükçekmece (975/1587). Bridging techniques were applied to the foundations of major monuments. Fortresses such as Rūmeli Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*] on the Bosphorus were massively built, but their architecture owed much to that of their enemies. *Köshks* (kiosks, belvederes) were, in a sense, permanent tents.

The 19th century was dominated by the buildings of the Balian family, whose palaces included those at Dolmabahçe (1270/1853) and Beylerbey (1282/1865) on the shores of the Bosphorus. They built extensively in the Beaux Arts style. Foreign architects dominated commercial building, but Kemāl ül-Dīn led a revivalist movement. His fourth Waḳf Khan in Istanbul (1335/1916) achieved monumentality, but generally, pastiche replaced that discipline which was at the heart of Ottoman architecture.

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(G. GOODWIN)

VI. CARPETS AND TEXTILES

The Ottoman court was an important patron of textiles and carpets since the 15th century, and commerce in carpets and textiles formed an important part of the Ottoman economy. Silk-weavers and carpet-weavers were listed among the *ehl-i ḥiref* of the court from the reign of Meḥemmed II (1451-80) onward, although no carpets from this period have heretofore been identified with certainty. The popularity of Turkish rugs in the West led to their export in large quantities from early times; in the year 1503, for example, the customs registers of Braşov in Transylvania list over 500 Turkish carpets passing through this single frontier post in a eight-month period. The history and commercial diffusion of Turkish carpets are further documented by their extensive representation in European paintings, especially those of Italy, Holland, and Flanders, as well as of Germany, England, Spain, and France.

Although knotted-pile carpet-weaving as an art form may have existed in Asia Minor prior to the Saldjūḳ invasions of the late 11th century and onward, the on-going artistic traditions of rug-weaving in Anatolia, both commercial and traditional, that have survived into our own time appear to have most of their artistic roots in a Turkic and nomadic tradition that came west from Central Asia. In Ottoman times, Anatolian commercial rug-weaving consisted of two types: carpets with geometric and emblematic designs that probably originate in the nomadic past—including, among others, the so-called Lottos, Holbeins, Memlings, and Crivellis—and carpets whose designs were derived from other media, at first from architectural decoration and then later from the arts of the book—including, among others, the Uşak and other commercial carpets with medallion, star, "chintamani" and "bird" designs [see BISĀṬ in Suppl.].

The carpets termed by scholars "Ottoman" are in fact an atypical sub-group of Turkish carpets, utilising a technique technically related to that of the Mamlūk carpets of Egypt, and patterns stemming from 16th-century designs created in the *naḳḳāsh-khāne* [*q.v.*] in Istanbul. Once assumed to be a fairly homogeneous group of weavings produced in Cairo, these carpets are in fact a diverse group in both technical and artistic quality; they were probably woven in a variety of locales, including Egypt and various places in Anatolia or Thrace, from at least as early as the mid-16th century until well into the 17th. The quality of the "Ottoman" carpets varies widely; the best examples may well have been woven to the specific order of the court in Istanbul, but many large examples woven in Ottoman court designs in Cairo appear to have been made expressly for sale in Europe. The Ottoman carpets had an enormous influence on later commercial and traditional weaving in Anatolia, and by the 19th century even certain nomadic carpets in traditional formats exhibited the influence of the lotus palmettes, sinuous *saz* leaves, and vine arabesques of the earlier court designs. The court-design carpets themselves were woven until the end of the 17th century, with later examples tending to be of a much lower technical and artistic quality.

The Ottoman court practice of collecting and preserving ceremonial robes of the sultans and their families has resulted in the survival of a remarkable sequence of Ottoman silks in Istanbul, while the extensive export of Ottoman silks to western, central and eastern Europe has resulted in the preservation of early pieces in many European collections. Documents dealing with Ottoman silks and other textiles, such as woollen, cotton, and mohair fabrics, are quite numerous both in Turkey and in the lands to which these luxury textiles were exported; the remarkable commerce in high-quality silks between Istanbul and Moscow in the 16th and 17th centuries, for exam-

ple, is extensively documented in Russian archives, and the Orthodox sacerdotal garments made from Ottoman silk frequently bear embroidered Russian dates and inscriptions.

The artistic as well as the commercial history of silk in the Ottoman empire is enormously complex [see ḤARĪR]. While it has long been known that the Bursa silk market was a major source of cocoons for the Italian silk-weaving industry, it now appears that there was close collaboration between Turkey and Italy in weaving finished silks as well; many fine silk fabrics which technically appear to be within the Italian orbit exhibit impeccably Ottoman designs. Both artistic traditions emerged in the 15th century, owing much to the Mamlūk silks woven in Syria or Egypt, including the popular ogival or diapered design format. Typically Turkish floral motifs, such as the ubiquitous tulip blossom, actually appear in Italian 15th-century silks depicted by *quattrocento* painters such as Uccello, while the earliest surviving Turkish examples with the motif probably date from the early sixteenth century. Fifteenth-century Turkish sources abound with references to Ottoman silks, such as the famous *čatma* velvets of Bursa, but few examples seem to have survived.

By the mid-16th century Ottoman silks are more easily documentable, in part through their appearance in dateable European paintings, in part from their use in dateable European sacerdotal garments, but primarily through their depiction in Turkish historical manuscript illustrations and through the growing use of designs originating in the *naḳḳās̲h̲-k̲h̲āne* in the arts of textile-weaving, ceramics, carpets, bookbinding, and architectural decoration, each of which may help serve as collateral dating for the others. Large numbers of 16th- and 17th-century Ottoman silks are preserved in museums and collections worldwide.

In the 16th century and later, Bursa continued to be a major source of velvets (*čatma, kadīfe*), whose designs tended to be more traditional; the brocaded silks (*seraser, kemk̲h̲a, serenk* and *zerbāft*), on the other hand, appear to have been woven in or near Istanbul, and their designs show an astounding variety based on the full repertoire of motifs and styles in use in the *naḳḳās̲h̲-k̲h̲āne*. In addition, an important subgroup of 16th- and 17th-century Ottoman silks with figural designs and Christian—specifically Orthodox—iconography was woven for use in Orthodox churches both within the Empire and in Russia.

Some of these textiles appear to have been woven directly under court control or on court commission by members of the *ehl-i ḥiref*; new research indicates that there is a wide variety of technical quality exhibited in pieces of similar design, possibly an indication of differences between finer pieces woven for the court on commission, and somewhat coarser silks woven for export or for sale in the bazaar. Ottoman documents from the early 16th century onward indicate that maintaining standards of quality in textiles was a concern both for the *müḥtesib* [see ḤISBA] and for the law courts.

In addition to the artistically important carpets and silks, Ottoman weaving centres from Damascus to Kavalla produced simple and cheap carpets and textiles for commercial sale; many such manufactories also produced goods destined for the army. It is quite difficult to identify specific surviving examples of this kind of weaving, as they are without dateable design or ornamentation. Because of their low value very few examples have been preserved, except occasionally as military booty and trophies in European collections.

Later Ottoman woven textiles in general show a marked decline in artistic and technical quality from those of the 15th until the 17th centuries; the exception is the tradition of Ottoman domestic embroidery, which continued to produce works of very high artistic quality through the 19th century.

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(W.B. DENNY)

VII. CERAMICS, METALWORK AND MINOR ARTS

(a) *Ceramics*

The Sald̲j̲ūḳ tradition of glazed pottery and tiles of a hard, white composite ware found at Konya and at Ḳubādābād [*q.vv.*] in the 12th-13th centuries AD was superseded in Anatolia by a crude red earthenware, covered with a white slip and decorated in blue, green, purple or black under a lead glaze. This simple, utilitarian ware, misnamed "Miletus" ware after large quantities were exacavated in that town [see MILĀS], was in fact produced at Iznik. At Bursa in the early 15th century, the Yeşil Cami and Yeşil Türbe were elaborated and decorated with *cuerda seca* tiles, in Tīmūrid style; the names of the tilemakers, "the masters of Tabrīz" and "Muḥammad al-Mad̲j̲nūn", are recorded on the tilework, as well as the fact that the decoration in the Yeşil Cami was completed in 1424 AD by ʿAlī b. Ilyās ʿAlī (Naḳḳās̲h̲ ʿAlī). The Yeşil Türbe contains the elaborated tiled cenotaph of Meḥemmed I (1413-21) and a fine *miḥrāb* in similar style. In the second Ottoman capital, hexagonal tiles of off-white ware decorated in underglaze blue with a wide variety of designs are found in the mosque of Murād II, built in 1435. The *miḥrāb* is a mixture of *cuerda seca* and underglaze elements, and these, like the hexagonal tiles, betray a strong influence of imported Yüan and early Ming Chinese porcelain, arguing that such imported blue-and-white was already a current feature of Ottoman life before the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

With the establishment of the capital in Istanbul, a new industry flourished at Iznik, to supply both vessels and tiles. Both were made of a hard, white composite ware similar in composition to the fritware produced in Ḳās̲h̲ān described in Abu 'l-Ḳāsim's treatise on ceramic manufacture of 1301 AD, suggesting an influx of new technology rather than the development of the existing Edirne-Iznik tradition. Initially decorated in cobalt blue, a supplementary turquoise was added by the first quarter of the 16th century, and later a full range of softer colours by the mid-16th century, culminating in the brilliant colours of the mature Iznik style from *ca.* 1565 onwards, with cobalt and turquoise blue, viridian, and a relief red aptly compared to sealing-wax in appearance. While the early monochrome blue designs were in a taut, manuscript style with strong Chinese influence, by the middle of the 16th century Iznik ware develops a distinctive iconography of elaborate floral and arabesque forms. Tiles in similar style were produced in great quantity for the new mosques, palaces and other buildings in the city; acknowledged as the finest is the mosque of Rüstem Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] (1561). Iznik ware was also appreciated outside Ottoman Turkey, and has been found as far afield as the Crimea, in Hungary, England, Germany and Nubia.

The history of the Iznik industry is further complicated by the existence of a parallel industry at

Kütahya [*q.v.*] in western Anatolia; two inscribed and dated pieces of 1510 and 1529 AD have Armenian texts and refer to Kütahya as the place of manufacture; they are in the general Iznik style. Further, texts refer to the continuing production of Kütahya ware in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the precise identification of these wares is the subject of current research.

By the mid-17th century, the Iznik industry had more or less collapsed, with the withdrawal of Ottoman court patronage, and a minor factory was established at Tekfūr Saray in Istanbul, as well as provincial manufacturies in Diyarbakir and in Syria, working in a sub-Iznik style. A major work was the restoration of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem, undertaken by Sultan Süleymān from 952/1564-5 onwards. The Jerusalem tiles were made *in situ* by Persian craftsmen who had previously been employed for the decoration of a number of royal structures in Istanbul in the *cuerda seca* technique. In Jerusalem, the decoration is in tile mosaic and *cuerda seca*, and underglaze tiles developed independently of the Iznik tradition. An inscription above the north porch is signed "ʿAbd Allāh of Tabrīz" and dated 959/1551-2.

In the 18th century, the Kütahya industry came into its own, with Armenian potters producing both tiles and pottery in a new style. A major enterprise was the manufacture of a series of tiles with Biblical subjects, originally intended for the refurbishment of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in 1719 AD; the majority of these were subsequently installed in the Armenian Cathedral of St James in Jerusalem *ca.* 1727. A variety of cups, dishes, bowls and other forms were delicately decorated with underglazed floral designs, and enjoyed a wide popularity outside Turkey. In the 19th century, grotesquely decorated lead-glaze earthenware was produced at Çanakkale, on the Dardanelles; and Tokat has recently been identified as another centre for lead-glazed pottery in the 18th-19th centuries, many examples with incised and dated Turkish inscriptions and some with stamped Armenian monograms.

Armenian potters from Kütahya were brought to Jerusalem under the British mandate after World War I for the repair of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, and subsequently settled in that city. The modern Kütahya industry has been largely concerned with the production of debased Iznik designs for the tourist industry, but in recent years there have been signs of a new aesthetic vitality.

(b) *Metalwork*

Ottoman metalwork can be divided into two categories, the utilitarian and the decorative. Predominant in the former is the huge quantity of arms and armour used by the Ottoman army [see DJAYSH. iv and ḤARB. iv], of which much was stored in the Byzantine church of Hagia Irene in the grounds of the Top Kapu Palace, and marked accordingly with a crook-like emblem in an incised ring; a large quantity is now in the Military Museum in Istanbul, whose collection also includes important examples of European arms. Turkish arms include shields, helmets, swords and daggers, and horse trappings with characteristically Ottoman *chanfrons*. Much of the finer armour is gilt-plated (*ṭombaḳ*). For everyday use, there was a large production of metal vessels in a wide variety of forms, and from the mid-17th century onwards, an increasing amount of tinned-copper vessels, many of the domestic examples being engraved with maker's and owner's names and dates.

Decorative metalwork was in great demand at the Ottoman court, and was executed both in gold and silver and often encrusted with gems. In the late 15th century there was a considerable production of silver vessels, particularly of bowls with *repoussé* and engraved decoration, of Balkan origin; a number of these are stamped with the *ṭughra* of Bāyezīd II (1481-1512), and it has been noted that their patterns of interlacing arabesques had a direct influence on the design of early Iznik monochrome blue ceramic ware of the same period. Like the other arts, decorative metalwork reached its peak during the mid-16th century, and many examples remain in the Ottoman treasury of Top Kapu Saray, amongst the most distinguished of which is undoubtedly the sword made for Süleymān the Magnificent with its *chinoiserie* panels of dragons and phoenixes in relief, its ivory hilt inlaid with gold arabesques and cloud-scrolls, and its elegant gold relief Arabic *thulth* inscription on both sides of the steel blade dedicating it to Süleymān and dated 933/1526-7; see Rogers and Ward (1988), no. 83. The spine bears Persian *nastaʿlīḳ* verses and the name of the craftsman, Aḥmed Tekkelu.

Mention should also be made of the use of gold inlay and gem settings on vessels of other materials, such as jade, zinc and even imported Chinese porcelain (Krahl, 1986).

(c) *Bookbinding*

The art of bookbinding in the Ottoman empire continued the general tradition of Islamic bookbinding, the salient features of which were the use of a triangular envelope flap to protect the fore-edge of the textblock, the linkstitch sewing of the gatherings or fascicules, the use of traditional Islamic chevron endbands, often of contrasting coloured threads, and the joining of the textblock to the covers with hinged doublures. See Bosch, Carswell and Petherbridge (1981) for a detailed description of these characteristic features, based on an analysis of mediaeval bindings, early bookbinders' manuals (cf. Bosch, 1961) and modern practice in the Islamic world.

The design of Turkish bindings follows the Tīmūrid tradition of the 14th-15th centuries as exemplified at Harāt and Tabrīz (cf. Aslanapa, 1979), often with a pointed central medallion either stamped or built up from individual *petit fer* motifs, with quarter-medallions at the corners. Titles were often incorporated on the spine (Islamic books being designed to be stored horizontally, rather than vertically as in the European tradition). A particularly Turkish feature was the use of marbled papers (*ebrū*) for the lining of the covers. For more lavish courtly bindings, instead of pasteboard, covers were made of expensive materials such as jade, tortoise-shell, and gold and silver cloth, further embellished with precious stones, jewels and pearls set in gold mounts.

The binders themselves would have been an integral part of the *naḳḳāsh-khāne* [*q.v.*] or court scriptorium, generally credited with being the inspiration and source of designs for all the Ottoman crafts, though the importance of the role of the *naḳḳāsh-khāne* in standardising Ottoman taste may be somewhat exaggerated. While the tradition of arabesque ornament continues, along with foreign elements such as the Chinese cloud-scroll, specifically Ottoman elements include spiral designs of tiny rosettes, bold assymetrical compositions in the feathery *sāz* style, and even the use of naturalistic floral motifs—all of which parallel Turkish design in other crafts, notably in ceramics and textile design.

(d) *Glass-making*

Although the Ottoman empire came to include a region of great importance for the history and evolution of glass-making, sc. the Syro-Egyptian littoral, the indigenous tradition in Syria was ended by

Tīmūr's deportation in 1400 of the Syrian craftsmen to Samarḳand. In a curious reversal of roles, the Near East then began, from the time of Bāyezīd II onwards, to be supplied by glass from Venice. In particular, there is a record from 1569 of the Venetian ambassador to the Ottomans, Marcantonio Barbaro, ordering from Venice for Istanbul 900 mosque lamps of two different types, for which he supplied two drawings.

But at least as early as the late 16th century, there was glass-making in Istanbul itself, for in 1582 a Turkish guilds procession included glassblowers on their float and with furnaces. Throughout the 17th century, imported European glass was very popular, often featuring in diplomatic exchanges of presents, and by the early 18th century Bohemian glass became a significant export of the Habsburg empire. There were Bohemian glass warehouses in Istanbul, Izmir, Beirut and Cairo. Even English and Spanish glass was imported into Turkey at this time.

From the late 18th century onwards, the local glass-making tradition was well established in Turkey, with a factory founded at Beykoz on the Anatolian shore of the Bosphorus, and workshops sprang up in nearby villages throughout the 19th century. The earliest Beykoz ware appears to have been of clear glass, often with sprigged gold decoration; the more typical opaque glass with enamel decoration dates from the mid-19th century. The most popular form was the rose-water sprinkler, with a threaded, pierced glass stopper and floral decoration in gold and enamel colours. Other shapes included ewers, cups and tulip-shaped vases, dishes and covered bowls, and also fantastic pieces in the shapes of doves and pistols. The highly-successful modern glass industry at Paşabahçe is located close to Beykoz on the Asiatic shore.

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(J. Carswell)

VIII. Painting

Manuscript illustration was the dominant form of pictorial art among the Ottomans, who developed a painting school with distinctive characteristics that showed continuity from the 15th to the 19th centuries. Ottoman imperial records indicate that the production of illustrated manuscripts was an institutional activity in the court where there was the *naḳḳās̲h̲-k̲h̲āne* [*q.v.*], the imperial workshop, composed of artists who illustrated manuscripts commissioned by the sultan and his officials. Its permanent staff consisted of artists of diverse provenances within the empire and were supplemented when needed by the local guilds in Istanbul. Artists collaborated on a manuscript under the supervision of the chief artist, and sometimes a single illustration was executed by more than one *naḳḳās̲h̲*.

The earliest illustrated manuscripts date from the 15th century and are attributed to the palace workshop in Edirne, the earlier capital of the Ottoman Empire. An illustrated copy of Aḥmedī's *Iskender-nāme* (Biblioteca Marciana, cod. or XC) and Kātibī's *Külliyyāt* (Topkapı Saray Müzesi, R. 989), dating from the mid-15th century, are rather provincial works revealing traces of S̲h̲īrāz painting. When Meḥemmed II (1451-81) moved the capital to Istanbul after 1453 and built the Ṭopḳapï Palace, he established a studio which through the years absorbed the one in Edirne, producing most of the illustrated manuscripts until the 19th century. Meḥemmed II invited European painters and medallists, such as Gentile Bellini and Costanzo da Ferrara, to execute his portrait and his reign is an important era in Ottoman painting for establishing a tradition of imperial portraiture. These Italian artists inspired local painters such as Sinān Bey, who, portraying the sultan, adopted European norms of portraiture to Islamic canons of manuscript illustration (TSM, H. 2153). Although his successor Bāyezīd II (1481-1512) was less interested in European painting, manuscripts illustrated in his reign reflect certain western influences in the treatment of landscape and architecture (e.g. Amīr K̲h̲usraw Dihlawī's *K̲h̲amsa* dated 903/1498 in TSM. H. 799, and Hātifī's *K̲h̲usraw wa S̲h̲īrīn* dated 904/1498-9 in the Metropolitan Museum, New York 69.27).

With the expansion of the empire's eastern and

western frontiers during the reigns of Selīm I (1512-20) and Süleymān I (1520-66), an increasing number of artists joined the *naḳḳash-khāne* from Persia, Syria and Egypt in the east and the Balkan provinces in the west, bringing an eclectic style into Ottoman painting. The literary taste of the time called for Persian classics and for works in Čaghatay Turkish by ʿAlī Shīr Newāʾī. Illustrated copies of Newāʾī's works (*Khamsa* dated 937/1530-1 in TSM, H. 802, and *Dīwāns ca.* 1530 in TSM, R. 804, 806) combine features from the Harāt, Shīrāz and Tabrīz schools of painting as well as some western elements retained from the style of Bāyezīd II's period. It was with the illustrated historical manuscripts produced in Süleymān I's reign that a distinctive school of painting was established, to reach its classical age in the reign of Murād III (1574-95).

The outstanding feature of Ottoman painting is the genre of illustrated histories unmatched by any other Islamic painting school. Predominating in the 16th century, these histories written by the official paid annalists, the *shāh-nāmedjis*, and illustrated at the court studios, visually recreated the achievements of the sultans, their appearance and activities with documentary realism. When illustrating scenes of accession ceremonies, military campaigns, receptions or royal hunts, the Ottoman artist had to introduce a new iconography for which no prototypes existed in other schools of Islamic painting. The monumental illustrated history of the Ottoman Empire written in five volumes by ʿĀrifī, annalist at Süleymān I's court, documented historical events and served as a prototype for future artists in iconography and compositional schemes (e.g. *Süleymān-nāme*, TSM, H. 1517 dated 965/1558). A series of histories were written in the second half of the 16th century by Loḳmān, ʿĀrifī's successor, and illustrated by a group of artists headed by ʿOthmān, in which a classical Ottoman style was achieved by eliminating foreign elements and formalising rigidly observed compositions, strong colours and powerful figures. The *Tārīkh-i Sulṭān Süleymān* on the life of Süleymān I (Chester Beatty Library, T. 413, dated 987/1579), *Shāh-nāme-yi Selīm Khān* on Selīm II (TSM, A. 3595, dated 989/1581), the two-volume *Hüner-nāme* covering the history of the Ottomans (TSM, H. 1523 and 1524, dated 1584 and 1588) and the *Sur-nāme* narrating the royal circumcision festival of 1582 (TSM, H. 1344, dated *ca.* 1582) replete with illustrations, all realistically documenting the events, personages and their settings, mirror the political and social history of the empire in the 16th century.

This realistic approach was maintained in religious manuscripts as well. The Ottomans' interest in their ancestry resulted in the production of world histories where the sultans are linked genealogically with the prophets. The illustrations in Loḳmān's *Zübdet al-tewārīkh* (Türk Islam Eserleri Müzesi, 1973, TSM, H. 1321 (BL, T. 414, dated 1583-86) and the six-volume work on the life of Prophet Muḥammad, the *Siyer-i Nebī* dated 1595 (TSM, H. 1221, 22, 23, CBL, T. 419 and New York Public Library), follow the compositional schemes in the historical manuscripts.

One other distinctive genre in Ottoman painting is royal portraiture. Set by Meḥemmed II, the tradition of portraiture continued into the 16th century with works by Nigārī, who painted Süleymān I, Selīm II and Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] (TSM, H. 2134). Later in the century, portrait albums were produced. A *Shemāʾil-nāme* describing the appearance of the first twelve sultans, written by Loḳmān in 1579 and illustrated by ʿOthmān, set a model for all later images of the sultans (TSM, H. 1563, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kitapliġi T. 6088).

Interest in imperial histories resulted in one other feature of Ottoman painting, namely topographical illustration, which was foreshadowed early in the 16th century in the works of Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*], captain and cartographer known for his sea charts and map of the Atlantic Ocean. The works of Nāsūḥ al-Maṭraḳī al-Silāḥī [*q.v.*], an officer and historian who wrote and illustrated Süleymān I's campaigns, are the basic examples of this genre (e.g. *Beyān-i menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳayn*, IUK, T. 5964, dated 944/1537-8, *Süleymān-nāme*, TSM, H. 1608, dated *ca.* 1543). Topographical illustrations continued throughout the 16th and 17th centuries in historical manuscripts.

With the empire entering a period of stagnation in the 17th century, there was a decline in the production of illustrated histories. The artist, no longer having to record imperial achievements, turned to single-figure studies and scenes from daily life. Along with the westernising efforts of the sultans in the 18th century, painting took a new course. During Aḥmed III's reign (1703-30) the last manuscript of a historical nature was produced by the poet Wehbī and painter Lewnī. The illustrations of the *Sur-nāme* (TSM, A. 3593) relating the circumcision festival of 1721 are full of innovative elements such as shading and perspective. Lewnī and his contemporary Bukhārī also painted single figures dressed in glorious costumes. Costume studies were produced throughout the century, the best examples being displayed in the *Khubān-nāme* and the *Zanān-nāme* of 1206/1793 (IUK, T. 5502), where figures seem to have acquired European postures and more volume. The same is true for the sultans' portraits painted in the 18th and 19th centuries. Manuscript illustration ended in the 19th century, and other forms of painting, such as painting on walls and small furniture, emerged with easel painting in the western sense taking over at the end of the century.

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(Günsel Renda)

IX. Numismatics

When ʿOthmān b. Ertoghrul (*ca.* 699-724/1300-24) established his base in Sögüd in Bithynia there was probably very little coinage of any kind in circulation. The principal Islamic coin he would have encountered was the Rūm Saldjūk *dirham*. The Byzantine *basilikon*, the Venetian *grosso* and smaller *denier*-sized silver from various European mints may also have been found in trade or as booty of war. The Rūm Saldjūk coinage continued to be based on the classic Islamic *dirham*, weighing 2.8-2.9 gr, until the coinage reform of the Il-khān Maḥmūd Ghazan (694-703/1295-1304) in 696/1297. However, with the continued devaluation of the new coinage under Ghazan's successors, Öldjeytü (703-16/1304-16) and Abū Saʿīd (716-36/1316-35 [*q.vv.*]), the eastern Islamic world gave up the long-established currency system of *dīnārs* and *dirhams*, whose metrology was enshrined in the *Sharīʿa*, for one where the weight standard was regularly manipulated (and usually devalued) by the governing power.

Öldjeytü's early 8th/14th century coinage in Western Anatolia consisted of light silver *dirhams* weighing about one gramme, but the earliest known Ottoman coin, struck in the name of ʿOthmān b. Ertoghrul, weighs 0.62 gr. Following his capture of the city of Bursa, *ca.* 726, Orkhan b. ʿOthmān (724-61/1324-60) issued his first coin, an *akče* weighing about 1.10 gr based on a conventional Ilkhānid prototype, with the *kalima* and the names of the four Orthodox Caliphs on the obverse, and that of the ruler and mint (*Brusa*) on the reverse with the date 726 written out in Arabic in the margin. Orkhan issued several subsequent series of *akčes*, all without mint names or dates, the last of which, introduced after the Ottomans obtained their first foothold on the European shore of the Dardanelles at Gallipoli *ca.* 752, was notable because it omitted his father's name. A special five-*akče* weight, 5.80 gr, issue of this type was also struck, probably as a donative for Orkhan's victorious troops.

Orkhan's son and successor, Murād I (761-91/1360-89) issued three types of *akče*, one, *ca.* 762, with a line dividing the reverse field, a second, *ca.* 772, with two lines dividing the obverse and reverse fields, and a third, *ca.* 782, which was the first to omit the *kalima* from the coinage, with three lines dividing the reverse field. Murād also struck copper *manghirs* in his own name, one with the unusual date of Ramaḍān 790.

Bāyezīd I (791-804/1389-1402) continued his father's practice of numbering his issues. The first has a numeral 4 and the date 792 on the reverse, and the second, *ca.* 802, has a pellet on the dividing lines. These early issues simply give the names of the rulers without any titles. When Tīmūr invaded Western Anatolia and overthrew Bāyezīd at the Battle of Ankara in 804/1402, Bāyezīd's four sons competed for the former Ottoman territories. Amīr Süleymān held Rumelia and struck coins in Edirne dated 806 and 813. Meḥemmed Čelebi held Bursa and Amasya, where he issued coins first acknowledging Tīmūr as overlord, then, after Tīmūr's death, in his own right. Mūsā Čelebi struck coinage in Edirne in 813 and Muṣṭafā in Edirne and Serez in 822 and 824.

After his consolidation of power Meḥemmed I (816-24/1413-21) struck coins dated 816 on which he called himself *al-Sulṭān*, but he removed this title, probably at the urging of the Tīmūrids, on his 822 issue. Murād II (824-48 and 850-5/1421-44 and 1446-51) struck a one-year issue dated 824 and a second in 825 from various mints in Rumelia and Anatolia. On these he inscribed his name in a *ṭughra*, a practice introduced by Amīr Süleymān in 806. On Murād's third issue of 834 the obverse and reverse are divided by two interlaced lines without a *ṭughra*. After his first abdication his son Meḥemmed II (first reign 848-50/1444-6) issued *akčes* bearing the date 848, and when Murād II resumed power he copied his son's coinage, unobtrusively changing the order from Meḥemmed b. Murād to Murād b. Meḥemmed by moving the position of the word *ibn* from the left to the right of the names.

Until the 848 issue the weight of the *akče* had remained roughly constant at 1.1 gr, but during Meḥemmed II's second reign (855-86/1451-81) it was regularly reduced each time a new issue was introduced, first in 855, and then in 865, which was the first coinage to bear the mint name *Ḳusṭanṭīniyya*, conquered in 857. With his fourth issue in 875, Meḥemmed experimented by striking a ten-*akče* coin, the *akče-i buzurg*. His fifth issue was dated 880, and two years later he brought out the first Ottoman gold coin, the *sulṭānī*, which adopted the weight standard of the Venetian ducat, *ca.* 3.52 gr. A second gold issue was dated 883 and a third 885. In the last year of Meḥemmed's life his sixth and last series of *akčes* was struck with the date 886. After the death of the Tīmūrid Shah Rukh (807-50/1404-46), Meḥemmed cast aside his inhibitions over the use of titles, and introduced two royal styles that were to remain in use for centuries. The first was *Sulṭān al-barrayn wa-khāḳān al-baḥrayn al-Sulṭān ibn al-Sulṭān* and the second *Ḍārib al-naḍr wa-ṣāḥib al-ʿizz wa 'l-naṣr fi 'l-barr wa 'l-baḥr*. Like his forebears he also struck *manghirs* in his own name in several mints.

On the accession of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512) it was decided to date the coinage by the sultan's accession year rather than by issue as had been the previous practice. This was probably to avoid public anger caused by the repeated debasements of the *akče* under Meḥemmed II. The short-lived rebellion of Djem b. Meḥemmed was marked by an issue of *akčes* from Bursa following the design of his father's last coinage dated 886. Bāyezīd II also struck coins in Gelibolu (Gallipoli) and Trabzon (Trebizond). The dies for the latter may actually have been cut by his son and successor Selīm Shāh whose private craft was die-cutting. Until the end of his reign, Bāyezīd II's coinage from both Rumelia and Anatolia was uniform in style, and was, in effect, the "national" coinage of the Ottomans.

With the conquests of Selīm I (918-26/1512-20) and his son Süleymān I (926-74/1520-66) the character of the Ottoman coinage developed from a national to an imperial one. After Selīm conquered Syria and Egypt he continued the coinage of the Burdjī Mamlūks who struck gold *ashrafīs* substantially lighter than the contemporary Ottoman *sulṭānīs*, and silver *medins* based on the half-*dirham*, which by then was considerably heavier than the Ottoman *akče*. Selīm also introduced the custom of striking conquest coins to signal the submission of the important towns he had captured, including Āmid (Diyarbakır), Bitlīs, Dimashḳ (Damascus), Ḥalab (Aleppo), al-Djazīra, Ḥiṣn Kayf and al-Ruhā (Urfa/Edessa) [*q.vv.*].

Süleymān I retained a uniform *akče* coinage for Rumelia and Anatolia. After the Ottomans conquered the Maghrib the broad flan heavy weight gold coinage of the Ziyānids of Tilimsān (Tlemcen) remained in use, as did the square silver *naṣrī* of formerly Ḥafṣid Tunisia. After the conquest of ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān from the Ṣafawids, a heavier *mithḳāl*-weight silver coinage was introduced for use in these lands,

but shortly thereafter its weight was reduced by a quarter. Under Süleymān's son Selīm II (974-82/1566-74) minting activity declined, but Murād III (982-1003/1574-95) and Meḥemmed III (1003-12/1595-1603) expanded the number of mints to no fewer than fifty, the greatest in Ottoman history.

During Murād III's reign the Empire was engulfed by a tidal wave of silver from the New World. European traders imported silver in coin and bullion in order to purchase gold which they then exported and sold in Westen Western Europe at considerable profit. As a result the *akče* suffered a rapid devaluation, producing both inflation and great hardship for the peoples of the empire. This decline in prosperity was reflected by a decrease in the number of active mints and a great scarcity of gold coinage struck in the names of Aḥmed I (1012-26/1603-17), Muṣṭafā I (1026-7 and 1031-2/1617-8 and 1622-3), ᶜOthmān II (1027-31/1618-22), and Murād IV (1032-49/1623-40). The quick succession of sultans demanded frequent distributions of *djulūs bakhshīshi*, accession donations, which regularly emptied the treasury just when money was most needed to defend the state against its enemies.

ᶜOthmān II was the first to issue ten-*akče* coins in large numbers, because by then the one *akče*'s weight had fallen to 0.30 gr and a larger coin was needed for everyday use. The ten-*akče* was rapidly debased under Muṣṭafā I and in the economic crises of Murād IV's reign. Midway through the latter Kemankesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha attempted to revive and protect the coinage by closing down most of the provincial mints in Rumelia and Anatolia, and introduced the *para*, valued at five *akče*s, to the Constantinople currency. This reform was continued in Ibrāhīm's reign (1049-58/1640-8), when the Constantinople coinage consisted of the 10, 5, 2 and 1-*akče*, and Egypt's of the gold *sulṭānī*, the *medin* valued at 3 *akče*s and the 1-*akče*. Since the reign of Bāyezīd II, the striking of copper *manghīrs* had been the prerogative of local tax farmers who forced the public to buy new issues in return for payment in silver or gold. By now, however, the purchasing power of copper had fallen so low that it had virtually disappeared from circulation.

The spiral of economic decline continued under Meḥemmed IV (1058-99/1648-87), when the striking of silver and gold virtually ceased in Constantinople, and the value of the Ottoman gold *sulṭānī* decreased markedly against the Venetian ducat, or sequin. It continued to appear sporadically in Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli, and there are also unique examples of gold coins from Belgrade and Baghdād. During the 11th/17th century European coinage virtually supplanted that of the Ottomans in their own territories, because the population had lost trust in the products of their local mints. In the last year of Meḥemmed's reign a European renegade called Frenk Muṣṭafā was called upon to reform the Constantinople mint. His first act was to prepare dies of very high artistic quality to return a sense of pride to the imperial mint, and a few specimens of this work have survived.

The accession of Süleymān II (1099-1102/1687-91) saw three major reforms. The first was to strike broad flan gold coins for conversion into jewellery, the second introduced a large-sized silver coinage on the European pattern made up of the *zolota*, 18.5-19.7 gr, and half-*zolota*, 8.65-9.85 gr, and, most important, a new copper coinage to compensate for the great shortage of silver *akče*s. The new *manghīr* bore the sultan's *ṭughra* on the obverse and was originally valued at one *akče*. Its great popularity led to the opening of a second mint for copper in Saray Bosna (Sarajevo) in 1099, and for a time its value rose to two *akče*s. By the time Aḥmed II (1102-6/1691-5) acceded, however, its value had plunged to virtually nothing, and it was withdrawn soon after. Aḥmed II's coinage followed the pattern established by Süleymān II.

Fresh attempts at reform were made under Muṣṭafā II (1106-15/1695-1703). He added mints in Edirne, Izmir and Erzurum to that of Constantinople so that European and Ṣafawid coins could be restruck as they reached the frontiers of the state. A new gold coinage called the *ashrafī*, bearing the sultan's *ṭughra*, was introduced to replace the discredited *sulṭānī*, as was a *ḳurūsh* valued at 120 *akče*s compared to the 90-*akče zolota*, but both these reforms failed because of the economic chaos caused by the wars with Austria.

During the reign of Aḥmed III (1115-43/1703-30) the coinage was repeatedly taken in hand, and a degree of stability was established. In the early years the *ashrafī* and *zolota* with the mint name *Ḳusṭanṭīniyya* were the dominant coins. These were succeeded by a gold *funduḳ*, or *zindjirli altun*, bearing only the sultan's *ṭughra* on the obverse and *ḍuriba fī Islāmbol* on the reverse, accompanied by the new *ḳurūsh*, valued at 40 *para*s or 120 *akče*s, whose theoretical weight was approximately 24 gr, with its fractions half, quarter and eighth. In the last years of Aḥmed's reign, a three-quarters weight gold coin, 2.64 gr, was introduced, called the *zar-i maḥbūb*. Both this and the *funduḳ* had fractional and multiple denominations in the broad-flan *zīnet*, ornamented jewellery coins. This coinage pattern continued under Maḥmūd I (1143-68/1730-54) and ᶜOthmān III (1168-71/1754-7). The Barbary regencies continued to strike gold coins whose weight was comparable to the Venetian sequin and the Constantinople *funduḳ*, while the silver coinage maintained various standards based on local usage, but was struck in the name of the sultan as nominal overlord. These coins were dated by the actual year of their striking rather than by accession year only, as they were in Constantinople and Cairo.

Under Muṣṭafā III (1171-87/1757-74), the coinage of Constantinople became even more complex, consisting of the gold *funduḳ* and half-*funduḳ*, the *zar-i maḥbūb* and its half, the *zīnet* 5, 3 and 1½ *funduḳ*, the silver *ḳurūsh* series, full, 40 *para*, half, 20 *para*, quarter, 10 *para* and eighth, 5 *para*, and the double *zolota*, 60 *para*, the *zolota*, 30 *para* and the half-*zolota*, 15 *para*. There was also the *para* valued at three *akče*s and the *akče* itself. At this time the Constantinople mint modified the traditional dating system by placing the actual year of striking on the coin, abbreviated to (1171) 1-9 and (11) 80-87 as well as the accession year. With the accession of ᶜAbd ül-Ḥamīd I (1187-1203/1774-89) came the final change when coins were dated both by accession year and *djulūs* (regnal) year. (The actual date of striking is found by substracting one from the number of regnal years and adding the remainder to the accession year.) In 1203, the last year of ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd's reign, the double *ḳurūsh*, 80 *para*, was introduced to meet the cost of the war with Russia. Selīm III (1203-22/1789-1807), added the silver 100 *para* (2½ *ḳurūsh*) to the series. Towards the end of his rule an imbalance in the gold and silver ratio caused an increase in the amount of gold and a decrease in that of silver placed in circulation.

The coinage of Egypt, always the Ottomans' primary source of gold, whose tribute was of the greatest importance to the imperial finances, became more prominent during this period. Its minor coinage was still based on the *medin*, now a debased and ugly little coin which people stored in their cheeks to keep it from being lost in the seams of their robes or blown away by the *Khamsīn* winds. Following ᶜAlī Pasha's

revolt in 1183 Egypt struck its first large-size silver coins, the *ḳurūsh*, half and quarter. When the French seized Egypt during Selīm III's reign the Cairo mint issued *ḳurūsh*, halves and quarters bearing the regnal year 13, and then, when Ottoman authority was restored, another issue with the "sun" of Shemsī Pasha to the left of the *ṭughra* was struck in the year 16.

Selīm's overthrow in 1222/1807 led to the enthronement of the feeble Muṣṭafā IV (1222-3/1807-8). By this time the coinage of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli (Ṭarābulus al-Gharb) had undergone a major revival thanks to the proceeds of piracy in the Mediterranean. The Algerian Deys issued *sulṭānī*s, halves and quarters in gold, but allied their silver coinage to the Spanish eight reales, striking double, single, half and quarter *real dirhams* with the approximate weight and fineness of the Spanish silver coinage. The Beys of Tunis were too poor to sustain a gold coinage, and issued a billon *riyāl*/*ḳurūsh*, half and quarter. In Ṭarābulus al-Gharb, now held by the Ḳaramānlī dynasty [*q.v.*], the *sulṭānī* remained in use, with frequent silver issues of varying quality forced into circulation largely as a means of raising taxes from their unhappy subjects.

The coinage of Maḥmūd II (1223-55/1808-39) is the most complex in Ottoman history, and the word chaos might most aptly describe it. Many points concerning it are still obscure. At the beginning of the reign it was still traditional in form, but the tremendous political and economic upheavals of the time transformed it into something new and different. A bewildering variety of gold and silver coins were in circulation whose exchange rates fluctuated constantly, whose weights and alloys were inconsistent with one another, and whose designs and legends departed from past conventions. Added to this was the usual host of foreign coins circulating in the Empire, as well as counterfeit coins which created further confusion in the public mind.

The financial situation was never easy, and often desperate, with the state living from hand to mouth, and the manipulation of coinage was seen as an unavoidable expedient to help close the wide gap between income and expenditure. By this time the government fully appreciated that debasing the coinage was self-defeating, and that a stable medium of exchange had to be created if the state was to achieve its broader goals of renewal and reform.

The Constantinople currency was altered no fewer than eight times in Maḥmūd's reign, and that of Cairo under Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] four times. The virtually independent state of Algiers was the first whose mint installed a European coinage press in 1236/1821. The French invasion of 1245/1830 ended the Algerian Deys' coinage, but the Bey of Constantine continued to strike coins in Maḥmūd's name until 1253/1837. Tunis maintained a silver billon coinage throughout the reign, and the Ḳaramānlī Beys of Ṭarābulus al-Gharb struck a multitude of issues, sometimes several in a year, as a means of taxation. Their mint was closed after the Ottomans retook the province in 1250/1834. In the east a limited copper coinage was struck in Wan, and a more extensive one in Baghdād during the final years of the local Mamlūk dynasty.

After Egypt had reformed its coinage under Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1251/1835 the impetus for reform in Constantinople gathered speed, and by the end of Maḥmūd's reign the establishment of an Ottoman coinage on the European pattern was being considered for inclusion within the reforms of the forthcoming Imperial Rescript [see TANẒĪMĀT], issued in 1255/1839. While the Egyptian coinage reform had introduced a 100-*ḳurūsh* coin with the weight of an English guinea as its principal gold coin, and the 20-*ḳurūsh taler* weighing 28 grams patterned on the Maria Theresa thaler, as its main silver coin, the Constantinople government preferred to rectify the coinage by striking the silver 20-*ḳurūsh medjīdiyye* which weighed 24 gr of 833 parts fine silver, and the gold *lira* valued at 100 *ḳurūsh* weighing 7.20 gr of 916 parts fine gold. This coinage was to last unchanged until the end of the Empire in 1341/1923. The gold denominations were 500, 250, 100, 50 and 25 *ḳurūsh*, the silver 20, 10, 5, 2 and one *ḳurūsh*, and 20 *para*, and the copper 40, 20, 10, 5 and one *para*. The copper coinage was discontinued at the end of ʿAbd ül-Medjīd's reign because people refused to accept coins that could not be freely converted into silver and gold. Perhaps the most important part of the currency reform reduced seigniorage to the point where it merely covered the costs of running the mint. In the absence of any other means of raising revenue the government was forced to close the shortfall between tax receipts and expenditures through the expedient of contracting foreign loans. This brought about the bankruptcy of the Empire and the fall of ʿAbd ül-ʿAzīz (1277-93/1861-76). He was succeeded by Murād V, who ruled for three months in 1293/1876, ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II (1293-1327/1876-1909), Meḥemmed V Reshād (1327-36/1909-18) and finally Meḥemmed VI Waḥīd al-Dīn (1336-41/1918-22). The new coinage carried the reigning sultan's *ṭughra* on the obverse, with the regnal year beneath, and on the reverse the legend *ʿAzza naṣruhu ḍuriba fī Ḳusṭanṭīniyya* with the accession year. A gold *zīnet* coinage was introduced during ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd's reign, the proceeds from which were used to help fund the state pensions scheme.

The most popular denominations in the currency series were the *lira* and the five-*ḳurūsh* (quarter-*medjīdiyye*). The small gold coins were used as presents on the occasion of circumcision celebrations or gifts for brides, while the large ones were converted into jewellery to be kept as family savings. The Imperial mint also struck special series of coins to commemorate the sultans' visits to Edirne in 1247/1831, Edirne in 1262/1846, Bursa in 1277/1861, Bursa in 1327/1909, Edirne in 1328/1910 and Selānik (Salonica), Monastīr (Bitola) and Ḳoṣowa (Prishtina) in 1329/1911. The striking of the *medjīdiyye* (20 *ḳurūsh*) was suspended in 1295 after the rapid fall in the price of silver following the development of the Comstock Lode in the United States. It was reintroduced in the last year of the First World War to pay the Turkish troops fighting in Syria and Palestine.

Egypt's coinage was hampered because the minting machinery could not keep up with the needs of the province, and foreign coins circulated more freely than did local pieces. However, the Cairo mint did strike a full range of denominations: gold 500, 100, 50, 25, 10 and 5 *ḳurūsh*; silver 20, 10, 5, 2½, 1 *ḳurūsh*, 20 and 10 *para*, and copper 40, 20, 10, 5, 4 and 1 *para*. After the British Protectorate was established the coinage was taken in hand and struck in European mints from 1302/1884 onwards. This coinage continued to bear the name, and accession and regnal year of the Ottoman Sultan until the Ottomans joined the German side in the First World War, whereupon the British deposed the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II [*q.v.*] and made his brother Ḥusayn Kāmil [*q.v.*] sultan of Egypt. In Tunis the Ḥusaynid Beys started to place their own names on the coinage during the reign of ʿAbd ül-Medjīd. They introduced European coinage machinery in 1263, and based their unit of value on the *riyāl* [*q.v.*] weighing 3.20 gr. The gold

coinage consisted of the 100, 50, 25, 10 and 5 *riyāl*; silver of the 5, 4, 2, 1 and ½ *riyāl* (8 *kharrūb*), and copper of the 8, 4, 2, 1, ½ and ¼ *kharrūb*. These coins were struck in the names of both the Ottoman Sultan and the Bey of Tunis until the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1298/1881.

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(R.E. DARLEY-DORAN)

OTRANTO [see ITALIYA].

OTRĀR [see UTRARI].

ÖTÜKEN, a forested, mountain area of Inner Asia which had a special religious and moral significance for the early Turkish peoples.

It seems to have been located in the eastern part of the Khangai Mts. around the headwaters of the Orkhon and Tamir rivers (the latter river corresponding, according to R. Giraud, *L'Empire des Turcs célestes. Les règnes d'Elterich, Qapghan et Bilga (680-734)*, Paris 1960, 207, to the *ïduk yer sub* "sacred places and watercourses" of the old Turkish inscriptions), generally along the co-ordinates of long. 101° E. and lat. 47° N., in the western part of what is now the Mongolian People's Republic (see *ibid.*, 172-3). It was the heartland of the Ḳaghans of the Eastern Türk or T'uküeh when they constituted their empire in the later 7th century A.D. (see W. Thomsen, *Alttürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei*, in *ZDMG*, lxxviii [1924], 123-6; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*[4], Paris 1951, 131-2, 154, Eng. tr. 106, 561 n. 2). It was a region of cosmic significance for these Turks, the navel of the world, a holy site, *ïduḳ Ötüken yïsh* "sacred, forested Ötüken", mentioned many times in the Kül Tigin and Tonyuḳuḳ inscriptions of the Eastern Türk empire and also in the Tariyat and Sine Usu ones from the 750s of the Uyghurs who succeeded in Mongolia to the Eastern Türk Ḳaghans, although it was probably not the only sacred site for the Turks. In the annals of T'ang China, it appears as Yu-tou-kin (see P. Pelliot, *Le mont Yu-tou-kin (Ütükän) des anciens Turcs*, in *T'oung-Pao*, xxvi [1929], 212-19).

The religious significance of Ötüken later passed to the Mongols who came to this region of Inner Asia, appearing in the 13th century as the Mongol earth and fertility goddess Ätügän or Itügän (John of Plano Carpini's Itoga, see W. Heissig, *The religions of Mongolia*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1980, 101-4; the Mongols' sacred mountain region of Burkhan Galdun played for them the rôle which Ötüken had earlier played for the Turks).

Only the name, without consciousness of Ötüken's part in the life of the early Turks, persisted into the Islamic period: Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (late 5th/11th century [*q.v.*]) defines *Utükān* as "the name of a place in the Tatār deserts near the Uyghur" (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, Tkish. tr. Atalay, i, 138, Eng. tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-4, i, 159), but on the map accompanying the manuscript of his dictionary he apparently places it somewhere near the source of the Irtish river [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and the steppe of the Yimäk [see KIMÄK] (schematic reproduction of the map in Dankoff and Kelly, *op. cit.*, i, at p. 82, and see also V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, comm. 73-4); obviously, Kāshgharī had only the haziest idea of Ötüken's real location.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

OUDH [see AWADH].

OUJDA [see WADJDA].

OXUS [see DJAYḤŪN].

ỌYỌ, a West African Yoruba empire in what is now Nigeria [*q.v.*] and rivalling Ife, where kingship existed from at least the 12th century. Ọyọ grew in importance from the 16th century with the rise of the Atlantic slave trade. The empire linked northern trade routes along the Niger with the Atlantic. Muslims from Borno, Hausa, Nupe and the former Mali and Songhay were resident in its capital and along the route to the sea, but the Alafin, the local chief, and the vast majority of the people followed their traditional religion.

Struggle between central and provincial government produced a series of serious internal crises. At the death of the Alafin Awolẹ in 1796, the governor of Ilorin, Afọnja, broke from Ọyọ. To secure his independence against a resuscitating Ọyọ, he allied himself in 1817 with Fulani Muslims [see FULBE] connected with Sokoto [*q.v.*]. Their leader, Ṣāliḥ, conducted a successful *djihād* against Ọyọ with the help of pastoral Fulani and Muslim town residents and slaves. His son ʿAbd-al-Salām turned on Afonja and was recognised by Sokoto as "Amīr of Yoruba". After a sustained campaign, by 1836 the capital, Ọyọ Ile, was destroyed and the heartland of the empire incorporated into the Ilorin amirate.

Ilorin's *djihād* to the sea met resistance from new Ọyọ, Ibadan, and later the British in Lagos, but was ultimately blunted by the disappearance of its economic target, the Atlantic slave market.

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Mosques of Shehzāde and Süleymān, Istanbul.

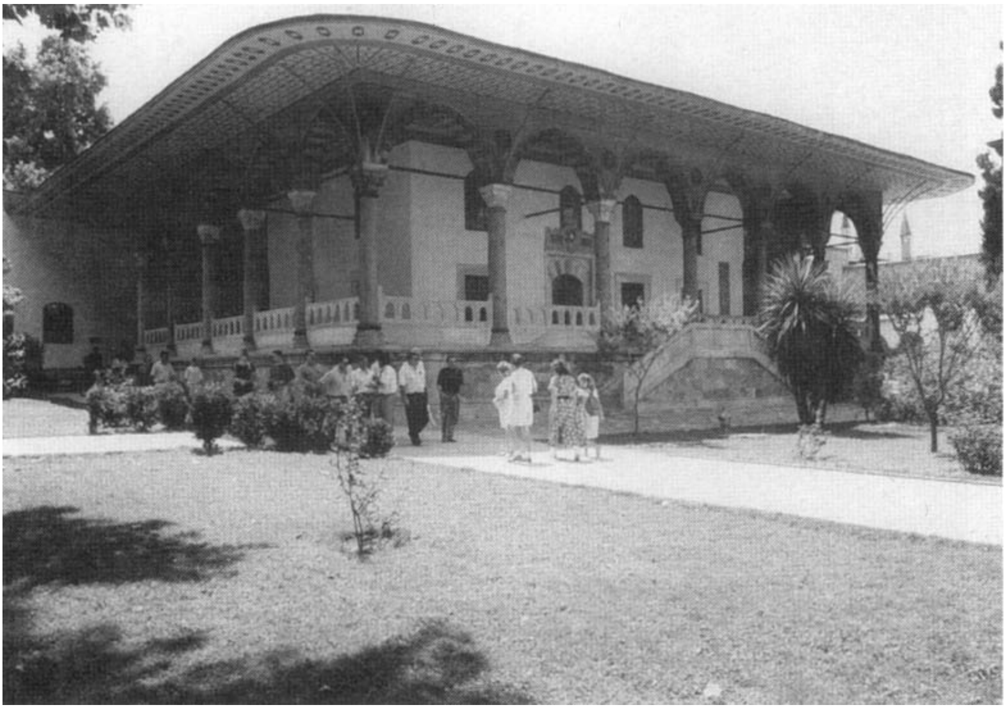

Arz Odasi, Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul.

Meḥemmed II Mosque, Istanbul.

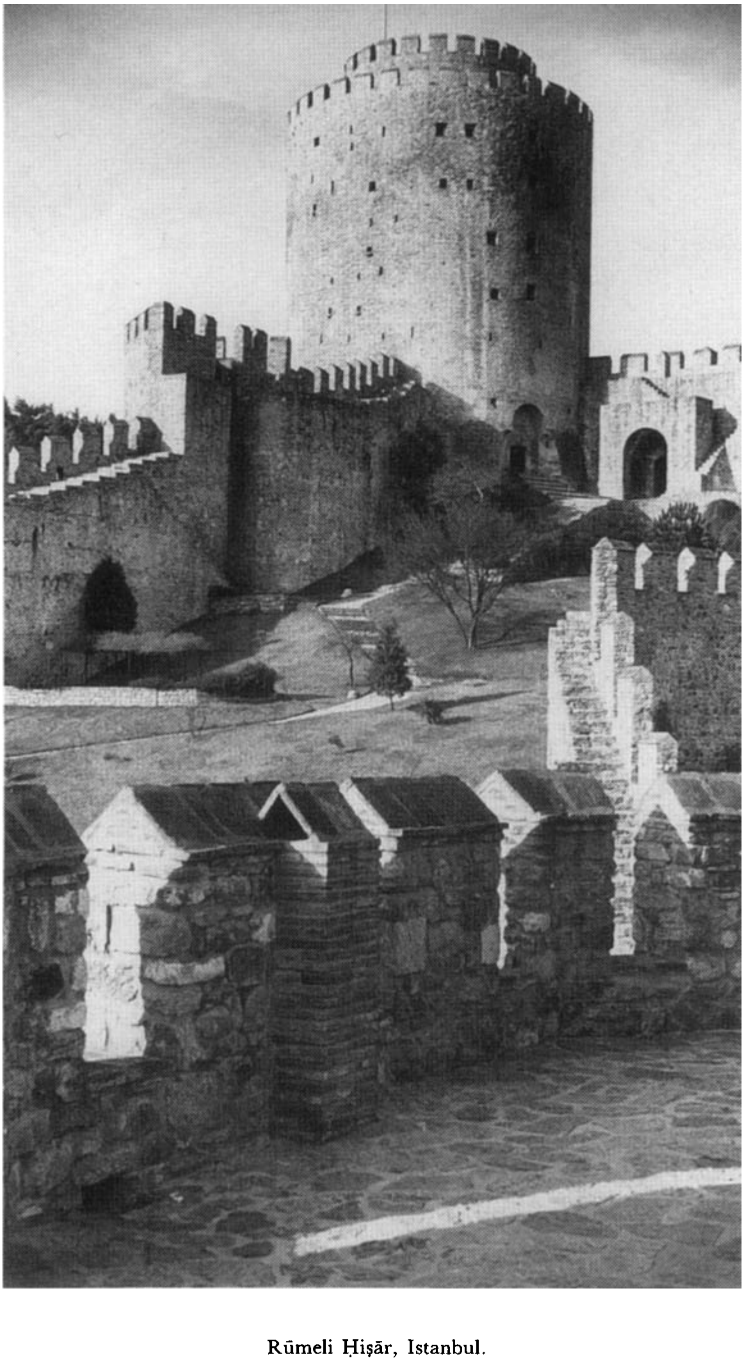

Rūmeli Ḥiṣār, Istanbul.

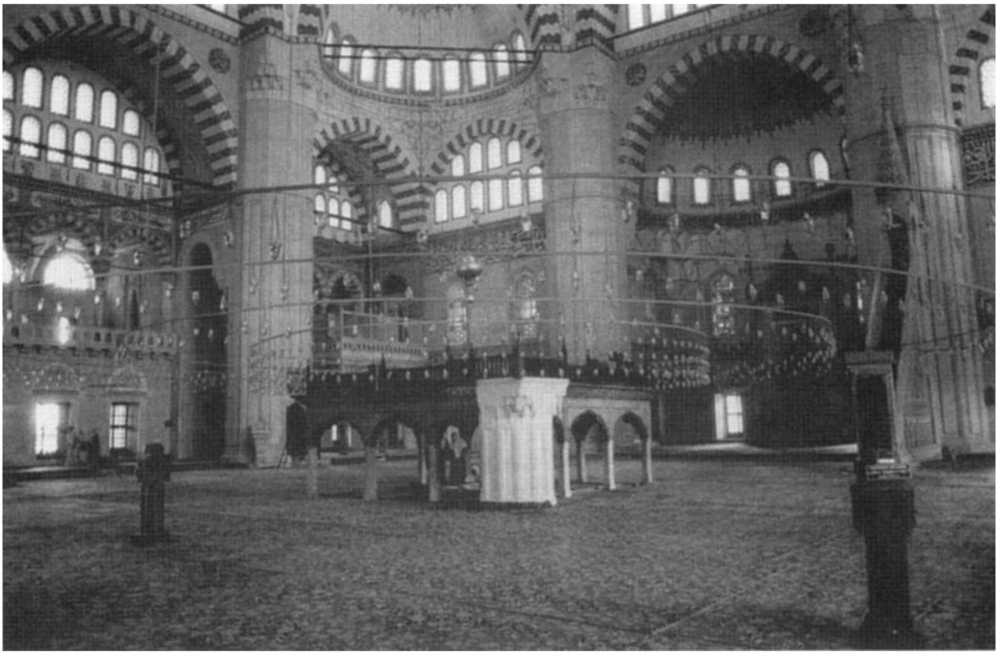

Mosque of Selīm II, Edirne.

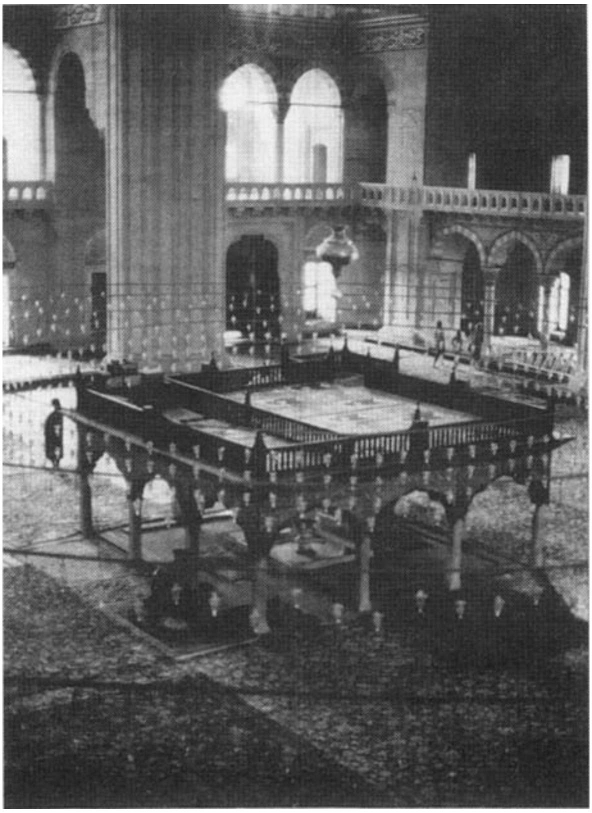

Central fountain, Mosque of Selīm II, Edirne.

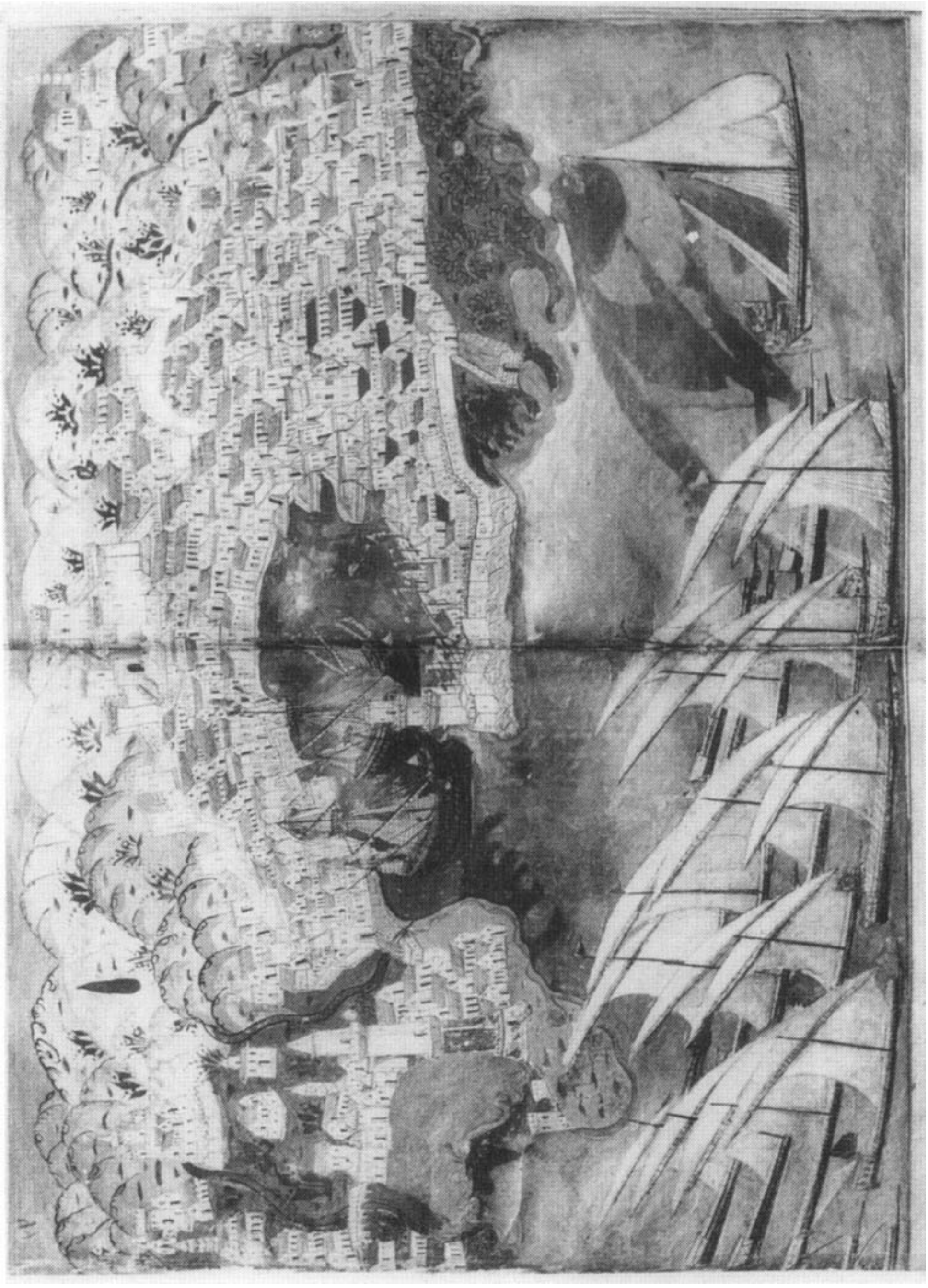

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Portrait of Meḥemmed II attributed to Sinān Bey, TSM, H. 2153, 10r, ca. 1475.

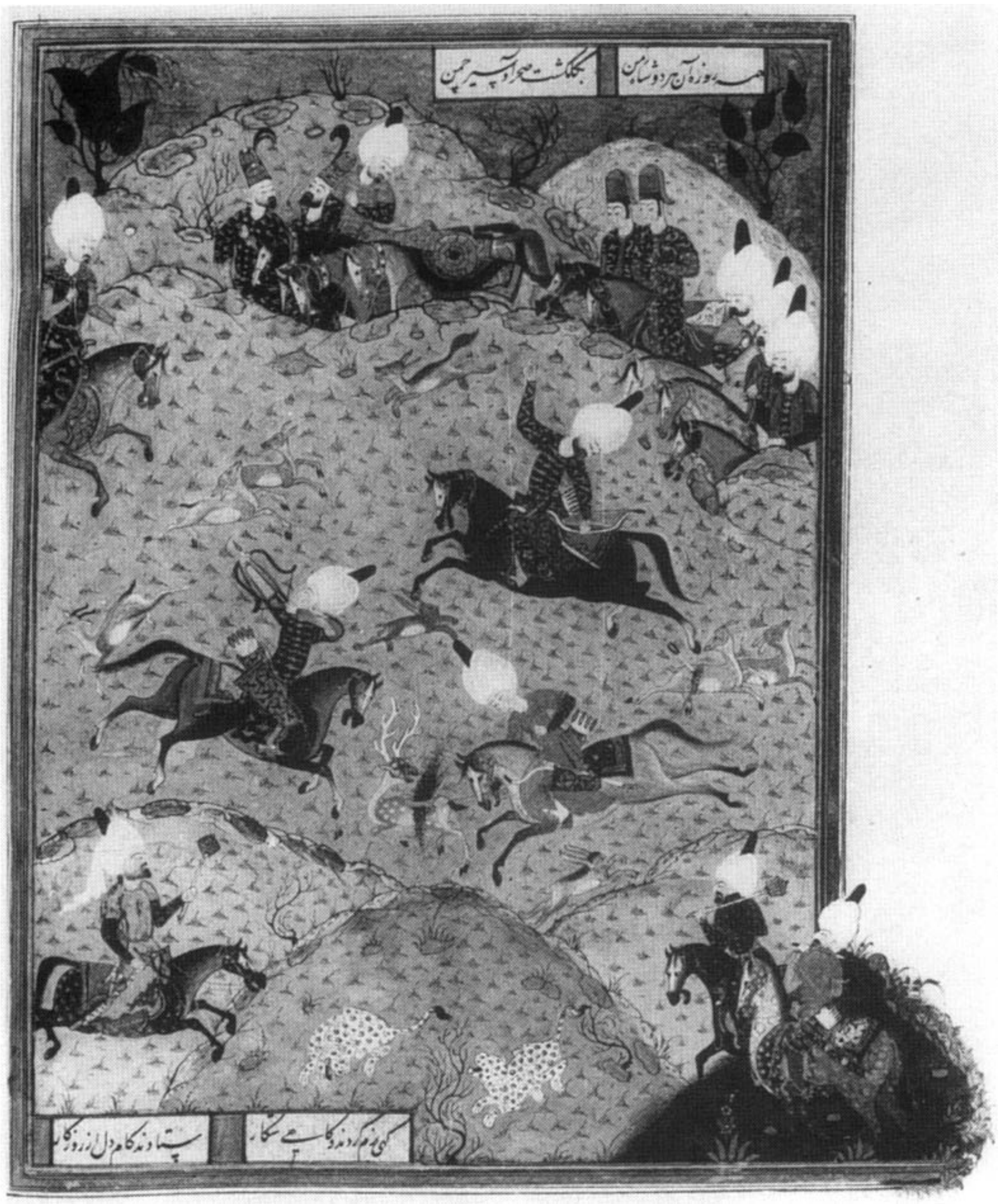

Süleymān hunting with his prince, Selīm, *Süleymān-nāme*, written by ᶜĀrifī, TSM, H. 1517, fol. 462v, dated 1558.

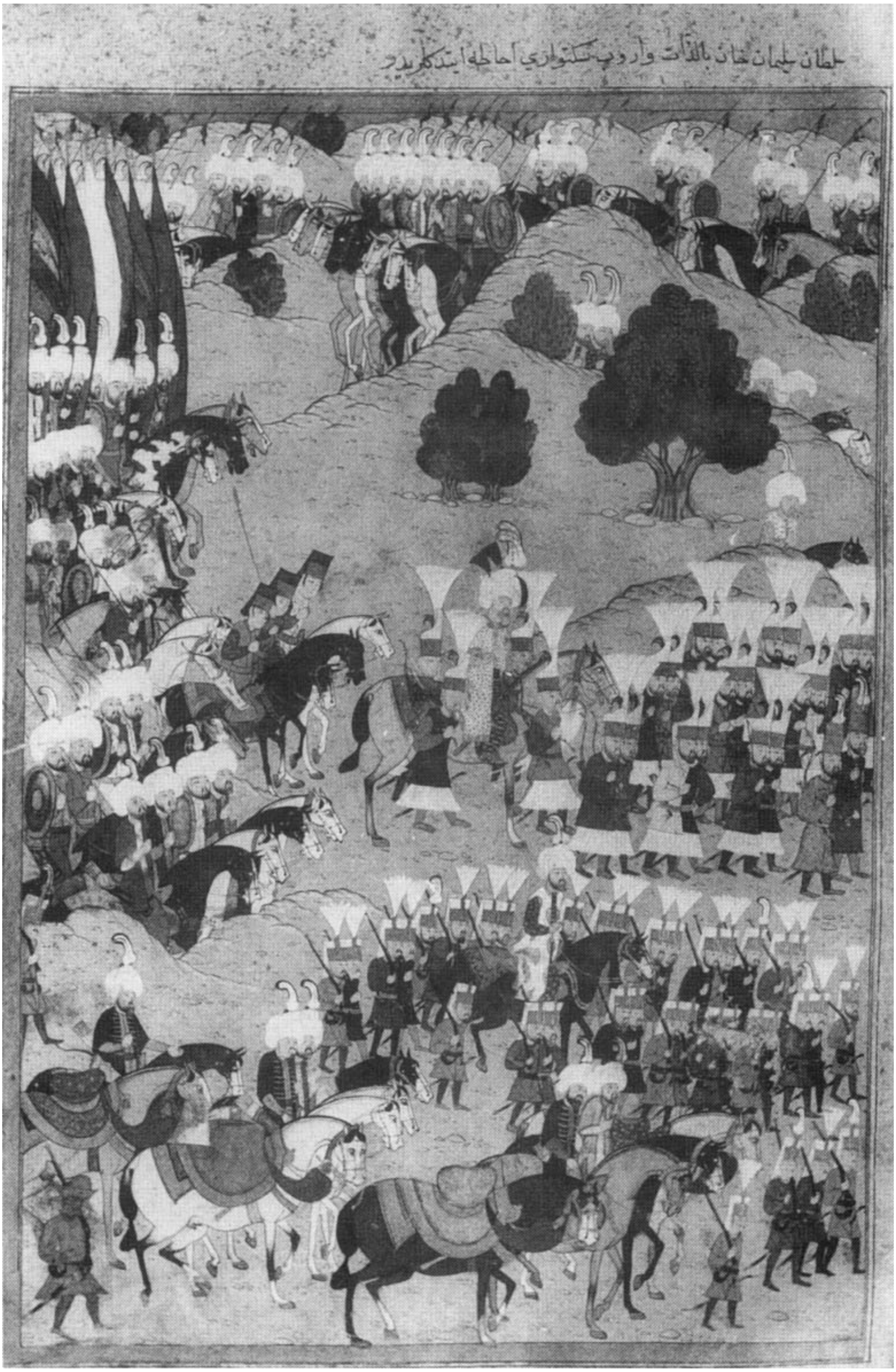

Süleymān leading his troops, *Hüner-nāme*, Vol. II, written by Seyyid Loḳmān, TSM, H. 1524, fol. 278r, attributed to painter Osman, dated 1588.

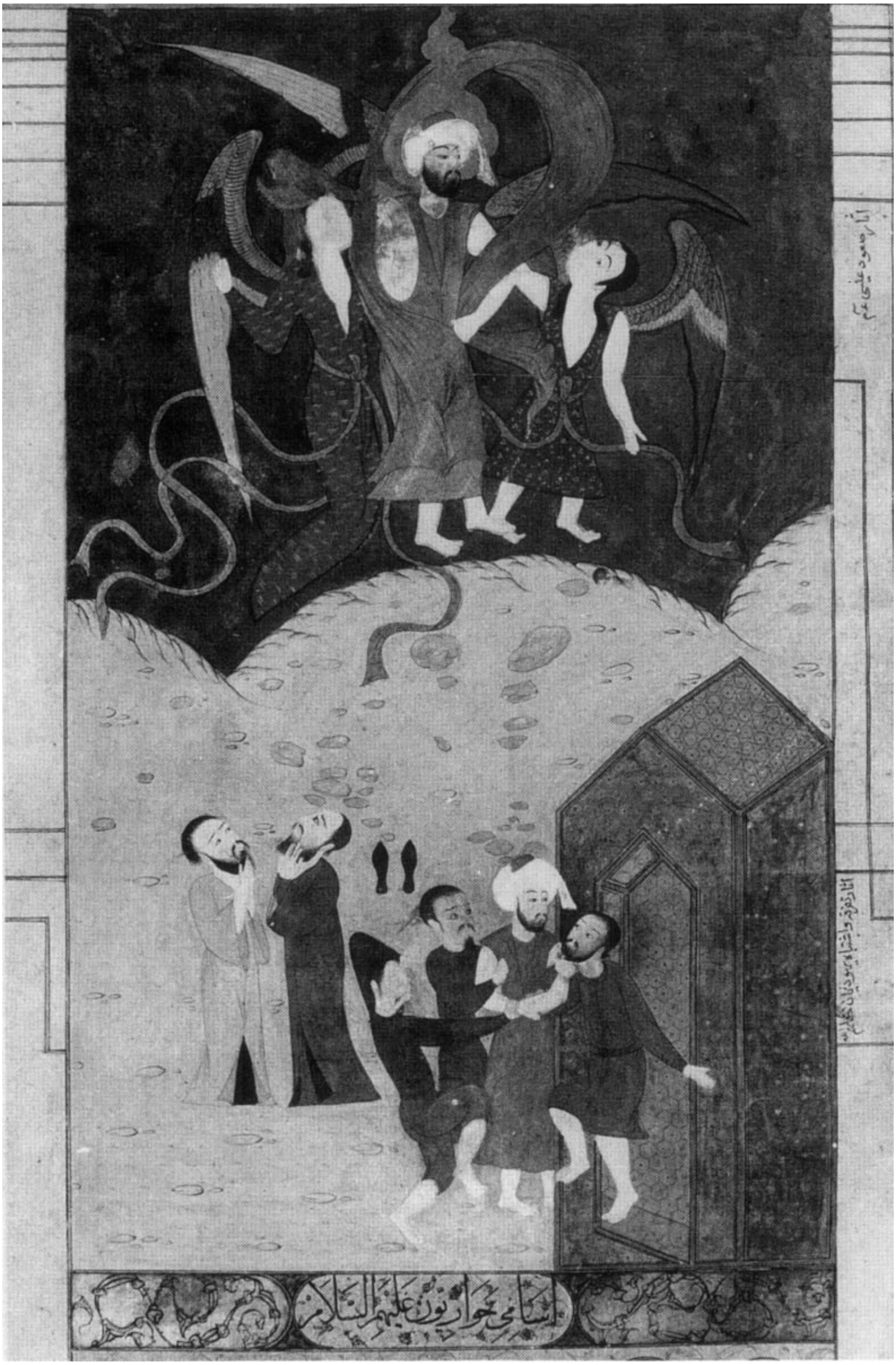

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OZAN (T.), in Turkish society "troubadour poet/singer/story-teller". The term comes from the verb *oz-* "to outstrip, go ahead in the race" (see Clauson, *Etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 279), already attested in Kās͟hg͟harī's [*q.v.*] *Dīwān lug͟hāt al-turk* (5th/11th century), as also in the living tongues of Kirgiz, Sagay and Koybol of Central Asia and in the Turkish of Anatolia. The term *ozan* was used for the singers who accompanied the army in Saldjūḳ times. An Anatolian Turkish poet of the 9th/15th century called himself Ozan. In Turkmen, the term is archaic and is replaced by *bagsı* "popular poet". In the Turkish of Turkey, from the 10th/16th century onwards it was replaced by *ʿās͟hiḳ* (*âşık*). Nevertheless, in certain contemporary dialects of Anatolia, it has survived with the meaning "poet/singer", as also as an element of the terms *ozanlama* "assonantal sayings, proverbs", *ozancı* "garrulous person", *ozanlık* "pleasantry" and *ozannama* "improvised story, song". At the present day, in modern Turkish, it has replaced the Arabic term *s͟hāʿir* (*şair*).

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ÖZBEG (ŪZBAK, ŪZBĪK) (T.), a term with a variety of uses in pre-modern times.

1. Historical aspects

(a) As a generic term, it was applied to the Turko-Mongol nomadic tribal groups in Central Asia, especially Trans- and Cis-Oxiana and K͟hwārazm, which from the mid-15th century onwards comprised the military support for Djūčid-Čingīzid lineages such as the S͟hībānids [*q.v.*] (ʿArabs͟hāhids) of K͟hwārazm (16th and 17th centuries), the S͟hībānids (Abu 'l-K͟hayrids) of Trans- and Cis-Oxiana (16th century) and the Tuḳāy Tīmūrids (Djānids [*q.v.*]) in Trans- and Cis-Oxiana (17th century).

By the 16th century, there were two well-established traditions listing 32 or 92 distinct "Özbeg" tribes (*īl, ḳawm, ūlūs, ṭāʾifa*) (T.I. Sultanov, *Kočevye plemena pri-Aral'ya v XV-XVII vv.*, Moscow 1982, 7-51). Of these, the ones which figure most prominently in the history of K͟hwārazm (K͟hīwa [*q.v.*]) and Trans- and Cis-Oxiana from the beginning of the 16th to the end of the 19th centuries, are the Mangīt, Ḳungrāt, Arg͟hūn, Ḳipčāḳ, Ḳirgīz, Ḳārlūḳ, Kalmuk [*q.v.*], Alčīn, Ḳiyāt, Uyrāt (Oyrat), Nāymān, Ḳaṭag͟han, Ḳānglī (Ḳānḳulī), Utārči, Dūrman, Arlāt, Kerāyit, Mīng, Yūz, Djalāʾir, Sarāy, Onggut, Tānggut, Merkit (Makrīt), Ḳārī, Og͟hlān, Us͟hūn, Kenīkas, Tātār, Ḳirḳ, Ḳūs͟hčī, Uyg͟hūr and Bahrīn. Many of these tribal entities, or at least their names, disappeared over the centuries from written records; others, like the Mangīt, Kenīkas, Ḳaṭag͟han, Ḳungrāt, Mīng and Yūz survived the eventual breakdown of Čingīzid authority in the region and formed successor amīrates (or begates) which survived to modern times.

The meaning of the term Özbeg is closely linked to the emergence of two new Djūčid lineages at the beginning of the 16th century in Central Asia, the Abu 'l-K͟hayrid and the ʿArabs͟hāhid or Yādgārid. Both traced their origins to S͟hībān b. Djūčī b. Čingīz Khan. Their supporters, apparently because of their earlier affiliations with the Djūčid Golden Horde and Uzbek Khan, are known (in Persian) as the *Ūzbakān* or *Ūzbakiyya*. When allied with the Čag͟hatāy Čingīzids, however, these same Turko-Mongol tribal groups are called *Mug͟huls* (see e.g. Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1922, 2; also Section IV of the introduction, E.D. Ross (ed.) and N. Elias (tr.), *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia, being the Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlát*, London 1898). To contemporary observers like Bābur and later Iskandar Beg Muns͟hī [*q.v.*], the term meant both the Turko-Mongol supporters of the Central Asian Čingīzids and, by extension, and, in the Persian case, derogatorily, the Čingīzids themselves.

The Djūčid agnates held exclusive right to the titles *k͟hān* (sovereign) and *sulṭān* (prince), while their Özbeg military backers were generally distinguished by the title of *amīr*. Although a court ceremonial with apparently ancient antecedents established a traditional hierarchy of the Özbeg tribal groups, it had little to do with their actual political power. The early 17th century writer Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī wrote a detailed description of court protocol at Balk͟h which, when compared with the biographies he also compiled of contemporary *amīrs*, shows no clear correspondence between court status and political prominence (see R.D. McChesney, *The Amirs of seventeenth century Muslim Central Asia*, in *JESHO*, xxvi, 41-2).

The leading *amīrs* were granted rights in revenue known variously as *iḳṭāʿ, suyurg͟hāl, tiyūl* [*q.vv.*] (see e.g. M.A. Abduraimov, *Očerki agrarnik͟h otnos͟henii v Buk͟harskom k͟hanstve*, Tashkent 1966-70, ii, 100-24), which gave them and their kinsmen and allies an interest in the regions from which they derived this income. Through the 16th and early 17th centuries the Čingīzid sovereigns followed a policy of periodically transferring their amīrid backers, perhaps to limit the degree of attachment they might feel to any particular locale. By the middle of the 17th century, this policy was becoming more and more difficult to enforce. Attempts by Nad͟hr Muḥammad [*q.v.*] (*r.* at Balk͟h 1015-51/1606-42 and 1055-61/1645-51), for example, to move *amīrs* like Yalangtūs͟h Bī Alčīn from what was a long-time *iḳṭāʿ* in the region south of Balk͟h contributed to his downfall after a brief reign at Buk͟hārā (1642-5). His Čingīzid successors did not make the same mistake.

Through the 18th century, the Özbeg groups consolidated their local ties and by the beginning of the 19th century some of them had established independent dynasties—at Buk͟hārā and Samarḳand (Mangit), Maymana (Mīng), K͟hoḳand (Mīng), Ḳunduz (Ḳaṭag͟han), K͟hīwa (Ḳungrāt) and S͟hahr-i Sabz (Kenīkas). The new petty dynasts tended to prefer the title *amīr* or *mīr*, perhaps in deference to the power which the idea of Čingīzid legitimacy still retained long after the last of the Čingīzids had disappeared from the scene.

(b) More specifically, the term was also used as part of a proper name, perhaps designating urbanised Turkish-speakers who did not identify themselves with any of the above tribal organisations. In the archives of the Djūybārī *s͟hayk͟hs* of Buk͟hārā (see

P.P. Ivanov (tr.), *Khozyaistvo dzhuibarskikh sheikhov*, Moscow-Leningrad 1954) appear names of property-owners like "Āķ Bīga, daughter of ʿĀdil Bī Özbeg" (134), "Tūlūm Beg, daughter of Bilāl Bī Özbeg" (240) and "Khwādjā Muḥammad Mīr Özbeg" (177). However, of the several thousand names in this archive less than a dozen are so distinguished.

(c) Contemporary indigenous sources often applied the term Özbeg to uncultured and unlettered individuals, usually nomads or rural peasants (see e.g. for the mid-17th century, Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāķib al-akhyār*, i, ed. and Russian tr. as *More tain otnositel'no doblestei blagorodnīkh*, Tashkent 1977, 1 of the Persian text, for a contrast between the intellectuals who inhabited Andīdjān before the "Özbegs" settled in the region; Muḥammad Ṭālib Djūybārī, *Maṭlab al-ṭālibīn*, Tashkent IVAN ms. no. 3757, fol. 147b, where Imām Ķulī Khān (*r.* 1020-51/1612-42) is described as angered at "the Özbegs, the desert-dwellers (*ṣaḥrā-nishīnān*) of that region", and fol. 214b, where a *shaykh* has an encounter with a drunken "Özbeg" in a Bukhāran street).

(d) Finally, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries the term Özbeg was used by the politically-dominant Durrānī Afghāns for long-term residents in northern Afghānistān, whether Turkish-speaking or not (see R.D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia*, Princeton 1991, 303-4; N. Tapper, *Bartered brides: politics, gender and marriage in Afghan tribal society*, Cambridge 1991, 39).

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(R.D. McChesney)

2. Ethnography

The Özbegs are one of the predominant ethnic groups of Turkistān [*q.v.*] or Central Asia, with their territory extending from the Caspian Sea to Sinkiang. They are found in the former Soviet republics of Türkmenistān, Özbegistān, Tādjikistān, Ķirghizia, Ķazākhstān, across northern Afghānistān and in Kābul, the capital of Afghānistān, and in the People's Republic of China. In the former Soviet Union, there are approximately 20 million Özbegs, indicating a rapidly increasing population. The number of Özbegs in Afghānistān [*q.v.* (ii)] has probably been underestimated as one million since the 1960s. In Sinkiang there are about 14,000 Özbegs, about whom little is known in the outside world.

Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and now Europe and the United States have provided a home for Özbegs who have left their traditional territory because of political, economic and social disruption related either to Soviet or Chinese expansionism or the on-going Afghānistān conflict. During Russian and later Soviet control in Central Asia, the Özbegs periodically rebelled and through spontaneous uprisings expressed nationalistic feelings [see BASMAČIS]. In Afghānistān, competition and hostility has been directed most toward the Pashtūns [see AFGHĀNS], a group economically and politically dominant there. Özbegs from northern Afghānistān are currently (1992) involved in the Afghān resistance movement against the Marxist government.

The groups of Özbegs divided by national boundaries have been somewhat isolated from each other during much of the 20th century. For example, Özbeg was traditionally written in Arabic script, but since 1940 Cyrillic script has been used in the Soviet Union, hampering communication with those in other countries who retain Arabic script as in Afghānistān or those who utilise Latin script such as Turkistānī exiles in Turkey. However, recent contacts between Özbegs have been facilitated by construction of the Ķaraķorum highway through Pakistan and the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

The Özbeg khānates of the late 19th century [see BUKHĀRĀ, KHĪWA and KHOĶAND] had a complex socio-political organisation with dynastic rulers, standing armies, governmental and religious bureaucracy, social stratification and specialisation. Villages were traditionally led by an *aķsaķal*, a respected older headman who mediated disputes. The ethnographic literature and travellers' accounts indicate that Özbegs had become sedentary by the 20th century. Vestiges of a semi-nomadic past remain for some who still construct *yurts*, portable felt-covered round tents with wood frames, in the household courtyards for use during the summer. Agricultural Özbegs live in permanent villages which are either compact with surrounding agricultural lands or dispersed with homesteads in linear arrangements following irrigation canals. Some rural and urban household compounds are still built of adobe brick, most with flat roofs, but some structures exhibit a "beehive" style.

Agriculturist Özbegs grow rice, cotton, wheat, barley, sorghum, alfalfa, various vegetables and fruits, especially melons, and raise sheep, goats, cows and horses. Mulberry, which has leaves used in the raising of silkworms, is cultivated. Traditional commercial activities include black-, tin-, lock- and coppersmithing; silk, textile, saddle, sheepskin coat, leather, felt and pottery manufacture, soap making, barbering, oil pressing, butchering, baking, rice hulling and milling. Carved plaster made of gypsum and decorative wood work are important decorative crafts. Özbeg women are known for their flat-weave rugs and embroidery. A brightly dyed silk cloth made into cloaks and dresses is another specialty.

Men's and women's activities are spatially regulated. Women traditionally perform their duties of cooking, cleaning, sewing, bread making and animal care in the private space of the household courtyard while men work in the public area of the marketplace or fields. This division is adhered to most strictly in urban areas in northern Afghānistān, where traditional Özbeg women begin wearing the veil around the age of puberty. In the former Soviet republics, Özbeg women work outside the home in factories, offices and agriculture. However, they remain the primary homemakers.

Historically, tax-farming was the primary land tenure system, especially north of the Amū Daryā [*q.v.*]. In the khānate of Bukhārā [*q.v.*], provinces were divided into tax districts administered by appointees of the *amīr* of Bukhārā. Each *beg* retained the amount of revenue which he considered necessary to maintain his court and forwarded the rest to the *amīr*. The situation of the common people was not substantially altered after the Russian annexation of Central Asia except in Farghānā [*q.v.*], where the Russians instituted cotton mono-cropping and eliminated the traditional bureacracy.

In the late 1920s to 1930s, agriculture was collectivised in Turkistān. Despite Sovietisation, many Özbegs continued to market some of their own crops. Increasing cotton production in the late 19th to 20th centuries has led to integration into the world market. Depending on location, one-third to one-half of urban Özbegs in the former Soviet republics currently own their own households. In northern Afghānistān the most important land tenure system is currently freehold or private ownership which entails full rights and disposal through sale and inheritance. Most of the holdings are small, typically 5-10 acres.

The basic kin group is known as the *ḳawm* (other terms are also used), which in its basic sense consists of related households comprising a community. The *ḳawm* contains several groups of patrilineally-related families who regard themselves as descended from a common ancestor. However, *ḳawm* is a structural category which is adjusted by the people to suit their own social situation. The word is used to include not only agnates, but also persons who assist each other, share goods and live nearby, including affinal kinsmen and even unrelated people who marry in and become viewed as part of the group. Ideally, the nearest households in the village or urban neighbourhood who have close co-operative relationships and who may have their own mosque or other common interests form a *ḳawm*. A village may be composed of one or more *ḳawms*. An urban *ḳawm* is often associated with a craft or occupation. An important feature of kinship terminologies is the emphasis on special terms for older brother, *aḳa*, and older sister, *āpa*.

In the traditional marriage system, marriage preference is for one to whom a kin connection can be traced. There are norms against marriage with members of other ethnic groups. Although polygamy has become rare, parental arrangement and consent to marriage have been retained. A cash payment from the groom's side to the bride's is part of marriage negotiations, part of which may be used to buy household items for the bride. Divorce is governed by Islamic law or by the laws of the country, although community pressure limits its use.

The ideal is the patrilocal extended family with the senior married couple, their sons, the sons' wives and children and the unmarried daughters of the senior couple all residing in the same household compound. Nuclear families are also common, since extended families may break up as the sons mature and the senior pair ages.

Özbegs generally favour large families. In northern Afghānistān, the baby is strapped into a special wooden cradle on rockers beginning forty days after birth. Outside of the cradle, the baby is swaddled. Circumcision of boys, practiced by all Özbegs, is generally done at some time between the second and fourth year. A Ḳur'ānic education was traditional, but now public high school and university education are increasingly common, especially for boys.

The ruling dynasties in the Central Asian khānates from the end of the 18th to the 20th centuries were the tribal groups of Mangït [*q.v.*] in Bukhārā [*q.v.*] and Ḳungrāt [*q.v.*] in Khwārazm [*q.v.*], which came to be called Khīwa [*q.v.*]. The leaders of the Khoḳand khānate were from the Mīng tribe. Some Özbegs still remember a tribal designation and may use this as part of their personal identity. Important tribes are Ḳungrāt, Mangït, Ḳïpčaḳ, Ḳanglï, Na'imān, Khitay, Dürmen, Čaghatay, Mīng, Kenīkas and Lakai. Other "non-tribal" Özbegs use either a district or town as an identity marker. Gender, age, dialect and Islamic observance are important components of personal identity and status.

The Özbegs are Sunnī Muslims who follow the Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] legal tradition. Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfism has been a social and political force. For some, folk beliefs like the evil eye and harmful possessing spirits, *djinn* [*q.v.*] or *parī* [*q.v.*], are part of daily life and necessitate the use of amulets or written verses of the Ḳur'ān. Diseases may be classified as "hot" or "cold," with oppositely-classified foods used in their curing. The *ʿulamā'*, religious scholars and teachers, traditionally were very influential, since Bukhārā was for long a centre of Islamic learning. Shamanistic healing, especially the removal of spirits, was done by a practitioner called a *bākhshī*, *parīkhwān* or *duʿākhwān*, often a *mullā* learned in the Ḳur'ān. In the folk tradition, there is also belief in *albastī*, a witch-like *djinnī*.

In addition to the celebration of Islamic festivals and holy periods such as Ramaḍān, a non-Islamic holiday, the New Year, held at the beginning of spring, is celebrated by the distribution of a pudding-like food made of sprouted wheat, *sūmūlak*, to family and friends. Özbegs are known for their cuisine, which includes many noodle dishes such as *mantū*, a steamed dumpling. The musical tradition includes indigenous instruments such as the two-stringed *dūtār* and the *dā'ira*, a tambourine, for use in public and private entertainment. To celebrate weddings and circumcisions, men play *ūlaḳ*, a sport in which men on horseback battle to carry the carcass of a cow to a goal.

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(Audrey C. Shalinsky)

ÖZBEG b. MUḤAMMAD PAHLAWĀN, Muẓaffar al-Dīn (reigned 607-22/1210-25), the fifth and last Atabeg of the Ildegizid or Eldigüzid

family [see ILDEÑIZIDS] who ruled in Ādharbāydjān during the later Saldjūḳ and Khwārazmshāhī periods. He married Malika Khātūn, widow of the last Great Saldjūḳ sultan Ṭoghrïl III (killed in 590/1194 [*q.v.*]).

During the early part of his career, he ruled in Hamadhān as a subordinate of his brother Nuṣrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr, during the time when much of Ādharbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī was falling into anarchy in the post-Saldjūḳ period. His freedom of action was often circumscribed by powerful Turkish *amīrs*, nominally his agents and protectors, such as Ay-Aba, Gökče and Ay-Ṭoghmïsh, until in 607/1210 he succeeded Abū Bakr as Atabeg in Tabrīz and head of the family.

Under military pressure from the resurgent Georgians [see AL-KURDJ], he had to come to an arrangement with the Khwārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad whereby he was confirmed in Ādharbāydjān and Arrān but as the Shāh's vassal, acknowledging him in the *khuṭba* and *sikka* (614/1217). In 617/1220 the Mongols first came to Tabrīz, and on their third reappearance Özbeg abandoned the city for Nakhčiwān [*q.v.*], but was back again by the autumn of 619/1222. In 621/1224 a fresh wave of Mongol troops entered Persia, defeated the Khwārazmians at Rayy and pushed on to Tabrīz, compelling Özbeg to extradite to them the Khwārazmian refugees who had fled thither. In Radjab 622/June 1225, however, the Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*] occupied the Ildegizid capital, whilst Özbeg withdrew to Gandja [*q.v.*], and the Shāh forced Özbeg to divorce his wife Malika Khātūn, whom he married himself, till intervention by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ashraf rescued her and brought her to Khilāṭ. Özbeg now lost Gandja also, and died in humiliation at the fortress of Alindja (622/1225), so that his line came to an end.

Özbeg is very severely judged by the chroniclers for his indolence and love of luxurious living; but it must be said in extenuation that he faced redoubtable foes in the Georgians, the Khwārazmians and the Mongols. His court was famed as a centre for art and letters, with his vizier Rabīb al-Dawla being a noted patron of poets.

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ÖZBEGISTAN [see UZBEKISTAN].

ÖZDEMIR PASHA, Ottoman *beylerbeyi* (governor) of Yemen and, subsequently, of coastal Abyssinia (Ḥabesh [*q.v.*]), and the individual most instrumental in establishing the sultan's authority in both provinces during the mid-10th/16th century.

An Egyptian *mamlūk* of Circassian origin whose master is said to have been one Kaykāwūs Shewkat Bey, Özdemir took service with the Ottomans after Selīm I conquered Egypt in 922-3/1517. He held a number of minor offices in the provincial administration until, by 945/1538, he had gained the position of *kāshif* (district prefect). In this year he enrolled for service in the sizeable naval expedition launched from Suez against the Portuguese in India under the command of Süleymān Pasha [*q.v.*].

Upon the armada's return from India to coastal Yemen, where Süleymān Pasha secured Ottoman rule at Zabīd under a *sandjak beyi*, Özdemir remained there as an *amīr*. Ewliyā Čelebi's claim (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 220, 939) that he next served in southern Egypt against the expansionist Fundj [*q.v.*] is without corroboration. Yet Özdemir is next noticed only in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 953/February 1547 as a participant in the Ottoman capture of Taʿizz [*q.v.*]. When shortly Uways Pasha, the Ottoman governor (*beylerbeyi*), was assassinated, Özdemir, by then a *sandjak beyi*, was elected locally as interim commander (*serdār*). He resolved to capture Ṣanʿāʾ, the Zaydī capital, which ambition was realised on 7 Radjab 954/23 August 1547. Although it was nearly another two years before he was confirmed as *beylerbeyi* of Yemen, he maintained pressure on the weak and divided Zaydīs. The high point of Ottoman domination was reached in 959/1552 when, after five years of unavailing warfare, the Zaydī leader al-Muṭahhar [*q.v.*] and Özdemir Pasha concluded a peace treaty whereby the former acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty in return for limited autonomy.

Özdemir was dismissed from Yemen during 961/1554, probably in Djumādā I/April. Attracted by the prosperity of the eastern Red Sea port of Sawākin, where he landed while returning from Yemen, and filled with enthusiasm to conquer the Abyssinian littoral to further Islam and check Portuguese ambitions, Özdemir subsequently persuaded Sultan Süleymān in person to appoint him commander (*serdār*) of an Egyptian force of 3,000 to achieve that goal. When an initial attempt to reach his objective via the Nile River failed, Özdemir established his base at Sawākin, the centre of the new Ottoman province of Ḥabesh, which was officially created on 15 Shaʿbān 962/5 July 1555 with Özdemir Pasha as *beylerbeyi*. From Sawākin, the Ottoman forces first seized and secured the Abyssinian coastlands, including the key port of Maṣawwaʿ [*q.v.*], before in 965/1558 commencing successful forays into the province of Tigre. An inland Ottoman base was secured in 966/1559 at Debārwā, where a fortress and mosques were constructed.

It was at Debārwā that Özdemir Pasha died during 967/1560, after which the vastly outnumbered Ottoman troops began retreating towards the coast. His body was interred at Debārwā, but later it was transferred for burial in a mausoleum erected at Maṣawwaʿ by his son ʿOthmān Pasha [*q.v.*], who succeeded him as *beylerbeyi* of Ḥabesh and who eventually became Grand Vizier (*ṣadr-ï aʿẓam*). Özdemir is usually portrayed as an indefatigable warrior with frugal personal habits and an incorruptible loyalty to the Ottoman sultan.

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Published materials: Nahrawālī, *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī* = *Ghazawāt al-Djarākisa*, ed. Ḥ. al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1967, 98-128 *passim*; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. S. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1968, ii, 698-715; Pečewī, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, i, 32-3; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 550; Münedjdjim Bashï, iii, 239-42; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 444; Rāshid, *Tārīkh-i Yemen*, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 84-104 *passim*; Sheref, *Özdemiroghlu ʿOthmān Pasha*, in *TOEM*, iv (1289); Wüstenfeld, *Jemen*, Göttingen

1884, 8-9; C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlıların Habeşistan siyaseti 1554-1560*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xv (1965), 39-54; idem, *Habeş eyaleti*, Istanbul 1974, 33-48 (rich in Ottoman documents); and Blackburn, *The Ottoman penetration of Yemen*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 55-100 (for an annotated translation of Özdemir's *fatḥ-nāme* for the conquest of Ṣanʿāʾ).

(J.R. Blackburn)

ÖZI, Özü, the Turkish name of three related features: the river Dnepr, the coastal fortress of Očakov (both in the Ukraine), and the Ottoman *eyālet* alternately called Özi or Silistre (roughly a coastal area bracketed by the lower Özi/Dnepr on the east and the lower Danube with the nearby river port city of Silistre on the south-west; its *beylerbeyi* resided at Aḳḳirmān or Silistre but not at Özi/Očakov, more often the seat of a *sandjaḳ beyi*).

Both the river and the fortress played an important but complex role in the history of the two Turkish Muslim powers in the Black Sea area, the Crimean Tatars and the Ottomans. The river's lower course first represented a dividing line between the Lithuanians and Poles on the west and the Tatars on the east, and later, in a similar manner, between the *eyālet* of Silistre (Özi) and the khānate, although within the framework of the Ottoman empire of which the khānate became a vassal. The Dnepr approaches the Black Sea from the east through a long and wide estuary which also receives the river Bug from the north; this estuary, known by its Russian term (but possibly a loanword from Ottoman Turkish) as *liman*, at the same time separates the mainland from the Crimean peninsula which ends up in a spur named Kinburnskaya kosa ("Kinburn spur", lit. "scythe", a distortion of the Ottoman name Ḳïlburun "Hair-[thin] cape") two km/1.3 miles south of Očakov. It was on the western bank of the Bug's estuary that King Vytautas of Lithuania built a fort named Dashiv in *ca.* 1400, which was renamed Djānkirmān after the Crimean Khān Mengli Giray [*q.v.*] acquired it in 1492. Djānkirmān became a direct Ottoman possession in 1538. Until its final fall to the Russian army and navy two-and-a-half centuries later, Özi—as Djānkirmān came to be called by the Ottomans—played an important strategic role in the long struggle between the Turks and Tatars on the one hand, and the Lithuanians, Poles, Cossacks and finally Russians, on the other, involving a contest for the control—especially naval control—of the Black Sea, the Crimea, and the Danubian provinces. Although Özi failed to deter the Cossacks (who founded their famous base of Sič further upstream on the Dnepr) from raiding it and sailing past it on their forays all over the Black Sea, it did help the Ottomans maintain their own presence on this frontier and delay the success of the eventual Russian onslaught. Nevertheless, by the 18th century the latter showed its force in two Russo-Turkish wars: that of 1736-9 and that of 1787-92. Özi was taken on both occasions (July 1736, but the Peace Treaty of Belgrade, 1739, restored it to Turkey; and, definitively, in December 1788, with the Peace Treaty of Jassy, 1792). This final stage was memorable, among other things, for the series of naval engagements between the Ottoman fleet under the able but inadequately-supported *ḳaptanpasha* Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha and the Russian one, marked by the rivalry between its two commanders, John Paul Jones (a hero of the American Revolution) and the German prince Charles of Nassau-Siegen.

A matter of some interest is Özi's earlier name, Djānkirmān (and another such form given by Ewliyā Čelebi, Dehkirmān), as well as that of Očakov. The specific origin of the name Djānkirmān is obscure, but it clearly consists of two elements, *djān* (possibly the Persian term "soul, something dear") and *kirmān* (Persian "fortress"); the latter word appears in a number of place names in the Ukraine (for example Aḳḳirmān, the Slavic Belgorod), but not elsewhere (except for the Persian cities of Kirmān and Kirmānshāh); a Scythian (thus Iranian) origin is probable, a remarkable case of the permanence and resilience of toponyms. Although the place became known in Ottoman Turkish by the name of the river as Özi ḳalesi (but was on occasion also called Uzun ḳale), the citadel part was called Ačï-ḳale, which was then extended in Russian and Ukrainian (as Očakov and Očakiv) to the whole fortress.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, 173-213 (esp. 179-85, where a thorough description of Ottoman Özi/Očakov is given); İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii, iv, *passim*, see index; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976, i, 191, 198, 260, 287; idem, *Between old and new, the Ottoman empire under Sultan Selīm III, 1789-1807*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 29-67; *Istoriya mist i sil Ukrains'koy RSR* ("History of the cities and towns of the Ukrainian SSR"), xv, Kiev 1971, 614-31 (entry *Očakiv*); Süleymān Nuṭḳī, *Muṣawwer muḥārebat-i bahriyye-i ʿothmāniyye*, Istanbul 1307/1889, 85-88; R.C. Anderson, *Naval wars in the Levant*, Liverpool 1952, 318-47; S.E. Morison, *John Paul Jones*, Boston 1985, 361-84; G. Veinstein, *L'occupation ottomane d'Očakov et le problème de la frontière lituano-tatare, 1538-1544*, in *Passé turco-tatar, present soviétique. Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, Paris 1986, 123-55.

(S. Soucek)

ÖZKEND, Ūzkend, sometimes written in the sources Yūzkand or Ūzdjand, a town of mediaeval Islamic Farghāna [*q.v.*] in Central Asia, lying at the eastern end of the Farghāna valley and regarded as being near the frontier with the pagan Turks.

Already in the mid-3rd/9th century, Özkend had a local ruler called by the Turkish name Khūrtigin (?Čūr-tigin) (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 30). The geographers of the next century (i.e. that of the Sāmānids) describe it as having the tripartite pattern typical of eastern Islamic towns, with a citadel in the *madīna* or inner city and a suburb; from it led the way towards Semirečye and the Turkish lands (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 513-14, tr. Wiet, 491-2; al-Muḳaddasī, 272; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 116, comm. 255; Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, i, 280; Le Strange, *Lands*, 476).

Under the Ḳarakhānids [see ilek-khans], it became the capital at the opening of the 5th/11th century of the Ilig Naṣr b. ʿAlī, and then the capital of the eastern wing of the confederation, with Yūsuf Ḳadïr Khān b. Hārūn Bughra Khān minting coins there from 416/1025. Maḥmūd Kāshgharī mentions Ūzkand and defines it as the chief town of Farghāna and as meaning in Turkish *balad anfusinā* "city of our souls" = "our own, special city" (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 343 = R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-4, i, 270). It remained a centre of the Ḳarakhānids until the invasions of Čingiz Khān, and Ḳarakhānid coins were minted there up to 610/1213 (E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islam*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 58). But after Mongol times it declined, since the Mongol *maliks* of Farghāna made Andidjān [*q.v.*] their centre there. In modern times, it is a mere village in the district of Andidjān (Barthold, *A short history of Turkestan*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, Leiden 1962, i, 23, 48).

Bibliography: See also Barthold, *Turkestan*, 156-7, 260, 285-6, 353, 363.

(C.E. Bosworth)

P

PĀʾ or *bāʾ-i fārsī* or *bāʾ-i ʿadjamī*, i.e. the *bāʾ* with three points subscript, invented for Persian as supplement to the Arabic *bāʾ* and to represent the unvoiced, as opposed to the voiced, bilabial plosive (for the voiced *b*, see BĀʾ). It is sometimes interchangeable with *bāʾ* (e.g. *asp* and *asb*, *dabīr* and *dapīr*) and, more frequently, with *fāʾ* (e.g. *sapīd* and *safīd*, *Pārs* and *Fārs*). The regular use of the letter in manuscripts is comparatively modern, but it is found in good ones of the 7th/13th century while at the same time it is often omitted in manuscripts of much later date (*GIPh*, 1/iv, 74; G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 142).

The usage of the letter *pāʾ* passed into Ottoman Turkish, for both original Turkish words (early Turkish had distinguished both voiced and unvoiced versions of the sound, and the first writing system for Turkish, that of the Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions (7th-8th centuries A.D.), had had separate signs for *p* and *b*, see Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington, Ind. 1968, 24, 27 n. 10, 75) and for Persian loanwords (see J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte osmanli)*, Paris 1921, 51-2, 77-8). *Pāʾ* is likewise used in Urdu both for Persian and Turkish loanwords and for words stemming from the Indo-Aryan basis of the language.

In loanwords into Arabic, *pāʾ* may be rendered as *bāʾ*, e.g. in *bāshā* for Turkish *pasha*; *būsta/būsṭa* for Italian *posta*; *batrūl* for Fr./Eng. *pétrole/petrol*. But it was often rendered, especially in Classical Arabic at a time when Persian cultural influences were strong, as *fāʾ* also, e.g. *furāniḳ* < MP *parvānak*, NP *parwāna* "messenger, courier with despatches"; *fānīdh* < Skr. *phāṇita*, NP *pānīd* "sugar-cane syrup"; *firind* < NP *parand* "damascening on a sword" (see A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 71).

(R. Levy-[C.E. Bosworth])

PĀDHŪSPĀN [see RŪYĀN].

PĀDISHĀH (P.), the name for Muslim rulers, especially emperors. The Persian term *pād-i shāh*, i.e. (according to M. Bittner, in E. Oberhummer, *Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich*, Leipzig 1917, 105) "lord who is a royalty" in which the root *pad* is connected with Sanskrit *patis*, lord, husband, fem. *patni*, Greek πότνια and δεσ-πότης, Lat. *potens* (G. Curtius, *Griech. Etymol.*, 377), was originally a title reserved exclusively for the sovereign, which in course of time and as a result of the long intercourse of the Ottomans with the states of the West also came to be approved for certain Western rulers. In the correspondence of the Porte with the Western powers, the grand vizier Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha (d. 7 Djumādā II 1021/5 Aug. 1612) probably for the first time applied the title *pādishāh* to the Austrian emperor Rudolf II. At the conference of Nemirow (1737), Russia demanded the title for its Tsars (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, vii, 488) and claimed it again at the negotiations at Bucharest (1773; cf. *ibid.*, viii, 412). When *pādishāh* came to be applied to the sultan, the *pādishāh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, does not seem to be exactly known. In any case it is found in conjunction with all kinds of rhyming words as early as the beginning of the 10th/16th century in Ottoman documents. *Pādishāh* therefore may have come to be used towards the end of the 9th/15th century, presumably instead of *khunkʾār* (from *khudāwendkʾār*; cf. *JA*, ser. ii, vol. xv, 276/572), an obsolete word, as well as *sulṭān* (cf. *Isl.*, xi [1921], 70) already found in dervish Ṣūfism, and was regularly used till the end of the sultanate (cf. the cry of *pādishāhīmīz čoḳ* or *biñ yasha* with which the sultan was greeted by his troops and subjects).

In Persian usage, followed by that of the Indo-Muslim rulers such as the Mughal emperors, *pādishāh* became a normal designation for the ruler, though regarded as lower than that of *shāhanshāh* [see SHĀH], and in more recent times it was used by Persian monarchs in diplomatic documents addressed to European kings. Already the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (end of the 4th/10th century) uses *pādshā(h)* "ruler" and *pādshāʾī/pādshāy* even for petty princes of the upper Oxus region and northern Afghānistān (tr. Minorsky, 108, 109, § 23.65, 75; idem, *Addenda to the Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, in *BSOAS*, xvii [1955], glossary, 257). When ʿAlī, son of the head of the Ṣafawī order Ḥaydar b. Djunayd, adopted the title of *pādishāh* in his struggle with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] towards the end of the 9th/15th century, it was a clear indication of the ambitions of the Ṣafawī family (see R.M. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980, 20). In the later half of the 19th century, A. de Biberstein Kazimirski noted that some of the officials of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*] had taken to describing their master, not only as *shāhanshāh*, but also as *pādishāh-i kull-i mamālik-i Īrān*, apparently in imitation of the Tsar's designation "Emperor of all the Russias" (*Menoutchehri, poète persan du 11ème siècle de notre ère (du 5ième de l'hégire)*, Paris 1887, 359-60).

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(F. Babinger-[C.E. Bosworth])

PADRI, the name of a major Islamic revivalist movement in Minangkabau [*q.v.*], Sumatra, 1803-38. The appellation Padri is derived from *orang Pidari* "men of Pedir (Pidië)", in reference to those who made the pilgrimage to Mecca by way of the Atjèhnese port of Pidië. The Padri built on earlier Minangkabau reform movements initiated by the two major Ṣūfī *tarekat* which had been the instrument for converting the central highlands of Sumatra, the Naksyabandiyah (Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*]) and the Syattariyah (Shaṭṭāriyya [*q.v.*]). Operating by the late 18th century in a society which was only very partially Islamicised, these *tarekat* flourished around *surau* or centres for religious studies which attracted hundreds of students from throughout Minangkabau.

In the 1780s the hilly regions surrounding some of the major *surau* in the valley districts of Agam, Tanah

Datar and Limapuluh Kota in the Minangkabau highlands were experiencing a major economic revival caused by European and American demand for coffee and cassia. Overcome by booming demand, the society exhibited an inability to organise a secure trading network to the coastal ports or a suitable method of settling disputes in the marketplace. It was the *surau* which was able to offer an alternative to the existing mode of regulation, especially in commercial affairs. Both the Syattariyah and Naksyabandiyah *tarekat* had instigated "back to the *syariat* (*sharīʿa* [*q.v.*])" movements in other parts of the Islamic world, and now for the first time in central Sumatra conditions became ripe for a similar movement: for Minangkabau Muslim *surau*, such as those of the Syattariyah *syekh* (*shaykh*) Tuanku Nan Tua in Agam, to challenge further accommodation with society, and to couch this challenge in terms of elevating Islamic law, including the commercial provisions of the *syariat*, to a position of pre-eminence.

It was against this background that in 1803 there returned to Minangkabau three pilgrims who had observed the Wahhābī conquest of Mecca [see WAHHĀBIYYA]. They were well aware of the difference between "back to the *syariat*" and a return to the fundamental tenets of the Prophet and his Companions. The most distinguished of these three Padri was Haji Miskin, who had worked with Tuanku Nan Tua prior to his departure for Mecca. He now settled in the coffee village of Pandai Sikat in Agam and worked to improve the state of the marketplace and to rationalise commerce. He gained the support of certain lineage heads and in fact during the Padri movement a number of religious teachers and *adat* [see ʿĀDA] leaders worked together to introduce a new commercially favourable régime where cockfighting would disappear from the market and bandit villages would be eliminated. It is certainly misleading to see the Padri movement as an uncomprising attack on the *adat* leadership.

Ultimately driven out of Pandai Sikat, Haji Miskin joined the religious teacher Tuanku Nan Rinceh in the coffee- and cassia-rich hill area in the north of Agam. Also a pupil of Tuanku Nan Tua, Tuanku Nan Rinceh had been trying to put his master's ideas into practice, but piecemeal action no longer seemed adequate when Haji Miskin was able to indicate another way. Tuanku Nan Rinceh now concluded that each village must be turned into an Islamic community as rapidly as possible, using the simplicity of the Wahhābī system as a model along the lines of which such new communities were to be organised. He proclaimed a *djihād* and announced to his own village the régime of extreme puritanism which must henceforth be followed. The outward signs of a revivalist village were to be the abandonment of cockfighting, gambling and the use of tobacco, opium, *sirih* and strong drink; white clothes symbolising purity were to be worn, with women covering their faces and men allowing their beards to grow; no part of the body was to be decorated with gold jewellery, and silk clothing was to be eschewed. Needless to say, prayer five times a day was obligatory. A system of fines was instituted for infringement of these rules.

How successful the Padri were at imposing a Wahhābī-style administration on the villages they conquered is difficult to say. It seems that the village traditional leaders in their council continued to play an important role, although each conquered or converted village was obliged to appoint a *kadi* (*ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*]) who functioned side by side with the village council. The village was also required to appoint an *imam*, to be occupied with expounding the Ḳurʾān and carrying out religious ceremonies in the newly-built mosque. Apart from this, the most characteristic mark of the Padri village was its participation in organised violence against villages which would not submit to the Padri notion of an Islamic community.

Violence was particularly marked among the Padri of Tanah Datar, the home of Tuanku Lintau, who became notorious for his slaughter, in 1815, of many members of the Minangkabau royal family at a meeting arranged for negotiations. He went on to pursue a career of raiding and burning of opposition villages. In fact, throughout the Padri period all villages were heavily fortified and their male population kept almost constantly on a war-footing.

Just as a Padri victory over the whole of Minangkabau seemed certain, the Dutch returned to the chief Minangkabau coastal port of Padang in 1819. Invited into the highlands by anti-Padri *adat* leaders and remnants of the royal family, in February 1821 they signed a treaty in which these suppliants surrendered Minangkabau to Dutch sovereignty. So began the Padri War of 1821-38, in which, despite strong Padri resistance, the colonial forces were ultimately victorious. Prominent among the Padri war leaders was Tuanku Imam Bonjol. Having established his village at Bonjol, north of Agam, in 1807, like other Padri leaders he tried to build up a trading network to the west coast, away from outside control. The Dutch after their return in 1819 were a threat to this, and Bonjol launched its first attack on Dutch forces in the interior in 1822. From this period until 1837, Dutch and Bonjol forces were periodically engaged despite Bonjol's attempt to expand away to the north into the Batak country. Bonjol finally fell to the Dutch in 1837, Tuanku Imam Bonjol was exiled and Dutch victory over the last Padri remnants took place at Daludalu in 1838.

During this period, the Padri movement itself altered in character. Mecca had been lost to the Wahhābīs since 1813, and by the 1820s Minangkabau began to pay attention to the reports of returning pilgrims and the rigours of the original Padri system began to soften. The returning *hajis* were aided by the fact that no Padri leader had ever been able to acquire unchallenged dominance over a wide area and there was no monolithic Padri political system to break down. Nevertheless, the Padri left a lasting mark on Minangkabau and their legacy was powerful enough to be revivified as occasion demanded.

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(CHRISTINE DOBBIN)

PAHANG [see MALAY PENINSULA].

PAHLAWĀN (P.), from *Pahlaw*, properly "Par-

thian", acquired in pre-modern Persian and thence in Turkish, the sense of "wrestler, one who engages in hand-to-hand physical combat", becoming subsequently a general term for "hero, warrior, champion in battle". From this later, broader sense it is used as a personal name in the Persian world, e.g. for the Eldigüzid Atabeg [see ILDEÑIZIDS] Nuṣrat al-Dīn Djahān-Pahlawān (reigned in ʿĀdharbāydjān, d. 581 or 582/1186 [see PAHLAWĀN, MUḤAMMAD B. ILDEÑIZ; and see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 237, for other bearers of this name]. The word's appearance in Arabic as *bahlawān* is clearly a secondary development, and has in more recent times acquired the meaning of "acrobat, tightrope walker in a circus, etc.", as was noted by Lane in early 19th century Cairo, where it was gypsies who by then practised these skills (*The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. xx "Serpent-charmers, and performers of legerdemain tricks, etc."; see also Spiro, *Arabic-English dict. of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, repr. Beirut 1973, 61, and Barthélemy, *Dict. arabe-français des dialectes de la Syrie*, Paris 1935-54, 66). In the most recent colloquial of Cairo, it has become a pejorative term for "tricky person" (Hinds and Badawi, *A dict. of Egyptian Arabic, Arabic-English*, Beirut 1986, 110), cf. also *fahlawī* "clever" and *fahlawa* "cleverness".

The topic of wrestling, as a sport and as an expression of manliness and chivalry, thus linking up with the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], was the subject of a classic study, primarily of its Arabic aspects, by M. Canard (*La lutte chez les Arabes*, in *Cinquentaire de la Faculté de Lettres d'Alger (1881-1931)*, Algiers 1932, 1-64, repr. in *L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions*, Variorum Reprints, London 1974, no. XI), largely utilised here. Wrestling and fighting, with the aim of bringing the opponent to the ground, was an expression of classical Greek and Roman athleticism; but the sports most probably developed in parallel ways, rather being a continued influence upon the Arabic and Persian worlds. In ancient Arabia, wrestling seems to have been one of the spectacles at the pre-Islamic fair of ʿUkāẓ [*q.v.*]; in the *Sīrat ʿAntar* as it later developed [see ʿANTAR, SĪRAT], the hero ʿAntara b. Shaddād [*q.v.*] practised this sport as did, according to some traditions, the caliph ʿUmar I. The terms most commonly used for this in Arabic were *ṣurʿa* and *ṣirāʿ*, with the basic idea of hurling one's opponent to the ground. It may have continued in mediaeval Arabic times as a popular sport; in 251/865, during the disturbances at the caliphal capital of Sāmarrā during al-Mustaʿīn's time, citizens there hired *muṣāriʿūn* to defend their houses against the violence of the Turkish soldiery (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1540, tr. G. Saliba, *The crisis of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1985, 31).

However, it was in Persia that wrestling was developed to a fine art, being associated with the heroes of legendary times. Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* contains several episodes of wrestling and combat, often illustrated in manuscripts of the national epic; three centuries or so later, Saʿdī often cites the *pahlawān* or wrestler in situations where a moral of some sort can be pointed. Above all, this national pastime from ancient Iran has survived in the often-described special gymnasia for wrestling, the *zūr-khānas* [*q.v.*], with ritualistic methods of fighting and a special garb of tight-fitting trousers [see SIRWĀL in *EI*[1]] and belt.

From the Persians it passed to the Turks and was a significant element of the military prowess for which the race was famed in the mediaeval Islamic world. It was practised amongst the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria as part of their military training, *ṣirāʿ* being a skill ascribed to some of the great masters of *furūsiyya* [*q.v.*] (see D. Ayalon, *Notes on the Furūsiyya exercises and games in the Mamluk sultanate*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix, Jerusalem 1961, 57, 61-2, repr. in *The Mamlūk military society*, Variorum Reprints, London 1979, no. II). Turkish troops took these skills as far as the Maghrib, and *bahlawānāt turkiyya* were found in the entourage of the Beys and Pashas of Tunis up to the 19th century. In the Ottoman empire, wrestlers were included in each Janissary company (*orta* [*q.v.*]), and in 11th/17th century Istanbul, wrestlers were organised into a corporation of *pelhiwāns* (*sic*, in this metathesised form), on the evidence of Ewliyā Čelebi.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

PAHLAWĀN, MUḤAMMAD B. ILDEÑIZ, NUṢRAT AL-DĪN, Atābeg of Ādharbāydjān in the later 6th/12th century. His father Ildeñiz [*q.v.*] had in course of time risen to be the real ruler in the Saldjūḳ empire; the widow of Sultan Ṭoghrïl [*q.v.*] was Pahlawān's mother and Arslān b. Ṭoghrïl [*q.v.*] his step-brother. In the fighting between Ildeñiz and the lord of Marāgha, Ibn Aḳsunḳur al-Aḥmadīlī, Pahlawān played a prominent part [see MARĀGHA]. From his father he inherited in 568/1172-3 Arrān, Ādharbāydjān, al-Djibāl, Hamadhān, Iṣfahān and al-Rayy with their dependent territories and a few years later he also took Tabrīz, which he gave to his brother Ḳïzïl Arslān. Like Ildeñiz, Pahlawān also became the real ruler. Sultan Arslān b. Ṭoghïl was completely under his control, as was also his young son Ṭoghrïl [*q.v.*], whom Pahlawān put on the Saldjūḳ throne, after Arslān had been disposed of by poison. Pahlawān died in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 581/February-March 1186 or the beginning of 582/1186 and his brother Ḳïzïl Arslan succeeded him.

Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 346) pays a high tribute to Pahlawān's statesmanlike qualities, and during his tenure of office peace and prosperity prevailed in his governorship. After his death, however, bloodshed and unrest broke out. In Iṣfahān the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs fought one another, and at al-Rayy the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, until order was gradually restored.

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(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

PAHLAWĪ, PAHLAVĪ, the name of the short-lived dynasty which ruled in Persia from 1925 to 1979. Its two members were Riḍā Shāh (*r.* 1925-41) and his son Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh (*r.* 1941-79) [*q.vv.*].

PĀʾĪ (Hindi "quarter"), English form "pie", the smallest copper coin of British India = $^1/_{12}$ of an anna. Originally, in the East India Company's early experiments for a copper coinage, the pie, as its name implies, was the quarter of an anna or pice [see PAYSĀ]; after the Acts of 1835, 1844 and 1870, however, the pie was $^1/_3$ of a pice.

Bibliography: Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*[2], 705.

(J. ALLAN)

PAI YEN-HU (Muḥammad Ayyūb), a noted leader of northwestern Chinese Muslim rebellions against the Ch'ing-Manchu rule during the 1860s and 1870s.

A native of Ching-Yang in Shensi province, he was born in 1841 into a traditional *ahung* family. In 1862 he joined the Muslim rebels in Shensi province, his military skills and family background making him one of eigthteen rebel leaders. After most of these had defected to or been killed by the Imperial troops, Pai assumed overall leadership of the anti-Manchu campaigns. When some of his own "Old Teaching" followers defected in 1869, he was driven out of Shensi and joined forces with Ma Hua-Lung [*q.v.*] at Chin-chi-pao, Kansu, but deserted him again when he realised that Ma also intended to surrender. Pai and his troops next took the area around Hsi-Ning, but were evicted by the veteran pacification general, Tso Tsung-T'ang, in 1873. From here they fled to Chinese Turkestan, where they joined forces with Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*], whom they assisted in defending Dzungaria. They were again defeated by Tso. Yaʿḳūb Beg died (the cause is unknown) at Kurla in May 1877, precipitating the dissolution of his Kās͟hg͟haria amīrate. By this stage severely weakened, Pai and his followers were forced to flee to Kuča, further westwards to Aḳsu, Us͟h Turfan and eventually into the Naryn River valley in Russia, where they found asylum. In 1879 they moved to Pis͟hpek (present-day Frunze) [*q.v.*], where Pai is said to have died of illness on 22 July 1882.

The descendants of Pai and his followers form the main stock of the Dungan minority now living in the Kirghiz, Kazakh and Uzbek Republics of the former Soviet Union. Recent research suggests that they have preserved their ethnic identity and some elements of Chinese Islam. Their first mosques were built in the Chinese manner, and they still speak Shensi and Kansu dialects, using Chinese in Cyrillic characters.

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(Chang-Kuan Lin)

PAISĀ [see paysā].

PĀK PĀTAN, a *taḥṣīl* in the Montgomery district of the Pandjāb in Pākistān, famous for its association with S͟hayk͟h Farīd-al-Dīn Masʿūd Gandj-i S͟hakar [*q.v.*]. It was founded by a prince of the Yaudhaya tribe and was named Adjodhan. It appears from Greek accounts that the place existed at the time of Alexander's invasion. When S͟hayk͟h Farīd settled there, it was a deserted town, having forests full of ferocious beasts and reptiles. Gradually, it became a great centre of spiritual culture and people from far and near were attracted to the *djamāʿat-k͟hāna* of S͟hayk͟h Farīd. Ajodhan stood at a strategic place on the Multān-Dihlī road. Caravans and armies passed through it and carried the S͟hayk͟h's fame to different regions (*Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, Lucknow 1885, 99; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Cairo 1928, i, 13). The name Pāk Pāṭan was given by the Mug͟hal emperor Akbar in homage to the memory of the saint. Situated on a high mound, it has a complex of buildings: a Friday mosque, tomb of the S͟hayk͟h and his descendants S͟hayk͟h S͟hihāb al-Dīn and S͟hayk͟h ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, a *samaʿ-k͟hana* (hall for musical sessions), residential quarters and various graves.

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(K.A. Nizami)

PĀKISTĀN, the Islamic Republic of Pākistān or *Islām-i Djumhūriyya-yi Pākistān* is bounded by Iran, Afg͟hānistān, the former Soviet Union, China, India and the Arabian Sea. It covers an area of 706,495 km² and has a population of 114,071,000 (1990 estimate which includes the population of the disputed state of Djammū and Kas͟hmīr as well as Afg͟hān refugees). The country is divided into four distinct physical regions. In the north, sections of the Himalayan and Karakoram ranges reach an average of more than 6,100 m/20,000 ft. and include some of the world's highest peaks. The Balūčistān plateau to the west and south-west is a broken highland region crossed by many ridges. The western portion of the Indo-Gangetic plains—the Indus valley—extends southwards from the Potwar plateau to the Arabian Sea. It is watered by five major rivers—the Indus, Chenab, Jhelum, Ravi and Satlaj—and their tributaries, and is Pākistān's most prosperous agricultural region. The Thal, Cholistan and Thar desert areas are found in the south-east of the country, bordering on India. The climate is characterised by extremes of temperature and aridity. A weak form of tropical monsoon climate occurs over much of the country with arid conditions in the north and west where the wet season is from December to March. Elsewhere, rain is mainly between July and December. Summer temperatures are high, in places exceeding 45°C., but the mountains in the north experience cold winters.

Pākistān is made up of the four provinces of the Pandjāb, Sind, Balūčistān [*q.vv.*] and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), together with the Tribal Areas, Gilgit Agency [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Islāmābād Capital Territory and Āzād Kas͟hmīr, whose possession is disputed with India. The bulk of the population is concentrated in the Indus Valley plain and remains rural in occupation. Rural to urban migration, however, has resulted in rapidly growing cities such as Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Multān, Fayṣalābād and Ḥaydarābād, together with the accompanying problems of inadequate housing and transport facilities. Pākistān has a developing mixed economy,

largely based on agriculture, light industries and services. Agriculture, which is almost dependent on an extensive irrigation system, employs more than 50% of the labour force and in 1986 provided 26% of GNP and 45% of foreign exchange earnings. The main crops are wheat, cotton, maize, sugar cane and rice. The country is agriculturally self-sufficient although there are often shortages of staple products. Industry employs only about 10% of the labour force and produces nearly 20% of GDP. Textiles, especially cotton, are the main manufacture and leading export commodity. Under-employment is widespread and there has been significant emigration by professional and skilled workers, in particular to the Middle East and Gulf States. Social welfare and health facilities are limited. *Zakāt* [*q.v.*] has been used by governments to provide funds for welfare provision. Although primary education is free, less than half the number of school-aged children attend and literacy remains limited to only about one-quarter of the population and only one-sixth of women.

The national language is Urdu, but English is used in central government and business. The main regional languages are Pandjābī, Sindhī, Balūčī, Pashto, Brahui and Siraiki. No single language is common to the population as a whole. According to the 1981 census, 96.68% of the population are Muslims, with Christians (1.55%), Hindus (1.51%), Parsees and Buddhists making up very small religious minorities. Most Muslims are Sunnīs and belong to the Ḥanafī school. There is a significant Shīʿī minority which is divided into sub-sects, primarily the Ithnā ʿAsharīs and Ismāʿīlīs, both Āghā-Khānīs and Bohrās. Members of the small but influential sect of the Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*] are also found.

Pākistān, which achieved independence on 14 August 1947, was the first modern state to be set up on the grounds of religion. Its name, meaning "land of the pure", is said to have been constructed in 1933 by Chaudhri Raḥmat ʿAlī, an Indian Muslim student at Cambridge, from letters taken from the names of its component provinces (Pandjāb, North-West Frontier or Afghāniyya, Kashmīr, Sind and Balūčistān). Its creation was seen as the logical outcome of the so-called two-nation theory which argued that Indian Muslims (only about one-fifth of the total population of India) formed a distinct nation and had the right to a separate state at independence. The origins of Pākistān, however, are generally seen as linked to the effect which British rule in India had on the relationship between the different communities making up the population of the subcontinent. The interaction of its impact with processes of religious revival and reform meant that groups belonging to these communities gradually came to see themselves as being distinct or separate in political terms. In this context, the emergence of the Indian National Congress as the leading all-Indian political organisation by the beginning of the 20th century helped to bring about a reaction among some Muslims who considered the Congress to be dominated by Hindus and therefore sought their own political representative. This occurred in 1906 with the formation of the All-India Muslim League. Suspicion of Congress was especially common in parts of northern India where Muslims, although a small minority, still enjoyed the legacy of their former status as rulers of the region during the period of Mughal rule. They feared that Congress agitation, Hindu revivalism and constitutional reform would undermine their position, and hence supported policies of protecting Muslim "rights" and culture. Aligarh College, founded by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*] in 1877, played an important part in generating the kind of Muslims who were attracted to this political path. The diversity of India's Muslims, however, prevented them from coming together in a single political organisation until the 1940s. Indeed, the intervening years saw periods of collaboration with Congress, such as 1919-22 when Muslims from all over India joined with Hindus in the Khilāfat-Non-Cooperation movement [*q.v.*] to agitate against British rule. In Muslim majority provinces such as the Pandjāb and Bengal, there was also significant support for provincial parties which represented class rather than communal interests. League activity remained slack for much of the 1930s, as highlighted by its poor showing in the provincial elections of 1937. But constitutional reforms which retained communal electorates meant that Muslims were increasingly encouraged to think of themselves as a separate political category, while the growth in communal feeling on the part of both Hindus and Muslims reinforced this trend.

The turning point for the League came with the outbreak of the Second World War. Efforts made at the centre by its leader, Muḥammad ʿAlī Djināḥ [*q.v.*] (Jinnah) meant that the British recognised the League as the representative of Muslim aspirations and, in the face of Congress opposition to the way in which India had been taken into the conflict, an alternative organisation through which to legitimise the war effort. Under these circumstances, in which more people were listening to what it had to say, the League in March 1940 issued its Lahore demand for a separate Muslim state or states, the precise meaning deliberately vague in order to keep the League's options open. The party's main task was to persuade its co-religionists in the Muslim majority provinces that provincial autonomy would not protect their position if Congress held power at the centre. Gradually, it won over local landowning and religious élites and with them their considerable political influence. This success was reflected in the striking gains made in the 1946 elections in which the League won an overwhelming majority of Muslim seats. Deadlock in negotiations with Congress, together with growing communal tension, resulted in a British plan to partition India, including the Pandjāb and Bengal which the League had expected to receive in full. Jinnah, therefore, was not happy with the "truncated" and "moth-eaten" state which it was offered, but, with the alternative of conceding power completely to the Congress, the League finally accepted this option in the summer of 1947.

Pākistān faced independence with both strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand, it could be argued that, composed of an overwhelming majority of Muslims, it had the basis of a strong national identity with which to contemplate the future. On the other hand, it still had to contend with the fact that, although predominantly Muslim, its people were divided ethnically, linguistically, theologically and by caste and class. In addition, it had the added problem that its two wings—East and West Pākistān—were separated by over 1,600 km of Indian territory. In the event, these obstacles to a united Pākistān proved too great and the country, in the form that it was created, survived only 24 years before East Pākistān broke away to form Bangladesh. Pākistān's new leaders by and large had supported Jinnah's campaign, not so much because they desired an Islamic state, but because Congress rule had become synonymous with Hindu domination. Islam represented different things to them, ranging from an ethic on which to base per-

sonal behaviour within a modern democratic state to a total way of life requiring a theocracy. With the removal of the direct threat of a Hindu majority, these, together with other non-religious differences, became more apparent. As a result, Pākistān's history has been characterised by the failure of the new state to build workable political institutions which could reflect the diversity present within the country. Provincial rivalry, the intervention of the military in politics and recourse to Islam as a potential source of unity have been important features of Pākistān's political development since 1947. In particular, the country's "Islamic" identity has generated tensions within the political system, caused to a great extent by the need to reconcile Pākistān's creation as a homeland for Indian Muslims with pressure to translate it into some kind of more self-consciously Islamic state.

Pākistān's position in the years immediately following independence was fraught with difficulties. There was the immense task of resettling about eight million refugees known as *muhādjirs* [*q.v.*] who had begun to stream across the border at partition, as well as the need to establish its economy in the aftermath of a war fought with India over the disputed state of Djammū and Kashmīr. The task of framing a constitution was entrusted to a Constituent Assembly which also functioned as an interim legislature. The structure of the state was a federal one, with the Governor-General and the Constituent Assembly at the centre and governors and provincial assemblies in the provinces. Jinnah's death in September 1948 meant that power passed into the hands of Liyākat ʿAlī Khān [*q.v.*] (Liaqat Ali Khan), someone who shared his commitment to a democratic and essentially secular state but whose power base was considerably weaker. Pākistān had been created as a state for Indian Muslims, but there was a significant distinction between this and an Islamic state. Indeed, Jinnah himself had stressed that religion was to be an essentially private affair from the point of view of the state. Liaqat's position, however, meant that he needed to gain support where he could, and so in 1949 he wooed the country's religious spokesmen by issuing a resolution on the aims and objectives of the constitution which emphasised Islamic values. The debate on the relationship between religion and the state continued in the Constituent Assembly where religious groups played an active role. It was affected by the appointment of Khwaja Nizamuddin, an individual of great personal piety, as Governor-General following Liaquat's assassination in October 1951, as well as by religio-political campaigns such as that led by the Aḥrārs demanding both the purification of political life in general and, in 1953, the outlawing of the Aḥmadiyya sect in particular. This action led to rioting in some of the country's larger cities, and martial law was imposed to restore order in Lahore. When Pākistān finally achieved its first constitution in 1956, it tried to resolve the debate by accommodating as many different opinions as possible. The constitution embodied the Islamic provisions of the 1949 Objectives Resolution and declared Pākistān to be an Islamic republic. Its preamble accepted Allāh's sovereignty over man; Clause 204 envisaged the formation of an Institute of Islamic Research "to assist in the reconstruction of Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis"; and Clause 205 reiterated that "all new laws were to conform to the Ḳurʾān and Sunna" and no existing law would be repugnant to them. In reality, however, these provisions were little more than a statement of intent as no mechanisms were actually established to determine whether or not a law was un-Islamic. The constitution also confirmed the merger of the West Pākistānī provinces into One Unit carried out in 1955 to create parity between the two wings of the country. This was an attempt to reconcile East Pākistānī differences with the centre, which Bengalis saw as dominated by West Pākistānī interests and which had been reflected in the crushing defeat of the Muslim League in provincial elections in East Pākistān in 1954. Finally, the power of the military-bureaucratic élite was reflected in the far-reaching powers granted to the President in relation to the federal and provincial parliaments.

Growing factionalism and economic problems reinforced disillusionment with politicians, and meant that there was little opposition when the military under General Ayyūb Khān (Ayub Khan) intervened by instituting martial law in October 1958. In March 1962 Pākistān received its second constitution. This constructed a more centralised system of government, with the executive branch under the full control of an indirectly-elected President chosen by an electoral college of Basic Democrats. The powers of the central and provincial legislatures were severely restricted but parity between East and West Pākistān was preserved. Initially, the constitution did not envisage political parties but subsequently a restricted role was engineered for them. Modernisation was the watchword for Ayub's régime. Accordingly, his government displayed a modernising zeal in relation to the role of Islam. Unlike its predecessor, the constitution did not at least initially call Pākistān an "Islamic republic" (the adjective had been dropped in 1958 and it was not until the Amendment of 1963 that the title was restored), nor did it recognise the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna as the sole inspiration for the country's law. It did, however, reiterate that no law should be repugnant to Islam and established various councils to advise on these matters. All the same, the government was not popular with religious leaders who objected to the treatment of Islam in the 1962 constitution. It confirmed their alienation, much enhanced by the Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 which had included notable reforms such as the restricting of polygamy. Religio-political parties, such as the Djamāʿat-i Islāmī led by Mawlānā Sayyid Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Mawdūdī [*q.v.*], increased their support. Modernisation under Ayub, however, took place above all in the economic field, which experienced increased growth during the 1960s. But this growth was unevenly distributed, and the imbalance between East and West Pākistān increased, leading to greater disquiet among Bengalis. Despite victory over Miss Fatima Jinnah in the presidential election of January 1965, Ayub's problems mounted in the aftermath of an unsuccessful war against India also in 1965. In March 1969 the strength of opposition to his government finally forced him to hand over responsibility to General Yaḥyā Khān, who once again placed the country under martial law.

Yahya immediately set about dismantling Ayub's political system. In March 1970 he published the Legal Framework Order which defined Pākistān as a federal democratic republic with a Muslim head of state; representation was once again to be on the basis of population rather than parity between east and west; and West Pākistān was redivided into its former provinces. Elections were held in December 1970 but produced the unexpected result of a decisive victory for the East Pākistānī Awami League with 167 out of 300 seats. Faced with the loss of power at the centre and the Awami League's call for virtual autonomy for

East Pākistān, West Pākistānī politicians, notably Zulfikar Ali (Dhu 'l-Fiḳār ʿAlī) Bhutto, leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), decided to boycott the National Assembly. The country's military leadership, equally dismayed by the shift in power which was taking place, cooperated by suspending the Assembly. This in turn led the Awami League's leader, Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, to call for complete secession. The Pākistānī authorities launched Operation Searchlight and arrested Mujib, but a stalemate ensued which was only broken with the entry of India into the war in December 1971 on the side of the Bengalis. With its help, the East Pākistānī *Mukti Bahini* (Bengali freedom fighters) took Dhaka (Dacca) and established the independent state of Bangladesh in January 1972.

The main victor in what remained of Pākistān was Bhutto, who established a patriotic image for himself at negotiations at the United Nations in New York and was sworn in as President following Yahya's resignation at the end of December 1971. Pākistān's third constitution adopted in April 1973 sought to reach consensus on the sharing of power between the federal government and the provinces, the divisions of responsibility between President and Prime Minister, and the role of Islam in politics. Bhutto's advocacy of Islamic socialism led to little tangible change but did provide, in the short term, a way of keeping Islamic fundamentalism at arm's length. The populism of his economic and social programme was also successful at first, but its failure to live up to popular expectations led to growing disillusionment with his government. This was reinforced by increasingly autocratic tendencies on the part of Bhutto and other PPP members. The drift to the opposition, in particular to religio-political alternatives, gathered pace and demonstrated its threat during elections in March 1977. Although the PPP won a large victory, the opposition coalition, known as the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), claimed that massive vote rigging had taken place. Mounting protest brought chaos to Pākistān's cities and Bhutto was himself forced to proclaim martial law. Eventually, the military under the Chief of Staff of the Army, General Muḥammad Ḍiyāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ (Zia-ul Haq), took over power in July 1977.

The new military régime, in line with its Operation Fairplay, announced that it intended to restore democracy and that fresh elections would be held within 90 days. Following Bhutto's arrest in early September on charges of attempted murder, however, these elections were postponed, supposedly to allow for Bhutto's trial to take place. In reality, it was clear that Bhutto remained the only politician with mass national appeal. Bhutto was eventually hanged in April 1979 following a Supreme Court review of the case, but elections promised for November 1979 were again postponed, political parties banned and strict censorship imposed on the press. Meanwhile, Zia had proclaimed himself President. In February 1979, he embarked on his programme of Islamisation by introducing Islamic criminal punishments. Zia's own strongly held religious views, however, did not disguise the political motives which were at the root of his policies on Islam. Zia firmly believed that Pākistān's political system had to be Islamised in order ostensibly to forge national unity, and he used Islamisation as a populist weapon to disarm the moral opposition to his régime. His determination was helped by changes in the international climate caused by the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghānistān in December 1979. Substantial support provided by the United States and Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia allowed him to strengthen the position of the military while the influx of millions of Afghān refugees produced enormous amounts of foreign economic aid. In March 1981, despite the failure of a specially-appointed committee of scholars, jurists and *ʿulamāʾ* to reach a consensus on recommendations for the structure of an Islamic system of government, Zia promulgated a Provisional Constitutional Order which allowed martial law to continue indefinitely and gave the President powers to amend the constitution. Its main provisions included the setting up of a *Madjlis-i Shūrā* or Federal Consultative Council on the grounds that parliamentary democracy was not compatible with Islam. Partisan political activity, however, was allowed to resume gradually albeit subject to official censure. An amendment to the Political Parties Act of 1962 meant that parties could be denied registration if their manifestos did not include Islamic provisions. A referendum held in December 1984 confirmed Zia's Islamisation policy, which included economic reforms to the banking system as well as the controversial Zinā Ordinance, which limited the role and rights of women. Opposition groups strongly contested the result. The official majority of 98% was also taken as a mandate for Zia to remain in office for a further five years.

National and provincial elections, boycotted by the opposition, were held on a non-party basis the following February and Muhammad Khan Junejo was appointed Prime Minister. By then, however, Zia had moved to concentrate political power even more firmly in presidential hands by promulgating an order which introduced sweeping changes in the 1973 constitution. Martial law was eventually lifted in December 1985 and the constitution, in its amended form, restored in full. Zia remained President as well as Chief of Staff for the Army which effectively redefined the relationship between civilians and the army. In January 1986 Junejo revived the Pākistān Muslim League and later in the year Bēnaẓīr Bhutto, daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, returned from exile to lead the PPP. Anti-government agitation increased, as did levels of ethnic violence in the province of Sind and in Karachi in particular. Zia stepped in to dissolve the national and provincial assemblies in May 1988, accusing them of corruption, and once again announced elections within 90 days. As before they were postponed until November 1988, but in August Zia himself was killed in an unexplained aircrash along with other senior military officers and the United States ambassador to Pākistān. The Chairman of the Senate, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, became acting President and proclaimed a state of emergency promising that the elections would take place as scheduled later in the year.

Benazir Bhutto's PPP failed to win an overall majority but, with the help of coalition partners, came to power as the largest party in the new National Assembly, and Bhutto herself became the first woman in modern history to be elected premier of a Muslim state. Ghulam Ishaq Khan was subsequently chosen by an electoral college to serve a five-year term as President. In the context of severe economic difficulties and mounting ethnic violence in Sind, Bhutto's hold on power became increasingly tenuous. The government's failure to introduce a populist socio-economic programme increased widespread dissatisfaction, and party members were also dismayed at their leaders' attempts to win over the opposition by apparently compromising the party's position.

In August 1990, the President dismissed Bhutto

and an interim premier, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, was appointed. Elections were held in October in which the opposition Islāmī Djumhūrī Ittiḥād (IJI) and its allies won convincing victories on both the national and provincial level. All four provinces returned anti-PPP majorities. While the voting was generally considered to be free of rigging, the low turn-out of no more than 50% reflected continuing popular disillusionment with the political process. The IJI leader, Nawaz Sharif, a Pandjābī industrialist and former protege of Zia, was sworn in as Prime Minister. Pākistān was badly affected by the Gulf crisis 1990-91. Remittances from workers employed in the Middle East, already declining, dropped further, and the government was caught in a dilemma between honouring long-standing alliances with the West and strong pro-ʿIrāḳ sentiment at home. In the event, Pākistānī troops were sent to Saudi Arabia with the provision that they did not come under United States command. In 1991, the government succeeded in passing the Shariat Bill which confirmed Pākistān as an Islamic state but which, like previous attempts at legislating Islamic principles into the constitution, appeared to lack the necessary mechanisms to give much weight to the changes which it introduced.

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PĀLĀHANG (P.), Ottoman Turkish form *pālāheng*, literally "string, rope, halter, cord", is applied to the belt worn around the waist by dervishes, especially the Bektāshīs [see BEKTĀSHIYYA], and on which is fixed a disc of stone (of jasper, found near the tomb of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh at Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh Köy in Anatolia, of crystal or of translucent stone from Nadjaf in ʿIrāḳ) with twelve flutings at the edge; these are said by the Bektāshīs to symbolise the Twelve *Imāms*, the Twelve Disciples of Jesus or even the Twelve Tribes of Israel (see J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London-Hartford 1937, 255-6, 268 and illustr. no. 10, object 8). Its introduction is ascribed to the *pūsh-neshīn* or master of the *tekke* at Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh Köy in the time of sultan Bāyezīd II (*ibid.*, 57).

Very similar in shape and substance is the smaller, twelve-fluted disc worn on a cord, sometimes with smaller stones strung along the cord (the *dürr-i Nedjef* "pearls of Nadjaf"), around the neck and called the *teslīm tashi* "stone of submission", given to the young dervish at the end of his novitiate (see *ibid.*, 217, 233-4, 247, 270, and illustr. no. 10, object 4).

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PALAMĀW ("place of refuge"), the name of what is now a District in the Bihār State of the Indian Union. It straddles the plateau region of Čhoṭā Nāgpur. It was also the name of two fortresses which were built by the Rādjput Čero Rādjās of Palamāw, which were attacked in the middle decades of the 11th/17th century by the Mughal commander Dāwūd Khān Ḳurayshī, who made the Rādjās tributary and erected several fine Islamic buildings at Palamāw. In the early years of the 20th century, Muslims constituted 8% of the population of the District.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xix, 334-44; and see BIHĀR. (ED.)

PĀLĀNPUR, a former, Muslim-ruled princely state of India, now in Gujarat State of the Indian Union but in British Indian times included in the Western India States Agency. The territory incorporated in this agency included the area formerly known as Kāthiāwār together with the Cutch and Pālanpūr agencies. Its creation in October 1924 marked the end of the political control of the Government of Bombay and the beginning of direct relations with the Government of India. The old Pālanpūr Agency with its headquarters at the town of Pālanpūr was a group of states in Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] lying between 23° 25′ and 24° 41′ N. and 71° 16′ and 71° 46′ E. It was bounded on the north by the Rādjput states of Udaypūr and Sirohi; on the east by the Mahī Kāntha Agency; on the south by the state of Barōda and Kāthiāwār; and on the west by the Rann of Cutch.

The state of Pālanpūr was conquered towards the end of the 10th/16th century by Lohāni Paṭhāns, subsequently known as Djāloris. A short account of its history under the Mughal emperors will be found in the *Gazetteer of Bombay*, v, 318-24, and in the *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī* (Ethé, no. 3599, fol. 741). British relations with this state date back to the year 1809, when, through British influence, arrangements were made for the payment of tribute to the Gaekwar of Barōda (Aitchison, vi, no. lxxxix). This engagement was further strengthened by an agreement signed on November 28, 1817 (*op. cit.*, no. xci). In 1848, the appointment of an agent from the Gaekwar was abolished and the finances of the state remained under British supervision until 1874, when the ruler of Pālanpūr was entrusted with the management of his own finances.

Pālanpūr was still ruled by its princes up to 1947 and the merging of the princely states within the Indian Union by Lohānī Paṭhāns. It had in 1933 a population of 264,179, of whom 245,000 spoke

Gudjarātī, when the distribution of population according to religion was as follows: Hindus, 222,714; Muslims, 28,690 and Jains, 12,542. Since Partition, many of the Muslims have emigrated to Pākistān.

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PALEMBANG, the capital city of the province of *Sumatera Selatan* (South Sumatra) in Indonesia, situated on the shores of the Musi river. It lies in long. 104° 45′ E. and lat. 2°59′ S., and has a population of *ca.* 790,000 (1990), of whom some 85% are Muslims.

The area of Palembang, united with neighbouring Malayu (Jambi), was the centre of the (Mahayana-) Buddhist empire of Sri Vidjaya (4th-14th centuries A.D.), renowned especially in the 8th-10th centuries for its famous study centres for Buddhism and Sanskrit. After the 11th century, tantric Kāla-Čakra-Buddhism with a strong magical component became dominant. In 1377 Palembang was conquered and partly destroyed by the ruler of Madjapahit, the great Hindu-Javanese empire (14th-15th centuries). A royal prince, after his escape, founded Malacca [*q.v.*] in 1403 and became its first sultan after adopting Islam in 1413. The Javanese-Chinese *adipati* of Palembang, Arya Damar (after his conversion to Islam: Arya Dilah = ʿAbd Allāh, 859-91/1455-86), became the ancestor of the later sultans of "Palembang Darussalam". Sultan Susuhunan Arya Kusuma ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm (1069-1118/1659-1706) was the first ruler to adopt this title. After a power struggle between Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin and Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin in 1811-21, a struggle used by the British and Dutch for their conflicting interests, the Dutch finally exiled the last sultan, Najamuddin's son, in 1825, following a last abortive attempt to regain his independence. Thus the history of the sultanate came to an end.

In the second half of the 18th century especially, some Muslim scholars from Palembang achieved international fame, such as ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī [*q.v.*]. At present, Palembang is the site of an influential *Institut Agama Islam Negeri* (State Islamic Institute, *IAIN*), to promote Islamic education.

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PAMIRS, the name (of unknown etymology) of a mountain massif of Inner Asia. Its core is in the modern Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous oblast of the former USSR, but it spills over into Kirghizia and Tadjikistan to the north and west, and into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China to the east, and Afghānistān (including the Wakhān corridor) and Pākistānī Kashmīr (Āzād Kashmīr) to the south. Comprised mainly of east-west-running ranges, its many river valleys being right-bank affluents of the upper Oxus (here called the Pandj "Five [rivers]", its mountains reach a height of 7,495 m/24,584 ft. on Communism Peak. It is extremely thinly populated: the population of the western Pamirs is in the main ethnically Tadjik and Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī in faith, whilst that of the eastern Pamirs is mainly Turkish Kirghiz and Sunnī Muslim (some of these last, from the Wakhān corridor, fled via Gilgit and eventually settled in Turkey after the 1978 Communist takeover in Afghānistān; see MUHĀDJIR. 2. In Turkey and the Ottoman lands, at vol. VII, 353b). As a typical refuge area, it is in the Pamirs region that there survive certain archaic eastern Iranian languages, such as Shughnī, Ishkāshmī, Wakhī, Yāzghulāmī, Sanglīčī, Mundjī, etc. [see ĪRĀN, iii. Languages, in Suppl.].

Being so topographically and climatically unattractive to all but a few agriculturists in the valleys and nomads on the plateaux, the only part of the region of historical significance has been the upper Oxus valley, along which an important commercial route led to passes across the Hindū Kush [*q.v.*] mountains to the Pandjhīr [*q.v.*] valley of Afghānistān and southwards into Čitrāl [*q.v.*] and Gilgit [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. It was doubtless for this reason that the region was known to the Chinese, with Shughnān [*q.v.*] appearing in Chinese sources, such as the travel account of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hsüen-Tsang, as *She-kʾi-nior* "the kingdom of the five *She-ni* (gorges)", apparently referring to the Oxus's name here of Pandj. In Islamic times, al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 292, tr. Wiet, 109, mentions the principality in "upper Ṭukhāristān" [*q.v.*] of (?) Khumār-Beg or Khumār-Tigīn, ruler of Shiḳinān (Shughnān) and Badakhshān [*q.v.*]; the people there were still pagan, though apparently tributary to adjoining Muslim princes (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 467, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 449-50; Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 65). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (4th/10th century) situates in the Pamirs region the "Gate to Tibet", *dar-i Tubbat*, and the seat of the *malik* of Wakhān at Ishkāmish, its chef-lieu (tr. Minorsky, 120-1, § 26.12-18, comm. 363-9; cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 224-6).

Towards the end of the 13th century, Marco Polo passed through the Pamirs region, from Badakhshān to the Wakhān valley and thence northwards to Kāshghar [*q.v.*]; he describes the sparse inhabitants there as warlike Muslims, with a chief called (?) *None* (Yule-Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*³, London 1903, i, 170-9 and Itinerary map no. III).

Subsequently, the upper Oxus region of the Pamirs was mainly under the political authority of Nizārī Ismāʿīlī hereditary *mīrs* based on Shughnān, who managed to survive pressure and attacks from the local Tīmūrid governors; this isolated Ismāʿīlī community has been significant for its rôle in preserving many theological and legal texts of the sect (see F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 436, 441, 486-7, 544). Toward the end of the 19th century, the upper Oxus/Pandj river was established, after disputes between the Amīr of Afghānistān ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān [*q.v.*], the Amīr of Bukhārā and the Russians, as the political boundary between Russian Central Asia and Afghānistān (the Russo-Afghan Agreement of 1895) (see L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 424).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also *BSE*², xix, 127-9, and the bibls. to BADAKHSHĀN, SHUGHNĀN and WAKHĀN. (C.E. Bosworth)

PAN-ARABISM, an ideology advocating an overall union of Arabs (*waḥdat al-ʿArab, al-waḥda al-ʿArabiyya*). Ideologues of Pan-Arabism have consistently recommended such union on the basis of several elements of commonality: (a) Language and culture, considered the ultimate expression of the entire Arab nation and one of its major links with the

past (including the Islamic past; many Arabs have expressed their nationalism in Islamic terms). (b) History, preoccupation with which afforded immersion in a common past glory differing from the 20th-century situation. (c) Ethnic-origins, increasingly called "race" in the first half of the 20th century. (d) Territorial contiguity from the coasts of Morocco to those of ʿIrāḳ and Saʿūdī Arabia, which maintained a common culture and history and could naturally promote political and economic relations. The methods advocated and variously attempted generally focused on the establishment of federations and confederations as a step towards a general union, to be achieved either by persuasion or force.

The history of Pan-Arabism is largely a record of these attempts. In the early 20th century, several writers and journalists, such as Negib Azoury, discussed the Arab nation in terms of long-extant primordial sentiments. Their works were mostly read by relatively small élitist circles, however, and rarely served as guidelines for achieving an all-Arab union. Only after the end of the First World War, with the consequent breakdown of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of mandated Arab entities [see MANDATES], were political moves made by several Arab leaders towards federating Arab-inhabited territories. The Hās͟himite rulers in ʿIrāḳ and Transjordan were prominently active in this sphere.

The long-range aim of Fayṣal I [*q.v.*] of ʿIrāḳ was to establish a confederation, embracing ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Transjordan, Palestine and the Ḥid͟jāz. He sought to bolster his own position and that of his country in a highly competitive environment, while gaining access to Mediterranean shores. French-mandated Syria was the key to Fayṣal's success or failure; he strove to persuade the Syrians, French and British of his plans' feasibility. Certain nationalist groups supported Fayṣal and his Pan-Arab plans during the 1920s and 1930s, not only in ʿIrāḳ, but in Syria as well. In the Pan-Islamic Congress that convened in Jerusalem in 1931 [see PAN-ISLAMISM], a group of activists from Damascus and Jerusalem met and drew up a Pan-Arab charter, whose first paragraph declared the indivisibility of the Arab nation and Arab lands. Pan-Arabists from ʿIrāḳ, Lebanon and Egypt proclaimed their solidarity with this charter. Plans to convene an all-Arab congress in 1932 floundered, however, because of the strife between ʿIrāḳ and Saʿūdī Arabia, as well as British opposition.

Following Fayṣal I's death in 1933, his brother ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], then *Amīr* of Transjordan, intensified his own efforts at achieving a partial Arab union. Having been involved in Syria's affairs in the 1920s, in the succeeding decade ʿAbd Allāh renewed his plans to create a confederation of Transjordan with Syria (and ʿIrāḳ and Palestine, eventually), with himself as its ruler. Once the British had ousted the Vichy French forces from Syria, he again tried to promote his Greater Syria project, persisting in these efforts after the Second World War as well. His failure was due not only to Saʿūdī opposition and Egyptian reservations, but also to the activities of the ʿIrāḳī Prime Minister Nūrī al-Saʿīd [*q.v.*], who was working along the same lines on behalf of his own state, attempting to persuade the British to help in shaping up a union among ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Palestine (including Transjordan). ʿAbd Allāh, however, opposed this scheme, which would have diminished his own chances of heading such a union. Another complicating factor was a proposal in 1936-7 by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd [*q.v.*], King of Saʿūdī Arabia, to set up an Arab federation headed by himself.

The more factors involved in such moves, the less practicable they became. Even Egypt joined these efforts. Since the early 20th century, a significant part of the political spectrum had identified with supranational objectives and defined itself in Pan-Arab or Pan-Islamic terms, based on the commonality of the Arabic culture and language for an all-Arab nation. Egyptian Pan-Islamists, too, considered Pan-Arabism as a vital step in the struggle for their own ideals. In the 1930s, political groups advocated Pan-Arabism, emphasising Egypt's solidarity with Arabs elsewhere. At the same time, élitist groups in ʿIrāḳ and Syria expressed themselves in similar political language. Cultural cooperation among Arab governments and other organisations also increased in the 1930s and early 1940s, much of it expressed in political action; cultural and professional associations were formed and politico-literary conventions held. Pan-Arab terminology was increasingly employed by these groups and others.

Towards the end of the Second World War, chiefly after 1943, Arab wishes and British interests combined to bring about consultations for the establishment of the Arab League (*D͟jāmiʿat al-duwal al-ʿArabiyya*, literally, the League of Arab States [see AL-D͟JĀMIʿA AL-ʿARABIYYA in Suppl.]). A preparatory committee met in 1944 and the League itself was set up in Cairo in the following year by Egypt, Saʿūdī Arabia, ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and Yemen (along with a representative of Palestine's Arabs). It has meanwhile grown to comprise twenty-two states, including Mauritania, Somalia and Djibuti. The League, the most important organisational instrument of Pan-Arabism, could not have been founded without the increase in the number of factors propounding Arab unity; its rather limited political success, on the other hand, reflects strong elements of divisiveness. The League's main objective has been to promote all-Arab unity through cooperation and policy coordination amongst its member states in economics, culture, health, law, communications and social affairs. Its committees have achieved results in all these areas, but much less so in politics and military matters, due to clashes of interests amongst its members and power struggles between rival groups of members states. Paragraph 7 of the League's charter, which allows for vetoing any decision, reflected this situation. Consequently, cardinal decisions in inter-state relations have been reached by direct negotiations between the states, not via the Arab League, where members agree to disagree. The League's most important service to Pan-Arabism remains its very existence as a regional organisation of sovereign Arab states, a framework for debate and consultation amongst its members and an instrument for crisis management, as in its mediation in the civil war in Lebanon during the 1980s (it failed, however, in its attempt to mediate between ʿIrāḳ and Kuwayt in 1990).

Twelve summit meetings of Arab heads-of-state or their delegates took place between 1964 and 1982 in various capitals. These were useful occasions to coordinate policies regarding the Palestine problem and to attempt to resolve conflicts of interest among Arab states. They accomplished but little, however, insofar as *rapprochement* was concerned. More meaningful were various moves for unification, starting with Egypt and Syria (in February 1958), soon joined by Yemen, and the ʿIrāḳi-Jordanian unification shortly thereafter. These, however, proved ephemeral, as did several similar moves, e.g. in North Africa. While widely proclaimed as steps towards an all-Arab union,

they were regarded by many as merely intended to serve regional self-interests. Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] did succeed in arousing Pan-Arab sentiment in Egypt and elsewhere, especially during the 1950s; he was seen by many as a natural leader of a future Arab union. Similarly, various groups and political parties, chiefly in Syria and Lebanon, strove to promote Pan-Arabism. Of these, the most important was the Baʿth movement. Its particular importance lies in its widespread impact (it has numerous branches in various Arab countries), due to its Pan-Arab appeal mingled with a version of neo-Marxism. Furthermore, the continuous rule of rival Baʿth factions in Syria (since 1963) and ʿIrāḳ (since 1970) implies that the movement is indeed capable of enforcing its ideology: Syria did so by becoming a near-dominant force in Lebanon since 1990 (Arab critics, however, accuse it of "Pan-Syrianism" rather than Pan-Arabism); and ʿIrāḳ by raising irredentist claims against Iran in both the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and Khūzistān since the early 1980s, then in Kuwayt in 1990.

Still, the failure of Pan-Arabism to achieve any meaningful results during the entire 20th century has led several Arab intellectuals to mourn "The end of Arabism" as in the title of a much-discussed essay by Fouad Ajami (*Foreign Affairs* [Winter 1978-9]). Ajami argued that the myth of Pan-Arabism had been declining, possibly since the 1967 war, supplanted by the particularist interests and national ideologies of individual Arab states. He also mentioned the minorities, such as the Christians in Lebanon, who oppose Pan-Arabism that would submerge them. Not even Libya's Muʿammar Ḳadhdhāfī could revive Pan-Arabism, according to Ajami. Other Arabs replied, asserting that Pan-Arabism was alive and well. Centres for Studies on Arab Unity (*Markaz dirāsāt al-waḥda al-ʿArabiyya*) in Cairo and Beirut strive to prove this. Whatever the issues, Pan-Arabism, while declaratively still popular, appears underrated in practice by certain new élites which are more oriented towards other universalist ideologies (such as Pan-Islamism), state nationalism, or socio-economic problems of development. Nevertheless, the outpouring of emotional support among Arab masses in several countries for Ṣaddām Ḥusayn and his ʿIrāḳī policies in 1990-2 is an indication that the latent ideal of Pan-Arab unity is maintained and chiefly observable among Sunnīs.

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PAN-ISLAMISM (in Arabic *al-Waḥda al-Islāmiyya*; in Ottoman Turkish *Ittiḥād-i Islām*, in modern Turkish *İslam ittihadı*), the ideology aiming at a comprehensive union of all Muslims into one entity, thus restoring the situation prevalent in early Islam. The religious element of the unity of all Muslims had been advocated since the days of Muḥammad, but acquired an added political significance in the 19th century. The Turkish term was used politically by Turkish writers and journalists since the 1860s, while "Pan-Islam" seems to have been coined by Arminius Vambéry in early 1878 (probably on the model of "Pan-Slavism") and then was popularised by the French journalist Gabriel Charmes in his articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of 1881-2, reprinted in bookform as *L'Avenir de la Turquie: le Panislamisme* (Paris 1883). Charmes's main argument was that the Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] was urging Muslims to unite against France's invasion of Tunisia. Charmes was not far off the mark, which is probably why his writings stirred serious concern in French and other European chancelleries. In reaction to the loss of Cyprus (1878), Tunisia (1881) and Egypt (1882), both orthodox and secular intellectuals energetically strove to formulate political ideologies and recommend pragmatic steps directed against European penetration—political, military, economic and missionary.

Hence, political Pan-Islam originated essentially as a defensive policy, mainly aimed at saving all Muslims from foreign, non-Muslim domination by uniting them. Not surprisingly, then, this movement came into being during the last third of the 19th century, when European colonialism reached its peak, and the Great Powers of the day were already ruling many foreign territories and carving out others for themselves. Not a few of these were densely inhabited by Muslim populations. The few independent Muslim states of the day—Afghānistān, Persia, the Ottoman Empire and Morocco—troubled by internal economic, social and political dissension, also felt threatened externally by European expansionism. Of these, Afghānistān and Morocco were rather peripheral, geographically, while Persia, overwhelmingly Shīʿī, was less suited than others to promote a Pan-Islamic policy among preponderantly Sunni populations. The Ottoman Empire, both centrally located and territorially the largest, was decidedly more appropriate.

ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II subsidised several Pan-Islamic ideologues (such as Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*]), to write and publish in Turkish, Arabic or Persian, as well as agents to spread Pan-Islamic propaganda—both openly and covertly—within and without the Ottoman Empire. This sultan claimed to be the caliph [see KHALĪFA], therefore leader and commander of all Muslims everywhere, in the old tradition of Islam where spiritual and temporal rule were one. The propaganda which he fostered, intended to offset as far as possible the Empire's military and economic weakness, seems to have had two major policy objectives: (a) Favouring the central government over the periphery, and the Ottoman Empire's Muslims at the expense of others, in education, official and economic opportunities; special attention was given in this context to Turks and Arabs, and less to Albanians and Bosnians. (b) Launching a major effort to recruit the Empire's Muslims and many others outside it, in response to the activities of some of the Powers who were encouraging nationalist and secessionist trends among the Empire's Muslims; the sultan-caliph could threaten these Powers with incitement of the Muslims in their empires (French, British and Russian, in particular). The results of ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II's Pan-Islamic policies were modest in practice: expressions of support and fund-raising, particularly during times of war, as with Greece over Crete in 1897. However, his efforts were taken seriously enough by several European Powers, which refrained from attacking the Ottoman Empire while ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd was engaged in Pan-Islamic and other activities.

Following ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd's deposition in 1909, Italy invaded Tripolitania, and the Balkan peoples annexed some additional Ottoman territories to bolster their independence. The Young Turks, less dedicated to Pan-Islam (some of them were even lukewarm in their religious commitment), did not hesitate to exploit it in the First World War. The Ottoman declaration of war on 11 November 1914 was accompanied by a proclamation of *djihād* [*q.v.*], and the pronouncement of five *fatwās*, or legal opinions, by the Sheykh ül-Islām. These ordered all Muslims everywhere to unite and join the Ottoman Empire, with life and property, in the *djihād* against Russia, Great Britain and France. Separate circulars, sent out by the Young Turks, defined the aim of the war as "liberating the Islamic world from the domination of the infidels." Indeed, these three states (and the Netherlands) were then ruling most of the non-independent Muslim populations. Ottoman Pan-Islamic propaganda, with full German co-operation, was intensive throughout the First World War, most particularly during the first two years, until its inefficacy became evident through its inability to induce Muslims—both civilians and soldiers in the Allied Forces—to revolt. The failure of Pan-Islam in the First World War and the defeat and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire brought about an almost total lethargy in the generation following the end of the war, both in ideological writing and organisational attempts, chiefly in convoking five Pan-Islamic congresses during the inter-war period: in Mecca, 1924; Cairo, 1926; Mecca (again), 1926; Jerusalem, 1931; and Geneva, 1935.

In Tsarist Russia, during the second half of the 19th century, the rise of political Islam and Pan-Islam was chiefly due to two main factors of the official policy, Russification and Christianisation. The Government of Tsarist Russia, aware of potential problems with the numerous groups in the huge empire, undertook a campaign of forced Russification in the schools and cultural life of the minorities. In a co-ordinated, parallel manner, missionaries worked to proselytise local Muslims. These efforts were only partly successful, as they caused considerable resistance led by the *mullās* or Muslim religious functionaries. However, another element joined the resistance to Russification and Christianisation. Since the middle of the 19th century, a commercial bourgeoisie had been growing, chiefly among the Tatars and the Azeris. These merchants were better educated than others in the Muslim population and more aware of general conditions both in the Tsarist Empire and abroad. Some members of this new class, intellectual-

ly oriented, developed nationalist aspirations from the third quarter of the 19th century onwards. While mostly centred on the specific problems of the Tatars, Azeris and some other groups, their nationalist sentiments borrowed heavily from both Pan-Islam and Pan-Turkism [*q.v.*]. The reason was self-evident; isolated from one another by huge empty spaces or by masses of other populations (non-Turkic and non-Islamic), the Tatars, Azeris and others sought the support of their brethren-in-faith, and particularly that of the largest independent Islamic state of the time, the Ottoman Empire. Three congresses of Russian Muslims, in 1905-6, served to sharpen nationalist and Pan-Turk sentiments and even create several organisational elements. In 1917, these Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic organisations intensified their political activities, but were soon broken down by the new Soviet régime and its Red Army. During Soviet rule, at least until recently, a persistent atheist propaganda was carried out, intensified by anti-Pan-Islamic activities. Many Soviet publications of the time reveal a basic fear of the competition of Pan-Islam with the régime's own universalist ideology, Communism.

In another part of the globe, India was one of the largest concentrations of Muslims masses. While signs of an Islamic revival were noticeable even before the First World War, it was mainly subsequent to that war that political Pan-Islam came into being there, soon becoming a significant force. Hemmed in by what they perceived as a threat by the huge Hindu majority, political leaders of India's Muslims naturally sought allies among Muslim populations abroad, with increasing emphasis being placed on the Pan-Islamic element of commonality. Moreover, India's Muslims, like the Hindus there, already had a tradition of organising politically on European lines, a feature rarely observable elsewhere. The spark which ignited Pan-Islamic political activity in India was the threat to Turkey and, most particularly, to the caliphate, immediately after the end of the First World War. The defeated Ottoman Empire was being dismembered, Constantinople had been occupied by the Allied Powers and the office of the sultan—who claimed to be the caliph—was being threatened. Two brothers, Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and S̲h̲awkat ʿAlī, and other Muslim political leaders in India, organised a Khilafat movement [see KH̲ILĀFA] to save the caliph and the caliphate. This comprised hundreds of thousands of adherents, collected large sums, which were sent to Turkey, organised mass demonstrations, published manifestoes and newspapers, and despatched missions abroad to intercede with the Allied Powers. The movement grew during the early 1920s, but petered out after 1924, when the Republic of Turkey abolished the caliphate and exiled the last sultan-caliph. This act deprived the Pan-Islamic movement of its titular head and dealt it a blow from which it has not yet recovered, remaining without a common leader to look up to.

Thus in the inter-war period, particularly since the mid-1920s, political Pan-Islam receded in such important Muslim centres as Russia, India and Turkey. The Pan-Islamic congresses in that period, mentioned above, only served to emphasise this retreat. Most of its activities and publications focused in the Arab-populated countries of the Middle East and North Africa. However, in these, too, Pan-Islam had to compete with rival ideologies, such as modernisation, secularisation, nationalism, and Pan-Arabism [*q.v.*]. But the first expressions of the revival of Islam comprised an obvious element of Pan-Islam as well, for example in Egypt, where the organisation of the Muslim Brethren, set up in 1928, adopted some of the slogans of Pan-Islam, as in the speeches and writings of its founder, Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*]. This could be noticed even better, at the time and subsequently, in Saudi Arabia which, after all, had been established on the foundations of classical Islam which served as the most prominent element cementing the inter-tribal union on which rested the new Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The situation changed radically after the Second World War. The number of independent states with Muslim populations grew visibly. Although only some of these emphasised their Islamic character, it soon became clear that Islam was again a factor to be reckoned with in local, regional and international politics. True, Islam and Pan-Islam had to compete increasingly not only with the impact of Europe, as before (to which that of the United States was added later), as well as with that of nationalism, particularism and secular modernism, but also with the influence of rival universal ideologies in Muslim lands, like Pan-Arabism, Pan-Turkism and Pan-Iranism. An answer was found by the Pan-Islamists in due course, on both the ideological and pragmatic-organisational levels.

On the ideological level, the more extreme Pan-Islamists, rooted in faith, still advocated a religio-political union of all Muslims; their model was the early history of Islam, as warmly preached by Muslim fundamentalists everywhere; for these, a religious and political Pan-Islam was a *sine qua non*. For numerous others, more moderate, some accommodation with reality was deemed necessary. Well aware of the immense power of nationalism in many of the new Muslim states, they argued for solidarity among all these, as a transitional stage to the universal state canvassed by fundamentalists and their partisans. They maintained, moreover, that complete solidarity—political, military, economic and cultural—would create a huge force, capable of achieving its own ends in any conflict or clash of interests with European and other Powers. On the pragmatic level, no less significantly, it appeared for the first time that achieving Pan-Islam, at least on the level of solidarity, was feasible. Not only were there independent Muslim states who had the political means to promote the fulfillment of Pan-Islam, such as Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, and later Egypt, Persia and Libya; but at least some of these also had the economic capacity to do so. Indeed, some—chiefly Saudi Arabia, Persia and Libya—had become gigantic oil producers since the 1973 boycott. Several, notably Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, had set up efficient structures for furthering the political and economic aims of Pan-Islam, largely in the context of promoting solidarity and co-operation. Three of the most important organisations should be mentioned specifically.

(a) The Muslim World Congress was set up in Karachi in 1949, very probably with official Pakistani encouragement; it now comprises some thirty-six member states, although branches exist in sixty countries. Among its tenets are propagating Islam, co-operating with all Muslim lands in order to promote Islamic unity, persuading Muslim governments and peoples to renounce their differences, instilling Arabic as a *lingua franca* of all Muslims, co-operating in trade policies, framing constitutions and laws based on the *s̲h̲arīʿa* (or Islamic jurisprudence). (b) The Muslim World League was founded in Mecca in 1962 as an unofficial agency of the Saudis. It serves, however, as an umbrella organisation of many other Islamic

associations and groups. Richly funded by the Saudis, the League's activities in all five continents have been varied. As a non-governmental body, it is concerned not only with Islamisation and propaganda for religious education, but also with promoting Islamic solidarity (and paying for it): it promotes many publications and international seminars, preaches unified Islamisation and Islamic law and assists Muslim minorities with the aim of drawing them into a common Islamic activity, both political and economic. (c) The Organisation of the Islamic Conference, also Saudi-inspired, was established in 1969 as an association of Muslim states complementary to the Muslim World League. The Organisation of the Islamic Conference, made up of some forty-five states, combines the principles of Islam with the mechanisms of a contemporary international body. Both its charter and its activities emphasise the consolidation of Islamic solidarity, co-ordination and co-operation, with a view to strengthening the integration of all Muslim states in the future. For this purpose, the Organisation has set up the instruments for active policies—political, economic and cultural. Meetings of the Organisation's Heads-of-State and Foreign Ministers have initiated and furthered some common institutions, as an Islamic Development Bank (modelled on the World Bank), an Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (patterned on UNESCO), and an Islamic Academy for Jurisprudence (to achieve the unity of the Islamic world in the legal sphere). See further, MU'TAMAR.

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(J.M. Landau)

PAN-TURKISM, one of the Pan-ideologies originating in the late 19th century. It expresses strong nationalist interest in the welfare of all Turks and members of Turkic groups, recognisable by kindred languages and a common origin, history and tradition. It addresses itself chiefly to those in Turkey, Cyprus, the Balkans, the former Soviet Union, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Persia, Afghānistān and East Turkistan (or Sinkiang). Pan-Turkism should be distinguished from Turanism (sometimes called Pan-Turanism), a broader concept, whose ideologues hail as fellow-Turks all those originating from Tūrān, a mythical plateau in Central Asia; this would include all the above groups as well as the Finns, Estonians, Hungarians, Yakuts, Mongols, Manchurians (even the Chinese and Japanese). Generally termed *Türkçülük* in modern Turkish, Pan-Turkism is confounded at times with *Türklük*, or Turkism, which more usually refers to the commonality of Turkish civilisation. It is not always easy to distinguish, historically, between the more moderate cultural Pan-Turkism, aiming at solidarity, and the relatively extreme political trend, seeking an irredentist union for all Turkic groups and the lands they inhabit. As in some other Pan-ideologies (such as Pan-Slavism), the cultural trend frequently precedes the political movement, with the latter generally predominating afterwards.

While Arminius Vambéry, the Hungarian-Jewish Turcologist, seems to have been the first to use the term Pan-Turkism, in the late 1860s, and to consider its political potential, it was left to intellectuals from the Tatars, Azeris, and other Turkic groups in Tsarist Russia to work out an ideology and attempt to set up organisational structures. Practically all of them were Muslims, resentful of policies of Russification and Christianisation being carried out by the ruling classes of Tsarist Russia. In defence, Muslim sentiment grew stronger and nationalist feeling began to spread. The latter, which proudly asserted the characteristics of each Turkic group, instinctively sought allies amongst its ethnic and linguistic kinsfolk, all of which led to the concept of Pan-Turkism. These nationalist intellectuals tended to be secular-minded, without being anti-religious. Their rallying slogans were Turkism and Pan-Turkism, to which Islam and Pan-Islam [*q.v.*] were occasionally added. Indeed, their call for the latter seems to have been in direct ratio to their isolation and their need for allies.

Not surprisingly, among Pan-Turkism's most prominent initiators in Tsarist Russia were the Tatars, who had endured Russian rule longest and were the chief sufferers from the effects of Pan-Slavic-minded Russification. Further, although they were surrounded by non-Tatars, they were located relatively close to the Ottoman Empire with its preponderant Turkish-minded élites. A Tatar bourgeois class had been developing, and in the late 19th century it had found itself capable of raising the twin banners of nationalism and Pan-Turkism. The Tatars were well aware that linguistic commonality was the key factor in a rapprochement and ensuing joint activity among the Turkic groups. Realising that literacy levels were low and that linguistic and dialectal variations prevented effective co-operation, they strove for improved education and language reform, and the publication of journalistic propoganda. The life's work of Ismāʿīl Gaspïralï [*q.v.*] examplifies this trend. A schoolmaster and mayor, he revised the curriculum in his town to include Turkish, along with Arabic; then he devised a *lingua franca* for schools and newspapers (he himself published a newspaper, called *Terdjümān* "Interpreter", from 1883), emphasising the common vocabulary of the Turkic languages and attempting to minimise phonological differences. Preaching "unity in language, thought and action," Gaspïralï's brand of Pan-Turkism was chiefly cultural.

Other Tatars, like Yūsuf Akčura, ʿAlī Ḥüseyinzāde and ʿAbd ül-Reshīd İbrāhīm, and Azeris like Aḥmed Aghaoghlu, preached political Pan-Turkism. Akčura, in particular, in his lengthy article *Üč ṭerz-i siyāset* ("Three systems of government"), anonymously published in Cairo in 1903, rejected Ottomanism and Pan-Islam, arguing that Pan-Turkism was the only feasible ideology for unity, which ought to be a union of all Turks, with Turkey at its centre. These and others were encouraged in their action by the revolutionary trends current in Russia of that period. In addition to publishing newspapers, they organised three

congresses of all Russia's Muslims (1905-6), presided over, again, by Tatars, in which a Pan-Turk union was discussed; Azeris and Turkestanis joined in. Such meetings were repeated in 1917 and revolts occurred in Ādharbaydjān, Turkistān, Bukhārā, Khīwa and Khōkand. Most of these uprisings were suppressed by the Red Army in the following years. The Soviet authorities banned Pan-Turkism, along with other universal ideologies competing with Communism. A harsh campaign of propaganda for Communism, strict censorship, and personal and economic pressures drove Pan-Turkism underground until the breakdown of the Soviet Union, when it is showing signs of a revival.

In most other areas where Turks and Turkic groups have held a minority status, Pan-Turkism has been low-keyed in expression, making itself heard mainly in times of discrimination or persecution. It was only in the Ottoman Empire, chiefly in its last decade, that it flourished. Writers and journalists, émigrés from Tsarist Russia and other countries, promoted it, joined by such distinguished Turkish intellectuals as ʿÖmer Seyfeddīn and Meḥmed Emīn [Yurdakul] [*q.vv.*], or even Żiyā Gök Alp, a Kurd, and Tekīn Alp, a Jew. Their literary and political organisations inspired further activities, and their books and newspapers have remained the treasured heritage of Pan-Turkism to this day. No less important politically is the fact that from *ca.* 1910, a part of the ruling Committee for Union and Progress adopted Pan-Turkism as the official state ideology. Chiefly supported by Enwer Pasha, the Committee used the state bureaucracy (including secret agents) and finances for Pan-Turk propaganda and activity both within the Empire and abroad, among Turkish-Turkic concentrations. The very entry of Turkey into the First World War was at least partly motivated by Pan-Turk, anti-Russian ambitions. Enwer Pasha, by then Minister for War, pursued these aims unremittingly and, towards the end of the war, sent his forces into southern Russia with the aim of carving out a new Pan-Turk empire to take place of the rapidly disintegrating Ottoman one. His own death in Bukhārā, fighting the Russians, in 1922, has rendered him a hero to Pan-Turkists to this day.

Discredited in war, Pan-Turkism had little place in the Republic of Turkey. Moreover, the Republic's founding father and first President, Atatürk [*q.v.*], was very critical of such universalist ideologies as Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islam, replacing them with his own popular brand of local nationalism, focused on Turkey and its Turks. A further consideration must have been that Pan-ideologies were certain to embroil Turkey with its neighbours at a time when it badly needed peace to reconstruct itself politically, economically and culturally. So Pan-Turkism entered a latent stage in Turkey, with its few adherents keeping a low profile and initiating rare publications (only since the 1930s), which seemed to have had few readers and were severally banned. After Atatürk's death in 1938, the number of Pan-Turk periodicals increased, although there was no change in the government's anti-Pan-Turk policy. Their main ideological quarrel was with Atatürk's brand of Turkish nationalism—which the Pan-Turks termed, derogatorily, Anatolianism—as well as with Communist-inspired Soviet (and, later, Chinese) rule which they interpreted as oppressive and perilous to Pan-Turkism. The main contributors to these periodicals were from among the émigrés, referred to above. There were also some others; among the Turks, two brothers were particularly active, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız (1905-75) and Necdet Sancar (1910-75), whose writings, particularly during the Second World War, were frankly racist; their main standard for being Turk was one of race, which conformed with Nazi principles.

The Second World War seemed, indeed, to offer Pan-Turkism a unique opportunity for reasserting itself, as it might well have been able to change the international *status quo*. Apparently encouraged by Nazi propaganda and funding, Pan-Turkists attempted, unsuccessfully, to persuade the Turkish government to enter the war against the Soviet Union, first in their newspapers, then by street demonstrations, led by Atsız and Sancar. These failed, but after the end of the war, Pan-Turkism began to be somewhat more popular than before, and tried to stage a comeback into the mainstream of politics, as one of many competing ideologies since the 1950s to-date. Increasingly, hostility to Communism and its sponsors, and sympathy for the complaints of Turkish-Turkic minorities in the Soviet Union, China, ʿIrāḳ, Greece, Cyprus and, in the late 1980s, Bulgaria, brought some potential support. Nonetheless, organisationally Pan-Turkism in Turkey itself remained weak and limited to élitist circles.

This situation was partly changed by Alparslan Türkeş. Born in Nicosia in 1917, he emigrated with his family to Turkey and chose a military career, reaching the rank of colonel. His connections with the Pan-Turkists began at least as early as the mid-1940s, when he participated in their street demonstrations. A controversial figure, he entered politics in 1965, when he took over the leadership of a medium-size political party whose name he changed to the Nationalist Action party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*). This ultranationalist grouping, active in politics until the military intervention of 1980, which banned all parties, and subsequently re-established as the Industriousness Party (*Çalışma Partisi*), still with Türkeş as chairman, obtained—at least for a while—the support of Pan-Turkists. In recent years, though, they have abandoned it, since Türkeş did not achieve results that satisfied them, and, also, because Türkeş increasingly took a pro-Islamic stand (in order to gain more votes), which Pan-Turkists did not consider consistent with their basic ideology.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there seems to have occurred, again, an upsurge in Pan-Turk sentiment, in Turkey, where public feelings identified with the "Outside Turks" (*Dış Türkler*) first in Bulgaria, then in the Union of Independent States, heir to the Soviet Union, as both sides of the border increasingly wished for greater co-operation and solidarity. Nonetheless, the ideal of a Pan-Turk union has not been achieved, for several reasons. Among external factors, the general reluctance of the Powers to alter the *status quo* has co-operated with opposition by the former Soviet Union and by China, as well as their protégés, to political (and even cultural) Pan-Turkism. Among internal ones, no less crucial, have been opposition by most of Turkey's political establishment, strong competition by rival ideologies, paucity of numbers (and no grassroots support) and lack of efficient organisation.

Bibliography: Several periodicals in Turkey still carry the message of Pan-Turkism. Some of these advocate the cause of a specific area and are edited and published largely by émigrés. Such are *Azerbaycan, Türkistan* and *Emel* (the last caters to Tatars). Two scholarly periodicals advocate Pan-Turkism more generally, the monthly *Türk Kültürü* (Ankara) and the bi-monthly *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* (Istan-

bul). A detailed bibliography on Pan-Turkism, updated to 1980, is given by J.M. Landau, *Pan-Turkism in Turkey*, London 1981, Greek tr. Athens 1985, Chinese tr. Urumchi 1992. See also: Shirin Akiner, *Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union*, London 1983; J.M. Landau, *Tekinalp, Turkish patriot 1883-1961*, Istanbul and Leiden 1984; L.L. Snyder, *Macro-nationalism: a history of the Pan-movements*, Westport, Conn. 1984, ch. 6; A. Benningsen and S.E. Wimbush, *Muslims of the Soviet empire: a guide*, London 1985, index; Benningsen, *Panturkism and Panislamism in history and today*, in *Central Asian Survey*, iii/3 (1985), 39-49; Landau, *The fortunes and misfortunes of Pan-Turkism*, in *ibid.*, vii/1 (1988), 1-5; idem, *The ups and downs of irredentism: the case of Turkey*, in Naomi Chazan (ed.), *Irredentism and international politics*, Boulder, Colo. 1991, 81-96; Margaret Bainbridge (ed.), *The Turkic peoples of the world*, London 1992. (J.M. Landau)

PANDJ PĪR, Pačpiriyā, followers of the Five Saints, Urdu *pānč pīr*, especially in northern and eastern India, whose myths and legends (there is no real historicity or hagiology about them) are attached to a primitive form of shrine worship with as many Hindū as Muslim adherents (Kipling in *Kim*, ch. 4, speaks of the "wayside shrines—sometimes Hindu, sometimes Mussulman—which the low caste of both creeds share with beautiful impartiality". For "caste" among the lower grades of Muslim society see hind. ii, Ethnography). They have no formal organisation, and belong to the general north Indian cultus of *pīr* and *shahīd*. The number *five* of course holds, affectionate associations, at least for a more formal Islam, in the *pandjtan-i pāk*: Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn; although in the sub-continent today a list of five great saints might be Bahāʾ al-Ḥakk of Multān, Rukn-i ʿĀlam of Lakhnaʾū, Shams-i Tabrīz of Multān, Makhdūm Djahāniyā Djahāngasht of Uččh, and Farīd al-Dīn "Shakargandj" of Pākpaṭṭan, although the list is variable. There are also, for example, the five hours of prayer, and the five duties of Islam, and the five "fingers"of the *pandja* used as one of the *ʿalams* in the Muḥarram ceremonies, or of the "hand of Fāṭima" commonly used as a talisman.

With the Pačpiriyā, however, the list is more variable: Crooke, for example, cites five different enumerations of the Pānč Pīr in Banāras alone, and refers to groupings in Bihār which include Langṛā Tār, a piece of crooked wire, and Subarnā Tīr, the bank of the Subarnā river, clearly crude fetishism; the only constant figure in the various enumerations is Ghāzī Miyān [*q.v.*], i.e. Sayyid Sālār Masʿūd, nephew of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, killed in battle against the Hindūs of Bahrayč [*q.v.*] in 425/1034 and claimed as one of the first martyrs of Islam in India, and his tomb and shrine at Bahrayč—and cenotaphs elsewhere in north-eastern India—are visited as much by Hindūs as by Muslims. The "doubtfully Islamic fair" referred to in the art. manēr, above, is part of this cultus. For Hinduism the Panč Pāndava, the five heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, or a set of five valiant Rādjpūt warriors, may even be referred to as the Pānč Pīr.

One possible connecting link among the various enumerations of the Pānč Pīr is the idea of martyrdom, since the tomb of a *shahīd*—which may come to have its own attached *pīr*—commonly attracts a particular devotion. For example, away from north India there is a modern mosque known as Pānč Pīr at Tālikotā [*q.v.*], the site of the battle wherein the Vidjayanagara army was defeated in 972/1565 by the confederated armies of the five sultanates of the Deccan; the mosque contains five tombs said to be of Deccan soldiers killed in the battle, which are now visited and venerated by Muslims and Hindūs alike.

The worshippers were described by E.A.H. Blunt, *The caste system of northern India*, Oxford 1931, as belonging to some 53 castes, 44 of which were "wholly or partly Hindu", and he puts the number of Hindū worshippers of the Five at some thirteen and a half million. R. Greeven, *op. cit.* below, gives two theories of the origin of the worship: (i) that low-caste Hindū converts to Islam degraded its purer doctrines into a species of more intelligible idolatry; (ii) that the Hindū low castes, under the influence of terror, deified certain of the earlier Muslim conquerors, into whose worship the humbler converts, never wholly emancipated from idolatry, relapsed by an easy passage. Two facts are apparently not disputed: (i) that the worshippers belong to low castes—indeed one authority declares that they are almost entirely sweepers; (ii) that even among Hindū devotees the Muslim origin of the cult is not forgotten, villagers speaking of the Five as the "Muslim deities" (*musulmānī dewtār*), and have certain ceremonies performed by Muslim drummers (*dafālī*, strictly "tambourinist"). Crooke's lists, which enumerate the offerings (not excluding spirituous liquor) presented to the Five at different places and by different *ḳawm*, show an amazing diversity of practice between one community and another, as though the Five were Hindū household or village gods, and as though any conformity were only a matter of *ḳawm* organisation. The household worship of the Five may simply be directed to an iron bar or three-pointed spear, representing Ghāzī Miyān, or five wooden pegs in the floor of the courtyard. There may be some cohesion through the songs of the itinerant *dafālīs*, but otherwise the Pačpiriyā have no formal organisation; the cult is discouraged by orthodox Muslims, and their "priests" are nothing but opportunists operating upon an illiterate and gullible public.

Specimens of the ballad poetry of the *dafālīs* and others, given by Greeven, are largely adaptations to Muslim ideas of tales found in the Indian epics, and the glorification of Ghāzī Miyān and his family.

Bibliography: W. Crooke, *Popular religion and folklore of northern India*, Allahabad 1894, esp. ch. 4, "The worship of the sainted dead"; R. Greeven, *The Heroes Five, an attempt to collect some of the songs of the Pachpiriya ballad-mongers in the Benares division*, Allahabad 1898; *ERE*, ix, 600 ff.

(D. S. Margoliouth-[J. Burton-Page])

PANDJĀB (p., "land of the five rivers"), a province of the northwestern part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. In pre-Partition British India it comprised all that part of the Indian Empire, with the exceptions of the North West Frontier Province and Kashmīr, north of Sindh and Rādjpūtāna and west of the river Djamna. Geographically therefore it includes more than its name implies, for, in addition to the country watered by the Djhelum, Čināb, Rāwī, Beās, and Satledj, it embraces the table-land of Sirhind between the Satledj and Djamna, the Sind-Sāgar Dōāb between the Satledj and the Indus, and the district of Dēra Ghāzī Khān. Since 1947, the province has been divided between Pākistān and India, the eastern, Indian portion being now divided into the states of Pandjāb, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh (see 2. below).

Under British rule, the province of Pandjāb was administratively divided into two parts, British territory and the Pandjāb States. British territory, which had

an area of 99,265 square miles and a population in 1931 of 23,580,852, was divided into 29 districts, each administered by a deputy-commissioner. These districts were grouped into the five divisions of Ambāla, Djullundur, Lahore, Rāwalpindi, and Multān, each under a commissioner. The Pandjāb States had an area of 37,699 square miles and a population in 1931 of 4,910,005. The conduct of political relations with Dudjānā, Patawdī, Kalsia, and the 27 Simla Hill States was in the hands of the Pandjāb Government. The remaining states of Lohāru, Sirmūr, Bilaspūr, Mandi, Suket, Kapurthālā, Malēr-Kōtla, Farīdkōt [q.v.], Čambā, Bahāwalpūr [q.v.], and the Phūlkian states of Pattiālā, Djind, and Nabhā, were directly under the Government of India.

1. History until 1911

The history of this area has been profoundly influenced by the fact that the mountain passes of the north-west frontier afford access to the Pandjāb plains. For this reason, it is ethnologically more nearly allied to Central Asia than to India. The excavations conducted since 1920 at Harappa in the Montgomery district are evidence of a culture which probably flourished in the Indus valley about 3000 B.C., and which bears a general resemblance to that of Elam and Mesopotamia (Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, 3 vols., London 1931). But the first migration of which we have any evidence is that of the Aryan-speaking peoples who established themselves on the Pandjāb plains in pre-historic times. Centuries later, successive waves of invaders swept like devastating torrents through the mountain passes of the north-west. Persian, Greek, and Afghān, the forces of Alexander and the armies of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, the hosts of Tīmūr, Bābur, and Nādir Shāh, and the troops of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q.vv.], all advanced by these routes to lay waste the fertile plains of the Pandjāb. All these migrations and invasions added to the heterogeneity of the existing population in the land of the five rivers. The history of invasions from Central Asia proves that the Pandjāb and the frontier zone from the banks of the Indus to the Afghān slopes of the Sulaymān range have never presented any real barrier to an enterprising general. The Sulaymān range itself has seldom formed a political boundary, for the Persians, Mauryas, Graeco-Bactrians, Sakas, Pahlawas, the Kushān branch of the Yüeh-či, and the Hūṇas all bestrode this mountain barrier.

The capture of Multān [q.v.] by Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim [q.v.], in 94/713, extended Arab power to upper Sind and the lower Pandjāb, but the real threat to Hindustān came from the direction of modern Afghānistān. The Ghaznawid invaders found the powerful Hindūshāhiyya dynasty of Wayhand [see HINDŪSHĀHĪS] ruling between Lamghān and the Čināb. The power of this Hindu state was completely shattered by Maḥmūd of Ghazna [q.v.], who annexed the Pandjāb, which became a frontier province of his extensive empire with its capital at Lahore (Lāhawr [q.v.]) and the sole refuge of his descendants when driven out of Ghazna by the Shansabānī sultans of Ghūr [see GHŪRIDS]. Multān and the surrounding country had remained in Muslim hands since the days of the Arab conquest, but the fact that its rulers were heretical Ḳarmaṭians (i.e. Ismāʿīlīs) was one reason for Maḥmūd's attack in 396/1006. Muḥammad Ghūrī annexed the Pandjāb in 582/1186 and on his death in 602/1206 it definitely became a province of the Sultanate of Dihlī under the rule of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [q.v.]. With the exception of occasional rebellions and raids from Central Asia, it remained under the Sulṭāns of Dihlī until the defeat of Ibrāhīm Lōdī [q.v.] by Bābur at Pānīpat [q.v.] in 932/1526 paved the way for the foundation of the Mughal empire. Under Akbar [q.v.] the modern province of the Pandjāb was included in the ṣūbas of Lahore, Multān, and Dihlī, a detailed description of which will be found in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (tr. Jarrett, ii, 278-341).

The more intransigent policy of Akbar's immediate successors, above all, of Awrangzīb [q.v.], led to the growth of Sikh political power in the Pandjāb and transformed a band of religious devotees, founded by Guru Nānak [q.v.] in the second half of the 15th century, into a military commonwealth or Khālṣa animated with undying hatred toward Muslims [see SIKHS]. The weakness of the central government and the unprotected condition of the frontier provinces under the later Mughals exposed Hindūstān to the invasions of Nādir Shāh [q.v.] and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q.v.]. On the bloodstained field of Pānipat, in 1761, the Marāthās [q.v.], who were aspiring to universal sovereignty, sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghān invader. In the following year, at Barnāla near Ludhiāna, Aḥmad Shāh disastrously defeated the Sikhs who had taken advantage of his absence in Kābul to possess themselves of the country around Lahore. The Sikhs, however, soon extended their sway to the south of the Satledj and ravaged the country to the very gates of Dihlī, but their further advance was checked by the Marāthās who had rapidly recovered from their defeat at Pānipat. It was the defeat of the Marāthās by Lord Lake, in 1803, which facilitated the rise of Randjīt Singh and enabled him to found a powerful Sikh kingdom in the Pandjāb. His attempts to extend his authority over his co-religionists, the cis-Satledj Sikhs, brought him into contact with the British, and, by the treaty of 1809, he pledged himself to regard the Satledj as the north-west frontier of the British dominions in India (Aitchison, viii, no. liii). After the death of Randjīt Singh in 1839, his kingdom rapidly fell to pieces under his successors. Revolution succeeded revolution, and during the minority of Dalīp Singh the Khālṣa soldiery became virtually rulers of the country. Unprovoked aggression on British territory produced two Sikh wars which ended with the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849.

At first the newly-conquered territories were placed under a Board of Administration. This was abolished in 1853, its powers and functions being vested in a Chief Commissioner. In 1859, after the transfer of the Dihlī territory from the North-Western (subsequently the United) Provinces, the Pandjāb and its dependencies were formed into a Lieutenant-Governorship.

The annexation of the Pandjāb by advancing the British administrative boundary across the Indus brought the Government of India into closer contact with the Pathān tribes of the north-west frontier and the Amīr of Afghānistān [q.v.]. Because this frontier was too long and too mountainous to admit of its being defended by the military alone, much depended upon the political management of the tribes. At first there was no special agency for dealing with the tribal tracts, and relations with the tribesmen were conducted by the deputy-commissioners of the six districts of Hazāra, Peshāwar, Kōhāt, Bannū [q.vv.], Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān, and Dēra Ghāzī Khān [see DĒRADJĀT]. In 1876, the three northern districts formed the commissionership of Peshāwar, the three southern ones that of the Dēradjāt. The system of political agencies was not adopted until 1878, when a special officer was appointed for the Khyber [see KHAYBAR] during the Second Afghān War. Kurram

[*q.v.*] became an agency in 1892, while the three remaining agencies of the Malakand, Tochi, and Wāna were created between 1895 and 1896. The Malakand was placed under the direct control of the Government of India from the outset, all the other agencies remaining under the Pandjāb Government. This was the arrangement until the creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901.

The Pandjāb attained its latest dimensions within British India in 1911 when Dihlī became a separate province. It was not, however, until 1921 that it was raised to the status of a governor's province.

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2. History after 1911

The course of British policy profoundly influenced political developments in the region after 1911. The British created a system of control based on their alliance with rural powerholders. They also encouraged the growth of an "agriculturalist" political identity which cut across communal lines. This policy was largely dictated by the need to secure rural stability in a region which was the major centre for recruitment to the Indian Army. The Government of India's introduction of improved communications, the spread of western education and missionary activity, however, stimulated religious revivalism. The communities of the Pandjāb's towns thus developed a communal political ideal which challenged the British definition of society. Two systems of politics emerged, the rural politics of mediation, and the urban politics of faith.

The Government of India's political institutions largely excluded the urban communities from power. Only members of the statutory "agriculturalist" tribes could stand for election in the rural constituencies which accounted for the majority of the seats in the Provincial Assembly, newly created in 1937. Because the rural voting requirements were low and large numbers of soldiers were enfranchised, agriculturalists comprised nearly three-quarters of the restricted electorate. This greatly handicapped both the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, as their supporters were concentrated in the Pandjāb's towns.

The Unionist Party was the dominant political force. The Party was founded in 1923. It won the support both of the Muslim landholders from the West Pandjāb and the Hindu Jat peasants of the eastern Ambāla division. Its main policies concerned the elimination of rural indebtedness. Its cornerstone was the 1900 Alienation of Land Act which limited land transfers and divided Pandjābi society into the categories of "agriculturalist" and "non-agriculturalist".

Urban politicians, however, stressed communal identities. The Aḥrārs championed the rights of Kashmiri Muslims and also attacked the heterodox Aḥmadī community [see AḤMADIYYA]. The Khāksārs preached a revolutionary Islamic nationalism. The Sikh Akālīs were the first to successfully infuse communal values into rural politics. They wrested power from the landholders of the Khālsa National Party through their militant struggle in the early 1920s to secure control of the Sikh shrines and temples. Muslim politics continued to move along the same track as before. The Unionist Party triumphed in the 1937 Provincial elections, reducing the Muslim League to a single seat. Jinnah received some consolation when the new Unionist Premier, Sikandar Ḥayāt Khān, agreed to support him in All-India politics in their Pact of October 1937. But the cost was the Unionist domination of the reorganised Pandjāb branch of the Muslim League.

The Second World War dealt a series of blows to the Unionist Party. It had to agree to the unpopular measure of the forced requisition of grain. The War also undermined it by raising Jinnah's status and signalling an imminent British departure from India. Simultaneously, the Party was internally weakened by the sudden deaths of Sikandar and Chhotu Ram, its leading Jat figure. Khiḍr (Khizr) Ḥayāt Khān Tiwana succeeded Sikandar as Premier early in 1943. He remained wedded to the Party's intercommunal stance, but he lacked his predecessor's ability to unite all its Muslim factions. Jinnah seized the opportunity to reassert his authority over the Pandjāb Muslim League. After protracted negotiations, he expelled Khiḍr from the party in May 1944. Thereafter there was a steady drift of Muslim Unionists into the Muslim League, while their Hindu counterparts joined the Congress.

The Unionist Party was reduced to a rump of 21 members following the 1946 Provincial elections. Khiḍr remained as Premier of a Coalition Ministry until March 1947. His resignation sparked an outbreak of communal violence which had become endemic by the summer of 1947. The disintegration of the police and other services helps explain the chaos which afflicted the region following the British departure.

The Partition of the Pandjāb resulted from the acceptance of the 3 June Plan. The boundary commission drew a line passing between Lahore and Amritsar. The decision to award an area of about 5,000 square miles of contiguous Muslim majority areas to India to retain the "solidarity" of canal and road systems evoked great controversy. In the chaotic two-way flight of August to November 1947, 13 million people crossed the new boundaries. In 1956 the Patiālā and East Pandjāb States Union was merged with the Indian Pandjāb State. This was, however, further reorganised along linguistic lines in 1966 with the Hindi-speaking areas being carved out into the new State of Haryana. The Himalayan Hill Tracts were also taken away to form part of what became the State of Himachal Pradesh. The Sikhs were left as a majority in their homeland for the first time. By 1981 they

comprised 56% of the State's population of 16,800,000. The West Pandjāb has undergone much less territorial reorganisation. It has incorporated the former State of Bahāwalpūr [*q.v.*]. From 1955-70 it was merged into the single province of West Pākistān. When it was reconstituted, it comprised 28 districts in five divisions and a population of 37,400,000.

Both the Indian and Pākistānī Pandjāb were historically well placed to benefit from the Green Revolution of the 1960s. They possessed good existing roads and canals and agriculturally skilled populations. With the introduction of the improved seeds and technology of the Green Revolution, agricultural production was further increased, with the result that they became the wealthiest regions in their respective countries. The Pākistānī Pandjāb possessed the additional favourable inheritance of a stranglehold over military recruitment.

The colonial legacy has also shaped political developments in the Pandjāb region. The Akālī Dal's dominant position in Sikh politics dates from its capture of the resources of the Sikh shrines and temples. The genesis of the Khālistān demand is complex and is rooted mainly in the social changes brought by the Green Revolution and the Centre-State conflicts engendered by Mrs Gandhi's rule. Nevertheless, the sharpened Sikh communal identity during the colonial era, and Sikh distrust of the Congress following the failure of the Sikhistān demand in 1947, are important historical influences.

An important colonial legacy for the politics of the Pākistānī Pandjāb, and indeed for Pākistān as a whole, has been the region's establishment as a major army recruitment centre. For the virtual exclusion of non-Pandjābīs from the continued military association with power has reinforced regional imbalances and increased alienation from the centre. Military service, landholding and political power have become increasingly intermeshed. Equally important, however, has been the inheritance of an unresolved tension between a political authority based on the mediation of local leaders and Islamic ideals. This boiled over in the anti-Aḥmadī riots in Lahore of 1953 which were reminiscent of the Ahrārs' agitations of the 1930s. The riots resulted in the introduction of martial law in Lahore and the downfall of the Premier of Pākistān. This paved the way for the military to assume a larger role in the nation's politics [see further, PĀKISTĀN].

Bibliography: Punjab Unionist Party, *Rules and regulations*, Lahore 1936; S. Zaheer, *Muslim Līg awr Yūnyūnist Partī: Pandjāb meṅ ḥakk o bāṭil ki kashmakash*, Bombay 1944; Punjab Provincial Muslim League, *Manifesto of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League*, Lahore 1944; Punjab Government, *Report of the Government Inquiry constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to enquire into the Punjab disturbances of 1953*, Lahore 1954; A.H. Batalvi, *Ikbāl ke ākhirī do sāl*, Karachi 1969; S. Lavan, *The Ahmadiyah movement*, Delhi 1974; W. Ahmad, *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Husain*, Lahore 1976; P. Chowdhry, *Punjab politics: the role of Sir Chhotu Ram*, New Delhi 1984; R.G. Fox, *Lions of the Punjab: culture in the making*, Berkeley 1985; I.H. Malik, *Sikander Hayat Khan (1892-1942): a political biography*, Islamabad 1985; R. Kapur, *Sikh separatism: the politics of faith*, London 1986; I. Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj, 1849-1947*, New Delhi 1988; I. Ali, *The Punjab under imperialism, 1885-1947*, Princeton 1988; D. Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the making of Pakistan*, Berkeley 1989; J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, Cambridge 1990. (I. TALBOT)

PANDJĀBĪ is only loosely to be defined as the Indo-Aryan language of the Pandjāb [*q.v.*]. Most linguists follow the narrower definition proposed by Grierson in the *Linguistic survey of India*, according to which "Pandjābī proper" is restricted to the speech of the central and eastern districts only, in distinction from the western dialects separately classified under Lahndā [*q.v.*].

1. *Historic status and dialects.* Pandjābī is thus placed between Lahndā to the west and the Kharī bōlī of the Dihlī region, which forms the base of Urdū and of modern standard Hindī, to the south-east. As is so often the case in the uncertain internal taxonomies of Indo-Aryan, its relations with these two immediate neighbours are complex, being marked by a range of features shared with one or the other, and being further confused by numerous borrowings.

The intermediate status of Pandjābī was explained by Grierson in terms of his insecurely based theory of "Outer" and "Central" groups of Indo-Aryan languages, according to which Pandjābī was the product of the innovating "Central" type, exemplified by Western Hindī, having come partially to overlay the conservative "Outer" Lahndā.

A more satisfactory explanation requires to be more closely linked to the historical evidence. This is admittedly very scanty for the beginning of the new Indo-Aryan period, which is here roughly contemporary with the Ghaznawid conquests of the 11th century. Widespread acceptance has, however, been secured for the argument first advanced by Ḥ.M. Shērānī that Pandjābī was one of the principal Indo-Aryan components of the early Muslim *lingua franca* of India, as might be deduced from the known patterns of conquest and settlement. The language of both the often garbled vernacular utterances occasionally included in some early Dihlī *malfūẓāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and the amply preserved corpus of early Dakanī Urdū literature (*ca.* 1500-1650) clearly exemplifies this former Pandjābī predominance, largely eliminated in later varieties of Urdū where Kharī bōlī norms have become the rule. Such Pandjābisms notably include the preference for the retention of Middle Indo-Aryan geminates, e.g. *akkh* "eye" versus modern Urdū *āṅkh*, the use of vocabulary now distinctively Pandjābī, e.g. *ākh-* "say" besides *kah-* (now alone used in modern Urdū), and numerous morphological features, e.g. future *ākhsī* "he will say" (versus modern *kahēgā*), or ablative singular *prēmōṅ* "from love" (versus modern *prēm sē*).

Within the Pandjāb itself a similar pattern of influence from west to east may discerned in the pre-modern period. The local Muslim literary language, as often as not described by its authors in the usual Indo-Muslim fashion as "Hindī" or "Hinduī" rather than "Pandjābī" freely incorporates many Lahndā forms alongside those more strictly characteristic of the central Mādjhī dialect of Lahore, the provincial capital. This may be accounted for by the continuing importance of Multān as a spiritual and political centre in the south-west, and by the fact that many of the most important writers came from the districts west of Lahore, where Pandjābī shades into Lahndā. The broad dialectal base of the literary language is to be seen in the simultaneous use of numerous western (Lahndā), mid-western (Lahndā-Pandjābī) and central (Mādjhī) forms, e.g. feminine plural *akkhīṅ, akkhiyāṅ, akkhāṅ* "eyes", or future *akhēsi, ākhsī, ākhēgā* "he will say". Only from *ca.* 1750 is it possible clearly to distinguish the Sirāikī of south-western Pandjāb, more exclusively based on Lahndā [*q.v.*] from this composite Muslim Pandjābī literary idiom.

2. *Muslim Pandjābī literature.* The prolonged cultural

supremacy of Persian in the Pandjāb, only ended by the imposition of Urdū following the British conquests in the mid-19th century, accounts for the quite restricted nature of the typical genres of pre-modern Muslim Pandjābī literature, whose linguistic base has been indicated above. Written in Persian script and drawing extensively upon Perso-Arabic vocabulary, this Muslim literature may largely be considered in isolation from the contemporary Sikh scriptural and post-scriptural literature, whose dialectal base incorporates many more Hindī forms alongside their Pandjābī equivalents, which is recorded in the sacred Gurmukhī script, and whose abstract vocabulary is largely Sanskritic in origin. The two literatures coincide only in the isolated small corpus of pre-16th century *shalōk* and hymns attributed to Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar (571-664/1175-1265 [*q.v.*]) which is preserved in the Sikh *Ādi Granth* (1604). While valuable as uniquely early examples of Muslim vernacular poetry in the Pandjāb, and as linguistic records (especially since the Gurmukhī script records such archaic features as morphemically significant distinctions of short vowels, never systematically indicated in the Persian script), these verses must in many ways be regarded separately from the later Muslim literature.

This abounds in the difficulties of attribution and dating, not to speak of the uncertainties of textual transmission, to be expected from its semi-popular character in relation to Persian. Also consistent with its popular nature is the fact that it is all composed in verse, whose patterns are based not upon the learned *ʿarūḍ* certainly familiar to many of its authors but on local metres characterised by regular accentual beats. The literature may be classified under three broad headings. The first consists of versified Islamic treatises on fundamentals of the faith or prescriptions of the *sharīʿa*. Although quite copious in quantity, this genre is of the least literary interest, even in the well preserved works of its first and best known exponent, Mawlawī ʿAbd Allāh "ʿAbdī" of Lahore (d. 1075/1664).

A far greater literary significance attaches to the Ṣūfī lyric associated with *ḳawwālī* performance. Here the premier genre is the *kāfī*, a lyric consisting of rhymed couplets or short stanzas having a refrain repeated after each verse, and normally following the usual Indian poetic convention whereby the poet assumes a female persona, typically that of a young girl yearning to be united with her husband/lover, allegorically to be understood as an expression of the soul's yearning for God. The 16th-century *malāmatī* of Lahore, Shāh "Mādhō Lāl" Ḥusayn, is considered to be the first exponent of the Pandjābī *kāfī*, although it must observed that the transmission of the verse attributed to him has been largely through the oral *ḳawwāl* tradition. The master of the genre is the Ḳādirī, ʿAbd Allāh "Bullhe Shāh" (1680-1758), whose tomb is at Ḳaṣūr, and in whose *kāfīs* the combination of a lyrical poignancy underpinned by imagery from local legends and local life with wide-ranging Islamic references creates a local expresion of Ṣūfī teaching and ideals still rightly regarded as classic. His reputation is matched only by that of another Ḳādirī, Sulṭān Bāhū of Jhang (d. 1102/1691), whose more sober poetry is cast in the quatrain form called *dōhṛā*.

The third genre consists of longer narrative poems, composed in one or other of the two local metres called *baint*, and arranged by rhyme either in *mathnawī*-style couplets, or more usually in stanzas (*pauṛī*) of four or more lines, whose contents are often headed by Persian prose rubrics. Although more obviously designed for reading than the Ṣūfī lyric, at least the most famous of these narratives are equally performed as ballads to more or less set tunes. One category of such narratives indeed consists of historical ballads (*vār*) on martial themes, the best known examples being the 18th-century *Nādir Shāh dī vār* by Nadjābat, and the mid-19th century *vār* on the Anglo-Sikh wars by Shāh Muḥammad.

The largest and most popular class of narrative poems belongs, however, to the romance or *ḳiṣṣa*. Well attested from the 17th century, the Pandjābī *ḳiṣṣa* reaches its apogee in the *Hīr Rāndjhā* by Wārith Shāh (1180/1766). Comprising some 4,000 lines, this version of one of the most famous local legends is rightly regarded as the masterpiece of Muslim Pandjābī literature, not merely for its narrative skill but for its encyclopaedic vision of Pandjābī society, its exploitation of the total stylistic range of language from the most rarefied Perso-Arabic to the most earthily obscene, and its challenging mixture of the sardonic with the romantic. Classic treatments of other local legends, besides adaptations from the Persian of such widely diffused romances as Laylā-Madjnūn or Shīrīn-Farhād, followed in the early 19th century, and many further imitations were inspired by the development of Lahore as a major publishing centre from the 1860s. The only later *ḳiṣṣa* to achieve a popularity rivalling that of the Wārith Shāh *Hīr* was, however, the lengthy and elaborate re-working of the Arabian Nights' romance of *Sayf al-Mulūk* (1272/1855) by the Ḳādirī Miyān Muḥammad Bakhsh of Mīrpūr (Kashmīr) in some 10,000 lines as a Ṣūfī allegory incorporating a vast range of references to Islamic learning and local culture, characteristically concluding with the first history of Muslim Pandjābī literature.

3. *Modern Pandjābī.* While Pandjābī literature of a traditional type, if no longer of very high quality, continues even now to be produced in Pākistān, pre-modern patterns have been increasingly affected by the major linguistic and political changes which have overtaken the Pandjāb in the 20th century.

The intimate association in modern South Asia between Urdū and Islām facilitated the ready acceptance during the British period by educated Pandjābī Muslims of Urdū in place of Persian as their main cultural language. The creation and development of a modern standard Pandjābī was therefore left to the Sikh reformists and writers who from 1900 onwards used it as the medium of a modern prose literature. Being written in the Gurmukhī script, this literature was, however, unintelligible to nearly all Muslim readers, from whose ranks only a very small number of writers began to experiment with newer poetic forms, including adaptations of Urdū and English models into Pandjābī. This profound cultural barrier was naturally reinforced by the partition of the Pandjāb in 1947, and the wholesale exchange of populations between its Indian and Pākistānī parts [see PANDJĀB. 2. after 1911].

The place of Pākistān Pandjāb as one of the stoutest continuing bastions of Urdū in South Asia was challenged in the succeeding decades only by very small groups of intellectuals and writers who began to lay the foundations of a modern standard Pākistānī Pandjābī, inevitably profoundly influenced by Urdū, but consciously differentiated from it by the adoption of some elements from modern Sikh Pandjābī, and of a more carefully distinguished orthography (e.g. through the adoption of super-dotted *nūn* to mark the retroflex *ṇ*). The efforts of these pioneers have borne some fruit in recent decades, when political

developments have encouraged an increasing role for linguistic and other manifestations of local ethnicity in Pākistān. Their reversal of direction in the historic patterns of influence from west to east has served to base the written language more closely on the Mādjhī of Lahore, but at the cost of emphasising its distinctiveness from other regional standards, notably the Siräikī of Multān-Bahāwalpūr. For the present, therefore, Urdū continues to represent an attractive alternative to the greater adoption of Pandjābī as literary language, even in the specialised world of Pākistānī Pandjābī scholarship.

Bibliography: 1. Language. G.A. Grierson, ed., *Linguistic survey of India*, ix, part I, *Western Hindī and Pañjābī, 607-825*, Calcutta 1916, contains a full bibliography of the earlier sources. The significance of Pandjābī in the early formation of Urdū was first argued in Ḥ.M. Shērānī, *Pandjāb men Urdū*, Lahore 1930. More recent studies are best consulted through O.N. Kaul and M. Bala, *Punjabi language and linguistics, an annotated bibliography*, Patiala 1992. There is no systematic account of Muslim Pandjābī comparable to the description of modern standard Sikh Pandjābī in H.S. Gill and H.A. Gleason, *A reference grammar of Punjabi*, Patiala 1969.

2. Literature. There is a lengthy composite account (in Urdū) in *Pandjābī adab*, in *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt-i musulmānān-i Pākistān ō Hind*, ed. Fayyāḍ Maḥmūd, xiii, part I, Lahore 1971, 185-433. The earlier period is surveyed in C. Shackle, *Early vernacular poetry in the Indus valley*, in *Islam and Indian regions*, ed. A.L. Dallapiccola and S. Zingel-Avé Lallemant, Stuttgart 1993, i, 259-89. For the Ṣūfī poetry, L. Rama Krishna, *Pañjābi Ṣūfī poets, A.D. 1460-1900*, Calcutta 1938, still awaiting its long overdue English replacement, may be supplemented by *Bulleh Shah* [*sic*], *a selection*, tr. Taufiq Rafat, Lahore 1982. A comprehensive bibliography of English and other sources for the Wārith Shāh *Hīr* (and to the *ḳiṣṣa* poetry generally) is provided in C. Shackle, *Transitions and transformations in Vāris Shāh's* Hīr, to appear in *The Indian narrative: perspectives and patterns*, ed. idem and R. Snell, Wiesbaden 1993.

3. Modern Pandjābī. The changing status of the language is examined in C. Shackle, *Punjabi in Lahore*, in *Modern Asian Studies*, iv (1970), 239-67; idem, *Language, dialect, and local identity in northern Pakistan*, in *Pakistan in its fourth decade*, ed. W.-P. Zingel, Hamburg 1983, 175-87; idem, *Some observations on the evolution of modern standard Punjabi*, in *Sikh history and religion in the twentieth century*, ed. J.T. O'Connell, Toronto 1988, 101-9. (C. Shackle)

PANDJDIH (Pendjdeh), a village now in the Turkmenistan Republic, situated to the east of the Kushk river near its junction with the Murghāb at Pul-i Kishti. The fact that the inhabitants of this area, the Sarik Turkomans, were divided into five sections, the Soktīs, Harzagīs, Khurāsānlis, Bayrač, and the ʿAlī Shāh, has been put forward as a possible explanation of the origin of the name Pendjdeh, but it carries no weight as the Sariks were only 19th-century immigrants, whereas the name was in use in the 15th century.

This obscure oasis owes a somewhat melancholy importance to the "Pandjdih Incident" of 1885, when an Afghān force suffered heavy losses in an engagement with Russian troops, and which threatened to become a major Anglo-Russian military confrontation in Central Asia. History proves that an ill-defined boundary is a potential cause of war. It was a knowledge of this and the Russian occupation of Marw in 1884, with an intention in Imperial Russian minds of extending power over all the Turkmen peoples of the region, that gave the necessary impetus to negotiations which ended in the appointment of an Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission for the delimitation and demarcation of the northern boundary of Afghānistān. Trouble immediately arose in this quarter, for while the Russians contended that the inhabitants of Pandjdih were independent, the British held the view that they were subjects of the *Amīr* of Afghānistān. According to the British, the district of Pandjdih, which comprised the country between the Kushk and Murghāb rivers from the Band-i Nādir to Ak Tepe, together with the rest of Bādghīs, formed part of the Harāt province of Afghānistān. During the first quarter of the 19th century, Pandjdih had been occupied by Djamshīdīs and Hazāras. Towards the end of this period, some Turkomans of the Ersari tribe, whose settlements were scattered along the banks of the Oxus between the Čardjuy and Balkh, moved to Pandjdih and obtained permission to settle there. Salor Turkomans had also settled in this area. About 1857, the Ersaris migrated from the oasis of Pandjdih, and soon afterwards the Sarik Turkomans, forced southwards by their more powerful neighbours, the Tekkes, occupied Yulatan and Pandjdih and compelled the Salor families to migrate elsewhere. Although, therefore, Pandjdih had from time to time been occupied by various tribes, they had all, whether Djamshīdīs, Hazāras, Ersaris, Salors or Sariks, acknowledged they were on Afghān soil and paid tribute to the *nāʾib* or deputy of the Afghān governor of Harāt. The Sarik Turkomans had even supplied the *Amīr* with troops. The British therefore contended that the district of Bādghīs, of which Pandjdih formed a part, had long been under Afghān rule (Foreign Office mss. 65, 1205).

The Russians, on the other hand, contended that the people of this oasis had always enjoyed independence. Lessar, a Russian engineer, who visited Pandjdih in March 1884, discovered no trace of Afghān authority, but a Russian doctor, named Regel, who visited it in June of the same year reported the presence of an Afghān detachment. In their opinion, therefore, Pandjdih had only recently been occupied by Afghān troops.

The fact that the Afghāns had not permanently garrisoned this area was no proof of its independence. On the contrary, it was only natural that, after the Russian occupation of Marw and Pul-i Khātūn, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān should have taken steps to indicate his sovereign rights over this area. When, therefore, an Afghān garrison occupied Pandjdih, the Russian Government immediately protested and disputed the *Amīr*'s claim to the territory. While negotiations were taking place between London and St. Petersburg, events moved swiftly on the frontiers of Afghānistān. On 29 March 1885, General Komarov sent an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of the Afghān garrison. The Afghāns resolutely refused to withdraw, whereupon the Russians attacked them, driving them across the Pul-i Kishti with the loss of some 900 men. It must be admitted that the posting of Afghān troops in Pandjdih, and the Russian advance to Yulatan on the Murghāb and to Pul-i Khātūn on the Harī Rūd, were both provocative actions almost certain to precipitate war. The whole incident should have been avoided, but the confusing reports of Sir Peter Lumsden, the British Commissioner, to the Foreign Office, and the delay of Zelenoi, the Russian Commissioner, in arriving at Sarakhs complicated matters still more.

At the time, this incident seemed likely to embroil Russia and Britain in war, but, fortunately, the good sense of the *Amīr*, who was at this critical moment on a State visit to Rawalpindi, and the diplomatic skills of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, prevented this, for even the pacific Liberal government of Gladstone had proposed to Parliament that £11,000,000 should be expended on preparations for war.

It was finally agreed that Pandjdih should be handed over to Russia in exchange for Dhu 'l-Fiḳār, and by the year 1886 the northern boundary of Afghānistān had been demarcated from Dhu 'l-Fiḳār to the meridian of Dukči within forty miles of the Oxus. After a dispute as to the exact point at which the boundary line should meet the Oxus, the process of demarcation was completed in 1888. This recognition of a definite frontier between Russia and Afghānistān led to a decided improvement in the Central Asian question.

In the history of mediaeval Islamic literature, Pandjdih appears as the home, or the place of ultimate origin, of at least two poets: Abū Ḥanīfa Pandjdihī, whose Arabic verses are quoted in al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr*, ed. al-Ḥilū, Cairo 1388-91/1968-71, ii, 257 no. 303 = ed. al-ʿĀnī, Baghdād 1390-1/1960-1, ii, 154; and Muẓaffarī Pandjdihī Marwī (Marwarrūdhī ?), a Persian poet included by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, 28, and ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Browne and Ḳazwīnī, ii, 63-5, amongst the eulogists of the Ghaznawids.

Bibliography: *Délimitation Afghane. Négociations entre la Russie et la Grande-Bretagne*, 1872-85, 1886; *Parliamentary Papers, Central Asia*, 1884-5, lxxxvii, c. 4387-9, 4418; *Public Record Office*, London, Foreign Office mss. 65, 1205; 1238-45; C.E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, or *Letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission*, London 1888; Sir Alfred Lyall, *The life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, London 1905, ii, 90-3; V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan. Politics of reform and modernization 1880-1946*, Stanford 1969, 117, 156-7; L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 421-3; M. Bence-Jones, *The Viceroys of India*, London 1982, 138-9.

(C.C. Davies)

PANDJHĪR, the name of a river and its valley in the northeastern part of Afghānistān. The river flows southwards from the Hindū Kush [*q.v.*] and joins the Kābul River at Sarobi, and near this point a barrage was constructed in the 1950s to supply water for Kābul. The Pandjhīr valley has always been important as a corridor for nomads who winter in the Lāmghānāt-Djalālābād [*q.vv.*] regions and then travel to summer pastures in Badakhshān [*q.v.*].

In mediaeval Islamic times, Pandjhīr was a famed centre for silver mining [see maʿdin at V, 964, 967, 968 for details], and coins were minted there by the Ṣaffārids [*q.v.*], Abū Dāwūdids or Bānīdjūrids [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Sāmānids [*q.v.*] (see E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islam*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 79). Pandjhīr seems to have produced a poet in Persian of some renown (the "well-known" al-Bandjhīrī of Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 499?), Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Makkī al-Pandjhīrī, eulogist of the Ghaznawids; see ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Browne and Ḳazwīnī, London-Leiden 1903-6, ii, 46.

In the 1980s, the Pandjhīr valley was a particular centre of *Mudjāhid* [*q.v.*] resistance to the Communist régime in Kābul and its Soviet Russian supporters.

Bibliography: See Le Strange, *Lands*, 417-19; J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie d'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen etc. 1959, 32, 41, 44, 311.

(Ed.)

PANDJWĀY [see ḳandahār].

PĀNDU'Ā, a mediaeval Islamic town of the Bengal Sultanate [see bangāla], now in the Mālda District of the West Bengal State of the Indian Union, and situated about 16 km/10 miles to the south of modern Mālda town, in lat. 25° 8′ N. and long 88° 10′ E. It was the residence of Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh of Bengal (746-59/1345-58) and his five successors, and it was at Pāndu'ā that he mounted the throne. Pāndu'ā continued as the capital of the Bengal Sultanate till the reign of Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh (817-35/1414-31), who transferred the capital to Gawr or Lakhnawtī [*q.v.*]. On coins, Pāndu'ā is referred to as Fīrūzābād. It was deserted due to its unwholesome climate and the rise of swamps and marshes. It is now a deserted town—a square mound, five miles in diameter with archaeological evidence of fortification.

Pāndu'ā developed as a brisk centre of spiritual activity in Bengal. Djalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī established his *khānaḳāh* at Deotala, near Pāndu'ā. In 742/1342 ʿAlā' al-Dīn ʿAlī Shāh built his tomb at Pāndu'ā. Shaykh Sirādj al-Dīn ʿUthmān, known as Akhī Sirādj, a distinguished disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' [*q.v.*], planted the Čishtī order at Pāndu'ā. His successors—Shaykh ʿAlā' al-Ḥaḳḳ, Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam and others—played an important role in the cultural life of the place. Shaykh ʿAlā' al-Ḥaḳḳ (d. 800/1398) pushed further the work of his distinguished predecessors and made Pāndu'ā the centre of a powerful religious and intellectual movement. His son Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam built there a big *madrasa* and a hospital. The land granted by ʿAlā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh to his *khānaḳāh* continued up to recent times. According to the *Riyāḍ al-salāṭīn*, Ḥusayn Shāh used to come from Ekdala every year on foot to visit the tomb of Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam. We find eminent saints, like Shaykh Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ of Rudawlī, visiting his shrine (*Anwār al-ʿUyūn*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1905, 12-14).

The site of Pāndu'ā contains some splendid Muslim buildings, mostly in a ruinous condition, including the remarkable Ādīna or Friday Mosque, the largest in the subcontinent, built by the second Ilyās Shāhid, Sikandar Shāh I (759-92/1358-90), completed in Radjab 776/December 1374-January 1375 according to an inscription in the mosque; the 10th/16th century Ḳuṭb Shāhī mosque; and several significant tombs (see A.H. Dani, *Muslim architecture in Bengal*, Dacca 1961, 55-73, 76-83, 168-70; G. Michell (ed.), *The Islamic heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO, Paris 1984, 109-14, 155-64).

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xix, 392-4; M. Abid Ali Khan, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, revised by H.E. Stapleton, Calcutta 1931; M.A. Rahim, *Social and cultural history of Bengal*, i, Karachi 1963, 183-4; M.R. Tarafdar, *Husain Shahi Bengal, a socio-political study*, Dacca 1965, 128-9; A. Karim, *Corpus of the Muslim coins of Bengal*, Dacca 1960; Ghulam Rasool, *Chishti Nizami Sufi order of Bengal*, Dihlī 1990.

(K.A. Nizami)

PANGULU [see penghulu].

PĀNĪPAT, a town of northern India (lat. 29° 24′ N., long. 76° 58′ E.) situated 86 km/57 miles north of Dihlī; it is also the name of the southernmost *taḥṣīl* in the Karnāl District of what was in British Indian times the province of the Pandjāb [*q.v.*] but has since 1947 been in the eastern or Indian part of the divided province of the former Pandjāb, at present in Haryana province of the Indian Union.

On three occasions has the fate of Hindustān been decided on the plain of Pānīpat: in 1526, when Bābur

[*q.v.*], the Barlās Turk, defeated Ibrāhīm Lōdī [*q.v.*]; in 1556, when Akbar [*q.v.*] crushed the forces of Hēmū; and lastly, in 1761, when the Marāthās [*q.v.*] were defeated by Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Durrānī [*q.v.*]. The geographical factor combined with internal decay and a weak system of frontier defence has been chiefly responsible for this. From the strategic background of Afg̲h̲ānistān the path for invaders lay along the lines of least resistance, the Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, and Gomal passes, on to the Pand̲j̲āb plains, for the Indus has never proved an obstacle to an enterprising general. Checked on the south by the deserts of Rād̲j̲putāna, invading armies were forced to enter the Ganges and D̲j̲amnā valleys through the narrow bottleneck between the north-eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himālāyas.

Hence because of this strategic position, Pānīpat has always been important, and is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and in the historical sources on the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*]. In the first battle of Pānīpat, Bābur defeated and killed Ibrāhīm b. Sikandar Lōdī on 8 Rad̲j̲ab 932/20 April 1526. His success was attributed by earlier scholars to an extensive use of cannon, 700 *ʿarabas* [*q.v.*] being mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 463 ff., see esp. 468-9 n. 3; but these must have been for the conveyance of baggage, not gun carriages. Bābur certainly had an unspecified number of cannon, and his Master Gunner Ustād ʿAlī-Ḳulī had *farangī*, *ḍarbzan* and *dēg̲h̲* cannon which were lashed together for action [see further bārūd. vi. India]. The battle sealed the fate of the Lōdī dynasty [*q.v.*], but much tougher resistance to Bābur was offered to him in the following year at the battle of Khānuʾā, when he routed the Rād̲j̲pūt Rānā Sāṅgā of Mēwāŕ [*q.v.*] and brought about the extinction of Mēwāŕ as a separate kingdom (see *Bābur-nāma*, tr. 558-75).

The second battle of Pānīpat took place on 2 Muḥarram 964/5 November 1556, when Akbar, soon after his accession, defeated the usurping Hindu minister Hēmū, who had assumed the title of Rād̲j̲ā Vikramaditya, this victory being the first major step in Akbar's constituting the Mug̲h̲al empire.

The third battle of Pānīpat took place on 7 D̲j̲umādā II 1174/14 January 1761, when the Marāthās, having managed to occupy Dihlī, were nevertheless put to flight by the Afg̲h̲ān *amīr* of Ḳandahār, Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Durrānī. Although Aḥmad S̲h̲āh returned to Afg̲h̲ānistān shortly afterwards and Marāthā power revived, the battle had long-term effects in preserving the Muslim state of the Niẓām in Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] and in allowing the British to consolidate their position in Bengal.

The modern town of Pānīpat still retains its fort and a wall with 15 gates, and amongst its monuments are the ruins of a mosque in the Kābulī Bāg̲h̲ built to commemorate the first battle of Pānīpat. In 1971 Pānīpat had a population of 87,981.

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PANTELLERIA [see ḳawsara].

PANT̲H̲AY, a term applied to the Chinese Muslims of Yunnan and their rebellion in the 19th century.

In the second half of the 19th century, Chinese Muslims in Yunnan province (in south-west China, bordered by Burma, Thailand and Vietnam) were known to the Europeans as *Pant̲h̲ay*, a term which had never been used anywhere in China. The Yunnanese Muslims were known as *Huei-Huei* up to 1949, when the incoming communist government referred to them as *Huei-Min* or *Huei-Tsu*.

Views differ as to the etymology of the term *Pant̲h̲ay*. If it derives from Chinese, it may have meant indigenous (*Pen-ti*) or rebellious brigand (*Pan-Tsei*), although there is no reliable evidence. If, alternatively, it derives from Persian or Burmese, it might have been a corruption of *Pan-see*, a Burmese term, referring to Indo-Burmese of northern Arakan, who had converted to Islam in the early 13th century, and originating from Persian *Parsi* of which the *r* sound was dropped by Burmese, who called Muslims *Pathi* or *Passi*. The most likely etymology is that the term was a British coinage, corrupted by colonial officers in British India from the Burmese term *Pan-see* to designate the Yunnanese Muslims during their 1855-73 rebellion against the Manchu authorities. For today's Yunnanese Muslims in Burma, *Pant̲h̲ay* carries a pejorative meaning.

Sources concerning the first entry of Muslims and Islam to Yunnan vary in accuracy and credibility. Tang (618-906 A.D) and Sung (960-1279 A.D) records have left no adequate summary of the religious status and activities of Central Asian migrants in Yunnan, although archaeological evidence from the Tang period suggests that they were enslaved in the Buddhist Tali Kingdom of the native Yunnanese at that time. This accords with the fact that, when Tibet invaded the Tali Kingdom in 801, many of those taken prisoner were found to be conscripts from Samarḳand. An unofficial history of the Tali Kingdom dating from the Sung period maintains that the first Muslims were Persian merchants and Southeast Asians on a tribute mission. According to Chinese Muslim legend, however, the first settlers were Arab merchants in the middle years of the Tang dynasty, and there is no evidence of Islam taking root in Yunnan prior to the Mongol conquest of the whole of China (1279), after which mass Muslim immigration into Yunnan was carried out by the central government through their own Muslim generals.

After the conquest, Muslims migrated to Yunnan in three waves, in 1253, 1256 and 1267. Various Muslim ethnic groups (Tanguts, Tatars, Uyg̲h̲urs, Persians, etc.) were introduced, following their overlords there as the province was settled. The Muslim immigrants were allocated lands and scattered all over the province, so that camps or villages, known as *Huei-Huei Yin* or *Huei-Huei Chun*, gradually developed. Furthermore, Central Asian Muslim soldiers were continually sent thither from other parts of China as part of a political and military strategy aimed at pacifying Burmese or local insurgents. This also served to promote social integration in that the Muslims began to intermarry with native or Han women or to adopt non-Muslim orphans and bring them up as Muslims to become natural suitors for their daughters.

In order to maintain control of the Muslim population, the Mongol-Yüen court appointed Muslim generals as provincial governors, amongst whom the most eminent was the Buk̲h̲ārī general, Sayyid Ad̲j̲all S̲h̲ams al-Dīn ʿUmar, who was entrusted by Ḳubilay

Khān [*q.v.*] with the task of sinicising not only the local tribes but probably also the Muslims. Under his governorship, many mosques were built, although he did not intentionally promote Islam. By the end of the Yüen period, the Muslims had gradually abandoned their Central Asian traditions in order to adopt Chinese customs and had developed their religion into a syncretised one.

During the Ming period (1368-1644), Muslim migration continued. However, unlike the Mongols, who had allowed their non-Han subjects to retain their traditions, the Ming rulers imposed Confucianism in an attempt to eliminate all non-Han culture. Under these conditions, Muslims were forced further to integrate, but managed to preserve their religious freedom and their numbers grew. As military activity decreased, soldiers engaged in other occupations, the most important of which, in mineral-rich Yunnan, was mining. The early Ming period also saw the start of the caravan trade, and eventually six trade routes linked Yunnan, Burma, Tibet and other parts of China. Porcelain manufacture also flourished. *Huei-Ch'ing* (Islamic blue) was made chiefly in Yunnan for Muslim patrons abroad. By the onset of the Manchu-Ch'ing period (1644-1911), leather and carpet manufacture also significantly contributed to the Yunnanese economy. By the mid-19th century, the province of Yunnan was home to the second largest Muslim population centre next to that of Northwest China [see KANSU].

Under the Mongols, Muslims had enjoyed more political privileges and higher social status than the Han Chinese. Even under the Ming, they were still able to live without political and social discrimination. However, under the Manchus, Muslims found it increasingly difficult to uphold their religious freedom in the face of oppressive Confucianisation and Han chauvinism, which discriminated against all non-Han cultural elements. The resulting resentment led to serious uprisings in Muslim population centres in northwestern China. In Yunnan, where imperial law was only weakly enforced, social order broke down still further as the Yunnanese Muslims began to take up arms against the Han.

Chief among the factors contributing to the Yunnanese Muslim rebellion of 1855-73 were religio-cultural and economic conflicts and institutionalised oppression by Han officials. Muslim traditions, preserved from their ancestors, particularly dietary customs, set them apart from Han society. Muslims abhorred pork, while the Han reared cattle only as draught animals. Other cultural and religious disparities, which caused conflict, included methods of worship (Muslims considered the Han idolatrous), dress, language, wedding and funeral customs.

The national economic crisis prevailing in the 19th century was chiefly reflected in Yunnan in the mining industry, in which there was much Han-Muslim rivalry. Both groups had constantly to look for new veins of ores, and ownership disputes frequently occurred. The Han resented the Muslims' superior techniques and trade acumen and would wrest wealth from their opponents by force.

The maintenance of social order had previously been the responsibility of the local gentry, but during the 19th century the whole social system increasingly became corrupt and local government all but collapsed. Instead of restraining wayward elements, many of the gentry were themselves a source of disturbance, particularly in firing Han Chinese hatred against Muslims. They colluded with local officials, secret societies and local militia in order to oppress the Muslims for their own interests. With all these factors ranged against them, the Muslims vainly tried to seek justice from the central government, but eventually they were driven to rebel against the Manchu authority itself.

The rebellions took place in the early 1850s in most parts of Yunnan, but were concentrated around Yunnan Fu (present-day Kunming), the provincial capital in the east, and the Tali region in the west. From the middle of 1856 onwards, local, uncoordinated insurrections gradually gravitated towards a few centres of leadership in eastern Yunnan. Here, the grand *imām*, Yūsuf Ma (Chinese name *Ma Te-Hsing* or *Ma Fu-Chu*) was elected as spiritual leader, but military responsibility was in the hands at first of his *ahund* disciples, mainly Hsu Yüen-Chi, later a military degree holder, Ma Ju-Lung.

Imām Ma, a prolific writer and Islamic educationalist, under whom Yunnan became one of the three Islamic learning centres in China, was a moderate theologian who advocated a negotiated solution to the Muslims' problems. On the other hand, Ma Ju-Lung, who had also been one of the *imām*'s disciples, was an opportunist who sought privileges with the ruling Manchu.

Muslim forces were able to lay siege to Yunnan Fu three times between 1855 and 1862, causing severe strains on the imperial army and local Han militia, but failed to take the city. The response of the Manchu provincial government was to adopt a policy of "Pardon and Pacification" and to reward the eastern rebel leaders with governmental posts and honorary titles. Imām Ma was appointed the Beg of Yunnan, which was the equivalent of *Shaykh al-Islām* of Yunnan. This bought off the loyalty of the eastern rebels, who later became the main force led by Ma Ju-Lung to subdue the rebellion in the west.

This had been led by Tu Wen-Hsiu, also known as Sultan Sulaymān to the Europeans, who was more committed to the political and religious cause of Islam. His experience of the brutality of Manchu rule towards the Muslims in northwest China during the Djahriyya (a Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī sub-order) movement, inclined him not to yield to the Manchu's inducements and to hold out instead for a independent Muslim state within China.

Thus in western Yunnan, the situation was different. Here, the rebels seized Tali as capital of their sultanate (*Ping-Nan-Kuo*, in Chinese, "Southern Pacified Kingdom") in 1855. An Islamic court was set up and Islamic law implemented, but this only applied to Muslims, while the old Ming laws were re-adopted and applied to non-Muslim subjects. Islamic learning was encouraged, Islamic schools were established to educate Muslims and many conversions took place, although these were not forced.

During the course of the rebellions, the two rebel groups were at odds and the only opportunity for them to unite to drive the Manchu out of Yunnan was wasted for two reasons. First, Tu Wen-Hsiu offered Ma Ju-Lung a high-ranking post in his court. Ma, who was politically and militarily more ambitious, rejected this, saying that he could serve under no-one other than the grand *imām*, Ma Te-Hsing. Secondly, there was considerable sectarian conflict. The eastern rebels belonged to the traditional conservative Kê-Ti-Mu (Ar. *al-Ḳadīm*) who opposed new teaching or reform. The Tali court, on the other hand, was dominated by the Djahriyya reformists who had been exiled to Yunnan after the suppression of their movement in northwestern China by the Manchu government. The grand *imām*, who himself belonged to the

Kê-Ti-Mu, was once courteously invited by the Tali Sultan to lead religious affairs, but the invitation was turned down. Under these circumstances, the Kê-Ti-Mu rendered assistance to the Manchu government to suppress the Tali rebellion for the sake of preserving their own religious interests.

After only 18 years, the Tali sultanate collapsed. Its fate was sealed following the defection to the Manchu of most of its Han leaders and its lack of modern weaponry in order to continue to fight. The defection of the Han leaders resulted from unbalanced power-sharing in the Tali court. The sultan was accused of favouring his Muslim followers in administrative and military affairs. Towards the end of its rule, the Tali court sought military assistance from Western powers. At the beginning of 1872 a Pan<u>th</u>ay mission, mediated by the British Government of India, and headed by the sultan's adopted son, Prince Ḥasan, was sent to London to secure arms and recognition from Queen Victoria as a tributary of Britain. However, at that time the British government's relations with Peking, from whom they hoped to gain further trade advantages, outweighed other considerations and the mission was not well received. Nor did it obtain the support of the Ottoman government in Istanbul, where it stopped on its way back to Yunnan.

The Yunnanese Muslim rebellion was not simply a political uprising against Manchu corruption, as it has been sometimes viewed. It was in reality a search for ethno-religious identity and social status. Prior to the Manchu period, Muslims were included in the Middle Kingdom, China, as Muslim Chinese and were treated equally with their Han counterparts. Under Manchu rule, they were classified as a minority, and their previous equal rights were gradually eroded. In these circumstances, a rejection of Manchu rule developed and was fanned by the religious undercurrents of reform brought by the Ṣūfī <u>Dj</u>ahriyya movement, these currents thus crystalising in the ideology of a secession movement, fighting for its own separate future.

The suppression of the rebellion was highly significant in Chinese history. It was another triumph of the Han supremacy and Confucianism which had never been challenged or set aside by non-Han elements. The status of Yunnanese Muslims was now reduced to its lowest level. They were forced to abandon their ethno-religious identity and to assimilate further into Confucian society. Many of those who did not want to live under these conditions fled to Burma [*q.v.*] and formed solid communities there in order to maintain their traditions, these being the forebears of the present-day Chinese Muslims in Burma.

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(CHANG-KUAN LIN)

PAPYRUS, a term of Greek origin, πάπυρος, is one of the world's oldest writing materials; it seems to have been used in Egypt, the land of its provenance, since the 6th dynasty, *ca.* 2470-2270 A.D. As an equivalent for this word the Arabs, after their conquest of this country, used *bardī, abardī*, or better still *waraḳ al-bardī*. However, these expressions were not of widespread usage, and in Egypt the term employed was *fāfīr*, corresponding more closely to the original Greek. Elsewhere, the word *ḳirṭās* was also used, derived from the Greek χάρτης, through the intermediary of the Aramaic *ḳarṭīs*. And since this last term denoted not only papyrus but also parchment and later even paper, it became necessary in this context to add the adjective *miṣrī* "Egyptian", as was done by Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist*, 21, ll. 10 f.

The use of this material extends over some seven centuries, lasting until the 8th/14th century. Its utilisation increased following the arrival of the Arabs in Egypt and remained dominant even in the 3rd/9th century, despite the introduction of paper [see KĀG͟HAD].

Arabic papyrology is the scientific study of texts written on papyrus, although it is conventional, as A. Grohmann (*Einführung*, 3, l. 1) has pointed out in his definition of this branch of scholarship, to include automatically within its scope non-literary documents written on other materials, such as leather, parchment, cloth, paper, ostraca, bone or wood. However, the mass of documents on papyrus is by far the most important.

Despite the antiquity of papyrus as a writing mate-

rial in Arabic culture, Arabic papyrology has developed quite recently. In fact it was only in 1824 that the subject first emerged as a science in its own right, this being the year in which two papyri were discovered in a small sealed pottery, located in a tomb or in a well near the Pyramids of Saḳḳāra (see Grohmann, *Aperçu*, table IX; N. Abbott, *The rise*, table IV). A. Silvestre de Sacy published them and thus became the founder of this discipline, which was nevertheless not to attain real prominence until 1877, the year in which sensational discoveries of papyri were made in the ruins of the old Arsinoe-Krokodilopolis (Kōm Fāris and Kōm al-Kharyāna) to the north of the town of al-Fayyūm. In subsequent years excavations continued, bringing to light a mass of material. The pieces found were sold to the museums of Berlin, to the Bodleian in Oxford, and to the National Library of Vienna, where the Archduke Rainer of Austria purchased 1,000 pieces; thus began the gradual development of the famous PER collection (Papyri Erzherzog Rainer), which currently holds the world's greatest accumulation of Arabic pieces and which celebrated its centenary in 1983 (see *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen*...). Sales continued and other collections came into being around the world: in Hamburg, Heidelberg, Strasbourg and elsewhere. Excavations also continued in the hills of Old Cairo (Fusṭāṭ), in other ruins including those of the Memphis Necropolis, Abūṣīr al-Malaḳ, and those of Ahnās (Herakleopolis), and, with fewer pieces found, at al-Ushmūnayn (Hermopolis Magna) and Kōm Eshḳawh (Aphrodito) where in 1901, during the digging of a cistern, two metres of papyri were found. Other discoveries were made in Upper Egypt, at Akhmīm (Panopolis), at Gabalayn (Pathyris), the source of part of the Heidelberg collection (see the works of C.H. Becker and R.G. Khoury) and also at Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna) where the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale of Cairo found some important pieces, including the well-known codex on papyrus of *al-Djāmiʿ* by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Wahb (d. 197/812) (see the edition by J. David-Weill), the only relatively complete book written on papyrus which has been preserved.

Outside Egypt, there have been few discoveries of papyri. In Palestine some 600 pieces were found (including about a dozen in Arabic) in the course of British excavations conducted at ʿAwdjāʾ al-Ḥafīr in 1936-7, and a few other texts, which Grohmann has published, were discovered by Bedouins in the cave of Khirbet el-Mird.

Collections, of varying degrees of importance, have thus been gradually assembled in both the eastern and the western world. In the East, it is the Cairo collection which is the most important; in the former Khedival Library (currently the Dār al-Kutub), some 2,000 pieces are to be found: papyri, parchments, papers, a few ostraca and a rare fragment of a wooden tablet. The founder of this collection was B. Moritz, director of the afore-mentioned Library from 1896 to 1914 (with reference to this collection, see B. Moritz, *Arabische Schrift/Arabic script*; Grohmann, *Einführung*, 36 ff.; R.G. Khoury, *Papyruskunde*, 253-54). But it is Grohmann who deserves the greatest credit for his study of these papyrological materials, devoting to them a series of ten volumes, the first six of which were published in his lifetime, while the four final volumes remain in manuscript form (see Grohmann, *APEL*).

In America, most worthy of mention is the University of Chicago, where the Oriental Institute has assembled, since 1929, a collection comprising numerous documents, in particular historical, literary and Ḳurʾānic texts. Chiefly responsible for the publication of these was Nabia Abbott (see *Bibl.*). At the Library of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) there are also a few pieces, and the same applies to the Museum of the University of Philadelphia. Other small collections exist, which have not been catalogued or which are not sufficiently well known to have attracted academic interest.

In Europe, as in the world at large, by far the most important collection is that of the National Library of Vienna, which owes its success to "a very thorough collaboration" between the merchant Theodor Graf (on his visits to Cairo), the director of the Library, Joseph von Karabacek, a papyrologist in his own right (see *Bibl.*) and the already-mentioned Archduke Rainer. Currently, it contains more than 50,000 pieces and fragments, including more than 10,000 papyri, 340 parchments, some thirty thousand papers, 33 pieces of cloth, a text on bone and ten ostraca. Not included in this list are all those items which have yet to be classified and made available to scholars, as well as countless fragments. Karabacek and Grohmann have studied several hundreds of these, in various forms, as have, more recently, Khoury, W. Diem and Y. Rāghib (Ragheb) (see *Bibl.*).

In Germany, numerous collections exist: in Giessen, and especially in Hamburg where A. Dietrich has conscientiously published various letters or documents (see *Bibl.*), and also in Berlin (formerly East Berlin), where there is an important collection, consisting primarily of business letters and a variety of documents, some of which have been studied by Grohmann, Khoury and Rāghib. Particular importance is attached to the Heidelberg collection, which contains some rare and particularly precious items: (1) the most important collection of administrative correspondence, dating from the year 91/710, of Ḳurra b. Sharīk [*q.v.*], Umayyad governor of Egypt, which has been published by C.H. Becker (see Becker, *PSR* I, and *Arabische Papyri*); (2) the oldest existing version of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad (*Maghāzī*) and the story of King David (*Ḥadīth Dāwūd*); and (3) the only papyrus scroll preserved from the entirety of Arab-Islamic culture. (Khoury has published all these texts; see *Wahb b. Munabbih* with reference to the first two, and *ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa*, for the third.) This collection, known as *PSR* (Papyri Schott-Reinhardt), in memory of the collector and patron Schott, who purchased a large proportion of the material and then presented it to the University of Heidelberg, also contains a variety of other texts, letters of all kinds, etc. (with regard to publications relating to these categories, see E. Seidel; Grohmann, *CPR*; K. Jahn; Dietrich, *Zum Drogenhandel*, also, most relevant to this article, in particular, Diem, *Arabische Briefe*).

In France, in the Louvre and in Strasbourg, there are hundreds of contracts and letters of all kinds, including texts or fragments of texts belonging to the celebrated correspondence of the governor Ḳurra b. Sharīk. J. David-Weill began the systematic study of these collections, in particular that of the Louvre (see *Bibl.*) and this work has been continued by Cl. Cahen and most notably Rāghib, who has edited two unpublished letters of Ḳurra b. Sharīk and has undertaken, with considerable success, to classify series of papyri according to common central themes (see *Bibl.*).

In England, there is a small but valuable collection in the British Museum, and another, of equal impor-

tance, in the John Rylands Library at Manchester; the Bodleian Library of Oxford holds about a hundred texts, to which more have recently been added.

In Italy, there are a few items in Milan and in Florence. In addition, Arabic pieces have come to light from time to time almost everywhere: in Oslo, Istanbul, Geneva and, in particular, St. Petersburg and Moscow. Prague also has about a thousand fragments. There exist, besides these, many other libraries which hold Arabic papyri, as well as private collections, often unknown to the academic community; not only here, but especially in the important collections mentioned above, in the East and in the West, there is an enormous quantity of material to be classified, examined and studied, which cannot be utilised until it has been treated and placed at the disposal of specialists. All these items need to be closely examined, as has been done, for example, in Vienna, Heidelberg and elsewhere, with the object, first of all, of saving the pieces from destruction; they can then be subjected to the appropriate scientific scrutiny.

It is unnecessary to stress the importance of papyri for the study of Arabic paleography and orthography, in spite of the fact that it is possible only to trace in part the history of these two auxiliary disciplines and to give examples of the possible methods of writing. However, since papyri constitute the preferred material for writing used in the period before the proliferation of paper, documents on papyrus have acquired a pre-eminent importance, not only in the two areas just mentioned, but also, and especially, in that of the Arabic language: scrutiny of such documents does not relate exclusively to the study of certain particular philological phenomena, such as, for example, the history of Ḳur'ānic vocabulary, an area in which fragments on papyrus are very numerous (see especially the analysis of Abbott, *The rise*, 60-91), but also to the study of classical Arabic of the first three centuries of the Islamic calendar, as has been shown by S. Hopkins (*Studies in the grammar*...). Furthermore, it is clear that papyri afford considerable interest to scholars of the later centuries of the Arabic language, in particular the language of the Middle Ages (for more detail on this point, see Grohmann, *Einführung*, 88 ff.; Khoury, *Papyruskunde*, 263-68; G. Endress, *Herkunft und Entwicklung der arabischen Schrift*, in *GAP*, i, 165-97; and *Handschriftenkunde*, in *ibid.*, 271-96). This is to say nothing of the sometimes unique value of much of the testimony, authentic and usually dated, supplied by the papyri, of which more will be said in due course.

Particularly interesting are those documents which may be classified as texts of protocols, official or private documents:

(1) *Protocols*. As early as the Byzantine period, for example, the start of each scroll was usually introduced by an official formula or protocol (πρωτόκολλον). The Arabs borrowed this method at a quite early stage, no doubt from the Byzantines: this is attested for the first time (among the texts currently available) in a bilingual text found at ʿAwdjā' al-Ḥafīr and bearing the date Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 54/674. Around 105/724 the unilingual genre began to replace the bilingual.

(2) *Official and private documents*. Unfortunately the number of official documents available is too small to permit close study of the functioning of Islamic institutions in the early years. In the majority of cases one is at the mercy of later historians and scholars, who have not always left a reliable picture of preceding periods; this fact has been definitively established by the celebrated correspondence of the above-mentioned governor of Egypt, Ḳurra b. Sharīk (90-5/709-14). All of the important elements of this correspondence published so far (Becker, *PSR*, i; Abbott, *The Ḳurrah papyri*; Rāghib, *Lettres nouvelles*), show him in a quite different light to his received image: equitable, zealous for the public good, resolute, etc. These administrative letters are all the more important in that they constitute a source of a unique kind, and that nothing comparable regarding the other Islamic provinces has survived in original and authentic form. We thus remain dependent on these letters, which are of considerable elegance, concerning the functioning of the administration of the earliest Islamic periods.

It is appropriate to draw attention to the opening of these letters, which usually begin with the *basmala*, followed by the name of the governor, who is himself the sender, and that of the addressee of his letter. The final formula *al-salām ʿalā man ittabaʿa 'l-hudā* ("peace be upon him who follows the Guidance") accompanies every letter written by a Muslim to a non-Muslim; in general, and notably in the correspondence under consideration here, the letter concludes with the name of the scribe and the date of composition (concerning such usages, see for example, al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 225; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 344, 366). Other official letters, of equal rarity and of no less worth, do not contain, for the reasons stated above, the above formula but conclude with the classical phrase *wa 'l-salām ʿalayka wa-raḥmat Allāh* ("may peace be upon you, and the mercy of God"), before introducing the name of the scribe and the date of the letter.

As for private documents, these concern official or strictly private relations between individuals: marriage, divorce, purchase, sale, complaints and legal proceedings of all kinds, etc. Grohmann undertook in his *CPR* (see *Allgemeine Einführung*, 17-88), and subsequently in his *Einführung*, 107-30, a study of the theory of diplomatic study (*Urkundenlehre*) of the papyri. The form of these documents varies to some degree according to the content: ratification of a marriage contract, simple business contract, receipt concerning a sum of money received or outstanding, business letter, etc. In spite of the efforts made in this area, by Grohmann, Jahn and others, a comprehensive account of the theory of diplomatic has yet to be written. For such a project it would be necessary to examine the maximum possible number of papyri and to compare all the documents which bear a resemblance, close or distant, to others, first within the Arab-Islamic culture, subsequently in the neighbouring civilisations (Byzantine, Coptic), from which Islam profited in this respect.

The value of the various documents of papyrus cannot be over-stressed, value for the study not only of purely philological problems, but in particular of those relating to the administration and the social and private life of the early Islamic centuries in general, all the more so since this type of source is authentic, and often unique in its original authenticity. This opens the way to more reliable methods of scientific investigation and constitutes a firm basis for further, more thorough studies.

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PARA (Gk. PAROS), Turkish name of an important Aegean Cycladic island, west of Naḳshe and north-east of the once-attached Antiparos (1981 pop.: 8,516), celebrated since Antiquity for its marble, still popular in the 15th century according to the Italian travellers Buondelmonti (ed. Legrand, 53 ff.) and Cyriacus of Ancona (cf. Miller-Lampros [= M-L], ii, 380, 397), and rich in Byzantine, post-Byzantine and Catholic (Capuchin) monuments. The Byzantine period (to 1207) saw the island's incorporation in the Aegean maritime theme after *ca.* 843 (see Malamut, *Les îles...*, 47 ff., s.v. Paros, Paronaxia), as well as several Arab raids, due to its strategic position in Aegean sea routes (see NAḲSHE), mostly from the amīrate of Iḳrīṭish [*q.v.*] in the 9th-10th centuries, chief among them being those of 837, directed by Nis(i)r and associated with legendary St. Theoctiste of Lesbos, who died on the island (872), and of 904, directed by the renegade conqueror of Thessalonica [see SELĀNIK], Leo of Tripoli; the devastations of such raids are vividly recorded in the *Vita S. Theoctistae* (see Christides, *Conquest of Crete*, 6, 166-7, 211 ff.; Malamut, 109, 112, 136, 142-3, 269, 401 and s.v.; more refs. in A. Savvides, *Notes on Naxos and Paros-Antiparos* [in Gk.], in *Pariana*, xlii [1991], 227-37).

Turkish raids began within the intricate period of the Archipelago Duchy (1207-1566), when successive Latin families strove for power; Naḳshe, Para and Antiparos were ravaged by Turcoman and Christian corsairs from the early 15th century, to the effect that the Loredani fortified the Antiparian capital "Kastron" and the Sommaripae transferred the Parian capital from Paroikiā, on the north-west, to the eastern fortress of Kēphalos, following an Ottoman raid of 1490 (M-L, ii, 372, 381; Pitcher, 67; Krantonelle, 50, 379, n. 114, 400, 437, 443). The first Ottoman raid against Para was led by admiral Čalī Bey at the head of the Gelibolu fleet and was caused by the Archipelago Duke's failure to greet sultan Meḥemmed I at Izmīr as master of the western Anatolian coast; extensive looting was followed by the abduction of many Parians (Ducas, ed. Bonn, 109; Critobulus, ed. Reinsch, 92; cf. M-L, ii, 371; Krantonelle, 25, 192, 257, 400; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii⁵, 1988, 30; Melas, 10), yet subsequent treaties (1419, 1426, 1446, 1454) acknowledged Venetian overlordship over the Duchy. Bāyezīd II's 1490 raid aimed at the Duke Sommaripa's overthrow, but the Venetian Admiral Capello hindered the Ottoman expedition (M-L, ii, 394), while the information that extensive ravages took place in that raid is to be taken with reservations (Th. and N. Aliprantes, *Paros-Antiparos²*, 48-9, 168). Being a base for western espionage against the Sultanate in the early 16th century made Para one of the targets of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] in the latter's Cycladic raids; its last ruler, Sagredo, surrendered Kēphalos fortress (Dec. 1537) and 6,000 Parians and Antiparians suffered massacre, the young men ending up as oarsmen in the Pasha's vessels and young girls entering his harem, apart from many spoils (see NAḲSHE; cf. M-L, ii, 404, 406, 407 ff.; Pitcher, 138 and map XIV; Vakalopoulos, iii, 151 and map; Krantonelle, 142, 160, 206, 405; Slot, *The Turkish conquest of the Cyclades*, 1537-8 [in Gk.], in *Kimoliaka*, vii [1978], 62 ff.; idem, *Archipelagus*, 73 ff.; Frazee, 83, 90, 253; M. Roussos-Melidones, in *Pariana*, xxxvi, [1990], 20 ff. [acc. to W. sources]). Ottoman control was ratified by the 1540 treaty, which allowed for semi-autonomy under a *ḳapudan pasha*, while a semblance of Latin power continued until the eventual annexation of 1566 (see Th. and N. Aliprantes, 49-50, 66 ff., 156, 168-9); the local influential families were also directly involved in the

island's affairs, predominantly the Kondylai and the Mavrogenai (see Th. Blancard, *Les Mavrogeni*, Paris 1909; cf. *Pariana*, xviii [1985], 71 ff. [Mavroi]; xxvi [1987], 113 ff. [Sphaelloi]; xxxvi [1909], 95 ff. [Desyllai]; also refs. in N. Aliprantes, in *DEGEE*, v [1985], 42-119 [on families and coats of arms]).

After the Jewish Duke Nasi's death in 1579 [see NAKSHE], extensive privileges were granted by Murād III (*ʿahd-nāme* of 1580, renewed by Ibrāhīm in 1646, shortly after the ravages against Para in 1645-6) (cf. Zinkeisen, iv, 766; Vakalopoulos, iii, 491, 502, n. 2; Polemis, *Hist. of Andros*, 74-5, 80-1); Nakshe became the seat of the Cycladic *sandjak*, enjoying privileges until the early 19th century, while Para was to suffer from incessant piratical raids in the course of the Turco-Venetian wars of the 16th-17th centuries (Vakalopoulos, ii², 139, n. 39, 144 ff.; iii, 503; iv, 134 and map, 192, 198; N. Kephalleniades, in *Pariana*, xiv-xv [1984]; Krantonelle, 35, 49, 60, 121, 176, 241-5, 290, 357, 405 and s.v. Paros). Meanwhile, the first waves of Capuchins and Jesuits established themselves on Para, particularly on its northern fortified harbour of Naoussa (cf. Vakalopoulos, ii², 148; iii, 404 ff.; iv, 120 ff., 132 ff.; Th. and N. Aliprantes, 53 ff., 170). Ottoman fleets used to collect *kharādj* annually from Naoussa and Dryo ports, and it was off Dryo that the Venetian Admiral Mocenigo scored a spectacular victory over the Ottomans bringing succour to the besiegers of Crete in mid-1651 or 1652, capturing 5,000 Turks (Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā, v, 98 ff.; Sathas, *Turkish-dominated Greece*, 263-4; Vakalopoulos, ii², 141; iii, 499-500; iv, 38; cf. *Pariana*, vii [1981], 100 ff.), while in 1666 or 1668 the *kapudan pasha* Muṣṭafā Kaplan, while chasing Latin corsairs, sacked Paroikiā with 63 vessels, executing publicly the local notable Kondyles and abducting 400 Parians, and moreover pillaging the celebrated 6th-century Ekatontapylianē (= Our Lady of one hundred gates) church (cf. E. Kriaras, *The sack of Paroikiā: Cretan verses of the 17th c.* [in Gk.], *Athenā*, xlviii [1938], 120-62; Vakalopoulos, ii², 142; Th. and N. Aliprantes, 51-2, 53 ff.); meanwhile, the Turco-Venetian war in Crete brought waves of Cretan refugees on Para, which was terrorised by the "Saldar" of Ak Deñiz (= Aegean) in 1674; in 1676-7 another Ottoman fleet, in chase of western pirates, landed at Naoussa and looted it (cf. Vakalopoulos, ii², 145-6).

From the late 17th century local administration was carried out by a *voivode*, 2 annual *kodja-bashis* and a *kāḍī*. In *ca.* 1700, however, the French traveller Tournefort records that the local magnate Constantine Kondyles secured the Porte's favour and became acting *voivode*, to be accused of harbouring pirates and overthrown by the *kapudan pasha* Djānīm Khodja, who had him executed (1716); these developments caused new waves of refugees to Smyrna (Vakalopoulos, iv, 148-9, 446, 448, 482; V. Sphyroeras, in *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, x, 1963, 172 ff.; Mathiopoulos, 27 ff.; *Pariana*, xvl [1991], 73 ff.). In the course of the first Turco-Russian war (1668-74), the Russian fleet under admirals Orlov and Svyridov seized Nakshe, Para and Antiparos, using Naoussa as their base until 1774, when ousted by the Ottomans according to the Küčük Kaynardja treaty [*q.v.*], before materialising their plan to sell Para-Antiparos to the British or French (cf. testimony of the Dutch Pasch van Krienen, in Sathas, 516-17, 520; Vakalopoulos, iv, 412 ff.). There ensued hard decades for the Parians, whose penury is vividly depicted in their 1820 petition to the *kapudan pasha*; yet both Parians and Antiparians were among the first islanders to join the 1821 Greek War for Independence, with distinguished personalities, like Demetrakopoulos, Delagramates and the legendary heroine Manto Mavrogenous (E. Konstantinou, *Parian fighters for independence*, and *Cycladian fighters for independence*, Athens 1985; cf. Vakalopoulos, v, 406 ff.; vi, 515-16, 718-19 and s.v.; vii, 384, 726, 811 ff.; cf. *Pariana*, xvi-xvii [1984-5]; xxx [1988], 145 ff.; xxxvii [1990], 71 ff. [all in Gk.]). In the course of the uprising, both islands suffered from domestic pirates [see NAKSHE], until incorporated into the newly-founded Greek Kingdom between 1830-2 (cf. Roussos-Melidones, in *Paria-na*, xxx [1988], 152 ff.). A most interesting case of Christianisation of an ex-Muslim Turkish woman is recorded in 1823 (see *Pariana*, x [1982], 106 ff.), the same year of the Maltese Knights' abortive attempt to purchase Nakshe, Para and Antiparos from the temporary Greek government (Vakalopoulos, vi, 486).

Bibliography: See references in NAKSHE; older references in D. Moustakas-D. Paschales, *Paros*, in *MEE*, xix, 742-4 and G. Georgalas-D. Moustakas-C. Karamanos, *Antiparos*, in *MEE*, iv, 914-5 (fundamental); general accounts [in Gk.]: P. Mathiopoulos, *Paros, an historical island in the heart of the Aegean*, Athens 1963; D. Sophianou, C. Georgousses *et alii*, *Hist. of Paros and Antiparos*, Municipality of Paros 1989; comprehensive Parian bibliographies in the following in Gk.: Th. and N. Aliprantes, *Paros-Antiparos*, Athens 1968² (with detailed chronology); N. Aliprantes, *ibid.*, rev. ed., 1978³ (with Engl. appx. on Ekatontapylianē [Katapolianē] church by Th. Aliprantes); *The toponymics of Paros*, 1990 (fundamental); J. Kampanelles, *The holy metropolis of Paronaxia through the ages*, 1991. On Parian-Antiparian fortifications [in Gk.]: M. Philippa-Apostolou, *The castle of Antiparos. A contribution to the study of medieval fortified settlements in the Aegean*, 1978, unpubl. diss.; J. Gikas, *Castles-voyages in Greece*, ii, 1981, 181-93, 194-9; on Buondelmonti's 15th-century description, cf. J. Melas, *The Cyclades in the early 15th c.*, in *Kykladika*, i/1 (1959), 9-21, esp. 17-18 (Paros-Antiparos-Naxos). Various important articles [in Gk.] in *EEKM*, i-xi, 1960-84 (mostly by D. Paschales), and *Pariana*, i-xli (1980-91); other contributions (esp. on the Turkish period) include N. Aliprantes, *Unedited Parian documents of the Turkish domination*, in *Athenā*, lxxv (1974-5), 95-119; *Clerics of Paros during Turkish domination*, in *Ekklesiastike Rizareios Paideia*, ii, 1980, 503-23; B. Sphyroeras, *The dragomans of the fleet*, 1965; *Greek crews of the Turkish fleet*, 1965; H. Koukkou, *Communal institutions in Cyclades during Turkish domination*, i-ii, 1980-9; T. Gritsopoulos, *Paronaxian episcopal affairs of the 17th c.*, in *EEKM*, xiii (1985-90), 203-44 [all in Gk.]. (A. SAVVIDES)

PĀRA (P. "piece, fragment"), a Turkish coin of the Ottoman and early Republican periods. It was originally a silver piece of 4 *akčes*, first issued early in the 18th century; it soon replaced the *akče* as the monetary unit. The weight, originally 16 grains (1.10 grammes), sank to one-quarter of this weight by the beginning of the 19th century and the silver content also depreciated considerably. The multiples of the silver *pāra* were 5 (*beshlik*) *pāras*; 10 (*onlīk*); 15 (*onbeshlik*); 20 (*yigirmiparalīk*); 30 (*zolota*) and 40 (*ghurūsh* or piastre). Higher denominations: 60 (*altmīshlīk*); 80 (*ikilik*, i.e. two piastres); and 100 (*yüzlik*) *pāras* were occasionally issued.

In the new Medjidiyye currency of 1260/1844, the *pāra* became a small copper coin with multiples 5 (*beshpāralīk*), 10 (*onpāralīk*), 20 (*yigirmipāralīk*) and 40 (*ghurūsh*). In the later years of the Ottoman empire, the larger copper pieces were replaced by nickel. The

pāra under the republic was a money of account, the 100 *pāra* or 2½ piastre piece of aluminium bronze being the smallest denomination issued. With the post-World War II inflation, the *pāra* eventually disappeared from use in Turkey; in present-day Turkey, *para* has acquired, by a process of semantic evolution akin to that of Arabic *fulūs* [see FALS], the general meaning of "money".

When Serbia became independent, it retained the name *pāra* for its smallest coin, as did Montenegro also. The name survived in the former Yugoslavia during the interwar period, where the nickel 50 *pāra* piece was the smallest coin issued. During the Russian occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1771-4, copper coins were issued with the value in *pāras* and kopecks.

Bibliography: Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum*, viii, London 1881; Belin, in *JA*, ser. 6, iii, 447-51. (J. ALLAN)

PARČĪN-KĀRĪ (P.), a technique of inlay-work used in the architecture of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, in Urdū *paččī-kārī*.

It is usually set in marble in a technique which reached its fullest development in Hindūstān under Djahāngīr and Shāh-Djahān in the 11th/17th century, by then as an essential element in imperial symbolism. The craft of using semi-precious stones in floral or foliate compositions in the equivalent of the Florentine *commesso di pietre dure* appears to have arisen from a long regional tradition of stone intarsia work with a stimulus from imported Florentine pieces, and possibly European craftsmen. The Tīmūrid use of faience mosaic, *kāshī-tarāshī* [*q.v.*], following a somewhat comparable development in Persia and greater Khurāsān, provided the model for compositions in specific architectural situations: it was already used extensively at Bīdar [*q.v.*] in the *madrasa* of Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] (877/1472), under direct Persian influence, probably *via* Māhān (the plan is derived from Khargird). Although the technique of wood inlay was well known to the Tīmūrids, they had not transferred it to stone, except in marble dados inlaid with geometric networks, as at Gāzurgāh (832/1429) and Ṭaybād (848/1444) or with tesserae of stone or bisque tile and faience. Stone inlay may therefore be regarded as a medium developed in Hindūstān, whose use can be distinguished in three stages: first the use of strips or bands of contrasting stone, then the use of a more varied range of colours in geometrical compositions based on the Persian tradition of cut-brick or tile profiles (see Wulff, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, fig. 187), and finally the freely-drawn work in coloured stones inlaid and polished *in situ*. The origins of this third stage have been investigated since 1839, and their foreign origin disputed, but the arguments have been admirably collated, and an Italian connection clearly demonstrated, by Koch (in *Bibl.*).

The effect of contrasting marble with stone masonry was already recognised in the Arhā'ī-din-kā Djhōṅprā mosque at Adjmēr (595/1199), where a single white *miḥrāb* with swirling scrolled carving is set against the *ḳibla* wall. A similar contrast is used for the *miḥrāb* in the mosque at Sulṭān Ghārī (629/1231) and for the *miḥrāb* and cenotaph in Iltutmish's tomb at Dihlī (*ca.* 1235). Inset marble first appears there under the Khaldjī sultanate in the ʿAlā'ī Darwāza (711/1311), where white architrave fillets, inscribed bands, lotus-bud arches, colonnettes and arched niches are deftly alternated with elements in red stone, articulated by changes in plane, and united by the imposition of a mesh of similar deeply incised carving on both. The inserts of black marble and blue schist suggest a connection with Gudjarātī work.

The vocabulary is extended in the tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ (*ca.* 725/1325), where marble spandrels and a fretted tympanum contrast with grey panels in the red stone, and the treatment is echoed in the interior. At Dhār the *miḥrāb* of the Kamāl Mawlā Masdjid (795/1392-3) is surrounded with black and white fillets in the architrave, and in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid (Lāt Masdjid) (807/1404-5) this treatment is extended to white lines trimming the black spandrels. In the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Aḥmadābād (827/1424), all five *miḥrābs* are carved in carefully assorted marbles, with an open flower in coloured stones that may be the first application of true *pietre dure*. By 858/1454 contrasting marble trims to the *miḥrāb* of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Māndū are combined with the use of blue tile infill between the merlons of a frieze above; the trim and contrasting spandrels are repeated in the main entrance. Combinations of this kind reached a sophisticated level in the Purānā Ḳilʿa complex at Dihlī a century later, where intersecting white arches surround panels of ultramarine tile mosaic, alternately geometric and floral, with traces of turquoise green: these suggest a technique imported from Persia by Humāyūn [*q.v.*] on his return in 1555. In his Shēr Mandal (*pre*-1556) the dados at both levels outside are filled with geometric inlay, white marble stars and kite-shaped lozenges in the Iranian range of cut brick shapes set in linear rosettes of structural stone. The spandrels are trimmed with a single white line, and inlaid with a six-pointed star on either side. The internal dados, however, are of faience. At the roughly contemporary Masdjid-i Kuhna nearby, the tympanum of the central bay is filled with square and rectangular panels of this geometric inlay, framed with white strips, while the inner architrave is of successive rectangular panels inlaid with frets of white lines to form a geometric spider's web. Black outlines to the inscribed panels define *miḥrābī* cartouches which were to be used regularly thereafter. The white semidome of the *miḥrāb* is divided into sectors by a fine black trim. Use of tilework combined with stone, both in contrasting colours, continued until the mosque and tomb of ʿĪsā Khān were built in 954/1547-8.

Geometric marble set in a red stone matrix, however, gained ascendancy in the metropolitan style fostered by the harem faction under Persian influence during Akbar's [*q.v.*] minority. The elegant little tomb of Ātägä Khān (974/1566-7) at Niẓām al-Dīn has a fully Persian *pīshṭāḳ* [*q.v.*] with inlaid white geometric tesserae on both dados and spandrels, the latter alternating with smaller areas of dark blue tile and green centres. Those in the lateral panels are reticulated in black lines rather than the red background stone; yet tile mosaic is fitted to the blind arches of the western enclosure wall. Larger-scale marble inlay appears in the merlon frieze and in a display of six-pointed stars among hexagons on the drum. This appears again on the drum of Humāyūn's tomb (969/1561-2 to 1570), probably reflecting his preoccupation with astrology, and notably in stars set in the floor of the main chamber, though the exterior is trimmed only in the earlier linear style. It has been suggested by Lowry (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 140-5) that the choice of red and white here refers deliberately to India's tradition under the Sultanate, in contrast to Transoxania where such stone is absent, and that the star was used to symbolise both Humāyūn and his successors. Tessellated inlay is consummated in the great mosque at Fatḥpur Sīkrī (979/1571-2), where geometric networks are used extensively on the intrados of arches and in bands framing blind arches, niches, and rectangular panels, mostly inside: again, some are set off with black lines and some with accents

of faience. The main *miḥrāb* is inlaid with black and white marbles, but the lateral ones, though on the same model, vary in detail, two being set with tilework in four colours.

The transition to floral forms is marked by the southern gateway to Akbar's tomb at Sikandra (1022/1613). Though the wings are decorated with superimposed panels of geometric work, the background alternates in buff and red. The framing bands are in *bannāʾī* technique, and the spandrels carry diagonal palmettes with arabesque scrolling—both translating Tīmūrid practice into stone. The tall extrados within the *pīshṭāḳ* transforms the usual interlocking rosettes into boldly stylised petals and leaves in a sequence of giant flowers reminiscent of block-printing: black, white, and green marble are used. The scheme is repeated in the *pīshṭāḳ* of the tomb itself. In the gateways to the tomb of Iʿtimād al-Dawla (1031-7/1621-7) at Āgra the character of these features is already changed: the inlay on the extrados is intricately laced, and the spandrel arabesques are spread more loosely but more evenly, while the side elevations are articulated with arched outlines framing vases and flasks. The tomb, wholly in white marble, astonishes by its wealth of meticulous surface ornament of polished *pietra dura* work, establishing a fully Persianate vocabulary under the aegis of Nūr Djahān [*q.v.*], and epitomising the new technique and its overall use; the inlay is in black, grey, brown, buff and white, blue accents being introduced only in the pavilion roof near the skyline. The material includes *khattū*, agate, jasper and yellow porphyry. The dados both outside and in are in continuous geometrical work, some of interlocking angular pieces. Similar panels on the upper wall outside are subdivided by plain marble fillets, with borders of countered arabesque meanders throughout, and vivaciously coiled arabesques in the spandrels. The arch reveals are decorated with grouped trees, flasks, flower-vases and cups set within outlines of niches, cartouches, and lobed roundels, the round corner towers with ovate pole-medallions. As the interior is largely painted, it is clear that this work was intended for more exposed positions. The floor of the upper chamber, however, is inlaid with swirling arabesques. It may be noted that there is little difference between the types of designs chosen and those of the faience mosaic still used to face the Čīnī-ka Rawḍā (*ca.* 1048/1638) not far away, though there floral motifs predominate: the prototypes may well have been worked out in the Pandjāb [*q.v.*], where tiles were the usual ornament, in such buildings as the Sarāy Doraha (*ca.* 1610) west of Sirhind (see Begley, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, pl. 6). Under the same patronage, Djahāngīr's [*q.v.*] tomb (*ca.* 1627) at Shāhdara in Lāhawr [*q.v.*] is clad outside in red and white work with the same pervasion, while the access corridor, the floor, walls and cenotaph of the tomb chamber are inlaid with *pietre dure*, including floral designs in which the petals are shaded in differing colours. The inscriptions, too, are inlaid in black marble. The work, now referred to as *parčīn-kārī* or *parčīn* in both the *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ* and the *Pādshāh-nāma*, established the standards and the vocabulary used throughout Shāh Djahān's reign.

At Āgra Fort [see MAḤALL], geometrical work is no longer in evidence. The Muthamman Burdj apartments (1628-30) combine floral and arabesque inlay with floral relief carving in the marble dados, and for the first time the faceted columns are inlaid from base to scrolled brackets; even the sculpted leaves of the pool spread among inlay. The *djarōkhā* of the public audience hall (1037-46/1628-37), with three trefoil arches and a *čīnī-khāna* wall at the rear, is of a more curvilinear design, in which the convex arched soffits, the concave ceiling coving, and the swelling capitals are inlaid. The spandrel arabesques are without central palmettes, and the ceiling is articulated with foliate strapwork with sharp angles and clasps at intervals like wrought iron work. As Koch has pointed out (*op. cit.*, 20), the increasingly florid fullness in marble forms is in contrast to an increasing stylisation, slenderness, and symmetry of the floral inlay accompanying them. The deliberate choice of white marble as an image of purity was combined with a floral evocation of paradise referring to both legendary and Ḳurʾānic sources, as both inscriptions and contemporary historians consistently make clear. The developed medium thus played an essential rôle in the Mughal idea of divinely-endowed kingship. By 1045/1635 the Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣṣ was built with marble columns in which the inlay is differentiated between powerfully serrated leaves framing the pedestal carving, and delicately framed floral repeats in the collars; all the dados are bordered with floral strapwork of the angular type.

This répertoire is that of the Tādj Maḥall (1041-57/1632-47 [*q.v.*]). The relatively bold spandrel scrolling still centres on palmettes, or a lyre-shape, and vestigial use is made of the coarser technique of alternating chevrons for framing dados, but the work tends to incorporate tiers of paired flowers, and tendrils converted to strapwork: it is subordinate to the sculptured forms. The mosque and its counterpart continue the older red stone style, with geometric inlay on the dome drum.

The great mosques at Āgra (1058/1648) and at Dihlī (1066/1656) make no use of the finer technique, though their red stone is set off by white accents and outlined panelling, with chevron work at Āgra and reeding at Dihlī, both extending to the bulbous domes themselves. At Dihlī a new element is introduced in an outlined network of panels in the curved zone of transition under the domes. It appears that the imagery of floral inlay was appropriate only to the palace. It is significantly absent in the marble court mosques at Āgra, the Mīnā Masdjid, the Nagīna Masdjid, and the Mōtī Masdjid, though the quintessence of the material can be seen in the serene black outlines of the *djā-yi namāz* on the floor. At those in Lāhawr and Dihlī it is allowed a discrete appearance on the skyline.

A final stage in the development can be recognised in the Red Fort at Dihlī (1048-58/1638-48), where the tendrils in borders are wiry meanders linking predictably-placed foliage and flowers. The main floral motifs, though finely executed, are reduced to a display of buds and blooms scarcely connected by their stems. The Bangālī vault of the baldachin in the public audience hall is plainly elaborated from that at Āgra, with its convex arch soffit and coving. It is the wall behind this which is clad with work from Florence, with a figure of Orpheus at the apex and surrounding panels of birds amongst foliage and fruit, with lions at the foot, unique in Mughal architecture. The black matrix of these 318 panels, typical of the Grand Ducal workshops, is itself an innovation, accommodated by dint of composing it in an arboreal setting with Indian birds on the usual white ground, probably done *in situ* by local craftsmen. Koch has shown (*op. cit.*, 23-33) that the whole is to be interpreted as a Solomonic setting for the ruler, as bringer of harmony to nature, hence of natural justice, with reference to David's pacification of the natural world through music.

In this instance, a convergence between the interests and crafts of the Mughal and European courts could lead to a cross fertilisation which, however, seems to have led no further. That the main impetus for the development of *parčīn-kārī* came from faience mosaic is clear in such details as the inclusion of centres of a different colour in peripheral leaves. A stimulus may well have been received from Bīdar, as the Rangīn Maḥall there (*ca.* 1542-80) was decorated not only with faience mosaic but exceptionally fine mother-of-pearl inlay on dark basalt; Shāh Djahān had passed through Bīdar during his rebellion of 1623-4, and the complex seems to have been emulated at the Muthamman Burdj at Āgra on his accession. Patterns on textiles, and the floral painting as found in some tombs at Burhānpur, are likely to have contributed to its evolution.

With the exception of the Mōtī Masdjid at Dihlī (1073/1662-3), little use was made of *parčīn-kārī* after Shāh Djahān's death, and the craft had so declined by the mid-19th century that it could only be revived by a British initiative (Koch, *op. cit.*, n. 24). At the Pādshāhī Masdjid in Lāhawr (1084/1673-4), the exterior makes further use of red and white work, but though some strips are inlaid flush, the central *pīshṭāḳ* is ornamented with marble inlay standing out in relief: the spandrel scrolling is centred on a sunflower, with petals, leaves, and tendrils all embossed, and the soffit of the arch carries continuous floral scrolling articulated by a sequence of vases, both highly stylised, and possibly under Italian influence (Chaghatai, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 1972, 26-7). The contrast between sculpted marble and inlay is thus finally resolved by sculpting the white inlay itself.

Technique. The Muslim craftsmen still practising at Āgra, who claim descent from those who worked for Shāh Djahān, state that the work is properly called *paččī-kārī*, from a Hindi root meaning "joined, sticking", as in Platts' dictionary. The design, *khākā*, is first drawn in pencil, and then chiselled out with a burin, *narza* (?), tapering conically to 1.5 mm with a 30° point held between the fourth and fifth fingers like a pen; another chisel, *tāṅkī* (*tanḳīḥ*?), with a point 2.5 mm square is used to clean out the edges with a digging action, *narzāna*. The white marble *sang-i marmar*, for the background is from Makrāna, some 100 km/60 miles west of Djaypur. The inlaid stones include malachite, *dāna-farang*, lapis lazuli, *lādjward*, cornelian, *ʿaḳīḳ*, mother of pearl, *sīp*, black onyx, *sang-i mūṣā*, coral, *mardjān*, turquoise, *fīrūza*, besides garnet, moonstone, smoky topaz, golden or yellow topaz, and all types of agate. Of these the malachite is now from the Congo, the lapis lazuli from Afghānistān, the cornelian from India, the mother-of-pearl is abalone from Australia, and the coral is from Sicily—a black variety is more expensive. The inlay in general is called *pačče*; the petals and leaves are *pattī*, and the stems *daṅḍ*. The flowers, seen as roses, *gulāb*, or jasmine, *čamēlī*, are inlaid first, and then the stems.

The marble, once blasted, is cut with a bamboo bow, *kamāna*, with a wire blade: seven pieces can be cut at once with seven blades. It is then reduced with a hammer, *hatōṛā*, and chisel, *čhēnī*, to the required shape, *shakl*; its edges are ground, *ghisnā*, with a broken piece of grinding wheel, *sān*. The inlay is cut roughly to shape with shears, *kāṅtī*, and ground on a wheel, *ca.* 30 cm diameter by 2.5 cm thick, set on a steel axle and operated by a bow 90 cm long. The composition of this wheel, regarded as the essential secret of the craft, is of river sand, sugar-cane juice, and brown resin: it should last 30 years, and if pitted can be restored by heating it with charcoal and rubbing it with marble. The flat surface of the wheel is used to grind the inlay surface, and its bevelled edge for the profile; it takes half an hour to shape a flower of 3 or 5 petals by eye, *raḳam banānā*, to fit one another. The marble is usually hollowed, *kaṭyānā*, to twice the depth of the inlay, the profile being exact. After the fit of each piece has been tested, a glue mixed from white cement, plaster of Paris, and beeswax, is put in the hollow and softened by holding a red hot coal over it with tongs, *čimṭa*, for 5-10 seconds, and the stone pressed in place: it sets in 25 seconds. In some cases the parts of a flower are pre-assembled with heated resin, *sarēs*, on a mica table. Once set, the work is ground smooth, *ṣāf karnā*, with a piece of grindstone, water, and river sand, and finally polished with white zinc powder, water, and a soft cloth. A piece of work some 40 cm across takes two craftsmen seven hours to complete (informant: Ustād Muḥammad Āṣaf Khān b. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Khān b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbd al-Asad, 1981).

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For Tīmurīd use of stone in dados, see B. O'Kane, *Tāybād, Turbat-i Jām and Timurid vaulting*, in *Iran*, xvii (1979), 87, pls. Ib, IIb, and fig. 5; idem, *Timurid architecture in Khurasan*, Costa Mesa 1987, 60-1, fig. 25.5 and pl. 25.4; L. Golombek and D. Wilber, *The Timurid architecture of Iran and Turan*, Princeton 1988, 134, 309, col. pls. VIIa-b, IXb, and pls. 125, 175. For the Persian cut brick and tile forms, see H.E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. and London 1966, 122-5.

Adequate illustrations of the buildings referred to above are not always readily available, but may be found in the following general works, some in colour, marked (c). P.A. Andrews, *The architecture and gardens of Islamic India*, in B. Gray (ed.), *The arts of India*, Oxford 1981, 94-124; P. Brown, *Monuments of the Mughul period*, in *The Cambridge history of India*, iv, Cambridge 1937, 523-76 and plates; idem, *Indian architecture (the Islamic period)*, Bombay 1942; J. Burton-Page, *Lahore Fort, The Red Fort, Fatehpur Sikri*, and *Taj Mahal*, in Sir M. Wheeler (ed.), *Splendours of the East*, London etc. 1965, 83-93, 131-41, 142-53, 154-65; B. Gascoigne, *Die Großmoguln*, Gütersloh 1987; G. Hambly, *Cities of Mughal India*, New York 1968; E. la Roche, *Indische Baukunst*, v, Munich 1922; Sir J. Marshall, *The monuments of Muslim India*, in *Cambridge history of India*, iii (*Sultanate*), Cambridge 1928, 568-640 and plates; R.

Nath, *Colour decoration in Mughal architecture*, Bombay 1970; idem, *Agra and its monumental glory*, Bombay 1977; idem, *Calligraphic art in Mughal architecture*, Calcutta 1979; O. Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser*, Berlin 1925; Sir E.W. Smith, *Moghul colour decoration of Agra*, Allahabad 1901; Sir M. Wheeler, *Five thousand years of Pakistan*, London 1950.

For specific buildings in the sequence mentioned, see as follows: Dihlī, Tomb of Iltutmish, ʿAlāʾī Darwāza, Tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluk: Andrews, *op. cit.* 1981, figs. 113-15; Hambly, *op. cit.* 1968, pl. 4, 6 (c), 10. Māṅdū, Djāmiʿ Masdjid: G. Yazdani, *Mandu, city of joy*, Oxford 1929, pl. x; Gascoigne, *op. cit.*, 42 (c). Dihlī, Masdjid-i Kuhna: Andrews, *op. cit.* 1981, fig. 118; Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ills. 8, 9, and idem, *op. cit.* 1942, pl. lxiii; Nath, *op. cit.* 1979, pl. xvii. Dihlī, Tomb of Ātägä Khan, Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ill. 13. Dihlī, Humāyūn's Tomb: Andrews, *op. cit.* 1981, fig. 123 (c); G.D. Lowry, *Humāyūn's tomb: form, function and meaning in early Mughal architecture*, in *Muqarnas*, iv (1987), 133-48; Fatḥpur Sīkrī, Djāmiʿ Masdjid: Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ills. 38-40; idem, *op. cit.* 1942, pl. lxxii; Burton-Page, *op. cit.* 1965, 150 (c); Nath, *op. cit.* 1979, pls. xxvi-ix; Saiyid A.A. Rizvi and V.J.A. Flynn, *Fatḥpūr Sīkrī*, Bombay 1975, pls. 53-5; E.W. Smith, *The Moghul architecture of Fatḥpur Sīkrī*, in *ASI, NS*, Allahabad 1894-7. Sikandra, Akbar's Tomb: Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ills. 49-51 and idem, *op. cit.* 1942, pl. lxxvii; Gascoigne, *op. cit.* 1987, 120, detail 142 (c); Hambly, *op. cit.* 1968, pls. 39-41; Nath, *op. cit.* 1977, pls. 33-54, details; idem, *op. cit.* 1979, pls. xxxviii-xlii. Āgra, Tomb of Iʿtimād al-Dawla, gateway: Nath, *op. cit.* 1977, pl. 56. Tomb: Andrews, *op. cit.* 1981, fig. 130 (c); Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ills. 53-6; Gascoigne, *op. cit.* 1987, detail 159 (c), 155; Hambly, *op. cit.* 1968, pls. 42-5 (c), 53-4; Nath, *op. cit.* 1977, pls. 58-61; idem, *op. cit.* 1979, pls. xlv-vi. Sarāy Doraha: W.E. Begley, *Four Mughal caravanserais built during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān*, in *Muqarnas*, i (1983), 167-79. Lāhawr, Djahāngīr's Tomb: Burton-Page, *op. cit.* 1965, 82-3 (c); Sir R.E.M. Wheeler, *Five thousand years of Pakistan*, London 1950, pls. xi-xii; K.K. Mumtaz, *Architecture in Pakistan*, Singapore 1985, figs. 4. 19-20; and S. Mahmood, *Islamic inscriptions in Pakistani architecture to 1707*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh 1981, 471-7. Āgra Fort: Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ills. 59, 63, and idem, *op. cit.* 1942, pl. lxxxix; Gascoigne, *op. cit.* 1987, 192 (c); Koch, *op. cit.* 1988, pls. 3, 7; la Roche, *op. cit.* v. 1922, Abb. 302-3, and Taf. 111-18 (large b & w, 115 (c); Nath, *op. cit.* 1977, pls. 7-9, 19-24, and idem, *op. cit.* 1979, pls. lix-lxvi; Reuther, *op. cit.* 1925, Taf. 51-6 (large b & w). Āgra, Tādj Maḥall: Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ills. 84-5; Burton-Page, *op. cit.* 1965, 155, 158-9, 163-4; Hambly, *op. cit.* 1968, pl. 74 (c), 57, 68-71; Nath, *op. cit.* 1970, idem, *op. cit.* 1977, pls. 69-81, and idem, *op. cit.* 1979, pls. lix-lxvi; especially H. Rau, *Taj Mahal*, in *Lynkeus* (house magazine of Dr. K. Thomae GmbH) Biberach an der Riss n.d. [1904], *passim*. (30 outstandingly good colour plates, with details); Āgra, Djāmiʿ Masdjid; Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ills. 77-8, and idem, *op. cit.* 1942, pl. lxxxvi; Hambly, *op. cit.* 1968, pl. 84 (c); Nath, *op. cit.* 1979, pls. xlix-li, Dihlī, Djāmiʿ Masdjid: Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ills. 79-80; Hambly, *op. cit.* 1968, pl. 86 (c); Nath, *op. cit.* 1979, pls. lii-iv. Āgra, marble court mosques: Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ill. 62; Nath, *op. cit.* 1977, pls. 25, 28-9, and idem, *op. cit.* 1979, pls. lv-vi. Lāhawr, Mōtī Masdjid: Burton-Page, *op. cit.* 1965, 86. Dihlī, Red Fort: Andrews, *op. cit.* 1981, fig. 128; Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ills. 68, 71-4, and idem, *op. cit.* 1942, pls. lxxvii-viii, lxxx-iii; Gascoigne, *op. cit.* 1987, detail 193 (c); Koch, *op. cit.* 1988, (*passim* for *djharōkhā*, c); la Roche, *op. cit.* v, 1922, Abb. 316, 319-20, 323, and Taf. 120-4 (large b & w); Reuther, *op. cit.* 1925, Taf. 63-71 (large b & w). For the inlay at Bīdar, see G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its history and monuments*, Oxford 1948, 44-5, 96, pls. xii-xiv, and E. Merklinger, *The madrasa of Maḥmūd Gāwān in Bīdar*, in *Kunst des Orients*, xi, 1-2, fig. 3. Dihlī, Mōtī Masdjid; Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ills. 73, 75. Lāhawr, Pādshāhī Masdjid: Brown, *op. cit.* 1937, ill. 87; A. Chaghatai, *The Badshahi Masjid, history and architecture*, Lahore 1972, pls. 3b, 12-4; Gascoigne, *op. cit.* 1987, 227. (P. A. Andrews)

PARDA-DĀR (P.), literally "the person who draws the curtain", a term used among the dynasties of the eastern Islamic world from the Saldjūk period onwards as the equivalent of Arabic *ḥādjib*, i.e. for the court official, the chamberlain, who controlled access to the ruler, the latter being normally veiled from public gaze. For this function, see ḤĀDJIB. (Ed.)

PARENDĀ, a small town and fortress, formerly in the native state of Ḥaydarābād, now in the Sholapur District of Mahārashtra State of the Indian Union (lat. 18° 16′ N., long 75° 27′ E.) The fortress is attributed, like many of those in the Deccan, to the Bahmanī minister Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*], i.e. to the third quarter of the 9th/15th century, but may well be earlier [see BURDJ. III. at vol. I, 1323b]. Parendā was for a short time the capital of the Niẓām Shāhīs [*q.v.*] after the capture of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*] by Akbar's forces in 1014/1605, but was conquered by Awrangzīb when he was governor of the Deccan in Shāh Djahān's reign. The fortress and old town subsequently fell early into ruins.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xx, 1-2. (Ed.)

PARGANA, a Hindi word, ultimately from a Sanskrit root "to compute, reckon up", a term in Indo-Muslim administrative usage denoting an aggregate of villages, a subdivision of a district or *sarkār* [see MUGHALS. 3. Administrative and social organisation]. In later Anglo-Indian usage, the term was often rendered as *pergunnah*, see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, 698-9. The first reference to this term in the chronicles of the Sultanate of Dihlī appears to be in the *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* of Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf (*Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1891, 99), for it is not used by Ḥasan al-Niẓāmī in his *Tādj al-maʾāthir* or by Minhādj al-Dīn Djūzdjānī in his *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*. Although it first came into prominence in the 8th/14th century, partially superseding the term *ḳaṣba*, it is, in all probability, based on still more ancient divisions in existence before the Muslim conquest. The exact date of its creation is therefore uncertain.

An account of the internal working of a *pargana* occurs in the chronicles of the reign of Shīr Shāh Sūrī (947-52/1540-5), who learned the details of revenue administration in the management of his father's two *parganas* at Sasarām in Bihār. When he became ruler of Hindustān he organised his kingdom into administrative units known as *sarkārs* which were divided into collections of villages termed *parganas*. Each *pargana* was in charge of a *shiḳdār* or military police officer who supported the *amīn* or civil officer. The *amīn* had for his civil subordinates a *fotadār* or treasurer and

two *kārkuns* or clerks, one for Hindi and the other for Persian correspondence. It does not seem correct to hold the view that in this respect he was an administrative innovator, for the provincial officials and institutions which he has been credited with creating were already in existence before he ascended the throne. This remained the administrative system until Akbar organised the Mughal empire into *ṣūbas* (provinces), which were divided into *sarkārs*. The smallest fiscal unit under Akbar was the *pargana* or *maḥall*. Thus, for example, the *ṣūba* of Oudh was divided into five *sarkārs* and thirty-eight *parganas* (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, *Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta 1891, ii, 170-7).

Under the Mughal emperors, the chief *pargana* officials were the *ḳānungo*, the *amīn* and the *shiḳdār*, who were responsible for the *pargana* accounts, the rates of assessment, the survey of lands, and the protection of the rights of the cultivators. Similarly, in each village a *patwārī* or village accountant was appointed whose functions in the village resembled those of the *ḳānungo* in the *pargana*. It must not be imagined that the *pargana* was a stable and uniform unit. Not only did it vary in area in different parts of the country, but often a new land settlement was followed by a fresh division and re-distribution of these fiscal units. The co-extensiveness of a *pargana* with the possessions of a clan or family has given rise to the suggestion that it was not only a revenue-paying area but that it was founded on the distribution of property at the time of its creation.

The Twenty-four *Parganas*: these were a district of Bengal lying between 21° 31′ and 22° 57′ N. and 88° 21′ and 89° 6′ E. It derives its name from the number of *parganas* comprised in the *zamīndārī* ceded to the English East India Company in 1757 by Mīr Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], the Nawāb Nāẓim of Bengal. This was confirmed by the Mughal emperor ʿĀlamgīr II in 1759 when he granted the Company a perpetual heritable jurisdisdiction over this area. In the same year, Lord Clive, as a reward for services rendered by him to Mīr Djaʿfar, was presented with the revenues of this district. This grant, which amounted to £30,000 per annum, made Clive both the servant and the landlord of the Company. The sum continued to be paid to him until his death in 1774, when, by a deed sanctioned by the emperor, the whole proprietary right in the land and revenues reverted to the Company.

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(C.C. Davies)

PARĪ (p., t. *peri*, borrowed into English as *peri*, French *péri*), a supernatural being of stories and legends, and likewise forming a whole category of popular beliefs. The word stems from Pers. *par* "wing"; and the being is sometimes pictured as being winged. Turkish tradition considers it as a beneficent spirit. However, amongst the Kazaks it is sometimes represented as an evil genie. In the Anatolian tradition, it is conceived as a being belonging to both sexes, and the compound form *peri kızı* "girl peri" is used for peris of the female sex. It was believed that marriage with human beings was possible. Peris form the main characters of the action in a whole category of tales of marvels; they bring aid to good persons but punishment for the evil ones.

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(P.N. Boratav)

In Persian.

The Avestan *pairikās*, defined as "a class of female supernatural beings of malicious character, who seek to beguile and harm mankind" (Boyce, 85), gave their name to the New Persian *parī*, but little else of the characteristics ascribed to them by the Zoroastrians. The *parīs* of Islamic times are not unlike the fairies of European folklore (cf. *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, iv, Berlin-New York 1984, s.vv. *Fairy, Fee*). They are introduced in oral tales and written literature as benevolent spirits appearing in splendid and alluring beauty to human beings. Sexual love and marriage between *parīs* and humans are recurrent motifs. Such unions can only be reached, however, after many obstacles of a magical nature are overcome. The *parīs* have two sexes, though females are much more frequent than males, and they beget children. They live long but are not immortal. In the sphere of mythical beings they form a nation, ruled by a king whose daughter is a leading character in many fairy tales. The land of the fairies lies far away but can be reached by ordinary travel. It is sometimes situated near the mountain Ḳāf [*q.v.*]. In spite of their association with beauty and elegance, they can be fierce fighters. They are able to fly and can change into animals, monsters and demons. Their main enemies are the demons (*dīw* [*q.v.*]), the sorcerers and the witches. One may enchant them in a magic circle, and they are unable to free themselves when they are chained. In spite of their elusive nature, they are generally of good will and keep their promises. Some of them are even believers.

Many of these features are mentioned in the anonymous *Iskandar-nāma*, a mediaeval prose version of the Alexander saga recounting a journey to a country ruled by the fairy queen Arāḳīt, which Iskandar subdues in a long war ending in the dispersal of the *parīs* and the return of the land to its original human inhabitants. The story is strongly influenced by legends about Sulaymān and Bilḳīs [*q.v.*], the queen of Sheba. Both Bilḳīs and Arāḳīt were said to be of mixed human and fairy blood (cf. Southgate, 210-11; B. Carra de Vaux, *EI*[1] s.v. *Bilḳīs*). Features of the *parīs* as they appear in Persian fairy tales have been summarised by Christensen and Marzolph.

To the classical poets, comparisons with the beauty of the *parī* were commonplace. In a single hemistich ʿUnṣurī (d. 431/1039-40) described his beloved as a *parīzāda parīrūʾī parīčihrī parīpaykar* ("a fairy-child with a fairy-face, with the traits of a fairy and shaped like a fairy"; *Dīwān*, ed. Y. Ḳarīb, Tehran 1341 *sh*./1962, 100). Ḥāfiẓ put the fairies on a par with the *ḥūr* of the Islamic Paradise (*Dīwān*, ed. P.N. Khānlarī, Tehran 1362 *sh*./1983, 121, 210, 391, 404, 425). In the epic they were included in the armies of the primeval kings of Iran, together with *dīws*, animals and birds. A trace of the malice of the ancient *pairikās* is still apparent in the figure of the sorceress (*zan-i djādū*) who tried to seduce the heroes Isfandiyār and Rustam in the shape of a beautiful woman (cf. Christensen, *Démonologie*, 64-5). Folkloristic elements are also reflected in romantic and didactic *mathnawīs*. In the *Ilāhī-nāma* of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] the desire of a young prince for the daughter of the king of the fairies is denounced by his father as the "cult of lust" (*shahwatparastī*). The first story of Niẓāmī's *Haft paykar*, told by the Indian

princess in the Black Pavilion, is a typical instance of the delusions experienced in a fairy-land. Another example of the use of folklore in polite literature is *Dāstān-i Djamāl wa Djalāl* by the Tīmūrid poet Muḥammad Āṣafī (d. 923/1517), an allegorical *mathnawī* about the search of prince "Glory" for "Beauty", the latter being personified as the daughter of the king of the *parīs*.

The unique copy of the last-mentioned work, preserved in the Uppsala University Library (Nova 2, dated 1502-5), is also an important source for the iconography of the *parī* in Persian miniature painting. The fairies were depicted like angels, as the latter were commonly represented in Tīmūrid art (see Stchoukine, 116). Other subjects giving occasion for picturing *parīs* were Niẓāmī's story of the Black Pavilion (see e.g. Robinson, *Rylands*, no. 418) and throne scenes of Sulaymān and Bilḳīs (cf. e.g. Titley, 98, Pl. 14).

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(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

PARIAS (the word arose from such Latin accountancy terms as *paria facere* "to settle an account" already current in Imperial Latin; Du Cange considered Mediaeval Latin *pariae* as from the Spanish) in the mediaeval Iberian peninsula "tribute paid by one ruler to another in recognition of his superior status".

The term is rarely used except of tribute paid by Muslims to Christians. There was no universally recognised tariff for such payments, nor any set form of contract setting out what was received in exchange for the *parias*, although there clearly was a presumption that payment secured protection from extortion at the hands of other Christians. Du Cange regarded *parias* as a type of feudal due ("*feudalis redditus, honores, homagia*"). Whether that is an accurate characterisation is doubtful; *parias* were paid when Christian rulers were powerful, refused when the Andalusī Muslims themselves or their Muslim protectors from North Africa felt safe to do so. The system appeared at the end of the Umayyad period and in the first Ṭāʾifa period (5th/11th century), apparently *ca*. 1010 with Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona, and at times led to the transfer of considerable sums to the Christians. The taxes raised to pay the *parias*, quite illegal from the Islamic point of view (Muslim sources could only regard them as an inversion of the relationship of *dhimma* [*q.v.*], and, indeed, they are not infrequently termed *djizya* [*q.v.*]), were a factor in the collapse of the Ṭāʾifa régimes. The *Poema de Mio Cid* and Castilian chronicle narratives have al-Muʿtamid of Seville [*q.v.*] complain to Alfonso VI because the *parias* paid had not brought him safety from Christian freebooters; the Cid was despatched southwards to chastise the trouble-makers and to collect instalments overdue. (That we have to do with historical reality here is unlikely; what is important is that this was how the system was thought to function.) During the period following the Almoravid collapse, and again as Almohad power waned, payments resumed. From the initial agreement between the Castilian crown and Muḥammad I Ibn al-Aḥmar [see naṣrids] in 1246 onwards, *parias* formed an important part of the relationship between Granada and Castile. As seen by Castile, such tribute was a sign of the vassal status of the Naṣrid kingdom; as seen by the Granadans *parias* were a way of buying respite from damaging *talas* ("forays"). Carriazo has shown that the story that the penultimate Naṣrid ruler, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, refused to pay *parias* to Isabel, saying "the kings of Granada who used to give *parias* were dead, and the places in Granada where they used to strike the coins to pay the tribute were being used to forge lance-heads" is apocryphal.

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(L.P. Harvey)

PĀRSĀʾIYYA, a sub-order of the Central Asian Nakshbandiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa* and the most prominent *shaykhly* family of Balkh from the middle of the 9th/15th century. The eponymous founder of the line was Khʷādja Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (or Muḥammad) al-Ḥāfiẓī al-Bukhārī (d. 822/1419), who adopted the nickname *Pārsā* ("the devout"). His tomb in Medina became a shrine for Central Asian pilgrims and the burial place of at least one Central Asian grand khān, the Tuḳāy-Tīmūrid, Imām Ḳulī (r. 1020-51/1611-41).

Khʷādja Muḥammad Pārsā's son, Abū Naṣr, seems to have been the first of the line associated with Balkh. When he died there in 864 or 865 (1459-60 or 1460-1), his patron, the Tīmūrid general Mīr Mazīd Arghūn, erected a "high domed building" (*gunbadh-i ʿālī*) (*ca*. 867/1462-3), which became the centre of the order and survives in much-renovated form to the present. A no-longer extant *madrasa* was also built at the site sometime in the middle of the 10th/16th century.

The Pārsāʾīs remained prominent in Bukhārā well into the first half of the 10th/16th century, but the headquarters of the family and its order shifted to Balkh. The appointment of a great-grandson, ʿAbd al-Hādī b. Abū Naṣr (II) (d. *ca*. 967/1559) as *shaykh al-islām* at Balkh during the reign of the Abu 'l-Khayrid/Shībānid ʿUbayd Allāh (r. 940-6/1533-40) established the family in an official position which it would hold at least until the beginning of the 12th/end of the 17th century. Pārsāʾīs appearing in the literary record after the mid-10th/16th century are almost always from Balkh. Among the most prominent members of the family were ʿAbd al-Walī Pārsā (alias Khʷādja Djān Khʷādja, d. *ca*. 995/1587), who is portrayed as populist leader, political advisor and mediator; Ḳāsim Khʷādja, architect of the royal *madrasa* constructed by Nadhr Muḥammad Khān [*q.v.*] before 1045/1635 as well as *shaykh al-islām*; and Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad (*fl.* 1100s/1690s), who was briefly installed as vice-khān (*ḳaʾlkhān*) at Balkh in 1107/1696. From the early 18th century onward, the

family's fortunes appear to have ebbed along with those of the city, although the survival of the shrine suggest that the family and the order it administered retained at least a local importance for some time.

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PĀRSĪS (Pahlavi, *pārsīk*, NP *pārsī*, lit. "inhabitants of Fārs", "Persian"), the name given to those descendants of the Zoroastrians who migrated to India, mostly to Gudjarāt [*q.v.*], from the 4th/10th century onwards [see MADJŪS].

This movement is described in the *Ḳiṣṣa-yi Sandjan*, written in 1600 but using older oral tradition. In detail it is unlikely to be historically reliable but it probably has a valid overall perspective. It reflects the Pārsī conviction that their move to India was divinely-inspired and that they have been treated tolerantly by the Hindu majority.

From the 17th century onwards, when European traders were arriving in western India, Pārsīs emerged from their previous relative obscurity to rise to positions of considerable wealth, significant educational status (both in terms of building schools and colleges and in attending them), from which base they introduced the industrial revolution into India (first in the textile industry, then in steel), developed Indian commerce (notably banking and insurance), were foremost in many of the professions in western India (notably law and medicine) and became leaders in Indian politics, especially before the rise of the militants in the Indian National Congress in 1906. The major figures were Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), popularly known as the "Grand Old Man of India", who was a founder of the Indian National Congress and the only person to be its president three times (1886, 1893, 1906). He was also the first Asian to be elected a Member of the British Parliament (1892-5). (The only other two Asian M.P.s elected prior to the 1980s were also Pārsīs: Bhownagree (elected in 1895) and Saklatvala (elected in 1923).) Two other major Pārsī politicians in India were Sir Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915) and Sir Dinshah Wacha (1844-1915). The former was especially important, not only in the Indian National Congress, but also in the government of India's commercial capital, Bombay. A brilliant lawyer and orator, he was mentor to many Indian politicians, especially Muhammad Ali Jinnah, founder of Pākistān [see DJINĀḤ] (Jinnah had several Pārsī connections, notably his wife and his doctor, who nursed him throughout his final illness).

The popular image of 20th century Pārsīs is of a community in decline. Numerically that may be true. In the 1981 census they totalled 71,630 throughout India, a decline of 20% in a decade, and subsequent demographic studies suggest that the rate of decline is likely to increase. The cause is partly emigration, but also a low fertility rate due to late marriages (Pārsī living standard expectations being high, young people commonly delay marriage until the age of 30), and with high levels of female education and career success many do not marry at all. Converts are not accepted, at least in the traditional areas of Gudjarāt and Bombay, though in Delhi the children of mixed marriages may be accepted as Zoroastrians.

However, Pārsīs are typically a high-status social group, mostly professionals (the civil service, law and medicine), leading figures in commerce, with some important political figures. (Mrs Indhira Gandhi was married to an active Pārsī politician, Feroze, so Pārsīs sometimes claim that her sons were Pārsīs; this is especially claimed for Rajiv who is said to have resembled his father.) Since independence, Pārsīs have held the post of head of each branch of India's armed forces. They own India's largest industry, Tatas, and South Asia's largest private company, Godrej Brothers. Recent studies have further established that the general standard of living of the average Pārsī in Bombay is higher than that of the general population of the city and this is almost certainly true for other parts of India, with the possible exception of parts of rural Gudjarāt. Throughout their history in India, Pārsīs have been noted for their charitable activities, not only among their own people but also among the wider community in the subcontinent, back in Iran [see MADJŪS, at V, p. 1115] and indeed on a wider international scale.

From India, Pārsīs have migrated to most continents in pursuit of trade and education. The first Pārsī to visit China was Hirjee Jivanjee Readeymoney in 1756. Their main bases were in Hong Kong (some Pārsī traders were there before the British take-over in 1841), Canton (the Zoroastrian Association was started in 1845) and Shanghai (the Association was founded in 1854). The main Pārsī business was opium, but they diversified into many branches of the import-export trade and into property and banking.

The first Pārsī to visit Britain arrived in 1723, but it was the mid-19th century before Pārsīs came in any numbers. Mostly they came for education, both formal university studies and informal studies of British industry, especially the textile trade and engineering. Others came for business. The first Indian firm in Britain was that of the Pārsī Cama brothers (with Naoroji) which opened in London and Liverpool in 1855. The Zoroastrian Association was formed in 1861, the first Asian religious body in Britain. A burial ground was purchased in 1861 and the first building obtained in 1909. Prior to World War II, there were about 200 Pārsīs in Britain at any one time. More Zoroastrians migrated, along with other South Asians, in the 1960s and after. They came mostly from urban centres, above all Bombay, but also from Pākistān and East Africa. Typically, they are well educated (over 70% have a university education), concentrated in London and are professionals. There are a few Iranian Zoroastrians who settled in the 1970s and 80s.

Also from the 1960s Pārsīs began to migrate to Canada and to America. There are now some 21 Zoroastrian Associations on the continent with buildings in New York (opened in 1977), Toronto (1980), Los Angeles (1982), Chicago (1983), and Vancouver (1987). Following the fall of the Shāh a number of Zoroastrians migrated from Iran and they settled mostly in New York, Vancouver and California. It was an Iranian Zoroastrian, Arbab Rustom Guiv and the charitable foundation he endowed, which provided most, in some cases practically all, of

the funds to open the Zoroastrian buildings. It is typically the very well-educated Pārsīs and Iranian Zoroastrians who have migrated (in America most are scientists). Precise numbers are unknown and estimates vary greatly. They are steadily increasing, mostly through migration, but it is also a young population so that the birth-rate exceeds the death-rate. Current plausible estimates suggest around 10,000.

The latest centre for migration is Australia. The Sydney-based "Australian Zoroastrian Association" was formed in 1971 and its building was opened in 1986. The other main group in Melbourne was founded in 1987. Numbers in Australia are probably little over 1,000, but they are increasing for the same reasons as in America.

The problems facing the younger Pārsīs in the "New World" and Australasia are those experienced by most South Asian migrants: the changing perceptions of successive generations; debates on intermarriage and problems posed by perceived racial prejudice. Typically, these diaspora communities give greater emphasis to religious education than do the communities in the "old country" because the elders are conscious of the dangers of acculturation. The result, over a number of years, could be that the Zoroastrian youth in the diaspora know more about their history and teachings then do those in the "old country". However, what they are taught tends to be those facets of the religion more readily intelligible in the "West" than in South Asia (for example, certain philosophies or ritual interpretations are stressed rather than the purity laws). Consequently, the result of the geographical dispersal could result in a greater religious diversity.

There are also Pārsī communities in Muslim lands (other than Iran). The most important of these is in Pākistān, mostly in Karachi, but with about 100 in Lahore (and until recently Quetta). Pārsīs played a significant role in the development of Karachi. The first Pārsī firm to move to Sind was Jessawalla and Co in (approximately) 1825 and several others soon followed. The burial ground was opened in 1839; the first temple was built in 1849 and the first Pārsī school in 1859. Numbers grew so that a second temple was built in 1869 and another *dakhma* ("Tower of Silence") was opened in 1875. The main trade pursued by the growing number of settlers was as suppliers to the British, especially during the Afghan Wars. Numbers peaked around 1940 with approximately 4,000 Pārsīs. That was also the era of one of the community's great leaders, Jamshed Mehta (1862-1952). He was President of the Municipality for 13 years and the first Lord Mayor of Karachi. He was universally respected as a man of total integrity and deep commitment to his city. When he died Karachi came to a standstill as people of all communities mourned. When Pākistān was declared an independent Muslim state, some Pārsīs feared for their future because of their memories of their fate in Iran. That, as well as the educational and career attractions of the "West", was why many migrated and numbers declined to below 3,000. In fact, however, the community has been secure, especially in Karachi where numbers and wealth are concentrated. Several have achieved significant status, a judge in the Supreme Court, brigadiers and majors in the army, two M.P.s and one Pārsī, Jamsheed Marker, has successively held the post of Pākistān's ambassador to France, America and the United Nations. Various Pārsī firms have been important in the shipping business, hotels, pharmaceuticals and property. Their reputation for charitable work is outstanding, especially in the medical and educational fields. As Islam has become ever more prominent in Pākistān's life, so Pārsīs have been required to provide their own children with a religious education. Numbers attending temple are commonly reported to be increasing. Whereas Pārsīs in the West are seen as prone to secularism, in Pākistān typically they are traditional, distanced but not alienated from the wider society.

There are also long-standing Pārsī communities in East Africa. The pioneer in this development was the family firm of the Cowasji Dinshaws (1824-1900). The father was largely responsible for the development of technology in Aden, above all the dockyard. He also owned a fleet of ships and was agent for several British firms. He, too, was known for his charitable work. Contemporary with the Pārsī move to Aden was their settlement in Zanzibar. The first to arrive was M.A. Mistry in 1845. Others did not follow until the 1870s-1890s. The Zoroastrian Association was formally started in 1875. In 1884 the Cowasji Dinshaws were persuaded to move here from Aden. They became leaders in the community, building a temple and running the Association. After World War II there were 184 Zoroastrians in Zanzibar, but subsequent to the 1964 revolution, numbers declined and now in the 1990s there are only two families left.

Zoroastrian traders probably arrived on the east coast of Africa centuries ago, but the first known to have been on the mainland, Jehangir Bhedwar, came in 1870 and built the dockyard at Mombasa. The architect, Sorabji Mistry, was an important early arrival for he built many of the major municipal buildings. From around 1896 many lawyers, engineers and accountants came in connection with the building of the East African railway. The Zoroastrian Association was started in 1897 and began to acquire land in Nairobi from 1902. The main period of growth was post-World War II when numbers reached about 400 in each city, but with the process of Africanisation in the 1960s most emigrated, some to India and Canada but most to Britain. At present (early 1990s) there are only approximately 40-50 Zoroastrians in the two cities, mostly business men and professionals.

In East Africa, as in Pākistān, Pārsīs have remained within their own tightly-knit communities (though there have been strong internal divisions) and as a result have, on the whole, remained traditional in their religious beliefs and practices. They have not been subject to the same processes of acculturation that those in the West have. Whereas Pārsīs in Bombay have been subject to marked Hindu influences, not only in dress and language but also in customs and concepts (e.g. wedding rites, symbolic decorations around the home, ideas on caste and rebirth, veneration for modern Hindu holy men), the deep reservations which have arisen from Islamic persecution in Iran have in practice meant that most, though not all, Pārsīs in Muslim lands have sought to preserve their distinctiveness. Although many feared for their fate in the 20th century, they have not experienced overt oppression from Muslims. Their situation in Iran is documented elsewhere [see MADJŪS]. The homeland remains the country in which there is the most widespread concern for their future. Many feel vulnerable and oppressed, generally their career prospects are limited (especially in government and the forces) but some stress that there has been no actual persecution and a few Zoroastrian businesses continue to flourish. Government estimates put the number of Zoroastrians in Iran in the 1990s at over 90,000—

which if accurate would mean that there has been a fourfold increase in 30 years. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give an account of the reported 500 Pārsīs working as traders and professionals in the Arab Gulf States because no formal Associations have been established and no records preserved.

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PARTAI ISLAM SE MALAYSIA (PAS), an Islamic-oriented political party of Malaysia.

The Partai Islam Se Malaysia (formerly Malaya), or Pan Malaysian (Malayan) Islamic Party (PMIP), was formed in the 1950s. Its ideological origins lie in the Islamic reformist movement in Malaya at the beginning of the 20th century. A party began to take shape in the 1940s as the religious wing (*Hizbul Muslimin*) of the radical but essentially secular Malay Nationalist Party (MNP). In 1948 the Majlis Tertingi Agama (supreme religious council; its acronym, MATA, is the Malay word for "eye") was set up at the religious college at Gunong Semanggol (in the west-coast state of Perak), which remained the centre for Islamic politics for several years. The radical Malay movement collapsed under the Emergency Regulations issued to counter the communist insurrection in 1948, and in 1951, pulling clear of the MNP, religious activists formed the All-Malaya Islamic Association (or Pan-Malayan Islamic Association, Persatuan Islam Sa-Tanah Melayu). At first, the Association co-operated with the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), which was the strongest Malay political party and appealed more to ethnicity than to Islam, but when UMNO formed the Alliance with the Malayan Chinese Association (later joined by the Malayan Indian Congress), the All-Malaya Islamic Association became alienated from the mainstream of the Malay nationalist movement. Registering as a political party (the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party or Partai Islam Se Malaya), it opposed the Alliance in Malaya's first federal elections of 1955, two years before independence from British rule. Of the 52 electable seats, the Alliance (dominated by UMNO) won 51 seats while PAS was victorious only in the constituency of Krian (Perak).

The party was put on a stronger footing when Dr Burhanuddin Al-Helmy (formerly president of the MNP, 1946-7, and leader of the *Hizbul Muslimin*) became its president in December 1956. Blending a strong appeal to communal chauvinism with an avowed commitment to Islam as the basis for a Malay-dominated Malaya, Burhanuddin attracted support from rural Malays, and PAS came to rely upon Malay teachers in religious schools or *pondoks* [see PESANTREN] in the Malay-majority states of the north-west (Kedah and Perlis) and east coast (Trengganu and Kelantan). At the 1959 elections, PAS secured the government of Trengganu and won a landslide in Kelantan. Although it relinquished the former in the 1964 elections, it maintained control over the latter until late 1977.

During the bitterly contested election campaign of 1969, which polarised politics on communal lines, PAS claimed that UMNO had failed the Malays during the years since independence because it had compromised with infidels and neglected the needs of the rural community. Though the UMNO-dominated Alliance secured a majority in the Dewan Rakyat (federal parliament), it lost the vital two-thirds majority allowing it to amend the constitution. Non-Malay parties, notably the Democratic Action Party and Gerakan, won 25 seats, while PAS gained 12 (and 23.7% of the total vote). These elections and the bloody aftermath of communal violence (the "13 May 1969 incident") represent a watershed in modern Malaysian politics and a spur to economic and social restructuring; the Alliance was refashioned as the Barisan National (BN, national front), of which UMNO was the major component, and the government launched a series of five-year plans in support of the New Economic Policy, whose objectives were to sus-

tain economic growth, project Malays into the modern sector and, ultimately, break down communal compartments. PAS joined the ruling coalition in 1974 and, campaigning as part of the BN, it won 14 of the 154 federal seats in the elections of 1974. Led by Mohamed Asri Haji Muda (acting president 1964-71, president 1971-82), PAS reached the high-point in its electoral fortunes in 1969-74, but in the late 1970s it went into decline. Torn by internal disputes, PAS lost control of Kelantan and was forced out of the Barisan National; at the end of 1977 the federal government established "emergency rule" in Kelantan, and elections the following year (which PAS fought in opposition to the Barisan) not only confirmed the end of PAS rule in Kelantan but also reduced the party's seats in the federal parliament from 14 to 5.

Nonetheless, PAS kept up its attacks upon UMNO and, from the late 1970s onwards, these coincided with the upsurge of fundamentalism elsewhere in the Islamic world, notably the Iranian revolution. After Asri resigned as president following another poor performance in the elections of 1982 (when PAS won five seats), the more militant Yusuf Rawa (president 1982-89) assumed the leadership of PAS. Under the influence of the *ulama* and professing its goal to be the creation of an Islamic state, PAS issued a *fatwa* declaring all supporters of UMNO to be infidels. The phenomenon of one Malay Muslim branding another as infidel—known as the "*kafir-mengkafir* dispute"—became particularly intense in Trengganu, Kelantan and Kedah, where UMNO and PAS vied with each other for support and where Malay kampongs divided in their allegiance to one or other of the parties.

Competition between UMNO and PAS for power and authority has been a major feature of Malay politics while Dr Mahathir has been president of UMNO and Prime Minister of Malaysia (1981 to date). PAS ideas were spread by speakers at *ceramah* (private political meetings) and through the distribution of thousands of audio-visual cassettes. In its attacks both upon UMNO as guardian of Malay nationalism and mainstay of the Malaysian government and upon the Barisan's New Economic Policy, PAS received backing from Islamic universities, many Malays in local higher education institutions and Malay students overseas. It also established links with ABIM (Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, the Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement) led by Anwar Ibrahim. Committed though it was to Malay interests, UMNO could not countenance an ideology that rejected secular nationalism and worldly materialism; UMNO leaders rejected the PAS strategy as a recipe for disaster in a country where Malays (i.e. Muslims) amounted to only a little over half of the total population. UMNO took the *dakwah* (Islamic revivalist) challenge seriously, however, with the result that government adopted a more obviously Islamic stand on certain issues (such as banking, higher education and the construction of mosques). Moreover, in 1982 Mahathir co-opted Anwar Ibrahim into the government, thereby diminishing the influence of ABIM. In 1984 a TV debate between UMNO and PAS leaders vying for legitimacy in the eyes of Malaysia's Muslims was cancelled at the last minute on the intervention of the Agong (Malaysia's king). Tension did not fade; on the contrary, confrontation between government and PAS came to a head at Memali (Kedah) in November 1985, when Malay policemen opened fire on Malay farmers, and PAS acquired 14 martyrs for Islam.

UMNO's hold over Malays appeared to be endorsed by the 1986 elections when only one PAS candidate was returned to the federal parliament, whose total membership had been increased to 177. UMNO's success can be put down to its efficiency and control of the media, the five-fold increase in the election deposit required of candidates, and, perhaps most significantly, PAS's overtures to Chinese voters. Its attempt to line up an opposition front in co-operation with non-Malays, though vain, compromised its "Malay-ness"; Malay voters opted for ethnic interests rather than Islamic principles.

Although circumscribed by government restrictions, not least the Internal Security Act, PAS was provided with an opportunity to advance its position by a power struggle that racked UMNO in 1987-90. In 1987 UMNO was split by a vicious leadership battle when Tengku Razaleigh challenged Dr Mahathir for the presidency of UMNO. A new political configuration seemed to be taking shape; the multi-racial coalition of the Barisan, which Mahathir's UMNO continued to dominate, was for the first time challenged by an alternative coalition of racially and ideologically disparate parties. PAS and Semangat '46 ("spirit of '46", a party composed of UMNO dissidents led by Tengku Razaleigh) formed the Angatan Perpaduan Ummah (Muslim solidarity movement), and together they joined the Chinese-dominated Democratic Action Party in the Gagasan Rakyat or People's Front. During the 1990 electoral campaign, PAS tempered its fundamentalism and adopted the slogan "Developing with Islam", but the three disparate parties failed to resolve their differences. The Barisan as a whole and UMNO in particular were returned with formidable majorities; Malays rejected PAS and Semangat '46, except in Kelantan, where APU formed the state government, while in the federal parliament PAS increased its representation from one to seven.

To some extent, the myth of Malay solidarity has been cracked in recent years by the emergence of PAS's challenge to UMNO and by the latter's internal rifts. Both UMNO and PAS have inherited and continue to appeal to the traditions of Malay culture, but, whereas PAS has presented itself as a fundamentalist Islamic movement, UMNO's reputation as guardian of Malay nationalism, its command of government since independence, its capacity to respond to and generate social and economic change, and the breadth and depth of its organisation have all assisted its continuing political dominance.

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PARWĀN [see farwān].

PARWĀNA [see muʿīn al-dīn sulaymān parwāna].

PARWĀNAČĪ, "relater", term used in Persian administration for the official who noted down the instructions for the promulgation of deeds, and who forwarded them to the chancery.

The function is recorded for the first time under Tīmūr, and is then found among the Tīmūrids, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.vv.*] and in the early Ṣafawid period. According to Khwāndamīr, there were usually two relaters, one in charge of the Council for Army Inspection (*dīwān-i towāčī*), the other of the Council for Finances (*dīwān-i māl*) and of the administration of the *Ṣadr* (*sarkār-i ṣidārat*) [see ṢADR]. Only occasionally did each of these three departments have its own relater, or did there exist one single relater for the three together. In addition to Persians, there were also Turkish *amīrs* under the relaters. In rank they were above the secretaries of the chancery (*munshīs* [*q.v.*]), but subordinate to the viziers. As a rule, they apparently transmitted the orders for the deeds to the chancery in writing. The related documents were called *parwāna*, *parwānača* or *risāla*, and they were sealed with the *muhr-i-parwāna* [see MUHR], which usually was in the hands of a keeper of the seal (*muhrdār*) and only exceptionally (see Khwāndamīr, *Dastūr al-wuzarā'*, Tehran 2535 *shāhānshāhī*, 401) in those of the relater.

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(G. HERRMANN)

PARWĪN IᶜTIṢĀMĪ, celebrated female poet of Iran, was born on 16 March 1907 in Tabrīz. Her father, Yūsuf Iᶜtiṣāmī (d. 2 January 1938), was a respected author known chiefly for his translations of French and Arabic works into Persian. He was also the founder and principal writer of the literary magazine *Bahār*, which appeared from April 1910 till November 1911 and again from April 1921 till December 1922. Parwīn received her early instruction in Persian and Arabic literature from her father. When she was still small, her father moved the family to Tehran. There she attended the American High School for Women. Following her graduation, she was employed for some time to teach at the same institution. It is reported that Riḍā Shāh wanted her to act as private tutor to the queen, but she declined. In 1934 she married a cousin of her father, and went to live in Kirmānshāh where her husband was a police officer. The union, however, did not last, and ended in divorce after a few months. In 1936 the Iranian Ministry of Culture gave her a medal ranking third in order of importance. The poetess is said to have turned down the award which, in its poor choice, was clearly an offence to her self-respect. In 1939 Parwīn worked for some months as librarian in Dānish-sarā-yi ᶜĀlī, University of Tehran. On 5 April 1941 she died after a brief illness caused by typhoid fever, and was buried at Ḳum in the family tomb next to her father.

According to Malik al-Shuᶜarā Bahār, Parwīn started composing poetry when she was eight years old. In her poetical training during the initial period, the main guiding figure was most probably her father. He would give her his prose translations of French, Arabic and Turkish poems and encouraged her to put them into verse. Already at an early age, Parwīn demonstrated a remarkable artistic maturity. Consequently, some individuals were disposed to take the sceptical view that the poems in her name were actually composed by her father. In the beginning, her poems appeared in her father's journal during its second period. Before her death she is said to have destroyed a portion of her poetical output which did not come up to her expectations. A book containing her collected poems appeared for the first time in 1935, and an enlarged edition was published soon after her death in 1942.

Parwīn Iᶜtiṣāmī may be regarded as a poet in the classical mould. Among the literary influences detected in her poems are chiefly those associated with such former poets as Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Anwarī, ᶜAṭṭār, Saᶜdī, and Rūmī [*q.vv.*]. Barring a few exceptions, her poems adhere to conventional verse forms, and include *ḳaṣīdas*, *mathnawīs*, *ḳiṭᶜas*, and *ghazals*. As regards the subject matter of her poetry, it is dominated by moralistic and ethical themes. The poetess is largely indifferent to the real social concerns of her time, and shows only a passing appreciation of the problems pertaining to her own sex. Still, Parwīn's poetry has a charm of its own resulting from a deep feeling of tenderness and compassion. As her favourite device, she uses the form of *munāẓara* (strife poem) [*q.v.*] and dialogue, a technique borrowed from earlier sources but featuring more extensively and devoted to better use in her works.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

PARWĪZ, KHUSRAW (II), Sāsānid emperor 591-628, and the last great ruler of this dynasty before the invading Arabs overthrew the Persian empire. The MP name *Parwīz* "victorious" is explained in al-Ṭabarī, i, 995, 1065, as *al-muẓaffar* and *al-manṣūr*; the

name was Arabised as Abarwīz (see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 19).

For the main events of his long reign (dominated by the struggles with the Byzantines over the buffer-state Armenia and over control of the Fertile Crescent in general, culminating in the Persian invasion of Egypt in 619, but then the riposte by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, which brought the Greek armies as far as Mesopotamia in 627-8), see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen 1944, 445-96, and R.N. Frye, *The political history of Iran under the Sasanians*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iii/1, 165-72. Most relevant for us here are Khusraw Parwīz's relations with the Arabs on the fringes of Mesopotamia and, in particular, with the Lakhmid dynasty of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], outlined in LAKHMIDS and chiefly significant for the fact of Khusraw Parwīz's overthrow of the last Lakhmid king al-Nuʿmān III b. al-Mundhir IV in 602 and the establishment of direct Persian rule soon afterwards, ending the power of this Arab dynasty which had acted as a protective force against pressure from the Bedouins of the Arabian interior. The Sāsānids' flank in western Mesopotamia was laid open to attack, and a foretaste of the Muslim Arab invasions of the 630s given in the battle or, more probably, skirmish of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*] in central ʿIrāḳ, when the tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾil defeated a coalition of other Arab tribes plus Persian regular troops, demonstrating that the Persian army was not invincible (see further, C.E. Bosworth, *Iran and the Arabs before Islam*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iii/1, 607-9).

In later Islamic literature, such as *adab* works and the Mirrors for Princes [see NAṢĪḤAT AL-MULŪK], Khusraw Parwīz became renowned for the splendour and luxury of his court. He was a devotee of music and poetry, and the famous musician Bārbadh, allegedly the inventor of the rhythmic musical modes known as *dastānāt* (see H.G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 198-9), was one of his courtiers. His famous horse Shabdīz is mentioned, but above all he is linked with his favourite wife, the Christian Shīrīn, as part of the very popular theme in Persian literature of Shīrīn and her humble lover Farhād, dealt with by *inter alios* Niẓāmī and Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.vv.*; see FARHĀD WA-SHĪRĪN]. See further on Parwīz's image in later literature, Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, index, and al-Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, Eng. tr. F.R.C. Bagley, *Ghazālī's Book of counsel for kings*, London 1964, 192, 194 and the references there.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

PASANTREN [see PESANTREN].

PASAROFČA, the Ottoman Turkish form of the Yugoslavian town of Požarevac, better known in European history under its Germanic form Passarowitz. Požarevac is now a prosperous commercial town, situated in lat. 44°37′ N. and long. 21°12′ E. some 60 km/40 miles to the southeast of Belgrade in the fertile plain of Serbia between Morava and Mlava, and only a short distance from the Danube port of Dubravica.

The town, whose name is popularly connected with the Serbo-Croat word *požar* ("fire") (M.D. Milićević, *Kneževina Srbija*, Belgrade 1876, 172, 1058), is first mentioned towards the end of the 9th/15th century. It must, however, have been previously in existence and have become Turkish like the surrounding country in 1459. According to the Turkish treasury registers of Hungary of 1565 (A. Velics, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek*, ii, Budapest 1890, 734), Pasarofča belonged to the Turkish *sandjak* of Semendre (Semendria, Smederevo), and in the middle of the 11th/17th century, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa describes it as the seat of a judge (*ḳāḍīliḳ*) (cf. *Spomenik*, xviii, Belgrade 1892, col. 26). Towards the end of the century, many Serbs migrated from Pasarofča and at the beginning of the 18th century it is sometimes mentioned as a village.

Pasarofča was, however, destined soon to become famous through the peace which ended the Austro-Turkish war of 1716-18. At the end of 1714, the Ottoman sultan Aḥmed III [*q.v.*] had already declared war on Venice on the pretext that the peace of Carlowitz [see ḲARLOFČA] was not being observed and in 1715 occupied the Morea and some of the Ionian Islands. Austria, which at first intervened to negotiate as an ally of Venice, in 1716 entered the war herself and her armies, led by Prince Eugene of Savoy, won three great victories, at Peterwardein, Temesvár and Belgrade, so that England intervened to secure peace. After long preparations (see von Hammer, *GOR*², iv, 159-64), the congress of Passarowitz was convoked. The negotiations at which plenipotentiaries of Turkey, Austria, Venice with England and Holland as mediators took part began on 5 June 1718 and the Treaty of Passarowitz was signed on 21 July.

Peace was concluded on a basis of the territory actually held by the opponents at the time (*uti possidetis*): Austria retained the eastern part of Sirmia, the banate with Temesvár, the whole of northeastern Serbia, with Belgrade, Požarevac, etc., and Little Wallachia; Venice also retained a few places she had taken on the Dalmatian and Albanian coasts, received certain commercial preferences and the island of Cerigo (Kythera), but had to restore to Turkey the whole of the peninsula of the Morea and the southeastern districts of Hercegovina. By a commercial agreement which was also concluded at Passarowitz on 27 July, Austria secured certain trading, consular and other privileges such as preferential tariffs, in the Ottoman Empire. The Imperial Ostend Company was formed to exploit these concessions, and in 1719 commercial activity began from the new "free port" of Trieste. The actual Treaty of Passarowitz in effect proclaimed that the Ottomans were no longer a serious military danger to their European neighbours.

Following the traditional formalities observed after the conclusion of a treaty of peace, the first Turkish plenipotentiary Ibrāhīm Pasha Newshehirli went to Vienna with his retinue and Count Wirmont, the Austrian representative in the negotiations, to Constantinople. A member of the Turkish embassy wrote in 1726 an interesting account which has been published by Fr. van Kraelitz in text and translation (*Bericht über den Zug des Gross-Botschafters Ibrahim Pascha nach Wien im Jahre 1719*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, clviii [1908]; in *TOEM*, vii [1332/1916], 211-27, the Turkish text of this edition was reprinted by A. Refīḳ).

During the Austrian occupation (1718-39), Pasarofča was the most important place in this territory. In the Serbian war of independence against Turkey, it was besieged for a long period, but had finally to surrender to the Serbs (1804). In 1813, the town again fell into Turkish hands but became Serbian again in 1815.

In the years of peace that followed (1815-1915), Požarevac developed. Prince Miloš in 1825 made it his second residence and had two *ḳonaḳs* (palaces) built there. Shortly afterwards, a Prussian officer visited the town and left interesting notes on the conditions there (Otto von Pirch, *Reise in Serbien im Spätherbst 1829*, Berlin 1830, part i, 119-71). In the second half of the 19th century, the population increased steadily,

but otherwise the town offered "little of interest" (F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, Leipzig 1868, 13).

At the beginning of the 20th century Požarevac was one of the most important towns in Serbia. In the First World War, it was occupied by the Germans in 1915 and by the Bulgarians (from October 1916), but in the autumn of 1918 it was again occupied by the Serbs. Since then it has belonged to Yugoslavia now (1993) coming within the Serbia-Montenegro rump of the Yugoslavian Republic.

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(F. Bajraktarević*)

PASÈ, the name of a district on the north coast of Atjeh [*q.v.*] in Sumatra, which according to the prevalent local view stretches from the Djambö-Ajé river in the east to the other side of the Pasè river in the west. The whole area is divided up into a number of little states each with an *uleïbalang* or chief.

Pasè at one time was a kingdom known throughout eastern Asia. The north coast of Atjeh was in the middle ages on the trade route by sea from Hindustān to China. Islam followed this route and firmly established itself from India on this coast, the first point in the East Indian archipelago which it reached. In the 7th/13th century we know there were already Muslim rulers here. One of these was Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (d. 1297), according to native tradition founder of the state and the man to make the country Muslim; his tomb made of stone imported from Cambay in India has been discovered along with several other gravestones on the left bank of the Pasè river, not far from the sea. The capital of the kingdom is said to have been here. A second capital, rather more to the west, was Samudra; it was the royal residence when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the middle of the 8th/14th century twice visited the land, on his way to China and on the return journey. The present name of the island of Sumatra, by which it is known in the west, comes from Samudra (in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Sumaṭra). Pasè was then a flourishing country on the coast; the ruler was king of the port, who himself sent out trading-ships; a ship belonging to him was seen by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the harbour of Ch'ünchou (Fukien) in South China. Life at the court was modelled on that of the Muslim courts of India. The ruler at this time was an ardent Muslim, who took a great interest in learning. He waged a victorious *djihād* on the natives in the hinterland. Leaden coins struck in the country and Chinese crude gold were the means of exchange. The chief food was rice.

Shortly after Ibn Baṭṭūṭa left the country, the king had to recognise the suzerainty of the Javanese Hindu empire of Madjapahit (before 1365). A tomb of a queen or princess found near Lhō' Sukon has an Arabic inscription, dated 791/1389 at the top of the stone, and at the bottom an inscription in much weathered old Javanese script. The Chinese envoy Cheng Ho remarked in 1416 that the land was involved in continual war with Nago (Pidië). He mentions rice, silkworms and pepper as its products. The last-named attracted the Portuguese there. From 1521 they had a fortified settlement in Pasè, but in 1524 they were driven out by the sultan of the rising kingdom of Atjeh (i.e. Great Atjeh). Henceforth, Pasè was a dependency of Atjeh. The tombs of the rulers of the former kingdom were still an object of pilgrimage to the most famous sultan of Atjeh, Iskandar Thānī, as late as 1048/1638-9; but at the present day, even the memory of the old kingdom is extinct. The mouth of the Pasè river is silted up and the place where the capital stood is no longer recognisable.

Pasè exercised through the years a considerable influence in the Malay Archipelago through its Muslim scholars and missionaries. Javanese and Malay tradition have preserved their memory.

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(R.A. Kern)

PASHA (t., from the Pers. *pādishāh*, probably influenced by Turkish *baskak*), the highest official title of honour (*ʿunwān* or *lakab*) in use in Turkey until the advent of the Republic and surviving for sometime after that in certain Muslim countries originally part of the Turkish empire (Egypt, ʿIrāk, Syria). It was always accompanied by the proper name, like the titles of nobility in Europe, but with this difference from the latter, that it was placed after the name (like the less important titles of *bey* and *efendi*). In addition, being neither hereditary nor giving any rank to wives, nor attached to territorial possessions, it was military rather than feudal in character. It was however not reserved solely for soldiers but was also given to certain high civil (not religious) officials.

The title of *pasha* first appears in the 7th/13th century. It is difficult to define its original use exactly. The word had in any case early assumed and lost the vague meaning of "seigneur" (*dominus*) (cf. *Dīwān-i türkī-i Sulṭān Weled*, 14; text of the year 712/1313, where Allāh himself is invoked in the phrase *Ey Pasha*!). At this same period, the title of *pasha* like that of *sulṭān* was sometimes given to women (cf. Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī, *Kitābeler*, Istanbul 1927, index, s.v. Kadem pasha, Selčuk pasha), a practice which recurs only once again, and then exceptionally, in the 19th century in the case of the mother of the Khedive [see wālide sulṭān].

Under the Saldjūks of Anatolia, the title of *pasha* (in as much as it was an abbreviation of *pādishāh* and always by analogy with that of *sulṭān*) was given occasionally to certain men of religion, who must also have at the same time been soldiers and whose history is not yet well known. To judge from the genealogy which ʿĀshīk-pasha-zāde claims for himself, the title of *pasha* was already in use in the first half of the 7th/13th century. Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Mūsā Baba, alias Shaykh Mukhliṣ or Mukhliṣ Pasha had, according to ʿAlī

Efendi, seized power before the Ḳaramānog͟hlu [*q.v.*] and in the same region, after the defeat of the Sald͟jūḳ Sultan G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Kayk͟husraw II [*q.v.*] at Köse Dag͟h which took place in 641/1243 (cf. Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry*, i, 177).

At the end of the same century, the title of *pas͟ha* seems to have been added to the names of certain members (restricted in number) of the petty Turkish and Turkoman dynasties which shared Asia Minor; these are sometimes rulers, sometimes members of their families. It was the same in the principalities of Tekke, Aydîn, Deñizli and Ḳîzîl-Aḥmadlî and probably also in other little kingdoms of Anatolia (cf. for Saruk͟han, ʿAlī Pas͟ha, according to S͟hihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf bi ʾl-muṣṭalaḥ al-s͟harīf*, quoted by al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs͟hā*, viii, 16, l. 14).

In the family of ʿOt͟hmān, two individuals are credited with the title of *pas͟ha*: ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, son of ʿOt͟hmān, and Süleymān, son of Ork͟han.

The case of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn is very obscure. Two different individuals of this name have even been distinguished: the one being ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bey, son of ʿOt͟hmān, the other ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pas͟ha, *wazīr* [*q.v.*] of ʿOt͟hmān, and the two may have been confounded (cf. Ḥüseyin Ḥüsāmeddīn, *ʿAlāeddīn Bey*, in *TTEM*, years xiv and xv, 4 articles). It may be added that the same individual or one of the two individuals in question may also have been a *beylerbeyi* (cf. Orud͟j's chronicle, ed. Babinger, 15, l. 15). Whatever be the case with this insoluble problem, it seems certain that the title of *pas͟ha* was given early to statesmen (cf. a Sinān Pas͟ha under Ork͟han).

The title of *pas͟ha* in any event very soon became the prerogative of two classes of dignitaries: 1. the *beylerbeyis* of the provinces, and 2. the *wazīrs* of the capital. It was later extended to officials with similar functions.

In the second half of the 8th/14th century (in 760/1359 or 763/1362?), Lala S͟hāhīn who, according to the Ottoman historians, was the first (?) *beylerbeyi* of the ʿOt͟hmānlîs, was given the title of *pas͟ha* at the same time as he received this office. The same title was then given to the *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia (thus keeping up the idea of the two *beylerbeyis*, one of the right and one of the left wing) and later as new posts were created in the growing empire, extended to the other *beylerbeyis* or *wālīs* "governors-general".

It was the same with the *wazīrs*, of whom the first (?) according to the Ottoman historians, was D͟jandarlî K͟halīl surnamed K͟hayr al-Dīn Pas͟ha (in 770/1368-9) [see D͟JANDARLÎ]. The number of the *wazīrs* who were called *ḳubbe wezīrleri* down to the time of Aḥmed III was raised to three and then to nine and the title of *wazīr*, also given to high officials like the *ḳapudan pas͟ha*, the *nis͟hānd͟jî* and the *defterdar* [*q.vv.*], became more and more one of honour, carrying with it the title of *pas͟ha*; but since at the beginning and for a considerable time in the capital itself there was only one *wazīr*, the title of *pas͟ha*, par excellence and without any addition, came to be applied to the prime minister (later *ulu wezīr* or *ṣadr aʿẓam* [*q.v.*]), whence the expression *pas͟ha ḳapîsî* which was later replaced by that of *bāb-i ʿālī* "Sublime Porte, the door of the first minister".

The increase in the number of *pas͟has* was not at first very rapid. M. d'Aramon mentions only 4 or 5 *pas͟has* or *wezīr-pas͟has* and at the time he wrote (in 1547), there were only three (Ayaz, Güzeld͟je Ḳāsim and Ibrāhīm, all three of Christian origin). It is true that here he is referring only to the capital.

In the provinces they were, and became, more numerous, and two classes of *pas͟has* were distinguished: 1. the *pas͟has* of 3 horse-tails (*tug͟h*) or *wazīr* (a rank which became more and more one of honour and extending to the provinces gradually absorbed that of *beylerbeyi*); 2. the *pas͟has* of 2 horse-tails or *mīr-mīrān* [see MĪR-I MĪRĀN] (rank at first the Persian synonym for the Turkish *beylerbeyi* and the Arabic *amīr al-umarāʾ* but gradually became a lower rank). Besides, the old *sand͟jaḳ-beyis* having in principle a right to only one horse-tail were promoted *mīr-mīrān* and thus became *pas͟has* in their turn.

After the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], the title of *pas͟ha* was given to the four first (out of 9) grades of the civil (1. *wezīr*, 2. *bālā*, 3. *ūlā*, 4. *sāniye ṣinfî ewweli*) or military (1. *müs͟hīr*, 2. *birind͟ji ferīḳ*, 3. *ferīḳ*, 4. *liwā*) hierarchy and to the notables (3. *rūmeli beylerbeyi*, 4. *mīr-mīrān*, with in practice unjustified extension to the fallen *emīr-ül-ümerāʾ*, in this case to the purely honorary rank of the sixth grade).

The table of ranks having been abolished after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish Republic retained the title of *pas͟ha* for soldiers only. It was finally abolished by the Grand National Assembly of Ankara (26 November 1934). Instead of *pas͟ha*, one now uses *general* and in place of *müs͟hür*, *mares͟hal*.

In western usage, the word was at first pronounced *bas͟ha* (the pronunciation *pas͟ha* does not appear till the 17th century): Ital. *bascia*, Low Latin *bassa*, Fr. *bacha* or *bassa*, Engl. *bashaw*, to say nothing of variant spellings. In Greek on the contrary, the form *pas͟ha* is the oldest (14th century) but probably under western influence we also find *bas͟ha* (16th century); cf. Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, s.v. μπασίας.

The pronunciation as *bas͟ha* by Europeans is due either to the influence of Arabic in Egypt or to a confusion with the old Turkish title of *bas͟ha* (see the end of the article).

Etymology of the word *pas͟ha*: we shall examine the various etymologies that have been proposed.

1. Pers. *pāy-i s͟hāh* "foot of the sovereign". This explanation, which was based on the fact that in ancient Persia there were officials called "eyes of the king", is found already in Trévoux's Dictionnaire (s.v. *bacha*) and was revived by J. von Hammer. It is to be rejected.

2. Turk. *bas͟h* "head, chief" already suggested by Antoine Geuffroy (*Briesve description de la Court du Grand Turc*, 1542) and by Leunclavius (Löwenklau), *Pandectes historiae turcicae*, suppl. to his *Annales* (1588). Cf. also Trevoux's *Dict.* and Barbier de Meynard, *Suppl.* It is to be rejected; see the following word.

3. Turk. *bas͟h-ag͟ha* taken (for the purposes of proof) in the meaning of "elder brother". This is the etymology accepted in Turkey until the end of the 19th century (Meḥmed T͟hüreyyā, *Sid͟jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, iv, 738; S͟hams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i türki*, s.v. *pas͟ha*) and based on the fact that Süleymān Pas͟ha and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pas͟ha were the elder brothers of Ork͟han and ʿOt͟hmān respectively. ʿĀlī Efendi in his *Künh ül-ak͟hbār* written in 1001-7/1593-9 (v. 49, l. 23) and ʿOt͟hmān-zāde Aḥmed Ṭāʾib (d. 1136/1724) called attention to this use of the word *pas͟ha* among the Turkomans (*Ḥadīḳat al-wüzerāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 4, l. 16). Heidborn (*Manuel de droit public et administratif ottoman*, Vienna 1908, 186, n. *a*) also says that *pas͟ha* means "elder brother" among the Greeks of Karamania, but there seems to be nothing to confirm these isolated statements. Some Turkish lexicographers like Aḥmad Wefīḳ (under باشا) and Ṣalāḥī admitted this etymology, but by two stages: *pas͟ha* comes from the Turkish title *bas͟ha* which is for *bas͟h-ag͟ha*. The title of *bas͟ha*, to be discussed below,

does really seem to come from *bash-agha* but, contrary to what the present writer at first thought, has nothing to do with *pasha*.

4. Pers. *pādishāh* "sovereign". This etymologically, the only admissible one (with however the possibility of the influence mentioned under 5), was proposed by the Turkish-Russian dictionary of Boudagov (1869) and later revived by the Russian encyclopaedia of Brockhaus and Efron. It had previously been proposed by d'Herbelot (under *pascha*, à propos of the spelling with final *h*). This explanation is based on the use of the words *sulṭān* and *pādishāh*, as the titles most often placed after the names when applied to individuals of high rank in the religious world (dervishes). Cf. F. Giese, in *Türkīyāt Medjmūʿasi*, i (1925), 164. It seems that one can even explain by *pādishāh* the obscure phrase spoken by Orkhan to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pasha in ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde (ed. Giese, 34-5) before the latter asks leave to retire (cf. above). Orkhan says "You will be *pasha* for me." Now a few lines earlier he had asked him to be a *čoban pādishāh*, i.e. a shepherd for his people.

On the other hand, it will be noted that the title of *pasha* is often used not only as an alternative for *pādishāh* but also for *shāh*. Here are a few examples: Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Sulaymān, of the dynasty of Ḳizil Aḥmedli, is called Sulaymān Pādishāh in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 343) and Sulaymān Pasha in al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, 4 (written *basha*, following the Arabic script) and in Munadjdjim Bashi (iii, 30). The son and successor of this ruler, Ibrāhīm, is called *shāh* in al-ʿUmarī and *Pasha* in Münedjdjim Bashî. In the *Düstūr-nāme-i Enwerī* (ed. Mükrimīn Khalīl, 83-4), Süleymān Pasha, son of Orkhan, is called Shāh Sulaymān (with poetical inversion). ʿAlī b. Čiček (Čeček), the Īlkhānid governor of Baghdād (d. 736/1336), is called ʿAlī Pasha by al-ʿUmarī. According to Naẓmī-zāde (*Gülshen-i khulafāʾ*, Istanbul 1143), he is also found in some mss. as ʿAlī Shāh. He is also called ʿAlī Pādishāh (Cl. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad*, 10). In the eastern Turkish dialects the title of *pādishāh* is given to petty local rulers; there it has taken the form not of *pasha* but of *patsha* (Kirghiz) and *pōtshō* (Özbeg).

5. Turk. *basḳaḳ* (variants *bashkak?*, *bashkan?*) "governor, chief of police" (Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire*, and under *basmaḳ* in that of Boudagov). This word of the "Khwārazmian language", according to Vullers, came into use in Persia (Īlkhānid period). Among the Mongols, it meant the commissioners and high commissioners sent by them to the conquered provinces (or the West only?), notably in Russia. The accepted etymology is from the verb *basmaḳ* "to press, impress (e.g. of a seal)" (not, however, with the extended meaning of "to oppress, tyrannise over", giving the meaning of "oppressor" for the *basḳaḳ*, an official whose main duty was to collect taxes and tribute, cf. G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, 241-3). However extraordinary such an explanation of an official title may appear, it seems to be confirmed by the parallelism with the Mongol equivalent of *basḳaḳ*, which is *darugha* or *darogha* [*q.v.*] and which may be compared with *darukhu*, a Mongol verb synonymous with *basmaḳ* in the sense of "to impress". These may, however, be popular etymologies.

Schefer, in his edition of the *Voyage de M. d'Aramon* (238, n. 3), says "The etymology of the word pacha given by Geuffroy (from the Turkish *bach*) is wrong. Pacha is a softened form of the word *bachqaq* or *pachqaq* which means a military governor."

Carpini calls the Mongol *basḳaks baschati* (variants in the ms.: *bascati*, *bastaci*; cf. *The texts and versions of John de Pl. Carpini*..., Hakluyt Soc., London 1903, 67 and 261, notes). In the edition of 1598 (Hakluyt) there is a marginal note "Basha, vox Tartarica qua utuntur Turci". This also implies a confusion between the words *basḳaḳ* and *pasha*.

It is not impossible that there was actually some confusion among the Turks themselves between *pādishāh* (*pasha*) and the title *basḳaḳ*, the synonym of the Mongol *darugha*. It may be noted that the title of *pasha* (which is not found in Persian sources, according to Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī) was applied either to Anatolians, subject in fact or in theory to the Mongols, or to officials of the Mongol Īlkhāns (like the governor of Baghdād mentioned above; cf. also *piser-i ʿAlī Pasha* alluded to in the *Bezm-ü rezm* of ʿAzīz b. Ardashīr Astarābādī (ed. Köprülü, 249, l. 8). The confusion could be explained the more easily as one finds (rarely) the form *bashkaḳ* (Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushā* of 658/1260, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, ii, 83, n. 9, tr. Boyle, i, 351; in this passage there is a reference to a Khwārazmian official of 609/1212-13, i.e. before the Mongol conquest).

It may be suggested that, but for the influence of this confusion with the title *bashkaḳ*, that of *pasha* would never have attained such importance.

The Turkish title of *basha*. This title, which is not to be confused with the preceding, nor with the Arabic or old eastern pronunciation of it, was also put after the proper name but was applied only to soldiers and the lower grades of officers (especially Janissaries) and, it seems, also to notables in the provinces (Meninski, *Thesaurus*, i, col. 662 and 294, l. 18; *Onomasticon*, col. 427; d'Herbelot, s.v. *pascha*; Viguier, *Eléments de la langue turque*, 1790, 218, 309, 327; Zenker, 164, col. 2 (probably following Meninski); De La Mottraye, *Voyages*, 1727, i, 180 n. *a*; cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, v, 107^{6}, 216^{18}; Naʿīmā, v, 71^{11}; Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, *Kitābeler*, سفر بشه, 41 and 8). De La Boullaye-Le-Gouz (*Voyages*, 1657, 59, and 552) also distinguishes the title from *bacha* and translates it by "monsieur". Meninski, *loc. cit.*, also notes the pronunciation *bashi* (بشى), which is not to be taken as the word *bash* followed by the possessive suffix of the 3rd pers. *-i*; Meninski knew Turkish too well to make such a mistake. As to the pronunciation *beshe* (given by Chloros, s.v. *pasha*), it comes from the spelling بشه (cf. e.g. Aḥmad Wefīḳ Pasha, *Zoraki Ṭabīb*, act i, sc. 2, ironically applied to a woman) but Meninski pronounces *basha*, even with this spelling.

As the lexicographers have sometimes confused *basha* and *pasha*, some have thought that *basha* also meant "elder brother" (Meḥmed Ṣalāḥī, *Ḳāmūs-i ʿothmānī*, ii, 291 ff., followed by Chloros). It seems that there are two separate problems and that *basha* is really for *bash-agha*, but with the meaning of "*agha* (military title) in chief". The *kawas* (also called Janissaries or *yasakči*) were called *bash-agha* (according to Roehrig). On the other meanings of *bash-agha*, and in general for more details on some of the points dealt with here, see Deny, *Sommaire des Archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930.

A note on the accentuation: In the word *pasha*, the tonic accent is on the last syllable (*pashà*). In the word *basha*, it is on the first (*bàsha*), as is shown by the weakening of the final vowel in the pronunciation *bàshi*, already mentioned.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see M.Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-54, s.v. *Paşa*.

(J. Deny*)

PASHA ḲAPUSU, WEZĪR ḲAPUSU, a term of

Ottoman administration denoting the building presented by Sultan Meḥemmed IV in 1064/1654 to the Grand Vizier Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha and intended to serve both as an official residence and as an office; after the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period it became known as the Bāb-ï ʿĀlī [*q.v.*] or Sublime Porte, and soon came to house most of the administrative departments of the *Dīwān-ï Hümāyūn* [*q.v.*].

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(Ed.)

PASHALÏḲ (T.), means 1. the office or title of a *pasha* [*q.v.*]; 2. the territory under the authority of a *pasha* (in the provinces).

After some of the governors called *sandjaḳ-beyi* (or *mīr-liwā*) had been raised to the dignity of *pasha*, their territories (*sandjaḳ* or *liwā* [*q.vv.*]) also received the name of *pashalïḳ*.

Early in the 19th century, out of 158 *sandjaḳs* 70 were *pashalïḳs*. Of these, 25 were *pasha sandjaghï*, i.e. *sandjaḳs* in which were the capitals of an *eyālet*, the residence of the governor-general or *wālī* of a province. For further details, cf. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, vii, 307.

Bibliography: See M.Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-54, ii, 758.

(J. Deny)

PASHTO [see AFGHĀN].

PASHTŪNISTĀN, a name given to a projected political unit based on the North West Frontier province (NWFP) of Pākistān. The project had a dual origin, in the NWFP and in Afghānistān.

Although Pashtūns possessed a strong sense of cultural identity deriving from language, genealogy, law and custom, there is no evidence before the 1920s of any desire for political expression of that identity. A precondition of the formulation of political demands was the creation of a political arena in the form of the NWFP. The origins of the province may be traced to the conquest of the trans-Indus lands of the former Durrānī empire by the Lahore state between 1819 and 1837. In 1849 this region of the Sikhashāhī passed into British hands and in 1901 four trans-Indus districts (Peshāwar, Kōhāt, Bannū and Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān), together with the cis-Indus district of Hazāra, were formed into the NWFP. The tribal regions (to which Afghānistān had been persuaded to relinquish her claims by the 1893 Durand Agreement) on the mountainous western borderland of NWFP did not form part of the province but were grouped into five political agencies. The peculiar problems of the NWFP led to its exclusion from the British Indian constitutional reforms of 1909 and 1919. Resentful Pakhtūns (the alternative forms Pashtūn(istān) and Pakhtūn(istān) reflect the regional differences between the Pashto of the southwestern group of dialects (the so-called "soft" ones) and that of the northeastern ("hard") group, see AFGHĀN. (ii) The Pashto language) of the Peshāwar valley formed the *Andjuman-i Islām al-Afāghina* which in 1929 became the *Afghān Djirga* [see DJIRGA in Suppl.] which merged with the Hindu-Sikh dominated provincial branch of the Indian National Congress Party in 1931 to form a party commonly known as the *Khudā-yi Khidmatgār* (KK) after the name of its paramilitary organisation, also called Red Shirts. The aims of the Pakhtūns (notably the brothers ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Khān and Dr Khān Ṣāḥib), who controlled the KK, are uncertain although the evidence of speeches, memoirs and the periodical *Pakhtūn* (founded 1928) suggest a vaguely articulated concept of an ill-defined region referred to as Pakhtūnkhawā which might become a highly autonomous component of an all-India confederation. The KK dominated political life in NWFP under British rule until 1947, when the party began to lose support to the Muslim League, which demanded that the NWFP became part of the projected Pākistān. When it became clear that there was little support for NWFP joining what was perceived as Hindu-dominated India, the KK switched to advocacy of an independent Pakhtūnistān (Paṭhānistān). This option, however, was not included in the referendum of July 1947, which was boycotted by the KK and yielded an overwhelming majority for Pākistān. Thereafter, the KK accepted the decision and agitated for the greatest degree of provincial autonomy within Pākistān, and this became the main plank of the programme of its successor party, the National ʿAwāmī Party led by ʿAbd al-Wālī Khān, the son of ʿAbd al-Ghaffār. A permanent problem for the Pakhtūn nationalists was the circumstance that Pakhtūns were not a majority within the NWFP, despite their dominant position in the adjacent tribal areas.

Afghānistān's interest in the fate of the frontier Pakhtūns derived from an historic claim (Afghānistān contended that the Durand Agreement, although frequently confirmed by Afghān governments, notably in the 1921 Anglo-Afghān treaty, had been accepted by Afghānistān under duress and had lapsed in 1947), ethnic links, geographical propinquity and political concern about Pakhtūn interference in Afghān politics (as in 1930). On several occasions after 1919, particularly during the Second World War, Afghān governments raised claims to the trans-Indus lands, including the territory of Balūčistān [*q.v.*] and its dependencies, possession of which would have given Afghānistān an outlet to the sea. In 1947 Afghānistān modified its position (following contacts with the KK) and demanded that the Pakhtūns of NWFP should be offered a choice between joining Afghānistān and an independent Pashtūnistān. Afghānistān maintained this demand after 1947 and in 1949 encouraged the emergence of a phantom national assembly of Pashtūnistān with the Faḳīr of Ipi [*q.v.* in Suppl.] as president. During the prime ministership of Muḥammad Dāwūd (1953-63 [*q.v.*]) the dispute between Afghānistān and Pākistān over Pashtūnistān reached its height, especially after the merger of NWFP in West Pākistān's one-unit scheme in 1955. Diplomatic relations were suspended in 1955 and 1961, and during 1960-1 there were armed clashes in Bādjawr. In 1963 the dispute was patched up, but Pashtūn nationalists in Afghānistān maintained the claims. During the period 1973-5 relations deteriorated again (although mainly because of the insurgency in Balūčistān rather than NWFP) and during the 1980s the Afghān government gave encouragement to dissident Pakhtūns in Pākistān. The extent of the territory embraced in the Afghān claim for Pashtūnistān was uncertain. It included not only the NWFP but also the tribal territories, areas outside the NWFP inhabited by Pakhtūns, and, in some versions, Balūčistān as well. The Pashtūns of the Afghān Pashtūn tribal belt were never included, however. Although India and the USSR occasionally issued vaguely sympathetic statements, neither they nor any other state supported Afghān claims.

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(M.E. Yapp)

PASIR, a former sultanate in southeastern Borneo, now in the province of Kalimantan Timur of the republic of Indonesia. It comprises the valley of the Pasir or Kendilo river, which, rising in the north on the borders of Kutei runs in a southeasterly direction along the eastern borders of the Beratos range and, turning east, finally reaches the straits of Makassar through a marshy district. The country, about 1,125 km^2 in area, still contains primitive forest, in so far as the scanty population, which is found mainly in Pasir, the residence of the sultan, and in Tanah Grogot, that of the official administration, has not cleared the trees to make ricefields. Although some gold, petroleum and coal are found in Pasir, Europeans have not exploited them, still less do they practice agriculture. A European administrative official was first stationed in 1901 at Tanah Grogot at the mouth of the Kendilo river. Pasir was therefore a good example of the Borneo coast state which, as regards Islam, developed independently of European influence. The population of the sultanate was in the 1930s estimated roughly at 17,000. It consists of Dayaks who live by growing rice, of immigrant Bandjarese and Buginese from Celebes, who control the trade; they are found chiefly in the flat country at the river mouth. On the coast, the Badjos, a people of fishermen, live in their villages built on piles in the sea. Of the 9,000 Dayaks, about 4,000 had by the 1930s adopted Islam, while 5,000 in the highlands were pagans. The Buginese have a predominating influence in view of their large numbers and their prosperity; the Bandjarese are of less importance. There are very few Europeans and a small number of Chinese and Arabs in Pasir.

Half of the population are therefore foreigners, but like the Dayaks they belong to the Malay race and mix with one another.

Whilst Borneo formed part of the Netherlands East Indies, i.e. until 1949, Pasir was despotically ruled by the sultan and the members of his family; the people had no voice in the government. Alongside of the sultan and his presumed successor was a council of five notables, which the sultan consulted on important occasions; this was also the highest court of the country. These notables and a number of other members of the sultan's family had estates as fiefs. Since 1844 each sultan on his accession concluded a treaty with the Netherlands East Indian authority. In 1908 they declared themselves vassals of that government. In 1900 the right to collect duties on imports and exports and taxes, as well as the monopoly of opium and salt, was ceded to the government in return for compensation. This amounted in the 1930s to 16,800 gulden yearly, of which 11,200 went to the sultan and 5,600 to the notables.

The sultan still collected the following taxes: a poll-tax from adult males; 1/10 of the yields of the rice-fields and forest products; 2 coconuts from each fruit-bearing tree; and military service. He also had an income from the administration of justice in the capital.

From the very legendary history of the country, it may be gathered that this despotic government, which is foreign to the Dayaks, was introduced from eastern Java. Under the ruling caste were the chiefs of lower rank, priests and landowners and freemen as a middle class. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were still slaves and debtor-slaves as the lowest class in Pasir, although slavery had long been abolished in other states of the Indies under Dutch influence. As was usual among other Dayak tribes, slaves went about like free men, took part in all festivities and games, might own property and were not even distinguished by dress. If their debt was paid to their master by someone, they went over to the latter. Slaves were not sold.

The following remarks are confined to the pagan Dayaks and their Muslim relatives, the Pasirese.

According to tradition, an Arab (Tuan Said) brought Islam to Pasir. His marriage with the daughter of the reigning chief did much to further the progress of Islam in the country.

As to the Pasirese, their social life was only superficially affected by Islam. In their daily life, a pagan conception of the worship of the deity and of the world of spirits still prevails. The old belief in the important influence of spirits on the fate of man and reliance upon their signs are evidence of this. The fact also is significant that, throughout Pasir, there was in the 1930s only one *missigit* and a few smaller places of worship. The number of Muslim religious leaders and *ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲īs* was also small, nor was the enthusiasm to make the pilgrimage to Mecca great. On important occasions, appeal is made for assistance to the spirits; this is particularly the case with illness among the Pasirese, who hold the pagan *blian* feasts, which are also celebrated in South Borneo. Amid a great din of gongs and drums which can be heard a long way off, the pagan priest (*balian*) becomes possessed by the spirit which then communicates to him the remedy for the illness. Even in the capital Pasir, exclusively inhabited by Muslims, the advice of the *bàlian* is sought; only during the month of Ramaḍān did the sulṭan forbid this.

How attached the upper classes of Pasir were to animistic views is evident from the legend still current according to which sultan Adam in the middle of the 19th century used to isolate himself for several days in the year on the mountain of the spirits, Gunung Melikat; he had concluded, it was said, a marriage there with a female *d̲j̲inn* from which a son named Tendang was born. This son, who has the gift of making himself invisible, is said to live on the island of Madura where he married a princess of the *d̲j̲inn*. He appears from time to time in Pasir, when he is invited by a great sacrificial feast (formerly also human sacrifice). These feasts are still celebrated occasionally, especially in order to free the land from misfortune and sickness. In the village of Busui, a house was built for Tendang with a roof in three parts, which was built on a large pole and thus resembled a dove-cote.

The revenues of the priests consist of what they collect at the end of the month of fasting in *zakāt* and *piṭra*, everyone giving what he can and the chiefs exercise no pressure. A priest also receives a small fee at a marriage or divorce.

The calendar now in general use in the sultanate is the Islamic one. As elsewhere among the Dayaks, the tilling of the fields begins when a particular constellation becomes visible in the heavens.

The family life of the Pasirese has developed to some extent according to Muslim ritual. Among the

followers of Islam, marriage is performed through the intermediary of a religious leader, with the father or another man as *wālī*, but only after an agreement has been come to about the very considerable dowry. This is paid to the parents of the bride; she herself only receives a small part of it. According to Dayak custom, young people are allowed to meet very freely before marriage. A marriage feast is marked by a very considerable consumption of palm-wine. The man remains at least a year in the home of his parents-in-law before he can take a home of his own. Divorce is very frequent because attention is seldom paid to the wishes of the woman in the negotiations between the parents. Man and woman retain their property after marriage; after a divorce, this goes back to the family. Property acquired during marriage is divided into two equal portions between husband and wife. After the death of one or the other, the survivor inherits all. Only a few families follow the Muslim law. The followers of Islam are buried with Muslim rites.

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PASISIR (Old Javanese, *pasisi* or *pasir*; Indonesian, *pesisir* "shore, coast") originally an administrative unit of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram emcompassing Java's northern littoral from Cirebon in the west to Surabaya in the east. Historically, its importance comes from the establishment during the 15th-16th centuries of small Muslim enclaves within the prevailing religious mix of Hindu, Buddhist, and animistic beliefs. While traditions of the conversion to Islam at the hands of the *wali sanga*, or Nine Saints, differs from place to place, common to them are direct experience of Islam in the Middle East, or transmission by one who had such experience, and an element of Islamic egalitarianism. Under the guidance of the *wali sanga* these enclaves rapidly developed into independent Islamic principalities.

Explanations for Java's conversion to Islam at this time range from those emphasising the "mood of the times," through influences of the Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳas* [*q.v.*] to a race with Christianity. More significant here is the region's response to the changing economic environment. With an increased volume of East-West trade, which tended to be dominated by Muslim merchants, the states of the *pasisir* provided an congenial urban environment for international commerce and Islamic religious centres. The formation of political confederations among *pasisir* states—Demak in the 15th century and Cirebon-Banten in the 16th—led to armed conflict with the inland states, providing a complementary process ultimately furthering Islamic interests in the island.

Culturally, the *pasisir* played a key role in the introduction of important Arabic texts, especially those dealing with the *sharīʿa* [*q.v.*]. Of those cited in the early 19th century *Serat Centini*, only a half-dozen are attributable to the *pasisir* era. These include the *Mukharar* (*al-Muḥarrar* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd-al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī) [see AL-NAWAWĪ], the *Kitab Nawawī* (*Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* of al-Nawawī), the *Kitab Ibnu Kadjar* or *Kitab Tuhpah* (*Tuḥfat al-muḥtādj li-sharḥ al-Minhādj* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī [*q.v.*]), the *Ilah* (*Īḍāḥ fi 'l-fiḳh*), and the *Sujak* (*al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l fiḳh ʿalā madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī* of Aḥmad b. al-Hasan b. Aḥmad al-Iṣfahānī). To these can be added an important work on Ṣūfism, the *Hulumodin*, a corrupted title of the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*].

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(M.C. HOADLEY)

PASSAROWITZ [see PASAROFČA].

PASWAN-OGHLU (written *Pāsbān-oghlī*, as if from Pers. *pāsbān* "guard, shepherd", cf. *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, ii, 1467) or *Pāzwānd-oghlī* (as in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 280) or, according to modern Turkish orthography, Pazvantoğlu (Hamit and Muhsin, *Türkiye tarihi*, 423), but on his own seal "Pāzwānd-zāde ʿOthmān" (in Orěškov, see *Bibl.*), the rebel Pasha of Vidin (1758-1807). His family originated in Tuzla in Bosnia, but his grandfather, Paswan Agha, for his services in the Austrian wars was granted two villages near Vidin [*q.v.*] in Bulgaria in *ca.* 1739. ʿOthmān's father ʿÖmer Agha Paswan-oghlu not only inherited these villages but as *bayraḳdār*, etc., was also a rich and prominent man (*aʿyān*); on account of his defiant attitude, however, he was put to death by the local governor.

ʿOthmān himself only escaped death by escaping into Albania, but after taking part in the war of 1787-9 as a volunteer, he returned to his native town. Very soon he was in the field again and fought with distinction, returning to Vidin in 1791. From there he organised with his men raiding expeditions into Wallachia and Serbia. When the sultan wanted to punish him for this, he cast off his allegiance in 1793, took to the mountains and at the end of 1794 captured Vidin with his robber band and became the real ruler in the *pashalïḳ* there. Vidin, which he fortified again, thus became a meeting-place for robbers and discontented Janissaries who were driven out of Serbia in 1792, and he himself became the popular leader of all those who opposed the reforms of Selīm III.

In 1795 Paswan-oghlu even attacked the governor of Belgrade, Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Pasha, a supporter of the reformers, who had been given the task of disposing of him; strong bodies of troops were sent by the Porte but without success. In consequence, negotiations were begun at the end of 1795 but Paswan-oghlu remained practically independent in the whole of Upper Bulgaria.

But since the Porte did not also formally recognise him, Paswan-oghlu drove the official governor out of Vidin and in 1797 attacked the adjoining *pashalïḳs*; in the east his forces occupied or threatened a number of places in Bulgaria (but they were defeated at Varna), and in the south they attacked Nish [*q.v.*] without success; in the west they advanced up to Belgrade, occupied the town, but were driven back from its fortress by the resistance of the Turks and Serbs whom Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā had armed. As a result of this and because of Paswan-oghlu's negotiations with France and Russia, the Porte in 1798 sent an army of 100,000 men against him under Admiral Küčük Ḥuseyn Pasha. He besieged Vidin in vain until October, and had to withdraw with heavy losses. This defeat and Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt induced Turkey to come to terms, nominally at least, with Paswan-oghlu and to give him the rank of Pasha of three tails (1799).

Nevertheless, he declared himself against the reforms, against the central government and even

against Selīm III; he also sent several expeditions to plunder Wallachia (1800 and 1801) and incited the Janissaries, who had in the meanwhile returned to Belgrade, to occupy the fortress (in the summer of 1801) and to murder Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Pasha (at the end of the year).

At this time, he repeatedly asked the Tsar to number him among his faithful subjects and also offered his services to France. The Porte, which shortly before had forgiven Paswan-oghlu everything, from 1803 declared war on him again, but the Serbian rising of 1804 diverted their attention. Paswan-oghlu himself had to fight in the western part of his territory against Pintzo's rising (1805). The appearance of the Russians on the left bank of the Danube (1806) induced him to offer his services to the Porte, but the latter instead gave the supreme command to the commander of Rusčuk [*q.v.*]. This embittered him so much that he resolved to defend only his own territory against the allied Russians and Serbians, but he died soon afterwards on 27 January 1807.

That Paswan-oghlu was able to hold out so long was due to the state of the Ottoman empire at the time, to his personal ability and foresight (he never abandoned Vidin), but for the most part to luck. Within his area he collected customs and taxes, ruled strictly and despotically, although not entirely without mildness and justice. In Vidin, he was active in public works, building a mosque, *madrasa* and library (see F. Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*, Leipzig 1882, 4, 8). Although his health was rather poor as a result of too great mental strain, ambition led him to aim at independence, as evidence of which we have the coins struck by him and known as *Pazvančeta*.

Bibliography: Various notes on Paswan-oghlu are already found in the contemporary travels of G.A. Olivier (1801) and L. Pouqueville (1805), but it is not till the *Notes sur Passvan-Oglou 1758-1807 par l'adjudant-commandant Mériage*, of the French agent in Vidin (1807-8), that we have a complete picture of him which is still the best account of his career; these *Notes* were edited by Grgur Jakšić in *La Revue Slave* (i [Paris 1906], 261-79, 418-29; ii [1906], 139-44, 436-48; iii [1907], 138-44, 278-88) and tr. in the *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja* (xvii [Sarajevo 1906], 173-216) into Serbo-croat. See also J.W. Zinkeisen, *GOR in Europa*, vii, Gotha 1863, 230-41; C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876, 486-503; Iv. Pavlović, *Ispisi iz francuskih arhiva*, Belgrade 1890, esp. 103-28 (diplomatic reports regarding Paswan-oghlu, 1795-1807); M. Gavrilović, in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, xxvi, Paris n.d., 68; St. Novaković, *Tursko carstvo pred srpski ustanak 1780-1804*, Belgrade 1906, 332-89; M. Vukićević, *Karadorde*, i, Belgrade 1907, 166-76, 185-208; P. Orěškov, *Několko dokumenta za Pazvantoglu i Sofroni Vračanski* (1800-1812) [from the Russian Foreign Ministry], in *Sbornik* of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, iii [Sofia 1914], article 3, pp. 1-55; V. Ćorovic, in *Narodna enciklopedija*, iii, Zagreb 1928, 272; Sh. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, ii, 1467; G. Lebel, *La France et les principantés danubiennes du XVIème siècle à la chute de Napoléon Ier*, Paris 1955; *İA*, art. *Pazvand-oğlu* (A. Cevat Eren). (F. Bajraktarević*)

PĀTAN, one of the oldest and most renowned towns of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] in the Aḥmādābād district of Bombay. It was founded in 746 by the Čavadas of Gudjarāt. Originally known as Anhilwāra, the Arab geographers refer to it as Nahrwāla [see NAHRAWĀL]. Later, it became known as Pātan. According to the *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*, the Hindus used the word *Pātan* for a big or capital town. The poet Farrukhī [*q.v.*] says that on its possession "Bhīm prided himself over the princes of India" (Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 217). Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna attacked and conquered it but did not annex it. In 573/1178 the Ghūrid Shihāb al-Dīn attacked it but did not succeed in defeating the *rādjā*. However, in 591/1195 Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak defeated its ruler and collected enormous booty. After many ups and downs, Muslim power was established there under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, who retained Pātan as the capital. Pātan continued as the capital of Muslim power in Gudjarāt till the time of Aḥmad Shāh I, who shifted it to Aḥmadābād after his accession in 813/1410.

Pātan was a great centre of Muslim culture, with imposing mosques, splendid *madrasas*, *khānaḳahs zāwiyas* and *dāʾiras*. Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ [*q.v.*] sent his disciple Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn to implant the Čishtī order there. Due to the very large member of graves of saints, it came to be called *Pīrān Pātan*. Muẓaffar I and Muḥammad Shāh Tatār Khān were also buried there. It was perhaps in view of this background that Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ deputed there a grandson of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar [*q.v.*] to deal with the recalcitrant elements. A highway—with hundreds of thousands of trees on both sides—connected Pātan with Barōda [*q.v.*]. The entire region was prosperous and fertile. Its trade potential attracted the Ismāʿīlī Bohrā [*q.v.*] community to it. During the time of Akbar, the region was in the grip of Mahdawī [see MAHDAWĪS] and anti-Mahdawī activities.

The earliest mosque was constructed in Pātan in 655/1257. Its *madrasas* enjoyed a wide academic reputation and had big libraries attached to them. A *madrasa* known as *Fayḍ-i Ṣafāʾ*, founded during the reign of Awrangzīb, had hostels, a mosque and baths attached to it. Shaykh Matā's *madrasa* produced eminent scholars like Shaykh Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, author of the *Madjmaʿ biḥār al-anwār*.

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PATANI (Thai: Pattani), a region of Southeast Asia, formerly a Malay Sultanate but now included in Thailand (as a result of the Treaty of Bangkok, 1909, between Great Britain and Siam), and at present comprised of the four southern provinces of Pattani, Narathiwat, Yala (Jala) and Satun. The population of these four provinces is approximately 1,500,000, 80% of whom are Malay Muslims.

From the 14th to 18th centuries, Patani was a leading entrepôt for trade between China and Southeast Asia. The conversion of the royal court to Islam, reportedly in the mid-15th century, enabled it to profit from the economic and political advantages which affiliation with the Muslim community offered. Because of the relatively early date (in the local context) of official identification with Islam, Patani is regarded as one of the cradles of Islam in Southeast Asia.

For the history of Islam, Patani is chiefly famous for two reasons. The first is a lengthy and continuing tradition of *kitab* literature, that is, works on *fiḳh*, *kalām*, and *taṣawwuf* written in Jawi (Malay using the Arabic script). The founder of this tradition and its most prolific author was Dāwūd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Faṭānī [*q.v.*]. He has been followed by a line of in-

fluential and versatile scholars, the most prominent of whom was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn (1856-1906), who supervised the Malay printing press in Mecca and attracted many pupils from the Malay-speaking world, among them Tok Kenali (1868-1933), a famous teacher and influential figure for the practice of Islam in Northeast Malaya. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn is remembered chiefly for *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭaniyya*, which is a substantial collection of his rulings. They are technically excellent, show a secure command of Arabic sources and illustrate the adaptation of Islam to the realities of Malay life in the late 19th century. The tradition of *kitab* writing is maintained to this day and is influential in the northern Malaysian states of Kelantan, Kedah and Perak, as well as Patani itself.

Second, and related to the first reason, Patani was, and to some extent remains, famous as the home of a distinct tradition of Islamic education and learning as conducted in the *pondok* (literally "hut") schools [see PESANTREN]. These are privately-run traditional Islamic institutions, headed by a *Tok Guru* (religious teacher), often with Middle Eastern education, where young Muslim men and women are instructed in a wide range of Islamic subjects. Traditionally, many *pondok* graduates went on to study in Mecca, Medina and Cairo (al-Azhar), and, more recently, also in the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia. The *pondok* is regarded by Patani Muslims as a guardian of their religion, language and culture and for that reason has been an object of considerable concern to the Thai government throughout this century.

This brings us to the final point. Patani, and the present northern Malaysian states, came under Siamese (now Thai) domination during the 19th century. The relationship between Thais and Muslims was, and remains, strained, Thais still referring to Malays as *khaek* (aliens, visitors). In the modern state of Thailand the Muslims of the south are a tiny minority (3% of Thailand's 50 million largely Buddhist population). The history of Patani Muslims has been one of prolonged struggle to remain independent in religion, language and culture. The traditional past is kept alive by a vigorous tradition of oral and written histories which emphasise the pre-19th century period, when Patani was outside the sphere of Siamese control. The policy of the Bangkok government towards the southern Muslims has oscillated between a grudging tolerance on the one hand, and an aggressive policy of Thaiicisation on the other. The latter was especially prominent in the 1940s and 1950s, giving rise to strong local reaction and bloody clashes between the government and the Malay Muslims. Imprisonment of religious leaders resulted in an even greater determination by their followers to sustain their traditional Islamic way of life.

From the 1960s to the present, Bangkok's attitude tends to be one of assimilation, as expressed in policies such as grants to religious schools providing that they teach secular subjects as well as Islam; attempts to set up councils of religious leaders to advise (but as yet there are no *sharīʿa* courts); the publication of Thai language translations of the Ḳurʾān, and some concessions to the wearing of Muslim dress. These policies are viewed by Muslims, rightly, as attempts to diminish the practice of their religion. In fact, throughout this century, the Muslim response to efforts at assimilation has been to strengthen their devotion to Islam.

The economic condition of Muslims in the four southern provinces has been deteriorating since the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1970s, Bangkok recognised that the subsistence-level living standard of the Malays was a factor in the increasing political unrest, banditry and separatist activities which were occurring in the area. Efforts to improve the economic conditions of the region have so far met with little long-lasting success, the reasons being complex, but including a reluctance to invest capital in an area whose history has been so troubled.

There are a number of separatist movements among the Malays, which since the late 1940s have struggled for either independence or irredentism with Malaysia. Since the displacement of their traditional rulers by the Thais, the people have turned to religious teachers for leadership, and the four existing national fronts have leaders from this group. These movements have been dealt with severely by the Thais and are currently in a period of quiescence. The occasional separatist violence is followed by rapid suppression, but the determination of the separatists, and their continued support by Muslims outside Thailand, indicates that the "problem" will be an ever-present one for the Bangkok government.

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(VIRGINIA MATHESON HOOKER)

PATE, a small town on an island of that name in East Africa. It lies in lat. 2°05′ S., and long. 41°05′ E., off the Kenya coast in the Lamu [*q.v.*] archipelago. The use by Arab sailors of the *Mkanda*, the channel between it and Lamu, is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, written *ca.* A.D. 50. Aḥmad b. Mād̲j̲id al-Nad̲j̲dī identifies it as *Batā*, and several epitaphs spell the adjective *Batāwī*. H.N. Chittick excavated the periphery of the site in the 1960s, and claimed that it was not occupied before the 14th century. An excavation by Athman Lali, Curator of the Lamu Museum, and T.R. Wilson, as yet un-

published, disclosed Sāsānid-Islamic pottery in levels of *ca. ante* 750, below a 15th-century mosque with two *miḥrābs*, one incorrectly orientated. The former large town is much depopulated, leaving a large ruin field, in which numerous Arabic epitaphs, none of them recorded, protrude from cemeteries which are overgrown by tobacco crops. The growing of tobacco for snuff is the principal industry.

At least twelve versions are extant of the *Habari za Pate*, the traditional Swahili history. They record the Nabhānī dynasty, claiming that it was founded *ca.* A.D. 1200. It is not claimed that the rulers were descended from the Nabhānī *maliks* of ʿUmān [see NABHĀN], but rather from collaterals of the same tribe. Widely-held Swahili traditions report that it and other Swahili towns were founded under the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. In spite of their 19th-century date, recent archaeological evidence here and in the vicinity at some twenty-six sites suggests that there is some nucleus of truth: they may be a plausible reminiscence of the increase in demand for mangrove roofing timbers consequent upon the extensive building operations of that reign.

This dynastic history records thirty-five rulers, and is remarkable in repeating a complete *isnād* for each of the first twenty-five. It appears to be a composite work, the account of the first twenty-five rulers having been composed *ca.* 1810, with additions in distinct styles *ca.* 1888 and 1911. A highly glossed version was published in English by C.H. Stigand, with some dislocations of the dynastic order. The best version, in Swahili in Arabic script, Document 157 in the University Library, Dar es Salaam, has never been published.

The Portuguese had a customs post on the island from *ca.* 1510 until 1698, and an Augustinian mission from 1596. The most important trade was in mangrove poles and ivory, and later in tobacco. The island came under ʿUmānī suzerainty in 1698, intermittently paying customs dues to Zanzibar. Following a revolt, the island was garrisoned from Zanzibar in 1861, when the Nabhānī *sulṭān*, with his family, slaves and followers, migrated to Witu on the mainland.

A surviving item of the regalia of Pate, an intricately carved ivory horn, with an Arabic inscription, is exhibited in the Lamu Museum.

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

PAṬHĀN [see AFGHĀN].

PAṬNĀ, a city in Bihār Province of the Indian Union, situated on the right bank of the Ganges (lat. 25° 37′ N., long. 85° 8′ E.) and with a population (1971 census) of 474,000. In the years 1912-36, it was the capital of the province of Bihar and Orissa of British India, and subsequently, of Bihar alone.

From 1116/1704 onwards, it is known in Muslim chronicles as ʿAẓīmābād, after Awrangzīb's grandson ʿAẓīm al-Shaʾn who made his court here. Paṭnā, however, had already been selected as the Muslim provincial capital of Bihār [*q.v.*] by the Afghān ruler Shīr Shāh in 948/1541. At that time it was the seat of the local government, but as yet an insignificant town. Shīr Shāh built a great fort, and we subsequently see Paṭnā become one of the largest cities of the province of Bihār. It remained a governor's seat during the Mughal period. Djahāngīr's reign is especially noted for the mosques constructed in Paṭnā. On account of its commercial importance, Paṭnā also attracted European merchants as early as 1620. Peter Mundy, who came to Paṭnā in 1632, does not fail to mention the *madrasa* of Paṭnā, which was famous throughout the Muslim world. Bānkīpūr, the western suburb of the city, is well known for its collection of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Khudā Bakhsh Library [see BĀNKĪPŪR].

Bibliography: Numerous chronicles, such as the *Taʾrīkh-i Shīr Shāhī*, the *Taʾrīkh-i Dāwūdī* and the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, mention Paṭnā *passim*; useful information can also be found in N. Kumar, *Bihar District Gazetteer: Patna*, Patna 1970, and *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xx, 54-70. (A. WINK)

PATRAS [see BALIABADRA].

PAṬRĪK, patriarch, the form found in Ottoman Turkish (see Redhouse, *Turkish and English lexicon*, s.v.) for the Patriarchs of the Greek Orthodox and Eastern Christian Churches in the empire, of whom by the 19th century there were seven. It stems from the Arabic form *biṭrīk/baṭrīk* [*q.v.*] "patricius", confused with *baṭriyark/baṭrak* "patriarch", also not infrequently found in mediaeval Arabic usage as *faṭrak*. See G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchliche Termini*², Louvain 1954, 84; C.E. Bosworth, *Christian and Jewish religious dignitaries in Mamlûk Egypt and Syria...*, in *IJMES*, iii (1972), 68-70. (ED.)

PATRONA KHALĪL, Ottoman rebel (d. 14 Djumādā I 1143/25 November 1730). Of Albanian origin, he belonged to the protégés of the *Ḳapudān-Pasha* Muṣṭafā and ʿAbdī Pasha (*ca.* 1680-5 and later). He was born at Khurpishte (Khroupista, now Argos Orestikon, to the south of Kastoria, Greece). He served as a Lewend [*q.v.*] on board the flagship of the Ottoman vice-admiral, the Patrona (for this term, see RIYALA) whence probably his name. Transferred from naval service, he was able to join the Seventeenth *Orta* of the Janissary Corps in which he served till the peace settlement of 1718. While on garrison duty in Vidin [*q.v.*] he became involved in a rebellion, managed to escape to Istanbul where he lived thereafter as an unskilled labourer, travelling salesman and *ḥammām* attendant. During the successive stages of his career he seems always to have enjoyed protection in high places, since he always escaped the punishments which he incurred because of his repeated misbehaviour and criminal acts.

Together with Muslu Beshe, a greengrocer and former Janissary, Emīr ʿAlī, a coffeemaker, and others, Patrona Khalīl started the rebellion on Thursday, 15 Rabīʿ I 1143/28 September 1730 which led to the abdication of Sultan Aḥmed III [*q.v.*]. The cause of this revolt may have been a conservative reaction against the westernising tendencies of the so-called "*Lāle Dewri*" [*q.v.*]. The rebels claimed that their aim was the restoration of the rule of Islamic law. The movement was instigated by a group of disaffected, high-ranking *ʿulemāʾ*, hostile to the powerful faction of the grand vizier Dāmād Newshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha [see IBRĀHĪM PASHA, NEVSHEHIRLI]. There are data pointing to an element of ethnic solidarity: all the leading rebels were of Albanian origin. The moment was well chosen: the losses in the war with Ṣafawid

Persia worsened the effects of the socio-economic problems of the day. The *Dīwān* was not in session that day; the sultan and grand vizier were absent from Istanbul and the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* [*q.v.*] was at his private residence in Čengel Köy on the Bosphorus. The government was not able to organise any effective resistance. The rebellious *ʿulemāʾ*, led by Arnawud Zulālī Ḥasan Efendi, a former *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul dismissed in 1140/1728, successfully pressed the sultan to appoint a new government. Before this the Grand Vizier Newshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha and other prominent members of the government were murdered (18 Rabīʿ I 1143/1 October 1730). The new sultan Maḥmūd I [*q.v.*], who acceded to the throne on 6 October, was urged to grant a general amnesty to the rebels following a *hüddjet* issued by the new *Sheykh ül-Islām* (14 Djumādā I 1143/11 November 1730). Patrona Khalīl, instead of seeking high office, aimed at securing a lasting influence on affairs. His domination endured for two weeks only, until the Imperial *Dīwān* decided in secret to make an end to it. The factions of the seraglio, led by the *Ḳîzlar Aghasî* Beshīr Agha and the new Grand Vizier, Silāḥdār Meḥmed Pasha, united forces and created their own power base to effect a counter coup. Ḳabaḳulaḳ Ibrāhīm Agha (notorious for his bloody suppression of the revolt in Egypt), the admiral Djanîm Khodja Meḥmed Pasha, and a former khān of the Crimea, Ḳaplan Girāy, organised it. On 14 Djumādā I 1143/25 November 1730, Patrona Khalīl, accompanied by his fellow-rebel leaders, was invited to attend the meeting of the *Dīwān*, at which the sultan was to appoint him *beglerbegi* of Rumeli. During the meeting in the seraglio, the three leading rebels were set upon and killed. *ʿUlemāʾ* such as Zulālī Efendi were arrested and secretly executed later. In Ramaḍān 1143/March 1731 a riot ensued, purportedly instigated by a group of Albanians in revenge for their fellow-countryman Patrona Khalīl; this was quickly suppressed by the newly appointed grand vizier Ḳabaḳulaḳ Ibrāhīm Pasha.

Paintings of these bloody events were made by the French painter Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Inv. A 2012 and A 4082 i.a.).

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(A.H. de Groot)

PAWLĀ, the name given in the Mughal emperor Akbar's monetary system to the ¼ *dām* (¼ *paysā*).

(J. Allan)

PAYĀS, the Ottoman Turkish form of modern Turkish Payas, a small town at the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta 18 km/12 miles north of Iskandarūn [*q.v.*] (lat. 36° 46′ N., long. 36° 10′ E.). Lying as it does in the very narrow coastal corridor between the sea and the Amanus Mts. or Djabal al-Lukkām [*q.v.*], the modern Turkish Gavur Dağları, Payās has always been a strategically important point on the route from Cilicia to Antioch; the name itself goes back to that of the classical Greek town of Baiae (see *PW*, ii/2, col. 2775 (Ruge)).

In the early Islamic period, Payās was on the road connecting Iskandarūn with the frontier fortress against the Byzantines of al-Maṣṣīṣa [*q.v.*] (Mopsuestis), and the classical Arabic geographers name it as Bayyās, a flourishing small town. Under the Ottomans, with their acquisition of Syria, it became in the 10th/16th century quite a significant port; the vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] built there a large caravanserai, a mosque, *madrasa*, *ʿimāret* and baths. In the next century, Ewliyā Čelebi describes the port as strongly fortified and with batteries of cannon. In the 19th century it came within the *wilāyet* of Adana, and Cuinet numbered its population at 6,325, slightly more than half of whom were Muslims. With the 1921 agreement between France and the Nationalist Turkish government in Ankara, Payās came just within the boundaries of Turkey. After the 1939 incorporation of the Hatay *vilâyet* in Turkey, Payās was included within this last, and is at present the chef-lieu of a *nahiye* in the *ilçe* of Dört-Yol in the Hatay/Antakya *il*. The population in 1950 was 2,653.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

PAYGHŪ (t.), a Turkish name found e.g. among the early Saldjūḳs, usually written *P.y.ghū* or *B.y.ghū*. In many sources on the early history of the Saldjūḳs these orthographies seem to reflect the old Turkish title *Yabghu*, which goes back at least to the time of the Orkhon inscriptions (see C.E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, in *JRAS* [1965], 9-10), and it was the Yabghu of the western, Oghuz Turks whom the eponymous ancestor of the Saldjūḳs, Duḳāḳ Temir-Yalîgh "Iron-bow" served (see Cl. Cahen, in *Oriens*, ii [1949], 42; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1964, 219 and n. 46). But the orthography *P.y.ghū*, *B.y.ghu*, is so frequent in the sources that it has been suggested (e.g. by P. Pelliot and O. Pritsak) that we have here a totemistic personal name used by the early Saldjūḳs, stemming from *bîghu/pîghu* "a type of falcon" (see M.Th. Houtsma, *Ein türkish-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894, 28). See the lengthy discussion in J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in W. Bang and Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, in *AGW Göttingen*, N.F. xiii, Berlin 1914, 42-3 n. 5, 44. In support of this, it is true that the name/title Payghū / Bīghū Khān re-appears amongst the Ḳarakhānids [see ilek-khans] in the 6th/12th century (see Pritsak, *Die Karachaniden*, in *Isl.* xxvi [1953-4], 54).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

PAYSĀ, Paisā (Hindi), English form pice, a copper coin of British India = 3 pies or ¼ anna. Under the Mughals, the name *paisā* became applied to the older *dām*, introduced by Shīr Shāh, 40 of which went to the rupee, as the unit of copper currency; the name found on the coins however is usually simply *fulūs* or *rewānī*. *Paisā* is the general name for the exten-

sive copper coinage coined in the 18th and 19th centuries by the numerous native states which arose out of the Mughal empire (see J. Prinsep, *Useful tables*, ed. E. Thomas, London 1858, 62-3). In the currencies of modern India and Pakistan, 100 *paisās* = one rupee, and in that of Bangladesh, one taka.

Bibliography: Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*[2], 703-4. (J. Allan)

PEČENEGS, a Turkic tribal confederation of mediaeval central and western Eurasia. Their ethnonym appears in our sources as Tibet. *Be-ča-nag*, Arabo-Persian *Bdjnāk, Bdjānāk, Bdjynh*, Georg. *Pačanik-i*, Arm. *Pacinnak*, Greek Πατζιναχῖται, Πατζινάκοι, Rus'. *Pečeneg'*, Lat. *Pizenaci, Bisseni, Bysseni, Bessi, Beseneu*, Pol. *Pieczyngowie* and Hung. *Besenyő* (< *Beshenägh*) = *Bečenäk/Pečenäk*. It has been etymologised, with some uncertainty (cf. Pritsak, *Pečenegs*, 211; Bazin, *À propos du nom des Petchénèques*), as a variant of *badjanak/badjïnak* "in-law" (>Old Church Slav. *Pashenog*), i.e. "the in-law clan/tribe."

Their earliest history and origins are unclear. They have been identified with the *Pei-ju* (= Middle Chin. *Pək-ńźi̯ʷok = Pečeneg (?), according to Pelliot, *Quelques noms*, 226, n.1), noted in a 7th century A.D. Chinese source, the *Sui-shu*, a T'ieh-lê tribe, located near the En-ch'ü (Onoghur?) and A-lan (Alans). But, this is far from certain. More reliable is a notice in a Tibetan translation of an 8th century Uyghur source on the "Northern peoples" which tells of *Be-ča-nag* hostilities with the *Hor* (Oghuz), probably in the Syr Darya region (Bacot, *Reconnaissance*, 147; Ligeti, *Rapport*, 170, 172, 175, 176). Oghuz traditions (cf. Jahn, *Geschichte der Oğuzen des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, 24-5; Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān, *Shadjara-yi Tarākima*, ed. Kononov, 41-2) appear to confirm this. The presence in their union of the Ḳangar/Kenger (Κάγγαρ) sub-confederation (Const. Porph., *De admin. imperii*, 170-1) may also point to a tie to this region. Ḳangar has been connected with the Kengeres people mentioned in the Kül Tegin inscription and the *Kangarāyā* (< **Khangarāyē*) nomads who settled in Transcaucasia. These, in turn, may be related to the Türk toponym Kengü Tarban and the Chinese *K'ang-chü* (a term designating the middle Syr Darya and adjoining lands, see Klyashtorniy, *Drevnetyurkskie pamyatniki*, 156-78) and Old Iran. *Kangha*. Pritsak (*Pečenegs*, 212-14) derives this ethno-toponym from Tokharian **kānk* "stone" (cf. Turk. Tashkent "Stone City," *Kengeres* < *kānk* + Ἄορσοι > **āvrs* > *ārs* > *ās* = **Kenger As*) and suggests that they were Tokharian-speaking, mercantile city-oasis (Tashkent) dwellers. The difficulty here is that although *Kang*, etc., may be connected with **kānk*, *As* cannot be derived from Ἄορσ (= Iran. *Aoruša* which produces *Urs/Ors*). Pritsak further conjectures that the Ḳangars, driven into the steppe by an Oghuz-Ḳarluḳ-Kimek coalition, became nomads, forming a confederation consisting of Tokharian, Eastern Iranian and Bulgharic Turkic elements. Their connection with Eastern Iranian elements is hinted at in the remark of al-Bīrūnī (*Taḥdīd*, tr. ʿAlī, 19) regarding a people that "are of the race of al-Lān and that of al-Ās and their language is a mixture of the languages of the Khwārazmians and the Badj(a)nāk." This is echoed in the Old Rus' translation of Josephus Flavius (ed. Meshčerskiy, 454) which adds "the Yas, as is known, descended from the Pečeneg clan/tribe." Németh, followed by Ligeti, however, on the basis of their fragmentary linguistic remains, view them as Common Turkic-speakers (most probably, Ḳïpčaḳ, see Németh, *Die Inschriften*, 16, 50-1; Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv*, 362, 506, and Györffy, *A Besenyők nyelve*, 170-91). Anna Comnena (ed. B. Leib, ii, 142) remarks that the Pečenegs (whom she calls "Seythians") speak the same language as the Komans (= Ḳuman-Ḳïpčaḳ). Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (tr. Dankoff, i, 84), however, seems to lump them together with the Bulghār and Suwār speaking a "Turkic of a single type with clipped ends." The available linguistic material points rather in the direction of Ḳïpčaḳ. The possibility that they adopted Turkic is not to be excluded.

Islamic geographers (cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, 10; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 180-1) were aware that the Pečenegs had entered the Western Eurasian steppes in a series of migrations, the source of some confusion regarding the Pečeneg habitat in other Islamic authors. This confusion is furthered by the use of the ethnonym *Basdjirt/Bashdjirt*, etc., to denote both the Bashkirs (Bashkort) and the Hungarians in both their Bashkirian (Magna Hungaria) and Pannonian homelands. Warfare with the Oghuz (who absorbed some of them, cf. the Oghuz *Pečene*), Ḳarluḳs and Kimäks drove the Pečenegs from Central Asia into the Volga-Ural/Yayïḳ mesopotamia and later, with added Khazar pressure in the late 9th century (Const. Porph., *DAI*, 166-7), into the Pontic steppes. Here, they nomadised from the Don to the Danube. They were, as Kāshgharī notes (tr. Dankoff, i, 92), the closest, of all the Turkic peoples, to Rūm. The Islamic authors, without indicating which of their abodes is meant, note that they were the objects of annual raiding (for slaves and booty) by the Khazars, Burdās/Burṭās and others of their neighbours (Ibn Rusta, 140; Gardīzī/Barthold, 35, 36; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 101, 142, 160 (commenting that the slaves brought from Khazaria to the Islamic lands "are mostly from here" i.e. the "Khazarian Pečenegs"); al-Bakrī, ed. tr. Kunik and Rozen, 42). Gardīzī/Barthold, 35, however, perhaps using information pertaining to their earlier homeland, describes them as rich in cattle, horses and sheep and possessing "many vessels of gold and silver. They have many weapons. They have silver belts..."

The Byzantines, in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' day (d. 959) were eager to use them to control the steppe approaches to the Empire. According to the *De adm. imp.*, the Pečeneg union was composed of 8 tribal groupings (lit. θέματα "provinces"), headed by "great princes," four on each side of the Dnieper (reflecting Turkic bipartite, left-right organisational principles). These further subdivided into 40 "districts" (μέρη), clan groupings (?). This internal organisation, like other steppe polities, was dynamic. Thus Cedrenos (ii, 581-2) reports 13 tribes in the 11th century. The names of the 8 tribal groupings, consist of two parts, the name proper, usually a horse colour, and with some possible exceptions, the titles of their rulers, e.g. Χαβουξιν-γυλά *Kabukšïn-Yula* "the tribe of the Yula with bark-coloured horses," Συρου-κουλπέη *Suru Kül Bey* "the tribe of the Kül Bey with greyish horses." The *De adm. imp.* also notes the names of the "great princes" (hereditary positions, passed from cousin to cousin) at the time they were expelled from their Volga-Ural/Yayïḳ habitat, *ca.* 889 (*DAI*, 166-9; Németh, *Die Inschriften*, 50-1; Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv*, 507-11). None of the contemporary sources (Byzantine, Rus' or Islamic) notes the presence of a supreme executive authority in this tribal confederation. The *Ḥudūd*, 101, merely comments that they were ruled by an "elder" (*mihtar*) and had no towns. The notice in Abū Saʿīd (d. 1286, preserved in Abu 'l-Fidā, d. 1331), reporting that they had a town, Badjanākiyya, and were ruled by a Khāḳān (Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm*,

205), should be viewed as a *topos*. The Pečenegs, like most of the nomadic polities in the Western Eurasian steppes, were stateless.

The Bulgarian Tsar Symeon (893-927), used them to defeat the Hungarians, allies of Byzantium during his war with the Empire (894-6). Formal relations with Rus' were established in 915 so that the Pečenegs, now Byzantine allies, could attack Bulgaria. After 920, Pečenegs-Rus' relations were largely hostile. On occasion, Pečenegs served as mercenaries in Rus' campaigns (e.g. Igor's 944 raid on Byzantium, *PSRL*, i, cc. 42, 43, 45). Sometimes, they were brought in as "allies" in Rus' throne struggles. They never undertook the permanent conquest of Rus'. The Byzantines used them during Svyatoslav's Balkan wars, eventually leading to their fatal ambush of the Rus' ruler in 972 (*PSRL*, i, cc. 72, 73). Relations with Rus' worsened under Vladimir I (978-1015), producing several decades of war (988-*ca.* 1006-7). They were decisively defeated by Yaroslav of Kiev in 1036 and thereafter pushed (by Rus', Oghuz and Ḳuman-Ḳîpčaḳ pressure) toward the Byzantine Danubian frontier (*PSRL*, i, cc. 150-1; Diaconu, *Les Petchénègues*, 39-49) which now became their primary area of focus. Military defeat and the loss of pasturages led to internal conflicts which resulted ultimately in their movement into Byzantine lands from which a weakened Empire could not dislodge them. The Rus' defeat of the Western Oghuz (1060) and the entrance of the Ḳuman-Ḳîpčaḳs into the Pontic steppe increased the pressure on the Pečenegs, who retaliated with their own depredations. The Byzantine Emperor Alexius I (1081-1118), aided by the Ḳuman-Ḳîpčaḳs, delivered a mortal blow to Pečeneg military might at Levunion in 1091. Some Pečenegs fell under Ḳuman-Ḳîpčaḳ overlordship, others took service as borderguards with Byzantium, the Hungarian kingdom (where they also settled) or Rus' (where they became part of the *Černii Kloboutsi* ("Black cowls" noted in Rashīd ad-Dīn, ed. Alizade, ii/1, 162-3, as the *ḳawm-i kulāh-i siyāhān*), a Turkic, nomadic force in service to the Kievan rulers.

In their heyday, the Pečenegs had extensive commercial ties with Rus' (where they sold horses, cattle and sheep) and the Islamic world. Al-Masʿūdī notes the presence among them of merchants from Khazaria, the North Caucasus (Bāb al-Abwāb, Alania) and elsewhere (Const. Porph., *DAI*, 48-51; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, i, 237). On occasion, the Pečenegs threatened the "route from the Varangians to the Greeks" (Const. Porph., *DAI*, 56-63), but never seriously affected trade.

We know little of Pečeneg culture and customs. Al-Idrīsī, ed. Bombaci *et al.*, viii, 918, reports that like the Rus' they burnt their dead. "Some of them shave their beards. Some plait it. Their clothing consists of short tunics." A late Rus' source (the *Nikon chronicle*, in *PSRL*, ix, 57, 64) places their introduction to Christianity in the late 10th century (the conversions of Metigay and Küčük by Vladimir, himself newly converted, in 988 and 991). Latin Christianity was propagated by Bruno of Querfort (early 11th century), the consequences of which are unclear. Al-Bakrī (ed. Kunik and Rozen, 43), however, reports that the Pečenegs were *madjūsī*, but in 400/1009-10, under the influence of a captive *faḳīh*, converted to Islam, precipitating internecine strife from which the Muslims emerged victorious. Manichaeanism, along with Orthodox Christianity also came to them from the Balkans (see Vasil'evskiy, *Vizantiya i Pečenegi*, 38-43).

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(P.B. Golden)

PEČEWĪ, Ibrāhīm (982-*ca.* 1060/1574-*ca.* 1649-50), Ottoman historian.

Pečewī was born in 982/1574 in Pécs in south-western Hungary, whence his epithet Pečewī (or, alternatively, Pečuylu, from the Croatian پچوی). His family had a long tradition of Ottoman military service. Both his great-grandfather Ḳara Dāwūd and his grandfather Dja'fer Beg served as *alay begi* in Bosnia; his father (name unknown) took part in campaigns in Bosnia, and in 'Irāḳ during the 1530s (Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 87, 102-6, 436-7, ii, 433). Pečewī's mother was a member of the Ṣoḳollu [*q.v.*] family. At the age of 14, after the death of his elderly father, he joined the household of his maternal uncle Ferhād Pasha, *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*] of Buda, and then that of another Ṣoḳollu relative, Lala Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], in whose service he remained for 15 years until the Pasha's death while Grand Vizier in 1015/1607 (*Ta'rīkh*, ii, 323). He participated in many of the campaigns of the Ottoman-Habsburg war of 1593-1606. Thereafter, Pečewī was appointed *taḥrīr* (land census) recorder in the Rumelian *sandjaḳs* of Egriboz, Inebakhtī and Ḳarlî-ili (1015/1606), then *muḳābeledji* (clerk) to the Grand Vizier Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha (*ca.* 1607-11). Following a fire at his home in Pécs, he returned to Hungary for several years, but by 1031/1622 was again in Istanbul, where he witnessed the deposition of 'Othmān II (*Ta'rīkh*, ii, 380-8). He subsequently resumed an official career, serving as *defterdār* [see daftardār] of Diyār Bakr (*ca.* 1033/1623-4), from where he was sent as *beglerbegi* of Raḳḳa [*q.v.*] with 200 *sekbān* troops to the defence of Mārdīn (1033/1624), and then as *defterdār* of Toḳat (1034/1625) (*Ta'rīkh*, ii, 391-2, 394-5, 403). His next recorded post was *defterdār* of the Tuna (Danube) province, from which he was dismissed in 1041/1631-2 to be appointed *defterdār* of Anadolu (*Ta'rīkh*, ii, 421). His next post may have been as governor of Istolni Belgrad (1042-5/1632-5), after which he became *defterdār* of Bosnia (1045/1635-6) and then of Temesvár (1047/1638) (*Ta'rīkh*, ii, 445, 442). Retiring from official employment in 1051/1641, Pečewī spent his last years in Buda and Pécs writing his history.

Pečewī's *History* as published (2 vols., Istanbul 1261-3/1864-6; repr., 1 vol., with intro. and index, ed. F.Ç. Derin and V. Çabuk, Istanbul 1980) covers the period from the accession of Süleymān in 1520 to the death of Murād IV in 1640, and is one of the principal sources for Ottoman history, particularly for the period *ca.* 1590-1632 when the historian was a close observer of many events. It is a compilation (described repeatedly by Pečewī as a *medjmū'a*) drawing upon the histories of Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā [see djalālzāde], Ramaḍān-zāde, 'Ālī, Ḥasan Beg-zāde [*q.v.*], Kātib Meḥmed [see kātib čelebi] *inter alios* (*Ta'rīkh*, i, 3; on his use of the Hungarian histories of Heltai and Istvánffy, see Karacson Imre, *Pečevi İbrahim'in tercüme-i hali*, in *Türk derneği* [1327], 1/3, 89-96), but also including much unique material gained orally from leading viziers and other Ottoman officials and military men. It is particularly rich for events on the Hungarian and Bosnian frontiers, incorporating details which Pečewī learnt from his family and local acquaintances, and for the critical period of the early 1620s. Though written in relatively simple Ottoman Turkish, the text contains much anecdotal material and some less usual terms (occasionally of Hungarian origin) which render it lively but not without difficulty. There is a strong authorial presence, which contributes to its value as an original source.

Pečewī's *History* was a major source for Kātib Čelebi's *Fedhleke*, Na'īmā [*q.vv.*] and Djewrī, and was used extensively by von Hammer. No other historical work by him is known.

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(F. Babinger-[Christine Woodhead])

PECHINA [see badjdjāna].

PÉCS (Ottoman *Pečūy*, German Fünfkirchen, Latin Quinque Ecclesiae), town and centre of a *sandjaḳ* in Transdanubian Hungary.

Founded on the site of Roman Sopianae and preserving remnants of buildings from the first centuries of Christianity, Pécs became an episcopal see in 1009, housed the first university of the country (established in 1367) and was the most important economic centre south of Lake Balaton throughout the Middle Ages.

The town surrendered without fight to the forces of Ḳāsīm, *sandjaḳ-begi* of Mohács [*q.v.*], and Murād, *sandjaḳ-begi* of Pozsega (Pōzhegha), during Süleymān the Magnificent's sixth Hungarian campaign, on 17 Rabī' II 950/20 July 1543. Until 1570, it belonged to the *sandjaḳ* of Mohács, although the name of this administrative unit alternated between Szekcső (Sekčōy) and—rarely—Pécs. Around the middle of September 1595, the *liwā* of Pécs was attached to the newly-created *wilāyet* of Szigetvár (Sigetwār) (cf. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi 344, p. 362) and remained so until 1597. Then it was transferred to the province of Kanizsa [*q.v.*], established in 1600. There was one serious but unsuccessful attempt by Count Nicholas Zrínyi to retake Pécs in 1664, which caused great damage. Ottoman domination ended on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1097/21 October 1686 when Louis of Baden captured the town.

The 16th century Ottoman surveys present the original population of Pécs as purely Hungarian. Their number shows a markedly decreasing tendency, as in most administrative centres of Hungary. This meant that out of 531 married and 58 unmarried Christian heads of households with their 10 priests in 1546 (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Tapu defteri 441, fols. 5b-9a) there were only 195 heads of families and 2 widows left by 1579 (*ibid.*, Tapu defteri 585, fols.

5b-7a). On the other hand, the number of Ottoman mercenaries getting regular pay diminished from 828 in 1545 to 220 in 1568. Some of them, however, had received *tīmārs*, 237 persons being so listed in 1570. In the same year, there served 22 *za*ᶜ*īms* and 98 timariots plus their *djebelüs* in the *sandjak* (Tapu defteri 480). Muslim civilians are not listed in the *defters* at all. The total number of inhabitants can be estimated at 4,500-5,000 in 1546 and at 2,500-3,000 around 1580. Population data from the 17th century are very scarce. The first Habsburg survey in 1687 found 363 houses, mostly within the city walls, which permits us to draw the conclusion that there had been no radical changes in the meantime. The Muslim majority may have become dominant with a not-negligible Slav infiltration.

The Reformation (Unitarian, Calvinist and also Lutheran) strongly affected the town, which was the scene of open disputes among Protestant theologians. In the 17th century, however, the Jesuits restored Catholicism.

Local grain and grape cultivation was modest. In spite of that, the town was a significant centre of viticulture, producing wine from the crops of the neighbouring settlements. In 1687, as many as 3,334 units of vineyards, cultivable in one day, were registered, naming 387 actual and/or former owners, the latter being mostly Muslims. The number of mills was traditionally high, amounting to 40 wheels both in 1546 and 1687, some of which being ruinous at the latter date.

Pécs remained an important emporium in Ottoman times as well. Transit cattle and horses passed through the town both in the directions of Vienna and Venice. Local shops were numerous (46 in 1570), mostly in Muslim, rarely in Christian possession.

The town had remarkable Muslim religious and cultural institutions. Among the *sheykhs* of its *mevlewī-khāne* there were outstanding personalities such as Aḥmed Dede, later head of the *Yeñi-ḳapî mevlewī-khānesi* in Istanbul (cf. Gábor Ágoston, *16-17. asırlarda Macaristan'da tasavvuf ve mevlevîlik*, in *1. Milletlerarası Mevlâna Kongresi. Tebliğler*. Konya 1987, 228-9). Today, two *djāmi*ᶜs (those of Ghāzī Ḳāsîm Pasha and Yaḳowalî Ḥasan Pasha) and a *türbe* (that of Idrīs Baba) still survive in their original form.

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PEDROCHE [see BIṬRAWSH].

PEHLEWĀN [see PAHLAWĀN].

PELOPONNESUS [see MORA].

PEMBA, an island of East Africa. It appears in Yāḳūt and other authors as al-Djazīra al-Khaḍrāʾ, and lies to the north of Zanzibar [*q.v.*] off the Tanzanian coast. There has been much debate whether the Menouthias mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* is Pemba or Zanzibar, with the balance in favour of the former. At *ca.* A.D. 50, it attests Egyptian and Arab trade in the area.

Nothing is heard of it until al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9), who mentions *Landjūya*, a corruption of al-Ungudja, the Swahili name for Zanzibar, pairing it with an island of forests and valleys which he calls Ḳanbalū. Geographically this is satisfactory, for Pemba is hilly and wooded, as opposed to the flatness of Zanzibar. Al-Masᶜūdī travelled thither with ᶜUmānī shipowners in 304/916, and gives an account of its trade. Buzurg b. Shahriyār (d. *ca.* 956) speaks of it as a trading station on the way to Sofāla, but in spite of these dates the thirty ancient sites so far identified have yielded no archaeological evidence earlier than the 10th century. At these the principal remains are of mosques, some in actual use, and occasional houses.

Yāḳūt mentions two cities on the island, called *Mtanby* and *Mkanbalū*, recognisable in modern Swahili as Mtambwe and Mkumbuu [see MTAMBWE MKUU]. Each had a *sulṭān*. The first-named had as ruler an Arab who is stated to have emigrated from al-Kūfa. At this place in 1985-6 a hoard of more than 2,000 silver pieces was recovered, naming ten local rulers, accompanied by seven Fāṭimid *dīnārs*. The ten rulers covered three to four generations in a hoard formed *ca.* 1070, which would place the earliest of them in the 10th century. Al-Masᶜūdī speaks of kings (*mulūk*) of the Zandj people (*Murūdj*, iii, 6, 29-30 = §§ 848, 871), and it may be suggested that (like the Ayyūbids) these would have reigned in different places at the same time. There is no historical record of their vicissitudes.

Pemba was a vassal of the Portuguese Crown from 1506 until 1695, with a king. After 1698 it fell to the ᶜUmānīs. It served Mombasa as a rice-growing area, for which its very rainy climate (76" av. p.a.) made it suitable. Under Sayyid Saᶜīd of ᶜUmān and Zanzibar (1806-56), clove cultivation was introduced *ca. post*-1822, making it eventually, with Zanzibar, the greatest clove exporter in the world. The clove plantations were almost all in Arab hands, and exploited until 1873 by slave labour. A disastrous hurricane had destroyed many plantations in the preceding year, and the abolition of slavery came as a further disaster.

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(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

PENANG (Malay name Pulau Pinang), a state of the Federation of Malaysia consisting of the island of Penang (113 sq. miles) in the Straits of Malacca and a strip of land on the mainland opposite known as Province Wellesley or Seberang Prai (285 sq. miles) linked by a road bridge since 1985. The capital, Georgetown, ranks with Johor Bahru as Malaysia's second most populous urban centre (both a little over

400,000 in 1980) behind the Federal capital Kuala Lumpur.

The sparsely inhabited island was acquired from the Sultan of Kedah in 1786 for the East India Company as an entrepôt for country trade. After initial success, it was overtaken by Singapore, remaining a subsidiary centre until the establishment of plantations in eastern Sumatra stimulated it again early this century. From 1805 it briefly had the status of a presidency under the English East India Company, from 1829 joined with Malacca and Singapore as the Straits Settlements, governed from Singapore after 1836, and in 1867 became a British colony. After the Japanese interregnum from 1942 to 1945, Penang was joined to the rest of Malaya in 1948 as a state of the Federation of Malaya (since 1963, Malaysia [*q.v.*]). It retained the free-port status it had enjoyed under British rule for some time. In 1970 it opened Malaysia's first free trade manufacturing zone, and soon became a significant centre for electronics component manufacturing.

Reflecting the commercial history of the settlement, the population is ethnically mixed. There is a Chinese majority, Penang having the lowest proportion of Malays found in any peninsular Malaysian state (Malays being dominant numerically and politically in the Federation as a whole: see MALAYSIA). Georgetown is a predominantly Chinese city (68% in 1980), with Malays (19%) and Indians (13%) in the minority. Muslims in Penang comprise the whole Malay community and a small proportion of the Indian population, including the so-called Jawi Peranakan or Jawi Pekan, Muslims of South Indian extraction who have to some degree adopted Malay language and customs. The latter, being urbanised, have provided political and intellectual leadership to Penang Muslims. Unlike Singapore, Penang has not had an important Arab community. As elsewhere in Southeast Asia, the Shāfiʿī law school is followed.

In the Malay states, the hereditary Ruler (Sultan) is head of religion, administering and regulating Islamic affairs through the agency of an advisory council of religious notables (Majlis Ugama Islam) and secretariat (see MALAY PENINSULA, 8). Such control was absent in the British colonies, beyond the appointment of a Muslim Advisory Board and a Muslim and Hindu Endowments Board to regulate *wakf*. In 1957 under the independence constitution, Islam became the official religion of the Federation of Malaya, of which Penang was a component state. The head of Islam in Penang was thenceforth the Federal Ruler or Yang Dipertuan Agung (chosen in rotation from the hereditary Rulers of the Malay states) and a religious administration parallel to that of the Malay states was set up under the Administration of Muslim Law Enactment of 1959. This provided for a Majlis Ugama Islam headed by a state Muftī, including among its activities the support of Islamic schools, propagation of Islam, supervision of the *khuṭba*, and administration of *zakāt* and *fiṭra*. A system of *ḳāḍī* courts (Mahkamah Kadi) to administer *sharīʿa* law was also instituted, though as elsewhere in Malaysia this jurisdiction extends only to Muslims in the areas of family and testamentary law, immorality, false preaching, and failure to fulfil religious obligations.

Given their cosmopolitan urban society, historically higher educational levels, and lack of governmental concern with religious matters, the British Straits Settlements became, in Roff's words, "sniping posts" for critics and reformers. In education, reformist ideals found expression in the foundation of the Madrasa al-Mashhūr in 1916, which used Arabic and English as the media of instruction, while the Jawi Peranakan in general embraced the government English education stream. In the 1920s, thanks in large measure to the scholar-publisher Sayyid Shaykh al-Hādī, a Malacca-born Malay of Ḥaḍramī descent, Penang emerged as the centre of reformist thought and Muslim publishing in Malaysia, promoting the values of the young Turks or *kaum muda*, who stood for informed *idjtihād* rather than blind *taklīd*. Reformist journals like the Malay-language *Al-Ikhwān* (1927-31) circulated from Penang throughout Malaya, southern Thailand and Sumatra. Through the correspondence pages of the related and similarly-titled newspaper *Saudara* ("Brothers", 1928-41), arose Malaya's first national organisation, PASPAM or Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya ("Malayan Brotherhood of Pen-friends"), which espoused the economic and social progress of the Malay community. During this period, two Muslim presses in Penang were active among publishers of *kitāb* literature (Ḳurʾānic commentaries, manuals of *fikh*, etc.: see INDONESIA, vi. 5), and tracts, including some by Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*] activists, as well as modern novels adapted from English and contemporary Egyptian works.

Within Malaysia, Penang has retained its nonconformist milieu, as an urban centre removed from the centre of power. From Penang in the 1970s and 80s, Chandra Muzaffar, born in Kedah of Indian background, has been prominent in advocating the need for a liberal Islamic sociology unfettered by ethnicity in a modern plural society.

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(I. PROUDFOOT)

PENČE (T., from Persian *pandja* "palm of the hand"), a term of Ottoman Turkish diplomatic. It was a mark, somewhat resembling an open hand and extended fingers, affixed (on either of the left- or right-hand margins or at the foot of the scroll) to documents, such as *fermāns* [see FARMĀN] and *buyuruldus* [*q.v.*], issued from the Ottoman chancery by higher officials such as viziers, *beglerbegs* and *sandjak begs*.

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PENDJIK (T., from Persian *pandj yak* "fifth"), a term of Ottoman Turkish financial and administrative usage. It denoted the fifth which the sultan drew as the ruler's right (equivalent to the Arabic *khums* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) from booty captured in the *Dār al-Ḥarb*. This involved, in particular, the collection of young boys from the Christian Balkans and Greece by the process of the *dewshirme* [see DEVSHIRME], and these were then trained for either palace or military service as the *ḳapï ḳullarï*; the official in charge of the process of thus extracting the sultan's fifth was termed the *pendjikči bashï*.

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teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları, Ankara 1943-4; M.Z. Pakalın, *Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-54, ii, 766-9. (Ed.)

PENGHULU (Indonesian and Malay), literally, "headman, chief, director", used in Southeast Asia as a title for secular and religious leaders. In areas where Malay was the common language the word has often been used for chiefs of tribes and clans. In older Malay writings it is also used as an honorific title for the prophet Muḥammad, indicating him as "leader of all the prophets" (*penghulu para nabi*). In more Javanised areas the word indicated the highest religious officials, both at the central courts of the various sultanates and at places where the authority was exercised by a provincial governor (*regent, bupati*). In these places the *penghulu* exercised authority in all religious affairs, with the implementation of Islamic jurisprudence as his first and the administration of the mosque as his second task. The common Javanese and Sundanese term for this functionary was also *pangulu*. Here will be discussed several developments in the role and position of the Islamic judges in Indonesia through history and also the role of judges in areas outside Java even if they had other names such as, *inter alia, hakim, hukum, serambi* (after the place of the religious court: in the *serambi* or front veranda of a mosque), *qadhi, mufti, syarat* or even "priest" and "chief priest" (*hoofd-priester*) by the Dutch colonial government.

In Malay historical writings since the 16th century, religious functionaries under a rich variety of colourful titles took a position at the court of the sultanates. Very often these religious dignitaries also received important tasks in the general administration of the country. S̲h̲ams al-Dīn al-Samatranī (*ca.* 1605-30) as well as a later successor Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (1637-43) served the Achehnese court not only in religious affairs, but also as a Minister of Foreign Affairs. Collections of Malay law show a clear awareness of the differences between customary law and Islamic law, with priority given in most cases to customary law and only verbal respect to the latter. Only in matters of family law and inheritance was the judgment of the Islamic officials to be taken as the final decision. (Cf. Liaw Yock Fang, *Undang-undang Melaka: the laws of Malakka*, The Hague 1976.)

Classical Islamic Javanese literature since the 17th century depicts the *penghulu* as the court official assigned to execute Islamic regulations, as being often in conflict with mystical wanderers and teachers. In masterpieces of this literature such as the *Serat Jatiswara* and the *Serat Centhini*, the *penghulu* (sometimes together with his following called *kaum*) is depicted as a stubborn official and as being not reliable as a guide for religious matters. Also, in the poetical genre of *suluk* (shorter mystical poems) we find many descriptions of the *penghulu* as a stupid and ridiculous figure, clearly of a lower standard than the mystical teacher, *kyahi* or *guru*, living in his *pondok* or *pertapaan* (hermitage, outside the towns), centres of real spiritual life. At the end of the 19th century Snouck Hurgronje found a cleavage between the *penghulu*s, closely related to the realm of politics, and the *kyahi*s, religious teachers at *pesantren* [*q.v.*], independent of, neglected or sometimes even opposed by the "administrative" religious leaders. Snouck Hurgronje felt that there was a clear preference for the independent leaders on the part of the Indonesian population. He related a number of cases where the *penghulus* urgently needed the scholarly advice of good leaders of the *pesantren* [*q.v.*] (*Verspr. geschr.*, iv/1, 281; idem, *Adviezen*, 's-Gravenhage 1957, 762-97). Still, at several Javanese courts the *penghulu* held a high position. In many cases he was a member of the family of the ruler. Several *penghulu*s are also well known for their literary skills and are also known as authors of *babad*, traditional Javanese history-writing.

The rich variety of Islamic administration in the dozens of Muslim kingdoms in the vast Malay archipelago became more centralised after the tightening of colonial rule in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The Dutch administration in the 19th century recognised the Islamic courts in the traditional fields of family law and inheritance, while a *penghulu* also was nominated as adviser to the higher law-courts. The various editions of the basic colonial legislation (*Regeringsreglement*, 1815, 1830, 1836, 1854) recognised the indigenous rulers (sultans and *regents*) as "head of religion", with the task to supervise and control the "Islamic priests" (i.e. *penghulu*s, *haji*s and religious teachers). The *penghulu* then was only nominated by the Governor-General in his function as adviser to general law-courts. In 1882 the first law on religious courts was promulgated. This law made the "priest" (i.e. *penghulu*) the chairman of a judiciary council. After many debates (started between L.W.C. van den Berg, the main author of the 1882 law, and Snouck Hurgronje, who denied the "priesthood" of Muslim judges and the collegial character of Islamic courts), the 1931 regulation on *penghulu* courts corrected this law. An effect of the 1882 law was the diminishing influence of the local native rulers on Islamic courts because the *penghulu* as religious judge became nominated by the Governor-General. This tendency became stronger after C. Snouck Hurgronje was nominated as "Adviser for Native Affairs" (1889-1906). Snouck and his successors were deeply involved in the functioning of the *penghulu*, especially as religious judges. They gave advice for nominations, reprimanded corrupt and ignorant *penghulu*s and finally even organised formal examinations of candidates (a number of examples in G. Pijper, *Studiën over de geschiedenis van de Islam in Indonesia, 1900-1950*, Leiden 1977, 63-96). The various activities of this colonial office created a climate of centralised administration in the field of religion, taken over by the Indonesian government and its Ministry of Religion since January 1946.

In 1895 the colonial government issued a Regulation of Marriages (*Huwelijksordonnantie*), which enhanced the position of the Islamic officials, because on the islands of Java and Madura, for which this Regulation was promulgated, the *penghulu* and his local staff now also received an (often indirect) jurisdiction at village level.

In January 1931 a new regulation introduced the term *penghulu* court for the religious courts as a substitute for the former term of *priesterraad* (lit. "council of priests", used in the 1882 regulation). The acknowledgment of the *penghulu* as a sole judge was considered a recognition of Islamic law. For the islands of Java and Madura, however, cases of inheritance were taken out of the religious courts, which meant a loss of importance for the religious administration versus *adat* or customary law. Still, decisions of the *penghulu* courts were bound before and after to an approval of general courts of justice in order to become effective, a regulation that was considered as a subordination of the religious courts to the secular courts. The 1931 Regulation also prescribed the foundation of an Islamic Court of Appeal, which took effect only in 1938 because of the economic crisis of the 1930s. A fixed salary to be paid by the central government, in place of presents from clients

or the fixed allowance of 10% of the amount of money involved in a case of inheritance, was decided upon in 1931, but never took effect during the colonial period. The *penghulu* and his staff gained their income only from a small allowance as advisers to general courts of justice and from free gifts presented to them as heads of mosques and judges in religious courts.

Since the independence of the Indonesian Republic and the creation of a Ministry of Religious Affairs (1946), the title of *penghulu* has been officially abolished. His tasks in the field of religious courts have been taken over by the *Kepala Pengadilan Agama*, head of the religious courts in a district (*kabupaten*), while his tasks as administrator of marriages, divorces and reconciliations are committed to the *Kepala Kantor Urusan Agama*, head of the local branch of the Ministry of Religion on the sub-district level (*kecamatan*) and his staff. The administration of mosques has commonly become a private undertaking, not directly related to the government. Many Muslims, however, are still using the officially abolished term for the *Kepala Kantor Urusan Agama* in his function as administrator of marriages.

In 1974 the parliament of the Republic of Indonesia passed a bill on marriage which strengthened the position of the personnel of the Ministry of Religion, because all cases of divorce now had also to be consented to by this part of the bureaucracy. During the 1980s, the Ministry of Religion carried out an extensive survey concerning the procedures at religious courts, and in 1989 the parliament passed a bill on religious courts, where the subordination of these courts to the general courts was abolished; the former no longer need the approbation of the latter. Also, the differences between Java-Madura and the (outer) islands were abolished by the laws of 1974 and 1989, which meant the ultimate centralisation of the Islamic administration.

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PERA [see istanbul].

PERAK, a sultanate on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. It became politically independent in the early 16th century following the fall of its overlord Malacca [*q.v.*] to the Portuguese in 1511. Sometime after 1528, the elder son of the refugee Malacca sultan fled to Perak where the people accepted him as ruler. Perak was already known for its extensive tin deposits, and under this new régime it began to expand economically. But although it inherited many of Malacca's cultural traditions, including adherence to Sunnī Islam and Shāfiʿī law, Perak never developed into a similar Muslim centre because it remained a distribution point for tin and jungle products rather than being fully integrated into the international Islamic trade network.

The 18th century court text, the *Misa Melayu*, nonetheless suggests that by this time a loose Islamic hierarchy was already developing. Like other Malay courts, Perak attracted a number of Ḥaḍramī Sayyid migrants who were accorded great respect and who have been seen as a powerful impetus to the growth of religious orthodoxy. However, the ability of the Perak court to act as a patron of Islam diminished sharply from about 1800 because of a series of succession disputes, invasion by neighbouring states, and a growing Chinese mining population. In 1874, one of the contenders for the throne signed the Pangkor Treaty with the British, which obliged him to accept a Resident whose advice he was to follow in all matters "except custom and religion". But this secular-religious distinction proved impossible to maintain because Islam was so much a part of Malay life. In order to facilitate their own administration, British advisors, through the sultan and the State Council, actively fostered the clarification of Malay Islamic law and the establishment of a statewide religious hierarchy and court system. In the development of Malay Islam during the colonial period, Perak is important because many measures were initially introduced here and later adopted in the other Malay states.

When the Federation of Malaya (later Malaysia [*q.v.*]) gained independence in 1957, each state was given responsibility for administering Islamic law. In Perak, as in the other Malay states, Islam was confirmed as the state religion, headed by the sultan who acts in consultation with the Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Melayu (Council of Religion and Malay Custom). The Majlis is empowered to issue *fatwa*s and through its executive arm, the Religious Affairs Department, supervises matters such as the collection of *zakat* and *fitrah*, and the teaching of Islamic doctrine. A system of *syariah* (*sharīʿa* [*q.v.*]) law courts is maintained to deal with religious offences committed by Muslims. Like the rest of Malaysia, however, Perak stops short of being a fully Islamic state because of the necessity of accommodating its considerable non-Muslim population.

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(Barbara Watson Andaya)

PERIM [see mayyūn].

PERTEW PASHA, the name of two Ottoman statesmen.

I. Pertew Meḥmed Pasha, Ottoman admiral and *wezīr*, started his career on the staff of the imperial harem, became *kapudji bashi* [see kapidji], later Agha of the Janissaries, and in 962/1555 he was advanced to the rank of *wezīr*; in 968/1561 he was appointed third *wezīr*, in 982/1574 second *wezīr* and finally commander (*serdār*) of the imperial fleet under the *kapudan pasha* Muʾedhdhin-zāde ʿAlī Pasha. He had fought at the Battle of Lepanto [see aynabakhti]. He later fell into disgrace and died in Istanbul, where he was buried in his own *türbe* in the cemetery of Eyyūb.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 382, 438; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, ii, 37-8.

II. Pertew Meḥmed Saʿīd Pasha, Ottoman dignitary and poet (1785-1837). He was of Tatar descent and was born in the village of Darīdja near Urmiya. In his early youth he came to the capital

Istanbul and entered upon an official career. In Muḥarram 1240/September 1824 he became *beylikdji efendi*, i.e. State referendary, and in Shaʿbān 1242/March 1827 head of the imperial chancery (*reʾīs al-küttāb*). Two years later he lost the post of chancellor and went on a special mission to Egypt. On his return he became in 1246/1830 assistant (*kāhya*) to the Grand Vizier. On 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1251/ 12 March 1836 he was appointed minister for civil affairs (*mülkiyye nāẓiri*) and given the title of marshal (*müshīr*). In the spring of 1836 he was given the title of Pasha but was dismissed by the autumn. In the beginning of September 1836 he was banished by Maḥmūd II to Scutari in Albania. Pertew Pasha set out a few weeks after his banishment to his place of exile but did not reach it. He died in Edirne on 5 Ramaḍān 1253/3 December 1837, three hours after a banquet which the governor there, Muṣṭafā Pasha, gave in his honour (according to Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 333: Emīn Pasha), and was buried there. No-one doubted that his sudden death was due to poison, and public opinion ascribed the crime to Maḥmūd himself. On his family, see *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, ii, 38. His son-in-law, who shared his views, was the intrigue-prone private secretary to Maḥmūd II, Waṣṣāf Bey, a highly educated man but lacking in character and accessible to bribery, who lost his office about the same time as Pertew Pasha and was banished to Toḳat in Anatolia; cf. G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, i, Leipzig 1866, 255-6. Pertew Pasha's successor was his political opponent ʿĀkif Pasha, cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 357-8. As a statesman Pertew Pasha took up a pronounced anti-Russian attitude and was no less hostile to the Christians, whom he oppressed with long obsolete and forgotten laws. His feeling against the Christians increased with advancing years.

As a poet, Pertew Pasha composed a *Dīwān*, which was esteemed as a model of the poetical art of the period of Maḥmūd II. There are two editions of it: Būlāḳ 1253 (8°, 91 pp.) and Istanbul 1256 (8°, 130 pp.). On other works by Pertew Pasha, see Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, ii, 114-15. His valuable library, rich in manuscripts, was in what was formerly the Selīmiyye monastery in Üsküdar, and is now in the Süleymaniye Kütübhanesi.

This Pertew Pasha is not to be confused with the statesman and poet Pertew Edhem Pasha, who died on 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1289/6 January 1873 as governor of Ḳastamuni [*q.v.*], a number of whose poems have been published e.g. a *Shāhnāme* and *Lāḥiḳa*, n.p. [Istanbul] n.d., and *Iṭlāḳ al-afkār fī ʿaḳd al-abkār*, Istanbul 1304. On him, see Meḥmed Ṭahir, *op. cit.*, ii, 114-15; *İA*, art. *Pertev Paşa* (Şerâfeddin Turan).

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(F. Babinger)

PERZERIN [see PRIZREN].

PESANTREN, Javanese "*santri*-place", the educational institution of Indonesia where students (*santri*) study classical Islamic subjects and pursue an orthoprax communal life. *Pondok* ("hut, cottage"; cf. Ar. *funduḳ*) is an alternative term, meaning "lodgings" and, by extension, "Islamic religious boarding school". *Pesantren* is used most often in Indonesia (especially Java), whereas *pondok* is the preferred term in Malaysia and the Patani region of southern Thailand. Sometimes the two terms are combined in Indonesia, when the speaker means to make clear that a traditional Islamic boarding school, a "*pondok pesantren*", and not merely a religious day school (such as the more modern *madrasa*), is meant. The Minangkabau [*q.v.*] region of Sumatra has a parallel type of Islamic school, called *surau*. This article treats mostly the Indonesian institution, although some references to peninsular Malaysia are included.

The indigenous origins of the Javanese *pesantren* are thought by some scholars to be in the rural Javanese Hindu-Buddhist *mandala* schools of East and Central Java, where ascetical *gurus* imparted religious doctrine and mystical wisdom to students residing together in a communal setting (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, 55, 321-3; Soebardi and Woodcroft-Lee, 1982, 183-4). With the gradual Islamisation of Java—driven in no small measure by both *ṭarīḳa* and popular Ṣūfism—and the conversion of such *gurus*, the *mandala* evolved into the *pesantren*, in which the traditional charismatic teacher—versed in magical and healing arts—became the *kiai* ("venerable religious teacher, respected old man", cf. *shaykh*) of Islamic times. The traditional Islamic Ḳurʾān school—the *kuttāb*—easily blended with the Javanese prototype, which helped to domesticate and, through a dominant Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*, inform and integrate, if not unify, Islam in Java. There was also considerable Ṣūfī content in the programmes of many *pesantrens*; and although not dominant, Ṣūfism continues to be an important factor in a sector of *pesantren* life in Indonesia (see Madjid, 1983; Nasution *et alii*, 1990). The historical evolution of the *pesantren* is a complex matter, requiring analysis of its premodern existence in a dynamic, triadic relationship with the rulers (*kraton*) and the market (see Abdullah, 1986), before it became more of an independent, somewhat separatist venture in Islamic communal life in late colonial times and even more in the present.

The origins of the Malay *pondok* were probably in Patani [*q.v.*] (southern Thailand) in the 15th-16th century. Patani Muslims are proud of their tradition in Islamic education, their close ties to the Islamic Middle East, their success in resisting assimilation to Thai language and customs (in large part because of the *pondok* system of sustaining an Islamic microcosm), and the many Malay religious books written in Arabic script (*kitab jawi*). To this day, Patani and neighbouring Kelantan in Malaysia have a strong *pondok* tradition, which resembles that of Indonesia in most respects (see Matheson and Hooker, 1988, 43-6; Winzeler, 1975).

The *pesantren* was well established in rural Java by the 17th century and has contributed much to the spiritual, cultural, social and economic character of Islamic village life down to the present (see Geertz, 1956, 144 ff.; Oepen and Karcher, 1988, *passim*). The Javanese *pesantren* was the dominant Islamic educational institution in Indonesia during the colonial period, when it was a bulwark against Dutch penetration into Islamic faith and order in the countryside (see Rahardjo, 1985, 245, on the gradual post-independence shift of *pesantrens* from closed, guarded institutions to more open and cooperative ventures).

Usually, *pesantrens* have been built in undeveloped space near a village or in a separate part of a settled location. Most students have traditionally travelled to attend *pesantrens* outside their native districts. Travelling for study was a hallmark of early Islamic education in Java, and it had both pre-Islamic Javanese as well as classical Islamic precedent. Thus there is often a somewhat alien character attaching to *santris*, because they are not connected with the local kinship

and *adat*. In recent years, *pesantren* students at selected institutions have begun to provide some social and economic services in their rural locations, as part of modern rural development. One "specialised" (*takhassus*) *pesantren*, Darul Fallah, in Bogor, West Java, is sponsored by teachers from the Bogor Agricultural Institute, for the purpose of training students in farming and crafts within a strong Islamic ethos devoted to useful careers in rural development (for an overview, see S. Widodo, in Oepen and Karcher, 1987, 140-5). But East Java's "Pondok Modern" students, for example, are forbidden to have social contact with the townspeople of Gontor and the idea of service to the immediate community is lacking. However, "Pondok Modern" does have a strong sense of being a *wakf* that belongs to the world-wide Muslim community (*Short description*, 26).

In Java (as in Nazareth) it is thought inappropriate for a spiritual leader to have been educated in his own community; the one who has returned, however, after gaining wisdom and power through foreign experience and travel, may find a receptive attitude in his home territory. In addition, the *pesantren* holds up an ideal of affinity based on a common, transcending Islamic faith and discipline, whereas so much of archipelago life centres on local custom and traditional social patterns. On the other hand, *pesantren* life provides for youth a laboratory for self-government and socialisation into that larger community of togetherness and consensus that residents of the Malaysian-Indonesian archipelago also value highly.

Pesantren-educated Muslims have tended to criticise their compatriots for what they perceive to be their less than pure Islamic belief and lax ritual observance. This Islamist attitude has given Indonesia (mostly in the 20th century) its (much analysed) *santri* type of orthoprax Muslim, as contrasted with the vast population of *abangan* people, with their blending of local custom and Islamic belief (Geertz, 1960b, 5-7; see Ricklefs, 1979, 118-125 for a detailed review of the nuances of Javanese socio-religious distinctions).

Although traditionally the vast majority of students in *pesantrens* have been male, there have also been female students for a long time and today they comprise a sizeable proportion of *pesantren* populations. The sexes are always educated and lodged separately in *pesantrens*, and there is never social mixing, but facilities are often on adjoining campuses while sharing the same *kiai* and faculty, which may include teachers of both sexes. Female students are not numerous in Malaysian *pondoks*, where they usually reside in the *guru*'s house under a watchful eye. In Patani, however, females and males attend *pondok* (after puberty) in large numbers.

Although the *pesantren* usually maintains a separate kind of social presence in a rural locale, its central figure—the *kiai* (*guru* in Malaysia and Thailand)—is often a well-known, strong-willed, local personage with charismatic gifts combining Islamic learning with the occult powers of the shaman-like *dukun* (cf. Geertz, 1960a; Rahardjo, 1985). The *pesantren* would not exist without the *kiai*, who is its founder, sustainer, and absolute master. Former students, whether in the Javanese *pesantren* or the Malay *pondok*, have vivid memories of occasional corporal punishment at the hands of their masters, and being required to serve him in the fields and other tasks. Sometimes the *kiai* has been a local person who returned from Islamic study abroad or from the *ḥadjdj*, whereupon he started providing more-or-less orthodox Islamic teaching or was sought out by the locals for healing and spiritual guidance. *Kiais*, in the colonial period more than in recent reformist times, often provided Ṣūfī indoctrination, both to the *santris* and to people in the community.

Of no small consequence is the *kiai*'s personal property—land and buildings—which may be inherited, donated as *wakf*, or acquired by means of his industry. Whatever goes on in the way of teaching an Islamic curriculum—and this has varied greatly in the past, although today standardisation of the curriculum has widely set in—the *kiai* nevertheless bestows on the operation a special blessing and legitimacy. There have been extremely learned *kiais* (and *gurus*), with advanced training in Mecca or Cairo, and there have been virtually untutored ones, with strong personal charisma and little in the way of formal Islamic education in the Arabic classical curriculum. Although often a *pesantren* perishes when the *kiai* dies, sometimes institutions endure and even flourish in the hands of the *kiai*'s heirs, who may include former students who marry the *kiai*'s daughters and carry on the teaching tradition.

The physical plant of a typical *pesantren* consists of the *kiai*'s house and lodging for assistants, a building for regular prayers and instruction, an open space for community activities and sports, latrines/bath with ablution facilities, student dwellings (the *pondok* proper), and utility buildings such as granaries, and surrounding fields that are worked by the students. There is a great range of physical accommodation found among *pesantrens*, from minimal necessities (the majority) to elaborate campuses, such as the Pondok Modern, in Gontor, East Java, with its Friday mosque, tall minaret, staffed library, bookstore, student laundry, guest quarters, playing fields, ball courts and other facilities.

Earlier accounts remark on the extreme filth of the students' quarters, clothing and persons (e.g. Snouck Hurgronje, 1906, ii/30-1), resulting among other things in chronic skin disease. In the writer's visits to *pesantren*, the range of personal cleanliness and housekeeping among males has appeared to be about what one would find in men's college dormitories in the west, that is, from acceptable to unsanitary. Female lodgings have appeared to be clean and orderly and the women students very well groomed.

The *pesantren* served as the main form of Islamic educational institution in Indonesia until the early 20th century, when modern schools—such as the *madrasa*—began to be established. A distinctive aspect of the *pesantren* is its character as a nearly total institution. Although students freely come and go, and although the curriculum is often largely accessed by means of private study and individual interaction with the *kiai*, or his assistants, the régime of the typical *pesantren* is a 24-hour-a-day way of life, with morning classes and/or tutorials, Ḳurʾān recitation, afternoon study and work in the fields, with the rest of the time spent preparing meals and taking care of personal maintenance tasks, perhaps doing errands for the *kiai* and his staff, and honourable begging (in earlier periods especially). The all-important regular prayers punctuate each day's progress.

The *pesantren* is often a place of little comfort, extreme crowding, and scanty means. Student body sizes range from scores to thousands, with some Javanese establishments drawing students from throughout Indonesia and abroad (see *Direktori Pesantren*: I, *passim*, for specific enrollment figures and curricula of 255 selected institutions from the more than 5,000 in Indonesia). As no or minimal fees are charged, depending on the institution, poor students can benefit from the régime of strict moral and religious

training, socialisation into community self-government, and time for meditation on life from an Islamic perspective. Students generally range in age from around ten to twenty-one, although in some cases children as young as seven attend a *pesantren* (as at the Pesantren Ihyaul Ulum, near Gresik, East Java). In larger *pesantrens*, the older students act as preceptors for the younger ones and self-government is the rule, with the *kiai* standing aloof, his house and his face turned away from the *pondok* part of the campus where the students reside. He is approached for help and intervention only for special and urgent reasons.

The *pesantren* curriculum has always been centred on the Ḳurʾān, both its recitation and interpretation, and Arabic language (or Malay or Javanese in Arabic script) texts on jurisprudence, doctrine, classical Arabic grammar and rhetoric, ethics, mysticism, *ḥadīth* and devotional practices (e.g. collections of prayers, praise, invocations, blessings). (See Matheson and Hooker, 1988; and van Bruinessen, 1990, for genres and titles of Arabic script books used in *pesantrens* and *pondoks* over the past century.) *Pesantren* textbooks are often referred to as *kitab kuning* "yellow books" because of the orange-tinged paper they have often been printed on. Modernist *pesantrens*, such as have been supported by the Muhammadiyah, use textbooks in Romanised Indonesian (as well as Arabic language and script), which are called, by contrast, *buku putih* "white books." The distinction between the two types of Islamic education—traditionalist and progressive—symbolised by the colours, is much less pronounced than a generation ago.

Today, most Indonesian *pesantrens* have augmented their traditional course of studies to provide instruction in modern subjects in a curriculum divided into three levels: *ibtidaiyah* ("primary" with *ca.* 60% general content); *tsanawiyah* ("middle" with *ca.* 40-50%); and *aliyah* ("higher" with only 20%) (Rahardjo, 1985, 241). Some *pesantrens* also have an advanced level, *takhassus*, "specialised", where students study only Islamic subjects, such as Ḳurʾānic studies, *fiḳh*, *taṣawwuf* and others. Many *pesantrens* are still rural and provincial, with a curriculum dominated by Islamic subjects taught by rote. Arabic proficiency varies considerably, but there are *kiais* who are able to raise students' competence to a level sufficient for studying advanced classical texts rather than simpler summaries. Moreover, students are often obliged to study at more than one *pesantren* (whether in Indonesia or the Malay world) if they would cover a sufficient range of the classical Islamic studies curriculum. However, the contents and methods of *pesantren* instruction have undergone considerable modernisation in the more progressive institutions, such as the aforementioned ones at Gontor and Bogor, where modern secular subjects—such as social studies, natural science, mathematics, history and English—are also taught.

Traditional *pesantrens*, based on individualised instruction under the authority of a *kiai*, although still serving a mostly (but not exclusively) poor, rural clientèle, have steadily diminished in numbers and importance since independence, when the more modern *madrasas*, in Islamic education, and the *sekolah* or "secular" school, with a minimum of religious instruction, have come to dominate. The bureaucratically regulated (whether by government or voluntary religious associations) *madrasa* offers modern subjects alongside Islamic studies, but, unlike the *pesantren*, has neither *kiai* nor an all-encompassing social environment of Islamic discipline. The *madrasa* continues to be a major part of Indonesian education, although the *sekolah* is continually gaining ground as universal public education gradually becomes a reality in Indonesia (see Steenbrink, 1986).

The modern type of *pesantren* is far different from the old-style institution. At Gontor, for example, the more than 1,900 students are required to converse socially only in Arabic and English (Indonesian is the instructional medium in general courses, with Arabic the medium in Arabic and Islamic studies and English for teaching that language). Lapses into Indonesian or Javanese in daily life are punished by a short haircut, which is a major humiliation for youth acquainted with rock culture and Jakarta or Surabaya street life (to be "sent to a *pondok pesantren*" is a proverbial parental threat when children become unruly at home). The strict Arabic- and English-only rule testifies to the institution's commitment to training its students to be capable participants in both the global Islamic and economic communities. A number of outstanding Indonesian religious, civic, governmental and educational leaders have graduated from Gontor, which since the later 1960s has also granted the B.A. degree (in *uṣūl al-dīn*). And unlike most old-time *pesantrens*, the "Pondok Modern" has been placed on a secure foundation for continuing development and growth as a rational organisation with a large and capable professional staff and foreign as well as internal funding (e.g. the Saudi government provided the resources for a major academic building on the campus).

The modern *pesantren*, whether in Bogor, Gontor or a number of other places, does not exist in name only, for it continues, like its predecessor, to sustain a closely regulated, full-time Islamic communal ethos set apart from the differing but equally worrisome seductions of syncretistic Javanese culture and modern secular materialism. Java, particularly, is experiencing increasing urban encroachment on its rural areas, so that once isolated *pesantrens* are being surrounded by inexorable development. It is likely that some of the special qualities of *pesantren* education will be preserved, but in new ways. One widespread development in Indonesia is *pesantren kilat* ("express pesantren"), intensive Islamic education for youth during the summer vacation, held on university campuses and in other facilities. As the Indonesian social scientist, Taufik Abdullah, has summarised the situation, "the future of the *pesantren* will be determined by its ability to maintain its identity as an *ulama*-dominated educational system, while at the same time clarifying its role as a complementary feature of national education" (102).

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(F.M. Denny)

PESHĀWAR, a city of Muslim India, in the northwestern part of the subcontinent, now in Pakistan (lat. 34° 01′ N., long. 71° 40′ E., altitude 320 m/1,048 ft.). In modern Pākistān, it is also the name of various administrative units centred on the city (see below). The district is bounded on the east by the river Indus, which separates it from the Pandjāb and Hazāra, and on the south-east by the Nīlāb Ghasha range which shuts it off from the district of Kōhāt. Elsewhere it is bounded by tribal territory. To the south lie the territories of the Ḥasan Khēl and Kōhāt Pass Afrīdīs; westwards, the Khaybar Afrīdīs and Mullāgorīs. Farther north, across the Kābul river, the various Mohmand clans stretch to the Swāt river. The northern boundary of the district marches with the territories of the Utmān Khēl, the Yūsufzays of Swāt and Buner, the Khudu Khēl, Gaduns and Utmānzays. Mountain passes famous in frontier history connect it with the surrounding tribal tracts. In the northeast, the Mora, Shākot, and Malakand passes lead into Swāt. The historic gateway of the Khyber (Khaybar [*q.v.*]) connects it with Afghānistān, while, to the south, the Kōhāt Pass runs through a strip of tribal territory, known as the Djowaki peninsula, into the neighbouring district of Kōhāt [*q.v.*].

References to the district occur in early Sanskrit literature and in the writings of Strabo, Arrian, and Ptolemy. It once formed part of the ancient Buddhist kingdom of Gandhāra, for, from the Khyber Pass to the Swāt valley, the country is still studded with crumbling Buddhist stupas. Here, too, have been unearthed some of the best specimens of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture in existence, while one of Aśoka's rock edicts is to be found near the village of Shāhbāzgarha in the Yūsufzay country. Both Fa-hien, in the opening years of the 5th century A.D., and Hiuen Tsang, in the 7th century A.D., found the inhabitants still professing Buddhism. It is also on record that Purushapura was the capital of Kanishka's dominions. Through centuries of almost unbroken silence we arrive at the era of Muslim conquest, when, between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries, numerous Pathān tribes from Afghānistān spread over and conquered the country roughly corresponding to the modern North-West Frontier Province (T.C. Plowden, *Kalīd-i Afghānī*, chs. i-v; Selections from the *Tārīkh-i Muraṣṣaʿ*).

The town of Peshāwar is an ancient one, and as Parashawara or Purushapura was once the capital of Gandhāra; it was also called Begram, appearing as such in early Pashto poetry. The present name of the town is popularly ascribed to the Mughal Emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] and is said to derive from Persian *pēsh-āwar* "frontier [town]". Islam first appeared there in the time of the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*]. Sebüktigin fought over the surrounding region against its then possessor, the Hindūshāhī [see HINDŪ-SHĀHĪS] ruler Djaypāl in *ca.* 376/986-7, and his son Maḥmūd likewise combatted and defeated there Djaypāl's son Anandpāl in 396/1006. Thereafter, it came firmly within the Ghaznawid dominions, forming an important link in the route down from the Afghān plateau to the Ghaznawid capital in northern India, Lahore (Lāhawr [*q.v.*]). In 575/1179-80 Peshāwar was captured by the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [*q.v.*], but destroyed by Čingiz Khān some forty odd years later. Although Peshāwar obviously retained its strategic importance, it is somewhat surprising that Peshāwar is so little mentioned in the Indo-Muslim sources.

Towards the end of the 9th/15th century, according to local tradition, two large branches of Pathān tribes, the Khakhay and the Ghōriyya Khēl, migrated from their homes in the hilly country around Kābul to the Djalālābād valley and the slopes of the Safīd Kōh. The most important divisions of the Khakhay were the Yūsufzay, Gugiyanī and Tarklānrī; the Ghōriyya Khēl were divided into five tribes, the Mohmands, Khalīls, Dāwūdzays, Čamkannīs and Zerānīs. The Yūsufzays, advancing into the modern Peshāwar district, expelled the inhabitants, known as Dilazāks, and finally conquered the country north of the Kābul river and west of Hoti Mardān. By the opening years of the 10th/16th centuries, the Ghōriyya Khēl had also reached the Khaybar area. Eventually these powerful tribes dispossessed the original inhabitants, driving some to the Swāt Kōhistān and forcing the Dilazāks across the Indus. Later, the Ghōriyya Khēl attempted to oust the Khakhay branch but were signally defeated by the Yūsufzays.

Since the modern Peshāwar district lay athwart the route of invading armies from the direction of Central Asia, much of its history resembles that of the Pandjāb. The Pathāns of this part of the frontier proved

a thorn in the side of the Muslim rulers of India, and, although nominally incorporated in the Mug̲h̲al empire, they were never completely subjugated, even Akbar and Awrangzīb contenting themselves with keeping open the road to Kābul. Bābur [*q.v.*] had used Pes̲h̲āwar as a base for campaigns into Kōhāt, Bannū [*q.v.*] and Bangas̲h̲, and Awrangzīb's governor of Kābul, Mahābat K̲h̲ān b. ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān (not to be confused with Mahābat K̲h̲ān Zamāna Beg [*q.v.*]), used Pes̲h̲āwar as his winter capital, building there his great mosque (see below). With the decline of Mug̲h̲al power, Pes̲h̲āwar was in the 12th/18th century ceded to the Persian invader Nādir S̲h̲āh Afs̲h̲ār [*q.v.*] and then subsequently taken over by the Afg̲h̲ān chief Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Durrānī [*q.v.*] of Ḳandahār; under his son and successor Tīmūr S̲h̲āh, the Mug̲h̲al practice was revived of using Kābul as the summer capital and Pes̲h̲āwar as the winter one.

With the militant expansionism in the Pand̲j̲āb of the Sikhs in the early 19th century, Pes̲h̲āwar in 1834 was captured by the Italian commander in Sikh service, General Paolo di Bartolomeo Avitabile, but with the defeat of the Sikhs by British forces in 1849 and the annexation of the Pand̲j̲āb, the Pes̲h̲āwar valley came under British control for nearly a century; administratively, it remained part of the Pand̲j̲āb until the formation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901. (For British administration and policy with the various Pat́hān tribes of the region, see C. Collin Davies, *The problem of the North-West Frontier 1890-1908*, 2nd ed. London 1975.) In the 1930s, the Pes̲h̲āwar region was violently disturbed by the agitation of the *K̲h̲udāʾī K̲h̲idmatgārs* or "Red Shirts" of ʿAbd al-G̲h̲affār K̲h̲ān [see KHĀN, ʿABD AL-G̲H̲AFFĀR, in Suppl.], allied with the Indian National Congress; this rather unnatural alliance, against all the trends in other Muslim parts of India, gave a peculiar flavour to NWFP local politics in the run-up to Partition in 1947, although after that date the Muslim League took over from the previous Congress-inclined provincial government (see J.W. Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, The Hague 1963, 165-73, 211 ff.).

Pes̲h̲āwar city was the capital of the NWFP of Pākistān for eight years, until in 1955 the NWFP was amalgamated, together with the provinces of the Pand̲j̲āb, Sind and Balūčistān, into the "one-unit" province of what then became West Pakistan. The city (population in 1981, 555,000, since Partition, almost entirely Muslim, the great majority ethnically Pat́hāns) is situated near the left bank of the Bārā river about 21 km/13 miles east of the Khyber Pass. Its importance as a trading centre on the main route between India and Afg̲h̲ānistān increased after the construction of the K̲h̲yber railway to Landī Kōtal in 1925. It has 16 gates which are closed every night and opened before sunrise. The richest part is the Andars̲h̲ahr where before Partition the wealthier Hindus had taken up their abode. In this quarter, conspicuous on account of its high minarets of white marble, stands the mosque of Mahābat K̲h̲ān. On the northwest the city is dominated by a fort known as the Bālā Ḥiṣār. The S̲h̲āhī Bāg̲h̲ with its spacious and shady grounds is a favourite resort of the inhabitants in the spring. The fame of the Ḳiṣṣa K̲h̲ʷānī or Storytellers' Bazaar is known throughout the length and breadth of the frontier and beyond.

Two miles to the west of the city are the cantonments, the principal military station in the province. Some three miles to the west of the cantonments is the former Islāmiyya College, since 1950 erected into Peshawar University and now with five constituent and eighteen affiliated colleges.

Pes̲h̲āwar is also the chef-lieu of a district and of a division (area 38,322 km²/14,798 sq. miles) which comprises the districts of Mardān, Hazāra, Kōhāt and Pes̲h̲āwar plus tribal agencies.

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(C.C. DAVIES-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

PĒS̲H̲WĀ, a Persian word for "leader" with various connotations (Pahl. *pēs̲h̲ōpay*). As a title, it was used for one of the ministers of the Bahmanī sultans of the Dakhan and, more specifically, the hereditary ministers of the Marāt́hā kings of Satara [see MARĀT́HĀS].

At first, the Pēs̲h̲wā was only the *mukhya pradhān* or "prime minister" of Śivād̲j̲ī's Council of Eight, and this post was not hereditary up to 1125/1713, the year of the accession of Bālād̲j̲ī Visvanāth, when the Pēs̲h̲wā began to outstrip the other *pradhāns* and the Pratīnīdhī in importance. When the Pēs̲h̲wā transferred his capital to Pūna [*q.v.*] (Poona), the Council of Eight fell into disuse. With the promotion of Bālād̲j̲ī Visvanāth to the Pēs̲h̲wāship by S̲h̲āhū, a great number of Brahmans from his subcaste of the Citpāvans or Konkanasthas began to migrate from the Konkan to the Dakhan. Brahmans of all subcastes had figured prominently in the early part of S̲h̲āhū's reign, but by the 1730s the Citpāvans had already gained ascendancy in the Marāthā state. Before the rise of Marāt́hā power, these Brahmans had occupied a rather low position in the Brahman hierarchy. Now, however, they began to derive a sense of caste superiority from their association with the Pēs̲h̲wā.

Bālād̲j̲ī Visvanāth in 1131/1719 obtained the *farmāns* for *svarād̲j̲ya, čawth and sardeśmukhī* from the Mug̲h̲al emperor, after which he began to re-organise the revenue administration through the promulgation of an elaborate scheme of quota repartition, both in the Western Dakhan and the newly conquered areas where the Marāt́hās had not yet obtained full control but only levied *čawth* and *sardeśmukhī*. Marāt́hā expansion to the north began to gain momentum under Bālād̲j̲ī Visvanāth's son Bād̲j̲ī Rāo, who succeeded him in the Pēs̲h̲wāship in 1132/1720. This proved to be of great importance for the consolidation of the Pēs̲h̲wā's power in opposition to the older Marāt́hā *sardārs*, who were adherents of the Rād̲j̲ā of Satara but jealous of the Pēs̲h̲wā's supremacy. The Pēs̲h̲wās later gave out to have received sanction from the Mug̲h̲al emperor for levying tribute from the *ṣūbas* of Gud̲j̲arāt and Mālwā. According to the *S̲h̲āhū caritra*, the Pēs̲h̲wā's attempts to extend Marāthā power in Gud̲j̲arāt, Mālwā and Hindustān were for some time opposed with success by the Pratīnīdhī, who proposed an expansionist policy into the Konkan and the Karnataka, to complete the conquests begun by Śivād̲j̲ī. But it was the Pēs̲h̲wā who received the Rād̲j̲ā's sanction to pursue the expansion to the north as the latter's delegate, and from then on the Pēs̲h̲wā steadily acquired more and more power and wealth. The Rād̲j̲ā of Satara became almost entirely a figurehead already under Bād̲j̲ī Rāo, who promoted his own *sardārs*, Pawār, Holkar and Śīndhīyā, to strategic commands in the north. Bād̲j̲ī Rāo himself was also, up to his death in 1153/1740, incessantly campaigning: in Mālwā, the Dakhan, Gud̲j̲arāt and in the Konkan.

Bād̲j̲ī Rāo was succeeded by his eldest son, Bālād̲j̲ī Bād̲j̲ī Rāo, in 1153/1740. Now the conquests of Mālwā and Gud̲j̲arāt were completed. And it is to Bālād̲j̲ī's reign that many of the Brahman families who were prominent at the turn of the 18th century date their rise. There now arose two distinct groups of *sardārs*: on the one hand, the relations and adherents of the Rād̲j̲ā of Satara, the Bhōnslē of Nāgpur [*q.v.*] the remainder of the Council of Eight and the Pratīnīd̲h̲ī; on the other, the new men put forward by the Pēs̲h̲wā, most important of which were Śīndhīyā and Holkar. In 1153/1740 Bālād̲j̲ī's claim to Mālwā was recognised by an imperial *farmān* of the *nāʾib-ṣūbadārī* or "deputy governorship" of that province. Between 1153/1740 and 1161/1748 the same Pēs̲h̲wā organised four other expeditions to the north: twice to Rād̲j̲āstān, to Bihār, Bengal and Bundelkhand, and against the Afg̲h̲ān Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Abdālī [*q.v.*] in Hindustān. After the death of the Marāthā king S̲h̲āhū in 1162/1749, Bālād̲j̲ī assumed power in all but name. The new king of Satara, Rāmrād̲j̲ā, was left in almost complete isolation; the Rād̲j̲ā's attempts to regain control were unsuccessful, and in 1164/1751 he, in effect, renounced all sovereign power, agreeing to sanction the Pēs̲h̲wā's policies unconditionally. S̲h̲āhū's widow Tarabai subsequently made a final attempt to subvert "the Brahman government" of the Pēs̲h̲wā, but again without success. The Rād̲j̲ā, however, continued to invest each new Pēs̲h̲wā with the *k̲h̲ilʿat* or robes of honour [see KHILʿA] and similar ceremonial of state. The Pēs̲h̲wā continued to travel, as the Rād̲j̲ā's "prime minister", to Satara every year in order to submit the revenue accounts.

Bālād̲j̲ī did not survive the catastrophic Battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*] in 1174/1761, in which the Marāthās were defeated by the Afg̲h̲āns. His son Mādhav Rāo then received the investiture from the Rād̲j̲ā, who remained in confinement. Mādhav Rāo reigned for eleven years, a period in which he succeeded in restoring the prestige of the Brahman rād̲j̲. Citpāvan power reached its peak under Nānā Phadnis, the regent in the name of the child of Mādhav Rāo's murdered brother Narāyan Rāo. Still, the Rād̲j̲ā of Satara continued as the *de jure* sovereign. From 1188/1775 to 1209/1795, Nānā Phadnis's power was supreme, although he was constantly fearing the Marāthā leaders rallying around the Rād̲j̲ā. The new threats, however, did not come from the Marāthā royal clique but from the Pēs̲h̲wā's own *sardārs*, Śīndhīyā and Holkar. The Pēs̲h̲wā had to take from Śīndhīyā and assume for himself the title of *wakīl-imuṭlaḳ* of the Mug̲h̲al empire. Śīndhīyā grew more powerful in Hindustān. In 1210/1796 Bād̲j̲ī Rāo II was elevated to the Pēs̲h̲wāship by the military power of Śīndhīyā. The fear of Śīndhīyā and Holkar ultimately, in 1217/1802, induced the Pēs̲h̲wā to conclude the Treaty of Bassein with the British, resulting in the establishment of a subsidiary force in Pūna, for the protection by which the Pēs̲h̲wā sacrificed his independence. This was the first result of the "subsidiary system" devised by Lord Wellesley. The latter appears to have been unaware of the existence of the Rād̲j̲ā of Satara and spoke of the Pēs̲h̲wā as a "sovereign". Under Nānā Phadnis, in fact, the relationship of the Pēs̲h̲wā and the Rād̲j̲ā had, even in its ceremonial aspect, approached one of equality. However, by 1810, the same forms of external respect towards the Rād̲j̲ā were re-introduced as were observed when the Rād̲j̲ā was the effective sovereign and the Pēs̲h̲wā merely his prime minister. Nevertheless, all treaties with the British were concluded by the Pēs̲h̲wā alone. In 1818 an outbreak of hostility led to the Third Anglo-Marāthā War, the expulsion of the Pēs̲h̲wā, and British annexation of the Dakhan.

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PEST (Ottoman *Pes̲h̲te*), formerly a separate town, in Ottoman times centre of a *nāḥiye* in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Budīn [*q.v.*], today part of the capital of Hungary.

It was an earlier settlement than Buda, with mostly German inhabitants. After the Mongol invasion in A.D. 1241-2, with the creation of the fortification on the Castle Hill of present-day Buda (called new Pest for a period), Pest slowly lost some of its importance and was overshadowed by the capital, to which also the Germans moved. Nevertheless, the population of Pest reached some 7-8,000 souls at the end of the 15th century.

Although surrounded by walls and a channel with morasses, the town was quite vulnerable and fell into Ottoman hands without fight in 1541. One year later, a large Habsburg imperial army, headed by Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, attempted to reconquer Pest, but failed due mainly to bad organisation and the lack of resoluteness. Another siege on 6 October 1602 brought success, and Pest was in Habsburg hands for almost two years. On 30 June 1684, the forces of Charles of Lorraine marched into the castle abandoned by the Turks. Four months later, however, after the abortive attack against Buda, the Ottomans were able to return. The final retaking by the same Duke's army took place on 17 June 1686.

The 16th century Ottoman surveys show that the indigenous population of Pest was Hungarian. Their number diminished rapidly, as in most administrative centres of Hungary: 122 Christian heads of families were found here in 1546, of which there remained 63 by 1590 (intermediate values: 1559-110, 1562-98, 1580-66 heads of families; cf. Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A Budai szandzsák 1546-1590. évi összeírásai. Demográfiai és gazdaságtörténeti adatok* ("Registers of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Buda in 1546-1590. Data on demography and economy"), Budapest 1985, 490.) As regards Muslims, our knowledge is limited to mercenaries, who were almost 1,000 in 1541, close to 1,500 in 1543, and 734 in 1628. The total number of the population could not have exceded 2,500-3,000 people, although it is difficult to guess at the proportion of possible Muslim civilians.

The role of Pest as a commercial centre was significant both for local and transit trade. Its importance was enhanced by the immense floating bridge erected in 1566 when Ṣoḳollu Muṣṭafā was governor of Buda.

The *nāḥiye* of Pest was the largest within the *liwā* of Buda, with more than 200 settlements and *mezraʿas*.

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(G. Dávid)

PETRO VARADIN [see WARADĪN].

PETRUS ALFONSI, Andalusian polemicist and translator (*fl.* A.D. 1106-*ca.* 1130), convert to Christianity in 1106, composed his *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* in 1108 or 1110. Staged as a debate between his former Jewish self (Moses), and his present Christian self (Peter), the *Dialogi* ridicule Talmudic Aggadah, showing that they contradict principles of Graeco-Arabic philosophy and science (in particular astronomy); the *Dialogi* became the most widely-read anti-Jewish text of the Latin Middle Ages.

In the fifth chapter of the *Dialogi* Alfonsi attacks Islam, following—to a large extent—the Arabic text attributed to ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī [*q.v.*]. Alfonsi portrays Muḥammad as a charlatan driven by lust and political ambition, ill-tutored in religious matters by a heretical Christian, Sergius [see BAḤĪRĀ] and two heretical Jews, Abdias (ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām [*q.v.*]) and Chabalahabar (Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*]). He gives a curious description of pre-Islamic cult rituals at Mecca (based, it seems, on Spanish Jewish sources), asserting that current Islamic practice is tainted by these pagan origins. Later Latin writers on Islam used Alfonsi's tract extensively.

Alfonsi taught astronomy in England and France. In 1116, he produced an inept Latin adaptation of the *Zīdj al-Sindhind* of al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*]; subsequently, Adelard of Bath (probably with Alfonsi's help) produced a somewhat better version. He later wrote an *Epistola ad Peripateticos*, urging French scholars to study astronomy and arguing for the superiority of Arab texts to those of Latin authors such as Macrobius.

Alfonsi's *Disciplina clericalis* is a collection of proverbs accompanied by short, illustrative fables; it is one of the earliest Latin texts to contain stories of Arabic provenance. The *Disciplina* was extremely popular for centuries (both in Latin and in its many vernacular translations); its fables were used by preachers as *exempla*, incorporated by Boccaccio into the *Decameron*, and resurfaced in the 15th and 16th centuries in printed editions of Aesop.

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(J. Tolan)

PHILBY, Harry St. John Bridger (1885-1960), Arabian explorer and traveller, adviser to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suʿūd (Ibn Suʿūd) [see SUʿŪD, ĀL] and British convert to Islam.

Born of parents connected with planting and with official service in the Indian subcontinent, he had a conventional public school and Cambridge University education, and himself entered the Indian Civil Service in 1908. Already he showed a flare for learning Indian languages and for immersing himself in the cultures of India, until the First World War found him in ʿIrāḳ (1915-17), where he first acquired what became a lasting love for the Arab world and made his first trip into the interior of Arabia as part of a government mission in 1917-18 to persuade Ibn Suʿūd (Ibn Saud) to attack Ḥāʾil and its pro-Turkish rulers the Āl Rashīd [*q.vv.*]. After the War, he remained in the Middle East, with Sir Percy Cox in ʿIrāḳ and then in the newly-created kingdom of Transjordan.

But in 1924 he decided to resign from government service, disillusioned with British policy in the Middle East and its failure to recognise the new forces of Arab nationalism. In the ensuing lean years, he became involved, with little success, in business ventures in the Middle East and in pro-Arab, anti-British press polemics. He had often mentioned the potential advantages for his business activities in becoming a Muslim, and in 1930 became one at the hands of Ibn Suʿūd, though most Arabs were subsequently to consider him insincere and most Europeans to regard his Islam as a convenience rather than an act of genuine faith. It did, however, give him the entrée to Ibn Suʿūd's court and the King's companionship. He was now able to make his great cross-Arabian Desert journeys, including of the Rubʿ al-Khālī [*q.v.*] in 1932 (although he had been beaten to this by Bertram Thomas two years previously), and in 1936-7 around the southern fringes of Nadjd [*q.v.*] and the northern fringes of the region to the east of the Aden Protectorate, where his appearance with a Suʿūdī armed party prompted British fears that his mission involved Suʿūdī designs on the South Arabian shaykhdoms; a deliberate intention in various of his journeys of enlarging Suʿūdī borders was in fact almost certainly a motive as well as the pure love of exploration (see J.B. Kelly, Jeux sans frontières: *Philby's travels in southern Arabia*, in C.E. Bosworth *et alii* (eds.), *The Islamic world, from classical to modern times. Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton 1989, 701-32). Philby's journeys were nevertheless heroic ones, during which he took meticulous records of all aspects of natural phenomena (much of this material is deposited with the Royal Geographical Society, London). Further business projects involved him with American oil companies and with the import of Ford cars. He was back in Britain during the Second World War, but returned to Arabia in 1945, and between 1950 and 1953 undertook further journeys of exploration—to Ḳaryat al-Fāw [see AL-FĀʾW], to Midian [see MADYAN SHUʿAYB] and into the south, where he gathered petroglyphs and Thamudic and South Arabian inscriptions. But the new king, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's son Suʿūd, was displeased at Philby's denunciations in his writings of the laxity of morals and habits of luxury amongst the ruling élite which newly-found oil wealth had brought; in 1955 he had to leave Saudi Arabia for Beirut; and after returning twice to al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*], died in Beirut in 1960.

Philby's various public careers were vitiated by his at times immoderate language and hectoring behaviour, for he lacked the qualities of the diplomat and conciliator. His fame rests upon his many books about the peninsula and his acute observation of its geographical and scientific features. He never claimed to be a professional historian, and was careless about checking dates and consulting parallel sources in his books on Suʿūdī history (see G. Rentz, *Philby as a*

historian of Saudi Arabia, in *Studies on the history of Arabia*, i/2, al-Riyāḍ 1399/1979, 25-35). Despite this, his many talents and remarkable experience of Arabia give his writings a permanent value.

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PHILIPPINES, a group of islands between 4° and 21° N. lat, and 117° and 127° E. long. (Greenwich) on the western rim of the Pacific Ocean. Although the Philippines comprise 7,107 islands, about 10% are uninhabited and most of the population is on the eleven largest islands, with the two largest, Luzon and Mindanao, accounting for 65% of the country's land area and 60% of its population. Some seventy Austronesian languages are spoken, as well as English, with Tagalog (Pilipino), the language of the people around the capital, Manila, being the national language. Before colonisation by Spain in the 16th century A.D., the population of the Philippines lived mostly in small, self-contained communities (*barangays*), except in the south where Muslim sultanates had been established. In the lowland areas, these small communities quickly came under Spanish influence, with most of the population being converted to Christianity. Today, somewhat less than 10% of the national population of almost 50 million is Muslim. Apart from a growing urban population in Metro Manila, the Muslim communities are concentrated in the south: in the Sulu Archipelago, in western and southern Mindanao and coastal areas of southern Palawan. Thirteen ethno-linguistic groups have been distinguished among them, the three largest—Maranao, Maguindanao and Tausug—accounting for three-quarters of the total Muslim population. Archaeological evidence, however, suggests that the Tausug migrated to Sulu from the northern Philippines no earlier than the 11th century, largely displacing the indigenous Samal (the fourth largest Muslim ethno-linguistic group). As in most of Southeast Asia, Philippine Muslims are predominantly Sunnīs of the S̲h̲āfiʿī school, though as commentators have often observed, in some Muslim communities Islam has blended into earlier folk religions.

1. *Islamisation in the Philippines*

From around the 9th century A.D., Arab and Indian merchants, and subsequently Muslim missionaries, travelled, and probably established settlements, along the trade routes which linked Arabia and China through Southeast Asia. Initially on the periphery of this trade, by the 14th century Jolo, the largest island in the Sulu archipelago, had become a significant entrepôt centre. In a sacred grove outside Jolo there is a Muslim grave dated 710 A.H. (1310 A.D.) which Cesar Majul takes as evidence of a settlement of foreign Muslims on Jolo by the late 13th or early 14th century. Local genealogies (*tarsilas*) record that a Tuan Masha'ika arrived in Sulu around this time, marrying the daughter of a local chief and raising their children as Muslims. They also speak of a Karīm ul-Mak̲h̲dūm (Tuan S̲h̲arīf Awliyā)—possibly a Ṣūfī missionary—who settled on Jolo, at Buansa, in the second half of the 14th century, preaching Islam and building a place of worship. Soon after this a nobleman from the Minangkabao region of Sumatra, Rajah Baguinda, arrived in Sulu with a small army and established himself in authority in Buansa. That he was able to do so, it has been argued, suggests that by the late 14th or early 15th century there was, around Buansa at least, a significant population of sympathetic Muslims. Baguinda married the daughter of a local chief and consolidated the process of Islamisation in the area. Around 1450 another Arab visitor, Sayyid Abu Bakr, joined Baguinda, marrying his daughter, Paramisuli, and on Baguinda's death assuming political control in Buansa. Abu Bakr, known in Sulu as S̲h̲arīf ul-Hās̲h̲im, founded the Sultanate of Sulu. He promoted the spread of Islam, converting the hill people in the interior of Jolo, introduced organised religious study, and established social and political institutions along Islamic lines. At its height, the influence of the Sulu Sultanate spread from Basilan and the coast of southern Zamboanga in the east, to Palawan in the north and Borneo in the west. (Later Philippine claims to the Malaysian state of Sabah refer back to this period.)

The introduction of Islam to the island of Mindanao, however, is believed to have come not from Sulu but from Johore, with the arrival at the mouth of the Pulangi River (the present site of Cotabato) around 1515 of S̲h̲arīf Muḥammad Kabungsuwan and a group of Samal people. (Maguindanao legends also tell of earlier visits by the foreign Muslims S̲h̲arīf Awliyā and S̲h̲arīf Maraja, who married Awliyā's daughter.) Kabungsuwan, the son of an Arab father from Mecca and allegedly descended from the Prophet, and a Malaccan princess, is a powerful figure in Philippine Muslim history. He is generally credited with the spread of Islam in Mindanao, by a combination of proselytising, military conquest and diplomacy, and he provided the foundation for the Maguindanao Sultanate, though it appears to have been his great-great-grandson, the celebrated Kudarat, who first adopted the title of sultan. From the Cotabato area, Islam spread inland to Lanao and other parts of western and central Mindanao, from the north coast to the Gulf of Davao in the south.

In the late 15th to early 16th centuries Islam also spread from Borneo to Mindoro and southern Luzon in the northern islands of the Philippines. Muslim leaders Rajah Sulaymān and Rajah Lakandula, both kin of the Sultan of Brunei, controlled areas around Manila and Muslim influence extended south of Manila into what is now Batangas.

Thus by the 16th century Islam was well established in Sulu and western Mindanao and was spreading eastwards on Mindanao and to the northern islands. In the southern Philippines there were powerful sultanates and, encouraged by visits from foreign missionaries, religious institutions were growing in number and influence. Jolo was an important centre for trade, and intermarriages linked Philippine Muslims with Malay states to the west and south.

2. *Islam in the colonial Philippines*

When the Spanish arrived in the Philippines in 1521 they recognised among the local Muslims their old adversaries the "Moro", and in effect resumed the crusades in Southeast Asia. Following their permanent settlement in the islands in 1565, the Spaniards reversed the spread of Islam in the north and embarked upon a series of Moro Wars against the Muslims in Sulu and Mindanao as well as in Borneo. Spanish policy in the Philippines was to Hispanise and Christianise the native population, and the commander of the first military expedition to Mindanao and Sulu was specifically instructed to prevent the teaching of the "doctrine of Mahoma" and to destroy places in which "that accursed doctrine has been preached". The Spaniards partially succeeded in halting the easterly spread of Islam on Mindanao and

established footholds in western Mindanao, notably at Zamboanga. In addition to religious and political objectives, Spain sought to displace Moros in local and regional trade, to stop Moro piracy against Spanish shipping, and to put an end to Moro raids against Spanish and Christianised *indio* settlements in Luzon and the Visayas. These objectives were pursued strongly in the 17th and 18th centuries as Dutch commercial activity in the area increased, as Jolo became a major entrepôt in the European trade with China, and as attacks on Visayan settlements increased along with the growing importance of slavery to the regional economy.

In 1637 Lamitan, the capital of Sultan Kudarat of Maguindanao, fell to Spanish forces; Jolo was captured the following year. Eight years after the fall of Lamitan, however, the Spaniards withdrew, signing a treaty with Kudarat which recognised his sphere of influence from Zamboanga to the Gulf of Davao and eastwards to Maranao territory. Fighting broke out again in 1656 with a *djihād* led by Kudarat and the sultans of Sulu, Ternate and Makassar. In 1663 the Spaniards again withdrew, not returning until 1718, when another round of the Moro Wars began. Finally, with increasing European rivalry in the area, the balance of advantage shifted in favour of Spain with the introduction of steam gunboats in the mid-19th century. In 1860 Spanish authorities set up a "Government of Mindanao", and eighteen years later the Sultan of Sulu acknowledged Spanish sovereignty. When in 1898 the Philippines were ceded by Spain to the USA under the Treaty of Paris, the Muslim areas of Sulu and Mindanao were still not fully under Spanish control, but this did not prevent their being included in the settlement, notwithstanding Muslim protests.

Under an agreement signed with the Sultan of Sulu in 1899 the occupying US army at first adopted a position of "non-interference" in the Muslim areas. This was soon abrogated, however, and replaced by policies designed to "develop, civilise and educate" the Muslims. The American administration made some attempt to accommodate aspects of Muslim social life, particularly in relation to Islamic law and *adat* on domestic matters, but Muslims justifiably feared an undermining of traditional authority and attempts to assimilate them into the larger, Christian, society. Resistance to American rule resulted in a series of military confrontations, culminating in the battle of Bud Bagsak on Jolo in 1913. Two years later the Sultan of Sulu surrendered his temporal authority to the US government. Under a "policy of attraction" health and education services were improved and public works programmes undertaken.

Initially administered by US army officers as the Moro Province, Mindanao and Sulu subsequently came under a separate department headed by a civilian governor and later (until 1935) under the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. With increasing Filipinisation of government, however, the special provisions granted to the Muslim areas of Mindanao and Sulu were progressively withdrawn, including, in 1936, recognition of civil titles such as sultan and datu. In response, there were several local uprisings and in a series of petitions in the 1920s and 1930s Moro leaders asked the colonial government either to incorporate Mindanao and Sulu, with special provisions, within the USA or to recognise the separate independence of a Moro Nation.

3. *Islam in the independent Republic*

What came to be referred to as "the Moro Problem" (though Peter Gowing suggested as a more appropriate term, "the Moros' 'Christian Problem'") was inherited by the independent Philippine Republic in 1946. Moreover, heavy immigration from the northern islands, encouraged by the colonial government earlier in the century but increasing in scale after the Second World War, exacerbated the situation insofar as it created tensions between Muslim communities and immigrant settlers, especially over land ownership, and undermined the political authority of Muslim leaders. In 1954 a special committee of the Philippines Congress was created to investigate "the Moro Problem". As a result of its report a Commission on National Integration was set up to promote "the economic, social, moral, and political advancement of the non-Christian Filipinos", but it achieved little before being abolished in 1975. A subsequent report of a Senate Committee on National Minorities identified immigration and land grabbing as the major sources of Muslim grievances, but provided no solutions to the growing unrest.

As in earlier periods of Moro history, a feeling of grievance among Muslim communities promoted a heightened sense of Islamic identity. In the 1950s and 1960s this growing Islamic consciousness was reinforced by tendencies towards "Islamic reassertion" internationally. Within the Philippines it was reflected in a proliferation of mosques and *madāris*, a burgeoning of Islamic organisations, increasing contacts with overseas Muslims including missionaries, and a growing sense of resentment against the Christian-dominated government in Manila. A significant reflection of this was the formation in 1968 of the Muslim Independence Movement (MIM) under Datu Udtog Matalam. The MIM's stated objective was to create an independent Islamic Republic of Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan. The following year a group of young Muslims, recruited through the MIM, began guerilla training in neighbouring Malaysia. This group became the nucleus of a more radical Muslim separatist group, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). Elections in 1971 proved to be something of a watershed in Muslim-Christian relations in the southern Philippines. With the positions of a number of traditional Muslim politicians under threat from Christian immigrants, and with increasing Christian-Muslim tension, the election campaign in Mindanao was marked by a number of violent incidents. When the following year Philippine President Marcos declared martial law, the conflict in the southern Philippines was listed as a reason for such action.

In 1972 leadership of the Moro movement was assumed by Nur Misuari as chairman of the MNLF. The MNLF received assistance initially from Sabah and subsequently from Libya. Leadership of the MNLF came mostly from the young men of traditional élite families, though Misuari himself was a commoner and had been associated with the Left while at the University of the Philippines. As well as demanding restitution of Muslim lands and recognition of a separate Bangsa Moro Republic, the MNLF also called for social reform within Moro society to reduce the power of the traditional aristocracy. A second prominent Moro organisation, the élite-dominated Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization (BMLO), began with similar ethno-nationalist objectives but decided to co-operate with the Marcos government; in 1974 its leader, Rashid Lucman, was recognised by President Marcos as the "Paramount Sultan of Mindanao and Sulu".

Over the next few years the MNLF maintained a

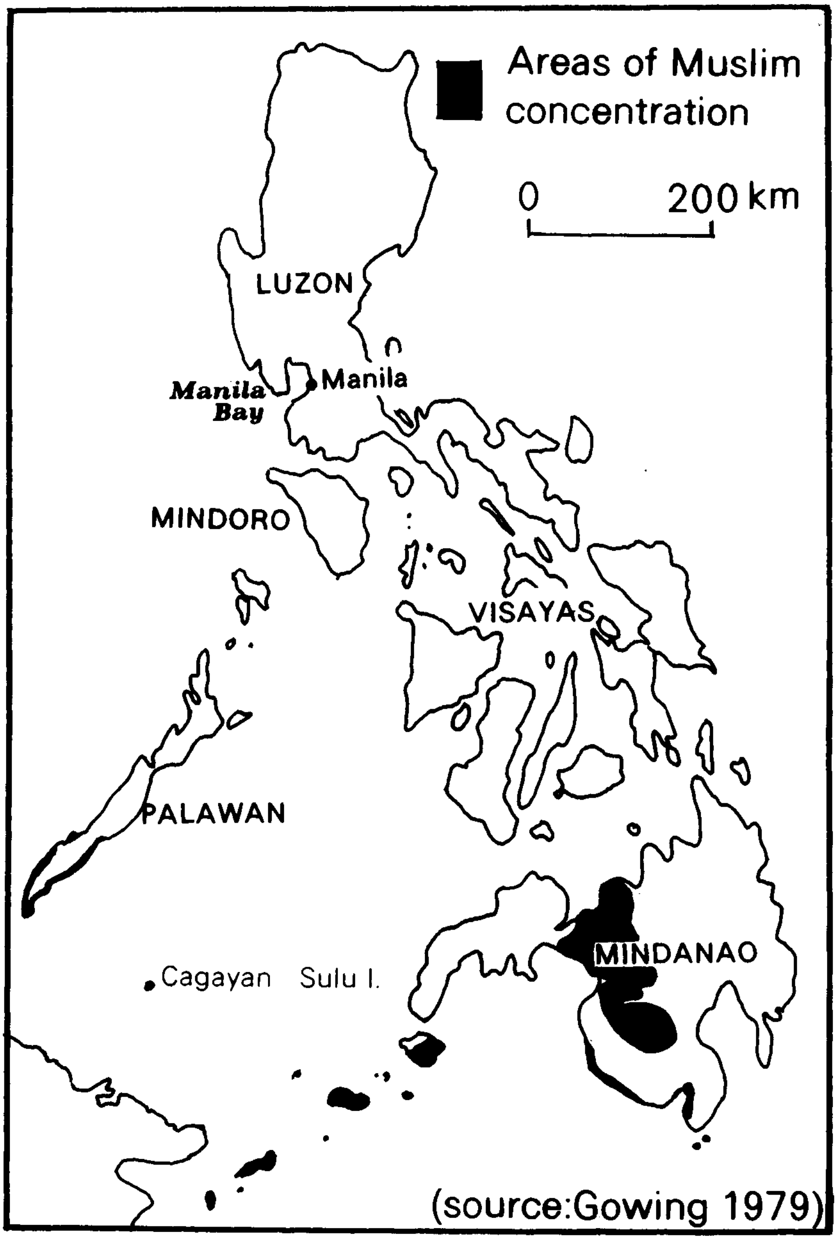

Map of the Philippines

state of insurgency against the Philippine government, with heavy casualties on both sides and considerable disruption of Muslim communities. Over 100,000 Philippine Muslims took refuge in Sabah. The MNLF's demands were supported by the Organization of Islamic Conference and the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. Following negotiations in 1976, the "Tripoli Agreement" was signed by representatives of the MNLF and the Philippines government. The agreement contained general provision for the granting of autonomy in the Muslim areas of Mindanao and Sulu; by this time, however, as a result of decades of immigration, only five of the twenty-three provinces of Mindanao and Sulu contained Muslim majorities and disputes arose between the MNLF and the Philippines government over the terms of a proposed plebiscite on autonomy. In the event, the MNLF rejected the plebiscite, which was heavily boycotted, and further talks broke down. The government nevertheless went ahead to set up autonomous governments in the two administrative regions with substantial Muslim populations, though these were generally judged to be ineffective. As well, the Marcos government adopted a number of measures to promote Muslim interests. These included commitment to the codification of Muslim laws and the introduction of Sharia courts, establishment of a Muslim Amanah Bank, removal of restrictions on the historic barter trade between the Muslim Philippines and Borneo; creation of an Institute of Muslim Studies within the University of the Philippines, proclamation of Muslim holidays; and several economic development programmes in Mindanao-Sulu. Grants of land, jobs, and scholarships were offered to MNLF surrenderees.

Between 1977 and 1982 there were two major splits in the MNLF, the first with the formation of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), a second with the breakaway of a MNLF-Reformist Group. These splits reflected personal, ideological, and ethnic divisions within the movement. There was also during the 1980s some scaling down of the armed conflict.

Following the overthrow of President Marcos in the "People Power Revolution" of 1986, the incoming government of President Aquino secured a cease-fire with the MNLF and reopened negotiations with Misuari, and the new constitution of 1987 made specific provision for autonomy in "Muslim Mindanao". Negotiations again broke down, however, and implementation of the autonomy provisions was marked by acrimonious debate in which Muslim-Christian rivalry was strongly evident. In a subsequent plebiscite, only four of the thirteen provinces and none of the nine cities polled opted for autonomy.

Given the demographic situation of Philippine Muslims, outnumbered in all but a few parts of their traditional homeland, attempts to resolve age-old tensions through the granting of Muslim autonomy on a geographical basis are bound to run into problems. However, while inequalities persist and separatist sentiments remain strong, Philippine governments appear to be showing greater sensitivity to the demands of Philippine Muslims and many Muslims are playing important roles in national social and political affairs.

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(R.J. May)

PICKTHALL, Mohammed Marmaduke William (1875-1936), English traveller, novelist, polemicist and educationist, who became a convert to Islam at a time when British converts to Islam were much rarer than later in the 20th century, and is now best remembered for his Ḳurʾān translation, *The meaning of the Glorious Koran*.

Born in London, the son of an Anglican clergyman and with two step-sisters who were Anglican nuns, his boyhood and formative years were spent in rural Suffolk, from which he acquired a nostalgic view of a countryside way of life which was then passing. He was at school at Harrow as a contemporary of Winston Churchill, and after failing to enter the Army and the Levant Consular Service, lived as a country gentleman in Suffolk, a life interspersed with extensive travels in the Near East, where he became fluent in Arabic (and later, also in Turkish and Urdu). His extended stay in Palestine, Lebanon and Syria of 1894-6, with a return through Ottoman Turkey and the Balkans, inspired him with a romantic view of the Islamic East which was to determine the future course of his life. He subsequently became a fervid partisan of the Ottomans and of the Young Turk reformers [see yeñi ʿot͟hmānlïlar], thereby ranging himself with such contemporaries as the Conservative MPs and Middle Eastern publicists Aubrey Herbert and Sir Mark Sykes in his dislike for Philhellenes and Gladstonian liberals.

All this time he had been writing novels, and after 1903 was publishing one a year, either with British (mainly Suffolk) settings or Near Eastern ones. The best-known of the latter was *Said the Fisherman* (1903) (reprinted, with an introduction on Pickthall by P. Clark, London 1986), set in Syria and Egypt during the latter half of the 19th century and which went through fourteen editions; another of these novels, *Knights of Araby* (1917), was set in the 11th century Yemen of the Ṣulayḥids and Nad̲j̲āḥids [*q.vv.*].

The First World War, with his beloved Turkey

ranged on the side of the Central Powers, gave him a profound emotional shock. He campaigned for a separate peace with Turkey, and in 1917 announced his conversion to Islam, at once becoming a leader among the small band of the indigenous British Muslims and functioning as Acting Imām of the London mosque, then in Notting Hill. His acceptance of Islam came from an empathy which had existed for some two decades between his own naturally conservative temperament and the faith, with its attitudes of dignity and fortitude in the face of suffering and adversity and, as he saw it, its essential justice and tolerance. In 1920 he was invited by Indian Muslim colleagues to the subcontinent, and spent fifteen years there as a Muslim journalist and in Ḥaydarābād, Deccan [*q.v.*], as Principal of a Muslim high school and as an adviser and publicist for the Niẓām [*q.v.*]; he felt that in Ḥaydarābād he was living in a society were the traditions of the old Mug̲h̲al empire still lived on and where a benevolent, paternalistic ruler over a mass of Hindus exemplified the Islamic ideals of wisdom and tolerance. Retiring to England in 1935, he died there on 19 May 1936.

It was whilst living in Ḥaydarābād that he became editor of the journal *Islamic Culture*, founded under the patronage of the Niẓām, but above all put together his *The meaning of the Glorious Koran*, an explanatory translation (New York 1930, London 1939; cf. J.D. Pearson, *Bibliography of translations of the Qur'ān into European languages*, in A.F.L. Beeston *et alii* (eds.), *Camb. hist. of Arabic lit. Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, Cambridge 1983, 510). For this work of translation, he spent a period in Egypt with traditional scholars there, but was also familiar with European Ḳur'ān criticism, which he accepted and applied selectively. His book has had a great vogue, and has been itself the basis for further translations, e.g. into Portuguese (in Mozambique) and into Tagalog (for the Moros of the Philippines); it is still (1991) in print.

Bibliography: Ann Fremantle, *Loyal enemy*, London 1938; P. Clark, *Marmaduke Pickthall: British Muslim*, London 1986. (C.E. Bosworth)

PĪLK̲H̲ĀNE [see FĪL].

PĪR (P.), literally, "old person, elder" (= Ar. *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*). In Islamic law, these terms were used for people in their fifties or even in their forties (see al-Tahānawī, *Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1862, 731), whilst those even older are often qualified as *harim, fānī* "decrepit, worn out".

1. In the Persian and Turkish worlds

In general Persian usage, *pīr* is often, as with Arabic *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, used in compound expressions by metonymy, e.g. *pīr-i dihḳān* "well-matured wine" (see Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinum*, i, 392a), or in a title, e.g. *pīr-i Sarandīb* = Adam, *pīr-i Kan'ān* = Jacob, *pīr-i Harī* = 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī [*q.v.*].

Its more generalised usage in religious parlance is as a Ṣūfī term, again corresponding to Arabic *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* and Turkish *baba*. Hence the *pīr* is the *murs̲h̲id* or spiritual director, and may be the founder of a Ṣūfī order or *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*]. As a person who has already followed the path (*sulūk*) to God and has acquired spiritual powers (*wilāya*), he is qualified to encourage and direct the aspiring novice (*murīd* [*q.v.*]) on the Ṣūfī path and finally to lay hands on the novice and bestow on him the Ṣūfī cloak or *k̲h̲irḳa* [*q.v.*], thereby admitting him to the spiritual fellowship of the order. A Turkish Ṣūfī author, Rusūk̲h̲ al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad al-Anḳarawī (d. 1042/1632-3, see Brockelmann, II², 590-1, S II, 662), divides *pīrs* into four types: (1) *sālik-i ṣirf*, the *pīr* known for his scholarship but not to be followed, since he is not free from the trammels of self; (2) *mad̲j̲d̲h̲ūb-i ṣirf*, who is not to be followed either, since the divine attraction (*d̲j̲ad̲h̲ba*) has brought him to the state of annihilation of self (*fanā'* [*q.v.*]); (3) *sālik-i mad̲j̲d̲h̲ūb*, also not to be followed since he has reached a state of ecstasy almost beyond consciousness; and (4) *mad̲j̲d̲h̲ūb-i sālik*, who is to be followed, since this person has passed beyond the stages of ecstasy and *fanā'* and is fit to instruct seekers and to perfect their discipleship (*Minhād̲j̲ al-fuḳarā'*, Istanbul 1286/1869-70, 28 ff.).

Amongst the Ṣūfīs also, the *čahār pīr* "four *pīrs*" denote al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Kumayl b. Ziyād and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, to whom the *k̲h̲irḳa* was allegedly given by 'Alī b. Ṭālib (al-Tahānawī, *Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf*, Calcutta 1862, 737).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921; J.P. Brown, *The dervishes, or oriental spiritualism*, Oxford 1927; *IA*, art. *Pir* (Tahsin Yazıcı), from which material for this article has been derived. (C.E. Bosworth)

2. In Indo-Muslim usage

In mystic parlance, this is generally used for a spiritual mentor; in popular usage, it is applied as prefix or suffix with different terms in a variety of senses. (i) To distinguish between different types of spiritual affiliation: *pīr-i-ṣuḥbat*, a saint from whose company one derives spiritual benefit; *pīr-i-ṭarīḳat*, a saint to whom one owes spiritual allegiance. (ii) To describe mystical customs: *pīr kā nayza*, standard carried in procession to the grave of some saint. (iii) To denote religious heads: *pīr-i-ḥaram* and *pīr-i-kalīsa*. The famous Urdu poet Muḥammad Iḳbāl [*q.v.*] has used these terms frequently in his verses to denote leaders of Muslim and non-Muslim religions. Note also *pīr-i Mug̲h̲ān*, literally chief priest of the Magi, but generally used for a tavern keeper. (iv) As part of proper names to emphasise spiritual qualities; e.g. *Pīrān Pīr* (for S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ 'Abd al-Ḳādir Gīlānī [*q.v.*]). (v) To denote spiritual links with some *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*, community, etc.: as Pīr Manki S̲h̲arīf, Pīr Taunsa S̲h̲arīf, Pīr Pagaro, etc. (vi) To specify certain religious donations or endowments: e.g. *pīr awtār*, daily allowance paid to *faḳīrs* from collective village sources; *pīr pāl*, land endowed for assistance of the *pīr* or for maintenance of some mausoleum; *pīrān*, charity lands bestowed on the poor in honour of a saint. (vii) To indicate spiritual kinship: e.g. *pīr bhāī*, disciple of the same spiritual mentor and therefore brother; *pīr bahn*, woman owing spiritual allegiance to the same spiritual mentor and therefore sister; *pīr zāda*, son of the *pīr*. (viii) In sayings: *pīr d̲j̲ī kī sagā'ī mīr d̲j̲ī kay yahan, pīr* has his relations with *mīr*, with people of the same status; *pīr ko na faḳīr ko, pahlay kanay čur ko*, a low status man receiving precedence over *pīr* and *faḳīr*; *pīr-i man k̲h̲as ast, i'tiḳād-i man bus ast*, my *pīr* may be (worthless) like straw, but my faith in him is firm; *pīr to ap dar manda hayn, s̲h̲afā'at kis ki karain gay*, the *pīr* is himself helpless, how will he help others; *pīr miyan bakrī, murīd miyan banga, a ga'i bakrī čap gai banga*, the *pīr* is the goat and his disciples the fodder; *barh d̲j̲āyen to amīr, g̲h̲aten to faḳīr, maren to pīr*, if they thrive they are nobles; if they decline they are holy ascetics; when they die they are saints; *pānī pid̲j̲yay čāhan kay aur pīr kid̲j̲yah d̲j̲ān kay*, drink water after straining, select *pīr* after scrutiny. (ix) In mythology: *Pīr Bhučrī*, *pīr* of the eunuchs; *Pīr Bhučrī ki karhaī*, food distributed while admitting a eunuch to the fold; *Pīr Hatailay*, a mythical figure, like S̲h̲aykh Saddo, in whom woman have great faith; *Pīr-i Dīdār*, a legendary saint who arranges intermixture of breeds; *Pīr Dīdār kā kunda*, offering made by women longing for the return of some relative. (x) To indicate

things old and aging: *pīr-i āsmān* or *pīr-i falak*, or *pīr-i dihḳān falak*, for the sky; *pīr-i khazaf*, old man without senses; *pīr duta*, man with a bent back; *pīr-i zal*, an old man with gray hair; *pīr-i Sarandīp*, Adam; *pīr-i Kanᶜān*, Jacob; *pīr-i hasht khuld*, Riḍwān; *pīr-i fānī*, an old man about to die; *pīr-i fartūt*, very old; *pīr mard*, old man; *pīr-i nā bāligh*, old man with child-like habits; *pīr-i zan* or *pīr-i zal*, old woman. (xi) In a derogatory sense: a clever and crooked old man; *pīr-i kharābāt*, a *pīr* free from the bonds of *sharīᶜat* law; owner of a tavern. (xii) In proverbs: *pīr-i tasma pa*, one difficult to get rid of; *pīr khaylna*, to behave as if under the influence of some evil spirit; *pīr ana*, under the spell of some evil spirit; *pīr-i payghambar manānā*, to pray, to beseech for the fulfilment of some desire; *pīr-i shahīd manānā*, to bless the soul of some saint through offerings. (xiii) To show cultural status: *bay pīr*, without a *pīr* and therefore, uncultured and uncouth (Sir Syed Ahmad, *Sīrat-i farīdiyya*, Agra 1896, 37). Thus in Indo-Muslim usage, the term *pīr* either becomes symbolic of excessive attachment with a spiritual mentor, or else it becomes surrounded by superstitious and mythological concepts or assumes a derogatory connotation and passes into proverbs and sayings.

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(K.A. Nizami)

PĪR ṢADR al-DĪN, Indian Muslim holy man, considered to be the founder of the Khodja [*q.v.*] Nizārī Ismāᶜīlī community in India. Most of our biographical information is derived from the *ginān*s (poetical compositions in Indian vernaculars), the largest number of which is ascribed to him, hence we are not on firm ground. He lived probably between the second half of the 8th/14th and the beginning of the 9th/15th centuries. The centre of his activity was around Koṭṛi and Uččh in Sind, where he converted large numbers of Hindus from the Lohaṇa caste and gave them the title of Khodjas (derived from Persian *khwādja*, honorary title like "sir") because the Lohaṇas were addressed by the honorary title *thākur* in Hindi. He seems to have played a key role in the communal organisation and is credited with the establishment of the first *djamāᶜat-khāna* (a congregation hall for the community) in Koṭṛi. He is also said to have visited the Imām Islām Shāh in Persia to hand over the *dasondh* (tithes) collected from the Indian community. His shrine is located in Djetpur, near Uččh, but the overseers of his shrine consider themselves as Twelver Shīᶜīs and call the Pīr Ḥādjdjī Ṣadr Shāh.

Bibliography: For a full description of his works and sources, see I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāᶜīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 301-2; Azim Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismāᶜīlī tradition in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, New York 1978, 72-7; F. Daftary, *The Ismāᶜīlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 479.

(I. Poonawala)

PĪR SHAMS or **SHAMS al-DĪN**, Indian Muslim holy man, regarded as the second important figure after Nūr Satgur [*q.v.*], whose name is traditionally associated with the commencement of Nizārī [*q.v.*] or Satpanth (i.e. the true path) Ismāᶜīlism in Sind. Historically he is an obscure figure surrounded by legends. Most of our information is derived from *ginān*s ascribed to him. The latter, being poetical compositions in Indian vernaculars resembling didactic and mystical poetry, are often anachronistic and legendary in nature. The dates mentioned for his activities, centred in Sind and working within a Hindu-Muslim milieu, cover a long period from the first half of the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th centuries. The overseers of his alleged mausoleum at Multān, however, identify him with Shams-i Tabrīz [*q.v.*], the spiritual guide of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*], and a descendant of the Twelver Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*]. The Nizārī community of the Shamsīs living in Pandjāb and chiefly in Multān, on the other hand, claim to have been converted by Pīr Shams and have preserved the *ginān*s of the Pīr in Pandjābī dialect.

Bibliography: For a full description of his works and sources, see I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāᶜīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 299-300; Azim Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismāᶜīlī tradition in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, New York 1978, 53-5, 62-8, 103-5, 121-2; F. Daftary, *The Ismāᶜīlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 415, 478-9.

(I. Poonawala)

PĪRĪ MEḤMED PASHA (?-939/?1532-3), an Ottoman Grand Vizier, belonged to Amasya and was a descendant of the famous Djalāl al-Dīn of Aḳsarāy and therefore traced his descent from Abū Bakr. He took up a legal career and became successively *ḳāḍī* of Sofia, Siliwri and Galata, administrator of Meḥemmed II's kitchen for the poor (*ᶜimāret*) in Istanbul, and at the beginning of the reign of Bāyezīd II attained the rank of a first *defterdār* (*bash defterdār*). In the reign of Selīm I, he distinguished himself by his wise counsel in the Persian campaign (see J. von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 412, 417 ff.), was sent in advance to Tabrīz to take possession of this town in the name of the sultan, and at the beginning of Shaᶜbān 920/end of September 1514 was appointed third *wezīr* in place of Muṣṭafā Pasha, who had been dismissed (see *GOR*, ii, 420). He temporarily held the office of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of Istanbul, and after the end of the Egyptian campaign was appointed Grand Vizier in place of Yūnus Pasha, who had been executed on the retreat from Egypt in 923/1517. In this capacity he took part in the conquest of Baghdād in 927/1521. Soon after the occupation of Rhodes, Pīrī Pasha fell from the sultan's favour as a result of the slanders of the envious Aḥmed Pasha, who coveted his office, and was dismissed with a pension of 200,000 aspers on 13 Shaᶜbān 929/27 June 1523. His successor was Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], a Greek from Parga. Pīrī Meḥmed lived another ten years and died in 939/1532-3 at Siliwri, where he was buried in the mosque founded by him. One of his sons, Meḥmed Beg, had predeceased him in 932/1526 as governor of Ič-il. Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha created a number of charitable endowments, among them a mosque in Istanbul called after him (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥuseyin, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiᶜ*, i, 308), a *medrese* and a public kitchen as well as what was known as a *tāb-khāne*. While his *laḳab* was Pīrī, he used Remzī as a *makhlaṣ* for his poems, which are of moderate merit (cf. von Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, ii, 327 ff., with the wrong year of death and also i, 187, under *Pīrī* without the identity of the two being recognised, also Laṭīfī, *Tedhkire*, 168 under *Remzī*).

Bibliography: Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ᶜothmānī*, ii, 43, more fully in ᶜOthmānzāde Meḥmed Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 22 ff., and the Ottoman chroniclers of the 10th/16th century; *İA*, art. *Pîrî Mehmed Paşa* (Şerâfeddin

Turan).—Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 111 ff., deals with Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha as a literary man. According to him, he wrote a small collection of poems (*dīwānče*) and an exposition of a part of the *methnewī* and of the *shāhidī* entitled *Tuḥfe-yi mīr*, but both works are described by Meḥmed Ṭāhir as still in mss. (F. BABINGER)

PĪRĪ REʾĪS b. Ḥādjdjī Meḥmed, a Turkish mariner, cartographer and author (b. probably Gallipoli, date of birth unknown; d. Cairo, 961/1553-4). His uncle, Kemāl Reʾīs [*q.v.*], served as a captain in the Ottoman fleet but was especially notorious among Mediterranean Christians for his exploits as a corsair; it was in this earlier profession by his uncle's side that Pīrī Reʾīs first learned the trade of seaman. Generally welcomed by their Arab fellow-Muslims to use the coasts of Tunisia and Algeria as a base, refuge and place for selling their booty, they preyed upon Christian shipping and the coasts of Spain, France, western and southern Italy and the islands of the Western Mediterranean. During these campaigns, which spanned much of the first half of Bāyezīd II's reign (sc. 886-900/1481-95), Pīrī Reʾīs acquired an intimate knowledge of both the Mediterranean and of the "haven-finding art"—various tools aiding navigation and the expertise in using them—as it existed among his fellow-sailors of that sea. Both personal experience and assiduous gathering of sources (primarily Italian and Catalan), combined with an original creative mind, later enabled Pīrī Reʾīs to produce a remarkable body of cartographic and hydrographic work.

The second stage in Pīrī Reʾīs's life began in 900/1495 when the sultan summoned his uncle to serve in the Ottoman fleet. From then on until Kemāl Reʾīs's death (either in 916/1510 or 917/1511; for this date see S. Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish map-making after Columbus*, 164), he participated, always by his uncle's side, in various naval assignments such as conveying supplies to Mamlūk Egypt or patrolling the sea-lanes between Istanbul and various points of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, molested by the Hospitallers of Rhodes [see RODOS]; Kemāl Reʾīs especially distinguished himself during the 1499-1502 war with Venice, an event again witnessed by Pīrī Reʾīs, who had by then commanded a ship in his own right; this independence may also have saved his life when his uncle went down with his ship during a storm in the eastern Aegean.

Kemāl Reʾīs's death signalled a third and most productive stage in Pīrī Reʾīs's life, for from then on he spent more time at Gallipoli [see GELIBOLU; until 1518 it was the chief naval base of the Ottoman empire] and devoted himself to the theoretical side of the seaman's profession—marine cartography and science of navigation. His first and most dazzling achievement occurred in 1513, when he made a world map of which only a part—probably one-third—has survived. This map is anchored in a double tradition: that of the Mediterranean portolan chart, and that of the world map of the age of Great Discoveries (see T. Campbell, *Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500*, in *The history of cartography*, ed. J.B. Harley and D. Woodward, i, 371-458; S. Soucek, *Islamic charting in the Mediterranean*, in *The history of cartography*, ii/1, 269-72; idem, *Piri Reis*, 49-79); a third type of tradition could be added here, that of the "presentation specimen chart": for its lavishly coloured and aesthetically appealing form, as well as several topical legends relating such events as the discovery of America or describing the new continent's memorabilia, revealed a purpose that went beyond serving as a tool for sailors but aimed to impress an important recipient. The extant part (Istanbul, Topkapı Palace library, Revan 1633 mükerrer; dimensions: 90 × 63 cm, parchment), is the western third or half of the original, and includes a colophon which reads: "Composed by the poor Pīr son of Ḥadjdjī Meḥmed, known as paternal nephew of Kemāl Reʾīs, may God pardon them both, in the city of Gallipoli, in the month of Muḥarram the sacred, year nine hundred and nineteen [March-April 1513]." It shows the Atlantic with the adjacent coasts of Europe and Africa, and the New World as far as Pīrī Reʾīs could piece it together from up to five cartographic sources: a map made by Columbus, as well as between one and four Portuguese charts, according to the author's own statements and to internal evidence. The map is torn longitudinally in such a way that what must have been its major part, including the bulk of Europe and Africa and all of Asia, is missing; how and when the mutilation occurred is unknown, but it may have happened in Cairo where Pīrī Reʾīs had sailed with several ships of the Ottoman navy at the conclusion of Selīm I's 1517 conquest of Egypt, for he states in another work, the *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye* (p. 5 in the 1935 facs. ed.; see below), that the sultan had at that point graciously accepted the map. It then lapsed into oblivion until its 1929 discovery in the Topkapı Palace library; the map's identification as a work partly based on an early but no longer extant map made by Columbus had an effect that transcended the bounds of scholarly interest, and it became an international sensation as well as a matter of pride for the young Turkish republic, especially for its founder Kemal Atatürk. Upon instructions from the president, the Turkish Historical Society published in 1935 a facsimile together with, in a separate brochure, a full transcription as well as translation of its legends into modern Turkish, German, French, English and Italian (*Piri Reis haritası*; repr. in 1966; many smaller scale reproductions exist, the best in M. Mollat du Jourdin and Monique de La Roncière, *Sea charts of the early explorers: 13th to 17th century*, New York 1984, pl. 28). The documentary value of the chart, which has sometimes received such inaccurate labels as "the earliest map of America" or "the lost map by Columbus in a Turkish translation" is indeed considerable, and could be even greater if it had survived in its entirety, for Pīrī Reʾīs tells us that he had used both European and Oriental sources in the construction of the map. Put in modern terms, the result must have been a work of unique kind and value. Even in its truncated state, the map is viewed as one of the prime treasures of the Topkapı Palace; the world-wide interest it has stirred has also provoked some eccentric interpretations.

The recent and ongoing interest in Pīrī Reʾīs's world map stands in sharp contrast to the apparent indifference with which it met in the author's lifetime. Another work of his, the *Kitāb-i baḥriyye* ("Book on seafaring"; completed in 1521, and reworked in a second version in 1526; a facsimile of one of its best manuscripts, Aya Sofya 2612, now in the Süleymaniye library, was in 1935 published by the Turkish Historical Society concurrently with the facsimile reproduction of the 1513 world map; our references are to the page numbers of this edition (Piri Reis, *Kitabi Bahriye*)) fared better, however, judging from the many copies produced during the 16th and 17th centuries. It too is anchored in the tradition of portolan texts and portolan charts (but also in that of the closely related genre of *isolarii*). Although both pertain to the universal category of sailing directions

and marine charts, their "portolan" label further specifies a genre created and perfected in the Mediterranean between the 13th and 17th centuries; moreover, it was a primarily Christian (Italian and Catalan) speciality, with only marginal Muslim (Arab and Turkish) participation. The *Kitāb-i baḥriyye* is an up to a point original and remarkable exception, not unlike the author's 1513 world map, for Pīrī Reʾīs again gave free rein to his genius and produced a volume of texts and charts such as none of his Christian models had ever done: a description of the entire Mediterranean subdivided into chapters, each chapter accompanied by a chart of the area described. Moreover, a long versified introduction written for the second version discusses subjects related to navigation, oceanic geography and the ongoing voyages of discovery. The first version consists of 130 chapters and charts, the second of 210. Both have a brief preface in which Pīrī Reʾīs tells why he composed the work: to provide a manual for his Turkish fellow-sailors, and to offer a present to Sultan Süleymān on the occasion of his accession. This preface in prose is then followed by the versified introduction in the second recension (pp. 7-85), and by the main body of the text in prose with charts (86-848); the second version ends in a versified epilogue (849-55), in which the author tells how in 1524 the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] had encouraged him to produce a more polished version of the work and thus worthier of the august recipient. Neither recension's autographs are known to have survived, but copies of both (23 and 10, respectively, plus several adaptations and modifications; a list of the known manuscripts compiled by T. Goodrich can be found in *The history of cartography*, ii/1, 290-1) have survived and mostly carry on either original's structure, form and function. Those of the first version are less polished but meant as manuals for sailors; those of the second are often calligraphied, and their lavishly coloured charts pertain to the art of miniature illustration and were clearly produced not for use at sea but as bibliophile artifacts for wealthy or important customers. Especially striking are elaborate sketches of many port cities, including topographic views of Istanbul, Venice and Cairo (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, ms. 658, and its twin ms. Yıldız Türkçe 6605, Istanbul University library, are the best examples). Despite all these additional documentary and artifactual features, however, the second version does not quite supersede the first; in fact, one of the special assets of Pīrī Reʾīs's portolan—personal and topical reminiscences from the Turkish corsairs' main base, eastern Algeria and Tunisia—exists in the second version only in an abridged form. Moreover, this truncation may have been performed not by Pīrī Reʾīs himself but by one Seyyid Murād or Murādī, the editor of K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn Barbarossa's [*q.v.*] *G̲h̲azawāt*, who claims to have ghost-written also the second version of the *Kitāb-i baḥriyye* (see Ḥ. Yurdaydın, *Kitab-i bahriyye'nin telifi meselesi*, in *AÜDTCFD* x [1952], 143-6).

In 935/1528-9 Pīrī Reʾīs produced his last known work, another map of the world of which again only a fragment—probably one-sixth—has survived (Topkapı Palace library, Hazine 1824; parchment, 69 × 70 cm; see colour reproduction in *The history of cartography*, ii/1, pl. 21). It covers the north-western part of the Atlantic and the New World from Venezuela to Newfoundland and the southern tip of Greenland. This map, too, is signed by the author, and combines the artifactual qualites of a "presentation copy" with those of a valuable document. The quality of this fragment suggests that in its original state, the map may have been another brilliant example of the subsequently stifled attempt by Muslim cartography to join Renaissance Europe's exploration of the world.

Aside from writing and cartographical work between 1513 and 1529, all we know of Pīrī Reʾīs during this period is that he may have on occasion accompanied K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn Barbarossa to North Africa, and that he must have remained active as a pilot in the Empire's home waters, as his assignment to steer Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a's ship to Egypt (1524) suggests. After 1529, however, all trace of him disappears until he re-emerges in 1547 as commander of the Ottoman fleet based at Suez. In this capacity, Pīrī Reʾīs carried out the reconquest of Aden (1549); but his luck turned in 1552-3 when reports of the approach of an enemy relief fleet made him raise the siege of Portuguese-held Hurmuz [*q.v.*] and withdraw to Baṣra; worse still, his subsequent decision to leave the bulk of his ships there and return with three vessels (one of which was lost en route) to Suez led to a death sentence by the government which was carried out at Cairo (Cengiz Orhonlu, *Hint kaptanlığı ve Piri Reis*, in *Belleten*, xxxiv [1970], 234-54). This bizarre end of the great cartographer does not seem to have been questioned by Ottoman observers, but it has puzzled modern historians; some have wondered if two namesakes are not being confused (the age factor for example: by 1553 the cartographer would probably have been an octogenarian). A more likely explanation is the fact that the Ottoman élite, with the exception of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, failed to grasp the value of his cartographic and hydrographic work, and that, personally, Pīrī Reʾīs never managed to penetrate the otherwise broad spectrum of that élite and thus receive the totally different treatment reserved for its members (as exemplified by the case of K̲h̲ādim Süleymān Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who in 1538 failed before Diu much as Pīrī Reʾīs did before Hurmuz but instead of being executed became Grand Vizier). [See also SELMĀN REʾĪS, SEYYIDĪ ʿALĪ REʾĪS, TAʾRĪK̲H̲-I HIND-I G̲H̲ARBĪ.]

Bibliography: Given in the article, and S. Soucek, *Islamic charting in the Mediterranean*, in *The history of cartography*, Chicago 1992, ii/1, 263-92 (see also this volume's bibliographical index, 521-45); idem, *Piri Reis and Turkish mapmaking after Columbus*, London 1992, 162-75; idem, review article discussing the literature on Pīrī Reʾīs, in *JAOS* (forthcoming). (S. SOUCEK)

PĪRĪ-ZĀDE MEḤMED ṢĀḤIB EFENDI (1085-1162/1674-1749), Ottoman *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ al-Islām* [*q.v.*] in Istanbul and the pioneer translator into Turkish of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn.

Ibn K̲h̲aldūn's *Muḳaddima* was quite early known in Ottoman Turkey, being cited by e.g. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn (d. 937/1550) and by Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa in his *Kas̲h̲f al-ẓunūn*. But during the years 1138-43/1725-30 Pīrī-zāde translated the *Muḳaddima* from the beginning to the end of the fifth chapter, i.e. about two-thirds of the whole, and this was lithographed at Cairo in 1275/1859, with Aḥmed D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] shortly afterwards translating the final, sixth chapter. Pīrī-zāde's translation circulated in manuscript, and thus helped considerably in making Ibn K̲h̲aldūn a familiar figure in 18th and 19th century Turkey.

Bibliography: Babinger, *GOW*, 282-3, with the Ottoman biographical sources; Fındıkoğlu Z. Fahri, *Türkiyede Ibn Haldunizm*, in *Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 159-60; F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddima, an introduction to history*, New York 1958, i, pp. cvii-cviii; *İA* art. *Ibn Haldun* (Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar), at cols. 740b-741b. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

PIRLEPE, Prilep, a town of more than 40,000 inhabitants situated on the northern edge of the fertile Pelagonian Plain at the foot of the Babuna Mountains in the southern part of the former Yugoslav Macedonia. In the Middle Ages, Prilep was the capital of a Slav principality. In Ottoman times (1395-1912) it was the centre of an extensive *ḳāḍīlīḳ* stretching from the modern Greek border in the south (Nidže and Kajmakčalan Mountains, 2521 m/8,268 ft) and the Solunska Glava (the highest mountain of Macedonia, 2540 m/8,331 ft) in the north, an area which in 1900 contained 141 villages. Especially in late Ottoman times, Prilep was the commercial metropolis of northern Macedonia. It was also an Islamic centre of regional importance.

Prilep is first mentioned in the edicts of the Byzantine emperor Basil the Bulgar-Slayer (1014), but must be much older. From the early 11th century till 1201, Prilep was in Byzantine hands; from 1201 till 1246 it was included in the Second Bulgarian Empire; then Byzantine again till 1334, when the troops of the Serbian king (later Tsar) Dušan conquered it and included it in the short-lived Serbian empire. After Dušan's death, it was included in the principality of Vukašin, who in 1366 declared himself king in Prilep. During the wars of the 14th century, both sides made use of Turkish mercenaries. After the death of King Vukašin in the Battle of the Maritsa (1371) against the Ottomans, his son Marko Kraljević came to rule over Prilep as an Ottoman vassal, serving in the major campaigns of the Sultans until his death in 1395 in the Battle of Rovine. Portraits of Vukašin and Marko are preserved in the fresco decorations of the church of St. Michael in the Archangel's Monastery above the old town of Prilep, which was refurbished by the two rulers. The old Ottoman chroniclers place the conquest of Prilep in the 1380s, which is an evident mistake. The town and its district were annexed without a struggle or great disturbance after Marko's death. A part of his troops went over to direct Ottoman service, to become the Christian *sipahīs* known from the 15th century census registers.

Mediaeval Prilep was situated below a mountain top castle (first mentioned in 1240) from which the town took its name (Prilep = "stuck on a mountain"). The greater part of this mediaeval settlement, with many Byzantino-Slavic churches with wall paintings of high quality, as well as a large monastery, is still preserved, the site being called "Kale Varoš" or "Prilep-Varoš." The town we see today is an Ottoman creation, situated 2 km/1 mile down in the plain. The Arabic inscription on the oldest preserved mosque of the town, the Çarşı Camii, from 881/1476-7, gives an indication of the time at which the new settlement came into being. Throughout history, Prilep-Varoš remained an exclusively Christian settlement, whereas the new town was first entirely Turkish but, especially since the 18th century, became predominantly Christian. For Prilep and its district, a relatively large number of Ottoman *taḥrīr defters* have been preserved and are partly published (Sokoloski, 1971), or have been the basis of demographic research (Stojanovski, 1981). Together with some Poll Tax registers preserved in Sofia, and with the numbers collected by Vasil Kănčev during his solid research shortly before 1900, they give the following picture:

Year of registration	*Christian households*	*Muslim households*	*Total households*	*Approximate total population*	*Percentage of Muslims*
1445	350	10	360	1,500 to 1,600	3%
1455	300	21	321	1,380 to 1,420	6%
1478	386	141	530	2,200 to 2,300	27%
1528	463	210	673	3,000 to 3,200	31%
1544	492	189	681	3,000 to 3,200	28%
1570	326	279	605	2,700 to 2,900	46%
1614	135	(*ca.* 400)	(*ca.* 550)	2,200 to 2,400	72%
1900	3,000	1,400	4,400	24,540	29%

It is clear that during the rule of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, the town of Prilep received an important group of Muslim Turkish settlers, mostly craftsmen, as the registers show (tanners, coppersmiths, tailors, weavers, etc.). The link between the arrival of this group and the construction of a large mosque in 1476-7 is evident. At first, the settlers developed along natural patterns, but after the mid-16th century the Muslim community grew, especially through the conversion and linguistic assimilation of a part of the local Christians. The early *defters* also show that the villages on the plain, which in the late Ottoman period were inhabited by Albanian Muslims (Aldanci, Belušino, Borino, Crnilište, Desovo, Drenovo, Gorno Žitoše, Norovo, Sačevo and Vrboec) were still almost entirely Slavic and completely Christian, only a few incidental Albanian households being registered. The later, entirely Slav Muslim villages (Pomak/Torbeš) of Debrešte, Lažani and Peštalevo, were also entirely Christian. The nine Muslim Turkish villages which the *ḳaḍā*ʾ was to have later did not exist in 1445 and 1455. Ali Obası (Alinci), Dedebalcı and Şeleverci are mentioned as places where a few Yürük families lived, serving in the army in time of war. Dedebal(ci) and the no-longer-existing hamlet of Timur existed already in the time of Murād II. The same *defter* also mentions groups of Christian *es̲h̲kündjis*, serving in the Ottoman army in time of war and enjoying important tax facilities. The important monasteries of the Archangels of Prilep and that of Treskavac, 10 km/6 miles from the town, a Byzantine imperial foundation, were the property (*mülk*) of the Metropolitan of Prilep, David.

In the second half of the 16th century, almost the entire *nāḥiye* of Moriovo, constituting the mountainous south of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Pirlepe, was transformed from *k̲h̲āṣṣ* to *waḳf* property of the Süleymāniye complex in Istanbul. The *waḳfiyye* of this largest of all Ottoman socio-religious foundations, written between 1558 and 1566, does not yet mention these villages among the *waḳf* property of the foundation. They must have been added later, most probably towards the end of the 16th century, when the wave of inflation caused financial difficulties. The *Djizye Defter* F 16 A, a.e. 60 A, in the Sofia National Library, a newly-made *taḥrīr* from the year 1023/1614, mentions 28 villages and the number of their households, from which *djizye* was part of the *waḳf*, together with all other taxes. Four of these villages were situated outside the *nāḥiye* of Moriovo, four others no longer

exist, and 20 of them survive to the present day. The fact that the Moriovo *nāḥiye* was part of this important *waḳf* helped them to survive the difficulties and arbitrariness of the 17th and 18th centuries. When many other villages wholly or partly converted to Islam to escape fiscal and other pressures, the entire Moriovo remained Christian and some of its villages grew from a few dozen households into the largest of the entire *ḳaḍā*ʾ. This little-known phenomenon finds parallels in the clusters of *waḳf* villages in Central Greece (*waḳf* of the Wālide Sulṭān Kösem Māhpeyker) and in Bulgaria (Plevna, *waḳf* of Mīkhāloghlu ʿAlī Bey) and elsewhere.

In the first quarter of the 16th century, six more Muslim Turkish villages came into being in the plain south of the town: Budaklar (now called Budjakovo), Büyük Oba (Golemo Kojnari), Elekler (Erekovci), Kanatlarcı, Küçük Oba (Malo Kojnari) and Musa Obası (Musinci). Their names and notes in the *defters* tell us that they were Yürük villages. Their migration to Macedonia must be seen in connection with the persecution of the Ḳîzîlbash ʿAlewī groups in Anatolia under Selīm I. In the important village of Kanatlarcı there was since a long while back a large Bektāshī *tekke*, which still exists today, being together with the one in Kırçova/Kičevo, the only *tekkes* of this order surviving in Slav Macedonia.

Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited Prilep in 1071/1660-1, describes it as a town of 1,000 houses, divided into over ten *maḥalles*. He mentions the Mosque of the Alay Bey, which was particularly lofty, and that of Arslan Pasha, besides a number of *mesdjids*, 200 shops, a pleasant *ḥammām*, a *khān* and some *medreses*, *mektebs* and *tekkes*. These numbers look reasonable. That of the houses must be too high. Most of the public buildings of Ottoman Prilep were the work of Ḳodja Arslan Pasha, who seems to have been still alive when Ewliyā visited the town. In the course of the 17th century, the administrative subdivisions of Macedonia changed. Previously, Prilep was part of the Pasha Liwāsī. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa mentions the *ḳaḍā*ʾ as part of the *sandjaḳ* of Üsküb. In the 19th century it was attached to the *wilāyet* of Manastîr.

Throughout the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, numerous churches were either newly-built and painted or else thoroughly reconstructed, beginning with the new church of Bogorodica Prečiste in Prilep-Varoš itself, from 1420, and with the paintings of the Treskavac Monastery from 1430 and the choir of the monastery church of Zrze, shortly after 1400. Some of the newly-built and painted churches, such as in Dolgaec, from 1454-5, explicitly mention "Tsar Mehmet Tsalapi" as ruling Sultan. The paintings in the nave of the monastery church of Treskavac, from 1480-90, belong to the best of the entire Balkans. Highlights of 16th century painting are those in the Monastery of Zrze, the work of the Albanian artist Onufre of Elbasan. Zrze has also good examples of paintings from 1625 and 1636. Other important and well-preserved works of the 17th century are the village churches of Rilevo and Slepče, built and painted in 1617 and 1627. The difficult economic and social conditions of the late 17th and 18th century did not allow Christian art under the Ottomans to flourish.

In 1807 François Pouqueville visited Prilep and describes it as a town of 1,000 to 1,100 houses, illustrating the stagnation of the 18th century. Prilep's great time was to come in the 19th century, when the population almost quintupled, the Macedonian Christians growing at a much faster rate than the Muslims. In this time, Prilep became the commercial metropolis of inland Macedonia. A disastrous fire of 1273/1856-7 could not stop this expansion. In 1861 von Hahn noted a "richly-stored, newly-built bazaar". In these years the entire town centre was rebuilt on a regular chess board plan. A monumental Clock Tower was added and the old mosque from 1476-7 was restored and doubled in size by a huge annex.

At the end of the 19th century, the town had more than 24,000 inhabitants, 16,700 being Macedonian Christians, 6,200 Muslim Turks and the remainder Gypsies. Sāmī Bey in his *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, ii, Istanbul 1316/1898-9, describes Prilep as having ten mosques, three *tekkes*, five *medreses*, two *ḥammāms*, a Rüshdiyye school, an Ibtidāʾıyye school, seven Muslim primary schools, six Christian primary schools and two churches. He also mentions the famous Prilep Fair in August-September. The greater part of the population was, according to Sāmī Bey (but this is an incorrect source), Muslim. The Muslims spoke Ottoman Turkish and Albanian, the Christians spoke Bulgarian and Rumanian.

For the composition of the population of the district of Prilep in the late Ottoman period, we have the data from the *Nüfūs Defters* of 1884 and 1890, the numbers of the *Sālnāme* of 1305/1888, and Kănčev's detailed and reliable numbers. They are as follows:

The population of the ḳaḍāʾ *of Pirlepe according to various late 19th century sources*

	Nüfūs Defter 1884	*Sālnāme* 1888	*Nüfūs Defter* 1890	*Kănčev* c. 1900
Bulgarians/Macedonian Christians	44,759	29,041	50,916	57,213
Muslims	13,753	30,271	13,342	13,415
Vlachs	753	498	528	745
Gypsies	709	in the above	1,634	1,775
Totals	59,974	59,312	66,420	73,146
Percentage of Muslims	24%	50,2%	22%	20%

It is evident that the numbers of the *Sālnāme*, intended for public use, are gross distortions, of a kind known also from elsewhere [see OKHRĪ]. The real state of affairs is reflected in the numbers of mosques and churches in the 141 villages of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Pirlepe as given by Sāmī Bey on the basis of the *Sālnāme*: 34 mosques, in the 18 villages with Muslim inhabitants and the town together, and 101 churches in the 122 Chris-

tian villages. The proportion of Muslims to Christians was 20% to 80%, that of mosques and churches 25% to 75%, or almost the same.

During the First Balkan War, Prilep was taken by the Serbian Army in 1912. Town and district remained part of Serbia, later Yugoslavia, till 1992, although interrupted by harsh Bulgarian occupations during both World Wars. The population of the town changed considerably through the emigration of a large part of the Muslim citizens to Turkey in the 1950s. In the post-war years, the town, which had stagnated in the interwar period because of changes in the trade routes and economic system, was "modernised", in which process most of the Ottoman buildings disappeared. In 1990 the old mosque of 1476 was still standing, together with the Clock Tower from 1280/1863-4 and one wall of the monumental Kurşunlı *khān* of Ḳodjā Arslan Pasha from the 17th century.

In the villages of the former *ḳaḍā'*, the changes were less drastic. The greater part of the Pomak [*q.v.*] and Albanian Muslim populations remained where it was, although both communities grew, but slowly, due to emigration. The Turkish population of the former Yürük villages is also still present and saw a slow growth from *ca.* 2,000 to a little below 3,000 souls, living in Budaklar, Elekler, Kanatlarcı and Musa Obası/Musinci. The other originally Turkish villages had by 1970 completely lost their Muslim population, their place being taken by Macedonians.

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PĪSHDĀDIDS, a mythical dynasty of ancient Persia, given a considerable role in the national historical tradition of Persia. This tradition was essentially put together in the *khwadāy-nāmags* of late Sāsānid times and, like most of our information on Sāsānid history, has to be reconstructed from post-Sāsānid, mainly early Islamic sources. Hence we find information on the Pīshdādids in such sources as al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and al-Tha'ālibī.

Ḥamza, ed. Beirut n.d. [*ca.* 1961], 13, 16-17, makes the Pīshdādiyya the first *ṭabaḳa* of the kings of Persia (the second being the [also legendary] Kayāniyya, the third the Ashghāniyya or Arsacids, and the fourth the Sāsāniyya), with nine monarchs whose rule totalled 2,470 years. The Persian national history begins in fact with Kayūmarth or Gayōmard, the first world-king, and it is his grandson or great-grandson Hūshang (OP Haošyanha), called *paradhāta* (NP *pīshdād*) "the one who first establishes the law" (see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 126), who, as bearer of the "royal glory" (*hvarna, farrah*), is regarded as the founder of the Pīshdādids. Subsequent members of the dynasty include such heroic figures as Ṭahmūrath, Djamshīd, Farīdūn, Manūčihr and Garshāsp, and the national history records their struggles with the tyrant Dahāk and with the leader of Tūrān [*q.v.*] Afrāsiyāb [*q.v.*]. Then after the reigns of Garshāsp and Zāb, often described as co-rulers, came an interregnum and the advent of the new dynasty of Kayānids.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see Ṭabarī, i, 170-2, 174-6, 179-83 (tr. F. Rosenthal, *The history of al-Ṭabarī*. i. *General introduction and from the Creation to the Flood*, Albany 1989, 341-2, 344-5, 348-52), 201-10, 225-30 (tr. W. Brinner, *ibid.* ii. *Prophets and Patriarchs*, Albany 1987, 1-10, 23-7), 430-40; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 110-19 = §§ 535-41; idem, *Tanbīh*, 85-8, tr. 122-7; *Tha'ālibī, Ta'rīkh Ghurar al-siyar*, ed. and tr. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1900, 5 ff.; E. Yarshater, *Iranian national history*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii/1, 370-4.

(C.E. Bosworth)

PĪSHKASH (P.) as a general term designates a present, usually from an inferior to a superior. As a technical term it denotes a "regular" tax (*pīshkash-i mustamarrī*) and an *ad hoc* tax levied by rulers on provincial governors and others, and an *ad hoc* impost laid by governors and officials in positions of power on the population under their control. The offering of presents to rulers and others was known from early times (cf. Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. A.A. Fayyāḍ, Mashhad 1350 *sh*/1971, 655, 679, 705, 734-5, 789, 815). With the proliferation of dues which took place under the Īlkhānate, the giving of gifts to the ruler and his officers was transformed into an *ad hoc* impost known by such terms as *sa'uri* and *tuzghü* rather than *pīshkash* (see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-75, i, 335). Under the Tīmūrids and the Turkoman dynasties the term *pīshkash* for such imposts is common. It was levied on the population of a district collectively (*pīshkash-i djam'ī*) and on individuals (*pīshkash-i ghayr-i djam'ī*) (see Sayyid Hossein Modarressi Tabataba'i, *Farmānhā-yi Turkamānān-i Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū wa Āḳ Ḳoyunlū*, Ḳum 1352 *sh*/1973-4, 103, 115, 126). Under the Ṣafawids, *pīshkash* is attested both as a due or tax paid on a regular basis and as an *ad hoc* levy; it constituted an important source of revenue. An official of the royal secretariat (*daftar-khāna*), known as the *pīshkash-niwīs* (the registrar of presents), recorded the number and value of *pīshkash*. This official is found until the second half of the 19th century (cf. W. Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia, etc.*, London 1819, ii, 172-3). Provincial governors paid *pīshkash* on appointment and thereafter annually at the Naw Rūz [see nawrūz] (cf. K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 92).

Holders of *tuyuls* and *soyurghals*, unless given immunity, were subject to the payment of *pīshkash*, as also were the leaders of *dhimmī* communities (cf. documents in A.D. Papazyan, *Persidskie dokumentî Matenadarana. 1. Ukazî, vîpusk pervî (XV-XVI vv.)*, Erivan 1956 and idem, *Persidskie dokumentî Matenadarana. 2. Ukazî, vîpusk vtoroy (1601-1650)*, and H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 212-13). As in the case of other taxes and funds, drafts were sometimes drawn on *pīshkash* and collected locally. The *Dastūr al-mulūk* of Mīrzā Rafīʿā (Muḥammad Taḳī Dānish-pazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā wa Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Shafīʿā*, in *Tehran University, Rev. de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines*, xv/5-6 [1968], xvi/1-6 [1968-9]) and the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (Persian text in facsimile, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943) record late Ṣafawid practice and also the levy of commissions and fees on *pīshkash* made for various officials. Occasions for the exaction of *ad hoc pīshkash* were numerous. They included conquest of a town or district, the circumcision of princes, royal marriages, royal "progresses" and the progress of governors through their provinces. If the Shāh visited one of his subjects, his host was expected to give him a present in return (R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1890, 33). The grant of immunity from *pīshkash* is attested in a number of documents (cf. Sayyid Hossein Modarressi Tabataba'i, *op. cit.*, and Papazyan, *op. cit.*) and *farmāns* (cf. a *farmān* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, dated 932/1526, engraved at the entrance of the Amīr ʿImād al-Dīn mosque in Kāshān (ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, *Shāh Ṭahmāsp-i Ṣafawī madjmūʿa-yi asnād wa mukātabāt-i tārīkhī*, Tehran 1350 *sh*/1971-2, 509).

The levy of "regular" *pīshkash* and *ad hoc pīshkash* continued under the Ḳādjārs (cf. United Kingdom, Parliament. Accounts and Papers. Report on Persia, A&P 1867-68, quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago 1971, 366, and also the agreement made between the Imām of Muscat and the Persian Government dated 1272/1886 in Djahāngīr Ḳāʾim-Maḳāmī, *Yak ṣad wa pandjāh sanad-i tārīkhī*, Tehran 1348 *sh*/1969-70, 215-16. See also Muḥammad Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nāʾīnī, *Djāmiʿ-i Djaʿfarī*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1353 *sh*/1974-5, 592, 593-4; Afḍal al-Mulk, *Afḍal al-tawārīkh*, ed. Manṣūra Ittiḥādiyya (Niẓām Māfī); and Sīrūs Saʿdwandiyān, Tehran 1361 *sh*/1982-3, 391, 435). Its levy pressed heavily on the population (cf. Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 393). Open criticism of the practice of the levy of *pīshkash* was not to be expected, but voices against it were sometimes heard. One such was that of Muḥammad Shafīʿ Ḳazwīnī, a hatter (*kulāh-furūshī*) of Ḳazwīn, who commented on the evils of *pīshkash* in an essay written between 1264/1848 and 1266/1850, which he sent to the Amīr Kabīr, Nāṣir al-Dīn's first minister (*Ḳānūn-i Ḳazwīnī*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1370 *sh*/1991).

Bibliography: Haphazard references to *pīshkash* are to be found in historical texts and documents. See also A.K.S. Lambton, *Pīshkash: present or tribute?*, in *BSOAS*, lvi (1993).

(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

PISHPEK, a settlement of early and mediaeval Islamic times in the Ču [*q.v.*] valley of the Semirečye in Turkestan, during the Soviet period forming the city of Frunze (lat. 42° 54′ N., long. 74° 36′ E.). The region of Pishpek and nearby Toḳmaḳ is known to have been in mediaeval Islamic times a centre of Nestorian Christianity, and inscribed grave stones, the oldest of which date back to the time of the Ḳara Khiṭay [*q.v.*] (6th/12th century), have been found there (see W. Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolische Eroberung*, Tübingen and Leipzig 1901, 1-2, 37-8 *et passim*).

In the early 19th century, the Khāns of Khoḳand [*q.v.*] founded a fort at Pishpek, captured in 1862 by the advancing Russians, who then founded in 1878 a town there. When the Kirghiz SSR was created as part of the Soviet Union in 1926, Pishpek became its capital and was re-named Frunze after the Bolshevik commander M.V. Frunze, sent by Lenin in 1919-20 to Central Asia in order to combat the Basmači fighters there for local independence. In 1970 Frunze had a population of 431,000. With the break-up of the former Soviet Union, the city has now been re-named Bishkek, within the Kyrgyzstan Republic.

Bibliography: See also *BSE*², xxviii, cols. 316-19.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

PĪSHṬĀḲ (P.), literally, "the arch in front", hence the portal of an important building, the term being appropriate to the advancing of the structure, at least in its developed form, forward from the plane of the façade: it is formally typified by this projection, and the articulation of receding planes to the entrance within. Though initially used throughout the Middle East and Hindūstān, the portal came to be most typical of Perso-Indian architecture. The Persian concept appears to be connected with the Arabic *dihlīz* as the palace vestibule where the ruler appeared for public audience, as at ʿAmman [*q.v.*]. It draws on the images of pre-Islamic wonders, particularly on the great Sāsānid Ṭāḳ-i Kisrā [*q.v.*] at Ctesiphon (3rd century A.D.), as extolled by, for example, al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*] in the 3rd/9th century (*loc. cit.* in *Bibl.*), and ultimately on Solomon's buildings, with which the Bāb Djayrūn became identified (see Soucek, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*). As Golombek and Wilber have pointed out, the scale of the portal appears to reflect the status of the founder (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 206-7), height, *irtifāʿ*, being a standard metaphor for exaltation; it often displayed his name conspicuously. It is also suggested (Bloom, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 26) that portals may have symbolised a source from which *baraka* might emanate (cf. *Bāb* in *Encycl. Iranica*), especially in a Shīʿī context; this may have extended to some tombs. In mosques their inscriptions often identify them as entrances to the world of prayer, and ultimately paradise. Hillenbrand has also inferred that in some later tomb towers, as at Basṭām (700/1301), it may have had a cultic significance (*op. cit.* 1982, in *Bibl.*, 249). Mosque entrances remained flush until the Fāṭimids introduced the projection in the early 4th/10th century.

The features characteristic of the developed portal include a rectangular front taller than its width, surrounded by successive architrave friezes of running ornament and inscriptions, some in different planes, or comprising superimposed arched niches, enclosing an archway whose spandrels are set off with bosses, panels, or later with arabesque designs; its recessed rear wall in turn houses a smaller arch, later joined to it by a semivault, either through *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*] or squinch netting, leaving a tympanum over the doorway. Both arches may have round angle shafts. As such the organisation is close to that of the *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*], and appears to have developed in parallel with it. The format also applies, especially in the Perso-Indian context, to the handling of *īwān* fronts [*q.v.*], here used in the arthistorian's sense.

In the pre-Islamic phase, the *īwān* arch at Ctesiphon is flush with the screen wall on either side, to which it relates much as that at the Parthian palace at Assur, itself derived from Roman prototypes, as

was that at Hatra; it formerly had an arcuated archivolt. In niches at the palace at Bis̲h̲āpūr (A.D. 260) the arch is framed by key-pattern friezes within the flanking pilasters. The gateway of the 6th century Sāsānid palace at Dāmg̲h̲ān, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, incorporates two concentric arches recessed one well within the other. The roughly contemporary rock-hewn *īwāns* of the Ṭāḳ-i Bustān near Kirmāns̲h̲āh incorporate stucco angels in the spandrels and a garlanded archivolt. A façade shown on the post-Sāsānid Fortress Plate in the Hermitage, which as Pope showed has features in common with the Parthian shrine at Tak̲h̲t-i Sulaymān, already shows the arched door set in a clearly defined rectangular frame, of which the upper panel ends in a cresting different from that on the flanking walls. The pre-Islamic prototypes thus occur in both sacred and palace buildings. This dual use was to continue in Muslim buildings.

Creswell (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 1958, 197) identified the *līwān* arch on the south side of the Court of Honour at al-Uk̲h̲ayḍir (*ca.* 140-60/760-80 [*q.v.*]) as the first example of the *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ*, but it has fallen, and the reconstruction of a rectangular frame is conjectural; it does, however, show the taller arch as the inevitable expression of a wide central bay in a wall of smaller arcading. The *īwān* of the Tārik K̲h̲āna Mosque at Dāmg̲h̲ān (4th/10th century) was probably comparable, with a frame rising from above the crowns of the lateral arcades, much as in the Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲āmiʿ at Nāʾīn (*ca.* 340/950). In the Great Mosque at Sāmarrā (234-7/848-52), the complete format can already be recognised in the *miḥrāb*, with its tall, recessed rectangular frame, two concentric pointed arches supported on paired angle shafts of rose marble on each side, and mosaic spandrels. At Córdoba, the Bāb al-Wuzarāʾ (Puerta de San Estéban) of 241/855-6 has a horseshoe arch recessed close within a rectangular frame (*alfiz*) set above the level of the door lintel, a treatment which persists in the Mag̲h̲rib: there are traces of flanking elements on either side in the flush wall. The full expression of this raised framing, with a cresting of five intersecting arches above, survives in a side door built by al-Ḥakam II in *ca.* 364/965. In the tomb of the Sāmānids at Buk̲h̲ārā (pre-331/943) the portal is still flush, but two concentric arches rest on angle shafts, with a decorated tympanum over the door, geometric panels in the spandrels, and a framing frieze of roundels. The entire front of the mausoleum of ʿArab Atā (367/977-8) at Tīm in Uzbekistan is a *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* rising between polygonal shafts at the corners to screen the lower part of the dome, and a deep cavetto moulding within the frame enhances the recession, with a striking row of three blind arches above the entry. In the Būyid D̲j̲urd̲j̲ir portal (4th/10th century) at Iṣfahān, the arch is joined to the entrance wall by two quadrants of a semidome, with a window between. The implications of the dominant façade at Tīm are realised in the three Ḳarak̲h̲ānid [see ILEK K̲H̲ĀNS] tombs at Uzgend in Kyrgyzstan (Ḳīrgīzstan) (*ca.* A.D. 1012-1187), where the diapered terracotta, while derived from the Sāmānid tomb, is now clearly articulated within successive frames reaching the ground, but without the intervention of an arcade; it includes early geometric frets. The Ḳarak̲h̲ānid mausoleum of ʿAlambardār at Āstāna-Bābā (*ca.* 395/1005?) in Türkmenistan has an advanced *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* housing one arch recessed within another, and what appears to have been a full architrave frame (its top is missing) as the centre bay of a tripartite arched front (Pugachenkova, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 268-74). A century later, the Sald̲j̲ūḳ mausoleum at Tākistān in western Persia still has, by contrast, a single, full-front façade, with the outer frame uniting repeatedly recessed frames for the three sections, and rows of flat trilobed *muḳarnas* in the top of each (Hillenbrand, *op. cit.* 1972 in *Bibl.*).

The use of superimposed blind niches to flank the main arch derived from Roman practice, as can be seen in the projecting portal of the great mosque at Mahdiyya (308/920-1) [see BĀB, pl. xxv *a*], whence it appears to have been brought to Fāṭimid Egypt, in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim (393/1003) and the Mosque of al-Aḳmar (519/1125) at Cairo: the latter has a semidomed arch with radial ribbing, flanked by similar superimposed niches with angle shafts and, for the first time, square-framed *muḳarnas* hoods over the lower pair. The absence of minarets in these mosques is due to the connection between the portal itself and the call to prayer in Fāṭimid Egypt. The Aḳmar front is angled so as to adjust the line of a pre-existing street to the *ḳibla*-orientated interior. The derivation may have proceeded separately in Persia.

The 18 m outer arch of the Ribāṭ-i Malik on the Buk̲h̲ārā-Samarḳand road (pre-1078), standing 6 m higher than the walls, is framed by a broad architrave of contiguous stars in relief, housing a smaller entry arch within a plain outlined frame for contrast. That of Sand̲j̲ar's Ribāṭ-i S̲h̲araf (508/1114-15 [*q.v.*]) on the Marw-Nīs̲h̲āpūr road is framed by a Kūfic inscription in deep relief contrasted with smooth mouldings, around a similar four-centred archivolt and diapered spandrels; in the comparable inner portal the inscription rises from piers indented with tall arched niches on either side. By the early 6th/12th century the sanctuary *īwān* of the Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲āmiʿ at Iṣfahān probably had a *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* rising more than twice the height of the two-storied wings on either side, whose original form appears to have incorporated lateral frames of arched panels set one over the other, and a pronounced archivolt; the north entrance was built in 515/1121, and, according to Māfarrūk̲h̲ī, was flanked by paired minarets. The Sald̲j̲ūḳ format of a four-centred arch flanked by superimposed niches is established clearly but simply in the *īwāns* of the Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲āmiʿ at Zawāra (530/1135-6) and that at Ardistān (555/1160), concurrently with the appearance of the four-*īwān* plan in D̲j̲ibāl province. The mosque of Imām Ḥasan at Ardistān (late 6th/12th century) has a portal once crowned by two minarets, possibly the earliest of the type to have survived. Records of the portal at the mausoleum of Muʾmina K̲h̲ātūn at Nak̲h̲čiwān (582/1186) (Useynov *et alii, op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 89, 92) show it to have had a tall arch framed between two cylindrical minarets rising from the ground. In G̲h̲ūrid work, as at the S̲h̲āh-i Mas̲h̲had *madrasa* (571/1175-6) in G̲h̲ard̲j̲istān, and the Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲āmiʿ (*ca.* 1200) at Harāt [*q.v.*], the emphasis remains on broad, highly ornamented Kūfic frames. The east *īwān* at Zawzan (616/1219) incorporates both epigraphic frieze and elaborate *muḳarnas* vaulting. Subsequent structural and decorative developments were to be variations on this scheme. The classic form is achieved in the Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲āmiʿ at Warāmīn (726/1326), with a generous arch, splayed flanks to the projection, and fully integrated faience and terracotta decoration. This splay led later to the Tīmūrid incorporation of *pīs̲h̲ṭaḳ* in the *has̲h̲t bihis̲h̲t* plan type.

A type distinguished by a *muḳarnas* hood spanning from front wall to entry wall emerged in Syria, first in shallow stucco at the Muristān Nūrī at Damascus (549/1154) and then in full depth in stone in the *madrasa* of S̲h̲ādbak̲h̲t (589/1193) or the Ribāṭ Nāṣirī

(635/1237-8) at Aleppo [see BĀB, pl. xxvi]; it results in a triangular profile of successive arcs on the façade. This was subsequently used on mosques. It reached Egypt in the *madrasa* of Baybars (662/1264). Though keel-vaulted entrances were still used for some caravanserais in Anatolia, it was already used there by *ca.* 1200 in the Halifet Gazi mausoleum at Amasya (traditionally dated 540/1145-6) with wriggling torus frames around an arch set on elongated corbels, in the Sitte Melik Kümbeti at Divriği (592-1195-6) with its more sober cranked frame, and in the Mama Hatun Kümbeti (1200-20) at Tercan, where it is flanked by tall angular niches. By 656/1258 it appeared in the mosque of Sahib Ata at Konya flanked by a pair of pleated brick minarets above two diminutive superimposed niches framed by knotted strapwork and mouldings. This type with minarets achieved full expression in the Çifte Minareli Medrese at Erzurum (639/1242?), and the Gök Medrese and Çifte Minareli Medrese, both of 670/1271, in Sivas. A variant with a flat-topped hood appeared in parti-coloured marble in the Büyük Karatay Medrese, Konya, of 649/1251, with cabled angle shafts. Other, highly sculptural Anatolian forms in this wonderfully inventive period are in the İnce Minareli Medresesi, Konya (*ca.* 1258-79), with an inner arch tied by a knotted inscription band through a semidomed outer arch to an arcuated cresting, and the Ulu Cami at Divriği (626/1228-9), where the swarming, heraldic ornament all but obscures the form. The full Egyptian form is to be seen 37 m high in the mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan in Cairo (760/1359), apparently deriving from the Gök Medrese, with its two minarets: the hood climbs to a cusped semidome at the apex, a Syrian detail already used in the Great Mosque of Baybars (667/1269) in its lateral niches [see BĀB, pl. xxv*b*]. Ottoman portals were to incorporate flattened variants of the triangular Sald̲j̲ūk hood [*ibid.* pl. xxix*a*], but their significance was usually reduced by the use of an arcade in front.

The format with double minarets, apparently adopted from Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, was to be characteristic of 8th/14th century Persia under the Mongols. In the Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲āmiʿ at As̲h̲tard̲j̲ān (715/1315) they are set back behind the plane of the *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* frame to rise on top of the structure. The height of the arch is three times its width, housing a *muḳarnas* semi-dome divided from the entry arch by a horizontal inscription frieze, all flanked by three tall superimposed arched niches; subtle use is made of blue glazed brick. Other examples are the portals of the *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* at Naṭanz (707/1307-8) and the Masd̲j̲id-i Niẓāmiyya at Abarḳūh (*ca.* 725/1325), culminating in the *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* of the great mosque at Yazd (*ca.* 730/1330, reconstructed in 765/1364), twice its width in height, with four tiers of niches, where extra buttressing is required behind the façade. In that at Kirmān, built under the Muẓaffarids in 750/1349, the format is transformed by an overall reventment of mosaic tile, with arabesques in the spandrels. The use of a cable moulding to frame the main arch may be a reference to Solomon's supposed ability to mould stone, as told of cabled shafts in Jerusalem (see MIḤRĀB, pl. 1, for the *miḥrāb* of Sulaymān in the Ḳubbat al-Ṣak̲h̲ra). The squinch nets first devised under the Muẓaffarids, though already implicit in the star vaults at Iṣfahān, appear in Tīmūrid work by the end of the century: they are used structurally in the *īwāns* of the Mosque of Fīrūzs̲h̲āh at Turbat-i D̲j̲ām (846/1442-3), but were later to be false. By the second half of the 9th/15th century they were widely to replace *muḳarnas* as the means of transition, though they survived longer in portals than elsewhere, sometimes in combination with nets, as in the much-restored *īwān* of ʿAlī S̲h̲īr Nawāʾī at Mas̲h̲had.

The Great Mosque of ʿAlī S̲h̲āh at Tabrīz (*ca.* 710-20/1310-20) incorporates a vast *īwān* (30.15 m span) in deliberate emulation of Ctesiphon (22.86 m). Not only its size, but the marble columns of the courtyard, and the great marble slabs in the entrances, were to be copied by Tīmūr in his Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲āmiʿ at Samarḳand (806/1403-4) (17 m, and 19 m high), after his even larger portal for the Āḳsarāy at S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz (781-98/1379-96) (22.30 m, *ca.* 50 m high). These may have been influenced by a late 8th/14th century mosque at Sulṭāniyya, no longer extant, since in all three the flanking minarets sprang from the ground (Golombek and Wilber, *op. cit.*, cat. 211). In all, too, the cabled moulding is prominent. This was to be a model for subsequent Tīmūrid, Ṣafawid, and Mug̲h̲al *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳs*.

Hindūstān. The introduction of arched stone frontal screens [see MASD̲J̲ID. II. In Muslim India] gave the central bay a new potential. The form and articulation of the Ribāṭ al-S̲h̲araf front was to be emulated in the deeply-carved screen of the Masd̲j̲id Ḳuwwat al-Islām (595/1199) at Dihlī [*q.v.*], and more closely in that of the Aṛhāʾī-din-kā D̲j̲hōṅpṛā mosque at Ad̲j̲mēr (607-33/1211-36), with its cusped lateral arches, but this time with two non-functional reeded minarets set on top of the 17 m central bay: the Harātī (?) architect cited the Ḳuṭb Minār in their profile [see MANĀRA. 2. In India], probably as a symbol of dominion, thus giving them a new semantic purpose to be resumed elsewhere. In form, he seems to have anticipated the Anatolian double type. The implication, rather than the form of such treatment was continued in the massive domed entrances and *īwāns* of Tug̲h̲luḳid mosques. That at D̲j̲ahānpanāh (Begampur, Dihlī *ca.* 744/1343) incorporates a projecting *čahārṭāḳ* porch with battered walls, enhanced by a wedge of access steps, and a towering *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* to the prayer hall between tapering round angle turrets, in which the arch is almost as tall as the parapet, dwarfing the triple entrance within. This tendency was taken still further at D̲j̲awnpur, as at the Atāla Masd̲j̲id (811/1408), where the sides of the *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* frame are expressed as battered rectangular piers, still housing niches, with an architrave bridging the arch at the top; in front of the prayer hall, the structure forms a pylon five stories high, outtopping the dome, 17 m wide at the base and 23 m high; the arch itself houses five tiers of grouped openings. The *guldasta*, a shaft-like pinnacle, is introduced in Tug̲h̲luḳid work as a prolongation of the angle turret, and is subsequently transformed. Exceptionally, in the Lōdī mosque at K̲h̲ayrpur, Dihlī (900/1494), a façade directly based on the Mustanṣiriyya at Bag̲h̲dād (1233) is modified by advancing the central bay. A Tīmūrid form first appears in the Masd̲j̲id-i Kuhna at Dihlī (*ca.* 1540), with reeded angle shafts recalling the Ḳuṭb, rising into *guldasta* among merlons at the skyline, black fillets trimming an epigraphic frieze, and the first use of geometric white marble inlay in the flat tympanum. Red sandstone is henceforward the normal matrix, with inlaid work [see PĀRČĪN-KĀRĪ]. By 969/1561-2, the K̲h̲ayr al-Manāzil, *ca.* 1568-70, incorporates a semidome for the first time. The portal of Akbar's mosque in the Čis̲h̲tī Dargāh at Ad̲j̲mēr (977/1570) projects between splayed reveals, with one tall arch recessed within another [see MUG̲H̲ALS. 7. Architecture, pl. xx, 1]. His Buland Darwāza at Fatḥpur Sīkrī returns in 983/1575-6 to the monumental scale, 39.62 m wide and 40.84 m high, at the top of a vast flight of steps. The projection is hemioctagonal, with shafts at the angles, the great arch of the main face

housing a hemioctagonal recess with a squinch-netted semidome above. Each splayed face and the three internal sides are articulated in three storeys, with a cresting of small open domed kiosks in series on the skyline. The inscriptions carved in cartouches on the architrave celebrate prayer as a gateway to paradise. The *pīshṭāḳ* acquires a new independence in the Nīl Kanth belvedere at Māndū (982/1574-5), where three are grouped to surround a courtyard with a cascade.

In Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, the gateway (1022/1613) has the arched format of Adjmēr, but is flanked by wings each housing two superimposed arches of the same depth. The inlay is the first to include floral motifs. Above each bevelled corner stands a tall marble minaret, still reeded at the base. The rise of the *pīshṭāḳ* inherently tended to obscure the dome of a *maḳṣūra* behind it, as evident at Fatḥpur Sīkrī [see MUGHALS. 7, pl. xx, 2]. A solution to the problem was found in the little Nagīna Masdjid (*ca.* 1630) in the Āgra Fort, where the newly popular Bangālī curve was used to raise the *čhadjdja* line over the centre bay. Other devices were tried in smaller mosques [see MASDJID, vol. VI, at 697-8]. In the major metropolitan mosques at Āgra (1058/1648), Dihlī (1060-6/1650-6), and Lāhawr (1084/1673-4), however, the *pīshṭāḳ* was retained, with a relatively wide arch surrounded by an unpunctuated architrave, framed by angle shafts enlarged to slender, lanterned minarets, and a single entry arch within [see MUGHALS. 7, pls. xxxi-xxxii]. Palace pavilions [see MAḤALL] generally had straight, uninterrupted eaves, and the function of the *pīshṭāḳ* at court was restricted to entrance gates, often with a raised gallery for the musicians [see MUGHALS. 7, pls. xxiv, 2 and xxviii, 2].

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PIST (P.), a kind of food compounded of the liver of gazelles or almonds, etc. A daily portion of the size of a pistachio (*pista*) is taken by those derwīshes and others who undertake long fasts, e.g. the *čilla* or forty-day fast, and is sufficient to maintain life.

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PIYĀLE PASHA, Ottoman Grand Admiral, came according to St. Gerlach, *Tage-Buch* (Frankfurt a/M. 1674, 448), from Tolna in Hungary and is said to have been the son of a shoemaker, probably of Croat origin. Almost all contemporary records mention his Croat blood (cf. the third series of the *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ed. E. Albèri, Florence 1844-5, and esp. iii/2, 243: *di nazione croato, vicino ai confini d'Ungheria*; 357: *di nazione croato*; iii/3, 294: *di nazione unghero*; 418). Following the custom of the time, his father was later given the name of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and described as a Muslim (cf. F. Babinger, in *Litteraturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, 35, n. 1). Piyāle came in early youth as a page into the Serai in Istanbul and left it as *kapudjī bashī* [see ḲAPIDJI]. The year 961/1554 saw him appointed Grand Admiral (*ḳapudan pasha* [*q.v.*]) with the rank of a *sandjakbey*, and four years later he was given the status of a *beylerbey* (J. von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 406). He succeeded Sinān Pasha, brother of the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], in the office which he had held from 955-61/1548-54. When after his capture of Djerba and other heroic achievements at sea he thought he might claim the rank of *wezīr* with three horse-tails, Sultan Süleymān, thinking it too soon for this promotion and regarding it as endangering the prestige of the vizierate (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, first edition, fol. 36, and *GOR*, iii, 406), married him to his grand-daughter Djewher Sulṭān, a daughter of Selīm II (see *GOR*, iii, 392: summer of 1562). It was not till five years later that he received the three horse-tails as a *wezīr* related by marriage (*dāmād*) like Meḥmed Ṣoḳollu Pasha.

Meanwhile, he had carried out several of his great exploits at sea and attained the reputation of one of the greatest of Ottoman admirals. Along with Torghud Reʾīs, at the instigation of the French ambassador d'Aramon, he had harassed the coast around Naples, besieged and taken Reggio and carried off its inhabitants into slavery. In 982/1555 he endeavoured in vain to besiege Elba and Piombino (see *GOR*, iii, 418), and finally took the fortified harbour of Oran in Algeria with 45 galleys. In the following year, with 60 warships he occupied the port of Bizerta (Bent-Zert) and a year later ravaged Majorca with 150 galleys and burned Sorrento near Naples. In 965/1558 he lay inactive with his fleet, 90 in number, before Valona in Albania in order to watch the enemy fleets there which were preparing an enterprise against Djerba and Tripoli. The 31 July 1560 saw his greatest exploit at sea, namely, the capture of Djerba, which had shortly before been taken by the Spaniards; this he did with 120 ships setting out from Modon. On 27 September 1560, he held his triumphal entry into Istanbul, to which he had sent in advance the news of his victory

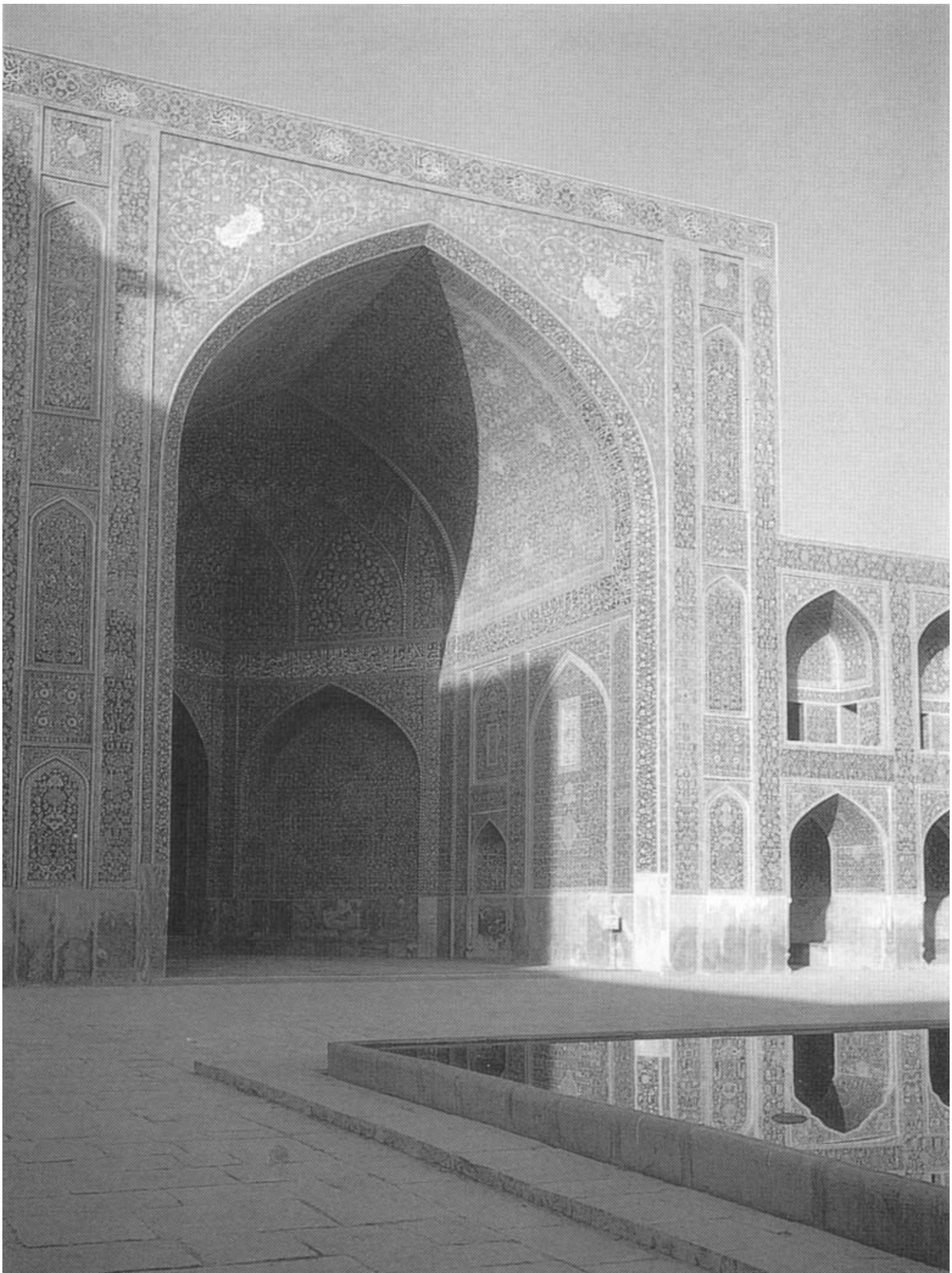

Iṣfahān, Masdjid-i Shāh, entry īwān (N) from inside, 1020-5/1611-6.

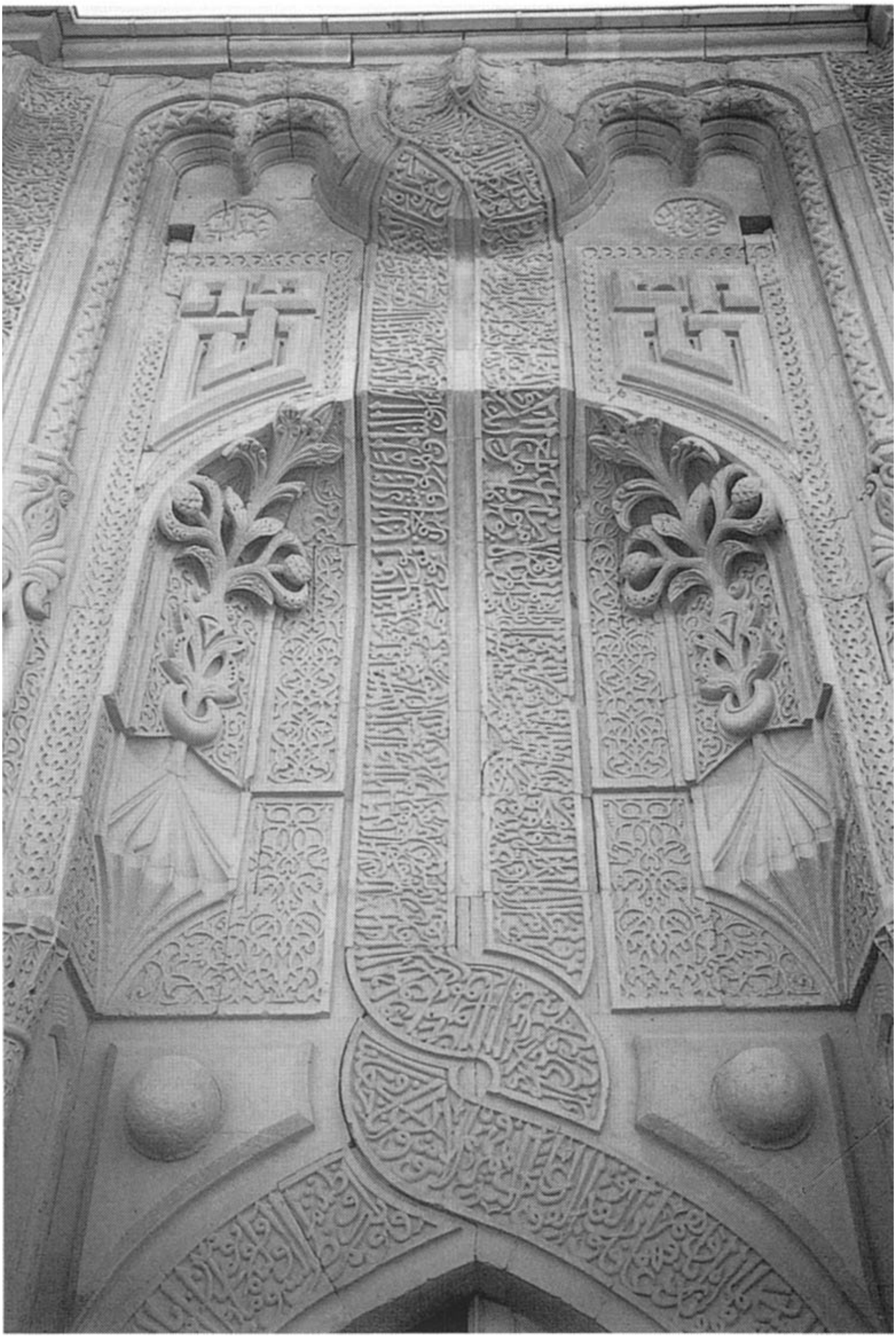

Konya, İnce Minareli Medrese, main portal, *ca.* 656-78/1258-79.

Konya, Büyük Karatay Medresesi, main entrance, 649/1251.

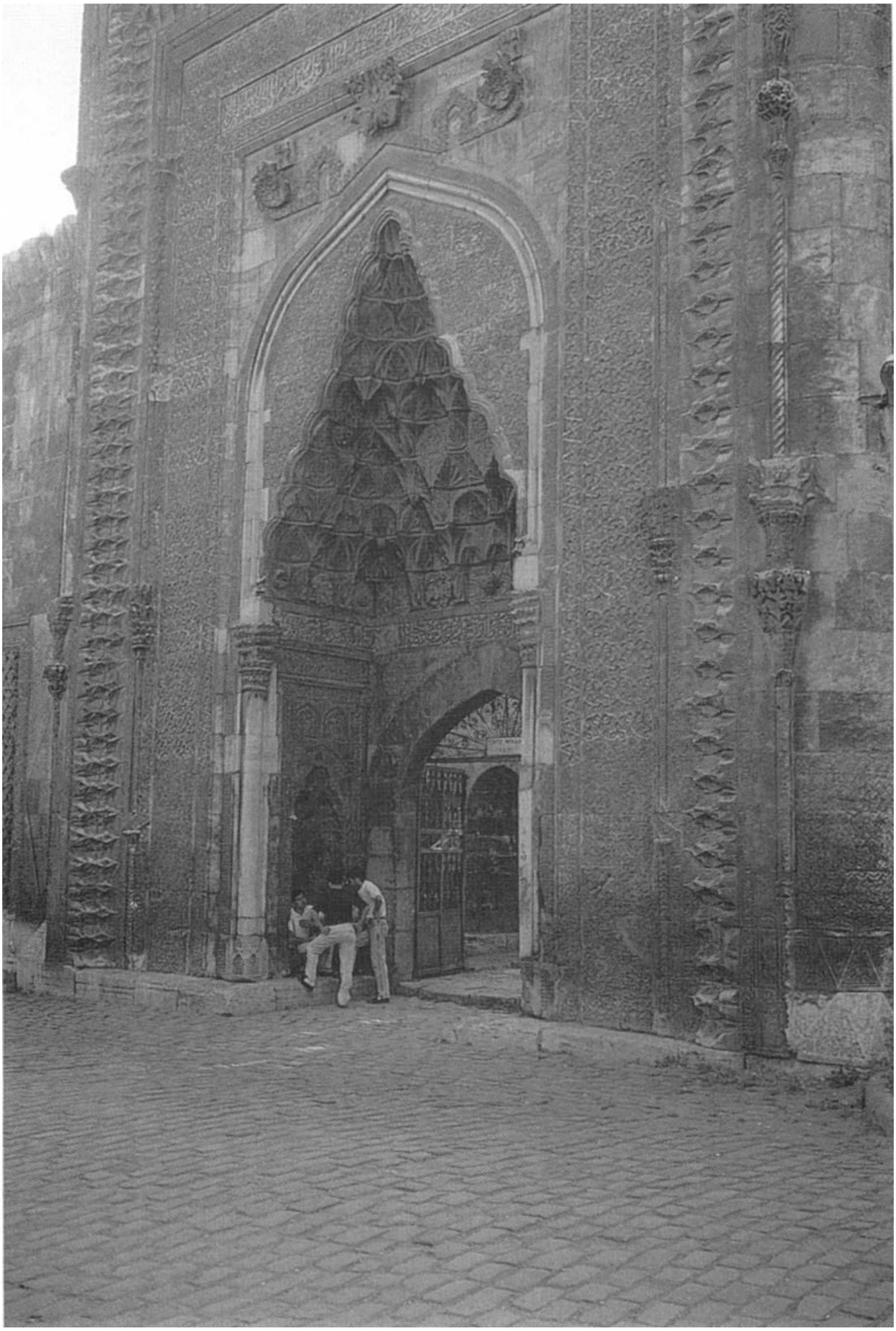

Sivas, Cüveyni Dar ül-hadisi (Çifte Minareli Medrese), 670/1271.

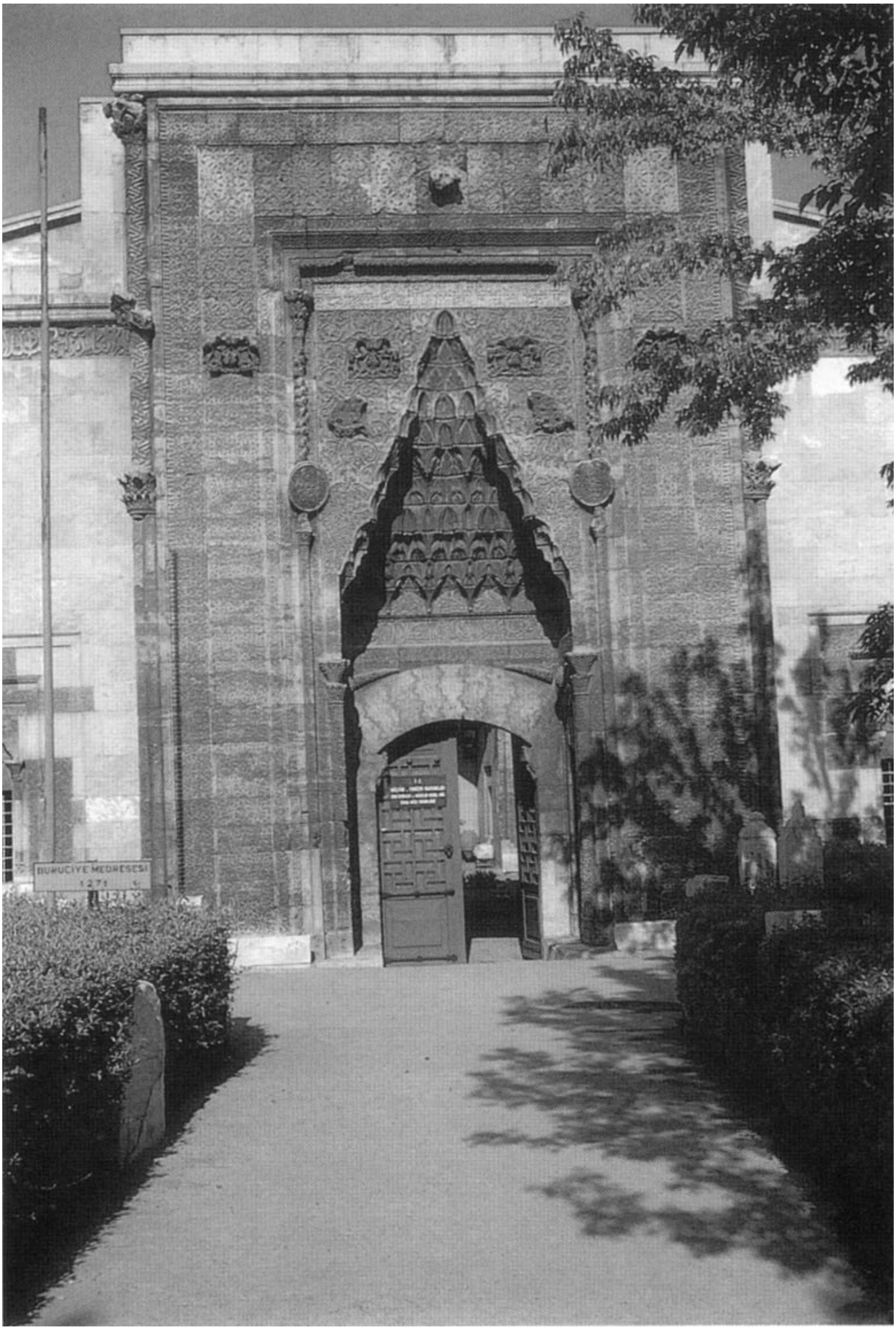

Sivas, Buruciye Medresesi, 670/1271.

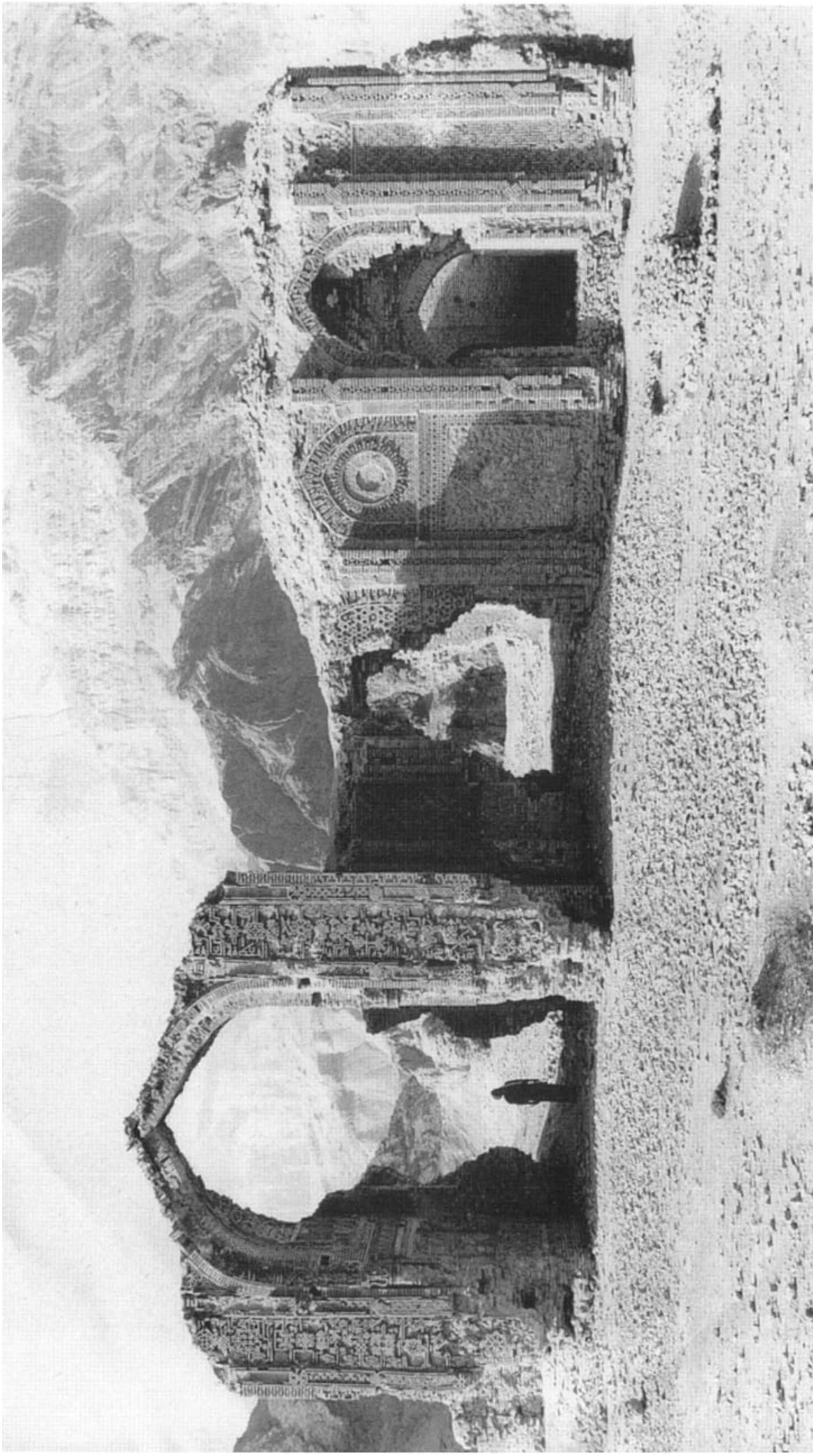

S̲h̲āh-i Mas̲h̲had, G̲h̲ard̲j̲istān.

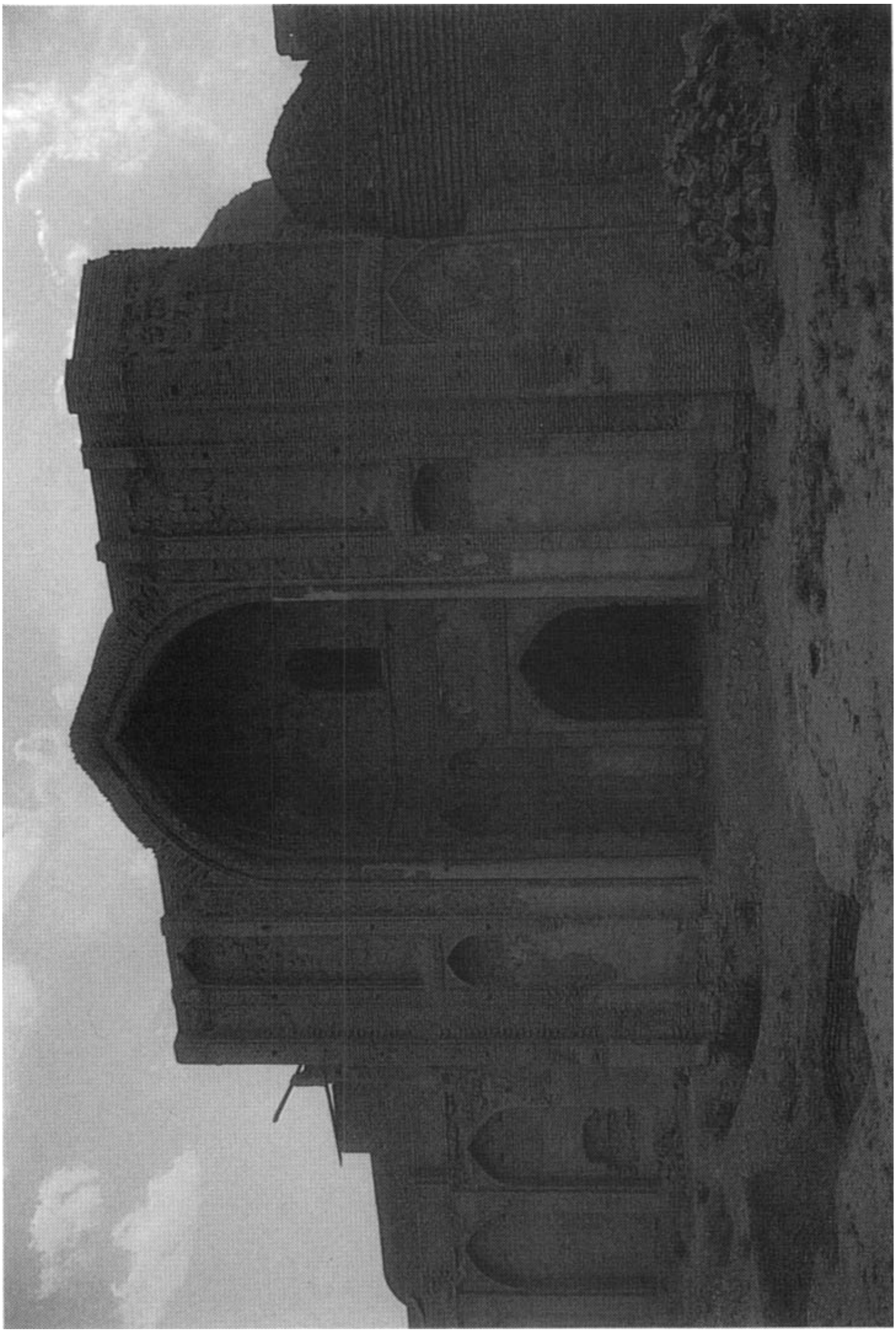

Warāmīn, Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ, 726/1326.

by a galley (see *GOR*, iii, 421 ff.). The Grand Admiral did not take to sea again till four years later when, in August 1564, he took the little rocky island of Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera from the Spaniards in order to prepare for the conquest of Malta, which the sultan's favourite daughter Mihrimāh [see RÜSTEM PASHA] was conducting with all her resources. This time, however, fortune no longer favoured him, for the siege of Malta in June-July 1565 failed against the heroic courage of the Christian defenders, who performed miracles of bravery and inflicted heavy losses on the Ottomans. During the Hungarian campaign of Süleymān in the spring of 973/1566, Piyāle Pasha was placed in charge of the harbour and arsenal of Istanbul (see *GOR*, iii, 438), after previously undertaking a successful raid on Chios and the Apulian coast (*ibid.*, iii, 506 ff.), in which the island of Chios and its harbour passed into his hands (Easter Sunday 1566).

Under Selīm II, his father-in-law, he was disgraced and deprived of office of Grand Admiral because, it was alleged, he had kept the greater part of the booty of Chios for himself (according to the report of the embassy of Albrecht de Wijs of May 1568, in von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 782), and replaced by Muʾedhdhinzāde ʿAlī Pasha. He at once endeavoured to regain the imperial favour by new exploits at sea. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 977/April 1570, he set sail with 75 galleys and 30 galleots, landed first of all on the island of Tine which he captured and next took part in the conquest of Cyprus. On 20 January 1578—according to Ottoman sources on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 985/21 January 1578—he died in Istanbul, according to Stephan Gerlach (cf. his *Tage-Buch*, 448). His vast estates passed in part to the imperial treasury and in part to his widow and children. His widow later married the third *wezīr* Meḥmed Pasha and his second son became *sandjak bey* of Klis (Clissa) above Split (Spalato in Dalmatia) in 992/1584 (cf. the Italian record quoted by von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 104, n. 1: *La Sultana fo moglie di Piale ora di Mohammedbassa terzo vezir, ha ottenuto dal Sign. il Sangiaco di Clissa per il secondo suo figlio con Piale*). Piyāle Pasha was buried in Istanbul in the Ḳāsim Pasha quarter in the mosque founded by him (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥuseyin Aywansarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, ii, 25 ff.).

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PLEVEN [see PLEWNA].

PLEWNA (Ottoman Turkish orthography, پلونه), the modern city of Pleven in northern Bulgaria. It is situated at an altitude of 105 m/336 ft in a depression of the Pleven plateau which is formed by the small river Tučenica, a tributary of the river Vit, which passes the city 6 km/3½ miles to its west. The important road and railway from Sofia to Bucarest and the Black Sea port of Varna passes through this town. In Ottoman times (1393-1878) it was a centre of Islamic life, with many mosques and some important *medreses*, and was the centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ* containing 46 villages. Throughout most of the Ottoman period it belonged to the *sandjak* of Nīkbūlī [*q.v.*] (Nigbolu, Nikopol). After the reorganisation of the provincial administration in 1864, it became part of the *sandjak* of Rusčuk [*q.v.*] (Russe) in the *wilāyet* of Ṭūna. The present city is an Ottoman foundation from the last decade of the 9th/15th century, founded around a *külliyye* consisting of a mosque, a large *medrese* (with 30 student cells), an *ʿimāret*, a *zāwiye*, a primary school and a *ḥammām*, founded by the well-known *aḳîndjî* leader Mīkhāl-oghlū [*q.v.*] ʿAlī Bey. The town gained international fame during the siege of 1877, which held up the Russian invasion of the Ottoman Balkans for over five months and seriously influenced the outcome of the war (see below).

Plewna is the indirect successor of the Roman town of Storgosia, which was destroyed by the Huns (A.D. 441-8) but which was apparently reconstructed later, as is indicated by archaeological finds from the 6th century. Around 600 A.D., during the invasions of the Slavs and the Avars, this settlement, which was situated at the site of Ḳayalîk above the present town, ceased to exist. In the Bulgaro-Byzantine Middle Ages, a castle and a *suburbium* of some size must have existed, but information on it is very meagre: some coins from the First Bulgarian Empire (10th century), a few dozen Byzantine coins from the Comneni emperors (12th century), a Jewish tombstone with an inscription from A.D. 1266, a few silver coins of Tsar Michael Šišman (1323-30) and Tsar Ivan Alexander (1330-71) and, curiously enough, a bronze Buddha statue of the Pala-Sena period (11th-12th centuries). In the mediaeval written sources, Plewna is mentioned only once, in 1266, during the Bulgarian campaign of the Hungarian King Stephen the Great, when his troops took the "castrum Pleun." From this information, Bulgarian historiography has constructed a thriving military and commercial centre.

The capture of the castle of Plewna by the Ottomans is not recorded in local or early Ottoman sources. Its capture has to be connected with the 790-1/1388-9 campaign of the Grand Vizier Djandarlîzāde ʿAlī Pasha, when after the capture of the nearby Nigbolu/Nikopol [see NĪKBŪLĪ], the Ottoman army could have taken it on its way back to Edirne, via Plewna and Lofča (Loveč). Neshrī [*q.v.*], who is the only source describing this campaign with any detail, giving lists of important towns and castles of Bulgaria, is silent about Plewna and Lofča. It is possible that, on this occasion, the mediaeval Plewna was destroyed. It is also possible that this happened in 1444 during the Crusade of Varna, when most north Bulgarian towns were put to the torch, but the principal account of that campaign, by Michael Behaim, is silent about it. Yet this source is incomplete. It does not mention the conquest of Lofča by the Crusaders, a fact which we know from an Ottoman source, *Ghazawāt-nāme-yi Sulṭān Murād Khān*. What Ewliyā Čelebi reports about the conquest is purely legendary and based on misidentifications of the various members of the Mikhāl-oghlu clan, which he associates with it. The castle of Plewna survived into the 10th/16th century, probably serving as a basis for Mikhāl-oghlu ʿAlī Bey, the first of this family about whom we can be certain that he resided in or near Plewna since *ca.* 866/1462. The castle is mentioned in the *taḥrīr* of 922/1516, where, at "High Plewna" (Plewne-yi Bālā), "a castle survives from the time of the unbelievers." The settlement of Plewne-yi Bālā itself is first mentioned in a large fragment of the oldest preserved Ottoman *taḥrīr* of the Nigbolu *sandjak*, an *idjmāl* from 884/1479-80, as having ten Christian and nine civilian Muslim households (ed. N. Todorov and B. Nedkov, *Turski izvori za Bălg. istorija*, ii, Sofia 1966, 244-5). In spite of this small size, it was the administrative centre of a *nāḥiye*. Below it, a settlement called Plewne-yi Zīr existed. This place is mentioned in another fragmentarily preserved *taḥrīr*, from *ca.* 890/1485, as having three households, two widows and two *müdjerreds*, all Christians (Sofia, National Library Kiril i Metodii, Or. Dep. N.K. a.e. 12/9, fol. 10).

In the 1480s, these two places, and 20 uninhabited sites (*mezra*ʿ*a*), were acquired as *mülk* property by Mikhāl-oghlu Ghāzī ʿAlī Bey, who subsequently brought together several hundred Bulgarian Christian and Muslim Turkish settlers, with whom he founded 20 villages and the town of Plewna, built in the depression below the ruined castle, at the site of Plewne-yi Zīr. The new town developed around the socio-religious buildings provided by ʿAlī Bey, among which were many shops. In the *ewāsiṭ* of Radjab 901/end of March 1496, all this was made into a *waḳf*. The *waḳfiyye* is preserved in several copies, in Arabic and in a Turkish translation of the poet-*müderris* Ḍaʿīfī from 962/1554-5, and is partly published by A.S. Levend (*Gazavāt-nāmeleri*, 359-60). The settlers of the town were attracted by freedom from the ʿ*awāriḍ* and *tekālīf* taxes. The Christians of the town and the villages paid only half the *djizye*. ʿAlī Bey had also invited Spanish Jews to his new town, who came by way of Selānik and Sofia (1516: 69 families). In 910/1505 an important addition, *dheyl*, was made to the *waḳf*, of which a Bulgarian extract remains (Trifonov, *Grad Pleven*, 40-1). ʿAlī Bey died in 913/1507-8 and was buried in a *türbe* behind his mosque. His life as a warrior of Islam was sung by the poet Sūzī Čelebi of Prizren. His sons and grandsons continued his policy of promoting the town, adding numerous fountains and paving for the streets (*kaldïrïm*). In 981/1573-4, Süleyman Bey completed the Ḳurshunlu Djāmiʿ, a monumental, domed mosque in the best classical Ottoman style (good photograph by Trifonov, at 45). Khiḍir Bey added a second *medrese*, where the poet Ḍaʿīfī worked as *müderris*. Together with the great *medrese* of ʿAlī Bey, this made Plewna an important provincial centre of Islamic learning. Besides these buildings, the 957/1550 *taḥrīr* mentions five smaller mosques. The 987/1579 *taḥrīr* mentions a mosque of Khadīdje Sulṭān, the daughter of ʿAlī Bey's successor Meḥmed, and the new Friday mosque of Süleymān Bey, son of Ḥasan Bey b. ʿAlī, and a number of *mesdjids*. When in 932/1526 the Ottomans took Buda(pest), a part of the Jews of that city was invited to settle in Plewna (according to the 957/1550 *taḥrīr*, T.D. 382, pp. 685-6, 41 families). The same source also mentions 62 households of Jews from Germany, of which seven were headed by widows, and 84 households (15 headed by widows) of Jews from the Latin lands (*Yahūdiyān-i Frenk*). In the 1570s, these Jewish groups rose to over 200 households, making Plewna one of the largest Jewish centres of the Balkans. Throughout the centuries, Plewna remained a predominantly Muslim town, which in the course of time absorbed and turkified a part of the local Bulgarian population (in 1550, 20% of the Plewna Muslims were of convert origin). A survey of its demographic development, based on the Ottoman *taḥrīrs*, a *mufaṣṣal* ʿ*awāriḍ defter*, *djizye defters*, the census results in 1290/1873-4, the *Sālnāme-yi Wilāyet-i Ṭūna* and the first Bulgarian censuses, is given in the following Table:

IN HOUSEHOLDS

	Muslims	*Christians*	*Jews*	*Gypsies*	*Total*	*Percentage of Muslims*
1479	9	10	/	/	19	47%
1516	200	99	69	11	379	54%
1550	472	185	104	36	797	59%
1579	558	180	209	44	991	56%
1751	441	125	n.d.	n.d.		
1845	n.d.	660	20	n.d.		
1873	1,241	1,477	75	65	2,858	43%
1887	450	2,580	81	40	3,151	14%
1926	525	5,915	115	105	6,660	8%
1934	560	6,690	60	115	7,425	7%

In the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries, the town apparently declined, a process which, in addition to internal reasons, was triggered off by the sack and the destruction of the town by the Rumanians under Michael the Brave in 1064/1596, who also carried off thousands of the inhabitants of the *waḳf* villages and forcibly settled them in Wallachia. After the invasion, the ruins of the mediaeval castle were taken down and the stones used for the construction of a large new *khān* with 70 fireplaces, flanking the *bedesten*.

In 1659 the town was visited by the Bulgarian Catholic archbishop Philipp Stanislavov (ed. Fermandžiev, 1887), who mentions as its inhabitants 500 Orthodox Bulgarians, having two churches, and no less than 5,000 Turks with seven mosques. Three years later, Ewliyā Çelebi visited the town (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vi, 1898-9 164-5; more detailed in the autograph, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Revan Köşk, no. 1457, fol. 59a), who recalls the Wallachian raid of 1064/1596; but most of his "history" is purely legendary or, at best, full of misidentifications of historical persons. In his time, Plewna consisted of "2,000 houses", which is a gross exaggeration. The ʿ*imāret* of Ghāzī ʿAlī Bey, which according to its *waḳfiyye* served everyone twice daily with cooked food, regardless of his religion or origin, was still in full operation. Ewliyā noted that there were seven *mektebs* in the town, six *tekkes* and six *khāns*.

Especially in the prosperous 10th/16th century, the Christian *waḳf* villages around Plewna, and the monasteries of St George near the town and Sadovec outside it, developed an important scribal activity, writing Bibles and church books for the Bulgarian Orthodox churches of northern Bulgaria (survey of preserved copies by Trifonov, 53-6). Of great importance was the literary production of the Plewna Jews, of whom Joseph ben Ephraim Karo, who came from Spain and worked as *Ḥāḥām* in the Plewna synagogue, should be mentioned.

At the end of the 11th/17th century, the land around Plewna suffered badly from the passage through northern Bulgaria on their way to the Hungarian front of the army of the Crimean Tatars under their Khān Selīm Giray, "no cattle, woman and girls being left behind", according to a marginal note in a church book dated October 1689. This event is also recorded in some grafitti in grottos near Plewna, where the people had taken shelter. In 1131/1719, the town suffered much damage when a flood swept away the houses and shops of the lower

quarters of the town. According to the *mufaṣṣal ʿawāriḍ defter* of 1164/1751 (BBA, Kepeci, Mevkufat, 2913), the town was considerably smaller than in the late 10th/16th century, having *ca.* 2,500 inhabitants, of whom almost three-quarters were Muslims. The names of the *maḥalles* were largely the same as in 987/1579. After the end of the 12th/18th century, but particularly throughout the entire 13th/19th century, the town again witnessed a rapid expansion, especially of the Christians, who outnumbered the Muslims at the end of the Ottoman period. During the reforms of Maḥmūd II, the Mīkhāl-oghlu family, living as *mütewellīs* of the *wakfs* of their ancestors, succeeded in keeping most of their property. A *fermān* of Maḥmūd II from 1238/1823 (published by Ihčiev) confirmed them in their possessions. Ḥādjdjī ʿÖmer Bey Mütewellī was reported to be the richest man of the entire north-western Bulgaria. The tax revenue of the 18 *wakf* villages was estimated at one million piastres. The *Sālnāme* of the Ṭūna *wilāyet* of 1286/1869-70 noted that Plewna contained 18 mosques, two churches, one synagogue, 925 shops, a *ḥammām* and 30 *khāns*. The *Sālnāme* of 1285/1868-9 adds three *medreses* and five *tekkes*. In the very last years of the Ottoman period, the geographer Felix Kanitz noted 1,627 Muslim houses and 1,474 Christian ones, giving a total population of about 17,000 inhabitants; with the Christians having larger families than the Muslims, the former would have had a slight majority. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, Plewna became world-famous for its gallant defence of more than five months under the inspired command of (Ghāzī) ʿOthmān Pasha. After crossing the Danube on July 1877, the Russians appeared before Plewna, where they met unexpected resistance. Their attacks from 20 to 30 July were repulsed. The town was not fortified. ʿOthmān Pasha used the excellently defensible position of the surrounding hills, where he had extensive earthworks thrown up. On 11 and 12 September the Russians and the Rumanians, who had been summoned to their assistance, made a third attempt to take Plewna by storm, and again were repulsed with heavy losses. After further failures on 18 September and 19 October, the allies decided upon a regular siege of the town, which was conducted by the Russian general Totleben, the hero of Sebastopol. On 10 November the Russians succeeded in cutting off Plewna from the outside world in an effort to starve the fortress into submission. A month later, on 10 December, ʿOthmān Pasha undertook a last desperate sortie in an attempt to break through the western lines of the besieging army of 120,000 men (including the Tsar in person), which, after an initial success, failed. ʿOthmān Pasha, "the Lion of Plewna", was himself wounded and finally forced to surrender with some 40,000 men. The five months' siege had cost the Russians and their allies over 40,000 men. The fall of Plewna opened the way for the Russians to Edirne and on to San Stefano, where they dictated the peace which was concluded there on 3 March, on the basis of a truce made at Edirne a month before [see also BULGARIA].

The capture of Plewna by the Russians led to a drastic transformation of the town, half-destroyed during the siege. The entire Turkish population fled from fear of the bands of Bulgarian irregulars, and only a third of them returned when, under the new Bulgarian state, ordered life returned. A member of the Mīkhāl-oghlu family even occupied a seat in the Bulgarian Parliament in Sofia. The place left vacant by the departed Turks was immediately filled by Bulgarian newcomers from the villages. With their much bigger families, the number of Bulgarians in the town also grew in a natural way, eroding the percentage of Muslims ever faster. In the decades before World War I, most of the Ottoman buildings of the town were demolished. A huge Russian neo-Byzantine mausoleum came to occupy the site of the mosque, *medrese* and *ʿimāret* of Ghāzī ʿAlī Bey. The mosque of Süleymān Beg was still standing in 1931, but was then replaced by the Military Club. On the site of the great Kerwānserāy, the new building of the provincial administration was erected. Great tree-lined boulevards and squares came to replace the old Turkish quarters. A name like "Tekiiskija Bair" still keeps the memory of the great *zāwiye* of ʿAlī Bey. The bones of the Russian and Rumanian soldiers of "77" were partly placed in the huge mausoleum, partly in large war cemeteries, the Rumanians having their own one, New Grivitsa, where they had fallen in the furious fights around the Grivitsa Redoubt. The village of Grivitsa had been until the end of the Ottoman period one of the major possessions of the *wakf* of Ghāzi ʿAlī Bey. The skeletons of the tens of thousands of Ottoman soldiers, however, were dug up and sold to a British firm to be turned into fertiliser used for English agriculture. A part of the earthworks and trenches of ʿOthmān Pasha was maintained as a memorial and can still be seen. In the 1970s, an enormous memorial building, with a magnificent panorama of the battlefield, was constructed, one more beautiful even than that commemorating the Battle of Borodino (1812) near Moscow.

Ghāzī ʿOthmān Pasha's defences around Plewna left a deep imprint on subsequent Western fortification, the Plewna profile and concept of defence being used in the newer works around Verdun, the principal fortress of France, as well as in the "Position Amsterdam" and in the forts of Chatham (Twydale Redoubt).

After World War II, the city of Pleven, which already before the war had a considerable amount of industry (textiles, canned food, chocolate and metalwork) shot up to become one of the largest industrial centres of northern Bulgaria, with a present population of over 100,000. Until the early 1970s, only one miserable wooden mosque was still standing in Pleven, no longer used by the minuscule Muslim community. Disregarding the earthworks of 1877, not a single Ottoman building remains to testify to the long Islamic past of the town, a situation exemplary for the fate of Islamic culture in south-eastern Europe after the end of Islamic rule.

Bibliography: F. Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*[2], Leipzig 1882, ii, esp. 76 ff. (remarks on early history are worthless); Mouzaffer Pascha-Talaat Bey, *Défence de Plevna d'après les documents officiels et privés réunis sour la direction de muchir Ghazi Osman Pascha*, Paris 1889; C. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1891, 189, 286, 545; E.W. von Herbert, *The Defence of Plevna*, London 1895, repr. Ankara 1990 (Turkish tr. Nureddin Artan, *Plevne müdafaası*, Istanbul 1945); J. Trifonov, *Istorija na grada Pleven do osvoboditelnata voina*, Sofia 1933 (rich material); Ž. Čankov, *Geografski rečnik na Bălgarija*, Sofia 1939, 340-2; Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Ġazavāt-nāmesi*, Ankara 1956; R. Furneaux, *The siege of Plevna*, London 1958 (rich and balanced account); I. Penkov, *Pleven*, Sofia 1962; Şerafettin Turan, *İA*, art. *Plevne*; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *İA*, art, *Mihaloğlu*; Tsv. and G. Todorova, *Pleven, putevoditel*, Sofia 1977; Mihaila Stajnova, *Osmanskite biblioteki v bălgarskite zemi*, Sofia 1982, 150-4; *Ent-*

siklopedija Bălgarija, v, Sofia 1986, art. *Pleven*. The Ottoman sources used here are unpublished, and have not been used previously by those writing about Pleven; hence the picture of the early history of the town as given here differs greatly from that in the works cited above.

The date of construction of the important Ḳurs̲h̲unlu D̲j̲āmiʿ is given as a chronogram, *mesd̲j̲id-i aḳṣā-yî t̲h̲ānī oldî* (Trifonov, 44-5), which Trifonov and those following him took for 927/1521, instead of the correct 981/1573-4. (M. Kiel)

PLOVDIV [see filibe].

POLEY [see bulāy].

POMAKS, the name given to a Bulgarian-speaking group of Muslims in Bulgaria and Thrace, now divided amongst Bulgaria, Greece and the Macedonian Republic of Yugoslavia. This name, which is usually given them by their Christian fellow-countrymen, used also to be given occasionally by Bulgarians to Muslims speaking Serbian in western Macedonia. There, however, the Serbian Muslims are usually called *torbeši* (sing. *torbeš*) by their Christian fellow-citizens, sometimes also *poturi*, more rarely *kurki*, etc. How far these Serbian Muslims were still called Pomaks by some people in the early 20th century depended mainly on the influence of the Bulgarian school and literature, and would only be correctly applied when used of Muslims who had actually migrated from Bulgaria, e.g. in 1877-8 (cf. J.H. Vasiljević, *Južna Stara Srbija*, i, 187-8, 207, 236). In the Rhodopes, the Bulgarian Muslims are also called *achrjani* (*ch* = *k̲h̲*) or *agarjani* (Ischirkoff, ii, 15). In some parts of Southern Serbia and Bulgaria, the name *čitak* (pl. *čitaci*) is occasionally heard, and it used sometimes to be said (e.g. by A. Urošević, in *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, v [1929], 319-20) that this name was only given to Serbs converted to Islam; the truth seems to be, however, that this name is limited to Turks in the two countries (cf. H. Vasiljević, *Muslimani...*, 34, and Elezović, in *Srpski književni glasnik*, xxviii [1929], 610-14, and in *Rečnik kosovskometohiskog dijalekta*, ii, 449). No more correct is the statement that *apovci* is the name given to Serbian Muslims in Southern Serbia, for this seems to be a name applied to one another only by Albanians who are closely related to one another (brothers and cousins, according to H. Vasiljević, *Muslimani...*, 34).

The origin and the etymology of these names are in part more or less obscure and arbitrary. The usual explanation that the name Pomak comes from the verb *pomoći* "to help" and means helper (*pomagači*), i.e. auxiliary troops of the Turks, was first given by F. Kanitz (*Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*, ii, Leipzig 1882, 182), but was soon afterwards (1891) declared by Jireček (see *Bibl.*) to be inadequate. Another equally improbable popular etymology is that which explains Pomak by the Bulgarian word *măk* = "torment, force", and justifies this explanation by saying that the conversion of the Bulgars to Islam on a considerable scale was carried out by force and constraint (Ischirkoff, ii, 15). In 1933, Iv. Lekov (see *Bibl.*) explained the name Pomak from *poturnjak* (lit. "one made a Turk"). Whether the word *čomaḳ*, which in Turkish means "club, cudgel", in Uyg̲h̲ur "Muslim" and in South Russia "pedlar" (cf. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 73-4), is in any way connected with Pomak, or has been influenced by the Bulgarian *poturnjak* or confused with it, has still to be investigated.

1. History of the Pomaks from their origin to the Second World War.

The history of the conversion of the "Pomaks" and "Torbeši" is very little known in detail. In any case, the adoption of Islam did not take place everywhere at once but was gradual and at different periods. A beginning was made immediately after the battle of Marica (1371) and after the fall of Trnovo (1393): many Serbs and Bulgars at this time, and especially, as Jireček thought, the nobles and the Bogomils among these, adopted Islam. After these first conversions under Bāyazīd II, considerable numbers of converts were made according to native tradition in the reign of Selīm I (1512-20); for this purpose he is said to have sent his "favourite Sinān Pas̲h̲a" into the territory of the Šar mountains. The highlands of Čepino (in the Rhodopes) were converted, according to local histories, in the beginning of the 17th century; according to Jireček (*Fürstenthum*, 104), however, not till the middle, in the reign of Meḥemmed IV (1648-87); the Grand Vizier Meḥmed Köprülü is said to have taken a leading part in the work. The conversion to Islam of the Danube territory (Loveč, etc.) is put in this period. Towards the end of this century (sc. the 17th), further conversions took place among the Serbs in the Debar region. In some districts Islam only gained a footing on a large scale in the course of the 18th century and sometimes not till the beginning of the 19th (e.g. in Gora, south of Prizren).

Until the early 20th century, one was very often inclined to believe that these conversions to Islam were made under compulsion, even by force of arms, but subsequently the view began to prevail that the authorities never took any direct steps to proselytise their Christian subjects; conversion was on the contrary voluntary and for quite different reasons except in a few exceptional cases (cf. e.g. H. Vasiljević, *Muslimani...*, esp. 53-61).

Towards the end of the 19th century, when the process of conversion had ceased for decades everywhere, the great majority of the Slav Muslims (Bulgar and Serb) were to be found in the Rhodopes and the mountains of eastern Macedonia and in groups of considerable size up and down Macedonia as far as the Albanian frontier, a wide area which stretched in the north from Plovdiv (Philippopolis) to Salonika in the south and in the east from the central course of the Arda over the Vardar and even beyond the Crni Drim, i.e. across the districts of Ohrid, Debar, Gostivar and Prizren to the west. At that time only a small part of this territory, which was interspersed with Christian areas, belonged to the principality of Bulgaria; the greater part was still Turkish, and only after the Balkan War passed to Serbia or after the First World War to the former Yugoslavia. In addition to the main body of Muslim Bulgars in the Rhodopes mountains, there were at the same time also sporadic groups north of the Balkan range in the Danube territory, in the circles of Loveč, Pleven (Plevna) and Orehovo (Rahovo).

Since then, however, the frontiers of the "Pomaks" have receded considerably. During the siege of Plevna almost all the Bulgarian Muslims fled from the Danube districts to Macedonia; although they returned in 1880, they soon afterwards migrated into Turkey. After the union of eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria in 1885, the Rhodopes "Pomaks" also began to emigrate. The frontiers of the "Torbeši" likewise were not unaffected. The Balkan War and the First World War brought about certain changes which resulted in the migration of some bodies of Serbian Muslims out of Southern Serbia.

As regards the distribution of these Muslim Slavs according to countries, the following statistics may be quoted. In what used to be the principality of

Bulgaria Jireček estimated (1891) their number at most 28,000 souls, and before the Balkan War there were within the old frontiers of Bulgaria (according to official statistics of 1910) 21,143 (0.49% of the population). In the lands acquired in the Balkan War in Southern Bulgaria there were, however, many more Pomaks, mainly in the regions of the rivers Arda, Mesta and Struma, so that the official census of 1920 makes their number 88,399 (1.82% of the whole population). A somewhat higher figure was given by the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* for 1929 (305), namely 16,000 Pomaks in Bulgaria proper and 75,337 in Thrace, i.e. 91,337 in all. The 1926 census gave 102,351 Bulgarian-speaking Muslims in Bulgaria, i.e. 1.87% of the population, while the number of Muslims in Bulgaria without distinguishing their languages was then 789,296 or 14.41% of the population. Of these 102,351 Bulgarian-speaking Muslims only 5,799 lived in the towns and the remaining 96,552 in the villages. Literate Pomaks in the whole of Bulgaria in 1926 numbered only 6,659 in 1926 (of whom 5,534 were men).

The number of Pomaks (in reality of Muslim Slavs) in Macedonia was, according to S. Verkovič (1889; see *Bibl.*) 144,051 men.

As regards the number of Serbian-speaking Muslims in Southern Serbia, they were estimated by H. Vasiljević (*Muslimani*..., 11 ff.), whose calculations were, however, to some extent based on the situation before the Balkan War, at 100,000 souls; in 1935 the figure was put at 60,000 and the number of Serbo-Croat-speaking Muslims in the whole of the former Yugoslavia at about 900,000 (exact figures could not be given because the statistics according to religions had not been published).

For Thrace, the figure of 75,337 Muslim Bulgars has already been given from the *Annuaire*; in Western Thrace there were, according to the inter-Allied census (of March 1920), 11,739 (cf. *La question de la Thrace*, ed. by the Comité suprême des réfugiés de Thrace, Sofia 1927).

On these statistics, the following observations may be made. The Bulgars (e.g. Kănčov) usually included as "Pomaks" all the Macedonian Slavs of Muslim faith, i.e. including Serbs from Southern Serbia. On the other hand, on account of their religion these Muslim Slavs were sometimes carelessly counted with the Turks. Moreover, some statistics were not completely free from chauvinistic and political bias. The European estimates, finally, were based on approximations or were quite arbitrary.

In spite of the fact that the Pomaks and Torbeši are occasionally included among the Turks and in spite of the fact that they sometimes call themselves Turks, they are nevertheless the purest stratum of the old Bulgarian or Serbian population, as the case may be, who have preserved their Slav type and Slav language (especially archaic words) very well, sometimes even better—as a result of their being cut off from the Christians and their isolation in outlying districts—than their Christian kinsmen, who have been constantly exposed to admixture from other ethnic elements. They have a certain feeling of aversion for the Turks, whose language they do not understand. It is only in the towns that we find that in course of time some of these Slavs have adopted the Turkish language. What bound them to the Ottomans was not language, but principally a common religion, with its prescriptions and customs (e.g. the veiling of women), which along with Turkish rule naturally imposed upon them many Arabic and Turkish words. In spite of this, there have survived among them many pre-Islamic customs and reminiscences of Christianity (observation of certain Christian festivals, etc.).

That the Bulgar Muslims in particular occasionally (esp. in 1876-8) fought alongside the Turks against the Christian Bulgars may be ascribed to the fact that, as a result of their low cultural level, they made no clear distinction between nation and religion and that their Christian fellow-countrymen treated them as Turks and not as kinsmen. These mistakes were repeated in the Balkan War, when the victorious Bulgar troops and the Orthodox priests were led so far as to convert the Pomaks in the Rhodopes and other districts to Christianity, mainly by pressure and force of arms. But on the conclusion of peace, they returned to Islam again. This was frankly admitted by the Bulgarian geographer Iširkov (Ischirkoff) and the Bulgarian writer Iv. Karaivanov (in his Bulgar periodical *National Education*, Küstendil 1931, according to Ćamalović [see *Bibl.*]).

A century or so ago, the songs and ballads of the "Pomaks" were the subject of much dispute. A Bosnian ex-cleric, Stefan Verković (1827-93), an antique dealer in Seres, published under the title of *Veda Slavena* (i.e. the "Veda of the Slavs", Belgrade 1874, vol. i) a collection of songs which were alleged to have been collected mainly among Pomaks and which celebrated "pre-Christian and pre-historic" subjects (the immigration into the country, discovery of corn, of wine, of writing and legends of gods with Indian names, of Orpheus, etc.). A. Chodzko, A. Dozon (*Chansons populaires bulgares inédites*, Paris 1875; cf. also *Revue de littérature comparée*, xiv [1934], 155 ff.) and L. Geitler (*Poetické tradice Thrákŭ i Bulharŭ*, Prague 1878) also strongly supported belief in this "Veda"; it was even assumed that the Pomaks were descended from the ancient Thracians, who had been influenced first by Slav culture and then by Islam.

But of ballads on such subjects neither the Muslim nor the Christian Bulgars knew anything, and Jireček, who investigated the question on the spot, repeatedly described this "Slav Veda" as the fabrication of some Bulgarian teachers (*Fürstenthum*, 107[1]). We now know that Verković's chief collaborator was the Macedonian teacher Iv. Gologanov (cf. Pentscho Slawejkoff, *Bulgarische Volkslieder*, Leipzig 1919, 15).

In view of the fact that the Muslims in question consist mainly of conservative dwellers in the mountains and villages, they were for the most part illiterate and there could be no possibility of any literary activity among them. The only people among them who could write are the khōdjas, who frequently used the Turkish language and Arabic alphabet when writing. They also frequently used the latter alphabet when writing their mother tongue. (It is interesting to note that, even today (1993), the Pomaks in Greek Western Thrace have new Ottoman Turkish schoolbooks in the Arabic script.) Of earlier generations of Bulgar Muslims, many distinguished themselves in the Turkish army or otherwise in the Turkish service.

Bibliography (in addition to works mentioned in the text): C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876, 356, 457, 520, 568 and 578; idem, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1891, 102-8 (the principal passage), 310, 346, 353, 453-6; S.I. Verkovič, *Topografičesko-ethnografičeskij očerk Makedonij*, St. Petersburg 1889 (gives full tables of the numbers of Pomaks in some districts and even villages); V. Kănčov, *Makedonija etnografija i statistika*, Sofia 1900, 40-53 (where a portion of the older literature is given, esp. p. 42) with an ethnographical map of Bulgaria on which these

"Muslim Bulgar" settlements are specially marked; J. Cvijić, *Osnove za geografiju i geologiju Makedonije i Stare Srbije*, i, Belgrade 1906, 182; Vl. R. Đorđević, *U Srednjim Rodopima, putopisne beleške od Plovdiva do Čepelara*, in *Nova iskra*, Year 8 (Belgrade 1906), 172-6, 198-205 (interesting description of a Serbian journey in the year 1905 on the life and customs of the Pomaks); M. Gavrilović, in *Grande Encyclopédie*, s.v.; A. Ischirkoff, *Bulgarien, Land und Leute*, ii, Leipzig 1917, 14-17; J. Hadži Vasiljević, *Muslimani naše krvi u Južnoj Srbiji*[2], Belgrade 1924; idem, *Skoplje i njegova okolina*, Belgrade 1930, 314; J.M. Pavlović, *Maleševo i Maleševci*, Belgrade 1929, 35, 244-5, 251; S. Ćemalović, *Muslimani u Bugarskoj*, in *Gajret*, Year 8 (Sarajevo 1932), 345-5, 364-5, 375-6 (also in *La Nation Arabe* for 1932, nos. 10-12); A. Bonamy, *Les musulmans de Pologne, Roumanie et Bulgarie*, in *REI* (1932) (deals with the Pomaks (p. 88) very superficially); Iv. Lekov, *Kăm văpros za imeto pomak* (On the question of the name "Pomak"), in *Sbornik poluvekovna Bălgarija*, Sofia 1933, 38-100 (cf. *Bibliographie Géographique Internationale*, Paris 1933, 317, which also quotes a short article by G. Ivanov on the history of the Loveč-Pomaks (*Za minaloto na lovčenskite pomaci*), appeared in *Loveč i Lovčensko*, v, Sofia 1933); *Annuaire statistique du royaume de Bulgarie*, Sofia 1934, 23, 25, 28.

(F. Bajraktarević)

The preceding article skilfully brings together what was known of the Pomaks on the eve of the Second World War. One can, however, add to the bibliography for that period certain items not noted there or which have appeared since 1935, such as: L. Miletič, *Lovčanskite Pomaci*, in *Bălgarski Pregled*, v/5 (Sofia 1899), 67-78; St. Šiškov, *Pomacite v trite bălgarski oblasti: Trakija, Makedonija i Mizija*, Plovdiv 1914 (cf. a notice on this work, *Les Bulgares mahometans des Rhodopes et les traces du christianisme dans leur vie*, in *En terre d'Islam*, vi/51 [Nov.-Dec. 1931], 387-8); idem, *Bălgaro-mohamedanite (Pomaci). Istoriko-zemepisen i narodoučen pregled s obrazi*, Plovdiv 1936 (cf. an especially useful review by M.S. Filipović, in *Pregled*, xi/166 [Sarajevo, Oct. 1937], 673-9; Ahmet Cevat Eren, *Pomaklar*, in *İA*, ix, 572-6; idem, *Pomaklara dair*, in *Turk Kültürü*, i/4 (Ankara 1963), 37-41; Ch. Vakarelski, *Altertümliche Elemente in Lebensweise und Kultur der bulgarischen Mohammedaner*, in *Zeitschr. für Balkanologie*, iv (Berlin 1966), 149-72; N. Kaufman, *Pesni na Bălgarite mohamedani ot Rodopite*, in *Rodopski Zbornik*, ii (Sofia 1969), 41-130; B. Lory, *Une communauté musulmane oubliée: les Pomaks de Loveč*, in *Turcica*, xix (1987), 95-116.

In regard to the thorny problem of the Islamisation of the Pomaks, see the viewpoint of St. Dimitrov, *Demografski otnošenija i pronikvaneto na islama v zapadnite Rodopi i dolinata na Mesta prez XV-XVI v.*, in *Rodopski Zbornik*, i (1965), 165-84.

2. The Pomaks during the Second World War.

Being one of the Axis Powers, Fascist-controlled Bulgaria was awarded by Hitler, on the one hand, the southern territories of contemporary Serbia (or Old Serbia, *Stara Srbija* or *Južna Srbija*) and on the other, western Thrace (belonging to Greece), which meant that, from 1941 to 1944, the Pomaks of the Balkans found themselves united within one state. Our knowledge of their situation at that time varies from region to region, but everywhere it was extremely bad: social and economic deprivation, a deplorable health position and continual discrimination on the part of the authorities, religious and cultural oppression, driving the Pomaks towards a "religious fanaticism", according to the expression used by Bulgarian authors themselves.

On the Bulgarian occupation of south Serbia (which in 1944 became part of Yugoslavian Macedonia), see the collective work (from a pro-Macedonian, extremely anti-Bulgarian viewpoint) called *Denacionalizatorska dejnost na bugarskite kulturno-prosvetni institucii vo Makedonija (Skopska i Bitolska okupaciona oblast 1941-1944)*, Skopje 1974.

On the Pomaks of Bulgaria proper, see V. Božinov, *Bălgarite mohamedani prez Vtorata svetovna vojna (1939-9.IX.1944)*, in *Iz minaloto na Bălgarite mohamedani v Rodopite*, Sofia 1958, 137-44; idem, *Bălgarite mohamedani i văorăženata borba sreštu fašizma*, in *ibid.*, 144-51, where some further references can be found. (It should be mentioned in passing that a law is said to have been passed on 8 July 1942 concerning the compulsory Bulgarisation of names borne by the Pomaks, and that 60,000 of them had to change their names at this time.) On the participation of some Pomaks in the anti-Fascist struggle at the side of the "partisans" (i.e. Bulgarian Communists) towards the end of 1944, see *Iz minaloto...*, 148-51; Ju. Memišev, *Účastieto na bălgarskite Turci protiv kapitalizma i fašizma 1919-1944*, Sofia 1977.

As for the Pomaks of Greek Western Thrace (the southern part of the Rhodope Mountains) at this time, we possess a piece of evidence (rapid and incomplete, it is true, but completely first-hand) from the Orthodox Bulgarian Patriarch Kiril, who visited these regions in 1943-4: Kiril, patriarh bălgarski, *Bălgaromohamedanski selišta v Južni Rodopi (Ksantijsko i Gjumjurdžinsko) toponimno, etnografsko i istoričesko izsledvane*, Sofia 1960. This contains much information on the daily life of this people (especially on the ethnographic level), but also on the general atmosphere in these isolated mountain villages. The local Pomaks were often hostile to their visitor; they spoke Bulgarian and knew no Turkish whatsoever; their womenfolk were only very rarely veiled; polygamy was unknown; divorce was very rare; but the villages adjacent to the plain were, more and more, becoming slowly Turkicised. On the religious and cultural level should be noted the survival of certain Christian customs, the fact that the dead were buried in the direction of Mecca and the existence of mosques in the villages (but only one *tekke* is mentioned, in the district of Šahin, whilst the *medreses* were all in ruins).

3. The Pomaks from the end of the Second World War to the present time.

Since 1945, the history of the Pomaks in the Balkans can be followed in two countries only, Bulgaria and Greece, in the light of the fact that, the Communist Yugoslavian authorities having set up a "Socialist Federal Republic of Macedonia", all the Slavonic-speaking Muslims of the region became *ipso facto* the Muslim Macedonians. There are, moreover, relatively few works on this group of Muslims of former Yugoslavia. See e.g. J.F. Trifunoski, *Za torbešite vo porečieto na Markova Reka*, in *Godišen Zbornik (Fil. Fak.)*, iv/1 (Skopje 1951), 3-11; D.Hr. Konstantinov, *Makedonci muslimani*, in *Prilozi, Društvo za nauka i umetnost*, xv (Bitola 1970), 139-46; and above all, N. Limanoski, *Etno-socijalne karakteristike islamizevanih Makedonaca*, Belgrade 1991 (unpubl. thesis); and then, in a much wider perspective, A. Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique. Les musulmans du sud-est européen dans la période post-ottomane*, Berlin-Wiesbaden 1986; idem, *Les musulmans yougoslaves (1945-1989). Médiateurs et métaphores*, Lausanne 1990. One can nevertheless wonder whether the present dissolution of the Com-

munist countries into ethnic and regional groups may not bring about the re-appearance some day of the former entities of this land, such as the Pomaks/Pomaci, the Čitaks/Čitaci, the Torbeš/Torbeši, the Gorans/Corani, etc. We shall know at some future time, but at the present moment, amongst these diverse groups, the Gorani (Slavonic-speaking Muslims of Skopska Crna Gora) alone speak of themselves and seem to display a certain cohesiveness, through the medium of a handful of spokesmen, notably vis-à-vis the Turkish and Albanian Muslims of Macedonia.

The Pomaks of Bulgaria (peasants and shepherds of the Rhodopes and the region of Razlog and a few other places, numbering from 150,000 to 200,000 persons) continued to endure an extremely difficult situation, within a climate of permanent hostility from the Bulgarian Communist authorities. They speak Bulgarian and have no knowledge of Turkish, which excludes them from the very strong Turkish community of the land, three or four times more numerous and much more structured. Being for the most part illiterate until recent times and never having had, in practice, a local "intelligentsia", it would have been logical to conclude until very recently that their assimilation was only a question of time. Meanwhile, they are considered in Bulgaria (and they are still taken into consideration) rather as "lost children" of the nation. Their religiosity (which is, in fact, more like an attachment to a sort of "popular Islam") has had to suffer since 1945 the ravages of time (notably under the continual attacks of Soviet-style "scientific atheism"). Official Bulgarian publications on the local Pomaks (since 1945) are somewhat condescending. They set forth unanimously their very backward cultural state in relationship to the rest of the Orthodox Bulgarian populaltion, but strongly insist that they are indigenous Bulgarians which various forces and "malevolent" tendencies have tried, on many occasions, either to assimilate to the Turks or to separate from their ethnic brothers and homeland. See e.g. P. Marinov, *Iz mirogleda na sredno rodopskite Bălgari-mohamedani*, in *Bălgarski narod*, ii/1, Sofia 1947; N. Vrančev, *Bălgari mohamedani (Pomaci)*, Sofia 1948; V. Božinov, *Bălgarite mohamedani pri narodnata vlast*, in *Iz minaloto...*, 151-6; K. Vasilev, *Rodopskite Bălagari-mohamedani*, Plovdiv 1961; *Narodnostna i bitova obštnost na rodopskite Bălgari*, Sofia 1969; *Bălgarite mohamedani-nerazdelna čast ot bălgarskija narod (preporačitelna bibliografija)*, Blagoevgrad 1971 (with a lengthy bibl.); C. Monov, *Prosvetnoto delo sred Bălgarite s mohamedanska vjara v rodopskija kraj prez godinite na narodnata vlast (1944-1968)*, in *Rodopski Zbornik*, iii (1972), 9-51; A. Promovski, *Bit i kultura na rodopskite Bălgari*, Sofia 1974; P. Petrov, *Razprostranenie na isljama v Rodopite*, in *Rodopite v bălgarska istorija*, Veliko Tărnovo 1974, 62-86; K. Kanev, *Srednorodopski (svadbeni) nravi i običai*, in *Rodopi*, 1974/10, 22-6; idem, *Srednorodopski običai*, in *Rodopi*, 1974/11, 22-4; etc. For a diametrically opposed view, amongst numerous publications of this type, see *Rodoplardaki son Türk katliâmının iç yüzü*, Istanbul 1972.

The attempts at forcible (and all other means) assimilation of the Pomaks by the Bulgarian Communist authorities increased to a brutal pitch after 1979 (see e.g. K. Yanatchkov, *Entre le croissant et le marteau: les musulmanes bulgares*, in *L'Alternative* [Paris, Jan.-Feb. 1980] 22-3), culminating dramatically in the events of February-March 1985. From this date onwards, the Western press began to speak on numerous occasions of several dozen (even, of several hundred) deaths: murders committed in the course of the Bulgarisation of names campaign (first amongst the Pomaks, then amongst the Turks of Bulgaria), an action which involved not only the change of names of living persons but also (by means of the civil government registers and the gravestones in cemeteries) those of parents and ancestors. The fall from power of Communism stopped this barbarous policy, and the governments formed after this time have made numerous acts of appeasement and goodwill towards the local Pomaks, especially since the necessity of a coalition (probably tactical and ephemeral) with the political Party of the Bulgarian Turks.

We are relatively well informed about the life of the Pomaks of Greece (around 25,000 to 30,000 persons, and living in the Rhodopes, along the Bulgarian frontier) during this period. These form an exclusively village society, apart from those settled in the towns and settlements of Western Thrace, where they are undergoing a slow Turkification process because of the presence there of a Turkish community, much better organised and three or four times as numerous. It is very much an introspective community, living in a mountain region to which access (since it is a military zone) was forbidden until very recent times to Greeks and foreigners alike and only to be entered with a special permit, difficult to get. The cultural level of this population seems to have remained fairly modest, and in any case we do not have (as is the case for the Pomaks of Bulgaria) any written eye-witness information. What we know at present of it rests on several works which are mainly of an ethnographical and sociological nature. See e.g. B. Vernier, *Rapports de parenté et rapports de domination ... Représentation mythique du monde et domination masculine chez les Pomaques*, diss. Paris, EHESS 1972 unpubl. (a brief analysis of it in Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, 169-70); E. Arvanitou, *Turcs et Pomaks en Grèce du Nord (Thrace Occidentale). Une minorité religieuse ou deux minorités nationales, sous une administration hellénique chrétienne*, diss. Univ. de Paris VII, unpubl.; F. de Jong, *Names, religious denomination and ethnicity of settlements in Western Thrace*, Leiden 1980; E. Sarides, *An ethnic-religious minority between Scylla and Charybdis. The Pomaks in Greece*, in *La transmission du savoir dans le monde musulman périphérique. Lettre d'information*, 5 (April 1986), 17-25; idem, *Ethnische Minderheit und zwischenstaatliches Streitobjekt. Die Pomaken in Nordgriechenland*, Berlin 1987. As for the official attitude of the Greek authorities (and of some local authors), this is disconcerting. It is currently maintained that this is a Greek population (or else the descendants of ancient Thracian tribes) completely separate from the Bulgarian Pomaks, a population which was allegedly first of all Bulgarised, and then Islamised, some time later. See e.g. N. Xirotiris, *Personal remarks on the distribution of the frequencies of blood groups amongst the Pomaks* [in Greek], Salonica 1971; Ph. Triarkhis, *The Rhodope administrative district yesterday and today* [in Greek], Salonica 1974; Pan. Photeas *The Pomaks of Western Thrace (a small contribution to a great subject)* [in Greek], Komotini 1976; and finally, three works, also in Greek, recently have appeared: P. Hidiroglou, *The Greek Pomaks and their relations with Turkey*, Athens 1989; Y. Magriotis, *The Pomaks or Rodopeoi*, Athens 1990; and P. Mylonas, *The Pomaks of Thrace*, Athens 1990, on which one can find a lucid analysis by M. Anastasiadou, *Trois livres sur les Pomaks de Grèce*, in *La transmission du savoir ... Lettre d'information*, xi (March 1991), 64-6, who writes specifically, "The feeling which one gets from reading these three works is that the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now con-

demned to isolation—but above all wishes to prevent at any price the Pomaks from drawing closer to the Turks of Western Thrace". There is, moreover, no doubt that the fall of the Communist régime in Bulgaria will have as a result the opening-up of this region of Greece and, as a result, the end of the isolation of the local Pomaks.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. Popovic)

PONDOK [see pesantren].

PONTIANAK, the name of a part of the former Dutch residency "Wester-Afdeeling" of Borneo, also of the sultanate in the delta of the river Kapuas and of its capital; these are now in the Kalimaintan [*q.v.* in Suppl.] region of the republic of Indonesia [*q.v.*].

As a Dutch province Pontianak included the districts of Pontianak, Kubu, Landak, Sanggau, Sĕkadau, Tajan and Mĕliau. The administration was in the hands of an assistant-resident whose headquarters were in Pontianak where the Resident of the "Wester-Afdeeling" also lived. The Dutch settlement is on the left bank of the Kapuas, where also is the Chinese commercial quarter. The Malay town lies opposite on the right bank.

The sultanate of Pontianak with its capital of the same name was independent under the suzerainty of the Netherlands and was 4,545 km² in area. In 1930 the population consisted of 100,000 Malays and Dayaks, 562 Europeans, 26,425 Chinese and 2,378 other Orientals. The term Malays includes all native Muslims, among them many descendants of Arabs, Javanese, Buginese, and Dayaks converted to Islām. The Dayaks in the interior are still heathen. Roman Catholic missions are at work among the latter and the Chinese. The very mixed population is explained by the origin and development of Pontianak.

The town was founded in 1772 by the Sharīf ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, a son of the Sharīf Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Ḳadrī, an Arab who settled in Matan in 1735 and who in 1771 died in Mampawa as vizier, revered for his piety. In 1742 ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān was born, the son of a Dayak concubine, and very early distinguished himself by his spirit of enterprise. He attempted to gain the ruling power, successively in Mampawa, Palembang and Bandjarmasin, from which he had to retire with his band of pirates, although the sultan had been his patron, after he had taken several European and native ships. By this time, he had married a princess of Mampawa and Bandjarmasin and possessed great wealth. On his return to Mampawa, his father had just died. As he met with no success here, he decided to found a town of his own with a number of other fortune-seekers. An uninhabited area at the mouth of the junction of the Landak with the Kapuas, notorious as a dangerous haunt of evil spirits, seemed to him suitable. After the spirits had been driven away by hours of cannon fire, he was the first to spring ashore, had the forest cut down and built rude dwellings there for himself and his followers.

The favourable position of the site and the protection which trade enjoyed there soon attracted Buginese, Malay and Chinese merchants to it so that Pontianak developed rapidly and Sharīf ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān was able by his foresight and energy to hold his own against the neighbouring kingdoms of Matan, Sukadana, Mampawa and Sanggau.

He appointed chiefs over each of the different groups of people and regulated trade by reasonable tariffs. He was able to impress representatives of the Dutch East Indian Co. in Batavia to such an extent that they gave him the kingdoms of Pontianak and Sanggau as fiefs after the company had bought off the claims of Banten to Western Borneo. As early as 1772, the Buginese prince Radja Ḥādjdjī had given him the title of sultan. After his death in 1808, his son Sharīf Ḳāsim succeeded him. He was the first to change the Arab ceremonial at the court for more modern ways.

According to the treaty concluded with the Dutch Indies government in 1855, the sultan received a fixed income from them while they administered justice and policed the country. The relationship to the Dutch Indies government was defined in a long agreement of 1912, which also settled the administration of justice and the taxes. From the local treasury, then constituted, the sultan received 6,800 guilders a month; he also received 50% of the excise on agriculture and mines.

In keeping with the nature of its origin, Pontianak is predominantly Muslim in character and a relatively large number take part in the pilgrimage to Mecca. For these pilgrims, who are known as Djāwa Funtiana, the sultan, when he performed the pilgrimage in the 1880s, founded several *waḳf* houses in the holy city.

The main support of the whole population is agriculture and along with it trade in the products of the jungle. The exports are copra, pepper, gambir, sago, rubber and rotan, especially to Singapore and Java. Rice, clothing and other articles required by Europeans and the more prosperous Chinese and Arabs are imported. The import and export trade is mainly in the hands of the Chinese. They live together in the Chinese quarter in the European half of Pontianak on the left bank where also the other foreign Orientals have settled. This is therefore the centre of trade and commerce in the valley of the Kapuas.

In the swampy lands of Pontianak, intercourse with the outer world is amost exclusively by water. Only in the 1920s and 1930s were motor-roads laid over the higher ground from Pontianak to Mampawa and Sambas, to Sungei Kakap and from Mandor to Landak.

Bibliography: P.J. Veth, *Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling*; J.J.K. Enthoven, *Bijdragen tot de geographie van Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling*, in *Tijdschrift Kon. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (1912, 203-10).

(A.W. Nieuwenhuis)

POONA [see pūna].

PORPHYRY [see furfūriyūs].

PORT SAᶜĪD (a. Būr Saᶜīd), a seaport on the Mediterranean coast of Egypt at the northern extremity of the Suez Canal and on its western bank (lat. 31° 16′ N., long. 32° 19′ E.). It is connected with Cairo, 233 km/145 miles away, by a standard-gauge railway constructed in 1904 via Zagāzīg and Ismāᶜīliyya, and also with Damietta and Alexandria. After the construction of the Suez Canal, it became the second seaport of Egypt after Alexandria, and is now the chef-lieu of a governorate (*muḥāfaẓa*) of the same name. The population of the governorate (1986 estimate) was 382,000 and of the town itself 374,000.

Port Saᶜīd was founded in 1859, as soon as the Suez Canal was decided, during the reign of Saᶜīd Pasha [*q.v.*], Viceroy of Egypt, and was named after him. Except for the strip of sand which, varying in width between 200 and 300 yards, separates Lake Manzala from the Mediterranean, the site of the present town was under the water. This site was selected by a party of engineers under Laroche and de Lesseps, not on account of being the nearest point across the isthmus to Suez, but because the depth of the water there corresponded most favourably to the requirements of the projected canal. As soon as work was started on the

Canal, five wooden houses were constructed above the water, supported on massive piles and equipped with a bakery and a water-distillery for the use of the pioneers. A year later, dredgers began to deepen the waters of the newly established harbour, and the mud thus raised was immediately utilised for more buildings, besides the workshops, covering 30,000 square metres in all. This, however, did not suffice for the rapid growth of the population as the work on the Canal progressed towards Ismāʿīliya. To meet this emergency, and in the absence of stone quarries within reasonable reach of Port Saʿīd, the manufacture of artificial stones capable of resisting the action of sea-water was begun by Messrs. Dussaud in 1865. Details of this process are given in ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak's *K̲h̲iṭaṭ* (x, 38-40). These stones weighed about 22 tons each and were used both for the construction of the two huge breakwaters of the outer harbour and for the creation of further building ground. In the same year, mail boats sailed up the Canal to Ismāʿīliya while others brought imports to Port Saʿīd. In 1868 the breakwaters were finished, and in 1869 the Canal was completed. As a result, the town was thronged by consuls and representatives of many nations, and the population reached 10,000.

By the end of the 19th century, Port Saʿīd was the world's largest coal bunkering station, primarily for the Canal transit trade, and in the early 20th century the point of export for cotton, rice and other agricultural products of the eastern Nile Delta region and also a centre for fish processing. Its many public buildings included the headquarters of the Suez Canal Company, and by 1907 the population numbered 49,884. Its outer harbour, covering an area of 570 acres, its two moles or breakwaters built in such a way as to protect the Canal from the continuous onrush of sea-water and sand-drifts, and its docks numbering originally three on the western bank, all had to be extended. A large floating dock (259 ft. long, 85 ft. wide and 18 ft. deep, with a lifting capacity of 3,500 tons) was constructed; and, further, in the years 1903-9, new docks were established on the eastern bank. To accommodate the workmen on these docks, the new town of Port Fuʾād, named after the then King of Egypt, Fuʾād I [*q.v.*], sprang up on the east side.

To safeguard the ships approaching the Canal by night, the K̲h̲edive Ismāʿīl ordered four lighthouses to be erected at the expense of the Egyptian Government at Rosetta, Burullus, Burd̲j̲ al-ʿIzba near Damietta, and Port Saʿīd. The latter one was 174 ft. high and its beam distinct from those of the other three and visible at a distance of 20 miles. It lay at the base of the western mole which, at its seaward extremity, carried a colossal statue of Ferdinand de Lesseps by E. Fermiet, unveiled in 1899.

In 1956 the Egyptian President Gamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser) [see ʿABD AL-NĀṢIR, D̲J̲AMĀL in Suppl.] nationalised the Suez Canal. In the ensuing war of Britain, France and Israel against Egypt during late October-early November 1956, Port Saʿīd was severely damaged by air attacks and during the British and French landings, with the statue of de Lesseps, amongst other things, being destroyed. After the war, the damages were repaired and the Canal re-opened, but during the Six Days' War of June 1967 Israeli forces advanced to the eastern bank of the Canal and occupied the territory of western Sinai up to that bank. The Canal remained closed for several years. But after the Camp David Accords of 1978 and the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty of 1979, the use of the Canal revived and the revenue from transit dues has become a significant part of Egypt's income, with Port Saʿīd returning to something of its former prosperity.

Bibliography: The chief contemporary source is ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya*, 20 vols., Cairo (Būlāḳ) 1305-6. See also 1. publications on the Suez Canal and its history; 2. the annual *Taḳwīms*, Annuaires statistiques and the Trade Returns issued by the Egyptian Government and the Suez Canal Company; 3. guides to Egypt such as Baedeker's, Murray's (ed. Mary Brodrick) and Cook's (ed. Sir E.A. Wallis Budge).

(A.S. ATIYA*)

POSTA (Ital. *posta*), borrowed into Ottoman Turkish and Arabic in the 19th century in the forms *p/bōsta, p/bōsṭa* to designate the new conception of European-style postal services in the Near East. In more recent times, it has been replaced at the formal level by *barīd* [*q.v.*], a revival of the mediaeval Arabic term for the state courier and intelligence services, but *būsta/būsṭa* and *būstad̲j̲ī* "postman" continue in use in the Arab Levant at the informal level, and *posta* remains the standard term in Modern Turkish. In modern Persian also *post*, from the French *poste*, is used. (ED.)

POSTA, postage stamps. Postage stamps (Ar. *ṭābiʿ* [*barīdī*]; Pers. *tambr*; Tk. *pul*) are a Western innovation. The world's first postage stamp—the "penny black" bearing the portrait of young Queen Victoria—was issued by Great Britain in 1840. There exists an evident connection between the spread of the "postage stamp revolution" and European overseas expansion. Besides Great Britian, other European countries, above all France, but also Austria, Germany, Italy and Spain were responsible for the founding of postal services and the diffusion of stamps in North Africa and the Middle East. Foreign post offices of these countries were opened e.g. in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Morocco, Libya, and Egypt. They issued the stamps of their countries, and as a result the dispatching point of these stamps is only to be identified by the postal cancellations. Later, overprints were added. Here, as in other cases, the foreign post offices cut into revenues that would otherwise have gone to the national post office. The first Middle Eastern countries which joined the parade of stamp-issuing states were: India (1854 with a portrait of Queen Victoria on the first issued stamp, after using issues of the East India Company for two years); the Ottoman Empire (1863); Egypt (1866); Persia (1868); and Afg̲h̲ānistān (1871). The first three of them opened post offices in their "satellite states" using the same practice as the European countries.

Despite the more than one hundred year-old history of stamps in North Africa and the Middle East, "Islamic philately" has not received much attention until recently. This intensified interest is mainly to be explained by the fact that, since the 1960s and the 1970s, the themes on stamps have been diversified and several Islamic countries have begun to use postage stamps as instruments of propaganda. Philately is considered as an ancillary historical and social science discipline, although its skilled use as such is rarely revealed. Unlike its honoured sister numismatics, philately cannot of course provide information on dark periods where written evidence is scarce or unavailable. But it can be of additional value for the analysis of official viewpoints and of cultural and political history; stamps are excellent primary sources for the symbolic messages which governments seek to convey to their citizens and to the world. The same is true of banknotes, because "both are a monopoly—i.e. a sovereign attribute of the state as

well as an efficient iconographic propaganda vehicle thereof. They can tell us something about the official discourse of the state, the one for which it attempts to ensure ideological hegemony" (Sivan 1987, 21). For modern times, the symbolism of stamps is more useful for the historian than that of coins because stamps are more varied and less conservative.

Which types of historical evidence are to be found on stamps in detail? Stamps can be studied from the "inside" and the "outside". Under the latter we understand the stamp as a "physical and economic object" (cf. Hazard 1959/1980, 200 ff.), made up of paper, ink, glue, etc., marked by inscriptions, overprints and denominations. An enquiry into the quantity and quality of these components (kind of paper, method of printing, perforation, watermark, overprint types and settings, etc.) is not merely of limited interest for the collector or the historian of printing technology and paper manufacturing; an investigation of these aspects can give indications concerning the political and economic situation of the issuing country. A large quantity of new issues has normally two causes: either the state is fully appreciating the propaganda value of stamps (as was the case, for instance, in Iran under the last S̲h̲āh, in Libya since the mid-1970s and also in ʿIrāḳ at present under the leadership of Ṣaddām Ḥusayn), or else it is seeking additional revenue. Numerous countries, mostly small and poor, have abandoned their prerogative to represent themselves in favour of financial advantages. They have entrusted Western agencies with the production of stamps on any possible occasion and with their promotion to dealers and collectors. Many of these stamps never touch the shores of the countries that issue them. The stamps display themes which have mostly nothing to do with the heritage of the issuing countries: astronauts, European paintings, famous people of the world (such as J.F. Kennedy, the Prince of Wales and Princess Diana), or international sports events. For the Islamic countries, this practice was used e.g. by Afg̲h̲ānistān under the reign of Ẓāhir S̲h̲āh, by North Yemen (since 1962), by Mauritania, Ḳaṭar (since 1961), and the poor Persian Gulf s̲h̲ayk̲h̲doms (ʿAd̲j̲mān, with even special issues for its exclave Manāma, Dubayy, Fud̲j̲ayra, Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma, al-S̲h̲āriḳa, Umm al-Ḳaywayn) in the 1960s, with the noticeable exception of Abū Ẓaby that possesses 90% of the present-day's United Arab Emirates' oil wealth. The other extreme is found in Lebanon, where no stamps were printed in 1976-7, in 1979, and between 1985 and 1987. Due to the civil war, Lebanon issued not more than 100 stamps over the last 14 years. More direct money-raising methods include the issuance of souvenir sheets (also used as a propaganda instrument), postal tax (also called revenue) stamps (several Arab countries, e.g. Syria, printed such stamps for the wars against Israel and subsequent military needs; the Ottoman Empire issued tax stamps during the Balkan War of 1911-12, and the young Turkish Republic printed a large quantity in 1920, reflecting the disastrous situation of the country during these years), and "semi-postal" stamps with premiums for charitable or public purposes (including relief for refugees from the Druze war—Lebanon and Syria, 1926—and for victims of earthquakes, of volcanic eruptions, etc.). A decline in the quality of printing, paper, and perforation points to economic difficulties. For the printing of the Ḥaydarābād stamp of 1946, commemorating the Second World War Victory, many types of paper were used; this is attributable to the scarcity of paper during and immediately after the War (Nayeem 1980, 198-9). Similar problems are suggested in the case of Iran after the Revolution in 1979. A possible reason why the watermark of the Pahlavī stamps was not altered until 1981 is because of a paper shortage. Libya used Egyptian watermarks until 1960; the stamps were printed in Rome, Naples, Cairo or by Bradbury. This dependence on foreign technology can be explained by the extreme poverty of this North African state until the large-scale production and export of oil in the mid-1960s.

Overprints and surcharges are of great historical interest, since they always arise as a result of an emergency. One of the earliest surcharges became necessary when a Persian Postmaster-General resigned and thereafter considered a huge quantity of stamps as his own property, refusing to return them to the post office (nos. 94 ff./1897-9). After the Ottoman entry into the First World War, the Ottoman Post Office ran out of the stocks of the 1914 pictorial set, the plates of which were inaccessible in London. It had to resort to overprinting old stocks of superseded issues. More often, overprints have been used by occupying (see e.g. ʿIrāḳ, occupied in 1918 by units of the Indian army, where Turkish stamps overprinted "BAGHDAD IN BRITISH OCCUPATION" were used; or Lebanon as occupied territory, where Turkish stamps overprinted "E.E.F.", for "Egyptian Expeditionary Force", were issued; or Syria, where in 1919 French stamps were overprinted "T.E.O.", for "*Territoires ennemis occupés*", later changed to "O.M.F.", for "*Occupation militaire française*"), protecting, mandatary, and colonial powers. The date and type of overprints indicate the severity of foreign rule, the degree of dependence and control. Whereas Egypt had the right to issue special stamps of its own, other Ottoman provinces were less autonomous, as was true for ʿIrāḳ; it had to use Turkish postage stamps until the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the British mandatary power. Algeria, being constitutionally part of metropolitan France, had stamps of its own only after 1924. In that year, French stamps were overprinted "ALGÉRIE". Even the post-war issues have continued to omit Arabic, to stress French culture and interests to the exclusion of Arab ones, and to emphasise French dominance. Similar was the practice of the Italian colonial power in Libya, whereas the French protectorate in Tunisia replaced the monolingual inscription "RÉGENCE DE TUNIS" in 1906 by another one in French and Arabic; Palestine as a British mandate after 1920 even used a trilingual inscription in Arabic, English and Hebrew. The autonomy of the ʿAlawī areas, guaranteed by the French after 1924, can be deduced from French stamps overprinted "ALAOUITES-AL-ʿALAWIYYĪN". In the case of nominally independent s̲h̲ayk̲h̲doms, like al-Kuwayt or al-Baḥrayn, the stamps indicate that they were actually under firm British control. After using Indian stamps with no indication of the issuing state's name, the stamps were overprinted (in 1923-4 and 1933 respectively) "KUWAIT/BAHRAIN". After the Partition of India (1947), the same was done with British stamps. The complex postal history of Morocco under foreign control, and of war-time Libya, becomes clear by observing the diversity of overprints and used stamps.

Pākistān's first stamps illustrate the hasty creation of the nation. The first issue consisted of Indian stamps (portrait of King George VI) overprinted "PAKISTAN" by the Indian Security Press at Nasik. Owing to the events after Partition, grave shortages of stamps occurred in many places. It was

therefore necessary to supplement the Nasik prints by local overprints in Pākistān. Machine-printed, hand-stamped, typewritten and manuscript overprints thus appeared in many places and under varying conditions; they were sanctioned by the central or provincial governments, and sometimes even by minor authorities down to the village postmaster. All these issues were governed by the same conditions, namely, an acute shortage of Pākistān stamps, a surplus stock of unwanted Indian stamps, and the determination to do something in order that the posts could carry on (Martin 1959/1974, VII, 2). A similar situation in independent Algeria caused at the outset the overprinting of former French issues with the initials "E.A." for "*État Algérien*".

Overprints indicating the new state's name, and similar techniques like the obliterating with black bars of the former ruler's portrait, have been employed in other countries following a drastic change in régime in order to use up old stocks of stamps while demonstrating a complete departure from the past (see e.g. Egypt, 1953, or Iran, 1979). Sometimes former sets are overprinted in order to commemorate an important event in the history of a particular country; in Transjordan, for instance, stamps of 1927 were overprinted one year later, in Arabic script, with the word *dustūr* in order to mark the promulgation of the constitution. Frequent changes in denomination may well reveal economic problems and inflation.

We have yet to mention some further conclusions which can be drawn from the mono- or bilingual inscriptions. The exclusive use of the national language in Islamic countries either underlines the continuity with the Islamic past (by confirming the sanctity of the Arabic script and language; see also the using of Islamic/Christian dates) or growing nationalistic feelings. To quote some examples: Ottoman stamps up to 1876 used exclusively the Turkish language and "Turkish"-style numerals. The inscriptions translate "The Ottoman Empire" and "Postage" (the latter being the western-derived *pōsṭa*, however, rather than the Arabic *barīd*). In 1876 a French inscription and a "Western"-style numeral were added to a set of stamps in order to conform to membership of the new-established Universal Postal Union. With the alphabet reform of 1928, the Arabic script gave way to Latin, after a brief transitional use of both scripts for writing Turkish (1926-8). Ḥid̲j̲āzī stamps (1916-25) used only Arabic (compare Yemenī stamps from 1926 till 1930); not until four years after the unification with Nad̲j̲d, in 1929, did the Latin script appear for the recording of the state and value. National feelings in Egypt came through, when, during Ismāʿīl's rule, Arabic replaced Turkish as the usual language of administration. The first Egyptian stamps of 1866 (nos. 1-7) bear Turkish-language inscriptions; one year later, Arabic replaced Turkish on stamps (nos. 8 ff./1867). The change in the language came at the time of Ismāʿīl's hard-won acquisition of the title of Khedive, and a few years later (nos. 14 ff./1872) the stamps proudly displayed the Khedivial title. After the recession of British influence on Egypt in 1922, an overprint exclusively in Arabic announced the formal independence of "The Egyptian Kingdom" in that year (nos. 69-81/1922; notice also nos. 82-93/1923-4). This nationalistically-induced omitting of any Western script except for a numeral of value was obviously soon found impractical, because French reappears from 1925 onwards (nos. 94 ff.).

Multilingual inscriptions on postage stamps can also indicate the use of several national languages or be interpreted as a concession to linguistic minorities. Postage stamp series of Ḥaydarābād from 1871 show a value label in four languages (English, Marāthī, Persian-Urdu and Telugu). The secession of East Pākistān (later Bangladesh) can be observed on Pākistānī stamps by the reduction of the former trilingual inscription (English, Urdu, Bengali) to a bilingual one.

Stamps may be considered as a *prima facie* evidence of the existence of postal services, but not as an evidence of postal sovereignty, as the cases of Manāma and Bahāwalpūr [*q.vv.*] show. Until 1947 Bahāwalpūr was a princely state in British India, afterwards forming part of Pakistan; it issued its own stamps between 1947 and 1949, although the post offices in Bahāwalpūr used stamps of Pakistan. The introduction of airmail and special delivery stamps ordinarily indicates the initiation of such a service in a particular country.

The studying of the stamp's "inside", i.e. of its iconography, can be quite illuminating and will be of central concern here. Several factors predestine stamps to propaganda purposes. First, since the discovery of offset printing, stamps are easy and cheap to produce; second, a worldwide spread is potentially possible; third, visual messages are not difficult to understand, i.e. it is possible to make them accessible to persons who are not reached by other communication means; this is especially true of Third World countries, where the percentage of illiterates is high; in regard to Arabic countries, one has to bear in mind also the problem of diglossia. But, whereas the message which is intended to be transmitted to the observer of the stamps is comparatively easy to discern, it is almost impossible to assess its impact upon its target population.

Subjects often dealt with on stamps can be grouped in the following way: national symbols; local deceased heroes; cultural heritage; significant historical and political events and commemoratives; reforms, national progress, and social, economic or cultural achievements; foreign policy (regional, Arabic or Islamic solidarity, international ties); diverse (expositions and fairs, international congresses, etc.).

Primary visual symbols of the modern state include, beside the national flag, emblems, coats of arms, official seals, the personified state, i.e. the presiding head of state (a hereditary monarch or an elected president). With regard to the head of state's portraits it is interesting to find out when the first portraits appeared, on which occasions they are issued, how often the head of state is portrayed, in which manner he is represented, and how he is dressed. Further, the question arises whether there is any difference between monarchies and republics.

Several Islamic countries followed in the beginning the Islamic proscription of portraits. Instead, they employed—as the Ottoman stamps did until 1913—three specialised motifs: the crescent [see HILĀL], sometimes accompanied by a star; a coat of arms; and the *ṭug̲h̲rā* [*q.v.*], along with more general calligraphical and arabesque designs. The turning-point in Ottoman stamp design came in 1913, when a set of stamps showing the Istanbul post office swept aside the tradition of avoiding pictorial designs (nos. 212-21/1913). In 1914, a further step was made by portraying Sultan Meḥemmed V Res̲h̲ād (no. 245/1914). On the other hand, in Persia, where a vigorous tradition of pictorial painting had long flourished, the S̲h̲āh appeared on stamps as early as 1876 (nos. 19-22). In Egypt, religious inhibitions about portraying living things have been ignored since 1924 (nos. 82-93), and Islamic symbols were replaced by

monarchical watermarks after 1926. King Fayṣal of ʿIrāḳ followed this example in 1927/31. Afghānistān was beginning to portray its monarchs in 1937; afterwards, the rulers of Afghānistān were often depicted, but President Taraki looks like being, until now (1992) the last one in this series. States with a special Islamic legitimation like Saudi Arabia (and its forerunners Ḥidjāz and Nadjd), Yemen (first as a kingdom, later as a republic), and Pākistān, avoided portraits of the rulers until the 1960s. Saudi Arabia and Yemen began with a small portrait of a human figure (1952 and 1948 respectively); the king of Saudi Arabia (Fayṣal) was portrayed for the first time in 1964, in the following period several times, in contrast to North Yemen where the only president ever portrayed until now has been President Ḥamdī in 1978. Ayyūb Khān was the first president to be shown on Pākistānī stamps (nos. 229-30/1966); thereupon also the portraits of the deceased national heroes Muḥammad ʿAlī Djinnāḥ and Muḥammad Iḳbāl could appear on stamps (1966-7); previously, the days of their death were commemorated and their contributions to the establishment of Pākistān were honoured by showing a memorial inscription or their monograms (e.g. nos. 44-6/1949 or nos. 96-8/1958). Republics such as Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Tunisia and ʿIrāḳ depicted the portraits of their presidents from the beginning. Another practice was followed in Egypt and Libya after the revolutions there. Despite his popularity and the personality cult of him allowed in other media, President ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser) kept his portrait off Egyptian stamps except on three occasions (1964, 1965, 1967). After his death, however, he was commemorated on Egyptian stamps in 1970-2, and on stamps of several other Arabic countries. Al-Ḳadhdhāfī (Gaddafi) appeared for the first time on a souvenir sheet in 1975; in subsequent years he has become the central figure on the stamps. Remarkable exceptions are Algeria and Iran after 1979. No Algerian president has appeared until now on stamps during his lifetime (H. Boumedienne/Ḥawārī Būmadyan was for the first time portrayed after his death in 1979); on the occasion of the (re-)election of Boumedienne or Shādhlī b. Djadīd, instead of a portrait, inscriptions in Arabic were used which translate "Election of Brother ... as President ...". Whereas in the Shāh's days a profile of the monarch was almost always displayed, the Islamic Republic of Iran has only honoured "martyrs" on stamps (see also banknotes). For this reason, Āyatullāh Khumaynī was depicted for the first time after his death (1989 ff.), although already in his lifetime huge posters of him were plastered on walls of most Iranian towns and were carried in processions. As Chelkowski has pointed out, "This is a clever symbolic manipulation to suggest that Khomeini has not imposed his rule but is the 'chosen' representative of the people who carry his portrait out of love and devotion" (1990, 92-3).

Several monarchs of Islamic countries (Egypt since Fuʾād I, Afghānistān under Ẓāhir Shāh, Iran since the Pahlavīs, Jordan under the reign of Ḥusayn II, and Morocco under the reign of Ḥasan II) have flooded their countries with regular issues bearing their portraits on the occasion of commemorating special royal events: births and birthdays (especially of the male heir), royal birthdays; weddings; deaths and coronations (esp. Iran, nos. 1365-7/1967), etc. Another practice was followed, for instance, in Libya, where King Idrīs I was only once portrayed, directly after independence. Ruling predecessors are honoured, sometimes together with the reigning monarch, to show the continuity of the particular dynasty. The Pahlavīs even tried to base their reign on a fictitious continuity of the Persian monarchy since the time of the Achaemenids. This intention was revealed also in 1935 when Persia was renamed Iran (nos. 149 ff.: "*Postes iraniennes*", instead of "*Postes persanes*"). Regularly, the hereditary heads of state have attempted to enhance their legitimacy, either by combining their rule (in a portrait) directly with symbols of progress (see below), or by stressing the dynasty's role in the fight for independence (e.g., in Morocco under Muḥammad V and his son, and in Jordan). In this respect, differences between monarchies and republics seem to be blurred: republican heads of state are portrayed on similar occasions, as Independence or National Day, Revolution Day, etc.; the personality cult of Ḥabīb Bourguiba (Abū Raḳība) is intertwined with his role of Supreme Mudjāhid, his life history marking the major milestones of the Tunisian fight against the French. Other heroes of that same era appear on stamps only if they are long dead. Bourguiba was often shown together with female figures; this is an allusion to the improvement of the women's status as a result of the revised Personal Status Code in 1956. Sometimes even the birthdays of the presidents (e.g. of Ṣaddām Ḥusayn since 1984) are celebrated on stamps; frequently, they invoke their contributions to the modernisation process. Turkish presidents present themselves as the sons of the "Father of the Turks". A souvenir sheet (no. 25) in 1987 shows the hitherto-existing presidents from Atatürk to Evren in the shape of a family tree; the picture seems to suggest that Turkey is still firmly adhering to the political principles and aims of Atatürk. On another stamp issued in 1939 (no. 1052), the role of Atatürk is compared to that of George Washington for the United States.

Monarchs often appear on stamps in traditional (Bedouin) headgear and robes (see Fayṣal I of ʿIrāḳ in the 1920s, and his brother ʿAbd Allāh in Transjordan, and moreover, the rulers of the U.A.E. and Saudi Arabia), later, they also underlined their links to the army (see Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī) by wearing military uniform, or their support for reforms and westernisation by appearing bare-headed and clothed in Western style. The first presidents (e.g. of Turkey, Syria) were shown as modern townsmen in Western-style coats and ties, thereby expressing their intent to modernise and secularise the country. The fez, once a modern symbol, disappeared gradually and by the 1950s it was finally becoming old-fashioned. Soldier-politicians, as Atatürk or Sādāt, alternated between military uniform and civilian garb; Asad was always depicted in civilian clothes despite his military vocation, thereby underscoring his legitimacy, while Sādāt preferred the military uniform. Al-Ḳadhdhāfī is shown in different garbs; the most favourite one, beside the military uniform, seems to be Bedouin garb; sometimes the "revolutionary leader" is sitting on a horse, surrounded either by fighting people, or jubilating masses, or "Green Books", propagated as his "Third Universal Theory", with a liberating message for the whole world. The described style of illustration is itself a hint at the contents of the "Green Book" (here part 3), where the author is praising the Bedouins for their practising of "national sports" (e.g. mounted games), instead of merely watching sporting events. Like Ṣaddām Ḥusayn (1988), al-Ḳadhdhāfī is represented on stamps as an ideal Muslim on the *ḥadjdj* or during the Muslim worship (1985). This confirmation seemed necessary after al-Ḳadhdhāfī's open shift to "de facto-secularisation" in 1975 and his unorthodox interpretation of Islam since

then (rejection of the Sunna as a source of Islamic law, etc.).

Other important and specific national symbols and emblems which are often seen on stamps should be mentioned. In the case of Persia, the national emblem next to the portrait of the Shāh was the Lion and the Sun, under the Pahlavī crown; for Lebanon it is still the cedar, for Morocco the pentagram. After the Iranian Revolution, the red tulip, symbolising love and sacrifice in Persian poetry, has been made an official emblem. The word *Allāh* in the shape of a red tulip appears on stamps, as on the 100-rial bill and on coins. Turkey used sometimes (1926, 1929, 1931, 1961) the mythical grey wolf (*bozkurt*), an embodiment of the unification of its people. An allegorical figure, the embodiment of the nation, usually represented in the form of a woman, so popular on French stamps, represents Syria in one case (1956), but this particular symbolism seems to have been too foreign to the Islamic tradition to have taken root in Syria.

Another category of symbols of power is that of historical notables or local heroes. Every régime has its own pantheon, and this becomes clear on stamps too. The emphases shift with the change of régimes, although local heroes are generally more often honoured than famous persons who have had an impact on the whole Arab-Islamic world. Whereas monarchies have emphasised the role of their ancestors, especially the founder of a particular dynasty (e.g. monarchical Egypt frequently depicted Muḥammad ʿAlī; Libya the founder of the Sanūsiyya, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī; Saudi Arabia chose Ibn Saʿūd), republican régimes have issued stamps to commemorate a variety of nationalists (e.g. Turkey memorialised Namīḳ Kemāl and Ḍiyāʾ (Ziya) Gökalp; Egypt ʿUmar Makram, ʿUrābī Pasha and Muṣṭafā Kāmil; ʿIrāḳ honoured Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, progenitor of the various pan-Arab ideological trends; Syria, instead, preferred to honour a native-born theoretician of Pan-Arabism, al-Kawākibī), reformers (al-Ṭahṭāwī, al-Afghānī, ʿAbduh, Ṭāhir Ḥaddād, etc.), freedom fighters (e.g. Pākistān 1979, 1989-90), and cultural leaders (in literature, arts or creative fields). A myth of the peoples' continuous struggle for independence is created in some cases (e.g. on Libyan stamps since 1971-2, esp. since 1980, and on Iranian stamps after 1979). The Islamic Republic of Iran marked the abrupt departure of the past and the changing orientation from Western ideology and apparel of the Shāh's era to the traditional Islamic attitudes by a series of stamps (since 1979) devoted to the "forerunners of the Islamic movement". The role of the clerical opposition is overemphasised; but, besides firm supporters of Khumaynī (like Āyatullāh Bihishtī, died in 1981), or forerunners of an Islamic republic (as Faḍl Allāh Nūrī, died in 1909), other famous persons are represented in this set who would not have supported the "reign of the Āyatullāhs", if they were still living (e.g., Mīrzā Kūčik Khān, Muṣaddiḳ, Āl-i Aḥmad, Sharīʿatī, Ṭāliḳānī). Most of the forerunners are considered as "martyrs" for the "right cause", pointing to the glorified idea of martyrdom which is also one characteristic of Shīʿism. Another Shīʿī feature commemorated on postage stamps is that of the Shīʿī Imāms or works connected with them, such as the *Nahdj al-balāgha* [*q.v.*] (e.g. in 1981). The search for historical heroes to honour on Lebanese stamps is a difficult task. The choice of Druze and Maronite princes is an indication of Christian dominance there till the outbreak of the Civil War and of the neglect of the Islamic heritage.

Harmless illustrations of traditional costumes, national handicraft, festivals and musical instruments, animals and flora, fauna, scenery, as well as antiquities, archaeological excavations, historical monuments (mosques, forts, and palaces etc.) and modern buildings (hotels, banks, museums, etc.) are found on the stamps of nearly every country with the aim of underlining the national heritage and, probably, of convincing the public of a clear-cut national identity. So, even the representation of antiquities and other common motifs can throw light upon the political aims or the ideological orientation of a régime and its self-identification. Despite the post-colonial Pan-Arabic and Pan-Islamic rhetorics of some régimes, they often lay particular stress on the pre-Islamic and pre-Arabic history, a sign of the specific national pride and patriotism. In Egypt, Pharaonic monuments are as prevalent today as they were in 1866 when the first issues bore a pyramid watermark. All stamps issued between 1867 and 1913 featured pyramid-and-sphinx designs, and the Giza pyramids have been a favourite subject ever since, although after 1952, as the interest in other themes increased, the pre-Islamic heritage was less often depicted. ʿIrāḳ places great emphasis on its Babylonian forerunners (cf. already a set from 1963, here together with Islamic monuments; and from 1988, on the occasion of the Babylon Festival), especially since Ṣaddām Ḥusayn shifted from extremist Pan-Arabic policies towards a specifically ʿIrāḳī *waṭaniyya*; a Mesopotamian-inspired culture is seen as a convenient vehicle to introduce and support the change in fundamental ideology (compare the results of A. Baram's study, *Mesopotamian identity in Baʿthi Iraq*, in *MES*, xix [1983], 425-55). Jordanian stamps frequently show the Nabataean city of Petra or the Temple of Djarash (since 1933). This pattern is repeated also in other Arab (Algeria, Tunisia) and Islamic (Pākistān, Afghānistān, etc.) countries.

Depicting antiquities or other signs of national heritage can be seen as a means of advertisement and as evidence for the tourist industry (e.g. Lebanon in the 1960s until 1975; Egypt since the 1950s, with a short interruption as a result of the 1967 events). But, as Sivan has pointed out, the impressive continuity in the patterns of postage stamps produced over the last thirty years shows that touristic considerations have not reigned supreme in this domain. A comparison with the monetary iconography of the same era (issued in Egypt, Syria, and Jordan) shows that the recurrence of certain images on postage stamps has not been a purely aesthetic tendency but the result of conscious political decision. These visual symbols should be mainly interpreted as official attempts to create a common national identity and loyalty to the territory. "Thus, the ancient past is part and parcel of the legitimating genealogy of the modern state" (Sivan 1987, 23). Noteworthy exceptions are the Gulf emirates with no past to speak of, and Saudi Arabia, where the pre-Islamic past of its territory is associated with the paganism of the *Djāhiliyya*. An extraordinary shift has occurred in Iran. Whereas the emphasis in the Shāh's days was almost exclusively on pre-Islamic architecture and art, the revolutionary Islamic régime started to neglect the pre-Islamic era; in this context one has to recall the strong protests of the Islamic religious classes against the Shāh's bombastic celebration of the twenty-five centuries old history of Iran. Lebanon, again, is a special case in the opposite direction, because of the Maronite élite's support of the "Phoenician ideology".

Stamps illustrate most of the period of colonial expansion, as well as its end. After using their own

stamps, with or without overprints, the colonial powers in the Islamic lands under their control passed on to the "colonial-picturesque style", i.e. one foreign from the paper to the design; the favourite subjects on pictorial sets were scenes of monuments and landscapes; local allusions were rare, natives appeared only occasionally on horse or on camel, whereas representatives of European colonialism (as Marshal Lyautey on Moroccan stamps (1935/1948, 1951), General Gordon on Sudanese ones (1931/37, 1935)) were commemorated. While the colonial powers were shown as civilised and modernised, the dependent territories were depicted as backward countries and societies, needing the import of progress through colonialism. After independence, postage stamps rapidly became a means of asserting sovereignty, of seeking for self-definition, and of furthering economic and social development. The pictorials now often employ a semi-abstract style and international iconography: the national flag represents independence; broken chains and rising suns, flames etc. stand for liberation and a very promising future; doves for peace; globes for universal themes; balance scales for justice; the Asclepian serpent and staff for medicine; books and torches for education.

In tracing the evolution of some national holidays and memorial days, we find instances of discontinuity (particularly in revolutionary states) and continuity (mostly in conservative ones). But all these memorial days have a common feature, that they celebrate national events, as e.g. Independence (National) Day; Evacuation Day, to commemorate the departure of foreign forces (e.g. the British evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone, the evacuation of US bases in Libya, the evacuation of French occupation forces in Syria); Revolution Day (8 March 1963 in Syria; 1 September 1969 in Libya), which signalled the change in legitimation; or Army Day (when the army was the vehicle of the revolution, as in ʿIrāḳ). Other major political events and changes in legitimation which may be memorialised philatelically include constitutional, legal or programmatic reforms (e.g. Pākistān 1973, on the occasion of the promulgation of the new constitution; Algeria, 1976 (new constitution, *Charte Nationale*), 1986 (*Charte Nationale*)); overthrows of authoritarian régimes (Sudan, 1986; Tunisia, 1988); the first regular elections after a long period of military/authoritarian rule (Turkey, 1950; Pākistān, 1970); decisive plebiscites (Iran, referendum of 1979, commemorated in 1984, 1991; Pākistān, 1985, "overwhelming mandate by the people" for Ḍiyāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ and his Islamisation policy in the 1984 referendum); nationalisations (of the Suez Canal in Egypt, 1956, 1961/66, or of the oil industry (Iran, 1953, ʿIrāḳ, 1973)); and the "corrective revolution" or accession day of the present ruler (Asad's Syria or Sādāt's Egypt). Several authoritarian régimes commemorate the single mass party (as in Tunisia, the Destour, later PSD; in South Yemen, the National Liberation Front, later Yemen Socialist Party; in Syria and ʿIrāḳ, the Baʿth; in Egypt, the Arab Socialist Union, and in Algeria, the FLN).

Postage stamps reinforce a myth of popular struggle for independence. Turkish stamps memorialised famous battles during the Liberation War (e.g. that at İnönü). Libya somehow managed to find two dozens of major and minor battles against the Italian occupiers during the period of 1911-43 (stamps issued since 1980). Iranian stamps after the Revolution in 1979 have frequently recalled the heavy toll of lives, also mentioned in the constitution, so that their characterisation as "stamps of blood" is justified. The Iranian stamps reflect the central theme of the revolution, the "Karbalāʾ-martyrdom-paradigm". The uprising of 5 June 1963 is seen as the beginning of the revolutionary movement (1979, 1982, etc.)—an obvious, but typical, misrepresentation of the facts.

After military coups toppled monarchies, "the people" begin to be shown on the stamps (e.g. post-1952 Egypt). For the first time, social groups such as peasants and industrial workers appeared, joining soldiers, whose role as the people's vanguard was stressed (e.g. Libya 1969/nos. 284-9 and 1970/nos. 290-95 with the inscription *dj̲ays̲h̲unā dirʿunā al-wāḳī* "our army is our protective shield"). The scarcity of pictures of other classes and occupational groups was not accidental at that time. Most of the women are shown in modern dress; whereas in conservative countries, either no females are featured, or they are shown in their traditional role, or in typical female professions, South Yemen and Libya even depicted women as factory workers (South Yemen 1975, 1979-80; in the case of the People's Republic of South Yemen this is to be seen in connection with the labour shortage and the encouragement of working women) and in military uniform (South Yemen 1971/77; Libya 1984). Turkey honoured Halide Edip (1966), Egypt the national pioneer feminists Ḳāsim Amīn (1958) and Hudā S̲h̲aʿrāwī (1973). A set of Turkish stamps on the occasion of the Twelfth International Women's Congress was issued in 1935, i.e. one year after the introduction of universal suffrage for women.

Concerning the Islamic Republic of Iran, the changed orientation of the new régime becomes evident in this aspect also; women are rarely depicted, but if they are, they are veiled, marching in a crowd under a banner, portrayed in a militant way (with a rifle over the shoulder), or as the mothers of future martyrs, following the "model women" of S̲h̲īʿī Islam, i.e. Fāṭima, the daughter of the prophet and mother of the third Imām Ḥusayn, or Zaynab, the sister of Ḥusayn.

Despite the protests from the side of conservative religious circles, some states propagate their promotion of family planning on stamps, symbolised by a three-, mostly four-headed-family (Pākistān, 1969; Iran, 1972; Egypt and Tunisia, 1973; Algeria, 1986).

Whereas a revolutionary ideology is shown in ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's Egypt in a less explicit way, Libya after 1977 has turned to propagating the contents of the "Green Book", e.g. by quoting central statements in Arabic and English on postage stamps.

Since the 1950s and 1960s, particularly, symbols of national development and progress are standard. A difference between monarchies and republics is not noticeable any more, with the exception of the Islamic Republic of Iran which stresses much less than Muḥammad Riḍā S̲h̲āh achievements in the economic and social spheres (compare regular issues commemorating the reforms since the "White Revolution" in 1962). The symbols follow the Western ideals of progress: cogwheels and smokestacks, etc. stand for a modernised industry; tractors or modern irrigation works for the mechanisation of agriculture. Favourite themes on stamps include the improvement of the communication and transportation networks (building of streets, railroads, seaports, airports, bridges, installation of telegraphs), urbanisation (modern buildings and cities), industrialisation (industrial plants, esp. steel and cement works, oil refineries), electrification and irrigation (high dams, irrigation pumps). The importance of the water problem in the Middle East is

shown by the underlining of great irrigation projects, as the Libyan one (*al-nahr al-ṣināʿī* "the artificial river", illustrated as the lifework of the "revolutionary leader"), which has beome one of the main subjects on stamps since 1983; Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states depict plants for the desalination of sea water (e.g. Saudi Arabia 1974, 1989). Scenes from the oil industry are illustrated on stamps from several Arab countries ("petro-philately"), and trace the Middle East's growth as an oil-producing region. A portfolio of Arab countries' stamps portrays almost the entire process of bringing oil from the ground to its various users; some of the most detailed oil industry stamps have been printed for Dubayy and Kuwait. Other main export articles also appear on stamps (cotton on Egyptian and Syrian stamps, jute on Pākistānī ones (before the secession of the Eastern part), coffee on Yemeni stamps). Economic plans promise a prosperous future.

Stamps indicate the interest in providing free educational and medical services; new university and school buildings are illustrated proudly, alphabetisation campaigns are propagated. Occasionally, new themes and technologies (pollution control or solar energy) are advertised philatelically (ʿIrāḳ, 1985; Tunisia, 1988).

Stamps alluding to foreign relations are related to regional as well as international ties. Demonstrations of regional solidarity (e.g. with the R.C.D./Regional Cooperation for Development between Turkey, Iran, and Pākistān, existent till 1979, or the Gulf Cooperation Council) are of minor interest, if compared to the philatelically-delineated regional tensions and border disputes which are pieces of evidence for territorial claims. Since the annexation of a part of the former Spanish Sahara in 1975, Morocco has printed annually a stamp on the occasion of the so-called "Green March", firstly, to underline its legitimate claims on this territory, and secondly, to use this cause as a unifying national factor (compare Mauritania, the occupier of the other part of Spanish Sahara—according to an agreement with Morocco—which has only once (1976) printed a stamp showing the map of North-Africa with the inscription *Mauritanie réunifiée*). On the other hand, Algeria (1976) demonstrates its solidarity with the POLISARIO guerilla movement there. Afg̲h̲ānistān issued several stamps supporting the cause of an independent Pas̲h̲tūnistān [*q.v.*]; the first one in this series (no. 367-8/1951) caused—in contrast to the later stamps (1952 ff.)—political friction with Pākistān and had to be withdrawn. Since the achievement of full sovereignty in 1919, and since the establishment of Pākistān, Afg̲h̲ānistān has demanded the rescinding of the Durand Treaty (1893) which delimited the border between British India and Afg̲h̲ānistān. The conflict over Pas̲h̲tūnistān reached its climax in the early 1960s when Pākistān occupied the "Tribal Areas" and closed the whole frontier to Afg̲h̲ānistān. Asad's dream of a "Greater Syria" is revealed on one stamp (no. 1510/1981). Pākistān's conflicts with India over Kas̲h̲mīr have been depicted three times (1960, 1967, 1973). The stamps of Iran and ʿIrāḳ since 1981 and 1982 respectively concentrate on the Gulf War. The stamps issued until 1992 are an excellent example of the functioning of war propaganda. Both countries have revived episodes from Islamic history (Ḳādisiyya or Karbalāʾ [*q.vv.*]) for the mobilisation of the population. Thus one Iranian stamp bears a red flag, symbolising blood and sacrifice, on a cupola of the tomb of Imām Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ; inscribed in calligraphic Arabic on that stamp are the words "Every day is ʿĀs̲h̲ūrāʾ, the whole earth is Karbalāʾ, all months are Muḥarram". ʿIrāḳ has issued several stamps propagating "Ṣaddām's Ḳādisiyya" (1981, 1985-6). Special commemorative issues on the occasion of innovated Memorial Days ("The Preparation Day", "Mobilisation of the Oppressed", "Day of the Army", etc.) are printed. War victims are glorified as martyrs on both sides. ʿIrāḳ accuses Iran of committing war crimes and *vice-versa* (1988). ʿIrāḳ even refers to the Geneva Convention on one stamp (nos. 1275-8/1985). The aggressor celebrates the armistice as ʿIrāḳ's Victory Day (nos. 1413-15/1988), whereas Iran shows the resolution no. 598 of the UN with an interrogation mark (1989), indicating thereby its doubts concerning the durability of the agreement. The reconquest of occupied territory (ʿIrāḳ, 1988; Iran, 1985) and later, the reconstruction of destroyed areas (1989 for both countries) is celebrated.

Pan-Arabic themes became popular since the 1940s. In general, events associated with the Arab League, Arab conferences on different subjects, Arab Boy Scout Jamborees, Pan-Arab games, the Arab Postal Union, etc., are commemorated. An exception is found on stamps commemorating the unification attempts of several Arab states, e.g. the formation of the U.A.R. in 1958 was proudly marked by stamps showing an arch uniting the maps of Egypt and Syria. The eagle, a revolutionary symbol which had appeared earlier, and the new U.A.R. flag were frequent subjects on stamps from then onwards. Regular annual issues celebrating the anniversaries of the short-lived union followed. After the break-up (1961), only the continuing use of the name "United Arab Republic" by Egypt remained.

Nearly all Arabic countries, and some Islamic ones, frequently print stamps demonstrating their solidarity with the Palestinian cause. Standard are issues showing the Dome of the Rock or al-Aḳṣā in Jerusalem with an inscription indicating solidarity; the memorialising of massacres (e.g. the Dayr Yāsīn one in 1948; Ṣabrā and S̲h̲ātīlā in 1982); and issues pointing to the refugee problem (see esp. Jordan, 1969) or the outbreak of the *Intifāḍa* and the proclamation of the Palestinian state. More militant standpoints are expressed on stamps of South Yemen, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Iran, Libya and Kuwait. Whereas the majority of these states seem to see the only chance for the liberation of Palestine in armed struggle, Libya is additionally advising the adoption of the "Third Universal Theory" and Iran the establishment of an Islamic republic. Iran, characteristically, is calling the beginning of the *Intifāḍa* "the Uprising of the Muslim People of Palestine" (1980). Both countries commemorate annually (since the early 1980s) the "Universal Day of al-Ḳuds". South Yemen has been, until 1992, the only country that issued a stamp with the portrait of Yāsir ʿArafāt, the PLO's chairman (1983).

Religious loyalties are commonly expressed by printing stamps on the occasion of the beginning of the 15th century A.H., of Islamic conferences or of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Mediaeval Islamic history is referred to on stamps through monuments, personalities and events dating from that period. Still, it is noteworthy that many of the Islamic symbols are usually local mosques (apart from the Kaʿba in pilgrimage stamps and the famous mosques of Jerusalem). Mediaeval Islamic personalities are quite often native sons. Mediaeval persons who do not pertain to the country on whose stamps they appear are usually those representing the Muslim contribution to world civilisation (esp. science and technology, such

as Avicenna/Ibn Sīnā, Averroes/Ibn Rushd, al-Fārābī, al-Kindī, Rhazes/al-Rāzī). Conservative countries such as Saudi Arabia, significantly enough, do not carry such persons on their stamps, preferring to depict in their stead such people as the founders of the four Islamic schools of law (in the shape of an inscription; nos. 625-28/1977). The anti-Crusader myth has been expoused by almost all Arab countries (in most cases by commemorating the battle at Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*] and the victorious Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn/Saladin). The only exception was Maronite Lebanon, which celebrated the Crusaders as allies of Maronites. The total neglect of a country's Islamic past, as for instance in Lebanon, can also reflect the ruler's secular attitude, as was the case in pre-revolutionary Egypt. Most of the countries hesitate to exploit Islamic sentiments because of the growing fundamentalist opposition. A remarkable exception is again given by the Islamic Republic of Iran; here, stamps commemorate the calling of Muḥammad to the prophethood (*ʿĪd al-mabʿath*, commemorated since 1982) and the birthday of the Mahdī (celebrated since 1980), which is called "The Universal Day of the Oppressed". Islamic unity is the subject of stamps issued annually on the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad. Most of these feature the Holy Kaʿba surrounded by the faithful of all races. Such stamps attempt to depict Iran as a unifying force for all Muslims; they bear the message that the Islamic Republic of Iran is a leader of world-wide resurgent Islam. By its frequent use of Ḳurʾānic quotations, the régime is trying to depict itself as a vanguard of the Islamic world.

Solidarity with other fundamentalist movements and the intention of exporting the revolution are reflected on Iranian stamps which honour the martyrdom of Muḥammad Bāḳir Ṣadr (an old friend of Khumaynī and a noted theologian, executed by the ʿIrāḳi régime; no. 2023/1982), President Sādāt's assassin (Khālid al-Islāmbūlī; no. 2029/1982), an Egyptian soldier who shot Israeli civilians (Sulaymān Khāṭir; no. 2146/1986), or a leading ideologist of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers (Sayyid Ḳuṭb; no. 2078/1984); solidarity is expressed with the Afghān resistance (1985-8) and the militant Ḥizb Allāh in Lebanon (no. 2208/1987). The intention to export the state's ideology is also revealed on Libyan stamps since 1977. Yet before this, the Egyptian régime under ʿAbd al-Nāṣir had cheered the arrival of new converts to the leftist camp; stamps marking the ʿIrāḳi and Yemenī Revolutions and Algeria's independence from France (1958, 1963, 1962) reflect a feeling of triumph and revolutionary brotherhood. Algeria showed its solidarity for Vietnam (1973), Zimbabwe and Namibia (1977). Some countries are underscoring their ties with Africa (Egypt, 1964, 1965; Mauritania, 1966, 1973, etc.) and to the non-alignment movement (e.g. Algeria, 1973).

Anti-Americanism is shown on Iranian and Libyan stamps. A series of Iranian stamps were issued to represent the hostage crisis that occurred during the Carter administration (1983, 1985, 1987); Libyan stamps condemn the USA for its aggression against Libya in 1986, representing Ḳadhdhāfī in the same moment as the peacemaker (nos. 1719-24/1986). In contrast to these examples, Turkey depicted its engagement in the Korean War on the side of the Western powers (nos. 1337-40/1952) and the ensuing alignment with NATO (1954, 1959, 1964, 1989). Afghānistān since 1980 printed several stamps portraying Lenin—a sign of the occupation by Russian forces at that time; stamps marking the centenary of Lenin's birth were, however, frequently printed in other Islamic states (e.g. Egypt and Syria, 1970). Standardised international subjects have been frequently featured on stamps since the 1960s, honouring UNICEF, WHO, FAO, UNRWA, and UNESCO, as well as the parent UN itself. Other world themes have included an International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Mothers' Day, Childrens' Day, etc. A major exception is again to be found on an Iranian stamp, issued in 1983 for United Nations Day, which indicates a criticism of the five superpowers' veto power in the Security Council and the struggle of the Islamic Republic against this unjust distribution of power. Anti-racism is interpreted as an Islamic achievement by depicting a black *muʾadhdhin*, an allusion to the first *muʾadhdhin* in the history of Islam [see BILĀL B. RABĀḤ]. These internationalist subjects are also stressed for economic reasons, for they are popular with stamp collectors around the world.

National pride and heritage is sometimes revealed on stamps which treat the subjects of sport and traditional activities. As an instance of this intention, one may mention Iranian or Libyan stamps which depict "old Iranian" or "national" sports; Afghānistān has issued several stamps with the motif of traditional mounted games; Turkey and Pākistān have displayed wrestling and hockey respectively, and the Arabic states of the Gulf, falconry.

Bibliography: The information and comments on stamps in this article are based either on the *Michel-Katalog* (*Asien 1991/92, Übersee*, v/1-2, Munich 1991; *Afrika 1989, Übersee*, iii/1-2, Munich 1989; *Europa-Katalog West 1992/93*, part 2, Munich 1992), or on observation of the stamps themselves. The number (or series of numbers) or years of issues in the parentheses refer to the number under the relevant country in *Michel*. Other standard reference works are the following catalogues: *Catalogue de timbres-postes*, Yvert et Tellier Publications, Paris, not revised and enlarged annually; *Minkus new world wide postage stamp catalog*, 2 vols., New York, issued annually; *Scott's standard postage stamps catalogue*, 2 vols., New York, issued annually; *Stanley Gibbons' priced postage stamp catalogue*, London, issued annually.—Specialised catalogues: M.H. Bale, *The stamps of the Palestine Mandate*, rev. and enlarged ed., Ilfracombe, England 1978; ʿAbd al-Ḥ. al-Kīlānī, *al-Dalīl al-ʿarabī li'l-ṭawābiʿ al-ʿarabiyya al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1967; *Scott's Zeheri catalogue for postage stamps of Egypt, U.A.R., and the Sudan*, ed. by Mehanny Eid (8th ed., Cairo 1987).

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POTIPHAR [see KITFĪR].

PRANG SABIL, the name in Malay of the *dj̲ihād* [*q.v.*] in the East Indian archipelago; *prang* = war.

The course of recent history has made it difficult for Muslims to fulfil their duties with respect to the *dj̲ihād*. The representatives of the law, however, still teach and the masses readily believe that arms should only be allowed to rest against the *kāfir* so long as any success must be despaired of. In a Muslim country under non-Muslim rule, as were the Netherlands East Indies under Dutch colonial rule, the teachers, however, preferred to be silent. At most they said that under the prevailing conditions there was no legal inducement to conduct the *dj̲ihād*, in view of the superior forces and the comparative freedom enjoyed by believers. Or, on the other hand, they expounded particularly those texts which removed the more serious feuds between Muslim and *kāfir* to the next world. When political events, catastrophes, misfortunes of any kind resulted in disturbances, it was not at all uncommon for the Muslim population of what is now Indonesia to look at these things from a religious point of view. It may happen on such an occasion that the feeling of being bound to fight the unbeliever is aroused again. If the leaders utter the war-cry *prang sabil*, it finds a ready answer. It is true that according to the law, the signal for the *dj̲ihād* should be given by the *imām*. There is now no *imām*; but even in the time when the Ottoman sultan was still recognised as *imām*, any misgivings were easily overcome if the *imām* remained inactive. Outside the boundaries of the territory in which the holy war is proclaimed, the silent sympathy of the believers was with the fighters. Any forcible conversion which took place anywhere in the East Indies, was generally praised by Muslim chiefs and represented as a fulfilment of the more solid obligations of the *dj̲ihād*.

This practical teaching of the *prang sabil* was of particular importance in Atjeh [*q.v.*] in the last quarter of the 19th century. Circumstances were very much in its favour. The Atjehnese were a self-satisfied people, convinced of their own superiority, and also of a warlike disposition. Non-Muslims were everywhere hated or at least despised. At the same time, those individuals who were in any way connected with the Muslim cult were held in great honour. These qualities were, however, not in themselves sufficient to conduct a *prang sabil* with success against a disciplined attacking power. A military leader was necessary. There was indeed a sultan in Atjeh, but he was a negligible factor as regards the situation in the country. The chiefs, the real rulers of the land, preferred to confine themselves to their own territory; they were not fitted for co-operation. Bands of armed men ravaged the country, doing the *kāfir* as much damage as possible, but they could raise no claim for general co-operation and assistance as they were not waging war in the way Allah had willed. The law lays down the sources from which the costs of the *dj̲ihād* can be met; pillage and plundering, as was the practice of these bands, could never be blessed by Allah. In addition the organisation of these bands was such that they never held together long. In these circumstances it was the *ʿulamāʾ* (also used as a singular) who took in hand the organisation of the war; among these the most prominent were the *ʿulamāʾ* of Tirò, from olden times a centre of study of sacred learning. They reproached the chiefs with their slothfulness and the people with preferring worldly advantages to heavenly rewards. Going up and down the country, they preached the doctrine of the *dj̲ihād* and there was no one who could openly oppose them; indeed, they represented the divine law. In order to be able to wage war, a war-chest was needed. The *ʿulamāʾ* claimed the share of the *zakāt* set aside for Allah's purposes; the *ʿulamāʾ* of Tirò in particular used it to train a strong force of duly converted recruits. The *ʿulamāʾ* were for a long time the soul of the war. It is, however, clear that the authority which they had gained over the secular rulers could only last so long as they were able to inspire the people to continue fighting. When the war was over, they returned to their old, still very influential position as representatives of the holy law. Various writings which, together, formed a regular war literature, proved an effective means of inspiring their warriors with enthusiasm. They were an accompanying feature of the *prang sabil*. *ʿUlamāʾ* wrote pamphlets and epistles in which attention was called to the duty of waging the holy war; emphasis was laid on the heavenly reward that awaited the martyr or *s̲h̲ahīd*, and the *kāfirs* to be overcome were painted in the blackest colours. An elaborate poem, the *Hikajat Prang sabi(l)*, of which there were many versions, was specially intended to be declaimed in order to increase the courage and contempt for death of those who heard it.

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PRĒM ČAND (1880-1936), Indian writer of fiction in Urdu/Hindi, best known for his short stories,

which gained him wide recognition as a pioneer of the genre.

During his lifetime, and a hundred years previously, apart from English the official language of the British Government of India was often called Hindūstānī. It was usually written in Persian-style script by and for Muslims, and in Dēvanāgarī script by and for Hindus. The former type, when used as a literary language, was also referred to as Urdū ("the language of the army camp, *urdū* [see ORDO]) and the latter type as Hindī (formerly Hindawī). When written in the Persian script, Hindūstānī was characterised by considerable Arabic-Persian vocabulary. In the Dēvanāgarī script, the literary language had much vocabulary taken from Sanskrit and the Prākrit vernaculars. Even before Independence in 1947, Urdu and Hindi began to be considered distinct languages, and they were recognised as official languages in Pākistān and India (Bhārat) respectively. It must, however, be noted that when we read of Prēm Čand writing novels or short stories in Urdu or Hindi, and then translating them from one language to the other in subsequent editions, we should not assume that major alterations were made in translation. Changes were largely in the script used than in the actual text. Thus Prēm Čand's fiction should be regarded as a single corpus, rather than as two separate corpora from a bilingual author. He depicted social life and preached social reform in the India of his time, with its rich variety of races, classes and religions, but he dealt more with rural than urban life and more with Hindus than with Muslims.

Prēm Čand was born in a village near Benares (Banāras) and named Dhanpat Rāʾē. At the start of his literary career he adopted the nom-de-plume first of Nawāb Rāʾē and then of Prēm Čand. His father was a poor postal clerk, and Prēm Čand's education was somewhat haphazard, and depended increasingly on private studies and tuition. At one time he had to walk ten miles to Benares for lessons, yet in 1919 he graduated B.A. as an external student. His home and family life was not easy; he was orphaned, and had to look after the rest of the family. Before this, his father had arranged Prēm Čand's marriage at the age of 15. Some years later, Prēm Čand married a second and younger wife, by whom he had a son and two daughters. He was never robust in health, and always had to work very hard for his living. He acquainted himself with earlier and contemporary Urdu fiction, ranging from the *dāstān* to the works of Surūr, Sarshār, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar and Mīrzā Muḥammad Hādī Ruswā [see ḲIṢṢA. 5. In Urdu]. He obviously had ambitions as a writer, especially of fiction, though he began as a dramatist at the age of 14, writing two plays, both now unfortunately lost. Earning a living presented problems, and he changed his occupation several times. He started as a teacher, then as an inspector of education. He later worked for publishers, including the well-known Nawal Kashōr in Lucknow. For a time he kept a shop. Finally, he went to Bombay as a film script writer. But he could not get on with directors and producers, and was ill at ease in the film studio environment. He returned to Benares, where he died in 1936.

He was a prolific writer. As we have seen, his juvenilia included two plays. Later in life he wrote a major historical drama, *Rambhūmī* ("Earthly terror") in Hindi, the title of whose Urdu version, *Karbalā*, indicates its theme from Arab-Islamic history. Prēm Čand had studied Persian for eight years, and at first showed preference for the Urdu script. But despite his brilliant command of the language, he did not find favour with Urdu readers, and increasingly wrote in the Dēvanāgarī script. After his death, however, he became recognised as a master of Urdu, particularly for his short stories. He also wrote numerous magazine articles, many published in *Zamāna* from 1901 onwards. He championed Hindu-Muslim cooperation and social reform. Strange to say, he first won fame as a writer of novels: some short, others full-length, some published in parts, some in instalments, others as a whole, some originally in Urdu, others in Hindi. Saksena, writing presumably in about 1926, mentions several Hindi novels which he says are to be published in "Urdu translation" (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 344). His short novel, *Asrār-i-maḥabbat*, appeared in 1898, and his Hindi novel *Prēmā* in 1904. *Bāzār-i-ḥusn* ("Brothels") described by Sadiq (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 346-7) as "perhaps the most satisfactory of his novels", appeared in 1918 in two parts. It is the story of a reformed "fallen woman" who finds that the world will not forgive her. She is led astray by a wealthy prostitute, and ends up "saved" and working as head of an orphanage. An account of this and other novels will be found in Muhammad Sadiq, *op. cit.*, 344 ff. These novels are now somewhat dated and appear to have lost some of their popularity.

It is for his short stories that he had gained lasting fame. These, numbering over 200, were published in eleven collections between 1907 and 1936, among the best known being *Prēm Paččīsī*, *Prēm Battīsī* and *Prēm Čālīsī*. Many of them deal with the misfortunes of poor village-dwellers who are "more sinned-against than sinning". They perhaps justify Sadiq's description of him as "an idealist ... a reformer ... and a dreamer". Many of them are masterpieces, though Saksena's paean of praise is as excessive in its way as is Sadiq's lukewarmness. Allowance must surely be made for the taste of readers and writers for melodrama in those days. The rich harvest of Urdu and Hindi short stories in the Subcontinent during the last hundred years owes a great debt to Prēm Čand. Moreover, as Sayyid Waḳḳār ʿAẓīm says, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 592, Prēm Čand's fiction "paints a true picture of social and political life in the early 20th century".

Bibliography: A detailed bibl. would contain few works in English but a good deal not only in Urdu but also in Hindi. Reference should be made to the bibl. in Sayyid Waḳḳār ʿAẓīm's art. *Prēm Čand*, in *Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam*, v, Lahore 1390/1970, 590-4. For general accounts, see Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 344-55, a very perceptive and informative account, which some may find rather severe. Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 343-4, contains a little additional information and is full of enthusiasm, but was written a little too early, while Prēm Čand was still alive, and is very brief. There are many editions of Prēm Čand's short stories in both Urdu and Hindi, and most anthologies of prose in both languages include examples. Among general works on Urdu fiction containing useful sections on Prēm Čand, see Shāʾista Akhtar Bānū Suhrawardī, *A critical survey of the Urdu novel and short-story*, London 1945; and, in Urdu, ʿIbādat Brēlwi, *Tanḳīdī zāwiyē*, 304-82, Karachi 1957, a detailed history of the Urdu short story.

(J.A. HAYWOOD)

PREVEZE, PREVESE, Greek Prevesa, a coastal town in the southernmost part of Epeiros, in western Greece, situated on the upper entrance of the Ambracian Gulf opposite the ancient Cape Actium and associated with the Italian *prevesione* (= "provisioning"), the Slavonic *perevoz* (= "passage") and the

Albanian *prevëza* or *prevëzë* (= "transportation") (cf. Phourikes, *Zur Etymologie von Prevesa*, in *Philolog. Wochenschr.*, xvii [1927], 509; idem, in *EEBS*, i, 283-93, and in *Epeir.Chr.*, iv, 265-6; Soustal-Koder, 242). The old mediaeval settlement's foundation (Palaeo-prevesa) is associated with the destruction of the nearby Nicopolis, 6 km/4 miles north of modern Prevesa, by the invasion of the Turcophone Uzes (Ouzoi) in central and southwestern Hellas (1064-5) (*Chronicle of Galaxeidi*, ed. E. Anagnostakes, Athens 1985, 20-2, 78; cf. A. Savvides, art. *Turks* [in Greek], in *World History*, ii, Athens 1990, 360 D). In the scantily-documented mediaeval period, the first definitive reference appears in the Greek version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* (ed. P. Kalonaros, Athens repr. 1989, vv. 9108, 9119; see also Italian version, ed. K. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, Athens repr. 1961, 468 and French versions, ed. J. Longnon, Paris 1911, §§ 636, 649, with references to the *vieille cité de la Prevasse* and to the latter's harbour as *port de Saint Nicolas de Tort*), which is, however, connected with the new mediaeval Prevesa and its despoliation in 1292 by the Genoese allies of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus, during the latter's operations against the Epeirot despot Nicephorus I (cf. Phourikes, in *EEBS*, i, 281 ff. and in *Epeir.Chr.*, iv, 266 ff.; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, ii, 528; Soustal-Koder, 242; D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, Cambridge 1984, 38 ff., 229 f.). The only direct reference between 1292 and the Ottoman conquest of the 15th century, associates new mediaeval Prevesa with *Nicopolim vetustissimam civitatem*, according to the antiquarian humanist Cyriacus Anconensis, who visited the Ambracian area in 1436-7 (cf. E. Ziebarth, *Cyriacus of Ancona in Epeiros* [in Greek], in *Epeir. Chr.*, i [1925], 111, 114; Phourikes, in *Epeir.;Chr.*, iii [1928], 141 and iv, 271-2; Soustal-Koder, 214).

The gradual Ottoman annexation was recorded by four Byzantine anonymous short chronicles (cf. Schreiner, i, 422, 548, 552, and ii, 528; Soustal-Koder, 242): no. 71/7 dates the conquest to A.M. 6986 (= A.D. 1477-8), i.e. to Meḥemmed II's reign, while nos. 58/23a and 70/39 date the first Ottoman "foundation" (Greek *ktisis*, here signifying "fortification") to A.M. 6995 (= A.D. 1486-7), i.e. to Bāyezīd II's reign. Finally, no. 58/23b dates the second Ottoman fortification to A.D. 1495. In the course of the 1499-1502 Turkish-Venetian war, a Venetian attack on the town's Ottoman garrison, recorded by Saʿd al-Dīn (*Tac-üt-tevarih*, ii, 97) and short chronicle no. 36/30 (Schreiner, i, 295, dating it to A.M. 7008 = A.D. 1500), failed despite extensive damages and, therefore, a supposed Venetian occupation of the town from 1499-1500 to 1529-30 is to be discarded (cf. Phourikes, in *Epeir. Chr.*, iv, 274-6; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, ii, 325 ff.; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1988⁵, 217 f., 222). The first Ottoman occupation (1477-8 to 1684) witnessed the most important events in the area's history, i.e. the victory of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] over an allied western fleet under Andrea Doria in September 1538 (cf. Phourikes, *op. cit.*, 276-8; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 375 ff.; D.E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, 115, 117 and map XIII-A2; K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant 1204-1571*, iii, Philadelphia 1984, 445 ff.). Following a brief western recapture of the town (1605), the Venetians under Francesco Morosini succeeded in capturing Prevesa (1684) during the 1684-1718 Turkish-Venetian War (*Short Chronicle*, no. 58/23, in Schreiner, i, 422; cf. Phourikes, *op. cit.*, 279-83). The first Venetian rule (1684-1701) was followed by the second Turkish rule (1699 and 1701 to 1717-18), while the ensuing second Venetian rule (1717-18 to 1797) was terminated by a brief French rule (1797-8), which ended abruptly by the decimation of the French guard and the destruction of the town by ʿAlī Pasha Tepedelenli [*q.v.*] in October 1798 (Phourikes, *op. cit.*, 280-9). The first ʿAlī Pasha period (1798-9) was followed by the third Turkish rule (1800-7), following the Turkish-Russian treaty of 1800, and the second ʿAlī Pasha rule (1807-20), connected with widespread property confiscations and terrorist involvements of Bekir's Albanian guard, but also with an extensive plan of fortifications and building constructions, was eventually followed by the fourth and final Turkish rule (1820-1912) (Phourikes, *op. cit.*, 289-94). The Ottoman period in Prevesa ended during the First Balkan War with the entry of a revolutionary corps of Prevesians in the town on 21 October 1912, following the defeat of the Turkish forces near ancient Nicopolis.

Bibliography: For older references, see P. Phourikes, *Prevesa. Location-foundation-name* [in Greek], in *Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* (= *EEBS*), i (1924), 274-94; idem, *A small contribution to Epeirot history*, pt. II: *Prevesa* [in Greek], in *Epeirotika Chronika* (= *Epeir. Chr.*), iv (1929), 263-94. See also P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, i-ii, Vienna 1975-7; P. Soustal-J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini, no. 3, Vienna 1981, 93 ff., 213-14, 242. Full references in A. Savvides, *The Turkish capture of Prevesa according to the Short Chronicles* [in Greek], in *Tetramena*, fasc. xlvi-xlvii, 1991, 3053-68; idem, *On the problems concerning the foundation of medieval Prevesa* [in Greek], in *Acts XIIth Panhellenic Hist. Congr.*, Thessaloniki 1992, 73-85; M. Delibaşi, *History of Preveze in the 16th century according to the Ottoman taxation registers*, in *Osmanli Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, ii (Ankara 1991), 53-62. (A. SAVVIDES)

PRISHTINA (Serbo-Croat, Priština), a town in Serbia, the administrative centre of the region of Kosovo. It is situated in the valley of a small river called the Priševka (a western affluent of the Sitnica) and on the eastern fringe of the Kosovo Plain (Kosovo Polje), at the foot of the western part of the Butovac mountain, at an altitude varying (according to the different quarters of the town) between 585 m/1,918 ft. and 670 m/2,197 ft. The origin of its name is unknown.

Archaeological investigations have shown that the district of the town has been inhabited since the Neolithic period (300-2500 B.C.) and then in the Bronze and Iron Ages. The first Illyrian colonies come from the 4th century B.C. In Roman times, the place was known as an important crossroads, notably between the towns of Naissus (Niš [see NISH]), Lissum (Lješ) and Skupi (Skoplje), but also as a centre for roads leading towards Bosnia and Dalmatia. In the 2nd century A.D., at about 12 km/8 miles from the modern Prishtina, the Roman town called Ulpiana (Lipljan) grew up, the centre of the province of Dardania. It was rebuilt in the 6th century by Justinian I, and the town became "Justiniana Secunda", but then disappeared completely after the Slavic invasions and the Slav peoples' installation in these districts.

In the mediaeval Serbian state, Prishtina was early known as the main town of the Kosovo region. Its rise was linked with mineral exploitation in the nearby region of Novo Brdo and Kopaonik; with the fertility of the Kosovo plain, which was always a real agricultural granary; and with its position, moreover, as the crossroads of the main communication routes in the Balkans. Soon afterwards, at the time of the first

exploitation of mineral resources in the reign of king Milutin (1282-1321), Prishtina became the capital (first the royal one, then the imperial one) of the Serbian state (at that time under the Nemanid dynasty, founded by Stevan Nemanja, 1170-96). The king Stevan Dečanski (Stephen Uroš III, 1321-31) often lived there, but much more frequently, his son (king, then emperor) Stephen Uroš IV, known as "Dušan the Strong" (Dušan Silni, 1331-55). It was in his palace at Prishtina that Dušan in 1342 received the Byzantine emperor John Cantacuzenus when the latter had fled from Constantinople, and it was there that Dušan issued a certain number of imperial charters (e.g. that of 1351). According to the description left by Cantacuzenus, Dušan's palace was situated in the area which is today between the Clock Tower and the Pazar mosque (Čarshī Djāmiʿ), very likely on the site of the present-day headquarters of the military garrison. Prishtina continued to be the capital under the next king, Stephen Uroš V (1355-71); and then (at a time when the capital of Serbia, in face of the Ottoman menace, was moved further north, first to Kruševac and then to Belgrade) it became the capital of the son-in-law of the "Tsar" (in reality of the Prince) Lazar, Vuk Branković (d. 1398), and this even after the decisive defeat of the Serbian armies by the Ottomans on the "Field of Blackbirds" (Kosovo Polje) not far from Prishtina (June 1389). One might finally add that it was always at Prishtina that the descendants of the Serbian royal family continued to reside until the end of the 15th century.

In the first half of the 15th century, corresponding to the period of the Serbian "despotate", Prishtina remained one of the main commercial and trading centres of mediaeval Serbia. In particular, there was an important colony of merchants from Ragusa [*q.v.*], who also operated a sophisticated banking system, linked on one hand to the customs duties and on the other to the possibilities of cash loans granted to merchants and local business men and to various passing Ragusan emissaries. Thus it is known that the "despot" Djuradj (George) Branković granted to the Ragusans of Prishtina the customs rights in 1411 and 1415. It was also within the framework of this grant that the workshops for refining the silver ore extracted from the nearby silver mines of Novo Brdo and Trepča functioned, and at Prishtina that the famous knightly tournaments took place, in which not only local people from the town and its neighbourhood took part but also people coming from a distance, such as the citizens and nobility of Ragusa.

The Ottoman advance was felt more and more, through the numerous raids which made the roads less safe and to a large extent injured trade. On the fall of the Serbian "despotate" in 1439, the Ottomans installed as their representative in Prishtina ʿĪsā Bey of Skoplje, son of Isḥāḳ Bey [see BOSNA. 2. (a), at vol. I, 1263a], and a Turkish *ḳāḍī* is mentioned in the town from 1448. Prishtina became definitively Ottoman in 1455. The palace of the Serbian kings was destroyed at a time when the first Ottoman buildings appeared, some of which, however, had been already built at the time of the last Serbian "despots". This was notably the case of the "Pazar mosque" (situated in the eastern part of the main market of the town), founded by Murād II (824-55/1421-51) and completed by Meḥemmed Fātiḥ (855-86/1451-81). The latter also had a further mosque built in Prishtina bearing his own name. Finally, it may be mentioned that not far from the town was constructed the *türbe* of Murād I, killed during the battle of Kosovo Polje in 791/1389 [see ḲOṢOWA].

Under the Ottomans, Prishtina (now only the centre of a *nāḥiye*) lost its political and administrative importance to the town of Vučitrn, the centre of the *sandjaḳ* before 1462. Prishtina remained nevertheless an important economic centre, thanks mainly to the Ragusan colony and to the permanent consulate there of Ragusa; to the proximity of rich mining centres (lead and zinc); and to the numerous trading establishments filled with goods of all kinds handled by the Ragusan and Italian merchants (e.g. those from Verona, Genoa, Mantua and Florence). The 16th century travellers (one could mention the celebrated Felix Petancius (Ragusinus Dalmata), diplomat at the court of the king of Hungary, Vladislas II) underline its importance and richness. In the 17th century, it is mentioned by several authors: in a report addressed to the Vatican in 1685, the Catholic archbishop of Sofia and Skoplje, Pjetër Bogdani (of Albanian origin), classes Prishtina among the category of Serbian towns with as many as 3,000 houses, and he underlines the fact that this was an unfortified town. For Kātib Čelebi, it was a "medium-sized" town, whilst Ewliyā Čelebi (who visited it in 1660-1) records that it was a *ḳāḍīlīḳ* of 150 *aḳčes*, and that it had 2,060 houses ("spacious and in good repair"), among which were distinguished the palace of Alay Bey and the building of the legal tribunal (*meḥkeme*), and also 300 shops, 11 *khāns* and two public baths (*ḥammāms*). It is known that the Ragusan colony there still existed at this time, possessing some twenty houses, and that silver mining still continued (but apparently at a reduced level).

The town suffered a great deal in the Austro-Turkish War, that of the "Holy League" (1683-99), especially in 1689 at the time of the famous raid of the Austrian general Piccolomini, which managed to seize Prishtina and Skoplje (aided in this by local Serbian insurgents led by the Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević and by Catholic Albanians led by the archbishop Pjetër Bogdani). Piccolomini's staff headquarters at this time were actually in Prishtina. A plague epidemic which broke out carried off a large number of people, including the Albanian archbishop and the Austrian general. At the time of the precipitate retreat by Austrian forces in 1690, a large part of the Serbian population of the region, fearing future Ottoman reprisals, emigrated northwards en masse. It was this emigration (and also that taking place in similar conditions in 1737, under the patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta, at the time of a fresh Austro-Turkish War) which was the origin of the installation of Serbian groups in Hungary (at Budapest, Szentendre, Eger, Szekesfehervár and elsewhere) and the beginning of the mass invasion of the Kosovo region by Muslim Albanians from Albania, a process which the Ottoman authorities naturally helped as far as possible (see S. Skendi, *The Albanian national awakening 1878/1912*, Princeton 1967, 7).

Prishtina declined greatly in the course of the 18th century, firstly because of a fresh epidemic of plague in 1707, and then because of a new Austro-Turkish War (that of 1737) and its consequences. From that time, profiting from the growing anarchy in the European lands of the Ottoman empire (an anarchy which made the Ragusan colony and foreign merchants leave), Prishtina and its district fell under the control of an Albanian Muslim family, the Gjinolli (in Albanian, Gjinollëve, in Serbo-Croat Džinići), a domination which lasted, in the shape of an hereditary *pashalīḳ*, for about a century. Towards the end of this century, the town was fortified by means of solid pallisades and had around 7,000 inhabitants; at this time it was the seat of a *pasha*.

There is naturally a lot to say about Prishtina in the

19th century. In 1812, France opened a consulate there, followed soon afterwards by other powers, including (in 1889) the kingdom of Serbia. In *ca.* 1836, the town had a population of about 9,000 (the figures cited in the course of this century vary between 9,000 to 12,000), and it was often described as "a small town fortified by a double wall, and rather dirty in appearance". But it was also mentioned as an important trading centre "between Sarajevo and Istanbul", where two fairs were held annually (in April and in September), frequented by merchants "coming from Niš, Bosnia, Albania, Edirne and Salonica". After the two great fires of 1859 and 1863, which seriously damaged the town, there was only one fair annually held in the second half of May and lasting for two weeks, frequented by traders "from Sarajevo, Skadar, Peć and Prizren" (hence within a much more restricted radius). Despite a famed body of local artisans, the town's economy continued to decline, especially as the "local Turks" (in reality, more Muslim Albanians than Turks proper) in 1873 prevented the line of the railway coming through the town, thus cutting Pri<u>sh</u>tina off from its commercial relations with Skadar and Sarajevo. At that time, afterwards "hardly anything except sheep and goat skins" were exported from it. However, in 1877 Pri<u>sh</u>tina became the seat of the newly-created *wilāyet* of Kosovo (in place of that of Prizren), but not for long, since a dozen years later, in 1888, the seat of the province was transferred to Üsküb/Skoplje, and Pri<u>sh</u>tina became once more a mere *palanka*. During this short period (1877-88) there appeared at Pri<u>sh</u>tina five *Sālnāme-yi wilāyet-i Ḳoṣowa* (in 1878-9, 1882-3, 1884-5, 1886-7 and 1887-8), forming an interesting historical source which has not yet been sufficiently utilised. During the period between Serbian-Turkish Wars of 1876-8 and the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, the more or less continuous terror perpetrated by the local Albanian governors (often in open or latent conflict with the Ottoman central government) on the local Orthodox Serbian population of the town reached heights of savagery. In *ca.* 1910 Pri<u>sh</u>tina had (according to J. Cvijić) "about 4,000 houses, Albanian, Serb, Jewish, Gypsy and Čerkes, including 3,200 of Muslims, 531 of Orthodox Christians and 65 of Jews".

The town was liberated by the Serbian army of 1912. From this time onwards there began an exodus of the local Muslim population which continued all through the First World War and even after it. In 1913 the town had 18,174 inhabitants. In 1915, Pri<u>sh</u>tina was occupied by the Bulgarian army, then again liberated by the Serbian one in 1918. From then till 1941, it formed part of the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" and then of the "Kingdom of Yugoslavia". During 1941-4 it was incorporated (with the entire region of Kosovo and of Metohija) into a Fascist "Greater Albania", at that time under Italian and then German domination.

After the end of the Second World War, it formed part of the "People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" as the main town of the "Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija" (and then simply, "of Kosovo"). As the cultural and political centre of the Albanian minority in Communist Yugoslavia, during this latter period it played a preponderant role in the more or less clandestine (but in fact upheld in a perfectly obvious fashion by the Titoist authorities) action aimed at making the non-Albanian population of the region (Serb, Montenegrin and Turkish) flee by terror and intimidation or simply by demographic pressure, an action marked by various abrupt changes of policy, but one in the end successful. As a result, the Albanian population (which is 95% Muslim and 5% Catholic) now forms 90% of the total population of Kosovo and Metohija. Pri<u>sh</u>tina is now the seat of the official "Muslim community of Serbia" and of a *madrasa* (of lower rank in relation to that of Sarajevo), the "Alaudin medresa", where instruction is given in the Albanian language. The Albanian Muslim religious journal called *Edukata Islame* (which is generally considered as a version, meant for the Albanian population of the region, of the official Yugoslavian Muslim journal, *Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starješinstva* of Sarajevo) appears there and also a Muslim annual in Albanian called *Takvim*.

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PRIZREN (in Ottoman Turkish orthography, Perzerīn), the second largest city of the former Yugoslav autonomous district of Kosovo-Metohija with about 40,000 inhabitants, the greater part of which are Albanian-speaking Muslims, the remainder Orthodox Serbians, Muslim Turks, Orthodox Vlachs, Roman Catholic Albanians and some Gypsies. Prizren is the only trilingual city of the Balkans. Until the dismemberment of Yugoslavia, Albanian, Serbian and Turkish were fully recognised, with newspapers and periodical published in all three languages and trilingual street name plaques. Till today, Prizren preserved its Ottoman physionomy of the 19th century better than any other city of the Balkans, entire districts being placed under protection of the law on monuments of culture.

In Ottoman times (1455-1912), Prizren was one of the largest cities of the Balkans interior and was an Islamic centre of considerable importance, possessing dozens of mosques and baths, a number of *medreses* and dervish convents of no less than seven different orders (among which is the *Āsitāne* of the Ḳarabā<u>sh</u>iyye branch of the <u>Kh</u>alwetiyye) and a library with many old Islamic manuscripts. It was the centre of a *san<u>dj</u>aḳ* throughout the Ottoman period, and a number of important poets and writers of Ottoman literature lived and worked in this city.

Prizren is situated at the southern edge of the fertile plain of Metohija, at the place where the small river Bistritsa (a tributary of the Beli Drim) comes out of the picturesque Duvska Klisura (gorge). The town is partly built on the northern slopes of the Shar Mountains, beneath the ruins of a huge mediaeval and Ottoman citadel, and partly in the plain. Prizren is situated 55 km/34 miles north-west of Üsküb/Skopje and 125 km/77 miles east of the important north Albanian city of Iskenderiye/<u>Sh</u>koder, with which it is linked by a good road over a pass through the Albanian mountains, one since 1912 largely disused, however.

According to C. Jireček and those following him, the present town is the successor of the Roman city of Theranda; but extensive archaeological research in the present town has found nothing older than the Middle Byzantine period. The town is first mentioned in 1019 as the seat of an Orthodox bishop. It seems that between 1169-90, as a result of the Serbo-Byzantine wars, the town was in Serbian hands. In this last-mentioned year it became again Byzantine, and in 1204 it was included in the Second Bulgarian Empire. In the mid-13th century, when the Bulgarian

state collapsed, Prizren was again taken by the Serbians and remained part of their kingdom (later empire) until the Ottoman conquest in 1455. In these two centuries, the Serbians erected a number of important buildings in and around the town. In 1307 King Milutin reconstructed and enlarged the episcopal church of the Byzantines and had it adorned with high-quality fresco paintings. This is the church of Bogorodica Ljeviška, one of the most important monuments of Orthodox Christian art of the Balkans and still in perfect shape. Just outside the town, in the gorge of the Bistritsa, Tsar Dušan (1331-55) constructed the huge marble monastery of the Archangels, which became his imperial sepulcre after his death. Dušan had made Prizren the capital of the Serbian state. Milutin's and Dušan's noblemen constructed a number of other churches in Prizren, of which some are still preserved, largely in original shape (Sv.Spas below the castle).

In 1455, during the war against Vilk-oğlu (George Branković) the Ottomans took Prizren. The fact is apparently not mentioned in the early Ottoman chroniclers, who only mention the capture of the nearby silver mine towns of Novo Brdo and Trepča. Prizren was immediately made the seat of a *sandjak bey*. There are some vague indications of an earlier conquest of the town, under Murād I, but this had no lasting consequences, if it took place at all. The sultan had a garrison stationed in the Prizren castle, and converted the cathedral of King Milutin into a Friday Mosque, which became known as Djāmiᶜ-i ᶜAtīḳ, or Djumᶜa Djāmiᶜ, by which name it is known in the *wakf-nāme* of Kukli Bey from 944/1537-8, and as: "Djāmiᶜ-i Sulṭān Meḥemmed Khān" in the census register Tapu Defter 368 (p. 43), which dates from the time of the first Grand Vizierate of Rüstem Pasha (1544-53). In the Serbian literature, the conversion is supposed to have taken place in the course of the 18th century, the Ottoman sources and the reports of the Catholic bishop-visitator Pietro Masarechi from 1623-4 being wholly ignored. It seems that the monastery of the Archangels was plundered by the Ottomans during the conquest, but survived and functioned throughout most of the 16th century. The *mufaṣṣal* registers of *ca.* 1550 (T.D. 368, p. 51) and from 1569-70 (T.D. 495, p. 46) still mention the "Manastīr-ī Arhangel" paying 50 *akčes* per year as tax for its property. In the town itself, the Christians kept a number of churches for their own use.

There are no records about the size and appearance of mediaeval Serbian Prizren. The walled town, built on a hill which is surrounded by a loop of the Bistritsa, covers two ha and could have contained 300-400 inhabitants. The greater part of the open town was clustered on the steep slopes below this citadel, but the preserved cathedral of B. Ljeviška in the plain, several hundred metres to the north of the castle, suggests that the town also spread out there, following the river and the main road to the north. In the words of the best scholar of the old Serbian culture of bygone days, Jireček, it should not be imagined as being more than a *Bretterbudenstadt*. Perhaps the town had 2,000-2,500 inhabitants, which for the time and the place was considerable.

At the time of the conquest, a sizeable group of Muslim Turkish colonists must have settled in the town, setting up their own *mahalles*, especially in the plain beneath the castle. The first reliable numbers on the population of Prizren are contained in the Tapu Defter no. 167 from 1530-1, which is based on the information taken during the census of the first years of the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. At that time the Muslims, 273 households in all, of which 40 were *akindjis*, lived in four *mahalles*. The Christians, 396 households, lived in nine *mahalles*. The town might have had 3,300-3,400 inhabitants. Islamic life was still little developed. Besides the Mosque of Sultan Meḥemmed, there were only a few *mesdjids*, financed from their own *wakfs*. The Defter mentions: *Mesdjid* of Yaᶜḳūb Bey, *Rikābdār* of Sultan Meḥemmed Khān, *Mesdjid* of Kātib Sinān and the *Mesdjid* of Ayās Bey. The Mosque of Sultan Meḥemmed had no *wakf* of its own but was financed from the poll-tax of the district of Prizren, a rather common procedure for sultanic mosques in the Balkans (cf. Mal. müd. 5625, p. 17).

In the course of the 16th and early 17th centuries, the town did not grow very much, but gained slowly a predominantly Islamic character, due to the slow conversion of the local population (1570: 13% converts) and through the erection of a large number of Muslim buildings. This process of change can be followed with help of the three *taḥrīr defters* available, some poll-tax registers and a *mufaṣṣal ᶜawāriḍ defter*:

Year of registration	*Muslim households*	*Christian households*	*Muslim mahalles*	*Christian mahalles*	*Approximate total population*	*Percentage of Muslims*
1530	270	396	4	9	3,300	40%
1550	278	252	4	11	2,700	52%
1570	428	254	8	11	3,500	63%
1591	n.d.	97	n.d.	7		
1643	466	113	14	3	2,900	80%

1530 = T.D. 167, p. 372; 1550 = T.D. 368, pp. 440-45; 1570 = T.D. 495, pp. 37-46; 1591 = Mal. müd. 14930, pp. 2-4; 1643 = Kepeci 2607 Mevkufat 62, pp. 4-8.

The stability of the internal situation in the 16th century can be seen from the size of the garrison of the castle of Prizren; in 1530 and 1550 it contained only twenty soldiers, serving under a *Dizdār*, a *Ketkhüdā* and an *Imām*. The Ottoman registers allow us to follow the expansion of Islamic life in the town. In 1513 the poet Sūzī Čelebi, writer of the important *Ghazawātnāme-i Mīkhāl-oghlu ᶜAlī Bey*, had the *wakfiyye* for his mosque and school in Prizren drawn up. Sūzī Čelebi (real name: Meḥmed b. Maḥmūd b. ᶜAbd Allāh) died in 1522 and was buried in a *türbe* behind his mosque. Both buildings are still extant. Two years later another poet of Prizren, Nehāri (Ramaḍān Efendi), allegedly Sūzī's brother, died and was buried in the same *türbe*. The tombstones of both men are likewise preserved. In Shawwāl 944/March 1538, the *sandjak bey* Kukli Meḥmed Bey founded a mosque in the town, which still exists today, and had the road from the Albanian ports of Lesh and Shkoder secured by the construction of 17 caravanserais. In the town, he built 117 shops providing revenue for his foundations. Another indicator to the growing commercial impor-

tance of the town is the presence of 80 shops belonging to the *wakf* of Ewrenos-oghlu Aḥmed Bey (died 1506) and a *ḥammām*, providing revenue for his foundations in Yeñidje-yi Vardar in (Greek) Macedonia. In 1570 the number of shops had grown to 99. In 1573 the *sandjak bey* of Iskenderiye/Shkoder, Meḥmed Pasha, had a large domed mosque erected in Prizren, which later became known as the Bayraklî Djāmiᶜ. This foundation included a *medrese*, a *mekteb*, a large double bath, a library and a *türbe* for the founder. All these buildings still exist today, the mosque and the *ḥammām* largely in original shape. The library contains a large number of manuscripts, on religion, medicine, mathematics and history. The Grand Vizier Yemen Fātiḥi Sinān Pasha was to add books to this library in 1589. The *medrese* of Meḥmed Pasha functioned till 1947. In 1022/1613, the vizier Ṣofu Sinān Pasha, a native Albanian from the Prizren area, erected the largest mosque in the town, whose huge dome became one of the architectural dominant features of the town. A *medrese* once belonged to it. For the construction of the mosque, the stones of the by now deserted Monastery of the H. Archangels were used, and these are clearly visible at the structure. In the literature, Sinān Pasha is often confused with Yemen Fātiḥi Sinān Pasha, who originated from the same district (Lume belonging to Prizren), as did Ṣofu Sinān, who was governor of Buda, Bosnia and finally of Damascus. He died around 1615. His Prizren mosque belongs to the largest and most monumental ones of the entire Balkans. The expansion of Islamic life in the town can best be shown in a table, based on the surveys of the *wakfs* as indicated in the *taḥrīrs*:

1520	*1550*	*1573*
1 mosque	1 mosque	4 mosques
4 *mesdjids*	7 *mesdjids*	13 *mesdjids*
1 *ḥammām*	1 *ḥammām*	2 *ḥammāms*
1 *mekteb*	2 *mekteb*	3 *mektebs*
	2 caravanserais	2 caravanserais
		1 *medrese*
		1 library

In 1606 and 1614 Prizren is described enthousiastically in the reports of the visiting Catholic bishops Mario Bizzi and Pietro Masarechi, who praised the beauty of the houses, all having courtyards and fountains and a multitude of green and trees. Bizzi maintains that Prizren contained 8,600 houses, of which only 30 were Roman Catholic, having their own church. There were many schismatics (Orthodox), with two churches of their own. It is interesting to remark that the bishop maintains that "in this part of Serbia the inhabitants speak Albanian", a remark also made by Masarechi as pertaining to the town itself. For the villages, the presence of Albanians is confirmed by the Ottoman *taḥrīrs*. In Serbian historiography, the Albanisation and Islamisation of Kosovo has to be seen as a result of the mass emigration of the Serbs after the Christian revolts and Habsburg invasion at the end of the 17th century and the subsequent settlement of Albanians on the vacated lands. The conversion of the great church of Bogorodica Ljeviška is therefore also placed in the early 18th century. According to Masarachi, Prizren had 12,000 Turkish (= Muslim) inhabitants, 600 Serbian inhabitants and 200 Catholics. Only the numbers of the two Christian communities look more or less realistic when compared with the Ottoman data.

Prizren and its district suffered terribly from the invasion of the Habsburg army under Piccolomini in the winter of 1689-90, during which the city was burnt down and a large part of the Muslim population slaughtered. According to the late 19th century historian Ṭāhir Efendi, who used local memory and now unavailable sources, only 60 Muslim families survived. With the help of Albanian Muslims from the unoccupied mountains, the Ottomans succeeded in driving back the Habsburgs and their Serbian and Albanian-Christian auxiliaries, after which terrible vengeance was taken on the remaining Christians. This led to the "Great Exodus" of the Serbs of Kosovo under their Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević. The Austrian invasion of 1737 led to a repetition of these events. After these disturbances a certain Ṣāliḥ Agha from the village of Nenkovac near Prizren, who had exerted himself in the expulsion of the Austrians, repaired many mosques and schools in Prizren and reorganised normal life in the district, for which he received the title of Pasha. Ṣāliḥ Pasha is the founder of the hereditary dynasty of the (Albanian) Pashas of the Rotulla family, which was to rule Prizren till well into the 19th century. Ṣāliḥ was succeeded by his son Emr Allāh Pasha. The son of the latter, Ṭāhir Pasha, fought against Ḳara Maḥmūd Bushatlî, the powerful Albanian *derebey* [*q.v.*] of Shkoder, who occupied Prizren in 1795 and drove Ṭāhir Pasha away. In 1805 Saᶜīd Pasha, son of Ṭāhir, became *sandjak bey* of Prizren. In 1806 he fought against the rebellious Serbs, a fact memoralised in numerous folksongs. From 1809 till 1836 Prizren was governed by Maḥmūd Pasha, the most important of the Rotulla dynasty. In 1809 he helped to destroy the Serbian insurgents near Niš [see NISH] and subsequently conquered Semendere/Smederevo and Belgrade. As symbols of his victory, he took the bells of the clock towers of Smederevo with him and placed them in three new clock towers which he constructed in the citadel of Prizren and in the large villages of Orahovica and Mamusha. In 1821 Maḥmūd Pasha participated in the suppression of the Greek Revolt. He is especially known for the large mosque, the *medrese* and the *mekteb* he had erected in Prizren. Maḥmūd Pasha also rebuilt the mosque in the Prizren castle and repaired the great *ḥammām* of Meḥmed Pasha and the Mosque of Ḥādjdjī Ḳāsîm, which is already mentioned in the *wakfiyye* of Kukli Meḥmed Bey from 1537-8. In 1831 Maḥmūd Pasha sided with the rebellious Albanian vizier Muṣṭafā Bushatlî but was beaten by the forces of Reshīd Pasha. He was finally removed in 1836, banished to Anatolia and executed there. His brother Emīn Pasha Rotulla succeeded him and remained in charge till his death in 1259/1843. In 1247/1831, Emīn Pasha constructed the last great mosque of Prizren and the fourth and last *medrese* of the city. The mosque still stands, a large domed structure which is visibly inspired by the 200 years' earlier mosque of Ṣofu Sinān Pasha. Emīn Pasha had only one child, his daughter Umm Kulthūm, which is the reason that the rule of the Rotulla pashas over Prizren ended. In 1327/1909, Umm Kulthūm, then living in the Istanbul suburb of Üsküdār, drew up her *wakfiyye* for the *mekteb* she had founded in Prizren.

In 1843, within the framework of the reorganisation of the *eyālets*, Prizren became the capital, instead of Üsküp/Skopje, of a large administrative unit. This had a positive effect on the population of the town, which grew rapidly. In 1865 the experienced traveler Johann Georg von Hahn called "Prisrend" the "largest city of Albania", bigger than Yenişehir/Larissa, Yannina or Shkoder, and probably even bigger than Monastîr. According to the statement of the Austrian consular agent Dr. von Petelenz, who lived many years in the city, there were 11,540

houses, of which 8,400 were Muslim, 3,000 Orthodox and 150 Catholic. In them lived 46,000 inhabitants, 36,000 of whom were Muslims. According to the same source, Prizren had 26 mosques, two Orthodox churches and one Catholic church, as well as 17 *mektebs* for boys and nine for girls, one Rüs̲h̲diyye school, and a school for the Orthodox and Catholic communities each. At this time, Prizren was the arms factory of the Balkans, producing swords, all sorts of rifles and pistols as well as excellent saffian leather and a large textile production; silversmiths were especially famous. The population was Turkish, Albanian, Bulgarian/Serbian and Vlach, and most people spoke all these languages because they lived mixed together and not in segregated *maḥalles*, a situation which can be seen as early as 1643 in the *ʿawāriḍ defter* of that year. From 1868 till 1874, Prizren was the capital of the *wilāyet* of Perzerīn. In 1288/1871, a bilingual Turkish-Serbian weekly *Perzerin* started its existence. In 1874, however, the large *wilāyet* was split up into several different units, apparently to counteract the too strong Albanian influence. After this date, the expansion of the city began to stagnate, especially when the new railway from Selānik/Thessaloniki to Kosovo caused a change in the trade network and left Prizren largely outside it. From 1878 till 1881, the Albanian nationalist movement called the "League of Prizren" met in the *dersk̲h̲āne* of the *medrese* of Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a in Prizren, trying to keep the "Four Albanian *wilāyets*" (S̲h̲koder, Kosovo, Manastîr and Yanya) together and to prevent Serbian and Greek annexation, attempts which ultimately failed.

In October 1912, during the First Balkan War, the Serbian army under General Janković took Prizren, which was accompanied by a massacre of the Muslim population, according to contemporary press reports amounting to 12,000 victims. After the conquest, the citadel and all its buildings were blown up, the mosque of Sultan Meḥemmed the Conqueror was made into a church and the buildings of Rotulla Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a, the victor of Belgrade and Smederevo, were totally destroyed. Later, a beginning was made at demolishing the great mosque of Ṣofu Sinān Pas̲h̲a, but violent popular protests saved the greater part of the building, its three-domed porch being lost. From the events of 1912 and from the subsequent neglect in the interwar period, Prizren never recovered. In 1961 it still numbered as few as 28,056 inhabitants. Even after the settlement of some industry and the connection with the railroad network after World War II, the city remained smaller than it had been at its height in the 19th century. Neglect and poverty, however, saved it from ugly modernisations. After the War, extensive works of restoration and conservation were carried out on the Christian as well as on the Muslim historical monuments.

In the 16th century Prizren was, in the words of the biographer and prolific writer ʿĀs̲h̲ïḳ Čelebi [*q.v.*], himself a native of Prizren (born 1518 or 1520, died in Üsküb/ Skopje 979/1571), a "fountain of poets". Besides Sūzī Čelebi, Nehārī and ʿĀs̲h̲ïḳ himself, there lived the poet Muʾmin and the mystical poet Semʿī Behārī. Saʿyī from Prizren wrote a *Fetḥ ḳalʿa-yi Belgrad*. Sudjūtī, who is often represented as a native of Kalkandelen/Totovo, was in fact from Prizren; he wrote a *Selīm-nāme* during that sultan's reign and built a bridge at Prizren. Tedjelli (d. D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1100/August-September 1689) is another poet worth mentioning because of his *dīwān*. An important 18th century literary ʿĀdjizī figure was the poet and dervish leader Süleymān Efendi, the founder of the ʿĀdjiziyye branch of the Saʿdiyye dervish order, who lived and died in Prizren (1151/1738). His *türbe*, with a magnificent wooden dome, is still extant and held in veneration. The most important 19th century figure is K̲h̲ōdja Ṭāhir Efendi, teacher in the *medrese* of Emīn Pas̲h̲a, whose great work is a *Tārīk̲h̲-i Perzerin*, written in Arabic rhyming prose, the publication of which is an urgent desiratum for the history of Ottoman culture in the Balkans.

Prizren was and still is a centre of dervish life. The presence of the Sināniyye order dates from 998/1589-90, when S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ Mūsā Efendi founded a *tekke* of the this order in the Ṭabaḳ-k̲h̲āne Maḥalle. The Ḳādiriyye order apparently came in 1066/1655-6, when S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ Ḥasan, son of S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ Maḳṣūd, founded the still-existing *tekke* of this order in the Ḳurila Maḥalle. The Ḳarabās̲h̲iyye branch of the K̲h̲alwetiyye came into being in 1111/1699-1700. S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ʿOt̲h̲mān Efendi from Serres founded the still-existing *tekke* of this order. A second *tekke* of the Sināniyye was founded in 1118/1706-7. The ʿĀdjiziyye branch of the Saʿdiyye has already been mentioned. The Bektas̲h̲ī order is also said to have been active in Prizren, and some Melāmī groups still exist. Of more recent date is the now very active Rifāʿiyye, whose *tekke* was wholly rebuilt in 1972 by the present (1993) S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ Džemali Zukić, replacing a late 19th century foundation. The *Newrūz* ceremony in this *tekke* is one of the greatest events in dervish life of all of the former Yugoslav territories.

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The Ottoman *taḥrīrs* from 1530, 1550 and 1570, and the *djizye* and *ʿawāriḍ defters* from 1591 and 1643, preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul, have not yet been published. (M. Kiel)

PROCLUS [see BURUḲLUS].

PTOLEMY [see BAṬLAMIYŪS].

P'U SHOU-KENG, Chinese Muslim merchant and official. Although somewhat neglected by classical Chinese and Muslim writers, P'u Shou-keng, whose surname was probably derived from Arabic "Abū", was born in the mid-13th century. As to his place of origin, one theory suggests he was born into a sinicised Central Asian family that had settled in Sze-chuan during the early Sung and later moved to Ch'üan-chou (known as Zaytūn to Muslim and Western travellers in mediaeval times [see AL-ṢĪN]). Another has it that his family migrated there from Champa in Southeast Asia in the second half of the Sung period. The third, and most likely, maintains that he was from a South Arabian family who had settled in Kuang-chou.

P'u was one of the wealthiest sea traders in the provinces of Fu-kien and Canton. In about 1250 A.D. he was appointed as Superintendent of Shipping Trade in Ch'üan-chou, a post he held for thirty years. Through this post he monopolised trade profits and amassed great wealth. However, towards the end of the Sung, his defection to the Mongols (attributable to his anger at the misappropriation by the Sung court of his personal fortune to finance the war against the Mongols) led directly to the Mongol conquest of all China. Following the establishment of the Mongol-Yüan Dynasty, P'u was appointed Commissioner for Infantry and Cavalry for Defence and Attack. Later he became Assistant Civil Councillor of Kiang-si Province and in 1281 one of the two Executive Assistants of the Fu-kien Provincial Secretariat. Thereafter he is little mentioned in sources and doubtless at some point died. His family flourished in government posts throughout the Yüen period.

P'u and his family were devout Muslims, sponsoring Muslim communities in Fu-kien, donating money to repair Ch'üan-chou city wall and *wakf* land for Muslim cemeteries. P'u's son donated money for the reconstruction of the city's Ch'ing-chin-ssu mosque. Ch'üan-chou became the biggest trade port and important centre for Muslim missionaries and travellers to China. During the Ming period (1368-1644), however, its significance declined and P'u's descendants were banned from civil posts by the Ming rulers on acount of his previous disloyalty to the Sung. One, however, distinguished himself as a writer during the Manchu-Ch'ing period (1644-1911). P'u Sung-ling's *Liao-Chai Chih-i* ("Strange tales from a Make-up Studio") contains Central Asian characters and reflects many Islamic traditions.

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PŪNA, now officially *Pūne*, conventional European rendering Poona, a city of South India located in a District with the same name, on the Dakhan plateau, at 18° 31′ N. latitude and 73° 51′ E. longitude. The Pūna district is first mentioned in Rashtrakuta inscriptions of the 2nd/8th century as *Punya Vishaya* and *Punaka*, which had "a thousand villages." The town can be identified for the first time in the *Punaka-vādi* of another Rashtrakuta inscription of the 4th/10th century. According to local tradition, Pūna was a hamlet of about fifteen huts in 613 A.D.

There are no historical records concerning Pūna from the 5th/11th to the 8th/14th centuries. During the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī [see KHALDJĪS], the Sultan of Dihlī from 696/1296 to 716/1316, Pūna came under Muslim control. Hindu temples were now converted into *dargāhs*, the town became a Muslim *ḳaṣaba* and a military base surrounded by a mud-wall. Within the wall there were the Muslim army and a few villagers, outside were the Hindu cultivators, traders, village officials, and brahmans. Pūna commanded the communications to its immediate hinterland, the Maval Hills, but was not situated along any of the major trade routes of the Dakhan. The *ḳaṣaba* was subsequently included in the Bahmanī Sultanate [*q.v.*], from the 8th/14th century onwards, and in the Niẓām Shāhī Sultanate [*q.v.*] in the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, both Dakhan-based Muslim powers, which did not, however, make Pūna their capital. The Russian traveller Nikitin mentions Djunnar, not Pūna, as the main town, while travelling through the area in the late days of the Bahmanī Sultanate.

In 1004/1595 the *ḳaṣaba* of Pūna, with its surrounding district, was part of a *djāgīr* [*q.v.*] conferred by the

Mosque of Meḥmed Pasha (Bayraḳlî Djāmiʿ), 980-1/1573. (Photo: M. Kiel)

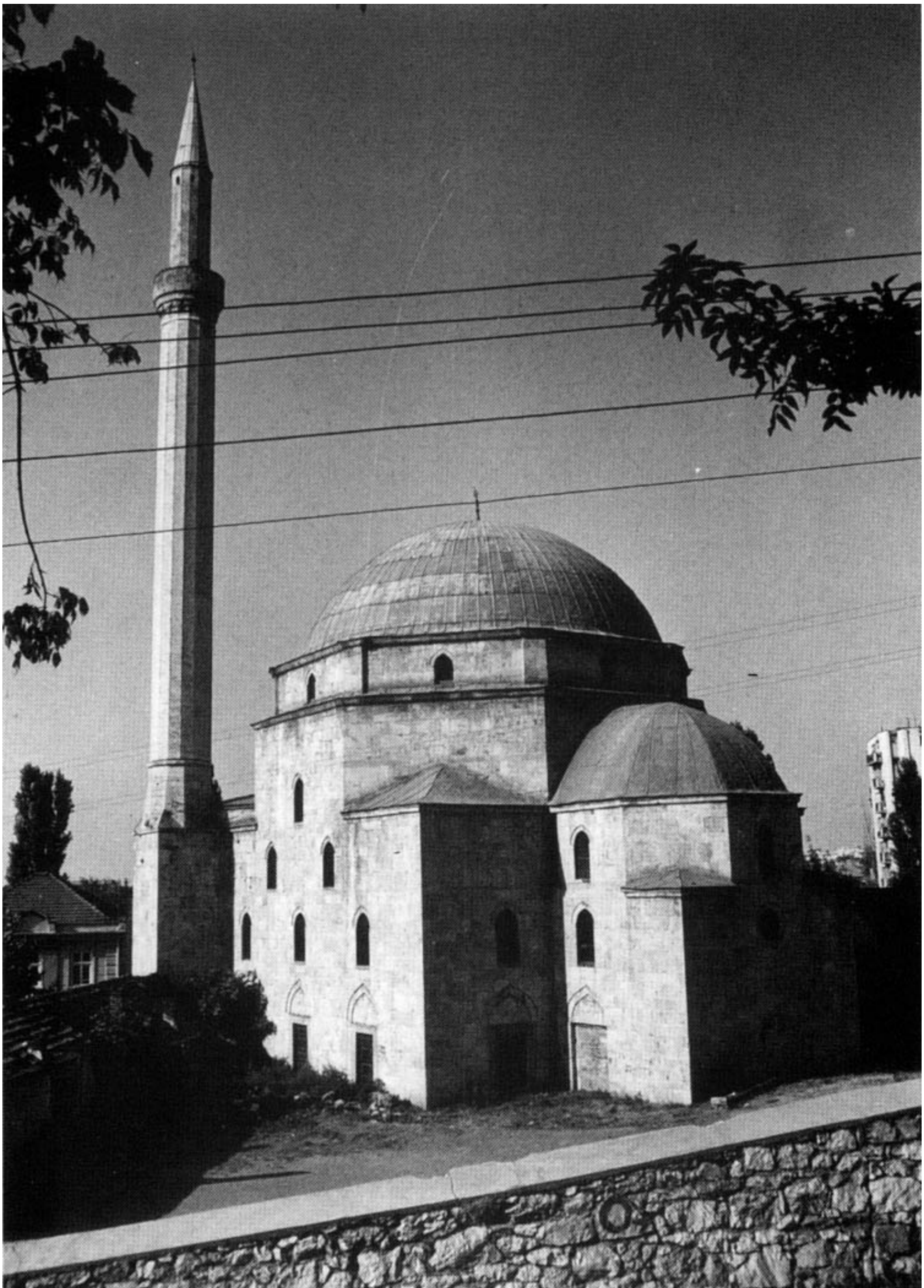

Mosque of Ṣofu Sinān Pa<u>sh</u>a, 1023/1614-5. The date is given as chronogramme, written on the *miḥrab*: mi<u>th</u>āl-i d̲jennet (= 1023).

Ḳādiriyye Tekke, founded 1066/1655-6. *Türbe* with the tombs of the eleven S͟hayk͟hs since the foundation, all direct descendants of the *tekke's* founder S͟hayk͟h Ḥasan (*silsile* by Ćehajić, Derviški Redovi). Photo: M. Kiel)

Mosque of Emīn Pasha Rotulla, interior view, 1247/1831-2. (Photo: M. Kiel)

Niẓām Shāhī government on the ancestors of the future Marāthā king Śivādjī. The town was destroyed several times, worst in 1040/1630, when it was captured and burnt by the ʿĀdil Shāhī army. About 1047/1637 Śivādjī's father first made his residence in the town of Pūna, which started to increase substantially in size. Śivādjī, however, spent most of his time at Satara, in his hill-forts, or campaigning. Pūna changed hands between the Mughals and the Marāthās [*q.vv.*] before it came into the possession of the Pēshwās [*q.v.*] early in the 12th/18th century. Due to the Mughal presence, the number of mosques increased, as did the Muslim population of the town. Khāfī Khān speaks of Pūna in the time of Awrangzīb as "situated in a treeless plain." By 1133/1720, the old *ḳaṣaba* may have had a total population of 20,000 to 30,000. By 1164/1750, Pūna had officially been acknowledged as the Marāthā capital, and, as the residence of the Pēshwās, expanded dramatically, while "a million mango trees" were planted in and around the town. The Pēshwās built the Shanwar Palace, the most magnificent building of Pūna, which was, however, destroyed by fire in 1243/1827. Numerous temples were erected, especially on Parvati hill, to the south-west of the city. From about 1143/1730 to 1234/1818, Pūna was the city of the Pēshwās, a bureaucratic-military capital with a largely Citpāvan-brahman constituency. It did not have the economic base of such Muslim cities as Āgra, Dihlī, Lahore, or Murshidābād, nor did it have the commercial promise of the new British cities of Madras, Bombay or Calcutta. Pūna had a peculiarly brahman character, and, for the most part, was a creation of the Pēshwās, who transformed it into a city of 150,000. Muslims were only a small community in 12th/18th-century Pūna, and many of them were converts from the Hindu population of the period before the rise of Śivādjī. But both Shīʿī and Sunnī groups were represented. Later in the same century, Muʾmins and Bohorās [*q.v.*] came to the city to trade, and there were also a small number of Sīdīs, descendants of African Muslims, and mercenary Arabs. In 1225/1810 there were in Pūna 412 Hindu temples and 10 Muslim shrines or mosques. The Pēshwās' generosity towards Muslim shrines in Pūna (as elsewhere) is nevertheless on record. In general, life in Pūna was much influenced by Indo-Muslim culture. The Pēshwās, for instance, affected a semi-Mughal style of dress for formal occasions.

In 1233/1817 Pūna was occupied by the British, and British troops remained in Pūna until 1368/1948, in a separate cantonment. The population increased again, to 276,000 in 1360/1941. In the post-Independence period, Pūna became an industrialised city of over 800,000 in 1391/1971, and over 1,500,000 in the 1400s/1980s. The percentage of Muslims in the city has, from the mid-12th/18th century onwards, never been more than ten, and is less now. But the Muslim population in Pūna is still sizeable, and there is considerable communalist tension.

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PŪR-I BAHĀʾ-i Djāmī, Tādj al-Dīn b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn, a Persian poet who was active in the second part of the 7th/13th century when Persia was ruled by the Mongols. Most of the biographical information is based on statements to be found in his verses. His *takhalluṣ* was Pūr-i Bahāʾ. He was a native of Djām in Khurāsān and was born into a family of *ḳāḍīs* and scholars; his ancestors had held the post of *ḳāḍī* in the *wilāyat* of Djām since the days of the Sāmānids, but by Pūr-i Bahāʾ's time had lost this function. In his youth he lived in Harāt, where Mawlānā Rukn al-Dīn Ḳubāʾī and Saʿīd-i Harawī were his masters in poetry.

Pūr-i Bahāʾ was the *maddāḥ* of several high officials, who all belong to the reign of the Īlkhān Abaḳa (1265-82 [*q.v.*]). While living in Khurāsān he praised ʿIzz al-Dīn Ṭāhir al-Faryūmadī (d. *ca.* 668/1270) and his son Wadjīh al-Dīn Zangī (executed in 685/1287) who both were appointed *wazīr*/*nāʾib* of that province, the former in 1265, the latter in 1270 and again in 1282. Another prominent *mamdūḥ* was Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274 [*q.v.*]). When Pūr-i Bahāʾ left his native province he lived in Tabrīz, Iṣfahān and Baghdād where he became the panegyrist of several members of the Djuwaynī family: Shams al-Dīn the *ṣāḥib dīwān* (executed 1284), ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik, the famous historian and governor of Baghdād (d. 1283 [*q.v.*]) and Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn, the governor of Iṣfahān (d. 1279). Nothing is known of his fate after the death of these patrons, a fact which must also have affected his life considerably.

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (d. after 740/1339-40) confirms in his *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* that Pūr-i Bahāʾ's *dīwān* was well-known. Verses of Pūr-i Bahāʾ are quoted in anthologies, biographical or historical works. By far the most comprehensive collection of his poems is to be found in a comparatively late manuscript dated 1029/1619-20, written for the Ḳuṭb-Shāhīs [*q.v.*] of Ḥaydarābād in South India, and entitled *Kitāb-i Pūr-i Bahāʾ*; but as it does not contain all the verses cited in other sources it can hardly represent his complete *dīwān*.

This manuscript comprises 41 *ḳaṣāʾid*, 13 *muḳaṭṭaʿāt*, 1 *tarkīb-band*, 1 *mathnawī* called *Kār-nāma-yi awḳāf*, 2 *ghazals* and 73 *rubāʿiyyāt*, altogether totalling 25,216 verses. With the exception of the *rubāʿiyyāt*, his poetry is devoted to panegyrics (*madḥ*), satire (*hadjw*) or quite often a mixture of both. Sanāʾī and Sūzanī were his favourite poets and admired models.

Pūr-i Bahāʾ shows a predilection for complicated metres and rare words. He makes frequent use of financial and administrative technical terms, and is famous for his macaronic pieces that mix Persian with Mongolian and Eastern Turkic vocabulary, so that most of his verses are not easily understood. There are many comments on the political and social grievances of the time, such as excessive taxation or the improper behaviour of state officials, and allusions to otherwise unknown or little-known individuals. The satirical *mathnawī Kār-nāma-yi awḳāf* criticises the bad state of affairs prevailing within the pious endowments. For his criticism and satire, Pūr-i Bahāʾ indulges in pornographic images and obscene words; this may have been the true motive for the copying of his poems for the Ḳuṭb-Shāhī ruler's library.

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2. Editions and translations: Browne, *LHP*, iii, 111-15; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v. *Pūr-i Bahāʾ*; V. Minorsky, *Pūr-i Bahā's "Mongol Ode"*, in *BSOAS*, xviii (1956), 261-78 (also in *Iranica, twenty articles by V. Minorsky*, Tehran 1964, 274-91); idem, *Pūr-i Baha and his poems*, in *Charisteria orientalia (Festschrift for Jan Rypka)*, Prague 1956, 186-201 (also in *Iranica, twenty articles*, 292-305); Iradj Afshār, *Kār-nāma-yi awkāf. Athar-i Tādj al-Dīn Nasāʾī*, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, viii (1339/1960), 5-22, based on a 7th/13th century manuscript, wrongly ascribed to a certain Tādj al-Dīn Nasāʾī, who is only a protagonist of that satire. This edition of the *Kār-nāma-yi awkāf* was compared to its more comprehensive version in the *Kitāb-i Pūr-i Bahāʾ*, re-ed. with German tr. Birgitt Hoffmann, *Von falschen Asketen und «unfrommen» Stiftungen*, in *Proceedings of the first European Conference of Iranian Studies*, in Turin, 7-11 September 1987, Part 2, 409-85.

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PŪR-I DĀWŪD, Ibrāhīm, Persian scholar, poet and patriot, born in 1886/1264 at Rasht [*q.v.*], the son of a merchant-landowner of Sayyid descent. From boyhood he delighted in poetry, and himself became an acclaimed romantic and patriotic poet (Browne, p. XVIII; Rypka, 376). As a student in Tehran in 1906 he witnessed the struggle for constitutional reform, which affected him deeply. He studied law briefly in Paris, but abandoned it for ancient Iranian studies, which he pursued in France and Germany for a number of years. In 1924 the Pārsīs [*q.v.*] invited him to translate Zoroaster's *Gāthās* into modern Persian. He accordingly spent some time in India, where this translation was published in 1927, to be followed by renderings of the Avestan *Yašts* (1931), *Khorda Avesta* (1932) and *Yasna* (1934) (Tarapore, 14, 19-22, 34-6). His great aim was both to serve Iranian Zoroastrians and enlighten Iranian Muslims about their cultural heritage. In 1938 he became professor of Avestan, Pahlavi and ancient Iranian history at Tehran University, publishing thereafter other scholarly works on Iranian religion, history and folklore, as well as poems. He died in 1347 *sh*/1968.

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PUSHTŪNISTĀN [see pashtūnistān].

PŪST (p.), skin, Turkish *pōst* or *pōstakī*, a tanned sheepskin, used as the ceremonial seat or throne of a *pīr or shaykh* of a dervish order. The head, sides and foot had mystical significances ascribed to them. It corresponds to the Arabic *bisāṭ*. According to Ewliyā Čelebi (Istanbul 1314/1896-7, i, 495), the *murīd*, after passing the test by the *pīr*, is called *ṣāḥib pūst*. On ceremonial occasions amongst the Bektāshī order, the hall or convent was said to have been set out with twelve *pūst*s of white sheepskin in remembrance of the twelve *Imāms* or standing symbolically for twelve great figures in Bektāshī history, but in the last days of the order's open existence in Turkey (i.e. before 1925; see bektāshiyya), the number of special *pūst*s was restricted to not more than four, in the experience of Birge (see *Bibl.*).

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PŪST-NESHĪN (p.), lit. "the one sitting on the [sheep's] skin", the title given to the *baba* or head of a dervish *tekke* in Persian and Ottoman Turkish Ṣūfī practice, e.g. amongst the Bektāshīs [see bektāshiyya].

Bibliography: J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London 1937, 57 n. 2, 269. (Ed.)

PUWASA [see Suppl.].

R

RĀʾ the tenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed as /r/, and with a numerical value of 200, according to the eastern letter order [see abdjad].

Definition. Vibrant, apical, alveolar and voiced. This trilled consonant is produced by a series of movements of the tongue produced a little behind the gums of the incisors. Sībawayh calls the consonant /r/ "hard" (*shadīd*) and "repeated" (*mukarrar*), because of the repetition (*takrīr*) of the tongue's movement during the sound's production. For al-Khalīl, the /r/ is a "pointed" (*dhawlakī*) consonant because it is produced with the tip (*dhawlak*) of the tongue. In phonology, the phoneme /r/ is defined by the oppositions /r - l/, /r -n/ and /r - gh/; the phoneme /r/ is thus non-lateral, non-nasal and anterior.

Velarisation (*tafkhīm*). As well as the simple realisation of /r/, the grammarians describe an emphatic realisation /ṛ/ brought about by the phonetic surroundings. The /r/ is velarised (*mufakhkham*) when it is followed by the vowel /a/ or the vowel /u/, or by one of the seven "high" (*mustaʿliya*) consonants: /ṭ/, /ḍ/, /ẓ/, /ṣ/, /ḳ/, /kh/ and /gh/, itself followed by /a/ or /u/; contrariwise, the /r/ is not velarised if it is followed by the vowel /i/ or the semi-vowel /y/. This emphatic realisation is a combinatory variant of the same phoneme, and has only a phonetic, extra-phonological value. One of the properties of the emphatic /ṛ/ is to prevent, through its proximity, the inclination (*imāla*) of the vowel /a/ towards /i/. The opposition of non-emphatic /r/ and emphatic /ṛ/ exists also in Arabic dialects. In most eastern dialects, the opposition remains purely phonetic, with no distinctive character,

and the causes producing emphasisation are the same as those in literary Arabic; but in certain eastern dialects and in the western ones, the opposition of the two forms of /r/ has a distinctive value, and one can speak of two phonemes, non-emphatic /r/ and emphatic /ṛ/.

Assimilation (*idghām*). Because of its specific character, the trilling or repetition (*takrīr*) which accompanies its emission, Sībawayh considers that /r/ cannot be assimilated (*mudgham*) to another consonant, since it would lose its character; however, the assimilations of /-rl-/ into /- ll -/ are found amongst certain "readers" (*ḳurrāʾ*) of the Ḳurʾān.

In modern Arabic dialects, /r/ undergoes very few conditioned alterations and is subject to only one non-conditioned alteration; in certain sedentary dialects, both eastern and western, the /r/ may be realised as a voiced velar spirant /gh/.

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(G. Troupeau)

RABʿ (a., pl. *ribāʿ*) originally means home, domicile, home town or home country; the verb *rabaʿa* means "to dwell". In the context of Cairene architecture, it designates a type of urban dwelling which is a rental multi-unit building founded for investment. It can also refer to the living quarters belonging to a religious institution.

In his description of Cairo in the 5th/11th century, Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] mentions tenant buildings that sheltered as many as 350 dwellers, and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231-2) writes about *rabʿ*s in Cairo which included 50 living units (*bayt*) (*al-Ifāda wa 'l-iʿtibār*, 55, 58; de Sacy, *Relation*, 374-411). Many travellers have described multi-storied houses in Fusṭāṭ which are also mentioned in Geniza documents (Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, iv, 58-9). It is not clear, however, whether the multi-storied houses should necessarily be identified with rental buildings. Apart from the multi-storied houses, there were buildings consisting of shops or stores on the street level with living units on the upper level having an independent entrance (*ibid.*, 17). Both the multi-storied house and the rental apartment complex are documented in papyri concerning large Egyptian cities of the Ptolemaic period (Nowicka, *Maison privée*, 108, 125). In the Fāṭimid sources, large dwelling complexes are designated by the term *dār*; it cannot be definitely stated whether or not these were the equivalent of the Roman *insulae*. The *rabʿ* in the specific sense of a Cairene dwelling type consisting of a row of living units built above a row of shops or a commercial structure is not documented before the Mamlūk period.

The most common type of living-unit in a *rabʿ* is called *ṭabaḳa* (pl. *ṭibāḳ*); larger apartments are referred to as *riwāḳ* or *ḳāʿa*. The *ṭabaḳa* was a kind of duplex with a vestibule (*dihlīz*), a recess for water jars, a latrine and a main room consisting of a slightly raised *īwān* and a *dūrḳāʿa*. An inner staircase led up to a mezzanine (*mustaraḳa*) used for sleeping. Each unit had its own enclosed private roof. A *ṭabaḳa* may also be a triplex with an additional room above the mezzanine.

The *rabʿ* was often built on the second floor above a row of shops or store-rooms or above any type of caravanserail like a *wakāla*, a *khān*, a *funduḳ* or a *ḳaysariyya*. In the first case it was built along the street. If it was associated with a commercial structure, it was adapted to its layout, i.e. it was built around a courtyard. As the basic study of L. Ali Ibrahim demonstrates (see *Bibl.*), the windows of the living units, as a rule, overlooked the street whenever they could be located on the street side, which contradicts the wide-spread conception that residential architecture in Egypt is introverted. Each *rabʿ* was served by an independent staircase which was reached through a separate entrance from the street. The staircase led to a gallery leading to the living units. There were also *rabʿ*s built independently without commercial structures, with living units also on the ground floor. Since the 9th/15th century the *rabʿ* type of housing was adopted to serve as living quarters for the community of the *khānḳāhs* and *madrasas* instead of the traditional cells. Such *rabʿ*s were built by Sultan Barsbāy and Amīr Ḳurḳumās at their respective religious-funerary complexes in the cemetery. A different kind of *rabʿ* was the *rabʿ al-zaytī* mentioned by Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 78). Located in the green outskirts of Cairo, along the Nāṣirī Canal, its apartments on four sides overlooked gardens and orchards. It was frequented by a licentious clientèle (*yanziluhā ahl al-khalāʿa li 'l-ḳaṣf*).

The rental *rabʿ*s were built by members of the ruling class and other wealthy investors who made them into *waḳf*, i.e. they alienated their revenues either to endow philanthropic and religious foundations or for their private family trusts. The dwellers of the *rabʿ* were not poor, but middle-class citizens who were able to pay the rent that made this form of dwelling a lucrative investment. The *waḳf* archives of Cairo provide a wealth of *rabʿ* descriptions from the Mamlūk as well as the Ottoman periods (see H. Sayed). From the Mamlūk period only *rabʿ*s built by the ruling establishment have survived, those of the sultans Barsbāy, Īnāl, Ḳāyitbāy, al-Ghūrī and Amīr Ḳurḳumās. From the Ottoman period there are still a good number of *rabʿ*s built by *amīrs* and other notables.

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(Doris Behrens-Abouseif)

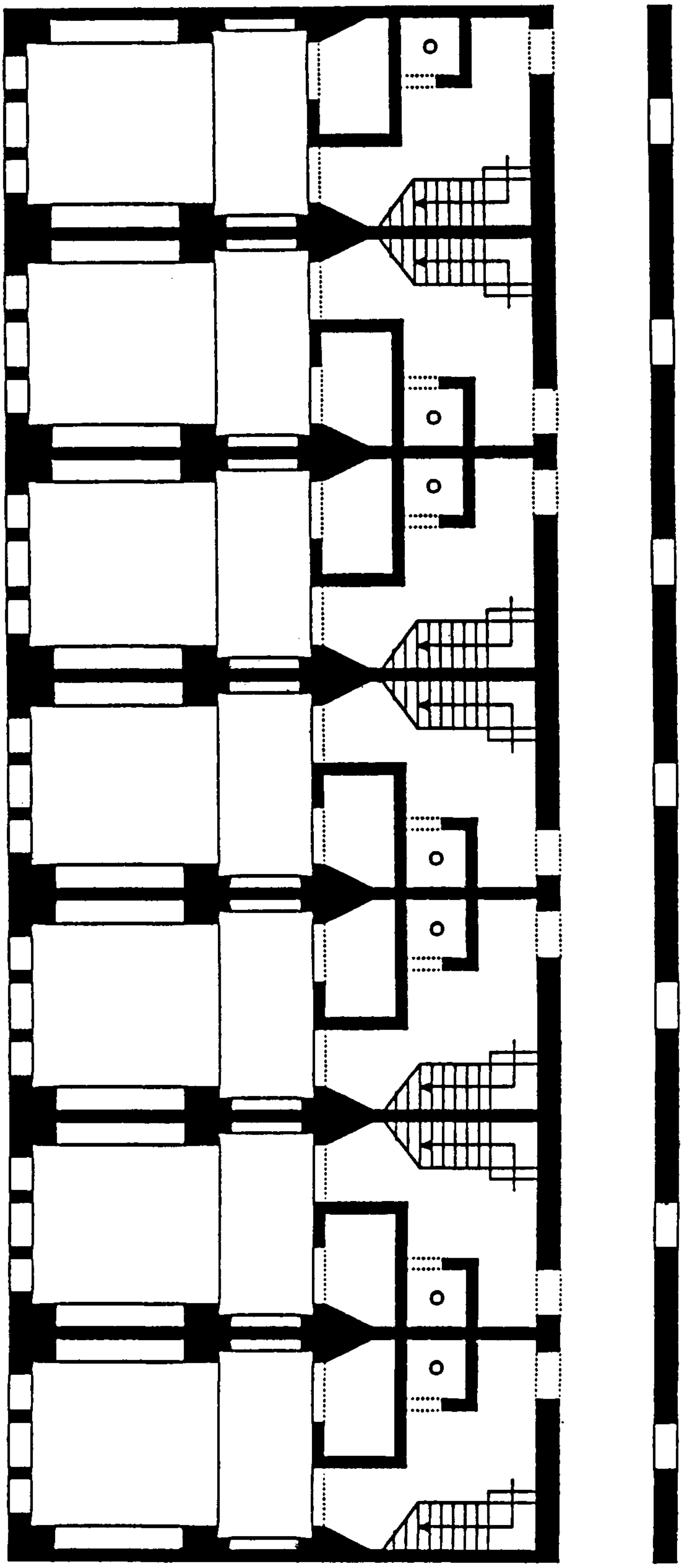

Diagrammatic plan of a *rab*^c block (by Hazem Sayed).

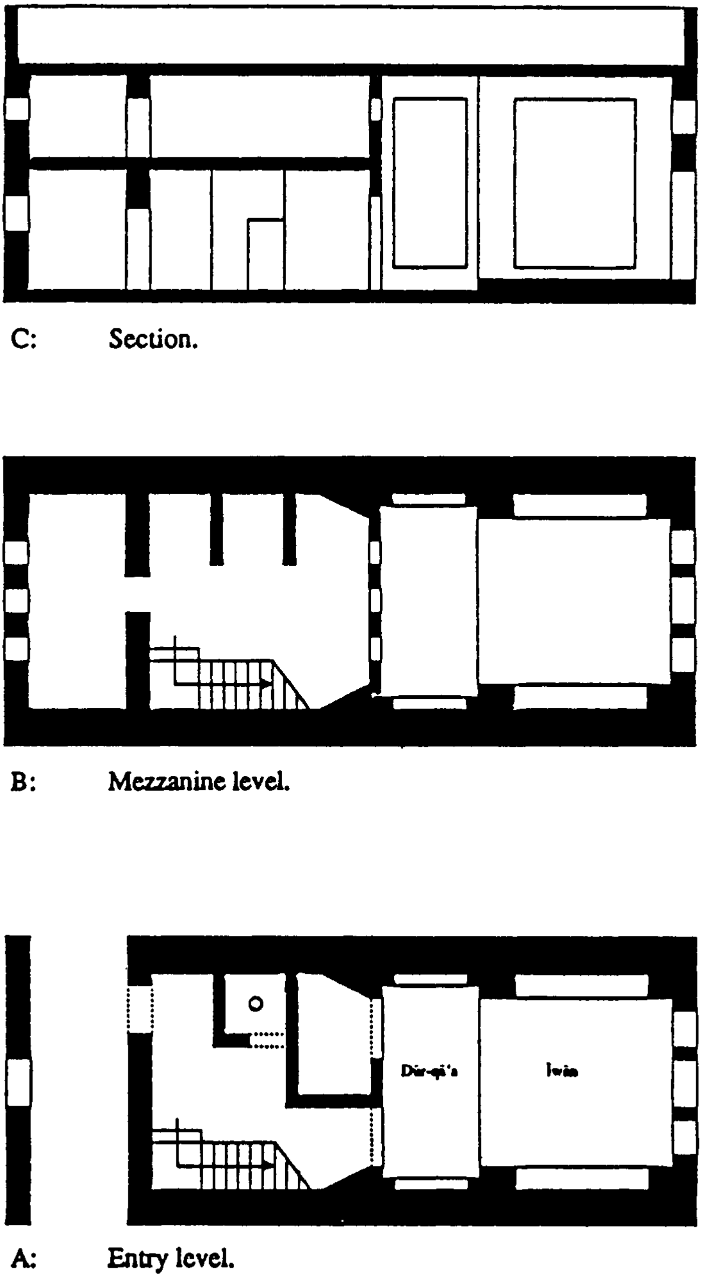

Diagrammatic plan of a *rabʿ* unit (by Hazem Sayed).

RABĀB (A.), the generic name for the viol, or any stringed instrument played with a bow (*ḳaws*). The origin of the name has been variously explained: *a.* from the Hebrew *lābab* (*l* and *r* being interchangeable); *b.* from the Persian *rubāb*, which was played with the fingers or plectrum; and *c.* from the Arabic *rabba* (to collect, arrange, assemble together). The first derivation is scarcely feasible. The second has a *raison d'être*, although the mere similarity in name must not be accepted without question. In spite of the oft-repeated statement that the Arabs admit that they borrowed the *rabāb* from the Persians, together with the word *kamān* for the bow, there is not the slightest evidence for it. No Arabic author (so far as the present writer knows) makes an admission of this kind, nor have the Arabs adopted the word *kamān* for the bow, their own term *ḳaws* having been considered sufficient. It is true that we read in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (10th century) that "The *rabāb* is well known to the people of Persia and Khurāsān" (237), but this author was writing in Transoxania, and we know from al-Fārābī that the *rabāb* was also well known in Arabian lands. One argument against the alleged borrowing from Persia is that the *rubāb* with the Persians was

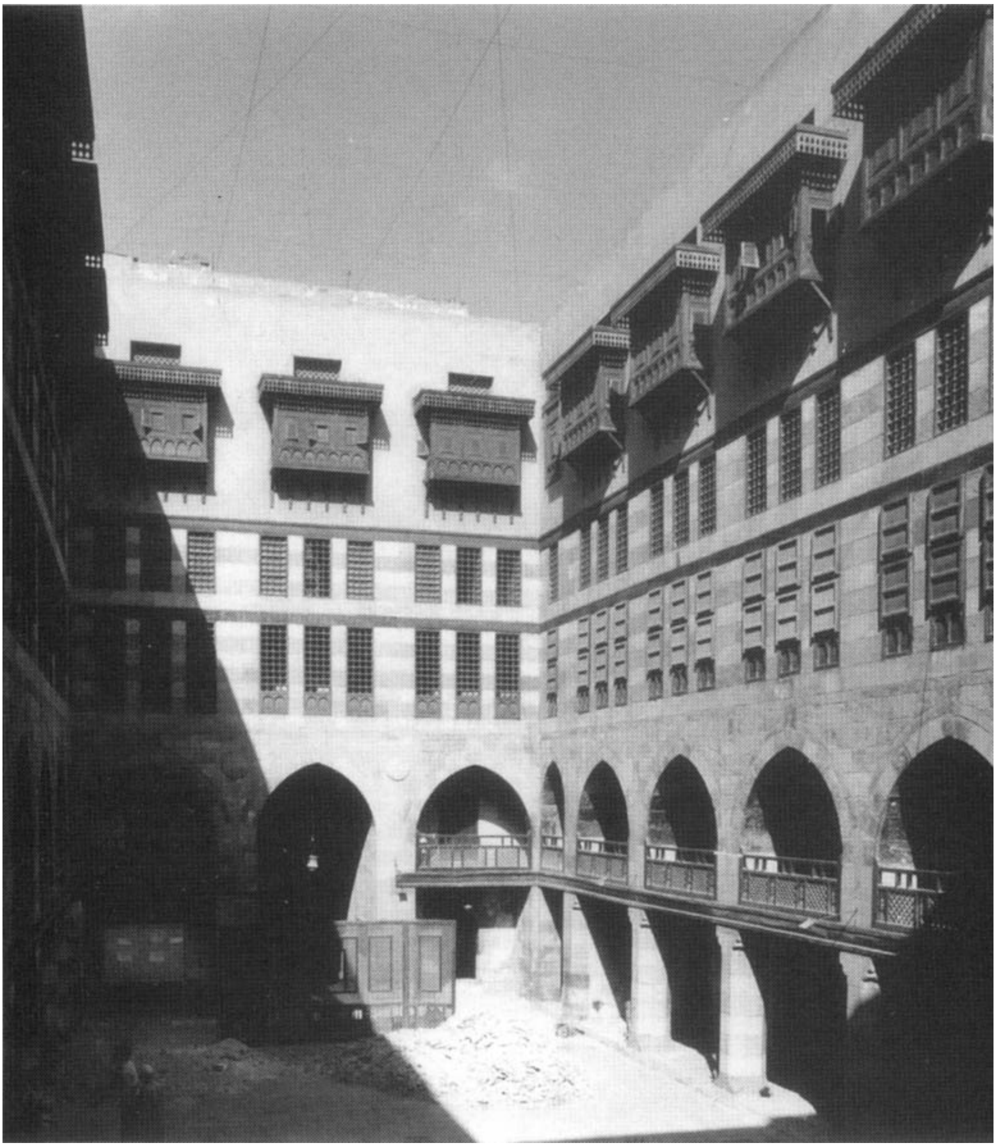

The *rab*^{c} of Sultan al-<u>Gh</u>awrī at his *wakāla* near al-Azhar.

always a plucked and not a bowed instrument. Still, the Arabs may have borrowed the plucked instrument and adapted it to the bow. On the other hand, the Arabic root *rabba* as the parent of the word *rabāb* has much in its favour. As the Arabic musical accousticians point out, plucked instruments such as the *ʿūd* (lute), *ṭunbūr* (pandore), etc., gave short (*munfaṣil*) sounds, but bowed instruments such as the *rabāb* gave long or sustained (*muttaṣil*) sounds. It was application of the bow which "collected, arranged, or assembled" the short notes into one sustained note, hence the term *rabāb* being applied to the viol (see Farmer, *Studies*, i, 99).

The *rabāb* is mentioned as early as the Arabic polygraph al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) in his *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil*. Yet we cannot be sure whether this was the bowed *rabāb* or the plucked *rubāb*. At any rate, it already had a legendary history when he wrote. According to the *Kashf al-humūm* (15th-16th century), it is first found in the hands of a woman of the Banū Ṭayyiʾ (fol. 263). Turkish tradition ascribed its "invention" to a certain ʿAbd Allāh Fāryābī (Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i/2, 226, 234). An Andalusian legend places its invention within the Iberian peninsula (Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes*, 59). One thing is certain: even if we have iconographic evidence of the viol in the 8th or 9th century (see below), the earliest literary evidence of the use of the bow comes from Arabic sources, i.e. from al-Fārābī (d. 950), the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (10th century), Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), and Ibn Zaylā (d. 1048), as I have fully demonstrated elsewhere (*Studies*, i, 101-5).

Seven different forms of viol are known to Islamic peoples, viz. 1. the Rectangular Viol, 2. the Circular Viol, 3. the Boat-Shaped Viol, 4. the Pear-Shaped Viol, 5. the Hemispherical Viol, 6. the Pandore Viol, and 7. the Open Chest Viol.

1. The Rectangular Viol. This consists of a wooden frame, more or less rectangular, over the face (*wadjh*) and back (*ẓahr*) of which is stretched a membrane (*djilda*). The neck (*ʿunuḳ*) is cylindrical and is of wood, whilst the foot (*ridjl*) is of iron. It has either one or two strings (*awtār*), generally of horsehair. Al-Khalīl (d. 791) says that "the ancient Arabs sang their poems to its [the *rabāb*'s] voice [or sound]" (Farmer, *Studies*, i, 100). In the *Kashf al-humūm* (fol. 267) we read that it was used to accompany the pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīda* and the elegiac poem. Probably the pre-Islamic *rabāb* was of this rectangular form. Lane (*Lexicon*, 1005) held this latter view. Ibn Ghaybī (d. 1435) describes this viol of the Bedouin as rectangular (*murabbaʿ*) and with a membrane face and back and one string of horsehair (fol. 78b). Niebuhr (i, 144) says that it was still called the *murabbaʿ* in the 18th century. We certainly have a rectangular instrument shown in the frescoes of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra (Musil, pl. xxxiv), but it is played with the fingers and not with a bow. Yet even in modern times the *rabāb* of the desert was to be found played in this way as well as with a bow (Crichton, ii, 380; Burckhardt, *Bedouins*, 43; idem, *Travels*, i, 389; Burton, *Personal narrative*, iii, 76). Niebuhr (Tab. xxvi, F) delineates a rectangular viol of two strings, although he says that he saw a viol of one string in Cairo. Villoteau (722-4, 913-18) distinguishes between the two instruments. In Egypt, he says, the *rabāb al-shāʿir* (poet's viol) had one string, whilst the *rabāb al-mughannī* (singer's viol) had two strings. Lane (*Mod. Egypt.*, chs. xviii, xxi) also describes them. These instruments never form part of a concert orchestra, being relegated to the folk. For other delineations of the instrument, see Fétis (*Hist.*, ii, 145), Engel (*Catalogue*, 211; *Researches*, 88), Chouquet (204), Sachs (*Reallex.*, 317). Actual specimens abound in museums, e.g. Brussels, no. 382 and New York, nos. 242, 391.

2. The Circular Viol. The modern instrument of this form consists of a circular wooden frame or pan, the face, and sometimes the back, being covered with a membrane. There is no foot. There is no special reference to this form in Arabic literature nor is there any definite inconographic evidence of it earlier than the 18th century, when it is described and delineated by Niebuhr (i, 144; Tab. xxvi, G), who found it at Baṣra. It had but one string. It is still found among the folk of Palestine (Sachsse, 30, 40, Tab. 3, 17) and the Maghrib (Chottin, 50), where it is still known as the *rabāb* or *ribāb*. For other delineations, see Lavignac (2790) and Chottin (pl. vi).

3. The Boat-Shaped Viol. This form is confined to the Maghrib. It consists of a piece of wood hollowed out into the shape of a boat. The chest (*ṣadr*) is covered with thin metal or wood pierced with ornamental rosettes (*nuwwārāt*), whilst the lower part is covered with a membrane. The head (*raʾs*) is at right angles to the body, and it is generally furnished with two strings. It seems to have been used by the Arabs and Moors of Spain since their invasion of the peninsula. It is praised by their 10th and 11th century writers Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Ibn Hudhayl (see al-Shalāḥī, fol. 15), and Ibn Ḥazm (see Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, 473), and doubtless they refer to either this instrument or the Pear-Shaped Viol (see below, 4) since the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (11th century) equates *rabāb* with *lira dicta a varietate*. If we have no iconographic evidence of this viol from Arabian or Moorish sources, it certainly existed among the Spaniards, since the instruments in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (13th century) show definite oriental features; see Riaño (129) and Ribera (pl. xi). Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) is the first to describe this viol, although not very clearly (*Prolegomena*, in *Notices et extraits*, xvii, 354). It is not until the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (*ca.* 1650) that we get any musical details of the instrument (*JRAS* [1931], 366). European travellers (Addison, Windhus, Höst, Shaw) mention the instrument as popular in the Maghrib, and today it is one of the principal instruments in concert music. Höst gives us one of the earliest delineations of the instrument from Eastern sources (Tab. xxxi, 2). For a 19th century description, see F. Salvador-Daniel (80), and for a design, see Christianowich (pl. 1). Several delineations of both instruments and players may be seen in al-Ḥafnī (pls. 34, 39-52), Mahillon (i, 416-17), Fétis (*Hist.*, ii, 146), Engel (*Cat.*, 143), Chouquet (205), Sachs (*Reallex.*, 317), etc. For the instrument of Northern India called the *sārangi*, see Lavignac (350) and Fétis (ii, 298).

4. The Pear-Shaped Viol. Probably, the earliest Arabic reference to this instrument is that made by Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. *ca.* 912) who, in an oration before the caliph al-Muʿtamid (d. 893), says that the Byzantines had a wooden instrument of five strings called the *lūra* which was identical with the *rabāb* of the Arabs (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 91). We can probably identify the instrument in the famous Carrand Casket at Florence which dates from the 9th century (*L'Arte*, 1896, 24). From the Siculo-Moorish woodwork of the Palatine Chapel at Palermo (12th century) we see to better advantage what the Arabian instrument was like (*BZ* [1893], ii, 383). It was this form of the *rabāb*, probably, with which al-Fārābī (d. 950) deals (see Land, *Researches*, 130, 166). He gives full details of both the *accordatura* and scales. We know little about this instrument in Arabic-speaking lands

after the 13th-14th centuries, until it is described by Niebuhr (i, 143; Tab. xxvi, D) in the 18th century, and even then it appears to have been favoured only by the Greek population. It had three strings. It may have been used in the Maghrib (Jackson, 159-60), but neither Villoteau nor Lane know of it in Egypt. In Turkey, it appears to have been adopted from the Greeks, possibly in the 17th century, and with the *ʿūd* and *lawta* plays a prominent part in concert music today (Lavignac, 3015). Recently, an attempt has been made to introduce this *rabāb turkī* or *arnaba*, as it is now called, into Egypt (al-Ḥafnī, 661, pl. 35). Designs of the instrument may be found in Engel (*Cat.*, 210) and Crosby Brown (iii/1, 22), where they represent specimens in collections at South Kensington (London) and New York.

5. The Hemispherical Viol. This is, perhaps, the best known form of the viol in the Islamic east. The body consists of a hemisphere of wood, coconut, or a gourd, over the aperture of which a membrane is stretched. The neck is of wood, generally cylindrical, and there is a foot of iron, although sometimes there is no foot. It is often known in Arabic as the *kamāndja* or more rarely as the *shīshak*. The former is derived from the Persian *kamānča* (dim. of *kamān*, "bow") whilst the latter is derived from the Persian and Turkish *shīshak*, *shūshak*, *ghishak*, *ghižak*, *ghičak*, etc., which may have had their origin in the Sanskrit *ghoshaka*, an instrument mentioned in the pre-Christian *Nātya-shāstra* (ch. xxxiii). The present writer believes that the words *shīshal and shīzān* mentioned in the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Bombay ed., i, 97) and al-Shalāḥī (fol. 12) respectively, are copyist's errors for *shīshak* and *shīzāk*. The word *kamāndja* is first mentioned in Arabic by Ibn al-Faḳīh (*ca.* 903) who says that it was used by both the Copts and the people of Sind. Of course, this need not mean that the instrument mentioned was a hemispherical viol, because, being a Persian by origin, the author may have used the word *kamāndja* in its Persian generic sense meaning a viol. That Egypt had an early liking for the *kamāndja* is borne out from various sources. Although in Egypt the hemispherical viol is nowadays called the *rabāb miṣrī* (Egyptian viol), in earlier days it was acknowledged that Egypt borrowed the instrument from Persia (*Kashf al-humūm*, fol. 106). The *kamāndja* was certainly popular at the courts of the Ayyūbid al-Kāmil (d. 1238) and the Mamlūk Baybars (d. 1277); see al-Maḳrīzī, i/1, 136; Lane-Poole, *Hist. of Egypt*, 249. In the Persian *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (14th century) the hemispherical viol is described and figured as the *ghičak*, but in Ibn Ghaybī, where both the *ghižak* and the *kamāndja* are described, the former is a larger type of the latter, having, in addition to its two ordinary strings, eight sympathetic strings (*Kanz al-tuḥaf*, fol. 261b; Ibn Ghaybī, fol. 78). In the 18th century the *kamāndja* is delineated by Russell (i, 152-3, pl. iv), and Niebuhr (i, 144, Tab. xxvi, E). Both Villoteau (900, pl. BB) and Lane (*Mod. Egyptians*, ch. xviii) give minute details of the construction and *accordatura*. Mushāḳa [*q.v.*] also describes the Syrian *kamāndja* (*kamandja*) of his day (*MFOB*, vi, 25, 81). For the modern Persian instrument, see Advielle (14 and pl.) and Lavignac (3074). Turkoman instruments are given by Fitrat (45) and Belaiev (54). For Malaysia, see Kaudern (178); for India, Lavignac (349) and Fétis (ii, 295). For other designs, see Farmer (*Studies*, i, 76), Fétis (*Hist.*, ii, 136-7), Chouquet (203), Sachs (*Reallex.*, 207).

6. The Pandore Viol. This form is practically a *ṭunbūr, sitār*, or the like, which is bowed instead of being plucked by the fingers or a plectrum. The two best-known examples from India are the *esrār* and *ṭāwūs*. The former has a membrane on its face and has five strings played with the bow together with a number of sympathetic strings. The latter is practically identical with the former, but is adorned with the figure of a peacock (hence its name) at the bottom of the body of the instrument. See Lavignac (351) and Mahillon (i, 131) for designs and details. With the Persians and Turkomans we see various kinds of pandores used with the bow. See Advielle (14), Lavignac (3074), Mironov (27) and Kinsky (26).

7. The Open Chest Viol. This is unknown to the peoples of North Africa and the Near East, although it is popular in the Middle East and the Subcontinent. Unlike the preceding forms of the viol, the upper part of the face of the body or sound-chest is left open. The best-known example of this is the *sārindā* of India which has three strings. See Fétis (ii, 296), Lavignac (351), Mahillon (i, 137) and Kinsky (27), for both designs and details. In Turkestan a similar instrument known as the *ḳūpūz* is very popular. It has two strings. See Belaiev (52), Mironov (25) and Fitrat (43).

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(H.G. Farmer)

RABAḌ (A., pl. *arbāḍ*), district or quarter of a town situated outside the central part or *madīna* [*q.v.*]. This term, which is very frequently found in mediaeval Islamic historical texts of both the Occident and Orient, lies at the origin of the Spanish word *arrabal*, which has the same meaning. In the strongholds (*ḥiṣn* or *ṣakhra*) of Muslim Spain, the name *rabaḍ* was given to the civil quarter situated below the strictly

military quarter; it was also applied to the quarters of the lepers and of prostitutes, whilst amongst the Spanish Christians, it designated a parish.

These quarters of a town generally bore a special name. Thus we know the names of 21 of the 4th/10th century suburban quarters of the caliphal capital Cordova [see ḲURṬUBA]. Rabaḍ Shaḳunda or simply al-Rabaḍ was the southern quarter of Cordova, where the celebrated revolt called "that of the suburb" broke out. Situated on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, it was inhabited by the Cordovan plebs, but also by artisans and merchants, as well as by Mālikī *fuḳahā*ʾ who had made it a centre of opposition to the Umayyad authorities. A conspiracy hatched by the notables of the quarter in Djumādā II 189/May 805 had failed and 72 of those involved had been executed; in the following year, an outbreak of discontent had likewise been followed by several condemnations to death. For about a dozen years, the trouble-makers amongst the *fuḳahā*ʾ seem to have maintained an attitude of mind which provoked a popular rising on 18 Ramaḍān 202/25 March 818 (and not in 198/204, the date generally accepted before Lévi-Provençal's revision of this in *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 165 n. 1). The immediate cause of the uprising was the *amīr* al-Ḥakam I's decision to impose new, extraordinary taxes and to entrust the task of raising them to the chief of his police force, a Christian called Rabīʿ, but the actual pretext was the murder of a tradesman by one of the police. Since al-Ḥakam was, on his return from a hunting session in the Campiña [see ḲANBĀNIYYA], jeered at by the population of the quarter, he had some ten of those involved executed, which enraged the mob. It surged en masse towards the bridge over the Guadalquivir with the intention of going to seize the *amīr*'s palace situated on the right bank. The bridge guards were on the point of being overwhelmed when two officers, the *ṣāḥib al-ṣawāʾif* ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Balawī and Isḥāḳ b. al-Mundhir, crossed the river at a ford with a rapidly-assembled force of cavalrymen and, taking the mob in its rear, speedily suppressed the insurrection. The *amīr* then allowed the soldiery to give free rein to pillaging and massacring with an unheard-of ferocity. At the end of three days, the killing was halted, and al-Ḥakam allegedly put to death 300 of the notables. The remainder of the inhabitants of the quarter were compelled to flee Cordova, the Rabaḍ was razed to the ground and, right until the end of the 4th/10th century, the prohibition of erecting any sort of building there was respected by his successors.

The bloody repression of the revolt gave to this last the name of Rabaḍī, which was also given to those victims compelled to swarm all over al-Andalus. A number of these exiles fled to Morocco where, in the newly-founded town of Fās, they gave their name to the ʿUdwat al-Andalus(iyyīn), the bank of the Andalus (see R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1950, 136-47 and index).

Bibliography: See E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du Xème siècle*, Paris 1932, 151, 203, 207; idem, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 161-2 and index; R. Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-**RABADHA**, an early Islamic settlement in western Arabia, now essentially an archaeological site marked by the *birka* or cistern of Abū Salīm. It lies in the eastern foothills of the Ḥidjāz mountain chain some 200 km/124 miles east of Medina. In early Islamic times it lay on the main pilgrimage route from Kūfa in ʿIrāḳ to Mecca, later known as the Darb Zubayda [*q.v.* in Suppl.], with such facilities as food and drinking water for the pilgrims. Today, the area is green for much of the year and is used by Bedouins for grazing their flocks.

Originally an extensive *ḥimā* [*q.v.*] which Abū Bakr confiscated from the Banū Thaʿlaba, al-Rabadha was a thriving place, and not the contemporary equivalent of Siberia, when the Companion and puritan activist Abū Dharr [*q.v.*] was either exiled to al-Rabadha by the caliph ʿUthmān or withdrew there of his own free will, according to some sources, dying there in 31 or 32/651-3 (see ABŪ DHARR and also A.J. Cameron, *Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî, an examination of his image in the hagiography of Islam*, revised ed. London 1982, 67-8, 73, 78, 80, 89-90, 107-9). The early Arab historians often mention it and the geographers described it as flourishing until 319/931, when warfare of its people with those of Ḍariyya to its east in Nadjd brought about the intervention and destruction of the town by the Ḳarāmiṭa or Carmathians [see ḲARMAṬĪ]; al-Muḳaddasī, 108, characterises it as having only brackish water and being ruinous.

The modern archaeological site covers an area of approx. 1,740 hectares, and several seasons of excavations have revealed various types of buildings, including palaces, houses, two mosques, large reservoirs and underground water-storage tanks. There is evidence of small-scale artisanal activity such as tanning, dyeing, smelting and metal-working. Many Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid period dirhams and dīnārs have been found, together with a variety of ceramics, including polychrome and lustre ware, steatite and glass objects.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 24-5; Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *al-Rabadha fī kutub al-mutaḳaddimīn*, in *al-ʿArab*, i/5-8 (1386/1967); and above all, S.ʿA.ʿA. al-Rashid, *Al-Rabadhah, a portrait of early Islamic civilisation in Saudi Arabia*, Riyāḍ 1986, giving the earlier sources and the results of recent excavations. (S.ʿA.ʿA. AL-RASHID)

AL-**RABAḤĪ**, YŪSUF B. SULAYMĀN b. Marwān al-Anṣārī, Abū ʿUmar, b. 367/978, d. at Murcia 448/1056, grammarian of Muslim Spain. Best known as such, he is equally credited with competence in *fiḳh*, poetry, metrics and genealogies. It appears that he played a certain role in the reconciliation of the various grammatical schools in al-Andalus. A *Radd ʿalā ʾl-Ḳabrī* and a *Radd ʿalā Abī Muḥammad al-Aṣīlī* are attributed to him, but do not seem to have survived.

Bibliography: Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, Cairo 1374/1955, ii, 640 no. 1499; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1376-80/1957-61, xiii, 303. (ED.)

AL-**RABAʿĪ**, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, grammarian of Baghdād of the 4th/10th century and contemporary of Ibn Djinnī.

He was born at Baghdād in 328/940, and studied grammar there under the direction of al-Sīrāfī [*q.v.*] before moving to Shīrāz in order to follow the teaching of al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] over a period of almost 20 years. He then returned to Baghdād where he died, at an advanced age, in 420/1029. His eccentricities, seen in a fear of dogs, prevented him from having any pupils. Amongst his works, none of which have survived, are mentioned commentaries (*sharḥ*), such as one on the *K. al-Īḍāḥ* of al-Fārisī and one on the *K. al-Mukhtaṣar* of al-Djarmī, and two treatises on grammar, the *K. al-Muḳaddima* and the *K. al-Badīʿ*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 201-3; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 297; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 344-5; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 283-7; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, vii, 163-4; Brockelmann, S I, 491; Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 185. (G. TROUPEAU)

RABAT [see AL-RIBĀṬ].

RABB (A.), lord, God, master of a slave. Pre-Islamic Arabia probably applied this term to its gods or to some of them. In this sense the word corresponds to the terms like Baʿal, Adonis, etc. in the North-western Semitic languages, where *rabb* means "much, great" (see A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 136-7). In one of the oldest sūras (CVI, 3) Allāh is called the "lord of the temple". Similarly, al-Lāt bore the epithet *al-Rabba*, especially at Ṭāʾif where she was worshipped in the image of a stone or of a rock. In the Ḳurʾān, *rabb* (especially with the possessive suffix) is one of the usual names of God. This explains why in *Ḥadīth*, the slave is forbidden to address his master as *rabbī*, which he must replace by *sayyidī* (Muslim, *al-Alfāẓ min al-adab*, trads. 14, 15, etc.). The abstract *rubūbiyya* is not found in either Ḳurʾān or *Ḥadīth*, but is in common use in mystic theology.

In pre-Islamic times, *rabb* was one of the titles given to certain of the *kāhins* [*q.v.*]; Lammens gives numerous references for this topic (see his *Le culte des bétyles et les processions religieuses*, in *BIFAO*, xvii [1919], 39-101). The name *r b y*, associated with *ś h r* (the Moon), designated in the kingdom of Ḳatabān a class of priest-officials who had the duty of administering the divinity's domains (G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes preislamiques*², Louvain 1953, 30). For the usage of *rabb* in the Ḳurʾān, see J. Chelhod, in *Arabica*, v (1958), 159-67. For further details, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, 107-8.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see the Arabic lexica and the Ḳurʾān commentaries, s.v. (A.J. WENSINCK-[T. FAHD])

RABGHŪZĪ, NĀṢIR AL-DĪN B. BURHĀN AL-DĪN, early writer in Central Asian Turkish, was born somewhere in the second half of the 13th century, possibly in the still unidentified encampment of Ribāṭ Oghuz in Transoxiana (Western Turkestan), then under the hegemony of the Čaghatay Khānate [*q.v.*]. Being himself a Turk and a judge by profession, he also had some rather good relations with the Mongol ruling élite. The date *post quem* for his death is 710/1310. These scarce facts all stem from his own work and no other source so far has come to light revealing anything more about his identity.

Rabghūzī gained his fame as author of the first Middle Turkic version (in prose) of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*] genre, commonly referred to as the *Ḳiṣaṣ-i Rabghūzī*, and written in 710/1310 at the instigation of Nāṣir al-Dīn Tuḳ Bugha, a young (not yet identified) prince of Mongol lineage, but of Muslim faith. The text is enriched with some seventy poems in Arabic and Türki (cf. H. Boeschoten and M. Vandamme, 1990); also, it contains some 1200 Arabic quotations from the Ḳurʾān and the *ḥadīth*.

First extracting material from a large range of sources, Rabghūzī then recomposed this chosen material in a number of cyclic stories. However, since the identification of these sources is still problematical, this will not be elaborated here; see, however, Dorleijn (1986) and Boeschoten (1992, 55-6).

Albeit much is still indistinct, Rabghūzī's kind of Turkic, which he himself calls "Türki", is commonly referred to as Khʷārazm Turkish, the literary Turkic language of Central Asia of the 13th and 14th centuries. It is commonly characterised as the transition stage from the Ḳarakhānid literary language to (early) Čaghatay. As a whole, Rabghūzī's Khʷārazm Turkish offers the picture of a hybrid language which has been infiltrated by forms from various dialects, notably those spoken by Oghuz and Ḳipčaḳ tribes (Boeschoten and Van Damme, 1987, and Boeschoten, 1991, 23 ff.). As to language and contents, the *Ḳiṣaṣ-i Rabghūzī* stands very close to Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī's *Nahdjatü l-farādīs*, written before 1358 (facsimile publ. by J. Eckmann, Ankara, 1956, and S. Tezcan and H. Zülfikar, TDK, 518).

Although the archetype has been lost, the *Ḳiṣaṣ-i Rabghūzī* has become the focus of a Central Asiatic tradition which lived on well into this century. This may be summarised briefly as:

(a) The old mss. (13th-16th centuries), of which five are still extant (Boeschoten, 1991, 3-4). Up to now, only one facsimile has been produced (Grønbech, 1948).

(b) A period of loss of interest, the cause of which is still unknown, somewhere in the 17th-18th centuries.

(c) A host of new mss. (18th-20th centuries), which have the particularity of showing rather conservative versions as to the contents, but which were modernised versions seen from the language aspect.

For a listing of the most important mss. and older printed editions, see Hofman (1969), iii/1, 88-9, Jarring (1980), 17-18 and J. Eckmann in *PTF*, i, 104; ii, 218-19.

Bibliography: H.E. Boeschoten, *The Leningrad mss. of Rabghuzi's Qisas*, i, in *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları*, iii (1991), 47-9; idem, *Iskandar-Dhulqarnain in den Qiṣaṣ-i Rabghuzi*, i: *De Turciis aliisque rebus*, in *Commentarii Henry Hofman dedicati*, Utrecht Turcological Series, iii, 1992, 39-57; H.E. Boeschoten and M. Van Damme, *The different copyists in the London ms. of the Qiṣaṣ-Rabghuzi*, Utrecht Turcological Series, ii, 1987, 177-183; idem, *The poetry in Rabghuzi's Qiṣaṣ l-Anbiyā'*, in *L'Asie Centrale et ses voisins, influences réciproques*, Paris 1990, 9-36; M. Dorleijn, *De verhalen van Ilyas en Hizir door Rabghuzi*, 1986, unpubl. M.A. diss., Utrecht University, unpubl.; K. Grønbech, *Rabghuzi. Narrationes de Prophetis. Cod. Mus. Brit. Add. 7851, reproduced in facsimile*, Copenhagen 1948; H.F. Hofman, *Turkish literature. A biobibliographical survey*, iii/1, Leiden 1969; G. Jarring, *Literary texts from Kashgar*, Lund 1980 (which includes a substantial bibl.); M. Van Damme, *Rabghuzi's Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā reconsidered in the light of Western Medieval studies: Narrationes vel Exempla*, i, in *Commentarii Henry Hofman dedicati*.

(M. VAN DAMME)

RABĪʿ (A.), the name of the third and fourth months of the Muslim calendar. The Syriac equivalent *rbīʿā* is used in the Peshitta as a translation of the Hebrew *malḳōsh* (late rain). This and the fact that the two months following Rabīʿ II are called Djumādā (month of frost) suggested to Wellhausen that these four months originally fell in winter and that the old Arab year began with the winter half-year [see AL-MUḤARRAM]. Rabīʿ means originally the season in which, as a result of the rains, the earth is covered with green; this later led to the name Rabīʿ being given to spring. Al-Bīrūnī expressly describes autumn (*kharīf*) as the season indicated by Rabīʿ. As a result of the Ḳurʾānic prohibition of intercalation [see NASĪʾ], since the beginning of the Muslim era the two months no longer fall at a regular season.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste*², 97; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², s.v.; Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, 60, 325. (M. PLESSNER)

AL-**RABĪʿ** B. **YŪNUS** B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ FARWA (so-called from his entering Medina with a fleece on his back), emancipated slave of al-Ḥārith al-Ḥaffār, himself the emancipated slave of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān [*q.v.*]. He was really a man of obscure origin, born in slavery at Medina about 112/730. He was

bought by Ziyād b. ^cAbd Allāh al-Ḥārithī, who presented him to his master Abu 'l-^cAbbās al-Saffāḥ, the first ^cAbbāsid caliph. All his life, he served, with varying fortune, three more ^cAbbāsid caliphs: al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and al-Hādī.

He reached the zenith of his power under al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]), who, finding him a capable and useful courtier, appointed him *ḥādjib* and afterwards made him his *wazīr* in succession to Abū Ayyūb al-Mūriyānī [*q.v.*]. His son al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī^c [*q.v.*], who was destined to play a prominent part in the forthcoming intrigues against the house of Barmak, succeeded to his father's duties as *ḥādjib*. After the foundation of Baghdād, the new town was divided into four quarters, one of which was given as a land-grant by al-Manṣūr to al-Rabī^c and was thus named after him (*ḳaṭī^cat al-Rabī^c*).

During the reign of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85 [*q.v.*]), his influence seems to have dwindled for some time. Abū ^cUbayd Allāh became *wazīr*. From that time onwards, al-Rabī^c participated in an intrigue which led to the downfall of his rival by exposing his son as a heretic (*zindīḳ* [*q.v.*]) in 163/779-80 and bringing about his execution (see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 103-11 and index). Even then, al-Rabī^c only retained his old office as *ḥādjib* and never became al-Mahdī's *wazīr*. It was ^cAbd Allāh Abū Ya^cḳūb b. Dāwūd who succeeded the disgraced minister, but, at the end of 168/middle of 785, the absentee caliph made him his delegated representative in Baghdād. He took part in the intrigues which arose around the succession to al-Mahdī, but on his accession, al-Hādī [*q.v.*] pardoned him and appointed him to the vizierate, the *ḥidjāba* and the chancery. However, the vizierate was taken back from his control shortly afterwards, and the only office which he retained was the *dīwān al-azimma*. The exact date of his death is uncertain. Whilst al-Djahshiyārī and al-Ṭabarī place it in 169/785-6, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and Ibn Khallikān assert that he died at the beginning of 170/786.

Details about his administration are scanty, but it is certain that he was an able, industrious, temperate and tactful man of affairs. Even al-Mahdī, who was never lavish in showering favours on al-Rabī^c, once described him as the model of a good administrator (al-Ya^cḳūbī, ii, 486). The literary sources, however, do not single him out as a patron of letters.

Bibliography: 1. Texts. See the indices of the following works: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931, viii, no. 4521; Djahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. v. Mžik, Leipzig 1926; Ṭabarī, ii and iii; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ^cAbbās, ii, 294-9, tr. de Slane, i, 521-6; Ya^cḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*; idem, *Buldān*; Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut 1890; Ibn Ḳutayba, *^cUyūn al-akhbār*, 4 vols., Cairo 1925-30; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, i and iii, 112 ff.; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*; Mas^cūdī, *Murūdj*; idem, *Tanbīh*; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 383-4; Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā'*.

2. Studies. G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Mannheim 1846-51; Sir W. Muir, *Caliphate*, ed. T.H. Weir, Edinburgh 1924; Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1912-13; G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1924; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, etc., Hanover 1927; S. Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan dynasties*, Paris 1925; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ^cabbāside*, 118-21 and index.

(A.S. Atiya*)

RABĪ^c B. ZAYD, Arabic name of a Mozarab Christian [see MOZARABS] whose true name was Recemundo (Recemundus in Latin = Raymond) and who owes his place in the *EI* to the role which he played in the service of the Umayyad caliphs of Spain ^cAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir (who reigned from 300 to 350/912-61 [*q.v.*]) and al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (350-68/961-76 [*q.v.*]), and to his involvement in the presentation of the well-known *Calendar of Cordova*.

Recemundo was a Cordovan who, with his command of Latin and of Arabic, was able to render considerable services to the caliphal chancellery which employed him, but history remembers him on account of a mission which he undertook in Frankfurt at the court of Otto I the Great, king of Germany (from 936 onward) and Roman emperor (962-73), who had held ^cAbd al-Raḥmān III responsible for depredations and extortions committed by the Moors in Provence [see FRAXINETUM and add to the Bibl., Ph. Senac, *Musulmans et Sarrasins dans le sud de la Gaule (VIIIe-XIe siècles)*, Paris 1980, and idem, *Provence et piraterie sarrasine*, Paris 1982]. In 953 Otto I, who had considered insolent an initial message sent from Cordova in 950, dispatched a monk named John of Gorze to deliver a letter of protest to the caliph. (The biography of this monk was related by an abbot of St. Arnulph, also known as John, in his *Vita Johannis Gorziensis* (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, Hanover 1841, iv, 338-77); the passage (369 ff.) concerning these exchanges was utilised by R. Poupardin in *Le royaume de Bourgogne*, Paris 1907, 94-5; cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *HEM*, ii, 160-1.) It is stated here that Otto's messenger was detained in Cordova and could thus have been aware of the departure, in the spring of 955, of Recemundo, who returned in June 956, having completed his mission but apparently without much success. It may also be noted that the *Antapodosis* of Liutprand (*Mon. Germaniae Hist.*, 265 ff.) is dedicated to Recemundus. He is mentioned again, but under the name of Rabī^c b. Zayd, in connection with another mission, this time to Constantinople and Syria, with the object of acquiring works of art for Madīnat al-Zahrā' [*q.v.*], under construction since 325/956. He returned with "a basin of sculpted and gilded marble and a fountain of green onyx decorated with bas-reliefs representing human figures" (Lévi-Provençal, *HEM*, ii, 148, quoting al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 372-3; see also H. Terrasse, *L'art hispano-mauresque*, 102). As a reward for his services, ^cAbd al-Raḥmān III had him appointed bishop of Elvira (but, if no errors and omissions have occurred, he is not mentioned in the section of vol. xii of *España sagrada* which is devoted to Iliberis).

It is not only for his missions that he is of interest to historians of Muslim Spain, since he participated—perhaps without knowing it—in the development of the *Calendar of Cordova* (although Sezgin, who is unaware of him, devotes only one line of his *GAS*, i, 327, to the co-author of the work, the continuator of al-Ṭabarī, ^cArīb b. Sa^cd; see below).

Recemundo was popular at the court of al-Ḥakam II, who appreciated his expertise in philosophy and astronomy. Since this caliph, to whom the *Calendar* is dedicated, acceded to the throne in 961, the editor of this work, R. Dozy, dated it in this year, but it could have been composed at another date, and in stages. Whatever the case may be, this composite almanac has a history all of its own. Libri had discovered and inserted in his *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie* (Paris 1838, i, 461 ff.) a *Liber Anoe* attributed to *Harib filii Zeid episcopi* (*sic*), and it was not until 1866 that a ms., in the Arabic language but in Hebrew characters, corresponding to the Latin text published by Libri, was found to exist in the B.N. of Paris (see further G. Vajda, *Index général*, Paris 1953, 653). Dozy copied this ms. and sent it to Simonet, who translated

into Spanish the liturgical part of the text, precisely that which may with some confidence be attributed to Recemundo, and published it under the title of *Santoral hispano-mozárabe escrito en 961 por Rabi ben Zaid, obispo de Iliberis* (in *Ciudad de Dios*, v [1871], 105-16, 192-212). Two years later, at Leiden, Dozy decided to publish the original, this time in Arabic characters, and the Latin version, entitling the whole *Le calendrier de Cordoue de 961*. Finally, the author of the present article has revived the Arabic text and the Latin version, combining the two and offering in addition an annotated French translation. The whole, entitled *Le Calendrier de Cordoue* (omitting *de l'année 961*), was published at Leiden in 1961, thus exactly a thousand years after the date assumed by Dozy for the composition of the work. The Arabic text (improved by reference to the *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ* of Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*], which had recently been edited), lacks a title (but it is easy to observe that the Latin expression *Liber Anoe* corresponds exactly to *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ*) and gives as the name of the author ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Kātib (d. *ca.* 370/980 [*q.v.*]), whereas the Latin version is headed *Harib filii Zeid episcopi quem composuit Mustansir imperatori*, with an unexpected genitive and a relative pronoun which refers to no expressed term. The phrase needs therefore to be completed, to read, for example, *Harib filii* (*Sad liber cum libro* or (according to Saavedra) *additamentis Rabi filii*) *Zeid episcopi*. As for the full name of Rabīʿ b. Zayd, it is supplied by Ibn Saʿīd (*apud* al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 125), who specifies his role as *usḳuf* (bishop) and attributes to him, and to him alone, a *Kitāb Tafṣīl al-zamān wa-maṣāliḥ al-abdān*, while the colophon of the Arabic text reads *tamma kitāb ʿArīb fī tafṣīl*, etc., which does nothing to simplify the issue.

In view of the fact that the almanac comprises a book of traditional *anwāʾ* [*q.v.*] and a liturgical calendar, it seems logical to assert that the latter is the work of Rabīʿ b. Zayd and that the former is to be attributed to ʿArīb b. Saʿd. However the solution is not so simple, since the statement of Ibn Saʿīd and the colophon of the ms. are utterly contradictory. It has to be assumed therefore that an understandable confusion has arisen between the names of the two authors (which are, it may be observed, anagrams one of the other) and that the blending is so perfect that, towards the end of the introduction, a paragraph relating to Christian festivals gives the impression that the work is attributable to a single author. As for information concerning agricultural activities, hygiene, daily life, etc., so precious in the view of historians, it is not unreasonable to give the credit to ʿArīb rather than to Rabīʿ, since the former was apparently more apt to respect the tradition of *kutub al-anwāʾ*, which themselves contain facts of this type as well as material concerning astronomy and meteorology. In view of the fact that a *Kitāb Tafṣīl al-zamān*, etc., evidently as a result of confusion, is attributed to each of the two authors, the problem remains unsolved.

Bibliography: In addition to the references indicated in the text of the article, see Dozy's introduction to his edition of the *Calendrier*; idem, *Die Cordowaner ʿArīb ibn Saʿd der Secretär, und Rabīʿ ibn Zayd der Bischof*, in *ZDMG*, xx (1866), 595-609; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Madrid 1897-1903, index; Dom Ferotin, in appendix to *Liber ordinum*, in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Monumenta Ecclesiae liturgica*, v, Paris 1904, 451 ff.; F. Viré, *La volerie dans l'Espagne du Xᵉ siècle*, in *Arabica*, xii/3 (1965), 306-14; J.D. Latham, review of the ed. of the *Calendrier* by Ch. Pellat, in *JSS*, viii (1963), 300 ff.; idem, *Loanwords from the Arabic in the Latin translation of the Calendar of Cordova*, in B.C. Bloomfield (ed.), *Middle East studies and libraries: a felicitation volume for Professor J.D. Pearson*, London 1980, 103-13. (Ch. Pellat)

RABĪʿA and **MUḌAR**, the two largest and most powerful combinations of tribes in ancient Northern Arabia.

The name Rabīʿa is a very frequent one in the nomenclature of the Arab tribes. More important tribes of this name within the Muḍar group are the Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, from which came the Kaʿb, Kilāb and Kulayb, then the Rabīʿa b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb, Rabīʿa b. Kilāb, Rabīʿa b. al-Aḍbaṭ and Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Dj̲aʿfar; also the Rabīʿa b. ʿUḳayl and Rabīʿa b. Dj̲aʿda; three branches of the ʿAbd S̲h̲ams also bear this name. Of larger Yemen tribes may be mentioned: the Rabīʿa b. al-K̲h̲iyār, Rabīʿa b. Dj̲arwal and Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Kaʿb (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 377-8). (Banū) Rabīʿa simply or Banū Abī Rabīʿa is a clan of the S̲h̲aybān (*ʿIḳd*, iii, $60_{27\text{-}8}$, $65_{25\text{-}6}$). The name Rabīʿa al-kubrā or al-wusṭā and al-ṣug̲h̲rā is given to three clans of the Tamīm: the Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt, also called *Rabīʿat al-Dj̲ūʿ* "Hunger Rabīʿa", the Rabīʿa b. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt and Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓala; the plural al-Rabāʾiʿ includes all these (*LA*, ix, 469_9 ff.; *ʿIḳd*, ii, 47_{26}, 43_1). In contrast to Rabīʿa, the name Muḍar hardly occurs elsewhere (perhaps only as a variant of Maṭar b. S̲h̲arīk: *ʿIḳd*, iii, 74_2; cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 290).

Genealogies. According to the genealogists, the common ancestor of the greatest part of the North Arabian tribes Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān [*q.v.*] by his wife Sawda bint ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān had two sons Muḍar and Iyād [*q.v.*] and by Dj̲adāla bint Waʿlān of the pre-Arab family of the Dj̲urhum the sons Rabīʿa and Anmār (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1108; al-Batanūnī (see *Bibl.*), 25, has also Ḳuḍāʿa; but cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 137-8). In addition to the well-known story of the division of their father's inheritance at which Muḍar received the epithet *al-ḥamrāʾ* (on account of the red tent: Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* i, 268; cf. however, *LA*, vii, 26_{17}) and Rabīʿa the name *Rabīʿat al-Faras* ("Rabīʿa with the horse"), it is also related that Rabīʿa was buried alongside of Nizār; Muḍar, who settled, however, in Mecca, was buried in al-Rawḥāʾ, two days' journey from Medina, where his grave is said to have been a place of pilgrimage (al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-K̲h̲amīs*, Cairo 1283, i, 148_6; al-Ḥalabī, *Sīra*, Cairo 1292, i, 21_{17}).

According to the genealogical plan, Muḍar had two sons: al-Yās (or Ilyās, Alyās) and ʿAylān al-Nās, the ancestor of large and famous tribes [see ḳays ʿaylān; there also the question of the descent of the Muḍar is discussed]. Al-Yās had three sons by his wife Laylā bint Ḥulwān known as K̲h̲indif (see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 133), from whom her descendants are called Banū K̲h̲indif: Mudrika, Ṭābik̲h̲a and Ḳamaʿa (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, 72 ff.). The two first in turn became the ancestors of large and important tribes: Mudrika's sons were Hud̲h̲ayl [*q.v.*] and K̲h̲uzayma; the latter again is the ancestor of the Asad [*q.v.*] and Kināna [*q.v.*], from whom the Ḳurays̲h̲ [*q.v.*] are descended amongst others. Udd b. Ṭābik̲h̲a had as sons Ḍabba [*q.v.*], ʿAbd Manāt, ʿAmr, whose descendants are known as Muzaina from the name of his wife, Murr and Ḥumays. Tamīm [*q.v.*] b. Murr is again the ancestor of one of the largest Arab tribes.

The sons of Rabīʿat al-Faras were Aklub, Ḍubayʿa and Asad; the latter's sons were ʿAmīra, ʿAnaza [*q.v.*] and Dj̲adīla, to whom the ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*], al-Namir and Wāʾil b. Ḳāsiṭ trace their descent. Wāʾil

was the ancestor of two of the most powerful Arab tribes: Bakr [*q.v.*] and Taghlib [*q.v.*]. From Bakr are descended the tribes of Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], Shaybān, Dhuhl, Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba and others (see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 189-216).

From the introduction to Bakrī's *Muʿdjam* we get the following idea of the dwelling-places of the two tribes. At the partition of Arabia among the descendants of Maʿadd, the Muḍar received the frontiers of the sacred territory as far as al-Sarawāt and the land on this side of al-Ghawr with the adjoining territory; the Rabīʿa received the slopes of the hills of Ghamr Dhī Kinda and the central part of Dhāt ʿIrḳ with the adjoining parts of al-Nadjd as far as al-Ghawr in al-Tihāma. Both tribes increased their lands by driving the other sons of Maʿadd from Mecca and the district. After the withdrawal of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays to Baḥrayn, a number of Rabīʿa tribes occupied the highlands of Nadjd and Ḥidjāz and the frontiers of Tihāma where al-Dhanāʾib, Wāridāt, al-Aḥaṣṣ, Shubayth, Baṭn al-Djarīb und al-Taghlamān were their settlements. As a result of a war, the various clans separated and, pushing forward, for the most part reached Mesopotamia, where they occupied the lands which later bore their names: Diyār Rabīʿa and Diyār Bakr [*q.vv.*] (Wüstenfeld, *Wohnsitze*, 107, 136-7, 161 ff., 168; Blau, in *ZDMG*, xxiii [1869], 579-80).

After the withdrawal of the Rabīʿa from the Tihāma, the Muḍar remained in their settlements until the Ḳays, defeated by the Khindif, advanced into the lands of Nadjd. Dissensions among the Khindif caused the Ṭābikha to migrate to Nadjd, Ḥidjāz and adjoining territories. Clans of the Ṭābikha went as far as Yamāma, Hadjar, Yabrīn and ʿUmān; some groups settled between Baḥrayn and Baṣra. Several Mudrika tribes, however, remained in the Tihāma, like the descendants of Naḍr b. Kināna in the vicinity of Mecca (Wüstenfeld, *Wohnsitze*, 169 ff.). The Muḍar who migrated to Mesopotamia gave their name to Diyār Muḍar, which Blau, *op. cit.*, 577, recognises in the Arab tribe of the Μαυζανῖται mentioned there in the 4th century A.D.

History. Down to the overthrow of the Ḥimyar kingdom by the Abyssinians, the Rabīʿa and Muḍar were under the suzerainty of Yaman, which they were able several times to cast off when they all obeyed one ruler. Of battles in these wars there are recorded al-Bayḍāʾ, al-Sullān and Khazāz(ā) in which the Maʿaddī tribes were victorious (Reiske, *Primae lineae hist. regn. arab....*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 180 ff.; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, i, 257; Yāḳūt, ii, 432 ff., iii, 114-15). They belonged for a time to the kingdom of the Kinda [*q.v.*], the rulers of which bore the title king of the Maʿadd (or Muḍar) and Rabīʿa (A. Sprenger, *Geogr.*, 216). Like the Bakr and Taghlib, the rest of the Rabīʿa and Muḍar recognised the Kindī al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr al-Maḳṣūr, who led them successfully against the Ghassānid and Lakhmid kings but lost his conquests again (Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, i, 140). When after his death the kingdom of Dhū Nuwās collapsed under the Abyssinians and the Kindīs no longer recognised the suzerainty of Yemen, the Basūs war [*q.v.*] broke out between the Bakr and the Taghlib. The "first day of al-Kulāb" or "day of Kulāb of the Rabīʿa", so-called because both tribes were descended from Rabīʿa b. Nizār, ended in favour of the Taghlib, and the Bakr turned to the king of Ḥīra al-Mundhir III, who now extended his rule over the Rabīʿa and Muḍar and other Central Arabian tribes (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *op. cit.*; Yāḳūt, iv, 294-5). To this period belongs the irruption into Mesopotamia of the Taghlib, who were probably the first of the Rabīʿa to settle there; they were followed by the Banū Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ and other Rabīʿa tribes. The hostilities between the Taghlib and Bakr did not cease, and in the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*] they were on opposite sides. The victory of the Bakr, celebrated as a great success of the Rabīʿa over the Persians (cf. Nöldeke, *Sasaniden*, 310 ff.; an earlier encounter, Yāḳūt, ii, 735 ff.), liberated the Central Arabian tribes from foreign rule and paved the way for Islam.

Legend records very old connections of the Muḍar with the Meccan sanctuary; the Djurhum [*q.v.*], the lords of Tihāma and guardians of the Kaʿba, were driven out of Mecca by the Iyād and Muḍar. In the fight for the possession of the sanctuary the Muḍar were victorious but had to hand over the administration of the Kaʿba and of Mecca to the Khuzāʿa [*q.v.*], so that only three purely religious offices were left to them connected with the pilgrimage (the *idjāza* of ʿArafāt, the *ifāḍa* of Muzdalifa and the *idjāza* of Minā) and these remained with Muḍar families also after the redistribution by Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*] (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, 333, 335; al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 274). The influential office of time-reckoner also fell to a Muḍarī under the Kinda (Sprenger, *Geogr.*, 225). While Christianity was widespread among the Rabīʿa in Muḥammad's time, the Muḍar remained more faithful to the old pagan ways and were less susceptible to Aramaic influence than the tribes on the frontier ("this perhaps partly explains their estrangement from the Rabīʿa": Wellhausen, *Reste*², 231). Radjab was the sacred month of the Muḍar (hence Radjab Muḍar; cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 97; a strange explanation of this from Ibn al-Mudjāwir in A. Sprenger, *Moḥammad*, iii, 301), Ramaḍān of the Rabīʿa (cf. al-Dimishḳī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, tr. Mehren, 403). From their practices during *iḥrām*, all the Rabīʿa and many groups of the Muḍar, including the Ribāb league, belonged to the *Ḥilla* (al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 298). In al-Dimashḳī, 385, we find the peculiar view that the Copts are descended from Rabīʿa "or" Taghlib who had migrated into Egypt in search of food.

The Muzayna [*q.v.*] boasted of being the first Muḍar tribe to pay homage to the Prophet (as early as 5 A.H. it is said; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, iii, 201). In 8/630 Khālid b. al-Walīd destroyed the idol al-ʿUzzā in Nakhla, which was revered by the Ḳuraysh, Kināna and "all the Muḍar" (al-Tabarī, i, 1648). In the "year of the Deputations" (9/631), several large clans of the Muḍar and Rabīʿa like the Tamīm, Thaḳīf, ʿAbd al-Ḳays and Bakr b. Wāʾil adopted Islam, but this does not imply the submission of the whole of Central Arabia. The lament of the deputation of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays to Muḥammad is significant: "between thee and us dwell Muḍar tribes and we can only come to thee in the sacred months" (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, iii, 374; cf. 301, n. 1). In the year 11 a saying of the followers of the false prophet Musaylima [*q.v.*], who belonged to the Rabīʿa, is recorded: "a deceiver of the Rabīʿa is dearer to us than a true prophet of the Muḍar" (perhaps the variant "than a deceiver of the Muḍar" is better: al-Tabarī, i, 1936-7; perhaps the earliest clearly expressed contrast between the Rabīʿa and Muḍar?). When in the same year the "Rabīʿa" in Baḥrayn proclaimed a king of their own, this can only refer to the tribes of Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba and ʿAbd al-Ḳays (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1960; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 83-4). The tribes of Rabīʿa and Muḍar are from now onwards mentioned as important contingents in the Muslim armies, but sometimes the large numbers given for them are doubtful (cf. Caetani, *Annali*, 12 A.H., § 188, n. 5). When al-Muthannā invaded al-Sawād in 13/635, he surprised the Rabīʿa and Ḳuḍāʿa

assembled at the Sūḳ al-Khanāfis, who still recognised the suzerainty of the Sāsānids (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2202-3); five years later a considerable force was sent against al-Raḳḳa, Naṣībīn and the nomadic Rabīʿa and Tanūkh (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii/2, 107-8).

It is unnecessary to follow the history of the Rabīʿa and Muḍar farther, as it is clear from the above that the two names stand only for a few clans and not for the whole confederation of tribes, as the genealogists say (Rabīʿa usually means the Bakr and Taghlib or only one of them). Sometimes we even find the whole Rabīʿa group included in the Muḍar (*ʿIḳd*, ii, $39,_{30}$) which further increases the confusion. The beginnings of the two tribes are further put at so early a date that it is difficult to decide whether they really existed as such, or like Maʿadd and Nizār are only artificial conceptions. Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, i, 94-5) surmised that the antagonism between North and South Arabia had its roots in the rivalry between Ḳuraysh and Anṣār, and he regarded the early wars between Maʿadd and Yemen as a later invention. "Maʿadd and Muḍar," he lays down, "is primarily contrasted with the name Anṣār." When tribal antagonism became intensified by political developments, and after the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] in 65/684, the tendency to form confederacies spread ever more widely, and finally the Tamīm with the Ḳays joined the large party of the Muḍar. On the other hand, the Azd [*q.v.*] joined the rest of the Yemenīs, among whom in Khurāsān [*q.v.*] were also included the Rabīʿa (Bakr); finally, the Syrian Ḳuḍāʿa (Kalb) also joined them (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 44-5). The effects of this dualism between Muḍar (Tamīm and Ḳays) and Yemen (Azd and Rabīʿa) which wiped out the other antagonisms and polarised the whole Arab world are presented in their main outlines in the article ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN.

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3. Studies. A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, 216, 225; idem, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, Berlin 1865, iii, pp. CXXXVIII ff., 201, 301, 374; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², Berlin 1897, 97, 231, 245; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, 46, 203, 310 ff., 330; idem, in *ZDMG*, xl (1886), 178; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes...*, Paris 1847-8, i, 110, 116, 185-94, 218-21, 240, 348, ii, 259-394 *passim*. For the later period, see I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle 1888-90, i, 80, 83 ff., 92-8, 180, 206, 268; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885-7, esp. i, 316, 346, 377, 445, 451 ff.; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien...*, in *Abh. Ges. Wiss. Gött.*, N.S., v (1901), 6, 23, 58, 83; idem, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, esp. 43 ff., 122, 130-1, 156, 163, 196, 205, 242 and chs. 8 and 9 *passim*.

(H. KINDERMANN)

RĀBIʿA AL-ʿADAWIYYA AL-ḲAYSIYYA (a double *nisba* because she was attached to a family, the Āl ʿĀtik, of ʿAdī b. Ḳays (of Ḳuraysh; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, tab. 35)), famous mystic and saint of Baṣra.

One cannot go so far as to throw into doubt her historical existence, but the traditions about her life and teachings include a very large proportion of legend which today can hardly be distinguished from authentic information. With this qualification borne in mind, one may nevertheless be permitted to present a portrait of the saint as it was conceived by her co-religionists over the course of the centuries.

She is said to have been born in 95/714 or 99/717-18 and to have breathed her last at Baṣra in 185/801, where her tomb was shown outside the city (see al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, ed. and tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 81/88). In the evolution of Ṣūfī mysticism, she became one of the three most famous female mystics of Baṣra, the two others being Muʿādha al-ʿAdawiyya, wife of the "ascetic" ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Ḳays al-ʿAnbarī [*q.v.*], and a certain Umm al-Dardāʾ (see Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 104).

Born into a poor home, she was stolen as a child and sold into slavery (she is even sometimes made into a *ḳayna* [*q.v.*]), but her sanctity secured her freedom, and she retired to a life of seclusion and celibacy, at first in the desert and then in Baṣra, where she gathered round her many disciples and associates, who came to seek her counsel or prayers or to listen to her teaching. These included ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd (d. 177/793; see Pellat, *Milieu*, 102-3 and index), Mālik b. Dīnār [*q.v.*], the ascetic Rabāḥ al-Ḳaysī, the traditionist Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*] and the Ṣūfī Shaḳīḳ al-Balkhī. Her life was one of extreme asceticism and otherworldliness. Asked why she did not ask help from her friends, she said, "I should be ashamed to ask for this world's goods from Him to Whom they belong, and how should I seek them from those to whom they do not belong?" (it should be noted that al-Djāḥiẓ, more conscious of the neatness of this reply than of its deeper sense, cites it at least twice (in *Ḥayawān*, v, 589, and *Bayān*, iii, 127) and does not mention any other details concerning Rābiʿa, which seems to show that, in the 3rd/9th century, the legend around her had not yet totally crystallised. On the other hand, this tradition, perhaps authentic, is contradicted by a piece of evidence according to which she possessed a *khādim*/*khādima* and by the mention, in al-Ḥusaynī, of another saint called Maryam al-Baṣriyya, her servant and disciple, to whom she had communicated her doctrine of pure love, *ʿilm al-maḥabba*).

To another friend she said, "Will God forget the poor because of their poverty or remember the rich because of their riches? Since He knows my state, what have I to remind Him of? What He wills, we should also will." Miracles were attributed to her as to other Muslim saints. Food was supplied by miraculous means for her guests, and to save her from starvation. A camel, which died when she was on pilgrimage, was restored to life for her use; the lack of a lamp was made good by the light which shone round about the saint. It was related that when she was dying, she bade her friends depart and leave the way free for the messengers of God Most High. As they went

out, they heard her making her confession of faith, and a voice which responded, "O soul at rest, return to thy Lord, satisfied with Him, giving satisfaction to Him. So enter among My servants into My Paradise" (sūra LXXXIX, 27-30). After her death, Rābiʿa was seen in a dream and asked how she had escaped from Munkar and Nakīr [*q.v.*], the angels of the tomb, when they asked her, "Who is your Lord?", and she replied, "I said, return and tell your Lord, 'Notwithstanding the thousands and thousands of Thy creatures, Thou hast not forgotten a weak old woman. I, who had only Thee in all the world, have never forgotten Thee, that Thou shouldst ask, Who is thy Lord?'"

Among the prayers recorded of Rābiʿa is one she was accustomed to pray at night upon her roof: "O Lord, the stars are shining and the eyes of men are closed and kings have shut their doors and every lover is alone with his beloved, and here am I alone with Thee." Again she prayed, "O my Lord, if I worship Thee from fear of Hell, burn me therein, and if I worship Thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me thence, but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then withhold not from me Thine Eternal Beauty." Of Repentance, the beginning of the Ṣūfī Path, she said, "How can anyone repent unless his Lord gives him repentance and accepts him? If He turns towards you, you will turn towards Him." She held that Gratitude was the vision of the Giver, not the gift, and one spring day, when urged to come out to behold the works of God, she rejoined, "Come rather inside to behold their Maker. Contemplation of the Maker has turned me aside from contemplating what He has made." Asked what she thought of Paradise, Rābiʿa replied, "First the neighbour, then the house" (*al-djār thumma 'l-dār*) and al-Ghazālī, commenting on this, says she implied that no one who does not know God in this world will see Him in the next, and he who does not find the joy of gnosis here will not find the joy of the Vision there, nor can anyone appeal to God in that world if he has not sought His friendship in this. None may reap who has not sown (*Iḥyāʾ*, iv, 269). The otherworldliness of her teaching is shown in her declaration that she had come from that world and to that world she was going, and she ate the bread of this world in sorrow, while doing the work of that world. One who heard her said derisively, "One so persuasive in speech is worthy to keep a rest-house" and Rābiʿa responded, "I myself am keeping a rest-house; whatever is within, I do not allow it to go out and whatever is without, I do not allow to come in. I do not concern myself with those who pass in and out, for I am contemplating my own heart, not mere clay." Asked how she had attained to the rank of the saints, Rābiʿa replied, "By abandoning what did not concern me and seeking fellowship with Him Who is eternal."

She was famed for her teaching on mystic love (*maḥabba*) and the fellowship with God (*uns*) which is the pre-occupation of His lover. Every true lover, she said, seeks intimacy with the beloved, and she recited the lines:

I have made Thee the Companion of my heart,
But my body is present for those who seek its company,
And my body is friendly towards its guests.
But the Beloved of my heart is the guest of my soul.
(*Iḥyāʾ*, iv, 358, margin)

Questioned about her love for the Prophet she said, "I love him, but love of the Creator has turned me aside from love of His creatures"; and again, "My love for God has so possessed me that no place remains for loving any save Him." Of her own service to God and its motive-force, she said, "I have not served God from fear of Hell, for I should be but a wretched hireling if I did it from fear; nor from love of Paradise, for I should be a bad servant if I served for the sake of what was given me, but I have served Him only for the love of Him and desire of Him." The verses often ascribed to her (but now shown by G.J.H. van Gelder to be originally a secular love poem, see his *Rābiʿa's poem on the two kinds of love: a mystification?*, in *Verse and the fair sex, a collection of papers presented at the 15th Congress of the UEAI ... 1990*, ed. F. de Jong, Utrecht 1993, 66-76) on the two types of love, that which seeks its own ends and that which seeks only God and His glory, are famous and much quoted, translated and commented upon:

I love Thee with two loves: a selfish (or concerned, impassioned, instinctive) love
and a love of which Thou [alone] art worthy.
The selfish love makes me turn away from all that is not Thou, making me think only of Thee
But as for that love of which Thou [alone] art worthy.
Thou raisest the veils so that I may see Thee.
In neither the one case nor the other have I any merit, but the praise for the first and the second is wholly Thine.

Al-Ghazālī again comments, "She meant, by the selfish love, the love of God for His favour and grace bestowed and for temporary happiness, and by the love worthy of Him, the love of His Beauty which was revealed to her, and this is the higher of the two loves and the finer of them" (*Iḥyāʾ*, iv, 267). Like all mystics, Rābīʿa looked for union with the Divine (*waṣl*). In certain of her verses she says, "My hope is for union with Thee, for that is the goal of my desire", and again she said, "I have ceased to exist and have passed out of self. I have become one with God and am altogether His."

Rābiʿa, therefore, according to the traditions about her, differs from those of the early Ṣūfīs who were simply ascetics and quietists, in that she was a true mystic, inspired by an ardent love, and conscious of having entered into the unitive life with God. She was one of the first of the Ṣūfīs to teach the doctrine of Pure Love, the disinterested love of God for His own sake alone, and one of the first also to combine with her teaching on love the doctrine of *kashf*, the unveiling, to the lover, of the Beatific Vision.

The semi-legendary personality of Rābiʿa has inspired romantic biographies and even two Egyptian films, but one should remember a curious phenomenon, which has its origin in an account which shows the saint holding in one hand fire and in the other water, and replying to some youths who had asked her where she was going: "...towards the heavens, in order to throw some fire into Paradise and some water on Hellfire, so that both of them may disappear and that human beings may contemplate God without hope or fear, for if neither hope for Paradise nor fear of Hellfire existed, would they worship al-Ḥaḳḳ and submit to it?" This text, which appears in Persian in the *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn* (ms. India Office Library, no. 1670, fol. 114a) of Aflākī (8th/14th century [*q.v.*]), is found again almost word-for-word in the *Mémoires du sieur de Joinville*, ed. Paris 1854, 195, with this difference that a Preaching Friar called Yves the Breton, sent to the "soudan" of Damascus by the King of France Louis IX (the future Saint Louis), meets en route an old woman carrying fire and water, etc. It is not certain that the heroine of this story is our Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawiyya, since the locale is Damascus, where there is said to have lived,

equally in the 2nd/8th century, another holy woman called Rābiʿa bint Ismāʿīl al-ʿAdawiyya. It is astonishing that the oldest attestation in the Islamic world goes back no further than the 8th/14th century when a French chronicler introduces the story a century earlier. In any case, the bishop J.-P. Camus (1582-1653) illustrates pure love by developing the story in question in a work called *La Caritée ou le pourtraict de la vraye charité, histoire dévote tirée de la Vie de Saint-Louis*, Paris 1641.

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(Margaret Smith-[Ch. Pellat])

RABĪB AL-DAWLA Abū Manṣūr b. Abī Shudjāʿ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, vizier of the ʿAbbāsids and Saldjūķs. When the vizier Abū Shudjāʿ Muḥammad al-Rūdhrāwarī [*q.v.*] made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 481/1089, he appointed his son Rabīb al-Dawla and the *naķīb al-nuķabāʾ* Ṭirād b. Muḥammad al-Zaynabī his deputies, and in 507/1113-14, on the death of Abu 'l-Ķāsim ʿAlī b. Fakhr al-Dawla Muḥammad b. Djahīr [see djahīr, banū], Rabīb al-Dawla was appointed vizier of the caliph al-Mustaẓhir [*q.v.*]. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 511/April 1118 the fourteen-year old Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] succeeded his father as Saldjūķ sultan and, when he was looking around for an able vizier, he was recommended to choose someone who had had the necessary training in the service of the caliph (*min tarbiyat dār al-khilāfa*), allegedly because there was no suitable man in the train of the young sultan. The choice therefore fell upon Rabīb al-Dawla who was at once summoned from Baghdād to Iṣfahān but, as the nominee of the *amīrs* and great men of state, proved himself a somewhat ineffectual vizier until his death after a brief tenure of office in Rabīʿ I 513/June-July 1119; according to another statement he died as early as 512/1118-19.

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(K.V. Zettersteen)

RĀBIGH (Bandar Rābigh, Rābugh), a port in the Ḥidjāz province of Saudi Arabia, in lat. 22° 48′ N., and long. 39° 1′ E., half-way between Djudda [*q.v.*] and Yanbuʿ. It may perhaps be identified with Ptolemy's 'Αργα χώμη (Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie*, no. 38). North of Rābigh lies al-Abwāʾ [*q.v.*], now called al-Khurayba, the reputed burial place of the Prophet's mother Āmina [*q.v.*]. In the past, the port had no proper harbour. Ships anchored at Sharm Rābigh, an inlet about 3 km long, which offered excellent anchorage (Hogarth, *Hejaz*, 29). From there cargoes were transferred on local sailing craft to Rābigh proper, a group of four hamlets and extensive date-groves, about 6 km from Sharm Rābigh. It used to be the place [see mīķāt] where pilgrims to Mecca, coming overland from Syria, Egypt and the Maghrib, put on the *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] (see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, i, 297, tr. Gibb, i, 186). As such, Rābigh had succeeded the village of al-Djuḥfa which lies in a valley reaching the sea just south of the port. Pilgrims coming down the Red Sea entered into *iḥrām* as their ships passed Rābigh. It was the centre of the Banū Zubayd, a subsection of the Banū Masrūḥ who, together with the Banū Sālim, were the main sections of the Banū Ḥarb [*q.v.*], the dominant tribe in the area between Mecca and Medina (Hogarth, *Hejaz*, 38). Before an asphalt highway joined Mecca and Medina via Djudda, Rābigh and Badr, secondary routes (see Hogarth, *Hejaz*, 114-21) ran from Rābigh northward through the mountains to Medina, providing a more direct but more difficult approach than the *al-Ṭarīķ* (or *al-Darb* "narrow mountain pass") *al-Sulṭānī*, which follows the coast. In 1924 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd, the future king of Saudi Arabia, sent the *Ikhwān* [*q.v.*] to capture Rābigh, cutting the communications between Djudda and Medina. In 1925 he declared Rābigh an official pilgrim port.

Bibliography: See al-ḥidjāz; makka; D.G. Hogarth, *Hejaz before World War I, a handbook*, repr. Cambridge 1978; R. Baker, *King Husain and the Kingdom of Hejaz*, Cambridge 1979; *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*. Naval Intelligence Division, London 1939-45, 541-2; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels A.D. 1325-1354*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, Cambridge 1958-71.

(Ed.)

RĀBIḤ B. FAḌL ALLĀH, an adventurer attached to the ivory and slave trader of the eastern Sudan, Zubayr Pasha [*q.v.*]. After the fall of Zubayr in 1291/1874 and the subsequent death of his son Sulaymān, Rābiḥ assumed leadership of Sulaymān's followers. By 1305/1887 he had become associated with the Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] movement in the eastern Sudan. Between 1309-10/1892 and 1310-11/1893 he attacked and defeated the sultanates of Baghirmi and Wadai.

There then followed a period during which Rābiḥ entered into an association with Hayatu dàn Saʾidu, a disaffected grandson of Muhammadu Bello [*q.v.*], first caliph of Sokoto, to conquer Borno [see bornū] and then Sokoto [*q.v.*]. The conquest of Borno was accomplished at the battle of Ngala in 1311/1893, but at that point Hayatu and Rābiḥ quarrelled and the projected attack on Sokoto failed to develop.

Rābiḥ now moved south and occupied Dikwa,

which became his headquarters. After several clashes with the French, he was defeated and killed at the battle of Kusseri in 1900.

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(M. Hiskett)

RABĪʿIYYĀT. In Ottoman literature.

There is no special literary genre called *rabīʿiyyāt* (*bahāriyyāt*) in Ottoman literature (from now on referred to as *dīwān* literature). Spring, however, has an important place within *dīwān* literature, as is the case for every other national literature. Spring, with its different functions fitting the structure of almost every kind of literary style and genre, was given its own special place in diverse literary genres coeval with the beginnings of written Ottoman literature in the second half of the 13th century. Since this literature favoured the *mathnewī* genre, in which all sorts of religious stories, religio-mythological works, histories, semi-religious books of advice pertaining to literary edification and romances were written, spring acquired a place in romances written in the style of the 13th and 14th centuries, especially those dealing with love adventures. It did so whilst serving two functions: as a sort of setting-décor, but also, beyond that obvious function, as a means to convey certain symbolic-mythological meanings.

Spring in Ottoman literature was naturally connected with the descriptions of orchards and gardens in springtime, thus bringing together the categories of time and space and carrying out the task of creating in the reader/listener the impression of verisimilitude. In this literature most lovers meet or are introduced to one another in the setting of a green, blossoming orchard full of flowers and plants coming back to life. Spring is connected here with the image of an orchard and with the idea of eternal life as the plants that have wilted and died in winter come back to life, and through these two motifs it is further related to the notion of Paradise (that includes an idealised version of all the elements of nature in springtime, such as meadows, gardens, flowers, trees, birds, running waters, light, cool breezes and the like) and its eternal happiness. Thus, in the descriptions of spring it is the notion of Paradise and its central role in the religion and beliefs of Islam that is at the back of the poet's intention and imagery. For instance, Meḥmed, in his *mathnewī ʿIshḳ-nāme* (15th century) has the two lovers meet in an orchard at springtime, and the description of spring is presented in the above-mentioned terms (cf. 102, ll. 1716-1728; 116, ll. 2300-16). Likewise, the first love scenes take place in the same setting, as do the wedding ceremonies (cf. 81-2, ll. 872-91; 248-9 ll. 8081-8100; 225 l. 8409). Descriptions of spring in the same terms are also found in the 14th century *mathnewīs Djemshīd ü Khurshīd* of Aḥmedī of Germiyān, and in the *Khurshīd-nāme* of Sheykh-oghlu Muṣṭafā (ed. Hüseyin Ayan, Erzurum 1979, 176-7, ll. 1263-1319; 192, ll. 1706-29. For the meeting of the lovers in an orchard, cf. 239-40, ll. 2959-87).

In the *mathnewīs*, spring is presented in close association with the sun. For instance, in the *Khurshīd-nāme* of Sheykh-oghlu Muṣṭafā, the garden specially ordered by Sultan Siyāwush for his son Khurshīd is described as a garden in eternal springtime. All the flowers, trees and vegetation in this garden preserve their blossoming in an eternal spring. This garden is in fact an image of paradise. It has been arranged as an eternally unwilting garden, and moreover, it is the garden of a god (cf. 176-7). The owner of this garden is Khurshīd, and if we consider the etymology of the word *khurshīd* we realise that the owner of the garden is the sun. Furthermore, Khurshīd in this work is dressed in green from head to toe, with a green crown and a green veil; in other words, he has been described as a Khiḍir [*q.v.*] figure (cf. 240, ll. 12979, 1981). At the same time, the garden is a symbol of Khurshīd (cf. further *Khurshīd-nāme*, 19-92), since it is a *gülistān* (cf. l. 1653). In this manner, both the image and the concept of the orchard's association with the sun, spring and the rebirth of life at springtime, as well as the thought that the orchard belongs to the beloved or the sun or the ruler, are reminiscent of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, of the blessed divine gardens (whose gardener is a Sumerian or Akkadian king), of the even more ancient Sumerian temples, of the Sumerian concept of Akat's paradise named Dilmun, and, finally, of the Paradise of the Torah and the gardens of Solomon in eternal springtime as described in the Song of Solomon in the Old Testament. Likewise, the traditional and typified theme in the *mathnewīs* of the meeting of the two lovers in gardens of eternal springtime, and their holding festivities and wedding ceremonies there, may be traced back to the older tradition of the New Year festivals, mostly a tradition orally transmitted for thousands of years and only a small part of which is reflected in written traditions. For instance, the scene of the washing and decoration of Ferāhshād before the meeting of the lovers in the eternal spring garden in the *Khurshīd-nāme* is clearly a distant echo of the ritual washing and decoration of the gods and goddesses before their wedding in the New Year festival (cf. 248-9; cf. also G. Alpay-Tekin (ed.), *Aḥmed-i Dāʿī, Čeng-nāme*, in *Sources of Oriental Languages and Literature*, 16, Harvard University 1992; the ninth and tenth part of the text are a spring and garden description and the celebration of New Year in the spring at the ruler's garden).

These mythological elements preserved their identity during the 14th and 15th centuries but not thereafter, when they were reduced to mere decorative elements after losing their lively character and deeper meaning with the onset of a changing world view that paralleled the changing living conditions, social classes and economic conditions of the Ottoman empire. In the hands of the poets of *dīwān* literature, spring and everything associated with it became means for creating all sorts of literary figures and word plays on the level of style and rhetoric. Nonetheless, the words expressing these mythological viewpoints relating to spring, used in a stereotyped manner both in the *mathnewīs* and in other literary genres to be examined, were used only for the purpose of background description and word plays in the following centuries, while viewpoints whose meaning had been more or less changed were combined with concepts and used, always, in the same stereotyped associations. In the following are outlined the main characteristics of these associations with reference to these particularities:

1. As mentioned above, spring was presented in terms of the association garden-spring-eternal-life-Paradise.

2. Spring was always expressed together with the emotion of eternal happiness, either in connection with Paradise or with youth. In the following centuries, however, the quality of the eternal withered

away and happiness was associated with the transitory quality of spring and depicted as a happiness with an end drawing near. Uzun Firdewsī started depicting spring along with the transitoriness of happiness and youth in his *Ḳuṭb-nāme* (ed. 21.)

3. Spring is the symbol of youth and therefore represents the beloved and beautiful lady. For instance, in the *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* of the 16th century poet Kemāl Pasha-zāde, spring represents youth, and autumn and winter old age (ed. Mustafa Demirel, Ankara 1983, 183-4, ll. 1850-6; for a classic depiction of spring, see 70-1, ll. 553-70). Spring, garden, beautiful lady, beloved, are all also found in the work *Leylā ile Medjnūn* of the most famous poet of the 16th century, Fuḍūlī (d. 1556 [*q.v.*]). In this case, Leylā, who enters a garden in springtime for a walk with her friends, does not meet her lover there, yet one of her companions gives her tidings of Medjnūn by reading to her a poem of his. Thus the picture which has been painted of spring, the garden and the meeting of the two lovers in it has here been modified. Nevertheless, Leylā is depicted as the symbol of the flower that blossoms in spring and represents youth and beauty, hence the garden is presented in terms of the traditional associations (ed. Necmettin Halil Onan, Istanbul 1956, 133-42, ll. 1321-1418).

4. The relationship between spring and sun is presented mostly in the following fashion. Because at the spring equinox night and day are equal, the sun is considered a symbol of justice and spring is the season when this justice is applied. Moreover, it is because of the sun's beneficial effects that vegetation comes back to life in the spring. Thus generosity is a quality that comes about by the joining of spring and the sun. As a result, in *dīwān* literature, the sun, because of its associations with justice and generosity, has always been conceived in terms of spring and the ruler, on account of his close relation to the sun, has been presented as an indivisible part of spring.

5. Spring has always been considered together with the rains of April and the concepts of blessing and mercy. Moreover, through the coming into being of the pearl out of the raindrop of April that falls into an oyster, the image of the pearl, its preciousness, perfection and beauty are added to these concepts.

6. Spring in *dīwān* literature is frequently presented together with the celebrations, drinking and music at evening gatherings held in gardens in connection with the spring festivals.

Different social and military conditions entered the above general picture after the second half of the 15th century and especially during the 16th century. For instance, the elements used in describing spring started to stand for the different ranks of Ottoman hierarchy, in accordance with the social relations of the time. Thus the rose (*gül*) was the sultan, the tulip (*lāle*) the *sandjaḳ-beyi*, the iris (*süsen*) the *silāḥdār*, the narcissus the *emīr-i tādjdār* and the spring clouds the ruler's tents. As for the cypress and the plane-tree (*čınar*), they were the servants of the ruler standing around him (*Khayālī Bey Divanı*, ed. Ali Nihad Tarlan, Istanbul 1945, 93-4, ll. 3-5). Likewise, spring was connected to the military and war system: the manifestations of spring on the meadows were the soldiers, and the cypress their banner (*liwā*). Spring itself was the young hero (*pehlewān*). The violet was the mace and the rose the shield, and the iris had its sword girded. (*Yahyā Bey Divanı*, ed. Mehmet Çavuşoğlu, Istanbul 1977, 58-9, ll. 1-3, etc.)

During the 17th and 18th centuries, spring was represented in a more realistic way in poetry. These descriptions were in close association with festivities, drinking and music sessions, and spring was greeted as a season of mirth and joy (e.g. Nābī, *Khayriyye*, ed. İ. Pala, Istanbul 1989, 147-50: *der beyān-ı ferāḥ-ı faṣl-ı bahār*). In this way, in every century, new meanings and allegorical allusions peculiar to the century were added to the descriptions of spring. Thus during the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century, spring was full of symbolic, legendary (romance) allusions, whereas during the second half of the 15th and the whole of the next century spring was associated with the wars, social hierarchy and majestic pomp of the expanding empire. Finally, in the 17th and 18th centuries it was described in a realistic language that had more to do with nature and human life, the environment in which people live. However, for all that spring was presented from all these different point of views, it was always described in terms of the stereotyped expressions presented earlier on. Moreover, in the cases where there was no special section devoted to spring itself, these expressions about spring were sprinkled, without much sense of unity and order, in all genres of *dīwān* literature (*methnewī*, *ghazel*, *ḳaṣīde*, *ḳiṭʿa*, *turkī* and *terdjīʿ*). For instance, we find the standard images of classical poetry where the cheek of the beloved was compared to a rose, the locks of hair to hyacinth, the elegant stature to a cypress, etc.

Spring was sometimes the topic of the *nesīb* (*teshbīb*) [see NASĪB] section of the literary genre of the *ḳaṣīde*. In fact *ḳaṣīdes* frequently start with a description of nature, which may have to do with one of the four seasons, and the poem is termed, accordingly, a *bahāriyye*, or a *shitāʾiyye* or a *temmūziyye*. Just like the descriptions of autumn and winter, those of spring are a means for the poet to effect the transition to the short *girizgāh* part, serving as an introduction to the praise (*medḥiyye*) section of a *ḳaṣīde* which he has composed in order to praise his patron-ruler or another high member of the Ottoman hierarchy, such as a Grand Vizier or a pasha or a vizier, or even just a person near and dear to him.

The *ḳaṣīdes*, for all that they conform to the descriptions of spring presented above and are faithful to the whole network of stereotypical relations between themes and concepts, are the poems that best reflect not only the political and social developments of the Ottoman empire but the changing conceptions of spring paralleling those. There are plenty of poets in *dīwān* literature who are famous for their *ḳaṣīdes*, including Aḥmed Pasha and Nedjātī for the 15th century, Fuḍūlī, Bāḳī, Newʿī, Yaḥyā Bey for the 16th, Khayālī and especially Nefʿī for the 17th, and Nedīm for the 18th. Almost all of these poets treated spring as the subject of the *nesīb* section of their *ḳaṣīdes*. There is little doubt that, among these *bahāriyyes*, the most famous is the one dedicated by Nefʿī (d. 1634 [*q.v.*]) to Sultan Murād IV, whose *maṭlaʿ* begins:

Esdi nesīm-i newbahār ačıldı güller ṣubḥ-dem
Ačsun bizim de gönlümüz sāḳī mede ṣun djām-ı Djem
(*Dīwān*, Istanbul 1249, 47).

Another very famous *ḳaṣīde* beginning with a spring depiction was written in the 18th century by Nedīm (d. 1730). This poem that puts to words the excitement and joy of spring is one of the most beautiful examples of *dīwān* literature and was composed in praise of Sultan Aḥmed III. Here is its opening distich:

Gel ey faṣl-ı bahārān māye-i ārām u ḥābımsın
Enīs-i khāṭırım kām-ı dil-i pür iḍṭırābımsın

The following distich is still popularly remembered:

Gülüm shöyle gülüm böyle demekdir yāre muʿtādım
Seni ey gül sever djānım ki djānāna khiṭābımsın

(Nedīm, *Dīwān*, ed. A. Gölpınarlı, İnkilâp Kitabevi, Istanbul 75.)

The influence of the depictions of spring in *dīwān* literature is so strong that even when writing *shitāʾiyyes* or *temmūziyyes*, poets compare that season to spring. It is also worth mentioning that sometimes a word having to do with the spring répertoire is the rhyming word of the *ḳaṣīde*, even if there is no proper *nesīb* section dealing with spring, and the *ḳaṣīde* is then named according to that rhyme word, e.g. the *gül ḳaṣīdesi* or the *nergīs ḳaṣīdesi*, etc.

A third literary genre (besides the romance *methnewīs* and the *ḳaṣīdes* describing spring in their *nesīb* sections and sometimes therefore named *bahāriyye*) that may deal with spring is the *Sāḳī-nāme*. This genre, which is in fact written in *methnewī* style, was developed especially after the 16th century. Spring in this genre is more closely associated with music and drinking gatherings.

It should be noted that there is a fourth genre dealing with spring, the *münāẓare* [see MUNĀẒARA], even though there appears to be only one extant example, Lāmiʿī Čelebi's prose work *Münāẓare-yi Sulṭān-ī Bahār bā Shehriyār-ī Shitā*. As may be understood from its title, this work deals with a competition between the two seasons.

Apart from all these, the only work of *dīwān* literature entirely devoted to the springtime New Year festivals is the *Čeng-nāme* of Aḥmed-i Dāʿī, who lived in the first half of the 15th century. Except for the last, synonymous work of 70-80 lines by the Persian poet Saʿdī, this work appears to be the only one connecting not just Ottoman but Islamic literature with the New Year festivals of ancient times. In *methnewī* style, it was written to express the desire of man, alone and a stranger in this world, to return to man's real homeland and to find eternal life. The lyre (*čeng*), which represents exactly such a man, is played at a musical gathering on a spring day, entertaining everyone. In the first part of the work there is a description of a spring festival in which the son of Bāyezīd I, Prince Süleymān, is participating. In the second part, the lyre played at this festival tells the poet the adventures of its coming to this strange world through the stories of the cypress, the gazelle, the horse and the silk worm, the origins of the four constituent parts of the lyre. The heroes of the four stories are victims to the chain of eternal change, birth and death, of the material world and at the same time are eaten with the desire to return to their homelands, the source of eternal life. In the *Čeng-nāme*, the lyre celebrating spring and the man wishing for eternal life (symbolised by spring) are joined into one figure.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G. ALPAY TEKIN)

RABĪʿIYYAT: In Arabic [see ZAHRIYYĀT].

RĀBIṬA (A.), term employed in al-Andalus to denote a fortified enclosure, a bastion constructed on the coast to deter enemy attacks from the sea. This term sometimes served as a substitute for *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*], a term which no longer extended to the concentration point occupied by combatants in a holy war, but was almost reduced to the sense of *djihād* [*q.v.*] or even replaced *ghāra* "sudden attack, raid".

In a *rābiṭa*, "volunteers, who were periodically relieved, maintained a vigilant watch, while practising spiritual exercises and striving to lead an ascetic life. "The best known of these fortified monasteries, on the Mediterranean, was that of the Cape of Gata, at the eastern point of the bay of Alméria... Another known *rābiṭa*, on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar, was that of al-Tawba or "Penitence"; it stood, opposite Huelva, not far from the estuary of the Río Tinto, on the same site where today stands the famous monastery of the Rabita, whose presence, since the end of the Middle Ages, has continued to uphold the Muslim monastic tradition" (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 111-12).

Current Spanish toponymy preserves, in the forms Rápita, Rávita, Rábida, the memory of the existence, in other parts of al-Andalus, of hermitages which were places of retreat for persons considered to be saints, accompanied by their disciples. This term thus became synonymous with *zāwiya* [*q.v.*], and it is this which has been adopted by the Spanish language, which uses *rábida* to denote a monastery or a hermitage.

Long before the arrival in the Maghrib of the wave of mysticism and the development in these regions of the "maraboutism" characteristic of religious activity, *rābiṭa* was also used there in concurrence with *zāwiya* (see al-Bādisī, *Maḳṣad*, tr. G.S. Colin, in *AM*, xxvi [1926], 240).

Bibliography: L. Torres Balbás, *Rábitas hispanomusulmanas*, in *al-And.*, xiii/2 (1948), 475-91; C. Villanueva, *Rábitas granadinas*, in *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos*, iii (1954), 79-86. (ED.)

AL-**RĀBIṬA** AL-**ISLĀMIYYA** (A.), literally "the Islamic league."

Pan-movements in the Muslim world have been usually rendered by Arabic terms like *waḥda*, *ittiḥād*, *rābiṭa* or *djāmiʿa*. *Rābiṭa* ("bond") in eastern Muslim mystic tradition originally meant the relationship of a *murīd* to his master (R. Gramlich (tr.), *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif. Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse des ʿUmar as-Suhrawardī*, Wiesbaden 1978, 107-8) and hence a close friendship (*rābiṭa-yi ukhuwwat*, Saʿd al-Dīn Khodja Efendī, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, as cited in Fr.A. Mesgien Meninski, *Lexicon arabico-persico-turcicum*, Vienna 1780, iii, 2-3). It underwent a significant semantic change in the 19th century, when *rābiṭa* became a political notion in Ottoman usage (in the sense of "league", X.T. Bianchi, *Dictionnaire français-turc*, Paris 1846, ii, 300), reflecting the emergence of an Islamic political language. *Djāmiʿa* [*q.v.*] as a noun signifies a gathering, a universality which embraces everything (hence from about 1850 onwards, also meaning a university). In modern usage, *djāmiʿa* has also been used to characterise a political, united movement. It is this sense which made these two terms popular among Muslim intellectuals and politicians in the second half of the 19th century. With the term *islāmiyya* attributed to it, *rābiṭa* and *djāmiʿa* soon became notions to render the European word Pan-Islam [see PAN-ISLAMISM]. Another earlier equivalent is the Ottoman-Turkish term *ittiḥād-i Islām* ("Union of Islam", arabicised as *al-waḥda al-islāmiyya*) which came into use in 1871 at the latest (e.g. Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] in 1872, see Landau, *The politics of Pan-Islam, ideology and organization*, Oxford 1990, 23-4). European travellers identified this political tendency as an Islamic form of the then common pan-movements and accordingly rendered this term with Pan-Islam (Vambéry, see Lee, *Origins*, 278-87), or in German with Panislamismus (Murad Effendi [Franz von Werner], *Türkische Skizzen*, Leipzig 1877, i, 95) from 1877 onwards. The concept of Pan-Islam again was re-arabicised to *al-djāmiʿa al-islāmiyya* or *al-rābiṭa al-islāmiyya* when after 1894 Pan-Islamism became a major concept of contemporary Islamic politics in the Ottoman Empire (see e.g. *al-Manār*, ii [1317/1899], 337-45, where Rashīd Riḍā stated that "today", Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's call to Islam should be rendered as *al-djāmiʿa al-islāmiyya*).

These dates suggest that after 1880, Islamic politics were primarily conceived as a movement to reunify the Muslim countries and, as al-Afg̲h̲ānī put it in 1884, "to preserve [our] nation's honour, to grieve for what hurts it, and to co-operate to defend a total union against whomsoever attacks it." (al-Afg̲h̲ānī-ʿAbduh, *al-ʿUrwa al-wut̲h̲ḳā*, 71, tr. Landau, in *op. cit.*, 319). Consequently, Islamic politics construed the mass of the whole Islamic *umma* as superseding any national boundaries of Muslim politics (see *al-ʿUrwa al-wut̲h̲ḳā*, 48).

Pan-Islamic rhetorics were of great importance during the reign of the two Ottoman sultans ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.vv.*]. They used the concept of Islamic unity to develop a new form of foreign policy which aimed at mobilising the peoples of the Muslim world in favour of the Ottoman Empire. Though ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, who now stressed his identity as caliph, tried to establish a network of Islamic propagandists, the success of his appeal to Islamic unity and of Pan-Islam as an "imperial ideology" (Landau, *op. cit.*, 9-72) was very small. Obviously, national policy was much more able to mobilise Muslim intellectuals, since the nation state offered real positions of power, whereas Pan-Islamism referred to an Islamic *umma* which had only a nebulous existence. Only in India were the activities of the Ottoman emissaries rather more successful.

Since *ca.* 1900, *rābiṭa* has also become a technical term to denote political organisations (e.g. the All-India Muslim League, established in the context of local politics by partisans of Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān's (1817-98 [*q.v.*]) reform movement in 1906 (W.C. Smith, *Modern Islām in India*, London 1946, 246-92, Lahore 1969, 297-358; Landau, *op. cit.*, 185), in Arabic called *al-rābiṭa al-muslima* (Masʿūd al-Nadwī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Daʿwa al-islāmiyya fī 'l-Hind*, Beirut 1370/1950, i, 249)). In 1909-10, the famous Egyptian nationalists Ibrāhīm Nāṣīf al-Wardānī (1886-1910) and S̲h̲afīḳ Manṣūr (1886-1925) called their small, militant organisation either *d̲j̲amʿiyyat al-rābiṭa al-islāmiyya*, *d̲j̲amʿiyyat al-ittiḥād al-islāmī* or simply *d̲j̲amʿiyyat al-rābiṭa al-ak̲h̲awiyya*.

During the First World War, the Central Powers, especially Germany, induced the Ottoman empire to strengthen its Pan-Islamic activities, hoping that they would serve to mobilise the Muslim world to join the war against the Allies. Again, however, this propaganda failed, since national identities of local élites predominated over trans-national forms of self-identification [see further on this, PAN-ISLAMISM].

Islamic policy formulated as Pan-Islamism was often, but not invariably, connected to the *Salafiyya* [*q.v.*] movement. It continued to be an important field of propaganda, especially in Muslim minority communities and among dissident Muslim political groups. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1848-1902 [*q.v.*]) elaborated the idea of Pan-Islamism in construing a fictive Muslim congress that should have taken place in Mecca in 1898-9. He stressed the importance of the civil identity of Pan-Islamism as being for him the only policy that could guarantee Muslim social, cultural and political welfare (*Umm al-ḳurā*, Beirut 1982, 38-9; Kramer, *Islam assembled*, 30-5). The congress idea aroused a brief enthusiastic response in 1907-8 and again after the abolition of the caliphate in Turkey on 4 March 1924. From 1926 to 1931, three international Islamic congresses were held (Mecca 1926, Cairo 1926 and Jerusalem 1931), each of which aimed at helping establish an Islamic public opinion on special issues (the question of the Holy Places, the question of the caliphate, and the question of the Sanctuaries in Jerusalem).

The more such independent Islamic groups as the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (*d̲j̲amʿiyyat al-ik̲h̲wān al-muslimīn* [see AL-IK̲H̲WĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN]) or the Muslim Youth Organisation (*d̲j̲amʿiyyat al-s̲h̲ubbān al-muslimīn*) were able to spread their propaganda and to articulate an Islamic policy which was directed more to a local public than to an imagined Islamic *umma* (the influence of Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā [*q.v.*] is notable), the more the traditional concept of Pan-Islam lost its influence. Following Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, most Islamic activists now favoured a unity of Islamic avant-garde organisations (*rābiṭa islāmiyya*) which would represent "the polity of Islam" (*dawlat al-Islām*) in contrast to the undifferentiated unity of the Islamic *umma* (*d̲j̲āmiʿa islāmiyya*) (cf. Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Imām al-Ustād̲h̲ Muḥammad ʿAbduh*, i, Cairo 1350/1931, 318-20, 328). It is in this sense that the term *rābiṭa* ("league") has been widely used since the 1930s. In Syria, Morocco, ʿIrāḳ, Algeria and Sudan, for instance, Muslim scholars have founded so-called "leagues" (*rābiṭat al-ʿulamāʾ*), which show that the term *rābiṭa* has now become a word signifying an independent Muslim élite organisation, mostly of *Salafī* orientation.

After the Second World War, Pan-Islamism as a label for independent, trans-national Islamic policy faded out. Instead, national politics of the newly-established or re-established states began to incorporate Pan-Islamic ideals into their own propaganda (Egypt, Jordan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia) and set up different trans-national Islamic bodies which would attest the Islamic identity of the national régimes, e.g. the Islamic World Congress (1949-52), the General Islamic Congress of Jerusalem (1953), the Higher Council of Muslim Affairs (1960) or the Muslim World League (1962) (Schulze, *Internationalismus*, 104-22). During the so-called Arab Cold War (M.H. Kerr, *The Arab Cold War*, New York-London 1970), Pan-Islamism served as a cornerstone of either faction: Egyptian Nasserists and Saudi Royalists both used Pan-Islamic rhetoric in order to internationalise their policy. In the 1970s, the strengthening of independent Islamic politics led to a competition in the field of trans-national Islamic politics. On the one hand, patronising Muslim states reacted positively to the Saudi call to found an inter-state Islamic organisation (*Munaẓẓamat al-Muʾtamar al-Islāmī*, 1969, 1972) which would serve to establish Islamic solidarity through government policy. On the other hand, however, Islamic politicians favoured the trans-national co-operation of homogenous Islamic tendencies which would serve to establish a network of congenial Islamic organisations. The most famous trans-national league is *Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī* (Muslim World League), founded in 1962 at Mecca. Its members claimed to "represent [the Muslim world] in the fields of dogmatics and belief" and to work for the establishing of a "union of the Muslim world" (*d̲j̲āmiʿat al-ʿālam al-islāmī*) (*Mad̲j̲allat Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī*, i/1 [1383/1963], 8; Schulze, *op. cit.*, 215). Hence *rābiṭa* now means a political and cultural avant-garde of Muslim scholars and intellectuals whose task is, according to Ḳurʾān, III, 103, to propagate the message of "the true Islam" in order to create a true union of Muslim peoples, whereas *d̲j̲āmiʿa* continues to signify the political unification of Muslim states.

Bibliography: In addition to the *Bibls.* of PAN-ARABISM, PAN-ISLAMISM and PAN-TURKISM, see D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Afg̲h̲ānī-Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *al-ʿUrwa al-wut̲h̲ḳā*[2], Cairo 1958; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, *Sid̲j̲ill mud̲h̲akkirāt d̲j̲amʿiyyat umm al-ḳurā ay ḍabṭ mufāwaḍāt wa-muḳarrarāt muʾtamar al-nahḍa al-*

islāmiyya al-mun^caḳid fī Makka al-mukarrama sanat 1316, Port Said [1899], ²Beirut 1402/1982; A. Vambéry, *Pan-Islamism*, in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, lx (1906), 547-58, lxi (1907), 860-72; V. Bartol'd, *Khalif i Sultan*, in *Mir' Islama* (St. Petersburg), i (1912), 203-26, 345-400; Ismā^cīl Ṣidḳī, *Ḥayy ^calā 'l-intibāh*, Istanbul 1329/1913; Djelāl Nūrī [Ileri], *Ittiḥād-i Islām. Islāmīn māḍīsi ḥālī istiḳbāli*, Istanbul 1331/1913; Shakīb Arslān, *Ḥāḍir al-^cālam al-islāmī* (= annotated tr. of L. Stoddard, *The new world of Islam*, London 1921), i-iv, Cairo 1352/1933-4; D.E. Lee, *The origins of Pan-Islam*, in *American Hist. Review*, xlvii (1942), 278-87; A.-M. Goichon, *Le panislamisme d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie* (Paris), ix (1950), 18-44; Sylvia Haim, *Intorno alle origini della teoria del panislamismo*, in *OM*, xxxvi (1956), 409-21; A. Reid, *Nineteenth-century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia*, in *Jnal. of Asian Studies*, xxvi (1966-7), 267-83; S.A. Zenkovsky, *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967; Nikki R. Keddie, *Pan-Islam as proto-nationalism*, in *Jnal. of Modern History*, xli (1969), 17-28; M. Kramer, *Islam assembled. The advent of the Muslim congresses*, New York 1986; R. Schulze, *Islamischer Internationalismus im 20. Jahrhundert*, Leiden 1990. (R. SCHULZE)

RAḌĀ^c or **RIḌĀ^c**, also RAḌĀ^cA (A.), suckling; as a technical term, the suckling which produces the legal impediment to marriage of foster-kinship.

1. Legal aspects.

From the manner in which the Ḳur'ān presents its ruling, it may be supposed that the question was already familiar to those addressed. Sūra IV, 23, falls into two sections comprising lists of those with whom the Muslim may not contract marriage. The first, dealing with blood relatives, begins with the natural mother. The second, opening with the foster-mother and the foster-sister, that is, any female to whom the foster-mother has also given suck, suggested for foster-relations duplication of the list already given for blood-relations. To foster-mother and foster-sister came to be added the foster-niece, the foster-aunt (maternal and paternal), and foster-daughter. Nor may a man simultaneously wed or own two women who are foster-sisters, nor a woman and either of her foster-aunts.

An early and long-lived point of contention, expressed in traditions involving the Prophet's own immediate household, concerned the foster-uncle, that is, the brother of the husband of the wet-nurse. These reports frequently state that discussion of the status of the foster-uncle arose subsequent to the imposition of the segregation of the sexes. What was in view was the need to identify all males with whom females, in terms of interpretation of sūra IV, 23, read in conjunction with XXIV, 31, might lawfully dispense with the inconvenience of the *ḥidjāb*. The latter verse failed to mention the uncle, although sūra IV prohibits marriage with nieces. Informality was taken to be restricted to persons between whom marriage was not permitted. Al-Shāfi^cī argued that the extension of the range of foster-relationship had been based on both the lay-out of sūra IV and the elucidation of the passage supplied by the Prophet in the traditions just mentioned. Some of these illustrate the maxim: "Foster-relationship prohibits precisely what blood-relationship prohibits."

The addition of the foster-uncle to the relations of forbidden degree, as well as the idea, promoted in a series of traditions, that marriage was also prohibited between the foster-children of two wives or slaves of the same man, by including relationship by marriage in foster-relationship, adds to the impediment to marriage by reason of fostership a further impediment on grounds of a relationship in law. Resistance to the idea that the relation established between nurse and infant extended to the nurse's husband and, through him, to his brother, was expressed in variants of the above traditions, one of which exposes the principle underlying the proposed extension. This is the concept of "the sire's milk". It was thought that there inhered in breast-milk some quality similar to that residing in blood. The semen of the husband caused the flow of milk. That was what underlay the ban created by the act of nursing and it was, therefore, of necessity, implicated in its legal consequences. Incorporation of relationship in law within the structure of foster-relationships was upheld but, at least in this aspect, was abandoned by al-Shāfi^cī under the influence of contrary traditions.

Foster-relationship is to a degree specific. The *fuḳahā'* are agreed that, whereas it exists between a man and all his descendants and his nurse and all her foster- and blood relatives, and for the majority, all her husband's ones as well, no foster-relationship is assumed between a man and the ascendants or lateral relatives of his foster-brothers and sisters, or between the nurse and the ascendants or lateral relatives of her foster-child.

Since the Ḳur'ān envisages the employment for hire of wet-nurses, the duration of the breast-feeding had to be ascertained, under the rules governing hire. As to the age of the infant, that and the question of the period of his feeding had been addressed in II, 233, which suggested that the complete course would be of two years. For the majority, therefore, only suckling that occurs in infancy and is indispensable for the physical development of the child creates the legally significant bond. The point was illustrated using hypothetical illustrations. A husband, coming to the aid of his wife whose milk is slow to flow, is not barred from future marital relations with her if he should inadvertently swallow any of her milk. Nor can a jealous wife prevent legitimate sexual relations between her husband and any younger co-wife whom he chooses to marry by the expedient of nursing her. The response to such situations was conveyed in traditions traced to prominent Companions, or to the Prophet himself: *innamā 'l-raḍā^ca min al-maḏjā^ca* "valid suckling is that which alone staves off hunger." Traditions of the kind were directed against the artificial foster-relationship to which we shall shortly return.

The majority of the *fuḳahā'* accepted that the suckling provided during the first two years of life was alone legally relevant and (despite the wide circulation of traditions from the Prophet to the contrary), that the swallowing of only a single drop of breast-milk at that age established the legally-recognised affiliation.

The discussion of both these questions had as its background a debate on the legal efficacy of the suckling of non-infants, referred to in the literature as *raḍā^c al-kabīr*. Various wives of the Prophet are reported to have arranged that certain infants be suckled by their sisters or by the daughters of their brothers, to ensure that, in their later years, such males would be able to visit them. The traditions in question make the point that a minimum number, usually five or ten, of suckling sessions had to be completed if the plan were to succeed. Where the number of sessions fell below the stated minimum, the underlying intent was frustrated. That, it is explained, is why Sālim b. ^cAbd Allāh could never call upon ^cĀ'isha. The discussion on numbers merged with the separate tradition on the plight of a particular family unit. When the wife of a

prominent Companion told the Prophet that, following the revelation of sūra XXXIII's negation of the reality of legal adoption, her husband resented the continued presence in their home of their adopted son, now grown to full manhood, the Prophet counselled her to suckle the man on five separate occasions. A variant says ten separate occasions. Alone among the Prophet's widows, ʿĀʾis̲h̲a is said, on the basis of this episode, to have adopted the principle that the suckling of an adult is legally efficacious. Rebuked by the Prophet's other widows, ʿĀʾis̲h̲a is reported to have replied that she merely followed a precedent established by the Prophet and alluded to XXXIII, 21. This argument from the Sunna proving inadequate in the face of an equal weight of contrary traditions traced to the remaining widows, showing that they regarded that as having been a specific concession granted by the Prophet and never intended for general application, resort had to be made to higher authority. ʿĀʾis̲h̲a is said to have claimed that a Ḳurʾān verse had been revealed to the Prophet setting the minimum number of suckling sessions required to establish the marriage ban at ten. The verse had subsequently been withdrawn and replaced by a second verse setting the limit at five. ʿĀʾis̲h̲a is further held to have stated that this second verse was still being recited as part of the Ḳurʾān when the Prophet died. Mālik reproduced this report in his *Muwaṭṭaʾ* merely to dismiss it, but it became a crucial element in al-S̲h̲āfiʿī's bitter polemic against the Mālikīs of his day. Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs are agreed that one single session suffices to establish the ban; three opinions are transmitted from Aḥmad which show him somewhat equivocal on the matter. Al-Layth̲ b. Saʿd and the Ẓāhirīs Dāwūd and Ibn Ḥazm argued for this limit of five sessions, and defended the legal efficacy of suckling an adult, although al-S̲h̲āfiʿī had already abandoned this element of the tradition as curtly as Mālik had dismissed any minimum number greater than one.

The discussion incidentally furnished the theorists on *nas̲kh̲* [*q.v.*] with what were claimed to be two attested instances of the phenomenon. The ten sucklings verse exemplified *nas̲kh̲ al-tilāwa wa 'l-ḥukm*, suppression of both wording and ruling of a Ḳurʾān verse, while the five sucklings-verse represented suppression of the wording, but not the ruling of a revealed verse, *nas̲kh̲ al-tilāwa dūna 'l-ḥukm*. That the Mālikīs treated both verses as suppressed in respect of wording and ruling shows that they traced their view directly to IV, 23. The verse used the preterite of the verb which can be realised in a single act, an interpretation illustrated in a tradition attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar: "God's word is superior to ʿĀʾis̲h̲a's word. God merely says 'Your foster-sisters are prohibited'; He does not say 'One suckling' nor 'two sucklings'."

To prove foster-kinship, many authorities were content with the testimony of the foster-mother. But, as the foster-mother may be either free or a slave, Muslim or *d̲h̲immī*, Mālik is said to have expected the evidence of at least two women, although his followers are divided on this. The Ḥanafīs demanded two men, or, failing that, one man and two women (II, 282).

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *raḍāʿ*; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, 219; idem, *Handleiding*[3], 185; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, i, 161; for the Imāmīs, Querry, *Droit musulman*, i, 657 ff.; J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950; J. Burton, *The collection of the Qurʾān*, Cambridge 1977; idem, in St. Andrews University, School of Abbasid Studies, *Occasional Papers*, 1 (1986); idem, *The sources of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1990; S̲h̲āfiʿī, *Umm*, Cairo 1321/1903, v, 20 ff., vi, 240, vii, 208, 246-7; S̲h̲awkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, Cairo 1345/1926, vii, 113 ff., Beirut 1393/1973, vii, 113 ff.

(J. Schacht-[J. Burton])

2. In Arabian society.

Before Islam, the Meccans habitually gave their infants to wet-nurses, choosing these for preference amongst the Bedouins; hence Muḥammad was entrusted to Ḥalīma, of the tribe of Saʿd b. Bakr (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb al-as̲h̲rāf*, ed. Ḥamīdallāh, Cairo 1959, i, 93). It was normal for such services to be recompensed, and Ḳurʾān, II, 233, stipulates that the wet-nurse should be rewarded according to the custom. Curiously, it is also envisaged that a husband should make a payment to the mother whom he has repudiated as a wife so that she can suckle her child born of him. If there is any dispute over the amount of this recompense, the mother can refuse to provide milk without the father being able to exert any pressure or compulsion on her. In such a case, the parents can only entrust their child to a wet-nurse (LXV, 6).

Suckling creates fraternal bonds which have a widespread social and moral effect. As a vital element which embodies a sacred principle, milk produces an effect comparable to that of blood, of which it is sometimes a synonym. This is why children suckled from the same breasts were considered as brothers, so that S̲h̲īmā, daughter of the wet-nurse Ḥalīma, was the foster-sister of Muḥammad. When she was captured on the Day of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*], she identified herself to the Prophet, who accorded her a welcome worthy of a sister (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, i, 93).

The mystical bond of relationship created by suckling gave rise to a number of marriage prohibitions (see 1. above). The prohibition of marrying a foster-sister was pre-Islamic. In order to prevent ʿAntar from consummating his marriage, a rival tried to make him believe that he was the milk-sister of his wife ʿAbla, on the grounds that the latter had allegedly sucked the breasts of Zabība, ʿAntar's mother. In addition to the Ḳurʾānic prohibition (see 1. above), a *ḥadīth̲* adds "suckling prohibits what birth prohibits" (*al-raḍāʿa tuḥarrimu mā tuḥarrimu al-wilāda*) (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *k. al-raḍāʿa*, Cairo 1334, iv, 162), and another tradition states "what is prohibited through fostering is the same as what is prohibited by blood relationship" (*yaḥrumu min al-raḍāʿa mā yaḥrumu min al-nasab*) (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, k. al-nikāḥ*, Cairo 1376, vii, 9). When a husband learnt that he had been suckled at the same breast as had his spouse, he consulted the Prophet, who ordered him to divorce her (*ibid.*, vii, 10). Since the wet-nurse's husband was considered as a father, the latter's brother became the uncle of the man who had been suckled, i.e. a foster-uncle (see 1. above).

One question to be considered concerns the provenance or source of the milk. Only a woman's milk creates bonds of kinship; if a man suckles a child with milk secreted by his breasts, no prohibitions result (al-S̲h̲aʿrānī, *Mīzān*, Cairo 1322, ii, 143).

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(J. Chelhod)

RADD (a.), the normal term used in classical Islamic literature to denote a response to an adversary, intended to refute his statements or opinions. A number of works, especially those belonging to the earlier period (2nd-4th centuries A.H.), bore the title *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā...* "response, reply to...": cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Tad̲j̲addud, Tehran 1971, index, 109-11; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 903-4; viii, 369; ix, 378-9. Also often

used, with the same meaning, was the expression *Kitāb ʿalā...*, cf. *Fihrist*, index, 132. There are also instances where the word *radd* is interposed in the second element of the title; thus, in the field of theological polemic, the *K. Ikhtilāf al-lafẓ wa 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-djahmiyya wa 'l-mushabbiha* of Ibn Ḳutayba, the *K. al-Intiṣār wa 'l-radd ʿalā Ibn al-Rāwandī* of al-Khayyāṭ [*q.v.*], the *K. al-Lumaʿ fi 'l-radd ʿalā ahl al-zaygh wa 'l-bidaʿ* of al-Ashʿarī, the *K. al-Tamhīd fi 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-mulḥida wa 'l-muʿaṭṭila...* of al-Bāḳillānī. Another term in frequent usage is *naḳḍ* "refutation", although *naḳḍ* is principally employed in reference to a book (*K. Naḳḍ Risālat al-Shāfiʿī, K. Naḳḍ K. Ibn al-Rāwandī fi 'l-imāma*, etc.; if the refutation applies to an individual, the expression used is *K. al-Naḳḍ ʿalā...*); cf. *Fihrist*, index, 159-60. The refutation of a work may in its turn be refuted; thus the *Naḳḍ al-Lumaʿ* of ʿAbd al-Djabbār (a refutation of the *K. al-Lumaʿ* of al-Ashʿarī) was followed by a *K. Naḳḍ al-Naḳḍ* of al-Bāḳillānī (cf. *Arabica* [1985], 187, n. 12).

All topics liable to give rise to divergent points of view, between individuals or between schools, could provide material for refutation. Thus in the writings of grammarian-lexicographers, refutations are to be observed, in opposition to Sībawayh, al-Khalīl, al-Farrāʾ, al-Mubarrad, al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, Thaʿlab, Ibn Khālawayh, etc. (cf. *GAS*, viii and ix, index of titles). In the field of *fiḳh*, attention may be drawn, among others, to refutations of Mālik by Abū Yūsuf (*Fihrist*, 257, ll. 2-3), of Muḥammad b. al-Haṣan by al-Shāfiʿī (*ibid.*, 264, l. 22), of al-Shāfiʿ ī by the Mālikī Ibrāhīm b. Ḥammād (*ibid.*, 252, ll. 29-30) and the Imāmī Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī (*ibid.*, 225, l. 17). But it is in the field of dogmatic theology that refutations are most abundant; it is accepted, furthermore, that if, in Islam, theology has come to be known as the "science of speech" (*ʿilm al-kalām* [*q.v.*]), it owes this title to the fact that it was, at the outset, of an essentially polemical and apologetic nature (cf., most recently, J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, i, Berlin-New York 1991, 48-55). The adversaries in question are, on the one hand, all adherents of doctrines other than Islam: Jews, Christians, Mazdaeans, Dualists, "Zindīḳs" [*q.v.*], *dahriyya* [*q.v.*], disciples of Aristotle, practitioners of astrology, partisans of "natures" (*ṭabāʾiʿ*), believers in metempsychosis, "sophists", etc. On the other hand, within the context of Islam, there are all the schools or "sects" reckoned to uphold—from the point of view of the author in question—doctrines which are erroneous and which deserve, for this reason, to be opposed: Murdjiʾa, Djahmiyya, Ḳadariyya, Muʿtazila, "assimilationists" (*mushabbiha*), "corporealists" (*mudjassima*), *ḥashwiyya* [*q.v.*], "coercionists" (*djabriyya* or *mudjbira*), Khāridjites, "Rāfiḍīs" [*q.v.*], extreme Shīʿīs (*ghulāt*), etc. As among grammarians and jurists, the polemic is also often of an individual nature: in the bibliography of the Muʿtazilī Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir [*q.v.*], for example, there figures a whole series of refutations of this kind, in opposition to, among others, Abu 'l-Hudhayl, al-Naẓẓām, Ḍirār, Ḥafṣ al-Fard, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (*Fihrist*, 185, ll. 2-6).

A uniform model of refutation does not exist. It is possible, however, to identify two principal types. Either the refutation is purely unilateral; the author presents successively each of the assertions of the adversary ("he says", *ḳāla*), and in each case gives his reply ("he is answered", *yuḳālu lahu*), and this is the model followed for example—although in very different registers—by Ibn Ḥanbal in the first section of his *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-zanādiḳa* and by al-Khayyāṭ in his *Intiṣār*; or else the refutation is presented in the form of an imaginary controversy (*munāẓara* [*q.v.*]), with a series of questions and answers [see AL-MASĀʾIL WA 'L-ADJWIBA], where, naturally, the author gives himself the best lines and effortlessly reduces his interlocutor to a state of confusion ("he will be asked", *yuḳālu lahu...*, "and if he says", *fa-in ḳāla...*, "he will be answered", *ḳīla lahu...*, "and if he says", etc.). A good example—among a hundred others—of this second method is the *Tamhīd* of al-Bāḳillānī (see especially the chapters opposing the Mazdaeans and the Christians).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(D. GIMARET)

AL-**RĀDHĀNIYYA**, a name by which is known a group of Jewish merchants whose origin, identity and activities have been the subject of an endless series of questions, opinions, commentaries and contradictory judgments, none of which have proved finally convincing.

These speculations have been inspired by a passage of the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*] composed between 232 and 272/846-85. This text, which has been copied and summarised, but never genuinely corroborated by contemporary or later authors, Muslim or non-Muslim, has been avidly studied by a series of scholars who will be mentioned below. It appears in its entirety in the edition-translation of the *K. al-Masālik* produced by Barbier de Meynard (in *JA* [1865]), in the standard edition of M.J. De Goeje (*BGA*, vi, 1885, 153-5), in the edition-translation of M. Hadj-Sadok (*Description du Maghreb et de l'Europe au IIIᵉ/IXᵉ siècle*, Algiers 1949, 20-2) and, partially, in the *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Âge* by R. Blachère (Paris 1957, 28-9). It has furthermore been the object of a quite considerable number of translations into English (for specific references see *Bibl.*) by Sprenger, Jacobs, Adler, Lopez-Raymond, Katz, Rabinowitz (1948 = Jacobs' translation with commentary by I. Friedlander), Goitein (1954), Roth, Baron, Serjeant; into German, by Aronius, Caro, Jacobi; into Hebrew, by Dinur; into Yiddish, by Schipper (this version was also translated into Hebrew).

The best method of introducing the subject is to offer a literal translation of this text:

"Itinerary/itineraries of the Jewish merchants (known as) Rādhāniyya, who speak Arabic, Persian, *Rūmī* (= Greek?), Frankish (= French?), Andalusian (= Romance) and Slavonic, and travel from the East to the West and vice-versa, by land and by sea. From the West they import eunuchs (*khadam*), young slaves of both sexes (*djawārī* and *ghilmān*), silk brocade (*dībādj*), beaver fur (*djulūd al-khazz*), [pelts of] the sable (*sammūr*) and [other] furs, as well as swords."

[*First itinerary*] "They embark in the land of the Franks (Firandja [see IFRANDJ]) on the Western Sea (= the Mediterranean) and disembark at al-Faramā (= ancient Pelusium), then they transport their merchandise by land (*ʿalā 'l-ẓahr*) as far as al-Ḳulzum [*q.v.*] (ancient Clysma), a distance of 25 parasangs; they then traverse the Eastern Sea (= the Red Sea) from al-Ḳulzum to al-Djār (the port of Medina; see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v.) and to Djudda [*q.v.*]. From here, they continue their journey to Sind [*q.v.*], to India [see AL-HIND] and to China [see AL-ṢĪN]. From China, they bring back musk (*misk* [*q.v.*]), wood of aloes (*ʿūd*), camphor (*kāfūr* [*q.v.*]), cinnamon (*dār ṣīnī* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and other (products) which are imported from these countries. Thus they return to al-Ḳulzum, then transport their [consignment] to al-Faramā and

embark on the Mediterranean. Sometimes, they made a detour through Constantinople with their merchandise, which they sold to the Byzantines. Sometimes furthermore, they went to sell them [in the land of the] king of Firandja."

[*Second itinerary*] "When they chose to do so, on leaving Firandja, they transported their merchandise by sea, on the Mediterranean, disembarking at Antioch (Anṭākiya [*q.v.*]), whence they made their way, in three overland stages, to al-Djābiya (see below); they then sailed on the Euphrates (al-Furāt [*q.v.*]) to Baghdād, then on the Tigris (Didjla [*q.v.*]) to al-Ubulla (see *EI*[1], s.v. AL-OBOLLA), and from here they gained access to Oman (ʿUmān [*q.v.*]), Sind, India and China, all these countries being contiguous with one another."

After the succinct description of these two itineraries, the text moves on to the "Russian traders", who are not to be confused with the Rādhāniyya; not only, in fact, do "they call themselves Christians", but moreover their journeys, confined to the Orient, have Baghdād as their western limit. The paragraph devoted to them is possibly an interpolation owed to a copyist, but it is equally possible that the author himself has inserted a few lines regarding these merchants; this would then be one of those intercalations through association of ideas which are such a feature of mediaeval Arab writings, especially in the process of revision, and it is known that Ibn Khurradādhbih adapted his own text. On the subject of the Russians, al-Masʿūdī, who does not know of the Rādhāniyya, speaks (*Murūdj*, ii, 18 = § 458) of the Lūdhʿāna (?) "who come in pursuit of trade to Spain, to Rome, to Constantinople and Khazaria". J. Marquart (*Streifzüge*, 33), D.M. Dunlop (*Khazars*, 209) and A. Seippel (p. xxviii) have proposed various readings and identifications, but it would be tempting to see this name as an adaptation of Rādhāniyya; the author of the present article was rash enough to suggest such a connection (Arabic index of the *Murūdj*, s.v. Lūdhʿāna): Jacobi (252-3) also speculates cautiously on the possibility of the al-Lūdhʿāna = al-Rādhāniyya equation and shows equal circumspection in considering a passage of the *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* of the same author (140; ed. Cairo, 121-2) where it is said that the Byzantine city (*sic*) of Musannāt impounds ships of the Kūdhkūna (= Rādhāniyya ?) and of other Russians.

It is particularly important not to overlook, as R. Blachère has, the continuation of the account of Ibn Khurradādhbih, who returns to the Rādhāniyya without introducing them other than by a personal pronoun (*hum*), which could equally well refer to the Russian merchants. So, having described in the first part of the text two itineraries of the Jewish merchants who, on the outward journey at least, traverse the Mediterranean from end to end, the author moves on to a *Third itinerary*, to

"Their overland route: those among them who set out from al-Andalus or from Firandja, cross over (the strait) to Lower Sūs (al-Sūs al-Akṣā [*q.v.*]) and arrive at Tangier, whence they make their way to Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*] (approximately equivalent to present-day Tunisia, but more specifically Ḳayrawān), to Miṣr [*q.v.*] (Egypt, but more specifically al-Fusṭāṭ); they subsequently pass through al-Ramla [*q.v.*] (in Palestine), Damascus (Dimashḳ [*q.v.*]), Kūfa [*q.v.*], Baghdād, Baṣra [*q.vv.*] (these last three in ʿIrāḳ), al-Ahwāz [*q.v.*] (in Khūzistān), Fārs and Kirmān [*q.vv.*], arriving in Sind, India and China."

[*Fourth itinerary*] "Sometimes they take a route to the rear of Rome (Rūmiya), through the land of the Slavs (al-Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*]), reaching Khamlīdj (or Khamlīkh; see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. Minorsky, 454 and index), capital of the Khazars [*q.v.*], then [they sail] on the sea of Djurdjān (= the Caspian), [arriving] at Balkh [*q.v.*] (in northern Afghanistan) and in Transoxiana (Mā warā' al-Nahr [*q.v.*]) before attaining the camp (*wurt*; see below) of the Toghuzghuz [*q.v.*] and moving into China."

The first orientalist to have drawn attention to this passage was A. Sprenger who, in 1844, undertook an English translation of it. Shortly after this, J.-T. Reinaud had occasion to quote it, and C. Barbier de Meynard annotated it in his edition-translation of the *K. al-Masālik*, all of this before historians of the Jewish people or of international trade began to utilise and to analyse it. Among the latter, the most authoritative is undoubtedly W. Heyd who, although having no direct access to the Arabic text, posed some pertinent questions, regarding in particular the land of origin of these Jews, whom he perceived nevertheless as westerners, since they set out from the West. Since then, studies and commentaries have followed in rapid succession: I. Schipper concurred with Heyd and stressed the fact (in his *Anfänge* and *Anteil*) that, among Jewish merchants, only those from the West travelled worldwide, the orientals among them remaining within the limits of the Islamic world. In fact, the issue of the origin or the home-base of the Rādhāniyya has been discussed by numerous scholars who, in general, have considered them to be natives of Spain or of France. M. Lombard has even declared that they set sail from Narbonne, without providing evidence in support of this claim. In this company, only Barbier de Meynard displayed sound judgment, logically linking their name to that of the district of the Sawād of Baghdād known as Rādhān (see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v.). J. Jacobs, for his part, has sought to locate them at Rayy [*q.v.*], and S. Katz, while appearing to support this hypothesis, has made the remark that between Spain and China there were enough Jewish communities to explain the details of the itineraries described by Ibn Khurradādhbih. In 1957, S.W. Baron (328, n. 39) wrote that the latter undoubtedly included Jewish merchants of Khazaria among the Rādhāniyya, who are not necessarily all of the same origin; this scholar considered that these polyglot travellers could not be linked to any specific place and, rejecting the suggestion of Barbier de Maynard and of Simonsen (see below), he supported the explanation proposed by De Goeje of *rāh-dān* ("itinerant merchants").

Setting aside the question of their name, which will be examined here at a later stage, the problems posed by the Rādhāniyya are not always dealt with, by the authors who mention them, in relation to a wider context. Thus for example, G. Wiet, writing in 1937, described this text as "crucial" and translated it in part, but did not dwell on it and did not even mention the name of the group. In 1954, R. Brunschvig (in *EI*[2], s.v. ʿABD, at i, 32a), on the basis of this "famous" passage, gave prominence to the role of the Jews in the traffic of "Slavs" (i.e. slaves) across eastern and western Europe and even made a connection with the "eunuch factory" situated at Verdun [see KHAṢĪ, at iv, 1083b]. Occasional references such as this exist in abundance, none of them throwing the least light on the problems posed by the Rādhāniyya. The first thorough study of the text in question was due to J. Rabinowitz who, following his survey of *The routes of the Radanites* (1944), devoted a monograph to these merchants, entitled *Jewish merchant adventurers. A study of the Radanites*. This senior South African rabbi

reckoned it necessary to consider in the first place the general situation of the world in the 9th century in order to identify and locate the "Radanites", in reference to whom he asserted (11), quoting Jacobs (194), that "His (Ibn Khurradādhbih's) account gives the key to the whole economic history of the Jews in the Middle Ages" and observed that the members of this group present three unusual features: they begin their journey in Europe; they follow overland routes between Khurāsān and China; they cover half of the fourth itinerary before reaching Islamic territories. In any event, he added, circumstances were favourable to the Radanites, since the trade routes between Christian Europe and the Islamic world were closed, except for the Jews. S.D. Goitein (1955), who was well aware of the work of Rabinowitz, considered the history of the Radanites in the light of documents from the Geniza and saw in their activity the first example of Jewish commerce in the early years of Islam. Writing in 1967, this same scholar attributed in part the major role played by Jews in the silk industry to the Rahdāniyya (*sic*), who could have had the opportunity, during their visits to China, to become acquainted with the professional intricacies of silk production. Goitein was unaware of a seminal article *Y a-t-il eu des Rahdānites*? by Cl. Cahen, who was the first historian (in 1964) to subject the text of Ibn Khurradādhbih to close analysis. The scepticism suggested by the title is explained by the fact that the passage in question—which is not corroborated, it will be remembered, by any independent source—raises a number of queries which, taken together, amount to the question: is it necessary to take Ibn Khurradādhbih's account as valid testimony, such that study of it is confined to critical examination of certain striking details or, on the contrary, if the whole is not to be rejected, should its authenticity at least be seriously questioned, bearing in mind that it is possibly a case of interpolation, the product of the intervention of some copyist? No historian has gone so far as this, not even Cl. Cahen, nor B. Blumenkranz who, writing in 1960, has shown considerable scepticism and has criticised the modern scholars who "by means of ingenious but barely reliable exegesis" locate the Rādhāniyya in the valley of the Rhône (an allusion to Simonsen; see below). He adds "An organisation into commercial companies has been invented for them" and "All the merchants who are known to have traded between the West and the East are automatically assumed to be Jews", but this author criticises above all "the invention" of Jewish merchants, without contributing anything new with regard to the Rādhāniyya. For his part, Cl. Cahen bases his doubts on certain points of the four itineraries described briefly by the geographer. He finds it astonishing that, in the first, al-Faramā is portrayed as a very busy commercial port and he is surprised that, in the second, Antioch should be the port of disembarkation of the Rādhāniyya, for this ancient city, which had lost much of its importance since the Arab conquest, was not a known market. Furthermore, the name of al-Djābiya is suspect (and it hard to understand how Blachère, *op. cit.*, 28, n. 12, discovered that it refers to "a small locality on the Euphrates", whereas the name in question [*q.v.*] is only that of a small town situated to the south of Damascus, and it seems unlikely that itinerant merchants would have made such a detour. In fact, this toponym features in only one of the two mss. of Ibn Khurradādhbih and was omitted by Ibn al-Faḳīh (see below). On the other hand, if it is accepted that the name of al-Djābiya is not an addition owed to a copyist but simply replaces that of the locality which is thought to be meant, sc. Bālis [*q.v.*], it is not necessarily a fluvial port which is involved, since the text says simply: *thumma yarkabūn fi 'l-Furāt*. The third itinerary caused even greater astonishment to Cl. Cahen, who justifiably described as "incomprehensible" a "maritime detour leading from France or from Spain to the Atlantic coast of Morocco". (This is also the opinion of Hadj-Sadok who, considering the reading *al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā* an error, with reason corrected it to *al-Sūs al-Adnā*, which is closer to reality. It is possible that confusion arose in the mind of the author, who was unfamiliar with the Islamic West, between Sūs and the Maghrib, but such an error does not compromise the veracity of the account.) Then, Cahen found it doubtful that the journey between Kirmān and Sind could have been made by overland route "on the terrible Persian coast". Finally, the fourth itinerary crosses central Europe and, via Khazaria, leads to China by way of the Caspian, Balkh, Transoxiana and the Camp of the Toghuzghuz, in other words through the "traditional passes of the Silk Road". (The word *wurt* in the text should no doubt be read *yūrt* or *yurt*, "tent" or "encampement" [see KHAYMA. iv. Central Asia].)

Without rejecting the whole of the paragraph, Cahen questioned the general image of the "Rahdānites". He doubted that Spain could, in this period, have exported beaver furs, that Jewish merchants would have adopted four quasi-specific itineraries, and that there would have been a "Rahdānite" organisation. He admitted, however, the plausible existence of a kind of association between people speaking various languages among those mentioned above and travelling between the West and the Far East.

This explosive article was bound to provoke reactions among historians. Writing in 1965, B. Lewis (in *EI²*, s.v. IFRANDJ, at iii, 1044b) supported the sceptical attitude of Cahen. In 1970, E. Ashtor expressed equal surprise at certain sections of the itineraries and considered that Ibn Khurradādhbih without doubt "included in his survey material which does not conform to the conditions of his period, such as the journey to the Indies by way of the Red Sea". In his opinion, the geographer's intention was to indicate the principal routes of worldwide commerce, at a time when Jews played a dominant role in exchanges between the Christian and Muslim worlds.

The most detailed response to Cahen has been that of Jacobi who, in his article *Die Rādāniyya*, has offered a veritable monograph comprising: (1) a German translation of the text, in which the four itineraries are clearly separated (with recourse to the passages mentioned above, by Ibn al-Faḳīh and al-Masʿūdī which Marquart was the first to link together in his *Streifzüge*); (2) acceptance of its authenticity; (3) its credibility: discussion of points of detail regarding the languages spoken by the Rādhāniyya, the itineraries (with references, 257 n. 1, to the role of al-Faramā as a commercial port, the role on which Cahen cast doubt). Jacobi contradicts the latter, who had asserted that al-Ubulla was "enclosed within the Muslim city of Baṣra". In regard to the overland itinerary, he sees in the expression al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā a synonym of al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, which is evidently inaccurate. In view of the fact that Ibn Khurradādhbih indicates (84-9, ed.-tr. Hadj-Sadok, 2-10/3-11) a more detailed overland route, there is a temptation to use it to supplement the itinerary across North Africa which is more succinctly described in the passage studied here; but it does not seem appropriate to accept extrapolations of this kind. Jacobi examines the different types

of merchandise mentioned and supplies, for each of them, references which in general do not contradict Ibn Khurradādhbih's version. The religion of the group poses no problem, the role of the Jews in worldwide commerce being well known; its organisation, however, is a mystery. (4) Etymology and origin: it is specifically in regard to the meaning and etymology of the term that Jacobi presents an interesting hypothesis worthy of serious consideration. Recalling that the author of the *K. al-Masālik* was a member of the managerial staff of the postal organisation (*barīd*) and thereby, of an information service, he proposes to see in the word *rādhāniyya*, not a name as such, but a technical term denoting a group of intelligence agents who, being Jews, were able to move from one community to another without attracting too much attention, using their commercial activity as a cover. This interpretation deserves to be taken seriously, but judgment must be suspended so long as there is no new source available to throw a decisive light on this problem.

The dialogue has not stopped here, and Cl. Cahen returned to the attack with an article intitled *Quelques questions sur les Radanites*. He thanks Jacobi for having corrected a few minor errors and judges "plausible, though unproven" his "interpretation of the word *Ra(h)daniya*", but returns to the major questions posed by the problem of the "Radanites". He adds that the text of Ibn Khurradādhbih gives the impression of "an organisation of people travelling from one end to the other along specific itineraries", which appears to conflict with the information supplied a little later by "the documents of the Geniza, according to which there never was a single commercial route directly followed from the West to the Indian Ocean." Above all, how is it to be explained that Ibn Khurradādhbih should be the only one to speak of the Rādhāniyya, that there was no western testimony regarding their journeys and that Europe knew nothing of the Far East?

The latest, chronologically, to take an interest in the Rādhāniyya has been M. Gil (1974), who presents a historical survey of works devoted to this subject and of answers to some of the questions posed by Cahen. Refusing to follow Kmietowicz (see below) and Jacobi, he sets out to study the relative value of the sources (a comparison with Ibn al-Faķīh), the point of departure and the itineraries (on which he comments at length), the meaning of Firandja (which he prefers to interpret as meaning Italy), the types of merchandise transported (which are subjected to thorough analysis) and finally the land of the Rādhānites: Gil revives the notion that they take their name from Rādhān, a toponym which is the object of a very detailed study. The conclusion (323) is that "they were no organisation, nor association, nor group; they only had in common their country of origin."

An issue which has so far been left to one side is the widely debated question of the etymology of the name of the Rādhāniyya. Reinaud was the first to associate it with a "Persian" word, *rāh-dān*, translating it as "knowers of the way", and it is in fact a Persian origin which has been proposed by the scholars who have tackled the subject, with the exception of those who, like Barbier de Meynard or Gil, see Rādhān as an ethnic term. In his *Glossarium* to the *BGA*, De Goeje followed Reinaud, justifying his acceptance of *rāh-dān* with the reading Rāhdāniyya of Ibn al-Faķīh al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] who, in his *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān* (270, tr. H. Massé, *Abrégé du Livre des Pays*, Damascus 1973, 324), summarised the passage of Ibn Khurradādhbih. However, in the course of editing this translation, the author of the present article has established that the Mashhad ms. of the *Mukhtaṣar* also featured *Rādhāniyya*, thus a reading identical to that which De Goeje retained in his edition of the *K. al-Masālik*. In 1907, D. Simonsen returned to the etymological problem and, rejecting the solution of Barbier de Meynard, since the Rādhāniyya came from Europe, he revived Sprenger's hypothesis and suggested that they should be seen as "sea voyagers from the Rhône" (*nautae*) *Rhodanici*. Furthermore in 1931, in a book in Hebrew on the subject of Israel in the diaspora, B. Dinur accepted this etymology, and he was not the only one to do so (see F. Kmietowicz, 166), but it had been rejected as early as 1908 by De Goeje (in his *Opuscula*), for a phonetic reason, a transformation from *o* to *ā* being impossible. Jacobs and Katz, who saw the Rādhāniyya as coming from Rayy [*q.v.*] in Djibāl, where Ibn Khurradādhbih was employed as head of the *barīd*, sought to link their name to this town, although the corresponding ethnic term is Rāzī. In 1957, S.W. Baron considered De Goeje's explanation (= itinerant merchants) more plausible than that of Simonsen. Cl. Cahen (1951, 1964, 499, n. 4) seemed willing to accept *rāhdān*, rejecting *rāhdār* ("custodian of the road"), which could equally well be proposed; he made the point, however, that the orthography of the name of the group is far from being established. He no longer accepted a possible harmonisation with the reading of al-Muķaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taķāsīm*, 30), who mentions a plural *rahādina* and explains it as meaning "sellers of linen and cotton goods". Dozy, who took this reference into account (*Suppl.*, s.v. *r-h-d-n*), added that he had encountered in the ms. of the *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* of al-Mālikī (mid-6th/11th century), the same plural designating (fol. 29b) a quarter of Ķayrawān and (fol. 91b) traders who used their children to sell their merchandise (cf. R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, i, 354, ii, 204); there was also at Ķayrawān a Bāb al-Rahādina (al-Muķaddasī, *op. cit.*, 225; partial ed.-tr. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident musulman au IVᵉ/Xᵉ siècle*, Algiers 1950, 14/15). In 1970, Kmietowicz took a direction radically different from that of all his predecessors, deriving *rādhāniyya* from *veredarii* "couriers" and positing a phonetic evolution *veredarii-rēdārii-rēdhānī*, a somewhat far-fetched notion and one made all the more difficult to justify by the fact that the Latin *veredus* has given to Arabic *barīd* "post and information" and to Berber *abrīd* "road". It emerges that it is precisely espionage which Jacobi had in mind (261-2), accepting the etymology proposed by Reinaud. Finally, the last chronologically, M. Gil (306), is noteworthy for his assertion that the name of these merchants is based *in all probability* on the Syriac *rhadhan*. This rapid survey has shown that, in spite of the erudition or the imagination of scholars, the problem posed by the origin of the term *rādhāniyya* remains unsolved. Other unanswered questions include, whether this name was known throughout the itineraries described, or whether it was current only in the East of the Islamic world or even known only in the services of the *barīd*; was it a kind of password used by spies, assuming that Jacobi's suggestion is to be taken seriously?

What is to be concluded now from examination of the principal works devoted to the Rādhāniyya? If it is accepted that they did really exist—and nobody seriously doubts this—it is beyond doubt that they were merchants who followed numerous itineraries between western Europe and China. On the outward and return journeys they conveyed a number of types of costly merchandise which are carefully listed by Ibn

K͟hurradād͟hbih. The latter also informs us that they spoke numerous languages, and it may be supposed that each individual was familiar with two or three among the languages mentioned and that they would have employed a common traders' argot, probably containing many Hebrew elements. This is all that can be said with confidence.

The scholars whose opinions have been summarised above have posed questions which they have attempted to answer with varying degrees of success. They have seized the opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge of international commerce in the Middle Ages and of the economic role of the Jews, but as regards the Rād͟hāniyya specifically, all their speculations have not brought any discernible progress. For so long as new sources remain undiscovered it is appropriate to avoid both hypercriticism and imprudence and to admit that Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, occasional geographer, musicologist and above all *ṣāḥib al-barīd wa 'l-k͟habar*, constituted himself the echo of information which circulated—perhaps confidentially—in the governmental circles of his time.

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(CH. PELLAT)

RĀDHANPŪR, a former princely state, headed by a Nawwāb [*q.v.*], of British India, at that time in the Pālānpūr [*q.v.*] Agency of Bombay Province, now in the Gujarat State of the Indian Union. It is also the name of its capital (lat. 23° 49′ N., long. 7° 39′ E.), lying 90 km/56 miles to the southwest of Pālānpūr and to the east of the Rann of Cutch.

The rulers of Rādhanpūr traced their descent from a Muslim adventurer who came to India from Iṣfahān about the middle of the 11th/17th century. His descendants became *fawd̲j̲dārs* and farmers of revenue in the Mug͟hal province of Gud̲j̲arāt [*q.v.*]. Early in the 12th/18th century D̲j̲awān Mard K͟hān Bābī, the head of the family at that time, received a grant of Rādhanpūr and other districts (*Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī*, ms. in Ethé, no. 3599, fol. 742). With the decline of the Mug͟hal empire these districts passed into the hands of the Marāthās [*q.v.*], but the Bābī family were confirmed in the possession of Rādhanpūr by Damād̲j̲ī Rāō Gaekwār.

British relations with Rādhanpūr date back to the year 1813 (Aitchison, vi, c). Some years later, the British were called upon to rid Rādhanpūr of plundering tribes from Sind who were committing serious depredations in the Nawwāb's territories. In return for this the Nawwāb agreed to become a tributary of the British government, but a few years later this tribute was remitted because it was felt that the state was unable to bear the expense. After the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, in 1862, the ruler of Rādhanpūr received an adoption *sanad* from the governor-general (*op. cit.*, cii). It was not until 1900 that the D̲j̲orawarsai currency previously in use was discontinued and replaced by British currency.

In the last years of British rule, Rādhanpūr covered an area of 1,150 square miles and supported a population of 70,530, of whom only 8,435 were Muslims.

The town of Rādhanpūr, the capital of the state, had a total population of 11,225, of whom 3,694 were Muslims (1931 Census Report).

Bibliography: See that to PĀLANPŪR, and also *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxi, 22-5.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

AL-**RĀḌĪ BI 'LLĀH**, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD (MUḤAMMAD) B. AL-MUḲTADIR, the twentieth ʿAbbāsid caliph.

He was born in Rabīʿ II 297/December 909; his mother was a slave named Ẓalūm. He was proposed for the caliphate immediately after the assassination of his father al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*], but the choice fell upon al-Ḳāhir [*q.v.*]. The latter had him thrown into prison; after the fall of al-Ḳāhir, he was released and put upon the throne (Djumādā I 322/April 934). As his adviser in this difficult period, al-Rāḍī chose al-Muḳtadir's vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] who asked, however, to be excused on account of his great age, whereupon Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] was given the office. The most influential official, however, continued to be Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt [*q.v.*] and only after his fall in Djumādā I 323/April 935 did Ibn Muḳla gain control of the administration, while the caliph himself fell completely into the background. But Ibn Muḳla's rule did not last long; in Djumādā I 324/April 936 he was seized by al-Muẓaffar b. Yāḳūt, brother of the above-mentioned Muḥammad, and the impotent caliph had to dismiss him and in the same year summon the governor of Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, Muḥammad b. Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*], to Baghdād and entrust him with complete authority as *amīr al-umarāʾ*. This meant a complete breach with the past; the caliph was only allowed to retain the capital and its immediate vicinity and to abandon all influence on the business of government, while Ibn Rāʾiḳ in combination with his secretary decided all the more important questions. Ibn Rāʾiḳ held power for nearly two years; his name was actually mentioned in the *khuṭba* for the reigning dynasty along with that of the caliph; in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 326/September 938, however, he was replaced by Badjkam [*q.v.*].

To the financial difficulties and the constant quarrels of the viziers and *amīrs* there was now added war with foreign foes. In 323/935 al-Rāḍī endeavoured to remove from office the governor of al-Mawṣil Nāṣir al-Dawla [*q.v.*], but failed, and a few years later Badjkam, accompanied by the caliph, attacked the Ḥamdānids in order to force them to pay tribute levied upon them, but had to make peace because the fugitive Ibn Rāʾiḳ suddenly appeared in Baghdād. The war with the Byzantines was also continued; the Ḥamdānids, however, in this war came forward as defenders of Islam. In Egypt Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*] founded the dynasty of the Ikhshīdids and at the same time Badjkam had to fight with the Būyids, who were advancing on several sides and a few years later victoriously entered Baghdād.

In the capital itself al-Rāḍī had to take measures against the fanatical Ḥanbalīs (323/935), who had many followers among the common people and committed all kinds of excesses. They entered private houses, destroyed musicial instruments, ill-treated women singers, poured away wine that they found, interfered in business, annoyed passers-by in the streets, beat Shāfiʿīs and generally behaved as arbitrarily as if they represented a kind of tribunal of the Inquisition.

Al-Rāḍī died in the middle of Rabīʿ I 329/December 940 of dropsy. The Arab historians praise his piety, justice, clemency and generosity as well as his interest in literature and it is said of him, for example (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, 380): "He was the last caliph, by whom a collection of poems exists, the last who retained his independence as a ruler, the last to preach a sermon from the pulpit on Fridays, the last to mix freely with his friends and to welcome men of learning, and the last who followed the principles of the earlier caliphs as regards rank, tokens of favour, servants and chamberlains." This characterisation may well be correct in its main lines, but al-Rāḍī was not independent; he was on the contrary a ready tool in the hands of his viziers and *amīrs*.

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(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

RAḌĪ AL-**DĪN ḤASAN** AL-**ṢAGHĀNĪ** [see AL-ṢAGHĀNĪ].

RADĪF (A.), lit. "one who rides behind", "pillion rider", is used metaphorically in several technical senses (for a poetical figurative use in Turkish, cf. *ordū-yi ẓafer-redīf* "the victorious army [one which has victory on its croup]" in *Tārīkh-i Djewdet*, Istanbul 1270/1853-4, i, 22):

1. In astronomy it has two meanings, which seem, however, not very amply attested: (a) *al-Radīf*, and also, better attested, *al-Ridf*, is the ancient Arabic name for *Dhanab al-Dadjādja*, i.e. the star *Deneb* (α Cygni), called thus because it "rides pillion" to the "Horsemen" (*al-Fawāris*)—δγεζ Cygni. (b) *Radīf* refers to a star or constellation that is rising (*yanūʾu*, cf. also ANWĀʾ) at sunrise, while its opposite (*raḳīb*) is setting. For both meanings see *LʿA* and Lane, s.v., for *al-Ridf* also al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ* 212, 6, and P. Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen in Europa*, Wiesbaden 1959, 82, 143.

2. In Persian and Persianate prosody the term denotes a word or a whole phrase that follows the rhyme letter (*rawiyy*) and recurs in every line of the poem. In Western languages various renditions of the term have been used, such as "over-rhyme" (Schimmel, 21), "echo rhyme" (Bombaci, in *PTF*, ii, pp. xxii, xxv), "refrain" (Thiesen, 76, n. 5), and "hypermeter" (J. Deny, in *EI*¹, s.v. REDĪF). However, "refrain" normally refers to entire lines or even stanzas repeated throughout a poem, while the *radīf* is always shorter than a hemistich, and "hypermeter" denotes a metrically superfluous element, which the *radīf* is decidedly not. The *radīf* is a metrically and semantically necessary element of the line, as Shams-i Ḳays (*Muʿdjam*, 258) and other authorities stress. The following line by Ḥāfiẓ (*q.v.*; *Dīwān*, edd. Ḳazwīnī and Ghanī, no. 233) may serve as an example:

Dast az ṭalab nadāram tā kām-i man bar āyad
yā tan rasad bi-djānān yā djān zi tan bar āyad.

"I do not cease striving, until my desire comes about:

either the body reaches the friend or the soul comes up from the body."

The rhyme (*ḳāfiya*) in this ghazal is *-an* (the *rawiyy* being *-n*) and the *radīf* is *bar āyad*. Clinton (*Manūchihrī*, 51) calls the overall rhyme scheme in such cases very aptly "multiple rhyme", but goes on, as do others as well, to call this ensemble a *radīf*, which is not correct usage: *ḳāfiya* and *radīf* are considered two separate elements.

The length of the *radīf* may vary between one word and several words almost filling the hemistich. Extreme examples are (*radīf*s underlined):

zihī fuzūda dj̲amāl-ē tu zīb u ʾārā rā
s̲h̲ikasta sunbul-i zulf-ē tu mus̲h̲k-i sārā rā
(Rūdakī [*q.v.*], *apud* Elwell-Sutton, 225)

and

sarw-rā gul-bār nabwad w-ar buwad nabwad čunīn
sarw-e gul-ruk̲h̲sār nabwad w-ar buwad nabwad čunīn
dīdam-as̲h̲ way bar sar-ē gulbār u guftam rāstī
sarw dar gulbār nabwad w-ar buwad nabwad čunīn
(K̲h̲ʷādjū [*q.v.*], *apud* Elwell-Sutton, 225)

or, from Čag̲h̲atay Turkish:

Meni s̲h̲aydā ḳila durg̲h̲an bu köngül dür, bu köngül,
K̲h̲ōr u ruswā ḳila durg̲h̲an bu köngül dür, bu köngül.
Oḳ tegin ḳāmatīmīznī ḳara ḳas̲h̲līg̲h̲lar üčün
Muttaṣıl ya ḳila durg̲h̲an bu köngül dür, bu köngül...
Luṭfī [*q.v.*], *apud* J. Eckmann, in *PTF*, ii, 310)

Mere suffixes following the *rawīyy are not considered a radīf* (cf. e.g. Dj̲āmī, *Ḳāfiya*, 1), and statements to the contrary in the secondary literature should be amended. It is true that Naṣīr al-Dīn-i Ṭūsī (*Miʿyār al-as̲h̲ʿār*, 200-1) prefers to consider everything that follows the *rawiyy-cum waṣl* (see below) a *radīf* but, as al-Tahānawī (*Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf*, i, 576, 23-4) notes, this is against the *communis opinio* (*wa īn k̲h̲ilāf-i mutaʿāraf ast*). The strength of this general opinion is shown by the fact that the early modern Turkish critic Muʿallim Nādjī (*Istılahat*, 51) who would likewise subsume the suffixes under the general heading *radīf*, defends his position with a personal statement to this effect (*Aciz kanaatimizce, revîden sonra her ne gelirse redif sayılmak daha doğrudur*). The suffixes, or rather the letters that make up the suffixes, have special names in "orthodox" *ʿilm-i ḳāfiya*, the first letter after the *rawiyy* being called *waṣl*, the second *k̲h̲urūdj*, the third *mazīd*, and the fourth, fifth and sixth—which is said to be the maximum—*nāʾira*.

The *radīf* is supposed to have the same meaning throughout the poem. If it does not, a special artifice results (*radīf mutadj̲ānis*, see al-Tahānawī, *Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf*, i, 576) with complete paronomasia between *radīf*s.

Another specific type is the internal *radīf*, called *ḥādjib*, which precedes the rhyme rather than following it. In the following example the *ḥādjib* is *sulṭān* and the rhyme, *-ūr*:

Sulṭān Malik ast u bar dil-ē sulṭān nūr
har rūz bi-rūy-i ū kunad sulṭān sūr etc.
(Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān, *apud* Elwell-Sutton, 226)

Even more sophisticated is a combination of *ḥādjib* and double rhyme (*d̲h̲u 'l-ḳāfiyatayn*), as in the following lines from Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*), where the first rhyme is *-ān*, followed by the *ḥādjib dārī*, in turn followed by words containing the second rhyme *-ak̲h̲t*:

Ay s̲h̲āh-i zamīn bar āsmān dārī tak̲h̲t
sust ast ʿadū tā tu kamān dārī sak̲h̲t etc.

A poem with *radīf* is called *muraddaf*. This should not be confused with the term *murdaf*, which means "provided with a *ridf*". The *ridf* is a letter of prolongation (*alif, wāw, yāʾ*) immediately preceding the *rawiyy*, as in the Arabic rhymes *nāru, nīru, nūru* (spelled *naHru, niyru, nuwru* [*H* = *alif*]); in Persian rhyme theory there is the additional *ridf-i zāʾid* which denotes a consonant intervening between the *ridf* and the *rawiyy*, as in *dūst* (spelled *duwst*), where *w* is the *ridf*, *s* the *ridf-i zāʾid* and *t* the *rawiyy*. Since both *muraddaf* and *murdaf* are terms used in rhyme theory, confusion is not easily avoided.

As for history and the poetics of the phenomenon, much remains to be studied. The first thing to be said is that the *radīf* is unknown to the Arabs, as a critic like Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn-i Waṭwāṭ (*Ḥadāʾiḳ*, 79-80) was well aware, except, he says, for innovations of the Moderns. As an example he adduces a *ḳiṭʿa* by al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī [*q.v.*] in praise of ʿAlāʾ ad-Dawla K̲h̲ʷārazms̲h̲āh in which the *laḳab* of the *mamdūḥ* is used as *radīf*. First line:

al-faḍlu ḥaṣṣalahū ʿAlāʾu l-Dawlah
wa l-madjdu at̲h̲t̲h̲alahū ʿAlāʾu l-Dawlah

In the Arabic poetry of Persian poets this is actually not uncommon (e.g. K̲h̲āḳānī, *Dīwān*, ed. Sadjdjādī, 950-3, a panegyric on the city of Bag̲h̲dād with its name as *radīf*).

Elwell-Sutton, 176, 178, 225, makes the point that the *radīf* occurs in Persian poetry at a very early date, already in those satirical jingles from the late 7th and early 8th centuries A.D. preserved in Arabic sources. Here the *radīf* is not even preceded by a regular rhyme, but by assonances at best, which may represent an earlier stage in the development. Köprülü, in discussing the origins of the *radīf* (*redīf*) in Turkish poetry, denies that it was taken over from Persian, "car les origines de ce procédé de *redīf* qui, d'ailleurs, est tout à fait conforme à la structure de la langue turque, se trouvent dans l'assonance de la poésie turque ancienne" (*PTF*, ii, 259). It is probably closer to the truth to say that existing rhyme phenomena in pre-Islamic Turkish poetry facilitated the adoption of the Persian *radīf* technique.

Waṭwāṭ alleges that "most" Persian poems have a *radīf* (*Ḥadāʾiḳ, loc. cit.*). In the case of Manūčihrī [*q.v.*] poems with and without *radīf* are about evenly divided (Clinton, *Manūchihrī*, 51). But simple percentages do not tell much without due consideration of the various kinds of *radīf*s that are attested. The most common, and probably most ancient, type is the verbal *radīf* consisting of a simple and mostly rather nondescript verb (cf. the line from Ḥāfiẓ quoted above). This may be expanded into longer phrases and even complete sentences, such as *bar na-tābad bēš az īn* "more than this is not feasible" serving as a *radīf* in a *ḳaṣīda* of seventy-nine lines by K̲h̲āḳānī (*q.v.*; Reinert, *Ḫāqānī*, 40; cf. *Dīwān*, 337-40). As for nominal *radīf*s, K̲h̲āḳānī does not follow the fad of his time which was to choose just any noun in order to display one's artistic virtuosity; the nouns he selects always have a bearing on the theme of the poem, such as using *k̲h̲āk* "dust", as a *radīf* in a dirge of forty-two lines (*ibid.*; cf. *Dīwān*, 237-9), or the noun construct *sag-i kūy-at*, "the dog of your street", in a *g̲h̲azal* of fifteen lines in which the poet describes himself as the most despicable dog in the beloved's lane (Schimmel, 403, n. 26, cf. *Dīwān*, 575). These nominal *radīf*s can acquire an iconic character, as in a *tardjīʿ-band* by Dj̲annatī Biyā, quoted by ʿAwfī (*Lubāb*, ed. Browne, ii, 394), where they denote various precious stones (*gawhar, laʿl, zumurrud*), thus forming a necklace of sorts for the poem itself (Schimmel, 156). This possibility is also alluded to in a poem by the Mug̲h̲al poet As̲h̲raf who says about a celadon bowl with craquelé glaze:

You cannot describe it in a quatrain or a *g̲h̲azal* -
I think of a *ḳaṣīda* with the *radīf* "Hair"
(Schimmel, 149).

Similarly, almost every poet in Persia, Turkey, and

Muslim India attempted at least one poem with the *radīf gul*, "rose" (Schimmel, 389, n. 65), and in Ottoman poetry such poems with *gül* (and also *nergis*) as *radīf* almost form subgenres of the *ḳaṣīda* [see RABĪʿIYYĀT, toward the end].

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(W.P. HEINRICHS)

3. In Turkish military usage. Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] gave the name of *redīf* (*ʿasākir redīfe-yi menṣūre*) to the reserve army created in 1834 (Jouanin and van Gaver, *Turquie*, 425). The historian Luṭfī (iv, 144), speaking of the project for this army, under the year 1249/1833-4, explains the meaning of the term by saying that it was a force that "came after" the regular army (*muwaẓẓafe-ye redīf olaraḳ*). They were, therefore, not soldiers who had, at need, to mount behind the cavalry on the croup, like the Roman *velites*. *Redīf* was contrasted with *niẓām* or *ʿasākir-i niẓāmiyye* or *ʿasākir-i muwaẓẓafe*, taken in the strict sense of active or regular army (standing army), and with *iḥtiyāṭ* "reserve of the regular army". For the lack of an exact equivalent, we may say "militia" in English and "armée de reserve" or "garde nationale" in French. The German term "Landwehr" is perhaps nearest to it, but in the former Prussian rather than the Austrian sense. Sometimes the *redīf* are included in the *niẓāmiyye*, taking the latter term in a wider sense of regular or disciplined troops (synonym *müretteb*). Luṭfī (*loc. cit.*) calls the *redīf bir newʿ-i ʿasākir-i niẓāmiyye* "a kind of regular troops".

The characteristic feature of the *redīf* army was the existence of permanent cadres, whence its mixed character. It was linked with the regular army by its officers and with the reserve by its men (*efrād-ī redīfe*). It was the object of its creators that this army should provide a large number of men, if necessary, without imposing too long a period of service on the rural population (Luṭfī, *op. cit.*).

It was decided from the first that the *redīf* should consist of battalions (*tabur*), and, indeed, this organisation by battalion depots (*tabur dāʾireleri*) remained in force as long as the *redīf* existed. The commanders of these battalions (*biñbashî*) were at first chosen from the chief local families (*maḥalleriñ khānedānîndan*). The first battalions formed in 1250/1834-5 were those of the *sandjaḳs* [*q.v.*] of Ḳaraḥiṣār Ṣāḥib, Anḳara Kangîrî (Čankîrî), Siroz and Menteshe. Ismāʿīl Bey, hereditary Kurdish governor of Palu, was appointed colonel of the three battalions in the *ḳaḍāʾ*s known as those of the "Imperial Mines" (*meʿādin-i hümāyūn*) in the *eyālet* of Sīwās (Luṭfī, iv, 171). There were three to four battalions to the *sandjaḳ*, thus 10 to 12 to the *eyālet*. The officers received a quarter of the usual pay, but were only expected to serve and wear uniform two days a week (Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netāʾidj ül-wuḳūʿāt*, iv, 109).

In 1252/1836-7, the *redīf* was organised in wide groups with a high command: *müshīrlik* (*müshürlük*) or "marshal-ship" [see MÜSHĪR] of *redīf*, conferred upon the *wālī*s. The first were those of the *eyālet*s of Ḳaramān (Ḳonya), Khudāwendigār (Bursa: guard or *khāṣṣe*), Anḳara, Aydîn, Erzurum and Edirne. At the same time, plans were made to raise the money required for this purpose. The *wālī*-marshals were given the *ḥarwānī* (*kharmānī*) or cloaks of their new rank. Just as the troops of the line (*menṣūre*) were distinguished from those of the guard (*khāṣṣe*), so there were *redīf-i menṣūre* and *redīf-i khāṣṣe*. The appointment of commanders of divisions was to follow (for details, see the *Taḳrīr-i ʿālī* or report of the grand vizier Meḥmed Emīn Raʾūf Pasha, in Luṭfī, v, 165-70). If we may believe the *khaṭṭ-ī hümāyūn* [*q.v.*] promulgated on this occasion by Maḥmūd II, these first steps gave every satisfaction (*ibid.*, 74).

When the Military School (*mekteb-i ḥarbiyye*) instituted in 1251/1835-6 began to supply officers, the *redīf* under arms was converted into active forces and the officers were sent back to their *odjāḳs* (*Netāʾidj ül-wuḳūʿāt*, iv, 109-10). The service as *redīf* (*khidmet-i redīfe*) was now definitely to assume the character of a kind of period of service in the reserve or intermittent service, the duration of which (*müddet-i redīfe*) was to be fixed under conditions which we shall explain below.

In the *khaṭṭ-ī hümāyūn* of Gülkhāne (30 November 1839), there is an allusion to an approaching improvement in the system of regional recruiting. In 1838, five years had been fixed as the period of service in the regular army, previously practically unlimited (one saw young married soldiers leaving their families for life), but this measure did not immediately make its effect felt (cf. von Moltke, *Lettres sur l'Orient*, n.d., 211, letter no. xlvii).

On 6 September 1843, the military law of the *serʿasker* Riḍā Pasha (Engelhardt, i, 71) was promulgated, a law of fundamental importance, half-French and half-German in character, the principles of which survived even into the early Republican period; it confirmed the period of regular service at five years (later reduced to four), to be followed by a period of seven years during which a *redīf* could be recalled to the colours for a month each year (later every two years). Each *ordu* (army corps) was to have its *redīf* contingent (*ṣînf-ī redīf*) placed in time of peace under the orders of a brigadier-general (*liwā*, brigade) who lived at the headquarters of the *ordu*. In 1853 (Ubicini, i, 456) the *redīf* was organised into 4 (out of 6) *ordu*s, namely, those of *khāṣṣe* (Üsküdār [Asia] and Izmīr), Dereseʿādet (Istanbul and Anḳara), Rumeli (Manastîr) and Anatolia (Harput). The *ordu*s of ʿArabistān and ʿIrāḳ were still to be organised. Ubicini adds this observation: "By means of this organisation the government has secured....a force at its disposal equal to the regular army and capable of

being moved in a few weeks either to the line of the Balkans or to any other point in the empire." According to Bianchi (*Guide de la conversation*, 1852, 230), the organised reserve (*müretteb redīf*) was then 150,000 men compared with 300,000 of the regular army.

Ḥüseyn ʿAwnī Pas͟ha's law of 1869, more clearly French in character (Aristarchi, iii, 514; Engelhardt, ii, 37 ff.), provided for 4 years' active service and one of *iḥtiyāṭ* or in the active reserve, a period of 6 years in the *redīf* in two bands (*ṣinf-i muḳaddem and ṣinf-i tālī*) of 3 years each (according to Engelhardt, of 4 and 2 years respectively). In practice, in 1877 there were 3 bands, the third (*ṣinf-i t͟hālit͟h*) being represented by the territorial army (*mustaḥfiẓ*) then mobilised (Zboiński, 98). A conscript who obtained a lucky number in the draw was drafted directly into the *redīf* army (art. 17).

The law of 27 Ṣafar 1304/13 Tes͟hrīn-i t͟hānī 1302 (25 November 1886; résumé by Lamouche, 77, and Young, ii, 394) prepared by a commission of reorganisation which included Muẓaffar Wālī Riḍā Pas͟ha and von der Goltz Pas͟ha, fixed the period of *redīf* service at 9 years, but was soon afterwards followed by a special law (*redīf ḳanunu*) of 10 Muḥarram 1305/28 September 1887. According to this, which was, however, not put into force till 1892, the period of *redīf* service was 8 years. The ranks in the *redīf* were the same as in the regular army from general of division down to sergeant-major. These officers formed at the same time the personnel of the recruiting offices for the whole army.

According to the law regulating the uniforms of the army on land (*elbise-yi ʿaskeriyye niẓām-nāmesi*) of 29 Djumādā I 1327/5 Ḥazīrān 1325 (18 June 1909), the *redīf* soldiers wore as distinctive badge a dark green (*neftī*) piping (*zīh*, Pers. *zih*, Ar. *zīḳ*) at the bottom of the collar (*yaḳa*) of the tunic (*djaket* or *djeket*, modern spelling *caket*, *ceket*). The officers wore a piece of cloth of the same colour 7 cm in length fastened on the collar of the undress tunic (*ceket*) or the full dress tunic (*setre*, older *setri*; cf. Pers. *sudre*) (*Düstūr, Tertīb-i t͟hānī*, i, 276; A. Biliotti and Aḥmad Sedād, *Législation ottomane*, Paris 1912, 171 ff.).

The *redīf* system was abandoned by the Young Turks. The law of 18 Ramaḍān 1330/18 Ag͟hustos 1328 (31 August 1912), without proclaiming the dissolution of the corps, ordered the formation of units of *mustaḥfiẓ* with elements furnished by the battalion depots in the second inspection (*müfettis͟hlik*) or *redīf* (*Düstūr, Tertīb-i t͟hānī*, iv, 615). The Young Turks were reproached for this measure, and some even saw in it the cause of the Turkish defeat in the Second Balkan War.

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(J. Deny)

RAḌIYYA, in full, Raḍiyyat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, female sultan of Dihlī during the period of the Slave Kings (634-8/1236-40) and daughter of the Sultan Iltutmus͟h [*q.v.*] by a daughter of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak. She was the only female ruler in mediaeval Islamic India, and her rule was a source of wonder to later Indo-Muslim historians.

In 629/1231 she was appointed by her father Iltutmus͟h to govern Dihlī whilst he was away campaigning against Gwalior [see GWĀLIYĀR], and shortly afterwards he nominated Raḍiyya as his heir. However, when in 634/1236 he died, the army commanders and courtiers disregarded his wishes and raised to the throne one of his sons, Rukn al-Dīn Fīrūz. Fīrūz wasted his time in riotous living, all power being in the hands of his mother S͟hāh Turkān. The latter's excesses led to a popular revolt. Raḍiyya appeared in red garments before the Dihlī populace, and they and a section of the army raised her to the throne, despite traditionalist objections to a woman ruler. She was astute enough to steer a course between the factions of the Turkish commanders, favouring instead the *Ḥabas͟hī* Malik Djamāl al-Dīn Yāḳūt, the *amīr-i āk͟hur* [*q.v.*]. Only towards the end of her reign did she appear in men's clothing and unveiled.

Eventually, the Turkish *amīrs* rebelled against her rule, and deposed and imprisoned her, replacing her by her half-brother Bahrām S͟hāh (Ramaḍān 638/March-April 1240). However, the governor of Bhattinda [*q.v.*], Ik͟htiyār al-Dīn Altuniya, to whom she had been entrusted, decided to espouse her cause and married her. The two of them advanced towards Dihlī with their forces, but were defeated by the new sultan, Bahrām S͟hāh, near Kaithal, captured, and both put to death (Rabīʿ II 638/December 1240), Raḍiyya having reigned three-and-a-half years.

Bibliography: The only contemporary, in part eye-witness, source for her reign is Djūzdjānī's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī, Kābul 1342-3/1963-4, i, 457-62, tr. Raverty, i, 637-48; see also ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. A.S. Usha, Madras 1948, and Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Mubārak-S͟hāhī*, ed. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, Calcutta 1931. Of secondary sources, see M.A. Ahmad, *Political history and institutions of the early Turkish empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.)*, Lahore 1949; A.B.M. Habibullah, *The foundation of Muslim rule in India*, Allahabad 1961.

(M. Athar Ali)

RADJʿA (A.) (or *karra*), lit. "return", a term that has several distinct meanings in the doctrines of S͟hīʿī groups:

(1) The passing of the soul into another body either human or animal (i.e. metempsychosis), or

(2) the transmigration of the spirit of holiness from one Imām to the next. Both are more usually referred to as *tanāsuk͟h*. It was mainly members of various *g͟hulāt* sects [*q.v.*] that believed in them.

(3) Return of power to the S͟hīʿa (see further under no. 5).

(4) Return from concealment, usually of a particular Imām at the end of his occultation (*g͟hayba* [*q.v.*]). Already ʿUmar is said to have initially denied Muḥammad's death, arguing that he had gone into temporary concealment, like Moses before him. Belief in the return of an Imām is first attested among various chiliastic movements in the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods. A group of Sabaʾīs, the followers of ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*], for example, reportedly held that ʿAlī was not dead and would return to install a reign of jusice; similarly, Abū Karib, founder of the Kuraybiyya subsect of the Kaysāniyya [*q.vv.*], denied that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had died and predicted that he would return to wreak vengeance on the Umayyads. These beliefs are reflected in the poetry of Kut͟hayyir [*q.v.*] and later of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*]. Belief in the disappearance and future return of the Imām as Mahdī is characteristic of many Wāḳifī sects. It some-

times incorporates docetic elements: the corpse taken to be that of the Imām is said actually to have belonged to someone else. In Twelver Shīʿism the term *radjʿa* ordinarily has the sense given in the next paragraph, and the most commonly used term for the appearance of the last Imām is *ẓuhūr*.

(5) The return to life of some of the dead before the Resurrection. The earliest adherents of this doctrine are also to be found among subsects of the Sabaʾiyya and Kaysāniyya. Thus some Sabaʾīs claimed that ʿAlī was dead but would be brought back to life (*yubʿathu*) together with others before the Resurrection; and the followers of the Kaysānī Ḥayyān al-Sarrādj believed that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had died in the Raḍwā mountains and would return to life with his supporters before the *yawm al-ḳiyāma*. In Imāmī reports, however, Ḥayyān is said to have denied the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and to have predicted that, like Jesus, he would return (see e.g. Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl al-dīn*, Nadjaf 1389/1390, 34-5). Early proponents of the idea of *radjʿa* are said to have included Djābir b. Yazīd al-Djuʿfī and Bashshār b. Burd [*q.vv.*].

By the early ʿAbbāsid period, belief in *radjʿa* had spread among a number of Zaydī groups, though it was rejected by mainstream Zaydism; more significantly, it became a constituent element of Imāmī, and subsequently of Twelver, Shīʿism. The doctrine is described by al-Ashʿarī (ed. Ritter, 46) as common to most of the Rāfiḍa [*q.v.*]; and al-Khayyāṭ (*K. al-Intiṣār*, 97), who ascribes it to the Rāfiḍa as a whole, asserts that they concealed it from outsiders—a claim which appears to find support in Imāmī texts.

According to Imāmī exegetes, there are a number of Ḳurʾānic verses which prove that the *radjʿa* will take place. Already Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] is said to have interpreted the *maʿād* of XXVIII, 85, as referring to the *radjʿa*. Other verses repeatedly cited are II, 243, 259, XVII, 6, XXIV, 55, XXVIII, 5-6, and particularly XXVII, 83 ("On the day when We shall muster out of every nation a troop"). There is also a Shīʿī *ḳirāʾa* [*q.v.*] of III, 185 ("Every soul shall taste of death"), in which the word *wa-manshūra* ("and shall be brought back to life") is added to the canonical text and interpreted as referring to the *radjʿa* (al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar baṣāʾir al-daradjāt*, 17).

Some Imāmī traditions say that the *radjʿa* will occur before the coming of the Mahdī, some place it during his coming, and some after his coming. The identity of the Imāms who will be brought back to life was likewise a moot point. A number of traditions refer only to al-Ḥusayn, emphasising that he will reign until he reaches a great age. According to other traditions, al-Ḥusayn will be followed by ʿAlī (often referred to as *ṣāḥib al-karrāt*), who will avenge himself on all those who fought against him. Elsewhere it is claimed that all Imāms (with the exception of the Mahdī) and all prophets will be brought back to life to fight at ʿAlī's side. In addition, some of their followers and opponents will also be returned; in a prelude to the events of the final Day of Judgment, the followers will triumph and the opponents will be punished for their deeds. Then both parties will die to await the Resurrection and their respective eternal reward or punishment. The opponents are typically identified as Ḳurashīs or Umayyads; they will be decapitated, or else the Mahdī will cut off the hands and legs of some and will crucify or gouge out the eyes of others. There is agreement that the *radjʿa* (which is sometimes referred to as *ḥashr khāṣṣ*, "specific resurrection", in contradistinction to the Resurrection which is the *ḥashr ʿāmm*) will involve believers and unbelievers only from Muḥammad's community, and not from earlier communities.

The growing influence of Muʿtazilism on Imāmī thought during the Buwayhid period did not lead to the rejection of the doctrine of *radjʿa*, which remained a subject of dispute between the two sides. It was perhaps in order to accommodate Muʿtazilī objections that a minority among the Imāmiyya interpreted *radjʿa* as referring to the return of power (*dawla* [*q.v.*]) to the Shīʿa during the time of the Mahdī; but this view was rejected by the leading Imāmī scholars of the Buwayhid period. Their main concern was to prove that there was no contradiction between the doctrine of *radjʿa* and Muʿtazilī views about reason and divine justice. A case in point is al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), who was told by a Muʿtazilī critic that if *radjʿa* were to take place, this would give the enemies of Shīʿism a chance to repent and thus escape punishment. Al-Mufīd's answer is that the Imāms have made it clear that these enemies will never repent; and even if they were to do so, God would not accept their repentance, just as He did not accept the repentance of Pharaoh. The Muʿtazilī argues that if this were so, then the *radjʿa* would constitute an enticement to disobedience (*al-ighrāʾ bi 'l-ʿiṣyān*) during the period of renewed life that followed it, since God's enemies would know that even if they were to change their ways, their repentance would not be accepted. Al-Mufīd responds that their past experience of punishment after death will deter them from adding to it by further evil deeds when brought back to life (al-Murtaḍā, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra*, Beirut 1405/1985, 115-9, cited in McDermott, *The theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, 268-9). The subject of *al-ighrāʾ bi 'l-ʿiṣyān* is also tackled by the Muʿtazilī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī al-Kaʿbī (d. 319/931). He asserts that if people were to know that they would have a chance to repent following the *radjʿa*, this would incite them to acts of disobedience in this life. Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) replies that since only some will be brought back to life, and it is not known who they are, no-one can safely act on the assumption that he will be among them (*Tibyān*, i, 255).

This doctrine of *radjʿa* continued to be a favourite subject of attack by opponents of Shīʿism, who claimed that it was a borrowing from Judaism that had no basis in Islam. Such criticism led some Imāmī apologists to minimise its importance. For example, the contemporary Lebanese scholar Muḥammad Djawād Maghniyya maintains that not all Imāmī doctors adhere to this doctrine; he asserts that it is only transmitted in reports (*aḥādīth, akhbār*) of a type which may be accepted or rejected, and that it is not among the principles of the religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*) (*al-Shīʿa fi 'l-mīzān*, Beirut n.d., 54-5).

(6) The return to life of all of the dead before the Resurrection (sometimes referred to as *al-radjʿa al-ʿāmma*). Belief in this idea is ascribed to a number of extremist Shīʿī sects.

The term *radjʿiyya* or *aṣḥāb al-radjʿa* may refer to adherents of any of the doctrines described here.

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RĀDJĀ GANESH (the latter part of the name being the Hindu name Gaṇésa, appearing in Arabic script as G.n.s or G.n.sī), a local Hindu landowner of northern Bengal, who successfully usurped authority in Bengal during the latter years of the first period of power of the Ilyās Shāhī line, probably in the first decade or so of the 9th/15th century.

The sources are unclear, but it seems that Rādjā Ganesh wielded the real power in the state under the nominal rule of the Ilyāsids, and then in 817/1414 placed on the throne his young son Djadu, who became a Muslim and assumed the name of Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh. The latter ruled until 835/1432, when he was succeeded by his son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, who held power in Bengal till the restoration of the Ilyās Shāhīs in 841/1437. This family of Islamised Hindus had clearly enjoyed considerable support from both the class of Muslim landholders and notables and the Hindus, and it had ruled over a powerful sultanate which extended as far as the Kusi River in the north-west of Bengal to Chittagong [*q.v.*] in the south-east.

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RADJAB, the seventh month of the Islamic calendar, was observed as a holy month in the period of the Djāhiliyya in spring. It was the month of the sacrifices of the *ʿatāʾir* offered to the pagan deities as a token of gratitude for the augmentation of their flocks and herds. It was also the time of invocations of their deities to increase the number of their flocks. It was as well the month of the sacrifices of the *furuʿ*, the firstlings of the flocks and herds. The owner of the flock had to sacrifice one ewe out of fifty (or hundred) of his herd.

The holy month of Radjab was also the month of peace in the Arab peninsula; the tribes refrained from raids and warfare. The month was called *al-aṣamm* "the deaf" because no sound of weapons was heard during that month and *al-aṣabb* "the pouring" because the unbelievers of Mecca used to say that the mercy is pouring forth in this month. Another by-name of Radjab was *al-radjm* "the stoning" because the Satans were stoned in that month and were expelled from the dwellings of the tribes. Other by-names attached to Radjab were: *al-muḳīm* "the constant," because its sanctity was a firm one, since Radjab is one of the four *ḥurum* months; *al-harim* "the aged" because the sanctity of the month was an ancient one,

dating from the time of Muḍar b. Nizār; as the tribes of Muḍar venerated this month, it was also named *radjab Muḍar*. Because of the comprehensive peace among the tribes and their abstaining from hostilities, the month was called *munṣil al-all* and *munṣil al-asinna*, pointing to the fact that the spearheads were removed, weapons laid down and no fighting among tribes was launched. The name *al-muʿallā* "the elevated" was attached to Radjab because it was a month highly respected among the Arab tribes. The name *al-mubriʾ* "the clearing [from fault]" was given to the month because warlike activity was given up, no iniquity was committed and no act of hypocrisy was perpetrated during the month. A peculiar name granted to Radjab was *al-muḳashḳish* "the exonerating," denoting that Radjab distinguished between the people who stuck to the tenets enjoining abstention from fighting during the month and those who violated the sanctity of the month by fighting. Finally, the month was called *al-ʿatīra* because the sacrifices of the *ʿatīra* were carried out during this month.

According to tradition, the month of Radjab was a time of devotional practices, exertions and fasting. Invocations against the iniquitous and the wrong-doers in this month were especially efficacious.

The opinions of the scholars of Islam as to the permission to continue these practices in Islam were divergent, controversial and even contradictory. The differences in their opinions are clearly exposed in the utterances attributed to the Prophet in the collections of *ḥadīth*.

An utterance attributed to the Prophet and recorded in the early collection of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (d. 211/826) says that the Prophet approved of the sacrifice of the *ʿatīra* which the people used to practice in Radjab. The Prophet said, "Do it, and name it *al-radjība*."

The utterance of the Prophet enjoining sacrifice of the *ʿatīra* and naming it the *radjība* is opposed by an utterance attributed to the Prophet enjoining annulment of the sacrifice of the firstlings and the sacrifice of the Radjabī *ʿatīra* . It is recorded in the same collection and is formulated plainly: *lā faraʿa wa-lā ʿatīra* "there is no [sacrifice] of the firstlings nor of the *ʿatīra*."

This prohibitive tradition was, however, changed by the interpretation given to it by al-Shāfiʿī: there is no sacrifice of the *ʿatīra* nor of the *faraʿa* "as an obligatory practice", adds al-Shāfiʿī. This comment of his changes, of course, the meaning of the tradition and its significance.

In the same way was interpreted the utterance of the Prophet *ʿalā ahlⁱ kullⁱ baytⁱⁿ an yadhbaḥū shātᵃⁿ fī kullⁱ radjabⁱⁿ wa-fī kullⁱ aḍḥā shātᵃⁿ*. The expression *ʿalā kullⁱ ahlⁱ baytⁱⁿ* is, however, interpreted not as an enjoinment but only as a recommendation. The utterance has to be understood as recommendation for every family group to sacrifice a ewe during every month of Radjab and to sacrifice a ewe on every *aḍḥā* celebration.

An utterance of the Prophet about the *ʿatīra* permits the sacrifice of the *ʿatīra* in any month of the year and enjoins the practice of charity, dividing among the poor the meat of the slaughtered beasts. It is obvious that the sanctity of Radjab was, according to this tradition, fairly limited, or even abolished, while the advice of charity was especially stressed.

A tradition reported on the authority of ʿĀʾisha says that the Prophet enjoined the slaughter of the firstling of the herd numbering fifty, which tallies with the prevalent Djāhilī practice. But another tradition attributed to the Prophet says, "Practice the sacrifice of the *faraʿa* if you want". Thus the sacrifice was left to the discretion of the believer.

A peculiar utterance of the Prophet turns the sacrifice of the *faraʿa* into a voluntary practice, with a special reservation of the Prophet changing the aim of the practice. The Prophet permitted the practice but remarked that it would be preferable to feed the camel until it grows up and to ride it on expeditions and raids for the cause of God; similarly, it is preferable to feed the ewe until it grows up, to sacrifice it and to divide the meat among the poor.

Similarly, the utterance of the Prophet in which he is said to have approved of the *faraʿa*, saying *al-faraʿa ḥaḳḳ*, was considerably changed by the added reservation that it would be better to feed the destined sacrificial animal until it grows up and can be used to ride on it in a raid for the cause of God (in the case of a camel) or to slaughter it (in the case of a ewe) and give the meat as charity to a needy widow.

Scholars of Islam stress that the slaughter of animals in Radjab was continued in the first period of Islam and was only later abrogated. Al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388/998) considered the *ʿatīra* compatible with the principles of Islam: it was in the period of Islam sacrificed to God in contradistinction to the Djāhilī *ʿatīra*, which was sacrificed to the idols. There is indeed a report saying that Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/729) used to slaughter the *ʿatīra* in Radjab.

Strictly orthodox scholars stressed that there is no valid tradition concerning the virtues of Radjab. There were, however, scholars, especially from among the pious and devoted, who favoured the widely-circulated popular traditions allegedly uttered by the Prophet, emphasising the virtues of Radjab and encouraging the carrying-out of the various practices considered laudable and right. The Prophet is said to have named Radjab "the month of God", *shahr Allāh*, because it was the month of the people of the *ḥaram* (i.e. the people of Mecca) who were called *āl Allāh*. The problem of the sacrifices during the month of Radjab was only one aspect of the disputes among the Muslim scholars as to the ritual practices performed in the Muslim community in that month.

A significant tradition ascribed to the Prophet singled out the peculiar sanctity of three months of the year: "Radjab is the month of God, Shaʿbān is my month and Ramaḍān is the month of my people." As the month of Radjab was put on par with the two other months there was an obvious tendency to competition between these holy months regarding the rewards of the ritual practices performed during these months, the exceptional position of certain nights of the months and the prayers during these months. The competition between Radjab and Shaʿbān is clearly presented in a tradition reported on the authority of Zayd b. Aslam. The Prophet was informed about people fasting during Radjab. He remarked, "How far are they from the virtues of the people fasting during Shaʿbān!" Zayd observed, "Most of the fasting of the Prophet, except in Ramaḍān, was in Shaʿbān." The partisans of Radjab quoted a report of Ibn al-ʿAbbās saying that the Prophet used to fast so many days in Radjab that his Companions did not think that he would break his fast; and he used to break his fast so that they doubted whether he would resume it.

As against the people venerating Shaʿbān, the partisans of Radjab had recourse to utterances attributed to the Prophet in which the fasting of Radjab was recommended and very high rewards were promised to people who were fasting in it. The Prophet is said to have stated that the month of Radjab is of a high position and that the good deeds of the believer gain multiple rewards. He who fasts one day in Radjab is in the position of a believer who would fast a year. He

who fasts nine days, for him the gates of Hell are closed; he who fasts eight days, for him the eight doors of Paradise are opened; he who fasts ten days, God will fulfill for him every wish; he who fasts fifteen days, a herald will announce from Heaven that God forgave him every sin which he had committed in the past. In the month of Radjab God carried Nūḥ (Noah) in the ark; he fasted during Radjab, and bade his people to fast during it, thus expressing their gratitude to God for their salvation.

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said that he had in his possession a tradition recording the rewards for fasting of every day of Radjab; he considered, however, the *ḥadīth* a forged one. The fasting of the whole month of Radjab was nevertheless frowned upon and sometimes forbidden in order not to create a similarity with Ramaḍān. The practices of fasting during Radjab were censured by Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and people of the *ṣaḥāba*, says Ibn Taymiyya.

Some nights of Radjab are considered to be replete with God's graces. In the first night of Radjab, God will grant every supplication of the believer. It is one of the five chosen nights in the year. Another prayer strongly censured by Ibn Taymiyya was the prayer practised in the midst of Radjab called *ṣalāt Umm Dāwūd*.

A night highly praised by those who observed Radjab was the night of the *ṣalāt al-raghāʾib* "the night of the prayer for extensive and desirable gifts"; it starts on the eve of the first Friday of Radjab; the prayers and supplications contained hundreds of invocations, prostrations, *rakʿas* and recitations of some sūras of the Kurʾān. The believer is requested to fast on Thursday preceding this night. A night of Radjab distinguished by the rich rewards is the night of the twenty-seventh of Radjab. The believer spending this night in vigils: praying; thanking God; repeating a hundred times the various phrases of gratitude, the oneness of God, invocations and supplications; performing prostrations and *rakʿas*; and reading a sūra of the Ḳurʾān and fasting the next day, will be highly rewarded by God; he will attain God's grace as if he fasted a hundred years and practiced vigils for a hundred years. On that night, Muḥammad was sent as a prophet.

The significant events connected with the life of the Prophet which allegedly happened in Radjab turn the month into one of the most distinctive periods of the year. According to a tradition, the mother of the Prophet conceived him on the first evening of Radjab; another tradition claims that he was born in Radjab. Some traditions assert that the event of the *laylat al-miʿrādj* occured in Radjab. Other traditions claim that the date of the *isrāʾ* was the twenty-seventh day of Radjab.

The struggle of the orthodox scholars against those practices of Radjab widely approved by pious ascetics and Ṣūfīs was not entirely successful. These practices have survived and form until the present time an essential part of Muslim popular belief and ritual.

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(M.J. Kister)

RĀDJĀSTHĀN [see Suppl.].

RADJAZ (A.) indicates an Arab metre. The proper meaning of the word is "tremor, spasm, convulsion (as may occur in the behind of a camel when

it wants to rise)". It is not clear how this word became a technical term in prosody. The other etymological meaning of *radjaz* "thunder, rumble, making a noise", may perhaps be taken into consideration. In that case, there might be an allusion to the iambic, monotonous and pounding rhythm of these poems (cf. *ka-mā samiʿta radjaza l-ṣawāʿiḳī*, Abū Nuwās, ed. E. Wagner, ii, 299; for the etymology, see also T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 153-8). A poem composed in this metre is called *urdjūza*.

1. Prosody

In the system of Arabic metres, the *radjaz* occupies a special place. Whereas in other metres the lines of verse consist of two symmetrical half-lines, separated by a caesura, the line of verse of the *radjaz* is in one part only and has no caesura. In general, the *radjaz* lines are only half as long as the lines of other metres. The basic element is the dipody which consists of four syllables. The first and second syllables can be long or short, but the third one must be short and the fourth one long ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ –. Three such dipodies form a trimeter, which is by far the most widely used form of the *radjaz* poem. In its acatalectic form it has the following scheme: ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – | ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – | ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – (e.g. *innaka lā tadrī ghadan mā fī ghadī*, Ruʾba, no. 20, v. 23). In the catalectic form, the second syllable in the third dipody must be long, while the third (short) syllable is missing: ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – | ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – | ⏓ – – (e.g. *naskī 'l-ʿidā ghayẓan ṭawīla l-djaʾzī*, Ruʾba, no. 23, v. 10). A brachycatalectic variant seldom occurs.

Next to the trimeter there is a less frequent dimeter (*manhūk al-radjaz*), which again can be acatalectic, catalectic or (rarely) brachycatalectic. An example is Abū Nuwās's panegyric poem for al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, which begins as follows: *wa-baldatin fīhā zawar* | *ṣaʿrāʾa tukhṭā fī ṣaʿar* | *martin idhā 'l-dhiʾbu ḳtafar* (*Dīwān*, ed. E. Wagner, i, 161 ff.; Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān b. Djinnī, *Tafsīr urdjūzat Abī Nuwās*, ed. Muḥammad Bahdjat al-Atharī, Damascus 1966; see also E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 216). A monometrical *radjaz* poem consisting of 17 verses was once composed by Salm al-Khāsir (*urdjūza ʿalā djuzʾ wāḥid* or *muḳaṭṭaʿ al-radjaz*, cf. G.E. von Grunebaum, in *Orientalia*, N.S. xix [1950], 66, no. 15).

By analogy with the other metres, the *radjaz* is sometimes constructed as a distich. In this case, two verses are linked to one another, the first verse becoming the first half-line, the second verse the second half-line. The end of the first verse, lying between the two halves, becomes the caesura, and the rhyme occurs only in the second (half-)verses. Examples are the poems by Ḳaʿnab b. Ḍamra al-Ghaṭafānī, al-Naẓẓār b. Hāshim al-Faḳʿasī (cf. al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar, *K. al-Ikhtiyārayn*, Damascus 1974, no. 54; Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *K. al-Manthūr wa 'l-manẓūm*, xii/1, Beirut 1977, 103-8), Ibn al-Rūmī (ed. Naṣṣār, i, no. 165), Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Ibn Durayd (the famous *Maḳṣūra*, ed. Maḥmūd Djāsim Muḥammad, Beirut 1986, with commentary by Ibn Khālawayh), al-Maʿarrī, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, and others. Such a distichal poem was composed by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nafāda (d. 601/1204), who in a playful way introduced four different rhymes in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 6th dipodies (cf. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii, 44).

A further variety of the old *urdjūza* is the *muzdawidj* [*q.v.*] poem, in which the principle according to which one and the same rhyme is obligatory for the entire poem is abandoned. Instead, only two verses rhyme. This type of poem came into being in the ʿAbbāsid period. By restricting the constraint imposed by the rhyme, it became possible to compose narrative, historical or didactic poems of some length. In this way, Abān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiḳī (d. *ca.* 200/815; Sezgin, ii, 515-16) retold the book of fables *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] (cf. al-Ṣūlī, *K. al-Awrāḳ*, i, 46 ff.). This poem is said to have comprised 14,000 verses. Later, Muḥammad b. al-Habbāriyya [*q.v.*] (d. 509/1115-16) and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣāghānī (Brockelmann, SI, 235) also presented the same material in *muzdawidj* verses. Proverbs and aphorisms were treated in this type of verse by Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (*Dīwān*, ed. L. Cheikho, 346-8; ed. Sh. Fayṣal, Damascus 1965, 444-66), while historical subjects were treated in this way by ʿAlī b. al-Djahm, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (cf. J.T. Monroe, *The historical Arjūza of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi*, in *JAOS*, xci [1971], 67-95), ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Mutanabbī and Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb. In general, any subject-matter, when versified for the sake of instruction, was preferably presented in the form of an *urdjūza muzdawidja*. Such poems exist on astronomy (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī), medicine (Ibn Sīnā), agriculture (Ibn Luyūn), navigation (Ibn Mādjid), grammar (*Mulḥat al-iʿrāb* by al-Ḥarīrī, the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik), metrics, law of inheritance, chess, hippology, archery and many other subjects. The simple, rhythmical verses were an easy vehicle for memorising.

Next to the *muzdawidj*, in which every two verses have the same rhyme, other groups were developed. In the *urdjūza muthallatha* every three verses are rhymed, in the *murabbaʿa* every four, in the *mukhammasa* every five, in the *muʿashshara* every ten. In these forms the strophic poem thus becomes visible. These poems, too, serve to present scientific doctrines, lexical problems, various descriptions and travel accounts.

2. Historical development

In pre-Islamic times, the *radjaz* was only used for short poems. They originated from a concrete situation, were mostly improvised [see IRTIDJĀL] and as a rule comprised only three to five verses. It is true that these compositions in *radjaz* were correct prosodic units, but they were no poems in the sense of works of art. Initially, the *radjaz* was not a "literary" metre. During the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*], no-one composed a *ḳaṣīda* in the *radjaz*.

A typical situation was the man-to-man fight, in which two adversaries came forward from their battle array. Both heroes called their names and boasted about their strength. Abū Ḥayya al-Fazārī, for instance, said *anā Abū Ḥayyata wa-smī Wadʿān / lā ḍaraʿun ṭiflun wa-lā ʿawdun fān / kayfa tarā ḍarbī ruʾūsa l-aḳrān* (cf. al-Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrādj, Cairo 1961, 146). The purpose of such utterances was to intimidate the adversary and to make him insecure. Self-praise (*fakhr*) was here linked to cursing (*hidjāʾ*) the enemy. The factual power of words should hit the adversary and weaken him. Here it becomes clear that magic was one of the ancient elements of the *radjaz*.

Hidjāʾ also indicates another group of *radjaz* poems, namely, trivial mocking verses of an erotic and obscene content. Occasionally, a dialogue is then staged between man and wife during intercourse, the dialogue being divided by conventional expressions such as *ḳultu...ḳālat*. A typical example is the poem by al-Aghlab al-ʿIdjlī, in which he ridicules the pseudo-prophets Musaylima [*q.v.*] and Sadjāḥi (cf. Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1974, 740-2).

Radjaz is also the metre for tunes, sung at rhythmical activities such as urging camels or drawing water [see GHINĀʾ]. Rhythmical games are also accompanied by *radjaz* verses: mothers used to sing such

verses when making their children dance in a circle (cf. W. Walther, *Altarabische Kindertanzreime*, in *Studia Orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*, Halle 1968, 217-33). Finally, incantations were also composed in *radjaz*. Hind bint al-Khuss [*q.v.*] was able to cast, with such verses, a spell on birds that were flying by (*Aghānī*[1] ix, 175; [3]xi, 36).

In the old days, the *radjaz* therefore was only artless folk poetry. Great poets such as al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, Zuhayr, Ṭarafa, ʿAntara, Imruʾ al-Ḳays, etc., hardly used this metre and the few verses in it ascribed to them cannot be vouched for as being authentic. In the early Islamic period a change gradually becomes apparent. According to the Arab literary historians, al-Aghlab b. Djusham al-ʿIdjlī, who allegedly fell in the battle of Nihāwand in 21/641, is said to have been the first to compose longer poems in *radjaz* (Sezgin ii, 163-4; collection of fragments by Nūrī Ḥammūdī al-Ḳaysī, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*, xxxi/3 [1980], 104-44). But Labīd b. Rabīʿa al-ʿĀmirī and al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār al-Ghaṭafānī, together with his companions Djabbār b. Djazʾ, Djundab and al-Dhulayḥ, also composed several *urdjūzas* which comprise as many as 40 verses. They contain parts of the real *ḳaṣīda*, like the *nasīb* [*q.v.*], the ride through the desert or the description of the bull antelope. The Hudhalī Mulayḥ b. al-Ḥakam composed an *urdjūza* of 94 verses (*Ashʿār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, ed. J. Wellhausen, no. 278; German tr. H.H. Bräu, in *ZS*, v [1926], 277-82).

This development of the *radjaz* into a metre for real literary poems continued in the second half of the 1st/7th century. It culminated in two eminent poets, namely, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ruʾba b. Labīd, called al-ʿAdjdjādj [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 91/710, Sezgin ii, 366-7) and his son Ruʾba (d. *ca.* 145/763, Sezgin ii, 367-9). Both composed verses exclusively in *radjaz* and did not use any other metre. But as far as the contents are concerned, their poems are full *ḳaṣīdas*, which start with the complaint addressed to the remains of the abandoned camp (*aṭlāl*), pass into the desert ride (*raḥīl* [*q.v.*]) and end in a request to the patron. They contain the usual images which are developed into independent episodes, and all the other elements of the traditional *ḳaṣīda*. Both poets are inclined to exaggeration and immoderation. Their phrasing is marked by rudeness and coarseness, and their arsenal of words of abuse is inexhaustible. But it looks as if even the greatest self-glorification and the devastating scoffing of the adversary are not meant that seriously. Again and again, ironic and humoristic turns of phrase are woven into their diatribes, and irony does not exempt their own persons. Sarcastic, grotesque, comical and humoristic elements may be said to turn al-ʿAdjdjādj's and Ruʾba's *urdjūzas* into a persiflage of the regular two-hemistich *ḳaṣīda*.

Next to these two poets mention should be made of their contemporary al-Faḍl b. Ḳudāma al-ʿIdjlī, called Abu 'l-Nadjm [*q.v.*], of whose poems, apart from a *lāmiyya* (ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, *al-Ṭarāʾif al-adabiyya*, Cairo 1937, 55-71), only fragments have been preserved (collected by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aghā, al-Riyāḍ 1981). Other *radjaz* poets of this period are Muḥammad b. Dhuʾayb al-Fuḳaymī, called al-ʿUmānī (collection of fragments by Ḥannā Djamīl Ḥaddād, in *RIMA*, xxvii/1 [1983], 73-119), Abū Nukhayla al-Ḥimmānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], al-Zafayān, Ḥumayd al-Arḳaṭ [*q.v.*], Manẓūr b. Marthad al-Asadī and Himyān b. Ḳuḥāfa al-Saʿdī.

As for the great poets of the Umayyad period, they were not as unfavourably disposed towards the *radjaz* metre as had been their colleagues of the *Djāhiliyya*. There exist at least 20 *urdjūzas* by Djarīr (d. 111/729 [*q.v.*]), some of which contain more than 40 verses. They deal mainly with satire, but some are undoubtedly fragments of original *ḳaṣīdas*. Typical Bedouin *ḳaṣīdas* are also the 10 *urdjūzas* which have been transmitted in the *dīwān* of Ghaylān b. ʿUḳba, called Dhu 'l-Rumma (d. 117/735-6 [*q.v.*]). Among them are long pieces of 60 to 80 verses. This metre is also used by the poets of the ʿAbbāsid period. Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*] (d. 167/783), for instance, composed lengthy *ḳaṣīdas* in *radjaz* after the old fashion. They contain mainly panegyrics on the governors Dāwūd b. Yazīd, ʿUḳba b. Salm and Yazīd b. Ḥātim. Two of these poems contain more than 160 verses (*Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir b. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1950-7, i, 134 ff., 140 ff.; ii, 219 ff.; iii, 92-3, 178 ff.). Important and lengthy *urdjūzas* were also composed by Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān*, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Cairo 1973 ff., nos. 60, 76, 91, 141, 217, 293, 310, 340, 355, 357, 368, 415, 438, 440, etc.). They are for the greater part defamatory poems (*hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*]), whose contents are grossly obscene. Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and his brother al-Raḍī, al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī and many other poets occasionally also used this metre, moulding all the usual themes of the earlier poets. Worth mentioning is that Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sindī, called Kushādjim (d. *ca.* 350/961 [*q.v.*]), often uses the *radjaz* in description poems (*ekphrasis, waṣf*). He depicts a fried fish (*Dīwān*, ed. Khayriyya Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ, Baghdād 1970, no. 5), an abacus (no. 24), a wine filter (no. 30), a cake (nos. 48, 63), sugar-cane (no. 50), ink and reed pen (no. 53), fodder beans (nos. 55, 143), figs (no. 86), the polo game (no. 108), a hen (no. 136), a cloud (nos. 151, 153), asparagus (no. 160), a melon (no. 166), a mill (no. 206), a quince (no. 223), and many other objects. He thus asserted the rights of the *radjaz* in a field which otherwise is dominated by other metres (cf. A. Giese, *Waṣf bei Kušāǧim*, Berlin 1981).

A special place is taken by the hunting poems (*ṭardiyyāt*). Unlike the hunting descriptions of ancient poetry, in which a poor man is hunting for antelopes and onagers in order to secure his sustenance, the *ṭardiyyāt* deal with descriptions of courtly hunting, organised by high-placed personalities as a pastime and for pleasure. These poems are composed almost exclusively in *radjaz* and are, from their beginning onwards, largely standardised in their motives and wording. They very often start with the striking of camp in early morning, the formula *ḳad aghtadī wa 'l-ṣubḥu*... occurring quite repeatedly; or it is simply said, *anʿatu kalban*... The hunting animals are dogs and cheetahs, and as trained birds of prey are named the hawk (*bāzī, zurraḳ*), the saker or lanner (*ṣaḳr*), the peregrine (*shāhīn*), the merlin (*yuʾyuʾ*), the eagle (*ʿuḳāb*) and the sparrowhawk (*bāshiḳ*). The quarry are antelopes, hares, foxes, cranes, bustards (*ḥubārā*), francolins, geese and other birds. The dog is said to fly away without wings or, when running, to resemble a falling star. Its muzzle looks like burning coal, the falcon's plumage like a piece of embroidery, its claws like spearheads or a butcher's knives. At the end, the preparation of the game for the meal is often described, and the poet praises his dog or falcon.

The beginnings of this poetry are apparently to be found with al-Shamardal b. Sharīk al-Yarbūʿī, a contemporary of al-Farazdaḳ. From his work, 17 *urdjūzas* are transmitted, but most of these are only small fragments (ed. T. Seidensticker, *Die Gedichte des Šamardal*, Wiesbaden 1983, nos. 19-29, 36-41). Al-Shamardal was the model for Abū Nuwās, in whose *Dīwān* the *ṭardiyyāt* take up a full chapter (ed. Āṣāf,

Cairo 1898, 206-34; ed. E. Wagner, ii, 176-327; cf. also Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 265-89). Even if, according to the transmitters, many of them are not authentic, yet the full range and richness of this literary genre are shown in Abū Nuwās. More than others he strongly influenced later poets when they were writing about hunting. Among other poems, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. al-Muʿadhdhal (d. *ca.* 240/854; Sezgin ii, 508) composed one on hunting with the cheetah (*fahd*), 49 verses of which are transmitted by Kushādjim (*Maṣāyid*, Baghdād 1954, 190 ff.). Among the hunting poems of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908) are 48 *urdjūzas*, and only 5 in other metres (*Dīwān*, ed. B. Lewin, iv, 2-44; ed. Yūnus A. al-Sāmarrāʾī, ii, Baghdād 1978, 405 ff.). His contemporary ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar (d. 293/906; Sezgin, ii, 564 ff.) also composed numerous *urdjūzas* on falcons, dogs and on fox-hunting (cf. the inventory of his poems in J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut 1971, 155-61; see also ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Shimshāṭī, *K. al-Anwār wa-maḥāsin al-ashʿār*, Baghdād 1976, 284-5, 300, 305, 311, 322). Kushādjim, too (see above), composed a number of hunting *urdjūzas* (*Dīwān*, ed. Khayriyya Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ, Baghdād 1970, nos. 2, 12, 88, 172, 259, 260, 267, 321, 354, 371, etc.). He was very familiar with this métier. In his *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid* he also quotes numerous hunting poems by other poets. Finally, mention should be made of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1349; Brockelmann, II, 159, S II, 199), who composed 7 *urdjūzas* on hunting with falcons, cheetahs and dogs (*Dīwān*, Beirut 1962, 257 ff.). One of his *muwashshaḥāt* [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān*, 245 ff.) is also composed in *radjaz*. He describes in it bird-hunting with the crossbow (*ḳaws al-bunduḳ*), a theme already treated by Abū Nuwās.

3. Special characteristics

As said above, the length of line of the *radjaz* is in general only half of that of the other metres. The *ḳarīḍ* verse contains an average of 8, 9 words, while the *radjaz* trimeter consists of only 4, 3 words. This means that every fourth or fifth word must be a rhyme word (in the dimeter the relations are even less favourable), and thus the poet is quite limited in the choice of his words. Nowhere does the *ḍarūrat al-shiʿr* impose itself so strongly as in the *radjaz*. If, for instance, the poet chooses the *-ayn* rhyme, almost every fourth word must be a dual. In Ruʾba's poem no. 32 the rhyme is *-āṭī*. Consequently, almost all the rhyme words of the 94 verses must be nouns in the genitive. In the *-ūtū* rhyme (Ruʾba, no. 10) the forms of the first person perfect of the *verba tertiae infirmae* dominate, and in al-ʿAdjdjādj's poem no. 40, which has the *-iyyū* rhyme and which comprises 200 verses, innumerable *nomina relativa* (*nisba*) occur. The part of speech, the case and the grammatical person thus are largely determined by the requirements of the rhyme, and so the syntax of the verses is fixed to a high degree. It is also evident that a full sentence can only rarely be accomodated in the short lines of verse. Nowhere does enjambment (*taḍmīn*) occur so often as in the *radjaz* (cf. G.J.H. van Gelder, *Breaking rules for fun ..., On enjambment in classical Arabic poetry*, in *The challenge of the Middle East: Middle Eastern studies at the University of Amsterdam*, 1982, 25-31, 184-6; idem, *Beyond the line*, Leiden 1982, 123-4). The choice of words, too, depends on the requirements of the rhyme. Since the lexicon of literary speech is not sufficient for the rhymes of a long *urdjūza*, the poet searches for rare words, i.e. expressions which have become obsolete or which originate from certain dialects, or he reaches even for foreign words. In order to meet the requirements of the rhyme, the poet furthermore often has to change, to mutilate or to expand the words; he has to replace one sound by another, to form irregular plurals, and so on. Metre and rhyme had to be taken into account correctly in any case, while sounds, forms and syntax could eventually be changed. All this gives the *radjaz* poems their unmistakable, distinctive hall-mark. They belong to the most difficult texts of Arabic literature.

Bibliography: 1. Editions: Muḥammad Tawfīḳ al-Bakrī, *Arādjīz al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1313/1895 (2nd ed. Cairo 1346/1927); W. Ahlwardt, *Die Dīwāne der Reǵezdichter Elʿaǵǵāǵ und Ezzafajān*, Berlin 1903; idem, *Der Dīwān des Reǵezdichters Rūba ben Elʿaǵǵāǵ*, Berlin 1903; (German tr. Berlin 1904); R. Geyer, *Altarabische Diiamben*, Leipzig-New York 1908; idem, *Al-ʿAǧǧâǧ und az-Zafayân*, in *WZKM*, xxiii (1909), 74-101; idem, *Beiträge zum Dîwân des Ruʾbah*, in *SBAk. Wien*, clxiii (1909), III. Abh.; ʿIzzat Ḥasan, *Dīwān al-ʿAdjdjādj*, Aleppo-Beirut 1971; ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ al-Saṭlī, *Dīwān al-ʿAdjdjādj*, i-ii, Damascus 1971.

2. Secondary literature: A. Schaade, *EI*[1] s.v. *Radjaz*; C.A. Nallino, *La littérature arabe*, tr. Ch. Pellat, Paris 1950, 146-70; M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Raǧazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966; Djamāl Nadjm al-ʿUbaydī, *al-Radjaz, nashʾatuhū, ashhar shuʿarāʾihī*, Baghdād 1971; Khawla Taḳī al-Dīn al-Hilālī, *Dirāsa lughawiyya fī arādjīz Ruʾba wa 'l-ʿAdjdjādj*, i-ii, Baghdād 1982; E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, i, Darmstadt 1987, 43-7, ii, 46-58; G.R. Smith, *Hunting poetry* (ṭardiyyāt), in Julia Ashtiany *et alii* (eds.), *ʿAbbasid belles-lettres* [= *Camb. hist. of Arabic lit.*, ii], Cambridge 1990, 167-84. (M. Ullmann)

4. As a term of non-metrical poetry

In some early Arabic traditions the term *radjaz* is used not in its metrical sense, but to denote poetry defined by "halved" (*mashṭūr*), i.e. three-foot, lines without caesura. Since poetry in the *radjaz* metre is, at least for the most part, also characterised by tripodies (see above under 1.), the two applications of the term are certainly related. The priority may lie with the *mashṭūr* meaning, which would then have been narrowed down to the one metre in which *mashṭūr* verses occurred most.

The first early attestation of this use is in al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. 215/830 or 221/836 [*q.v.*]), *Ḳawāfī*, 67-8, where poetry is divided into *ḳaṣīd*, *ramal*, and *radjaz*, which are defined as having lines that are *tāmm*, *madjzūʾ*, and *mashṭūr*, i.e. "complete", "shortened by one foot per hemistich", and "halved". In terms of metres, the *ḳaṣīd* comprises *ṭawīl, basīṭ, kāmil, madīd, wāfir*, and *radjaz* (sic, here meant as the *radjaz* hexameter with caesura), the *radjaz* includes everything with three feet and no caesura (thus presumably the *radjaz* and the *munsariḥ* trimeter), and the *ramal* [*q.v.*] covers everything else (thus the metres *ramal, hazadj*, the metres of the Fourth [unless they are trimeters] and the Fifth Circles, and all *ḳaṣīd* metres, if they are *madjzūʾ*).

A slightly different system is found in al-Djawharī (d. 393/1003 or later [*q.v.*]), *Ḳawāfī*, fols. 34b-35b. Here we have the following fourfold division:

1. *ḳaṣāʾid*	*tāmm*	*ṭawīl, al-basīṭ al-tāmm, al-wāfir al-tāmm, al-kāmil al-tāmm, al-radjaz al-tāmm,* [some say *al-khafīf al-tāmm*]
2. *ramal*	*madjzūʾ*	*madjzūʾ al-madīd, madjzūʾ al-basīṭ, madjzūʾ al-wāfir, madjzūʾ al-kāmil,* and the like (sic).

3. *radjaz* *mashtūr* *mashtūr al-radjaz, mashtūr al-munsariḥ*
4. *manhūk* *manhūk al-radjaz, manhūk al-munsariḥ*

The difference is the addition, in al-Djawharī, of the *manhūk* metres, i.e. the "emaciated" dimeters, which however do not have their own name. The rest seems to be identical, although for lack of a complete enumeration of the metres covered by each term in both authors we cannot be certain. A system similar to al-Djawharī's is quoted by al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, i, 745, where the last category is called *khafīf*.

Of particular interest are the various functions attributed to these formal types of poetry. Al-Akhfash says that *ḳaṣīd* is sung (*taghannā*) by the caravan riders, while *radjaz* is chanted (*tarannama*) to accompany work, to drive herds, and to urge on riding-camels (the function of *ramal* is not mentioned). Al-Djawharī offers a similar picture with slight changes: *ḳaṣāʾid* are for chanting and singing when mounted, *ramal* for social rank disputes, praises and lampoons, *radjaz* for chanting at the market places, during work and while driving the camels, and the *manhūk* metres for urging on the camels, for letting little children dance (*tarḳīṣ*), and for drawing water from wells.

These various divisions are explicitly attributed to the *ʿArab*, the Bedouins, and they soon fell into desuetude. Al-Djawharī says that all four genres were later also used in situations different from the original ones mentioned.

Bibliography: al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, ed. ʿIzzat Ḥasan, Damascus 1390/1970; Djawharī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, ms. Istanbul, Atıf Efendi 1991, fols. 34a-60a (cf. W. Heinrichs, *Al-Ǧauharīs Metrik*, in *ZDMG, Supplement* viii, Stuttgart 1990, 140-9 [esp. 148-9]); Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. A. Sprenger *et alii*, Calcutta 1862; H. Gätje (ed.), *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie*, ii, *Literaturwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1987, 191-2.

(W. Heinrichs)

RADJʿIYYA (a.), also irtidjāʿ, the term coined in modern Arabic for reaction in the political sense (from *r-dj-ʿ* "to return"). Towards the same end of the political spectrum appear also the terms *muḥāfiẓ* "conservative" and *muḥāfaẓa* "conservatism"; cf. A. Ayalon, *Language and change in the Arab Middle East*, New York-Oxford 1987, 125. (Ed.)

RADJM (a.), the casting of stones. *R-dj-m* is a Semitic root, derivatives from which are found in the Old Testament with the meaning of "to stone, to drive away or kill by throwing stones" an abominable creature; *radjma* is "a heap of stones, an assembly of men, cries, tumult".

In Arabic, the root means "to stone, to curse"; *radjam*, "heap of stones", also means simply the stones placed upon tombs either as flagstones or in a heap, a custom which *ḥadīth* condemns, recommending rather that a grave should be level with the surface of the ground. On the *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Mughfal, it is discussed whether *lā turadjdjimū ḳabrī* means "do not build my grave in a mound" or "do not utter imprecations there".

The lapidation and heaps of stones at Minā [*q.v.*] are called *djamra*, and *djamarāt al-ʿArab* means the groups of Bedouin tribes; we find there the two old meanings of the root which can be taken back to *dj-m*, in Arabic *djamma* and *djamaʿa* "to reunite". The Arab grammarians derive *djamra* "lapidation" from *djamarāt al-ʿArab*.

In addition to the meaning of "ritual stoning as a punishment for fornication", *radjm* means the casting of stones at Minā, which is one of the pre-Islamic rites preserved by Muḥammad and inserted among the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. See here djamra, ḥadjdj and minā with their bibliographies.

The Ḳurʾān does not mention this rite, but it knows *radjama* in its Biblical sense of "stoning of prophets by unbelievers", and also *radjīm* (= *mardjūm*) as an epithet of Satan, "driven away and struck with projectiles of fire by the angels", and lastly (XVIII, 21) in an abstract sense which indicates a long semantic evolution.

The rite of casting stones at Minā was regulated by *ḥadīth*s in the classical collections. There is a model *ḥadjdj*, that of the Prophet which we find in the manuals of *manāsik al-ḥadjdj*, e.g. in the *Risāla* of Ibn Taymiyya (cf. Rifʿat, i, 89 ff.). Some *ḥadīth*s of archaic form (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 2; *Salam, bāb* 1 and 2; *ʿUmda*, viii, 489) show that Muḥammad had to lay down rules for the essential question of the *wuḳūf*, the culmination of the *ḥadjdj*. The *Ḥums*, i.e. the Ḳuraysh and their allies, observed it at Djamʿ (Muzdalifa [*q.v.*]), in the *ḥaram*; the others, the *ʿArab*, at ʿArafa, outside of the *ḥaram* of Mecca. Having to choose between his companions of two different origins, the *Muhādjirūn* and the *Anṣār* [*q.vv.*], Muḥammad decided with the latter for ʿArafa; but he retained a secondary *wuḳūf* at Muzdalifa, and the two *ifāḍa*s, the new combination of rites culminating in the throwing of stones at ʿAḳaba.

Situated at the bottom of the valley of Minā, on the slope of the defile towards Mecca, al-ʿAḳaba is "not in Minā but it is its boundary on the side of Mecca" (*ʿUmda*, iv, 770). On the morning of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the pilgrim goes down into the valley, passes without saluting them in front of the great *djamra*, 500 yards farther on the middle one, and 400 yards beyond he comes to *djamrat al-ʿAḳaba* (Rifʿat, i, 328). There he throws 7 stones, and this is one of the four ceremonies which on the tenth day are intended to remove his state of sanctity. He must also have his hair shaved (*ḥalḳ*), sacrifice a victim (*naḥr*) and return in procession to Mecca (*ifāḍa*). This last rite prepares the sexual deconsecration; the three others together abolish the prohibitions of the *ḥadjdj*, but the legists are not agreed on the order in which they have to be accomplished. The *ḥadīth*s say that the Prophet replied to the pilgrims who were worried, not having followed the order in which he had himself followed them, *lā ḥaradja* "no harm (in that)" (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj, bābs* 125, 130 etc.). It is explained that the Prophet on this day of rejoicing did not wish to hurt the feelings of the ignorant Bedouins. We may imagine that these *ʿArab* did not follow the customs of the Ḳuraysh and that Muḥammad had neither the time nor the inclination to impose his own choice between the varying customs.

Muḥammad began with the lapidation at al-Aḳaba. After the *ḥalḳ*, the sacrifice and the *ifāḍa*, he returned to spend the night in Minā. Then on the 11th, 12th and 13th days, he cast 7 stones at the three *djamarāt*, ending with that of al-ʿAḳaba. The pilgrims imitating him ought therefore to throw $7 + (7 \times 3 \times 3) = 70$ stones. But in general, they take advantage of the liberty (*rukhṣa*) given them by the *ḥadīth* to leave Minā finally on the 12th day and therefore only to throw $7 + (7 \times 2 \times 3) = 49$ stones. It is probable that there was no ancient usage; the presence of the bodies of the sacrificial victims made Minā a horrible place. It is difficult to see how Wavell (*Pilgrim*, 202) threw 63 stones, i.e. $7 \times 3 \times 3$; this is, however, the number of victims which, according to tradition, Muḥammad sacrificed with his own hand, one for each year of his life.

The stoning of al-ʿAḳaba is done on the 10th day by

the pilgrims in *iḥrām*; those of the three days following by the deconsecrated pilgrims. The whole business is not a fundamental element of the pilgrimage (*rukn*).

Little stones are thrown, larger than a lentil, but less than a nut, what the old Arabs called *ḥaṣa 'l-khadhf* which were thrown either with the fingers or with a little lever of wood forming a kind of sling (*mikhdhafa*: al-Tirmidhī, iv, 123). A *ḥadīth* forbids this dangerous game, which might knock out an eye but is not strong enough to kill an enemy; it must therefore have had something magical or pagan in its character. The stones have to be collected of the proper size and not broken from a rock. Gold, silver, precious stones, etc., are condemned; but some texts allow, in addition to date-stones, a piece of camel-dung or a dead sparrow, which we find are also the means used by the women of the *Djāhiliyya* at the end of their period of isolation to remove the impurity of their widowhood and prepare a new personality. It is recommended that the seven stones for the lapidation of al-ʿAḳaba should be gathered at the *mashʿar al-ḥaram* at Muzdalifa, outside of Minā. As a rule, the 63 others are gathered in the valley of Minā, but outside of the mosque and far from the *djamarāt* to avoid their having already been used (Ibn Taymiyya, 383). Besides, it is thought that stones accepted by Allāh are carried away by angels. Stones collected but not used should be buried; they have assumed a sacred character which makes them dangerous.

The model pilgrimage of the Prophet fixed the time of the *djamrat al-ʿAḳaba* for the day of the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. It shows him beginning the *ifāḍa* of Muzdalifa after the prayer at dawn (*fadjr*) and casting the stones after sunrise. But by survival of an ancient custom more than for reasons of convenience, other times are allowed by law. Al-Shāfiʿī, against the three other imāms, permits the ʿAḳaba ceremony before sunrise (Rifʿat, i, 113); in general, the time is extended to the whole morning (*ḍuḥā*), till afternoon (*zawāl*), till sunset, till night, till the morning of the day following; these infractions of the normal routine are atoned for by a sacrifice or alms, varying with the different schools. The *djamarāt* of the three days of the *tashrīḳ* take place in the *zawāl*: here again there are various opinions (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 134). In fixing the time of the lapidations, the law has always endeavoured to avoid any Muslim rite, e.g. prayer, coinciding with one of the three positions of the sun by day, rising, noon, setting. A.J. Wensinck asserted (in ḤADJDJ, at vol. III, 32b) the probability of the solar character of the pagan *ḥadjdj*.

Muḥammad made his lapidation at al-ʿAḳaba from the bottom of the valley, mounted on his camel, turned towards the *djamra*, with the Kaʿba on his left and Minā on his right, standing at a distance of five cubits (eight feet). But there are other possible positions. Rifʿat (i, 328) gives the *djamra* the following dimensions: 10 feet high and 6 feet broad on a rock 5 feet high (see the photographs, *ibid.*). It is said to have been removed at the beginning of Islam and replaced in 240/854-5 (al-Azraḳī, 212). Muḥammad made the lapidations of the other two *djamarāt* on foot, turning towards the *ḳibla*. In brief, the stones are cast in the attitude one happens to be in. The position facing the Great Devil is explained by the nature of the ground, but it would also be in keeping with the idea of a curse cast in the face of a fallen deity. The position which makes the pilgrim turn towards the Kaʿba is due to the Muslim legend of the tempter Satan and to the rule of the *takbīr*, which will be explained below.

According to the *sunna*, the stones are placed on the thumb and bent forefinger and thrown, one by one, as in the game of marbles. However, the possibility of the stones having been thrown together in a handful has been foreseen, and it was decided that this should only count as one stone and that the omission could be made good. The stone should not be thrown violently nor should one call "look out! look out!" (al-Tirmidhī, iv, 136), a pagan custom which the modern Bedouins still retained until quite recently (Rifʿat, i, 89). It seems that Muḥammad put some strength into it, for he raised his hand "to the level of his right eyebrow" (al-Tirmidhī, iv, 135) and showed his armpit (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 141).

In Islam, the casting of each stone is accompanied by pious formulae. It is generally agreed that the *talbiya* is no longer pronounced at ʿArafa or at least before the lapidation of al-ʿAḳaba (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 101); some writers however approve of it after al-ʿAḳaba. The *tahlīl* and *tasbīḥ* are permitted, but it is the *takbīr* which is recommended (Ibn Taymiyya, 382; al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bābs* 138, 143). The spiritual evolution of the rites even sees in this the essential feature of the rite, the throwing of the stone and the figure formed in throwing it by the thumb and forefinger forming an *ʿuḳd* which represents 70, being no more than symbolical and mnemonic gestures. "The throwing of the stones was only instituted to cause the name of God to be repeated" (al-Tirmidhī, iv, 139). To al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyāʾ*, i, 192), it is an act of submission to God and of resistance to Satan, who seeks to turn man away from the fatigues of the *ḥadjdj*, but the rite is without rational explanation *min ghayrⁱ ḥaẓẓⁱⁿ li 'l-ʿaḳlⁱ wa 'l-nafsⁱ fīhi* (cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 252). The devout man adds a prayer (*duʿāʾ*) which is as a rule quasi-ritual. The usual one is *Allāhumma 'djʿalhu ḥadjdjᵃⁿ mabrūrᵃⁿ wa-dhanbᵃⁿ maghfūrᵃⁿ wa-saʿyᵃⁿ mashkūrᵃⁿ* "Lord, make this pilgrimage a pious one, pardon our sins and recompense our efforts!" There is, as a matter of fact, after the stoning, a halt, a *wuḳūf*, before the two higher *djamarāt*, that at the second being especially long: the duration is calculated by the recitation of the sūra of the Cow (II), or of Joseph (XII), or of the Family of ʿImrān (III) by altering the indication in the *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bābs* 135-7). This would take the place of an ancient ceremony of imprecation.

Breaches of the rules for the performance of these diverse ceremonies, especially as regards the number of stones thrown and the time when they are thrown (*ʿUmda*, iv, 767 ff.; Rifʿat, i, 113), are punished by atonements, the exact nature of which the legists delight to vary, from the sacrifice of an animal to the giving of a *mudd* of food in alms.

The Muslim teachers have sought to explain the lapidations of Minā. Some exegetes (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxv, 167) have seen quite clearly that they represent ancient rites and have compared the *ramy* of the tomb of Abū Ridjāl. Others are known, for example at the well of Dhu 'l-Ḥulayfa (Lammens, *Bétyles*, 94). The works quoted [see ḤADJDJ] show the spread of this rite and the cases in which we are certain that it is a question of the driving away or the expulsion of evil. Stones used to be thrown behind an individual whom one wished never to return (al-Hamadhānī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. Beirut, 23). At Alexandria, tired people used to go and lie down on a fallen pillar, throw 7 stones behind them on a pile "like that of Minā", then go away quite recuperated (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 322). But comparisons would take us out of the region of Arabia (Lods, *Prophètes d'Israël*, 354).

Popular legend has connected the lapidation, like many other rites, with Abraham. It was Abraham or Hagar or Ishmael, or even Muḥammad, that Satan

wished to deter from accomplishing the rites of the *hadjdj* and who chased him, whoever this was, away with stones. If we conclude that he is *radjīm*, we are some way to the explanation of sūra LXVII 5 (see above).

One would like to be able to locate the lapidations among the rites of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage. One would first have to have a clear idea of the meaning and details of the ceremonies and of the part played by lapidations and sacred piles of stones in Semitic and Mediterranean antiquity. Stoning seems to have been a rite of expulsion of evil which coincided with the deconsecration of the pilgrim and seems to protect his return to everyday life. It is possible that lapidations at one time followed the sacrifices which perhaps took place at ʿArafa and Muzdalifa.

To sum up, the lapidation at Minā has been by turns interpreted as a vestige of the cult of the dead (refs. in Lammens, *Le culte des bétyles*, 39 and esp. 96 ff.); a rite honouring protective deities, after the manner of the Ἑρμαῖον (refs. in Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 189 n. 1); a symbol of the expulsion of malevolent spirits (*averuncatio*), in the sense given by Tradition to the rite at Minā (refs. in *ibid.*, 189); a gesture of cursing against certain tombs of persons of sinister memory (*ibid.*, n. 3); and, finally, as an act of scopelism born out of the hatred of the nomads for the sedentaries (see V. Chauvin, *Le jet de pierres au pèlerinage à la Mekke*, in *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie*, 74, 5th sér., iv [Antwerp 1902], 272-300, a thesis refuted by Van Vloten and Th. Houtsma; refs. in Fahd, 189 n. 4).

In regard to the basic sense of *djamra* [*q.v.*], pl. *djimār*, which designates, among other things, the tribe (*ķabīla*), this rite seems merely to have been in origin a simple gesture of coming together, done by means of a ballot. In practice this term denotes essentially the internal uniting of all the fractions of a tribe or a tribal grouping (see *TA*, iii, 129: *al-djamra al-ķabīla inḍammat fa-ṣārat yad^an wāḥidat^an lā tanḍammu ilā aḥad^in wa-lā tuḥālifu ghayra-hā*). Thus "the secondary sense, expressed in *djamra*, pl. *djimār*, 'pile of pebbles', allows the gesture of union, which renews the tribe periodically or occasionally, to be represented as being like the throwing of a pebble on a precise spot, near to a sacred site or in the midst of an encampment, done by all the members of the tribe or by the heads of the clans composing it, and thus symbolising the indissoluble unity of the tribe and its adhesion to a decision which has been taken. The standing at Minā which ends the sacred sequence of the Pilgrimage, before entry into the sacred city, lends itself well to the idea of a renewal of a pact of union between clans and tribes. In short, the basic aim of the Meccan Pilgrimage was to serve as a rallying point for all the Arab tribes, involving the exclusion of all outsiders, in order to put an end to the internal quarrels between tribes and in order to undertake common action aimed at permanently opposing all outside intervention in this inviolable centre of the Arabian peninsula" (Fahd, *op. cit.*, 190).

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(M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes-[T. Fahd])

RĀDJMAHĀL, a former city of Muslim Bengal during Mughal times, now a small town 6 km/4 miles to the east of the ruinous Mughal site, in the Santāl Parganas District of Bihār Province in the Indian Union (lat. 25° 3′N, long. 87° 50′E.). To its west run the basaltic Rādjmahāl Hills of central Bihār. Rādjmahāl city grew up in the strategically important gap between the Hills and the right bank of the Ganges, a corridor defended in Mughal times by the fortress of Teliāgarhi.

When the Rādjput governor of the Mughals, Mān Singh [*q.v.*], had in 1000/1592 conquered Orissa [see Úrisā], he made the existing settlement Agmahāl into Rādjmahāl and into the capital of Bengal, and it remained the capital until this was moved to Dacca/Dhaka [*q.v.*] in 1069/1659. European travellers testify to the importance of Rādjmahāl, which, with Dhaka, was one of Bengal's two minting centres. It still had probably some 25,000 to 30,000 inhabitants in the early 19th century, but its prosperity was adversely affected by changes in the channels of the Ganges. It is now notable for a remarkably large number of significant monuments of Mughal architecture, many now ruinous, including the Akbarī mosque, the Čhoṭa ("small") mosque, the Djumma mosque, the enormous Djāmiʿ mosque, etc.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxi, 76-8; Catherine B. Asher, in G. Michel (ed.), *The Islamic heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO Paris 1984, 116-27, with further references.

(C.E. Bosworth)

RĀDJPŪTĀNA [see rādjāsthān in Suppl.].

RĀDJPŪTS, inhabitants of India, who claim to be the modern representatives of the Kshatriyas of ancient tradition. (From the Sanskrit *rādjaputra* "a king's son". For the connection between Rādjanya and Kshatriya see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic index*, i, s.v. Kṣatriya) The term Rādjpūt has no racial significance. It simply denotes a tribe, clan, or warlike class, the members of which claim aristocratic rank, a claim generally reinforced by Brahman recognition.

The origin of the Rādjpūts is a problem which bristles with difficulties. The theory which was held earlier this century was that propounded by Bhandarkar, Smith and Crooke. According to this theory, the Rādjpūts can be divided into two main classes, the foreign and the indigenous. The foreign clans, such as the Čawhāns, Čālukyas, and Gurdjaras, are the descendants of invaders of the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era. The indigenous Rādjpūts include the Rāshtrākūtas of the Deccan, the Rāthors of Rādjpūtāna proper, and the Čandēls and Bundēlas of Bundēlkhand.

The theory that certain Rādjpūt clans are of foreign extraction is chiefly based on Rādjpūt legends and folklore, according to which there are three branches of Rādjpūts: the Sūradjbansi, or Solar race; the Čandrabansi, or Lunar race; and the Agni Kula, or Fire-group. The legend relates how the Agni Kula Rādjpūts, that is, the Čawhāns, Čalukyas, Parihārs (Pratihāras), and the Pramāra, originated in a fire-pit around Mount Abu in southern Rādjpūtāna. From this it has been concluded that the four clans in this group are related and that the fire-pit represents a rite of purgation by which the taint of foreign extraction was removed. Since these writers believed the Parihārs to be invaders of Gurdjar stock, it was concluded that the other three Agni Kula clans were also invaders.

According to Smith, the Gurdjaras were invaders who founded a kingdom around Mount Abu. In time the rulers of this kingdom, who were known as Gurdjara-Pratihāras, conquered Kanawdj [*q.v.*] and became the paramount power in northern India about 800 A.D. Smith contends that the Pratihāras were a clan of the Gurdjara tribe. This seems to be the chief

evidence produced by these writers for the foreign extraction of certain Rādjpūt clans.

It seems wrong to base this theory of foreign descent principally upon the Agni Kula legend, for Waidya and other writers have proved this to be a myth first heard of in the *Prithwīrādj-rāisā* of the poet Čand, who could not have composed this work before the 12th century A.D. Recent research has brought to light the fact that the inscriptions of the Pratihāras and Čawhāns before the 12th century represent them as Solar Rādjpūts, while the Čālukyas are represented as of the Lunar race. The Agni Kula legend does not therefore deserve the prominence given to it by Smith and other writers. Even the contention that the Pratihāras were a branch of the Gurdjara tribe has met with much hostile criticism.

According to the orthodox Hindu view, the Rādjpūts are the direct descendants of the Kshatriyas of the Vedic polity, but this claim is based on fictitious genealogies. The Kshatriyas of ancient India disappear from history, and this can probably be explained by invasions from Central Asia which shattered the ancient Hindu polity. It is accepted that these invading hordes, such as the Yüeh-či and Hūṅas, became rapidly Hinduised, and that their leaders assumed Kshatriya rank and were recognised as such. Out of this chaos arose a new Hindu polity with new rulers, and the families of invaders which became supreme were recognised as Kshatriyas or Rādjpūts. In later times, many chiefs of the so-called aboriginal tribes also assumed the title of Rādjpūt.

It is therefore safe to assert that the Rādjpūts are a very heterogeneous body and probably contain some survivors of the older Kshatriyas. A mass of legend arose assigning to the various clans a descent from the sun and the moon, or from the heroes of the epic poems. These are the legendary pedigrees recorded in great detail by Tod. The main argument which can be brought forward in support of the foreign descent of certain Rādjpūt clans is the incorporation of foreigners into the fold of Hinduism to which the whole history of India bears testimony. Even though the Agni Kula legend be discredited, it is still possible to argue that the Rādjpūts are not a race. Anthropologically they are definitely of mixed origin. That some Rādjpūts were of foreign origin can be proved by the acceptance of the Hūṅas in the recognised list of Rādjpūt tribes.

Whatever may be the origin of the Rādjpūts, we know that disorder and political disintegration followed the death of Harsha, and that until the Muslim invasions of northern India the chief characteristic of this period was the growth and development of the Rādjpūt clans. Except for about two hundred years, when the Gurdjara-Pratihāras were the paramount power in Hindustān, there was constant internecine warfare between the various Rādjpūt kingdoms. This weakness considerably facilitated the Muslim conquest. It was not, however, until the days of Muḥammad of Ghūr that the Rādjpūt dynasties in the plains were finally overthrown [see MUḤAMMAD B. SĀM, MUʿIZZ AL-DĪN]. Driven from Dihlī and Kanawdj, they retreated into modern Rādjpūtāna [see RĀDJĀSTHĀN in Suppl.] where they eventually built up a strong position and were able to resist the Muslim invader, for it cannot be said that the Sultans of Dihlī ever really subdued the Rādjpūts of Rādjpūtāna. Nevertheless, throughout this period there was constant warfare, fortresses and strongholds frequently changing hands. The Rādjpūts nearest to Dihlī were naturally the weakest because the eastern frontier of Rādjputāna was exposed to attack. The Sultans of Dihlī appear to have realised the value of communications with the western coast, and we find that the route between Dihlī and Gudjarāt via Adjmēr was usually open to imperial armies. The chief menace to the Rādjpūts was not from Dihlī but from the independent Muslim kingdoms of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] and Mālwā [*q.v.*].

The outstanding feature of the period from the end of the so-called Sayyid rule to the final invasion of Bābur [*q.v.*] was the growth of Rādjpūt power in northern India under Rānā Sāṅgā [*q.v.*] of Mēwāṙ [*q.v.*]. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Lōdīs [*q.v.*] under Ibrāhīm and of the war between Gudjarāt and Mālwā, he had extended his sway over the greater part of modern Rādjpūtāna. The battle of Khānuʾā in 1527, when Bābur shattered his power, marks a turning-point in the history of Muslim rule in India, for the Rādjpūts never again attempted to regain their lost dominions on the plains and contented themselves with remaining on the defensive. After Khānuʾā, the place of the Sesodias in Rādjpūt politics was taken by the Rāthors, the growth of whose power under Maldēō of Mārwār was facilitated by the struggle between Humāyūn [*q.v.*] and Shēr Shāh. Akbar's Rādjpūt policy was based on conquest and conciliation. The fall of Čitawṙ and Ranthambhōr made him master of the greater part of Rādjputāna, with the exception of Mēwāṙ [*q.v.*], which was not completely subdued until the reign of Djahāngīr [*q.v.*]. The reversal of Akbar's conciliatory policy produced the great Hindu reaction of Awrangzīb's reign, when, faced at the same time with the Rādjpūts of the north and the Marāthās [*q.v.*] of the Deccan, Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] was unable to concentrate on either campaign. But internal dissensions once more prevented the Rādjpūts from taking advantage of the decline of Mughal power, and, in the second half of the 18th century, they proved no match for the Marāthās, who easily overran their country. It was not until the beginning of the 19th century, when the British were at war with the Marāthās, that they entered into political relations with the Rādjpūt states. Before the end of the year 1818, the group of states which in British Indian times comprised Rādjpūtāna had been taken under British protection.

In British India of the 1930s, there were 10,743,091 Rādjpūts distributed throughout the country as follows: United Provinces, 3,756,936; Pandjāb, 2,351,650; Bihār and Orissa, 1,412,440; Rādjputāna, 669,516; Central Provinces and Berār, 506,087; Gwāliōr, 393,076; Central India, 388,942; Bombay, 352,016; Djammū and Kashmīr, 256,020; Western India States, 227,153; Bengal, 156,978; Baroda, 94,893; and Ḥaydarābad 88,434 (1931 *Census report*). It will be noted that, in Rādjpūtāna, only 669,516 Rādjpūts were to be found out of a total population of 11,225,712. The native states of Rādjpūtāna were ruled by Rādjpūts, with the exception of Tonk, which was Muslim, and Bharatpur and Dholpur, which was Djāt. the chief Rādjpūt clans in Rādjpūtāna are the Rāthor, Kačhwāha, Čawhān, Djādon, Sesodia, Ponwar, Parihār, Tonwar and Djhāla. Rādjasthānī is the mother tongue of 77% of the inhabitants of this area. It is interesting to note that in some parts of India, Rādjpūts have embraced Islam, as for example the Manhās, Kātils and Salahria of the Pandjāb.

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(C. Collin Davies)

RĀDKĀN, the site of a mediaeval Islamic monument in northern Persia. The tomb tower (Iranian National Monument 145) sits on the edge of an isolated, 1,300 metre long valley in the Alburz Mountains north of the Nikā River, 70 km/43 miles east of Nikā in the province of Māzandarān. It is often known as Rādkān West to distinguish it from another tomb tower, the Mīl-i Rādkān at Rādkān East near Ṭūs in Khurāsān. The cylindrical tower (height 35 m; exterior diameter 9.8 m; interior diameter 5.80 m) is built of baked brick and is topped with a conical roof. An inscription plaque in terra cotta once stood over the entrance doorway, and another inscription band in Pahlavi and Arabic (illustrated in KITĀBĀT, Pl. XIX, no. 22) encircles the tower below the roof. Both record that the patron was the *amīr* and *ispahbad* Abū Djaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Wandarīn Bāwand and that the building was constructed during his lifetime between Rabīᶜ II 407/September-October 1016 and 411/1020-1. He was a member of the first branch of the Bāwand [*q.v.*] dynasty, the Kayūsiyya, which ruled the mountainous area south of the Caspian 45-397/665-1006. The family lost power when the *ispahbad* Shahriyār revolted against the Ziyārid Ḳābūs b. Wushmgīr [*q.v.*], was captured, and later executed, but several local princes such as Muḥammad b. Wandarīn continued to rule in isolated localities. The tomb tower at Rādkān exemplifies a type of funerary construction which became common in the area at the time (the most striking example is the stellate tower that Ḳābūs ordered in 397/1006-7 at nearby Gunbadh-i Ḳābūs) and is remarkable for its superb inscriptions in plaited Kūfic script.

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(Sheila S. Blair)

AL-**RĀDŪYĀNĪ**, Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar, author of the first Persian treatise on rhetoric, the *Kitāb Tardjumān al-balāgha*. The little that can be inferred about the author's life is known from the *Tardjumān* itself; no other source mentions him. According to the researches of A. Ateş, he seems to have lived in Transoxania, and his book was written between 481/1088, the beginning of the Karakhānid Aḥmad Khān's incarceration at the hand of Malik Shāh, as mentioned in one of the poems quoted, and 507/1114, the date of the unique ms. of the *Tardjumān*, the *madjmūᶜa* Istanbul, Fatih 5413, fols. 233a-290a.

As al-Rādūyānī explicitly states (*Tardjumān*, 3), his book was modelled on the Arabic *Maḥāsin al-kalām* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan al-Marghīnānī, recently published by G.J. van Gelder as *K. al-Maḥāsin fi 'l-naẓm wa 'l-nathr* (see *Bibl.*). However, in spite of his assertion, there are substantial differences between the two works in size and structure, e.g. the *Maḥāsin* has about 33 rhetorical figures as opposed to 73 in the *Tardjumān*, the figures being slightly misleading because of different taxonomies; also, the *Maḥāsin* uses examples from Ḳurʾān and Ḥadīth, which are totally lacking in the *Tardjumān* (see further, Ateş, Introd. to *Tardjumān*, 39-42).

The *Tardjumān* in turn was known to Rashīd al-Dīn-i Waṭwāṭ (d. 573/1177 [*q.v.*]), who found it lacking and wrote his own *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr fī daḳāʾiḳ al-shiᶜr* to supersede it (*Ḥadāʾiḳ*, 1). He does not mention the author's name. Later sources do not seem to have had direct access to the *Tardjumān* and uniformly attribute it to the poet Farrukhī (d. 429/1037-8 (?) [*q.v.*]).

Whereas Waṭwāṭ adduces both Persian and Arabic examples, all poetic examples in the *Tardjumān* are in Persian. Due to its early date it is an important source for the beginnings of Persian poetry (see Ateş, *Etude*, and Lazard).

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

RAḌWĀ, the name of the crags west of Medina, occasionally mentioned in connection with the mountain Thabīr (*Sīrat al-Ḥabasha*, 86). Lying behind Yanbuᶜ, between the regions of Madyan [see MADYAN SHUᶜAYB] and Mecca, they were known to Ptolemy (Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie*, nos. 28, 30) and are mentioned by Ibn Isḥāḳ (*The life of Muhammad*, tr. 413, 542). Al-Hamadhānī quotes a tradition, according to which the Prophet said: "May God be satisfied (*raḍiya*) with it (Raḍwā)!" Abū Karib, leader of the Kuraybiyya [*q.v.*], a sub-sect of the Kaysāniyya, is said to have believed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, a son of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, was alive hidden in the mountains of Raḍwā.

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(Ed.)

RAFᶜ (A.), literally, "elevation, the act of raising something".

1. *As a technical term of Arabic grammar*

Here it denotes the vowel /u/ which affects the final

consonant of words (nouns and verbs) which are inflected (*muᶜrab*). The term indicates not a function but the position of the tongue "raised" (*marfūᶜ*) towards the top of the palate in order to pronounce the vowel /u/. European grammarians see in this vowel the mark of the nominative case of nouns and the mark of the indicative mood in verbs.

Nouns "raised" (*marfūᶜāt*) by the vowel /u/ are of five kinds:

(1) The inchoative (*mubtadaʾ*), which is to be connected (*musnad*) with an item of information, and which is stripped (*mudjarrad, muᶜarrā*) of any regent (*ᶜāmil*) which is expressed (*lafẓī*); it is "raised" by the fact of beginning a piece of speech utterance (*ibtidāʾ*), which is an understood (*maᶜnawī*) regent.

(2) The noun which is a predicate (*khabar*), to which the inchoative is connected (*musnad ilayhi*). For certain of the Baṣran grammarians (including Sībawayh and Ibn al-Sarrādj), it is "raised" at the same time by both the act of beginning and by the noun which forms this; for other Baṣran grammarians, it is "raised" by the act of beginning by means of (*biwāsiṭa*) the noun which forms this; for the Kūfans, it is "raised" solely by the act of beginning.

(3) The noun which is an agent (*fāᶜil*) built upon a verb formed (*buniya*) for it and to which it is connected; it is "raised" by this verb, which is what one is talking about (*mā yuḥaddath ᶜanhu*).

(4) The noun which is a direct object (*mafᶜūl bihi*) built upon a verb formed by it and to which it is connected, but whose agent is not named (*summiya*); it is "raised" by this verb, which is what one is talking about (*mā yuḥaddath ᶜanhu*).

(5) The noun which is assimilated (*mushabbah*) to the agent in actual utterance (*lafẓ*). This noun comes after incomplete verbs, such as *kāna* and its sisters, which are not genuine (*ḥaḳīḳī*) verbs, since they express only time. It can also come after two negative particles assimilated to these verbs, such as *mā* and *lāta* in the dialect of the Ḥidjāz; it is "raised" by this verb or by this particle.

As for the "similar" (*muḍāriᶜ* [*q.v.*]) verb, it is "raised" by an understood (*maᶜnawī*) regent, which is the fact that it occupies (*wuḳūᶜ*) the place (*mawḳiᶜ*) of a noun, whatever its inflexion might be.

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2. As a technical term in the science of Muslim tradition = *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*].

Beside the verbal noun, the passive participle *marfūᶜ* (plural *marfūᶜāt*), "lifted up", is commonly used. An *isnād* [*q.v.*] of a tradition is *marfūᶜ*, when it is, as it were, "lifted up", sc. to the level of the Prophet Muḥammad, supporting a *matn* (= text) containing either his words and/or describing some activity of his as transmitted by one of his Companions. (In contrast, when the transmission of such a tradition is put in the mouth of a Successor, who could not possibly have been present, or someone who lived even later, one speaks of a *mursal* [*q.v.*] *isnād*; on the other hand, when the text of a tradition does not contain a mention of the Prophet, but describes the words and/or deeds of a Companion or somebody later, tradition science defines that as a *mawḳūf* tradition, a qualification also applied to its *isnād*, since it has literally "stopped" at the Companion.)

During the initial stages of *ḥadīth* transmission, a time roughly coinciding with the first three quarters of the 1st/7th century, the necessity of naming one's source(s) was not yet generally felt. In the course of the last few decades of that century, however, the *isnād* as authentication device came into use. In order to validate a report of which one claimed that it described an event of the past, one was requested to call an older authority to witness. The earliest *isnād*s contained only one name, mostly that of an alleged expert in legal or ritual matters, a Companion or somebody of a later generation, resulting in a *mawḳūf isnād* strand, or the Prophet himself, resulting in a *mursal isnād*, thus without a Companion. But, as a result of inaccurate handling of *isnād*s and/or because of widespread *isnād* fabrication, they became subject to a more sophisticated evaluation, which resulted in the course of time in fully-fledged *isnād* criticism. Merely supplying *mawḳūf* or *mursal isnād*s in an attempt to guarantee the veracity of a report which one wished to circulate was no longer sufficient, and the call for *isnād*s ending in a Companion, who reported on the authority of the Prophet, became louder. Muslim tradition scholars generally credit the founder of the legal school that bears his name, Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiᶜī (d. 204/820) [*q.v.*], with the foresight of having been the first to emphasise the authority of *marfūᶜ isnād*s, more so than the other types of *isnād* strands. This was also underlined in western studies, notably in those of J. Schacht (cf. his *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, ch. 3). As from al-Shāfiᶜī's days, the prestige of these latter types began to diminish and traditions supported by them gradually failed to attract the attention of tradition collectors, while supplying *marfūᶜ isnād* strands, which in the beginning were vastly outnumbered by the other types as is especially clear in the pre-canonical *ḥadīth* collections, became the rule.

The qualification *marfūᶜ* for an *isnād* strand does not necessarily imply that it is at the same time beyond criticism. To be considered unassailable, the strand has to show up an uninterrupted string of names of known transmitters, from the Prophet to the collector in whose collection that strand turns up. At the same time, each pair of transmitters in that string of names must be believed to have transmitted from one another. For this quality of a strand the technical term *muttaṣil* is used. Because not each *muttaṣil* strand is *marfūᶜ*, but can "stop" at a Companion (= *muttaṣil mawḳūf*) and because not every *marfūᶜ* is at the same time *muttaṣil* (e.g. a *munḳaṭiᶜ marfūᶜ*), a strand deemed genuinely reliable has to be both *marfūᶜ* as well as *muttaṣil*; for both terms taken together the technical term *musnad* [*q.v.*] came into use. It is only a tradition with a *matn* supported by a *musnad isnād* strand which may have a claim to be considered *ṣaḥīḥ* [*q.v.*], "sound".

The Arabic root *r-f-ᶜ* has given rise to yet another derivative being widely used in a technical sense in the context of *ḥadīth*. With the prestige of *marfūᶜ* strands gradually increasing, but especially after al-Shāfiᶜī's insistence on them, many transmitters became known as *raffāᶜūn*, i.e. people who developed the habit of frequently "raising" *isnād* strands "to the level" of *marfūᶜāt*, either by inserting the name of a Companion in *mursal* strands which they had, or replacing the actor in a *mawḳūf*-supported *matn* by the Prophet.

In later times certain form rules were less strictly observed. Thus the mention of the Prophet was often dropped in a saying ascribed to him by the mere addition of the adverbially used *marfūᶜan* after the name of the Companion of that saying's *isnād* strand. Alternative loose formulae for this were the verbal forms *yarfaᶜu ʾl-ḥadīth, yanmīhi, yablughu bihi* or *riwāyatan* im-

mediately following the name of the Companion in an *isnād* strand. Reports, furthermore, in which Companions are alleged to have said: "We used to do (or say) such and such a thing in the time of the Prophet", were considered *mawḳūf* as to the actual wording but *marfūᶜ* as to the underlying meaning, since they implied Muḥammad's tacit approval, in Arabic *taḳrīr* (plural *taḳrīrāt*). Moreover, although Muḥammad's name is not mentioned, additional statements in a *matn* such as: "... while the Ḳurʾān was still being revealed", or a Companion's assertion that a certain Ḳurʾān verse pertained to one particular situation to which he bore witness, were likewise considered to be *marfūᶜ*-supported, but only by implication.

Bibliography: For the usages of the derivatives of *r-f-ᶜ* and accompanying casuistry, including juridical authority, see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *al-Muḳaddima [fī ᶜulum al-ḥadīth]*, ed. ᶜĀʾisha ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, Cairo 1974, 122-30; Nawawī, *Taḳrīb*, tr. W. Marçais in *JA*, 9ᵉ série, xvi (1900), 506-13; Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, ed. ᶜA. ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf, 183-93; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya fī ᶜilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 415-24; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ᶜUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 226 ff.; for the role of the *rafᶜ* phenomenon in the proliferation and fabrication of traditions, as well as a list of *raffāᶜūn*, see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, index s.v. *rafᶜ* and *raffāᶜ*; idem, *Some notes on Islam's first* fuqahāʾ *distilled from early* ḥadīth *literature*, in *Arabica*, xxxix (1992), 287-314. (G.H.A. Juynboll)

RAFᶜ [see ṬALĀḲ].

RAFAḤ, conventional modern rendering Rafah, originally a town 5 km/3 miles inland from the eastern Mediterranean (lat. 31° 18′ N., long. 34° 15′ E.), on the borders of Egypt and Palestine and now administratively divided between Egypt and the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip as two separate towns.

The name is ancient, and appears in Egyptian records of *ca.* 1300 BC as RPH. In Byzantine times it was part of Palestina Prima and a prosperous place, depicted on the famous Madaba map. At the time of the Arab invasions, it seems to have surrendered to ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ on condition of paying the poll-tax and the *ᶜushr* [*q.v.*] in return for security of life and property: subsequently, it was included in the *djund* [*q.v.*] of Filasṭīn. The Arabic geographers often mention it as a stage on the route between Damascus and Egypt and as being in the zone of *djifār*, sand dunes difficult to traverse. However, water was easily available through digging, and in the 18th century Asad al-Luḳaymī (d. 1765), en route for Jerusalem, compared the water from Rafaḥ's well to that of the Nile in its sweetness. The geographer al-Muhallabī (d. 376/986), cited by al-Ḳalḳashandī, says that the population of this *madīna* was composed of Lakhm and Djudhām tribesmen; it had a market, a mosque with a *minbar, funduḳs*, and was administered by a *wālī al-maᶜūna* who had a force of soldiers at his disposal. Modern archaeological surveys and investigations have disclosed a number of derelict settlements in the neighbourhood, including on the coast, Tall Rafaḥ, which served as the town's landing-place. Yāḳūt describes Rafaḥ as ruinous in his own time, and for several centuries it is hardly mentioned.

But in the 19th century it regained some of its old importance, being from 1865 a telegraph station on the Damascus-Cairo line. In 1870 the Khedive Ismāᶜīl visited the place, and two granite columns were erected to define the border there of Egypt and Ottoman Syria. Subsequently, however, Rafaḥ became a point of dispute. In 1898 ᶜAbbās Ḥilmī [*q.v.*] visited it after threats of an Ottoman annexation of the Sinai peninsula, discouraged at this time by British diplomatic intervention; but in April 1906 the Ottomans occupied Rafaḥ, removed the two columns and uprooted the telegraph poles. Negotiations followed, and the borders were defined in October 1906, with the telegraphic service restored and telephone and camel postal services introduced. During the First World War, British forces under Sir Archibald Murray occupied Rafaḥ in June 1917, establishing a military camp; a double-track, standard-gauge railway from al-Ḳanṭara to Rafaḥ, thence to Beersheba, was built. The town later grew by the settlement of Bedouins there and, after 1948, of Palestinian refugees; and in 1956 and 1967 it was occupied by Israeli forces. Following the Camp David Accords and the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt of 1978, Palestinian Rafaḥ was again separated from its Egyptian counterpart.

Bibliography: 1. For the classical Arabic sources, see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 517, and Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, 80, also Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ᶜUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, Cairo 1985, 95; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 232, iv, 75-7, 89; Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ᶜUlaymī, *al-Uns al-djalīl*, ᶜAmmān 1973, ii, 67.

2. Studies. Nāᶜūm Shuḳayr Bey, *The history of Sinai...* (in Arabic), Cairo 1916, 19, 122, 175-9, 252-3, 588-616; H.C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, *The handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*[2], London 1930, 286-7; Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Palestine and Jordan*, London 1943, index; U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, 125-7; Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1963, ii/4; art. *Rafa*, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, xiii, 1510; arts. on history and education and on the town of Rafaḥ itself, in *al-Mawsūᶜa al-Filisṭīniyya*, Beirut 1990. (M.A. Bakhit)

RĀFIᶜ b. **HARTHAMA**, a soldier of fortune who disputed control of Khurāsān with other adventurers and with the Ṣaffārid Amīr ᶜAmr b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] in the later 3rd/9th century, d. 283/896.

Rāfiᶜ had been in the service of the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*], and after the death in 268/882 at Nīshāpūr of the previous contender for power in Khurāsān, Aḥmad al-Khudjistānī, he set himself up as *de facto* ruler of Khurāsān, subsequently securing legitimisation from the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs when al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*] broke with the Ṣaffārids. By 283/896, however, ᶜAmr managed to defeat Rāfiᶜ and to drive him out of Khurāsān to Khᵂārazm, where he was killed.

Bibliography: R. Vasmer, *Über die Münzen der Ṣaffāriden und ihrer Gegner in Fārs und Ḫurāsān*, in *Num. Zeitschr.*, N.F., xxiii (1930), 138 ff.; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 118-20; idem, *The Ṣaffārids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nīmrūz*, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1993. (C.E. Bosworth)

RĀFIᶜ b. al-**LAYTH** b. **NAṢR** b. **SAYYĀR**, apparently the grandson of the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] and rebel against the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate in the opening years of the 9th century A.D.

In 190/806 Rāfiᶜ led a rising in Samarḳand which turned into a general rebellion throughout Transoxania against the harsh rule and financial exploitation of the caliphal governor of Khurāsān, ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā b. Māhān [see IBN MĀHĀN]. As well as receiving support from the local Iranian population, Rāfiᶜ secured help

from the Turks of the Inner Asian steppes, the Toghuz-Oghuz [see GHUZZ] and Karluḳ [*q.v.*]. Hārūn al-Rashīd sent against him the commander Harthama b. Aʿyan [*q.v.*], and was about to take charge of the campaign against Rāfiʿ personally when he died at Ṭūs in 193/809. Only after Hārūn's death did Rāfiʿ surrender to the successor as ʿAbbāsid governor in the East, al-Maʾmūn, and receive from him *amān* or pardon, after which Rāfiʿ fades from historical mention.

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RAFĪʿ AL-DĪN, MAWLĀNĀ SHĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM AL-ʿUMARĪ (after the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), was born in 1163/1750 in Dihlī, in a family which enjoyed the highest reputation in Muslim India for learning and piety, from the 18th century onwards, and produced a number of eminent *ʿulamāʾ* up to the Sepoy Rebellion of 1837-8 (see Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Itḥāf al-nubalāʾ*, Kānpur 1288, 296-7; *JASB*, xiii, 310). He studied *ḥadīth* with his father, Shāh Walī Allāh [see AL-DIHLAWĪ, SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH] who was the most celebrated traditionist in his time, in India.

After the death of his father in 1176/1762-3, he was brought up by his elder brother Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1159-1239/1746-1823), with whom he completed his studies in the usual sciences, being specially interested in *ḥadīth*, *kalām* and *uṣūl*. When about twenty, he entered upon his career as *muftī* and *mudarris*, and later succeeded in these capacities his brother and teacher, who, in his old age, had lost his eyesight, and had indifferent health. He died on 6 Shawwāl 1233/9 August 1818, at the age of 70 (lunar years), of cholera, and was buried in their family graveyard outside the city of Dihlī.

He wrote about 20 works, mostly in Arabic and Persian, and a few in Urdū. He is praised for the subtlety of his ideas and the conciseness of his style. Among his works are:

In Urdū: 1. a translation of the Ḳurʾān, interlinear to the Arabic text, which it follows closely and faithfully. He and his brother ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] were the pioneers in this field, though their work was considerably facilitated by their father Shāh Walī Allāh's Persian translation of the Ḳurʾān (entitled *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān fī tardjamat al-Ḳurʾān*). The first edition of Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn's translation appeared in Calcutta in 1254/1838-9 and another, in 1266/1849-50. For some of its numerous editions (from 1866 onwards) see Blumhardt, *Cat. of the Hindustānī printed books of the Libr. of the British Museum*, London 1889, 290-1, and its *Supplement*, London 1909, 403.

In Arabic: 2. *Takmīl al-ṣināʿa* or *Takmīl li-ṣināʿat al-adhhān*, dealing with a. logic, b. *taḥṣīl*, i.e. principles of dialectics, teaching, learning, authorship and self-study, c. *mabāḥith min al-umūr al-ʿāmma* (some metaphysical discussions) and, d. *taṭbīḳ al-ārāʾ* (i.e. an enquiry into the causes and the criteria for judging conflicting opinions in religious matters). A considerable portion of the work has been quoted in the *Abdjad al-ʿulūm*, 127-35 and 235-70; 3. *Muḳaddimat al-ʿilm*; see *Abdjad al-ʿulūm*, 124; 4. *Risālat al-Maḥabba*, a discourse on the all-pervading nature of love; see *Abdjad al-ʿulūm*, 254; 5. *Tafsīr Āyat al-Nūr*, a commentary on sūra XXIV, 35; 6. *Risālat al-ʿArūḍ wa 'l-ḳāfiya*; see *Abdjad*, 915; 7. *Damgh al-bāṭil*, dealing with some abstruse problems of the *ʿilm al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*; 8. a gloss on Mīr Zāhid al-Harawī's commentary on Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Risālat al-Taṣawwurāt wa 'l-taṣdīḳāt* (see *GAL*, II², 271); 9. *Ibṭāl al-barāhīn al-ḥikmiyya ʿalā uṣūl al-ḥukamāʾ*.

In Persian: 10. *Ḳiyāmat-nāma* (Lahore 1339; Ḥaydarābād, undated ed.), on the last judgment also called *Maḥshar-nāma* (see Browne's *Supplementary handlist*, 189). For the two poetical versions, in Urdū, of this popular work, viz., *Āthār-i maḥshar* (chronogrammatic name, which gives 1250/1834-5 as the date of composition), and *Āthār-i ḳiyāmat*, see Sprenger, *Oudh catalogue*, 624, and Blumhardt, *Cat.*, 290, and for an Urdū prose version, *Ḳiyāmat-nāma* or *Daʾb al-ākhirāt*, see Blumhardt, *loc. cit.*; 11. *Fatāwā*, Dihlī 1322; 12. *Madjmūʿat tisʿ rasāʾil*, Dihlī 1314, small treatises on religious and mystical topics; 13. *Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr bi-sharḥ ḥāl al-mawtā wa 'l-ḳubūr*, an eschatological work, in a ms. copy in the Dār al-ʿUlūm, Deoband, which institution also possesses the ms. of his 14. *Laṭāʾif khamsa*, a mystical work (ff. 32).

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(MUḤAMMAD SHAFĪʿ)

AL-**RĀFIḌA** OR AL-RAWĀFIḌ, a term that refers to (i) the proto-Imāmiyya (and, subsequently, the Twelver Shīʿa); (ii) any of a number of Shīʿī sects. In this article it is used in the former sense unless otherwise indicated.

The origin of the term is a matter of dispute. 1. Early Imāmī heresiographers maintain that the name was first applied to the adherents of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ by al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd (executed in 119/737), immediately after they had dissociated themselves from him [see MUGHĪRIYYA]. 2. Other reports, in contrast, relate it to the abortive uprising of Zayd b. ʿAlī against the Umayyads (in 122/740). According to these reports (including one from the Kūfan historian ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam and another from Abū Mikhnaf [*q.vv.*]), some Kūfans who had initially joined Zayd's camp made their continued support conditional on his rejection (*rafḍ*) of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (or of the entire *ṣaḥāba*). When Zayd refused to accede to their demands they deserted him (*rafaḍūhu*), thus bringing about his defeat. The term *Rāfiḍa* is therefore variously said to recall the desertion of Zayd, the rejection of the first two caliphs, or both.

The name is used to refer to the proto-Imāmiyya in

statements of dubious authenticity ascribed to the traditionist al-S̲h̲aʿbī (d. 103/721 or 110/728), and was current by the mid-2nd/8th century, when it was reportedly used by (among others) the Zaydī Sulaymān b. D̲j̲arīr. Not surprisingly, Ḥasanid circles were particularly active in propagating anti-Rāfiḍī traditions. Zayd himself is said to have quoted the Prophet as telling ʿAlī that he should kill any Rāfiḍī whom he meets; the reason given is that they are polytheists (Nas̲h̲wān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, Cairo 1948, 185). Muḥammad is also said to have declared: "At the end of time there will appear a group ... called *Rawāfiḍ* who will reject (*yarfuḍūna*) Islam." According to an account attributed to al-Suddī (d. 127/744-5), Zayd compared the Rāfiḍī desertion with the K̲h̲āri̲d̲j̲ī revolt against ʿAlī (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Madīnat Dimashḳ*, facsimile ed., vi, 648). Detractors argue that *rafḍ* is based on Judaism; they allege that ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*] was of Jewish origin, and claim that anthropomorphism (*tas̲h̲bīh*), allegedly a hallmark of Judaism, was first introduced into Islam by the Rāfiḍa (cf. J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, i, 399-403).

While *Rāfiḍa* was originally intended as a pejorative term, the Imāmīs soon turned it into an honorific. The traditionist al-Aʿmas̲h̲ [*q.v.*] quotes D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ as explaining that it was bestowed on the S̲h̲īʿīs by God and is preserved in both the Torah and the Gospels. According to al-Ṣādiḳ, there were seventy men among the people of Pharaoh who rejected their master and chose to join Moses instead. God therefore called them *Rāfiḍa*, i.e. those who rejected evil, and ordered Moses to write this word, in the original Arabic, in the Torah. After Muḥammad's death, when most of the early adherents of Islam began to stray from the path of truth, only the S̲h̲īʿīs rejected evil. They thus became the successors of the original Rāfiḍa. According to another version, those who renounced Pharaoh were not Egyptians but Israelites who had adopted (or perhaps been born into) Pharaoh's religion; having later become aware of their error, they rejoined their erstwhile co-religionists (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-G̲h̲affārī, Tehran 1375-7, viii, 34). Yet another account states that the term was originally applied to Aaron and his followers by the worshippers of the golden calf, whence it was given to the followers of ʿAlī (al-ʿĀmilī al-Bayāḍī, *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm ilā mustaḥiḳḳī 'l-taḳdīm*, ed. Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Bihbūdī, Tehran 1384, i, 323); this reflects the well-known Imāmī tradition that equates ʿAlī's position with regard to the Prophet with that of Aaron with regard to Moses. A retrojection of the term into an even earlier period occurs in an Imāmī account about Idrīs [*q.v.*]. According to this account, Idrīs lived during the reign of the infidel tyrant Bīwarāsb (i.e. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ed. Pellat, §537), who belonged to the progeny of Cain; those who rejected the tyrant and counted themselves among the followers (*s̲h̲īʿa*) of Idrīs were called *Rāfiḍa* (al-Masʿūdī, *It̲h̲bāt al-waṣiyya*, Nad̲j̲af 1955, 20-1). Another version, finally, states that the first Rāfiḍa were the seventy followers of Noah (ʿAbd al-D̲j̲alīl Ḳazwīnī, *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ*, 585-6).

Rāfiḍism, which first emerged in Kūfa, had spread to Ḳumm by the end of the 2nd/8th century. Ḳumm became a bastion of Rāfiḍī orthodoxy, in contrast to Kūfa, where the various S̲h̲īʿī sects were in continual conflict with each other. It was primarily in Ḳumm that Rāfiḍī traditions were sifted and collected. The Ḳummī traditionists were largely Arabs, whereas those of Kūfa were mostly *mawālī*. Rāfiḍī centres which arose in the 3rd/9th century included Ahwāz, Rayy and Naysābūr; by the 4th/10th century, Rāfiḍism had spread to Ṭūs, to Bayhaḳ and to various places in Ṭabaristān and Transoxania, and Bag̲h̲dād (particularly the Kark̲h̲ quarter) had become a stronghold of Rāfiḍī rationalist *kalām* (see W. Madelung, *Religious trends in early Islamic Iran*, Albany 1988, 78-86).

The early Rāfiḍīs combined extreme anti-Sunnī positions with political quietism. Their most prominent theologians included Zurāra b. Aʿyan (d. 150/767), S̲h̲ayṭān al-Ṭāḳ, His̲h̲ām al-D̲j̲awālīḳī and His̲h̲ām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795-6 [*q.v.*]). They were divided into a number of subsects, some of which are noted in the list which the prefect of police Ibn al-Mufaḍḍal drew up for the caliph al-Mahdī (al-Kis̲h̲s̲h̲ī, *Rid̲j̲āl*, Nad̲j̲af n.d., 227). While disagreeing on points of detail (as indicated for example by the title of one of His̲h̲ām b. al-Ḥakam's works, *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā His̲h̲ām al-D̲j̲awālīḳī*), most Rāfiḍīs shared a number of basic doctrines. They affirmed that God has a form, that his attributes are essentially subject to change, and that he may reverse his rulings [see BADĀʾ]. On the question of the imāmate they maintained that ʿAlī had been appointed as Muḥammad's successor by an explicit designation (*naṣṣ*) and that the majority of the Companions were sinners or even unbelievers for failing to support him after the Prophet's death. The Rāfiḍīs asserted further that ʿAlī's enemies deleted or changed passages in the Ḳurʾān in which ʿAlī's rights were mentioned; as a result the Ḳurʾān as we have it is not identical with the original revelation. They maintained that both the Imāms and their community were created of a heavenly substance and are thus sharply distinguished from the outside world. Only members of this community are believers; they remain in a state of belief even when they sin, and are guaranteed entry into Paradise. The Imāms are immune from error and sin [see ʿIṢMA] and are the supreme authority since they possess virtually limitless knowledge; their teachings formed the basis for the Rāfiḍī legal system. The Rāfiḍīs held that self-protection through dissimulation (*taḳiyya* [*q.v.*]) is often permitted and sometimes obligatory, and believed that there will be a return to this world before the resurrection [see RAD̲J̲ʿA]. As noted by al-As̲h̲ʿarī, some Rāfiḍīs had by the 3rd/9th century adopted Muʿtazilī ideas about God's unity and about the Ḳurʾān.

In practice, the Imāms' authority manifested itself chiefly in religious guidance. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir and D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.vv.*] laid down the principles of Rāfiḍī doctrine and law and taught them to a circle of students in Medina. With the advent of the ʿAbbāsids, the Imāms' activities were severely hampered by the restrictions placed on their movements; they were often incarcerated or placed under house arrest, and so had little direct contact with their followers. This, combined with the geographical expansion of the Rāfiḍa, led naturally to the growth of a local leadership, to which the Imāms delegated some of their authority. In the mid-3rd/9th century, for example, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-As̲h̲ʿarī served as leader of the Rāfiḍī community in Ḳumm and as the upholder of Rāfiḍī orthodoxy. In addition, the Imāms relied on a network of financial agents for the collection of the *k̲h̲ums*. The groundwork was thus laid for the assumption of responsibility by the *ʿulamāʾ* after the onset of the Occultation [see G̲H̲AYBA].

The Rāfiḍīs were attacked by representatives of most other religious groups; Ibn al-Nadīm, for example, records three works entitled *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-rāfiḍa*, one by the Ibāḍī ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd, a second by the

Muʿtazilī Bis̲h̲r b. al-Muʿtamir and the third by the Zaydī al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm (on which see W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 98; ed. B. Abrahamov, in *The theological epistles of al-Ḳāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Ph.D. diss., Tel-Aviv University 1981, unpubl.). While some Sunnī scholars permitted traditions to be transmitted on the authority of Rāfiḍīs, others did not (al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 120-5). Opposition to the Rāfiḍīs also came to the fore in the legal sphere: the *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa Ibn Abī Laylā (d. 148/765 [*q.v.*]) reportedly refused to accept their testimony (Wakīʿ, *Ak̲h̲bār al-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo 1366-9/1947-50, iii, 133; al-Mad̲j̲lisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, lxviii, 156), while one of his successors as *ḳāḍī*, the Kūfan traditionist Ḥafṣ b. G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Nak̲h̲aʿī (d. 194/809-10), is said to have denied permission for women to marry them. His stated reason was that the Rāfiḍīs consider a triple repudiation (*ṭalāḳ*) pronounced in one session to be tantamount to a single repudiation, and hence revocable; Rāfiḍīs who pronounced this formula therefore regarded themselves as still married (Wakīʿ, *Ak̲h̲bār al-ḳuḍāt*, iii, 185, 188; *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, viii, 193-4). The ascription of this view to Ḥafṣ has polemical overtones, since he was generally regarded as pro-ʿAlid. Sunnī authors often contrast *rafḍ* with *tas̲h̲ayyuʿ*, a favourable attitude to ʿAlī and members of the Prophet's family which in itself is not objectionable.

As already noted, the appellation *Rāfiḍa* had wider applications. For example, K̲h̲us̲h̲ays̲h̲ b. Aṣram (d. 253/867), as cited by al-Malaṭī, refers to fifteen Rāfiḍī groups, most of whom were extremist S̲h̲īʿīs, and al-S̲h̲ahrastānī also includes the *g̲h̲ulāt* in the term *Rāfiḍa*; and the Rāfiḍīs whose veneration for ʿAlī is likened in some traditions to the Christian deification of Jesus may likewise be the *g̲h̲ulāt*. Ibn Ḥanbal (as cited in Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, i, 33), Ibn Ḳutayba, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Bag̲h̲dādī, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar al-Isfarāyīnī and others used the term Rāfiḍa to refer, *inter alia*, to the Zaydīs.

Yet in general the term continued to denote the Twelver S̲h̲īʿīs throughout the Middle Ages and into the modern era, particularly in a polemical context. Of late it has again been used in a positive sense, as when the Lebanese S̲h̲īʿī leader Mūsā al-Ṣadr described the S̲h̲īʿīs as men who reject evil (*rāfiḍūn*) and who revolt against tyranny (cited by Fouad Ajami, *The vanished Imam*, Ithaca and London 1986, 155).

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AL-**RĀFIʿĪ**, ʿABD AL-KARĪM B. ABĪ SAʿĪD MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-S͟hafiʿī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Imām al-Dīn, S͟hāfiʿī scholar, born at Ḳazwīn in 555/1160 and died there in 623/1226. He is best known by his *nisba* of al-Rāfiʿī and, because of this, occasionally confused in some oriental sources with the poet of Ṭabaristān Rāfiʿī Naysābūrī and with a poet of G͟hūr called Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Rāfiʿī, whilst Browne, *LHP*, iii, 88, 381, takes him for al-Yāfiʿī.

Skilled in *fiḳh*, he was the author of several works, numbering ten if one examines the sources which contain notices of his scholarly works: (1) *K. al-Muḥarrar*; (2) *K. al-Tadwīn fī d͟hikr ahl al-ʿilm bi-Ḳazwīn*; (3) *al-Amālī al-s͟hāriḥa li-mufradāt al-Fātiḥa*; (4) *Sawād al-ʿayn fī manāḳib Abu 'l-ʿālamayn Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī*; (5) *al-Tad͟hnīb*; (6) *S͟harḥ al-Wad͟jīz* (sc. by al-G͟hazālī); (7) *S͟harḥ Musnad al-S͟hāfiʿī*; (8) *al-S͟harḥ al-ṣag͟hīr*; (9) *al-Tartīb*; (10) *K. al-Id͟jāz fī ak͟hṭār al-Ḥid͟jāz*. The first six are to be found in Brockelmann (I, 393, S I, 678), and the others in al-Subkī (*Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1965, v, 120). To underline al-Rāfiʿī's high standing amongst Sunnī scholars, one may merely note that the famous *Minhād͟j al-ṭālibīn* of al-Nawawī [*q.v.*] (Fr. tr. L.W.C. Van Den Berg, Batavia 1882) is a compendium of his *K. al-Muḥarrar*.

However, one should also note the value for the history of Ḳazwīn and its region of his *K. al-Tadwīn*, a dictionary containing over a thousand biographies, listed more or less alphabetically, spread out over the first six centuries of Islam and devoted to the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ*, above all the S͟hāfiʿī ones, of Ḳazwīn. The pre-eminence of this *mad͟hhab* there is confirmed by it, even if, in the Ṣafawid period, another scholar of the town, Raḍī al-Dīn Ḳazwīnī, who was fiercely critical of the *Tadwīn* and its author, was to endeavour, in his *Ḍiyāfat al-ik͟hwān* (ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Ḳumm 1977), by somewhat dubious methods, to exaggerate the importance of the Imāmīs in Ḳazwīn, by bringing to light a good number of them concealed amongst the persons listed in the *Tadwīn*; such is the remarkable case of Munta͟djab al-Dīn [*q.v.*], one of the most famous Imāmī S͟hīʿī scholars of the period and who was, moreover—a testimony to the strength of *taḳiyya*—one of al-Rāfiʿī's masters.

But the book's value can especially be seen in the four chapters prefixed to the actual biographies (of which preliminary chapters, lengthy extracts translated into Persian may be found in Sayyid ʿAlī Gulrīz's *Mīnūdar yā bāb al-d͟janna Ḳazwīn*, Tehran 1337). They provide rich historical and geographical information which was extensively used, a century later, by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] in the 6th chapter of his *T.-i Guzīda* and even, in a very synthetic fashion, in the passages on Ḳazwīn in his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*. Since the formal dependence of this section of the *T.-i Guzīda* on the *Tadwīn* is demonstrable, one will need to reconsider the importance of this history, which has generally been considered as one of the main sources on Ḳazwīn, since its information dates from a century before.

As well as the Persian extracts from the *Tadwīn* mentioned above, there exists an index of the persons listed in it compiled by Mīr D͟jalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn (*Fihrist asmāʾ al-rid͟jāl* [Tehran] 1374), who has used only a single one of the mss. of this work.

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RAFSAND͟JĀN, a town of Kirmān province, central Persia (lat. 30° 25′ N., long. 56° 00′ E., altitude 1,572 m/5,156 ft.), situated on the Yazd road 120 km/74 miles to the west of Kirmān city. It is the chef-lieu of a *s͟hahrastān* or district of the same name. Known also as Bahrāmābād, in 1991 it had an estimated population of 87,798 (*Preliminary results of September 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). Its chief claim to fame is as the home of the present (1993) head of state of the Islamic Republic of Iran "President and Prime Minister" ʿAlī Akbar Hās͟himī Rafsand͟jānī.

Bibliography: Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i d͟jug͟hrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, viii, 207. (ED.)

AL-**RĀG͟HIB** AL-**IṢFAHĀNĪ**, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-ḤUSAYN b. Muḥammad b. al-Mufaḍḍal, religious and Arabic literary scholar. Despite the considerable popularity of his works, at least a dozen of which are extant, and his demonstrable influence on al-G͟hazālī and other later figures, al-Rāg͟hib's name is missing from almost all the standard biographical collections, and information about his life is extremely scanty. Although late sources place him in the 6th/12th century, more recent scholarship has confirmed al-Suyūṭī's statement (*Bug͟hya*, ii, 297) that he died early in the 5th/11th. In his literary anthologies he alludes a number of times to contemporaries who can be identified as members of the circle of the Būyid vizier Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995 [*q.v.*]); and the fact that he refers to Ibn ʿAbbād's successor, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḍabbī (d. 399/1008), exceptionally, by his full title suggests that he may have been writing during the latter's vizierate. There is no sound evidence that al-Rāg͟hib ever visited Bag͟hdād or left his native Iṣfahān.

Further knowledge of al-Rāg͟hib comes almost entirely from his own works, whose variety made it difficult for later biographers to pigeonhole him; al-Suyūṭī calls him simply an "author" (*ṣāḥib al-muṣannafāt*). His best-known work, the *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ wa-muḥāwarāt al-s͟huʿarāʾ wa 'l-bulag͟hāʾ* (2 vols., Beirut 1960, and earlier editions), is a comprehensive *adab* encyclopaedia, organised in twenty-five chapters covering such topics as intellect, rulership, crafts, food, courage, love, death, and animals, and including poetry and short prose anecdotes from all periods of Islamic history in approximately equal proportions; particularly prominent are verses by al-Mutanabbī and al-S͟harīf al-Rāḍī [*q.vv.*] and poetry and prose by Ibn ʿAbbād. Similar in scope, and overlapping in content, is the *Mad͟jmaʿ al-balāg͟ha* (ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sārīsī, ʿAmmān 1986), which differs from the *Muḥāḍarāt* in purpose, however, being essentially a thesaurus of elegant expressions for the use of the aspiring littérateur; this title is not recorded by the biobibliographical sources, but is probably to be identified with the *Kitāb al-Maʿānī al-akbar* referred to by Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa (ed. Flügel, v, 616), quoting from the extant but unpublished introduction to al-Rāg͟hib's own *Durrat al-taʾwīl* (see below). A third literary work by al-Rāg͟hib, preserved without proper title in a Yale manuscript (ms. Landberg 165) and dealing with the standard rhetorical figures of poetry, is perhaps to be identified

with the *Afānīn al-balāgha* mentioned by al-Suyūṭī and later sources.

Al-Rāghib's predilection for subtle semantic analysis, apparent in the *Madjmaʿ al-balāgha*, is even more pronounced in his alphabetical lexicon of Ḳurʾānic vocabulary, the *Mufradāt alfāẓ al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Nadīm Marʿashlī, Beirut 1972, and other editions). This work, whose influence can be traced in later *tafsīr* as well as lexicography, was one of a series of monographs by al-Rāghib on the Ḳurʾān; in its introduction the author refers to his previous *Risāla munabbiha ʿalā fawāʾid al-Ḳurʾān* and *Risāla fī 'l-ḳawānīn al-dālla ʿalā taḥḳīḳ munāsabāt al-alfāẓ*, both apparently lost, and promises a further work specifically on the "obscure distinctions" to be drawn between apparent synonyms in the Holy Book. The latter is probably to be identified with the *Durrat al-taʾwīl fī mutashābih al-tanzīl*, a study of phrases repeated in the Ḳurʾān in slightly varying forms, offering explanations for the significance of such minor variations. This work is extant in a number of manuscripts with varying titles, and has been shown by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sārīsī to be substantially identical, except for its introduction, with the *Durrat al-tanzīl wa-ghurrat al-taʾwīl* (Beirut 1973, and other editions) attributed to al-Khaṭīb al-Iskāfī (d. 421/1030), a contemporary and compatriot of al-Rāghib and a member of the circle of Ibn ʿAbbād in Rayy; whatever the source of the confusion, al-Rāghib's authorship seems to be supported on stylistic grounds, as well as by an internal reference to the author's *Djāmiʿ al-tafsīr*, which accords with other information on al-Rāghib but not on al-Iskāfī.

Al-Rāghib's *tafsīr*, of which only the initial sections are known to be extant in manuscript, is quoted in the *tafsīrs* of al-Bayḍāwī (anonymously) and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (explicitly). It may never have been completed. Most celebrated was its methodological introduction, which was often copied separately and has been printed several times (most recently, as a *mulḥaḳ* to al-Nāhī, *al-Khawālid* [see *Bibl.*]). A model of clarity, this brief essay combines traditional philology with concepts derived directly from the philosophical tradition in an elegant and novel way.

The same combination of traditional religious scholarship and *falsafa* is even more apparent in al-Rāghib's best-known ethical work, *al-Dharīʿa ilā makārim al-sharīʿa* (ed. Abū Yazīd al-ʿAdjamī, Cairo 1985, and earlier editions). This work is structured in terms of a Platonic-Aristotelian psychology, with separate chapters on man's faculties in general, his intellect, the concupiscent and irascible faculties, justice, labour and money, and human acts. The pervasive philosophical influence is highly reminiscent of Miskawayh [*q.v.*] (who died and was buried in Iṣfahān in 421/1030), although no textual parallels between the two authors' works have been identified (except for a few brief quotations from Miskawayh in the *Muḥāḍarāt*). Al-Rāghib's *falsafa* is, however, considerably more Islamicised than Miskawayh's, with virtually every assertion being backed up by appropriate citations from Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*. The statement by al-Bayhaḳī (*Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ al-Islām*, ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī, Damascus 1946, 112-13) that al-Rāghib combined *sharīʿa* and *ḥikma* in his works is particularly apposite to the *Dharīʿa*. The work's ultimate influence was considerable, as it was al-Ghazālī's direct source for a good half of his *Mīzān al-ʿamal*, as well as for significant sections of his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* and *Maʿāridj al-ḳuds*. Al-Rāghib also wrote a companion piece to the *Dharīʿa*, the *Tafṣīl al-nashʾatayn wa-taḥṣīl al-saʿādatayn* (ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd al-Nadjdjār, Beirut 1988), which presents many of the same ideas but stresses even more explicitly the complementarity of *ʿaḳl* and *sharʿ*.

Influence from the *falsafa* tradition is equally apparent in a theological treatise by al-Rāghib published (very imperfectly) under the title *al-Iʿtiḳādāt* (ed. Shamrān al-ʿAdjalī, Beirut 1988). Its proper title is unknown, although one of the three known manuscripts of the work calls it (rather implausibly) *Taḥḳīḳ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Ḳurʾān*, a title referred to by the author himself in his *Dharīʿa*. In this work, al-Rāghib deals with a series of standard *kalām* topics, such as the attributes of God and the problem of free will, but much of his argumentation is philosophical, including his conception of God as the Necessary Existent (*wādjib al-wudjūd bi-dhātihi*) and the Unmoved Mover. Repeated attacks on the Muʿtazilīs, and occasional ones on the Shīʿa, show traditional questions about al-Rāghib's adherence to either of these positions to be groundless, although the existence of such questions from an early period suggests that this work was never widely known. Al-Rāghib's actual theological stance seems in fact to have been close to that of the Ashʿarīs, although he attacks them once for denying the existence of a rational moral order in the universe; his pointed omission of Abū Ḥanīfa from a list of major formative figures in jurisprudence can be added to other evidence for his adherence to the Shāfiʿī school in law. He also explicitly supports Ṣūfism in some form.

Al-Sārīsī has noted the existence of four brief epistles by al-Rāghib in an Istanbul manuscript (Esad Efendi 3645), with the titles *R. fī anna faḍīlat al-insān bi 'l-ʿulūm*, *R. fī dhikr al-wāḥid wa 'l-aḥad*, *R. fī ādāb mukhālaṭat al-nās*, and *R. fī marātib al-ʿulūm*. The status of a few other titles in manuscript catalogues and bibliographical sources remains to be investigated. Apparently uninfluenced by his contemporary Ibn Sīnā, al-Rāghib is significant as a precursor of al-Ghazālī in accepting and utilising a more diffuse form of *falsafa* in maintaining a rationalised but relatively conservative Islamic stance.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Māfarrūkhī, *Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. al-Ṭihrānī, Tehran 1312/1933, 32; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Asās al-taḳdīs*, Cairo 1935, i, 5; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1981, xviii, 120-1; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xiii, 45; Zarkashī, *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1957, index; Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*, Cairo 1945, i, 201; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, index; Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, Ḳumm 1970, iii, 197-227; Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1936-, i, 374, iv, 351-2, v, 45-6, vii, 73, viii, 95, x, 25-6, x, 28, xx, 128, xxi, 364; Brockelmann, I, 289, S I, 505-6, S II, 83; W. Madelung, *Ar-Rāgib al-Iṣfahānī und die Ethik al-Gazālīs*, in *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen Fritz Meier zum 60sten Geburtstag*, ed. R. Gramlich, Wiesbaden 1974, 152-63; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Nāhī, *al-Khawālid min ārāʾ al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī fī falsafat al-akhlāḳ wa 'l-tashrīʿ wa 'l-taṣawwuf*, ʿAmmān 1987; ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sārīsī, *al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī wa-djuhūduhu fī 'l-lugha wa 'l-adab*, ʿAmmān 1987. (E.K. ROWSON)

RĀGHIB PASHA, KHODJA MEHMED (1111-76/1699-1763), Ottoman Grand Vizier and littérateur. He was born in Istanbul, the son of the *kātib* Meḥmed Shewḳī, and was soon on account of his unusual ability employed in the *dīwān*. He then acted as secretary and deputy-chamberlain to the governors of Van, ʿArifī Aḥmed Pasha, and Köprülü-zāde ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], and, lastly, to Ḥekīm-zāde ʿAlī Pasha. In 1141/1728 he returned to

the capital and in the following year went back to Baghdād as deputy to the *re'īs efendi*. Soon after the conquest of Baghdād in 1146/1733 he was appointed *defterdār* there, but very soon received the post of chief of the petition department of the *māliyye* office in Istanbul. Two years later he accompanied the governor Aḥmed Pasha, who had been appointed as *ser'asker* of Baghdād, as deputy of the *re'īs efendi*, and returned to the capital as chief of the poll-tax office (*djizye muḥāsebedjisi*). In this capacity he went into the field in 1149/1736 and took a leading part in the peace negotiations of Nimirov. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1153/ February 1741 he succeeded the *re'īs efendi* Muṣṭafā in his office, and three years later was promoted to be governor of Egypt. For five years he struggled there with the factions of the Mamlūks [*q.v.*], but had finally in Ramaḍān 1161/September 1748 to yield to the superior power of the begs. He returned to the capital, and as *nishāndjī-bashī* was given a seat in the *dīwān*. After brief periods as governor in Raḳḳa and Aleppo, he was appointed to the highest office in the state, the Grand Vizierate, in succession to Muṣṭafā, who had been dismissed on 20 Rabī' I 1170/13 December 1756. He filled this office gloriously for seven years till his death, and was the last outstanding Grand Vizier of the Ottoman empire. He died in Istanbul on 24 Ramaḍān 1176/8 April 1763 and was buried in the garden of the noble library founded by him (see J. von Hammer, *GOR*, viii, 249).

Meḥmed Rāghib Pasha was not only one of the greatest of Ottoman statesmen but is one of the classical authors of Turkish literature. His works, which are distinguished by beauty of style as well as by graceful presentation, cover all possible fields (see J. von Hammer, *GOR*, viii, 255-6). He was also a distinguished political historian. His state documents and letters of congratulation known as *telkhīṣāt* were famous as models of perfect writing (see *GOR*, ix, 626, nos. 3338-3653). His translations into Turkish of two Persian histories, Mīrkhwānd's [*q.v.*] *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'* and 'Abd al-Razzāḳ b. Isḥāḳ al-Samarḳandī's history of the Tīmūrids, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, unfortunately only survive in fragments but even in this state are masterpieces of Ottoman prose. Rāghib Pasha is no less highly esteemed as a poet. His *Dīwān* (printed at Būlāḳ in 1252 and n.p. [= Būlāḳ] in 1253) contains his most important poems, some of which are in praise of great contemporaries.

On mss. of his works, see Babinger, *GOW*, 290 (to which may be added Istanbul, Ḥamīdiyye, no. 598; Zagreb Acad. of Sciences, orient. coll., no. 833, 1 and 2 (with *Dīwān*), both containing his *telkhīṣāt*; Uppsala, no. 706 (see Zettersteen, *Cat.*, ii, 106-7) obviously contains another work).

Bibliography: See F. Babinger, *GOW*, 288 ff., and the sources given on 290; *İA*, art. *Râgıp Paşa* (Bekir Sıtkı Baykal-Abdülkadir Karahan)

(F. Babinger)

RAGHŪSA, the mediaeval Arabic form of the name of the Dalmatian city of Ragusa, until the advent of Bonaparte a free state, the modern Dubrovnik in Croatia (see 2. below), situated in lat. 42° 40′ N., long. 18° 07′ E.

1. History up to the beginning of the 19th century.

Ragusa, the Roman Ragusium (see *PW*, 2. Reihe, 1.A. 1, col. 130), is situated on the south side of a peninsula which runs out into the Adriatic, picturesquely situated (50 feet) at the foot and on the slopes of Mount Sergius, and was founded in the 7th century by Romance fugitives from Epidaurus which had been destroyed by the Slavs; it later belonged to Byzantine Dalmatia which had been settled by a Romance population. At the end of the 10th century the town, which had became strong and rich through its prosperous maritime trade, was paying homage to the Venetians, under whose suzerainty it remained after various interludes continuously from 1204 to 1358. In this year, Ragusa passed to Hungary and soon attained such power through its flourishing trade that it formed a free state with an aristocratic form of government. Authority was in the hands of the nobles (Grand Council) who chose the Senate (45 members). The latter chose the Little Council (10, later 7 members) which chose every month a Rector (*rettore*) as head of the state. Al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] mentions Ragusa in his *Opus geographium* (761, 769, 790, 791) as رغوسه (other readings: رغوص, رغوصة), and is evidently quoting Frankish sources (cf. thereon W. Tomaschek, *Zur Kunde der Hämus-Halbinsel: II. Die Handelswege im XII. Jahrh. nach den Erkundungen des Arabers Idrisi*, in *SB Ak. Wiss. Wien*, phil.-hist. Kl., vol. cxiii [1887], fasc. 1). In the Ottoman period, the Slav name Dubrovnik is found exclusively, in place of Ragusa.

Ragusa's relations with Islam, at first completely hostile, go back to a remote date. When the Arabs in the 9th century conquered Sicily and established themselves on the mainland in Bari (Apulia), they besieged Ragusa on one occasion, which defended itself bravely and was relieved by the navy of the emperor Basil I (867-86). Under the emperor Romanus III (1028-34) the Ragusans distinguished themselves in the sea-fights between Byzantines and Arabs. It was not till a later date that relations became more peaceful, when Ragusan commerce, which extended to Egypt and Syria, to Tunis and as far as the Black Sea, began to flourish. As early as the 14th century, corn was exported to Ragusa from the harbours of Anatolia and the relations to the beyliks (*ṭewā'if-i mülūk*) in Anatolia were well established. The first documented relations between Ragusa and the Ottoman empire belong to the period of Bāyezīd I Yîldîrîm (791-805/1389-1403 [*q.v.*]), as the relations of the free state with Orkhan [*q.v.*] and Murād I [*q.v.*] mentioned in later Ragusan histories will not bear serious investigation. It is, however, certain that at quite an early date it became necessary for the Ragusans to remain on good terms with the Ottomans, who were advancing westward, for the sake of their trade. They were able to deal with tact and skill with their new neighbours. Ragusan trade in Turkey developed considerably as the many frontiers and customs offices of the numerous petty rulers of the Balkans, who had been dispossessed by the Turks, disappeared and the Turkish duties were uniform and low. Articles manufactured in Ragusa itself, like cloth, metal, soap, glass, wax, etc., or goods imported from Italy for the Balkan peninsula, were taken into the interior on safe roads. There was a caravan trade which went from Ragusa via Trebinje, Tientište, Foča, Goražde, Plevlje, Prijepolje, Trgovište, Novibazar, Niš [see nish], Sofia and Plovdiv to Edirne and later to Istanbul (cf. C.J. Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prague 1879, 74 ff.: *Von Ragusa nach Niš*). In the interior of the Peninsula, there were the factories of the Ragusans like Rudnik, Prizren, Novo Brdo, Priština [see prishtina], Zvornik, Novibazar, Skoplje and Sofia, with many other settlements extending as far as the mouths of the Danube. On 12 May 1392 the Little Council of Ragusa gave the nobleman Teodoro Gisla in Novo Brdo orders to travel to the Turkish sultan and to

make representations about the capture of some Ragusan merchants. There is a Turkish safe-conduct (*litera securitatis*) of 20 June 1396 prepared for Ragusan merchants. In 1397 Sultan Bāyezīd I allowed the Ragusans to trade unhindered in the Ottoman empire, and a few years later (1399), the first Ottoman embassy led by Kefalja Feriz (Fīrūz)-Beg arrived in Ragusa from the citadel of Zvečan (in Kosovo) (cf. F. von Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *op. cit.* below, 7). The first embassy from Ragusa to the Sublime Porte was, however, not sent until 1430. It was received by the sultan in his court at Edirne and received from him the first extant charter of trading privileges, dated Edirne, 6 December 1430 (cf. Čiro Truhelka, *Turskoslovjenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive*, in *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, xxiii [1911], no. 2). To protect her widespread trade in the Balkan Peninsula, Ragusa, after the first temporary conquest of Serbia by the Ottomans, found herself forced to offer the Porte an annual present of 1,000 ducats in silver plate (*argenterie*), but when Georg Branković restored the independence of Serbia in 1444 this promise was promptly withdrawn; on the final subjection of Serbia by the Turks in 1459, this tribute (*kharādj*) became a regular institution. From 1459 it was 1,500 ducats and gradually increased to 15,000 ducats. From 1481 it was 12,500 ducats and was annually brought to the imperial court by special *oratores tributi* with very detailed instructions (cf. the text of one of these *commissione* for the Paladins Marino de Gondola and Pietro di Luccari of 1458, and of a later one for the *ambasciatore del tributo* Giov. Mar. di Resti of 1572, in Lujo knez Vojnović, *Dubrovnik i osmansko carstvo. Prva knjiga: Od prvoga ugovora s portom do usvojenja Hercegovine*, Belgrade 1898, 118-55, 256-66); cf. Jireček, *Die Bedeutung von Ragusa*, etc., no. 49. A number of the earliest documents relating to these missions have been published by F. von Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, in his *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, in *SB Ak. Wiss. Wien*, phil.-hist. Kl., cxvii (1922); they come without exception from the archives of Ragusa, part of the Turkish portion of which was taken after 1918 Belgrade.

On their journey the envoys had to give all kinds of presents, for example to the *sandjakbeg* of Herzegovina in Sarajevo [*q.v.*] and the *beglerbeg* of Rumelia whose headquarters were in Sofia. The readiness with which the Ragusans adapted themselves to the requirements of dealings with the infidel Turks did not at first find approval at the Holy See. Paul II in 1468 gave the Ragusans express permission to trade with the heathen Ottomans (cf. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, Leipzig 1885, 347-8, with further references to Ragusan trade with the Ottomans). The lands of the free state of Ragusa, which stretched from the mouth of the Narenta to the Gulf of Cattaro (Kotor), thanks to the skilful policy of its leaders, thus remained intact till its end in 1808. Only occasionally the Ragusans had to suffer from the covetousness of Ottoman rulers, e.g. about 1667 when Ḳara Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*] demanded from the Ragusan envoys 150,000 talers as "blood money" for the Dutch ambassador G. Crook who perished in the great earthquake in Ragusa (6 April 1667) (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, vi, 203-4), or when ten years later the same Grand Vizier endeavoured to extort the same sum and threw the ambassadors of the free state into prison (cf. *GOR*, vi, 346). When Ragusa had fallen several years behind with the tribute, it had in 1695 to pay a considerable sum in compensation (cf. *GOR*, vi, 616). In 1722 a similar case recurred (cf. *GOR*, vii, 312-13) when the tribute was three years in arrears. It is, however, a fact that Ragusa cunningly used every opportunity to avoid its oppressive obligations (cf. the significant saying in the Levant quoted by von Hammer, *GOR*, vii, 29: *Non siamo Christiani, non siamo Ebrei, ma poveri Ragusei*), until the peace of Carlowitz (1699) [see KARLOFČA] made it possible for the Ottomans to collect the tribute again (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, vii, 29). From 1703 it was paid every three years and, in 1804 delivered for the last time in Istanbul by the envoys Paul Gozze and Blasius Menze.

In the Turkish wars of 1683-99 and 1714-18 the Venetians occupied the hinterland of Ragusa and Trebinje, but at the peaces of Carlowitz and Passarowitz [see PASAROFČA] the Ragusans, protected by Austria and the Porte, negotiated so skilfully that Turkey was not only left the land as far as the Ragusan frontier but also two strips of territory on the coast (Klek and Sutorina) so as not to become direct neighbours of Venice. This was the last great coup of Ragusan policy.

With the decline in Ragusan trade, which came about for the same reasons as the general decline of Italian trade in the Levant, the political decline of the republic set in, with only a final revival during the Napoleonic era (see 2. below).

The Ottoman traveller Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] in his *Seyāḥet-nāme* (vi, 443 ff., esp. 445-53) gives a full description of *Dobre Venedīk* which he contrasts with *Bundukānī Venedīk*, i.e. Venice proper (cf. on these terms, F. Babinger, *Aus Südslaviens Türkenzeit*, Berlin 1927, 38 n., and H. v. Mžik, *Beiträge zur Kartographie Albaniens*, in *Geologica Hungarica*, series geologica, tomus iii, Budapest 1929, 639 = 19, n. 88). In 1074/1664 he came via Ljubomir, Popovo to Dubrovnik, whence he went on to Castelnuovo (Hercegnovi). On Hungarian and Serbo-Croat translations of this section, cf. Babinger, *Ewlijâ Čelebi's Reisewege in Albanien*, Berlin 1930, 1 and 2, n. 8.

Statistics regarding the population of Ragusa in the older period are not available. With the prosperity and long period of peace, a literary life began; poetry—Latin and Slav—was definitely cultivated from the end of the 15th century. Latin was used in the offices for over 1,000 years, in recording the proceedings of the Senate till 1808. Within its walls Ragusa frequently sheltered illustrious fugitives from Turkish persecution (e.g. Skanderbeg).

The archives of Ragusa, kept in the Rector's palace, still await thorough study and contain a large number of unpublished Turkish documents and countless documents of value for the history of Turkish rule in southeastern Europe. Cf. F. Giese, *Die osmanisch-türkischen Urkunden im Archive des Rektorenpalastes in Dubrovnik (Ragusa)*, in *Festschrift für Georg Jacob zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Leipzig 1932, 41-56. Cf. also J. Gelcich (Djelčić), *Dubrovački arhiv*, in *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, xxii (1910), and Milan v. Rešetar, *Dubrovački arhiv*, in *Narodna Enciklopedija*, i, 584 ff.

Ragusa had busy commercial relations with other Muslim states besides Turkey. In 1510, for example, Ragusa received from the Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*] a charter which gave its trade with Egypt protection and freedom (cf. Giacomo Luccari, *Copioso ristretto degli Annali di Rausa*, Venice 1605, 126, and thereon Fr.M. Appendini, *Notizie sulle istorico-critiche antichità, storia e letteratura de' Ragusei*, Ragusa 1802, i, 213, with erroneous conclusions). The relations were, it is true, not always of a peaceful nature, as the "state of war" in 1194/1780 between Ragusa and Morocco showed (cf. thereon, F. Babinger, *Ein marokkanisches Staatsschreiben an den Freistaat Ragusa vom*

Jahre 1194 (1780), in *MSOS*, xxx [Berlin 1927], part ii, 191 ff., and *ibid.*, xxxi, 98-9). The archives of Dubrovnik contain further unpublished Moroccan documents of the end of the 18th century, e.g. a government document of 9 Rabī II 1195/4 April 1781.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see also the older travellers in so far as they describe the road through the Balkan Peninsula (*Sclavonia*), especially Jean Chesneau, *Les Voyages de Monsieur d'Aramon* (1547), Paris 1887, ed. Ch. Schefer; Sieur D[es Hayes de] C[ourmenin], *Voyage du Levant fait par le commandement du roy en l'année 1621 par le Sieur D.C.*[2], Paris 1632; *Les Voyages de M. Quiclet à Constantinople par terre*, Paris 1664 and later printings; Sir George Wheeler, *Journey into Greece*, London 1682, or French translation, *Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, Amsterdam 1689, 2 vols.—A scholarly account, particularly one based on the documents, of the relations of Ragusa with the Ottoman Empire is still lacking, as is a full commercial history of the republic.—The principal work on the history of Ragusa is the *Geschichte des Freistaates Ragusa*, Vienna 1807, by Johann Christ. von Engel (1770-1814). On other relations between Ragusa and the lands of Islam, see Vladimir Mažuranić, *Südslaven im Dienste des Islams (vom X. bis ins XVI. Jahrhundert)*, German tr. publ. by Camilla Lucerna, Zagreb-Leipzig 1928, 55 pp., a work which does not, however, on every point stand the test of strict examination.—On the coinage of Ragusa, see Milan v. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika*, 2 parts, 1924-6.—Of the Ragusan historians of the older period, in addition to S. Razzi, *La storia di Raugia*, Lucca 1588, and Jun. Resti, *Chronica Ragusina* (in the *Monumenta Slav. Merid.*, xxv, Zagreb 1893), Giacomo di Pietro Luccari [= Jakov Lukarević (1551-1615)] most deserves mention, but a thorough study of the probably unreliable sources of his *Copioso ristratto degli annali di Rausa* (Venice 1605, xxxvi, 176 pp., 4°, and Ragusa 1790, xxiii, 325 pp., 8°) is still a desideratum; see for the present Vl. Mažuranić, *Izvori dubrovačkoga historika Jakova Lukarevića*, in *Narodna Starina*, Zagreb 1924, no. 8, 121-53.—An excellent and exhaustive bibliography on Ragusa is given in the introduction to the work of Ivan Dujčev, *Avvisi di Ragusa. Documenti sull' Impero turco nel secolo XVII e sulla guerra di Candia*, Rome 1935, which is also of great importance for the history of relations between Ragusa and Turkey.—There is no collection or edition of the surviving reports of Ragusan envoys on their journeys to the Porte on the lines of the long-available Venetian *relazioni*. The only possible exception is the *Relazione dello stato della religione nelle parti dell' Europa sottoposte al dominio del Turco* of Matthäus Gundulić (Gondola), who was in Turkey for 28 months until July 1674, written in Rome in 1675, ed. by Banduri, *Imperium orientale*, Paris 1711, ii, *Animadversiones in Constant. Porphyrogen. de administratione imperii*, 99-106 (cf. thereon Drinov, in *Periodičesko Spisanie* of Braila, ii, 65, who did not know this edition and published extracts from another manuscript). Nor is there a list of these envoys available (see von Hammer, *GOR*, ix, 318), among whom we find representatives of almost all the noble families of Ragusa such as the Bona, Caboga, Gozze, Gondola, Menze, Pozza, Resti, etc. Ragusa being a tributary country, the Porte never sent ambassadors to it but only commissioners (see *GOR*, ix, 331), so that we have no Turkish reports at all.—Modern studies include: J. Radonić, *Dubrovačka akta i povelje* ("Acts and charters of D."), 5 vols., Belgrade 1945-51; B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik et le Levant au Moyen-Age*, Paris and the Hague 1961.

(F. Babinger)

2. History after 1800.

During the period 1800-5 of the Napoleonic Wars, Ragusa especially flourished as the only neutral state of the Mediterranean shores, hence was able to expand its carrying trade. But the French seized the city, and in 1808 the Republic was extinguished, with Marshal Marmont as Duke of Ragusa, and it was in 1809 incorporated into the newly-established Kingdom of Illyria. The Congress of Vienna of 1815 awarded Dalmatia, including Ragusa, to Austria, under whose control it remained till 1918, by that time connected to Mostar, Serajevo and Belgrade by a narrow-gauge railway. From 1918 to 1941 Ragusa formed part of the newly-created Kingdom of Yugoslavia and became generally known by the Slav name Dubrovnik (Serbo-Croat *dubrova* "wooded", because until mediaeval times the main street of Ragusa, the Placa Stradone, was a marshy channel dividing the Latin island of Ragusa from the forest settlement of Dubrovnik). During the Second World War, it was occupied 1941-4 by Italian and German troops. From 1945 it has been part of the People's Republic of Croatia within the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The population in 1971 was 31,106. During the fighting attending the break-up of Yugoslavia in 1991-2, the mediaeval city was indiscriminately bombarded and damaged by the (essentially Serbian) Yugoslav army.

Bibliography: Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary*[11], Leipzig 1911, 404-8; Hartleben Illustrated Guides. *Handbook of Dalmatia*, Vienna and Leipzig 1913, 130-44; *Enciclopedia Italiana*, xxviii, 781-5; Admiralty Handbooks, *Yugoslavia*, London 1944, i, index, ii, 41 ff. See also DALMATIA, in Suppl.

(C.E. Bosworth)

RAḤĀ [see ṬĀḤŪN].

AL-**RAḤBA**, Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ or Raḥbat al-Sha'm, a town on the right bank of the Euphrates, the modern al-Miyādīn.

Hardly anything definite is known about the history of the town before the Muslim era. In the Middle Ages it was usually identified as the Reḥōbōt han-Nāhār of the Bible (Gen. xxxvi, 37) i.e. Reḥōbōt on the river (Euphrates) especially in the Talmud and by the Syriac authors (e.g. Mich. Syr., cf. index, 63*; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 273 and *passim*), who usually call it Reḥabōt, Raḥabat (M. Hartmann, in *ZDPV*, xxiii, 42, n. 1). A. Musil (*The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 340) takes it to be the Thapsakos of Ptolemy, which he—certainly wrongly—wants to distinguish from the well-known town of the name at the bend of the Euphrates (*ibid.*, 318-20), instead of seeing only an erroneous location by the Alexandrine geographers (cf. the article *Thapsakos*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, v. A, cols. 1272-80). The name al-Raḥba is explained by Yāḳūt (*Mu'djam*, ii, 764, following the grammarian al-Naḍr b. Shumayl) as the flat part of a wādī, where the water collects (E. Herzfeld, *Archäolog. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, ii, 382; cf. A. Socin, in *ZDPV*, xxii, 45).

According to Arabic accounts, it was at one time called Furḍat Nu'm (al-Ṭabarī, i, 917) or simply al-Furḍa (Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, ed. Caetani, 87); in the vicinity was a monastery, Dayr Nu'm (Yāḳūt, ii, 704, iv, 797).

According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 180, there was no evidence that al-Raḥba below Ḳarḳīsiya is an old town; on the contrary it was only founded by Mālik b. Ṭawḳ b. 'Attāb al-Taghlibī (cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī,

Nudjūm, ed. Popper, ii, 34) in the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) (a legendary embellishment of the story of its foundation by ʿUmar al-Bisṭāmī, in Yāḳūt, ii, 764). The new foundation was in the form of a long, rectangular head cloth (*ṭaylasān*). After the death of its founder (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 188) in 260/873-4, he was succeeded as ruler of the town by his son Aḥmad, who was, however, driven out of it in 270/883 by Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Sādj, lord of al-Anbār, Ṭarīḳ al-Furāt and Raḥbat Ṭawḳ (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2039).

The Ḳarmaṭī Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī took the town on 8 Muḥarram 316/3 March 928 and killed many of its inhabitants (Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, ed. Amedroz, i, 182-3; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 384-5; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 132; ʿArīb, 134). In the following decades, the town suffered much from civil wars until ʿĀdil, who had been sent from Baghdād by Badjkam, in 330/941-2 took possession of the town and the whole province of Ṭarīḳ al-Furāt and a part of al-Khābūr (Ibn al-Athīr, xiii, 266-7, 295). In the reign of the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla, the Taghlibī Djamān rebelled in al-Raḥba, and the town suffered very much; he was finally driven out and was drowned in the Euphrates (*op. cit.*, 357-8). After the death of Nāṣir al-Dawla (358/969), his sons Ḥamdān, Abu 'l-Barakāt and Abū Taghlib disputed for the possession of the town, which finally fell to the last-named, who had its walls rebuilt (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 437-8). He lost it again in 368/978-9; it then passed to the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 511-12). Bahāʾ al-Dawla in 381/991-2, at the wish of the inhabitants, appointed a governor to al-Raḥba (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 64). Soon afterwards the town passed to Abū ʿAlī b. Thimāl al-Khafādjī, who was killed by the ʿUḳaylid ʿĪsā b. Khalāṭ in 399/1008-9. The latter in turn was defeated by an army sent by al-Ḥākim from Egypt and slain. The ʿUḳaylid Badrān b. Muḳallid was, it is true, able to drive back the Egyptian army but Luʾluʾ of Damascus soon afterwards brought al-Raḳḳa and al-Raḥba into Egyptian power.

A citizen of the town, Ibn Muḥkān, next made himself its independent master and also took ʿĀna, an enterprise in which the Kilābī Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās of al-Ḥilla at first supported him but later killed him in order to make himself master of al-Raḥba (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 148; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ed. Būlāḳ, iv, 271). Between 447/1055 and 450/1058, Arslān al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] fled to al-Raḥba in order to join up with the Egyptian caliph al-Mustanṣir from there (Yāḳūt, i, 608). Ṣāliḥ's son, Thimāl, later lord of Aleppo, followed him in possession of the town (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 163). In the spring of 452/1060 his brother ʿAṭiyya (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 8) captured it. He was driven from Aleppo in 457/1065 by his nephew Maḥmūd, but remained lord of al-Raḥba, Aʿzāz, Manbidj and Bālis (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Historia Merdasidarum*, tr. J.J. Müller, 59). To the district of al-Raḥba at this time (455/1063) there also belonged al-Khānūḳa, Ḳarḳīsiya and Duwayra (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 116). Malikshāh in 479/1086-7 granted al-Raḥba with the country round it, Ḥarrān, Sarūdj, al-Raḳḳa and al-Khābūr to Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dawla (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 105). In 489/1096 Karbūḳa of al-Ḥilla seized and plundered the town (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 177). After his death it passed in 495/1102-3 to Ḳāymāz, a former general of Alp Arslan, then to the Turk Ḥasan. It was taken from him by the ruler of Damascus, who sent the Shaybānid Muḥammad b. al-Sabbāḳ to govern it (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 249). On 24 Ramaḍān 500/19 May 1107, Djāwalī, the general of ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, took the town through treachery (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 297; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 156-7; Michael Syrus, tr. Chabot, iii, 193, iv, 592; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 273). ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd b. al-Bursuḳī took it in 521/1127 shortly before his death (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 360-1; Mich. Syr., iii, 228, v, 610; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, 287). His successors killed one another fighting for the succession and al-Raḥba then passed to ʿIzz al-Dīn's young brother, for whom Djāwulī governed it as vassal of Zangī (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 453-4). Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, son of Zangī, in 544/1149-50 occupied the town (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 93). On 4 Radjab 552/12 August 1157, al-Raḥba with Ḥamāt, Shayzar, Salamiyya and other towns were destroyed by an earthquake (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 344; Mich. Syr., iii, 316; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, 325-6). The Khafādja tribe who in 556/1161 had plundered the district of al-Ḥilla and al-Kūfa returned to Raḥbat al-Shaʾm, followed by the government troops, where they were reinforced by other nomads and scattered the enemy (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 182-3). Nūr al-Dīn granted the Kurd Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh b. Aḥmad b. Shādī of Dwīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's uncle, in 559/1164, al-Raḥba and Ḥimṣ (Mich. Syr., iii, 325; Barhebr. *Chron. syr.*, 330). The latter entrusted the government of al-Raḥba to an officer named Yūsuf b. Mallāḥ. Shīrkūh built al-Raḥbat al-Djadīda with a citadel about a *farsakh* (3 miles) from the Euphrates, because the town of Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ was now in ruins (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud, 281; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, Istanbul 444). The new town of al-Raḥba became an important caravan station between Syria and the ʿIrāḳ, as we learn from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa amongst others (iv, 315) who travelled from there via al-Sukhna to Tadmur.

The town remained for a century in Shīrkūh's family until in 662/1264 Baybars installed an Egyptian governor there (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 341, xii, 189; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales muslem.*, ed. Reiske-Adler, iv, 142, v, 16). Sunḳur al-Ashḳar of Damascus, who rebelled against Ḳalāʾūn in 678/1279, fled after a defeat to al-Raḥba to the *amīr* ʿĪsā and from there appealed to the Mongol Abaḳa for protection (Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, 543).

The Mongols under Kharbanda besieged al-Raḥba in 712/1312-13 on their way to Syria. On his return, Kharbanda left his siege artillery behind, whereupon it was taken by the defenders of the town into the citadel (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, v, 268-9; al-Ḥasan b. Ḥabīb b. ʿUmar, *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-atrāk*, in H.E. Weijers, in *Orientalia*, ed. Juynboll, ii, Amsterdam 1846, 319). Its governor at the time, Ibn al-Arkashī, died in 715/1315-16 in Damascus (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, v, 300). Al-Muhannā and his family, the ʿĪsā, were driven from the district of Salamiyya in the spring of 720/1320 and pursued by the Syrian troops as far as Raḥba and ʿĀna (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, v, 340-1); the town was perhaps destroyed on this occasion.

In 731/1331 the Euphrates inundated the country round al-Raḥba (Ibn al-Athīr, Vienna ms. in Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 3, n. 3).

According to the Muslim geographers, al-Raḥba lay on the Euphrates (Ḳudāma, 233; al-Muḳaddasī, 138; al-Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, ii, 137-8; al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 93; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud, 51) and also on the canal Saʿīd led off from it at Fam Saʿīd on the right bank, which rejoined the Euphrates below the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Dāliya also called Dāliyat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ (Suhrāb, ed. von Mžik, in *Bibl. arab. Histor. u. Geogr.*, v, Leipzig 1930, 123; Yāḳūt, iv, 840; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 281). The town lay 3 *farsakhs* from Ḳarḳīsiya (al-ʿAzīzī, in Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, ac-

cording to al-Muḳaddasī, 149, a day's journey each from this town, al-Dāliya and Bīrā (the latter statement is quite inaccurate; cf. Musil, *op. cit.*, 253-4). Musil (*ibid.*, 250) wrongly takes al-Dāliya to be al-Ṣāliḥiyya, which is impossible, as 8-10 miles above it the Euphrates flows close to the foot of Djabal Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, so that the Saʿīd canal must have flowed north of it back into the Euphrates (cf. the *Karte von Mesopotamien* of the Prussian Survey, Feb. 1918, 1: 400,000, sheet 3c: ʿĀna; Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1926, Atlas, pl. i.: *Cours de l'Euphrate entre Circesium et Doura-Europos d'après l'Aéronautique de "l'Armée du Levant"* on the same scale and the maps in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*). The town of al-Raḥba was a Jacobite bishopric (a list of the bishops in Mich. Syr., iii, 502); that it—for a time at least—was also a Nestorian bishopric is shown from a life of the Catholicos Eliyā I (on him, see Baumstark, *Geschichte der syr. Literatur*, 286-7) who, shortly before his death on 6 May 1049, appointed a bishop to this town (Assemani, in *BO*, iii, 263).

In the statements of the Arab geographers, it is clear that the old Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ lay on the bank of the Euphrates (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 13, 72; Ibn Ḥawḳāl, ed. de Goeje, 17, 138; al-Muḳaddasī, 138; Yāḳūt, iii, 860; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 233), i.e. it presumably corresponded to the modern al-Miyādīn (pl. of *maydān*) (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, 165; Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii, 382, n. 1; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 3, 253, 340), while the new al-Raḥba, as we saw, was built a *farsakh* from it, where in the south-west of al-Miyādīn there still are the ruins of the citadel al-Raḥaba or al-Raḥba. According to Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reinaud, 281), towers were still standing among the ruins of the old town. Opposite al-Raḥba on the left bank of the Euphrates stood a fortress taken by Marwān II (127-32/744-50) in the fighting with Hishām (Maḥbūb of Manbidj, *Kitāb al-ʿUnwān*, ed. Vasiliev, in *Patr. Orient.*, viii, 517-18). In this fortress Musil (*op. cit.*, 338-9) has recognised al-Zaytūna (al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 180; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1467-8; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 74) and the ancient Ζαιδά which is still called al-Marwāniyya after this caliph, but is not really opposite al-Miyādīn but fourteen miles farther down.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, 155, praises the fertility of the well-watered region of Raḥba, where the orchards on the east bank of Euphrates also produced date-palms; their quinces were also famous (al-Muḳaddasī, 145). The *Karte von Mesopotamien* (1 : 400,000) marks at "Mejādin" "the first (most northerly) palm". Dates really only ripen in specially favourable weather in the region of Albū Kamāl (Musil, *op. cit.*, 342). According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, 77, Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ was larger than Ḳarḳīsiya; al-Muḳaddasī, 142, calls it the centre of the Euphrates' district (*ʿamal al-Furāt* or *nāḥiyat al-Furāt*), as in the early Islamic period the fertile plain from Dayr al-Zawr to Albū Kamāl with the towns of al-Raḥba, Dāliya, ʿĀna and al-Ḥadītha was called (Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii, 382). According to him, the town was built in a semi-circle on the edge of the desert and defended by a strong fortress.

Yāḳūt visited the town, which according to him was eight days' journey from Damascus, five from Aleppo, 100 *farsakhs* from Baghdād and a little over 20 *farsakhs* from al-Raḳḳa. In al-Dimashḳī, 202, it is called Raḥbat al-Furātiyya. In the time of Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (*Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, 50) it belonged to Aleppo. According to al-ʿUmarī, Syria, or, to be more exact, its eastern marches with the capital Ḥimṣ, reached as far as al-Raḥba; he mentions there "a citadel and a governorship and there are Baḥriyya, cavalry, scouts and mercenaries stationed there" (al-ʿUmarī, tr. R. Hartmann, in *ZDMG*, lxx, 23, 30). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa calls the town "the end of al-ʿIrāḳ and the beginning of al-Sha'm". Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa reckons from ʿĀna to al-Raḥba three days' journey and from there to al-Dayr one days' journey (*Djahān-nümā*, 483; cf. thereon, Musil, *op. cit.*, 257).

The Venetian jeweller Gasparo Balbi, who passed by the town on 6 February 1588 on the Euphrates, says (*Viaggi dell' Indie orientali*, Venice 1599, without pagination) *vedemmo castello Rahabi appresso il qual castello si vede una città rovinata, ma in alcuni lati di essa habitata da alcune poche persone di nome di Rahabilatica* (on the form Raḥabī, cf. M. Hartmann, in *ZDPV*, xxii, 44, at no. 390). Pietro Della Valle (*Viaggi*, Venice 1544, i, 571) saw the town of "Rachba" at some distance from the Euphrates and heard that there were some old buildings there. Tavenier (*Les six voyages*, i, Paris 1676, 285) mentions a place called "Mached-raba", i.e. Mashhad al-Raḥba (six miles to the south-west of al-Raḥba).

The mediaeval Arabic texts on al-Raḥba have now been published over the last half-century. For the period 640-1060, for which no further publication of importance is to be expected, a tentative sketch of its history has been made by Th. Bianquis, *Raḥba et les tribus arabes avant les Croisades*, in *BEO*, xli-xlii (1989-90), with a detailed bibliography.

As for the period 452-923/1060-1517, the work of extracting information from the texts is still in progress. Ibn al-Dawādārī's history, especially rich on the sieges of al-Raḥba (see, in particular, the year 711/1311-12), has not been exploited, and the appearance of chronicles from the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries is announced. Until an extended study on al-Raḥba and the middle Euphrates in general during the Arab period shall appear, a survey of some recently acquired pieces of information is given here.

Numerous projects have been carried out since 1970 on the material culture of the region in mediaeval and post-mediaeval times. Archaeological excavations have been made on the site from 1976 to 1981 by the General Directorate of the Syrian Museum of Antiquities, the Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas and the University of Lyons II. Subsequently, Syrian, European and American multi-disciplinary teams, working on the societies of the desert margins, have carried out surveys on both banks of the Euphrates and on those of the Khābūr. Our knowledge of the past of al-Raḥba and its region has thus been considerably enlarged, but the sparse publications so far available are still only provisional.

Work has been carried out at three sites. To the south of the town of al-Miyādīn, a stretch of territory on the banks of the Euphrates, near an old Ottoman caravanserai, was excavated from 1976 to 1981, mainly revealing dwellings from the Ayyūbid period and with abundant material. The excavation had to be relinquished in the face of contemporary building operations just when an old level, probably ʿAbbāsid (4th/10th century) had been uncovered beneath a layer of material abandoned when irrigated gardens were laid out, corresponding to an urban decline in the 5th/11th century. The coins discovered at this site have been published by A. Nègre, *Les monnaies de Mayādīn*, in *BEO*, xxxii-xxxiii (1980-1), and the pottery will shortly be published also. Some urban life then continued along the Euphrates banks long after the earthquake of 551/1156.

The great citadel on a cliff some 2.5 miles/4 km from the Euphrates (for earlier illustrations of this, see

Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 7, fig. 2, and Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, iii, pls. LXXIX ff.) is now deteriorating rapidly, with erosion eating away the supports of the walls. A study made 1976-81 allowed the drawing up of plans and elevations of the site, bringing out the complexity of the building, which was destroyed, rebuilt and enlarged on several occasions; see J.L. Paillet, *Le château de Raḥba, étude d'architecture militaire islamique médiévale*, diss. Univ. of Lyons II 1983, unpubl. Large numbers of featherings for arrows, cut out of the paper of registers, have been found, souvenirs of sieges by the Mongols. From the Ottoman period onwards, the building no longer had any military value and provided shelter for sheep-raising villagers.

From 1976 to 1978, work was undertaken at the foot of this fortress in the abandoned ruins of an urban settlement. A great enclosure, quadrangular in shape with sides of some 30 m, surrounded by a wall one metre thick, restored on various occasions and in some places more than 4 m in height, has been partially revealed. One can guess at an ensemble comprising a public building—a *khān*, a cavalry barracks or a great mosque, probably including a small oratory—with a complex network of canals for the bringing in of fresh water and for carrying away waste and dirty water. The pottery and coins which have been analysed are mainly Mamlūk, with some Ayyūbid sherds in the deeper layers. The houses around this great building have not yet been excavated but offer a clearly more rural aspect than the houses spread along the Euphrates banks.

Until the end of the 5th/11th century al-Raḥba was a riverine port to which came caravans arriving via Tadmur or Palmyra from Damascus, Ḥimṣ, Salamiyya and Ḥamāt. After then, this river traffic declined, for reasons not yet clear; lack of wood for the construction of river craft? Decrease in the amount of water through desiccation? Insecurity? Caravan traffic running parallel to the river, on the plateau above the right bank, now enjoyed a corresponding increase. The ability to survey the steppe lands, which stretch as far as eye can see, always justified the building of a progressively stronger citadel on the river banks. To the north-east, it dominated the valley and could easily block or hold up the advance of an army venturing into the 4 km-wide plain along the right bank of the Euphrates. The fortress being at a lower level, on the edge of the cliff, on the alluvial plain, and unable to command a view of the steppes at a higher level, lost some of its value.

Al-Raḥba formed part of various types of regional groupings: the Euphrates valley in the context of the administration of the *ṭarīḳ al-Furāt*, the Djazīran principality of Mawṣil under the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla, Fāṭimid Egypt and southern Syria at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, northern Syria under the Kilābī Mirdāsids after 416/1025, the Saldjūḳ principality of Damascus at the end of the 5th/11th century and the Syrian steppe principality extending from Salamiyya to the Euphrates in the Zangid and Ayyūbid periods. Under the Mamlūks, the citadel was rebuilt and held an important garrison, and it protected the new town which had grown up right at its feet. The *nāʾib* commanding it had a high place in the military hierarchy. It played a notable role at the time of the Turco-Mongol invasions between 1260 and 1400, forcing these invaders to detach from their fighting force powerful contingents to watch over and besiege the fortress. There are several mentions of al-Raḥba in the *Taʾrīkh* of Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, ed. Adnan Darwich, Damascus 1977; on p. 479 the author states that, in 795/1392-3, when Tīmūr Lang had conquered Mesopotamia, he sent messages to the *nāʾib* of al-Raḥba, who after having read them, put the Turco-Mongol emissaries to death.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Djubayr, ed. Wright, 250; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḍawʾ*, Cairo 1324, 291, cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 77-80, 183, 245-6, 254, 259; R. Hartmann, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien in Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī's Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, diss. Tübingen 1907, 62; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 268, 693-4, 706, 1433; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, 165; M. Hartmann, in *ZDPV*, xxiii, 42, 44-50, 49, 61, 68, 113, 124, 127; *OLZ*, ii (1899), col. 311; B. Moritz, *Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.* (1889), 36, 37 n. 4; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 279 ff.; G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 105, 124; idem, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 517-18; R. Hartmann, in *ZDMG*, lxx (1916), 30, n. 9; E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber* (diss. Heidelberg), Munich 1912, 85; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 252-3, 259, 454 n. 2, 514; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 340-5 and *passim*, cf. index, 415-16, s.v. ar-Raḥba, Raḥba Ṭowḳ, etc.; A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, text, Paris 1934, 93, 104; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, ii, Berlin 1920, 382-4, and B. Schulz, *ibid.*, 384-6, figs. 367-9; iii, Berlin 1911, pls. LXXIX ff.

(E. Honigmann-[Th. Bianquis]

RAHBĀNIYYA (A.), monasticism. The term is derived from *rāhib* [*q.v.*] "anchovite, monk"; it occurs in the Ḳurʾān once only, in a complicated passage (sūra LVII, 27) that has given rise to divergent interpretations: "And we put in the hearts of those who followed Jesus, compassion and mercy, and the monastic state (*rahbāniyya*); they instituted the same (we did not prescribe it to them) only out of a desire to please God. Yet they observed not the same as it ought truly to have been observed. And we gave unto such of them as believed, their reward; but many of them have been doers of evil."

According to some of the exegesis, the verb "we put" has two objects only, viz. compassion and mercy, whereas the words "and the monastic state" are the object of "they instituted". Accordingly, the monastic state or *rahbāniyya* appears here as a purely human institution, which, moreover, has been perverted by evil-doers.

According to others, however, the object of the words "and we put" is compassion, mercy and the monastic state. According to this exegesis, monasticism is called a divine institution, although not prescribed for mankind. But it has been perverted by evil-doers. This exegesis seems preferable to the other, although the juxtaposition of compassion, mercy and the monastic state seems rather unnatural. Of the two, the first interpretation displays a much less favourable attitude to the monastic state than the second. L. Massignon pointed out that this latter exegesis is the older one; the younger one expresses a feeling hostile to monasticism, which coined the tradition "No *rahbāniyya* in Islam."

This tradition does not occur in the canonical collections. Yet it is being prepared there. When the wife of ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn [*q.v.*] complained of being neglected by her husband, Muḥammad took her part,

saying: "Monasticism (*rahbāniyya*) was not prescribed for us" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 226; al-Dārimī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 3). The following tradition is less exclusive: "Do not trouble yourselves and God will not trouble you. Some have troubled themselves and God has troubled them. Their successors are in the hermitages and monasteries, 'an institution we have not prescribed for them'" (Abū Dāwūd, *Adab, bāb* 44).

Islam, thus rejecting monasticism, has replaced it by the *djihād*: "Every prophet has some kind of *rahbāniyya*; the *rahbāniyya* of this community is the *djihād*" (a tradition ascribed to Muḥammad, in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 266; and to Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, *ibid.*, iii, 82). See also ṬARĪḲA, ZUHD.

Bibliography: L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, 123 ff.; the commentaries of the Ḳurʾān on sūra LVII, 27; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, iii/1, 287; Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. de Sacy, 570-1; Zamakhsharī, *al-Fāʾiḳ*, Ḥaydarābād 1324, i, 269; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v.; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, i, 389; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 394; idem, in *RHR*, xviii, 193-4, xxxvii, 314; E. Beck, *Das christliche Mönchtum im Koran*, Helsinki 1946. (A.J. WENSINCK)

RĀHIB (A., pl. *ruhbān, rahābīn, rahābina*), a monk. The figure of the monk is known to pre-Islamic poetry and to the Ḳurʾān and Tradition. The pre-Islamic poets refer to the monk in his cell, the light of which the traveller by night sees in the distance and which gives him the idea of shelter.

In the Ḳurʾān, the monk and the *ḳissīs*, sometimes also the *aḥbār*, are the religious leaders of the Christians. In one place it is said that rabbis and monks live at the expense of other men (sūra IX, 34) and that the Christians have taken as their masters instead of God their *aḥbār* and their monks as well as al-Masīḥ b. Maryam (IX, 31). In another passage, the Christians are praised for their friendship to their fellow-believers, which is explained from the fact that there are priests and monks among them (V, 87). In *Ḥadīth*, the *rāhib* is frequently encountered in stories of the nature of the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (see al-Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ, bāb* 54; Muslim, *Zuhd*, trad. 73; *Tawba*, trad. 46, 47; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra LXXXV, trad. 2; *Manāḳib*, trad. 3; al-Nasāʾī, *Masādjid*, trad. 11; Ibn Mādja, *Fitan*, trad. 20, 23; al-Dārimī, *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān*, trad. 16; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 461; ii, 434; iii, 337, 347; v, 4; vi, 17 *bis*).

From the fact that in the Islamic literature of the early centuries A.H. the epithet *rāhib* was given to various pious individuals, it is evident that there was nothing odious about it then; see, however, the article RAHBĀNIYYA.

Bibliography: See that to RAHBĀNIYYA. (A.J. WENSINCK)

RĀḤĪL, in the Bible Rachel, wife of Jacob, mother of Joseph and Benjamin, is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. There is, however, a reference to her in sūra IV, 27: "Ye may not have two sisters to wife at the same time; if it has been done formerly, God now exercises pardon and mercy." This is said to allude to Jacob's marriage with Liyā and Rāḥīl; before Moses revealed the Tora, such a marriage was valid. Al-Ṭabarī gives this explanation in his *Annals*, i, 356, 359-60. Ibn al-Athīr, i, 90, adopts it. But already in *Tafsīr*, iv, 210, al-Ṭabarī explains the verse correctly: Muḥammad forbids for the future marriage with two sisters but he does not dissolve such marriages concluded before the prohibition.—Islamic tradition generally adopts the view that Yaʿḳūb only married Rāḥīl after Liyā's death. So already in al-Ṭabarī, i, 355, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī, Ibn al-Athīr, etc. Al-Kisāʾī even thinks that Yaʿḳūb only married Rāḥīl after the death of Liyā and of his two concubines. Here again Muslim legend differs from the Bible, in making him not marry Rāḥīl until after 14 years of service; in the Bible, Jacob serves seven years, marries Leah and, after the wedding week, Rachel and serves another seven years. Yaʿḳūb's wooing and Lāban's trick by which he substitutes Liyā for Rāḥīl as "neither lamp nor candle-light" illuminate the bridal chamber, is embellished in Muslim legend.

Rāḥīl is also of importance in the story of Yūsuf. Yūsuf inherits his beauty from Rāḥīl; they had half of all the beauty in the world, according to others two-thirds, or even according to the old Haggadic scheme (*Ḳiddushin*, 49b), nine-tenths (al-Thaʿlabī, 69). When Yaʿḳūb left Lāban, he had no funds for the journey; at Rachel's suggestion, Yūsuf steals Lāban's idols. As Yūsuf, sold by his brothers, passes the tomb of Rāḥīl he throws himself from his camel on the grave and laments: "O mother, look on thy child, I have been deprived of my coat, thrown into a pit, stoned and sold as a slave." Then he hears a voice: "Trust in God." The old Haggada does not know this touching scene. But it has found its way into the late mediaeval book of stories *Sefer Hayashar* (ed. Goldschmidt, 150). The Judaeo-Persian poet Shāhīn (15th century) adapts this motif from Firdawsī's *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* in his book of Genesis.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 355-60, 371; idem, *Tafsīr*, iv, 210; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, 69, 74; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 90; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, 155-6, 160, tr. W.M. Thackston, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisaʾi*, Boston 1978, 165, 167, 181; Neumann Ede, *A muhammedán Jósef monda*, Budapest 1881, 12, 39-40; Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde*, ed. F. Perles, Berlin 1901, 523, 534-8, 548; W. Bacher, *Zwei jüdisch-persische Dichter, Schahin und Imrāni*, Budapest 1907, 119. See also YAʿḲŪB and YŪSUF. (B. HELLER)

RAḤĪL (A.), "travelling by camel", a term applied in Arabic poetry to themes involving a desert journey. In its specific meaning it denotes a section of the polythematic *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], following the *nasīb* [*q.v.*], where the poet describes his camel and his travels. The term is derived from the verb *raḥala* "to saddle a camel" or "to mount a camel". In Arabic poetics, the *raḥīl* is not classified among the "genres" (*aghrāḍ*) of poetry, nor is the term used in a technical sense. Mediaeval critics usually paraphrase the theme (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 14).

In the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*], poets allude to the perilous desert journey at the beginning of their self-praise [see MUFĀKHARA], introducing it, like other themes of *fakhr*, by *wāw rubba* ("and many a...") or by *ḳad* preceding a verb in the imperfect tense ("and often I..."). But already in early texts, there is a tendency to connect the *raḥīl* with the *nasīb*. The poet, after his disappointment in love, turns to his camel for consolation, or he asks whether it will be strong enough to carry him to his beloved. Then usually follows a detailed description of the camel (*waṣf al-djamal*), embellished by scenes of animal life, introduced as comparisons, the camel being compared to a wild bull, an onager, an ostrich, and, very rarely, to an eagle. If the ode ends with a *madīḥ* [*q.v.*], the poet sometimes adds, by way of transition (*takhalluṣ*), that he is travelling towards the *mamdūḥ*, the addressee of his panegyric. From the corpus of pre-Islamic verse it appears that the *raḥīl* originally formed a theme of *fakhr*, and that its interpretation as a journey to the

mamdūḥ is a secondary development. For poets in the *Djāhiliyya* do not travel towards a destination; travelling is the mode of Bedouin life, and the camel is its most significant symbol. By turning to his excellent mount after the emotional crisis of the *nasīb*, the "Bedouin hero" regains his equanimity and his ability to perform the tasks demanded of him by tribal society.

During the first part of the 7th century, a transformation of the camel-section sets in, which is continued in the Umayyad period. As a result, the traditional description of the poet's camel is replaced by a *raḥīl* to the *mamdūḥ*, by which the poet emphasises the dangers and hardships which he took upon himself on his way. In the Umayyad *raḥīl*, the destination is always stated, and the length of the way dwelled upon. The poet mentions a group of travellers and their mounts, and describes their state of weariness and exhaustion. Some odes begin with a *raḥīl*, which is often blended with the *madīḥ* in an ingenious way. Thus the *raḥīl* is now entirely determined by the panegyrical function of the ode, as described by Ibn Ḳutayba (*loc. cit.*), who evidently had the Umayyad *ḳaṣīda* in mind, when explaining the genre (cf. R. Jacobi, *The camel-section of the panegyrical ode*, in *JAL*, xiii [1982], 1-22).

In the early ʿAbbāsid period, the *raḥīl* is gradually reduced in length or omitted altogether (Jacobi, *op. cit.*, 19-21). ʿAbbāsid odes are as a rule bipartite in structure, a development already beginning in the Umayyad period. However, later poets occasionally fall back upon traditional patterns, and there are some original variations of the travel theme. As part of the panegyrical ode, the *raḥīl* survives until modern times.

Bibliography: In general works, the *raḥīl* is treated in connection with the *ḳaṣīda*, cf. *GAP*, ii (index), *CHAL*, ii (index); E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, i-ii, Darmstadt 1987-8 (Index). Studies limited to the *Djāhiliyya*: R. Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaside*, Wiesbaden 1971, cf. 49-65; A. Hamori, *The poet as hero*, in idem, *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, Princeton 1974, 3-30; W. Rūmiyya, *al-Riḥla fi 'l-ḳaṣīda al-djāhiliyya*, 1975. (R. Jacobi)

RAḤĪM [see ALLĀH].

RAḤMA (A.), a Ḳurʾānic term (attested 114 times), denoting either kindness, benevolence (synonym of *raʾfa*) or—more frequently—an act of kindness, a favour (synonym of *niʿma* or *faḍl*). Almost invariably, the term is applied to God; in only three verses is there reference to the *raḥma* which humans have, or should have, in their relationships with others: sons towards their father and mother (XVII, 24), married couples between themselves (XXX, 21), Christians among themselves (LVII, 27).

The French translation by "miséricorde", although often used, is misleading, since in current usage, particularly in religious vocabulary, "miséricorde" essentially includes the notion of forgiveness, this being the kindness whereby God forgives men for their sins (the same observation applies moreover, although less precisely, to the English "mercy" and the German "Gnade"). It is true that the indulgence of God with regard to sinners is an eminent form of his kindness, and in fact in some instances the Ḳurʾān associates the two notions (cf. for example XVIII, 58; XXXIX, 53; XL, 7). It is also possible to understand in this sense (although not necessarily, cf. al-Ṭabarsī's commentary) the formula of VI, 12 and 54: *kataba ʿalā nafsih al-raḥma*. But in the majority of cases, the notion of the forgiveness of sins is totally absent from Ḳurʾānic usages of *raḥma*. As previously stated, this term is to be understood most often as a simple equivalent of *niʿma*. It represents a "kindness" which God grants (*ātā, wahaba*) to men (cf. III, 8; XI, 28; XVIII, 10, 65), a good which He "makes them taste" (*adhāḳa*), as opposed to the evils which he inflicts upon them, *raḥma* being, in such instances, opposed to *ḍurr, ḍarrāʾ*, or *sayyiʾa* (cf. X, 21; XI, 9; XXX, 33, 36; XLI, 50; XLII, 48); sometimes, in fact, it is an affliction (*sūʾ, ḍurr*) which He wills upon them, and sometimes a *raḥma* (cf. XXXIII, 17, and XXXIX, 38).

These *raḥmas* which God gives as benefits to men, or to one or another individual, are of various kinds. There is the "Book given to Moses", described as *hudā wa-raḥma* (VI, 154; VII, 154), *īmān wa-raḥma* (XI, 17; XLVI, 12); the Ḳurʾān itself, also frequently described as *hudā wa-raḥma* (XXVII, 77; XXXI, 3; etc.) or as *shifāʾ wa-raḥma* (XVII, 82); Jesus (XIX, 21); Muḥammad (XXI, 107). Also a *raḥma* is the fact of having given to Moses, to assist him, his brother Aaron (XIX, 53), to Zachariah a son (XIX, 2); of having saved from annihilation Hūd and his supporters (VII, 72; XI, 58). *Raḥma* is furthermore the treasure destined to the two orphans of XVIII, 82; the wall erected by Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn (XVIII, 98); the maintenance (*rizḳ*) which the Prophet awaits from God (XVII, 28); the rain (VII, 57; XXV, 48; XXVII, 63; XXX, 50); and the alternation of day and night (XXVIII, 73).

There is disagreement among the early exegetes regarding the original meaning of the term, a disagreement which essentially divides, it seems, lexicographers from theologians. For the former, *raḥma* denotes at the outset an aggregate of related emotional states, of which the most characteristic is that of *riḳḳat al-ḳalb*, which may be translated, for want of a better choice, by "sensibility", the "fact of having a sensitive heart". Al-Mubarrad would define *raḥma* by *taḥannun* ("tenderness") *wa-riḳḳa* (according to al-Zadjdjādjī, *Ishtiḳāḳ asmāʾ Allāh*, Beirut 1986, 41, 8), *riḳḳa wa-taʿaṭṭuf* ("benevolence") (according to Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Zīna*, ii, Cairo 1958, 23, 7-8; cf. also *LA*). In his "exoteric" commentary on the *basmala*, al-Shahrastānī gives the following definition: "In Arabic, *raḥma* denotes sensibility (*riḳḳat al-ḳalb*), compassion (*shafaḳa*), softness (*līn*) and gentleness (*rifḳ*); this term has for antonyms hardness (*faẓāẓa*) and severity (*ghilẓat al-ḳalb*)" (*Mafātīḥ al-asrār*, facs. ed. Tehran 1989, fol. 33b). Lending force to this interpretation is a saying of Ibn ʿAbbās, glossing *raḥmān* with *raḳīḳ* and *raḥīm* with *ʿāṭif* (cf. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, Paris 1988, 379). The question which is posed is, for a theologian, whether, thus understood, *raḥma* can truly be used in connection with God. On account, no doubt, of what this term implies in the sense of vulnerability, fragility, it is generally reckoned in fact that *riḳḳa* could not be counted among the divine attributes (thus al-Khaṭṭābī and al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faḍl al-Badjalī, according to al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Asmāʾ wa 'l-ṣifāt*, Cairo 1939, 51, 13-18). A *riḳḳa*, explains al-Ghazālī, is a cause of suffering, and it is in order to alleviate this suffering that the "sensitive" man performs an act of beneficence; God, on the other hand, is not susceptible to suffering (*al-Maḳṣid al-asnā*, Beirut 1961, 66, 1-11). For this reason al-Zamakhsharī considers that, when *raḥma* is applied to God, it is to be taken in a figurative sense, signifying His beneficence (*inʿām*) towards His creatures (*al-Kashshāf*, Cairo 1385/1966, i, 44-5). For al-Mubarrad, the term is frankly ambiguous. Applied to men, it signifies "tenderness and sensibility"; applied to God, it means "beneficence and generosity" (*inʿām wa-ifḍāl*) (al-Zadjdjādjī, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 41, 8-9). Al-

Djubbā'ī, for his part, goes further; for him, the true sense of *raḥma* is that which makes it an equivalent of *niʿma*; if a man of sensitive heart is described as *raḥīm*, it is in fact because such a man is beneficent (ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, xx/b, 207, 6-8). The same point of view is expressed by Ibn Bābawayh (*al-Tawḥīd*, Nadjaf 1387/1968, 203-4).

The question of the origin and meaning of the divine name *al-Raḥmān*, as well as of the formula *al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, has already been discussed [see BASMALA and AL-ḲUR'ĀN, 4.c]. For almost all the ancient commentators—the single exception being Thaʿlab—there is no doubt that *raḥmān* and *raḥīm* are quite simply two parallel qualificatives, both derived from the root *r-ḥ-m*, one in the *faʿlān* form, the other in *faʿīl*, both attesting that the person thus described practises the virtue of *raḥma*. Some, including the grammarian Abū ʿUbayda, even saw the words as pure doublets, analogous, they declared, to the pair of *nadmān* and *nadīm*, the only difference being that *raḥmān* could be applied only to God (thus, in particular, al-Ashʿarī, according to Ibn Fūrak, *Mudjarrad*, Beirut 1987, 47, 21-3; al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, Cairo 1950, 145, 4-6). However, later authorities—these being the majority—attribute to *raḥmān* a stronger quality, precisely because the word is applied only to God, and because, according to a frequent exegesis, *raḥmān* is reckoned to have a broader "extension" than *raḥīm*. It is said that God is *raḥmān* for all men, believers or non-believers, while He is *raḥīm* only for believers (in conformity with Ḳur'ān, XXXIII, 43, *wa-kāna bi 'l-mu'minīna raḥīm*[an]). For al-Ḥalīmī, for example, God is *raḥmān* in that He gives to all men the means of finding their salvation, so that they have no excuse not to worship Him; He is *raḥīm* for the believers in that He rewards them without stinting (al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Asmā'*, 49, 20-1). Some writers (for example, Ibn Bābawayh, *al-Tawḥīd*, 203, 13-14) furthermore assert that, if God alone is described as *raḥmān*, while *raḥīm* can be applied to anyone who has compassion for the suffering of others, this is because God alone has, in addition, the power of removing this suffering (on this area of speculation, see Gimaret, *Noms divins*, 379-82).

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(D. GIMARET)

RAḤMA B. DJĀBIR [see ḲURṢĀN, iii].

RAḤMĀN [see BASMALA; ḲUR'ĀN].

RAḤMĀNIYYA, Algerian Ṣūfī order (*ṭarīḳa*) called after Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Gashtulī al-Djurdjurī al-Azharī Abū Ḳabrayn, who died in 1208/1793-4. It is a branch of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] and is said to have at one time been called Bakriyya after Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī al-Shāmī. At Nafṭa [*q.v.*], in Tunisia, and some other places it is called ʿAzzūziyya after Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAzzūz.

Life of the founder. His family belonged to the tribe Ayt Smāʿīl, part of the Gashtula confederation in the Ḳābiliyya Djurdjura; having studied at his home, and then in Algiers, he made the pilgrimage in 1152/1740, and on his return spent some time as a student at al-Azhar in Cairo, where Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥafnawī (d. 1181/1767-8: *Silk al-durar*, iv, 50) initiated him into the Khalwatī order, and ordered him to propagate it in India and the Sūdān; after an absence of thirty years he returned to Algeria, and commenced preaching in his native village, where he founded a *zāwiya*; he seems to have introduced some modifications into Khalwatī practice, and in his Seven Visions of the Prophet Muḥammad made some important claims for his person and his system; immunity from hell-fire was to be secured by affiliation to his order, love for himself or it, a visit to himself, stopping before his tomb or hearing his *dhikr* recited. His success in winning adherents provoked the envy of the local *murābiṭs*, in consequence of which he migrated to Ḥamma in the neighbourhood of Algiers. Here, too, his activities met with opposition from the religious leaders, who summoned him to appear before a *madjlis* under the presidency of the Mālikī *muftī* ʿAlī b. Amīn; through the influence of the Turkish authorities, who were impressed by the following which he had acquired, he was acquitted of the charge of unorthodoxy, but he thought it prudent to return to his native village, where shortly afterwards he died, leaving as his successor ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Maghribī. His corpse is said to have been stolen by the Turks and buried with great pomp at Ḥamma with a *ḳubba* and a mosque over it. The Ayt Smāʿīl, however, maintained that it had not left its original grave, whence it was supposed to have been miraculously duplicated, and the title *Abū Ḳabrayn* "owner of two graves" was given to him.

History and propagation of the order. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Maghribī was undisputed head from 1208/1793-4 to 1251/1835; his successor died shortly after, and from the following year, though the order continued to win adherents, it divided into independent branches. This was owing to the objections raised by the Ayt Smāʿīl to the succession of al-Ḥādjdj Bashīr, another Maghribī; in spite of the support of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], he had to quit his post, which was held for a time by the widow of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, who, however, owing to the dwindling of the revenues of the *zāwiya*, had ultimately to summon Bashīr back. Meanwhile, the founders of other *zāwiya*s were assuming independence. After the death of Bashīr in 1259/1843, the widow's son-in-law al-Ḥādjdj ʿAmmār succeeded to the headship of the order. Finding his influence waning owing to his failure to participate in the attack on the French organised by Bū Baghla, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1272/August 1856 he called his followers to arms and obtained some initial successes; he was, however, compelled to surrender in the following year, together with his wife (or mother-in-law) at the head of a hundred *khwān* shortly afterwards. ʿAmmār retired to Tunis, where he endeavoured to continue the exercise of his functions, but he was not generally recognised as head of the order, and his place among the Ayt Smāʿīl was taken by Muḥammad Amezzyān b. al-Ḥaddād of Ṣaddūḳ, who at the age of 80 on 8 April 1871 proclaimed *djihād* against the French, who had recently been defeated in the Franco-Prussian War. The insurrection met with little success, though it spread far, and on 13 July Ibn al-Ḥaddād surrendered to General Saussier, who sent him to Bougie. The original *zāwiya* was closed as a precautionary measure.

His son ʿAzīz, who had been transported to New Caledonia, succeeded in escaping to Djudda, whence he endeavoured to govern the community; but various *muḳaddam*s who had been appointed by his father, as well as other founders of *zāwiya*s, asserted their independence. Lists have been given by Depont and Coppolani of these persons and their spheres of influence, which extended into Tunisia and the Sahara. In their work, the numbers of the adherents to the order were reckoned at 156,214 (1897). In 1954, L. Massignon revised this number to 156,000 adherents, with 177 *zāwiya*s, whilst in 1961 Fauque estimated them at 230,000. It should be said that the Raḥmāniyya constitute the most important Ṣūfī order in Algeria, with more than one-half of the *khwān* of the land. It predominates in the towns of the Constan-

tinois such as Constantine, ʿAnnāba, Souk-Ahrag, Batna, Biskra, etc., and naturally in Kabylia, where it originated. Rinn noticed that the Raḥmāniyya of Tolga regularly maintained good relations with the French authorities.

Practices of the order. The training of the *murīd* consists in teaching him a series of seven "names", of which the first is the formula *lā ilāhᵃ illa 'llāhᵘ*, to be repeated from 12,000 to 70,000 times in a day and night, and followed by the others, if the *shaykh* is satisfied with the neophyte's progress; these are: 2. *Allāh* three times; 3. *huwa*; 4. *ḥaḳḳ* three times; 5. *ḥayy* three times; 6. *ḳayyūm* three times; 7. *ḳahhār* three times (Rinn's list differs slightly from this). Rinn stated that the *dhikr* of the order consists in repeating at least 80 times from the afternoon of Thursday to that of Friday the prayer ascribed to al-Shādhilī [*q.v.*], and on the other weekdays the formula *lā ilāhᵃ illa 'llāhᵘ*. Favourite lessons are the "Verse of the Throne" followed by sūras I, CXII-CXIV (prescribed in the Founder's diploma, translated by A. Delpech, in *RA* (1874), and the Seven Visions mentioned above (translated by Rinn, 467).

Literature of the order. Most of this would seem to be still in ms.; the founder is credited with several books. A. Cherbonneau, in *JA* (1852), 517, describes a catechism called *al-Raḥmāniyya* by Muḥammad b. Bakhtarzī with a commentary by his son Muṣṭafā, perhaps identical with a work called by French writers *Présents dominicaux*. Another work belonging to the order which they mention is called *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim fī manāḳib al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim*.

Bibliography: E. de Neveu, *Les Khouan*, Paris 1846, repr. Algiers 1913; L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Alger 1884; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; H. Garrot, *Histoire générale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1910; M. Simian, *Les confréries islamiques en Algerie*, Algiers 1910; A. Berque, *Essai d'une bibliographie critique des confréries musulmanes algériennes*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Geogr. et d'Arch. d'Oran*, xxxix (1919), 135-74, 193-283; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, Paris ⁴1954, 235; L.P. Fauque, *Où en est l'Islam traditionnel en Algérie?*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, lv (1961), 17-22; A. Merad, *Le reformisme musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940*, Paris-The Hague 1967, 55, 59-60.

(D.S. Margoliouth*)

RAHN (A.), pledge, security; *rāhin*, the giver and *murtahin*, the taker of the pledge. The Ḳurʾān (II, 283), obviously in confirmation of pre-Islamic legal usage, provides for the giving of pledges (*rihānᵘⁿ maḳbūḍa*) in business in which a definite period is concerned, if the preparation of a written document is impossible. The part here played by the security as evidence of the existence of an obligation is in Islamic law much less important than that of securing the fulfilment of a demand. From the latter point of view, the traditions are mainly concerned with two questions: *a.* whether the security in case of non-fulfilment passes without more ado into the ownership of the creditor or not (the two answers are crystallised in the legal maxims *al-rahn bi-mā fīh* or *al-rahn lā yaghlaḳ*); and *b.* who is entitled to use it and is bound to maintain it (the answer often found in earlier authorities that the taker of the pledge may enjoy its use if he sees to its maintenance, later fell out into disuse). According to the doctrine of Islamic law, the giver of the pledge is bound to maintain it, but can enjoy the use of it only according to the Shāfiʿīs; its use by the taker of the pledge is also forbidden (except by the Ḥanbalīs); the yield (increase) belongs to the giver of the pledge but also becomes part of the security (except with the Shāfiʿīs); the taker of the pledge is responsible for it according to the Ḥanafīs and (with limitations) the Mālikīs. Among the Shāfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs, the agreement regarding the security is regarded as a bailment relationship (with much less responsibility). The basis for the condition of a pledge must be a claim (*dayn*); the accessory character of the security is in general allowed; but exceptional cases are recognised in which the debt is extinguished by the disappearance of the security, i.e. the risk passes to the taker of the pledge. While the ownership of the pledge remains with the debtor, he has no power of disposal over it and possession passes to the creditor; the latter has the right to sell it to satisfy his claim if the debt becomes overdue or is not paid. Mortgage is unknown, as well as a graded series of rights to the same object of pledge. To be distinguished from the pledge is the detention (*ḥabs*) of a thing to enforce fulfilment of a legal claim, which represents a concrete right afforded by the law in individual cases so that it has contacts with the legal right to pledge.

Bibliography: J. Schacht (ed.), *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, Leipzig 1935, 55-6; Guidi-Santillana, *Sommario del diritto malechita*, Milan 1919, ii, 285 ff.; López Ortiz, *Derecho musulmán*, 192-3; Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1897, 323 ff.; Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871-2, i, 443 ff.; Th.W. Juynboll, *De hoofdregelen der Sjafiʾitische leer van het pandrecht*, dissertation, Leiden 1893; Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 138-40.

(J. Schacht)

AL-RĀʿĪ, *laḳab* of a poet of the Banū Numayr [*q.v.*] who lived in the 1st/7th century. His real name was ʿUbayd b. Ḥuṣayn (see his genealogy in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. W. Caskel, Leiden 1966, Taf. 92 and 112; for other sources see R. Weipert, *Studien*, 27-8), but he was commonly known as al-Rāʿī al-Numayrī. His *kunya* Abū Djandal refers to his son Djandal, who inherited his father's poetical talent and produced some poems (for a collection of some fragments see N.Ḥ. al-Ḳaysī and H. Nādjī, *Shiʿr al-Rāʿī*, 8-13).

Al-Rāʿī was a *sayyid* of his tribe and commanded great respect. He spent a considerable part of his life in ʿIrāḳ, especially in Baṣra, where he was on good terms with Umayyad rulers and governors, e.g. Bishr and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, Yazīd and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.vv.*], Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd and Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb, to whom he addressed his panegyrical odes. It is evident that he kept these close relations with wealthy men of political influence for his personal profit, because, as many of his invectives against other tribes and poets like ʿAdī b. al-Riḳāʿ, al-Akhṭal, and Djarīr [*q.vv.*] show, he did not get on easily with neighbours or fellow poets. When he interfered in the *naḳāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*] between Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*] and gave preference to the latter, Djarīr was deeply hurt and reacted by composing his famous *ḳaṣīda* "*al-dammāgha*" (see his *Dīwān*, ed. Nuʿmān Muḥammad Amīn Ṭāhā, Cairo 1969 f., ii, 813 ff. no. 3), in which he slighted al-Rāʿī and the Banū Numayr entirely. This poem silenced al-Rāʿī at once and, as many traditions say, led to his premature death less than a year after this event (see M.N. Ḥidjāb, *al-Rāʿī*, 76-7, who fixes the date of his death in 96/714 or 97/715).

Al-Rāʿī's verses are a typical example of Old Arabian Bedouin poetry; he excels in the description of the camel and its shepherd (hence his nick-name), the wild bull, the oryx, the wild ass, and other animals of the desert. The Arab literary critics highly esteemed

al-Rāʿī's qualities and ranked him besides Ḥumayd b. Thawr and Ibn Muḳbil [*q.vv.*] at the head of the Muḍar poets (see al-Aṣmaʿī, *Fuḥūlat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. C.C. Torrey, in *ZDMG*, lxv [1911], 500). According to Ibn Sallām, who called him "*faḥl Muḍar*" (see his *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 503), he belonged to the first class of Islamic poets and was equal in value to Djarīr, al-Farazdaḳ, and al-Akhṭal.

His *dīwān* was transmitted by his *rāwī* Dhu 'l-Rumma [*q.v.*], whose own poetry is strongly influenced by al-Rāʿī's style (see Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 551). About a century later, al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*] composed the first philological recension of his *dīwān*, which was largely used by Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī [*q.v.*] in his *Muʿdjam ma 'staʿdjam* (see the index). Other recensions are due to al-Sukkarī [*q.v.*], Ibn al-Anbārī [see AL-ANBĀRĪ, ABŪ BAKR], and Thaʿlab [*q.v.*] (see R. Weipert, *Studien*, 34-5). Thaʿlab's recension and commentary was still known to Yāḳūt [*q.v.*], who often quoted it in his *Muʿdjam al-buldān* (see the index).

Though al-Rāʿī's *dīwān* has been cited and valued by many lexicographers, philologists and *udabāʾ*, no manuscript of it has been discovered so far. Fortunately, Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak b. Maymūn (d. 591/1201) selected from the *dīwān* twenty complete *ḳaṣīdas* for his *Muntahā 'l-ṭalab min ashʿār al-ʿarab* (ms. Yale 389, fols. 135b-163a). These long poems, which are missing in the obsolete collections of G. Oman and N. al-Ḥānī, form the basis of the comprehensive editions of al-Rāʿī's poetical remains, published by R. Weipert and, less critically, by N.Ḥ. al-Ḳaysī and H. Nādjī in 1980, each of them containing about 1,300 verses, to which only a dozen may be added today.

Bibliography: The main biographies are in Abū ʿUbayda, *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. A.A. Bevan, Leiden 1905 ff., i, 427-32; Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1974, i, 502-21; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 246-8; *Aghānī*³, xxiv, 205-16; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. Shākir al-Faḥḥām, in *MMIA*, lxii (1987), 669-84.

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Editions: G. Oman, *Un poeta pastore: al-Rāʿī*, in *AIUON*, xiv (1964), 311-87, xvi (1966), 89-100; Nāṣir al-Ḥānī, *Shiʿr al-Rāʿī al-Numayrī wa-akhbāruhu*, Damascus 1383/1964, corrected and supplemented by Hilāl Nādjī, in *al-Mawrid*, i/3-4 (1972), 237-76; Nūrī Ḥammūdī al-Ḳaysī and Hilāl Nādjī, *Shiʿr al-Rāʿī al-Numayrī*, Baghdād 1400/1980; R. Weipert, *Dīwān al-Rāʿī*, Beirut 1401/1980 (BTS 24). For further bibliographical references see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 388 f. and ix, 283; R. Weipert, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, in *ZGAIW*, ii (1985), 261; idem, *Literaturkundliche Materialien zur älteren arabischen Poesie*, in *Oriens*, xxxii (1990), 355-6.

(R. WEIPERT)

AL-**RĀʾID** AL-**TŪNUSĪ** ("The Tunisian Scout"), the first official newspaper to be published in the Arabic language, appearing on 22 July 1860 and thereafter on a weekly basis. Considered the third-oldest newspaper of the Arab world [see DJARĪDA], after *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-miṣriyya* (1828) and the Algerian *Moniteur*, *al-Mubashshir* (1847), this leading light of the Tunisian press was created by the twelfth Ḥusaynī Bey Ṣādiḳ (1859-82), at the instigation of the minister Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], champion of the Tunisian reformist movement, with the object of promoting the reforms set in motion by the promulgation, in 1857, of the *Fundamental Pact* (*ʿAhd al-Amān* [see DUSTŪR]) and provoked by the combined effect of European economic penetration, the French occupation of Algiers in 1830 and the *Tanẓīmāt* (1839 and 1856).

The creation of *al-Rāʾid*, as well as that of the first Arabic printing-press [see MAṬBAʿA. 2.] followed on from attempts to introduce lithographical presses, private and governmental, in progress since 1847; these were at first, in the frantic race for concessions, granted to a British subject, Richard Holt, who published on an experimental basis, in April 1860, several issues of a weekly, in Italian, *La Gazetta di Tunisi*. But this private agreement was soon revoked by the Beylical government which, by a decree of 17 July 1860, inaugurated *al-Rāʾid al-Tūnusī* and *al-Maṭbaʿa al-rasmiyya*, placing them under the direct authority of the President of the Municipal Council, General Ḥusayn (d. 1887), and specifying that "no political issue is to be addressed without express authorisation from the above-named President".

Pascal-Vincent (alias Manṣūr) Carletti (1822-90), a French subject, born in Nicosia of Italian parentage, brought up in Syria, former pupil of Silvestre de Sacy and founder of the weekly *ʿUṭārid* ("Mercury"), which appeared first in Marseilles in 1858, then in Paris in 1859, was engaged both as editor (*munshī*) of *al-Rāʾid* and as supervisor of the printing-press. Pro-French, Carletti succeeded in retaining his post for seventeen years, until the downfall, in 1877, of his patron, General Khayr al-Dīn.

He contributed, however, to ensuring his own replacement by Tunisian personnel: Shaykh Maḥmūd Ḳābādū (d. 1871), author of the first editorials of the 1860s and inventor of the title of the journal; Bayram V (d. 1889); and Muḥammad al-Sanūsī (d. 1900).

With a circulation of about a thousand (in a population of a million, the vast majority being illiterate), and with an average annual frequency of 40 to 50 issues, drawing its revenue from subscriptions imposed on more than 400 officials and from a government subsidy, *al-Rāʾid* was sold for one *riyāl* (piastre), or 60 centimes, per copy. Consisting of four pages *in plano* 50/28, each of three columns, it appeared with a headline bearing the title, surmounted by the Tunisian flag—a revealing sign of the aspirations for independence of the Regency in relation to the Sublime Porte—surrounded by palms and Beylical heraldic symbols. From 1870, the headline bore, in addition, a supposed *ḥadīth*: *ḥubb al-waṭan min al-īmān* ("love of country is part of faith").

The contents of al-*Rāʾid* fell under two major headings: an official section (*ḳism rasmī*), devoted to the publication of laws and decrees, and a non-official section (*ghayr rasmī*), devoted to national news (*ḥawādith dākhiliyya*) and international news (*khāridjiyya*), commercial activity (*matdjar*) and literary and scientific items. Sources were Beylical governmental ordinances for the *ḳism rasmī*, and European, principally French journals, for international news.

Although providing strictly-regulated information, and in spite of three intermissions (1867-8, 1875 and 1880-2), *al-Rāʾid* is of undeniable documentary and historical interest for the pre-colonial period of Tunisia (1860-81); it was definitely the chronicler of the constitutional era, from 1860 to 1864 (promulgation in April 1861 of the first Tunisian constitution [see DUSTŪR] and the lavish festivities which marked the event), and of the reforms of Khayr al-Dīn between 1870 and 1877, in his capacity as controlling Minister (*mubāshir*) and as Prime Minister.

During the peasant insurrection of 1864, led by Ibn

Ghidhāhum [*q.v.* in Suppl.], *al-Rā'id*, although experiencing a few very brief interruptions, displayed objectivity and calmness, all relative of course, but worthy of recognition.

It compensated for the interruption of the publication of the texts of laws and decrees relating to reforms with the publication of literary articles, consisting in most cases of excerpts from works published by the *maṭbaʿa* (some 70 titles, from 1860 to 1880).

Thus, as admitted by the eminent historian Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf (1802-74 [*q.v.*]), *al-Rā'id* constituted both the best complement and the most faithful continuation to the *Itḥāf*, which came to an end in 1872. It remains, furthermore, a first-hand source for the study of the rise of modern Arabic culture.

Under the French Protectorate and since Independence, *al-Rā'id* has continued to appear into the present day, as an official journal, *stricto sensu*, bilingual and bi-weekly.

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in DJARĪDA. B. North Africa, see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān bi-akhbār mulūk Tūnis wa-ʿahd al-amān*, Tunis 1964, iv, 31-2, vi, 117-40; M. Chenoufi, *Le problème des origines de l'imprimerie et de la presse arabes en Tunisie dans sa relation avec la renaissance "Nahḍa" (1847-1887)*, i-ii, thesis reproduction service, University of Lille III, 1974, *passim*.

(M. CHENOUFI)

RĀ'IKA, a slave singing-girl (*ḳayna* [*q.v.*]) in the earliest days of Islam. She is mentioned as being in the poetry and music-making circles of Medina in ʿUthmān's caliphate, i.e. the middle years of the 7th century A.D., and as being the teacher (*ustādha*) of the celebrated singer ʿAzza al-Maylā' [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 13 = [3]xvi, 162; H.G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 46, 54, 147. (ED.)

RA'ĪS (A.), pl. *ru'asā'*, from *ra's*, "head", denotes the "chief, leader" of a recognisable group (political, religious, juridical, tribal, or other). The term goes back to pre-Islamic times and was used in various senses at different periods of Islamic history, either to circumscribe specific functions of the holder of the office of "leadership" (*ri'āsa*) or as a honorific title (*laḳab* [*q.v.*]).

1. In the sense of "mayor" in the central Arab lands.

Here, the *ra'īs* most commonly referred to was the head of a village, a city or a city-region. He emerged as a kind of local "mayor" and was particularly active from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th centuries. Although references to such *ru'asā'* well before that time do exist, the exact date of origin, as well as its place, remains open to question. The areas of activity of the *ru'asā'* were located in ʿIrāḳ and the Persian regions, in Syria and the Djazīra. Thus *ru'asā'* (in the sense of mayors) established their position mainly in territories under Būyid, Fāṭimid and Saldjūḳ rule.

The degree of power exercised by the *ra'īs* was dependent on the weakness or strength of the political authorities. Just as, if not more, important were groups of the local population who lent support to the *ra'īs*. Most famous were native-born, non-professional militias of "young men", the *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*], as they were called in Syria and the Djazīra, and the *fityān* [see FATĀ] or *ʿayyārūn* [see ʿAYYĀR], in ʿIrāḳ and Persia. Together with such popular elements, the *ra'īs*, himself as a rule of local origin, constituted a dynamic force of urban self-representation vis-à-vis the central rulers, usually foreigners. This situation was most evident in Syrian cities, in Damascus more than in Aleppo, when the *ra'īs* succeeded in transforming "classical" government offices, such as that of the police (*shurṭa* [*q.v.*]), the supervision of the market and public order (*ḥisba* [*q.v.*]), and the vizierate (*wizāra* [*q.v.*]), into local self-representative institutions. Things evolved so far that the *ru'asā'* complemented or even replaced the official rulers and their garrisons. In time, they became institutionalised collaborators within the régimes. By forcing the authorities to recognise the *ra'īs al-aḥdāth* as the *ra'īs al-balad* ("mayor of the city"), symbolised through the grant of robes of honour [see KHILʿA] and estates, the latter rose to a semi-official position. Competition or even cooperation between the *ra'īs* and the central government became more frequent than resistance by local leaders against foreign rule (which earlier had been the case when the *ra'īs* was only leader of the *aḥdāth*). An illustrative example of this new arrangement of power was the appointment of several *ru'asā'* in Damascus to the office of vizier. Another was the political and military cooperation against common enemies from outside. With the increase of functions attributed to or gained by the *ra'īs*, some cities established hereditary dynasties of *ru'asā'*, comparable with the dynasties of *ḳāḍīs* [*q.v.*] in Syrian coastal cities (Tyre, Tripoli) at that time, but lacking in their degree of "urban independence". Concerning the social origin of the *ru'asā'*, it seems that some of them came from a low social milieu, even from rural background. This holds true for those *ru'asā'* who did not acquire official recognition through the rulers. On the other hand, most *ru'asā'* obviously were members of wealthy families—a fact which also may have eased their access to a semi-official position.

After the middle of the 6th/12th century, the urban office of the *ra'īs* started to experience a gradual, but irresistible decline. Due to a new policy of centralising rule by the Saldjūḳids and their successors, who installed military commanders (*shiḥna* [*q.v.*]) at the head of each city, the *ra'īs* was doomed to political insignificance. Military, political, and administrative functions were now exercised by the *shiḥna*, and the control of the urban economy was returned to the classical holder of this office, the *muḥtasib*. The *ra'īs* as mayor of the city became much more rarely mentioned by the sources, only to disappear from them altogether during the second half of the 7th/13th century.

With regard to ʿIrāḳ and also Persia, many cities also had a *ra'īs* who appears sometimes to have been the *ra'īs* of the *fityān* or *ʿayyārūn* in his place. Parallels to conditions in Syria are existent, but just as important are dissimilarities which also must be seriously taken into consideration, if one wants to understand the varieties of the institutional history of Islamic cities.

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(A. Havemann)

2. In the sense of "mayor" in the Eastern Islamic lands.

Here, as in the lands further west also, the *riyāsa* was an office that was of concern to both the state and to the urban bourgeoisie and notables what Bulliet has styled, with regard to Nīshāpūr, the patriciate although the actual functions of a *raʾīs* are less easy to pinpoint than those of e.g. the *khaṭīb* and the *ḳāḍī*, who were in a similar, dual position as state nominees and as socially significant members of the local *aʿyān* or notables. In general, the *ruʾasāʾ* of the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries seem to have been prominent in those towns which did not form normally the residences or courts of rulers; thus they are seldom mentioned for Shīrāz and Rayy in the Būyid and Saldjūḳ periods or for Bukhārā under the Sāmānids, although under the Būyids, the *ruʾasāʾ* of quite small towns in provinces like rural Fārs and Gurgān could play significant political roles (see R.P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership in an early Islamic society*, Princeton 1980, 150-3).

In Khurāsān, the position of the *ruʾasāʾ* of Nīshāpūr is quite well known to us because of the plethora of biographical information on its scholars and notables. One of the greatest of Nīshāpūr families, the Mīkālīs [*q.v.*], who were the confidantes of and diplomatic representatives for princes, held the office there for most of the Sāmānid period and that of the Ghaznawids, i.e. till *ca.* 431/1040, interspersed with members of the Ḥanafī Ṣāʿidī family and one Ibn Rāmish, equally from top Nīshāpūr families. From the pages of the Ghaznawid historian Abu ʾl-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, it emerges that, during Sultan Masʿūd's reign at least, when firm control over Khurāsān in the face of the Turkmen incursions was vital to the ruler, the state nominated or at least approved the *raʾīs* and marked him out by the award of official robes, a fine horse, etc., the *raʾīs* being then responsible to the central government for the town's internal security and taxation (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 180 ff., 184-5; R.W. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur. A study in medieval Islamic social history*, Camb., Mass. 1972, 66-8).

In Saldjūḳ times, the central government certainly appointed the *raʾīs* on some occasions, e.g. the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] appointed to Nīshāpūr an outsider from Marw al-Rūdh, Abū ʿAlī Ḥassān al-Manīʿī, as *shaykh al-Islām* and *raʾīs* of the town, intending to use him as the agent for favouring Ashʿarī theology and Shāfiʿī law there, with Abū ʿAlī holding office there *ca.* 465-82/1073-89; but after al-Manīʿī's death, the office of *shaykh al-Islām* reverted to a member of the Ṣāʿidī family, a former persecutor of the Ashʿarīs in Nīshāpūr (Bulliet, *op. cit.*, 45, 52 n. 13, 66, 68, 74, 170). During the 6th/12th century, the Saldjūḳ sultans continued to nominate *ruʾasāʾ* for the larger towns, although in the smaller ones, the *ruʾasāʾ* tended to emerge from the local urban notables without any outside interference. We possess the texts of various administrative documents nominating these heads of towns or regions, such as that for Tādj al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Makārim Aḥmad as *raʾīs* over Māzandarān, Gurgān and Dihistān during Sandjar's reign, in which Tādj al-Dīn is granted by the sultan's *dīwān* full civil powers over the populations there and is invested with splendid insignia of office consonant with the exaltedness of his office. As before, the *raʾīs*, whether appointed by an outside ruling body or not, was not simply a salaried official of the state but the representative of his town and its interests *vis-à-vis* the provincial or central government, above all, over questions of the taxation due from the town, and he could report back to the sultan's *dīwān* if any of the state officials were grossly abusing their power locally. The *raʾīs* seems often to have had an office or *dīwān* of his own and to have been paid for his official duties by dues (*rusūm*) levied locally; but most *ruʾasāʾ* were men of substance anyway (see A.K.S. Lambton, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 251-2; eadem, *The administration of Sanjar's empire as illustrated in the* ʿAtabat al-kataba, in *BSOAS*, xx [1957], 383-7; H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Großselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 53-6 and index s.nn. *raʾīs, riyāsat*).

The *raʾīs* recedes from mention in the history of the Persian lands by the time of the Mongol invasions, but it should be noted that the Āl-i Burhān, the line of Ḥanafī *ruʾasāʾ* in the Transoxanian city of Bukhārā, held hereditary office there from the mid-6th/12th century well into the middle years of the 7th/13th one, with the additional title, expressive of their religious leadership also in the city, of *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* [*q.v.*] or *ṣadr-i djahān* (see Bosworth, *EIr* art. *Āl-e Borhān*).

Within Persia, during Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Ṣafawid and subsequent times, up to the 19th century, many of the functions of the earlier *raʾīs* were assumed, as the link between the central government and the taxpayers, by the headman of a town or district, who was then known as the *kalāntar* [*q.v.*], although the parallels are not completely exact.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

3. In the sense of "sea captain".

Here *raʾīs*, in Turkish *reʾīs*, with its derivation from *raʾs* "head", followed the same semantic process as "captain" from *caput* "head", and came to mean "ship's captain" in Ottoman Turkish. The names of most major figures of the empire's naval history from the 15th and 16th centuries are followed by this epithet: Kemāl Reʾīs, Pīrī Reʾīs, Selmān Reʾīs, Seyyidī ʿAlī Reʾīs, Turghut Reʾīs [*q.vv.*]. Towards the end of the 16th century, further nuances appeared. In the imperial navy, *reʾīs* began to be restricted to captains of single units, while *ḳapudan* or *ḳaptan* was applied to those who commanded actual fleets (see ḳapudan pasha). Meanwhile, in the semi-independent *beylerbeyilik* of Algiers [see al-djazāʾir], the term became associated with commanders of corsair ships (the *ṭāʾifa* of the *ruʾasāʾ*), an institution that vied with the Turkish *odjaḳs* of Janissaries or their offspring (the *ḳul-oghlus* [*q.v.*]) for political power. In modern Turkish, the word, spelt *reis*, means "captain of a small merchant vessel, skipper; able-bodied seaman" (*Redhouse Yeni türkçe-ingilizce sözlük*, Istanbul 1974, 953). For the completely different usage in Ottoman bureaucracy, see reʾīs ül-küttab.

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(S. Soucek)

RAʿIYYA (a.), pl. *raʿāyā*, literally "pasturing herd of cattle, sheep, etc.", a term which in later Islam came to designate the mass of subjects, the tax-paying common people, as opposed to the ruling military and learned classes.

1. In the mediaeval Islamic world.

Ḳurʾānic use of the verb *raʿā* and its derivatives

covers the two semantic fields of "to pasture flocks" (e.g. XX, 56/54; XXVIII, 23) and "to tend, look after someone's interests" (e.g. XXIII, 8; LVII, 27; LXX, 32). Since other Near Eastern religions and cultures have evolved the image of the ruler, in both a theocratic and a secular sense, as the shepherd superintending his flock, sc. the subjects (the obvious example being that of Christianity with Jesus as the Good Shepherd), it is not surprising that Islam evolved similar ideas. In the later developments of the personality and role of Muḥammad—developments which were in many cases influenced by the figure of Christ, his characteristics and his miracles, in Eastern Christianity—the Prophet is said by the *Ḳāḍī* ᶜIyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149 [*q.v.*]) to have been awarded the epithets *al-raʾūf* "the kindly one" and *al-raḥīm* "the merciful one" by God from amongst His own Most Beautiful Names [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ] (*al-Shifāʾ bi-taᶜrīf ḥuḳūḳ al-Muṣṭafā*, cited in T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Upsala 1917, 254), and he is described by the mystic Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (*flor.* later 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries, see Brockelmann, I², 216, S I, 355-7, and Sezgin, i, 653-9) as the shepherd of mankind, whose sheep the latter are: he guides them in the right way, gives them pure water, provides them with winter and summer pasture, keeps them from the dangerous places, cares for the newly-born lambs, etc. (*Nawādir al-uṣūl fī maᶜrifat akhbār al-rasūl*, cited in Andrae, *op. cit.*, 254-5).

Both the image from Islamic ethics of the secular ruler (as opposed to the Prophet) as *rāᶜī* "shepherd" and that of his subjects as *raᶜiyya* "flock" appear in the manuals of constitutional law and the "mirrors for princes" literature [see NAṢĪḤAT AL-MULŪK]. But there further developed, in the eastern Islamic world in particular, the additional concept—foreign to the emphases of early Islam on piety and worthiness of God's grace as ideally determining the conduct of worldly affairs—that the *raᶜiyya* were the lowest stratum of a hierarchical social structure, the taxable classes of traders and cultivators, whilst above them were the ruling military and civilian classes, the *ahl al-sayf wa 'l-ḳalam*. The roots of this conception probably lay in Sāsānid Persia, where society had been divided into the military aristocracy; the secretaries; the Zoroastrian clergy; and finally, the peasants, artisans and merchants, who paid taxes. Certainly, the duties of treating the *raᶜiyya* with benevolence and equity are stressed in the mirrors and in other sententious and moralising literature. Thus ch. 5 of Niẓām al-Mulk's [*q.v.*] *Siyāsat-nāma* deals with the holders of land grants, *muḳtaᶜān*, and the need for their enquiring into the condition of the *raᶜāyā*; and solicitude for the interests of the taxpayers who financed the armies and administration of the Mongol Il-Khāns is expressed by Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] in the maxim "there are no *raᶜiyyat* if there is no justice."

But the ethical aspect of the ruler-subject relationship, the ruler's duty to further agriculture and trade and the prosperity of the cultivators and artisans, tended to fall into the background in the face of relentless financial exigencies in which the duties of the docile taxpayers were emphasised but not the reciprocal duties of the rulers. The lot of the peasantry in particular deteriorated in the Saldjūḳ and Mongol periods, not least from the incessant warfare in the lands stretching from northern Syria to Transoxania and from the alienation of much land to feudatories, with a consequent loss of direct control by the ruler [see IḲṬĀᶜ]. Although legally free in status, their freedom was in practice a fiction, and they were oppressed and ill-treated, liable e.g. for forced labour (*bīgārī, ḥashar*); for housing and feeding officials, messengers, soldiers, etc. and their staffs (*nuzūl*); and for providing mounts for the postal courier service (*olagh*). These requirements had, of course, existed before, but they became much more onerous in the central and eastern lands of Islam from the 5th/12th century onwards (see A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, chs. II-IV; I.P. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 492-4, 515, 527 ff.; 535-7; B. Fragner, in *ibid.*, vi, ch. 9).

Hence it was during these times that the word *raᶜiyya* became narrowed down in the eastern lands to its present meaning in Persia, sc. that of "peasantry" pure and simple, and this meaning was carried into Indo-Muslim society, yielding the Anglo-Indian term *ryot* = "farmer, cultivator" (see *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases*, new ed. London 1903, 777). *Raᶜiyya* also tended increasingly, in the central and eastern Islamic lands of the later mediaeval period, to have the connotation of "those classes in society who were not allowed to bear arms", and this usage passed into Ottoman official terminology, for which see section 2. below.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In the Ottoman empire.

Here, the plural *reᶜāyā* was commonly used. In the Ottoman context down to and including the 12th/18th century, the term denotes the tax-paying subject population as opposed to the servitors of the Ottoman state (*ᶜaskerīs*). The *reᶜāyā* paid taxes and possessed few opportunities for legitimate political activity. From the 12th/18th century onwards, the term is increasingly used for the Christian taxpayers only; 13th/19th century population counts distinguish between *reᶜāyā* and Islām; all statements in the present context refer to members of the subject population regardless of religion. In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, *reᶜāyā* status was proven by showing that the person in question or his father had been recorded in the Ottoman tax registers as one of the *reᶜāyā*. In later periods, the evidence of witnesses was regarded as decisive.

Reᶜāyā *and* ᶜaskerīs: *boundaries and boundary crossing.*

Exemption from certain taxes, particularly the *ᶜawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye* [*q.v.*], were quite readily granted to *reᶜāyā* performing special services to the Ottoman state, such as the guarding of dangerous passes, the repairing of bridges or auxiliary services to the military. Down to the 10th/16th century, *reᶜāyā* soldiers formed special corps in the Ottoman army, known as *yaya* and *müsellem* [*q.v.*]. Certain members of those corps performed military service, while others engaged in agriculture on special landholdings (*čiftlik*s [*q.v.*]) to finance their fellows' campaign expenses. Detribalised nomads in the Balkans (*yürüks* [*q.v.*]) also were originally employed as soldiers. But from the late 10th/16th century onwards, the *yaya* and *müsellem* corps were abolished and their members demoted to the status of ordinary peasants, while the *yürük*s increasingly were confined to guard duties. In principle, tax exemptions for special services did not place a *reᶜāyā* classified as *muᶜāf* (or *muᶜāf we müsellem*) in the *ᶜaskerī* category. However, certain *reᶜāyā* doubtlessly used tax-exempt status as an opportunity to claim the privileges of the ruling group.

From the point of view of established *ᶜaskerīs*, people born as *reᶜāyā* could only under very specific conditions legitimately abandon their station. The study of religious law and subsequent careers as *ḳāḍī*, *müftī* and *müderris* were open to all Muslims. While

minor mosque personnel often were reconsidered *ᶜaskerī* only for the duration of their appointments, the higher ranks of the *ᶜilmiyye* [*q.v.*] permanently left their subject status behind. More problematic was the position of *zāwiyedārs* in charge of the numerous Ottoman dervish convents; in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, they could sometimes claim *ᶜaskerī* status by default, if able to demonstrate that in the contemporary tax registers they had not been recorded as *raᶜiyyet*. Dervishes suspected of heterodoxy were occasionally reclassified as *reᶜāyā* by way of punishment. Down to the 11th/17th century, the levy of boys (*dewshirme* [*q.v.*]) normally permitted the young men thus recruited unchallenged entry into the Ottoman ruling group, provided they survived the often arduous training period. In later centuries, it was possible to enter the ranks of the *ᶜaskerīs* by service in the household of a high official. In particular, the sultan could move the young men he called into his service from their humble status as *reᶜāyā* to a position of power. More problematic was the status of mercenaries of *reᶜāyā* background who were awarded *tımārs* [*q.v.*] for service on the frontiers. Such promotions occured, for instance during the Hapsburg-Ottoman "Long War" (1001-15/1593-1606), but the beneficiaries might find their status challenged at a later time.

ᶜAskerīs could frequently count upon support from the Ottoman sultans in their attempts to limit upward mobility on the part of the *reᶜāyā*. In the later 10th/16th and throughout the 11th/17th century, the *reᶜāyā* best placed to wage a struggle for *ᶜaskerī* privileges were the musket-armed mercenaries who now constituted the bulk of Ottoman armed forces on the Hapsburg and Persian frontiers. Time and again, the attempts of these former peasants turned mercenaries to obtain the regular pay and privileges of Janissaries and other regular military corps resulted in full-scale civil war. The authorities armed peasant militias (*il erleri*) against the rebellious mercenaries, and in extreme cases mobilised militias over entire provinces (*nefīr-i ᶜāmm* [see NEFĪR]). Some mercenaries of *reᶜāyā* background doubtlessly gained admission to the *ᶜaskerī* class in the course of this unrest, but most were unable to shake off their subject status.

From the 11th/17th century onwards, merchants and craftsmen increasingly protected themselves from unforeseeable demands for supplementary taxes by joining the Janissary and other military corps of the major cities. By paying fixed dues to the corps to which they adhered, the Muslim merchants and artisans of *reᶜāyā* origins became pro-forma soldiers and joined the lowest ranks of the *ᶜaskerīs*. This process has been particularly well studied in the case of Cairo, where it was virtually completed by the middle of the 12th/18th century.

Competition for economic resources.

The *reᶜāyā* constituted a political and not an economic category. In terms of economic activity, this group was extremely diverse; town dwellers, nomads and peasants all counted as *reᶜāyā*. Disparities of wealth were equally great. While rich merchants of *reᶜāyā* status were active in 9th/15th century Bursa or 10th-11th/16th-17th century Aleppo and Cairo, the majority of *reᶜāyā* were peasants of modest income, who, from the evidence of their estate inventories, must have reproduced their families with great difficulty. Moreover, in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries substantial merchants of *reᶜāyā* status could not compare in wealth with even quite modest *ᶜaskerīs*.

In principle, *reᶜāyā* were able to transfer their wealth to their descendants, while the inheritances of *ᶜaskerīs* were largely confiscated. However, debts to the fisc, incurred particularly by tax farmers, led to the confiscation (*müṣādere* [see MUṢĀDARA]) of *reᶜāyā* estates as well. Heirless estates reverted to the state; the right to collect these properties was often farmed out and sometimes gave rise to major abuses. Toward the end of the 12th/18th century, previous rules concerning *müṣādere* were frequently disregarded, as the central administration confiscated the estates of wealthy *reᶜāyā* in an effort to raise cash.

The competition between *reᶜāyā* and *ᶜaskerīs* for the control of economic resources constitutes an important aspect of Ottoman commercial history. While substantial merchants of *reᶜāyā* status engaged both in internal and external trade, governors and other important officials had the grains, cottons and other products of their *khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] marketed, and gained economic advantage from their political position. Ottoman officials sometimes also used their political power to make loans to peasants, or to market peasant produce. After the institution of the *mālikāne* [*q.v.*] (life-time tax form) in 1106/1695, *ᶜaskerīs* gained a further advantage over their *reᶜāyā* competitors, as the latter were barred from direct access to this form of investment. The attempts of Christian *reᶜāyā* merchants to gain tax-exempt status by association with European consulates thus may be seen as a move in their challenge to the economic supremacy of the *ᶜaskerīs*.

The Ottoman system of taxation depended upon the marketing of peasant produce. Peasants were obliged to carry the *timār* holders' grain to the nearest market, while tax farmers supplied provincial towns and thereby remitted to the central administration in money taxes which they had collected in kind. In the 9th/15th century, low-level administrative districts (*ḳaḍāʾ*) generally possessed a single market; but by the end of the 10th/16th century, markets in villages, and in some areas even in the open countryside, multiplied. In Thessaly and Thrace during the same period, minor local fairs developed into centres for inter-regional and at times even international exchange. Pious foundations profited by this upsurge of rural trade by providing shops and booths and by collecting rents in return. From the later 10th/16th century onwards, peasants also made money by selling, often illegally, grain, cotton or raw silk to European merchants.

However, the profits from this trade were not for the most part retained by the peasantry but collected by the central government or local administrators in the shape of taxes or interest on loans. In addition, a 10th/16th century peasant paid at least 15% and up to 50% of his gains from agriculture in the form of tithes and other taxes; this percentage does not include the money which he needed to set aside for dues such as *ᶜawāriḍ* and *sürsat*, whose level was not predetermined as it depended on the demands of current campaigns. When comparing the estates of peasants and townsmen from one and the same area, the substantially lower standard of living in the villages immediately strikes the eye. (On farming and peasant tenure, see ᶜOTHMĀNLĪ. II. Social and economic history.)

Peasant reᶜāyā *and local government.*

Most Ottoman peasants ran their smallholdings independently, with minimal involvement on the part of *tımār* holders and other tax grantees. But since the tax registers specified that taxes in kind were levied on specific crops, and the taxes were assessed on the village as a whole, the pressure to conform to locally established crop patterns was very strong. This situation did not, however, preclude changes in response to

market conditions. The expansion of a town or city encouraged the conversion of fields into gardens and vineyards, and from the 11th/17th century onwards the villages surrounding Bursa switched over to mulberry orchards and silk cultivation.

Disputes between peasants and local administrators focussed on taxes and the manner of their collection. Frequent tours of inspection on the part of governors, accompanied by numerous armed men, resulted in spoliation of the *reᶜāyā*; concern about peasant flight and erosion of the tax base caused Sultan Murād III to totally prohibit these armed incursions in the 990s/1580s. This prohibition did not last long, but *reᶜāyā* complaints continued to refer to their existence for a much longer time. Monetisation of the economy formed another source of complaints, as tax collectors increasingly demanded payments in coin from peasants whose access to markets remained limited. *Reᶜāyā* at times sought redress of their grievances by complaining to the *Dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*] and demanding an official commission in charge of redressing grievances (*mekhāyif müfettishi*). At the height of the Djelālī rebellions [see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.], some villages also built strongholds for use in emergencies. Others fled to neighbouring provinces, the cities or remote areas. The frequent flight of *reᶜāyā* to some degree checked the abuses committed by local administrators, as such events were considered "bad points" in the official's record on the part of the central government. However, financial considerations often induced the latter to allow governors and tax farmers notorious for their oppression of the *reᶜāyā* to go unpunished.

The abolition of reᶜāyā *status.*

With the *Khaṭṭ-i sherīf* [*q.v.*] of Gülkhāne, promulgated in 1255/1839, all subjects of the Ottoman sultans were accorded equal rights, and the disappearance of *ᶜaskerī* privileges entailed the abolition of the *reᶜāyā* as a special legal category. However, increasing nationalist and communal rivalries among the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire and the political, economic and cultural interventions of the various European powers nullified the attempt to create a unified Ottoman citizen body irrespective of social, religious and national differences.

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RAKᶜA (A.), literally "the act of bowing, bending", a sequence of utterances and actions performed by the Muslim believer as part of the act of worship or *ṣalāt*, involving utterance of the *takbīr* and *Fātiḥa*, then the bending of the body from an upright position (*rukūᶜ*) and then two prostrations (*sudjūd*). See further ṢALĀT. (ED.)

AL-**RAḲĀSHĪ** [see ABĀN B. ᶜABD AL-ḤAMĪD].

RAḲĪB (A.), from a root signifying "to guard", "to wait", "to observe, watch over", is one of the names of God, with the sense of "guardian, vigilant one who knows everything that takes place", but it is especially familiar as a term in Arabic love poetry, *ghazal* [*q.v.*], where it denotes the person who, by watching or simply being present, prevents the lovers from communicating with each other. The character first appears in the amorous poetry of the Umayyad period (B. Blachère, *Les principaux thèmes de la poésie érotique au siècle des Umayyades de Damas*, in *AIEO*, v [1934-41], 82-128 = *Analecta*, Damascus 1975, 333-78), in particular, in the poetry which Blachère (*Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XVe de J.-C.*, iii, 620 ff.) calls "of Ḥidjāzian spirit", in company with other enemies of lovers, such as the *kāshiḥ*, "secret, spiteful enemy", the *wāshī*, "slanderer" and the *ᶜādhil*, "censorious person", who, in the poems of ᶜUmar b. Abī Rabīᶜa [*q.v.*], appear to make reference to real individuals (Ibn Abī ᶜAtīḳ [*q.v.*], for example), but who, very soon, become fictional characters inhabiting the world of the lovers.

In this early period, the figure of the *raḳīb* appears relatively infrequently (it does not appear in the *dīwān* of Djamīl al-ᶜUdhrī [*q.v.*]), in comparison with that of the *kāshiḥ* and especially that of the *wāshī*. The same applies to the poetry of al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. 193/808 [*q.v.*]) but, in the course of the 3rd/9th century, through the influence, perhaps, of amorous narratives and the romanticised biographies of love poets, the *raḳīb* becomes one of the principal obstacles to the union of the lovers. He appears as such in the treatises on love written by the Arabs, in particular in the work of those authors who are more interested in the psychology of love or in the situations in which lovers find themselves (Ibn Dāwūd, Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Abī Ḥadjala [*q.vv.*]), than in the ethical problems posed by unrestrained love. Ibn Ḥazm, who devotes three chapters of the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* to the *ᶜādhil*, the *wāshī* and the *raḳīb*, classifies the last-mentioned according to three categories: the unwelcome, but not malevolent witness to the meeting of the lovers; the curious who seeks to discover, by observing the lovers, whether his suspicions are justified; the guardian charged with watching over the loved one—this last being, in his opinion, the one about whom the poets complain. The similarity between this type of

raḳīb and the *gardador*, or between the *wās̲h̲ī* and the *lauzengier*, in the poetry of the troubadours, constitutes one of the arguments in favour of establishing links between Hispano-Arab and Provençal poetry (R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesia árabe y poesía europea*, Madrid 1941; A.R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry and its relations with the old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore 1946, 371 ff.; R. Boase, *The origin and meaning of courtly love. A critical study of European scholarship*, Manchester 1977).

The *raḳīb* appears quite frequently in the poetry of al-Andalus (H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle*, Paris 1953, 417-20). With the *wās̲h̲ī* and the *ʿād̲h̲il*, he is the subject of a brief monograph by the later poet Ibn K̲h̲ātima [*q.v.*] (S. Gibert, *Un tratadito de Ibn Jātima sobre los enemigos de los amantes (Notas sobre el ms. 5974 de la B.N. de Paris)*, in *Al-Andalus*, xviii [1953], 1-16). Predictably, this theme of amorous poetry plays a significant role in the *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥāt* (A. Jones, *OCCAM. Computer-based study of the Muwaššaḥ and the K̲h̲arja*, in F. Corriente and A. Sáenz-Badillos (eds.), *Poesía estrófica. Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional sobre Poesía Estrófica Árabe y Hebrea y sus Paralelos Romances (Madrid, diciembre de 1989)*, Madrid, Facultad de Filologia, UCM-ICMA, 1991, 187-200, Appendix A), and is even introduced into the *k̲h̲ard̲j̲as* in Hispanic vernacular (E. García Gómez, *Las jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco*, Madrid 1965, nos. IV, XXVIII).

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(Teresa Garulo)

RĀḲID (a.) "the sleeping child". This term (in Mag̲h̲ribī dialects, *rāged* or *bū mergūd*) is used to indicate a foetus which is considered to have stopped its development, continuing to stay in the womb in an unchanged condition for an indefinite period of time, after which it may "wake up" again and resume its development until it is born. The "falling asleep" and "waking up" may either take place spontaneously or (at least in the Mag̲h̲rib) be induced by a religious scholar (*fḳīh*) or by a midwife (*ḳābla*) with the help of charms (a written charm to that effect is found in ms. Leiden Or. 14048, B2 fol. 12b) and herbs (see Gaudry, *Société féminine*, 370).

This belief is firmly rooted in Islamic culture as far back as the earliest Islamic times, and has been incorporated in the legal systems of the four leading *mad̲h̲āhib*. Some famous cases are mentioned by Ibn Ḳutayba (*K. al-Maʿārif*, Cairo 1960, 594-5), among them Mālik b. Anas, the founder of the Mālikī law school; by Mālik himself (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Cairo 1951, 740, = *K. al-Aḳḍiya*, no. 21), where a case is discussed that dates back to D̲j̲āhiliyya days; and by ʿArīb b. Saʿīd al-Ḳurṭubī, *K̲h̲alḳ al-d̲j̲anīn*, 32. The latter text, which is of a medical nature, also illustrates the fact that Islamic physicians were little inclined to include the idea of the *rāḳid* in their theoretical considerations; they took their ideas from the Greek rather than from the ancient Arabian tradition, which implied that the eleven-month pregnancies sometimes allowed for by Hippocrates were the maximum that they were prepared to consider.

From early Islamic times onwards, jurists have disagreed about the possible duration of the prolonged pregnancy; some saw two years as a maximum, but according to others it could last much longer. Even in the midst of the 20th century, Libyan Courts of Appeal were prepared to accept pregnancies of up to twelve years, as A. Layish's research into the practice of Libyan *S̲h̲arīʿa* courts (which have yielded a number of cases of children legally born after prolonged pregnancies) has shown (*Divorce in the Libyan family*, New York etc. 1991, 161). Recent law reforms in Muslim countries have generally abolished the practice and have put the maximum duration of pregnancy at one year, although sometimes allowing for extension, as for instance in the Moroccan Civil Code of 1958, the *Mudawwana* (arts. 76, 84).

Although the idea of the *rāḳid* is accepted by all four Sunnī law schools, it seems to have taken root mainly under Mālikī law, especially in North Africa, where until very recent times it was firmly incorporated into the social system, thus creating a device to protect women as well as children against the sanctions attached to pregnancies and births out of wedlock: a *rāḳid* might be born legally long after its parents' marriage had come to an end by death or divorce. At the same time, the system offered barren wives an escape from the odium of infertility and the practical and psychological consequences attached to it, such as depression, loss of social status and repudiation.

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(Odile Verberkmoes and Remke Kruk)

al-**RAḲĪḲ** al-**ḲAYRAWĀNĪ** [see ibn al-raḳīḳ].

al-**RAḲĪM** [see aṣḥāb al-kahf].

RAḲḲ, Riḳḳ (a.), parchment.

1. History of the use of parchment in the Islamic world.

Raḳḳ is the term employed by the Arabs to denote parchment, alongside certain other terms used in a less specific manner, such as *ḳirṭās* [*q.v.*] (from the Greek χάρτης, through the intermediary of Aramaic) denoting papyrus, a sheet of papyrus or even a scroll of papyrus; *waraḳ*, which was later to be reserved for paper; and *d̲j̲ild* [*q.v.*] (leather). Furthermore, all these words occur from time to time, in reference to the early years of Islam, to denote writing materials in general, whereas *bardī* or *waraḳ al-bardī* was the particular term for papyrus [see papyrus] and *raḳḳ* the particular term for parchment. The latter is derived from the verb *raḳḳa* "to be thin, fine" (hence the explanatory terms observed at a later stage, such as *d̲j̲ild raḳīḳ*, or "fine leather"). Parchment (on the subject of which Grohmann wrote a very fine article, see *Bibl.*) was fashioned initially, in most cases, from the hide of certain animals such as sheep, goats or calves, but sometimes also from the hide of gazelles (see below).

Its usage in Arabia may conceivably be attested from the 5th century A.D., as may be observed in the *Ḳaṣīda* of Ḳudam b. Ḳādim (A.D. 400-80) (on this see Griffini, *Il poemetto*, 352, v. 56), if this is not—as

seems very probable—later ʿAlid or ʿAbbāsid propaganda (Caskel); at a later stage, Ṭarafa speaks of *ḳirṭās al-Shām*, and Labīd mentions a *ṭirs nāṭiḳ* ("speaking parchment"). *Ṭirs* is a palimpsest, of which only a few exist dating from the Arabic period. Such a fragment is preserved in the papyrological collection of Florence: on the *recto* is a Latin fragment of the Bible, Exodus viii, 16, and on the *verso* an Arabic economic text of the 1st century A.H. (on this, see Vaccari, and on Labīd, see A. von Kremer, *Über die Gedichte des Labîd*, 583).

Before the time of the Arabs, parchment had been in use among the ancient Babylonians, and, in particular, among the Egyptians from the 2nd century B.C., and it was subsequently to become ever more important. The Prophet Muḥammad is said to have used, alongside leather, a very fine variety of parchment for his correspondence; evidence of this is a document allocating territory to the Tamīm tribe, written by ʿAlī and mentioned by Ibn Durayd, *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 226, n.*b*. The Ḳurʾān itself (LII, 2-3) declares that it is written on *raḳḳ manshūr* ("unfolded parchment"). It is known that certain fragments (*riḳāʿ*), containing what the Prophet left behind, must have contained verses of the Ḳurʾān, some of them written on parchment (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, 137, ll. 11-13; idem, *Muḳaddimatān*, i, 36, l. 22; 49, l. 8; L. Marraccius, *Prodromus*, i, 257; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben*, iii, 39); the corpus of the Holy Book of Islam, the assembly of which was undertaken by Zayd b. Thābit, must have been written on parchment, *waraḳ* (on this, see Sprenger, *ibid.*, iii, 40; al-Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, 138, l. 3); the ancient sections of the Ḳurʾān which have survived provide convincing evidence of this (see e.g. the Vienna collection, published by Loebenstein).

This tradition was continued under the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, as is noted by Ibn Khaldūn (see *Muḳaddima*, index; cf. Karabacek, *MPER*, ii/3, 1887, 119), since by this means their correspondence, their instructions and their edicts had a more artistic and attractive appearance, and were better assured of long-term survival; furthermore, use of this material added to the renown of the scribes.

In the Umayyad period, the situation was unchanged (see e.g. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xvi, 111, ll. 3-5, where the subject is the biography of the poet Dhu 'l-Rumma). Furthermore, the caliph Muʿāwiya personally instructed the officials of his administration to use parchment, in order to underline the importance of the edicts emanating from it (see Quatremère, tr. of Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, i, 134; Karabacek, *MPER*, ii/3, 1887, 152). It would, moreover, be surprising if sections of the *Akhbār* of ʿAbīd/ʿUbayd b. Sharya, lively tales related to this caliph in Damascus and put into writing by order of the same sovereign, were not written, at least in part, on parchment, in view of the high regard in which Muʿāwiya held them, particularly admiring their innumerable verses (see, on this subject, R.G. Khoury, *Kalif, Geschichte und Dichtung*, 214-15).

Even in the early years of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, parchment continued to be used, albeit alongside papyrus, the use of which was dominant, and paper, the use of which was becoming ever more widespread but which did not command, at the outset, the same degree of acceptance. Ibn Ḥanbal himself, when asked which method of writing he preferred, replied, "A pen of reed, shining ink and fine hide" (al-Manūfī, *Laṭāʾif*, fol. 100a); this is definitely a reference to parchment, this being the meaning of *djild raḳīḳ*, which is the expression used in this phrase; the lexicographer al-Djawharī, *Ṣiḥāḥ*, ii, 85, 28 f., provides testimony in support of the use of these two words. And when the *dīwāns* were ransacked, under Muḥammad b. Zubayda, the caliph al-Amīn [*q.v.*], the parchments taken from them, from which the texts had been obliterated, were re-used as writing materials (*ṭirs*). At Kūfa and Edessa (al-Ruhā [*q.v.*]), parchment of the finest quality was produced. But as paper progressively gained acceptance in administrative circles, the use of parchment declined, before coming to a definitive end. In the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. it was still being used alongside paper (see *ʿUmdat al-kuttāb*, Codex gothanus 1357, fol. 11b).

In al-Andalus, as late as the time of al-Muḳaddasī, who composed his work after 373/985, parchment was still being used for all copies of the Ḳurʾān and books of accounts (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 239). As for the Maghrib, the situation there was the same, as has been proved by the discovery of hundreds of literary codices on parchment in the mosque of Sīdī ʿUḳba at Ḳayrawān (see G. Marçais *et alii*, *Objets kairouanais*). Recent discoveries in the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ also confirm this well-established tradition.

Besides the other types of hide described above, the fine hide of gazelles was also used for the making of parchment, especially for copies of the Ḳurʾān, as is attested by codices preserved e.g. in Cairo (see *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, i, 2; Ahmed Moussa, *Zur Geschichte der islamischen Buchmalerei*, 45-6; Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Makkī al-Khaṭṭāṭ, 81) or in Medina (Spies, 102-3). Furthermore, in the various collections of papyrus, which contain not only documents on papyrus but also texts written on hide and all other kinds of ancient material, striking examples of all types of parchment are to be found (see A. Grohmann, *Einführung*, 3; Khoury, art. *Papyrus* in *EI²*; *Chrestomathie*, 7).

Initially, it was usually the *recto*, this being the smoother surface, which was written on; when space was insufficient, the *verso* was used. Judicial documents were often bound up with a strip of leather or a thread of some kind. The dimensions of parchments vary between 85.2 × 82 cm (see P. Lond. B.M. Or. 4684/III) and 4.8 × 1.8 cm (see *PER Inv. Perg. Ar.*, 53). Some of the Vienna fragments are saffron coloured and there is no way of knowing whether the material has been dyed or if this is merely the effect of long-term storage. On the other hand, there is at least one undisputed example of the use of blue dye: this is a leaf which belonged to a Ḳurʾānic manuscript of Mashhad (Persia) datable to the 2nd/8th century. In addition, manuscripts on purple parchment are well known among mediaeval Latin documents.

The earliest known and datable Arabic parchment is a fragment which Ernst Kühnel saw in the possession of a German consul in Luxor, of which neither Grohmann, during his stay in Egypt, nor the writer of this article, have succeeded in finding any trace. The most recent is from the year 498/1105 (P. Berol. 9160). Naturally, these observations apply to known parchments; it is possible that there are others which will come to light in the future, either in private collections or in the unclassified stocks of certain libraries.

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Sigla for collections of papyri: P. Berol. = papyri of the Berlin Museums; P. Cair. = papyri of the Egyptian Nat. Libr. (Dār al-Kutub); PER = Papyri Erzherzog Rainer, Vienna; PERF = *ibid.*, *Führer durch die Ausstellung Wien 1894* (of Karabacek); P. Lond. = Papyri in the Brit. Museum; PSR = Papyri Schott-Reinhardt, Heidelberg. For other sigla, see Khoury, in Khoury and Grohmann, *Chrestomathie*, bibl.

(R.G. Khoury)

2. The production of parchment and modern knowledge of Islamic parchment.

Parchment was used in the early Islamic period as one of the common durable writing materials for books, chancery documents, letters and registers, the less durable material being papyrus. In Europe, it remained in use till well in the 15th century. In Ethiopia, which may have given Islam the term *muṣḥaf* [*q.v.*], parchment remained in use as a writing material for religious and superstitious texts till well in the 20th century. Although its primary and main use in the Middle East was as a writing material, it was used for other purposes as well. Most notable in this respect is its use in musical instruments and in puppets for shadow plays [see khayāl al-ẓill]. For these uses, parchment may have been made of the skin of other, larger, animals as well.

Parchment is manufactured by cleaning the skin from hair and impurities, by applying lime or certain other preserving materials to it and by then letting it dry under tension, the skin being stretched on a frame. This stretching and the absence of tanning make parchment different from leather. In many parchments it is still possible to discern the flesh side from the hair side, the latter being recognisable from its grained appearance caused by the roots of the hairs. Techniques were developed in mediaeval times visually to diminish this difference as much as possible. This was done either by finely thinning and scrubbing or chafing the skin or by splitting it. The use of the skin of unborn animals also vouches for a soft and minimally hairy appearance of the parchment.

Being of natural origin, parchment had its limit in size determined by the size of the animal it was made of. Many of the large Ḳurʾānic manuscripts of the early period consist of single or at best double leaves of parchment only. For smaller-sized books, the parchment may have been folded once or twice more, thereby making quarto or octavo arrangements. Depending on whether the first fold was in the length or in the width, the quarto quire resulting from this operation would be oblong shaped or not. The square shape of Maghribī books on parchment may be explained by supposing that the animal-shaped material was first folded two times in the width and then once in the length, whereby a quire of six almost square leaves of moderate size was produced. In the Middle East, Gregory's rule, by which parchment leaves in a quire are so arranged that flesh sides would only face flesh sides and hair sides only hair sides, was as often as not unobserved. This rule apparently did not matter as much in the Middle East as it did in Europe.

The basic tools for a comprehensive study of the Middle Eastern parchment book are lacking. A catalogue of a corpus of parchment codices does not exist. There are a few large collections of parchments books and fragments that together would constitute the main elements of such a corpus. The most important of these are the Ḳurʾānic fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (a varied collection which served as the source of the typology of the graphics of the early Ḳurʾān codex as developed by François Déroche); the Nasser D. Khalili collection in London, which contains coloured fragments as well (extensively described by Déroche); the fragments that were discovered in *ca.* 1970 in the Great Mosque of Ṣanᶜāʾ and that are now kept in the Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt in Ṣanᶜāʾ (studied by G.-H. Puin, H.C. Graf von Bothmer and Ursula Dreibholz; no major description published as yet); and, finally, the Şam Evrakı, the Ḳurʾānic fragments that were transferred some one hundred years ago from the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus to Istanbul and that are now kept in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul (studied by Déroche; no major description published as yet). The library of the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai contains an important number of Christian Arabic codices on parchment. It would seem that the use of parchment persisted longer with the Oriental Christians than among Muslims. Parchment of several types has continued to be used for religious reasons by Oriental Jewry till the present day. Their extensive technical literature on the subject is also of relevance to the study of Islamic parchment. Many parchment fragments of the Ḳurʾān, and to a limited extent also of other Islamic texts, have surfaced since *ca.* 1970 in the international art market, a fact witnessed by their frequent appearance in the auction catalogues of Christie's and Sotheby's of London. Parchment material is present in virtually all larger collections of Middle Eastern manuscripts.

Bibliography: F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran. Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique.* Paris 1983; idem, *The Abbasid tradition. Qur*ʾ*ans of the 8th to 10th centuries.* (The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. i), London 1993; idem, *A propos d'une série de manuscrits coraniques anciens*, in *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient* [= Varia turcica, VIII], Istanbul-Paris 1989, 101-11; P. Rück (ed.), *Pergament. Geschichte, Struktur, Restaurierung, Herstellung*, Sigmaringen 1991. Particular use has been made

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(J.J. WITKAM)

AL-**RAKKA**, a mediaeval Islamic town on the left bank of the Middle Euphrates, at the junction of its tributary the Nahr al-Balīkh. Today it is the administrative centre of the al-Rakka governorate of the Arab Republic of Syria; in mediaeval Islamic historic topography it was considered to be the capital of Diyār Muḍar [*q.v.*] in al-Djazīra/Northern Mesopotamia.

The origin of settlement on opposite sides of the Nahr al-Balīkh is attested by the Tall Zaydān and the Tall al-Bīʿa, the latter identified with the Babylonian city of Tuttūl (excavated since 1980; reports published in *MDOG*, cxiii [1981] and later). To the south of the Tall al-Bīʿa, on the border of the Euphrates, Seleucus I Nikator (301-281 B.C.) founded the Hellenistic city of Nikephorion, later probably enlarged by Seleucos II Kallinikos (246-226 B.C.) and named Kallinikos/Callinicum after him. Destroyed in A.D. 542 by the Sāsānid Khusraw I Anūshirwān [*q.v.*], the emperor Justinian (527-65) soon after rebuilt the town in the course of an extensive fortification programme at the Byzantine border alongside the Euphrates (on the pre-Islamic city, see the article by M. al-Khalaf and K. Kohlmeyer in *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, ii [1985], 133-62).

The classical city was conquered in 18/639 or 19/640 by the Muslim army under ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm, who became the first governor of the Djazīra (in this connection, see W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*, Cambridge 1992). Renamed al-Rakka, the Muslim faith was heralded by a congregational mosque, founded by the succeeding governor Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥidhyam, which was subsequently enlarged to monumental dimensions of c. 73 × 108 m. Recorded by the German scholar Ernst Herzfeld in 1907, the mosque, together with the square brick minaret (Pl. XXVI, 1), supposedly a later addition from the mid-4th/10th century, has since vanished completely.

In 36/656 ʿAlī crossed the Euphrates at al-Rakka on his way to Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], the place of the battle with Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, the governor of Damascus and founder of the Umayyad dynasty. Located near the village of Abū Hurayra opposite the mediaeval citadel of Kalʿat Djaʿbar [*q.v.*] *ca.* 45 km/28 miles west of al-Rakka, the burials of ʿAlī's followers remained venerated places of Shīʿī pilgrimage (listed extensively in al-Harawī's *Kitāb al-Ziyārāt*). The last of those tombs located in the Muslim cemetery on the western fringes of the early Islamic city of al-Rakka, the mausoleum of Uways al-Karanī, recently had to give way to a huge pilgrimage centre. Another witness from the early days of Islam, a stone column supposedly depicting an autograph of ʿAlī from the Mashhad quarter of al-Rakka, was already in the 6th/12th century transferred to Aleppo, where it was incorporated in the Masdjid Ghawth (E. Herzfeld, *CIA*, part ii, Northern Syria, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, i, Cairo 1955-6, 271-2 no. 142).

Throughout the Umayyad period al-Rakka remained an important fortified stronghold protected by a garrison, occasionally involved in revolts and internal fighting over supremacy in the Djazīra, as described by al-Ṭabarī. Opposite al-Rakka, near the south bank of the Euphrates, the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43), residing mainly at al-Ruṣāfa [*q.v.*] *ca.* 50 km/31 miles further to the southwest in the Syrian desert, created the agricultural estate of Wāsiṭ al-Rakka, irrigated by two canals named *al-Hanī wa 'l-Marī*. Further north, at a distance of *ca.* 72 km/45 miles, near the river al-Balīkh, another member of the Umayyad family, the famous military commander Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. *ca.* 121/739 [*q.v.*]), a half-brother of the caliph Hishām, founded the residential estate of Ḥiṣn Maslama, which served as an advanced outpost towards the Byzantine frontier (on the ruins of Madīnat al-Fār, probably to be identified with Ḥiṣn Maslama, see the report by C.-P. Haase in *Bilād al-Shām during the Abbasid period. Proceedings of the fifth International conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt and R. Schick, Amman 1991, 206-13).

Though the treaty between the inhabitants of al-Rakka and the victorious Muslim general ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm, as quoted by al-Balādhurī, 173-4, stipulated that the Christians should retain their places of worship but were not allowed to build new churches, the non-Muslim community is recorded to have thrived well into the Middle Ages. Till the 6th/12th century a bishop is attested to have resided there, and at least four monasteries are frequently mentioned in the sources, the most famous of which, the Dayr Zakkā, can be identified with recently excavated ruins on the Tall al-Bīʿa (on the Christian sources and the newly-detected remains, see M. Krebernik, in *MDOG*, cxxiii [1991], 41-57). To this monastery belonged the estate of al-Ṣāliḥiyya, a favourite halting place for hunting expeditions (described by al-Bakrī, iii, 582, and Yākūt, ii, 644-5), possibly to be associated with the ruins of al-Ṣuwayla near the river al-Balīkh, *ca.* 4 km/2.5 miles to the northeast of al-Rakka (recently investigated archaeologically and recorded in *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, ii [1985], 98-9). There also existed a large Jewish community maintaining an ancient synagogue, still operating during the visit of Benjamin of Tudela in about 1167 (see his *Travels*, tr. M.N. Adler, London 1907, 32).

The early ʿAbbāsid period. Early in the ʿAbbāsid period the programme of border fortifications in all of the Muslim empire resulted in the construction of an entire new city about 200 m/660 feet west of al-Rakka. Named al-Rāfika, "the companion (of al-Rakka)", the city, according to al-Yaʿkūbī (*Taʾrīkh*, i, 238) was already conceived in the time of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ (132-6/749-54); nevertheless, al-Ṭabarī attributes the foundation of al-Rāfika to his brother and successor al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75), who in 154/770-1 decided on the construction of the city, which was eventually implemented by his son and heir-apparent al-Mahdī from 155/771-2 onwards. Construction work was still continuing when, in 158/775, al-Mahdī was summoned to Baghdād to be invested as caliph upon the sudden death of his father. Purposely modelled after the only recently completed residential city of Baghdād, the partly surviving city fortifications testify to the military might of the ʿAbbāsid empire. In the form of a parallelogram surmounted by a half circle with a width of *ca.* 1300 m/4,265 feet, the city was protected by a massive wall of almost 5000 m/16,400 feet in length (Pl. XXV, 1). Fortified by 132 round projecting towers, an advance wall and a moat further improved the defence system (see Murhaf al-Khalaf, in *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, ii [1985], 123-31). Originally accessible by three axial entrances, the recently ex-

cavated northern gate (Pl. XXV, 2) has revealed stately dimensions, with a portal opening of four metres/13 feet. Remains of iron door posts attest the existence of massive or metal-plated doors, which attracted special praise in the Arabic chronicles. One of the doors, according to the mediaeval tradition, is identified with spoils from the Byzantine city of Amorion or ᶜAmmūriya [*q.v.*] in Asia Minor, transported by al-Muᶜtaṣim (218-27/833-42) in 223/838 to his newly-founded residence at Sāmarrāʾ in central Mesopotamia, from where it supposedly reached al-Raḳḳa towards the end of the 3rd/9th century. Only about half-a-century later, the door was again dismantled in 353/964 on behalf of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla ᶜAlī (333-56/945-67), to be later incorporated in the Bāb al-Ḳinnasrīn at Aleppo (E. Herzfeld, *CIA*, part ii, Northern Syria, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, i, 60).

In the centre of al-Rāfiḳa another Great Mosque was constructed with monumental proportions of 108 x 93 m/354 x 305 feet in order to serve the garrison of soldiers from Khurāsān (Pl. XXVI, 3). Built with massive mud brick walls, strengthened by burnt brick facing and encircled by a chain of round towers, the plan layout is characterised by triple aisles on brick piers in the prayer hall and by double arcades on the three other sides of the interior courtyard (see Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, ii, Oxford 1940, 45-8, and recent project reports). This first pillar mosque in Islamic architecture obviously served as a model for later Friday mosques at Baghdād (enlarged from 192/808 till 193/809 by Hārūn al-Rashīd), Sāmarrāʾ (both mosques of al-Mutawakkil, inaugurated in 237/852 and 247/861 respectively) and at Cairo (Mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, completed in 265/879).

Al-Raḳḳa as capital of the ᶜAbbāsid empire. The new city al-Rāfiḳa alone almost matches the traditional Syrian capital Damascus in size; but the two sister cities of al-Raḳḳa and al-Rāfiḳa together formed the largest urban entity in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, probably only surpassed by the ᶜAbbāsid centre of power, Baghdād, in central Mesopotamia. Therefore, it was a logical choice that the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809), when searching for an alternative residence in 180/796, settled on al-Raḳḳa/al-Rāfiḳa, which remained his base for a dozen years till 192/808. This resulted not only in additions to the city fortification (inscription on the eastern gate of al-Rāfiḳa, the Bāb al-Sibāl, quoted by Ibn Shaddād, iii/1, 71), but more importantly, in the construction of an extensive palatial quarter to the north of the twin cities. This caliphal residence of almost 10 km^2, as attested by aerial photographs, includes about twenty large-size complexes, of which the most monumental of *ca.* 350 x 300 m/1,148 x 984 feet in a central position obviously served as the main residence of Hārūn al-Rashīd (Pl. XXVII, 1), probably to be identified with the Ḳaṣr al-Salām mentioned by Yāḳūt. The other structures were evidently used for housing the family members and court officials residing with Hārūn al-Rashīd at al-Raḳḳa, or else were devoted to service functions.

The huge area of ruins outside the twin cities has since 1944 attracted archaeological investigations. First trial soundings were conducted by the Syrian Antiquities Service at the Main Palace, but were soon discontinued due to the poor state of preservation. Instead, another major complex of *ca.* 120 x 150 m/393 x 492 feet, only 400 m/1,312 feet north of the city wall of al-Rāfiḳa, named Palace A, was partly excavated. Excavations eventually continued at three other complexes to the east of the Main Palace: Palace B (1950-52), Palace C (1953), and Palace D (1954 and 1958), all of rather monumental dimensions measuring *ca.* 170 x 75 m/557 x 246 feet, 150 x 110 m/492 x 360 feet and 100 x 100 m/328 x 328 feet respectively; (see the series of reports by Nassib Saliby in *Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, iv-v [1954-5], 205-12, Arabic part 69-76; vi [1956], Arabic part 25-40). Additionally, further soundings in the vicinity of and at Palace A were implemented between 1966 and 1970 (summarised by Kassem Toueir in the excavation review by P.H.E. Voûte [ed.], in *Anatolica*, iv [1971-2], 122-3). Since the modern town development caused the overbuilding of most of the palace city, the German Archaeological Institute in Damascus has conducted ten seasons of rescue excavations from 1982 till 1992. At the eastern fringes of the site, four larger buildings bordering on a public square were investigated: the so-called Western Palace of *ca.* 110 x 90 m/360 x 295 feet divided into representative, living and infrastructural units; the North Complex of *ca.* 150 x 150 m/492 x 492 feet, probably the barracks of the imperial guards; the East Complex of *ca.* 75 x 50 m/246 x 164 feet, mostly of recreational functions; and the Eastern Palace of *ca.* 70 x 40 m/230 x 131 feet, reserved entirely for representative purposes. On the northeastern limits of the palace area, another large-size complex with an extension of *ca.* 300 x 400 m/984 x 1,312 feet was also partly excavated, revealing an elongated double courtyard structure encircled by round towers, which was obviously left unfinished (see the reports by J.-Chr. Heusch and M. Meinecke).

All the investigated buildings depended on mud as the major construction material, either in the form of sun-dried bricks or of stamped mud, only occasionally strengthened by burnt bricks. The ground plans, on the other hand, are generally characterised by precisely calculated geometrical subdivisions, indicating the careful laying-out of the built fabric. The publicly visible parts, on the exterior as well as in the interior, received a coating of white plaster, masking and protecting the mud core of the walls. On the representative units the buildings were decorated by stucco friezes in deep relief (Pl. XXVII, 2-3), depicting mostly vine ornament in numerous variations (partly documented by Meinecke, in *Rezeption in der islamischen Kunst*, ed. B. Finster, forthcoming). Genetically, these patterns are only vaguely related to Umayyad predecessors; instead, the dependence on classical models indicates an intended revival of the ornamental corpus of the monuments from the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. at Palmyra (see Meinecke and A. Schmidt-Colinet, in the exhibition catalogue by E.M. Ruprechtsberger [ed.], *Syrien. Von den Aposteln zu den Kalifen*, Linz 1993, 352-9). Selections of excavation finds and decorative elements from the Raḳḳa palaces are exhibited at the Damascus National Museum and at the archaeological museum at al-Raḳḳa.

Though the investigated complexes lack building inscriptions pointing to their original function or to the patron, their history can be clearly defined by the numismatic evidence. Among the coins collected during the recent excavations on the eastern border structures of the palace belt, examples minted at al-Rāfiḳa in the year 189/804-5 in the name of Hārūn al-Rashīd are especially numerous, while only individual items minted at al-Rāfiḳa in the reigns of the succeeding sons al-Maʾmūn (208/823-4 and 210/825-6) and al-Muᶜtaṣim (226/840-1) have been recorded (on the ᶜAbbāsid mint at al-Rāfiḳa, see now L. Ilisch, in *Numismatics - witness to history. IAPN publication*, viii [1986], 101-21). Consequently, those structures

investigated recently must have been in use towards the end of Hārūn al-Rashīd's tenure of power at al-Rakka. After the removal of the court back to Baghdād on the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 193/809, the palaces were obviously in use only briefly and occasionally.

This extensive residential city was evidently founded in 180/796 by Hārūn al-Rashīd and continuously further enlarged for over a decade. These buildings formed the backstage of the political events of this period, described in great detail by al-Ṭabarī and others. From there, the yearly raids (*ṣawā'if*, sing. *ṣā'ifa* [*q.v.*]) into the Byzantine empire and the frequent pilgrimages to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina were organised. In these palaces lived the family of the caliph, including his wife Zubayda and his heirs apparent, al-Amīn, al-Ma'mūn and al-Ḳāsim, and also al-Muʿtaṣim, for much of their youth (as described by N. Abbott, *Two queens of Baghdad*, Chicago 1946). Here was the military centre with the army command and the administrative centre of the vast ʿAbbāsid empire, where the treasuries and the material wealth of the caliph were safeguarded (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 654). Here the members of the Barmakid family managed the affairs of the state until they were executed or imprisoned in 187/803 [see AL-BARĀMIKA].

For his periodic centre of administration, Hārūn al-Rashīd also improved the infrastructure decisively. For the irrigation of the palace city, two canals were laid out: one channelling the water of the Euphrates from about 15 km/9 miles further west, and another of over 100 km/62 miles collecting water from the Anatolian mountains to the north. According to Yāḳūt, one of these (probably the Euphrates canal) was named Nahr al-Nīl (described by Kassem Toueir, in *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionelles en domaine irrigué. Actes du Colloque de Damas*, ed. B. Geyer, Paris 1990, 217-20).

About 8 km/5 miles to the west of the city, the Euphrates canal passes by another monument to be associated with Hārūn al-Rashīd. Surrounded by a circular enclosure wall of 500 m/1,640 feet in diameter, with round buttresses and four portals on the cardinal points, the centre is occupied by a massive square building of *ca.* 100 m/328 feet for each side. Accessible on the ground level only are four vaulted stately halls on the main axis, from where ramps lead to the upper storey, which was not, however, completed. This curious stone structure, recently also investigated archaeologically, with the traditional name of Hirakla obviously alluding to the conquest of the Byzantine city of Heraclea by Hārūn al-Rashīd in 190/806, can be interpreted as a victory monument. The stone material used seems to have originated from churches of the frontier region whose dismantling was ordered in 191/806-7 by the caliph (Ibn Shaddād, iii/1, 342). Obviously, due to the departure of the imperial patron to Khurāsān in 192/808 and his death shortly thereafter, the building was left unfinished (see Toueir, in *World Archaeology*, xiv/3 [1983], 296-303, and in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VIIe-VIIIe siècles, Actes du Colloque International*, ed. P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, Damascus 1992, 179-86).

The extensive construction programme at al-Rakka was accompanied by accelerated industrial activities; these are attested by a string of mounds with large piles of ashes outside the northern wall of the city of al-Rakka/Nikephorion. Recently investigated archaeologically at two points, workshops for pottery and glass production have been detected, for which the numismatic evidence points to their use in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The expertly-potted ceramics with incised or moulded decoration, as well as the fragile glass vessels featuring incised, relief or lustre decoration, which are known from the inventories of the excavated palaces, were thus evidently for the most part fabricated locally.

The later ʿAbbāsid period. Shortly after the sudden death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, his widow Zubayda in 193/809 organised the transfer of the vast state treasures to Baghdād, where her son al-Amīn (193-8/809-13) was enthroned as ruler of the ʿAbbāsid empire (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 775). While this marks the reinstallation of Baghdād as the administrative centre of the Muslim world, the city of al-Rakka remained of regional importance as seat of the governor of the Djazīra province until the mid-4th/10th century.

In opposition to al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33), who succeeded in capturing Baghdād from his brother al-Amīn, a revolt caused the destruction by fire of the market quarter between the sister cities of al-Rakka and al-Rāfiḳa in 198/813 (Michael Syrus, ed. J.-B. Chabot, iii, 26). To police the situation, al-Ma'mūn sent the general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] as governor of the Djazīra to al-Rakka, followed by his son ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [*q.v.*] until 210/825-6, when he was nominated governor of Egypt. In the time of the Ṭāhirids, the palace belt outside the city walls was already evidently falling into disrepair. Nevertheless, a last reactivation is attested for the time of al-Muʿtaṣim on the basis of fresco inscriptions with his name found at the Palace B to the east of Hārūn al-Rashīd's central residence (A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, ii, Vienna 1971, pl. 18). This is to be connected with the last military campaign into the Byzantine empire conducted from al-Rakka, which resulted in the conquest of the city of ʿAmmūriyya/Amorium in 223/838 (Ibn Shaddād, ii/1, 341). From there, the caliph carried off the famous iron doors to his newly-founded capital of Sāmarrā', to be set up at the main entrance, the Bāb al-ʿĀmma, of his residential palace, then under construction.

Instead of utilising the palace city of Hārūn al-Rashīd, new structures were built up on top of the suburb between the sister cities; soundings conducted by the Syrian Service of Antiquities (1953 and 1969) have revealed stucco decorations in the bevelled style of Sāmarrā' from the mid-3rd/9th century. About the same time also, the prayer-niche of the Great Mosque at al-Rāfiḳa received a new stucco decoration with similar features. A series of stone capitals, now scattered to many museum collections, featuring the characteristic slant cut and related ornamental patterns, bear witness to continuous building activities (M.S. Dimand, in *Ars Islamica*, iv [1937], 308-24; Meinecke, in *Bilād al-Shām during the Abbasid period*, in *Proceedings of the fifth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, 232-5).

Though the size of the inhabited area became drastically diminished, the city of al-Rakka remained the only real antipode to Baghdād. Therefore, it was the obvious alternative for caliphs in exile or seeking refuge, as it was the case with al-Mustaʿīn in 251/865, al-Muʿtamid in 269/882, al-Muʿtaḍid in 286/899 and 287/900, and finally with al-Muttaḳī in 332-3/944, as recorded by al-Ṭabarī and other historians. But the fame of the city at that period did not result from political might or artistic achievements but from the scholars living and teaching at al-Rakka, for instance the famous astronomer Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Battānī (d. 317/929 [*q.v.*]), or Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Ḳushayrī (d. 334/945), the author of a *Ta'rīkh al-Rakka*, ed. Ṭāhir al-Naʿsānī, Ḥamā 1959.

The first period of decline. The decline of the

List of monuments

1 Dayr Zakkā
2 City Walls of al-Raḳḳa/Nikephorion
3 Umayyad Great Mosque
4 Mausoleum of Uways al-Ḳaranī
5 City Walls of al-Rāfiḳa
6 North Gate of al-Rāfiḳa
7 ʿAbbāsid Great Mosque
8 Palace A
9 Main Palace of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd/Ḳaṣr al-Salām
10 Palace B
11 Palace C
12 Palace D
13 North Complex
14 Western Palace
15 Eastern Palace
16 East Complex
17 Northeast Complex
18 North Canals
19 West Canal/Nahr al-Nīl
20 Hiraqla
21 Race Course
22 Tall Aswad
23 Glass Tall
24 Tāhirid Residence
25 Bāb Bag̲h̲dād
26 Palace of D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī/Ḳaṣr al-Banāt

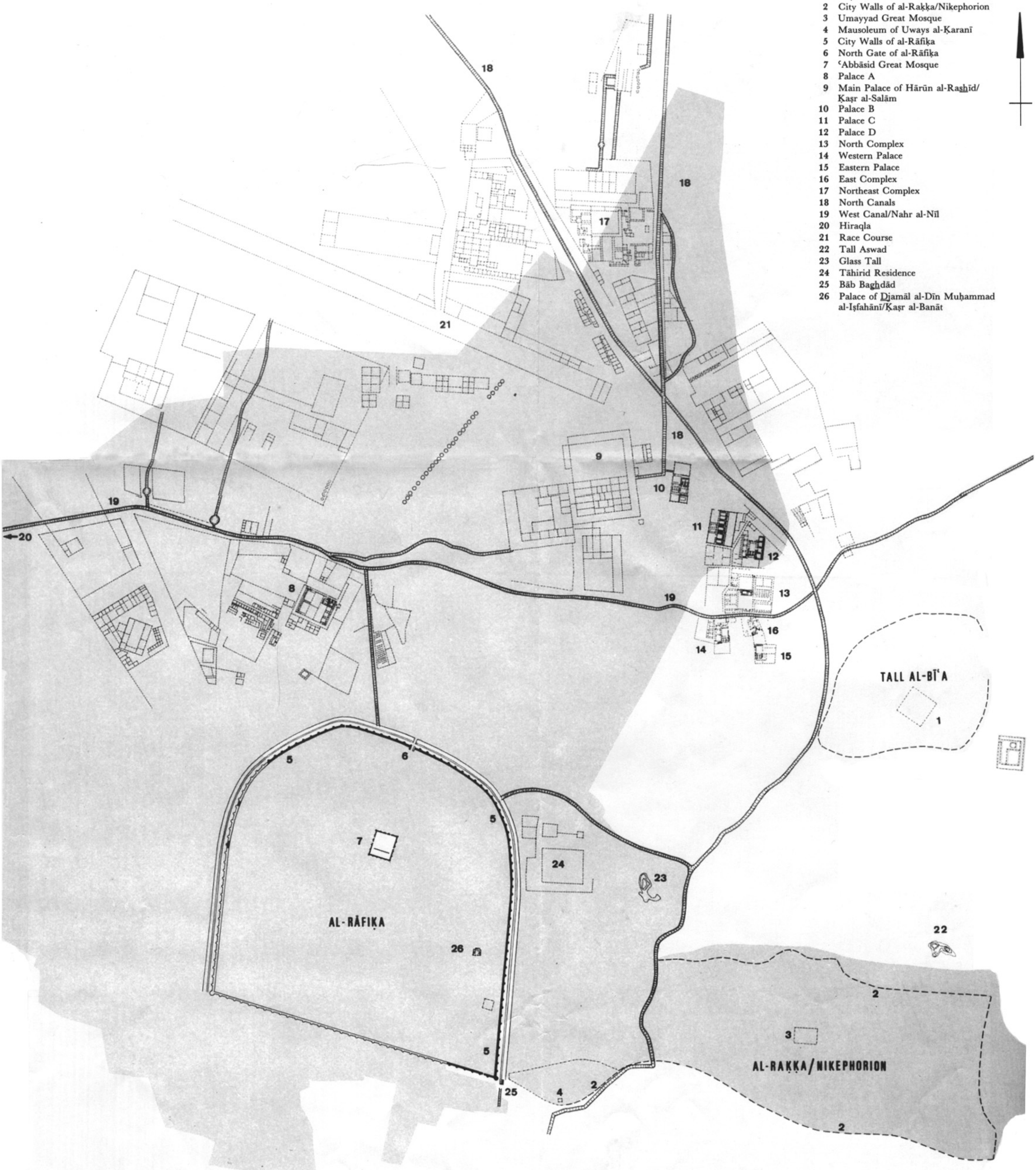

Medieval Cities of al-Raḳḳa and al-Rāfiḳa. Topographical map based on aerial photographs, in scale 1:15.000 (drawing by Silke Vry and others/German Archaeological Institute Damascus 1993); extension of modern city indicated in grey.

central administration of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate affected also the city of al-Raḳḳa. Since the conquest by the Ḥamdānids in 330/942, the urban centre on the Euphrates was contested between the rulers of Mawṣil and Aleppo, as being the gate for supremacy in Northern Mesopotamia. The founder of the Aleppo branch of the Ḥamdānid dynasty, Sayf al-Dawla ʿAlī, (333-356/945-967) is blamed by Ibn Ḥawḳal and Ibn Shaddād for the devastation of the Djazīra and the former capital al-Raḳḳa. Political instability caused, for instance, the destruction by fire of part of the city of al-Raḳḳa/Nikephorion in 332/944, resulting in a gradual depopulation of the initial urban settlement. The dismantling in 353/964 of the iron doors from an entrance gate to the city is another proof for a marked reduction of the population (on the history of this period in general, see M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides de Jazîra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers-Paris 1951). This development is also mirrored by the Umayyad Great Mosque, which, according to the position of the minaret in the interior courtyard, only remained in use with part of the initial prayer hall.

After the Ḥamdānids there followed a century of turmoil, when the governorship of al-Raḳḳa was fought over by the Arab tribal dynasties of the Numayrīds, the Mirdāsids and the ʿUḳaylids (described in great detail by Ibn Shaddād, iii/1, 74-8). Nothing is attested as having been added to the urban fabric; on the contrary, the shrinking population retreated increasingly from the initial city al-Raḳḳa to the ʿAbbāsid foundation of al-Rāfiḳa, which according to Yāḳūt, followed by al-Dimashḳī, eventually also took over the name of the sister city.

The revival of al-Raḳḳa in the Zangid and Ayyūbid periods. The fate of the city only changed with the appearance of the Zangids in the region (on the history of that period, see C. Alptekin, *The reign of Zangi (521-541/1127-1146)*, Erzurum 1978). Conquered by ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī in 529/1135, al-Raḳḳa was soon to regain importance, as attested by building activities (listed partly by Ibn Shaddād, iii/1, 71). When Zangī was murdered in 541/1146 whilst besieging Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar further up the Euphrates, he was first buried at Ṣiffīn, but soon afterwards his corpse was transferred to a domed mausoleum constructed for this purpose in the Mashhad quarter of al-Raḳḳa (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ii, 285). Following the death of Zangī, his *wazīr* Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī organised from al-Raḳḳa the succession of Zangī's son, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Damascus 1967, 390-2). In this connection a palace is mentioned, which may eventually be identified with the Ḳaṣr al-Banāt (Pl. XXVIII, 2), a ruined structure from that period (on the archaeological investigation since 1977, see Toueir, in *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, ii [1985], 297-319). Ibn Shaddād in addition also mentions a *khānḳāh* of the same patron, as well as another commissioned by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, together with a hospital (*bīmāristān*) and two *madrasas*, one for Shāfiʿīs and the other for Ḥanafīs, presumably all erected by or in the time of the same ruler. Most indicative for the reactivation of the city during this period is the ʿAbbāsid Great Mosque of al-Rāfiḳa, which already attracted minor construction and decoration activities in 541/1146-7 and 553/1158, as recorded on re-used inscription fragments (photographed by G.L. Bell in 1909) and on newly-discovered inscription panels (excavated in 1986, now on display at the Raḳḳa Museum). The surviving parts of the mosque, the façade or the *ḳibla riwāḳ* and the cylindrical minaret (Pl. XXVI, 1), are due to the reconstruction programme of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, completed in 561/1165-6. The reduced size of the reactivated mosque, limited to the former prayer hall, mirrors the comparatively modest population of the town, which only occupied the eastern half of the ʿAbbāsid city, where evidently most of the lost other religious buildings mentioned were also located. As the main entrance to the mediaeval city, there functioned the Bāb Baghdād at the southeast corner of the ʿAbbāsid city walls, according to the brick decoration erected at this time (Pl. XXVIII, 1) (re-dated by J. Warren, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, xiii [1978], 22-3; and R. Hillenbrand, in *The art of Syria and the Jazira 1100-1250*, ed. J. Raby, Oxford 1985, 27-36).

With the conquest by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 578/1182, the city passed into the control of the Ayyūbids. As one of the chief towns of the principality of Diyār Muḍar, al-Raḳḳa was especially favoured by the Ayyūbid prince al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, who took up residence at the city between 597/1201 and 625/1128. He is attested to have constructed palaces and bath complexes, and laid out many gardens with extensive plantations (Ibn Shaddād, iii/1, 71-2). Of these Ayyūbid additions to the town, nothing has survived. But in this period, al-Raḳḳa emerged as a major production centre for glazed ceramics of high artistic perfection, which were exported widely. Most frequent among these are figural or vegetal designs in black under a transparent turquoise glaze, but other variations with lustre on turquoise and purple glazes, or coloured designs, including red, under a colourless glaze, are also recorded (see the detailed studies by E.J. Grube, in *Kunst des Orients*, iv [1963], 42-78; V. Porter, *Medieval Syrian pottery (Raqqa ware)*, Oxford 1981; and also the extensive bibliography by Cr. Tonghini and Grube, in *Islamic Art*, iii [1989], 59-93). The pottery workshops were located in the immediate vicinity of the urban settlement, even partly within the ʿAbbāsid city walls to the south of the Great Mosque (on a kiln excavated in 1924 immediately outside the east wall of the city, see J. Sauvaget in *Ars Islamica*, xiii-xiv [1948], 31-45).

The Ayyūbids successfully repulsed occasional attacks on the city by the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor and the Khwārazmians, but finally had to yield to the Mongol forces, who invaded northern Mesopotamia in 657/1259 (on the history of that period, see R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany 1977). Urban settlement at Diyār Muḍar ceased in the early years of the Mamlūk era, when in 663/1265 all the fortified cities on the middle Euphrates were destroyed for tactical reasons, including al-Raḳḳa (L. Ilisch, *Geschichte der Artuqidenherrschaft von Mardin zwischen Mamluken und Mongolen 1260-1410 AD*, Münster 1984, 51-2).

The Ottoman period. Throughout the Mamlūk period, al-Raḳḳa remained practically deserted, as certified by Abu 'l-Fidā'. Only after the Syrian campaign of the Ottoman sultan Selīm I (918-26/1512-20), which resulted in the downfall of the entire Mamlūk empire in 923/1517, was it reactivated as a military outpost. In the time of sultan Süleymān II Ḳānūnī (926-74/1520-66), al-Raḳḳa was the nominal capital of a province of the Ottoman empire, probably in memory of its past glory. A building inscription commemorating the restoration of a castle and a sacred building (*ḥaram*) by Sultan Süleymān b. Selīm Khān remains the only testimony to this limited reactivation as a military and administrative centre (originally located at the Mausoleum of Uways al-Ḳaranī, now on display in the archaeological museum of the modern city). Due to destruction by Türkmen and Kurdish tribes, the governorship was transferred

to the city of al-Ruhā/Urfa *ca.* 135 km/84 miles further north (according to Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, tr. J. von Hammer, i/1, London 1834, 95, 101, 104, 110; tr. Danişman, v, Istanbul 1970, 41, 52-3). On the visit of Ewliyā Čelebi in winter 1059/1649, the place was deserted following recent raids, though the ruins of the glorious past and formerly-irrigated gardens still remained visible.

The site was only repopulated in the late 19th century, when the Turkish government settled there a group of Circassians in order to police the region. Initially a village of only a few houses near the southwest corner of the ʿAbbāsid city, the population grew slowly but steadily, counting somewhat less than 5,000 inhabitants by the middle of the 20th century. Since then, due to the agricultural revival of the region, the settlement has reached a population of nearly 90,000 inhabitants in 1981 (Syrian ... Central Bureau of Statistics (ed.), *Statistical abstract*, xxxvii, Damascus 1984). Now the capital of a province administered by a governor, and an active commercial and industrial centre, the city has reached a size larger than ever in its history, consequently submerging most of the historic fabric. This in turn has motivated an extensive programme of archaeological research and architectural conservation for the monuments from the Islamic past.

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(M. MEINECKE)

RAḲḲĀDA, a city of the Maghrib which was the centre of power of the Aghlabid *amīrs* of Ifrīḳiya about 6 miles south of Ḳayrawān, was founded in 263/876 by Ibrāhīm II, seventh prince of the dynasty. Until then the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] had resided in ʿAbbāsiyya [*q.v.*] nearer the capital. A chance trip into the country by Ibrāhīm, it is said, determined the site of the new residence. The *amīr* was suffering from insomnia and on the advice of his physician, Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān, went out to take the air. Stopping in a certain place, he fell into a deep sleep and decided to build a palace there which was called Raḳḳāda, the "soporific". The story is probably based on a popular etymology of the name, which is found elsewhere in North Africa. Another explanation, equally suspect, is that which attributes the name to the memory of a massacre of the Warfadjūma by the Ibāḍī chief Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*] in 141/758 and the many dead left lying there.

In the same year that the work of building was begun, Ibrāhīm settled in Raḳḳāda in the Castle of Victory (*Ḳaṣr al-Fatḥ*). He was to live there the rest of his life, as were his successors, except for the stays the *amīrs* made in Tunis. Raḳḳāda became a regular town just as al-ʿAbbāsiyya had been before it. Besides Ḳaṣr al-Fatḥ (or Ḳaṣr Abi 'l-Fatḥ), there were several other castles in it: Ḳaṣr al-Baḥr (the castle on the lake), Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaḥn (castle of the court), Ḳaṣr al-Mukhtār (castle of the elect) and Ḳaṣr Baghdād, a large mosque, baths, caravanserais and *sūḳs*. Al-Bakrī says that it had a circumference of 24,040 cubits (over 6 miles); al-Nuwayrī makes it smaller (14,000, nearly 4 miles). A wall of brick and clay surrounded this vast area, and this wall was renovated by the last Aghlabid with a view to a final effort at resistance. Al-Bakrī further tells us that the greater part of the enceinte was filled with gardens. The soil was fertile and the air temperate. The *amīrs* and their followers enjoyed in Raḳḳāda a liberty of conduct which would have caused a scandal in Ḳayrawān. The sale of *nabīdh* [*q.v.*], forbidden in the pious old city, was officially permitted in the royal residence.

It was from Raḳḳāda that Ziyādat Allāh III, the last of the Aghlabids, fled on the approach of the Shīʿī Fāṭimids. The victorious Abū ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] installed himself in Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaḥn. His master, the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh, lived in Raḳḳāda until 308/920 when he moved to al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*]. After being deserted by the ruler, Raḳḳāda fell into ruins. In 342/953 the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz ordered what was left of it to be razed to the ground and ploughed over. The gardens alone were spared.

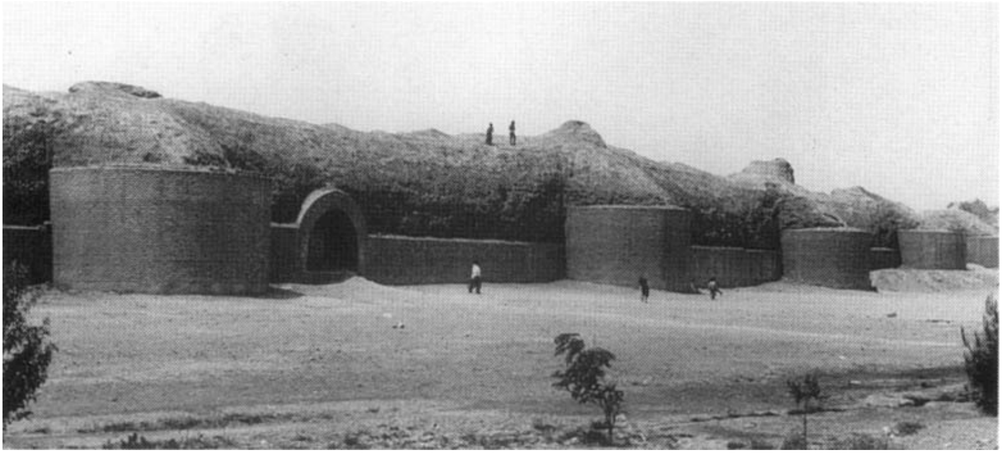

1. City walls of al-Rāfiḳa (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: P. Grunwald 1985).

2. North Gate of al-Rāfiḳa (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: M. Meinecke 1984).

1. Great Mosque of al-Raḳḳa/Nikephorion, minaret (photo G.L. Bell 1909; courtesy Gertrude Bell Photographic Archive: Department of Archaeology, The University of Newcastle upon Tyne).

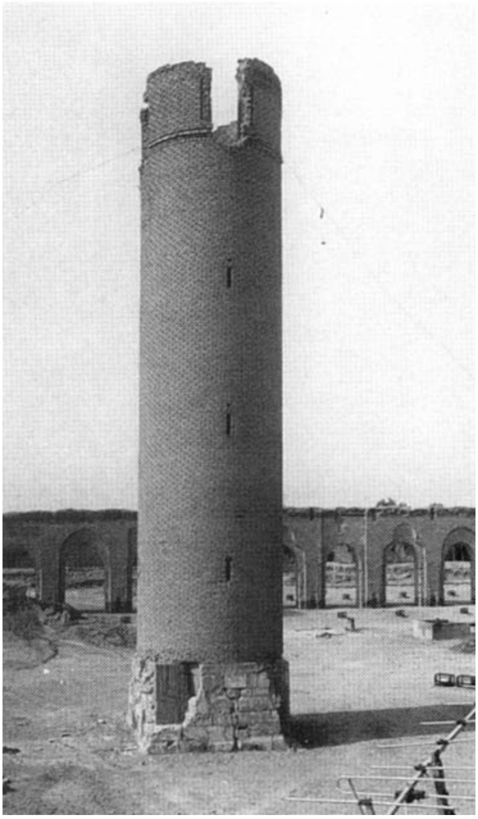

2. Great Mosque of al-Rāfiḳa, minaret (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: P. Grunwald 1984).

3. Great Mosque of al-Rāfiḳa, aerial view *ca.* 1930 (reproduced from M. Dunand, *De l'Amanus au Sinai*, 1953).

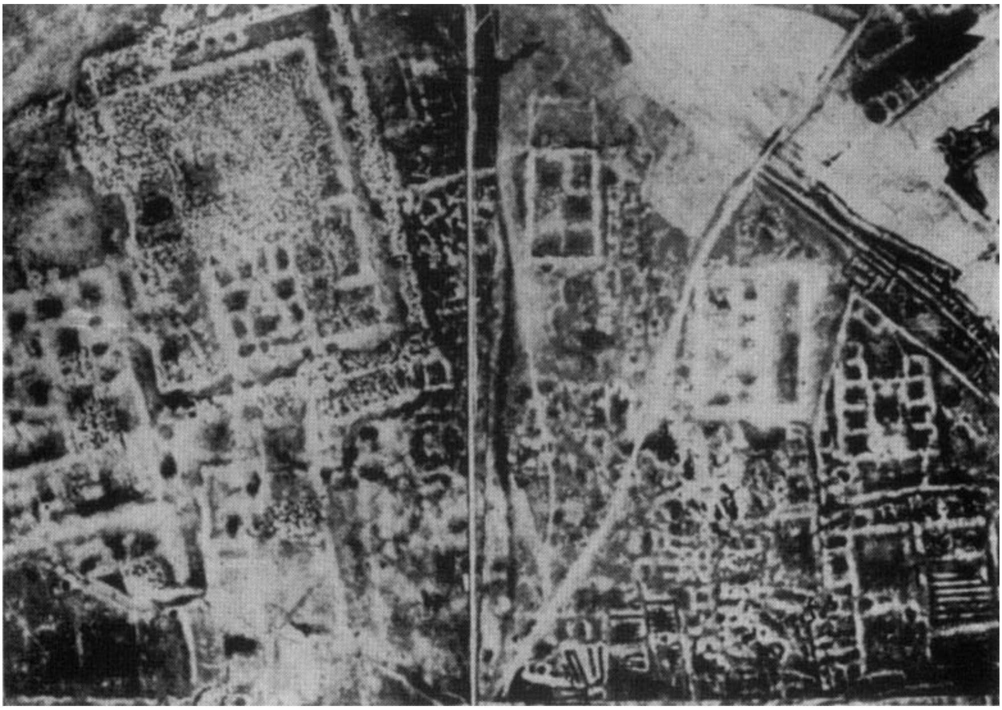

1. Palace City of Hārūn al-Rashīd, main palace and neighbouring structures on the southeast, aerial view *ca.* 1930 (reproduced from M. Dunand, *De l'Amanus au Sinai*, 1953); for identification see map.

2. Western Palace, stucco frieze (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: P. Grunwald 1985).

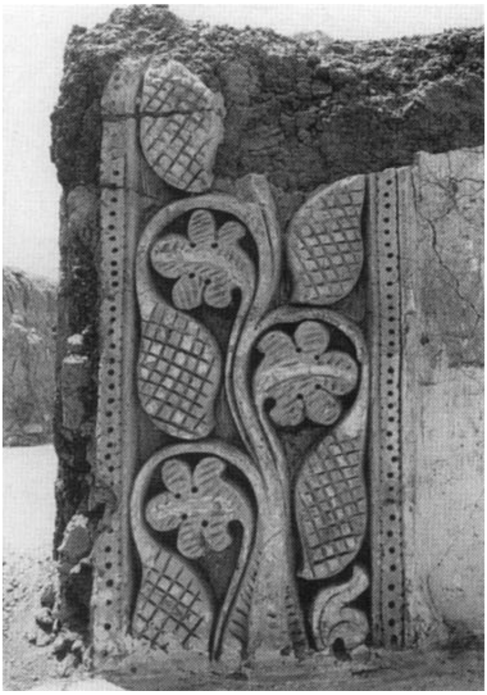

3. Western Palace, stucco frieze (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: P. Grunwald 1985).

1. Bāb Baghdād (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: K. Anger 1983).

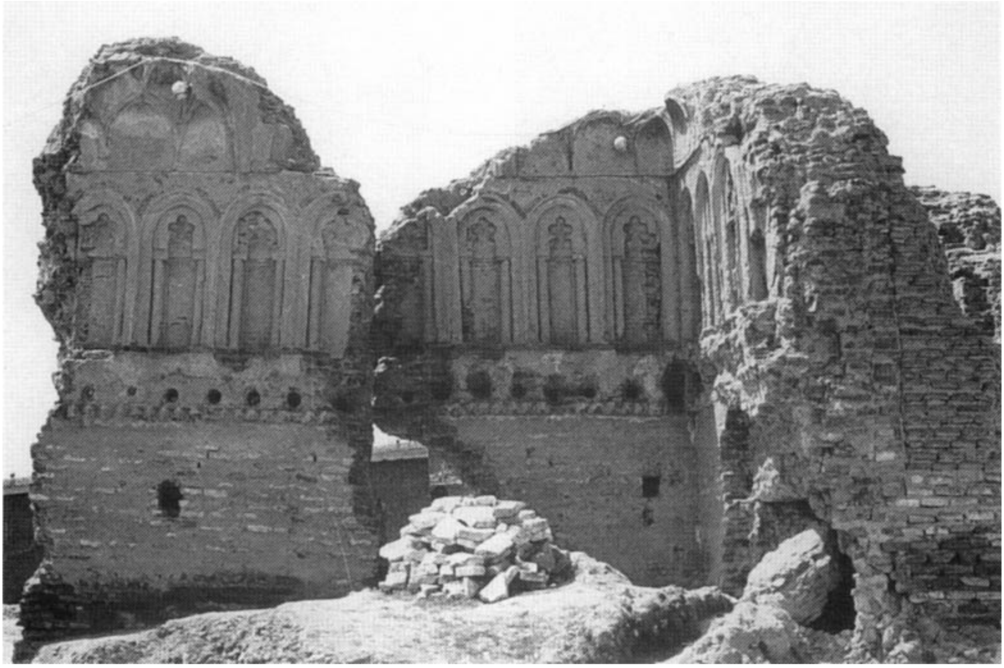

2. Palace of Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī/Ḳaṣr al-Banāt, domed corner room (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: K. Anger 1983).

A few traces of the Aghlabid foundation are still to be seen at the present day. A great rectangular reservoir with thick walls strengthened by buttresses may be identified with the lake (*baḥr*) which gave its name to one of the palaces. A pavilion (?) of four stories stood in the centre. Nothing is left of it, but on the west side of the reservoir may be seen the remains of a building which must have been reflected in the great mirror of water. Three rooms may still be distinguished with their mosaic pavements. The technique and style of decoration closely connect these Islamic buildings of the 3rd/9th century with the Christian art of the country.

Excavations under the auspices of the National Institute of Archaeology of Tunisia have been carried on at the site since 1962. The finds have only been very partially studied until now (1993), but are preserved in a rich National Museum of Islamic Art established not far from the ruins, whilst awaiting a fuller examination.

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(G. Marçais*)

RAḲḲĀṢ (A.), in French *rekkas*, a term which has several meanings but which only merits an entry in the *EI* because, amongst several technical senses, it particularly denotes, in the Muslim West, a messenger who travels on foot long distances in order to carry official or private mail. The name is derived from the noun *raḳṣ* meaning "trotting" (of a horse or camel; see *LA*, s.v.), but is also applied to a man who "trots", as is the case with the *raḳḳāṣ*. The development of various means of communication has put an end to this calling, now unnecessary, and the word *raḳḳāṣ* can now only denote an occasional messenger, above all in time of war.

Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v., gathered together a certain number of references in the Arabic sources (notably al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 557, since the term was used in Spain, as P. de Alcala indicates in his *Vocabulista*) and in the accounts of Western travellers, and also indicated various other technical senses of *raḳḳāṣ*, notably "pendulum", "hand of a watch" (cf. Fr. "trotteuse"), "trigger of a fire-arm" and, after Mehren (in *Acts of the Royal Society of Sciences*, Copenhagen 1872, 28), "part of a mill which produces a noise through the movement of the millstone". It is nevertheless also useful to note that the Kabyle *arəkkas* (with de-emphasisation of the sibilant) is equally applied to the hand of a watch and the pendulum of a clock, as well as to a piece better described by J. Dallet (*Dictionnaire kabyle-français*, Paris 1982, 732) than by Mehren: "a simple contrivance of a water-mill made from a pin fixed on a small stick floating above the moving mill-stone; this pin, fixed to the trough containing grain, transmits a vibration to it which ensures the regular feeding of the grain into the mouth of the mill."

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

RAḲṢ (A.), dance. The following article deals with the dance in Ṣūfism.

During recent decades, one could sometimes read in American newspapers about "Courses in Sufi Dance", and "Sufi dance" became a fashionable way of cultivating one's soul. However, the topic of dancing is frowned upon in Islam, for dancing is connected, in the history of religions in general, with ecstasy. It takes the human being out of his/her normal movement and makes him/her gyrate, so to speak, around a different centre of gravity. To be sure, cheerful parties of well-to-do people in the Islamic Middle Ages often ended with music and dancing, but in the context of religion, the dance, basically an epi-phenomenon of music or melodious recitation, was felt to contradict the nomos-oriented character of Islam because it could make the individual stray from the divinely ordered way, the *sharīʿa*. Therefore, normative Islam has opposed dancing, and, based on sūra VIII, 35, it also opposed handclapping and related movements. Treatises and articles against dancing have been written throughout the centuries, for one saw here demonic influences; hence musicians and dancers should not serve as witnesses at court. Typical is a *risāla* attributed to Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] about *raḳṣ* and *samāʿ* [*q.v.*] which are, as he claims, as dangerous for the believers as is their obedience to the Mongols (more than one later scholar has seen in the Ṣūfī dance an influence from or reminiscence of shamanistic dancing). Even the sober Ṣūfīs themselves blamed those for whom dancing constituted the main feature of Ṣūfism and who joined the Ṣūfī movement because they wanted to indulge in such ecstatic experiences.

They agreed with Hudjwīrī [*q.v.*], who wrote in the 5th/11th century "Dancing has no foundation in the religious law or the Path ... frivolous imitators have made it a religion..." (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, Eng. tr. Nicholson, 416).

The first known *samāʿ-khāna* or place for religious music-making and dancing was founded in Baghdād in the second half of the 3rd/9th century. There, Ṣūfīs could listen to the musical recitation of poetry, during which some were borne into a whirling movement. Sometimes, their ecstatic state led them to tear their robes; the pieces were carefully collected, since they were thought to be filled with *baraka* [*q.v.*], "blessing and charismatic power." The question was whether beginners on the Ṣūfī path should be allowed to participate, so that their sensual lusts might be dissipated (thus the Ṣūfī *shaykh* of Khurāsān Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*]), or should be prohibited from listening and dancing. Another problem was, whose mystical "state" was loftier, that of a Ṣūfī who left himself to whirl at the sound of music, or the one who, like al-Djunayd [*q.v.*], refrained from showing movement?

Stamping and handclapping were part of such

dances, which might end in a frenzied group ecstasy (as the poet Djāmī [*q.v.*] describes it ironically in his *Silsilat al-dhahab*), and numerous miniatures, mainly from the Persian world, show Ṣūfīs in whirling dances, with their long sleeves resembling wings. The normative believer disliked the fact that the presence of a *shāhid*, a handsome young man, was regarded as necessary during the *samā*ʿ; in fact, the very contemplation of such a person might induce the Ṣūfī involuntarily to dance (as would any overwhelming experience).

It is related that al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] (executed in 309/922) went dancing in his fetters to the execution, and a "dance in chains" occurs as a literary cliché, as does the Persian expression of the *raks-i bismil*, the "dance" of a ritually slaughtered bird, that is, the convulsions of the lover who resembles "a headless chicken".

Although dance as part of the *samā*ʿ occured in various dervish groups, especially among the Čishtiyya [*q.v.*], it was institutionalised only in the Mewlewī order [see MAWLAWIYYA]. Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604-72/1207-73 [*q.v.*]) had composed most of his lyrical poetry while listening to music, and many of his *ghazals* [*q.v.*] can easily be accompanied by rhythmical handclapping. Terms like "clapping", "stamping" and the like abound in his lyrics, especially in his *rubāʿiyyāt* [*q.v.*], for the *rubāʿī* was the poetical form generally used in *samā*ʿ sessions. For Rūmī, the whole universe is moving in a wonderful dance, from the moment that Not-Being heard God's primordial address "Am I not your Lord?" (sūra VII, 172) and came into existence by dancing (*Dīwān*, no. 1832), an idea alluded to as early as in Djunayd's sayings. Dance and *samā*ʿ are the ladder to heaven, that is, the true *miʿrādj*, and angels and demons participate in it. Stamping the ground makes the water of life gush forth; it is like treading the grapes out of which the spiritual wine is made. The trees, touched by the spring breeze, move their twigs in happy dance. Rūmī's son Sulṭān Walad [*q.v.*] institutionalised the music and dance from which his father had drawn much of his inspiration. Thus the dance of the Mewlewīs is by no means a wild ecstatic act but rather a well-organised "ballet" in which the individual dervish, however, may experience something like an ecstatic rapture. But it is "a dance for God", a way of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or the dance of the moth around the candle in order to become annihilated; it is experiencing *fanā*ʾ "annihilation" in God in order to reach a higher level of consciousness. Later Mewlewī poets such as Ghālib Dede in Istanbul (d. 1213/1799 [*q.v.*]) took over this symbolism into their poetry as did Indo-Persian poets, most outspokenly Mīrzā Ghālib (d. 1869 [see GHĀLIB, MĪRZĀ ASAD ALLĀH KHĀN]) in his *ghazal* with the *radīf ba-raks*.

Among the dervishes, and in particular the Mewlewīs, funerals were often accompanied by ecstatic dance, and so was the ʿ*urs*, the celebrations to commemorate a dead saint. It is therefore not astonishing that some Ṣūfīs claimed that there was dance in Paradise (thus reminding the western reader of Fra Angelico's paintings), and Rūzbihān-i Baklī (d. 605/1209 [*q.v.*]) saw himself dancing with the archangels and with the Prophet, symbolising the end of his mystical journey as a "dance with God".

As for folk dances in Islamic countries, they are usually performed by either men or women, and in cases when both sexes participate—as is the case among some Berber tribes—dancing is frowned upon by both normative believers and serious Ṣūfīs. The fact that, nowadays, even women participate in dervish dances in "modernised" orders contradicts all classical tradition because the dervish dance does not aim at sensual goals, especially as conservative, traditionalist critics of Ṣūfism like the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*] in his *Talbīs Iblīs* branded dancing as a demon-inspired, "immoral" activity.

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(ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL)

RĀM-HURMUZ (the contracted form *Rāmiz*, *Rāmuz* is found as early as the 4th/10th century), a town and district in Khūzistān [*q.v.*] in southwestern Persia. Rām-Hurmuz lies about 55 miles southeast of Ahwāz, 65 miles south-south-east of Shūshtar, and 60 miles north-east of Bihbihān. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 43, reckons it 17 *farsakhs* from Ahwāz to Rām-Hurmuz and 22 *farsakhs* from Rām-Hurmuz to Arradjān. Ḳudāma, 194, who gives a more detailed list of stages, counts it 50 *farsakhs* from Wāsiṭ to Baṣra, thence 35 *farsakhs* to Ahwāz, thence 20 *farsakhs* to Rām-Hurmuz, and then 24 *farsakhs* to Arradjān. The importance of Rām-Hurmuz lay in the fact that it was situated at the intersection of the roads from Ahwāz, Shūshtar, Iṣfahān and Fārs (via Arradjān); that it is the natural market for the Bakhtiyārī and Kūh-gilū tribes [see LUR] and that there is oil in its vicinity. The town lies between the rivers Āb-i Kurdistān and Gūpāl. The first of these (also called Djibur) is made up of the following streams: Āb-i Gilāl (Āb-i Zard), Āb-i Aʿlā (coming from Mungasht), Rūd-i Pūtang and Āb-i Darra-yi Kūl. A canal is led from the right bank of the Djibur to supply the town of Rām-Hurmuz. Farther down, the Djibur joins the Āb-i Mārūn which comes from the southeast in the region of Bihbihān and of the old town of Arradjān [*q.v.*]. Their combined waters are known as the Djarrāḥī. The other little river (Gūpāl) runs north of Rām-Hurmuz and is lost in marshes. Rām-Hurmuz (160 m/500 feet above sea-level, in lat. 31° 15 'N., long. 49° 38′ E.) is situated above the plain to the northeast of which rise the hills of Tūl-Gorgūn 490 m/1,600 feet high.

The town is rarely mentioned by historians. The Pahlavi list of *the towns of Iran*, § 46 (ed. Markwart, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, 19, 98) attributes the building of Rām-Hurmuz to Hurmuzd b. Shāhpuhr (272-3) (cf. also al-Ṭabarī, i, 833). Accord-

ing to Ḥamza, ed. Gottwald, 46-7, the town was built by Ardas̲h̲īr I and its name was *Rām-(i) Hurmizd Ardas̲h̲īr*, which Marquart explains as "the delight of Ahura Mazda is Ardas̲h̲īr". According to a tradition recorded by al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 93, Mānī was executed in Rām-Hurmuz, but al-Ṭabarī, i, 834, says that Mānī was exposed on the "gate of Mānī" at D̲j̲undī-Sābūr (cf. also al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 208). The Nestorian bishops of Rām-Hurmuz are mentioned in the years 577 and 587 (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 27, 145). Al-Muḳaddasī, 414, says that ʿAḍud al-Dawla built a magnificent market near Rām-Hurmuz and that the town had a library founded by Ibn Sawwār (according to Schwarz, the son of Sawwār b. ʿAbd Allāh, governor of Baṣra, who died in 157/773), and was a centre of Muʿtazilī teaching. According to Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 42, Rām-Hurmuz was one of the 11 *kūras* of K̲h̲ūzistān (Ḳudāma, 242, and al-Muḳaddasī, 407: one of the 7 *kūras*). Its towns (al-Muḳaddasī) were Sanbil, Īd̲h̲ad̲j̲ [*q.v.*], Tyrm(?), Bāzank, Lād̲h̲, G̲h̲.rwa(?), Bābad̲j̲, and Kūzūk, all situated in the highlands. To these Yāḳūt, i, 185, adds Arbuk (with a bridge, 2 *farsak̲h̲s* from Ahwāz). On the other places in the *kūra* of Rām-Hurmuz (Asak, Būstān, Sasān, Ṭās̲h̲ān, Ūr) see Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 341-5. According to al-Muḳaddasī, 407, Rām-Hurmuz had palm-groves but no sugar-cane plantations (in the 8th/14th century, however, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 111, says that Rām-Hurmuz used to produce more sugar than cotton); among the products of Rām-Hurmuz, al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī (93) mentions silks (*t̲h̲iyāb ibrīsam*) and al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, 119, tr. 153, the very volatile white napththa which comes out of the rocks.

Oil seepages in the region between S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tar and Rām-Hurmuz were noted as commercially exploitable from the beginning of the 20th century, and Rām-Hurmuz has in recent decades benefited from the expansion of the K̲h̲ūzistān oil industry, with the Haft Gel oilfield just to its north and the Ag̲h̲a D̲j̲ārī one just to its south. It also remains, with other towns of the northern rim of the province like Dizfūl and Masd̲j̲id-i Sulaymān, a market centre for the tribespeople of the adjacent Zagros massif. The population of Rām-Hurmuz was in 1991 34,059 (*September 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division*). The ethnic composition of the Rām-Hurmuz region includes, as well as Persians, Arabs of the Āl K̲h̲amsīn from the D̲j̲arrāḥīs.

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(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

RAMAD (a.), an eye disease, "ophthalmitis; ophthalmia, conjunctivitis". *Ramad*, nomen verbi of *ramida*, follows the morpheme *faʿal* which is commonly used to denote chronic and congenital diseases. Being a genuine Arabic word, *ramad* occurs in pre- and early Islamic poetry in the broad sense of inflammation of the eye (ophthalmitis). Accordingly, the Arab lexicographers often explain *ramad* by referring to one or another symptom of ophthalmitis, i.e. pain, oedematous swelling, increased lachrymation, redness, itching, hyperaemia *et alia*. In the course of the transmission of Greek medicine, especially the *Corpus Galenianum*, to the Arabs during the late 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries, *ramad* became a proper medical term. It was used by the Arab physicians in the specifically narrowed sense of inflammation of the conjunctiva, based upon Galen's observation that an inflammation of the eye usually means an inflammation of its mucous membrane (*multaḥim*, ἐπιπεφυκώς): ὀφθαλμία ἡ τοῦ [ἐπι]πεφυκότος ὑμένος φλεγμονή (thence ophthalmia = conjunctivitis). Clinically, the disease was classified into "[acute] conjunctivitis" (*ramad*, ὀφθαλμία/φλεγμονή τοῦ ἐπιπεφυκότος), "chronic c." (*r. muzmin*, πολυχρόνιος ὀφθαλμία), "inveterate c." (*r. ʿamīḳ*, κεχρονισμένη ὀφθαλμία), and "severe c." (*r. ṣaʿb/s̲h̲adīd*, χήμωσις); the initial stage was called "irritation [of the conjunctiva]" (*takaddur*, τάραξις).

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(O. Kahl)

RAMAḌĀN (a.), name of the ninth month of the Muslim calendar. The name from the root *r-m-ḍ* refers to the heat of summer and therefore shows in what season the month fell when the ancient Arabs still endeavoured to equate their year with the solar year by intercalary months [see nasīʾ].

Ramaḍān is the only month of the year to be mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (II, 181/165): "The month of Ramaḍān (is that) in which the Ḳurʾān was sent down", we are told in connection with the establishment of the fast of Ramaḍān. Concerning the origins of this, to what is said in *EI*[1] ṣawm should be added the researches of S.F. Goitein, *Zur Entstehung des Ramaḍān*, in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 189 ff., who in connection with the above-mentioned verse of the Ḳurʾān calls attention to the parallelism between the mission of Muḥammad and the handing of the second tablets of the law to Moses, which according to Jewish tradition took place on the Day of Atonement (*ʿās̲h̲ūrāʾ*, the predecessor of Ramaḍān) and actually was the cause of its institution. Goitein suggests that the first arrangement to replace the ʿĀs̲h̲ūrāʾ [*q.v.*] was a period of ten days (*ayyām maʿdūdāt*, sūra II, 180/184), not a whole month, which ran parallel with the ten days of penance of the Jews preceding the Day of Atonement and survives to the present day in the 10 days of the *iʿtikāf* [*q.v.*]. If we consider further that the Muslim ideas of the *Laylat al-Ḳadr* which falls in Ramaḍān, in which according to Ḳurʾān, LXXXVII, 1, the Ḳurʾān was sent down, coincide in many points with the Jewish ones on the Day of Atonement, we must concede a certain degree of probability to Goitein's suggestions, in spite of the undeniable chronological difficulties (alteration of the length of the period of the

fast, within a very short time) and although the final settlement of the term as a whole month is not thereby satisfactorily explained. On the other hand, to strengthen Goitein's position, it ought perhaps to be pointed out that the *Laylat al-Barāʾa* (on which see G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan festivals*, repr. London and Ottawa 1976, 53-4) precedes Ramaḍān in the middle of the preceding month of Shaʿbān. The ideas and practices described by Wensinck in *EI*[1] art. SHAʿBĀN, which are associated with this night, really to some extent resemble Jewish conceptions associated with the New Year—which precedes the Day of Atonement by a rather shorter interval than the *Laylat al-Barāʾa* precedes Ramaḍān—that the connection between the latter and the Day of Atonement is thereby strengthened. If we try to connect the so far unexplained word *barāʾa* with the Hebrew *bᵉrīʾā* "creation" and reflect that, according to the Jewish idea, the world was created on New Year's Day (numerous references in the liturgy of the festival), we have perhaps a further link in the chain of proof; but first of all the age of the ideas associated with the *Laylat al-Barāʾa* must be ascertained.

The legal regulations connected with the fast of Ramaḍān are given in ṢAWM [see also TARĀWĪḤ]. Of important days of the month, al-Bīrūnī, among others, mentions the 6th as birthday of the martyr al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the 10th as the day of death of Khadīdja, the 17th as the day of the battle of Badr, the 19th as the day of the occupation of Mecca, the 21st as the day of ʿAlī's death, and of the Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā's, the 22nd as birthday of ʿAlī and finally the night of the 27th as *Laylat al-Ḳadr* [*q.v.*].

The name of this night is Ḳurʾānic; sūra XCVII is dedicated to it. It is there described as a night "better than a 1,000 months" in which the angels ascend free from every commission (*bi-idhn Allāh min kull amr*) and which means blessing till the appearance of the red of dawn. The revelation of the Ḳurʾān, as already mentioned, is expressly located in it. The same night is obviously referred to in sūra XLIV, 2, as a "blessed" one. The date, the 27th, is not, however, absolutely certain; the pious therefore use all the odd nights of the last ten days of Ramaḍān for good works, as one of them at any rate is the *Laylat al-Ḳadr* [see IʿTIKĀF].

Trade and industry are largely at a standstill during Ramaḍān, especially when it falls in the hot season. The people are therefore all the more inclined to make up during the night for the deprivations of the day. As sleeping is not forbidden during the fast, they often sleep a part of the day; and the night, in which one may be merry, is given up to all sorts of pleasures. In particular, the nights of Ramaḍān were formerly the time for public entertainments, the shadow play [see KHAYĀL AL-ẒILL] and other forms of the theatre.

On the termination of the fast by the "little festival", see ʿĪD AL-FIṬR.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste*², 97; Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, 60, 325, 331 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii; idem, *De Atjehers*, i; Lane, *Manners and customs*, ch. xxv; Mehmed Tevfiq, *Ein Jahr in Konstantinopel. 4. Die Ramazan-Nächte*, tr. Th. Menzel, in *Türkische Bibliothek*, iii, 1905; Wensinck, *Arabic New-Year*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, N.S., xxv/2; idem, *The Muslim creed*, 219 ff.; Pijper, *Fragmenta Islamica*; Littmann, *Über die Ehrennamen*, etc. in *Isl.*, viii, 228 ff.; K. Wagtendonck, *Fasting in the Koran*, Leiden 1968. (M. PLESSNER)

RAMAḌĀN OGHULLARÎ, a petty Anatolian dynasty. The earlier history of the Ramaḍān oghullarî is, like that of most of the minor Anatolian begs (*mülūk-i ṭewāʾif*), wrapped in obscurity. According to tradition, this Turkoman family came in Ertoghrul's time from Central Asia to Anatolia where they settled in the region of Adana and founded their power. Their territory comprised the districts of Adana. Sīs, Ayās, a part of the territory of the Warsaḳ Turkomans, Tarsūs, etc. The date of the earliest known prince of the dynasty, Mīr Aḥmad b. Ramaḍān (see below), is put at 780-819/1379-1416. Nothing definite is known about the real founder, Ramaḍān Beg. The French traveller Bertrandon de la Broquière thus characterises Mīr Aḥmad b. Ramaḍān: "lequel estoit tresgant personne d'homme et treshardy et la plus vaillante espée de tous les Turcz et le mieulx ferant d'une mache. Et avoit esté filz d'une femme crestienne laquelle l'avoit fait baptiser à la loy gregiesque pour luy enlever le flair et le senteur qu'ont ceulx qui ne sont point baptisiez. Il n'estoit ne bon crestien ne bon sarazin" (cf. *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892, 90-1). Mīr Aḥmad was succeeded by Ibrāhīm Beg (819-830/1416-27). The beginning of his reign is put by some, e.g. Meḥmed Nüzhet Bey, as early as 810, while its end is put in 819. Ibrāhīm Beg was deposed before his death (831) by his brother ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥamza-Beg, who reigned from 830. He was succeeded by another brother Meḥmed Beg and the latter's brother ʿAlī, who seem to have reigned jointly. The ensuing years are obscure, and we only know that Ibrāhīm's son Dāwūd fell in 885/1480 in a battle in the vicinity of Diyārbakr. His body was brought to Aleppo and buried there. The history of the Ramaḍān Oghullarî now becomes a little better known. His son and successor, Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl, known from a number of inscriptions (cf. Max von Oppenheim and Max van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909, 109-10, nos. 141-5 of the years 898, 900, 906, 913) ruled for 34 years with his brother Maḥmūd Beg and died in battle in 916/1510. The date of his death (beginning of Djumādā I 916/beginning of August 1510) is known with certainty from his epitaph in Adana, in von Oppenheim and van Berchem (*op. cit.*, 110, no. 145). His son Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha, who appears as ruling from 916-76/1510-68), distinguished himself as an Ottoman vassal, fighting against the rebels of Ič-eli (Anatolia; cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 71) in Shaʿbān 934/May 1528 as well as in the civil war between the princes Bāyezīd and Selīm at Ḳonya (May 1559; cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 368 ff.). He died in 972/1568 in his capital Adana. He had an equal command of Persian and Turkish and composed a *dīwān*. His son Derwīsh Beg, who had been *muteṣarrif* of Tarsūs in his father's life-time became after his death governor (*wālī*) of Adana but died young in 986/1578. He was succeeded by his eldest brother Ibrāhīm Beg, who had previously been *sandjaḳ beyi* of ʿAyntāb. He acted as governor at his father's capital till his death in 994/1586 or 997/1589. His son Meḥmed and the latter's son Pīr Manṣūr seemed to have retained some power until 1017/1608-9.

Bibliography: Max von Oppenheim and Max van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909, 109 ff. (cf. the genealogical table based on the inscriptions at 114, now to be corrected in the light of Sümer's table, see below); Meḥmed Nüzhet Bey, *Ramaḍān oghullarî*, in *TOEM*, no. 12, Istanbul 1327, 769 ff.; Khalīl Edhem Bey, *Düwel-i islāmiyye*, Istanbul 1345/1927, 313 ff. (with important corrections); E. von Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hannover 1927, 157; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v, 136 ff.; C. Ritter, *Der Erd-*

Genealogical table (after F. Sümer)

- 1. Ramaḍān Beg
  - 2. Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 785)
  - 3. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmed (d. 819)
    - 6. Meḥmed
    - 4. Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 831)
      - ?
        - 9. ʿÖmer
          - 12. Selīm
        - Dāwūd (d. 885)
          - Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl (d. 916)
            - 13. Ḳubād (d. 966)
              - [unnamed]
              - [unnamed]
            - 14. Pīrī (d. 976)
              - 15. Derwīsh
              - 16. Ibrāhīm (d. 994 or 997)
                - 17. Meḥmed
                  - 18. Pīr Manṣūr
              - Sherīf Meḥmed Pasha (d. 940)
              - Muṣṭafā (d. 959)
            - [unnamed]
            - [unnamed]
            - [unnamed]
          - 11. Maḥmūd (d. 922)
      - 7. Eylük (d. 843)
      - 8. Dündar (Beg in 861)
    - 5. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥamza
    - ʿAlī
  - Ḳara Meḥmed (d. 785)

kunde von Asien, ix, *Kleinasien*, part 2, Berlin 1859, 152 ff.; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri ve Ak-Koyunlu ve Kara-Koyunlu devletleri*, Ankara 1937; *İA* art. *Ramazan-Oğulları* (F. Sümer).

(F. BABINGER*)

RAMAḌĀN-ZĀDE MEḤMED ČELEBI PASHA, YESHILDJE, known as Küčük Nishāndjï, an Ottoman historian. He was born in Merzifūn [*q.v.*] and was the son of a certain Ramaḍān Čelebi. He was a secretary in the *dīwān*, became in 960/1553 chief *defterdār*, in 961/1554 *reʾīs ül-küttāb* or secretary of state, and in 965/1558 secretary of the imperial signature (*tughra* [*q.v.*]). He was later appointed *defterdār* of Aleppo, then governor of Egypt and finally sent to the Morea to make a survey (*taḥrīr*). He retired in 970/1562 and died in Djumādā I 979/September-October 1571. To distinguish him from Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafa, known as the Great Nishāndjï (see F. Babinger, *GOW*, 102-3), he is usually called *Küčük Nishāndjï*, the Little *Nishāndjï*.

At the bidding of sultan Süleymān, Ramaḍān-zāde compiled the history, widely known under the name of *Taʾrīkh-i Ramaḍān-zāde* but the real name of which is *Siyer-i enbiyāʾ-i ʿiẓām we-aḥwāl-i khulefāʾ-i ḳirān we-menāḳib-i selāṭīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān*; it remained till the end of the Ottoman period one of the most widely-used and most popular handbooks of Ottoman history. After a very brief sketch of the history of the world, the history of the Ottoman empire up to the time of Süleymān the Magnificent in 969/1561 is dealt with more fully. Scattered throughout are notes on celebrated scholars, saints, authors and poets as well as of buildings by the sultans.

The history of Ramaḍān-zāde is preserved in countless mss. (see F. Babinger, *GOW*, 104-5, to which may be added Paris, Bibl. Nat., *a.f.t.* 95, 96, 100; *s.t.* 191, 493, 496, 520, 734, 1131, 1319; Uppsala, Univ. Libr., no. 665 (cf. Zetterstéen, *Cat.*, ii, 42-3) and Rhodes, Library of Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad, no. 459) and in two printed editions (Istanbul 1279 and the second impression—not mentioned in Babinger, *GOW*, 105—of the *Taʾrīkh-i Nishāndjï Meḥmed Pasha*, Istanbul 17 Rabīʿ II 1290/1873).

Bibliography: ʿĀlī, *Künh ül-akhbār*, repeated in Pečewi, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 44; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 120; Bursalï Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlï müʾellifleri*, iii, 53; Babinger, *GOW*, 103-5; *İA*, art. s.v. (Şerâfeddin Turan). (F. BABINGER)

AL-**RAMĀDĪ**, whose full name was ABŪ ʿUMAR (wrongly Abū ʿAmr) YŪSUF B. HĀRŪN AL-KINDĪ AL-ḲURṬUBĪ AL-RAMĀDĪ, poet of Muslim Spain, who lived in the 4th/10th century and died in 403/1013, according to Ibn Ḥayyān (in Ibn Bashkuwāl, cf. *Bibl.*), in 413/1022-3 according to al-Maḳḳarī (quoting the same Ibn Ḥayyān); he was buried in the cemetery of Cordova known as Maḳbarat Kalaʿ.

The ethnic al-Ramādī is explained in two ways: 1. the poet is said to have come from al-Rammāda, a little town between Alexandria and Barḳa; this explanation is to be rejected, for this toponym would not give an ethnic like al-Ramādī (with one *m*); 2. the second explanation, which derives Ramādī from *ramād* "ordinary ashes" or "ashes for washing", is the only possible one; the poet perhaps in his youth followed the trade of an ash-merchant; in confirma-

tion of this we may call attention to the Romance surname which was originally given to him of *Abū Djanīs* (wrongly *Abū Sabīh* in the *Yatīmat al-dahr*), i.e. *padre ceniza*, "father cinders" or "the man with the cinders".

Al-Ramādī, a native of Cordova, spent all his life in his native town except for a brief period of exile in Saragossa. His life was dominated by three great factors: his attachment to al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*], his devotion to the cause of the *ḥādjib* al-Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*] and his love for Khalwa.

Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī, summoned from the east to Spain by the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir (300-50/912-61) had from his arrival in Cordova in 330/942 no more faithful disciple than al-Ramādī, who studied under his direction the *Kitāb al-Nawādir*. The young scholar's admiration found expression in a poem which has remained famous (rhyme *-li*, metre *kāmil*) of which some thirty lines are preserved in the *Yatīmat al-dahr* of al-Thaʿālibī and the *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus* of al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān (see *Bibl.*). It is this poem which gained him the title of Mutanabbī al-Gharb (which had already been given to Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī and which was later to be given to Ibn Darrādj al-Ḳasṭallī and to Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd al-Djabbār). Al-Ramādī studied also under an Andalusian scholar named Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Hudhayl al-Kafīf or al-Aʿmā ("the blind"), of whom we know very little.

When at the height of his powers, al-Ramādī became laureate to the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (350-66/961-76), then to his son and successor Hishām II al-Muʾayyad (366-99/976-1009); but his attachment to the cause of the *ḥādjib* Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Muṣḥafī and his participation in the plot fomented by the eunuch Djawdhar to overthrow Ḥakam II and proclaim a caliph other than his son Hishām brought down upon him the wrath of the great minister al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]. Thrown into prison at al-Zahrāʾ, he suffered all sorts of ill-treatment; during his imprisonment, he wrote the most touching verses (including a poem in *-ḳī*, metre *ṭawīl*, and another in *-luhu*, metre *ṭawīl*) and he prepared a poetical work on birds, the description of which concluded with a poem in praise of the heir-presumptive Hishām II. Liberated through the intercession of friends, he had to go into exile. He went to Saragossa to the governor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Tudjībī, whose merits he celebrated in a poem in *-mi*. Amnestied by al-Manṣūr, he was able to return to Cordova, but on condition that he did not go into society. Finally pardoned, he entered the entourage of the all-powerful *ḥādjib* as a recipient of allowances (*murtaziḳ*) and it was in this capacity that he took part in an expedition against Barcelona in 375/985. During the *fitna* which was to lead to the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate and the formation of petty independent states ruled by the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*], al-Ramādī led a miserable existence and it was in the greatest distress that he died in the early years of the 5th/11th century.

Al-Ramādī became celebrated chiefly for his chaste love for the enigmatic Khalwa (wrongly: Ḥalwa or Ḥulwa), whom he met one Friday in the public gardens of the Banū Marwān on the left bank of the Guadalquivir at the end of the bridge but was never able to see again. It was Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm, whose ascetic tendencies on this subject are well known, who did most to spread this lovestory; but it seems that the memory of Khalwa occupied the heart or mind of the poet only very little. If it still possessed him at Saragossa to the extent of inspiring all the *nasīb* of the panegyric in honour of the Tudjībī governor, on his return to Cordova, it disappeared completely, for we see al-Ramādī henceforth completely overwhelmed by a new passion, the object of which is not a woman but a Mozarab boy to whom the poet gives the name of Yaḥyā (John) or Nuṣayr (Victor?).

The *Dīwān* of al-Ramādī never seems to have been collected; of his book on birds, *Kitāb al-Ṭayr*, written in prison, there survives only the *Lāmiyya* in which he described the falcon hunting; the more important fragments that have survived have already been mentioned. A pupil of al-Ḳālī, al-Ramādī is inclined to imitate the poetry of the east, but after Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi and before ʿUbāda b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ, he shows a marked fondness for the *muwashshaḥ*, into the construction of which he introduced several innovations. In spite of its classical structure, his verse has a very personal character, especially when he calls upon Khalwa or describes his sufferings in the prison at al-Zahrāʾ. The few lines in which he alludes to the weakness of Hishām II and to his complete domination by his mother Ṣubḥ and by the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr, and those in which he speaks of Djawdhar's plot, are not without historical interest; finally, the information which he gives about Mozarabs (worship and costume) in connection with his favourite enables us to check what Abū ʿĀmir Ibn Shuhayd says on the same subject and is for this reason of some documentary importance.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Badīʿ fī waṣf al-rabīʿ*, ed. H. Pérès, Rabat 1940, *passim* (verses describing flowers); Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. and tr. L. Bercher, Algiers 1949, 57-9, tr. A. Nykl, *The dove's neck-ring*, Paris 1931, 31-2 and notes, 225-6; Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, ed. Luṭfī ʿAbd al-Badīʿ, Cairo 1975; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. Damascus, i, 365, 434-6; al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*, ed. Istanbul, 69-74, ed. Cairo, 78-83; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila*, no. 1376 (613-14: 6 lines); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vii, 225-9, tr. de Slane, iv, 569-72; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, no. 1451 (478-481); Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 149; Marrākushī, *al-Muʿdjib* (*Hist. des Alm.*), 15-17; ed. Cairo, 14-16; tr. Fagnan, 403; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, Cairo, ii, 71; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (*Analectes*), index (vol. ii, 440-3, reproduces the beginning of al-Ḍabbī, the end of Ibn Bashkuwāl—with the date 413 instead of 403 for the poet's death—and the whole *Maṭmaḥ*); M. Hartmann, *Das arab. Strophengedicht*. i. *Das Muwaššaḥ*, Weimar 1897, no. 108, 75-8; Dozy, *Hist. musulmane d'Espagne*², ii, 223, 224-5; A. González Palencia, *El amor platonico en la Corte de los Califas*, in *Bol. R. Acad. de ... Bellas letras ... de Córdoba*, Cordova 1929, 3-4; E. Garcia Gomez, *Poetas musulmanes*, in *ibid.* 13; idem, *Poemas arabigo-andaluces*, Madrid 1930, no. 32, 78; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1953, index; Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Taʾrīkh al-Adab al-andalusī*, Beirut 1962, 155-69; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 692-3 (with complementary bibl.).—Isolated verses Ibn Diḥya, *al-Muṭrib*, B.L. ms., fols. 5a and 6a; Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, *ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt*, ed. Būlāḳ, 57; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo, x, 213; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, Paris ms., no. 2327, fols. 5b-6b; S.Kh. Jayyusi, *Andalusi poetry: the golden period*, in eadem (ed.), *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, Hdb der Or, 1. Abt., Bd. 12, Leiden etc. 1992, 330-2.

(H. PÉRÈS)

AL-**RĀMAHURMUZĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khallād, often referred to in mediaeval Arabic literature as IBN AL-KHALLĀD, *ḳāḍī* and author of various works of *adab* [*q.v.*]

who died in 360/971. His date of birth is unknown, but judging by the death dates of his alleged tradition masters, he must have been born some one hundred years earlier, if credence were to be granted at all to the usual longevity ascribed to transmitters of that period. For references to biographical notices on him, see *GAS*, i, 193. Of the poetry attributed to him a few lines have been preserved in *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. Cairo, iii, 423-7, by al-Tha^c^ālibī [*q.v.*], cf. also Yākūt, *Irshād*, iii, 140-4. Of his prose works, only two seem to have survived, both related to *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]. First, a collection called *Amthāl al-nabī*, which comprises some 140 proverbs and other assorted wise sayings attributed to the Prophet and moulded in the form of *ḥadīth*s, cf. the editions of Amatulkarim Qureshi, Ḥaydarābād (Sind) 1968, and ^c^A.^c^A. al-A^c^ẓamī, Bombay 1983. For the *amthāl* genre in general, see R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen insbesondere die des Abū ^c^Ubaid,* The Hague 1954. Rāmahurmuzī's fame squarely rests, however, on a comprehensive, theoretical work on the science of *ḥadīth* entitled *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna 'l-rāwī wa 'l-wā^c^ī*, the first such work to be written in Islam, which exerted a lasting influence on all theoretical *ḥadīth* works to follow.

The title refers to two sorts of *ḥadīth* transmitters which he distinguishes from one another: those who merely transmit without paying proper heed to all sorts of crucial details in *isnād* [*q.v.*] as well as contents of a tradition, whose transmission he calls *riwāya*; and those who have learned to discern between all transmission minutiae, whose activities he summarises under the term *dirāya*. Examples of these minutiae are (1) the proper distinction between namesakes and people bearing names with (nearly) the same consonantal pattern (*rasm*); (2) the identification of transmitters not known by their patronymics but by grandfathers, other forebears or (grand)-mothers; (3) the identification of transmitters who share *kunyas* or *nisbas*, etc. Rāmahurmuzī's exploration of this thorny terrain is exemplary and constitutes to this day an indispensable tool for any approach towards *isnād* analysis. His is in fact the first systematic attempt to unravel an, until his time ever-increasing, multitude of no longer correctly identified transmitters, thus exposing many hitherto undetected cases of *isnād* tampering (*tadlīs* [*q.v.*]). Furthermore, his division into generations (*ṭabakāt*) of those transmitters who travelled extensively in order to collect traditions (*fī ṭalab al-^c^ilm* [*q.v.*]) is the first such survey and is remarkable for its exhaustiveness as well as the relatively late chronology he proposes for its onset. Moreover, Rāmahurmuzī is fully aware of what Islam owes to its *mawālī* of the first hour by emphasising time and again their undeniably important role in the development of juridical thinking and in transmitting traditions in order to derive *fikh* precepts from them. This book is available in the reliable edition of Muḥammad ^c^Adjdjādj al-Khaṭīb, Beirut 1971.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See further, G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 29, 47, 66, 135, 141.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

RAMAL (A.) 1. As a poetic metre. This is the name of the eighth metre in Arabic prosody [see ^c^ARŪḌ], based on the foot *fā^c^ilātun* in which the first syllable may be either long or short (⏓ ⏑ – –). Of the two current types, one has three feet to the hemistich with 22 syllables to the line (⏓ ⏑ – – | ⏓ ⏑ – – | ⏓ ⏑ – || ⏓ ⏑ – – | ⏓ ⏑ – – | ⏓ ⏑ –). The other one, called *madjzū^ʾ^ al-ramal* (*ramal* shortened by a foot or *djuz^ʾ^*), has 16 syllables to the line: ⏓ ⏑ – – | ⏓ ⏑ – – || ⏓ ⏑ – – | ⏓ ⏑ – –. The final syllable of the line is normally long, but occasionally poems with overlong last syllables are found. In modern poetry, so-called "free verse" (*al-shi^c^r al-ḥurr*) in *ramal* is built on the *fā^c^ilātun* foot, but shows lines of unequal length.

Ramal poems are few in pre-Islamic poetry, but some are ascribed to Imru^ʾ^ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] and ^c^Abīd b. al-Abraṣ [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn al-Sarrādj, *al-Mi^c^yār fī awzān al-ash^c^ār*, ed. M.R. al-Dāya, 1979³, 156-7). One of the three *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* [*q.v.*] in *ramal* is by al-Muthakkib al-^c^Abdī (died *ca.* 590). According to al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ [*q.v.*] (*Kitāb al-^c^Arūḍ*, ed. S. al-Baḥrāwī, in *Fusul* vi/2 [1986], 152) a lot of *ramal* poetry was practised by the Bedouins, but this may refer to *ramal* as a genre name for "poetry which is neither *ḳaṣīd* nor *radjaz*" (al-Akhfash, *Kitāb al-Ḳawāfī*, ed. ^c^Izza Ḥasan, Damascus 1970, 68; Lane, s.v. *r-m-l*), apparently referring to *madjzū^ʾ^* poetry. This fits in with al-Tahānawī's division of Arabic poetry into four classes (*al-ḳaṣīda, al-ramal, al-radjaz* and *al-khafīf*) in *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1862, 745, where a poet who writes mainly verse of the second class is called a *rāmil* (cf. W. Stoetzer, *Theory and practice in Arabic metrics*, Leiden 1989, 61-73). Al-Djawharī [*q.v.*] labels both variations of *ramal* as ancient (*ḳadīm*) (see *^c^Arūḍ al-waraḳa*, ed. Muḥammad al-^c^Alamī, Casablanca 1984, 52). As from the Umayyad period, both types of *ramal* are regularly found in monostrophic poems, in *muwashshaḥ* and *zadjal* (cf. M. Ben Cheneb, *Tuḥfat al-adab*³, Paris 1954, 117 and 131), popular ballads (cf. P. Cachia, *Popular narrative ballads of modern Egypt*, Oxford 1989, 103) and modern poetry, where it has gained popularity over the years (S.K. Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, 608 n.).

Data on the occurrence of *ramal* are found in J.E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe, précédée de Essai sur un discours critique*, Paris 1989, 201-27 (incorporating statistics by Bräunlich and Vadet) and in S. Moreh, *Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, 219. See also the article RAMAL in the Supplement of the first edition and E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, i, 52-5.

According to Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī [*q.v.*], *ramal*, together with *madīd*, comes, aesthetically, after *ṭawīl*, *basīṭ*, *wāfir* and *khafīf* and is characterised by "smoothness (*līn*) and facility (*suhūla*) and therefore more suitable for elegies and the like" (see his *Minhādj al-bulaghā^ʾ^*, ed. M.H. Belkhodja, Tunis 1966, 268-9).

For the role of *ramal* in the relationship between music and verse, see O. Wright, in *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period* (= *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*, i) Cambridge 1983, 450-9. One of the indigenous explanations of the name is precisely that *ramal* is a kind of music characterised by this pattern (*yakhrudju ^c^alā hādhā 'l-wazn*) (see Ibn Barrī, *Sharḥ al-ghumūḍ min masā^ʾ^il al-^c^arūḍ*, ms. Escorial 288, fol. 46a = 410, fol. 171a). See also section 2. below.

For a discussion of the arguments for and against the possible Persian origin of *ramal*, see E. Wagner, *op. cit.*, 47-8.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(W. STOETZER)

2. As a musical metre (*īḳā^c^* [*q.v.*]). This was "invented" in Mecca at the end of the 1st/7th century. In early Arabic music theory, distinction is made between a "heavy" (*thaḳīl*) or slow, and a "light" (*khafīf*) or quick version of the metre. According to 3rd/9th and 4th/10th century sources, a "period" (*dawr*) of the "heavy" *ramal* consisted of one heavy and two light "beats" (*naḳarāt*), followed by a rest (*fāṣila*). Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, who developed a very advanced *īḳā^c^* theory, explains this pattern by means of

the mnemonic syllables *tanna tan tan* which represent the length of the notes (and also correspond to the metric scheme of the prosodic *ramal*):

(3/2)
tanna tan tan + *fāṣila*
fāʿi- lā- tun

Ibn Sīnā's disciple Ibn Zayla (d. 440/1048) added the alternative form of (3/2) which was confirmed later by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 693/1294) and his successors up to the 9th/15th century. They transcribe it by substituting a consonant (*t* or *n*) for each quaver, and define the length of the notes by the number of syllables:

(3/2)
tan tan tananan tananan

Simple ternary patterns such as these were also attested in Muslim Spain and still survive in the *nawba* [*q.v.*] of North Africa, though the name *ramal* vanished there long ago.

As a result of "duplication" (*taḍʿīf*), the *ramal* developed into the very popular form of (6/2) which was called a Persian variety and first occurs in 7th/13th century sources. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Marāghī (d. 838/1435) expanded this pattern in his own compositions, as he says, from 12 to 48 and even 96 units per period.

Another sophisticated form developed in Ottoman Turkey (*al-ramal al-turkī*; *remel*). Its basic scheme consists of 28 units per period (or 56 units, when "doubled"):

(2/2 + 3/2 ...)

düm te-ke ¦ *düm te-ke te-ke düm te-ke düm tek tek*

düm tek düm düm ¦ *tek te-ke*

Here, the mnemotic syllables represent the quality but no longer the length of the beats.

The "light" version of *ramal* had a basic pattern of (3/4), plus some variant forms, as listed in Arabic sources from the 3rd/9th to the 7th/13th centuries. From Ibn Sīnā's time on, a "limping" (*aksak*) variety (2/8 + 3/8), is also recorded. In al-Urmawī's school, both patterns were transmitted side by side.

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(E. Neubauer)

RĀMĪ MEḤMED PASHA, an Ottoman Grand Vizier and poet, was born in 1065 or 1066/1654 in Eyyūb, a suburb of Istanbul, the son of a certain Ḥasan Agha. He entered the chancellery of the Reʾīs Efendi as a probationer (*shāgird*), and through the poet Yūsuf Nābī [*q.v.*] received an appointment as *maṣraf kātibi*, i.e. secretary for the expenditure of the palace. In 1095/1684 through the influence of his patron, the newly-appointed *Ḳapudān Pasha* [*q.v.*] Muṣṭafā Pasha, he became *dīwān efendi*, i.e. chancellor of the Admiralty. He took part in his chief's journeys and campaigns (against Chios) and on his return to Istanbul became *reʾīs kesedārī*, i.e. pursebearer to the *Reʾīs Efendi*. In 1102/1690 he was promoted to *Beylikdji*, i.e. Vice-Chancellor, and four years later, *Reʾīs Efendi* in place of Abū Bakr, in which office he was succeeded in 1108/1697 by Küčük Meḥmed Čelebi. After the battle of Zenta (12 September 1697), he became *Reʾīs Efendi* for a second time and was one of the plenipotentiaries at the peace of Carlowitz [see KARLOFČA], by the conclusion of which "he put an end to the ravages of the Ten Years War but also for ever to the conquering power of the Ottomans" (J. von Hammer). As a reward for his services at the peace negotiations, he was appointed a vizier of the dome with 3 horse-tails (*tugh*) in 1114/1703, and in Ramaḍān 6, 1114/24 January 1703, appointed to the highest office in the kingdom in succession to the Grand Vizier Daltaban Muṣṭafā Pasha. In this office he devoted particular attention to the thorough reform of the civil administration, through the abuses in which he saw the security of the state threatened (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, vii, 64). "By lessening the burden of fortresses on the frontiers in east and west, by raising militia against the rebel Arabs, by securing the pay of the army from the revenues of certain estates, by making aqueducts, by restoring ruined mosques, by taking measures for the safety of the pilgrim caravans and for the security of Asia Minor, by settling Turkmen tribes, by ordering the Jewish cloth manufacturers in Selānīk and the Greek silk manufacturers in Bursa in future to make in their factories all the stuffs hitherto imported into Turkey from Europe", he exercised a most beneficent activity, which however soon aroused envy and hatred, and, especially as Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha, as a man of the pen entirely and not of the sword, was unpopular with the army, particularly the Janissaries, finally was bound to lead to his fall (cf. *GOR*, vii, 72). In the great rising in Istanbul which lasted four weeks, beginning with the enthronement of Sultan Muṣṭafā II and ending with his deposition (9 Rabīʿ II, 1115/22 August 1703), his career came to an end. He was disgraced, but pardoned in the same year and appointed governor, first of Cyprus, then of Egypt (October 1704). His governorship there terminated as unhappily as his grand viziership (cf. *GOR*, vii, 133, following Rāshid and La Motraye). In Djumādā I 1118/September 1706 he was dismissed and sent to the island of Rhodes, where he died in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1119/March 1707, either under torture or a result of it (cf. *GOR*, vii, 134, quoting the *internuntius* Talman). Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha is regarded as a brilliant stylist, as the two collections of his official documents (*inshāʾ*) containing no less than 1,400 pieces, distinguished by their simple clear and elevated style, amply show (cf. the mss. in Vienna, Nat. Bibl. nos. 296 and 297, in G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Hss.*, i, 271-2). Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha also left a complete *Dīwān*, of which specimens are available in the printed *Tedhkire* of Sālim (cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 272-3: Istanbul 1315). His poetical gifts were inherited by his son ʿAbd Allāh Reʾfet (cf. Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 187). His son-in-law was the *tedhkiredji* Sālim [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *GOR*, vii, *passim*; the history of the Istanbul rising was written by Meḥmed Shefīḳ; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 186-7; Sālim, *Tedhkire*, 252-8; ʿOthmān-zāde Aḥmad Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, at the end; Aḥmed Resmī, *Khalīfat al-ruʾasāʾ*, Istanbul 1269, 47 ff.; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, ii, 367-8; von Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iv, 26 ff.; Fahir İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım*, Istanbul 1966-7, i, 387-8; *İA* art. s.v. (Bekir Sıtkı Baykal).

(F. Babinger)

RĀMĪ TABRĪZĪ, Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, Persian rhetorician and poet, who

flourished in the middle of the 8th/14th century. Very little is known about his life and the few chronological indications that we possess are either imprecise or unreliable. Dawlatshāh states that he was the poet laureate (*malik al-shuʿarāʾ* [*q.v.*]) of ʿIrāķ during the reign of the Muẓaffarid Shāh Manṣūr (reigned 789-95/1387-93), but dedications in his two most important works prove that he attended the court of Sultan Abu 'l-Fatḥ Uways Bahādur or Shaykh Uways (757-76/1356-74) of the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*], presumably after the latter's conquest of Adharbāydjān in 761/1360. In his *Anīs al-ʿushshāķ*, Rāmī mentions the poet Awḥadī (d. 738/1337) as a contemporary and Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd Kāshī, who died as early as 710/1310, as his teacher (cf. Iķbāl, introd., p. *dāl*). A late and unlikely dating for his death is 795/1392-3 (see Storey, iii, 182-3).

His most original work is *Anīs al-ʿushshāķ*, a short treatise on the poetical description, "from head to foot", of a beautiful person. According to his own statement, the author made up his mind to compile this book while he was in Marāgha on a visit to the observatory of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*]. He dedicated it to Shaykh Uways. In this treatise, Rāmī discusses the conventions of *ghazal* poetry, as well as of romantic *mathnawīs*, in depicting the charms of a *maʿshūķ*, male or female (see *EIr*, iv, s.v. *Beloved*). Twelve of the nineteen chapters deal with parts of the head: the hair, the temple, the eyebrows, the eyes, the eye lashes, the face, the down on the cheeks (*khaṭṭ*), the beauty spot (*khāl*), the lips, the teeth, the mouth and the chin; then follow the neck, the breasts, the fore-arm, the fingers and finally the stature, the waist and the legs. The Persian text, preserved in a great number of manuscripts, was published by ʿAbbās Iķbāl (Tehran 1325 *Sh*./1946, with a short introd.) and was translated into French by Cl. Huart (*Anîs el-ʿochchâq. Traité des termes figurés relatifs à la description de la beauté*, Paris 1875).

Under the title *Ḥaķāʾiķ al-ḥadāʾiķ* (erroneously called *Ḥadāʾiķ al-ḥaķāʾiķ* by Dawlatshāh), Rāmī prepared a commentary on the well-known textbook of rhetorical figures *Ḥadāʾiķ al-siḥr fī daķāʾiķ al-shiʿr* by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ [*q.v.*]. To the order of Shaykh Uways, he removed the Arabic quotations from the basic text. This work was edited by Sayyid Muḥammad-Kāẓim Imām (Tehran 1341 *Sh*./1962, with an introd. and extensive notes).

Rāmī's *Dīwān*, containing *ķaṣīdas*, *muķaṭṭaʿāt* and quatrains, was in the days of Dawlatshāh still available in western Persia but now seems to have disappeared. Only a few poems are preserved in anthologies (cf. Imām, introd. 12 ff.). Other works ascribed to Rāmī are known to exist only in very few copies: *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ* or *Tuḥfat al-faķīr*, treating of sixteen figures of speech (Munzawī, iii, 2127-8); *Dah faṣl*, a *mathnawī* in the metre of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī-yi maʿnawī* (Munzawī, iv, 2817-8); *Ṣifat-i ṣanʿat-i shiʿr wa shuʿarāʾ* (Munzawī, iii, 2142) and *Mukhtaṣar-i ṣanāʾiʿ-i shiʿrī*. About *Ḥulyat al-maddāḥ*, a work also attributed to Rāmī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 112) nothing else is known.

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, 308; Pavet de Courteille, in *JA*, vii (1876), 588-91; Browne, *LHP*, ii, 83-4; M.ʿA. Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbāydjān*, Tehran 1314 *Sh*./1935, 189-91; Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iii, Tehran 1350 *Sh*./1971, 2133-4 (s.v. *Ḥadāyiķ al-ḥaķāyiķ*), v, Tehran 1351 *Sh*./1972, 3527-30 (s.v. *Anīs al-ʿushshāķ*); ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Naķd-i adabī*, ³Tehran 1361 *Sh*./1982, i, 250-1; Storey, iii/1, 182-3 (on *Ḥaķāʾiķ al-ḥadāʾiķ*).

(E. Berthels-[J.T.P. de Bruijn])

RAML (A.), pl. *rimāl*, *armul*, "sand", with *ramla*, pl. *rimāl* for "area of sands, sand dunes". For the sands of the Arabian peninsula, see AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT AL-. ii; DAHNĀʾ; NAFŪD; AL-RUBʿ AL-KHĀLĪ. For geomancy, divination by means of the patterns in sand (in Arabic, *al-khaṭṭ bi 'l-raml*), see AL-KHAṬṬ.

AL-**RAMLA**, a town of Palestine, in early Islamic times in the *djund* [*q.v.*] of Filasṭīn [*q.v.*]. It is situated on the coastal plain 40 km/25 miles west-north-west of Jerusalem, in lat. 31° 50′ N., long. 34° 52′ E., and now lies between the modern Israeli towns of Rehovot and Lod (Lydda, Ludd [*q.v.*]). The Umayyad caliphs liked to choose little country towns, usually places in Palestine, to live in rather than Damascus. Muʿāwiya, and after him Marwān and others, frequently resided in al-Ṣinnabra on the south bank of the Lake of al-Ṭabariyya, Yazīd I in Hawwārīn, Adhriʿāt, ʿAbd al-Malik in al-Djābiya, Walīd in Usays (now Djabal Says [*q.v.* in Suppl.] to the south-east of Damascus) and al-Ķaryatayn, and his sons in al-Ķasṭal, Yazīd II also in al-Muwaķķar [*q.v.*] near Fudayn or in Bayt Raʾs (Lammens, *La Bâdia et la Ḥîra sous les Omaiyades*, in *MFOB*, iv [1910], 91-112; A. Musil, *The country residences of the Omayyads*, in *Palmyrena*, New York 1928, 277-97; BĀDIYA, in Suppl.).

In the reign of al-Walīd, his brother Sulaymān was governor of Filasṭīn. Stimulated by the examples of ʿAbd al-Malik, the builder of the Ķubbat al-Ṣakhra in Jerusalem, and of his brother who had restored the mosque of Damascus (Yāķūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 818), he founded the new town of al-Ramla and removed to it the seat of the provincial government which had been in Ludd since the "plague of ʿAmwās" [*q.v.*] in 18/638-9. As caliph also he continued to live in al-Ramla (96-9/715-17).

The whole population of Ludd was transferred to the new capital of the *djund* of Filasṭīn and the latter fortified, while Ludd was allowed to fall into ruins. Sulaymān first of all built his palace (*ķaṣr*) then the "house of the dyers" (*dār al-ṣabbāghīn*) which was provided with a huge cistern; at a later date it was confiscated with all the property of the Umayyads and came into the possession of the heir of the ʿAbbāsids, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh. Sulaymān also began to build the mosque and continued it when caliph. It was finished under ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, although not on the scale originally intended. The financial management of the building of the palace and of the chief mosque was in the hands of a Christian of Ludd, al-Biṭrīķ b. al-Nakā (al-Balādhurī, 143-4; vars. Biṭrīķ b. Bakā in Ibn al-Faķīh, 102, and Ibn Bīṭrīķ in Yāķūt, *Buldān*, ii, 818). According to Yāķūt (ii, 817) the latter asked the people of Ludd to give him a house near the church, and when they refused he decided to pull down the church; according to al-Muķaddasī, iii, 164-5, the caliph Hishām threatened the people of Ludd that he would destroy their church if they did not hand over the marble columns, which they had intended for a splendid building and concealed. Sulaymān also began to bring a canal called Barada to the new town and to dig wells of fresh water, as it was 12 miles distant from the nearest river, the Nahr Abū Fuṭrus [*q.v.*] (al-Yaʿķūbī, *Buldān*, 328). The considerable cost of keeping up the canal was later taken over by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and at first voted annually but from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim included as current expenditure in the budget.

The advantages and disadvantages of the new town are vividly described by al-Muķaddasī. Rich in fruits, especially figs and palms, good water and all foodstuffs, it combined the advantages of town and

country, those of a position in the plain with the proximity of hills and sea, of places of pilgrimage like Jerusalem and coast fortresses. It had a splendid chief mosque, fine *khāns*, comfortable baths, commodious dwellings and broad streets. On the other hand, in winter it was like a muddy island, in summer a sand-bin and as it was not on a river the ground was hard and without grass; and the lack of ample running water was the chief defect of this otherwise so favoured town, for the little drinking water in the cisterns was not accessible to the poorer part of the population. The town covered an area of a whole square mile. Its buildings were of fine building stone and brick. The town's wares were exported chiefly to Egypt.

Al-Ramla had several gates, enumerated by the geographers, and in the centre of its market-place was the chief mosque, Djāmiʿ al-Abyaḍ, the *miḥrāb* of which was regarded as the largest of all that were known, the pulpit of which was second only to that in Jerusalem and whose splendid minaret was much admired.

Whether there had been an older town on the site of al-Ramla is problematic. The old attempts to identify it with Arimathia, Ramatha or Ramathaim have now been generally abondoned. An ancient Παρεμβολή, "Camp" (> al-Ramla, the initial Greek ρ being interpreted as the Coptic article, as in *usḳuf* < επισκοπος), should rather be considered, a place-name particularly frequent in Palestine, which was borne for example by the camp of Jerusalem (Hebr., xiii, 11, 13; Acts, xxi, 34-xxiii, 32) and bishoprics in Palestine I. (now Biʾr al-Zarāʿa, cf. Féderlin in Génier, *Vie de S. Euthyme le Grand*, 104-11) and in Phoinike Libanesia (R. Aigrin, art. *Arabie*, in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, iii, 1194-6); for the Egyptian al-Ramla four miles to the north-east of Alexandria corresponds to an ancient Nicopolis and later Parembole. But the Arabic writers say there was no town previously on this site but only a sandy area, after which the town was named (al-Balādhurī, 143, etc.).

The population of al-Ramla was in the time of al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 327) a mixture of Arabs and Persians (on the settlement of Persians in Syria, cf. al-Kindī, *Governors of Egypt*, ed. Guest, 19); the clients were Samaritans.

The great cistern ʿUnayziyya (ʿAnēziyye) to the north-west of al-Ramla near the road to Yāfā, known as the cistern of St. Helena, has a Kūfic inscription of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 172/May 789, i.e. of the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (van Berchem, *Inscr. arabes de Syrie*, Cairo 1897, 4-7; M. de Vogüé, *La citerne de Ramla*, in *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-lettres*, xxxix [1911], 362-3, 493-4).

By the Frankish pilgrims the town is first mentioned in 870 as "Ramula". The Crusaders made it a bishopric. In the 12th century was built the beautiful church of the Crusaders, now the mosque (*Djāmiʿ al-Kabīr* in the east of the town) with its noble Gothic portal, to which was later added very unskilfully an inscription of Sultan Kitbughā. It also has an inscription, according to which its square tower (now replaced by a round minaret) was built or restored in 714/1314-15 by Sultan Muḥammad.

The old "white mosque" was restored by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 587/1191 and given by Baybars in 666/1267-8) two domes, above the minaret and the *miḥrāb*, and the gateway opposite it (Mudjīr al-Dīn, Būlāḳ, 418, tr. Sauvaire, 207; the inscription in van Berchem, *op. cit.*, 57-64). The minaret, the so-called "tower of al-Ramla" or "Tower of the 40 martyrs", was, according to Mudjīr al-Dīn and an inscription over its gateway, rebuilt in Shaʿbān 718/October 1318 (*Zwei arabische Inschriften*, in *Jerusalemer Warte*, lxix [1913], 100-1); the mosque as well as the minaret have both been wrongly taken for the work of the Crusaders (cf. against this van Berchem, *op. cit.*, 63-4).

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited al-Ramla in Ramaḍān 438/March 1047, calls it a large town with high and strong walls of stone and gates of copper; the inhabitants had a receptacle for the collection of rain-water at the door of each house. There was also a large cistern for general use in the middle of the Friday mosque.

An earthquake of 15 Muḥarram 425/10 December 1033 destroyed a third of the town and its mosque fell into ruins (cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 298).

Most of the public and private buildings were built of marble and adorned with fine sculptures and ornaments. Figs were the chief export of al-Ramla. The name of the province of Filasṭīn was also given to the capital al-Ramla (Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Arch. Orient.*, vi, 101).

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 583/1187 destroyed the town so that it might never again fall into the hands of the Franks and it remained in ruins (Yāḳūt, i, 818; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid*, i, 483). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it in 756/1355; he mentions the Djāmiʿ al-Abyaḍ in which, he was told, 300 prophets were buried. A Latin monastery was founded in 1420 in al-Ramla by Duke Philip the Good, and restored at a later date by Louis XIV.

In 1798 the town was Bonaparte's headquarters during his unsuccessful attempt to take Palestine from the Ottomans. It was the scene of fighting in July 1948 when the Transjordanian Arab Legion was driven out by Israeli forces. Most of the largely Christian Arab population left, to be replaced by Jewish immigrants. In 1970 the estimated population was 31,000.

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AL-**RAMLĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. Ḥamza al-Manūfī al-Miṣrī al-Anṣārī Shams al-Dīn, prominent Shāfiʿī jurist, born in Cairo on 30 Djumādā I 917/1511 (*Lutf al-samar*, i, 78; al-Muḥibbī, iii, 347, and later sources give 919/1513), where he died on 13 Djumādā I 1004/1595. His father, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ramlī (d. 957/1550), a student of Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520), was the leading Egyptian

Shāfiʿī jurist of his day and held the high post of *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* in 905/1499-1500 under the Mamlūk sultan al-Ẓāhir Ḳānṣūh (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1383/1963, iii, 424, 440).

Al-Ramlī's principal teacher was his father, who instructed him in the entire range of religious sciences. Upon the elder al-Ramlī's death, Shams al-Dīn took over his teaching duties in the Azhar mosque (al-Shaʿrānī, 122). He also held teaching positions in the Khashshābiyya (*Luṭf al-samar*, i, 265; cf. *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, ii, 36) and in the Sharīfiyya (al-Muḥibbī, i, 146) *madrasas*, both positions designated by their terms for the leading Egyptian Shāfiʿī. Al-Ramlī actively transmitted the writings and authorised texts of Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī, both directly through a general *idjāza* that he received in his childhood from al-Anṣārī (*Luṭf al-samar*, i, 78) and indirectly on the authority of his father (e.g. al-Muḥibbī, i, 332, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam li-īḳāẓ al-himam*, Ḥaydarābād 1328/1910, 79-80). Al-Ramlī's numerous students, in both Shāfiʿī *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, included Syrians as well as Egyptians, the most prominent being the Egyptian Shāfiʿī jurist Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Zayyādī (d. 1024/1615) (*Luṭf al-samar*, ii, 568-78; al-Muḥibbī, iii, 195-7), and in the realm of letters Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659 [*q.v.*]). His influence also extended to the *ḥaramayn* (al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nudjūm al-ʿawālī fī anbāʾ al-awāʾil wa 'l-tawālī*, Cairo n.d., iv, 357 quoted by al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348, ii, 102) through his teaching in Mecca (cf. the *isnāds* in Aḥmad al-Nakhlī, *Bughyat al-ṭālibīn*, Ḥaydarābād 1328/1910, 48, 54), where he made the pilgrimage on numerous occasions (*Luṭf al-samar*, i, 80) and where he spent a period of *mudjāwara* in 991/1583 (al-Muḥibbī, ii, 458). Like his father, al-Ramlī was the pre-eminent Egyptian Shāfiʿī *muftī* of his day, and was officially recognised as such (al-Muḥibbī, i, 117).

Both father and son were favourably disposed toward the Ṣūfīs. They were on familiar terms with the famous Egyptian Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565) (M. Winter, *Society and religion in early Ottoman Egypt: studies in the writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1982, 221-2), and Shams al-Dīn's son-in-law Abu 'l-Mawāhib (d. 1037/1628) was a son of the Ṣūfī leader and poet Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 994/1586) (al-Muḥibbī, i, 146).

The most important of al-Ramlī's writings is his large-scale commentary on the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* of Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278), entitled *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj ilā sharḥ al-minhādj*, begun in 963/1556 and completed in 973/1566, some fifteen years after the completion of *Tuḥfat al-muḥtādj bi-sharḥ al-minhādj* of his father's student (*al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, iii, 112) Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī [*q.v.*] (*Tuḥfat al-muḥtādj*, i, 3 gloss). Although apparently neglected at first in favour of Ibn Ḥadjar's *Tuḥfat al-muḥtādj* (al-Muḥibbī, iii, 176), al-Ramlī's commentary came to be recognised as the leading Shāfiʿī work of authority outside of Yemen (including Ḥaḍramawt) and part of the Ḥidjāz, where Ibn Ḥadjar's commentary was followed (Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī (d. 1194/1780) quoted in Bā Ṣabrayn, *Ithmid al-ʿaynayn*, 4-5).

The esteem in which al-Ramlī was held and his significance in the history of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* are indicated by the honorific title bestowed on him of al-Shāfiʿī *al-ṣaghīr* and by his being reckoned by many as the *mudjaddid* of the 10th century of the *hidjra* (al-Muḥibbī, iii, 342, 344, 346-7).

Al-Ramlī's printed works include *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj* (8 vols., Cairo 1286, Būlāḳ 1292, and later), *Ghāyat al-bayān fī sharḥ zubad Ibn Raslān* (Būlāḳ 1291, Cairo 1305, and later), and his collection of his father's *Fatāwā* (on the margin of Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī's *al-Fatāwā al-kubrā*, Cairo 1308, 1329, and later) (Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt al-arabiyya wa 'l-muʿarraba*, Cairo 1346/1928, i, 952). The title-page of the *Fatāwā* gives al-Ramlī's lineage as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad (*sic*) b. Ḥamza, which apparently led Hurgronje, *Versp. Geschr.*, ii, 333 n. 1, to misidentify the *Fatāwā* as those of Aḥmad al-Ramlī, "the brother [*sic*] of the author of the *Nihāya*", although he later, *ibid.*, 423 n. 1, again erroneously, identified them as those of Shams al-Dīn.

The *nisba* al-Ramlī refers to the Egyptian village Ramlat al-Manūfiyya (al-Shaʿrānī, 67 and al-Zabīdī, *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, vii, 352, s.v. Ramla). This is the present-day Ramlat Banhā (lat. 30° 26′ N, long. 31° 10′ E) (U.S. Dept. of Interior, Office of Geography, *Gazeteer No. 45, Egypt and the Gaza Strip*, Washington, D.C. 1959, 57) in al-Ḳalyūbiyya Province (M. Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1954-68, ii/1, 19; H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern*, Wiesbaden 1979-82, ii, 669 and Map 24), incorrectly identified as Ramlat al-Angeb by Winter (*Society and religion*, 221).

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Biographies of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ramlī: Shaʿrānī, 67-9; Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, ed. Djibrāʾīl Sulaymān Djabbūr, Beirut 1945-58, ii, 119-20; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, Cairo 1350-1, viii, 316; Ziriklī, i, 120; Kaḥḥāla, i, 224; *Fihris al-khizāna al-taymūriyya*, ii, 115-6; Brockelmann II², 416, S II, 440. Both Brockelmann and Sarkīs, i, 951-2, apparently following the title-page of the *Fatāwā* (see above), give Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ramlī's name as Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamza, creating some confusion (e.g. Kahhāla, i, 147-8) with another student of Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamza al-Ramlī (d. *ca.* 971/1563), whom the sources (*al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, iii, 111, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 359), however, do not connect with the two jurists discussed here.

C. Snouck Hurgronje frequently called attention to the authority in the Shāfiʿī school of the commentaries on al-Nawawī's *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* of Ibn Ḥadjar and al-Ramlī as illustrative of the force of consensus in Islamic law (e.g. *Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn-Leipzig-Leiden 1923-7, ii, 331-2, 355, 387-8, iv/1, 105, 288-90, vi, 8). The points of disagreement between al-Ramlī and Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī are collected in ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd Bā Ṣabrayn (d. 1304/1887), *Ithmid al-ʿaynayn fī baʿḍ ikhtilāf al-shaykhayn*, printed on the margin of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Bā ʿAlawī, *Bughyat al-mustarshidīn*, Cairo 1952, which, however, does not extend beyond the *ʿibādāt*. (A. Zysow)

RĀMPUR, a former Muslim-ruled princely

state of Rohil**kh**and [*q.v.*] in northern India. In British times, the state was under the political supervision of the government of the United Provinces. In the post-1947 Indian Union, Rāmpur became a district of Uttar Prade**sh**, bounded on the north by Nainī Tāl, on the east by Bareilly, on the south by Badā'ūn and on the west by Murādābād districts, with an area of 2,318 km^2/895 sq. miles and a population in 1961 of 701,537; in 1931, 45% of the population was Muslim.

The early history of Rāmpur is that of the growth of Rohilla power [see ROHILLAS] in Rohil**kh**and. After the establishment of Muslim rule in India, large bodies of Af**gh**āns or Paṭhāns settled down in the country. So powerful did they become that they were twice able to establish their rule in northern India, under the Lodīs [*q.v.*] in the second half of the 15th century, and under the Sūrs [*q.v.*] in the time of **Sh**īr **Sh**āh. After the death of Awrangzīb and with the decline of the Mu**gh**al empire, Af**gh**ān settlements increased until in the words of the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* "they seemed to shoot up out of the ground like so many blades of grass". The name Rohilla was applied to those Af**gh**āns who settled in what is now known as Rohil**kh**and.

The real founders of Rohilla power were an Af**gh**ān adventurer, named Dāwūd **Kh**ān, who arrived in India immediately after the death of Awrangzīb, and his adopted son, ʿAlī Muḥammad **Kh**ān, who succeeded him as leader of a band of mercenary troops. It was during the lifetime of ʿAlī Muḥammad **Kh**ān that his possessions came to be called Rohil**kh**and or the land of the Rohillas. In course of time, ʿAlī Muḥammad **Kh**ān became so powerful that he refused any longer to pay his revenues to the central government, in which course he was encouraged by the anarchy consequent upon the invasion of Nādir **Sh**āh [*q.v.*]. The growth of his power so alarmed Ṣafdar **Dj**ang [*q.v.*] of Ou**dh** [see AWA**DH**] that he persuaded the emperor to send and expedition against him, as a result of which ʿAlī Muḥammad **Kh**ān surrendered to the imperial forces and was taken prisoner to Dihlī. After a time he was pardoned and appointed governor of Sirhind. In 1748, according to the *Gulistān-i raḥmat*, he was transferred to Rohil**kh**and, but it seems more probable that he took advantage of the invasion of Aḥmad **Sh**āh Durrānī [*q.v.*] to recover his former possessions. Two factors had contributed to the growth of Rohilla power: the weakness of the central government and the fact that they were able to take advantage of the internal struggles between the various Rā**dj**put chiefs and *zamīndārs* of Rohil**kh**and.

ʿAlī Muḥammad **Kh**ān left six sons, but the absence of the two eldest in Af**gh**ānistān, combined with the extreme youth of the other four, meant that all real power remained in the hands of a group of Rohilla *sardārs*, the most important of whom were Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat **Kh**ān [*q.v.*] and Dūndi **Kh**ān. This naturally produced intrigues and disputes and eventually weakened the Rohilla power.

In 1771 the Marāthās [*q.v.*] turned their attention to the conquest of Rohil**kh**and, whereupon the Rohillas applied for aid to **Sh**u**dj**āʿ al-Dawla, the *nawāb-wazīr* of Ou**dh**. It was agreed that **Sh**u**dj**āʿ al-Dawla should receive forty lakhs of rupees for his services (Aitchison, i, 6-7), but the Rohillas later refused to abide by their pecuniary engagements. In accordance with his promise at the Conference of Benares in 1773, Warren Hastings agreed to assist the *nawāb-wazīr* in expelling the Rohillas from Rohil**kh**and, for which he was to receive forty lakhs of rupees. On 23 April 1774, the Rohillas were defeated and their leader, Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat **Kh**ān, slain. At the end of this war Fayḍ Allāh **Kh**ān, a son of ʿAlī Muḥammad **Kh**ān, concluded a treaty with **Sh**u**dj**āʿ al-Dawla at Laldang (India Office mss., Bengal Secret Consultations, 31 October 1774; see also extracts from the Persian interpreter's journal, 14 February 1775).

By this treaty, Fayḍ Allāh **Kh**ān received a *djāgīr* consisting of Rāmpur and other districts with a revenue estimated at approximately fifteen lakhs of rupees. To prevent him from becoming a menace to Ou**dh**, he was not allowed to retain in his service more than 5,000 troops. After the death of **Sh**u**dj**āʿ al-Dawla, in 1775, Fayḍ Allāh **Kh**ān was informed that his engagements with the late *nawāb-wazīr* still continued in force with his son, Āṣaf al-Dawla (Bengal Secret Consultations, 17 April 1775. Draft correspondence with the Country Powers, no. 34).

In 1780, the English Company needed additional troops and Hastings urged Āṣaf al-Dawla to demand from Fayḍ Allāh **Kh**ān the 5,000 horses he had engaged to supply by treaty. This demand for cavalry was an unwarrantable interpretation of the Treaty of Laldang for which no justification has ever been attempted. In 1781 Hastings empowered Āṣaf al-Dawla to resume Fayḍ Allāh **Kh**ān's *djāgīr*, but fortunately this order was never carried out, and it was eventually decided to solve the problem by means of a fresh agreement whereby the obligation to provide troops for the *nawāb-wazīr*'s service was commuted under the Company's guarantee to a cash payment of fifteen lakhs of rupees. In 1801, on the cession of Rohil**kh**and to the British, Fayḍ Allāh **Kh**ān's descendants were continued in their possessions. For his services in the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, Muḥammad Yūsuf ʿAlī **Kh**ān, the ruler of Rāmpur, received a grant of land and was assured by *sanad* that, on the failure of natural heirs, any succession in his state, which might be legitimate according to Islamic law, would be upheld by the Government of India.

Modern Rāmpur City, situated on the left bank of the Kosi River in lat. 28° 48′ N., long. 79° 03′ E., had a population in 1961 of 135,407. The rulers of Rāmpur were great patrons of learning, and the state-supported Madrasa ʿAliyya attracted for its Arabic teaching students from as far as Central Asia; the modern Raḍā College is affiliated to Agra University. Rampur also has a famed library with an outstanding collection of Islamic manuscripts.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES*)

RAMZ (A.), a verbal noun with the original meaning of "winking", "signalling with your eyes and eyebrows, or by forming words with your mouth without a sound" (see also section 3. below, first para.). This developed into a concrete noun, with the pl. *rumūz*, denoting a variety of indirect methods of ex-

pression, such as "allusion", "symbol", "cypher".

1. In rhetoric.

Here the term is used sparingly. It does have its place in the scholastic discipline based on al-Sakkākī's (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]) *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, where it denotes a specific subcategory of *kināya* [*q.v.*], here used in the sense of "circumlocution" ("leaving the direct mention of a thing for the mention of something concomitant with it" (*Miftāḥ*, 402); note that the definitory statements in the entry KINĀYA do not always reflect the Sakkākī tradition). More specifically, *ramz* has the following position within al-Sakkākī's system: the *kināya* is characterised either by oblique intention, in which case it is called *taʿrīḍ*, or not so; the latter is characterised either by many intermediaries between the allusion and the thing alluded to—this is called *talwīḥ*—or by few; if the latter, it is either marked by a certain obscurity (*khufya*)—this is *ramz*—or it is not, in which case it is called *ishāra* or *īmāʾ* (*Miftāḥ*, 411-12). An example is *ʿarīḍ al-wisāda* "with flattened pillow", meaning "sleepy, stupid." This system ultimately finds its way into the nineteenth-century Western handbooks (Mehren, Ar. text, 46, 62; 95-6; Garcin de Tassy, 75). It is noteworthy that *ramz* does not occur in the great compilations outside the Sakkākī tradition, such as the *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr* of Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ (d. 654/1256) and the *Badīʿiyya* commentaries of Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434 [*q.v.*]), Ibn Maʿṣūm (d. 1117/1705), and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731 [*q.v.*]).

Earlier, the term *ramz* is used by Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1064 or later [*q.v.*]) for one of the thirteen subcategories of *ishāra*, "allusion", although for lack of a definition one cannot clearly identify its meaning (*ʿUmda*, i, 305-6). The two examples adduced by the author allow the assumption that it refers to an enigmatic turn of phrase, which can only be solved with reference to an earlier line of poetry—though, whether or not this last qualification is a necessary prerequisite cannot be said with any certainty. The first example is by an anonymous ancient poet: "As bloodmoney for her husband I have paid her the counting of pebbles at morning time or in the darkness of every evening." The enigmatic "counting of pebbles" is explained as going back to a line of Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*]: "I remained [there] sitting with my tunic over my head, counting the pebbles, my tears never ceasing." (*Dīwān*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, no. 6, v. 3); in other words, it is a sign of grief, and grief is all she will ever receive. Ibn Rashīḳ's jumble of *ishāra* subcategories is brought into a neat logical system, bearing little resemblance to al-Sakkākī's, by al-Sidjilmāsī (d. after 704/1304-5), who enumerates *laḥn* (letter riddle), *ramz*, *tawriya* (mispointing information for secrecy), and *ḥadhf* (truncation of words) as different types of *taʿmiya* (mystification), which in turn is a subcategory of *ishāra*. Since again *ramz* is not defined and only exemplified by a single *shāhid*, it cannot be adequately identified; however, the author does call it "riddle-like (*lughzī*). Thus, whereas in the Sakkākī tradition *ramz* belongs to the genus of "circumlocution", with the Maghribī authors it is one of a number of literary types of riddles. The enigmatic plays a role in both.

2. Related uses.

(a) *Ramz* as "code." Ibn Wahb al-Kātib (first half of 4th/10th century) includes a chapter on *ramz* in his book on the four ontological stages of expressivity (i.e. *bayān* on the successive levels of the thing, thought, speech, and writing). Since the author deals with the conveyance of information in a general rather than a strictly literary sense, *ramz* here has the meaning of "code", especially "code names" (*Burhān*, 137-8). The sender (*mutakallim*) would use, for a word or a letter, the name of a bird or a wild animal or another letter; the resulting message would be clear to sender and recipient, but cryptic to anyone else (*marmūz^an ʿan ghayrihimā*). The author contends that the books of the ancient philosophers and scientists were full of *rumūz*, most of all those of Plato. Furthermore, there are highly important *rumūz* in the Ḳurʾān, from which one may prognosticate the major events of Islamic history, the duration of reigns, momentous upheavals, etc. This refers to the mysterious letters and to the oaths at the beginning of a number of suras. Knowledge of this code belongs to the Imāms, who have been entrusted with the knowledge of the Ḳurʾān. Here the author reveals his Shīʿī persuasion.

The idea that the Ancient sages used *rumūz* to make their writings inaccessible to the uninitiated is not uncommon. One has to distinguish here between (1) the level of language, i.e. *rumūz* in the sense of code-names, symbols, and allegories, and (2) the level of script, i.e. *rumūz* meaning secret characters and alphabets.

(i) The Ismāʿīlī thinker Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/933 [*q.v.*]) says that the ancient philosophers were used to coining analogies (*ḍarb al-amthāl*), in which they followed the methods of the prophets (*dhahabū ... madhhab al-anbiyāʾ*); people say that most of Plato's speech is *ramz* (*Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, *apud* Kraus, *Jābir*, ii, 274). Occult sciences such as alchemy are particularly prone to the use of such codes. The author of the Djābir corpus again mentions Plato as the most typical representative of *ramz* use (*ibid.*, 281) and contrasts him with Aristotle who uses *ighmāḍ*, "obscurity," rather than *ramz* for the same effect (*ibid.*, 48). He himself, although conversant with the Ancients' use of *rumūz*, does not approve of it, using instead the principle of *tabdīd al-ʿilm*, "the scattering of knowledge" throughout the corpus with elaborate cross-references, to make access to the "art" difficult for the unworthy (*ibid.*, 32-3). Because of the enigmatic language of the Ancients—here he uses the term *lughz*—their books are less profitable than those of the moderns (*mutaʾakhkhirūn*, i.e. the Arabs), who are the commentators (*mufassirūn*) of the Ancients (*ibid.*, 281). This attitude did not, however, diminish the popularity of *rumūz* in later alchemical writings. Nor did it inhibit philosophers like Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037 [*q.v.*]) and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191 [*q.v.*]) from composing stories in the allegorical-symbolic mode.

(ii) One specific type of *ramz* was the secret alphabet. Ibn Waḥshiyya (first half of 4th/10th century [*q.v.*]) is credited with a collection of existing scripts, entitled *Shawḳ al-mustahām fī maʿrifat rumūz al-aḳlām*, "The yearning of the infatuated for the knowledge of the signs of the alphabets" (cf. also MUʿAMMĀ). This is a strange mixture of (a) regular alphabets (Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, and others), (b) invented alphabets said to be those of ancient nations, such as the Nabaṭ [*q.v.*] and the Chaldaeans, (c) secret alphabets attributed to various ancient philosophers, sages, and kings (including the well-known tree script, *al-ḳalam al-mushadjdjar*, attributed to Dioscorides and, in another form, to Plato, and the spectacled script invented by "Ḳalafṭariyūs" (cf. the *ḳalafṭīriyyāt*, χαρακτῆρες "Brillenbuchstaben", see Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 362), (d) planetary and zodiacal alphabets for magical purposes, and (e) the non-alphabetical symbols invented by the Hermeses (*Harāmisa*), which they wrote on Egyptian temples and pyramids and "made as a

shield for their sciences and treasures" (*fa-dja*ʿ*alū hādhihi 'l-rumūz*^{a} *sitr*^{an} ʿ*alā* ʿ*ulūmihim wa-kunūzihim*, Ibn Waḥshiyya, 91-2). The latter clearly refer to the hieroglyphs, and a number of them are easily recognisable, albeit fancifully explained, in Ibn Waḥshiyya's book. The double function of these symbols becomes clear: they are said to encode (a) occult (alchemical, magical, astrological) knowledge, and (b) information about hidden treasures. In his book on the pyramids, Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī (d. 649/1251) reports about people who claim to be able to decode—*ḥall al-rumūz*—the hieroglyphs (*al-kalam al-birbāwī*) and thus to find the hidden treasures (*Ahrām*, 36, 61, 141). As a result of this idea *Ḥall* (or *Fakk*) *al-rumūz fī kashf al-kunūz* becomes a very popular book-title, not only in the field of the occult sciences (cf. Brockelmann, I^{2}, 139-40, S I, 144, 430, 531, 712, 783, S II, 768, etc., and the indices of *GAS*).

In all this, it is important to be aware of the fact that the *ramz*, whether linguistic or graphic symbol, can be used for encoding as well as for decoding, and that the latter, interpretive, function may be applied to texts that were not encoded in the first place. Allegories of non-allegorical technical writings (cf. e.g. Kraus, *Jābir*, p. 12-13, n. 7) and symbolic interpretation of hieroglyphs are both instances of this phenomenon.

(b) *Ramz* as "symbolic action". This may refer to cryptic messages conveyed by sending certain objects that the recipient needs to interpret. In a chapter entitled "cryptic remarks (*rumūz*) current among literary men and their playing with allusions (*ma*ʿ*ārīḍ*) which only the eloquent can understand", Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Djurdjānī (d. 482/1089) enumerates many cases in which the *rumūz* are enigmatic references to poetical lines, but also some where the language of objects is used. These, he says, are very hard to solve, because they are restricted to the mere acts (*al-iḳtiṣār* ʿ*alā mudjarrad al-fi*ʿ*l*) without words (*Kināyāt*, 71-85, esp. 79). Al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418 [*q.v.*]) gives a few examples of such wordless messages as used in diplomacy (*Ṣubḥ al-a*ʿ*shā*, ix, 249-51 [= ch. on *al-rumūz wa 'l-ishārāt allatī lā ta*ʿ*alluḳ lahā bi 'l-khaṭṭ wa 'l-kitāba*], tr. C.E. Bosworth, in *Arabica*, x [1963], 148-53). In a different way, the term *ramz* is used by Ibn Abī ('l-)Sarḥ (wrote 274/887) to denote the superstitious acts of the ancient Arabs, on which he was the first to write a comprehensive work (*Rumūz*, ed. Ḥusayn, 641-42; tr. Bellamy, 227). He actually uses the construct *ramz al-nafs*, not yet satisfactorily explained, and divides the *rumūz* into three categories: supernatural, natural, and mixed.

(c) *Rumūz* as "sigla". This modern meaning is already attested in mediaeval contexts. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUkbarī (*fl.* 665/1267), in his *Madjma*ʿ *al-akwāl fī ma*ʿ*ānī al-amthāl*, uses thirty different abbreviations to indicate his sources after each proverb and calls these signal *rumūz* (see A.J. Arberry, in *JAL*, i [1970], 109-10).

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3. In mystical and other esoterical discourse. Like its counterpart, *ramz* originally meant "gesture" or "sign", usually a silent one, especially a speechless movement of the lips practiced by interlocutors in order to conceal the contents of their conversation from a third party. By extension, the term also denotes any silent gesture made by the hand, the head, the eyes, the eyebrows, etc. (see *LA*, s.v. *r-m-z*; al-Fīrūzābādi, *al-Ḳāmūs*, Beirut n.d., ii, 183-4). In this sense, *ramz* appears in the Ḳur'ān, III, 41, where God bids Zakariyyā' "not to speak to the people except by gesture" (*ramz*^{an}). While the majority of commentators agree that *ramz* here is synonymous with either *ishāra* or *īmā'* (yet another word for a silent sign), al-Ṭabarī adds that in pre-Islamic poetry it also meant an unintelligible murmur or whisper (see al-Ṭabari, *Djāmi*ʿ *al-bayān*, Beirut 1984, iii, 259-60). For al-Thaʿālibī, *ramz* is "movement indicative of what is [concealed] in the heart of the gesturer (*rāmiz*)", and also "a speech deflected from its apparent meaning (*muḥarraf* ʿ*an ẓāhirihi*)", i.e. a symbolic and allegoric speech *par excellence* (see his *Djawāhir al-ḥisān*, Beirut n.d., i, 264-5). In both cases, *ramz* is viewed as the opposite of *taṣrīḥ*, an unequivocal declaration of one's feelings and intentions. These two terms, together with their synonyms, became closely associated with the major opposition between the explicit style of thinking and narration and that involving deliberate ambiguity, an opposition that pervades Muslim intellectual culture as a whole [see ẒĀHIR and BĀṬIN].

As a statement implying more than its words and thus evoking a host of various associations, *ramz* was employed by mediaeval literary critics (see above, section 1.). In its broader meaning, *ramz* was often used to describe literary works which utilised the allegoric language, vague symbols, allusions and obliquities, e.g. "an allegorised poem" (*ḳaṣīda marmūza*), mentioned by al-Maḳḳarī [*q.v.*] (*Analectes*, i, 608).

In early Ṣūfī literature, it was also overshadowed by *ishāra*. A striking example of the wide currency enjoyed by the latter word is Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's [*q.v.*] *al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya*, in which Ṣūfī knowledge is forthrightly equated with the capacity to comprehend mystical symbols and allusions. Throughout the work, the author constantly referred to them as *ishārāt* but never as *rumūz* (see al-Tawḥīdī, *op. cit.*, ed. Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, ^{2}Beirut 1982). In other Ṣūfī writings, *ramz* almost invariably appears in conjunction with, or as an explanation of, *ishāra*. According to early Ṣūfī authors, symbolic language and allusions play a double role. On the one hand, they are the only way to

convey the elusive spiritual experiences and ineffable visions bestowed upon the "friends of God" (*awliyāʾ* [see WALĪ]). On the other, they effectively preserve the essence of these higher mysteries and insights from the uninitiated, who should satisfy themselves with the "externals" (*ẓāhir*) of religion. Hence the knowledge of *rumūz* pertains exclusively to the Ṣūfī masters, and is not to be divulged to the outsiders (see *Adab al-mulūk. Ein Handbuch zur islamischen Mystik aus dem 4./10. Jahrhundert*, ed. B. Radtke, Beirut 1991, 20, 34, 70-1). Attesting the importance of the word *ramz* for the mystical doctrines of the Ṣūfīs, Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj (d. 378/988) included *ramz* in his list of the specifically Ṣūfī terms. According to this author, *ramz* designates "an inner meaning hidden under the guise of outer speech, which no one will grasp except for its people (*ahluhu*)." Such symbols should be looked for primarily in the correspondence between the Ṣūfī masters, rather than in works addressed to the uninitiated reader (al-Sarrādj, *al-Lumaʿ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Ṭāhā Surūr, Baghdād 1960, 414, cf. 314). Rūzbihān Baḳlī Shīrāzī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]), who cites a similar definition of *ramz*, adds that it allows one to grasp "the mysteries of the unseen by means of the subtleties of knowledge, which, in turn, find their expression in the language of mystery through the words opposite to their meanings" (*Commentaire sur les paradoxes des soufis*, ed. H. Corbin, Tehran-Paris 1966, 561). Thus, when dealing with the language of the Ṣūfīs, one should be careful in distinguishing between the verbal shell (*lafẓ*) and the kernel of an allusion (*ramzuhu*). A person unaware of such a symbolic method of expression can be easily misled by some Ṣūfī utterances and condemn them as an expression of the worst kind of unbelief. At the same time, a more perspicacious interpreter will find them in complete accord with the inner meaning (*bāṭin*) of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna (see Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī, *Ḥall al-rumūz wa-mafātīḥ al-kunūz*, Cairo 1961, 5-20, *et passim*). In a sense, the opposition between *lafẓ* and *ramz* reflects the irreducible contradiction between the normative, outward aspects of religion (*sharīʿa* [*q.v.*]), and its spiritualised interpretation and interiorisation practiced by the Ṣūfī gnostics (*ḥaḳīḳa* [*q.v.*]). To Ṣūfī authors, *rumūz* appeared to be the most convenient way to express the latter without disclosing it to those from whom it ought to be withheld (see al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, ed. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ ʿAfīfī, Cairo 1382/1964, 40).

Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]), who often treats *ramz* as a synonym of *lughz* [*q.v.*] (puzzle or enigma), defines it as "a speech which does not convey the meaning implied by the speaker". In his view, the use of *ramz* is not an end in itself, because what matters is the implicit meaning behind it. Due to his overall proclivity toward allegorisation of reality, Ibn al-ʿArabī tends to envision the whole cosmos as a giant arrangement of symbols that require an explanation. In keeping with their ability (or inability) to comprehend the true meaning of these cosmic symbols (which, in many respects, are similar to the verbal symbols and allusions permeating revelation), people are divided into several categories ranging from the greatest knowers, the "men of symbols" (*ridjāl al-rumūz*), who can grasp the allegorical meaning of all things and events through supersensory unveiling (*kashf* [*q.v.*]), to the ignorant populace, who accept everything at face value and are, therefore, doomed to wander in darkness. Ibn al-ʿArabī's *magnum opus*, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, abounds in descriptions of various symbolic events and personalities, whose real meaning is sometimes disclosed but, more often, is tantalisingly left open to a wide variety of interpretations. On many occasions, Ibn al-ʿArabī draws close parallels between Ṣūfī modes of self-expression and poetic language, both of which, in his view, endeavour to clothe their meanings in intricate symbols and allegories. No wonder that in his major works, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, this author normally introduces his daring insights in the form of symbolic verses, then proceeds to elucidate them in prose (*al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, ed. O. Yaḥyā and I. Madkūr, Cairo 1972–, i, 67, 218, 251, iii, 120, 196-7, 201, etc.; *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ ʿAfīfī, Beirut 1946, *passim*; cf. idem, *Dīwān*, Bulāḳ 1271/1855, *passim*). Stressing Ibn al-ʿArabī's propensity for an abstruse and allegoric style meant to hide his real intentions, his compatriot Ibn Khātima [*q.v.*] wrote that this Ṣūfī thinker "spoke from behind the veil (*ḥidjāb*), fortifying himself with [the use of] *ramz* in an impenetrable mountain citadel, and seeking refuge in the *ishāra* of dubious import" (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ fī akhbār ʿIyāḍ*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī, Cairo 1361/1942, iii, 54-5).

Ibn Sīnā's [*q.v.*] usage of *ramz* is a corollary to his theory of prophecy which, in his view, should of necessity be communicated to the masses in a symbolic or allegorical form lest they misinterpret the prophetic message, thus ruining the divinely-established order. Therefore, the prophet "should inform them (sc. the masses) about God's majesty and greatness through symbols (*rumūz*) and images (*amthila*) derived from things that for them are majestic and great." The same is true concerning other articles of faith, e.g. divine punishment and reward, destiny (*ḳadar*), etc. Basically, however, symbols communicate the same knowledge that can be stated in demonstrative or expository language employed by the rational philosophers (see D. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian tradition*, Leiden 1988, 300-1). Because "the majority of humans are ruled not by pure intellect but rather by their lower passions", they are unqualified to grasp such an abstract language and the syllogistic argumentation it conveys. Conversely, symbols and images primarily appeal to imagination and not to intellect. Hence they are more likely to be comprehended by uncultured minds (see P. Heath, *Allegory and philosophy in Avicenna*, Philadelphia 1992, 150-2). Irrespective of whether or not Ibn Sīnā actually regarded the allegorical method of communication as inferior to the demonstrative and expository (Gutas, *op. cit.*, 302; cf. Heath, *op. cit.*, 153-65), he was convinced that "those individuals with philosophical propensities" were in a position to penetrate the authentic meaning of the symbols found in the revelation, and would eventually acquire a philosophical vision of the universe (Gutas, *op. cit.*, 307). A similar view of the function of *ramz* was adopted by the later philosophers of Muslim Spain, namely Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd [*q.vv.*]. According to the former, "pure truth does not at all suit the vulgar, enslaved by senses." In order "to penetrate those materialistic intelligences, ... it is obliged to clothe itself with the wisdom that constitutes the revealed religions", in other words, with symbols and allegories (L. Gauthier, *Ibn Thofaïl*, Paris 1909, 63). Symbols can also be helpful as a means to present some abstract philosophical ideas. Thus Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* [*q.v.*] may be taken as a symbolic representation of the evolution undergone by the human active intellect. Ibn Rushd seems to have envisaged *ramz* as an essential part of rhetoric argument (as opposed to demonstrative and dialectical), which the prophets address to their communities because most of the people are not intellectually mature

enough to understand the more sophisticated types of discourse. This fact accounts for the necessity to explicate revelation allegorically [see TAʾWĪL] with a view to reconciling it with the conclusions reached through the syllogistic argument.

Proponents of messianic expectations, who sought to substantiate their claims regarding the imminent advent of the *mahdī* [*q.v.*] by exploiting the numerical values and occult properties of the Arabic characters, often viewed the latter as *rumūz*—esoteric signs pointing to the inevitable fulfillment of their predictions. To decipher such signs contained, for instance, in the mysterious letters preceding some Ḳurʾānic sūras and the divine names [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ, and cf. above, section 2(a), first para.], Muslim esotericists—primarily, the S̲h̲īʿa, including the Ismāʿīlīs, and some Ṣūfī leaders harbouring messianic hopes—practiced elaborate divinatory techniques known as *d̲j̲afr* [*q.v.*; see also ḤURŪF]. Ḳurʾānic stories and certain *ḥadīt̲h̲*, mostly of an esthatological nature, were also treated by the esoterically-minded Muslims as symbols and signs, whose true meaning could only be elucidated by means of an allegoric interpretation. A curious mixture of Ismāʿīlī and Ṣūfī views utilising both types of *ramz* can be observed in a divinatory poem by a purported Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* [*q.v.*], ʿĀmir b. ʿĀmir al-Baṣrī, d. in the early 8th/14th century (see Y. Marquet, *Poésie ésotérique ismaïlienne*, Paris 1985, 73-4, 81, 101, etc.; cf., however, Ibn ʿArabī, *ʿAnḳāʾ mug̲h̲rib*, Cairo n.d., where in similar predictions the word *ramz* is never mentioned).

Aḥmad al-Būnī (d. 622/1225 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), the celebrated fortune teller and master of "letter magic" (*sīmiyya*), considered the usage of *rumūz* to be part and parcel of the occult sciences permitting to predict the future. As in the case with the philosophers and Ṣūfīs, symbols, according to al-Būnī, perform the twofold function. They conceal the secrets of the divinatory procedures from the uninitiated, while at the same time helping to impart them to the deserving few (see *Manbaʿ uṣūl al-ḥikma*, Cairo 1370/1951, 5, 6, 325).

Interestingly, *ramz* (spelt *rams*) is one of the few Arabic words mentioned by the great Catalan philosopher, missionary, and mystic Ramon Llull (d. 1316), for whom it apparently meant a tropological-moral purport behind some scriptural parables (see Ch. Lohr, *Christianus arabicus*, in *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, xxxi [1984], 59). Normally, however, when referring to the moral lessons contained in the Ḳurʾānic text, Muslim exegetes would rather use such terms as *mat̲h̲al* [*q.v.*] and *ḥadd* (see G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam*, Berlin 1980, 138-41).

4. In modern Arabic literature.

In this literature, which took shape under the strong influence of European literary trends, *ramz* became an exact equivalent of the Western term "symbol" defined as "a deliberate use of a word or a phrase to signify something else, not by analogy (for, unlike metaphor and simile, it lacks a paired subject), but by implication and reference" (S. Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, ii, 709). As in the West, in the Middle East also, an acute interest in, and extensive use of, symbols gave rise to a literary movement known as "symbolism" (*al-ramziyya*) that flourished from the 1920s to the 1940s, but then gradually lost ground as a cohesive literary trend. Its representatives, primarily poets such as Adīb Maẓhar, Saʿīd ʿAḳl, Bis̲h̲r Fāris, and, to a lesser extent, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-S̲h̲ābbī have employed symbol as "a vehicle for feelings, for complex and valuable states of awareness" as well as a means to express an idea or a set of ideas. While most of the Arab symbolists drew their inspiration from the European literary notions of "universal relationships" and "latent affinities" which they sought to convey through symbolist imagery (K. Abu Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī's theory of poetic imagery*, Warminster, Wilts. 1979, 124-6; Jayyusi, *op. cit.*, 478-81), they seem to have neglected the fact that similar approaches to creative process had already been maintained, albeit spontaneously and unconsciously, by their Muslim predecessors, namely, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī and many other mediaeval Ṣūfī poets, who communicated their non-rational and intuitive perception of being by having recourse to elaborate symbols and allegories (see e.g. Ibn al-Fāriḍ's masterful use of wine symbolism to convey his mystical vision of reality, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1962, 140-3). Ṣūfī imagery and symbols were more readily adopted by the less Westernised poets and prose writers, who, being well versed in the Islamic *turāt̲h̲*, succeeded in creating original works in which Islamic and Western influences were inextricably intertwined (see, e.g. Nad̲j̲īb Maḥfūẓ, Adūnīs, Muẓaffar al-Nawwāb, D̲j̲amāl al-G̲h̲īṭānī, etc.). On the other hand, some symbols, which became particularly popular with the modern Arab poets (e.g. the sea, the rain, the wind etc.), have suffered from over-use and have gradually developed into mere conventions devoid of any poetic originality (Jayyusi, *op. cit.*, 710).

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(A. KNYSH)

RAN [see NĀẒIM ḤIKMET].

RĀṆĀ SĀṆGĀ (reigned 915-35/1509-28), Rād̲j̲pūt ruler of the kingdom of Mēwāṛ [*q.v.*] on the borders of Rād̲j̲āsthān and Mālwā, with his capital at Čitawṛ. He was a strenuous opponent of the Muslim rulers of northern and western India in the years before Bābur's establishment of the Mug̲h̲al empire, and under him, Mēwāṛ became a major power in India.

In the first 15 years of his reign, he made firm his power within Mēwāṛ and strengthened his position vis-à-vis his Muslim neighbours. The reaction of the ruler of Mālwā, Maḥmūd II K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī, against the ascendancy of his Rād̲j̲pūt *wazīr* Mēdinī Rāʾī [*q.v.*], led in 923/1517 to Maḥmūd's seeking military assistance from Muẓaffar II of Gud̲j̲arāt [*q.v.*], whereupon Mēdinī Rāʾī in Māndū sought in turn the aid of Rāṇā Sāṇgā. In 925/1519 the latter decisively defeated Maḥmud, capturing him and only releasing him the next year on payment of a war indemnity and the provision of hostages at the Mēwāṛ court, and in the next year Rāṇā Sāṇgā successfully repelled an attack by the forces of Gud̲j̲arāt under Muẓaffar's general Malik Ayāz [*q.v.*].

He was, however, disposed to make peace because of his ambitions on the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] itself (after 923/1517 under the rule of Ibrāhīm Lōdī [see LŌDĪS]). A Lōdī invasion of Mēwāṛ was repelled, in part because of the temporary treachery of Ibrāhīm's Afg̲h̲ān commander Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Farmulī, and the power of Mēwāṛ was extended into Mālwā as far as Kalpī [*q.v.*] on the D̲j̲amnā river. Rāṇā Sāṇgā now proposed to the Mug̲h̲al Bābur [*q.v.*] a concerted attack on Ibrāhīm Lōdī. Bābur accordingly defeated Ibrāhīm at the first battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*] in 932/1526, but was now obviously aiming at establishing a kingdom in northern India for himself. Rāṇā Sāṇgā secured in effect control over Gud̲j̲arāt, but at the battle of K̲h̲ānuʾā near Fatḥpūr Sīkrī in 933/1527 the numerically superior Rād̲j̲pūt army was completely routed by Bābur. Rāṇā Sāṇgā himself died

a year later at the age of 46 and with him, Mēwāṙ lost its power as an independent kingdom.

Bibliography: R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people. The Delhi Sultanate*, Bombay 1960, 167-9, 183, 328, 339-47; G.N. Sharma, in M. Habib and K.A. Nizami (eds.), *A comprehensive history of India. v. The Delhi Sultanate*, New Delhi 1970, 797-802; and see the *Bibls.* to MĒDINĪ RĀʾĪ and MĒWĀṘ. (ED.)

RANGĪN, the *takhalluṣ* of several Indian poets. The *Riyāḍ al-wifāḳ* of Dhu 'l-Fiḳār ʿAlī, biographies of Indian poets who wrote in Persian, and the *Tadhkira* of Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān (analysed by Sprenger, *A catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustan mss... of the King of Oudh*, i, 168, 280) mention five of them. The first, a native of Kashmīr, lived in Dihlī in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48): his *ghazals* were sung by the dancing-girls.—The most celebrated, however, was Saʿādat Yār Khān of Dihlī. His father, Ṭahmāsp Beg Khān Tūrānī, came to India with Nādir Shāh and settled in Dihlī where he attained the rank of *haft-hazārī* and the title of Muḥkim al-Dawla. In his turn, Saʿādat Yār Khān entered the service of Mīrzā Sulaymān Shikūh, son of the emperor Shāh ʿĀlam II, who lived in Lucknow. He was a good horseman and able soldier; for a time he commanded a part of the artillery of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, but he gave up this post to go into business. He was in his youth a friend of the poet Inshāʾ [*q.v.*] in Lucknow; a pupil of the poet Muḥammad Ḥātim of Dihlī (cf. Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, 48; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, 235), he afterwards submitted all his verses to the criticism of Nithār (cf. Sprenger, 273), then of Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*] (Saksena, 90); he died in 1251/1835 aged eighty (or a year later; cf. Garcin de Tassy).—The following are his works in Urdu: *Mathnawī dilpazīr*, a poem of romantic adventures (1213/1798); *Īdjād-i Rangīn, a mathnawī* of fables and anecdotes (Lucknow 1847, 1870); another *mathnawī* of anecdotes: *Maẓhar al-ʿadjāʾib* or *Gharāʾib al-mashʿūr* (lith. Agra and Lucknow); four *dīwāns* collectively known as *Naw ratan* ("the Nine Jewels"), the two first lyrical, the third humorous and partly in *rekhti* (language peculiar to women), the fourth in this same language with a preface by Rangīn explaining the principal words (on the development of *rekhti* and Rangīn's skill in this licentious genre (see URDŪ, and Saksena, *op. cit.*, 94); in prose a treatise on horsemanship (*Faras-nāma*, 1210/1775, several times edited) and a collection of critical observations on a number of poets, entitled *Madjālis-i Rangīn*. In Persian (if the work is really his; cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, 54, no. 462), Rangīn under the title *Mihr u-māh*, sang of the adventure of a son of a *sayyid* and of a daughter of a jeweller, based on an incident that occurred in Dihlī in the reign of Djahāngīr (cf. *GrIPh*, ii, 254).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see Garcin de Tassy, *Litt. hindouie et hindoustanie*², i, 45, ii, 2; Pertsch, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königl. Bibl. zu Berlin*, iv, index, 1157; Blumhardt, *Cat. of the..... Hindustani mss. in the British Museum*, no. 74. (H. MASSÉ)

RANGOON, a city of the Pegu district of Burma and the country's capital, situated on the Rangoon (Hlaing) River (lat. 16° 47′ N., 96° 10′ E.). It was developed as a port in the mid-18th century by the founder of the last dynasty of Burmese kings, with a British trading factory soon established there and with flourishing groups of Parsee, Armenian and Muslim merchants. In 1852, during the Second Anglo-Burmese War, it passed definitively under British control, and Rangoon became a more modern city, and also, through immigration, largely Indian in composition. These last included Muslims, who in 1931 comprised 17% of the city's population. But the Indian and European population was reduced by the Japanese occupation of 1941-5, and after Burma's opting for independence in 1948, the Indian and Muslim element in Rangoon was reduced still further by the policies of governments hostile to non-Burmese in general and Muslims in particular (for these in Burma, see ARAKAN, BURMA, MERGUI). Today, 90% of Rangoon is Burmese, with Muslims only a small part of the remaining 10%.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxi, 213-21; M. Yegen, *The Muslims of Burma, a study of a minority group*, Wiesbaden 1972; idem, *The Muslims of Burma*, in R. Israeli (ed.), *The crescent in the East, Islam in Asia Major*, London 1982, 102-39. (ED.)

AL-**RĀNĪRĪ** [see INDONESIA. vi].

RANK (P.), literally "colour, dye", a term used in mediaeval Arabic sources primarily to designate the emblems and insignia of *amīrs* and sultans in Egypt, Syria, and al-Djazīra. Mamlūk historians occasionally also use it as a generic term for emblem in general, such as the *ranks* of merchants' guilds (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, Cairo 1913-18, v, 207), those of Bedouin chieftains in Tunisia (Ibn Shaddād, *Taʾrīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, Wiesbaden 1983, 196), and, oddly, the *rank* of Ḳassām, a Damascene rebel under the Fāṭimids who lived even before the word was in common use (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *al-Durra al-muḍiyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1961, 195, 210). There is no indication otherwise that the term, or the practice of having *ranks*, was known beyond the historic or geographic limits of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk states.

From the Ayyūbid period there are a number of references to *ranks* (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, Cairo 1988, v, 296; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *al-Durra al-dhakiyya fi akhbār al-dawla al-turkiyya*, Cairo 1971, 56-7) but no corresponding, conclusive material to show how they looked. The fleur-de-lis associated with Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī (541-70/1146-74 [*q.v.*]), and the truncated bicephalic eagle in the Cairo Citadel attributed to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) are no longer accepted as *ranks* (L. Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, Oxford 1938, 152, 195; M. Meinecke, *Zur mamlukischen Heraldik*, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, xxviii [1972] 215-16). The earliest firmly established *rank* is the feline motif of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (658-76/1260-77 [*q.v.*]), many more or less identical examples of which are attested on buildings, coins, and other objects. From Baybars's time until the end of the Mamlūk period, *ranks* were adopted by sultans, *amīrs*, and perhaps other high officials. They were carved on buildings, painted on glass, wood, and pottery, engraved on metalwork, struck on coins, and embroidered or dyed on textiles. But the profusion of material evidence is not matched by contemporary textual testimony. Mayer counted less than fifty references in the sources he knew. Today, we have perhaps seventy. This paucity of historical information led early studies to consider *ranks* in terms of European heraldry, but most authors today caution against doing this and try to study *ranks* on their own terms.

Mamlūk *ranks* come in different shapes and forms. They may be monochromatic or multicolored, free-standing or enclosed in round, pointed, or polygonal shields. They first appeared as single-element emblems. Horizontal strips, called *shaṭfa* in the sources, were introduced to the shields in the early

14th century, and, in the 15th and early 16th centuries, *ranks* developed into composite shields with three fields, each containing one sign or more. Some rare *ranks* may be termed representative, such as the felines of Baybars, which may have implied power and courage or illustrated his own name *bay bars*, meaning "chief panther" in Ḳipčaḳ Turkish. Others are denotative, displaying the attribute of the office held by the *amīr*, such as Ḳawṣūn (d. 743/1342) who started his career as a cupbearer (*sāḳī*) and who carried a *rank* showing a cup. Still others combine more than one sign of office, or a sign and an image, such as the *rank* of Ṭuḳuztamur (d. 746/1345) which includes an eagle over a cup.

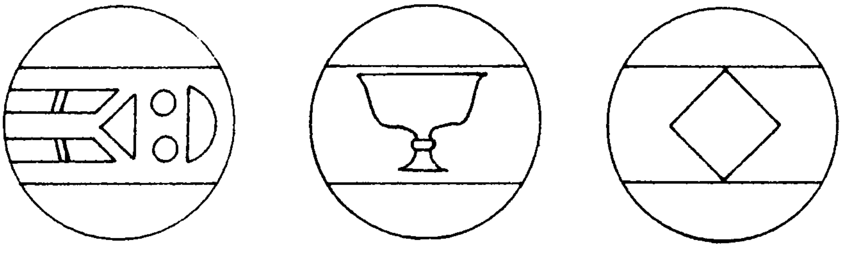

a *b* *c*

Fig. 1. Examples of single-element *ranks*: a) *rank* of *dawadar* (secretary); b) *rank* of *sāḳī* (cupbearer); c) *rank* of *djamdar* (wardrobe master). (Drawing Nasser Rabbat 1993).

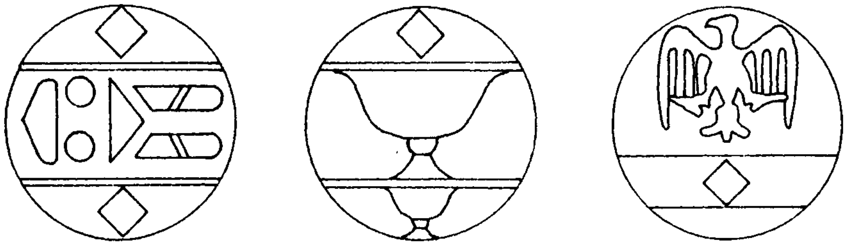

Fig. 2. Examples of composite *ranks*. (Drawing Nasser Rabbat 1993).

Initially, the sultan assigned *ranks* to his newly appointed *amīrs* as symbols of their positions at court (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *op. cit.*, vii, 4). Thus, for instance, the *rank* of a *dawādār* (secretary) [*q.v.*] was a pen box or an inkwell, and that of a *djamdār* (wardrobe master) [*q.v.*] was a lozenge. This practice may have been inherited from earlier Islamic rulers, notably the Khʷārazm-Shāh Muḥammad b. Tekish (596-617/1200-20), who is said to have honoured his close pages with emblems (designated by the Arabic term *ʿalāma*) representing their offices (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, Beirut 1979, vi, 49). *Amīrs* usually held their *ranks* for their entire careers, whether or not they subsequently held other offices. Midway in the Mamlūk period, *ranks* appear to have become the choice of the individual *amīr*, irrespective

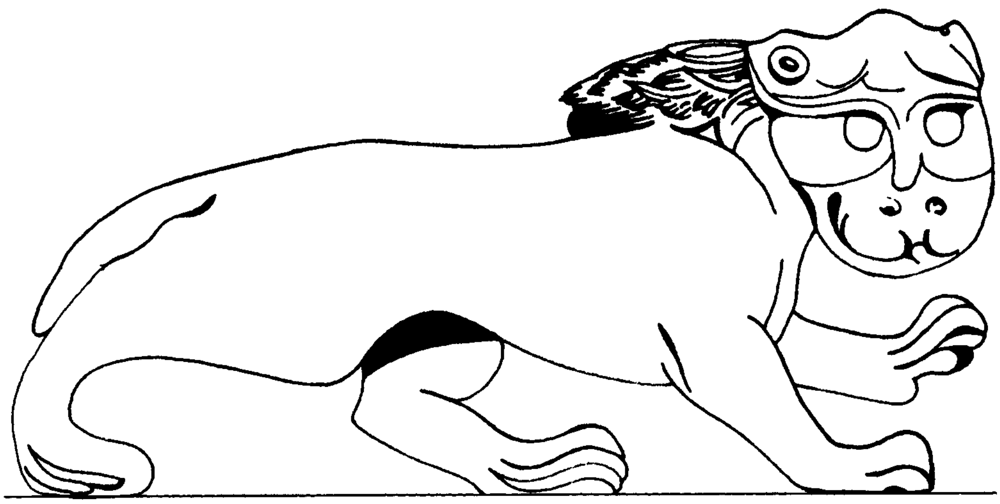

Fig. 3. Line drawing of the feline *rank* of Baybars (658-76/1260-77) as it appears on a recently-uncovered tower at the Citadel of Cairo. (Drawing Nasser Rabbat 1993).

of the insignia associated with his original office (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 61-2). Later still, *ranks* became composite, each containing a number of elements from a fixed repertoire disposed in three strips. Mayer noted that the composite *ranks* of a group of *amīrs* who were *mamlūks* of a given sultan exhibited the same arrangement (*Saracenic heraldry*, 29-33). They appear to have differed chiefly in the attribute of the position held by each individual which was inserted somewhere in his own *rank*. This may mean that *ranks* had by then become an indication of an affiliation with a royal household in addition to being a sign of office (see Meinecke, 258-78). Furthermore, additions to *ranks* appear to have been made as the *amīr* ascended up the Mamlūk hierarchy. Yashbak Min Mahdī *al-dawādār* added a lion (*sabuʿ*) to his *rank* in 885/1480 before he led a campaign to Anatolia (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, Cairo 1982-84, ii, 127).

Ranks of sultans were different from those of *amīrs*. Round, tripartite shields with the name, title, and a short motto inscribed on one, two, or all three strips became the norm in sultans' *ranks* from the beginning of the 14th century. But they were not exclusively utilised, especially in the Burdjī period (784-922/1382-1517) when most sultans were former *amīrs* with denotative *ranks*, which they sometimes displayed alongside their inscribed shields.

Very little is known about the significance of *ranks* in Mamlūk society. Like European nobility, sultans and *amīrs* seem to have used their *ranks* both as decipherable codes and as signatures displayed on their buildings and objects or on those they wanted to claim as their own (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *op. cit.*, xiii, 199). But, unlike coats-of-arms in Europe, *ranks* do not seem to have carried any heraldic potential. In rare instances, sons of *amīrs* who became *amīrs* themselves inherited their fathers' *ranks*. But even then, these individuals did not acquire the offices or privileges that had originally pertained to their fathers' *ranks*, perhaps because of the peculiar structure of the Mamlūk ruling class whose members passed their power to recruited *mamlūks* rather than to their own sons [see MAMLŪK]. This apparent absence of a hereditary mechanism may have been the major reason why the institution of *rank* died out after the fall of the Mamlūks and the coming of the Ottomans in 922/1517.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the text, see Meinecke, *Die Bedeutung der mamlukischen Heraldik für die Kunstgeschichte*, in *ZDMG* (1974), Suppl. II. XVIII Deutscher Orientalistentag, Vorträge, 213-40; W. Leaf and S. Purcell, *Heraldic symbols, Islamic insignia and Western heraldry*, London 1986; Estelle Whelan, *Representations of the Khassakiyah and the origins of Mamluk emblems*, in *Content and context of visual arts in the Islamic world*, Philadelphia 1988, 219-43.

(NASSER RABBAT)

RAPAK (Javanese; A. *rafʿ*) is a technical term used among the Javanese, in this one case only, for the charge made by the wife, at the court for matters of religion, that the husband has not fulfilled the obligations which he took upon himself at the *taʿlīḳ* of *ṭalāḳ* or divorce [see ṬALĀḲ]. These obligations are of a varied and changing nature. Among the conditions the following always occurs: "If the man has been absent a certain time on land or (longer) over seas" i.e. without having transmitted *nafaḳa*, i.e. payment for maintenance to his wife. A clause that is never omitted is the following: "If the wife is not content with this." She is therefore at liberty to be quite satisfied with the husband's non-fulfilment of his vows, without taking steps for a divorce. The work of the court is only to ascertain the fulfilment of the condition and the arising of *ṭalāḳ*. As always, the *ṭalāḳ* is still entered in a register. It is evident that this procedure guarantees the integrity of the law otherwise endangered.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*, Batavia 1893, i, 382; Th.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh. wet*, Leiden 1925, 210.

(R.A. KERN)

RAʾS (A. pl. *ruʾūs/arʾus*), "head", in geography the common word for "cape" (cf. Latin *caput* → cape), but it is also used with the meaning of "headland, promontory". The Musandam Peninsula in ʿUmān is sometimes called Raʾs Musandam, while the small territory occupying the northern tip of the Peninsula is called Ruʾūs al-Djibāl "the Mountain tops". Raʾs Tannūra [*q.v.*], the terminal of pipelines in eastern Saudi Arabia, derives its name from the tip of a small peninsula, at which the modern port is situated. In the name Raʾs al-Khayma [*q.v.*] "Tent Point", the word *raʾs* is not geographical, but refers to a large tent formerly used as a navigational device.

(ED.)

RAʾS AL-ʿĀM (A.) means New Year's Day, lit. "beginning of the year", i.e. 1 al-Muḥarram. For the difference with *Raʾs al-sana*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ʿām*. Sunnī Muslim law does not prescribe any particular celebration for the first month of the year, except that a voluntary fast-day is recommended on the tenth [see ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ]. However, the first ten days of the month are considered as particularly blessed (Lane, *Manners and customs*, chs. ix, xxiv). The Shīʿa know several celebrations during this month [see MUḤARRAM; TAʿZIYA]. In most Islamic countries, New Year's Day has long been indicated by the Persian word *Nawrūz* [*q.v.*], Arabic variant *Nayrūz*. (ED.)

RAʾS AL-ʿAYN or ʿAYN WARDA, Syriac Rēsh ʿAynā, a town of classical and mediaeval Islamic times of al-Djazīra, deriving its name ("springhead") from the famed springs of the locality (see below). It is situated on the Greater Khābūr [*q.v.*] affluent of the Euphrates in lat. 36° 50′ N. and long. 40° 02′ E. It is now little more than a village straddling the modern border between Syria and Turkey, with the Syrian settlement still known as Raʾs al-ʿAyn and the Turkish one as Resülayn or Ceylânpınar.

In classical times it was known as Resaina-Theodosiopolis, receiving from the Emperor Theodosius I (379-95) urban rights and its latter name, one also borne by the Armenian town of Karin (Erzurūm [*q.v.*]), probably from the time of Theodosius II (408-50), so that it is sometimes difficult in the sources to distinguish which one is meant. The Persian general Ādharmahan twice (in 578 and 580) destroyed Rēsh ʿAynā, according to Michael Syrus, and in the reign of the Emperor Phocas the Persians captured the rebuilt town.

In 19/640 ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm, after the subjection of Osrhoëne, marched against the province of Mesopotamia and by ʿUmar's orders sent ʿUmayr b. Saʿd against the town of ʿAyn Warda or Raʾs al-ʿAyn, which was besieged and stormed by him (al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 175-7). When a portion of the people of the town abandoned it, the Muslims confiscated their property. Among the rebels who rose against the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in *ca.* 700 was ʿUmayr b. Ḥubāb of Raʾs al-ʿAyn (Abu 'l-Faradj, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Būlāḳ, xx, 127; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 254-5; Mich. Syr., ii, 469; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 111). In the reign of al-Maʾmūn, Ḥubayb

Feline *rank* from the entrance of Khān al-Wazīr, Aleppo (1682).

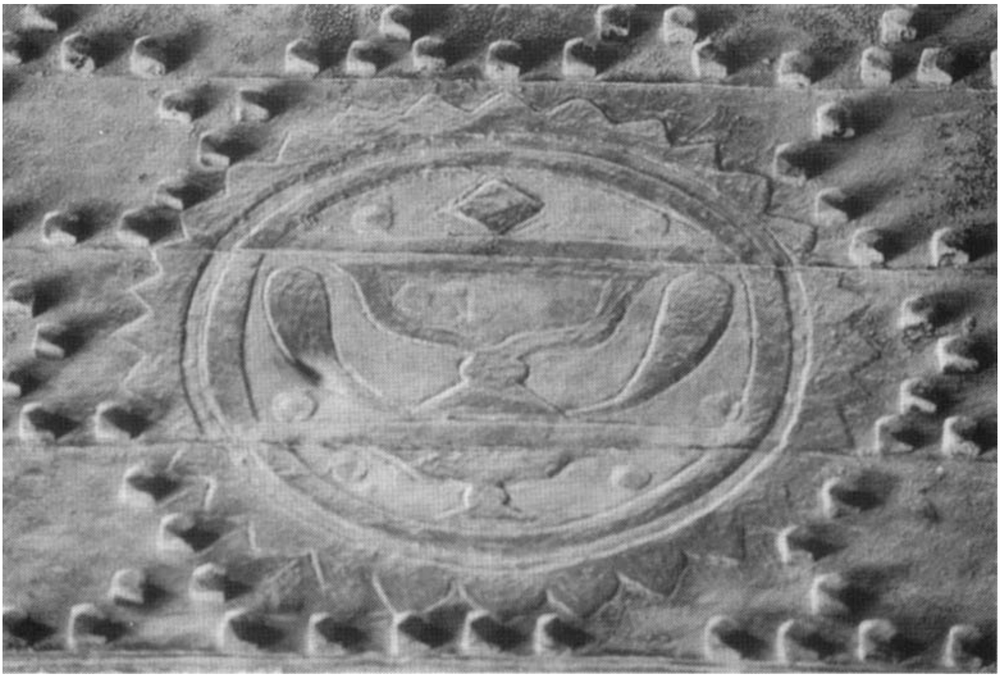

Composite *rank* on the metal sheathing of the entrance to the Khān of Khāyir Bek, Aleppo (1516).

took the town in 1125 Sel. (A.D. 814) (Mich. Syr., iii, 27; Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, 137). The Jacobite patriarch Yōḥannān III died on 3 December 873 in Rēsh ʿAynā (Mich. Syr., iii, 116; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, Lyons 1872, col. 387). After their campaign against Dārā and Naṣībīn (A.D. 942) the Byzantines in 943 took Raʾs al-ʿAyn, plundered it and carried off many prisoners (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 312). A man from Raʾs al-ʿAyn, Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn Aṣfar Taghlib, called al-Aṣfar, disguised as a dervish, in 395/1005 with a body of Arabs made a raid into Byzantine territory as far as Shayzar and Maḥrūya near Anṭākiya but was driven back by the Patricius Bīghās. The governor Nicephorus Uranus in the following year undertook a punitive expedition to the region of Sarūdj, defeated the Banū Numayr and Kilāb and had al-Aṣfar thrown into prison by Luʾluʾ, lord of Aleppo in 397/1007 (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xxiii, 1932, 466-7; Georg. Kedren.-Skylitz., Bonn, ii, 454, 8; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 229). In *ca.* 523/1129 the Franks were lords of the whole of Syria and Diyār Muḍar and threatened Āmid, Naṣībīn and Raʾs al-ʿAyn. The latter was taken by Joscelin and a large part of the Arab population killed and the remainder taken prisoners (Mich. Syr., iii, 228; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 289). But the Franks cannot have held the town for very long.

Sayf al-Dīn of Mawṣil and ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd of Aleppo in 570/1174-5 attacked Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and besieged Raʾs al-ʿAyn, but were soon afterwards defeated by him at Ḳurūn Ḥamā. In 581/1185-6 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn crossed the Euphrates and marched via al-Ruhāʾ, Raʾs al-ʿAyn and Dārā to Balad on the Tigris. His son al-Afḍal in 597/1200-1 received from al-ʿĀdil the towns of Sumaysāṭ, Sarūdj, Raʾs al-ʿAyn and Djumlīn; when he then marched on Damascus, Nūr al-Dīn of Mawṣil and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad of Sindjār again took Djazīra from him, but fell ill at Raʾs al-ʿAyn in the heat of summer and concluded peace again. In 599/1202-3 al-ʿĀdil took from al-Afḍal the towns of Sarūdj, Raʾs al-ʿAyn and Djumlīn (other fortresses also are mentioned). When the Kurdj [*q.v.*] (Georgians), who had advanced as far as Khilāṭ in 606/1209-10, learned that al-ʿĀdil had reached Raʾs al-ʿAyn on his way against them, they withdrew (Kamāl al-Dīn, tr. Blochet, in *ROL*, v, 46). Al-Malik al-Ashraf, who had defeated Ibn al-Mashṭūb in 616/1219-20 forgave him for rebelling and gave him Raʾs al-ʿAyn as a fief (Kamāl al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 61; according to Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, 439, however, Ibn al-Mashṭūb died in prison in Ḥarrān).

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's nephew al-Ashraf in 617/1220-1 was fighting against the lord of Mārdīn. The lord of Āmid made peace between them, when Raʾs al-ʿAyn was ceded to al-Ashraf, al-Muwazzar and the district of Shabakhtān [*q.v.*] (around Dunaysir) to the lord of Āmid. In exchange for Damascus, al-Ashraf, in 626/1229 gave his brother al-Kāmil the towns of al-Ruhāʾ, Ḥarrān, al-Raḳḳa, Sarūdj, Raʾs al-ʿAyn, Muwazzar and Djumlīn (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *ROL*, v, 77; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, 458) who occupied them in 634/1236-7 (Kamāl al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 92). After the defeat of the Khʷārazmians at Djabal Djalahmān near al-Ruhāʾ, the army of Aleppo in 638/1240-1 took Ḥarrān, al-Ruhāʾ, Raʾs al-ʿAyn, Djumlīn, al-Muwazzar, al-Raḳḳa and the district belonging to it (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *ROL*, vi, 12). But in 639/1241-2 the Khʷārazmians, who had made an alliance with al-Malik al-Muẓaffar of Mayyāfāriḳīn, returned to Raʾs al-ʿAyn, where the inhabitants and the garrison, including a number of Frankish archers and crossbowmen, offered resistance. An arrangement was made by which they were admitted to the town by the inhabitants, whose lives were promised them, and captured the garrison. When al-Malik al-Manṣūr had returned to Ḥarrān and al-Muẓaffar had retired to Mayyāfāriḳīn with the Khʷārazmians, they sent their prisoners back (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *ROL*, vi, 14). In the same year also, the Mongols came to Raʾs al-ʿAyn (*ibid.*, 15). When the Khʷārazmians and Turkmens raided al-Djazīra, the army of Aleppo under the *amīr* Djamāl al-Dawla in Djumādā II 640/1242-3 went out against them, and the two armies encamped opposite one another near Raʾs al-ʿAyn. The Khʷārazmians combined with the lord of Mārdin, and finally a peace was made by which Raʾs al-ʿAyn was given to the Artuḳid ruler of Mārdīn (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *ROL*, vi, 19).

In a Muslim cemetery in the north of Raʾs al-ʿAyn, M. von Oppenheim found an inscription of the year 717/1317-18. The Syrian chroniclers mention Rēsh ʿAynā as a Jacobite bishopric (11 bishops between 793 and 1199 are given in Mich. Syr., iii, 502) in which a synod was held in 684 (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i, 287). Towards the end of the 8th/14th century the town was sacked by Tīmūr.

Raʾs al-ʿAyn is built at a spot where a number of copious, in part sulphurous, springs burst forth, which form the real "main source" of the Khābūr (al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 191). The Wādī al-Djirdjib, which has not much water in it and starts further north in the region of Wirānshehir, and which may be regarded as the upper course of the Khābūr, only after receiving the waters from the springs of Raʾs al-ʿAyn becomes a regular river, known from that point as the Khābūr. According to M. von Oppenheim (cf. his map in *Petermanns Mitteil.* [1911], ii, pl. 18), the springs at Raʾs al-ʿAyn are ʿAyn al-Ḥuṣān, ʿAyn al-Kebrīt and ʿAyn al-Zarḳāʾ; according to Taylor (*JRAS*, xxxviii, 349 n.), ʿAyn al-Bayḍāʾ and ʿAyn al-Ḥasan are the most important; he also gives the names of 10 springs in the north-east and 5 in the south of the new town. The Arab geographers talk of 360, i.e. a very large number of springs, the abundance of water from which makes the vicinity of the town a blooming garden. One of these springs, ʿAyn al-Zāhiriyya, was said to be bottomless. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, Raʾs al-ʿAyn was a fortified town with many gardens and mills; at the principal spring there was according to al-Muḳaddasī a lake as clear as crystal. Ibn Rusta (106) mentions Raʾs al-ʿAyn, Ḳarḳīsiyā, and al-Raḳḳa as districts of al-Djazīra. Ibn Djubayr in 580/1184-5 saw two Friday mosques, schools and baths in Raʾs al-ʿAyn on the bank of the Khābūr. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (8th/14th century), the walls had a circumference of 5,000 paces; among the rich products of Raʾs al-ʿAyn he mentions cotton, corn and grapes. The historical romance *Futūḥ Diyār Rabīʿa wa-Diyār Bakr* (10th/16th century?) wrongly ascribed to al-Wāḳidī, which contains much valuable geographical information, mentions at Raʾs al-ʿAyn a plain of Muthaḳḳab and a Mardj al-Ṭīr (var. al-Dayr); it also mentions a Nestorian church in the town and several gates (in the translation by B.G. Niebuhr and A.D. Mordtmann, in *Schriften der Akad. von Hamburg*, i, part iii, Hamburg 1847, 76, 87. The "gate of Istacherum" in the east and the "Mukthaius or gate of Chabur" are not precisely located.

At Raʾs al-ʿAyn were the Jacobite monasteries of Bēth Tirai and Spequlos (*speculae*; Ps.-Zacharias Rhet., viii, 4, tr. Ahrens-Krüger, 157, 2; so also for Asphulos in Mich. Syr., iii, 50, 65, cf. ii, 513, n. 6; Saphylos in Mich. Syr., iii, 121, 449, 462;

Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, 281-2; Sophiclis, *ibid.*, 397-8, probably so to be read throughout).

A little to the southwest of Ra's al-ʿAyn on the right bank of the Khābūr is the great mound of ruins, Tell Ḥalāf, where M. von Oppenheim excavated the ancient palace of Kapara (see *Bibl.*).

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RA'S AL-KHAYMA (officially Ras-al-Khaimah), a constituent Amirate of the United Arab Emirates federation [see AL-IMĀRĀT AL-ʿARABIYYA AL-MUTTAḤIDA in Suppl.], to which it acceded in February 1972. It is also the name of the capital of the Amirate. The town seems to take its name from a configuration of hills on the coast which, seen from seaward, suggest the profile of the pole ridge of a nomad tent. The name is known to Portuguese geographers by the 16th century, but it is not until the 18th century that Ra'ṣ al-Khayma supplants its predecessor, Djulfār, whose deserted tells lie immediately north of the suburbs of the town. The capital of the Amirate is divided into several major areas, of which the oldest is the old town, where the fort of the Āl Ḳāsimī rulers is situated. It has a good port as a result of dredging. There is also an airport.

The Amirate is ruled by the Āl Ḳāsimī, members of the Hawālā Arab tribe, who, according to their tradition, originate in ʿIrāḳ. The present Amirate constitutes the remains of very much larger Āl Ḳāsimī territories which once encompassed most of the ʿUmān peninsula, as well as places on the Persian coast opposite. The borders of the present Amirate are complex and, at certain points, they are subject to dispute. The main Ra'ṣ al-Khayma territory lies in the far north of the U.A.E., principally bordered by the neighbouring Amirates of Umm al-Ḳuwayn and Fudjayra. In the north, it borders the Sultanate of ʿUmān's territory on the Musandam Peninsula. There is also a large enclave of Ra'ṣ al-Khayma territory further south, centring on Ḥuwaylāt and Wādī al-Ḳawr, bordering the Amirate of Fudjayra, and the eastern enclaves of the Amirates of al-Shāriḳa (i.e. Sharjah) and ʿAdjmān, and the Sultanate of ʿUmān. Ra'ṣ al-Khayma also formerly held two Gulf islands known as the Tunbs until they were seized by Iranian forces on 30 November 1971.

The indigenous population of the Amirate is Arab and Sunnī, with marked Wahhābī sentiments since the late 18th century. The inhabitants of the mountains are Shihūh, who continue into the ʿUmānī territory of Musandam. There is also a nomadic element to the population. Migrant workers including Indians, Pakistanis and Persian Balūč have settled in the Amirate in recent years.

The main coastal settlement in the past was the port of Djulfār, before it gave way to Ra'ṣ al-Khayma town. Other coastal settlements which belong to the Amirate include Shaʿm, al-Rams and Djazīrat al-Ḥamrā'. Between the coastal strip and the Djabal Ḥadjar highlands there is a belt of agricultural land irrigated by rainfall, wells and *aflādj*. The Shiḥūh farm small plots of land on the top of the Djabal Ḥadjar chain.

The Amirate preserves a large number of archaeological sites testifying to settlement in ancient times, especially during the Bronze and Iron Age: there are numerous tombs associated with the 3rd-1st millennium in northern Ra'ṣ al-Khayma, on the Daya plain and around Shimāl. There are also early sites further south at al-Khaṭṭ and along the course of Wādī al-Ḳawr in southern Ra'ṣ al-Khayma. Ceramic finds suggest activity in the 3rd century A.D. on Djazīrat al-Hulayla on the coast, north of al-Rams.

The main town for much of the Islamic period was Djulfār. In its broadest application, the place-name Djulfār seems to have related to successive settlements between Ra'ṣ al-Khayma town in the south and the Djazīrat al-Ḥulayla area in the north. Indeed, it now seems likely that before Islam and in the early Islamic period, Djulfār was centred on al-Ḥulayla. The name of Djulfār is mentioned in context of the early Islamic sea-borne expeditions against Persia when ʿUthmān b. al-ʿĀṣ in *ca.* 16/637 sailed with a force from Djulfār. Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs repeatedly used Djulfār to disembark armies engaged in campaigns against the Ibāḍī community of ʿUmān. This reflects the fact that Djulfār's harbour was the finest in the lower Gulf. In the 4th/10th century, al-Muḳaddasī, 70-1, numbered Djulfār among the *ḳaṣaba*s of ʿUmān and on an equivalent level with Maṣkaṭ, Ṣuḥār and Nizwa [*q.vv.*].

Around the 7th/14th century the centre of Djulfār shifted to the area of tells known as al-Maṭāf and al-Nudūd on the northern edge of modern Ra'ṣ al-Khayma town. The port was engaged in pearl fishing and commerce with China and south-east Asia, as well as India; imported Chinese porcelain and celadon found in quantity at the site bear witness to this trade. By the 7th/14th century, Djulfār was under the jurisdiction of the sultans of Hurmūz [*q.v.*], whose coinage it used, and when Hurmūz passed under Portuguese control, they established a garrison at Djulfār. The Portuguese remained in control of the coast until 1043/1633 when they were finally driven out by the ʿUmānī Imām, Nāṣir b. Murshid al-Yaʿāriba. Thereafter, Djulfār declined, possibly because of the silting channels into the port, and the town of Ra'ṣ al-Khayma to the south increasingly supplanted Djulfār.

The Persian ruler Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] sent a force through Djulfār in 1149/1737 to occupy much of ʿUmān, establishing garrisons at a number of places, including Djulfār and al-Khaṭṭ (in the Amirate of Ra'ṣ al-Khayma today). The Persians were finally expelled in 1157/1744. During the latter part of the 12th/18th century, Ra'ṣ al-Khayma passed under the Āl Ḳāsimī *shaykh*s, of the Ḥawāla Arab tribe, which has elements on both the Arab and the Persian coasts. The Āl Ḳāsimī have continued to rule Ra'ṣ al-Khayma until the present time. In the framework of

the traditional ʿUmānī factions, they espouse the Gh̲ifārī cause as opposed to the Hināwī.

The Āl Ḳāsimī *shaykh̲s* adopted Wahhābism under the influence of the Āl Suʿūd, with whom they still maintain good relations. As a sea-borne power, they engaged in piracy in the Gulf in the latter years of the 18th and the early 19th century, challenging East India Company shipping and the British Navy. In 1224/1809 British and Indian forces from Bombay attacked Raʾs al-Kh̲ayma to suppress the "Joasmee" (Ḳawāsimī) forces. These operations were repeated in 1234/1819, which led to the reduction of the Āl Ḳāsimī and the demolition of their fortresses, the destruction of their fleet and a brief British occupation of Raʾs al-Kh̲ayma. A General Treaty between the British and the Āl Ḳāsimī was signed at al-Falāya near to Raʾs al-Kh̲ayma town in 1235/1820, aimed at suppressing piracy in the Gulf: it was to this treaty that other *shaykh̲s* along the coast acceded, creating the foundation of the Trucial ʿUmān states. The Treaty was finally reinforced by The Perpetual Maritime Truce of 1853 which set the framework of relations between the various shaykhdoms and the British until 1971. Raʾs al-Kh̲ayma underwent a period of decline with its power sharply reduced by the British attack. The main political concern of the Āl Ḳāsimī during the following years was to prevent incursions on their territory by ʿUmān and by the Banū Yās of Abū Ẓabī.

The Āl Ḳāsimī ruled their territories from either Sharjah or Raʾs al-Kh̲ayma, but after 1921 the family territories were conclusively divided and Raʾs al-Kh̲ayma was recognised by the British as an independent Amirate. The British recognition of the Amirate of Fud̲j̲ayra in 1952 marked the formal ending of al-Ḳāsimī control of this part of the east coast of the ʿUmān Peninsula: today the border of Raʾs al-Kh̲ayma with Fud̲j̲ayra lies at the western edge of the D̲j̲abal Ḥad̲j̲ar.

With the ending of the British treaty relationship with the Trucial States in 1971, Raʾs al-Kh̲ayma acceded to the newly created United Arab Emirates on 10th February, 1972. The Ruler of Raʾs al-Kh̲ayma since 1948, *Shaykh̲* Ṣaḳr b. Muḥammad al-Ḳāsimī, is a member of the Supreme Council of the U.A.E. Today, Raʾs al-Kh̲ayma, lacking oil in any quantity, is one of the poorer members of the U.A.E. Its major exports are stone from the D̲j̲abal Ḥad̲j̲ar and cement, and its manpower contributes to the federal administration and the armed forces.

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RAʾS MUSANDAM, a rocky peninsula that lies at the northernmost point of the promontory that terminates the D̲j̲abal Ḥad̲j̲ar mountain range, the spine of the Oman Peninsula. It is attached to the mainland by the narrow Maḳlab isthmus. The Peninsula is deeply indented by creeks, of which the most important are Kh̲awr al-Sh̲amm, Kh̲awr Ḥabalayn and Kh̲awr Gh̲ubb ʿAlī. Kh̲awr al-Sh̲amm is known as Elphinstone Inlet after Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay when the Court of Directors of the East India Company initiated a coastal survey of the western side of the Oman Peninsula, starting in the neighbourhood of Musandam in 1820. Buckingham comments on the depth of the water in the inlets of Musandam, but also remarks on the area's dangers as an anchorage and the risks entailed to shipping entering the channels (J.S. Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1830, ii, 385-6).

In modern usage, the term "Musandam" encompasses the dramatic cliffs of the mountainous mainland, properly termed Ruʾūs al-D̲j̲ibāl (J.G. Lorimer, "Ruūs al Jibāl", in *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān, and Central Arabia*, ii/B, 1604-14; S.B. Miles, *The countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*², 378, 449; A.T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, London 1959, 3) and the term also indicates the northernmost territory of the Sultanate of Oman (ʿUmān).

The term "Musandam" is taken by D.G. Hogarth (*The penetration of Arabia*, repr. Beirut 1966, 230) to mean "Anvil Head". The name is not known to the Classical or Arabic geographers and it seems to enter the literature in the Portuguese period, and, thereafter, the northern tip of the Oman Peninsula regularly appears as Raʾs Musandam.

Raʾs Musandam and Ruʾūs al-D̲j̲ibāl reflect marked geological activity in the late Quaternary. The highlands are formed of limestones and dolomites, while sandy gravels form slope deposits and alluvial fans, a characteristic of the entire Oman Peninsula.

The earliest reference to Raʾs Musandam dates to 326 B.C., when Alexander's admiral Nearchos saw it from the Persian side of the straits of Hurmuz and was told it was called Maketa. It is further mentioned by Eratosthenes and Strabo, and possibly by Pliny, whilst the *Periplus of the Erytraean Sea* refers to the mighty range of the *Asabon*; Miles (*op. cit.*, 10) suggested that *Asabon* is preserved in the place-name Kh̲aṣab, a village on the northern end of the promontory.

Al-Muḳaddasī (70-1) refers to a sequence of places between Masḳaṭ and D̲j̲ulfār, but makes no reference to the villages of Raʾs Musandam that we know today. Al-Idrīsi refers to al-Kh̲ayl, al-D̲j̲abal or Ḥabal lying between Masḳaṭ and D̲j̲ulfār (*Opus geographicum*, ed. A. Bombaci *et alii*, Naples-Rome 1972, ii, 162, tr. Jaubert, i, 157). The reading al-D̲j̲abal, if correct, is an appropriate reference to D̲j̲abal Ḥad̲j̲ar, Ruʾūs al-D̲j̲ibāl and Raʾs Musandam.

Evidence of early settlement at Raʾs Musandam is slender, although the accumulation of gravels in the alluvial fans may mask early archaeological sites. The earliest evidence of settlement in the region is indicated by a site on D̲j̲azīrat al-Gh̲anam attributed to the Sāsānid period (B. de Cardi, *A Sasanian outpost in northern Oman*, in *Antiquity*, xlvi, no. 184 [1973], 305-

10; eadem, *Archaeological survey in Northern Oman, 1972*, in *EW*, xxv [1975], 24-6). It included foundations of rectangular buildings along the foreshore to which a date after Shāpūr II had occupied parts of eastern Arabia has been suggested (early 4th century A.D.), based on ceramic evidence. Evidence of Sāsānid occupation is limited elsewhere in this area and most ceramics recovered from the Musandam settlements indicate a 14th to 15th century A.D. date range.

Information increases about Raʾs Musandam with the coming of the Portuguese. A Portuguese fleet is shown off "Cabo de Mocamdam" in the *Livro de Lizuarte de Abreu* of *ca.* 1564. Khaṣab (Casapo) is marked in Fernao Vaz Dourado's map drawn at Goa in 1571: Ṣībī is indicated in Dourado's map of 1575. Ruy Freyre de Andrada visited Kumzār and Khaṣab in 1620 during the last period of Portuguese dominion. Finding a fort at Khaṣab, de Andrada reinforced and garrisoned it (C.R. Boxer (ed.), *Commentaries of Ruy Freyre de Andrada*, London 1930, 189; Miles, 446; De Cardi, *Archaeological survey in Northern Oman, 1972*, 28). An inscription in the fort also records restoration in 1649 by the Portuguese. There are other Portuguese forts at Lima, at Djazīrat al-Ghanam and Sīfa Maḳlab, the latter appearing to be 17th century.

From the second half of the 18th century, the Sultan of Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*] would collect taxes at Raʾs Musandam on commerce passing through the straits of Hurmuz (Miles, 291). The deep creeks of Raʾs Musandam gave cover to Ḳawāsimī pirates [see AL-ḲAWĀSIM] in the early years of the 19th century, and Buckingham describes the use of the Musandam creeks by pirates with their oar-driven boats sailing out to prey on shipping. From 1809, East India Company vessels in alliance with the Sultan of Masḳaṭ took up station off Raʾs Musandam, in order to control the piracy of the Ḳawāsim (Miles, 314). Colonel Lewis Pelly, the British Resident in the Gulf, proposed in 1862-3 the siting of a British station near Khaṣab from which to control local disputes and the slave trade.

In 1862-4 a cable was laid for the Indo-European Telegraph across Raʾs Musandam, running through Elphinstone Inlet (Khawr al-Shamm) and Malcolm Inlet (Khawr Ḥabalayn). The cable system remained in use until 1955 (C.P. Harris, *The Persian Gulf submarine telegraph of 1864*, in *GJ*, cxxxv/2 [June 1969], 170-90).

According to Lorimer, the population of Ruʾūs al-Djibāl was 13,750 in 1908 ("Oman", in *op. cit.*, ii/B, 1411, and "Ruūs al-Jibāl", 1605). Estimates in 1970-1 suggested that the population remained much as in Lorimer's time, but with a greater concentration in the coastal settlements (A. Coles, in *EW*, xxx [1975], 16). The majority of the people are Shiḥūḥ, dominating the mountain summits and the coasts alike, with elements of the much smaller Dhāhiriyya residing at Bukha and Khaṣab among other places.

Raʾs Musandam has little cultivable lowland, and the people of Kumzār take their flocks by boat to Djazīrat al-Ghanam to graze. By contrast, Khaṣab and Bukha on the coast of Ruʾūs al-Djibal have somewhat more extensive date groves. Fish, shell fish and pearling remain part of the economy as they have since ancient times, when people of this area were termed *Ichthyophagi* by the Classical sources.

Isolated and inaccessible farmsteads characterise the mountains, where the terraced fields depend on rainfall for irrigation. Various types of distinctive, stone-built structures have been developed in the highlands, including the *bayt al-kifl*, a storage grain building.

Politically, Raʾs Musandam and Ruʾūs al-Djibāl are under the jurisdiction of the Sultanate of ʿUmān (Oman), although the southern areas of Ruʾūs al-Djibāl lie in the Amīrate of Raʾs al-Khayma, while Dibba is under the joint jurisdiction of ʿUmān, al-Fudjayra (Fujairah) and al-Shāriḳa (Sharjah).

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(G.R.D. KING)

RAʾS (AL-) TANNŪRA, a cape in eastern Saudi Arabia on the Persian Gulf, in lat. 26° 40′ N., 50° 13′ E., north of al-Ḳaṭīf [*q.v.*]. The word *tannūr* occurs in Kurʾān, XI, 42, and XXIII, 27, in the story of Noah, meaning "oven". It also indicates any place from which water pours forth (Lane, *Lexicon, s.v.*). In July 1933 King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz gave the concession for drilling oil in the eastern part of Saudi Arabia to the Standard Oil Company of California. The first consignment of Saudi oil was sent away from Raʾs Tannūra in 1939. Its refinery is connected by a pipeline with the Dammām field, about 60 km/37 miles away.

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RASHĀʾIDA, *ḳabīlat al-Rashāʾida*, an Arab and Muslim nomadic people of the eastern Sudan and Eritrea, which emigrated from the coast of Arabia in the middle of the 19th century. Installed in the first instance on the *sāḥil* between Sawākin (Suakin) and ʿAḳīḳ, they were forced by the Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] to move southwards. Some of them then returned to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, so that today they can be found dispersed along the coast from Port Sudan to Massawa [see MAṢAWWAʿ] and on the left bank of the Atbara beyond Kassala. In the Sudan, their number was estimated in 1922 at one to two thousand and in 1986 at 40,000. They are less numerous in Eritrea.

They herd goats in the more confined areas and, more often, camels in the wider expanses. The most northerly group nomadises, for example, along the axis of the Atbara over 500 km/310 miles. In the wet season, from the end of June to October, the herds (from 50 to 70 head) are between Kassal and Goz Regeb. In the dry season, they go down towards Doka and the Dinder National Park in order to graze on the fields of sorghum which have just been watered.

The Rashāʾida have other resources. The camel rearers of the fringes are carriers and have benefitted from the Eritrean war up to 1991. Certain of them sometimes engage in agriculture. One group has even tried to live by fishing on two of the Dahlak [*q.v.*] islands.

They do not ally either with the Cushitic peoples of whom they are neighbours (Bichari, Hadendowa,

etc.) nor with other Arabs, and have preserved their own dialect and traditions. They live in small family groups (*dār*) of two to eight tents, grouped together in the dry season in an encampment (*farīg*) of 100 to 200 persons who recognise the authority of an *ʿomda*. The cohesion of the community as a whole is not kept together by any central authority able to represent them vis-à-vis the political authorities.

The men wear a long shirt over trousers with wide legs, have on their heads a voluminous turban and never move anywhere without a long whip. The womenfolk wear long black robes and a veil of material and leather decorated with embroidery in which two square holes are made for the eyes. Among the young girls, the veil, decorated with cowrie shells, hides only the nose and mouth.

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RAS̲H̲ĪD, Rosetta, a town in Egypt, situated in lat. 31° 24′ N., long. 30° 24′ E., on the western bank of the western branch of the Nile. The town which is situated near the site of the ancient Bōlbouthiō (Greek Bolbitínē) seems not to have existed before the Arab conquest. Even at the beginning of the 8th century A.D., the papyri mention only the name of Bolbitínē as emporium for merchandise from Upper Egypt (Bell, *The Aphrodite papyri*, 1414, 1. [59], 102, etc.). Till the 9th century A.D., ships sailed direct to Fuwwa; but owing to the excessive depositing of the silt in this region, Ras̲h̲īd began to take its place.

Ras̲h̲īd is first mentioned in 132/750 when the Copts of the town revolted against the caliph Marwān II who had taken refuge in Egypt from the ʿAbbāsids (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 96). In 278/891-2, al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 338) mentions its port. When the Fāṭimid heir-apparent (the future caliph al-Ḳāʾim) tried to conquer Egypt in 307/920, his fleet was prevented by an ʿAbbāsid squadron from sailing into the mouth of the Ras̲h̲īd branch of the Nile, and was then annihilated (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 276).

Ras̲h̲īd is numbered among the *kūras* [*q.v.*] of Egypt (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *loc. cit.*; al-Ḳuḍāʿī, quoted by al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 311, 1. 5). After the reorganisation of the provinces of Egypt, probably during the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir (427-87/1035-94), it became a unit of its own, not belonging to any of the newly-created provinces of the Delta. Al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum* (ed. E. Cerulli *et alii*), 343, describes it as a commercial town and mentions the fishery activities on the Nile and the Sea and the export of pickled mussels (*dallīnas*). The Arab geographers usually qualify Ras̲h̲īd as a frontier station (*t̲h̲ag̲h̲r*), where probably customs were levied. In the 8th/14th century, its revenues were given as an *iḳṭāʿ* to Mamlūk officers; but *ca.* 885/1480, under sultan Ḳāyit Bāy, it was part of the crown-lands (*al-k̲h̲āṣṣ al-sulṭānī*; Ibn al-D̲j̲īʿān, *al-Tuḥfa*, ed. B. Moritz, Cairo 1898, 138). In the last years of the 8th/14th century, Ibn Duḳmāḳ (*al-Intiṣār*, ed. Vollers, Cairo 1893, v, 113-14) calls Ras̲h̲īd a *ribāṭ* and says that the inhabitants of the town were exclusively volunteers (*murābiṭūn*).

After the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517 and the decay of European trade through Alexandria, Ras̲h̲īd became an important centre for maritime trade with Istanbul and the Aegean territory of the Turkish Empire. The viceroy ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, in 915/1509, restored its old *k̲h̲āns* (warehouses) and *funduḳs* (hostelries), built new ones, and cleared the silt from its docks. Till modern times, its wall was maintained for defence against Arab raids. At the mouth of the River, near Kōm al-Afrāḥ, two castles guarded the waterway entrance to the town. Vansleb, who visited Ras̲h̲īd in May 1672, gives a description of the castles and their garrison (*State of Egypt*, London 1678, 105). When Carsten Niebuhr passed through Ras̲h̲īd in November 1761, the town was the residence of a French and a Venetian consul; it served as port of trans-shipment for the trade between Cairo and Alexandria (*Reisebeschreibung*, i, 56-7 and pl. VI). In 1799, in the neighbourhood of the town, Boussard, an officer of the French Expedition, discovered the famous Rosetta Stone with its trilingual inscription (now in the British Museum). In 1218/1803 Ras̲h̲īd witnessed al-Bardīsī's victory over the combined sea and land forces of the Ottoman Porte; and in 1222/1807 it was seized by the British who came to help al-Alfī and his Mamlūk successors.

The town continued to flourish until Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] reconstructed the Maḥmūdiyya Canal for navigation between Alexandria and the Nile, and thus diverted the course of trade from Ras̲h̲īd, which declined rapidly to a mere fishing town with but a few minor local industries such as rough cotton weaving, rice production and oil manufacture. Its population in 1907 was only 16,660, but in 1970 the population of the town, which still benefits from coastal trade and fisheries, had risen to 36,711.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya*, Būlāḳ 1884-9, xi, 75; Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 99-100, 173-91; M. Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfī li 'l-bilād al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953-68, ii/2, 300; H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern, II. Das Delta*, Wiesbaden 1982, 769, map 49. (A.S. Atiya-[H. Halm])

RAS̲H̲ID, ĀL, an Arabian tribal dynasty belonging to the ʿAbda clan (*ʿas̲h̲īra*) of the S̲h̲ammar tribes and ruling over parts of northern and central Arabia from 1251/1835 until 1340/1921. Although the area under their control fluctuated with their political fortunes, their essential power base was in the D̲j̲abal S̲h̲ammar region of northern Nad̲j̲d where they could rely on tribal allegiance and make the small town of Ḥāyil [*q.v.*] their centre of government.

The history of Āl Ras̲h̲īd is closely linked with that of Āl Suʿūd [see suʿūd, āl], at first as their allies and supporters, later as their rivals for domination over central Arabia. The founder of the Ras̲h̲īdī dynasty, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ras̲h̲īd, is usually presented as a close friend and supporter of the Suʿūdī *amīr* Fayṣal b. Suʿūd and, on a religious and military level, enthusiastic to promote the Wahhābī cause. He managed to establish himself as ruler in Ḥāyil in 1251/1835 after a power struggle with cousins from the rival family of Ibn ʿAlī, but to what extent he owed his position to the Suʿūdīs or to his personal abilities and tribal backing is a subject of dispute. He was noted for his largely successful efforts to enforce security, despite resentment in some quarters of his pro-Suʿūdī and Wahhābī stance. He was succeeded on his death in 1264/1847 by his eldest son Ṭalāl.

Ṭalāl's rule from 1264-84/1847-67 saw the achievement of a high point in commercial prosperity and stability due to his encouragement of trade. More religiously tolerant than his father, he accepted the settlement of S̲h̲īʿī merchants from ʿIrāḳ, generally hated by the Wahhābīs. His apparently accidental death from a gunshot wound led to a brief period of

internecine struggle, characteristic of the Ra<u>sh</u>īdīs and a major cause of their downfall, before Muḥammad, a younger brother of Ṭalāl, came to power following his massacre of all Ṭalāl's sons.

Despite its bloody beginnings, the long reign of Muḥammad b. Ra<u>sh</u>īd (1289-1315/1872-97) witnessed the expansion of Ra<u>sh</u>īdī power over al-Ḳaṣīm [*q.v.*] and the Wahhābī heartlands of southern Nad<u>j</u>d, including the Su^cūdī capital, al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*]. After a long contest with Āl Su^cūd he defeated them decisively at the battle of al-Mulayda in 1309/1891, expelling them from Nad<u>j</u>d, after which they sought refuge in al-Kuwayt, among them the young ^cAbd al-^cAzīz [*q.v.*], future founder of the modern kingdom of Su^cūdī (Saudi) Arabia. The *amīr* Muḥammad was noted for his military skills and the energy with which he sought to control recalcitrant tribes. European visitors to Ḥāyil during his reign included C.M. Doughty, the poet Wilfred Scawen Blunt and his wife, Lady Anne.

Following the death of their last great *amīr*, Āl Ra<u>sh</u>īd sank into their final decline, faced with the rising new power of ^cAbd al-^cAzīz b. Su^cūd as well as political and economic pressures exerted by the Ottomans and British, especially during World War I and its aftermath. Muḥammad's immediate successor, his nephew ^cAbd al-^cAzīz, was killed in battle with the Su^cūdīs, and the Ra<u>sh</u>īdīs then fell prey to savage internal quarrels reminiscent of the time before Muḥammad's accession. Four *amīrs* were murdered by their own relatives in the period from 1325/1907 to 1339/1920. The last two *amīrs*, who ruled only briefly, were forced to surrender to Ibn Su^cūd in 1339-40/1921.

Bibliography: The local Nad<u>j</u>dī historian ^cU<u>th</u>mān b. Bi<u>sh</u>r (d. 1288/1871), *^cUnwān al-mad<u>j</u>d fī ta^ʾrī<u>kh</u> Nad<u>j</u>d*, Mecca 1930; Lady Anne Blunt, *A pilgrimage to Nejd*, London 1881; C.M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888; J.C. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ^ʾOmān and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, i/1B, 1161-78; <u>Dh</u>arī^c b. Ra<u>sh</u>īd, *Nub<u>dh</u>a ta^ʾrī<u>kh</u>iyya ^can Nad<u>j</u>d*, al-Riyāḍ 1966; ^cAbd Allāh al-^cU<u>th</u>aymīn, *Na<u>sh</u>^ʾat imārat Āl Ra<u>sh</u>īd*, al-Riyāḍ 1981; M. Al Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian oasis, the Rashidi tribal dynasty*, London 1991, combines historical and anthropological approaches. (Elizabeth M. Sirriyeh)

AL-**RA<u>SH</u>ĪD** [see HĀRŪN AL-RA<u>SH</u>ĪD].

AL-**RĀ<u>SH</u>ID** BI'LLĀH, ABŪ <u>DJ</u>A^cFAR AL-MANṢŪR, the thirtieth ^cAbbāsid caliph, the son of al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id [*q.v.*] and a slave girl called <u>Kh</u>u<u>sh</u>f, was probably born around 501/1107-8 since the sources record the date of his *walī al-^cahd* ceremony as 2 Rabī^c II 513/13 July 1119 when he was aged twelve (Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, x, 377). Al-Rā<u>sh</u>id became caliph after al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id's murder in <u>Dh</u>u 'l Ḳa^cda 529/August 1135 (Sibṭ Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, 158; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, xi, 16) and died in 532/1138.

His reign was tragically short. He was drawn immediately into a bitter and ultimately fatal battle of wills with the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ sultan Mas^cūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] who now, after his clashes with al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id, wanted a malleable caliph ready to stay put in Ba<u>gh</u>dād and to confine himself to religious matters (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 73). Al-Rā<u>sh</u>id, however, was of a different ilk, demanding vengeance for his father's murder and no doubt cherishing hopes of continuing al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id's aim of expelling the Sal<u>dj</u>uḳs from ^cIrāḳ. The sources record in some detail the deteriorating relationship between caliph and sultan.

Shortly after al-Rā<u>sh</u>id's accession, Mas^cūd demanded tribute from him, but this the caliph refused to disgorge. Indeed, he proceeded to prepare for conflict by raising troops and fortifying Ba<u>gh</u>dād (Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, x, 54; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, xi, 22; Bar Hebraeus, 262; Ibn al-^cImrānī, 222), whilst factions hostile to Mas^cūd, notably his nephew Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd, and Zangī, converged on the city in Ṣafar 530/November 1135 and persuaded al-Rā<u>sh</u>id to make common causes with them. After the *<u>kh</u>uṭba* had been pronounced in Dāwūd's name on 14 Ṣafar 530/23 November 1135 (Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, x, 55; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, xi, 23), Mas^cūd hastened to besiege Ba<u>gh</u>dād and the intimidated rebels soon dispersed in disarray. After an initial display of bravado, al-Rā<u>sh</u>id fled in panic with Zangī to Mawṣil (al-Bundārī, 180; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 76-7; Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, x, 59; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, *Atābegs*, 51).

It was a serious blunder for al-Rā<u>sh</u>id to vacate the traditional seat of caliphal power. In <u>Dh</u>u 'l-Ḳa^cda 530/August 1136, Mas^cūd entered Ba<u>gh</u>dād peacefully and engineered the deposition of the absent caliph. A group of *^culamā^ʾ* summoned by Mas^cūd declared al-Rā<u>sh</u>id unsuitable for office, accusing him of wine-drinking and immorality and of breaking a solemn oath to Mas^cūd that he would never leave Ba<u>gh</u>dād or take up arms against him (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 72) and producing a document to this effect signed by al-Rā<u>sh</u>id (Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, xi, 26; Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, x, 60; Bar Hebraeus, 263). A *fatwā* deposing al-Rā<u>sh</u>id was pronounced by the <u>Sh</u>āfi^cī *ḳāḍī*, ^cImād al-Dīn Ibn al-Kar<u>kh</u>ī (Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, *Atābegs*, 53; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 78). Al-Rā<u>sh</u>id's uncle al-Muḳtafī [*q.v.*] was proclaimed caliph in his stead.

Zangī's support for the exiled al-Rā<u>sh</u>id proved short-lived. The ex-caliph soon felt too insecure to remain in Mawṣil and he moved to Ā<u>dh</u>arbay<u>dj</u>ān to join Dāwūd and a coalition of Turkish *amīrs* who resolved to restore him to the caliphate (al-Ḥusaynī, 108-9; al-Bundārī, 180; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, xi, 39-40). These and other offers of support soon evaporated (*ibid.*, xi, 41; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 81) and after wandering from place to place, the hapless al-Rā<u>sh</u>id was finally killed outside Iṣfahān on 25 or 26 Ramaḍān 532/6 or 7 June 1138. Although some sources blame the Assassins for his murder (^cImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *apud* Sibṭ Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, 168; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, *Atābegs*, 55), Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ complicity seems likely, since Mas^cūd could clearly no longer tolerate the way that the peripatetic al-Rā<u>sh</u>id was arousing rebellion within the western Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ sultanate. What is indisputable, however, is that two successive ^cAbbāsid caliphs, father and son, who had ventured forth from Ba<u>gh</u>dād and defied the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ sultan, had now been eliminated.

Al-Rā<u>sh</u>id was buried in the Friday mosque of <u>Sh</u>ahristān in a *turba* set aside exclusively for him (al-Bundārī, 181; Sibṭ Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, 168). His caliphate had lasted about eleven months (Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, xi, 27).

Little is known of al-Rā<u>sh</u>id's personality, although his recorded conduct suggests that he was ambitious, foolhardy and easily embroiled in intrigue. It was his misfortune to clash with Mas^cūd, a ruthless warrior sultan who in difficult times contrived to stay in power for twenty years. Al-Rā<u>sh</u>id's sexual precocity was legendary—by the age of nine he had fathered a son from one of al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id's concubines and he had allegedly sired twenty more by the time of his accession (Sibṭ Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, 158; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 73). Like his father, he had a ruddy complexion and dark blue eyes and was of medium stature (Ibn al-^cImrānī, 224).

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AL-**RASHĪD** (MAWLĀY) B. AL-SHARĪF B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ, ʿAlid sultan of Morocco and the real founder of the dynasty which still rules the Sharīfian empire. He was born in 1040/1630-1 in Tāfīlālt [*q.v.*] in the south of Morocco, where his ancestors, the Ḥasanī Shurafāʾ (Shorfāʾ [*q.v.*]) of Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*], had founded a flourishing *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] and gradually acquired a fairly considerable political influence, which increased with the decline of the Saʿdian [*q.v.*] dynasty. Morocco being at this time plunged into anarchy, the Shorfāʾ of Tāfīlālt were able rapidly to become masters of the great tracts of steppe-like country to the north of the cordon of oases which formed their appanage. The eldest son of the chief of the *zāwiya*, Mawlāy Maḥammad, having successfully fought the marabout of the *zāwiya* of Īligh in Tāzarwālt (in the south-west of Morocco), ʿAlī Abū Ḥassūn, who had political ambitions of his own, assumed a royal title in 1050/1646. He did not, however, yet succeed in crushing the power of the marabouts of the *zāwiya* of al-Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in central Morocco; he had to be content, after a very brief occupation of Tāzā and Fās in 1060/1650, with effective sovereignty over eastern Morocco only.

On the death of Mawlāy al-Sharīf in 1069/1659, his son, Mawlāy al-Rashīd, not trusting his brother, Mawlāy Maḥammad, left the ancestral *zāwiya* for the rival *zāwiya* of al-Dilāʾ, where in spite of a superficially warm welcome, he was soon given the hint to go; he proceeded to Azrū, then to Fās, which, regarded as an undesirable by the lord of the city, the adventurer al-Duraydī, he was not allowed to enter. He next went to eastern Morocco, and very soon succeeded in gaining a large number of followers, particularly, in the important tribe of the Banū Iznāssen (Benī Snassen), the Shaykh al-Lawātī, a religious dignitary, then of great influence. At the same time he attacked a very rich Jew, who behaved like a great lord and lived in the mountains of the Banū Iznāssen, at the little town called Dār Ibn Mashʿal: al-Rashīd slew him and seized his wealth. This coup vividly impressed the imagination of the people of the district and was to give rise, as P. de Cenival brilliantly showed, to a legend, the memory of which still survives in the annual festival which follows the election of the "sultan of the *ṭulbāʾ*" at Fās. Mawlāy al-Rashīd by this murder not only acquired considerable material resources but also a real ascendancy over the people of the neighbourhood. In 1075/1664, the large tribe of the Angād rallied to his authority, and he set up in Oujda [see WADJDA] as a regular ruler. On the news of the proclamation of al-Rashīd, his brother Mawlāy Maḥammad, much disturbed, hurried from Tāfīlālt to eastern Morocco; his troops were met by those of al-Rashīd, and Mawlāy Maḥammad having been killed early in the battle, his men then went over to the surviving prince. Thenceforth, Mawlāy al-Rashīd went on from success to success.

He very soon seized Tāzā without difficulty, and directly threatened Fās, but he first of all took care to secure his power solidly at Tāfīlālt, the cradle of his line, and added to his lands the mountains of the Rīf [*q.v.*] on the shores of the Mediterranean, which were then ruled by an enterprising individual named Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Aʿarrāṣ. This *shaykh* had made an agreement, first with the English and then with the French, for the establishment of factories on the Rīf bay of Alhucemas [see AL-ḤUSAYMA in Suppl.] (transcribed in the documents of the period as Albouzème). Mawlāy al-Rashīd deprived him of the Rīf in Ramaḍān 1076/March 1666, just when the Marseillais Roland Fréjus, having obtained from the King of France the privilege of trading in the Rīf, was landing on the Moroccan coast. Fréjus then went to see Mawlāy al-Rashīd at Tāzā, but the negotiations into which he endeavoured to enter with the *shaykh* soon collapsed.

Al-Rashīd without delay turned his attention to the capital of northern Morocco, Fās, which still withstood his authority. He laid siege to it and took it by storm on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1076/6 June 1666; the adventurer in command there, al-Duraydī, took to flight. Al-Rashīd took vigorous steps to punish certain of the notables of the town, and the people proclaimed him sultan. He was at the same time able to rally to his side the important group of Idrīsid Shorfāʾ in the capital.

The years that followed were used by Mawlāy al-Rashīd to extend his possessions towards west and south. He first made an expedition against the Gharb, out of which he drove the chief al-Khaḍir Ghaylān, and seized al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] (Alcazarquivir); he also took Meknes [see MIKNĀS] and Tetuan [see TIṬṬĀWĪN] as well as Tāzā, the inhabitants of which had rebelled. In 1079/1668, he took and destroyed the *zāwiya* of al-Dilāʾ after having routed its chief Maḥammad al-Ḥādjdj at Baṭn al-Rummān. The same year, Mawlāy al-Rashīd seized Marrākush and put to death there the local chief ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shabbānī, surnamed Karrūm al-Ḥādjdj. In 1081/1670, he undertook an expedition into the Sūs [*q.v.*], where agitators still disputed his authority. He took Tārūdānt [*q.v.*] and the fortress of Īligh and returned to Fās, now lord of all Morocco. At this time, says the chronicler al-Ifrānī, "all the Maghrib, from Tlemcen to the Wādī Nūl on the borders of the Ṣaḥārā, was under the authority of Mawlāy al-Rashīd".

The next year the sultan went from Fās to Marrākush, where one of his nephews was endeavouring to set up as a pretender to the throne. During his sojourn in the southern capital, Mawlāy al-Rashīd, not yet 42, died as the result of an accident on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1082/9 April 1672; the horse he was riding having reared, he fractured his skull against a branch of an orange tree. He was buried at Marrākush, but later his body was brought to Fās, where he was interred in the chapel of the saint ʿAlī Ibn Ḥirzihim (vulg. Sīdī Ḥrāzem). His brother, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], who succeeded him, was proclaimed sultan on the 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja following.

The brief political career of Mawlāy al-Rashīd was, as has been seen, particularly active and fruitful. The Muslim historians of Morocco never tire of praising this ruler, whose memory is still particularly bright, especially in Fās. It was he who built in the town the

"*Madrasa* of the Ropemakers" (*Madrasat al-Sharrātīn*), the bridge of al-Raṣīf, the *ḳaṣaba* of the Sharārda (Casba of the Cherarda) and 2½ miles to the east of Fās, a bridge of nine arches over the Wādī Sabū (Sebou).

Bibliography: Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, ed. and tr. Houdas, in *PELOV*, 3rd series, iii, Paris 1889, 301-4 (text) and 501-3 (tr.); Zayyānī, *al-Turdjumān al-muʿrib*, ed. and tr. Houdas (*Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812*, in *PELOV*, 2nd series, xviii), Paris 1886; Akansūs, *al-Djaysh al-ʿaramram*, Fās 1336/1918, i, 58-63; Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣāʾ* Cairo, iv, 1312/1894-5, tr. Fumey, in *AM*, ix, Paris 1906 (*Chronique de la dynastie ʿalaouie au Maroc*), index; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fās, ii, 3-6, tr. E. Michaux-Bellaire, in *AM*, xxiv, Paris 1917, 211-17; most of the other Moroccan biographers (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, index); Mouëtte, *Histoire des conquêtes de Mouley Archy* [= al-Rashīd], *connu sous le nom de roy du Tafilet, et de Mouley Ismaël*, Paris 1683; H. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Paris, 2nd series, *passim*; P. de Cenival, *La légende du juif Ibn Mechʿal et la fête du sultan des tolba à Fès*, in *Hespéris*, v (1925), 137-218; A. Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de la Régence d'Alger (1509-1830)*, Paris 1904; Ch.A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, 487-90 (reproduction of a portrait [authentic?] of Mawlāy al-Rashīd, fig. 225, p. 481); H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Paris 1949-50; P. Shinar, *Essai de bibliographie sélective et annotée sur l'Islam maghrébin contemporain, ... 1830-1978*, Paris 1983. See also ʿALAWĪS; AL-MAGHRIB; SHORFĀ; SIDJILMĀSA; TĀFĪLĀLT.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

RĀSHID, MEḤMED (?-1148/1735), Ottoman historian and poet. He was born in Istanbul, the son of *ḳāḍī* Muṣṭafā Efendi from Malaṭya. From 1116/1704 he held a regular series of posts as a *müderris* culminating in appointment to the Süleymāniyye in 1130/1718, the latter held concurrently with the post of *Ḥaremeyn müfettishi*, inspector of the *awḳāf* of Mecca and Medina. He then served as *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo 1135-7/1723-4. His career thereafter was irregular by comparison, and much influenced by political considerations, in particular by his closeness to the Grand Vizier Newshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] and his consequent identification with the palace culture of the *lāle dewri* [*q.v.*] period (described in Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altınay], *ʿĀlimler ve ṣanatkārlar*, Istanbul 1924, 311-22). In 1141/1728-9, Rāshid went as Ottoman ambassador to Iṣfahān, and shortly afterwards was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul (1141-3/1729-30). Following the Patrona Khalīl [*q.v.*] rebellion of 1730, Rāshid spent three years in exile, first in Bursa, then on the island of Limni. His final appointment, in 1147/1734, was as *ḳāḍī ʿasker* [*q.v.*] of Anatolia, in which post he died in 1148/1735.

Although enjoying a contemporary reputation also as a leading poet and prose stylist, Rāshid is remembered principally as an historian, successor to Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] as official Ottoman historiographer. In 1126/1714 he was commissioned by the Grand Vizier Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha [see DĀMĀD] to write the history of the reign of Aḥmed III, from his accession in 1115/1703. For this purpose he was given the title *weḳāyiʿ-nüwīs* (or *waḳʿa-nüwīs* [*q.v.*]), allowed access to official documents, and required to attend in person on the Morea and Waradīn campaigns of 1714 and 1716 respectively. In 1130/1718 at the request of Newshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha, newly-appointed Grand Vizier, Rāshid then revised his work to begin in 1071/1660, at the point where Naʿīmā's history ceased. The *Taʾrīkh-i Rāshid* terminates in 1134/1722. Rāshid was succeeded as *waḳʿa-nüwīs* by Küčük Čelebi-zāde Ismāʿīl ʿĀṣīm Efendi [*q.v.*].

The *Taʾrīkh-i Rāshid* has been published twice: in 1153/1741, by the Müteferriḳa press, 3 vols., and 1282/1865, 5 vols. (both editions also include the continuation by Küčük Čelebi-zāde Ismāʿīl ʿĀṣīm Efendi for the period 1134-41/1722-8; cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 268-70).

Bibliography: For the biography and a list of Rāshid's works, see M. Kemal Özergin, *İA*, *Râşid*, with detailed bibl.; see also *Taʾrīkh-i Rāshid*, i, 4-10, v, 449-54, and *passim*. (CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

RĀSHID, N.M., modern Urdu poet (1910-75). His real name was Nadhar (Nadhr) Muḥammad, but he is universally known by his literary name, Nūn Mīm Rāshid.

He was born in the township of ʿAlīpūr Ćaṫṫha (formerly Akālgaṙh) in the Gūdjarānwāla district of the Pandjāb in present-day Pākistān. His father, Faḍl Ilāhī Ćishtī, was in the provincial educational service from which he retired as District Inspector of Schools. Rāshid pursued his early education in his native town passing his high school examination in 1926. Thereafter, he studied in Lāyalpūr and Lahore respectively, and received his M.A. in economics from Government College, Lahore, in 1932. After completing his education he was employed from 1932 to 1934 as editor of *Nakhlistān*, a semi-literary journal published by the Punjab government's Rural Welfare Department. During 1934 and 1935 he worked as assistant editor for the literary journal *Shāhkār*, which was published from Lahore. He was associated with All-India Radio from 1939 until 1943, after which he joined the Indian Army as Public Relations Officer in Inter-Services Directorate. His job in that capacity lasted until 1947, and involved his stay in outside countries such as Iran, ʿIrāḳ, Egypt and Ceylon (presently Sri Lanka). In 1947 he rejoined All-India Radio as Assistant Regional Director. Following the partition of the sub-continent in 1947, he transferred himself to Radio Pakistan, where he remained until 1951. In October 1952 he joined the United Nations as Information Officer, rising eventually to the position of Director, U.N. Information Centre. In that position he was posted in 1967 to Tehran, where he was stationed until his retirement in 1974. Thereupon, he took up permanent residence in England, and died in London on 9 October 1975 of a heart attack. In accordance with his own wish, his body was cremated instead of being buried as required under Muslim custom.

Rāshid's first volume of poetry appeared in 1941 under the title *Māwarā* ("Beyond"), which immediately established him as a non-traditional poet of considerable originality and boldness. His next collection was published in 1955, entitled *Īrān meṅ adjnabī* ("A stranger in Iran"), and contained, in part, a group of poems arranged collectively under the same name. This work was followed in 1969 by *Lā = Insān* ("X = Man"), the poems of which indicated a more complex symbolistic style. Rāshid's last poetical collection was *Gumān kā mumkin* ("The possibleness of doubt"), which was published in 1977 after the poet's death. Finally, a complete edition of his entire verse (*Kulliyyāt*) was published in 1988.

Apart from original works, Rāshid also made a number of translations from foreign languages such as Alexander Kuprin's *Yama the pit* (1939), William Saroyan's *Mama I love you* (1956), and an anthology published under the title *Djadīd Fārsī shāʿirī* ("Modern

Persian poetry") (1987), which contained Urdu translations from modern Persian poets as well as notices on the life and works of the authors.

The dominant note of Rās͟hid's poems is personal, often interspersed with political subjects. Sexual themes are prominent in the poems which belong to his early and middle periods, but in his later works he shows an increasing disposition towards complex human and personal issues. An overly-Persianised idiom pervades his diction, and his expression is complicated and difficult. His poetic technique has given impetus to the widespread use of *naẓm-i āzād* (the Urdu form of "free verse"), and he is regarded as one of the pioneers whose influence has been of paramount importance in giving a new direction to modern Urdu poetry.

Bibliography: N.M. Rās͟hid, *Kulliyyāt-i Rās͟hid*, Lahore 1988; Mālik Rām, *Tad͟hkira-yi muʿāṣirīn*, iii, Delhi 1978; Mug͟hnī Tabassum and S͟hahriyār, *Nūn Mīm Rās͟hid: s͟hak͟hṣiyyat awr fan*, Delhi 1981; *Nayā dawr* (special issue on Rās͟hid), 71 and 72, Karachi n.d.; Muhammad Sadiq, *Twentieth century Urdu literature*, Karachi 1983; *Annual of Urdu studies*, v (Chicago 1985); M.A.R. Habib (tr.), *The dissident voice: poems of N.M. Rashid*, Madras 1991; *Pakistani literature*, i/1, Islamabad 1992; Kathleen Grant Jaeger and Baidar Bakht (tr.), *An anthology of modern Urdu poetry*, i, Delhi 1984; *Mahfil: a quarterly of South Asian literature*, vii/1-2 (Chicago 1972) (contains English translations of Rās͟hid's poems by Carlo Coppola and Munibur Rahman).

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

RĀS͟HID AL-DĪN SINĀN, the greatest of the mediaeval Nizārī Ismāʿīlī leaders in Syria, d. 588/1192 or 589/1193. Also referred to as Sinān Rās͟hid al-Dīn by the Nizārīs, his full name was Rās͟hid al-Dīn Sinān b. Salmān (or Sulaymān) b. Muḥammad Abu' 'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. He was born into an Imāmī S͟hīʿī family during the 520s/1126-35, near Baṣra, where he converted to Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in his youth. Subsequently, Rās͟hid al-Dīn Sinān went to the central headquarters of the Nizārī *daʿwa* at Alamūt [*q.v.*], in northern Persia, to further his Ismāʿīlī education. There, Sinān became a close companion, and possibly a schoolfellow, of the then lord of Alamūt's heir apparent Ḥasan, the future Ḥasan II *ʿalā d͟hikrihi 'l-salām*. Soon after his accession in 557/1162 to the central leadership of the Nizārī *daʿwa* and state, Ḥasan II dispatched Sinān to the Nizārī community in Syria, which henceforth became the centre of his activities.

Initially, Sinān spent some time at Kahf, a major Nizārī stronghold in the D̲jabal Bahrāʾ region of central Syria, making himself extremely popular locally as a schoolmaster. The death of S͟hayk͟h Abū Muḥammad, who had led the Syrian Nizārīs for some years, resulted in unprecedented succession disputes within the community, but soon Sinān was appointed by Alamūt as the chief Nizārī *dāʿī* in Syria, a post he held for some thirty years until his death.

Immediately upon his appointment, Sinān, who normally resided at the fortresses of Kahf, Maṣyāf or Ḳadmūs, began the task of reorganising the Nizārī *daʿwa* and community in Syria and also of fortifying the existing sectarian strongholds and acquiring new ones in the D̲jabal Bahrāʾ. He also paid special attention to establishing a corps of *fidāʾīs* (or *fidāwīs*), the self-sacrificing devotees who would undertake missions to remove prominent enemies of their sect. The absolute obedience of the *fidāʾīs* and their seemingly irrational behaviour, as well as the much exaggerated reports about their assassination attempts, gave rise to a number of imaginative legends, especially in the Crusaders' circles, regarding the strange practices of the sectarians (known to the mediaeval Europeans as the Assassins) and their awe-inspiring chief, Sinān, who now became famous in the occidental sources as the "Old Man of the Mountain"; or, "*le Vieux de la Montagne*" (see William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnholt 1986, ii, 953-4; L. Hellmuth, *Die Assassinenlegende in der österreichischen Geschichtsdichtung des Mittelalters*, Vienna 1988, 78-116).

When Ḥasan II proclaimed the *ḳiyāma* within the Persian Nizārī community in 559/1164, it fell upon Sinān to inaugurate the new dispensation in Syria. A while later, Sinān did ceremonially announce the spiritual Resurrection of the Syrian Nizārīs; and he taught his own version of the *ḳiyāma* doctrine, which evidently never acquired any deep roots in the community (see S. Guyard, *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélîs*, Paris 1874, text 17-9, 66-9, tr. 99-101, 204-9; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1985, 77-8).

Sinān played a prominent part in the regional politics of his time, successfully resorting to diplomacy and other suitable policies in the interest of safeguarding the independence of the Syrian Nizārī community. To this end, he entered into an intricate and shifting web of alliances with the major neighbouring powers and rulers, especially the Crusaders, the Zangids and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

When Sinān assumed the leadership of the Syrian Nizārīs, the ardently Sunnī Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who ruled over the Zangid dominions in Syria, was at the height of his power, posing a greater threat to Sinān than the Crusaders, who had been sporadically fighting the Nizārīs for several decades over the possession of various strongholds. The Nizārīs were also under pressure by the Hospitallers and Templars [see DĀWIYYA and ISBITĀRIYYA in Suppl.], who acted rather independently and often successfully demanded tribute. Hence, from early on Sinān aimed to establish peaceful relations with the Crusaders; and, in fact in 569/1173, he sent an embassy to king Amalric I, seeking a formal rapprochement with the Latin state of Jerusalem. On Nūr al-Dīn's death in 569/1174, Sinān came to be confronted by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, leader of the Muslim holy war against the Crusaders, who was then extending his own authority over Syria. Sinān now allied himself temporarily with the Zangids of Aleppo, equally threatened by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's rise, and he dispatched *fidāʾīs* to kill the latter on two occasions without success during 570-1/1174-6 (see B. Lewis, *Saladin and the Assassins*, in *BSOAS*, xv [1953], 239-45). In vengeance, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn then laid siege to Maṣyāf. However, hostilities soon ceased permanently between Sinān and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who had reached some sort of truce. Towards the end of Sinān's life, relations seem to have deteriorated once again between the Crusaders and the Syrian Nizārīs. According to Ibn al-At͟hīr (*anno* 588 A.H.) and other sources hostile to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the murder of Conrad of Montferrat, the Frankish king of Jerusalem, in 588/1192 at the hands of *fidāʾīs*, had been instigated by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

Sinān enjoyed an unprecedented popularity within the Syrian Nizārī community, which enabled him, alone amongst the Syrian Nizārī leaders, to act somewhat independently of Alamūt in managing the affairs of his community. There are, indeed, reports indicating that serious disagreements had developed between Sinān and Ḥasan II's successor at Alamūt, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II (561-607/1166-1210 [*q.v.*]).

But there is no evidence suggesting that Sinān was ever acknowledged as an *imām* by the Syrian Nizārīs, who were sometimes called by the outsiders as the Sinānīs after his name (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iii, 340). An outstanding organiser, strategist, and statesman, Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān led the Syrian Nizārīs to the peak of their power and laid solid foundations for the continued existence of the Nizārī community and *daʿwa* in Syria. He died in 589/1193, or, less probably, a year earlier.

Bibliography (in addition to the works cited in the article): 1. Sources: References to Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān may be found in most of the general Muslim histories and the regional chronicles of Syria dealing with his period, and in the occidental chronicles of the Third Crusade. However, the chief primary sources on Sinān's life and career are: (i) *Faṣl min al-lafẓ al-sharīf*; or *Manāḳib al-mawlā Rāshid al-Dīn*, ed. and tr. S. Guyard in his *Un grand maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin*, in *JA*, 7 série, ix (1877), 387-489; a new ed. of its Arabic text in M. Ghālib, *Sinān Rāshid al-Dīn*, Beirut 1967, 163-214, which is a Syrian Ismāʿīlī hagiographical work attributed to the Nizārī *dāʿī* Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaḳī (*flor.*, 10th/16th century); and (ii) Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm's biography of Sinān in a still undiscovered volume of his *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, as preserved in later recensions, ed. and tr. B. Lewis in his *Kamāl al-Dīn's biography of Rāšid al-Dīn Sinān*, in *Arabica*, xiii (1966), 225-67; repr. in his *Studies in Classical and Ottoman Islam*, London 1976, no. X.

2. Studies: E.M. Quatremère, *Notice historique sur les Ismaëliens*, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, iv (1814), 353 ff.; C. Defrémery, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Ismaéliens ou Bathiniens de Syrie*, in *JA*, 5 série, v (1855), 5-32; W. Ivanow, art. *Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān*, in *EI*[1]; M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, 185-209; B. Lewis, *The Ismāʿīlīs and the Assassins*, in *A history of the Crusades*, ed. K.M. Setton, i, *The first hundred years*, ed. M.W. Baldwin, [2]Madison 1969, 120-7; idem, *The Assassins*, London 1967, 110-8; N.A. Mirza, *Rashid al-Din Sinan*, in *The great Ismaili heroes*, Karachi 1973, 72-80; I.K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 289-90; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 332, 396-403, 689-91; idem, *The Assassin legends*, London 1994. (F. Daftary)

RASHĪD AL-DĪN ṬABĪB, Persian statesman and the greatest historian of the Īlkhānid period (*ca.* 645-718/*ca.* 1247-1318).

Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh b. ʿImād al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Khayr, was born in Hamadān into a Jewish family with a professional medical tradition: his father was an apothecary. He himself was originally trained as a physician (hence he remained known as Ṭabīb), and in that capacity he entered the service of the Mongol court during the reign of the Īlkhān Abaḳa (r. 663-80/1265-82). He had converted from Judaism to Islam at around the age of 30. His Jewish religious background remained throughout Rashīd al-Dīn's career a potential embarrassment, and the demonstration of his Islamic orthodoxy and respectability may well have been his principal motive for writing a number of somewhat derivative works on Islamic theology (see J. van Ess, *Der Wesir und seine Gelehrten*, Wiesbaden 1981, and the comments in A.Z.V. Togan, *The composition of the History of the Mongols by Rashīd al-Dīn*, in *CAJ*, vii [1962], 60-72). It may be that he should be identified with the Rashīd al-Dawla who, according to Bar Hebraeus, was prominent in the household of the Īlkhān Gaykhatu (r. 690-4/1291-5) during the troubles caused by the introduction of paper currency, *ch'ao*, on the Chinese model (J.A. Boyle, introduction to Rashīd al-Dīn, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 3).

Rashīd al-Dīn did not achieve high political office until 697/1298, during the reign of Ghazan, when after the fall of Ṣadr al-Dīn Zandjānī (to whom Rashīd al-Dīn had briefly acted as deputy) he was appointed associate *wazīr* to Ṣadr al-Dīn's successor, Saʿd al-Dīn Sāwadjī. He remained at the summit of state affairs for the rest of his life, though always with a colleague; he was never sole chief minister. He is usually credited with having been the principal architect of Ghazan's great programme of administrative reforms. His position, though always, like that of all Īlkhānid ministers, precarious, was one of great power and influence, and he accumulated vast wealth, such that he was able to construct quarters in both the capitals, Tabrīz and Sulṭāniyya. The *waḳf-nāma* for his quarter in Tabrīz, the Rabʿ-i Rashīdī, survives, in part in his own hand (facsimile ed. Tehran 1972, printed ed., Tehran 1977-8, both ed. Ī. Afshār and M. Mīnovī). His interests extended beyond history and administration including, as well as theology, agriculture and related subjects, on which he left a treatise, the *Āthār wa aḥyā'* (ed. M. Sutūda and Ī. Afshār, Tehran 1990). (A volume of letters attributed to him and known as the *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1945, or as *Sawāniḥ al-afkār-i Rashīdī*, ed. M.T. Dānishpazhūh, Tehran 1980-1, is now generally regarded as a spurious compilation, perhaps of the Tīmūrīd period.)

Rashīd al-Dīn's last colleague, during the reign of Öldjeytü (r. 703-16/1304-16), Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Shāh, was also a bitter rival. Relations between them eventually became so bad that administrative responsibility had to be divided, with Rashīd al-Dīn taking the centre and south of the empire, and Tādj al-Dīn the north-west, Mesopotamia and Anatolia. During the reign of Öldjeytü's son and successor, Abū Saʿīd, Tādj al-Dīn's intrigues were ultimately successful in bringing about Rashīd al-Dīn's overthrow. He was charged with having poisoned Öldjeytü, and together with his son Ibrāhīm was executed in 718/1318. His property was confiscated and the Rabʿ-i Rashīdī looted; but later in the reign, his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn followed his father in the office of *wazīr*.

Rashīd al-Dīn's enduring fame rests more on his work as a historian than on his career as a prominent official. His *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* is undoubtedly the most important single historical source for the Mongol Empire as a whole, not merely of the realm of the Īlkhāns. The work was commissioned by Ghazan, who seems to have feared that the Mongols, as they settled down as Muslims in Persia, might be in some danger, ultimately, of forgetting who they were and where they had come from. It initially contained an account of the history of the Mongols and their steppe predecessors. This part, which became known as the *Ta'rīkh-i Ghāzānī*, was presented to Öldjeytü after the death of his brother and predecessor. Öldjeytü asked Rashīd al-Dīn, as a memorial to Ghazan, to continue the work so as to provide a history of all the peoples with whom the Mongols had come into contact. It is this part of the history that justified Boyle's description of Rashīd al-Dīn as "the first world-historian". The history, when completed (there appears to have been an earlier, shorter version), consisted of the following parts: (1) The Mongol and Turkish tribes; the Mongols, from Činggis Khān to the death of Ghazan; (2) A history of Öldjeytü (of which no copy is known, though Togan claimed to have seen one in

Mashhad in 1923), followed by the "universal history": Adam and the Patriarchs, the pre-Islamic kings of Persia, Muḥammad and the caliphs, the dynasties of Persia in the Islamic period, the Oghuz and the Turks, China, the Jews, the Franks, and India; (3) The *Shuʿab-i pandjgāna* [the "Five genealogies" of the Arabs, Jews, Mongols, Franks and Chinese: unpublished but surviving as Topkapı Sarayı ms. 2932]; (4) The *Ṣuwar al-aḳālīm*, a geographical compendium of which no copy has yet come to light. These sections are very uneven in length: the first is by far the largest. In 1908 E.G. Browne produced a scheme for publication of the whole, organised more manageably (*Suggestions for a complete edition of the Jami 'ut-Tawarikh of Rashidu'd-Din Fadlu'llah*, in *JRAS* [1908], 17-37). Much, though not all, of this has since been accomplished (for details of the more important editions and translations of the various sections of part 1, see the *Bibl.* to MONGOLS).

Study of the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* is not without its problems. Even the authorship of the book has been questioned. Togan (*art. cit.*) contended, not very persuasively, that it was a translation from a Mongol original. The author of the most important surviving contemporary source for the reign of Öldjeytü, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳāshānī, maintained that he was himself the true author of the work, for which Rashīd al-Dīn had stolen not only the credit but also the very considerable financial rewards (Ḳāshānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ūldjāytū*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 240). It is not easy to judge what justification there may have been for this claim. Rashīd al-Dīn was of course a busy government minister, whose available time for scholarship must have been limited; he tells us that he wrote his history between morning prayer and sunrise. It may well have been that he was obliged to use one or more research assistants to deal with the collection of material and perhaps the initial writing up, and that Ḳāshānī was among these; this was Barthold's hypothesis (*Turkestan*, 47).

The various parts of the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* differ greatly in their value to the historian. Not all of them can be regarded as primary. Much of Rashīd al-Dīn's material on the period after the death of Činggis Khān, for example, is lifted straight from his predecessor Djuwaynī [*q.v.*], and has limited independent significance. The "universal history" sections are of undeniable historiographical interest because they are evidence of so unprecedented an intellectual endeavour; but no one would go to them to find out what happened in China, India or Europe. On the other hand, Rashīd al-Dīn's account of the life and career of Činggis Khān is of the first importance, even though he was writing a century after the events. This is because his material is derived from a now lost Mongolian chronicle, the *Altan debter*, whose contents appear to have been conveyed to him by Bolad Chingsang, the representative in Persia of the Great Khān in China. So far as can be judged by comparison with Chinese use of the same chronicle, the Persian version accurately preserves what was in the original (see P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (ed. and tr.), *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, i, Leiden 1951).

For the historian, by far the most important section is Rashīd al-Dīn's history of the Īlkhāns, the period of which he was a contemporary, and for much of which he held high office and was, presumably, well placed to gather full and accurate information. There can be no doubt that Rashīd al-Dīn's position at the centre of affairs makes his history of those affairs uniquely authoritative. Yet this creates its own problems: not, perhaps those of accuracy as such, but of perspective and partisanship (see D.O. Morgan, *The problems of writing Mongolian history*, in S. Akiner (ed.), *Mongolia today*, London 1991, 1-8). Rashīd al-Dīn, inevitably, had a point of view and a set of assumptions: those of a Persian bureaucrat, which were by no means necessarily identical with those of his Mongol masters, who are rarely represented directly in our sources. We almost always see the Mongols through the eyes of others.

Equally, as both chief minister and, in effect, "official" historian to Ghazan and Öldjeytü, Rashīd al-Dīn had an interest in painting the troubles of the pre-Ghazan era in colours as black as possible and in depicting Ghazan's reforms as a total success. This should be treated with a degree of scepticism. The *Taʾrīkh-i Ghāzānī* provides us with the full texts of the reforming edicts (*yarlīghs*), which are vivid, convincing and full of detail. There may be less reason, however, for supposing that the edicts were in fact universally implemented. Rashīd al-Dīn was a remarkable historian of great importance; but it should not be supposed that he was an impartial one.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also Browne, *LHP*, iii; Spuler, *Mongolen*[4], Leiden 1985; *CAJ*, xiv (1970), an issue which contains numerous valuable articles on aspects of Rashīd al-Dīn's life and work, e.g. Ī. Afshār, *The autograph copy of Rashīd al-Dīn's Vaqfnāmeh*, 5-13, J.A. Boyle, *Rashīd al-Dīn and the Franks*, 62-7, K. Jahn, *Rashīd al-Dīn and Chinese culture*, 134-47, I.P. Petrushevsky, *Rashīd al-Dīn's conception of the state*, 148-62.

(D.O. MORGAN)

RASHĪD AL-DĪN Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Djalīl al-ʿUmarī, known as **WAṬWĀṬ**, secretary and prolific author in Arabic and Persian. A reputed descendant of the caliph ʿUmar, he was born either in Balkh or Bukhārā, but spent most of his life in Gurgāndj, the capital of Khwārazm. He died, according to Dawlatshāh, in 578/1182-3, in his 97th year, which would put his birth in 481/1088-9; Yāḳūt (at least in the published text) has him die 5 years earlier.

Rashīd al-Dīn was chief secretary (*ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshāʾ*) under the Khwārazmshāh Atsïz (521-51/1127-56) and his successor Īl-Arslān (d. 568/1172). His loyalty to Atsïz earned him the enmity of the Saldjūḳ Sandjar who, according to Djuwaynī, resolved at one point to cut Rashīd al-Dīn into 30 pieces, but was dissuaded from doing so by his own chief secretary, Muntadjab al-Dīn al-Djuwaynī, the uncle of our informant's great-grandfather. We possess a considerable number of Rashīd al-Dīn's highly ornate letters, including those which he wrote on behalf of his two masters (in Arabic to the caliphs and their entourage, in Persian to Sandjar and others) and also his private letters in both languages. Two bilingual collections of epistles were compiled by Rashīd al-Dīn himself, *Abkār al-afkār fī 'l-rasāʾil wa 'l-ashʿār* and *ʿArāʾis al-khawāṭir wa nafāʾis al-nawādir*, and others are preserved elsewhere. The Persian letters found in the two collections were edited by Ḳ. Tūysirkānī (Tehran 1338 *Sh.*/1960), and a large number of Arabic letters were published (from an unidentified source) by Muḥammad Fahmī under the title *Madjmūʿat rasāʾil Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ*, 2 parts, Cairo 1315/1897-8. Ten of the latter are translated in H. Horst, *Arabische Briefe der Ḫōrazmšāhs an den Kalifenhof aus der Feder des Rašīd ad-Dīn Waṭwāṭ*; in *ZDMG*, cxvi (1966) 24-43, and the same author has summarised many of the Persian letters in his *Die Staatsverwaltung der Großselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs*, Wiesbaden 1964.

Rashīd al-Dīn's Persian *dīwān* contains more than

8,500 verses in S. Nafīsī's edition (Tehran 1339 Sh./1960) and consists largely of poems eulogising Atsïz. Modern Persian critics have in general not had a high estimate of their merits. But the best known of his works is *Maṭlūb kull ṭālib min kalām amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, or *Tardjama-yi ṣad kalima*, consisting of the 100 Arabic sayings of ʿAlī said to have been collected by al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*]; each apothegm is followed by a verbose Arabic paraphrase, then a Persian commentary and finally a poetic paraphrase in the form of a mostly rather pedestrian Persian *dubaytī*. It has frequently been printed in the East—though in many of the editions (and mss.) one or both of the prose commentaries are omitted—also with a Latin translation by Stickel (Jena 1834), with a German version by Fleischer (Leipzig 1837) and with an English verse rendering (but without the prose versions) by Harley (Calcutta 1927). Rashīd al-Dīn subsequently gave the same treatment to 100 sayings of each of the three first caliphs, with his works entitled *Tuḥfat al-ṣadīḳ ilā 'l-ṣadīḳ min kalām amīr al-muʾminīn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ, Faḍl al-khiṭāb min kalām amīr al-muʾminīn ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb* and *Uns al-lahfān min kalām imām al-muʾminīn ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān*; these remain unpublished, though mss. are available. Another work of comparable nature, *Laṭāʾif al-amthāl wa ṭarāʾif al-aḳwāl*, is a collection of several hundred Arabic proverbs, each with a Persian prose translation and often extensive commentary. It was published by S.M.B. Sabzwārī (n.p. 1358 Sh./1979) on the basis of an old ms. found in Medīna. Further paraenetic works survive in manuscript.

His much-admired handbook of rhetorical figures, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr fī daḳāʾiḳ al-shiʿr*, is available in a richly annotated edition by ʿAbbās Iḳbāl (Tehran 1308 Sh./1929-30; reprinted, but without the editor's introduction and endnotes, in the appendix to Nafīsī's edition of the *dīwān*, and again, with a Russian translation by N.Yu. Čalisova, Moscow 1985). It is strongly dependent both on al-Marghīnānī's *al-Maḥāsin fī 'l-naẓm wa 'l-nathr*, from which many of the Arabic prose and verse quotations are derived, as well as on Rādūyānī's *Tardjumān al-balāgha*, whence Rashīd al-Dīn has virtually all of the illustrative quotations from early Persian poets (see the editions of the two books by Van Gelder and Ateş respectively), but he added a good number of citations from Persian poets of the 6th/12th century as well as from his own poems in both languages. He has also been credited with a Persian dictionary (*Ḥamd wa thanā*, or *Nuḳūd al-zawāhir wa ʿuḳūd al-djawāhir*, extant in both prose and verse versions) and a short treatise on metre (*Risāla-yi ʿarūḍ*), but the question of their authenticity requires closer scrutiny.

Bibliography: ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī, *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1935, 166-8 of the Arabic section; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr* (the relevant entry was published by M. Shafīʿ in *Oriental College Magazine* [1934-5], at the end of fascicules xi/1, xi/2, xi/3, xii/4, separate pagination); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 91-5; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb* i, 80-6; Djuwaynī ii, 6-14, 18; Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 223-5; Dawlatshāh, 87-92; Browne, *LHP*, ii, 330-3; Brockelmann, I 275-6, S I 486; A. Ateş, *Raşīd al-Dīn Vaṭvāṭ'ın eserlerinin bazı yazma nüshaları*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, x (1959) 1-24; Storey, iii/1, 85-7, 176-8. See also the editors' introductions to Rashīd al-Dīn's various works (listed in the article).

(F.C. DE BLOIS)

RASHĪD ʿALĪ AL-GAYLĀNĪ (al-Djīlānī), Prime Minister of ʿIrāḳ on four occasions in the 1930s and 1940s and for long a symbol of ʿIrāḳī resistance to British interests. He was a descendant of the famous religious leader ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] and a member of a cadet branch of the family which held the office of *naḳīb al-ashrāf* [*q.v.*] in Baghdād several times in the 19th and 20th centuries (b. Baghdād 1892, d. Beirut 1965).

Rashīd ʿAlī qualified as a lawyer and became an appeal court judge in 1921; in 1924 he became Minister of Justice in the cabinet of Yāsīn al-Hāshimī, perhaps his most intimate political colleague. Together with other opponents of Nūrī al-Saʿīd [*q.v.*], he and Yāsīn were co-founders of the Party of National Brotherhood (*Ḥizb al-Ikhāʾ al-Waṭanī*) formed to spearhead opposition to the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930. However, after the treaty had come into effect and ʿIrāḳ had become at least theoretically independent of Britian, both men came to adopt a more pragmatic approach. Rashīd ʿAlī accepted his first premiership on 20 March 1933 and held office until the end of October of the same year. After this he remained out of power until March 1935, but he and Yāsīn spent much of the intervening period attempting to incite the Middle Euphrates tribes to rise against the governments of their rivals ʿAlī Djawdat and Djamīl Midfaʿī. Their efforts succeeded to the extent that tribal demonstrations in Baghdād prevented Djawdat and Midfaʿī from forming cabinets, and in March 1935 Yāsīn became Premier, with Rashīd ʿAlī as Minister of Interior, in a government which lasted until Bakr Ṣidḳī's coup d'état in October 1936.

By the latter part of the 1930s, especially after the Palestine rebellion and the failure of the Franco-Syrian independence negotiations, Britain and France had become widely unpopular in the Arab Middle East. At the same time, the governments of Italy and Germany were held up by Arab nationalists as exemplars of states whose strength lay in their national unity. Pan-Arab nationalism had little following in ʿIrāḳ outside the officer corps, but the weakness of the central institutions of the state after the death of King Fayṣal, the existence of widely shared aspirations for genuine independence from Britain, the arrival of al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, Muftī of Jerusalem [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Baghdād in October 1939, and the fact that a clique of four powerful nationalist officers, the so-called "colonels of the Golden Square" had come to exercise a pivotal influence on ʿIrāḳī politics, combined to heighten anti-British feeling, and also to create a climate of opinion in ʿIrāḳ which was either neutral or benevolent towards the Axis powers at the beginning of the Second World War.

Rashīd ʿAlī became the chief political ally of the nationalist colonels of the Golden Square, and became Prime Minister for the third time in March 1940, after the fall of Nūrī al-Saʿīd's fifth ministry. Nūrī, who stayed on under Rashīd ʿAlī as Minister of Foreign Affairs, was unpopular because of his staunchly pro-British past, but he thought that a government headed by Rashīd ʿAlī, who had been famous for his opposition to the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, would be both less compromised because of the latter's anti-British record and better able to resist the more extreme demands of the Golden Square. However, after the fall of France in June 1940, and under the combined influence of the Golden Square, the Muftī and prominent Syrian politicians in exile in Baghdād, Rashīd ʿAlī gradually adopted a more openly anti-British and pro-Axis stance.

Under the terms of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930, the ʿIrāḳī government was obliged to allow the transit of British troops across its territory in wartime. Bri-

tain requested this facility in June 1940, and permission was eventually if somewhat grudgingly given in mid-July. However, in spite of requests from Britain, the ʿIrāḳī government refused to break off relations with Italy when Italy declared war on Britain in June 1940, and the Italian legation developed into a centre of anti-British intrigue. In addition, the ʿIrāḳī government now began to approach the legations of Italy and Japan for arms supplies, and in August 1940 Ras͟hīd ʿAlī and the Muftī entered into direct if somewhat fruitless negotiations with Berlin (for details, see Majid Khadduri, *Independent Iraq 1932-1958: a study in Iraqi politics*², London 1960, 181-2, 378-80, and U.S. Department of State, *Documents on German foreign policy 1918-1945*, Series D, vol. x, 141-4, 154-5, 275, 415-16, 558-60).

Matters came to a head, when Ras͟hīd ʿAlī, who now had the support of most of the armed forces, refused to yield to British pressure to resign in November 1940 in the face of his unwillingness to allow British troops to land in or pass through ʿIrāḳ. He was forced to step down temporarily as Prime Minister in January 1941 but returned to power on 12 April; by this time the Regent, Nūrī and other pro-British politicians had fled to Transjordan.

On 17 and 18 April 1941 British troops landed at Baṣra; there was no doubt that Ras͟hīd ʿAlī and his government enjoyed widespread support (cf. Khadduri, *op. cit.*, 214; Hanna Batatu, *The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq; a study of Iraq's old landed classes and its Communists, Ba'thists and Free Officers*, Princeton 1978, 453-62), but, given the balance of forces involved, the defeat of the ʿIrāḳī army in May 1941 was a foregone conclusion. The German assistance which Ras͟hīd ʿAlī had requested never materialised, and he was obliged to flee first to Iran, and then to Germany, where he arrived in November 1941.

Ras͟hīd ʿAlī stayed in Germany until May 1945, and then found his way to Saʿūdī Arabia, where he remained until 1954. He returned to ʿIrāḳ a few weeks after the overthrow of the monarchy in July 1958, apparently hoping that his previous services would be duly acclaimed. When adequate recognition was not forthcoming he set about planning the sort of coup that he had engineered successfully in the mid-1930s, inciting rebellion among the tribes of the Middle Euphrates in a quixotic attempt to unseat the government of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*]. He was arrested in December 1958, tried and condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted by Ḳāsim, and he was eventually released from prison in October 1961. He died in Beirut on 30 August 1965.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P. SLUGLETT)

RAS͟HĪD RIḌĀ, whose full name was Muḥammad Ras͟hīd b. ʿAlī Riḍā b. Muḥammad S͟hams al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Munlā (i.e. Mullā) ʿAlī K͟halīfa (1865-1935), one of the most productive and influential authors of Islamic reform [see IṢLĀḤ], of Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*] and also, to a certain extent, of Arab nationalism [see ḲAWMIYYA]. His name is connected with the journal *al-Manār* [*q.v.*] in the first place, whose editor he was from its foundation in 1898 till his death.

Ras͟hīd Riḍā was born on 27 D̲j̲umādā I 1282/23 September 1865 in Ḳalamūn, a village near Tripoli (Ṭarābulus al-S͟hām [*q.v.*]) on the Mediterranean coast in northern Lebanon (for his day of birth, see S͟harabāṣī, 102). The inhabitants of Ḳalamūn were exclusively Sunnī Muslims and the great majority of them claimed descent from the Prophet (for the allegedly Ḥusaynid pedigree of Ras͟hīd Riḍā's family, see S͟hakīb Arslān, 809-11, and S͟harabāṣī, 103-7).

Ras͟hīd Riḍā received his first education in the *kuttāb* [*q.v.*] of Ḳalamūn, and after that in an Ottoman state school in Tripoli and, above all, in the *madrasa waṭaniyya*, founded there in 1879. The director of this school was S͟hayk͟h Ḥusayn al-D̲j̲isr (1845-1909). It was from this scholar that Ras͟hīd Riḍā received the incentives that were essential for his intellectual development, such as, for instance, those regarding the modernistic interpretation of scientific achievements. Later, he also had heated differences of opinion with al-D̲j̲isr (see S͟harabāṣī, 231-46; Ebert, index, 188; for other teachers of Ras͟hīd Riḍā in Lebanon, see S͟harabāṣī, 246 ff.).

In the winter of 1897-8, Ras͟hīd Riḍā travelled to Egypt. Already the day after his arrival in Cairo he went to see Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] in order to expound to him his aim of publishing a journal dealing with Islamic reform. The first issue of this journal, *al-Manār*, appeared on 22 S͟hawwāl 1315/mid-March 1898.

The house which Ras͟hīd Riḍā acquired at Cairo, after some time, served as private residence, printing establishment, bookshop and bookstore (Sharabāṣī, 137). Notwithstanding the success of many of his publications and the occasional gifts of friends and patrons, he apparently was seldom free from financial worries (S͟harabāṣī, 166-9, based, among other sources, on letters of Ras͟hīd Riḍā to S͟hakīb Arslān).

Some information on his being married three times (the first two marriages broke down after a short time) and on his children can be found in S͟harabāṣī, 216-27.

After the Ottoman constitution had been reinstated in 1908, Ras͟hīd Riḍā visited *Bilād al-S͟hām*. On this journey, as well as on later journeys to Istanbul (1909-10), to India (1912; on his way back he visited Masḳaṭ and Kuwayt), to the Ḥid̲j̲āz (1916 and again in 1926), to Syria (1919-20), to Europe (1921-2) and to the Pan-Islamic Congress in Jerusalem (1931), he each time reported in *al-Manār* (partly reprinted in Yūsuf Ibis͟h (ed.), *Riḥalāt*; see also S͟harabāṣī, 145-61).

For Ras͟hīd Riḍā, all these journeys were connected with specific political aspirations, but he was not seldom disappointed in his immediate expectations. For instance, during the journey to Syria in 1908, an incident in the Umayyad mosque in Damascus and a subsequent riot made it clear to him that he had to reckon there with considerable opposition, and that he could not rely unconditionally on support from the Young Turks (Ibis͟h, 29-40; cf. Arslān, 147-8 and Commins, nn. 129-31). His stay in Istanbul (October 1909-October 1910) was aimed at removing misunderstandings in the relationship between Arabs and Turks. Ras͟hīd Riḍā also wanted to establish in Istanbul a modern Islamic institution of higher education, whose graduates —much better scholars than the *ʿulamāʾ* educated in the traditional way—would be able to defend Islam according to modernist standards.

After some initial successes, Ras͟hīd Riḍā came to the conclusion that both aims could not be attained —in any case not according to his own conceptions— mainly because of the opposition of influential members of the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī D̲j̲emʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*], the ruling Committee of Union and Progress (Tauber, 104-6; al-S͟hawābika, 193 ff.). Disappointed, he returned to Egypt and immediately started preparations for establishing an association that should serve as the basis for the planned institution of higher education. The latter was indeed founded in 1911,

under the name of *Dār al-Daʿwa wa 'l-Irshād*. Regular instruction began in March 1912, but had to be discontinued soon after the outbreak of the First World War for want of financial donations (Tauber, 106; for the curriculum, see *RMM*, xviii [1912], 224-7).

As a result of his disappointment with the Young Turks, Rashīd Riḍā began to develop political plans on the lines of Pan-Arabism [*q.v.*]. Already in 1902-3 *al-Manār* had printed in instalments the work of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī [*q.v.*], *Umm al-ḳurā* (see for this and for the further political context, Kramer, esp. 30-5). Now, from 1911-2 onwards, Rashīd Riḍā adhered to the public agitation against the Young Turks and at the same time founded a secret political association with Pan-Arabic aims, the *Djamʿiyyat al-Djāmiʿa al-ʿArabiyya*. Its purpose was, on the one hand, to reconcile the rulers of the Arabian Peninsula with one another, and on the other, to put the Arabic secret associations in touch with one another (Tauber, 106-11). These activities led Rashīd Riḍā to establish relations with most of the rulers of the Arabian Peninsula, such as Ibn Suʿūd and the Sharīf of Mecca, but they also burdened for years to come, especially during the First World War, his contacts with those of his friends who, like Shakīb Arslān, associated themselves, notwithstanding many reservations, with the Ottoman Empire (Arslān, 152-6).

During the First World War, Rashīd Riḍā supported the "Arab Revolt" in the Ḥidjāz and even after the War's end he belonged for some time to the propagandists of its aims. During his journey to Syria in 1919-20 he was elected president of the "Syrian Congress", but he returned to Egypt after the French mandatary troops had marched into Syria.

In the following years, his relations with the King of the Ḥidjāz, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, and with the Hashimite dynasty in general, deteriorated. After the Wahhābī Āl Suʿūd had taken over power in the Ḥidjāz, and the Hāshimites had been expelled (1924-6), Rashīd Riḍā came to belong to those authors who tried, on historico-political grounds, to justify this development (see Boberg, esp. 290-314).

The most important proof of this attitude is his work *al-Wahhābiyyūn wa 'l-Ḥidjāz* (Cairo 1925-6), a collection of articles which had appeared in *al-Manār* and in the daily newspaper *al-Ahrām* (see also Kawtharānī, 191-238, 290-318). Until his death in 1935 he repeatedly explained how and why his judgement of the Wahhābiyya had changed: in his youth, under the influence of Ottoman propaganda, he had regarded the Wahhābīs as fanatical sectarians; after his arrival in Egypt, however, through reading the chronicle of al-Djabartī [*q.v.*] and works of other authors and through direct information, he had understood that it was the Wahhābīs, not their opponents, who defended true Islam, even if they were inclined to certain exaggerations. Parallel to this, Rashīd Riḍā aimed at the rehabilitation of authors like Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] and of his school (see Laoust, *Essai*, 557-75, and idem, *Le réformisme*, esp. 181-2; cf. Rashīd Riḍā's preface to Muḥammad Bashīr al-Sahsuwānī, *Ṣiyānat al-insān ʿan waswasat al-Shaykh Daḥlān*, 3rd ed., Cairo 1958-9, 8-9).

This change of views, for which he also referred to remarks made in private by his mentor Muḥammad ʿAbduh, necessarily led to a deterioration of his relations with the Shīʿīs and of his judgement on the rôle of the Shīʿa in Islamic history. Already earlier, separate articles in *al-Manār* had provoked protests by Shīʿī scholars (see, for example, Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Ḥuṣun al-maniʿa fī radd ma awradahu ṣāḥib al-Manār fī ḥaḳḳ al-Shīʿa*, Damascus 1910, new impr. Beirut 1985). In opposition to these protests, however, there existed numerous statements of Rashīd Riḍā and other authors of *al-Manār* in favour of Pan-Islamic unity and of interconfessional overtures. After his overt endorsement of the Wahhābiyya, Rashīd Riḍā became the chosen target of Shīʿī polemics, as for instance in the work of the above-mentioned Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Kashf al-irtiyāb fī atbāʿ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb*, Damascus 1927-8, re-impr. Tehran *ca.* 1973. Rashīd Riḍā's objections against these polemics are resumed in his *al-Sunna wa 'l-Shīʿa aw al-Wahhābiyya wa 'l-Rāfiḍa*, i, Cairo 1929-30, ii, 2nd ed. 1947.

Already at an early stage, Rashīd Riḍā, who in his younger years had been for a while a *murīd* of the Naḳshbandī order, criticised ideas and practices which appeared to him as false and harmful Ṣūfism. His increasingly critical statements on the rôle of the Ṣūfī orders, especially of those of his own day, which later also brought him in conflict with leading scholars of al-Azhar, are not, however, to be understood as a radical refusal of all forms of Ṣūfism (Hourani, *Rashīd Riḍā and the Sufi orders*).

In the internal Islamic debates on the past and the future of the caliphate [see KHILĀFA, KHILĀFAT MOVEMENT], Rashīd Riḍā, after the First World War, opted more and more for a renewed, Arabic caliphate. His work *al-Khilāfa aw al-imāma al-ʿuẓmā* (Cairo 1923) is an answer to the fact that the Great Turkish National Assembly had abolished the sultanate on 1 November 1922, i.e. had stripped the caliphate of all secular authority (for the contents of this work, see H. Laoust's annotated translation, *Le califat*, and M. Kerr, 151-86). Rashīd Riḍā took a lively part in the further discussions on the caliphate, in the preparations of several Pan-Islamic congresses [see MUʾTAMAR] as well as in their sessions (see Kramer, index, 248; Shawābika, 337-54).

Many aspects of his political activities, such as his attitude towards the British occupation forces in Egypt, require further investigation (Shawābika, 264-75; Tauber, 105, 110).

The extraordinary influence exercised by Rashīd Riḍā in many parts of the Islamic world as the spokesman of the *Salafiyya* [*q.v.*], as well as the development of his views in a great number of individual questions concerning theology and the *Sharīʿa*, cannot be dealt with here. For this, see the articles IṢLĀḤ, AL-MANĀR, and the literature given in the *Bibliography*, in particular the works of Adams, Jomier, Kerr, Marrākushī and Sāmarrāʾī.

Bibliography: Numerous publications of Rashīd Riḍā consist of series of articles published first in *al-Manār* and later brought together in book form. A useful (even if not faultless) survey is given by Yūsuf Asʿad Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabiyya*, ii/1, Beirut 1956, 396-401; see also Brockelmann, S III, 321-4; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 3rd ed. Beirut 1969, vi, 361-2; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1960, ix, 310-2, and *Mustadrak*, Beirut 1985, 639.

Since 1970, certain texts from *al-Manār* have been selected thematically and reprinted in book-form. See especially: 1. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid and Yūsuf Ḳ. Khūrī (eds.), *Fatāwā 'l-Imām Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā*, 6 vols., Beirut 1970; 2. Yūsuf Ibish, *Riḥalāt al-Imām Rashīd Riḍā*, Beirut 1971; 3. Wadjīh al-Kawtharānī, *Mukhtārāt siyāsiyya min madjallat al-Manār*, Beirut 1980. A general survey of the contents of the individual volumes of *al-Manār* is found in Anwar al-Djundī, *Taʾrīkh al-ṣiḥāfa al-*

islāmiyya. i. al-Manār, Cairo 1983. A *mukhtaṣar* of his *Tafsīr*, already begun by Rashīd Riḍā, was completed and published by Muḥammad Aḥmad Kanʿān and Zuhayr al-Shāwīsh as *Mukhtaṣar tafsīr al-Manār*, 3 vols., Beirut-Damascus 1984.

From the extensive secondary literature in Arabic, there may be mentioned Shakīb Arslān, *al-Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā aw ikhāʾ arbaʿīn sana*, Damascus 1937; Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-ʿAdawī, *Rashīd Riḍā, al-imām al-mudjāhid*, Cairo n.d. [*ca.* 1965]; Aḥmad al-Sharabāṣī, *Rashīd Riḍā, ṣāḥib al-Manār*, Cairo 1970; Ḥasīb al-Sāmarrāʾī, *Rashīd Riḍā al-mufassir*, Baghdād 1977; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Marrākushī, *Tafkīr Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā min khilāl madjallat al-Manār*, Tunis-Algiers 1985; Muḥammad Aḥmad Durnayḳa, *al-Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā, iṣlāḥātuhu al-idjtimāʿ-iyya wa 'l-dīniyya*, Tripoli-Beirut, 1986; Aḥmad Fahd Barakāt al-Shawābika, *Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā wa dawruhu fī 'l-ḥayāt al-fikriyya wa 'l-siyāsiyya*, ʿAmmān 1989.

In Western languages: C.C. Adams, *Islam and modernism in Egypt*, New York 1933; H. Laoust, *Le réformisme orthodoxe des "salafiyya"*, in *REI*, vi (1932), 175-224; idem, *Le califat dans la doctrine de Rashīd Riḍā*, Beirut 1938; idem, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 557-75; J. Jomier, *Le commentaire coranique du Manâr*, Paris 1954; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the Liberal Age*, London 1962, 222-44; idem, *Rashīd Riḍā and the Sufi orders: a footnote to Laoust*, in *BEO*, xxix (1977), 231-41; M. Kerr, *Islamic reform. The political and legal theories of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā*, Berkeley, etc. 1962; R. Wielandt, *Offenbarung und Geschichte im Denken moderner Muslime*, Wiesbaden 1971, 73-94; A. Busool, *Shaykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's relations with Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ʿAbduh*, in *MW*, lxvi (1976), 272-86; M. Kramer, *Islam assembled*, New York 1986; E. Tauber, *Rashīd Riḍā as Pan-Arabist before World War I*, in *MW*, lxxix (1989), 102-12; E.E. Shahīn, *Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's perspectives on the West as reflected in al-Manār*, in *ibid.*, 113-32; D.D. Commins, *Islamic reform. Politics and social change in late Ottoman Syria*, New York-Oxford 1990; D. Boberg, *Ägypten, Nadjd und der Ḥidjāz*, Berne 1991; J. Ebert, *Religion und Reform in der arabischen Provinz. Ḥusayn al-Djisr*, Frankfurt a.M. 1991.

(W. Ende)

RASHĪD YĀSIMĪ, modern Persian poet and scholar, born on 4 December 1896 at Kirmānshāh and died in 1951. His real name was Ghulām Riḍā, but he is popularly known as Rashīd Yāsimī in literary and intellectual circles. He came from a cultured and well-educated family, which counted as one of its respected members the author of the novel *Shams u ṭughrā*, namely Muḥammad Bāḳir Mīrzā Khusrawī (1849-1950), who was his maternal uncle. After completing his early education in his native town, Rashīd Yāsimī proceeded to Tehran in 1333/1914-15 and joined the Saint Louis High School, from where he graduated with proficiency in French language and literature. Simultaneously, he devoted his attention to the pursuit of Persian studies as well as to the study of Arabic, Pahlavi and English. Having finished his education, he served for some time as principal of a local high school in Kirmānshāh. But soon afterwards he returned to Tehran, where he joined Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ Bahār (d. 1951 [see BAHĀR]) in founding the journal *Dānishkada*, which began to appear in 1918 as the organ of the literary association bearing the same name. Among his contributions to this journal were a series of articles which he published under the title *Inḳilāb-i adabī* describing the history of changes in French literature from the 18th to the 20th century. Translated for the most part from French sources, these articles were of special value to Persian readers in so far as they contained useful information about French writers and their works. His early writings also appeared in such journals as *Dunyā-yi imrūz*, *Shark*, *Naw bahār* and *Armān*.

Rashīd Yāsimī held a number of government jobs before he was appointed in 1933 to the chair of Islamic history in the Faculty of Letters, Tehran University, and the Advanced College for Teachers. Subsequently, he was also made a member of the Iranian Academy. In 1944 he travelled to India as part of a cultural delegation representing the Iranian government. He died in early May 1951 after a prolonged illness.

Rashīd Yāsimī was the author of numerous books covering a variety of subjects. These included biographical accounts of Ibn Yamīn (d. 769/1368) and Salmān Sāwadjī (d. 778/1376), editions of the poetical works of Masʿūd Saʿd Salmān (d. 515/1121) and Hātif Iṣfahānī (d. 1198/1783-4), publication of Djāmī's *mathnawī Salāmān u Absāl*, and translation of the fourth volume of E.G. Browne's *Literary history of Persia* as well as of books from other writers. His creative writing consisted mainly of a modest collection of poetry which was first published in 1337/1958. On the basis of the dates appended to most of his poems, it may be assumed that his poetic career began around 1295/1916-17. His verse is characterised by a lyrical outlook and love of nature. It contains a moral tone tending towards philosophising. His literary position may be best described as that of a transitional poet representing preliminary changes from traditionalism in the 20th century Persian poetry.

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AL-**RASHĪDIYYA**, *al-Djamʿiyya al-Rashīdiyya li 'l-Mūsīḳā al-Tūnisiyya*, a Tunisian musical society founded in November 1934.

A general assembly of 71 participants (including a singer-actress, Shāfiya Rushdī), from all walks of life—artisans, members of the liberal professions, musicians, poets and men of letters—decided to create an "association to safeguard the heritage of Tunisian music and its spread amongst the coming generations". Muṣṭafa Ṣfar, mayor of the Medina of Tunis, was unanimously elected its first president. Various names were proposed before that of Rashīdiyya was chosen, thereby glorifying the work of the music-loving Bey Muḥammad al-Rashīd (d. 1172/1759). During its period of evolution, the Rashīdiyya was to assume the work of an Institute, whence its name *al-Maʿhad al-Rashīdī li 'l-mūsīḳā al-tūnisiyya, ca.* 1945).

The setting-up of this famous institution was not fortuitous. It formed part of the Tunisian nationalist movement founded at the beginning of the century, and for which the 1930s formed a period of transition on the cultural and artistic level. It marked the beginning of a period of intense activity, of recovery and

preservation and of creativity on behalf of an identity which felt itself threatened. In practice, music had during this period become the profession of a despised class, whose depraved morals and avidity for nothing but financial gain had ended in dragging the whole art, and as a result, the artist's status, down to a deplorable situation. Just as there were many factors leading to a series of attempts aiming at the rehabilitation of Tunisian music, so these were favoured by several important events concerning the poetic and musical spheres. Such a spirit had already taken shape thanks to the creative impetus of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Wāfī (1850-1921) and the genius of Khumayyis Tarnān (1894-1964), both reared, like so many others, in the pure tradition of the *zāwiyas* of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods, and to the efforts of Baron Rudolphe d'Erlanger (d. 1932) and of the musicians and musicologists gathered round his palace of Sīdī Bū Saᶜīd. In 1931 the famous Syrian musician Shaykh ᶜAlī Darwīsh of Aleppo arrived in Tunisia and within the Khaldūniyya gave the first courses in tonic sol-fa, and in the modes and rhythms of Arab music, as well as tuition in the *nāy*. There was also the first congress of Arab music at Cairo (14 March-3 April 1932), which was an event of great artistic importance. The Tunisian delegation included various famous figures, such as Ḥasan Ḥusnī ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb, Mannūbī Snūsī, Ḥassūna Ben ᶜAmmār, and a musical ensemble composed of Muḥammad Ghānin (*rabāb*), Khumayyis Tarnān (*ᶜūd ᶜarabī*), ᶜAlī bin ᶜArfa (*ṭār*), Khumayyis al-ᶜĀtī (*nakkārāt*) Muḥammad al-Mukrānī and Muḥammad Billaḥsan (singers). In this way, the Rashīdiyya, whose setting up had been for music the culmination of a concatenation of circumstances, very soon became "a real bed of flowers", as Shāfiya Rushdī liked to stress, a nursery of high-quality artists, poets and musicians who succeeded, "through work and faith", in rehabilitating Tunisian musical art.

The Rashīdiyya was controlled by a legal charter which gave it civil and financial autonomy, and its directing committee was composed of a dozen members from amongst its most faithful supporters and patrons, chosen by the duly qualified electors and with a mandate which was renewable. It had three commissions: literary, musical and the sphere of public relations; the first two sat in the form of a committee of sifting and selection. In 1935, a first concert was given in its provisional headquarters, on the patio of the patron Belaḥsen Laṣram, before it acquired its own centre. An initial competition was held to stimulate creative activity amongst Tunisian artistes. Thereafter, a lively activity was embarked upon, envisaging three vital objectives:

(1) Safeguarding the musical heritage (and more especially, the *maʾlūf* or popular one), against all currents of deformation, preserving it intact against the effects of time and the blurring of the collective memory, giving it fresh impetus and spreading it widely. A long work of recovery and transcription was envisaged, a somewhat arduous and delicate mission, given that the music of an oral tradition, difficult to pin down in a fixed, standard notation, was involved, and that numerous versions, making up a field of great richness, had to be gathered together. Hence the effort was carried out on two fronts: collection and transcription (led by M. Trīkī), and restoration, the giving of fresh impetus and new compositions (a work given effect by Kh. Tarnān). The text and music of thirteen complete *nawbas* [*q.v.*], as well as those of numerous traditional pieces of music, instrumental and vocal, were gathered together, transcribed and published (cf. the nine fascicules of the Tunisian musical heritage). The greater part of this repertoire was likewise recorded.

(2) Laying the foundations for a centralised musical teaching, involving mainly national and Arab music. Through the seriousness and successfulness of this policy, the Rashīdiyya speedily became an Institute for educating cadres who were well qualified to keep up this role until 1972, when its courses were transferred to the National Centre for Folk Music and the Arts.

(3) Launching a vigorous movement of musical creativeness and high quality poetic activity, as much on the level of the texts as the music and interpretation. Tunisian song had its genuine creative spirits, composers, song-writers, instrumentalists and singers of great talent, notably the famous group *Taht al-Sūr* ("below the city wall") or *ᶜAskar al-līl* ("soldiers of the night"), artistes, intellectuals and bohemians who were known by the name of the famous café which gave them shelter.

One by one, the new wave of musicians and poets were to help in the building of a new edifice, all bringing their contribution to the Tunisian song, for which they provided an impulse which brought it to the forefront of Arab music. The Rashīdiyya did much to render respectable practical musical-making. A tradition of weekly concerts was begun, and, according to Trīkī, one went there "as to the mosque".

The founding of a national radio network (Tunis R.T.T. in 1936), which began to transmit its own emissions towards the end of 1938, helped the rise of the Tunisian song and probably contributed to promote the efforts of the Rashīdiyya, notably through the live transmission of its weekly concerts. However, this institution gradually lost its potentialities once an orchestra had been created (1948), and then a choir (1957), both belonging to the R.T.T. and which attracted the best artistes of the time. At the present time, the Rashīdiyya, with its headquarters in the rue du Dey, no. 5, comes under the Ministry of Culture and is supported financially by the municipality of Tunis. A new breath has been recently given to it so that it may recover its former status.

Bibliography: On Muḥammad al-Rashīd Bāy, see Kaḥḥāla, ix, 246, and Ziriklī, vi, 336. On the Rashīdiyya, see the works published under its aegis: *al-Maᶜhad al-Rashīdī, histoire de l'institution*, Tunis n.d., and two monographs devoted to two of its leading figures, Aḥmad al-Wāfī and Khumayyis Tarnān. In general, see S. al-Mahdī, *Maḳāmat al-mūsīḳa al-ᶜarabiyya*, Tunis n.d.; M. Guettat, *La musique classique du Maghreb*, Paris 1980, 214-27; idem, *La Tunisie dans les documents du Congrès du Caire*, in *Musique arabe. Le Congrès du Caire 1932*, Cairo 1992, 69-86; idem, *Visages de la musique tunisienne*, in *IBLA*, no. 160, 227-40; M. Marzūḳī and Ṣ. al-Mahdī, *al-Maᶜhad al-Rashīdī li 'l-mūsīḳī al-Tūnisiyya*, Tunis 1981; Tunisian Ministry of Culture, *al-Turāth al-mūsīḳī al-tūnisī*, 9 fascs. so far appeared, Tunis 1967-79; S. Rizgī, *al-Aghānī al-tūnisiyya*, Tunis 1967; M. Skāndjī, *al-Rashīdiyya, madrasat al-mūsīḳī wa-ghināʾ al-ᶜarabī fī Tūnis*, Tunis 1986. See also the *Bibl.* to NAWBA.

(M. GUETTAT)

RASHT, RESHT, a town of the Persian province of Gīlān [*q.v.*], in the Caspian Sea lowlands and lying on a branch of the Safīd Rūd [*q.v.*] in lat. 37° 18′ N. and 49° 38′ E. It has long been the commercial centre of Gīlān, with its fortunes fluctuating with the state of sericulture and silk manufacture. However, the town is not mentioned by the early Arabic geographers, who localise the silk industry in

the province of Ṭabaristān to the east [see MĀZANDARĀN], and it is the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* which first gives the name, but as a district, not a town (tr. Minorsky, 137, § 32.25). It does appear as a town in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, writing soon after the Mongol conquest of Gīlān in 706/1307, and by that time, the silk of Gīlān was famous and, according to Marco Polo, sought after by Genoese merchants whose ships had recently appeared on the Caspian waters. Subsequently, Rasht became the seat of a minor dynasty of Gīlān, the Isḥāḳids of Fūmin, until these rulers were replaced by the Kiyā princes of Lāhidjān [*q.v.*], and then, in 1000/1592, Shāh ʿAbbās the Great [*q.v.*] annexed Gīlān to the Persian state.

Among the events of this period was the establishment in Gīlān, of which Rasht became the administrative and economic centre, of the "Muscovite Company" founded in 1557 by Anthony Jenkinson, Richard and Robert Johnson, who, taking the Russian route, sent ten expeditions into Persia between 1561 and 1581. It is to noteworthy that the last independent ruler of Gīlān, Aḥmad Shāh, sent ambassadors to Moscow to seek help against Shāh ʿAbbās and obtained promises of protection which, however, came to nothing. The Cossacks at the same time were plundering in Gīlān and Rasht and trying to gain the support of the Persian court. The most notable invasion was that of Stenka Razin who sacked Rasht in 1045/1636. On 2 Ṣafar 1082, the day of Stenka's execution, the Persians in Moscow at the time were invited to be present at it (cf. the journal *Kāweh*, 12, N.S., 1 December 1921). From 1722 to 1734, Rasht and Gīlān were occupied by the Russians (Shipov, then Matushkin) invited by the governor who was threatened by the Afghāns. In 1734, Gīlān was restored to Persia after a treaty. Rabino quotes a Persian testimony in favour of the Russian occupation. For military reasons the Russians cleared the jungle round Rasht.

The history of Gīlān and that of Rasht, which has always played a preponderant part in it, merges into the general history of Persia after its annexation. During the Persian Revolution, a body of Social Democrats was sent by the Regional Committee of the Caucasus to Rasht, and there helped in February 1909 to overthrow the authority of the Shāh and to establish a revolutionary committee which elected as governor the Sipihdār ʿAẓam, who played a prominent part in the history of the period along with Sardār Asad Bakhtiyārī (cf. *Persia v borbé za nezavisimost*, by Pavlovič and Iranskii, Moscow 1925). Rasht then became the base of operations of the northern revolutionary army. A few years later, during the First World War, Rasht again attracted attention in connection with the movement of the *Djangalīs*, created by Mīrzā Kūčak Khān [*q.v.*]. Assisted by German (von Passchen), Turkish and Russian officers, an armed force was organised to oppose the passage of the British troops under General Dunsterville on their way to Bākū, without, however, much success (battle of Mandjīl, 12 June 1918). The British were able to force their way through with the help of Bičerākhov's detachment of Cossacks and established a garrison in Rasht. A second battle with the *Djangalīs* in the town itself on 20 July 1918 also ended in British victory. On 25 August peace was signed with Kūčak Khān at Enzelī. At one time, at the end of March 1918, the position of Kūčak Khān was so strong that the capture not only of Ḳazwīn, but even of Tehran, was feared (cf. *The adventures of Dunsterforce* by Maj. Gen. L.C. Dunsterville, London 1920).

Rasht again became the arena of the revolutionary *Djangalī* movement, aimed at the pro-British government in Tehran of Mushīr al-Dawla in 1920. After the capture of Bākū on 28 April 1920 by the Reds, the White Fleet sought refuge in the port of Enzelī, which was held by the British. Enzelī fell to the Soviet forces, who then twice occupied Rasht. But after the Perso-Soviet agreement of May 1921, Russian and British troops left Persian territory, Kūčak Khān's movement was suppressed by Riḍā Khān's [see RIḌA SHĀH PAHLAWĪ] Cossack Brigade, and Persian authority re-established in Gīlān and Rasht.

Rasht was again occupied by Russian forces in the Second World War. At the present time, it is the administrative centre of the *ustān* of Gīlān. It has road connections with Tehran and Bandar Anzalī and an airport. In 1972 it had an estimated population of 160,000.

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(B. NIKITINE-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

RASHTĪ, SAYYID KĀẒIM B. ḲĀSIM (d. 1259/1844), the head and systematiser of the Shaykhī school of Shīʿism after Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī [*q.v.*]. The son of a merchant, Sayyid Kāẓim was born in Rasht [*q.v.*], in northern Persia, between 1194/1784 and 1214/1799-1800. Details of his early life are sparse and contradictory. Educated in Rasht, he underwent mystical experiences and, somewhere between his mid-teens and early twenties (between 1809 and 1814?), became a pupil of al-Aḥsāʾī, then living in Yazd. He also studied under and received *idjāzāt* from other *mudjtahids*.

The Sayyid soon came to hold an important position among al-Aḥsāʾī's entourage, acting as his *nāib* or deputy and spokesman, answering questions on his behalf, continuing and translating some of his writings, and defending him from the attacks of hostile *ʿulamāʾ*. On al-Aḥsāʾī's death, Rashtī succeeded him as head of the central group of his pupils in Karbalāʾ. This led to the emergence of a sort of order for the transmission of inspired knowledge within orthodox Shīʿism, with Rashtī as "the bearer of innate knowledge" (Kirmānī) and the interpreter of al-Aḥsāʾī's words. Although he denied trying to establish a new *madhhab*, he became embroiled in major public debates with leading *ʿulamāʾ*. These disputes, and Rashtī's own development of an esoteric teaching divulged to a privileged circle of students, made it inevitable that Shaykhism should be viewed as a school of heterodox opinion within Twelver Shīʿism.

In spite of this, Rashtī acquired considerable political influence in Karbalāʾ and Persia, where he numbered many members of the ruling Ḳādjār family among his admirers. His death on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1259/1 January 1844 sparked off a leadership struggle within the school, resulting in the emergence of two sharply opposed branches: that of Karīm Khān Kirmānī, which attempted a rapprochement with orthodoxy, and that of ʿAlī Muḥammad Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], which grew into the Bābī sect.

Bibliography: D. MacEoin, *From Shaykhism to Babism. A study in charismatic renewal in Shīʿī Islam*, diss. Cambridge 1979 unpubl., ch. 3, at 95-124; H. Corbin, *Les successeurs de Shaykh Ahmad Ahsaʾi*, in *En Islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques. IV*, Paris 1972, Livre VI *L'Ecole Shaykhie*, ch. II, at 232-6; A.L.M. Nicolas, *Essai sur le Cheikhisme. II. Séyyèd Kazem Rechti*, Paris 1911; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Zayn al-

ʿĀbidīn [Khān Kirmānī], *Fihrist-i kutub-i Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsāʾī wa sāʾir mashāyikh-i ʿiẓām*, ³Kerman [1977], 112-28, 288-359 (a brief biography and a comprehensive listing of Rashtī writings).

(D. MacEoin)

RASHWA (a.) or, apparently preferred by purists, *rishwa/rushwa*, pl. *rushā*, Persian *rishwat, rishwe, rushwa*, Turkish *rüşvet*, the legal term for "bribe." Like English "bribe", its connotation is absolutely negative and whatever is called *rashwa* is strictly forbidden by law. The word itself does not occur in the Ḳurʾān. More general passages like II, 188, and V, 42, 62-3 (*suḥt*) were interpreted to include the prohibition of bribe-taking. The *ḥadīth*, however, makes the matter perfectly clear. One of the most explicit statements invokes the divine curse upon those who offer and who take bribes (*rāshī, murtashī*), sometimes adding the go-between (*rāʾish*) and the specification *fi 'l-ḥukm*.

Other words may refer to the process of bribery such as *djaʿāla/djuʿl* or, in the course of time, drift in that direction such as *itāwa* or *bakhshīsh* [*q.v.*], but none of them ever became as unambiguous and forceful as *rashwa*. An insignificant exception may possibly be *birṭīl*, if it is derived from Greek *proteleia* and the interpretation of *proteleia* as "previous payment, advance" (Liddell and Scott, 1524) in a 6th-century papyrus from Egypt is correct; in this case, Persian *partala* "gift" could be secondary or another derivation from the Greek (see S. Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, Leiden 1886, 84). A picturesque euphemism for bribing, "pouring oil in the lamp" or simply *ḳandala*, is listed by al-Thaʿālibī, *Kināya*, Beirut 1405/1984, 70; al-Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Būlāḳ 1286-87, i, 128.

Nothwithstanding the legal prohibition, bribery was as common in Islam as in other large societies, although the degree of its prevalence no doubt widely varied. It was, therefore, necessary for jurists to define what distinguished it from allowable gifts [see hiba] and to circumscribe its boundaries. In contrast to supposedly disinterested and unconditional gifts, bribes were stated to be what was given for a purpose. This left open the possibility of beneficial purposes such as attempts to prevent wrongdoing and injustice, see, e.g., *LA*, s.v. *r-sh-w*: "gifts that lead to obtaining a right or ward off a wrong," or al-Sharīshī, commenting on "death does not take bribes" in al-Ḥarīrī's twenty-first *maḳāma*: "a gift given for warding off the harm of someone who has power over you" (*Sharḥ al-Maḳāmāt*, Cairo 1306, i, 279). In the legal view, however, the beneficial purpose did not invalidate the general prohibition; while the briber may be within his rights in offering a bribe, it is illegal to accept it, since the intended recipient should do on his own volition what is required and proper. It was, however, recognised by some that any gift whatever was given for some purpose. Al-Ghazālī thus discusses hypothetical situations such as giving something to a ruler's officials or intimates in order to gain access to him, as well as other situations of gift-giving for expected services. The negative view mostly prevailed, but it is obvious that the very discussion opened up potential loopholes. Note that the alleged "first case of bribery in Islam" involves outstanding early Muslims and access to the caliph (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkkāsha, 558, and the *awāʾil* collections).

The environment where unlawful bribing was seen as particularly at home was the twin realms of government and judiciary. On a widely discussed problem where the two clearly intertwined concerned the expenditure of money for an appointment to a judgeship, see, most concisely, al-Māwardī, *Adab al-ḳāḍī*, ed. M.H. Sarḥān, Baghdād 1391/1971, i, 151-2, and Tyan. While bribery on various governmental levels, internally as well as internationally, was discussed (see al-Subkī, *Faṣl al-maḳāl fī hadāyā al-ʿummāl*; Rosenthal, 137-8), the principal concern was with the judiciary, where the concept of bribery and its practical role were seen as most deeply embedded and unquestionably corruptive. In the case of judges, the acceptance of well-intentioned gifts even by relatives could constitute a problem calling for legal discussion. Gift-giving among ordinary individuals and, presumably, in business pursuits not involving officialdom was, it seems, not considered to incur the danger of developing into forbidden *rashwa*.

Someone found guilty of bribery could, of course, be dismissed. Legally, punishment was left to the decision of the judge (*taʿzīr*). The Ḥanafī Ibn Nudjaym appears to have considered public exposure as the most effective deterrent.

The attention paid to *rashwa* throughout the literature proves, if proof is needed, that bribery was an ever-present problem. Its social effects were no doubt considerable but cannot be accurately, or even approximately, quantified. It appears to have become institutionalised at certain periods and locations. From Ottoman times, an increase in monographs on the subject is noticeable. Political thinkers were much concerned with it and even ended up in almost despairing of finding a remedy for it (see Wright). Westerners often felt convinced that bribery was a way of life in the East. It may, however, be doubted whether detailed research will provide valid clues to a specific role of bribery in mediaeval Muslim civilisation as a whole, if, indeed, there was anything specific to it.

Bibliography: Some of the vast and scattered source material is cited by E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organization judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1938-43, i, 425-31, 2nd. ed., Leiden 1960, 289-92, and F. Rosenthal, *Gifts and bribes: the Muslim view*, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cviii (1964), 135-44, repr. in idem, *Muslim intellectual and social history*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot 1990. See, for example, Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, Cairo 1366-69/1947-50, i, 45-60; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, book II, ch. 4 at end, tr. H. Bauer, *Erlaubtes und verbotenes Gut*, Halle 1922, 206-12, and Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf*, Cairo 1311, repr. Beirut, vi, 157-69; Dhahabī, *Kabāʾir*, ch. 32; Ibn Nudjaym, *Risāla mukhtaṣara fī bayān al-rashwa wa-aḳsāmihā*, in *Rasāʾil*, Beirut 1400/1980, 110-17; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *The Balance of Truth*, tr. G.L. Lewis, 124-27; W.L. Wright, *Ottoman statecraft*, Princeton 1935, text, 38 ff., tr. 87-93; Ahmet Mumcu, *Osmanlı devletinde rüşvet* (Ankara 1969).

(F. Rosenthal)

RĀSIM [see aḥmad rāsim].

RASM (a., pl. *rusūm*), the act of drawing, a drawing, is not always distinguished from painting; nor can it be. Drawing was performed both as a preliminary to painting and to produce works to stand alone. It might be representational [see taṣwīr] or decorative (historians of Islamic manuscripts confine the term illumination to decorative work). *Naḳḳāshī* covers drawing and painting, whether representational or decorative; *tarrāḥī* is designing, in the context of pictures, the production of the underdrawing. In addition to the illustration of manuscripts, drawing is an important element in the decoration of ceramics and other forms of applied art; draughtsmen might exercise their skill in several fields. Writing in the ear-

ly 11th/17th century, Ḳāḍī Aḥmad distinguishes two sorts of *ḳalam*, the one from a plant and the other from an animal (see *Calligraphers and painters: a treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad, son of Mīr-Munshī (circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606)*, tr. V. Minorsky, Washington, D.C. 1959, 50): these are the calligrapher's reed pen and the painter's brush, probably made with squirrel-hair. Ink [see MIDĀD] was prepared from soot, gallnut and alum, in a medium of gum arabic. Dilute ink (or a red pigment, perhaps minium) was used, usually with a brush, for the underdrawings of paintings. Either pen, brush, or a combination, was used for autonomous drawings; some drawings include small areas of ink wash, thin colour or details in gold. Training in the drawing of particular motifs might be carried out by pouncing, using a gazelle skin (Persian *čarba*). A draughtsman often worked with a drawing-board supported by his knee. The line generally reveals the influence of the calligraphy of its period, in its curves and rhythms. Ruler and compass were used in the basic layout of schemes of illumination, but many complex curved lines appear to be drawn freehand. There is occasional use of stencils from the 15th century onwards. The illuminator (*mud̲h̲ahhib*) worked, among other things, with brush-gold, gold-leaf rubbed into moist or dry glue and diluted.

Early period

Surviving examples of drawing from the early Islamic period are mostly in the service of wall- or floor-paintings in Umayyad palaces (Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra [see ARCHITECTURE] or Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-G̲h̲arbī [*q.v.*]); there is an evident debt to late classical and Sāsānid art, and outlines are heavily marked (but have sometimes been exaggerated in excessive restoration). The earliest surviving book illustrations appear to be the highly formalised, coloured drawings of mosques and trees in an Umayyad Ḳurʾān, discovered in Ṣanʿāʾ (see H.-C. Graf von Bothmer, *Architekturbilder im Koran: eine Prachthandschrift der Umayyadenzeit aus Yemen*, in *Pantheon*, xlv [1987], 4-20). The earliest surviving drawings in which line is exploited for aesthetic effect are figures of the constellations in a manuscript of al-Ṣūfī's *Ṣuwar al-kawākib al-t̲h̲ābita* (Bodleian Library, Oxford), whose text was copied in 400/1009-10, presumably in Bag̲h̲dād. The wiry line describes the notional body with smooth contours and the clothing with exuberant bracketing folds; Sāsānid and Chinese influences are evident. Approximately contemporary is a Fāṭimid drawing of a nude female musician (Israel Museum, Jerusalem). Over a red underdrawing, the line is slightly more variable, but volume is chiefly conveyed by curves. In works of the Arab school of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, figures have large and expressive faces and eloquent gestures of the hand (fig. 1). The line is rapid and confident, sometimes to the point of carelessness. Drawing in the Sald̲j̲ūḳ tradition at this period, as represented in *Warḳa u Guls̲h̲āh* (Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul) or on lustre ceramics, is more sober; faces are more oriental, and on the ceramics pattern is more pervasive.

Chinoiserie

A new mode of drawing begins in the late 7th/13th century as Chinese influence, mediated by various arts, introduces new motifs and softens the Islamic line. Finished ink drawings, exercises and designs for applied arts are preserved in Albums in the Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul, and the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin [see MURAḲḲAʿ]. In general, these are datable to the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, but more particular datings are a matter of debate; vigour tends to suggest the earlier century, and delicacy the later. Ink drawing was known at this period as *ḳalam-i siyāhī/siyāh ḳalam*; Dūst Muḥammad, who compiled one of the Albums for the Ṣafawid Bahrām Mīrzā in 951/1544, mentions one Amīr Dawlat Yār, proficient in this field in the 14th century (see W.M. Thackston, *A century of princes: sources on Timurid history and art*, Cambridge, Mass. 1989, 345). Islamic arabesque ornament accepted new motifs, lotus leaves or flowers, Chinese clouds, ducks, peris, cloud-deer, dragons and *sīmurg̲h̲s* (a Chinese form for the legendary Persian bird); cartouches have "cloud-collar" edges (fig. 2). Some studies draw on Buddhist mythology. In the 9th/15th century, chinoiserie is enriched by motifs from the Islamic tradition, hunting felines, monkeys, peacocks, and the *wāḳwāḳ* scroll (a scroll inhabited by faces, named after the tree of talking heads encountered by Iskandar in Firdawsī's *S̲h̲āh-nāma*). By the 10th/16th century Persian illuminators execute chinoiserie borders in brush-gold with subtle variations in density. Chinoiserie was carried to the Ottoman sphere, where, in the 10th/16th century, draughtsmen make a speciality of ink drawings of the *sāz* motif, the feather-like flower of the reed. From the late 10th/16th century, Mug̲h̲al painters introduce into gold chinoiserie borders figures which are increasingly realistic and coloured.

Classical Persian and Mug̲h̲al drawings

In classical Persian painting, produced from the 1390s to 1540s, outline becomes much less visible than hitherto. A sketchy underdrawing indicates where one block of colour is to abut on another, and the edge of the colour-block assumes the greater part of the defining function. Lines applied over the colour blocks to indicate features, folds, patterns or other details, are delicate. Chinese influence is evident in the convention of round, small-featured faces. Outlines are more evident in provincial styles. Drawings of narrative subjects are preserved in the Albums, and drawing predominates over painting in the illustrations to a *Ṣuwar al-kawākib al-t̲h̲ābita* made for Ulug̲h̲ Beg [*q.v.*], presumably in the 1430s and at Samarḳand (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

In Mug̲h̲al painting of the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries [see MUG̲H̲ALS. 9], the Persian colour-block system is modified by traditions both linear and painterly. Line may be strongly marked, and is sometimes further emphasised by a surrounding shadow; at other times it is lost. For drawing *per se*, a fruitful source of inspiration was found in European prints (and probably also illustrations in *grisaille*). In the late 10th/16th century, Basāwan produced masterly drawings with adaptations of European style and European classical mythology. In the 11th/17th century, the Mug̲h̲al interest in reportage fostered portrait drawings—including those of elephants—and drawing from the life [see MUG̲H̲ALS. 9]. Some drawings, usually of more traditional subjects, were accompanied with half-colour (*nīm ḳalam*). A class of *jeu d'esprit*, perhaps a development from metamorphic tendencies in Persian ornament with assistance from chinoiserie, is formed by drawings in which ridden elephants or camels are composed from subsidiary figures in the archimboldesque manner.

Later Persian drawing

With a growing taste for Albums in Persia in the later 10th/16th century [see MURAḲḲAʿ], the finished ink drawing gains in importance as an independent work. Subjects are often single figures of the upper classes, sitting or standing, by the 11th/17th century sometimes presented against a minimal landscape of hills, trees and cloud. Conversation pieces are also found, low-life or eccentric characters, and animals; in addition, there are a small number of studies of

earlier manuscript illustrations. Line of strongly calligraphic quality and varying width is used, both for its descriptive and abstract value. Volumes are largely implied by fold lines; hatching is not employed, but in some areas fold lines cluster together. Signatures, or attributions, and dates are not infrequent. Prominent draughtsmen of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries are Ṣādiḳ, Riḍā-yi ʿAbbāsī [*q.v.*] and the latter's pupil Muʿīn Muṣawwir.

The second half of the 19th century sees the acceptance of new means of graphic expression, the pencil (with shading by hatching and smudging) and the lithograph. Influential in this was Abu 'l Ḥasan Ghaffārī, Ṣāniʿ al-Mulk, first director of art in the *Dār al-Funūn* (Polytechnic) in Tehran, who died in 1866. Portraits in the new media have a cautious stillness, derived from photography; but drawing of a more traditional character may venture into caricature.

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(BARBARA BREND)

RASM. In ottoman Turkish usage [see RESM].

AL-**RASS**, the name in Arabic geographical writing for the Araxes River (Perso-Turkish form Aras, Armenian Eraskʿ, Georgian Rakhshī, modern Aras). It rises in what is now eastern Turkey near Erzurum and flows generally in an eastwards direction for 1,072 km/670 miles into the Caspian Sea. Its middle reaches, from a point near Mount Ararat, today form the boundary between the former Azerbaijan SSR and Persia, with the lower stretch receiving the Kur River and flowing through the Mūḳān [*q.v.*] steppes and what is now wholly Azerbaijani territory.

The early Arabic name al-Rass led the Muslim exegetes to connect it with the *Aṣḥāb al-Rass* [*q.v.*] of Ḳurʾān, XXV, 38, L. 12, mentioned as one of the unbelieving peoples destroyed for their impiety. The eastern and middle stretches of the Araxes came under Arab control when the Muslim invaders pushed through Ādharbāydjān towards eastern Caucasia in the later 1st/7th century, but for many centuries these remained frontier regions, open to attacks from the Alans [see OSSETES], the Khazars and the Rūs [*q.vv.*] from the north and from the Armenian princes and the Byzantines from the west.

The river valley was a very fertile area and formed a corridor for commerce connecting the Black Sea with the Caspian and northwestern Persia, so that urban centres like Dwīn [*q.v.*] or Dabīl, Ānī [*q.v.*] and Djulfa flourished greatly. In the Saldjūḳ period, migratory Turkmens passed along it heading for eastern Anatolia once the Byzantine defences there had collapsed after the battle of Malāzgird [*q.v.*] in 464/1071. In later times, independent or semi-independent local khānates like those of Ḳarabāgh, Nakhčiwān and Ordūbād [*q.vv.*] formed buffers between the Ṣafawids and Ottomans. By the early 19th century, Persia was compelled to relinquish control over the lands to the north of the Araxes and of its lower course, with the Treaty of Turkmančay of 1828 establishing the present boundary between Azerbaijan and Armenia on the one side and Persia on the other along the river's middle stretch.

Bibliography: Tomaschek, in *PW*, ii/1, cols. 402-4; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 77, § 6.55; Abū Dulaf, *Second Risāla*, ed. and tr. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, § 16, tr. 36; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 166-8; *EIr* art. *Araxes* (W.B. Fisher and C.E. Bosworth). (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**RASS** [see AṢḤĀB AL-RASS].

AL-**RASSĪ**, AL-ḲĀSIM B. IBRĀHĪM b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (169-246/785-860), Zaydī *imām* and founder of the legal and theological school later prevalent among the Zaydīs in the Yemen.

He grew up in Medina where he was taught basic Zaydī religious doctrine in his family and Medinan *ḥadīth*, and perhaps Ḳurʾān readings and Arabic language, by Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Abī Uways, a nephew of Mālik b. Anas. Before 199/815 he came to Egypt, probably al-Fusṭāṭ. It is doubtful whether he was, as reported by a late source, sent there by his brother Muḥammad who at that time was recognised as *imām* by the Kūfan Zaydīs. Al-Ḳāsim, in any case, later expressed reservations about Muḥammad's theological views. In Egypt he studied the Jewish and Christian scriptures and Christian theological and philosophical treatises and engaged in debates with Muslim and non-Muslim scholars. His refutations of a Manichaean treatise ascribed to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] (ed. M. Guidi, *La lotta tra l'islam e il manicheismo*, Rome 1927) and of the Christians (ed. I. Di Matteo in *RSO*, ix [1921-3], 301 ff.) were written there. Evidently under the influence of Christian writings he adopted some of his characteristic views on the divine attributes and upholding human free will which deviated from the earlier Zaydī tradition. Under suspicion of seditious activity by the authorities, he left Egypt soon after 211/826, returning to Medina. He bought an estate at al-Rass near Dhu 'l-Ḥulayfa and stayed there writing and teaching Zaydī visitors, especially from Kūfa and western Ṭabaristān, until his death. There is no sound evidence that he ever seriously attempted to lead a Zaydī revolt.

Al-Ḳāsim summed up his religious teaching in five principles (*uṣūl*) which only partly agreed with those of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*].

1. In his sharply anti-anthropomorphist doctrine of the unity of God he stressed, in agreement with contemporary Christian theology, the total dissimilarity (*khilāf*) of God to all creation, while rejecting the corollary of an aspect of similarity upheld in the Christian doctrine. Under Christian theological influence he also placed the essential generosity (*djūd*) and goodness of God at the centre of his doctrine of divine attributes. He ignored the Muʿtazilī distinction between divine attributes of essence and of act.

2. Concerning divine justice he strictly dissociated God from evil acts and affirmed human free will. He rejected, however, the Muʿtazilī doctrine of compensation (*ʿiwaḍ*) owed by God for undeserved pain inflicted by Him and held, in accordance with Christian doctrine, that the blessings of God to children and others completely outweighed any pains. He also distanced himself from the Muʿtazilī interpretation of the predestinarian terms *ḳaḍāʾ* and *ḳadar* as meaning merely commandment and judgment. Here he clearly tried to avoid expressing condemnation of the traditional Zaydī position affirming predestination.

3. On the basis of his concept of divine justice he upheld the tenet of the divine "promise and threat"

Abū Zayd's son commends his father's sermon, *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, 723/1323. Add. 7293, 285b. Courtesy of the British Library, London.

Chinoiserie cartouche, *ca.* 1410. Diez A Fol. 73, S. 54. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

(*wa*ᶜ*d wa-wa*ᶜ*īd*) entailing the unconditional punishment of the unrepentant sinner in the hereafter. Unlike the Muᶜtazila, and in agreement with the early Zaydī view, he held that evil acts, in particular injustice, oppression and transgression (ᶜ*udwān*) constituted forms of unbelief (*kufr*), though not of unbelief in God or polytheism (*shirk*). Thus it was licit to make war on Muslim oppressors and their supporters.

4. The fourth principle stressed the overriding authority of the Ḳurʾān as a guide-line in all religious matters. Al-Ḳāsim affirmed that the Ḳurʾān as a whole is detailed, unambiguous and free of contradiction. He rejected Imāmī assertions that parts of it had been lost or tampered with. Although his theological principles implied the created nature of the Ḳurʾān, he refused to call it either created or uncreated, partly because of his veneration of the Holy Book and partly because the question was controversial among the contemporary Zaydīs, the majority considering the Ḳurʾān uncreated. Sharply reacting against the rising tide of Sunnī traditionalism, he affirmed that the *sunna* of the Prophet consisted only of what was mentioned or intended in the Ḳurʾān. He accused the Ḥashwiyya (Sunnī traditionalists) of massive forgery of *ḥadīth* and viewed them as the main supporters of the oppressors.

5. Al-Ḳāsim defined the lands dominated by the illegitimate Muslim rulers as an "abode of injustice (*dār al-ẓulm*)" where disposal over property, trade, and economic gain were not fully licit because of the prevalence of usurpation and extortion. Unable to resist the tyrants, the faithful were obliged to emigrate from there. The Ḳurʾānic duty of *hidjra*, imposed initially on the faithful in order that they should dissociate from the polytheists, was permanent and now applied to their dissociation from the unjust and oppressors.

Al-Ḳāsim's view on the imāmate agreed generally with the contemporary Zaydī position [see IMĀMA]. He stressed, however, superior religious knowledge as a prime requirement for the rightful imāmate and ignored the traditional Zaydī requirement of armed revolt. He considered ᶜAlī the only legitimate successor of Muḥammad and rejected the caliphate of his three predecessors.

His legal doctrine was basically Medinan and lacked some characteristic Shīᶜī elements like the formula *ḥayya* ᶜ*alā khayri 'l-*ᶜ*amal* in the *adhān* [*q.v.*] and rights of non-agnates in inheritance. He recognised, however, the validity of the consensus of the Family of the Prophet and relied on reports about ᶜAlī transmitted to him by Abū Bakr b. Abī Uways from Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ḍumayra with a family *isnād*. He accepted the fifth *imām* of the Imāmī Shīᶜa, Muḥammad al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*], as a legal authority, but condemned the later Imāmī *imāms* as wordly exploiters of their pious followers. He is known, however, to have transmitted a book of traditions of Djaᶜfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] from his father on the authority of Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] (al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, ed. Mūsā al-Zandjānī, Ḳumm 1407, 314).

Al-Ḳāsim's theological and legal teaching became basic in the Zaydī communities in western Ṭabaristān and the Yemen. It was, however, partly superseded by the Muᶜtazilī and more strictly Shīᶜī teaching of his grandson al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

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(W. MADELUNG)

RASSIDS, a name sometimes used, most notably by Ibn Khaldūn (ᶜ*Ibar*, iv, 111), of the Zaydī imāms of the Yemen [see ZAYDIYYA]. The term "Banu 'l-Rassī" is not commonly used by the Yemeni Zaydī historians and may only have gained some currency in Europe after Kay's translation (*Yaman*, 184 ff.) of the chapter in Ibn Khaldūn's ᶜ*Ibar*. Perhaps also as a result of Kay's translation, the term Rassid imāms was used soon after in Lane-Poole's *Dynasties*, 102 and table, for the Zaydī imāms down to *ca.* 700/1300. The *nisba* is derived from a place in the Ḥidjāz, al-Rass, held by al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā al-Rassī [*q.v.*], the grandfather of al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], the first Zaydī imām in the Yemen.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, ᶜ*Ibar*; H.C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history* ..., London 1892; S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan dynasties–chronological and genealogical tables with historical introductions*, Westminster 1894; C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1967, 71-3. (G.R. SMITH)

RASŪL (A., pl. *rusul*), messenger, apostle.

1. In the religious sense. According to the Ḳurʾān, there is a close relation between the apostle and his people (*umma* [*q.v.*]). To each *umma* God sends only one apostle (sūra X, 48, XVI, 38 cf. XXIII, 46, XL, 5). These statements are parallel to those which mention the witness whom God will take from each *umma* at the Day of Judgment (IV, 45, XXVIII, 75 and cf. the descriptions of the *rasūl* who will cross the bridge to the other world at the head of his *umma*: al-Bukhārī, *Adhān, bāb* 129; *Riḳāḳ, bāb* 52).

Muḥammad is sent to a people to whom Allāh has not yet sent an apostle (XXVIII, 46, XXXII, 2, XXXIV, 43). The other individuals to whom the Ḳurʾān accords the dignity of *rasūl* are Nūḥ, Lūṭ, Ismāᶜīl, Mūsā, Shuᶜayb, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ and ᶜĪsā.

The list of the prophets [see NABĪ in *EI*[1] and NUBUWWA] is a longer one; it contains, besides the majority of the apostles, Biblical or quasi-Biblical characters like Ibrāhīm, Isḥāḳ, Yaᶜḳūb, Hārūn, Dāwūd, Sulaymān, Ayyūb and Dhu 'l-Nūn. Muḥammad in the Ḳurʾān is called sometimes *rasūl*, sometimes *nabī*. It seems that the prophets are those sent by God as preachers and *nadhīr* [*q.v.*] to their people, but are not the head of an *umma* like the *rasūl*. One is tempted to imagine a distinction between *rasūl* and *nabī* such as is found in Christian literature: the apostle is at the same time a prophet, but the prophet is not necessarily at the same time an apostle. But this is not absolutely certain, the doctrine at the basis of the Ḳurʾānic utterances not being always clear.

As to the close relation which exists between the *rasūl* and his *umma*, it may be compared with the doctrine of the *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, according to which the twelve apostles divided the whole world among them so that each one had the task of preaching the Gospel to a certain people.

As regards the term *rasūl*, account must be taken of the use of the word apostle in Christianity, as well as

of the use of the corresponding verb (*shalaḥ*) in connection with the prophets in the Old Testament (Exodus, iii, 13-14, iv, 13; Isaiah, vi, 8; Jeremiah, i, 7). The term *rasūl Allāh* is used in its Syriac form (*sheliḥeh d-allāhā*) *passim* in the aprocryphal Acts of St. Thomas.

Post Ḳurʾānic teaching has increased the number of apostles to 313 or 315 without giving the names of all of them (Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, i/1, 10; *Fiḳh Akbar III*, art. 22; Reland, *De religione mohammedica*, 2nd ed., Utrecht 1717, 40).

The doctrine that they were free from mortal sin is part of the faith [see ʿIṢMA]. For the rest, the difference between *rasūl* and *nabī*—apart from the considerable difference in point of numbers—seems in later literature to disappear in the general teaching about the prophets. Thus in the *ʿAḳīda* of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī, the two categories are treated together and the author makes no difference between *rasūl* and *nabī*. Similarly, al-Īdjī deals with prophets in general, so far as can be seen, including in them the *rasūls*. If one difference can be pointed out, it is that the *rasūl*, in contrast to the prophet, is a law-giver and provided with a book (commentary on the *Fiḳh Akbar II* by Abu 'l-Muntahā, Ḥaydarābād 1321, 4). According to the catechism published by Reland (40-4), the *rasūl* lawgivers were Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, ʿĪsā and Muḥammad.

In the catechism of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī, the sending of the apostles (*risāla*) is called an act of wisdom on the part of God. Al-Taftāzānī's commentary calls it *wādjib*, not in the sense of an obligation resting upon God but as a consequence arising from his wisdom. This semi-rationalist point of view is not, however, shared by all the scholastics: according to e.g. al-Sanūsī (cf. his *Umm al-barāhīn*), it is *djāʾiz* in itself but belief in it is obligatory.

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(A.J. WENSINCK)

2. In the secular sense. For its meaning of "diplomatic envoy, ambassador", in later Arabic usage *safīr*, see ELČI and SAFĪR.

RASŪLIDS, name of a Sunnī dynasty of the Yemen. They took their name from a certain Muḥammad b. Hārūn who had earned for himself the nickname Rasūl ("messenger") under one of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in the 6th/12th century because of his trustworthiness and efficiency as a confidential envoy. The family tree can be constructed as given below (the element *al-Malik* prefixed to the rulers' honorific titles is omitted here).

By the time the last sultan appeared on the scene, Rasūlid history was marked by serious family squabbles over the leadership.

1. History. The Rasūlid historians and genealogists all claim an Arab pedigree for the family and call them Ghassānids, a branch of al-Azd [*q.v.*]. They further claim that a distant ancestor in the time of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb became a Christian and went to live in Byzantine territory. His children migrated into the lands of the Turkomans and settled among what is described as being the noblest of their tribes, Mandjik. It is probable that the Mendjik of the Oghuz Turks is meant. There they lost their Arab

Muḥammad b. Hārūn (Rasūl)
- ʿAlī
  - al-Manṣūr ʿUmar (I) (626-47/1228-49)
    - al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (II) (647-94/1249-95)
      - al-Ashraf ʿUmar (III) (694-6/1295-6)
      - al-Muʾayyad Dāwūd (IV) (696-721/1296-1322)
        - al-Mudjāhid ʿAlī (V) (721-64/1322-63)
          - al-Afḍal ʿAbbās (VI) (764-78/1363-77)
            - al-Ashraf Ismāʿīl (VII) (778-803/1377-1401)
              - al-Nāṣir Aḥmad (VIII) (803-27/1401-24)
                - al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh (IX) (827-30/1424-7)
                - al-Ashraf Ismāʿīl (X) (830-1/1427-8)
                  - al-Ẓāhir Yaḥyā (XI) (831-42/1428-38)
                  - ʿUmar
                    - al-Ashraf Ismāʿīl (XII) (842-5/1438-41)
                    - al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (XIII)

identity entirely and intermarried with the Turkomans and spoke their language. It was only about the time of Muḥammad b. Hārūn himself that the family moved to ʿIrāḳ and from there to Syria and finally to Egypt. There they came to the notice of the ruling Ayyūbid dynasty [*q.v.*]. In all probability, however, the family was originally of Mendjik, Oghuz Turkish origin.

It was either in the train of Tūrānshāh [*q.v.*], the first Ayyūbid sultan in the Yemen and the brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], when he conquered the country from Egypt in 567/1173, or in that of his successor and brother, Ṭughtakīn, in 579/1183 that a number of Rasūlid *amīrs* first entered the country. Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī was a fief-holder (*muḳtaʿ*) during the period of Ayyūbid control of the Yemen, and when the last Ayyūbid, al-Malik al-Masʿūd, left the Yemen to travel north to take up the governorship of Damascus in 626/1228-9, he could find no one other than Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar to act as his deputy there. Al-Masʿūd died in Mecca on his way north. Although Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar had been instructed to hold the Yemen for the Ayyūbid house until the arrival of a new Ayyūbid ruler, no other member of the family was ever to set foot in the Yemen again. Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar showed outward allegiance to his Ayyūbid masters in Egypt until 632/1235, when he received an official diploma of authority from the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*]. This marks the real beginning of the independent Rasūlid state in Southern Arabia.

The Ayyūbids had made a thorough job of conquering and controlling Tihāma [*q.v.*], the Red Sea coastal plain, and the southern highlands as far north as Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*]. This was the territory the Rasūlids inherited. The Zaydī *imāms* [see ZAYDIYYA] continued to hold much of the land north of Ṣanʿāʾ and the city itself was frequently disputed between them and the Sunnī Rasūlids.

The period after 632/1235, during which the Rasūlids held control of Tihāma and southern Yemen, was without doubt the most brilliant in the mediaeval history of the country. All the hard, pioneering work had been done by their predecessors, the Ayyūbids, with their vast armies, including numerous cavalry. Their conquests had been thorough. In addition, their skilled administrators trained in Syria and Egypt had established an effective administration in the Yemen. The Rasūlids were able to build on to these achievements. They, too, had efficient local civil servants and, what is more, the royal house was blessed with a plethora of gifted intellectuals who brought great scholarly effort to an already highly educated country (see below, 3. Monuments, and 5. Literature).

It is not possible to chronicle in detail the events of more than two centuries of Rasūlid rule in the Yemen. Until his death in 647/1249, al-Manṣūr ʿUmar, the first sultan, was kept busy with the internal affairs of the city of Ṣanʿāʾ. He had signed a peace treaty with the Zaydīs in 628/1230 which included a clause declaring the intention of excluding the Ayyūbid house from the region. Ṣanʿāʾ was granted as a fief to his nephew, Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. He was to prove unreliable, if not actually treacherous, and this is what involved al-Manṣūr so much in the affairs of the city. Al-Manṣūr ʿUmar was murdered in al-Djanad [*q.v.*] near Taʿizz [*q.v.*] in 647/1249 by a gang of *mamlūks*, and al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*], the Rasūlid court historian, has no hesitation in pointing the finger at Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Al-Manṣūr ʿUmar's preoccupation with problems in Ṣanʿāʾ had brought about the neglect of Tihāma and the south of the Yemen. The new sultan, his son, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, spent the early years of his rule re-establishing Rasūlid control over these areas. It is surprising that he retained Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad in charge of Ṣanʿāʾ, but the latter was removed in 658/1260 and ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Shaʿbī appointed over Ṣanʿāʾ in his stead. With this new appointment we enter into the zenith of Rasūlid power and achievement in southern Arabia. ʿAlam al-Dīn was a loyal and gifted servant of the Rasūlid house and, with his team of effective troubleshooters, he did much to reassert control over Ṣanʿāʾ and the north of the country.

Thus from his capital city Taʿizz, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf presided over a Yemen, with the exclusion of the northern highlands north of Ṣanʿāʾ, of unparalleled peace, stability and brilliance. It was during his reign, until 694/1295, that Rasūlid territory reached its most extensive, for, apart from Tihāma and the southern highlands, the northern highlands including Ṣanʿāʾ can be reckoned within Rasūlid control, and also vast territories in the east, Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] and Southern Arabia as far as the maritime settlement of Ẓafār [*q.v.*], present-day al-Balīd, near Ṣalāla in Oman. Here a branch of the family ruled independently or semi-independently for some time (see *Bibl.*, Porter and Smith, in *JRAS*).

Al-Muẓaffar's death in 694/1295 heralded the rule of a long line of his direct descendants. A number of these were extremely able rulers and they promoted the interests of the Rasūlid extremely effectively. It is, however, of interest to note that after the death of ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Shaʿbī in 682/1283 Ṣanʿāʾ never again remained long in Rasūlid hands. One might say too that the dynasty never attained its former glory. Gifted as the successive Rasūlid rulers undoubtedly were, the house suffered greatly at the hands of unreliable and at times openly rebellious tribes and equally at the hands of envious and mutinous *mamlūks*.

When al-Nāṣir Aḥmad died in 827/1424, the Rasūlid dynasty crumbled fast. Al-Nāṣir had done much to revive the flagging fortunes of the house. He had made military gains within the Yemen and received rich gifts from as far away as China. Throughout the 830s and 840s/1420s and 1430s, sultans came and went, unable to hold the dynasty together. The *mamlūks* revolted time after time and, what is more, plague visited the land. The Rasūlid *amīrs* began to quarrel among themselves. With the fall of Aden [see ʿADAN] to the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] in 858/1454 and the surrender of the Rasūlid *amīr* there, the dynasty came to an end.

2. Coins and mints. A very large number of Rasūlid coins covering at least the period 634-*ca.* 842/1236-*ca.* 1438 minted by all the sultans from al-Manṣūr to al-Ẓāhir is extant. Their main mint towns were Aden, Taʿizz, Zabīd [*q.v.*] and al-Mahdjam, although coins are also known minted in al-Dumluwa, Ṣanʿāʾ, Ḥadjdja, al-Djāhilī, Ẓafār and Thaʿbāt (see below). An interesting feature of Rasūlid coins is the mint figure: for Aden, a fish; for Zabīd, a bird; for al-Mahdjam, a lion; and for Taʿizz and Thaʿbāt, a seated man. It is clear that between the years 735-*ca.* 777/1334-*ca.* 1376, during which coins were minted by the Rasūlids in their small mountain retreat, Thaʿbāt, very near Taʿizz, no coins during this period were minted in the latter place. Fairly recently Rasūlid coins minted in Mabyan have been published (see *Bibl.*, Porter).

3. Monuments. The Rasūlids were great builders also and the visitor today to the southern Yemeni city of Taʿizz can still see the remarkable design and craftsmanship of such buildings as the Djāmiʿ al-Muẓaffar, named after the second sultan, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (647-94/1249-95) and the Ashrafiyya, named after al-Malik al-Ashraf II (764-78/1377-1401). Other monuments were built by the Rasūlid sultans in al-Djanad, Zabīd, Ibb and other parts of southern Yemen. The monuments show a clear dependence on outside influences, Egyptian, Syrian, etc., and mark an evident break with the early architectural tradition of the Yemen. This break should perhaps be more correctly assigned to the beginning of the Ayyūbid period (569-1173), but the number of Ayyūbid monuments still extant is small.

4. Trade and commerce. Political stability and an efficient administration provided an ideal background for thriving trade and commerce. With Aden as the main port, a remarkable range of goods flowed through, on their way to and from East Africa, Egypt and the Mediterranean, India, South-East Asia and China. Merchants were held in high esteem and were organised under a head of merchants, especially taken care of by the sultan himself. Usually the head of the merchants was in charge of the sultan's *matdjar al-sulṭānī*. Unfortunately, the two texts specifically providing details of this flourishing trade, *Mulakhkhaṣ al-fitan* (see *Bibl.*, Cahen and Serjeant, in *Arabica*) concerning Aden in 814/1411-12 and another from the time of al-Muẓaffar (647-94/1249-95), of which the correct title and author are unknown, remain un-

published. However, both are now providing information on Rasūlid trade and commerce which fully confirms how widespread, sophisticated and lucrative they were. Main imports coming into Aden were cloths, spices and perfumes from India, South-East Asia and China and slaves, ivory and pepper from East Africa. Main exports through Aden in Rasūlid times were textiles, lead and kohl going out to India from Egypt and North Africa. Although precise information is still scant, it can perhaps be noted that three main fees were payable on goods coming into, and going out from, the port of Aden in Rasūlid times. There were the *ᶜushūr*, customs dues only rarely in fact a "tenth", the *dilāla*, a commission fee, and the *shawānī*, the latter literally meaning "galleys", a tax imposed from the time of the Ayyūbid al-Masᶜūd (d. 626/1228) for the maintenance of the warships employed by the state in the protection of the merchant fleet.

5. Literature. Not surprisingly, the Rasūlid period saw a flowering of literature and a number of members of the royal house were themselves authors of some repute. Al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (d. 694/1295) composed a selection of forty *ḥadīths*, a treatise on the movements of the heavenly bodies which is extant, a treatise on medicine (extant), a literary *Mufākahāt al-djalīs* on entertainment and a volume in ten chapters on the pen, ink, gold and silver writing, etc. Al-Ashraf ᶜUmar (d. 696/1296) composed a treatise on astronomy entitled *al-Tabṣira fī ᶜilm al-nudjūm*, as well as another on veterinary science, *al-Mughnī fi 'l-bayṭara*. Al-Afḍal ᶜAbbās (d. 778/1377) produced a miscellany of writings of practical utility, intellectual interest and entertainment entitled *Fuṣūl madjmūᶜa fi 'l-anwāʾ wa 'l-zurūᶜ wa 'l-ḥiṣād*. The contents include astronomical and astrological data, the astrolabe, agriculture, animals and animal husbandry, warfare, the mangonel, geographical information, a brief polyglot dictionary, etc. Al-Ashraf Ismāᶜīl (d. 803/1401) was the author of a general history of the Yemen entitled *Fākihat al-zaman wa-mufākahat al-ādāb wa 'l-fitan fī akhbār man malaka 'l-Yaman*. The section of this work on the Rasūlids themselves which continues almost to al-Ashraf's death is particularly useful. This list is by no means exhaustive, and is meant merely to indicate some of the remarkable achievements of the Rasūlid monarchs in the field of literature in its broadest sense.

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RATAN, Bābā, Ḥādjdjī, Abu 'l-Riḍā, a long-lived Indian saint, famous in almost all the lands of Islam, called Ratan b. Kirbāl b. Ratan al-Batrandī in the *Ḳāmūs* (Cairo 1330, iv, 226; see variants in *Iṣāba*, Calcutta, i, 1087; *Lisān al-mīzān*, ii, 450 ff.). The *nisba* (vocalised as al-Bitrandī in *Lisān al-mīzān*, and *Tādj al-ᶜarūs*, ix, 212) is derived, according to al-Zabīdī, from al-Bitranda, "a city in India", where, as we learn from the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, ii, 207 = tr. Jarrett, iii, 360), Ratan was born and where he died. This place is now called Bhatinda, lies in 30° 13′ N. and 75° E., and is the headquarters of the Govindgarh *taḥṣīl* (in Anāhadgaṛh Niẓāmat) of what was the Patiāla State, hence now in the East Pandjāb state of the Indian Union [see bhattinda]. It is an important railway junction and its old name was probably Tabarhind (see *Punjab States Gazetteers*, xvii, A; *Phulkian States*, Lahore 1909, 188 ff.). Three miles from this town, at a place called Ḥādjdjī Ratan, exists the shrine of the saint, "a large building with a mosque and gateway, and surrounded by a wall on all sides" (*ibid.*, 80). The shrine, which seems to have been an important place of pilgrimage even in the 12th/18th century (see *Tādj al-ᶜarūs, loc. cit.*), is visited now mostly by Muslims, but Hindus also frequent it, particularly at the *ᶜurs* (annual fair) of the Ḥādjdjī, held from the 7th to the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, when a large number of Sādhūs also attend. For nearly five centuries the shrine has been held by Madārī *faḳīrs*, whose ancestor Shāh Čand came from Makanpur in Oudh. These *gaddīnashīrs* let their hair grow and do not marry.

Who was this Ḥādjdjī Ratan? It appears from combining the extant narratives of over a dozen men who

had visited him in his native place from various parts of the Muslim world, that, in the 7th/13th century, there lived at Bhatinda a man, Ratan by name, about whom "it was said that he was a long-lived individual, who had met the Prophet, was present with him at the Ditch (at the siege of Medina in A.Ḥ. 6), when the Prophet prayed for his long life, that he was present when Fāṭima was conducted as a bride to ʿAlī, may God be pleased with both of them, and who transmitted *ḥadīth*" (*Tādj al-ʿarūs, loc. cit.*).

We get the following particulars also from some of these narratives about his mode of life, personal appearance, etc. A merchant of Khurāsān, who had interviewed him, tells us that Ratan was living under a *fūfal* tree (peepal?—for *fūfal* or *Areca catechu* does not fit in with the context), that his teeth were small like those of a serpent, that his beard, whose hairs were mostly white, was like thorns, that he lifted his eyebrows, which reached down to his cheeks, with a hook, that he said he had never been married, and the length of the space occupied by him, when sitting, was three cubits (al-Djanadī, quoted in *Iṣāba*, i, 1099). Another merchant, from the same land, found him laid like the young one of a bird, in a large basket, stuffed with cotton, which was hanging from a branch of a huge tree outside the village, and was worked by means of a pulley. He spoke in Persian, his voice being like the humming of a bee. He referred to all the inhabitants of the big village as his children or grandchildren (*Iṣāba*, i, 1094; *Lisān al-mīzān*, ii, 452, quoting the *Tadhkira* of al-Ṣafadī, who, in his turn, is quoting the *Tadhkira* of al-Wadāʿī (d. 726/1326), see Brockelmann, II², 10, S II; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 264). Contrary to the first narrative, which tells us that he was never married, the second makes him say that he had a large progeny, and, in fact, Ibn Ḥadjar includes two of Ratan's sons, Maḥmūd and ʿAbd Allāh, among the transmitters of *ḥadīth* from him.

Some of these narratives represent him as having been first converted to Christianity and then to Islam (*Iṣāba*, i, 1097-8).

The date of his death is given variously, as A.H. 596, 608, 612, 632 (*Iṣāba*), 700, and even 709 (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*; *Fawāt al-wafayāt*).

The sayings of the Prophet, which Ratan transmitted from him directly, called *al-Rataniyyāt* (cf. *Tādj al-ʿarūs, loc. cit.*), were collected in book form and a copy, containing about 300 *ḥadīth*, and dated A.H. 710, was seen by Ibn Ḥadjar. These were handed down from Ratan by Abu 'l-Fatḥ Mūsā b. Mudjallī al-Ṣūfī, and al-Dhahabī suspected that either he had forged them or that they had been forged for Mūsā by someone who had invented for him the story of Ratan (*Iṣāba*, i, 1090). An earlier collection of forty sayings was made, out of Mūsā's stock, by Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khurāsānī. Some of these sayings, of which about eighteen are quoted in the *Iṣāba*, are preserved in manuscripts in Leiden, Berlin and Lucknow, and show "traces of both Shīʿite (or perhaps better ʿAlide) and Ṣūfic tendencies" (*Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, ii, 112). Al-Fīrūzābādī had heard them from the companions of Ratan's companions (*Ḳāmūs, loc. cit.*).

The claims of Ratan widely attracted the attention of Muslims in the 7th/13th century, and caused a lot of differences of opinion in Muslim circles in subsequent centuries, as would be indicated by the following list of some outstanding personalities, who expressed themselves for or against his main claim, viz. of being a long-lived Companion of the Prophet.

For: 1. Shaykh Raḍiyy al-Dīn ʿAlī-yi Lālā al-Ghaznawī (d. 642/1244), who associated with Ratan in India and received from him a comb, with the transmission of which the Prophet had entrusted Ratan; 2. Rukn al-Dīn ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336), whom the above-mentioned comb ultimately reached, along with a *khirḳa* received by ʿAlī-yi Lālā from Ratan. Rukn al-Dīn attested this in writing (see *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, Calcutta 1858, 50, with notes of Lārī on the passage); 3. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. Nūḥ al-Ḳūṣī (d. 708/1309), the author of the *Kitāb al-Waḥīd fī sulūk ahl al-tawḥīd*, for which see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 432, cf. Brockelmann, II², 142 (see *Iṣāba*, i, 1096); 4. al-Djanadī (d. 732/1332), the author of the *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*; cf. Brockelmann, II², 234 (in *Iṣāba*, i, 1096-7); 5. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363); see above (previous col.); 6. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Djazarī (d. 739/1338-9), the author of *Ḥawādith al-zamān wa-anbāʾihi* for which see Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, col. 696, is also apparently to be added to this list; see *Iṣāba*, i, 1092; 7. Khʷādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419), see *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, 207 (= tr. Jarrett, iii, 360); 8. Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī (about 1010), who maintains that the Sunnī opposition to Ratan's claim was really due to (*a*) Ratan's being a Shīʿī, most of whose *ḥadīth* was in praise of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and their partisans, and to (*b*) the jealousy of the contemporary Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ*, who were thrown into shade by the *Ṣaḥābī*, who could transmit *ḥadīth* directly from the Prophet (*Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, Tehran 1299/1882, 309).

Against: 1. al-Dhahabī (673-748/1274-1348), who attacked Ratan violently in his *Tadjrīd* (quoted in *Iṣāba*, i, 1087), *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, i, 336, and *al-Mushtabih*, 215, and even wrote a monograph on the subject entitled *Kasr wathan Ratan* (quoted in *Iṣāba*, i, 1088-9), in which he insinuated that only those could admit his claim to Companionship of the Prophet who believed in the continued existence of Muḥammad (al-Muntaẓar) b. al-Ḥasan (the twelfth Imām), and the palingenesis (*radjʿa*) of ʿAlī (see *Iṣāba*, i, 1091; cf. *Lisān al-mīzān*, ii, 452); 2. ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Birzālī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 739/1339) (see *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, i, 163); 3. Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa (d. 790/1388, see Brockelmann, II², 136) (quoted in *Iṣāba*, i, 1101); 4. Madjd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī, who was in India about A.H. 785-90 and had visited Bhatinda (in *Ḳāmūs, loc. cit.*; but cf. *Iṣāba*, i, 1102); 5. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī (d. 852/1449), in *Iṣāba*, i, 1101-2, and in *Tabṣīr al-muntabih*, Rāmpūr ms., p. 79, also quoted in *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, ix, 212; 6. al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), in *Tādj al-ʿarūs, loc. cit.*

Apart from the above literary tradition, the Muslims as well as the Hindus of Bhatinda, have preserved local versions of Ratan's story.

The earlier Muslim version represents him as the Minister of Vena Pāl, the Hindu Rādja of Bhatinda, at the time of Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī's invasion, when he betrayed the fortress to the Muslims. He was converted to Islam and performed the *ḥadjdj*. According to a fuller version, still current in Bhatinda, he was a Čawhān Rādjpūt, Ratanpāl by name. He knew by his knowledge of astrology that the Prophet would be born in Arabia and spread Islam. In order to be able to see him, he practiced restraining his breath. After the miracle of *shaḳḳ al-ḳamar* (splitting the moon into two), which he witnessed, Ratan set out for Mecca, was converted to Islam, and lived with the Prophet for thirty years. Then he returned to India and stayed where his shrine is now, continuing the practice of restraining his breath. Later, when Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī proceeded to Bhatinda to fight Prithi Rādj, the sultan visited the Ḥādjdjī, the saint per-

formed a miracle and became instrumental in the conquest of the fort, shortly after which event he died, at the age of 700 years (*Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, ii, 98; *Glossary of the tribes and castes of the Panjab and N.W.F. Province*, i, 551).

The Hindu version, also still current at Bhatinda, asserts that he was a much-travelled, miracle-working Hindu Sādhū, of the Nāth clan, and that his name was Ratan Nāth. He won the confidence of the Muslims by manifesting his miraculous powers in Mecca, which he had visited in his wanderings. He then came to Bhatinda, and lived and died there. He was buried and his *samādh* was built, which the Muslim replaced by a *khānḳāh*, and called him Ḥādjdjī, on account of his visit to Mecca (see *JPHS*, ii, 100; it gives some other Hindu versions also).

For Ratan's connection with some versions of Gūga's legend, see *Glossary of the tribes and castes of the Panjab and N.W.F. Province*, i, 175, 179, 181.

Horovitz reconciled these divergent versions in a striking theory: "It may be that Ratan was originally a Yogī, who as such was believed to have been alive hundreds of years and who on becoming acquainted with the Muḥammadan aspects of longevity, used them to strengthen his position in the eyes of his Muḥammadan followers... The saint had two faces: he showed that of a long-lived Yogī to the Hindūs, that of a companion of the Prophet to the Muḥammadans" (*JPHS*, ii, 113-14).

Bibliography: J. Horovitz's article on *Bāba Ratan, the Saint of Bhatinda*, in *JPHS*, ii, 97 ff., gives the fullest information, with references, to which may be added: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1330, ii, 450 ff. (mostly repeats his own article in *Iṣāba*); Zabīdī, *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, ix, 212; H.A. Rose, *A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 1919, i, 152, 175, 179, 181. In an Arabic-Persian *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn* (ms. in the Pandjāb University Library, defective at the beginning), a fuller version of the story given by Horovitz on p. 110 n. 1, occurs, with the name of Hārūn substituted for that of Sultan Maḥmūd.

(Mohammad Shafīʿ)

RĀTIB (a., pl. *rawātib*), a word meaning what is fixed and hence applied to certain non-obligatory *ṣalāts* or certain litanies. The term is not found in the Ḳurʾān nor as a technical term in *Ḥadīth*. On the first meaning, see nāfila. As to the second, it is applied to the *dhikr* [*q.v.*] which one recites alone, as well as to those which are recited in groups. We owe to Snouck Hurgronje a detailed description of the *rawātib* practised in Acheh [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*, Batavia-Leiden 1893-4, ii, 220. English tr. O'Sullivan, *The Achehnese*. Leiden 1906, ii, 216; Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim devotions*, London 1961, 22 (definition), 291 and 301 (lists of *rawātib* ascribed to well-known *shaykhs*).

(A.J. Wensinck)

RAṬL [see makāyil].

RAWĀḤA, Banū, a Shāfiʿī family originally from the town of Ḥamāt [*q.v.*], numerous members of which held public office in this town, as also in Damascus and Tripoli during the Ayyūbid period and in the early times of the Baḥriyya Mamlūks. The Banū Rawāḥa, of Medinan origin and belonging to the tribe of Khazradj, seem to have had an ancestor in the Companion of the Prophet ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa b. Imriʾ al-Ḳays, who distinguished himself in the majority of his military campaigns, became Muḥammad's accredited poet and died a martyr's death at Muʾta [*q.v.*] in 8/629; this would account for the fact that numerous members of this family are known to have born the name ʿAbd Allāh. (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, iii/2, 79-82; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvii, 168-70; art. ʿabd allāh b. rawāḥa).

Four members of a primary branch of the Banū Rawāḥa, linked by direct line of descent, are known to us:

(1) Abū Muḥammad ʿabd allāh b. al-Ḥusayn, "*khaṭīb* Ḥamāt", died in 561/1166 (or 562/1167), aged 75. Official preacher of Ḥamāt and poet, he composed, while passing through Baghdād in the course of the Pilgrimage, numerous poems in praise of the caliph al-Muḳtafī (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, viii/1, 263; *Wāfī*, xvii, 142-4).

(2) His son, Abū ʿAlī al-ḥusayn (515-85/1121-89), *faḳīh* and poet; his surviving works include an ode honouring Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and a few fragments of erotic poetry (al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr (Shām)*, i, 484, and Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, x, 46-56). His life was eventful; taken prisoner, he lived in Sicily, then on his release he spent some time in Alexandria, returned to Syria and died a martyr's death at the battle of Mardj ʿAkkā (*Wāfī*, xii, 413-14).

(3) The son of the above-named, ʿIzz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿabd allāh, born in Sicily in 560/1165, during the captivity of his father; in Alexandria, he had numerous audiences with the eminent traditionist al-Silafī, between 570/1175 and 575/1179, the date of the latter's death. A *muḥaddith* himself and a poet, he lived in Aleppo and in Ḥamāt, where he was buried in Djumādā II 646/July-August 1248 (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, ms. Bodl. Land 305, fol. 212; *Wāfī*, xvii, 144-5).

(4) His grandson, Nūr al-Dīn aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh, known as "*al-khaṭīb*", held the post of *kātib al-inshāʾ* at Tripoli and in the occupied cities (*futūḥ*). He died in Ḥamāt in Shaʿbān 712/December 1312 (Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿī, *Tālī al-wafayāt*, 45 (44 in the Arabic text) and 148; *Wāfī*, vi, 56-7).

From a collateral branch of the Banū Rawāḥa, another known individual is Zakī al-Dīn hibat allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Rawāḥa, apparently a first cousin to al-Ḥusayn (cf. no. 2, above), who lived in Damascus and died there in Radjab 623/June-July 1226. A wealthy merchant, poet and sworn witness (*muʿaddal*), enjoying much respect in Damascus, he founded two *madrasas* for the teaching of Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*, one at Aleppo, the other in Damascus, this being the Rawāḥiyya, founded in 622/1225. No longer in existence, it was situated in the interior of the Bāb al-Farādīs, to the north of the Great Mosque. Its founder lived there until his death in an apartment to the east of the *madrasa*, opposite the opulent library which he had also founded. He had richly endowed this *madrasa*, thus enabling students of humble means to lodge there, including the eminent *muḥaddith* and *faḳīh* al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277 [*q.v.*]). He had laid down the following conditions for admission to this *madrasa*: "Neither Jew nor Christian nor anthropomorphist Ḥanbalī (*ḥashwī*) shall enter here." Before his death he had designated as superintendent (*nāẓir*) of the *madrasa* the great *faḳīh* Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245); but after his death two individuals, the Ṣūfī Ibn ʿArabī and a grammarian named Khazʿal, who both lived close to the *madrasa* in question, accused Ibn Rawāḥa of having dismissed him.

Serious disruption ensued in the functioning of the *madrasa*, at least until the time of the death in 665/1267 of Abū Shāma, our principal source of information.

Bibliography: In addition to the references cited in the text, see Abū Shāma, *Tarādjim* (= *Dhayl al-*

Rawḍatayn), ed. Kawtharī, 149; cf. also Dhahabī, *ʿIbar*, v, 92; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ms. Bodl. 1,678, fol. 208; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 116, who dates his death to 622/1225, and especially, Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, i, 266, 267; see also L. Pouzet, *Damas au VIIᵉ/XIIIᵉ siècle*, Beirut 1988, 155, 157, 170. (L. Pouzet)

RĀWALPINDI, the name of a city, district and division of the northern Pandjāb in Pākistān. The city lies in lat. 33° 40′ N. and long. 73° 08′ E. at an altitude of 530 m/1,750 feet. In British Indian times, it was one of the most important military stations of northern India, and is now the headquarters of the Pākistān Army, with extensive cantonments, as well as being an important commercial and industrial centre and the starting-point of the route into Kashmīr. From 1959 to 1969 it was the capital of Pākistān before the removal of this to the new city of Islāmābād 14 km/9 miles to its northeast. The population of the city and of the surrounding district and division is almost wholly Muslim. In 1972 the city had an estimated population of 615,000.

Since Rāwalpindi lies in the path of invaders from the north-west, much of its history resembles that of the Pandjāb [*q.v.*]. The district formed part of Gandhāra and was included in the Persian empire of the Achaemenids. About ten miles to the north-west of the town lie the ruins of the ancient city of Takshaçila (Taxila) which was an important seat of learning in the 4th century B.C. The Muslim invaders experienced much trouble from the turbulent Gakkhar tribes of this area who are still the most important tribe socially in the district. In the days of Akbar [*q.v.*], the territories included in the modern district of Rāwalpindi formed part of the *sarkar* of Sind Sāgar Dōāb in the *ṣūba* of Lahore (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, ii, 324).

Rāwalpindi grew in importance when a Sikh adventurer, Sardār Milka Singh, occupied it in 1765 and brought in colonists to it, but after 1849 it passed, with the rest of the Pandjāb, under British control.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in PANDJĀB, see *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxi, 261-73; J.H. Marshall, *Archaeological discoveries at Taxila*, 1913; *Guide to Taxila*, 1918; *Rāwalpindi District Gazetteer*, 1907; H.A. Rose, *A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 1919, s.v. Gakkhars.

(C. Collin Davies-[C.E. Bosworth])

al-**RĀWANDĀN** (present-day [Turkish] Revanda Kalesi; Frankish Ravendel; Armenian Arevēntan), a fortress of the north Syrian borderlands, situated south of Gaziantep (ʿAyn Tāb [see ʿAYNTĀB]), and about 16 km/10 miles west of Kilis on the Turkish side of the modern frontier with Syria. It occupies the top of a conical hill overlooking the upper ʿAfrīn River. We first hear of the place in 490-1/1097, at the start of the Crusades, when it was seized by Baldwin of le Bourg from the Turks, who had taken it from the Armenians, apparently the first occupants. Baldwin restored it to the Armenians, but later retrieved it from them, giving it, in 495-6/1102, to Joscelin I. After a brief period of Byzantine control following on the capture of its Frankish ruler Joscelin II, Count of Courtenay, it was secured in 546/1151-2 by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī [*q.v.*], passing in due course from Zangid to Ayyūbid hands. Subsequent rulers included al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, ruler of Aleppo, and Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭoghril, regent for al-Ẓāhir's infant heir al-Malik al-ʿAzīz. In 624/1226-7, Ṭoghril gave it to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad of ʿAyn Tāb. On the latter's death, the fortress passed to al-Ṣāliḥ's nephew, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II, the ruler of Aleppo. Thereafter, al-Rāwandān's fortunes shared those of the rest of northern Syria: the onslaught of the Mongols, followed by their retreat, and the establishment of Mamlūk rule under Baybars. Little remains today of the fortress except the entrance arrangements, and the principal salients of the walls.

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(D.W. Morray)

RĀWANDĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Persian historian who flourished at the end of the Saldjūḳ period. Details of his life are known only from information in his sole surviving work, the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr wa-āyat al-surūr*, a dynastic history of the Great Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*]. Rāwandī belonged to a scholarly family from Rāwand, near Kāshān. He studied Ḥanafī *fiḳh* in Hamadhān from 570/1174 to 580/1184 and became a skilled calligrapher and gilder. When sultan Ṭoghrïl III b. Arslan wanted a beautiful Ḳurʾān, Rāwandī, as a member of the team of craftsmen, gained favour at court. After Ṭoghrïl's imprisonment in 586/1190, Rāwandī found other patrons and one of them, a certain Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kāshānī, encouraged him to begin writing the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* in 599/1202.

Rāwandī would have doubtless liked to dedicate his work to a Saldjūḳ prince of Persia. After the dynasty's demise in Persia in 590/1194 and the advent of the Khʷārazmshāh, whose rule Rāwandī deplores (30-2), he sought patronage from Ḳonya, wanting his book to be in the "name of a Saldjūḳ sultan" (62). Indeed, he went there personally to present his work (64). Originally, he had dedicated it to sultan Sulaymān II (d. 600/1204), but he was obliged to re-address his panegyrics to Kaykhusraw I [*q.v.*] after his accession that year (19-38). The re-orientation of Rāwandī's work towards Rūm is a clear indication that early 7th/13th century Persian scholars viewed the Anatolian Saldjūḳ dynasty as the new champions of Sunnī Islam, and Ḳonya as the centre for the continuation of Persian scholarly traditions.

For its account of Saldjūḳ history until Ṭoghrïl III, the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* is one of several Persian historical sources dependent on the *Saldjūḳ-nāma* of Nīshāpūrī (d. *ca.* 582/1182 [*q.v.*]). Rāwandī's history is, however, an invaluable first-hand source for Ṭoghrïl's reign. The work is deeply permeated with the *Fürstenspiegel* ethos. Far from being a detailed history, it is a didactic essay on exemplary kingship in which a skeletal narrative framework is fleshed out with illustrative anecdotes, Arabic aphorisms (with accompanying Persian translations) and poetic quotations (notably from Niẓāmī and the *Shāh-nāma*, as well as lesser-known poets, including Rāwandī himself). The last section of the book discusses courtly accomplishments and is drawn from Ḥanafī legal works (418). Generally, Rāwandī's approach resembles that of Muḥammad Malaṭyawī in his *Barīd al-saʿādat*, dedicated to Kaykhusraw's successor in Ḳonya, Kaykāwūs (cf. Fouchécour, 430).

Rāwandī's history was often used by later Persian

historians (especially Yazdī) and was translated into Turkish in the reign of sultan Murād II (cf. Barthold, 116; Storey, i, 257). Rāwandī also wrote a polemical work against the Rāfiḍīs [see RĀFIḌIYYA] and another on calligraphy (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 394, 445), which have apparently not survived.

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(CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

AL-**RĀWANDIYYA**, a term referring to an extremist Shīʿī group which originated within the ʿAbbāsid movement in Khurāsān. The term was subsequently expanded to include at times the entire ʿAbbāsid *shīʿa*, but unless otherwise stated it will be used in this article in its original sense. It is said in some sources to derive from al-Ḳāsim b. Rāwand or from Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Rāwandī, both of whom are otherwise unknown; other sources more plausibly derive it from ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāwandī, who appears in a list of propagandists (*duʿāt*) of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] (see *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī and ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 222). Both ʿAbd Allāh's son Ḥarb (d. 147/764) and his grandson Naṣr b. Ḥarb were senior officers in the ʿAbbāsid army in ʿIrāḳ during al-Manṣūr's reign. Ḥarb who, like his son, is said to have been a member of the Rāwandiyya [see KAYSĀNIYYA], participated in the crushing of the revolt of the Ḥasanid Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] before being killed in Armenia by Turkish rebels (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 296, 353); he was also given an estate in an area north of the Round City of Baghdād which became known after him as al-Ḥarbiyya (cf. *ibid.*, iii, 328).

Initially, the Rāwandiyya appear to have argued (in line with the bulk of the Hāshimiyya) that the imāmate had passed from ʿAlī via Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya to the latter's son Abū Hāshim ʿAbd Allāh and then, in accordance with Abū Hāshim's testament (*waṣiyya*), to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās (al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ*, 29-30; Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh, *Maḳālāt*, 39-40; al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 40); they are therefore occasionally counted among the Kaysāniyya. Al-Nawbakhtī's source (evidently Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*]), referring to the group as *ghulāt al-rāwandiyya*, adds that the doctrines which they espoused included deification of the imāms, belief in their omniscience, and dispensation from the religious law for those who know the imāms; he notes that their strength increased when most of the followers of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] joined their ranks. Some further details are provided by al-Madāʾinī's [*q.v.*] father (as cited in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 418) when he describes the first recorded Rāwandī uprising, crushed by Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*] during his governorship of Khurāsān (116-19/734-7). A leper called al-Ablaḳ ("piebald"), who aspired to lead the Rāwandiyya at the time, upheld the doctrine of the periodic incarnation of the deity on earth by claiming that the spirit of Jesus had passed on to ʿAlī and then, successively, to each of the imāms up to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī's son Ibrāhīm [see IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD]; he and his followers also sanctioned communal access to women.

Most sources agree that the Rāwandī doctrine of the imāmate underwent a significant shift after the ʿAbbāsid rise to power: the imāmate was no longer believed to have started with ʿAlī rather than with al-ʿAbbās, from whom it passed to his descendants. The Rāwandiyya based their belief in al-ʿAbbās's succession to the Prophet on the ancient inheritance laws whereby the paternal uncle excludes daughters, cousins and nephews; and they interpreted accordingly the Ḳurʾānic verse "Those related by blood are nearer to one another in the Book of God" (VIII, 75, XXXIII, 6). There are indications that this doctrine had its advocates in the ʿAbbāsid court some time before its emergence as an official tenet under al-Manṣūr and especially under al-Mahdī (cf. M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1983, 82-99); it remains to be established whether it was first elaborated among the Rāwandiyya and was then adopted as the official ʿAbbāsid line or whether, in contrast, the Rāwandiyya mirrored the changing court ideology.

In a report from an unnamed source, Ibn al-Djawzī (viii, 29) describes the Rāwandiyya as a group (*ṭāʾifa*) of Bāṭinīs (i.e. Ismāʿīlīs) known as Sabʿiyya, who believed that the cycle (*dawr*) of the imāms which began with al-ʿAbbās ended with the seventh, al-Manṣūr. The reference to the Rāwandiyya as Bāṭinīs must be a back-projection; at the same time, if indeed they insisted on a line of seven imāms, this would make them the earliest "Sevener" Shīʿī group, predating the Wāḳifiyya who emerged after the death of Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*].

The sources present a confused and sometimes contradictory picture of the relationship between the Rāwandiyya and other groups in the early ʿAbbāsid period. Some (such as Ps.-Nāshiʾ) identify them with the Hurayriyya (followers of Abū Hurayra al-Rāwandī or al-Dimashḳī), and regard the Rizāmiyya (followers of Rizām b. Sābiḳ) as an offshoot of the Rāwandiyya/Hurayriyya. Others (e.g. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [*q.v.*]) maintain that both the Rāwandiyya and Hurayriyya upheld the pure ʿAbbāsid line, but that the Rāwandiyya also believed in the divinity of al-Manṣūr and the prophethood of Abū Muslim; the Rizāmiyya, in turn, held to the earlier line of imāms via Abū Hāshim, believing in addition that Abū Muslim had not died. In Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *K. al-Zīna* these three groups are described as comprising the ʿAbbāsiyya (i.e. the ʿAbbāsid *shīʿa*). In contrast, al-Nawbakhtī's source identifies the Rāwandiyya with the ʿAbbāsid *shīʿa* as a whole and says that it consisted of three subgroups: the Abū Muslimiyya, for whom Abū Muslim was the living imām; the Rizāmiyya who, in addition to following the line of imāms via Abū Hāshim, secretly believed in Abū Muslim (presumably while acknowledging that he had died); and the Hurayriyya, described as "the pure ʿAbbāsids" (*al-ʿabbāsiyya al-khullaṣ*), who upheld the imāmate from al-ʿAbbās.

There are scattered references to disturbances involving Rāwandīs in the first ʿAbbāsid decade. In 135/752-3 a group from Ṭālaḳān, headed by Abū Isḥāḳ (perhaps Khālid b. ʿUthmān, an ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī*

who had been commander of Abū Muslim's guard), attacked and killed one of Abū Muslim's officers before they themselves were slain (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 82). After this incident they were no longer heard of in Khurāsān, but they reappeared a few years later in the West. Here the most widely reported event is the riot sometimes referred to as *yawm al-rāwandiyya*. Its date is variously given as 136 or 137 (al-Ṭabarī, citing an anonymous source), 139 or the beginning of 140 (al-Balādhurī), 140 (Ibn al-ʿIbrī), 141 (al-Ṭabarī and others) and 142 (al-Dīnawarī), and it is said to have taken place in al-Hāshimiyya [*q.v.*] (or in Baṣra, according to al-Dīnawarī, whose version also differs in other details). The accounts in al-Balādhurī (iii, 235-6) and al-Ṭabarī (iii, 129-33) speak of 600 Rāwandīs who took part, all of whom were Khurāsānī followers of Abū Muslim who believed that Ādam's soul resided in ʿUthmān b. Nahīk (one of al-Manṣūr's security officers who was killed in the ensuing combat) and that al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiya (like ʿUthmān, an ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī*) was the angel Gabriel. They began to circumambulate al-Manṣūr's palace, hailing him as their God (*rabb*) who provided them with food and drink. At this point al-Manṣūr, who seems at first to have tolerated (or even welcomed) their excesses, drew the line. He had 200 of their leaders incarcerated and forbade the others to congregate; disregarding his order, they stormed the prison and released their colleagues. When they headed back towards the palace al-Manṣūr left on foot and was provided with a saddled horse outside. The Shaybānī leader Maʿn b. Zāʾida [*q.v.*], an erstwhile Umayyad general who had been in hiding from the ʿAbbāsids, came to the rescue and, in a display of courage which won al-Manṣūr's admiration, managed to beat off the attackers, virtually all of whom were killed. According to other reports, Abū Naṣr Mālik b. al-Haytham (who had been among the original *nuḳabāʾ*) personally guarded the palace gates, while the military commander Khāzim b. Khuzayma, together with the local populace, was instrumental in overcoming the Rāwandīs. One of the attackers, Rizām (founder of the Rizāmiyya?), was granted amnesty after he sought refuge with the caliph's son Djaʿfar. The reason given in the sources for the attackers turning against al-Manṣūr is their anger at the arrest of their leaders; it would seem that they were also bitterly disappointed with the caliph's unwillingness to come up to their expectations of him. That al-Manṣūr was in serious danger is confirmed by reports that he was almost killed by the rioters (e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, v, 502: *kādū yaḳtulūnahu*). The incident dramatically pointed up the caliph's vulnerability and contributed to his decision to look for a capital elsewhere, a decision which eventually led to the beginning of work on Baghdād.

Two reports concerning the riot are especially noteworthy. The first (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 418-9) describes some Rāwandīs as jumping to their deaths from the green dome of the palace (referred to as al-Khaḍrāʾ, which was also the name of the green dome of the Baghdād palace; cf. J. Lassner, *The topography of Baghdad in the early Middle Ages*, Detroit 1970, 135-6). That such behaviour was not atypical is suggested by an account concerning another group of Rāwandīs. These men revolted in Aleppo and Ḥarrān in 141/758-9; believing themselves to be in the same rank (*manzila*) as angels, they mounted a hill in Aleppo, put on silk clothes, jumped off and perished (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān, i, Damascus 1370/1951, 59-60). In the second report (al-Balādhurī, iii, 235) the Rāwandiyya state that, if al-Manṣūr wished, he could make the mountains move, and if he were to order them to turn their backs to Mecca during prayer they would comply. This formulation also appears in Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's [*q.v.*] *Risāla fi 'l-ṣaḥāba* which he composed for al-Manṣūr (probably between 136/754 and 142/759), when he describes the views of some over-zealous Khurāsānian troops (ed. Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, Cairo 1946, 120; cf. S.D. Goitein, *A turning point in the history of the Muslim state*, in his *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1966, 156). It is thus possible that the troops against whom he warned the caliph were the Rāwandiyya.

Hardly anything is heard of this group after the death of al-Manṣūr, though some of them were involved in the struggle over his succession. The more extreme elements merged into other sects known collectively as Khurramiyya [*q.v.*]. The number of those who upheld al-ʿAbbās's designation as Muḥammad's successor appears also to have diminished sharply. Marwān b. Abi 'l-Djanūb [*q.v.*] still wrote for al-Mutawakkil a poem about the hereditary rights of the ʿAbbāsids (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1465-6, cited in Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, ii, London 1971, 100-1); yet by the time of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) the last adherents of this doctrine had apparently disappeared (cf. *al-Shāfī fi 'l-imāma*, Tehran 1301/1884, 99).

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RAWĀNDIZ, RUWĀNDIZ, a town of Kurdish ʿIrāḳ, the chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *liwāʾ* of Irbil. In *ca.* 1940 it had a population of 7,000. It lies in lat. 36° 37′ N. and long. 44° 33′ E. at an altitude of *ca.* 914 m/3,000 feet on a route which connects Mawṣil and Irbil [*q.vv.*] via the Garū Shinka pass (1,830 m/6,000 feet) with Mahābād/Sāwdj-Bulāḳ [*q.vv.*]. The route was described in early Islamic times only by Yāḳūt, enumerating seven stages from Mawṣil to Sāwdj-Bulāḳ.

History. It will be evident that Rawāndiz, situated at the intersection of the communications of Kurdistān as well as of roads leading farther afield, has always owed its importance to its position. It should also be remembered that in the period of prosperity of the Nestorian Church all this country played a great part, mainly on account of the influence of the Metropolitan see of Arbil. We may mention (cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*) the names of Dara, Hanitha, Shaḳlāwa (from which came one of the mss. which enabled the Abbé Chabot to establish the text of the *Synodicon orientale*, Paris 1902), as well as the fact that there were many monasteries in these parts. According to the late Metropolitan Mar Ḥanānīshōʿ, the *maḥall* of Barādost (not to be confused with the Barādost of the Shiḳāḳ Kurds to the north of Tergawar; see URMIYA) before the First World War had still a few Christian communities. From the point of view of Kurdish history, the destinies of Rawāndiz have been frequently those of Shahrizūr, of which it formed part at certain times. The Persian historian Aḥmad Kasrawī Tabrīzī (*Shahriyārān-i gum-nām*, ii, *Rawādiyān*, Tehran 1308/1929) gives us some notes (125, 133-6) on Rawāndiz in the time of the Aḥmadīlī [*q.v.*] Atābeks (501-624/1106-1227) the last representative of whom, a woman, became the wife of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh. A local history of the *wālīs* of Ardalān, a resumé of which was published by B. Nikitine, in *RMM*, xlix, 70 ff., also contains some information about the families ruling in Rawāndiz down to A.H. 1249.

In the early 19th century, one of these lords, the half-blind Muḥammad Khor ("the blind"), dominated the local tribes and established his power from 1826 onwards as far as the Little Zāb and Irbil and then in 1833 as far as ʿAmādiyya and Zakhō, and minted coins of his own as *al-Amīr al-Manṣūr Muḥammad Bīk*; but after his fall in 1836 and deportation by the Ottomans, Rawāndiz shrank once more to a place of minor significance only. During the First World War the Rawāndiz road was used in the winter of 1914-15 by Khalīl Bey's troops advancing on Urmiya (contrary to H. Grothe, *Die Türken und ihre Gegner*, Frankfurt a.M. 1915) and later in July 1916 by the Russian Rybalčenko. After the armistice and during the period till December 1925, when the League of Nations made its decision on the *wilāyat* of Mawṣil, Rawāndiz was the focus for attempts at some form of autonomy or independence under the Kurdish chief Shaykh Maḥmūd Barzāndjī, who in 1922 proclaimed himself in the *liwāʾ* of Sulaymāniyya "Pādishāh of Kurdistān", and also for Turkish attempts at this time to retain the region within Turkey, with a Turkish *ḳāʾim-maḳām*, ʿAlī Shefīḳ, appointed to Rawāndiz in 1922. The town was, however, recovered for the new Kingdom of ʿIrāḳ government in April 1923 by a combined operation of the ʿIrāḳī army and local Assyrian Christian levies, and an administration installed there under Sayyid Ṭāhā of Neri as *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. In 1925 a League of Nations commission awarded the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, including Rawāndiz, to ʿIrāḳ.

Language. Kurdish is the language spoken in this region, except by the town dwellers (Irbil, Altūn Köprü, Kirkuk, etc.) of Turkish origin. According to O. Mann (*Die Mundart der Mukri Kurden*, ii, 205), the dialect of Rawāndiz is very like that of Shamdīnān, but E.B. Soane did not share this opinion (*Kurdish grammar*, London 1913). F. Jardine's manual, *Bahdinan Kurmanji, a grammar of the Kurmanji of the Kurds of Mosul division and surrounding districts of Kurdistan*, London 1922, is more particularly devoted to this dialect.

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(B. NIKITINE-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

RAWḌA (A.), literally "garden"; an island in the Nile in the southern part of Cairo about 3 km/2 miles long and with an average width of 500 m/1,640 ft. A narrow canal (al-Khalīdj or Sayyālat al-Rawḍa) divides the eastern bank of the river from the island. Before the regulation of the river in the 19th century, the canal often dried out. From the time of the establishment of Arab rule until the early 19th century, the island was mostly connected by pontoon bridges with both banks of the river (the Fusṭāṭ as well as the Djīza shore). The island has been the place of a Nilometer (*Miḳyās* [*q.v.*]) since the early 2nd/8th century. Concerning the historical topography of Rawḍa, see MIṢR. C. 2. ii.

As long as the annual rise of the Nile was celebrated, the island was of crucial importance in the social life of Cairo. Each year at this time, until the high crest was reached (*wafāʾ al-Nīl*), i.e. for about

two months, people gathered in tents and pavilions on the island celebrating, while expecting the opening of the Cairo canal in early August. Their unbridled behaviour often led to their removal from the island and the burning down of their tents (see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, Cairo 1960-92, who reports this fact for later mediaeval times). In mediaeval times, the island was used, for strategic reasons, for fortifications and the naval arsenal [see MIṢR, *loc. cit.*]. Two rulers, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (254-70/868-84 [*q.v.*]) and the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (636-47/1240-9) thought it worthwhile to build fortresses on the island; neither of these, however, lasted for long. Ibn Ṭūlūn's fortress was built as a place of retreat when he was threatened by the caliphal power, but it was never used and soon decayed. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ was equally led to take advantage of the island. In order to secure his position he had begun to import Turkish Mamlūks, and it was more convenient to have them reside outside al-Ḳāhira. He may also have intended securing a retreat for himself in case of an attack by the Crusaders, but it seems more plausible to assume that he wanted to be able to deploy instantaneously his warships anchoring there in case of a Frankish attack on Egypt's Mediterranean ports. After al-Ṣāliḥ's death, the vast fortress—half of the island was encircled by walls—was abandoned. The Mamlūk ruler al-Ẓāhir Baybars (658-76/1260-77 [*q.v.*]) rebuilt the *ḳalʿa*; apparently he intended to use this Rawḍa citadel as his stronghold, but the advantages were not sufficient to replace in the long run the Ḳalʿat al-Dj̲abal (see *EI*[1] art. *Rawḍa*, where it is falsely stated that the Baḥrī line of the Mamlūks reigned there). Thereafter, the materials of the Ḳalʿat al-Rawḍa were re-used by succeeding sultans for their own buildings.

From the 4th/10th century, Rawḍa was a place of recreation, due to its clement climatic conditions. Gardens and palaces, and a residential area were built. Muḥammad b. Ṭug̲h̲dj̲ al-Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īd (323-34/935-46 [*q.v.*]) built a garden called al-Muk̲h̲tār, and the Fāṭimid vizier al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Dj̲amālī (d. 515/1121 [*q.v.*]) laid out the garden, *rawḍa*, whence the name of the island. In the time before this and afterwards, the island was called Dj̲azīrat Miṣr or simply al-Dj̲azīra. In *ca.* 519/1125, the Fāṭimid caliph al-Āmir [*q.v.*] built a palace called Hawdadj̲. During these times, Rawḍa is said to have been a town in itself, and several Friday mosques were built, pointing to the growing population density on the island. The oldest mosque, the Dj̲āmiʿ G̲h̲ayn, is attributed to the black eunuch G̲h̲ayn (d. 404/1013), a high Fāṭimid official.

About a century later, the above-mentioned al-Afḍal built the Dj̲āmiʿ al-Miḳyās, which was later rebuilt by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, became part of his *ḳalʿa* and was called Dj̲āmiʿ al-Rawḍa. This mosque was destroyed and rebuilt by al-Muʾayyad S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Maḥmūdī in 824/1421 (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, i, Cairo 1310/1893, 115-16) and finally destroyed in the 19th century (ʿAlī Mubārak Pas̲h̲a, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-dj̲adīda*, xviii, 13). The erection of the huge *ḳalʿa* temporarily put an end to that situation because al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ evacuated the island and destroyed the greater part of the buildings. But after al-Ṣāliḥ's death, the island apparently became more populated because the number of buildings round the Dj̲āmiʿ G̲h̲ayn increased and the *k̲h̲uṭba* was pronounced there again. Parts of the decayed *ḳalʿa* were used for private buildings, and a new Friday mosque was built in the early 8th/14th century (the Dj̲āmiʿ Fak̲h̲r). This mosque was renovated a few decades later by the vizier al-Maḳsī, hence was called the Dj̲āmiʿ al-Maḳsī. In 886/1481 the dilapidated mosque was demolished by Sultan Ḳāyitbāy and again rebuilt. Thereafter, it was called Dj̲āmiʿ al-Sulṭān (or Dj̲āmiʿ Ḳāyitbāy). This mosque existed until the 19th century (*al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-dj̲adīda*, xviii, 13-14). In 896/1491 the still extant *madrasa* of Ḳāyitbāy was completed as well. There also existed after 770/1368 a Friday mosque called the Dj̲āmiʿ al-Raʾīs, Ibn Duḳmāḳ mentions about 20 *masdj̲ids* and several *zāwiyas* on the island at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. According to Ibn Ẓahīra (= Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī), *al-Faḍāʾil al-bāhira*, Cairo 1969, 202, in the late 9th/15th century the eastern shore of the island was densely built up, and Felix Fabri, a European traveller who stayed there in 1483, even reports that the whole island was encircled by high buildings with people everywhere (*Le Voyage en Egypte de Félix Fabri 1483*, Cairo 1975, 3 vols., iii, 443-4); but he was also told that, just 15 years previously, no building was to be found there. His impression was that the arm of the Nile dividing Rawḍa and Cairo cut the town in half. Leo Africanus in 1517 confirmed the crowdedness of the island; he counted 1,500 hearths and mentions a palace which the reigning sultan had built at the northern end of the island (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 511-12). The Sultan al-G̲h̲awrī is said to have ordered the building of a new Friday mosque near the Nilometer in 917/1511 (Ibn Iyās, iv, 175).

Several statements of travellers in the 16th and 17th centuries suggest that Rawḍa was used as a place for recreation by the local inhabitants and as a residential area, contrary to the assumption, expressed in *EI*[1], art. *Rawḍa*, that the island was abandoned in Ottoman times up to the early 19th century. In 1598 Harant mentioned about 100 houses (*Le Voyage en Egypte de Christophe Harant*, Cairo 1972, 231). Half-a-century later, de Monconys reported that there were to be found buildings and an area with pavilions of the nobles which was like a town of its own (*Le Voyage en Egypte de Balthasar de Monconys*, Cairo 1973, 157-8). This is corroborated by Ewliyā Čelebi (1091/1680)—whose statements have to be taken critically—when he praises the island, mentioning numerous streets and buildings (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1938, x, 321-2, 325-7). ʿAbd al-G̲h̲anī al-Nābulusī spent some time on the island, and praised it for its beauty (*al-Ḥaḳīḳa wa 'l-madj̲āz*, Cairo 1986, 236-7). In 1806 ʿAlī Bey al-ʿAbbāsī found Rawḍa abandoned, having been formerly a little paradise; he praises the French for having formed the walk with rows of trees which traversed the island from south to north (*Travels*, London 1816, repr. 1970, ii, 22-3). In later Ottoman times, Rawḍa was likewise one of the favourite fields of military practice for the Mamlūks; in the fights between the rival Mamlūk groups, one of the factions used to resort to the island.

In the 19th century many gardens and palaces, and also mosques (sometimes used as funerary mosques), were built. A large garden (no longer extant), which is described as a kind of botanical and zoological garden, was founded in the northern part of the island (*al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-dj̲adīda*, xviii, 11). In recent times, the island has become mainly a residential area.

It should be mentioned that poetry on Rawḍa is abundant, often as a part of anthologies on gardens (*rawḍiyyāt*); see e.g. Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī, *Anwār ʿulwiyy al-adj̲rām*; al-Suyūṭī, *Kawkab al-Rawḍa* (Brockelmann, II[2], 202); Ibn Duḳmāḳ *op. cit.*, ch. on Rawḍa; and ʿAbd al-G̲h̲anī al-Nābulusī, *op. cit.*

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Cairo 1386/1968; Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ*; ʿAlī Mubārak Pas̲h̲a, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-d̲j̲adīda*, Cairo 1306/1888-9, xviii, 2-111. (O. Weintritt)

RAWḌA-K̲H̲ʷĀNĪ, a S̲h̲īʿī Persian mourning ritual commemorating the suffering and martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn, the grandson of the prophet Muḥammad and other S̲h̲īʿī martyrs. The name of this public lamentation is derived from the title of a literary masterpiece called *Rawḍat al-s̲h̲uhadāʾ* ("The Garden of the Martyrs"). This book, written in Persian but under an Arabic title, was composed by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kās̲h̲ifī [*q.v.*] in 908/1502-3 when S̲h̲īʿī Islam was being imposed as the state religion of Persia. *Rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷānī* literally means "recitation from the Garden [of the Martyrs]" and is popularly called just *rawḍa*. Originally, it was customary to recite or chant a chapter from *The Garden of the Martyrs* in public each day during the first ten days of the month of Muḥarram. Gradually, it was staged during the whole month of Muḥarram and the following month of Ṣafar, eventually to be performed all year round. Today, despite the fact that it is still called "the Garden Recitation", the original text has been almost abandoned as each *Rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷān* (person who does the recitation) tries his own creative skills in conjuring up the story.

All classes of society participate in the *Rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷānī*, which can be held anywhere from black tents set up for the occasion in the public square of a village or town, to a mosque or a courtyard of a private house, or even to special edifices built for the S̲h̲īʿī mourning rituals called *Ḥusayniyya* or *takiyya*. These buildings have been constructed in Persia from the end of the 18th century onwards.

Rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷānī belongs to the category of the stationary S̲h̲īʿī commemorative rituals which are collectively known at *mad̲j̲ālis al-ʿazāʾ*. It starts with the chants invoking the prophet Muḥammad and other saints and is followed by a *rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷān*, a master story-teller, who recites and sings the story of Ḥusayn and his family and followers at the bloody battle of Karbalāʾ while sitting on a *minbar* above the assembled crowd. His rapid chanting in a high-pitched voice alternates with sobbing and crying to arouse the audience to an intense state of emotion. The audience responds with weeping, chest beating, and body flagellation. The performance can last from a couple of hours to an entire day, well into the night as a succession of *rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷāns* are being used. The *rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷānī* ends with the congregational singing of *nawḥa* [see niyāḥa] (dirges).

The art of *rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷānī* depends on the ability of the *rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷān* to manipulate the assembled crowd, using his (or her, if the gathering is entirely female) choice of episodes of the tragedy as well as his or her use of body language and tonality. A successful *rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷān* is able to bring the audience to a state of frenzy in which the members of the audience identify with the suffering of Ḥusayn and other martyrs. According to popular belief, participation in *rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷānī* ensures participants of intercession by Ḥusayn on Judgement Day. Almost from its inception it has been a tradition that mixed the past with the contemporary, and *rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷāns* often make digressions into the political, social and moral issues of the day. This makes the *rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷānī* a very important political weapon.

Outside Persia, *rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷānī* had been used in India in its original form, but now exists in modified versions reflecting Indian cultural influences. In Baḥrayn, the Persian model is still followed. Other S̲h̲īʿa communities also observe this public lamentation for Ḥusayn and other martyrs according to local traditions. The intensity of feeling discharged in these rituals, no matter where, is universal.

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RAWḤ b. ḤĀTIM b. Ḳabīṣa b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (d. 18 Ramaḍān 174/28 January 791) was the fourth governor from the Muhallabids [*q.v.*] of Ifrīḳiya, where there preceded him successively a distant cousin, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Ḳabīṣa (151-4/768-71), his brother Yazīd (19 D̲j̲umādā II 155-18 Ramaḍān 170/27 May 772-13 March 787) and his nephew Dāwūd b. Yazīd who, on his father's death, took over in the interim until the arrival of his uncle Rawḥ on 1 Rad̲j̲ab 171/16 December 787.

Rawḥ had first served in the army before rejoining, in 159/776, the group of governors. He is mentioned for the first time in 132/749-50, at the siege of Wāsiṭ, in the army of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ. Ten years later, in 142/759, he fought in Ṭabaristān in the service of al-Manṣūr, and is then found subsequently acting as chamberlain for the latter caliph.

In 159/776 he was made governor of Sind by al-Mahdī. From then onwards, with intervals of varying length when he was available for service, spent probably at court, he was appointed governor of Kūfa, Baṣra, Ṭabaristān, Armenia and Palestine, this being his last post in the east. In 166/782-3, when he was governor of Baṣra, his son Dāwūd was accused of *zandaḳa* and arrested, but freed once he had recanted. Recalled from Palestine, Rawḥ learnt in Bag̲h̲dād of the death of his brother Yazīd at Ḳayrawān. The new caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd appointed him as Yazīd's successor.

He found a province left in a peaceful state by his brother, allowing him to govern there without incident. He had the good sense to make peace firm by establishing good relations with the Imām of Tāhart. By then he was very aged, and it often happened, we are told, that he went to sleep during meetings. The officer in charge of the *barīd* [*q.v.*] (postal and intelligence service) informed al-Ras̲h̲īd about this, who, in order to prepare for all eventualities, secretly appointed another Muhallabid, Naṣr b. Ḥabīb, to succeed Rawḥ on his death. Rawḥ, for his part, had left the power to his son Ḳabīṣa. In this way, probably with a deliberately theatrical gesture, during the investiture ceremony for Ḳabīṣa in the Great Mosque, the *ṣāḥib al-barīd* exhibited al-Ras̲h̲īd's diploma in favour of Naṣr. Those present acquiesced.

The evidence shows that the caliph was keeping a weather eye open, and did not want a dynastic tradition to become established in North Africa. After two years and three months, Naṣr was dismissed, and the interim authority entrusted to al-Muhallab b. Yazīd whilst the new governor, another son of Rawḥ, al-Faḍl, was awaited. Al-Faḍl entered Ḳayrawān in Muḥarram 177/April-May 793, the eighth and last Muhallabid governor in Ifrīḳiya. Trouble broke out immediately, and in S̲h̲aʿbān 178/November 794, al-Faḍl was killed in a revolt by the *d̲j̲und*.

With the Muhallabids, a dynastic tradition was appearing in the last province of the Mag̲h̲rib still in caliphal hands. It was, however, abortive. Another period of troubles had to arise in order to convince the caliphs to relax their control, and this was, in 184/800,

to the profit of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, founder of the Aghlabid [*q.v.*] dynasty of governors.

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RAWḤ B. **ZINBĀʿ** AL-DJUDHĀMĪ, an Arab tribal leader, especially prominent in upholding the Umayyad cause against the Zubayrids in the second civil war (64-72/683-92).

Son of a notable from the Banū Djudhām [*q.v.*], which had been settled in Palestine from before the Arab conquest of the region, Rawḥ is said to have incurred Muʿāwiya's suspicion in circumstances which are obscure. Later, we find him named as one of a group of Syrian *ashrāf* whom Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] sent to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in an attempt to obtain the latter's *bayʿa*, and, shortly afterwards, as one of the commanders of the army sent to the Ḥidjāz by Yazīd under Muslim b. ʿUḳba al-Murrī [*q.v.*] in 63/682-3.

Following the death of Yazīd and that of his short-lived son and successor Muʿāwiya (II) [*q.v.*] in 64/683-4, Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal al-Kalbī, who was governing the *djund* of Filasṭīn for the Umayyads, was unable to maintain his position and withdrew. He left Rawḥ behind as his representative, but Rawḥ too had to abandon his post in the face of opposition from his rival for the leadership of Djudhām, Nātil b. Ḳays. The latter, who seems to have enjoyed seniority, proclaimed his allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr in an attempt to secure his own position, while Rawḥ may have alienated many of his tribe by a reported maladroit attempt to attach Djudhām to the "northern" (Maʿaddī) descent group (eventually they were generally accepted as belonging to the "southern", Ḳaḥṭānī, group). However, Rawḥ's continuing support for the Umayyads in the person of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] (he is credited with a speech eulogising Marwān and calling for his succession in preference to other candidates) proved well judged. Following the victory of the Kalb at Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] and the consequent extension of Marwān's authority over Syria, it was the turn of Nātil b. Ḳays to flee and Rawḥ again became governor of Palestine. When ʿAbd al-Malik followed his father Marwān as caliph (Ramaḍān 65/April 685), Rawḥ became one of his influential confidantes and advisors. In some of the literature he appears as a prototype of the later viziers.

Rawḥ is said to have died in 84/703. He is known as a transmitter of *ḥadīth* and is even counted by some *ḥadīth* authorities as a Companion of the Prophet. His descendants are referred to in reports about the disturbances in Syria towards the end of the Umayyad period.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 424, 468-69, 475, 1164-5; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 36, iv a, 53-4, 70, 125, iv b, 20, 40, 46, 55, v, 128, 132, 134, 148, 149, 204, 304, 356, 377; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 299, 301, 304, 306, 321, 335; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 191-92, 254-58, 282-86, vi, 123-24; *Aghānī, Tables*, 351; Moḥammad Shafīʿ, *Analytical indices to the Kitāb al-ʿIqd al-Farīd of ... Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi*, Calcutta 1935, 363; Djahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ wa 'l-kuttāb*, Cairo 1938, 35-7; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashḳ*, 19 vols. lithograph, Dār al-Bashīr, Amman n.d., vii, 297-304; W. Caskel and G. Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, 2 vols., Leiden 1966, index, s.v.; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, Beirut 1921, 301 ff. (= *MFOB*, v [1912], 620 ff.); P. Crone, *Slaves on horses*, Cambridge 1980, 34-5, 99-100; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 130, 136-7, 144, 146, 150-2, 183, 212, 225; M. Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, 79-81; I. Hasson, *Le chef judhāmite Rawḥ ibn Zinbāʿ*, in *SI*, lxxvii (1993), 95-122. (G.R. HAWTING)

RĀWĪ (A.), pl. *ruwāt*, reciter and transmitter of poetry, as also of narrative traditions (*akhbār*) and *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]. The term is derived from *rawā* "to bring, carry or convey water", and has been extended to "carrying" in a figurative sense, i.e. "to bear by memory, to transmit or recite" (cf. Lane, 1194). There is an intensive form *rāwiya*, explained as "copious transmitter" (*kathīr al-riwāya*), used in mediaeval sources as a synonym to *rāwī*. In modern research it is applied, as a rule, to the learned collectors of Bedouin poetry in the 8th century.

The institution of the *rāwī* is the main basis for the preservation of pre-Islamic poetry. In the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] poets used to have one or more *rāwīs*, who learned their verses by heart, recited them in public, especially at the annual fairs, where poetic contests took place, and transmitted them to the next generation. It often happened that a *rāwī* became a famous poet himself. Lists of poets and their *rāwīs* are known over several generations. A spectacular line, extending over two centuries, begins with Aws b. Ḥadjar [*q.v.*], the stepfather of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā [*q.v.*], who was his *rāwī* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 57). Zuhayr, who also had his son Kaʿb [*q.v.*] for a *rāwī*, figures at the beginning of the following list (*Aghānī*[1], vii, 78): Zuhayr, al-Ḥutayʾa [*q.v.*], Hudba b. Khashram, Djamīl [*q.v.*], Kuthayyir ʿAzza [*q.v.*], who died in 105/723. He was "the last to combine the function of poet and *rāwī*" (*ākhir man idjtamaʿa lahu al-shiʿr wa 'l-riwāya, loc. cit.*). From the list and similar information, it appears that transmission of poetry often took place in the same family or clan, but not necessarily, which implies that *rāwī* was an accepted profession or semi-profession.

The question whether transmission in the *Djāhiliyya* was exclusively oral, or whether poets and transmitters assisted their memory by writing, remains controversial. Whereas Sezgin (*GAS*, ii, 22-33) maintains the early use of writing in the process of transmission, other scholars have emphasised the oral character of pre-Islamic texts (M. Zwettler, *The oral character of classical Arabic poetry*, Columbus 1978, cf. 85-8). Since there is no conclusive evidence, one can only attempt to evaluate the known facts. In the *Djāhiliyya*, the use

of writing, although well established for contracts, treaties or other official documents, could hardly have played a significant part in poetic transmission. It is possible that poets in contact with the courts of Ḥīra [*q.v.*] and Ghassān [*q.v.*] were able to write, but among Bedouins that knowledge cannot have been common. Furthermore, the corpus of pre-Islamic verses presents characteristic features of oral literature, e.g. a high percentage of formulaic expressions, semantic repetition and independence of detail, which later gave way to other stylistic features and modes of composition. Thus it is to be assumed that during the 6th century A.D. composition and transmission of poetry took place orally, which does not exclude the possibility of a *rāwī* noting down verses as a mnemonic aid.

In the course of the first Islamic century, the use of writing increased in various fields (cf. G. Schoeler, *Schreiben und Veröffentlichen. Zur Verwendung und Funktion der Schrift in den ersten islamischen Jahrhunderten*, in *Isl.*, lxix [1992], 1-43). The first collections of poetry were made in the early Umayyad period, e.g. the *Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*] (cf. M.J. Kister, *The Seven Odes*, in *RSO*, xliv (1979) 27-36). The poet al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*] mentions in some of his verses that he possessed "books" with collected poetry of other poets (*The Naḳāʾiḍ of Jarīr and al-Farazdaḳ*, ed. A.A. Bevan, i-iii, Leiden 1905-12, i, 201, v. 57, 61). It is further reported that Djarīr [*q.v.*] and al-Farazdaḳ used to dictate to their *rāwīs* (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, i, 430, 12; ii, 908, 2). It seems therefore, that oral transmission was at first aided, and then gradually replaced, by writing.

In the final stage of poetic transmission, the early ʿAbbāsid period, Bedouin poetry was systematically collected by learned *rāwīs* like Khalaf al-Aḥmar, Ḥammād al-Rāwiya and al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī [*q.vv.*]. There is ample evidence that they had written collections of poetry at their disposal, but they were still expected to know the texts by heart, and to recite them when requested (*Aghānī*[1], v, 174). In addition, they used to collect information from Bedouins and to verify their knowledge by questioning them. These Bedouin informants, who were also called "*rāwī*", are in part known by name (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 137-8). Thus presumably the term *rāwī/rāwiya* was applied, as long as learning by heart and reciting of verses still played a part, even if a marginal one, in poetic transmission.

Another aspect is the exact function of the *rāwī* and his relation to the poet who employed him. Since a *rāwī* often became a poet himself, it has been assumed that he also served an apprenticeship with his poet, receiving a thorough training in metrics and the art of composition. This would imply that the institution of the *rāwī* not only assured the preservation of poetry, but also the continuity of technical knowledge, and of the vocabulary, style, and thematic range of an individual poet. The first to consider the possibility of establishing "schools" of poetry was Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, who with regard to the list of *rāwīs* mentioned above speaks of the "poetic school" (*madhhab shiʿrī*) of Aws b. Ḥadjār (*Fī 'l-adab al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1927, [16]1989, 270). The question has been studied with regard to the poetry of Hudhayl [*q.v.*] by E. Bräunlich (*Versuch einer literargeschichtlichen Betrachtungsweise altarabischer Poesien*, in *Isl.*, xxiv [1937], 201-69; cf. 221 ff.), as also by G.E. von Grunebaum (*Zur Chronologie der früharabischen Dichtung*, in *Orientalia*, N.S. viii [1939], 328-45), who established six "schools" of poetry in the pre-Islamic period.

The assumption that *rāwīs* received a thorough education, and reached a competence equal to that of the poets they served, is further evidenced by reports that a *rāwī* was expected to correct, to polish up or even to embellish the verses of his master. This seems to have been a common practice in the *Djāhiliyya* (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 8[2]), as also in the Umayyad period. There is a story concerning Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, whose *rāwīs* were found to correct their metrical blunders (*Aghānī*[1], iv, 54). In view of this and similar reports, it is easy to appreciate the exclamation of al-Ḥuṭayʾa: "Woe to verses in the hand of a bad transmitter!" (*waylun li 'l-shiʿri min rāwiyat al-sūʾ*; *Aghānī*[1], ii, 59). It also underlines the difficulty, and sometimes the impossibility, for historians of literature to clearly differentiate between the work of a poet and that of his *rāwī*.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see Blachère, *HLA*, i, 85-127, and in particular, Nāṣir al-Dīn Asad, *Maṣādir al-shiʿr al-djāhilī wa-ḳīmatuhā al-taʾrīkhiyya*, Cairo 1978, 222-54.

(RENATE JACOBI)

RAWK (Egyptian pronounciation: *rōk*), a word of non-Arabic origin, probably derived from Demotic *ruwkh*, "land distribution". From the noun is derived an Arabic verb *rāka, yarūku*.

In the language of Egyptian administration, *rawk* means a kind of cadastral survey which is followed by a redistribution of the arable land. The procedure comprises the surveying (*misāḥa* [*q.v.*]) of the fields, the ascertainment of their legal status (private property, endowment, crown land, grant, etc.), and the assessment of their prospective taxable capacity (*ʿibra*). Until the fall of the Fāṭimid dynasty the bulk of the arable land was bestowed on private tax farmers (*mutaḳabbil* or *ḍāmin*), whereas in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods it was granted to officers and free soldiers as military grants (*iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*]).

Al-Maḳrīzī states that in early Islamic times a *rawk* had been carried out every thirty years, in order to synchronise the lunar (*hilālī*) and the fiscal (*kharādjī*) calendars (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 2), but this statement rather seems to reflect the ideal case. In fact, in the eight-and-a-half centuries between the Arabs' appearance and the Ottoman conquest, only six *rawks* are mentioned in the sources. The first is that which ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, director of the finances (*ʿāmil*) of Egypt, executed in the years 105-7/724-5 during the reign of the caliph Hishām. The result of the survey is said to have been an arable surface of 30,000,000 *faddān* (*ca.* 191,000 km^2); the fiscal register established in 107/725-6 recorded a yield of *kharādj* [*q.v.*] of 1,700,837 *dīnārs* for all Egypt, and that of 1,449,420.5 for Upper Egypt and 251, 416.5 for the Delta (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 62.)

The *rawk* of Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir, *ʿāmil* of Egypt, accomplished around 253/867-8, just before the arrival of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], amounted to 24,000,000 *faddāns* or *ca.* 153,000 km^2 (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 62-3, 69, 81).

The third *rawk*, called *al-Afḍalī*, was the only one carried out under Fāṭimid rule. His initiator was the general and future vizier Muḥammad b. Fātik "al-Maʾmūn" al-Baṭāʾiḥī, to whose son Mūsā we owe a detailed report (quoted by al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 5-6). At the suggestion of al-Baṭāʾiḥī, the vizier al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Djamālī in 501/1107-8 gave orders to perform a new survey in order to remedy grievances and to abolish unjustified privileges which had spread since the last *rawk*.

The *rawk al-Ṣalāḥī*, performed in the years 572-7/1176-81 by the eunuch Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ḳarāḳūsh (the builder of the Cairo citadel) on the orders of Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, laid the foundation of a com-

pletely new military system; it was closely linked to the introduction of the *iḳṭāʿ* system. The assessed *kharādj* yield of 3,670,500 *dīnārs* was split into *iḳṭāʿ*s for 111 officers (*amīr*), 6976 heavily-armed horsemen (*ṭawāshī*) and 1,553 light cavalrymen (*ḳarā-ghulām*) (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 16-17). Ibn Mammātī in his book on the rules of administration (*Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*) has preserved the complete list of all places of Egypt surveyed in the Ṣalāḥī *rawk* (ed. A.S. Atiya, Cairo 1943, 84-200).

The *rawk al-Ḥusāmī* was initiated by the Mamlūk sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lādjīn in 697/1298 in order to curtail the power of the great *amīrs* and to strengthen that of the sultan, but it completely failed, and the sultan was murdered by his officers (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 21; idem, *Sulūk*, ed. Ziyāda, Cairo 1934-58, i/3, 841-4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Cairo, viii, 90-5; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, ed. M. Moṣṭafā, Wiesbaden 1975, i/1, 396-7). The list of place names surveyed by the Ḥusāmī *rawk* seems to be preserved in the anonymous *Tuḥfat al-irshād*, discovered by M. Ramzī in the library of the Azhar in 1932.

The last *rawk* was carried out by order of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn during his third reign. The Nāṣirī *rawk*, which combined a survey of some regions of Syria in 713/1313-14 with one of all Egypt in 715/1315, was a repetition of the failed Ḥusāmī *rawk*, and this time the sultan was successful in depriving the great *amīrs* of their power. The Nāṣirī *rawk* can be considered as a kind of coup d'état: the crown land (*khāṣṣ al-sulṭān*) was considerably increased; the whole province of al-Djīza was transformed into *khāṣṣ* land (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 22-32; idem, *Sulūk*, ii/1, 146-57; *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*, map B VIII 13). The registers set up in the Nāṣirī *rawk* have been copied by Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *K. al-Intiṣār* (ed. Vollers, Cairo 1893) and Ibn al-Djīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa al-saniyya* (ed. B. Moritz, Cairo 1898, repr. Cairo 1974).

Bibliography: C.H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Straßburg 1913, ii, 107-10, 140-8; H. Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt*, London 1972, 50-6; H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern*, Wiesbaden 1979-82, i, 8-56. (H. HALM)

RAWSHANIYYA, a mystical and gnostic Islamic sect founded amongst the Afghāns of the North-West Frontier region, with centres at e.g. Kānīgurām and Tīrāh in Wazīristān, by Bāyazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī of Kānīgurām (*ca.* 931-80/*ca.* 1525-73). He claimed to be, if not actually a Mahdī, at least a *hādī* or guide towards *tawḥīd*, the Divine Unity, for his followers. He styled himself *pīr-i rawshan* "the divinely-illuminated *pīr* [*q.v.*]", although his orthodox enemies called him *pīr-i tārīkī* "the *pīr* of darkness" and his adherents *Tārīkiyān* "devotees of darkness". The movement had distinct elements of Afghān national consciousness within it, reacting against Mughal expansionism in the Frontier region and against Kābul, as well as a religious significance.

1. Bāyazīd Anṣārī's career. For this, the last years of which were spent in the warfare against the Mughals in which he eventually was killed, see the article s.v.

2. Later history of the movement. Bāyazīd's activities were resumed by the eldest of his five sons, ʿUmar, who attacked the Yūsufzāī, a tribe which had followed Bāyazīd but had reverted to orthodox Islam; in the battle which ensued ʿUmar was killed, as was also his brother Khayr al-Dīn; another brother, Nūr al-Dīn, was put to death by the Gudjars. The youngest son, Djalāl al-Dīn, was captured by the Yūsufzāī, who surrendered him to Akbar in 989/1581. Escaping from Akbar's court he returned to Tīrāh, where he assumed the role of sovereign of Afghānistān, and Akbar found it necessary to send an army against him in Ṣafar 994/January-February 1586. This army met with a serious defeat, which was repaired by a later expedition (995/1587). The numbers of the Rawshanīs are given on this occasion as 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse. A further expedition was sent in 1000/1591 (or 1001) which captured some 14,000 men (according to Badāʾūnī) with Djalāl al-Dīn's wives and children, but not apparently himself, since in 1007/1598-9 he took Ghaznī, but was unable to maintain himself there, and on retiring was attacked by the Hazāras [*q.v.* in Suppl.], wounded and put to death. This last affair is by some assigned to a son of his bearing the same name.

The next head of the community was Djalāl al-Dīn's son Iḥdād, who figures in the history of Djahāngīr. In 1020/1611 he surprised Kābul in the absence of its governor Khān Dawrān. The attack was beaten off with great loss to the raiders, yet in 1023/1614 Iḥdād was again in the field, but sustained a serious defeat at Pīsh Bulāgh. After a series of enterprises with varied success he was besieged in the fortress of Nuaghar, and killed by a musket-shot.

The historian of Shāh Djahān, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbo, asserts that in the second year of his reign (1038/1628-9) that monarch took effective steps to suppress the heresy started by Bāyazīd; nevertheless, in the following year he records how the Afghān Kamāl al-Dīn was joined in the attack on Peshāwar by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, son of Iḥdād, and Karīmdād, son of Djalāla (Djalāl al-Dīn). The place was relieved by Saʿīd Khān, and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir induced to submit; in 1043/1633-4 he was recommended by Ṣaʿīd Khān, "who had caused him to repent of his evil deeds" to Shāh Djahān, who gave him a command of 1,600 horse. Other members of Iḥdād's family received honours and rewards in 1047/1637-8. In the same year, Karīmdād, who had taken refuge in the Mohmand country, but had been recalled by the tribes of Bangash, was attacked, captured and executed by Ṣaʿīd Khān. It is asserted that some relics of the community still exist in this region. A branch of the sect, called ʿĪsawī, was founded at Swat by one Sayyid ʿĪsā of Peshāwar (T.C. Plowden, translation of the *Kālid-i Afghānī*, Lahore 1875).

3. Doctrines of the sect. According to the *Dabistān*, which is friendly to the sect, Bāyazīd's doctrine was extreme pantheism; "If I pray" he said, "I am a *mushrik*; if I pray not, I am a *kāfir*." He marked eight stages (*maḳām*) in religious progress: *sharīʿa, ṭarīḳa, ḥaḳīḳa, maʿrifa, ḳurba, wuṣla, waḥda, sukūn*; the four last are said to be technicalities of his system. The explanation of these stages, quoted from Bāyazīd's *Ḥāl-nāma*, inculcates lofty morality, e.g. to hurt no creature of God. The account which follows is inconsistent with this, as noxious persons were to be killed because they resembled wild creatures, and harmless persons who did not possess self-knowledge might be killed, because they resembled domestic animals. They might be regarded as dead, and their property might be seized by the "living". Further, he abrogated the direction of prayer and the preliminary ablution. Other details are furnished by a hostile writer, the historian of Shāh Djahān quoted above, copied in Khāfī Khān's *Muntakhab al-lubāb*. Marriage, he says, is without a contract, there being merely a feast at which a cow is slaughtered. Divorce is ratified by placing some pebbles in the wife's hand. The widow is deprived of inheritance, and indeed is at the disposal of the heirs, who may marry her themselves

or sell her to someone else. When a son is born to one of them, an incision is made in the ear of an ass, and the blood dripped on the infant's tongue. This is in order to ensure that the infant shall be bloodthirsty and have the mind of an ass. Any stranger who falls into their hands is enslaved and can be bought or sold. Daughters receive no share in the inheritance. They massacre whole tribes when they conquer them. Even on the Day of Judgment their victims, though martyrs, will not hold them to account. According to others, however, they recognised neither Paradise nor Hell.

4. Literature of the sect. Bāyazīd is said to have written much. For his own works, see BĀYAZĪD ANṢĀRĪ. Works composed by his opponents and in refutation of his doctrines include the orthodox Ākhūnd Darwīza's *Makhzan-i Afghānī* and *Tadhkirat al-abrār wa 'l-ashrār*. Such works composed at the Mughal court as Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī's *Akbar-nāma* (detailed account of the warfare with the Rawshaniyya), Badāʾūnī's *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Djahāngīr's *Tuzūk*, the *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta* and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbo Lāhawrī's *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, were necessarily hostile; but Farīd Bukhārī's *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn* (biographical accounts of Mughal nobles) gives a more sympathetic view of them.

Bibliography: The account of the sect given by J. Leyden, in *Asiatic Researches*, xi, 363-428, London 1810, based on the *Dabistān al-madhāhib* (= 247-253 in ed. Bombay 1292) and the Pashto work *Makhzan al-Islām* of Ākhūnd Darwīza furnished the material for the account of the sect in Graf T.A. von Noer's *Kaiser Akbar*, Leiden 1885, ii, 179, and largely for that in *Glossary of the Punjab tribes and castes*, Lahore 1915, iii, 335 ff. Notices of the sect were also got from Indian historical works; from the *Akbar-nāma* (printed Calcutta 1881) in M. Elphinstone, *History of India*, London 1866, 517 etc.; from the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (lith., Lahore 1292), in H. Elliot, *History of India*, London 1873, v, 450; from the *Tuzūk-i Djahāngīrī*, tr. A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, London 1909, in Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Oxford 1922, who also used the *Iḳbāl-nāma-yi Djahāngīrī*, Calcutta 1865. For Shāh Djahān's time, the *Shāh Djahān-nāma*, called *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbo, ed. Ghulam Yazdani, Calcutta 1923-7, is the chief authority. The printed text of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī's *Bādishāh-nāma* (Calcutta 1867-8) which, according to the *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Calcutta 1869, should contain an exaggerated account of the atrocities of the sect, has very little about it.

See further H.G. Raverty, *Ethnographical notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan*, London 1880-3; Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957*, London 1958, 199-204, 226-30; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Rawshaniyya movement*, in *Abr-Nahrain*, vi (1965-6), 63-91, vii (1967-8), 62-98; Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian subcontinent*, HO, II.4.3, Leiden-Köln 1984, 87-8.

(D.S. MARGOLIOUTH-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

RAWTHER (Tamil *irauttur* meaning "horseman" or "trooper", also known as Rowther, Ravuttan, Rayuttān), a community of Tamil-speaking Muslims located in the state of Tamilnadu, India, one of four sub-divisions of the Tamil-speaking Muslim community, the others being Marakkayar, Kayalar and Labbai [*q.v.*]. Like the Labbai, the Rawther follow the Shāfiʿī school, whilst the others are Ḥanafīs. Unlike the other sub-divisions, the Rawther and Labbai are found in greatest numbers in the interior, where they are mostly petty merchants and tradesmen.

Effectively endogamous like the other sub-divisions and historically located in particular districts (Madurai and Tiruchirapalli), there has nevertheless been a blurring of group boundaries. Migration to larger urban centres, some intermarriage and Islamic revival movements, have stressed their egalitarian outlook and weakened clan-based lineages with their focus on the shrines of particular saints.

The Rawther probably originated as cavalry militia, comprising indigenous converts to Islam, for Tamil Hindu rulers before pre-colonial Muslim rulers began similar recruitment in the late 17th century. During the 19th century Wahhābī missionaries began a process of Islamisation, attacking vestiges of Hindu ritual practices, stressing Sunnī orthodoxy and encouraging the use of Urdu as a symbol of "pure" Islam. Many Tamil Muslims were affected by this movement, and a considerable number of Labbai adopted the title of Rawther because they regarded any claim to martial ancestry as more orthodox and prestigious than simple Labbai status. Urdu, however, remained primarily the second language of a minority of Rawthers.

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RAWWĀDIDS or BANŪ RAWWĀD, a minor dynasty of northwestern Persia which flourished during the period which Minorsky characterised as the "Iranian intermezzo" between the decline of Arab power there and the incoming of Turkish peoples like the Saldjūks, essentially during the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries.

Although the Daylamīs [see DAYLAM] were the most prominent in this upsurge of northern Persian mountain peoples, the part of other races like the Kurds was not negligible. The Rawwādids (the form "Rawād" later becomes common in the sources) were originally of Azdī Arab stock, but gradually became assimilated to their environment in Ādharbaydjān (and especially, the area around Tabrīz) and became Kurdicised (cf. the similar process taking place in Shirwān [*q.v.*] or Sharwān, where the Yazīdī Shirwān-Shāhs became Iranised). In *ca.* 141/758-9 the caliph al-Manṣūr's governor of Ādharbaydjān, Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī appointed al-Rawwād b. al-Muthannā to secure the region between Tabrīz and al-Badhdh [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Over the next two centuries, al-Rawwād's descendants became thoroughly Kurdicised, and Kurdish forms like "Mamlān" for Muḥammad and "Aḥmadīl" for Aḥmad begin to appear in their genealogy.

In the disturbed condition of Ādharbaydjān during the mid-4th/10th century, consequent on the disappearance of the Sādjids [*q.v.*] from there, the Rawwādid Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad (344-78/955-88) succeeded to the heritage of the Kangarids or Musāfirids [*q.v.*]. During the next century, the outstanding member of the family was Abu

Manṣūr Wahsūdān b. Mamlān b. Abi 'l-Haydjā' (*ca.* 410-46/*ca.* 1019-54). He early faced the incursions of the so-called "ʿIrāḳī" Turkmens driven out of Khurāsān by Maḥmūd of Ghazna and of independently-operating Turkish bands, but it was not until 446/1054 that the Saldjūḳ leader Ṭoghrïl Beg [*q.v.*] resolved to bring Ādharbaydjān and Arrān under his control and to make the petty rulers of northwestern Persia and eastern Transcaucasia his vassals. Wahsūdān's eldest son Mamlān was confirmed in his father's territories by Ṭoghrïl in 450/1058, but the days of the dynasty as an autonomous power were numbered. The Ottoman historian Müneddjim Bashï [*q.v.*], quoting earlier chronicles on the history of the region, states that, when the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan returned in 463/1071 from his Anatolian campaign against the Byzantines, he deposed Mamlān. But a later member of the family, Aḥmadīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahsūdān, held Marāgha [*q.v.*] and took part in warfare against the Crusaders in Syria, and his personal name was perpetuated by the line of his Turkish *ghulāms*, the Aḥmadīlīs [*q.v.*], who ruled in Marāgha as Atabegs during the 6th/13th century; survivors of the actual Rawwādid family can be traced up to Il-Khānid times in the early 8th/14th century.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān-i gum-nām*², Tehran 1335/1957, ii, 130-225, 251; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 115-16, 164-9; W. Madelung, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, 236-9; Bosworth, in *ibid.*, v, 32-4; idem, *The Islamic dynasties*, 88-9. See also TABRĪZ.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

RA'Y [see Suppl.].

RĀYČŪR, a town and district of South India, now in the Gulbargā division of the Indian Union state of Karnataka, before 1947 in the Ḥaydarābād princely state of British India (lat. 16° 15′ N., long. 77° 20′ E.).

An ancient Hindu town formerly part of the kingdom of Warangal, it passed to the Khaldjī Sultans of Dihlī in the 8th/14th century, then to the Bahmanīs and, after Awrangzīb's Deccan conquests, to the Mughals. Rāyčūr has interesting Islamic monuments. The Bahmanī Ek mīnār kī masdjid has its minaret in the corner of the courtyard [see MANĀRA. 2. In India]. The fortifications and gateway were built by Ibrāhīm I ʿĀdil Shāh in the mid-10th/16th century, and the Djāmiʿ masdjid or Friday mosque stems from 1022/1618.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxi, 34-45; *Annual report, Arch. Dept. Hyderabad,* 1339F; Elisabeth S. Merklinger, *Indian Islamic architecture: the Deccan 1347-1686*, Warminster, Wilts. 1981, 48, 51 and plan 28. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

RAYDA (Rīda, Rēda) is the name of a number of places in ʿAsīr, in the Yemen and in Ḥaḍramawt. The word *rayd* (pl. *aryād/ruyūd*) means a ledge of a mountain, resembling a wall, or a resting upon ledges of mountains (Lane, *Lexicon, s.v.*). At least in Ḥaḍramawt, it is the term for the centre of the territory of a Bedouin tribe, which is generally a depression in the rocky plateau (D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Hadramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled*, Leiden 1932, 22, n. 1). There are several places of this name (*Rēda*) in Hadramawt: Raydat al-Ṣayʿar, Raydat Arḍayn, Raydat al-ʿIbād, Raydat al-Ḥar(a)miyya. In ʿAsīr, Muḥammad b. ʿĀ'id of the Āl ʿĀ'id [see ʿASĪR; ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT AL-] was defeated in 1872 by the Ottomans, under Muḥammad Redīf Pasha, at Raydat Banī Mufīd. The territory was annexed by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz after he had conquered al-Ḥidjāz. The best-known place of this name is Raydat al-Bawn (Raydat Shahīr) in the Yemen, a large village in the plain of Bawn (Hamdān), at lat. 15° 49′ N., long. 44° 2′ E. According to A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens als Grundlage der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Semitismus*, repr. Amsterdam 1966, no. 293, its location corresponds with Μαγουλαυα of Ptolemy. Actually, Raydat al-Bawn is the chief place of the district (*nāḥiya*) of the same name, with a population (in 1979) of 1,637 inhabitants. The well-known Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī [*q.v.*] spent the greater part of his life in Raydat al-Bawn, where he probably died and was buried after 340/951-2. The place is also known for its pre-Islamic inscriptions.

Bibliography: Besides the works given in the text, see, for a full discussion of the sources for Raydat al-Bawn and its inscriptions (with photographs), Chr. Robin, *Les hautes-terres du Nord-Yemen avant l'Islam*. Leiden-Istanbul, 2 vols. 1982.

(ED.)

AL-**RAYDĀNIYYA** [see MAMLŪKS. i. e; SELIM I].

AL-**RAYḤĀNĪ**, AMĪN, Lebanese polygraph, of Maronite persuasion, born at Freika (al-Furayka) 24 November 1876 and died there 13 September 1940.

At twelve years old, he emigrated with his uncle to New York, where he dabbled in business, appeared on the stage and studied law for a while, but principally worked tirelessly to perfect his knowledge of English. Subsequently, he moved back and forth between the West and the East, studied Arabic authors and discovered al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*], whose work he translated into English. Following the publication of an anti-clerical pamphlet, *al-Muḥālafa al-thulāthiyya fi 'l-mamlaka al-ḥayawāniyya*, New York 1903, 138 pp., he was excommunicated. His vision of life is expressed in *The Book of Khalid*, New York 1911, 349 pp. During the First World War, he was a newspaper correspondent in Europe. In 1922, he embarked on a tour of the Arabian Peninsula, a journey which lasted a year and was to be the subject of a remarkable account, *Mulūk al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1924, 925 pp. He lived alone for most of his life, and his marriage to Bertha Case (1879-1970) did not last long. He maintained a literary salon and diffused his energy in countless conferences and articles.

His corpus comprises some forty works, including ten in English and eight published posthumously (fifteen have been edited in the USA). It was republished by his brother Albert in Beirut between 1980 and 1983. However, this last is not an accurate and complete edition: in a political context, where the author uses the word Syria this is often replaced by Lebanon, and in a religious context, certain criticisms aimed at the Maronite community are mitigated. Finally, the text of his will in which he insisted on a secular burial has been censored. A new, complete edition has subsequently appeared, under the patronage of his nephew Amīn, also in Beirut, at Dār al-Djīl (with a large print-run).

Unlike many Arab writers of his generation who sought a haven in the West, Amīn al-Rayḥānī undertook a return to the East, under the influence of Emerson and Carlyle. He regarded himself as a philosopher, while as a poet, he was one of the first to compose texts in free verse. In prose, his style is strongly influenced by the Ḳur'ān. He believed in God, but his religion tended towards the kind of naturalism favoured by Rousseau. He was a supporter of Darwinian theories of evolution. Motivated by sentiments of revolt against institutions (sectarianism in particular) and intolerance, he defended

human liberty and fraternity with determination. A social reformer, he preached justice and the virtues of work. His political ideal was based on an Arab nationalism extending over an area considerably exceeding the boundaries of contemporary Lebanon; such an independent entity, he believed, would be capable of confronting the foreign intruder and guaranteeing the future of Palestine.

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AL-**RAYY**, the ancient Raghā, a city in the old Persian region of Media, during Islamic times in the province of Djibāl [*q.v.*].

Its ruins may be seen about 5 miles south-south-east of Tehran [*q.v.*] to the south of a spur projecting from Elburz into the plain. The village and sanctuary of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm lie immediately south of the ruins. The geographical importance of the town lies in the fact that it was situated in the fertile zone which lies between the mountains and the desert, by which from time immemorial communication has taken place between the west and east of Persia. Several roads from Māzandarān [*q.v.*] converge on Rayy on the north side.

1. History.

In the Avesta, *Wīdēwdāt*, i, 15, Raghā is mentioned as the twelfth sacred place created by Ahura-Mazda. In the Old Persian inscriptions (Behistun 2, 10-18), Ragā appears as the province of Media in which in the autumn of 521 B.C. the false king of Media Frawartish sought refuge in vain; from Raghā also Darius sent reinforcements to his father Wishtāspa when the latter was putting down the rebellion in Parthia (Behistun 3, 1-10).

Raghā is also mentioned in the Apocrypha. Tobit sent his son Tobias from Niniveh to recover the silver deposited in Raghā with Gabael, brother of Gabrias (Tobit, i, 14). The book of Judith (i, 15) puts near Ragau (if indeed it was Raghā) the plain in which Nebuchadnezzar defeated the king of Media, Arphaxad (Phraortes?).

In the summer of 330 B.C., Alexander the Great, following Darius III took 11 days to go from Ecbatane to Rhagae (Arrian, 3, 20, 2). According to Strabo, xi, 9, 1 and xi, 13, 6, Seleucus Nicator (312-280) rebuilt Rhagae under the name of Eurōpos (in memory of his native town in Macedonia), and near Eurōpos the towns of Laodicea, Apamaea and Heraclea were peopled with Macedonians. After the coming of the Parthians the town was renamed Arsakia. It is, however, possible that all these towns, although situated in the same locality, occupied slightly different sites for they are mentioned side by side in the authorities. Rawlinson (*JGS*, x, 119) would put Eurōpos at Warāmīn [*q.v.*]. The Greek popular etymologies which explain the name Raghā as alluding to earthquakes seem to reflect the frequency of this phenomenon in this region so close to Damāwand.

In the Sāsānid period, Yazdagird III in 641 issued from Rayy his last appeal to the nation before fleeing to Khurāsān. The sanctuary of Bībī Shahr-Bānū situated on the south face of the already mentioned spur and accessible only to women is associated with the memory of the daughter of Yazdagird who, according to tradition, became the wife of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. In the years A.D. 486, 499, 553, Rayy is mentioned as the see of bishops of the Eastern Syrian church.

Arab conquest. The year of the conquest is variously given (18-24/639-44), and it is possible that the Arab power was consolidated gradually. As late as 25/646 a rebellion was suppressed in Rayy by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ. The Arabs seem to have profited by the dissensions among the noble Persian families. Rayy was the fief of the Mihrān family and, in consequence of the resistance of Siyāwakhsh b. Mihrān b. Bahrām Čūbīn, Nuʿaym b. Muḳarrin had the old town destroyed and ordered Farrukhān b. Zaynabī (Zaynadī?) b. Ḳūla [see MAṢMUGHĀN] to build a new town (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2655). In 71/690, again, a king of the family of Farrukhān is mentioned alongside of the Arab governor.

The passing of power from the Umayyads to the ʿAbbāsids took place at Rayy without incident but in 136/753 the "Khurramī" Sunbadh, one of Abū Muslim's stalwarts, seized the town for a short time. The new era for Rayy began with the appointment of the heir to the throne Muḥammad al-Mahdī to the governorship of the east (141-52/758-68). He rebuilt Rayy under the name of Muḥammadiyya and surrounded it by a ditch. The suburb of Mahdī-ābādh was built for those of the inhabitants who had to give up their property in the old town. Hārūn al-Rashīd, son of al-Mahdī, was born in Rayy and used often to recall with pleasure his native town and its principal street. In 195/810 al-Maʾmūn's general Ṭāhir b. Ḥusayn won a victory over al-Amīn's troops near Rayy. In 250/865 the struggle began in Rayy between the Zaydī ʿAlids of Ṭabaristān and first the Ṭāhirids and later the caliph's Turkish generals. It was not till 272/885 that Ādhgū-tegin of Ḳazwīn took the town from the ʿAlids. In 261/894 the caliph al-Muʿtamid, wishing to consolidate his position, appointed to Rayy his son, the future caliph al-Muktafī. Soon afterwards, the Sāmānids began to interfere in Rayy. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad seized Rayy in 289/912, and the fait accompli was confirmed by the caliph al-Muktafī. In 296/909 Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl received investiture from al-Muḳtadir in Rayy (Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 21-2).

In the 4th/10th century, Rayy is described in detail in the works of the contemporary Arab geographers. In spite of the interest which Baghdād displayed in Rayy, the number of Arabs there was insignificant, and the population consisted of Persians of all classes (*akhlāṭ*; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, Yaʿḳūbī, 276). Among the products of Rayy, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 253, mentions silks and other stuffs, articles of wood and "lustre dishes", an interesting detail in view of the celebrity enjoyed by the ceramics "of Rhages". All writers emphasise the very great importance of Rayy as a commercial centre. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, 207, the town covered an area of 1½ by 1½ *farsakhs*, the buildings were of clay (*ṭīn*) but the use of bricks and plaster (*djiṣṣ* = *gač*) was also known. The town had five great gates and eight large bazaars. Al-Muḳaddasī, 391, calls Rayy one of the glories of the lands of Islam, and among other things mentions its library in the Rūdha quarter which was watered by the Sūrḳānī canal.

Daylamī period. In 304/916 the lord of Ādharbāydjān Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj [see SĀDJIDS] occupied

Rayy, out of which he drove the Daylamī Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ṣuʿlūk who represented the Sāmānid Naṣr (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 74). This occupation, commemorated in coins struck by Yūsuf at Muḥammadiyya (see Miles, *The numis-matic history of Rayy*, 140-2), was the beginning of a troubled period. Rayy passed successively into the hands of the Daylamī ʿAlī b. Wahsūdhān, Waṣīf Bektimūrī, the Daylamī Aḥmad b. ʿAlī and of Mufliḥ, slave of Yūsuf (in 313/925; cf. R. Vasmer, *O monetakh Sadjidov*, Baku 1927). Lastly, the Sāmānids, encouraged by the caliph, succeeded in bringing Rayy again within their sphere of influence but soon their general Asfār (a Daylamī) became independent in Rayy. In 318/930 Asfār was killed by his lieutenant Mardāwīdj [*q.v.*] (a native of Gīlān and one of the founders of the Ziyārid dynasty [see ZIYĀRIDS]) who took over his master's lands (Cl. Huart, *Les Ziyārides*, in *Mém. Acad. Inscrs. et Belles-Lettres*, xlii (1922), 363 [= 11]).

After the assassination of Mardāwidj (323/925), the Būyids established themselves in Rayy, which became the fief of the branch of Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*] which held out there for about 100 years. In 390/1000 the last Sāmānid al-Muntaṣir made an attempt to seize Rayy but failed. In 420/1027 the Būyid Madjd al-Dawla [*q.v.*] was ill-advised enough to invoke against the Daylamīs the help of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who seized his lands (cf. Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, Cambridge 1931, 80-5; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 176-7). The brief rule of the Ghaznawids was marked by acts of obscurantism, like the destruction of books on philosophy and astrology and the atrocious persecutions of the Ḳarmaṭians and Muʿtazilīs (Gardīzī, 91; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 262).

The Saldjūḳs. The Ghuzz laid Rayy waste in 427/1035, and in 434/1042 the town, where Madjd al-Dawla still held out in the fort of Ṭabarak (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 347), fell into the power of the Saldjūḳs and became one of their principal cities. The last Būyid, al-Malik al-Raḥīm, died a prisoner in Ṭabarak in 450/1058 (or in 455/1063; cf. H. Bowen, in *JRAS* [1929], 238) and the new lord Ṭoghrīl [*q.v.*] also died at Rayy in 455/1063. Henceforth, Rayy is constantly mentioned in connection with events relating to the Great Saldjūḳs and their branch in Persian ʿIrāḳ.

From the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd (529-547/1133-52 [*q.v.*]), Rayy was ruled by the *amīr* Inandj whose daughter Inandj Khātūn became the wife of Pahlawān, son of the famous atābeg of Ādharbāydjān, Ildegiz [*q.v.*]. When the latter put on the throne sultan Arslān Shāh (whose mother he had married), Inandj opposed this nomination but was defeated in 555/1160. Inandj withdrew to Bisṭām, but with the help of the Khwārazmshāh Il Arslān reoccupied Rayy. He was finally murdered at the instigation of Ildegiz, who gave Rayy as a fief to Pahlawān. Later, the town passed to Ḳutlugh Inandj b. Pahlawān who, like his maternal grandfather, brought about the intervention of the Khwārazmshāh Tekish in the affairs of Persia (588/1192). Two years later, in a battle near Rayy, the last Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrīl III was killed by Ḳutlugh Inandj but the country remained with the Khwārazmians. In 614/1217 the atābeg of Fārs Saʿd b. Zangī [see SALGHURIDS] succeeded in occupying Rayy, but was almost immediately driven out by the Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn (cf. Nasawī, ed. Houdas).

Civil strife. Al-Muḳaddasī, 391, 395-6, mentions the dissensions (*ʿaṣabiyyāt*) among the people of Rayy in matters of religion. Under 582/1186-7, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 237, records the damage done in Rayy in the civil war between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs; the inhabitants were killed or scattered and the town left in ruins. Yāḳūt, who, fleeing before the Mongols, went through Rayy in 617/1220, gives the results of his enquiry about the three parties, the Ḥanafīs, the Shāfiʿīs, and the Shīʿīs, of which the two first began by wiping out the Shīʿīs who formed half the population of the town and the majority in the country. Later, the Shāfiʿīs triumphed over the Ḥanafīs. The result was that there only survived in Rayy the Shāfiʿī quarter which was the smallest. Yāḳūt describes the underground houses at Rayy and the dark streets difficult of access which reflected the care of the inhabitants to protect themselves against enemies.

The Mongols. The Mongols who occupied Rayy after Yāḳūt's visit dealt it the final blow. Ibn al-Athīr (xii, 184) goes so far as to say that all the population was massacred by the Mongols in 617/1220 and the survivors put to death in 621/1224. It is, however, possible that the historian, echoing the panic which seized the Muslim world, exaggerates the extent of the destruction. Djuwaynī (ed. Ḳazwīnī, i, 115, tr. Boyle, i, 147) only says that the Mongol leaders put many people to death at Khwār Rayy (in the country inhabited by Shīʿīs?) but in Rayy they were met by the (Shāfiʿī?) *ḳāḍī* who submitted to the invaders (*īl shud*), after which the latter went on. Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Bérézine, in *Trudy VO*, xv, 135 [tr. 89]) admits that the Mongols under Djebe and Sübetey killed and plundered (*kushish wa-ghārat*) at "Rayy", but he seems to make a distinction between Rayy and Ḳum, in which the inhabitants were completely (*ba-kullī*) massacred.

The fact that life was not completely extinguished at Rayy is evident from the dates of pottery which apparently continued to be made in Rayy (cf. R. Guest, *A dated Rayy bowl*, in *Burlington Magazine* [1931], 134-5: the painted bowl bears the date 640/1243). The citadel of Ṭabarak was rebuilt under Ghazan Khān (1295-1304) but certain economic reasons (irrigation?) if not political and religious reasons, must have been against the restoration of Rayy, and the centre of the new administrative Mongol division (the *tumān* of Rayy) became Warāmīn [*q.v.*] (cf. *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 55). After the end of the Il-Khānids, Rayy fell to the sphere of influence of Tughā-Tīmūr [*q.v.*] of Astarābād. In 1384, Tīmūr's troops occupied Rayy without striking a blow but this must mean the district and not the town of Rayy, for Clavijo (ed. Sreznevsky, 187), who passed through this country in 1404, confirms that Rayy (*Xaharíprey* = *Shahr-i Rayy*) was no longer inhabited (*agora deshabitada*). No importance is to be attached to the mention of "Rayy" in the time of Shāh Rukh (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, under the year 841/1437) or of Shāh Ismāʿīl, in *Ḥabīb al-siyar*.

Bibliography: Ancient history: Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 122-4; A.V.W. Jackson, *Persia, loc. cit.*; idem, *Historical sketch of Ragha*, in *Spiegel memorial volume*, Bombay 1908, 237-45; idem, in *Essays in modern theology to Ch.A. Briggs*, New York 1911, 93-7; Weissbach, arts. *Arsakia, Europos* and *Raga*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*; Herzfeld, *Archäolog. Mitteil. aus Iran*, ii (1930), 95-8.

Islamic history: A *Taʾrīkh al-Rayy* was written by Abū Saʿd Manṣūr b. Ḥusayn al-Ābī [= Āwaʾī]; the author was the vizier of the Būyid Madjd al-Dawla and had access to very good sources; Yāḳūt often cites this history (i, 57, s.v. *Āba*); another *Taʾrīkh al-Rayy* is attributed to the Persian scholar Muntadjab al-Dīn al-Ḳummī (d. 575/1179-8 [*q.v.*]), quoted in Ibn Hadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī's *Lisān al-mīzān*; Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, 272-5

(many quotations from the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*); Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géographique*, 1861 (quotations from the *Haft iklīm* of Aḥmad Rāzī); G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 214-18; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 740-809 (very complete utilisation of the Arabic sources; complete list of the dependencies of Rayy); *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 132-3, comm. 384; G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938; Abū Dulaf, *Second Risāla*, ed. and tr. Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, Cairo 1955, text §§ 47-50, tr. 51-3; W. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 121-6. (V. MINORSKY)

2. Archaeology and monuments.

Olivier in 1797 sought the ruins of Rayy in vain and, it was Truilhier and Gardane who first discovered them. The earliest descriptions are by J. Morier, Ker Porter and Sir W. Ouseley. The first has preserved for us a sketch of a Sāsānid bas-relief which was later replaced by a sculpture of Fatḥ Alī Shāh. The description, and particularly the plan by Ker Porter (reproduced in Sarre and A.V.W. Jackson, *Persia*), are still of value because since his time the needs of agriculture and unsystematic digging have destroyed the walls and confused the strata. Large numbers of objects of archaeological interest, and particularly the celebrated pottery covered with paintings, have flooded the European and American markets as a result of the activity of the dealers. Scientific investigation was begun by the Joint Expedition to Rayy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, in 1934 (cf. *The Illustrated London News* [22 June 1935], 1122-3; E.F. Schmidt, *The Persian expedition* [*Rayy*], in *Bulletin of the University Museum*, Philadelphia, v [1935], 41-9, cf. 25-7), and was continued by Chahryar Adle from 1974 onwards. In the citadel hill, Dr. Erich Schmidt found a great variety of pottery and the remains of buildings among which the most interesting are the foundations of al-Mahdī's mosque (communication by A. Godard to the Congress of Persian Art at Leningrad in September 1935).

In an interesting passage, al-Mukaddasī, 210, speaks of the high domes which the Būyids built over their tombs. The remains of three tomb towers are still visible at Rayy, including a twelve-sided one whose site accords with two buildings of the Būyid period mentioned in Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Darke, 211, tr. idem², 167, sc. a *dakhma* or Tower of Silence built by a Zoroastrian at Ṭabarak, later called the *dīda-yi sipāhsālārān* "vantage-point of the commanders", and the nearby "dome (*gunbadh*) of Fakhr al-Dawla", presumably the Būyid *amīr*'s tomb [see FAKHR AL-DAWLA], and also the so-called "Tomb of Ṭoghrïl", which had an iron plate on it with the date Radjab 534/March 1140 (see on this last, G.C. Miles, in *Ars Orientalis*, vi [1966], 45-6, and on the towers in general, R. Hillenbrand, *The tomb towers of Iran to 1550*, diss. Oxford University 1974, unpubl., ii, 68-9, 73-5, 82-8). A further tomb tower, circular in plan and probably originally having a conical cap like the Gunbadh-i Kābūs [*q.v.*] in Gurgān, was photographed by Curzon in 1890 (see his *Persia and the Persian question*, i, 351) but destroyed in *ca.* 1895 for use as building materials (the fate of so many of the buildings of Rayy in the 19th and early 20th centuries); its Kūfic inscription band probably bore the date 466/1073 or, less likely, 476/1083-4 (see Chahryar Adle, *Notes préliminaires sur la tour disparue de Ray (466/1073-74)*, in *Memorial vol. of the VIth Internat. Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, Oxford, September 11-16th 1972*, Tehran 1976, 1-12). The remains of several subterranean tombs and of what were above-ground tomb structures have also been discovered, see Adle, *Constructions funéraires à Ray circa Xe-XIIe siècle*, in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Ergänzungsband 6*, Berlin 1979 (= *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 7.-10 September 1976*), 511-15.

The hill of Ṭabarak on which was the citadel (destroyed in 588/1192 by the Saldjūk sultan Ṭoghrïl III) was, according to Yākūt, situated to "the right" of the Khurāsān road, while the high mountain was to "the left" of this road. Ṭabarak therefore must have been on the top of the hill opposite the great spur (hill *G* in Ker Porter's plan: "fortress finely built of stone and on the summit of an immense rock which commands the open country to the south"); cf. the map in A.F. Stahl, *Die Umgegend von Teheran*, in *Pet. Mitt.* (1900).

Finally, one should note that a considerable number of silk fragments from the Būyid period, many of them with inscriptions on them, have ostensibly been found at Rayy, although not in a controlled archaeological context; their authenticity accordingly remains disputed, see Dorothy F. Shepherd, *Medieval Persian silks in fact and fancy*, in *Bull. de Liaison du Centre International d'Etude des textiles anciens*, no. 39-40, Lyons 1974.

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Modern studies: Ḥusayn Karīmān, *Rayy-i bāstān*, Tehran 1345-9/1966-70, 2 vols., is the most detailed work here, but does not take account of the subsequent work by Adle, Y. Kossar and others; see, regarding this, Adle, *Notes sur les premièrе et seconde campagnes archéologiques à Rey. Automne-hiver 1354-55/1976-7*, in *Mélanges Jean Perrot*, Paris 1990, 295-307, providing a resume of a 6-vol. report on these investigations deposited at the Centre iranien pour les recherches archéologiques. See also Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia: an archaeological guide*², London 1976, 46 ff., and the arts. ṬIHRĀN and WARĀMĪN.

(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

RAYY [see MĀʾ].

RAYYA, modern Spanish rendering REYYO (RAYYO), the name given in Muslim Spain to the administrative circle (*kūra*) comprising the south of the Peninsula, the capital of which was successively Archidona (Arabic *Urdjudhūna*) and Málaga. The usual Arabic orthography is ريّة: in particular, this is the form found in the *Muʿdjam al-buldān* of Yākūt; but some Spanish mss. give the orthography ريُّه, more in keeping with the local pronunciation Reyyo (Rayyu) attested by Ibn Ḥawkal. It is probably, as Dozy thought, a transcription of the Latin *regio* (no doubt *Malacitana regio*); the suggestion put forward by Gayangos of a connection with the Persian town-name al-Rayy is of course untenable.

When the fiefs in the south of Spain were assigned to the former companions of Baldj b. Bishr [*q.v.*], the district of Reyyo was alloted to the *djund* of Jordan (*al-Urdunn*). During the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova,

the *kūra* of Reyyo was bounded by those of Cabra and Algeciras in the west, by the Mediterranean in the south and by the *kūra* of Elvira in the east.

One should now add to the above a reference to J. Vallvé, *La división territorial de la España musulmana*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1986, of which pp. 328-31 are devoted to "la cora de Rayya". According to this author, one should read Rayya and not Rayyo, basing himself on the sole topographical trace of this name, *Campo de Zafarraya*, interpreted as *Faḥṣ Rayya*, and, above all, on certain poems which require this reading for their end rhymes. An origin of the name has also been suggested in Phoenician via Latin.

The main problem regarding this *kūra* is the exact situation of the fortress of Bobastro (Bubas͟htr, Bubas͟htur), the main refuge of the rebel ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn, which we know was held by him and for which several localisations have been proposed. The traditional identification, with the place called Las Mesas de Villaverde, was defended by F.J. Simonet (earlier works cited in M. Riu Riu, *Aportación de la arqueología al estudio de los Mozárabes de al-Andalus*, in *Tres estudios de historia medieval andaluza*, Cordova 1977, 85-112), but Vallvé has proposed an identification with the high ground of Marmuyas in the district of Comares, where several seasons of excavations "with interesting results" have taken place. See for a full discussion, BUBAS͟HTRU in Suppl. Vallvé further cites, in regard to Rayya, the passage describing it by Ibn G͟hālib, published by him and translated in the above-mentioned work; he also translates the passage of al-Nubāhī (*K. al-Markaba al-ʿulyā*, published by Lévi-Provençal), written in the 8th/14th century and giving the earlier borders of the *kūra*.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL-[J.-P. MOLÉNAT])

AL-RĀZĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ZAKARIYYĀʾ,

known to the Latins as Rhazes (*ca.* 250/854-313/925 or 323/935), physician, philosopher and alchemist.

The most free-thinking of the major philosophers of Islam, al-Rāzī was born in Rayy, where he was well trained in the Greek sciences. He was reputedly well versed in musical theory and performance before becoming a physician. His work in alchemy takes a new, more empirical and naturalistic approach than that of the Greeks or D̲jābir, and he brought the same empirical spirit to medicine. Immersed in the Galenic tradition, and apparently even conversant with Greek (al-Bīrūnī ascribes to him translations and abridgements from the Greek and even a poem "in the Greek language"), al-Rāzī greatly profited from the Arabic translations of Greek medical and philosophical texts. He headed the hospital of Rayy before assuming the corresponding post in Bag͟hdād. His property in the vicinity seems to have brought him back often to Rayy, and he died there, somewhat embittered and alienated, partly by the loss of his eyesight. Like many of the great physicians of Islam, al-Rāzī was a courtier as well as a scholar, clinician and teacher. His medical handbook the *Manṣūrī*, translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in the 12th century, was dedicated to Manṣūr b. Isḥāḳ, the Sāmānid governor of Rayy; his *Mulūkī* or *Regius*, to ʿAlī b. Wāhsūd͟hān of Ṭabaristān. The author of some two hundred books, al-Rāzī claims in his apologia, the *Sīra al-falsafiyya*, or "Philosophical Way of Life", that his has been a life of moderation, excessive only in his devotion to learning; he associated with princes never as a man at arms or an officer of state but always, and only, as a physician and a friend. He was constantly writing. In one year, he urges, he wrote over twenty thousand pages, "in a hand like an amulet maker's." Others remark on his generosity and compassion, seeing that the poor among his patients were properly fed and given adequate nursing care. Arriving patients first saw an outer circle of disciples, and then an inner circle, if these could not aid them, leaving al-Rāzī himself to treat the hardest cases. His medical research was similarly methodical, as revealed in his notebooks. These were edited, in some 25 volumes, as the *K. al-Ḥāwī fi 'l-ṭibb*, at the instance of Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*], the vizier of Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. Translated as the *Continens* in 1279 by the Jewish physician Farad̲j b. Sālim (known as Farraguth) for King Charles of Anjou, it was printed at Brescia in 1486 and repeatedly thereafter. The text (Ḥaydarābād 1955) contains al-Rāzī's extensive notes from a wide range of sources, organised anatomically, from head to toe. His own clinical observations, often at variance with received opinions, typically close the sections. Al-Rāzī mined these files for his numerous medical works, and several unfinished works can be discerned in the *Ḥāwī* in embryo. His magnum opus, the *Kitāb al-D̲jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, or "Great Medical Compendium", often confused with the *Ḥāwī*, was a work that al-Rāzī published, not the corpus of his private files. Among the most famous of his medical writings are those on *Stones in the kidney and bladder* (*K. al-Ḥaṣā fi 'l-kulā wa 'l-mat͟hāna*) and *Smallpox and measles* (*K. al-D̲jadarī wa 'l-ḥaṣba*). The latter was the first book on smallpox, and was translated over a dozen times into Latin and other European languages. Its lack of dogmatism and its Hippocratic reliance on clinical observation typify al-Rāzī's medical methods. His independent mind is strikingly revealed in his *S̲hukūk ʿalā D̲jalīnūs* or "Doubts about Galen". Here al-Rāzī rejects claims of Galen's, from the alleged superiority of the Greek language to many of his cosmological and medical views. He places medicine within philosophy, inferring that sound practice demands independent thinking. His own clinical records, he reports, do not confirm Galen's descriptions of the course of a fever. And in some cases he finds that his clinical experience exceeds Galen's. He rejects the notion, central to the theory of humours, that the body is warmed or cooled only by warmer or cooler bodies; for a warm drink may heat the body to a degree much hotter than its own. Thus the drink must trigger a response rather than simply communicating its own warmth or coldness. This line of criticism has the potential, in time, to bring down the whole theory of humours and the scheme of the four elements, on which it was grounded. Al-Rāzī's alchemy, like his medical thinking, struggles within the cocoon of hylomorphism. It dismisses the idea of potions and dispenses with an appeal to magic, if magic means reliance on symbols as causes. But al-Rāzī does not reject the idea that there are wonders in the sense of unexplained phenomena in nature. His alchemical stockroom, accordingly, is enriched with the products of Persian mining and

manufacture, and the Chinese discovery, sal ammoniac. Still reliant on the idea of dominant forms or essences and thus on the Neoplatonic conception of causality as inherently intellectual rather than mechanical, al-Rāzī's alchemy nonetheless brings to the fore such empiric qualities as salinity and inflammability—the latter ascribed to "oiliness" and "sulphuriousness". Such properties are not readily explained by the traditional fire, water, earth and air schematism, as al-Ghazālī and other later comers, primed by thoughts like al-Rāzī's, were quick to note.

Like Galen, al-Rāzī was speculatively interested in the art and profession of medicine. He wrote essays on such subjects as "The reasons for people's preference of inferior physicians," "A mistaken view of the function of the physician," "Why some people leave a physician if he is intelligent," "That an intelligent physician cannot heal all diseases, since that is not possible," and "Why ignorant physicians, common folk, and women in the cities are more successful than scientists in treating certain diseases—and the physician's excuse for this." He also shared Galen's interest in philosophy and heeded his treatise, "That the outstanding physician must also be a philosopher." Al-Bīrūnī lists some eighty philosophical titles in his al-Rāzī bibliography, and al-Nadīm lists dozens of his works on logic, cosmology, theology, mathematics and alchemy. Given the general repugnance toward al-Rāzī's philosophical ideas among his contemporaries and medieval successors, few of these works were copied. But fragments survive in quotations by later authors, as do the *Sīra al-falsafiyya* and the *Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, the "Spiritual physick" or "Psychological medicine," which embodies al-Rāzī's largely Epicurean ethical system. Among the writings of which we have mention are: a commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, perhaps based on the epitome of Galen, a rebuttal of Iamblichus' response to Porphyry's *Letter to Anebos* (that is, the *De mysteriis*), an appraisal of the Ḳurʾān, a critique of Muʿtazilism, another on the infallible Ismāʿīlī Imām, a work on how to measure intelligence, an introduction to and vindication of algebra, a defence of the incorporeality of the soul, a debate with a Manichaean, and an explanation of the difficulty people have in accepting the sphericity of the earth when they are not trained in rigorous demonstration. Other works deal with eros, coitus, nudity and clothing, the fatal effects of the Simoom (or simply, of poisons, *sumūm*, cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 289 no. 32) on animal life, the seasons of autumn and spring, the wisdom of the Creator, and the reason for the creation of savage beasts and reptiles. One work defends the proposition that God does not interfere with the actions of other agents. Another rebuts the claim that the earth revolves. Al-Rāzī discussed the innate or intrinsic character of motion, a sensitive point at the juncture between Democritean and Aristotelian physics. He wrote several treatments of the nature of matter, and one on the unseen causes of motion. His exposé of the risks of ignoring the axioms of geometry may aim at *kalām* defenders of dimensionless atoms; and his book on the diagonal of the square may have defended his own atomism against the ancient charge, first levelled at Pythagoreanism, that atomism is refuted by the demonstrated incommensurability of a square's side with its diagonal; for al-Rāzī's acceptance of the void and rejection of Aristotle's doctrine of the relativity of space disarms that charge, since al-Rāzī's absolute space is a Euclidean continuum and need not, like his matter, be composed of discrete, indivisible quanta.

The *Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, written for al-Manṣūr as a companion to the *Manṣūrī*, develops a moderately ascetic ideal of life from the premise that all pleasures presuppose a prior pain (or dislocation). This means that peace of mind or lack of perturbation is the optimum of pleasure, as al-Rāzī explains in his widely-cited lost work on pleasure. Pleasures cannot be amassed or hoarded, and what some hedonists might think of as "peak experiences" are reached only by traversing a corresponding valley. To feed an appetite, moreover, is only to enlarge it. So the attempt to maximise one's happiness by serving the appetites and passions is a self-defeating strategy, as Plato showed when he argued that such a life is comparable to trying to carry water in a sieve. Epicurus took that argument very much to heart when he sought to devise a hedonistic alternative to the sybaritic outlook of the Cyrenaic philosophers, and al-Rāzī does so as well. His ethical treatise follows al-Kindī's precedent in treating ethics as a kind of psychic medicine or clinical psychology, an approach later used by Ibn Gabirol and Maimonides. But the basis of the art in question, which is the Socratic tendance of the soul, is not primarily the Platonic "second voyage," the endeavour to flee to a higher world—although that theme is important to al-Rāzī. Expressing grave doubts about the demonstrability of immortality, he falls back on the less metaphysically demanding and more dialectically persuasive position that, if death is the ultimate end of our existence, it is nothing to be feared but only a surcease of our pains and troubles.

Wisdom, then, springs not from the thought of death, as many philosophers and pious teachers have supposed, but from overcoming that thought. For, even more than the appetites themselves, the fear of death is the goad of the passions that hamper human rationality and undermine human happiness. As al-Rāzī explains: "As long as the fear of death persists, one will incline away from reason and toward passion (*hawāʾ*)." The argument is Epicurean. The passions here, as in Epicurus, are thought of as neuroses, compulsions, pleasureless addictions, to use al-Rāzī's description (his word for an addict is *mudmin*). The glutton, the miser, even the sexual obsessive, are, by al-Rāzī's analysis, as much moved by the fear of death as by natural appetites. For natural needs, as Epicurus would explain, are always in measure. The unwholesome excess that makes vice a disease comes from the irrational and unselfconscious mental linking of natural pleasures and gratifications with security, that is, a sense of freedom from the fear of death. Ethics here becomes entirely prudential, as al-Rāzī's critics were not slow to note. If we knew that our ultimate state was immortality, and the return of the soul in us to her true home, our mad scrabbling after the surrogates of immortality would cease. But the fear of death "can never be banished altogether from the soul, unless one is certain that after death it shifts to a better state." And his conclusion is that it "would require very lengthy argumentation, if one sought proof rather than just allegations (*khabar*). There really is no method whatever for argument to adopt on this topic... The subject is too elevated and too broad as well as too long.... It would require examination of all faiths and rites that hold or imply beliefs about an afterlife and a verdict as to which are true and which are false"—a task al-Rāzī has no immediate or pressing intention of attempting. For practical purposes, then, he offers the Epicurean consolation that death is nothing to us, if the soul is really mortal. What scripture has to say on the subject is just another undemonstrated report, an unsubstantiated allegation.

In his debates with an Ismāʿīlī adversary, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934 [*q.v.*]), chief lieutenant to the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* of Rayy, and later chief *dāʿī* himself, al-Rāzī faces a Muʿtazilī argument that harks back to Stoic sources: God's mercy would not deny humanity the guidance of leaders inspired with revealed knowledge of God's own will and His plan for human destiny. Al-Rāzī answers that God has provided what we need to know, not in the arbitrary and divisive gift of special revelation, which only foments bloodshed and contention, but in reason, which belongs equally to all. Prophets are impostors, at best misled by the demonic shades of restless and envious spirits. But ordinary men are fully capable of thinking for themselves and need no guidance from another. One can see their intelligence and ingenuity in the crafts and devices by which they get their living, for it is here that they apply their interest and their energy. Intellectuals who have not devoted their energies, say, to mechanical devices would be baffled by the skills and techniques of such men; but all human beings are capable of the independent thinking that is so critical to human destiny. It is only because the philosopher has applied himself to abstract speculations that he has attained some measure of understanding in intellectual matters.

Asked if a philosopher can follow a prophetically revealed religion, al-Rāzī openly retorts: "How can anyone think philosophically while committed to those old wives' tales, founded on contradictions, obdurate ignorance, and dogmatism (*muḳim ʿalā 'l-ikhtilāfat, muṣirr ʿalā 'l-djahl wa 'l-taklīd*)?" Al-Rāzī takes issue with ritualism for what he sees as its obsession with unseen and unseeable sources of impurity; but he also combats the natural tendency of his contemporaries to think of philosophy as a dogmatic school or even a sect, their expectation that a philosopher should believe and behave as Socrates or Plato did. Like many philosophers, he has difficulty explaining to others that philosophical disagreements and divergences of outlook are not a scandal but a source of vitality. A philosopher, he urges, does not slavishly follow the actions and ideas of some master. One learns from one's predecessors, to be sure, but the hope is to surpass them. Al-Rāzī admits that he will never be a Socrates, and cautions against anyone's expecting in short order to rival Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Eudemus, Chrysippus, Themistius or Alexander of Aphrodisias. But he also affirms a belief in progress, at least for individuals, and denies that one is trapped within the teachings of the great founders of traditions: "You must realise," he tells Abū Ḥātim, "that every later philosopher who commits himself creatively (*idjtahada*), diligently, and persistently to philosophical inquiry where subtle difficulties have led his predecessors to disagree, will understand what they understood and retain it, having a quick mind and much experience of thought and inquiry in other areas. Rapidly mastering what his predecessors knew and grasping the lessons they afford, he readily surpasses them. For inquiry, thought and originality make progress and improvement inevitable." The smallest measure of original thought, even if it does not reach unrevisable truth, al-Rāzī insists, helps to free the soul from its thrall in this world and secure for us that immortality which was so wrongly described and so vainly promised by the prophets.

The Soul, al-Rāzī argues in such works as his *Kitāb al-ʿIlm al-ilāhī* or "Theology", and *On the five eternals*, both now lost, but well represented by fragments, paraphrases, descriptions and refutations, was one of five eternal things that antedate the cosmos. The other four were God, matter, time and space. Space is the void. It may or may not have atoms in it. Time, like space, is absolute, not relative to bodies in motion, as in Aristotle. Being absolute, time is eternal. Motion is not. For matter, in itself, is inert; its motion stems from the activity of soul. Soul, the world soul, initially stood apart from matter, in a spiritual realm of her own. She yearned, however, to be embodied. And God, like a wise father, understanding that Soul learns only by experience, allowed her to embroil herself here, as a king might allow his headstrong son into a tempting but in many ways noxious garden, not out of ignorance, unconcern, or even powerlessness or spite, but out of understanding that only through experience will the boy's restlessness abate. In the case of Soul's entry into materiality, chaos was the first result, as she set matter stirring in wild and disordered motion. God, in His grace, intervened, imparting intelligence of His own to the world that Soul's impetuous desire had formed. As an immanent principle, intelligence gave order to the world, stabilising its motions and rendering them comprehensible. But it also gave understanding to the Soul itself, allowing her to recognise her estrangement in this world and seek a return from exile. It is this striving for return that gives meaning to all human strivings in the realm of life.

Only by such a theory, al-Rāzī insists, can creationists hope to overcome the elenchus of the eternalists, who deny creation altogether. A quasi-gnostic quasi-Platonic *formatio mundi*, then, not *creatio ex nihilo*, is the sole workable hypothesis which al-Rāzī can offer on behalf of the world's temporal origination, as opposed to its eternal, Plotinian emanation or its perpetual existence as a Democritean or Epicurean mechanism. Clearly the materialists, al-Rāzī reasons, improperly ignore the life and intelligence that course through nature, giving directed and stable movement to otherwise inert and passive matter. As for the Neoplatonic Aristotelians, their theory of emanation leads them to fudge (as Aristotle had done) on the inertness of matter. For, by treating the natural order as eternal, they seem to make motion and ordering form inherent properties of matter, rather than imparted acts and powers, as Neoplatonic principles should require. Only the affirmation of a temporal origin, which al-Rāzī unabashedly adopts from scripture and from the concurring authority of Plato's *Timaeus*, seems to do justice to the fact that nature's order is not intrinsic but imparted; and only a temporal creation does justice to the unimpeded operation of the forces of nature and the self-governing actions of human intelligence and will. For these gifts were given long ago and are not, as in Neoplatonism, timelessly imparted without ever really departing from their Source.

But although creation involves a kind of gift, al-Rāzī cannot treat the act of creation as a sheer act of grace, as many of his contemporaries might wish to do. His view that in this life evils outweigh goods, endorsed by Epicurean concerns over the problem of evil, and by physiological arguments about the ultimate prevalence of pain and suffering over peace and pleasure in all sensate beings, press him toward the gnostic conclusion that creation is a tragedy or mistake. Stopping short of such condemnation, al-Rāzī treats creation as a qualified evil: Life as a whole and bodily existence in general represent a fall for the life-giving principle, the Soul. But the fall is broken by the gift of intelligence. The crypt of the gnostic image has a skylight, through which streams the light of day. There is an avenue of escape. And the Soul's fall,

neither devised nor forced by God, is ascribed to her spontaneity, not to God's will or wisdom. It was neither coerced and destined nor mandated by the very nature of intelligence, as though it were (as in Neoplatonism) a demand of logic, but it was foreseen and tolerated by an all-seeing wisdom. And the loss it brought about will be overcome.

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(L.E. GOODMAN)

AL-**RĀZĪ**, AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, Yemenite historian whose full name is Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī. The date of his birth in Ṣanʿā᾽ is unknown; he died there *ca.* 460/1068. The little that is known of this historian is owed to al-Djanadī (d. 732/1332) who, in his book *al-Sulūk* (ms.), indicates that he was a native of the capital of the Yemen, and that he was an *imām*, well-informed in matters of *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*. Furthermore, it seems that he was a Sunnī, a fact to which his work alludes, and al-Djanadī attributes to him an "extensive tradition" and a "perfect spirit". The biographer believes that the author's family came originally from the town of Rayy (hence the *nisba*; on this point see Yāḳūt's list, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 120-2, in which his name does not however appear), but he gives no information as to when the family took up residence in the Yemen; it could have been with the Persian expedition of the 6th century A.D., in support of the Ḥimyarite dynasty, with Sayf b. Dhī Yazan (see R.G. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, 189 ff.), or with the *Ṭabarāniyyūn*, who came from Ṭabaristān to the aid of the *imām* al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (220-98/835-911) (see e.g. *Sīrat al-Hādī*, ed. S. Zakkār, 116, 236; W. Madelung, *Der Imām al-Qāsim*, etc.), or later still, which seems less likely.

In his capacity as an author, al-Djanadī mentions his *Ta᾽rīkh Ṣanʿā᾽*, which he describes as having gained popular acclaim and which he must have used as a primary source in the writing of his own *al-Sulūk fī ṭabaḳāt al-ʿulamā᾽ wa 'l-mulūk*. He gives no other information on this subject. Yet a version of the *Ta᾽rīkh* of al-Rāzī is currently available; it has been edited by Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī and ʿAbd al-Djabbār Zakkār, under the title *Ta᾽rīkh madīnat Ṣanʿā᾽* (see *Bibl.*). The content of the book covers the period from the foundation of the city to the times in which the chronicler lived, i.e. the 5th/11th century; Brockelmann barely mentions this historian (*GAL*, SI, 570) and Sezgin not at all, although at least eight manuscript copies of the book existed in various libraries and were accessible to the editors.

The book comprises two major elements: a historical element which goes beyond the framework of history as such, and a bio-bibliographical element.

The historical section opens with general information concerning the Yemen, its capital and the villages surrounding it, the construction of this capital, the boundaries of which were established by Shem, under divine inspiration, and which attained its maximum level of development towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, a level which it had regained in the lifetime of the author, after its destruction. Details are also provided regarding the fortress of Ghumdān, the merits of the Yemen and of Ṣanʿā᾽, formerly called Azāl, and the numerous mosques of the city, the first of which was planned by the first Muslim governor, Wabar b. Yuḥannis, and constructed and enlarged by his successors. This section, the shorter of the two, contains beyond any doubt the most detailed of information concerning the history of the city, providing data which are precise and useful, up to a point (for example, regarding the mosques, the valleys, the quarters, etc.). However, as a whole the work is un-

satisfactory, since it is rife with traditions traced back to various historical and religious sources and individuals, which have a single purpose: to promote the cause of the Yemen among the lands of God's Elect, and to extol the merits of the capital, as much in the Biblical tradition as in that of the Prophet Muḥammad. The conspicuous exaggerations are motivated by this purpose, as for example the claim that the first church of the town was built on the site where Jesus had prayed, or the latter's prophecy concerning the powerful individual who was to come forth from the town at the end of time; such items are to be found in all the chronicles of ancient Islamic cities.

The second elements of the book is bio-bibliographical. It begins with the Companions of the Prophet who came to the Yemen and some of whom were appointed governors of this land.

However the work becomes more systematic with its consideration of the élite of Yemenite scholars and ascetics, prominent among whom is the most illustrious figure of Ṣanʿāʾ, Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728 or 114/732 [*q.v.*]), an ideal source of Biblical history for later Islamic historians, and thus for Ibn Isḥāḳ, whose universal Muslim history he had anticipated, and one of the principal sources of al-Rāzī. In the main his information is valuable, since many of these scholars are barely known or not at all. Details are provided here of their origin, their connections with the Yemen, the traditions attributed to them or concerning them, material such as is encountered in other Islamic books of the same genre. Unfortunately there are few dates, and, in the case of some of them, nothing more than one or a few trifling traditions. With the importance accorded to the bio-bibliographical element, it is evident that the interest in the work of al-Rāzī, as in that for example of the chroniclers al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (392-463/1002-71) in his *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, or Ibn ʿAsākir (499-571/1106-76), in *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, can be explained by the fact that they were primarily historians and *muḥaddithūn*, for whom it was natural to employ the method of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, albeit with particular nuances and the often considerable differences between these works (and others which are not mentioned here), to which the writer of this article has drawn attention elsewhere (see R.G. Khoury, *Zur Bedeutung des Aḥmad... al-Rāzī*, 93-6, 98, 100).

It is important to recognise that this book, in the terms of the literary production of its time, remains a relatively reliable and positive source, in particular for certain aspects of the history, geography and archaeology of the city and even of the country, not to mention his bio-bibliographical notices which supply the titles of a large number of books, most of them lost, which are the sources to which the author refers (see *ibid.*, 91 ff.).

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RĀZĪ, AMĪN AḤMAD, a Persian biographer of the later 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries. Hardly anything is known of his life. He belonged to Rayy, where his father Khʷādja Mīrzā Aḥmad was celebrated for his wealth and benevolence. The latter was in high favour with Shāh Ṭahmāsp and was appointed by him *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] of his native town. His paternal uncle Khʷādja Muḥammad Sharīf was vizier of Khurāsān, Yazd and Iṣfahān, and his cousin Ghiyāth Beg a high official at the court of the Emperor Akbar. Amīn himself is said to have visited India. The work to which he owes his fame is the great collection of biographies *Haft iḳlīm* (finished in 1002/1594). For many years he collected information about famous men, until finally he yielded to the entreaties of one of his friends and arranged his material in book form. The final editing of it took six years. The biographies are arranged geographically according to the 7 climes. In each clime the biographical part is preceded by a short geographical and historical introduction which is followed by notes on poets *ʿulamāʾ*, famous *shaykhs*, etc. in chronological order. The work is of special importance for the history of Persian literature, as the biographies of poets contain numerous specimens of their works, some of which are very rare. It contains the following sections: Clime I: Yaman, Bilād al-Zandj, Nubia, China. Clime II: Mecca, Medina, Yamāma, Hurmuz, Dekkān, Aḥmadnagar, Dawlatābād, Golkonda, Aḥmadābād, Sūrat, Bengal, Orissa and Kūsh. Clime III: ʿIrāḳ, Baghdād, Kūfa, Nadjaf, Baṣra, Yazd, Fārs, Sīstān, Ḳandahār, Ghaznīn, Lahawr, Dihlī, India from the oldest times down to Akbar, Syria, Egypt. Clime IV: Khurāsān, Balkh, Harāt, Djām, Mashhad, Nīshāpūr, Sabzawār, Isfarāʾīn, Iṣfahān, Kāshān, Ḳum, Susa, Hamadhān, Rayy and Ṭihrān, Damāwand, Astarābād, Ṭabaristān, Māzandarān, Gīlān, Ḳazwīn, Ādharbāydjān, Tabrīz, Ardabīl, Marāgha. Clime V: Shīrwān, Gandja, Khʷārazm, Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, Samarḳand, Bukhārā, Farghāna. Clime VI: Turkistān, Fārāb, Yārkand, Rūs, Constantinople, Rūm. Clime VII: Bulghār, Ṣaḳlab, Yādjūdj, Mādjūdj.

The Calcutta 1918-72 edition of E. Denison Ross, ʿAbdul Muqtadir, A.H. Harley, etc., omits the fourth clime, over half the complete work; complete ed. (poor) by Djawād Fāḍil, 3 vols., Tehran 1340/1961.

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AL-**RĀZĪ**, FAKHR AL-DĪN [see FAKHR AL-DĪN AL-RĀZĪ].

RAZĪN, BANŪ, the dynasty which ruled the petty state [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF] of al-Sahla [*q.v.*] (or Albarracín, derived from their name) in al-Andalus [*q.v.*] during the 5th/11th century.

Of Berber descent, but long settled in the peninsula, they remained loyal to the legitimist Umayyad regime of Hishām II al-Muʾayyad at the time of the collapse of the caliphate, but finally switched to support of Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn, who recognised them as governors of their local territory. They survived as independent or semi-independent rulers from *ca.* 405/1014-15 (possibly as early as 403/1012-13) to Radjab 497/April 1104, when they were deposed by the Almoravids or al-Murābiṭūn [*q.v.*]. The list of their rulers is not entirely clear: the founder of the dynasty, Hudhayl b. Khalaf b. Lubb (the name may point to intermarriage with local Christian families) Ibn Razīn, seems to have ruled until 436/1044-5, and to have been succeeded by a son, Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik, Djabr al-Dawla. The latter, who reigned for

a remarkable sixty years, until 496/1103, is usually identified as Ḥusām al-Dawla in the sources, but the fragmentary text edited by Lévi-Provençal as an appendix to Ibn ᶜIdhārī, vol. iii, reports that he used the title Ḥusām al-Dawla only before his accession and gives that title as a throne-name to this ruler's successor, Yaḥyā, who reigned for the last year of the dynasty's existence. The founder of the dynasty is generally described with the superlatives characteristic of mediaeval sources on the taifa rulers, although he is also said to have been directly involved in the murder of his own mother; the sources seem more impressed with the amounts he spent on the acquisition of singing-girls. A few lines of poetry by members of the dynasty are preserved. The survival of the dynasty, and of the state which it ruled, for so long seems to be the product of a combination of geographical isolation, overall unimportance and luck rather than of any particular skills possessed by the members of this family.

A. Vives y Escudero, *Monedas de las dinastías arábigo-españolas*, Madrid 1893, 206, no. 1266, assigns one coin (surviving in only a single specimen) to this dynasty, but there seems to be a confusion here with the rulers of Alpuente (al-Bunt [*q.v.*]) (the coin itself presents other difficulties); A. Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas, estudio histórico-numismático de los musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la hégira (XI de J.C.)*, Madrid 1926, 107, suggests that some other coins (a total of four specimens of two types recorded by Vives, nos. 799-800 = Prieto, nos. 29-30) of the year 405/1014-15, struck in the name of Sulaymān al-Mustaᶜīn and naming his son Muḥammad as heir, which bear also the name Ibn Khalaf, may be issues of the first member of this dynasty. The suggestion seems plausible.

Bibliography: in addition to that given above and in D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings: politics and society in Islamic Spain, 1002-1086*, Princeton 1985, 93, see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aᶜmāl al-aᶜlām*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, ²Beirut 1956, 205-6, tr. W. Hoenerbach, *Islamische Geschichte Spaniens. Übersetzung der Aᶜmāl al-Aᶜlām und ergänzender Texte*, Zürich and Stuttgart 1970, 372, 389-93, and 596-97, notes 59-68 (with further references); A.R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry and its relations with the Old Provençal troubadours*, Baltimore 1946, 206-8; and P. Guichard, *Structures sociales "orientales" et "occidentales" dans l'Espagne musulmane*, Paris-The Hague 1977, 270-2 (useful for the political behaviour of the family in the 4th/10th century).

(D.J. WASSERSTEIN)

RAZĪN B. MUᶜĀWIYA, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. ᶜAmmār al-ᶜAbdarī al-Sarakusṭī (d. 524/1129 or 535/1140), Andalusian traditionist. Of unknown date of birth, his *nisba* indicates that he probably was born in Saragossa. The biographical works do not record any data about his life in al-Andalus. If he did live in Saragossa, he may have left it when the Almoravids captured the town in 503/1110, in which case he must have belonged to those who did not welcome the new lords of the Peninsula. Otherwise, he may have left the town after the Christian conquest of 512/1118. The 6th/12th century marks the beginning of the wave of Andalusians emigrating to safer lands. It may also be that Razīn b. Muᶜāwiya's travel to the East was not motivated by either political or military reasons, but simply by the desire to perform the *riḥla fī ṭalab al-ᶜilm* and the pilgrimage. He settled in Mecca, where he died at an advanced age. Nothing is known about his Andalusian teachers, but his teachers in Mecca were Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭabarī, with whom he studied Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and Abū Maktūm ᶜĪsā b. Abī Dharr al-Harawī, with whom he studied al-Bukhārī's work. Abū Maktūm was the son of one of the most influential transmitters of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, whose *riwāya* was well known in al-Andalus. Razīn b. Muᶜāwiya wrote his two known works in Mecca: a history of Mecca, which seems to have included also information on Medina (*Kitāb fī akhbār Makka*, also called *Akhbār Makka wa 'l-Madīna wa-faḍlihimā*), and *al-Tadjrīd fī 'l-djamᶜ bayn al-Ṣiḥāḥ al-sitta* or *Tadjrīd al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, a collection of the traditions common to the works of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasāʾī and Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*. The inclusion of Mālik's work among the canonical collections of *ḥadīth* shows clearly the Western Islamic background of the author. The extant manuscripts (mentioned in *GAL*) remain unpublished. The *Tadjrīd* is one of the sources of Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr's *Djāmiᶜ al-uṣūl*, as Ibn al-Athīr himself (d. 606/1209) explains in his introduction. The interest of Razīn b. Muᶜāwiya's work can be deduced from the following example. The controversial tradition which runs "whosoever spends liberally on his household on the day of ᶜĀshūrāʾ, God will bestow plenty upon him throughout the remainder of the year" (*man wassaᶜa ᶜalā (nafsihi wa-)ahlihi/ᶜiyālihi (fi 'l-nafaka) yawm ᶜĀshūrāʾ wassaᶜa Allāh ᶜalayhi (wa-ᶜalā ahlihi) sāʾir al-sana/ṭūla sanatihi*), mentioned among others by Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971) in his *al-Muᶜdjam al-kabīr* (10 vols., Beirut 1983), x, 94, no. 10,007), is quoted by Ibn al-Athīr in his *Djāmiᶜ al-uṣūl* in the chapter *fī faḍl al-nafaka* (ed. ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir Arnāʾūṭ, 10 vols., n.p. 1969, ix, 527), stating that his source is Razīn b. Muᶜāwiya's *Tadjrīd*. It would seem therefore that Razīn thought that the tradition was included either in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* or in the other above-mentioned collections, but it is found in none of the extant versions of these works, according to the *Concordance*. Among others, al-Udjhūrī (d. 1066/1656) pointed out in his *Faḍāʾil yawm ᶜĀshūrāʾ* (ms. B.N. Paris, no. 3244, fols. 153-75) that it was very strange that Ibn al-Athīr quotes the tradition on liberal spending on ᶜĀshūrāʾ day in his *Djāmiᶜ* and more strange still that Ibn al-Athīr's brother reiterates it in his *Ikhtiṣār Djāmiᶜ al-uṣūl*, both stating that the tradition is to be found in al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's collections. It is in Razīn's work where an explanation for this "oddity" is to be found. Two possibilities can be taken into account. Either Razīn included it because he agreed with its contents, disregarding its absence in the canonical collections; or else he found the tradition in the version of one of those collections at his disposal. The latter possibility can be sustained by evidence on the circulation of different versions of al-Bukhārī's collection. Among Razīn b. Muᶜāwiya's pupils the following are mentioned: the ascetic Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma (of the famous family of the Banū Ḳudāma), Ibn ᶜAsākir and the judge of Mecca Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Ṭabarī, who wrote to Ibn Bashkuwāl informing him of Razīn's death.

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2. Studies. F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898, 185, no. 153; Kaḥḥāla, iv, 155-6; Brockelmann, S I, 630; J. Mª Fórneas, *La primitiva* Sīra *de Ibn Isḥāq en al-Andalus*, in *Homenaje ... Bosch Vilá*, Granada 1991, 167-8; Mª I. Fierro, *Obras y transmisiones de ḥadīṯ (ss. V/XI-VII/XIII) en la* Takmila *de Ibn al-Abbār*, in *Ibn al-Abbar. Polític i escriptor àrab valencià (1199-1260)*, Valencia 1990, 205-22; M. Fierro, *The celebration of ʿĀshūrāʾ in Sunnī Islam*, in *Procs. du XIVᵉ Congrès de l'Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Budapest 1988, forthcoming. (Maribel Fierro)

REDJĀʾĪ-ZĀDE Meḥmed Djelāl Bey (1254-1300/1838-82), Turkish writer and poet, and elder brother of Redjāʾī-zāde Maḥmūd Ekrem Bey [see ekrem bey]. He had a moderately successful administrative career, entering the Translation Office (*Terdjüme Odasī*) of the Sublime Porte in 1270/1853-4, being appointed in 1279/1862-3 chief clerk to the embassy in St. Petersburg, becoming assistant secretary (*mektūbī muʿāwini*) under Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1282-1865-6, when the latter became *wālī* of Aleppo, and finally chief secretary of the provinces of Kastamonu (in 1288/1871-2) and Aydın (in 1294/1877). In 1298/1881 he was dismissed from his last post.

His poetry has apparently never been published. Some specimens can be found in İnal (see Bibl.). He belonged for a while to the salon of ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Bey [*q.v.*], the last great representative of the classical *dīwān* school, and his poetry seems unaffected by the new trends personified by his brother. His forte appears to have been *hezliyyāt* "jesting poems." His pen-name for these is Dhewḳī, while his serious *ghazels* are signed Djelāl. He also composed some poetry in Persian (a *mukhammas* in İnal, 203).

Bibliography: Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal [İnal], *Son asır türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1930, 200-4; Ibrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, [Istanbul] n.d. [*ca.* 1945], 80. (Ed.)

REDJEB PASHA, Topal (d. 1041/1632), Ottoman Grand Vizier under Sultan Murād IV [*q.v.*]. Of Bosnian origin, he began his career in the *bostandjī* corps and attained the high office of *Bostandjī-bashī* [*q.v.*] in the reign of Aḥmed I [*q.v.*]. Although slightly invalid (a sufferer from gout, hence *topal*), he continued his career: a vizier since 1031/1622, he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Black Sea. With his squadron he defeated a Cossack fleet of 600 *shayḳas*. Redjeb Pasha was *Ḳapudān-pasha* 1032-5/1623-26. Commanding the fleet in Radjab-Ramaḍān 1033/May-July 1624 at the time of a revolt of the *Khān* of the Crimea Meḥmed Girāy III (second reign 1032-6/1623-7), he was able to hold Kefe [*q.v.*]. Next year, he again defeated a Cossack force of 350 *shayḳas* off Kara Harman (to the north of Köstendje/Constanța [*q.v.*]). In 1035/1626 he organised a revolt of Janissaries in the capital and gained the position of *ḳāʾim-maḳām* instead of Gürdjü Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]. Provoked by the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Khosrew Pasha [*q.v.*], in 1041/1631 he incited another uprising of Janissaries and Sipāhīs of the Porte who were of Bosnian and Albanian origin (1042/1632). This violent episode led to the murder of Grand Vizier Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] in front of Murād IV and the massacre of a number of the sultan's favourites, rivals to Redjeb's faction. In this way, he became Grand Vizier on 19 Radjab 1041/10 February 1632. Murād IV, however, soon made an end to this *zorba* régime and had Redjeb Pasha executed inside the seraglio on 28 Shawwāl 1041/18 May 1632 (von Hammer, following Pečewi, has 17 May); this execution meant the beginning of Murād IV's personal rule. Redjeb Pasha was married to Djewher Khān Sulṭān, a daughter of Aḥmed I and earlier the widow of Dāmād Meḥmed Pasha Öküz [*q.v.*] and Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha. He had a daughter born in 1040/1630.

Bibliography: Dispatches 1631-2 of Cornelis Haga, Dutch ambassador to the Porte, General State Archives (ARA) SG 6901, partially publ. in *Kronijk Historisch Genootschap* Utrecht 1867, 370-455; I. Dujcev, *Lettres d'information de la République de Raguse (XVIIᵉ s.)* Sofia 1937, 29-31; Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, new (pop.) ed. K. Su, Istanbul 1976, 12-13; Ibrāhīm Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 420-6; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 208, 245, 332-41, 356-60, 394-5, 400, iii, 75-112; Solāḳ-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, new ed. V. Çabuk, *Solakzade tarihi*, Ankara 1989, ii, 497, 519, 522, 530 ff.; İ.H. Danişmend, *Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1961, iii, 329, 333, 349-54; [M. Cezar *et alii*] *Mufassal Osmanlı tarihi*, 6 vols., Istanbul 1957-63, iv, 1884-1904, 1978-9; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, ix, 82-3, 168-83; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, table XXXIV; A.H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, Leiden-Istanbul 1978, 172, 176. (A.H. de Groot)

REFĪʿĪ, an Ottoman poet and Ḥurūfī [see ḥurūfiyya]. Of Refīʿī's life we only have a few hints from himself; the Ottoman biographers and historians do not seem to mention him at all. He himself describes how in his youth he studied many branches of knowledge but did not know what he should believe, and how sometimes he turned to the Sunna, sometimes to philosophy and sometimes to materialism. He often travelled a great distance to visit a particular scholar but always was disappointed. The poet Nesīmī [*q.v.*] was the first to teach him the grace of God and the truth, and ordered him to teach this truth in his turn to the people of Rūm, and for this purpose he had to speak in Turkish. He therefore wrote his *Beshāret-nāme*, "the message of joy", which he finished on the first Friday of Ramaḍān 811/18 January 1409. This work is not yet printed; it is quite short and written in the same metre as ʿĀshiḳ-pasha's *Gharīb-nāme*, a *remel* of six feet with irregular prosody. The Ḥurūfī teaching is expounded in a very prosaic style, the merits of the names and letters, the sacred number 32, the prophets, the throne of God, the human countenance, the splitting of the moon, Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*], the founder of the Ḥurūfī sect—all this is dealt with from the usual Ḥurūfī point of view. As sources, an *ʿArsh-nāme*, a *Djāwidān-nāme*, and a *Maḥabbet-nāme* are quoted, all three probably the works of the same names by Faḍl Allāh.

Another of Refīʿī's works is the "Book of Treasure" (*Gendj-nāme*), facs. edn. Istanbul 1946. The *Gendj-nāme* is better as poetry and on the whole less Ḥurūfī than generally Ṣūfī in tone. Man from the Ḥurūfī and philosophic point of view, Faḍl Allāh and Aḥmad (= Muḥammad), the 72 sects, the greatest Name (*ism-i aʿẓam*), the water of life, etc., are discussed in it.

Nesīmī and his pupil Refīʿī seem to be the only Ottoman Ḥurūfī poets of importance, and while the sect, in spite of all persecutions, continued to exist long after and even had connections with the Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*], these two poets as such do not seem to have produced any school.

Bibliography: Gibb, *HOP*, i, 336, 341, 344, 351, 369-80; Meḥmed Fuʾād Köprülü, *Türk edebiyyātinda*

ilk müteṣawwifler, Istanbul 1918, 363, 388[2].—Mss. of the *Beshāret-nāme*: Vienna, Flügel, ii, 261-2, no. 1968 (incomplete) and 1970; London, British Museum, Rieu, 164-5. Add. 5986; of the *Gendj-nāme*: Vienna, Flügel, i, 720, no. 778, fols. 5a-8a; printed in the *Dīwān-i Nesīmī*, Istanbul 1260/1844, 9-14, also facs. edn., see above; both works in the Browne ms. A 43, Turkish, see E.G. Browne, *Further notes on the literature of the Ḥurúfís and their connection with the Bektáshí order of dervishes*, in *JRAS*, xxxix (1907), 556-8; R.A. Nicholson, *A descriptive catalogue of the Oriental mss. belonging to the late E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1932, 45, 49; *İA*, art. *Refîi* (Günay Alpay). (W. Björkman)

REFIḲ KHĀLID KARAY [see karay, refīḳ khālid].

REG, a form generally retained in European languages for the Arabic *riḳḳ* "dessicated terrain", in its Bedouin realisation (Sahara of the Maghrib) *reg̃g̃*; cf. *LʿA. s.vv. riḳḳ, raḳḳ, raḳāḳ, ruḳāḳ*, with a common denominator meaning "terrain where water has disappeared, at least on the surface", and with varying connotations. See G. Boris, *Lexique du parler arabe des Marazig*, Paris 1958, 220: *rʿgāg*, pl. *rʿgāgāt*, "a wide expanse of desert terrain".

In French, the word has become a scientific term which may be used in reference to any part of the globe. As a stony flat or almost flat surface, commonly found in the deserts where deposits of sand are lacking, the reg corresponds to the removal of minute, fine materials by the winnowing effects of winds, which only leave a hard crust beneath which one may often find the finer material protected by the stones. A reg can be covered over: by shingle (alluvial and allochthonous, as in the regs of the ancient course of the Oued Ighagha to the south of the *ḥamāda* of Tinghert, towards 28° N, 6° E); by angular, autochthonous gravel (reg formed by the removal of the weathered surfaces of *ḥamādas*, such as those of the northern piedmont of the Saharan Atlas, forming a band running west-south-west to east-north-east some 100-150 km wide and 800 km long, from 31° N, 1° W to 33° N, 6° E); or by rounded material joined together and too large for the wind to move them (*sarīr* of the Libyan desert forming a paved-like or mosaic-like reg, like the Tibesti *sarīr* around 24° N, 17° E). The nomads sometimes use the term *mriyyé* "mirror" to describe certain regs which are particularly regular. The surfaces of regs are often very stable areas, where the fact that the elements composing them remain in the same place favours atmospheric actions, such as polishing by the wind, the formation of polished desert surfaces, and even of pebbles with wind-polished facets (dreikanters) in the regions characterised by continuous winds.

The regs cover extensive surfaces in the Saharan-Arabian and the Asiatic deserts of the Islamic world, whether on the plains or on the plateaux, since they form the surface pattern which is habitual in desert regions when the sand layer is insufficient to cover the soil. For example, in the central Sahara, the regs of the fringes of the Hoggar cover the greater part of the slopes and plains surrounding the mountain massifs. The regs constitute areas which are very unfavourable for the growth of vegetation, hence for human activity, except in times of rain. On the other hand, they are often, when the surface débris is not too large in size, stretches of terrain more easily adapted for moving about than the ergs (*ʿirḳ*), the mountain zones and the dissected plateaux of the *tassili* type, and they have been instrumental in siting the great caravan tracks in the desert regions and, later, roads for motor traffic.

Bibliography: J. Tricart and A. Cailleux, *Le modelé des régions sèches*, Paris 1969; R. Coque, *Géomorphologie*, Paris 1993. (Y. Callot)

REʾĪS ÜL-KÜTTĀB or Reʾīs Efendi (a., used in Turkey), properly "chief of the men of the pen", a high Ottoman dignitary, directly under the Grand Vizier, originally head of the chancery of the Imperial Dīwān (*dīwān-i hümāyūn*), later secretary of state or chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs. According to d'Herbelot, he was called also *reʾīs kitāb*.

This office, unlike many others, is purely Ottoman, at least as regards the particular line of development that it took. Establishing itself at the expense of the functions of the *nishāndji* [*q.v.*], we may say that it owes nothing to the influence of the more or less Persianised Saldjūḳs nor to the Byzantines. In its origins it seems rather to be connected with a more general and more vague institution of the East, one which deserves more profound study: that of the secretaries of the *dīwān* or chiefs of the secretariat of the *dīwān*. This office is found in different Muslim countries under different names: *perwāne* among the Mongols of Persia, *dīwān begi* among the Tīmūrids and *munshī* in Persia (cf. Chardin, vi, 175; Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 267). In the Ottoman provinces there was attached also to the *wālī* an important official known as the *dīwān efendi(si)*; in Egypt, under Muḥammad ʿAlī, the *dīwān efendi* became a kind of president of the council of ministers. The *reʾīs ül-küttāb* was in brief the *dīwān efendisi* of the capital. It is perhaps to this that we owe the use of the title *reʾīs efendi*, by which they were more commonly known. We know that the term *efendi* was generally applied to people of the pen. This connection seems to have already been noticed by E. Blochet (*Voyage en Orient de Carlier Pinon*, Paris 1920, 83).

Until the time of Süleymān the Magnificent, the title *reʾīs ül-küttāb* (or *reʾīs efendi*) was not used. At least, this is what we are told by Aḥmed Resmī, who quotes in this connection the *Bedāʾiʿ ül-weḳāʾiʿ* of the historian Ḳodja Ḥüseyn Efendi of Sarajevo (cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 186). The latter, who was himself *reʾīs ül-küttāb*, says that before Süleymān, the official correspondence was in the hands of the *emīn-i aḥkām* or "depository of the decisions (of the *Dīwān*)" along with the *nishāndjī*. This point of view has been adopted by other historians (von Hammer; cf. also the *Sālnāme-yi neẓāret-i khāridjiyye*).

There is, however, no agreement as to who was the first *reʾīs ül-küttāb*; it is usually said to have been Djalāl (Djelāl)-zāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi [*q.v.*] (see Babinger, *GOW*, 102). This well-known historian, whose genealogy is taken back to the legendary founder of Byzantium, Yanḳo b. Mādyān, was *reʾīs ül-küttāb* in 931/1524-5 before becoming *nishāndjī*, but the *Nukhbet ül-tewārīkh* of Meḥmed b. Meḥmed refers to the death in 930/1523-4 of a *reʾīs ül-küttāb* of the name of Ḥaydar Efendi. According to other indications, it would even appear that the office goes back to Meḥemmed II [see nishāndjī].

The *riyāset* or office of *reʾīs efendi* lasted over three centuries, during which its holder changed 130 times, the average tenure of office being 2 years and 5 months, which reveals a remarkable lack of ministerial stability: some of the occupants held the office twice, thrice and even four times.

Duties of the *reʾīs efendi*. As secretary of state the *reʾīs* kept records of memoirs and reports (*telkhīṣ* and *taḳrīr*) presented to the sultan by the Grand Vizier acting as representative of the government and of the *Dīwān*. These documents which were prepared by the *āmedī-yi dīwān-i hümāyūn* or *āmeddji* (referendar or reporter of the Imperial *Dīwān*) were brought in a bag

(*kīse*) kept for the purpose to the ceremonial sittings of the *Dīwān* by the *re'īs* himself who handed them to the Grand Vizier. After being read, they were given to a special officer, the *telkhīṣdji*, whose duty it was to present them to the sultan.

As chancellor, the *re'īs* had a kind of jurisdiction over all the civil functionaries and was the immediate head of the department of the Imperial *Dīwān* (*dīwān-i hümāyūn ḳalemi*).

This chancellery was divided into three offices (*oda* or *ḳalem*):

1. the *beylik*, the most important, saw to the despatch of imperial rescripts (*firmān*), orders of the viziers, and in general all ordinances (*ewāmir*) other than those of the department of finance (*defterdār dā'iresi*). This office kept copies of them, as did the Grand Vizier also. Ordinances bearing on the back the signatures of the clerk, of the chief editor (*mümeyyiz*), and of the head of the office (*beylikdji*), were submitted by the latter to the *re'īs*, who placed his sign (*resīd*) upon them and, if it was a *firmān*, sent it to the *nishāndjī* for the *tughrā* [*q.v.*] to be placed upon it. The *beylik* in addition retained the originals of civil and military regulations (*ḳānūn* or *ḳānūn-nāme*) (usually elaborated by the *nishāndjī*), as well as of treaties and capitulations (*ʿahd-nāme*) with foreign powers. The *re'īs* had to consult these treaties, notably when certifying the *der-kenār* or "marginal" answers put by his subordinates on the requests or notes, known as verbal (*taḳrīr*), which the ambassadors addressed to the Grand Vizier. It is this side of his activity which, gradually becoming more and more important and absorbing, ended by making the *re'īs* a Minister of Foreign Affairs.

2. office of the *taḥwīl* or "annual renewal" of the diplomas of the governors of provinces (*berāt* [*q.v.*]), of the brevets of the *mollās* or judges in towns of the first class (*taḥwīl*), of the brevets of the timariots or holders of military fiefs (*ḍabṭ firmānī*).

3. office of the *ru'ūs* or "provisions" of different officials, as well as of the orders for pensions from the treasury (*sergi*) or from *waḳf*s (see for the details of the organisation of this office, Mouradgea d'Ohsson, vii, 161).

The *re'īs* accompanied the Grand Vizier to the audiences which the sultan gave him and to those which the Grand Vizier himself gave to ambassadors. He shared with his master the midday meal, as did the *čawush bashī* [see ČAWUSH] and the two *tezkeredjis*, except on Wednesdays when these two were replaced by the four judges of Istanbul.

In the official protocol, the *re'īs* had the same rank as the *čawush bashī*, with whom he walked in official processions, before the *defterdār*s (which showed he was of lower rank than the latter).

The *elḳāb* or epistolary formulae to which they were entitled are found in Ferīdūn, *Münshe'āt*, 10. They were the same as for the *aghas* of the stirrup [see RIKĀB-DĀR] and the *defter emīni*. For the dress of the *re'īs*, see Brindesi, *Anciens costumes turcs*, pl. 2; Castellan, iv, 107.

According to Mouradgea d'Ohsson, the *re'īs* used to act as agent for the *khān*s of the Crimea.

Administrative career of the *re'īs*. The *re'īs*, like all Ottoman officials, were chosen by the sultan or Grand Vizier as they pleased, but, except in case of appointment by favour, they followed a fixed line of promotion (*ṭarīḳ*) in the administration. It was in the administrative offices, i.e. among the *khʷādjegān* (Persian pl. which was given as an honorific title to the principal clerks or *khʷadja/khodja* or *ḳalem ḍābiṭleri*), that this career was spent.

In examining the *Sefīnet ül-rü'esā'* of Aḥmed Resmī, we find that, up to the *re'īs* Boyalī Meḥmed Efendi (Pasha) (d. 977/1569-70), there is no information available about the career of the *re'īs*, but starting with him we find that the *re'īs* were regularly chosen from among the former *tedhkeredjis* of the *wezīrs* or of the Grand Vizier. From Sheykh-zāde ʿAbdī Efendi (d. 1014/1605-6) onwards, the *re'īs* were mainly taken from the *wezīr mektūbdjisis* or private secretaries of the Grand Vizier. These secretaries were themselves at the head of an office (*oda*) which contained a very small number of officials (*khalīfe* or *kalfa*, pl. *khulefā'*); there were only two between the years 1090/1679 and 1100/1689. When the number increased (at a later date there were about 30), the career of the future *re'īs* was as follows: *khalīfe* in the office in question, called also *mektūbī-yi ṣadr-i ʿālī odasī*, then *ser-khalīfe* or *bash-kalfa* "chief clerk", then *mektūbdji*. The post of *mektūbdji* was much sought after. It brought its holder into close contact with the Grand Vizier and it was then very easy to advance oneself. More rarely, the future *re'īs* rose through the similar but less important office of secretary to the lieutenant to the Grand Vizier or Kaḥya Bey (*ketkhüda kātibi odasī*).

The *riyāset* did not mark the end of a career, but gave access to still higher posts (see NISHĀNDJĪ for the old rules of promotion by which the *re'īs* became *nishāndjī*). It was one of what were known as the "six [principal] dignities", *menāṣib-i sitte*, namely, the *nishāndjī*, *defterdār*, *re'īs ül-küttāb*, *defter emīni*, *shiḳḳ-i thānī defterdārī*, *shiḳḳ-i thālith defterdārī* (Aḥmed Rāsim, *Ta'rīkh*, 756).

According to the *Naṣīḥat-nāme* (39-40 of the French translation), the *re'īs* was under the authority of the Grand Defterdār (for financial matters only?).

Increasing importance of the office of *re'īs*. The growing influence of the *re'īs* is explained by the increasing importance of foreign policy in Turkey (including the so-called "Eastern Question").

Down to the end of the 10th/16th century, the *nishāndjīs* were certainly superior to the *re'īs*; they controlled and even revised the orders and decisions of the *dīwān* (*aḥkām*), but from the 17th century onwards, *re'īs* like Oḳdju-zāde Meḥmed Shāh Efendi, Lām-ʿAlī Čelebi and Ḥükmī Efendi shed a certain lustre on their office. From 1060/1650 the incapacity of certain *nishāndjīs* precipitated the decline of their office in spite of the ephemeral efforts by Grand Viziers like Shehīd ʿAlī Pāshā and of the *nishāndjīs* appointed by him (Rāshid Efendi and Selīm Efendi). It was in this period that the office of *beylikdji* was created (see above).

The Ottoman protocol (*teshrīfāt*) was nevertheless still to retain for a long time traces of the originally rather subordinate position of the *re'īs*. For example, they did not sit in the office of the *Dīwān* itself, called *Dīwān-khāne* (in the Top Ḳapu Sarayī or "Old Serai"), but remained seated outside of the room in a place called *re'īs takhtasī*, "the bench of the *re'īs*", where there were also seats for certain other officials to wait upon. In the formal sittings, even in those like the distribution of pay (*ʿulūfe*) to the Janissaries which took place in the presence of foreign ambassadors, the part played by the *re'īs* was rather limited. He carried in, with slow step and the sleeves of his *üst* turned up, the bag containing the *telkhīṣ* (see above). He kissed the hem (*etek*) of the Grand Vizier's robe, placed the bag on his left, kissed the hem of his robe again and withdrew to his place. He came in again to open the bag, handed the documents to the Grand Vizier, took them back from him to fold them (*baghlamaḳ*), sealed them and gave them to the *telkhīṣdji*. If he was unable

to be present, the bag of the *telkhīṣ* was handed to the Grand Vizier by the *büyük tezkeredji* (*Ḳanūn-nāme* of ʿAbd ül-Raḥmān Pasha, 85, 123 etc.).

Lucas (*Second Voyage*, Paris 1712, 216) writes that during the audience given by the Grand Vizier to the French Ambassador "le Ray Affendy ou Grand Chancelier demeura debout et appuïé contre la muraille".

Things were changed at the reform of the *Dīwān* effected at the beginning of his reign (1792) by Selīm III, desirous of limiting the power of the Grand Vizier. The old *Dīwān* consisted of six *wazīrs* of the dome (having only one consultative voice; see ḲUBBE WEZĪRI), of the *Muftī* (*Sheykh ül-Islām*) and the two *ḳazaskers*. The new *Dīwān* was to consist of 10 members by right of office and others chosen in different ways (about 40 in all). The members by right of office were the Kaḥya Bey, the Re'īs Efendi, the Grand Defterdār, the Čelebi Efendi, the Tersāne Emīni, the Čawush Bashī, etc. (Zinkeisen, *Geschichte*, vii, 1863, 321).

The office of *re'īs* tended more and more to become the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte, parallel to the post of Kaḥya Bey (Interior).

Suppression of the dignity of *re'īs*. The title of *re'īs* was suppressed by the *khaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* of Sultan Maḥmūd II addressed on Friday 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1251/11 March 1836 to the Grand Vizier Meḥmed Emīn Pasha. The Turkish text will be found in the *Sālnāme* of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the French translation (or at least parts of it) was published in the *Moniteur Ottoman* of 23 April 1836 (according to A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, 38, n. 1). This document at the same time created two new ministries (*neẓāret*), which in memory of their origin remained to the end in the same building as the grand vizierate [see BĀB-I ʿĀLĪ]: 1. the Ministry of the Interior (originally of civil affairs or *umūr-u mülkiyye*, later *dākhiliyye*) replacing the department of the Kaḥya Bey; and 2. the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*khāridjiyye*) replacing that of the *re'īs*. The preamble said that, abandoning the old regulations of the service, the sultan had thought it advisable to create real posts of *wezīr* (*wizāret*) and not honorary ones, but without its being necessary to give the new *wezīr* of foreign affairs the title of *pasha* [*q.v.*], "which is mainly a military one".

Bibliography: By far the most important source is the work known as *Sefīnet ül-rü'esā'*, which consists of: 1. Aḥmad Resmī's work (Babinger, *GOR*, 309-10) which contains the biographies of 64 *re'īs* down to Rāghib Meḥmed Efendi (1157/1744), and 2. its continuation by Süleymān Fā'iḳ Efendi, which contains the biographies of 30 *re'īs* down to Aḥmed Wāṣif Efendi at the beginning of the 19th century. According to the preface to Süleymān Fā'iḳ's (not Fātik) continuation, Aḥmed Resmī had entitled his work *Ḥakīkat ül-rü'esā'*, in imitation of the *Ḥadīkat ül-wüzerā'* of ʿOthmān-zāde Tā'ib, but changed it at the suggestion of Rāghib Pasha to *Sefīnet ül-rü'esā'* (the references in the Catalogue of Turkish mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale by E. Blochet, ii, 158, should be corrected accordingly). The word *ḥalīkat* apparently makes no sense; that of *khalīfat* which is usually found in other works (Flügel, *Cat.*, ii, 407, no. 1250; Babinger; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, iii, 59 n.), does not seem correct either. One ought undoubtedly to read *khalīkat* (which rhymes with the *ḥadīkat* of the prototype). The *Sefīnet ül-rü'esā'* was published by the State Press in Istanbul in 1269/1853.

See also in addition to the references in the text: Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Etat de l'Empire Othoman*, vii, 1824, index; J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii, index; *Ḳanūn-nāme* of Tewḳīʿī (*nishāndjī*) ʿAbd ül-Raḥmān Pasha, written in 1087/1676-7 and ed. by F. Köprülü (*MTM*, 508); Esʿad Efendi, *Teshrīfāt-ī Dewlet-i ʿAliyye*, 85, 123, etc.; *Sālnāme-i neẓāret-i khāridjiyye*, 1 year, 1301/1885, Ebüzziya Press, Istanbul (contains in addition a historical resumé and a chronological list of all the grand viziers and all the *re'īs*); C. Perry, *A View of the Levant, particularly of Constantinople*, etc., London 1743, 36; C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire: the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980; idem, *Ottoman civil officialdom: a social history*, Princeton 1989; *İA*, art. s.v. (Halil İnalcık). On the *ṣāḥib al-dīwān* or *ra'īs* (!) *al-dīwān*, see Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 101 ff.; vi, 14, 17-18, 50; H. Massé, *Code de la Chancellerie d'Etat... d'Ibn al-Ṣayrafī*, in *BIFC*, xi, 79 ff. Among the Saldjūḳs, the offices of *ṣāḥib al-dīwān* and *perwāne* were quite separate; cf. Ibn Bībī, in Houtsma, *Recueil d. textes .... Seldj.*, iii, 105.

(J. DENY)

REMBAU (Rumbow), a traditional district (*luak*) in Negri Sembilan, Malaysia. It is important in Islamic studies for two reasons.

First, the social structure of the Malay-Muslim population is based on matrilineal descent groups (*suku*), in which succession to office and inheritance of property descend in the female line. This has serious repercussions for Islam's rules of inheritance which are widely avoided, or at least compromised. The Malay population is otherwise devoutly Muslim. The obvious parallel is Minangkabau [*q.v.*] in Sumatra.

Second, while the Undang (*lawgiver*) of Rembau qualifies for his office by descent in the matrilineal line, he is also a component part of "The Ruler" of the State of Negri Sembilan along with three other "Ruling Chiefs" and the Yang di-Pentuan Besar. As such, he forms part of a single constitutional ruler for the State. One of the duties of the Ruler is to protect the religion of Islam, and this has difficult repercussions, given the realities of politics and the matrilineal element. Rembau is thus a classic case for the study of Islam and *adat* [see ʿĀDA], the social implications of religion in a peasant community and the politics of religion.

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RESHĀD NŪRĪ (REŞAD NURİ GÜNTEKİN), late Ottoman and modern Turkish author, born in 1889 in Istanbul, died in 1956 in London. He was the son of a military doctor, Nūrī, and Luṭfiyye, the daughter of Yawer Pasha, governor of Erzurum. He attended Galatasaray Lycée in Istanbul and, later, the Frères High School in Izmir. After graduating from the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul University in 1912, he worked as a teacher and schoolmaster in Bursa and in several lycées in Istanbul (Vefa, Çamlıca, Kabataş, Galatasaray and Erenköy), teaching French, Turkish literature and philosophy. In 1927 he became an inspector for the Ministry of Education. In 1939 he was elected to the Parliament as Halk Partisi representative for Çanakkale. In 1943 he went back to the Civil Service, and in 1947 was promoted to Chief Inspector for schools in the Ministry for Education. He was sent to Paris to represent Turkey at UNESCO

and as the Turkish educational attaché in France. He retired in 1954, and died in London on 7 December 1956, where he was receiving treatment for cancer.

Re<u>sh</u>ād Nūrī started his literary career by publishing unsigned poems. He attracted attention during the First World War with his articles on Turkish literature in *La Pensée Turque* and the newspaper *Zamān*. These were followed by his story *Eski aḥbāb*, published in *Diken* (1917), and a novel *<u>Kh</u>arābeleriñ čičeg<u>h</u>i* (1918), in *Zamān*, and his first play, *Ḥaḳīkī ḳahramān* (1919). When his play *Istanbul ḳizī* was not liked by the Istanbul theatres, Re<u>sh</u>ād Nūrī changed it into a novel and it was published as a serial with the title *Čalīḳu<u>sh</u>u* in *Waḳit* newspaper (1922); in this form, it was read so widely that he became famous. In 1936, his travel experience in literary form were published with the title *Anadolu notları*. During 1942, he wrote satire, using the pseudonyms "Fire-Fly" and "Cicada" for the journal *Kelebek* which he published with Mahmut Yesari, Münif Fehim and İbnürrefik Ahmed Nuri. In 1947 he started to publish a daily newspaper *Memleket* which aimed to defend and express the views of the Turkish republican régime, but it did not last long. Between the years 1918 and 1955 he not only published books but also wrote articles in numerous literary journals. Reşad Nuri is the most popular author of modern Turkish literature; his novel *Çalıkuşu* is still read widely, and he is often known simply as "the author of *Çalıkuşu*". This popularity is due to the fact that he was able to combine the eastern and western traditions of fiction in his works. The clash between the individual and the society is the most recurrent theme of his works, but he treated even the villains of his novels as human beings who need love and pity and compassion, so that the reader is left with the feeling that there are only "good people" and "not so good people" on earth. His works are all set in the late 19th century and the early days of the Republic, and are characterised by detailed and precise descriptions of events and people. However, he reflects the problems, beliefs, ideas, dreams, feelings of individuals from different sections of society without imposing an ideological framework on the reader. From the linguistic point of view, he used Turkish in a masterful fashion, blending spoken and literary languages, and the simple, sincere and natural style of his prose is easily recognised. He has accordingly become the symbol of the "New language" and "National literature" movements.

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(Çiğdem Balim)

RE<u>SH</u>ĪD PA<u>SH</u>A, MUṢṬAFĀ (1800-1858), Ottoman diplomat, statesman and reformer.

Re<u>sh</u>īd was born, the son of a financial clerk in Istanbul, on 13 March 1800, but his family originally hailed from Kastamonu. His father died in 1810, after which he grew up under the protection of his uncle, Ispartalī Seyyid Pa<u>sh</u>a. He studied at a *medrese*, but did not graduate (i.e. he did not get an *id<u>j</u>āza* [*q.v.*]). Thereafter, he was trained within the scribal institution. Re<u>sh</u>īd took part in the campaign against the Greek insurgents in 1821, as seal-keeper of the commander-in-chief, Seyyid ʿAlī Pa<u>sh</u>a. During this campaign, he saw for himself the hopeless condition of the Ottoman army. When Seyyid ʿAlī Pa<u>sh</u>a was dismissed, his followers, among them Re<u>sh</u>īd, according to the Ottoman tradition of *intisāb*, were also forced out of office. Re<u>sh</u>īd had some trouble finding a new position, but after a while landed a job at the correspondence office of the Porte.

During the Ottoman-Russian war of 1828, Re<u>sh</u>īd served as army clerk. The reports he sent to the capital in this capacity drew the attention of the sultan, Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], who was looking for capable and reform-minded servants to implement his reforms. Re<u>sh</u>īd was now taken into the *Āmedī Odasī*, the secretariat for incoming correspondence of the Porte. In 1829, he was attached as secretary to the Ottoman delegation to the peace negotiations with the Russians in Edirne. By now, he seems to have belonged to the circle of Pertew Pa<u>sh</u>a, the *Reʾīs ül-Küttāb* (Chief Scribe) and former *Āmedī* (Receiver, head of the incoming correspondence secretariat), whose pro-British policies and close relationship with the British ambassador Ponsonby may have influenced Re<u>sh</u>īd in the same direction. He joined Pertew Pa<u>sh</u>a in July 1830 on his mission to Egypt for negotiations with Muḥammad ʿAlī Pa<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*] and from then on gained a reputation as an expert in Egyptian affairs during the years when Muḥammad ʿAlī constituted the greatest threat to the continued existence of the Ottoman Empire. In March 1833 he was sent to Kütahya to negotiate with Muḥammad ʿAlī's son Ibrāhīm Pa<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*], who had conquered Syria and defeated the Ottoman army near Konya. His decision to grant Ibrāhīm Pa<u>sh</u>a the position of tax collector for the district of Adana (besides the governorship of the provinces of Damascus and Aleppo) was very un-

popular in Istanbul, but he managed to survive it both physically and politically.

In 1834 Re<u>sh</u>īd was sent to Paris as special envoy with a mission to regain Algeria from the French. While he was bound to be unsuccessful in this, he did manage to loosen the ties between Paris and Muḥammad ʿAlī. He returned to Istanbul in March 1835, but was sent to Paris again three months later, now as a full ambassador. After a year in Paris he was transferred to London. There, his crucial achievement was to gain the unequivocal support of the British government in the conflict with Muḥammad ʿAlī Pa<u>sh</u>a. From now on, Re<u>sh</u>īd would work closely with the British government almost continually for the rest of his life. In July 1837 he was made a marshal (*mü<u>sh</u>īr* [*q.v.*]) and given the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs. After a tour of factories in Britain, he returned to Istanbul to take up his new job. Early in 1838 he was made a Pa<u>sh</u>a. Foreign affairs remained his preoccupation, but we now see Re<u>sh</u>īd Pa<u>sh</u>a initiating reforms in other spheres, too (such as the first attempts at a modern census). For the next thirty years, the Foreign Office would remain deeply involved in the wider programme of administrative, legal and educational reform in the Ottoman Empire. This reflected both the importance of European, notably British, diplomatic pressure in favour of reform and the fact that the Foreign Office was the greatest repository of knowledge about Europe and its ways.

In August 1838 Re<u>sh</u>īd was sent to London once more, to try to conclude a defensive alliance with Britain against Egypt. The alliance did not materialise, but Re<u>sh</u>īd did receive guarantees of British support. As part of the effort to gain British support, a commercial treaty opening the Ottoman market to British goods and promising the abolishing of state monopolies was concluded on 16 August 1838.

After the death of Sultan Maḥmūd II in the midst of the second Egyptian crisis on 1 July 1839, Re<u>sh</u>īd returned to Istanbul. There he took a leading part in the promulgation of the Gülk<u>h</u>āne edict [see KHAṬṬ-Ī HUMĀYŪN], which promised the subjects of the Sultan security of life, honour and property; an orderly system of taxation and conscription; and—in somewhat ambiguous terms—equality before the law irrespective of their religion. Like the trade treaty of a year before, the edict was clearly meant as an attempt to gain foreign, and especially British, diplomatic support in the conflict with Egypt, but it also reflected the genuine concerns of the reformist circles around Re<u>sh</u>īd. It is hard to say whether the edict was instrumental in convincing British policy makers, but the Egyptian crisis was solved in the Ottomans' favour when British military intervention forced the Egyptian troops to evacuate Syria in late 1840.

Muḥammad ʿAlī now clearly identified Re<u>sh</u>īd as his main opponent, and he used bribes to have him removed from the post of Foreign Minister in March 1841. Re<u>sh</u>īd was sent to Paris once more, but soon returned, ostensibly for health reasons. All his efforts to regain his position failed, however (he was only offered the post of governor of Edirne, which he refused), and he had to return to France in 1843. There he occupied himself primarily with negotiations on the Lebanon, where the situation had beome highly unstable after the retreat of the Egyptians and the attendant fall of the Druze Amīr Ba<u>sh</u>īr II.

In 1845 Re<u>sh</u>īd was restored as Foreign Minister, and in September 1846 he was made Grand Vizier for the first time. With a short interruption of less than four months in 1848, he remained Grand Vizier for the unusually long period of six years. These years were his most productive ones in terms of the modernising reforms introduced in the legal system (founding of mixed commercial courts in 1847, adoption of a new commercial code (copied from France) in 1850, prohibition of torture and slavery); in education (founding of secular secondary schools for boys between 10 and 15, the *Rü<u>sh</u>diyyes*, of a separate Ministry of Education and, in 1851, of an Academy of Sciences, the *En<u>dj</u>ümen-i Dāni<u>sh</u>*); and in the administration (including, in 1846, a first attempt to organise a modern archive, the *<u>Kh</u>azīne-yi Ewrāḳ*). In the reforms, as in his foreign policy, Re<u>sh</u>īd closely collaborated with the British ambassador, Stratford Canning (or Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, as he would later become). His intimate relationship with the British ambassador made him suspect in the eyes of representatives of other foreign powers, including the French. In January 1852 Re<u>sh</u>īd was deposed, but barely two months later he was reappointed, only to be deposed a second time in August, after a row between him and the commander of the Imperial Arsenal.

The conflict between France and Russia over the Holy Places in Palestine, which was to result in the Crimean War, reached crisis proportions when the Russians demanded the right to protect the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire on 5 May 1853. This crisis brought about the return of Re<u>sh</u>īd Pa<u>sh</u>a as Foreign Minister on 15 May. Closely collaborating with Stratford Canning once more, Re<u>sh</u>īd played for time, while refusing the Russian demands. Once he knew that the Ottoman Empire was assured of a military alliance with Britain and France he supported the declaration of war (28 March 1854). During the war he was appointed Grand Vizier again (November 1854). During his six-month stay in office he instituted the *Me<u>dj</u>lis-i ʿAlī-yi Tanẓīmat* (High Council for Reforms) which had the twin functions of preparing legislation and of keeping watch over the bureaucracy. His dismissal as Grand Vizier in May 1855 was due to his intriguing in order to prevent the granting of the concession for the Suez Canal. This upset the French, who saw Re<u>sh</u>īd anyway as a British puppet and preferred to deal instead with his pupils ʿAlī Pa<u>sh</u>a and Fuʾād Pa<u>sh</u>a.

Re<u>sh</u>īd's dismissal meant that he was left outside the work of the peace conference in Paris which ended the Crimean War and that he had no hand in the imperial reform edict (the *Iṣlāḥāt Fermānī*) of February 1856, which was drawn up by the British and French ambassadors together with ʿAlī Pa<u>sh</u>a in order to forestall Russian demands for reforms. By now, Re<u>sh</u>īd's relations with his former pupils, now competitors, had turned sour. Re<u>sh</u>īd had a good eye for talent, and in the best Ottoman *intisāb* tradition he had always actively sought to further the careers of the members of his circle, but he was also extremely jealous when they evolved from clients to colleagues and equals.

It took Re<u>sh</u>īd a year and a half to topple his rivals and to return to power. In November 1856 he was restored to the Grand Vizierate under British pressure. His stubborn resistance to French demands for eventual unification of the Principalities into a new Rumanian state led to his dismissal under French pressure at the end of July 1857. Three months later, he was back again, being appointed Grand Vizier for a sixth and last time on 22 October. On 7 January 1858 Muṣṭafā Re<u>sh</u>īd Pa<u>sh</u>a died of a heart attack. He was buried in a *türbe* on the Okčular <u>D</u>jaddesi in the Beyazīd area of Istanbul.

Re<u>sh</u>īd Pa<u>sh</u>a was married twice and had five

children, one son by his first wife and four by his second.

His legacy was a lasting one, even if intra-élite factionalism, lack of funds and qualified personnel, and the non-existence of broadly-based support in society, meant that the results of his reform programme were very patchy. On the one hand, the Gülkhāne edict which he introduced and the reforms which he and his circle launched in the 1840s and 1850s formed a crucial phase in the transition from a traditional and patrimonial system of government to a legal-rational system. During Reshīd's lifetime, the clerks of the Porte evolved into a bureaucracy which formed the strongest force in the state. The edict and the reforms also marked the start of the legal emancipation of the non-Muslim communities of the Empire. At the same time, Reshīd and his colleagues often seemed to be reduced to the position of pawns in the games of the Great Powers, with Reshīd serving British policy objectives in particular. However, given the weakened state of the central Ottoman government, it is hard to see how that could have been otherwise.

Bibliography: The literature which appeared up to 1961 is both used and given in Ercüment Kuran's article *Mustafa Reşit Paşa* in *İA*, ix, 701-5, ²Istanbul 1971. Most important among the pre-1961 publications are Cavit Baysun's article *Mustafa Reşit Paşa*, in *Tanzimat*, Ankara 1940, 723-46, and Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat*, Ankara 1954. In the last thirty years, no scholarly monographs on Reshīd have appeared, but quite a few important works have appeared on the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], the reform programme with which Reshīd was so intimately associated. Among the ones that should be consulted are: C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980; idem, *Ottoman civil officialdom. A social history*, Princeton 1989; Şerif Mardın, *The genesis of Young Ottoman thought. A study in the modernization of Turkish political ideas*, Princeton 1962; İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun en uzun yüzyılı*, ²Istanbul 1987; R.H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, New York 1973². Murat Belge (ed.), *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1986, 6 vols. represents the state of the art in Turkey at the time of writing, although the article on Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha is an excerpt from Baysun's work. (E.J. ZÜRCHER)

RESM. The Arabic word *rasm*, in Turkish *resm*, *resim*, means in Ottoman usage state practices and organisations as distinguished from those based on Islamic principles and traditions. Specifically, the word indicates taxes and dues introduced by the state called *rüsūm-i ʿurfiyye* [see ʿURF] as distinguished from the *sharʿī* taxes which are called *ḥuḳūḳ-ī sherʿiyye*. In the Ottoman Empire, *resm* was sometimes called *ḥaḳḳ* in the sense of legal right, as in the term *ḥaḳḳ-ī ḳarār*, a fee which *asipahī* or feudal cavalryman took when vacant *mīrī* [*q.v.*] land was assigned to a peasant.

The term *resm* is used synonymously with *ḳanūn* [*q.v.*], *teklīf* and *ʿādat*. A *resm* is usually called *ʿādat* whenever it originates from a locally-established custom, such as *ʿādat-i kharmān* (harvest custom). Also, pre-Ottoman state practices are occasionally called *ʿādat*, as in the example of *ʿādat-ī Ḳāyitbāy*. Those *rüsūm* which were paid in cash were often called *akče*, as in the examples of *čift aḳčesī* and *bostān aḳčesi*. Most of the *rüsūm* originated from the tax system of the conquered lands.

Ottoman administration tried carefully to discover and incorporate into the Ottoman tax system the well-established pre-conquest taxes and dues under the term *rüsūm*. Even the pig tax, *resm-i khinzīr*, was adopted in the Balkan provinces. Although they were often called *bidʿat*, innovations against the religious law, such taxes were distinguished into *bidʿat-i maʿrūfe*, those customarily recognised, or *bidʿat-i marfūʿe*, those abolished by the sultan's specific order. Exactions taken illegally by local authorities are called *tekālīf-i shāḳḳa*, or onerous exactions and, when discovered, were prohibited by the sultan.

In adopting a local tax into the Ottoman system, the administration made inquiries as to whether or not it yielded a sufficient amount of revenue or whether it caused discontent in the newly-conquered areas. Then, the new tax with the estimated amount of yearly yield, was entered into the *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] registers, thus becoming a regular state tax.

The commercial dues were variously called according to the regulations to which they are subject. Goods sold wholesale at the urban bazaars or fairs were liable to a *bādj* or *tamghā* per unit, bale, sack, cask, or cart, whereas valuable goods were to be brought and weighed at the public scales and taxed by weight, paying *resm-i ḳapan* (*ḳabbān*), *resm-i ḳanṭar* or *resm-i mīzān*. Goods paid also a *bādj-i ʿubūr* at fixed points on a caravan route. Imported and exported goods paid *gümrük* [*q.v.*] (from Greek *kommerkion*) at various rates, according to the kind of the good or whether the importer or exporter was a *Muslim*, a *Dhimmī* or a *Ḥarbī*.

Bidʿats, particularly those affecting the well-being of the Muslims (such as *bādj* and *tamghā* imposed upon necessities and causing prices to rise), were hated by the public and denounced by the *ʿulemāʾ* as contrary to the *Sharīʿa*. At critical times, particularly at the time of accession to the throne, rulers abolished them and inscribed their orders on the gates of mosques or fortresses to show their concern for the public. However, in all of the Islamic states, *rusūm* and *bidʿats* were a significant source of revenue cash for the state treasury, and those which had been abolished once were reintroduced before long.

Although *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye* [see ʿAWĀRIḌ] or *salghun/salghīn*, emergency levies, which were collected by the state in kind, cash or services rendered, were denounced as an unjust burden on the peasantry, they were frequently collected and over the course of time converted to a regular tax. In a crisis, such taxes were even legitimised by special *fatwās* [*q.v.*] as a *farḍ*, religious duty for the defence of Islam. *Salghuns* were introduced by a commander in an emergency situation, but were usually prohibited by the central government. A grain tax added to *aʿshār*, called *sālārlīḳ* or *sālāriyye* (increasing the regular tithe to one-eighth of the produce) was introduced into the earlier tax systems prior to the Ottoman period. The Ottomans continued it, although the peasantry complained about this additional tithe. The *Shaykh al-Islām* Abu 'l-Suʿūd [*q.v.*] attempted to legitimise it by claiming that the lands conquered by the Ottomans were all of the *kharādjī* type and thus subject to *kharādj*, which could go up to one-fifth of the produce.

A widespread Byzantine/Balkan grain tax which survived into the Ottoman tax system was that of one or two measures of barley and wheat delivered to the feudal lord or the state. It corresponded to the Ottoman *ʿawāriḍ*.

A *resm* of particular importance was the *resm-i čift*, a one-gold coin tax per household or its equivalent in silver coins, imposed upon a peasant family in possession of a *čiftlik* [*q.v.*] and a pair of oxen. Traced back to the Roman *jugum-caput* and Byzantine *zeugaratikion*, this tax was probably the origin of the *čift-bā-khāne*

system in the Ottoman empire. Its nature, combining a hearth-tax and land-tax, confused bureaucrats as well as scholars. It must be the origin of the *kharādj* and the *djizya* in the early Islamic tax system. *Zeugaratikion* and the *čift-resmi* [*q.v.*] system gave the whole of rural society in Anatolia and the Balkans its particular social-fiscal organisation under the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. The *resm-i čift* was a compound tax which included cash equivalents of various feudal services (see İnalcık, *Osmanlilarda raiyyet rusûmu*, and idem, *Village, peasant and empire*).

The *resm-i čift* system included *resm-i čift, resm-i nīm-čift, resm-i bennāk, resm-i čiftlü bennāk, resm-i ekinlü bennāk, resm-i mudjarrad, resm-i ḳara, resm-i djabā, resm-i bīwa, resm-i dönüm, resm-i duhān, resm-i zamīn, resm-i čift-bozan, resm-i yaylaḳ* and *resm-i ḳīshlaḳ*.

Ispendje or *ispenče*, from Slavic *yupanitsa*, a feudal peasant household tax in the pre-Ottoman Balkans, was incorporated into the Ottoman tax system and extended into eastern Anatolia from 1540 onwards. Every non-Muslim peasant household or individual paid it at the rate of 25 *akčes*. Abu 'l-Suʿūd interpreted it as *kharādj-i muwaẓẓafa* or "fixed *kharādj*". In the 1540s, the Ottomans identified it with *resm-i ḳapu* or gate-tax in Hungary, raising its rate to fifty *aḳčes*, about the value of one gold piece in Ottoman silver coins in the period. Collection of *resm-i čift, ispendje* and *djizya* at the same time came to triple the original hearth-tax. Such double taxing, due to the confusion about the origin of the tax, often occured in the newly-established régimes.

The *resm-i filori* [*q.v.*], originally a one-gold piece tax applied to the Eflāķṣ, non-Muslim nomads of the Balkans, was another composite tax paid by household.

The *resm-i bād-i hawā*, evidently from the Byzantine *aerikon*, also called *ṭayyārāt*, was another composite tax which included occasional taxes such as *djerāʾim* or fines, *resm-i ʿarūsāne*, also called *resm-i cerdek*, marriage-tax, *resm-i dashtbāniyye*, field-guard fee, and *resm-i ṭapu* or fee on land transfers. The above-mentioned composit taxes of pre-Ottoman origin, namely *resm-i čift* and its derivatives, *ispendje* and *bād-i hawā*, were paid directly to the *sipahī* as part of his *tīmār* [*q.v.*].

The Ottoman tax system also allowed government agents to collect for themselves a small fee for their services. It was called *khidmet aḳčesi*, service-money or *maʿīshet*, livelihood. In later periods many such fees were returned to the treasury. However, in the 17th century when *tīmār* revenues drastically lost their value, government agents in the provinces invented a host of service fees (see Inalcik, *Military and fiscal transformation*).

The sultan's favour, which established privileges and benefits for persons, was thought to be reciprocated by payments. So, an important category of *rüsūm*, including the *resm-i berāt*, diploma fee, or *resm-i tedhkire*, certificate fee, brought to the treasury quite a sizeable revenue.

The sale of offices which became widespread from the end of the 16th century onwards, must be interpreted in the same way.

In the courts, *Ḳāḍīs* took several *resms* for their services. Their abuses caused widespread complaints, and from time to time Ottoman rulers issued regulations fixing the rates of court fees.

Fees at the Law Courts
(in *aḳčes*)

	ʿItāḳ-nāme (Manumission certificate)			*Nikāḥ resmi* (Marriage tax)			*Resm-i ḳismet* (Division of inheritances per thousand)			*Ḥudjdjet* (Certificates)			S	Rc	R
	Kd	H	KE	Kd	H	Kt	Kd	H	Kt	Kd	H	Kt			
Ḥukm dated H.884	30	1	1	20			20	-		15	1		-	-	-
Ḥukm dated H.928	20	6	4	-	5 for both		14	4	2	20	4		-	7	7
Ḥukm dated H.1054	50	10	6	20			15	-		20	5 for both		12	12	8

Abbreviations: Kd : Ḳāḍī
KE : Kātib Emīn
Kt : Kātib
H : Hidjrī date
S : Signature
Rc : Record
R : Reportion

Bibliography: H. İnalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rusûm*, in *Belleten*, xxiii, 575-610; idem, *Military and fiscal transformation in the Ottoman empire, 1600-1700*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi, 283-337; idem, *Village, peasant and empire*, in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman empire*, Bloomington, Ind. 1993, 136-60.

(HALIL İNALCIK)

REWĀN, ERIWAN, the capital city of Armenia, possibly identical with the town called Arran by the Arab geographers Ibn Rusta and Ibn Faḳīh, which in Armenian is called Hrastan and Rewān in Ottoman sources.

In Islamic times, the town seems to have become important from the mid-10th/16th century onward. The city is located close to the Armenian patriarchal seat of Echmiadzin, often referred to as Üčkilise "Three Churches" in Ottoman and European sources, even though there are actually four churches. In the 10th/16th century, the town formed part of Ṣafawid Persia, but was raided several times by Ottoman forces. In 990/1582 Rewān was conquered by the Ottoman *serdār* Ferhād Pasha, who ordered the construction of new fortifications. In the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, Eriwan was taken back by the Ṣafawids and in 1025/1616 besieged by the Ottomans, who were however unable to take the city. In 1041-2/1632 the Ottoman Sultan Murād IV retook Rewān and had a famous *köšk*, the Rewān Köškü, added to the Ṭopḳapî Sarayî to commemorate the event. However Rewān was soon after reconquered by the Ṣafawids. According to the treaty of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn (1048-49/1639) the city thenceforth remained in Persian hands, apart

from a brief Ottoman interlude which ended in 1159/1746.

From the 11th/17th century date the first extensive descriptions of Eriwan. Ewliyā Čelebi visited the place in 1057/1647, and describes the sieges and counter-sieges of the reign of Murād IV, who had taken a liking to the former *khān* of Rewān, Emīrgūn. Ewliyā felt that the walls of Rewān, consisting of but a single ring, were in no condition to resist a serious siege. At the time of his visit, those parts of the walls erected by Ferhād Pasha could still be distinguished from the higher sections built by the Persian governor Toḳmaḳ Khān. The city was entered by three strong gates, and well-stocked with weaponry. Among the officials present in Rewān Ewliyā mentions the *ḳāḍī*, along with a full complement of civilian and military officials. At certain times the city was governed by a *khān* of *khāns*.

Another extensive description was provided by the French jeweller and merchant J.-B. Tavernier, who visited Rewān in 1065-6/1655. He notes that the province was one of the richest in the Ṣafawid empire, both on account of transit trade and the fertility of the area, which permitted the cultivation of rice. Raw silk was here collected for export, and merchants enjoyed the privilege of paying a flat rate, without opening their bales. Tavernier claims that the old city had been ruined during the Ottoman-Ṣafawid wars, and a new one built on the boards of the river Zengi Çayı; this may be compared to Ewliyā's statement that the town had only been founded in the reign of Tīmūr Lenk. Tavernier refers to an active commercial suburb equally mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi, where merchants and artisans, particularly Armenians, resided. He also describes a stone bridge with chambers underneath, where the *khān* sometimes spent the hottest hours of summer.

About a decade later, Rewān was described by J. Chardin, as a large city with numerous gardens and vineyards. The citadel contained about 800 houses, inhabited only by Persians, while Armenian shopowners left the enclosure in the evenings. The garrison amounted to 2,000 men. There was a second fortress, by the name of "Quetchy-kala", with a double wall and cannons, suitable for another 200 men. The core of the city was located at a cannon shot's distance from the citadel. It contained a *maydān* surrounded by trees, where parades and games were held. The principal mosque was located in the market area, and there were also several Armenian churches, built partly underground. Chardin praises the city's public baths and caravanserais, the most recent of which had been built by a governor; the gallery was filled with shops selling a variety of textiles, and there were 63 apartments along with stables and storage spaces. This building is probably identical to the Gorji (Georgian) *khān* of later times, where goods from Russia and Georgia were usually stored. In spite of the cold climate in winter, the area was famous for its grapes and wine, the Armenian peasants burying their vines at the approach of winter. In the summer of 1113/1701, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort also visited Rewān; however, his account of the city only repeats those of his predecessors.

After his appointment to the Caucasus in 1217-18/1803, General Tsitsianov attempted to force the *khān* of Rewān to abandon his Persian allegiance and submit to Russia; however a siege in 1219/1804 ended in failure. Between 1225/1810 and 1233-4/1818, the diplomat J. Morier visited Rewān and recorded the post-war atmosphere in the city; the houses in the citadel for the most part lay in ruins, and the citadel mosque had been converted into a storehouse. According to a register prepared at this time by Ḥasan Khān, brother of the current *sardār*, Rewān and its villages contained a total of 18,700 males between the ages of 15 and 50, which according to Morier's assumption, corresponded to a population of 74,800. A separate register recorded 5,000 Kurdish families, which brought the total up to about 100,000. Official revenues collected in the area amounted to 168,000 *tūmāns*, and consisted mainly of rural dues, customs duties yielded 12,000 *tūmāns*, and dues from the salt mines of Kolpi 6,000. In certain areas, one-third of rural produce apparently was collected as taxes. The *sardār* monopolised the cotton crop and sold it to Georgia, importing Georgian fabrics in return.

During another Russo-Persian war (1241-3/1826-7) Rewān was again besieged, and local notables arranged for a surrender to the forces of General Paskevich; Russian domination was confirmed by the treaty of Turkmānčāy in February 1828/Shaʿbān 1243. Extensive data on the urban resources and population of Rewān date from 1244-8/1829-32, when the new Russian administration conducted a detailed survey. According to this document, the city had 7,331 Muslim inhabitants of both sexes, along with 3,937 Armenians. Among the latter, 1,715 were recent immigrants from Persia. The total urban population amounted to 11,463 persons in 2,751 households, distributed over three large quarters encompassing 1,736 houses. Apart from the Muslims who had left the khānate after the Russian conquest, the newly-acquired Russian province contained a population of 115,152 persons in 20,932 households, of which 61,018 were males. The Turkish nomad population before the Russian conquest had numbered more than 20,000; about 10% must have left the area immediately following the war, as the Russian survey counted only 18,287.

At the time of the Russian takeover, there were 851 stores in Eriwan; 543 formed part of the bazaar, while 252 were attached to the city's seven caravanserais and another 32 located in the fortress. The three quarters making up the remainder of the city must therefore have been all but exclusively residential. There were eight mosques with attached *madrasas* (one of them, the Shehir Djāmiʿ, with its Turkish inscription of 1098/1687), and seven Armenian churches, while the ten public baths were mostly part of mosque or caravanserai complexes. Imports from Persia included silk, coffee, sugar, indigo, cotton, wool, dried fruit, raisins and condiments; while from the Ottoman empire came wool, cloth, butter, coffee, wine, fruit, nuts, wood and tobacco. Exports to Persia were limited to cloth and grain, while the Ottoman Empire bought raisins, indigo, silk and cotton. From Georgia, cloth, wine, tea, fruit and nuts as well as wood were imported, while wood and salt were conveyed there. Russian and other European imports were usually luxury products. Merchants were numerous both among the Muslim and the Armenian population; among the Armenian immigrants from Persia, there were 105 weavers and 64 carpenters established in the city proper. In addition, women weavers worked at home; the survey records almost 3,000 looms for the khānate in its entirety.

An impressionistic account of Rewān in the 1240s-1250s/1830s was published by F. Dubois de Montpéreux. He described the reception hall of the last Persian *sardār*, decorated with mirrors and wall paintings of Shāh ʿAbbās, Nādir Shāh, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the heir-apparent ʿAbbās Mīrzā, the *sardār* himself and various mythological figures. Dubois also has published sketches of several of these paintings. The *sardār*'s *ḥaram* at

this time had been transformed into a barracks, but the traveller was able to see the canal providing water to this section of the palace as well as the four *ayvāns*, which at this time still retained their original decoration. One of the two mosques, with a façade richly decorated with tilework was still being used as an arsenal, while the other had been transformed into a Russian church. The business district was in poor condition, with many of the shops closed. This impression was confirmed by R. Wilbraham, who visited the city at about the same time and saw but a single public bath in working order; reportedly no repairs had been made as there were plans afoot to move the fortress to another, healthier site.

For 1310-16/1893-8 there exists an extensive description by H.F.B. Lynch, who records that the city now contained about 15,000 inhabitants, half of them Muslims and the other half Armenians. It was divided into two sections by the road to Tiflis and by a central park, the western part being inhabited by Armenians and the eastern part by Shīʿī Muslims speaking Ādherī Turkish. However, the Gök Djāmiʿ, the principal mosque, though located in the western section, was surrounded by a Muslim quarter; according to local informants, it had been built by Nādir Shāh. The mosque in the citadel, already in ruinous condition, was dated to the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and called the ʿAbbās Mīrzā Djāmiʿ; this was probably the structure seen by Morier and Dubois. Lynch briefly describes the churches, but considers that the most important monument in the city was the *köshk* of the Persian governors (*sardārs*) located close to the citadel at some distance from the city centre; from its decoration, it was probably built or at least restored in the 13th/19th century.

The extreme centralisation of the Russian Empire, along with policies probably intended to favour future Russian settlement, in Lynch's opinion inhibited the city's economic development. There was almost no transit trade with Persia, while raw cotton to the value of £400,000 was despatched to Russian manufactures by way of the Caspian Sea. While the cotton trade was monopolised by a few Russian firms, Armenians sold a limited quantity of local wine to Russia, while rice was exported to Erzurum. Well-to-do Armenian merchants invested in education, their schools competing with state-sponsored Russian establishments; Lynch comments on the small number of Muslim students in the latter. Wealthy Muslims were often landowners cultivating the fruit for which Rewān was locally famous; but Muslims were found also among the substantial shopkeepers, while the poor earned their livings as hucksters, irrigation workers and cart drivers.

After the fall of the Tsarist government (March 1917), Russian troops withdraw from the area, and in late November, an interim government was formed in Tiflis which attempted to negotiate on behalf of the entire region. This government dissolved after an Ottoman military advance in the Caucasus. A separate Republic of Armenia was formed, with its capital in Rewān/Yerevan, which the Ottoman Empire recognised by the Treaty of Batum (June 1918). In another war (September 1920), waged between the Republic of Armenia on one side and the Soviet Union and the Kemālist forces recently constituted in Anatolia on the other, the intervention of Red Army troops ensured the establishment of a Soviet Socialist Republic, again with its capital in Yerevan. By 1932, the city's population had grown to about 100,000. New town quarters had been built to accommodate a large number of new arrivals, many of them refugees from Anatolia. At this time, the city had acquired a university, a state library and other institutions of higher learning. Of the monuments from the Persian period, there remained the stone bridge over the river Zengi, the Gök Masdjid and the remains of the Sardār Mosque and Palace. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991, Yerevan once more began to function as the capital of a state, now named the Republic of Armenia.

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(Suraiya Faroqhi)

REWĀNĪ, an Ottoman poet. His real name was Ilyās Shudjāʿ Čelebī, his father's name was ʿAbd Allāh (ʿAbdullāh), and he was born *ca.* 1475 and educated in Edirne (Abdülkadir Karahan, art. *Revani İA*). Tradition has it that he took his pen-name of Rewānī from the river Tundja, which flowed (*rewān*) past his garden. He entered the service of Sultan Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512) in Istanbul, and was sent by him as administrator of the *ṣurre* (the annual sum set aside for the poor of Mecca and Medina) to the Holy Cities in order to distribute the money. Accused by the Meccans of unjust distribution and/or embezzling a part of the money, however, he was dismissed (*ibid.*). A malady of the eyes, which affected Rewānī at this time, was described by a poet hostile to him as the just punishment of God, whereupon Rewānī answered him, also in verse, and calmly confessed: "He who has honey licks his fingers." He fled to the court of Prince Selīm, then governor of the province of Trabzon, and entered his service. Here too, however, he committed some indiscretion and his property was confiscated. Some sources put his appointment to the *ṣurre* at this date. Others say he determined to go to Egypt, but Selīm pardoned him and restored him to favour, Rewānī henceforth serving him all the more faithfully. Thus Rewānī was in Selīm's entourage when in 918/1512 the latter came to Istanbul to dethrone his father Bāyezīd, and is said at the last decisive council of war to have thrown his turban in the air with joy and to have praised the day. After Selīm's accession he was appointed superinten-

dent of the kitchen (*maṭbakh emīni*), then entrusted with the administration of Aya Sofya and of the hot baths (*ḳablidja*) in Bursa. With the wealth he accumulated, he built a mosque complex (no longer standing) in the Ḳîrḳ Česhme quarter of Istanbul. This mosque was named after him, and he was buried there on his death in 930/1524 during the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. Rewānī left a *Dīwān*, dedicated to Selīm, and a *methnewī* entitled *ʿIshret-nāme* ("Book of the wine-feast"). There is an unpublished critical edition and transcription of the former (Samiye İnceoğlu, *Revani divanı edisyon kritik ve transkripsiyonu*, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Mezuniyet Tezi, 1961) and another study is in process (Ziya Avşar, *Revani divanı*, Ankara Üniversitesi, Yüksek Lisans Tezi). Critics consider that the real strength of Rewānī's *Dīwān* is in its *ghazels*, in which he sings in a lively and easily flowing manner of both human and mystic love; many of these were set to music and quickly became popular in the coffee and winehouses (Karahan, *op. cit.*; Nihad Sâmi Banarlı, *Resimli türk edebiyatı*, Istanbul 1989, 478).

The *ʿIshret-nāme*, a *methnewī* of 694 *beyts* (Rıdvan Çanım, art. *Sâkînâme*, in *Türk dili ve edebiyatı ansiklopedisi* [1990] vii, 433-7) is undated but may have been written towards the end of the poet's life since he refers to his white hair and to his being in the autumn of life. In it, Rewānī relates legends concerning the origin of viniculture and the discovery of wine, and describes in realistic detail the etiquette of the drinking bouts of his time, the meal served before them, the wine, wineglass, flagon, candle, musical instruments, cupbearers, etc. Towards the end he suggests that the poem may be given a mystical interpretation, but this is to be considered as a safety-net against attacks from the devout, the contents really reflecting the existence of such activities in his day, and his own penchant for them; and although he is said to have renounced this in his old age, in general he left behind him a reputation for dishonesty and libertinism (see A. Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 334).

Poems containing bacchic themes have a long history in the literature of the Arabs and Persians (see KHAMRIYYA, and Çanım, art. *Sâkînâme*, 434), the metaphor of wine also becoming an all-important feature of mystical poetry. Bacchic elements are found in the literature of the Turks in the 14th and 15th centuries (*ibid.*, 435), but Rewānī's *ʿIshret-nāme* is the first poem of its kind in Ottoman Turkish literature, and the *sāḳī-nāme* genre only became popular a century later. His work is, therefore considered original and his own invention, and it has been praised for its wit and its language, which is graceful and elegant, but at the same time simple and clear (Karahan, *loc. cit.*). Sehī states that the *ʿIshret-nāme* is only one part of a *Khamse-yi Rūm*, which Ṭāhir says includes a poem entitled *Djāmiʿ al-nasāʾiḥ*. Nothing further, however, seems to be known of this.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article, for mss. and *tedhkeres* see the catalogues for Berlin, Gotha, Vienna, Cairo and Istanbul, and bibliographies in the arts. *Revani* in *İA* (Karahan) and *Büyük türk klâsikleri*, Istanbul [1986], iii, 226-9; Ẓiyā Pasha, *Kharābāt*, ii, 148; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, iii, 465; idem, *GOD*, i, 187-97; Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 317-46; K.J. Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Paris and Constantinople 1910, 63-4; Rıdvan Çanım, *Sâkî-nâmeler ve Edirneli Revânî'nin İşretnâmesi*, Atatürk Üniversitesi, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 1987; *Türk dili ve edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, vii [1990] s.v. *Revanî* (Mustafa Kutlu) and *İşretname* (M. Şahidî Örnek). Examples of Rewānī's poems are given in Ali Nihad Tarlan, *Şiir mecmualarında XVI ve XVII. asır divan şiiri*, seri i, fasikül 4, Istanbul 1949, 5-22; Fahir İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım*, Istanbul 1966-7, i, 223-4; and *Büyük türk klâsikleri*, Istanbul [1986], iii, 227-30.

(W. BJÖRKMAN-[KATHLEEN BURRILL])

RIAU (Dutch, Riouw), the name of the former Malay kingdom of Johore Riau-Lingga, which was regarded as the successor state to Melaka (Malacca [*q.v.*]) after it fell to the Portuguese in 1511. The rulers of the Melakan line re-established their authority on the island of Bintan (also known as Riau), south of Singapore, in the late 17th century, and after a period of instability, during which Bugis adventurers entered the scene, a new more prosperous era began. By the mid-18th century, an extensive trading network had developed around the main port of Riau which attracted merchants from the Middle East, China and Europe as well as neighbouring areas of Southeast Asia. The Bugis adventurers married into the Malay royal line and were granted the title of Yang Dipertuan Muda, or Junior Ruler. They amassed fortunes in the opium and tin trades and in 1784 laid siege to the Dutch garrison in Melaka. This led to a Dutch reprisal which resulted in a permanent Dutch presence on Riau. The Malay Sultan moved his court to the island of Lingga to the south, and the kingdom became divided into two centres, the Dutch and Bugis in control of Riau, and the Malay Sultan and his court on Lingga. In 1818 Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles leased the island of Singapore, a dependency of the kingdom of Johore Riau-Lingga, from one of the hereditary chiefs of the Malay court, and installed a member of the Malay royal family as Sultan. The economic decline of Riau began with the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, which demarcated British and Dutch areas of influence. Singapore became a free port and attracted Riau's former trade. In 1857 the Dutch demonstrated their political control of Riau-Lingga by deposing the reigning Malay Sultan, and in 1913 they formally abolished the historic kingdom.

Since Indonesian Independence in 1945, Riau has been a Sumatran Province, covering part of the central coast of East Sumatra and more than 3,200 islands between Sumatra and the South China Sea. The island of Bintan, Riau, remains the cultural heartland of the area and since the 1980s has experienced a cultural revival with renewed interest in all aspects of its past, including its status as an Islamic centre. Economic revival will probably follow, as Riau is closely linked to the new industrial and trade triangle of Johor-Singapore-Batam.

For the history of Islam in Southeast Asia, Riau is famous as a 19th century centre of Muslim scholarship and piety. European visitors of the time reported that the nobles vied to outdo each other in performing their religious obligations, and anything non-Islamic was regarded as anathema. A local text, *Tuḥfat al-nafīs*, composed in 1865 by Radjā ʿAlī Ḥādjdjī, one of the leading Muslim scholars, describes religious life in Riau. During the 19th century a series of Yang Dipertuan Mudas, inspired by the writings of al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*], especially his *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, strove to behave as ideal Muslim rulers and to establish conditions in Riau which would enable their subjects to fulfill all their religious obligations and lead a godly life. They invited religious scholars from the Middle East to stay on Riau and teach, and the *Tuḥfat al-nafīs* lists the works that were studied. They banned behaviour that was unseemly, enforced the daily prayers and sponsored the copying and composition of religious and

didactic treatises. In the late 1880s a study group, the *Persekutuan Rushdiyyah*, was formed to discuss religious and literary matters and to publish texts written by its members using their own printing press. These works were disseminated to Singapore and Peninsular Malaysia. Early in the 19th century the Naḳshabandī *Tarikat* [see NAḲSHBANDIYYA] was introduced to Riau and became very popular. The *Tuḥfa* records that all the Riau princes studied mysticism and copies of the texts are still kept in the area. One of the Riau rulers bought a wide selection of books, mainly Islamic texts from India and the Middle East, and established a library which is still maintained in the mosque on Penyengat island. Students (such as Sayyid Shaykh al-Hādī), who received their initial training in Riau, went on to found religious journals and schools in Singapore and Penang and to influence the course of modernist Islam in the Malay speaking world.

The tradition of religious teaching was continued in Riau until the 1930s, and scholars from the Middle East, including an expert in astronomy from al-Azhar, regularly visited Riau to advise the local religious teachers. The Second World War disrupted this pattern, and the local population has declined since the early years of the century. However, Riau has maintained its reputation as a religious and literary centre which is respected both in Malaysia and in Indonesia.

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(VIRGINIA MATHESON HOOKER)

RIBĀ (A.), lit. increase, as a technical term, usury and interest, and in general any unjustified increase of capital for which no compensation is given. Derivatives from the same root are used in other Semitic languages to describe interest.

A. In classical Islamic law.

1. Transactions with a fixed time limit and payment of interest, as well as speculations of all kinds, formed an essential element in the highly developed trading system of Mecca (cf. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, 139 ff., 155 ff., 213-14). Among the details given by the Muslim sources we may believe at least the statement that a debtor who could not repay the capital (money or goods) with the accumulated interest at the time it fell due, was given an extension of time in which to pay, but at the same time the sum due was doubled. This is clearly referred to in two passages in the Ḳurʾān (III, 130; XXX, 39) and is in keeping with a still usual practice. As early as sūra XXX, 39, of the third Meccan period (on the dating, cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i), the Ḳurʾān contrasts *ribā* with the obligation to pay *zakāt* but without directly forbidding it: "Whatever ye give in usury to gain interest from men's substance shall not bear interest with Allāh, but what ye give as *zakāt* in seeking the face of Allāh, these shall gain double". The express prohibition follows in III, 130 (Medinan, obviously earlier than the following passage): "Believers, devour not the *ribā* with continual doubling; fear God, perhaps it will go with you". This prohibition had to be intensified in II, 275-80 (evidently of the earlier Medinan period, cf. the following passage): "Those who devour *ribā* shall only rise again as one whom Satan strikes with his touch; this because they say, 'selling is like usury'; but Allāh has permitted selling and forbidden usury. He therefore who receives a warning from his Lord and abstains shall have pardon for what is past and his affair is with Allāh; but they who relapse into usury are the people of Hell, and they shall remain in it for ever. Allāh abolishes usury and makes alms bring interest; Allāh loveth no sinful unbeliever... Believers, fear Allāh and remit the balance of the *ribā* if ye be believers. But if ye do not, be prepared for war from Allāh and his apostle. If ye repent, ye shall receive your capital without doing an injustice or suffering injustice. If any one is in difficulty, let there be a delay till he is able to pay, but it is better for you to remit if ye be wise". To evade the dogmatic difficulty of an eternal punishment for the sin of a believer, the passage in question (already presupposed in al-Ṭabarī) has been interpreted to mean that by relapse is meant the holding lawful and not the taking of interest; in any case the Ḳurʾān regards *ribā* as a practice of unbelievers and demands as a test of belief that it should be abandoned. It comes up again in sūra IV, 161 (of the period between the end of the year 3 and the end of the year 5; this also gives a clue to the date of the preceding passage), in a passage which sums up the reproaches levelled against the Jews: "and because they take *ribā*, while it was forbidden them, and devour uselessly the substance of the people". The fact that the principal passages against interest belong to the Medinan period and that the Jews are reproached with breaking the prohibition, suggests that the Muslim prohibition of *ribā* owes less to conditions in Mecca than to the Prophet's closer acquaintance with Jewish doctrine and practice in Medina. In the later development of the teaching on the subject as we find it in tradition, Jewish influence is in any case undeniable (cf. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 286).

2. The traditions give varying answers to the question, what forms of business come under the Ḳurʾānic prohibition of *ribā*, none of which can be regarded as authentic. The ignorance of the correct interpretation is emphasised in a tendentious tradition, obviously put into circulation by interested individuals (the tradition is probably older than Lammens, *op. cit.*, 214, thinks); according to this view, the principal passage in sūra II is the latest in the whole Ḳurʾān, which the Prophet could not expound before his death. That the rigid prohibition of usury in Islamic law only developed gradually is clear from many traditions. Alongside of the view repeatedly expressed, but also challenged, that *ribā* consists only in (the increase of substance in) a business agreement with a fixed period (*nasīʾa, naẓīra, dayn*) we have the still more distinct statement that there is no *ribā* if the transfer of ownership takes place immediately (*yad^an^ bi-yad*). But even in arrangements with a time limit, a number of traditions pre-suppose a general ignorance of the later restrictions; for example, we are told that in Baṣra under Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] gold was sold on credit for silver (this may have an anti-Umayyad bias—cf. below on Muʿāwiya—but it is illuminating); but at a later date such forms of the traditions against *ribā* were to some extent dropped. What was generally understood in the earliest period as the *ribā* forbidden in the Ḳurʾān, seems only to have been interest on loans

(chiefly of money and foodstuffs); anything that goes beyond this is to be regarded as a later development. The reason for such prohibitions is at different times said to be the fear of *ribā*, and sometimes we have underlying the recognition that there is no tradition of the Prophet relating to this. This is also expressed in the form that nine-tenths of the permitted amount is renounced or that *ribā* was conceived as going as far as ten times the capital. The view which later became authoritative is laid down in a group of traditions of which one characteristic example is as follows: "gold for gold, silver for silver, wheat for wheat, barley for barley, dates for dates, salt for salt, the same thing for the same thing, like for like, measure for measure; but if these things are different, sell them as you please if it is (only) done measure for measure". Another common tradition expressly forbids the exchange of different quantities of the same thing but of different quality (see below). Other traditions demand equality of quantity even in the sale of manufactured precious metals. This last case seems to have been especially discussed, and on more than one occasion Muʿāwiya appears as champion of the opposite view and practice (this again has a distinctly anti-Umayyad bias). Particularly conscientious people went even further in their limitation of *ribā* than the generality and would only exchange wheat for barley in equal quantities. Still stricter was the view that the exchange of even the same quantities of the same thing, especially of precious metals, was *ribā*. This view must be older than a difference from the usual opinion (e.g. Muslim, *Bāb bayʿ al-ṭaʿām mit̲h̲l^an bi-mit̲h̲l*), which is based on the secondary interpretation of an already recognised tradition, which obviously only forbade the exchange of different quantities of the same thing but of different quality (cf. above). This same general prohibition of exchange is also given for dates. The question whether one party to an agreement can voluntarily give the other a bonus, is denied for an exchange, but affirmed for a loan. The reduction of the amount of the debt if the loan is voluntarily paid before it falls due, is sometimes approved as the opposite of *ribā*, sometimes disapproved, sometimes forbidden as being equivalent to *ribā*; in any case, it is clear that the practice existed. On the sale of an animal for an animal on credit, opinion is also not unanimous.

Numerous traditions forbid *ribā* without defining it more closely; the Prophet is said to have uttered this prohibition at his farewell pilgrimage (scarcely historical). *Ribā* is one of the gravest sins. Even the least of its many forms is as bad as incest and so on. All who take part in transactions involving *ribā* are cursed, the guilty are threatened with hell, various kind of punishment are described; in this world also, gains from *ribā* will bring no good. In spite of all this, tradition foresees that *ribā* will prevail.

In connection with *ribā*, tradition mentions various antiquated forms of sale of special kinds, like *muḥāḳala, muk̲h̲ābara, muzābana*, etc., which concern the exchange of different stages in the manufacture or development of the same thing, or of different qualities, and which are forbidden; an exception is made, obviously because of its undeniable practical and social necessity, of what is known as *ʿariyya* (plur. *ʿarāyā*), fresh dates on trees intended to be eaten, which it is permitted to exchange in small quantities for dried dates.

3. While the existence of the Ḳurʾānic prohibition of *ribā* has never been doubted, the difference of opinion that finds expression in tradition regarding the relevant facts is continued in the earliest stage of development of Islamic law. Unanimity prevails regarding the main lines of the limitations to be imposed upon the exchange of goods capable of *ribā* (*māl ribawī*); it is only permitted if transfer of ownership takes place at once and, so far as goods of the same kind are concerned, only in equal quantities. In the case of a loan, it is forbidden to make a condition that a larger quantity shall be returned without regard to the kind of article. Gold and silver are generally regarded as *māl ribawī* (only quite exceptionally are coins of small denomination included). All the greater are the differences of opinion as to what things outside of the precious metals are liable to the *ribā* ordinances. In isolated cases, one still finds views that show themselves uninfluenced in principle by the authoritative group of traditions (cf. above), e.g. when everything realisable is subjected to the *ribā* ordinances (Ibn Kaysān) or all business dealings in things of the same kind (Ibn Sīrīn, Ḥammād) or when everything liable to *zakāt* is considered capable of *ribā* (Rabīʿa b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān). Other opinions differ in the treatment of property capable of *ribā* from that group of traditions, although it is not known what they understand by this; possibly, if at an exchange of the same kind of thing, not equality of quantity but equality of value in two quantities is demanded (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī), or equality of quantity also in the exchange of different kinds apparently within a limited circle of goods capable of *ribā* (Saʿīd b. D̲j̲ubayr). The old interpretation that there is no *ribā* if the transfer of possession takes place at once is ascribed to ʿAṭāʾ and the jurists of Medina. The views of most authorities, however, and in particular, those which survive later in the law schools, assume the literal acceptance of the text of that group of traditions and differ only in its interpretation. Thus there are mentioned as precursors of the later Ẓāhirī doctrine Ṭāwūs, Masrūḳ, al-S̲h̲aʿbī, Ḳatāda, ʿUt̲h̲mān al-Battī; as precursors of the Ḥanafī view, al-Zuhrī, al-Ḥakam, Ḥammād (cf., however, above), Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī; as precursors of the earlier view of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib and others; and as precursors of his later view al-Zuhrī (cf., however, above) and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd. On the question whether a loan can be repaid in another kind and what is to be done if defects are revealed in an exchange of *māl ribawī* after it has changed hands, there are ancient differences of opinion.

4. In the above-mentioned group of traditions, the following goods in addition to gold and silver are expressly mentioned as bearing the prohibition of *ribā* at their exchange: wheat, barley, dates and salt (sometimes also raisins, butter and oil). The Ẓāhirīs, as a result of their refusal on principle to accept analogy (*ḳiyās*), assume that the prohibition applies only to the six things especially named (the other kinds are rejected as not well attested). The other schools of law, on the other hand, consider the kinds mentioned in tradition only as examples of the variety of things that come under *māl ribawī*, but differ from one another in their lists of these things. According to the Ḥanafīs and Zaydīs (also al-Awzāʿī), gold and silver represent examples of the class of things defined by weight (*mawzūn*) and the four other things those sold by measure (*makīl*). The Imāmī teaching is practically the same. According to the Mālikīs and S̲h̲āfiʿīs, gold and silver represent the class of precious metals and the four other things the class of foodstuffs: the latter, in the Māliki view, including actual eatables so far as they can be preserved, according to the older view of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, provisions which are sold by weight and measure; according to his later view, which is also that of his school, foodstuffs without any qualification. The teaching of the Ḥanbalīs corresponds to that of

the Ḥanafīs; as regards the "four kinds", two further opinions of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal are handed down which correspond to the two views held by al-S̲h̲āfiʿī. In these, wheat and barley are regarded as two different kinds by the Ḥanafīs, the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and the better-known tradition of the Ḥanbalīs (as well as Ẓāhirīs, Zaydīs and Imāmīs); as one kind according to the Ḥanbalīs (also according to al-Layt̲h̲ b. Saʿd and al-Awzāʿī). The Ḥanafīs and the Imāmīs, in contrast to the other schools, are content, in so far as it is not a question of the exchange of precious metals, with fixing the quantities, and do not demand actual change of ownership during the negotiation (*mad̲j̲lis*). The Ẓāhirīs, in the strict interpretation of the text of one tradition, in every case demand a change of ownership in the fullest sense at once. The sale of fresh dates for dried dates is forbidden by all schools except the Ḥanafīs on the authority of one tradition; the barter of *ʿarāyā*, on the other hand, is not permitted by the Ḥanafīs, but regulated by the other schools, without any uniformity; as regards exchange of the same material in different stages of manufacture there are many differences of opinion. As regards the exchange of goods of the same kind which are not *māl ribawī*, the difference of quantity is generally permitted, postponement (*nasīʾa, nasāʾ*) of the single payment is still forbidden by the Ḥanafīs and Zaydīs but permitted by the other schools (with differences in detail). At the sale of wares, even of those which are *māl ribawī*, for precious metal, the payment at later date (*salam*) and sale on credit (*bayʿ al-ʿīna*) with postponement of delivery or of payment is permitted. The apparent contradiction of analogy in the *salam*, which forms a type of transaction by itself, has given rise to discussions on principle. The postponement of both sides of the transaction is regarded on the authority of a tradition as entirely forbidden in all agreements regarding sale or exchange.

5. The prohibition of *ribā* plays a considerable part in the system of Islamic law. The structure of the greater part of the law of contract is explained by the endeavour to enforce prohibition of *ribā* and *maysir* [*q.v.*] (i.e. risk) to the last detail of the law (Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xiv, 79). *Ribā* in a loan exists not only when one insists upon the repayment of a larger quantity, but if any advantage at all is demanded. Therefore, even the bill of exchange (*suftad̲j̲a*) is sometimes actually forbidden (as by the S̲h̲āfiʿīs) because the vendor, who is regarded as the creditor, reaps the advantage of avoiding cost of transport. This did not prevent the extensive spread of this arrangement in the Arabic Middle Ages and its influence upon European money-changing. But they were always conscious that a direct breach of the prohibition of *ribā* was a deadly sin. Pious Muslims to this day therefore not infrequently refuse to take bank interest. The importance of the prohibition of *ribā*, on the one hand deeply affecting everyday life, and the requirements of commerce on the other, have given rise to a number of methods of evasion. Against some of these there is nothing formally to object from the standpoint of the law; they are therefore given in many lawbooks and expressly said to be permitted. The S̲h̲āfiʿīs, the later Ḥanafīs and the Imāmīs have recognised such methods of evasion, while the Mālikīs, the Ḥanbalīs and the Zaydīs reject them. The recognition of these methods of evasion is not contrary to the strict enforcement of the prohibition in the *fiḳh*. The inner significance of decrees of the divine law naturally cannot be understood by the mind of man. This is shown in the case of *ribā* in the limitation to certain kinds of goods. The Ẓāhirīs are thus among the most energetic defenders of evasions of the prohibition of *ribā*. Their line of argument is based not only on their formal negative rejection of deduction by analogy but also upon their positive estimation of the intention underlying the evasions. One of the oldest transactions of the kind, against which several traditions are already directed, is the double contract of sale (from one of its elements it is called *bayʿ al-ʿīna*, credit sale *par excellence*): one sells to someone who wants to lend money at interest something against the total sum of capital and interest which are to be due at a fixed date, and at the same time buys the article back for the capital which is at once handed over. This transaction was taken over in mediaeval Europe under the name of *mohatra* (from the Ar. *muk̲h̲āṭara* [*q.v.*]; cf. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 289, n. 1, and E. Bassi, in *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, v, part 2). Another method of evasion consists of handing over to the creditor the use of a thing as interest by a fictitious agreement to sell or to pledge.

Bibliography: On the traditions, cf. in addition to the references in Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v. Usury, especially the collection of material in *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, ii, nos. 4623 ff., 4951 ff. The material of tradition is dealt with from the point of view of the respective authors in Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, nos. 1478 ff.; Ṣanʿānī, *Subul al-salām*, Cairo 1345, iii, 45 ff.; al-S̲h̲awkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, Cairo 1345, v, 295 ff.—Discussion of the various views in the authors mentioned and in Nawawī, *al-Mad̲j̲mūʿ*, Cairo 1348, ix, 390 ff.—A survey of the differences among the great schools is given in Ibn Hubayra, *Kitāb al-Ifṣāḥ*, Aleppo 1928, 164 ff.—On *ribā* as a grave sin, cf. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-Haytamī, *Kitāb al-Zawād̲j̲ir*, Būlāḳ 1284, i, 231 ff.—European treatment generally, Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, 41 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, 141-2, 152-3, 244-5; Amedroz, in *JRAS* (1916), 299 ff.; Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, index; N.J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, index; Ḥanafīs: Bergsträsser-Schacht, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, 62-3; Dimitroff, *Asch-Schaibānī*, in *MSOS*, xi/2, 105-6, 156 ff.; S̲h̲āfiʿīs: Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, 270 ff.; idem, *Handleiding*[3], 285 ff.; Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, 279 ff.; Mālikīs: Guidi-Santillana, *Sommario del diritto malechita*, ii, 186-7, 282 ff.; Imāmīs: Querry, *Droit musulman*, i, 402 ff.—On methods of evasion, cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*; Schacht, *Das Kitāb al-ḥiyal wa 'l-mak̲h̲ārid̲j̲ des al-K̲h̲aṣṣāf*, chs. 2 and 3 with tr. and commentary (this text is supposed to belong to ʿIrāḳ *ca.* 400 A.H.).—On the practice of taking interest, cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, and the travellers, e.g. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, 4-5; Polak, *Persien*, i, 345.

(J. SCHACHT)

B. In modern commercial usage [see Suppl.].

RIBĀṬ (A.), a military-religious institution of mediaeval Islam.

1. History and development of the institution.

It is impossible to present an unequivocal definition of the term *ribāṭ*. The word needs to be constantly related to a context and a chronology since the sense has been very evolutive. The root *r-b-ṭ* is present in the Arabic of the 1st/7th century, in numerous derived forms. It is possible to identify a first stratum of usage, comprising Ḳurʾānic usages and those of the early caliphal period. Originally, these usages are linked to tribal warfare. They imply no type of construction, nor any fortification, but simply the preparations which are made with the mustering of cavalry

mounts, with a view to battle. In this case, the term *ribāṭ* is used as a verbal noun, a *maṣdar*, and not as a substantive. The period immediately following the great conquests, which saw the establishment of Muslim powers in new territories, was to change the modalities of war. This was to become a war of position, during the intervals between continuing offensives. Dispositions of defence were constructed (or re-used in cases where there were previous constructions), on the coasts and on the land frontiers. This was done progressively, during the time of the caliphate at Medina, most notably under the caliph ʿUthmān, and was continued under the Umayyads, according to local requirements and conditions, although no unified doctrine was obligatorily applied.

It may be supposed that it was from this time onward that the word *ribāṭ* and the terms associated with it came to be applied to new objects. The ancient connotations did not disappear entirely, although they did require adaptation. It is not known whether it was during this period, or rather later, under the earlier ʿAbbāsids, that the term began to be used to denote a fortified edifice (from the simple observation tower, to the small fort, to the fortress, and to the caravanserai). These very diverse establishments would normally be situated in hazardous regions, on frontiers, on coasts, or on difficult internal routes. But this mutation of sense does not seem to have been general. The only elements of localisation are supplied by relatively late sources, which usually mention the fact without any indication which could be used in establishing a chronology. It seems that what is involved is the simple imposition of a noun, probably denoting the existence of danger and the need to take precautions against it, upon various pre-existing constructions, without any suggestion that there is, at the outset, such a thing as a unique type of edifice which could be called *ribāṭ*. It can thus be stated with confidence that to define it a "Muslim military monastery" is evidence of extrapolation and misinterpretation, and this applies, whatever the period and the region. It cannot be denied that the urban residences of Ṣūfīs were subsequently known as *ribāṭ*. In the east of the empire and in Egypt, they were more commonly known as *khānḳāh* [*q.v.*]. ʿIrāḳ supplies a notable exception in this zone, since until the middle of the 7th/13th century these establishments were known there exclusively by the name *ribāṭ*, possibly in preference to the use of a word with such strong connotations of origin (a purely Persian word and the Iranian provenance of the establishment). But, with very few exceptions, constructions of this type did not truly begin to develop until after the 6th/12th century, at the time of the burgeoning of the mystical fraternities of the Muslim *ṭarīḳas* (*q.v.* in *EI*¹; on the other hand, the Karrāmī *khānḳāhs* [*q.v.*] are more ancient). These communal establishments for mystics (which often also accommodated travellers) had, in any case, nothing in common with the fortified constructions of the frontier which, in mediaeval Muslim representation, after a certain period, are reckoned to have welcomed "warriors of the faith". It will be observed that this last consideration, linked to a representation of *djihād* [*q.v.*]—often treated as evidence in itself—needs to be approached with caution. It could derive, to a great extent, from the ideology and imagery of belief, rather than from direct historical actuality (see the detailed examination by C.E. Bosworth of the term *ribāṭ* and its evolution, in *The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 284-6).

a. *Ribāṭ* as a verbal noun, from tribal Arabia to the frontiers of the empire.

The root *r-b-ṭ* gives the general sense of attaching or linking, in a concrete sense, and of strengthening (the heart), in a figurative sense (three Ḳurʾānic instances display this latter sense). The theme of linkage seems to have become specific in reference to the act of assembling and keeping together the horses which were to be used in the razzia. In tribal Arabia, according to traditional representation, horses were mounted when the attack was imminent, while camels were reserved for the advance to the site of the combat. Most of these horses would have been mares, which were considered, in tribal society, particularly valuable beasts (see the modern testimony of Ch. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia deserta*, 2nd ed. London 1921, and of A. Jaussen, *Les Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris, new ed. 1948; for the use of the horse in pre-Islamic Arabia and subsequently, see FARAS; according to F. Viré, author of the article, this usage did not date back beyond the 4th century A.D.). The term *ribāṭ* is considered by mediaeval Arabic dictionaries as the plural of the singular *rabīṭ* (with a passive sense). The word is said to denote either "the group of horses which have been gathered together in anticipation of combat" (according to the *LʿA*, there should be at least five of them) or "the place where these mares were kept hobbled and where they were fed". In the desert, they were kept under the awnings of tents. But *ribāṭ* could, equally, perform the function of a *maṣdar* of the Form III verb *rābaṭa*. This supplies, in general, the notion of staying or of attachment to a place (or sometimes to a person). But it also applies very precisely to the act of "assembling horses with a view to preparing a razzia" or to the notion of "being ready for combat, having gathered the horses".

It is this specialised sense which seems appropriate to two of the five Ḳurʾānic instances where the root is employed. In both cases, the context is effectively that of preparation for war. In sūra VIII, 60, it is a matter of gathering "horses in sufficient number", *ribāṭ al-khayl*, to intimidate the adversary. The latter is called "enemy of God" and denoted by the periphrasis *alladhīna kafarū* "those who have been ungrateful", in other words—in the late Medinan context—those who have refused alliance with Medina and conversion. In III, 200, there is the final and isolated verse which closes the sūra with a triple exhortation: in order to prevail, there is a need to "show oneself personally resolute" (*aṣbirū*), to "confront the adversary" (not named in this instance) (*ṣabirū*) and to "make *ribāṭ*". The Ḳurʾānic text contains the imperative *rābiṭū*, which would signify, in the context, the act of taking measures consisting in "gathering the mares to show readiness for battle". In this passage, there is no suggestion of "going to the frontier". This meaning can only have emerged at a later stage, either in the period of conquests or in the period which followed it, that of the war of position, which was to see over several centuries the Muslim caliphate in confrontation with its Byzantine opponents, especially on the Cilician borders in the foothills of the Taurus mountains, in the region known as the *thughūr* [see *EI*¹, THAGHR, and also ʿAWĀṢIM and RŪM. 2. in *EI*²]. The Central Asian frontier, facing the Turkish world, was to be stabilised to a certain extent, in the mid-2nd/8th century. It was to be further pacified, from the 4th/10th century onward, by means of victorious Muslim incursions into Turkish territory, also by gradually becoming a zone of conversion, allowing a progressive infiltration of Turkish elements into the Muslim lands. However, the sources of the 4th/10th century continue to see it as a "region of *ribāṭs*", which poses a historical problem.

The tribal sense does not seem to have evolved during the caliphate of Medina and the period of *futūḥ*, the great extra-peninsular conquests. There were certainly numerous opportunities for the practice of *ribāṭ* in the traditional sense. Significant numbers of cavalry mounts were supplied under the *ṣadaḳa*, the obligatory contribution of allegiance and solidarity which was levied each year, in kind (i.e. livestock), on the allied tribes. The animals were gathered in *ḥimās* [*q.v.*], special pastures under the control of the caliphate. The horses were pastured on a site known as *al-Naḳīʿ* (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*). But while the camels were subsequently distributed among those entitled to them, the caliph ʿUmar decided to keep all the horses for purposes of war, thus performing an act of *ribāṭ*. The term is not used, but the account is unequivocal and testifies to the persistence of the former situation (on this episode, see Abdallah Cheikh Moussa and Didier Gazagnadou, *Comment on écrit l'histoire ... de l'islam!*, in *Arabica*, xl [1993], 208).

In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, in exegetical, historiographical, geographical or legal sources, there appear some important divergences from this first stratum of meaning and the ancient status of the word *ribāṭ* (the earliest sources date back to the mid-2nd/8th century; they are few in number and often are only preserved in later works). First to be noted is a divergence which is less of sense than of purpose. Increasingly often, the term comes to be associated with the ideology of *djihād* [*q.v.*] as it developed, probably only after the ʿAbbāsid period. It did so, apparently in uneven fashion, possibly first among the traditionists and historiographers, before passing into the realm of the jurists. The first post-Ḳurʾānic usages of the representation of *djihād*, as war to the death, are confused. They are sometimes taken to refer to sectarian exclusions of the *takfīr* type (descriptive of disbelief) practised by various ancient movements such as certain Khāridjite or Shīʿī tendencies against their own co-religionists rather than against the external enemy. In the Ḳurʾān, while often invoked on the subject, it is the term *ḳitāl* and not *djihād* (e.g. IX, 29-35) which refers to conflict with the *Ahl al-Kitāb*.

An interesting perspective, regarding the probable chronology of the change in meaning of a term such as *ribāṭ*, may be found in comparing the most ancient eastern edition of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]) by the Baghdādi Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804, a disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa who was also familiar with the teaching of Mālik), with the major compilations of prophetic traditions of the 3rd/9th century which were soon to be taken for the canonical sum-total of Sunnī Islam. The edition of the easterner al-Shaybani is also opposed to that of the Cordovan Mālikī Yaḥyā al-Maṣmūdī (d. 234/848), in that the content of the two editions is not identical (on these divergences, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 458-60). The Cordovan version contains a *Kitāb al-djihād* which does not appear in the text transmitted by al-Shaybanī (opinion of Michael Bonner on the subject, in his *Some observations concerning the early development of Jihad on the Arab-Byzantine frontier*, in *SI*, lxxv [1992], 24-5).

The *Muwaṭṭaʾ* compiled by al-Shaybānī (ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Dār al-Taḥrīr, Cairo 1967) seems, curiously, to deny any endorsement of warfare on the frontier in a context of *djihād* (al-Shaybānī is, however, himself the author of a book of *Siyar*, Sezgin, i, 430; this text is preserved in the refutation of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), which is to be found in the *Kitāb al-Umm*, Beirut 1980, vii, 321-90; it deals with rules of conduct concerning war; this is the sense of the term *siyar* for jurists; it is neither an exhortative nor an apologetic treatise, and *djihād* is not evoked). A brief passage of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *in the recension of al-Shaybānī* (included at the end of the chapters on prayer, *abwāb al-ṣalāt*) is incorrectly entitled by the editor *faḍl al-djihād* "the virtue attached to *djihād*", while all that appears, in the received tradition, is the Ḳurʾānic expression *al-mudjāhid fī sabīl Allāh*, which refers, probably, to a verse of the type of sūra IV, 95 (in this verse, the expression is in the plural; other Ḳurʾānic usages, II, 218, V, 54 etc., comprise a verbal periphrasis with *djāhada*). In this passage of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, there is a very brief mention of the Ḳurʾānic stereotype of "death in battle", *shahāda*, without which the word *djihād* is never used as a proper noun. This status of a proper noun is effectively non-Ḳurʾānic. It is thus possible to suppose that, in the mid-2nd/8th century, the Medinan scholar (or, at least, his Ḥanafī editor, a generation later) may have belonged to a tendency which was sceptical about warfare on the frontier, particular with regard to the purity of the intentions of the fighters (they were certainly not regarded as "warriors of faith"; certain traditions accuse them of having no object in mind but booty; see s.v. *maghnam* in Wensinck's *Les Concordances*). In the Cordovan recension (but not in that of al-Shaybānī) there is furthermore attributed to Mālik the transmission of a *ḥadīth*, according to which the most scrupulous piety (ablutions, attendance at the mosque, continual observance of prayer) would be "the true *ribāṭ*", *dhālikum al-ribāṭ* (in this text, the term *ribāṭ* evidently functions as a verbal noun; reference in Wensinck, *op. cit.*, under *ribāṭ*, ii, 212; re-examined, *in extenso*, by *LʿA*, under the root *r-b-ṭ*; also Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, ²Beirut 1398/1978, ii, 277). This does indeed seem to represent a position which would effectively have been professed by Mālik. It is further confirmed by another passage (included in the chapter on "the virtues of mosques", *faḍl al-masādjid*, 55-6, no. 95, in the recension of al-Shaybānī), according to which "he who goes morning and evening to the mosque", *ghadā aw rāḥa*, without ulterior motive, *lā yurīdu ghayra-hu* ("not wanting anything else"), has the same status as the *mudjāhid*. It should certainly be understood, in this case, that the comparison is made with the Ḳurʾānic *mudjāhid* and not with the contemporary soldiers of the *thughūr*.

It may be wondered whether these traditions do not allow the supposition of a conflict of representation between traditionists at the end of the 2nd/8th century. These indications could permit the fixing of the time when the ideology of *djihād*, professed by circles yet to be identified, began to stress the meritorious aspect of military service on the frontier, while in other circles there was manifest opposition to this new point of view (possibly from the peoples of Arabia, i.e. of ʿIrāḳ, against the Syrians, the Khurāsānians and the westerners, Maghribīs and Spaniards; thorough analysis by M. Bonner, *op. cit.*, but the problem of the opposition to this ideology is not addressed). If such was the case, it could be said that this conflict would, as if symbolically, have divided those who, of quietist tendency, aspired to make *mudjāwara* (the *mudjāwirūn* are "those who dwell close to the Kaʿba"; this is the ancient sense of the term, although subsequently the descriptive *mudjāwir* would be applied even to those dwelling in other places considered as sacred or as conferring blessing, including on the frontier), from those who aspired to make *ribāṭ* (the *murābiṭūn*, to be understood in the new sense would be "those who dwell on the frontier"). The latter would have professed a new type of activism. Confirmation for this

hypothesis could be found in the anecdote (true or fictitious, but significant as the expression of a point of view) which is put, by the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of the *adīb* Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889 [*q.v.*]), into the mouth of a major quietist figure of Islamic tradition of the late 2nd/8th century, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ (he allegedly died as a *mudjāwir*, in Mecca, in 187/803). The story related is that of a man who made great efforts to make his way to Tarsus, on the frontier and with the intention of making *ribāṭ*. But, following his capture by the Christians, he abjured Islam (*ʿUyūn*, ed. A.Z. al-ʿAdawī, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 365). In another anecdote reported ironically by the *ʿUyūn* (i, 219), an ascetic of al-Maṣṣīṣa [*q.v.*] (Mopsuestis, a city of the Cilician frontier zone) fasted so rigorously that he was driven to the verge of insanity. It is true that in the *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa* of Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), Fuḍayl is introduced as an admirer of Ibn al-Mubārak (ed. M. Fākhūrī, Aleppo 1393/1973-4, iv, 140-1); but it is his son, Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, who deserves the credit for putting that person in a position of describing the merits "of *djihād* and of *ribāṭ*" (*op. cit.*, iv, 147). This type of anecdote, which produces a face-to-face encounter between figures of importance, is often of symbolic significance and has little to do with factual history. Whatever the motives behind the ideological exploitation of these figures, the text of Ibn Ḳutayba shows that the representation of the merits of *djihād* does not seem to have been evenly shared during the 3rd/9th century.

The contrast appears very striking, among traditionists, between the time of Mālik and that of the major figures of the following century: the Baghdādī Ibn Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] (d. 241/855, numerous passages of the *Musnad*, see *Concordances*, under *djihād* and *ribāṭ*); the Transoxianian al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]), *Ṣaḥīḥ*; the work contains a *Bāb faḍl al-djihād wa 'l-siyar*, iv, 17-128, *Maṭābiʿ al-shaʿb*, n.p. 1378/1958-9, 51 (certain traditions relate battles against Constantinople, "the city of Caesar" and against the Turks); the Khurāsānians Muslim (d. 261/875 [*q.v.*]), *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Beirut n.d. (passages are to be found in the *K. al-djihād wa 'l-siyar*, v, 139-200, and in the *K. al-imāra*, vi, 2-55), Ibn Mādja (d. 273/886 [*q.v.*]), *Sunan*, ii, *K. al-djihād*, 920/61, ed. M.F. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥalabī, Cairo n.d.), Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī (d. 275/888 [*q.v.*]), *Sunan*, iii, *K. al-djihād*, 3-93, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, n.p. n.d. (a passage on the merits involved in waging war successfully against the Byzantines, *Rūm*, 5), al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892 [*q.v.*]), *Sunan*, iii, *K. abwāb faḍāʾil al-djihād*, 88-131, ed. ʿA.R. Muḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1964) and al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915 [*q.v.*]), *Sunan*, vi, *K. al-djihād*, 2-50, ed. Ḥ.M. al-Masʿūdī, Beirut n.d. All present special chapters, sometimes very long, in which the term *djihād* is employed, without ambiguity, as a proper noun. The traditions related in these chapters stress the need to conduct, "in the way of God", *fī sabīl Allāh*, warfare on the frontier, whether this is in the East, facing the Turkish steppes, or in the Cilician border zone, confronting Byzantium. These traditionists do not deal with the West, where, nevertheless, the same ideology seems to have been put into effect in various ways, in the action of the autonomous province of the Aghlabids, in Ifrīḳiya, or in that of the Umayyad caliphate of Spain (on the "existence of the *ribāṭ*" in al-Andalus, see references given by C.E. Bosworth, *art. cit.*, 276, 285; A. Castro, *The structure of Spanish history*, Princeton 1954, 88-9, 202). *Djihād* is presented as situated, in direct line, in the tradition of Muḥammad's conflict with the polytheists of Arabia. All these works include, in the context of *djihād*, traditions concerning *ribāṭ*. The term seems to have gone beyond the second level of "assembling of mounts", arriving at the sole meaning of "prolonged presence on the frontier" (*mulāzamat al-thaghr*, according to *LʿA*). The term nevertheless continues to imply a presence "under arms". Some special traditions dealt with *irtibāṭ*. This second term continues to apply to the mounts themselves and to the need to keep them in good condition (the combattants in frontier expeditions theoretically all being horsemen).

In all these texts of the 3rd/9th century, the term *ribāṭ* and its derivatives thus revive, with modifications, the ancient tribal sense. It should be noted that on the Byzantine frontier there is never any question of an edifice bearing the name *ribāṭ*. The fortifications have different names, according to their nature. The word *ḥiṣn* "fortress" seems to dominate. It is contained in a number of toponyms. Often these are constructions prior to Islam which have been restored (on this zone, see for example the references concerning Tarsus/Ṭarsūs and Mopsuestis/al-Maṣṣīṣa, which are ancient fortified towns; descriptions of the Cilician plain and its cities in Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades*, Paris 1940, 148-52; on genuine and mythical history, C.E. Bosworth, *art. cit.*; on the absence of designation by the term *ribāṭ*, 285).

It should be noted, in particular, as regards this zone (the point of departure for caliphal summer expeditions, known as *ṣawāʾif* [see ṢĀʾIFA], description in the *K. al-Kharādj* of Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, 259, see below), that, from a historical viewpoint, the ideology of *djihād* seems to correspond poorly with the realities of frontier warfare, in the first and second Muslim centuries, and even later. The army consisted of professional soldiers, receiving pay, the *ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*], and groups of mercenary irregulars, often drawn from tribal splinter-groups and led by their own chieftains. These last receivd the *djuʿl* (A. Cheikh Moussa and D. Gazagnadou, *op. cit.*, 224, nn. 153-4), a kind of contract, regarded as degrading (other forms with the same meaning, *djiʿāl*, *djaʿāla*, *djaʿīla*, etc.; the same term served to designate the sum, levied in advance, as insurance against failure to participate in an obligatory razzia). These quasi-autonomous troops pillaged on their own account and were excluded from official booty, the *maghnam*. They had their equivalent, on the Byzantine side of the frontier. Unequivocal confirmation of the presence on the frontier of these irregular troops (who seem to have nothing to do with "battle for the faith") is to be found in the seventh chapter of the *K. al-Kharādj*, which is devoted specifically to frontier zones, on the Muslim side as well as on that of its adversaries: *Dhikr thughūr al-Islām wa 'l-umam wa 'l-adjyāl al-muṭīfa bi-hā*, 252-66 (edition following the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. 272/885 [*q.v.*], ed. De Goeje). The *K. al-Kharādj*, preserved only in part, ostensibly had for its author a Baghdādī secretary occupying a senior position in the caliphal administration, Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], who died at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. In this text, the frontier garrisons are explicitly described as composed of "regular soldiers", *djund*, and of *ṣaʿālīk*. It is known that this term (sing. *ṣuʿlūk*), denoted, in Arabia, the tribal outcasts and brigands who often joined together in bands (Barbier de Meynard translated this as "irregular troops", *op. cit.*, 193, 194, see also MUTAṬAWWIʿA). It is worth noting the totally a-religious tone of this secretary of the caliphal administration, who deploys a varied vocabulary to speak of the different defensive works of the frontiers (the word *ribāṭ* is never used to denote a building of

any kind). There is an unexpected and very significant verbal use of *rābaṭa* which is taken in its strictly military sense when speaking of the frontier of Daylam on which there is said to have been "stationed", *yurābiṭūn*, garrisons of Persian horsemen, *asāwira*. It is crucial to note that this situation is given as describing affairs "before Islam" (*op. cit.*, Arabic text, 261, tr. 202). Finally, a tradition presented as Prophetal ostensibly discouraged attacks against the Turks, "who should be left alone as long as they leave you alone" (a play of words on the Arabic root *t-r-k*, Arabic text, 262, tr. 204). What is perhaps nothing more than a pleasantry on the part of a diplomatic secretary challenged the validity of the representation of a permanent *d̲j̲ihād* against the Turks of the steppes which is described by numerous authors of this period (it is true that Ḳudāma seems to be speaking of the caliphal period or that of the Ṭāhirid governorate, and probably not that of the Sāmānids; but as will be seen, below, their overall policy seems to have been of much the same nature). Another important passage regarding the composition of irregular troops is provided by the geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal (d. 367/977 [*q.v.*]), who compares with the new Sāmānid armies of the 4th/10th century, composed of loyal and disciplined "Turkish slaves" (*al-atrāk al-mamlūkūn*), the "dregs of the tribes" (*s̲h̲ud̲h̲d̲h̲ād̲h̲ al-ḳabāʾil*), lacking any sense of faith or law, who in former times fought on the frontier (they are also called *ṣaʿālīk al-ʿasākir*, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*[2], 471, ch. on Transoxiana). Later, in the period of the Crusades, even if collective emotion sometimes inspired groups of volunteers nourished with the ideology of *d̲j̲ihād*, a long-standing component of belief, it was not the "warriors of faith" who were to recapture the cities and fortresses under Christian domination. Those who fought these battles were first the Sald̲j̲ūḳ *amīrs* of Syria with their Turcoman contingents (N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-dīn*, Damascus 1967, ii, 317; Sivan does not share this writer's reservations, see his *L'Islam et les Croisades. Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux Croisades*, Paris 1968), and then the professional Ayyūbid armies, well-trained and equipped. These armies were composed essentially of Turko-Kurdish elements [see AYYŪBIDS and also ḤAṬṬĪN, ḤIṬṬĪN, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's great victory near Tiberias in 583/1187].

However, the assumptions of the ideology of *d̲j̲ihād* are entirely different. It is "the Muslims" (a vague and sociological expression without any real significance) who are supposed to commit themselves as "volunteers", *muṭṭawwiʿa*, to play the role of *mud̲j̲āhidūn*, "those who perform *d̲j̲ihād*" or *murābiṭūn*, "those who perform *ribāṭ*" on the frontier. They are also said to have born the name of *g̲h̲āzī* [*q.v.*], pl. *g̲h̲uzāt*, which seems to originate from the frontier of K̲h̲urāsān and Transoxiana, a symbolic name which recalls the warriors of the mythologised *g̲h̲azwa* [*q.v.*] of the Prophet (the term is, however, used by Ḳudāma in a neutral fashion). In the sources of the 4th/10th century, the representation of *d̲j̲ihād* seems to be promulgated in two major directions. On the one hand, there is Ṣūfism, which tends to lay claim to an irreproachable past (J. Chabbi, *Réflexions sur le soufisme iranien primitif*, in *JA*, cclxvi [1978]). But it seems that certain minorities within Sunnism professed parallel ideas, advocating exterior activism and inner moralisation. The movement appears to have expanded during the 5th/11th century. In the East, works of theoretical law, like those of applied law, henceforth deal with the question (on the *Wad̲j̲īz* of al-G̲h̲azālī (d. 505/111), see H. Laoust, *La politique de Gazālī*, Paris 1970, 264, 342-3). The same applies to numerous works of theology: the As̲h̲ʿarī Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Bag̲h̲dādī (d. 429/1037), the great scourge of the lukewarm or the deviant in matters of religion, gives in his *Uṣūl al-dīn* an overtly activist interpretation of *d̲j̲ihād* in giving it the basis of "commandment of good and prohibition of evil" (ed. Madrasat al-ilāhiyyāt, Istanbul 1928, 193-4). As for the West, the *Risāla* of the Mālikī Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 386/996), contains, in ch. xxx, a *Bāb fi 'l-d̲j̲ihād* (ed. J. Carbonel, Algiers 1945, 63-7: mention of the merit attached to performance of *ribāṭ* in a *t̲h̲ag̲h̲r*, 165). H. Laoust, who published numerous Ḥanbalī *ʿaḳīdas*, declared that, in the most ancient ones, the term *g̲h̲azw* occurs more frequently than *d̲j̲ihād* (*La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 47, 127). This is the case with the *ʿAḳīda* of Ibn Baṭṭa (d. 387/997). This could indicate that the principle of *d̲j̲ihād* is no longer an issue for theoretical speculation on the part of the author concerned. On the other hand, in the work of the later Ḥanbalī Ibn Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223), *d̲j̲ihād* is the only issue (H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Kudāma*, Damascus 1950, 271-81, tr. and annotation of the *ʿUmda*, which is a summary of the celebrated *Mug̲h̲nī fi 'l-uṣūl*: a passage on the duration of residence of the *ribāṭ* type on the frontier, 272; *d̲j̲ihād* in the *Mug̲h̲nī*, x, 364-97).

As a historical guide, it may be noted that the *Kitāb al-Umm* of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]), ed. Beirut 1980, followed by the *Muk̲h̲taṣar* of al-Muzanī (d. 264/877), includes, on the one hand, traditional chapters of *siyar*, on the law of war, with a discussion, *radd*, on the ideas of Mālik (vii, 201-84) and of the treatise on *siyar* attributed to al-Awzāʿī (the text is given in the context of its refutation by the Ḥanbalī Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), vii, 352-89). The work contains, on the other hand, a theory of *d̲j̲ihād*, which is included in the *Kitāb al-d̲j̲izya* (iv, 167-222, on *d̲j̲ihād*, esp. 170-80). In these passages, al-S̲h̲āfiʿī formulates, for the first time, the definition of *farḍ kifāya*, "collective obligation" in regard to external war (*K. al-Umm*, iv, 176, is opposed to individual duty, *farḍ ʿayn*, see D̲J̲IHĀD). He defines the obligations of the caliphate, as well as the precautions to be taken to ensure that the campaigns (at least annual, or biennial when this is possible) do not end in disaster, *mahlaka* (*K. al-Umm*, *tafrīʿ farḍ al-d̲j̲ihād*, iv, 177-8). The defensive situation of the frontier, *t̲h̲ug̲h̲ur* (or *aṭrāf*, "the extremities") is evoked (the presence of fortresses, *ḥuṣūn*, and ditches and ramparts, *k̲h̲anādiḳ*, is assumed). The frontiers should be manned with soldiers. Their status as warriors of the faith is given no particular emphasis. They are under the command of trusted, wise and courageous men. When an attack, *g̲h̲azwa*, has been launched and there is a risk of it failing, the soldiers must withdraw to their camp and to the *ribāṭ al-d̲j̲ihād*. This expression does not seem to denote a type of building which could be called *ribāṭ*. It appears rather to refer to the operational base where defensive measures could be taken. The phrase would simply signify that there should be no hesitation in returning to the camp or the fortress which is the point of departure, when an operation has been begun but its continuation appears hazardous. This passage would indicate that, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, there seems to be no question of the presence of warrior-monks, volunteers of the faith, on the frontier, at least in regard to that of Byzantium, which seems to be the only one under consideration here. It is even less likely that they would be gathered together in buildings of their own. It may be supposed that this representation of a warlike monasticism reflects, in

fact, a state of belief to which certain reputedly Prophetal traditions could refer, although the dating of the latter, and the circles in which they were current, are not easily determined. The most significant is that which is mentioned only by Ibn Ḥanbal (at least as regards the canonical compilations of Sunnism; it does not seem to be invoked in the text of al-Shāfiʿī): "*djihād* is the monasticism, *rahbāniyya*, of Islam" (*Musnad*, iii, 82, 266).

Later, however, warriors of the frontier were to be seen, in a manner simultaneously unreal and symbolic, as varieties of saints, *ṣāliḥūn*. The term *ṣāliḥ* (both in the singular and the plural) is a Ḳurʾānic epithet which is applied to prophets, *anbiyāʾ* (e.g. XXXVII, 112) who are considered to be "men of goodness" who strive to keep their kinsfolk to the right path. There was even to be talk of the presence on the frontier of *abdāl* [*q.v.*] (not a Ḳurʾānic concept), ascetic or pietistic persons who are regarded as intercessors and dispensers of *baraka*. Certain figures were to be individualised in the same quasi-redemptive role, probably *a posteriori*. Among them there is found a summary of figures presented as being those of major *zuhhād* "ascetics who renounce" (sc. the temporal world) who characterise the 2nd/8th century. They are cited in the *Ṭabaḳāt* as self-styled mystics, from the 5th/11th century onward (after the example of the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), ed. Cairo 1932, i-x), and subsequently in the relevant works of other contemporaries, including the *Ṣifa* of the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Djawzī (see above). Among these numerous figures, names which constantly recur are those of Ibrāhīm b. Adham [*q.v.*] (a native of Balkh, he is said to have died in 161/777-8; the representation of the miracles performed by him outside the framework of *ghazw* on the sea and in the snow-covered mountains, *Ḥilya*, viii, 7-8, in the company of ʿAlī b. Bakkār, who is said to have died *ca.* 207/823; this individual is also credited with comparable feats; his legendary biography is in *Ḥilya*, ix, 317; he is considered the typical *murābiṭ*) and of (ʿAbd Allāh) Ibn al-Mubārak [*q.v.*] (a native of Marw, he is said to have died in 181/797 at Hīt, on the Euphrates, while returning from the frontier; attributed to him is a *Kitāb al-Djihād*, in addition to the compilation of traditions regarding *zuhd* which bears his name (see Bonner, *op. cit.*, 27; J. Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin-New York 1992, ii, 552-3); an enigmatic aphorism concerning *ribāṭ* as the defence of *ḥaḳḳ*, the "true religion" (?) is attributed to him, *Ḥilya*, viii, 171).

From the time when the major provinces (in particular Persia) were extensively converted to Islam (the first ʿAbbāsid century is probably a key period in this respect), it is certainly impossible to ignore the movements which impelled individuals or groups, imbued with religious feeling and yearning for action, towards the most prestigious frontier, that of Byzantium. According to Bonner, in his important article on early *djihād* against Byzantium, the movement apparently did not really begin until the ʿAbbāsid period. However, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the idealisation of figures of the frontier does not yet seem to have been greatly emphasised. Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), devotes in his *Ṭabaḳāt* an article comprising 18 names to the residents of the frontier, *al-ʿawāṣim wa 'l-thughūr* (ed. Beirut 1958, vii, 488-92). The notices are very short and not at all idealised. The first named is al-Awzāʿī, in his capacity as a resident of Beirut, which is considered a city of the maritime *thaghr*, as well as of the Palestinian coast. The list ends with an individual who died in 225/840 (Ibn Adham is not mentioned in the *Ṭabaḳāt*; Ibn al-Mubārak is listed among the people of Khurāsān, vii, 372; he is credited with having incited to *djihād*, *al-ḥathth ʿalā 'l-djihād*). Twelve individuals are residents of al-Maṣṣīṣa (Tarsus is not mentioned). Not one is presented as performing *ribāṭ* or *djihād*. Only Abū Isḥāk al-Fazārī (d. 188/805) is presented as a man of virtue (who follows the good path, *sunna*) and of warfare, *ghazw*, as well as an inferior transmitter of *ḥadīth*. The work of *siyar* which bears his name is of a quite anodyne content with regard to *djihād*; the term *ribāṭ* never occurs, and he seems mostly to be reflecting the judicial views of war professed by al-Awzāʿī, of whom he was a former disciple. They are presented in the form of *responsa*. It is this person, however, who, concurrently with Ibn al-Mubārak, apparently, according to Bonner, entered into legend in his lifetime (*op. cit.*, 7). It would be appropriate, in this writer's opinion, to defer the process to a somewhat later period (even in the *Ḥilya*, the biography of al-Fazārī is still rather laconic, viii, 253; he is above all presented as one who exercised on the frontier the role of scourge of *bidʿa* "blameworthy innovation").

Historically, this appears to be a typical case of the mythic return to the sources which is a feature of the emergence of different ideological movements developing in the course of the 3rd/9th centuries, in activist Sunnī circles as well as in mystical circles. All these themes were to become stereotypical in the literature of the frontier which subsequently appeared, in isolated passages or in chapters, in the work of numerous authors, irrespective of their specialities, in succeeding centuries. This literature has been scrupulously preserved, especially in the Syrian context. Thus the aristocratic historiographer of Aleppo, Ibn al-ʿAdīm (who died in Egypt in 660/1262, having fled to escape the Mongols; he was an Ayyūbid judge and vizier), included in his biographical history of Aleppo, the *Bughyat al-ṭalab* (ed. Suhayl Zakkār, i-xi, Damascus 1991), long passages attributed to an individual, apparently a native of Tarsus, the *ḳāḍī* ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭarsūsī, who lived in the 4th/10th century, shortly before the city fell, for three centuries, under Byzantine domination. This person, otherwise little known, was apparently the author of a text intitled *Siyar al-thughūr*, a compilation of traditions and anecdotes regarding the frontier city, the eminent figures who resided there and its fortified environment. It will be noted that the sense of the term *siyar* has evolved from the meaning which it had in the 2nd/8th century. It is no longer confined to points of law (the *Siyar* of ʿUthmān Ṭarsūsī have been extracted by Shākir Muṣṭafā from an Istanbul manuscript and published in the review of the Faculty of Letters and Education of Kuwait (*Madjallat al-ādāb wa 'l-tarbiya*, viii [Kuwait 1975]; cf. also Bosworth's remarks on the author and his treatise, in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 271, 280 and in his *Abū ʿAmr al-Ṭarsūsī's* Siyar al-thughūr *and the last years of Arab rule in Tarsus (fourth/tenth century)*, in *Greco-Arabica*, v [Athens 1993], 184-5).

These representations of *djihād* have little to do with history. They seem primarily to propose a rewriting, and even more so, a moralisation and an idealisation of the past, the necessity of which would not become evident until after the event (on the conditions of real war, the history of which is still largely unwritten, besides the conditioning of the ideology of *djihād*, see ḤARB and DJAYSH). It was inevitable, however, that when the representation of *djihād* became established, it could have effects on certain aspects of war itself and on those who took part in it, besides the fact that it

might be exploited in the caliphal policies of the frontier. It should nevertheless be noted that, in *adab* literature, the chapters intitled *kitāb al-ḥarb* seem to have escaped the influence of the new doctrine on frontier warfare, as seen by traditionist circles. These passages constitute a veritable treasure-store of ancient representation, from the *d̲j̲āhiliyya* onwards, through the Prophetal phase of Islam, to the adventures and achievements of the great warriors of the Umayyad period (see, for example, one of the more voluminous works, the *ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, by the Andalusian Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]), accredited panegyrist to the Umayyad court of Cordova, who transferred to the West the oriental tradition, and also the so-called popular romances describing the epic adventures of great warriors of the Umayyad period who were real persons; see AL-BAṬṬĀL and D̲H̲U 'L-HIMMA).

In his major commentary on the Ḳurʾān, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-bayān*, al-Ṭabarī (d. 320/923), presents exegetical readings which seem to accord with the ideology of *d̲j̲ihād*, such as it has been found expressed by means of the Prophetal traditions which are included in the compilations of the 3rd/9th century. But he also revives the contradictory ideology of quietism which makes *ribāṭ* simply a modality of devotion (it is not certain, however, that this is what served as a referential base for the latter usage of the term by mysticism). There is room for speculation regarding the future role of this latter tendency, which seems not to have disappeared entirely, despite the probable dominance of the ideology of *d̲j̲ihād*, throughout subsequent periods, apparently enjoying a powerful revival during the time of the Crusades. The two readings (pro- and anti-*d̲j̲ihād*) thus figure, concurrently, in the commentaries on the two Ḳurʾānic verses concerned (*D̲j̲āmiʿ al-bayān*, ed. M.M. S̲h̲ākir, Cairo, vii, 501, on III, 200, and xiv, 31, on VIII, 60).

Finally, attention should be drawn to the use of a derivative of the root *r-b-ṭ* which figures in the Book of Conquests, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, of the Bag̲h̲dādi historiographer al-Balād̲h̲urī (d. 279/892) (ed. R.M. Raḍwān, Beirut 1978, 189, ch. on Malaṭiya). The fact that this work dates from the second ʿAbbāsid century is all the more interesting in that it seems to preserve an ancient usage of the term which hardly coincides with the representation in the ancient period of a *d̲j̲ihād* involving volunteers of the faith. The account concerns the war which the future caliph Muʿāwiya (he was still governor of Syria at the time) led on the frontier, recapturing Malaṭiya which had been lost after an earlier conquest. He "posted" there, *rattaba fīhā*, "a squadron of Muslims", *rābiṭa min al-muslimīn*, "under the leadership of their chief", *maʿa ʿāmili-hā* (during the caliphate of Medina and the Umayyad period, the *ʿāmil* denotes the governor as well as the military chieftain, responsible for a group of warriors, whatever its level and its number; D.M. Hill speaks of the "*ʿamil* of a small band of fighters" in reference to the reconquest of a town in the D̲j̲azīra, see his *The termination of hostilities in the early Arab conquests*, London 1971, 85). The term *rābita*, used in this passage, is based on the theme of a name for a group. The latter, according to the ancient sense of the root, should be seen as being provided with horses and weapons and being ready for combat.

b. *Ribāṭ* as a building: look-out post, small fort, fortified city, caravanserai, staging-post and urban establishment for mystics.

Ribāṭ might seem to be easier to pin down in its role as a substantive denoting a building than in its usages as a verbal noun or a noun of action. However, except in the case of the urban establishments for mystics which do not appear in a definitive fashion until the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period and are included in a well-defined general policy of the construction of specialised buildings on the part of sultans, their viziers or other dignitaries (*madrasas* [*q.v.*] for specialists in *fiḳh* and *k̲h̲ānḳāh*s [*q.v.*] for Ṣūfīs), there is a definite possibility that there has often been confusion and misunderstanding concerning the *ribāṭ* as an edifice. There may well be cases where a reference to a particular edifice has been understood, when in reality it is simply an extension of the sense of the verbal noun denoting an exposed place: an isolated stage on an inland route, a border-post or a fortified coastal city. It seems difficult to present a general opinion on the question, such being the variety, in nature and in purpose, of the built-up places and spaces to which the name of *ribāṭ* is given, in the sources of the 4th/10th century. The earliest information seems to emanate from geographical sources of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. But, depending on the authors, the latter may already have been permeated by ideology. Since the historical problems have yet to be clarified and separated from phenomena of representation, it is not possible to identify and fix a historical starting-point. It is possible, however, to draw some conclusions from textual comparisons. Thus attention may be drawn to the very neutral terminological usages of the caliphal functionary Ḳudāma (see above), who seems to be opposed to certain "engaged" remarks of the geographers of the mid-4th/10th century which do not correspond strictly to historical reality. A. Miquel, in three of the volumes of his *Géographie humaine du monde musulman*, has made a systematic survey of uses of the term *ribāṭ* among early geographers, instances, which make it possibly, in his opinion, to indicate, directly or indirectly, the presence of an edifice named *ribāṭ* (4 vols., Paris 1967-88; on the *ribāṭ*, see index, at ii, 582, iii, at 529, iv, at 374). He has, in addition, devoted to this term part of a chapter (iv, 54-6, with numerous references to what are essentially geographical sources). He keeps, however, to the general definition of "fortified convent" as giving the basic sense (iii, 82, n. 1).

i. *The eastern frontier*

Of all the mediaeval authors in this field, Ibn Ḥawḳal in his *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ* and al-Muḳaddasī (d. 378/988 [*q.v.*]) in his *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aḳālīm* are the ones who deal in the greatest detail with everything concerning *ribāṭ* (as a verbal noun or as a substantive with plural *ribāṭāt*). According to these authors, *ribāṭ*s are divided among several major zones, Transoxiana and K̲h̲urāsān, provinces to the south of the Caucasus, the West Caspian zone and the Mediterranean coasts, from Palestine to the Mag̲h̲rib and to Spain (Miquel, *op. cit.*, ii, "les marches", 536; the *t̲h̲ug̲h̲ūr* of the Arabo-Byzantine frontier have been omitted from this list because, as has been seen above, the usages of *ribāṭ* do not seem to denote there a specific building, but exclusively an action or a place of action). However, this terminology does not seem to be shared by all authors. Unlike the geographer-travellers of the mid-4th/10th century, Ḳudāma, writing two generations earlier, makes no mention of *ribāṭ* as a frontier edifice of *d̲j̲ihād*. The situation to which he refers allusively on the frontiers of the north is that of the Turkish "raid", verb *g̲h̲āra*, and not that of Muslim incursion (extract from the *K. al-K̲h̲arād̲j̲*, in *BGA*, vi, Leiden 1889, 208, 212, 262; this would seem to confirm the tradition related by the same Ḳudāma, according to which "the Turks should be left in peace", *op. cit.*, 262). Similarly, instead of the

term *ribāṭ* which was to be used in the 4th/10th century, he uses the term *khān* [*q.v.*] to denote the caravanserai and *sikka* for the "relay" of the postal service *barīd* [*q.v.*] (association of the *khān* and the *sikka*, in certain isolated "stages", *manzil*, 209, 210), and this over the whole extent of the empire (however, it is generally supposed that it was the relays of the eastern post which were called *ribāṭ* [see BARĪD].). Even if local powers from time to time conducted a more offensive policy (without disruption of commerce, and in particular, the very lucrative trade in slaves, some of whom were to become caliphal soldiers from the 3rd/9th century onward, see GHULĀM), it may be noted that the Muslim rulers of Persia finally found themselves in a situation similar to that of the empires which had preceded them, confronted by nomads from the north and the east (a legendary evocation of relations between the Sāsānid Anūshirwān and the king of the Khazars, which led the former to build a wall of bricks, *ḥāʾiṭ*, against the raids of the nomads, intractable subjects of the latter, Ḳudāma, 259-61).

A related question concerns, in particular, the representation of *djihād* on the eastern frontiers of Persia. It may be wondered whether what is presented, in the sources, as a generalised *djihād*, performed from the starting-point of thousands of *ribāṭs*, in fact reflects historical facts. Al-Muḳaddasī speaks of a thousand *ribāṭs* at Paykand, on the border of Bukhara (282). They are said to be "in ruins" or disused, *kharāb*, or "in active use", *ʿāmir*, although the respective proportion is not given. The same author states the presence (without specifying whether active or otherwise) of 1,700 *ribāṭs* at Isfīdjāb, on the right bank of the Syr Darya or Sayḥūn (273; Ibn Ḥawḳal also speaks of a thousand *ribāṭs* at Paykand, 489). These highly implausible figures are probably a reflection of hyperbole and mythic representation. In fact, the historical elements of the context (drawn from historiographical sources, as well as from certain passages of the geographers themselves), on the policy conducted by the local Muslim powers (the Ṭāhirid governors at first, later, the Sāmānid *amīrs*), during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, confronted by the Turkish peoples of the steppe (Ghuzz, Ḳarluḳ [*q.vv.*], Arabic *Kharlūkh*), present a quite different picture. In both cases, it is a policy of defence (based on fortresses, *ḥiṣn* or *kuhandiz* (the Persian word), of towns encircled by walls, *muḥaṣṣana*, or by ditches and ramparts *khandaḳ*, especially in Khʷārazm, works of which many must have been pre-Islamic) and not of attack, which seems to have been practised once the conquests had reached the unclear, but traditional, frontier of the steppe. In response to raids by the Turkish nomads (who normally took the initiative), there appear to have been punitive Muslim expeditions, of which the best-known is that of the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl I (279-95/892-907 [*q.v.*]) against one of the Turkish centres of population, that of the Ḳarluḳ, the town of Ṭalas, in 280/893. This must have established calm on the frontier for most of the 4th/10th century. From this period, which is precisely contemporary with that of the geographer-travellers, the warfare would have been over. This was achieved, furthermore, by the progressive conversion of the Turkish border tribes. Information on these conversions is also found in the writings of the geographers themselves who, furthermore (without concern over contradictions or over anachronisms), continue to speak of the burgeoning activity of the *ribāṭs* and of the influx of volunteers. Al-Muḳaddasī tends to hark back to this theme, which had probably become, in part, mythic: on Ush in Farghāna, *muṭṭawwiʿa*, 272; the district of Paykand, to the west of Bukhārā, *ghuzāt*, 282. He mentions, however, some precise examples which seem more plausible. Such would be the case of the approaches to the mountain massif of the Ghūr [*q.v.*], between Harāt and Bāmiyān. This region was not, in fact, to be conquered and converted until the 5th/11th century, by Maḥmūd of Ghazna (cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 306). In this region, it is furthermore not so much a question of volunteers as of regular soldiers, "posted", *murattabūn*, there, and of "watchmen", *ḥurrās*. Similarly, in the description of a forward post in the district of Ustuwā, two places are mentioned which are called *ribāṭ*, or rather pertaining to *ribāṭ* (in the capacity of a verbal noun), where there are stationed "ardent and decisive men", *ridjāl shihām*, well-equiped with arms and with horses. It is impossible to tell whether this refers to volunteers. They are deployed, facing the sands, in three forts, *ḥiṣn*, "linked together", *muttaṣila*, one of them being defended by a ditch and rampart, *khandaḳ* (al-Muḳaddasī, 320). The mode of expression is lyrical; it could refer to the reality of the previous century. On the other hand, Ibn Ḥawḳal provides a significant extract on the converted tribes installed on the pasture-lands of Shāsh, the region of what is today Tashkent (511; al-Muḳaddasī is decidedly more discreet, 274). Furthermore, it was soon to be the Muslim irregulars of the frontier who were causing problems. In the article GHĀZĪ, Cl. Cahen defines them as companies of "mercenaries" and not as volunteers for the faith (it may be recalled that Ḳudāma and Ibn Ḥawḳal spole of *saʿālīk* to denote these irregulars, see above). For want of external action, they seem to have found a diversion in participating in various revolts, including one in Sāmānid Bukhara, in 318/930 [see GHĀZĪ]. Some reportedly sought in the mid-4th/10th century to leave for the West (*Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, *The Sāmānids*, ed. R.N. Frye, 155). Others were probably employed by Maḥmūd the Ghaznawid in his expeditions to the Pandjāb at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. It could almost be said that, it is only when the mercenaries of the frontier have left the scene, that the warriors of faith make their entrance, in an idealised representation of the past, in this region just as in the Syrian marches.

From these first elements it can be seen that it is no longer possible to subscribe, in a global manner, to the definition of G. Marçais, who presents *ribāṭ* (in his *EI*[1] article s.v.) as "a type of establishment, both religious and military, which seems quite specifically Muslim" and which would have appeared "at an early stage". It is no longer possible to retain as "current" the interpretation of "fortified convent" (see above). Before drawing hasty conclusions, the most prudent course is, without doubt, to analyse the sources and to identify the points where usage seems to indicate the presence of edifices called *ribāṭ*. This will not be sufficient to indicate whether it is the edifice itself which bears this name or it is the function assigned to it which accounts for the name. In the first case, there would effectively be a specific construction. In the second case, there would be a common name denoting various types of edifice, according to the function attributed to them. Thus the full range of evolutionary senses of the verbal noun would be encountered, from preparation for combat, to vigilance or to a protected halting-place (a use as verbal noun in the writings of al-Muḳaddasī, 303, with reference to Badakhshān, in the mountains of the upper Oxus basin).

Furthermore, a careful reading of the texts reveals

that it is probably a mistake to attribute a military function to certain *ribāṭs*; sometimes the reference seems to be to a simple hospice for travellers, especially in the case of an edifice situated at the gate of a city, founded by a specifically-named individual and maintained by the incomes of a *wakf* or mortmain (see WAḲF, and Cahen, *Réflexions sur le waqf ancien*, in *Les peuples musulmans dans l'histoire médiévale*, Damascus 1977, 287-306). This would be the case of the four *ribāṭs* of Isfīdjāb, each situated at the gates of the town (and not in the vicinity of the great mosque, as suggested by the unclear text of al-Muḳaddasī, 272-3; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 510, making possible a correction of Miquel, iv, 56), on an important route leading from the major regional metropolises. These hospice-*ribāṭs* seem to have been specifically for the accommodation of travellers who were natives of these cities (see the case of the *ribāṭ* probably founded by Ḳaratigin, a Sāmānid military dignitary, who is buried there and who converted into *wakf* the revenues of a market; another possible case, in the writings of al-Muḳaddasī, is the *ribāṭ* of Mīrkī (?), the founder of which was a Sāmānid *amīr*; in this case, too, the establishment is in the environs of the town, 275). On the other hand, in the writings of Ibn Ḥawḳal passages are found which indicate more clearly the purpose of the edifice: *ribāṭs* for travellers on internal routes maintained by the *wakfs*, *manāzil wa-ribāṭāt mawḳūfa ʿalā sābilat al-ṭarīḳ* (401). As for the *ribāṭ* situated on the plain to the north of Usrūshana, facing the steppe which borders on the left bank of the Sayḥūn, the foundation of which is attributed to the celebrated Afshīn [*q.v.*], the prince of this province who distinguished himself in far-flung campaigns (before ultimately being imprisoned as a rebel, in Sāmarrā, in 226/841), it seems to be of distinctly military purpose (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 504-5; this institution was supported by the revenues of lands which had been constituted as *wakf*). The verb *banā* clearly denotes the effective construction of an edifice by this person. It is, however, not known whether it was originally intended as a *ribāṭ*. Clearly less ambiguous are the passages in the works of geographers concerning the halting-places on internal routes called *ribāṭ*. They are generally denoted by a composite expression, "the *ribāṭ* of...", followed by a place or the name of a founder (Miquel, iv, 55, n. 120, mentioning in particular Ibn Ḥawḳal, 454, with a commentary of the latter on the services provided by the *ribāṭ* as place of protection or accommodation; see also al-Muḳaddasi, 291, a *ribāṭ* outside the town, near Bukhārā, founded and financed by a Sāmānid *amīr*). But these halting-places were also very often established in connection with the postal service, the *barīd* and its relays, especially in eastern and central Persia. The term *ribāṭ* is applied to them specifically by al-Muḳaddasī (thus differing from Ḳudāma, see above), in his lists of itineraries in the east (372, 493; in western Khurāsān, with a description of the *ribāṭ* founded by Ibn Sīmdjūr, the Sāmānid general.

It is, however, quite true that certain *ribāṭs* (which did not necessarily originate as military establishments; here too, each case must be analysed separately) seem to have been ultimately represented as *mashāhid* (mentioned by Miquel, iv, 51, n. 92), signifying both "[supposed] places of martyrdom" and "blessed places". A legendary tomb is often associated with them. It may appeal to a collective patronage, that of the "Companions of Muḥammad", on an itinerary of the region of Naysābūr, in Khurāsān (al-Muḳaddasī, 334). It may even claim identification with great mythical figures such as Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, the Ḳurʾānic Alexander and the mysterious prophet Dhu 'l-Kifl (Ḳurʾān, XXI, 85). These two figures are associated with two twin *ribāṭs*, each situated on a bank of the Oxus, one on the Hephthalite side, that of the *Hayṭal* [see HAYĀṬILA], and the other on the side of Khurāsān, downriver from Tirmidh (mentioned by Miquel, *loc. cit.*; list in al-Muḳaddasī, 291, 333). Also to be found (idem, 292), is the exceptional mention of *mudjāwirūn* in a *ribāṭ* (guard-post or halting-place?) which apparently served as a crossing-point of the Oxus. *Djiwār*, originally linked with residence in Mecca, is to be understood here in an extended sense, perhaps referring to non-combatant pietists, possibly preachers and evangelists. The movement of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] could possibly have played a role of this type in the Turkish zone, under the Sāmānids and then under the Ghaznawids. This role is also attributed to the Ṣūfīs with whom the Karrāmiyya are often confused. It should be remembered, however, that Ṣūfīs did not appear in Persia until the mid-4th/10th century (see Chabbi, *op. cit.*, and eadem, *Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurāsān* in *SI* [1977]). The facts of the sanctification of certain sites, called *ribāṭ* by certain authors, should, in this writer's opinion, be often considered (at least on the eastern border; the situation in the West is less clear, see below, in regard to Ifrīḳiya), as phenomena adduced *a posteriori*, especially in the case of military posts which had lost their importance or fallen into disuse. It is clear that each passage needs to be examined in detail and compared with parallel sources, since each case seems to pose different questions, even when the same region is under discussion. In any case, the important question remains open: who is finally responsible for allocating the name *ribāṭ* to certain edifices—the founders, the actual users, or later authors describing events?

ii. *The central coastal zones and the western frontier*

According to Ḳudāma's formula, all the coasts from Syria to Egypt are *thaghrs* (253; details of the coastal cities, 255; a brief paragraph is devoted, at the end of the chapter, to the *thughūr al-gharb* which begin with Ifrīḳiya, 265-6). The geographers of the 4th/10th century are less synthetic in approach. They do not omit to mention all the fortified towns of the coast (*musawwara*, encircled by a *sūr*, wall, or *muḥaṣṣana*, defended like a *ḥiṣn*; these expressions are recurrent in their writings). It is therefore surprising, with regard to these coasts, that there are so few references to *ribāṭs*, except in the cases of Ifrīḳiya and of Sicily. Ibn Ḥawḳal confines himself to saying that Damascenes go to Beirut to perform *ribāṭ*, sc. *yurābiṭūn*, with the soldiers, when there is an appeal in case of danger (*istinfār* "call to arms, general mobilisation", 175; no site of the Near Eastern littoral is mentioned). Concerning the frontiers of the West, al-Muḳaddasī confines himself to very vague formulae: the Maghrib is in a state of permanent *djihād* (215, the same applying to Cordova, 233). The coasts of Sicily are "noble *thaghrs*" which contain "superb *ribāṭs*", *thughūr djalīla wa-ribāṭāt fāḍila* (or superb "places of *ribāṭ*"?) (15); as for Ibn Ḥawḳal, he goes into most detail when describing Ifrīḳiya and Sicily, see below. On the other hand, with regard to the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean, al-Muḳaddasī makes a double exception. This concerns, on the one hand, the whole of the coast-line controlled by Ramla, the "capital", *kaṣaba*, of the district of Palestine, a city some distance removed from the littoral, and on the other hand, the zone of Damietta, Dimyāṭ, in Egypt. There are said to have been, on the coast at Damietta, numerous *ribāṭ* (edifices or verbal noun denoting a place of *ribāṭ*?)

which are not otherwise adduced. They presumably had a "season" of activity, *mawsim*, during which there was an influx of *murābiṭūn*. The passage is fairly enigmatic (203). It is perhaps linked to maritime conditions, which rendered approach to the Egyptian coast extremely difficult for the greater part of the year. The *ribāṭs* dependent on Ramla are even more surprising (177; Miquel has partially translated the passage, in *La géographie humaine*, iv, 55). The points on the coast identified as *ribāṭ* represent the totality of maritime cities of the Palestinian coast or their ports. The city itself may be somewhat removed from the coast, as is the case of Ghazza in relation to Mīmās in the south and of Azdūd and Yubnā in the central zone. The port of these two small cities is called *māḥūz* (a word normally meaning "space between two armies", which could be applied to a maritime forward post in relation to the city by which it is controlled). The other *ribāṭs* are fortified cities situated directly on the seaboard, Ascalon or ʿAsḳalān (between Mīmās and Azdūd), Jaffa or Yāfā (considered to be the port of Ramla) and finally Arsūf, a fortified port situated further to the north (description of the defensive works of these cities, 174, with the exception of Azdūd and Yubnā, which are mentioned only in the above-mentioned passage, 177). Given this context, it is reasonable to assume that it is a question of places where *ribāṭ* was practised, rather than of edifices of a particular type. The latter are described, furthermore, by their customary names, whether it is a case of "fortresses", *ḥiṣn*, small forts with "observation towers", *maḥāris* (sing. *maḥras*; these were apparently especially numerous in the zone of Ascalon. The town is described as *kathīrat al-maḥāris*, 174). The *ribāṭ* which, according to al-Muḳaddasī, is practised in this zone is of a very particular type. It is not a question of combat but of *fidāʾ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], "the ransoming of prisoners" (the principal source on this subject is al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 189-96, who deals with official "campaigns" of ransom conducted by caliphal representatives; there is no mention of ransoms effected on the Palestinian coast). Miquel has good reason for wondering whether, in fact, it was not rather a matter of exchange (ii, 471). According to the procedure described by al-Muḳaddasī as regards the Palestinian coasts, as soon as the galleys and barques arriving from the Christian shores (their provenance is not specified) are sighted, the alarm is raised throughout the region. The inhabitants come to negotiate in the above-mentioned ports. Such activities are highly plausible, especially as it is unclear who, in the event, represented the Christian side (legitimate traders or pirates?) Besides, it would not be unreasonable to wonder whether, from a historical point of view, all actions on these coasts were motivated purely by faith, as the sources would have us piously believe.

Ifrīḳiya is reputed to have supplied the most ancient evidence of the existence of an establishment known as *ribāṭ*. The earliest foundations reportedly date back to the first half-century of the ʿAbbāsid period, shortly before the appearance of the hereditary Aghlabid governorate (established from 184/800 onward). The purpose would have been to reinforce the coastal defences against raids launched from the Christian shores of the north. The Aghlabids [*q.v.*] continued this policy, erecting numerous walls and fortresses. The first expeditions against Sicily were mounted in 211/187 and its capital, Palermo or Bālarm, was taken in 216/831. There is doubt as to which is the more ancient, the *ribāṭ* of Monastir or that of Sousse (see MONASTIR for this city and constructions in other nearby towns, Sousse and the region of Mahdiyya). Ibn Ḥawḳal gives the most detailed account concerning the whole of this region, including Sicily. He seems to have been present in the area in 361/972. Concerning the fortress which is today considered as the *ribāṭ* of Monastir (which is a fortress, *ḳaṣr*, to which similar works were to be added, at a later stage, by various local powers, from the Fāṭimids to the Zīrīds, the whole constituting *ḳuṣūr*), the question is the same as that posed in the East, whether the edifice was really called, from the outset, a *ribāṭ* or is it a case of simple extension of the verbal noun, denoting the "place of *ribāṭ*"? Perusal of the text devoted to the city by Ibn Ḥawḳal suggests that the second hypothesis is valid, at least for the ancient period. The few lines dealing with the shores of central Tunisia (73) include three uses of the term. The first could indicate either an edifice, or a place of residence, *ribāṭ yaskunu-hu umma min al-nās*, "a *ribāṭ* (a place of *ribāṭ*), where a significant number of people reside", *ʿalā ʾl-ayyām wa ʾl-sāʿāt*, "according to days and periods", *yuʿrafu bi-Munastīr*, "(place) which is known by the name of Munastīr". The second use appears in an expression which makes *ribāṭ* a functional epithet (*ḳaṣr ribāṭ*, "a fortress having the function of *ribāṭ*"). The third use is a verbal noun: "there are at the edge of the sea two large fortresses", *ḳaṣrān ʿaẓīmān, li ʾl-ribāṭ wa ʾl-ʿibāda*, "for *ribāṭ* and religious observance", *ʿalay-himā awḳāf kathīra bi-Ifrīḳiya*, "which are maintained by the benefits of numerous *waḳfs* situated in Ifrīḳiya", *wa ʾl-ṣadaḳāt taʾtī-hā min kulli arḍ* "and by alms which come from everywhere".

There is no doubt that, at a later stage, when their military role had perhaps become less important, the fortresses of Monastir were considered as sanctified sites, favoured by the nobility as places of interment (see MONASTIR: the acts of piety related by the sources are, however, perhaps interpreted a little too literally here). It could be considered that the text of Ibn Ḥawḳal tends to idealise the situation on the coast of Africa (as also the case of Salé in Morocco, confronting the Barghwāṭa Berbers, considered at the time to be unconverted, 81-2), while he castigates the vice prevalent in the Sicilian places of *ribāṭ* (121; partial tr. A. Miquel, in *La géographie humaine*, iv, 55). Historical reality probably lies between the two extremes. However, there may well have been periods during which zealous Muslims (or simply citizens anxious to participate in the defence and security of their homes) could have succeeded in transforming these fortresses into convents, as is postulated by numerous modern studies. If mystical movements were able at a later stage partially to occupy this type of edifice, they seem absolutely unrepresentative of the situations which could have arisen in more ancient times.

In Andalusia, three marches confronted the Christian kingdoms, including the famous Galician march, *thaghr al-djalāliḳa*. The war which was waged against the local Christians, "of quarrelsome and obstinate temperament", was, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (who is manifestly prejudiced), a war characterised by trickery and ambushes which have little to do with the rules of chivalry, *furūsiyya*. No mention of *ribāṭ* is to be found in his text (111, 114; but the province of Spain appears to be little known; only a few pages deal with it). In this respect, al-Muḳaddasī is equally vague; on the difficulties of documentation regarding Muslim Spain in the early period, see AL-ANDALUS. (iii) "Outline of the historical geography of al-Andalus"; on military history, very rich in varied vicissitudes (vi) "General survey of the history of al-Andalus". It may, however, be wondered whether the lands of the

Muslim West genuinely link, to a greater extent than in the east, military action and guarding of the frontier to a sustained devotional practice (which is not to be confused with a mystical practice!) A critical study of the sources on this subject would unquestionably be a worthwhile project. The Sicilian counter-example which Ibn Ḥawḳal gives, with a view to denouncing it, and which describes the undesirable elements of the frontier, is very significant in this respect. On the other hand, it is no doubt necessary to take account, as in continuity with ancient usages and not as a novelty, of the fact noted by G. Marçais [see RIBĀṬ in *EI*[1]], concerning the existence, in Spanish, of the word *rebato* to denote "an action performed by a troop of horsemen in conformity with Muslim tactics". Encountered in this definition is the precise basic sense of the verbal noun of the early caliphal period. It does not go as far as the original *ribāṭ*, on the banks of the Senegal river, which has long been reckoned the point of departure of the Almoravid Berbers, a fact which is not today held in doubt [see H.T. Norris, AL-MURĀBIṬŪN]. The Almoravid movement, which began in the Maghrib at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, passed into Spain during the final quarter of the same century (479/1086, victory of Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn at Zallāḳa, see P. Chalmeta, AL-MURĀBIṬŪN. iv. "The Almoravids in Spain") and dominates it politically, while unleashing war on the frontier, using both regular troops and mercenaries, exactly as in the East. In this context, there seems however to appear, as a specific case, the activity of certain splinter-groups of Mālikism from the Mag͟hrib which preached an activist application of religious observance. This would be the case of the founder of the *Dār al-murābiṭīn* (mentioned by Norris, in *art. cit.*, and located in the Moroccan Sous) which apparently professed a blend of pietism and warfare. This movement could first have inspired the faith of the Saharan Almoravids, then that of the ideologues who followed them, and who were to be recruited into circles of jurists of the Mālikī persuasion. It is nevertheless important not to continue to confuse these modalities of active observance, perfectly identified (which could, in certain aspects, be compared, in the East, to Ḥanbalī activism and, much later, to Wahhābism) with the use which the Ṣūfīs and the mystical brotherhoods were to make of the institution of *ribāṭ*. On the contrary, the Almohad *ribāṭs* of the 6th/12th century, mentioned by G. Marçais in his *EI*[1] article, seem, at first sight, to be of a far more classical nature, since their role is that of *ribāṭ Tāzā* [*q.v.* in *EI*[1]], the base of operations for anti-Almoravid action. As for the *ribāṭ al-fatḥ* [*q.v.*], it was the mustering point for men and materials awaiting transfer to Spain. Before becoming the site of the future city of Rabat, this area of coastal *ribāṭ* apparently served as a necropolis for the Marīnids (after the example of certain *ribāṭs* of Ifrīḳiya, for the local dynasties: see RIBĀṬ in *EI*[1]). It should probably be born in mind that it would be impossible to continue to deal with the problem of *ribāṭ*, in general and without reference to the precise contexts in which the usages of this term have been forged and have evolved. The permanent confrontation which, from the moment of the launching of the *Reconquista*, opposed the lands of the Muslim West to the Christian kingdoms, makes it reasonable to suppose that very particular cases of utilisation of the ancient terminology are to be encountered. These specific usages probably involved not only the ideology of *d̲j̲ihād* and its associated terms, including the verbal noun *ribāṭ*, but also the emergence of practices of magical mysticism, thaumaturgy, and the liturgy of intercession which were to be a fundamental element of maraboutism (with various usages of the root *r-b-ṭ*; "marabout" evidently emanates from one of the late usages of the Arabic *murābiṭ*). G. Marçais noted, moreover, the multiplication of usage, in Muslim Spain, in a fairly late period (which he did not, however, specify), of the term *rābiṭa* to denote certain innovations which he supposes to be of a mystical nature (by analogy with the Mag͟hribī usage defined by G. Colin in his translation of the *Maḳṣad... fī d̲h̲ikr ṣulaḥāʾ al-Rīf*, of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Bādisī, d. 711/1312, in *Arch. Maroc.*, xxvii, Paris 1926, 240: "a hermitage which is the retreat of a saint and where he lived surrounded by his disciples and his religious servitors"; see also *EI*[1] art. ZĀWIYA; it would also definitely be useful to refer to the volumes of the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of al-Maḳḳarī [*q.v.*], which deal with al-Andalus). G. Marçais also claimed to have found a direct echo of the term *rābiṭa* in a number of Spanish toponyms such as *Rápita, Rávita* and *Rábida*.

iii. Ribāṭ, *as an establishment for mystics (relations with establishments of similar type*—k͟hanḳāh, zāwiya, tekke)

It is not known at exactly which point in history the term *ribāṭ* and parallel terms, in particular *k̲h̲anḳāh* in the East, *zāwiya* in the West, were first effectively and regularly applied to groups of mystics devoting themselves to practices of piety, *ʿibāda*, in a building to which they had rights of ownership. It can only be asserted that the phenomenon became established—at the earliest, but still in a very uneven manner—from the second half of the 5th/11th century, in the Sald̲j̲ūḳ lands of Persia. Similar structures were apparently also in evidence among the G̲h̲aznawids of north-eastern Persia, as far as the approaches to the Pand̲j̲āb. It subsequently spread very widely over the newly-conquered territories, arriving, from the 7th/13th century onward, in the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*], when this region was settled by Persian élites fleeing from Mongol domination, henceforward established throughout Persia (K.A. Nizami, *Some aspects of khānqah life in medieval India*, in *SI*, viii [1957], 51-69). In the same manner, the progress of these establishments seems to have followed, in the West, the advance of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs and their successors, first in Zangid Syria and then in Ayyūbid Egypt, as well as in Anatolia (which passed definitively under Muslim control after the victory won at Manzikert or Malāzgird [*q.v.*] by the second Great Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan, Alp Arslan [*q.v.*], in 463/1071). Subsequently the movement of founding these institutions continued to spread, in particular, as the result of the development of the mystical brotherhoods, *ṭuruḳ* (sing. *ṭarīḳa*, *q.v.* in *EI*[1]). The entire Muslim world was thus affected. Local particularities and significant disparities between establishments are to be noted, however, resulting from the circumstances of foundation (whether or not the initiative was sponsored by a dynasty or a powerful individual, and the level and permanence of the *waḳfs* intended for their support).

It should be noted, for example, that the genesis and evolution of mysticism in the Muslim West, Mag͟hrib and Spain, seem to have been quite different from what took place in the East, possibly as a result of the quasi-exclusive domination of the Mālikī school of law, which was able to impose certain obstacles in matters of the spiritualisation and the practice of faith. In these regions, as was later to be the case in sub-Saharan Africa, the overwhelming mystical phenomenon was maraboutism (elements in E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, repr. Paris 1983; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc: confréries et zaouias*, Paris 1951; E.

Dermenghem, *Le culte des Saints dans l'Islam maghrébin*, Paris 1954). However, the Ṣūfī brotherhood movement was ultimately to be established in the West also. There it took on some quite specific traits (on the mystical brotherhoods in general, see J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, on the establishments and the phenomenon of *ziyāra*, "pious visiting [of a shrine or tomb]" see ch. vi, esp. 166-80). The thesis which continues to be propounded, in regard to the Muslim West, consists in saying, following E. Lévi-Provençal [see ZĀWIYA in *EI*[1]] that the ancient local term was probably *rābiṭa* (see above), which applied to a "hermitage", while *zāwiya* was later to be systematically employed in the same sense, but only from the 7th/13th century onward. This thesis seems to require renewed discussion.

In the central and eastern regions (from the time of their submission to Saldjūḳ domination), the establishments for mystics (these latter being henceforward all denoted as Ṣūfīs, with the exception of the remnants of the Karrāmiyya, surviving in the Ghūrid domain, see GHŪRIDS), took either the name *khanḳāh* [*q.v.*], which was the dominant usage in numerous regions, or *ribāṭ*. There is sometimes concurrence of the two terms in the same zone (Syria and Egypt). In lists of establishments compiled in a later period and applying to Egypt as well as Syria (see below), the appellation *zāwiya* is also found referring to urban establishments which seem to be of the same nature as *ribāṭs* or *khanḳāhs*. It is not known in what circumstances this third term (which is supposed, *a priori*, to be of western origin) is applied in these central regions. As for designation by the word *ribāṭ*, it is seldom an exclusive usage, except in ʿIrāḳ, in the region of Baghdād (but only until the Mongol period). It is, in fact, this declining caliphal metropolis which seems to have provided, for some time, the most important and probably the most ancient stratum of urban *ribāṭs* (cf. the present writer's article on the pre-Mongol period of foundation of the Baghdādī *ribāṭs*, see below). Elsewhere, it is the appellation of *khanḳāh* which seems to have originally been prevalent, this applying to all the lands of the Muslim East or lands of the Levant, controlled, directly or indirectly, by powers of Saldjūḳ origin (Syria and Egypt). It is this, moreover, which seems to have impressed western travellers like Ibn Djubayr in the 6th/12th century and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the 8th/14th century (see below). The names given to these establishments, most of them founded between the 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries, were not subsequently to change, though the foundations could be of very different nature, in terms of their dimensions, their importance, their financial means, even their users, whether or not under the control of successive powers. The most important foundations often accommodated the tomb of the founder, even if the latter had no connection with mysticism (see ḲUBBA, where the primary concern is with tombs in *madrasas*; see also the term *turba/türbe*). This was to be the case especially in Mamlūk Egypt (see KHANḲĀH). Lists of establishments are to be found in certain relatively late sources. For Egypt, they feature in the *Khiṭaṭ* of al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442 [*q.v.*]). According to this author, the city of Cairo is said to have contained 23 *khanḳāhs*, 12 *ribāṭs* and 26 *zāwiyas* (*op. cit.*, Būlāḳ 1270/1853, repr. offset, Baghdād n.d., ii, 414-36). These establishments evidently do not all belong to the same period. The chronology here is defective, needing to be restored before any analysis is attempted. Thus it is possible that the *khanḳāhs* could be the most ancient, which would explain the astonishment of the Maghribī travellers who passed through Cairo, between the 6th/12th and 8th/14th centuries (if the lists supplied in the sources are to be believed, there had, however, been *zāwiyas* since the 7th/13th century, in Syria and in Egypt). For Damascus, there is a list comparable to that of Cairo, but of even later date. It is owed to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521, see Brockelmann, S II, 164) and feature in the *Tanbīh al-ṭālib wa-irshād al-dāris* (2 vols., Damascus 1948; al-Nuʿaymī makes frequent references to Yūsuf Ibn Shaddād, d. 632/1235, for the more ancient establishments). The figures were reportedly as follows: 29 *khanḳāhs*, 26 *zāwiyas* and 21 *ribāṭs* (to this list should be added an indeterminate number of *tekkes*, from the Ottoman period [see DIMASHḲ]. This Turkicised word denotes an establishment of the same type as those already mentioned, its Arabic form being *takkiya*). Here, too, the chronology is defective, and the dates of foundation of the establishments are not given systematically. Historical exploitation of these lists has yet to be undertaken.

In the Maghrib, it was to be the appellation *zāwiya* which was prevalent before the Ottomans. The latter were to build a certain number of *tekkes*, alongside older establishments, except in Morocco, which escaped their domination (given the conditions of local mysticism, the Maghribī *zāwiyas* are not necessarily urban establishments, see Trimingham, *op. cit.*, index, 314). The observation of Ibn Djubayr (who was in the East at the end of the 6th/12th century, see below, *Riḥla*, 330) suggests that while *khanḳāh* was probably unknown in the West, there were nevertheless usages of the term *ribāṭ*, taken in the sense of a generic term. It should be noted that, in another *Riḥla*, of two centuries later, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the great traveller and a native of Tangier (*q.v.*; he is said to have died in 779/1377 or a little earlier), for his part uses *zāwiya* as a term of reference to denote all kinds of establishments, from institutions for mystical brotherhoods to simple wayside hostelries. This uniformity of nomenclature does not seem to correspond to reality. It could be the product of extrapolation, deriving from a typically Maghribī usage. In his accounts, often lively and spiced with anecdotes, this traveller-narrator would be unlikely to mention the terminology actually used in the regions of which he speaks. Furthermore, he abandons his procedure, at least once, in reference to Cairo when he declares, "as for *zāwiyas*, which are here called *khanḳāhs*". The passage is included in a chapter devoted to the various establishments of Cairo (the mosque of ʿAmr, the *madrasas*, the *māristāns* and the *zāwiyas*), see his *Riḥla*, Beirut 1967, 37). In pre-Ottoman Turkey, it is also *zāwiyas* which are attributed by him to the Turkoman organisations of the *akhīs* [*q.v.*], who were to revive, in Anatolia, the most ancient tradition of the *futuwwa* (*q.v.*; see also Cl. Cahen, *Pre-ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 196-200). The word *ribāṭ* seems to be completely absent in the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. There is a single isolated use of the term *rābiṭa*, apparently denoting an oratory regarded as a sacred site (placed under the mythic patronage of the prophet Ilyās and of Khaḍir [*q.v.*], in the region of Sinope or Ṣinūb (*op. cit.*, 319-26).

Returning to the genesis of the process, it will be noted that the most distinguishing feature of these new kinds of establishment is that they are situated, in principle, in cities (except in the case of marabout edifices, many of which reflect the local configuration of places collectively recognised as "sacred") and not on a frontier or in an exposed place. Just like the *madrasas* or colleges of law [*q.v.*], which also appear in towns, in the same places and during the same

periods, the urban establishments for Ṣūfis were to be almost exclusively financed by the system of *waḳfs* (see above). These enabled them to continue in existence and to survive, without too much damage, some particularly turbulent political phases. These were sometimes private *waḳfs* (especially as regards small and ancient foundations, for the use of a single master and his disciples). Later, in establishments of importance, these were to be public or semi-public foundations, initiated by persons belonging to the higher echelons of the state or of the court. There are cases, for example, of foundations created by princesses and by the wives of caliphs and sultans (the position in Baghdād from the 5th/11th century to the 7th/13th century is well-known through local chronicles such as the *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*]; see J. Chabbi, *La fonction du ribat à Bagdad du Ve siècle au début du VIIe siècle*, in *REI*, xlii/1 [1974]).

But this phase of official foundations, which began in Persia with the first Saldjūḳs of the 5th/11th century, seems to have been preceded by a much more obscure period during which the transition was made from the very overt tradition of the diffusion of knowledge, *ʿilm* (religious knowledge, in this case), which was normally dispensed in the mosques, *masdjid* [*q.v.*], or the great-mosques, *djāmiʿ* [see MASDJID], to instruction conveyed in the enclosed space of the new institutions. The latter did not, however, cause the disappearance of the former. It is, yet again, in Persia that the process seems to have begun, probably on the basis of previous local models. The invention of the Muslim *khanḳāh* (a word in Persian undifferentiated in gender which has evolved into a feminine in Arabic) is probably the most ancient. It may be attributed to the ascetic preachers of the movement of the Karrāmiyya, on the basis of a model which is possibly Manichaean. The earliest foundations seem to have been established, in north-eastern Persia, between Transoxiana and Khurāsān, during the Sāmānid period, probably from the end of the 3rd/9th century onwards. Until around the middle of the following century, the *khanḳāh* seems to belong specifically to the movement represented by those whom al-Muḳaddasī calls *khānḳāʾī*, "man of the *khānḳāh*" (44; *khawāniḳ* is the Arabised plural of this word). It seems that the use of this kind of institution by Ṣūfism (established in Persia in the mid-4th/10th century, see above) came about in a later period and in conditions which have yet to be elucidated, from a historical point of view. There are pieces of evidence concerning Naysabūr [see NĪSHĀPŪR], the great metropolis of knowledge in Khurāsān, during the 4th/10th century. But these apply primarily to the foundation of *madrasas*, assigned to the various juristic rites. This seems, furthermore, to be a question of small institutions, of a private type, reserved for the teaching of a single master, for whom the establishment doubtless also served as a residence (R.W. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 249-55, gives a complete list of these pieces of evidence). Bulliet also speaks of the *khānḳāh*. But he does not seem to assess correctly its exclusive ancient relationship to the movement of the Karrāmiyya (for example, an erroneous substitution of terms, 229, n. 5). On the other hand, it is important to note that he makes no mention of the urban *ribāṭ* for Ṣūfis in the sources that he has studied. For his part, F. Meier devotes an entire section of ch. 13 of his study of the (Persian-speaking) Khurāsānian Ṣūfī, Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr (d. 440/1049), a native of Mayhana [*q.v.*] near Sarakhs; this Ṣūfī apparently maintained a personal *khānḳāh* in his town), to what he calls "convents", *Konvente*. He attempts to discover the most ancient attestations of the *ribāṭ* for Ṣūfis as well as of *khānḳāh*. But his study lacks a thorough placing in the context of the citations (*Abū Saʿīd-i-Abū l-Ḫayr, Wirklichkeit und Legende*, in Acta Iranica, Ser. 3, vol. iv, Leiden 1976). It may, however, be supposed that the process probably developed during the 4th/10th century, at least in reference to Persia, and that it was definitively established in the following century. With the exception of one case, presented in a fairly obscure fashion, at Dabīl or Dvīn in Armenia, at 379, it should be noted that al-Muḳaddasī never links the *khānḳāh* to Ṣūfism. On the other hand, the association which he seems to establish, in several passages (412, 414, 415), between *ribāṭs* and Ṣūfism has been interpreted as suggesting that "convents" are to be envisaged. But an anecdote which he locates in Susiana and in which he is personally involved (he is mistaken for a Ṣūfī on account of the woollen gown which he wears), seems to show that this is not the case, 415; the Ṣūfis have their circle, *madjlis* or "meeting place", in the great mosque of Susa; they seem to have an inclination to travel, they are considered as bearers of sanctity and they receive donations; the *ribāṭs* which they frequent are not their own property, but the small forts on the nearby coast in the region of Abbādān which, at the time, must still have been in a reasonable state of repair). The equivalence between the two terms *ribāṭ* and *khānḳāh*, which for Syria, and in the context of Ṣūfism, was to be established two centuries later by the traveller-pilgrim Ibn Djubayr [*q.v.*], seems to be far removed from current opinions (his *Riḥla* ed. Wright and De Goeje, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, GMS, V, 1907, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Jobair, Voyages*, Paris 1949-65). This text is extremely valuable because it offers testimony *de visu*. The passages on the Ṣūfis and their recognised establishments, all situated in urban surroundings, are exclusively concerned with the Syria of Ṣalāh al-Dīn (Ibn Djubayr was residing there in 580/1184). It is the terminology of the *khānḳāh* which seems to be asserted here first, in a spectacular fashion (see Cahen's remarks on the utilisation of Persian terminology in Ayyūbid Syria: *L'émigration persane des origines de l'Islam aux Mongols*, Communication, Rome 1970, repr., *Les peuples musulmans dans l'histoire médiévale*, Damascus 1977, on *khānḳāhs*, 448; on the pre-Ayyūbid period, see N. Elisséef, *Nur ad-Din, un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511-569H/1118-1174)*, Damascus 1967, index). The very expression used by Ibn Djubayr suggests that he knew elsewhere of the *ribāṭ* for Ṣūfis ("the *ribāṭs* which are here called *khānḳāh*", see below, tr. 330). The conditions of foundation, maintenance, as well as the magnificence of certain establishments, are the object of precise observations (the seminal passage with the exclamation, "the Ṣūfis are the kings of this land!" (text 284, tr. 330-1; foundations by princesses, text 275, tr. 318; a case of double appellation, *khānḳāh* and *ribāṭ*, text 243, tr. 279-80).

It is for the moment impossible to detail the successive stages of evolution which led to the situation described, from the 6th/12th century onward, by concordant sources. Thus it is not known why it is the term *ribāṭ*, long associated—in the ambiguous conditions which have been described—with the history of the frontier, which comes to be established (in the Arabic version) as the designation of establishments *intra muros*, dedicated to the shelter of mystics. It could evidently be supposed that, by this means, the mystic establishment reverts to the old sense proposed by the contemporary traditionist who held that religious ob-

servance constituted the true *ribāṭ*. But it may further be supposed that the word is linked to the symbolic representation of *djihād*, which becomes the mystic *mudjāhada*, the *djihād* against oneself. It is this interpretation which is proposed, in ʿIrāḳ towards the end of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, by a major connoisseur of Baghdādī establishments, the Ṣūfī author Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) in his compendium of Ṣūfism, the *Kitāb ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* (publ. as a supplement to the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazālī, Maktaba Tidjāriyya, Cairo n.d., chs. 13-18 of which are devoted to what could be called "the rules of *ribāṭ*"; the rules of *ribāṭ* are said to have been defined in Persian by the Ṣūfī Abū Saʿīd, at the beginning of the 5th/11th century). The proposed interpretation has the merit of coherence, but it supplies no historical justification. It has to be recognised that, for the moment, no explanation is available which could be supported by admissible historical evidence. Furthermore, there are certainly considerable differences, according to periods, regions, types of foundation, between the establishments which are quite simply called *ribāṭ, khānḳāh, zāwiya* or, later, *tekke*. Ibn Djubayr seems most astonished at finding in Syria establishments which resemble, according to him, palaces, *ḳuṣūr*. This indicates that the entire history of the word, in its mystical sense, remains to be written. All that is certain is that, once launched, in very disputable conditions, the movement was to be irreversible. It was all the more so in that it was soon to be supported by the mystical brotherhoods. But it could be that an even greater contribution was made by the untiring activities of the founders. It may be supposed that, over and above the pious work with which they associated their name (such establishments usually bore the name of their founder), aristocratic persons soon came to regard the establishments which they had initiated and financed as a not inconsiderable perquisite of power, albeit symbolic.

With more precise regard to *ribāṭ*, and as a way of concluding the account of the adventures of this word, it may be noted that it is the final evolution of the term which tends to cover, with its sense, all the ancient and intermediate stages of its itinerary, through the successive contexts of Muslim societies. It is no doubt as a result of this that there is regularly encountered, in translation, a misinterpretation which could be described as functional, that which, in defiance of all the ancient usages, makes of *ribāṭ* a "military convent"—one thing which it never was.

Bibliography: Given in the text. (J. CHABBI)

2. Architecture.

Ribāṭ architecture developed from notions of preparedness and defensibility and from models in conquered lands that could be appropriated for these purposes. Early *ribāṭs* varied in size and complexity from isolated watchtowers to fortresses with cells for the *murābiṭūn*, a mosque, storehouses, stables, and towers. Examples of the former cannot be identified with any certainty, and only two verified examples of the latter survive in Tunisia. The first, heavily renovated and remodeled, is in Monastir [*q.v.*]. The second, the Ribāṭ of Sūsā on the Gulf of Gabès, is a fine representative of the full-fledged fortress-*ribāṭ*. Its core dates to the period 154-80/770-96, and its last stage of construction is attributed to the Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyādat Allāh (201-23/817-38). It consists of a fortified, square enclosure (approximately 39 m to the side) with a single, central, projecting entrance in the southern wall, four attached, round towers in the four corners, and three semi-round towers in the middle of the three other sides. The southeastern tower, much higher than the others and encased in a square base, doubles as a *manār*, both for the call to prayer and for watching and signaling. The courtyard is surrounded by vaulted porticoes, behind which run windowless cells on the east, north, and west sides. The second story contains similar cells, for which the porticoes serve as a continuous gallery. The southern side of the second floor is occupied by an arcaded mosque with a concave *miḥrāb* in its centre (for both *ribāṭs*, see K.A.C. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture*, ed. J.W. Allan, Cairo 1989, 286-90, and A. Lézine, *Deux villes d'Ifriqiya*, Paris 1971, 82-8 for Sūsa, and idem, *Architecture de l'Ifriqiya*, Paris 1966, 122-6, for Monastir).

This prototypical *ribāṭ* layout was adopted for a non-military building type that existed from the earliest Islamic period, sc. the *khān* [*q.v.*] or caravanserai. *Khāns*, too, were fortified, well-guarded enclosures with a single entrance to a court surrounded by cells for travellers, stables for their mounts, a mosque, and in many instances a watchtower. Perhaps this is why many mediaeval caravanserais in Persia are called *ribāṭ*, as they all exhibit the same basic scheme as the one encountered in authentic *ribāṭs* (see, for example, B. O'Kane, *Timurid architecture in Khorassan*. Malibu, Calif. 1987, 287-97 and figs. 40-1; and cf. RIBĀṬ-I SHARAF). But post-Saldjūḳ sources use the term *ribāṭ* to designate quite another type of building, sc. houses for Ṣūfīs. This is probably a development out of the initial function of *ribāṭ*, where pious *murābiṭūn* spent their time in devotional exercises during peaceful periods and it does not reflect a continuation of the original layout. *Waḳf* descriptions of Mamlūk *ribāṭs*, for example, show that they were a variation on *khānḳāhs* [*q.v.*] except perhaps that some of them accommodated non-Ṣūfīs (Laila Ibrahim and M.M. Amin, *Architectural terms in Mamluks documents*, Cairo 1990, 52; Leonor Fernandes, *The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt; the* Khanqah, Berlin 1988, 10-13.

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(NASSER RABBAT)

RIBĀṬ AL-FATḤ, RABAT, colloquially *er-Rbāṭ* (ethnic *Ribāṭī*, colloqu. *Rbāṭi*), a town in Morocco, situated on the south bank at the mouth of the Wādī Abū Raḳrāḳ (Wed Bou Regreg) opposite the town of Salé [see SALĀ]. After the establishment of the French Protectorate, it became the administrative capital of the Sharīfian empire, the usual residence of the sultan of Morroco and the headquarters of the *makhzen* [see MAKHZAN] and of the French authorities. The choice of Rabat as the administrative centre of Morroco brought to this town considerable development in place of its earlier somnolence.

When Morroco regained its independence (1956), Rabat became the official capital of the land, and the seat of political (Royal Palace, Parliament), administrative (government ministers, services of the state) and military power. All the diplomatic representatives were concentrated there. But the economic and commercial capital remained Casablanca (headquarters of large businesses, banks, export and import agencies, etc.). Morroco is thus the only North African state which has two capitals with specialised functions, 56 miles/90 km from each other, a fact which avoids, to some extent, too great a concentration of powers and functions in one dominating metropolis.

The foundation of Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ was the work of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN]. The site of the "Two Banks" (*al-ʿIdwatān*) of the estuary of the Bou

Regreg had previously been the scene of Roman and pre-Roman settlements: the Punic, later Roman Sala was built on the left bank of the river higher up at the site of the royal Marīnid necropolis of Chella (Shālla [q.v.]). The Muslim town of Salā on the right bank, from the beginning of the 4th/10th century, in order to protect it against the inroads of the Barghawāṭa [q.v.] heretics at the time when it was the capital of a little Ifrānid kingdom, had fortified on the other side of the Bou Regreg a *ribāṭ* [q.v.], which was permanently manned by devout volunteers, who in this way desired to carry out their vow of *djihād* [q.v.]; the geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal is authority for its existence at this date (ed. de Goeje, 56). But we know very little of the part played by this *ribāṭ* in the course of the sanguinary wars later fought between the Barghawāṭa and the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN]. It is not even possible to point out its exact situation. It was perhaps the same fortified spot that is mentioned in the middle of the 6th/12th century under the name of Ḳaṣr Banī Targh by the geographer al-Fazārī.

The final and complete subjugation of the Barghawāṭa meant that a different part was to be played by the *ribāṭ* on the estuary of the Bou Regreg. In 545/1150, the founder of the dynasty of the Muʾminid Almohads, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, chose the fort and its vicinity as the place of mobilisation for the troops intended to carry the holy war into Spain. A permanent camp was established there and he provided for a supply of fresh water by bringing a conduit from a neighbouring source, ʿAyn Ghabūla. The permanent establishments,—mosque, royal residence—formed a little town which received the name of al-Mahdiyya [q.v.] as a souvenir of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart [q.v.]. On several occasions, very large bodies of men were concentrated around the *ribāṭ*, and it was there that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin died on the eve of his departure for Spain in 558/1163.

The development of the camp went on under ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's successor, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (558-80/1163-84), but it was the following prince of the Muʾminid dynasty, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, who at the beginning of his reign gave the orders and opened the treasuries necessary for its completion. In memory of the victory gained in 591/1195 by the Almohads over Alfonso VIII of Castile at Alarcos [see AL-ARAK], it was given the name of Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ. The camp was surrounded by a wall of earth flanked with square towers enclosing with the sea and the river an area of 450 ha. The wall is still standing for the most part, and is nearly four miles in length; two monumental gates, one now known as Bāb al-Ruwāḥ, the other which gives access to the *ḳaṣaba* (Kasba of the Ūdāya), date from this period. It was also Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr who ordered the building inside Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ of a colossal mosque which was never finished; rectangular in plan it measured 183 m/610 feet long by 139 m/470 feet broad; the only mosque in the Muslim world of greater area was that of Sāmarrā [q.v.]. It was entered by 16 doors and in addition to three courts had a hall of prayer, supported by over 200 columns. In spite of recent excavations more or less successfully conducted, this mosque still remains very much a puzzle from the architectural point of view. But the minaret, which also remained unfinished and was never given its upper lantern, still surprises the traveller by its unusual dimensions. It is now called the Tower of Ḥassān (*burdj Ḥassān*). Built entirely of stones of uniform shape it is 44 m/160 feet high on a square base 16 m/55 feet square. Its walls are 2.5 m/8 feet thick. The upper platform is reached by a ramp 2 m/6 feet 8 ins. broad with a gentle slope. This tower in its proportions, its arrangement and decoration, is closely related to two Almohad minarets of the same period: that of the mosque of the Kutubiyya at Marrākush [q.v.] and that of the great mosque of Seville, the Giralda [see ISHBĪLIYYA].

Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr's great foundation never received the population which its area might have held and the town opposite, Salé, retained under the last Almohads and in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries all its political and commercial importance. Rabat and Salé in 1248 passed under the rule of the Marīnids, and it seems that Rabat in those days was simply a military station of no great importance, sharing the fortunes of its neighbour, which had gradually become a considerable port having busy commercial relations with the principal trading centres of the Mediterranean. But a chance circumstance was suddenly to give the town of the "Two Banks" a new aspect. The expulsion from Spain of the last Moriscos [q.v.] decided upon in 1610 by Philip III brought to Rabat and Salé an important colony of Andalusian refugees, who increased to a marked degree the number of their compatriots in these towns who had previously left Spain of their own free-will after the reconquest. While the population of the other Moroccan cities, Fās and Tetouan principally, in which the exiles took refuge, very quickly absorbed the new arrivals whom they had welcomed without distrust, the people of Rabat and Salé could not see without misgivings this colony from Spain settle beside them, for they lived apart, never mingled with the older inhabitants and devoted themselves to piracy and soon completely dominated the two towns and their hinterland. Rabat, known in Europe as "New Salé" in contrast to Salé ("Old Salé"), soon became the centre of a regular little maritime republic in the hands of the Spanish Moors who had either left of their own accord before 1610, the so-called "Hornachuelas", or had been expelled in 1610, the so-called "Moriscos", the former, however, being clearly in the majority. This republic, on the origin and life of which the documents from European archives published by H. de Castries and P. de Cenival threw new light, hardly recognised the suzerainty of the *sharīf* who ruled over the rest of Morocco. While boasting of their *djihād* against the Christians, the Andalusians of the "Two Banks" really found their activity at sea a considerable source of revenue. They had retained the use of the Spanish language and the mode of life they had been used to in Spain. They thus raised Rabat from its decadence. Their descendants still form the essential part of the Muslim population of the town and they have Spanish patronymics like Bargāsh (Vargas), Palāmīno, Morēno, Lōpēz, Pērēz, Chiquīto, Dinya (Span. Dénia), Runda (Span. Ronda), Mūlīn (Molina), etc.

The spirit of independence and the wealth of the Spanish Moors in Rabat soon made the town a most desirable object in the eyes of the sultans of Morocco. Nevertheless, the little republic with periods of more or less unreal independence, was able to survive until the accession of the ʿAlawī sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh in 1171/1757. This prince now endeavoured to organise for his own behalf the piracy hitherto practised by the sailors of the republic of the "Two Banks". He even ordered several ships of the line to be built. But the official character thus given to the pirates of Salé very soon resulted in the bombardment of Salé and Larache [see AL-ʿARĀʾISH] by a French fleet in 1765. The successors of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh had very soon to renounce any further attempt to wage the "holy war" by sea. The result was

a long period of decline for Salé which found expression not only in the gradual diminution of its trade but also in a very marked hatred of each town for the other. At the beginning of the 20th century, Rabat, like Salé, had completely lost its old importance. They were both occupied by French troops on 19 July 1911.

After the installation of the Protectorate, the demographical and spatial growth of Rabat was intensified. The population in 1912 was estimated at 24,283 (comprising 23,000 Moroccans and 1,283 Europeans), adjacent to Salé with 17,000 inhabitants, all Moroccans. In 1952, a few years before independence, the census of population gave 156,209 inhabitants for Rabat (114,709 Moroccans and 41,500 Europeans). In 1982, the date of the latest official census, valid until the present time, Rabat had a total of 526,100. But one should take into account not only the residents of the capital city but also those of Salé, closely linked with Rabat (316,700 inhabitants) and *ca.* 150,000 in the surrounding suburbs. Hence the whole agglomeration of Rabat-Salé has more than a million people, forming the second largest urban grouping of Morocco, after Casablanca, and spreading its buildings over more than 130 km^2.

The "bipartite urban settlement" which as grown out of the "Republic of the Two Banks" has thus become strongly dissymetrical, from all points of view. Together with its suburbs, Rabat holds three-fifths of the population of the agglomeration, the essential part of the tertiary sector jobs and even the industrial ones. The industrial concerns, estimated at 8,000 in 1986, make the capital the sixth of the industrial centres of Morocco, which hardly allows one to visualise it as a residential and official city. Rabat provides numerous jobs, distributes the resources to a multitude of officials but also to modest households existing in the shadow of the propertied classes (informal employment). As for Salé, it provides housing for employees and workers and appears as a "dormitory town" narrowly dependent on its powerful neighbour.

The urban structure of the two cities also differs. It is true that the two *madīna*s have always faced the mouth of the Bou Regreg and contain the historic memorials of the two cities (gate of Bab el-Alou and the ancient *mellāḥ* and Kasba of the Ūdāya at Rabat; and the gate of Bab Sabta, and the Marīnid Great Mosque and Medersa at Salé). But the Rabat *madīna* has been less densely packed than the Salé one, and its role in the agglomeration is secondary. On the other hand, the Salé *madīna* is overpopulated but in other respects is more attractive to the population on the right bank of the river.

The extensions *extra muros*, in effect the 20th century quarters, are of a very different nature on each side of the river.

In Rabat, these are large, well-spaced blocks, with wide roads and numerous green spaces, which have brought about, since the beginning of the "colonial city"—where the town planners Prost and Ecochard distinguished themselves—a relatively harmonious city (quarters of the Centre, the Residence, Tour Ḥassān, Orangers and Āgadāl). The sites laid out after independence (Amal Fath, university campus, enlargement of the quarter of the luxurious villas of Souissi and the spacious plots of Ryad) have perpetuated this tendency, even if some poverty belts have grown up in the southern suburbs. The expanse of these suburbs, which are either "spontaneous" or have been remodelled by the state, is incontestably more limited there than on the Salé bank of the river.

In Salé, beyond the *madīna*, there is a rabbit's warren of "refuge quarters" which have gradually grown up, biting into the old market gardens and throwing into relief the lower-class and dependent nature of this city, which is neither a rival nor a twin of Rabat but which has become simply an annexe of the capital city.

Strangely enough, although Rabat is the undisputed national capital, it is not a regional centre. Its hinterland is limited to the Zaër country to the south, an important region for stock-rearing, and to a string of bathing resorts along the Atlantic coast. Contrariwise, the economic hinterland of Salé is much more extensive and clearly dominated by the city of Salé itself, and comprises the regions of the Sehoul and the Zemmour. Thus Salé has retained an active role within the adjoining rural world, which is characteristic of traditional Islamic towns, whereas Rabat seems to have turned its back on the countryside, as befits a relatively new and probably still to some extent artificial town.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL-[J.F. TROIN])

RIBĀṬ-I SHARAF, a building in mediaeval Islamic Khurāsān, situated on the Nīshāpūr-Sarakhs

caravan route, two stages from Sarakhs. It consists of two four-*īwān* courtyards, each containing a mosque. The larger inner court is surrounded by extensive suites of rooms; the outer court served mainly for stabling.

On the *pīshṭāḳ* [*q.v.*] at the rear of the inner court is an inscription with a date in which the units ended in 8. The *īwān* behind it has a stucco inscription dated 549/1154-5 in the name of the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*], crediting the work to his wife Turkān Khātūn. At this date, Sandjar was being held captive by the Ghuzz; A. Godard (*Khorāsān*, in *Āthār-i Īrān*, iv [1949], 7-68) suggested that Turkān Khātūn's work involved mostly decorative repairs, and that on stylistic grounds 508/1114-15 was the date of the original foundation.

Although the building was restored in the 1970s, leading to the find of a cache of 11-14th century metalware and pottery, a lacquer box and a Ṣafawid *firmān* under one of the floors (M.Y. Kiani, *Robat-e Sharaf*, Tehran 1981), there has been no systematic study of the building to confirm Godard's sometimes problematic hypotheses regarding attribution of the work to the original building period or to restoration. For instance, the stucco revetment of the squinch of the mosque, ascribed by Godard to 1154-5, is almost identical to that of the Yarti Gunbad in Turkmenistan dated 491/1098 (S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana*, Leiden 1992, 180).

The stucco is extraordinarily varied, ranging from the multi-layered arabesques of the soffit of the axial *īwān* to archaic work (best published in A. Hutt, *Iran 1*, London 1977, Pl. 65) suggesting the involvement of the same team responsible for the stucco of the tomb of Sandjar at Marw. The range of brick decoration and vaulting techniques, as yet inadequately published, is equally impressive.

This sumptuousness, together with the royal restoration inscription, make it likely, as J.M. Rogers has pointed out (in J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler (eds.), *Die Kunst des Islam*, Berlin 1973, no. 242), that the building was as much a palace as a caravansaray. A monumental gateway with the fragmentary remains of a royal inscription at nearby Du Barār (W.M. Clevenger, *Some minor monuments in Khurāsān*, in *Iran*, vi [1968], 58) may have been the gateway to the caravansaray/palace or a surrounding *ḥayr*.

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(B. O'Kane)

RIḌĀ (A.), literally "the fact of being pleased or contented; contentment, approval" (see Lane, 1100), a term found in Ṣūfī mysticism and also in early Islamic history.

1. In mystical vocabulary. In the Ḳur'ān, the root *raḍiya* and its derivatives occur frequently in the general sense of "to be content", with nominal forms like *riḍwān* "God's grace, acceptance of man's submission" (e.g. III, 156/61, 168/174; IV, 13/12; IX, 73/72; LVII, 20, 27), although the actual form *riḍā* does not occur. In the writings of the proto-Ṣūfī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], it is a moral state, contentment with the divine precepts and decrees, and the reciprocal contentment of the soul and God (see L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1954, index).

2. In early Islamic history. The term has a special role in the events leading up to the ᶜAbbāsid Revolution of 128-32/746-50, when the anti-Umayyad *duᶜāt* made their propaganda in the name of *al-riḍā* (? *al-raḍī*) *min āl Muḥammad* "a member of the House of the Prophet who shall be acceptable to everybody". This conveniently vague term enabled both the partisans of ᶜAlī's family, the Shīᶜa, and those of the Prophet's paternal uncle, al-ᶜAbbās, to claim that they were the intended new leaders of the *umma* (see M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East. The establishment of the ᶜAbbāsid state—incubation of a revolt*, Jerusalem 1983, 146-7, 158-9 n. 14, 172).

Subsequently, the term tended to be particularly identified with the Shīᶜa; it was, for instance, the *laḳab* [*q.v.*] of the Eighth Imām, ᶜAlī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

RIḌĀ, an Ottoman biographer of poets. Meḥmed Riḍā b. Meḥmed, called Zehir Mār-zāde, was born into a family living in Edirne. Of his life we know only that he was for a time, respectively, *müderris* with a salary of 40 *aḳčes*, *nā'ib* and *müftī*—he held this latter function at Uzun Köprü near Edirne—and that he died in his native town in 1082/1671-2. Besides a collection of poems (*Dīwān*) and a work with the title *Ḳawāᶜid-i fārisiyye* (no manuscript of these works has yet been found), Riḍā wrote a *Tadhkirat al-shuᶜarā'*, a biographical collection in which he dealt in alphabetical order with the poets who lived in the first half of the 9th century A.H., i.e. 1591-2 to 1640-1. In the introduction he discussed eleven sultans who wrote poetry. The book was completed in 1050/1640-1 as the *ta'rīkh* or chronogram shows. The few manuscripts which do exist (in libraries in Istanbul and Vienna) contain, apart from the introduction, sometimes 165 and sometimes as many as 260 short biographies illustrated with quotations in verse. The printed edition (by Aḥmed Djewdet, *Tedhkire-yi Riḍā*, Istanbul 1316/1900-1) has 173 biographies.

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(F. Babinger-[J. Schmidt])

RIḌĀ ᶜABBĀSĪ, leading artist at the court of the Ṣafawid Shāh ᶜAbbās I [*q.v.*]. In addition to 29 works dated between 1001/1591-2 and 1044/1634, the four main sources for Riḍā ᶜAbbāsī's life are: (1) Ḳāḍī Aḥmad b. Mīr Munshī, *Gulistān-i hunar* (1005/1596 and 1015/1606), *Calligraphers and painters...*, tr. V. Minorsky, Washington, D.C. 1959, 192-3; (2) Iskandar Munshī, *Ta'rīkh-i ᶜālam-ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī* (*ca.* 1025/1616 and 1038/1629), *History of Shah ᶜAbbās*, i, tr. R.M. Savory, Boulder, Colo. 1978, 273, and T.W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928, 143-4; (3) "The Robber, the poet and the dogs" (Keir Coll., Richmond, Surrey), a drawing which Riḍā began in 1028/1619 and his son Shafīᶜ ᶜAbbāsī completed in 1064/1654; and (4) Portrait of Riḍā ᶜAbbāsī, by Muᶜīn Muṣawwir (Princeton University Library, 96G), begun in 1045/1635, completed in 1087/1673.

Riḍā, the son of the Ṣafawid court artist ᶜAlī Aṣghar, served Shāh ᶜAbbās. Scholars have questioned whether "Riḍā" and "Āḳā Riḍā" were identical to "Riḍā ᶜAbbāsī". "The Robber, the poet and the dogs" contains one inscription by Riḍā referring to himself as "Riḍā Muṣawwir [ᶜAbbā]sī" and another by Shafīᶜ ᶜAbbāsī, calling him "Āḳā Riḍā". Likewise, Muᶜīn Muṣawwir calls him "Riḍā-yi Muṣawwir ᶜAbbāsī... also known as Riḍā-yi ᶜAlī Aṣghar".

Riḍā's career consists of three periods. (1) *Ca.* 995-1013/1587-1604 his style developed away from the attenuated forms of the Ḳazwīn school of 1560-80. Extremely delicate brushwork characterises his paintings; his drawings introduce a calligraphic line of variable thickness used to define form and suggest

movement. (2) *Ca.* 1013-1019/1604-10. After the move to the new capital, Iṣfahān, in 1006-7/1598 and the addition of the honorific "ʿAbbāsī" to his name *ca.* 1011-12/1603, Riḍā rebelled, ceasing to portray courtly figures. His staccato style of draughtmanship fits the subject-matter of the period—lone, anguished men in the wilderness. (3) *Ca.* 1019-44/1610-35. Resuming court employment, Riḍā introduced a ponderous figural style, a palette of half-tones, and multi-figure compositions to his oeuvre. The single-page subjects include portraits of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s, courtiers, Europeans, and drawings after originals by Bihzād [*q.v.*]. Riḍā's work strongly influenced contemporaries and followers throughout the 11th/17th century.

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(Sheila R. Canby)

RIḌĀ ḲULĪ K̲H̲ĀN b. Muḥammad Hādī b. Ismāʿīl Kamāl, Persian scholar and man of letters, "l'un des hommes les plus spirituels et les plus aimables que j'aie rencontrés dans aucune partie du monde" (Gobineau). A descendant of the poet Kamāl K̲h̲ud̲j̲andī [*q.v.*], the grandfather of Riḍā Ḳulī, chief of the notables of Čarda Kilāta (district of Dāmg̲h̲ān), was put to death by the partisans of Karīm K̲h̲ān Zand against whom he supported the Ḳād̲j̲ārs (cf. *Relation de l'ambassade au Kharezm*, tr. Schefer, 203). His father became one of the dignitaries of the court of the Ḳād̲j̲ārs; in 1215/1800, while on a pilgrimage to Mas̲h̲had, he heard of the birth of a son in Tehran to whom he gave the name of the *imām*. Becoming an orphan in 1802, Riḍā Ḳulī spent his early years in Fārs; he was brought back from Fārs to Tehran, lived some time with relatives at Barfurus̲h̲ (Māzandarān), then returned to Fārs where he received his education; he then entered the service of the state under the patronage of the governor-general of Fārs. His earliest efforts in poetry were published under pseudonym of Čākir, which he soon changed to that of Hidāyat. In 1829, on the occasion of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh's stay in S̲h̲īrāz, he composed a panegyric and other poems which gained him the royal favour; but a serious illness prevented him from leaving S̲h̲īrāz. In 1838 Muḥammad S̲h̲āh showed such esteem for him that he entrusted his son ʿAbbās Mīrzā's education to him. The political troubles that followed the S̲h̲āh's death in 1848 sent Riḍā Ḳulī into retirement. In 1851 Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh recalled him and sent him on an embassy to K̲h̲īwa. He was next appointed to the Ministry of Education, became Director of the Royal College (*dār al-funūn*), then fifteen years later, tutor (*lālā-bās̲h̲ī*) to the crown prince Muẓaffar al-Dīn, whom he followed to Tarīz, where he spent several years. He returned to Tehran where he died in 1288/1871.

His very numerous works include e.g. some treatises on theology and letters (one may mention only the *Miftāḥ al-kunūz*, a commentary on difficult verses in K̲h̲āḳānī, and the *Nižād-nāme-yi salāṭīn-i ʿad̲j̲am-nižād*, on early Persian dynasties: analysed in *JRAS* [1886], 198). His lyrical poetry (*Dīwān*) totals about 30,000 lines. Of his six *mat̲h̲nawī*s (enumerated by himself, *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ii, 582) only the epic entitled *Bektās̲h̲-nāme* (or *Gulistān-i Iram*, lith. Tabrīz, 1270/1853) is published: it celebrates the tragic loves of the hero and the Persian poetess of Arab origin Rabīʿa Ḳizdārī Balk̲h̲ī, known as Zayn al-ʿArab. His other works which are published are mainly of a documentary nature and therefore very important. The *Fihris al-tawārīk̲h̲* ("Repertory of chronicles", chronology, lith. in part at Tabrīz) was presented to Nāsir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh before the author's departure to K̲h̲ʷārazm (1851); the *Ad̲j̲mal al-tawarīk̲h̲* (lith. Tabrīz 1283) is a short précis of the history of Persia composed for the crown prince Muẓaffar al-Dīn; the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, continuation of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā* of Mīr K̲h̲ʷānd [*q.v.*] down to 1270/1853 (Tehran 1270, 3 vols. fol., also Tehran 1338-9/1959-60, 10 vols.), is a work of considerable size, based on eastern sources (of which several are still unpublished) and on official documents, most of which are reproduced in full; in addition to the record of political events the work contains much geographical, literary and artistic information. The *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn* ("Gardens of the initiated"), biographies of mystical poets, with an excellent introduction on Ṣūfism, was prepared for Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (lith. 1305, Tehran, printed Tehran 1336-40/1957-61, 2 vols. in 6). It is closely connected with the *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* ("Assembly of eloquent individuals"), of first importance for the history of Persian poetry (lith. Tehran 1294, 2 vols. fol.); this last work, the author's best, contains after a general introduction on the history of Persian poetry, biographies and select pieces from all the poets (the poet laureates form the first section); at the end is an autobiography and an anthology of the poems of Hidāyat (ii, 581-678; autobiography and a number of the verses reproduced by the author of the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 125). The researches necessary for these last two works showed Hidāyat the inadequacy of the dictionaries at his disposal; he intended to remedy this by his *Farhang-i and̲j̲uman-ārā-yi Nāṣirī* (lith. Tehran 1288) which, preceded by a remarkable introduction, gives the different meanings of each Persian word, with quotations from the classical poets. The work entitled *Madārid̲j̲ al-balāg̲h̲a* (lith. 1331) is a glossary of rhetorical and poetical terms with many examples taken from different poets. Lastly, we owe to Hidāyat the first editions of the *Dīwān* of Manūčihrī (lith. Tehran 1297), of the *Ḳābūs-nāma* (*ibid.* 1275) and of the *Naft̲h̲at al-maṣdūr* (history of the fall of the K̲h̲ʷārazmian empire) of Muḥammad Zaydarī (publ. posthumously, Tehran 1308). Its autobiographical character gives the attractive "Narrative of a Journey to K̲h̲ʷārazm" (*Safar-nāma-yi K̲h̲ʷārazm*, ed. and tr. Schefer, in *PEIOV*, Paris 1879) a special place among his works; he undertook this journey in 1851 as ambassador sent to settle the differences between the courts of Tehran and K̲h̲īwa. This journal is a valuable document for the history of the k̲h̲ānates and has been utilised by later Persian historians (notably Muḥammad Ḥasan K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*]); besides valuable historical, archaeological and geographical matter, the book, which is written in a simple and natural style, is a contribution to the study of the manners and customs of the period (notably, conditions of travel); we find in it pretty pictures of native life and charming landscapes. Several of Hidāyat's descendants have taken a prominent part in literature, politics and administration.

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(H. Massé*)

RIḌĀ NŪR, Rizâ Nur (1879-8 September 1942), Turkish medical doctor, politician, diplomat, man of letters and nationalist ideologue, born in the Black Sea town of Sinop in 1879. After graduating from the military medical college he taught at the Faculty of Medicine, but abandoned medicine for politics after the constitution was restored in July 1908. Elected to the parliament from Sinop, Riḍā Nūr joined the opposition Liberal party (*Aḥrār Fïrḳasï*) against the *Ittiḥād ve Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*], the CUP. Suspected of playing a role in the abortive counter-revolution of April 1909, he fled to Egypt but returned to continue his oppositional role against the CUP. On 19 July 1910 he was arrested for conspiring against the government but was acquitted for lack of evidence. He became a founding member of the *Ḥürriyyet ve Iʾtilāf Fïrḳasï* [*q.v.*] in November 1911, which attempted to unite all the opponents of the CUP. After the assassination of Maḥmūd Shewḳat Pasha [*q.v.*] in June 1913 he was exiled to Europe.

Riḍā Nūr returned to Istanbul after the armistice of October 1918 and was elected to the last Ottoman Parliament, where he allied with the Islamists and Ottoman patriots. But in April 1920 he joined the Nationalists in Ankara, serving the movement in various capacities: as Minister of Education (May 1920); in the delegation to Moscow (January 1921); Minister of Health (December 1921-September 1922); and delegate to the Lausanne Conference (1922-23). As a supporter of the caliphate, he sided with the conservatives against Muṣṭafā Kemāl and was again forced to go into exile. He published the *Revue de Turcologie* in Paris and Alexandria between 1931 and 1937 and left behind a number of manuscripts, including his memoirs, in the British Library, London. Riḍā Nūr was allowed to return to Turkey in December 1938 after Kemal Atatürk's death and again became active in politics and the pan-Turkist press, writing in journals like *Kopuz*. He founded *Tanrıdağ* in May 1942 and died soon after in September, having led an adventurous and colourful life.

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RIḌĀ SHĀH (1295-1365/1878-1944), founder and first ruler of the Pahlavī dynasty of Persia (1344-99/1925-79). Riḍā Shāh replaced the deposed Aḥmad Shāh Ḳādjār in 1925, having previously participated in the *coup d'état* of 1921, which eventually led to the ousting of the Ḳādjār dynasty. Between 1925 and 1941, he was the catalyst for the modernisation programme which gave Iran the infrastructure of a 20th-century nation-state. In 1941, he was forced to abdicate by the British and Soviets on account of his pro-Nazi leanings. He died in exile outside Johannesburg in 1944.

Riḍā Shāh's career falls into two distinct phases: his first forty-five years as a commoner, and the fifteen years of his rule as Shāh. As with other founders of dynasties, Riḍā Shāh's origins are comparatively obscure. The official date of his birth was 16 March 1878 and he was born in the village of Alasht in the Sawad Kūh of Māzandarān. His father, ʿAbbās ʿAlī Khān, who was an officer in the Ḳādjār army, died in the same year. His mother, from an emigrant family from Erivan, then took him to Tehran where, around 1893, he joined the Shāh's Cossack Brigade. This unit, established by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1879 and officered by Russians, was at that time the most effective unit in the Iranian army. Riḍā enlisted as a common soldier, but was soon promoted successively to corporal, sergeant, and sergeant-major, and in 1911, having seen active service in the turbulent period which followed the constitutional movement of 1905-6, was commissioned as a second lieutenant, and a year later, promoted to lieutenant. After further experience campaigning against recalcitrant tribes, in 1915 he was promoted to the rank of major. He was regarded as a model officer, with a reputation for both bravery and conscientiousness. He also seems to have become politically *engagé* about this time as the result of neutral Iran's occupation by British, Russian, and Ottoman forces during the course of the First World War.

In 1916, he became a lieutenant-colonel, and a year later was appointed to command one of the Cossack regiments. It seems that Riḍā Khān felt increasingly bitter that the force in which he served, although regarded as the "crack" unit of the Iranian army, was an instrument of Russian influence in Persia. The outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917 shattered the Russian command-structure in the Cossack Brigade and in the course of the machinations which followed, Riḍā Khān was promoted rapidly to the rank of general officer. The First World War had now ended, the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 had been drawn up, virtually reducing the country to the status of a British protectorate, and a British military mission, under Major-General W.E.R. Dickson, had arrived in Tehran. In May 1920, Bolshevik forces bombarded Enzelī, and the Djangalī movement under Kūčak Khān [*q.v.*] in Gīlān forced a response from the feeble central government, resulting in Riḍā Khān's participation in the fighting in Gīlān, in which, despite militarily inconclusive results, he returned to Tehran with an enhanced reputation for courage and resourcefulness.

Promoted to the rank of full general, he was now appointed to command the Cossack regiments stationed in Ḳazwīn, and it was probably here that he first made contact with the British. In October 1920, the British forces stationed in northwestern Persia (a holdover from the First World War) were placed under the command of General Edmund Ironside, who, along with other British officers, came to respect the morose giant as the outstanding figure among the Cossack officers of the Ḳazwīn garrison. Only a few months later, there occurred the *coup d'état* of February 1921, involving *inter alios* the pro-British journalist, Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, which provided the opportunity for Riḍā Khān's rise to power. For the

Sayyid needed military force to carry through his *coup*, and Riḍā Khān was the man to provide it, when his Cossacks advanced on Tehran from Ḳazwīn (18-21 February 1921). At the time, public opinion in Tehran assumed that the British must have been behind these events, a viewpoint later frowned upon during the Pahlavī period, when the coup was represented to have been a spontaneous act in which Riḍā Khān played the leading part. Recent publications (e.g. Zirinsky, *Imperial power and dictatorship*) point to local British military and diplomatic involvement, but not British government sponsorship.

Ḍiyāʾ, who became Prime Minister following the coup, sought to initiate a coherent programme of internal reform and to end the threat of further national disintegration and fragmentation, working within the framework of the Constitution of 1906-7, and with Aḥmad Shāh Ḳādjār (1327-42/1909-24) as a constitutional monarch. Although lacking political acumen, Ḍiyāʾ was a high-minded patriot of considerable ability and from the outset understood that reform had to include military reform. In the first proclamation of his new government (24 February 1921), he declared himself in favour of "An army before and above everything. Everything first for the army, and again for the army ... until our armed forces reach the highest stage of development" (Wilber, *Riza Shah Pahlavi*, 49). This was, no doubt, the *quid pro quo* between Ḍiyāʾ and Riḍā Khān which had led to their collaboration, for Riḍā Khān had long deplored the supine state of the country and its helplessness in the face of foreign aggression, which was the direct consequence of its military backwardness. Riḍā Khān was now appointed *Sardār-i Sipah* (Army Commander), subordinate to the Minister of War, a post which he was also to assume within a matter of months. He now undertook what was to be his most concrete achievement, the modernisation of Persia's armed forces, which coincided with the effective suppression of insurgency in Ādharbaydjān, Gīlān and Khurāsān, and among the Kurds, Lurs, Bakhtiyārīs and Ḳashḳāʾīs, a process which was to continue in the years following his accession to the throne. The two processes complemented each other. The army, reorganised, well-disciplined and equipped with modern weapons, became the agent for the forceful reassertion of the authority of the central government throughout the provinces, while its successes in the field reinforced its prestige and self-confidence, making the man who had willed it into existence—Riḍā Khān—indispensable to the politicians.

As *Sardār-i Sipah*, Riḍā Khān, semi-literate and unpolished compared with the old-style Persian aristocracy, found himself "odd man out" in a government in which his colleagues were mostly, and inevitably, scions of the old Ḳādjār ruling élite. Ḍiyāʾ himself did not last long—by May, he had resigned and gone into exile—and his replacement as prime minister was Ḳawām al-Salṭana, a former governor-general of Khurāsān recently imprisoned by Ḍiyāʾ, the brother of the former premier, Wuthūḳ al-Dawla (1918-20), and one of the greatest Persian statesmen of the 20th century. As Minister of War, Riḍā Khān's name continued to be in the forefront of affairs. In October 1921, the Djangalī revolt in Gīlān collapsed and Kūčak Khān died in that same month, and by the middle of the following year, the Kurdish rebels had been defeated and their leader, Ismāʿīl Khān "Simko", had fled into exile. These successes convinced the Madjlis (Parliament) of the value of Riḍā Khān's army reforms, and even if it did not trust him, it was prevailed upon to grant him additional revenues with which to provide for the further expansion of the army. With regard to funds for the latter, his appetite was insatiable. Meanwhile, the army was emerging as a new and, ultimately, the dominant factor in the Persian equation. In Avery's words, "uniforms and extortion, heavy boots and the rifle butt came to symbolise a new form of tyranny. In old forms there were always detachable elements and a certain sense of community had existed between tyrants and the people. ... The nobility and the clergy, for all their faults and shortcomings, had social virtues which from time to time were exercised for the benefit of the society of which they formed a recognised and integrated part. They had nothing to do with the horrors of the guardroom and military prison" (Avery, *Modern Iran*, 259).

During the 1920s, the two great powers long accustomed to deciding the fate of Persia, Russia and Great Britain, were both preoccupied elsewhere. Britain was war-weary and distracted by world-wide responsibilities, while the new Soviet Union was locked in civil strife, massive social dislocation, and economic experimentation. Under Diyāʾ, a Russo-Persian treaty, which had been under negotiation since the previous year, was signed on 26 February 1921, which, for the time being, satisfactorily redefined relations between the two countries. On the same day, the Sayyid repudiated the hated Anglo-Persian Agreement, leaving British policy in Persia in temporary limbo. Thus, the British would be forced to acquiesce in Riḍā Khān's pacification of the Bakhtiyārī, and his overthrow of Shaykh Khazʿal [*q.v.*] of Muḥammara in Khūzistān (November 1924-January 1925), both erstwhile clients of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. As Minister of War, his authority grew as that of his colleagues declined, and on 28 October 1923 the Shāh grudgingly appointed him Prime Minister prior to his own departure for Europe on health grounds. He never returned to Persia, dying in France four years later. On 13 March 1924, the Madjlis met and appointed a committee to consider the question of Persia becoming a republic, a move which Riḍā Khān initially seemed to favour, and a bill was submitted to the Madjlis on 15 March. But in that same month, the Turkish Grand National Assembly abolished the caliphate, confiscated *awḳāf* (religious endowments) and brought religious education under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. The Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* in Persia were naturally apprehensive at these developments, which seemed to equate republicanism with secularism and sacrilege, and Riḍā Khān heeded their fears and played on them, proclaiming on 1 April 1925, following a visit to Ḳum, that a republic would be better for the welfare of the country. On 31 October 1925, the Madjlis formally deposed Aḥmād Shāh and ended the rule of the Ḳādjār dynasty, although in a long dissentient speech, Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*] (formerly, Muṣaddiḳ al-Salṭana), anticipating Riḍā Khān's imminent elevation to the throne, pointed out that, whatever the good qualities of the Prime Minister had been, as Shāh he would wield a power contrary to the Constitution. Finally, on 12 December 1925, the Madjlis voted for Riḍā Khān to become Shāh. There were some abstentions, but only four publicly opposed the vote: the veteran Constitutionalist Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳīzāda, Ḥusayn ʿAlā, Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī and Dr. Muṣaddiḳ. Riḍā Khān had already assumed the family name of Pahlavī, redolent of ancient pre-Islamic Iranian glories, and so the Pahlavī dynasty was duly established by law.

Crowned Shāh in the old Gulistān Palace on 25

April 1926, Riḍā S̲h̲āh now embarked upon a brutal but effective programme of modernisation which left untouched almost no area of Iranian life. The overall social structure remained superficially the same, but military officers, bureaucrats, and well-connected entrepreneurs and contractors came into prominence, often becoming richer and certainly more influential than the former court nobility, landlords, clerics, and *bāzārīs*. Now, cronyism became the most direct road to wealth and power, and vast fortunes were dubiously acquired, that of Riḍā S̲h̲āh himself being of spectacular extent. The predominant characteristics of the new régime were centralisation and regulation, a despotism of licenses and permits, enforced by a horde of officials, police and, ultimately, the army. Most manifestations of free speech or opposition were ruthlessly stamped out, and the fiscal rapacity of the régime probably exceeded that of any of its predecessors. In this sense, Riḍā S̲h̲āh's rule strongly resembled the governing style of the other dictatorships which emerged during the 1920s and 1930s.

At the same time, enormous changes took place in the material life of the Iranian people. Roads were built (generally, with strategic considerations to the fore, especially in tribal territory), a Trans-Iranian railway linked the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea, and Iran was integrated with the rest of the world by air- and steamship-links. New industries were set up—textile mills, sugar refineries, cement works. There was an emphasis on the pre-Islamic components of Persian culture; language reform to eliminate Arabic elements; and a downplaying of Iran's historic links with the Arab lands of the Middle East. At the level of scholarship and archaeology, there was a remarkable revival of knowledge of Iran's early history, much of it due to European savants.

Yet despite the achievements of these fifteen years, Riḍā S̲h̲āh remained the quintessential dictator, suspicious of those around him, fearful lest anyone other than himself should earn public respect or admiration, and malignant toward those who opposed his will or offered alternative solutions. His vindictiveness was proverbial and his prisons were kept full. Former collaborators and helpmates such as Tīmūrtāsh, the Minister of Court, and Sardār Asʿad Bak̲h̲tiyārī, the Minister of War, died in prison under mysterious circumstances, as did his critic in the Mad̲j̲lis, Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris. ʿAlī Akbar Dāwar, the Minister of Justice, committed suicide. Writers and journalists were no less subject to persecution. The poet ʿIs̲h̲ḳī was murdered; the novelist Buzurg ʿAlawī was imprisoned, and there were others.

The style of Riḍā S̲h̲āh's government was despotic and militaristic, with the S̲h̲āh taking the important decisions, which were then carried out by his ministers, most of whom (Dāwar was an exception) were ciphers. In foreign policy, Riḍā S̲h̲āh's achievements were more positive in that, conscious of the past diplomatic history of his country, he was able to diminish the role of both Great Britain and the Soviet Union in its internal affairs, establishing an international persona for a country which had for so long seemed to be an Anglo-Russian protectorate. Iran (he had abandoned the Eurocentric name of Persia) was an early signatory of the League of Nations, thereafter widening its diplomatic representation overseas. Of particular significance were Riḍā S̲h̲āh's diplomatic forays into the Middle East. In 1934, he paid a state visit to Turkey, becoming personally acquainted with Atatürk, and in 1937, he engineered the regional Saʿdābād Pact with Afg̲h̲ānistān, ʿIrāḳ and Turkey. In that same year, Iran signed a treaty with ʿIrāḳ over the S̲h̲aṭṭ al-ʿArab. An Egyptian marriage for the Crown Prince, Muḥammad Riḍā [*q.v.*], established links with Egypt's ruling élite and did something to open up a court which had hitherto been drab and provincial. Riḍā S̲h̲āh had four wives: the first, Hamdām, had a daughter of the same name; the second, Tād̲j̲-i Malik, gave him S̲h̲ams, the twins Muḥammad Riḍā and As̲h̲raf, and ʿAlī Riḍā; the third, Turān, a Ḳād̲j̲ār, gave him one son, G̲h̲ulām Riḍā; and by ʿIṣmat, also a Ḳād̲j̲ār, he had four sons—ʿAbd al-Riḍā, Maḥmūd Riḍā, Aḥmad Riḍā and Ḥamīd Riḍā—and a daughter, Fāṭima.

In the years prior to the Second World War, Riḍā S̲h̲āh rashly assumed a pro-German stance, intended to reduce Iran's dependence on Great Britain and the Soviet Union, while the Nazis assiduously wooed and flattered him. With the outbreak of war, both Great Britain and the Soviet Union demanded that these German connections be severed. The S̲h̲āh, however, prevaricated, and he was forced to witness the invasion of his country by British and Soviet units, which began on 25 August 1941. Against these, his prized and pampered army performed abysmally. He abdicated on 16 September 1941, in order to ensure his son's succession, and was taken by the British first to Mauritius and then to the Transvaal in South Africa, where he died on 26 July 1944.

There is little disagreement about Riḍā S̲h̲āh's character and temperament. He had developed at an early age the soldierly virtues of personal courage, self-discipline and concentrated application, and these qualities were to stand him in good stead throughout his life. A man of limited formal education and little imagination, he seems to have been a remarkable example of the self-taught man of action who utilised his limited experience to maximum advantage as a head of state who was both usurper and revolutionary. In this sense, he was more reminiscent of Peter I of Russia or Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt than of Atatürk, the man with whom he is usually compared, who was at once a more complicated and a more cosmopolitan personality.

With his great height, commanding bearing, and raptorial glare, Riḍā S̲h̲āh's awe-inspiring presence reinforced an impression of ruthlessness and brutal strength. His son would write: "Those eyes could make a strong man shrivel up inside" (Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, *Mission for my country*, London 1961, 36). General Ḥasan Arfa, encountering him soon after his promotion to *Sardār-i Sipah*, noted: "His complexion was rather dark and his eyes of a strange golden hue were large with a searching look which it took courage to meet. He had a small black moustache slightly turned up at the ends, and altogether his appearance was extremely virile and soldierly" (*Under five Shahs*, 115-16). At his coronation, four years later, Vita Sackville-West described him as "... an alarming man, six feet three in height, with a sullen manner, a huge nose, grizzled hair, and a brutal jowl" (V. Sackville-West, *Passenger to Tehran*, London 1926, 103-4). Decades after his death, his principal wife, Tād̲j̲-i Malik, confessed that "she did her best to keep out of his way" (A. Alam, *The Shah and I*, New York 1992, 447), and his daughter As̲h̲raf wrote that "Even as an adult I would weigh my words carefully before I brought up any subject that might provoke or displease him", while at the same time she admired "his stubbornness, his fierce pride, and his iron will" (Ashraf Pahlavi, *Faces in a mirror*, Englewood Cliffs 1980, 13-14). These were no doubt the qualities needed at that time to impose by sheer will-power from above the radical reorganisation of a profoundly con-

servative society, and it was just that which was to prove Riḍā S͟hāh's lasting achievement.

Bibliography: Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Tārīk͟h-i muʿāṣir yā ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, Tehran 1331/1952; Ḥusayn Makkī, *Tārīkh-i bīst-sāla-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1324/1945; Hassan Arfa, *Under five Shahs*, London 1964; Amin Banani, *The modernization of Iran*, Stanford 1961; P. Avery, *Modern Iran*, London 1965; D.N. Wilber, *Riza Shah Pahlavi: the resurrection and reconstruction of Iran*, New York 1975; L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *Reza Shah the Great: founder of the Pahlavi dynasty*, in *Iran under the Pahlavis*, ed. G. Lenczowski, Stanford 1978, 1-50; E. Abrahamian, *Iran between two revolutions*, Princeton 1982; M.P. Zirinsky, *Blood, power, and hypocrisy: the murder of Robert Imbrie and American relations with Pahlavi Iran, 1924*, in *IJMES*, xviii (1986), 275-92; Sussan Siavoshi, *Liberal nationalism in Iran: the failure of a movement*, Boulder 1990; G.R.G. Hambly, *The Pahlavi autocracy: Riza Shah, 1921-1941*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vii, ed. Avery and Hambly, Cambridge 1991, 213-43; Zirinsky, *Imperial power and dictatorship: Britain and the rise of Reza Shah, 1921-1926*, in *IJMES*, xxiv (1992), 639-63. (G.R.G. Hambly)

RIḌĀ TEWFĪḲ [see bölükbas͟hî, riḍā tewfīḳ, in Suppl.].

RIḌĀʿ [see raḍāʿ].

RIḌĀʾĪ, Āḳā, Muḥammad D̲j̲ahāngīrī or Harāwī, Persian painter in the service of the Mug͟hal prince Salīm or D̲j̲ahāngīr in the late 10th-early 11th/late 16th-early 17th century. Mentioned in D̲j̲ahāngīr's memoirs, Āḳā Riḍāʾī of Harāt or Marw joined Salīm's service before 997/1588-9, the year in which his son Abu 'l-Ḥasan was born at Salīm's court. On a portrait of Shāh D̲j̲ahān of *ca.* 1050/1640, Abu 'l-Ḥasan refers to himself as "al-Mas͟hhadī", a *nisba* repeated on a painting by his brother ʿĀbid. However, no direct connection between Āḳā Riḍāʾī and Mas͟hhad can be established. He may have emigrated to India as a result of the Uzbek invasion of Harāt and massacre of its inhabitants in 996/1587.

Āḳā Riḍāʾī's known work ranges in date between *ca.* 996-1018/1587-1609 and includes manuscript illustrations, album margins and single-page portraits. Stylistically, his oeuvre adheres closely to Persian models; his manuscript illustrations reflect a familiarity with the court painting of S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp (*r.* 931-84/1524-76 [*q.v.*]), while his single-figure portraits rely on the K͟hurāsān style of Muḥammadī Harawī (*fl.* 968-99/1560-90). Although Āḳā Riḍāʾī consistently preferred the two-dimensionality and decorative surface treatment of Persian painting, he did employ shading, especially on faces, a concession to Mug͟hal naturalism. Having worked for Salīm at Lahore, he continued in the service of the prince during his rebellion at Allāhābād from 1008/1599 to 1013/1604. As the leading artist at Salīm's Allāhābād court, Āḳā Riḍāʾī exerted a strong Persianate influence on the art of his fellow painters. Yet he also absorbed some elements of late Akbarī painting, enlarging the scale and reducing the number of figures in his manuscript illustrations. When Salīm acceded to the throne in 1014/1605 and took charge of the imperial artists' atelier, Āḳā Riḍāʾī was rapidly eclipsed by painters working in the fully synthesised Mug͟hal style.

His major works include: 1-4. Marginal illustrations of four folios of the *Muraḳḳaʿ-i Guls͟han*, Gulistan Library, Tehran, fols. 29, 105, 145, 152. One, with vignettes based on European prints, is dated 28 Ramaḍān 1008/12 April 1600. 5-7. Two manuscript illustrations and one portrait of a prince kneeling before S͟hayk͟h Salīm Čis͟htī, from the *Muraḳḳaʿ-i Guls͟han*. The manuscript illustrations rely closely on Ṣafawid prototypes and may date from the late 990s/1580s. 8-12. Five illustrations to the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, British Library, Add. 18,579, fols. 21a, 36a, 40b, 54b, and 331b, dated 1013-19/1604-10; 13. Seated Musician, late 990s/1580s, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.609; 14. *Bustān* of Saʿdī, dated 1014/1605-6, Agra, fol. 147a, Art and History Trust Collection, Houston; 15. *Kulliyyāt* of Saʿdī, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection, fol. 91a. Other attributed works are listed in Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, 94-5. Āḳā Riḍāʾī signed his paintings on rocks or near the main figures, referring to himself as *murīd*, *g͟hulām* or *banda* ("disciple", "servant" or "slave") *bā-ik͟hlāṣ* (sincere) of S͟hāh, Sultan or Pādis͟hāh Salīm or D̲j̲ahāngīr, depending on the date. Attributions are written near or in the margins.

Bibliography: *Tūzuk-i D̲j̲ahāngīrī*, tr. Rogers and Beveridge, London 1914, ii, 20; *The Lights of Canopus, Anvar-i Suhaili*, described by J.V.S. Wilkinson, London, n.d., 15 and pls. iii, iv, v, vii, xxix; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian miniature painting*, Oxford 1933, 149 (no 236), 160, 192 and pl. CIVa; M.C. Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, Williamston, Mass. 1978, 92-5, cat. no. 30. This contains a thorough list of attributions and bibliography; A. Welch and S.C. Welch, *Arts of the Islamic book: the collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan*, 179-82, 191-7, cat. nos. 60, 64, fol. 91a; P.P. Soucek, art. *Āqā Reżā Heravī*", in *EIr*, ii, 180-2; A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal painters*, Paris 1992, 104-11; A. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian courts*, New York 1992, 348-9, cat. no. 137p, fol. 147r.

(R. Ettinghausen-[Sheila R. Canby])

al-**RIDDA** [see Suppl.].

RIḌIYYA [see raḍiyya].

RID̲J̲ĀL (a.), pl. of *rad̲j̲ul*, a common Arabic word for "man", used specifically in Arabic literature for transmitters of *ḥadīt̲h̲* [*q.v.*], i.e. Muslim tradition. When in the course of the second half of the 1st century of the *hid̲j̲ra* (the 690s) the *isnād* [*q.v.*], i.e. the chain of transmitters of a tradition, had been introduced as the semi-official authentification device for it to be accepted or rejected, rather than that authentification was achieved by weighing the *matn*, i.e. its actual contents, the need to identify *ḥadīt̲h̲* transmitters and to obtain detailed information on them, gave rise to the so-called *rid̲j̲āl* books which, beginning with the late 2nd/8th century, eventually acquired gigantic proportions. Islam's multi-volume biographical dictionaries may be thought of as having grown out of the *rid̲j̲āl* lexicons. During the first three centuries of Islam, giving information on someone was tantamount to supplying details about his study and handling of *ḥadīt̲h̲s*. Only in a later stage did biographical dictionaries (e.g. those of Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn K͟hallikān (d. 681/1282 [*q.v.*]) gradually develop their own characteristics, being no longer confined within strictly *ḥadīt̲h̲*-determined dimensions.

With the introduction under ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb [*q.v.*] of the *dīwān* [*q.v.* at II, 323b], listing those entitled to an annual stipend from the treasury, the ancient Arab interest in tribal genealogy received a new impulse; with the emergence of *isnāds* half a century later this interest was deepened even more. The *isnād* requirement stipulated that, apart from simple identification of a transmitter within his lineage, information on his lifetime as well as that of his alleged *ḥadīt̲h̲* masters and pupils be gathered, which was meant to facilitate the drawing of conclusions as to the feasibility of his actual having met with either. The science of *ḥadīt̲h̲* criticism became inextricably intertwined with

ridjāl expertise, which formed its major constituent. This science also goes by the name of *al-djarh wa 'l-ta^c^dīl* [*q.v.*] (i.e. the science of disparaging and declaring trustworthy, sc. *hadīth* transmitters). For a survey of the mediaeval Muslim *hadīth* scholar's wielding of the technical terms and criteria used in *ridjāl* criticism, see AL-DJARH WA 'L-TA^c^DĪL; for a modern appraisal of the same, see what follows, and also G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* etc., Cambridge 1983, chs. 4-5.

The classical period

The first *hadīth* expert whose name is linked to the science of "men" was Shu^c^ba b. al-Hadjdjādj (d. 160/776 [*q.v.*]) from Baṣra. He was soon followed in this by a string of other *hadīth* experts, e.g. Yaḥyā b. Sa^c^īd al-Kaṭṭān (d. 198/813), allegedly the first whose judgements were compiled in a book (cf. Ibn Hadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, i, 5), ^c^Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī (d. 198/813), Muḥammad b. ^c^Umar al-Wāḳidī, the author of the *Maghāzī* (d. 207/822) and Abū Nu^c^aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn (d. 219/834) [*q.v.*]), but their collections of data have not been preserved except for occasional quotations in biographical lexicons compiled later. The oldest extant printed collection deserving the qualification *ridjāl* lexicon is the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kabīr* by Ibn Sa^c^d [*q.v.*] (ed. E. Sachau *et alii*, Leiden 1905-17, 9 vols., with some 4250 entries), who died in 230/845. Muḥammad b. Sa^c^d used to be al-Wāḳidī's secretary, which permits the assumption that the data we find in his work may be at least partly al-Wāḳidī's. As its title indicates, Ibn Sa^c^d's *ṭabaḳāt* work is built upon the successive "generations" (literally: "layers") of *hadīth* transmitters from each major urban centre in the early Islamic domain. Ibn Sa^c^d preceded his *ridjāl* information by an extensive biography of the Prophet. Large numbers of the *ridjāl* dealt with are only mentioned by name, and their historicity—if any—is well-nigh impossible to establish.

From the beginning, *isnād* criticism comprised two main approaches, knowledge of *ridjāl* and that of ^c^*ilal* (the plural of ^c^*illa*, usually rendered "hidden defects", sc. mostly in *isnād*s, highlighting links between certain pairs of transmitters which are subject to dispute). *Ridjāl* studies contain of necessity numerous references to ^c^*ilal*, while ^c^*ilal* studies are in fact *ridjāl* works analysing (the absence of) certain links among them. The earliest works after Ibn Sa^c^d's *Ṭabaḳāt* still reflect both approaches in their titles, such as the *Kitāb al-^c^Ilal wa-ma^c^rifat al-ridjāl* of Aḥmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]), in which there is not yet discernible an alphabetical arrangement of the *ridjāl* treated (cf. the edition by T. Koçyiğit and İ. Cerrahoğlu, Ankara 1963, i). Later *ridjāl*-cum-^c^*ilal* works often have the title *ta^{\prime}rīkh*. In its earliest usage this term does not necessarily mean historiography *per se*, since the "men" surveyed in such works are not described in their political roles but are mostly assessed exclusively as to their merits or demerits in the transmission of *hadīth*. On the whole, the genres of *ṭabaḳāt*, ^c^*ilal* and *ta'rīkh* (the last-mentioned in the *hadīth*-technical sense of the term) show in many early works a considerable, if not total, overlap.

Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854 [see IBN KHAYYĀṬ AL-^c^UṢFURĪ]) separated his *ridjāl* material from his other information by producing a *ṭabaḳāt* work proper (cf. the edition of A.Ḍ. al-^c^Umarī, Baghdād 1967, with some 3,300 entries), next to a *Ta'rīkh*, the earliest published annalistic chronicle of Islam (cf. the editions of A.Ḍ. al-^c^Umarī, 2nd impr., Damascus-Beirut 1977, and Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus 1967, 2 vols.). Al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*, Islam's best-known annalistic history compiled a little more than half a century later, is arranged like Khalīfa's, but is concluded by a *ridjāl* section entitled *Dhayl al-mudhayyal min ta'rīkh al-ṣaḥāba wa 'l-tābi^c^īn* (ed. De Goeje, iii, 2296-2561). Furthermore, the title *ta'rīkh* was given to works of even more varied, almost encyclopaedic, contents: the *Ta'rīkh* of the Andalusian author ^c^Abd al-Malik b. Habīb (d. 238/853) contains only a relatively brief section on *ṭabaḳāt*, cf. the edition of J. Aguadé, Madrid 1991, 156-78. Many 3rd/9th century ^c^*ilal*, *ṭabaḳāt* and *ta'rīkh* works by authors contemporaneous with, and somewhat later than, Ibn Sa^c^d have not been preserved, but references to these can be found in *GAS*, i, title index, and Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 238-41. In the following, only some of those works that are presently extant in printed editions will be surveyed in roughly chronological order, together with their respective salient features and innovative approach (if any). In order to illustrate the ongoing updating at the hands of later compilers, resulting in constantly swelling numbers of transmitters described (for this phenomenon, see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 23-30, 137-46), the number of entries will be included where that could be obtained from the editions or otherwise approximated.

Among the most critical early *isnād* experts is Yaḥyā b. Ma^c^īn (d. 233/847). Several of his *ridjāl* works in different redactions of pupils bearing various titles (cf. *GAS*, i, 107) have recently become available in print (editions by Aḥmad M. Nūr Sayf, Damascus-Beirut 1980). Quotations from his works in later collections are mostly introduced by *ḳāla* ... ^c^*an Yaḥyā* ..., or *ḳāla Yaḥyā*....

Allegedly less severe, but as frequently quoted, is ^c^Alī b. ^c^Abd Allāh Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234/849). His works acquired such fame that references to them mostly begin with the words: *ḳāla* ^c^*Alī*... His ^c^*Ilal* (*al-hadīth wa-ma^c^rifat al-ridjāl*) was printed in Beirut, 1972 (ed. M.M. al-A^c^ẓamī), and Aleppo 1980 (ed. ^c^Abd al-Mu^c^ṭī Amīn Ḳal^c^adjī).

After Ibn Sa^c^d's *Ṭabaḳāt*, the first similarly extensive *ridjāl* lexicon is that of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]). As was the case with Ibn Sa^c^d, information on a great many individual transmitters in al-Bukhārī's *Ta'rīkh kabīr* (ed. Haydarābād 1361-5, 8 vols.) is lacking or very brief and constitutes evidence of the as yet overall scantiness of biographical data in circulation. But the proliferation of single strand *isnād*s had become so widespread, also because of wide-scale imitation of Ibn Hanbal's skill in devising them, that many hundreds of transmitters populating these strands had to be accounted for in al-Bukhārī's lexicon, with its 12,791 entries. After all the persons called Muḥammad have been enumerated, a still loosely applied alphabetical order of names is observed: *ism*s, and within each *ism* the patronymics, are arranged only on the basis of the first letter; within each new entry the frequency of *ism*s is mostly the determining factor in the order observed, not the alphabet. Shortened versions of al-Bukhārī's *Ta'rīkh* are his *Ta'rīkh awsaṭ* and *T. ṣaghīr* (cf. the latter's edition by M.I. Zāyid, Aleppo 1976-7, 2 vols.). Al-Bukhārī has brought those, in his opinion, especially questionable transmitters together in a separate collection, the first of its kind, called *K. al-ḍu^c^afā' al-ṣaghīr* with 418 entries (edited together with a similar work by al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915) with 675 entries by M.I. Zāyid, Aleppo 1396).

The Syrian tradition scholar Ibrāhīm b. Ya^c^ḳūb al-Djūzadjānī (d. 259/873) compiled a very critical *ridjāl* lexicon with 388 entries entitled (*Shadjara fī*) *aḥwāl al-ridjāl*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Badrī al-Sāmarrā'ī, Beirut 1985, in which he especially criticised ^c^Irāḳī transmitters.

The compiler of Islam's second most revered canonical tradition collection, Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 261/875 [*q.v.*]), devoted the middle part of the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to *ridjāl*-critical remarks (cf. the Eng. tr. of this introduction in *JSAI*, v, 273-92). Difficulties in the identification of persons only known by their *kunyas* gave rise to the *kunya* genre, in which Muslim, following the example of Ibn Ḥanbal's *al-Asāmī wa 'l-kunā*, collected his *al-Kunā wa 'l-asmā'*, cf. the facs. edition of Damascus 1984; a similar work was compiled by M. b. A. al-Dūlābī (d. 310/923), cf. the edition of Ḥaydarābād 1904, 2 vols. For other *ridjāl*-related works of Muslim, cf. *GAS*, i, 143.

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿIdjlī (d. 261/875) compiled a work called *Ta'rīkh al-Thiḳāt* which is, like its predecessors, remarkable for its ultra-brief information on most of the transmitters dealt with; the majority of *tardjamas* consists only of the qualification *thiḳa* accompanied by a *nisba* indicating his provenance or his generation. However, it is the most extensive early record of those transmitters defined as *ṣāḥib sunna* (for this technical term, cf. *JSAI*, x [1987], 112-6; moreover, it often indicates that the transmitter thus qualified was considered to have been responsible for certain *sunnas*—to be interpreted in this context as legal or ritual prescriptions—to have come into existence, an allegation confirmed by their frequently-observed position as "common link" in the *isnād* bundles of said *sunnas*). The work was edited in a strictly alphabetical arrangement of its 2,116 entries by ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Ḳalʿadjī, Beirut 1984.

Abū Zurʿa ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Rāzī (d. 264/878) compiled a collection of weak transmitters, *K. al-Ḍuʿafā'*, edited together with a similar work of Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Bardhaʿī (d. 292/905) by Saʿdī al-Hāshimī, Medina 1982, 3 vols.

Yaʿḳūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī (d. 277/890) wrote a *K. al-Maʿrifa wa 'l-ta'rīkh* of which the first part is an annalistic history comprising early Islamic history up to the year 240/854, the second and third parts constituting a *ridjāl* lexicon, partly based upon *ṭabaḳāt*, with a host of original data not found in other such works. The annals covering the first 134 years are now lost; for the rest of the work, see the edition of A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, Baghdād 1974, 3 vols.

Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892 [*q.v.*]), compiler of one of the six canonical collections, added to his *Djāmiʿ* a final chapter on *ʿilal*; this important *ʿilal* collection was rearranged by one Abū Ṭālib al-Ḳāḍī (d. ?) and edited by Ṣubḥī al-Sāmarrā'ī *et alii*, Beirut 1989. The Ḥanbalī Ibn Radjab (d. 795/1393) wrote an extensive commentary on this *ʿilal* chapter called *Sharḥ ʿilal al-Tirmidhī* (cf. the edition of Ṣubḥī Djāsim al-Ḥumaydī, Baghdād 1396). Beside being a *ridjāl*-cum-*ʿilal* book, Ibn Radjab's study is now recognised as one of the most important *ḥadīth*-theoretical monographs of the Middle Ages.

Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889), the compiler of one of the canonical collections, had a pupil, Abū ʿUbayd al-Ādjurrī (*fl. ca.* 300/913) who collected his master's pronouncements on *ridjāl* entitled *Su'ālāt adjāba ʿanhā Abū Dāwūd* etc., see the edition of M.ʿA.Ḳ. al-ʿUmarī, Medina 1983.

Aḥmad b. Hārūn al-Bardīdjī (d. 301/914) compiled a *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt fī 'l-asmā' al-mufrada min asmā' al-ʿulamā' wa-aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* which is available in two editions by S. Shihābī, Damascus 1987, and ʿAbduh ʿA. Kūshk, Damascus 1990.

Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-ʿUḳaylī (d. 322/934) compiled a *K. al-Ḍuʿafā' wa 'l-matrūkīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī A. Ḳalʿadjī in 4 vols. with 2,101 entries, Beirut 1984. Apart from the data which are also found in its predecessors in this genre, the book constitutes a major enlargement in that it contains numerous examples of prophetic traditions which the weak and rejected transmitters described are supposed to have brought into circulation.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/938) produced a massive *ridjāl* lexicon entitled *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, which is almost wholly based on the data provided by his father, Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Rāzī (d. 277/890) and the latter's lifelong friend and fellow-tradition expert Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī. For the transmission paths along which this *ridjāl* information reached Ibn Abī Ḥātim, see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 243 f. In this lexicon, Ibn Abī Ḥātim applied a similar, loosely alphabetical, order in listing names as did al-Bukhārī in his *Ta'rīkh*, with which work it differs in that, with its 18,040 entries (over 5,000 more than al-Bukhārī's) it lists an even greater number of strictly unknown transmitters, the so-called *madjhūlūn*. He also wrote a separate study on *ʿilal*, see the edition (entitled *K. al-ʿilal*) of Cairo 1343-4, 2 vols. It is the first such work in which the traditions with their respective *ʿilal* are primarily arranged according to the order of chapters observed in tradition collections. To Ibn Abī Ḥatim we also owe a brief *ridjāl* work on the shortcomings of al-Bukhārī's *Ta'rīkh*, entitled *Bayān khaṭa' al-Bukhārī fī ta'rīkhihi*, Ḥaydarābād 1961.

Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965 [see IBN ḤIBBĀN]) was the author of a large tradition collection but he also produced several major *ridjāl* works. One, his *K. al-Thiḳāt* (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1973-83, 9 vols.) is, like Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaḳāt*, preceded by an extensive biography of the Prophet. It is further organised on the basis of three *ṭabaḳāt*: that of the Successors and those of the following two generations. The technical term *thiḳāt* from the title is not to be taken in its literal sense of "reliable persons"; a sizeable percentage of *ridjāl* dealt with are *madjhūlūn*. For lack of more precise characteristics, they were labelled *thiḳa*. This term was often used especially in order to classify transmitters about whom little, if anything, was known. The traditions in whose *isnāds* they occurred, however, had a certain appeal, which prevented *ridjāl* experts from rejecting them altogether. While describing someone about whom (next to) nothing is known, later *ridjāl* experts frequently refer to Ibn Ḥibbān's lexicon using the term *wath̲th̲aḳahu Ibn Ḥibbān*, or *dhakarahu Ibn Ḥibbān fī 'l-thiḳāt* ... or similar expressions, thereby indicating that that transmitter, as well as the mostly innocuous tradition(s) he is reported to have transmitted, may be preserved, be it merely for the sake of comparison. Furthermore, there is Ibn Ḥibbān's *Kitāb al-Madjrūḥīn* (*wa 'l-ḍuʿafā'*) *min al-muḥaddithīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Bey al-Ḳādirī, Ḥaydarābād 1970, 2 vols., also listing often the traditions in whose proliferation the weak transmitters dealt with in the lexicon are alleged to have had a hand. Ibn Ḥibbān's *Mashāhīr ʿulamā' al-amṣār*, a lexicon with 1,602 entries built upon the *ṭabaḳāt* principle, was edited by M. Fleischhammer, Wiesbaden 1959.

By general agreement, the most extensive early lexicon of doubtful transmitters was that of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī (d. 365/976). What was said for al-ʿUḳaylī's lexicon is equally true for Ibn ʿAdī's *K. al-Kāmil fī* (*maʿrifat*) *ḍuʿafā' al-ridjāl* (*al-muḥaddithīn wa-ʿilal al-ḥadīth*) with approximately the same number of entries (more than 2,000). However, it surpasses al-ʿUḳaylī's in size, especially in numbers of doubtful traditions quoted in connection with their alleged originators. This lexicon is, furthermore, the first in which the Arabic term *madār* is occasionally used to indicate that

certain *matns*, or *matn* clusters, are due to one particular transmitter who is held responsible for disseminating these to a number of pupils. The term *madār*, first used in ʿAlī Ibn al-Madīnī's *ʿIlal*, is in Ibn ʿAdī's usage a genuine technical term which comes closest to the term "common link" coined by Schacht (cf. *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 171 ff.) and further elaborated in Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 206-17.

ʿUmar b. Aḥmad Ibn Shāhīn (d. 385/995) wrote a *Taʾrīkh Asmāʾ al-thiḳāt mimman nuḳila ʿanhum al-ʿilm*, cf. the edition of ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī A. Ḳalʿadjī, Beirut 1986, with 1,569 entries. Like the *thiḳa* collections of ʿIdjlī and Ibn Ḥibbān mentioned above, the transmitters are arranged in loosely alphabetical order and are not, contrary to what its title suggests, universally considered reliable.

ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dāraḳuṭnī (d. 385/995) compiled a *Kitāb al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa 'l-matrūkīn*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Badrī al-Sāmarrāʾī, Beirut 1986, with 632 entries.

The post-classical period

With the 4th/10th century, there begins, as Brockelmann defined it, the post-classical period, with initially relatively little activity in the compilation of *ridjāl* works. On the basis of a remark of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]), one could almost infer that, during the two centuries after al-Dāraḳuṭnī's lexicon, there do not seem to have been any basically new additions to the genre, for Ibn al-Djawzī enumerates in the introduction to his *Kitāb al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa 'l-matrūkīn* (see the edition with 4,018 alphabetical entries of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳāḍī, Beirut 1986, i, 7) the sources from which he compiled his work: they are the same as all those listed hitherto, the last being the al-Dāraḳutnī work. After Ibn al-Djawzī, however, various major, and increasingly more-embracing, *ridjāl* lexicons did see the light which were constantly subject to expansion as well as abridgements at the hands of subsequent compilers.

At the centre of these activities stands Yūsuf b. al-Zakī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341 [*q.v.*]), the author of a colossal biographical dictionary of transmitters occurring in the Six Books and a few minor collections entitled *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, which grew out of a work by ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Djammāʿīlī (d. 600/1203, cf. Brockelmann, S I, 606). It is presently only partly available in the edition of Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut 1980-, 15 vols. with, at the time of writing, some 20 more to follow). Al-Mizzī's work, together with some lexicons of his pupil al-Dhahabī (cf. below), lie then again at the basis of arguably the most famous *ridjāl* work of all: the *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1448 [*q.v.*]), with its *ca.* 7,300 *tardjamas* being a compendium of al-Mizzī's work but, because of its smaller size, less unwieldy. (For more on this lexicon, see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 134-7, 238-41.) What makes al-Mizzī's original, however, even more useful than Ibn Ḥadjar's abridgement is that in each transmitter's *tardjama*, at the mention of each of his masters as well as of each of his pupils, symbols of tradition collections are sometimes inserted indicating in which of the Six Books material of the described transmitter can be found, whereas in Ibn Ḥadjar's lexicon—at least in the only available edition, that of Ḥaydarābād 1325-7— these symbols are solely listed preceding the name of each *muḥaddith* treated. Al-Mizzī's arrangement of his material thus allows the drawing of inferences as to either the origins of certain transmitters' fictitiousness or doubtful personae, as well as other conclusions.

Beside al-Mizzī, his pupil al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) deserves separate mention. For a survey of his contributions to *taʾrīkh* and *ridjāl* works and how these are interdependent, see AL-DHAHABĪ. Moreover, mention should be made of a few major new editions of his specific *ridjāl* works: *al-Mughnī fī 'l-ḍuʿafāʾ*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ʿIṭr, Aleppo 1971, 2 vols.; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ, Ḥusayn al-Asad *et alii*, Beirut 1981-4, 23 vols.; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, several impr., Haydarābād 1955-70, 4 vols. (with *dhayl*s by M. b. ʿA. al-Ḥusaynī, M. b. M. Ibn Fahd and al-Suyūṭī); *al-Kāshif fī maʿrifat man lahu riwāya fī 'l-kutub al-sitta*, ed. ʿIzzat ʿAlī ʿĪd ʿAṭiyya and Mūsā M.ʿA. al-Mawshī, Cairo 1972, 3 vols, with more than 7,000 entries; and *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1963, 4 vols., with 11,053 entries. In this last work he assembled not only all the weak transmitters he could find but also scores of at first sight blameless ones. This lexicon was revised and enlarged by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1449 [*q.v.*]), resulting in his *Lisān al-mīzān*, Haydarābād 1329, 6 or 7 vols., with *ca.* 15,000 entries. A large number of data concerning political, cultural and literary history as well as theological discussion can be gleaned from both lexicons. The *Lisān* is especially rich in examples of traditions which are deemed fabricated by the man in whose biography they are cited, allegations that could often be confirmed by modern *isnād* analysis, as was the case with the *ḍuʿafāʾ* lexicons of al-ʿUḳaylī and Ibn ʿAdī described above.

All the time, other types of *ridjāl* lexicons, too numerous to list all, had made their appearance. Some of these are described here by genre.

(1) The generation of Companions received special attention, something which was probably also stimulated by the establishment of their collective *taʿdīl*, a dogma that seems to have found its first formulation sometime in the course of the final decades of the 2nd/8th and the first decades of the 3rd/9th centuries (cf. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 190-206). The earliest author credited with a lexicon exclusively devoted to Companions and their alleged roles in the transmission of prophetic traditions was Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī Muṭayyan (d. 297/909). No mss. of it are listed in *GAS*, i. Ibn Ḥibbān compiled a *Taʾrīkh al-Ṣaḥāba alladhīna ruwiya ʿanhum al-akhbār* (ed. Būrān al-Ḍannāwī, Beirut 1988, with 1,608 entries). This work is the first lexicon solely devoted to the subject and available in a printed edition. It was improved upon by, among others, the following: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), *K. al-Istīʿāb fī asmāʾ al-aṣḥāb*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1960, 4 vols. with 4,225 entries; ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), *Usd al-ghāba fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. Cairo 1970, 7 vols. with 7,703 entries; al-Dhahabī, *Tadjrīd asmāʾ al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Dīn, Bombay 1969-70, 2 vols. with 8,859 entries, and finally Ibn Ḥadjar, *K. al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1970-2, 8 vols. with 12,290 entries. To be sure, in this last source not all persons paraded were Companions in the technical sense of the word; Ibn Ḥadjar added scores of borderline cases in his so-called second, third and fourth *ḳisms*.

(2) A specifically Muʿtazilī-influenced *ridjāl* work is *K. Ḳabūl al-akhbār wa-maʿrifat al-ridjāl* by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī (d. 319/931 [*q.v.*], and Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, index s.n.). An edition is in preparation in Leiden University Library.

(3) The first Shīʿī *ridjāl* work is that of Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Kashshī (d. *ca.* 340/951 [*q.v.*]), see the corrected redaction with 520 entries of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068) in the edition of

Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Karbalā 1963. The work is based on the *ṭabaḳāt* principle, describing the persons in the entourage of the respective *imāms*. The majority of people enumerated are assessed as to their political position in society, but the lexicon does give extensive *ḥadīth*-technical information. The other Shīʿī lexicons are perfectly ordinary *ḥadīth*-related, alphabetically arranged dictionaries of transmitters closely resembling their Sunnī counterparts. To the same al-Ṭūsī we owe a work called *Ridjāl al-Ṭūsī*, ed. M. Ṣādiḳ Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Nadjaf 1961, comprising some 8,900 transmitters. Al-Nadjāshī (d. 450/1058) wrote a *K. al-ridjāl*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, Tehran 1958. ʿInāyat al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Ḳuhpāʾī (*fl. ca.* 1016/1607) compiled a lexicon in which he incorporated five earlier major *ridjāl* lexicons, including the three just mentioned, entitled *Madjmaʿ al-ridjāl*, ed. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, Iṣfahān 1384, 7 vols. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ardabīlī (*fl. ca.* 1100/1689, cf. Ziriklī, 4th impr., vi, 294-5) produced a *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, Ḳumm *ca.* 1967, 2 vols. See further, ʿILM AL-RIDJĀL.

(4) Al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's collections were especially subjected to a sort of *isnād* scrutiny, resulting in *ridjāl* lexicons too numerous and too varied to enumerate all of them, in which in one way or another transmitters occurring in one collection are compared with those occurring in the other. Information on these *kutub ridjāliyya* can be found among the secondary works listed in *GAS*, i, derived from (commentaries on) the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*. But there is also a small and useful transmitters' lexicon on those of Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), *Isʿāf al-mubaṭṭaʾ bi-ridjāl al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, ed. with the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* by Fārūḳ Saʿd, Beirut 1979.

(5) Another genre of *ridjāl* works is that of regional or city histories. Whereas Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Azdī (d. 334/946) only occasionally touches on *ḥadīth* transmission in his *Taʾrīkh Mawṣil*, ed. ʿAlī Ḥabība, Cairo 1387, as does Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāzī (ed. 460/1068 [*q.v.*]) in his *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Ṣanʿāʾ*, ed. Ḥ.ʿA. al-ʿAmrī and ʿA.Dj. Zakkār, Ṣanʿāʾ 1401/1981, other works in this genre contain only very few purely historical data on the regions or cities dealt with and are in reality *ṭabaḳāt*-arranged or alphabetically ordered works, with all the trimmings of other *ridjāl* lexicons on *muḥaddithūn*, from all those who once lived in a particular region or city to those who merely passed through it. Some examples: Aslam b. Sahl Baḥshal (d. 292/905), *Taʾrīkh Wāsiṭ*, ed. Kūrkīs ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1967, a strictly *ḥadīth*-critical *ridjāl* work; Ḥamza b. Yūsuf al-Sahmī (d. 427/1036 [*q.v.*]), *Taʾrīkh Djurdjān aw kitāb maʿrifat ʿulamāʾ ahl Djurdjān*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān, Haydarābād 1950; Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 430/1038 [*q.v.*]), *K. Dhikr akhbār Iṣbahān*, ed. S. Dedering, Leiden 1931-4, 2 vols.; the great tradition scholar al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]) devoted his large *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, cf. ed. Cairo 1931 + reprints, 14 vols., following a topographical introduction, almost wholly to *ḥadīth*-related characteristics of the 7,831 persons described in, again, a loosely alphabetical order; modelled on this lexicon but even more massive is the *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashḳ* of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176 [*q.v.*]), which is well on its way of being edited in complete form under the auspices of the Arab Academy of Damascus; for Spain we have Muḥammad b. Ḥārith al-Khushanī (d. 361/971 [*q.v.*]), *Akhbār al-fuḳahāʾ wa 'l-muḥaddithīn*, a specifically Andalusian lexicon with 527 entries, ed. Maria Luisa Ávila and Luis Molina, Madrid 1992. The *nisba* [*q.v.*] genre may be considered as an offshoot of city lexicons as well as genealogical works; under each *nisba* all the tradition experts and, occasionally, other religious scholars, are enumerated who were best known—or sometimes only known—by that *nisba*. The most famous compilation is the *K. al-Ansāb* of ʿAbd al-Karīm b. M. al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1166 [*q.v.*]), cf. the facs. ed. of Leiden-London 1912, and that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Y. al-Muʿallimī, Ḥaydarābād 1962-82, 13 vols.

(6) A special type is furthermore the so-called *aṭrāf* compilation, that is an alphabetically-arranged collection of the Companions' *musnads*, with every tradition ascribed to each of them shortened to its *ṭaraf* (i.e. gist or salient feature), accompanied by *all* the *isnād* strands supporting it which occur in the Six Books and a few other revered collections. The most famous representative of this type is the *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf* by al-Mizzī; for a more detailed description, see AL-MIZZĪ. The work was imitated but never improved upon.

(7) In an attempt to solve onomastic difficulties around transmitters' identities, several lexicons were compiled listing ambiguous names with accompanying solutions as to their proper vocalisation and attribution. The best-known examples are the works entitled *Mūḍiḥ awhām al-djamʿ wa 'l-tafrīḳ*, Ḥaydarābād 1959-60, by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī; *al-Ikmāl fī rafʿ al-irtiyāb ʿan al-muʾtalif wa 'l-mukhtalif min al-asmāʾ wa 'l-kunā wa 'l-ansāb* by ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh Ibn Mākūlā (d. between 475/1082 and 487/1094), see the edition of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Y. al-Muʿallimī and Nāyif al-ʿAbbās, Beirut 1962-7, 7 vols.; and al-Dhahabī's *K. al-Mushtabih (fī 'l-ridjāl)*, ed. P. de Jong, Leiden 1881, and ʿA.M. al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1962, 2 vols. See also IBN MĀKŪLĀ.

(8) Women *ḥadīth* transmitters are usually treated in the *ridjāl* lexicons at the very end after all the men have been dealt with, but one *nisāʾ* lexicon was made into a separate publication: ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Aʿlām al-nisāʾ fī ʿālamay al-ʿarab wa 'l-islām*, Damascus 1959-77, 5 vols. Its contents are exclusively based upon mediaeval sources. A large percentage of the women are described only as to their *ḥadīth* activities, but for the rest it is an ordinary biographical dictionary arranged in alphabetical order.

(9) There are quite a few lexicons arranged by year in which the *muḥaddithūn* and other religious scholars who died that year are enumerated, eventually with an admixture of purely historical data thrown in. Best-known in this genre is the *Shadharāt al-dhahab* of Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1089/1678 [*q.v.*]), Beirut n.d., 8 vols.

(10) For the rich genre of lexicons in which lists of someone's *ḥadīth* masters are compiled, i.e. the so-called *mashyakha* works, see the comprehensive introduction of H. Schützinger's *Das Kitāb al-muʿǧam des Abū Bakr al-Ismāʿīlī* (= Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XLIII, 3), Wiesbaden 1978; and FAHRASA.

Biographical lexicons of Ḳurʾān reciters and exegetes, judges, governors, jurists, theologians, mystics, poets, grammarians, scientists and a host of other professions and shared characteristics (e.g. the blind and the longeval), although often containing *ḥadīth*-related data, do not really fall within the scope of the *ridjāl* genre in that they do not deal specifically with these categories' (de)merits in *ḥadīth* transmission. But they were doubtless modelled on the genuine *ridjāl* works.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Several recently published editions of the *ridjāl* lexicons mentioned contain in their introductions more or less adequate surveys of the genres on *thiḳāt* and *ḍuʿafāʾ*, especially the edition of Bashshār ʿAwwād

Maʿrūf of Mizzī's *Tahdhīb*. For a general approach to the *ṭabaḳāt* genre, see I. Hafsi, *Recherches sur le genre Ṭabaqāt dans la littérature arabe*, in *Arabica*, xxiii (1976), 227-65, xxiv (1977), 1-41, 150-86; P. Auchterlonie, *Arabic biographical dictionaries: a summary guide and bibliography*, Durham 1987 (Middle East Libraries Committee research guides 2); for Shīʿī *ridjāl* works, see the papers of B. Scarcia-Amoretti, A. Arioli and D. Amaldi in *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe*, i, Paris 1979, and ʿILM AL-RIDJĀL. See further, Jacqueline Sublet, *Le voile du nom. Essai sur le nom propre arabe*, Paris 1991.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

RIḌWĀN, the guardian (*khāzin*) of Paradise, is absent from the Ḳurʾān, early *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and descriptions of Paradise. In Ibn Hishām, 268, this angel is still called Ismāʿīl. The proper name Riḍwān may result from a personifying exegesis of the *riḍwān* (= Allāh's favour) which believers will meet in the hereafter (Ḳurʾān, III, 15, etc.). In the anonymous 4th/10th century *Kitāb al-ʿAẓama* (e.g. ms. Paris 4605, Vatican 1480; ed. Raven, forthcoming) Riḍwān opens the gates of Paradise, dresses and serves the believers, draws away the veils from the face of Allāh, etc. Slightly later he appears in the Shīʿī legend about ʿAlī and Fāṭima [*q.vv.*] and in Ismāʿīlī cosmogony (H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīlīya*, Wiesbaden 1978). He is an accepted figure in Arabic belles-lettres, at least from al-Maʿarrī (*R. al-Ghufrān*) onwards, and in later Islamic literatures throughout.

(W. RAVEN)

RIḌWĀN or RUḌWĀN B. TUTUSH b. Alp Arslan, Fakhr al-Mulk (d. 507/1113), Saldjūḳ prince in Aleppo after the death of his father Tutush [*q.v.*] in Ṣafar 488/February 1095.

After assuming power in Aleppo, Riḍwān and his stepfather, the Atabeg Djanāḥ al-Dawla Ḥusayn, aimed at taking over Tutush's former capital Damascus and thus at controlling the whole of Syria and Palestine not still in Fāṭimid hands. However, Riḍwān's brother Duḳāḳ and his Atabeg Ṭughtigin held on to Damascus, and after Riḍwān broke with Djanāḥ al-Dawla, the latter established himself in Ḥimṣ. For one month, in Ramaḍān-Shawwāl/August-September 1097, Riḍwān acknowledged the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustaʿlī [*q.v.*] in the *khuṭba* at Aleppo, but reverted to Sunnī allegiance and acknowledgement of the ʿAbbāsid al-Mustaẓhir and the sultan Berk-yaruḳ [*q.vv.*] when it became apparent that the Fāṭimids could not deliver any material help to him.

From Radjab 491/June 1098, Riḍwān had the Crusader leader Bohemund, now Prince of Antioch, as his neighbour, and the ensuing years were filled with warfare with Bohemund (and then with Tancred of Antioch and Edessa, Bohemund's successor) and also with his Muslim rivals such as Djanāḥ al-Dawla (until the latter's death at the hands of the Assassins in Radjab 496/May 1103). It was around this time that Riḍwān allied with the strong Ismāʿīlī faction within Aleppo and used them as part of his tortuous policies (which in 502/1108-9, e.g., allied him with Tancred against the Muslim Čawli Saḳāw of Mawṣil), and although he was unable to take Damascus, he had his name recognised in the *khuṭba* and *sikka* there by the young Tutush b. Duḳāḳ. When a Muslim army aimed at the Crusaders appeared from Mawṣil before Aleppo, Riḍwān refused to admit it and defended his city with Ismāʿīlī help (Ṣafar 505/August-September 1111). His standing with what was probably the majority Sunnī population of Aleppo was now understandably impaired. He allied with Ṭughtigin of Damascus but secured peace in northern Syria by making payments to Tancred and (after November 1112) his son Roger. He substantially avoided taking part in a *djihād* against the Crusaders led by Ṭughtigin and Mawdūd b. Altuntash of Mawṣil, sending only a tiny token force, but died on 1 Rabīʿ I 507/16 August 1113, to be succeeded briefly by his son Tādj al-Dawla Alp Arslan [see ḤALAB].

The Sunnī sources regard Riḍwān, from his use of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs, with disfavour, stigmatising him as *al-malʿūn, sayyiʾ al-sīra*, etc. They even accuse him of having been converted to Ismāʿīlism by the local leader in Aleppo, al-Ḥakīm al-Munadjdjim; it seems impossible to discern the truth here. He is further condemned for his miserliness, since he left a large treasury at his death. His diplomatic and political skills were, however, considerable, and within what was at that time a highly complex situation in Syria, he successfully maintained his power between the Crusaders and various Muslim rivals for nearly nineteen years.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. These include Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Amedroz, tr. Gibb; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahhān; idem, *Bughya*, ed. Ali Sevim, Ankara 1976, biography of Riḍwān, no. XIV, Ar. text, 138-51, Tkish. résumé, 78-80; Ibn al-Athīr, x; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 296, tr. de Slane, i, 274 (s.v. Tutush); Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xiv, ed. Dedering, 129-30 (biography of Riḍwān).

2. Studies. See the general histories of the Crusades by e.g. Grousset and Runciman, and Cahen's ch. *The Selchükids*, in Setton and Baldwin (eds.), *A history of the Crusades*, i. Also Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, index s.v. *Rodwân*; M.G.S. Hodgson, *The order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, 70, 89-92; R.W. Crawford, *Riḍwān the Maligned*, in J. Kritzeck and R.B. Winder (eds.), *The world of Islam, studies in honour of Philip K. Hitti*, London-New York 1959, 135-44; Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 356 ff.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

RIḌWĀN BEGOVIĆ ʿAlī Pasha (in Serbo-Croat RIZVANBEGOVIĆ Ali-paša; *ca.* ?1783-1851), *wezīr* of Herzegovina from 1833 until his death by assassination in March 1851. He was an interesting individual, whose biography well illustrates the complex circumstances affecting this region of the Balkans in the closing stages of Ottoman domination.

He was descended from an old Muslim family. Towards the end of the 18th century his father, Dhu 'l-Fiḳār (Zulfikar), was governor (with the title of *mīr-i mīrān* (?), i.e. "provincial governor", or that of *kapudan* (?), a term rendered in Serbo-Croat by "kapetan") of the town of Stolac (in southern Herzegovina, to the south of Mostar [*q.v.*]) and its environs, hence his name of Stočevic (or Rizvanbegović-Stočević) which is also encountered in the texts. ʿAlī Pasha is said to have been born in this town *ca.* 1783 (considerably earlier, according to V. Ćorović, *ca.* 1761). Following a dispute with his father (over a trivial issue, according to S. Bašagić), he parted from his family while still a young man, only returning (and bringing with him a considerable sum of money, so it is alleged) after the death of his father, whereupon he engaged in conflict with his brothers, Muṣṭafā (Mustaj-Beg) and Hadžun (Ḥādjdjī Beg: some sources mention also the name of ʿÖmer), for several months during the year 1222/1807, over the succession to the post of governor of Stolac and possession of the rich *aghalïk* of the village of Hutovo. This dispute was temporarily resolved the following

year by a special envoy from Istanbul, in the course of negotiations which took place in Sarajevo, but it was subsequently revived, lasting many years and coming to an end only in 1229/1813-14, when ʿAlī Pas͟ha finally succeeded his father in the capacity of governor of Stolac and the surrounding area, while Ḥād͟jd͟jī Beg obtained the *ag͟halịk* of Hutovo. With regard to these appointments, Ćorović comments, "ʿAlī Pas͟ha and his brother Ḥād͟jd͟jī Beg were neither of them good masters or congenial neighbours, but Ḥād͟jd͟jī Beg was by far the worse". The relations maintained by ʿAlī Pas͟ha with the powerful Muslim families of Bosnia-Herzegovina were variable; he was very close to the eminent Ismāʿīl Ag͟ha Čengić (an individual immortalised by the Croatian poet Ivan Mažuranić, 1814-90), but was in open conflict with his other neighbours, such as the Kapetanovićs of the town of Počitelj. It was in the course of a skirmish with Ismāʿīl Kapetanović and his supporters, during the siege of Počitelj in 1813, that he was wounded in the leg; as a result of this he was to be lame for the remainder of his life. By 1820 he was the most widely-known governor (*ḳapudan*) in the whole of Herzegovina, and an implacable foe of the *wezīrs* of Bosnia, based at Travnik. However, in 1831, at the time of the uprising of the Bosnian aristocracy, led by Ḥüseyn Beg Gradaščević (known as *Zmaj od Bosne*, "the dragon of Bosnia"), ʿAlī Pas͟ha Rizvanbegović and Ismāʿīl Ag͟ha Čengić did not associate themselves with the rebels and sided ostensibly with the Ottoman sultan and the central authority. ʿAlī Pas͟ha then took under his protection the ousted *wezīr* of Travnik, while his brother Ḥād͟jd͟jī Beg allied himself with the insurgents and met his death (27 February 1832) fighting alongside the troops of Gradaščević as the latter were laying siege to the town of Stolac. This fratricidal war claimed many other victims, on both sides; thus Ismāʿīl Ag͟ha Čengić ordered the assassination of one of his own relatives, Fejz Alaj-Beg Čengić. Following the failure of the rebel attacks on Nevesinje and Stolac, ʿAlī Pas͟ha Rizvanbegović lent powerful support (with Ismāʿīl Ag͟ha Čengić and Bas͟h Ag͟ha Redžepašić, ancestor of the eminent family of the Bašagić) to the troops of the *wezīr* Ḳara Maḥmūd Pas͟ha in the course of the decisive battle which took place on the plain before Sarajevo on 17 May 1832, and which resulted in the total defeat of the supporters of Gradaščević.

ʿAlī Pas͟ha subsequently participated, with an army raised in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the expedition mounted by the Porte against Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Egypt, during which he and his troops performed sterling service. He was rewarded in 1832 by the sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], who appointed him first *beylerbeyi*, then, in 1833, *wezīr* and *wālī* of Herzegovina, although this region was detached from the *wilāyet* of Bosnia.

He thus governed this region, in a quasi-independent fashion, for almost twenty years (living either at Mostar, or in his country residence on the river Buna), according to one of his celebrated maxims, *Evo vam Stanbul, Mostar; evo vam cara i u Mostaru* (according to another version, *Evo vam i cara u Mostaru*), which may be loosely translated as "Here you have an Istanbul, Mostar, and here you have an emperor, also at Mostar" (or, "and here you have also an emperor at Mostar"). He succeeded, in fact, at a very early stage in concentrating all power within his family and his circle of supporters, entrusting internal security to "gendarmes" commanded by *bölük bas͟hīs* who were in his pay. He paid to the Porte an annual tribute of 87,000 florins, retaining the remainder of the funds raised by taxation, and took certain steps to improve agriculture and the economy. Thus he encouraged, for example, the populace to plant vegetables and fruits emanating from lands of the south, introducing the cultivation of olives, pomegranates, almonds, jasmine, tobacco, rice and even silk-worms.

His relations with the diverse populations of the region varied considerably, according to time and circumstances. Hence in the early stages he showed his gratitude to the local Serbs (who had given him strong support during the conflicts of 1831-2), authorising them in 1833 to rebuild the ancient Orthodox church of Mostar, and supporting the Serbian Orthodox clergy in its opposition to the appointment of Greek bishops to positions of authority in the church. Furthermore, he helped the Franciscans of Bosnia to acquire their own vicariate in 1846, and obtained for them in the same year a *firmān* permitting the foundation of a Catholic monastery at a place called Široki Brijeg. As for the Muslim community, he contributed substantial donations to various religious associations and had a number of building constructed at Mostar and elsewhere, including a mosque at Buna.

Regarding "external affairs", these were confined, as will be seen, to relations with Montenegro [see ḲARA DAG͟H] and with the Porte. This process began in 1836 with the battle of Grahovo, in the course of which Herzegovinan troops, commanded by ʿAlī Pas͟ha and Ismāʿīl Ag͟ha Čengić, inflicted a heavy defeat on Montenegrin units, with the result that Grahovo became (temporarily) Ottoman territory. This defeat outraged the Montenegrins, who ultimately assassinated Ismāʿīl Ag͟ha Čengić in 1840. But in the meantime, the internal situation had changed considerably, and the rumour circulated among the Muslim circles of Herzegovina that the death of the aged Ismāʿīl Ag͟ha had been welcomed by Rizvanbegović, since for a considerable time previously Ismāʿīl Ag͟ha had been the leader of a party opposing Rizvanbegović, accusing him, on the one hand, of imposing increasingly draconian taxes on the population, and on the other, of brutally and shamelessly advancing the material interests of his own family. He had in fact undertaken a methodical redistribution of the former "capitanates" (rights of authority which had become hereditary within certain leading local families) into larger administrative units, which he then allocated to his sons and relatives. In spite of all this, to avenge the death of Ismāʿīl Ag͟ha and to silence the afore-mentioned rumours, Rizvanbegović in 1841 attacked the region of Drobnjak, slaughtering a number of its male inhabitants, while in 1842 rivalry over Grahovo resumed. With the aim of putting an end to the war, a meeting took place the same year at Dubrovnik between Rizvanbegović and the bishop of Montenegro, Peter II (the illustrious poet Petar II Petrović Njegoš), in the course of which the frontiers between the two countries were fixed. But the Porte was unwilling to recognise this accord, and negotiations continued for some time longer, until 28 October 1843, the date of the final signing at Kotor of a new accord which broadly stipulated a return to the frontiers as they had stood before the conflicts of 1836.

However, resentment against Rizvanbegović and his sons increased, to such an extent that even in Mostar an overt coalition against him was formed. Furthermore, ʿAlī Pas͟ha had finally sided with the leading "feudal" Muslims of Bosnia, who were opposing, with weapons at the ready, the implementation of reforms introduced in Turkey by Maḥmūd II.

When, in 1850, the renowned "executioner" of the Bosnian Muslim nobility, ʿÖmer Pasha Latas, sent by the Porte to suppress the rebellion, set about methodically mopping up the pockets of resistance, his troops decisively defeated those of Rizvanbegović in a battle which took place near the town of Konjic. ʿAlī Pasha himself was taken prisoner on 5 February 1851, then displayed in Mostar, his capital, in a humiliating fashion (seated back to front on an ass, holding the animal's tail in his hands), then sent to the camp of ʿÖmer Pasha, who was based at this time near Banja Luka [see BANJALUKA]. But in the course of this transfer, on or about 20 March 1851, not far from this town, the elderly ʿAlī Pasha Rizvanbegović was "accidentally" killed by one of the soldiers escorting him. He left four sons: Ḥāfiẓ Pasha, Nāfidh Pasha, Rüstem Beg and Meḥmed ʿAlī Pasha. His daughter Ḥabība (1845-90) was a renowned poetess, a profession also followed by his grandson Ḥikmet (ʿĀrif Beg Rizvanbegović, 1839-1903).

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RIḌWĀN PASHA, a 10th/16th-century Ottoman *beylerbeyi* (governor) of Yemen largely responsible for the collapse of Ottoman authority there during 974-6/1566-8. He was the son of Muṣṭafā Pasha Ḳara Shāhīn [*q.v.*], a previous governor of Yemen (963-7/1556-60), and the brother of Bahrām Pasha, a later one (977-83/1570-5). When appointed to Yemen in Rabīʿ II 972/November 1564, he was *sandjaḳ beyi* of Ghazza.

Riḍwān, who reached Yemen in Ṣafar 973/September 1565, served only briefly before, on the recommendation of Maḥmūd Pasha [*q.v.*], his predecessor and the governor of Egypt after Radjab 973/February 1566, Yemen was divided, in Djumādā II 973/December 1565, into two provinces. Awarded the poorer and more demanding *beylerbeyilik* of Ṣanʿāʾ in the highlands, Riḍwān became resentful. His determination to widen his jurisdiction's sources of revenue and to amass personal wealth led him to violate the peace accord concluded with the Zaydīs in 959/1552 [see ÖZDEMIR PASHA]. The Zaydī leader al-Muṭahhar [*q.v.*] took the offensive and quickly succeeded in confining Riḍwān and his troops to the city of Ṣanʿāʾ (Radjab 974/January-February 1567).

Learning in Shawwāl 974/April 1567 of his dismissal, Riḍwān departed for Istanbul where, despite earlier efforts to defend his actions through dispatches, he was censured and imprisoned. His exoneration followed the assassination in Cairo during Djumādā I 975/November 1567 of Maḥmūd Pasha who, it was discovered, had concealed Riḍwān's alarming reports from Yemen. Riḍwān again became *sandjaḳ beyi* of Ghazza in 978/1570-1, and in Shawwāl 980/March 1573 was named *beylerbeyi* of Abyssinia (Ḥabesh [*q.v.*]), which appointment he held until after Rabīʿ II 982/July-August 1574. He is next mentioned only in 987/1579, serving in the Persian campaign. In late 990/1582 or early 991/1583 he was made *beylerbeyi* of Anadolu, in which office he died on 1 Rabīʿ II 993/2 April 1585.

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RĪF (A.), "countryside".

I. As a geographical and territorial term.

1. One sense of this term early emerged from the Egyptian context, where an arid country is traversed by a river with food-producing fringes: the image is that of the fertile (and cultivated) banks of the Nile [see NĪL]. It includes two ideas, that of "fringe" (bank, littoral and, by extension, flank, limit) and that of "fertile countryside", "abundance" (as opposed to the desert; and, by extension, "countryside" as opposed to the town) (see the lexicon of Lane and Kazimirski).

2. In Morocco, where the natural environment is different, the sense of "fringe" is further found:

(a) Amongst certain groups of transhumant pastoralists, partly Arabophone, who call *rīf*, in the circle of tents, those which are on the periphery (Querleux, *Les Zemmour*, in *Archives Berbères*, ii [Rabat 1915-16], 127). By extension (?), certain Berberophone groups of the Middle Atlas use it to define a group of tents held together by a close relationship in the male line (the equivalent of the *ikhs* of other Berber speakers) (R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930, 181 n. 1).

(b) In reference to the coastal chain, the Rīf, which extends from the Straits of Gibraltar to the approaches of Moulouya. Its presence here as a toponym, with a varying definition of extent, is probably due to the configuration of the geographical relief along the Mediterranean coast (however, this etymological version could be moderated by the fact that, in the western, Arabophone part of the Rīf, the villages sometimes call certain of their quarters *Rīf*).

The term appears as a neologism at the beginning

of the 7th/13th century to designate the ancient Mauretania Tingitana (H. Ferhat, *Sabta des origines jusqu'à 1306*, diss. Paris I, forthcoming). Ibn Saʿīd [*q.v.*] defines it as "littoral", known under the name of the "*Rīf* of the Ghumāra"; Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*], somewhat differently, describes it as "adjoining the Ghumāra"; and al-Bādisī, in the 8th/14th century, extends it from Sabta to Tlemcen.

History very early touched the Mediterranean shores of Morocco. The principality of Nakūr [*q.v.*], in the plain behind the bay of al-Ḥusayma [*q.v.* in Suppl.], was founded in 90/709 by a commander of the caliph in Damascus, Ṣāliḥ b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī (the town was built some time around 143/761), thus preceeding the foundation of Fās. The town seems to have been subject to the same sort of hazards as the Idrīsid kingdom, squeezed between the Umayyads of Cordova and the Fāṭimids. It hardly survived, and was razed by the Almoravids (473-4/1080-1). The Idrīsids (and, in the first place, ʿUmar b. Idrīs, to whom the region fell) played a major role in the integration of the Rīf chain to the emergent nation. With Ḳalʿat Ḥadjar al-Nasr (within the tribe of the Sumāta), they even had an ephemeral capital there (4th/10th century), where they left behind a line which was rendered famous, in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, in his hermitage on the Djabal al-ʿAlam (amongst the tribe of the Banī ʿArūṣ), by the *ḳuṭb* Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh, considered to have been the master of al-Shādhilī. It was the Almohads, masters of both shores, who really brought about the development of the littoral, with Sabta [*q.v.*], Bādis and a series of petty maritime settlements. The loss of al-Andalus, however, ruined it, and the consequent pressure was unceasing: the fall of its main ports (Sabta/Ceuta in 818/1415), the establishment of the Spanish *presidios* at several points on the coast, the "guerra de Africa" with the seizure of Tetouan (1859-60), and finally, the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate (1912). The disorders which accompanied or preceeded it (al-Raysūnī, Bū Ḥamāra) had hardly any long term effects, but it was a different matter with the resistance led by Bin ʿAbd al-Krīm al-Khaṭṭābī (1921-6), the first war of liberation in the 20th century; the victory of Anwāl (1921) had a deep effect on colonial peoples (see further, II. below).

Thus there are, in Morocco, three senses of the toponym Rīf:

(a) The Rīf of the chroniclers is a mountainous region bordering on the Mediterranean;

(b) The Rīf of the geologists is a region of folded strata from the Alpine period, about 360 km long and 80 km at its maximum width, laid down at a late date up against the Atlas region. Its altitude is not so great (Tidighine: 2,450 m), since it is deeply entrenched and forms a juxtaposition of mountainous compartments rather than a homogenous mountain chain (G. Maurer, *Les montagnes du Rif central. Etude géomorphologique*, Tangiers 1968); and

(c) The Rīf as understood by the population is exclusively formed from this eastern half of the chain together with the hills which prolong it as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, where the language spoken is *dhamazighth* (wrongly still called *dharifith*, Arabised into *tarifit*), belonging to the Zanātiya variety of the Berber tongues of Morocco. Its inhabitants are the only one bearing the name of Riyāfa (Rwāfa, Rīfiyyīn).

In their turn, the geographers distinguish a Rīf influenced by the Atlantic, humid and with good vegetation, and a sub-arid Rīf. The division is one of relief (the boundary passes where the limestone spine culminates, then through the central ridge of the Ṣanhādja Srayr, a little to the west of the meridian al-Ḥusayma-Taza); one of climate (it follows an isohyetal curve which begins at Djabha on the coast, bends eastwards, passes to the south of the Targuist basin and turns back southwards at the level of the above-mentioned meridian; see Maurer, *op. cit.*); and one of humans, since a series of linguistic and cultural pockets (Arabophone "Rīf" round the Banī Fraḥ; Ghmāra further to the west; Ṣanhādja further to the south, each with Berber islets of speech) extend along this fringe separating the Rīf, in the east, from the Djbāla, in the west.

In effect, although one cannot date its appearance, the word Djabal only later replaced, in the western part, the term Rīf and its inhabitants are called Djbāla (sing. Djablī). They form an arc which connects the Tingitana peninsula with the valley of the Wargha. They are the heirs of the ancient Ghumāra [*q.v.*] (an ethonym which has persisted only for the nine tribes, called Ghmāra, forming an enclave between the highest crest of the mountains and the sea). Ibn Khaldūn classed this group amongst the Maṣmūda family. Several traits remind one of the other great sub-group of the Maṣmūda, the mountain peoples of the Sūs (Swāsa). Thus we have a great number of learned men (*fuḳahāʾ*, *ʿulamāʾ* and *ṭulba*); the deserted settlements of the Rīf are traditionally attached to the Swāsa; and finally, although Arabised for many centuries, the speech of the Djbāla retains Berber intonations which connect it with *tashelḥit* rather than other varieties of Berber. On the other hand, certain traits connect the Djbāla territory with certain massifs of the Algerian and Tunisian Tells: an important vegetation cover, a great density of population, intensive labour and a great variety of production, large villages with thatched roofs, etc. One last peculiarity is the intensity of the urbanisation phenomenon; there is a real urbanisation belt around the Tingitana peninsula, often going back to Antiquity and in any case to the time when there were close communications with al-Andalus.

The Rīf and its maritime façade are probably the last great challenge which must face Morocco in order for its development to succeed: it is endeavouring to leave behind the accumulated backwardness (illustrated by the fragility of an over-exploited region, the monoculture of Indian hemp over a large area of the Rīf and the poverty of its infrastructures) and to close the dossier of the colonial period. Sabta/Ceuta, Melilla and a few islets remain occupied; the commercial domination of these two towns in respect of smuggling activities affects, notably, the regional structure of small and medium enterprises (see G.E.R.M., *Le Maroc méditerranéen. La troisième dimension*, Casablanca 1992).

Assets are not lacking: water, halieutic resources, sites for beaches and mountain resorts (cedar and pine plantations), banking facilities (Nador is the second most important financial centre after Casablanca) and, finally, the closeness of a key crossroads of the Mediterranean. From being on the periphery (more as a result of modern history than from geography, however), the Rīf—in its regional setting—is able to renew its age-old vocation of being a focus for economic activities and a bond of union between continents.

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(J. VIGNET-ZUNZ)

II. The Rīf War of the 1920s.

This frontier region of the Moroccan empire, protected by its geographical configuration, has always remained more or less rebellious against the central authority, e.g. since the time of the principality of Nakūr [*q.v.*], but especially, in recent times, against the authority of the *makhzan*. The rivalries which appeared amongst the European powers (above all, between Germany, France and Spain) from the 19th century soon precipitated disorders. The imprudent activities of sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz led to the appearance in 1901 of a pretender, the *rūgi* Bū Ḥmāra, who from a base at Taza led a fierce rebellion during 1907-8. Agreements reached after great effort favoured the intervention as a pacifying influence, but one which was sometimes hazardous if not contradictory, of France and Spain. A chieftain of the Rīf rose to power thanks to German intrigues under cover of the First World War, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm, called Bin ʿAbd al-Krīm, and he managed to hold back the power of Spain thanks to the exactions of his rival Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raysūlī/Raysūnī and to gain the resounding victory of Anwāl over the Spanish forces (1921). He came back again in 1925 against the forces of France under the Marshals Lyautey and then Pétain, and threatened Fās. The Rīf forces' offensive was definitively broken at the beginning of 1926 thanks to a combined offensive of the French and Spanish forces, and Bin ʿAbd al-Krīm was deported to the Isle de Réunion. Nevertheless, the last pockets of resistance did not surrender until the 1930s. Al-Raysūlī, the unfortunate rival of Bin ʿAbd al-Krīm, disappeared in 1925, after having, according to the flow of circumstances, at times assisted and at others hindered the efforts of Bin ʿAbd al-Krīm.

Bibliography: This is largely given in the arts. ʿALAWĪS and MAGHRIB, but see also Ch. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Paris 1949-50, ii, 239-41; A. Gaudio, *Rif, terre marocaine d'épopée et de légende*, Paris 1962; A. El-Bouayyachi, *Ḥarb al-Rīf al-taḥrīriyya wa-marāḥil al-niḍāl*, Tangier 1974; D. Hart, *Emilio Blanco Izaga, Colonel in the Rif*, New Haven 1975; G. Ayache, *Les origines de la guerre du Rif*, Rabat-Paris 1981; C.R. Pennell, *A country with a government and a flag. The Rif War in Morocco 1921-1926*, Wisbech, Cambs. 1986. (ED.)

RIFĀʿA BEY AL-ṬAHṬĀWĪ (1801-73), Egyptian educationist and author, who can, more than anyone else, be recognised as the initiator and symbol of the Egyptian "Awakening" (*nahḍa* [*q.v.*]) and considered the leading intellectual figure of his generation.

Abu 'l-ʿAzm Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ b. Badawī was born into a family of prominent *ʿulamāʾ* in the Upper Egyptian town of Ṭahṭā. In 1817 he came to Cairo and enrolled in al-Azhar. Of the professors there it was Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār (1766-1834) who had the greatest and most lasting influence on him. Al-ʿAṭṭār had come into contact with the French during their occupation of Egypt and become interested in Europe, its thought and sciences. Through the friendship with his teacher, Rifāʿa became acquainted with secular subjects not yet taught at al-Azhar as well as with some aspects of European thought while still studying at the university. Between 1822 and 1824 *shaykh* Rifāʿa occupied a teaching position at al-Azhar.

In 1824 al-ʿAṭṭār secured Rifāʿa's appointment as *wāʿiz* and *imām* of a regiment in the new Egyptian army, and when Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] sent a mission of 44 students to France in 1826, *shaykh* Rifāʿa was chosen as one of the four *imāms* accompanying the mission, also on the recommendation of al-ʿAṭṭār.

In Paris, Rifāʿa, on his own initiative, studied French in order to be able to read works in that language, beginning with history and geography, later taking up philosophy and literature. His object was to translate the books he read into Arabic. During his stay he made friends with leading French orientalists, such as A.I. Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) and E.-F. Jomard (1777-1862), who also appreciated him as a learned Muslim scholar. Under their benevolent supervision, he became aware of the new discoveries of Egyptology and of western values and culture in general. On his return to Egypt at Muḥammad ʿAlī's request, he published his observations and impressions *Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz ilā talkhīṣ Bārīz* in 1834, a work which he had already written in Paris. This *riḥla* description became very well known and until the 1850s it remained the sole work in which Arabic-speaking readers were offered a description of a European country. J. Heyworth-Dunne has called it the only human document of the age by the only writer of this period to have produced anything readable.

After his return from Paris in 1831 and more especially after the death of al-ʿAṭṭār, Rifāʿa became Muḥammad ʿAlī's right-hand man among the *ʿulamāʾ*. Rifāʿa was an intellectual-cum-public servant acting as the main ideologue of the ruling family, a position of unquestioning adherence to the policy of the powers to be. Even when expressing his own opinions in writing, the limits were defined by others. Therefore, the final assessment of his contributions must also be an assessment of the endeavours of his patrons.

Between 1831 and 1834 Rifāʿa was employed as a translator first at the School of Medicine and then at the Artillery School. The real breakthrough came in 1836 in connection with the reorganisation of the Schools Administration when he was chosen as one of the permanent members—and the only Egyptian—of the Council. In 1837 Rifāʿa was made head of the newly-created School of Languages, where the European system was successfully adapted to the method employed by the *ʿulamāʾ*, and, in 1842, even entrusted with the editorship of the official newspaper *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya* for a time. But without question, his most important work was as a translator and supervisor of translators. He was rewarded in 1846 with the honorific title Bey.

All this came to an abrupt end with the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī; he was succeeded by his grandson ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] who had Rifāʿa Bey sent to Khartūm in 1850 to what was, in fact, virtual exile. The translation movement came to an end, and the School of Languages was closed the following year. Only when Saʿīd [*q.v.*] succeeded ʿAbbās, who was assassinated, did Rifāʿa regain favour and was allowed to return to Cairo in 1854. He became head of a military school but when it was closed in 1861 he remained unemployed until the reign of Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*]. Ismāʿīl reopened the School of Languages in 1863 and appointed Rifāʿa as director; he was also one of the group that planned the new educational system. In 1870 Rifāʿa became the editor of *Rawḍat al-madāris*, a periodical for the Ministry of Education; he occupied this position until his death.

It is a moot question whether Rifāʿa owed most of what is regarded as European influence on him to his teacher at al-Azhar, Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār, or if he was a real innovator bringing back ideas from France. The main problem which he had to face as the ideologue of Muḥammad ʿAlī's innovations was how to have his countrymen partake in the modern world while remaining Muslim. In his writings he tried to answer this question. Though a prolific author, nothing Rifāʿa wrote after *Takhlīṣ* equalled it either in style or in significance. This is not to say that his writings were without impact; quite the contrary.

Although Rifāʿa himself was not a first-rate historian, it was he who laid the groundwork for later Egyptian achievements in historiography. A turning-point in the writing of history in Egypt as well as a turning-point in Egyptians' self-awareness as a nation occurred in 1868 when he published his *Anwār tawfīḳ al-djalīl fī akhbār Miṣr wa-tawthīḳ banī Ismāʿīl*. It was the first part of a history of Egypt planned to cover the period from the Deluge to his own time, although together with the posthumously (1874) published *sīra* of the Prophet *Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī sīrat sākin al-Ḥidjāz*, it was all that was published. *Anwār* included the ages of the ancient Egyptians, Alexander the Great, the Romans and the Byzantines, and it ended where Egyptian history written by Arabs had usually begun—the Arab conquest. Rifāʿa was the first writer who saw Egypt as something historically continuous, a distinct geographical unit, and he tried to explain this vision of an Egyptian nation in terms of Islamic thought.

Two other publications of Rifāʿa have to be mentioned here. They are a general book on Egyptian society *Manāhidj al-albāb al-miṣriyya fī mabāhidj al-ādāb al-ʿaṣriyya* (1869), and a book on education *al-Murshid al-amīn li 'l-banāt wa 'l-banīn* (1872). In the latter he advocated—albeit timidly—the necessity of extending general education to girls.

The pre-eminence which Rifāʿa Bey has come to hold, and deservedly so, reflects the intellectual mediocrity of the Muḥammad ʿAlī era.

Bibliography: Rifāʿa Bey's most important publications are mentioned in the article (1st editions); they have all gone through several editions often with alterations and omissions. Muḥammad ʿAmmāra (ed.), *al-Aʿmāl al-kāmila li-Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī*, i-iii, Beirut 1973; *Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz ilā talkhīṣ Bārīz* has been translated into German by K. Stowasser as *Ein Muslim entdeckt Europa*, Leipzig-Weimar 1988, and into French by A. Louca as *L'Or de Paris*, Paris 1988; Ṣāliḥ Madjdī, *Ḥilyat al-zaman bi-manāḳib khādim al-waṭan, Rifāʿa Bey Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī*, Cairo 1958 (the author was a pupil and friend of Rifāʿa); J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfiʿ aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: the Egyptian revivalist*, in *BSOS*, ix (1937-9), 961-7; x (1940), 399-415; Aḥmad Aḥmad Badawī, *Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī*, ²Cairo 1959; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age 1798-1939*, London 1962, ²1983, index; I. Abu-Lughod, *The Arab rediscovery of Europe*, Princeton 1963, 50-3 (partial listing of literary works translated into Arabic); A. Abdel-Malek, *Idéologie et renaissance nationale. L'Égypte moderne*, Paris 1969, *passim*; A. Louca, *Voyageurs et écrivains égyptiens en France au XIXᵉ siècle*, Paris 1970, 55-74; P. Gran, *Islamic roots of capitalism. Egypt, 1760-1840*, Austin-London 1979, index; G. Delanoue, *Moralistes et politiques musulmans dans l'Égypte du XIXᵉ siècle (1798-1882)*, Cairo 1982, *passim*; B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, London 1982, 133, 219-20, 281-2, 191-3; J.A. Crabbs, Jr., *The writing of history in nineteenth-century Egypt*, Detroit 1984, 67-86; Y.M. Choueiri, *Arab history and the nation-state. A study in modern Arabic historiography 1820-1980*, London-New York 1989, 3-24, 197 f., 206; R.A. Hamed, *The Japanese and Egyptian enlightenment*, Tokyo 1990, *passim*; Lewis, *Islam and the West*, New York and Oxford 1993, 171-2. (K. ÖHRNBERG)

AL-**RIFĀʿĪ**, AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbas, Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* by training and founder of the Rifāʿiyya [*q.v.*] dervish order.

He was born in Muḥarram 500/September 1106 (or, according to other authorities, in Radjab 512/October-November 1118) at Ḳaryat Ḥasan, a village of the Baṭāʾiḥ or marshlands of lower ʿIrāḳ [see AL-BAṬĪḤA] between Baṣra and Wāsiṭ, whence the *nisba* sometimes given to him of al-Baṭāʾiḥī, and he died at Umm ʿUbayda in the same region on 22 Djumādā I 578/23 October 1182 (see Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 171-2, tr. de Slane, i, 152-3). The *nisba* al-Rifāʿī is usually explained as referring to an ancestor Rifāʿa, but by some is supposed to be a tribal name. This ancestor Rifāʿa is said to have migrated from Mecca to Seville in Spain in 317/929, whence Aḥmad's grandfather came to Baṣra in 450/1058. Hence he is also called al-Maghribī.

Ibn Khallikān's notice of him is meagre; more is given in al-Dhahabī's *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, taken from a collection of his *Manāḳib* by Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥammāmī recited by him to a disciple in 680/1281. This work does not appear in the lists of treatises on the same subject furnished by Abu 'l-Hudā Efendi al-Rāfiʿī al-Khālidī al-Ṣayyādī in his works *Tanwīr al-abṣār* (Cairo 1306) and *Ḳilādat al-djawāhir* (Beirut 1301), the latter of which is a copious biography, frequently citing *Tiryāḳ al-muḥibbīn* by Taḳī al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī (see below), *Umm al-barāhīn* by Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥādjdj, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* by ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Fārūthī (d. 694/1295), and others. Al-Ḥammāmī's statements are cited from one Yaʿḳūb b. Kurāz, who acted as *muʾadhdhin* for al-Rifāʿī. Great caution is required in the use of such materials.

Whereas according to some accounts he was a posthumous child, the majority date his father's death to 519/1125 in Baghdād, when Aḥmad was seven years old. He was then brought up by his maternal uncle Manṣūr al-Baṭāʾiḥī, resident at Nahr Daḳlā in the neighbourhood of Baṣra. This Manṣūr (of whom there is a notice in al-Shaʿrānī's *Lawāḳiḥ al-anwār*, i, 178) is represented as the head of a religious community, called by Aḥmad (if he is correctly reported by his grandson, *Ḳilāda*, 88) al-Rifāʿiyya; he sent his nephew to Wāsiṭ to study under a Shāfiʿī doctor Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAlī al-Wāsiṭī and a maternal uncle Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī. His studies lasted till his twenty-seventh year, when he received an *idjāza* [*q.v.*] from Abu 'l-

Faḍl, and the *khirḳa* from his uncle Manṣūr, who bade him establish himself in Umm ʿUbayda, where (it would seem) his mother's family had property, and where her father Yaḥyā al-Nadjdjārī al-Anṣārī was buried. In the following year, 540/1145-6, Manṣūr died and bequeathed the headship of his community (*mashyakha*) to Aḥmad to the exclusion of his own son.

His activities appears to have been confined to Umm ʿUbayda and neighbouring villages, whose names are unknown to the geographers; even Umm ʿUbayda is not mentioned by Yāḳūt, though found in one copy of the *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*. This fact renders incredible the huge figures cited by Abu 'l-Hudā for the number of his disciples (*murīdīn*) and even deputies (*khulafāʾ*), the princely style and the colossal buildings in which he entertained them. Sibṭ Ibn al-Djauzī in his *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, viii, 370, says that one of their *shaykhs* told him he had seen some 100,000 persons with al-Rifāʿī on a night of Shaʿbān. In Ibn al-ʿImād's *Shadharāt al-dhahab* the experience is said to have been Sibṭ Ibn al-Djauzī's own, though this person was born in 581/1185, three years after al-Rifāʿī's death. In the *Tanwīr al-abṣār* (7, 8) his grandfather as well as himself is credited with the assertion.

His followers do not attribute to him any treatises, but Abu 'l-Hudā produces 1. two discourses (*madjlis*) delivered by him in 577/1181 and 578/1182-3 respectively; 2. a whole *dīwān* of odes; 3. a collection of prayers (*adʿiya*), devotional exercises (*awrād*), and incantations (*aḥzāb*); 4. a great number of casual utterances, sometimes nearly of the length of sermons, swollen by frequent repetitions. Since in 1, 2 and 4 he claims descent from ʿAlī and Fāṭima, and to be the substitute (*nāʾib*) for the Prophet on earth, whereas his biographers insist on his humility, and disclaiming such titles as *ḳuṭb*, *ghawth*, or even *shaykh*, the genuineness of these documents is questionable.

Various books were written on him by his followers and by subsequent members of the Rifāʿī *ṭarīḳa*, such as the *Tiryāḳ al-muḥibbīn fī sīrat sulṭān al-ʿārifīn Aḥmad Ibn al-Rifāʿī* of Taḳī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Wāsiṭī (d. 744/1343-4; see Brockelmann, S I, 781, S II, 214).

In Ibn al-ʿImād, *op. cit.*, iv, 260, it is asserted that the marvellous performances associated with the Rifāʿīs, such as sitting in heated ovens, riding lions, etc. [see RIFĀʿIYYA] were unknown to the founder, and introduced after the Mongol invasion; in any case, they were no invention of his, since the like are recorded by al-Tanūkhī in the 4th/10th century. The anecdotes produced by al-Dhahabī (repeated by al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, iv, 40) imply a doctrine similar to the Buddhist and Indian *ahimsā*, unwillingness to kill or give pain to living creatures, even lice and locusts. He is also said to have inculcated poverty, abstinence and non-resistance to injury. Thus Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī records how he allowed his wife to belabour him with a poker, though his friends collected 500 dīnārs to enable him to divorce her by returning her marriage gift. (The sum mentioned is inconsistent with his supposed poverty.)

Inconsistent accounts are given of his relations with his contemporary ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*]. In the *Bahdjat al-asrār* of Nūr al-Dīn al-Shaṭṭanawfī it is recorded by apparently faultless *isnāds* on the authority of two nephews of al-Rifāʿī, and a man who visited him at Umm ʿUbayda in 576/1180-1, that when ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in Baghdād declared that his foot was on the neck of every saint, al-Rifāʿī was heard to say at Umm ʿUbayda "and on mine". Hence some make him a disciple of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. On the other hand, Abu 'l-Hudā's authorities make ʿAbd al-Ḳādir one of those who witnessed in Medina in the year 555/1160 the unique miracle of the Prophet holding out his hand from the tomb for al-Rifāʿī to kiss; further, in the list of his predecessors in the discourse of 578/1182-3, al-Rifāʿī mentions Manṣūr but not ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. It is probable, therefore, that the two worked independently.

Details of his family are quoted from the work of al-Fārūthī, grandson of a disciple named ʿUmar. According to him, al-Rifāʿī married first Manṣūr's niece Khadīdja; after her death, her sister Rabīʿa; after her death Nafīsa, daughter of Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsimiyya. There were many daughters; also three sons, who all died before their father. He was succeeded in the headship of his order by a sister's son, ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Shaʿrānī, *Lawāḳiḥ al-anwār fī ṭabaḳāt al-akhyār*, Cairo 1276/1859-60, i, 121-5; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iii, 169; Muṣṭafā Kamāl Waṣfī, *al-Imām al-Kabīr Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī*, Cairo 1376/1957; J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 37 ff. and index; Brockelmann, S II, 780-1.

(D.S. MARGOLIOUTH*)

RIFĀʿIYYA, the name of one of the most prominent Ṣūfī orders from the period of the institutionalisation of the *ṭarīḳas* [*q.v.*], and one which came to be noted in pre-modern times for the extravagance of some of its practices.

It is unclear whether the founder, Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī [*q.v.*], was a mystic of the thaumaturgic, miracle-mongering type, but the order which he founded and which was developed by his kinsmen certainly acquired its extravagant reputation during the course of the 6th/12th century; it may not be without significance that the order grew up in the Lower ʿIrāḳ marshlands between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra where there was a mélange of faiths and beliefs, Muslim, Christian, Mandaean, etc., with many older survivals. Already, Ibn Khallikān [*q.v.*] (wrote *ca.* 654/1256) reported that the Rifāʿī dervishes rode on lions in the Baṭāʾiḥ and that eating live snakes and walking on hot coals were amongst their practices (ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, i, 172, tr. de Slane, i, 153).

Al-Rifāʿī's retreat in the marshlands was a focus for visiting dervishes, some of whom founded their own orders, such as the Badawiyya, Dasūḳiyya and Shādhiliyya, and it was the prototype for many *zāwiyas* which sprang up. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] frequently mentions the strange practices of their devotees. Thus when in Wāsiṭ in 727/1327, he visited Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī's shrine at Umm ʿUbayda, where he saw throngs of people and witnessed fire-walking and fire-swallowing (*Riḥla*, ii, 4-5, tr. Gibb, ii, 273-4); an eastern counterpart of these practices were those of the Ḳalandars [see KALANDARIYYA], dervishes of the Ḥaydariyya order, which he witnessed in India (*Riḥla*, ii, 6-7, iii, 79-9, tr. ii, 274-5, iii, 583).

The Rifāʿiyya spread rapidly into Egypt and Syria, possibly under the patronage of the Ayyūbids. In Syria, a key figure was Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 645/1268), so that this branch became known as the Ḥarīriyya; another Syrian branch which was later to become notorious for its extravagant practices, including that of the *dawsa* [*q.v.*] or trampling of adherents by the mounted *shaykh* of the order, was that of the Saʿdiyya [*q.v.*] or Djibāwiyya founded by Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī's grandson, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ṣayyād (d. 670/1271-2). In Egypt, the order became especially strong. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ṣayyād was teaching in Cairo in 638/1236 and married there an Ayyūbid descendant, the grand-daughter of Nūr al-Dīn al-Malik al-Afḍal. However, the great mosque of al-

Rifāʿī, near the Cairo Citadel, was not begun till the later 19th century, and the tomb which it contains was thought by ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak more likely to be that of one of Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī's descendants or *k̲h̲ulafā*ʾ.

The Rifāʿiyya order further became popular amongst the Turks in the course of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, continuing so in Turkey up to the 20th century. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, again, visited what he calls "Aḥmadī" *zāwiyas* in Anatolia, including at Amasya, Izmir and Bergama (*Riḥla*, ii, 292-3, 310, 315-16, tr. ii, 436, 445, 449); whilst at this same period, the Mewlewī Aflākī [*q.v.*] describes, with disapproval, the extravagances of fire-walking, snake-biting, etc., which could be seen at the *zāwiya* of "Sayyid Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī" in Konya (*Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. and tr. Cl. Huart, Paris 1918-22, tr. ii, 203-4). From Anatolia, the order spread into the Balkans as far as Bosnia and across the Black Sea to the lands of the Golden Horde; Fuad Köprülü thought that the Rifāʿiyya of the Turkish lands might have been additionally influenced by the semi-magical practices surviving from old Turkish shamanism (see Köprülüzade M. Fuad, *Influence du chamanisme turco-mongol sur les ordres mystiques musulmanes*, Istanbul 1929, 12-13; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, i/2, 196-7).

In the Mag̲h̲rib, the ecstatic practices of the Rifāʿiyya or one of its offshoots were adopted by the ʿĪsāwiyya or Isāwā [*q.v.*] founded by Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā (d. 930/1524) after his travels in the central Islamic lands. Perhaps most distantly of all, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa even mentions Rifāʿīs in the Maldive Islands [*q.v.*] (*Riḥla*, text, iv, 141).

The Rifāʿiyya was thus the most widespread of all the *ṭuruḳ* until the 9th/15th century, when it was overtaken in popularity by the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. After this time, its greatest appeal was to be in the Arab lands, and especially in Egypt. In 18th century Cairo, the *mawlid* [*q.v.*] or birthday celebration of Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī was celebrated on 12 D̲j̲umādā II at Rumayla. This order, and the associated one of the Badawiyya [see AḤMAD AL-BADAWĪ] were at this time widely recruited from the lower strata of society, compared with e.g. the Ḳādiriyya and K̲h̲alwatiyya [*q.v.*]; al-Djabartī stigmatises the Aḥmadiyya and Saʿdiyya as popular amongst the *awbās̲h̲* or lowest classes (see A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIᵉ siècle*, Damascus 1973-4, ii, 435-6).

In the early 19th century, E.W. Lane gave a classic account of the grotesque practices of the Rifāʿiyya "howling dervishes" and their offshoots the Saʿdiyya and ʿIlwāniyya, which included snake charming and the thrusting of iron spikes, glass, etc. into their bodies (*The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, chs. x, xx, xxv). By the middle years of the century, however, such popular excesses began to be deprecated by the Ottoman and Egyptian authorities, when the more progressive-minded of the ruling classes began to regard the *ṭuruḳ* as brakes on progress and as associations which were bringing the image of Islam into disrepute, in Western eyes. Hence in Egypt, the *dawsa* ceremony was prohibited by the Khedive Tawfīḳ on the basis of a *fatwā* from the Chief Muftī of Egypt, that it was a *bidʿa ḳabīḥa* or reprehensible innovation. It continued, however, for some decades afterwards in Ottoman Syria, for the sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] strongly favoured the dervish orders as part of his Pan-Islamic and pro-Islamic policies. The influence of the Rifāʿī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Abu 'l-Hudā Muḥammad al-Ṣayyād (1850-1909), of the Ṣayyādiyya branch of the Rifāʿiyya in Aleppo, was particularly great at the Ottoman court, and this influence was much disapproved of by Islamic modernists and reformers of the stamp of Muḥammad ʿAbduh.

During the 20th century the Rifāʿiyya have continued to be influential in Cairene life. A good picture of it as it was in the 1940s to 1960s, including the form of its *d̲h̲ikr* [*q.v.*], is given by E. Bannerth in his *La Rifaʿiyya en Egypte*, in *MIDEO*, x (1970), 1-35. Bannerth noted that, at that time, the supreme head of the order in Egypt was a descendant of the founder and that the members of one section at least, the ʿAmriyya, included a good number of persons with secondary education and belonging to the middle classes. The charismatic activities by members of the order were played down, but in 1969 the author personally witnessed in the al-Rifāʿī Mosque the piercing of cheeks with sharpened iron skewers without any resultant bleeding or visible wounds.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): J.W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941, 283-4; J.S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 37-40, 126-7, 247, 280-1 (= Appx. H, list of Rifāʿī *ṭāʾifas* in the Arab world); F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth-century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, index.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

RĪḤ (A.), wind. Arabic traditional knowledge of the winds is gathered in ethno-astronomical and meteorological treatises such as the *kutub al-anwāʾ* [see ANWĀʾ] and other lexicographical treatises written by Arabic philologists from the early 3rd/9th centuries onwards. In these treatises, nearly one hundred words depict different kinds of winds according to their effects, qualities and direction. Very little information is given about their geographical location in the Arabian peninsula or the nature of the wind, if we except the fact that, in the *anwāʾ* system, the wind, especially hot ones (*bawāriḥ*), is seen as an effect of the star that rises. In that tradition the compass rose is based on four cardinal winds, the centre of which is the Kaʿba. The wind's direction is determined by the rising and setting of the Sun and of certain stars [see MAṬLAʿ and KAʿBA]. Al-Aṣmaʿī and Abū ʿUbayd say that the *Dabūr* (west wind) comes from the back of the Kaʿba, the *Ḳabūl* (east wind) from its front; the *S̲h̲amāl* (north wind) from the Black Stone; the *D̲j̲anūb* from the opposite direction. According to Ibn al-Aʿrābī, the *Dabūr* blows between the *maṭlaʿ* (rising-point) of Canopus and the *maṭlaʿ* of the Pleiades; the *Ḳabūl* from the *maṭlaʿ* of the Pleiades to the *maṭlaʿ* of the Great (?) Bear (*Banāt Naʿs̲h̲*); the *S̲h̲amāl* from the *maṭlaʿ* of the Great (?) Bear (*Banāt Naʿs̲h̲*) to the *mag̲h̲rib* (setting point) of Altair: *D̲j̲anūb* from the *mag̲h̲rib* of Altair to the *maṭlaʿ* of Canopus [see the graphics in MAṬLAʿ]. The winds which blow between the cardinal ones are called *nakbāʾ*. Other compass roses with six winds, as well as synonyms of cardinal winds can be found in those sources. Information about local winds is contained in geographical treatises and calendars.

In the 3rd/9th century, an important development in meteorology took place. It followed the classical tradition of Aristotle's *Meteorology*, translated into Arabic by Yaḥyā al-Biṭrīḳ (*Kitāb al-Āt̲h̲ār al-ʿulwiyya*). Other classical sources were introduced, and among the Arabic authors on this subject we can mention al-Kindī, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am, al-Bīrūnī and the Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.vv.*]. Aristotle conceived the wind as an effect of dry and hot exhalations produced by the Sun in the sphere of the air, but a more accurate explanation was furnished by al-Kindī, who stated that the wind is due to the movement of the air expanded by the heat of Sun towards colder places where the air is more contracted. Practical informa-

tion about Greek winds is acquired by the translation of calendars such as Aratus of Soloi's *Phaenomena* or Ptolemy's *Phaseis* (translated by Sinān b. Th̲ābit b. Ḳurra and summarised by al-Bīrūnī in his *Kitāb al-Āt̲h̲ār al-bāḳiya*).

Winds are particularly important in navigation treatises [see MILĀḤA and IBN MĀD̲J̲ID], in which we can find fairly detailed explanations about their causes, directions, effects in navigation, the monsoons and their seasons [see MAWSIM], coastal breezes and their causes, and the vocabulary of the sailors. The works of Ibn Mād̲j̲id (*fl.* 866-905/1462-1500) and Sulaymān al-Mahrī (*fl.* 917-60/1511-53) show that the sailors of the Indian Ocean also took into account the four cardinal winds. The most important were the *Ḳabūl*, called *Azyab* by the sailors, and the *Dabūr* or *Kaws*, because they were the prevailing winds of the three periods in which navigation was possible during the monsoons. The direction of the *Kaws* was determined by the setting of Sirius (*mag̲h̲īb al-Tīr*), while the direction of eastern winds was marked by the rising of a Boötis (*Simāk Rāmiḥ*).

Bibliography: 1. Arabic Sources: *Aristotle's Meteorology*, ed. C. Petraitis, Beirut 1967; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Anwāʾ*, ed. Ch. Pellat-M. Hamidullah, Ḥaydarābād 1956; Marzūḳī, *K. al-Azmina wa 'l-amkina*, Ḥaydarābād 1914; Ibn ʿĀṣim, *K. al-Anwāʾ*, Frankfurt 1985 (study and partial edition by M. Forcada in press); al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Āt̲h̲ār al-bāḳiya ʿan al-ḳurūn al-k̲h̲āliya*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1878; Ibn Sīduh, *Kitāb al-Muk̲h̲aṣṣaṣ*, Beirut n.d.; Abū Ḥāmid al-G̲h̲arnāṭī, *al-Mug̲h̲rib ʿan baʿḍ ʿad̲j̲āʾib al-Mag̲h̲rib*, ed. I. Bejarano, Madrid 1992; Ḳazwīnī, *K. ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-mak̲h̲lūḳāt*, Cairo 1966; I. Khoury, *Arab nautical sciences, navigation texts and their analysis*. Part I, *Sulaymān al-Mahrī's work*, 3 vols., Damascus 1970-1, Part II, *Aḥmad b. Mād̲j̲id's work*, Damascus 1971; G.R. Tibbets, *Arabic navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971. 2. Secondary sources: F. Sezgin, *GAS*, vii (see the bibl. contained in it); J. Samsó and B. Rodríguez, *Las "Pháseis" de Ptolomeo y el Kitāb al-anwāʾ de Sinān b. Ṯābit*, in *And.*, xli (1976), 14-48; D.A. King, *Astronomy in the service of Islam*, London 1993. (M. FORCADA)

RĪḤĀ, the name of two towns in the Levant.

1. The Arabs called the Jericho of the Bible Rīḥā or Arīḥā (Clermont-Ganneau, in *JA* [1877], i, 498). The town, which was 12 *mīls* east of Jerusalem, was reckoned sometimes to the *D̲j̲und* of Filasṭīn (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, iii, 913 and sometimes to the district of al-Balḳāʾ (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 113); sometimes, however, it was called the capital of the province of Jordan (al-Urdunn) or of G̲h̲awr, the broad low-lying valley of the Jordan (Nahr al-Urdunn) from which it was 10 *mīl* distant (Yāḳūt, i, 227). As a result of its warm moist climate and the rich irrigation of its fields the country round the town produced a subtropical vegetation; among its products are mentioned, some already known in ancient times, dates and bananas, fragrant flowers, indigo (prepared from the *wasma* plant), sugar-cane, which yielded the best G̲h̲awr sugar. Not far from the town were the only sulphur mines in Palestine (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud, 236). There were however many snakes and scorpions there and large numbers of fleas. From the flesh of the snakes called *tiryāḳiya* found there was made the antidote called "Jerusalem *tiryāḳ*" (θηριακὰ φάρμακα).

In the Ḳurʾān, Arīḥā is the town of the giants captured by Joshua; there was shown the tomb of Moses and the place where, according to the Christians, their Saviour was baptised. The eponymous founder of the town (Arīḥā) was said to have been a grandson of Arfak̲h̲s̲h̲ad/d̲h̲, grandson of Noah. The town was particularly prosperous during the Crusades but then began to decline and was in ruins in the 12th century. The modern Jericho in the Wādī el-Ḳelt (lat. 31° 52′ N., long. 35° 27′ E.) occupies the site of the town of the Crusaders; it is 250 m/820 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Travellers of the 19th century expatiated on the squalor of Jericho, by then little more than a large village. It revived under the British Mandate of Palestine and after the West Bank's incorporation into Jordan in 1948, with a population of 6,830 in 1967; in that year, it passed under Israeli control.

Bibliography: On the Biblical Jericho, see Sir George Adam Smith, *Historical geography of the Holy Land*,[4] London 1897, 266 ff. On its archaeology (begun in the early 20th century by Sellin and then Garstang), see K.M. Kenyon and T.A. Holland, *Excavations at Jericho*, 5 vols., London 1960-83. On early Islamic Jericho, see Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 56, 58; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 1st ed., 111, 113; Maḳdisī, 179-80; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ed. Houtsma, 113; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, i, 200, 227, ii, 884, iii, 823, 913; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, i, 52, 496, ii, 322, 362; Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *ZDPV*, viii, 3; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud, 48, 236; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 15, 18, 28-32, 53, 288, 381, 396-7; S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 8-9. On the modern town, see Murray's handbooks, *Syria and Palestine*, new ed. London 1903, 163; Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*[5], Leipzig 1912, 128-9; H.C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, *The handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*, London 1930, 127-9; Admiralty handbooks, *Palestine and Transjordan*, London 1943, 322-3 and index.

2. A little town in the district of Aleppo. According to Yāḳūt, it stood in a wooded, well watered area "on the slopes of the D̲j̲abal Lubnān". By this term the Arabs meant not only the Lebanon but also its northern continuation as far as the Orontes (Lammens, *Notes sur le Liban*, ii, 6; *MFOB*, i [1906], 271). But in the present case, the heights to the east of the Orontes are certainly wrongly included in the term. Rīḥā on the contrary is on the northern edge of the D̲j̲abal Banī ʿUlaym (Ibn al-S̲h̲iḥna, 102, 130), the modern D̲j̲ebel Arbaʿīn, a part of the D̲j̲ebel Rīḥā or D̲j̲ebel al-Zāwiyye (cf. the map D̲j̲ebel Rîḥâ or D̲j̲ebel iz-Zâwiyeh by R. Garrett and F.A. Norris, in *Publics. of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Exp. to Syria*, div. ii, sect. B, part iii, Princeton 1909). The identification of Rīḥā with the *Rugia* or *Chastel Rouge* of the Franks is untenable, as Dussaud (*Topogr. de la Syrie*, 167, 174, 176, 213) rightly pointed out that this should rather be identified with al-Rūd̲j̲ of the Arabs.

There is a place noted for its ruins of antiquity called Ruwayḥa ("little Rīḥā") about 13 km/8 miles south-east of Rīḥā.

Rīḥā is very frequently mentioned in modern travel literature, as it was on the main road from Ḥalab to Ḥamā (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii, 1502; Dussaud, *Topogr. de la Syrie*, 183), over which Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw (before 1047) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1326) travelled in their day. The town is therefore mentioned by Belon du Mans (1548), Pietro Della Valle (1616), Wansleb (1671), Pococke (1737), Drummond (1754), C. Niebuhr (1778), Seetzen (1806-7), Burckhardt (1810-12) and many others.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, ii, 885; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, i, 496; Ibn al-S̲h̲iḥna, *al-Durr al-muntak̲h̲ab fī taʾrīk̲h̲ Ḥalab*, Beirut 1909, 102, 130; R. Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii,

31; Alex. Drummond, *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and several parts of Asia*, London 1754, 228, 290 (*Rhia*; on the *Map of part of Syria*, at p. 205, which is the anonymous map, referred to by Dussaud, *Topogr.*, p. viii, n. 1: *Raia*); Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1778, ii, pl. iii. (*Rāhā*); J.B.L.J. Rousseau, *Description du Pachalik de Haleb*, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, iv, Vienna 1814, 11-12; idem, *Liste alphabétique...*, in *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires*, Paris 1825, 207-17; de Corancez, *Itinéraire d'une partie peu connue de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1816, 36: Riha east (!) of Sarmīn; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien, Palästina und der Gegend des Berges Sinai*, ed. by W. Gesenius, i, Weimar 1828, 225, n. 1 (*Rieha*); W.M. Thomson, *Bibliotheca sacra*, v, New York 1848, 672; Seiff, *Ein Ritt durch das Innere Syriens*, in *ZG Erdk.*, viii (1873), 23; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 520-1; M. Hartmann, in *ZDPV*, xxii (1899), 145; Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, p. vi, n. 2, p. viii, n. 1, 174, 176, 183, 205 ff., 212-13, 243.

(E. Honigmann*)

RIḤLA (a.), a journey, voyage, travel; also a travelogue.

It is clear from the lexicons that the root *raḥala*, from which this word derives, was originally associated with camel husbandry. A *raḥl* is a camel saddle and thus we find such phrases as *raḥala al-baʿīr* (he saddled the camel) (Lane, s.v. *raḥala*). The word *riḥla* thus connoted the act of saddling one or more camels and, by extension, a journey or voyage. The person endowed with skill in the saddling of a camel, or one who travelled much, was called a *raḥḥāl* in Arabic or, even more emphatically, a *raḥḥāla*, which neatly translates as "globetrotter" (see *ibid.*, s.vv. *riḥla, raḥḥāl*). A distinction can be made between *riḥla* and the further form *ruḥla*: the former indicates a (single) journey; the latter implies the actual destination and also has the rarer meaning of a noble or learned man to whom one may travel (see *ibid.*, s.v. *ruḥla*). Derivatives of the root *raḥala* appear four times in the Ḳurʾān: three times indicating "a saddle-bag" or "saddle-bags" (XII, 62, 70, 75), and once indicating actual journeys, employing the form *riḥla* (CVI, 2). In the *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] literature, a famous example canonises the travel impetus, indeed wanderlust, often implicit in the word *riḥla* and presents the Prophet Muḥammad as urging believers to seek knowledge even as far as China (see also Wensinck, *Concordance*, ii, 232-5 esp. s.vv. *raḥala, riḥla*).

This injunction, coupled with an increasing desire for knowledge, especially of *ʿilm* in the sense of tradition, gave rise to the concept of *al-riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* ("travel in search of knowledge") in mediaeval Islam. A genre of *riḥla* literature later developed whose primary impulse, or excuse, was the Pilgrimage [see ḥadjdj]. The archetypical exponents of this flowering of the genre were Ibn Djubayr (540-614/1145-1217 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (703-70/1304-68 or to 779/1377 [*q.v.*]). The first undertook his documented *Riḥla*, often regarded as a prototype, from 578/1183 to 581/1185 with the *Ḥadjdj* as a principal focus, to make amends for an act of wine drinking into which he had been forced by the Almohad governor of Granada; the second made the *Ḥadjdj* the initial excuse for what proved to be a virtual lifetime of globetrotting. With the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa we reach the peak in the articulation of a genre which should be perceived much more in terms of a literary art form than a formal geography. It is an art form which encapsulates the believable and the incredible, embraces the niceties of everyday life as well as the *ʿAdjāʾib* [*q.v.*] or marvels, and whose value as a geographical and historical source must, in consequence, be treated with caution. Thus, while the historian and History of Art scholar may relish the description of Mecca and Medina in the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (partially plagiarised from the earlier *Riḥla* of Ibn Djubayr), they must treat with extreme caution the former's description of his visit to China in view of the controversy over whether he actually visited that area in person. To conclude, the *Riḥla* in mediaeval Islam must be conceived of, and appreciated as, a literary genre beside such other genres as the *Awāʾil* [*q.v.*], the *ʿAdjāʾib* and the *Nawādir* [see nādira]. It is a species of *Adab* [*q.v.*] rather than *Taʾrīkh* [*q.v.*] or *Djughrāfiyā* [*q.v.*]. As such it was appreciated by the Nobel Prize-winning Egyptian novelist Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ (born 1329/1911), who consciously based his *Riḥlat Ibn Faṭṭūma* ("Voyage of Ibn Faṭṭūma") (Cairo 1983; tr. D. Johnson-Davies under the title *The Journey of Ibn Fattouma*, New York and London 1992) on the famous *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, producing not a parody but a Bunyanesque, allegorical and picaresque narrative of Everyman's *Riḥla* through life itself.

Finally, one should note that not all travelogues were necessarily called *riḥla*; cf. the *Seyāḥat-nama* of the Ottoman Turkish traveller Ewliyāʾ Čelebi [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: For individual notable examples of the *Riḥla* genre, see Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, ed. H.H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1377/1958; ʿAbdarī, *al-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya*, ed. Aḥmad b. Djadū, Algiers 1965, also ed. Muḥammad al-Fāsī, Rabat 1968; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ed. Karam al-Bustānī, Beirut 1964; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, Beirut 1964; and the index s.v. *Riḥla* in Brockelmann, S III, 1050. See also C.F. Beckingham, *The Riḥla: fact or fiction?* in I.R. Netton (ed.), *Golden roads: migration, pilgrimage and travel in mediaeval and modern Islam*, Richmond 1993, 86-94; R.E. Dunn, *The adventures of Ibn Battuta: a Muslim traveller of the 14th century*, London and Sydney, 1986; idem, *International migrations of literate Muslims in the Later Middle Period: the case of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, in Netton (ed.), *Golden roads*, 75-85; D.F. Eickelman and J. Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim travellers: pilgrimage, migration and the religious imagination*, London 1990; Amikam Elad, *The description of the Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Palestine: is it original?* in *JRAS* (1987), 256-72; R. El-Enany, *Najīb Maḥfūẓ in search of the ideal state: a critique of his Riḥlat Ibn Faṭṭūma*, in Netton (ed.), *Golden roads*, 160-6; M.K. Lenker, *The importance of the Riḥla for the Islamization of Spain*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania 1982, unpubl.; F. Moussa Mahmoud, *A Muslim Pilgrim's Progress: the Riḥla of Ibn Faṭṭūma*, in Netton (ed.), *Golden roads*, 167-81; H. Muʾnis, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa wa Riḥlatuh*, Cairo 1980; I.R. Netton, *Arabia and the pilgrim paradigm of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: a Braudelian approach*, in idem (ed.), *Arabia and the Gulf: from traditional society to modern states*, London 1986, 29-42; idem, *Basic structures and signs of alienation in the Riḥla of Ibn Jubayr*, in Netton (ed.), *Golden roads*, 57-74, and in *JAL* xxii/1 (1991), 21-31; idem, *Ibn Jubayr: penitent pilgrim and observant traveller*, in *UR*, ii (1985), 14-17; idem, *Myth, miracle and magic in the Riḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, in *JSS*, xxix/1 (1984), 131-40.

(I.R. Netton)

RIKʿA [see khaṭṭ].

RIKĀB (a., "stirrup"), in Persian and Turkish usage at Muslim courts, "the sovereign himself or his presence, the foot of the throne" (metonymy, like those of *khidmet* in Saldjūḳ usage; *hazret* or *ḥaḍret*; *khāk-i pay*; etc.).

The figurative expression *rikāb-i humāyūn* (Turk. pronunciation: *rikʾāb-ĭ hümāyūn*), or (more rarely) *rikāb-i shāhāne* or simply *rikāb* is already found in Persian of the Saldjūḳid period applied to the sultan himself or his entourage in the field or travelling. For example one said that so-and-so was "in the service of the imperial stirrup" (Ibn Bībī, in Houtsma, *Recueil ... seldjoucides*, iv, 37; iii, 18) or "in the service of the parasol (*čatr*) of the imperial stirrup" (*ibid.*, iv, 7). In modern Persian one says "to be at the stirrup of a prince" for "to be attached to his court" (Kazimirski, *Dialogues*, 493 and 482-3).

In Turkish usage, the same expressions were applied to:

1. The imperial cavalcade and the procession formed on this occasion. However, in order to avoid confusion with other uses of the word *rikāb*, there was also used, especially in the reigns of Maḥmūd II and ʿAbd al-Medjīd, the Turkish word *binish* which was applied to all public appearances of the sultan, whether on horseback or in a boat (Mouradgea d'Ohsson, vii, 141, 144; Jouanin and van Gaver, *Turquie*, 377 n.; Andreossy, *Constantinople et le Bosphore*, 33, 494). The prince's procession was also called *mawkib* (*mewkib-i hümāyūn*) (Ibn Bībī, in Houtsma, iii, 18; on these words in Ottoman and Egyptian usage, cf. J. Deny, *Sommaire des Archives du Caire*, 104, 564). Cf. also the name of *rikāb solaghĭ* given to the eight *solaḳ* lieutenants who walked by the sultan's stirrup in the great procession (Mouradgea d'Ohsson, vii, 25, 317).

2. The audience given by the sultan (*resm-i rikāb* or simply *rikāb*), whether or not he was in procession. The Grand Vizier himself could only be introduced to the sultan's presence by the latter's formal order and his admission was called *rikāb*. There were ordinary *rikābs* and ceremonial *rikābs* (Mouradgea d'Ohsson, vii, 133 ff.). Cf. details of the *bayram rikābĭ teshrifatĭ* in *ʿAṭā tārīkhi*, i, 23; cf. Zenker, *Dict.*, i, 468; Aḥmed Rāsim, *Tārīkh*, iv, 1014.

3. The service of the sultan or simply his presence (Sekowski, *Collectanea*, Warsaw 1824, ii, 24). The presence was not necessarily immediate. Thus the expression *rikāb-ĭ hümāyūnde* (in the locative) "with the sultan" was used in speaking of the troops (*ḳapu ḳulu*) of the capital (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Tārīkh*, 292) or of the Grand Vizier in so far as he was endowed with the full powers of the sultan (*MTM*, 528). Similarly, the words *rikāb-ĭ hümāyūne* (in the dative) were used for petitions (*ʿarżuḥāl*, Ar.-Pers. *ʿarḍ-i ḥāl*) addressed to the sultan (Meninski, *Thesaurus*; *Ḳānūn-nāme* of Süleymān or *Naṣīḥat-nāme*, 151), whence the expression *maʿrūḍāt-ĭ rikābiyye* applied to these petitions.

It is from this connection that we have the use of the words *rikāb-ĭ hümāyūn* or *rikāb* in the sense of *interim* or substitute. When the Grand Vizier moved from place to place, the government was thought to go with him and there was appointed "to the sovereign a substitute for the Grand Vizier who was called *rikāb ḳāʾimmaḳāmĭ*" (Bianchi, *Dict.*, 1 ed.; Perry, *A view of the Levant*, London 1743, 37). The other chief dignitaries of the Sublime Porte had also their substitutes "of the imperial stirrup".

Rikāb aghalarĭ or *aghayān-ĭ rikāb-ĭ hümāyūn* or *üzengi aghalarĭ*.—These names were applied to a certain number of important officers or dignitaries of the palace (from 4 to 11, according to the different sources). They were the *mīr-ʿalem* or "standard-bearer", the two *mīr-ākhur* (*imbrohor*) or "squires", the *ḳapudjular kaḥyasĭ* or "chief usher" and other dignitaries with different offices (cf. Luṭfī Pasha, *Āṣaf-nāme*, in *Türk. Bibliothek*, xii, 18, 21 of the Turkish text ed. Tschudi; Beauvoisins, *Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur*, 1809, 54; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, vii, 14; von Hammer, *Staatsverf.*, ii, 61, with references to Castellan and ʿAlī; esp. *MTM*, 526, for the *ḳānūn* or "usages" regarding the *aghas* of the stirrup; Ferīdūn, *Münsheʾāt*, 10, for the *elḳāb* or protocol relating to them). The following is a translation of the passage in the *Āṣaf-nāme* which is a comparatively old text (Luṭfī Pasha [*q.v.*], died probably in 970/1562-3): "The *defterdārs* of the finances have precedence (*taṣaddur*) over the *sandjaḳ beyi* and the *üzengi aghalarĭ*. The principal (*bash olan*) of these is the *agha* of the Janissaries, next comes the *mīr-ʿalem*, then the *ḳapudju bashĭ*, after him the *mīr-ākhur*, then the *čakĭrdjĭ-bashĭ*, the *česhnegīr-bashĭ* and the *bölük aghalarĭ*" (starting with the *agha* of the Janissaries, we have here then an enumeration of the *üzengi aghalarĭ*).

Considering the authority of these sources, we must conclude that the variations are the results of changes which actually took place, which leads us to conclude that the tradition of the palace left the sultan a certain freedom in this respect. We know, moreover, that admission to the *rikāb* was in general subject to the *istīdhān* or "approval, pleasure" of the sultan.

The most important function, at least in principle, of the *aghas* of the stirrup was exercised when the sultan mounted his horse: the grand *mīr-ākhur* held the inner stirrup (*ič rikāb*), the *bash-ḳapudju-bashĭ agha*, the outer stirrup (*dĭsh rikāb*); the *mīr-ʿalem* held the bridle and the *česhnegīr-bashĭ* assisted the sultan by holding him under the arm or "under the armpit" (*ḳoltugha girmek*). The *ḳapudjubashĭ* or "chamberlains" stood all around and the *ākhur khalīfesi* (*ḳalfasĭ*) held the horse's head (*MTM*, 526).

On the functions of the chamberlains, who, to the number of 150, headed by the *bash-ḳapudju-bashĭ*, already mentioned, were in the service of the stirrup, and for other details, see Mouradgea d'Ohsson, vii, 18, and especially *MTM*, *loc. cit.* Their duties were to take to the province important *firmāns* and to carry out various confidential missions.

Sometimes epithets rhyming in *-āb* were added to the word *rikāb* in the language of the court: e.g. *rikāb-ĭ ḳamertāb* "stirrup shining like the moon" (*Tārīkh-i Wāṣif*, i, 105); cf. also the epithets *kāmyāb*, *gerdūn djenāb*, *dewlet-intisāb* (Meninski, *Thesaurus*).

The tribute which the Voyvodes of Wallachia and Moldavia sent to the sultan in their own name, supplementary to that (*djizye*) paid by their subjects, was known as *rikābiyye* and *ʿīdiyye* (Aḥmed Rāsim, i, 380; cf. Saineanu, *Influenţa orientala*, Bucarest 1900, i, 249).

Bibliography: Given in the text. (J. Deny)

RIKĀBDĀR or Rikībdār, a Persian derivative from the preceding, properly "one put in charge of the stirrup, one who holds the stirrup, when his master mounts" (cf. French *estafier*, Ital. *staffiere*, Russ. *stremennoy*, English *groom of stirrup*, words formed from *staffa*, *stremya*, *stirrup* = French *estrieu*, mod. *étrier*). In fact, remembering that the word *rikāb* has been given or has assumed a wider meaning [see rikāb], *rikābdār* meant "a kind of squire, groom or riding attendant who had charge of the care and maintenance of harness and saddlery and of everything required for mounting on horseback". The pronunciation with an *i* in the second syllable (*rikibdar* or *rekibdar*) used alike in Egypt (Dozy; Spiro, 198) and in Turkey (Moldavian-Wallachian *rechiptar* or *richiaptar* in Saineanu, ii, 99) is due to a (Persian) corruption analogous to that found in the words *silīḥdār* for *silāḥdār* and *iʿtimīd* for *iʿtimād* (cf. the Turkish translation of the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, 405). In Arabic we find the forms *rikābī* and *ṣāḥib al-rikāb*.

Al-Maḳḳarī mentions a personage who was *ṣāḥib al-*

rikāb already to the first Umayyad caliph of Spain (138-72/756-88; cf. *Analectes*, i, 605, reference given by Dozy). In Egypt at the court of the Fāṭimids, there were over 2,000 *rikābī* or *ṣibyān al-rikāb al-khāṣṣ*, so called "on account of their costume (*ziayy*)", whose duties were the same as those of the *silāḥdār* and *tabardār* of the time of al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 482).

As to the Persian form *rikābdār*, it must have been in use among the Saldjūḳs for we have to admit by analogy that it was from them that the Ayyūbids and later the Mamlūks borrowed the term, like many others of the same kind.

In Persia itself, the term *rikābdār* was replaced by its (Turkish) synonym *üzengi* (or *zengü*) *ḳurčisi* (cf. Chardin, 1711 ed., vi, 112; Père Raph. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse*, 24). According to the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, the *rikābdār* were replaced by the *djilawdār* (from *djilaw*, bridle), but it should be noted that the office of the latter was contemporary with and independent of that of *üzengi ḳurčisi*.

In Egypt, the *rikābdārs* of the Mamlūks, also called *rikābī*, were members of the *rikāb-khāna*, like the other "men of the sword" (*arbāb al-suyūf*), such as the *sandjaḳdār, mahmizdār, ḳara-ghulām* and *ghulām-mamlūk*. The *rikāb-khāna* (the *khizānat al-surūdj* of the Fāṭimids) was the depot for harness and in general for all the material required for horses and stables. The heads of this service were called *mihtar* (cf. the Ottoman *mehter* whose duties were different and humbler). The *rikābdārs* were under the command of the *amīr djāndār*, "Marshal of the Court" (cf. the *ḳapudjular kahyasî* of the Ottoman court). See al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 12, 20; Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, 124; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Syrie*, pp. liii, lix.

The word *rikābdār* is found in the *1001 Nights*, where it is translated "palefrenier" by E. Gauttier, vi, 168, and "groom" by Burton, x, 365, n. 2. From the context we might also suggest "riding attendant". Bocthor gives (for Syria?) *r-k-bdār* under the French "écuyer (qui enseigne à monter à cheval)" and *r-kkīb al-khayl* under "groom (celui qui monte à cheval)". The synonymous expression *ṣāḥib al-rikāb*, in the sense of "good squire, one who mounts a horse well", is found in the romance of ʿAntara. In 19th and early 20th century Egyptian usage *rikib-dār* or *rakbdār* means "jockey, groom" (Spiro, Habeiche). (According to the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ* [Turk. tr.], the *rikābdār* of Egypt was replaced by the *sarrādj* "saddler" mentioned by Volney and others.)

Turkish usage. In Turkey the office of *rikābdār* must have been taken over directly from the Saldjūḳs, but instead of becoming assimilated to that of humble grooms or *rikābīs*, as in Egypt, it became an important dignity at the sultan's court reserved for a single officer. It is in the reign of Orkhan (*ca*. 1324-62) that we find the first Ottoman *rikābdār*: he was called Ḳodja Ilyās Agha (*ʿAṭā tārīkhi*, i, 94). It was, however, only under Selīm I (1512-20) that the duties of the *rikābdār* were defined. According to the organisation at this time, the *rikābdār agha* was a *khāṣṣ odalî*, i.e. he was one of the *khāṣṣ oda* (and not *odasî*) or "company of the corps (Mouradgea d'Ohsson): chambrée suprême (Castillan); innerste Kammer (von Hammer)" which was the first of the six groups of officers of the household (*ič* or *enderūn*) of the Palace and consisted of the fixed number of 40 officers or pages, including in theory the sultan himself. It had been formed by Sultan Selīm to guard the relic of the Prophet's mantle (*khirḳa-yî seʿādet*) brought back after the conquest of Egypt (ʿAṭā, i, 208; for details of the organisation, see *ibid.*, and Mouradgea d'Ohsson, vii, 34 ff.). The *rikābdār* was the third of these officers in order of precedence (following the *siliḥdār* and the *čohadār* and preceding the *dülbend aghasî*) and an officer passed in this order from one office to another. The four officers just mentioned were the only *khāṣṣ odalî* who had the right to wear the turban.

According to the usual definition repeated everywhere, the chief duty of the *rikābdār agha* was to hold the sultan's stirrup. It may have been so at first, but none of the documents available show the *rikābdār* performing this duty in practice. Indeed, we have seen [s.v. RIKĀB] who actually were the "*aghas* of the stirrup" entrusted with this duty. Now in spite of his name, the *rikābdār* was not one of these. The Arabic version of the *Āṣaf-nāme* (ed. Beirut, 9, n. 7) and the German translation (in *Türk. Bibl.*, no. 12, 1910, 17, n. 1) have therefore confused *rikābdār agha* and *rikāb aghasî*, which has given rise to an erroneous interpretation of the whole passage (see the corrected translation in RIKĀB).

On the other hand, Western writers of the 16th century mention as the third officer of the household (*ič oghlan*) after the *siliḥdār* and *čohadār* a "cup-bearer"! Theodore Spandone (Spandouyn Cantacazin) calls him *sharābdār* (cf. Garzoni, 1573) and Leunclavius *küpdār* "bearer of the (water)-jar", a name also found in Lonicer (69). This water-carrier was given other names later. D'Ohsson (pl. 158) and the *ʿAṭā tārīkhi* (i, 282) speak of a *ḳoz-bekči* or "keeper of the *ḳoz*, probably for the Arabic-Persian *kūz(e)* or water-jar". Wearing a *berata*, he carried a ewer (*mashrapa*) of warm water at the end of a stick. Von Hammer calls this official *mataradji* or bearer of the gourd (*matara* for *maṭhara*). The use of warm water is easily explained by the fact that, as an author writing in 1631 tells us, the third gentleman of the sultan's chamber "carried him 'sherbet' to drink, and water to wash with" (de Stochove, *Voyage du Levant*, Brussels 1662, 84: *Ischioptar*, for *rikābdār*?; cf. Baudier who writes *rechioptar*).

On the other hand, there was an officer whose duty it was to carry a stool (*iskemle*) plated with silver which the sultan used in mounting his horse, when he did not prefer the assistance of a mute who went on his hands and knees on the ground (Castellan, *Mœurs*...., iii, 139; ʿAṭā, *loc. cit.*; d'Ohsson, pl. 157). He was the *iskemle aghasî* or *iskemledjiler bashi*, chosen from among the oldest grooms (*ḳapudju eskisi*). Wearing a *dolama* and a *keče*, he rode like the water-carrier on horseback in processions (*rikāb*). Probably through some confusion, Castellan calls him *rikābdār*, but adds that in his time the *rikābdār* was chosen not from among the *khāṣṣ odalî*, but from the *čawush* (mistake for *ḳapudju*?). Nor must we confuse, as Saineanu (*Influenṭa orientala*, ii, 104, s.v. *schemniaga*) does, the *iskemle* (or *iskemni*) *aghasî* with the special commissioner of this name who was charged, along with the *sandjaḳ aghasî*, to install on the throne (*scamn*) the new *hospodars* of Moldavia and Wallachia (cf. *Mélanges Iorga*, Paris 1933, 202). There were also *iskemle aghasî* similar to those of the sultan in certain provinces ([Rousseau], *Description du pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 27).

Among the special duties of the *rikābdār*, one need only mention the custody and care of the harness, etc. of the sultan (as among the Mamlūks) and his *pabuč* or shoes and *čizme* or boots (*Ḳānūn-nāme* of Süleymān or *Naṣīḥat-nāme*, 132).

It should be noted that, according to the *ʿAṭā tārīkhi* (i, 208), the services of the *rikābdār*, like those of the *čohadārs*, were only required on gala days (*eiyyām-î resmiyye*). This practice is said to have been introduced under Muṣṭafā III (1757-74) out of consideration for the age of these concerned, for they were generally

over 60 and had spent 40 years in the service of the court (*odjak yolu*). According to the same source, these duties were reduced to very little. During the ceremonies (*selāmlik*) of the Prophet's birthday (*mewlid* or *mewlūd*), the two *bayrams* and at the *binish* or ceremonial appearances of the sultan, the *rikābdār* sat opposite the sultan in the imperial barge with the *silihdār, khāṣṣ oda bashî* and the two *čohadārs*.

From all this we may conclude that, if there really was a *rikābdār* in the time of Orkhan, he performed not only the duties of a squire but also those of a "cup-bearer", and we know that in Persian *rikābdār* means "cup-bearer" and *rikāb* means also "cup". In time, with the *rikābdār* becoming a more and more important personage, these duties were divided between two special officers: on the one hand, the *koz-bekči* and similar officers, and on the other, the *iskemle aghasî*.

The *rikābdār agha*, like the *čohadārs*, received a daily salary or *ʿulūfe* of 35 aspers (*akče*), while the *silihdār* drew 45 (Hezārfenn, ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, ancien fonds turc, fol. 18b). Like the *čohadārs*, they had in their service two *lalas* of the *khāṣṣ oda*, a *karakollukču*, a *baltadjî* with tasselled caps (*zülüflü*), two *ṣofalîs*, a *heybedji* and two *yedekčis*. The *rikābdārs* who did not attain the rank of *silihdār* were put on the retired list (became *čîrak*) with a pension of 60-100,000 piastres. In the absence of the *čohadār*, the *rikābdār* performed the duties of the *silihdār*. On the quarters in the palace occupied by the *rikābdār*, see ʿAṭā, i, 312, 20.

The four chief officers of the *khāṣṣ oda*, including the *rikābdār*, were often called by the name—not official, however—of *koltuk wezīrleri* or "viziers of the armpit" because they had the privilege of touching the sultan, particularly of giving him their hand or taking him by the arm during a walk and they frequently attained the rank of *wezīr* (Cantemir, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, Paris 1743, iv, 119-21). The *rikāb aghalarî* [see RIKĀB] were also *koltuk wezīrleri*.

The same four officers were also called *ʿarḍ aghalarî* because they had the right to present (*ʿarḍ*) to the sultan any petition which reached them, like the master of petitions (Rycaut, Bk. i, p. 97 of the French tr.; Castellan, iii, 185). According to Aḥmed Rāsim (ii, 639), in processions, the *iskemle aghasî* had the task of returning to those concerned petitions which were not granted.

The *rikābdārs* were abolished by Maḥmūd II, probably about the same time as the *koz bekči* (in 1248/1832-3; cf. Luṭfī, iv, 68) and the *silāhdār* (in 1246; cf. Luṭfī, iv, 61); see von Hammer, *Hist.*, xvii, 191.

Bibliography: See the works already quoted above, of which the most important is the *ʿAṭā tārīkhi*. See also Aḥmed Rāsim, *Tārīkh*, i, 186, 479, ii, 526; von Hammer, *Hist.*, vii, 15, for references not used here; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, index.

(J. Deny)

RIKK [see RAKK].

RIND (P.), a word applied in Persian with a contemptuous connotation to "a knave, a rogue, a drunkard" or "a debauchee"; in the terminology of poets and mystics it acquired the positive meaning of "one whose exterior is liable to censure, but who at heart is sound" (Steingass, s.v., after the *Burhān-i kāṭiʿ*). The etymology of *rind* is unclear. It is not an Arabic loanword, in spite of the existence of the broken plural *runūd*, a learned form used next to the regular Persian plural *rindān*. The abstract noun *rindī* denotes the characteristic behaviour of a person thus qualified.

Mediaeval historians refer to *rinds* collectively as freebooters associated with the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*] and the *awbāsh*. Locally they could be a political factor of some importance, as it appears from phrases like "the *rinds* of Baghdād" or "the *rinds* of Khwārazm". Mention is also made of rural groups (*rindān-i rūstā*). They were further characters in popular literature. Bawdy tales about the *rinds* were considered to be unsuitable for a royal banquet (Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*; see for these and other examples from historical sources, Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* s.v. *rind*).

In the 5th/11th century, the Ismāʿīlī poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] still condemned their behaviour outright when he rebuked the world for "approving in its many children only that which results in bad behaviour and debauchery (*badfiʿlī-u rindī*)" (*Dīwān*, 493,-3). Even two centuries later, Saʿdī [*q.v.*] looked unfavourably upon their violent attacks on the Ṣūfīs and upon their sensuality (*Gulistān*, 107, 140).

Already at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, however, Sanāʾī [*q.v.*] gave ample evidence of a reversed appreciation. In his poetry, the word belongs to a cluster of terms and motifs peculiar to the *kalandariyyāt* [see KALANDARIYYA]. In this mystical genre, it came to denote the type of the antinomian mystic, like the cognate terms *kalandar* and *kallāsh*. The abandonment of all self-interest by the *rinds* is contrasted to the insincerity of ascetics (*zāhid*) and devout believers (*ʿābid*) whose piety is merely a mask for their selfishness.

After Sanāʾī, Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] further developed the genre in his *ghazals* and quatrains. The *rinds* are also frequently mentioned by Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*]. The "vices" he ascribes to them are being frantic lovers, ogling beautiful boys (*naẓarbāzī*), excessive drinking and gambling. They are beggars who have squandered all their earthly possessions (*muflis*, *pākbāz*) and have "set the world to fire" (*ʿālamsūz*). Willingly they destroy their good reputation, drinking the dregs of wine and suffering for the sake of love.

The reversal of terms like *rind* in the usage of the poets is related to the attitude of the *malāmatiyya* [*q.v.*], who from the 4th/10th century onwards dominated the spiritual atmosphere of Khurāsān. In a telling anecdote about Abū Saʿīd Mayhanī [*q.v.*] it is related that he learned the true meaning of *pākbāzī* from the *rindān* who honoured him as the "*amīr* of the gamblers" (Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, 202). Eventually, the term was adopted into standard mystical terminology. Shams al-Dīn Lāhidjī (d. 912/1506 [*q.v.*]), commenting on Maḥmūd Shabistarī's [*q.v.*] *Gulshan-i rāz*, defined the *rind* as someone who is completely detached from all qualities and conditions of the multitude of created being "having removed everything with the rasp (*randa*) of obliteration and effacement". Such a person would no longer be bound to anything, not even to the discipline of a spiritual teacher (*Mafātīḥ al-iʿdjāz*, 636).

The force of this imagery is not yet quite exhausted, though it has been used over and again by countless poets and mystics. In the present century, it could still serve Sir Muḥammad Ikbāl [*q.v.*] as an item of his poetry which aimed at the revitalisation of Islam.

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RISĀLA [see rasūl].

RISĀLA (a.), an Arabic term attested at a very early stage, in the ancient inscriptions of Arabia, with the meaning of message or of mission (G. Lankester Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971, 277).

In fact, *risāla* has many meanings; it has signified message, missive, letter, epistle and monograph; from the 5th/11th century onwards it could also be a synonym of maḳāma (see below, section on *Risāla* and *maḳāma*). The synonyms recorded are *kitāb* [*q.v.*], *khiṭāb* (for Ps.-Ibn al-Mudabbir in the 3rd/9th century, *risāla* and *khiṭāb* were synonyms, *Ṣafwat*, iv, 224; on numerous occasions, the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād had recourse to the same term when speaking of his letters, *Dīwān rasā'il al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād*, ms. B.N. arabe, 3411, fols. 152a, 176b, 186a, 189a, 194b; Saʿd b. Ḥaddād al-Munadjdjim, 3rd/9th century, did likewise, Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 231, v, 381); *mīmar* (from Aramaic, attested in philosophy); *maḳāla* (Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, ii, 1781, l. 22; 1783, ll. 2, 7; the *risāla* of Ibn Sīnā, *Risālat al-Ḳuwā al-insāniyya wa-idrākātihā*, was also entitled by him *al-Maḳāla fī 'l-ḳuwā al-insāniyya*, see *ibid.*, 1783, l. 27); *lisān* (al-Ḥuṭay'a, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1967, 71; al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, Oxford 1918, 482, l. 7; Aʿshā Bāhila, *Gedichte von Abū Baṣīr Maimūn b. Ḳais al-Aʿshā*, London 1928, 266, iv, v. 4); *ma'luka* (al-Khansā', *Dīwān*, ed. Cheikho, 188, l. 17; Suḥaym ʿAbd Banī al-Ḥashās, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1950, 19); *ṣaḥīfa* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 48, l. 4; al-Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, 387, l. 22); and *kalima* (*Aghānī*³, xii, 246, l. 9; xiii, 345, l. 6).

1. In Arabic.

Maḳāla, lisān, kalima and *ma'luka* denoted an oral message. With the exception of the first, which was subsequently to denote a text (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 12), the other terms retained their initial meaning. The etymology of these terms played a decisive role in this respect. The case of *kalima* and *lisān* requires no further explanation. For *ma'luka*, it is appropriate to note that, according to the lexicographers, the root *aluka* signifies "to champ the bit" when it is used in reference to a horse; it is thus closely related to speech (*al-Aghānī*³, x, 222, l. 19, the poet ʿAlī b. al-Djahm; Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1944-5, iii, 354, v. 42). According to the lexicographer al-Layth, "*alūk* is *risāla*; it is denoted thus because words are chewed by the mouth" (*LʿA*, s.v. *alaka*, ed. Ṣādir, Beirut, x, 292, ll. 7-8; *K. al-ʿAyn*, s.v.). (In reality, *ma'luka*, etc., is a metathesis of the root *l-'-k*).

I. Evolution of the term

Risāla (pl. *rasā'il, risālāt* being essentially Ḳur'ānic), denoted originally the oral transmission of a message. In pre-Islamic times, in the Ḳur'ān and throughout the Umayyad period, the term demonstrated a remarkable stability and remained closely linked to speech. It is the spoken message. In a tradition relating to al-Ḥārith b. Djabala, it is stated specifically (*fa-akhbarahu bi-risālati al-Ḥārithi bni Djabalata fa-rakana ilā ḳawlihi*), sc. he reported to him (communicated to him orally) the message of al-Ḥārith b. Djabala, he relied entirely on his words (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-ḳaṣā'id al-sabʿ al-ṭiwāl al-djāhiliyyāt*, Cairo 1969, 480). Poetry confirms this state of affairs beyond all expectation. The following structure is attested there: "*abligh* (followed by a name) *risālat*ᵃⁿ (communicated to (a certain person) the content of the following message"; the text of the message follows, this clearly showing that it is a case of oral communication (*Ḥamāsa*, Bonn 1828, 186, l. 6, Riyāḥ b. Ẓālim al-Murrī; Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā. ed. Ahlwardt, xvi, v. 25; for the Umayyad period, al-Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān*, Paris 1870, 68, v. 12; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa,. *Dīwān*, Leipzig 1901-9, 117, v. 12). Furthermore, al-Kāsānī (d. 587/1191), a highly original personality, has described this situation well: *al-risālatu hiya an yursila rasūl*ᵃⁿ *ilā radjul*ⁱⁿ ... *fa dhahaba 'l-rasūlu wa-ballagha 'l-risālata li-anna 'l-rasūla safīr*ᵘⁿ *wa muʿabbir*ᵘⁿ *ʿan kalāmi 'l-mursili nāḳil*ᵘⁿ *kalāmahu ilā 'l-mursali ilayhi* ("*risāla* consists in sending a messenger to a person... The messenger goes and conveys the message, since the bearer is an envoy who expresses (through direct speech) and conveys the speech of the sender to the addressee" (al-Kāsānī, *K. Badā'iʿ al-ṣanā'i fī tartīb al-sharā'iʿ*, Cairo 1328/1910, v. 138).

The transference to written text takes place under the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-23/724-43). It is associated with Sālim Abu 'l-ʿAlā'. His translation of the written correspondence between Alexander and his teacher includes in its title the term *risāla: Risālat Arisṭāṭālīs ilā 'l-Iskandar fī siyāsat al-mudun* (M. Grignaschi, *Le roman épistolaire classique conservé dans la version arabe de Sālim Abū l-ʿAlā'*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxx [1967], 219, 223). In a eulogy addressed to al-Saffāḥ, the first ʿAbbāsid caliph, the poet Abū Dulāma, for his part, evokes a *risāla* of the chieftain of the Banū Asad written (*takhuṭṭuhā*) by a female scribe (*Aghānī*³, x, 266, ll. 12-13). Thus a significant mutation is introduced into the genre; the former meaning disappears almost completely, except for a few isolated vestiges encountered from time to time in the course of the texts (al-Ṣūlī, *K. al-Awrāḳ*, Cairo 1936, 208; *Aghānī*³, xx, 56; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 4-5, vi, 106, 166).

It is not unusual for the *risāla*, a written message, to adopt the form of a rhymed poem. It is attested throughout the ʿAbbāsid period. Here however, unlike in the *Djāhiliyya*, these notes are written. The Arabic holdings of the Bibliothèque Nationale include a manuscript intitled *Madjmūʿ murāsalāt wa-tahānī* (arabe, 3431); all the texts included are letters in poetic form. Furthermore, numerous stylists had recourse to this process, notably Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī and al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, following the well-known pattern of poems adopting identical metres and rhymes (*Rasā'il al-Ṣābī wa 'l-Sharīf al-Raḍī*, Kuwait 1961, 7-62, section *al-mukātabāt bi 'l-shiʿr*, comprising eleven *ḳaṣīdas*).

This process of transference from oral usage to the written letter is, after all, quite natural. Constable and Hunger observe in this context that all ancient civilisations used the oral message exclusively at the outset (G. Constable, *Letters and letter-collection*, in *Typologie des sources du Moyen Age*, fasc. 17, Turnhout 1976, 48; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche Literature der Byzantiner*, i, *Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie*, Munich 1978, 199).

II. The poetry of the *Risāla*

In order to understand the transformation of this structure, it is essential to take account of the crucial role of Greek letters. The scribes of Damascus were familiar with the epistles of the Greeks, by way of

Hellenistic and Persian culture. As a result of the works of Mario Grignaschi, this influence has been established beyond doubt. In fact, one of the most illustrious representatives of this circle, Sālim Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ (see above), the *mawlā* of Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, in his translation of the letters of Aristotle to Alexander, included two chapters of great interest, *al-Siyāsa al-ʿāmma* and *al-Siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riʾāsa*: they contain, in effect, quotations and indications proving that he has followed "the outline of the Greek letter more closely than has sometimes been admitted" (*Les "Rasāʾil Arisṭāṭālīsa ilā l-Iskandar" de Salim Abu l-ʿAlāʾ et l'activité culturelle à l'époque umayyade*, in *BEO*, xix [1965-6], 9). Furthermore, ch. x, of classical origin, which has been published in an abridged version by Lippert under the title *Peri Basileas*, is identical in all respects to the Arabic ms. of Sālim (Köprülü 1608) except in one detail. The Arabic translation has added here two extracts from the *Testament d'Ardashīr*; Sālim has thus proceeded to an integration of the Greek foundation to the Sāsānid foundation (*ibid.*, 14).

Now, according to Ibn Khallikān, Sālim was the protector of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib and his master in the art of writing (*Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, Beirut 1397/1977, iii, 230), in other words the founder of the ʿAbbāsid *risāla* in all its variety (J.D. Latham, *The beginnings of Arabic prose: the epistolary genre*, in *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*, Cambridge 1983, 155-79; Hannelore Schönig, *Das Sendschreiben des ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā an den Kronprinzen ʿAbdallāh b. Marwān II*, Stuttgart 1985, introd. to the translation, 3-27).

The risāla *as monograph*

The transmission of knowledge under the first caliphs of the Marwānid branch was accomplished in the form of *risālas*. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, wishing to know more of the events which had accompanied the beginnings of Islam, addressed himself to ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who replied to him with a written missive containing the information requested. These missives were preserved by al-Ṭabarī to constitute the basis of his documentation for the event in question (*Annales*, i, 1180-1, 1634-6, 1770, 1284-6). This framework offered numerous facilities and allowed the writer to lend to his work the tone of a direct conversation. As time passed, the addressee of the *risāla* was solicited and even invented by the writer himself with a view to exposing his ideas on a question which interested him particularly (A.F.L. Beeston, *The epistle on singing girls by Jāḥiẓ*, London 1980, § 3, 2-3; G. Lanson, *Choix de lettres du XVIIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1913, p. xxv). This sub-genre was to enjoy lasting popularity. Numerous authors, from the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib to the present day, have made frequent use of it.

Moreover, there was the opportunity of filling the letter-missive with personal ideas and nonconformist concepts which *adab* could not or would not accommodate, it being regulated by very strict rules. Knowledge (*ʿilm*), like literature, was considered the ultimate canonical genre; for the same reason, it was doomed to cantonisation in compilation; otherwise, there was the risk of impairment. Every *khabar* mentioned, real or fictitious, was endowed with an *isnād* which accentuated its status as a received text, rather than the product of independent thought. The *risāla*, the only remaining framework in prose, lent itself perfectly to the role of receptacle for personal thoughts, nonconformist ideas and texts based on analysis and not on quotation. This is why the most original texts were conceived as *risālas*. In politics, one of the most thorough analyses of religious, political and military institutions under the early ʿAbbāsids is supplied by the *Risāla fī 'l-ṣaḥāba* of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (Ch. Pellat, *Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ conseilleur du calife*, Paris 1976, 1, 4, 12). In literature, the *Risālat al-tarbīʿ wa 'l-tadwīr* by al-Djāḥiẓ and the *Risāla al-hazliyya* of Ibn Zaydūn presented the most successful examples of humorous texts (O. Rescher, *Excerpte und Übersetzungen aus der Schriften des... Jāḥiẓ*, Stuttgart 1931, 212-25; *al-Fikr*, xii/3, 54-60; T. Ḥusayn, *Min ḥadīth al-shiʿr wa 'l-nathr*, 88-99; H. Djād Ḥasan, *Ibn Zaydūn*, Cairo 1375/1955, 266-9, 274-5). More generally, *Risālat al-ghufrān* by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī and *Risālat al-tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ* by Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*] may be considered triumphs of classical Arabic literature. In poetry, the most penetrating analysis of the aesthetic rules governing poetry and the epistolary art, and also the most systematic, borrowed the same formal framework (A. Arazi, *Une épître d'Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī sur les genres littéraires*, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1986, 473-505).

Indisputably, the *risāla* comprises, here, all the aspects which constitute the monograph or the essay. Henceforward, this framework was to play a role in all sectors of Arab culture: philosophy, grammar, lexicography and *fikh*—they all adopted it as a means of producing their finest achievements. The *Rasāʾil* of Djāḥiẓ dealt with a broad spectrum of theological, social, political and literary problems and count among the most profound analyses of the Baṣran thinker, perhaps of the whole of ʿAbbāsid literature. The format itself is a major contributor to this success: each title studies a single problem, which encourages reflection (Ch. Pellat, *The life and works of Jāḥiẓ*, London 1967, 14-26). It has even been written of some of them that they are psychological and moral studies in which the author is aware of producing original work; this is not a regular occurrence in the works of the 3rd/9th century (Ch. Vial, *Al-Djāḥiẓ, quatre essais*, IFAO, Cairo 1976, 3). The same phenomenon is attested in the work of a polygraph of the Mamlūk period, Djalal al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), whose principal claim to fame was his faculty for compilation. In his epistles, he attacked the abuses with which the society of his time was confronted, refraining from compiling for the pleasure of compiling.

However, it is in theology, in philosophy and in the domain of the sciences that this phenomenon seems to have taken on the broadest role. The translation, or perhaps the paraphrase, in Arabic, of the correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle, seems to have had an immediate impact on the framework and the format of Arabic religious writings relating to faith. Written texts were seen as indispensable for the formulation of all things concerning religious belief. Another external source, which was apparently to have a very profound influence on the *risāla*, was the translation into Arabic of the New Testament, which includes a very extensive section of epistles attributed to St. Paul and St. Peter. Systematically, they include in their titles the name of the region destined to receive them. It is interesting to note a similarity with the letters of certain *mutakallimūn* (see below).

Among the most ancient, a significant number of theological treatises are *risālas* attributed to historical figures (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) and addressed to no less historical figures (the Umayyad caliphs). All these epistles have recently been the object of philological analysis by Michael Cook, *Early Muslim dogma*, Cambridge 1981 (with very comprehensive bibliography). The dating of these documents continues to be problematical, and expert opinion is divided as to their paternity; this last is accepted by van Ess, whilst

others have not hesitated to draw attention to certain anachronisms featuring in these documents. Whatever the case, it seems very reasonable to place them at the end of the Umayyad dynasty or under the first ʿAbbāsids. The authors, most of them *Tābiʿūn* or Successors, chose this framework on account of its similarity to the letter, in other words, as a concrete message which would make their theological statements more easily understood. Later, numerous theologians made use of the epistle to propound their doctrines. Al-As̲h̲ʿarī had recourse to it in two instances: the first in the well-known *Vindication of the engagement in speculative theology* (R. MacCarthy, *The theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953) and the second in *Risāla ilā ahl al-t̲h̲ag̲h̲r*. The second in fact constitutes a brief exposition of the theology of the author (publ. in *Ilahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* (Istanbul), viii [1928]; on the two epistles, see D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-As̲h̲ʿarī*, Paris 1990, 13-16). The *responsa* (*fatāwā, d̲j̲awābāt, ad̲j̲wiba, masāʾil*) constitute an ancient ramification of theological epistles. Numerous works belonging to this category have been attributed to Abū Hās̲h̲im al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī (d. 321/933), one of the most eminent Baṣran Muʿtazilī thinkers; these also followed the previously-mentioned pattern, with a title bearing the name of the addressee and his country of residence. Worth mentioning, by way of example, are the *Bag̲h̲dādiyyāt* and the *ʿAskariyyāt* (Gimaret, *Matériaux pour une bibliographie des D̲j̲ubbāʾī*, in *JA*, cclxiv [1976], 308, 321, and 286, a reply from his father Abū ʿAlī to the inhabitants of K̲h̲urāsān). Numerous collections, identical in every respect, were mentioned by the Muʿtazilī *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār (d. 416/1025), such as *al-Rāziyyāt, al-K̲h̲ʷārazmiyyāt*, etc. (*al-Uṣūl al-k̲h̲amsa*, ed. ʿA. Ut̲h̲mān, Cairo 1967, 21-3).

A similar process is in evidence in the epistles of Ibn Taymiyya (*Mad̲j̲mūʿat al-rasāʾil al-kubrā*, Beirut 1980, i-ii, repr. of the original edition). In addition to the usual framework, the introduction includes here the name of the questioner, the heading of the question and the mention of other circumstances which contribute to fix his *risāla* more firmly in reality. Thus the differences between *fatāwā* and epistles tend to become blurred. Another characteristic of theological *risālas*, which could prove to be of great importance, since it is capable, possibly, of determining the character of the discussion, is the opportunity given to the author of providing a detailed account of his position on a point of doctrine. Such an opportunity was readily seized upon by the author, who expounded at length the subject which was being debated. These theological responses, thus enlarged, were transformed into veritable monographs; the question which is the point of departure then appears to arise from the incident (see below, on Judaeo-Arabic). The exposition of theological ideas, in the form of a monograph, in response to questions posed to an author, is known in Syriac sources (for example, in the work of Jacob of Edessa, late 7th-early 8th century), taking its inspiration, perhaps, from the Greek tradition through the intermediary of the Byzantines (Cook, *op. cit.*, 145-6). The most ancient manifestations of this framework in Christian theological literature written in Arabic are attested in the collection of *Mayāmir* attributed to the "Melkite" bishop Theodore Abū Ḳurra (d. 820, see G. Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 7-26; I. Dick, *Théodore Abū Ḳurra*, in *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, xii [1962], 209-23, xiii [1963], 114-29). It is appropriate to observe that the Aramaic *mīmar* (< *mīmrō* = *mēmrā*) might well have constituted the antecedent of the Arabic term *maḳāla* (J. Wansbrough, *The sectarian milieu*, Oxford 1978, 104-5, where he expresses the hypothesis of the existence of Christian theological treatises in Arabic in an earlier period).

Although numerous questions and uncertainties have been presented, with good reason, in the epistolary framework, many people have sought, and have succeeded, through its intermediacy, in preserving prolonged theological discussions owed to those who were unanimously recognised as authorities on the subject.

It should be noted that, at a very early stage, in various domains of the religious sciences, the term *risāla* was applied to numerous works, lists of which are to be found in various histories of Arabic literature. It is worth mentioning, for the sake of example, two of the most characteristic examples, these being the *Risāla* of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (ed. A.M. S̲h̲ākir, Cairo 1940) and the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd (d. 386/996), a compendium of Mālikī *fiḳh* (Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 478). In philosophy, the *risāla* dates back to an early stage of the discipline. Al-Kindī, *faylasūf al-ʿArab*, revealed the best aspects of his system (and of his scientific work) in the *Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafiyya* (ed. M.ʿA. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1950-3, i-ii). In any event, the resemblance of this work to the epistolary genre goes beyond the use of the epistolary formula attested in the introduction and the recourse to formal dedications (see e.g. the first lines of the epistle/article on metaphysics dedicated to the son of al-Muʿtaṣim, tr. A. Ivry, *Al-Kindi's Metaphysics*, Albany 1974, 55, and notes to p. 115). The same applies to the philosophical works of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. *ca.* 318/930 [*q.v.*]), wo used the *risāla* as a vehicle for his ideas.

During the 3rd/9th century, in philosophy as in other branches of learning, the epistle became the format habitually chosen by the authors of monographs. In fact, from the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century onwards, the equivalent terms *risāla* and *maḳāla* ("discourse, article") signify treatise or monograph. Hundreds, if not thousands of treatises on the different branches of science (medicine, mathematics, pharmacology, etc.) opt for this structure. Special mention should be made of a collection of epistle-monographs, on account of its scale but also on account of its importance, the *Rasāʾil Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ* (numerous editions, e.g. 4 vols., Beirut 1957) which dealt with human knowledge classified into four major groups (mathematics, logic, natural sciences and metaphysics) and discussed these systematically in 52 letters. Adopting the form of letters written in the first person plural, they are addressed to a single addressee, to a single "brother". The format is that of a personal correspondence maintained with the addressee; also included, especially in the closing paragraphs, are various kinds of good wishes, advice regarding morals and other matters. This may be seen as an attempt to give a personal flavour to these theoretical discussions.

In this area, a special place belongs to the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a (d. 579/1183 [*q.v.*]), who seems to have displayed a marked predilection for the genre. His principal treatises are epistles (see *Rasāʾil Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a al-ilāhiyya*, Beirut 1968). The abridged commentaries of Ibn Rus̲h̲d on the works of Aristotle (the *Epitomes*, Ar. *D̲j̲awāmiʿ*), in most cases bear in the manuscripts the title *rasāʾil* and the printed compilation of these extracts is intitled *Rasāʾil Ibn Rus̲h̲d* (Ḥaydarābād 1947). On the other hand, this philosopher wrote numerous treatises which he called *maḳālat* (*Talk̲h̲īṣ al-samāʿ wa 'l-ʿalāmāt*, Fez 1984, 32-4).

The term monograph should not mislead. It has not always denoted a short work; a *risāla* can extend over

several volumes (cf. the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd on Mālikī *fiḳh*; the *Risālat al-ṣadāḳa wa 'l-ṣadīḳ* covers more than 400 pages; etc.).

Writers of *risālas*, not being obliged to observe constraining conventions for fear of being considered at fault, as was the case with *adab*, were permitted to give free rein to their creative spirit and express themselves with total liberty. Furthermore, a cultural phenomenon comes into being: with the creation of new genres, in the absence of appropriate terminology, the work receives the title of *risāla*. Thus the original title of the *riḥla* of Ibn Faḍlān is nothing other than *Risālat Ibn Faḍlān* (ed. Sāmī Dahān, Damascus 1379/1959), no doubt on account of its unedited nature and the impossibility of integrating it into one of the conventional literary categories.

Risāla *and autobiography*

A vital aspect of the literary *risāla* and of the personal letter, namely, its confessional nature, confers on this type of writing an autobiographical character which is unusual in classical Arabic texts. Ch. Vial has rightly stressed this aspect in the four epistles of al-Djāḥiẓ which he has studied (*Quatre essais*, 7). Abū Ḥayyan al-Tawḥīdī seems to have had a marked predilection for this genre of personal revelation. His *Risālat al-ṣadāḳa* contain numerous very intimate passages, of disconcerting candour. To an even greater extent, in his *Risāla fī 'l-ʿulūm*, which sets out a classification of sciences, the author unburdens himself, recounts intimate events, reveals his most secret thoughts, informs the reader of his beliefs and takes the reader into his confidence in describing his states of mind and justifying his behaviour (M. Bergé, *Risāla fī 'l-ʿulūm*, in *BEO*, xviii, 244-6; he does the same thing at the beginning of the *Risālat al-ḥayāt*, Damascus 1951, 52-4). Any study of ancient autobiography must take into account the contribution of this thinker. In personal letters, this aspect has sometimes taken on a surprising intensity. The library of the University of Leiden possesses the third volume of the *Correspondence* of Abū Hilāl al-Ṣābī (ms. Or., 766, fols. 115a-118b). In a letter addressed to his son, al-Ṣābī, written at the age of 42, he feels that he is old and believes that he can detect in his dreams and in the incidents of daily life premonitions of death. Accordingly, he reviews the balance-sheet of his life, informs his son of the love that he holds for his wives, his fondness for animals and the bribes that he has handled; he declares his weariness and gives advice to his son.

Style

This type of correspondence and exchange of ideas greatly interested literary circles, stylists and amateur scholars among the aristocracy, and this led to the emergence of texts of a high literary standard. In fact, the very choice style verges on the precocious. The distilled language, laden with tropes, fine allusions, plays on words, verbal tricks and metalepses (*tawriya*), and is constantly rebarbative and not easily understood. Rhymed prose, almost of necessity, obliges the stylists to practise what are virtually verbal acrobatics. In a letter opposing the principle of fasting, al-ʿAmīd Abū Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad employs rhymed periods of such precise equality that the editor of the *Yatīma* mistakes them for poetry and sets out the lines accordingly (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. Cairo, iii, 8). A similar process is evident in Byzantine culture (Hunger, 206). Such style, described by Karlsson as "ceremonial", can appear irritating. This cult of the form can only be understood in the light of the triumph of *badīʿ*; in the cultural environment, this means accepting the notion that educated literature submits of its own accord to a form of expression considered noble.

Undoubtedly, alongside such literary letters, there always existed letters of no literary pretension. These functional missives paid little regard to form; they were written in every-day language and discarded by the addressee once they have been read and their contents noted. In the opinion of scholars, such letters were not worth preserving. Having no literary merit, they were not considered "true" letters. Only a few score of them, written on papyrus, have survived, and these have been published by Y. Ragheb (*Marchands d'étoffes du Fayyoum d'après leurs archives* (*Actes et lettres*), i-iii, Cairo 1982-92). A vast gulf separates these brief texts, adopting the language of the vernacular, from the letters of scholars written in the purest literary Arabic.

III. The stylists

The extravagant elegance of style demands an unsurpassed mastery of the language. Gaining the status of an accredited epistolographer was the outcome of a long apprenticeship. The aspirant was obliged as a first step to familiarise himself with the most successful compositions of his predecessors (*rasāʾil al-mutaḳaddimīn*), with archaic poems, chronicles, biographies of eminent persons and amusing anecdotes, all of this leading to an enrichment and diversification of language. It was also necessary to study the *maḳāmāt*, the discourses and debates of the Ancients, the *maʿānī* of the *ʿadjam*, the maxims of the Persians (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir fī adab al-kātib wa 'l-shāʿir*, Beirut 1411/1990, i, 87-148). Furthermore, the fact that their writings were read in public and their letters passed from hand to hand to be copied and annotated (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 329, 351, vi, 67-8), gave them a prominent position in society. It may be supposed that whole generations of preparation and training were required to produce the most illustrious of the stylists. The epistolary art underwent a process identical to that of poetry in the training of artists. The *dīwāns* of poets are matched by the *dīwāns* of *mutarassils* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Cairo n.d., 244, gives a list of 70 collections of letters attributed to epistolographers of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries. Through the good offices of Ibn al-Nadīm and his systematic approach, it is possible to trace the various stages, often spread over many decades, necessary to train a major stylist.

A good example is the family of the Banū Wahb, a veritable dynasty of *mutarassils*; its members were the descendents of Ḳanān b. Mattā, the eponymous ancestor. Immediately after the conquest of Syria, he held the post of *kātib* in the service of Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān; when he was appointed governor of Syria, Muʿāwiya retained him in the same post. He was "inherited" by Yazid b. Muʿawiya, and died during the latter's caliphate. His son Ḳays replaced him in his post, which he retained under ʿAbd al-Malik and Hishām. His grandson, al-Ḥuṣayn b. Ḳays b. Ḳanān b. Mattā, kept the same functions. He seems to have led an eventful life; after the assassination of Marwān II, he found a patron in Ibn Hubayra, then entered the service of al-Manṣūr and of his son al-Mahdī. The great-grandson, ʿAmr b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Ḳays, followed the same course, subsequently serving Khālid b. Barmak. The fifth and sixth representatives, Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥuṣayn and Wahb b. Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥuṣayn served the Barmakids until their disgrace, subsequently supervising the correspondence of Ḥasan b. Sahl. The seventh link in the chain, Sulaymān b. Wahb b. Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥuṣayn, enjoyed the status of a great stylist; in turn, starting

at the age of 14 years, he supervised the correspondence of al-Maʾmūn, of Aytākh and of Ashnās before becoming the vizier of al-Muʿtamid. His letters were compiled in a *dīwān*. His brother, al-Ḥasan b. Wahb b. Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Ḳays b. Ḳanān b. Mattā, voluntarily chose a literary career; in addition to his merit as *mutarassil*, he was considered an excellent poet. In addition, his letters were judged to be of superior quality and worthy of compilation in a *dīwān* (*Fihrist*, 177). This text provides a fascinating slice of history; veritable dynasties of stylists, experienced in the affairs of state, retaining their posts in spite of major changes and vicissitudes affecting the world of Islam. On the strictly literary level, this continuity encouraged the development of stable literary forms in the composition of letters. Furthermore, seven generations had to elapse before members of these families were enabled to compose collections of *risālas*. At the same time, it is possible to sense the genuine appreciation and respect felt by society towards the *risāla*.

IV. THE *RISĀLA* AND SOCIETY

In ʿAbbāsid society, just as in ancient society (Constable, 11), letters were intended to be read by more than one person. The stylist was aware of this even before writing, and it was for this reason that he aspired to elegance rather than spontaneity and drew both the basis and the form of his letters from established formulae. Even an administrative letter should be composed according to artistic and literary criteria; in society's view, it belonged to the domain of the fine arts, and accordingly, the *kātib* was considered above all an artist (al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1372/1952, 69; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, 327).

At the same time, the people of that period tended to confuse the *risāla* genre with its practical and utilitarian functions. In their view, the epistolary art was a means of addressing the most important aspects of mediaeval Islamic society, such as the levying of land tax (*kharādj*), the fortification of frontier zones and the colonisation of distant regions; the *kātib* was called upon to soothe discord, to exhort to *djihād*, to engage in controversy with a particular sect and to congratulate the recipient of an honour or to offer condolences in the event of misfortune (Arazi, *Une épître sur les genres littéraires*, 490 and n. 64, 503).

Moreover, this was an idle and frequently bored society which looked to the letter as a means of distraction. Once a letter was received, and after numerous readings, the addressee invited his friends to a session at which the letter was read and re-read (*Madjmūʿ rasāʾil wa-maḳāmāt*, ms. B.N. Paris, arabe 3923, fols. 60b-61a; al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 312), and especially eloquent passages were admired (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 351; on reception of a letter from Ibn al-ʿAmīd, the meeting held to hear it resembled a veritable *madjlis*, complete with drinks and selected delicacies).

Such public reading was closely matched by the ceremonial of Byzantine letters. In fact, in Islamic territory, the practice was treated with rather less intensity. The Byzantine stylists of the middle and late period, such as Libanius, Synesius, Psellus and Nicephorus Gregorias, regarded the spectacle as a *theatron*, and the listeners as an audience (H. Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner. I. Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Geschichtsschreibung, Geographie*, Munich 1978, 210-11).

V. THE LETTERS

Various classifications have been suggested by modern theorists of the letter. Hunger proposes a distinction between the private letter; the literary letter (Hunger, 204); the didactic letter (Hunger, 205); the cliché letter (*Klischeebrief*), where all the correspondence is constructed according to accepted models dealing with immutable subjects; literary private letters (*literarischer Privatbriefe*), a median way between private and literary letters; and, finally, letters without any literary pretension (Hunger, 206, 212).

Constable, after discussing various methods of classification, suggests the adoption of that of the Ancients, to avoid the risks of casting aspersions on the ancient letter in all its variety (G. Constable, *Letters and letter-collections*, in *Typologie des sources du Moyen-Age occidental*, fasc. 17, Turnhout 1976, 25). This is a suitable method. For the classical Arabic *risāla*, there is a need to distinguish between *ikhwāniyya* and *dīwāniyya* in accordance with the ancient treatises; it is also necessary to study the monograph-*risāla*, which has not been studied by the above-mentioned critics, not being correspondence in the strict sense of the word.

The Risāla ikhwāniyya

The term derives from *ikhwān* "friends" and is correspondence between two friends. The exclusive subject of these letters is deep affection. It is a substitute for the absent friend; a friend who is in fact far away is evoked with nostalgia and the writer pines for him (*Ṣafwat*, iii, 114-5, a letter of Ghassān b. Ḥamīd, the *kātib* of Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān, period of al-Manṣūr; *Rasāʾil al-Ṣābī wa 'l-Sharīf al-Raḍī*, 104, 108-9, 112; Abū Bakr al-Khʷārazmī, *Rasāʾil*, 26, 39, 42, 70, 81-2). The number of such notes written in this period is quite considerable. These protestations of friendship constitute the basis of the ceremonial of the letter, the conventional obstacle which needs to be overcome for the interpretation of the majority of these texts. These *risālas* evoke the minor events of daily life: congratulations on the birth of a son (Ṣafwat, iii, 57, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ; *Yatīma*, iv, 190, Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī), on the occasion of a marriage (Ṣafwat, iii, 120-1), accompanying a gift (al-Khʷārazmī, *Rasāʾil*, 51-2), declarations of welcome (*Yatīma*, iv, 192), an invitation (*istizāra*, *Yatīma*, iii, 80-3) and condolences (*Yatīma*, iv, 191; Ṣafwat, iii, 122-4, numerous cases).

The most important question involves the precise meaning of *ikhwāniyya*. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī deserves the credit for providing a contemplation in depth of the issue, the *Risālat al-ṣadāḳa wa 'l-ṣadīḳ* (ed. Ibrāhīm Kaylānī, Damascus 1964). As in the majority of *risālas*, the analysis is systematic and the treatment of the subject carefully constructed. The concept of friendship seems to have been directly influenced by numerous factors, such as Greek thought, ambient cultures, Bedouin qualities, Islam and the current social situation. The *leitmotif* of the *ikhwāniyyat* may be defined by means of the following phrase: the attitude towards a friend is like the attitude towards oneself, the friend being an alternative self. The stylists proclaimed this in their letters, as did al-Tawḥīdī in his treatise (he said that he was quoting the opinions of the Greeks). No doubt he was referring to the translation of Aristotle's *Nichomachaean ethics* (in which books viii and ix deal with friendship) by Isḥaḳ b. Ḥunayn, the *K. al-Akhlāḳ*, which was universally known (M. Bergé, *Une anthologie sur l'amitié d'Abu Ḥayyan al-Tawḥīdī*, in *BEO*, xvi [1961], 15-59).

However, all these prolific letter-writers were obliged to face a contradiction inherent in the letter considered as an illustration of friendship. According to Aristotle, the vital first condition of friendship is the fact of living in close proximity: "if distance does not destroy friendship utterly, it puts an end to its free

exercise. If an absence is prolonged, it makes a man forget his friendships" (tr. G. Karlsson, *Cérémonial et idéologie dans l'épistolographie byzantine*, Uppsala 1962, 22). In such a situation, according to the Arab letter-writers, the letter can represent the absent friend, giving the illusion of presence and preserving friendship, on condition that the memory of the friend is kept constantly alive; it is the *s͟hāhid al-ik͟hāʾ* (testimony of friendship) in the words of a stylist of the early ʿAbbāsid period (Ṣafwat, iii, 136; al-K͟hʷārazmī, *Rasāʾil*, 39, 42, 63, 67, 81; *Madjmūʿ rasāʾil wa-maḳāmāt*, B.N., arabe 3923, fol. 55b; the letter replaces the absent friend and the reading of it, his conversation).

Obviously, it is necessary to treat with caution this idealised conception of friendship. Cicero's *De amicitia*, the most wide-ranging treatise on friendship written in the Roman world (Constable, 32), elevates friendship to the status of a cult; however, it is based on mutual aid. P.A. Brunt has shown that sincere belief in this sentiment was accompanied by a cliquish spirit, with friends exchanging political, economic and personal services (*Amicitia in the Late Roman Republic*, in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, clxxxvi [1965], 4-6). This self-serving aspect constitutes an integral part of the *ik͟hwāniyya*; requests are made for help, money, a title, etc. The stylist appears in this context in the guise of a shameless petitioner (Ṣafwat, iii, 61, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ; *Kas͟hf al-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān ʿan rasāʾil Badīʿ al-Zamān*, Beirut 1890, 372-3, 431-2, 511).

The Arab *ars dictaminis* are not concerned with providing a list of the themes most frequently addressed by the *ik͟hwāniyyāt*; they confine themselves to mentioning *tahānī* (felicitations), *taʿāzī* (condolences) and *tahādī wa-mulāṭafāt* (mutual exchange of gifts and acts of benevolence). It is not until the time of al-Ḳalḳas͟handī (d. 821/1418) that a detailed list of themes is obtained. Those mentioned are: *al-s͟hafāʿāt* (intercessions), *al-ʿināyāt* (expressions of solicitude), *al-tas͟hawwuḳ* (nostalgia), *al-istizāra* (invitation), *al-mawadda* (friendship), *iftitāḥ al-mukātaba* (the beginnings of intercourse conducted by correspondence), *K͟hiṭbat al-nisāʾ* (request for marriage), *al-istirḍāʾ wa 'l-istiʿṭāf* (efforts to please and to arouse goodwill), *al-iʿtizār* (excuses), *al-s͟hakwā* (complaint), *istimāḥat al-ḥawāʾidj* (request for the fulfilment of one's needs), *al-s͟hukr* (gratitude), *al-ʿitāb* (disapproval), *al-ʿiyāda* (visiting the sick), *al-suʾāl ʿan ḥāl al-marīḍ* (request for news of a sick persion), *al-d͟hamm* (lecturing), *al-ik͟hbār* (announcement) and *mudāʿaba* (pleasantry) (*Ṣubḥ*, viii, 126).

The risāla dīwāniyya

This owes its name to the term *dīwān al-ins͟hāʾ* (Correspondence Bureau). Later, it was called *al-risāla al-ins͟hāʾiyya*, Evidently, this applies to official prose. It should be stressed that this correspondence differs fundamentally from the modern administrative letter, a very carefully considered text, documents in which every term is weighed and pondered. The *dīwāniyyas* belonged as much to the tradition of eloquent discourse as to that of administrative prose. In this respect, the works—and works is indeed the correct term—of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Kātib, of Ibrahim b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī, of Ibn al-ʿAmīd, of al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, and to a lesser degree, those of Ibn Nubāta and al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, attained and continued to attain the status of texts belonging to the domain of the fine arts, much appreciated by scholars (*Yatīma*, iii, 10-12; Ṣafwat, iv, 262, 364-5). Two lists citing the themes addressed by these letters are currently extant, that of Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 183) which includes 30 titles and that of al-Ḳalḳas͟handī (*Ṣubḥ*, i, 244-356), which comprises 22 titles, giving an impression of the wide variety of subjects. On the other hand, the existence of these lists threatened to classify the stylists in these categories and thus to constitute a classicism in the *dīwāniyyas*. Finally, the best specimens were preserved in the *dīwān* to serve as normative models. The stylist acted in the capacity of a memorialist, evoking, in his *risālas*, events and dealing with subjects neglected by ancient historiography. Furthermore, letters written in the name of the sovereign were intended to be read in public, and to be discussed and debated by a knowledgeable public. An enormous range of knowledge was required. At a very early stage, from the 3rd/9th century onward, voices were heard to lament the ignorance of these "pillars of the state" (G. Lecomte, *L'introduction au Kitāb adab al-kātib*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1957, iii, 45-63).

In order to remedy this state of affairs and to put suitable tools at the disposal of stylists, *ars dictaminis* were compiled for their use, treatises in which advice was accompanied by model letters. These were essentially manuals, which never aspired to poetry. The authors confined themselves to mentioning formulas for opening and closing, some general advice regarding the necessity of brevity, of adapting the style to the nature of the addressee, the use of poetry and the need to abstain from poetry in letters addressed to princes. Another section included practical advise concerning ink, pens, dimensions of the page, etc. The manual concluded with the mention of the most characteristic *fuṣūl* (or sections) of the official letter, such as *ṣudūr* (openings), *taḥmīdāt* (doxology), etc.; model letters are cited in the collections.

In fact, this situation persisted until the 5th/11th century: anthologies, such as *al-manẓūm wa 'l-mant͟hūr* of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893), constitute the best proof of this. The theoretical section is somewhat thin in his work, but he cites *fuṣūl* and model letters; this was undeniably a major asset for a *kātib* in search of a *taḥmīd*, for example. In a later period, from the mid-5th/11th century, with ʿAlī b. K͟halaf (d. 455/1063), the author of the *Mawadd al-bayān* (analysis of this work has been undertaken by S. al-Droubi, *A Critical edition of and study on Ibn Fadl Allāh's manual of secretaryship...*, Muʾta 1413/1992, 64-5), a degree of specialisation emerges. Collections of stylised pieces offer models drafted by functionaries of the past or of the present regarded as consumate specialists or stylists. On the other hand, manuals of formularies and instructions came into being (R. Vesely, in the introduction to Ibn Nāẓir al-Djays͟h, *Tat͟hkīf al-taʿrīf*, Cairo 1987, pp. i-iv). An exhaustive list of the *ars dictaminis* has been established, with a brief summary, by al-Droubi (*ibid.*, 60-79, section on *The genre of secretarial manuals down to al-ʿUmarī's time*).

The formulae employed are very old and date back, for the most part, to the second half of the 1st/7th century, since they are attested in the papyri of Ḳurra b. S͟harīk [*q.v.*], governor of Egypt in 90/709; people used, in effect, as 31 formulas, expressions which were dignified by usage, which means that they were well-respected in an even earlier period. The opening comprises the *basmala*, a very brief *taḥmīd* (*fa-innī aḥmadu Allāha 'l-lad͟hī lā ilāh illā huwa* "I praise God, there is no other god but He"), a formula of transition *ammā baʿdu* ("this is the gist of the subject"). The formula of salutation (*wa 'l-salāmu ʿalā man ittabaʿa 'l-hudā* "and greetings to those who follow the way of truth") closes the letter. The two last lines bear the name of the scribe and the date (C.H. Becker, *Papyri Schott Reinhardt*, i, Heidelberg 1906, 92-4, letter 10).

VI. Risāla and maḳāma

From the second half of the 5th/11th century, after

the publication of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Hariri, numerous sources of the time confuse *risāla* and *maḳāma*, Ibn Ḥamdūn (d. 495/1102), in vol. vi of the *Tadhkira*, that devoted to the epistolary genre (*al-mukātabāt wa 'l-rasāʾil*), entitles a section of the book *Min rasāʾil Abi 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī 'l-maʿrūf b. Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī 'l-musammāt bi 'l-maḳāmāt* "(Choice) of the letters of Abū Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī, known by the name of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, which are called *al-maḳāmāt*" (ms. Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi, no. 770, fol. 101b, ll. 10-12). In the 6th/12th century, this equivalence between the genres is attested on numerous occasions in the texts (numerous attestations have been gathered together by H. ʿAbbās, *Fann al-maḳāma fi 'l-ḳarn al-sādis*, Cairo 1986, 86, 97, 98-9, 120, 249, 320). Al-Zamakhsharī confuses *maḳāla* and *maḳāma* (Murtaḍā al-Shīrāzī, *al-Zamakhsharī lughawiyy^an wa-mufassir^an*, Cairo 1977, 251). This tendency persisted in the manuscript of seven *risālas* of al-Suyūṭī copied in the 18th century; *al-Risāla al-sundusiyya* bears the following title, *Risālat al-maḳāma al-sundusiyya fi 'l-nisba al-muṣṭafawiyya* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 1875, *maḳāmāt al-Suyūṭī wa-hiya tisʿūn wa-ishrūn risālat^an*).

It is evident that what is encountered here is a cultural process which deserves study. As a result of the work of De la Granja (*Maḳāma y risālas andaluzas*, Madrid 1976, pp. xi-xiii), the various stages of this evolution can be traced. At the outset, the *risāla*, written in an artistic prose which had no well-established canons in the early stages, supplied the precious primal material from which the first writers of the *maḳama* derived their ideas. Here, as in the *risāla*, rhetoric and lexicography were pressed into the service of this original and entertaining creation. In the second half of the 5th/11th century, al-Ḥarīrī contributed to the launching of the *maḳāma* in new directions, with the appearance of the didactic *maḳāma*. The ingenious and eloquent beggar leaves the stage, to be replaced by medical, geographical, mystical and linguistic opuscules, in other words, *risālas*. The distinction between the two genres no longer had any reason to exist, and this is why they were assimilated to each other.

However, a converse process seems to have come into play here. Certain *risālas*, on account of their lofty literary qualities, were considered to be *maḳāmas*. Thus Ibn Sīnā, who seems to have shown an inclination towards artistic and rhythmic prose, composed numerous *rasāʾil* and poems (see *Tisʿ rasāʾil fi 'l-ḥikma wa 'l-ṭabīʿiyyāt*, Cairo 1908). The most interesting is that which borrows the methods of allegory, sc. *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*. Rather than a *risāla*, as is specified by the title, this is in fact a *maḳāma*. A century later, the Andalusian philosopher Abū Bakr b. al-Ṭufayl [*q.v.*] composed a philosophical novel bearing the same title, even though the objects of the two works are different. Abraham b. ʿEzra (mid-12th century) composed an imitation of the allegory of Ibn Sīnā. In the introduction, written in Judaeo-Arabic, the mediaeval editor of the *Dīwān* (ms. Berlin, 186, section intitled *al-nathr al-masdjūʿ*) describes the letter as *risāla*, whereas the fragment of the same work preserved in the Geniza is intitled *maḳāma* (Cambridge T-S K. 16-70; see also the critical edition of Israel Levin, Tel Aviv 1983).

VII. THE *RISĀLA* IN JUDAEO-ARABIC

Quite naturally, letters in Judaeo-Arabic are similar in all respects to those composed in the mother culture. The Geniza of Cairo has preserved a large number of letters, differing considerably in style and in content. Qualitatively and quantitatively, these documents constitute a unique phenomenon in the annals of mediaeval Arab culture. However, on account of their Jewish provenance, they contained a considerable number of Hebrew terms, formulas and phrases. This applies principally to the polite formulae of opening the letter, to the glorification of God, to eulogies (*taḥmīdāt*) reserved for the addressee. Sometimes they adopt a precious style, an artistic Hebraic prose, often rhymed. Evidently, here also a close relationship existed between the style of the letter and the status of the writer and of the addressee, in the family and in society. In Judaeo-Arabic, the correspondence between local dignitaries and the communal functionaries belonging to institutions enjoying an "ecumenical" status has been preserved (M. Cohen, *Correspondence and social control in the Jewish communities of the Islamic world: a letter of the Nagid Joshua Maimonides*, in *Jewish History Quarterly*, i/2 [1986], 39-48; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1988, v, 422-4, see also i, 1967, 11-12). The development of artistic style in letters written in Judaeo-Arabic directly influenced the development of Hebraic prose among the Jewish writers of Christian Europe. Some highly significant examples are to be found in the letters written in Hebrew by Judah Ha-Levi (early decades of the 12th century, letters written from Lucena and from Narbonne published in his *Dīwān*, ed. H. Brody, Berlin 1893, i, letter 4; see also Goitein, *op. cit.*, v, 463-6, on the Arabic letters of Ha-Levi). The letters, emanating from the offices of certain senior rabbinical authorities, identical to the *dīwāniyyas*, reflect a little the personal style of the scribes, but to a greater extent the style of the *dīwāns* of correspondence, the fruit of numerous decades of maturation; a good example is provided by the letters featuring in the edition of S. Assaf, *A collection of letters by Samuel b. ʿElī*, Jerusalem 1930 (in Hebrew). These pieces, emanating from the offices of the Gaon (the Talmudic Academy) of Baghdād, are written in a very precious and ornate Judaeo-Arabic and are in no respect inferior to the letters of the ʿAbbāsid chancellery. Some, those addressed to East Kurdistan and to Persia, are written exclusively in Hebrew.

The poetry of the Judaeo-Arabic *risāla* does not differ in any respect from that of its Arabic parent; furthermore, the evolution of the two followed an identical course. It is thus that monograph-letters are attested in various branches of the culture of the Jews of the East; religious and scientific disciplines tally for the most part (M. Steinschneider, *Arabische Literatur der Juden*, index of Arabic titles, s.v. *maḳāla, risāla*). In the following lines, the principal aspects will be reviewed but only the cases which present special interest being examined.

One of the most ancient examples of the Judaeo-Arabic *risāla* is a treatise comparing Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic attributed to Judah b. Ḳuraysh of Tāhart (Morocco, d. *ca.* 900; ed. D. Becker, Tel Aviv 1984). This work was addressed to the community of Fez, which had abandoned the custom of reciting the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch (*Targum*). Still in the linguistic context, another monograph was intitled *risāla* by its author; this is the *Risālat al-Tanbīh* by Ibn Djanāḥ (Spain, first half of the 11th century, ed. J. and H. Derenbourg, Paris 1880).

Maimonides (1138-1205) composed numerous *risālas* and *maḳālas* in response to the questions and requests of the faithful. A large proportion of his work reflects the pre-occupations of an extremely gifted stylist, who was also an original thinker. This eminent authority on matters of religious law revealed his opinions on the problems and precepts of faith in

meticulously-crafted *risālas*. Thus his philosophical work, *Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn*, the well-known *Guide to the perplexed*, is described, in numerous passages of the book, as a *maḳāla*, in other words, as a letter. Furthermore, the prologue contains a personal letter addressed to his favourite disciple Joseph b. Judah (ed. Joel, 1931, 1; see also *The guide of the perplexed*, tr. S. Pines, 1963, 3-4). Some of these letters were written in Arabic, others in Judeao-Arabic, in accordance with the language of the addressee. The majority represent the type of enlarged *responsa* in which the author deals with problems in depth and beyond immediate circumstances. The best illustration of the profundity of his essays is supplied by *The Yemenite epistle* (ed. A.S. Halkin, the text of the medieval Hebrew tr.; English tr. B. Cohen, New York 1952), which was addressed to the Jews of the Yemen; it seems to have been motivated by serious incidents which had afflicted the community, in particular the appearance of a false Messiah; he deals in it with a number of problems, including that of prophecy and that of the status of the prophet Muḥammad in particular. The *risāla* contains a long prologue written in very ornate Hebrew rhymed prose. There is no doubt that, deriving from the genre, it conforms to the pattern of the Arabic epistle; on the other hand, it maintains in a direct line the traditional attitude of Jewish letters, stipulating that Hebrew alone is the language of poetry.

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(A. Arazi and H. Ben-Shammay)

2. In Persian.

Risālas, or short treatises, composed in Persian, are numerous and varied. The majority of them may be classified under the following headings.

Religion. Among these, epistles connected with Ṣūfism are perhaps the most numerous. One of the earliest authors of such writings was Khwādja ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī (396-481/1006-89 [*q.v.*]), said to have composed the first *risālas* of their kind in rhymed prose. His treatises with a Ṣūfī message include *Dil u djān* "Heart and soul", *Kanz al-sālikīn* "Provisions of the travellers", *Ḳalandar-nāma* "Book of the mendicant" and *Maḥabbat-nāma* "Book of love". These writings, partly ethical, partly mystical, are distinguished by a mingling of prose and verse—a feature in which the author's pioneering efforts influenced many later writers.

A well-known treatise belonging to the early 6th/12th century is Aḥmad al-Ghazālī's [*q.v.*] *Risālat al-sawāniḥ fi 'l-ʿishḳ* "Treatise on ideas of love". The author was the younger brother of the famous ethical theologian Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]). His work comprises 75 short chapters and seeks to give a Ṣūfī interpretation of the concept of love, lover and beloved. Its philosophical meaning is couched in a metaphorical language, and, like the works of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī cited above, it also uses the device of inserting short poems in its prose narrative. He was also the author of a *R. al-ṭuyūr* "T. on the birds", the theme of which constitutes a probable source of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's (d. 627/1299 [*q.v.*]) allegorical poem *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*.

A number of *risālas* were produced by individuals who were prominent in the Ṣūfī orders which emerged in Islam after the 6th-7th/12th-13th century. The founder of the Kubrāwī order, Shaykh Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā (540-618/1145-1221 [*q.v.*]), was a prolific writer whose output included both Arabic and Persian works. In his epistle *al-Sāʾir al-ḥāʾir* "The bewildered traveller", the author outlines ten conditions for the novice to reach his goal. Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā wrote this Persian treatise in response to a request by those of his disciples who were unacquainted with Arabic.

A disciple of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā was the noted Ṣūfī mystic and writer Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī "Dāya" (d. 654/1256). His famous *R.-yi ʿishḳ u ʿaḳl* "T. on love and intellect", also named as *R.-yi miʿyār al-ṣidḳ fī miṣdāḳ al-ʿishḳ* "T. on the touchstone of truth to verify love", was written in answer to a question by one of the author's friends; it attempts to enquire into the relationship between love and reason, and shows a tendency towards philosophising.

Another prominent disciple of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā was Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī (d. 659/1261), who continued to teach his master's way in Transoxiana after the latter's violent death at the hands of the Mongols. Primarily a poet known for his *rubāʿīs*, he was also the author of a prose *R.-yi ʿishḳ* "T. on love", which deals with an idealised view of human emotion and its psychological significance.

There are many *risālas* ascribed to Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī (713-86/1314-85), through whom the Kubrāwī order gained a foothold in Kashmīr. Included in his works are the *R.-yi manāmiyya* "T. on dreams", *R.-yi wudjūdiyya* "T. on existence", *R.-yi dhikriyya* "T. on *dhikr*", *R.-yi ʿaḳabāt* "T. on difficult paths" and *R.-yi darwīshiyya* "T. on poverty".

Among the leaders of the Naḳshbandī order, ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Ghudjdawānī (d. 617/1220) was the author of the *R.-yi ṣāḥibiyya* "T. of the master", a manual describing the Ṣūfī stages advocated by his spiritual guide, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Ayyūb Hamadānī (d. 535/1140). An important member of ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Ghudjdawānī's chain of succession (*silsila*) was Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband (d. 791/1389 [*q.v.*]), whose disciple, Khwādja Abū Naṣr Pārsā (756-822/1355-1420), composed two major treatises on Ṣūfism, *R.-yi ḳudsiyya* "T. on sanctity" and *R.-yi kashfiyya* "T. on revelation", both works presenting a Naḳshbandī view of Ṣūfī thought. The first, based upon Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband's lecture sessions, discusses twelve topics concerning Ṣūfī theory and practice; the second tries to explore the mystical states of inspiration, intuition and illumination.

The founder of the Niʿmat Allāhī order, Shāh

Niʿmat Allāh Walī (730-834/1330-1431 [see NIʿMATALLĀHIYYA]), was a prolific writer who contributed greatly to the exposition of Ṣūfism through his commentaries and interpretations. He is said to have produced over 500 works, of which an important number have survived. Some of his treatises are: the *R.-yi sulūk* "T. on the Ṣūfī pilgrimage", *R.-yi tawḥīd* "T. on the unity of God", *Naṣīḥat-nāma* "The book of counsels", *R.-yi nūriyya* "T. on light", *R.-yi maʿārif* "T. on knowledge", *R.-yi tawwakkul* "T. on the trust in God", *R.-yi rūḥiyya* "T. on the soul", *R.-yi khalwat* "T. on retreat", *R.-yi ilhāmāt* "T. on divine revelations" and *R.-yi rumūz* "T. on mysteries".

An extreme offshoot of Ṣūfism was the Ḥurūfī or "Literalist" school which emerged in Persia in the 8th/14th century [see ḤURŪFIYYA]. Its founder was Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī (martyred in ? 796/1394), to whom Saʿīd Nafīsī ascribed the work named *R. dar uṣūl-i Ḥurūfiyya* "T. on the Ḥurūfī doctrine" (*Tārīkh-i naẓm u nathr dar Īrān*, ii, 791-2).

Ṣūfī literature was enriched by the *risālas* of some well-known literary figures such as the 7th/13th-century poet and mystic, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāķī (d. 688/1289 [*q.v.*]), famed for his major work on Ṣūfism, the *Lamaʿāt* "Flashes". Apart from this work, he wrote a small *risāla* concerning Ṣūfī terminology and its symbolical meaning. The terms are arranged in three sections according to their association: the first section comprises the terms connected either with the beloved or the lover; the second contains names common to both the lover and the beloved; and the third consists of words identified more specifically with the lover and his mental states.

To ʿIrāķī's illustrious contemporary Saʿdī (d. 695/1295-6 [*q.v.*]) belong six *risālas*, two of which bear the impress of Ṣūfī thought. The first, entitled *ʿAķl u ʿishķ* "Intellect and love", was written in response to a question asked by a certain Saʿd al-Dīn, and deals with the concept of attaining mystical knowledge of the Divine through emotion rather than by reason. It resembles the *Gulistān* in its style, and is written in a simple language. The second is named *Madjālis-i pandjgāna* "Five sessions"; it contains five sermons modelled after the discourses delivered by religious preachers and Ṣūfī divines in their services.

Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. 720/1320-1 [*q.v.*]), the author of the famous *mathnawī* on Ṣūfī doctrine *Gulshan-i rāz* "Rose-garden of secrets", is credited with three prose writings, one of which is the *R.-yi ḥaķķ al-yaķīn* "T. on certain truth", dealing with Ṣūfī theosophy. It contains eight chapters whose headings are mentioned by E.G. Browne in his account of the author (*LHP*, iii, 149-50). The work has been likened to ʿIrāķī's *Lamaʿāt*, but is inferior in merit (see Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, 303).

The poet Ķāsim Anwār (d. 837/1433-4), who was a major influence on the Ṣūfī movement of his time, was the author of two *risālas* reflecting his mystical leanings, the *R.-yi suʾāl u djawāb* "T. with questions and answers", an exchange on the topic of good and evil, and *R. dar bayān-i ʿilm* "T. explaining knowledge". Serious questions have been raised regarding the views of the author. He was suspected, during his lifetime, of complicity in the attempted assassination of Tīmūr's son, Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*], by a Ḥurūfī fanatic. More recently, it has been suggested that his poetry betrays Ḥurūfī tendencies although his writings show that he belonged to the mainstream of Ṣūfī thought.

The philosophical aspect of Sufism finds a vivid evidence in the *risālas* of Ṣāʾin al-Dīn Turka (d. *ca.* 836/1432), in whom the roles of the mystic and philosopher tend to coalesce. Like Ķāsim Anwār, who was his contemporary, he was subjected to the allegation of being indirectly involved in the murder attempt on Shāh Rukh. His numerous writings in Arabic and Persian embrace a variety of mystical, theological and philosophical subjects, and include *R.-yi asrār-i ṣalāt* "T. on the secrets of prayer", a work interpreting the fundamentals of Muslim worship from a Ṣūfī perspective; *R.-yi shaķķ al-ķamar wa sāʿat* "T. on the splitting of the moon and the hour", on the Ķurʾānic verse "The hour drew nigh and the moon was rent in two" (LIV, 1); *R.-yi ḍawʾ al-Lamaʿāt* "T. on the lustre of the Flashes", a commentary on ʿIrāķī's work *Lamaʿāt*; *R. dar bayān-i maʿnī-yi ʿirfānī-yi ʿilm-i ṣarf* "T. explaining the gnostic meanings in morphology", on the relationship between mysticism and language; and *R.-yi ḥarf* (BL. Add. 23,983) "T. on the letters", sc. on the letters of the Arabic alphabet and their esoteric meanings.

Among the Persian treatises on Ṣūfism composed in India, mention may be made of the *R.-yi ḥaķķ-numā* "T. on the guide to truth", by Dārā Shikūh (1024-68/1615-58 [*q.v.*]), the eldest son of Emperor Shāh Djahān (*r.* 1037-70/1627-59 [*q.v.*]). Dārā Shikūh was the author of several works devoted to a synthesis of Hindu and Muslim thought, a movement initiated by his great-grandfather Akbar (*r.* 963-1014/1556-1605 [*q.v.*]). The *R.-yi ḥaķķ-numā*, completed in 1055/1645-6, comprises six parts dealing with the following topics: (1) world of humanity; (2) world of intelligible substances; (3) world of power; (4) world of divinity; (5) identification of the Lord of lords; and (6) unicity of being.

In addition to Ṣūfism, orthodox theology forms the subject-matter of various *risālas*. The poet Djāmī (817-98/1414-92 [*q.v.*]), whose large output extended over many topics, wrote on various theological and mystical matters which included the exegesis of the Ķurʾān, traditions of the Prophet and biographies of Muslim saints. His theological work *R.-yi arkān-i ḥadjdj* "T. on the pillars of the pilgrimage" describes the rules and ceremonies prescribed for the *ḥadjdj* and *ʿumra*.

One of the well-known theological treatises of the 9th/15th century is *al-R. al-ʿAliyya fi 'l-aḥādīth al-nabawiyya* "The ʿAlīd treatise on the traditions of the Prophet", by Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504-5 [*q.v.*]), who is famous for his work on ethics the *Akhlāķ-i Muḥsinī* as well as for his collection of fables the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* "The lights of Canopus". His theological *risāla*, mentioned above, contains forty traditions arranged in eight groups according to their themes.

Conspicuous among the theological writings dealing with the Ismāʿīlī sect are two treatises by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274 [*q.v.*]) namely *R. dar tawallā wa tabarrā* "T. on friendship and exoneration", and *R.-yi sayr u sulūk* "T. on travel and pilgrimage". The author was in the service of the Ismāʿīlīs for a long time, and it is probably during this period that he wrote his two theological treatises in support of their doctrine.

From the 10th/16th century, theological works on Shīʿism found increasing currency in Persian. An interesting example of this type is the *R.-yi Ḥasaniyya* (BL. Egerton 1020) or *R.-yi Ḥusniyya* by Ibrahīm b. Walī Allāh Astarābādī, a writer of the 10th/16th century. It deals with Shīʿī doctrines, especially those relating to the prerogatives of ʿAlī and his descendants. The treatise derives its title from the name of a slave-girl who is represented as debating the infallibility of the Shīʿī faith with learned scholars in the

presence of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. The author claims that his work was a translation from an Arabic original, supposedly composed by the 6th/12th-century commentator on the Ḳurʾān, Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Futūḥ Khuzāʿī Rāzī. He further states that the manuscript of the Arabic original came in his possession in Damascus, while he was on a Pilgrimage to Mecca, and that he translated it for the Ṣafawid monarch Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (r. 930-84/1524-76 [q.v.]).

Shīʿism found a vocal spokesman in the person of Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī (d. 1019/1610 [q.v.]), who went to India during Akbar's reign, and was appointed ḳāḍī of Lāhawr. During Djahāngīr's régime (1023-37/1605-27 [q.v.]), however, he became the target of Sunnī hostility and was executed by the orders of the Emperor. He is known primarily for his work *Madjālis al-muʾminīn* "Assemblies of believers", which contains the biographies of Shīʿī divines. He also composed the *R. dar taḥḳīḳ-i āya-yi Nūr* "T. containing an enquiry into the Light Verse" (Ḳurʾān, XXIV, 35), and *R. dar ḥurmat-i namāz-i djumʿa dar ayyām-i ghaybat* "T. on the sanctity of Friday prayer during the occultation of the Imām".

With the rise of the Ṣafawids in the 10th/16th century, there was an upsurge of hostile feeling towards the Ṣūfīs, encouraging the production of theological works concerned exclusively with the denunciation of Ṣūfī ideas and practices. One of these works was the *R.-yi khayrātiyya* (BL. Add. 24,411) "T. on charity", composed by Āḳā Muḥammad ʿAlī Bihbihānī (d. 1216/1801-2 [q.v. in Suppl.]) in 1211/1796-7; its appearance resulted in provoking violence against the Ṣūfīs that led to the murder of some of their leaders.

Philosophy. Early Persian treatises in philosophy are represented by some *risālas* attributed to Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037 [q.v.]). Among others, they include the *R.-yi ʿishḳ* "T. on love", and the manual on psychology *R.-yi nafs* "T. on the soul". However, frequent doubts have been expressed regarding the authenticity of their authorship, and it is only from a much later date that *risālas* of definite provenance become available.

The list of writers on philosophy after Ibn Sīnā is headed by Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (d. Harāt, 606/1209 [q.v.]) and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. Among the former's *risālas* is *al-R. al-kamāliyya fi 'l-ḥaḳāʾiḳ-i Ilāhiyya* "The perfect treatise on Divine truths", which comprises ten discourses concerning logic, divine philosophy and natural sciences.

Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī may be regarded as only second in importance to Ibn Sīnā for the influence which he exercised over philosophical trends in Persia. In his writings such as *R.-yi ithbāt-i wādjib al-wudjūd* "T. on proving the existence of the necessarily existing (i.e. God)", *R.-yi djabr u ḳadr* "T. on necessity and freewill" and *R. dar ḳismat-i mawdjūdāt u aḳsām-i ān* "T. on the division of created things and their varieties", he displays a keen intellectual insight in discussing some of the debatable religio-philosophical issues of his time.

One of his contemporaries, and reportedly his nephew, was Afḍal al-Dīn Kāshānī (d. 667/1268-9), author of several philosophical studies and a scholar influenced by Ibn Sīnā. He also translated some originally Greek works, obviously from Arabic. His *R.-yi nafs* "T. on the soul", is a Persian rendering of Aristotle's work on psychology. Another of his translations is the *R.-yi tuffāḥa* "The apple treatise", a pseudo-Aristotelian work called *De pomo et morte inclyte principis philosophorum Aristotelis*, which has been printed several times in Europe.

In logic, the writings of Athīr al-Dīn Mufaḍḍal Abharī (d. 663/1264-5) and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 766/1364) have an important place; the former was a disciple of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī, and his *R. dar manṭiḳ* describes in brief some of the basic points of logic.

Among the learned men of the late Mongol period was Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 766/1364-5), a protégé of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 736/1336), who was chief minister to the Īlkhānid ruler Abū Saʿīd (r. 716-36/1317-35 [q.v.]). Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Rāzī belonged to the group of writers who engaged themselves in preparing commentaries and textbooks for educational use, involving the writing of small treatises for the convenience of the students. His *risālas*, which were probably written with this purpose in mind, include *R. fī taḥḳīḳ al-kulliyyāt* "T. on the verification of universals", *R.-yi taḥḳīḳ-i taṣawwur u taṣdīḳ* "T. on the inquiry into concept and assent" and *R.-yi taḥḳīḳ-i maḥṣūrāt* "T. on the investigation into finitudes". It is most likely that Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Rāzī's approximate contemporary, Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413-14), also had an educational motive before him for writing some of his works; his writings on logic comprise the *R.-yi kubrā* "The major treatise", and the *R.-yi ṣughrā* "The minor treatise".

The Ṣafawid period witnessed some distinguished personalities in philosophy, the major exponents in this field being Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640-1), popularly known as Mullā Ṣadra [q.v.], and Muḥammad Bāḳir of Astarābād (d. 1041/1631), commonly called Mīr Dāmād [see DĀMĀD]; but their contribution falls more appropriately within the realm of Arabic literature, since almost all their output is in Arabic. It is, therefore, difficult to find significant philosophical studies in Persian produced during the Ṣafawid period.

Science. Early scientific literature by Persian writers was produced mainly in Arabic, the language of learning and scholarship in Islam. However, from the 7th/13th century, works written in Persian became more frequent, and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī wrote several *risālas* on astronomy, a field in which he was highly regarded for he was chosen by Hülegü to supervise the observatory established by the Mongol ruler at Marāgha. Probably his finest treatise on astronomy is the *R.-yi Muʿīniyya*, named after Muʿīn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Shams, son of the author's former patron, Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Abī Manṣūr (d. 655/1257-8), governor of Ḳuhistān.

In 824/1421 Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449 [q.v.]), the talented son of Tīmūr, built an observatory at Samarḳand, and there brought together some of the leading scientific figures of his time, among whom was ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ḳūshdjī (d. 879/1474-5), commonly called ʿAlī Ḳūshdjī [q.v.]. Some time after the death of Ulugh Beg, the latter joined the service of the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II the Conqueror [q.v.], under whom he composed the *R. dar hayʾat* "T. on astronomy", otherwise known as *Fārsī hayʾat* "Persian astronomy", which enjoyed much popularity, and was used as a textbook for teaching astronomy in schools.

Among later works on astronomy is the *R. dar rubʿ-i mudjayyib* "T. on the astronomical quadrant", by Mīrem Čelebi (d. 931/1525), whose real name was Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad. A writer of the same period, Niẓām al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bīrdjandī (d. 934/1527), composed in 930/1523-4 the *R.-yi abʿād u adjrām* "T. on distances and bodies", which discusses, among other things, the measurements of the earth's surface and of the heavens and stars.

Interest in astronomical instruments gave rise to a number of treatises relating, more particularly, to the astrolabe. One of the best known is Naṣīr al-Dīn

Ṭūsī's *R.-yi bīst bāb dar maʿrifat-i asṭurlāb* "T. in twenty sections concerning the knowledge of the astrolabe", which found a host of commentators; this may have been an abridged version made by the author from one of his larger works on the subject.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn Djamshīd Kāshī (d. 832/1428-9 or 840/1436-7) worked on the staff of Ulugh Beg's observatory, and is the author of the *R. dar sākht-i asṭurlāb* "T. on the construction of the astrolabe", and the *R. dar sharḥ-i ālāt-i raṣad* "T. explaining astronomical instruments", the latter completed in 818/1416. Some other works which have a similar content include the *R. dar ṣifat-i kura-yi djadīd,* "T. on the characteristic of a new sphere"; the *R.-yi asṭurlāb* "T. on the astrolabe"; and the *R. dar ālāt-i raṣadiyya* "T. on astronomical instruments". The first, which was written by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kirmānī, was dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I (*r.* 792-805/1389-1402) or to Bāyezīd II (*r.* 886-918/1481-1512), and deals with the construction and uses of a new armillary sphere; the second was completed in the 10th/16th century by Abu 'l-Khayr Fārsī; and the third was composed by ʿAbd al-Munʿim Āmulī in approximately 970/1562-3 on the orders of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I.

Hand in hand with the cultivation of astronomy went the study of meteorology. One of the earliest works dealing with this branch of knowledge is the *R.-yi āthār-i ʿulwī* "T. on the celestial phenomena", by Abū Ḥātim Muẓaffar Isfizārī. Very little is known about the author except that he belonged to the town of Isfizār [*q.v.*], in present-day Afghanistān. He dedicated his treatise to Fakhr al-Mulk, son of Malik Shāh's minister Niẓām al-Mulk. Since Fakhr al-Mulk met his death at the hands of the Assassins in 500/1106-7, the work may be dated to before that event. From the time of its composition, it continued to remain an important source utilised by other writers for their works.

Among the contributions on meteorology inspired by Isfizārī was the *R.-yi Sandjariyya fī 'l-kāʾināt al-ʿunṣuriyya* "T. for Sandjar [*q.v.*] concerning the world of elements", written for the Saldjūk ruler (*r.* 511-52/1118-57) by Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Sahlān Sāwī (Sāwadjī) who, as far as internal evidence is concerned, knew about Isfizārī's treatise. A more direct influence may be observed in Sharaf al-Dīn Masʿūdī Marwazī's *R. dar bāra-yi āthār-i ʿulwī* "T. concerning the celestial phenomena", which was completed in the middle of the 7th/13th century. Meteorology is also the subject of the *R.-yi kāʾināt-i djaww* "T. on meteorology" by Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib Gīlānī, better known as Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn, who was born in Persia but spent a considerable portion of his life in India where he died in 1180/1766.

In the mathematical sciences, the first important epistle that may be mentioned is the *R. dar handasa* "T. on geometry", by Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd al-Waḥīd b. Muḥammad Djūzdjānī, a pupil of Ibn Sīnā; his work represents a collection of his master's notes on geometry.

An early 7th/13th-century work is the *R. fī ṭarīḳ al-masāʾil al-ʿadadiyya* "T. on the handling of arithmetical problems", written by Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan Samarḳandī and completed in 632/1235. Contributions to mathematical studies were also made by certain scholars who had been active primarily in the field of astronomy. For instance, Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī wrote a *R. dar ḥisāb* "Treatise on arithmetic". This name also belongs to the work produced by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā, commonly known as Ḳāḍī-zāda Rūmī, who was attached to Ulugh Beg's observatory. His colleague, ʿAlī Ḳūshdjī, mentioned earlier for his work on astronomy, was the author of a *R. dar ʿilm-i ḥisāb* "T. on the science of arithmetic", known alternatively as *Fārsī ḥisāb* "Persian arithmetic". The Tīmūrid historian Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī (d. 858/1454 [*q.v.*]), whose various learned activities included scientific work as well, has been credited with the authorship of a *R.-yi ḥisāb-i ʿiḳd-i anāmil* "T. on finger reckoning".

Medicine. The earliest Persian treatise in medicine is probably the so-called *R. dar nabḍ* "Treatise on the pulse", or *Rag-shināsī* "Angiology", attributed to Ibn Sīnā. The number of medical *risālas* encountered after the 9th/15th century is comparatively large. Included among these is the *R. dar ʿilm-i ṭibb* "T. on medicine", by Uways al-Laṭīfī al-Ardabīlī (? *flor.* in the second half of the 9th/15th century). Another is the *R. dar muʿāladjāt-i badan* "T. on the treatments of the body", also known as *Ḳawānīn al-ʿilādj* "Canons of treatment" and *Shifāʾ al-amrāḍ* "Treatment of diseases", completed in 871/1466 by Muḥammad ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sabzawārī, popularly known as Ghiyāth Mutaṭabbib; it comprises fourteen sections dealing with cures (BL. Add. 23, 557).

The Ṣafawid period produced some noted physicians, one of whom was ʿImād al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd al-Ṭabīb, who lived towards the end of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I's reign. Besides his main contribution, *Yanbūʿ fī ʿilm al-ṭibb* (BL. Add. 23, 560) "The sources of medical science", he left several other *risālas*, such as *R.-yi afyūn* (BL. Add. 19, 619), "T. on opium", *R. dar bayān-i khawāṣṣ u manfiʿat-i čūb-i čīnī* "T. on the properties and benefits of the Chinese root", and *R.-yi ātishak* "Treatise on syphilis".

Among the distinguished writers on medicine who flourished in India under the Mughals was Masīḥ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Gīlānī (d. 997/1589), Akbar's court physician and author of a *R.-yi ṭibb al-mudjarrabāt* "T. on tested remedies", a collection of cures tried by the author during the course of his profession.

Other specialised writings in this field include the *R. dar tashrīḥ-i badan-i insān wa kayfiyyat-i awḍāʿ-i ān* "T. on the human anatomy and the nature of its bases", by Manṣūr b. Muḥammad, also called *Tashrīḥ-i Manṣūrī* "Manṣūr's anatomy" and published under this title at Lucknow in 1264/1847-8. It gives a description of the limbs, organs, and other elements of the human body, and has been illustrated with anatomical diagrams. It was dedicated to Mīrzā Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Pīr Muḥammad Bahādur (d. 809/1406-7), a grandson of Tīmūr.

Studies on preventive medicine are represented by several works on hygiene such as the *R. dar ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa* "T. on hygiene" and *R. dar tadbīr-i ḥifẓ-i ṣiḥḥat* "T. on the planning of hygiene" written respectively by two of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I's physicians, Sharaf al-Dīn Bāfaḳī (d. 978/1570-1) and Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī. In addition, manuals which dealt with poisons and provided means to dispel their effects are also common, e.g. ʿImād al-Dīn Maḥmūd's handbooks *R.-yi sumūm* "T. on poisons", and *R.-yi pāzahr* "T. on antidotes". Works on veterinary science include a *R. dar khawāṣṣ al-ḥayawān* "T. on the characteristics of animals", by Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn. Most writings in this category deal with horses and were written in India. An example of this type of literature is the *risāla* entitled *Faras-nāma* "Book of horses" by this same author, who had been resident in India.

Poetics. Many authors wrote at length on prosody, rhetoric and rhyme. An early work in this field, whose authorship is attributed, in some manuscripts, to the poet Adīb Ṣābir (d. between 538-42/1143-8 [*q.v.*])

and, in others, to Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (d. 578/1182-3 [*q.v.*]) is a small treatise on metres. It has been published under the title *R.-yi dar bāb-i awzān-i shiʿr-i Arabī wa Fārsī* "T. concerning poetic metres in Arabic and Persian". The author of the *R.-yi ʿarūḍ-i Sayfī* "T. on prosody by Sayfī", Mullā Sayfī Bukhārī (d. probably 909/1503-4), served at the courts of sultan Abū Saʿīd and his successor in Harāt Ḥusayn Mīrzā; his work, completed in 896/1490-1, enjoys a respectable position among writings on Persian prosody. The contemporary Djāmī also composed a *risāla* on Persian prosody, but his better-known work is his treatise on rhyme named variously as *R.-yi ḳawāfī* and *R. dar fann-i ḳāfiya*, still a useful reference work for students of the technical aspects of Persian poetry.

During the 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries the acrostic verse (*muʿammā* [*q.v.*]) acquired much popularity, and was elevated to a respectable form of poetry. Prompted by its appeal, many works were written on composing the *muʿammā*, including three *risālas* by Djāmī. Similar treatises were produced by the historian Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī and by Fuḍūlī (d. 963/1556 or after 988/1580 [*q.v.*]), the Turkish poet who also wrote in Persian, but the most distinguished work here was perhaps the *R. fi 'l-muʿammā* by Mīr Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī (d. 904/1499), called Muʿammāʾī, which gained an authoritative status, attracting commentaries in Persian and Turkish.

Miscellaneous. Mention may be made here of a few important *risālas* on miscellaneous topics, such as that of Farīdun b. Aḥmad Sipah-sālār, a biographical account of the leaders of the Mevlewī order and an important aid to the study of the history of Ṣūfism; its author was a high military commander who spent forty years as a disciple of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273 [*q.v.*]), and undertook the writing of his work soon after the death of his spiritual mentor.

In the field of music, Djamī's name is cited, as also that of Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 903/1498), son of the astronomer Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr, who is said to have dedicated his *risāla* to the Tīmūrid prince Ḥusayn Mīrzā. Two other writers on music were Nadjm al-Dīn Kawākibī and Darwīsh ʿAlī, called Čangī-yi Khāḳānī; the former dedicated his *risāla* to the Shībānid ruler ʿAbd Allāh Khān (d. 1005/1597) and the latter to the Astrakhānid monarch Imām-ḳulī Khān (d. 1050/1640).

A work suggestive of social geography is the *R.-yi Rūḥī Anārdjānī*, named after an author who flourished in the second half of the 10th/16th century; composed probably in 992/1585 or 993/1586, it describes the beliefs and customs of the people of Tabrīz recorded by the author from personal observation.

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paz͟hūh, Tehran 1337/1958; S͟haraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Masʿūdī Marwazī, *R.-yi āt͟hār-i ʿulwī*, in *ibid.*; *R. dar bāb-i awzān-i s͟hiʿr-i ʿArabī wa Fārsī*, ed. Minuwī, in *Mad͟jalla-yi Dānis͟hkada-yi Adabiyyāt, Dānis͟hgāh-i Tihrān*, ix/3, 1341/1962; Parwīz Nātil K͟hānlarī, *Yād-dās͟htī dar bāra-yi R.-yi ʿarūḍ mansūb bi Adīb Ṣābir yā Ras͟hīd Waṭwāṭ*, in *ibid.*; H. Blochmann, *The prosody of the Persians* (*R.-yi ʿarūḍ-i Sayfī* and *R.-yi ḳāfiya-yi D͟jāmī*), repr. Calcutta 1972; *R.-yi Farīdūn b. Aḥmad Sipah-sālār*, ed. Nafīsī, Tehran 1325/1946; *R.-yi Rūḥī Anārd͟jānī*, ed. idem, in *Farhang-i Īrān-Zamīn*, ii (1333/1954). (Munibur Rahman)

3. In Ottoman Turkish.

In Ottoman Turkish, as well as the usual meanings in Arabic and Persian, *risāla* also denoted "a piece of cloth fixed to the front of a dervish's *tād͟j* or cap" and, by the 19th century, "a booklet or a weekly or monthly journal" (this last often called a *risāla-yi mawḳūta*) (see Redhouse, *Dictionary*, and Pakalın, s.v.).

Given such a strong Persian cultural influence on the Sald͟jūḳs of Rūm and their successors in Anatolia, it is not surprising that the first manuals for secretaries and collections of model letters written in Anatolia were in Persian, and it was not till the beginning of the 9th/15th century that such works began to appear in Turkish; see H.R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 2-7, and Yaḥyā b. Meḥmed ül-Kātib, *Menāhicü 'l-inşā*, ed. Şinasi Tekin, in *Sources of Oriental languages and literatures* 2, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 9-11.

The constituent departments of the Ottoman chancery and their staff are examined in the articles dīwān-i hümāyūn and reʾīs ül-küttāb, whilst the official literature emanating from these offices is examined in ins͟hāʾ. It is sufficient to note further here that a chancery style in Persian developed amongst the Sald͟jūḳs of Rūm at their court in Konya, from which we have examples of compilations of documents (see O. Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklan hakkında resmi vesikalar*, Ankara 1958), and in the other *beyliks* of Anatolia during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin K͟hūyī composed in Persian for his patron the Čoban-og͟hlu ruler of Ḳastamonu, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yuluḳ Arslan, and his son Maḥmūd two short works, the *G͟hunyat al-kātib* and the *Rusūm al-rasāʾil* (see Turan, *op. cit.*; A.S. Erzi, *Selçukîler devrine âid inşâ eserleri. 1a. Ḥasān b. ʿAbdi 'l-Müʾmin el-Ḫōyī*, Ankara 1963). Hence by the time of the early Ottomans, there was a secretarial class at work for the sultans in their chanceries (see H. İnalcık, *İA*, art. Reîsülküttâb, at 672), and surviving documents seem to indicate that the Ottoman chancery had reached its developed form by the time of Murād II (d. 855/1451).

The secretaries working in the Ottoman chancery (*dīwān ḳalemi*) had to have a thorough education in all branches of literary composition for correspondence, including the correct forms of address for different ranks of persons, and in such skills as calligraphy, all these being part of what were termed the *fünūn-i kitābet we terassul*. Hence for such secretaries, various manuals of secretaryship were composed (for details, see İnalcık, *art. cit.*), including what might be called "quick reference works". These comprised works on epistolographic theory, with model or abstract examples of letters; collections of actual letters and administrative documents; and works which combined both a theoretical section with actual examples. The first type exists only in the Persian used amongst the Rūm Sald͟jūḳs (see Şinasi Tekin, *op. cit.*, 10), but the remaining two comprise various works written in Turkish.

We know of two chancery manuals in Turkish from the opening decades of the 9th/15th century, the court poet Aḥmed-i Dāʿī's *Terassul* (see İ.H. Ertaylan, *Ahmed-i Da'i hayat ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1952, 157-60, with facsimile text 325-8; edition, tr. and annotation by W. Björkman, *Die Anfänge der türkische Briefsammlungen*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, v [1956, publ. 1957]) and Yaḥyā b. Meḥmed ül-Kātib's *Menāhid͟j ül-ins͟hāʾ*, the oldest surviving copy of which (B.N. suppl. turc 660) dates from 883/1478 (ed. from this ms. by Tekin, *op. cit.*). Others follow in the early 10th/16th century, such as the *Güls͟han-i ins͟hāʾ* of Maḥmūd b. Adham Amasyawī, composed during the reign of Selīm I (see Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOt͟hmānlī müʾellifleri*, i, 170; M. Ergin, *Bursa kitaplıklarındaki türkce yazmalar arasında*, in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, iv/1-2 [1950], 107-32; Şinasi Tekin, *op. cit.*, 12), and the *Gül-i ṣad berg* by the poet Mesīḥī (d. 918/1512 [*q.v.*]), of which several mss. exist. According to İnalcık, Mesīḥī's collection forms the basis of the *Müns͟heʾāt* of Ferīdūn Beg (see below) (see İnalcık, *art. cit.*, at 678).

Collections of diplomatic and official documents, form the *ins͟hāʾ* or *müns͟heʾāt* collections, and these also include official and diplomatic *resāʾil* proper, i.e. letters to governors, rulers, etc., which may be in Arabic, Persian or Turkish. The oldest of this mixed type is a *Med͟jmūʿa-yi müns͟heʾāt* of Persian and Turkish letters belonging to the periods of Meḥemmed the Conqueror and Bāyezīd II (publ. by N. Lugal and A.S. Erzi, Istanbul 1956; see also Şinasi Tekin, *op. cit.*, 11-12). The celebrated *Müns͟heʾāt-i selāṭīn* of Ferīdūn Beg (d. 991/1583 [*q.v.*]) was early published (Istanbul 1274-5/1857-9), and an unknown contemporary of his further compiled a similar collection of Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish documents ranging from the time of the Conqueror to that of Murād III, the latest document stemming from 986/1578 (see H. İlaydın and A.S. Erzi, *XVI. asra âid bir münşeât mecmuasi*, in *Belleten*, xx, no. 82 [1957], 221-52). The genre continues in the 11th/17th century with the two collections of *müns͟heʿāt* by the famous *reʾīs ül-küttāb* Sarī ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1070/1660) and even goes up to the 19th century, when Ḥayret Efendi (d. 1241/1826) composed his *Ins͟hāʾ-i Ḥayret*, containing letters and petitions to sultans, grand viziers, *s͟heykh ül-Islāms*, etc. (printed Būlāḳ 1242/1826-7).

Finally, one may mention that the literary form of the *risāle* was also used by Ottoman writers in a more general fashion; one of the most famous of these is the *Risāle* of Ḳoči Beg [*q.v.*], written for sultan Murād IV in 1040/1630.

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(Gönül Alpay Tekin, shortened by the Editors)

RIWĀḲ (a.) or *ruwāḳ*, an Arabic architectural term with a great many meanings. The lexicographers derive it from the root *r-w-ḳ* which has two basic meanings (Ibn Fāris, *Muʿd͟jam maḳāyīs al-lug͟ha*, Cairo 1947-52, i, 460-1). The first one carries the idea of refinement or beauty and the second signifies the part that comes first in something, such as the bull's horns or youth, or the advanced battalion in an army (*rawḳ al-d͟jays͟h*), or the anterior section in a space (*rawḳ* or *riwāḳ al-bayt*); according to Ibn Fāris, this last definition of the term was the original one from which the other functions developed. This may indicate that *riwāḳ* initially had a spatial connotation, an observation that is further confirmed by the multiple uses of the word to designate either the space located forward in a tent or a room or a building, or the space above the first level, also called *samāwa* (which may have been derived from the word for sky, *samāʾ*, though it was argued that it was not; cf. Ibn

Sīduh, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Beirut, n.d., vi, 4), or, sometimes, an entire tent of a certain type similar to a *fusṭāṭ*, where the only support is a central post (*LA*, xi, 424-5; A. Dessus-Lamare, *Étude sur* Rawq, Riwāq, *et* Ruwāq *et leurs équivalents termes de construction, JA*, ccxxxviii [1950], 338-9). Despite the dicta of the Arabic lexicographers, the term is almost certainly Persian in origin.

Architecturally, the term was mainly applied to that part of a structure that forms its front. Depending on the type of structure, a *riwāḳ* could be a gallery, an ambulatory, a portico, a colonnade, a porch, or a balcony (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ghālib, *Mawsūʿat al-ʿimāra al-islāmiyya*, Beirut 1988, 207; H. Crane, *Risale-i-Miʿmariyye, an early seventeenth century Ottoman treatise on architecture*, Leiden 1987, 86). The word was also used to indicate a pre-Islamic architectural form, the Greek stoa, such as the stoa attributed to Aristotle in Alexandria (al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār*, Būlāḳ 1856, i, 159-60). From this last usage was derived the Arabic term for the Stoics, *al-Riwāḳiyyūn* (Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, Beirut 1867, 840; Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 572). Dessus-Lamare (340) notes that one of the earliest appearances of *riwāḳ*, in the plural form *arwiḳa*, is in Ibn al-Faḳīh's description of the porticoes in the peristyle houses of Palmyra in the Syrian desert which date to the middle Roman period. A similar use of *riwāḳ* obtained in Islamic palaces and houses, where it also designated the arcades around the courtyard, as well as the specific portico with three doors fronting the T-shaped reception hall, known as *madjlis ḥīrī* after the city of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], which was common in ʿAbbāsid residences from Sāmarrā to Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 386-7; Ḥāzem Sayed, *The development of the Cairene Qāʿa: some considerations*, in *AI*, xxiii [1987], 32-9).

The word *riwāḳ* was also appropriated in religious architecture, especially in the Mashriḳ. The first mosque, the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, founded in 1/622, originally had an empty courtyard and a simple, covered prayer hall, called *ẓulla*. Subsequent enlargements and alterations, beginning in the reigns of ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, resulted ultimately in surrounding the courtyard with arcades or colonnades, called *arwiḳa*, on all four sides. This development was probably inspired by the peristyle courts in the conquered lands [see MASDJID. I. D. 1]. Eventually, *riwāḳ* became the term most commonly used to designate all arcades in mosques, whether they constitute the porticoes around the courtyard or whether they form the transversal or longitudinal aisles inside the hypostyle prayer halls, such as in al-Muḳaddasī's description of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus (157-8), and in al-Maḳrīzī's description of al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 273-5). The word was also used to designate the entire covered area on one side of a mosque's courtyard, and, at the same time, one row of columns or pillars that carry the arches and make up one component of the covered area (Dessus-Lamare, 342-6). Moreover, a *riwāḳ* need not mean a straight arcade; it could be circular or octagonal in layout, such as the two ambulatories around the *Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra* [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem, also called *arwiḳa* (al-Muḳaddasī, 169). In the Maghrib, however, *riwāḳ* in the sense of an arcade in a mosque was replaced by at least two other terms, *balāṭa* (pl. *balāṭ* or *balāṭāt*) and *saḳīfa* (pl. *saḳāʾif*) (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, Beirut 1964, 236-9; Dessus-Lamare, 352-60).

In the Mamlūk period in Egypt and Syria (648-922/1250-1517), *riwāḳ* maintained its meaning in religious architecture, but in residential architecture it gained a new spatial and formal significance (Van Berchem, *CIA, Egypt*, i, 43, n. 1; Laila Ibrāhīm and M.M. Amīn, *Architectural terms in Mamluk documents*, Cairo 1990, 57-8). The new application probably developed from one of the term's original definitions, as something akin to *samāwa*, or the upper part of a tent, but it acquired a specific contextual application to one of the particularities of Mamluk residential and palatial architecture. Thus in *waḳf* [*q.v.*] documents, *riwāḳ* was equated with a *ḳāʿa muʿallaḳa* or a raised hall, that is, a living unit located on the second floor (cf. Aḥmad Darrāg, *L'acte de waqf de Barsbay*, Cairo 1963, 16, 19, 35, 37). The plan of a *riwāḳ* was similar to that of a typical Mamlūk *ḳāʿa*, and was composed either of two opposing *īwāns* [*q.v.*] and a space in the middle called *durḳāʿa*, or of one *īwān* and a *durḳāʿa*, with or without dependencies, such as a latrine, cupboards and alcoves for sleeping (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm ʿAlī, *Wathīkat al-Amīr Akhūr Kabīr Karāḳūdja al-Ḥasanī*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb* [Journal of the Faculty of Literature] xviii/2 [Dec., 1956], 231-2, n. 41; Mona Zakarya, *Deux palais du Caire médiéval, waqfs et architecture*, Marseilles 1983, 146). This residential application of the term survived into the Ottoman period (Nelly Hanna, *Habiter au Caire aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Cairo 1991, 40, 44, 122), although new architectural elements appeared which had the same location and function but different names, such as the Turkish *oda* "room, chamber". Furthermore, another Mamlūk application of the term, which extended its meaning to encompass an entire structure, is still in use today. This is *riwāḳ* as residence hall, one usually reserved either for the members of a Ṣūfī order (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 428; Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 572), or for an ethnic or regional group of students, such as in al-Azhar Mosque where numerous *arwiḳa* were built at different times by various sponsors (lists in *EI*[1], Azhar. II and VI). Aside from that, the word is today confined to the domain of religious architecture and is equivalent to the English word gallery, with all its synonyms.

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(NASSER RABBAT)

RIWĀYA (A.), verbal noun of *rawā*, which originally means "to bear, to convey water" and hence signifies "to transmit, relate"; in classical Arabic the noun *riwāya* mostly applies to the technical meaning of transmission of poems, narratives, *ḥadīth*s, and also applies to the authorised transmission of books (see below). *Riwāya* may sometimes appear synonymous with *ḥikāya* [*q.v.*], and is used in classical Persian in the sense of a *ḥadīth*; in modern Arabic usage it has become an equivalent of "story, novel, play".

The active participle *rāw*[in], having the general meaning of relater, is of particular significance for the poetry of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, when the *rāwī* [*q.v.*], as a pupil and assistant of the poet, had to retain, recite and even arrange the verses of his master. This may have served as a model for the later activity and role of transmitters in other fields as well. The intensive form *rāwiya*, closely associated with the name of Ḥammād (d. 155/772) [*q.v.*], and others, such as Khalaf al-Aḥmar (d. *ca.* 180/796 [*q.v.*]), was reserved for the experts in collecting poetry and narrative traditions, who gathered their material from many different informants.

Riwāya generally means transmission through the spoken word, including purely oral retelling as well as recitation from notes and books. With the use of writing for the preservation of knowledge, *riwāya* came to mean, in practice, the transmission of a written text through oral expression. It is this function of

riwāya, based on the great value attached to oral testimony, which is hard to understand for outsiders and which is most characteristic of Islamic scholarship.

Riwāya in Islamic scholarship. The development of *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth̲* fostered the methodology of the study of Tradition, describing a number of recognised methods by which traditions could be received (see ḤADĪTH̲. IV.). The very heart of these methods is the concept of an authorised transmission, as expressed by *id̲j̲āza* [*q.v.*], which was meant to guarantee the correctness of the text and its attribution. The *isnād* [*q.v.*] identifies the succession of real or supposed transmitters in the *riwāya* and thus supports the authority of a tradition or any text treated according to these rules. Manuscripts sometimes preserve, under the heading of *riwāya*, and with the confirmation of the *isnād* at the beginning of the text, the names of those who were responsible for the transmission of the whole text from generation to generation.

The reading of a text to a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* (*ḳirāʾa ʿalā*) was one of the most recommended ways to control the accuracy of a copy (*ʿarḍ*), and to obtain, by attending the session and listening to the reading, the authorisation for further transmission. This highly-formalised practice was widespread in medieval Islam and is documented on many manuscripts in the form of certificates of reading or hearing (*ḳirāʾa, samāʿ*; for a bibliography, see G. Vajda, *Transmission orale*). Few testimonies of this kind are preserved from the 4th/10th century (e.g. M. Muranyi, *Musnad ḥadīt̲*, 134-5; Y.M. al-Sawwās, *Fihris al-ʿUmariyya*, 691), but internal evidence, *isnāds* and traditions on *ʿilm*—as collected by al-Buk̲h̲ārī and others—indicate that this method was an established practice even a century before. In any case, simple recitation, from memory or from notes, with the purpose of transmission, goes back to the beginning of the study of Tradition.

Formal transmission by *ḳirāʾa* was, although closely related to the study of Tradition, applied to other genres of literature as well and can be found in all those texts that were treated in academic sessions (*ḥalaḳāt, mad̲j̲ālis*) designed for that purpose. Among these we find, to give but a few examples, editions of and commentaries on the *dīwāns* of poets, such as T̲h̲aʿlab's (d. 291/904) *S̲h̲arḥ Dīwān Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā* (Cairo 1363/1944) and Ibn al-Kalbī's (d. 204/819) *Dīwān S̲h̲iʿr Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī wa-ak̲h̲bāruhu* (ed. ʿĀdil Sulaymān D̲j̲amāl, Cairo 1411/1990), works on grammar, such as Sībawayhi's (d. *ca.* 180/796) *Kitāb* (ed. ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn), and philology, such as al-Mubarrad's (d. 286/900) *al-Kāmil fī 'l-adab*, as well as works of *adab* literature, such as al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyāʾs (d. 390/1000) *al-D̲j̲alīs al-ṣāliḥ* (vol. i ed. Muḥammad Mursī al-K̲h̲ūlī, Beirut 1981, 147-51).

Riwāya in the light of modern research. Principally, two sorts of inquiry, both indispensable for the study of early Arabic literature, deal with *riwāya*. A common procedure is to reconstruct hypothetically the sources of a work from the study of its *isnāds*, which include, among the *ruwāt* mentioned, earlier authors' names. This approach is to be complemented with the critical study of *riwāyāt* in the sense of transmissions of a work, given in manuscripts and by quotations in later collection-works. This implies the evaluation of variant readings that can be traced to particular transmitters, in contrast to variants produced by copyists. The analysis of *riwāyāt* is thus a principal tool for the study of the textual history of a text-unit or a book, and is equally important for the identification of the origin of a text from the peculiar forms of editing prevalent in early Arabic literature.

At a time when transmission was not yet generally based on complete written versions, that is to say, before 250/864, the "transmitter" could indeed be the writer of a book, editing the material that he had received from his teacher. This is demonstrated, for example, for *al-Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*] the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* [*q.v.*], and several classical books on proverbs [see MAT̲H̲AL, iii-iii, 5]. In this sense, *riwāya* implies redaction or recension. Closest to original authorship is the teacher's dictation (*imlāʾ*; J. Pedersen, *Book*, 23 ff.), next come the student's notes of the teachings (e.g. M. Muranyi, *Siyar*, 71, 77); a more independent operation is the quest for material apart from personal notes or memory, and even more of redactional work is implied, when the notes of the author are edited (S. Leder, *al-Haitām ibn ʿAdī*, 9, 12).

These procedures, and the fact that the methods of transmission were not yet firmly established or consistently practised, furthered the occurrence of divergency among the *riwāyāt* of a text. In so far as they concerned traditions, Islamic scholarship was eager to collect variants, as was done, for example, by Muslim b. al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In contrast, the study of variants in various transmissions of a work is an integral part of modern scholarship.

Divergence in *riwāyāt* is quite frequent for old, and even for not so very old texts (from the 3rd/9th century) of different genres (cf. R. Sellheim, *al-Qālī*, 366 f., 371 f.), and appears when a text rendered in quotations is compared to the *riwāya* of the original work (e.g. W. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen*, 57-101, 130-1). Variant readings are, in part, due to retelling from memory, but they cannot be understood generally as indicators of oral transmission. As G. Schoeler has explained in detail, notes and notebooks played an important role in early Arabic literature. Books published by their authors in this way, or edited by transmitters on the basis of notes, have to be distinguished from works which were edited by the authors themselves in a completed form.

Variant *riwāyāt* may sometimes owe their existence to different versions given by the author himself during repeated lessons (e.g. Schoeler, *Frage*, 210-12), but in many cases the redactional interference of the editor-transmitters have to be taken into account (for details, see Leder, *op. cit.*, 10 f., ch. 3, 4, 6). Particularly in the case of collections of *isnād*-supported text-units, variants were also produced during the ongoing transmission, even after a work had been edited in a firmly-established form (idem, *Authorship*).

The study of *riwāyāt* may confirm their coherence or uncover divergency. In the latter case, and in particular when divergency is significant, we may become aware that we do not have an "original", but only several *riwāyāt* of a work, as in the case of the *Sīra* by Ibn Isḥāḳ (M. Muranyi, *Ibn Isḥāq's k. al-Maghāzī*). In this sense, *riwāyāt*, and not the authored works purported to be their origin, are the topics for textual criticism.

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For classical Arabic titles on the technical aspects of *riwāyā*, see ḤADĪTH, IV. In addition may be mentioned al-Rāmahurmuzī's (d. 360/971) *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna 'l-rāwī wa 'l-wāʿī* ed. Muḥammad ʿAdjdjādj al-Khaṭīb, Beirut 1391/1971 and Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's (d. 643/1245) *al-Muḳaddima*, ed. ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, Cairo 1974, as well as the titles of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), *al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, and *Taḳyīd al-ʿilm*, ed. Youssef Eche, Damascus 1949. Further material concerning *riwāyāt* in Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1976-87, *Indices* vol. ii, 417; the beginnings of writing for the use of transmission are discussed by Schoeler also in his *Mündliche Thora und Ḥadīṯ, Überlieferung, Schreibverbot, Redaktion*, in *Isl.*, lxvi (1989), 213-51; the different functions of the *ruwāt* named in the *isnāds* are examined by S. Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den "Maqātil aṭ-Ṭālibiyyīn" des Abū l-Farağ al-Iṣfahānī (gest. 356/967)*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1991 (Arabistische Texte und Studien Bd. 4); for *riwāya* in Ḳurʾān commentaries, see F. Leemhuis, *Origins and early development of the tafsīr tradition*, in A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qurʾān*, Oxford 1988, 13-30. (S. LEDER)

RIYĀʾ (A.), or RIʾĀʾ according to Ḳurʾānic orthography (thrice in the expression *riʾāʾ al-nās*, II, 264; IV, 38; VIII, 47), *maṣdar* or verbal noun of form III of *raʾā* "to see", with the meaning of ostentation or hypocrisy.

The concept of *riyāʾ* is made explicit and developed in Tradition; in Wensinck's *Concordance*, i/2, 202-3, there are to be found under *rāʾā* 23 distinct *ḥadīths*. But the most complete source comes in the *Shuʿab al-īmān* of al-Bayhaḳī, in ch. 45, which deals with pious works devoted to God and the avoidance of ostentation (ed. Zaghlūl, 9 vols., Beirut 1990, v, 325-69, nos. 6805-6988). Al-Bayhaḳī cites other traditions than those listed in Wensinck; in addition, he mentions *logia* relative to *riyāʾ* pronounced by some fifty ascetics and spiritual masters, such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (mentioned thirteen times in this chapter), Sarī al-Saḳaṭī, Sahl al-Tustarī, al-Djunayd, etc. One of the most frequently-used traditions is that *riyāʾ* is part of *shirk*, "associating other things with God", at times qualified as being *aṣghar*, minor, and at others as being *khafī*, hidden. *Riyāʾ* is contrasted with *ikhlāṣ*, which is purity of intention (*niyya*) and whole-hearted sincerity.

The first detailed analysis of *riyāʾ* is by al-Ḥārith b. Asad, better known under his by-name of al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857-8 [*q.v.*]), one of al-Djunayd's most senior masters. He devoted a whole book to it, bearing this title, published in *al-Riʿāya li-ḥuḳūḳ Allāh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Ṭāhā ʿAbd al-Baḳī Surūr. This study by al-Muḥāsibī is divided into 43 chapters, supported by 79 traditions; it was to be taken over in complete form by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]), but using a different order and adopting a clearer and more useable arrangement, in his *Iḥyāʾ*, in book xxviii, which deals with the reprehensibleness of honours (*djāh*) and ostentation (book viii, especially the second part, divided into 11 *bayāns*, new ed. Beirut in 5 vols., iii, 310-53). Al-Ghazālī cites al-Muḥāsibī here, iii, 325, explicitly, in regard to the controversial question, is a pious work voided when thoughts of ostentation become mixed with the initial purity of intention? (cf. al-Muḥāsibī, *K. al-Riyāʾ*, 193-4). He also cites him at iii, 332-3, on the various responses concerning the appropriate attitude towards the Devil in order to fend him off (cf. *K. al-Riyāʾ*, 160-3).

Al-Muḥāsibī (147-50) and al-Ghazālī (iii, 314-16) group under five categories the "objects of ostentation" (*al-murāʾā bihi*), which they list in the following order: the body; external appearance and dress; speech; action; and the company kept. Both of them being acute psychologists, they stigmatise fiercely the various manifestations of false piety. Some examples may be cited. Through emaciation and pallor, one may give the impression of being devoted to works of mortification and to spending the nights in vigil. One can lead people to believe that one is following Tradition and the example of holy men devoted to God by appearing with dishevelled hair, shorn-off moustache, bowed head when walking, slow and deliberate gestures, with marks of prostrations on the face, wearing coarse clothing such as woollen ones, hitching up one's garments to the calves, shortening the sleeves, wearing dirty and torn clothes and thus trying to pass as a Ṣūfī. Various pieces of hypocritical cant are also noted by them (cf. al-Muḥāsibī, 180-1, and al-Ghazālī, iii, 321), and they describe for us those who assume the appearance of mystics, full of humility, handing out words of wisdom, delivering sermons and exhorting their neighbours, in order to obtain the guilty favours of a woman or a young man (*wa-innamā ḳaṣduhu al-taḥabbub ilā marʾa aw ghulām li-adjl al-fudjūr*).

One should finally note that, if one of the possible senses of *riyāʾ* is seeking the exaggerated consideration of others, and if it can be combatted above all by the ecstatic mystics, the Ṣūfīs, the *ahl al-malāma* or "those incurring blame", attached the same importance to an exaggerated opinion of oneself (*ruʾyat al-nafs*), as al-Sulamī [*q.v.*] showed in his *Risālat al-Malāmatiyya* (tr. Deladrière as *La Lucidité implacable*, Paris 1991).

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(R. DELADRIÈRE)

AL-**RIYĀḌ** (A., pl. of *rawḍa* "garden"), the capital of Saudi Arabia (estimated population, 1993: 1.5 million).

1. *Natural setting*. Al-Riyāḍ is situated in the centre of the Arabian peninsula, in the region of Nadjd [*q.v.*], at 453 km/280 miles from Baḥrayn on the Gulf coast and 1,061 km/660 miles from Djudda [*q.v.*] on the Red Sea coast. The actual site is on a plateau with an average height of 600 m/1,968 ft. made up of sedimentary deposits, mainly calcareous, and of the Jurassic period. This plateau is intersected by valleys with scarped edges, notably that of the Wādī Ḥanīfa to the west, which forms a natural boundary to the region as a whole. A shallower valley, that of the Wādī Baṭḥa, running north-south, has determined the communications layout of the city centre before being covered over and transformed into a main road. To the east, the topography becomes more broken and

rocky hillocks hinder the growth of urbanisation. Like all Nadjd, al-Riyāḍ suffers from a hot desert climate: irregular rainfall, but less than 100 m per annum, average temperatures of 35° C in summer and 11° in winter, very low atmospheric humidity and a liability to violent winds raising sand storms which pose serious problems for traffic and the upkeep of public spaces.

2. *History.* The existence of underground water channels in the alluvial subsoil of the Wādīs Ḥanīfa and Baṭḥa allowed, well before the coming of Islam, the development of small human settlements, associated with date palm groves. The most notable seems to have been Hadjar, an oasis and market mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa *ca.* 732/1332 as a place of gardens and vegetation.

But it was only in the 12th/18th century that the name of al-Riyāḍ appears in history with the decline of Hadjar, ruined by local conflicts. The town of al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] was seized by the Āl Suʿūd in 1187/1773 and chosen by them as their capital, as also once again after a period of eclipse in *ca.* 1238/1823 by Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Suʿūd, the restorer of Saudi power, who incorporated the Khardj [*q.v.*] in the newly-reconstituted state. The Āl Suʿūd were thus able after this to resist incursions launched against them from the Ḥidjāz by the Egyptians, at the instigation of the Ottomans, in the 1840s. The dissensions after the death of Fayṣal b. Turkī in 1282/1865 ended in the conquest of al-Riyāḍ by the Āl Rashīd of Ḥāʾil [*q.vv.*]. The ensuing period of instability, characterised by revalries and conflicts between the "Turks" (in fact, the Egyptians), the Wahhābīs and the tribes, finally resulted in the recovery of al-Riyāḍ from its Rashīdī governor by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suʿūd b. Fayṣal in 1319/1902. After the submission of the Āl Rashīd and the reconquest of al-Ḥasā in 1331/1913, but above all with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's entry into Mecca on 6 Djumādā I 1343/13 December 1924, the Saudi state as then constituted comprised three-quarters of the peninsula. From then onwards, the evolution of al-Riyāḍ has been indissolubly linked with the political decision-making of the reigning dynasty and the decisions made to maximise the prodigious subterranean resources of the kingdom.

3. *Contemporary developments.* With a population of less than 30,000 in 1929, even in 1949 al-Riyāḍ was only a modest-sized town within fortified walls. In this year, the walls were demolished and the town grew to 83,000 people spread over 5 km². A continuous pattern of growth, strengthened by strong immigration currents, made the population pass the million point during the 1970s, to reach 1.5 million by 1993. At the same time, the surface extension of the agglomeration has reached around 600 km² today, whilst the development plan envisages an area of 1,781 km² including, at the present time, vast land reserves. This exceptional growth has taken place in parallel with the creation of a diversified base of various functions, generating numerous jobs. The industrial sector represents 20% of those employed, and the main zones of activity, whether public or private, lie on the eastern and southern peripheries of the city. But al-Riyāḍ has become above all a city of service enterprises, which has progressively concentrated, to the detriment of Djudda, all the centres of decision making, whether political or economic and financial, at the same time as it has been acquiring hospitals, as well as financial and university institutions, destined to exert an influence over the Arabic and Islamic world.

4. *Urban planning.* After a period of uncontrolled urbanisation, the Saudi authorities have opted for a highly-planned development of their metropolis. This is based on the Doxiadis Plan of 1968, actually put into practice in 1978 by SCET Inter, and contains all the main options for development to be realised in the following decades. These include: an extensive network of expressways which will complete a beltway around the city in order to assist traffic circulation, vital for a highly motorised population (600,000 private cars) which lives mainly in individual habitations. Furthermore, a general application of zoning has brought about the building of university complexes around the periphery, including an Islamic University and the King Saʿūd University, as also a diplomatic quarter which includes all the diplomatic representatives and the royal and governmental quarter or KCOMMAS. On the southeastern periphery is likewise situated the extensive housing development of ʿUraydja.

In distinction from other Arab capital cities, al-Riyāḍ has no historic centre and only a few preserved buildings bear witness to the former architectural traditions of Nadjd.

5. *The urban structure.* The administration of al-Riyāḍ is under the shared responsibility of the state and of a municipal administration, set up in 1936, whose powers were much increased in 1977. In 1951, al-Riyāḍ was linked to Dammām by a railway, but air travel remains the most used method of communications; the airport opened in 1952 to the north of the city, now judged inadequate, has been replaced since the 1980s by the King Khālid Airport which covers an area of 225 km². But the main preoccupation of the administration is the permanent challenge of a desert environment, against which it is setting up a double response: the systematic provision of green spaces for the whole agglomeration and an abundant provision of water. In order to satisfy a daily consumption of around 400 litres per head, the underground water levels of the region have been tapped and these resources are supplemented by the bringing in of desalinated water, whilst a growing proportion of the water used is being recycled for watering the numerous parks and gardens.

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RIYĀḌĪ, an Ottoman biographer of poets. Mollā Meḥmed, known as Riyāḍī, was the son of a certain Muṣṭafā Efendi of Birge (to the south-east of İzmir) and was born in 980/1572. He was first of all employed as a *müderris*, later became *ḳāḍī* of Ḥaleb (Aleppo) and died on 9 Ṣafar 1054/17 April 1644 in Cairo. He was known as *al-Aṣamm*.

His chief work, *Riyaḍ al-shuʿarāʾ*, is a biographical dictionary of poets. It is known to have been written by 1018/1609. According to F. Babinger and Niki Gamm, his *Tedhkire* contains 384 names, 8 Ottoman sultans as royal poets and 376 names of non-royal poets in 20 extant manuscripts (see Gamm, *Riyāżī's*

Teẕkire as a source of information on Ottoman poets, in *JAOS*, xcix [1979], 643-44). But Namık Açıkgöz gives the number as 424, including royal poets and non-royal poets in 26 extant manuscripts (see his *Riyazü'ş-Şu'ara*, AÜDTCF graduate/master's thesis Ankara 1982 unpubl.; idem, *Riyâzî divanı'ndan seçmeler*, Ankara 1990, 28-9; on the differences of the number of the poets in the *Tedhkire*, see Gönül Alpay [Tekin], art. *Riyâzi*, in *İA*, 2nd ed., 1970, 752.

As a *tedhkire* writer, Riyāḍī belongs to a group of writers who tried to cover the entire field of Ottoman poetry. Like them, he also selected such poets whose poetic abilities he valued as good, and he tried to justify his judgements, selecting appropriate examples from their work. From the information at the end of the *Tedhkire*, we understand that Riyāḍī completed his work and presented it to Sultan Aḥmed I in 1018/1609. Following the Introduction, which ends with a *ḳiṭʿa* and a *duʿā* (prayer) addressing Aḥmed I, it is divided into two sections (*rawḍas*). The first section contains information about the Ottoman sultan-poets Meḥemmed Fātiḥ, Bāyezīd II, Selīm I, Süleymān I, Selīm II, Murād III, Meḥemmed III and Aḥmed I. In this section, he gives basic information about the lives of the sultans, such as their father's name, their date of accession, their pen-names and their praisworthy deeds, and he quotes some verses both from their own poems and from those of other poets written about them.

In the second section, the biographical entries are given in alphabetical order by pen-name, and each poet is dealt with in a much more detailed way than in the first section. Here, he mentions the poet's birthplace, if known, and his date of birth and death; his full name; and information about his family, his education, his teachers, his profession; and whether he was a judge or a teacher, or whether he held a high official rank in the government. Occasionally, he refers to poets coming from the ranks of the army. Often he dwells on the unusual characteristics or witty nature of the poets, providing witty and sarcastic hints and anecdotes about their life. Then he makes an evaluation of the poet's poetical ability, giving some quotations from his poetry in order to prove the correctness of his judgement. Finally, he concludes by giving the poet's death date and place, and his burial ground. Sometimes he adds to this information a chronogram commemorating the death. He usually follows this pattern of information (*taʾrīkh*) as far as possible, and if he makes omissions, this stems from a lack of information.

Besides his *Tedhkire*, he compiled a *murattab Dīwān* consisting of 25 *ḳaṣīdas*, the *sāḳī-nāma*, 652 *ghazels*, 17 incomplete *ghazels*, 9 *ḳiṭʿas* (of which one is in Persian), 171 *rubāʿīs*, 89 *maṭlaʿs* and 11 *miyāna* couplets. *Ḳaṣīdas* are dedicated to *inter aliad* ʿOthmān II, Murād IV, the Grand Viziers ʿAlī Pasha and Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha, and the Sheykh al-Islām Yaḥyā Efendī.

Riyāḍī's *Dīwān* is known in 30 extant mss., in scattered libraries all over the world. The *Sāḳī-nāma*, his other well-known work, was probably composed between 1011/1603 and 1012/1609, and was written in *mathnawī* form, consisting of 1054 couplets. Having embellished this *Sāḳī-nāma* with scattered *rubāʿīs* in appropriate places, Riyāḍī tries here to describe a drinking party which took place one night, and gives very lively descriptions of the tavern-keeper, the musicians and musical instruments, the wine-cups, the cupbearer, and the psychology of the drunkards. In addition to these, he describes very lively scenes taken from the real life of his time, sc. the beginning of the 11th/17th century.

His third work, the *Dustūr al-ʿamal*, is a Persian-Turkish encyclopaedic dictionary which was probably written *ca.* 1016/1607 and consists of 1050 phrases, expressions and some special usages of Persian phrases, with explanations of the grammatical issues. He also quotes Persian couplets in order to explain how these special usages and grammatical forms were used. Later, the author of the *Farhang-i Shuʿūrī*, Ḥasan Shuʿūrī, wrote an addendum to this work called the *Ḍurūb-i amthāl wa iṣṭilāḥāt* (*Topkapı Sarayı türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, ii, 48).

Riyāḍī's *Lexicon* has not yet been published, but is accessible in a number of mss., a list of which is given by Babinger, *GOW*, no. 178; another one is in Süleymaniye, Lala İsmail no. 314. On a German translation of an extract from it by V. von Rosenzweig-Schwannau, see *ZDMG*, xx (1866), 439, no. 3.

Besides the above-mentioned works, there are other religious, historical and literary works of his recorded in the bibliographical works and in some historical sources, including 1. *Siyar*; 2. an abbreviated Turkish translation of Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*; 3. *Ṣaḥāʾif al-laṭāʾif fī anwāʿ al-ʿulūm wa 'l-maʿārif*; 4. *Kashf al-ḥidjāb ʿan wadjh al-ṣawāb*; and 5. *Risālat fī ʿilm al-bayān*.

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(Gönül Alpay Tekin)

AL-RIYĀḌIYYĀT, al-Riyāḍa (a.), mathematics.

Arabic mathematics are those cultivated by scholars of diverse ethnic origins and of diverse religions, over a period of at least seven centuries—from the 3rd/9th to the 10th/16th centuries—but who all wrote in Arabic and belonged to the civilisation of Islam in its widest sense. Other mathematical activities directly linked to these, in other languages, notably Persian, or those via translations of Arabic texts, e.g. in Latin or Hebrew, will not be treated here. Finally, given the limited space available and the vastness of mathematical activities in Arabic during this period, whose diversity and importance has been shown by recent research, not all the mathematical disciplines and the applied sciences can be treated. Also not considered are the important chapters like those on the projective methods (see R. Rashed, *Géométrie et dioptrique au Xᵉ siècle. Ibn Sahl, al-Qūhī et Ibn al-Haytham*, Paris 1993, pp. CIII-CXXV), and fundamental applications in optics and in astronomy *inter alia*.

But, before tracing the history of these mathematical activities, let us look at the origins of its main traits, and, first, let us go back to Baghdād at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. It was just at this period and in this milieu—that of the "House of Wisdom" [see bayt al-ḥikma] at Baghdād—that Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khʷārazmī [*q.v.*] composed a book whose subject and style were new. It was in effect within these pages that, for the first time, algebra came forward as a distinct and independent

mathematical discipline [see AL-DJABR WA 'L-MUĶĀBALA]. The event was crucial, and was seen as such by contemporaries, as much for the style of this mathematics as for the ontology of its object and, even more, the richness of the possibilities which it offered for the future. The style was at the same time algorithmic and demonstrative, and at that time and henceforth, with this algebra, the great potentiality which would suffuse mathematics from the 3rd/9th century onwards, may be glimpsed: the application of mathematical disciplines to each other. In other words, if algebra, through its style and the generality of its object, made these applications possible, the latter, by their number and the diversity of their nature, did not cease to modify the shape of mathematics after the 3rd/9th century.

Al-Khʷārazmī's successors progressively undertook the application of arithmetic to algebra, of algebra to arithmetic, from each of these to trigonometry, from algebra to the Euclidian theory of numbers, from algebra to geometry and from geometry to algebra. These applications were always those laying the basic foundations for new disciplines or new chapters. Thus there saw light the algebra of polynomials, combinatorial analysis, numerical analysis, solving of numerical equations, the new elementary theory of numbers and the geometrical construction of equations. Other effects were to result from these multiple applications, such as the separation of the integer Diophantine analysis from rational Diophantine analysis, which became a complete, separate chapter of algebra under the title of "indeterminate analysis".

From the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the mathematical landscape was no longer the same; it became transformed and its horizons widened. From the outset, we witness an extension of Hellenistic arithmetic and geometry: the theory of conics and that of parallels, projective studies, Archimedean methods for the measurement or curved areas and volumes, isoperimetric problems and geometrical transformations. All these domains became the objects of study for the most famous mathematicians—Thābit b. Ķurra [*q.v.*] al-Ķūhī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Ibn Sahl and Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*], amongst others—who managed, through profound researches, to develop them in the same style as their predecessors or modified them when conditions required this. Furthermore, within these Hellenistic mathematical studies themselves, there was a movement towards non-Hellenistic areas.

It is this new landscape which we will now sketch out below in its main traits, without, however, let it be understood, any pretentions to exhaustiveness.

I. Algebra.

1. Al-Khʷārazmī's book, which appeared between 197/813 and 215/830 in Baghdād, was the first book in which the term algebra appeared in a title (this was *K. al-Djabr wa 'l-muķābala*). The two terms here denoted at the same time both the discipline and its operations. Thus for example

$$x^2 + c - bx = d \qquad \text{with } c > d$$

the algebra consists in transposing the subtractive expressions

$$x^2 + c = bx + d$$

and *al-muķābala* in reducing the similar terms

$$x^2 + (c - d) = bx.$$

In this book, the author's aim is clear and never before envisaged: to elaborate a theory of equations which can be solved by roots, to which can be brought equally arithmetical and geometrical problems, and thus be of use in calculations, commercial operations, successions, mensuration of land, etc. In the first part of his book, the author begins by defining the basic terms of this theory, which, because of the requirement of resolution by radicals and because of his knowledge of the procedure in this domain, could only involve equations of the first two degrees. It is in fact a question of the unknown quantity, denoted indifferently by "root" and "thing", its square, positive rational numbers, the laws of arithmetic of $\pm$, $\times/\div$, $\sqrt{}$, and of equality. The main concepts then introduced by al-Khʷārazmī are the equation of the first degree, that of the second degree, associated binomials and trinomials, the normal form, algorithmic solutions and the demonstration of the formula for solutions. The concept of the equation appears in his book to denote an infinite class of problems and not, as with e.g. the Babylonians, in the course of the solution of one or other problem. On the other hand, equations are not presented in the course of the solution of problems to be solved, as amongst the Babylonians and Diophantus, but, from the outset, from the starting-point of primitive terms whose combinations are to yield all the possible forms. Thus, immediately after having given the basic terms, he gives the following six types:

$$ax^2 = bx, \quad ax^2 = c, \quad bx = c, \quad ax^2 + bx = c,$$
$$ax^2 + c = bx, \quad ax^2 = bx + c.$$

He then introduces the idea of normal form, and requires the reduction of each of the preceding equations to the normal corresponding form. From this there results, in particular, for the trinomial equations

$$x^2 + px = q, \quad x^2 = px + q, \quad x^2 + q = px.$$

He then passes to the determination of the algorithmic formulae for solutions.

He demonstrates equally the different formulae for solutions not algebraically but by means of the idea of the equality of areas. He was apparently inspired by a quite recent knowledge of Euclid's *Elements*, translated by his colleague in the "House of Wisdom", al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Maṭar.

Al-Khʷārazmī then undertakes a brief study of some properties of the application of the elementary laws of arithmetic to the most simple algebraic expressions. Thus he studies products of the type

$$(a \pm bx)(c \pm dx) \qquad \text{with } a, b, c, d \in \mathbb{Q}_+.$$

In order to better grasp the idea which he made for himself of the new discipline, as well as its richness, one only needs to compare his book with the ancient mathematical works; it is equally necessary to examine the impact which he had on his contemporaries and his successors. It is only then that one can place him within his true historical dimension. Now, one of the features of his book, essential to our minds, is that he immediately stirred up a current of algebraic research. The bio-bibliographer of the 4th/10th century al-Nadīm [*q.v.*] already provides us with a long list of al-Khʷārazmī's contemporaries and successors who followed his path of research. Amongst others, there figure Ibn Turk, Sind b. ʿAlī, al-Saydanānī, Thābit b. Ķurra, Abū Kāmil, Sinān b. al-Fatḥ, al-Ḥubūbī and Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzadjānī [*q.v.*].

In this time and immediately after it, one witnesses essentially an extension of researches already dealt with by al-Khʷārazmī: the theory of quadratic equations, algebraic calculus, the indeterminate analysis and application of algebra to the problems of successions, divisions of inheritances, etc. Research into the theory of equations was itself pursued along many paths. The first was that already blazed by al-Khʷārazmī himself, but this time with an improvement of his proto-geometrical proofs; this is the way pursued by Ibn Turk, who without adding anything new, resumed a discussion of the proof which was

more closely-argued (see Aydin Sayili, *Logical necessities in mixed equations by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Turk and the algebra of his time*, Ankara 1962, 145 ff.). More important was the way taken a little later by Th̲ābit b. Ḳurra. This last went back in effect to the *Elements* of Euclid, in order at the same time to establish al-Kh̲ʷārazmī's proofs on more solid geometrical foundations and also to render geometrically the equations of the second degree. Th̲ābit was moreover the first to distinguish clearly between the two methods, algebraic and geometrical, regarding which he tried to show that they both led in the end to the same result, i.e. to the geometrical interpretation of algebraical procedures.

But this geometrical rendering by Th̲ābit of al-Kh̲ʷārazmī's equations shows itself as particularly important, as will be seen, for the development of the theory of algebraic equations. Another rendering, very different, took place at almost the same time, which was also to be fundamental for the development of this same theory: that of the problems of geometry in algebraic terms. Al-Māhānī, who was, in effect, a contemporary of Th̲ābit's, only began by rendering certain biquadratic problems of Book X of the *Elements* into algebraic equations but also a solid problem, that given in Archimedes' *The sphere and the cylinder*, as a cubic equation (see below).

One witnesses, moreover, following al-Kh̲ʷārazmī, the extension of algebraic calculation. This was, perhaps, the main theme of research and the one most shared together by the algebraists following him. Thus one began by extending the very terms of algebra as far as the sixth power of the unknown, as may be seen with Abū Kāmil and Sinān b. al-Fatḥ. The latter defined, furthermore, the powers multiplicatively (see on the powers, in Sinān, Rashed, *Entre arithmétique et algèbre. Recherches sur l'histoire des mathématiques arabes*, Paris 1984, 21 n. 11), thus differing from Abū Kāmil, who gave an additive definition. But it was the latter's work in the field of algebra which marks both the epoch and the history of algebra (in his *K. al-Djabr wa 'l-muḳābala*). As well as the extension of algebraic calculation, he brought within his book a new chapter in algebra, indeterminate analysis or Diophantine rational analysis.

2. One would not be able to understand anything about the history of algebra if one did not underline the contributions of the two currents of research which developed in the period considered above. The first was concerned with the study of irrational quantities, whether on the occasion of a reading of Book X of the *Elements*, or, in some manner, independently. One may mention, amongst many other mathematicians who participated in this work of research, the names of al-Māhānī, Sulaymān b. ʿIṣma, al-Kh̲āzin [*q.v.*], al-Ahwāzī, Yuḥannā b. Yūsuf and al-Hās̲h̲imī.

The second current was stimulated by the translation into Arabic of the *Arithmetics* of Diophantus, and, notably, by the algebraical reading of this latter book. Now this *Arithmetics*, even if it was not a work of algebra in al-Kh̲ʷārazmī's sense, nevertheless contained techniques of algebraic calculation, effective for the time: substitutions, eliminations, changes of variables, etc. It was the object of commentaries by mathematicians like Kusṭā b. Lūḳa [*q.v.*], its translator in the 3rd/9th century, and al-Būzadjānī a century later, but these texts are unfortunately lost.

Whatever may have been the case, this progress in algebraic calculation, whether by its extension to other domains or by the mass of technical results obtained, resulted finally in a renewal of the discipline itself. A century and a half after al-Kh̲ʷārazmī, the Bag̲h̲dād mathematician al-Karadjī [*q.v.*] conceived another project of research: the application of arithmetic to algebra, i.e. the systematic study of the application of the laws of arithmetic and of certain of its algorithms to the algebraic expressions and, in particular, to polynomials. This is exactly this calculation on the algebraic expressions of the form

$$f(x) = \sum_{k=-m}^{n} a_k x^k \qquad m, n \in Z_+$$

which became the main object of algebra. The theory of algebraic equations is certainly always present, but occupies only a modest place amidst the preoccupations of the algebraists. One realises that, from this time onwards, the books about algebra undergo modifications not only in their content but also in their organisation.

Without going over here the history of six centuries of algebra let us illustrate this impact of al-Karadjī's work by turning to another of his successors of the 6th/12th century, al-Samawʾal (d. 569/1174), who integrated within his book on algebra, *al-Bāhir*, the main writings of al-Karadjī. Al-Samawʾal began by defining, quite generally, the idea of algebraic powers (he writes, after having noted in a table on both sides of x^0, the powers, "If the two powers are on one and the other side of the unity from one of them we count in the direction of the unity the number of elements of the table which separate the other power from the unity, and the number is on the same side as the unity. If the two powers are of the same side of the unity, we count in the direction opposite to the unity"; see *Al-Bāhir en algèbre d'al-Samawʾal*, ed., introd. and notes by S. Ahmad and R. Rashed, Damascus 1972), and, thanks to the definition $x^0 = 1$, gives the rule equivalent to $x^m x^n = x^{m+n}$, m, n $\in$ Z. There then follows the study of the arithmetical operations on monomials and polynomials, notably those of the divisibility of polynomials, as also the approximation of the fractions by the elements of the ring of the polynomials. Thus one has, e.g.

$$\frac{f(x)}{g(x)} = \frac{20x^2 + 30x}{6x^2 + 12} \approx \frac{10}{3} + \frac{5}{x} - \frac{20}{3x^2} - \frac{10}{3x^2} + \frac{40}{x^3} + \frac{40}{3x^4} + \frac{20}{x^5} - \frac{80}{3x^6} - \frac{40}{x^7},$$

in which al-Samawʾal obtains a kind of limited development

$h(x) = \frac{f(x)}{g(x)}$, which is only valid for x when it is sufficiently great.

One then finds the extraction of the square root of a polynomial with rational coefficients. But, for all these calculations regarding polynomials, al-Karadjī had devoted a work, at present lost but fortunately cited by al-Samawʾal, in which he exerts himself to establish the formula of the binomial development and the table of coefficients

$$(a + b)^n = \sum_{k=0}^{n} \binom{n}{k} a^{n-k} b^k \qquad n \in N.$$

It is on the occasion of the demonstration of this formula that one witnesses the appearance, in an archaic form, of the complete, finite induction as a procedure of the proof in mathematics. Amongst the means of auxiliary calculation, al-Samawʾal gives, following al-Karadjī, the sum of the different arithmetical progressions, with their proof:

$$\sum_{k=1}^{n} k,\ \sum_{k=1}^{n} k^2,\ \left(\sum_{k=1}^{n} k\right)^2,\ \sum_{k=1}^{n} k\ (k+1),\ \ldots$$

There then follows the reply to the following question: "How can the multiplication, division, addition, subtraction and extraction of roots be used in regard to irrational quantities?" (see Ahmad and Rashed, *Al-Bāhir en algèbre* ... , 37). The reply to this question led al-Karadjī and his successors to read in an algebraic fashion and in a deliberate manner, Book X of the *Elements*, to extend to infinity the monomials and binomials given in that book and to propose rules for calculation, amongst which one finds explicitly formulated the one of al-Māhānī

$$\left(x^{\frac{1}{n}}\right)^{\frac{1}{m}} = \left(x^{\frac{1}{m}}\right)^{\frac{1}{n}} \quad \text{and} \quad x^{\frac{1}{m}} = (x^n)^{\frac{1}{mn}}$$

with others like the following

$$\left(x^{\frac{1}{m}} \pm y^{\frac{1}{m}}\right)^m = y\left(\left(\frac{x}{y}\right)^{\frac{1}{m}} \pm 1\right)^m.$$

There is also to be found an important chapter on rational diophantine analysis and another one on the resolution of systems of linear equations with several unknowns. Al-Samawʾal gives a system of 210 linear equations with ten unknowns.

Starting from the works of al-Karadjī, one sees a trend of research in algebra taking shape, a recognisable tradition regarding the content and organisation of each of the works.

At the heart of this trend, the chapter on the theory of algebraic equations, properly speaking, without being central had nevertheless made some progress. Al-Karadjī himself considered, like all his predecessors, quadratic equations. Certain of his successors tried, however, to study the solution of cubic equations and equations of the fourth degree. Thus al-Sulamī in the 6th/12th century concentrated on cubic equations in order to find a solution through radicals (*al-Muḳaddima al-kāfiya fī ḥisāb al-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala*, Collection Paul Sbāt, no. 5, ff. 92b-93a). This text of his bears witness to the interest of the mathematicians of his time, brought to bear on the solution by radicals of cubic equations.

3. The algebraists who were also arithmeticians concentrated on the solution by radicals of equations, and sought to justify the algorithm of the solution. One even encounters sometimes, in the same mathematician (e.g. Abū Kāmil), two justifications, one geometrical and the other algebraical. For the cubic equation, they lacked not only solutions by radicals but also the justification of the algorithm of solution, since the solution could not be constructed by means of a ruler and a compass. Recourse to conic sections, explicitly meant to resolve cubic equations, rapidly followed the first algebraic renderings of solid problems. We have mentioned, from the 3rd/9th century, al-Māhānī and Archimedes' lemma (see how al-Khayyām traced in this manner this story in his famous treatise of algebra, in *L'œuvre algébrique d'al-Khayyām*, Aleppo 1981, 11-12); other problems, such as, notably, the trisection of an angle, the two means and the regular heptagon, were very soon rendered in algebraic terms. But, on the other hand, confronted by the difficulty mentioned before, and thus by that in resolving cubic equations by means of radicals, the mathematicians of the 4th/10th century like al-Khāzin, Ibn ʿIrāḳ, Abu 'l-Djūd b. al-Layth and al-Shannī, were led to render this equation in the language of geometry (*op. cit.*, 82-4). They thus found themselves applying to the study of this equation a technique already at that time currently used for the examination of solid problems, i.e. the intersection of conic curves. It is precisely in this that there is found the main reason for the geometricisation of the theory of algebraic equations. This time, contrary to Thābit b. Ḳurra, people did not try to render geometrically algebraic equations in order to find the geometrical equivalent of the algebraic solution already obtained, but tried to determine, with the help of geometry, the positive roots of the equation which people had not been able to achieve otherwise. The attempts of al-Khāzin, al-Ḳūhī, Ibn al-Layth, al-Shannī, al-Bīrūnī, etc., are in this way partial contributions, up to the conception of the project by ʿUmar al-Khayyām (439-526/1048-1131 [*q.v.*]): the elaboration of a geometrical theory of equations of the third degree or less. For each of these types of equations, al-Khayyām found a construction of a positive root through the intersection of two conics. Thus e.g. in order to solve the equation "a cube is equal to a certain number of sides plus a number", i.e.

(*) $x^3 = bx + c \qquad b,c > 0,$

al-Khayyām only considered the positive root. In order to determine it, he proceeded by means of the intersection of a half-parabola and a branch of an equilateral hyperbola.

In order to elaborate upon this new theory, al-Khayyām saw himself as endeavouring the better to conceive and to formulate the new relationships between geometry and algebra. One needs to remember that, in this regard, the fundamental concept introduced by him was that of the unit of measurement which, suitably defined in relation to that of dimension, allowed the application of geometry to algebra. Now this application led al-Khayyām in two directions, which may seem at first view paradoxical: at a time when algebra was then identifying itself with the theory of algebraic equations, this last seemed henceforth, though still timidly, to be transcending the gap between algebra and geometry. The theory of equations was above all a place where algebra and geometry met, and, more and more, ways of reasoning and analytical methods. In his treatise, al-Khayyām arrived at two remarkable results which historians normally attribute to Descartes: a general solution for all equations of the third degree through the intersection of two conics, and, on the other hand, a geometrical calculation made possible by the choice of the unit of length, whilst nevertheless remaining, contrary to Descartes, faithful to the rule of homogenity.

One should note that al-Khayyām did not stop there, but tried to give an approximate numerical solution for the cubic equation. Thus in his work called *On the division of a quadrant of a circle* (*op. cit.*, 80), in which he announced a new project on the theory of equations, he got as far as an approximate numerical solution by means of trigonometrical tables.

4. Up to recently, it was thought that the contribution of the mathematicians of this time to the theory of algebraic equations was limited to al-Khayyām and his work. But in fact, it was nothing like this at all. Not only did al-Khayyām's work inaugurate a complete tradition, but, moreover, it became deeply transformed hardly half-a-century after his death.

Two generations after him, we come across one of the most important works of this current of ideas, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's treatise *On equations* (see *Sharaf*

al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. Oeuvres mathématiques. Algèbre et géométrie au XIIe siècle, ed., tr. and comm. R. Rashed, Paris 1986, 2 vols.). This treatise (*ca.* 565/1170) brings forward some very important innovations in regard to the work of al-Khayyām. Contrasted with that of his predecessor, al-Ṭūsī's approach was not global and algebraic but local and analytical. This radical change, particularly important in the history of classical mathematics, was able to construct a bridge between classical algebra and the prehistory of infinitesimal methods (see *op. cit.*).

But al-Ṭūsī's example is sufficient to show that the theory of equations not only became transformed after the time of al-Khayyām, but never stopped getting further and further away from the search for solutions by means of radicals; it thus finished by covering a vast domain, and included sectors which later were to belong to analytical geometry or simply to analysis.

II. Combinatorial analysis.

Combinatorial activity began by revealing itself as such, but in a dispersed manner, amongst the linguists on one side and the algebraists on the other. It was only later that the meeting between the two currents was to take place and that combinatorial analysis was to present itself as a mathematical tool applicable to the most various situation: linguistic, philosophical, mathematical, etc. It is then that one can speak of combinatorial activity in Arabic. Already in the 3th/9th century, this activity can be found amongst the linguists and philosophers who set forth problems connected with language, within three spheres in particular: phonology, lexicography and, finally, cryptography [see MUʿAMMĀ]. The name of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (99-169/718-86 [*q.v.*]) marks the history of these three disciplines. He had explicit recourse, for his founding of Arabic lexicography, to a calculation of arrangements and combinations. For his lexicon, he began by calculating the number of combinations, without repeating, of the letters of the alphabet, taken r to r, with r = 2, ..., 5, and then the number of permutations in each group of r letters. In other terms, he calculated

$$A_n^r = r! \binom{n}{r}$$

n being the number of letters of the alphabet, $1 < r \leq 5$.

Now this theory and method calculation used by al-Khalīl recurs later in the writings of most of the lexicographers. They further were utilised in cryptography, developed from the 3rd/9th century onwards by al-Kindī and then, at the end of that same century and the beginning of the next one, by linguists like Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*], Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, amongst several others. In the practice of their discipline, the cryptographers had recourse to the phonological analysis of al-Khalīl, calculation of letter frequency in Arabic and that of permutations, substitutions and combinations.

At the same time as this important activity in the field of combination, the algebraists, as we have seen, had put forward and demonstrated, at the end of the 4th/10th century, the rule for the formation of the arithmetical triangle for the calculation of binomial coefficients. Al-Karadjī (Ahmad and Rashed, *al-Bāhir en algèbre d'al-Samawʾal*, 104 ff.) had in effect laid down the rule

$$(*) \quad \binom{n}{r} = \binom{n-1}{r-1} + \binom{n-1}{r}$$

The algebraists applied the new rules in their calculations. E.g. al-Samawʾal (*ibid.*, Ar. text 232, introd. 77 ff.) set forth ten unknowns and searched for a system of linear equations with six unknowns. He then combined these ten figures, considered as symbols of these unknowns—today they would be called indices—six to six, and thus obtained his system of 210 equations. He likewise proceeded by means of these combinations to find the 504 conditions of compatibility within this system. All these combinatorial activities, these rules discovered in the course of linguistic research and algebraical studies, made up the concrete conditions for the emergence of this new chapter in mathematics. It remains, however, to note that the act of this chapter's birth consisted in the explicitly combinatorial interpretation of the arithmetical triangle, and of its law of formation, i.e. the rules given by al-Karadjī as tools of calculation. It would be excessive to think that the algebraists had not seized upon this interpretation fairly quickly. We are, on the contrary, more and more convinced that this interpretation had been noticed by the algebraists but that they had no stimulus for them to give an explicit formulation of it. The combinatorial interpretation is certainly there, very probably before the 7th/13th century, as we are now able to show thanks to a text of the mathematician and philosopher Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (597-671/1201-73 [*q.v.*]), until the present time unknown. A reading of this text (see Rashed, *Métaphysique et combinatoire*, forthcoming) shows that he knew of this interpretation, that he put it forward in a totally natural fashion as something readily admitted and expressed it in a terminology which is to be found, either wholly or in part, in his successors. In the course of this study, he was led to calculate the number of combinations of n distinct objects taken k to k, with $1 \leq k \leq n$. Thus he calculated for n = 12

$$\sum_{k=1}^{n} \binom{n}{k}$$, and used in the course of his calculation

the equality $\binom{n}{k} = \binom{n}{n-k}$.

One should now note that al-Ṭūsī had given in his book on arithmetic (*Djawāmiʿ al-ḥisāb*, ed. A.S. Saidan, in *al-Abḥāth*, xx/2-3 [1967], 141-6) the arithmetical triangle and its law of formation. He calculated an expression equivalent to

$$\sum_{k=0}^{m} \binom{m}{k}\binom{n}{p-k} \quad \text{with } 1 \leq p \leq 16,\ n = 12.$$

After al-Ṭūsī at least, and very probably before him, one will continually come across the combinatorial interpretation of the arithmetical triangle and its law of formation, as well as the ensemble of elementary rules of combinatorial analysis. As we have shown, towards the end of this same century and at the beginning of the next, 8th/14th, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (d. 719/1319 [*q.v.*]), in a treatise on the theory of numbers, returned to this interpretation and established the use of the arithmetical triangle for the numerical orders, i.e. the result which one normally attributed to Pascal. In effect, in order to form the represented numbers (see Rashed, *Matériaux pour l'histoire des nombres amiables et de l'analyse combinatoire*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Arabic Science*, vi [1982], 209-78; idem, *Nombres amiables, parties aliquotes et nombres figurés aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, in *Archive for Hist. of Exact Science*, xxviii [1983], 107-49, repr. in *Entre arithmétique*

et algèbre ..., 259-99), al-Fārisī set up a relationship equivalent to

$$F_p^q = \sum_{k=1}^{p} F_k^{q-1} = \binom{p+q-1}{q}$$

with F_q^p the pth represented number of the order q, $F_1^q = 1$.

But at the same time as al-Fārisī was busy with his studies in Persia, Ibn al-Bannāʾ (cf. reference above) (d. 721/1321) was at work in Morocco on combinatorial analysis. In effect he went back to the combinatorial interpretation and took up the rules which were known before his time, notably those of the arrangement of n distinct objects, without repetition, r to r, of permutations and combinations without repetition:

$$(n)_r = n(n-1) \ldots (n-r+1)$$

$$(n)_n = n\,!$$

$$\binom{n}{r} = \frac{(n)_r}{r!},$$

relations which were readily deducible from the expression (*) given by al-Karad̲j̲ī three centuries before.

Al-Fārisī and Ibn al-Bannāʾ not only followed after al-Ṭūsī but used the greater part of the technical lexicon already adopted by the latter. With these authors, combinatorial analysis no longer had as its domain algebraic or linguistic applications only, but the most varied domains, e.g. metaphysics, i.e. every domain in which scholars were concerned with the partition of a set of objects.

This concept and this chapter were to survive up the present time. Scholars were to continue to treat combinatorial analysis in different works of mathematics, and independent works were also to be devoted to it. Thus later mathematicians like al-Kās̲h̲ī (d. 840/1436-7 [*q.v.*]) (see his *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb*, ed. A.S. al-Dimirdās̲h̲ and M.Ḥ. al-Ḥifnī, Cairo 1967, 73-4, where he gives the law for the composition of the arithmetical triangle), Ibn al-Malik al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī (*al-Isʿāf al-atamm*, ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Riyāḍa 182; he gives the arithmetical triangle and explains its formation at pp. 46-7; in the triangle, al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī places the names given as powers in abbreviation), al-Yazdī (*ʿUyūn al-ḥisāb*, ms. Süleymaniye, Istanbul, Hazine 1993; see the arithmetical triangle at fols. 1 and 20a-b) and Taḳī 'l-Dīn Ibn Maʿrūf, to give only a few names, treat of it.

III. Numerical analysis.

Compared to Hellenistic mathematics, Arab mathematics offered a much more important number of numerical algorithms.

Algebra, in effect, did not just furnish the indispensable theoretic means for this development—even if this were only the study of polynomial expressions and the combinatorial rules—but also a vast domain of the application of these techniques: the methods developed for determining the positive roots of numerical equations. Research in astronomy, from another aspect, led mathematicians to take up the problems of the interpolation of certain trigonometric functions. Some of these methods, as will be seen, were applied in quantitative research in optics. The result, as may be already guessed, was an appreciable quantity of numerical techniques which it is impossible to describe here in a limited number of pages.

Yet more important than the number of numerical algorithms brought to light by the mathematicians was the discovery of new axes of research, such as the mathematical justification for algorithms, the comparison between the different algorithms with the aim of choosing the best one and, to sum it all up, conscious reflection on the nature and limit of approximations.

There remains now the task of going back to the main domains which divided up numerical analysis: the extraction of roots from an integer number and the resolution of numerical equations on one hand, and methods of interpolation on the other.

As far back as one can go in the history of mathematics, one meets algorithms meant for extracting square or cube roots, some of which are of Hellenistic origin, whilst other are probably of Indian origin, and, finally, yet others are owed to the Arab mathematicians themselves.

Thus amongst the formulae which circulated at the opening of the 4th/10th century, two should be particularly noted, each called "the conventional approximation":

$$\sqrt{N} = a + \frac{r}{2a+1} \text{ and } \sqrt[3]{N} = a + \frac{r}{3a^2+3a+1}.$$

At the end of this same century, the mathematicians possessed, according to all the evidence, the so-called Ruffini-Horner method. Kūs̲h̲iyār b. al-Labān [*q.v.*] applied this algorithm, in all appearance of Indian origin, in his Arithmetic (*Kūshyār ibn Labbān, principles of Hindu reckoning*, tr. M. Levey and M. Petruck, Madison 1965; see the Arabic text established by A. Saidan, in *Rev. de l'Inst. de manuscrits arabes*, Cairo [May 1967], 55-83). We know at present that Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am (d. after 431/1040) not only knew of this algorithm but endeavoured himself to give a mathematical justification for it. It is his general approach which we will set forth here, but in a different language.

Let the polynomial with integer coefficients f(x) and the equation be

$$(*) \quad f(x) = N$$

Let s be a positive root of this equation, and let us suppose (s_i) $i \geq 0$ (indice) to be a series of positive integers such that the partial sums are

$$\sum_{i=0}^{k} s_i \leq s;$$

one says that the s_i are parts of s.

It is evident that the equation

$$f_0(x) = f(x+s_0) - f(s_0) = N - f(s_0) = N_0$$

has as its roots those of equation (*) diminished by s_0.

For i > 0, let us form by recurrence the equation

$$f_i(x) = f(x+s_0+\ldots+s_i) - f(s_0+\ldots+s_i)$$
$$= [N - f(s_0+\ldots+s_{i-1})] - [f(s_0+\ldots+s_i) - f(s_0+\ldots+s_{i-1})]$$
$$= N_i;$$

thus. e.g. for i = 1, we have

$$f_1(x) = f(x+s_0+s_1) - f(s_0+s_1)$$
$$= [N - f(s_0)] - [f(s_0+s_1) - f(s_0)]$$
$$= N_0 - [f(s_0+s_1) - f(s_0)] = N_1.$$

The method used by Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am and justified by him, which is found in Kūs̲h̲iyār and is called Ruffini-Horner, furnishes an algorithm which allows us to obtain the coefficients of the i^st^ equation from the starting point of the coefficients of the (i - 1)^th^ equation. The principal idea behind this method lies here (see Rashed, *Les mathématiques infinitésimales entre le IXe et le XIe siècle*, ii, London 1994).

The ensemble of methods and of preceeding results, gained at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, then comes up again not only in the contemporaries of these mathematicians but in the majority of the treatises on arithmetic, henceforth very numerous.

Amongst many others, one may mention those of al-Nasawī, successor to Kūs̲h̲iyār (see H. Suter, *Über das Rechenbuch des Alī ben Ahmed el-Nasawi*, in *Bibl. Mathematica*, 3. Folge, vii [1906-7], 113-19; see also *Nasawī-nāma*, ed. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim G̲h̲urbānī, Tehran 1973, 65 ff. of the Pers. introd. to the edition, and 8 ff. of the photocopy of the published Arabic text), of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (*Ḏj̲awāmiʿ al-ḥisāb*, *op. cit.*, 144 ff., 266 ff.), of Ibn al-K̲h̲awwām al-Bag̲h̲dādī (*al-Fawāʾid al-bahāʾiyya fī 'l-ḳawāʿid al-ḥisābiyya*, ms. B.L. Or. 5615, fols. 7b-8a), of Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (*Asās al-ḳawāʿid*, ed. M. Mawaldi, diss. Univ. of Paris III, 1989), etc.).

The mathematicians were in possession of the arithmetical triangle and the binomial formula from the end of the 4th/10th century onwards, and were not to meet any major difficulties for the generalisation of the preceeding methods and for the formulation of the algorithm in the case of the root n^{th}. Similar attempts, unfortunately lost, already existed in the 5th/11th century with al-Bīrūnī and al-K̲h̲ayyām. It was in his contribution of 568/1172-3 that al-Samawʾal (see above) not only applied the so-called Ruffini-Horner method for the extraction of the root n^{th} of a sexagesimal integer, but also formulated a clear concept of approximation. By "to approximate", the 6th/12th century mathematician meant: to know a real number by means of a series of known numbers with an approximation which the mathematician could render as small as he wished. It is then a case of measuring the divergence between the irrational n^{th} root and a series of rational numbers. After having defined the concept of approximation, al-Samawʾal began by applying the so-called Ruffini-Horner method for the example

$$f(x) = x^5 - Q = 0,$$

with Q = 0; 0, 0, 2, 33, 43, 36, 48, 8, 16, 52, 30.

Now this method was to survive till the 6th/12th century and was to be found in many other treatises on "Indian arithmetic", as they were called at that time. It was to be met yet later in the predecessors of al-Kās̲h̲ī, in al-Kās̲h̲ī himself and also in his successors. To take only the example of al-Kās̲h̲ī, in his *Key to arithmetic* he resolves

$$f(x) = x^5 - N = 0,$$

with N = 44 240 899 506 197.

If now we come to the extraction of the irrational n^{th} root from an integer, we encounter an analogous situation. In his *Treatise on arithmetic*, al-Samawʾal gives in effect a rule for approximating by means of fractions the not integer part of the irrational root of an integer, and gives expressions equivalent to

$$x^n = N;$$

$$x' = x_0 + \frac{N - x_0^n}{\left[\sum_{k=1}^{n-1} \binom{n}{k} x_0^{n-k}\right] + 1},$$

i.e.

$$x' = x_0 + \frac{N - x_0^n}{(x_0 + 1)^n - x_0^n}.$$

It is thus a case of the generalisation of what mathematicians have called "conventional approximation". We find it later amongst so many mathematicians, such as al-Ṭūsī and al-Kās̲h̲ī. It was, furthermore, with the aim of improving these approximations that there was conceived in an explicit manner the decimal fractions, as the example of al-Samawʾal shows (see above).

It was in the course of the search for the extraction of the nth root and the problems of approximation that the first theory of decimal fractions was elaborated in the 6th/12th century. The first known exposition of these fractions was given by al-Samawʾal in 569/1172-3, and it shows that the algebra of polynomials is essential to the invention of these fractions. These last survive in the work of al-Kās̲h̲ī (*Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb*, 79, 121; P. Luckey, *Die Rechenkunst bei Ǧamšīd b. Masʿūd al-Kāšī*, Wiesbaden 1951, 103. Cf. Rashed, *Entre arithmétique et algèbre*, 132 ff.), and appear again in the works of the mathematician and astronomer of the 10th/16th century Taḳī 'l-Dīn Ibn Maʿrūf (*Bug̲h̲yat al-ṭullāb*, fol. 131a ff.) and al-Yazdī (in his *ʿUyūn al-ḥisāb* one cannot fail to discern a certain familiarity with decimal fractions, although he preferred to make calculations with sexagesimal fractions and ordinary ones, see e.g. fols. 9b, 49a-b) in the 11th/17th century. Several indications suggest that they were transmitted to the West before the middle of that century, and they are named in a Byzantine manuscript brought to Venice in 1562 as "Turkish" fractions (al-Kās̲h̲ī introduced a vertical stroke which separated the fractional part; this representation is found amongst Western scholars like Rudolff, Apian and Cardan). The mathematician Mīzrahī (b. Constantinople 1455) used the same sign before Rudolff. As for the Byzantine ms., it reads, notably, "The Turks make multiplications and divisions of fractions by means of a special procedure for calculation. They introduced their fractions when they came to rule our land here". The example given by this writer leaves no possible doubt about the fact that he is speaking here of decimal fractions. Cf. H. Hunger and K. Vogel, *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des 15. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1963, 32 (problem no. 36).

Let us finally note that the methods of interpolation were already, long before this, applied by astronomers. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, they sought out methods for formulating and using astronomical and trigonometrical tables and, on this occasion, came back to methods of interpolation in order to improve them.

The numerousness of methods at the end of the 4th/10th century has set a new problem for research: how is one to compare these different methods amongst themselves, in order to be able to choose the most efficacious for the tabular function being studied? Al-Bīrūnī himself began to take this problem for his own consideration and to place side-by-side different methods for the case of the cotangent function, with its difficulties which are connected with the existence of the poles. In the next century, al-Samawʾal was even more explicitly concerned with this task.

The mathematicians not only pursued their researches on these methods, but equally applied themselves to other disciplines like astronomy. Thus Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī had recourse to one of them—called *ḳaws al-k̲h̲ilāf*, the arc of the difference—in order to establish the table of refractions. But this method called " the arc of the difference", applied by al-Fārisī at the opening of the 8th/14th century, goes back to al-K̲h̲āzin in the 4th/10th century, and was to be taken up again in the 9th/15th century by al-Kās̲h̲ī in his *Zīḏj̲ K̲h̲āḳānī*. This last example shows well that, for this chapter, it is a case of stages in an identical tradition.

IV. Indeterminate analysis.

The emergence of indeterminate analysis or, as it is called today, Diophantine analysis, as a distinct chapter of algebra, goes back to al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī's successors, notably Abū Kāmil, in his book written *ca.* 266/880.

Abū Kāmil aimed in his *Algebra* not at lingering any

longer over a diffuse exposition, but at giving a more systematic exposition in which would be highlighted, as well as the problems and algorithms for solution, the methods. He did, it is true, treat in the last part of his book of the 38 Diophantine problems of the second degree and of the systems of these equations, four systems of linear, indeterminate equations, other systems of linear, determinate equations, an ensemble of problems which led to arithmetical progressions and a study of these last (this part occupies fols. 79a-110b). This whole corresponds to the double aim fixed by Abū Kāmil: to resolve indeterminate problems, and on the other hand to resolve by means of algebra the problems treated at that time by arithmeticians. One should note that it is in his *Algebra* that one meets for the first time in history—to the present writer's knowledge—an explicit distinction between determinate problems and indeterminate one. Now the examination of these 38 Diophantine problems does not only reflect this distinction; it further shows that these problems do not follow each other haphazardly but according to an order meticulously indicated by Abū Kāmil. The first 25 thus belong to one and the same group, for which the author gives a necessary and sufficient condition in order to determine rational, positive solutions. Let us take just two examples. The first problem in this group (fols. 79a-b) may be set forth as

$$x^2 + 5 = y^2.$$

Abū Kāmil proposes to give two solutions amongst, as he himself proclaims, an infinity of rational solutions.

Another example of the same group is problem no. 19 (fols. 87a-b), which may be set forth as

$$8x - x^2 + 109 = y^2.$$

Abū Kāmil then considers the general formula

$$(1) \quad ax - x^2 + b = y^2.$$

He then gives the sufficient condition for determining the rational, positive solutions of the preceding equation. This last may be expressed as

$$y^2 + \left(\frac{a}{2} - x\right)^2 = b + \left(\frac{a}{2}\right)^2 ;$$

let us now suppose that $x = \frac{a - t}{2}$, and one has

$$(2) \quad y^2 + \left(\frac{t}{2}\right)^2 = b + \left(\frac{a}{2}\right)^2,$$

and the problem is thereby brought to dividing up a number, the sum of two squares, into two other squares: problem no. 12 of the same group, already resolved by Abū Kāmil. Let us suppose in effect that

$$b + \left(\frac{a}{2}\right)^2 = u^2 + v^2,$$

with u and v rational numbers. Abū Kāmil poses

$$y = u + \tau$$
$$t = 2\,(k\tau - v);$$

he substitutes in (2) and finds the values of y, t and finally x. Thus he knows that, if one of the variables can be expressed as a rational function of the other, or, in other terms, if one can have a rational parametrage, one has all the solutions; whereas, on the other hand, if the sum brings us to an expression whose root cannot be got round, one does not have any solution. In other terms, unknown to Abū Kāmil, a curve of the second degree of the genus 0 does not have any rational point, or is bi-rationally equivalent to a straight line.

The second group is made up of 13 problems—nos. 26-38—which do not allow a rational parametrage; or, this time again in a language unknown to Abū Kāmil, they define all curves of genus 1. Thus e.g. problem no. 31 (fol. 92b) may be set out as

$$x^2 + x = y^2,$$
$$x^2 + 1 = z^2,$$

which defines a skew quartic, a curve of $\mathbf{A}^3$ of genus 1.

The third group of indeterminate problems is made up of systems of linear equations, as e.g. in no. 39 (fols. 95a-b) which may be set out as

$$x + ay + az + at = u,$$
$$bx + y + bz + bt = u,$$
$$cx + cy + z + ct = u,$$
$$dx + dy + dz + t = u.$$

This interest brought to indeterminate analysis, which led in the end to Abū Kāmil's contribution, gave rise to another occurrence: the translation of Diophantus' *Arithmetic*.

In contrast to Diophantus, al-Karad̲j̲ī does not give well set-out lists of problems and their solutions, but he organises his exposition in his *al-Badīʿ* around the number of terms which make up algebraic expressions and around the difference between their powers. E.g. he considers in successive paragraphs:

$$ax^{2n} \pm bx^{2n-1} = y^2, \quad -ax^{2n} + bx^{2n-2} = y^2,$$
$$ax^2 + bx + c = y^2.$$

This principle of organisation was to be moreover borrowed by his successors. It is thus clear that al-Karad̲j̲ī had as his aim the giving of a systematic exposition. On the other hand, he carried further the task begun by Abū Kāmil, which consisted in elucidating as far as possible the methods for each class of problems. In his *al-Fak̲h̲rī*, al-Karad̲j̲ī brought forward only the principles of this analysis, indicating that it bore notably upon the equation

$$ax^2 + bx + c = y^2, \qquad a, b, c \in \mathbf{Z},$$

in which the trinomial in x is not a square, in order to pass finally to the different classes of problems, of which the greater part are indeterminate.

Al-Karad̲j̲ī studied many other problems, notably *double equality*. Let us set simply forth the problem

$$(*) \quad \begin{aligned} x^2 + a &= y^2, \\ x^2 - b &= z^2, \end{aligned}$$

which defines a curve of the genus 1 in $\mathbf{A}^3$.

His successors did not merely comment upon his work, but endeavoured to advance further along the road traced out by him; thus in his *al-Bāhir*, al-Samawʾal commented on *al-Badīʿ* and studies equations of form:

$$y^3 = ax + b,$$

and considered then the equation

$$y^3 = ax^2 + bx.$$

We cannot here follow the works of al-Karad̲j̲ī's successors on rational Diophantine analysis, but can only note that, in the future, this last was to form part of every algebraic treatise of any importance. Hence, in the first half of the 6th/12th century, al-Zand̲j̲ānī borrowed the greater part of al-Karad̲j̲ī's problems and of the first four books of the Arabic translation of Diophantus. Ibn al-K̲h̲awwām set before himself certain Diophantine equations, including Fermat's equation for n = 3 [$(x^3 + y^3 = z^3)$], as also Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī in his great commentary on the latter's work on algebra. This interest and these works on indeterminate analysis were followed unabatedly up to the 11th/17th century with al-Yazdī and, *contra* what the historians of this chapter say, it was not to end with al-Karad̲j̲ī.

The translation of Diophantus' *Arithmetica* was not just essential to the development of rational Diophantine analysis as a chapter of algebra, but contributed

equally to the development of the integer Diophantine analysis as a chapter, not only of algebra but also of the theory of numbers. In the 4th/10th century, in effect, there took place for the first time the constituting of this chapter, probably thanks to algebra but also in opposition to it. In practice, the study of Diophantine problems was tackled by requiring on one side the obtaining of integer solutions, and on the other side the proceeding by proofs of the type of Euclid in the arithmetical books of the *Elements*. It is this combination, explicit for the first time in history—for the numerical domain, restricted to positive integer numbers interpreted as segments of straight lines, for algebraic techniques and for the requirement of giving a proof in the pure Euclidean style—which allowed the inauguration of this new Diophantine analysis. The translation of Diophantus' *Arithmetica* furnished these mathematicians, it will readily be understood, less with methods than with certain problems in the theory of numbers which were formulated there, which they did not hesitate to systematise and to examine for themselves, contrary to what can be seen in Diophantus. Such are e.g. the problems of the representation of a number as a sum of squares, congruent numbers, etc. In brief, one meets here the beginning of the new Diophantine analysis in the sense in which it was to be discovered and developed later by Bachet de Méziriac and Fermat (see Rashed, *L'analyse diophantienne au Xe siècle*, in *Rev. d'Histoire des Sciences*, xxxii/3 [1979], 193-222, repr. in *Entre arithmétique et algèbre*, 195-225).

Hence in an anonymous text of the 4th/10th century, after having introduced the basic concepts for studying Pythagorean triangles, the author posed questions about the integers which can be the hypotenuses of these triangles, i.e. the integers which one can represent as the sum of two squares. In particular, he announced that every element of the sequence of primitive Pythagorean triplets was such that the hypotenuse is of one or other form: 5 (mod 12) or 1 mod (12). However, he noted—like al-Khāzin after him—that certain numbers of this sequence—e.g. 49 and 77— are not hypotenuses of such triangles. This same author also knew that certain numbers of the form 1 (mod 4) could not be hypotenuses of primitive right-angled triangles.

Al-Khāzin later studied several problems involving numerical right-angled triangles, as well as the problems of congruent numbers, and set forth the following theorem:

if a *is a given natural integer, the following conditions are equivalent*

1. the system (*) admits of a solution;
2. there exist a pair of integers (m, n) such that
$m^2 + n^2 = x^2$,
$2\,mn = a$;

in these conditions, a has the form $2\,uv(u^2 - v^2)$.

It is in this tradition that scholars equally brought to bear the study of the representation of an integer as the sum of squares. Thus al-Khāzin devoted several propositions of his treatise to the study of this.

It was likewise these mathematicians who, as the first persons to do so, posed the question of impossible problems, such as the first case of Fermat's theorem. It has long been known that al-Khudjandī tried to prove that "the sum of two cubic numbers is not a cube". According to al-Khāzin (Rashed, *op. cit.*, 220), al-Khudjandī's proof was defective. A certain Abū Dja^cfar also tried to prove the same proposition. This is equally defective. Even if one has had to wait till Euler for the establishing of this proof, the problem never ceased, despite everything, to preoccupy the Arab mathematicians who, later, enunciated the impossibility of the case $x^4 + y^4 = z^4$.

Research on the integer Diophantine analysis, and notably, on numerical right-angled triangles, did not stop with its initiators of the first half of the 4th/10th century. Quite the opposite: their successors took it up again and in the same spirit, in the course of the second half of that century and at the beginning of the next one, as the examples of Abu 'l-Djūd Ibn al-Layth, al-Sidjzī and Ibn al-Haytham attest. Later on, others followed, in one manner or another, this line of research, such as Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Yūnus.

V. The classical theory of numbers.

The contribution of the mathematicians of the time to the theory of numbers was not limited to integer Diophantine analysis. Two other currents of research, starting from two distinct points, led to the extension and renewal of the Hellenistic theory of numbers. The first current had as its source, but also as its model, the three arithmetical books of Euclid's *Elements*, whilst the second came within the line of Neo-Pythagorean arithmetic, as it appears in the *Arithmetical introduction* of Nicomachus of Gerasa. It is in Euclid's books that there is to be found a theory of parity and a theory of the multiplicative properties of integers: divisibility, prime numbers, etc. For Euclid, an integer is however represented by a segment of a line, a representation essential for the proof of the propositions. If the Neo-Pythagoreans shared this concept of the integers and were in a wide sense attached to the study of these same properties, or of properties derived from these last, there remains the fact that, by their methods and their aims, they were to be distinguished from Euclid. Whereas the latter proceeded by proofs, these others had as their only means that of induction. Moreover, for Euclid, arithmetic had no other aim beyond itself, whilst for Nicomachus it had philosophical goals and even psychological ones. This difference in method was clearly perceived by Arab mathematicians like Ibn al-Haytham. For those of the time, it was clearly a question thus of a difference between the methods of proof and not between the aims of arithmetic. From this time, it may be understood that, despite a marked preference for the Euclidean method, mathematicians, even those of Ibn al-Haytham's importance, reached the point of proceeding, in certain cases by induction, in accordance with the problem posed; it is thus that Ibn al-Haytham discusses the "Chinese remainder theorem" and Wilson's theorem. Furthermore, if the mathematicians of the first rank, and in accordance with certain philosophers like Avicenna, neglected the philosophical and psychological goals assigned to arithmetic by Nicomachus, other mathematicians of lower rank, philosophers, physicians, encyclopaedists, etc., interested themselves in this arithmetic. The history of this last is thus based on that of the culture of a scholar within Islamic society over the centuries, and goes well beyond the scope of the present article.

Research into the theory of numbers in the Euclidean and Pythagorean sense began early, before the end of the 3rd/9th century. It was contemporary with the translation of Nicomachus' book by Thābit b. Ḳurra (d. 288/901) and his revision of the translation of Euclid's *Elements*. It was in fact Thābit who set in motion this research into the theory of numbers, whilst elaborating the first theory of amicable numbers. This fact, known to historians since the last century thanks to the work of F. Woepcke (*Notice sur une théorie ajoutée par Thâbit Ben Qorrah à l'arithmétique spéculative des Grecs*, in *JA*, ser. 4, ii [1852], 420-9, in which the author gives a résumé of Thābit's

opusculum), only had its full significance realised very recently, when the existence has been established of a complete tradition, begun by Thābit in the most pure of Euclidean styles, to end some centuries later in al-Fārisī (d. 719/1319), thanks to the application of algebra to the study of the first elementary arithmetical functions. This tradition is marked out by many names: al-Karābisī, al-Anṭākī, al-Ḳubaysī, Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzadjānī, al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Haytham, Ibn Hūd, al-Karadjī, etc., to cite only a few of them. Clearly, one cannot in these few pages devoted to the theory, claim to give a detailed description. An attempt will simply be made to sketch this movement just mentioned.

At the end of Book IX of the *Elements*, Euclid gives a theory of perfect numbers and shows that the number $n = 2^p (2^{p+1} - 1)$ is a perfect one, i.e. equal to the sum of its own divisors, if $(2^{p+1} - 1)$ is a prime number. He does not mention the theory of amicable numbers, however. Thābit b. Ḳurra then decided to construct this theory. He set forth and proved, in pure Euclidean style, the most important theorem of amicable numbers up to this time, the one which bears his name today.

Let us note $\sigma_0(n)$ as the sum of the aliquot parts of the integer n, and $\sigma(n) = \sigma_0(n) + n$ as the sum of the divisors of n; and let us recall that two integers a and b are called amicable if $\sigma_0(a) = b$ and $\sigma_0(b) = a$.

Thābit b. Ḳurra's theorem:

For $n > 1$, let $p_n = 3.2^n - 1$, $q_n = 9.2^{2n-1}-1$; if p_{n-1}, p_n, and q_n are prime numbers, then $a = 2^n p_{n-1} p_n$ and $b = 2^n q_n$ are amicable numbers.

It is with the algebraists, in particular, that the calculation of pairs of amicable numbers other than those given by Thābit was undertaken, i.e. (220, 284). Thus one finds in al-Fārisī in the East, in the milieu of Ibn al-Bannā' in the West, and in al-Tanūkhī and many other 7th/13th century mathematicians, the pair (17296, 18416), known under the name of Fermat's. Al-Yazdī was to calculate later the pair known as that of Descartes (9363584, 9437056).

The famous physicist and mathematician Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī wrote a work in which he tried deliberately to prove Thābit's theorem in an algebraic fashion. This action obliged him to conceive the first arithmetical functions and to bring into being a complete preparation which led him to set forth for the first time the fundamental theorem of arithmetic. Al-Fārisī furthermore developed the combinatorial means required for this study, and thereby, a complete programme of research into figured numbers. In brief, it is a case this time of the elementary theory of numbers, just as one finds it later in the 11th/17th century.

Al-Fārisī examined the procedures of factorisation and the calculation of aliquot parts as functions of the number of prime factors. The most important result on this level was without any doubt the identification between the combinations and the figured numbers. Hence everything was then in place for the study of arithmetical functions. A first group of propositions concerned $\sigma(n)$. Even if al-Fārisī only in fact treated of $\sigma_0(n)$, it must be agreed that he recognised σ as a multiplicative function. Amongst the propositions of this group, one finds in particular:

(1) if $n = p_1 p_2$, with $(p_1, p_2) = 1$, then

$$\sigma_0(n) = p_1\sigma_0(p_2) + p_2\sigma_0(p_1) + \sigma_0(p_1)\sigma_0(p_2),$$

which shows that he knew the expression

(2) if $n = p_1 p_2$, with p_2 a prime number and $(p_1, p_2) = 1$, then

$$\sigma_0(n) = p_2\sigma_0(p_1) + \sigma_0(p_1) + (p_1),$$

(3) if $n = p^r$, p is a prime number, then

$$\sigma_0(n) = \sum_{k=0}^{r-1} p^k.$$

These three propositions have been until now attributed to Descartes.

(4) Finally, he tried, but without succeeding, as one may readily understand, to establish a formula valid for the case where $n = p_1 p_2$, with $(p_1, p_2) \neq 1$.

A second group includes several propositions bearing on the proposition $\tau(n)$: the number of divisors of n.

(5) if $n = p_1 p_2 \dots p_r$, with $p_1, \dots, p_r$ as distinct prime factors, then the number of parts of n denoted $\tau_0(n)$ is equal to

$$1 + \binom{r}{1} + \dots + \binom{r}{r-1},$$

a proposition attributed to the Abbé Deidier.

(6) if $n = p_1^{e_1} p_2^{e_2} \dots p_r^{e_r}$, with $p_1, p_2, \dots p_r$ as distinct prime factors, then

$$\tau(n) = \prod_{i=1}^{r} (e_i + 1)$$

and $\tau_0(n) = \tau(n) - 1$, a proposition attributed to John Keresy and to Montmort.

Al-Fārisī finally proved Thābit b. Ḳurra's theorem. He had simply in effect to prove that

$$\sigma(2^n p_{n-1} p_n) = \sigma(2^n q_n) = 2^n[p_{n-1} p_n + q_n]$$
$$= 9.2^{2n-1}(2^{n+1}-1).$$

If, with the works on amicable numbers, the mathematicians sought also to characterise this class of integers, whilst studying perfect numbers, they followed the same goal. We know through al-Khāzin that in the 4th/10th century people were thinking about the existence of odd perfect numbers—a problem still unsolved (al-Khāzin wrote "This question is put to those who wonder to themselves [about abundant, deficient and perfect numbers] whether there exists a perfect number amongst the odd numbers or not"; cf. the Arabic text published by A. Anbouba, *Un traité d'Abū Jaʿfar al-Khāzin sur les triangles rectangles numériques*, in *Jnal. for Hist. of Arabic Science*, iii/1 [1979], 134-78, see 157). At the end of the same century and at the beginning of the next one, al-Baghdādī obtained some results concerning these same numbers (see Rashed, *Nombres amiables* ..., 267 of repr.). Thus he gives

if $\sigma_0(2^n) = 2^n - 1$ is a prime number, then $1 + 2 + \dots + (2^n - 1)$ is a perfect number, a rule attributed to the 17th century mathematician J. Broscius. Al-Baghdādī's contemporary Ibn al-Haytham (see Rashed, *Ibn al-Haytham et les nombres parfaits*, in *Historia Mathematica*, xvi [1989], 343-52) tried, as the first, to characterise this class of even perfect numbers, by endeavouring to prove the following theorem:

if n is an even number, the following conditions are equivalent:

(1) if $n = 2^p(2^{p+1}-1)$, with $(2^{p+1}-1)$ a prime number then $\sigma_0(n) = n$;

(2) if $\sigma_0(n) = n$, then $n = 2^p(2^{p+1}-1)$, with $(2^{p+1}-1)$ a prime number.

It is known that (1) is none other than IX-36 of Euclid's *Elements*. Ibn al-Haytham then tried further to prove that every even perfect number is of Euclidean form, a theorem which was definitively to be es-

tablished by Euler. It should be noted that Ibn al-Hayt͟ham, no more than T͟hābit b. Ḳurra with regard to amicable numbers, did not try, for perfect numbers, to calculate any other numbers beyond those known and handed down by tradition. This task of calculation was to be that of mathematicians of lower rank, closer to the tradition of Nicomachus of Gerasa, such as Ibn Fallus (d. 637/1240) and Ibn al-Malik al-Dimas͟hḳī (see Rashed, *op. cit.*), amongst many others. Their writings tell us that mathematicians knew at this time the first seven perfect numbers.

One of the axes of research into the theory of numbers was thus the characterisation of numbers: amicable, equivalent (the numbers equivalent to a are the numbers defined by σ_0^{-1} (a)) and perfect. In these conditions, one should not be astonished that mathematicians came back to the prime numbers in order to move on to a similar task. This is exactly what Ibn al-Hayt͟ham did in the course of his solution to the problem called that of "the Chinese remainder" (see Rashed, *Théorie des nombres et analyse combinatoire*, in *Entre arithmétique et algèbre*, 238). He wished in fact to solve the system of linear congruences

$$x \equiv 1 \pmod{m_i}$$
$$x \equiv 0 \pmod{m_p},$$

with p a prime number and $1 < m_i \leq p\text{-}1$.

In the course of this study, he gives a criterion for determining prime numbers, the theorem called Wilson's:

if $n > 1$, the two following conditions are equivalent:

(1) n is a prime number

(2) $(n - 1)! \equiv -1 \pmod{n}$.

The study of this system of congruences is partially found once more in Ibn al-Hayt͟ham's successors in the 6th/12th century, e.g. al-K͟hilāṭī in Arabic and Fibonacci in Latin (see Rashed, *op. cit.*).

One could add, to these areas of the theory of numbers in Arabic mathematics, a multitude of results which can be classed within the line of Nicomachus' arithmetic, developed by arithmeticians or algebraists, or simply for the needs of other techniques such as the construction of magic squares or arithmetical games. One might note here the sums of powers of natural integers, polygonal numbers, problems of linear congruence, etc. A considerable number of results are involved there, which extend or prove what was known previously, but these cannot be detailed here (one only has to read the arithmetical works of arithmeticians like al-Uḳlīdisī, al-Bag͟hdādī, al-Umawī, etc., of algebraists like Abū Kāmil, al-Būzad͟jānī, al-Karad͟jī and al-Samawʾal, and of philosophers like al-Kindī, Ibn Sīnā, al-D͟jūzd͟jānī, etc., amongst a hundred or so of others).

VI. Infinitesimal determinations.

The study of asymptotic behaviour and infinitesimal objects represents a substantial part of mathematical research in Arabic. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, mathematicians began work in three main domains: the calculation of infinitesimal areas and volumes; the squaring of lunules, areas and volumes extrema at the time of examination of the isoperimetric problem.

At the beginning of this same century, al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j b. Maṭar had translated Euclid's *Elements*. It was in Book X of this work that the mathematicians knew the famous proposition for this calculation, which may be written: Let a and b be two known magnitudes, a > 0 and b > 0, such that a<b; and let $(b_n)_{n \geq 1}$ a sequence such that, for every n, one has

$$b_n > \frac{1}{2}\left(b - \sum_{k=1}^{n-1} b_k\right),$$

then there exists n_0 such as, for $n > n_0$, one has

$$\left(b - \sum_{k=1}^{n} b_k\right) < a.$$

Two works of Archimedes were also translated into Arabic: the measuring of the circle, Κύκλου μέτρησις, and concerning the sphere and the cylinder, Περί σφαίρας καὶ κυλίνδρου. The translation of the first was known to al-Kindī and the Banū Mūsā (*q.v.* and see the art. s.v. in *Dict Scientific Biogr.*, 1970, i, 443-6; also the treatise of the Banū Mūsā cited below), whilst that of the second was revised by their collaborator T͟hābit b. Ḳurra. As for Archimedes' other books, i.e. on the spiral, on conoids and spheroids, on the squaring of a parabola, and on method, there is nothing to show that they were known to the Arab mathematicians. This last remark is especially important since Archimedes introduced into his book *On conoids and spheroids* the idea of lower and higher integral sums, which then completed the method of exhaustion.

The translation of Archimedes' two treatises, as well as of Eutocius' commentary (these texts were twice translated in the course of the 3rd/9th century, see Rashed, *Al-Kindī's Commentary on Archimedes'* The Measurement of the Circle, in *Arabic Science and Philosophy, a Historical Journal*, i, 3 no. 1, [1993], 7-53), and *Archimède dans les mathématiques arabes*, in I. Mueller (ed.), *Essays around the mathematical sciences of the Greeks*, Apeiron 1991), clearly correspond to the demands of al-Kindī, the Banū Mūsā and their school. The Banū Mūsā comprised three brothers, Muḥammad, Aḥmad and al-Ḥasan, who were all concerned with geometry—and notably, with conic sections—as much as with mechanics, music and astronomy. These three wrote at Bag͟hdād in the first half of the century the first Arabic work in this sphere. Their treatise, called *On the measurement of plane and spherical figures*, did not merely launch Arabic research into the determination of areas and volumes but also remained the basic text for Latin science after it was translated in the 12th century by Gerard of Cremona. The treatise in fact falls into three sections. The first concerns the measurement of the circle; the second, the volume of the sphere; whilst the third deals with the classical problems of the two means and the trisection of the angle.

The brothers showed that the area of a circle is equal to $S = r. c/2$ (r being the radius and c the circumference). But in this proof, they did not compare S to $S' > S$ and then to $S'' < S$, but supposed that $S = r. c/2$ and compared c to a $c' > c$ and to a $c'' < c$, being thus content to compare the lengths.

The brothers then explained Archimedes' method for the approximate calculation of π, and brought out its general significance. They showed in effect that this method goes back to the construction of two adjacent sequences $(a_n)_n \geq 1$ and $(b_n)_n \geq 1$ — $a_n < b_n$ sequences for all n — and which converge towards the same limit 2rπ. This involves two sequences which can be set out as:

$$a_n = 2nr \sin \pi/n \qquad b_n = 2nr \operatorname{tg} \pi/n.$$

They remarked that "it is possible with the help of this method to attain any required degree of precision" (see Rashed, *op. cit.*). With a method analogous to that applied in the case of the area of a circle, they determined the area of the lateral surface of a sphere.

The contemporaries and successors of the Banū

Mūsā pursued research in this sphere very actively. Thus al-Māhānī did not only comment upon Archimedes' book *On the sphere and the cylinder*, but began on the determination of the segment of a parabola; this text of his has not, however, survived.

The brothers' collaborator, T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra, contributed to this area of research on a large scale. He composed successively three treatises: one on the area of the segment of a parabola, one on the volume of a revolving paraboloid and one on sections of the cylinder and its lateral area. In the first treatise, on determining the area of a segment of a parabola, T̲h̲ābit, who did not know of Archimedes' study on this subject, began by proving 21 propositions, 11 of these being arithmetical. Examination of these shows that T̲h̲ābit knew perfectly and rigorously the concept of the upper limit of a set of square real numbers and the unicity of this upper limit. In effect, he used the following formula for characterising the upper limit:

let ABC be a segment of the parabola, AD its diameter corresponding to BC (Fig.). For all given $\varepsilon > 0$, one can make correspond to it the division A, $G_1, G_2, \ldots, G_{n-1}$, D, of the diameter AD, so that

area BAC - area of the polygon $BE_{n-1} \ldots E_2E_1AF_1F_2 \ldots F_{n-1}C < \varepsilon$,.

i.e. putting it another way, the area BAC is the upper limit of the area of these polygons.

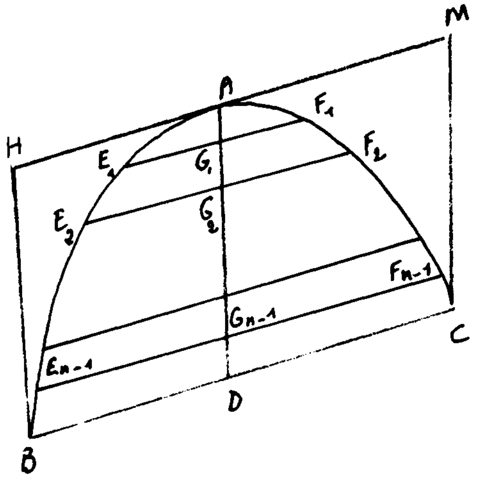

T̲h̲ābit showed in quite a rigorous fashion that 2/3 of the area BHMC is the upper limit of the areas of the polygons already mentioned. He finally arrived at his theorem, thus formulated: "A parabola is infinite but the area of any one of its segments is equal to two-thirds of a parallelogram of the same base and the same height as that segment" (Cairo ms., Riyāḍa 40, fol. 180b).

One should note that his squaring, given the definition of a parabola, is equivalent to the calculation of the integral $\int_0^a \sqrt{px}\, dx$.

T̲h̲ābit's contribution to this chapter did not, however, stop here. He undertook to determine the volume of a revolving paraboloid.

He finally undertook, in his treatise on *The sections of the cylinder and their surfaces*, a study of the different types of plane sections of an upright cylinder and an oblique one; he then determined the area of the ellipse and the area of elliptical segments; he discussed maximal and minimal sections of a cylinder and their axes; and determined the area of a part of the surface delimited by two plane sections.

It is impossible here to set forth the results and proofs of this rich and profound treatise, such as the proof by means of which T̲h̲ābit showed that "the surface of an ellipse is equal to the surface of a circle whose square of the half-diameter is equal to the product of one of the two axes of this ellipse by the other", i.e. π ab, with a and b the two axes of the ellipse.

His contribution was to be actively followed by his successors, such as his grandson Ibrāhīm b. Sinān. This latter mathematician of genius only lived 38 years, and did not like, according to his own words, "that al-Māhānī should have a study more advanced than that of [my] grandfather, without one of us going on further than him". Hence he wished to provide a proof not only shorter than his grandfather's, which needed 19 lemmata, as we have seen, but also than that of al-Māhānī. The proposition on which Ibrāhīm's proof was based and which he was previously careful to set forth, was: *affine transformation leaves the proportionality of the areas invariable.*

In the 4th/10th century, the mathematician al-ʿAlāʾ b. Sahl (see Rashed, *Géometrie et dioptrique au Xᵉ siècle*) took up the study of the squaring of a parabola, but his treatise has unfortunately not yet come to light. As for his contemporary al-Ḳūhī, by re-examining the determination of the volume of a revolving paraboloid, he rediscovered the method of Archimedes.

The famed mathematician and physician Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am, successor to Ibn Sahl and al-Ḳūhī, took up the proof of the volume of a revolving paraboloid as well as that of the volume resulting from the rotation of a parabola around its ordinate (see Rashed, *op. cit.*, and *Ibn al-Haytham et la mesure du paraboloïde*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Arabic Science*, v [1982], 191-262). Let us rapidly examine this second type, more difficult than the first one. In order to get to the determination of this volume, Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am began by proving certain arithmetical lemmata: the sums of powers of n successive integers, in order to establish a double inequality, fundamental for his study. On this occasion he obtained results which mark a point in the history of arithmetic, notably the sum of any integer power of n successive first integers

$$\sum_{k=1}^{n} k^i \quad , i = 1, 2, \ldots;$$

he then establishes the following inequality

$$(*) \quad \sum_{k=1}^{n} [(n+1)^2-k^2]^2 \le \frac{8}{15}(n+1)(n+1)^4 \le \sum_{k=0}^{n} [(n+1)^2-k^2]^2 .$$

Let there now be a paraboloid generated by the rotation of the part of the parabola ABC of the equation $x = ky^2$ around the ordinate BC. Let $\sigma_n = (y_i)_{0 \le i \le 2^m}$, with $2^m = n$ a subdivision of the interval [0, b] of the step

$$h = \frac{b}{2^m} = \frac{b}{n}.$$

Let M_i be the points of a parabola of ordinates y_i and of abscissae x_i respectively. Let us posit

$$r_i = c - x_i \qquad (0 \le i \le 2^m = n);$$

there results

$$r_i = k(b^2 - y_i^2) = kh^2(n^2 - i^2).$$

One has

$$I_n = \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \pi k^2 h^5 (n^2 - i^2)^2$$

and

$$C_n = \sum_{i=0}^{n-1} \pi k^2 h^5 (n^2 - i^2)^2;$$

but, after the inequality (*), one obtains

$$I_n \leq \frac{8}{15} V \leq C_n,$$

where $V = \pi k^2 b^4 . b$ is the volume of the circumscribed cylinder. By using a different language from that of Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am:

As the function $g(y) = ky^2$ is continuous on [0, b], Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am's calculation will be equivalent to the volume of the paraboloid

$$v(p) = \lim_{n \to \infty} \sum_{i=1}^{n} \pi k^2 h^5 (n^2 - i^2)^2$$

whence

$$v(p) = \lim_{n \to \infty} \sum_{i=1}^{n} \pi k^2 (b^4 - 2b^2 y_i^2 + y_i^4) h,$$

whence

$$v(p) = \pi \int_0^b k^2 (b^4 - 2b^2y^2 + y^4)\, dy ,$$

whence

$$v(p) = \frac{8}{15} \pi k^2 b^5 = \frac{8}{15} V ,$$

V being the volume of the circumscribed cylinder.

Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am did not stop there; he turned afresh towards the small solids of framing in order to study their behaviour when the points of subdivision are increased indefinitely. This time we find ourselves in the presence of a clearly infinitesimalist, and in some ways functional, way of thinking, in so as the crux of the problem is explicitly the asymptotic behaviour of mathematical entities, the determination of whose variation is being sought.

Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am applied the same method to the determination of the volume of a sphere. There, equally, one notes that he gave an arithmetically inflected version of the method of exhaustion. In effect, in his researches, the role of explicit arithmetical calculation seems much more important than in the works of his predecessors.

In this study, one can see the development of the means and techniques of this chapter in Arabic mathematics. It has been seen that Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am, in his work on the paraboloid, obtained results which the historians have attributed to e.g. Kepler and Cavalieri. However, this chapter stops there, very probably because of the lack of a suitable symbolic means of expression.

VII. The squaring of lunules.

Amongst the problems of the determination of the areas of curved surfaces, the exact squaring of lunules—surfaces bounded by two arcs of circles—is one of the most ancient.

Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am's approach went back to the study of lunules bounded by any arcs, whilst seeking for the equivalents of surfaces. He introduced circles in general equivalent to sectors of the given circle in the problem, and expressed by a fraction of the latter. He justified the existence of the circles introduced, which he had to add or to subtract from polygonal surfaces, in order to obtain a surface equivalent to that of a lunule or the sum of two lunules.

Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am took back to its foundation the problem of the squaring of lunules, set it down on the plane of trigonometry, and tried to deduce the different cases as so many properties of a trigonometric function, one which would be recognised more precisely much later by Euler.

From the beginning of his treatise, Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am explicitly recognised that the calculation of the areas of lunules involved the sums and differences of the areas of sectors of the circle and of triangles, whose comparison in turn required the comparison of the relations of angles and the relations of segments. It was for this reason that he began by establishing four lemmata relating to the triangle ABC, right-angled at B in the first lemma, and with an obtuse angle in the other three, which was in future to show that the essential point of the study was taken back to a study of the function

$$f(x) = \frac{\sin^2 x}{x} \qquad 0<x\leq\pi.$$

One can thus rewrite these lemmata:

1) If $0<C< \frac{\pi}{4} <A< \frac{\pi}{2}$,

then $\frac{\sin^2 C}{C} < \frac{2}{\pi} < \frac{\sin^2 A}{A}$;

it is evident that if $C = A = \frac{\pi}{4}$,

then $\frac{\sin^2 C}{C} = \frac{\sin^2 A}{A} = \frac{2}{\pi}$.

2) Let $\pi - B = B_1$,

if $C < \frac{\pi}{4} < B_1 < \frac{\pi}{2}$, then $\frac{\sin^2 C}{C} = \frac{\sin^2 B_1}{B_1}$.

3) If $A \leq \frac{\pi}{4}$, then $\frac{\sin^2 A}{A} < \frac{\sin^2 B_1}{B_1}$.

4) Here Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am wished to study the case $A > \frac{\pi}{4}$; but the study is incomplete.

He showed that for a given A, one can find B_0 such that

$$B_1 \geq B_0 \Rightarrow \frac{\sin^2 A}{A} > \frac{\sin^2 B_1}{B_1}.$$

This incomplete study seems to have hidden from Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am's view the equality

$$\frac{\sin^2 A}{A} = \frac{\sin^2 B_1}{B_1}.$$

It may be remarked that these lemmata, since they link the problem of the squaring of lunules with trigonometry, changed its position, and allowed the unifying of the particular cases. But the incompleteness already mentioned masked the possibility of the existence of lunules capable of being squared.

Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am pursued his researches whilst solving important propositions which would take too long to set out here. He likewise contributed, following al-<u>Kh</u>āzin, to the study of isoperimetric and isepiphanic problems, which led him to pose important questions

regarding the solid angle (see Rashed, *Les mathématiques infinitésimales entre le IXᵉ et le XIᵉ siècle*, ii).

We have just been present at the emergence of new researches into geometry, extensions of the Hellenistic heritage, or new chapters of which the Alexandrians never conceived: algebraic geometry in the sense of that used by al-Khayyām and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. Other chapters on geometry, all of them important, saw the light, stimulated by the application of geometry to the other mathematical disciplines or to other fields, such as astronomy and optics. Thus the mathematicians developed the study of punctual geometrical transformations, notably in the course of their researches on infinitesimal determinations and in the course of their works on isoperimetric and isepiphanic problems. The analysis of the optical properties of conics developed thanks to catoptric and dioptric researches. The study of geometrical projections—conic and cylindrical—was brought into being through the needs of astronomy. To that may be added a whole tradition of research on the theory of parallels, on geometrical constructions and on practical geometry. Equally evident, for the first time in history, is the fact that trigonometry took shape as a branch of geometry. It is readily understandable that, within such a burgeoning, philosophers and mathematicians became interested in the philosophy of mathematics.

There exist so many other chapters which, for lack of space, we can only cite here but whose titles, added to those which we have already examined, allow us to realise the ramifications of mathematics and to place them within the history of this discipline.

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RIYĀFA (A.), from *rīf*, pl. *aryāf*, "cultivated and fertile region", generally designates the lands along a river or the sea and the fertile plains bordering the desert [see further RĪF]. The noun *riyāfa*, a recent formation on the model of *ḳiyāfa* (note that al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tarbīᶜ wa 'l-tadwīr*, ed. Pellat, 91-2, § 176, gives for *ḳiyāfa* [*q.v.*] the sense of the detection of paternity, the whereabouts of water, atmospheric phenomena and the earth), designates the water-diviner's art which estimates the depth of water under the earth through the smell of the earth, its vegetation and the instinctive reactions of certain creatures, in particular, the hoopoe (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 523, who cites, at 1, 444, a *Mukhtaṣar* on this art by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Karkhī, d. 1006/1597, Brockelmann, II², 493, and who notes that the most important pieces of information on it are to be found in the *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (see ed. IFDEA, Damascus 1993, i, 54-111).

In effect, the *Nabataean agriculture* devotes a lengthy treatise to the discovery of water called *Bāb istinbāṭ al-miyāh wa-handasatihā*. This monograph, which can easily be detached from the rest of the work, has several chapters, with the following titles:

(1) Searching for water and the necessary technical knowledge for this; (2) How to dig wells and how to increase the flow of water by various proven devices and techniques; (3) The drilling of wells; (4) devices for increasing the water from wells; (5) How to get the water up from a very deep well; (6) How to increase the amount of water in the well and its sources; (7) How to change and improve the taste of the water; and (8) Concerning the difference in the nature and the effect of the water according to the nearer or further position of it in relation to the ecliptic.

The contents of this treatise on water have been analysed by the present author, classifying these under six headings: (1) Hydrology; (2) The search for wells; (3) The drilling of wells; (4) Increasing the flow of the water of wells; (5) Hydrology, the modifying and improving of the water's taste; (6) The different natures and effects of the waters according to their positions in relation to the ecliptic (see FAHD, *Un traité des eaux dans* al-Filāḥa l-nabaṭiyya: *hydrogéologie, hydraulique agricole, hydrologie*, in *La Persia nel Medioevo*, Accademia dei Lincei, Rome 1971, 277-326).

In the writings on *firāsa* [*q.v.*], the meaning of *riyāfa* has been stretched to that of uncovering the presence of metals underground: "l'accès à ces trésors enfouis procède de la connaissance des signes que recèlent ces montagnes et qui apparaissent aux yeux du connaisseur averti sous forme de veines ou filets dont il lui faut interpréter la nature, la disposition et la couleur" (Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 404). The seeker "doit connaître l'origine astrale du minéral qu'il recherche et savoir sous la domination de quelle planète il se trouve; car chaque métal a la couleur, la nature, les caractéristiques et les propriétés de la planète dont il est censé être issu" (*ibid.*). Amongst the Ḥarrānians, the following correspondences were to be found: Gold-The Sun; Silver-The Moon, (Black) Lead-Saturn; Tin-Jupiter; Copper-Venus; and Iron-Mars (see IBN AL-NADĪM, *Fihrist*, 411-12).

In general, it is a question of a natural gift which "réside dans la connaissance de l'état des lieux sans signes apparents, mais avec des pressentiments fondés sur des propriétés qu'il n'est pas donné à tout le monde de déceler; cela est généralement dû à la perfection des sens et à la force de l'imagination (Fahd, *op. cit.*, 403; Y. Mourad, *La physiognomie arabe et le K. al-Firāsa de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, diss. Paris 1939, 137 n. 21, citing Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn al-ᶜĀmirī).

Riyāfa, like *ḳiyāfa* (Fahd, *op. cit.*, 370-8), is classed among the physiognomic procedures since it involves "des déductions relatives à des choses cachées, partant de phénomènes apparents, par analogie avec les prévisions concernant l'aspect moral, basées sur l'aspect physique" (*ibid.*). Further details on these procedures in Mourad, *op. cit.*, 15 (the sciences connected with *firāsa*).

Bibliography: In addition to the work of Mourad, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1967, 403-6; Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn al-ᶜUmarī al-Shāfiᶜī (d. 970/1562), *K. al-Bahdja al-unsiyya fī 'l-firāsa al-insāniyya wa 'l-ḥikamiyya* (mss. in Ankara, Istanbul, Paris and Cairo, cf. Brockelmann, II², 440, S II, 463, who reads for his *nisba* al-Ghumrī). (T. FAHD)

RIYĀḤ, BANŪ, an Arab tribe, the most powerful of those that, regarding themselves as descended from Hilāl [*q.v.*], left Upper Egypt and invaded Barbary in the middle of the 5th/11th century. Their chief at that time was Muʾnis b. Yaḥyā of the family of Mirdās. The Zīrid *amīr* al-Muᶜizz [*q.v.*], who did not foresee the disastrous consequences of the entry of the Arabs into Ifrīḳiya, tried to come to an arrangement with him and to win over the Riyāḥ. The latter were the

first to lay his country waste. But thanks to the protection of the chiefs of the Riyāḥ, to whom he had married his daughters, al-Muʿizz himself succeeded in escaping from Ḳayrawān and reaching al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*].

At the first partition of Ifrīḳiya which followed the invasion, the Riyāḥ were naturally the best served. They obtained the greater part of the plains, which the Berbers had abandoned to seek shelter among the mountains; they had thrust their relatives, the Athbidj, towards the east. They held Badja, which the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo had allotted to them in anticipation. The people of Gabès [see ḲĀBIS] took the oath of loyalty to Muʾnis. "It was", says Ibn Khaldūn, "the first real conquest of the Arabs". The Djāmiʿ, a family related to the Riyāḥ, made Gabès a regular little capital, which they adorned with their buildings. Lastly, a chief of the main tribe, Muḥriz b. Ziyād, made himself a fortress in al-Muʿallaḳa (a Roman circus?), among the ruins of Carthage. The powerful lords of al-Muʿallaḳa, however, supported the policy of the Zīrids of al-Mahdiyya, and joined them in their resistance to the Almohads.

This resistance did not long impede the expeditions sent by the Maghribīs against an Ifrīḳiya in anarchy. Defeated by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in 546/1152, 555/1160 and 583/1187, the Arabs were ordered to supply contingents for the holy war in Spain. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, leaving a section of the Riyāḥ in Ifrīḳiya under command of ʿAsākir b. Sulṭān, took the others to the Maghrib with their chief, ʿAsākir's brother Masʿūd, known as *al-bulṭ* ("the axe"; cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 111). He settled them in the Moroccan plains to the north of Bū Regreg. This control was little in keeping with the traditions of the Riyāḥ; Masʿūd fled to Ifrīḳiya and there gave his support to the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*], who were trying to revive for their own advantage the Almoravid power.

It is known how the trouble stirred up by the Banū Ghāniya led to the Almohad caliph's appointing a governor of Ifrīḳiya invested with very extensive powers, Abū Muḥammad of the Ḥafṣid [*q.v.*] family. This governor naturally attacked the Riyāḥ, and, in order to be rid of them, encouraged the settlement in the country of the Sulaym Arabs [see SULAYM, BANŪ] hitherto quartered in Tripolitania. Under the pressure of the Sulaym, the Riyāḥ, the principal family of whom at this time was the Dawāwīda, migrated to the plains of Constantine where they were henceforth to remain.

In their new home, the position of the Riyāḥ remained a very strong one. They had rights over all the centre of the region of Constantine, approximately from the region of Guelma to that of Bougie. In the Zāb [*q.v.*] they were on terms—which were sometimes friendly but more often hostile— with the Banū Muznī of Biskra, who ruled this Ḥafṣid province. This is how the Banū Muznī had to fight against that curious movement, at once religious and social, stirred up by the Riyāḥid marabout Saʿda. The Dawāwīda, and in particular their most powerful family, the Awlād Muḥammad, held winter pastures and enjoyed revenues paid by the people of the *ḳṣūr* in the Sahara region of the Wādī Righ.

During the whole of the 8th/14th century, the two chief branches of the main tribe, the Awlād Muḥammad and the Awlād Sibāʿ, were actively engaged in the politics of the Ḥafṣid princes and the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen, in the enterprises of the pretenders who threatened their dynasties. The power of the Riyāḥ of central Barbary lasted till the 15th and 16th centuries. According to Bernardino of Mendoza, they had in 1536 10,000 horsemen and large numbers of foot. The 12th/18th century saw them assisting the Turkish Bey of Constantine, to whom they were connected by marriage and the independent sultans of Tuggurt. In 1844, Carette and Warnier noted that the name Dawāwīda was still synonymous with "noble Arabs".

Another group of the Riyāḥ played a notable part in the history of the Zanāta states. In the western Maghrib, bodies of them transported by the Almohads to the plains of the coast faithfully served this dynasty, by trying to check the advance of the Marīnids [*q.v.*]. Defeated near the Wādī Sbū in 614/1217, the Riyāḥ were mercilessly punished by the victorious Marīnids. Decimated and weakened, and driven northwards, they submitted to the humiliation of paying an annual tribute. Their name no longer figures on the map of modern Morocco except at a place near the road from al-Ḳsār to Tangiers.

Finally, at the other end of Barbary, in their first home, the name survives in the nomenclature of the tribes.

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RIYĀL, a name used for coins in a number of Islamic countries, derived from the silver *real* (*de plata*), first issued by Pedro the Cruel of Castile (1350-9), followed by Ferdinand of Portugal (1367-83). In Spain it continued until 1870 and in Portugal until 1910.

The relations of the Spanish and Portuguese currencies to those of the Near East belong to the monetary history of the Ottoman Empire and of Persia. From the early 16th century the eastern gold and silver currencies suffered frequent devaluation and debasement. Western merchants needed more stable monetary standards if they were not to incur loss, and so relied on imported currencies; they could make further profit by exporting them as bullion to India. Austria, Germany, Holland, Poland, Spain and Venice were the principal western sources; the Levant Company, of London, forbidden to export English currency, at first purchased Spanish *reals*, but turned later to Dutch coinage. Spanish and Mexican *reals* were greatly valued for their purity, but, being roughly struck, encouraged clipping; Austrian and Saxon issues became popular because they were minted with a collar, which defied clipping. Thus among Bedouin they have remained popular into the present century.

The term *riyāl* is first recorded in the east in Persia under Shāh ʿAbbās I in 1609. With Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's issue of 1797 it became the official name of the silver coinage, and this was retained in Riḍāʾ (Reza) Shāh's

reforms of 1932. It was frequently devalued and debased, and bore no numismatic relationship to the Spanish and Portuguese issues. The earlier Persian term *lāri* [see LARIN] is recorded as the common currency at Mombasa, Kenya, in conjunction with "peeces 8/8", that is, "pieces-of-eight" or Spanish *reals*, by an English visitor in 1617.

In Yemen, while still under Ottoman sovereignty, Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil (1904-48) determined to defy the Ottoman right of *sikka*, that of issuing coinage. H.F. Jacob, then Political Agent for the Bombay Government in Aden, has left an account of how machinery ordered from England for a mint in Ṣanʿāʾ was passed through the Aden Customs manifested as something else. Ottoman troops sent to intercept it were outwitted by an escort of 500 Yemeni tribesmen. This mint operated from 1906-63. The Yemen still uses the term *riyāl* for its currency.

There were sporadic issues of *riyāls* elsewhere, at Ghurfa and two other mints in Ḥaḍramawt at the end of the 19th century, and in Zanzibar by Sultan Barghash b. Saʿīd, of silver in 1881, and of ½ and ¼ copper *riyāls* in 1882 and 1883. A curiosity of the pieces is that the ruler's given name is reversed with his patronymic, as Saʿīd b. Barghash. Slightly earlier, Charles Doughty, travelling down the Pilgrimage Route, found that the Maria Theresa *thaler* was the usual currency but that tribes further east preferred the *riyāl*.

In Saudi Arabia, the *riyāl* was instituted as local currency in 1935, in ʿUmān (Oman) in 1945, in the United Arab Emirates in 1966, and in Dubayy and Ḳaṭar (Qatar) since 1972. They all obtain their supply from the Royal Mint in Wales.

The history of the *riyāl* can only be traced in the works of foreign travellers. Official documentation is not available. F.W. Hasluck has printed extracts from travellers to the Ottoman Empire, and H.L. Rabino de Borgomale cites references to Persia. A detailed report, 1766, *Observations sur l'état actuel de l'Empire Ottoman*, by Henry Grenville, Ambassador to the Porte in 1762-65, and brother of George Grenville, Prime Minister of Great Britain 1763-65, gives an official account of the Ottoman economy and government. The Venetian *sequin* was the most favoured foreign currency, the Austrian *thaler* holding second place.

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

RIYĀLA, RIYĀLE or RIYĀLA BEY, abbreviation of *riyala-yi hümāyūn kapudanî* "captain of the imperial [galley-] royal", from the Italian *riyale* (secondary form from *reale*, abbreviated from *galea reale*, "the royal galley"), a general officer of the Ottoman navy who commanded the galley of the same name, later "rear-admiral". There was also a popular pronunciation *îryāla* with the prosthetic *i* frequent in Turkish in loan-words with an initial *r* (cf. Hindoglou, 113 under "contre-amiral" and 457 under "réale"; the form *iryāla* is found as early as Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 466, 11). The Italian pronunciation *riyale* is attested in the *Itinéraire de Jérome Maurand d'Antibes à Constantinople* (1544), ed. L. Dorez, Paris 1901 (we also find there exceptionally *rialle, reale* and *realle*). For the pronunciation, we may compare the Turkish *riyāla* with the Turkish *riyāl*, Ar. *riyāl*, for the Spanish *real* (*del plata*), name of a coin [see RIYĀL]; cf. the French "gros royal", Turk. *grush, krush, gurush*, mod. *kuruş* "piastre, formerly écu". Here also we find the prosthetic form *iryāl* (Hindoglou, 200, s.v. "écu"; Aucher gives *riyāl*, under "réal"). In the west, the Turkish word *riyāla* was sometimes transcribed *reala*, no doubt regarded as more correct (Herbette, *Une Ambassade turque sous le Directoire*, Paris 1902, 238).

The rank of *riyāla*, as well as those of *ḳapudana* and *patrona* to be discussed later, was at first known among the Turks only as applied to officers of the navies of Christendom (see e.g. Ewliyā Čelebi and the Ottoman historians like Naʿīmā and others). These ranks came into use among the Turkish sailors, at first unofficially, in the time of Sultan Meḥemmed IV, 1058-99/1648-87 (cf. below in connection with *patrona*). D'Ohsson, undoubtedly by confusion, says that they were used in the time of Meḥemmed II (855-86/1451-81). We do not, however, find these titles of foreign origin in the *Tuḥfet ül-kibār* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (1066/1656) nor in Hezārfenn (d. 1102/1691). It was, it appears, under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I (1187-1203/1774-89) that they were officially adopted (Meḥmed Shükrī, *Esfār-î baḥriyye-i ʿothmāniyye*, 1306/1890, i, 145).

We are well informed about the hierarchy of the naval high command at this period, thanks to the *Teshrīfāt-î ḳadīme*, a work of Ṣaḥḥāflar-Sheykhī-zāde Esʿad Meḥmed Efendi (d. 1848). On p. 102 ff. we have a list of the old establishment, which combined the non-sea-going officers, of which a list will be given here, and the sea-going officers, who will be dealt with in more detail because the *riyala* was one of them and bore, like them, a name taken from the Venetians.

a. General officers of the Admiralty (*tersāne-i ʿāmire*).

(All three seem to have had, but perhaps only from the beginning of the 19th century, the right to the title of *pasha*.)

1. The *ḳapudan-pasha* [*q.v.*] having the rank of *wezīr* (*dewletlü*). He was the Capitan del Mar (*ḳapudan-î deryā*) or, as was also said, the *ḳapudan* par excellence. The name *ḳapudan*, from the Venetian *capitan*(*o*) and its modernised form, probably under the influence of English, *ḳaptan*, was further applied to any commander of a ship, small or large, foreign or Turkish. (The vowel *u* in the second syllable is due to the influence of the neighbouring labial *p* and Trévoux's Dictionary gives the intermediate form "capoutan" under *capitan-bacha*; cf. also *Relation des 2 rebellions arrivées à Constantinople en 1730 et 1731*, The Hague 1737, 23.)

2. *Tersāne*(*-i ʿāmire*) *emīni agha* (*seʿādetlü*) "Intendant de l'Arsenal" (d'Ohsson), Germ. "Intendant des Arsenals" (Hammer), Engl. "Intendant of the Marine" (Perry). He took the place of the Grand Admiral in his absence. From 1246/1830 onwards, he was called *müdīr*.

3. *Tersāne*(*-i ʿāmire*) *ketkhüdāsî* (*kahyasî*) *agha* "Intendant des galères", "Lieutenant of the Arsenal", "Sachwalter des Arsenals". He was particularly concerned with the police of the Admiralty.

b. Admirals with the title of *bey*.

Except the fourth, these officers were sea-going admirals and took the name, of Venetian origin, of the vessels they commanded. The name might have the addition of *hümāyūn* "imperial" in a Persian construction, whence the official barbarisms *bashtarda-yi hümāyūn*, *kapudana-yi hümāyūn*, etc. The full titles were in theory *bashtarda-yi hümāyūn kapudani*, *kapudana-yi hümāyūn kapudani*, etc.

1. *Bashtarda, bashtarda, basharda-(yi hümāyūn)*—Ital. *bastarda*, Fr. *bastarde* or *bâtardelle*. This was not the largest unit of the fleet. In Turkish as in Venetian usage, the bastarda was a galley larger than the *galea sensile* (Tk. *kadirga* or *čektiri*), but smaller than the galeazza or galliass (Tk. *mauna*) and had a very rounded poop "like a water-melon" (*karpuz kičli*). Among the Turks it contained 26-36 *oturaks* or benches of 5-7 rowers. The one which had the Kapudan Pasha on board was called (*kapudan-*) *pasha bashtardasi* and had 26-36 *oturaks*. It was distinguished by the three lanterns (*fener*) attached to the poop in addition to that on the main mast (*Tuhfa*, fol. 69; *Djewdet Pasha tārīkhi*, 1309, 131). As it flew the flag of the Grand Admiral, it was sometimes (Meninski, *Thesaurus*, i, 663; Barbier de Meynard) called "Captain", but we shall see that among the Turks this name was given to another vessel. Chance has willed it that the first syllable in the word *bashtarda* means in Turkish "head, chief" but it is difficult to say that the Ottomans gave first place to this ship simply as a result of a popular etymology. The disappearance of the ship propelled by oars resulted in the abolition of the *bashtarda*. Officially disused in 1177/1764, according to d'Ohsson, it was still used from time to time on certain ceremonial occasions. The sailing-ship (*kalyun*, "galleon") which became the flagship of the *kapudan pasha*, was commanded by the "Flag Captain" who, according to d'Ohsson, was called in Turkish *süwari kapudani* "captain of the ship commanders" and, according to von Hammer (*Staatsverf.*, ii, 493), *sandjak kapudani*, Germ. "Flaggenkapitän", cf. Eng. "flag captain". Esʿad Mehmed Efendi calls this officer, probably by an archaism, *bashtarda(-yi) hümāyūn-i pasha* "(commander of) the imperial *bashtarda* of the (*kapudan*) *pasha*.

2. *Kapudana bey*. *Kapudana* comes from the Venetian (*galea* or *nave*) *capitana* "galley or ship carrying the leader of a naval expedition, flag-ship" (Jal). In France it was called "la capitaine" or "capitainesse", but these terms disappeared in 1669 with the office of general of the galleys, and in the French navy pride of place was given to the Réale (see below). On the *kapudana* which took part in the naval battle of Česhme (1770), cf. Jaubert, *Grammaire*, appendice, 3. *Kapudana* and *kapudan* have often been confused (von Hammer, *Staatsverf.*, ii, 291; Blochet, *Voyage de Carlier de Pinon*, 128; Douin, *Navarin*, 250, 276, 295, 311). We find the full title of *kapudana-yi hümāyūn kapudani*, e.g. in a letter from Muhammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] (of Egypt) to the Grand Vizier of 29 Ramaḍān 1231/1 July 1821 register, no. 4, p. 71.

3. *Patrona bey*. *Patrona* comes from the Venetian (*galea* or *nave*) *patrona* or *padrona*, Fr. *la patronne* "galley carrying the lieutenant-general or the next in command to the chief of the squadron" (Jal). The earliest mention of an officer of this rank known to us is connected with the years 1676-85 (see *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i, 112, below. Patrona Khalīl [*q.v.*], a Janissary, and leader of the rebels who deposed Ahmed III in 1143/1730, owed his epithet to the fact that he had been a *lewend* [*q.v.*] on board the *Patrona* (*Relation des 2 rebellions*, 8; Eng. tr. in Charles Perry, *A view of the Levant*, London 1743, 64). We also find the forms applied, it is true, to Christian ships: *patorna, patorona, batorna*, and even *botrona* (Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 579, 12; i, 104, 7; viii, 447, below; 446, 10; Ḥasan Agha, *Djewāhir al-tewārīkh*, ms. Bibl. Paris, S.T. 506, fols. 160b-161). All these pronunciations show that the word was already well known but that it was finding difficulty in being acclimatised in a correct form.

4. *Liman reʾīsi* "captain (admiral) of the port" of Istanbul, Ger. "Kapitän des Hafens". He was also commander of the midshipmen (*mandedji*).

5. *Riyāla bey*. *Riyāla* comes from the Venetian (*galea* or *nave*) *reale* "galley which carried the king or princes" (the same name was often also applied as an epithet to vessels beonging to the king, i.e to the state, in contrast to privately owned ships). For the lexicology of this borrowing from the Italian, see the beginning of the article.

At the battle of Lepanto, Don John of Austria, Captain of the League, sailed in a Reale. A Patrona Reale went astern of the Reale of the Prince and of the Capitana of the "General Capitan dell' Armata" of Venice. Except for these two ships, none of the 202 vessels of the allies was given the name of Reale (Contarini, *Historia delle cose .... della guerra mossa da Selim Ottomano a' Veneziani*, Venice 1572, fols. 36b ff.). In France, the Reale also went in front of the Patrone and was the first ship of the navy, intended to carry the king, princes, the admiral of France or in their absence the general of the galleys (Jal). At the conquest of Cyprus, in 1570, Contarini (Venice 1595) gives for 185 Christian ships 18 *capitana, 7 padrona* and 1 *bastardella* (no Reale); for the 276 Turkish ships 1 *real* (sic) and 29 *capitana* (these terms do not correspond exactly to those of Turkish usage of that time).

It is not explained how the title of Reale came to descend among the Turks until it was applied to the ship of the admiral of lowest rank. We may suppose that they were misled by the second meaning of the word Reale (see above), or that they confused him with the English "rear-admiral".

Marsigli (*Stato Militare...*, 1732, i, 146) mentions the Turkish "commandante nella Reale" as having a higher rank than the *gardyan bashi*, who was in turn superior to the captain of an ordinary galley. According to Esʿad Efendi, the *riyale* came before the *kalyunlar kātibi*.

All the officers here mentioned, from the *kapudan pasha* to the *riyāla*, were *ṣāhib deynek*, i.e. they had the right to carry, in imitation of their Venetian colleagues, a commander's baton or cane, *deynek*, also called *ṣadefkārī ʿaṣā* (Esʿad Efendi, 109, 7) because it was encrusted with mother of pearl of different colours (see below). It was what the Venetians called the *giannetta* or *cana (canna)*; from *canna d'India*, "Indian cane", often taken in the sense of "bamboo", from which we also have the English word "cane". They alone wore small turbans and fur-trimmed robes (cf. d'Ohsson, pl. 228).

When under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, or later under his successor Selīm III [*q.vv.*], the naval hierarchy was organised and to some extent modernised, three grades of admiral were instituted (independent of the *kapudan pasha*, who was the Grand Admiral or "amiralissimo"). They were:

1. The *kapudana bey* "Admiral". Mehmed Shükrī regards his rank as equivalent to the more modern one of *shūrā-yi bahriyye reʾīsi* "president of the Higher Council of the Navy". He had a fixed monthly salary of 4,500 piastres, and in addition received pay for 1,000 men (out of which he was liable to make various grants), but with the obligation to give to the *kapudan pasha* spices or *djāʾize* to the value of 4,000 piastres. He carried a green cane and had the right to have a pen-

non below the flag on the main mast (that of the *ḳapudan-pas͟ha* was above).

2. *Patrona bey* "vice-admiral" (Meḥmed S͟hükrī), modern Turkish *vis amiral* but we also find the French equivalent of "guidon" (Sāmī Bey; Tinghir-Sinapian). Salary: 3,500 piastres. Pay of 800 men. *D̲j̲āʾize* to the *ḳapudan pas͟ha* of 3,000 piastres. Blue cane. Flag on the fore-mast.

3. *Riyāla bey* "rear-admiral" (Meḥmed S͟hükrī). Salary: 3,000 piastres. Pay of 700 men. *D̲j̲āʾize* to the *ḳapudan pas͟ha*: 2,500 piastres. Blue cane. Flag on the mizzen-mast.

It may be noted that, in theory, there was only one officer of each of these ranks at one time.

All three took part in the battle of Navartino in 1827 (Douin, *Navarin*, 250 and *passim*). They were under the command of Ṭāhir Pas͟ha who had the rank of *mīrmīrān*. He was himself *patrona*, but this does not mean duplicating the office of the *patrona* who was subordinate to him, because the commanders-in-chief of the fleet (*ser-asker* or *bas͟h-bog͟h*) were chosen without regard to rank. K͟hiḍīr Ilyās (*Enderūn tārīk͟hi*, 481) mentions a *liman reʾīsi* with the rank of *patrona* in 1826.

The flag-commander of the *ḳapudan pas͟ha* retained his functions, but seems to have occupied a position on the edge of the hierarchy which the presence of the Grand Admiral on board sometimes made unenviable (von Hammer, *Staatsverf.*, ii, 293)

We do not know at what period these ranks were replaced by the more modern terms of *müs͟hīr*, *ferīḳ* and *liwā*. The equations of rank varied considerably. The *riyala* is regarded as *mīr afay*, *mīrmīrān*, *liwā ferīḳ* and even *birind̲j̲i ferīḳ*. It is probable that it was necessary to choose a grade between these. At Sebastopol in 1854, the Turkish fleet was commanded by a *patrona*, Aḥmed Pas͟ha (cf. Aḥmed Rāsim, *Tārīk͟h*, iv, 2015).

In Egypt under the K͟hedives, there was for a time a *riyala pas͟ha* in command of the fleet.

Bibliography: Only d'Ohsson gives definite information about the officers mentioned above, see his *Tableau de Empire Othoman*, vol. vii, bk. viii, 420-38, devoted to the Navy. See also Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, 2nd ed., Paris 1853, i, 484 (important); Jouannin, *La Turquie*, 436; Pakalin, iii, s.v.; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 434-5. See also BAḤRIYYA. iii, and ḲAPUDAN PAS͟HA. (J. DENY)

RIYĀM, BANŪ, also and perhaps originally Riʾām, a tribal grouping in ʿUmān [*q.v.*].

The tribe would appear to have originated in the coastal area of southern ʿUmān and in the 4th/10th century al-Hamdānī (*Ṣifa*, 52) refers to them as a *baṭn* of al-Ḳamar, which Ibn Manẓūr's *LA* (v, 115) states is a *baṭn* of Mahra b. Ḥaydān, not the main group of Mahra which remained in southern Arabia. Kaḥḥāla (*Muʿd̲j̲am*, ii, 458), relying on the 5th/11th century geographer, al-Bakrī, says Banū Riyām themselves are a *baṭn* of Mahra b. Ḥaydān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥāf, that they live in the coastal area of southern ʿUmān and that one of their fortresses is Raysūt (Wilkinson, *Imamate*, 75-6). The latter is the port of Ẓafār [*q.v.*], about 15 km/10 miles across the bay from the settlement. Al-Fīrūzābādī's *Ḳāmūs* (ii, 125) says that Banū Riyām are between Ẓafār and al-S͟hiḥr, the port of Ḥaḍramawt. Despite these early references placing Banū Riyām only in the south, their even earlier settlement pattern seems to have extended from the southern coastal area as far as the plateau of al-D̲j̲abal al-Akhḍar, and their main centre was in D̲j̲aʿlān, the area in the south-eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula. The political importance of Banū Riyām in central ʿUmān, however, becomes clear at the end of the 3rd/9th century when they began to take over settlements at the foot of al-D̲j̲abal al-Akhḍar on all sides (Wilkinson, *Settlement*, 245-6 and fig. 33). The area of al-D̲j̲abal al-Akhḍar inhabited by Banū Riyām has become renowned for its cultivation of such fruits as pomegranates, grapes, peaches, figs and mulberries, as well as roses for making rose-water and walnuts (*ibid.*, 12-13).

Bibliography: Hamdānī; Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, Beirut 1955-6; Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1952; Caskel-Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, table 328; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿd̲j̲am ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1982; J.C. Wilkinson, *Water and tribal settlement in South-East Arabia*, Oxford 1977; idem, *The Imamate tradition of Oman*, Cambridge 1987.

(G.R. SMITH)

RIZE, a town on the northern, Black Sea coast of Asia Minor, in the eastern part of classical Pontus and in the later mediaeval Islamic Lazistān [see LAZ], now in the Turkish Republic (lat. 41° 03′ N., long. 40° 31′ E.).

In Byzantine times, Rhizus/Rhizaion was a place of some importance and was strongly fortified. With the Ottoman annexation of the Comneni empire of Trebizond in 865/1462 [see ṬARABZUN], it became part of the Ottoman empire. A list of Orthodox Church metropolitanates still in existence at the end of the 9th/15th century mentions the town, which formed part of the province of Trabzon, as a separate judicial district (*ḳaḍāʾ*). In the early years of Ḳānūnī Süleymān's reign, the town contained 215 Christian households, two further households recently converted to Islam and 41 men subject to the *bās͟htīna* (landholding) tax. There also existed a monastery transcribed in the Ottoman register as Ayō Rāndōs. The town was protected by two fortresses, one of them guarded by 31 soldiers under the command of a *dizdār* and *ketk͟hudā*. A second *ketk͟hudā* was recorded for the "old fortress", which means that it was still in use. Two inhabitants of the town had been granted the privileges of *köprüd̲j̲üs*, that is, they were exempt from certain taxes while responsible for the construction and upkeep of a local bridge. After the conquest of Trabzon, Meḥemmed the Conquerer had resettled certain personages of the area in Rūmelī (*sürgüns*); this fact was still mentioned in the records of the early 10th/16th century. Among the town's residents there also were a few *sürgüns* from Bosnia and Morea. These were *timār*-holders and followers of a governor, that is, they had probably been people of distinction in their areas of origin.

In the rural district surrounding the town, there were at least 29 villages and 35 *maḥalles* (quarters). This means that the non-nucleated settlement pattern, which is widespread in the area to the present day, existed in the 10th/16th century as well. The tax registers of the early 10th/16th century mention possessions of a Georgian power-holder (*Gürd̲j̲ü kāfir*) in the area, which had been turned into a *timār* after the Ottoman conquest. The total population of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Rize was recorded as 6,152 households. The majority of the population was still Christian, and many villages bore Greek names.

In the 11th/17th century, Rize, similar to other settlements located on the Black Sea coast, was subject to raids both on the part of the Abaza, who attempted to capture slaves, and on the part of Cossacks from the northern shore of the Black Sea. Guard towers were therefore built in the vicinity, which were still standing when the Mekhitarist monk Minas Biz͟his͟hkian visited them in the early 13th/19th century. He records only a single fortress in Rize, a port and some

shops. At some point in the past, Persian Armenians seem to have settled in the town quarter of Roshi and built a church; but it had apparently disappeared by the time of Bizhishkian's visit. That the town went through difficult times in the 11th/17th century is probable; Ewliyā' Čelebi, who wrote a detailed description of Trabzon, merely mentions passing through or near Rize and does not supply any details.

Rize is mentioned in early 13th/19th century sources in connection with the Ṭuzdju-oghullarī, a local *aʿyān* family which rebelled against Sultan Maḥmūd II in 1229-32/1814-17 and again in 1234-7/1818-21 and 1248-50/1832-4. The Ṭuzdju-oghullarī had been influential in the area since at least the mid-12th/18th century. They engaged in trade and agriculture—Bizhishkian praised the area's handsome orange and lemon groves, while maize by this date had already replaced millet as the principal food grain. Peasants unable to repay their debts to the Ṭuzdju-oghullarī had to hand over their land and work it as sharecroppers, a situation which entailed political loyalty toward this landholding *aʿyān* family. The latter paid the area's taxes as a lump sum (*maḳṭūʿ*), and at the height of their power, the central government's tax collectors could not enter the area. A handsome palace in Rize attested the power of the family. However, competition with another power-holder, who had succeeded in obtaining the governship of Trabzon, resulted in an uprising on the part of Memish Agha, the head of the Ṭuzdju-oghullarī. After recurrent revolts and considerable bloodshed, the principal members of the family surrendered and were banished to Ruse/Rusčuk and Varna.

In 1294-5/1877-8, Rize became part of the newly-established sub-province (*sandjaḳ*) of Lazistān and was promoted to the rank of provincial capital. *Ca.* 1307-8/1890, in addition to a covered market, the town possessed an administrative building (*ḳonaḳ*) and constituted the seat of a governor (*mütesarrif*). At this time, the district contained a population of 160,000, of whom 138,820 were Muslims. Apart from agriculture, citrus growing and small-scale boat building, Rize was noted for a fine and high-quality striped linen, which was marketed as far as Baghdād and Egypt. This fabric has had a long history; it is mentioned in records of the Comnenian period, and *ca.* 1245/1830, 75,000 pieces were produced every year; *ca.* 1308/1890, 150,000 pieces were being woven. However, Rize weavers were able to expand output only by lowering prices and profit margins, so that textile manufacturing relieved the poverty of the area only to a limited extent. Rize *peshtemāl* is being manufactured down to the present day.

Overpopulation in the course of the 13th/19th century caused many young men to emigrate. Some of them settled in Istanbul, while others found their way to Odessa. The migrants specialised in various crafts; many were pastry-cooks. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the following civil war, most migrants to Russia were obliged to return. The losses of World War I, the Allied occupation of Istanbul and the War of Independence, also made life impossible for many of those who had migrated to the capital. Therefore, the district of Rize lived through a period of acute overpopulation and crisis during the 1920s, particularly since the market for fruits and nuts, the principal export crops of the time, collapsed during the distress of these years.

In an attempt to find a new source of livelihood for the people of the area, state-supported experiments were begun with the cultivation of tea. Until after 1950, local interest remained limited, and the situation only changed when the government guaranteed prices and undertook to process and market the finished product; but given the high production costs, Rize tea has never been competitive with the major tea-growing areas of the outside world. Since the early 1980s, tea cultivation has slowed down, and emigration from the region to the industrial areas of Istanbul and northwestern Anatolia has continued.

Rize is now the chef-lieu of an *il* or province of that name. With a town population of 43,407 in 1980, Rize now possesses such public amenities as secondary schools and hospitals.

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(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

RIZḲ (A.), pl. *arzāḳ*, literally, "anything granted by someone to someone else as a benefit", hence "bounty, sustenance, nourishment".

1. As a theological concept.

Rizḳ, and the nominal and verbal forms derived from it, are very frequent in the Ḳur'ān, especially in reference to the *rizḳ Allāh*, God's provision and sustenance for mankind from the fruits of the earth and the animals upon it (e.g. II, 20/22, 23/25, 57/60, etc.) (see further, section 2. below). Hence one of God's most beautiful names [see AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ] is *al-Razzāḳ*, the All-Provider. The ultimate origin of the Arabic word lies, according to Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 142-3, in Middle Persian *rōzīg* "daily bread" < *rōč* "day", New Persian *rūz*, borrowed into Arabic at an early date—since it occurs frequently in ancient poetry—via Syriac *rōzīḳā*.

The ancient Arabs seem to have regarded a man's *rizḳ*, sc. whether he would go hungry in life or not, as something settled by Fate, an obvious consequence of the harsh desert environment of Arabia, which could not be altered much by individual human effort. Under the new dispensation of Islam, the power to determine a man's sustenance and happiness in life was transferred to the All-Powerful God, as is expressed by Ḳur'ān, XI, 8, "There is not a beast in the earth but God is responsible for its sustenance; He knows its lair and its resting-place; everyone is in a clear book" (cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, 16-17; idem, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 24-5, 77; idem, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 89,

92). This Ḳurʾānic view was later strengthened by the *ḥadīth* which stated that God decrees (*ḳaḍā, ḳaddara*) every term of life, a man's labour and a man's sustenance, for the coming year, a tradition which also echoes the pre-Islamic concepts and which can be found in others of the older Near Eastern religions (see H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian fatalism*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1955, 13, 117 ff., 163, 176).

In later centuries, some of the Islamic theologians, and especially, the Muʿtazila, questioned whether it was right to say that God decreed things like a man's sustenance beforehand; what if a man were to live off stolen food? Hence the Muʿtazila concluded that God only provides for a man the sustenance to which he is lawfully entitled. On the other hand, orthodox theologians like al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār and al-As̲h̲ʿarī [*q.vv.*], faced with the proposition that God provided unlawful as well as lawful sustenance, made the distinction that, whilst God provides both lawful and unlawful sustenance, it was possible for Him to provide a thing without giving ownership of it (cf. Watt, *Free will and predestination*, 66-7, 146; idem, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, 201, 233). (C.E. Bosworth)

2. In the Ḳurʾān.

In the extensive Ḳurʾānic use of this *maṣdar* (55 occurrences) and its related verbal forms (68 occurrences), God is virtually always the subject or implied agent. XXX, 40, makes maintenance of human life the explicit correlate of God's creation of it. Like creation, the power to sustain belongs to God alone (cf. XVI, 73, XXIX, 17, XXXV, 3, LXVII, 21) and requires no reciprocal human offering (cf. XX, 132, LI, 57). Frequent repetition of the two phrases (and variants) "God provides/will provide for whom he wishes" and "God spreads (*yabsuṭu*) his provision generously for whom He wishes and sparingly [for whom He wishes]", conveys a sense of specific allotment and allowed the commentators to offer *ḥaẓẓ* (portion, lot) as a synonym for *rizḳ*. The believer is promised this divine allocation both in this life and the Hereafter, prompting him to continuous praise of this "Best of Providers" (*k̲h̲ayr al-rāziḳīn*; cf. V, 114, XXII, 58, etc.).

Ḳurʾānic specification of God's sustenance includes such general designators as "good things" (*ṭayyibāt*) and "a good, or generous, provision" (*rizḳ^{an} ḥasan^{an}/karīm^{an}*), as well as more explicit reference. The mention of fruit (*t̲h̲amarāt, fawākih*) is associated particularly with Abraham's prayer and with the eschatological reward (cf. II, 25, 126, XIV, 37, XXVIII, 57), while livestock (*bahīmatu l-anʿām*) is specified as a provision for the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* rituals (cf. XXII, 28, 34). Miraculous intervention marks the nourishment provided to Moses' people, i.e. manna and quail (cf. II, 67, VII, 160), and that supplied to Mary in her sanctuary (III, 37). Jesus prays for sustenance (V, 114) in the form of a table sent from heaven to be a feast and a sign from God. Occasional Ḳurʾānic designation of *rizḳ* as "lawful and good" (*ḥalāl^{an} wa-ṭayyib^{an}* generated an exegetical and legal debate about whether illicitly acquired elements could be reckoned as part of one's allotment (see section 1., above).

Although some Ṣūfī groups insisted that strict *tawakkul* [*q.v.*] precluded all efforts to secure one's livelihood, a more moderate view eventually prevailed. As recipient of God's beneficence, the human being incurs a consequent ethical and legal obligation. The frequent Ḳurʾānic approbation of those who "expend of what We have provided," often found linked with the injunctions to believe in God and to establish the ritual prayer, conveys a fundamental posture of orthopraxis. In one of the few uses of the verb where God is not the direct agent, the imperative (*wa-rzuḳūhum*) in IV, 5, 8, signals this responsibility for relatives and orphans and for the incompetent (*al-sufahāʾ*), while II, 233, mandates the provision of food and clothing for nursing mothers (*rizḳuhunna wa-kiswatuhunna*).

Bibliography: Within the commentary literature, see especially the excursus in Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, on Ḳurʾān, II, 3; As̲h̲ʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, Istanbul 1930, 257, and *al-Ibāna*, tr. W. Klein, New Haven 1940, 117-19; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1381, ii, 3-37; Bāḳillānī, *K. al-Tamhīd*, Beirut 1957, 328-9; ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, *Mug̲h̲nī*, Cairo 1385, ii, 27-55, and *S̲h̲arḥ al-uṣūl al-k̲h̲amsa*, Cairo 1384, 784-8; Abū Yaʿlā Ibn al-Farrāʾ, *K. al-Muʿtamad*, Beirut 1974, 149-52; D̲j̲uwaynī, *K. al-Irs̲h̲ād*, Paris 1938, 208-9; L. Gardet, *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 132-4; B. Reinert, *Die Lehre vom tawakkul in der klassischen Sufik*, Berlin 1968, 35-43; D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, Paris 1988, 397-400.

(Jane D. McAuliffe)

3. In military terminology.

Rizḳ appears here for the regular payments, in cash and in kind, made to those soldiers registered on the *dīwān* of earliest Islamic times and, by the ʿAbbāsid period, on the more elaborate *dīwān al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲*, hence equivalent to *ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*, and also d̲j̲ays̲h̲. 1. and d̲j̲und] or *ṭamaʿ*. Such soldiers, the *murtaziḳa*, those drawing regular allowances, are contrasted with the *mutaṭawwiʿa* [*q.v.*], volunteers who served in the early Islamic armies without regular stipends but who shared in the plunder. A single pay allotment was termed a *razḳa*, pl. *razaḳāt*. A considerable amount of information can be gleaned from the sources on the pay procedures, the intervals between payments, etc., both of the central caliphate and also of its provincial successor dynasties; see, in particular, W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der ʿAbbāsiden. Studie über Abulfarağ*: Dīwān al-ğaiš, in *Isl.*, xxix (1950), 278 ff., and C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 144-6. (C.E. Bosworth)

RIẒWĀN BEGOWIĆ [see riḍwān begović].

RODOS, Turkish name (popular pronunciation also Rados) for Rhodes (Greek Rhodos, Latin Rhodus, both fem.), an island and port city near the southwestern corner of Turkey, since 1948 a Greek possession and administrative centre of the *nomos* of Dodekanesos [see on iki ada].

Rhodes stands out for its relatively large size (1,404 km^2; the second largest island of the eastern Aegean after Lesbos (see midilli); maximum length between capes Kumburnu and Praso, 80 km, maximum breadth between capes Lardos and Armenistis, 38 km), regular shape (an extended ellipse with a northeast-southwest axis), position at the southeastern extremity of the Aegean archipelago, and proximity to the Anatolian coast (18 km to the nearest point on Daraçya peninsula; 45 km separate the harbours of Rhodes and Marmaris). The interior is relatively mountainous (Attaviros, 1215 m/3,985 ft. is the highest peak) and has one of the last remaining forests that once covered the Aegean islands. Its warm but never extreme climate, beautiful scenery, and thriving vineyards and orchards, have since Antiquity elicited praise from poets, pilgrims and tourists.

In the past it was the island's strategic location on or near shipping lanes linking the eastern Mediterranean with the Aegean, Adriatic, and Black Seas that made it play a historic role in trade, war, piracy, and

traffic of pilgrims to and from the shrines of the Near East. Aside from the context of war with the Byzantines, the caliph Muʿāwiya may have foreseen some of these assets when in 52/672 he sent a fleet under Djunāda b. Abī Umayya al-Azdī to seize Rhodes after a preliminary raid in 33/654 staged by him while still governor of Syria; al-Balādhurī states that when Yazīd succeeded Muʿāwiya seven years later, he ordered Djunāda to destroy the fort built after the conquest and return to Syria. Byzantine reports imply, however, that the Arabs occupied the island intermittently until definitive withdrawal in 717-18 caused by their failure to take Constantinople. According to a Byzantine source, the Muslims sold during their brief presence the bronze statue of the Colossus, since 225 BC lying toppled by earthquake in the sea, to a Jewish merchant of Edessa as scrap metal.

The next and most dramatic steps of Rhodos into Islamic history began when the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (the Hospitallers, after 1530 better known as Knights of Malta [see DĀWIYYA and ISBITĀRIYYA in Suppl.]) acquired it as their new base and headquarters. This military and charitable order, driven out of Acre [see ʿAKKĀ], their last possession in Palestine, in 1291 by the Mamlūks, first moved to Cyprus as guests of the Lusignan dynasty, but by 1309 they established themselves in Rhodes as a complex theocratic, commercial, and naval power until their defeat and expulsion by Süleymān the Magnificent 213 years later. Besides adding various buildings of religious and utilitarian nature, the Knights kept strengthening the fortifications of the city and port to the point where it would take a supreme effort by the Ottoman empire at the peak of its might to conquer it. On the commercial and economic level, the Order, which also possessed several other islands of the Dodecanese as well as the fortress of St. Peter (ancient Halicarnassus; see BODRUM) and the small but important island of Meis (Castellorizo) by the Turkish coast, prospered through trade carried on by a cosmopolitan lay community benefiting from the security assured by the rulers, but also through lucrative piracy cloaked in the mantle of Holy War and practiced both by the Knights themselves and by privateers welcomed under specific conditions. On the charitable level, the Order lived up to its original mission of caring for sick and needy pilgrims, for they built and ran a hospital described with admiration by many travellers; and on the military level, the Order, although initially new to maritime matters, created a small but efficient fleet that became a thorn in the side of the Muslim powers of the eastern Mediterranean, first the Mamlūks and then the Turks. Having originated and functioned in Palestine as a byproduct of the Crusades early in the 12th century, the Hospitallers retained some of this attitude and participated in several later Crusades; thus in 1344 they played a vital role in the league organised by Pope Clement VI that captured Izmir from the *amīrs* of Aydîn [*q.v.*]; placed in charge of the city, they withstood all Turkish attempts to dislodge them until Tīmūr [*q.v.*] stormed the place in 1403. In 1365, the Hospitallers participated in the sack of Alexandria led by the king of Cyprus Peter I. This attack provoked a belated but vigorous response from the Mamlūks, who in 1424-6 reduced Cyprus to vassalage, and who between 1440 and 1444 made three attempts to conquer Rhodes. The second attempt (1443) ended with the seizure of Meis, but only the third attacked Rhodes itself; after a 40 days' long siege, however, counterattacks by the Knights forced the Mamlūks to desist and sail back to Damietta.

Despite the confrontations with the Mamlūks and, increasingly, the Turks, the Hospitallers also had intermittent diplomatic and commercial relations with the Muslims, not unlike those pursued by Venice and other merchant republics, except that their emphasis was on care for Christian pilgrims (consuls in Jerusalem, Ramla and Damietta). The Knights sent envoys with congratulations and presents on the occasion of Meḥemmed II's accession in 1451, and after the sultan's conquest of Constantinople, they proposed a commercial treaty. The new crusade projected by Pope Calixtus III did not materialise, but the plan forced the Knights to change their policy and to resume maritime depredations on Turkish shipping and coasts. As a result, punitive expeditions were sent in the course of the 1450s; none dared to attack the fortified port city itself, but the second under Ḥamza Bey raided Istanköy/Kos, the Knights' other largest and most important island possession, and the fortress of Archangelos on the northeastern coast of Rhodes. The subsequent accommodation stipulating a cessation of the Knights' depredations had limited effect, partly because war with Venice (1463-79) absorbed the Ottomans' naval resources; the *shehzāde* Djem [*q.v.*], as governor of Ḳaramān [*q.v.*], had the task of dealing with the vexing problem. The return of an envoy sent by him to plead with the Knights coincided with the conclusion of the war, and the sultan turned his main attention to Rhodes. An imperial fleet under Mesīḥ Pasha sailed in spring 1480, and the Turks besieged the port city for two months (May-July 1480), but the final assault on 28 July collapsed and they withdrew. The failure may have been partly caused by flaws in the vizier's leadership, but also by the absence of the sultan himself. Moreover, Meḥemmed II did not repeat the attempt the following year but threw the main force of the empire into a campaign that may have had Rome as its ultimate target; his own death in May 1481 caused the Turks to abandon their bridgehead at Otranto, and the subsequent fifteen years witnessed a paralysing contest between Djem and his brother, Sultan Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*], for the throne. The *shehzade*, defeated by his brother on the mainland, took refuge in Rhodes (July-August 1482), whence the Knights transferred him to the custody of their brethren in France; the threat which the pretender's existence posed to the sultan was held in check by payment of onerous indemnities, first to the Knights and then to the Pope, and it ceased only with Djem's death in 1495. Even more harmful, however, was the chronic threat posed by the powerful corsair Knights, whose port also functioned as an intelligence centre and a base for other Christian powers and pirates preying on "infidels", and the sultans' protracted neglect to resolve this problem. Ironically, however, the Hospitallers may have unwittingly assisted the birth of Ottoman power in North Africa, and the genesis of the greatest naval epic of the Islamic Mediterranean, when they turned the initially commerce-minded Barbarossa brothers into prodigiously successful Muslim corsairs by temporarily capturing and enslaving Khiḍîr, the future Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*].

The overdue conquest of Rhodes was finally achieved by Süleymān the Magnificent after a five months' long siege (July-December 1522) whose magnitude, display of heroism by both sides, as well as mutual courtesy marking the two encounters between the Order's Grand Master Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam and the sultan, have secured it a choice place in the annals of Mediterranean history. Both adversaries were long aware of the inevitability of a

final confrontation. Since the siege of 1480, the Knights had perfected the fortifications to the verge of impregnability. The sultan, however, eager to inaugurate his reign by succeeding where his illustrious ancestor had failed (at Belgrade [*q.v.*] and Rhodes), threw the formidable resources of the Ottoman empire against the daunting defences of the island fortress. The besiegers had at their disposal a war and logistical fleet estimated at up to 700 vessels; the sultan, who had come overland, embarked at Marmaris for the island. The operations themselves were revealing for the great strides the art of siege mining had made since the fall of Constantinople; it performed a role against the walls of Rhodes no less crucial than artillery had done against those of the Byzantine capital. The final surrender of the Hospitallers was facilitated by the generous terms which Süleyman the Magnificent accorded them; they included a safe departure of the Order as well as of all others wishing to leave. The Turks entered the fortress on Christmas Eve 1522; churches were turned into mosques on Christmas Day, and on St. Stephens' Day, a Friday, the sultan held a *dīwān*, at the end of which he received the Grand Master. The Order's evacuation, in its own ships, was completed by 1 January 1523, with Villiers de l'Isle Adam leaving on that day. The humaneness displayed by Süleymān at the conclusion of this triumph was marred by the arrest and execution of his uncle Murād, the son of Djem, who had remained in Rhodes and converted to Christianity, and of his son (his wife and two daughters were sent to Istanbul). Moreover, although the magnanimity of the sultan's treatment of the defeated Knights is indisputable, its wisdom is less certain: Süleymān underestimated the resiliency of the military order, which would become his nemesis at the conclusion of his life by repulsing a similar attempt to dislodge it from the island of Malta (1565), besides again becoming a thorn in the side of Muslim shipping.

After the conquest and for the rest of the Ottoman period (1522-1912), Rhodes lost much of its former prominence and strategic importance; this was due not only to the fact that it itself no longer threatened Turkish coasts and shipping but also because all of the eastern Mediterranean became part of the empire. Nevertheless, the port city could at times perform ancillary roles. Thus it served as a naval base during the conquest of Cyprus in 1571, and then again during that of Crete, 1645-69. Rhodes also began to play a role once Ottoman naval hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean was broken: in 1799, when it was the rallying point for the fleet sent to counter Napoleon's invasion of Egypt; and in 1824, when the Egyptian fleet joined the Ottoman one as part of the campaign launched to quell the uprising in the Morea [see MORA].

Meanwhile, Rhodes also declined as a commercial emporium, and the population of the port city shrank to a fraction of the size it is believed to have had during periods of prosperity from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Ewliyā Čelebi, who stopped on the island in 1671 on his way to Mecca, describes the port city as containing, within the walls, 4,200 houses or 24 *maḥalles* (neighbourhoods), of which 18 were inhabited by Muslims, 4 by Greeks, and 2 by Jews. Although the city acquired a predominantly Turkish population and a somewhat Ottoman touch, thanks to the minarets adorning its mosques, the countryside remained overwhelmingly Greek; it may also be that not all the dwellings of the Turkish quarters were occupied, as suggested by the figures arrived at by late 19th century censuses (data published by Cuinet, i, 370) which mention the island's population as 29,148 souls, of whom 6,825 were Muslims, 20,250 Greek Orthodox, 1,513 Jews, 546 Catholics, and 14 Armenians; the port city itself was found to harbour 7,800 people, of whom 6,287 were Muslims and 1,513 Jews within the walls, while 150 Muslims, 2,300 Greek Orthodox, 546 Catholics, and 14 Armenians lived outside the walls (the latter two groups were thus limited to the capital's suburbs); in other words, toward the end of the Ottoman period, most of its Turkish population lived within the walls of the city of Rhodes, whereas none of the Greeks did.

After the conquest, Rhodes became a *sandjak in the eyālet* of the archipelago (Djazā'ir-i Baḥr-i Safīd [*q.v.*]) under the command of the Ḳapudān Pasha [*q.v.*]. With the 1283/1867 administrative reform of the empire, which established the *wilāyet* as the largest unit consisting of *sandjaks* and *ḳaḍā's*, the new *wilāyet* used the same name but was reduced to 4 *sandjaks* (Chios [see SAKĪZ], the administrative centre; Rhodes, Lesbos [see MIDILLI], and Limni [*q.v.*] each with several adjacent islands). The administrative centre was moved to Rhodes in 1283/1876, and from then on until 1912 the two islands took turns to claim this primacy.

Rhodes left the *Dār al-Islām* in a manner that was as antithetical to its glorious entry four centuries earlier as the empire itself was to its former self. The Italian conquest, a spin-off from the war over Tripolitania, was little more than a formality when on 4 May 1912 a 6,000 men strong force landed on the island and marched the next day into the port city, abandoned by the *wālī*, who had fled to the mainland, and by the small garrison, which withdrew to the interior town of Psinthos. The Italians reduced the latter by 1 June, the casualties being 9 men on the invaders' side and 100 on the defenders' one. This conquest was characteristic of the ease with which the colonial powers of Europe usually overcame the resistance of their non-European victims. The peace treaty of Ouchy signed in October 1912 stipulated that Rhodes and other islands would be restored to the Ottomans, but Italy then took advantage of Turkey's woes caused by the Balkan War and refused to honour the pledge; moreover, Turkey's choice of the losing side in World War I and Italy's choice of the winning one facilitated the latter's goal permanently to acquire Rhodes with its dependent islands. This was the genesis of the *Isole Italiane dell'Egeo*, a possession sanctioned by the peace treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923). By then, however, not Turkey but Greece had become Italy's contender for the islands; but only the effects of World War II made Greece's acquisition of this archipelago possible (7 March 1948).

The four centuries of Ottoman rule in Rhodes left memories of historical as well as monuments of architectural interest. At the same time, the Turks allowed most of the island's earlier physiognomy to remain intact, so that Rhodes is now a treasure trove for scholars and tourists alike. A library founded in 1208/1793 by Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Agha, a native of the island, who had risen to the position of *rikābdār-i shehriyārī* at the court, was further enriched by his son Ṭopkhāne Mushīri Fetḥī Pasha, and is now one of the source depositories for the history of Ottoman Rhodes (see Rossi in *Bibl.*). From among other buildings and sites, the *külliyye* of Murād Re'īs (d. 1018/1609) is especially noteworthy because the tombs of several notables retired or exiled to Rhodes (such as three khans of the Crimea) are in the courtyard of its *tekke*.

Bibliography: (The pre-Islamic period as well as non-Islamic aspects, outside the scope of this article, are covered by a literature whose volume and quality dwarf that devoted to our topic; this is ex-

plained not only by the number and experience of scholars studying classical and mediaeval Rhodes but also by the relatively brief and superficial effect which the Muslims had on it. As basic treatment, the article *Rhodos* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzyklopädie* can be cited; another example is the ten large volumes of *Clara Rhodos*, published between 1928 and 1941 by the Istituto Storico-archeologico di Rhodi.) Balādhurī, *The origins of the Islamic state*, tr. P.K. Hitti, New York 1916, repr. 1968, i, 375-6; H. Balducci, *Architettura turca in Rodi*, Milan 1932, and Turkish tr. C. Rodoslu, *Rodos'ta türk mimarisi*, Ankara 1945; C. Rodoslu, *Rodos ve İstanköy adalarında gömülü tarihî simalar*, Ankara 1945; A. Gabriel, *La cité de Rhodes*, Paris 1921; *Sālnāme* for Djezā'ir-i Bahr-i Sefīd, year 1303 (publ. 1311), 146 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 345-97; Z. Çelikkol, *Rodos'taki türk eserleri ve tarihçe*, Ankara 1986; idem, *İstanköy'deki Türk eserleri ve tarihçe*, Ankara 1990; W.J. Eggeling, *Türkische Moscheen auf Rhodos*, in *Materialia Turcica*, vii-viii (1982); O. Aslanapa, *Rodos'ta Türk eserleri*, in *Türk Kültürü*, xlii (1966), 531-4; S. Turan, *Rodos'un zaptından Malta muhasarasına*, Ankara 1970; idem, *Rodos ve 12 Ada Türk hakimiyetinden çıkışı*, Ankara 1970; Michele Nicolas, *La Communauté musulmane de Grèce*, in *Turcica*, viii/1 (1976); M. Baştiyalı, *Osmanlı idaresinde Rodos* (unpubl. *mezuniyet tezi*, Ankara University 1970); C. Orhonlu, *On İki Ada meselesi*, in *Türk Kültürü*, xxiii (1964), 1-5; idem, *On İki Ada meselesi ve Türk nüfusü*, in *Türk Kültürü*, xxiv (1964), 29-34; Mustafa Čelebi Djelālzāde [Kodja Nishāndjī], *Ṭabaḳāt ul-memālik we deredjāt ul-mesālik*, ed. Petra Kappert, 1981, 55-9 (German summary), 65a-103b (facs. of the ms.); Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1935, ix, 233-57; Pīrī Re'īs, *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, Ankara 1935, 238-42, and new ed., Istanbul 1988, ii, 524-33; Kâtip Čelebi, *Tüḥfet ul-kibār fī esfār ul-biḥār*, Istanbul 1329, 16-17, 23-4; E. Rossi, *Assedio e conquista turca di Rodi nel 1522 secondo le relazioni edite e inedite dei Turchi; con un cenno sulla Biblioteca Hafiz di Rodi*, Rome 1927; idem, *Nuove ricerche sulle fonti turche relative all'assedio di Rodi nel 1522*, in *RSO*, xv (1934), 97-102; idem, *Storia della marina dell'Ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme, di Rodi e di Malta*, Rome-Milan 1926, esp. 12-31; V. Strumza, *Il "tecche" di Murad Reis a Rodi*, in *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane* (Jan. 1934), 3-9; Ziver Bey, *Radus ta'rīkhi*, Rhodes 1312; Michèle Nicolas, *Une communauté musulmane de Grèce* (*Rhodes et Kos*), in *Turcica*, viii (1976), 58-69; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1988, ii, *passim*; C.I. Papachristodoulou, *Istoria tis Rodou*, Athens 1972; E. Papaioannou, *Rhodes and modern texts*, 6 vols., Athens-Ioannina-Rhodes 1989-93 (in Grk.); C.E. Bosworth, *Arab attacks on Rhodes in the pre-Ottoman period*, forthcoming in *JRAS* (1995). See also the *Bibl.* to ON İKİ ADA. (S. SOUCEK)

RODOSTO [see TEKIRDAGH].

RŌH, the generic name, used by local western Pandjābīs and Balūč for the tract of northwestern India extending southwards from Swāt and Badjawr in the north and up to the Sulaymān Mountains in the west. It was significant in the history of the later 9th/15th century and early 10th/16th century as a region from which the Lōdī [*q.v.*] sultans of Dihlī drew many of their Afghān supporters.

Bibliography: Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957*, London 1958, index. See also ROHILKHAND. (ED.)

ROHILKHAND, the "land of the Rohillas", is the historical appellation of an area of about 12,800 square miles between the Himalayas and the Ganges, including Katahr [*q.v.*] and the Mughal districts of Sambhal and Badā'ūn. It became current from about 1153/1740 onwards, when groups of Indo-Afghāns known as Rohīlas or, later, Rohillas, made their main settlement in India in the area thus denoted. *Rohilla* was simply an Indianised name for Afghān which developed in the 11th/17th century, but more specifically referred to the people from Rōh [*q.v.*], the term which in the 11th/17th-century Indian and Indo-Afghān works most often signified the area from Swāt to Badjawr in the north to Sībī and Bhakkar in Sind, and from Ḥasan Abdāl in the east to Kābul and Ḳandahār in the west. In the 12th/18th century Rohilla panegyric *Khulāṣat al-ansāb*, the extent of Rōh comes very close to that of present-day Afghānistān. Wendel wrote about the Rohillas in 1767: "Ils occupent seuls tout le païs au-dela du Gange, depuis le Gomaon jusqu'aux frontières du *soubah* d'Avat [Awadh], environ trois degrés en latitude, du 27° au 30°, et deux ou 2° 30 de longitude, de 94° au 96° et demi, prise du méridien de l'Isle-de-fer. Ce païs s'appelle, a notre tems, de leur nom et demeure *Rohél-Kand*" (Deleury, 156). The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1908), 304, says that "the name is often applied to the present Bareilly Division of the United Provinces; but it also denotes a definite historical tract nearly corresponding with that Division *plus* the Rāmpur and the Tarai *parganas* of Nainī Tāl District."

The successive Muslim rulers of Hindūstān have always attached great importance to the possession of this advantageously situated and fertile region. From early Islamic times onwards, the eastern part was known as Katahr, the home of the Katahriya Radjpūts, who, according to local traditions, may have arrived here in the 6th/12th and 8th/14th centuries, occupying first the country between the Rāmgangā and the Ganges, and subsequently spreading east of the former river. In 594/1197 Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*] conquered Badā'ūn [*q.v.*], probably from the Rāthor ruler Lakshmanapala. Badā'ūn was one of the earliest centres of Muslim culture in North India. Hundreds of Muslim martyrs lie buried there. The *iḳṭā*ʿ of Badā'ūn was one of the most important assignments of governors already under the Muʿizzī Sultans of Dihlī and is mentioned frequently in the Indo-Muslim chronicles. Iltutmish [*q.v.*] came to the throne in 607/1211 while he held the *iḳṭā*ʿ of Badā'ūn. In 633/1236 its governor Rukn al-Dīn became king of Dihlī. Some of the earliest Muslim architecture in the area dates back to these first governors. Badā'ūn held its position as the Muslim capital of Katahr for over four centuries, during which period numerous uprisings of the Katahriya *mawāsāt* ('brigands') are recorded. The importance of Badā'ūn decreased, and Bareilly became the capital, under Shāh Djahān, while Awrangzīb added the district of Sambhal (Western Rohilkhand) to the territory ruled over by the governor of Katahr.

The great majority of Afghān immigrants who, from the second half of the 11th/17th to the beginning of the 13th/19th century, settled in Katahr/Rohilkhand originated from the area of Peshāwar [*q.v.*] and belonged to the Yūsufzay tribe, mostly of the Mandanr subsection. At the beginning of the 12th/18th century, Mughal rule in the provinces of Sambhal and Badā'ūn was restricted to the vicinity of the larger cities of Bareilly, Murādābād and Badā'ūn, while there were already many Afghāns from the Peshāwar area in the local armies of the Katahr *rādjās*, and Katahr at large was dominated by rival Katahriya

Radjpūt, Djāt and Bandjara *zamīndārs*. Dāwūd Khān (*ca.* 1122-37/1710-25), founder of the Rohilla state, started his career as a petty horsetrader, and for some time was a military entrepreneur and cavalry officer in the service of one of the local *zamīndārs* of Katahr. The succeeding Rohilla leader, ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān (1137-62/1725-49), became increasingly involved in Mughal politics, assumed the title of *Nawwāb* [*q.v.*]—which was soon recognised by the emperor—and set up court at the new capital of Aonla. This happened in the wake of Nādir Shāh's invasion (1152/1739), when new waves of Yūsufzay immigrants from Rōh swelled the Rohilla ranks to around 100,000. In 1155/1742 a large campaign into the Terai and the northern hills was undertaken; Kumaon and Garhwal were reduced to tributary status. At the time of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān's death, Mughal imperial influence in Rohilkhand had vanished. Ḳāʾim Khān, the Bangash *nawwāb* of the adjacent Afghān principality of Farrukhābād [*q.v.*], as the senior member of the Afghān nobility at the Dihlī court, now claimed the whole of Rohilkhand. He was killed, however, in the ensuing struggle with the Rohillas in 1161/1748-9, near Badāʾūn. Rohilkhand then became a confederacy of small principalities based on a dense and flourishing urban network. Another Rohilla parvenu, Nadjīb al-Dawla (1166-84/1753-70 [*q.v.*]), the main Indian ally of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī and a supporter of the acting *wazīr* in Dilhī, ʿImād al-Mulk, against the Īrānī faction of the Awadh governor Ṣafdār Djang [*q.v.*], received Rohilkhand, next to Djalālābād [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Sahāranpūr [*q.v.*] in *djāgīr*, with an imperial *manṣab* of 5,000. Nadjīb al-Dawla, a principal noble at the Dihlī court, became a strong champion of Sunnī revivalism, a patron of Shāh Walī Allah [*q.v.*], and Rohilkhand was turned into the ideological counterpart of Shīʿī Awadh. Having gained control of the entire Upper Miyān Doʾāb, Nadjīb al-Dawla founded a new capital which he called Nadjībābād [*q.v.*] and which was to become an important commercial centre for the control of the hill trade with Garhwal and Tibet and the east-west trade routes to Kashmīr and Peshāwar. Ṣafdār Djang, in the years 1161/1748 and 1165/1752, tried to oust the Afghāns from both Rohilkhand and Farrukhābād with the aid of the Mārāthās [*q.v.*]. But Durrānī involvement in India in the 1160s/1750s and 1170s/1760s greatly boosted the power of the Rohillas. After Nadjīb al-Dawla's death in 1184/1770, again, Durrānī influence faded, while Marāthā incursions became more frequent. As a consequence of Durrānī withdrawal from India and increased British involvement, Rohilkhand was annexed to Awadh in 1188/1774.

In the subsequent period, until the British annexation of the area in 1216/1801, the *djamaʿ* figures for Rohilkhand declined sharply, as did the trading and important horse breeding activity in the area. In the 13th/19th century the Rohillas no longer played a dominant role, but are still encountered as mercenaries, local landlords and urban élites. Wendel, Tieffenthaler, Francklin, Forster, and Hardwick all describe the flourishing conditions of the Rohilla cities and the surrounding countryside in the 12th/18th century. Wendel mentions the Rohillas as the great producers of hemp, marijuana and opium of India. The population of Muslims in Rohilkhand was 28% of the total of near 6.2 million in 1908, about double that found in the Ceded Provinces as a whole.

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ROHILLAS or Rohilas, the name given to Afghāns of various tribes who came from Rōh [*q.v.*] and settled in the 11th and 12th/17th and 18th centuries in Katahr [*q.v.*] (in the western part of modern Uttar Pradesh) called Rohilkhand [*q.v.*] after them.

Bahādur Khān Rohilla, a noble of Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-58) founded Shāhdjahānpur; and his brother Dilīr Khān founded Shāhābād (1664). The area began to attract Afghān immigrants, among them a mercenary Dāwūd Khān (killed in 1132/1720). Dāwūd Khān's adopted son ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān (d. 1160/1748) established himself at Aonla (near Bareilly) as a local chief, and it needed an expedition personally led by the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1157/1745 [*q.v.*]) to dislodge him from there. His son Nadjīb al-Dawla [*q.v.*] competed with the other Rohilla leaders Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān [*q.v.*] and Dūndī Khān, who took possession of his territory. In 1166/1753 Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān sided with the minister Ṣafdār Djang [*q.v.*], while Nadjīb al-Dawla aided the Emperor and was awarded a *manṣab* [*q.v.*] of 5,000. In 1169/1756 Nadjīb al-Dawla joined the Afghān ruler Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī or Abdālī [*q.v.*]. In 1170/1757 Nadjīb al-Dawla obtained appointment as Mīr Bakhshī. All the principal Rohilla chiefs allied themselves with Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī and played an important role in his victory over the Marāthās at Pānīpat [*q.v.*] in 1174/1761. As rewards, extensive territories were assigned to them by the victor. But the Rohilla leaders could not consolidate their gains because of mutual jealousies. Nadjīb al-Dawla died in 1186/1772 and was succeeded by Ḍābiṭa Khān. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān and his allies among the Rohilla chiefs were utterly overthrown by Shudjāʿ al-Dawla and the English in 1188/1774. Ḍābiṭa Khān (d. 1199/1785), who was not involved in this conflict, maintained his position with difficulty; his son Ghulām Ḳādir became infamous by seizing Dihlī and blinding the Emperor Shāh ʿĀlam (1202/1788). He was killed soon afterwards, and Rohilla rule in the upper Doʾāb also disappeared; the Rāmpur State [*q.v.*] was the only Rohilla principality to survive.

The Rohillas obtained commendation from contemporary observers for their promotion of agriculture. As builders, their contributions were modest, though Nadjīb al-Dawla left a town named after him (Nadjībābād [*q.v.*]), where he built a fort and some other buildings. Nor did the Rohillas leave much of an imprint on art and literature. They do not appear to have promoted their own language, Pashto, in any notable way, and it soon disappeared. In the next century, the Rohillas under Khān Bahādur Khān, a grandson of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, joined the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857-8 and suffered the consequences of its failure.

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the Mughal Empire, iv, repr. Calcutta 1964; Sh. Abdur Rashid, *Najibud Daula, his life and times*, Aligarh 1952; Iqbal Husain, *The rise and decline of Rohila chieftains*, New Delhi 1993. (M. Athar Ali)

RŌHTĀS, a fortress in the Jhelum District of the Pandjāb province of Pākistān (lat. 32°55′ N., long. 73°48′ E.), 16 km/10 miles to the northwest of Jhelum town. It was built by Shīr Shāh Sūr [*q.v.*] in 949/1542 after his victory over the Mughal Humāyūn [*q.v.*] and named after Shēr Shāh's other fortress in Bihār, Rōhtāsgaṛh [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxi, 332. (Ed.)

RŌHTĀSGAṚH, a hill fortress and settlement in the Shāhābād District in the northeast of the state of Bihār in the Indian Union (lat. 24°37′ N., long. 83°55′ E.), some 50 km/30 miles south of the town of Sahsarām [*q.v.*]. There must have been a Hindu fort or settlement there previously, but the present fortifications date from its capture by Shīr Shāh Sūr [*q.v.*] in 946/1539. They were added to by Akbar's general Mān Singh [*q.v.*] when he was appointed governor of Bihār and Bengal. It was surrendered to the British army in Bengal soon after the battle of Baksar (Buxar [*q.v.*]) in 1764 through the efforts of Mīr Ḳāsim ᶜAlī's opponent Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabāʾī [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxi, 322-3. (Ed.)

RONDA [see RUNDA].

ROSHANIYYA [see RAWSHANIYYA].

AL-**RUʾĀSĪ**, Ibn Akhī Muᶜādh al-Harrāʾ, Muḥammad [b. al-Ḥasan] b. Abī Sāra al-Nīlī al-Naḥwī, Abū Djaʿfar, an Arab grammarian, regarded to be the legendary founder of the Kūfan school of grammar.

Very little is known about his life and grammatical views, which are rarely quoted by later grammarians. The legend about al-Ruʾāsī's founding the Kūfan school of grammar seems to have been invented by Thaᶜlab [*q.v.*] in his polemics with al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*]. Both grammarians quote the name of al-Ruʾāsī (this name from the largeness of his head) in a clearly polemical vein. Al-Ruʾāsī is said to be quoted by Sībawayhi as al-Kūfī "the Kufan", which is not corroborated by the text of *al-Kitāb*. Al-Ruʾāsī was a *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. Kaᶜb al-Ḳuraẓī, and probably a relative (according to Ibn al-Anbārī, his nephew) of the inventor of *taṣrīf* and Ḳurʾān reader Muᶜādh al-Harrāʾ, which might be inferred from his name Ibn Akhī Muᶜādh al-Harrāʾ. Later grammatical sources (e.g. al-Suyūṭī) confuse al-Ruʾāsī with his relative Muᶜādh al-Harrāʾ. In Kūfa, al-Ruʾāsī studied Ḳurʾānic recitation (*hurūf*) under al-Aᶜmash (d. 147/764); grammar he learned from ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUmar and Abū ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜAlāʾ. His disciples in Ḳurʾānic recitation were Khallād b. al-Minḳarī and ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Kindī, and in grammar al-Kisāʾī and al-Farrāʾ, both famous grammarians from the Kūfan school. He is said to have visited Baṣra, but was never accepted there as a grammarian. Kūfa seems not to have been his favourite dwelling place; most of the time he spent in the neighbouring al-Nīl (whence his *nisba*), from where his wife originated. Judging from secondary evidence, al-Ruʾāsī lived in the second half of the 2nd/8th century; he was a contemporary of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], with whom he maintained contacts. During the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd he was said to have been very old (*ᶜummira*).

None of his works is extant. (1) His most frequently mentioned work on grammar is the treatise *al-Fayṣal* ("The Decisive"). The 3rd/9th century grammarian Ibn al-Sarrādj claimed to have read it (according to Yāḳūt). His other grammatical works are: (2) *al-Taṣghīr* on the diminutive; (3) *al-Ifrād wa 'l-djamᶜ* on the singular and plural. His main interest lay, however, in practical problems of Ḳurʾānic recitation. Quoted are the following works: (4) *Kitāb Maᶜānī al-Ḳurʾān*; (5) *al-Ikhtiyārāt fī 'l-ḳirāʾa*; (4) *Kitāb al-Waḳf wa 'l-ibtidāʾ al-kabīr*; (5) *K. al-Waḳf wa 'l-ibtidāʾ al-ṣaghīr*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Cairo, 96-7; Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, Cairo 1974, 48-9; Yāḳūt, *Muᶜdjam al-udabāʾ*, vi, 480-2; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-udabāʾ*, Stockholm 1963, 32-3; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt fī anbāʾ al-nuḥāt*, Cairo, iv, 99-103; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuᶜāt*, i, 82-3 (no. 134), 109 (no. 180: another version of his biography); Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 125-6. (J. Danecki)

AL-**RUᶜAYNĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hayṣam (al-Ḥādjdj), scholar and *adīb* of Muslim Spain.

He belonged to a family, known as the Banu 'l-Ḥādjdj, established in Baṭsha (near Seville) and was also known as Ibn al-Fakhkhār, "the son of the potter", that being his father's occupation, which he refused to follow. Al-Ruᶜaynī was born in Seville in 592/1196 and died in Marrākush in 666/1267, where his funeral was widely attended. He studied the Ḳurʾānic sciences, grammar, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* and *adab*. Most of the details of his life we know through his own writing. He travelled widely in al-Andalus and in the Maghrib; he can be traced in Ḳabṭīl, Málaga, Jérez, Cordova, Murcia, Granada, Sabta, Tlemcen and Marrākush. At an early age (year 615/1218), he was *ḳāḍī* in Morón. However, his activities were soon concentrated in his work as *kātib* of the kings of al-Andalus and the Maghrib. By this it may be understood that he served not only the Almohads but probably also the various independent rulers who, taking advantage of the progressive weakness of the Almohad régime, appeared in al-Andalus and North Africa. In this, his career was similar to that of other contemporary *kuttāb* like Abu 'l-Muṭarrif Ibn ᶜAmīra [*q.v.*]. Al-Ruᶜaynī's exchange of letters with the famous *kātib* Abū ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Djannān has been preserved by al-Marrākushī. Ibn al-Djannān having written a *Risāla ᶜayniyya*, al-Ruᶜaynī replied with two other letters using the same device, namely, employing words all of which contained the letter *ᶜayn*. He also exchanged letters with Ibn ᶜAmīra.

Al-Marrākushī has also recorded some of his poems, as well as the names of his teachers from al-Andalus and abroad, this information being more complete that the list found in al-Ruᶜaynī's own *barnāmadj*. This most important work, entitled *Kitāb al-Īrād li-nubdhat al-mustafād min al-riwāya wa 'l-isnād bi-liḳāʾ ḥamalat al-ᶜilm fī 'l-bilād ᶜalā ṭarīḳ al-iḳtiṣār wa 'l-iḳtiṣād*, is preserved in two mss. (Escorial, 1729 and private collection of Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī). I. Shabbūḥ presented the text in an article which he published in 1959 and later edited in a book (Damascus 1962). The *barnāmadj* is organised according to the names of al-Ruᶜaynī's teachers and according to their teachings. Its methodology and value have been assessed by al-Ahwānī and Fórneas in their seminal work on Andalusian bibliographical literature. Al-Ruᶜaynī's *barnāmadj*, contrary to Ibn Khayr's *Fahrasa*, does not offer complete *riwāyāt* of the works mentioned and therefore is not of great use for the study of their introduction in al-Andalus. It is, however, of great value for the knowledge of which books were being written and transmitted in his lifetime and in those of his teachers. It contains abundant information on the teaching and transmission of the Ḳurʾānic sciences

(especially *ḳirāʾāt*), *adab* works (like al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt*) and poetry. Among the data which he offers, it is worth noting the transmission of the *S̲h̲iʿr fi 'l-huḏjḏja ʿalā ith̲bāt al-ḳadar* by al-Murādī, of the *Maḳāmiʿ al-ṣulbān* by al-K̲h̲azradjī, of other *barāmidj* (he quotes many *riwāyāt* by Ibn ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥadjarī, d. 591/1194, through Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-ʿAzafī), of al-Suhrawardī's *K. ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* and ʿIyāḍ's *K. al-S̲h̲ifāʾ*. He has recorded valuable information about his teachers and contemporaries, like Ibn His̲h̲ām al-Azdī (the author of *Mufīd li 'l-ḥukkām*), Ibn K̲h̲arūf al-Naḥwī (d. 609/1212), Ibn Zarḳūn (d. 622/1225), Ibn K̲h̲alfūn (d. 636/1238), Abu 'l-Rabīʿ al-Kalāʿī, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-ʿAzafī, Abū ʿĀmir b. Ubbā (author of several theological works) and Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-K̲h̲ud̲h̲ūdj al-Mursī, author of a work on chess. Also noteworthy is his wide use of the *idjāza*. Al-Ruʿaynī's leaning towards *adab* and poetry is shown in his *Djanā 'l-azāhir al-naḍīra wa-sanā 'l-zawāhir al-munīra fī ṣilat "al-Maṭmaḥ" wa 'l-"D̲h̲akhīra" mimmā walladat-hu al-k̲h̲awāṭir min al-maḥāsin fī hād̲h̲ihi al-mudda al-ak̲h̲īra*, a continuation of the works by Ibn K̲h̲āḳān and Ibn Bassām [*q.v.*]. He also wrote a work on *ḥadīth̲* entitled *Iḳtifāʾ al-sanan fī intiḳāʾ arbaʿīn min al-sunan*, and another on Ḳurʾānic readings, *S̲h̲arḥ al-Kāfī li-bn S̲h̲urayḥ*.

Bibliography: Marrākus̲h̲ī, *al-D̲h̲ayl wa 'l-takmila*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut n.d., v/1, 323-69, no. 636; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, vii, Rabat 1938, 140, no. 283; F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, 301, no. 254; Ziriklī, iv, 333; ʿA. al-Ahwānī, *Kutub barāmidj al-ʿulamāʾ fī 'l-Andalus*, in *RIMA*, i (1955), 102-4; I. Shabbūḥ, *Barnāmadj s̲h̲uyūk̲h̲ Ibn al-Fak̲h̲k̲h̲ār al-Ruʿaynī*, in *ibid.*, v (1959), 103-44; ed. idem, *Barnāmadj s̲h̲uyūk̲h̲ al-Ruʿaynī*, Damascus 1381/1962; J. Mª Fórneas, *Elencos bibliográficos arábigoandaluces. Estudio especial de la "Fahrasa" de Ibn ʿAṭiyya al-Ġarnāṭī (481-541/1088-1147)*, (Extracto de) Tesis Doctoral, Madrid, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras 1971 (Ruʿaynī's work is not mentioned in ʿA.Ḥ. al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris wa 'l-ath̲bāt wa-muʿdjam al-maʿādjim wa 'l-mas̲h̲yak̲h̲āt wa 'l-musalsalāt*, 2 vols., ²Beirut 1402/1982); M. b. Tāwīt, *Sabta al-muslima*, in *Al-Manāhil*, xxii (1982), 138, 142. The information contained in Ruʿaynī's work has been analysed by J. Mª Fórneas in the following articles: *Datos para un estudio de la* Mudawwana *de Saḥnūn en al-Andalus*, in *Actas IV. Coloquio hispano-tunecino/Palma de Mallorca, 1979*, Madrid 1983, 93-118; *La primitiva* Sīra *de Ibn Isḥāq en al-Andalus*, in *Homenaje Bosch Vilá*, Granada 1991, i, 169; *Recepción y difusión en al-Andalus de algunas obras de Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī*, in *Homenaje al Prof. Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, O.F.M. en su LXX aniversario*, i, Granada 1987, 315-44. (MARIBEL FIERRO)

RUBʿ (A.), literally, "quarter", in Islamic astronomical terminology, quadrant. The kind of large mural quadrant (*libna*) with a graduated altitude scale described by Ptolemy (see BAṬLAMIYŪS] was used by a series of Muslim astronomers over the centuries. Descriptions exist of *i.a.* those used in the Damascus observations in the early 3rd/9th century (*ca.* 5 m in radius), by the astronomer Ḥāmid b. K̲h̲iḍr al-K̲h̲udjandī at Rayy in the late 4th/10th century (called *al-suds al-Fak̲h̲rī*, radius *ca.* 20 m), and in the early 9th/15th century observatory of Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] at Samarḳand (radius *ca.* 40 m!). The last-mentioned, actually a sextant rather than a quadrant, has been excavated and partially restored; those quadrants still to be seen in some of the stone observatories in India (early 18th century) are in the same tradition. With such instruments, astronomers could measure the meridian altitudes of the sun and stars, which they could then use to determine improved values of the local latitude, new values of the obliquity of the ecliptic [see MAYL and MINṬAḲA], and to check or improve stellar coordinates [see NUDJŪM].

In the 3rd/9th century, Muslim astronomers developed three main varieties of smaller quadrants (*rubʿ*) for timekeeping [see MĪḲĀT]. First, the horary quadrant (*rubʿ al-sāʿāt*), marked with a radial solar scale and curves for the hours. With this one could simply hold the quadrant vertically and align the radial edge fitted with sights towards the sun; then the bead set at the appropriate solar longitude on a thread attached at the centre of the instrument would hang over the hour curves, and from its position relative to these one could read the time (see Pls. XXXII, XXXIII). Second, the trigonometric or sine quadrant, marked with a set of parallel horizontal lines (originally for each 15° on the outer scale, representing hour lines). With this one could calculate the time of day T in seasonal hours [see SĀʿA] from the observed solar altitude h and the meridian solar altitude H—the underlying formula was approximate, equivalent to the following in modern notation:

$$T = \frac{1}{15} \text{ arc sin } \left(\frac{\sin h}{\sin H} \right)$$

(Note that the boundary conditions when the sun is on the horizon (T = 0 when h = 0) and on the meridian (T = 6 when h = H) are satisfied; the formula is in fact accurate at the equinoxes). This approximate formula has the advantages that it is much simpler than the accurate formula, that it works for any terrestrial latitude (within limits), and that it yields good results for most practical purposes (if only for lower latitudes, and certainly not for latitudes in Northern Europe). From this quadrant there developed in later centuries the sine quadrant (*rubʿ mudjayyab*) with markings resembling modern graph-paper; with this any problem of mediaeval trigonometry could be solved (see Pl. XXXV). Third, the universal horary quadrant (*rubʿ āfāḳī*), designed to solve the same trigonometric formula as the second variety but quite different in appearance. The hour-curves are now a set of circular arcs radiating from the centre to each 15° on the outer scale (with a semicircle representing the sixth hour, that is, midday). Such markings were used by Muslim and European astronomers for over a millennium, mainly on the backs of astrolabes [see ASṬURLĀB] and sometimes in combination, as shown in Pl. XXXIII, and it can be assumed that few in later centuries (especially the Europeans) had any idea of the underlying formula. This quadrant, then, is universal (*āfāḳī*), and one enters simply with the solar meridian altitude, but it can be made specific by having a cursor marked with a solar or a calendrical scale on the outer rim. A 3rd/9th-century treatise from Bag̲h̲dād describes such an instrument with either a fixed cursor, serving a single latitude, or a movable cursor, enabling the user to enter with the solar longitude. This instrument was known in mediaeval Europe as *quadrans vetus* (see below).

Few early Islamic quadrants survive. But the same markings—for performing trigonometric calculations or for finding the hours—were added to the backs of astrolabes, and it is there that we can trace their development in instrumentation.

In the 5th/11th or 6th/12th century, probably in Egypt, an astronomer whose name is unknown to us hit on the clever idea of using one-half of the markings on an astrolabe plate as a quadrant, replacing the rete

with a thread with movable bead attached at the centre (*rub^c al-mukanṭarāt*). The earliest surviving examples of this kind of astrolabic quadrant are by the early-8th/14th-century Damascus astronomer Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mizzī. Such quadrants, with trigonometric markings on the back, were very popular in the Ottoman Empire and generally replaced the astrolabe in those regions. Dozens of late examples survive (see Pls. XXXIV, XXXV).

The writings of al-Marrākushī (*fl.* Cairo, *ca.* 680/1280 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn al-Sarrādj (*fl.* Aleppo, *ca.* 725/1325, unpublished, extant in ms. Dublin Chester Beatty 102, 2) illustrate the variety of other quadrants developed by Muslim astronomers. A minority of Ottoman quadrants are of unusual kinds described in these earlier sources. The numerous types of European quadrants are with few exceptions based on Islamic precursors. An exception appears to be the *quadrans novus* of Prophatius Judaeus (Provence, *ca.* 1290), an unhappy combination of the Islamic *quadrans vetus* (approximate) and astrolabic horizons (accurate). Meanwhile, Muslim astronomers had developed the more satisfactory astrolabic quadrant, which was unknown in Europe until a French instrument-maker hit on the idea about 1600.

Bibliography: (An asterisk indicates that the work in question is repr. in F. Sezgin *et al.*, eds., *Arabische Instrumente in orientalistischen Studien*, 6 vols., Frankfurt, Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1991.) On mural quadrants in Islamic observatories, see A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam*, Ankara 1960. For two examples, see H.J. Seeman, *Die Instrumente der Sternwarte zu Marâgha* ..., in *SBPMSE*, lx (1928), 15-126*, and art. *Ulugh Beg* in *The Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, New York 1960-80, xiii, 535-537. (The accounts of observational instruments in the Islamic sources, mainly published, let alone the archaeological findings, cry out for an overview to supplement Sayılı's pioneering work).

The standard work on smaller quadrants, based solely on textual sources, is P. Schmalzl, *Zur Geschichte des Quadranten bei den Arabern*, Munich 1929*, now very much outdated; see also H. Michel, *Traité de l'astrolabe*, Paris 1947, on the use of some of these. Useful studies of some quadrants by al-Mizzī and various late Ottoman instruments and texts are: W.H. Morley, *Description of an Arabic Quadrant*, in *JRAS*, xvii (1860), 322-30*; B. Dorn, *Drei in der Kaiserlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg befindliche astronomische Instrumente mit arabischen Inschriften*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 7e série, ix/1 (1865), 150 pp.*; J. Würschmidt, *Die Schriften Gedosis über die Höhenparallelen und über die Sinustafel (Zum Gebrauch des Quadranten im Islam)*, in *SBPMSE* (1928), 127-54*; and idem, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Quadrant-Astrolab*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, viii (1918), 167-81*. See also G. Fehérvári, *An eighth/fourteenth-century quadrant of the astrolabist al-Mizzī*, in *BSOAS*, xxxvi (1973), 115-17 and 2 plates; L. Janin and R. Rohr, *Deux astrolabes-quadrants turcs*, in *Centaurus*, xix (1975), 108-24; J. Moulierac (ed.), *Syrie, mémoire et civilisation*, Paris, Institut du Monde Arabe 1993 (contains descriptions of two Syrian quadrants, including the one illustrated in Pl. XXXIII).

More recent studies include various articles reprinted in D.A. King, *Islamic astronomical instruments*, London, Variorum Reprints 1987, as well general remarks in idem, *Strumentazione astronomica nel mondo medievale islamico*, in G.L'E. Turner (ed.), *Gli strumenti*, Turin 1991, 154-89 and 581-5. Some of the earliest texts on the horary quadrant with cursor and the sine quadrant are discussed in idem, *A survey of the scientific manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library*, Winona Lake, Ind. 1986, 53 (no. B105), and idem, *al-Khwārizmī and new trends in mathematical astronomy in the ninth century*, in *Occasional Papers on the Near East* (Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies, New York University), 2 (1983), esp. 28-31. On the universal horary quadrant, see especially J.D. North, *Astrolabes and the hour-line ritual*, and R.P. Lorch, *A note on the horary quadrant*, in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, v (1981), 113-14, and 115-120, and D.A. King (with D. Girke), *An approximate formula for astronomical timekeeping and its history over a millennium*, Institut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, Frankfurt University, *Preprints Series*, 1 (1988).

(D.A. King)

AL-**RUB^c** AL-**KHĀLĪ** (A.) (Empty Quarter), a vast and inhospitable sand-sea occupying much of the south and south-east of the Arabian Peninsula. It lies approximately between 45° E. and 57° E. and 17° N. and 23° N., encompassing some 200,000 sq. miles, consisting of tracts of aeolian sands with immense dunes rising over up to 60 m, areas of gravel and limestone known as *shukka* (pl. shiḳāḳ), and in the east, towards al-Liwā' (al-Djiwā'), *sabkha* [*q.v.*] at Umm al-Samīm and al-Kidan. It lies largely in Saudi Arabia, with its northwest limit roughly marked by the line of the Djabal Ṭuwayḳ escarpment. In the north and northeast the sands merge with the desert of Djafūra near the Djabrīn (or Yabrīn) oasis, and with the sands of al-Dahnā' [*q.v.*] in eastern Arabia. Al-Dahnā' in turn runs into the Nufūd [*q.v.*] sand sea in the north of Arabia. In the southwest and the south in Yemen, the Rub^c al-Khālī sands approach Mārib [*q.v.*] and Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] respectively and in the east, they reach the Liwā' oasis in the United Arab Emirates and to the hinterland of ^cUmān.

The aridity that characterises the desert today differs markedly from the environment of earlier times. In the late Miocene (6-7 million years BP [before present]), the climate was wetter with rivers flowing from the Rub^c al-Khālī into what is now the Arabian/Persian Gulf. Late Miocene elephant bones have been found in the UAE, while crocodile and turtle fossils indicate the presence of an ancient river system flowing from the Rub^c al-Khālī. Fresh-water lakes existed in the Rub^c al-Khālī between 9,700 BP and 6,390 BP, but desiccation followed thereafter, producing the harsh environment that constitutes the Rub^c al-Khālī today. In the east, the Wādī Idīma, Wādī Habawna and Wādī Nadjrān drain run-off from the ^cAsīr highlands into the western Rub^c al-Khālī, where the waters run out in the sands. The broad bed of Sabkha Maṭṭī in western Abū Dhabī marks the course of a former river system that rose in the interior, with two major periods of flow in the period 80,000-70,000 BP and again 50,000 to 25,000 BP, and a lesser flow in the period 10,000 to 4,500 BP.

Some of the Rub^c al-Khālī sands may have blown in from the bed of the Arabian Gulf in the period before it was flooded as a result of sea level rises between about 18,000 BP and 8,000 BP, after the last Ice Age. A date of 23,000-17,000 BP has been given to the formation of sand dunes in the Liwā' oasis on the eastern side of the Rub^c al-Khālī.

The term Rub^c al-Khālī has attached itself to the entire sand-sea among Arabs and non-Arabs alike, although uncertainty exists over the origins of the name (Sir Percy Cox and D.G. Hogarth in R.E.

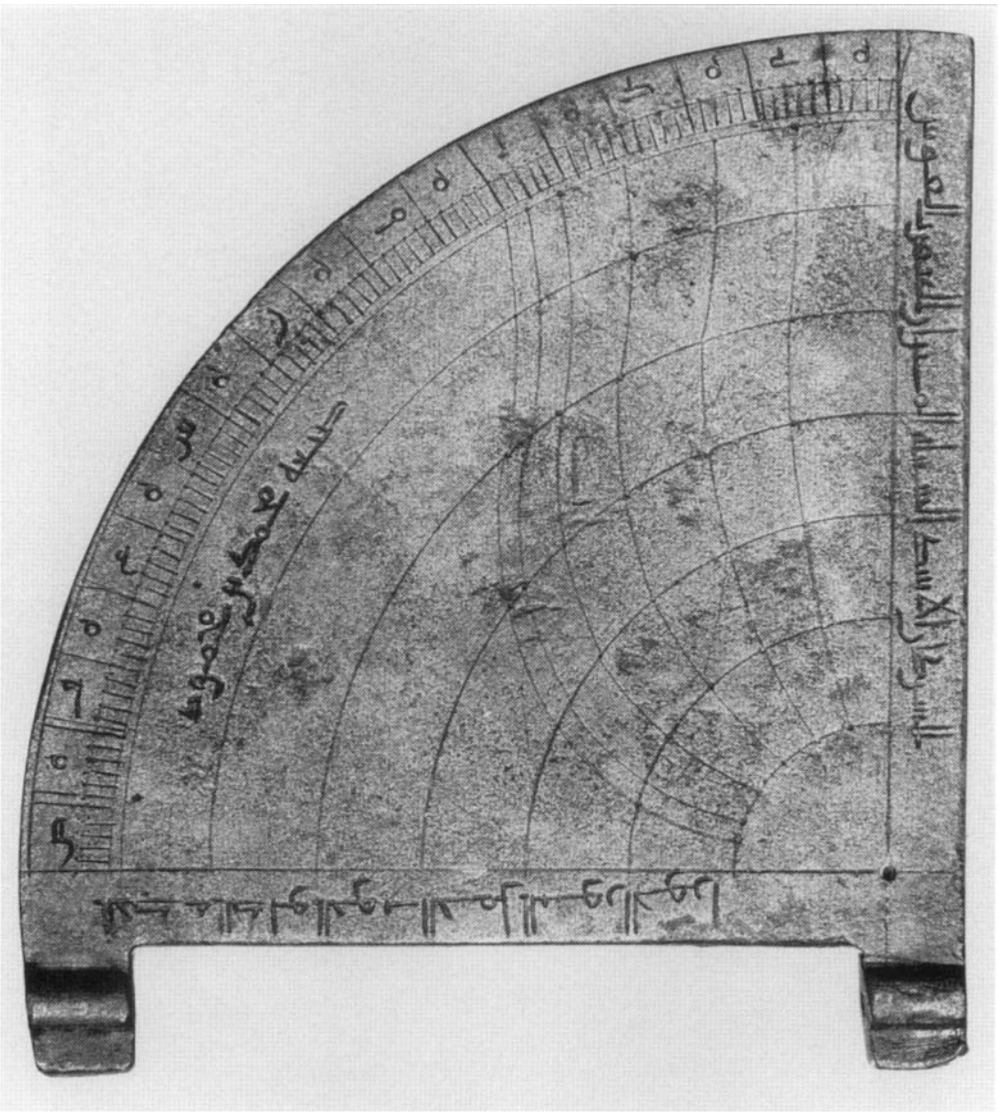

A 4th-/10th-century horary quadrant from Nī<u>sh</u>āpūr, signed by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. (inv. no. 36.20.54, radius 65 mm), Excavations of the Museum, 1935, purchase, Rogers Fund, 1936.

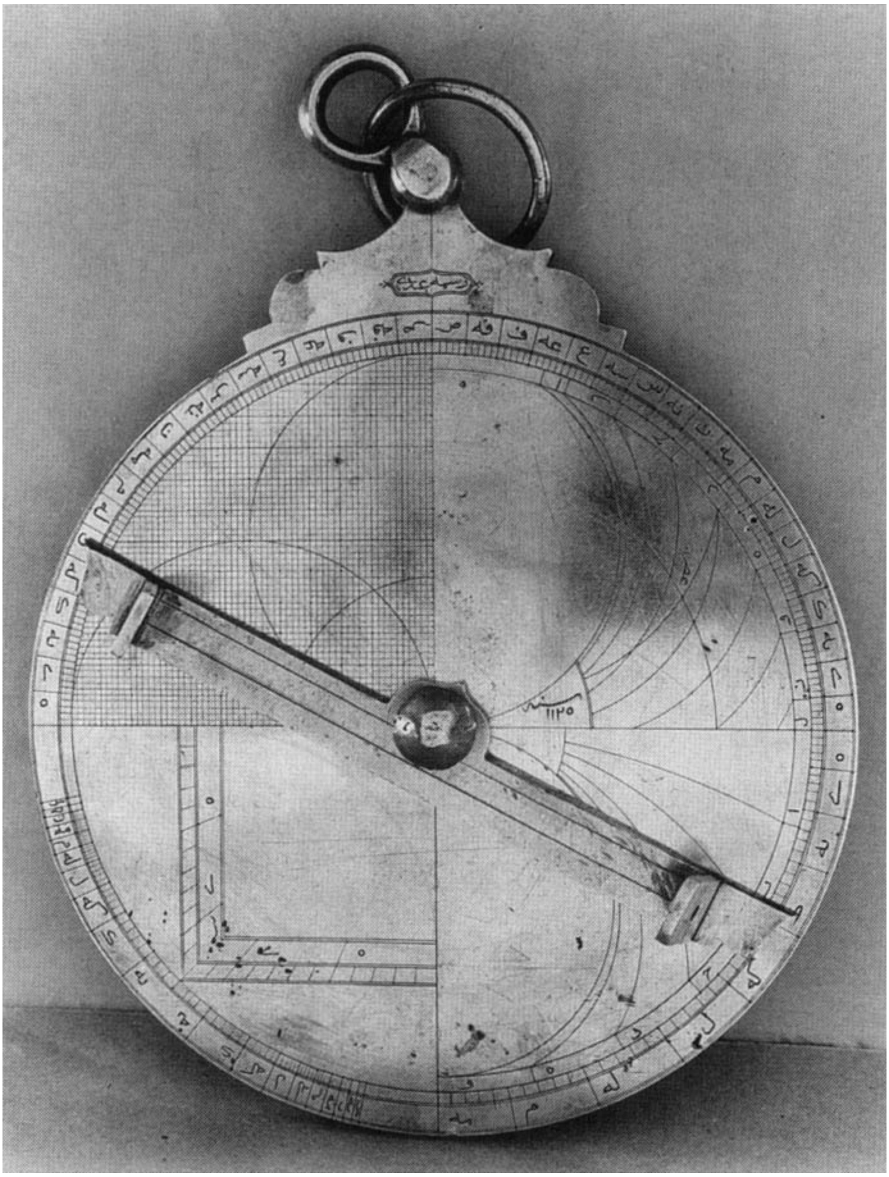

A trigonometric quadrant (upper left), horary quadrant for a specific latitude, in this case 41° serving Istanbul (upper right) and a universal horary quadrant (lower right) on an astrolabe dated 1125 AH [= 1713-14] signed by ᶜAbdī. Courtesy of the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford (inv. no. 57-84/171A, diameter 131 mm).

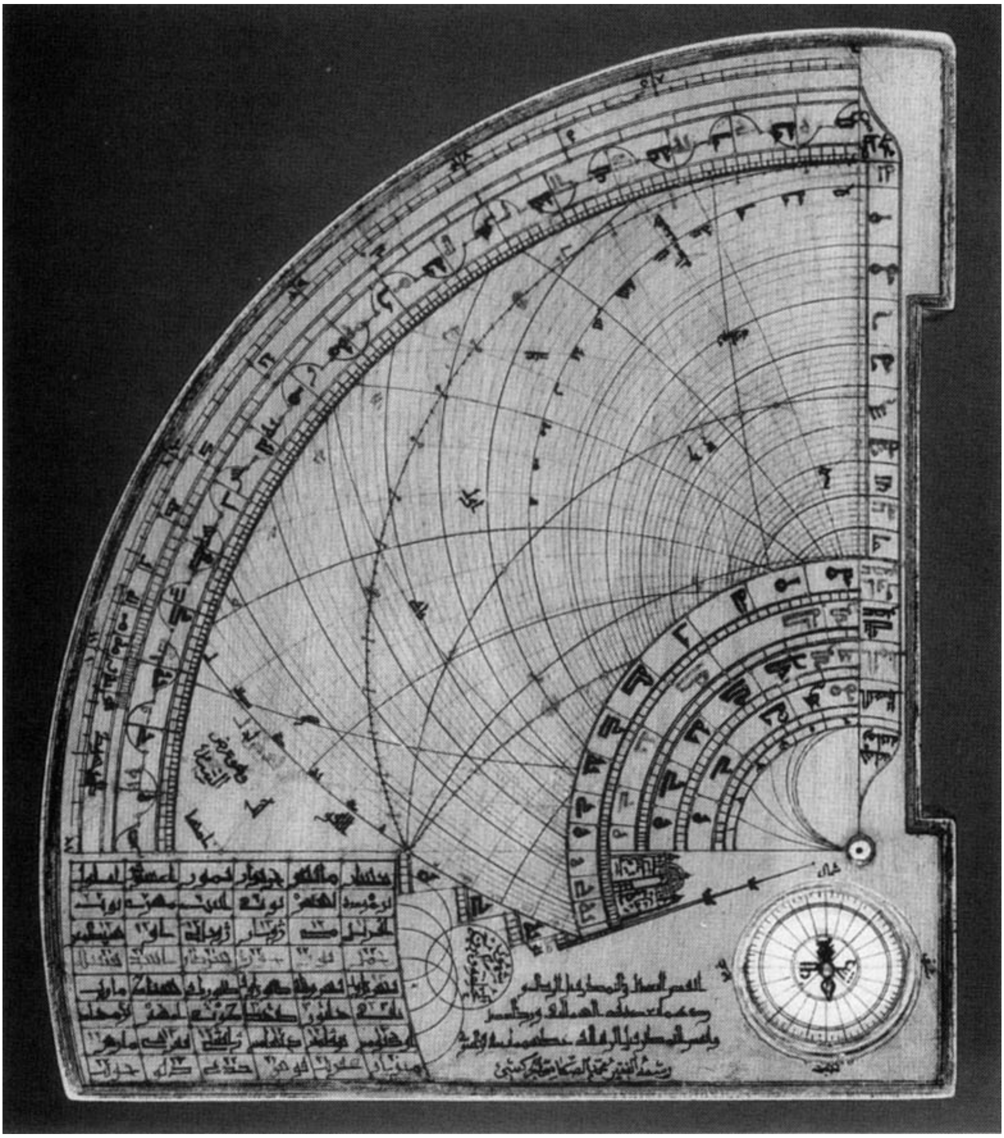

The astrolabic markings for latitude 33°30′, serving Damascus, on a quadrant signed by Muḥammad al-Ṣakāsī (?) al-Djarkasī *ca.* 1800 (radii 134/110 mm). Private collection, courtesy of the owner, photographs (also Pl. XXXV) courtesy of Mr. Luis Marden, Washington, D.C.

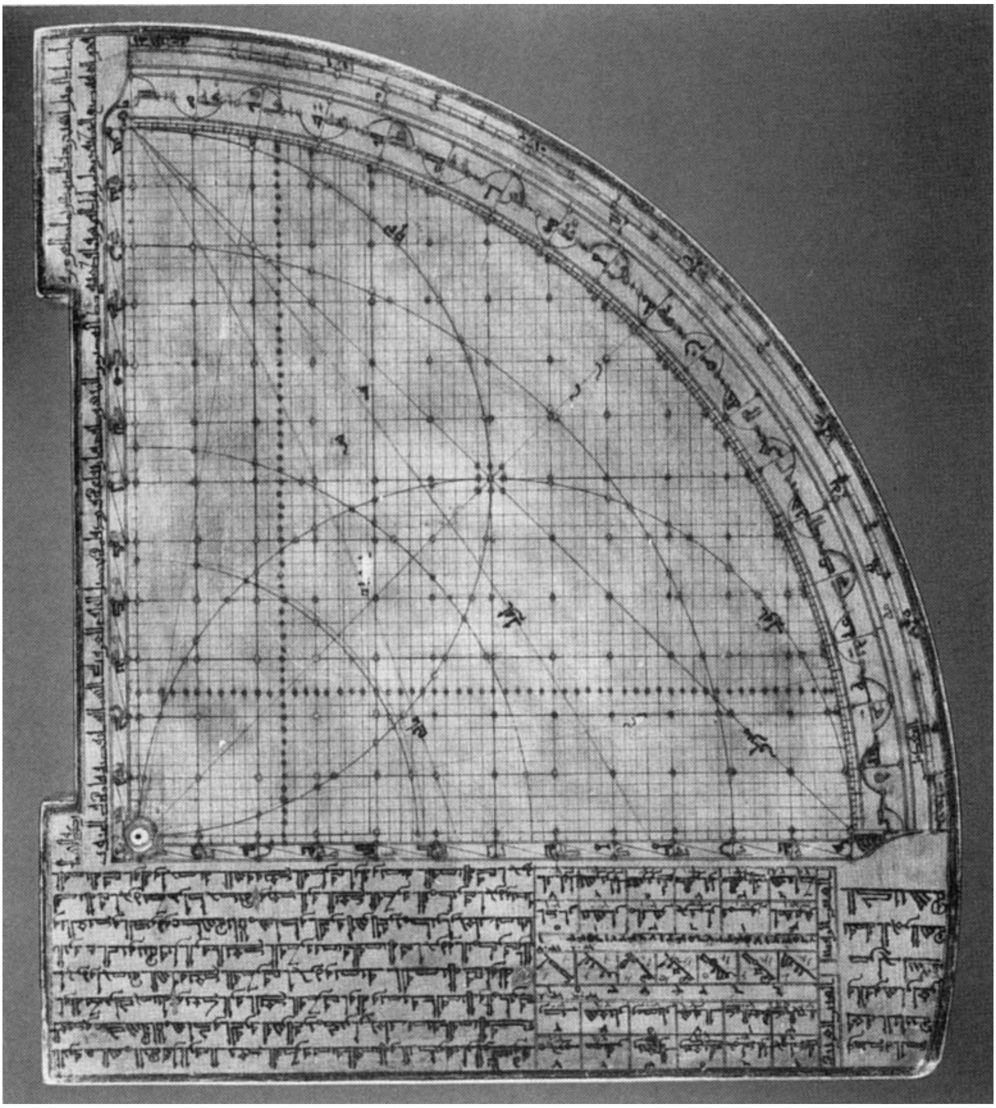

The trigonometrical markings on the back of the same instrument include all of the special lines and curves devised by Muslim astronomers over the centuries for solving specific problems of timekeeping.

Cheesman, *The deserts of Jafura and Jabrin*, in *GJ*, lxv [Jan.-June 1925], 139). According to Cox, Bertram Thomas, Wilfred Thesiger and H.R.P. Dickson, the name Rubᶜ al-Khālī was unknown to the indigenous people living around the desert perimeter and the only general term known to most modern travellers to describe the desert was "al-Ramal" or "al-Rimāl" (Thomas, 180; Thesiger, 37), although Cox also encountered the term Nufūd as well. Within the desert, specific tracts are identified by particular names, such as al-Ḳaᶜāmiyyāt, Shuwaykla, Hawaya, Ramlat al-Kuthayyib, Shaḳḳat al-Kharīṭa and ᶜUrūq al-Awārik.

By contrast, Philby (127-32) argued that the term Rubᶜ al-Khālī was indeed known to the people with whom he travelled, including tribesmen from the sands. The terms al-Rimāl or al-Ramla were used to describe the areas occupied by pastoralists. Areas of briny water were known as Khirān; and areas of better water known as Sanam. Philby regarded the waterless district specifically as the Rubᶜ al-Khālī, a term which he also equates with Rubᶜ al-Kharab. More recently, D.P. Cole has noted that the Āl Murra used the term for the region as a whole, with lesser subdivisions given their own names.

The remoteness of the arduous terrain ensured that neither the Classical nor the Arab geographers had much detail to offer on the sands. Ptolemy gives the names of places, wells and mountains, but his knowledge of the interior is very limited. In the Arabic sources, part of the southern desert is termed al-Aḥḳāf, although its application varies. Al-Hamdānī, 87; see also 127, 216) uses al-Aḥḳāf for a valley between Ḥaḍramawt and Mahra. Al-Bakrī (76) associates al-Aḥḳāf with the region of Shiḥr [*q.v.*] in Ḥaḍramawt. Yāḳūt (ii, 78), on the authority of al-Aṣmaᶜī, describes al-Aḥḳāf as a district of Arabia, placing it between Yemen and Sabā in the southwest and al-Yamāma, al-Shiḥr and ᶜUmān in the southeast. Elsewhere, Yāḳūt associates al-Aḥḳāf with the pre-Islamic tribe of ᶜĀd, iv, 1027, iii, 634), identifying it as a sandy district between ᶜUmān, al-Shiḥr and Ḥaḍramawt. J. Halèvy in 1870 refers to the desert east of Nadjrān as al-Aḥḳāf, and von Wrede in 1843 (3, 22) marks it as the desert district immediately north of the Ḥaḍramawt (see also Hogarth, 333 ff.). Philby, however, declared that al-Aḥḳāf was a literary name for the sands and was not used by the local people he encountered.

Another place mentioned by the sources in the Rubᶜ al-Khālī area is Wabar (or Ubar: see Thomas, 161) which Yāḳūt (iv, 896) locates between Yabrīn and Yemen. Wabar is said to have been cursed by Allāh when its people rejected the prophet Hūd, and the settlement was consumed by fire for the sins of its king, ᶜĀd b. Kinad. Philby (168 ff.) visited a place pointed out to him as Wabar and known to his guides as al-Ḥadīda, but it proved to be a meteorite crater rather than a settlement. The iron-rich meteor is now in King Suᶜūd University at al-Riyāḍ. Wabar has recently been associated with Shisur in Ẓufār by R. Fiennes and J. Zarins, but this view is not universally accepted.

A.R. al-Anṣāry has excavated a major archaeological site at Ḳaryat al-Fāw [see AL-FĀW], located on the southwestern edge of the Rubᶜ al-Khālī at the point where there is a break in the Djabal Ṭuwayḳ escarpment. It was probably an important town before its decline in the early 4th c. A.D., with paintings and sculpture reflecting its diverse commercial and cultural contacts with Yemen, Egypt and elsewhere. To date, it is one of the better candidates to be related to Bedouin legends of ancient towns in the Rubᶜ al-Khālī overwhelmed before Islam by sand or divine punishment.

The accounts by Thomas, Philby and Thesiger show that in the heart of the Rubᶜ al-Khālī, no tribes permanently inhabited the sands but rather, they lived a nomadic existence on its edges, occasionally entering the inner areas in pursuit of grazing or the oryx that formerly inhabited the remoter sands. Major tribes around the Rubᶜ al-Khālī include Āl Murra in the northeast, Banū Yās, Manāṣir, Rāshid and ᶜAwāmir in the east, Rāshid, ᶜAwāmir, Saᶜar and Bayt Kathīr in the south, and Yām in the west. The history of these camel-rearing tribes was formerly one of raiding and feud, with the seizure of camels as a principal feature of their warfare. The inner areas of the Rubᶜ al-Khālī provided a relatively secure retreat after raids on the desert margins.

The obstacle to travel formed by the Rubᶜ al-Khālī suggests to D.T. Potts that ancient routes avoided the sands, and he suggests that travellers followed easier routes between Yemen and Nadjd via al-Aflādj or from Nadjd through to Buraymī and ᶜUmān. Nevertheless, there are persistent indications that routes with seasonal pools exist between the southeastern coast and Yemen which are known to the tribes and are still used today.

The Rubᶜ al-Khālī was the last part of the Peninsula to be explored, and ignorance of its vast inner areas endured until well into the 20th century. Thomas (1930-1), Philby (1932) and Thesiger (1946-7, 1947-8) all conducted major journeys of exploration in the sands, and in modern times, oil exploration and development have made it relatively more accessible. Today, a number of international boundaries in the Rubᶜ al-Khālī are disputed and the discovery of oil has encouraged conflicting claims, several of which remain unresolved.

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(G.R.D. KING)

RUʾBA B. AL-ʿ**ADJDJĀDJ** AL-TAMĪMĪ, Abu ʾl-Djaḥḥāf (Abū Muḥammad also occurs), an Arab poet of the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid era (d. 145/762), the greatest exponent of the *radjaz* [*q.v.*] *ḳaṣīda*. The name Ruʾba, by which he was called after his grandfather, is attested seven times, and its diminutive Ruʾayba eight times, in Ibn al-Kalbī's genealogy (see Caskel-Strenziok ii, 489b). There is no clear cluster of attestations in Eastern Arabia, which makes Krenkow's contention (see *EI*[1], s.n.) that the name is the Persian *rōbāh* "fox" less likely. Arabic philologists suggest several explanations of this peculiar name (Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, 260). Al-Āmidī (*al-Muʾtalif*, 175-7) mentions three poets by that name, but only Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj of the tribe of the Banū Mālik b. Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm became celebrated as a poet of *radjaz* verses, in which genre he surpassed both his father [see AL-ʿADJDJĀDJ] and the latter's rival Abu ʾl-Nadjm al-ʿIdjlī [*q.v.*]. He and his father are sometimes jointly called al-ʿAdjdjādjān[i] (dual *ʿala ʾl-taghlīb*).

Of his life very little is known. His birth date is unknown, but since he is said to have died at an advanced age, 65/685 is a likely guess. Like his father he spent most of his early life in the desert (*bādiya*). In his middle years he seems to have travelled widely in the Eastern parts of the empire (Khurāsān, Kirmān) as a panegyrist, but possibly also as a soldier and a merchant (he mentions the flourishing silk trade [*bayʿ al-saraḳ*, no. 12, l. 32] in Kirmān, though he himself is poverty-stricken). For the rest of his life he seems to have settled down in Basra (*min aʿrāb al-Baṣra*), where he became *inter alia* an important linguistic informant for the nascent Baṣran circle of philologists.

Exact dates are hard to come by. In 97/716 he made the pilgrimage in the entourage of the caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, which also included the poets Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ (*Aghānī*, ed. Dār al-Kutub, xiv, 85). This may indicate the true beginning of his career as a panegyrist, as Blachère suggests (*HLA*, 526). His poem (no. 54) in praise of the general Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 121/738 [*q.v.*]) alludes to the latter's victory over Yazīd b. al-Muhallab whom he killed in 102/720 [see MUHALLABIDS]; it clearly shows Ruʾba's *ʿaṣabiyya* against the Azd, though not necessarily against the Southerners in general (he praises, e.g., the Kalbī al-Ḥakam, see below). Other addressees of his poems include:

(1) Umayyad officials (*inter alios*):
Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (see above, also no. 10); Bilāl b. Abī Burda (*inter alia ḳāḍī* in Baṣra before 118, d. 126/744; nos. 6, 30, 42, and 57); ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳays al-Dhiʾbī (governor of Sind *c.* 105/723; no. 26); al-Ḥakam b. ʿAwāna al-Kalbī (governor of Sind under Hishām, *Diiamben*, no. 13); Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (governor of Iraq, d. 126/743-4 [*q.v.*]; no. 18); Abān b. al-Walīd al-Badjalī (in 127/745 appointed chief of the guard by the caliph Marwān; nos. 15, 23, and 25); Naṣr b. Sayyār (last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, d. 131/748 [*q.v.*]; nos. 19, 50); and al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Thaḳafī (Ahlwardt, *Dīwān*, lii, and Krenkow in *EI*[1] call him the conqueror of Sind, but that would be Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim [*q.v.*]; Ruʾba addresses him as Ḳāsim and describes himself as old and bald, which he would not have been at the time of Muḥammad's death in 96/715, so al-Ḳāsim is possibly a son of the conqueror of Sind. Cf., however, al-Ṭabarī ii, 1256, where under the year 94 al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad is mentioned as the conqueror of *arḍ al-Hind*! No. 22).

(2) Umayyad caliphs:
Hishām (105-25/724-43; no. 2, where the introductory phrase wrongly states Maslama as the addressee, and *Diiamben*, no. 9); al-Walīd II b. Yazīd (125-6/743-4; no. 39); and Marwān II b. Muḥammad (127-32/744-50; no. 41).

As he had in his way shown his attachment to the Umayyads, it is no matter for surprise that Ruʾba did not feel his life safe when he was summoned before Abū Muslim. Of the audience, we only know that Abū Muslim showed himself a connoisseur of Arabic. Two poems in praise of Abū Muslim are to be found in Geyer's *Diiamben*, nos. 4 and 6. Several other poems in praise of members of the new dynasty have survived; one of 400 lines (no. 55) is dedicated to Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ and two to his uncle Sulaymān b. ʿAlī (nos. 45 and 47), whom he appointed governor of Baṣra. The latest poems of Ruʾba are in praise of al-Manṣūr, who succeeded his brother as caliph in 136/754 (no. 14 and *Diiamben*, no. 8). He was then an old man and is said to have died in 145/762.

All Ruʾba's poems are in the *radjaz mashṭūr* metre; the few verses in other metres ascribed to him (nos. 104-8 of the *abyāt mufrada* in Ahlwardt's ed. of the *Dīwān*) are by other poets and wrongly attributed to him, with the possible exception of nos. 107 and 108, for which we have Abū ʿUbayda's testimony that they constitute Ruʾba's only non-*radjaz* output (see Ullmann, *Untersuchungen*, 31n.). He had learned the art from his father, whom he even accuses of taking credit for his poems when Ruʾba began to write, and we actually have a poem by Ruʾba in which he asserts himself against his father (no. 37). From his father he also inherited a fondness for unusual words and his poems are among the most difficult in the Arabic language, as they are full of words that are never or only very rarely found in other poets (cf. Ahlwardt's lexical-statistical proof of this phenomenon in *Dīwān*, xcviii-cxii, including both al-ʿAdjdjādj and Ruʾba). One even suspects that, for the sake of effect, the poet coined new words which did not previously exist. He certainly feels free to derive new words from existing roots and to bend roots and words to his liking. These are general features of *radjaz* (see Ullmann, *Untersuchungen*, chs. 3-8), but Ruʾba may be particularly audacious in this violent handling of the language. He is also fonder than any other poet of accumulating a number of forms from the same verbal root in the same line (*tadjnīs ishtiḳāḳ* "figura etymologica"). The resulting style is rough, harsh, but forceful, at times willfully obscure, pronouncedly Bedouin-like, a *lingua rustica* (Ahlwardt, *Dīwān*, xii), which often borders on the grotesque and ironic and seems to acquire the character of a parody of the ancient *ḳaṣīda* (Ullmann, *Untersuchungen*, 37). However, Blachère has pointed out that Ruʾba is quite capable of using simple language when the rhetorical exigencies of the situation require it (e.g. in no. 50, addressed to Naṣr b. Sayyār and warning him of Abū Muslim); it is Bedouin themes like the haunting desert descriptions that attract most of the *gharīb* vocabulary (*HLA*, 529).

As a rule, Ruʾba's poems are remarkably long. The tripartite structure *nasīb-raḥīl-madīḥ* is often adhered to, but more complex structures are not uncommon, as Nallino (*Littérature*, 158) and Blachère (*HLA*, 528) have shown. One of the more interesting *fakhr* themes is pride in his own poetry (see the collection of *shawāhid* in Ahlwardt, *Dīwān*, lix-lxi). The *Dīwān* con-

tains several monothematic pieces, in particular three desert descriptions (nos. 1, 34, and 40), which Ahlwardt considers to be incomplete poems. While this may be true, it should be noted that no. 40 (starting *wa-ḳātimi 'l-aʿmāḳi khāwi 'l-mukhtarak*), which is the most famous of Ruʾba's poems, is unabashedly called a *ḳaṣīda* in the later literature and the quoted line its beginning.

Some important intellectual developments reflected in Ruʾba's poetry are the following: (1) In a poem in praise of Hishām (no. 2, l. 45), he speaks against the *ḳadariyyūn*, apparently in the less usual sense of people believing in predestination (this attestation to be added to the ones collected in ḲADARIYYA, vol. IV, 368b). (2) In no. 22, l. 139, the term *naḥwī* "language expert" is attested, in the context of a poetic *fakhr* asserting that the poet's command of the language is superior. (3) In several places, astrological notions are alluded to (Nallino, *Littérature*, 159). (4) Koranic themes and allusions are not infrequent. His eerie depiction of Jonah in the belly of the fish in the depth of the ocean is a most impressive example (no. 10, ll. 66-74). It is the final image in a poem of giving thanks to God for being delivered out of the hands of the Khāridjites; Jonah (referred to as *ṣāḥib al-ḥūt*, not *dhū 'l-nūn*) is a model from the past for God's deliverance out of misery.

There are many reports that all the important early philologists of Baṣra and, less often, of Kūfa were in contact with him to increase their knowledge of the *lugha*, and this to such an extent that he became tired of them. He seems to have been an important link between the oral tradition of poetry and the nascent scholarship of the philologists. Due to the high percentage of *gharīb* in his poetry, he remained a favourite of the lexicographers; in the *LʿA* lines quoted from his poetry run into the thousands.

Ruʾba is also known as a *ḥadīth* transmitter (see, in particular, Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, vi, 284-92, and Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, 290-1).

He had two sons, ʿAbd Allāh, to whom two poems of remarkable tenderness are dedicated (nos. 20 and 56), and ʿUḳba who also wrote poems in the same metre as his father (*GAS*, ii, 369), though nothing survives.

Ruʾba's poems were collected by several scholars, among them his younger contemporaries Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ, Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī and Ibn al-Aʿrābī [*q.vv.*] and the later al-Sukkarī [*q.v.*]. For details on the recensions and the mss. see *GAS*, ii, 368-9. On the basis of the Berlin ms. Landberg 826 (Ahlwardt 8155), a modern copy of the ms. Cairo *adab* 516, the *dīwān* has been edited by W. Ahlwardt (Berlin 1903, repr. Baghdād n.d.), unfortunately without the commentary by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860 [*q.v.*]) which is absolutely necessary for an understanding of the poems, and in the alphabetical order of the rhymes which makes it difficult to recognise the original arrangement of the collection. As this edition was incomplete, Geyer in 1908 published, in a collection of several *radjaz* poets entitled *Altarabische Diiamben*, twelve further poems with the commentary, basing himself on the different recension contained in the ms. Cairo *adab* 519. Ahlwardt had added to his edition a collection of verses which he had found in various works quoted as by Ruʾba. This collection was extended by Geyer in his *Beiträge zum Dīwān des Ruʾbah*, in *S.B. Ak. Wien*, clxiii (1910). Even then there remain lines attributed to Ruʾba which have escaped both editors. Confusion seems to have begun at quite an early date between the poems of Ruʾba and those of his father al-ʿAdjdjādj. Ahlwardt also published a complete German translation of the whole *Dīwān* in metre. The value of this translation is considered small by Krenkow in *EI*[1] for being only a paraphrase that does not help with the difficulties of the Arabic text. Ullmann gives a fairer and more positive evaluation (*Untersuchungen*, 30n.). The new edition by ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ al-Saṭlī, announced in *Akhbār al-turāth*, iii (1982), 15, has so far not yet appeared.

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RUBĀʿĪ (pl. **RUBĀʿIYYĀT**), a verse form.

1. In Persian.

In Persian, this is the shortest type of formulaic poem; its long history, the strict rules governing its use and the richness of its expression make it one of the jewels of Persian literature. It is usually but inaccurately called "quatrain" (Arabic *rubāʿ*, "in fours, in foursomes"; *rubāʿī*, composed of four parts > "quadriliteral"). In the 7th/13th century, Shams-i Ḳays explained the Arabic appellation thus: "because, in Arabic poetry, the *hazadj* metre is made up of four parts; thus, each *bayt* (in Persian) constructed on this metre forms two *bayts* in Arabic" (Shams, 115, ll. 3-4). This reference to Arabic poetic technique in describing a specifically Persian form of poem has for a long time confused study of the quatrain.

Shams-i Ḳays, in his magisterial treatise on Persian poetic technique (completed after 630/1232), *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, tells the story of an ancient Persian poet ("and I think that it was Rūdakī", 112, l. 4) who invented the metre of the quatrain on hearing a winsome child crying out in the course of a game: *ghaltān ghaltān hamī rawad tā bun-i gū* ("the ball is rolling, rolling to the bottom of the hole"), i.e. in quantitative metre: ––––⏑–⏑––⏑⏑–. On account of its rhythm and freshness, the poem thus invented was called *tarāna* ("young and fine"); "it was also called *du baytī* (with two *bayt*)". This involved recourse to anecdote betrays awareness of the specifically Persian origin of the quatrain. But Shams

no longer possessed the elements which would have enabled him to address correctly the study of the quatrain: this is a formal adaptation of Arabic technique to a poetic material of Iranian tradition.

The survey of the *rubāʿī* supplied by Shams-i Ḳays (112-27) is the most complete that is known. The numerous treatises subsequently composed are pedagogic adaptations of it. The studies in European languages by Fr. Gladwin, Garcin de Tassy, Fr. Rückert-W. Pertsch and H. Blochmann, are annotated translations of the latter. All give prominent place to the study of the *rubāʿī*, as does Shams-i Ḳays. In the first chapter of *al-Muʿdjam*, the first metre of which he analyses the constitution and usage is the *baḥr-i hazadj*, a metre of quantitative rhythm composed of a foot of one short and three longs (*mafāʿīlun*) repeated three times, hence four equal feet. Like his predecessors, Shams seeks to locate the *rubāʿī* among the realisations of the Arabic *hazadj* metre; but he finds it so original that he relegates study of it to a footnote at the end of his survey of this metre. He then has recourse to the authority of an *imām* of Khurāsān, Ḥasan Ḳaṭṭān (115, l. 19), who had constructed an overall diagram formed of two trees with twelve branches, designed to show all the opportunities for "changing the foot by excision of a syllable" (*ziḥāf*), available in Persian in the usage of *rubāʿī* and "which did not exist in Arabic" (115, l. 5), even though "today", he says, there are numerous *rubāʿiyyāt* in Arabic, imitations of the Persian. Case by case, over six pages, Shams subsequently brings his aesthetic appreciation to bear on the major realisations of *hazadj* metre in the *rubāʿī*; these are formed on the basis of two principal types of excision of a letter (or of a syllable) at the beginning of a foot, *kharb* or *kharm*. The specifically Persian *tarāna* was thus forced into a mould which was inappropriate for it and from which modern ingenuity has been unable to extricate it (M. Farzaad, *Persian poetic metres*, Leiden 1967, 99-123).

In order to escape from the impasse to which the false path of *hazadj* was leading, it has been necessary to undertake a philological study of the antecedents of this sophisticated *rubāʿī* and a statistical study of the reality of the usage of the metre of the Persian quatrain, setting all theories aside. It is undisputed that three elements characterise the *rubāʿī*: brevity, the use of a special metre and the use of a rhyme appropriate to its structure. In its classical form, it is the shortest of Persian poems. Each one begins in the same formal fashion. It is composed of two *bayts*; each *bayt* consists of two *miṣrāʿ*s or hemistiches; the four *miṣrāʿ*s have the same metre, or are arranged in pairs, with two variants of the metre. *Miṣrāʿ*s 1, 2 and 4 rhyme; in some cases *miṣrāʿ* 3 also rhymes with the others. In short, it is a form offering almost limitless possibilities for stylistic experiments.

It is not known when the quatrain first came into existence. Its emergence in literature can be pinpointed, but it is certainly of pre-Islamic origin, and of popular origin also: the *du baytī* remains a form of poetry widely practised throughout the Persian cultural sphere. Historically, the quatrain has followed the evolution of Persian poetry in general. Written evidence remains of pre-Islamic poetry based on a syllabic metre and an accentual verse with caesura; rhyme, admittedly irregular, appears in the early Islamic period, and is followed by the use of quantitative metre, irregular at first, ultimately becoming regular quantitative versification, with regular rhyme (Lazard 1975, 612-14). The appearance, under Arabic influence, of rhyme dictated by increasingly stringent rules is understandable; more singular is the subjection of the Iranian syllabic metre to Arabic quantitative prosody (Benveniste 1930, 224). There was imitation of the quantitative principle, but application took account of previous realities. It is for this reason that the Persian metre differs from the Arabic metre in the distribution of long sounds; this applies particularly to the quatrain. The Persian metre is a syllabic metre, but with syllables divided into long and short. Accents and caesuras had moulded the elementary distributions of syllables; the major Persian metres are moulded according to these distributions. The accent has ceased to be a factor in the distribution of syllables in the classical *bayt*. The reckoning of syllables, short and long, is what matters in Persian metrical systems, rather than the reckoning of letters, which are important only for the rhyme.

Various studies have been undertaken (Benveniste, Henning, Lazard and Shafīʿī Kadkanī) with the object of identifying, in fragments of verse in Pahlavi (of the *Bundahishn*) and in older Persian (before the 3rd/9th century), transmitted through texts in Arabic as well as in Manichaean fragments, what used to be known as the *tarāna*, a term of pre-Islamic origin which denoted songs intended for feasting and wine. Rūdakī (d. 329/940 [*q.v.*]) had, at the apogee of the Sāmānids of Bukhārā, a leading role, owed to a poetic genius which led to his acceptance as a master by all the poets of the 5th/11th century. Numerous quatrains were attributed to him (including, no doubt, some pseudepigrapha), and he was even credited with the invention of the genre. But among poets who preceded him, some by as much as a century, and among poets contemporary with him, examples are known of poems which conform to the characteristic traits of the *rubāʿī*. In Arabic, the *rubāʿī* did not appear until the end of the 4th/10th century, in Khurāsān and from the pen of a poet of Pūshang in the region of Harāt (Shafīʿī Kadkanī, 1988, 2331), evidently under Persian influence.

Another important feature in the history of the quatrain is its usage in Ṣūfī circles. The question was posed in the 4th/10th century: whether in the course of the spiritual observance and the dance which accompanies it (*samāʿ* [*q.v.*]), it is permitted to listen to *rubāʿiyyāt* (Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj al-Ṭūsī (d. 378/988), *K. al-Lumaʿ*, 299, l. 3). A number of pieces of evidence emanating from Ṣūfī circles of Khurāsān, and also from Baghdād and elsewhere (thus al-Tanūkhī, in *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, written in 360/971), testify to the usage of the quatrain by the Persians, simple people expressing their love to the best of their ability; "it is the discourse of lovers and madmen", the master Djunayd (d. 298/910) is supposed to have said of it, according to Sulamī (d. 412/1021). According to the same, the *samāʿ al-rubāʿiyyāt* "is suitable only for strong and experienced men" (Shafīʿī Kadkanī, 2337, l. 22).

It is therefore not astonishing that in the 5th/11th century the quatrain was in use among all the Persian lyrical poets. Attempts have been made to establish Abū Saʿīd Abi 'l-Khayr (d. 440/1049 [*q.v.*]) as the inventor of the quatrain in Ṣūfism; like others before him, he practised it, but his eminent role in the history of Khurāsānian Ṣūfism gave added respectability to the *rubāʿī*, and poems attributed to him were considered to have been endorsed by his authority. In the same period, the Ḥanbalī Ṣūfī al-Anṣārī (d. 481/1088 [*q.v.*]) composed some fine quatrains, and the mountain-dwelling hermit Bābā Ṭāhir (d. in the middle of the same century [*q.v.*]) expressed the sum of his experience in *du baytīs* in which his Persian was

blended with dialectal elements of Luristān. There are few poets who, over ten centuries, have not practised the quatrain; the modern period has seen the evolution of variants of the *rubāʿī* having 3 or 5 *miṣrāʿ*s. The most widely admired author of quatrains is ʿUmar Khayyam (d. before 530/1135 [*q.v.*]); his life, his work and his eminent position made him an easy target for pseudepigraphical artifice; it was not until a century after his death that a copy of a quatrain attributed to him was found, but the scholarly scepticism which is observed here corresponds closely to that which was denounced by the great mystic ʿAṭṭār (d. *ca.* 617/1220 [*q.v.*]), in regard to Khayyām precisely (*Ilāhī-nāma*, 215, ll. 5169-83). Thus was born a Khayyāmian tradition of quatrains, from the terrible century of the Mongols, the 7th/13th, onwards.

In his study of Persian metre based on statistical findings, P.N. Khānlari (Khānlarī 1966), has demonstrated once again that the metre of the *rubāʿī* followed rules exclusive to it. The basic structure of what he calls the *baḥr-i tarāna* consists, he asserts, of five feet; the first and the fourth, comprising two longs, never vary; feet 2 and 5, made up of two longs, may have as a variant: ⏑⏑–; foot 3, constructed thus: ⏑–⏑, can have two variants: –⏑⏑ and ––. Twelve principal realisations are identified by the author, emanating from the possibilities offered by these variants.

L.P. Elwell-Sutton (1976, 134-6), has set aside the division into feet and has sought to group the realisations of a sample of 400 lines or "hemistiches" (*miṣrāʿ*), under patterns capable of producing all the realisations. A group *a* corresponds to a basic pattern constructed thus:

––⏑⏑/–⏑–⏑––⏑⏑–

this is the most ancient, the most popular and the most frequent; group *b*:

––⏑⏑/––⏑⏑––⏑⏑–

For the two shorts in the penultimate position, it is quite common to substitute one long; the same substitution for the two shorts in the third position is exceptional, and this would be out of place in the middle of the line. These features are quite typical of Persian metre. The statistical survey has also enabled the author to state that lines of 12 and 11 syllables are the most frequent, and that there is no evidence to show that the rhyme pattern A A A A in the quatrain is older than the rhyme pattern A A B A, although the latter obtains in 70% of cases.

The quatrain is not restricted to a unique semantic field; it may be lyrical, satirical, mystical, philosophical, conveying aphoristic maxims or expressing states of mind. It should be dignified (*buland*), or delicate (*laṭīf*), or mordant (*tīz*). Its structure should be such that the first three *miṣrāʿ*s introduce the fourth, the first two sharing a certain unity, whence the ternary structure which is encountered in a number of quatrains (Bausani 1960, 532). While quatrains are to be found in almost all the Persian *dīwān*s, there are some *dīwān*s which are composed exclusively of quatrains.

There are numerous translations of Persian quatrians. The technical problems of translating the *rubāʿī* into European languages have only recently been the object of systematic consideration (Lazard 1991). The object must be to convey an impression of the form of the *rubāʿī*, a poem of such rigorous intensity that the rhythmic clash of words is constantly striking brilliant sparks of intelligence.

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(C.-H. de Fouchecour)

2. In Turkish.

It is impossible to deal with the problems of the Turkish *rubāʿī* without a suitable consideration of the corresponding Persian metre; the two civilisations have broadly amalgamated.

The word *rubāʿī* signifies here the distinct type described by Eilers, sc. an independent strophe of four lines, with the basic form ––⏑⏑––⏑⏑––⏑⏑–, the rhyme sequence *aaba* and a definite meaning sequence: introduction (the first two lines), surprising new motive (third line), pointe, return to the outset (last line). We may call this kind of quatrain the "perfect genuine *rubāʿī*" (abbreviated PGR).

In this rigid and narrow sense, the word *rubāʿī* is frequently employed in Turkish (and extra-Turkish) literature, for example in the following works: Kabaklı (i, 617-18, 678-9), Özkırımlı (996), *TDEA* (xxvii, 445), Dilçin (5, etc.). Karaalioğlu (605); Gibb (i, 88-90), Kowalski (161-3), Andrews (167-70). Nevertheless, the term is sometimes employed in a broader sense, namely as an equivalent of the Turkish *dörtlük*. That is, it signifies a quatrain: a strophe consisting of four lines (which we may abbreviate as FLS). Cf. Rypka, 694 ("the quatrain [*rubāʿī*]", by which term is meant the popular Persian strophe containing eleven syllables in each line), Köprülüzade, 113-22 (where the form is arranged into the general notion of *dörtlük*, e.g. some strophes of *Ḳutadghu bilig*, which are, nevertheless, *mutaḳārib maḥdhūf*), Bertel's, 88 (= Eastern Turkish *törtlük*), Eckmann, in *PTF*, ii, 299-300 (the quatrain quoted there as "*rubāʿī*" has the metre *fāʿilātun fāʿilātun fāʿilātun faʿūlun*, similar to *tuyugh*).

The origin of the PGR is controversial, since it is in *ʿarūḍ*, but not of the Arabic type. This diachronic problem must clearly be distinguished from the synchronic structure of the PRG, as it has been described above. See on this, Doerfer (Hungary, Sweden). Substantially, two opinions exist:

(a) The "*rubāʿī*" has a purely Persian origin, either as going back to Old Persian metres (Salemann, Gershevitch) or as having developed in an early New Persian epoch (Elwell-Sutton, Eilers, Meier, Andrews, Rypka). Most Turkish authors, too, support this thesis, under Köprülü's influence (Dilçin, 208, Kabaklı, 618, Özkırımlı, 996, *TDEA*, 350-1, Karaalioğlu, 605); cf. also *PTF*, ii, 104-5, 112-13, 256, 261. To be sure, "*rubāʿī*" is mainly confined here to the narrow sense of PGR.

(b) On the other hand, Köprülüzade remarks (113-22) that the *dörtlük* (= FLS) already existed in pre-Islamic Turkish literature. He says, furthermore, that

for the "*rubāʿī*" (= PGR) neither a Turkish nor a Persian origin can finally be proven (although PGR is documented in the Persian literature much earlier). At any rate, the four-line strophe is popular both in Turkish and Persian mediaeval and modern lyrics. The same differentiation is also expressed in Bertel's, 88, 107; the PGR has originated under the influence of the Turkish FLS, but it has assumed its ultimate shape in Persian literature.

The origin of the Persian PGR under the influence of the Turkish FLS has been underlined still more expressively by Kowalski, 161-3: *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, 445; Çetin, in *İA*, 759-61; and Bausani, 527-78 (above all in 535, where Chinese parallels, also originating under Turkish influence, have been considered).

Indisputably, the first PGR metre has been documented much earlier in Persian poetry than in the Turkish. It is found as early as 333/944-5 in a poem by Abū Shakūr, whereas the first PGR metre in Turkish language belongs to the second half of the 6th/12th century, see below. This fact proves that at least the direct origin of the PGR is Persian; and this simultaneously signifies that the hypothesis of an origin from the Turkish FLS cannot in the strictest sense be proven, particularly since the first Turkish poems belong to the 5th/11th century. On the other hand, a diachronic investigation shows that an origin from the Turkish FLS (or, at least, a certain influence from this side) can also not be excluded. The most frequent metre in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's *Dīwān* is ——⏑—/—⏑—. The *Dīwān* dates from 464-70/1072-8, but derives from many earlier sources. But exactly this metre occurs, too, in the first *rubāʿī*-like poem in New Persian literature, found in a satirical verse in al-Ṭabarī under the year 108/726: *az Khuttalān āmadhīh / bā rū tabāh āmadhīh / āwār bāz āmadhīh / bē dil farāz āmadhīh*. The subsequent development of early Persian metrics gradually leads to the PGR. It should be noted that these metres are largely similar to al-Kāshgharī's eleven-syllable metre ——⏑—/—⏑—/——⏑—. Cf. Ḥanẓala (250/864), ——⏑—/⏑——/⏑——/—⏑—; Mashriḳī (283/896), ——⏑⏑—/⏑—⏑—/—— (the same metre is found in a poem by Manūčihrī (432/1040-1); Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (311/923), ——⏑⏑—/—⏑⏑—/—⏑—; Shahīd (324/936), ——⏑⏑—/—⏑⏑—/—⏑⏑— (but only in a two-line verse); and finally, in Abū Shakūr, ——⏑⏑—/⏑—⏑—/—⏑⏑—. This last example is of particular interest, since it follows the PGR rhythm exactly; however, it has a rhyme sequence *aaaa*. Both the rhyme sequence *aaba* and the meaning sequence (see above) have only gradually developed in Persian literature (see below), becoming a general norm from the 5th/11th century onwards. Since Bausani has shown that a Turkish influence of the FLS both upon the East (China) and the West (Iran) is likely, the hypothesis of a Turkish FLS origin of the Persian PGR may also be regarded as possible. But the definitive shaping of PGR occurred on Persian soil, so that PGR is a witness to the Iranian spirit.

In other words, we may put forward the hypothesis that the Persians adopted models from both adjacent nomadic societies: that west of Iran (the Arabic *ʿarūḍ*) and that east of Iran (the Turkish FLS), but that they reorganised these patterns into a genuine Persian form.

So much for metrics. The meaning sequence described above is certainly of Persian origin and has been cultivated, above all, by ʿUmar Khayyām [*q.v.*], to become an admired and frequently imitated model not only for Persian, but also for Turkish poetry. The spirited and pointed rhyme sequence *aaba* has also been made a norm by ʿUmar Khayyām. It seems likely that *TDEA*, 350, is right in supposing that it was Mewlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604-72/1207-73 [*q.v.*]) who influenced Ottoman literature by his *Dīwān-i kabīr*, introducing the PGR in its perfect structure.

The rhyme sequence *aaba* occurs frequently in the Eastern Turkish literature of the 5th/11th century, e.g. in the *Kutadghu bilig* (196 verses) and in the *ʿAtabat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* (generally), cf. Köprülü, 341. To be sure, these verses are no PGR, but FLS in *mutaḳārib*, and resemble a collection of *ḳiṭaʿāt*. In MK's work, *aaba* is rare, if it exists at all, but it may be found in Stebleva's no. 44, which also follows the PGR-like metre ——⏑—/—⏑—/——⏓—. This sequence is widespread in modern Turkish folk-poetry, not only in the Anatolian *māni* [*q.v.*] and in other regions of Western Turks, such as Persia, but also in Central Asia (Karakalpak, Kazakh, Uzbek and New Uyghur folklores). It is even found in South Siberia—above all in Tannu-Tuva—and this may be a hint at the archaic character of *aaba* in the Turkish world. On the other hand, in Iranian folk-poetry *aaba* is also well-documented. In Iranian educated literature, the older *rubāʿiyyāt* have mostly the rhyme sequence *aaaa*, cf. Elwell-Sutton, 639-44; seven Persian poets of the 5th/11th century offer 905 cases of *aaaa* (91%), against only 91 (9%) *aaba*. In ʿUmar Khayyām's work, on the contrary, *aaba* prevails over *aaaa* (70%: 30%), and this norm is still more valid in Ḥāfiẓ, where *aaaa* has become extremely rare (about 2.5%).

The Turkish development is almost a parallel of the Iranian one. However, extensive statistical investigations of this topic are still lacking, and poets seem to behave very differently. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī (845-906/1441-1501) favours *aaaa* both in his Čaghatay Turkish and Persian *rubāʿiyyāt* to about 88%. The last word is often identical in all four verses (then generally with a *radīf* [*q.v.*]). In poems of the Ādharbāydjānī poet Nesīmī (770-820/1369-1417), *aaaa* prevails over *aaba* (and *xaya*); 314 (86%) 52 : 1. But in the East Anatolian Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn's (745-800/1345-98) poems we find *aaba* : *xaya* in a relation of 19 : 1; similarly in the Rumelian Yaḥyā Newʿī's (940-1007/1533-99) *rubāʿiyyāt*, *aaba* : *xaya* = 8 : 3; and in the Istanbulī Ḥāletī's (977-1040/1570-1631) poems (here, for example, the 16 poems quoted by Gibb, iii, 227-30, are *aaba* throughout). The same holds true of the Ādharbāydjānī Fuḍūlī's (d. 963/1556) work: *aaba* : *aaaa* = 65 : 7 (three *aaaa* with *radīf*), i.e. 90 : 10%. Generally speaking, the rhyme sequence *aaba* (which corresponds to that of the *māni*) found increased use in the course of time, particularly in the western area of Turkish literatures.

These and other hints at the Turkish origin of the FLS and PGR are remarkable, and may be due to a narrow Turkish-Iranian symbiosis. However, the PGR in its ideal form is owed to the Persians and above all to ʿUmar Khayyām. It remains (Eilers, 212) "ein wundervolles Zeugnis des persischen Genius". This PGR has been adopted by both Ottoman-Ādharbāydjānī and Čaghatay literature and plays an enormous role there. Kabaklı, 618, understates when he says that every *Dīwān* poet has written "one or two *rubāʿiyyāt*"; PGRs, sometimes in great number, are found in almost every important *dīwān*.

The earliest documented purely Turkish PGR was written by Mubārakshāh from Marw-i Rūd [*q.v.*] in eastern Khurāsān. It presumably belongs to the end of the 6th/12th century: *waʿdā berüsän näʾüčün kälmässän / söz yalghanïnï mäning bilä ḳoymas-sän / yüzüng kün u sač tün ḳara körmäs-sän / ʿïshḳïngda ḳarärsïz äy ʿadjāb bilmäs-sän* "thou givest me a promise, (but) why doest thou not come? Thou abandonest neither lying nor

me. Thou dost not see that thy face is (bright as) the sun and thy hairs are black (as) the night. Thou knowest, foresooth, that thou art unsteady in thy love". Furthermore, there are two macaronic *rubāʿiyyāt* dating from the same period, Badr al-Dīn al-Ḳawwāmī of the Rayy Oghuz (6th/12th century, with a rhyme sequence *aaaa*) and Ḳurashī from Transoxania (7th/13th century, rhyme sequence *aaba*), cf. Köprülüzade, *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında avaştırmalav*, 118-20.

According to Köprülü (344, and in PTF, ii, 256) the PGR metre is not adapted for the Turkish language ("étranger au rhythme du mètre national turc et très difficile à adapter à la langue turque ... caprices individuels des poètes turcs possédant une solide connaissance de la métrique persane"). On the other hand, he explains (1934, 350) that the PGR was readily adaptable to Turkish prosody, since it is a four-line strophe. Indeed, the PGR has become a favoured genre in the Turkish literatures, at least those more or less influenced by Persian poetry. This preference lasted from the earliest period (e.g. Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn until the modern era (e.g. Yaḥyā Kemāl Beyātlī, 1884-1958). *Rubāʿiyyāt* have been shaped not only in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, but also in Ādharbāydjān (see above; Nesīmī, Fuḍūlī, and many others), in Turkmenia (Āzādī, 1700-60) and even in the successive regions of the Ulus Čaghatay (Nawāʾī; Shībānī, 855-916/1451-1510; Amānī, 945-1017/1538-1608; Bābur, 888-936/1483-1530; Kāmrān Mīrzā, 1825-99; Djahān Khatun, 19th century; cf. Eckmann, in *PTF*, ii, 304-402, and Hofman).

For the poets of the Ottoman Empire (and Turkey) cf. *PTF*, ii (index 952; references given by Björkman at 403-65); Kabaklı, 618; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, 445; Dilçin, 168, 350, etc., Özkırımlı, 996, Karaalioğlu, 605; Necatigil. As well as those named above we may mention as the most outstanding *rubāʿī* poets: Ḳara Faḍlī (d. 1564), Rūḥī from Baghdād (d. 1014/1605); Fehīm (1036-58/1627-48); Djewrī (d. 1064/1654); Neshāṭī (d. 1085/1674); Thābit (1060-1124/1650-1712); Nābī (1052-1124/1642-1712); Nedīm (1092-1143/1681-1730); Sezāʾī (1080-1151/1669-1738); Naḥīfī (d. 1151/1738); Esrār Dede (d. 1210/1796); Sheykh Ghālib (1170-1214/1757-99); ʿAwnī from Yeñishehir (1826-83); Sabahattin Eyüboğlu (1908-73); Arif Nihat Asya (1904-75); and Cemal Yeşil (1900-77). The most famous and celebrated *rubāʿī* poet, however, is ʿAzmī-zāde Ḥāletī. Nedīm glorified him with the following verse: *Ḥāletī ewdj-i rubāʿīde učar ʿankā gibi* "Ḥāletī is like the *ʿanḳā* (bird), flying on the *rubāʿī*'s summit", cf. *PTF*, ii, 443; *TDEA*, 350. Muʿallim Nādjī, however, criticised him. As to his biography and literary creativity cf. *EI*[1] art. s.v. (Menzel), *İA*, v, 125-6 (Yöntem); *EI*[2] art, s.v. (İz), *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, xviii, Ankara 1970, 346-8. He wrote 2 *ʿarḍ-ī ḥāls*, 3 *ḳaṣīdas*, 2 *merthiyes*, 3 *ḳiṭʿa-yī kebīres*, 5 *tārīkhs*, 330 *beyts*, but 569 *rubāʿīs*. He was called *Üstād-i rubāʿī* "master of the *rubāʿī*" and *Khayyām-i Rūm*. (Gibb's and Kabaklı's opinion that Ḥāletī cannot equal Khayyām in respect of originality is disputed by Yöntem.)

In Turkish (Ottoman) *rubāʿiyyāt*, the *akhreb* pattern, whose first three syllables are ––⏑, is much more frequently employed than the *akhrem* pattern (–––), cf. *TDEA*, 350-1; the same holds true for Čaghatay literature (e.g. for Nawāʾī). This fact may be conditioned by the structure of the Turkish languages. The *rubāʿī* appears in 12 variants, of which Turkish poetry has made a certain selection; not only the *akhrem*, but also certain kinds of *akhreb* patterns occur less often.

The following table shows the patterns and their frequency:

akhreb	1	––⏑/⏑–⏑–/⏑–––/–	frequent according to Kabaklı, *TDEA*, Dilçin; according to Andrews (along with 2) the most frequent pattern
	2	––⏑/⏑–⏑–/⏑––⏑/⏑–	frequent according to Kabaklı, *TDEA*, Dilçin; according to Andrews (along with 1) the most frequent pattern
	3	––⏑/⏑–––/–––/–	frequent only according to Kabaklı and *TDEA*
	4	––⏑/⏑–––/––⏑/⏑–	frequent only according to Kabaklı
	5	––⏑/⏑––⏑/⏑–––/–	frequent according to Kabaklı, *TDEA*, Dilçin
	6	––⏑/⏑––⏑/⏑––⏑/⏑–	frequent according to Kabaḳlı, *TDEA*, Dilçin
akhrem	7	–––/–⏑–/⏑–––/–	frequent only according to *TDEA*
	8	–––/–⏑–/⏑––⏑/⏑–	frequent only according to *TDEA*
	9	–––/–––/–––/–	rare
	10	–––/–––/–⏑⏑–/–	rare
	11	–––/––⏑⏑/–––/–	rare
	12	–––/––⏑⏑/––⏑⏑/–	rare

These statements can be corroborated. For example, Newʿī's 11 *rubāʿiyyāt* and Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn's 20 *rubāʿiyyāt* are all *akhreb*; in Fuḍūlī's 72 examples, only one *akhrem* is to be found.

According to Dilçin, 207, a certain preference exists to employ two different variants in a *rubāʿī*, namely, one for the verses 1,2,4 (which also rhyme with each other) and another for the third (in the *aaba* pattern, unrhymed) verse; this is a frequent usage in Persian poetry too, for example in ʿUmar Khayyām's poems. This accentuation of the third verse, the underlying of its particular character is also known in the Turkish *māni*, where, to be sure, the same effect is produced by a change of caesura (e.g. *dam üstünde / duran ḳiz // bayram geldi / dolan ḳiz // ḳurbansiz / bayram olmaz // olam sana / ḳurban ḳiz* "girl standing on the roof; *bayram* has come, walk around, girl; without victims there is no *bayram*; I may become a victim for you, girl": 4,3; 4,3; 3,4; 4,3). In a more distant way, this underlining of a verse resembles certain poems in al-Kāshgharī, where, however, it is the last verse of the *aaab* pattern which has a particular structure (e.g. in Stebleva, 31.1, following the scheme ⏑––/⏑––//⏑––/⏑––//⏑––/⏑––//–⏑⏑–/–⏑–).

In whatever manner the problem of the genetic connection of the Turkish and Persian folk poetries (of which the PRG is a sublimation) may be explained, the symbiosis of these peoples and the similarity of their civilisations is undeniable.

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3. In Arabic.

The *rubāʿiyya*, lit. "quadripartite entity", or quatrain occurs in Arabic literature both as an independent verse form and as an element of structure in longer compositions. It represents a comparatively late development of poetic form and its origins are not altogether clear.

The lines of the quatrain can either be lines in the sense of a *bayt* (two hemistichs with between 16 and 30 syllables and a caesura) or in the sense of a *miṣrāʿ* or *shaṭr* (a single hemistich so to speak, of 15 or less syllables). In the classical *ḳaṣīda* it is the *bayt* which represents the unit of structure, in *radjaz* poetry it is the *shaṭr*. In the *rubāʿiyya* either case can apply, leading to ambiguity in the usage of this term. However, more often than not, the *rubāʿiyya* denotes a quatrain whose lines have the length of half a *bayt*. This explains why expressions like *baytānⁱ* ("two *bayts*") or *dūbayt* (from Persian *du* "two"; also *dūbaytī*) are sometimes used as synonyms for *rubāʿiyya*.

Dūbayt, however, is more often used for a quatrain of a particular metre (*faʿlun mutafāʿilun faʿūlun faʿilun*) and rhyme scheme *aaba* (called *aʿradj*) or *aaaa*. Common metrical variations are: (a) ——⏑⏑—⏑—⏑——⏑⏑—; (b) ——⏑⏑——⏑⏑——⏑⏑—; (c) ——⏑⏑———⏑——⏑⏑—. When used in this sense, *dūbayt* is the Arabic equivalent of the Persian *rubāʿī*. Its origins and its development are discussed extensively in the introductory essay of Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *Dīwān al-dūbayt fi 'l-shiʿr al-ʿarabī (fī ʿasharat ḳurūn)*, Manshūrāt al-djāmiʿa 'l-Lībiyya, n.p. 1392/1972, 15-132. This book contains, arranged according to centuries, a collection of 808 poems in the *dūbayt* metre (mostly quatrains, but also some other forms, such as *muwashshaḥs*) by 168 poets from the 5th/11th century until the beginning of the 14th/20th century, together with 120 anonymous poems, of which 14 are in colloquial Arabic. Supplements have been published in *al-Mawrid* (1975), 153-72, and (1977), 49-108.

In most cases, only a few *dūbayt* quatrains of each author have been handed down in the literature. A more extensive collection is the *dūbayt dīwān Nukhbat al-shārib wa-ʿudjālat al-rākib*, by Niẓām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 680/1281 or in 1278, Brockelmann, S I, 449), which contains some 500 quatrains arranged according to rhyme-letter in Arabic (predominantly), Persian and in a mixture of both languages (*mulammaʿ*). Eighty of the Arabic quatrains of this author are in al-Shaybī's book (*op. cit.*, 285-300). ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (519-97/1125-1201 [*q.v.*]) and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Irbilī (572-631/1176-1234) are also said to have composed *dīwān*s of *dūbayt* quatrains (see al-Shaybī, *op. cit.* 74-5).

The rise of the *dūbayt* quatrain is placed by al-Shaybī among bilingual Persians in and around Ghazna, and the most easterly Iranian territories. As a date he suggests the 380s A.H., i.e. coinciding more or less with the beginnings of the Persian *rubāʿī*. The Persian origin is borne out by the occurrence of a *radīf* [*q.v.*] in three early Arabic *dūbayts* (al-Shaybī, *op. cit.*, nos. 2/1, 5/1 and 8/1).

The earliest textual examples of *dūbayt* quatrains go back to the first half of the 5th/11th century. They are preserved in the *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* compiled by Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Bākharzī (murdered in 467/1075 [*q.v.*]). In his comment on one of these quatrains, al-Bākharzī speaks of "pieces in the *rubāʿiyya* metre" (*ḳiṭaʿ ʿalā wazn al-rubāʿiyya*) and he remarks that he had not heard of this method (*ṭarīḳa*) until his father had recited quatrains in this manner (*rubāʿiyyāt ʿalā hādhā 'l-namaṭ*) (*Dumya*, ed. Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, Aleppo 1349/1930, 174). Two early Arabic *dūbayts* are by the Persian mystic Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr (357-440/967-1049 [*q.v.*]) famous for his more than 700 Persian quatrains.

References to quatrains of an earlier date do occur in the literature. Examples are Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj (d. 378/988), *K. al-Lumaʿ fi 'l-taṣawwuf*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, London 1914, 299 (*Bāb fī man kariha 'l-samāʿ*); Abū ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī (329-84/939-94), *The table-talk of a Mesopotamian judge* (= *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*), ed. and tr. D.S. Margoliouth, London 1921-2, i, 54, ii, 59: "there was a Ṣūfī present, who was humming some *rubāʿiyyāt*"; Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (330-412/941-1021), *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn Shurayba, Cairo 1953, 239, in a report in which Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Masrūḳ al-Ṭūsī (d. 298/911) is asked for his opinion on the permissibility of listening to musical performances of quatrains (*suʾila ʿan samāʿ al-rubāʿiyyāt*). All these texts suggest that these quatrains were popular in Baghdādī mystical circles. As the word *rubāʿiyya* is indefinite with regard to structural details, it is difficult to know if *dūbayt* quatrains are intended in any of these cases.

Another expression that may refer to the quatrain is *mathnāt*, mentioned in al-Djawharī, *Ṣiḥāḥ*, Cairo 1282, ii, 453 s.v. *th-n-y*, said to be equivalent to "what is called in Persian *dūbaytī*, which is singing (*al-ghināʾ*)" (see also *LA*, xiv, 119 s.v. *th-n-y*).

Quatrains or quatrain-like compositions may also be intended in a passage in *Aghānī*¹, xiii, 74 (= *Aghānī*³, xiv, 324) where *shiʿr muzāwidj baytaynⁱ baytaynⁱ* is attributed to Ḥammād ʿAdjrad (d. between 155/772 and 168/784 [*q.v.*]). See also G.E. von Grunebaum, in *JNES*, iii [1944], 10 and G. Vajda, *Les zindīqs en pays d'Islam au début de la période abbasside*, in *RSO*, xvii [1938], 205.

The 7th/13th century represents the Golden Age of the *dūbayt* quatrain, with many poets among mystics (such as Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*] with over 30 quatrains and

Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] with 19 Arabic *dūbayts* in the *Kulliyyāt-i Shams*), princes, men of law, philosophers and physicians. There are experiments in form, e.g. the famous *dūbayt ḳaṣīda* by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr (581-656/1186-1258 [*q.v.*]), *Dīwān*, ed. E.H. Palmer, Cambridge 1876, 202-4; the mixture of *dūbayt* and *muwashshah*, such as the example by Aḥmad al-Mawṣilī (603-56/1207-58) quoted in Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo [1951], ii, 510-11; as well as the many imitations (*muʿāraḍa* [*q.v.*]) which these innovations provoked.

In this century, the *dūbayt* also spread to the western part of the Muslim world. The Escorial ms. 288 contains four texts on the *dūbayt* written by Maghribī authors, Abu 'l-Ḥakam Mālik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Muraḥḥal (604-99/1207-99), Abū Bakr al-Ḳalalūsī (d. 707/1307), Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Darrādj (authorship not certain) and Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn Barrī (d. 730/1330). Two of these texts have been published by Hilāl Nādjī, *Risālatānⁱ farīdatānⁱ fī ʿarūḍ al-dūbayt*, in *al-Mawrid*, iii (1974), 145-74. Ḥāzim al-Ḳartādjannī (608-84/1211-85 [*q.v.*]) finds the *dūbaytī* exquisite, in spite of its non-classical origin, and therefore approves of its being practised (*lā baʾsᵃ bi 'l-ʿamal ʿalayhi fa-innahū mustaẓraf wa-waḍʿuhū mutanāsib*), see *Minhādj al-bulaghāʾ*, ed. M.H. Belkhodja, Tunis 1966, 243. After the 7th/13th century, the number of *dūbayt*-quatrains found in the literature dwindles, but there are examples in the work of authors such as Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 752/1351 [*q.v.*]), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]), Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī (767-837/1366-1434 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (773-852/1372-1449 [*q.v.*]). Today, the *dūbayt* is said to be still in use in al-Kuwayt, al-Baḥrayn and ʿUmān.

In modern Arabic literature, the *rubāʿiyya* in the *dūbayt* metre is seldom found, but there are many instances of quatrains in original Khalīlian metres or modern derivatives. They represent one of the examples of the revival and development of strophic form in modern Arabic poetry (cf. S. Moreh, *Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, and idem, *Technique and form in modern Arabic poetry up to World War II*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 415-34 = Moreh, *Studies in modern Arabic prose and poetry*, Leiden 1988, 116-36).

The *dīwān* of Ibrāhīm Nādjī (1898-1953 [*q.v.*]), for example, contains, under the title *Rubāʿiyyāt*, a collection of 77 short-lined quatrains in the *sarīʿ* metre, partly in monorhyme *aaaa* and partly in cross rhyme *abab* (ed. Aḥmad Rāmī *et alii*, Cairo [1961], 225-34). In this *dīwān*, the short-lined quatrain is also used as a structural unit in 27 other poems, three of which are of the *murabbaʿ* type *aaaa, bbba, ccca* ... (see MUSAMMAṬ), most of the others showing cross rhyme (*abab cdcd efef*...). The number of quatrains per poem varies between 4 and 35. Several metres are employed, especially *kāmil, ramal* and *sarīʿ*.

The long-lined quatrain (based on a *bayt* with two hemistichs) occurs in 11 poems. The rhyme scheme for most of these is *aa xa xa xa; xb xb xb xb; xc xc xc xc* (in which x represents unrhymed hemistichs). The number of quatrains varies between 4 and 33 per poem.

The Egyptian poet ʿAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā (1901-49) also employed both short-lined and long-lined quatrains in longer poems. His poem *Allāh wa 'l-shāʿir* consists of 108 short-lined quatrains in the *sarīʿ* metre with rhyme scheme *abab cdcd efef*... (*al-Mallāḥ al-tāʾih*, Cairo 1943³, 77-117).

Slightly longer is *Tardjamat shayṭān* by ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād (1889-1964 [*q.v.*] in Suppl.]), with the same rhyme scheme but in the *ramal* metre (*Dīwān al-ʿAḳḳād*, Cairo 1346/1928, 238-54).

Djamīl Ṣidḳī al-Zahāwī (d. 1936 [*q.v.*]), has a *dīwān* called *Rubāʿiyyāt*, Beirut 1924, containing 1,018 quatrains in different metres, all of them of the short-lined type.

Maḥmūd Darwīsh (b. 1942) publishes under the title *Rubāʿiyyāt* 22 short-lined quatrains (*abab cdcd efef* rhyme) in *Awrāḳ al-zaytūn*, Beirut n.d. (original date of publication 1964), 133-142. Eleven of these are in *Dīwān Maḥmūd Darwīsh* i, Beirut 1979⁶, 108-13. His *Yawmiyyāt djurḥ filasṭīnī*, from *Ḥabībatī tanhaḍu min nawmihā*, is a poem of heterometric quatrains (made up of lines of differing lengths), with rhyme scheme *abab cdcd* and a *ramal*-type metre (*Dīwān* i, 542-62).

More traditional are the long-lined quatrains with rhyme scheme *xa xa xa xa* by the Mahdjar [*q.v.*] poets Ilyās Farḥāt (1893-1976) in *Rubāʿiyyāt Farḥāt*, São Paulo 1954 (¹1925), and Ilyās Ḳunṣul (1914-81), in *Rubāʿiyyāt Ḳunṣul, al-Djuzʾ al-awwal*, Damascus 1956.

Ṣalāḥ Djāhīn (1931-86) published a collection of quatrains in the *sarīʿ* metre in Egyptian Arabic under the title *Rubāʿiyyāt*, Cairo 1962; also in *Dawāwīn Ṣalāḥ Djāhīn*, Cairo 1977, 205-61.

There is no uniformity with regard to the nomenclature of the modern quatrains. The long-lined quatrain is sometimes called *murabbaʿ*, the short-lined quatrains with rhyme scheme *abab* are also referred to as *muthannayāt* or *thunāʾiyyāt* (cf. Yūsuf Bakkār, *Fī 'l-ʿarūḍ wa 'l-ḳāfiya*, Beirut 1990², 177-87).

The term *rubāʿiyyāt* is also used as a name for translations of Persian quatrains, such as those by Ḥāfiẓ and Saʿdī, and, especially, ʿUmar Khayyām [*q.vv.*]. Seldom have these quatrains been translated in the original *rubāʿī* form, i.e. in the *dūbayt* metre: there is one example of a quatrain by ʿUmar Khayyām translated as a *dūbayt* quatrain, in the work of the above-mentioned Niẓām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (see al-Shaybī, *op. cit.*, 287); there are six quatrains from the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī occurring in the Arabic translation by Djabrāʾīl b. Yūsuf al-Mukhallaʿ (d. 1268/1851), ed. Cairo 1340/1921, 46, 137, 144, 151, 168, 197; and some examples in the translation of ʿUmar Khayyām's quatrains by Aḥmad al-Ṣāfī al-Nadjafī (1895-1978), ed. Damascus 1350/1931, e.g. nos. 24, 194, 243, 320. Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī chooses the *khafīf* metre, following the example of Djamīl Ṣidḳī al-Zahāwī, wrongly alleging that it coincides with the Persian original (*Rubāʿiyyāt ʿUmar al-Khayyām*, Cairo 1931, 3). The translation made by Aḥmad Rāmī (¹1924), which is entirely in the *sarīʿ* metre, has become popular in its version sung by the Egyptian singer Umm Kulthūm (d. 1975).

Apparently the first rendition in Arabic of a collection of Khayyām's quatrains is the one published by Wadīʿ al-Bustānī (1886-1954), Cairo 1912, which has the form of septets, a 7-line stanza with the rhyme scheme aaabbCD, brought together in two cantos (*nashīd*), in each of which the septets are linked together throughout the canto by the common rhyme of the last two lines.

Muḥammad al-Sibāʿī (1881-1931) published in *ca.* 1918 his translation in three cantos of 44, 38 en 9 quintains cccAB, dddAB in an extended *muwashshaḥ*-like fashion.

Structured along the same lines, but in Egyptian Arabic, is the work of Ḥusayn Maẓlūm Riyāḍ, *Rubāʿiyyāt al-Khayyām*, Ladjnat al-nashr li 'l-djāmiʿiyyīn, Cairo 1944.

A more recent translation in short-lined verse in the

mutaḳārib metre is by the Baḥraynī poet Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUrayyiḍ (b. 1908), published as *Rubāʿiyyāt al-Khayyām*, Beirut 1966, 1984².

The term *rubāʿiyya* is also employed in the sense of a literary work in four parts, translating both tetralogy and quartet.

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RUBGHŪZĪ [see rabghūzī].

RUBIS [see yāḳūt].

RŪDAKĪ (properly Rōdhakī, arabicised as al-Rūdhakī) the leading Persian poet during the first half of the 4th/10th century and author of the earliest substantial surviving fragments of Persian verse. Al-Samʿānī gives his name as Abū ʿAbd Allāh Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ādam al-Rūdhakī al-Shāʿir al-Samarḳandī, says that he was born in Rōdhak, a suburb of Samarḳand, and that he also died there in 329/940-1; there are, however, reasons to think that this date might be about a decade too early (see the discussion in Storey-de Blois). ʿAwfī says that Rūdakī was born blind and there are quite a few references to his blindness (though not to the fact that he was sightless from birth) in early Persian authors. The available biographical data all link him with the Sāmānid ruler of Bukhārā Naṣr II b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43 [*q.v.*]) or with his minister Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Balʿamī [*q.v.*], and it was evidently under their patronage that he flourished.

Rūdakī left, as Asadī tells us, a *dīwān* of more than 180,000 verses. This was lost long ago. What have survived are a fairly large number of single verses quoted in the Persian dictionaries (notably in the oldest of them, Asadī's *Lughat-i Furs*) as well as a few complete poems quoted by anthologists and historians, the most important of the latter being a splendid *ḳaṣīda* of nearly 100 verses (beginning *mādar-i may*) which is preserved in the anonymous *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* and which, according to that source, Rūdakī sent from Naṣr's court in Bukhārā to the ruler of Sīstān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf. We also have (in chronological order of the authorities who cite them) five short poems, all of elegiac inspiration, quoted by the historian Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*], the verses beginning *bōy-i djōy-i Mūliyān* quoted by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī in connection with an anecdote about Naṣr b. Aḥmad, a few short pieces quoted by ʿAwfī and Shams-i Ḳays and a description of spring quoted by the 8th/14th century anthologist Djādjarmī. The later anthologies add a few more poems, but the only one of these that can be ascribed more or less confidently to Rūdakī is a long ode, cited by Amīn Rāzī (1002/1593-4), in which the poet laments his old age and recalls the amorous adventures of his youth. This poem refers also the riches which the poet had formerly received from the Sāmānids, but also from "*mīr Mākān*" (evidently the Daylamī Mākān b. Kākī, d. 329/940-1 [*q.v.*]), and adds that "times have changed" and that the poet was now reduced to poverty.

The most famous of Rūdakī's works was evidently his versification of the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. The *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī tells us how the *dastūr* Abu 'l-Faḍl (sc. Balʿamī) first had this book translated into Persian and how the *amīr* Naṣr subsequently appointed "interpreters" to read it out so that the blind Rūdakī could versify it. Horn noticed already that some of the rhymed couplets in *ramal* metre quoted from Rūdakī in Asadī's *Lughat-i Furs* clearly belong to the stories of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and the present author has been able to identify the location in those stories of about 50 verses. Moreover, Nöldeke (*apud* Horn) showed that some of the fragments in the same metre belong to the story of Sindbād and the Seven Ministers and that Rūdakī must consequently have versified that book as well.

From at least the 11th/17th century onwards the anthologists begin to ascribe to Rūdakī a number of poems that are in fact by Ḳaṭrān [*q.v.*], and these form the main content of the *dīwān* that is ascribed to Rūdakī in a number of manuscripts and which was lithographed in Persia in 1315/1897. It is now recognised that this *dīwān* is a forgery. The valuable collection of Rūdakī's fragments by Saʿīd Nafīsī (altogether 1,047 verses in the second edition) excises Ḳaṭrān's poems, but retains a number of other dubious verses from unreliable sources. Moreover, the collection includes a good number of pieces that the sources either quote anonymously or ascribe to a different poet, but which Nafīsī attributed to Rūdakī for stylistic reasons, as well as several "poems" that he patched together from single verses quoted in the lexica. The collection must therefore be used with caution.

Rūdakī's style is simple and direct, and consequently stands in stark contrast to the mannerism which dominated Persian poetry from the 6th/12th century onwards; it is thus hardly astonishing that his works, greatly admired though they were in his own time, soon seemed dreadfully old-fashioned and fell into oblivion. What he lacks in rhetorical ornament he makes up for in musical sonority; he is particularly fond of assonance and internal rhymes. Much of what remains of his poetry has a decidedly pessimistic tone, a lot of it along the usual lines of Islamic homiletic poetry (as represented, for example, by Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*q.v.*]), but there is hardly anything overtly religious in his work and certainly no trace of Ṣūfism. "You ought not, O guests", he says in one poem, "to set your hearts for ever on this way-station, for you must slumber under the earth, even if now you sleep on silken brocade. What use to you is the companionship of others? The road into the grave must be taken alone and your companions under the ground will be ants and flies", etc. (Bayhaḳī, 188). Other poems are unashamedly hedonistic, though with a hedonism that is often shot through with melancholy. "Live merrily", he advises us, "amongst the black-eyed beauties, merrily, for the world is nought but wind and an idle tale. Be happy with what has come your way and give no heed to what has departed. Look rather at me in the company of a maiden with curly hair and the fragrance of fine musk, a face like the moon, of the race of the houris. ... This world is a breeze, a fleeting cloud, a jest. Bring the wine and let come what may." (ʿAwfī, ii, 9).

Bibliography: Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Moscow

viii, *Nōshīn-ruwān* verses 3337-3470; Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1342 Sh./1945, 61, 188, 239, 366, 599; *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. M.T. Bahār, Tehran 1314 Sh./1935, 316-24; Asadī, *Lughat-i Furs, passim* (see the editions by Horn, Iḳbāl and Mudjtabāʾī/Ṣādiḳī, and also Horn's introd., 18-21); Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān al-balāgha*, ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949, *passim* (and Ateş's notes, 90-2); Samʿānī, fol. 262a-b = ed. Ḥaydarābād, vi, 192; Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, London-Leiden 1910, 28, 31-4; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 6-9; Shams-i Ḳays, *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, London 1909, *passim*; Muḥammad b. Badr al-Djādjarmī, *Muʾnis al-aḥrār fī daḳāʾiḳ al-ashʿār*, ed. Ṭabībī, Tehran 1337-50 Sh./1959-79, ii, 453-4; Dawlatshāh, 31-3; Amīn Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ed. Dj. Fāḍil, n.p. n.d., iii, 335-43; E.D. Ross, *Rudaki and Pseudo-Rudaki*, in *JRAS* (1924), 609-44; idem, *A Qasida by Rudaki*, in *JRAS* (1926), 213-37 (contains a critical edition of the ode *mādar i may*... by M. Ḳazwīnī and a translation by Ross); S. Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl wa ashʿār-i Rūdakī*, 3 vols., Tehran 1309-19 Sh./1930-40 (collection of the fragments in the last volume); revised ed. under the title *Muḥīṭ-i zindagī wa aḥwāl wa ashʿār-i Rūdakī*, Tehran 1336 Sh./1958 and reprints; M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, *Rūdakī wa Sindbād-nāma*, in *Yaghmā*, viii (1334 Sh./1955), 218-23, 320-4, 413-6; *Osori Rūdakī*, ed. A. Mirzoyev, Stalin-abad 1958; Rudaki, *Stikhi*, ed. I.S. Braginskiy with Russian verse trs. by V.V. Levik and S.I. Lipkin, Moscow 1964; ʿA.A. Ṣādiḳī, *Ashʿār-i tāza-yi Rūdakī*, in *Nashr-i Dānish*, ix/4 (1372 Sh./1993), 6-14; Storey-de Blois, v/1, 221-6 (with further literature).

(F.C. de Blois)

RŪDHBĀR, rūdbār, meaning literally in Persian, a district along a river or a district intersected by rivers, and a frequent toponym in Islamic Persia.

Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 770-8, and al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābad, vi, 187-90, list Rūdhbārs at Iṣfahān, Ṭūs, Balkh, Marw, Hamadhān and Baghdād, and in the provinces of Shāsh and Daylam. As homes or places of origin of noted scholars, the most significant of these were the Rūdhbār by the gate of Ṭābarān, one of the two townships making up Ṭūs [*q.v.*]; the one near Baghdād; and the one near Hamadhān.

In the historical geography of Persia, the most significant Rūdhbārs have been:

1. On the left bank of the southernmost bend of the Helmand river in southwestern Afghānistān, now in the Nīmrōz province of modern Afghānistān (lat. 30°10′ N., long. 62°39′ E.), with the modern settlement there still preserving the mediaeval name as known e.g. in the periods of Arab and Ṣaffārid domination in Sīstan.

2. In Kirmān, a district along the present-day Mīnāb or Dozdān river which in mediaeval Islamic times lay on the road connecting Djīruft [*q.v.*] with the Persian Gulf at the Straits of Hormuz, the plain of Reobarles crossed by Marco Polo in the later 7th/13th century (see Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*³, London 1903, i, 109, 113-14; Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 391).

3. In mediaeval Daylam [*q.v.*], with the name now surviving in the modern *bakhsh* or county of Rūdbār in Gīlān province and its chef-lieu of the same name in the valley of the Safīd Rūd [see kizil-üzen] and on the Ḳazwīn-Rasht road (lat. 36°49′ N., long. 49°29′ E.) (see Rāzmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrānzamīn*, ii, 133); the population of the *bakhsh* in *ca.* 1960 was *ca.* 60,000.

This is the most famous of the Rūdhbārs in Islamic history because the district was, from the late 5th/11th century to the 7th/13th century, a major centre for Ismāʿīlī [see ismāʿīliyya] activity. A century or so before the implantation of Ismāʿīlism there, the Rūdhbār of Alamūt [*q.v.*], in the valley of the Shāh Rūd, the southern constituent stream of the Safīd Rūd, had been the residence of the Daylamī dynasty of the Djustānids (on whom see Sayyid Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān-i gum-nām*, Tehran 1307/1928, 22-34; W. Madelung, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 223-4) and already a centre of Zaydī Shīʿism. From Alamūt, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*] furthered the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* by establishing garrisons in several other fortress in the Rūdhbār district towards the end of the 5th/11th century, such as Girdkūh, Lanbasar [*q.v.*] and Maymūndiz [*q.v.*]. These fortresses were held by the community until the operations in Daylam of Hülegü's Mongols in 651/1253, substantially completed with the reduction of most of the fortresses by 654/1256, although in the 1270s the local Ismāʿīlīs seem to have re-occupied some of the Rūdhbār fortresses. See Freya Stark, *The valleys of the Assassins*, London 1936; P.J.E. Willey, *The castles of the Assassins*, London 1963; M.G.S. Hodgson, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 430-2; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 190, 344-8, 422 ff., 445, 448-9.

Bibliography: See also W. Barthold, *A historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1983, 73, 141, 209, 232; D. Krawulsky, *Īrān—das Reich der Īlḫāne, eine topographisch-historische Studie*, Wiesbaden 1978, 57, 145. (C.E. Bosworth)

RŪDHRĀWAR, a rural district (*rustāḳ, nāḥiya*) of the mediaeval Islamic province of Djibāl [*q.v.*], sc. western Persia. The geographers describe it as a fertile plain below the Kūh-i Alwand, containing 93 villages and producing high-quality saffron which was exported through the nearby towns of Hamadhān and Nihāwand. The chef-lieu of the district, in which was situated the *djāmiʿ* and *minbar*, was known as Karadj-i Rūdhrāwar, characterised in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 132, § 31.8-9, as prosperous and the resort of merchants. The site of this seems to have been distinct from the Karadj which had, in earlier ʿAbbāsid times, been the seat of the Arab Dulafid family [see al-karadj] and which the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* states was in ruins by his own time (sc. late 4th/10th century), and it may be that Karadj-i Rūdhrāwar grew up on a new site to replace the old Dulafid capital.

Karadj-i Rūdhrāwar was still flourishing in the post-Mongol period, when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī described it as a town on which depended 70 villages, still famed for their saffron production and yielding a tax revenue of 23,500 dīnārs (*Nuzha*, 73, tr. 76). The present ruins known as Rūdīlāwar probably mark the site of Karadj-i Rūdhrāwar (J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, Paris 1894-1904, ii, 136).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

al-**RŪDHRĀWARĪ**, Abū Shudjāʿ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, Ẓahīr al-Dīn, vizier to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and *adīb* (437-88/1045-95).

He was actually born at Kangāwar [see kinkiwar] in Djibāl, but his father, a member of the official classes, stemmed from the nearby district of Rūdhrāwar [*q.v.*]. Abū Shudjāʿ Muḥammad served al-Muḳtadī as vizier very briefly in 471/1078-8 after the dismissal of ʿAmīd al-Dawla Ibn Djahīr [see djahīr,

BANŪ] and then for a longer period, Shaʿbān 476-Ṣafar or Rabīʿ I 484/December 1083 to January 1084-April or May 1091, after the second dismissal of ʿAmīd al-Dawla Ibn Djahīr, until pressure on the caliph from the Saldjūḳ sultan Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*] procured his dismissal. Hence in 478/1094 he left ʿIrāḳ for the Pilgrimage, and spent the last year of his life as a *mudjāwir* [*q.v.*] in Medina; he died in Djumādā II 488/June 1095 at the age of 51 and was buried in the Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad cemetery there.

Al-Rūdhrāwarī is said to have been a wise and humane vizier in Baghdād, who, amongst other things, pursued a conciliatory policy regarding the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs and their rivalries in the city. The sources praise him both for his piety and his literary skills. He was the author of a poetic *dīwān*, of which some 80 verses are extant in the literary and biographical sources, and of a *dhayl* or continuation to Miskawayh's [*q.v.*] history, the *Tadjārib al-umam*, covering the years 368-89/979-99 (ed. and Eng. tr. H.F. Amedroz and D.S. Margoliouth, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, iii, 9-332, tr. vi, 1-358; see Brockelmann, S I, 583, and Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic historians*, Calcutta 1930, 147).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

RUDJŪʿ (A.), verbal noun from the verb *radjaʿa*, basically, "to return", and frequent in the Ḳurʾān in various senses, according to context. It is found e.g. in VII, 168, and XXX, 41, in the expression *laʿallahum yardjiʿūna* "perhaps they will return", which, explains al-Ḳurṭubī, has the sense "they will return from their unbelief" (*ʿan kufrihim*), or elsewhere given as the equivalent of *yatūbūna* ("they will repent of themselves"). *Rudjūʿ* would seem to be, in this sense, a synonym of *tawba*, and just as repentance is considered at the same time man's turning to God and God's turning to man, the verb *radjaʿa* is used both in the active and passive senses: man is said to return to God and be brought to God.

But the verb is employed in other contexts, and especially in verses like II, 28, "He makes you to die, and then He makes you to live, then you are brought to Him", or XXX, 11, "God begins the act of creation, then He repeats it, then you are brought to Him". Al-Ḳurṭubī comments on the first of these verses thus: "that is to say, your return is towards His punishment (*ilā ʿadhābihi mardjiʿukum*) because of your unbelief; it is also said that it is towards life (sc. the resurrection after death) and the questioning (*masʾala*), in such a way that their new beginning (*iʿāda*) is like their beginning (*ibdāʾ*), and it is in this sense that one should understand *rudjūʿ*". This glossing seems to refer implicitly to the pre-eternal *mīthāḳ* [*q.v.*] when God, creating mankind, asked them, "Am I not your Lord? They replied, 'Yes' ". The interrogation at the end of time will pose the same question in order to know whether man has remained faithful to this first promise. The question is thus of a return to a primitive situation when, coming forth from the hands of God, man, at the very moment of his creation, can make no reply to his Creator but yes or no. Likewise, after death, at the moment of resurrection, "when the affair is decided" (*idh ḳudiya al-amr*), man is unable to plead his cause, and can only answer yes or no. This appears in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's commentary on the second verse (XXX, 11), basing himself on the immediate sequel to this when it is a question of the Hour, whence of the Last Judgment. Having revealed, he says, that mankind will be brought back towards Him, "God explains what will take place at the moment of the return to Him (*waḳt al-rudjūʿ ilayhi*)", declaring, "those who are guilty will be thrown into despair (*yulbisu*)". Al-Rāzī explains the sense of this verb by citing the Baghdādī grammarian al-Zadjdjādjī (d. 311/923): the *mulbis* is the one who is silent (*al-sākit*) and who has his speech cut short in the course of his arguing (*al-munḳaṭiʿ fī ḥudjdjatihi*). This is how the return, in the commentaries on the verse in which the verb *radjaʿa* figures, is to be interpreted. The return to God, from this point of view, would appear to be essentially a summons to judgement at the time of the Last Judgement. It follows immediately after the resurrection, which, one might say, forms the first step. The question posed by the philosophers, that of knowing whether the soul alone, or even, the intellect alone, comes back to life, or whether there is also a resurrection of the body, is thus linked with that of *rudjūʿ*. In one sense, it is a question of faith; but belief in a spiritual return has obviously a special theological and philosophical interest.

For the *falāsifa*, such as Ibn Sīnā, the whole orientation of the human life—political, moral, intellectual and religious—is defined by two opposite poles, that of departing and that of arriving. At the departure, there is God in his oneness, God as the "First", from whom stem all the secondary beings; at the arrival, there is God as the "Last" (cf. Ḳurʾān, LVII, 3). Thus, in the political scheme of the *Shifāʾ*, Ibn Sīnā explains how the nature of the two notions of *tawḥīd* on one side, and *maʿād* [*q.v.*] on the other, must require every effort of reflection on the government of mankind. The *maʿād* as the place of return corresponds to the final cause which is, according to Ibn Sīnā, "the cause of the efficience of the efficient cause" (cf. his *Ishārāt*). The return accordingly has an ontological meaning, in so far as it is a constituent element of beings. At a first moment, starting from the First, who is a One, is seen the coming into being, by a descending process, of a multiplicity which ends up in the plurality of forms which the Agent Intellect, *wāhib al-ṣuwar*, gives, on the one hand, to the material elements and the things composed of them, and on the other, separated from all matter, to the human intelligence. From this moment onwards, there is a possible and progressive upwards motion towards unity, and it is this movement of return towards the One which, by rediscovering intelligible reality linked to unity, constitutes the return to God, without however prejudging what the outcome of this return will be. One might conceive of it from the viewpoint of a religious mystical phenomenon, or that of an intellectualist mystical phenomenon of the kind in Plotinus. For the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*], the particular souls, having accomplished their mission in regard to the bodies and having thus acquired the completeness (*tamām*) which they lacked, return to the universal soul. For them, to die is to pierce the covering of the body, just as, at birth, the embryo had pierced the enveloping membranes which surrounded it in the womb. (On all these questions, see the very interesting comments of L. Gardet, in his *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 267, 276, 279.)

The idea of a return to origins, which we have seen being sketched out in the commentaries on certain

Ḳurʾānic verses, easily takes on a mystical value. In the present life, men are separated from God by veils which their various faculties suspend between them and Him. Al-Djunayd accordingly used to teach that one should separate oneself from them by a purification of everything to which they cling in themselves, in order to lose oneself in the unique aim which is borne towards Him: this is *al-fanāʾ bi 'l-madhkūr*, the final aim of mystical experience, a return to the authentic origin of the creature in the divine creative act, *al-nihāya rudjūʿ ilā 'l-bidāya* (cf. al-Djunayd, *Enseignement spirituel*, tr. R. Deladrière, Paris 1983, 45-6). But this is a type of *rudjūʿ* which Ibn ʿArabī especially considered: the highest form of the mystical favour and gift is, not to arrive at the summit of the spiritual ascension but to be sent back amongst creatures in order to enlighten and guide them. Thus we have here a return to mankind. One should note that this is what happened to the Prophet: he was raised up at the time of the *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*], and he was sent back with the mission of announcing the good news and of adopting a watchful attitude (on this concept of return, see M. Chodkiewicz, *Le sceau des saints*, Paris 1986, 141, 185, 217). Finally, one should mention the idea of a return at the end of time: the return of the Messiah, of Muḥammad and of the Mahdī. This is totally bound up with the eschatological visions nurtured, above all, by various *ḥadīth*s.

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(R. ARNALDEZ)

RŪFUS AL-AFSĪSĪ, Rufus of Ephesus, a Greek physician who lived at Ephesus [see AYA SOLŪK] around 100 A.D. Of his biography hardly anything is known. He was an important medical author, who wrote monographs on many questions concerning pathology and dietetics. Most of his writings, however, were lost during the Middle Ages since his work was overshadowed by that of Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS] (cf. O. Temkin, *Galenism. Rise and decline of a medical philosophy*, Ithaca and London 1973). Consequently, only four of his works have survived in Greek: 1. On kidney and bladder diseases (ed. A. Sideras, *CMG* III, 1, Berlin 1977); 2. On satyriasmus and gonorrhea (ed. Daremberg and Ruelle, Paris 1879, 64-84); 3. On the names of the parts of the human body (ed. G. Kowalski, diss. Göttingen 1960), and 4. On questions put to patients by physicians (ed. H. Gärtner, *CMG*, Suppl. IV, Berlin 1962). Of all the other works by Rūfus, only fragments are known, transmitted by Byzantine compilers, mainly by Oribasius and Aetius of Amida. A work on the diseases of the joints was translated into Latin in the 6th century, and has thus been preserved (*De podagra*, ed. H. Mørland, Oslo 1933).

Under these circumstances, the Arabic tradition is of crucial importance. The translators, who in the 3rd/9th century rendered at Baghdād far more than one hundred books by Galen and other Greek physicians into Arabic, did not ignore Rūfus, whose works at that time had not yet been eclipsed by those of Galen. In his *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] quotes a dozen works by Rūfus. In 377/987 Ibn al-Nadīm presents 42 titles of Rūfus (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 291-2, ed. Tehran, 350), and this list was enlarged with 16 titles by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 668/1270) (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, i, 33-4). Both lists constitute an important guideline for the reconstruction of Rūfus's work.

Attention may in particular be called to the following works:

1. *Maḳāla fī Mā yanbaghī li 'l-ṭabīb an yasʾala ʿanhu 'l-ʿalīl* = Τί δεῖ τὸν ἰατρὸν ἐρωτᾶν τὸν νοσοῦντα (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 34, 11-12). This work was used and copied out by Isḥāḳ b. ʿAlī al-Ruhāwī in his *K. Adab al-ṭabīb* (*The conduct of the physician by al-Ruhāwī*, facs. ed. Frankfurt a. M. 1985, 134-9).

2. *Maḳāla fi 'l-Yaraḳān* = Περὶ ἰκτέρου. Greek excerpts are preserved by Aetius of Amida (*Tetrabiblos* X, chs. 17-18). An epitome in Arabic is found in the codex Berolinensis (Ahlwardt 6232); there is also a 14th century Latin tr. by Nicolaus of Regium (Niccolò de Reggio) (ed. M. Ullmann, *Die Schrift des Rufus von Ephesos über die Gelbsucht in arabischer und lateinischer Übersetzung*, in *Abh. Akad. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl. III. Folge, no. 138, Göttingen 1983).

3. *Maḳāla fi 'l-Ḥifẓ* = Περὶ μνήμης ἀπολωλυίας. This work can partly be reconstructed from Greek excerpts in Aetius of Amida (*Tetrabiblos* VI, ch. 23) and from the Arabic transmission in al-Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, i, 94-5).

4. *Maḳāla fi 'l-Mālankhūliyā* or *Kitāb al-Mirra al-sawdāʾ* = Περὶ μελαγχολίας. Next to excerpts found in Aetius, there are above all Arabic fragments available, preserved by al-Rāzī and by Isḥāḳ b. ʿImrān (*Abhandlung über die Melancholie und Constantini Africani Libri duo de Melancholia*, ed. K. Garbers, Hamburg 1977) (cf. H. Flashar, *Melancholie und Melancholiker in den medizinischen Theorien der Antike*, Berlin 1966, 84-104).

5. *Kitāb al-Tadbīr* = Περὶ διαίτης. This is a large work on dietetics, i.e. on a proper way of life, in which an harmonious balance is sought between work and leisure, movement and rest, food and drink, sexual intercourse and continence, sleep and vigil, joy and sorrow. Many fragments have been preserved in Oribasius as well as in Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (*K. al-Aghdhiya*, ms. Bankipore, Khudābakhsh 2142), al-Rāzī, Ibn Samadjūn and Ibn al-Bayṭār.

6. *Kitāb al-Sharāb* = Περὶ οἴνου, translated into Arabic by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [*q.v.*]. There are fragments in al-Rāzī, Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī and al-Raḳīḳ al-Nadīm al-Ḳayrawānī, *K. Ḳuṭb al-surūr fī awṣāf al-khumūr* (cf. Ullmann, *Neues zu den diätetischen Schriften des Rufus von Ephesos*, in *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, ix [1974], 30-7).

7. *Kitāb al-Laban* = Περὶ γάλακτος. From this work an excerpt was made by Aetius of Amida (*Tetrabiblos* II, chs. 86-103). A summary of the Arabic translation has been preserved in al-Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xxi, 440-7. It is a monograph in which all kinds of dairy products, milking and cheese are described from the most various points of view.

8. *Kitāb Tarbiyat al-aṭfāl* = Περὶ κομιδῆς παιδίων. This is a work on pediatrics and pediatric diseases, copied out by al-Rāzī in his *Ḥāwī* and by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Baladī (4th/10th century) in his *K. Tadbīr al-ḥabālā wa 'l-aṭfāl* (cf. Ullmann, *Die Schrift des Rufus "De infantium curatione" und das Problem der Autorenlemmata in den "Collectiones medicae" des Oreibasios*, in *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, x [1975], 165-90).

9. *Kitāb al-Adwiya al-ḳātila* (the Greek title has not been transmitted). This is a work on poisoning and its therapy, in which vegetable poisons and bites of insects, serpents and dogs are dealt with. Important fragments have been preserved by al-Rāzī, Ibn Sīnā (*Ḳānūn*) and al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Thaʿlab b. al-Mubārak, *K. al-Munḳidh min al-halaka* (ms. Chester Beatty 4525).

10. The so-called "Journals of sick persons" are a collection of 21 clinical reports which Sarābiyūn b. Ibrāhīm inserted in his *K. al-Fuṣūl al-muhimma fī ṭibb al-aʾimma* (ms. Oxford, Bodl., Hunt. 461). They deal with melancholy, frenzy, lethargy, epilepsy, paralysis, aches of the joints and angina. According to the title

they were noted down by "Rūfus and other ancient and modern physicians" (ed. Ullmann, *Rufus von Ephesos, Krankenjournale*, Wiesbaden 1978). The editor tried to prove that the 21 pieces form a unity and that no other physician than Rūfus can be considered as an author. F. Kudlien (in *Clio Medica*, xiv [1979], 148-9, and xv [1981], 137-42) is, however, of a different opinion.

All these writings show Rūfus as an all-round physician, who deals with many pathological questions and who attaches special importance to dietetic prescriptions. As can be inferred from many a remark which he interwove into his representations, he had strong cultural-historical interests. Like Galen he stood in the tradition of Hippocrates, but in contrast to the former he was not apparently interested in current philosophical questions. His attitude was less speculative, but rather, closer to the facts; yet the Middle Ages gave preference to Galen's system, which had a philosophical basis.

Bibliography: *Oeuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse*, publication commencée par Charles Daremberg, continuée et terminée par Charles-Émile Ruelle, Paris 1879 (repr. Amsterdam 1963); J. Ilberg, *Rufus von Ephesos, ein griechischer Arzt in trajanischer Zeit*, in *Abh. d. Sächsischen Akad. d. Wiss.*, phil-hist. Kl., xli (1930), no. 1, Leipzig 1930; Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 64-8; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1970, 71-6; idem, *Die arabische Überlieferung der Schriften des Rufus von Ephesos*, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase, Berlin, Teilband II, 37, 2 (forthcoming). (M. Ullmann)

RŪḤ [see NAFS].

RŪḤ B. ḤĀTIM [see RAWḤ B. ḤĀTIM].

RŪḤ ALLĀH [see KHUMAYNĪ in Suppl.].

AL-**RUHĀ** or AL-RUHĀʾ, the Arabic name of a city which was in early Islamic times in the province of Diyār Muḍar [*q.v.*] but known in Western sources as EDESSA (Syriac Orhāy, Armenian Uṙhay). It is now in the province of Diyarbakır in the southeast of modern Turkey and is known as Urfa, a name for the city which is not clearly attested before the coming of the Turks to eastern Anatolia.

1. In pre-Islamic times.

The city is probably an ancient one, though efforts to identify it with the Babylonian Erech/Uruk or with Ur of the Chaldees cannot be taken seriously. Its site, at the junction of ancient highways from Armenia southwards and east-west from the fords across the Euphrates to Mesopotamia and Persia, must have made it strategically valuable when it was founded or re-founded by the Seleucids. Orhāy now received new names, such as "Antioch by the Callirrhoe", i.e. "by the beautiful, flowing [water]", a reference to its famed fish-ponds or to the river of Orhāy, and Edessa, originally the name of the Seleucids' own capital in Macedonia.

The names of the local rulers, called by the Greeks Phylarchs or Toparchs, are known. The early ones were vassals of the Parthians, in whose political and cultural sphere Edessa lay, but in the 2nd century A.D. it came sporadically under Roman rule, with its kings therefore as Roman vassals. These kings seem to have been of Arabic stock, although their regnal names included Iranian as well as Semitic ones. In the early 3rd century they are said to have adopted Christianity, and certainly, by the early 4th century the whole of the city was Christian and famed as the first kingdom officially to adopt Christianity as its state religion, a prominent role being assigned to King Abgar V, who was said to have acknowledged Jesus Christ as the Son of God before His crucifixion.

The monarchy in Edessa had ended *ca.* 242, affected adversely by the appearance on the scene in the Near East of the aggressive and expansionist Sāsānid Persian empire and the Roman withdrawal from much of the Mesopotamian countryside, although the Romans and the Byzantines retained dominion over the city until the Arab invasions. Edessa now became a major centre for Syriac-language literary activity and for Christian religious life, becoming, like most of Mesopotamia and Syria, Monophysite in theology during the course of the 6th century. When the Arabs appeared, there were in the city a small community of Nestorians, a Melkite hierarchy and community, and the two ethnic elements of Monophysites, the Syrian Jacobites (the majority in Edessa) and the Armenians.

2. The Islamic period up to the Ottomans.

Abū ʿUbayda in 16/637 sent ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm to al-Djazīra. After the Greek governor Joannes Kateas, who had endeavoured to save the region of Osrhoëne by paying tribute, had been dismissed by the emperor Heraclius and the general Ptolemaius put in his place, al-Ruhāʾ (Edessa) had to surrender in 18/639 like the other towns of Mesopotamia (al-Balādhurī, 172-5; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 414-17; Yāḳūt, s.v. *al-Djazīra*; Khwārazmī, ed. Baethgen, *Fragmente syr. u. arab. Historiker*, Leipzig 1884, 16, 110 = *Abh. KM*, viii, no. 3; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 517, 521). The town now lost its political and very soon also its religious significance and sank to the level of a second-rate provincial town. Its last bishop of note, Jacob of Edessa, spent only four years (684-7) and a later period again of four months in his office (708). The Maronite Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785) wrote a "Chronicle of the World" and translated into Syriac the "two Books of Homer about Ilion".

Al-Ruhāʾ, like al-Raḳḳa, Ḥarrān and Ḳarḳīsiya, was usually reckoned to Diyār Muḍar (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 218; al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 177; M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, 88, no. 2 and 3 = *MVAG* [1897], i, 28; Canard, *Hʾamdanides*, 91-2). In 67/686-7 al-Ruhāʾ, Ḥarrān and Sumaysāṭ formed the governorship which Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar granted to Ḥātim b. al-Nuʿmān (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 218).

The "old church" of the Christians was destroyed by two earthquakes (3 April 679 and 718). In 737 a Greek named Bashīr appeared in Ḥarrān and gave himself out to be "Tiberias the son of Constantine"; he was believed at first, but was later exposed and executed in al-Ruhāʾ (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 119). In 133/750-1 the town was the scene of fighting between Abū Djaʿfar, afterwards the caliph al-Manṣūr, and the followers of the Umayyads, Isḥāḳ b. Muslim al-ʿUḳaylī and his brother Bakkār, who only gave in after the death of Marwān (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 333-4). But continual revolts broke out again in al-Djazīra (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 370 ff.); in the reign of al-Manṣūr, for example, the governor of al-Ruhāʾ of the same name, the builder of Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, was executed in al-Raḳḳa in 141/758-9 (al-Balādhurī, 192). When Hārūn al-Rashīd passed through al-Ruhāʾ, an attempt was made to cast suspicion upon the Christians and it was said that the Byzantine emperor used to come to the city every year secretly in order to pray in their churches; but the caliph saw that these were slanders. The Gūmāyē (from al-Djūma, the valley of ʿAfrīn in Syria), who, with the Telmaḥrāyē and Ruṣāfāyē, were one of the leading families of al-Ruhāʾ, suffered a good deal, however, from his covetousness (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, 130). In 196/812 the Christians were only able to save the unprotected town from being plundered by the rebels Naṣr b. Shabath [*q.v.*] and ʿAmr by a heavy payment; Abū Shaykh therefore fortified al-Ruhāʾ at the ex-

pense of the citizens (Barhebraeus, 136-7). At the beginning of his reign, al-Maʾmūn sent his general Ṭāhir Dhu ʾl-Yamīnayn [*q.v.*] to al-Ruhāʾ, where his Persian soldiers were besieged by the two rebels, but offered a successful resistance supported by the inhabitants among whom was Mār Dionysius of Tellmaḥrē (Barhebraeus, 139). Ṭāhir, who himself had fled from his mutinous soldiers to Kallinikos, won the rebels over to his side and made ʿAbd al-Aʿlā governor of al-Ruhāʾ; he oppressed the town very much (*ibid.*, 139-40). Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, who governed al-Djazīra in 210/825, persecuted the Christians in al-Ruhāʾ, as did the governors under al-Muʿtaṣim and his successors.

In 331/942-3 the Byzantines occupied Diyārbakr, Arzan, Dārā and Rās al-ʿAyn, advanced on Naṣībīn and demanded from the people of al-Ruhāʾ the holy picture on linen of Christ called μανδύλιον (*al-Ikōna al-Mandīl*); with the approval of the caliph al-Muttaḳī, it was handed over in return for the release of 200 Muslim prisoners and the promise to leave the town undisturbed in future (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, ed. Kračkovskiy-Vasil'ev, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xviii, 730-2; Thābit b. Sinān, ed. Baethgen, in *op. cit.*, 90, 145). The picture reached Constantinople on 15 August 944, where it was brought with great ceremony into the Church of St. Sophia and the imperial palace (see in addition to Yaḥyā, *loc. cit.*, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 331 = § 753; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 302, and an oration ascribed to Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the εἰκὼν ἀχειροποίητος or *De imagine Edessena*, ed. Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, cxiii, col. 432, better ed. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, xviii). But by 338/949-50 this treaty was broken by the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla, who, together with the inhabitants of al-Ruhāʾ, made a raid on al-Maṣṣīṣa (Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, 732). Under the Domesticus Leo the Byzantines in 348/959-60 entered Diyār Bakr and advanced on al-Ruhāʾ (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 393). The emperor Nicephorus Phocas towards the end of 357/967-8 advanced on Diyār Muḍar, Mayyāfāriḳīn and Kafartūthā (Yaḥyā, 815). According to Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 454, below), al-Ruhāʾ was burned to the ground in Muḥarram 361/October-November 971 and troops left in al-Djazīra. One should rather read Muḥarram 362/October-November 972 and take the reference to be to the campaign of John Tzimisces, unless there is a confusion between Edessa and Emesa (Ḥimṣ) which was burned in 358/969 (Barhebraeus, *Chron, syr.*, 190).

Ibn Ḥawḳal in *ca.* 367/978 refers to over 300 churches in al-Ruhāʾ, and al-Muḳaddasī reckons the cathedral, the ceilings of which were richly decorated with mosaics, among the four wonders of the world.

Down to 416/1025-6, the town belonged to the chief of the Banū Numayr, ʿUṭayr. The latter installed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as *nāʾib* there, but afterwards had him assassinated. The inhabitants thereupon rebelled and offered the town to Naṣr al-Dawla the Marwānid of Diyārbakr (Greek Ἀπομερμάνης), who had it occupied by Zangī. After the murder of ʿUṭayr and the death of Zangī (418/1027), Naṣr al-Dawla gave ʿUṭayr's son one tower of al-Ruhāʾ and another to Shibl's son (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 244). The former (according to others, a Turk Salmān, Σαλαμάνης, appointed governor, who was hard pressed by ʿUṭayr's widow) then sold the fortress for 20,000 darics and four villages to the Byzantine Protospatharius Georgius Maniakes, son of Gudelius, who lived in Samosata; he appeared suddenly one night and occupied three towers. After a vain attempt by the Marwānid *amīr* of Mayyāfāriḳīn to drive him out again, in which the town, which was still inhabited by many Christians, was sacked and burned (winter of 1030-1), Maniakes again occupied the citadel and the town (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 281 *bis*; Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, iii, 147; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, 214; Aristakēs Lastivertcʿi, c. 7, pp. 24-5; Matthew of Edessa, ed. 1898, c. 43, pp. 58-62 = tr. Dulaurier, 46-9; Cedrenus-Seylitzes, ed. Bonn, ii, 500; the accounts of the events preceding the surrender differ very much). Edessa under Maniakes seems to have enjoyed a certain amount of independence from Byzantium, as he sent an annual tribute thither (Cedrenus-Seylitzes, 502).

In Radjab 427/May 1036, the Patricius of Edessa became a prisoner of the Numayrī Ibn Waththāb and his many allies; the town was plundered but the fortress remained in the hands of the Greek garrison (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 305; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, 217). By the peace of 428/1037 the emperor again received complete possession of Edessa which was refortified (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 313; Barhebraeus, 221).

According to the Armenian sources, Maniakes was followed by Apukʿap or Λέων Λεπενδρηνός, then by the Iberian Βαρασβατζέ as strategus of Edessa; in 1059 Ἰωάννης ὁ Δουκήτζης was catapanus of the town. In 1065-6 and 1066-7, the Turks under the Khurāsān-Sālār attacked the town and the Saldjūḳ Alp Arslān besieged it for fifty days in 462/1070; it was defended by Wasil (son of the Bulgar king Alōsian?). After the victory of Malāzgird [*q.v.*], Edessa was to be handed over to the sultan, but the defeated emperor Romanus Diogenes had no longer any authority over it, and its Catapanus Paulus went to his successor in Constantinople (Scylitzes, ed. Bonn, 702). In 1081-2 Edessa was again besieged by an *amīr* named Khusraw, but in vain. After the death of Wasil, the Armenian Smbat became lord of Edessa and six months later (23 September 1083) Philaretus Brachamius succeeded him. But he lost it in 1086-7 when, in his absence, his deputy was murdered and the town handed over to the Saldjūḳ sultan Malikshāh. The latter appointed the *amīr* Buzān governor of al-Ruhāʾ and Ḥarrān. When the latter had fallen in 487/1094 fighting against Tutush [*q.v.*], Tutush's general Alpyārūḳ occupied the town, but it was not plundered by his army as he was poisoned by a Greek dancing-girl called Galī. Then the Armenian Kuropalates Tʿoros (Theodorus), son of Hetʿum, took the citadel. When in 1097-8 Count Baldwin of Bouillon captured Tell Bāshir, Tʿoros asked him to come to al-Ruhāʾ to assist him against their joint enemies, and received him with joy, but was shortly afterwards treacherously murdered by him (Matthew of Edessa, ed. 1898, 260-2 = tr. Dulaurier, 218-21; *Anonym. Syriac chronicle of 1203-1204*, in Chabot, *C.-R. Acad. Inscr. Lettr.* [1918], 431 ff.).

From 1098 the Latins ruled for half a century the "County of Edessa" to which also belonged Sumaysāṭ and Sarūdj (1098 Baldwin of Bouillon) I; 1100 Baldwin of Bourg II; 1119 Joscelin (de Courtenay) I; 1131 the latter's son Joscelin II). The town suffered a great deal under them, and there was some justification for Matthew of Edessa's comment that Baldwin du Bourg "hated Christians more than Turks". Ecclesiastical disputes, for instance, on the vexed question of the date for celebrating Easter, divided the Christians, Latin versus Monophysites. Despite their private jealousies, the Crusaders managed to hold on to the county of Edessa, largely because of the divided counsels of the Muslim *amīrs*, but with the rise of the resolute and skilful Atabeg of Mawṣil, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī—coinciding in 1143 with the deaths of two of

the strongest figures in the Christian camp, the Byzantine emperor John II Comnenus and Fulk, king of Jerusalem—the days of Crusader control over Edessa were numbered.

On 25 Djumādā II 539/23 December 1144, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī took it (a detailed description of these events in the *Anonymous Syriac chronicle of 1203-1204*, ed. Chabot, in *CSCO*, series iii, vol. xv, 118-26; tr. Chabot, *Une épisode de l'histoire des Croisades*, in *Mélanges Schlumberger*, i, Paris 1924, 171-9). Under Joscelin II and Baldwin of Kaysūm, the Franks again attempted to retake the town in October 1046 and succeeded in entering it by night, but six days later Nūr al-Dīn appeared with 10,000 Turks, and soon occupied and sacked it; the inhabitants were put to death or carried into slavery. Baldwin was killed and Joscelin escaped to Sumaysāṭ (Barhebraeus, 311-12). The fall of this eastern bulwark of the Crusaders aroused horror everywhere; in Europe it led to the Second Crusade. The Syrian Dionysius bar Ṣalībī as Diaconus wrote an "oration" and two poetic *mēmrē* about the destruction of the town. Three similar pieces were written by Basilius Abu 'l-Faradj b. Shummānā, the favourite of Zangī; he had also written a history of the town of Orhāy (Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Lit.*, 293, 298).

After the death of Nūr al-Dīn, his nephew Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī took the town in 1174; in 1182 it fell to the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who later handed it over to al-Malik al-Manṣūr. When al-Malik al-ʿĀdil died in 1218, his son al-Malik al-Ashraf Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā became lord of al-Ruhāʾ, Ḥarrān and Khilāṭ. In June 1234 the town was taken by the army of the Rūm Saldjūḳ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād and its inhabitants deported to Asia Minor (Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, tr. Blochet, in *ROL*, v, 88; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, 468). But it was retaken within four months by al-Malik al-Kāmil. In 1244 the Mongols passed through the district of al-Ruhāʾ and in 1260 the troops of Hülegü. The people of al-Ruhāʾ and Ḥarrān surrendered voluntarily to him, but those of Sarūdj were all put to death (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, 509; *Chron. arab.*, ed. Beirut, 486).

In the time of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, al-Ruhāʾ was in ruins. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī in *ca.* 740/1340 could still see isolated ruins of the main buildings. According to al-Ḳalḳashandī, the town had been rebuilt by his time (*ca.* 1400) and repopulated and was in a prosperous state. In connection with the campaigns of Tīmūr, who conquered al-Djazīra in 1393, al-Ruhāʾ is repeatedly mentioned in the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (written in 828/1425).

Bibliography: For older bibliography, see Honigmann's *EI*[1] art. *Orfa*. The information of the geographers is given in Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 103-4, see also Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1942-3, ii, 588-90. On history, see now Canard, *H'amdanides*, 91-2, 747-52; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1948, i, 382 ff., ii, 53-145, 169-209; S. Runciman, *A history of the Crusades*. ii. *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East 1100-1187*, Cambridge 1952, 107-39, 225-44; M.W. Baldwin (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*. i. *The first hundred years*, Philadelphia 1955; J.B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'*, Oxford 1970.

(E. Honigmann-[C.E. Bosworth])

3. The Ottoman and modern periods.

Al-Ruhā was conquered by sultan Selīm I, probably in 923/1517. The first Ottoman tax register was compiled in 924/1518; the tax-paying population at that time consisted of 782 Muslim families and 75 bachelors, 300 Christian families and 42 bachelors, amounting to a total of 1,082 families and 117 bachelors, or an estimated population total of slightly over 5,500. This low figure was probably due to the upheavals of the Ottoman-Ṣafawid War, for only eight years later, in 932/1526, the tax-paying population had increased to 988 Muslim and 334 Christian families, along with 182 Muslim and 89 Christian bachelors. Moreover, 213 Ottoman military men had settled in the town, thus bringing total population to about 8,000 people. A further tax register from the last year of Süleyman the Magnificent (973/1566) records 1,704 Muslim and 866 Christian families, along with 705 Muslim and 221 Christian bachelors; these figures point to a total population of 13,000-14,000 inhabitants. The town consisted of five large *maḥalles* named after the five gates and must have possessed an active textile industry, for the dye houses of al-Ruhā and nearby Ḥarrān produced the impressive revenue of 100,000 *aḳčes*. A *bedestān* is also on record.

In the 10th/16th century, al-Ruhā formed part of the *beglerbeglik* of Diyārbekir, and was located on the caravan route from Mawṣil and Mārdīn to Aleppo. It was therefore visited by several European travellers, among them an anonymous merchant whose travel account was published in 971-2/1564. He mentions the principal features of the town which were to recur in European travel accounts throughout more than two centuries: the strong walls and impressive citadel, the sanctuary of Abraham/Ibrāhīm, venerated by Christians and particularly by Muslims, the fishpond next to the sanctuary, and, at a distance from the town, a well frequented by lepers and other sick people. A few years later, al-Ruhā was visited by the Augsburg physician and botanist Rauwolf (982/1575), who describes the town as handsome and well-built. The town possessed a lively trade in rugs and carpets, which were sometimes sold to Europe, and also served as a point of transit for goods from Damascus, Aleppo and Istanbul, which were sold in Persia and ʿIrāḳ.

The most detailed description of al-Ruhā/Urfa before the 13th/19th century is due to the Ottoman traveller Ewliyā Čelebi, who passed through the town (which he calls Urfa, as do all other visitors of this period) in 1056/1646. His interest in it may have been due to the fact that one of his relatives had served as a *ḳāḍī* there. He describes two fortresses, one the citadel on the hill and the other a fortified settlement (*wārōsh*). The citadel he links with King Nimrod, and the two Roman columns standing there Ewliyā interprets as a catapult with which this ruler supposedly had the prophet Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl (Abraham) thrown into the fire. Otherwise, the citadel contained 20 small houses inhabited by the commander (*dizdār*) and his 200 men, in addition to a mosque, an armoury, a barn and a number of cisterns. Ewliyā mentions only three gates, partly with names different from those recorded in the 10th/16th century tax register. He claims to have counted 2,600 houses in the fortified section. If his count was accurate and the area outside the fortifications remained uninhabited, the town must have stagnated since 973/1566. As Ewliyā's figures concerning houses are generally more generous than the household data found in late 10th/16th century tax registers, the upheavals of the Djelālī period, particularly the occupation by the forces of Ḳarā Yazīdjī in 1008/1599-1600, must have taken their toll. Houses were generally built of mud brick, but there were quite a few opulent residences with their own gardens and baths, belonging to pashas and more rarely to *ḳāḍīs*.

He also enumerates 22 mosques; the mosque

known as Ḳïzïl Djāmiʿ was considered to be of great age and a former monastery, converted into a mosque by Hārūn al-Rashīd. The minaret, undated, often has been regarded as the bell tower of the church which formerly stood on the mosque site, but according to Gabriel, it is an original minaret. Ewliyā has also picked up a legend of Jesus' visit to al-Ruhā and his stay in a local monastery. Ewliyā records three *medreses*; the *medreses* possessed no *waḳf* revenues, but the traveller comments on the multitude of Kurdish scholars, both in the *medreses* proper and in the local *dār al-ḥadīth* and *dār al-ḳurrāʾ*. There were also three *zāwiyes*. Among the public kitchens, the most notable was the *ʿimāret* of Ibrāhīm, supposedly built by the caliph al-Maʾmūn. Connected with the *ʿimāret* was al-Ruhā/Urfa's major sanctuary, dedicated to Ibrāhīm by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī's nephew al-Malik al-Ashraf (608/1211-12), and visited by pilgrims from all over the Islamic world.

Ewliyā was not much impressed with the shopping streets and markets of al-Ruhā/Urfa; but though the Küre Čarshïsï was not of imposing appearance, quantities of valuable goods were sold there. He records a total of 400 shops and a large number of mills, one of them named for a certain Ṭayyāroghlu Aḥmed Pasha. The town also possessed a tannery; here a superior quality of yellow maroquin leather was manufactured. According to the French merchant Tavernier, al-Ruhā/Urfa, along with Toḳāt and Diyārbekir, was the source of the finest maroquin leathers. In addition, the town was noted for its cotton fabrics, and there was also some silk production.

Ewliyā's account is confirmed by the description of Tavernier, who passed through the town in 1054/1644. On his sight-seeing tour, this merchant and traveller saw many houses poorly built or even totally in ruins; there were so many empty lots that Tavernier compared the town to a desert. He also observed rugs and carpets spread out by the side of the fish pond, and commented on the veneration Muslims felt for this site. A church in the midst of a cemetery supposedly had been selected by St. Alexis as a place of retreat; and not far from the town Tavernier was able to see the Armenian church and monastery of St Ephrem in the midst of a Christian necropolis. This monastery was partly located in grottoes cut into the living rock, a feature of the local landscape also noted by Ewliyā and many other travellers; in the early 13th/19th century they were used as habitations.

When Thévenot passed through al-Ruhā/Urfa in 1074/1664, the damages mentioned by Ewliyā and Tavernier were still clearly visible. A valuable record of al-Ruhā/Urfa's otherwise poorly documented 13th/18th century is found in the accounts of revenues and expenditures pertaining to the mosque of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl and the then newly constructed Riḍwāniyye *medrese*. These survive for a few years beginning with 1151/1738-39 (Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, Maliyeden Müdevver 2004). The register contains a listing of the shops, gardens, mills and public baths belonging to these foundations, along with information about tenants and rents. The foundations also received rent from the Aladja Khān, in addition to a mulberry orchard located in front of the *medrese*. These accounts document the existence of a flourishing *čarshï*, with relatively few properties untenanted. Apparently Urfa's recovery was under way by this time. Thévenot also commented on the large number of ruined houses, even though the walls were in good condition and the town populous.

The Danish traveller Niebuhr passed through the town in the spring of 1179-80/1766, and produced a sketch map of the built-up area, which shows the town as possessing four gates, but there must have been an entrance to the citadel, even though his sketch does not show any. Thus we can understand why most accounts mention only four gates, while the Ottoman tax registers and B. Poujoulat (before 1256/1840) record five. His account mentions twelve minarets, of which the mosque of Khalīl al-Raḥmān was the most notable, and also two Christian churches within the walls. The Armenian church was in a largely ruinous condition, but the surviving part richly decorated with Persian rugs; the congregation numbered about 500 families, while the Jacobite church served only about 150 persons. In Niebuhr's time, Turkish was the principal language spoken in al-Ruhā/Urfa, but merchants and mule drivers usually knew Arabic and Kurdish as well.

However, in socio-economic terms, the richest travel account between Ewliyā's time and the republican period is due to Buckingham. He visited the town in 1234/1816, and as Ottoman-Wahhābī warfare closed the roads, spent considerable time there. By his time, the name al-Ruhā had been almost completely supplanted by Urfa, the only people who still called the town by its old name being Christian Arabs. He estimated the town's population as 50,000 persons; 47,500 were Muslims, 2,000 Christians and 500 were Jews. However, Poujoulat, who was in Urfa before 1256/1840, claims that the population consisted of only about 15,000 (14,000 Muslims, 1,000 Armenians, 100 Jacobites). As in Aleppo, the town consisted of two factions, namely the Janissaries and the *sherīfs*, and Buckingham complained of the former's lack of discipline. Buckingham describes the houses as consisting of good masonry, and resembling those of Aleppo; many of the townsmen obviously lived more comfortably than their forefathers, who had made do with the mud brick seen by Ewliyā and his contemporaries. *Ḥarem* and *selāmlïḳ* were separated by a courtyard; the upper floors of the *selāmlïḳs* generally contained opulently furnished reception rooms. Because of the insecurity due to warfare, many of the bazaars were closed; but in more peaceful times, the townsmen were still known for their lively cotton trade. Buckingham was even able to observe cotton printers at work. In addition, rough woollen cloth and rugs, the latter of good quality, were manufactured in Urfa. Goods from India, Persia and Anatolia were ordinarily available. The traveller mentions mohair fabrics from Ankara, which he calls shalloons, and some cashmere shawls.

A slightly later description of Urfa is due to the Prussian officer von Moltke, who visited it in 1254/1838. He mentions a mosque which he does not name, and which must have been the Ḳïzïl Djāmiʿ, for the structure is described as a solidly-built tower of great antiquity. The author also visited a large foundation adjacent to the two fishponds, which he describes as a *medrese* and which must have been the foundation which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had added to the mosque of Ibrāhīm (587/1191). He also made a map of the town and recorded the presence of numerous orchards.

From 1307-8/1890 or slightly earlier dates the description by Cuinet. According to him, the town possessed a population of 55,000, of whom 40,835 were Muslims; about 1297/1880, Sachau had estimated the number of Urfa's inhabitants at minimally 50,000. However, these optimistic evaluations were contradicted by Djewdet Pasha's claim (1298/1881) that Urfa *ḳaḍā* consisted of only 2,380 households or families (1,337 Muslims, 1,003 Christians, 29 Jews).

If we compare the estimates by Buckingham and Sachau-Cuinet, it would seem that population growth in the 13th/19th century was just able to compensate for wartime population losses, and Urfa's population must have been at a low ebb for several decades in the mid-century. Private houses in Cuinet's time were generally built in rough or even regularly hewn stone. The streets possessed wide pavements, while a channel in the centre served for the evacuation of water and household waste. The city walls had deteriorated, but the citadel apparently was in better condition. The town now possessed 18 *medreses* with 500 students, in addition to a *rüs̲h̲diyye*. There were also primary schools for the children of the various Christian churches, so that a total of 2,464 students were receiving a formal education.

At this time, Urfa was a flourishing centre of textile manufacture. The cotton industry survived the competition by factory-woven textiles, partly because manufacturers switched to imported thread which was woven locally. However, to remain competitive, weavers were forced to accept very low wages. By the early 20th century the ancient trade route linking northern Mesopotamia with Aleppo had revived, and Urfa's new prosperity permitted the construction of a town quarter *extra muros*. This development was, however, cut short when, after the fall of the Ottoman Empire Syria became a French and ʿIrāḳ British mandate. British and later French troops occupied Urfa in 1919-20. After severe fighting, which included a local uprising, the Treaty of Lausanne determined the inclusion of Urfa into the newly-founded Republic of Turkey (1923).

Throughout the Republican period, it has not been possible to re-establish Urfa's former trade links. This situation has emphasised the agricultural character of the *vilayet*. Grain is the main crop; apart from wheat, barley and beans are also significant. Productivity is often low, as much of the land is subject to erosion. A significant share of the grain grown is not intended for the market. Irrigation is a precondition for increasing productivity, and the regulation of the Fırat (Euphrates), the region's only important body of water, is expected to expand the area amenable to irrigation.

Limited opportunities in agriculture and the progress of mechanisation have diminished employment here, so that there has been considerable migration of labour to e.g. Adana, Gaziantep and Diyarbekir in search of work; female labour finds work cotton-picking in the Çukorova. Low incomes have likewise limited the progress of education, and literacy rates are lower than the national average. Since 1980-2, however, Urfa has been the site of a college of Dicle University at Diyarbekir, and the foundation of a local university is envisaged by the town's citizens.

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(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

RŪḤĀNIYYA (A.), a term derived from the adjective *rūḥānī* according to a well-known mode for the formation of abstract nouns and generally translated by "spirituality" in modern dictionaries. In the ancient texts, however, its usual meaning is rather that of "spiritual being", except in cases where it refers to the *d̲j̲inns* and the *s̲h̲ayāṭīn* which, like the *malāʾika*, evade the sensible perception of the majority of men, but are not of a "spiritual" nature. It is in fact in the vocabulary of angelology that it is most often encountered. Among the *falāsifa* and the Ṣūfīs, it denotes more specifically the *spiritus rector*, the angel who rules (*mudabbir*) each of the celestial spheres. It is in this sense that the Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ (*Rasāʾil*, Beirut 1957, xi, 215) speak of "angels which the *ḥukamāʾ* called *rūḥāniyyāt*". Similarly, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-D̲j̲īlī, in ch. lxii of his *K. al-Insān al-kāmil*, explains that each of the seven heavens is governed by an angel created *min rūḥāniyyati kawkab tilka 'l-samāʾ*. Among the Is̲h̲rāḳiyyūn or Illuminationists, and in particular in the work of al-Suhrawardī, *rūḥāniyya* is also used to denote the "angel of the species", the *rabb al-nawʿ* (see H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1971, index s.v.).

This word appears frequently in literature relating

to magic. According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 127, tr. Rosethal, iii, 159), magic (*al-siḥr*) consists in "linking the superior natures with the inferior natures. The superior natures are the *rūḥāniyyāt al-kawākib*". This is a statement confirmed by ps.-Madjrīṭī (*Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig 1933, 182), who claims to reveal the techniques by which it is possible to convoke (*istidjlāb*) the *rūḥāniyya* of the celestial bodies.

While *rūḥāniyya* is currently used in Ṣūfī texts as a denomination of these "cosmic intelligences"—Ibn ʿArabī, for example, speaks in the *K. al-tadjalliyāt* (ed. O. Yahya, Tehran 1988, 317) of purified human spirits granted access to the contemplation of *rūḥāniyyāt mufāraḳa*, forthwith identified with the spirits (*arwāḥ*) of the celestial spheres—it also often denotes the "spiritual entity" of a prophet or of a deceased *walī* whose *murīd* receives supernatural assistance. Thus Ibn ʿArabī speaks (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Būlāḳ 1329, iii, 43), of his *sulūk* with the *rūḥāniyya* of Jesus. This usage is associated with the notion of sainthood, *uwaysiyya*, which is characterised by the transmission of a *baraka* independently of any contact with a physically present *shaykh*. It is encountered frequently in the literature of the Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳa*, where the *silsila* presents numerous cases of this type (e.g. that of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kharaḳānī, d. 425/1033 [*q.v.*], who is directly linked with Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī, d. 234/857 or 261/874 [*q.v.*]). On the doctrinal justification of these chronological anomalies, see ʿAbd al-Madjid al-Khānī, *al-Ḥadāʾiḳ al-wardiyya*, Damascus 1306, 9. In *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya*, Damascus n.d., 27-8, the same author describes the rites which, at the time of *ziyārat al-ḳubūr*, allow the establishment of a connection with the *rūḥāniyya* of the *walī* whose body is interred in the tomb that is visited. (On this practice, see also the *Rashaḥātʿayn al-ḥayāt* of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī, Tehran 1356/1977, ii, 468). Paul Fenton has drawn attention to an analogous Jewish practice, that of *yiḥūd*, which is also conducted over the tomb of a saint. On the beliefs associated with this meaning of *rūḥāniyya*, see M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic and T. Zarcone (eds.), *Naqshbandis. Cheminement et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, Istanbul-Paris 1990, index s.vv. *rūḥāniyya* and *uwaysiyya*. In *Imaginary Muslims*, London 1993, Julian Baldick has analysed a singular case of the exploitation of traditional data concerning this theme with the appearance in Central Asia, at the end of the 16th century, of a mythical "History of the Uwaysīs".

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(M. Chodkiewicz)

RŪḤĪ (d. after 917/1511), Ottoman historian. There is little definite information about this historian apart from his *makhlaṣ* Rūḥī. From ʿĀlī's [*q.v.*] reference to him in the *Künhü 'l-akhbār* as Edrenewī Mewlānā Rūḥī, it is probable that he was a member of the *ʿulamāʾ* and had a family or professional association with Edirne (J. Schmidt, *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's Künhü 'l-aḥbār and its preface according to the Leiden manuscript*, Istanbul 1987, 58). Any identification with Rūḥī Fāḍil Efendi (d. 927/1528), son of the *shaykh al-Islām* Zenbilli ʿAlī Efendi, remains hypothetical (Babinger, *GOW*, 42, and *EI*[1], art. *Rūḥī*). The format of his history and the declaration that he was commanded to write it by Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] suggest that he may have been connected with the Ottoman court (cf. V.L. Ménage, *Edirneli Rûhî'ye atfedilen Osmanlı tarihinden iki parça*, in *İ.H. Uzunçarşılı'ya armağan*, Ankara 1976, 311-33).

Rūḥī's history, known either as *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* or as *Taʾrīkh-i Rūḥī*, narrates the history of the dynasty down to 917/1511. It is divided into two parts: (i) *mebādī*, "beginnings", on general considerations and the virtues of the Ottomans; and (ii) eight *maṭālib*, "questions, researches", each of which describes the reign of one sultan. It was cited as a source by ʿĀlī and Münedjdjim-bashī, and may also have been used by Luṭfī Pasha [*q.v.*] in his *Taʾrīkh* (M.K. Özergin, *İA*, art. *Rūḥī*, at ix, 765). It was thought no longer to exist as an independent text until in 1925 J.H. Mordtmann identified several surviving manuscripts (*Rūḥī Edrenevī*, in *MOG*, ii [1925], 129-36). Of these, however, the "Oxford Anonymous" (ms. Bodleian, Marsh 313) is probably not the work of Rūḥī but an earlier history (covering events to 889/1484 only) which was his main source (Ménage, *Neshrī's History of the Ottomans*, London 1964, 11-13). The work remains unpublished (for manuscripts, see Babinger, *GOW*, 43).

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(F. Babinger-[Christine Woodhead])

RUHMĪ, a name given in early Islamic geographical, travel and maritime literature to an eastern region of South Asia, most likely in the ancient Suhma region in the western part of Bengal [see bangāla]. There is considerable confusion about its location; readings vary from Ruhmī (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 106) to Rahma (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 15) and Dahum (*Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1942, text 35). Of these, the closest to Bengali is Dharma (a spelling used by Sulaymān al-Tādjir), a possible reference to a famous Bengali king Dharmapāla (769-801 A.D.). Sulaymān al-Tādjir also noticed correctly Dharmapāla's non-aristocrat and humble origin. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih, 63-7, Ruhmī, a vast kingdom, was bordered by Kāmrūn (Kamrup) not far from China, and was bountifully supplied with elephants, buffaloes and Indian aloe woods. Its coast, according to *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 87, included areas such as Nimyās, Samandar, Andrās, Ūrshīn and Harkand (ancient Harikela near Čandradvīpa in South Bengal, from which comes Baḥr al-Harkand, the early Arabic name for the Bay of Bengal). The kingdom fought constantly with its neighbours, Ballaharā (Radja Ballahrāya of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan) and Djurz (Gurdjaras of Kanawdj). It was particularly famous for its fine cotton cloth, later known as muslin. In addition to gold coins, cowrie-shells were used for currency. Trade with the Arabs flourished in the port cities in the south, especially in Shāṭiʾ-djām (Chittagong [*q.v.*]) and Samandar. The recent dicovery of two ʿAbbāsid coins in Bangladesh, one from Paharpur dated 172/788, from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-208/786-809) and the other from Mainamati minted during the reign of al-Muntaṣir (247-8/861-2) attests to this early Arab-Bengal trade link which undoubtedly speeded up the Islamisation of the region.

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(M.Y. Siddiq)

RUḲAYYA, daughter of Muḥammad and his wife Khadīdja. She is sometimes said to have been the eldest of his four daughters, but this is unlikely. She and her sister Umm Kulthūm were betrothed and married to two sons of Abū Lahab [*q.v.*], but the latter told his sons to divorce their wives when Muḥammad began his career as a prophet. The divorces could not have been, as sometimes stated, after the revelation of

sūra CXI, in which Abū Lahab is attacked, unless that was an early Meccan revelation. The statement in some sources that the divorces took place before the marriages had been consummated, is probably an invention to keep the holy family free from contamination with the family of Abū Lahab. After the divorce, Rukayya was married to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān [*q.v.*], went with him and other Muslims to Abyssinia, and returned to Mecca before the *Hidjra*. She made the *Hidjra* to Medina with her husband, but died while Muḥammad was absent from Medina on the expedition to Badr [*q.v.*]. After several miscarriages she had a son, ʿAbd Allāh, but a few years after his mother's death a cock pecked his eye and he died.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, see index; Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, 101, 115, 154; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 24; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, v, 456; Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, Rome 1912, 3 ff. (W. Montgomery Watt)

RUKHĀM [see Suppl.].

al-**RUKHKH** (a.), a huge, ostrich-like bird (*Aepyornis maximus*), now extinct, probably existing well into historical times as a peculiar species in Madagascar, where it is mentioned by among others Marco Polo. Other aepyornitidae, such as the New Zealand Moa bird, which became extinct only around the 14th century, might have contributed to the genesis of the *rukhkh*'s image. Though early Arab seafarers could conceivably have seen the bird face-to-face, Arabic tradition soon turned the *rukhkh* into a fabulous creature embellishing it with all kinds of strange details.

While early references to al-Djāḥiẓ cannot be verified, the first mention of the *rukhkh* is found in Buzurg b. Shahriyār's (4th/10th century) *ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind*. Further references are mostly contained in works belonging to the genre of *ʿadjāʾib* literature, such as Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī's (d. 565/1169-70 [*q.v.*]) *Tuḥfat al-albāb*, al-Dimashḳī's (d. 727/1327 [*q.v.*]) *Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿadjāʾib al-barr wa 'l-baḥr* and Ibn al-Wardī's (d. 749/1349 [*q.v.*]) *Kharīdat al-ʿadjāʾib*; later summaries are rendered by al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405 [*q.v.*]) and al-Ibshīhī (9th/15th century [*q.v.*]). By way of its mention in the *Travels* of Sindbād the sailor, itself included in the widely-read *Arabian Nights* (Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vi, 92-3, vii, 12), the *rukhkh* became known and was discussed in Western sources.

According to the fabulous accounts of various Arabic authors, the *rukhkh* is capable of carrying an elephant while airbound; each of its wings has 10,000 feathers of an enormous size, and it lays eggs as big as a mountain (cf. G. Thompson, *Motif-index*, B 31.1). These accounts obscured the opportunity to perceive the *rukhkh* as a real creature and succeeded in relegating it to the realm of fantasy, similar to the ʿAnḳāʾ [*q.v.*], and closely assimilated with the Sīmurgh [*q.v.*], with both of which the *rukhkh* is in fact sometimes confused. On the other hand, already authors such as al-Ābī (d. 421/1030) in his *Nathr al-durr*, vi, 532, qualify the alleged rejuvenating properties of his feathers (or beak) as a tall tale (*kadhib*).

Bibliography: J. Vernet, *Rujj = Aepyornis maximus*, in *Tamuda*, i (1953) 102-5; H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in die arabische Zoographie*, Berlin 1990, index s.v. *Vogel (ruḫḫ)*. (U. Marzolph)

al-**RUKHKHADJ** (in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 111, 121, Rukhudh; in al-Muḳaddasī, 50, 297, Rukhūd, perhaps to be read as Rukhwadh), the name given in early Islamic times to the region of southeastern Afghanistan around the later city of Ḳandahār [*q.v.*] and occupying the lower basin of the Arghandāb river (see D. Balland, *EIr* art. *Arḡandāb*). The Islamic name preserves that of the classical Arachosia, through which Alexander the Great passed on his Indian expedition in 330 B.C. (see *PW*, ii/1, cols. 367-8 (W. Tomaschek)), which is itself a hellenisation of Old Pers. Harakhuvatish, Avestan Harakhvaiti. In Syriac it was rendered as Rokhwad, a region with a Nestorian Christian community, in the Acts of the Synod held at Ctesiphon in 544 A.D. (see Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 17, 84; C.E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 9).

The region was first raided by the Arab commander ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura in the caliphate of ʿUthmān, when Sīstān and Bust [*q.vv.*] were first attacked, but the Muslims were for long blocked in securing any permanent foothold beyond Bust by the implacable hostility of the local rulers of southeastern Afghānistān, the Zunbīls, whose winter residence was in the *garmsīr* or hot region of al-Rukhkhadj and their summer one in the cooler *sardsīr* of the region of Zamīndāwar [*q.v.*] or Bilād al-Dāwar immediately to the north. These Zunbīls remained a hostile force till the second half of the 3rd/9th century, when the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth engaged in warfare with them [see ṣaffārids], and it is only after this that the native dynasty disappears from historical mention and that the Islamic geographers were able to treat al-Rukhkhadj as part of the *Dār al-Islām*. Thus the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 111, describes it as a prosperous and pleasant district. These authors mention as two of its main towns Pandjwāy and Tigīnābād; for a discussion of the location of these, see ḳandahār at IV, 536b. Administratively, al-Rukhkhadj seems often to have been linked with Sīstān; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 425, tr. 412, gives a global figure for the revenues of these two provinces as 100,000 dīnārs plus 300,000 dirhams. After this time, the name al-Rukhkhadj falls out of use; the Ghaznawid historian Gardīzī (wrote in the mid-5th/11th century [*q.v.*]) seems to be the last author regularly to refer to Rukhūd. Only the site of an Islamic settlement now called Tepe Arukh preserves its name.

Since Arab raiders captured many slaves from the pagan region of al-Rukhkhadj, one occasionally meets the *nisba* al-Rukhkhadjī, e.g. for Hārūn al-Rashīd's *mawlā* Abu 'l-Faradj, who became a very influential secretary and governor for the caliphs of the early 3rd/9th century; see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 82-3; Patricia Crone, *Slaves on horses, the evolution of the Islamic polity*, Cambridge 1980, 190. Whether the vizier of the Būyid *amīr* in Baghdād Musharrif al-Dawla, Muʾayyid al-Mulk Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn al-Rukhkhadjī (see H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Wiesbaden-Beirut 1969, 244), derived his *nisba* from Afghānistān or from the village near Baghdād of al-Rukhkhadjiyya (cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 38—a settlement of persons transported from al-Rukhkhadj in Afghānistān?), is unclear.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 272 and index; Le Strange, *The Eastern lands of the Caliphate*, 345; Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 28-9, 35, 120-1 and index; idem, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nīmrūz (247/861 to 949/1542-3)*, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1994, index; see also ḳandahār.

(C.E. Bosworth)

RUKHṢA (a.), literally "permission", dispensation".

1. In law.

Here, *rukhṣa* is a legal ruling relaxing or suspending by way of exception under certain circumstances an injunction of a primary and general nature (*ʿazīma* [*q.v.*]).

The general obligation to fast during Ramaḍān is, by way of *rukhṣa*, suspended during the days of an illness or a journey, under condition that these days are made up after Ramaḍān. Similarly, the general prohibition to eat meat that has not been ritually slaughtered is suspended if a Muslim could only survive by violating it. As a rule, one has the choice whether or not to make use of the *rukhṣa*. However, if one fears that one may die if one does not avail oneself of the *rukhṣa*, following it is obligatory, except in the case that one is threatened to be killed if one does not renounce Islam, for then martyrdom is to be preferred. The circumstances permitting a dispensation of the strict rule are either the necessity to preserve one's life or the removal of hardship, such as in the permission for a physician to look at a woman's pudenda or the relaxation of the obligation to perform *ṣalāt* during a journey. The distinction between *rukhṣa* and *ʿazīma* does not have legal consequences, except that, according to the Ḥanafīs, tacit consensus (*idjmāʿ sukūtī*) can establish a *rukhṣa* but not a *ʿazīma*.

Bibliography: Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic jurisprudence*, rev. ed. Cambridge 1991, 339-40, 186; Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *Uṣūl al-fiḳh*, Cairo n.d., 49-52; Izmīrī, *Ḥāshiyat ʿalā Mirʾāt al-uṣūl sharḥ Mirḳāt al-wuṣūl li-Mollā Khosrew*, Istanbul 1309/1891-2, ii, 394-8; M.J. Kister, *On 'concessions' and conduct. A study in early Ḥadīth*, in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies in the first century of Islamic society*, Carbondale, Ill. 1982, 89-107.

(R. Peters)

2. In Ṣūfism.

The way in which the concepts of *rukhṣa* and its counterpart *ʿazīma* are used in Ṣūfism involves an extrapolation from a juridical to a much more ethical domain. Here they refer to two opposite and differently-valued patterns of behaviour. *ʿAzīma* denotes a way of life characterised by determination and firmness of purpose, and is consequently of a higher level than *rukhṣa*, which lacks these characteristics. These two words refer also, particularly in their plural form, to concrete deeds in which the two behavioural patterns manifest themselves. E.g. celibacy and *tawakkul* (trust in God to such an extent that one does not support oneself) are considered to be *ʿazāʾim*, whereas marriage and supporting oneself are seen as *rukhaṣ*. The depreciatory valuation of the latter is to be witnessed in the idea expressed e.g. by al-Makkī in his *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* that *rukhaṣ* are (meant) for the weak, whereas the *ʿazāʾim* are characteristic of the strong. Also, al-Ḳushayrī makes it clear in his *Risāla* that, with these strong persons, the Ṣūfis are meant. On the other hand, in *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* and also in the *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* by Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj, the tradition is quoted according to which God loves the use of both *rukhaṣ* and *ʿazāʾim* equally well, albeit that in the latter source this tradition is quoted primarily as a warning against denouncing people who avail themselves of *rukhaṣ*. Thus the overall picture painted by these sources is that in Ṣūfi circles a surplus value is attached to the *ʿazāʾim* (B. Reinert, *Die Lehre vom tawakkul in der klassischen Sufik*, Berlin 1968, 135-7; R. Gramlich, *Schlaglichter über das Sufitum. Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāǧs Kitāb al-lumaʿ eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert*, Stuttgart 1990, 240; idem, *Das Sendschreiben al-Qušayrīs über das Sufitum*. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert, Wiesbaden 1989, 538).

Naḳshbandī Ṣūfis even claim that their attitude of strictly confining themselves to *ʿazāʾim* and avoiding the use of *rukhaṣ* is one of the most distinctive characteristics of their order. Yet even Naḳshbandīs have had to take the above-mentioned tradition in consideration, and therefore, according to a saying by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband, this brotherhood, although abstaining from these practices, yet does not denounce others who observe them (J. ter Haar, *Follower and heir of the Prophet. Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (1564-1624) as mystic*, Leiden 1992, 80-1, 107). This strong emphasis on *ʿazīma* is partly a reaction to other Ṣūfis who used the idea of *rukhṣa* in order to justify certain controversial practices like *samāʿ* and *raḳṣ* [*q.vv.*] (L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, ii, 779-81). A different and much more positive valuation of *rukhaṣ* is to be found in the *Kitāb Ādāb al-murīdīn* by Abu 'l-Nadjīb al-Suhrawardī, where they are considered to be an integral part of a special type of affiliation, viz. the affiliation of the *mutashabbihūn*, i.e. the lay members affiliated to an order, a designation which in this source at least has no pejorative connotation. Their affiliation is admittedly of a lower level compared to that of the Ṣūfis proper; nevertheless, it is a valuable one, since, according to a saying of the Prophet, "Whoever makes the effort to ressemble a group of people is one of them" (M. Milson, *A Sufi rule for novices. Kitāb Ādāb al-Murīdīn of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī*, Cambridge and London 1975, 17-21, 72-81).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J.G.J. ter Haar)

RUKN (a.), pl. *arkān*, literally "corner (as in *al-rukn al-yamānī* = the southeastern corner of the Kaʿba), support, pillar". The singular *rukn* occurs twice in the Ḳurʾān, in XI, 82/80, when Lot seeks for support in a strong *rukn*, pillar, or, figuratively, a leader or chief; and in LI, 39, where Pharaoh and his support, *rukn*, i.e. retinue, reject Moses.

1. In religious and legal usage.

Here, it is commonly found in the expression *arkān al-dīn* or *arkān al-ʿibāda*, denoting the basic "pillars" of religion and religious observance. These so-called "pillars of Islam" are usually enumerated as (1) the profession of faith, *shahāda*; (2) the pilgrimage, *ḥadjdj*; (3) the worship, *ṣalāt*; (4) fasting, *ṣawm*; and (5) almsgiving, *zakāt, ṣadaḳa*. To these some authorities add a sixth, perpetual warfare against infidels, *djihād*.

Bibliography: See almost all the general works on the Islamic faith, e.g. H.U.W. Stanton, *The teaching of the Qur'an*, London 1919, 58 ff.; H.A.R. Gibb, *Islam*, ch. 4; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Muslim institutions*, London 1954, ch. 6; A. Rippin, *Muslims, their religious beliefs and practices. i. The formative period*, London and New York 1990, ch. 7. The teachings of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*] are translated in Rippin and J. Knappert (eds.), *Textual sources for the study of Islam*, Manchester 1986, 10-11, 89 ff. See also W.C. Smith, *Arkān*, in *Essays on Islamic civilization presented to Niyazi Berkes*, Leiden 1976, 303-16, repr. in idem, *On understanding Islam*, The Hague, etc. 1981, 162-73 (contends that *arkān* originally meant "parts of the body"). For greater detail, see the individual *EI* articles on these "pillars" and also sharīʿa. (Ed.)

2. In natural science and alchemy.

Here, it denotes "cardinal point", "part", "direction" and, in particular, "element".

In the *Sirr al-khalīḳa* attributed to Balīnās [see balīnūs], a source that has played a fundamental role in much of Islam's alchemical tradition, the word *rukn* appears in its literal sense of a corner, side or an extremity (see Lane, i/3, 1148-9). Yet it functions as a

technical term in this text, since it is employed consistently and exclusively in a cosmological context. Thus in a discourse on winds (*riyāḥ* [see RĪḤ]), the author tells us that the *rukn* which faces the east (*mukābil al-mashrik*) is cold-moist, since it is here that the cold-moist wind blows, stabilising and strengthening the *rukn* (*K. Sirr al-khalīka wa-ṣanʿat al-ṭabīʿa*, ed. U. Weisser, Aleppo 1979, 135). This cosmological idea of strength appears to have subsequently been integrated into the ordinary meaning of the word, for one of the meanings of *rukn* found in the standard Arabic lexicons (e.g. *TʿA*) is the strongest side (*djānib*) of a thing (see Lane, *loc. cit.*).

Again, in a discourse on the motion of celestial bodies, the *Sirr*, 140, uses the term to designate each of the four geographical regions or sides of the physical world—*rukn al-mashrik, rukn al-gharbī*, etc. Finally, in the course of an explication of the *ṭabāʾiʿ* (natures) [see ṬABĪʿA], the term is employed strictly in a conceptual sense, that of the four directions—*al-rukn al-sharkī, al-rukn al-gharbī*, etc. (188). Here *rukn* is practically equivalent to *djiha*.

But it is in the grand alchemical corpus attributed to Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*] that the term reaches its full technical maturity and sophistication. As in the *Sirr*, here too *rukn* appears in a cosmological context. Thus, explicating variously his doctrine of the formation and elemental structure of the physical world, the alchemist distinguishes between natural elements which constitute gross physical bodies and artificial elements which are extracted out of these bodies through alchemical procedures; the former are designated by the term *usṭukussāt* (sing. *usṭukuss*) or *ʿanāṣir* (sing. *ʿunṣur*), etc., and the latter by the term *arkān* (see e.g. *K. al-Lāhūt* and *K. al-Bāb*, ed. P. Lory, Damascus 1988, 12, 31; cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, Cairo 1942, 6). In the *K. al-Ḥudūd, rukn* is unambiguously defined: it is that "compound" (see below) which is produced by alchemical operations (*al-mudabbara*) (ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1935, 481). This stands in sharp contrast to the definition of Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*], who explains *rukn* as a relative concept: it is any simple body (*djism basīṭ*), he tells us, that constitutes an essential part (*djuzʾ dhātī*) of the physical world. Thus, according to Ibn Sīnā, an individual thing (*al-shayʾ*) is a *rukn* in relation to the world; in relation to what is composed from it, it is an *usṭukuss*; and in relation to what is generated from it, it is an *ʿunṣur* (Arabic text in A.M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, 144).

There is in the *corpus Djābirianum*, however, another distinct use of the term, something that manifests a profoundly distinguishing philosophical feature of the cosmological tradition which its author represents. Thus *arkān* designates the four *ṭabāʾiʿ*, hot, cold, moist and dry. Here, unlike the case practically with all other philosophical traditions in Islam, the term *kuwwa* (δύναμις) is never applied to the *ṭabāʾiʿ*; and *kayfiyya* (ποιότης) extremely rarely (cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, 147, 165; S.N. Haq, *Names, natures and things*, Dordrecht and London 1993, 57-62). These Djābirian *arkān* were the primary material elements of all things; they were the "first simple elements", as opposed to earth, water, air and fire which latter were the "second compound elements" (see e.g. *K. al-Taṣrīf* and *K. al-Mīzān al-ṣaghīr*, ed. Kraus, 412, 482).

In Abū Bakr al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], as much as we know of his writings, the term is used but rarely. In his *Sirr al-asrār*, where *rukn* does make an appearance, it conveys the broad sense of an element, equivalent to the Aristotelian *στοιχεῖον* (see tr. J. Ruska, Berlin 1937, 121). But, like Djābir (Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, i, Cairo 1943, no. 500), al-Rāzī too wrote a whole book on this subject, the lost *K. al-Arkān* (H.E. Stapleton, R.F. Azo and M.H. Ḥusain, *Chemistry in Iraq and Persia in the tenth century A.D.*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, viii [1927], 337). In general, it is in the specified Aristotelian sense that *rukn* is most frequently employed in the alchemical and cosmological writings of mediaeval Islam.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the text, see M. Berthelot and O. Houdas, *La chimie au Moyen Age*, iii, Paris 1893; E.J. Holmyard, *The Arabic works of Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, Paris 1928; U. Weisser, *Das „Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung" von Pseudo-Apollonius von Tyana*, Berlin and New York 1980. (S. NOMANUL HAQ)

RUKN AL-DAWLA, ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-ḤASAN B. BŪYA, second in age of the three brothers that founded the Būyid dynasty [see BUWAYHIDS]. His fortunes followed those of the elder brother ʿAlī (later ʿImād al-Dawla [*q.v.*]) up to the latter's occupation of Fārs in 322/934; Rukn al-Dawla was then given the governorship of Kāzarūn and other districts. But shortly afterwards he was forced by the ʿAbbāsid general Yāḳūt, at whose expense the Būyid conquest of Fārs had been made, to seek refuge with his brother; and when Yāḳūt was in turn defeated by the Ziyārid Mardāwīdj [*q.v.*], the Būyids' former overlord, against whom they had revolted, ʿImād al-Dawla, who then found it advisable to conciliate Mardāwīdj, sent Rukn al-Dawla to him as a hostage. On Mardāwīdj's assassination in the following year (323/935), Rukn al-Dawla escaped and rejoined ʿImād al-Dawla, by whom he was supplied with troops to dispute the possession of Djibāl with Mardāwīdj's brother and successor, Wushmgīr. Rukn al-Dawla succeeded at the outset in taking Iṣfahān; but the first round of his contest with Wushmgīr ended in Rukn al-Dawla's ejection from that city in 327/939, when he again fled to Fārs.

In the next year Rukn al-Dawla's help was sought by his younger brother al-Ḥusayn (later Muʿizz al-Dawla [*q.v.*]), who had meanwhile set himself up in Khūzistān, against the Barīdīs [*q.v.*]; whereupon Rukn al-Dawla, being now possessed of no territory, attempted to take Wāsiṭ but was obliged to retire when the caliph al-Rāḍī [*q.v.*] and the *amīr* Badjkam [*q.v.*] opposed him. Almost immediately afterwards, however, he succeeded in recovering Iṣfahān, owing to Wushmgīr's championship of Mākān b. Kākūya in a quarrel with the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*]; and when the latter ruler died in 331/943, Rukn al-Dawla, who had meanwhile supported the Sāmānid cause, was able to drive Wushmgīr as well from al-Rayy, of which he had momentarily regained possession on the retirement of the Sāmānid general Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī.

With al-Rayy, Rukn al-Dawla gained control of the whole Djibāl; and but for two short intervals (of about a year in each case) retained it for the rest of his days. Up to 344/955-6, however, his position was highly precarious. For not only Wushmgīr but also the Sāmānids continued to challenge it. It was only by playing them off against each other and sowing dissensions between the Sāmānid princes and the commanders whom they sent against him that Rukn al-Dawla was able to maintain it. Even so (as indicated above) he was driven from al-Rayy, and his representatives were expelled from most parts of the province, once in 333/944-5 and again in 339/950-1, in each case by Sāmānid forces. Indeed, he was obliged in the end to become the Sāmānids' tributary (at least two agreements for the payment of tribute being recorded); it was on this basis that he first made peace

with them in 344/955-6, as again in 361/971-2. In the course of his long contest with Wushmgīr, who, until he was killed in an accident in 357/968 never ceased to intrigue with the Sāmānids against him, Rukn al-Dawla on several occasions invaded Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, but was unable to incorporate these provinces permanently in his dominions. And though in 337/948-9, after he had defeated an attempt on al-Rayy made by the Musāfirid or Sallārid Marzubān b. Muḥammad, whom he took prisoner, he gained control of southern Ādharbāydjān, his ejection two years later from al-Rayy itself (see above) naturally cost him this as well.

Rukn al-Dawla received his *laḳab* simultaneously with his brothers in 334/945-6, on Muʿizz al-Dawla's entry into Baghdād; and on ʿImād al-Dawla's death in 338/949 succeeded him as head of the family and *amīr al-umarāʾ* (though this title was also held by Muʿizz al-Dawla). The last two years of his life were rendered unhappy—so much so that he never recovered from the shock induced by the news—owing to the conduct of his son, ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], in taking advantage of an appeal for help sent by ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*] (son of Muʿizz al-Dawla and his successor in the rule of ʿIrāḳ), to imprison the latter, and, in conjunction with Rukn al-Dawla's own *wazīr* Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-ʿAmid [*q.v.*], who had been sent likewise with a force to Bakhtiyār's aid, to seize that province for himself. And though ʿAḍud al-Dawla obeyed his command to release Bakhtiyār and return to his government in Fārs, Rukn al-Dawla was only with difficulty persuaded to visit ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 365/975-6 at Iṣfahān, in order to ensure that by receiving a confirmation of his appointment as heir, he should succeed without dispute. Rukn al-Dawla died at al-Rayy in Muḥarram of the next year/September 976.

In the settlement arrangements made at Iṣfahān just before his death (see above), Rukn al-Dawla nominated his eldest son ʿAḍud al-Dawla, at this moment ruler in Fārs and subsequently in ʿIrāḳ also, as his successor, but provided that Rayy should go to his second son Fakhr al-Dawla [*q.v.*], and Hamadhān to the third son Muʾayyid al-Dawla [*q.v.*] as subordinate to ʿAḍud al-Dawla; in the event, Rayy passed under Muʾayyid al-Dawla's control, and Fakhr al-Dawla, who fled to the Ziyārids and Sāmānids, was only able to establish his claims there after Muʾayyid al-Dawla's death.

As shown above, Rukn al-Dawla faced considerable difficulties in setting the northern amirate of the Būyids on a firm basis, but what success he achieved was largely attributable to the firm backing and wise advice of his vizier, the famous Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*], who served the Būyid for 32 lunar years (328-60/940-70) and was able to contain the violence and rapacity which were the normal attributes of a ruler like Rukn al-Dawla who had begun as a Daylamī robber chief. Nevertheless, Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ii, 279, tr. v, 298-9, lamented that Ibn al-ʿAmīd was prevented from establishing the rule of justice by his master's impetuosity and lack of inherited kingly authority. The circle of scholars and literary men which grew up around the vizier, one which at various times included such luminaries as Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*], the philosopher Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Miskawayh himself, as Ibn al-ʿAmīd's coadjutor, made Rayy at this time a dazzling centre of Arabic culture (see J.L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam. The cultural revival during the Buyid age*, Leiden 1986, 210-11, 223, 230, 241-6). It is less easy to estimate whether there was a specifically Persian element within Rukn al-Dawla's ethos of rulership, but he does seem to have conceived of himself as a monarch in the line of ancient Persia, possibly as an inheritance from his early life in the entourage of Mardāwīdj; a silver medal struck at Rayy in 351/962 depicts the *amīr* as a Persian emperor and has a legend in Pahlavi "May the glory of the king of kings increase!" (see G.C. Miles, *A portrait of the Buyid prince Rukn al-Dawlah*, ANS Museum Notes no. 11, New York 1964; Kraemer, *op. cit.*, 44).

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(H. Bowen-[C.E. Bosworth])

RUKN AL-DĪN [see ḳilīdj arslan ii and iii].

RUKN AL-DĪN BĀRBAK SHĀH b. Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, Bengal Sultan of the restored Ilyās Shāhī line, r. 864-79/1460-74.

Bārbak was one of the most powerful of the medieval rulers of Bengal, achieving a great reputation from his warfare against the Hindu rulers of Orissa and northern and eastern Bengal, regaining Silhet [*q.v.*] (Sylhet) and also Chittagong [*q.v.*] from the Arakanese. He recruited for his armies Ḥabashī military slaves and Arab mercenaries, and popular hagiographical tradition attributed many of Bārbak's conquest to one of this latter group, the warrior-saint Shāh Ismāʿīl Ghāzī ʿArabī, concerning whom a *Risālat al-Shuhadāʾ* was composed in 1042/1633 by Pīr Muḥammad Shaṭṭārī, see Storey, i, 990. Bengal prospered under Bārbak; he undertook extensive building work on his palace at Gawr or Lakhnawtī [*q.v.*] and was a great patron of Bengali literature.

Bibliography: R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people. VI. The Delhi Sultanate*, Bombay 1960, 212-13; K.A. Nizami and M. Habib (eds.), *A comprehensive history of India. V. The Delhi Sultanate (A.D. 1206-1526)*, Delhi etc. 1970, 1153-4.

(C.E. Bosworth)

RUKN AL-DĪN KHURSHĀH, Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *imām* and the last lord of Alamūt. The eldest son of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III (r. 618-53/1221-55), Rukn al-Dīn (al-Ḥasan), also known as Khurshāh, was born in Rūdbār around the year 627/1230; and it was in his childhood that he was designated to succeed to the Nizārī imāmate. Rukn al-Dīn succeeded, as an *imām*, to the leadership of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community and state upon the assassination of his father on the last day of Shawwāl 653/1 December 1255. His very brief but eventful reign as the eighth and last lord of Alamūt coincided with the completion of the Mongol conquests in Persia and the final year in the history of the Persian Nizārī state of the Alamūt period.

By the time of Rukn al-Dīn's accession, the Persian Nizārīs of Ḳuhistān and Ḳūmis had already experienced a foretaste of the destructive powers of the Mongol hordes. But it remained for Hülegü or Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] or Hülegü himself, leading a major Mongol expedition to Persia, to uproot the Nizārī state centred in Rūdbār [see rūdhbār] in the central Alburz mountains of northern Persia. The sources are generally ambiguous on Rukn al-Dīn's policy vis-à-vis the Mongol invaders. Vacillating between submis-

sion and resistance, he eventually seems to have aimed towards a compromise solution, perhaps hoping to avert at least the Mongol capture of the chief Nizārī strongholds in Rūdbār. But he did adopt a conciliatory policy towards the Sunnīs who had played a part in spurring the Mongols against the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. Be it as it may, Rukn al-Dīn was drawn into an intricate and ultimately futile web of negotiations with the Mongols, from the time of Hūlāgū's arrival in Persia in Rabīʿ I 654/April 1256. The Nizārī ruler also dispatched several embassies, headed variously by his vizier Shams al-Dīn Gīlakī and a number of his own brothers, to Hūlāgū, who persistently demanded nothing less than Rukn al-Dīn's total submission and his orders for the demolition of the Nizārī fortresses, including Alamūt, the traditional seat of the Nizārī state.

Having grown weary of Rukn al-Dīn's delaying tactics, Hūlāgū soon decided to launch his assault on Nizārī Rūdbār, ordering the main Mongol armies to converge on Maymūn-Diz [*q.v.*], where the Nizārī ruler was then staying. On 18 Shawwāl 654/8 November 1256, Hūlāgū himself encamped on a hilltop facing Maymūn-Diz. After the failure of a last round of Nizārī-Mongol negotiations followed by a few days of intense fighting, the Nizārī ruler was finally obliged to surrender. On 29 Shawwāl 654/19 November 1256, Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, accompanied by a group of Nizārī dignitaries and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, descended from Maymūn-Diz and presented himself before the Mongol conqueror, marking the close of the Nizārī state of Persia; he had ruled for exactly one year.

Subsequently, Rukn al-Dīn was treated hospitably by the Mongols whilst they still needed his cooperation to persuade the remaining Nizārī strongholds to surrender. Rukn al-Dīn now issued a general order of surrender to the commandants of the Nizārī fortresses; about forty such fortresses in Rūdbār fell readily into Mongol hands, and they were duly dismantled after their garrisons were taken into custody. Alamūt did not surrender until the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 654/December 1256, and Lanbasar [*q.v.*] held out for another year while Girdkūh resisted its Mongol besiegers until 669/1270. The Persian historian Djuwaynī, who took part in the truce negotiations between his master Hūlāgū and the Nizārīs and drew up Rukn al-Dīn's actual terms of surrender, has left a vivid description of Alamūt, before the Mongols destroyed that impregnable fortress and its famous library.

As the Nizārī *imām*'s usefulness to the Mongols approached its end, Hūlāgū approved of Rukn al-Dīn's curious request to visit the Great Khān Möngke [*q.v.*] in Mongolia. On 1 Rabīʿ I 655/9 March 1257, Rukn al-Dīn set out on his fateful journey to Ḳaraḳorum, accompanied by a group of companions and some Mongol escorts. Once in Ḳaraḳorum, or its vicinity, however, Möngke refused to meet with the captive Nizārī *imām*, on the apparent pretext that he still had not delivered Lanbasar and Girdkūh to the Mongols. By that time, Möngke had already sanctioned a general massacre of the Persian Nizārīs who were in Mongol custody. Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh's own tragic end occurred sometime in the late spring of 655/1257, when he and his companions, then supposedly on the return journey to Persia, were put to the sword by their Mongol guards somewhere along the edge of the Khangai mountains in central Mongolia.

Bibliography: Djuwaynī, iii, 106-42, 253-78; Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 618-40, 707-25; Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, *ḳismat-i Ismāʿīliyān*, ed. M.T. Dānishpazhūh and M. Mudarrisī Zandjānī, Tehran 1338 *Sh*./1959, 182-95; idem, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. E. Quatremère, Paris 1836, 180-220; idem, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, iii, ed. A.A. Alizade, Baku, 1957, 24 ff., 29-38; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Kāshānī, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh, bakhsh-i Fāṭimiyān wa Nizāriyān*, ed. M.T. Dānishpazhūh, 2nd ed., Tehran 1366 *Sh*./1987, 219-20, 224-33; M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, 261-71; B. Lewis, *The Assassins*, London 1967, 91-6, French tr., *Les Assassins*, tr. A. Pélissier, Paris 1982, 132-7; J.A. Boyle, *The Ismāʿīlīs and the Mongol invasion*, in *Ismāʿīlī contributions to Islamic culture*, ed. S.H. Nasr, Tehran 1977, 7-22; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: Their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 421-9, 435, 444, 697-8 (containing further bibliographical references). (F. DAFTARY)

RUKNĀBĀD (or ĀB-I RUKNĪ, the water of Rukn al-Dawla), a subterranean canal (*ḳanāt*) which runs from a mountain (called Ḳulayʿa: P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, ii, 48, no. 7) about six miles from Shīrāz. Enlarged by a secondary canal, it follows for a part of the way the road from Iṣfahān to Shīrāz. Its waters reach as far as the vicinity of the town towards the cemetery in which the poet Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] is buried, when they are not entirely absorbed for irrigation purposes. According to Ḥasan Fasāʾī (*Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, part ii, 20), "all the waters of the plain of Shīrāz come by subterranean channels except the water from the spring of Djushk... The best waters are those of the Zangī and Ruknī canals.... The Ḳanāt-i Rukni (i.e. Ruknābād) was made in 338/949-50, one-and-a-half *farsakhs* to the northeast of Shīrāz by Rukn al-Dawla Ḥasan b. Būya [see BUWAYHIDS]; its waters rise in the ravine of Tang-i Allāh Akbar a mile north of Shīrāz; it waters the plain of al-Muṣallā". In the 8th/14th century, Ruknābād is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 113: "The water comes from subterranean canals and the best is that of Ruknābād"). But it is to the poets that this canal really owes its fame. In the 6th/12th century Saʿdī declares himself charmed by the land of Shīrāz and the waters of Ruknābād (*Kulliyyāt*, Calcutta 1791, fol. 299b, 1. 4). In the following century, ʿUbayd-i Zākānī sings: "The zephyr which blows from al-Muṣallā and the wave of Ruknābād remove from the stranger the memory of his native land" (text quoted by E.G. Browne, who finds in it an echo of Saʿdī, *LHP*, iii, 238). Ḥāfiẓ in particular immortalised Ruknābād in his verses: "Pour out, cup-bearer, the wine that is left, for in Paradise thou shalt find neither the stream of Ruknābād nor the promenade of al-Muṣallā" (ed. Khalkhālī, Tehran 1306/1927, no. 3, v. 2); "Shīrāz and the wave of Ruknī and the sweet breeze of the zephyr, blame them not, for they are the pride of the universe" (*ibid.*, no. 35, v. 7); "The zephyr which blows from al-Muṣallā and the wave of Ruknābād will never allow me to depart" (*ibid.*, no. 168, v. 9); "May God a hundred times preserve our Ruknābād, for its limpid waters give a life as long as that of Khiḍr" [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, no. 277, v. 2), and in a piece which may be apocryphal (*ibid.*, part 2, no. 71): "The water of Ruknī, like sugar, rises in al-Tang (-i Allāh Akbar)". According to later writers, Ruknābād, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa called a great water-course (*al-nahr al-kabīr*), gradually dried up. Among the notable travellers of the 17th century, Chardin, almost alone in mentioning it, saw only a large stream and gives Ruknābād the fanciful meaning "Ruknenabat, veine ou filet de sucre" (*Voyages*, ed. Langlès, viii, 241). At

the end of the 18th century, W. Franklin praises the sweetness and clearness of the waters of this little stream to which the natives attribute medicinal qualities. At the beginning of the 19th century, Scott Waring notes that its breadth was nowhere more than six feet. Ker Porter observes that the canal has become choked up through neglect. The *Kulthūm-nāma* deplores the disappearance of the groves that surrounded it. At a later date we have the same observation by Gobineau ("Cette onde poétique ne m'apparut que sous l'aspect d'un trou bourbeux"), Curzon ("a tiny channel filled with running water") and Sykes ("a diminutive stream").

The *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī* mentions a second Ruknābād in Fārs: "The source of the warm stream of Ruknābād is part of the district of Bikha-yi Fāl (Lāristān); it is over a *farsakh* north of the village of Ruknābād; having a bad flavour and an unpleasant smell, it is of no use for agriculture; it cooks in a few minutes eggs put into it; one can only bathe in it at some distance from the spring" (ii, 318 middle, 288).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 53, 87, tr. Gibb, ii, 299, 318; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Khayr Zarkūb Shīrāzī (8th/14th century), *Shīrāz-nāma*, Tehran 1305-10/1926-31, 23-4 (panegyric in a precious style); Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shirwānī (19th century), *Riyāḍ al-siyāḥa*, 336, ult. and *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, 326 middle (short notices); *Kitāb-i Kulthūm-nāma*, tr. Thonnelier, *Le livre des dames de la Perse*, Paris 1881, 120, tr. Atkinson, *Customs and manners of the women of Persia*, London 1832, 77; L. Dubeux, *La Perse*, Paris 1841, 34; W. Franklin, *Voyage du Bengal en Perse*, tr. Langlès, Paris, year VI, i, 107; Scott Waring, *A tour to Sheeraz*, London 1807, 40; Morier, *A second journey through Persia*, London 1818, 69; Ouseley, *Travels*, London 1819, i, 318, ii, 7; Porter, *Travels*, London 1821, i, 686/695; de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1922, i, 199; H. Brugsch, *Reise... nach Persien*, Leipzig 1862, ii, 166; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, ii, 93, 96; E.G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, index; P.M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 323; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 250 (on the water supply of Shīrāz); A.V.W. Jackson, *Persia past and present*, New York 1906, 323; A.J. Arberry, *Shiraz*, Norman, Okla. 1960, index; W. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 156.

(H. Massé)

RUḲYA (A.), from the root *r - ḳ - y* meaning "to ascend" (cf. Ḳurʾān, XVII, 93, XXXVIII, 10; to this, LXXV, 27, adds the idea of "enchanter", "one who cures" and "magician" *rāḳⁱⁿ*, a term often found in the *Sīra*, in *Ḥadīth* and in the Sunna), "enchantment, magical spell". Since casting a spell was usually by means of a magical formula pronounced or written on an amulet of parchment or leather, *rāḳⁱⁿ* is to be connected with *ḳāriʾ* and *riḳḳ* [*q.v.*]. The term *tarāḳī* of the preceding verse, 26, from the root *r-ḳ-w/y*, variously understood by the commentators, means "collar bones" (see *TA* and Lane, s.v.; *Steingass, Persian-English dict.*, 291), and reminds one of the *Clavicules de Salomon*, a book of magic, printed in 1641 and reissued by Pierre Belfond, Paris n.d. It is known that Judaeo-Arabic tradition attributes various works of a magical nature (notably Solomon's seal) to Solomon, a mythic character of the Ḳurʾān who controls the winds, animals, spirits, named seventeen times in the Ḳurʾān (see esp., XXXVIII, 30-9, and cf. Ibn Saʿd, viii, 147; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 160-70; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, i, 103, ii, 164, 173, 180, etc.).

Ruḳya, corresponding to Latin *carmen*, magical chant, consists in the pronouncing of magical formulae for procuring an enchantment. It is one of the procedures of *siḥr* [*q.v.*], used by the Prophet himself and, because of this, permitted in exceptional cases, on condition that it brings benefit to people and does not harm anyone. One may have recourse to it against poison, bites, fever, the evil eye, etc. (many refs. in A. Kovalenko, *Magie et Islam*, diss. Strasbourg 1979, reprod. by Minute S.A., Geneva 1981, pp. 721; cf. 113 and 247 (notes); see also G. Bousquet, *L'authentique tradition musulmane*, Paris 1964, 301 nos. 105-6, and 308 no. 130). According to Muslim, ii, 279, "charms are forbidden as soon as they touch upon, in one manner or another, polytheism".

The Prophet thought that beneficial *ruḳya* could modify the fate decreed by God and that it was in fact part of it (al-Tirmidhī, ii, 7). For him, "the evil eye definitely exists. If something could forestall destiny, the [evil] eye would precede it" (Muslim, ii, 275). In this case, he recommended *ruḳya*. Faced with a slave whose colour had altered, he said to one of his wives, "Have recourse to magical means, for he has been affected by some malevolent glance" (*ibid.*, ii, 277; Bousquet, *op. cit.*, 232-2 no. 104). He himself used *ruḳya* in order to cure a sick man; he placed his right hand on him and pronounced a conjuration formula (Muslim, ii, 276-7). When he was ill, he recited over himself magical formulae and spat. ʿĀʾisha used to do it for him when sorrow was particularly heavy upon him (*ibid.*, ii, 277). The angel Gabriel would sometimes come to him and apply a *ruḳya* (*ibid.*, ii, 274-5). There exists a complete literature called *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* "Prophetic medicine", full of recipes and practices of this kind attributed to Muḥammad (see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 258, 277 = ii, 289, 300; A. Perron, *La Médecine du Prophète*,; K. Opitz, *Die Medizin im Koran*, Stuttgart 1906; T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1967, 241-5; and art. KHAWĀṢṢ AL-ḲURʾĀN).

Starting from these Prophetic examples, *ruḳya* from then onwards multiplied enormously, and, especially, amongst the more backward milieux of society. The intellectual classes were unanimous in formally forbidding the practise of magic, but, in the absence of a definition of the idea of *siḥr* in the Ḳurʾān, as likewise in Islamic law, this prohibition was watered down by the Prophetic example. Al-Djuwaynī (d. 681/1283), an Ashʿarī jurist, wrote, "God has merely prohibited what is harmful and not that which is useful; if it is possible for you to be useful to your brother, then do it" (cited in Bousquet, *op. cit.*, 301 n. 104); whilst Ibn Khaldūn wrote, "The religious law makes no distinction between sorcery, talismans and prestidigitation. It puts them all into the same class of forbidden things" (*Muḳaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 169).

For al-Ghazālī, who provided Islamic theology with its definitive formulation, magic is based on a combined knowledge of the properties of certain terrestrial elements and of propitious astral risings. This knowledge is not in itself blameworthy, but it could only serve to injure others and to do evil (*Iḥyāʾ*, i, 49-50). The privileged place given to this knowledge is justified by words attributed to the Prophet, "The superiority of the believer who also possesses knowledge over the merely pious believer is that of 70 degrees" (cited in *ibid.*, i, 12).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the text): I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebiete*, in *Orientalistische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 303-29; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion*

dans l'Afrique du Nord, Algiers 1909; W.B. Stevenson, *Some specimens of Moslem charms*, in *Studia semitica et orientalia* (J. Robertson vol.), Glasgow 1920, 84-114; G. Bousquet, *Fiqh et sorcellerie*, in *AIEO*, viii (1949-50), 230-4; H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam. II. Amulette und Beschwörungen*, Wiesbaden 1961 (with 104 pls.); T. Fahd, *Le monde du sorcier en Islam*, in *Le monde du sorcier* (= Sources orientales, 7), Paris 1966, 157-204; idem, art. *Magic in Islam*, in M. Eliade (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of religions*, New York 1987, repr. in L.E. Sullivan, *Hidden truths: magic, alchemy and the occult*, New York-London 1989, 122-30; Fahd, *La connaissance de l'inconnaissable et l'obtention de l'impossible dans la pensée mantique et magique de l'Islam*, in *BEO*, xliv (1993), 33-44; idem, *Sciences naturelles et magie dans* G͟hāyat al-ḥakīm *du Ps.-Mad͟jrīṭi*, in *Ciencias de la naturaleza en Al-Andalus. Textos y estudios*, i, ed. E. García Sanchez, Granada 1990, 11-21. (T. FAHD)

RŪM. 1. In Arabic literature.

Rūm occurs in Arabic literature with reference to the Romans, the Byzantines and the Christian Melkites interchangeably. This issue of nomenclature is the first problem that confronts the reader of Arabic literature. Most often, however, the reference is to the Byzantines, which is the meaning followed in this entry.

The sources for the pre-Islamic times include the important Namāra [*q.v.*] inscription. All the literary sources were written in later Islamic times, deriving from the historian Ibn al-Kalbī.

In the Islamic period, the first reference to Rūm occurs in the Ḳurʾān (*Sūrat al-Rūm*, XXX, 1-5): "The Rūm have been vanquished in the nearer part of the land..." Ḳurʾān exegesis contains several explanations for these verses and provides further information on the Byzantines (al-Ṭabarī, *D͟jāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1954, xviii, 17-19; al-Ālūsī, *Rūḥ al-maʿānī*; Ibn Kat͟hīr, *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿAẓīm*). Rūm also occurs in *ḥadīt͟h* literature, where Constantinople, in particular, partakes in apocalyptic traditions. Such is the *ḥadīt͟h* in al-Buk͟hārī stating that Umm Ḥaram had heard the Prophet saying "The first among my people to attack the city of Caesar will see their sins forgiven" (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 56, ch. 93) or that found in Ibn Ḥanbal, "The Dad͟jd͟jāl will not appear until the Byzantines are vanquished" (*Musnad*, 178). The *Sīra* of Ibn His͟hām includes several references to the Rūm in various contexts such as warfare, justice, trade and the diplomatic relations with Emperor Heraclius (*Sīrat al-Nabī*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, iv, 170). The conquest literature which chronicles the conflict between Byzantium and the Arab Islamic forces digresses into various other subjects as well such as Muḥammad al-Azdī's diversion into issues of Byzantine injustice (*K. Futūḥ al-S͟hām*, ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta 157-8). Ibn al-Aʿt͟ham al-Kūfī's references in his *K. al-Futūḥ*, Haydarābād 1968, i, 151) are connected with scenes of Byzantine ceremonial, elegance and wealth.

In the main historical chronicles, in al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīk͟h al-Rusul wa 'l-mulūk*, for instance, references to Rūm are guaranteed at the end of each year; the account closes by mentioning Muslim raids into Byzantine territory. For Constantinople [see AL-ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA], in particular, the last major siege led by Maslama in 98/716-17 is recounted in detail in the anonymous *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1869, i, 23-33. The conflict between Byzantium and the Islamic state directed the orientation of the sources so that warfare holds a predominant place in the *Futūḥ*, chronicles and historical works.

The Rūm figure prominently in the Arabic geographical literature of the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries. The geographers of the early "ʿIrāḳī" school, Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, Ibn Rusta, Ibn al-Faḳīh and Ḳudāma b. D͟jaʿfar included in their respective works a chapter on the Byzantines. Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih's *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* provides information on fiscal revenues, itineraries, geographical boundaries, and the make-up of Byzantine population. Ibn Rusta's *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa* includes the most detailed Arabic description of Constantinople. Among the geographers of the "Balk͟hī" school, Ibn Ḥawḳal alone, in his *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, provides a full-length chapter on the lands of Rūm. Foremost among all Arabic works are the two masterpieces of al-Masʿūdī, *K. al-Tanbīh wa 'l-is͟hrāf* and *Murūd͟j al-d͟hahab*, which include not only geographical material and anecdotes on the Rūm but also attempt at a systematic historical treatment of Byzantine history after the rise of Islam. See also Manuela Marin, *«Rūm» in the works of three Spanish Muslim geographers*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii (Athens 1984), 109-17.

The organisation of the Byzantine administration and the army is referred to in various texts such as Ḳudāma b. D͟jaʿfar's *K. al-K͟harād͟j* (255-7) and the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-K͟hʷārazmī (see for this last, C.E. Bosworth, *Al-K͟hʷārazmī on the secular and religious titles of the Byzantines and Christians*, in *CT*, xxxv, no. 139-40 [1987] (= *Mélanges Ch. Pellat*), 28-36). Descriptions of Byzantine ceremonial are found in Ibn Rusta, where the Muslim prisoner Hārūn b. Yaḥyā witnessed several ceremonials of the Byzantine court (123-5). Anecdotes concerning the court ceremonial are found in al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd͟j*, ii, 18) and Ibn al-Faḳīh (*Muk͟htaṣar K. al-Buldān*, 137-8) and other works. Important references to Rūm are made in the context of embassies and diplomatic relations, hence the importance of Ibn al-Farrāʾ's *Taʾrīkh al-Rusul wa 'l-mulūk wa-man yaṣluḥ li 'l-sifāra* written in the 4th/10th century. Special works like the *K. al-D͟hak͟hāʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf* of the Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh and S. Munad͟jd͟jid, Kuwayt 1959, from the 5th/11th century, deal mostly with exchange of gifts between Muslim and Byzantine rulers and include information on ceremonials.

In works typically referred to as *adab*, references to the Byzantines are most often scattered and anecdotal. Al-D͟jāḥiẓ has dispersed references in his *K. al-Ḥayawān*. He deals in a much more consistent way with the topic in his epistle *Risāla fī al-radd ʿalā 'l-Naṣārā* (ed. A. Hārūn, in *Rasāʾil*, iii) and in *al-Ak͟hbār wa-kayfa taṣiḥḥ*, in *JA*, cclv [1967], 65-105). Some anecdotes are rather extensive, such as those mentioned by al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/945-6) concerning an Arab prisoner captured by the Byzantines (*al-Farad͟j baʿd al-s͟hidda*, ed. A. al-S͟hāld͟jī, Beirut 1978, ii, 192-205) or the meeting between a Christian grandfather and a Muslim grandson (*ibid.*, ii, 29-31). The *K. al-Ag͟hānī* includes information on the Byzantine Empress Irene (Būlāḳ, xvii, 44), anecdotes on the correspondence between the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Byzantine Emperor (viii, 157) as well as on the poet Imruʾ al-Ḳays, explaining how his death was related to a Byzantine princess (viii, 73). In a typical *adab* work such as Ibn Ḳutayba's *ʿUyūn al-ak͟hbār*, references are mentioned in several books, depending on the context, whether war, food, morals, etc... In addition to anecdotes, some works of *adab* contain statements about the various civilised nations in the context of the S͟huʿūbiyya [*q.v.*] controversy such as the *K. al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa* of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023). One should note also Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī's (d. 462/1070 [*q.v.*]) *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*.

References to the Byzantine language and script imply some mutual knowledge of the rivals' respective language. Most of the information concerning the literary achievements of the Rūm appears within the intellectual discussion that accompanied the Shuʿūbī movement, notably by al-Djāḥiẓ in his *K. al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*. The first section of the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm describes the four different Greek scripts used by the Rūm in Baghdād.

In poetry, references are scattered in isolated verses. More significant poems are found in Abū Nuwās and Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya as they sing the praises of Hārūn al-Rashīd, while Abū Tammām (*Dīwān*, ed. Shāhīn ʿAṭiyya, Beirut 1889, 289, verse 18 and 35, verses 6-10) and al-Buḥturī (*Dīwān*, Beirut, 1911, 24, verses 3-14) focus on the achievements of al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim. The capture of Amorium in 233/838 by al-Muʿtaṣim was the subject of a famous poem by Abū Tammām. The most notable Arab poet to deal at length with the Arab-Byzantine wars is al-Mutanabbī. As long as he remained at the court of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in Aleppo, Mutanabbī devoted poems to each of the Amīr's campaigns against the Byzantines, so that his poems are useful as topographical and historical sources.

Bibliography: This is enormous, since references to the Rūm can be found almost anywhere. One may single out, in addition to sources mentioned in the article, Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār's *Tathbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, Beirut 1966, which focuses on personal traits and morality of the Byzantines, and al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *K. al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt* which has the benefit of including the Fāṭimids in the picture. Irfan Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, Washington 1984, see also his *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fifth century*, Washington 1989, investigates very meticulously the pre-Islamic sources on the Byzantines. M. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et la légende*, in *JA*, ccviii-ccix (1926), 61-121, provides a good introduction for the references to the Byzantines and, particularly, Constantinople in the genre of folkloric traditions. A. Miquel, *La geographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du XIème siècle*, Paris 1967-88, 4 vols., provides an excellent introduction to the Arab geographers' view of the world around them including the Rūm. Also valuable is Ahmad Shboul, *Byzantium and the Arabs: the image of the Byzantines as mirrored in Arabic Literature*, in *Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference*, London 1979, and idem, *Al-Masʿūdī and his world*, London 1979, ch. 6, *The Byzantines*. See also AṢFAR, BANŪ 'L-.

(NADIA EL CHEIKH)

2. Relations between the Islamic powers and the Byzantines.

(a) *Military and political aspects of Arab-Byzantine relations*

The Muslims, first the Arabs and then, with the incursions of the Turkmens into Anatolia from the 5th/11th century onwards, the Turks, had close relations, often bellicose but at times on a more peaceful level, for a period of some eight centuries. This extended from the initial Arab conquests of Byzantine imperial territories in the Levant, Egypt and the Mediterranean islands until the final extinction of the remnants of the Byzantine empire, and also of Greek independence, by the falls of Constantinople (857/1453), the Despotate of Morea (864/1460) and the empire of Trebizond (865/1461).

The ambivalent relations of the two great world faiths and powers of the Near East and Eastern Europe were thus manifested in both the politico-military sphere and also the cultural one (see section (b) below). Constantinople was from the outset a goal of Muslim arms, as the supreme bastion of the rival faith of Christianity, and Arab raids were directed at the East Roman capital itself from the caliphate of ʿUthmān onwards, with the warriors' enthusiasm soon buttressed by apocalyptic traditions looking forward to the city's capture. Such traditions, e.g. the prophetal *ḥadīth* that Constantinople would fall to an Islamic ruler who bore the name of a prophet (in this case, of Solomon) seem to have been a motive behind the prolonged, but ultimately unsuccessful, onslaught on the Byzantine capital begun by Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (97-99/716-18) (see R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion. Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimān b. ʿAbdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen*, Wiesbaden 1987, 129-37; and see ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA).

When the new caliph ʿUmar (II) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz abandoned the expansionist plans of his predecessors, the apocryphal and messianic motives decreased in vigour, and the last effort of the Arabs against Constantinople was that of the prince Hārūn, later the caliph al-Rashīd, who appeared at Scutari in 165/781-2 but was bought off by a timely offer of tribute from the Empress Irene. The real legacy of these Arab attacks was in the spheres of folklore and hagiography rather than a material one. Thus the tomb of the veteran Medinan Companion Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*], who died during the siege of Constantinople by Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya in his father's caliphate, became regarded as a source of *baraka* or charisma for the Muslims, most recently by the Ottoman Meḥemmed II the Conqueror [*q.v.*], after his entry into Constantinople, who erected a splendid mosque, the present one of Eyüp, on the tomb's supposed site. The siege of Constantinople by Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] during Sulaymān's caliphate left behind, it was believed, a tangible memorial in the shape of a mosque, identified in the later popular mind with what is now called the Arab Camii in Karaköy (in fact, this building was given as a church to the Dominicans, as the Church of St. Paul or St. Dominic, in 1232, during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, and only became a mosque at the Ottoman conquest). Hārūn al-Rashīd's efforts, though in reality without issue, played a big part in later Ottoman Turkish folklore, and according to one story retailed by the 11th/17th century traveller Ewliyāʾ Čelebi [*q.v.*], Hārūn avenged a massacre of Muslims within Constantinople by hanging the Emperor Nicephorus I in Santa Sophia (see M. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende*, in *JA*, ccviii [1926]. 87-106 = *Byzance et les Musulmanes du Proche Orient*, Variorum Reprints, London 1973, no. I; C.E. Bosworth, *Byzantium and the Arabs: war and peace between two world civilisations*, in *Jnal. of Oriental and African Studies*, iii-iv [Athens 1991-2], 1-4).

There was periodic naval warfare along the coasts of southern and western Anatolia and against Byzantine islands like Cyprus [see ḲUBRUS], Rhodes [see RODOS], Crete [see IḲRĪṬISH] and Sicily [see SIḲILLIYA], although the Byzantine navy generally managed to retain maritime control—with intervals of Muslim successes—over the first three of these islands and over the Aegean islands in general until the advent of Italian, Catalan and French adventurers there, above all, the Venetians and Genoese, in the 12th century A.D. (see, in general, E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland. Das Mittelmeer unter byzantinischer und arabische Hegemonie (650-1040)*,

Berlin 1966; H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritime de Byzance aux VIIe-XVe siècles*, Paris 1966; and on one specific early naval battle, DHĀT AL-ṢAWĀRĪ, in Suppl.).

By land, warfare was intermittent between Greeks and Arabs in southeastern Anatolia and its marches for some four centuries. When not distracted by internal difficulties of the caliphate, the Muslims normally mounted summer raids (*ṣawāʾif*, sing. *ṣāʾifa* [*q.v.*]) and, occasionally, winter ones (*shawātī*, sing. *shātiya*), often under the leadership of Umayyad or ʿAbbāsid princes (e.g. Maslama, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī) and other prominent commanders. Quite often, their raids penetrated deep into Byzantine territory, such as the famed sack by al-Muʿtaṣim of Amorion (ʿAmmūriya [*q.v.*]) in 223/838. But on the whole, there were no permanent, large-scale Arab annexations in Anatolia, and in the later 3rd/9th century, the advent to the throne in Byzantium of the vigorous Macedonian emperors set the Christians on the offensive in northern Syria and al-Djazīra, this impetus only being checked by the appearance of the Turkmens as a factor in the politics of the region and, behind them, the constituting of the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate [see SALDJŪḲS]. Only then, in the second half of the 5th/11th century, was the stage set for the gradual advance of the Turks into Anatolia after the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan [*q.v.*] had decisively defeated Romanus IV Diogenes at Mantzikert or Malāzgird [*q.v.*] in 463/1071, thereby gaining control over much of eastern Anatolia. During the next four centuries, Anatolia was to be completely taken over by Turkish dynasties, to be finally unified by the Ottomans [see ʿOTHMĀNLĪ], with portentous changes in the ethnic and religious composition and the socio-economic make-up of Asia Minor (see section (c) below).

The interface of Byzantine-Arab land contact was essentially the region of southeastern Anatolia backed on the Muslim side by a line of "strongholds" (*ʿawāṣim* [*q.v.*]), a line of protective fortresses stretching in an arc from Antioch through the Anti-Taurus and the upper Euphrates region to Manbidj. Before this line of rear defences lay a stretch of debatable land, much fought over, the *ḍawāʾiḥ al-Rūm* or "exterior lands facing the Greeks", in which were situated the "gaps" or *thughūr* [*q.v.*], the forward strongholds, stretching from Tarsus on the Cilician coast to Malaṭya and the mountains of eastern Anatolia. For the general course of this frontier warfare, see the standard histories of Byzantine-Arab relations and of Byzantium, such as A.A. Vasiliev, H. Grégoire and M. Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 4 vols., Brussels 1935-68 (incs. trs. by Canard of the relevant Arabic texts, and vol. iv, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinische Reiches von 363 bis 1071* by E. Honigmann); Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine empire*, Madison 1952, esp. vol. i; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine state*, Oxford 1956, ²Oxford 1969; R. Jenkins, *Byzantium, the imperial centuries A.D. 610-1071*, London 1966; J.M. Hussey (ed.), *The Cambridge medieval history*, iv, *The Byzantine empire*, esp. ch. XVII by Canard, *Byzantium and the Muslim world to the middle of the eleventh century*, and, more specifically from the Arab side, Bosworth, *The Byzantine defence system in Asia Minor and the first Arab incursions*, in *Procs. of the Fourth International Conference on the history of Bilād al-Shām*, i, ʿAmmān 1987, 116-24, and idem, *Byzantium and the Syrian frontier in the early Abbasid period*, in *Procs. of the Fifth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, Eng. and Fr. section, ʿAmmān 1412/1991, 54-62.

A notable feature here is a certain symbiosis which takes place along the Byzantine-Arab borders, with the evolution of a frontier society differing from the more stable and peaceable communities of the hinterlands (see Bosworth, *The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers in early and middle ʿAbbāsid times*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 276). Part of this society involved, from the Arab side, the activities of Islamic *ghāzīs* [*q.v.*] or fighters for the faith, motivated in varying proportions by a love of plunder and by a spirit of *djihād* [*q.v.*] or warfare for the extension of the *Dār al-Islām*, and from the Greek side, the activities of the *akritai* or frontier fighters. The Muslim *ghāzīs* based themselves in the frontier posts, variously called *ḥiṣn*, *maslaḥa ribāṭ*, etc., in the *ḍawaʾiḥ*, whilst their Greek counterparts sallied forth from cities and outposts on the Anatolian plateau and in the Taurus mountains, heavily fortified as part of the reshaping of the Byzantine empire, from the later 7th century A.D. onwards, into military themes perpetually organised for warfare (see R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber. Studien zur Strukturwandlung des byzantinisches Staates im 7. und 8. Jhd.*, Munich 1976; Bosworth, *The Byzantine defence system in Asia Minor and the first Arab incursions*, 119 ff.). A further feature of these frontier societies was the development of an epic literature there (although this was not necessarily contemporaneous with the events purported to be described in it), seen on the Greek side in the epic of Digenes Akrites and on the Arabic one in the stories of Sīdī Baṭṭāl [see AL-BAṬṬĀL, SAYYID GHĀZĪ] and Dhu 'l-Himma [*q.v.*], whilst, again on the Arab side, we know of an only partially-extant work, the *Siyar al-thughūr* "Ways of life, conduct, along the frontiers" by the 4th/10th century author al-Ṭarsūsī (himself a native of the *thaghr* of Tarsus [see ṬARSŪS], possession of which oscillated between the Greeks and Arabs until Nicephorus Phocas captured it in 354/965), which treated of life along the Muslim side of the frontier (see Bosworth, *The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers...*, 271-2, 280 ff.; idem, *Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān al-Ṭarsūsī's* Siyar al-thughūr *and the last years of Arab rule in Tarsus (fourth/tenth century)*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, v [Athens 1993], 183-95).

The frontier warfare, and the territorial advances and withdrawals of each side, created in the *ḍawāḥī* something like a scorched-earth zone, and, at the human level, brought in plentiful supplies of slave captives for both sides. To make up depleted populations in the frontier territories, groups of peoples were often transplanted from the interiors of the Arab and Byzantine empires and settled there; thus there were to be found, on both sides of the frontier, members from the community of the Mardaites, brought from the Amanus region of northwestern Syria [see AL-DJARĀDJIMA, and also ZUṬṬ]. At intervals, exchanges of captives might be arranged, and these are enumerated in the Arabic sources as a series of *fidā's* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] or "ransomings", taking place during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries and usually on the banks of the Lamos or Lamas Su river near Seleucia or Silifke (see Bosworth, *Byzantium and the Arabs...*, 13-16, and LAMAS-ṢŪ).

(b) *Cultural and artistic relations of the Arabs and Byzantines*

One should not dwell exclusively on the military aspects of relations without noting that, interspersed between the frontier raiding and warfare, were long periods of peace (even if these last were, in strict Islamic law, periods of truce, *hudna*, rather than of *ṣulḥ*), during which diplomatic, cultural and commercial intercourse was possible. The two sides, the Arab-Muslim and the Greco-Byzantine, shared a common

world-view, a teleological view of human existence as progressing from the divine act of Creation to the last things (these being, for the Muslims, the vanquishing of Satan or the Anti-Christ (*Dadjdjāl* [*q.v.*]), the Resurrection and the Judgement) and the end of human history; both had similar ethical standards, the pursuit of justice in this world and of individual salvation for the next one. Hence despite political rivalry and military clashes, there was the possibility of occasional co-operation in such spheres as artistic, cultural and scientific ventures.

This was favoured, in practice, by the fact that, although they were enemies of the Greeks from the religious point of view, the Arabs—in distinction from their view of the Franks or Western Europeans, whom they regarded with contempt as barbarians [see IFRANDJ]—considered Byzantium as a world power and world culture on a par with themselves. A passage in the *Kitāb. Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* of the Spanish Muslim *ḳāḍī* of Toledo, Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-Ḳurṭubī (wrote 460/1068) divides the peoples of the world into those concerned with learning and the sciences and those not; in the first category are included peoples like the Indian, Persians, Chaldaeans, Greeks (as *Yūnān*, i.e. the ancient Greeks), the *Rūm* (i.e. the Byzantines), Egyptians, Arabs and Jews (Fr. tr. R. Blachère, *Livre des catégories des nations*, Paris 1935, 36-7, cited in B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, London 1982, 68-9). For their part, the Byzantine emperors not infrequently accorded the representatives of their Muslim foes a higher rank at their court and among their society than those of the Western Europeans. In a famous passage of his *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-59) gives "Saracen (lit. Hagarene) friends" precedence at the imperial table over the "Frankish friends", and amongst the Saracens in general, the eastern ones (*toi anatolikoi prokrinomenoi*) are accorded the best places (see Bosworth, *Byzantium and the Arabs*, 17).

When the Arabs overran the former territories of the Byzantine empire in the Near East, they saw numerous monuments to Christian architectural achievement. Above all, in Greater Syria, there were still some forested areas with timber as yet unfelled and plentiful supplies of fine building stone, together with a human tradition of building skills and fine craftmanship. The presence of these factors favoured the erection of imposing Islamic public buildings and private palaces in the region, of which the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and the Mosque of ʿUmar and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem were conspicuous examples. Sir Hamilton Gibb suggested that, in Jerusalem, there was a conscious aim of emulating the Christian practice of cathedral building (*Arab-Byzantine relations under the Umayyad caliphate*, in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, ed. S.J. Shaw and W.R. Polk, Boston 1962, 50 ff.). Moreover, there is a persistent tradition in later Islamic historians that the caliph al-Walīd (I) b. ʿAbd al-Malik sent to the Byzantine emperor (presumably Justinian II, 685-95, 705-11) requesting, and in fact obtaining, help for the adornment of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, in which last place the governor ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was building a fine new structure in place of the original, simple building [see ARCHITECTURE. I (2)]. The geographer al-Muḳaddasī (158, partial Fr. tr. A. Miquel, *La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces*, Damascus 1963, 170-1), describes how the Emperor sent precious metals, skilled artisans and mosaic cubes (*fasāfisa*, *fusayfisa* < Grk. *psēphos*), including some cubes retrieved from ancient cities, presumably in Anatolia (see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 18-20, and FUSAYFISĀʾ). Such a request for the skills of artisans from Byzantium does, however, raise questions of the motivations behind the actions of both sides. It may be that the Emperor acceded to the caliph's request as an act of condescension, the bestowal of artistic expertise on benighted barbarians, and that al-Walīd thought that he was cunningly acquiring artistic and trade secrets, knowledge of which would in future make him independent of recourse to infidels. Oleg Grabar has discussed these questions, in an attempt *inter alia* to explain which mosaicists from Byzantium should be necessary when there were clearly, from the evidence of the workmanship of the new Islamic structures at Jerusalem, local artisans who were completely competent in such specialisations. (*Islamic art and Byzantium*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xviii [1964], 69-88, esp. 82 ff. = *Studies in medieval Islamic art*, Variorum Reprints, London 1976, no. IV).

Recourse to Byzantium for artistic guidance, and for what would now be called technical aid, was made two-and-a-half centuries later by the Umayyad rulers of Muslim Spain, with whom Constantinople had intermittent diplomatic relations: both powers shared a common hostility to the ʿAbbāsids. In 839-40 the Emperor Theophilus (829-42) sent an embassy to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*] in his capital Cordova, seeking to get the *amīr* to use his influence among the band of Muslim adventurers from al-Andalus under Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Ballūṭī, who had established themselves in the Byzantine posession of Crete and subjugated the Christian Greek population there. Then, a century later, the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*] looked to Constantinople for assistance and advice, regarding the Byzantine capital as the outstanding centre of cultural splendour in the Mediterranean basis, and possibly also in an endeavour to counterbalance the cultural impact in Spain of the Islamic East, and particularly of Baghdād. It seems that in the A.D. 950s ʿAbd al-Raḥmān sent the Mozarab bishop Recemundo or Rabīʿ b. Zayd [*q.v.*], who had already been employed on a mission to the Emperor Otto I, to Constantinople in order to acquire *objets d'art* for the decoration of the new palace, *al-Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ* [*q.v.*], which the Umayyad ruler was building outside Cordova. The later Moroccan historian Ibn ʿIdhārī records that, keeping up the tradition, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's son al-Ḥakam I [*q.v.*] maintained these diplomatic relations with Byzantium, and sent to Nicephorus Phocas for a mosaicist and for materials to decorate the Great Mosque at Cordova (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IXᵉ siècle*, in *Byzantion*, xii [1937], 1-24; idem, *Hist. Esp. musulmane*, Paris-Leiden 1950, i, 251-4, ii, 146-53, cited in Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 20-1).

Canard, in his article *Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin, essai de comparaison*, in *Byzantion*, xxi (1951), 355-420 = *Byzance et les Musulmanes du Proche Orient*, no. XIV, drew attention to similarities between the court practices of the Byzantine emperors (known to us in detail from Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De ceremoniis*) and those of the Fāṭimid caliphs, and mooted the possibility (415 ff.) of cultural influences in Fāṭimid North Africa and Egypt emanating from Byzantium. He found it difficult to produce evidence of a deliberate policy of imitation on the part of the Fāṭimids, but did draw attention to the significant role in the early Fāṭimid caliphate of ethnic groups from various parts of the Byzantine empire, such as the Sicilian (or Dalmatian, or even Greek?)

Djawhar (d. 381/992 [*q.v.*]), in whose conquering army was certainly a corps of *Rūm*. I. Hrbek, discussing the role of the Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*] and Rūmīs in the Fāṭimid army, opined that the majority of these Rūmīs came from the Balkans, over which Byzantium claimed a general suzerainty, the Balkans being for long a great reservoir for slave manpower (*Die Slawen im Dienste der Fāṭimiden*, in *ArO*, xxi [1953], 543-81, esp. 567 ff.). We also have evidence of some direct diplomatic contact between Byzantium and the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz in the shape of an embassy from Constantinople to his palace at Manṣūriyya near Ḳayrawān in 346/957 seeking peace after naval clashes in the Mediterranean between ships of the Spanish Umayyads and their Byzantine allies on the one side and ships of the Fāṭimids on the other (S.M. Stern, *An embassy of the Byzantine emperor to the Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz*, in *Byzantion*, xx [1950], 239-58 = *History and culture in the medieval Muslim world*, Variorum Reprints, London 1984, no. IX), but this seems to have been an isolated occurrence.

In addition to these sporadic artistic and cultural relations between Byzantines and Arabs, there were also odd cases of co-operation, and even, on one occasion, something like a joint expedition, for scientific purposes. The caliph al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] was known for his interest in science and learning, and he brought together various experts in his *Bayt al-Ḥikma* [*q.v.*] at Baghdād, with the aim of recovering and translating the ancient Greek scientific, medical and philosophical heritage. According to Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, al-Maʾmūn sent to the Emperor in Constantinople for books on science, which the latter somewhat unwillingly sent, and he further endeavoured, but without success, to attract from the Byzantine capital to his own court the celebrated mathematician and philosopher Leo, subsequently Archbishop of Thessalonike. Al-Maʾmūn's son al-Wāthiḳ [*q.v.*] inherited his father's interests, and when he became caliph he sent to Ephesus in Rūm the astronomer and mathematician Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*], with the aim of getting information on the "Companions of the Cave", *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* [*q.v.*]; for this quest, the Emperor Michael III (842-67) provided a guide (see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 22-3).

After the 5th/10th century, the Byzantines and the Arabs tended to be separated from each other geographically by the intrusion of a new ethnic element, the Turks, as will be described in the next section, and diplomatic and cultural contacts were much reduced, although whilst ever the rulers in Constantinople controlled maritime traffic through the Straits and the Dardanelles, they had a continuing role in the slave trade between the Ḳïpčaḳ Steppe and South Russia which was such a vital factor in the replenishment of military personnel in the Mamlūk state [see MAMLŪK].

(c) *Byzantium and the Turks*

With the coming of the 5th/11th century, Muslim pressure on Byzantium passed from the hands of the Arabs into those of the Turks, in the shape of Turkmen begs or tribal leaders and the more organised Turkish principalities which arose in Anatolia towards the end of that century, such as that of the Dānishmandids [*q.v.*] in northern and eastern Anatolia and the branch of the Saldjūḳs in Konya. All these now became the spearhead of Islamic penetration of Anatolia and of the region's gradual subtraction from Byzantine control.

In later decades of the century, the Saldjūḳ adventurer Sulaymān b. Ḳutalmïsh b. Arslan Isrāʾīl and his raiding bands penetrated right across the length of Asia Minor, at a time when the Byzantine empire was weakened by succession disputes, so that for several years, until 490/1097, Sulaymān was able to make Nicaea or Iznik [*q.v.*], in the extreme northwest of Anatolia, his temporary capital.

Under the emperors of the Comneni dynasty, and with assistance from the Frankish Crusaders who passed through Asia Minor en route for the Holy Land, the Byzantine position was in the 6th/12th century generally re-established in western Anatolia and in the Black Sea and Mediterranean coastlands. But the defeat of Manuel I Comnenus at Myriocephalon in 572/1176 showed the rising strength of the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm in Konya, and in the last two decades of the century the Byzantine frontier defences largely crumbled. Also, the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 reduced the Byzantine hold over Asia Minor to its northwestern portion, ruled from their temporary capital of Nicaea for over half-a-century, and this meant that, even though the rule of the Palaeologi was restored in Constantinople, the next two centuries were ones of steady decline, with Byzantium as a vassal state of the Ottomans after the mid-8th/14th century.

These last Byzantine rulers formed merely one element, and that of decreasing authority, within a states-system of South-East Europe and Asia Minor which included rising powers in the Balkans like Serbia and Bulgaria, the Italian and other merchant adventurers in Greece and the Aegean isles, but, above all, the Turks of Anatolia. An indication of the Byzantine emperors' enfeeblement was that, whereas earlier monarchs had disdained to link themselves with lesser families, and certainly not with infidels, the Palaeologi had to seek allies where they could find them, and this not infrequently involved marriage alliances with Muslim ruling families. Michael VIII (1259-82) had diplomatic relations with the Mongol Golden Horde in South Russia and with the Il-Khānid of Persia, Hülegü, and gave his illegitimate daughter Euphrosyne in marriage to the Djočid *amīr* Noghay. The claimant to the throne in Constantinople John Cantacuzenus (1347-54) in 1346 allied with the Ottoman chief Orkhan during the course of a succession dispute within Byzantium, and gave his daughter Theodora in marriage to Orkhan. (C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 23). In the northeast of Anatolia, the empire of Trebizond, surrounded along its land frontiers with Turkish territory, only survived as long as it did by means of alliances and agreements with the Muslims. Thus the Bayandur Turkmen tribe pressed particularly hard on Trebizond until Ḳara ʿOthmān, founder of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] or "White Sheep" Turkmen principality, married the princess Maria of Trebizond. Ḳara ʿOthmān's grandson Uzun Ḥasan married in *ca.* 862/1458 Despina, daughter of the Trebizond Emperor John IV Comnenus, and Despina's daughter Martha was to marry Shaykh Ḥaydar Ṣafawī of Ardabīl and become the mother of Shāh Ismāʿīl I of Persia [see UZUN ḤASAN, in *EI*¹].

The history of the Turkish advance and the gradual take-over of Anatolia, may be followed in ANADOLU (iii), in ʿOTHMĀNLĪ, in SALDJŪḲ. III. 5, in the articles on the various *beyliks*, and in such standard works (which also discuss such contentious questions as the nature and pace of Islamisation and the relative contribution to Anatolian life and society by what eventually became the Greek and Armenian substratum) as Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey. A general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071-1330*, London 1968; S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from*

the eleventh through the fifteenth century, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1971; Osman Turan, *Selçuklar zamanında Türkiye. Siyâsi tarih Alp Arslan'dan Osman Gazi'ye 1071-1318*, Istanbul 1971; F. Taeschner's chs. *The Turks and the Byzantine empire to the end of the thirteenth century* and *The Ottoman Turks to 1453*, in *Camb. med. hist.*, iv/1, 737-75; A.G.C. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East: its relations with the Seljuk sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols A.D. c. 1192-1237*, Thessalonike 1981; etc.

Finally, it is interesting to note the vicissitudes of use of the actual ethnic/dynastic term *Rūm* during these later centuries of the empire's existence. Byzantine Greek sources refer to the empire as *Rhōmania* or *Rhōmaiōn/rhōmaikai chōrai* from the 9th century onwards. In more recent Islamic usage, *Rūm* had always had a geographical sense also (see above, (a)), designating the Greek lands of the Byzantine empire beyond the Taurus-upper Euphrates frontier zone. Hence when the Turks penetrated into these regions during the later 5th/11th century, it was natural that a line of begs like those of the Dānis͟hmandids [*q.v.*], who were originally based on the Sivas district, should style their territories Rūm, and we find Malik Muḥammad G͟hāzī (529-36/1134-42) styled on his Greek-legend coins "the Great King of Romania and Anatolia". The Anatolian Sald͟jūḳs, whose principality was based on the region of Konya and southern Cappadocia—territories which were for long strongly Greek in ethnos and still in early Ottoman sources called *Yūnān wilāyeti* "province of the Greeks"—referred to their state, at least in informal usage, as that of Rūm and themselves as *Sald͟jūḳiyān-i Rūm*, thereby in some measure conceiving of themselves as heirs to the Byzantines in south-central Anatolia (although *Rūm* continued also, as with regard to the Greeks who had lived within the Arab caliphate centuries before, to denote the Greek Christian population of Asia Minor; towards the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa records sailing to Alanya in the Bilād al-Rūm, "called after the Rūm because it used to be their land in olden times, and from it came the ancient Rūm and the Yūnānīs. Later on it was conquered by the Muslims, but in it there are still large numbers of Christians under the protection of the Muslims, these latter being Turkmens", *Riḥla*, ii, 255, tr. Gibb, ii, 415).

The expansion of the Ottomans in the 8th/14th century eventually made them masters of the former Byzantine territories, *grosso modo* those of *Rhōmania*, in both Anatolia and the Greco-Balkan region. Since the territories of the Palaeologi were latterly mainly in Europe, this *Rhōmania* became for the Ottomans Rūm-eli [*q.v.*], or Rumelia, the land characterised by its predominantly Orthodox Christian population, the Rūm. The circumscribed remnant of the Byzantine empire was by now rarely in Ottoman sources styled *Rūm*, nor was its emperor styled Ḳayṣar, the latter office being more commonly referred to by the (originally Armenian) title *Tekfūr* "king". It was the Ottomans who took over for themselves, and especially from the times of Meḥemmed I and II [*q.vv.*], the title of *Sulṭān* (or *Pādis͟hāh* or *K͟hān*)*-i Rūm*, regarding themselves as being already, before the final capture of Constantinople, substantially the heirs to both the Byzantine empire and the Rūm Sald͟jūḳ sultanate. Thus it was natural that the Tīmūrid historian Niẓām al-Dīn S͟hāmī [*q.v.*] should, in his *Ẓafar-nāma* (ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937-56, i, 257), call the Ottomans of Bāyezīd I, whom Tīmūr crushed, the *Rūmiyān*, adducing at the same time the Ḳurʾānic reference to the Rūm and their defeat (XXX, 1, reading *g͟hulibat al-Rūm*). See in general on these questions, P. Wittek, *Le sultan de Roum*, in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Philologie et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves, Bruxelles*, vi = *Mélanges Emile Boisacq*, ii (1938), 361-90; Savvides, *A note on the terms Rūm and Anatolia in Seljuk and early Ottoman times*, in *Byzantinotourkika meletēmata. Anatypōse arthrōn 1981-1990*, Athens 1991, no. X [171]-[178].

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RŪM ḲALʿESI, Ḳalʿat al-Rūm, a fortress in mediaeval northern Syria, which lay on the right bank of the Euphrates river where it takes its great westernmost bend, hence to the north-north-west of Bīred͟jik [*q.v.*]. Its site accordingly comes within the modern Turkish province (*il*) of Gaziantep.

According to Arnold Nöldeke's description, it is situated "on a steeply sloping-tongue of rock, lying along the right bank of the Euphrates, which bars the direct road to the Euphrates from the west for its tributary the Merziman as it breaks through the edge of the plateau, so that it is forced to make a curve northwards around this tongue. The connection between this tongue of rock, some 1,300 feet long and about half as broad, and the plateau which rises above it is broken by a ditch made by man about 100 feet deep. The walls of the citadel with towers and salients follow the outlines of the rock along its edge at an average height of 150 feet above the level of the Euphrates, while the ridge extending along the middle of the longer axis rises 100 to 120 feet higher" (A. Nöldeke, in *Petermanns Mitteil.* [1920], 53-4, where the main road up to the citadel, the buildings, etc., are also described).

The unusual position of the fortress on a high cliff suggests that it corresponds to the tower of S͟hītamrat "hovering like a cloud in the sky" which S͟halmaneser III took in 855 B.C. (E. Honigmann, art. *Syria*, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, A, cols. 1569, 1592).

It seems probable (following e.g. Marmier, B. Moritz, F. Cumont, R. Dussaud, etc.) that Rūm Ḳalʿesi should be identified with Urima, Armenian Uremna, but later called in that language Hṛomklay and similar names. Urima was an Armenian bishopric, as is recorded up to the time of Matthew of Edessa, and it is likely that this was the place which Syriac historians like Michael the Syrian and Barhebraeus call Ḳalʿa Rōmaytā and Byzantine historians Rhōmaiōn Koula.

In the early 12th century, Rūm Ḳalʿesi came within the Frankish County of Edessa [see al-ruhā]. The Jacobite metropolitan Abu 'l-Farad͟j Basīl bar S͟hummāna of Edessa, who escaped to Samosata after the second devastation of the town in 1146 by the Turks, had been previously imprisoned in Rūm Ḳalʿesi by Joscelyn de Courtenay. In 1148 the Armenian Catholicos Grigor III Pahlavuni moved his residence to "the fortress of the Romans" (Arm. Hṛomklay) at the demand of the Franks of the former County of Edessa (whose capital had been since 1145 at Tell Bās͟hir). The Armenian Catholicos resided there until 1293, although Rūm Ḳalʿesi also contained many Jacobite as well as Armenian Christians. Until the later 13th century, events in Rūm Ḳalʿesi impinged little on the affairs of the Islamic lands, although when the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa passed through

Anatolia in 585/1189, it is recorded by Abū Shāma that the Armenian Catholicos of Ḳalʿat al-Rūm (sc. Grigor IV) sent a letter to the Ayyūbid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], and another in the following year, asking for help (*K. al-Rawḍatayn*, in *Rec. Hist. Or. des Croisades. Historiens arabes*, iv, 435-6, 453-6).

In 1260 the Mongol Il-Khan Hülegü [*q.v.*] crossed the Euphrates by bridges of boats at Malaṭya, Ḳalʿat al-Rūm, Bīra and Ḳarḳīsiyāʾ (Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar T. al-Duwal*, Beirut 1890, 486; idem, *Chronography*, ed. Bedjan, 509). Then in the reign of the Mamlūk sultan al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn, an Egyptian army of 9,000 horse and 4,000 foot under Baysarī as well as Syrian forces under Ḥusām al-Dīn of ʿAyntāb came to Rūm Ḳalʿesi and laid siege to the fortress 19 May 1280. The sultan demanded that the Catholicos should surrender the fortress and move with his monks to Jerusalem, or if he preferred, to Cilicia. When the Catholicos refused to do so, the Egyptians laid waste the country around the town which was inhabited by Armenians, on the next day forced their way over a wall only recently built into the town, and set it on fire. The whole population fled into the citadel. After the Egyptians had ravaged and plundered the country round for five days, they retired.

In the reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl they undertook a new expedition against Rūm Ḳalʿesi in 691/1292, in which the prince of Ḥamā, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, took part with Abu 'l-Fidāʾ in his retinue (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales muslemici*, ed. Reiske-Adler, v, 102 ff.). On Tuesday, 8 Djumādā II, the Egyptians appeared before the town and erected 20 pieces of siege artillery. It fell after a siege of 33 days. On 11 Radjab/29 June 1292, it was plundered and a massacre carried out among the garrison of Armenians and Mongols. Among the 1,200 prisoners, who were mostly taken to the sultan's arsenal on 28 June (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ms. Paris, fols. 100-1 cited in Quatremère, *Hist. des Sult. Mamlouks*, ii/1, 141, n. 30), was the Armenian Catholicos (Ar. "*Khalīfat al-Masīḥ*, whom they call *Kāthāghīkūs*", cf. Yāḳūt, iv, 164), Stephanos IV of Rūm Ḳalʿesi, with his monks; he died a prisoner in Damascus (Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, 579). According to the inscription of ownership in a Syrian manuscript (B.L. ms. Syr. no. 295), it belonged to a certain Rabban Barṣawmā of Ḳalʿa Rōmaytā, high priest of Raʿbān, who in a note refers to the harsh imprisonment which he suffered from the Egyptians; Armenian verses on the fall of the fortress are preserved on a relic casket (Wright, *Catal. syr. mss. Brit. Mus.*, i, 231b, Carrière, *Inscription d'un reliquaire arménien*, in *Mélanges orientaux*, Paris 1883, 210, n. 1; Promis, *Mem. dell' accad. di Torino*, xxxv [1884], 125-30). The inscription on the great gate of the citadel, which was restored by al-Ashraf Khalīl, speaks of him as a victor who among other feats had put the Armenians to flight, an allusion to the capture of Rūm Ḳalʿesi (van Berchem, in *JA* [May-June 1902], 456; the inscription published by Sobernheim, in *Isl.*, xv [1926], 176). The sultan sent boastful bulletins of victory to the cities of Syria in which he proclaimed the capture of this impregnable citadel as an unprecedented feat of arms and concluded with the words: "After the capture of this fortress, the road is open to us to conquer the whole of the East, Asia Minor and ʿIrāḳ so that with God's will we shall become owners of all the lands from the rising of the sun to its setting" (al-Nuwayrī, ms. Leiden, fol. 58, tr. in Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv, 183-4).

The fortress of Ḳalʿat al-Rūm was rebuilt on orders of the sultan by the *nāʾib* of Syria, Sandjar al-Shudjāʿī, and given the name of Ḳalʿat al-Muslimīn; another part of the town was left in ruins, however (Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, ii/1, 139-40).

The successor of the imprisoned Armenian patriarch Stephanos, Grigor VII of Anavarza (1293-1307), took up his residence in Sīs in Cilicia, which henceforth was the seat of the Catholicos. Rūm Ḳalʿesi, in spite of its restoration as a frontier fortress (cf. also Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud, 226; al-Dimishḳī, ed. Mehren, 214), under the Mamlūks never seems to have recovered from the blow. In 775/1373-4, much damage was done by floods in Ḳalʿat al-Muslimīn as well as in Aleppo, al-Ruhāʾ, al-Bīra and Baghdād (al-Ḥasan b. Habīb, *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-atrāk*, in Weijers, *Orientalia*, ii, Amsterdam 1846, 435).

In the spring of the year 881-2/1477 the Mamlūk sultan Ḳāʾitbay made a tour of inspection as far as Ḳalʿat al-Muslimīn (described by Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Ibn al-Djīʿān, ed. R.V. Lanzone, *Viaggio in Palestina e Soria di Kaid Ba*, Turin 1878; tr. R.L. Devonshire, in *Bulletin IFAO*, xx [Cairo 1921], 1-43). After the battle of Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*], the fortress became Ottoman, and under Ottoman rule came under the *pashalïk* of Aleppo (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 598).

Only a few remnants of the fortress now remain, as well as of an Armenian monastery and a mosque (plans of the fortress in Moltke and following him in Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen*..., 175, and in A. Nöldeke, in *Peterm. Mitt.* [1920], pl. 3, map: *Plan von R.K. in 1:2000*; photographs in F. Frech, in *Geogr. Zeitschr.*, xxii [1916], pl. 1; Cumont, *Études syriennes*, 170, fig. 54; from the north: Humann and Puchstein, *op. cit.*, 176, fig. 25; from the east with the Euphrates: A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, pl. 13).

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(E. Honigmann-[C.E. Bosworth])

RŪM SALDJŪḲS [see saldjūḳs].

RŪMELİ, originally Rūm-ili, the territory of the Rūm [*q.v.*], the geographical name given to the Balkan peninsula by the Ottomans; also the

name of the Ottoman province which included this region. The Muslims knew the Byzantines as *Rūm*, and the Eastern Roman Empire as *Bilād al-Rūm* or *Mamlakat al-Rūm*, hence once Anatolia came under Turkish-Islamic rule, the designation Rūm survived as a geographic name to designate Asia Minor. Some Western travellers of the 13th century, however, referred to Anatolia under Turkish rule as *Turquemenie* or *Turquie* and used the name *Romania* for the area under Byzantine rule. Subsequently, this expression came to designate the Balkan peninsula where Greek Orthodoxy predominated.

Ottoman Turks borrowed the name *Rūm-ili* from the Greek *Rhōmania* and began to use it, in contradistinction to *Anadolu*, to refer to the lands they conquered from the Byzantines beyond the sea. The name *Rūm* by itself, retained its original meaning and remained as a geographical name designating the area under Saldjūḳ rule in Asia Minor (see further, RŪM. 2).

During the time of the Emperor Justinianus, the northern borders of the Byzantine Empire were the Danube and Drava. Ottoman sultans from Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] onwards considered the peninsula extending to the south of the Danube as their area of sovereignty. Murād II was clearly following this notion when he obtained the commitment from Hungarians not to cross the Danube in the treaty he made with them in 1444 (H. Inalcik, *Fatih devri*, i, Ankara 1954, 22).

The first settlement of the Anatolian Turks in the Balkans is related to the incident of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs of the Saldjūḳs fleeing and taking refuge in Byzantium in 662/1264. The emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus allocated the steppes of the Dobrudja for him to settle there with his men. Following this, a group of 30 to 40 Turcoman clans (*oba*) who supported him, crossed to the Dobrudja in the company of Sarī Ṣaltuḳ Baba (see P. Wittek, *Yazījioghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv [1952], 639-68). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Babadagh town around the 1330s (tr. H.A.R. Gibb, ii, 449). In the second half of the century, first the khan of the Golden Horde, Berke, and then the powerful *Amīr* Noghay, directly interfered in Balkan affairs and took the Muslim Turks in the Dobrudja under their protection. Around this time, Saḳdjī (Isaḳdjī) on the lower Danube is described as a Muslim city [see DOBRUDJA] and cited as the headquarters of Noghay (Baybars, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. W. Tiesenhausen, Tkish tr. *Altın-Ordu devleti tarihine ait metinler*, Istanbul 1941, 221).

Noghay, who converted to Islam, appears to have come under the influence of Sarī Ṣaltuḳ. After the fall of Noghay, Tokhtu, the pagan khan of the Golden Horde, appointed his son Tuḳal Bugha in Saḳdjī. Moreover, the Bulgarians having killed Noghay's son, Čeke began to harrass the Turks of the Dobrudja. In this situation, some of the Dobrudja Turks returned to Anatolia in 1307-11 (see Wittek, *op. cit.*, 651) and those who remained converted to Christianity. Most probably these Turks, together with the Christian Comans or Ḳumans, were established in the despotate of Dobrudja under the rule of Balīḳ and his brother Dobrotić shortly before the year 1366 [see DOBRUDJA]. Initially, the centre of this despotate was Ḳalliaḳra, but at the time when the Ottoman Turks arrived it was Varna.

In the first half of the 14th century, Turcoman *amīrs* of Aydīn, Ṣarukhān and Karasī, having conquered western Anatolia, crossed the Aegean Sea with their fleets and made raids into the Balkans. The most celebrated hero of these raids was Ghāzī Umur Bey [*q.v.*] of the Aydīn-oghlu.

The first Ottoman conquests in the Balkans.

Due to Umur's death in May 1348, the Ottomans assumed the leading role in the Turkish operations in Rūmeli. In 1345 when the Serbian king Stephen Dushan died and his empire in the Balkans disintegrated, the Ottoman leader Orkhan [*q.v.*] became an ally of John Cantacuzenus and married his daughter Theodora. In the second civil war that erupted in the Byzantine Empire, the Ottomans took sides with Cantacuzenus while the Serbians and Bulgarians supported John V. A contingent of 10,000 men sent by Orkhan under the command of his son Süleymān Pasha routed the Serbian-Greek forces supporting John V. This victory, won in the autumn of 1352, is the turning-point that made it possible for the Ottomans to settle in Rūmeli. Rūmeli had already become a field of operations for the *ghāzīs* from Anatolia. The *ghāzī* groups which had organised themselves independently, had already started crossing into Rūmeli, taking advantage of the Byzantine civil war and the struggle between Byzantium, the Serbs and Bulgarians.

Cantacuzenus notes Süleymān's reluctance to evacuate the various places which he occupied in Rūmeli, but he only mentions Tsympe (Djimbi or Djinbi) among these. Ottoman chronicles mention Aya Shiline or Aya Shilonya, Odköklek and Eksamilye among the fortresses which Süleymān occupied in the period 1352-4. The places which Cantacuzenus tried to have him evacuate must be these fortresses. Thus the first settlement of the Ottomans took place in the isthmus of Gallipoli in 1352 and the conquest of Gallipoli followed two years later. It was one of the sons of Asen, the *Tekfūr* of Gallipoli, who assisted the Ottomans to cross over to Rūmeli and settle there. He converted to Islam and took the name Melik. With his co-operation, a ship was built in Lapseki and Aḳča-Burgos on the opposite shore was taken, after which 3,000 men crossed to Ḳozlu-Dere and took Bolayīr. On 2 March 1354, hit by a violent earthquake, the city walls of Gallipoli unexpectedly collapsed and the *Tekfūr* of the fortress fled by ship, and Süleymān Pasha captured the city.

According to the details given by Cantacuzenus, at the time when he was trying to recover the Tsympe fortress from Süleymān by promising him 10,000 pieces of gold, through "Divine Providence" a severe earthquake ruined almost all of the cities in Thrace and the people ran to take refuge in the cities whose walls were not affected. Süleymān conquered these cities, as well as Gallipoli, and placed there Turks whom he had brought from Anatolia. Ottoman settlements in Rūmeli created great agitation and anxiety in Constantinople, and Cantacuzenus, who was held responsible for this, was compelled to abdicate the throne.

Süleymān made Gallipoli the headquarters for his subsequent raids. His conquests in Rūmeli included Migalḳara (Malḳara), Ipsala, Vize, Tekfūr Daghī Seyyid Ḳawaghī, Bolayīr and Gelibolu [*q.v.*] itself.

The Ottoman expansion in the Balkans.

Following their settlements in the towns of the Gallipoli isthmus and Gallipoli itself in the period 1352-4, the Ottomans established military posts or *udjs*, oriented in three directions. The first *udj* was used as the base for the raids along the shore in the direction of Tekfūr Daghī, Čorlu and Constantinople; the second in the middle was for the raids in the direction of Malkara, Hayrabolu and Vize through Ḳoñru-Dagh (today Kuru Dağ); and the third *udj* became the base for the raids along the River Maritsa, in the

direction of Ipsala and Edirne. This *udj* system was maintained throughout the Ottoman conquest of Rūmeli, and as the conquest advanced, the *udj* settlements were moved farther ahead in the three directions. Due to Süleymān's death in 1357 and Orkhan's old age, there appears to have been a retreat. Various places conquered in Süleymān Pasha's time were lost. During this time, Ḥadjdjī Ilbeyi and Ewrenos Bey had been active in the left-hand *udj*. Over the course of time, this *udj* was transferred to Ipsala, and then to Gümüldjine, Serez and Kara Ferye, and from there on, splitting into two branches, it moved to Tīrhala and Üsküp. As for the right-hand *udj*, it was first transferred to Yanbolu, Ḳarinova and Pravadi, where it split into two, one moving to Tīrnova and Nikebolu and the other to the Dobrudja. The middle *udj* first moved to Čirmen, then to Zagra and Filibe and then split into two, with one branch shifting to Sofia and Nish, and the other to Köstendil and Üsküp. Conquests made in these three directions, constituted the right, left and middle *sandjaḳs* of Rūmeli. In the middle branch, the *sandjaḳs*, first of Edirne then of Sofya, became the centres of the *Beylerbeyi* or governor of Rūmeli. Turkish immigration and settlement followed these frontier zones, starting with Süleymān Pasha. The Ottomans in Rūmeli dispatched successively Turcoman or Yörük clans in the *udjs*. As these frontier settlements moved forward, the earlier frontier centres which were left behind flourished over the course of time as Turkish towns. Specifically, pious and commercial establishments created by endowments [see WAḲF] played an essential role in the development of these early frontier towns. Edirne, Filibe, Serez, Üsküp, Sofya, Silistre, Tīrhala, Yeñi Shehir and Manastīr initially developed in this manner, adorned by the endowments of the *udj beyis*, and subsequently became the main towns of Rūmeli, maintaining their significance until the present time.

Conditions at the Ottoman conquest.

In their conquests the Ottomans, along with the frontier raids, used the policy of *istimālet* or conciliation towards the subject peoples, treating them in such a way so as to win them over to their side. As noted by ʿĀshıḳ Pasha-zāde (ed. Atsız, 123) "They did not injure the infidel population, perhaps they even granted favours to them. They captured only those leading men among them". So "the infidels of Djinbi became allies with these *ghāzīs*". The Ottomans faithfully followed this policy in the conquest of Rūmeli, with the state trying to win over the peasant population especially. The feudal lords were either eliminated, or, if they did not resist, were integrated into the Ottoman military cadres. Even during the times of Murād II and Meḥemmed II [*q.vv.*], we find Christian military families kept as Ottoman *sipāhīs* enjoying *tīmārs* (see Inalcik, *Ottoman methods of conquest*, in *SI*, ii [1954], 103-29). Likewise, peasant soldiers called *voyniḳ* or *voynuḳ* whom we find in the areas once under the empire of Stephen Dushan, were, under the Ottomans, kept in the military cadres of the new state. In the 15th century, under the same name, they reached significant numbers in Macedonia, Thessaly and Albania. Similarly, the Martolos [*q.v.*] in the fortresses along the Danube and the Christian nomads of the military group called Eflāḳ [*q.v.*] (Vlachs) were admitted into the Ottoman military cadres under the command of their own overlords. This policy, coupled with the protection of the Church's organisation, facilitated Ottoman expansion in the Balkans. This came at a time when the Byzantine Empire, the Bulgarian Tsardom and Dushan's empire had already disintegrated. Western feudal practices started to take hold in the Balkans, and due to the weakening of a central power, feudalism began to spread. The local feudal lords, called *tekfūr* by the Ottomans, strove to strengthen their control over land and peasant labour in the countryside. When the Ottomans arrived, they first ended the local feudal structures by placing agricultural lands exclusively under state control, as *mīrī* [*q.v.*]. They systematically abolished the corvées and replaced them with a fixed tax called *čift resmi* [*q.v.*]. The landlords, who could not secure the support of the peasants against Ottoman invasion, sought the aid of the Latins and Hungarians invading the Balkans under a Crusader banner. The Latins and Hungarians, of Roman Catholic faith, considered the native Greek Orthodox population as schismatics and had been trying to convert them to Catholicism by force. The Ottomans, on the other hand, not only offered recognition and protection to the Orthodox Church but they granted to its priests tax exemptions or even *tīmārs*, in order to turn them into employees of the state (see *Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, ed. Inalcik, Ankara 1954, 58, 73).

The settlement of the Turks in the Balkans.

Mass immigration and settlement occurred especially in the 14th century. Later on, Tīmūr's occupation of Anatolia gave rise to a big wave of migration from Anatolia to Rūmeli. At that point, Edirne became the capital of the empire. As a result of these migrations, Thrace, eastern Bulgaria, the river valley of the Maritsa and then the Dobrudja became thickly populated by Turks. The evidence of the Ottoman population and tax registers reveals conclusively that, in these regions in the 16th century, Turks formed a large part of the population. Although spontaneous migration, continuing from the time of Orkhan, was by no means less important, the state's policy of deportation was largely responsible for this result. A classification of the place names found in the 15th century surveys indicates that settlements were associated with nomadic Yörük groups such as the Ḳayī, Salurlu, Türkmen and Aḳčaḳoyunlu, or with sedentary or nomadic groups associated with a place name in Anatolia, such as, Ṣarukhānlī, Menteshelī, Simawlī, Ḥamīdlī and Eflughanlī, or with the followers of famous military leaders, such as Dāwūdbeglī and Turakhanlī, or with members of the Ottoman military organisations such as *doghandjī*, *čawush*, *damghadjī*, *müderris*, *ḳāḍī* and *sekbān*, or with a *zāwiye* [see ZĀWIYA] or pious endowment. It should also be pointed out that dervish convents played a crucial role in the formation of Turkish villages. Turkish immigrants generally formed independent villages with Turkish names and did not generally mix with the local Christian populations. Even in the towns, Christian neighbourhoods were always separate. In the 14th-15th centuries, Islamisation appears to have been quite sporadic, occuring mostly on the successive military frontier zones on the Via Egnatia, Maritsa valley and eastern Balkan passes. According to the *djizye* registers of 893-6/1487-91, only 255 cases of conversion were identified over three years. Levies of Christian boys [see DEWSHIRME] are not included in the figure. The use of the native language can be taken as an indication of Islamisation. Bosnian and Albanian Muslims and Pomaks constitute the largest of such groups. Those Muslim groups who spoke exclusively Turkish or were bilingual, with Turkish as the mother tongue, were definitely of Anatolian Turkish origin. Turks or

Tatars of the northern Black Sea steppe, Turks of the Deli-Orman region, Dobrudja and Varna, as well as those of the Maritsa Valley, were of this category while there were also Noghays [*q.v.*] in the Dobrudja and in Budjak [*q.v.*] or Moldavia.

Population of Rūmeli, Ottoman census of 1894

Province	Muslim	Greek	Armenian	Bulgarian	Jewish
Edirne	434,366	267,220	16,642	102,245	13,721
Manastīr	630,000	228,121	29	—	5,072
Yanya	235,948	286,294	—	—	3,677
Ishkodra	330,728	5,913	—	—	2,797 Catholic
Girit	74,150	175,000	500	—	200
Adalar	30,809	226,590	83	2	2,956
Čataldja	18,701	35,848	585	5,586	966
Selānik	463,000	277,000	1,257	223,000	37,206 (2,311 Catholic)
Ḳosova	419,390	29,393	—	274,826	1,706 (5,588 Latin)

Source: K. Karpat, *Ottoman population*, Madison 1985, 155.

Quite numerous records (*ifrādāt*) about farms in the newly-opened up agricultural lands indicate the substantial expansion of arable lands in Rūmeli in the 16th century. It was coupled with a significant increase in population. It is estimated that shortly before 1535, the population of Rūmeli had risen to five millions. The Turks introduced or spread cotton and rice cultivation into the Balkans. The establishment of a large centre like Istanbul, with an estimated population of 400,000, in the 16th century, provided a great market for Thrace and Bulgaria and encouraged all sorts of agricultural production. In the Ottoman period, too, there was an increase in mining activities and new mineral workings were exploited. In Novobrdo, Kratovo, Rudnik, Trepče and Zaplanina in Serbia, copper, lead, gold, iron and, especially, silver were being produced. Sidre-Kapsa in Macedonia was the most important silver production centre. Silver and lead were being produced at various places in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The most important iron production sites were Samakov in Bulgaria, and Vlasina and Rudnik in Serbia.

The administrative organisation of Rūmeli.

In Gelibolu, Süleymān Pasha, bearing the official title of commander-in-chief of the main forces of the state, was in practice the *Beylerbeyi*. Murād I (1362-89) with his *Lala*, Shāhīn, conquered Adrianople in 1361. When he ascended the throne he apppointed Shāhīn to the middle *udj* to conquer territories in the direction of Filibe. The first chef-lieu was Adrianople or Edirne [*q.v.*]. Thus Rūmeli emerged as a separate military-administrative region under the rule of a *Beylerbeyi*. The fact that the empire was divided by the straits and the Sea of Marmara necessitated the *de facto* division of the realm into two large administrative regions, Rūmeli and Anadolu. The *beylerbeylik* of Rūmeli, the first such governorate in the Ottoman Empire, maintained its special position even after other *beylerbeyliks* were formed [see EYĀLET].

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the governor of Rūmeli mostly resided in the empire's capital city. Like the viziers, he bore the title of *pasha*, and participated in the government deliberations in the *diwān-i humāyūn*. Because the *Beylerbeyi* of Rūmeli commanded the most important army of the state, composed of *timār*-holding *sipāhīs* of Rūmeli, the Grand Viziers Maḥmūd Pasha and Ibrāhīm Pasha both held the position of *Beylerbeyi* of Rūmeli at the same time.

The areas conquered in the 15th century were added to the territory of the *Beylerbeyi* of Rūmeli; not only the area to the south of the Danube, but also Kilia and Aḳ Ḳermān beyond the Danube were assigned to it in 1484. In 1541, however, with the establishment of the governorate of Budin, the number of Ottoman *beylerbeyliks* in Europe increased. Bosnia became a *beylerbeylik* in the same year.

In a list of 1475 (Iacopo de Promontorio de-Campis, ed. F. Babinger, *Die Aufzeichnungen*, Munich 1957), the following seventeen *sandjaḳ beys* are cited in Rūmeli: 1. Istanbul; 2. Gallipoli; 3. Adrianople; 4. Nikebolu/Nigbolu; 5. Vidin; 6. Sofia; 7. Serbia (Laz-ili); 8. Serbia (Despot-ili); 9. Vardar (Ewrenos-oghullarī); 10. Üsküp; 11. Arnawut-ili (that of Iskender Bey); 12. Arnawut-ili (that of Araniti); 13. Bosna (belonging to the king); 14. Bosna (that of Stephen); 15. Arta, Zituni and Athens; 16. Mora; and 17. Manastīr. The *Beylerbeyi* of Rūmeli would raise about 22,000 men from these seventeen *sandjaḳs*. In addition, there were 8,000 *aḳīndjīs* (skirmishers or raiders) and 6,000 *ʿazebs* (foot soldiers).

In an Ottoman document from the early years of Süleymān I's reign, the *sandjaḳs* or *liwās* of Rūmeli are listed according to the rank of the beys in charge, with each name of the *sandjaḳ* followed by the salary (in *aḳčes*) of the *sandjaḳ beyi*:

1. Pasha; 2. Bosna, 739,000; 3. Mora, 606,000; 4. Semendire, 622,000; 5. Vidin, 580,000; 6. Hersek, 560,000; 7. Silistre, 560,000; 8. Okhri, 535,000; 9. Awlonya, 535,000; 10. Iskenderiyye, 512,000; 11. Yanya, 515,000; 12. Gelibolu, 500,000; 13. Köstendil, 500,000; 14. Nikebolu, 457,000; 15. Sofia, 430,000; 16. Inebakhtī, 400,000; 17. Tīrhala, 372,000; 18. Aladja Ḥiṣār, 360,000; 19. Vulčetrin, 350,000; 20. Kefe, 300,000; 21. Prizren, 263,000; 22. Ḳarlī, 250,000; 23. Aghrīboz, 250,000; 24. Čirmen, 250,000; 25. Vize, 230,000; 26. İzvornik, 264,000; 27. Florina, 200,000; 28. Ilbasan, 200,000; 29. Čingene (Gypsies), 190,000; 30. Midilli, 170,000; 31. Ḳaradagh (Montenegro), 100,000; 32. *Müsellemān-i Ḳīrḳ Kilise*, 81,000; and 33. *Voynuḳ*, 52,000.

Among these, Čingene, *Müsellem* and *Voynuḳ* were not territorial *sandjaḳs* located in a particular place. Each one of these scattered groups was put under a *sandjaḳ-beyi*, whose main duty was to be the commander of the *sipāhīs* in his *sandjaḳ*. In a list compiled *ca.* 1534 (Topkapı Palace Archives, D. 9578, see *Belleten*, no. 78, 250, 258), we find all the *sandjaḳs* mentioned above except Sofya, Inebakhtī and Florina. The *sandjaḳ* of Selānik is added. In general, Selānik was included in the sultan's *khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] or given to the viziers as a retirement pension. In this

period, Sofia was included in the sultan's *khāṣṣ*, or else assigned independently to the administration of a *subashî*. The *sandjak* belonging to the *Beylerbeyi* during the early years of Süleymān I included the cities of Üsküp, Pirlipe, Manastîr and Kesriye and was spread over a wide region. Afterwards, these towns became the centres for *sandjak beyis*.

In the list given by ʿAynī ʿAlī shortly before 1018/1609 (*Kawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, published in *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* [Istanbul 1280] 11-13), Sofya and Manastîr were included under the Pasha *sandjak*. This list includes additionally the *sandjaks* of Selānik, Üsküp, Duḳagin, Ḳîrḳ Kilise and Aḳ Ḳermān (together with Bender). On the other hand, before 1609, some *sandjaks* of Rūmeli were assigned to the newly-formed provinces of Djezāʾir-i Baḥr-i Sefīd, Kefe and Bosna. *Sandjaks* assigned to the Djezāʾir-i Baḥr-i Sefīd were Gelibolu, Aghrîboz, Inebakhtî, Ḳarlî ili and Midilli. Those assigned to the province of Bosna were Kilis, Hersek, Pojega, İzvornik, Začana (Začasna), Rahovidja and Ḳîrḳa. The province of Djezāʾir-i Baḥr-i Sefīd was created as a *beylerbeylik* for Barbarossa Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*], appointed grand admiral of the empire or *ḳapudan-i deryā* in 1533 [see EYĀLET]. The sandjaks of Silistre, Nikebolu/Nigbolu, Čirmen, Vize, Ḳîrḳ Kilise, Bender and Aḳ Ḳermān from Rūmeli were added to the province of Özi or Silistre. According to a *ruʾūs defteri*, official register of appointments of governors, written *ca.* 1644, the *sandjaks* of Rūmeli were: I. Köstendil, 2. Tîrhala, 3. Prizren, 4. Yanya, 5. Delvine, 6. Vulčetrin, 7. Üsküp, 8. Elbasan, 9. Awlonya, 10. Dukagin, 11. Iskenderiyye, 12. Okhri, 13. Aladjaḥiṣār, 14. Selānik, and 15. *sandjak* of the Voynuḳs. In the 18th century, Morea was separated from the *eyālet* of Rūmeli to become an independent *eyālet* under a *muḥaṣṣil* [*q.v.*].

During the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], in the 19th century, administrative divisions of Rūmeli underwent numerous changes, and smaller provinces were formed. Shortly before 1263/1847, the new *eyālet*s of Üsküp, Bosna, Yanya and Selānik were formed and the main *eyālet* of Rūmeli included only the three *sandjaks* of Iskenderiyye, Okhri and Kesriye (*Sāl-nāme* of 1263/1847). In 1862, the first *wilāyet* of Rūmeli was composed of the *liwās* of Kesriye, Okhri and Ishḳodra, with Manastîr as the centre of the *wilāyet* (*Sāl-nāme* of 1278/1862). Following the formation of the *wilāyet* of Ṭuna in 1280/1864 with the *sandjaks* of Rusčuk, Tulča, Vidin, Sofya, Tırnova, Nish and Varna, new *wilāyets* were formed one after another, namely Bosna, Ishḳodra, Yanya, Selānik and Edirne, thereby reducing Rūmeli to a mere geographical name. The new *wilāyet* of Selānik included Manastîr, Serez, Drama and Üsküp. After Bulgaria seceded in 1312/1894, Rūmeli was divided into the *wilāyets* of Edirne, Selānik, Ḳosova, Yanya, Ishḳodra and Manastîr (*Sāl-nāme* of 1312/1895).

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RŪMELI ḤIṢĀRĪ, a fortress and village at the narrowest part of the Bosphorus which has at this point its strongest current (called Şeytan akıntısı). The castle served, together with Anadolu Ḥiṣārī [*q.v.*], to control the maritime passage between the Euxine (Black Sea) and the Propontis (Sea of Marmara). In Ottoman sources it is also called Boghazkesen and Rūmeli Orta Ḥiṣārī ḳalʿesi. Two existing Byzantine towers were taken in 1452 by Meḥemmed II and remodelled and enlarged in three months (oldest Ottoman inscription of Istanbul). The castle was completed in Rabīʿ II 856/June-July 1452, being the result of a division of labour between the sultan and his leading commanders (Sarudja, Khalīl, Zaghanos), extensively described by Byzantine and Ottoman contemporaries. Only the Donjon of Coucy (Aisne) exceeded the three towers in size at this period. At the barbican (*ḥiṣār-pečče*), 18-20 guns were

installed. Rūmeli Ḥiṣārī served as a prison and as a check-point for customs (see ISTANBUL, Plate VII; ʿOTHMĀNLĪ. V. ARCHITECTURE, Plate VI).

The village was already in Ewliyā's time a summer resort, frequented by members of the Ottoman ruling class (e.g. Köprülü-zāde ʿĀṣim and Mekkī-zāde), who owned waterfront palaces (*yalī*). Rūmeli Ḥiṣārī preserved its predominantly Muslim character, with more than a dozen Friday mosques and *masdjids*, until the early 19th century. There were prominent dervish convents. The *sheykh* of the Bektāshī *tekke* of Shehīdler above the castle was an important figure in the Young Turk period. In 1863 Robert College, the forerunner of the modern Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, was opened by the American Presbyterian Christoph Rheinlander Robert. There was a small Armenian quarter in the vicinity of Surp Santukht (late 18th century).

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RŪMĪ, a designation for the Turks from al-Rūm [*q.v.*], which was once under the Eastern Roman Empire. The name *Rūmī* was widespread in all eastern Islamic countries, including the Arab lands, Persia, Central Asia and Indonesia, from the 9th/15th century onwards. The Ottomans restricted the name *Rūm* to the provinces in the Amasya and Sivas areas. The *Rūmīs* were appreciated particularly for their tactical skills and for skills in the making of firearms. *Rūmī* mercenaries were employed by the Mamlūk sultans, the rulers of Arabia, ʿIrāḳ, and, thereafter, by the Indian and Indonesian rulers (J. Aubin, *Mare Luso-Indicum*, ii, 175-9).

While employment opportunities with high salaries attracted a great number of individual Anatolian soldiers, who had once been in the service of the Turcoman rulers, the Ottoman sultans also gave permission to friendly rulers to enlist volunteers from their territory. Such *Rūmī* mercenary groups equipped with muskets played in those countries a prominent part in the struggle against the Portuguese from the first decade of the 16th century. The Mamlūks and even local Arab chiefs in lower ʿIrāḳ took them into their service by the 1520s. *Rūmīs* who were sent by the Mamluk sultan to Yemen became a dominant military group in the internal power-struggle there until the Ottomans finally established their own firm control in the land *ca.* 1539. Already in 1513, Afonso de Albuquerque wrote to the king of Portugal that, unless *Rūmīs* were eliminated, there would be no security for the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean.

In Persia, *ustād-i Rūmīs*, Ottoman experts, founded guns in the *destūr-i Rūmī*, Ottoman style, for the first Ṣafawid rulers. In India, Bābur [*q.v.*] had in his service two *Rūmī* founders who founded guns and showed him how to use them tactically. In 1538 Ottoman soldiers from Süleymān Pasha's [*q.v.*] army entered the service of the sultan of Gudjarāt, who promised a salary ten times higher than that under the Ottomans. In 1567 two large ships carrying 500 Turks including gun-founders, gunners and engineers to build ships and fortresses, reached Atjeh [*q.v.*].

Not only Turkish soldiers, but also merchants known as *Rūmīs*, appeared on the western coasts of the Indian subcontinent and in Indonesia in the 10th/16th century, forming quite sizeable colonies in Diù, Calicut and Bantam. Joining earlier Arab traders, *Rūmīs* obtained a trading post at Pasai [*q.v.*] in Sumatra as early as 1540.

The term *Rūmī* also indicated a special motif in the form of a leaf or stylised animal designs in Ottoman art and in architectural ornamentation. For the *Rūmī* calendar, see TAʾRĪKH.

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(HALIL İNALCIK)

RŪMIYA (wrongly Rūmiyya, cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 866-7), the name given to the city of Rome by the Arab geographers, with the exception of the western ones (al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī and al-Ḥimyarī), who use the form Rūma, as also Ibn Khaldūn (only Ibn Rusta writes Rūmiyya, treating it as if it were a *nisba*).

Rome's fame, both as the seat of power of the Rūm [*q.v.*] and then as the centre of Christianity, could not fail to be noted by the mediaeval Arabs. In fact, the solicitude, if not critical sense, which they displayed in grasping at every item of information about the city, ended up in a host of pieces of information which is in striking contrast to their almost total ignorance, up to the time of al-Idrīsī, with regard to Christian Western Europe. Unfortunately, this involved only indirect information, with the unique exception of the narrative (in Ibn Rusta, 129-30) of the mysterious Hārūn b. Yaḥyā, who fell into the hands of the Byzantines and who visited Rome towards the end of the 9th century A.D. (furthermore, it is known that an event as sensational as the sacking of the Roman basilicas, in 846 A.D., has left no trace whatever in the Arabic texts). Again, the pieces of information are drawn from anonymous sources and, going beyond this fiction, from the domain of the imaginary and legendary, such as the largely factitious picture of mediaeval Rome fixed in the minds of the Arabs. It is as if they had seen its landscape, urban and rural, through the eyes of someone else, in other words, through the intermediacy of the Greco-Byzantine and Syriac tradition, as the analysis of texts (cf. I. Guidi, in *Bibl.*) has shown.

This procedure is indeed what is responsible, either through an ambiguous geographical representation, which goes back rather to Constantinople (presence of the sea on three sides, the golden gate and the gate "of the king", the situation of the great market); or through this fairy-like enchantment, marked by an unparalleled display of gold and precious stones (e.g. in regard to the altar of the Lateran church); or, finally, through exaggerated figures evoking a setting in which thousands of churches are crammed (with 120,000 bells...), as many as 23,000 monasteries, 22,000 markets and 660,000 baths! It should nevertheless be remarked that this attitude does not seem to be shared by all the authors. In so far as one can identify the different traditions, one may conclude that only Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*], on the one hand, followed by al-Idrīsī, al-ʿUmarī and (in part) Ibn Rusta, and on the other hand, Yāḳūt and al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.vv.*], following the version of Ibn al-Faḳīh (absent from the abridgment, which alone has survived), devote a considerable amount of space to the marvellous. In this context, one should particularly note the mention of the columns or talismanic statues, of which Yāḳūt and al-Ḳazwīnī preserve the most complete memory, connected with the legend of the *Salvatio Romae*, or indeed with that of the birds who bring olives to ensure a supply of oil for the lamps, or yet again, with the belief in the apotropaic power of certain images.

The edition which has recently appeared (see *Bibl.*)

of the *Masālik* of al-Bakrī [see ABŪ ʿUBAYD AL-BAKRĪ], comes opportunely to allow us to verify, at the same time as demonstrating the dependence of the *Rawḍ* of al-Ḥimyarī [see IBN ʿABD AL-MUNʿIM AL-ḤIMYARĪ], the existence, in regard to Rome, of a clearly different tradition, one in which an interest, which may be called "historical" in the wider sense, is dominant.

Instead of a topography with fabulous features, such as the enceinte with two walls separated by a paved-over river (or in some way covered over) with copper flags, side-by-side with a canal having the same paving with flags and running through the market, there appears here, within a natural setting which is much more realistic, nothing more than the name of the Tiber, at the side of that of Octavius (with the reminiscence of the age of bronze) and, on the other hand, that of Constantine. The sumptuous description of churches found elsewhere is here likewise reduced to that of St. Peter, not without some realistic details. A sequel to this absence, or near-absence, of the monumental and the fantastic, is the attention here to the human beings and to their nature (the Romans are the most cowardly people in the world!) and to their customs. If al-ʿUmarī himself knows a lot about the Pope, and if others (Yāḳūt, Ibn Rusta, etc.) underline the role, both spiritual and cultural (*sic*) of Rome, it is al-Bakrī and al-Ḥimyarī above all—and more than anyone else—who stop at the social and religious life of Rome's inhabitants, shown in a number of remarks: on Sunday and the celebration of the Eucharist, on monogamy and adultery, the laws of hereditary succession and fasting, oaths and the sacred texts. One would like to know the source from which they derived all this information. It is regrettable that, at the present stage of our knowledge, all one can say is to exclude any identification of this information with the *History* of Orosius (ed. Badawī, Beirut 1982), the sole work of Latin literature which was translated into Arabic.

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RŪMLI LEWEND [see LEWEND].

AL-**RUMMA** or RUMA, WĀDĪ, the main regional drainage system of north Arabia, running over 1,000 km/620 miles from the Ḥarrat Khaybar in the Ḥidjāz, to the north-east of Medina through al-Ḳaṣīm to run out in southern al-ʿIrāḳ. Al-Hamdānī (ed. Müller, i, 144) mentions Baṭn al-Rumma flowing between two mountain areas in the neighbourhood of the lands of the tribe of al-Ṭayyiʾ and the fertile land of al-Ḳaṣīm to the south. He also mentions (i, 145) Wādī Sarīr as being the name of the lower part of Wādī al-Rumma, in an area associated with the Banū ʿĀmir of Tamīm. Much the same is reported by Yāḳūt (i, 75) citing al-Aṣmaʿī: he also declares that the Wādī al-Rumma flows betweeen two mountains, the black Abān and the white Abān. Musil (*Northern Neǧd*, New York 1928, 224, also 130) knew of the two Abān mountains between which the Wādī al-Rumma ran its course. These distinctive ranges of rocky hills lie in western al-Ḳaṣīm beside the modern road to Medina under the names Abān al-Asmar (on the north side of the al-Rumma channel) and Abān al-Aḥmar (on the south bank) (R.A. Bramkamp, L.F. Ramirez, G.F. Brown and A.E. Pocock, *Geology of the Wadi ar Rimah quadrangle, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, in *Miscellaneous geologic investigations*, Map 1-206 A [1963/1383]).

Al-Bakrī, writing in the 5th/11th century, refers to it as a great valley (*ḳāʿ*) in Nadjd into which a number of other wādīs flow (*Muʿdjam mā istaʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen and Paris 1877, 410). Yāḳūt (ii, 635-6) refers to the Wādī as a valley that runs through north Arabia under a series of names. It was known as al-Rumma in the land of the Ghaṭafān, after which it was Baṭn al-Rumma on the road between Fayd [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (a Ḥadjdj halt on the Darb Zubayda) and Medina. The same watercourse then became Wādī 'l-Hādjir and in the lands of the Ṭayyiʾ it was known as Ḥāʾil. Among the Banū Taghlib the Wādī was called Suwā, while in the Banū Kalb land it was called Ḳurāḳir. It ran out at al-Nīl near al-Kūfa.

The great length of the Wādī led to the local changes of name recorded by al-Hamdānī and Yāḳūt and the same phenomenon is noted by modern authorities. From its head in the Ḥarrat Khaybar to al-Ḳaṣīm, it is called Wādī Rīsha (J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908, IIA, 281-2, 597-8, IIB, 1591, 1601-2). By contrast, Musil, *op. cit.*, 220, refers to it merely as "al-Wādī" in al-Ḳasīm. Modern mapping describes the entire course in this area as Wādī al-Rumma (or al-Rimah) from its head in the Ḥarrat Khaybar as far as the point at which it reaches the Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*] sands to the north-east of al-Ḳaṣīm, and which form a great natural barrier. In the Dahnāʾ, the Rumma is known as Wādī al-Mustāwī (H.R.P. Dickson, *Kuwait and her neighbours*, London 1956, repr. 1968, 53), and beyond the Dahnāʾ it becomes Wādī al-Baṭn, whose course eventually marks Kuwait's western border with ʿIrāḳ. Wādī al-Baṭn runs out at the Ratk ridge towards Ḥawr al-Ḥammar, west of al-Basra.

The western reaches of the Wādī al-Rumma were first explored by C.M. Doughty (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, ii, 329, 391-3 and *passim*), who describes its shallowness, its salinity in al-Ḳaṣīm, and the sands blocking it to the east. C. Huber (*Journal d'un Voyage en Arabie, 1883-1884*, Paris 1891, ll. 13) also mapped its course around ʿUnayza. Musil, *op. cit.*, 38-9 describes the fertility of the alluvium that ran against the Dahnāʾ sands as they form a dam across the Wādī. In parts of al-Ḳaṣīm, the Wādī is virtually invisible and this is noted by several travellers. H.St.J. Philby (*Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London 1928, repr. 1977, 177 ff.) described wells and springs in the Wādī al-Rumma channel near to ʿUnayza, and the practice of establishing palm groves that tapped the brackish water beneath the saline *sabkha*. Doughty says that the Wādī had not flowed for some 40 years in his day, but Philby (*op. cit.*, 257) speaks of regular floods in the west of al-Ḳaṣīm before the early 20th century. These would transform the depression known as Zuḳaybiyya into a lake. In 1982, the present writer saw the entire country west of Uḳlat al-Ṣuḳūr on the western course of the Wādī al-Rumma turned by rainfall into a vast shallow lake which fed into the Rumma.

In the 19th century, the lower course, the Wādī al-Baṭn, provided a route from Kuwait into al-Ḳaṣīm (Doughty, ii, 392; D.G. Hogarth, *The penetration of Arabia*, repr. Beirut 1966, 277; Dickson, 60). Here there were wells, notably at Ḥafar and at Riḳāʿī, but in this lower stretch of its course, beyond the Dahnāʾ, the Wādī normally does not flow. By 1936 Ḥafar had a Saudi fortress, and today Ḥafar al-Baṭn has grown into a major Saudi military base.

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AL-**RUMMĀNĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh (296-384/909-94). By profession a *warrāḳ* [*q.v.*], al-Rummānī (also known as al-Ikhshīdī, see below) was a seminal thinker in the Arab linguistic and literary sciences in 4th/10th century Baghdād. He was born in Baghdād and died there, having written, during the course of a long and active life, in excess of one hundred works on a wide but coherent range of topics (for a list of these works, see Mubārak, *Al-Rummānī*, 37-103). Much of his literary output was taken by dictation, and included works on grammar (*naḥw*), lexicography (*lugha*), rhetoric (*balāgha*), the Ḳurʾānic sciences (*ᶜulūm al-Ḳurʾān*), and philosophical theology (*kalām*). Although he is widely quoted in later sources, only a handful of his works, or fragments thereof, appears to have survived. They are:

(1) *Ḳ al-Alfāẓ al-mutarādifa al-mutaḳāribat al-maᶜnā* (ed. Fatḥ Allāh Ṣāliḥ ᶜAlī al-Miṣrī, al-Manṣūra 1407-1987). A short lexical work, it is divided into 142 *fuṣūl*, each *faṣl* containing a set of words (or phrases) that are synonymous. The work is representative of a technical genre common during this period.

(2) *K. al-Djāmiᶜ fī ᶜilm* (or *tafsīr*) *al-Ḳurʾān*. A work on Kurʾānic philology, it appears originally to have been very large, only parts of which have survived (as yet unedited). They are: Part 7—Paris, B.N. 6523; Part 10—Tashkent, Akademiya 3137; Part 12—Jerusalem, Masdjid al-Aḳṣā 29 (= Cairo, Maᶜhad al-Makhṭūṭāt, Microfilm Collection 18 (see *GAS*, viii, 113, and, for a discussion of the work, accompanied by citation of select passages, Mubārak, *Al-Rummānī*, 83-8).

(3) *K. al-Ḥudūd fi 'l-naḥw* (in *Rasāʾil fi 'l-naḥw wa 'l-lugha*) ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād and, Yaᶜḳūb Maskūnī, *Silsilat kutub al-turāth*, 11, Baghdād 1388/1989, 37-50). A short lexical work, it constitutes a small dictionary of 88 technical terms that commonly occur in Arab[ic] grammatical theory of the period.

(4) *K. Maᶜāni 'l-ḥurūf* (ed. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāᶜīl Shaldjī, Djudda 1404/1984). This is a systematic treatise on the categorical nature and function of the grammatical particles in Arabic. The work is representative of a technical genre that evolved, during this period, amidst debates over the nature of speech and the status of grammar in relation to logic.

(5) *K. Manāzil al-ḥurūf* (in *Rasāʾil fi 'l-naḥw wa 'l-lugha*, 51-79). Although handed down as a separate work, it, in effect, constitutes, with some slight variation; the final 23 *abwāb* of the *K. Maᶜāni 'l-ḥurūf*.

(6) *al-Nukat fī iᶜdjāz al-Ḳurʾān* (in *Thalāth rasāʾil fī iᶜdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Muḥammad Khalafallāh and Muḥammad Zaghlūl Salām, *Dhakhāʾir al-ᶜArab*, 18, Cairo 1955[1], 1988[2], 75-133[1] [= 89-104[2]]). This work is a *risāla* that treats the subject of the uniqueness or inimitability of the Ḳurʾān. In structure, it constitutes a compilation of short paragraphs illustrating the author's teaching, but without any arguments (or counter-arguments), and with, sometimes, little contextual continuity. Without abandoning the traditional theological arguments that had been put forth on behalf of the Ḳurʾān's inimitability, al-Rummānī attempts to put the entire issue on firmer ground by logically subordinating the theological arguments to the notion of the Ḳurʾān's incomparable style, which rests squarely upon the quality of its eloquence (*balāgha*). According to al-Rummānī, *balāgha* is divisible into the following ten categories: (i) terseness (*īdjāz*), (ii) comparison (*tashbīh*), (iii) metaphor (*istiᶜāra*), (iv) euphony (*talāʾum*), (v) end-rhymes [of the Ḳurʾānic verses] (*fawāṣil*), (vi) paronomasia (*tadjānus*), (vii) transformation of a root [into various *awzān*] (*taṣrīf*), (viii) implication (*taḍmīn*), (ix) emphasis (*mubālagha*), and (x) distinctiveness [of expression] (*ḥusn al-bayān*).

(7) The *Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayh*. This appears to have been a rather large work, only portions of which survive, for the most part unedited (see, however, E. Ambros (ed. and tr.), *Sieben Kapitel des Šarḥ Kitāb Sībawaihi von ar-Rummānī in Edition und Übersetzung*, Vienna 1979; *Ḳism al-ṣarf, al-djuzʾ al-awwal*, ed. R.A. al-Damīrī, Cairo 1408/1988. They are: Istanbul Feyzullah Efendi 1984-7 (= vols. ii-v of the *Sharḥ*); and Vienna, Akademie 2442 (= Part 3 of the *Sharḥ*). This work has been the subject of a number of studies, the most comprehensive of which being Mubārak, *Al-Rummānī* (see also *GAS*, ix, 112, and *Bibl.* for further titles).

(8) *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*. An apparently very large work, only a small portion of which has survived (as yet, unedited): Cairo, al-Khizāna al-Taymūriyya *tafsīr* 201 (*GAS*, viii, 270). It was highly regarded throughout the later mediaeval period (for a discussion of the work, with remarks about it from later authors, see Mubārak, *Al-Rummānī*, 96-9).

One thing that distinguishes Baṣran grammarians of this period, from their predecessors, is the patent and increasingly more refined awareness of the importance of distinguishing between purely syntactic phenomena and such stylistic alternatives as are available within the syntactic constraints of a given language (in this case, Arabic), when making judgements about acceptable and accepted usage. Al-Rummānī is representative of this trend.

Theologically, al-Rummānī belonged to the Ikhshīdiyya (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, V 280-1) after Ibn al-Ikhshīd, the eponymous founder of the school; whence al-Rummānī's auxillary *nisba*, al-Ikhshīdī), one of three competing Muᶜtazilī schools of *kalām*, in Baghdād, the other two being the Bā Hāshimiyya and the so-called "old Baghdād" school. As a young man, al-Rummānī had witnessed the legendary debate (320/932) between Abū Saᶜīd al-Sīrāfī [*q.v.*] and Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus over the relative merits of logic and grammar. He would serve as the main source for al-Tawḥīdī's recapitulation (*Imtāᶜ*, i, 128) of the events (the other informant, albeit with less of a memory for the details, being al-Sīrāfī himself). As an expert in jurisprudence (*fiḳh*), as well as grammar and theology, al-Rummānī was appointed, along with al-Sīrāfī, to a judgeship over Baghdād's East District, shortly after Abū Muḥammad Ibn Maᶜrūf had been appointed chief judge of the city (Kraemer, *Philosophy*, 73; al-Hamadhānī, *Takmila*, 197; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 38, 54). Probably as Ibn Maᶜrūf's official witness (*shāhid*), al-Rummānī was a member of

a self-appointed delegation of notables (many of them jurisconsults) that appeared before ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār to air the grievances of the populace (*Imtāʿ*, iii, 151-2).

Al-Rummānī studied under such influential figures as Ibn al-Sarrādj (d. 317/929), Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), and al-Zadjdjādj (d. 311/923). Those who, at one time or other, had studied under al-Rummānī would prove themselves no less distinguished than his teachers. It is al-Rummānī who is credited with having dubbed one such student, Ibn Nuʿmān (d. 413/1022), with the epithet by which the precocious young *shaykh* would come better to be known, viz. *al-mufīd*, "the instructor", as a consequence of his having outwitted al-Rummānī in debate after having been present at, and posed a question during, one of the latter's widely attended lectures (Niʿma, *Falāsifat al-shīʿa*, 456). Among al-Rummānī's devoted disciples was the brilliant and irascible Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), the source for much of our knowledge about al-Rummānī. Al-Tawḥīdī adjudged al-Rummānī to be endowed with a capacity for eloquent expression tantamount to the legendary al-Djāḥiẓ (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 252, possibly the greatest praise he could lavish on anyone.) Other appraisals of al-Rummānī were less enthusiastic: "It used to be said", notes Yāḳūt (v, 281), "[that] 'the grammarians of the day are three: one whose speech is incomprehensible—that being al-Rummānī; one some of whose speech is comprehensible—that being Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī; and [perhaps not without a tinge of irony] one all of whose speech is comprehensible without a teacher—that being al-Sīrāfī' "]. In another less than enthusiastic appraisal of al-Rummānī, apparently provoked by his somewhat controversial habit of integrating grammar and logic (*Nuzhat*, 157-8). It was the same Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī who, on at least one occasion, made what he had to say completely understood, in no uncertain terms (Yāḳūt, v, 281), noting that "if grammar is what al-Rummānī says it is, then we have no part in it; and if grammar is what we say it is, then he has no part in it". If, by some estimates, perspicuity was the hallmark of eloquence, then, given some of al-Rummānī's notoriety for obfuscatory discourse, complicated by the fact that he treats the subject of eloquence, at some length, in the *Nukat fī iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, it is not entirely surprising to find at least one contemporary, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Badīhī (protégé of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, distinguished pupil of al-Fārābī), complaining that al-Rummānī was unaccustomed, with respect to eloquence, of practising what he so ardently preached (*Baṣāʾir*, i, 171-2). Al-Rummānī's definition of eloquence (*balāgha*) given in the *Nukat* (75) is preceded by two preliminary counter-definitions of what, in his opinion, eloquence is not, one of which, as if to respond to his critics, runs: "Eloquence is not the [act of] making a given meaning understood, because sometimes two speakers (*mutakallimān*) will make a given idea understood, one of whom is eloquent, the other incapable of expressing himself well" (*Nukat*, 75). His positive definition of eloquence, cited, with some slight variation, by Ibn Rashīḳ (*ʿUmda*, i, 246), yet ascribed not to al-Rummānī but to an unnamed *muḥdath* poet, runs as follows: *wa-innama 'l-balāgha īṣālu 'l-maʿnā ila 'l-ḳalbi fī aḥsani ṣūrat^in min(a) 'l-lafẓ*—"What eloquence in fact is, is the conveying of a given idea to the heart (= mind) in the most beautiful form of wording" (*Nukat*, 75; cf. *ʿUmda*, i, 246, wherein *ibdāʾ* replaces *īṣāl*). If, as Versteegh has attempted to show (*Greek elements*, 94, n. 20), al-Rummānī, like other Muʿtazilīs of the period, was operating under influences, either direct or indirect, that bear the stamp of stoicism, then his appeal to rhetoric is, in effect, an appeal to logic, under which the stoics, in contrast to the Aristotelians, subsumed rhetoric (along with dialectic).

In the context of his discussion of the incomparability of the Ḳurʾān's stylistic qualities, al-Rummānī introduces a number of innovations into the treatment of the tropical use of language, with e.g. his notion of the *aṣl al-lugha*, the basic or proper meaning of an expression, that would become pervasive throughout later literary theory. His treatment of metaphor (*istiʿāra*) and comparison (*tashbīh*) also exhibits a rather radical departure from previous theory (for a discussion of these topics, see Heinrichs, *Hand of the Northwind*). His approach to these and other matters would greatly influence other theorists, both contemporary and later, among them Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. *ca.* 395/1004), al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/988), and Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī (d. 455/1073-4), to name only a few, and signals the point at which Arab(ic) literary theory begins to emerge as a discipline independent of, for example, Ḳurʾānic hermeneutics, in the context of which much of the earlier theorising had taken place.

Bibliography: Extant works by al-Rummānī: see article, and Brockelmann, I, 113, S I, 175; *GAS*, viii, 112-14, 270, ix, 111-13, 314; Ziriklī, v, 134; Kaḥḥāla, vii, 102. Additional sources cited in the article: Hamadhānī, *Takmilat taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. A. Kanʿān, Beirut 1959; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-udabāʾ*, ed. ʿA. Amer, Stockholm 1883; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, 2 vols., ed. Muḥammad Muḥyid-dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1383/1983: Tawḥīdī, *Akhlāḳ al-wazīrayn*, ed. M. al-Ṭandjī, Damascus 1955; idem, *al-Baṣāʾir wa 'l-dhakhāʾir*, 4 vols., ed. I. Kaylanī, Damascus 1984-8; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, 7 vols., ed. Margoliouth.—Studies cited in the article: W. Heinrichs, *The Hand of the Northwind*, Wiesbaden 1977; J. Kraemer, *Philosophy in the renaissance of Islam*, Leiden 1986; M. Mubārak, *Al-Rummānī al-naḥwī*, Damascus 1383/1983; ʿA. Niʿma, *Falāsifat al-shīʿa*, Beirut n.d.; C.H.M. Versteegh, *Greek elements in Arabic linguistic thinking*, Leiden 1977. Further studies of interest: Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam*, Leiden 1980; R.A. al-Damīrī, *Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayh: al-Dirāsa*, Cairo 1308/1988; M. Carter, *Linguistic science and orthodoxy in conflict: the case of al-Rummānī*, in *ZGAIW*, i (1984), 212-32. (J. FLANAGAN)

RUNDA, Sp. RONDA, the chef-lieu of the district (*kūra*, sometimes *iḳlīm*) in mediaeval al-Andalus of Tākurunnā, situated to the north-west of Rayya [*q.v.*] (modern Malaga).

This is a very mountainous region, well watered by rivers and abundant rain, allowing the development of agriculture and stockrearing. The town of Runda is described in the Arabic sources as an impregnable fortress, and this fact, in addition to its geographical situation, has moulded its history. The northern part of the town is protected by a ravine (*tajo*) formed by the river, a kilometre long and 160 m deep. This natural defence was completed by a powerful fortress with triple walls. Outside the walls, urban expansion in the shape of suburbs (*rabaḍ*) only happened in the 13th and 14th centuries A.D. Traces of its Islamic past are visible today in its baths (situated below the town, on the river side), the *miḥrāb* of the great mosque, preserved in a church, a minaret and some *rābiṭas*. The so-called house of the Gigantes is the best example of civilian Islamic architecture there, since it has kept the greater part of its structure and décor.

One should also add the Almocabar (*al-makābir*) gate in the enceinte and a few other architectural remains preserved in the modern buildings. At the time of its conquest by the Christians (1485), the town had numerous mosques, dwelling houses (most of them on a modest scale) and 77 shops. The defensive value of Runda was reduced through the town's lack of a water supply, hence at some unknown date—but one during the Islamic period—a stairway was constructed in the rock down to the river, still in part preserved. The Arabic sources call the river the *nahr Runda*, but its Castilian name (Guadalevín) is clearly Arabic in origin. The usually accepted etymology (*wādī 'l-laban*) has been rejected by E. Terés, who suggests the local toponym *wādī 'l-liwā* as a possible alternative, even though it is not confirmed in the sources (the place name *al-liwā* is cited only once, in a *ḳaṣīda* by a poet of Runda).

The population of Runda and its hinterland comprised, as well as indigenous elements, a strong Berber presence, plus some Arab lineages. Among the Berbers, one notes the presence of the W.lhāsa (of Nafza [*q.v.*]), as well as the Banu 'l-Khalīʿ (see below) and the Banu 'l-Zadjdjālī. These last, of undistinguished origin, according to Ibn Ḥayyān, later installed themselves at Cordova and reached there a high position. The famous poet ʿAbbās b. Firnās (3rd/9th century) belonged to a Berber family settled in the Runda district (the very name of Tākurunnā is considered to be of Berber origin). The presence of Nafza Berbers is attested until a late date by the patronyms of persons like the poet Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ (7th/13th century) and the mystic Ibn ʿAbbād (8th/14th century), both born at Runda. The references to Arabic lineages are much less numerous. According to al-Rāzī, cited by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, a descendant of Saʿd b. ʿUbāda [*q.v.*] settled in the region of Tākurunnā. In the 5th/11th century the Banu 'l-Ḥakīm, an important Arab family of Seville, chose to reside at Runda and thereafter played an important role in the town's history. The Arabic *nisba*s borne by the natives of Runda are recorded in the biographical sources, but, as elsewhere in al-Andalus, this fact does not guarantee a genuine Arab origin. The existence of a small Jewish community is attested by the presence of a Jew as interpreter in the negotiations which led to the surrender of the town in 1485; and a Jewish physician of Runda is mentioned in the 6th/12th century.

In the Umayyad period, the Berbers of Runda and its district were often involved in rebellions against the *amīr*s of Cordova. However, the Banu 'l-Khalīʿ, who were clients of the Umayyads of Syria, had given their support to the youthful ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I when he had landed in the peninsula; the lord of the *kūra* of Tākurunnā, ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Awshadja, offered him his help and a body of 400 cavalrymen. In the reign of Hishām I, the Berbers of Tākurunnā rose in 178/795-6. This rising was severely suppressed by the *amīr*'s army, who killed a large part of the rebels; those who escaped took refuge in regions fairly distant from Runda (Talavera and Trujillo). This first Berber revolt resulted in a depopulation of Runda and its district, which has probably, however, been exaggerated by the Arabic sources. Other Berber revolts are recorded in the region in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, in 211/826 and 235/849; but it was above all in Muḥammad's reign (238-73/852-86) that the movement challenging the authority of the *amīrs* became widespread in the Runda district. At first revolt, led by Asad b. al-Ḥārith b. Rāfiʿ in 261/874, was soon extinguished. But in 265/878-9 the revolt reached the districts of Tākurunnā, Algeciras and Rayya, as a reaction against the tax exactions of the governors, and after this the Umayyad administration began building fortresses (*ḥuṣūn*) in order to overawe the region. Then in 267/880 broke out the great revolt of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], himself a native of Runda. Under the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh (275-300/888-912), this extended through the *kūra* of Rayya and adjacent regions, including Runda. In his struggle, ʿUmar sought help from Awshadja of the Banu 'l-Khalīʿ, who abandoned him, however, after his conversion to Christianity. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III succeeded in re-establishing peace in the area, and after the fall of ʿUmar's capital Bobastro [see BUBASHTRU in Suppl.), all fortresses in the region were destroyed except for those necessary for exercising the central government's authority.

With the disintegration of caliphal power, Runda became one of the *taifa* principalities dominated by the Berbers, in this case by Zanāta members of the Banū Īfran, brought in as part of the armies of the *ḥādjib* Ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*]. At first recognising the suzerainty of the Ḥammūdid ruler of Malaga, after 431/1039 Abū Nūr Hilāl al-Īfranī declared himself independent in Runda, as one of the belt of Berber principalities (Carmona, Morón, Arcos and Runda) surrounding the ʿAbbādid principality of Seville, and which were in fact absorbed by this latter power under al-Muʿtaḍid. Abū Nūr Hilāl was deposed by the ʿAbbādid, but his son Abū Naṣr Fatūḥ succeeded him in 449/1057 and ruled till 457/1064, when al-Muʿtaḍid finally incorporated Runda in his principality as the advance post of Sevillan authority expanding towards Malaga. Al-Muʿtamid entrusted it to his son al-Rāḍī [*q.v.*], and it was from him that the Almoravid commander Gharrūr took possession of the town in 484/1091.

In the last years of Almoravid power, local lords proclaimed their independence all through al-Andalus, and in 540/1145-6 the lord of Arcos, Jerez and Runda, Abu 'l-Ḳamar Ibn ʿAzzūn, recognised the authority of the Almohads immediately after they appeared at Cadiz. It was in this century that the armies of Castile attacked the region on several occasions, taking captives, burning crops and seizing fortresses. With the decay of the Almohads, Runda became a frontier post of the kingdom of Granada against the Christians, alternatively controlled by the Naṣrids and the Marīnids [*q.vv.*], although it seems also to have preserved a certain feeling of local solidarity and independence. This oscillation of control continued into the 8th/14th century, and during this period, especially under the Marīnid sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (731-49/1331-48), the fortifications of Runda were strengthened. However, Marīnid influence there declined after this, with Runda being frequently the seat of rivals for the Naṣrid throne in Granada. This role continued during the internal succession disputes of the Granadan rulers, but it remained also the advance position against Christian military pressure. Despite truces between Granada and Castile, frontier incidents were frequent, often only recorded in the Castilian chroniclers. Military activity intensified in the later part of the 9th/15th century. Thus the men of Runda were at the head of the important capture of Zahara, one of the last efforts undertaken against the Christians, when an army of 300 cavalry and 4,000 infantry seized the town in December 1481, under the command of Abrahem Alhaquine (thus according to Spanish sources; this Ibrāhīm al-Ḥakīm was probably a member of the family of the Banu 'l-Ḥakīm). But this success was short-lived, as the Catholic monarchs now began the

final assault on the Granadian kingdom. In 1484 fresh Castilian advances isolated Runda more and more from the rest of the kingdom, and after a short siege (8-22 May 1485), the commander of Runda, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥakīm (the *alguacil mayor* of the Castilian chronicles) surrendered the town to the Marquis of Cadiz. This led to the loss of the whole surrounding region and that of Malaga and the Mediterranean shores. The population of Runda had to abandon the town to Christian settlers, although the people of the smaller rural settlements were allowed to remain as vassals of Castile.

Runda had never reached the cultural level of other towns in al-Andalus, but there was a certain intellectual development in the 7th/12th and 8th/14th centuries, when persons like Yūsuf b. Mūsā b. Sulaymān al-Muntas͟hāḳirī, a prolific author and the teacher of Ibn al-K͟haṭīb [*q.v.*], emerged. But Runda's most famous sons were the poet Abu 'l-Baḳā' (601-84/1204-85), the author of a renowned *ḳaṣīda* on the loss of Cordova, Seville, Valencia and other towns of al-Andalus, and the mystic Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*].

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(Manuela Marín, shortened by the editors)

AL-**RUNDĪ**, Abū Khālid Yazīd b. Muḥammad al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād, AL-RĀḌĪ BI-LLĀH, prince of Runda [*q.v.*] or Ronda in Spain (460-94/1068-91).

Yazīd, more generally known by his *laḳab* of al-Rāḍī, was one of the sons of the Taifa king of Seville, al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*], born of his famous concubine Iʿtimād. Her master's love for her and his miserable end in the Almoravid's prisons, became a central feature of the ʿAbbādid poetic *dīwāns*, the most brilliant ones of the culture of al-Andalus. The fate of the children of this liaison seem likewise to have inherited some of the tragic poignancy.

Al-Rāḍī appears on the scene with the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN]. In 479/1086 he was governor of Algeciras when the Berbers disembarked, summoned for help by the Taifa princes in face of the progress of the Christians. Distrustful of his new allies, Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn, the Almoravid leader, decided to occupy the town. Al-Rāḍī had to cede the place at the orders of his father, and retired to Runda, where he was to remain permanently.

Averted for a while by the victory at Zallāḳa [*q.v.*], the danger from the Christians re-appeared two years later in the east. According to ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Zīrī, the ruler of Granada, al-Muʿtamid apparently saw the opportunity to re-assert his authority over Murcia, occupied but then relinquished a few years before, and to provide al-Rāḍī with an appanage worthy of him. He charged his son with attacking the Christians, who were devastating the region of Lorca, but the prince, more at home with his books than in battle, went down in defeat, and 3,000 of the troops of Seville were cut to pieces by 300 Christian cavalrymen. This inglorious rout drove al-Muʿtamid to make an irrevocable decision to call in fresh Almoravid intervention.

The Berbers' check at the siege of Aledo, for which Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn blamed the Andalusian rulers, sealed the fate of the Taifas. After Granada and Malaga (483/1090), the Almoravid directed his blows towards the ʿAbbādids. Seville was taken by assault in Radjab 484/September 1091. Al-Muʿtamid was taken prisoner and compelled to order his sons to lay down their arms. Al-Rāḍī showed his reluctance. Runda, situated on a rocky outcrop, was practically impregnable, and the Almoravid forces, directed by G͟harrūr, did not even dare to embark on the siege. In the end, al-Rāḍī gave in to the solicitations of his father, to which Iʿtimād is said to have joined her entreaties, and surrendered to the Berbers. As soon as he was in G͟harrūr's hands, the latter, of whom ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Zīrī has left a distinctly unflattering portrait, had al-Rāḍī put to death in a corner of the ramparts.

Al-Rāḍī is, in sum, the most frequently-mentioned of al-Muʿtamid's sons, since he was, with his father, "the poet of the ʿAbbādids". An assiduous scholar, he leant towards Ibn Ḥazm's Ẓāhirī school. His father on several occasions reproached him for preferring the pen to the Arabs' lance, but other sources speak of his passion for horses. It is especially hard to grasp the reality of his character since the epic tale of the ʿAbbādids probably owes a lot to that of the Ḥamdānids. Both, as Arabs and as patrons, poets and warriors, fought against the Christians and against the mounting pressure of the "Barbarians" within Islam. These striking resemblances led posterity to assign the roles at Seville, as they had been at Aleppo, to the proud and brave al-Muʿtamid as Sayf al-Dawla, and his son al-Rāḍī, as a distant echo of Abū Firās, with whom he shared a love of poetry, a mediocre political sense and a miserable end.

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together by R. Dozy in *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*, Leiden 1852-63. To these may be added ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Zīrī, *al-Tibyān ʿan al-hāditha al-kāʾina bi-dawla Banī Zīrī fī Gharnāṭa*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1955, partial Fr. tr. idem, in *al-And*, iii-vi (1935-41), Span. tr. E. García Gómez, *El siglo XI en primera persona*, Madrid 1980, Eng. tr. Amin T. Tibi, *The Tibyān, memoirs of ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn*, Leiden 1986; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle*, Paris 1953.

(G. Martinez Gros)

RŪNĪ, ABU 'L-FARADJ [see ABU 'L-FARADJ B. MASʿŪD RŪNĪ, in Suppl.].

RŪPIYYA, an Indian coin, a rupee. In the later 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, the silver *tanka* [*q.v.*] of the sultans of Dihlī had become so debased that when Shīr Shāh (947-52/1540-5) reformed the coinage, the name could no longer be given to a silver coin. To his new silver coin, corresponding to the original fine silver *tanka*, he therefore gave the name *rūpiyya* = rupee, i.e. the silver coin (Sanskrit, *rūpya, rūpaka*), and *tanka* became a copper denomination. The weight of the rupee was 178 grains (11.53 gr) and it rapidly established itself in popular favour. Under the Mughals it was struck all over India at over 200 mints and with the decline of Mughal power continued to be struck by their successors, notably the English East India Company. In the 11th/17th century, Akbar and Djahāngīr struck many square rupees; on one coin of Akbar the name *rūpiyya* occurs. Djahāngīr for a short period struck a heavy rupee of 220 grains (14.259 gr), but, on the whole, the rupee showed little variation in weight. In the 19th century the British rupee gradually drove the local issues out of circulation, and with few exceptions, the local mints closed. Such native states as still issued their own rupees before 1947 struck them on the same standard as the Indian Government rupee.

Aḥmād Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] adopted the rupee as his monetary unit on becoming independent, and until the early 20th century it remained the standard coin of Afghānistān. The Hindu kings of Assam also struck the rupee. At present in South Asia, the rupee remains the currency of India, Pākistān, Nepal, Ceylon/Sri Lanka (since 1870) and Bhutan (there since the 1974 currency reform called the *ngultrum*) (see C.L. Krause, C. Mishler and C.R. Bruce II, *1991 Standard catalog of world coins*[17], Iola, Wisc. n.d. [1991], 197-201, 1347-68, 1593-6).

By the early years of the 20th century, the Indian rupee had become current along the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf and along the East African coast, including the British and German possessions there. The rupee continued in use in East Africa until problems caused by the fluctuations of dual currency systems led to the rupee being suddenly demonitised there on 8 February 1921 in favour of local currencies (see V.T. Harlow *et alii, History of East Africa*, ii, Oxford 1965, 430).

In the Middle East, the Indian rupee had been brought to Mesopotamia by the British and Indian forces invading Ottoman territory there from the last months of 1914 onwards, and it became the established currency under the British post-war occupation of ʿIrāḳ and the Mandate until, just before the ending of the Mandate, it was displaced on 1 April 1932 by a national currency, the ʿIrāḳī dīnār (see Admiralty Handbooks, Naval Intelligence Division, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944, 478). Within eastern Arabia, the Indian rupee was counterstamped *Nadjd* in 1251/1835, 1256/1840 and 1278-93/1862-76. Kuwayt minted its own copper *bayzas* [see PAYSA] in 1304/1886-7, but no rupees, and inaugurated its own currency of *fulūs* and dīnārs in 1380/1961. In the Trucial Oman states, after 1971 the United Arab Emirates [see AL-IMĀRĀT AL-ʿARABIYYA AL-MUTTAḤIDA, in Suppl.], various emirates acquired their own currencies, based on the *riyāl*, in the 1960s and 1970s. In the Sultanate of Masḳaṭ and ʿUmān, until 1970 there was a dual currency of the rupee and the *riyāl*, the first made up of 64 *bayzas* and the second of 200 *baysas* (see RIYĀL and, in general, Krause *et alii, op. cit.*, 1194-5, 1409-13, 1533).

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RŪS, occasionally *Rūsiya*, the Arabic rendering (and thence into other Islamic languages) of Eastern Slavic *Русь* (*Rus'*). This was the designation of a people and land from which modern Russia, Ukraine and Belarus' derive.

The rapid ethnic, political and social evolution of this term and the people(s) which it denoted during the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries produced a series of temporally multi-layered, occasionally contradictory notices in the classical Islamic geographical literature. In contemporary Byzantine sources it appears as Ῥῶς (which may, indeed, be the source of the Arabic form, Barthold, *Arabskie isvestiya o rusakh*), cf. also Ῥωσσία, the name of the country derived from it and the infrequently noted form (pl.) Ῥούσιοι). Modern Russ. *Rossiya* ("Russia") is taken from the Byzantine ecclesiastical usage. Al-Idrīsī, 914, mentions "Outer Russia" (*bilād al-rūsiyya al-khāridjiyya*). It is not clear if this usage has any relationship to the ἔξω Ῥωσία noted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the geographical contours of which are equally uncertain. The form *Urus* and its variants, found in a number of Turkic languages (e.g. Ḳaračay-Balḳar *Orus*, Noghay, Ḳazaḳ *Ors*, Čuvash *Vırăs*) goes back to the Arabic form. Mediaeval Latin sources record them as (*Annales Bertiniani*, s.a. 838-9) *Rhos*; (The Bavarian Geographer, 9th century) *Ruzzi*; (Liudprand of Cremona, mid-10th century) *Rusios*; (Thietmar of Merseburg, d. 1018) *Ruscia*; Old Germ. *Ruz, Riuz*; Old Swed. *Ryds*. Long-standing attempts to identify this ethnonym with the *Hrōs* mentioned in the 6th century Syriac ecclesiastical history of Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor have generally (with the exception of some Soviet scholars) been rejected (see Łowmiański).

The origins of the Rūs

The origin and etymology of this term/ethnonym and thus, it is averred, the ethnic affiliations of the people or socio-mercantile group that first bore this name in the Islamic and other sources of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th century, are much debated. It has long been argued (cf. Thomsen) that *Rus'* is the Slavic rendering of the Baltic Finnic term for "Swede": Finn. *Ruotsi*, Est. *Rootś*, Vot. *Rôtsi*, Liv. *R'uọt'š* (but cf. Volga Finnic: Mari *Ruš*, Udm. *Zuč*, Komi-Perm. *Roč* "Russian" and Samoyedic [Nenets] *Lūtsa, Lūsa* "Russian". There have been two centuries of occasionally heated discussion of this issue between "Normanists" (those favouring a Scandinavian origin of the Rus' and by extension the Rus' state) and their opponents, the "Anti-Normanists." The Classical Normanist position, from the philological perspective, posits: Slav. *Rus'* < Finn. *Routsi* < Old Norse *roþer, roþsmenn, roþskarlar* "rowers, seamen" associated with the coastal region of Sweden, Roslagen (see Łow-

miański, and in Jenkins *et al.*, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De administrando imperio. Commentary.* Historical evidence in support of the Scandinavian origin of the Rus' is adduced from the account in the *Annales Bertiniani*, s.a. 838-9, of an embassy from the "Rhos Chacanus" (Ḵag̲h̲an of the Rus') to Constantinople. Unable to return to their homeland because of nomadic pressure in the Western Eurasian steppes, the embassy was diverted to the Frankish court at Ingelheim. There, to the consternation of the Franks, it was discovered that the mysterious Rhos were, indeed, Swedes. A century later, Liudprand of Cremona appears to confirm this ethnic identification in noting in his listing of the northern peoples the "Rusios whom we call by another name the Northmen" (*Rusios, quos alio nos nomine Nordmannos apellamus*). Elsewhere he further explains that there is a certain people established in the North whom, because of the characteristics of their physical appearance (*a qualitate corporis*) "the Greeks call Ῥούσιος, Rusios, but we, however, because of their location call Northmen (*Nordmanni*)." On the basis of these and other connections made in contemporary sources with the Viking world, the formation of the Rus' state is thus seen as part of that outpouring of Viking energy aimed initially at gaining control of vital international trade routes and ending in some instances as conquest and colonisation. The name *Rūs* does, indeed, figure in some accounts of Viking raids on Muslim Spain. Al-Yaʿḳūbī, s.a. 229/843-4, tells of the attack of the "Mad̲j̲ūs who are called Rūs" on Seville (Is̲h̲bīliyya). "Mad̲j̲ūs" [*q.v.*] was a term used rather broadly for pagans and more specifically for Zoroastrians and Norsemen. Al-Masʿūdī also mentions "a nation of the Mad̲j̲ūs" who, before the year 300/912-3, had raided Andalus. He identified them with the Rūs and posited the Pontic region as their starting point. Ibn Ḥawḳal, in his account of the destruction of the Ḵh̲azar cities at the hands of the Rūs in 358/968-9 (more probably several years earlier, this date represents the year in which Ibn Ḥawḳal first heard of these events), remarks that after their despoiling of Ḵh̲azaria "they came at once to the land of Rūm and Andalus..." He then refers to earlier expeditions, commenting that they, the Rūs, "are the ones who of old went to Andalus and then to Bard̲h̲aʿa." He also notes that "the ships of the Rūs and Pečeneg Turks" sometimes attack Spain. This alliance of Rus' and Pečenegs [*q.v.*], who were often at odds, while not unknown, is all the more remarkable in that it implies Pečeneg involvement in sea-borne expeditions. A most dramatic turn of events in Rūs activities in the Mediterranean occurred in 860, when the "Rhos" mounted an unsuccessful naval assault on Constantinople from which the Byzantines believed themselves to have been spared only through divine intercession. The Patriarch Photius (858-67, 878-86), an astute and well-informed statesman, referred to these invaders as an ἔθνος ἄγνωστον a hitherto "unknown people" (see Vasiliev). The Rūs who attacked the Byzantine capital appear to have come from Kiev (Vasiliev) rather than from Western or Northern Europe. Almost a century later, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (d. A.D. 959) in his *De administrando imperio*, written *ca.* 948-52, gives an account of how the Rus' merchants travel from Novgorod to Kiev and then down the Dnieper and into the Black Sea to trade with Constantinople. The names of the Dnieper rapids are reported in both Rhos (Ῥωσιστί) and Slavic (Σκλαβηνιστί). The "Rhos" forms are clearly Scandinavian.

G. Vernadsky proferred an Iranian origin: *Rus* < Alanic *Ruḵh̲s-As* through a conjectured relationship of the Alans with the early (Eastern) Slavic tribal confederation of the Antes. The Varangians (Old Norse *Vaeringi*, pl. *Vaeringjar*, Rus'. *Варязь* (*Varąg*) Mod. Russ. *Варяг* (Varyag), Arab. *Warank*, Greek Βαράγγοι < *várar* "pledge, oath, guarantee" = "men of the pledge", he argues, who in the 8th-9th century became the dominant force here, merged with this grouping and assumed their name. This dilution of strict Normanism has found few adherents. Anti-Normanists have countered with a variety of theories, both philological and historical. Perhaps best grounded are the Slavist Anti-Normanists who point to the presence of toponyms and hydronyms with the element *rus-/ros-* in the Eastern Slavic lands. These, in turn, may be associated with the Slavic or Balto-Slavic **rud/*rus* "reddish, ruddy, blond" (e.g. Ukr. *rusîy* "blond", Lith.*raũsvas* "red", cf. Latin *russus* etc., see P. Rospond, Mavrodin). H. Paszkiewicz (*The origin of Russia*, 1954, repr. New York 1969, 143-4), a Normanist, suggested that this was the Slavic name of the Norsemen, so called because of their ruddy complexion.

Eastern Slavic sources do not help to clarify the situation. The later Kievan Rus' tradition associates "Rus'" with the south, i.e. the Middle Dnieper Kievan region (cf. Hrus̲h̲evs'kîy, i). The Primary Chronicle (also called the *Chronicle of Nestor*), however, in its introductory genealogical comments places the "Rus" among the peoples in Japheth's part of the world, in this case the northern, Finnic ethnic groupings. Further on, it includes them in a listing of the "Varangians, Swedes, Normans (*Ourmane*), Gotlanders, Angles, Galicians, Italians (*Volūḵh̲va*), Romans, Germans, etc. Clearly, they are associated with the Germanic North. The Chronicler, often evincing a Byzantinocentric viewpoint, comments (*PSRL*, i, 17) that the Rus' land began to be so-called at the time of the accession of the Emperor Michael III (852). In another passage (*PSRL*, i, 23) discussing Oleg's conquest of Kiev, traditionally dated to 882, the Rus' are again associated with the North: "he (sc. Oleg) had with him Varangians, Slovene (sc. a tribe associated with Novgorod) and the rest who are called Rus'." Elsewhere, however, the Chronicle (*PSRL*, i, 25-6), s.a. 898, notes the Polyane, the Eastern Slavic tribe most closely associated with Kiev, "who are now called Rus'" (*nîne zovomaya Rus'*). Still further on, the Chronicler attempts to explain these discrepancies thus (*PSRL*, i, 28): "the Slavic nation (*sloven'skîy yazîk*) and the Rus' (*rouskîy*) are one; for it was called Rus' from the Varangians (*ot Varyag bo prozvas̲h̲asya Rous'yu*), but first they were Slavs, although they were called Polyane, nonetheless, they were of Slavic speech..."

In addition to philological argumentation and to the ethnographic and ethnogenetic data offered by our sources, the Normanist position is based largely on the Primary Chronicle's "historical" account of the genesis of the Rus' state. According to it, in 859 (the dating, at best, is off by several years), the Varangians "from across the sea" levied tribute on the Finnic Čyud', the Novgorodian Slovene, the Finnic Merya and the Slavic Kriviči, while the Slavic Polyane, Severyane and Vyatiči to their south were tributaries of the Ḵh̲azars. In 860-2, the Varangians were expelled, but the northern groupings proved unable to govern themselves. As a consequence, the Varangians, led by Ryurik, who settled in Novgorod, and his two brothers, Sineus and Truvor, were summoned to rule over them. Ryurik brought with him "the whole of Rus'." From "these Varangians it was

called the land of Rus'" (*PSRL*, i, 19-20). Two Varangian subordinates of Ryurik, Askold and Dir, then came to the south, taking Kiev. Al-Masʿūdī (d. *ca.* 345/956-7) in his *Murūdj* (iii, 64 = § 908), mentions the "king al-Dīr [Dayr], first among the kings of the Ṣaḳāliba." The occasionally suggested identification of al-Dīr with the Varangian Dir is questionable. It is much more likely that, despite the similarity in names, al-Masʿūdī's al-Dīr was a Central European Slavic ruler and his contemporary. With Ryurik's death, sometime between 870-9, power was given to his kinsman, Oleg < *helgi*. Oleg is presented in the traditional narrative as the guardian of Ryurik's son, Igor'. In 880-2, Oleg took Kiev, killing Askold and Dir. Another Rus' tradition preserved in the Novgorodian First Chronicle (*NPL*, 107, 434), depicts Igor' as the conqueror of Kiev, with Oleg merely as his general. The charismatic Oleg, about whom legends imputing prophetic abilities developed, has also been identified with the הלגו *hlgw* of the Geniza Khazar Hebrew document, the so-called "Cambridge" or "Schechter" document. This *Helgu, the "king of Rusia", perished in the aftermath of an unsuccessful raid on Byzantium. According to the Primary Chronicle, Oleg, after taking Kiev then set about conquering the neighbouring Slavic tribes. In 907, he launched his first raid against Constantinople. Igor', according to the Chronicle, began to rule in 913. There are, indeed, serious problems of chronology and questions regarding the identity of the personages involved. Pritsak, for example, posits a conflation of several Helgi/Olegs, real and mythical. Nonetheless, it is generally accepted that the account has some underlying historical basis.

The Anti-Normanists minimise the importance of the non-autochthonous elements. They contend that in the 6th-7th century there existed in the Middle Dnieper region the Polyane tribal union which took the name *Ros* or *Rus* deriving from a toponym or hydronym. Some support for this may be found in the "Bavarian Geographer", an anonymous work composed before 821, which places the "Ruzzi" next to the "Caziri" (Khazars). The power of this Kiev-centred state, according to Soviet Anti-Normanists, grew as reflected in the 838-9 embassy to Constantinople. The Swedes noted here, they suggest, were merely Vikings in Rus' service. The tale of the summoning of the Varangians, they further argue, is mythical. Ryurik may have been a real figure, but his ethnic affiliation is unclear.

The Normanist vs. Anti-Normanist controversy cannot be resolved on the basis of the currently available written sources. Archaeological evidence, similarly, does not provide decisive proof. A recent assessment of the data from a Scandinavianist perspective concludes that the Rus' were Scandinavians, but constituted only one element in a mixed population. The Vikings called Rus' *svípjoð hian mikla* "Sweden the Great", indicating an almost proprietary sense in an area of economic expansion and opportunity. The other Old Norse term for the region was *Gǫrd/Gorðum* in the 10th-11th century and *Garðaríki*, "kingdom of (fortified) towns or steads", in the 12th-13th century.

The Islamic sources, while not providing the conclusive information needed to resolve these questions, shed some light on the early Rus'. Genealogical tradition, as reflected in the anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, dated 520/1126, presents the eponymous Rūs as the brother of Khazar and the son of Japheth. Dissatisfied with his own place of abode, Rūs wrote to his brother and "asked for a corner of his country." He obtained an island, difficult of access, with soggy soil and foul air. These and other themes are drawn from information that was part of the body of Islamic geographical literature of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries (see below). Balʿamī, in his translation of al-Ṭabarī, s.a. 22/643, reports the words of Shahriyār, the ruler of Darband/Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*], to the commander of the Arab advance forces, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿa, to the effect that he was "between two enemies the Khazar and the Rūs. These peoples are the enemies of the entire world and, in particular, of the Arabs." This seems very early, indeed, for a Rus' presence in this region. The Khazars, of course, were already an important factor in the North Caucasus. The pairing of the Rūs with them as enemies of the Islamic world has an anachronistic ring. Nonetheless, some scholars are willing to accept its historicity (cf. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny*; Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*. Novosel'tsev cites several other references to the Rūs dating to the time of Khusraw I Anūshirwān (531-79), e.g. in al-Thaʿālibī, who built fortifications against the "Turks, Khazars and Rūs." These, too, are most probably anachronistic. The earliest reliable reference to Rūs in the Islamic sources is perhaps to be seen in the "mountain of the Rūs" from which the river *drws* flows, noted in al-Khʷārazmī's *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*; Novosel'tsev).

One of the earliest and most important notices is found in Ibn Khurradādhbih, writing probably *ca.* 272/885-6, on the "route of the Rūs merchants" who brought goods from Northern Europe/Northwestern Russia to Baghdād. It interrupts a notice on the route of the Rādhāniyya [*q.v.*], a Jewish merchant company, which appears to have been supplanted by the Rūs. Noonan has recently suggested that the latter may have initiated these contacts as early as A.D. 800. A hoard of coins found at Peterhof, near St. Petersburg, contains twenty coins (Sāsānid, Arabo-Sāsānid and Arab dirhams, the latest dated to 189/804-5) with graffitti in Arabic, Turkic (probably Khazar) runic, Greek and Scandinavian runic (more than half the total). This may be viewed as evidence for the existence of the route described in Ibn Khurradādhbih by the late 2nd/early 9th century (see T. Noonan, *When did Rūs/Rus' merchants first visit Khazaria and Baghdad?*). In Ibn Khurradādhbih's famous account, the Rūs are described as "a kind (*djins*) of the Ṣaḳāliba," a sentence that has often been taken to indicate that they are a Slavic tribe. The Arabic is much more imprecise. The primary meaning of *djins* is "kind, type, variety, species." The term Ṣaḳāliba (sing. Ṣaḳlabī < Gr. Σκλάβος) while often used to designate the Slavs, was also employed to denote the whole of the fair-haired, ruddy-complexioned population of Central, Eastern and North-eastern Europe. In mediaeval Greek and Latin, *sclavus* became synonymous with "slave" (the English word [< French *esclave*] deriving ultimately from the ethnic designation). Our source further notes that these Rūs merchants "transport beaver hides, the pelts of the black fox and swords from the farthest reaches of the Ṣaḳāliba to the Sea of Rūm. The ruler of Rūm takes a tithe of them. If they wish, they go to the (ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Huntington 433, fol. 74b نس, ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale 2213, fol. 49a س, ms. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 783, fol. 65a نيس, see also Golden, *Khazar studies*), تنيس **tnys* river (variously read/identified as the "Tanais" [Τάναϊς] i.e. the Don (so De Goeje), يتيل *yitil*, i.e. Itil (= Volga, see Lewicki, *Źródła*) or تين *Tīn* (= Don, see Marquart, or Siverskiĭ Donets', see Pritsak, *An Arabic text on the trade*

route of the corporation of ar-Rūs in the second half of the ninth century), the River of the Ṣaḳāliba. They travel to Khamlīdj/Khamlīkh, the city of the Khazars whose ruler takes a tithe of them. Then they betake themselves to the Sea of Djurdjān and they alight on whichever of its shores they wish .... Sometimes, they carry their goods from Djurdjān by camel to Baghdād. Ṣaḳlab slaves translate for them. They claim that they are Christians and pay the *djizya*." Much has also been made of the Rūs use of "Ṣaḳlab" translators, attesting, it is argued, a common Slavic tongue. Although we do not know with certainty what language was used, it may well have been Slavic, the most practical *lingua franca* in Central and Eastern Europe. Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb [*q.v.*], the 4rd/10th century Jewish traveller, who journeyed to Central Europe and the Western Slavic lands, remarked that "the majority of the tribes of the North speak Ṣaḳlabī (most probably, here meaning Slavic) because of their commingling with them. Among them are the Germans (Ṭudishkī), Hungarians (Unḳalī), Pečenegs, Rūs and Khazars." The *Ḥudūd*, has preserved the tradition that among the Rūs "lives a group of Slavs who serve them" (see below). There is no doubt that the Rūs had very intimate ties with Slavic speakers and the Scandinavian-speaking element was certainly bilingual, if not completely slavicised by the late 10th century. Igor's son, Svyatoslav (d. 972) already bears a Slavic name. There were, it might also be noted, Slavic colonies in caliphal territories that presumably could have also provided speakers fluent in Slavic and Arabic. A variant of Ibn Khurradādhbih's account, taken, perhaps, from a common source is found in Ibn al-Faḳīh. See also Pritsak, *An Arabic text*, and the earlier comments of Marquart, who suggest that the intellectual circle of Ibn al-Faḳīh's father in Hamadhān served as this common source. Here, the merchants in question are designated as Ṣaḳlab. After their arrival at the Sea of Rūm (most probably the Black Sea is meant here) and their payment of the tithe, they go to "Samkarsh of the Jews" (cf. *Samkarş of the Khazar "Cambridge" document = Samkerč = Tmutorokan' /Ταματάρχα /Φαναγουρία; see literature cited in Lewicki, *Źródła*). Then they turn towards the Ṣaḳāliba or they betake themselves from the Sea of the Ṣaḳāliba by this river, which is called the River of the Ṣaḳāliba, until they come to Khamlīkh..." Ultimately, their goods may go as far as Rayy. The identification of the various Ṣaḳlab waterways remains problematic. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, remarks that the Rūs consist of "numerous peoples of diverse kinds. Among them are a kind (*djins*) called اللوذغانه *al-Lūdhʿāna* (or اللوذعانه **al-Lūdhghāna*) and they are the most numerous. They frequently visit, for the purpose of trade, the land of Spain [Andalus], Rome, Constantinople and the Khazars." The *Lūdhʿāna/Lūdhghana* have been identified with the Rūs grouping noted as الكوذكانه *al-Kūdhkāna* by al-Masʿūdī in his *Tanbīh*, 141. These, in turn, have been viewed as garblings of الاردمانه *al-Urdmāna* (cf. Marquart, who, while noting this possibility, preferred to view this as a corruption of *al-rāhdāniyya/al-rādhāniyya*; Minorsky, *Kuda ezdili drevnie rusi?*). Pritsak, following Kokovtsov, has suggested that the לוזניו *Lwznyw* of the "Cambridge" document, taken from an Arabic-script source لوزنيو (*lūznıyū*) is a corruption of لودماني (*lūdmānī*, see Golb and Pritsak) = *Lo(r)dman* = *Nordman*. Pritsak has, moreover, put forward an interesting thesis in explication of the Ibn Khurradādhbih/Ibn al-Faḳīh notices. The Ṣaḳlab lands were primary sources for the slave trade (the "river of the Ṣaḳāliba" denoted the "river of Slaves" coming from the Khazar empire via the Volga and Don rivers). The two major companies involved in this trade on an international level were the Rādhāniyya/Rāhdāniyya (*ca.* 750) and the Rūs, who ultimately replaced them. Both were based in (southern) France (this is well-established for the Rādhāniyya, see Lewicki, *Źródła*, who associates the Rāhdāniyya mostly with trade in cloth). Kmietowicz, also places the Rādhāniyya "most probably in France, though they were equally connected with Spain." He derives the term for this trading diaspora from *raeda/rheda*, the name for a type of vehicle, > *veredarius* "messenger, courier, traveling merchant." The Rūs, according to Pritsak, were near Rodez: *Rutenicis* < Celto-Latin *Ruteni/Ruti* > Middle French *Rusi*, Middle Germ. *Rūzzi* (the source of Finnic *Routsi*). Unlike the Rādhāniyya, Pritsak argues, who as Jews enjoyed religious neutrality in the Mediterranean, the Rusi were obliged to seek a northern point of entry into Eastern Europe and the Baltic zone. They integrated themselves into the Frisian-Scandinavian world and by the late 8th century, developed a "Danish" type "society of nomads of the sea." Ryurik was the Frisian Danish king Rørik. The Slavic and "Rhos" (Scandinavian) languages noted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus were simply two of the *linguae francae* used by this trading diaspora (Pritsak, *Origin*). While it might be noted that neither of the two passages make any reference to the slave trade, Khazaria, as is well-known from the Arabic geographical literature, was a major source of slaves entering the eastern Islamic world and the Rūs were deeply involved in this trade.

The evidence is highly circumstantial at best. Given the complexities of their conjectured origins, it may, nonetheless, not be amiss to view the Rūs at this stage of their development, as they began to penetrate Eastern Europe, not as an ethnos, in the strict sense of the term, for this could shift as new ethnic elements were added, but rather as a commercial and political organisation. The term was certainly associated with maritime and riverine traders and merchant-mercenaries/pirates of "Ṣaḳāliba" stock (Northern and Eastern European, Scandinavian, Slavic and Finnic).

The Rūs Ḳaghanate

We have already noted that the *Annales Bertiniani* refer to the Rus' ruler as *Chacanus*. This is the Turkic title *Ḳaghan* "emperor". Kievan Rus' tradition, although overwhelmed by Byzantine models, occasionally made use of the title in literature of the Christian age: e.g. the references to "our ḳaghan Vladimir" (*kagan nash Vladimir*) and "our ḳaghan Georgii" (Yaroslav) in the mid-11th century religio-ideological tract "The sermon on Law and Grace" [*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*] of Metropolitan Ilarion (see *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*) and the application of this title to several figures in the Igor' Tale (*Slovo o polku igoreve*). There is also the graffito in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev which reads "O Lord, save our ḳaghan" (*spasi gospodi kagana nashego*, Vīsotskiy). The Islamic geographers, based on traditions stemming from the 3rd/9th century, mention the *khāḳān rūs* (Ibn Rusta/*rūs-khāḳān* (*Ḥudūd*)/*khāḳān-i rūs* (Gardīzī, in Gardīzī/Barthold; *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*). This title could only have come to the Rus', or more likely one grouping of them, through intimate contact (i.e. a marital tie) with one of the ruling, charismatic steppe dynasties. In all likelihood, this was the Khazar royal line. Such a tie is perhaps hinted at in the *Islendingabóc* with its references to "Yngve the King of the Turks" (see discussion in Golden, *The question of the*

Rus' Qağanate). The location of this Rūs ḳaghanate has been and remains the source of much speculation. Equally unclear are the inception point and ultimate fate of this polity. Pritsak, *Origin*, suggests that the Rūs ḳaghanate was founded by a Khazar ruler who fled to the Rus' *ca.* 830-40. He places the ḳaghanate in the Rostov-Yaroslav region of the Upper Volga. Smirnov, was of the opinion that it appeared only briefly, *ca.* 830, and was soon destroyed by the migration of the Ugro-Turkic tribal confederation that became the Hungarians in Danubian Europe. Since the latter were already on the Don by 838, cutting off the Rhos embassy from its return route from Constantinople and forcing its diversion to the Frankish lands, this would appear to have been a very short-lived political phenomenon. On the other hand, the sacral ruler described by Ibn Faḍlān in 309/921-2 (see below) certainly possessed many of the attributes of a holy Turkic Ḳaghan. The memory of this institution, in any event, endured into the Christian era of Rūs history, as we have seen, and could be summoned for ideological purposes.

The location of the Rūs lands

The tradition represented by Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and others (cf. al-Maḳdisī, *Mudjmal*, Marwazī; al-Ḳazwīnī; Ibn Iyās, in Seippel; al-Bākuwī, see also discussion in Zakhoder, place the Rūs on an island of three days' journey in width in a lake (or a sea). It is densely wooded, damp, soggy and possessing foul, unhealthy air. Gardīzī (or rather his sources), followed by al-Maḳdisī, puts the island's population at 100,000. Ibn Iyās and al-Bākuwī comment that the island is a "fortress" that protects them from their enemies. Some scholars are inclined to place this island in the north. Novgorod, it might be remembered, in Scandinavian tradition was termed *Hólmgarðr* "Island-Garth" (Barthold, *Arab. izvest.*; Novosel'tsev). Other suggestions include Aldeigjuborg, North-east Rus', Kiev, Tmutorokan' and the Taman peninsula (see literature in Golden, *Question*). Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārakshāh, simply notes that they live on islands. This, however, may refer to a later time period. For example, al-Dimashḳī, says that they have islands in the "Sea of Māyuṭas" (text has the corrupted form "Mānīṭas" = Maeotis, the Sea of Azov). Al-Nuwayrī, terms the Black Sea the "Sea of the Rūs", adding that the Rūs "inhabit the islands in it". Al-Masʿūdī, who is uncertain of the geography involved and is perhaps referring to the situation in his day, comments regarding the Rūs who raided Spain that they "reach their country from a gulf (*khalīdj* "bay" ? "canal"?) which meets the Sea of Uḳyānus, (but) not through the gulf in which are the bronze lighthouses. In my opinion—but God knows best—this gulf is connected to the Sea of Māyuṭas and Bunṭas and this people is the Rūs..." A more northerly orientation can be assumed from Ibn Ḥawḳal's comment that the honey, wax and beaver furs brought to the Islamic world from Khazaria actually come from the region around Rūs and Bulghār. Indeed, some of the prized fur animals are only found "in these northern rivers which are near Bulghār, Rūs and Kūyāba" (see below). Al-Idrīsī, gives us some idea of the distances involved, informing us that "from Bulghār to the first border of Rūs is 10 days' journey. From Bulghār to Kūyāba it is about 20 days' journey." The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd*, probably reporting the situation close to his own time (372/982) places the Rūs territory west of the "mountains of the Pečenegs." To its south is the river Rūtā (? Dūnā?), to the west are the Ṣaḳāliba and in the north are the "Uninhabited Lands." In contrast to the forbidding depiction of the island of the Rūs, the *Ḥudūd* views the Rūs habitat as "extremely favoured by nature with regard to all the necessities (of life)." Indeed, Ibn Rusta, seemingly contradicting his remarks about the Rus' island but obviously referring to a different grouping of Rūs and perhaps conflating earlier and later traditions, notes that they have many towns. The "island" theme, in any event, most probably referred to only one grouping of Rūs.

By the late 9th century, there were three urban-territorial units associated with the Rus'. The *Ḥudūd*, following the tradition also found in al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal (a mélange of these and other traditions are also recorded in al-Idrīsī), notes three subdivisions of the Rūs, each based on an urban centre: (1) *Kūyābā* (= Kiev, cf. the קייוב [Qiyōḇ] of the 10th century Khazar Kievan letter, Golb and Pritsak, the Κίοβα/Κίαβα noted by Const. Porph., who mentions that the city is also called Σαμβατάς, the meaning of which is unclear (Pritsak, *op. cit.*, 44, derives this term from Balkan Latin *sambata* "Saturday", the principal market day. He further suggests that Kiev is based on the name of the Khazarian vizierial family of Khʷārazmian origin Kūya (< **kaoya* "peculiar to the Iranian sacred ruling dynasty Kaway + *-āwa*"). This form arose in the late 9th century), and the *Cuiewa* of Western sources (Thietmar of Merseburg). Old Norse knew it as *Kœnugarðr* "Boat-Garth". This is the southernmost of the Rūs lands ("nearest to the Islamic lands"). It is also closest to and bigger than Bulghār. A Rūs king resides in Kūyābā. (2) *Ṣalāwiyya* (*Ṣalāba* in the *Ḥudūd*). Barely commented on by al-Iṣṭakhrī (who says that it is the farthest from them) and Ibn Ḥawḳal, the *Ḥudūd* remarks that it is a "pleasant town from which, whenever peace reigns, they go for trade to the districts of Bulghār." Only Ibn Ḥawḳal notes the presence of a king in it. Al-Idrīsī says that it is on the top of a mountain. The Ṣalāwiyya are clearly the Slovene of the Lake Il'men region and Novgorod. The latter was actually founded *ca.* 930, the earlier "Novgorod" is perhaps to be identified with the "Ryurikovo gorodishče", to the south which contains some Scandinavian finds (Clarke and Ambrosiani). It continued to have a strong trade orientation towards the Finno-Ugric forest peoples, competing here with Volga Bulgharia up to the Mongol conquest. (3) *Arthāniyya* (< *Rothania ? Ruthenia ?) whose city is *Ārthā*(*n*) (*Ḥudūd*: ارتاب *ʾrtāb*, recte ارثان was noted for its secretiveness and inhospitality (killing all strangers who enter). Yet they actively engaged in trade bringing their goods to the outside world. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, they exported black sable, black fox, beaver pelts, lead and mercury (see also al-Idrīsī, 917-18). The *Ḥudūd* also ascribes to them the production of "very valuable blades and swords which can be bent in two, but as soon as the hand is removed they return to their former state." Al-Idrīsī locates it four days' travel from both Kūyāba and Ṣalāwa. Arthān(iyya) is probably to be located near the Volga or in the Volga-Oka mesopotamia (hence some efforts have been made to identify them with one or another Finno-Ugric people, cf. Swoboda). It might be noted in this connection that Arabo-Jewish documents refer to the Volga as *Arthā* and the furs imported from there were termed *arthī* (Goitein). It is unclear which, if any, of these centres may be identified with the Rūs Ḳaghanate.

Al-Idrīsī gives the names of a large number of cities in "Rūsiyya" and its immediate environs: Lūbasha (Lyubeč), Zāḳa (Sakov), Sklāhī, Ghalīsiyya (Galicia, Halič), Snūblī, Turūbī (Turov), Barazlāw

(Pereyaslavl'), Qnw (Kanev ?), ʾIskī, Mūlsa, Kāw (on the Danābrus/Dnieper = Kiev ?), Brzūla, Usiyya, Brāsānsa, Lūdjgha, Armn, Mrtūrī, at the mouth of the river Danast/Dnestr (some of these are discussed in Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle Księgi Rogera geografa arabskiego z xii w. al-Idrīsī'ego*, and Beylis.

Relations with neighbours

The Islamic sources paint a picture of largely bellicose relations with their neighbours. The *Ḥudūd* reports that "they war with all the infidels who live round them, and come out victorious." Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and al-Maḳdisī, note the Ṣaḳāliba as the principal victims. The Rūs come by boat, capture them and send them off to the slave markets of Khazarān and Bulghār. They also take their foodstuffs since they have no cultivated fields of their own. Gardīzī adds that many Ṣaḳāliba agree to take service with the Rūs, working as servants (confirmed by the *Ḥudūd, loc. cit.*: "among them lives a group of Slavs who serve them"). It has often been assumed that these were the Ṣaḳlabī servants who functioned as translators for the Rūs merchants who came to Baghdād noted in Ibn Khurradādhbih (see above). How these translators acquired Arabic, if this was, in fact, the language to which they translated, is unclear. Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb remarks that the commerce of the Ṣaḳāliba "frequently comes by land and sea to the Rūs and Constantinople." The Ṣaḳāliba in question here are probably the Western Slavs. That same author, 5, reports that the Rūs also attack the Pruss (Burūs), crossing over to attack them in ships "from the West." These would appear to be Rūs operating in the Baltic. Prior to the 10th century Rūs and Ṣaḳāliba were to be found in the Khazar military service and as the servants of the Khāḳān, living in the Khazar capital. The Khazar judiciary made provisions for its ethnically variegated subject population. There were seven judges, two each for the Jews, Muslims and Christians and "one for the Ṣaḳāliba and Rūs who render judgment according to pagan judicial principles (*bi-hukm al-djāhiliyya*), the judgment of reason" (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*; al-Iṣṭakhrī). Al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, mentions groups of Rūs, who like the Armenians, Bulgarians (Burghar) and Pečenegs, had entered the Byzantine military service. By the late 10th century, Rūs contingents, whose assistance, unlike the free-lance mercenaries already found in Byzantine service, had been requested by Constantinople, were used to suppress domestic rebellions in Anatolia (see below). Rūs-Pečeneg relations (the Pečenegs entered the Pontic steppe, driving out the Proto-Hungarian tribal union in the late 3rd/end of the 9th-beginning of the 10th century) were very complex. In 915, the first of a number of Rus'-Pečeneg "peaces" were arranged, but by 920, Igor' had launched a campaign against the nomads. Thereafter, the periods of hostility largely overshadowed the periods of more pacific interaction. As a consequence, Ibn Ḥawḳal's statement, that the Pečenegs are the "fighting power" (*shawka*) of the Rūs and their allies (*aḥlāf*)" seems quite remarkable, as does also his statement (see above) that Rūs and Pečeneg ships attacked Spain. Minorsky, *Kuda ezdili*, suggested a very different sense of this passage, translating *shawka* as "thorn" and emending *aḥlāf* to *akhlāf* "opponents." This seems closer to the general tenor of Rus'-Pečeneg relations. Although the Pečenegs had ceased to be a threat to the Kievan state and had largely been driven into the Byzantine borderlands by the Rūs and Ḳîpčaḳs by his day, al-Idrīsī made note of the warfare of these nomads on Rus' and Byzantium. He also was aware of the internecine strife that had become increasingly characteristic of Rus' domestic politics, commenting that the Rūs "have wars and constant dissension with their own kind (*maʿa djinsihim*) and with lands that are close to them" (904, 960). Allusions to similar problems may be seen in the statement of the *Mudjmal* that "they do not favour one another." Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī, however, using notices that go back to an earlier era, stress their unity, cf. Ibn Rusta: "if a people (*ṭāʾifa*) goes to war against them, they all go on campaign. They are not disunited, but are as one hand against their foes until they defeat them." He also comments that they are less fearless in combat when fighting on foot rather than from ships, their favoured mode of warfare. These two authors also note their use of "swords of Solomon" (*al-suyūf al-sulaymāniyya*), which were similar to "Frankish" blades, but less ornate. They appear to have been produced in the land of Salmān in Khurāsān (see Lewicki, *Źródła*).

Government

We have already noted the reports of the Muslim geographers regarding the Rūs Ḳaghan. Of our written sources, it is only Ibn Faḍlān, however, who appears to have actually encountered Rūs in Volga Bulgharia, during his sojourn there in 309/921-2. It is from him that we gain a detailed description of a Rūs ruler. It is not made clear if this ruler was the Ḳaghan; our source merely refers to him as the "king." According to Ibn Faḍlān, he resides in a castle, surrounded by his retinue of 400 select warriors who die when he dies. Each of them has a slave-girl to serve them. The king sits on a jewel-encrusted throne (al-Ḥanafī, in Seippel, *Fontes*, calls it a golden throne) along with 40 slave-girls, with whom he sometimes has public sexual intercourse. The king does not normally step down from the throne, even for the performance of natural functions. If he leaves the throne, his feet are not permitted to touch the ground. A horse is brought up to the throne and he mounts upon it from there. In addition, "he has a deputy who commands the armies, attacks the enemy and stands in his place before his subjects." This is clearly a description of a sacral king, in many respects similar to that of the Khazar Ḳaghanate (except for the sexual licentiousness), with its holy Ḳaghan and the *Shad/beg/yilig* who ran the actual affairs of government. If this notice is not a contamination from the notice on the Khazar Ḳaghan which immediately follows it in the text, it may be viewed as a significant piece of evidence in support of the thesis of the Khazar origins of the Rūs Ḳaghanate. Ibn Faḍlān, however, never refers to the Rūs ruler as "khāḳān." This special retinue or comitatus (perhaps the body referred to as "one group of them who practise chivalry" in the *Ḥudūd*), may be a variant of the Scandinavian *hirð* (Rus'. *grid'* "warrior, princely bodyguard", Fasmer; Jones).

The *Ḥudūd* remarks that a tithe is taken on their "booty and commercial profits." Gardīzī, however, states that their king collects this tax from merchants. Legal disputes are first brought to the "khāḳān" who renders a decision (Ibn Rusta; Gardīzī, see also al-Maḳdisī). If one of the disputants disagrees with the verdict, the king orders that they engage in a ceremonial sword fight. Whoever has the sharper sword and succeeds in chipping the blade of the other is declared the winner. Ibn Rusta adds, however, that "their companions come and stand armed. The two fight and whosoever of the two is more powerful than the other becomes the arbiter in his case as he

wishes." A later report, from the 8th/14th century author Nadjm ad-Dīn al-Ḥarrānī (in Seippel, *Fontes*), states that "they do not obey a king or any law (*sharīʿa*)." There is a very distinct tradition found in al-Marwazī which is repeated and slightly mangled in ʿAwfī. The former remarks that the Rūs king is called Walādimīr (*bi-walādimīr*). In ʿAwfī this was transformed into "Būlādhmīr" (Kawerau; Barthold, *Novoe musul'manskoe izvestiye o russkikh*). This, of course, is a reference to Volodimir/Vladimir I (972-1015), who brought about the conversion of Rus' to Orthodox Christianity. Curiously, Ibn Khurradādhbih, who gives the titles of the various rulers of interest or importance (including those of the Ṣaḳāliba), makes no mention of the Rūs ruler.

Economy

The initial picture presented is that of mobile, urban-based traders/raiders. Ibn Rusta reports that the Rūs "possess no real estate property (*ʿaḳār*), nor villages, nor cultivated lands." He subsequently notes, however, that they have many towns. Rather than engaging in agrarian pursuits, "their profession is trade (*tidjāra*) in sable, grey squirrel and other such furs which they sell to purchasers. They take the value of the goods in gold and fasten it to their belts." This strong mercantile emphasis is noted by the other Muslim authors, who universally speak of their involvement in extensive trading relations with their immediate neighbours, the Khazar empire and Volga Bulgharia (through which their goods reached the Islamic lands), Byzantium, Spain and Central Europe (al-Iṣṭakhrī; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*). Ibrāhīm b. Yaḳūb reports that Rūs and Ṣaḳāliba traders come to "Farāgha [Prague] from Karākū' [Kraków]" for trade. Kiev's importance as a major commercial centre continued and is reflected in later Muslim sources. Thus al-Idrīsī comments that Muslim merchants from Armenia come to Kiev. This finds confirmation in contemporary Georgian sources (e.g. the journey of the "great merchant Zankan Zorababeli" of T'bilisi who was sent off to Rūs on a diplomatic-marital mission *ca.* 1184 "by relays of horses", *K'art'lis ts'khovreba*), using an already well-established route. The importance of this region for trade with the Islamic world would appear to be supported by considerable numismatic evidence (Islamic dirhams first begin to surface in what became Russia and the Baltic region *ca.* 800; on this see Noonan, *Why dirhams first reached Russia: the role of Arab-Khazar relations in the development of the earliest Islamic trade with Eastern Europe*). The volume of this trade seems to have exceeded that of their commercial relations with Byzantium. Although Sawyer (*Kings*, 123-6) cautions that the presence of these dirhams does not necessarily constitute evidence of a great volume of trade, nor need they have reached these areas solely by trade, Ibn Faḍlān (see below) gives direct evidence of goods being exchanged for Islamic coins. The Rūs, it may be concluded, at least in the early stages of their history, were largely merchant middlemen and on occasion pirates. They produced nothing of their own, but raided, extorted/collected tribute or traded for furs and other commodities of the Northern forest zone which they then brought to the Mediterranean or the Islamo-Central Asian world either directly or through yet other middlemen, Volga Bulgharia or Khazaria. However it was obtained, the volume of Islamic coinage entering Rus' declined in the late 10th century and had largely stopped by 1015. The causes of this change, much debated, remain unclear. Local sources of precious metals were not unknown. Thus, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*) mentions silver mines in Rūs territory more or less equal to the silver sources in the Pandjhīr mountains in Khurāsān.

Personal appearance and clothing

Ibn Rusta describes the Rūs as possessed of "long bodies, a (good) visage and fearlessness." Our sources (Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī) stress their personal neatness; some are clean-shaven, others braid or plait their beard. Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal attribute this personal fastidiousness to their mercantile pursuits. Ibn Rusta further remarks that they treat their slaves well. This, too, could be viewed as an indication of a higher cultural level. Their clothing is made of linen (Gardīzī) and they wear arm bands/bracelets of gold. Their trousers, according to Ibn Rusta and the *Ḥudūd*, are made out of 100 cubits of (cotton) fabric, which they gather in at the knee and fasten there. They also wear "woollen bonnets with tails let down behind their necks" (*Ḥudūd*). Al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal report that they wear short coats. Ibn Faḍlān, however, who remarks that they are as tall as date palms, blond and ruddy, says that they do not wear short coats or caftans but a *kisā'* (a cloak, see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 476). He goes on to note that each of them carries an axe, a sword and a knife from which they are never parted. Their women are bedecked with various gold and silver ornaments in displays of ostentation commensurate with their husband's wealth.

Customs and religion

Our sources are impressed with the spirit of independence and enterprise inculcated among the Rūs from birth. Ibn Rusta, followed by Gardīzī, al-Maḳdisī and the *Mudjmal*, reports that "when a baby boy is born to one of them, he sets before the baby boy a drawn sword and places it between his hands and says to him 'I leave you no goods as inheritance. You have nothing except what you may acquire for yourself by this, your sword.'" Marwazī (in Kawerau) adds that the daughter receives her father's inheritance, while the son is given a sword and told "your father acquired his wealth by the sword, imitate and follow him." This same sense of rugged individualism was reflected in their treatment of the ill. Ibn Faḍlān remarks that "when one of them falls ill, they pitch a tent for him, in a secluded place away from them, and they cast him away there. They place with him quantities of bread and water" and leave him alone until he either recovers or dies. Transgressors were dealt with harshly. Thieves, this same source informs us, were hung by the neck from stout trees until dead and then left to rot.

This same author was quick to note their human frailties. He appears to contradict, at least in part, the report of their personal neatness noted above, declaring them the "dirtiest of God's creations" because of their lack of personal hygiene. To this failing were added inordinate suspicion and covetousness. Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī report as an example, in this regard, that they go out to perform their natural functions only when accompanied by several friends to stand guard. Otherwise, a man on his own would be killed. So great is their distrust and perfidy that if one acquires even a little wealth "his brothers and friends who are with him crave it, try to kill him and dispossess him of it" (Ibn Rusta). How much of this is accurate and how much travellers' tall tales highlighting the greed of the "barbarian" is difficult to gauge. It is highly doubtful, however, that the Rus' could have been as effective a commercial and

military force as they were, given such a state of *bellum omnium*. Ibn Faḍlān was also shocked by their lack of modesty (engaging in sexual intercourse with their slave-girls while their friends looked on).

This same source has much to say about their beliefs. When ships arrive, he reports, they each come out bearing bread, meat, onions, milk and wine. They proceed to a long piece of wood planted in the ground on which has been carved the face of a man. It is surrounded by smaller idols and other long pieces of wood planted into the ground. They prostrate themselves before the large image, which they address as "Lord" and announce what goods they have brought. They conclude their devotions by saying "I want you to provide me with a merchant who has many dīnārs and dirhams, who will buy from me everything that I want him to buy, and he will not contradict me in what I say." If business is good, more offerings are made. In especially good circumstances, sheep and cattle are slaughtered, much of which are consumed, at night, by dogs. Ibn Faḍlān, occasionally adopting a mocking tone and anxious to display their ignorance to his readers, reports that nonetheless, he who made the offering says "my lord is satisfied with me and has eaten my gift".

According to the tradition preserved in the accounts of Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī, their shamans or "medicine men" (*aṭibbāʾ/ṭabībān*), enjoyed a very high status. They could pass judgment on the king and govern them. They could select as sacrifice to their gods whomsoever they pleased, human and animal. These unfortunates were hung by the neck until dead. The commandments of their "medicine men" must be carried out (Ibn Rusta; Gardīzī). We have relatively brief descriptions of their funerary customs in Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and the *Ḥudūd*. Ibn Rusta reports that "when one of their important people (*d̲j̲alīl minhum*) dies, they dig him a grave, like a spacious house, and place him in it. Together with him, they place his personal clothing (*t̲h̲iyāb badanihi*), gold bracelets which he wore, much food, vessels with drink and gold money also. They bury with him in the grave the wife that he loved (best). She, after this (sc. his burial) is still alive. They seal up the door of the grave and she dies there." Al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, also note that they cremate their dead, together with their wife or slave-girl, horses and finery. Al-Masʿūdī further adds that "when the wife dies, the husband is not cremated. If one of the unmarried men dies, he is married after his demise, and the women request that they be cremated (with him) so that they may, according to their own thinking, enter among the souls of paradise." Ibn Faḍlān, however, provides us with one of the most extraordinary, ethnographically detailed depictions of the funeral of a Rūs chief. The customs were related and explained to him on a number of occasions ("they told me of the things they did with their chiefs at their death, the least of which is cremation"). He also appears to have witnessed one such spectacular funeral. The deceased was placed in a grave over which a roof was erected. He remained there for 10 days while new clothing was fashioned for him. When a great man dies they ask his household "who of you will die with him?" Those who answer in the affirmative are duty-bound to fulfill this commitment. The majority of those who agreed to do so were slave-girls. One of the slave-girls was then given this honour. The deceased was to be taken out of his grave and placed in a special structure on a boat which was taken out of the river and mounted on a kind of wooden holding frame. The corpse, because of the cold was remarkably well-preserved. An old woman called the "angel of death," was now put in charge. The deceased was placed in the special structure. Food (bread, meat, onions) was placed before him. A dog was sacrificed, cut in half and thrown on the boat. Two cows were also sacrificed (as well as other animals). The slave-girl who was to die with her master then had sexual intercourse with her master's relatives or boon companions and she was given copious amounts of wine so that she became dull-witted (*taballadat*). The men outside began to strike their shields with wooden sticks in order to drown her cries as she was strangled. A close relative of the deceased man, completely naked, set fire to the wood under the boat. The sacrificed slave-girl was placed beside her master. In response to Ibn Faḍlān's questions, one of the Rūs explains their views: "You Arabs are stupid. You take the most loved and distinguished among you and dump them in the earth. The earth consumes them (as do also) insects and worms. But we cremate them in fire, in the flick of an eye, and he enters Paradise immediately." A small burial mound was then set up on the site in which the boat was burned. A large piece of *k̲h̲adang* wood was placed on the spot and the deceased's name was written on it as well as that of the king of the Rūs. This *k̲h̲adang* wood was especially associated with the Rūs lands (see Ṭūsī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-mak̲h̲lūkāt*). The corpses of slaves were simply abandoned to dogs and birds of prey.

Although Art̲h̲a/Art̲h̲āniyya was famous for its inhospitality to strangers, killing all outsiders who came to it (al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī and al-Ḥarrānī), the other areas of Rūs' were not. Ibn Rusta says that they were generous to their visitors. They were ferocious, however, in exacting revenge (*Mud̲j̲mal*).

The Rūs Caspian raids and the fall of K̲h̲azaria

It was undoubtedly the lucrative trade routes of the Volga that first drew the Rūs to Eastern Europe. The Rūs both traded with and raided the Islamic lands. As early as the era of the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. Zayd (250-70/864-84 [*q.v.*]), leader of the Zaydī S̲h̲īʿī principality in Ṭabaristān, the Rūs attempted to raid the region. A second raid took place in 297/909-10, aimed at Ābaskūn [*q.v.*]. A third raid took place in 299/911-12 and a fourth one, according to al-Masʿūdī "sometime after 300/312" (Dorn, Aliev, Minorsky; slightly different dates in Barthold and Pritsak). At the outset of this last raid the Rūs in return for being allowed passage through K̲h̲azar lands in order to raid the Caspian coasts, offered half of the spoils to the K̲h̲azar ruler. The raid caused much devastation, especially in the regions of Bard̲h̲aʿa, al-Rān, Baylakān, Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, S̲h̲irwān and the city of Bākuh. The Rūs then returned to the Volga estuary. Here they were attacked, apparently with the acquiescence of the K̲h̲azar ruler, by K̲h̲azar Muslims (the Ursiyya and others), as well as some Christians, desirous of revenge. According to al-Masʿūdī, those that escaped were finished off by the Burṭās and Volga Bulg̲h̲ars. An even more ferocious eruption of the Rūs into the Caspian Islamic lands took place in 332/943-4. In that year Bard̲h̲aʿa [*q.v.*] was again a target. It was taken and the Rūs settled in, showing every intention of remaining for some time, but remained there only for some months. The K̲h̲azar-Byzantine entente by this time had come to an end. The Rūs now figured prominently in actions that were overtly hostile to K̲h̲azaria. According to the "Schechter" document, when the K̲h̲azar ruler Joseph, responding to Byzantine persecutions of Jews under the emperor Romanus I (920-44), "did away with many Christians" in his realm, Romanus retaliated by inciting "Helgu

[הלגו/Oleg, see above], king of Rusia" against Khazaria. "Helgu" was forced to flee by sea where he and his men perished. The Letter of the Khazar ruler, Joseph, to Ḥasday b. Shaprut, the Jewish courtier of the Spanish Umayyads, reports, *ca.* 960, that the Khazars were continually at war with the Rūs. "If I left them (in peace) for one hour, they would destroy the entire land of the Ishmaelites up to Bagdad" (Kokovtsov). The main confrontation appears to have taken place in 354/965. The immediate causes for the Rūs assaults on Khazaria are not elucidated in our sources. Given the ongoing hostilities reported in the Letter of Joseph, however, Byzantine involvement in inciting revolts within the Khazar sphere of influence, the Rūs attempts to gain unrestricted passage through the Khazar-controlled Volga route to the Caspian, these may be easily conjectured. Khazaria was a fading power. The Rūs formed an alliance with the Oghuz Turks and together they advanced on Khazaria. The Primary Chronicle has a very laconic notice reporting only that in 6473/965 the Rūs ruler, Svyatoslav (d. 972) attacked the Khazars and "took their city and Bela Veža" (= Sarkel, a *var. lect.* says only that Bela Veža was captured). Al-Muḳaddasī reports two accounts that he "heard." According to the first, Khazaria was attacked by al-Ma'mūn of Djurdjān who captured the Khazar ruler. He subsequently heard that "an army from Rūm, called Rūs, conquered them and took possession of their land." Miskawayh writes that in 354/965 "news came to the effect that the Turks had invaded the territory of the Khazars. The latter invoked the aid of the people of Khwārazm, who declined saying: You are Jews; if you want us to help you, you must become Muslims. They all adopted Islam in consequence with the exception of their king." Ibn al-Athīr has, basically, the same report, adding, however, that after the Khwārazmians drove off the Turks (the Oghuz), the Khazar ruler converted to Islam as well (see Golden, *The migrations of the Oğuz*, 77-80). Ibn Ḥawḳal, who learned of these events in 358/968-9, paints a picture of large-scale devastation. The dating of the events described in Ibn Ḥawḳal has been the subject of some debate, some scholars placing them in 358/968-969, the year in which our source first heard of the Rūs raid (Kalinina, *Svedeniya Ibn Khaukalya o pokhodakh Rusi vremeni Svyatoslava*, who, following Marquart and Barthold, *Arab. izvest.*, does not believe that Volga Bulgharia was affected by the raids). There is no reason, however, to doubt Ibn Ḥawḳal, who had first-hand information. In addition, the Rūs and their Oghuz allies followed a similar pattern 20 years later, in 985, when they attacked Volga Bulgharia, the first in boats, the second by land (*PSRL*, i, 84). A distant echo of these events is found in al-Idrīsī, writing in the mid-6th/12th century, who says of the Rūs who neighbour "on the land of the Unkariyya (Hungarians) and Maḳadhuniyya; they have at present, at the time that we were writing this book, conquered the Burṭās, the Bulghār and Khazars, taken away control of their lands and nothing remains of these people except the name in (their former) lands." This, of course, is inaccurate for his day since the Burṭās and Volga Bulghars were still very much on the scene.

There are references to Rūs activities in Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband found in the *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb*. In 377/987, the *amīr* Maymūn called in the Rūs to help him against local chiefs. The Rūs came with 18 ships but uncertain of their reception, sent only one in to reconnoitre the situation. When these men were massacred by the local population, the Rūs went on to Masḳaṭ, which they looted. Rūs professional soldiers appear to have already been on the scene. Thus in 379/989, this same Maymūn is reported to have refused the demand of the Gīlānī preacher, Mūsā al-Ṭūzī, to turn over his Rūs ghulāms to him for either conversion to Islam or death. Maymūn's attempt to have a counterbalance (Rūs ghulāms) to the local population ultimately failed, for he was driven from the city and forced to surrender the ghulāms (Minorsky, *Sharvān*). He returned in 382/992. In 421/1030, the Rūs raided the Shirwān region, but were then induced, with "much money," to aid the ruler of Gandja, Mūsā b. Faḍl, in suppressing a revolt in Baylaḳān. "The Rūs then quitted Arrān for Rūm and thence proceeded to their own country" (see *ibid.*). One of the variant mss. of this source (see idem, *Studies in Caucasian history*), using only the Top Kapı ms. 2951 of Müneddjim-Bashī's *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*, which contains extracts from the *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb*, says that in 422/November 1031, the Rūs "came a second time and Mūsā set forth and fought them near Bakūya. He killed a large number of their warriors and expelled them from his dominions." This was followed in 423/1032 by a Rūs raid into Shirwān, joined now by the Alans and Sarīr. They were defeated, in 424/1033, by local Muslims who "wrought great havoc" among them (Minorsky, *Studies*, and idem, *Sharvān*). It is unclear to which Rūs grouping these raiders may have belonged. Pritsak, *Origin*, suggests that they operated out of a base near the Terek estuary and had their principal home in Tmutorokan'. He also conjectures that shortly thereafter, the Rūs, operating in the Caspian, may have provided some military assistance to the Oghuz in a power struggle in Khwārazm. Khāḳānī tells of a Rūs raid *ca.* 569/1173 or 570/1174. These Rūs appear to have been Volga pirates who came in 73 ships. At the same time, although it is unclear if their actions were coordinated, the Ḳïpčaḳs [*q.v.*] attacked Darband and went on to take Shābarān as well. The Shirwānshāh, Akhsitan/Aghsartan I turned to the Georgian king, Giorgi III (d. 1184), for aid. Together they defeated both the Rūs and the Ḳïpčaḳs. The Georgian sources, however, only mention attacks of the Khazars of Darband. Completely anachronistic, of course, is the tale of Alexander's wars against the Rūs found in Niẓāmī's *Iskandar-nāma*. The Rūs king, called Ḳnṭāl, is presented as the ruler of the Burṭās, Khazars, Alans and (W)īsū (Vepsi).

Later sources offer little new historical or ethnogeographical information regarding the Rūs, being largely compilations based on the earlier sources. We have a brief description of the Mongol conquest of Rus' in Djuwaynī, lacking in specific details. Other sources, e.g. Djūzdjānī, merely note them in passing.

There are occasional references to the "Rūs", here designating the Russians/Muscovites, in later Ottoman-Ṣafawid era Islamic sources, e.g. *kanāz Iwān* (Russ. *knyaz' Ivan* = Ivan IV "the Terrible"), mentioned in a discussion of Russo-Crimean Tatar relations s.a. 980/1572-3, in Hasan Rūmlū, 584-5. The Crimean Tatars had raided and burned Moscow in 1571, but another raid the following year was repulsed. Ottoman materials for the history of the later Eastern Slavic peoples have been relatively little investigated (cf. Ewliyā Čelebī's comments on the *Rūs-i menḥūs* "inauspicious Rūs" Ukrainian Cossacks).

The conversion of the Rūs

The Islamic and Arabic-writing Christian authors provide useful data on the conversion of the Rūs to

Orthodox Christianity. In 987, the Byzantine emperor Basil II (976-1025) was faced with the revolts of Bardas Sclerus and Bardas Phocas. The latter, having double-crossed Sclerus, with whom he briefly joined forces, proclaimed himself emperor on 17 Djumādā 377/14 Aylūl 1298/14 September 987, as we are informed by Yaḥyā of Antioch (d. *ca.* 1066). Basil, now desperate, sent to the Rūs, "even though they were enemies," for assistance. The Rūs ruler, Volodimir/Vladimir, agreed to send troops in return for a marital alliance. He was to marry Basil's sister. Volodimir also agreed to convert to Orthodoxy and, with him, his people, who were without any religion or religious law. Basil subsequently sent him a metropolitan and bishops. When the wedding arrangements were settled, the Rūs troops were sent and they helped to put down the revolt. Essentially similar accounts are given by Abu Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī [*q.v.*] (d. 1095), al-Makīn, al-Dimashkī and Ibn al-Athīr (see Rozen and Kawerau; Ibn al-Athīr dates these events to 375/985-6). Some of the 6,000 Rūs troops sent to aid Basil remained in Byzantine service, forming the nucleus of the famous "Varangian Guard" (see V.G. Vasil'evskiy). The Rus' tradition relates only that Volodimir, who had long been considering the adoption of a monotheistic religion and had examined Islam, Judaism and Christianity, was already inclining towards the latter in its Orthodox form. Islam he rejected because of its prohibition on alcohol, remarking that "for Rus', drinking is a joy, we cannot exist without it" (*PSRL*, i, 84 ff.). In 988 he marched on Byzantine Crimea, taking Chersones/Korsun'. With this he now forced Basil and his brother Constantine into a marital tie. Their sister Anna was sent to Volodimir, who in return agreed to convert himself and his people to Orthodoxy (*PSRL*, i, 109 ff.). The two accounts do not necessarily contradict each other. Volodimir may well have used his excursion to the Crimea to insure that he received his Byzantine princess.

Another Islamic tradition, however, depicts the Rūs as first converting to Christianity and somewhat later to Islam. Marwazī, who mentions that their ruler is called *Walādimīr* (see above) relates that after they "entered Christendom," their new faith "sheathed their swords" and prevented them from acquiring wealth by their customary means (warfare). They were reduced to poverty. They were then drawn to Islam, which allowed them to engage in holy war. They dispatched an embassy, consisting of four relatives of the king, to Khwārazm. The Khwārazmshāh sent an Islamic scholar to instruct them and they converted to Islam (Kawerau, also found in ʿAwfī/Barthold, placing this event in 300/912).

Writing systems

Ibn Faḍlān speaks of wooden grave markers on which the Rūs inscribed the name of the deceased and that of the Rūs king. Similarly, al-Nadīm writes that one of his informants "believes that they have writing inscribed in wood, and he showed me a piece of white wood with an inscription on it." This may perhaps be a reference to writing on birchwood bark, well known in later Kievan Rus'. The Byzantine missionary Constantine (Cyril), before his famous mission to the Slavs of "Moravia" journeyed, *ca.* 860, to the Khazar empire. According to the *Vita Constantini*, in the Khersonese he found a Psalter and book of the Gospel written in the Rus' or Rush script (*ros'kī [rous'kīmi, roushkimi] pismenī pisano*). He also encountered someone who spoke this language and found that he could understand him. Indeed, he quickly began to read and speak this tongue (Grivec *et al.*; Istrin). Since, Constantine/Cyril was bilingual, in Greek and Slavic, it could only have been the latter tongue, whose writing system he was able to assimilate so quickly. Needless to say, there is much debate over the significance and indeed historicity of this passage. The existence of calendrical and other types of markings among the Eastern Slavs by the 2nd-4th centuries A.D. is posited by some Russian scholars (Rîbakov). The use of a "proto-Cyrillic" alphabet based on Greek, which was already employed in Danubian Bulgaria, is also suggested for Pre-Christian Rus' (Istrin). The oldest Cyrillic monument dates to 863 (from Preslav, Bulgaria). The earliest writings in Cyrillic in Rus' are dated to the early 10th century. There is still some debate over whether Constantine/Cyril invented the "Glagolitic" alphabet, itself perhaps derived from a Greek or Cyrillic base, but quite different in appearance from "Cyrillic", or the script that now bears his name.

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(P.B. Golden)

AL-RUṢĀFA, the name of several places in the Islamic world, from Cordova in the west to Nīshāpūr in the east (see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 46-50).

Amongst the Ruṣāfa settlements of ʿIrāḳ were:

1. Ruṣāfat Abi 'l-ʿAbbās (ʿAbd Allāh al-Saffāḥ), begun by the first ʿAbbāsid caliph in lower ʿIrāḳ on the banks of the Euphrates, near al-Anbār [*q.v.*], and probably identical with that town called al-Hāshimiyya.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 237, tr. Wiet, 9; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 46.

2. al-Ruṣāfa, the name of a quarter of the city of Baghdād [*q.v.*] founded soon after the caliph al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] built his Round City.

The quarter of al-Ruṣāfa (whose name refers to the paved, embanked causeway across the swampy ground enclosed by the bend of the Tigris within which the quarter was laid out) was, according to the historical accounts, built by al-Manṣūr on the eastern banks of the river, opposite the palace of al-Khuld and the Round City, for his son and heir al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] when the latter returned from Rayy in northern Persia in Shawwāl 151/October-November 768. It combined a palace complex, with protective rampart and moat, and an army encampment with a review ground (*maydān* [*q.v.*]) and with various estates granted out as *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* to members of the ʿAbbāsid family and to the great military commanders (see Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 249, 251, tr. 31-2, 35-6). From this last function as a military centre, it was originally known as ʿAskar al-Mahdī. Al-Ṭabarī (iii, 365-7, tr. H. Kennedy, *Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī*, Albany 1990, 56-9) plausibly explains that the caliph wished to separate his Arab supporting forces by the river which divided the two sides of Baghdād, so that if one section of the army rebelled, he could call upon the forces on the opposite bank.

The building of al-Ruṣāfa took seven years, and was not completed till 159/776, by which time al-Mahdī had (in 159/775) succeeded to the throne. The new quarter was connected to the western side of Baghdād by a bridge of boats, *al-Djisr*, whose obvious strategic importance was such that each end was guarded by a police post of the *shurṭa* [*q.v.*]. Lassner has suggested that al-Manṣūr began the construction in al-Ruṣāfa of a palace complex of such splendour in order to buttress his son's right to succeed to the caliphate against his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*], thereby asserting al-Mahdī's claims.

As caliph, al-Mahdī made al-Ruṣāfa his official

residence, but towards the end of his reign preferred to spend much of his time at a new palace and pleasure ground, that of ʿĪsābādh, also on the eastern side of the city but away from al-Ruṣāfa. His successors Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amīn [*q.vv.*] chose, however, to reside at al-Khuld on the western side; and eventually, al-Muʿtaṣim [*q.v.*] moved his seat to the new military centre of Sāmarrā [*q.v.*] some 100 km/60 miles upstream from Baghdād.

The foundation of al-Ruṣāfa was the starting-point for the expansion of Baghdād into such suburbs as Shammāsiyya to its north-east and Mukharrim to its south; in later times, the tombs of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs were located along the river bank above al-Ruṣāfa.

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3. In Syria.

This place, distinguished as Ruṣāfat Hishām, Ruṣāfat al-Shām, is now a ruinous site 30 km/19 miles to the south of the Euphrates in a depression near the Djabal Bishrī, on the ancient desert route from Ḥimṣ-Salamiya to al-Raḳḳa or al-Raḥba, containing the pilgrimage place of the "Arab" Saint Sergius, martyred here in the early 4th century, after which it was officially named Sergiupolis in Byzantine times. Archaeological excavations have shown it to be a Roman site, which in the 6th century was embellished with four churches inside the impressive rectangular city walls; among them, the basilica of the Holy Cross, founded in 559 and housing the relics, shows by inscriptions a continuous building tradition until the 12th century. Also inside the city walls, three large cisterns and an ingenious system of supply and distribution of the spring rain water remained famous throughout mediaeval sources. It seems to be referred to in the *K. al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*: "It had been a Byzantine city of ancient foundation with cisterns and a 'water way' (*ṭarīḳ li 'l-māʾ*) from the margins of the desert" (in *Fragmenta*, 101). Outside the north gate a church or *praetorium* (?) is connected to the Ghassānid prince al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith (569-82) by an inscription, and literary sources point to the presence of the Ghassanids as well: al-Nuʿmān b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ayham is mentioned as a governor there, and is said to have repaired the cisterns destroyed by a Lakhmid and to have constructed a large new one (Yāḳūt, ii, 955, 784 (according to the *Akhbār mulūk Ghassān*); Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh*, Berlin 1340/1921-2, 79 (and quoted by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, i, 114), as well as Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Mukhtaṣar*, Cairo 1325, i, 73, only mention the restoration).

Al-Aṣmaʿī mentions, besides the B. Djafna of Ghassān, the B. Ḥanīfa (of Bakr b. Wāʾil, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 156; Kaḥḥāla, *Ḳabāʾil*, i, 312-13) as inhabitants (quoted by al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, i, 441); it is he who gives a further name of this, *Ruṣāfa al-Zawrāʾ* (compare Bakrī with Yāḳūt, ii, 784, 955; Musil, *Palmyrena*, 267; the "Byzantine" name for al-Ruṣāfa, Ḳ.ṭāmīlā, supposed by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, i, 113, remains unexplained, cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 218, B.ṭ. lāmiyā, 35 *mīls* from it?). Earlier, the city was within the region of the Tanūkh (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 145; I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, Washington 1984, 405, 465), and—after them?—of the Taghlib (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2072; Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg*, Wiesbaden 1982, 131). This may have led to the occasional attribution of al-Ruṣāfa to Diyār Muḍar (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2219). In the ʿAbbāsid period, it came under the control of the B. Khafādja b. ʿAmr, a branch of the (North Arabian) ʿUḳayl (al-Aṣmaʿī, in Yāḳūt, ii, 284; Caskel, ii, 338; Kaḥḥāla, *Ḳabāʾil*, i, 351); al-Bakrī alone connects this Ruṣāfa with a verse by al-Akhnas b. Shihāb al-Taghlibī on the extended animal-hunting of the (South Arabian) B. Bahrāʾ (? *sharak*[un] *lāḥib*[un], 56; Yāḳūt, ii, 782). Ibn al-ʿAdīm mentions some B. Ṣāliḥ of Hāshim here at the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (*Bughya*, iii, 1467-8, vii, 3446).

Administratively, al-Ruṣāfa belonged to Ḳinnasrīn or Aleppo in Umayyad and later ʿAbbāsid times (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, i, 113-14), under Hārūn al-Rashīd it was added to the *ʿawāṣim* province (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 111), but some transmitters were uncertain about its district (*Ruṣāfat al-Raḳḳa*, even *al-Ruṣāfa in the Djazīra*, Ibn al-ʿAdīm, v, 2103 with correction; Ibn ʿAsākir, iv, 259; Ibn Khurradādhbih mentions it twice, apparently with its closer neighbours, 74, and together with Bālis in the *ʿawāṣim*, 75). From Zangid until Mamlūk times it seems to have mostly been known as a Christian suburb or in the district of Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar, which was also called Kālōnīkōs/ Kallinikos—in this way a remark by Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, ed. Budge, 120, tr. [2]111, could be understood: "Hishām died in Ruṣāfa of Kallinikos" (cf. *ibid.* tr. [2]218; *Syriac Chronicle, ad a.* 1234, i, 215), and it would fit the reading of an Arabic inscription on the silver goblet from the Ruṣāfa treasury suggested by R. Degen, "This is what Zayn al-Dār, daughter of *ustādh* Abū Durra, bestowed to the church of the protected Ḳalʿat Djaʿba[r]," probably meaning al-Ruṣāfa (before 1243, in Ulbert, *Resafa*, iii, 72; for Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar as a district (*aʿmāl*), cf. Ibn al-Dawādārī, vii, 283, year 624/1227).

Nothing is reported on the Islamic conquest of al-Ruṣāfa, and the sources rather convey the impression of its lying in ruins until the building activities of Hishām (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, i, 113). But it is mentioned as being on the march of the Ḳaysī Djaḥḥāf b. Ḥakīm from the Djazīra against the B. Taghlib with their poet al-Akhṭal and their "day" at Djabal Bishrī in 73/692-3 (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 329; *Aghānī*, Būlāḳ, xi, 59; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, i, 431 ff.; *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo, ix, 4); and also, before 724, a Bishop Abraham of al-Ruṣāfa is documented (Degen 70-1, quoting Wright, *Cat. of Syriac mss.*, ii, 796 ff.).

The main information on al-Ruṣāfa in Muslim sources pertains to the caliph Hishām (105-24/724-43), whose residence it became at least in summer and who was buried there. While these sources unanimously locate the residence in or next to this al-Ruṣāfa (e.g. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, Cairo 1342/1924, 332-3), some modern authors have doubted this and identified it with the ruins of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī [*q.v.*] (Sauvaget, *Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades*, in *JA* [1939], 1-13). This theory was finally rejected by O. Grabar (*City in the desert*, 1978, 1-2, 31). It is not very easy to recognise the original tradition within the several additions transmitted by the historians; the news of the death of his predecessor and the regalia were brought to Hishām at al-Zaytūna, where he possessed a small dwelling (*duwayra*), and he then rode from al-Ruṣāfa to Damascus (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1467); perhaps because of the unexplained leap, later sources locate either the transmission of the news and the regalia to al-Ruṣāfa (*al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*, 82; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Mukhtaṣar*, Cairo 1325, i, 203) or from al-Zaytūna to al-Ruṣāfa (Yāḳūt, ii, 784). While O. Grabar still thinks of an identification of al-Zaytūna with Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-

Sharkī (*City in the desert*, 13-14), a hint by Ibn Buṭlān [*q.v.*] possibly gives the clue to understanding the sequence of residences: Hishām was fleeing from the mosquitoes on the banks of the Euphrates to al-Ruṣāfa (in Yāḳūt, ii, 785)—this fits the surroundings of the straitened dimensions of his princely residence al-Zaytūna, perhaps in the vicinity of his further possessions near al-Raḳḳa. Another often-embellished story mentions him avoiding the Syrian cities in favour of al-Ruṣāfa because of the plague; like other Umayyads, he fled to the desert (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1737; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, i, 113-14).

Hishām is reported to have reconstructed al-Ruṣāfa and erected two castles there (*ḳaṣrayn*, al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1738; *al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*, 101; Ibn Buṭlān, *ibid.*). Whether their descriptions as possessing a pool and olive yard (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1813) or as being luxurious constructions with floral paintings (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, vii, 3044: *maṣāniʿ* here evidently not meaning the cisterns, as in *ibid.*, i, 113) go back to eye witnesses or are literary *topoi*, cannot be decided. Brief archaeological soundings and a survey showed several large Umayyad structures to the south of the city (Otto-Dorn, Ulbert, Sack). The court of Hishām was magnificent, and must have shown Persian traditions in several respects (cf. the analysis by R. Hamilton, *Walīd and his friends*, Oxford 1988, *passim*). Whoever was interested in Persian topics among the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs would also refer to accounts of Hishām's court (e.g. al-Manṣūr, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 412; al-Masʿūdī, iv, 47-8, 133-4 = §§ 2234, 2379). Even translations from the Persian seem to have originated from Hishām's secretaries in al-Ruṣāfa, Sālim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān or ʿAbd Allāh and his son Djabala (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1750, 1649-50; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 106, 113; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ix, 4143; M. Grignaschi, in *BEO*, xix [1967] 12-13, 24-5, 51-2). The Arab tradition at his court was upheld by the poets (see, besides the famous competition by al-Farazdaḳ, Djarīr and al-Akhṭal, descriptions by Ismāʿīl b. Yasār al-Nasāʾī, in *Aghānī*, iv, 125; Khālid b. Ṣafwān al-Ahtam, in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, vii, 3044; Abu 'l-Nadjm, in *Aghānī*, ix, 78 ff., Ibn al-ʿAdīm, x, 4640). And in one respect he tried to surpass pre-Islamic customs: he himself built the greatest hippodrome (*ḥalba*) for 3,000 horses here, six bowshots long (*Aghānī*, x, 64; al-Masʿūdī, iv, 41 = § 2219; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, vi, 2858). Also, the biographies of traditionists at his court contain material on al-Ruṣāfa, most famous among them being al-Zuhrī (*GAS*, i, 280-3), Abū Manīʿ ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Ziyād and his grandson Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, v, 2100 ff.; al-Samʿānī, vi, 135; Ibn ʿAsākir, x, 669-70, iv, 259-60), Khuṣayf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān or Ibn Yazīd al-Ḥarrānī (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, vii, esp. 3265-6). Out of Hishām's family, his son Sulaymān stayed in al-Ruṣāfa until his defeat by Marwān II (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1908).

Hishām's tomb and body were desecrated under the first ʿAbbāsid (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2498-9; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 427-8). The town had an ʿAbbāsid governor in 137/754 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 94-5); but apart from occasional visits of a caliph, only one event is mentioned, the sack by the Carmathians at the end of 289/December 902, when the mosque, adjoining the cathedral, was burnt and the ʿAbbāsid defender Sabk al-Daylamī killed (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2219; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ii, 946: better, Shibl al-Daylamī; cf. the excavations by D. Sack).

Eyewitnesses are few, and are repeatedly quoted in geographical sources: al-Aṣmaʿī, who mentions merchants, rich and poor, travelling abroad and employing local Bedouins (*ʿarab*), a small *sūḳ* with ten shops and textile manufacturing (Yāḳūt, ii, 284-5; still in al-Idrīsī, ed. Rome, 649, Ibn al-ʿAdīm, i, 113-14, and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 594, without any contemporary observations). Apart from the cisterns and the walls the city is especially famous for its Christian buildings, figuring in the mentioning of its *dayr*, listed separately by al-Bakrī, Yāḳūt, and al-Ḥimyarī. This gave rise to several *topoi* and anecdotes of nostalgia of the Umayyads and of the monasteries, which do not seem to correspond with reality, as already noticed by Musil (*Palmyrena*, 268; cf. the story connected to the visit of al-Mutawakkil in 244/858, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1436; al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ* (Beirut 1975), 253; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, i, 114, quoting the *K. al-Diyārāt* by al-Shimshāṭī; for the cliché of the monastery, see L. Conrad, in *The quest for understanding*, ed. S. Seikaly *et alii*, Beirut 1991, 271-2). Only the Christian Ibn Buṭlān was interested in the great church, of which he describes the external gold mosaic in 440/1048-9 (cited in Yāḳūt, ii, 785). Judaeo-Arabic inscriptions in one building, dated 1102 and 1127, prove the presence of a Jewish community there (A. Caquot, in *Syria*, xxxii [1955], 70-4).

Ibn Shaddād gives an account of the end of habitation in al-Ruṣāfa, added to a long quotation from Ibn al-ʿAdīm (ed. A.-M. Terrasse-Eddé, 394, tr. 21-2): the Mongols had spared the inhabitants on their march in 658/1260, and after the Mamlūk reconquest, a governor was left there until 668/1269-70, when the inhabitants left for Salamiya, Ḥamāt and other places, apparently because of the destruction, which is also archaeologically evident. Since then, the site has been deserted.

Bibliography: For the pre-Islamic and Christian history, see Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, s.v. *Sergiupolis*, Honigmann in *EI*[1], and, especially, the excavation publications edited by Th. Ulbert, *Resafa*, i (1984 ff.), with detailed references; especially R. Degen, *ibid.* iii (1991), 65-76; D. Sack, *Die Große Moschee von Resafa/Ruṣāfat Hišām*, *ibid.* iv, with a ch. by B. Kellner-Heinkele on the sources (in course of publication); K. Otto-Dorn, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii (1957), 119-33. All Arabic text quotations from the standard editions (except where indicated), Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1408/1988; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, facs. of the ms. Ẓāhiriyya, Damascus, *s.a.*; ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *K. al-Taʾrīkh*, Madrid 1991, 133-5; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra*, ed. A.-M. Eddé-Terrasse, in *BEO*, xxxii-xxxiii, 394-393 [*sic*], tr. eadem, Damascus 1984, 19-22; Musil, *Palmyrena*, New York 1928, index; see also HISHĀM and ḲALʿAT DJAʿBAR.

(C.-P. HAASE)

4. In Muslim Spain.

Munyat al-Ruṣāfa, in Spanish Arrizafa, Arruzafa, is the name of the country residence founded by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (138-72/756-88 [*q.v.*]) to the north-west of Cordova and to which he gave the name of the Ruṣāfa in Syria (see 3. above) founded by his grandfather Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

The first Umayyad *amīr* of al-Andalus purchased lands which had belonged to a Berber chief of Ṭāriḳ's army, Razīn al-Burnusī, and built there a palace (*ḳaṣr*) and gardens. The Arabic sources class the Cordovan Ruṣāfa amongst the three most important constructions of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I's reign (the other two being the Grand Mosque and the palace of Cordova). The *amīr* enjoyed living there very much and spent most of his time there. In the course of his residence at al-Ruṣāfa, he ordered the execution of three rebels: his nephew al-Mughīra b. al-Walīd, Wahb Allāh b.

Maymūn and ᶜAyshūn b. Sulaymān al-Aᶜrābī. Their corpses were dragged as far as Cordova and gibbeted on the banks of the Guadalquivir. In his reign, it became, in some measure, the seat of power, since at the time of his death, his son Hishām, who happened to be at Mérida, hastened to arrive there before his brother Sulaymān (who was at Toledo and who was disputing with him the right of succession).

Moreover, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān I made the gardens at al-Ruṣāfa the first botanical gardens in the history of al-Andalus. He had planted in his grounds exotic plants, mainly brought from Syria, to which he sent envoys to contact his sisters. The most famous of these fruits imported from the East was the so-called *safarī* pomegranate, whose name is connected with Safr b. ᶜUbayd al-Kilāᶜī, from the *djund* of al-Urdunn. The latter is said to have cultivated this variety of pomegranate in the region of Rayya [*q.v.*], whence it was spread throughout al-Andalus. The origin of the date-palm groves in the Iberian Peninsula is equally attributed, with no real basis in truth, by some Arabic authors to a palm tree at al-Ruṣāfa. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān I's successors continued the tradition of periods of residence at al-Ruṣāfa. It was probably in the reign of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52 [*q.v.*]) that the poet ᶜAbbās b. Firnās tried, at al-Ruṣāfa, to imitate the flight of birds, dressed in a garment of silk covered with feathers and bearing wings. But above all, it was the *amīr* Muḥammad (238-73/852-86), known for his zeal as a builder, who enlarged and improved the buildings and the gardens of this residence, where he loved to take rest and where he organised hunting parties. The *amīr* transferred from Cordova to al-Ruṣāfa accompanied by his entourage of chamberlains and eunuchs, and thus surrounded by all the splendour of the Umayyad court. He charged his *wazīr* Hāshim b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz with the construction of a new *madjlis* at al-Ruṣāfa and provided him with 10,000 dīnārs for this. However, the *wazīr* had the *madjlis* built at his own expense. When the work of building was finished, Hāshim gave back to the *amīr* his 10,000 dīnārs and, as a further gesture, prepared for him a sumptuous banquet. The first Umayyad caliph, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāsir (300-50/912-61 [*q.v.*]), had accompanied, whilst he was still young, his grandfather the *amīr* ᶜAbd Allāh during his pleasure sessions at al-Ruṣāfa. But his preferred country residence was the *munyat al-Nāᶜūra*. During his reign, al-Ruṣāfa is mentioned as a residence for important visitors, such as the North African chief Ayyūb b. Abī Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād al-Īfranī in 335/946. Al-Nāṣir's son and successor al-Mustanṣir (350-66/962-76) preferred above all the *munyat Arḥā' Nāṣiḥ*.

Between the residential palace complex and the city of Cordova there developped a suburb (*rabaḍ*), equally called al-Ruṣāfa, and the *nisba* from this was borne by some Cordovan scholars, such as the father of al-Ḥumaydī [*q.v.*]. It was there that al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ᶜĀmir, al-Mustanṣir's *ḥādjib*, had his palace built, which he later abandoned for *al-munya al-ᶜāmiriyya*, whose exact location is controversial. With the arrival of Berber troop contingents during the rule of al-Manṣūr, the suburb of al-Ruṣāfa became the residence of the Banū Māksan b. Zīrī and the Banū Zāwī b. Zīrī, whose houses were destroyed in the course of the troubles during the first reign of Muḥammad al-Mahdī. Like the other northern suburbs of Cordova, that of al-Ruṣāfa suffered the consequences of the *fitna* and its name disappears from the Arabic sources after the 4th/10th century.

As for the *munyat al-Ruṣāfa*, it was first of all despoiled by al-Mahdī in 400/1009 during his second reign. The caliph used the contents of the palace, like those of the *munyat al-Nāᶜūra* and the royal palace in Cordova, in order to pay his troops and to support the costs of the fight against the rival army of the Berbers on which his rival Sulaymān al-Mustaᶜīn depended. In the following year, and in order to ward off the Berber advance, al-Ruṣāfa was totally destroyed on the orders of Wāḍiḥ, the military chief of Cordova. He even had the trees in the famous gardens cut down, but shortly afterwards he realised the uselessness of his action from the point of view of the defence of Cordova. Only the name of the Umayyad princes' residence survived. After the Christian conquest, in 633/1236, the land involved was bestowed on the counts of Hornachuelos. Later, a monastery was established on the site.

The Ruṣāfa of Cordova early became a favoured subject of the court poets. Some very famous verses on its solitary palm tree are attributed to the founder, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān I (according to other version, its author is said to have been ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Bishr b. ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān). A poem of ᶜAbbās b. Firnās on al-Ruṣāfa, reproduced by Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], describes at length its buildings, streams, plants, birds, etc. After its destruction, Ruṣāfa became, like Cordova, a poetic subject for the expression of nostalgia for departed splendours (texts of Ibn Zaydūn and Ibn Burd, given by Ibn Bassām, Ibn Khāḳān and al-Maḳḳarī; this same Ibn Zaydūn mentions the existence of a garden of marguerites, *rawḍ al-ukḥuwān*). In Almohad times, poets still gathered before the site of al-Ruṣāfa in order to drink and to recite poetry. The poem of al-Ḳāsim b. ᶜAbbūd al-Riyāḥī develops the theme of *ubi sunt*.

The second al-Ruṣāfa in al-Andalus was situated at Valencia, between the town and the sea (the place-name is still preserved under the form Ruzafa, a quarter of the modern town). There is no information on the foundation of this Valencian Ruṣāfa. E. Lévi-Provençal was the first to suggest the name of the Umayyad prince ᶜAbd Allāh al-Balansī, son of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān I, as its possible founder, at the same time warning of the lack of documentary evidence. This hypothesis has nevertheless been commonly accepted by Spanish and Arab scholars. The Arabic sources stress above all the beauty of the grounds of al-Ruṣāfa, considered as the most attractive pleasure-ground in the vicinity of Valencia (together with the *munya* of Ibn Abī ᶜĀmir). The poet Muḥammad b. Ghālib al-Ruṣāfī (d. 572/1177) was originally from there and devoted some poems to it. In 480/1087, Castilian troops commanded by Alvar Fáñez, giving aid to the prince al-Ḳādir, installed themselves at al-Ruṣāfa. It was likewise there that king James I of Aragon encamped with his army, besieged the town and conquered it in 636/1238. Like its Cordovan homonym, this Ruṣāfa became a literary subject in the poetical or rhymed prose texts written on the occasion of the loss of Valencia (texts of Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn ᶜAmīra preserved by al-Ḥimyarī and al-Maḳḳarī).

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AL-**RUṢĀFĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ghālib, al-Balansī, Hispano-Arabic poet born at al-Ruṣāfa near Valencia, died in 572/1177.

Information on his life is very sparse. In his youth he left his native land, which he hymns in several poems suffused with nostalgia (*Dīwān*, no. 56 and, especially, no. 21). In 555/1160 he went, with several other poets, to Gibraltar in order to welcome and greet the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Mu'min [*q.v.*], before whom he recited a long poem (no. 24), celebrating him as the restorer of orthodoxy. According to al-Marrākushī, al-Ruṣāfī was still not twenty years old at that point, which would place the date of his birth around 536/1140-1. On this reckoning, he must have died before the age of forty, a piece of information which one might have thought would have attracted the attention of the Arabic biographers, who are nevertheless silent on this question. This poem, like others dedicated to the Almohad rulers and notables, appears to have assured his career as a panegyrist of the new dynasty. However, al-Ruṣāfī prefered to live away from the court, for reasons which he explains (*Dīwān*, no. 23), and to make a living by practising his trade.

This trade of mending clothes (*raffā'*) and his living far away from Valencia led him to compare himself with al-Sarī al-Raffā' [*q.v.*] of Mawṣil (*Dīwān*, no. 48), whilst the Hispano-Arabic anthologists compare him, on the basis of his descriptions, with Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*]. He is the continuator of the poetic school of Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*], sharing with Ibn Khafādja his independence with regard to authority, his taste for the classical form of the *ḳaṣīda* in face of the popular forms like the *muwashshaḥ* and the *zadjal* and the enthusiasm with which he hailed a new dynasty.

The *Dīwān* of al-Ruṣāfī, which was in circulation according to Ibn al-Abbār, is now lost. The one published by Ihsān ʿAbbās in 1960, using the historical and literary sources, remains incomplete. There should be added to it the poems in the *Iḥāṭa* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*] (Cairo 1974, ii, 505-15) and in the *Ta'rīkh Mālaḳa* of Ibn ʿAskar [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Others may come to light, as has happened with the publication of the anthology of Ibn Bushrā (A. Jones, *The ʿUddat al-jalīs of ʿAlī ibn Bishrī. An anthology of Andalusian Arabic* Muwashshaḥāt, Cambridge 1992, 95-6).

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AL-**RUṢĀFĪ, MAʿRŪF** [see MAʿRŪF AL-RUṢĀFĪ].

RUSČUK, an administrative district and a port on the Danube in Bulgaria (often wrongly called and written as Rushčuk), officially in Bulgarian Ruse (Русе). It is situated at the confluence of the Rusenski Lom (Tk. Ḳara Lom) and the Danube, which then reaches a width of 1,300 m/4,264 feet. It faces the Rumanian port of Giurgiu (Tk. Yer Köki) and spreads out along terraces of loess, above the level of flooding. It is the main port on the Danube and the fourth largest town of Bulgaria, being a rail and road hub (Bridge of Friendship over the river, built in 1954), as well as an industrial and cultural centre with a population of 200,000.

After the decay of the mediaeval Červen some 15 miles inland, which survived as the name of a Bulgarian eparchy and the ruins of which could still be seen in the 17th century (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, tr. J. von Hammer, Vienna 1812, 44), the new Ruse arose on the Danube half-a-day's journey away. The Turkish name Rusčuk, by which the town is still almost exclusively known outside of Bulgaria, is undoubtedly a diminutive from Ruse (Ruse = Rusčuḳ; cf. the name of the island of Rhodes, Turk. Rodos and Rodos-čiḳ for Rodosto), but only seems to have come into being in the first third of the 17th century. In the two treaties concluded between the Porte and Hungary on 20 August 1503 (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 331-2, and the text on 618: *Rwcz* = Ruse) and 1 April 1519 (cf. Theiner, *Monumenta Hungarica*, ii, 624: *Kusly* for *Russy*) and in Mercator's map of 1584 the Bulgarian form still appears. The town must have already attained considerable prosperity in the 16th century. It quickly developed under Turkish rule and became an important centre of traffic, trade, industry and strategy in Danubian Bulgaria and surpassed the two fortified towns of Nicopolis [see NĪKBŪLĪ] and Silistria which played the leading part there at the beginning of Ottoman rule (cf. A. Iširkov, *Bulgarien, Land und Leute*, Leipzig 1917, ii, 102-3). The French traveller Pierre Lescalopier, who reached Rusčuk on 14 June 1576, in his valuable journal, which has only been published in part, describes *Rusci* as a populous town: *ceste ville est peuplé et y a quantité de marchandise de toutes sortes et des vivres en abondance et à bon pritz* (cf. *Revue de l'Histoire diplomatique*, xxxv [Paris 1921], 46). Shortly before, the famous Ottoman architect Sinān [*q.v.*] built a mosque there for the Grand Vizier Rustem Pasha [*q.v.*], still admired in the 17th century, presumably in the north at the water's edge. The figure given for the population, as for the mosques, varies; of the latter, Rusčuk had at one time a considerable number. The Franciscan Peter Bogdan

Bakšić, later Archbishop of Sofia, in 1640 found in *Ruhcich* 3,000 Turkish houses with 15,000 inhabitants and 10 mosques of stone (*fatte die pietra bianca*), and 200 Armenian houses with over 1,000 inhabitants and a citadel with five towers (cf. Eug. Fermendžin, *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica* = vol. xviii of the *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, Zagreb 1887, 74). In 1659 Filip Stanoslavov counted 6,000 Turkish wooden houses with over 30 mosques (*ibid.*, 263; cf. also 7, 10, 26, 31, 88, 137, 299 [*Russi o Ruhcich*: 1685], 300 with further particulars). Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥet-nāme*, iii, 313-14; cf. the Bulgarian tr. by D.G. Gadžanov, in *Periodičesko spisanie na bălgarskoto kniževno družestvo v' Sofija*, lxx, Plovdiv 1909, 654-5) about the same time mentions 2,200 houses of wood, also three Christian quarters, the mosque of Rustem Pas̲h̲a, baths and three caravanserais in "Urusčuḳ". The only Jews, he says, were those who visited the place on their trading journeys. The people, whom he praises for their hospitality, lived by commerce and spoke Bulgarian as well as the "language of Wallachia and Moldavia". Ewliyā Čelebi says the melon (*ḳawun*) there was particularly good, 10 being sold for 1 *pen(e)z* (5 of which = 1 Vienna groschen or 3 kreuzers, 150 = 1 taler).

Rusčuk is regularly mentioned in the many records of travel on the Danube in the following centuries. References to the town in the 18th and first half of the 19th century are in general agreement. The inhabitants seem at all times to have conducted a busy trade in wool, cotton, silk, leather and tobacco, which at an earlier period was for a considerable part in the hands of Ragusan merchants, who had a settlement there from 1673 to 1755. The English clergyman R. Walsh (1827) estimated the population at 18-20,000 souls. The streets of the town, which was surrounded by walls on three sides after the manner of Turkish fortresses, as a rule sloped steeply to the Danube, which was partly undefended. Turks, Greeks, Bulgars and Armenians lived in some 7,000 houses and conducted a busy trade with Turkey (cf. R. Walsh, *Narrative of a journey from Constantinople to England*[2], London 1828, 207). Helmuth von Moltke who visited Rusčuk in 1835 and described it (cf. *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*[3], Berlin 1877, 11 ff., 132 ff., 424 ff.), was surprised that "this important Turkish fortress with its long, dominated and enfiladed lines without outer works, half armed and defectively planned" could offer the enemy such resistance.

As an important frontier fortress, Rusčuk was a military prize in the Russo-Turkish wars. Besieged in 1773, it was the site of a great battle on 4 July 1811. The fortunes of war favoured the Turks, led by the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a, after which the Russians, commanded by Kutusov, constructed fortifications and fell back on to the other bank of the Danube after having reduced the town to cinders. During the Crimean War, Rusčuk served as the base for a diversionary manœuvre aimed at threatening Bucarest. During the War of 1877-8, Ottoman forces commanded by Ḳayṣerili Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a had to surrender the town and its fortress to the Russians on 21 February 1878 after a long siege. Rusčuk was important in the history of the reform movement in the Ottoman empire. After the deposition of Selīm III [*q.v.*] (29 May 1807), the officers of the Niẓām-i D̲j̲edīd [*q.v.*] regrouped there around Muṣṭafā Bayraḳdār [*q.v.*] and launched the counter-revolution there which swept away Muṣṭafā IV. It was the seat of a *sand̲j̲aḳ bey*, and sometimes of a *pas̲h̲a* (*ca.* 1840, when Danubian Bulgaria was divided into three *pas̲h̲alïḳs*: Rusčuk, Vidin and Silistre); in 1864 the town became the administrative centre of the new *wilāyet* of the Danube (*Ṭūna wilāyeti*), whose first governor was the reformer Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. Under his impulsion, it enjoyed an early process of Westernisation: urban reform, development of the docks, the first railway link (Rusčuk-Varna, 1866), the beginnings of industrialisation, the first hospital, etc.. A provincial printing press was set up, which published the bilingual newspaper *Tuna-Dunav* (14 March 1865-1 September 1877) and an annual *sālnāme* (*Ṭūna wilāyeti sālnāmesi*) which allows one to see the extent of these reforms.

Rusčuk was the birthplace of the Grand Vizier Čelebi-zāde S̲h̲erīf Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a (d. 1205/1791), of the *kātib* Amānī Čelebi (d. 1000/1591 according to von Hammer, *GOD*, iii, 83), and of the famous Ottoman author Aḥmed S̲h̲erīf Ḥasan Midḥat Bey (1841-1912, cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 389-90), not forgetting the novelist of Sephardic Jewish origin and writer in German, Elias Canetti, the Nobel Prize-winner for literature in 1981.

The post-Ottoman history of Rusčuk, which became officially Ruse, begins in 1878. The Westernisation begun by Midḥat Pas̲h̲a increased in momentum under Bulgarian rule. In accordance with the Treaty of Berlin, the fortifications were partly demolished, an urban plan transformed the main Muslim cemetery into a public garden, and numerous mosques disappeared (Kanitz numbered them at 29 in 1874; there were no more than seven in 1936). The eclectic architectural style of Central Europe triumphed. The Muslim population, despite being socially reduced in status and weakened by the exodus of its elites, nevertheless managed to maintain a certain cultural life. Thus eight journals in Turkish appeared up to 1910, essentially on account of the activity of Aḥmed Zekī. Turkish education remained active, with two secondary schools in 1921-2; from 1952 to 1957 there functioned in Rusčuk the sole Turkish lycée for girls in Bulgaria. After the 1960s, the policy of national assimilation pursued under the régime of Todor Živkov gradually stifled all signs of a specifically cultural and religious life. The town's population, which had risen from 26,000 in 1880 to 49,500 in 1934, grew rapidly with industrialisation, actively promoted by the Communist régime. The former Turkish element of the town disappeared under a massive influx of rural Bulgarians. In 1985 the town had 195,000 inhabitants; nevertheless, the villages of the administrative disitrict of Rusčuk have a 25% Turkish population.

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AL-RUSHĀṬĪ, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. K̲h̲alaf b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Lak̲h̲mī al-Marī al-Andalusī, traditionist and historian of Muslim Spain.

He was born in 466/1074 at Orihuela (Murcia). His *nisba* al-Rus̲h̲āṭī is of Romance origin and refers to a physical characteristic. One of his ancestors had on his body a mole (*s̲h̲āma*) of the type known as "rose" (*warda*) called by the Christians "*rūs̲h̲a*"; the Romance-speaking servant (*k̲h̲ādim ʿad̲j̲amiyya*) who cared for him as a child called him "Rus̲h̲aṭelo", from which the *nisba* of the family derived. When he was six years old, al-Rus̲h̲āṭī's family moved to Almería, where he completed his studies and where later he taught. Having witnessed the conquest of the town by the Almoravids in 484/1091, he himself died a martyr when the Christians conquered Almería in 542/1147. His teachers were the two most famous traditionists of the time, Abū ʿAlī al-G̲h̲assānī (d. 498/1104) and Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī (d. 514/1120), the *muḳriʾ* Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Ak̲h̲ī 'l-Dūs̲h̲ and his maternal uncle Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn Fatḥūn (d. 505/1111), author of a *K. al-Wat̲h̲āʾiḳ*. Al-Rus̲h̲āṭī also obtained the *id̲j̲āza* from Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-K̲h̲awlānī (d. 508-1114), author of a *fahrasa*, and from his famous contemporary Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148 [*q.v.*]). Like many other scholars of his time, al-Rus̲h̲āṭī did not perform the *riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* abroad. His most famous work is the *Iḳtibās al-anwār wa-iltimās al-azhār fī ansāb/asmāʾ al-ṣaḥāba wa-ruwāt al-āt̲h̲ār*, a book praised by Ibn Kat̲h̲īr and one similar in methodology (*uslūb*) to the genealogical work by al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1167 [*q.v.*]). The only extant edition of this most important genealogical tract is the partial text by E. Molina López and J. Bosch-Vilá, restricted to the entries related to al-Andalus. According to Ḥ. al-D̲j̲āsir, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUt̲h̲aymīn is preparing a complete edition of the preserved text. The *Iḳtibās* contained five parts, of which only parts one, three and five have reached us (the mss. are found in Tunis and Ḳarawiyyīn; their description can be found in Molina-Bosch Vilá's and al-D̲j̲āsir's works). Part of the missing contents can be restored by means of the preserved abridgements (a list in Molina, 541-3, and al-D̲j̲āsir, 623-38) written by later authors, among them, Ibn al-K̲h̲arrāṭ al-Is̲h̲bīlī (d. 581/1180) and Mad̲j̲d al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Bilbīsī (d. 802/1399), in whose *talk̲h̲īṣ* he added what Ibn al-At̲h̲īr had added to the *Ansāb* of al-Samʿānī. The parts of Ibn al-K̲h̲arrāṭ's *Ik̲h̲tiṣār* dealing with al-Andalus have been incorporated by Molina-Bosch Vilá into their partial edition of al-Rus̲h̲āṭī; they have also used material from al-Bilbīsī's abridgement.

Al-Rus̲h̲āṭī's other works are the *Kitāb al-Iʿlām bi-mā fī Kitāb al-Muk̲h̲talif wa 'l-muʾtalif li 'l-Dāraḳuṭnī min al-awhām* and a refutation of the famous *mufassir* ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAṭiyya (d. 541-2/1146-7), who had criticised certain passages of his own genealogical work. Although he is remembered as an expert in *ansāb* and *ʿilm al-rid̲j̲āl*, al-Rus̲h̲āṭī also studied grammar, *adab*, *fiḳh* and *ḥadīt̲h̲*. In the last field, he transmitted the *K. ʿUlūm al-ḥadīt̲h̲* by al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī [*q.v.*]. Among his numerous pupils, we find especially traditionists (some with an interest in *ʿilm al-rid̲j̲āl* and history) like Abū Bakr b. Abī D̲j̲amra (d. 599/1202), Abu 'l-Walīd b. al-Dabbāg̲h̲ (d. 546/1151), Ibn Bas̲h̲kuwāl (d. 578/1182 [*q.v.*]), Ibn Ḳurḳūl (d. 569/1173), Ibn Ḥubaysh (d. 584/1188 [*q.v.*]), two authors of *fahāris*, Abū Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh (d. 591/1195) and Ibn K̲h̲ayr (d. 575/1179 [*q.v.*]), as well as the grammarian Ibn Maḍāʾ [*q.v.*].

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(*Fuentes Arábico-Hispanas*, 7); and see the corrections by Sh. al-Faḥḥām in *RAAD*, lxvii (1992), 318-335; Ḥ. al-Djāsir, *Ansāb al-Rushāṭī al-Andalusī wa-mukhtaṣarātu-hu*, in *ibid.*, lxvi (1991), 611-45.

(Maribel Fierro)

RUSTĀḲ, Arabised form of M. Pers. *rōstāg*, meaning "rural district, countryside", and given the broken pl. *rasātīḳ*.

(1) In the mediaeval Islamic usage of the Arabic and Persian geographers and of the Arabic writers on finance and taxation, *rustāḳ* is used both as a specific administrative term and in a more general sense. Thus, reflecting the more exact usage, in Sāsānid and early Islamic ʿIrāḳ, each *kūra* [*q.v.*] or province was divided into *ṭassūdjs* or sub-provinces, and these last were in turn divided into *rustāḳs*, districts or cantons, centred on a *madīna* or town. According to Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, a *ṭassūdj* might contain up to twelve *rustāḳs*, and a *rustāḳ* might contain up to twelve villages (cited in F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 164-7). Al-Muḳaddasī's usage, however, is less neat and formal. Thus the *rasātīḳ* which he gives for the *iḳlīm* [*q.v.*] of Syria are extensive rural districts, such as the six ones of Damascus province (*kūra*): al-Ghūṭa, the Ḥawrān, al-Bathaniyya, al-Djawlān, al-Biḳāʿ and al-Ḥūla (text, 154, Fr. tr. A. Miquel, *Aḥsan at-aqāsīm* ... (*La meilleure répartition* ...), Damascus 1963, 160, cf. also 23 and n. 51). Likewise, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* speaks of *rustāḳs* as administrative subdivisions, but in a vaguer sense (see tr. Minorsky, index at 524).

(2) In wider literary usage, the *rustāḳ/rustā* or countryside may be contrasted with the urban centres, and its populations regarded as country bumpkins compared with the more sophisticated town-dwellers, so that in Persian, *rustā-ṭabʿ* "having a rustic nature" was a contemptuous expression. Thus the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū Saʿīd Mayhanī [*q.v.*] had to be dissuaded from burying himself in the *rūstā*, in this case, the small country town of Mayhana [*q.v.*] in northern Khurāsān; cf. C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 152.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

AL-**RUSTĀḲ**, the name of a town and area in ʿUmān [*q.v.*] which finds no place in the classical Arabic geographies. The town is situated about 112 km/70 miles west, as the crow flies, of the chief town of the Sultanate, Muscat [see MASḲAṬ], on the northern side of the range of al-Djabal al-Akhḍar. The district, according to Lorimer (*Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, Calcutta 1908, IIB, 1603-4), is the region of western Hadjar from al-Ḥazm with all the villages therein.

The word itself is universally defined as Arabised Persian (see the previous article) meaning "village", "market-town", "encampment of tents or huts", "rural area". The Arabic lexica invariably gloss it with the word *sawād* "rural district", "environs of town" (Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ*; *LA*). The town was the centre of the interior during the pre-Islamic Sāsānid period, with Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*] as the port. The massive fort which can still be seen, and was known even in the 20th century as Ḳalʿat Ibn Sharwān (i.e. Anūshīrwān), had, one assumes, a pre-Islamic predecessor, though the present building dates in all probability from the times of the Yaʿāriba (11th-12th/17th-18th centuries). The early and late Yaʿāriba imāms, as well as the Āl Bū Saʿīd imāms [*q.v.*] (also 12th/18th century), regarded al-Rustāḳ as their capital.

The district today comprises 150 villages, including al-Ḥazm, and has an estimated population of 75,000. It is the centre of the Omani date industry and also produces limes, grapes, quinces and mangoes. Al-Rustāḳ has its own research apiary and is a centre for the production of honey in the Sultanate.

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(G.R. Smith)

RUSTAM, the principal hero of the Iranian epic, especially in the version of Firdawsī [*q.v.*].

1. In Iranian legend.

Neither his name nor that of his father Zāl occur in the Avesta. In the *Yashts*, Kərəsāspa (in Persian, Karshāsp or Garshāsp) is the most important heroic figure. Marquart conjectured that originally "Rustam" was no more than an epithet of Kərəsāspa, which only by chance was not attested in the extant Avestan texts. The exploits later attributed to Rustam would be the result of a blend of the legends of Kərəsāspa with historical memories of Gondophares, the ruler of the Indo-Parthian empire in the first century A.D. It is now generally accepted, however, that in the Avestan tradition Zāl and Rustam did not yet belong to the cyle of legends about the Kayanid kings. Some scholars (in particular Nöldeke) assumed that they had their origin in the legends of the original population of Drangiana and Arachosia; others assigned them to the traditions of the Saka people who came to the same lands (later known as Sīstān and Zābulistān) in the late 2nd century B.C. (cf. *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iii, 454-6).

The oldest form of the name known is the Middle Iranian Rōdstahm (in Pahlavi writing, *lwtsthm*), from which the Soghdian *rwstmy* was derived. It is likely that tales about Rustam were given a place already in the *Khwāday-nāmag*, the synthesis of various legendary cycles compiled in the late Sāsānid period. This lost source is reflected in the works of Muslim historians and writers of *adab* works, who already mention a few stories about Rustam, in particular his guardianship of Siyāwakhsh, his combat with Isfandiyār and his death. These stories are, however, far less elaborate than they are in the *Shāh-nāma*. Relatively close to the Persian epic is the chronicle of the kings of Iran by al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*], written in the early 5th/11th century, but also in this source many of the best known adventures are missing. Indications of Rustam's popularity in early Islamic times are the occurrence of his name in the 1st/7th century, both as that of a Sāsānid general and of Christian monks in Mesopotamia (cf. Nöldeke, 11). Fragments of his legends are to be found in the work of the Armenian Moses of Khoren (7th or 8th century A.D.) and in a Soghdian manuscript found at Turfan which relates Rustam's fights with the demon (see *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iii, 457, 1229, with further references).

Only Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* contains a continuous story of the hero. His ancestors were local rulers of Sīstān and Zābulistān, who were vassals to the kings of Iran. Among them Garshāsp and Narīmān are mentioned, but only his grandfather Sām is a figure of some epic content. Rustam's father Zāl, who especially in the Arabic sources is also called Dastān, married Rūdāba (Rūdhāwadh according to al-Thaʿālibī), the daughter of the king of Kābul who was descended from the "dragon-king" Ḍaḥḥāk. This indicates a demonic streak in Rustam. His body, commonly compared to that of an elephant, was already at the time of his birth so enormous that he could only be delivered with the help of the miraculous bird

Sīmurgh. When he grew up, he besought God to reduce his weight so that he could walk without sinking into the ground. In Arabic, a common epithet to his name is *al-shadīd*; in Persian he is called *tahamtan* "the one with the mighty body". Rustam's steed Rakhsh is as formidable among horses as his master is among humans.

His earliest deeds are the killing of a white elephant escaped from his father's stables, and the conquest of the fortress of Sipand in revenge for his great-grandfather Narīmān. The philological evidence points out that these two narratives were later added to Firdawsī's text (cf. *Shāh-nāma*, i, 275-81). With the assignment to bring Kay Ḳubād down from the Alburz mountains, in order to become the king of Iran, begins his service to the Kayanid dynasty. He rescues Kay Kāwūs from the hands of the White Demon in Māzandarān and, another time, from his captivity with the Hamāwarān of Yaman. Conspicuous is his role in the wars with the arch-enemy Afrāsiyāb (Frāsiyāt in Arabic sources) of Tūrān. Major tales in the *Shāh-nāma* with Rustam as a prominent character are the revenge for prince Siyāwakhsh (or Siyāwush), his fight with the demon Akwān, the story of Bīzhan and Manīzha and the duel with his son Suhrāb. The Herculean Seven Deeds (*haft khwān*) of Rustam were in all likelihood copied from similar deeds ascribed to Isfandiyār.

The final episodes tell about a tragic controversy with the last Kayanid kings. According to the version of al-Dīnawarī, the cause of this conflict was Rustam's refusal to accept the new religion which king Gustāshp (Avestan Vistāspa; in Arabic, Bishtāsb or Bishtāsf), the protector of Zarathustra, had embraced. Other sources only mention Rustam's refusal to fulfill the duties of a vassal. Gustāshp sends his son Isfandiyār (Avestan Spəntō.dāta; called Isfandiyādh by al-Dīnawarī) to capture the disobedient Rustam, who kills the prince in a man-to-man fight. Finally, the hero himself falls victim to the treachery of his own brother Shaghād, who lures him into a trap during a hunting-party. In a last effort before he dies, Rustam manages to kill his murderer by a miraculous shot from his bow. Isfandiyār's son Bahman takes revenge on Rustam's family and has his son Farāmurz executed.

Heroes modelled on Rustam appear many times over in Persian epics written after Firdawsī. The characters in those works often bear the names of his ancestors or descendants. In lyrical poetry, comparisons drawn with Rustam are particularly frequent in the panegyrics of Farrukhī [*q.v.*], who himself came from Sīstān and was a near contemporary of Firdawsī. He was also used as an exemplum by mystical poets, notably by Sanāʾī and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.vv.*], especially in the latter's *Dīwān-i Kabīr*.

Bibliography: Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*; J. Marquart, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Ērān*, in *ZDMG*, xlix (1895), 643-4; Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-furs wa-siyarihim*, ed. and tr. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1900; Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*², Berlin-Leipzig 1920, 9-12; A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1931, 130-46 and *passim*; E. Yarshater, *Rustam dar zabān-i sughdī*, in *Mihr*, vii (1331 sh./1952), 406 ff.; M. Molé, *L'épopée iranienne après Firdosi*, in *La Nouvelle Clio*, v (1953), 377-93; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Cairo 1960, 25-6; Dhabīh Allāh Ṣafā, *Ḥamāsa-sarāyī dar Īrān*³, Tehran 1352 sh./1973; C.-H. de Fouchécour, *Une lecture du Livre des Rois de Ferdowsi*, in *St. Ir.*, v (1976), 171-202; *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iii, *passim*, and esp. Yarshater's ch. *Iranian national history*, 373-77, 453-57; M. Perlmann (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, IV. *The Ancient kingdoms*, Albany 1987; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Dj. Khāliḳī-Muṭlaḳ, i-iii, Costa Mesa-New York 1988-93. (J.T.P. de Bruijn)

2. In Islamic art.

The earliest representation of Rustam in Islamic art is probably that in the Edinburgh University Library manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (1306; ms. Arab 20, fol. 6b). He is there represented seated before King Minūčihr, wearing a headcloth and tiger-skin over Mongol clothes, and grasping a mace; he is bearded and has long horizontal moustaches. In the celebrated Demotte *Shāh-nāma* (*ca.* 1330), Rustam wears Mongol dress or armour, but in the 14th century manuscripts of the epic produced at Shīrāz under the Indjūʾid and Muẓaffarid rulers he is once more distinguished by a tiger-skin surcoat, and this convention, once established, persisted throughout Persian painting.

The next stage was the addition of a leopard's head or mask fixed over his helmet, and this originated under the patronage of Iskandar Sulṭān, its earliest appearances being in the British Library *Miscellany* of 1410-11 (Add. 27261, fol. 298b) and a fragment dated to 1413 in the Topkapı Sarayı Library (B. 411, fol. 161b). It seems not unlikely that this very effective addition to the hero's panoply was due to the initiative of the young prince himself; he could easily have seen, or been told of, classical or Hellenistic portrayals of Heracles in the skin of the Nemean lion with its mask on his head.

It took a little time for this complete panoply to be universally established. In Bāysunghur's *Shāh-nāma* of 1430, Rustam always wears an ordinary helmet with his tiger-skin surcoat, but in the copy made a year or two later at Shīrāz for his brother Ibrahīm Sulṭān (Bodleian Library, Ouseley Add. 176) the leopard's head appears in several miniatures. In the Royal Asiatic Society *Shāh-nāma* of Muḥammad Djūkī (ms. 239; Herat, *ca.* 1440) it appears in only one miniature (fol. 145b). *Shāh-nāma* manuscripts produced under Turkman patronage in the middle years of the 15th century also present the hero sometimes with, and sometimes without, the leopard's mask on his helmet. But in the numerous copies of the epic illustrated in the Commercial Turkman style, and issuing from Shīrāz during the last quarter of the century, the leopard's mask is invariable.

Thus by the beginning of the Ṣafawid dynasty, Rustam's full panoply is well established, and to this period (*ca.* 1505) belongs the most splendid portrayal of Rustam in the whole of Persian painting: "Rustam lassoing the King of Shām" in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Leipzig, in which the leopard's head helmet is topped by a magnificent seven-fold plume, and the hero's moustache and beard are red. This miniature is probably the work of Sulṭān Muḥammad in his young days. Later in the Ṣafawid period, attempts were made to represent Rustam as an old man in the latter stages of his career, but at the same time painters sometimes failed to show him as a child in his earliest exploits; thus, in depicting his killing the mad elephant, an artist may show him in full panoply with moustache and beard.

In the 17th century, the languid and slightly decadent style of Riḍā ʿAbbāsī [*q.v.*] was ill-suited to epic illustration, and Rustam sometimes presents an awkward and distinctly unheroic figure. His late appearances under the Ḳādjārs show him with the wasp waist and luxuriant black beard of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*]. But the traditional panoply survives to the end.

Bibliography: B.W. Robinson, *Persian painting*

and the national epic, London 1983, and references there given. (B.W. Robinson)

RUSTAM b. FARRUKH HURMUZD (thus in al-Ṭabarī; in al-Masʿūdī, b. Farrukh-zād), Persian general and commander of the Sāsanid army at the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] fought against the Arabs in Muḥarram 15/February-March 536 or Muḥarram 16/February 637, the battle in which he was killed.

His father is described as the *ispabadh* [*q.v.*] of Khurāsān, for which province Rustam was deputy. In the lengthy account by al-Ṭabarī of the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya, derived mainly from Sayf b. ʿUmar, there is much folkloric material, doubtless derived from materials used by the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see ḳāṣṣ], in which the Persian Emperor Yazdagird III and Rustam try to dissuade the Muslims from battle by a use of verbal parables and a show of superior splendour and luxury; but these are of no avail, and Rustam leads his forces into battle and is killed by Hilāl b. ʿUllafa al-Taymī (See F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 397, for the various traditions concerning this episode).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 2243-4, 2247 ff.; 2261, 2265-85, 2335 ff., tr. Y. Friedmann, *The battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the conquest of Syria and Palestine*, Albany 1992; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 254 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 207-8, 221-3 = §§ 1537-8, 1555-6; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 393-4; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 263. See also al-ḳādisiyya.

(Ed.)

RUSTAMIDS or Rustumids, an Ibāḍī dynasty, of Persian origin, which reigned from Tāhart (in what is now Algeria) 161-296/778-909.

The birth of the Ibāḍī principality of Tāhart is bound up with the great Berber rising begun by Maysara (called, as a tribute from his enemies, *al-Ḥaḳīr* "The Vile") in 122/740. As a result of this rising, the greater part of the Maghrib fell away definitively from the control of the caliphate in the East, with the exception of the principality of Ḳayrawān (Kairouan), which only achieved virtual independence with the coming of the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] in 184/800. The Ibāḍī chief Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Maʿāfirī [*q.v.*], once elected Imām, seized Tripoli and then, in 141/758, Kayrawān, from where he ejected the Ṣufrī Khāridjites and then entrusted its government to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam. It seemed that the whole of the Maghrib, now detached from the caliphate, was likely to fall to Khāridjism, with its two strands of Ibāḍism and Ṣufrism.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam b. Bahrām, the founder of the Ibāḍī principality of Tāhart, was certainly of Persian origin, without one being able to connect him, with any certainty, to the Persian royal house, as certain sources suggest. Having arrived in Ḳayrawān, with his mother, as a child, he felt attracted towards Ibāḍism which, with other doctrines, was being taught in the Great Mosque there, until Saḥnūn [*q.v.*], appointed *ḳāḍī* in 234/848-9, "broke up the circles of innovators (*ahl al-bidaʿ*)" (M. Talbi, *Biographies Aghlabides* ..., Tunis 1968, 104), and forbade them to spread their "deviations" (*zayghahum*). In 135/752, like others, he took the high road towards the East (*riḥla*) in order to complete his education at Baṣra, at that time the spiritual centre of Ibāḍism, at the feet of Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma, the great authority of the age, who gave out instruction in which political theology necessarily played a large role, conformable to the general principles of Khāridjism which had itself arisen from of a succession to power crisis. Five years later, in 140/757, together with Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, he was one of five missionaries, the *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* (lit. "bearers of knowledge"), who set out for the Maghrib in order to pass on to the phase of the *khurūdj*, i.e. open insurrection, with the aim of installing a just Islamic régime conformable to the Ibāḍī ideas of an elective and equalitarian theocracy, considering that all the previous existing authorities had more or less betrayed true Islam since the time of the arbitration (*taḥkīm*) at Ṣiffīn (37/657) [see ibāḍiyya].

The conjunction of affairs was at that moment especially favourable. Khāridjite propaganda had been introduced into the Maghrib some four decades previously, and it found there its most fertile ground. The Ṣufrīs were the first to enter the lists and, thanks to some resounding victories, had founded three principalities: at Sidjilmāsa, at Tlemcen and in the region of Salé on the Atlantic shores. The Ibāḍīs had the ambition of assuming for themselves power over the eastern Maghrib, and nearly succeeded.

However, Baghdād was not yet disposed freely to relinquish control, and still had the means within its general framework of policy to achieve this. In 144/761 Ibn al-Ashʿath recaptured Ḳayrawān, and Ibn Rustam fled into the central Maghrib. He ended up at Old Tāhart, in a region where several Ibāḍī Berber tribes were solidly established. He was not immediately elected Imām in place of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, killed in battle, but he continued his involvement in the warfare against the ʿAbbasids, and in 151/768 he besieged, without success, the chief town of the Zāb, Ṭubna, the ancient fortress of Tubunda, which had become an advance bastion protecting Ifrīḳiya.

The Ibāḍiyya in the end had to renounce the capture of Ḳayrawān, firmly held by a governor of first-rate competence, Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, and then decided to found their own principality in the Tāhart region where ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam had already found refuge. There, in 161/778, "on a slope which dominated, from a height of a thousand metres, the steppes and their pasture-grounds" (Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, ii, 34), and in a place where there was abundant water, they constructed their capital, New Tāhart or Tīhart (9 km/6 miles to the west of present-day Tihert, founded in 1863, the administrative centre of a *wilāya* or province in modern Algeria), around which was built a protective wall with four gates. The site offered advantages at the same time for sedentaries and nomads alike, and constituted a natural fortress.

After his return from Baṣra, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam had already been in charge of various responsibilities, whence the uncertainty of the sources regarding the date of his investiture as Imām. This probably did not take place officially till after the foundation of Tāhart, sc. in 162/779. Ibn Rustam evidently combined in himself the conditions of knowledge and piety required by the Ibāḍiyya for the election of their Imām. But the main reason which tipped the balance in his favour was that, if disputes should arise, he had "no tribe to bring him aid, and no clan to support him" (Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, *Akhbār* ..., in *CT*, nos. 91-2 [1975], 321-2).

Externally, Ibn Rustam practised a pacific policy with regard to his neighbours, the ʿAbbāsid governors in Ḳayrawān, the ʿAlid Idrīsids in Fās or Fez, and the Ṣufrī Midrārids in Sidjilmāsa. Internally, he devoted his efforts to strengthening his power and to furthering the economic prosperity of his principality, thanks, in particular, to financial support from the Ibāḍiyya of the East, to the impulse given to trans-Saharan trade, and to agricultural and urban development. Tāhart speedily became a rich and

cosmopolitan metropolis, and the Sunnī Ibn al-Ṣag̲h̲īr observed a host of people there, people stemming from Baṣra, Kūfa, Ḳayrawān and other places, all attracted by the justice and order which prevailed there.

Before his death, which probably took place in 171/788, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam appointed a council to choose a new Imām. The choice fell on his son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Till the end of the kingdom of Tāhart, the succeeding Imāms all came from his line, but with a chronology more or less uncertain and with many troubles which often took on the character and tiresome nature of schisms. In a theocracy guided by the Ḳurʾān and Tradition, where the Imām had ideally to double as a pious theologian controlled by religious leaders no less pious than himself, in a theocracy which was in principle equalitarian, austere and puritanical—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is depicted as perched on the roof of his modest house, finishing off its building with the help of a slave—such an evolution was inevitable. In Tāhart, wrote Julien, *op. cit.*, ii, 37, "people lived in a permanent state of religious exaltation". The following is the most likely succession of the Imāms, theoretically elected but in fact succeeding by virtue of the dynastic succession rule against a background of schisms and political crises:

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, 161-71/778-88
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 171-208/788-824
Abū Saʿīd Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, 208-58/824-72
Abū Bakr b. Aflaḥ, 258-60/872-4
Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān Muḥammad b. Aflaḥ, 260-81/874-94
Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf b. Muḥammad, first reign 281-2/894-5
Yaʿḳūb b. Aflaḥ, first reign 282-6/895-9
Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf b. Muḥammad, second reign 286-94/899-907
Yaʿḳūb b. Aflaḥ, second reign ?
Yaḳẓān b. Abi 'l-Yaḳẓān, 294-6/907-9

The first schism (*iftirāḳ*) broke out as soon as ʿAbd al-Wahhāb came to power, with his election contested by a splinter group of the Ibāḍiyya. It took shape as the Nukkāriyya [see AL-NUKKĀR], who had their hour of glory under the command of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], the "Man on the Donkey", who almost succeeded in putting an end to the Fāṭimid caliphate of Mahdiyya. Towards 195/811, a conflict broke out between the Ibāḍiyya of Tāhart and their Zanāta Berber neighbours, who professed Muʿtazilism in its Wāṣilī form. It is related that the controversy preceded the open conflict which was finally resolved in favour of Tāhart, thanks in particular to intellectual and military support from the Nafūsa [*q.v.*] Berbers of southern Tripolitania.

The second schism which broke out amongst the Ibāḍiyya was that of the K̲h̲alafiyya, from the name of K̲h̲alaf b. al-Samḥ, a grandson of the Imām Abu 'l-K̲h̲aṭṭāb, who succeeded his father as governor of the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa [*q.v.*] to the south of Tripoli but without the agreement of the Imām ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who rightly feared that a new dynasty would become installed there. K̲h̲alaf's partisans, taking as a pretext the discontinuity of the kingdom of Tāhart, proclaimed K̲h̲alaf as an independent Imām. The secession of the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa continued during Aflaḥ's imāmate until at least 221/836—the date of a decisive defeat inflicted on K̲h̲alaf—and the K̲h̲alafiyya maintained their doctrinal stance until the very end of the Rustamids.

Aflaḥ's reign, an exceptionally long one, was the Golden Age of the Rustamid imāmate. Despite various shocks which rocked the eastern part of the principality, his reign was relatively peaceful. He was able, by a combination of pliant policies and largesse, to impose his autority on the nomadic tribes, which were quarrelsome by nature.

His successors were less fortunate or skilful. The Tāhart principality had fluid frontiers, more human than geographical ones. It was very little urbanised, and had no *limes* or frontier march supported by a line of powerful fortresses. The Imām's territory had no other frontiers except those of the tribes which considered themselves Ibāḍī, and consequently recognised his authority, and this ultimately on the spiritual rather than the temporal level. This was the case e.g. of the Ibāḍiyya within the Ag̲h̲labid principality. Moreover, the principality was a mosaic of very differing ethnic elements: Berber tribes, predominantly nomadic and having divergent interests, Persians who had got rich in the shadow of Rustamid power, and fractions of the Arab *d̲j̲und*—through their profession, bellicose in nature—who had fled from Ifrīḳiya. Once the religious bond became relaxed, all these ingredients became a typically explosive mixture. Hence the internal history of the Rustamid state was full of ups and downs, especially after Aflaḥ's death.

Armed clashes forced Abū Bakr to yield his power to his brother Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān, who was supported by the Arabs. The latter was nevertheless not able to take up residence at Tāhart until 268/882, thanks to the support of the Lawāta and Nafūsa Berbers. Having learnt from these occurrences, he followed, it is recorded, a policy of justice, tolerance and balance, on an indispensable foundation of piety, austerity and erudition.

During his own lifetime, Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān appointed his son Abū Ḥātim to succeed himself, a procedure not at all, at least in principle, in accordance with Ibāḍi tradition. It is true that the make-up of Tāhart had, meanwhile, changed considerably. Henceforth, at the side of a cosmopolitan plebs or *ʿāmma*, there were all sorts of groups of people, including a great number of Mālikīs and S̲h̲īʿīs, whose weight began to be felt on the chequerboard of politics. In these conditions, an uncle of Abū Ḥātim, Yaʿḳūb b. Aflaḥ, preferred to leave the capital and settle amongst the Zuwāg̲h̲a Berbers who formed part of the K̲h̲alafiyya. Civil warfare soon resumed. Abū Ḥātim was driven out of Tāhart and his uncle Yaʿḳūb took his place. But this was not for long, and political alliances, from now onwards no longer reserved for the Ibāḍī community, were made and unmade according to shifting interests. Yaʿḳūb, in turn, lost his capital, and Abū Ḥātim returned to power, supported by the *ʿāmma*, a mixture of both Ibāḍīs and non-Ibāḍīs. Disorder got worse and the central power became more relaxed. Abū Ḥātim was ruler only in name, and was assassinated by his nephews, which merely added to the disorders. Yaḳẓān b. Abi 'l-Yaḳẓān was on the throne when the troops of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-S̲h̲īʿī came to extinguish the Rustamid principality; Tāhart offered no resistance.

Wedged between two hostile regimes, that of the ʿAlid Idrīsids on the west and that of the ʿAbbāsid governors, and then the Sunnī Ag̲h̲labids on the east, the Rustamids practised, by force of circumstances, a policy of rapprochement: to their south, with the Ṣufrī Midrārids of Sid̲j̲ilmāsa, who, moreover, controlled the vital route by which gold came; and to their north, with the strongly Mālikī Umayyads of Cordova, disregarding, in the interests of practical politics, the fact that Mālik had condemned to death the Ibāḍī heretics (Saḥnūn, *Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323/1905, ii, 47).

To the east, after vain attempts to seize Tripoli

from the Aghlabids, the Imām ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who had directed the battle in person, relinquished the town itself and the seas to the Aghlabids, and contented himself with the hinterland, having been neither conqueror not vanquished, and with a reversion to the *status quo ante*. In 239/853-4, the Aghlabid Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad I built a town in the neighbourhood of Tāhart, which he provocatively called al-ʿAbbāsiyya in honour of his suzerains. The Imām Aflaḥ burnt it down and informed the caliph in Cordova of his action; the latter sent him 100,000 dirhams. Finally, in 283/896 Ibrāhīm II inflicted a severe defeat at Mānū, near the sea and to the south of Gabès, on the Nafūsa, the spear-head of Ibāḍī power. In the west, the Imām ʿAbd al-Wahhāb allowed Idrīs I to capture Tlemcen in 173/789 almost without any adverse reaction.

Across the seas, the Ibāḍī Imāms of Tāhart and the Mālikī *amīrs* of Cordova had extremely amicable relations, despite their doctrinal differences, united by a common political interest. In 207/822, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II gave a warm welcome to three sons of the Imām ʿAbd al-Wahhāb arriving at Cordova on an embassy, probably to greet the *amīr* on his accession to power. In 229/844, "Cordova informed Tāhart officially of its victory over the Northmen" (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 245), and in 239/853 Muḥammad I sent a sumptuous present to the Imām Aflaḥ on his accession. Furthermore, members of the Rustamid family, installed in Muslim Spain, held high offices in Cordova, up to the ranks of commander and vizier. Possibly one might think, as did Lévi-Provençal, of links of vassalage (*loc. cit.*).

At its apogee, the Rustamid capital was very prosperous. Al-Yaʿḳūbī describes it as "an important city, very famous and with a great influence, which people have termed the ʿIrāḳ of the Maghrib", adding that "a fortress on the coast serves as a port for the fleet of the principality of Tāhart; it is called Marsā Farūkh" (tr. Wiet, *Les Pays*, 216-17). Concerning the commercial routes by land, Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, *op. cit.*, 325, noted that there were roads connecting Tāhart with the land of Sūdān and with all the lands to the East and the West. It was probably in order to stimulate trade with Sub-Saharan Africa that Abū Bakr b. Aflaḥ sent an embassy headed by a rich merchant of Tāhart, Ibn ʿArafa, to the "king of the Sūdān" (*ibid.*, 340). A great tolerance reigned within the city, whose population included, amongst others, Christians (*ʿadjam*), who are described as being especially influential and rich (Julien, *op. cit.*, ii, 37). The people of Tāhart were fond of controversy and disputation, and the Imāms themselves were often scholars as well-versed in the profane sciences as the religious ones.

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(M. Talbi)

RÜSTEM PASHA (906?-968/1500?-1561) Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Born *ca.* 1500 in a village near Sarajevo, Rüstem Pasha came of a family most probably of Bosnian origin (though some sources mention Croatian or possibly Albanian ancestry), whose pre-Muslim surname had been either Opuković or Čigalič (cf. Albèri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato*, ser. iii, vol. iii, 89; C. Truhelka, *Bosnische Post*, Sarajevo 1912, no. 80). A register from the *ḳāḍī*'s [*q.v.*] court at Sarajevo, dated 974/1557, records the sale of a house by Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Beg b. Khayr al-Dīn, *mütewellī* of Rüstem Pasha's *bedesten* in the city, on behalf of one "Nefīsa Khanum, daughter of Muṣṭafā and sister of Rüstem Pasha". A brother, Sinān Pasha (d. 961/1554), was also in the service of the Ottoman government, rising to the rank of *Ḳapudan Pasha* [*q.v.*].

Educated in the palace school, Rüstem Pasha's first recorded post was as *silāḥdār* on the Mohács [*q.v.*] campaign, and then as *mīrākhūr-i ewwel*. The date of his appointment as *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*] of Diyār Bakr is unknown, but it was from this post that he was appointed *beglerbegi* of Anatolia in 945/1538 (Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281/1861, i, 206). The following year, he became third vizier and was married to

Mihrimāh, the daughter of Ḳānūnī Süleymān and Khurrem Sulṭān [*q.vv.*]. In 948/1541 he was promoted to second vizier, and in 951/1544 succeeded Khādim Süleymān Pasha [*q.v.*] as Grand Vizier. Dismissed in 960/1553 during the outcry caused by the execution of Süleymān's eldest son Muṣṭafā, Rüstem Pasha spent two years in retirement before being re-appointed Grand Vizier in 962/1555, following the execution (at which he is said to have connived) of Ḳara Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], grand vizier since 960/1553. He then served in this post until his death, probably from dropsy, in 968/1561. He was buried in the *türbe* designed for him by the architect Sinān [*q.v.*] next to the Shehzāde mosque in Istanbul. (For further biographical details, see S. Altundağ and Ş. Turan, *İA*, art. *Rüstem Paşa*; F. Babinger, *EI*[1], art. *Rüstem Pasha*; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 377-8, iii, 106).

Rüstem Pasha was Süleymān's longest-serving Grand Vizier (a total of fourteen-and-a-half years in two periods of office), but one whose reputation, both contemporary and historical, was mixed. During his first period of office a major treaty was concluded with the Hapsburg Emperor (in 1547) stipulating the annual payment of 30,000 ducats' "tribute" by the latter. Internally, his tenure was marked throughout by his successful efforts to build up government finances, neglecting no possible sources of income, even, according to the Habsburg ambassador Busbecq, selling vegetables and flowers grown in the grounds of Ṭopḳapî Sarāyî [*q.v.*] (Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Turkish letters*, tr. E.S. Forster, Oxford 1968, 30). On the other hand, Rüstem Pasha was held largely responsible for introducing the sale of government offices and for allowing imperial *khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] to be given out in tax farms, thus paving the way for the bribery and corruption detected by later Ottoman historians. He amassed an immense personal fortune (see the inventory of possessions on his death given by Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 23, taken from ʿĀlī's [*q.v.*] *Künhü 'l-akhbār*), and was accused of greed and avarice both on his own behalf and that of the state (for several complaints against him, see M.T. Gökbilgin, *Rüstem Paşa ve hakkındaki ithamlar*, in *Tarih dergisi*, viii/11 [1955], 11-50).

Rüstem Pasha appears to have enjoyed the sultan's full confidence, due partly to his abilities and partly to the mutual agreement between himself, Mihrimāh Sulṭān and Khurrem Sulṭān. However, his positive achievements as Grand Vizier were overshadowed by his involvement in the conspiracy leading to the execution of the popular prince Muṣṭafā, which cleared the way for the eventual succession of one of Khurrem Sulṭān's two surviving sons, Selīm II [*q.v.*] (Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, 20-4, 38-43). Rüstem's dismissal in 960/1553 may have been at his request, in order to forestall demands from supporters of Muṣṭafā for his own execution.

Busbecq's description of Rüstem Pasha as "a man of keen and far-seeing mind" is largely borne out by Ottoman sources, who attest his capable administration and loyal service, stressing his financial acumen and the fact that even where offices were sold these were only to worthy people who were never thereafter dismissed. Whereas to Busbecq he seemed "always gloomy and brutal" and ʿĀlī criticised his dislike of dervishes and poets, Pečewī stresses his correct manners, sobriety and piety (Busbecq, *Turkish letters*, 29, 190; J. Schmidt, *Pure water for thirsty Muslims: a study of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli's Künhü l-aḫbār*, Leiden 1991, 153, 89, 159; Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 21-2). He was nevertheless a master of political intrigue and a controversial figure.

As a patron of architecture, Rüstem Pasha commissioned, in addition to his principal foundation in Istanbul, the Rüstem Pasha mosque, at least four *medreses* and a number of other mosques, *ʿimārets*, *kerwānsarāys*, and other structures throughout Anatolia and Rumeli. Many of these were also designed by Sinān. However, it is now thought that the historical work *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* (or *Taʾrīkh-i Rüstem Pasha*) for long attributed to Rüstem Pasha's authorship, is in fact part of the *Djāmiʿ ul-tewārīkh* of Maṭrāḳčî Naṣūḥ [*q.v.*], compiled at Rüstem Pasha's request (L. Forrer, *Die Osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pascha*, Leipzig 1923; H.G. Yurdaydın, *An Ottoman historian of the XVIth century: Naṣūḥ al-Maṭrāḳī and his* Beyān-ı menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳayn *and its importance for some ʿIrāqī cities*, in *Turcica*, vii (1975), 180-2).

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(Christine Woodhead)

RUSWĀ, Mirzā Muḥammad Hādī, Urdu novelist, poet, translator and writer on scientific, philosophical and religious subjects. He was born in Lucknow most probably in 1858. His ancestors had migrated from Persia during the Mughal period. His great-grandfather, Mīrzā Dhu 'l-Faḳār ʿAlī Beg, took up permanent residence in Awadh [*q.v.*] during Āṣaf al-Dawla's time (1775-97), and became adjutant in the Nawāb's army. Ruswā received his early education from his father, Āghā Muḥammad Taḳī, who taught him Arabic, Persian and mathematics. For learning English, Ruswā went to La Martinière College, where he remained until the middle grade. By the time he was sixteen years of age both his parents died. Ruswā came into a large inheritance, but his maternal uncle, who was his guardian, appropriated most of it. What remained was squandered by Ruswā himself in self-indulgence and extravagant living. At this time, a friend of his father, by the name of Ḥaydar Bakhsh, who was a calligrapher by profession, came to Ruswā's aid, and helped him through his financial difficulties. Ruswā enrolled himself in Thomason Engineering School, Roorkee, and obtained an overseer's diploma in 1876. Thereafter, he worked first in Rae Bareli and, later, in the Quetta region of Balūčistān, where his duties were connected with the laying of railway tracks. Not long afterwards he resigned from his job, and took up employment as instructor of Persian in the Church Mission School, Lucknow. From there he passed his high school examination as a private candidate.

In 1888 Ruswā joined Christian College, Lucknow, to teach Arabic and Persian, and stayed there for over thirty years. In 1894 he passed his B.A. examination from Punjab University as a private student. Together with his full-time job in Christian College, he taught briefly in Isabella Thorburn College, an institution for women students. Towards the latter part of his life, he showed an open involvement with religion, which found expression in a number of religious tracts composed by him and in the publication of a journal entitled *al-Ḥakam*, which contained articles on religious matters written from a Shīʿī point of view. This journal continued to be published from 1902 to 1907. In 1919 Ruswā found employment in the Bureau of Translation, Osmania University, Ḥaydarābād (Deccan), where he spent the remaining years of his life. He died in Ḥaydarābād on 21 October 1931 and was buried there.

Ruswā was a man of varied talents. His intellectual preoccupations were not restricted only to literary pursuits, but extended to other fields as well, such as philosophy and science. For giving expression to his

philosophical interest, he founded the bi-monthly *Ishrāk*, a journal devoted to the dissemination of philosophical ideas. It appeared for the first time on 5 May 1884, and was perhaps the first journal of its kind in Urdu. However, it was shortlived, and had to be discontinued after one and a half years due to a lack of enthusiasm on the part of Urdu readers. In addition to his original contributions, Ruswā published in this journal his Urdu translations of two of Plato's works, namely the *Apology* and *Crito*. At a later date, while working at Ḥaydarābād, he translated several works dealing with philosophy and psychology. He also took an interest in astronomy and chemistry, and composed some works on these subjects. Among his other accomplishments was his participation in the development of a system of Urdu shorthand and a keyboard for the Urdu typewriter.

In the literary field, Ruswā is known primarily for his novels. He was also a poet of a minor sort, writing conventional verses. His first poetical work, a *mathnawī* entitled *Naw bahār* ("Spring"), appeared in 1886. He also composed a verse drama, in the *mathnawī* form, under the title *Murakkaʿ-i Laylā Madjnūn* ("An album of Laylā and Madjnūn"), which was completed probably in 1887. He used the penname of "Mīrzā" for his poems, reserving the pseudonym "Ruswā" for his novels. In the beginning, his mentor in poetry was the respected contemporary poet of Lucknow, Dabīr (1803-75 [*q.v.*]). As a novelist, Ruswā was the author of five original works, namely *Afshā-yi rāz* ("Exposed secret"), *Umrāʾo Djān Adā*, *Dhāt-i sharīf* ("A perfect knave"), *Sharīf-zāda* ("Of good breed"), and *Akhtarī Begum*. *Afshā-yi rāz* (1896), of which only the first part seems to have been completed, represents Ruswā's earliest attempt at novel-writing. Its theme, dealing with the decadent society and culture of Lucknow during the latter part of the 19th century, was elaborated by the author in his next novel, *Umrāʾō Djān Adā* (1899), which tells the life story of a courtesan, on whose name the title of the novel is based. Ruswā's third novel, *Dhāt-i sharīf* (1900), has for its central theme the life of a gullible and degenerate aristocrat who succumbs to the deceptions and allurements of unscrupulous hangers-on, and brings destruction upon himself due to his indiscretions. In *Sharīf-zāda* (1900), the story revolves around a person of meagre means who, by virtue of his character, personal effort and hard work, finds success in life. Ruswā's last novel, *Akhtarī Begum* (1924), is a narrative of a middle class household, and contains a plot built upon misunderstandings. Of all the above-mentioned novels, *Umrāʾo Djān Adā* is decidedly a masterpiece, and contributes, for the most part, to Ruswā's literary fame. On its appearance, it was welcomed in literary circles and was so well-received by the reading public that it went through several editions during a short time. In this novel Ruswā gives a sensitive portrayal of the current state of society and provides an insight into the traditional culture representative of the Muslim upper class in Lucknow. Because of its realistic delineation of the theme, its successfully constructed plot, and its superb characterisation, *Umrāʾo Djān Adā* has come to be regarded by many critics as the first true novel in Urdu.

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(Munibur Rahman)

RUTBIL [see zunbil].

RUTUL, a people of Dāghistān in the eastern Caucasus.

Until the Soviet period the Rutuls lacked a common ethnic self-designation, but rather referred to themselves by village (*aul*) or as members of the *Rutul Magal*. The Rutul Magal was one of the numerous free societies or clan federations found in Dāghistān prior to the Soviet period. This is one of the few cases where all of the members of a given ethnic group belonged to the same free society. In addition to the Rutuls, who dominated this free society, a number of Tsakhur and Lezgin villages were also members of the Rutul Magal. The existence of this free society helped in the establishment of a distinct Rutul ethnic group during the Soviet period.

The Rutuls traditionally inhabited 20 villages in Rutul district in southern Dāghistān (18 of which are in the Samur valley and 2 others in the Akhtīčai valley) and 2 villages across the border in neighbouring Ādharbaydjān. The Rutuls lived under very strong Lezgin and Ādharbaydjānī influence, and until the Russian Revolution they were on the verge of total assimilation by these two other culturally more dominant peoples. The Rutul language belongs with Lezgin to the Samurian group of the northeast (Čečeno-Dāghistānī) division of the Caucasian language family. The Rutul language is only vernacular (i.e. it has no written form). Prior to the Russian Revolution, there was almost universal illiteracy among the Rutuls, and the few individuals who could write used classical Arabic. After the Revolution and until the 1930s, Lezgin and Azeri Turkish served as the literary language among the Rutuls. Since that time, Russian has been the primary literary language used by the Rutuls of Dāghistān, and Azeri by those of Ādharbaydjān.

The Rutuls were polytheistic until the appearance of Zoroastrianism in the northern Caucasus starting sometime around the 5th century B.C. Later Christian influences penetrated the Rutul region from the south (primarily by Armenians living in Ādharbaydjān prior to the appearance of the Ādharbaydjānī Turks in the 11th century). According to Rutul legend, Islam was introduced by the Arabs in the 7th and 8th centuries, but was more likely spread from other areas in Dāghistān between the 10th-13th centuries. Although officially Muslim, Islam was practic-

ed among the Rutuls and other southern Dāghistānīs with many Christian, Zoroastrian, and polytheistic holdovers. During the 18th-19th centuries conservative Ṣūfī movements were active among the Rutuls and during this period many of the pre-Islamic cultural rituals and beliefs were eliminated. The Rutuls today are Sunnī Muslims. As among all other Dāghistānī peoples, and many other North Caucasians, pre-Islamic clan vendetta laws are still common among the Rutuls to this day.

Until the mid-20th century, patriarchal-clan endogamic marriage patterns prevailed among the Rutuls. Since that time traditional clan endogamy has been breaking down. In addition to clan exogamy, some ethnic intermarriage patterns with other Dāghistānī peoples is beginning to develop, and in particular in urban areas of Dāghistān.

The traditional economy among the Rutuls was based on transhumant pastoralism. Sheep and goats were the most common stock animals raised by the Rutuls for food, milk, and wool. As this is a dry and mountainous region, little agriculture was practised and animal husbandry predominated. Traditionally, women engaged in agriculture while the men tended the animals. Horses were also raised for transport as were some cattle. Rug weaving and ceramics were common crafts among the Rutuls, and the trade in these goods formed an important part of the Rutul traditional economy.

There was a long tradition of seasonal migration by the Rutul men to find winter employment in other parts of Dāghistān and northern Ādharbaydjān. As there are no urban areas within the Rutul region itself, a significant emigration to areas outside the Rutul region by young people developed during the Soviet period. Derbend and Makhač-kala in Dāghistān, and Bākū, Shekī, and Kuba in Ādharbaydjān are the main cities to which the Rutul migrate.

The Rutuls are one of the numerically small peoples of the Caucasus. According to the census returns of the USSR, there were 10,495 Rutuls in 1926; 6,732 in 1959; 12,071 in 1970; 15,032 in 1979; and 29,672 in 1989. The radical changes in population reflect the rapid rate of assimilation of the Rutuls by their neighbours during the 1930s, and then a reversal of that trend afterwards. The doubling of their population between 1979 and 1989 represents a rise in Rutul consciousness (i.e. redefinition by Rutuls who formerly called themselves Dāghistānīs, Lezgins or Ādharbaydjānīs).

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RUWALA (A., also Ruwayla, conventional renderings Eng., Roala, Rwala, Ruwalla, Ruweilah; German, frequently Ruala, Rualla, Ruola, also Rawalla and Erwalla; French, Rou'ala, Roualla), an important tribe in northern Arabia.

The Ruwala and other ʿAnaza [*q.v.*] say that the Ruwala are from the Ḍana Muslim group of ʿAnaza. An authoritative Ruwaylī genealogist, Fraywān b. Frayḥ al-Muʾabḥil al-Shaʿlān, opposes Djās to Bishr; Djās has, as descendants, Zayyid and Wahhāb; Zayyid has Rwayli (the Ruwala) and Mislim, who are the Swālma, Shadjaʿa and ʿAbdilla; the Wahhāb are opposed to Zayyid and the descendants of Wahhāb are the ʿAli (Wald ʿAli) and Mufarridj, who are the Ḥasana and Mesalīkh (Lancaster 1981, 25). Other authorities (e.g. Musil, 1928, quoting the then *amīr* Nūrī Shaʿlān) give the Ḍana Muslim as the Benī Wahhāb and the al-Djās: the Benī Wahhāb divide into the Ḥasana and the Wald ʿAlī; the Djās into the Miḥlef and the Ruwala. The names are similar, but their position in relation to each other is inconsistent.

The sections (*fukhūḍ*) of the Ruwala are: al-Murʾaẓ and al-Doghmān (who together are the Djumʿān), al-Ḳaʿādḳiʿa and al-Fraydja. The Kwātzba, now reckoned as part of the Ruwala, claim descent from Ḳaḥṭān [*q.v.*] and joined the Ruwala possibly in the 18th century (Musil, *Arabia deserta,* 1927, 14-6; Lancaster, 1981, 155-6). The shaikhly family is Ibn Shaʿlān of the Murʾaẓ section, who took over the shaykhdom from Ibn Ḳaʿkāʿ of al-Ḳaʿādḳiʿa, possibly in the 16th century (Musil, 1928, 51; Lancaster, 1981, 126-7).

The areas used by the Ruwala in the present and past include Tayma and Khaybar, the Djubba, Wādī Sirḥān, al-Wudiyān, al-Labba, the Ḥamad and Ḥawrān. Numbers are difficult to establish, but the Ruwala say they were and are the largest and most powerful tribe in the northern Arabian desert. Shaykh Faysal b. Fawwāz Shaʿlān estimates there to be over half a million, most of whom are in northern Saudi Arabia, with a few in Syria and Jordan.

Inconsistencies, noticeable in the sources, in the precise relationships of the Ruwala to other parts of the Ḍana Muslim group, in their sections, locations and numbers, may be understood by reference to Ruwaylī concepts. The genealogy is seen as a way of talking about political and jural relationships of closeness and distance between constituent parts of the group, not actual descent. The shaikhly family often personifies the tribe in historical and political discussion; this encourages a shift in political focus to be seen as a migration from one area to another which is not justifiable when more detailed information is available. The Ruwala are, as they have always been, concerned with living their lives in their own terms; they see their *shaykhs* as ambassadors, or agents, between them and the agencies of other governments, rather than leaders as such. From this point of view, the movement northwards in the late 18th century is a political and economic shift on the part of the shaikhly family and those Ruwala who saw the shift as a useful option.

The Ruwala say they are from ʿAnaz, who was the brother of Maʿaz, the sons of Wāʾil. This ʿAnaz b. Wāʾil genealogy is not totally consistent with the information of Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbi in his *Djamharat al-nasab* on ʿAnaza b. Asad, "alter Stamm, später zu Rabīʿa gerechnet" (tr. Caskel and Strenziok, Band ii, 189, and Band i, tables 141 and 172). The Rabīʿa and Bakr b. Wāʾil tribes dominate the recorded history of northern Arabia in the early and mediaeval periods. Yāḳūt, iii, 644, records the ʿAnaza in Khaybar, as does Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm,* tr. Reinaud, 120. Sections of the Ruwala continue to own date gardens there and in Tayma (Lancaster, 1981, 128). The Djlās (identified with the Ruwala by Burckhardt, *Notes,* i, 6), and other ʿAnaza, are mentioned in Ottoman tax registers of 1558 as wintering around Ṣafad (A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in 16th century Palestine,* Princeton 1979, 160). Abujabr (*Pioneers over Jordan,* London 1989, 166) mentions a family from a section of the Ruwala who left Tayma about 1600 and settled in al-Ḥusn, near Irbid in Jordan. Thus the Ruwala have been using the wider region for a long period, although political and economic shifts have caused them to be identified with, and to identify themselves with, different areas.

Musil, quoting other tribes in the region, says the Ruwala were the "most Bedu" tribe in northern Arabia. At this date (1908-16), "being Bedu" meant camel-herding. The camel herds provided subsistence and enabled the Ruwala to provide services of protection and restitution to those parts of the wider population unwilling or unable to protect themselves, to provide guides and protectors to caravans, and to sell camels in the markets of Syria and Egypt for meat, transport animals and for agricultural work. Camel herding, together with tribal political and jural processes, permitted a system of government (*ḥukūma*—based on mediation and consensus) that was an alternative to that of states. Raiding (*g̲h̲azu*) took a variety of forms (Lancaster 1981, 140-5), the purpose being the acquisition of booty and personal reputation.

Burckhardt, Wallin, Guarmani, the Blunts, and Musil provide a partial history of the tribe during the 19th century and up to the First World War. During this period the Ruwala became pre-eminent among the ʿAnaza tribes. Although opposing Wahhābī political ambitions, in 1809 they defeated a Turkish government army outside Baghdad in pursuit of the Wahhābī forces; thus the Ruwala achieved independence of both Ibn Suʿūd (who relieved them of the obligation to recognise his overlordship) and of the Turks (Lancaster, 1981, 128-9). Relationships with the Turkish government in Damascus were always ambivalent shifting between open hostility and uneasy compliance (Euting, 1896, i, 93; Musil, 1928). In 1909, Nawwāf b. Nūrī S̲h̲aʿlān, with his father's reluctant support (Musil 1927, 1928) retook D̲j̲awf from Ibn Ras̲h̲īd of the S̲h̲ammar, whose political fortunes were in decline [see RAS̲H̲ĪD, ĀL]. After the First World War, Nawwāf had plans for the S̲h̲aʿlān kingdom of northern Arabia, to which Nūrī was opposed. The rise of the power of Ibn Suʿūd, and the French and British mandates over Transjordan and Syria, together with the death of Nawwāf in 1921, ended any possibility of this, and *amīr* Nūrī handed over D̲j̲awf and the Wādī Sirḥān to Ibn Suʿūd in 1926, signing the Treaty of Hadda. *Amīr* Nūrī, according to one of his great-grandsons, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Fayṣal b. Fawwāz, was conscious of the contradictions inherent in the political role of a tribal *amīr* and an urban ruler. The present *amīr* Mitʿib b. Fawwāz, and his generation of S̲h̲aʿlān *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s, see their function as maintaining freedom of access for tribesmen to the economic and political resources of the various states in which the Ruwala live.

The increasing use of motor transport exacerbated a trend signalled by the opening of the Suez canal in 1870 and the Ḥid̲j̲āz Railway in 1908, to the point where there was little market for surplus camels, except for meat and some agricultural work. This was the real cause for the ending of raiding. The Ruwala had lost, between a declining market for camels, and the loss of services now provided by the Mandate governments or Ibn Saʿūd, a substantial part of their income. They managed, between the late 1920s until the 1950s, by having vastly increased herds, and employment in the Arab Legion, as Méharistes, and with Ibn Suʿūd. Some Ruwala became Ik̲h̲wān, and a few, under Firḥān al-Mas̲h̲hūr, were involved in the Ik̲h̲wān revolt of Fayṣal al-Darwīs̲h̲ of the Muṭayr (Glubb papers; Philby papers). There were also problems with the authorities of the French and British Mandates, and with Ibn Suʿūd, over whether the Ruwala were a Syrian or a Saudi tribe. As their *amīr* was based near Damascus, and many Ruwala used Syria in the summer, it was decided the Ruwala were a Syrian tribe, while those who stayed in Saudi Arabia in summer and paid taxes to Ibn Suʿūd were Saudi citizens. The Treaty of Hadda guaranteed the Ruwala their traditional markets and grazing areas. During the thirties, al-Awrens b. Ṭrād S̲h̲aʿlān based himself outside H4 (IPC pumping station) in eastern Jordan from where he advised the Iraq Petroleum Company and developed an extensive political network. The *amīr* Nūrī, and after 1936 his grandson *amīr* Fawwāz b. Nawwāf, were members of the Syrian Chamber of Deputies.

With the increase in oil wealth in Saudi Arabia, together with the drought of 1958-62, many Ruwala joined the newly-formed National Guard in Saudi Arabia or became employed in the oil companies. The rise of the Baʿt̲h̲ party to power in Syria in the 1960s, and the resulting political and economic difficulties for particular tribes, encouraged the Ruwala to concentrate on options in Saudi Arabia. At this date *amīr* Nāyif b. Nawwāf filled a position similar to that of Speaker of the House of Commons in Saudi Arabia. After the S̲h̲aʿlān lost their assets in Syria, many of them, under the leadership of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Nūrī b. Fawwāz, together with Ruwala tribesmen, collected at al-Rīs̲h̲a in eastern Jordan and began smuggling from Saudi Arabia into Syria as a political action (Lancaster 1981). The antagonism to Syria was simultaneously expressed as active support for King Ḥusayn of Jordan in the troubles with the Palestinian *Fidāʾiyyīn*.

The smuggling ended with some reconciliation between the S̲h̲aʿlān and the Syrian authorities, together with pressure from the Jordanian government. The closing of the desert roads between Syria and Jordan by the Syrian authorities during the 1980s ended the viability of al-Rīs̲h̲a as a base for trading (legitimate or otherwise) by the Ruwala and others. Profits from smuggling were invested in sheep herds, gardens, property and businesses, especially in Saudi Arabia but also in Jordan and in Syria. The Ruwala are an important group in the National Guard of Saudi Arabia, and are represented in the Army and Air Force; they play an active part in government, the professions and business in Saudi Arabia. Their political influence is apparent in Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Syria.

While they say they are no longer Bedouin, as they do not depend on the *bādiya* or desert as in the past, they maintain their strong tribal identity.

Bibliography: The chief authorities are A. Musil, particularly *The manners and customs of the Rwala bedouins*, New York 1928; *Arabia deserta*, New York 1927; and *Northern Nejd*, New York 1928. Raynaud and Martinet, *Les bedouins de la mouvance de Damas*, Beirut 1922; V.M.P. Mueller, *En Syrie avec les bedouins*, Paris 1931; and M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, i, Leipzig 1939, continue Ruwala coverage. W. Lancaster, *The Rwala bedouin today*, Cambridge 1981, provides an anthropological analysis. Articles by Lancaster deal with detailed aspects: *The logic of the Rwala response to change in contemporary nomadic and pastoral peoples*, in *Asia and the North, studies in Third World societies*, viii (1982); *The concept of territoriality among the Rwala bedouin*, in *Nomadic Peoples*, xx (1986); and *Desert devices: the pastoral system of the Rwala bedouin*, in *A world of pastoralism; herding systems in comparative perspective*, ed. J.G. Galaty and D.L. Johnson, New York 1990.

Other important sources include; J.L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, London 1831; G.A. Wallin, *Narrative of a journey from Cairo to Nejd*, in *JRGS*, xxiv (1854), 115-207; C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia deserta*, London 1885; Lady Anne

Blunt, *Bedouin tribes of the Euphrates*, London 1879; C. Huber, *Voyage dans l'Arabie centrale 1878-82*, in *Bull. Soc. Geogr.*, vii/5 (1884); J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, 2 parts, Leiden 1896, 1914; C. Guarmani, *Northern Nejd*, London 1938; H.St.J. Philby, *Jauf and the northern Arabian desert*, in *GJ*, lxii/4 (1923) and *Arabia of the Wahabis*, London 1928 (but see Elizabeth Monroe, *Philby of Arabia*, London 1973); T.E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the desert*, London 1937; C.R. Raswan, *The black tents of Arabia*, London 1934 (for photographs); J.B. Glubb, *War in the desert*, London 1960; N. Lewis, *Nomads and settlers in Syria and Jordan 1800-1980*, Cambridge 1987; M. Meeker, *Literature and violence in northern Arabia*, Cambridge 1979 (a semiotic analysis of some Ruwala poetry, with which the Ruwala disagree on methods of analysis and interpretation). (W. and FIDELITY LANCASTER)

RUʾYĀ (A.), derived from the Semitic root *r-ʾ-y* which gives rise to formations expressing "sight" (*ruʾya(t)*) and "vision" (*ruʾyā*), one of the aspects of vision being nocturnal vision, the dream.

1. In the meaning of dream.

On relations between "seer" (*rōʾe* = Aram. *ḥōzē* = Ar. *ḥāzī*), "soothsayer" (*kāhin*, *ʿarrāf*, etc.) and "prophet" (*nabī*), see the articles KĀHIN, KIHĀNA, NUBUWWA.

The Semitic terminology of the dream and of the vision evolves in two fundamentally different semantic zones:

(1) The first is situated in the space extending between sleep and waking and is consequently expressed by the roots *y/w-sh-n* (cf. Akkadian *shittu* "sleep", and *shuttu* "dream", Hebr. *shēnā* "sleep", Ar. *sina* "sleep"), *n-w-m* (cf. Akk. *munattu* "dawn", "dream", Hebr. *tᵉnūmā* "light sleep, dozing", Ar. *manām* "somnolence", "dream") and Akk. *b-r-y*, Aramaic *ḥ-z-y*, Hebr. and Ar. *r-ʾ-y* (whence, respectively, Akk. *tabrīt*/*mūshī*, Hebr. and Aram. *ḥēzion*/*layla*, Hebr. *marʾa*/*ha-layla*, Ar. *ruʾyā*, all denoting nocturnal vision or dream). Thus the first group expresses "deep sleep" and the second "light sleep", between sleeping and waking, an activity relating to the domain of waking, if not to waking itself. It is in this last group that is situated the point of concurrence between the nocturnal vision or dream and the prophetic vision (diurnal and nocturnal) or ecstasy (cf. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 269, based on A.L. Oppenheim, *The interpretation of dreams in the Ancient Near East. With a translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S., xlvi/3 [Philadelphia 1956], 179-373, cf. 225-6; E.L. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im Alten Testament*, Beihefte zur ZATW, lxxiii, Berlin 1953, 1-12; on the difficulty of establishing a line of demarcation between dream and vision, cf. A. Guillaume, *Prophétie et divination*, French tr. Paris 1941, 261-2).

(2) The second is situated in a specific period of life, sc. puberty, a period marked by the development of sexuality (*TʿA*, viii, 355). The dream is then expressed in all Semitic languages through the root *ḥ-l-m*, which indicates, in the adolescent, a degree of physical maturity (becoming fat, fleshy, expansion of the sexual organs, nocturnal pollution) and of intellectual maturity (acquiring good judgment, being kind and gentle, patient and master of oneself).

Concerned to distinguish the true dream, rendered by *ruʾyā*, from the false dream, resulting from the passions and preoccupations of the soul, or furthermore the dream inspired by God from that inspired by Satan, Muslim tradition adopted *ḥ-l-m* for the expression of the latter, on the basis of the following tradition: "The *ruʾyā* comes from God and the *ḥulm* from Satan" (cf. *Concordance*, i, 504; al-Bukhārī, ii, 324 = *Khalk*, 11; Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, iii, 8 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 103 ff.; other references in Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i, 110). However, the lexicographers continue to treat them as synonyms, as is the case with Ugaritic *ḥ-l-m*, Hebr. *ḥᵃlōm*, Aram. *ḥelmā*/Syriac *ḥelmō*, etc., which refer to the prophetic dream as much as do the derivatives of *r-ʾ-y* and of *ḥ-z-y* (cf. Ehrlich, *op. cit.*, 1).

The Ḳurʾān seldom uses *ḥulm* in a pejorative sense with the meaning of dream; *aḥlām* appears twice, in XII, 44 and XXI, 5, preceded by *aḍghāth* "incoherent and confused dreams", and once unqualified in the former of these verses, in the expression *taʾwīl al-aḥlām*, "interpretation of dreams", while the innumerable verbal and nominal forms of *r-ʾ-y* are used to denote all kinds of vision, whether it be real, intellectual or metaphorical (see *Concordance*, s.v. *raʾā*). The verb *raʾā* and the substantive *ruʾyā* convey the dream of Joseph (XII, 4-5) as well as that of his fellow-prisoners (XII, 36) and that of the Pharaoh (XII, 43). The order communicated to Abraham to sacrifice his son (XXXVII, 102, 105) was given to him in a dream; Allāh fulfilled the dream (*ruʾyā*) of Muḥammad that he would return to Mecca (XLVIII, 27); the dream of the *isrāʾ* and of the *miʿrādj* which he had before the emigration to Medina, were given to him to test the faith of those who had followed him; this was, in a sense, "the Tree of Temptation in the Ḳurʾān" (XVII, 60).

After *ruʾyā* the Ḳurʾān uses *manām* (XXXVIII, 102), of which it makes a divine sign (XXX, 23) a summons before God, analogous to death (XXXIX, 42) and an instrument of divine direction, used by God to guide His Prophet and the believers step by step (VIII, 43-4). The *Sīra* and historiography relate a large number of dreams which marked the major events of the Prophet's life, those of his contemporaries and of his successors (cf. *La divination arabe*, 255 ff.).

Shortly before his death, the Prophet is supposed to have said: "Nothing remains of prophecy other than the good dream; the just man sees it or it makes itself seen by him" (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 18). This gives an impression of the importance accorded by him to the dream in which he saw a divine intervention (on dream and prophecy, see NUBUWWA).

As a result of the conduct of the Prophet, which consecrated a pre-Islamic usage, the study of dreams was developed considerably under Islam. The oneirocritics, of whom Abū Bakr, the first caliph was one, proliferated and Arab oneiromancy was born, nourished, at the outset, by the inexhaustible sources of the oral tradition, in which certain symbolic constants, certain techniques and even an oneirocritical style and clichés began to be established; they are to be found dispersed in the *Sīra*, the *Maghāzī*, in *Ḥadīth* and before long in the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), secretary of al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/823), where there is a list of dreams interpreted by Ibn al-Musayyab, who lived in the time of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/685-705). This was the first attempt at the compilation of a literary genre which was to undergo a considerable expansion (*Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 91-3; list quoted in full in *La divination arabe*, 310-12).

Ibn al-Musayyab was succeeded by Ibn Sīrīn [*q.v.*], whose renown as an oneirocritic has survived to this day (cf. Abdel Daim, *L'oniromancie arabe d'après Ibn Sīrīn*, Damascus 1958; *La divination arabe*, 312 ff.; Fahd, *L'oniromancie orientale et ses répercussions sur*

l'oniromancie de l'Occident médiéval, in *Oriente e Occidente nel Medioevo: Filosofia e Scienze*, Rome 1971, 347-74). His name figures among the ancestors of oneiromancy in the earliest treatise of *Taʿbīr* which is known, the *Dustūr fī 'l-taʿbīr* of Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kirmānī who lived under al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), a treatise which has not survived, but the existence of which is confirmed by Abū Bakr al-Anbārī (d. 328/940); it served as the basis for numerous later works, in particular for *al-Is̲h̲āra ilā ʿilm al-ʿibāra* (cf. *La divination arabe*, 315, 345, 352).

At this stage, Arab oneiromancy lacked a method for the classification of dreams, according to precise categories, illustrated by concurrent examples which would make clearer the significance of symbolic constants in a secular spirit. The Arabic translation of the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus of Ephesus (cf. *Le Livre des Songes*, Arabic tr. by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, ed. Fahd, Damascus 1964), commissioned by al-Maʾmūn, and *al-Ḳādirī fī 'l-taʿbīr*, composed by Abū Saʿīd Naṣr b. Yaʿḳūb al-Dīnawarī for the caliph al-Ḳādir bi 'llāh (381-422/991-1031) in 397/1006, a work which makes systematic use of the former, filled this gap (cf. Fahd, *Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq est-il le traducteur des* Oneirocritica *d'Artémidore d'Ephèse?*, in *Arabica*, xxi [1975], 270-84).

Attributed to Ibn Ḳutayba is a *Taʿbīr al-ruʾyā* (cf. G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus 1965, 157, no. 23), substantial extracts from which have been preserved by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-K̲h̲alīlī al-Dārī in his *al-Muntak̲h̲ab fī taʿbīr al-ruʾyā* (cf. *La divination arabe*, 316 ff., 335, no. 27; for the content of these extracts, *ibid.*, 317-26). If this attribution were to be proved authentic (see the indications of authenticity, *ibid.*, 326), "it would follow from this that Arab oneiromancy was, as early as the middle of the 3rd century of the Hid̲j̲ra, if not before, with al-Kirmānī, in possession of a coherent doctrine for the interpretation of dreams, with solid principles which were to serve as the basis for the development which it was later to undergo" (*ibid.*, 317).

This development is clearly illustrated in the inventory which the author of this article has compiled of oneirocritical treatises, in which 181 treatises have been identified and located (*La divination arabe*, 329-363). On the basis of the principal treatises it may be concluded that the symbolic constants of Arab oneiromancy, the origin of which is inseparable from that of the Arabs and which has developed and become enriched incessantly over the centuries, was supplemented, in the 3rd/9th century, by a written code of principles, laws, procedures, drawn from uninterrupted oral traditions, conveying the benefits of a long and rich experience of the past. The oneirocritical treatise always includes the following two sections, although in highly disproportionate volume: the first, a theoretical introduction revealing the general rules, the *modi procedendi* and the duties of the oneirocritic; the second, the symbolic, in the form of equations between realities of all kinds and symbols, often followed by justifications and examples. The internal organisation of the material takes the form of hierarchical lists of the beings or objects susceptible to being seen in dreams (the pattern of this may be found in *Les songes et leur interprétation en Islam*, in *Les songes et leur interprétation, Sources Orientales*, ii, Paris 1958, 132 f.).

But in practice, use of such lists can prove problematical. In an attempt to make consultation of such works easier, lists have come into being where oneirocritical themes are classified in alphabetical order. Such was the structure of the *Keys to dreams*, veritably encyclopaedic dictionaries of dreams, which held long and illustrious sway. Nevertheless, consultation is not always easy; dreams may be experienced in all kinds of circumstances where the work to be consulted is not within reach; and, since the dream is fleeting and may soon be forgotten, there is the risk of losing its benefit. This concern led to the versification of oneirocritical material, after the pattern of all materials of didactic vocation.

On the other hand, there exist monographs dealing with only one group of oneirocritical themes (see inventory: nos. 12, 43, 56, 81, 87, 95, 104). However, only the vision in dreams of the Prophet of Islam was the object of special monographs which were usually the result of a mystical experience (cf. nos. 3, 6, 16, 21, 22, 50, 51-4, 57, 74, 84, 111, 118, 119).

Finally, it is appropriate to provide a glimpse of the content of the typical theoretical introduction which is to be found in the major oneirocritical works. The most complete example is to be found in the introduction to *al-Ḳādirī fī 'l-taʿbīr* by Abū Saʿīd Naṣr b. Yaʿḳūb al-Dīnawarī (d. *ca.* 400/1009). It is the most ancient Arab oneirocritical treatise which has survived in its entirety, in spite of its substantial length. It exploited all the information from the *Book of Dreams* by Artemidorus that was susceptible of adaptation to its milieu.

The introduction to this treatise, composed of 30 chapters (*faṣl*s), divided into 1396 *bāb*s, comprises 15 *maḳāla*s on the nature of sleep, the conduct to be followed by the dreamer, the modalities of the dream, the angel of the dream, the nature of the dream, the varieties of true and of false dream, the times and seasons of the dream, the definition of interpretation, the rules to be followed by the narrator of the dream and by the interpreter, the omens to be observed at the time of interpretation, interpretation and the days of the week and the types of oneirocritics (cf. *La divination arabe*, 336-7; for more detailed information, see *Les songes et leur interprétation en Islam*, 133-47).

Finally, it may be noted that incubation, practised by the ancient Semites (cf. Ehrlich, *op. cit.*, 13-55; Oppenheim, *loc. cit.*, index s.v. *Incubation dream*, 352; A. Haldar, *Associations of cult prophets among the ancient Semites*, Uppsala 1945, 81-2; *Sources orientales*, ii, 39-41 (Egypt), 80-1 (Assyro-Babylonia), has survived in *istik̲h̲āra* and the custom of sleeping in mosques (cf. ISTIK̲H̲ĀRA and *La divination arabe*, 363-6).

Bibliography: Most of the material contained in this article has been borrowed from the present author's *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, and from his contribution to *Sources orientales*, ii, Paris 1959, 127-58, under the title *Les songes et leur interprétation en Islam*. Besides the references given in the text, see N. Vashide and H. Perron, *Le rêve prophétique dans la croyance et la philosophie des Arabes*, in *Bull. de la Société Anthropologique de Paris*, 5th series, iii (1902), 829-30; L. Massignon, *Thèmes archétypiques en onirocritique musulmane*, in *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, xii (1945) = *Festgabe für C.G. Jung*, 241-51; see also his lectures in *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 41st year (1940-1), 84-6; 42nd year (1941-2), 93-5; 51st year (1950-1), 179-83; P. Schwarz, *Traum und Traumdeutung nach ʿAbd al-G̲h̲anī an-Nābulsī*, in *ZDMG*, lxvii (1913), 473-93 (critique by A. Fischer, in *ibid.*, 681-3, and lxviii [1914], 275-325); Fahd, *Le rêve dans la société musulmane du Moyen âge*, in *Les rêves et les sociétés humaines*, ed. G.E. von Grunebaum and R. Caillois, Paris 1967, 335-65, Span. tr. Buenos Aires 1964, 193-230, Eng. tr. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966, 351-79; idem, *Les corps de métiers au IVe/Xe siècle à Bag̲h̲dād d'après le ch. XII d'*al Qādirī fī t-taʿbīr *de Dīnawarī*, in *JESHO*, viii/1(1965), 186-212; F.

Krenkow, *The appearance of the Prophet in dreams*, in *JRAS* (1912), 77-9 (completed by I. Goldziher, in *ibid.*, 503-6); J. de Somoygi, *The interpretation of dreams in ad-Damīrī*'s Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān, in *ibid.* (1940), 1-20. (T. FAHD)

2. In its philosophical-mystical meaning.

In its philosophical-mystical meaning, the term, like *manām*, describes the dream as a means to transmit fictitious observations or, in the best instances, information and knowledge which convey another, higher reality. As such, this information has its origin in God or in persons near to God, such as prophets, holy men and Ṣūfīs. Starting points in this interpretation of dreams are found in the Ḳurʾān (sūras VIII, 43/45; XII, 43; XXXVII, 102/101; etc.) and in the tripartite subdivision of dreams, found in Islamic *ḥadīth* and in other cultures (see Gätje, *Traumlehren*, 258): true dreams, which have their origin in God and bear a prophetic character; false dreams, which come from Satan; and dreams connected with man's nature and therefore unable to predict anything about the future. In Ṣūfī literature, the dream mainly appears as a means for having a dialogue with deceased Ṣūfīs and holy men, or even with the Prophet, and to receive messages, warnings or pieces of advice (see the works by Schimmel and Smith, in *Bibl.*).

Islamic philosophy, going back to the Ḳurʾānic-mystical interpretation of the dream, considers it as a means to transmit the truth, its prophetical-divine origin serving as a criterion. This criterion, however, caused discussions about the postulates of dreams. Galen's explanation that they originate from a mixture of the fluids in the human body, and his localising (as against Aristotle) fantasy and thought in the brain and not in the heart, is often drawn into the argumentation. Beyond this, with reference to the Neoplatonic philosophy of the divine emanations as well as to the Aristotelian-Peripathetic doctrine of the soul and of the divine intellect, the dream is given an important part in the process of human perception. This development culminates in the precedence of divinely-inspired prophetic knowledge over human knowledge (see Daiber, *Abū Ḥātim*), defended by the Ismāʿīlī Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] against Abū Bakr al-Rāzī [see AL-RĀZĪ, ABŪ BAKR], and in the transmission of this prophetic knowledge by way of portentous dreams, which owe their existence to the divine active intellect. The latter view is represented by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī [*q.v.*].

The origin of this development can already be found in Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī [*q.v.*], who links up with Aristotle (*De anima*), but puts new accents, which he owes to the Alexandrian exegesis of Aristotle and which presuppose a Neoplatonic-hermetic concept of the soul (see Genequand, in *Bibl.*). In his *Fī Māhiyyat al-nawm wa 'l-ruʾyā* (= *Rasāʾil*, i, 293-311), which was translated into Latin by Gerhard of Cremona (ed. Baeumker, 12-27), and in his as yet unpublished treatise on the anamnesis of the soul (see Endress, *Al-Kindī's theory*), the soul appears in an intermediate position between the perception of matter and the eternal ideas of the divine intellect; in the process of its purification, and in its endeavour to return to its divine origin, the soul avails itself of the "shaping capacity" (*al-ḳuwwa al-muṣawwira*), i.e. of the fantasy, the carrier of the dreaming activity, which increasingly liberates itself from sensory perceptions. After that, the soul remembers more and more its originally divine situation i.e. the world of the intellect. In its most complete form, the dream is no longer confused dreams (*aḍghāth*), or mere opinion, but the remembrance of the shape of sensible objects, or of the genus and species of intelligible objects. Thus the soul is capable of anticipating the future in a dream (al-Kindī, *Rasāʾil*, i, 303).

Al-Kindī's doctrine of the dream is part of his doctrine of the intellect (see Jolivet, *L'intellect*, esp. 128 ff.), in which the cognitional constituent appears as being integrated in a Neoplatonic doctrine of anamnesis. This accentuation was not continued by al-Fārābī. In the latter's doctrine of the dream, the remembrance of intelligibles is not mentioned. On the contrary, in a newly created terminology al-Fārābī speaks of the "imitation" (*muḥākāt*) of perceptible particulars (*al-djuzʾiyyāt*) and of the "separating intelligibles" (*al-maʿḳūlāt al-mufāriḳa*) which ensue in a dream. The imaginative pictures in the dream are thus the result of a cooperation between perception, imitating imagination or fantasy, and the divine "active intellect". If this imitation is not limited to sensible phenomena, if it is not solely oriented towards the activities of nutrition and desire, and if it is not shaped by the constitution of the body (see Galen, *De dignotione ex insomniis*), then the dream represents "exalted objects" (*mawdjūdāt sharīfa*), i.e. the intelligibles of the divine "active intellect"; the point at issue then is prophecy, prophesying "divine things". From this al-Fārābī, while modifying Plato's doctrine of the philosopher-king, deduces his well-known thesis on the sovereign of the Ideal State, who should be both philosopher and prophet. His starting-points in literature are first of all Aristotle's works, in particular, *De anima*, the *Nicomachaean ethics* and the theory of the dream and divination in the *Parva naturalia*, and also the exegesis of Aristotle by Alexander of Aphrodisias. The parallel between al-Fārābī and the new accentuation of Aristotelian doctrines, found in the transmitted Arab version of the *Parva naturalia*, is remarkable. Deviating from the Greek text, the latter emphasises the divinity of the intellect, which causes the "images" (*ṣuwar*) which come into being in "true dreams" (see the Arabic ms. Raza Library, Rāmpūr, no. 1752, dating from the 11th/17th century, fols. 7a-54b, of which fols. 44b l. 11-fol. 47b l. 25 deal with the dream; cf. Davidson, 340 ff.; Pines; Ravitzky).

Above all, al-Fārābī is convinced that, as Aristotle said, the soul thinks in images, and for this needs perception; its imaginative power imitates reality and produces imitating images. The most perfect imitations of the particulars and intelligibles, which originate in the divine active intellect and are realised in a dream by the imaginative power, are made into statements about the future and into prophecies. They are then transmitted to mankind by the sovereign, either in the form of philosophical argumentations or in the form of prophetic "warnings". At this, al-Fārābī, in his thesis on the perfect "religion" as imitation of "philosophy", presupposes the reciprocal dependence of the two. Religion is an indispensable "instrument" of philosophy because, in the Ideal State (*al-madīna al-fāḍila*), it realises the practical part of the latter, namely ethics. In agreement with Aristotelian epistemology, according to which the soul does not think without the images of perception, religion is at the same time a perceptible image of philosophy and of the intelligibles, which experience their realisation in the most perfect form in the prophetical revelation (for further details, see Daiber, *Prophetie; Ruler*). And so prophetic revelation in a dream is not only a perceptive representation of what had been pre-existing in the mind, and what has been inspired by the active intellect; for by transmitting laws and prescriptions of "religion", this revelation also clears

the way for realising the practical part of philosophy, namely the ethics of every single person in the Ideal State.

Later philosophers, above all Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd [*q.vv.*], were decisively influenced by al-Fārābī's doctrine of the divine active intellect as the cause of prophetic dreams. They took up al-Fārābī's Neoplatonic attachment of separate intellects to certain heavenly spheres, a doctrine which had further developed Aristotle's conception of the spirits of the spheres, as well as al-Kindī's doctrine of the intellect. In their works, the divine active intellect (*al-ʿaḳl al-faʿʿāl/al-fāʿil*), the tenth and last member of these intellects, appears as an emanation of the ninth intellect which rules the sphere of the moon. However, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd did not adopt al-Fārābī's idea of religion as being the visualisation of philosophy. Contrary to Aristotle, but in consequent continuation of al-Kindī's Neoplatonism, they maintain that thinking does not need perception through the senses; the active intellect leads the thinking soul out of the stage of potentiality.

Ibn Sīnā's explanations in his *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* and in his *Risāla al-manāmiya* show that al-Fārābī's doctrine of dreams was modified. He gives more attention to the elements mentioned by Galen, and al-Fārābī's explanations are completed; in the common sense (*ḥiss mushtarak*), the dream is the sensorial representation of the forms which have been abstracted from the matter. This representation has been realised by the preserving "forming power" (*muṣawwira*), together with the combining "fantasy" (*mutakhayyila*). The interpretation of dreams (*taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*) deals with the *maʿānī*, the *intentiones* of these abstractions, which belong to the realm of the perception, of the intellect or of the heavenly world. In Ibn Sīnā's work the function of the prophetic dream appears, in a modified form, as providence (*ʿināya*) of the "divine power", or of the "intellectual" and "heavenly angels"; the *ʿināya* becomes their tool, and is allotted to just rulers, to outstanding scholars and, beyond them, to all mankind; it is no longer a privilege of the prophet.

Ibn Rushd, in his *Epitome of the Parva naturalia*, essentially follows Ibn Sīnā and does not bring any new element. The dream is a spiritual process and gets its bearings from the *maʿānī*, which are deposited in the faculty of memory (*ḥāfiẓa, dhākira*), abstracted by the faculty of thought (*al-mufakkira*) from the individual perceptions, which at first have been united in the common sense, then preserved by the imaginative power (*muṣawwira, mutakhayyila*). Beyond that, the prophetic dream is an activity of the active intellect; in as much as the sensorial representations and their *maʿānī* are already potentially present in the soul, the dream enables the actualisation of the potential intelligence of the human being, of his "material" intellect, that is, by the active eternal intellect. Certainly, the possibility of scientific knowledge through dreams, admitted by al-Fārābī and, to a certain extent, also by Ibn Sīnā, is limited by Ibn Rushd (as already had been the case with Ibn Bādjdja) (see Davidson, 342 ff.); the inspiration given by dreams is limited to what is useful or harmful, and to a few practical arts; it does not extend to theoretical science. Prophetic revelation recedes here into the background.

Instead, Ibn Rushd propagates a connection between the form of the soul, understood as eternal potentiality of the "material" intellect, and the divine, eternal, active intellect. This connection is said to be the road to the most perfect form of human knowledge. For Ibn Rushd, the universality of this general form of the soul excludes any individuality (and thus also the individual immortality of the soul). Here, too, can be detected a basic tenet of Islamic philosophical thinking, which had become apparent with al-Kindī and which could appeal to the Ḳurʾān, to mystics, and to the religious tradition of Islam, namely tracing human knowledge back to God, considering prophetical knowledge as superior to human knowledge, and dreams as the road along which God transmits knowledge to mankind. However, Ibn Rushd limited the traditional appreciation of this road.

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RUʾYAT ALLĀH, the vision of God. It is usually qualified by the phrase *bi 'l-abṣār*, "through perception", to distinguish it from a metaphorical concept, sometimes acknowledged, of vision "through the heart", cf. al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 157, ll. 10-13 and 216, ll. 10-13.

Whether it is or will be possible for men to see God with their own eyes is one of the questions which have deeply divided Muslim theologians. Sunnīs of all persuasions (Ḥanbalīs, Kullābiyya, Ashʿarīs, Karrāmiyya and Māturīdīs) maintain that it is so. The notion was absolutely refuted, on the other hand, by the Djahmiyya and then by the Muʿtazilīs, also, it is said, by the Khāridjīs, the Zaydīs, and the majority of the Murdjiʾīs (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 216, ll. 14-15; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, iv, 139, ll. 4-6; Abu 'l-Yusr al-Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, 78, ll. 6-7). Among the Imāmī Shīʿīs, only the earliest theologians (Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, etc.), adherents of a "corporealist" conception of God, acknowledged His visibility; but early theologians such as al-Kulaynī and Ibn Bābawayh (thus, even before the "conversion" of the Imāmīs to Muʿtazilī *kalām*) adopted the contrary view (cf. Vajda, *Le problème*, in *Le Shīʿisme imâmite*, 33-46).

To say that God is "visible through perception" does not necessarily mean, for the adherents of this thesis, that He is so for all, and in all circumstances. The customary Sunnī position, as defined at an early stage in the profession of faith of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* articulated by al-Ashʿarī (*Maḳālāt*, 292, ll. 12-13) is that God will be seen only in the after-life and only by believers; infidels will be deprived of the sight of Him, in conformity with Ḳurʾān, LXXXIII, 15. In this world, on the other hand, God could be seen by nobody, with the exception of the Prophet Muḥammad (although this last point is controversial, on account, notably, of two contradictory statements attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿĀʾisha).

Here as elsewhere, the Ḳurʾān is invoked in support of both theories. The opponents of the notion of visibility invoke VI, 103: *lā tudrikuhu 'l-abṣāru*, "perceptions do not comprehend Him". In reply, the Sunnīs propose two interpretations. For some (such as al-Asharī), the implication of the verse is more specific; a qualification such as "in this world" is to be understood. Others, including Ibn Kullāb and later al-Māturīdī, distinguish between *idrāk* and *ruʾya*: God denies that perceptions "comprehend" Him, not that they "see" Him.

The Sunnīs, for their part, invoke LXXV, 22-3, where it is said that on the Day of Resurrection faces will be *ilā rabbihā nāẓira*, "their Lord regarding". To which the Muʿtazilīs reply that *naẓara* is equivalent here to *intaẓara*, and the expression is metonymical. It is the reward of their Lord which they "will wait for".

The Sunnīs also have recourse to VII, 143: since Moses, a prophet, asked to see God, it follows, they say, that God can be seen. To which the Muʿtazilīs reply, following al-Djubbāʾī, that it was not for himself that Moses made this request, but for his incredulous people, who demanded it of him.

The Sunnīs also base a major part of their argument on a well-known *ḥadīth* according to which the Prophet, on a night of full moon, is said to have promised his Companions "You shall see (*tarawna*) your Lord as you see this moon" (al-Bukhārī, *mawāḳīt*, 16 and 26; *tawḥīd*, 24, 1-3). For the Muʿtazilīs, either the *ḥadīth* is inauthentic or else *tarawna* is to be understood in a figurative sense, as a synonym of *taʿlamūna*.

In the realm of rational controversy, the Muʿtazilīs place the greatest emphasis on the argument that, in order to be seen, a thing must be either substance or accident, and God is neither one nor the other. The solution proposed by al-Ashʿarī (and also adopted by the Māturīdīs) is that visibility is not confined to substances and accidents; it is a necessary characteristic of all existing things—and God exists.

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RUʾYAT AL-HILĀL (A.), a term in Islamic astronomy denoting the sighting of the lunar crescent. In this article, astronomical aspects are covered.

Muslim astronomers from the 2nd/8th century onwards performed calculations to predict the visibility of the lunar crescent, of particular importance for the fixing the beginning and end of Ramaḍān and the festivals [see HILĀL, i. In religious law; ʿĪD; RAMAḌĀN; ṢAWM; TAʾRĪKH]. Over the centuries, the techniques and visibility conditions that they used became more sophisticated. Even the simplest procedures involved a knowledge of the longitudes of the sun and moon at sunset on the night when visibility was in question and methods for finding the difference in setting times of the sun and moon [see MAṬĀLIʿ]. More complicated procedures involved the altitude of the moon above the horizon or the apparent velocity of the moon. These conditions are recorded in astronomical handbooks [see ZĪDJ] and treatises on astronomical timekeeping [see MĪḲĀT].

The earliest Muslim astronomers adopted a simple Indian visibility condition, namely, that the difference in setting times of the sun and moon be at least 12 equatorial degrees (or 48 minutes of time). Using this, they calculated tables displaying for a specific latitude and for different solar longitudes the minimum elongation between sun and moon necessary for visibility (see Pl. XXXVI). More complicated tables involved directly the lunar latitude or served a series of different latitudes. Some later astronomers used conditions so complex that they had to calculate by hand the various astronomical quantities involved and then investigate whether these satisfied their visibility conditions, not always explicitly stated (see Pl. XXXVII). The results of their labours were circulated in astronomical ephemerides [see TAḲWĪM], in which for each day of a given year the positions of the sun, moon and planets would be tabulated and for each month the lunar visibility calculations and predictions, as well as astrological prognostications, would be recorded (see Pl. XXXVIII) and occasionally illustrated (see Pl. XXXIX). There are no known mediaeval records of conflicts with the *ʿulamāʾ*, who favoured actual sightings of the crescent (see HILĀL. i) and used simple arithmetical procedures (based on alternating months of 29 and 30 days) when adverse weather conditions prevailed.

This is a subject on which a great deal of work remains to be done. First, there are numerous astronomical discussions of the subject yet to be studied. Second, there are even more legal discussions awaiting study (see, for example, the volume by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb cited below). And third, there are references to actual practice scattered throughout the historical literature. Of particular historical interest are various S̲h̲īʿī treatises.

In the modern world, with instant communications between places where the crescent can be seen and others where it cannot, as well as less mutual understanding between religious scholars and scientists, there is occasionally some confusion about the beginning and end of Ramaḍān.

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See also H.P.J. Renaud, *Sur les lunes du Ramadan*, in *Hespéris*, xxxii (1945), 51-68, unique of its genre, for the practice in Morocco. A large number of original sources from legal texts are collected in Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-ʿAd̲h̲b al-zulāl fī mabāḥit̲h̲ ruʾyat al-hilāl*, Ḳaṭar 1977.

On the problems associated with the Muslim calendar nowadays, see M. Ilyas, *A modern guide to the astronomical calculations of Islamic calendar, times & qibla*, Kuala Lumpur 1984, and Imad-ad-Dean Ahmad, *Signs in the heavens. A Muslim astronomer's perspective on religion and science*, Beltsville, Md. 1992.

(D.A. KING)

RŪYĀN, a district of the Caspian coastlands region of Persia comprising the western half of Māzandarān [*q.v.*].

Iranian tradition. According to Darmesteter, *Avesta*, ii, 416, Rūyān corresponds to the mountain called *Raodita* ("reddish") in *Yas̲h̲t*, 19, 2, and *Rōyis̲h̲n-ōmand* in *Bundahis̲h̲n*, xii, 2, 27 (tr. West, 34). Al-Bīrūnī, *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, 220, makes Rūyān the scene of the exploits of the archer Āris̲h̲ (cf. Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿas̲h̲ī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān u Rūyān u Māzandarān*, ed. Dorn, 18 [*Yas̲h̲t* 8, 6, in this connection mentions the hill Aryō-xs̲h̲nθa]). In the letter addressed to the *mōbad* Tansar by king *Gus̲h̲nasps̲h̲āh (3rd century A.D.?), the latter claims to be lord of Ṭabaristān, Patis̲h̲k̲h̲ʷār-gar, Gīlān, Daylamān, Rūyān and Damāwand.

Geography. According to Ibn Rusta, 150, and Ibn al-Faḳīh, 304 (the latter cites Balād̲h̲urī as authority, but the passage is lacking in the *Futūḥ al-buldān*), Rūyān was at first an independent *kūra* attached to Daylam. It was conquered by ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlāʾ (after 141/758), who built a town there with a *minbar* and attached it to Ṭabaristān. Rūyān comprised an extensive area the districts of which lay between two mountains (Ibn al-Faḳīh: "between the mountains of Rūyān and Daylam"); each township could supply from 400 to 1,000 soldiers (Ibn al-Faḳīh: in all 50,000). The *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* levied on Rūyān by Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd was 400,050 dirhams. The town of Rūyān called Kad̲j̲d̲j̲a was the headquarters of the *wālī*. Rūyān was near the mountains of Rayy and was reached via Rayy. The text of the two authors above quoted suggests that, between Rūyān and unsubjected Daylam, was a region which formed the military zone from which operations were conducted against Daylam. To this zone belonged S̲h̲ālūs or Čālūs, a town called *al-Kabīra* (situated opposite Kad̲j̲d̲j̲a), another (?) town called al-Muḥdat̲h̲a and lastly Muzn. (But on these frontiers, see the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* and Ẓahīr al-Dīn.)

Al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 206, enumerates the mountains of "Daylam" (in the broad sense) as the following: D̲j̲ibāl Ḳārin, D̲j̲ibāl *Fād̲h̲ūsbān and D̲j̲ibāl al-Rūband̲j̲ (according to Barthold, *al-Rūyand̲j̲ = Rūyān). In these last-named highlands, there were formerly kingdoms (*mamālik*); in the part adjoining Ṭabaristān the kings were of Ṭabaristān, and in the part adjoining Rayy they were of Rayy.

According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (written in 372/982), tr. Minorsky, 135, comm. 387, Nātil (according to Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 217, one *marḥala* west of Āmul) Čālūs, Rūd̲h̲ān (= Rūyān) and Kalār (west of Čālūs) formed a province of Ṭabaristān, but the authority there belonged to a king named Ustundār. Rūd̲h̲ān produced red woollen materials for waterproofs and blue *gilīm* (a kind of carpet material).

Rustamdār. From the Mongol period we find the geographical term *Rustamdār*. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 161, the greater part of its territory was irrigated by the

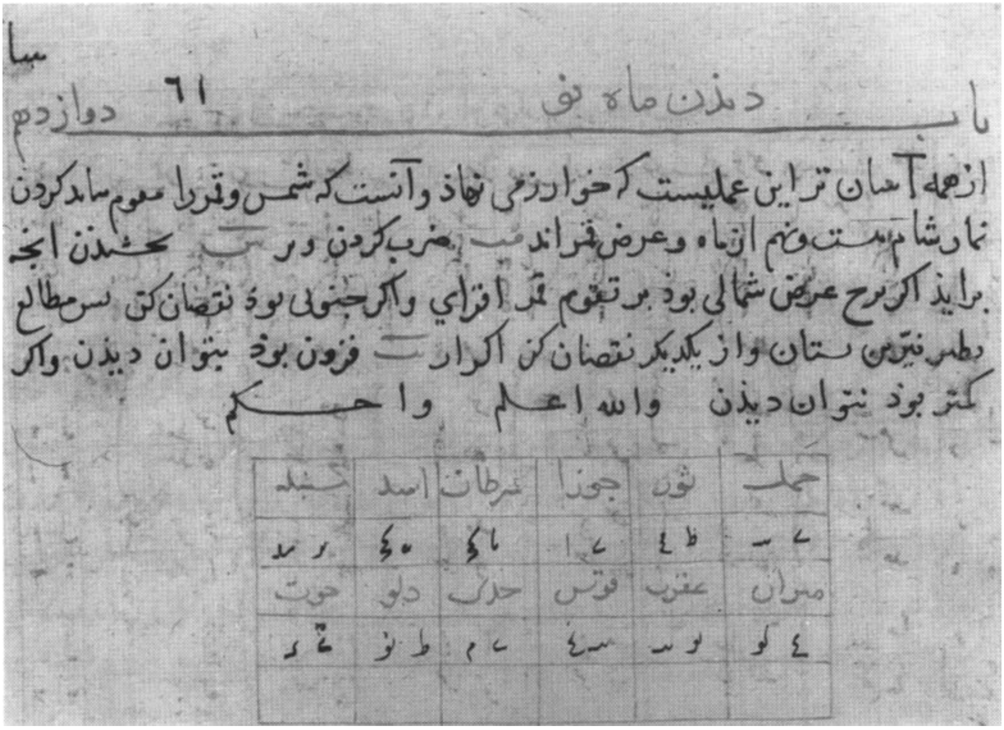

The crescent visibility theory of Abū Djaʿfar al-Khʷārazmī [*q.v.*] from the early 3rd/9th century. The table, which serves the latitude of Baghdād (taken by the author as 33°), displays the minimum distance between the sun and moon for each zodiacal sign. From ms. Cairo Ṭalʿat falak *fārisī* 11, fol. 61a, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.

Calculations of the possibility of crescent visibility on the first day of the civil months of the year 1125 AH [= 1713-14]. The tables, part of a set for the years 1125-30 AH and serving Cairo, show the lunar longitude and latitude (but, alas, for the purposes of analysis not the solar longitude), the apparent distance between the sun and moon, the altitude of the moon, the difference in setting times of the two luminaries, and then at the end of each line a prediction. If the crescent cannot be seen, the new month will start on the next day. From ms. Cairo Dār al-Kutub *ṣināʿa* 166,2, fol. 40a, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.

In these extracts from a Yemeni ephemeris for the year 808 AH [= 1405-6], the information at the top of the double-page for a specific civil month relates to the astrological implications of the full moon in the middle of that month and to the new moon on day one, for which the prediction is that it will not be seen (*lā yurā*). The main tables show the ecliptic positions of the sun, moon and five naked-eye planets, as well as the implications of the relative positions of the moon and the other celestial bodies, for each day of the month in question. From ms. Cairo Dār al-Kutub Taymūr *riyāḍa* 274, pp. 104-5, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.

In this Egyptian ephemeris for the Djalālī year 936 AH [= 1614-15], the position of the crescent relative to the horizon of Cairo is shown for each month. From ms. Cairo Dār al-Kutub *miḳāt* 141,3, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.

Shāh-rūd (?!) and ʿAlī b. Shams al-Dīn Lāhīdjī, *Taʾrīkh-i Khānī*, ed. Dorn, 298, says that Ṭālaḳān (on the upper Shāh-rūd) adjoined Rustamdār. On the other hand, Ẓahīr al-Dīn gives the term a larger connotation and uses it sometimes as a synonym of Rūyān and sometimes with a special meaning. An examination of the passages led R. Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns*, 123-4, to the conclusion that Rustamdār in the proper sense was situated towards Kudjūr and Kalār, while Rūyān primarily meant the country between Rustamdār and Ḳasrān (i.e. the country towards Rayy). According to Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 19-20, the eastern frontier of Rustamdār was originally at Sī-sangān (near the mouth of the river of Kudjūr), but in the time of the Saldjūḳ Sandjar was brought back to Alīsha (near Āmul?); the western frontier was at first at Malāṭ (near Langarūd in Gīlān), but in 590/1193 was brought back to Sakhtasar (on the eastern frontier of Gīlān) and in 640/1242 at Namak-āwa-rūd (west of Kalārastāḳ). It is curious that Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 17, seems to place the "town of Rūyān" (the Kadjdja of Ibn Rusta) at Kudjūr, but the passage is not very explicit and the legend of the foundation of the town given by Ẓahīr al-Dīn may belong to a period before the appearance of the term Rustamdār.

The princes of Rūyān. The title attested for the dynasty is Ustundār (perhaps **Ustan-dār* < *Ōstān-dār*; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2638). It is not clear if the dynasty also took the title of *pādhūspān* (<*pātgōspān*), which in Sāsānid terminology was at first borne by the viceroys of the four great divisions of the empire, the prerogatives of which were lessened in time by the increase in power of the military commanders (*sipāhbadh*; cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², 139, 352, 518 ff.). The fact is that in the passage in al-Iṣṭakhrī, 206, the mountain of *Fādhūsfān is mentioned separately and, it seems, to the east of *Rūyāndj, but it is possible that the two names only mean the two parts of "Rūyān" which at this time were under Ṭabaristān and Rayy respectively. In any case, in the genealogy of the Ustundārs (Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 146-54, 320-1), Pādūspān appears as the personal name of the eponymous founder and of certain princes only. The eponym Pādūspān (towards the end of the 7th century?) was regarded as one of the three sons of Gīl-Gawbāra, a descendant of the Sāsānid Djāmāsp (who reigned 497-9). Towards the beginning of the 4th/10th century (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 206, see above), the dynasty seems to have passed through a crisis which it survived. After the death of Djalāl al-Dawla Kayūmarth b. Bīsutūn b. Gustahm in 857/1453, his possessions were divided between his two sons: the line of Kāwūs reigned in Nūr, in the valley of the left bank tributary of the river of Āmul (Haraz-pay), and that of Iskandar at Kudjūr, on the northern slopes of the mountains of Nūr.

On the feudal wars in Māzandarān, see Ẓahīr al-Dīn, ed. Dorn, also ed. ʿAbbās Shāyān, Tehran 1333 *Sh.*/1954, indices. The princes of Rustamdār retained their autonomy down to the time of the Ṣafawids. In 947/1540 the expedition of Shāh Ṭahmāsp against Malik Djahāngīr b. Malik Kāwūs, who had shut himself up in the fortress of Lāridjān, was a failure (cf. Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. Seddon, 299). In 997/1589 the maliks Djahāngīr b. ʿAzīz of Nūr and Djahāngīr b. Muḥammad of Kudjūr came to pay homage to Shāh ʿAbbās, but finally in 1003/1594 they were both dispossessed of their lands; the ruler of Nūr submitted voluntarily, while he of Kudjūr was seized by force (cf. Iskandar Munshī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, 265, 334, 354-7).

Bibliography: See that to MĀZANDARĀN; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.v. *Patkōspān*, *Ustandār*, and 433-5; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 131, 135 (*Rvan*); G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 373-4; R. Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns durch die Araber*, in *Islamica*, iii/1 (1927), 115-25 (a detailed analysis of the sources); H.L. Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, London 1928, see index; idem, arts. listed in the *Bibl.* to MĀZANDARĀN; W. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 233-4.

(V. MINORSKY)

RŪZBIHĀN b. Abī Naṣr al-Fasāʾī al-Daylamī AL-BAḲLĪ AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad (522-606/1128-1209), Persian Ṣūfī author. Rūzbihān was born into a family of Daylamī origin in the town of Fasāʾ (Pasāʾ) in Fārs and raised without religious guidance. From early youth, however, he was susceptible to dreams and powerful ecstasies, so that he soon abandoned his early trade as a grocer (whence his name Baḳlī), was initiated into a branch of the Kādharūnī *ṭarīḳa*, and travelled in search of religious knowledge. For 50 years he preached in the mosque of Shīrāz, and he established a *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] there in 560/1165 that continued to be a centre of Ṣūfī training and activity under his descendants for several generations. His predilection for the outrageous ecstatic sayings (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) of earlier Ṣūfīs earned him the sobriquet "Doctor Ecstaticus" (*shaykh-i shaṭṭāḥ*). He recorded his spiritual experiences with directness and power, using a prose style of great rhetorical density. Although the *ṭarīḳa Rūzbihāniyya* did not endure as an institution, his writings, particularly his mystical Ḳurʾān commentary, have been studied, preserved, and commented on by a select group of readers in the Ottoman regions (e.g. ʿAynī Sīmābī), in Central Asia (Djāmī [*q.v.*]), and in India (Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*]), as well as in Persia proper, up to the present day.

Rūzbihān is the subject of two hagiographies written by his grandsons: *Tuḥfat ahl al-ʿirfān* by Sharaf al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Rūzbihān Thānī, completed in 700/1300 (ed. Dj. Nūrbakhsh, Tehran 1349/1970), and *Rūḥ al-djinān* by Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Rūzbihān Thānī, which was dedicated to the Atābak Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad-i Lur (r. 696-733/1296-1333) (both texts ed. M.T. Dānish-Pazhūh, *Rūzbihān-nāma*, Tehran 1347/1969).

Among his chief extant writings on Ṣūfism are the following: (i) *Kashf al-asrār*, a spiritual autobiography in Arabic written in 577/1181-2 (partial editions by N. Hoca, Istanbul 1971, and P. Nwyia, in *al-Machriq*, lxiv [1970], 385-406); (ii) *ʿArāʾis al-bayān fī ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-Ḳurʾān* (several times lithographed in India), a voluminous Ṣūfī *tafsīr* in Arabic building on previous commentaries by al-Sulamī and al-Ḳushayrī [*q.vv.*]; (iii) *Manṭiḳ al-asrār*, an Arabic collection of ecstatic sayings (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) with commentary and a lexicon of Ṣūfī terminology; (iv) *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyyāt* (ed. H. Corbin, Tehran 1966), a Persian translation and expansion of the *Manṭiḳ al-asrār* (extracts tr. L. Massignon, in *Kitâb al ṭawâsîn*, Paris 1913, 79-108); (v) *ʿAbhar al-ʿāshiḳīn* (ed. with full bibliographic and biographic essays by H. Corbin and M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1958, also ed. Dj. Nūrbakhsh, Tehran 1349/1971), a Persian treatise on mystical love; (vi) *Mashrab al-arwāḥ* (ed. N. Hoca, Istanbul 1974), an Arabic treatise on 1,001 spiritual states (*aḥwāl*); (vii) *Risālat al-ḳuds* and (viii) *Ghalaṭāt al-sālikīn* (both ed. Dj. Nūrbakhsh, Tehran 1351/1972), Persian treatises for Ṣūfī novices; (ix) *al-Ighāna*, also known as *Sharḥ al-ḥujub wa 'l-astār fī maḳāmāt ahl al-anwār wa 'l-asrār* (lith. Ḥaydarābād 1333/1915), a commentary in Arabic on the veils that separate the soul from God. He also wrote poetry in

Arabic and Persian, plus numerous other works on standard religious subjects such as *ḥadīth*, exoteric Ḳurʾān commentary, and Shāfiʿī jurisprudence, some of which have only been preserved in excerpts in his biographies.

Bibliography: In addition to the texts mentioned in the article, see L. Massignon, *La vie et les œuvres de Ruzbehan Baqli*, in *Opera minora*, ed. Y. Moubarac, Beirut 1963, ii, 451-65; H. Corbin, *En islam iranien*, Paris 1972, iii, 9-146; C. Ernst, *Words of ecstasy in Sufism*, Albany 1985; idem, *The symbolism of birds and flight in the writings of Rūzbihān Baqlī*, in *Sufi*, xi (1991), 5-12; idem, *The stages of love in early Persian Sufism, from Rābiʿa to Rūzbihān*, in *Sufi*, xiv (1992), 16-23; A. Godlas, *The Qurʾanic hermeneutics of Rūzbihān al-Baqlī*, diss., University of California at Berkely 1991, unpubl. New editions and French translations of the *Kashf al-asrār, Risālat al-ḳuds, al-Ighāna*, and several minor theological texts are forthcoming from P. Ballanfat. (C. ERNST)

RŪZNĀMA (P.), literally "record of the day", hence acquiring meanings like "almanac, calendar, daily journal" etc.

1. As a mediaeval Islamic administrative term.

In the ʿAbbāsid caliphate's financial departments, the *rūznāmadj* was the day-book (*kitāb al-yawm*) in which all the financial transactions of the day—incoming taxation receipts, items of expenditure—were recorded before being transferred to the *awāradj*, the register showing the balance of taxation in hand. The form *rūznāmadj* points to an origin of this practice in Sāsānid administration. Later, in Fāṭimid and early Ayyūbid Egypt, *rūznāma* was used in a sense contrary to its etymological meaning and its usage in the eastern Islamic world, sc. for the rendering of accounts every ten days.

Bibliography: C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 121-2. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In the sense of almanac, calendar [see TAḲWĪM].

RŪZNĀMEDJI (P.-Tkish.), the Ottoman term for the keeper of a daybook (*rūznāme* or *rūznāmče*), referring principally to the official in charge of the register of daily income and expenditure of the central treasury, *khazīne*. From the diminutive form *rūznāmče*, this official was known alternatively as *rūznāmčedji*, a title often contracted to *rūznāmče* and identical with the name of the daybook itself. The *rūznāmedji* and his scribal staff formed part of the financial bureaucracy headed by the *bash defterdār* [*q.v.*]. The late-15th century *ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥmed II assigns a relatively high scribal status to the *rūznāmedji*. This, together with the essential nature of such a register, indicates that the post probably dates from the earliest period of Ottoman administration.

By the mid-10th/16th century, the *rūznāmedji*'s office was developing two relatively distinct branches. The *rūznāmedji-yi ewwel*, later *büyük rūznāmedji* (chief daybook keeper), was the senior official with overall responsibility for recording all kinds of income and expenditure; the *rūznāmedji-yi thānī*, later *küčük rūznāmedji* (second, or lesser, daybook keeper) became specifically concerned with recording expenditure on the wages and salaries of palace servants and lesser officials of the central administration.

The designation *rūznāmedji* was also applied generally to the daybook clerk(s) in various other offices of the central and provincial administration, e.g. keepers of *tīmār rūznāmeleri*, registers of appointments to *tīmār* and *zeʿāmet* [*q.vv.*] holdings.

During the 19th-century *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], the *khazīne* daybook was retitled synonymously *yewmiyye defteri*, and the *rūznāmedji* as *yewmiyye kātibi*.

Bibliography: Pakalın, iii, 60-2; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1984, 336-9 and passim; K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1973, 36-9; H. Sahillioğlu, *Ruznamçe*, in [M. Kütükoğlu (ed.)], *Tarih boyunca paleografya ve diplomatik semineri, 30 nisan - 2 mayıs 1986: bildiriler*, Istanbul 1988, 113-39, 333-46. (CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

AL-**RUZZ** (A., vars. *aruzz, uruzz*), the Arabic word for rice, *Oryza sativa* L., one of two major cultivated species, the other being the indigenous African variety *O. glaberrima*, both of which spring from perennial rice. Arabic agronomical manuals do not distinguish among the known varieties of wild rice, although several types may well have been employed in addition to the domesticated kind.

From its place(s) of origin in India or China *ca.* 3,000 BC., the use of rice spread to the Middle East, where it was also cultivated in pre-Islamic times, albeit in limited areas such as Mesopotamia and Jordan. Knowledge of rice spread slowly among the classical cultures of the Mediterranean; its diffusion westward as a cultivated crop is evident in Islamic times and references to its cultivation in al-Andalus from the 4th/10th century are numerous.

The 6th/12th century Andalusī author Ibn al-ʿAwwām, who cites (ii, 55-63), among others, his eastern predecessor Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*] (see ms. Bodleian, Hunt. 349, fol. 21), relates various methods of planting rice. These included the familiar (and recommended) submerging of the seedlings in water to drown their weed competitors; however, they were also planted in drier or drained areas which required careful weeding. Transplanting seedlings to the paddy field after they had swollen was the preferred technique, but non-transplanting was apparently also practiced. Milling techniques were basic; the plants were dried after harvesting and then placed in sacks and beaten with metal rods to remove the kernels. After winnowing, the kernels were placed in another bag and beaten to remove the husk. After a second winnowing, the milled, unpolished, white grains were stored in earthenware jars. There is no mention of subsequent polishing of the grains or of using the ancient Indian technique of parboiling the plant to preserve more of its nutrients, such as vitamin B1. Two crops a year were harvested, the summer crop being said to be better than the winter one.

Out of all the cereals known in the mediaeval Islamic world, rice did not seem to enjoy the widespread popularity that wheat, sorghum and barley did. Nevertheless, in areas where it was heavily cultivated, such as the southern parts of the Sawād of ʿIrāḳ and Khūzistān, rice bread was the staple of the poor (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 221) and al-Djāḥiẓ reports that it was the favoured fare of misers, who offered it to their guests (*Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, ed. van Vloten, 129; see also Ḥ. Zayyāt, *Khubz al-aruzz*, in *al-Machreq*, xxxv [1937], 377-80). The rice bread baker was called *khubz aruzzī* (the *nisba* of the popular poet of Baṣra Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Naṣr al-Khubzaʾ aruzzī [*q.v.*]. The physician al-Rāzī (d. 320/932) observed that rice bread was less digestible than wheat bread, hence it should be eaten with salty food or with a lot of fat or with milk or garlic in order to prevent ill side effects. In this connection, Canard (122) has remarked upon references to the consumption of rice and rice bread with fish in ʿIrāḳ. Ibn Zuhr (d. 557/1162) adds

that rice bread produces thick humour, causes obstructions in the intestines and has an astringent effect upon the stomach.

The general medical view of rice itself was that it inclined towards the "cold" element by nature which, it was said, could be modified when cooked with milk or fat and eaten with sugar. When cooked with milk, oxymel was recommended to be drunk afterwards to counter obstructions in the stomach caused by it.

Food preparation with rice was not, however, confined only to bread among the lowest classes. The mediaeval Arabic culinary manuals, which reflect the urban ambience of a leisured class, contain recipes where rice is employed in a number of ways. The following is a representative selection taken from the anonymous work of probable Egyptian provenance of the 7/13 or 8/14 century (see anon., *Kanz*, index). These include rice as an alternative to cornstarch as a thickening agent in stews made with meat and vegetables, where the rice is added in the last stage of preparation. In another receipt, washed rice cooked in fresh milk and seasoned with mastic, camphor and cinnamon appears to be close to the modern popular rice pudding dish, *muḥallabiyya*. The mediaeval version of *muḥallabiyya*, by contrast, was made with meat or chicken, sweetened with honey and seasoned with spices to which saffron-coloured rice is added. Indeed, the most common way of using rice in a substantial dish was to cook meat and/or vegetables with it in the same pot. One variation called *al-labaniyya* containing meat and leeks or onion is cooked in milk (*laban*) together with a little powdered rice. A dish called *al-aruzziyya* contains meat and seasonings (pepper, dried coriander and dill), into which a small amount of powdered rice is added during cooking and washed (whole) rice towards the end of the preparation. A further use for rice is found in the well-known Egyptian spiced beverage *sūbiyya*, which could be made with either wheat or rice. And, as with certain other beverages, this could have been made in both an intoxicating and a legal, non-alcoholic, version. The method of preparing rice flour is given in one receipt for use in another preparation called *ushnān*, a perfumed (powdered, pasty?) mixture for washing and scenting the clothes and hands. Finally, rice was also used in making vinegar.

The remaining extant mediaeval Arabic cookbooks contain dishes similar in style to these just mentioned. One, *aruzz mufalfal*, which appears in several versions, was evidently very popular and ressembles a type of Turkish *pilaw*. Made with spiced meat and/or chick peas or pistachio nuts, the dish may contain rice coloured with saffron, white rice alone or a combination of both. A variation of this dish, called *al-mudjaddara*, made from lentils and plain rice, is similar to the modern preparation of the same name. Modern uses of rice which may not go back earlier than the 8th/14th century include rice presented alone as accompaniment to other dishes and as a filling for vegetables such as courgettes and the leaves of the cabbage and vine.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Kitāb al-Filāḥa* (*Libro de Agricultura*), ed. and tr. J.A. Banqueri, 2 vols., Madrid 1802, repr. 1988; Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *Manāfiʿ al-aghdhiyya wa-dafʿ maḍārrihā*, Cairo 1305; ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Zuhr, *Kitāb al-Aghdhiyya* (*Libro de los alimentos*), ed. and tr. E. Garcia Sanchez, Madrid 1992; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Wuṣla ilā 'l-ḥabīb fī waṣf al-ṭayyibāt wa 'l-ṭīb*, ed. S. Maḥjūb and D. al-Khaṭīb, Aleppo 1988; anon., *Kanz al-fawāʾid fī tanwīʿ al-mawāʾid*, ed. M. Marin and D. Waines, Wiesbaden 1993; Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. K. Ohrnberg and S. Mroueh, Helsinki 1987; A. Watson, *Agricultural innovation in the early Islamic world*, Cambridge 1983; Ḥ. Zayyāt, *Kitāb al-Ṭabākha*, in *al-Machreq*, xxxv (1937), 370-6; M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI*, xvii (1949), 95-138; M. Canard, *Le riz dans le Proche Orient aux premiers siècles de l'Islam*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 113-131; E. Ashtor, *The diet of the salaried classes in the mediaeval Near East*, in *Jnal. of Asian History*, iv (1970), 1-24. (D. WAINES)

RUZZĪK B. ṬALĀʾIʿ, Abū Shudjāʿ al-Malik al-ʿĀdil al-Nāṣir, Madjd al-Islām, vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid li-Dīn Allāh, d. 558/1163.

He succeeded his father, Abu 'l-Ghārāt Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk, al-Sayyid al-Adjall al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Fāris al-Islām, fatally wounded in Ramaḍān 556/September 1161. In order to avoid his father's fate, Ruzzīk, attacked in the doorway to his ministry, had a subterranean passage dug connecting the Dār Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ where he lived and the Dār al-Wizāra opposite to it. More relaxed than his father, who had wished to play in the Fāṭimid caliphate of Egypt the role which the Great Saldjūḳ sultans had played in the ʿAbbāsid caliphate a century previously (see al-Fāriḳī, cited in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrikh. Dimashḳ*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1909, 330, 360-1), Ruzzīk reduced the tax burden (on the meaning of *ḥusbānāt* in the passage of ʿUmāra of Yemen cited by Muḥammad Ḥamdī al-Mināwī, *al-Wizāra wa 'l-wuzarāʾ fī 'l-ʿaṣr al-fāṭimī*, Cairo 1970, 287, see Th. Bianquis, *Le fonctionnement des diwans financiers*, in *AA*, xxvi [1992], 57). He abolished the taxes levied on the pilgrims to the profit of ʿĪsā b. Abī Hishām, *amīr* of the Holy Cities. He summoned from Alexandria ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī al-Baysānī, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, who headed the *dīwān al-djaysh* and whose remarkable administrative career was to extend into the Ayyūbid period.

Ruzzīk did not have time properly to put into practice his reforms since he could not make firm his own power. Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk, on his death bed, had warned his son against the danger posed by the *amīr al-djuyūsh* Abū Shudjāʿ Shāwar b. Mudjīr al-Saʿdī, governor of the Ṣaʿīd or Upper Egypt, and had advised him not to provoke him unnecessarily. However, Ruzzīk wished to replace him at Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*] by the *amīr* Nāṣir al-Dīn Shaykh al-Dawla Ibn al-Rifʿa. Shāwar then marched on Cairo with his troops; repulsed towards the Oases, he returned back on to Tarūdja, to the west of the Delta, and finally occupied Cairo in Muḥarram 558/January 1163. Ruzzīk fled to one of the intimates of his sister, the wife of the caliph al-ʿĀḍid, Sulaymān, Yaʿḳūb or Munīl b. al-Fayḍ, al-Bīḍ, or al-Nayṣ al-Lakhmī, possibly a Christian, who betrayed him and handed him over to Ṭayy b. Shāwar. The later killed him in Ramaḍān 558/August 1163, putting an end to the attempt of this family, of Armenian origin, to assume supreme power in Egypt (its ancestor Ruzzīk had arrived in Egypt with Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*]). As a convert to Twelver Shīʿism, Ṭalāʾiʿ had been fiercely anti-Sunnī, and his son followed him in this.

Bibliography: The Arabic sources mentioning Ruzzīk are numerous but jejune and repetitive. See, above all, ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *K. al-Nukat al-miṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarāʾ al-miṣriyya*, ed. Derenbourg, Paris 1897, 69-70; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*, ed. Ferré, Cairo 1972, 111-13, with rich annotation and bibl.; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, iii, 242-63 and index. Further information on this vizierate and on the sources in Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-fāṭimiyya fī Miṣr, tafsīr djadīd*, Cairo 1413/1992, notes, 219-21. See also Ibn al-

Wardī, *Taʾrīkh*, n.p. n.d. [Cairo], ii, 66; J.-C. Garcin, *Remarques sur le plan topographique de la grande mosquée de Qûṣ*, in *AI*, ix (1970), 97-108; idem, *Un centre musulman de la Haute Egypte médiévale, Qûṣ*, Cairo 1976, indispensable for the period of the military vizierate. (TH. BIANQUIS)

RZEWUSKI, (Count) Wenceslas Severin (1785-1831?), the son of a Hetman or supreme general of Poland.

Born at Lemberg (Lvov), he was eight years old at the time of the Second Partition of Poland in 1793. Deeply moved by the dismemberment of his native land, Wenceslas' father voluntarily exiled himself to Austria and chose Vienna for his home. He established friendly relations with the Viennese aristocracy and the French emigrés, and it was in this Franco-Germanic milieu that the young Rzewuski was brought up. Under the influence of his uncle, Jan Potocki, he early acquired a great love for the Orient and avidly studied oriental languages. Together with the famous orientalist Josef von Hammer, he began in 1809 the publication of a periodical, *Die Fundgruben des Orients* "Treasures of the East".

Also, whilst applying himself to the study of Arabic, he set up his own stud farm, having conceived the extravagant idea of improving the European horse stocks by bringing in new blood from the Arabian desert. A journey to the East was now vital for him. In 1817, having made various preparations, he set out for Istanbul in order to realise his plan. His journey took two years and had no element of the merely pleasant jaunt. He explored Turkey and Syria; went into the mountains of Nadjd; ploughed through the desert with Bedouin tribes who proclaimed him *amīr*, joined up with, in their company, the escort providing the safety of the Pilgrimage Caravan and thus was able—although a non-Muslim—to get into Mecca, whose site and the rites there he describes briefly; had a long stay with Lady Hester Stanhope; took part, against his better judgement, in the rising at Aleppo of 1819; and returned to Europe with 140 horses chosen from amongst the best of the Nadjdī stock.

Once back home, he wrote in 1822 a work in two volumes, totalling some 800 pages, *Sur les chevaux orientaux et provenants* (sic) *de races orientales*. Vol. I is devoted to the Bedouins, their natural habitat, their customs and their tribes. It is thus a lively and vivid travel narrative, rich in anecdotes and descriptions of all kinds. Everything goes past in review: towns, notably Aleppo and Damascus, the countryside, the desert, famous historical sites (Palmyra, Baalbek), the Caravan to Mecca, eminent personalities (Lady Hester Stanhope and the explorer ʿAlī Bey, whose last moments he describes, dying, he affirms, in the Christian faith) and the main events, especially the great revolt at Aleppo, whose course is recorded day by day.

Bibliography: Rzewuski's book, unpublished, is in two volumes, richly illustrated with drawings in Indian ink, in the Warsaw Library, no. Tv. 6651; cf. L. Damoiseau, *Voyage en Syrie et dans le désert*, Paris 1833, 9, 67, 77, 114-15, 130, 140.

(J. CHELHOD)

S

ṢĀʿ (A., masc. or fem.), a measure for grain "of the value of 4 *mudd* (*modius*) according to the custom of Medina" (*LʿA*; al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. Van Vloten, 14). If the cubic contents of the *ṣāʿ*, like that of the *mudd*, varied with town and district as far as commercial transactions were concerned, the value of the *ṣāʿ* was from the canonical point of view fixed in religious law by the Prophet in the year 2/623-4 when he laid down the ritual details of the orthodox feast of *ʿīd al-fiṭr*, which carried with it the compulsory giving of alms called *zakāt al-fiṭr*, the value of which in grain was one *ṣāʿ* for each member of a family. It was, of course, the *ṣāʿ* of Medina that was chosen as the standard measure and the *mudd* of Medina henceforth was called *mudd al-nabī*.

This primitive *mudd* of orthodox Islam was standardised by Zayd b. Thābit; and it is from this standard that the *mudd*s and *ṣāʿ*s made henceforth for religious use seem to have been copied more or less accurately. This is, at least, what has been proved for the Maghrib from various documents. According to these documents, the official capacity of the *mudd al-nabī* would be approximately 5 gills and that of the *ṣāʿ* 5 pints.

The Muslim jurists give the following estimates of this measure. For them the value of the *ṣāʿ* is 26 2/3 *riṭls* or *raṭls*, the *riṭl* being equivalent to 128 Meccan drams and the dram equivalent to 50 2/5 grains of barley. We see how lacking in precision this definition is. If there is no *mudd* or *ṣāʿ* available, the quantity of grain to be distributed for the *zakāt al-fiṭr* is measured with the hands held together, half open, with palms upwards.

Lastly, besides this use of the *ṣāʿ* and of the *mudd al-nabī*, these measures are further used in certain measurements required by religious law: (1) to calculate the *zakāt*, and (2) to measure the minimum quantity of water necessary for an ordinary ablution (*wuḍūʾ*, a *mudd*) and for general ablution (*ghusl*, a *ṣāʿ*).

Bibliography: The Arabic dictionaries, especially the *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, Beirut 1870, ii, 1221, col. 1; the treatises on Islamic law and the collections of Ḥadīth; A. Bel, *Note sur trois anciens vases en cuivre gravé, trouvés à Fès et servant à mesurer l'aumône légale du Fiṭr*, in *Bull. Archéolog.* (Paris 1917), 359-87, illustrated, where further references are given. See also MAKĀYĪL and the Bibl. there. (A. BEL)

SĀʿA (A.) "hour", hence "clock".

1. In technology.

Monumental water-clocks are described in detail in two Arabic treatises. Al-Djazarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in his book on mechanical contrivances completed in Diyār Bakr in 602/1206 describes two such machines. Riḍwān b. al-Sāʿātī, in a treatise dated 600/1203, describes the water-clock built by his father Muḥammad at the Djayrūn gate in Damascus (see E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über die Uhren in Bereich der Islamischen Kultur*, in *Nova Acta der Kaiserl. Leop. Deutschen Akad. der Naturforscher*, ciii [1918], 167-272). It fell into disrepair after Muḥammad's death and was restored to working condition under his son's supervision. It was a large construction, having a timber working face about 4.73 m wide by 2.78 m high, built into the front of a masonry structure. The clock had several design defects which undoubtedly caused the

breakdown that Riḍwān undertook to repair. Moreover, Riḍwān himself was not an engineer and his description, though containing some valuable information, omits to deal with some important constructional details.

Al-Djazarī's two clocks, on the other hand, were manufactured and constructed in a very workmanlike manner. Although very similar in principle to al-Sāʿātī's, they did not incorporate any design defects. The first and larger of the two was described in such careful detail that it was possible to construct a full-size working facsimile from al-Djazarī's instructions and illustrations for the World of Islam Festival, in the South Kensington Science Museum, London, in 1976.

The working face of the clock consisted of a screen of bronze or wood about 225 cm high by 135 cm wide, set in the front wall of a roofless wooden house which contained the machinery. At the top of the screen was a Zodiac circle about 120 cm in diameter, its rim divided into the twelve "signs". It rotated at constant speed throughout the day. Below this circle were the time-signalling automata which were activated at each hour. (The clock worked on "unequal" hours, i.e. the hours of daylight or darkness were divided by twelve to give hours that varied in length from day to day.) These included doors that opened, falcons that dropped balls on to cymbals and the figures of five musicians—two drummers, two trumpeters and a cymbalist. The musicians were operated by the discharge of water from an orifice, whereas all the other automata were operated by a heavy float that descended at constant speed in a reservoir. A cord tied to a ring at the top of the float led to a system of pulleys that activated various tripping mechanisms.

The speed of descent of the float was controlled by very ingenious water machinery that included a feedback control system and a flow regulator, the latter for varying the rate of discharge daily in order to produce the "unequal" hours. The same system was used by Riḍwān, and both writers attribute its invention to Archimedes. There is a treatise that exists only in Arabic and is attributed to Archimedes (*On the construction of water-clocks*, ed. and tr. D.R. Hill, London 1976). The treatise almost certainly contains Hellenistic, Byzantine and Islamic material, but its first two chapters describe water machinery that is essentially the same as that used by Riḍwān and al-Djazarī. There is every likelihood that these chapters were indeed the work of Archimedes.

Al-Djazarī's book also contains descriptions of four other water-clocks, two of which embody the principle of the closed-loop, and four candle-clocks which on a small scale are as impressive from an engineering point of view as the water-clocks.

Other Arabic works add to our knowledge of Islamic hydraulic timekeeping. A certain Ibn Djalaf or Ibn Khalaf al-Murādī worked in al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century (D.R. Hill, *Arabic water-clocks*, Aleppo 1981, 36-46). Unfortunately, the unique manuscript of his treatise on machines is badly defaced, but it is possible to determine the essential details of the automata and water-clocks that are described in it. The most important feature that they incorporate is complex gear-trains, which include segmental gears (i.e. gears in which one of the wheels has teeth on only part of its perimeter, a device that makes intermittent action possible).

Al-Khāzinī's justly famous book on physics, *Kitāb Mīzān al-ḥikma* (ed. Hāshim al-Nadwa, Ḥaydarābād 1940) was completed in 515/1121-2. In the eighth treatise, two steelyard clepsydras are described. On the short arm of the beam was a vessel that discharged water at constant speed from a narrow orifice. Two sliding weights were suspended to the long arm, which was graduated into scales. At a given moment, the weights could be moved to bring the beam into balance and the time could then be read off from the scales (Hill, *Arabic water-clocks*, 47-62).

In 1276-7 a work entitled *Libros del saber de astronomia* was produced in Castilian under the sponsorship of Alfonso X of Castile (5 vols., ed. M. Rico y Sinobas, Madrid 1863). This consists of various works that are either translations or paraphrases of Arabic originals. It included five timepieces, one of which is of significance in the history of horology. This consisted of a large drum made of walnut or jujube wood tightly assembled and sealed with wax or resin. The interior of the drum was divided into twelve compartments, with small holes between the compartments through which mercury flowed. Enough mercury was enclosed to fill just half the compartments. The drum was mounted on the same axle as a large wheel powered by a weight-drive wound around the wheel. Also on the axle was a pinion with six teeth that meshed with 36 oaken teeth on the rim of an astrolabe dial. The mercury drum and pinion made a complete revolution every four hours, and the astrolabe dial made a complete revolution in 24 hours. This type of timepiece had been known in Islam since the 5th/11th century—at least 200 years before the first appearance of weight-driven clocks in the West (S.A. Bedini, *The compartmented cylindrical clepsydra*, in *Technology ad Culture*, iii [1963], 115-41).

The mechanical clock was invented in western Europe towards the end of the 13th century. Almost certainly its inventor came from the ranks of the makers of water-clocks. The verge escapement made the mechanical clock possible, but all its other features—weight-drive, automata, gear-trains and segmental gears—were present in Islamic water-clocks. It is highly probable that these ideas were transmitted from Islam to the European makers of water-clocks. An Islamic influence on the genesis of the mechanical clock may therefore be postulated.

Several of Taḳī al-Dīn's writings are concerned with timekeeping, and one of these, *The brightest stars for the construction of mechanical clocks*, written about 973/1565, has been edited with Turkish and English translations. (Sevim Tekeli, *The clocks in the Ottoman Empire*..., Ankara 1966). In this he described the construction of a weight-driven clock with verge-and-foliot escapement, a striking train of gears, an alarm and a representation of the moon's phases. He also described the manufacture of a spring-driven clock with a fusee escapement. He mentions several mechanisms invented by himself, including, for example, a new system for the striking train of a clock. He is known to have constructed an observatory clock and mentions elsewhere in his writings the use of the pocket watch in Turkey. Taḳī al-Dīn's descriptions are lucid, with clear illustrations, showing that he had mastered the art of horology. Clockmaking did not, however, become a viable indigenous industry, and Turkey was soon being supplied with cheap clocks from Europe. Taḳī al-Dīn himself commented on the low price of these European clocks, which entered Turkey, he said, from Holland, France, Hungary and Germany.

Bibliography: There is now an Arabic edition of al-Djazarī, *al-Djāmiʿ bayn al-ʿilm wa 'l-ʿamal al-nāfiʿa fī ṣināʿat al-ḥiyal*, ed. Ahmad Y. al-Hassan, Institute for the History of Arabic Science, Aleppo; English tr. D.R. Hill, *The book of knowledge of ingenious*

mechanical devices, Dordrecht 1974. Further bibliography given in the text. (D.R. Hill)

3. In eschatology.

Al-Sāʿa ("the Hour") is one of the most notable concepts of Ḳurʾānic eschatology, for which numerous parallels can be detected in Judaism and Christianity. *Al-Sāʿa* indicates throughout the scripture the time of the resurrection (XXII, 7) and of the Last Judgement (XXII, 55-7) [see baʿth; ḳiyāma]. When the *Sāʿa* comes, people will meet Allāh carrying their sins with them (VI, 31). Each soul will be given the reward due for its works (XX, 15); the believers will enter Paradise, whereas the idolaters will not be saved by their gods (XXX, 12-16). Those who disbelieve deny the *Sāʿa* (e.g. XXXIV, 3). The *Sāʿa* is inevitable (XL, 59), and expected to occur suddenly (XLVII, 18; XLIII, 66), and within a short time (e.g. XVI, 77; LIV, 1; XLII, 17; XXXIII, 63). It will be swift (LXXIX, 42-6). Its exact time is, however, known to Allāh alone (XLIII, 85).

The materialisation of the Ḳurʾānic *Sāʿa* will be preceded by a cataclysmic catastrophe. The moon will be split (LIV, 1), the earth will quake, and the people will be terrified (XXII, 1-2). The preceding signs (*as̲h̲rāṭ*) of the *Sāʿa* are already manifest (XLVII, 18). The Hour is already "heavy" in the heavens and in the earth (VII, 187).

In post-Ḳurʾānic *ḥadīth*, the portents of the Hour became the subject of numerous traditions in which they were described as natural disasters. The sun will rise from the west (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 81 [*Riḳāḳ*], 40), a "fire" [i.e. volcanic eruption] will thrust the people from the East to the West (Buk̲h̲ārī, 92 [*Fitan*], 24), or will burst out in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, and illuminate the necks of the camels in Syria (Muslim, 52 [*Fitan*]). Entire tribes will be swallowed up (*k̲h̲asf*, cf. Ḳurʾān LXVII, 16) by the earth (e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313/1895, iii, 483, v, 31).

The statements about the portents of the *Sāʿa* are usually traced back to the Prophet himself; his knowledge about the coming events is taken to demonstrate his prophetic capability, for which reason the traditions containing his apocalyptic utterances concerning the *Sāʿa* sometimes appear in chapters about his miracles (e.g. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, 61 [*Manāḳib*], 25).

The most typical structure of Muḥammad's apocalyptic predictions is: "The Hour will not come until..."—*lā taḳūmu ʾl-sāʿa ḥattā...* (for a thorough survey of the various traditions of this type, see Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī, s̲h̲arḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buk̲h̲ārī*, Būlāḳ 1310/1892, repr. Beirut n.d., xiii, 72 f.).

Several traditions of the Prophet comply with the Ḳurʾānic tenet that the time of the Hour is known to Allāh alone (e.g. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, 2 [*Īmān*], 37). But other traditions stress that it is near at hand, and that Muḥammad was sent as a prophet at a distance of only two fingers away from it (e.g. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), *Musnad*, ed. al-Sāmarrāʾī, Riyāḍ 1987, no. 87). Sometimes a specific date was indicated for the Hour (e.g. at the turn of a century). After the date had elapsed while nothing happened, the traditions had to be reinterpreted, and new traditions shifting the end to a later date were put into circulation (see S. Bashear, *Muslim apocalypses and the Hour: a case-study in traditional reinterpretation*, in *IOS*, xiii [1993], 75-99).

The eschatological chaos which was to antedate the *Sāʿa* did not remain limited to natural disasters, but was also expanded in Muslim tradition to human society. Many traditions are based on the conviction that the *Sāʿa* will come when the orders of cultural and social structures are turned upside down; nomads will construct high buildings, masters will be born to slave-girls, the poor and naked will become leaders, etc. (e.g. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, 2 [*Īmān*], 37; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 27, 51-2, 319). Religious and moral degeneration was turned into the most characteristic symptoms of the Hour: Knowledge will vanish, ignorance will prevail, fornication will become routine, and wine drinking will spread (*ibid.*, iii, 151). Spiritual values will give way to showy ambitions. The Hour will not come, says a tradition, till people start competing with each other in (erecting grandiose) mosques (e.g. Ibn Mād̲j̲a, 4 [*Masād̲j̲id*], 2). The most crucial signs of religious degeneration antedating the Hour are that the Arab tribes will revert to the idolatry of the *D̲j̲āhiliyya* (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, 92 [*Fitan*], 23), and that the pilgrimage to the Kaʿba will be renounced (*ibid.*, 25 [*Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*], 47). The decay of the Muslims before the Hour will eliminate the distinction between them and their non-Muslim predecessors. A tradition of the Prophet states that the Hour will not come until his community starts following in the footsteps of the previous communities (*ibid.*, 96 [*Iʿtiṣām*], 14; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 325, 336, 367).

Other traditions focus on specific Islamic groups whose decline is said to indicate the impending *Sāʿa*. A tradition says that the Hour will not occur as long as one Companion of Muḥammad is still alive (*ibid.*, i, 89, 93). Another tradition says that one of the portents of the Hour is the perdition of the Arabs (al-Tirmid̲h̲ī, 46 [*Manāḳib*], 69). Such statements indicate that, like many other topics, that of the *Sāʿa* was, too, used for advertising the virtues (*faḍāʾil*) of various groups and factions within the Islamic community.

The great bulk of the traditions about the *Sāʿa* are recorded in the *ḥadīth* compilations in the sections entitled *Fitan* (sometimes also called *Malāḥim* [*q.v.*]), i.e. tribulations, civil strife and wars which started since the murder of ʿUt̲h̲mān [see fitna]. These historical events were identified with the portents of the Hour, and they, too, appear in Muḥammad's apocalypses. They are often referred to in a cryptic manner. Once interpreted they can be used for dating the traditions (see L.I. Conrad, *Portents of the Hour: Ḥadīth and history in the first century A.H.* (forthcoming in *Isl.*). See also M. Cook, *Eschatology, history and the dating of traditions*, unpublished paper submitted to the third colloquium *From Jāhiliyya to Islam*, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1985).

The apocalyptic predictions of Muḥammad contain also messianic ideas: ʿĪsā b. Maryam [*q.v.*] will descend and restore peace, faith and justice, and will defeat the Dad̲j̲d̲j̲āl [*q.v.*] (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 406). This vision of eschatological combat with evil powers which will mark the beginning of a new golden era was incorporated into the symptoms of the Hour. The expected Descent of ʿĪsā and his clash with the Dad̲j̲d̲j̲āl appear amongst the portents of the Hour in the earliest *ḥadīth* compilations. In the *D̲j̲āmiʿ* of Maʿmar b. Rās̲h̲id (d. 154/770) (preserved in the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (d. 211/827), x-xi, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1970), a tradition is recorded in which ten symptoms of the Hour are counted (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, xi, no. 20792). Some of them reflect Ḳurʾānic imagery. The signs are: Three instances of people being swallowed up in the ground; the emergence of the Dad̲j̲d̲j̲āl; the Descent of ʿĪsā; the emergence of the Beast (*Dābba* [*q.v.*]; see Ḳurʾān, XXVII, 82); the Smoke (*Duk̲h̲ān*; see Ḳurʾān, XLIV, 10); the breaking loose of Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ and Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ (Gog and Magog; see Ḳurʾān, XXI, 96-7); a chilly wind which will take away the soul of every believer; and the rising of the sun from the west.

Historical enemies of the Muslims were turned into

the evil party of the eschatological wars. In the early *Ṣaḥīfa* of Hammām b. Munabbih (d. 132/749), they are the Turks. Battles with various Turkish tribes are said to mark the approaching Hour (Hammām b. Munabbih, *Ṣaḥīfa*, ed. Rifᶜat Fawzī ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Cairo 1985, no. 126). In the *Djāmiᶜ* of Maᶜmar b. Rāshid, the Rūm, i.e. the Byzantines, appear as the eschatological rivals. The traditions about them reflect the greatest military ambition ever nurtured by the Muslims, namely the conquest of Constantinople [see ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA]. At the same time, they also reveal the Muslim apprehensions of the grand military power of the Byzantine empire. The expected battle for Constantinople is predicted in a clear eschatological context. It is stated in ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ (xi, no. 20812) that the Hour shall only come when the battle with the Byzantines breaks out. During the battle, Constantinople will fall, the Dadjdjāl will appear and the Muslims will die fighting him. But according to other traditions, the Dadjdjāl will soon be defeated by ᶜĪsā (Ibn Ḥibbān, xv, no. 6813. See also W. Madelung, *Apocalyptic prophesies in Ḥimṣ in the Umayyad age*, *JSS*, xxxi [1986], 158 f.). In a tradition appearing in other *ḥadīth* compilations (e.g. al-Bukhārī, 58 [*Djizya*], 15), the anticipated combat with the Byzantines is again set in an eschatological context, but this time, it is not the much-desired fall of Constantinople which is predicted but rather a massive Byzantine attack of which the Muslims seem to have been worried at the time when the tradition was first prompted. This attack is the last of six events which, according to Muḥammad's prophesy, will precede the Hour (for a detailed analysis of this tradition, see Conrad, *art. cit.*). The first five are well known from Islamic history: Muḥammad's own death; the conquest of Jerusalem; a frightful epidemic (interpreted by Muslim commentators as the plague of ᶜAmwās [*q.v.*] in ᶜUmar's days); abundance of wealth with which no one will be satisfied any longer (said to refer to spoils coming in from the occupied lands in the days of ᶜUthmān); a devastating *fitna* (explained as the events which took place following the murder of ᶜUthmān). The sixth sign is a truce with the Byzantines, which the latter will soon violate and then attack the Muslims with a mighty army. According to Muslim commentators, only the latter event is yet to come (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, vi, 199).

In less prevalent traditions, the expected eschatological wars include battles against other historical enemies of Islam, namely the Jews. Muslim tradition had turned them into the supporters of the Dadjdjāl. It is related that when the Hour occurs, inanimate objects will be able to talk, and each stone will surrender to the Muslims the Jew who hides behind it (e.g. al-Bukhārī, 56 [*Djihād*], 94; Muslim, 52 [*Fitan*]; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 398, 417, 530).

The messianic expectations for salvation following the eschatological wars were not only focused on the Descent of ᶜĪsā who would defeat the Dadjdjāl, but also on the appearance of the Mahdī [*q.v.*]. His exact identity was disputed between various political groups, and their disparate pretensions are often reflected in the traditions, including those referring to the Hour. In some of them, it is stated that the *Sāᶜa* will not occur until a man from Muḥammad's family comes and fills the earth with justice (e.g. *ibid.*, iii, 17, 36). A more specific tradition attributes to Muḥammad the statement that the man's name will coincide with that of the Prophet (*ibid.*, i, 376). Such statements could confirm the claims of the ᶜAlīds, who anticipated a Mahdī of Muḥammad's family. But other groups expected their own Mahdī. Muslims of Yamanī descent awaited the emergence of a South Arabian ("Ḳaḥṭānī"), i.e. non-Ḳurashī, leader, whose chief achievement would be the conquest of Constantinople (see Madelung, *Apocalyptic prophecies*, 149 f.). Some identified him with the prophet Shuᶜayb b. Ṣāliḥ (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, xiii, 67-8). Such expectations triggered off the reaction of those who believed that leadership should only be invested with members of Ḳuraysh. The latter included the predicted advent of the Ḳaḥṭānī among the ominous portents of the *Sāᶜa*. A tradition stating that the Hour will not come until the Ḳaḥṭānī leads the people was recorded by al-Bukhārī under the derogatory heading (92 [*Fitan*], 23: "The change of time till idols are worshipped"). In other traditions with the same statement about the Ḳaḥṭānī, the hopes for the conquest of Constantinople are scorned (ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ, xi, no. 20816). Another tradition of the Prophet predicts the advent of a man from the *mawālī* whose name is Djahdjāh; he will lead the people at the end of days (al-Tirmidhī, 31 [*Fitan*], 50; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 329). Some Muslim scholars identified him with the Ḳaḥṭānī (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, vi, 397).

Bibliography (in addition to the references given in the article): Wensinck, *Handbook*, 100-1 (s.v. *Hour*). A variety of prophetic traditions with numerous kinds of *ashrāṭ al-sāᶜa* may be found in the *Fitan* sections of the following *ḥadīth* compilations: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf fī 'l-aḥādīth wa 'l-āthār*, Bombay 1967, xv, 5 f.; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb* no. 92; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb* no. 52; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Kitāb* nos. 34, 36; Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, *Kitāb* no. 36; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb* no. 31; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Kashf al-astār ᶜan zawāʾid al-Bazzār*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aᶜẓamī, Beirut 1979, iv, 88 f.; idem, *Madjmaᶜ al-zawāʾid wa-manbaᶜ al-fawāʾid*, repr. Beirut 1987, vii, 223 f., viii, 5 f.; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Iḥsān fī taḳrīb Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān, tartīb ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Fārisī*, ed. Shuᶜayb al-Arnaʾūṭ, Beirut 1988, xv, 5 f.; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ᶜalā 'l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, Ḥaydarābād 1342/1923, iv, 418 f.; al-Ḥusayn b. Masᶜūd al-Baghawī, *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, Beirut 1987, iii, 465 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ᶜAsḳalānī, *al-Maṭālib al-ᶜāliya bi-zawāʾid al-masānīd al-thamāniya*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aᶜẓamī, Beirut 1987, iv, 264 f.; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ᶜummāl fī sunan al-aḳwāl wa 'l-afᶜāl*, ed. Ṣafwat al-Saḳḳā, Bakrī al-Ḥayyānī, Beirut 1979, xi, 107 f.

Individual collections: Nuᶜaym b. Ḥammād, *Kitāb al-fitan*, ed. S. Zakkār, Beirut 1993, 385-6; ᶜAlī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Malāḥim wa 'l-fitan*, Beirut 1988. (U. RUBIN)

SAᶜĀDA (A.), happiness, bliss, a central concept in Islamic philosophy to describe the highest aim of human striving, which can be reached through ethical perfection and increasing knowledge. In non-philosophical literature, the term (as opposed to *shaḳāwa, shaḳwa, shaḳāʾ, shaḳā*) describes either happy circumstances in life (see for instance Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ed. Cairo 1313/1895-6, i, 168, 29-30, iii, 407, last section), the unexpected happiness of a long life (*Musnad*, iii, 332, 28), preservation from temptations (*ibid.*, i, 327, 9-10; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-Fitan*, 2, Ḥimṣ 1973, iv, no. 4263), or the eternal stay in Paradise.

The last meaning is based on the Ḳurʾān (e.g. sūra XI, 105/107, 108/110), whose eschatological implications led to the newly-created term *yawm al-saᶜāda* = "Day of Resurrection" (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 654). The Ḳurʾān, and occasionally *ḥadīth* (e.g. al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Ḥimṣ, ix, no.

3341), already indicate that mankind, because of divine predestination, is divided into "happy" inhabitants of Paradise and "unhappy" dwellers in Hell. However, the impact of predestination is mitigated by utterances according to which an active effort of the human being is required. Next to human acceptance (*riḍā* [*q.v.*]) of what God has predestined, *Musnad*, i, 168, 26-7, also mentions the prayer to God for obtaining what is good (*istikhāra* [*q.v.*]) as a characteristic of *saʿāda*.

Under the influence of various classical doctrines (cf. Spaemann), namely of Platonic political philosophy, of Aristotelian ethics, of Neo-Platonism, and partly also of Islamic mysticism, the possibility for a human being to strive after *saʿāda* is often described in Islamic philosophy as the pursuit of "assimilation to God" (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ, Plato, *Theaet.*, 176 B), of nearness to God, and of knowledge of God through a virtuous life. At the beginning of Islamic philosophy, this interpretation is found in al-Kindī's works. His *Risāla fī ḥudūd al-ashyāʾ wa-rusūmihā* (ed. Abū Rīda, *Rasāʾil*, i, 177 ff. = *Cinq épîtres*, 37 ff.), his utterances transmitted in the *Muntakhab Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* of Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī (ed. Dunlop, §§ 246-8), his *Risāla fī alfāẓ Suḳrāṭ* (ed. Fakhry, *Dirāsāt*, 45-60), his *Risāla fī Alkibiades wa-Suḳrāṭ* (cf. Atiyeh, 123 ff., Alon, 131 ff.; Butterworth, in *Political aspects*, 32 ff.) and his *Risāla fī 'l-ḥīla li-dafʿ al-aḥzān* (ed. Walzer-Ritter, 1938), which goes back to a lost Hellenistic treatise, describe a concept of virtue which is inspired by the Platonic cardinal virtues. Socrates is named as the ideal of moderation and of spiritual values, which are superior to wordly possessions. The person who turns his attention to intelligibles, and who in his doings keeps to the virtues, will "not be unhappy (*shaḳiyy*)" in the hereafter, will be near to his Creator and will know Him (*Muntakhab*, § 248, Eng. tr. Atiyeh 1966, 225). This image of Socrates was adopted, with some modifications, by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] in his *al-Sīra al-falsafiyya* (ed. Kraus, *Rasāʾil*, 99 ff.; tr. Arberry, *Aspects*, 120 ff; cf. Walker in *Political aspects*, 77 ff.). The person who leads a moderate life and who, as far as possible, restrains his passions, "assimilates himself to God as far as possible" (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Kraus, 108, 8 ff.). In his *Maḳāla fī amārāt al-iḳbāl wa 'l-dawla* (= "political success"), Abū Bakr al-Rāzī expresses this as follows (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Kraus, 145, 8): "progress (*tanaḳḳul*) and knowledge (*ʿilm*) belong to the symptoms of "happiness" (*iḳbāl*) and indicate that a person "is attentive to happiness" (*tayaḳḳuẓ al-saʿāda lahu*)." Knowledge and justice are named as the main aims of the human being.

This ideal of virtue was adopted by Abu Bakr's opponent, the Ismāʿīlī Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], with one alteration: the bearer par excellence of the Platonic cardinal virtues and of the Aristotelian principle of the golden centre is the Prophet Muḥammad, who possesses knowledge revealed by God. He who follows him and does not rely upon his own intuition, is able to understand the religious laws and can be sure of salvation (*nadjāt*) (Abū Ḥātim, *Aʿlām*, ed. Al-Sawy, 77 ff., esp. 110, 9 ff.; cf. Daiber, 1989).

The high appreciation of reason as the guideline for a practical philosophy, understood as ethics in the first place, is characteristic of the philosophers mentioned so far, and culminates in al-Fārābī's [*q.v.*] thesis of the ideal sovereign as philosopher and prophet (cf. Daiber, *Ruler*). His knowledge, inspired by the divine active intellect, enables him to govern the Ideal State by ordering religious laws. Religion appears as the imitating picture ("imitation") and the "instrument" of philosophy, which is essentially understood here as practical philosophy and as ethics of the individual person in the State. In this way, philosophy, thus understood, realises itself through religion and becomes an ethical insight into "what is good and evil in the actions usually performed by human beings" (al-Farabi, *Mabādiʾ*, ed. Walzer, 204, 1-2). As was the case with Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1144a, 5-6), philosophy is not exclusively "scientific perception" or theoretical philosophy; rather, it provides a human being with an ultimate degree of happiness (*al-saʿāda al-ḳuṣwā* = *eudaimonía*; cf. Daiber, *Prophetie*, 733-4; Shahjahan) with the help of the above-mentioned ethical insight, i.e. practical philosophy. When al-Fārābī speaks of "political happiness" (see Galston, in *Political aspects*, 100 ff.), he has in mind the Aristotelian concept of the human being as ζῷον πολιτικόν (*Politics*, 1253a, 2), who needs the help of his fellow-citizen in an Ideal State, governed by a philosopher who possesses prophetical knowledge.

This "political happiness" is reflected in the practical aspect of al-Fārābī's concept of *saʿāda*. It is part of the ultimate happiness, namely that of the hereafter; the human being can reach this when his soul liberates itself from its corporeal existence, actualises its potential intellect and arrives at the level of the active intellect. But happiness, in its complete form, is at the same time practical perfection. For practical philosophy, on the one hand, shows the way to theoretical perfection, to contemplation; on the other, theoretical perfection is the signpost towards practical philosophy, the ethical insight into the Perfect •State. The latter's sovereign, the prophet-philosopher, transmits it to his subjects, the state's citizens, in the form of religious laws, religion being the sum total of these laws.

In this way, theoretical philosophy develops into practical-ethical perfection through practical philosophy and through religion that is, through the guidance of religious prescriptions, transmitted by the philosopher-prophet. At the same time, practical-ethical perfection in the Ideal State, in society, is the prerequisite for theoretical perfection, i.e. contemplation. The theoretical and practical aspects of knowledge, of moral-ethical insight respectively, are thus inseparably united in al-Fārābī's concept of *saʿāda*.

This link between ethics and knowledge is also found in the *Epistles* (*Rasāʾil*) of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*], possibly composed in A.D. 959-60. Their political philosophy betrays the influence of al-Fārābī (Enayat; Abouzeid), but they accentuate more strongly the Neo-Platonic elements and are eschatologically inspired. Through "purification" of his soul and reform of his character, the human being acquires increasing knowledge of "intelligibles" (*al-umūr al-ʿaḳliyya*), for it is only knowledge (*maʿrifa*) of God which leads to ultimate happiness and to salvation in the hereafter (*Rasāʾil*, iii, 241, 322-3; tr. and comm. Diwald, 203 ff., 419 ff.). For this, a human being needs as a preliminary step the fraternal society, a society which is aware of its solidarity in being obedient to the divine law (*nāmūs* [*q.v.*]), and jointly pursues "the good of the religion and of the world" (*ṣalāḥ al-dīn wa 'l-dunyā*) (*Rasāʾil*, i, 223, 16).

The stronger accentuation of individual ethics, already expressed by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, led Miskawayh [*q.v.*], in his *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ*, to declare that a human being certainly does need the help of his fellow-citizen, and therefore must live with him in love (*maḥabba*) and friendship (*ṣadāḳa*), but also that inequality is the reason why everyone must strive after his own happiness by bringing his character to perfec-

tion (*al-kamāl al-khulkī*) (*Tahdhīb*, 72, 10 ff.). For the individual in society, he thus offers ethics which are inspired by the Platonic-Aristotelian doctrine of virtues (Fakhry, 1991, 107 ff.). Just and virtuous acts and increasing knowledge of the "spiritual things" (*Tahdhīb*, 83 at the end) purify the soul of the "physical things" (*al-umūr al-ṭabīʿiyya*; see *Tahdhīb*, 91, 18; cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* I, 6), lead to "tranquility of the heart"(*Tahdhīb*, 40, 5) and to "nearness to God" (*djiwār rabb al-ʿālamīn*; see *Tahdhīb*, 13 at the end). This is the state of perfect knowledge and of wisdom, in which the human being resembles the divine first principle, the divine intellect (*Tahdhīb*, 88-9); Miskawayh called it the ultimate happiness, which is preceded by several preliminary steps (*saʿādāt*) (Miskawayh, *al-Saʿāda*; Ansari 1963; Fakhry, 1991, 121 f.).

Among the Islamic thinkers who followed Miskawayh's ethics (Fakhry, 131 ff.), mention may be made here of al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*]. In his *Kitāb al-Dharīʿa ilā makārim al-sharīʿa* he offers an original adaptation of Greek ethics as it was known to him through al-Fārābī, Miskawayh and the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, to the statements of the Ḳurʾān (Daiber, *Griechische Ethik*). He replaces Miskawayh's Platonic-Neoplatonic concept of the assimilation to God by the Ḳurʾānic concept of *khilāfa* (sūra II, 30; VI, 165). As the "representative" (*khalīfa*) of God in this world, the human being imitates God as much as he is able to, by following the *sharīʿa* and by concerning himself about his sustenance on this earth (cf. sūra XI, 61/64: *istaʿmarakum*). Thus a human being acquires happiness in this world which, as in Miskawayh, is a preliminary to the "real happiness" in the hereafter (*al-Dharīʿa*, 128, 4 ff.; cf. *Tafṣīl al-nashʾatayn*).

In al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's ethics, by which al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] was deeply impressed, a mystical tendency can be detected which was already visible in the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* and in Miskawayh's work. There is not so much concern about the rôle of the individual in society, but rather about striving after the happiness lying in the knowledge of, and the nearness to, God, which is a happiness of the hereafter. This corresponds to the Neoplatonic ἀπράγμων βίος ideal of the philosopher who withdraws from society (cf. Kraemer 1986, 128).

In accordance with this view, the prophet, for Ibn Sīnā, is a Ṣūfī who preaches the divine laws as a way to the mystical path, to the liberation of the soul from the body, to its intellectual perfection, and to the vision of God (Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fi 'l-saʿāda*; Ansari 1962-3; E.I.J. Rosenthal, 144 ff.). But for Ibn Sīnā too, life in society remains an indispensable preliminary to happiness in the hereafter. Obedience to the lawgiver, to the prophet, is a postulate, as is the fulfilment of duties towards God and towards the fellow man. According to Ibn Sīnā's view, which is clearly associated with that of al-Fārābī, the sovereign, who is a prophet and a Ṣūfī, unites in his person practical and theoretical wisdom (Morris, in *Political aspects*, 153 ff.). This union creates happiness (*al-Shifāʾ, al-Ilāhiyyāt*, ii, 455, 14), but is also a postulate for the sovereign, who combines it with prophetical qualities.

It was the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Bādjdja, and, above all, his younger contemporary Ibn Ṭufayl [*q.vv.*], who drew the final conclusion from the increasingly mystical-Neoplatonic orientation of the *saʿāda* concept. Society is no longer a postulate for the individual to strive after happiness. On the contrary, it is only the isolated philosopher (*al-mutawaḥḥid*), the Ṣūfī, who, withdrawing from society, obtains ultimate happiness through his self-government (*tadbīr*) and his vision of the truth (Altmann; Daiber, *Autonomie*, 242 ff.; Harvey, in *Political aspects*, 199 ff.). For him, it is possible to achieve a mystical ascent to higher forms of knowledge, namely by liberating the soul from the matter and by the union (*ittiṣāl*) with the divine active intellect, which is an emanation from God. Society is only a place to meet (*liḳāʾ, iltiḳāʾ*), which may be useful for the individual and may stimulate his emulation in striving after intellectual perfection. In opposition to Plato's view, the citizen no longer serves society; at best, society can stimulate the individual in his striving after happiness, to be found in intellectual perfection.

In his philosophical novel *Ḥayy Ibn Yaḳẓān*, Ibn Ṭufayl (cf. Fradkin, in *Political aspects*, 234 ff.) consequently developed the thesis that the individual's philosophy and society's religion are not contradictory, but do not support each other either. Ibn Ṭufayl's compatriot Ibn Rushd, who was twenty years his junior did not share with him this radical turning-away from al-Fārābī (Daiber, *Autonomie*, 246-7). In his *Epistle on the possibility of conjunction with the active intellect*, he declares that in this life, too, it is possible to strive after happiness as long as this is not hampered by society. For this, theoretical study should be combined with acts (tr. Bland, 108-9). The aim of such a striving is the immortality of the soul, which is achieved when the soul increasingly unites its acquired knowledge with the active intellect. This union, which is the most perfect form of human cognition, is possible because the active intellect is the form of the *intellectus materialis*, which in its turn is the form of the soul, i.e. its eternal potentiality. It is not only remarkable that Ibn Rushd denies (against al-Ghazālī) the individual immortality, deriving this denial from the union of the soul with the eternal form of the active intellect; much more important is his conclusion that striving after philosophical knowledge, i.e. after happiness, is not a duty of individuals or of individual states, but a task of mankind. This philosophical knowledge is the most perfect form of the universal human knowledge of religious truth which is reflected in the *sharīʿa*. Accordingly, the Ideal State, i.e. the Philosophical State, comprises all mankind; the best Islamic State, a State which only existed during the period of the first four caliphs, is at best an imitation of such a Philosophical State.

Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], the last great Islamic thinker, incorporated into his philosophy of history Ibn Rushd's universalistic opinion, as well as al-Fārābī's and Ibn Sīnā's doctrines (Mahdi, 1957). He put new accents and, by introducing the term *ʿaṣabiyya* [*q.v.*], he gave a new significance to the concept of society. The *polis*, the state, is indispensable for the entire human society, for its progress (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 54 at the end: *iṣlāḥ al-bashar*) and for its preservation. In his philosophy, which he preaches to mankind in the form of "political laws" (*aḥkām al-siyāsa*), the sovereign of the Ideal State, the prophetical lawgiver, deals with the well-being of the world (*maṣāliḥ al-dunyā*) and with the "salvation" of mankind "in the hereafter" (*ṣalāḥ ākhiratihim*) (*Muḳaddima*, i, 343). Philosophy, understood as ethics and politics, as well as religion and the society of the state, are seen here as indispensable materials for the well-being of all mankind in this world and for their happiness (*saʿāda*: *Muḳaddima*, i, 343, 4) in the hereafter.

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(H. Daiber)

SAᶜĀDAT ᶜALĪ KHĀN, Nawāb of Awadh or Oudh (regn. 1798-1814).

His brother Āṣaf al-Dawla had died in September 1797, but after a four months' interim, Āṣaf al-Dawla's putative son Wazīr ᶜAlī Khān was set aside and the British governor-General Sir John Shore installed in his place Saᶜādat ᶜAlī Khān, who had been living under British protection in Benares since 1776. His reign is noteworthy for the extension of British control over the Oudh territories. A treaty concluded with the late Nawāb in 1775 had placed these territories under the protection of the East India Company, which undertook to provide troops for their defence in return for an annual subsidy; in 1798, a fresh treaty increased the subsidy to 76 lakhs a year and transferred the fort of Allāhābād [*q.v.*] to the Company as an arsenal, the Company undertaking to maintain a body of 10,000 men for the defence of the Nawāb's dominions both against internal and external enemies. The mutinous behaviour of the Nawāb's troops prompted the new Governor-General, the Marquis Wellesley (1798-1805), to propose that this useless and dangerous force, which Saᶜādat ᶜAlī Khān had himself declared would be useful only to the enemy, should be disbanded and replaced by the Company's troops. Alarmed by the dangers that

threatened his person, Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān was at first eager for this reform, but afterwards refused his consent and also refused to abdicate, and only in 1801 yielded to pressure and signed the Treaty of Lucknow; this relieved him from all pecuniary obligations to the Company, by the cession of six districts yielding a revenue equal to the cost of the Company's troops, and the Nawāb undertook to introduce into his territories a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and calculated to check the ruin that threatened the resources of his country.

Thus Wellesley's fears that the buffer state of Oudh might come under pressure from the west, in particular from the ruler of Afghānistān Zamān Shāh (who had already invaded the Pandjāb in 1797) in alliance with the Rohilla [*q.v.*] Afghāns, were set at rest. With the cession of the western part of Oudh and its lands along the Ganges and Djamnā rivers, only a rump of the state remained until its complete annexation in 1856. Europeans already controlled much of Oudh's economy by the early 19th century, especially the trade in fine cloths and raw cotton, and this commercial control now increased.

Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān's reign was an Indian summer of the Mughal culture of Hindūstān, with Lucknow especially flourishing as a centre of Shīʿī culture [see LAKHNAW]. Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān died in 1814 and was succeeded by his second son Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar, who subsequently became the first king of Oudh [see AWADH].

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SAʿADYĀ BEN YŌSEF, SAʿĪD (ABĪ) YAʿḲŪB YŪSUF AL-FAYYŪMĪ (269-331/882-942), Jewish theologian, philosopher and philologist who wrote in Arabic, considered through his independence and breadth as the initiator of several Jewish intellectual disciplines, and a pioneer in mediaeval Jewish philosophy; he was one of the very few Jewish thinkers covered by the Arabic biographers (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, i, 320).

1. *Life*

He was born at Dīlās in the province of Fayyūm in Egypt, but little is known of his youth except that his father, of humble origin, had the reputation of being a scholar. He probably received a solid education in the Biblical and Rabbinical spheres as well as in Arabic culture. Saʿīd began his literary work at a precocious age, writing in 300/912-13 a Hebrew-Arabic dictionary called *ʾEgrōn* (Hebr. "Collection") (ed. N. Allony, Jerusalem 1969). If the title reminds one of the *K. al-Djāmiʿ* of the grammarian ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar al-Thakafī (d. 149/766), its alphabetic arrangement according to the final letters "in order to facilitate the writing of verses" could have been the model for the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī (d. 398/1007 [*q.v.*]). Of his *K. al-Lugha*, the oldest Hebrew grammar, also written at this time, only fragments exist. In the course of his period of education, he addressed to Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī (d. *ca.* 344/955) at Ḳayrawān, a physician at the Aghlabid court, a philosophical correspondence which did not, it seems, meet with the approbation of this Neoplatonist. In 303/915, he put together his defence of Rabbinical Judaism against the Karaites [*q.v.*], very numerous in Egypt.

In this same year, Saʿīd left for Palestine, where, according to al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 113), he perfected his education at the feet of Abū Kathīr Yaḥyā al-Kātib al-Ṭabarānī (d. 320/932). The latter is also mentioned by Ibn Ḥazm in his *K. al-Fiṣlal wa 'l-niḥal*, iii, 171, as being, together with David al-Muḳammis and Saʿīd himself, one of the *mutakallimūn* of the Jews.

In 309/921, very likely with the aim of getting to know the great Jewish academies of Mesopotamia, Saʿīd left for Baghdād, stopping en route at Aleppo. In 310/922 he was the main protagonist in the controversy over the calendar, in which the heads of the Babylonian community were in opposition to Aharōn Ben Mēʾīr, head of the Palestinian academy. Saʿīd emerged victorious from this quarrel, which is mentioned even by the Syrian historian Elias of Nisibin (11th century) in his chronology. This victory had a determining influence on his career, since, in recognition of his services to the Rabbanite cause, Saʿīd was elected *ʿallūf* or master of the Babylonian academy of Pūm Peditha.

A Jewish society in full transition, becoming progressively Arabised and intellectually enriched by new philosophical and scientific disciplines, posed challenges, to which the creative genius of Saʿīd was able to respond. Stopping up the breaches, he consolidated Rabbinical Judaism's authority, faced as it was with the twin threats of schismatic movements, in part inspired by Islamic heresies, and of Muslim polemics. According to Maimonides, "If it had not been for Saʿadyā, the divine religion might well have almost disappeared, for he made clear its mysteries and strengthened its weak points by spreading it and supporting it by his word and pen" (*Epistle to the Yemen*, ed. A. Halkin, New York 1952, 64). In 316/928, despite his non-Babylonian origin, he was nominated as Gaʾōn or Chief Scholar of the academy at Sūraʾ (whence the name by which he is best known), and under his direction, this institution enjoyed a remarkable renaissance.

Through political intrigues in which the caliph al-Ḳāhir had to intervene, Saʿīd Gaʾōn was deposed in 320/932, but was restored in 327/938 and functioned in the office till his death in 331/942. During the interim years of isolation, he had devoted himself to his literary work.

2. *Works*

H. Malter, Saʿīd's biographer, listed over 200 titles, covering almost all the domains of learning cultivated at that time, such as exegesis, philosophy, philology, law, liturgy, polemics and chronology.

In the legal sphere, Saʿīd was the first Jewish author to have composed his decisions in Arabic. He made the first attempts at codification, in the form of monographs whose structure is clearly inspired by the model of the Islamic *fatwās*.

His main work in philosophy, and the first systematic attempt at a synthesis between the philosophy of *kalām* and Jewish dogmas, was the *K. al-Amānāt wa 'l-iʿtiḳādāt* (ed. in Arabic script S. Landauer, Leiden 1880, in Hebrew script, ed. Y. Kafih, Jerusalem 1970, Eng. tr. S. Rosenblatt, *The Book of beliefs and opinions*, New Haven 1948), written in 322/933. It had a deep influence on Jewish thought,

above all in its Hebrew translation *Sefer ha-ʾemūnōt we-ha-deᶜōt*, made in 582/1186 by Yehūdāh Ibn Tibbon. Its importance only faded with the appearance of Maimonides' *Guide for the perplexed.* The arrangement of the work follows, without becoming dependent upon them in a servile fashion, the five principles (*uṣūl*) of Muᶜtazilī doctrine. Thus Saᶜīd adopted the proof of the existence of God by the contingency of the world, whilst he denied atomism, the rational basis of universal contingency according to *kalām*. His doctrine of the relations between reason and revelation and his rational justification for the dogmas of Judaism became the model for later Jewish philosophers. In it, he attacks, in particular, the Muslim theses concerning abrogation (*naskh*) of the Mosaic revelation.

There are indications that Saᶜīd had presumably at his disposal the Arabic translation of the doxographical compilation *De placitis philosophorum* made by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [*q.v.*]. He seems equally to have utilised the *K. al-Zahra* of his contemporary Ibn Dāwūd (d. 294/907). In his *Tafsīr Kitāb al-Mabādī* (Fr. tr. M. Lambert, *Commentaire sur le Sefer Yesira*, Paris 1891, written in 319/931, Saᶜīd, as a true *mutakallim*, was particularly interested in the problem of the origin of things.

Saᶜīd was also the author of the first translation of the Hebrew Bible into Arabic (*Tafsīr*). Each book was preceded by an Arabic preface, explaining its structure and contents. Faithful to the rationalist tendencies of the Muᶜtazila, Saᶜīd endeavoured to attenuate the anthropomorphisms. With the accompaniment of a commentary of a philosophical character, his translation became the Vulgate for Arabic-speaking Jews and served as a basis, too, for the Arabic version adopted by the Samaritans and by the Coptic Church. The first published edition, at Constantinople in 953/1546 within the polyglot Sorcino Pentateuch, was the first Arabic text to be printed in the East. The Arabic versions of the polyglot Pentateuch of Paris (1645), with the Latin translation of Gabriel Sionita, and of Walton (London 1654-7), were those of Saᶜīd.

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(P.-B. Fenton)

SABᶜ, SABᶜA (A.), seven, is a number of greatest importance in both the Semitic and the Iranian traditions as it combines the spiritual Three and the material Four. Its history probably begins in Babylon with the observation of four lunar phases of seven days each. The seven planets (including sun and moon) have reigned supreme in human thought since Antiquity. Each of them is connected with a specific colour, scent and character. Niẓāmī's (d. in the early 7th/13th century [*q.v.*]) Persian epic *Haft paykar* is the finest elaboration of these ideas. The imagined seven stations between the sublunar world and the transplanetary sphere served as models for the way of the seeker in almost all religions (the Mithras cult is a good example). In Islam, it found its best-known example in the seven valleys in ᶜAṭṭār's (d. in the early 7th/13th century [*q.v.*]) *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*. Before him, al-Nūrī (d. 294/907 [*q.v.*]) had spoken of the "city of the heart" with its seven walls. To this group of ideas belong also the 70,000 veils of light and darkness which, according to Ṣūfī thought, separate God and human beings. For the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*], divine creation reaches human kind in seven degrees through the First Intellect.

Seven was often connected with periodicity; the development of human life, especially, was thought to depend upon a seven-year rhythm. Here, the classical example is Ibn Ṭufayl's (d. 581/1185 [*q.v.*]) *Ḥayy Ibn Yaḳẓān*.

Seven plays a considerable role in early Islamic tradition: the Ḳurʾān often mentions the seven heavens, and heptads appear frequently in Sūrat Yūsuf. The *sabᶜ mathānī* (sūra XV, 89) are often thought to point to the *Fātiḥa* with its seven sentences. The number of the *sawāḳiṭ al-Fātiḥa*, the letters not found in the *Fātiḥa* (which are used in magic) is again seven. Seven sūras begin with *ḥ-m*, which was later interpreted to mean *ḥabībī Muḥammad*, "My beloved Muḥammad", and the Ḳurʾān has not only seven *wudjūh* "aspects", but also seven canonical ways of recitation. During the *ḥadjdj* or Pilgrimage, the *ṭawāf* around the Kaᶜba has to be performed seven times, as has the running (*saᶜy*) between Ṣafā and Marwa, and Satan is stoned with three times seven stones.

Al-Bukhārī speaks of seven major sins, and many ritual acts, prayers and invocations should be repeated seven times in order to yield a positive result. But according to a *ḥadīth*, the infidel eats "with seven stomachs."

The Seven Sleepers, mentioned in sūra XVIII, 22, may be the models for numerous groups of heptads, such as the *haft ᶜafīfa*, the seven virtuous women, who are venerated in Sind and the Pandjāb as a unit, or the seven protective saints in Marrakesh. In popular usage, one finds customs such as begging alms for a religious purpose from seven women called Fāṭima; in Pākistān, the material for the bridal dress is cut by seven happily-married women. In all these cases, seven points to completion, as it also does in book titles like *Haft iḳlīm* "The seven climes" or *Haft ḳulzum* "Seven oceans" (which, however, is a work on poetic rules).

Ṣūfism knows the seven *laṭāʾif*, fine spiritual points in the body, and seven major prophets are connected with them. Heptads appear in visions (see Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, iii, ll. 1985 ff.). The mystical hierarchy has seven degrees, and in some Ṣūfī traditions, seven saints are sometimes called "the eyes of God." The Tīdjāniyya [*q.v.*] dervishes believe that the Prophet honours their meeting with his presence when a certain litany of blessings over him is repeated seven times.

In the Persian tradition, expressions with Seven abound. For Nawrūz [*q.v.*], *haft sīn* are prepared, that is 7 items (fruit, plants, etc.) whose names begin with *s*; heroic acts such as Rustam's *Haft kh^w^ān* appear sevenfold. Sindbād's seven journeys too belong in this category. The spheres are often called the "seven mills", Ursa Major appears as "seven thrones", *haft awrang*, and to ward off evil one may say "Be seven Ḳurʾāns (or seven mountains) between [the disaster and us]!" To do the work of seven mullās means "to achieve nothing."

Seven reigns the whole philosophy of the Ismāᶜīlīs, the Sevener Shīᶜīs [see ISMĀᶜĪLIYYA], who have developed a complicated system of heptads: seven prophets are the seven pillars of the House of Wisdom, the seventh imām in the succession of a prophet will bring the resurrection. From God's creative words "Be! and it becomes", with its seven Arabic letters (*k.n f.y.k.w.n*), are formed the principles out of which the seven primordial fountains flow. The seven prophets correspond to the seven spheres, the seven imāms in each prophetic cycle, to the seven earths. The heptagonal fountain in the Ismāᶜīlī Centre in London symbolises the structure underlying everything in Ismāᶜīlī thought in an artistic form.

Nevertheless, the number seven leads only to the goal at the end of the created universe, beyond which lies the Eight of eternal bliss—hence the *ḥadīth*, according to which Hell has seven gates, while Paradise has eight.

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(ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL)

SABAʾ or the Sabaeans (Greek Σαβαῖοι), the name of a folk who were bearers of a highly developed culture which flourished for over a millennium before Islam, together with three other folks, Maᶜīn, Ḳataban and Ḥaḍramawt [*q.vv.*]. The main Sabaean centre was at Maryab (later Mārib, see MAʾRIB) in Yemen with its fertile oasis on the western edge of the desert known to Arab geographers as Ṣayhad (modern Ramlat al-Sabᶜatayn). In early historical times there were also Sabaean settlements in the Wādī Adhana above the great dam which waters the oasis of Mārib, in some smaller oases to the north, and in parts of the Wādī Djawf or Wādī Madhāb. All these locations are approximately 1,000 m above sea level. The montane plains lying west of Mārib and having an average level of 2,000 m above sea level were the home of other folks who spoke the same language as the Sabaeans proper, and seem to have formed some kind of federation under the hegemony of Sabaʾ. Towards the end of the first millennium B.C., these highland folks became politically dominant in the Sabaean federation.

Our knowledge of the Sabaeans is derived principally from their own inscriptions. Modern scholarship was first made aware of these by Carsten Niebuhr, member of a Danish exploratory mission in the end of the 18th century. A sporadic number of inscriptions were published and studied during the earlier part of the 19th century, but it was Eduard Glaser's travels in the last decades of the century which produced a large number of copies (mostly squeezes) forming the real foundation of subsequent research. It must be admitted, however, that later 19th and early 20th century scholars indulged too freely in speculative deductions based on insufficient evidence. A turning point came in 1950; from then onwards, an ever more rapid archaeological activity resulting in the discovery of new texts has overturned not a few conclusions too confidently advanced by earlier researchers. At the time of writing, the flow of new material is still in full course, and it has to be anticipated that some of the presently current hypotheses may in their turn prove to be invalid. Any account that can be written at the moment must be taken as still tentative.

1. Script and language. The monumental inscriptions are drafted in a variety of South Semitic alphabet, the so-called *musnad* script [see MUSNAD. 1]. The Sabaic language, with the languages of Maᶜīn, Ḳataban and Ḥaḍramawt, forms an independent branch of Semitic, having in common one distinctive feature that is found nowhere else in Semitic: the use of suffixed *-ān* in the function of a "definite article" corresponding to the Arabic prefixed *al-*. Within this language group, Sabaic is distinguished from the other three by using *h* as prefix of the causative verb and as base of the 3rd person pronouns, where the others have a sibilant. On the southern borders of the Sabaean domain, the area between the Yisliḥ pass and Dhamār used Sabaic language, as did the non-Sabaean Radmān folk to the east thereof, in the Radāᶜ area. By the end of the 3rd century A.D. the other three languages had fallen into disuse, at least for epigraphic purposes, and the inscriptions throughout Yemen, now under Himyarite domination (see below), are in a late form of Sabaic; there are indications that the language may by this time have become a prestigious "learned" language, not in everyday use (this is comparable with the case in North Arabia, where the Nabataean inscriptions are in Aramaic, though the everyday language was probably Arabic).

The general consensus today is to assign the oldest substantial body of Sabaic inscriptions (apart from a handful of seemingly earlier examples) to the 8th century B.C. Yet it still remains not altogether easy to discount completely one point which led Pirenne to propose a dating a couple of centuries later. Inscriptions of this period have rigidly geometrical forms, subjected to strict canons of proportion, astonishingly like Greek inscriptions of the 6th-5th century, but wholly unlike any other Semitic script of that or any earlier dating. It is hard to envisage how this style can have evolved totally independently, with a time-lag of two centuries, in two adjacent cultures with ancient trade links between them. In the latter part of the first millennium B.C., the *musnad* script developed (as was the tendency in Greco-Roman inscriptions) more decorative embellishments, at first with the introduction of serifs at the ends of the strokes.

2. History. For the pre-history of Sabaʾ, that is, before the beginning of the epigraphic record, there is no evidence available as yet. Silt deposits in the Mārib oasis point to intensive agricultural exploitation by artificial irrigation going back to at least the early second millennium B.C.; but what, if any, connection there may have been between these ancient agriculturalists and the Sabaeans as we know them, is wholly obscure. Trade links between South Arabia and Mesopotamia there must have been, judging by Akkadian references to South Arabian products such as frankincense and myrrh; but the first specific mention of Sabaeans in Akkadian sources is in the 8th century B.C., when the governor of Suḫu (approximately ᶜĀna on the middle Euphrates) and Mari intercepted and plundered a caravan of folk from Taymāʾ and Sabaʾ ("whose home is far away"), seemingly for making a detour to evade transit dues in Suḫu (A.

Cavigneaux and B.K. Ismail, *Die Statthalter von Suḫu und Mari*, in *Baghdader Mitt.*, xxi [1990], 351). Two other texts, known to us for a long time and recording "gifts" made by Sabaeans to Assyrian rulers in *ca.* 715 and 685 B.C., have led some scholars to postulate a Sabaean group living close to Assyria, since "gifts" was interpreted as "tribute". In fact, it is now clear that the "gifts" were such as a trade mission would normally bring (and still do today) in order to smooth their path.

In this archaic phase, the Sabaean rulers used regnal names chosen from a total list of only six, but accompanied optionally by a cognomen chosen from a list of four; the use of these styles was exclusive to the rulers, hence a reference to an individual by these styles was sufficient to indicate ruler status. However, the inscriptions drafted as from the ruler himself commonly added the title "*mkrb* of Sabaʾ"; this term is now believed to have much the same signification as Arabic *mudjammiʿ* "unifier" (which was applied to Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*]), possibly implying that he was head both of Sabaeans proper and of non-Sabaean elements in the federation. A few early inscriptions do contain references to "kings (*ʾmlk*) of Marib", as well as to "kings" of other small communities such as Haram, Nashḳ, etc. It remains uncertain whether or not a *mkrb* of Sabaʾ was simultaneously a "king" of Marib.

The archaic flowering of Sabaean culture lasted until some time after the middle of the first millennium B.C. The fact that through the fourth, third and second centuries B.C. the important frankincense trade was in the hands of the Maʿīn folk suggests some falling-off in Sabaean ascendancy.

The second great flowering of Sabaean culture was in the first three centuries A.D., by which time a very different political picture had emerged. The various folks of the 2,000 m highland zone played a much more dominant role; and some of their leaders, who traditionally bore the title *ḳwl* "prince" (in later Sabaic and in Arabic, *ḳayl*), founded dynasties who ruled as "king of Sabaʾ" or "king of Sabaʾ and *dhū* (lord of) Raydan". The dual title has been presumed to be the origin of the remark in the late first century A.D. Greek document known as the *Periplus* that a single ruler named Charibael was "king of two nations, Himyarites and Sabaeans", and had his residence at Ẓafār (near modern Yarim), of which the adjacent citadel is named Raydan (see ḤIMYAR). Throughout these three centuries there was a confused situation, with Sabaeans and Himyarites sometimes at war with each other, sometimes united under a single monarch as had been the case under Charibael; occasionally there appear to have been two rulers reigning simultaneously in Mārib and Ẓafār and both claiming the dual title "king of Sabaʾ and *dhu* Raydan". Somewhat oddly, the indigenous inscriptions of this period never speak of a "king" of the Himyarites; on one occasion when a king of Sabaʾ was at war with the Himyarites, he alludes to his antagonist simply as "the Raydanite" (much as a European might speak of "the Hapsburg").

In addition to the Sabaeo-Himyarite conflicts, there were wars waged by varying alliances among Sabaʾ, Ḳataban, Radman (see above) and Ḥaḍramawt, and also involving Abyssinians (Ḥabashat [*q.v.*]) settled in the Red Sea coastal region. But by the beginning of the 4th century A.D., Shammar Yurʿish, whom the Arab writers call "the first Tubbaʿ" [see TUBBAʿ] had put an end to these conflicts by eliminating Ḳataban and Ḥaḍramawt, and for the first time uniting the whole of what is today Yemen, employing the title "king of Sabaʾ and *dhu* Raydan and Ḥaḍramawt and the South (*Ymnt*)"; in the 5th century this title was further enlarged by the addition of "and their Arabs (i.e. Bedouin) in the highland and the Tihāma".

The 4th to 6th centuries A.D. are thus politically speaking a Himyarite period and do not properly belong to the history of Sabaʾ, despite the fact that what is called the Late Sabaic language continued to have great prestige value and to be employed for epigraphic purposes.

Mediaeval Arab writers have preserved for us from the Himyarite period a mass of oral traditions which contain much authentic material mingled with folklore motifs. But they knew practically nothing about the genuine history of Sabaʾ before the 4th century A.D., though they do mention the names of one or two of the most prominent individuals of the first-third centuries, notably king Ilīsharaḥ Yaḥḍib, whom they credit with the building of the famous palace of Ghumdān [*q.v.*] in Ṣanʿāʾ.

3. Religion. The religion of all four South Arabian folks down to the beginning of the 4th century A.D. was a polytheistic paganism. Though it is probable that this may have survived among the peasantry and in remoter parts of the kingdom through the 4th to the 6th centuries, the upper classes, who are the authors of our inscriptional material, went over to some form of monotheistic creed, a cult of "the Merciful (*Rḥmn-n*), the Lord of Heaven", which could perhaps best be described as "Ḥanafite" [see ḤANĪF] since it is devoid of explicit marks of either Judaism or Christianity. At the same time, already from the end of the 4th century, a few explicitly Jewish texts attest an influential Jewish presence, and in the 6th century under Abraha [*q.v.*] Christianity prevailed.

For the period down to the early 4th century A.D., few would now agree with the excessive reductionism of D. Nielsen, who in the 1920s held that all the many deities in the pagan pantheon were nothing more than varying manifestations of an astral triad of sun, moon and Venus-star; yet it is certainly the case that three deities tend to receive more frequent mention than the rest. The first, in the sense that his cult is found among all four of the South Arabian folks and that in invocations of several deities his name normally comes first, is ʿAthtar, a male counterpart of north Semitic Ishtar/ʿAshtoreth/Astarte. He is often qualified by the epithet "eastern" and occasionally by the complementary one "western", which tends to support the commonly accepted identification of him with the planet Venus, regarded as "morning star" and "evening star".

But just as the Greek local patron deities such as Athene in Athens, Artemis in Ephesus, etc., figure more prominently than the remoter and universal Zeus, so in South Arabia the most commonly invoked deity was a national one, who incorporated the sense of national identity. For the Sabaeans this was *ʾlmḳh* (with an occasional variant spelling *ʾlmḳhw*). A probable analysis of this name is as a compound of the old Semitic word *ʾl* "god" and a derivative of the root *ḳhw* meaning something like "fertility" (cf. Arabic *ḳahā* "flourish"); the *h* is certainly a root letter, and not, as some mediaeval writers seem to have imaginged, a *tāʾ marbūṭa*, which in South Arabian is always spelt with *t*. The "federal" significance of this deity appears notably in the fact that at the shrine on Djabal Riyām (Arḥab) the worshippers of the local folk-deity Taʾlab were instructed that they must not omit to make an annual pilgrimage to *ʾlmḳh* in Mārib.

Many European scholars still refer to this deity in a simplicistic way as "the moon god", a notion stemming from the "triadic" hypothesis mentioned above;

yet Garbini has produced cogent arguments to show that the attributes of *ʾlmḳh* are rather those of a warrior-deity like Greek Herakles or a vegetation god like Dionysus. (The remarks made in the art. ḲATABĀN on this topic as it affects the situation in Ḳataban went to press before Garbini's article had appeared; they now need modifying in the light of that article.)

Nevertheless, the moon certainly had much religious significance. A very common symbol engraved on altars and religious buildings shows a crescent embracing a disc. It is presumably this symbol that the Muslim writers had in mind when they say that the first act of the day for an ancient Yemeni king was to "bow down to the images of the sun and moon". This is not to say, of course, that they were right in seeing the disc as representing the sun; some modern scholars have been inclined to think it represents the planet Venus.

The place occupied by the sun in the pantheon is not easy to assess. The Radman folk had as their national patron-deity *s²ms¹ ʿlyt* "Lofty Sun", and elsewhere there are mentions simply of "Sun" without qualification. But it is dubious whether the majority belief is justified, that numerous references to a feminine deity described simply as "She-who-is-possessed of (*dhāt*)" a certain quality, are necessarily to a solar goddess (too often, the interpretation proposed for the term describing the quality has been dictated by the preconception that it must be a quality of the sun).

Certain of the ancient religious practices have a special interests in that they have survived in some form or another until the present day. Worth mentioning are the communal pilgrimages (*ziyārāt*) on prescribed days; a code of ritual purity (see Ryckmans); and a ritualised hunting of the ibex, thought of as connected with the divine blessing of rain (Ryckmans and Serjeant).

4. Sabaʾ in Bible and Ḳurʾān. The visit of the Queen of Sheba to king Solomon, and the abundant accretions of legend around it [see BILḲĪS], have been too extensively discussed to need mention here, except for the remark that there is a possibility that such a visit might have been associated with a trade mission, like the missions to the Assyrian kings (see above). In the Ḳurʾānic allusion (XXVII, 27 ff.) the name Sabaʾ does not occur; she is simply "the queen of the south". But Sabaʾ does feature in a passage (XXXIV, 15-16) which is one of those where the fate of ancient peoples is mentioned as a warning against worldly pride. The prosperity of the Mārib oasis (situated on each side of the wadi bed, hence "the garden of the left" and "the garden of the right") had been dependent on the maintenance of the great dam in good order; after the death of king Abraha the political fabric that had made repairs possible crumbled, the irrigation system was destroyed and the oasis was devastated.

5. Sabaeans in Africa. Around the middle of the first millennium B.C., there were Sabaeans also in the Horn of Africa, in the area that later became the realm of Aksum (Eritrea). The evidence consists of only a scanty number of inscriptions, which, however, make it clear that we have to do with genuine Sabaeans, holding to the national cult of *ʾlmḳh*. They were mixed up with various non-Sabaean communities, and it is still much in dispute how one can envisage the actual demographic (and political) situation. There are five places in the Bible where the writer distinguishes Sheba (שבא) son of Yoḳtan (who appears in the Arab genealogies as Ḳaḥṭān [*q.v.*]), i.e. the Yemenite Sabaeans, from Seba (סבא) son of Kush, implying an African habitat. This spelling differentiation, however, may be purely factitious; at all events the indigenous inscriptions make no such difference, and both Yemenite and African Sabaeans are there spelt in exactly the same way.

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(A.F.L. BEESTON)

ṢABĀ, FATḤ ʿALĪ KHĀN, Persian poet, was born in Kāshān, probably in 1179/1765, and died in 1238/1822-3. His people belonged originally to Ādharbaydjān, and came from the Dunbalī stock, a tribe of Kurds settled in the region of Khūy. Members of his family held jobs as governors and administrators under the Zand and Ḳādjār rulers. His father, Āḳā Muḥammad, was governor of Kāshān under the Zands, and his eldest brother, Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān, was minister to the Zand ruler Luṭf ʿAlī Khān (*r.* 1203-9/1789-94). Ṣabā also seems to have been identified with this monarch, and is reported to have composed poems in his praise. When Luṭf ʿAlī Khān fled from Kirmān in 1208/1794 from the Ḳādjārs, Ṣabā's brother was captured and put to death by the orders of Āghā Muḥammad Shāh (*r.* 1193-1212/1779-97 [*q.v.*]), founder of the Ḳādjār régime. Following this tragedy, the poet wandered from place to place in fear of his life until he was fortunate to find refuge with Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān (afterwards Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, *r.* 1212-50/1797-1834 [*q.v.*]), who was governor-general of Fārs at that time. Ṣabā transferred his allegiance to the Ḳādjārs, and reportedly destroyed the *dīwān* which contained poems composed by him in praise of his former patrons, the Zands.

In 1212/1797, on the occasion of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's accession to the throne, Ṣabā presented a *ḳaṣīda* which was well received by the new ruler. His fortunes prospered until he was appointed poet-laureate at the court. For some time he was also governor of Ḳum and Kāshān, and held the honorary title of Iḥtisāb al-Mamālik ("Censor of the Provinces"). Eventually, however, he abandoned his administrative assignments to remain permanently at the court. He accompanied the monarch on his various travels and campaigns. It was during one of these campaigns in 1228/1813, involving Persia's hostilities with Russia, that Ṣabā, at the behest of the Shāh, undertook the composition of his long epic poem, *Shāhanshāh-nāma* ("Book of the King of Kings").

Ṣabā died in 1238/1822-3 in Tehran. His eldest son, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān (d. *ca.* 1264/1848), who

used ʿAndalīb as his pen-name, succeeded him as Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's poet-laureate, and continued in that position during Muḥammad Shāh's reign (1250-64/1834-48 [*q.v.*]) as well. Ṣabā's family occupies a distinctive place in the history of 19th century Persian literature insofar as some of its members were leading literary figures of the Ḳādjār period. These included, in addition to Ḥusayn Khān ʿAndalīb, Ṣabā's youngest son, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Furūgh (d. 1290/1873), his nephew, Aḥmad Khan Ṣabūr (d. 1228/1813), and his grandson, Maḥmūd Khān (d. 1311/1893), the last-named being the poet-laureate of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (*r.* 1264-1313/1848-96 [*q.v.*]).

Ṣabā was generous and helpful towards his fellow-writers. He often used his influence at the court to assist his literary colleagues in their professional needs. One of those benefiting from his good offices was the author Fāḍil Khān Garrūsī (b. 1196/1781-2, d. 1254/1838-9), who was officially commissioned, on Ṣabā's recommendation, to write a history of poets, later named by him as *Andjuman-i Khāḳān* ("Assembly of the Emperor").

Ṣabā was a prolific poet. In his youth he took his poetic training under Ḥādjdjī Sulaymān Ṣabāḥī (d. 1218/1803-4), who was his fellow-townsman. Ṣabā's verse output consists predominantly of *ḳaṣīdas* and *mathnawīs*. His poetic skill finds its characteristic expression in his panegyrics, of which those in praise of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and other dignitaries occupy a prominent place. Together with *Shāhanshāh-nāma*, cited earlier, his better-known *mathnawīs* include *Khudāwand-nāma* ("Book of the Lord"), *ʿIbrat-nāma* ("Book of warning"), and *Gulshan-i Ṣabā* ("The rose-garden of Ṣabā"). *Shāhanshāh-nāma*, a poem containing some 40,000 couplets, which the poet claims to have composed in three years, is patterned after Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*, and describes chiefly the events of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's reign. *Khudāwand-nāma*, another lengthy poem of nearly 25,000 couplets, deals with the history and miracles of the Prophet Muḥammad and with the battles fought by his cousin and son-in-law, ʿAlī. The third *mathnawī*, *ʿIbrat-nāma*, is a poem denouncing some unnamed individuals, identified only as Jews, who were allegedly sowing mischief in the kingdom. The last-named *mathnawī*, *Gulshan-i Ṣabā*, contains counsels addressed to the author's son, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān ʿAndalīb, and ends with a eulogy in praise of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and his family. Composed probably when Ṣabā was in his mid-forties, it represents one of the best works of the poet. In the simplicity of its expression, it presents a marked contrast to much of Ṣabā's poetry, which suffers from a frequent use of quaint and unfamiliar words and phrases.

Many contemporary and later writers have showered rich praise upon Ṣabā and his works. According to Riḍā-ḳulī Khān Hidāyat [*q.v.*], no poet equal to him had appeared in Persia for some seven hundred years. Comments such as these are of course a gross exaggeration of the truth, and do not merit serious consideration. The subject-matter of the poet is limited in its appeal and his style tends to be laboured and heavy. Ṣabā's chief contribution perhaps lies in the fact that he played a major role in the Persian poetic revival (*bāzgasht*), which began in the 12th/18th century and was directed towards a return to earlier native models in contrast to the Indian style (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]) favoured by Persian poets of the preceding two centuries.

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SABAB (A.), pl. *asbāb*, literally "rope" (*ḥabl*), the basic sense as given by the lexicographers (cf. *LʿA*), coming to designate anything which binds or connects. It is "anything by means of which one gains an end (*maḳṣūd*; al-Djurdjānī) or an object sought" (*maṭlūb*; in the *Baḥr al-djawāhir*). One can mention *asbāb* with the sense of "bonds" in Ḳurʾān, II, 166: "When the bonds [which unite them] are broken...". Ibn ʿAbbās interpreted this as friendship (*mawadda*); Mudjāhid, "alliance" (*tawāṣul*) in this context. The sense is also found of "a means of achieving s. th.". Ibn Manẓūr cites the expression "I made such a thing into a means of obtaining what I needed"; here, *sabab* is a synonym of *wadadj* "a means of arriving at s. th.". From this arises the sense of "way of access", found in the Ḳurʾān: the way which leads to the heavens (*asbāb al-samawāt*), and the use of the term in philosophy in the expression *asbāb al-ʿilm* ("the ways of knowledge"; cf. Gardet and Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, 66, 375). From this same point of view, *asbāb* has assumed the sense of "means of subsistence".

1. In philosophy and medical science.

The *ḥukamāʾ* use the term as a synonym of *ʿilla* (one may consult ʿILLA, which deals with both terms in *falsafa* and *kalām*). Al-Tahānawī gives in his *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, following the *Baḥr al-djawāhir*, an interesting general presentation. The *sabab* is also called *mabdaʾ* "principle"; it is "that which a thing needs, whether in its quiddity or in its existence ... It is either complete (*tāmm*: this is the divine causality in its perfect unity) or else incomplete (*nāḳiṣ*), and is then divided into four types (these are the causes in the physical and metaphysical sense). The cause may be interior to the thing, and if the thing is with it potentially, it is the material cause (*sabab māddī*). If it is in activity, it is the formal cause (*sabab ṣūrī*). Or if it is not interior to the thing, then it has an effect on its existence; it is the efficient cause (*sabab fāʿilī*). If it has an effect on the efficience of its efficient cause (*fī fāʿiliyyat fāʿilihi*), it is the final cause (*sabab ghāʾī*). One should note that this is

the way Ibn Sīnā defines the final cause (cf. *Ishārāt*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā, iii, 444-5, with the comm. of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī). If the efficacious action of the cause (*taʿaddī al-sabab*) is constant (*dāʾimī*) or present in the greater number of cases (*akthārī*, cf. Aristotle, τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ), the cause is termed essential (*sabab dhātī*) and the effect caused (*musabbab*) the essential end (*ghāya dhātiyya*). If there is efficacity in the smallest number of cases equal to that where it does not occur (*taʿaddī aḳallī aw musāwī*), this cause is said to be accidental (*sabab ittifāḳī*), and the effect which is caused is termed the accidental end. It has been said that if all the conditions of efficacity combine, the cause is essential and the end essential. If not, the efficacity is impossible and there is no accidental cause. To put it another way, every cause, as such, has a necessary effect as soon as all the conditions for its action are brought together; if not, it has no action at all and the power which essentially constitutes it as a cause remains without effect. Accordingly, there is no accidental cause.

One may reply to this that, amongst its conditions, everything which gives in reality its efficacity to the action of the cause, is taken into account as part of the cause; but one must also take into account the factors which are not part of it, such as the absence of any obstacle (*intifāʾ al-māniʿ*) and the disposition of an object to receive the action of a cause (*istiʿdād al-ḳābil*). Now when these two latter conditions can be equally realised or not realised, the causality of the cause becomes accidental there where it exerts its effect. Let us take an example. Fire burns by its essence; but it will not burn a combustible matter which is damp (here the dampness constitutes an obstacle) or an incombustible matter (which is incapable of receiving the action of fire). Consequently, if there are as many chances that the matter is or is not made up of dry wood, and if it happens that it is in fact dry wood, the fire burns, but accidentally, since it is accidental that dry wood is involved.

Physicians use the word *sabab* in a more particular sense than the philosophers. For them, it denoted uniquely the efficient cause, and even, not every efficient cause but exclusively those which have an effect within the human body, whether they produce illnesses or restore health or preserve health. They are either of a corporeal nature, and are then either substances like food or medicines, or they are accidents, such as heat and cold. They also distinguish the *asbāb* which are internal to the body, like the temperament and the humours; those which are external, like warm air; and those which are of a psychical nature (*min al-umūr al-nafsāniyya*), like anger.

Finally, in Ḳurʾānic exegesis one should understand the expression *asbāb al-nuzūl* in a sense analogical to its legal sense (see 2. below): the reasons or circumstances which explain the revelation of such or such a verse, and to which certain commentators appeal in their quest for a rational form of exegesis (see Gardet and Anawati, *op. cit.*, 29-30).

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(R. Arnaldez)

2. In law.

Here, *sabab* is defined as the designation given by the law maker for an injunction (*ḥukm*). The *sabab* itself may not be the actual cause but merely serves as a mark (*ʿalāma*) to indicate that a certain *ḥukm* should apply. The classic example is found in the case of travelling as permitting the breaking of fasting during Ramaḍān. The main difference between *sabab* and *ʿilla*, when considering *ḳiyās*, is marginal in practice, since *ʿilla* is merely a subdivision of *sabab*. *ʿIlla* is also termed *sabab munāsib*, a *sabab* which can be understood by human reasoning. Travelling is therefore described as both *ʿilla* and *sabab* in regard to permitting breaking of the fast during Ramaḍān since, by the application of reason, it is apparent that the objective is to reduce hardship. However, since there is no rational explanation why Ramaḍān has been prescribed for fasting, it is therefore *sabab* but not *ʿilla*.

The schools of *fiḳh* are divided in their opinions about *sabab*. The Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī ones, like the modern Germanic school of law, concentrate on the apparent will. By contrast, the Mālikī and Ḥanbalī schools and the Shīʿa focus on the actual intention, a tendency similar to that in Roman law. In contemporary Islamic civil application, the importance of *sabab* can perhaps be well understood from the UAE Civil Code definition of it as "the direct purpose aimed at by the contract".

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3. In prosody [see also ʿARŪḌ].

Here, *sabab*, lit. "tent rope", and *watid*, lit. "tent peg", denote the two smallest metrically meaningful elements which serve as building-blocks for the feet (*adjzāʾ*, sing. *djuzʾ*). Following the established tent-verse analogy of the *bayt*, the inventor of prosody, al-Khalīl [*q.v.*], coined these terms to characterise the variable (*sabab*) and the stable elements (*watid*) within each foot. The *sabab* consists of two letters/consonants (the *watid* of three), of which the second may be either vowelless or vowelled, resulting in the two subtypes of the *sabab khafīf*, "the light cord", and the *sabab thaḳīl*, "the heavy cord." Syllabically speaking, the light cord is one long syllable (e.g. *ḳad*), the heavy cord two short ones (e.g. *laka*). A foot consists of one *watid* and either one or two *sababs*. The "heavy cord" exists only in conjunction with a "light cord" to form the feet *mutafāʿilun* and *mufāʿalatun*, from which the metres *kāmil* and *wāfir* are constructed. The combination of "heavy cord" and "light cord" (*muta-fā-* and *-ʿala-tun*, respectively, i.e. ⏑⏑–) is also covered by the metrical term *fāṣila* (more precisely *fāṣila ṣughrā*), which seems to go back to al-Khalīl also. Since neither this term nor the *fāṣila kubrā* (⏑⏑⏑–) is useful for the system, because both can be interpreted in terms of *sabab* and *watid*, they are best seen as elements used in the analysis of the really existing metres (*awzān*) rather than the abstract ideal metres (*buḥūr*) of the system. Breaking the *fāṣila ṣughrā* up into two *sababs* allowed for a unified definition of the *ziḥāf* as a deviation from the ideal norm that befalls the second letter of a *sabab* (Stoetzer, 42-3). The *ziḥāfāt*, usually elisions, are characteristic of the *sabab*; they may change from one line to the next.

Some Persian prosodists introduce as a third type of *sabab* the *sabab-i mutawassiṭ*, consisting of an overlong syllable (e.g. *yār*) (Elwell-Sutton, 9; Khānlarī, 94, n. 2, quoting the *Durra-yi Nadjafī* of Nadjafḳulī Mīrzā Muʿizzī).

Bibliography: W. Stoetzer, *Theory and practice in Arabic metrics*, Leiden 1989, index; see also the bibliographies in ʿARŪḌ, and in *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie*, Bd. II, *Literaturwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1987, 205-7 (W. Heinrichs); and the additions in Bd. III, *Supplement*, Wiesbaden 1992, 276 (R. Weipert); for a clear presentation of the *ziḥāfāt* in the form of tables, see L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The*

Persian metres, Cambridge 1976, 16-38; P.N. Khānlarī, *Wazn-i shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1345 sh./1966.
(W.P. Heinrichs)

4. In grammar.

The term is used by Sībawayhi in his *Kitāb* 39 times (Troupeau, *Lexique-Index* s.v.) to denote a "semantic link" between words that brings about a change in the expected case ending. Thus alongside *zayd^un lakītu akhāhu* we find *zayd^an lakītu akhāhu*, where the dependent (*manṣūb*) form of *zayd^an* is acceptable because it is "semantically linked" with *akhāhu* (*min sababihi, Kitāb*, i, Der. 32/Būl. 43). In this way, Sībawayhi acounts for a variety of inflectional problems, particularly concord, the most familiar being the attraction of *ḥasan^un* to *ḥasan^in* in *marartu bi-radjul^in ḥasan^in abūhu* due to the *sabab* between *radjul^in* and *abūhu* (*ibid.*, i, 195/228). The "semantic link" is always realised by a bound pronoun, either suffixed (as in *akhāhu, abūhu*, above) or concealed, as in *anta fa-nẓur*, with *anta* assigned the same case as the concealed agent pronoun of *unẓur* because of the *sabab* between them (*ibid.*, i, 59/71). This pronoun is obligatory: in **mā zayd^un munṭalik^an abū ʿamrin* it is not enough to know that Abū ʿAmr really is Zayd's father—without the pronoun this expression is disallowed, contrast *mā zayd^un munṭalik^an abūhu* (*ibid.*, i, 24/31). In addition to the direct *sabab*, Sībawayhi recognised an indirect link which he calls *iltibās* "involvement", e.g. *marartu bi-radjul^in mukhāliṭihi dāʾ^un* (*ibid.*, i, 193/226; here the suffixed pronoun has moved from *dāʾ^un* to its predicate *mukhāliṭihi*) and, one stage more remote, "involvement with something semantically linked", e.g. *marartu bi-radjul^in mukhāliṭ^in abāhu dāʾ^un* (see Mosel, 297). Subsequently, *sabab* was largely dropped from grammatical theory and replaced by other explanations or synonyms. By the time of Ibn al-Sarrādj (d. 316/929, *Mūdjaz*, 62), it is virtually restricted to the adjectival structure *marartu bi radjul^in ḥasan^in abūhu*, later commonly termed the *naʿt sababī*.

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SABAH, a state consisting of over 29,000 square miles of territory on the northern coast of the island of Borneo and a constituent part of Malaysia since 1963. Formerly it was known as North Borneo (1877-8 to 1946) and was governed by the British North Borneo Company (incorporated by Royal Charter in 1881) by virtue of agreements between the Company and the Sultans of Brunei [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Sulu [*q.v.*]. In July 1946 the Company transferred all its rights to Britain and the territory became a Crown Colony which lasted until 1963 when Sabah joined the Federation of Malaysia.

The Muslim population is a small percentage of the total (3%-4%), but increasing as a result of an aggressive *dakwah* programme. They are predominantly coastal dwellers (Bajaus and Bruneis), living in the major river towns where the language is Malay and Samal. Historically Islam has always had a presence in the area, at least from the 17th century, and the pre-modern history of Sabah is part of the history of Brunei and Sulu.

It is in the period from the late 19th century to the present that the historical record for Islam begins and it has three main features which, together, define the modern form of the religion.

First, the international aspect. The reference here is to the treaties between the Sultans of Brunei and Sulu with the British, as to the transfer of territory and sovereignty to the latter. They are examples of the late 19th century practice of international relations involving Muslim sovereigns and the modern European *imperium* in the East. Sovereignty was undoubtedly transferred from the European point of view but not necessarily from the Muslim. State practice on either side was not strictly comparable, and the misunderstandings of the 1880s continue to give rise to inter-state dispute in modern Southeast Asia, in this case between the Philippines and Malaysia.

Second, from the point of view of the colonial power, Islam was but one of a number of "native" religions and laws. From this perspective it had no status in state sovereignty or the definition of the state. The *sharīʿa* came to be reduced in status and restricted to basic provisions on family matters and sexual misconduct. The line between *sharīʿa* and *adat* or *ʿāda* [*q.v.*] was typically blurred.

Third, from the transfer to the Federation of Malaysia in 1963, Islam gained an immediate political presence and its status was no longer that of "native belief" and law but instead became an important defining element in public and social life. Now, legislation has been introduced to implement the *sharīʿa*, to encourage education in Islam, to distribute funds for religious purposes and, in general, to make Islam an essential element in the Malaysian polity.

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ṢABĀḤ, ĀL, Arabian dynasty from the ʿUtūb branch of the ʿAnaza tribe, rulers of al-Kuwayt [*q.v.*] from *ca.* 1165/1752 until the present. They presided over its development from a small port dependent on pearling, fishing and the transit trade with India to its current position as an independent, oil-rich state.

Āl Ṣabāḥ originated in Nadjd and migrated with other members of the ʿUtūb to Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*] in about 1085/1674 and then to al-Kuwayt early in the 12th/18th century. The rise to power of the founder of the dynasty, Ṣabāḥ I (*ca.* 1165-71/1752-6), remains obscure. His claim to authority was of a civil nature, not based on descent from the Prophet or any role as a religious leader, and he does not seem to have imposed it by force but by agreement with other sections of the ʿUtbī community. During the late 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries, Āl Ṣabāḥ managed to maintain their political authority with the internal support of local tribesmen and merchants. They also succeeded for the most part in achieving a delicate balance in handling their relations with those external forces who could have swept them from power, namely the Ottomans, the British and the Suʿūdī-led Wahhābīs. Moreover, the succession proceeded relatively smoothly, ensuring family cohesion and stability.

The exception to this pattern was the dynamic figure of Mubārak (1313-34/1896-1915), who came to power by assassinating two of his brothers, Muḥam-

mad I (1310-13/1892-6) and Djarrāḥ. Despite Ottoman suspicions of British involvement in the coup and Mubārak's concern to achieve British protection, it was not until 1316/1899 that an agreement was signed, excluding other foreign powers from acquiring Kuwaytī territory by lease or purchase and preventing their representatives from being received in al-Kuwayt without British approval. In an accompanying letter, Mubārak was assured of "the good offices of the British Government". This close association with Britain proved valuable in maintaining al-Kuwayt's independence in the face of Ottoman pressures, especially during World War I, and it may also be seen as offering conditions promoting commercial development and modernisation. However, it restricted Mubārak in his dealings with his Arabian neighbours, the Āl Rashīd [*q.v.*] of Djabal Shammar and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suʿūd [*q.v.*], effectively preventing any Kuwaytī territorial expansion at their expense; early in the reign of Aḥmad I (1339-69/1921-50), it even led to territory being ceded to the Suʿūdīs.

Following a period of recession with the decline of the pearling industry and economic warfare with Ibn Suʿūd, al-Kuwayt won a reprieve with the discovery of oil in 1356/1938. Exports began on 30 Radjab 1365/30 June 1946, ushering in a new era of prosperity, especially after the accession of ʿAbd Allāh III (1369-85/1950-65). ʿAbd Allāh oversaw the creation of al-Kuwayt's modern infrastructure, initiating ambitious construction projects, a comprehensive welfare state, extensive education and health facilities. He also ended the 1316/1899 Anglo-Kuwaytī agreement, which was increasingly resented, asserting al-Kuwayt's full independence as a sovereign state on 6 Muḥarram 1381/19 June 1961. Immediately, he was threatened with invasion by al-ʿIrāḳ, laying claim to sovereignty over al-Kuwayt, but on this occasion Britain's prompt action in sending forces to the border deterred the ʿIrāḳīs from invading. The present ruler, Djābir III (1398-/1977-) was less fortunate when on 10 Muḥarram 1411/2 August 1990 he was faced with an actual ʿIrāḳī invasion, resulting in the occupation of his country and his exile in Suʿūdī Arabia until after the liberation of al-Kuwayt in the Gulf War of Radjab-Shaʿbān 1411/January-February 1991.

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(Elizabeth M. Sirriyeh)

ṢABĀḤ al-**DĪN** ("Prens" Sabahattin) (1877-1948), late Ottoman political theorist. Ṣabāh al-Dīn was born in Istanbul, the elder son of *Dāmād* (imperial son-in-law) Maḥmūd Djelāl al-Dīn Pasha. His mother was Senīḥa Sulṭān, a younger sister of Sultan ʿAbd al-Hamīd II. He was educated privately.

When his father fled to Paris in 1899, Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn and his younger brother Luṭf Allāh accompanied him. Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn came to the fore as one of the leading Young Turk emigré publicists and politicians. Backed by his father's wealth, he soon became a serious competitor of Aḥmed Riḍā for the leadership of the Young Turk movement. In 1902 he took the initiative in bringing together the first "Congress of Ottoman Liberals" in Paris, where his group, that of Aḥmed Riḍā, but also Armenian, Albanian and Arab delegations met. At the congress a split occurred between the centralist and nationalist Young Turk movement of Aḥmed Riḍā (the *Ittiḥād we Terakkī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*] or "Committee of Union and Progress") and the other groups over the question whether armed struggle, including foreign intervention, was acceptable as a means to depose the sultan. Together with the Armenians, Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn supported intervention and armed resistance (an abortive attempt at a military coup with the help of the garrison in Tripolitania was actually undertaken by his followers after the congress). Later in 1902, Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn united his followers in a separate organisation, the *ʿAdem-i Merkeziyyet we Teshebbüs-ü Shakhsī Djemʿiyyeti* ("Society for Decentralisation and Private Initiative").

The name of the society reflected Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn's ideological stance. He was a follower of Le Play and, especially, of Edmond Desmolins, whose *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons* (1897) influenced him deeply. In Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn's eyes, society could only progress on the basis of the improvement of its smallest constituent parts, sc. the family and the individual. Unlike most other Young Turks, who saw the state as the only vehicle for the modernisation of society, he saw the secret in creating a strong "individualism" in the Ottoman Empire. Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn was a thinker and writer (from 1906 to 1908 he edited the Paris-based newspaper *Terakkī* "Progress") but not a very astute politician. As a concrete political programme, his brand of sociology had little to offer in the way of solutions for the short-term problems of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1907, his group participated in the second "Congress of Ottoman Liberals" in Paris, which was organised by the Armenian Dashnaks. After the 1908 constitutional revolution, he returned to Istanbul, but, although he had many followers in the *Aḥrār Firḳasi* ("Liberal party", 1908-9) and the *Ḥürriyyet we Iʾtilāf Firḳasi* ("Entente Liberale", 1912-13, 1919-22), he never joined any of these parties and he did not actively participate in the politics of the second constitutional period. He had to leave the Ottoman Empire when he was accused of involvement in the murder of the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1913. After World War I he returned, but as a member of the Ottoman dynasty he was banned from Turkey again in 1924. Thereafter he lived in exile in Switzerland until his death in 1948.

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(E.J. Zürcher)

SABAHATTİN ALİ (Ottoman orthography, Ṣabāḥ ul-Dīn ʿAlī), Turkish novelist and short story writer, born in Komotini [see gümüldjine, in Suppl.], eastern Thrace (now in Greece), on 12 February 1906 or 25 February 1907, died on 2 April 1948. His father was the army Captain Ali Salahaddin and he had his elementary education in Istanbul, Çanakkale, and Edremit. His childhood in Çanakkale during World War I was to leave deep emotional traces on him; later, when the family came to Edremit, the area was under invasion and they found themselves under dire financial circumstances, so that Sabahattin Ali had to work as a street seller. He continued his education at Balıkesir and Istanbul Teacher Training Colleges (1921-7). Upon graduation, he worked in Yozgat as a teacher for a year before he was

sent to Germany in 1928 by the Ministry of Education to further his studies. He returned in 1930 and taught German in Aydın and Konya, but in 1932, because of his poem *Memleketten haberler*, he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for disparaging Atatürk, being freed after 10 months under a general pardon. Between the years 1934 and 1945, he worked in the publications section of the Ministry of Education and later as a teacher in Ankara. He was highly criticised for his political activities and, in 1945, resigning from his duties, he moved to Istanbul, becoming a journalist. Because of an article which he published in the satirical magazine *Marko Paşa*, he was sentenced to three months in jail. In 1948, after he left prison, he began to work as a lorry driver and wrote in the journal *Zincirli Hürriyet*. He was under constant police surveillance, hence decided to run away to Bulgaria, but was killed on 2 April 1948, by the smuggler who was helping him to cross the frontier, possibly in an ambush.

Sabahattin Ali began to publish his sentimental poetry and short stories in journals during 1925-6. Later, he abandoned poetry and became known by his short stories and his novel *Kuyucaklı Yusuf*. His familiarity with the Anatolian villagers, which stemmed from his childhood memories, became clearer as he met more people in the prisons. The bulk of his later work is devoted to the village life and people; their struggle with nature, their social and economic conditions, and their mistrust for officials and intellectuals. Some of his stories are about workers, but these are not as detailed as the village stories. The middle-class people and the intellectuals are reflected as negative personalities who despise and mistreat the villagers; his administrators are corrupt and take sides with the rich. The women in his stories are pushed into prostitution by society. His characters are not well developed psychologically; the plot and the motivation of his characters are more important. His first novel *Kuyucaklı Yusuf (1937)* is his village novel. The events start in Aydın in 1903 and end in 1915 in Edremit. It is based on the oppositions of city: nature; corruption: naivety; lust: love. His second novel, *İçimizdeki şeytan*, takes place in İstanbul and is set among the young university students before World War II. *Kürk mantolu Madonna* is a love story about an intellectual, his problems with his family and his society. In all the three of his novels the heroes are men who are not in harmony with their communities.

Sabahattin Ali strove in his writings to be a social realist; he did not abstract art from society and believed that art and literature had a mission, which was to lead human beings towards the more beautiful and the just and to teach them about themselves and life. He began by employing an elaborate literary language, as in his early love stories, but shifted to using very plain, non-descriptive language, believing that the written language should reflect the spoken form.

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2. Studies. Fethi Naci, *On Türk romanı*, Istanbul 1971; Mustafa Kutlu, *Sabahattin Ali*, Istanbul 1972; Asım Bezirci, *Sabahattin Ali: hayatı, hikayeleri, romanları*, Istanbul 1974; Kemal Bayram, *Sabahattin olayı*, Istanbul 1978; F.A. Laslo and Atilla Özkırımlı, *Sabahattin Ali*, Ankara 1979; Elisabeth Siedel, *Sabahattin Ali, Mystiker und Sozialist*, Berlin 1983; Olcay Önertoy, *Türk roman ve öykü̈sü*, Istanbul 1984; Berna Moran, *Türk romanına eleştirel bir bakış*, ii, Istanbul 1990; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikaye ve roman*, iii, Istanbul 1990.

(Çİğdem Balım)

ŞABANDJA, modern Turkish Sapanca, a town in northwestern Anatolia, in the classical Bithynia, situated on the southeastern bank of the freshwater lake of the same name and to the west of the Sakarya river (lat. 40°41′N., long. 30°15′E.).

Almost nothing is known of its pre-Islamic history, although there are Byzantine remains; the name may be a popular transformation of Sophon. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, the town was founded by a certain Şabandjī Ḳodja, but this last must be merely an eponymous hero. It seems to appear in history only in the 10th/16th century, when Süleymān the Magnificent's Grand Vizier Şarī Rüstem Pasha [see RÜSTEM PASHA] is said to have founded there a mosque, a public bath and a caravanserai with 170 rooms. Ewliyā describes it a century later as having 1,000 houses, and Şabandja was at this time the centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *liwāʾ* of Ḳodja-eli [*q.v.*], connected administratively and financially with the *eyālet* of the Ḳapudan Pasha or Grand Admiral. Its main importance was as a staging-post on the road from the capital to the Anatolian interior, and then, in the early 20th century, as a station on the railway line from Üsküdar into Anatolia. During the Greco-Turkish warfare of 1921, it was occupied by the Greeks from 16 March to 21 June and damaged. It is now the chef-lieu of an *ilçe* or county in the *il* or province of Sakarya, with fruit-growing as an important local agricultural activity; in 1960 the town had a population of 5,788 and the *ilçe* one of 13,114.

The lake of Şabandja (15 km/9 miles by 5 km/3 miles) has been important for its fish since Antiquity; it is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus as *lacus sumonensis*, and in later Byzantine times the mountain by the lake was called Siphones. The project of connecting the lake by means of a canal with the Gulf of Izmit was mooted as far back as the Emperor Trajan's time, and in the Ottoman period, during the reigns of Muṣṭafā III and Murād III in the 10th/16th century, and after (see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Sakarya nehrinin Izmit körfezine akıtılması ile Marmara ve Karadeniz'in birleştirilmesi hakkında vesikalar ve tetkik raporu*, in *Belleten*, iv/14-15 [1940], 149-74).

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314-18/1896-1900, ii, 171-2, 459 ff., v, 74; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 6560, 673; von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 72, 578, iv, 200; Sir W.M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 188; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv, 378; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924, 93-4, 255; *İA*, art. *Sapanca* (Besim Darkot). For the European travellers in the area, see the *Bibl.* to F. Babinger's *EI*[1] art.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SABASṬIYYA, Sebasṭiyya, the Arabic name of various towns in the Near East.

1. The ancient Samaria, which Herod had changed to Σεβαστή in honour of Augustus. The form Σεβάστεια—as in the case of other towns of this name—was presumably also used, as the Arabic name (which is sometimes also written Sabaṣṭiyya) suggests. By the end of the classical period, the town, overshadowed by the neighbouring Neapolis (Sichem; Arabic, Nābulus), had sunk to be a small town (πολίχνιον) and played only an unimportant part in the Arab period. It was conquered by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ while Abū

Bakr was still caliph; the inhabitants were guaranteed their lives and property on condition that they paid poll-tax and land-duties (al-Balādhurī, 138; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 388). Al-Battānī is the first of the Arab geographers to mention it, but gives already much less accurate figures for its position than Ptolemy had done. In the later Arab geographers, Sabasṭiyya appears as a place in the Djund Filasṭīn. According to a tradition found as early as Jerome, for example, the tomb of John the Baptist was there (Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.*: Yaḥya b. Zakariyyā'; xi, 333); on its site there was in Late Antiquity a basilica built and in the Crusading period (in the second half of the 6th/12th century) a church of St. John; remains of the latter still survive. According to western sources, Sabasṭiyya was again a bishopric at this time (Lequien, in *Oriens Christianus*, iii, 650 ff.). Usāma b. Munkidh, about 534/1140, visited the town and its sanctuary. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn advanced on Sabasṭiyya in 580/1184, but its bishop, by handing over 80 Muslim prisoners, saved the town from the terrible fate of Nābulus (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 333; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, in *Recueil des hist. orient. des croisades*, i, 53; Ibn Shaddād, in *ibid.*, iii, 82; *Epistola Balduini*, in Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosol.*, no. 638). In the year 583/1187 it was finally taken from the Crusaders by Ḥusam al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Lādjīn; the church of St. John was turned into a mosque and the bishop brought to ʿAkkā (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 357).

Bibliography: Battānī, *Kitāb Zīdj al-Ṣābī*, ed. Nallino, in the *Pubblicazioni d. Reale Osservat. di Brera in Milano*, xl/2, 39, no. 114; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 103; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 79; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 329; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 33; Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousâma*, tr. 188-9, 486, Arabic text, 528, 617; V. Cuinet, *La Syrie*, 192; Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, i, 102; Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Christi*[4], ii, 195-8; R. Hartmann, *Palästina unter den Arabern* (*Das Land der Bibel*, i/4), 14; Baedeker, *Palästina u. Syrien*[6], Leipzig 1904, 195; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 28, 523; H.C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, *The handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*[2], London 1930, 130-1; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 92.

2. A place in the Thughūr al-Shāmiyya, according to Ibn Khurradādhbih, 117, on the Cilician coast, 4 *mīls* from an otherwise unknown Iskandariyya, which again was 12 *mīls* from Ḳurāsiyya (Κοράσιον). It is the ancient 'Ελαιοῦσσα or Σεβαστή, the modern Ayaṣ.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, v, 2228, s.v. Elaiussa; ii/A, 952, s.v. Sebaste no. 5; Tomaschek, in *SB Ak. Wien* (1891), Abh. viii, 65; E. Herzfeld, in *Peterm. geogr. Mitteil.*, lv (1909), 29, col. 2.

3. A town in Asia Minor, which was taken by al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd in 93/711-12 along with al-Marzubānayn and Ṭūs (read Ṭarsūs!), whose situation is unknown. In some manuscripts of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Taghrībirdī, the name is wrongly written Samasṭiyya (or something like that) which can hardly, as Brooks suggests, stand for the Byzantine Μίσθεια in Phrygia. The reference is rather to the Phrygian Σεβαστή (Pauly-Wissowa, ii/A, 951, no. 1).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 457; Ṭabarī, ii, 1236, with note *b.*; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, i, 251; E.W. Brooks, in *Jnal. of Hellenic Studies*, xviii (1898), 193.

4. A town of this name said to be not far from Sumaysāṭ on the upper Euphrates is mentioned by Yāḳūt, iii, 33. It might be Juliopolis in Cappadocia (Ptolemy, v. 6. 25, ed. Müller, 893), which was presumably called after Augustus and perhaps may have also been called Sebasteia; but perhaps we should rather assume there has been some confusion with Sīwās on the Upper Nahr Ālis (Halys or Ḳîzîl Irmaḳ [*q.v.*]). (E. Honigmann*)

SABʿATU RIDJĀL, collective designation of seven patron saints venerated in certain Moroccan towns and tribal areas, as well as in some parts of Algeria. Probably the oldest group of this kind are the Seven of the Radjrādja (Regraga), a Berber maraboutic tribe (later: family) belonging to the Ḥāḥā (Maṣmūda) and composed of the descendants of 13 saints (the original seven plus six affiliates), whose tombs and *zāwiyas* are located west, east and on top of their holy mountain, Djabal al-Ḥadīd, between al-Sawīra (Mogador) and the Tansift in Shayāẓima (Chiadma) country.

According to local tradition, the Radjrādja had been Christians since the time of Christ, but when they heard of Muḥammad's call, seven of them travelled to Mecca, met the Prophet, embraced Islam and were commissioned to Islamise the Maghrib, which they did. The most conspicuous feature of their cult is the annual circular pilgrimage, *dawr*, which begins on 21 March (vernal equinox) and lasts 40 days. For a detailed description of its rites, symbolism and mythology by a *sawīrī* participant, see ʿA. Mana, *Les Regraga*, Casablanca 1988.

While the origins of the Seven Radjrādja are shrouded in myth, the Seven Saints of Marrakesh are historical persons who lived between the 6th/12th and 10th/16th centuries. They include men like the famous Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*], and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*], spiritual ancestor of most Moroccan Ṣūfī orders. H. de Castries, in his *Les sept patrons de Marrakech, les Sabʿatu Rijal*, in *Hespéris*, iv/3 (1924), 245-303, has shown that the circular pilgrimage to the Seven was established by the famous savant and mystic Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī in 1688-9, at the demand of the Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*]. The latter took a dim view of Regraga influence, and tried to curb it by having the *ʿulamā'* of Fās issue a *fatwā* (1687-8) denying their title of Companions of the Prophet and by creating a rival pilgrimage centre at Marrakesh. The new *ziyāra* proved such a success that the term *sabʿatu ridjāl* became synonymous with the name of the city. In 1811 Mawlāy Sulaymān, under Wahhābī influence, condemned the Marrākushī infatuation with the Seven, but his successors respected it.

Other instances of the veneration of seven saints have been observed near Amizmiz, among the Barānis (northeastern Morocco), in Fās, in Shafshāwen and in other places in Northern Morocco, in Ifni and in Algeria (Kabylia, Awrās).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): A. Moulièras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Oran-Paris 1899, ii, 171-8; H. Gaillard, *Une ville de l'Islam: Fès*, Paris 1905, 137; E. Doutté, *En tribu*, Paris 1914, 222, 360; R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930, 27, 66, 67, 84, 87, 208; A. Domenech-Lafuente, *Del Territorio de Ifni*, etc., in *Cuadernos de Est. Afr.*, vii (1949), 9-21; E. Maldonado, *Sebaatu Riyal*, in *Africa*, vi/86 (1949), 55-9; E. Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin*, Paris 1954, 47-9; J. Berque, *Structures sociales du Haut-Atlas*, Paris 1955, 66, 270, 296, 435; idem, *Al-Yousi*, Paris 1958; G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, i, 571-5; W. Hoenerbach and J. Kolenda, *Šefšāwen (Xauen)*, in *WI*, n.s. xiv (1973), 39. (P. Shinar)

ṢABBĀGH (a.), lit. dyer, is a technical term which was applied to a group of skilled craftsmen in Islamic Middle East and North Africa. In a polemical

writing, the Arab writer al-Djāḥiẓ argued that the dyers, tanners, cuppers, etc. were exclusively Jewish in the early Islamic period, but historians like al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and other writers have indicated names of Muslims bearing the name al-Ṣabbāgh which may indicate the involvement of Muslims in the dyer's profession at least during later Islamic centuries. A statement attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad said that "the most habitual liars were the dyers" (*akdhab al-nās al-ṣabbāghūn*); but, according to Abū ʿUbayd Ibn Sallām (d. 232/846), *al-ṣabbāgh* acquired a new shade of meaning and was applied to persons who were engaged in "forgery and embellishment of *ḥadīth*" (al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 216).

According to a tale in the *Alf layla wa-layla*, the dyer's trade tended to be hereditary. The dyers had a low status in society due to the foul odour associated with their work. The *ḥisba* manuals speak of the trickery of the dyers, who allegedly cheated their customers by applying non-permanent dye for their cloth. In the modern era, the Damascene dyers were well-known for providing the dye indigo (*al-nīl*), lapis lazuli (*lāuwardī*), dark blue dye (*kuḥlī*) and a variety of other shades for their customers' cloth (al-Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs*, 267). The Yemeni dyers of the early 20th century have preserved some of the traditional skills of their trade. The biographer al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362) recorded the biographies of some notable Muslims affiliated to the dyers' families who had unusual names like ʿAbd al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Djaʿfar al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 477/1084), who lectured on jurisprudence at the Niẓāmiyya college in Baghdād and wrote some books. His grandson ʿAbd al-Sayyid b. ʿAlī al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 563/1168) was also a man of some distinction.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Thalāth rasāʾil*, ed. Finkel, Cairo 1926, 17; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1908, 193; Ibn Bassām al-Muḥtasib, *Nihāyat al-rutba fi-ṭalab al-ḥisba*, ed. H. al-Sāmarrāʾi, Baghdād 1968, 128; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, London 1938, 45; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafāyāt*, iv, 63, 152, viii, 118-19, xviii, 440-1, xix, 273; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1971, viii, 112; al-Ḳāḍī al-Ṭālaḳānī, *Risālat Amthāl al-baghdādiyya*, ms. Baghdād Museum n. 6929, 6; *Alf layla wa-layla*, ed. Hasan Djawhar *et alii*, Cairo 1952-4, part iv, 18-19; M.S. al-Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-shāmiyya*, i-ii, Paris-The Hague 1960, 267-8; M.A.J. Beg, *Social mobility in Islamic civilization – the classical period*, Kuala Lumpur 1981, 64; R.B. Serjeant *et alii*, *Sanʿāʾ: an Arabian Islamic city*, Cambridge 1983, 265. (M.A.J. Beg)

ṢĀBIʾ (a.), or, with the usual weakening of final *hamza*, *Ṣābī*, plural *Ṣābiʾūn*, *Ṣābiʾa*, *Ṣāba*, in English "Sabian" (preferably not "Sabaean", which renders *Sabaʾ* [*q.v.*]), a name applied in Arabic to at least three entirely different religious communities:

(1) the *Ṣābiʾūn* who are mentioned three times in the Ḳurʾān (II 62, V 69, XXII 17) together with the Christians and Jews. Their identity, which has been much debated both by the Muslim commentators and by modern orientalists, was evidently uncertain already shortly after the time of Muḥammad and remains uncertain now. They were clearly not Mandaeans (as Chwolsohn and many others believed), and hardly Elchasaites (as proposed below, s.v. ṢĀBIʾA); there is indeed little reason to believe that Muḥammad and his compatriots could have had any knowledge of either of these communities. The present author has argued that they might possibly have been Manichaeans, i.e. what the Arab antiquaries refer to as the *zanādiḳa* among the Ḳuraysh.

(2) The *Ṣābat al-baṭāʾiḥ*, or *mughtasila*, of Southern ʿIrāḳ, the remnant of an ancient Jewish-Christian sect, the Elchasaites. They owed the designation "Sabians" evidently to the fact that some of the early Ḳurʾān commentators in Baṣra or Kūfa saw in them a possible candidate for identification with the Sabians of the holy book.

(3) The Sabians of Ḥarrān, a community following an old Semitic polytheistic religion, but with a strongly Hellenised elite, one of the last outposts of Late Antique paganism. These adopted the Ḳurʾānic name *Ṣābiʾa* during the 3rd/9th century so as to be able to claim the status of *ahl al-kitāb* and thus avoid persecution. (Arabic Muslim and Christian authors occasionally also apply the name *Ṣābiʾ*, by extension, to the pagans of ancient Greece and to other polytheists.) It is only with these last that Muslim authors of the ʿAbbāsid period were acquainted at first hand and, except in discussions of the Ḳurʾān, the name *Ṣābiʾ* is normally applied either to Ḥarrānian pagans or else to their Muslim descendants (e.g. the astronomer al-Battānī [*q.v.*]). In particular, the name was applied, in effect as a *nisba*, to two distinguished families of scholars and secretaries of Ḥarrānian origin who flourished in Baghdād between the 3rd/9th and 5th/11th centuries, and it is with these that the present article is concerned.

The two families in question were related to each other by marriage, although the exact nature of their relationship has been the subject of much confusion. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (*Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. A. Müller and J. Lippert, Leipzig 1902) says (twice on pp. 110-1) that Thābit b. Sinān (no. 4) was the maternal uncle (*khāl*) of the historian Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin (no. 9) and he says again (on p. 110) that Hilāl was "the son of his (i.e. Thābit's) sister"; this information is repeated by the sources dependent on Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (i.e. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and Ibn al-ʿIbrī) and has been accepted by modern authors. However, Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, ii, 397) quotes a poem by Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm (no. 7) lamenting the death of "his maternal uncle" Thābit b. Sinān; i.e. Thābit was the maternal uncle not of Hilāl, but of his grandfather Ibrāhīm (similarly, al-Ṣafadī, x, 464, paraphrasing Yāḳūt, says of Ibrāhīm *wa huwa* <*ibn*> *ukht Thābit*; badly "emended" in the edition.) Yāḳūt's version is confirmed by Hilāl himself when he introduces one of the anecdotes in his *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa* (ed. ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1383/1964, 86) with the words: "My grandfather Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl told me about this matter saying: my grandfather Sinān b. Thābit told me saying: my father Thābit was", etc. It is thus clear that Sinān was the maternal grandfather of Ibrāhīm, not of Hilāl. To be sure, Hilāl refers elsewhere in the same book (p. 49) to Sinān b. Thābit as *djaddī*, but in the light of the just-quoted passage it is evident either that *djaddī* is a haplography for *djadd djaddī*, or else that it here means not "my grandfather" but "my ancestor".

Bibliography: The most complete study of the *Ṣābiʾūn* in general and of the two families outlined below remains D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1856. See also F. de Blois, *The "Sabians" (Ṣābiʾūn) in pre-Islamic Arabia* (forthcoming).

1. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Thābit b. Ḳurra b. Marwān b. Thābit [*q.v.*] (died 288/901), the celebrated mathematician, astronomer and translator of Greek books, was the first member of the Sabian community to come to the notice of Muslim intellectuals. He was born in Ḥarrān but spent most of his life in Baghdād, where he enjoyed the especial patronage of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid.

Genealogical table of the Ṣābiʾ families

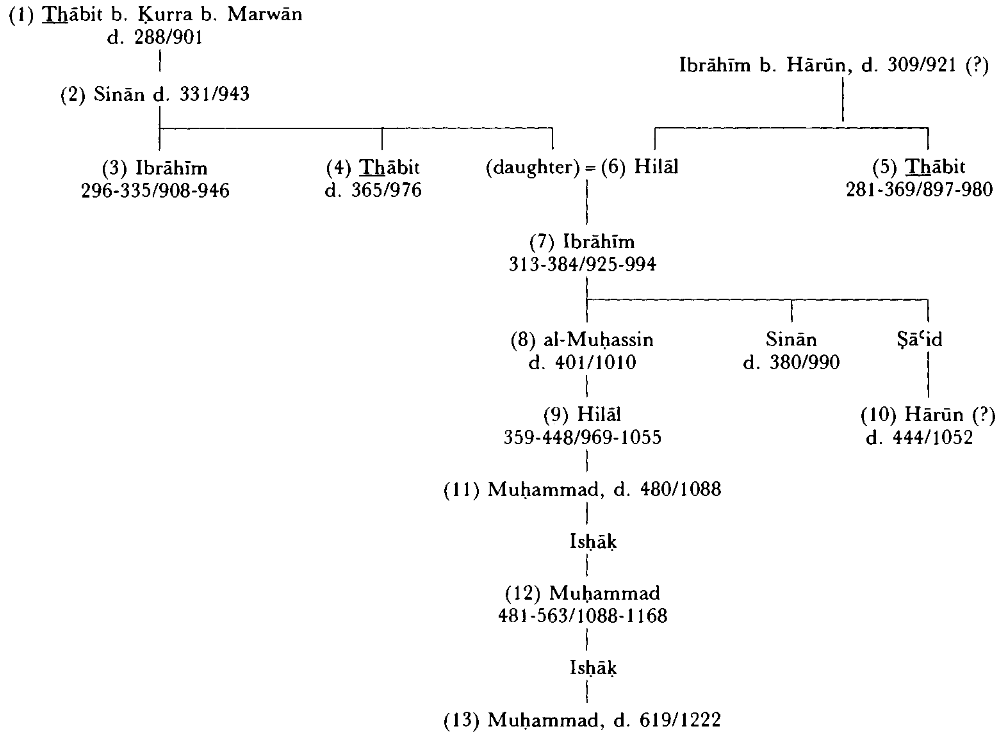

2. His son Abū Saʿīd Sinān served as personal physician of three successive caliphs: al-Muḳtadir, al-Ḳāhir and al-Rāḍī. Al-Ḳāhir forced him to convert to Islam, but his children apparently remained in the ancestral religion. Sinān was responsible for building hospitals and supervising the medical profession in Baghdād, and is credited with introducing a system of examining and licensing the practising doctors. The sources list various writings of his on history, mathematics and astronomy; strangely, they mention no medical titles. His only extant work seems to be a short treatise on ethics, *Siyāsat al-nufūs* (Brit. Mus. Cat., p. 205). He died (according to al-Ṣūlī and Yāḳūt) on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 331/943.

Bibliography: Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaḳī*, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne, London 1935, 245; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 19-20 = § 14; *Fihrist*, 272, 302; Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, 243-75 (detailed summary of Sinān's *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ*); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 257-8; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 190-5; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 220-3; Chwolsohn, i, 569-77; Brockelmann, I², 244-5, S I, 386; Sezgin, v, 291, vii, 331; Y. Dold-Samplonius, *Sinān ibn Thābit*, in *Dictionary of scientific biography*, xii, 447-8; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 124.

3. His son Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm was an important astronomer and mathematician. He was born in 296/908-9 and died in Muḥarram 335/946 (according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa; the earlier authorities give no dates). A collection of six of his scientific writings has been published under the title *Rasāʾil ibn Sinān* (Ḥaydarābād 1366-7/1947-8).

Bibliography: Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, 326; *Fihrist*, 272; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 57-9; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 226; Chwolsohn, i, 577-8; Brockelmann, I², 245, S I, 386; Sezgin, v, 292-5, vi, 193-5, vii, 274-5; R. Rashed, *Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān*, in *Dictionary of scientific biography*, vii, 2-3.

4. His brother Abu 'l-Ḥasan Thābit succeeded his father as physician to the caliph al-Rāḍī and served then in the same capacity under al-Muttaḳī, al-Mustakfī and al-Muṭīʿ. He died on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 365/976 (thus Ibn al-Nadīm and also Yāḳūt, quoting Hilāl; others differ). He was, however, best known as the author of a history of events from 295/908 (i.e. the ascension of al-Muḳtadir, with whose reign al-Ṭabarī's history breaks off) up to the year of his own death (according to Ibn al-Nadīm) or to the end of 363/974 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 476). Although this work is lost, it is quoted extensively not only in the surviving writings of Thābit's great-great nephew Hilāl (below, no. 9), but also by Miskawayh, al-Hamadhānī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and others, and is thus indirectly doubtless one of the most important sources for the events of the period in question. As a court physician, Thābit was evidently especially well informed about the private affairs of his masters.

The *Taʾrīkh akhbār al-Ḳarāmiṭa* which has been published as the work of Thābit (ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut 1391/1971) is, in the judgement of the present author, a clumsy forgery knocked together out of extracts from Ibn al-Athīr.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 302; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 397-8; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 109-11; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 224-6; Ibn Khallikān, 127; Chwolsohn, i, 578-81; M.S. Khan, *Miskawaih and Ṯābit ibn Sinān*, in *ZDMG*, cxvii (1967), 303-17.

5. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Thābit b. Ibrāhim b. Hārūn (thus in Tadjaddud's edition of the *Fihrist*, 149, 360, and al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ed. Damascus, ii, 23; most other sources have Zahrūn) was born in al-Raḳḳa in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 283/897 and died in Baghdād in Shawwāl 369/980 (these dates according to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 115). He served as a physician to several important persons, among them the Būyid *amīr al-umarāʾ* ʿAḍud al-Dawla. His writings on medicine and his

translations of Greek medical books are not known to have survived. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (76) surmised that his father might have been the Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Zahrūn al-Ḥarrānī al-Manṭiḳī of whom Thābit b. Sinān (as quoted by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī) says that he died in Ṣafar 309/921; however, the identification of the two is not certain.

Bibliography: *Fihrist* 272, 303; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī 111-5; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 227-30; Chwolsohn, i, 584-5.

6. His brother Abu 'l-Ḥasan Hilāl, whose dates are not recorded, was the physician of the *amīr* Tūzūn at the same time that his brother-in-law Thābit b. Sinān was looking after the health of the caliph.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī 350; Chwolsohn, i, 587.

7. His son Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm was born on 5 Ramaḍān 313/925 and, though trained as a doctor and astronomer, he made his name as a secretary in the service of the Būyid *amīr* Muʿizz al-Dawla, who appointed him chief secretary (*ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshāʾ*) in 349/960. Although ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār attempted to convert him to Islam and even offered the post of *wazīr* as a reward, Ibrāhīm remained true to the faith of his fathers. After the death of Muʿizz al-Dawla, Ibrāhīm got caught up in the rivalry between ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār and his cousin ʿAḍud al-Dawla Fanā-Khusraw, and his attempts to serve two masters led to his being imprisoned by each of them in turn. The victorious ʿAḍud al-Dawla kept him under house arrest from 367/978 till 371/981 and ordered him to spend his enforced leisure composing a history of the Būyids, *al-Kitāb al-Tādjī fī akhbār al-dawla al-daylamiyya*, the pages of which are reported to have been sent, as they were completed, to the *amīr*, who then returned them, corrected, to their imprisoned author. The often-repeated anecdote according to which Ibrāhīm provoked the anger of the *amīr* by confiding to an indiscreet friend that the history he was composing was nothing but a fabric of lies involves a number of chronological errors and cannot be taken at face value (see, in detail, the article by Madelung). The *Kitāb al-Tādjī* has not survived as such, though it is quoted (or plagiarised) by several later historians; moreover, a substantial extract from its first part was edited by an anonymous Zaydī author and has survived in a unique ms. in Ṣanʿāʾ (ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Zubaydī, Baghdād 1977; also in W. Madelung, *Arabic texts concerning the history of the Zaydī imāms of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gīlān*, Beirut 1987, 9-51).

Ibrāhīm returned to favour after the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla (in 372/983) and enjoyed the friendship in particular of the celebrated Twelver Shīʿī poet al-Sharīf al-Raḍī [*q.v.*] with whom he corresponded in prose and verse (see *Rasāʾil al-Ṣābī wa 'l-Sharīf al-Raḍī*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Nadjm, Kuwait 1961) and who lamented his death (on 12 Shawwāl 384/994) in a famous elegy. He also compiled a history of his own family (mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm). His collected letters have survived in a number of manuscripts, but only a small selection has been printed (*al-Mukhtār min rasāʾil Abī Isḥāḳ ... al-Ṣābī, al-djuzʾ al-awwal* [apparently all published], ed. Shakīb Arslān, Bāʿabda 1898; repr. Beirut 1966). A good number of his poems are quoted by Thaʿālibī. Though he resisted to the end the temptation of conversion, Ibrāhīm was in all other regards a typically Muslim man of letters whose elegant Arabic epistles and poems were greatly admired by his contemporaries.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 134; al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, i, 14, 34, 69, 187-8, 190-1, 508, and especially ii, 23-86; idem, *Tatimmat al-yatīma*, ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, i, 73; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 324-58; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 397; ix, 11, 74, 226; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 75-6; Chwolsohn, i, 588-604; Brockelmann, I², 95, S I, 153-4; J.Chr. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAḍud ad-Daulas...*, Wiesbaden 1965, 112-21 and *passim* (contains summaries of many of his letters); Sezgin, ii, 592; v, 314; A. Arazi, *Une épître d'Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī sur les genres littéraires* [with an edition of his *Risāla fī 'l-farḳ bayn al-mutarassil wa 'l-shāʿir*], in *Studies in Islamic history and civilisation in honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Jerusalem 1986, 473-505. The extract from *al-Kitāb al-Tādjī* has been studied in a series of articles by M.S. Khan, in *Arabica*, xii (1965), 27-44; xvii (1970), 151-60; xviii (1971), 194-201; in *Islamic Studies*, viii (1965), 247-52; and by W. Madelung, *Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī on the Alids of Ṭabaristān and Gīlān*, in *JNES*, xxvi (1967), 17-57.

8. His son Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin, called Ṣāḥib al-Shāma, died (according to Yāḳūt) on 8 Muḥarram 401/1010, like his father still a pagan. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī consulted an autograph of his containing bibliographies of the works of Thābit b. Ḳurra and Sinān b. Thābit. Yāḳūt quotes a few of his poems and mentions also his two brothers Abū Saʿīd Sinān (d. Radjab 380/990; see also his father's elegy on his death in al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 48-9) and Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Ṣāʿid.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 244-9; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 114, 116, 119; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 224-7; Chwolsohn, i, 604-5.

9. His son was the famous historian Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Hilāl [*q.v.*] (359-448/969-1055), a Muslim convert. His history (of which only a small part is extant) continues that of his ancestor Thābit b. Sinān.

10. Abū Naṣr Hārūn b. Ṣāʿid "b. Hārūn" al-Ṣābiʾ, was (according to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 338) the chief physician in Baghdād and died on 3 Ramaḍān 444/1052. He could well have been the son of Ṣāʿid b. Ibrāhīm (see no. 8).

11. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Hilāl, called Ghars al-Niʿma, served as a secretary at the time of the caliph al-Ḳāʾim. He inherited from his father a considerable fortune and was thus apparently able to retire from official service and devoted himself to literary and philanthropic activities. Of the latter, we know in particular of his endowment of a public library in Baghdād with 1,000 books. He died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 480/1088. His history, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Hilāl al-Ṣābī*, or *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, which continued his father's chronicle down almost to the time of his own death, has not survived as such, but it was used extensively by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Djawzī and, in particular, by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, whose account of the events from 448-79/1055-86 seems to be almost entirely dependant on Ghars al-Niʿma. Extant is his *Kitāb al-Hafawāt al-nādira min al-muʿakkilīn al-malḥūẓīn* (etc.), a collection of over 400 amusing anecdotes (ed. Ṣāliḥ al-Ashtar, Damascus 1387/1967). Fragments survive of his *Kitāb al-Rabīʿ*, evidently also a compendium of anecdotes in the style of the *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* of al-Tanūkhī.

Al-Ṣafadī (*al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, ii, nos. 555, 570; following al-Dhahabī) gives the dates (reproduced in our table) of two of his descendants: his grandson Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr Isḥāḳ (no. 12), who was head of the *dīwān* of the caliph al-Muḳtadī, and his great-great grandson al-Shaykh al-Ṣāliḥ Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ (13), the last recorded member of this illustrious lineage.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād 1357-9/1938-41, ix, 42-3; Ibn Khallikān, no. 785; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-*

nihāya, Cairo 1351-8/1932-9, xii, 134; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, v, no. 2200; Brockelmann, I², 394-5; Sezgin, i, 327; I. ʿAbbās, *Shadharāt min kutub mafkūda fī 'l-taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1988, 325-50, 329, 469-71; C.E. Bosworth, *Ghars al-Niʿma Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ's Kitāb al-Hafawāt al-nādira and Būyid history*, in *Arabicus Felix, Luminosus Britannicus. Essays in honour of A.F.L. Beeston*, Reading 1991, 129-41. (F.C. de Blois)

ṢĀBIʾA (a.), the name of two rather mysterious groups in early Islamic times:

1. *Ṣābiʾat al-baṭāʾiḥ*.

The Mesopotamian dialectal pronunciation of *ṣābiʿa*, where the *ʿayn* has been transformed into *y* or *ī*, also occurs in Mandaean (cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*; Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*; R. Macuch, *Handbook*, 94, l. 16: *ṣabuia*). This substantive, which became current in Mecca during the period of Ḳurʾānic preaching, irrespective of its etymology, derives from the Semitic root *ṣ-b-ʿ* (Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac; Ethiopic *ṣabkha*), corresponding to *ṣ-b-gh* in Arabic. The verb signifies, in the first form, "to dye, to bathe, to immerse", whence, in the second form, "to baptise (by immersion)". Consequently, the noun denotes "baptists", named three times in the Ḳurʾān (II, 62; V, 69; XXII, 17), in the company of the Believers, the Jews and the Christians, with whom they share the title of "people of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*). In the last of these verses (XXII, 17), the *ṣābiʾūn* occupy the third place after the Believers and the Jews, and are followed by the Christians, the Zoroastrians and the polytheists; which would suggest a closer relationship between them and the Jews. A reference to baptism is to be found in sūra II, 138, where the context is that of the "imprint" (*ṣibgha*) of God on the Muslim, which is compared to Christian baptism (J. Penrice, *A Dictionary of the Koran*, repr. London 1970, 81; cf. al-Kulīnī, *Kāfī*, lith. Tehran 1307/1928, 152, where *ṭīna* "matter", is opposed to *ṣibgha* which "is Islam" (*hiya l-islām*); other references *apud* Kraus, *Jābir*, ii, 171, n. 1).

Given the indisputable monotheism of the *ṣābiʾūn* of the Ḳurʾān, this can only refer to a baptising religious community. There is a temptation to think immediately of the Mandaeans, who are dispersed, at the present day, on the banks of the Euphrates and of the Tigris in the south of ʿIrāḳ, and along the river Kārūn in Khūzistān. They are called by their Arab neighbours *ṣubba* or *ṣubbī* "baptisers"; they form two groups: the *mandāyē* (gnostics) and the *nāṣōrāyē* (observants). This is the thesis defended by D. Chwolsohn in *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, dating from 1856. Although it has been severely criticised over certain of its conclusions, this work remains a basis for studies of the Sabians (cf. J. Hjärpe, *Analyse critique des traditions arabes sur les Sabéens Ḥarraniens*, Uppsala 1972, 1 ff.).

On the basis of a text of Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 340), where there is reference to a baptising sect called *al-mughtasila*, also known as *ṣābat al-baṭāʾih*, "the Sabaeans of the marshes", whose leader was called ' l.ḥ.s.y.ḥ (var. ' l.ḥ.s.ḥ and ' l.ḥ.s.dj), Chwolsohn identified the latter with Elchasai (i, 112 ff.), thus identifying Mandaeans and Elchasaites. He found evidence for this in information recorded by Hippolytus in *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, ix, 13 (ed. Wendland, 251), where it is said that Elchasai, founder of the sect, is supposed to have given a revealed book to a man named Sobai. Chwolsohn made of the last-named "a later personification of the name of a sect, this being that of the Sabaeans—the Mandaeans being called *al-ṣubba*" (Hjärpe, *op. cit.*, 11). On the basis of the etymological sense of *ṣābiʾa*, he considers that the term had been translated by *al-mughtasila*, "the baptisers" (i, 110). A year before the appearance of *Die Ssabier*, E. Renan had contributed a *Note sur l'identité de la secte gnostique des Elchasaïtes avec les Mandaïtes ou Sabiens*, in *JA*, vi (1855), 292-4.

Since then, researches into the Elchasaites have made it possible to correct this confusion (see, for example, A.J.W. Brandt, *Elchasai: ein Religionsstifter und sein Werk*, Leipzig 1912, and more recently, A.F.J. Klijn and G.J. Reinink, *Patristic evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects*, Leiden 1973 = *Suppl. to NT*, xxxvi; G.P. Luttikhuizen, *The revelation of Elchasai*, Tübingen 1985 = *Texte u. Studien zum antiken Judentum*, 8. It is thanks to the biography of Mānī, found in the *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis* (cf. W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* = Berliner Turfantexte, xi, East Berlin 1981, 19, text 2.1, tr. 3), that it is known that the Elchasaites were not identified with the Mandaeans. In fact, Mānī "grew up, lived, formed his system of thought and matured his vocation" between A.D. 219-20 and 240, in a community of sectaries called, in Greek and Coptic documents, *baptistai* ("baptisers, baptists"), by Arab authors, *al-mughtasila* ("those who purify themselves, who wash themselves") and, according to the Syriac tradition, the *mʿnaqqʿdē* ("those who purify themselves" or "are purified") and *ḥellē ḥewwārē* ("white vestments"). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxviii, 55 f. on the *ḥawāriyyūn*, a term normally denoting the apostles of Jesus, but al-Ḍaḥḥāk sees here *al-ghassālūn* in Nabataean, since, as others specify "they cleaned their garments".

These "sectarians" are identical, as is declared by the Codex of Oxyrhyncus, not with the Mandaeans, which has been the general belief until now, but with the Elchasaites, disciples of the doctrine which spread in consequence of a vision experienced in "the land of the Parthians", around the year A.D. 100, by the prophet Elchasai (Alkhasaios) (H.-Ch. Puech, *Le manichéisme*, in *Histoire des Religions*, ii, Paris 1972 = *Encyclopedie de la Pléiade*). At twelve years old, then again at twenty-four years old, Mānī received from the Holy Spirit the command to leave this community and to show himself in public, vigorously proclaiming his doctrine. Excluded from his community for having deviated from the Law, in turning towards "Hellenism" and towards the "world", he left it accompanied by his father and by his two sole supporters. In his eyes, baptism was said to have been nothing more than a false religion, instigated by the "Spirit of Error" (*ibid.*, 532-3). In spite of this, he "claimed as his own a number of views borrowed from Elchasaism" (*ibid.*), while criticising "two of their principal practices: the habit of daily and frequently repeated ablutions; the prohibition concerning bread, fruit and vegetables of foreign provenance and of profane origin" (*ibid.*).

The Elchasaites are one of those sects which are described as "Judaeo-Christian", such as the Nazaraeans, the Ebionites and the Archontics. The Ebionites, established in Transjordania in the time of Trajan, formed one of the groups belonging to Palestinian Christianity; they were very close to Rabbinical Judaism and rejected all Greek doctrines, in particular the all-too-speculative Christology of St. Paul, in whom "they saw an Antichrist, responsible for the apostasy of so many brothers". In the eyes of the Hellenistic churches, they took on little by little "the appearance of a heretical sect, while in fact, they were the most direct heirs of the primitive Church, even if they no longer had the combative vitality". They adopted "a Gospel inspired by the synoptic

Gospels, but adapted to their doctrinal idiosyncrasies, the Gospels of the Ebionites, of which only a few fragments are known" (cf. on this subject, E. Trocmé, *Le Christianisme des origines au Concile de Nicée*, in *Histoire des Religions*, ii, Paris 1972, 234-5).

These Ebionites drew the attention of a major theologian of the last century, A. von Harnack; he saw in their doctrine "Christian parallels with Islam" (*Christliche Parallelen zum Islam*, Vortrag im Leipziger akademischen Docentenverein, 1877-8, 18 ff.).

More recently, three scholars have taken an interest in this problem: P. Roncaglia, *Eléments ébionites et elkasaïtes dans le Coran*, in *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, xxi (1971), 101-26; M. Hamidullah, *Two christians of Pre-Islamic Mecca: ʿU*t*h*mān ibn al-Ḥuwairi*t*h and Waraqa ibn Naufal*, in *Jnal. of the Pakistan Historical Soc.*, vi (1958), 97-103, and Abū Mūsā 'l-Ḥarīrī (pseudonym of J. ʿAzzī), *Ḳiss wa-nabī. Baḥt*h* fī nas*h*ʾat al-Islām* ("Priest and prophet. Research into the origin of Islam"), Jounieh-Kasslik 1979, pp. 223. This is a very methodical study of the Ḳurʾānic elements which make possible the construction of a thesis which has tempted many scholars in the past, sc. the Judaeo-Christian origin of Islam. Identifying "Nazaraeans" (*naṣārā*) with Ebionites, the author makes Waraḳa b. Nawfal, the cousin of Khadīdja, first wife of Muḥammad, the teacher and mentor of the latter, preparing him to succeed him at the head of the small Ebionite community of Mecca (on the Christians in Mecca on the eve of the Hidjra, cf. Lammens in *BIFAO*, xiv [1918], 191-230, and A. Jeffrey, *Christians at Mecca*, in *MW*, xix [1929], 24-35).

Having examined all the elements capable of having an origin in the Gospel of the Ebionites, known also by the name Gospel of the Hebrews, current according to St. Jerome among the Nazaraeans, in other words the Aramaic-speaking Judaeo-Christians of Palestine and Syria (cf. B. Altaner, *Précis de Patrologie*, tr. Grandcladon, Mulhouse-Tournai 1941, 53-4), the author considers that Muḥammad abandoned the path traced by Waraḳa when he left Mecca for Medina and founded the Islamic state, where the tradition of Arab political isolationism was revived. He sees the signs of this separation appearing in the contradictions arising between what he calls the "Ḳurʾān of the priest and the prophet" and the "*muṣḥaf* of ʿUthmān". The thesis in itself is fascinating, but its demonstration will remain based on assumptions which are not likely to be confirmed by new sources.

The "baptismal imprint", to which there is reference in sūra II, 138, quoted above, may apply to Ebionites/Nazaraeans as well as to Elchasaites/*mughtasila*. On the latter, see the interesting study written by F. de Blois, intitled *The Sabians* (Ṣābiʾūn) *in Pre-Islamic Arabia*, to appear in *JSS*, which includes an annotated translation of the text of the *Fihrist* concerning them. In this study the author proposes a new interpretation of the term *ṣābiʾūn* which he translates by "converted", on the basis of the root *ṣ-b-ʾ*, which will be considered further at a later stage. He sees in this term, applied to Muḥammad and his followers by their Meccan adversaries, a reference to the Manichaeans. On the basis of a possible equivalence between *ṣābiʾ* and *zindīḳ* in the sense of "heretic", "infidel", the author believes that, in the time of Muḥammad, the word *ṣābiʾ* signified "Manichean", being later replaced by *zindīḳ*. But Kister (*Arabica*, xv [1968], 144-5, quoted by de Blois, n. 39) supplies evidence for an equivalence *zindīḳ* = *mazdakī*.

Two texts seem ostensibly to support the view of F. de Blois:

The first refers to the caliph al-Walīd who, according to *Aghānī*, vi, 135-6, was a *zindīḳ* and followed the doctrine of Mānī, which was preached to him by a man of the Kalb. He had, in a basket covered by a silk veil (*ḥarīriyya*), an image (*ṣūra*) of a man, in the eyes of which mercury and sal-ammoniac had been placed. These eyes seemed to move and wink. The caliph is supposed to have said to his visitor, al-ʿAlāʾ al-Bandār, the narrator of this account: "That is Mānī. God has sent no prophet either before him or after him!" After leaving the caliph, the Kalbī was found strangled in the desert by a mysterious figure who descended from the sky. The Bedouins who witnessed the scene transported his body to the caliph.

The second text is a description of the *zandaḳa* by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 588). A *zindīḳ* was brought before him who refused to repent; then he had him decapitated and crucified and said to his son al-Hādī: "When you accede to the caliphate, devote yourself to the repression of this band (*ʿiṣba*), I mean the followers of Mānī. It is a sect (*firḳa*) which calls upon people to behave well, by avoiding the commission of turpitudes, by practising ascetism here on earth, by preparing for the life hereafter; then, it incites them to deny themselves the consumption of meat, the touching of pure water, to abstain from killing reptiles in order to avoid the commission of a sin; subsequently, it makes them worship two [entities]: the Light (*nūr*) and the Darkness (*ẓulma*); finally, it allows them marriage with sisters and daughters, ablution with urine, the seizure of children in the streets with the object of removing them from the Darkness and leading them towards the Lights. Raise before the followers of this sect the gibbet (*khashab*) and draw the sword from the scabbard, for the honour of Allāh, who has no partner". And the caliph added: "I have seen in a dream your grandfather al-ʿAbbās handing me two swords and commanding me to slay the dualists (*aṣḥāb al-ithnayn*)".

Whatever the part played here by folkloric elements, these two texts reflect the opinion held by Muslims, in the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid period, regarding the Manichaeans. However, there is no evidence to suggest that this opinion differed from that current in the time of Ḳurʾānic preaching. Therefore, it must be reckoned inconceivable that such Manichaeans could have been considered, in the Ḳurʾān, as forming part of the "people of the Book".

The Manichaeans had scriptures; but it is questionable to what extent these scriptures were known in Central Arabia at the beginning of the 7th century A.D. There are definitively some convergences to be observed between Ḳurʾānic and Manichaean concepts in matters of prophecy and revelation. But these convergences derive from "an anonymous tendency of general thought" (T. Andrae, *Mahomet*, 110), where are encountered ideas of the "Messenger of God", of the "seal of the prophets", of the Paraclete promised by Jesus, of ecumenism, of possession of total truth and absolute knowledge, the claim of accommodating previous revelations and of achieving "a complete gnosis, a pure and perfect knowledge, of which the clarity and evidence are immediate and the scope infinite" (Puech, *Histoire des litteratures*, i, 679).

It is important to bear in mind the fact that Central Arabia was (and remained) hermetically sealed to any religious mission emanating from Byzantium, from Persia, from Abyssinia. If Manichaeans succeeded in making their way to Mecca, it was only in the role of merchants or of slaves. The latter played a significant part in the penetration of certain Judaeo-Christian ideas into nascent Islam. An obvious example is that

of Zayd b. Ḥāri<u>th</u>a whom Muḥammad emancipated and then adopted. It was he who taught Muḥammad and ʿAlī to read and write. Attention may also be drawn to ʿAddās, a Christian slave and a native of Nineveh, who acknowledged the prophethood of Muḥammad, also to the seven djinns inhabiting Nisib who believed his message and went away to convey it to their fellows (Ḳurʾān XLVI, 29-32; LXXI, 1; etc.).

It may be noted, in conclusion, that the name Muḥammad was not widely known before the time of the Prophet. Among those who bore this name before Islam, Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 1, 112, mentions Muḥammad b. Sufyān al-Tamīmī and describes him as a "bishop". This name corresponds to the Greek-Latin Εὐλόγιος/Eulogius. Did the adversaries of the Prophet see in this an indication of his belonging to a baptising community? Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 242, renders *ṣābiʾ* by *murtadd* "renegade", and adds that "The Arabs call *ṣābiʾ* anyone who abandons his religion for another". The polytheists said of the Prophet: *ḳad ṣabaʾa*, an expression which could be rendered by *ḳad taʿammada*, "he has had himself baptised" (cf. Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 123). In the same commentary, Ziyād b. Abīh (d. 53/673) and Ḳatāda (d. 117/735) supply the information that the *ṣābiʾūn* "worshipped the angels (*malāʾika*)", a fact attested by St. Hippolytus, ix, 13, 2-3, with regard to the Elchasaites; see also St. Epiphanius, xix, 4. 1-2; xxx, 17, 6; liii, 1, 9 (references given by de Blois, *loc. cit.*; cf. Marcel Simon, *Remarques sur l'angelolâtrie juive au début de l'ère chrétienne*, in *CRAI* [1971], 120-32). It may be noted, finally, that the *akwālun sabʿatun*, "the seven words", which Ibn al-Nadīm attributes to the *mu<u>gh</u>tasila*, as they have been restored by I. Stern and M.A. Lewy (quoted by de Blois, *loc. cit.*), find an echo in sūra IV, 159, where, speaking of Jesus, the Ḳurʾān says: "On the day of Resurrection, he will testify against them (= those who are said to have believed in Him)".

2. *The Ṣābiʾat Ḥarrān.*

Thus far the discussion has been of baptising sects, whose nomenclature derives from the root *ṣ-b-ʿ*. Not being appropriate for the pagan gnostics of Ḥarrān, this root was replaced by the commentators by a root *ṣ-b-ʾ*, in the sense of "to bow down" before the celestial bodies, to worship the planets, which fitted the cults of the Ḥarrānians perfectly. In fact, bowing and prostration before the rising and setting planets formed part of their three daily prayers. Idolatry is often astrolatry. It was this last which was resisted by Abraham in Ḥarrān (Ḳurʾān, VI, 74-8; XXXVII, 83-8; etc.).

The astrolators of Ḥarrān sought to reach the "spiritual beings" (*rūḥāniyyāt*) with the aid of "celestial temples" (*al-hayākil al-ʿulwiyya*), the planets; these "temples" "rise and set" (Ḳurʾān, VI, 76-8); whence the necessity to have "figures and representations" (*ṣuwar wa-a<u>shkh</u>āṣ*) by which the "temples" may be reached and thereby the "spiritual beings", "because they bring us closer to God, they say" (Ḳurʾān, XXXIX, 4) and serve mankind as "mediators (*<u>sh</u>ufaʿāʾ*) before Him" (Ḳurʾān, X, 19). This information is to be found in the work of the Arab polygraphs and in al-<u>Sh</u>ahrastānī's *Milal*, the data from which have been collected and analysed by Hjärpe, *Les Sabéens Ḥarraniens*, cited in section 1. above. On the astral nature of Arab paganism, see T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 18 ff.

The Arabic sources, and in particular Ibn al-Nadīm, who devoted to the Ḥarrānians copious pages which served as a point of departure for D. Chwolsohn, explain the designation of *ṣābiʾa*, claimed for themselves by the astrolators of Ḥarrān, as arising from an act of usurpation on their part, following a visit by the caliph al-Maʾmūn to the region. Called upon to explain their religious allegiance, they claimed to be *sābiʾa* and, consequently, "People of the Book", with the aim of evading the caliph's threats. For the same purpose, they declared themselves to be *ḥanīfs*, another Ḳurʾānic term for "monotheist" (vol. III, 60, 87-9, etc.; W. Montgomery Watt, art. ḤANĪF; Hjärpe, *op. cit.*).

The explanation is indeed plausible. Al-Maʾmūn had much respect for the Ḥarrānian scholars who were then present in large numbers in Ba<u>gh</u>dād. The most eminent of them was <u>Th</u>ābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*]. Chwolsohn devotes a long chapter to biographies of the Sabian scholars (i, ch. 12); there he introduces some thirty of them: philosophers, doctors, astronomers and mathematicians.

The Sabians of Ba<u>gh</u>dād were, it seems, considered to be heterodox by the Sabians of Ḥarrān (Ibn <u>Kh</u>allikān, *Wafayāt*, n. 127, tr. de Slane, i, 288). The threats of the caliph were to reveal support for the former, who had succeeded in gaining his favour as scholars and philosophers, against the latter whose paganism was even more manifest.

<u>Th</u>ābit b. Ḳurra made known through numerous writings (Chwolsohn, ii, 1-6; Wiedemann, in *SPMSE* [1920-1]) the theology and the philosophy of the Ḥarrānians. He succeeded in forging amicable relations with the scholars of his time (Muslims, Jews and Christians) and was therefore capable of diffusing ideas which were to appear in the theologico-philosophical speculations of the subsequent period, at the time of the development of what has been called "Arab hermeticism" (cf. J. Doresse, *L'hermétisme égyptianisant*, in *Histoire des Religions*, ii, Paris 1972, 479-82), inspired by "Sabian" doctrines and "Indianised" hermeticist astrology, the expression of which is to be found in:

(1) *K. Sirr al-<u>kh</u>alīḳa*, attributed to Bālīnūs [*q.v.*] Apollonius of Tyana (ed. and German tr. Ursula Weisser, Aleppo 1979 and Berlin-New York 1980), "drawn from a treatise of Hermes, *On the causes...*" "It offers two items of great interest, a study of the Creation and the famous account of the discovery of the *Emerald Table*" (cf. J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur*, Heidelberg 1926).

(2) *Munāẓarat al-falāsifa* (*Turba philosophorum*), containing "fragments of the *Physica* and the *Mystica* of Democritus" (cf. Ruska, *Turba Philosophorum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchimie*, Berlin 1931).

(3) *<u>Gh</u>āyat al-ḥakīm* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Ma<u>dj</u>rīṭī, a manual of talismanic astrology nourished from Sabian sources, a factitious work of Hippocrates, translated into Latin under the title of *Picatrix* (cf. ed. H. Ritter, Teubner 1933; German tr. Ritter and M. Plessner, Leipzig-Berlin 1962; Ritter, *Picatrix, ein arabisches Handbuch hellenistischer Magie*, in Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, 1921-2, Leipzig-Berlin 1923, 94-124).

(4) *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (Damascus 1993), a geoponic compilation probably translated from the Syriac by Ibn Waḥ<u>sh</u>iyya [*q.v.*] at the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th centuries A.D., containing "religious data" relating to a stellar theology based on "secrets" and on "revelations" made by the Sun, the Moon and Saturn to Adam, to Seth, his son, to Messus and to other leaders of rival gnostic sects in Babylonia. The author of the third recension of the book, Ḳū<u>th</u>āma, was the leader of the sect of the

Kūkaeans, known from Syriac authors; he relates, in long digressions, the echoes of their quarrels, the essential points of which are to be found in a brief survey published in *ZDMG*, suppl. iii/1, Wiesbaden 1977, 362 [see also NABAṬ. 2.].

In a very detailed study, Michel Tardieu sees the Ḥarrānians as Platonists (cf. *Ṣābiens coraniques et "Ṣābiens... de Ḥarran"*, in *JA*, cclxxiv [1986], 1-44), "in the academic sense of the term. Plato was the object of their study and the centre of the research activity of their school" (39). He refuses to describe them as "gnostics" since, according to him, "they were not philosophers by profession. But they utilised the philosophers, and Plato in particular" (*ibid.*). He bases his argument on a statement by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, ii, Paris 1965, 536-7, § 1395; cf. also his *K. al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf*, 162, tr. 3-5), declaring that he "saw at Ḥarrān, on the knocker of the door of the meeting-place of the Ṣābians, an inscription in Syriac characters, drawn from Plato", which read as "He who knows his nature becomes a god" and "Man is a celestial plant. In fact, man resembles an upturned tree, the root being turned towards the sky and branches [sunk] in the ground" (Tardieu, 13 ff.). He sees, in the first "an echo of *Alcibiades*, 133.C" and, in the second, "a reminiscence" of *Timaeus*, 90 A.7-B.2 (cf. ref. 3, n. 8 and 14). It may be noted that echoes of these quotations are to be found in the literature of the "Sayings of the Sages" (*Placita philosophorum*) and that the quotation from the *Timaeus* occurs twice in the *Nabataean agriculture* (i, 360). There is no evidence to indicate that the Nabataeans of the region of Sūrā were Platonists; it has been observed that various currents of a gnostic tendency had developed there.

At the end of this extremely erudite survey, the author identifies the *ṣābiʾa* of the Ḳurʾān with the "Archontics" of Epiphanius (*Haer.*, xxix, 7, xl, 1, 5), known also by the name of "Stratiotics" (Epiphanius, *ibid.*, xxvi, 3, 7), followers of the "celestial bands", a Judaeo-Christian sect of gnostic character, formed in Palestine and known in Egypt (*ibid.*, xl, 1, 8) and in Arabia (*ibid.*, xl, 1, 5). The Ḳurʾānic term would be derived from the Hebrew *ṣābā*, "army" (an explanation already proposed by E. Pococke). Such an association leads the discussion back to Judaeo-Christian circles, among whom the Elchasaites/*mughtasila* provide, in the present writer's opinion, the best explanation of the Ḳurʾānic *ṣābiʾa*.

Thus, whatever may be the origin of the name of the *ṣābiʾūn*, the latter are shown to belong to two distinct groups: on the one hand, the disciples of Judaeo-Christian baptising sects (Ebionites, Elchasaites, *mughtasila*, Stratiotics) and, on the other, Ḥarrānian astrolators, the last representatives of decadent Greco-Roman paganism. Both groups may be described as gnostic: the first, Christian and the second, pagan. Hence the ambiguity of the term denoting them, and the diversity of commentaries relating to the three Ḳurʾānic verses which name them. A degree of corruption has occurred over the centuries, both in the terminology and the concepts, and this has greatly hindered the task of the historian of ideas and of religions.

Bibliography: Besides the references in the text, see, for studies and sources in general: D.A. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, i-ii, St. Petersburg 1856, where the bibliography of previous works is to be found; J. Hjärpe, *Analyse critique des traditions arabes sur les Sabéens Ḥarraniens*, typescript thesis, Uppsala 1972, pp. 187, including the remainder of the bibl. F. de Blois, cited in text, has made a selection of important studies of the subject, of which the most recent are: C. Buck, *The identity of the Ṣābiʾūn: an historical quest*, in *MW*, lxxiv (1984), 172-86, and M. Tardieu, cited in text.

In addition to his study of Elchasai, cited in text, mention should be made of A.J.W. Brandt's *Die jüdischen Baptismen*, Giessen 1910; J. Thomas, *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie*, Gembloux 1935 (diss. theol. Louvain, ii, 28); M. Simon, *Sur deux points de contact entre le christianisme et l'Islam*, in *Iranica*, iii (1965), 20-7; H. Zimmern, *Nazoräer*, in *ZDMG*, lxxiv (1920), 429-38; B. Gärtner, *Die rätselhaften Termini Nazoräer und Iskariot*, Uppsala-Lund 1957 (*Horae Soederblomianae*); G. Widengren, *Réflexions sur le baptême dans la chrétienté syriaque*, in *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme* (= *Mél. M. Simon*), Paris 1978, 347-57; J.-D. Kaestli, *L'utilisation des actes apocryphes des Apôtres dans le manichéisme*, *apud* M. Krause (ed.), *Gnosis and gnosticism*, Leiden 1977, 207-16; see M. Tardieu, *Les livres sous le nom de Seth et les Séthiens de l'hérésiologie*, 204-10; M.J. Lagrange, *La gnose biblique et la tradition évangélique*, in *RB*, xxxvi (1927), 321-49; 481-515; 37/1928, 3-6; the same, *L'Evangile selon les Hébreux*, in *RB*, ii (1922), 161-81; 1923, 322-49; J. Daniélou, *Théologie du judéo-Christianisme*, Paris 1958; I. Goldziher, *Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīt*, in *ZA*, xxii (1909), 317-44.

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(T. FAHD)

AL-SĀBIḲŪN (A.), lit. "foregoers": a term occasionally applied in Shīʿism to the Prophet, Imāms, and Fāṭima in recognition of their status as pre-existent beings and the first of God's creatures to respond to the demand "Am I not your Lord?" (*a-lastu bi-rabbikum?*). The term derives primarily from Ḳurʾān, LVI, 10-11 (*wa 'l-sābiḳūn al-sābiḳūn ulāʾika 'l-muḳarribūn*); there are also examples of verbal usage (e.g. "how could we not be superior to the angels, since we preceded them (*sabaḳnāhum*) in knowledge of our Lord?" al-Kirmānī, *Mubīn*, i, 304). The Shīʿī concept of pre-existence closely parallels Ṣūfī theories concerning the Nūr Muḥammadī [*q.v.*] and the pre-eternal Covenant. Justification for the doctrine is found in numerous *akhbār*, where a variety of details, many of them contradictory, are given concerning the series of events preceding the creation.

The theme of light is central to many of these traditions. Thus, "God created us from the light of his greatness" (al-Kulaynī, *Kitāb al-Ḥudjdja*, *bāb* 94, p.

303); "God created me [Muḥammad] and ʿAlī and Fāṭima and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and the (other) imāms from a light" (al-Kirmānī, *Mubīn*, i, 304); "I [Muḥammad] was created from the light of God; He created my family from my light and created those that love them from their light; the rest of mankind are in hell" (al-Kirmānī, *Faṣl*, 71); in one account, the Throne was created from the light of the Prophet, the angels from that of ʿAlī, the heavens and earth from that of Fāṭima, the sun and moon from that of Ḥasan, and heaven from that of Ḥusayn (*ibid.*, 75-6).

The term *sābiḳūn* was also widely used in early Bābism, where it was applied with what seems deliberate ambiguity to the group of eighteen disciples who, with the Bāb, formed the primary cadre of the sect's hierarchy, the Letters of the Living (*ḥurūf al-ḥayy*). A faction which seems to have been broadly identical with the party centred on Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn [*q.v.*] maintained that these early believers were *sābiḳūn* in the double sense of having preceded the rest of mankind in recognition of the new cause and in being actual incarnations of the Prophet and Imāms. Thus Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bushrūʾī [*q.v.*] was identified as Muḥammad, Mullā ʿAlī Bisṭāmī as ʿAlī and Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn as Fāṭima. This doctrine received approval in several writings of the Bāb, notably in the early chapters of his Persian *Bayān*. Later, Bābism introduced numerous variations on this theme, and in the early period of Bahāʾī Bābism, several believers were given names of God, preceded by the title *Ism Allāh* (thus *Ism Allāh al-Aṣdaḳ*).

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(D. MacEoin)

SABĪL (A.), pl. *subul*, literally "way, road, path", a word found frequently in the Ḳurʾān and in Islamic religious usage.

1. As a religious concept.

Associated forms of the Arabic word are found in such Western Semitic languages as Hebrew and Aramaic, and also in Epigraphic South Arabian as *sʾbl* (see Joan C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean dialect*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982, 326). A. Jeffery, following F. Schwally, in *ZDMG*, liii (1899), 197, surmised that *sabīl* was a loanword in Ḳurʾānic usage, most likely taken from Syriac, where *shᵉbīlā* has both the literal sense of "road" and the figurative one of "way of life", just as in Arabic (*The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 162).

Thus we find in the Ḳurʾān its literal usage, as in III, 91/97, "whoever is able to make his way thither (sc. to the Kaʿba in Mecca)", etc. Figuratively, it has various senses, including (1) the idea of fighting in the way of God, *sabīl Allāh* (II, 149, etc.) [see DJIHĀD, MUDJĀHID]; (2) the true way of the Prophet, as in XXV, 29/27, "O would that I had taken, along with the Messenger, a way!"; (3) a means of achieving or acquiring an object, or finding a way out of a difficulty, as in IV, 19/15, "or [until] God appoints for them (i.e. women committing indecency) a way [of dealing with them]"; and (4) in the expression *ibn al-sabīl* "son of the road", later taken as "traveller, wayfarer" and therefore as a fit object of charity or compassion. Cf. II, 172/178 (which may however here refer to those early believers who had suffered in Mecca for their faith by displacement or forced emigration; see R. Bell, *Bell's commentary on the Qurʾān*, ed. C.E. Bosworth and M.E.J. Richardson, Manchester 1991, i, 35, and R. Paret, *Der Koran, Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart etc. 1980, 38-9, with citation from G.-R. Puin, *Der Dīwān von ʿUmar ibn al-Ḫaṭṭāb*, Bonn 1970).

From the idea of doing something charitably or disinterestedly, *fī sabīl Allāh*, the word *sabīl* acquired in later Islamic times the specific meaning of "drinking fountain, public supply of water provided by someone's private munificence and charity", at the side of which is also found, less commonly, *sabbāla* "public fountain, drinking basin" (Dozy, *Supplement*, i, 630). For the social and architectural aspects of these, see 2. below.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. As an architectural term.

As noted above, the *sabīl* is used in mediaeval Islamic sources to designate water-houses which provided drinking water for free public use. In Egyptian *waḳf* documents of the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, the term *sabīl* is also used to designate other charitable objects, such as *ḥawḍ al-sabīl*, i.e. a drinking trough for the animals, or *maktab al-sabīl* which is a charitable elementary school for boys.

Although public water-supply is not specifically Islamic—it was a basic feature of Roman and Byzantine cities—the significance of the *sabīl* in Islamic cities is due to the repeated precept in the Ḳurʾān to give water to the thirsty. However, the *sabīl* was not common in all Islamic cities, and in the cities where it was widespread its appearance does not seem to predate the 12th century. In some cities, such as Cairo, Fez or Istanbul, the *sabīl* is characterised by a distinctive architectural form. It is always richly decorated and thus meant to be an aesthetic element in the street.

1. Cairo. Mediaeval Cairo was at a distance from the Nile and, because of its hot and dry climate, the provision of drinking water was a matter of great importance. Drinking water was transported from the Nile in goats skins by camels and mules and sold in the street by ambulant water-carriers or in shops. However, providing water on a charitable basis gave the ruling establishment a good reason to demonstrate their piety.

As a charitable foundation, a *sabīl* was sustained by *waḳf* endowments. The *waḳf* documents of Mamlūk and Ottoman Cairo include a great deal of references to *sabīls*, though the descriptions are generally brief. Some were attached to mosques, others were independent constructions. In the late 8th/14th century it became customary to combine the *sabīl* with a *maktab* or primary school for boys; the *maktab* was built above the *sabīl*.

The *sabīl* is usually built on two levels, an underground cistern (*ṣihrīdj*) and on the street level a room (*ḥānūt al-sabīl*) where the *muzammilātī*, or attendant of the *sabīl*, served the public. Through the win-

dow grills he issued the water in copper or ceramic cups to the passer-by. The openings at the lowest part of the grills have the shape of a row of arches which are large enough for the cups to be passed. A stone bench was built beneath the window to allow the user to stand at the level of the grill to receive the cup.

The intake of the *sabīl* was filled once a year during the season of the Nile flood in the summer; camels or mules carried the water from the Nile or the Khalīdj or Canal of Cairo in goat skins. The intake was filled in from an opening on the façade of the *sabīl*. It was made of brick and roofed with domes supported by piers and had an entrance for the maintenance staff. It was cleaned before the yearly refill and sprayed with incense; the water was perfumed with basil leaves.

Water from the intake was raised by means of buckets and filled into basins of stone or marble where the cups were replenished. A more sophisticated type of *sabīl*, such as that of Sultan al-Ghawrī, had a cistern located in a back room behind the *ḥānūt*. From this cistern a *shādirwān* was fed. The *shādirwān* in Cairene terminology is a fountain in the wall surmounted by a decorative niche, usually made of painted and gilded wood with *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*], and connected to a sloping marble panel (*salsabīl*) which led the water from the wall down into a stone or marble basin. The function of the *shādirwān*, which faced the *sabīl* window, was not only decorative but it served also to air the water coming from the cistern.

The floor of a *sabīl* was always paved with marble. Water was raised from the intake through a round opening surrounded by a marble balustrade (*kharaza*). The ceiling of the *sabīl*, which is visible to the public through the grills, was made of wood and as a rule richly painted and gilded. Cairene *sabīls* are usually adorned with the Ḳurʾānic inscription of *Sūrat al-insān* (LXXVI, 16-18) which refers to Paradise, where a heavenly ginger-flavoured water from a fountain called Salsabīl will be served.

The *maktab* of the *sabīl* is a room, similar to a loggia, open with a double or triple arch on each side. It was reached by its own staircase.

The *muzammilātī* was in charge of cleaning the premises of the *sabīl* and its utensils and of raising the water from the cistern and serving it to the thirsty. *Waḳf* documents usually stipulate that he should be clean, good-looking, free of infirmity and healthy; some documents stipulate that he should have good manners. The *muzammilātī* dwelt in an apartment attached to the *sabīl*.

Whereas Mamlūk *sabīls* were served by one person only, some Ottoman *sabīls* had more than one *muzammilātī*, such as that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā, which had three. In the Ottoman period the *muzammilātī* was sometimes assisted by a person called the *sabīlī*.

The opening time of *sabīls* varied; some were open all day long, and during the month of Ramaḍān all night; others were open only at specific hours of the day, between the prayers of noon (*ẓuhr*) and afternoon (*ʿaṣr*); yet others were open only during summer.

Cairo has an important number of *sabīls* from the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods. The earliest extant *sabīl* is that of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad built in the early 8th/14th century. Today it is ruined and appears as an L-shaped portico on columns built along the corner of the *madrasa* of al-Nāṣir's father al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn. It was surmounted by a small dome decorated with faience mosaic on the base. The *sabīl* of Amīr Shaykhū (755/1354) is a very different type of building; it is hewn in the rock in the form of a vaulted room.

By the second half of the 8th/14th century, the standard location of the *sabīl* was at the corner of a religious building with a *maktab* on the upper floor. With two large iron-grilled windows, one on each façade, it was well ventilated. This device was maintained throughout the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods. Some mosques have more than one *sabīl-maktab*.

Sultan Ḳāʾit Bāy, who was a great builder, erected a number of separate *sabīls* all over the city. They had one or two apartments attached to them, sometimes also a shop. Some had a *miḥrāb* in the wall of the *ḥānūt*. The only extant free-standing *sabīl-maktab* of Ḳāʾit Bāy is at the Ṣalība street (884/1479); it has three façades and is one of the most lavishly decorated monuments of mediaeval Cairo, with polychrome inlaid marble, carvings, and inscriptions.

The *sabīl* of Sultan al-Ghawrī, attached to his religious-funerary complex (909/1504) in the centre of the old city of Cairo, is described in the *waḳf* document with more detail than usual. It projects from the street with three façades, each with a large window. Behind each window there was a marble basin connected to a *fawwāra*, a kind of water tap, which received water through lead tubes from the *shādirwān*. In summer the windows of the *sabīl* were protected with awnings against the sun.

The Ottomans founded fewer religious buildings than the Mamlūks, but they erected an important number of *sabīl-maktabs* in Cairo, some of which have a *miḥrāb* and were used also for prayer.

Until the 18th century the *sabīl-maktabs* continued to be built in the Mamlūk style. In the mid-18th century, a new trend for façade decoration in carved stone appears also in *sabīl* architecture. Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā, a great patron of architecture who created a new style of façade decoration, sponsored in 1157/1744 one of the most handsome *sabīl-maktabs* of the old city of Cairo. Built at the bifurcation of the main street of al-Ḳāhira, it has three façades with marble carved in Turkish style and inlaid in Mamlūk style. The eastern façade has a trilobe *muḳarnas* portal. The interior is panelled with Turkish ceramic tiles. Two apartments for the staff are attached to the building. It has a *miḥrāb* in the shape of a painted niche in the ceramic tiles surmounted by a representation of Mecca.

In the late 18th century, the architectural style of the *sabīls* of Cairo shows Turkish influence. This can be seen at the curved semi-circular and faceted façades, the floral carvings, the inscribed cartouches with poems and chronograms, often in Turkish, and the elaborate window grills. However, the *sabīl* maintains its basic traditional features such as the *maktab* on the upper floor. The *sabīl* attached to the *madrasa* of Sultan Maḥmūd (1164/1750) has five facets and was used also for teaching; along with the *sabīls* of Ruḳayya Dūdū (1174/1761) and Nafīsa al-Bayḍāʾ (1211/1796), it is among the finest examples of the late Ottoman period. In the 19th century the Turco-Italian influence is even more pronounced, while the Islamic decorative repertoire tends to vanish. The *sabīls* of this period, unlike their contemporaries in Turkey, however, maintain the curved façades.

2. Fās. The city of Fās is often said to be built on water because of the abundance of the water which it receives from the river Fās and its tributaries, as well as from a multitude of springs. In the 5th/11th century an underground system of piped channels was built beneath the city to serve its mosques, houses and fountains.

Fās has preserved an important number of public fountains known popularly as *siḳāya* (from *saḳā* "to

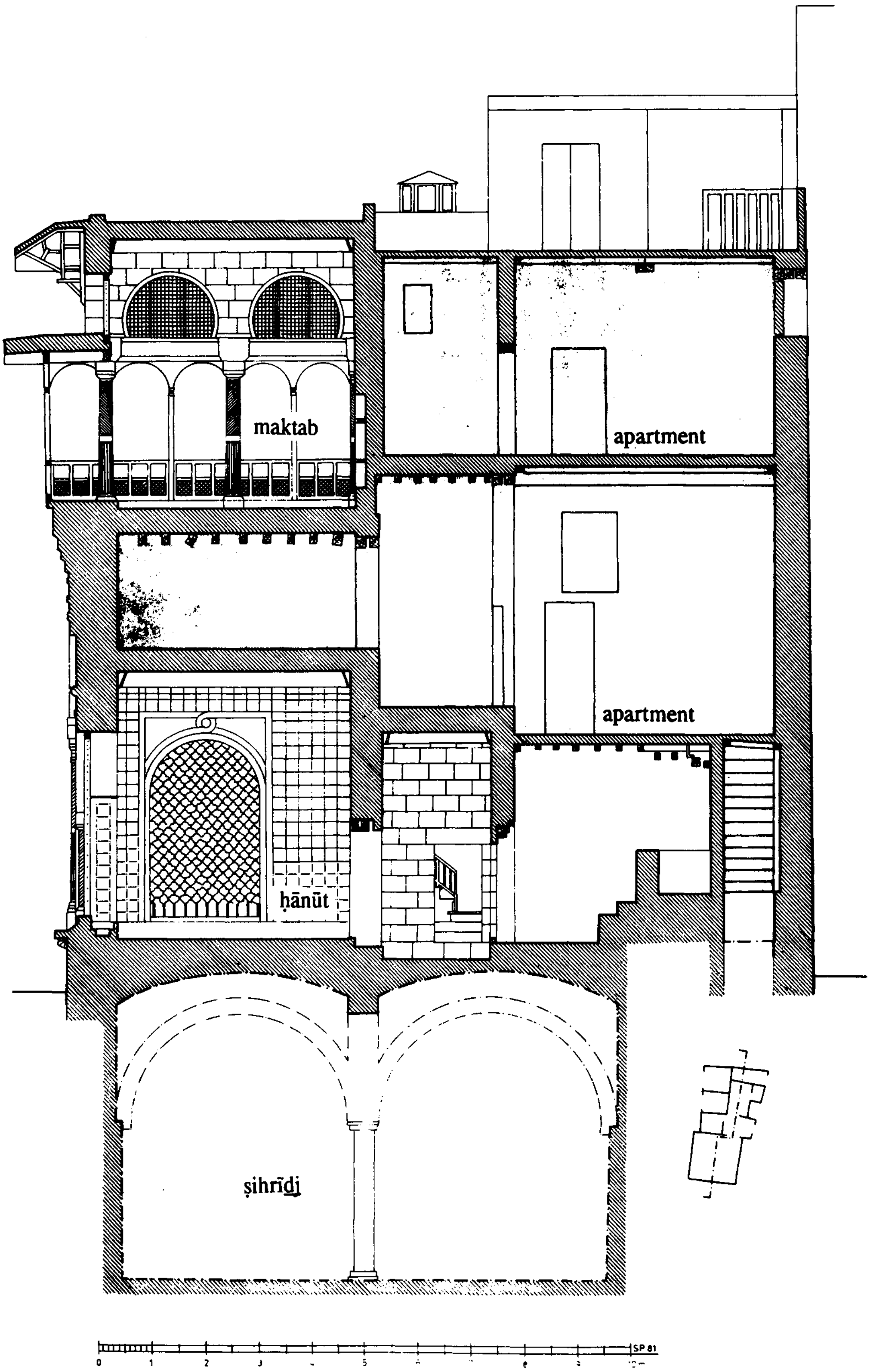

Fig. 1. The *sabīl* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā in Cairo (1157/1744) (by Philip Speiser).

give to drink"). Already in the Almohad period, during the reign of al-Manṣūr, the city had 80 public fountains. Today 106 fountains survive, of which 93 are functioning. The earliest datable one is from 840/1436 (Betsch).

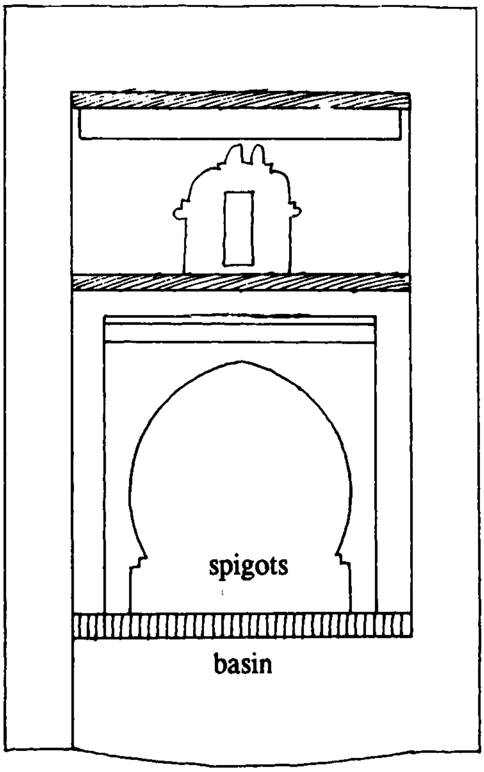

Fig. 2. The composition of a *sabīl* at Fās (by William Betsch).

The shape of the fountains of Fās show a persistent continuity over the centuries. The typical fountain is a mural structure which consists of a vertical rectangular panel including a recessed arch. This composition has been compared with that of a gate or a *miḥrāb* and associated with symbolism. At the lower part of the arch are the spigots from which the water flows down into a basin or *ṣundūḳ* protruding from the wall. The fountains are characterised by their faience mosaic decoration or *zallīdj*. Thousands of individually shaped elements cut from glazed ceramic tiles of several colours and cast into plaster or cement are combined to form geometric star designs of dazzling effect. Considering the white introverted architecture of the city, the fountains reveal themselves as aesthetic focal points.

3. Istanbul. Istanbul inherited from Constantinople the Byzantine system of aqueducts and pipes. In Istanbul there are two forms of *sabīl* fountains, the *sebīl* served by an attendant behind the grill, and the *česhme* which is a kind of self-service *sabīl* where the water is received from a tap above a basin. The water coming from the aqueducts through pipes was collected in a cistern located behind the façade on street level. In the early Ottoman period in Istanbul, the provision of water on a charitable basis was not very common, despite the widespread public kitchens. Public fountains were established only in the absence of alternative sources of water. J.M. Rogers has observed that the *waḳf* documents of great imperial foundations following the conquest of Istanbul did not include as a rule the provision of water for free public use. The *ṣiḳāyas* attached to religious foundations of the 10th/16th century were for the use of their own communities only. References to *siḳāyas* with which mosques were endowed indicate that their water was sold. The great complex of Süleymān the Magnificent in Istanbul had originally no public fountain until Sinān added one in the 1570s. Süleyman, however, following the example of the Mamlūk sultans, sponsored several *sabīls* in the Holy Cities and particularly in Jerusalem. Zubayda, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who became famous in Muslim history for aqueducting water to Mecca in a period of drought, seems to have established this tradition.

The *česhmes* of Istanbul, similar to the fountains of Fās, are mural fountains which consist of a recessed niche framed by a rectangle with a protruding basin, made of carved white marble. Their niches are trilobe, with *muḳarnas* or with a shell pattern. As in Fās, the resemblance with a gate or a *miḥrāb* can be noticed here. The *česhmes* of the 18th century are surmounted by a large crest filled with arabesques, similar to that on manuscripts. Many fountains combine a *sebīl* with a *česhme*. White marble is characteristic of Turkish water architecture.

In the late 10th/16th century, the shape of the Ottoman *sebīls* begins to acquire its characteristic features. *Sebīls* like that of Gazanfer Ağa (1599) in Istanbul were built as part of a religious or funerary complex in the shape of polygonal faceted structures with arched grill windows set between pilasters; the leaded domical roof had eaves. Goodwin sees in the late 10th/16th century the genesis of Ottoman water architecture, which reaches its apogee in the late tulip period [see LALE DEVRI] during the first third of the 12th/18th century, "an age of water". At that time, instead of the faceted façade of the *sebīl*, it becomes more curved and semi-circular and, when integrated into a tomb, both façades are combined, such as in the complexes of Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa (1147/1734) and Hacı Mehmet Emin Ağa (1152/1740). The marble of this period is carved with baroque foliation and garlands, flamboyant floral and fruit motifs combined with traditional patterns, which also characterise contemporary *česhmes*. The grills become intricate with lacy patterns.

The most famous water-house is that of Sultan Aḥmed III (1141/1728) built at the gate of the Topkapı Seray as a combination of four *sebīls* and four *česhmes*. Built of marble with a wooden roof that runs down into eaves, it consists of a central rectangular cistern with a *česhme* on each side. The *česhmes* are set within arched panels with polychrome voussoirs and are flanked by a pair of *muḳarnas* niches which include benches. The *sebīls* occupy the corners, each with three concave intricate grills between columns. Five wooden domes protrude from the roof, four at the corners and a central one. Gilded foundation inscriptions written as poems in *nastaʿlīḳ* adorn the upper part of the building. Carved marble, paintings, polychrome voussoirs and tiles contribute to the lavish decoration.

The fountains of 19th century Turkey which stand independently in public spaces, such as that of ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II at Istanbul (1310/1892), are characterised by their rectangular shape and rectilinear façades, which contrast with the shallow curves of the decorative arches and the volute designs. Their decoration follows European tradition.

Bibliography: L.A. Mayer, *The buildings of Qāytbāy as described in his endowment deed*, London 1938;

Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm ʿAlī, *Silsilat al-wat͟hāʾiḳ al-taʾrīk͟hiyya al-ḳawmiyya. mad͟jmūʿat al-wat͟hāʾiḳ al-mamlūkiyya*, in *Mad͟jallat kulliyyat al-ādāb—D͟jāmiʿat al-Ḳāhira*, xviii/2 (Dec. 1956), 183-250; R. Mantran, *Istanbul*, Paris 1962; G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971; W. Betsch, *The fountains of Fez*, in *AARP*, xii (Dec. 1977), 33-46; A. Raymond, *Les fontaines publiques (Sabīl) du Caire à l'époque ottomane (1517-1798)*, in *AA*, xv (1979), 235-91; M.M. Amīn, *al-Awḳāf wa 'l-ḥayāt al-id͟jtimāʿiyya fī Miṣr (648-923/1250-1517)*, Cairo 1980; J.M. Rogers, *Innovation and continuity in Islamic urbanism*, in I. Sarageldin and S. el-Sadek (eds.), *The Arab city—its character and Islamic cultural heritage*, Medina (Arab Urban Development Institute) 1982, 53-9; Ph. Speiser, *Restaurierungsarbeiten in der islamischen Altstadt Kairos*, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, xxxviii (1982), 363-78; M.M. Amīn and L.A. Ibrāhīm, *al-Muṣtalaḥāt al-miʿmāriyya fī 'l-wat͟hāʾiḳ al-mamlūkiyya*, Cairo 1990; M.Ḥ. al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Asbila 'l-ʿut͟hmāniyya bi-madīnat al-Ḳāhira (1517-1798)*, Cairo n.d.; S. Eyice, *İA*, art. *Çeşme* (incs. extensive bibl., mainly for Istanbul). See also H. İnalcik, art. ISTANBUL. (DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF)

ṢĀBIR B. ISMĀʿĪL AL-TIRMID͟HĪ, S͟hihāb al-Dīn, usually known as **ADĪB ṢĀBIR** a Persian poet of the first half of the 6th/12th century.

His *dīwān*, which has been published twice (ed. ʿAlī Ḳawīm, Tehran 1331 *S͟h*./1952-3, and ed. M.ʿA. Nāṣiḥ, Tehran 1343 *S͟h*./1964), consists almost entirely of panegyrics praising the Sald͟jūḳ sultan San͟djar (511-52/1118-57), the K͟hʷārazms͟hāh Atsïz (521-68/1127-72) and various persons at their respective courts, in particular San͟djar's *raʾīs-i K͟hurāsān*, Mad͟jd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. D͟jaʿfar al-Musawī, the poet's principal patron. The rivalry between his two royal masters was the cause of his undoing. D͟juwaynī says that Ṣābir, whom San͟djar had sent to K͟hʷārazm with a message for Atsïz, discovered that the K͟hʷārazms͟hāh had dispatched two men—D͟juwaynī says that they were *malāḥida* (i.e. Ismāʿīlīs)—to assassinate the sultan. Ṣābir sent a secret message warning San͟djar of the plot and giving a description of the assassins, but Atsïz somehow found out about it and had Ṣābir drowned in the Oxus. Although D͟juwaynī does not give the precise date of this incident, he does seem to imply that it was at some time between 538/1142-3 and 542/1147-8. Dawlats͟hāh (followed by others) repeats D͟juwaynī's story, but gives the date of Ṣābir's death as 546/1151-2, which seems too late.

The most noticeable feature of Ṣābir's poetry is his dexterous use of artificial devices. ʿAwfī singles out a contrived poem dedicated to Mad͟jd al-Dīn in which Ṣābir uses the words *sarw* (cyprus) and *yāḳūt* (hyacinth) in every verse of the first (amatory) section and then the words *āftāb* (sun) and *āsmān* (heaven) in every verse of the second (panegyric) section. He also composed not one, but several long poems in which every verse enumerates three things ("one thing is A, a second is B, a third is C") in its second *miṣrāʿ*, or again, a *ḳaṣīda* in which he does without the letter *alif*. It was for this sort of thing that he won the admiration of his contemporaries, for example that of the now much more famous Anwarī [*q.v.*], who says in one of his verses: 'At least I am as good as Sanāʾī, even if I am not like Ṣābir'.

Bibliography: ʿAwfī, *Lubāb* ii, 117-25; D͟juwaynī ii, 8; Dawlats͟hāh, 92-3; Browne, *LHP*, ii, 333-5; S. Nafīsī, *Adīb Ṣābir-i Tirmid͟hī*, in *Armag͟hān*, iv (1920), 230-45, 294-306; Storey-de Blois, v, no. 276. (F.C. DE BLOIS)

ṢĀBIR, MĪRZĀ ʿALĪ AKBAR (b. 1862 in S͟hemākha, d. 1911 in Bākū), Azerbaijani satirical poet and journalist.

After the First Russian Revolution of 1905, a humorous and satirical literature grew up in Russian Ād͟harbayd͟jān, seen especially in the weekly journal *Mollā Naṣreddīn* founded at Tiflis in 1906 by D͟jelāl Meḥmed Ḳulī-zāde [see D͟JARĪDA. iv], which attacked the old literary forms, backwardness in education and religious fanaticism, achieving a circulation also in Turkey and Persian Ād͟harbayd͟jān. One of the writers in it was Ṣābir (who also sometimes used the pen-name Ag͟halar Güleyen, "he who laughs"), the most effective of the satirists on contemporary culture and political events, attacking *inter alia* both the Ottoman and Ḳād͟jār monarchies. After his death, his satirical poetry was collected in *Hop-hop-nāme* (Bākū 1912, repr. several times later).

Bibliography: Collected poetry in *S͟hiʿirler med͟jmūʿasī*, Bākū 1923, and subsequently in Cyrillic script in Moscow, Leningrad and Bākū. Of studies, see Ahmet Caferoğlu, in *PTF*, ii, 679-81, 690-6, 698, with specific studies on the poet noted in the bibl. there; J. Průšek (ed.), *Dict. of oriental literatures*. iii. *West Asia and North Africa*, London 1974, 163. (ED.)

SABʿIYYA, "Seveners", a designation for those S͟hīʿī sects which recognise a series of seven Imāms. Unlike the name *It͟hnā ʿas͟hariyya* or "Twelvers" the term *Sabʿiyya* does not occur in mediaeval Arabic texts; it seems to have been coined by modern scholars by analogy with the first term. The name is often used to designate the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*], but this is not correct, because neither the Bohora nor the K͟hōd͟ja Ismāʿīlīs count seven Imāms. The term can be applied only to the earliest stage of the development of the Ismāʿīlī sect, during which the Ismāʿīlī propaganda proclaimed a line of seven Imāms, starting with al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and ending with Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. D͟jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ whose return as the Mahdī was expected. The unity of the Ismāʿīlī movement was broken by the schism of the year 286/899 when the leader of *daʿwa*, the future Fāṭimid caliph al-Mahdī, claimed the ranks of *imām* and *mahdī*. His claim was rejected by the communities in ʿIrāḳ and al-Baḥrayn, which clung to the original doctrine, so that only these so-called Carmathian or "Ḳarmaṭī" communities preserved the old belief in a series of seven Imāms, whereas the "Fāṭimī" branch of the movement continued the line of Imāms beyond the seventh one; the actual leader of the K͟hōd͟ja branch of Ismāʿīlism, Āg͟hā K͟hān IV, is considered to be the 49th Imām. Given the inaccuracy of the artificial term, the name "Seveners" should best be avoided altogether.

Bibliography: See those for BOHORĀS; ISMĀʿĪLIYYA; ḲARMAṬĪ; K͟HŌD͟JA. (H. HALM)

SABK-I, HINDĪ (P.), the Indian style, is the third term of a classification of Persian literature into three stylistic periods. The other terms, *sabk-i K͟hurāsānī* (initially also called *sabk-i Turkistānī*) and *sabk-i ʿIrāḳī*, refer respectively to the eastern and the western parts of mediaeval Persia. The assumption underlying this geographical terminology is that the shifts of the centre of literary activity from one area to another, which took place repeatedly since the 4th/10th century, were paralleled by a stylistic development, especially in poetry. Broadly speaking, this amounted to a gradual change from the rather simple and harmonious poetical idiom of earlier times to a much more intricate manner of writing, often qualified as "baroque" [see further ĪRĀN. vii.

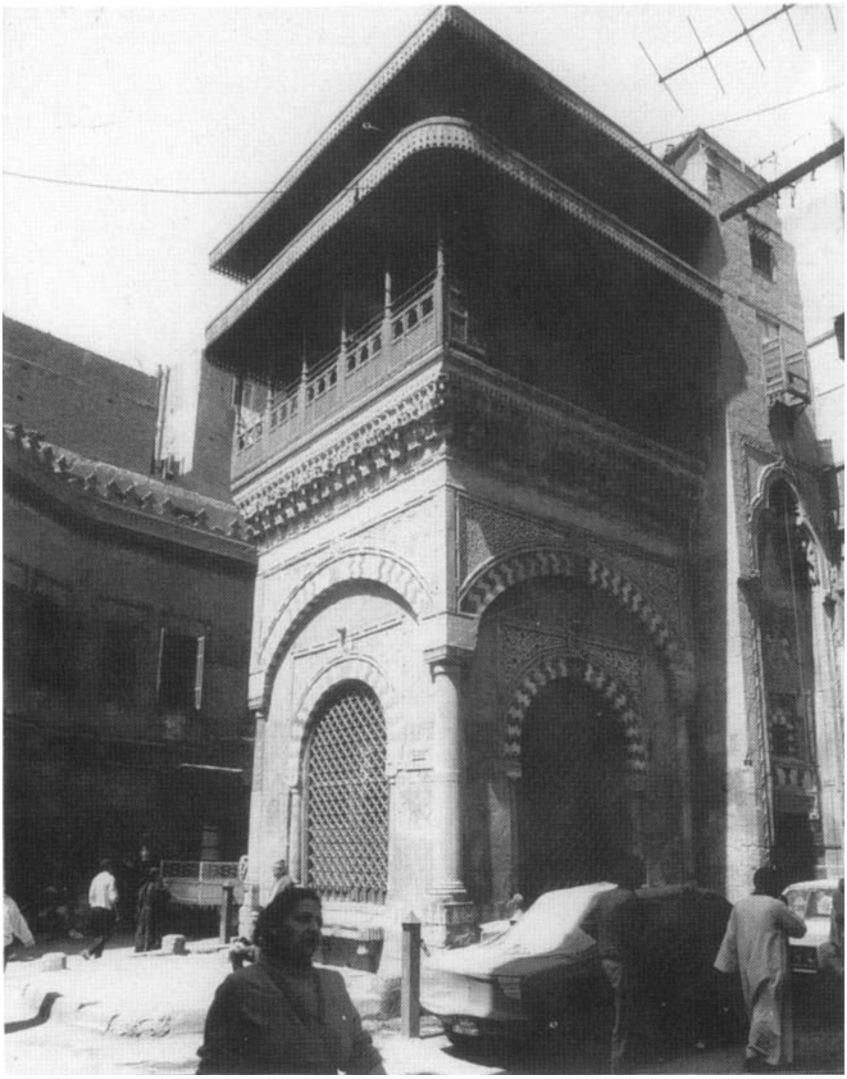

The *sabīl* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā in Cairo (1157/1744).

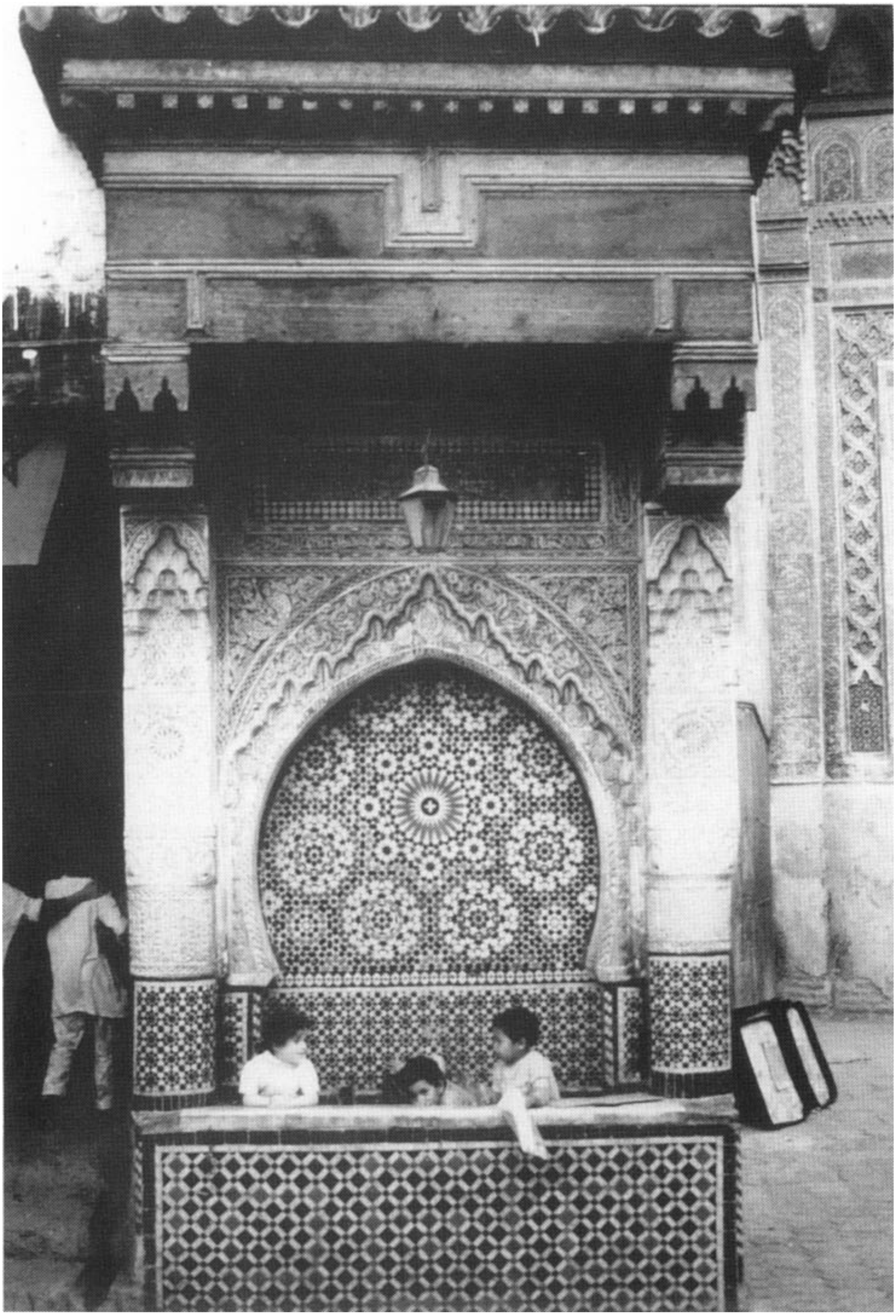

The fountain of al-Nadjdjārīn at Fās.

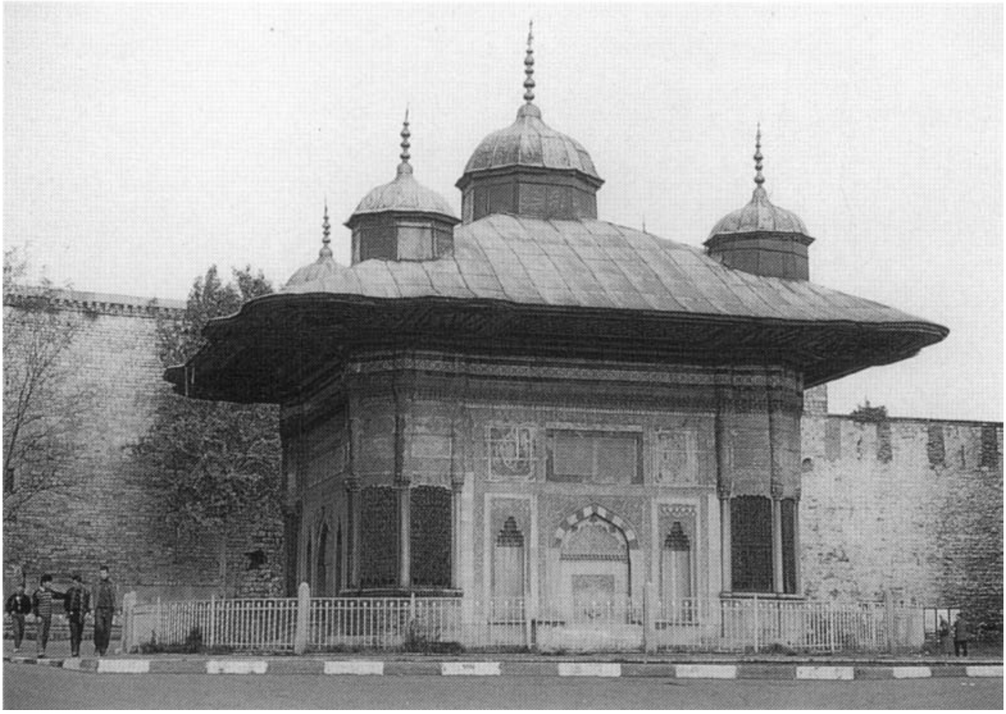

The *sabīl* of Sultan Aḥmed III in Istanbul (1141/1728).

Literature, at vol. IV, 60a]. For a long time Persian critics have interpreted this development as a decline, which reached its lowest level during the period of the Indian style. The appellation "Indian style" was derived from the fact that the features usually associated with this style were most conspicuous in the works of poets and writers who were attached to Indian courts during the Mughal period. As the poets of the Ṣafawid court of Iṣfahān in the 17th and early 18th centuries wrote in a similar fashion, some modern Persian scholars have proposed to use the names *sabk-i Iṣfahānī* or *sabk-i Ṣafawī* instead.

Although a development of style as outlined by this classification cannot be denied, it is impossible to determine the chronological boundaries between the three periods with any precision. Only the end of the period of the Indian style can be dated approximately, and then only as far as Persia itself is concerned. In the middle of the 12th/18th century, poets in Iṣfahān and Shīrāz, notably Mushtāḳ, Maftūn and Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg [*q.v.*] Ādhar, began to criticise the excesses of the Indian style and to demand a return to what they regarded as the stylistic purety of early Persian poetry. This reaction, now known as the *bāzgasht-i adabī* (the "literary return"), initiated a neo-classicism which dominated the writing of poetry in Persia well into the present century. It also influenced the outlook of Persian critics on the Indian style. This outlook is reflected, for instance, in the introduction to Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat's *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* (completed in 1288/1871), where the word *sabk* is already used in its modern sense although the geographical qualifications are not yet mentioned. Similar views were expressed in a letter on the subject written by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī to E.G. Browne (*LHP*, iv, 26-8). This neo-classicist return did not affect, however, Persian poetry written in Afghanistan, Central Asia and, particularly, the Indian subcontinent, where the Indian style held its ground.

According to M.T. Bahār, the theory of the three styles came into being in the late 13th/19th century, when the question which one of the two early styles should be taken as a model for imitation was much debated. About 1880, literary critics at Mashhad, to which Bahār's father, the poet Ṣabūḥī, and the latter's teacher Nadīm Bāshī belonged, seem to have taken a leading part in these discussions (cf. *Sabk-shināsī*, i, pp. *y-yb*; see also *Armaghān*, xiii, 440 ff.).

It is less easy to determine the historical starting-point of the Indian style. Some modern scholars have maintained that its roots go back to the very beginnings of Indo-Persian poetry in the 7th/13th century; others have connected them to the rise of the Ṣafawid state in Persia (10th/16th century) and the exodus of Persian poets to the Indian courts which began in the course of the same century. Several names have been put forward as the initiators of these stylistic changes: among them are Fighānī [*q.v.*], who was attached to the courts of Harāt and Tabrīz during the transition between the Tīmūrid and the Ṣafawid dynasties, ʿUrfī [*q.v.*], a poet from Shīrāz who in the late 10th/16th century was one of the first Persians to make a career at the Mughal court, and his contemporary the Indian-born Fayḍī [*q.v.*]. Even much earlier poets have been mentioned occasionally as predecessors. The only statement which can be made with any degree of certainty is that the special traits of the Indian style are noticeable since the beginning of the 11th/17th century in all the countries where Persian poetry was cultivated. Eventually, it also made a strong impact on the poetry in the Persian manner which was written in Turkish, Urdu and other Indo-Aryan languages.

Several attempts have been made to define the distinctive traits of Indian style poetry and to explain its appearance. The Indian scholar Shiblī Nuʿmānī [*q.v.*], in the third volume of his *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, drew up a list of such features, which has been seminal for subsequent research. Although the classification of the three regional styles was still unknown to him, he did acknowledge the innovations in the style of the poets of the 10th/16th-11th/17th centuries. The prominence gained by the *ghazal* since the 7th/13th century (due mainly to the influence of Saʿdī, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī and Ḥāfiẓ) was, according to Shiblī, of primary importance. An early new element was the addition of references to actual occurrences of an erotic nature to the usually abstract imagery of *ghazal* poetry, known as *wukūʿ-gūʾī*, "relating incidents". A remarkable example is the *Djalāliyya*, a cycle of *ghazals* written by Muḥtasham-i Kāshānī [*q.v.*] to celebrate a dancer he admired. The beloved was often identified as a young craftsman in the bazaar (*maʿshūḳ-i bāzārī*), especially in *shahrāshūb* [*q.v.*] poetry, in which the beauty of the protagonist is described as "creating havoc in the town". The rise of this genre betrays a tendency towards realism noticeable also in the use of images taken from real life and of elements from popular speech, hitherto not regarded as suitable for the poetic idiom.

A second major trend is the conceptual complexity, affecting both imagery and themes, subsumed by Shiblī under the headings *khiyāl-bāfī* ("the weaving of the imagination") and *maḍmūn-sāzī* ("the creation of concepts"). His observations were further developed by A. Bausani, who pointed out that the novelty of Indian style poetry was caused by the increasing disregard of the rule of the harmonious and associative choice of images ("das Prinzip der harmonischen oder beziehungsreichen Bildwahl", in the phrase of H. Ritter, cf. *Über die Bildersprache Niẓāmīs*, Berlin 1927, 25), which had disciplined the phantasy of the classical poet. This greater freedom resulted in the combination of rather incongruous images within the compass of a single verse as well as in a much greater density of expression. The intricate play of the imagination these poets allowed themselves went together with a pointed intellectualism. From the time of ʿUrfī onwards, philosophical themes became a common element added to the Persian *ghazal*, which was characterised already by its blend of anacreontism and mysticism. According to Bausani, the philosophical ideas expressed in this poetry were rather superficial because the main emphasis was put on the witticism of the expression itself. A cerebral attitude can also be observed in the frequent use of infinitives and abstract terms in a semi-allegorised mode. Shiblī mentioned the use of examples taken from common speech as a kind of proverbial argumentation added to a poetic statement (*mithāliyya*). The Persian poet Ṣāʾib [*q.v.*] was particularly noted for this (see e.g. the specimens quoted by Browne, iv, 170-6).

Among the linguistic innovations, the formation of new compounds, a predilection for constructions based on participles rather than on finite verbs, and the extension of the semantic spectrum of words are particularly conspicuous (on this, see especially the monograph by W. Heinz). The syntax of the verse is not seldom unnatural, and this has become one of the most serious objections against the Indian style.

As a social factor promoting these changes, Shiblī pointed to the rise, about the same time, of the

mus͟hāʿaras [*q.v.*], gatherings of poets where the poetic skills could be sharpened in competitive improvisations. This replaced the earlier tradition of imitating the works of older poets mainly accessible through written sources.

Explanations for the rise of these innovations have been sought in various directions: the political and religious revolution in Persia brought about by the establishment of the Ṣafawid state, the different cultural conditions in India as well as structural changes in Persian society. These theories were discussed, and nearly all refuted, by E. Yarshater (278 ff.), who himself proposed that the mannerism of the Indian style would signal the end of classical poetry as a living artistic tradition. In recent years, Persian critics have emphasised that a distinction should be made between an early, moderate phase, culminating in the works of Ṣāʾib (d. 1088/1677-8), and a more extreme stage of the same stylistic trends, as they are exemplified especially in the works of later poets who lived outside Persia, like Nāṣir ʿAlī Sirhindī [*q.v.*] (d. 1108/1697) and Bīdil [*q.v.*] (d. 1133/1720) in India and S͟hawkat of Buk͟hārā (d. 1107/1695-6) in Central Asia. This view led to a reappraisal of the artistic merits of Ṣafawid literature [*q.v.*].

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(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

SABK͟HA (a.), pl. *sibāk͟h*, the term used by the mediaeval Arabic geographers for salt marshes or lagoons and for the salt flats left by the evaporation of the water from such areas. Thus they employ it for describing the salt flats characteristic of parts of the Great Desert of central and eastern Persia (the present Das͟ht-i Kawīr and Das͟ht-i Lūṭ) and of the adjacent province of Sīstān (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 407, 415, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 397, 404; al-Muḳaddasī, 488; cf. A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11ᵉ siècle. iii. Le milieu naturelle*, Paris-The Hague 1980, 95).

In the Mag͟hrib, the form *sebk͟ha* is used to denote the salt lagoon, one of the characteristic features of the hydrography of North Africa and the Sahara, very common in the high plains, without communication with the sea. It is the terminus of a network of streams either above ground or subterranean, which have spread out and disappear in the ground; it is a shallow basin with well-marked contours sometimes delineated by steep sides. After rain, it is more or less completely filled with water impregnated with mineral substances which accumulate at the bottom of the basin. In periods of drought, the waters evaporate completely or partly and the floor is uncovered. The floor of the *sebk͟ha* is covered with saline incrustations, sometimes traversed by crevasses in which the crystals gather. The salt deposit sometimes covers mud, quicksands and dangerous quagmires.

This definition and description of the features of the *sebk͟ha* apply equally to the *s͟hoṭṭ*. An attempt has been made to establish a distinction between the two, the former term being applied to hollows which always remain more or less moist, the second to those whose evaporation is greater than the access of subterranean water or to those the floor of which looks like a plain losing itself in the horizon. There is no real foundation for this distinction. The two terms are employed indifferently in the same district. For example, we have in Orania the *sebk͟ha* of Oran and the *s͟hoṭṭ* G͟harliu and S͟harḳī, in the Sahara the *sebk͟ha* of Timimūn (Gurara), the *s͟hoṭṭ* of Southern Tunisia, the *sebk͟ha* of Wargla, of Siwa, etc.

Bibliography: See that to ṣaḥārā.

(G. Yver*)

ṢABR (a.), usually rendered "patience, endurance". The significance of this conception can hardly be conveyed in a West European language by a single word, as may be seen from the following. According to the Arabic lexicographers, the root *ṣ-b-r*, of which *ṣabr* is the *nomen actionis*, means to restrain or bind; thence *ḳatalahu ṣabrᵃⁿ* "to bind and then slay someone". The slayer and the slain in this case are called *ṣābir* and *maṣbūr* respectively. The expression is applied, for example, to martyrs and prisoners of war put to death; in the *Ḥadīt͟h* often to animals that—contrary to the Muslim prohibition—are tortured to death (e.g. al-Buk͟hārī, *D͟habāʾiḥ*, *bāb* 25; Muslim, *Ṣayd*, trad. 58; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 171). The word has a special technical application in the expression *yamīnu ṣabrⁱⁿ*, by which is meant an oath imposed by the public authorities and therefore taken unwillingly (e.g. al-Buk͟hārī, *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, *bāb* 27; *Aymān*, *bāb* 17; Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 176).

In the Ḳurʾān, derivations from the root *ṣ-b-r* frequently occur, in the first place with the general meaning of being patient. Muḥammad is warned to be patient like the Apostles of God before him (XXXVIII, 16; XLVI, 34; "for Allāh's threats are fulfilled", is added in XXX, 60). A double reward is promised to the patient (XXXIII, 113; XXVIII, 54; cf. XXV, 75). In XXXIX, 16, it is even said that the *ṣābirūn* shall receive their reward without *ḥisāb* (which in this case is explained as measure or limitation).

The conception is given a special application to the holy war (e.g. III, 140; VIII, 66); in such connections it can be translated by "endurance, tenacity". Form VIII is also used in almost the same sense, e.g. XIX, 66, "Serve him and persevere in his service". The third stem is also found (III, 200; see below).

The word is next found with the meaning resignation, e.g. in the sūra of Joseph (XII, 18) where Jacob, on hearing of the death of his son, says "[My best course is] fitting resignation" (*fa-ṣabrᵘⁿ d͟jamīlᵘⁿ*).

Sometimes *ṣabr* is associated with the *ṣalāt* (II, 42, 148). According to the commentators, it is in these passages synonymous with fasting, and they quote in support the name *s͟hahr al-ṣabr* given to the month of Ramaḍān [*q.v.*].

As an adjective, we find *ṣabbār* in the Ḳurʾān,

associated with *shakūr* (XIV, 5 etc.); cf. thereon al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, "It is well with the man who is resigned when misfortune afflicts him, grateful when gifts of grace become his"; and Muslim, *Zuhd*, trad. 64, "Wonderful is the attitude of the believer; everything is for the best with him; if something pleasant happens to him, he is thankful and this proves for the best with him; and if misfortune meets him, he is resigned and this again is for the best with him." The ideas of *ṣabr* and *shukr* are also associated in al-Ghazālī, see below.

The later development of the conception is, of course, also reflected in the commentaries on the Ḳurʾān; it is difficult to say in how far these interpretations are already inherent in the language of the Ḳurʾān. In any case, the conception *ṣabr*, in all its shades of meaning, is essentially Hellenistic in so far as it includes the ἀταραξία of the Stoic, the patience of the Christian and the self-control and renunciation of the ascetic; cf. below. In place of many other explanations of the commentators, we will give here only that of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Cairo 1278, on III, 200). He distinguishes four kinds of *ṣabr*: (1) endurance in the laborious intellectual task of dealing with matters of dogma, e.g. in the doctrine of *tawḥīd, ʿadl, nubuwwa, maʿād* and disputed points; (2) endurance in completing operations one is bound or recommended by law to do; (3) steadfastness in refraining from forbidden activities; and (4) resignation in calamity, etc. *Muṣābara* is, according to him, the application of *ṣabr* to one's fellow-creature (like neighbours, People of the Book), refraining from revenge, the *amr bi'l-maʿrūf wa'l-nahy ʿani 'l-munkar*, etc.

The high value laid upon *ṣabr* is also seen in the fact that al-Ṣabūr is included among the beautiful names of God. According to the *Lisān* (s.v. *ṣ-b-r*), Ṣabūr is a synonym of *ḥalīm*, with the difference that the sinner need not fear any retribution from al-Ḥalīm, but he is not sure of such leniency from al-Ṣabūr. God's *ṣabr* is in the *Ḥadīth* increased to the highest degree in the saying that no one is more patient than He towards that which wounds His hearing (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd, bāb* 3).

In the *Ḥadīth*, *ṣabr* is, in the first place, found in general connections, like, to him who practises *ṣabr* God will grant *ṣabr*, for *ṣabr* is the greatest charisma (al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt, bāb* 50; *Riḳāḳ, bāb* 20; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 93); in the *Ḥadīth* also, *ṣabr* is applied to endurance in the holy war. A man asked Muḥammad: "If I take part in the *Djihād* with my life and my property and I am killed *ṣabr*[an] and resigned, rushing forward without fleeing, shall I enter Paradise?" And Muḥammad answered: "Yes". (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 325). The word is found in other passages in the sense of enduring, e.g. towards the public authorities, "after my death ye shall suffer things, but exercise *ṣabr* until ye meet me at the heavenly pool" (*ḥawḍ*) (al-Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ, bāb* 53; *Fitan, bāb* 2; cf. *Aḥkām, bāb* 4; Muslim, *Imāra*, trads. 53, 56, etc.). The word here usually has the meaning of resignation, as in the oft-recurring saying, "The (true) *ṣabr* is revealed at the first blow (*innamā 'l-ṣabr ʿinda 'l-ṣadmati 'l-ūlā*, or *awwali ṣadmatin* or *awwali 'l-ṣadmati*, al-Bukhārī, *Djanāʾiz, bāb* 32, 43; Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, trad. 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Djanāʾiz, bāb* 22, etc.).

Significant, in other respects also, is the story of the epileptic woman who asked Muḥammad for his *duʿāʾ* for her healing; he replied to her that, if she refrained from her request and exercised *ṣabr*, paradise would be her portion (al-Bukhārī, *Marḍā, bāb* 6; Muslim, *al-Birr wa 'l-ṣila*, trad. 54). The word is often found in this connection associated with the proper word for resignation, viz. *iḥtisāb* (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Aymān, bāb* 9; Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, trad. 11); with this should be compared the following *ḥadīth ḳudsī*, "If my servant is deprived of the light of both his eyes, I grant him paradise in compensation" (al-Bukhārī, *Marḍā, bāb* 67; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 283).

In conclusion, we may remark that in the canonical *Ḥadīth* the meaning renunciation is exceedingly rare, a meaning which receives so great an importance in ethico-ascetic mysticism (cf. what has already been said above on sūra II, 42, 148). *Bāb* 20 of al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Riḳāḳ* (which, like the chapter *zuhd* in the other collections of traditions, represents the oldest stage of this tendency in Islam) has in the *tardjama*: ʿUmar said, "We have found the best of our life in *ṣabr*." Here we already can trace the Hellenistic sphere of thought for which renunciation was the kind of life fitting the true man, the wise man, the martyr.

What the Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth* say about *ṣabr* recurs in part again in ethico-mystical literature; but the word has here become, so to speak, a technical term and to a very high degree, as *ṣabr* is the cardinal virtue in this school of thought. As with other fundamental conceptions (see the series of definitions of Ṣūfī and Ṣūfism given by Nicholson in *JRAS* [1905]), we find numerous definitions of *ṣabr*, definitions which often point rather to fertility of imagination than give an exhaustive exposition of the idea, but are of great value for the light which they throw upon the subject like lightning flashes. Al-Ḳushayrī in his *Risāla*, ed. ʿA.H. Maḥmūd and M. Ibn al-Sharīf, Cairo 1385/1966, 397-404, gives the following collection: "The gulping down of bitterness without making a wry face" (al-Djunayd); "the refraining from unpermitted things, silence in suffering blows of fate, showing oneself rich when poverty settles in the courts of subsistence"; "steadfastness in fitting behaviour (*Ḥusn al-adab*) under blows of fate" (Ibn ʿAṭāʾ); "bowing before the blow without a sound or complaint"; "the *ṣabbār* is he who has accustomed himself to suddenly meeting with forbidden things" (Abū ʿUthmān); "*ṣabr* consists in welcoming illness as if it were health"; "steadfastness in God and meeting His blows with a good countenance and equanimity" (ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān); "steadfastness in the ordinances of the Book and of the Sunna" (al-Khawwāṣ); "the *ṣabr* of the mystics (literally, lovers) is more difficult than that of the ascetics" (Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh); "refraining from complaint" (Ruwaym); "seeking help with God" (Dhu 'l-Nūn); *ṣabr* is like its name i.e. [bitter] like aloes (*ṣabr*; see the next article) (Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ); "there are three kinds of *ṣabr, ṣabr* of the *mutaṣabbir*, of the *ṣābir* and of the *ṣabbār* (Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Khafīf); "*ṣabr* is a steed that never stumbles" (ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib); and "*ṣabr* is not to distinguish between the condition of grace and that of trial, in peace of spirit in both; *taṣabbur* is calm under blows, while one feels the heavy trial" (Abū Muḥammad al-Djurayrī; cf. ἀταραξία).

Al-Ghazālī treats of *ṣabr* in Book II of the fourth part of the *Iḥyāʾ*, which describes the virtues that make blessed. We have seen that, already in the Ḳurʾān, *ṣabr* and *shukr* are found in association. Al-Ghazālī discusses the two conceptions in the second book separately, but in reality in close connection. He bases the combination, not on the Ḳurʾānic phraseology, but on the maxim "belief consists of two halves: the one *ṣabr* and the other *shukr*". This again goes back to the tradition "*ṣabr* is the half of belief" (cf. the traditions given above which also associate *ṣabr* and *shukr*).

Al-Ghazālī comprises the treatment of *ṣabr* under the following heads: (1) the excellence of *ṣabr*; (2) its

nature and conception; (3) *ṣabr*, the half of belief; (4) synonyms with reference to the object of *ṣabr*; (5) kinds of *ṣabr* as regards strength and weakness; (6) opinions regarding the necessity of *ṣabr* and how man can never dispense with *ṣabr*; and (7) the healthfulness of *ṣabr* and means of attaining it. This division is virtually adopted by Bar Hebraeus [see IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ] in his *Ethikon* for the *msaybrānūṭā* (see A.J. Wensinck, *Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Dove*, Leiden 1919, pp. cxvii-cxix).

Only the following out of these sections can be given here. *Ṣabr*, like all religious *maḳāmāt*, consists of three parts, *maʿrifa, ḥāl* and *ʿamal*. The *maʿārif* are like the tree, the *aḥwāl* the branches and the *aʿmāl* the fruits. Out of the three classes of beings, man alone may possess *ṣabr*. For the animals are entirely governed by their desires and impulses; the angels, on the other hand, are completely filled by their longing for the deity, so that no desire has power over them and as a result no *ṣabr* is necessary to overcome it. In man, on the contrary, two impulses (*bāʿith*) are fighting, the impulse of desires and the impulse of religion; the former is kindled by Satan and the latter by the angels. *Ṣabr* means adherence to the religious as opposed to the sensual impulse.

Ṣabr is of two kinds: (a) the physical, like the endurance of physical ills, whether active, as in performing difficult tasks, or passive, as in suffering blows, etc.; this kind is laudable; and (b) the spiritual, like renunciation in face of natural impulses. According to its different objects, it is called by synonyms like *ʿiffa, ḍabṭ al-nafs, s̲h̲adjāʿa, ḥilm, saʿat al-ṣadr, kitmān al-sirr, zuhd* and *ḳanāʿa*. From this wide range of meanings, we can understand that Muḥammad, when asked, could answer, "*īmān* is *ṣabr*". This kind is absolutely laudable (*maḥmūd tāmm*).

As regards the greater or less strength of their *ṣabr*, three classes of individuals are distinguishable: (a) the very few in whom *ṣabr* has become a permanent condition; these are the *ṣiddīḳūn* and the *muḳarrabūn*; (b) those in whom animal impulses predominate; and (c) those in whom a continual struggle is going on between the two impulses; these are the *mudjāhidūn*; perhaps Allāh will heed them. One of the gnostics (says al-G̲h̲azālī) distinguishes three kinds of *ṣābirūn*: those who renounce desires, these are the *tāʾibūn*; those who submit to the divine decree, these are the *zāhidūn*; and those who delight in whatever God allows to come upon them, these are the *ṣiddīḳūn*.

In section VI, al-G̲h̲azālī shows how the believer requires *ṣabr* under all circumstances; (a) in health and prosperity; here the close connection between *ṣabr* and gratitude is seen; and (b) in all that does not belong to this category, as in the performance of legal obligations, in refraining from forbidden things and in whatever happens to a man against his will, either from his fellow-men or by God's decree.

As *ṣabr* is an indication of the struggle between the two impulses, its salutary effect consists in all that may strengthen the religious impulse and weaken the animal one. The weakening of the animal impulse is brought about by asceticism, by avoiding whatever increases this impulse, e.g. by withdrawal (*ʿazla*), or by the practice of what is permitted, e.g. marriage. The strengthening of the religious impulse is brought about (a) by the awakening of the desire for the fruits of *mudjāhada*, e.g. by means of the reading of the lives of saints or prophets; and (b) by gradually accustoming this impulse to the struggle with its antagonist, so that finally the consciousness of superiority becomes a delight.

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(A.J. WENSINCK)

ṢABR (*ṣabir, ṣabur*) (A.) denotes the aloe, a species of the *Liliaceae*, which was widespread in the warm countries of the ancient world, mainly in Cyprus and on the mountains of Africa.

The leaves of many varieties provide fibres ("aloe-fibres") for spinning coarse cloths, and from the aloe's dark-brown wood a valued perfumery is won. Important was also the aloe drug, i.e. the juice pressed from the leaves, whose Greek name ἀλόη was borrowed by the Arab pharmacologists as *āluwī*. In the West, the name apparently was pronounced *ṣibar*, which survives in Spanish *acibar*. The most extensive descriptions of the plant and its drug are found in Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, iii, 77-81 (tr. Leclerc no. 1388) and in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 304-7. According to them, the leaves of the plant resemble those of the sea onion (*is̲h̲ḳīl*), which are wide and thick, bent back, covered with a sticky liquid and whose ends are thorny. Among the numerous varieties of the aloe, three are generally mentioned: *sukuṭrī, ʿarabī* (*ḥaḍramī*), and *simindjānī* (the latter reading is uncertain; it is perhaps derived from Simindjān in Ṭuk̲h̲āristān). The first variety is considered to be the best and probably corresponds with the *Aloe Parryi* Baker, the *Aloe Socotrina*, which thrives in great quantities on the island of Socotra (Suḳuṭrā [*q.v.*]). The leaves, which are full of water, are squeezed, chopped up and pounded until the juice comes out. This is left to thicken, placed in a dish and exposed to the sun until it dries up. The juice resembles that of saffron, its scent that of myrh. The entire plant has a sharp odour and a very bitter taste. It has only one root. The drug was used above all as laxative, as an amarum or appetiser and as a choleretic; externally, it was applied on badly healing wounds, ulcers and burns; it was also used against inflamations of the eye, and as a means to improve bad breath.

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(A. DIETRICH)

ṢABRA or SABRATHA, one of the three ancient cities (Leptis Magna = Lebda; Oea = Tripoli; and Sabratha or Sabrata = Ṣabra) which made up Tripolitania. Ṣabra Manṣūriyya [*q.v.*], another town

33 km/20 miles to the west of Tlemcen in Algeria bore (Ibn Khaldūn, ʿIbar, Beirut 1959, vii, 524), and still bears today, this same name, after having assumed that of Turenne in the colonial period. The homonomy here is fortuitous.

Ṣabrāta—now a tourist town and the centre of an archaeological zone along the littoral some 75 km/48 miles west of Tripoli and 35 km/20 miles west of Zuwāra—is a Tyrian foundation, or a Carthaginian one, dating from the 5th century B.C., of which imposing ruins remain.

In 22/642-3, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, after having taken Tripoli, made a surprise attack on Sabratha, at that time in decline and inhabited by Berber Christians of the Nafūsa tribe [*q.v.*]. In 123/741, Ṣabra (or Sabrata according to the orthography of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam) was besieged by the Ṣufrī Berbers of the Zanāta tribe, and then relieved by the *amīr* of Tripoli. In 131/748-9, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, the master of Ḳayrawān, at that moment on bad terms with the caliphate, transferred the population and trade of Ṣabra to Nubāra, probably in consequence of a rebellion. This was almost certainly only a partial and temporary transfer. Towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century it was the "ancient statues in stone" which attracted al-Yaʿḳūbī's attention. Ibn Ḥawḳal noted that, at the time when he visited the Maghrib, in 340/951-2, a tax was levied on caravans which passed through the town. In the last quarter of the 4th/10th century, al-Muḳaddasī wrote that Ṣabra was a fortified town, surrounded by palm groves and orchards full of fig trees. In 403/1012-13 Ṣabra was at the centre of rebellions fomented by the Zanāta against the Zīrid *amīr* Bādīs. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī described it as a prosperous town, populated by Zuwāgha, who had taken the side of Ibn Khalaf against the last Rustamids [*q.v.*]. In the middle years of the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī merely mentions it, adding that it was, like all the other urban centres of the region, "a lifeless desert" (*khalāʾ balḳaʿ*), having been devastated by the Arabs of the Banū Hilāl and given over to pillage by the Mirdās and Riyāḥ, as confirmed by Ibn Khaldūn. In Ṣafar 707/August 1307, al-Tidjānī noted that the biggest populated unit of the region through which he was passing was Zuwāgha, and that in its environs, by the sea coast, were to be found "the ruins of an ancient city known as Ṣabra, which may also be sometimes written with a *sīn*". In the mid-10th/16th century, Leo Africanus/al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Zayyātī no longer mentions Ṣabra. He merely mentions Zuwāra, describing it as a small town in full decay. It was in the neighbourhood of this town that there was held, in a tent, the conference of March-September 1893 between France and the Ottomans which delimited the Tunisian-Libyan frontier.

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ṢABRA or **AL-MANṢŪRIYYA**, or also MADĪNAT ʿIZZ AL-ISLĀM, a royal city founded between 334 and 336/945-8, at half-a-mile to the southeast of Ḳayrawān, by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr—whence its name—in order to commemorate his victory over the rebel Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], on the very spot, so we are told, of a decisive battle.

The name. *Ṣabra* means "a very hard stone" (*LʿA*, Beirut 1955, iv, 441, 442). Like *ṣakhr* "rock", the term is attested as a personal name (al-Ṭabarī, index; al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, Beirut 1983, i, 250) or as that of a clan (Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1968, ii, 631). As a toponym, Ṣabra probably designated a suburb or a stretch of land, in the proximity of Ḳayrawān, which derived its name from that of the occupiers of the place. The city founded on this spot, or near it, was officially called al-Manṣūriyya "the Victorious City", and it is this name which, until 438/1046-7 (i.e. till the Zīrids' break with the Fāṭimids in Cairo), appears exclusively on coins. To symbolise the rupture in relations, the city officially changed its name from 439/1047-8 onwards. After then, there appears either the original name Ṣabra (which had never completely disappeared out of everyday usage) or that of Madīnat ʿIzz al-Islām "City of the Glory of Islam". The Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], the first judge of the city founded by al-Manṣūr, in his *K. al-Madjālis* (ed. Tunis 1978, index), never calls it by anything but its official name al-Manṣūriyya. Other authors call it indifferently by one or the other of its names. The derivation of the name Ṣabra from the root *ṣ-b-r* "to endure", with reference to the contradictory exhortations to resistance addressed to the Shīʿī troops by al-Mansūr (al-Muḳaddasī, partial Fr. tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 16-17; Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār*, ed. and Fr. tr. Vonderheyden, Algiers-Paris 1927, 23-41), or, per contra, to the Khāridjite troops by Abū Yazīd (Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *K. al-Sīra*, Tunis 1985), 175, is, so far as one can see, an imagined, *post eventum* explanation.

The city's evolution. On Tuesday 19 Shawwāl 337/1 May 949 al-Manṣūr transferred the seat of his government to al-Manṣūriyya (Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 68). As with Baghdād, the city was round in plan—and this is confirmed by aerial photography—and the caliph's palace was in the centre. Its ramparts were pierced with four or five gates with iron fittings. The city had a copious supply of water and very soon developed greatly. Al-Manṣūr's successors in turn built numerous and luxurious palaces adorned with gardens and stretches of water, palaces whose foundations have been partially revealed by excavations. The city had 300 *ḥammāms* which belonged largely to private houses. After al-Muʿizz's departure for Cairo, his lieutenant in the Maghrib, Buluggīn, installed himself on Thursday, 11 Rabīʿ I 362/20 December 972 at al-Manṣūriyya, in the very palace which his sovereign had just left. This marked the beginning of the city's Zīrid period. Some decades later, in 405/1014-15, on the orders of Bādīs, merchants and artisans were officially transplanted from Ḳayrawān to al-Manṣūriyya (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 261, see also i, 219-20, 241, 268, 276, 278,

291, 293-4). The resultant dissatisfaction in Ḳayrawān, now deprived of its economic role, was not perhaps unconnected with the revolt which broke out there in 407/1016 at the coming of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] and which spread to al-Manṣūriyya, which was badly damaged. Finally, in 449/1057, under pressure from the Banū Hilāl, al-Muʿizz fled to al-Mahdiyya. Al-Manṣūriyya was then totally devastated, and, unlike Ḳayrawān, never rose again from its ruins. Al-Idrīsī, in the middle of the 6th/12th century, depicts it as ruinous and deserted: "One no longer meets any living soul there" (*Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome 1984, iii, 284).

Over the ensuing centuries, the site was pillaged, and the excavations, begun in 1921, have only yielded a few remains: paving materials, sculpted plaques, pottery with geometric or life-like decorations, etc.

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SABT (A.), the sabbath, and thus (*yawm al-*) *sabt*, Saturday (technically, Friday evening to Saturday evening); it is also suggested to mean "a week", that is from *sabt* to *sabt*, as well as a more general sense of a long period of time. The word has been the common designator of the day which follows *yawm al-djumʿa* [see DJUMʿA] since early Islamic times at least [see ZAMĀN]. Clearly related to the Aramaic word *shabbʿtā* and ultimately Hebrew *shabbāt*, the word was given an appropriately Islamic sense by the Ḳurʾān and later Muslim theological interpretation.

The Ḳurʾān associates Jews, the sabbath and not undertaking any work, in line with Jewish tradition. Ḳurʾān, IV, 154 indicates that the day of rest was imposed upon the Jews at Sinai. Muslim tradition elaborates this as a punishment for the Jewish refusal to worship on Friday, the appropriate holy day; Saturday would be accepted by God as long as the Jews ceased from any work on that day (see al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1954-69, ii, 167-8). Opposing traditions are found (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *djumʿa*, 22) which support all of Friday, Saturday and Sunday as legitimate days of worship, however. Ḳurʾān, XVI, 124, speaks of disputes over the observance of the Sabbath, perhaps a remnant of Jewish-Christian debates. The breaking of the law of the sabbath is the focus of three passages, II, 65, IV, 47, and VII, 163, in which the word *sabt* is used twice plus once verbally, *yasbitūna*; these passages, which provided significant occasions for exegetical elaboration, speak of those who transgressed the Sabbath being transformed into "despised apes", *kirada khāsiʾīn* (II, 65, VII, 166; also see V, 60). Opinion varied as to whether this was to be understood literally or metaphorically, for example as something which happened to Jewish hearts. Modern scholarship has not reached a consensus on the origins of this story.

Muslim exegetical reflection on these passages started out with statements associating the sabbath, *yawm al-sabt*, and "resting", and with knowledge of the justification of that idea—that God rested on the seventh day of creation. However, while the Ḳurʾān confirms that there were six days of creation (VII, 54, X, 3, XI, 7, etc.), it rejects the idea that God rested from creation: "Weariness did not touch us" (L, 38), God says of himself. Thus the exegetical problem arose of how to explain that the seventh day of the week was called *sabt* without that implying a sense of "rest". The answer was found through derivation of the word *sabt* from *sabata* which was said to be restricted in its meaning to senses of "ceasing" or "being still", without conveying an implication of "rest"; the word *subāt* was still seen to have that meaning, however, as was necessary in XXV, 47, and LXXVIII, 9.

Muslim-Jewish polemic often focussed upon the accusation that the Jews entertained an anthropomorphic concept of God because of the notion of his "resting" from creation on the sabbath. For Muslims, *yawm al-djumʿa*, while it contained aspects of a day of rest in its celebration (a facet which has become more pronounced in modern times), was generally not seen as a holiday from work, any more than *yawm al-sabt* was.

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(A. RIPPIN)

SABTA, CEUTA, a town of northern Morocco. It is situated 16 km/10 miles to the south of Gibraltar on the Moroccan coast, 60 km/38 miles to the north-west of Tetouan and 210 km/130 miles from Fās. Sabta has the form of a peninsula, ending in a small mountain (the Djabal al-Minā or Mt. Hacho, 193 m/633 feet), which has played the double role of a natural acropolis and a watch point. The isthmus of the peninsula, 60 m/197 feet in height, is attached to the mainland by a narrow strip of land, easily defensible. The old town had its counterpart in the Marīnid town, the Āfrāg [*q.v.*].

Explanations of the placename's etymology abound. Thus it is said that Sabta derived from the Latin *Septem Fratres*, which denotes the seven nearby hills;

most of the Arabic chronicles attribute its foundation to one Sabt, a descendant of Noah and eponymous hero, whose tomb, in the form of a tumulus (*al-Ḳabr al-shāṭṭ*) was still venerated at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. The Phoenician trading depot of Abyla and the Roman Iulia Traiecta have been situated there, but Rome does not seem to have attached much importance to the place (C. Posac Mon, *Estudios arqueología de Ceuta*, in *Actes du IXᵉ Congrès*, Valladolid 1965). As successors to Rome, the Byzantines clashed with the Visigoths, who besieged Sabta in 534, but the Byzantines managed to occupy it, or to re-occupy it and, according to Procopius, "fortified, peopled and embellished it". The Emperor Justinian built it up into a strong fortress (F. Fita, *Ceuta wisigoda y byzantina durante el reino de Tuedes*, BRAH 1922).

The accounts of the conquest of al-Andalus bring into prominence Count Julian, the Visigothic governor, Byzantine Exarch or lord of the Ghumāra, according to the various chronicles (see Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, ed. and partial tr. A. Gateau, 2nd ed. Algiers 1947). It was a refuge for Arab forces during the Khāridjite rebellion, an Idrīsid principality (it was allegedly occupied by Idrīs I in 173/789-90), as the capital of the Banū ᶜIṣām, who appear more as an independent dynasty than as Idrīsid governors, occupied by the Umayyads of Cordova in 319/931 and became a pawn in the struggle against the Fāṭimids. Al-Nāṣir proclaimed himself caliph and called himself "master of the two seas" after the conquest of the town. As a base for intervention in the Maghrib, it had strong ramparts and could gather in the populations of towns threatened or ruined (Nakūr al-Baṣra, Tāhart, etc.). The decline of the caliphate allowed the Ḥammūdids [*q.v.*] to establish a principality which included Tangier, Ceuta, Algeciras and Malaga. The town's mint coined gold pieces, the *mancus ceptimus*, which became widely current. The Ḥammūdids' lieutenant, Saḳḳūt al-Barghawāṭī, profited from the anarchy within al-Andalus to seize power and set up his own dynasty (al-Maḳḳarī, *Azhār*, i, 34; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 220; Vallvé Bermejo, *Saqūt al-Barghawāṭī rey de Ceuta*, in *al-And.* [1962], 119); he recognised the ᶜAbbāsid caliph and challenged the ᶜAbbādids of Seville for control of the Straits. During his reign (453-75/1061-83), the town was prosperous and enjoyed a lively intellectual life. It resisted the Almoravids, who were held up before Sabta for six years before taking it in 475/1083.

As the native town of ᶜAlī b. Yūsuf, Sabta was favoured by the Lamtūna and profited from the political unity established to develop economic links with sub-Saharan Africa and the lands on the northern fringes of the Mediterranean. Its powerful *ḳāḍī*s controlled activities, including the muezzins of the Great Mosque (H. Ferhat, *Un nouveau texte sur la mosquée de Sabta*, in *Hespéris*, forthcoming). When the Almohads arrived, the *ḳāḍī* ᶜIyāḍ b. Mūsā [*q.v.*] led the resistance, but the town had to surrender and the *ḳāḍī* was exiled (M. Bencherifa, *al-Taᶜrīf bi 'l-Ḳāḍī ᶜIyāḍ*, Rabat 1974, 47). Sabta became one of the most important governorships of the empire; with its arsenal and anchorage for the fleet and its change of masters, the town was always given to a prince of the dynasty (*Sayyid*).

From 629/1231-2, Almohad unity began to break up, with the secession of Ibn Hūd in al-Andalus and also that of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*]. The governor of Sabta, the Sayyid Abū Mūsā, rebelled and assumed the title of al-Muʾayyad. Besieged by al-Maʾmūn, he negotiated the handing-over of the town to Ibn Hūd, who gave it to the admiral al-Ghushtī. The latter was ejected by the populace, who handed power over to a rich merchant, Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās al-Yanashtī, who now had to face a siege by the Genoese (Ibn al-ᶜIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, 307; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miᶜṭār*, Beirut 1975, 622; Ch. Dufourcq, *La question de Ceuta au XIIIᵉ siècle*, in *Hespéris* [1955], 67; Di Tucci, *Documenti inediti sulla spedizione e sulla Mahona di Genovesi a Ceuta*, Genoa 1935, 273-340). Irritated by al-Yanashtī, who aspired to personal power, the Sabtīs returned to the bosom of the Almohads and accepted Ibn Khalāṣ, the caliph al-Rashīd's envoy. Ḥafṣid intervention in the Straits led to occupation of the town, which recognised Abū Zakariyyāʾ. After the latter's death, a coup d'état expelled the agents of Tunis and gave power to Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-ᶜAzafī, whose dynasty was to last until 720/1320, including some temporary hiatuses (J.D. Latham, *The rise of the ᶜAzafids of Ceuta*, in *IOS*, ii [1972], 263-87; idem, *The later ᶜAzafids*, in *ROMM*, xv-xvi [1973], 109-25; idem, *The strategic position and defence of Ceuta in the later Muslim period*, in *IQ* [1971], 189-204; and see ᶜAZAFI, BANU'L-, in Suppl.). The Banu 'l-ᶜAzafī instituted a consultative régime (*al-shūrā*) which preserved the town's autonomy whilst recognising the Almohad caliph.

As a bridge-head between the Saharan region and the Mediterranean, Sabta played a leading role in commercial exchanges and minted coins of excellent quality (J.J. Rodriguez-Lorente and T. b. Hafiz Ibrahim, *Numismatica de Ceuta musulmana*, Madrid 1987).

Taken by Granada in 705/1306, Sabta was sacked and its élites expelled. The inhabitants appealed to the Marīnids, who re-occupied it in 789/1387. Marīnid control, the loss of the Andalusian towns and a general regression in the region, weakened the town and its commerce; it was replaced regarding commerce into the interior by Genoese, Barcelonans and Majorcans established along the Atlantic coast of Morocco.

As the home of the geographer al-Idrīsī, of the *ḳāḍī* ᶜIyāḍ and of Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās al-Sabtī, Sabta played an important role as a centre of learning, and especially of *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, grammar and medicine (H. al-Wariaghli, *Shuyūkh al-ᶜilm wa-mulūk al-dars fī Sabta*, Tetouan 1984; anon., *Bulghat al-umniyya wa-maḳṣad al-labīb*, Rabat 1984). The mystical tendency was seen in Ibn al-ᶜArīf and the school of Almeria. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shārī founded there the first *madrasa* in the Maghrib; al-ᶜAzafī began there the *Mawlid*, a festival adopted officially by the Marīnids (*al-Durr al-Munaẓẓam*, ms.). If nothing now remains of the monuments of Sabta, Muḥammad al-Anṣārī describes at length the situation just after the town's fall (*Ikhtiṣār al-akhbār ᶜammā kāna bi-thaghr Sabta*..., tr. F.A. Turki, in *Hespéris-Tamuda* [1982], 83).

The Portuguese seized Sabta in Djumādā II 818/August 1415. It was abandoned, also the village of Balyūnash, which had played a great role in its history, by its population. After the annexation of Portugal by Spain in 988/1580, Sabta was transferred to Spanish control, and despite numerous Moroccan attempts to regain it, Ceuta has always remained a Spanish *presidio* and a free zone.

After the Portuguese capture of Sabta in 818/1415, it was attacked by the *ḳāʾid* Ṣāliḥ, who led resistance in the district. Meanwhile, in 824/1421, a bishopric was created there. The quarters on the mainland were razed and the town, now reduced to the isthmus, provied with new fortifications. After the Portuguese check before Tangier in 860/1437, a treaty was sign-

ed, the return of Ceuta to Morocco was envisaged and Don Ferdinand sent as a hostage to guarantee the promise; but the Cortes refused to ratify it, and the prince died, as a martyr, at Fās in 847/1443. After the Battle of the Three Kings (986/1578), Spain seized Ceuta definitively. Nevertheless, the town was regularly attacked by neighbouring tribes and by the principality of Tetouan [see TIṬṬĀWĪN]. The siege decided upon by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl lasted from 1104/1693 to 1133/1721; that of 1180/1766 was ended by an ambiguous treaty, completed by the convention of 1188/1774 (J. Caillé, *Les accords de Sidi Mohammed Ben ʿAbdallah (1757-1790)*, Paris 1960). Between 1196/1782 and 1214/1799, agreements conceded the territory to the Spanish, provoking the anger of the aggrieved tribes. Ceuta suffered from a lack of water and always coveted the Bullone (Balyūnash) hills; a series of disputes between Spain and Morocco led to the war of Tetouan (1860). In 1912 the Protectorate Treaty, awarding the north of Morocco to Spain, marked the revival of Ceuta, whose trade developed thanks to its double military and commercial role. When Morocco became independent (March 1956), Ceuta became a *presidio* and a free zone. Profiting from the ending of the international status of Tangier, the town received an influx of travellers and commerce, and an important smuggling activity developed, making a strong mark on the whole region's economy.

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(HALIMA FERHAT)

AL-**SABTĪ**, AḤMAD B. DJAʿFAR al-Khazradjī, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, renowned Moroccan saint, born at Sabta (Ceuta) in 524/1130, not to be confused, in the text of Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*), with a homonym who lived in a later period and was the inventor of a circular divinatory table known as the *zāʾiradja al-ʿālam*.

Two accounts afford a glimpse of his career, which was contemporaneous with that of the great saint of Tlemcen Abū Madyan al-Andalusī (520-94/1126-97): that of the *ḳāḍī* al-Tādilī and that of Ibn Ḥāmawayh, which is more concise, recounted by al-Maḳḳarī. Born into a modest family, he lost his father at a very early age and became an apprentice to a trader in textiles (*bazzāz*) of Sabta, a town which was then enjoying a high level of commercial and cultural prosperity. His principal teacher was Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Fakhkhār, himself a disciple of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ, one of the most eminent representatives of the Hispano-Maghribī Mālikī school of the period. At about sixteen years old, he left Sabta with a companion and made his way to Mount Gillīz where the Almohad army was encamped, commanded by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin who was laying siege to Marrakesh (540/1146). After the capture of the city, he established himself there in a *funduḳ* known by the name of *funduḳ Muḳbil*. He then taught grammar and arithmetic, for which he received payment. He also apparently enjoyed an allowance in his capacity as a member of the *ṭalabat al-ḥaḍar* (a category of teachers supported financially by the Almohad authorities) and established a considerable household. He rapidly gained popularity as a result of his generosity. His doctrine was simple, according to al-Tādilī, who knew and visited him: every principle contained in religion (*sharʿ*) may be reduced to the deprival and to the bestowal of the goods which one possesses. He insists on the religious duty of *zakāt*. Charity (*ṣadaḳa*) is the essential theme of his sermons and of his injunctions. He denounces avarice (*al-bukhl*) and parsimony (*al-shuḥḥ*) and preaches generosity (*al-ʿaṭāʾ*, *al-djūd*), and beneficence (*al-iḥsān*, quoting Ḳurʾānic verses to illustrate his purpose (IX, 34; X, 88; LIII, 33; LXVIII, 17; XCII, 5-10). His symbolic interpretation of prayer and of its various manifestations illustrates his doctrine of asceticism, since it signifies the sharing and the abandonment of all goods.

Of presentable appearance, always carefully groomed, he was furthermore admired for his eloquence and his knowledge of dogma and for the ease with which he succeeded in convincing the most sceptical. His conduct earned him the reputation of a pious man, having no wish to publicise his virtues and willing to accept criticism (the Oriental mystical tradition of the Malāmatiyya). The philosopher Ibn Rushd sent an observer to study his ideas and, on his return, concluded that "the entire existence of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās is in interaction with charity" and that "his doctrine is that of a philosopher of antiquity". He then resolved to meet the man in person and travelled for this purpose to Marrakesh, where he died and was initially buried, before being transferred to Cordova. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās died soon afterwards, in 601/1205. He was interred outside Bāb Taghzūt.

Significant similarities of circumstances and events in the lives of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās and of Abū Madyan are evident: their modest origins; their beginnings as youthful apprentices in the textile trade, a substantial element in the economy of North Africa at the time; their theological training concurrent with the exercise of their profession; the departure and the journey (*siyāḥa*) in search of their path (a major Ṣūfī theme); their installation in an important city where they became known for their teaching and their piety; the themes, repeated in all circumstances, of humility, of submission to the divine will (*tawakkul*) and of the renunciation of material goods, a doctrine making a synthesis of Mālikī orthodoxy and of oriental mysticism and adapted to the Maghribī soul; the interest of the Almohad authorities in their knowledge and their popularity; and the policy of enticement and control of scholars which led to their installation at Marrakesh. Finally, each became the patron saint of the town in which he was buried. But the originality of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās consists in his withdrawal from political life and in the fact that he claimed allegiance to no school or great master. He did not found a school either. He devoted his life to the defence and promulgation of values which were promoted in North Africa principally by the Ṣūfīs and which exerted influence on the Christian culture of the Middle Ages, represented among others by one of the originators of the concept of chivalry, the Arabic-speaking Majorcan Ramon Lull. In the 20th century

he still serves as a model for reformers (*muṣliḥūn*) who aspire towards moral rigour and social justice, such as Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit [*q.v.*].

Popular imagination has not been slow to transform the life of this pious individual into a legend, attended by an increasingly rich crop of miracles. His repute has extended throughout the Maghrib, benefiting initially by the unity imposed upon it by the Almohad empire. As an example of these miracles, he is supposed to have appeared at the side of the Muslim warriors at the time of the Battle of the Three Kings at al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr (Yawm al-Makhāzin), which ended with the defeat of the Portuguese, in 986/1578.

On the summit of Gillīz there is a *ḳubba* dedicated to him. In the same mountain there is a sacred cave in which he stayed during periods of meditation and which was approached by processions of townspeople appealing for rain. It was also in a cave that the Prophet took refuge, at the time of the emigration from Mecca to Medina, in the company of Abū Bakr (to whom the companion of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, in the journey to Marrakesh, corresponds, Ḳurʾān, IX, 40), in the episode known as the *hidjra*.

Finally, while the sūra *al-Kahf* (XVIII), occupies an important place in Muslim liturgy, the cave represents, for the Ṣūfī who follows the sacred text of the Ḳurʾān to the letter, in a hostile world, the refuge of the sincere believer who awaits there the beneficence of the Lord (XVIII, 16).

Some well-known personalities have come, over the centuries, to invoke him or to seek protection or miraculous power associated with his sainthood (*baraka*): the illustrious Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Ḳunfudh of Constantine, the last king of Grenada Abū ʿAbd Allāh (Boabdil) and the writer from Timbuktu Aḥmad Bābā. At the beginning of the 17th century the Saʿdid sultan Abū Fāris Ibn Aḥmad al-Manṣūr ordered the restoration of his mausoleum and the building of a *madrasa* and the mosque which still exists. In the 18th century, his primacy was officially endorsed with the institution of the cycle of pilgrimage (*ziyāra*) to the seven patrons of Marrakesh (Sabʿatu ridjāl [*q.v.*]), as a counter-weight to that of the seven saints of Ragrāga, the latter probably being linked to the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. The sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1171-1204/1757-90) had his *zāwiya* annexed to the town and constructed the mausoleum which still exists.

The peasant invokes him to make the rain fall or to protect a clutch of eggs. The farmer, to preserve his crop, makes a charitable gift of a portion of grain to the poor, in his name, in Morocco as in Algeria, or appeals to him to raise a wind from the west, which is advantageous for the winnowing of corn, or, like a seafarer, he asks for the quelling of a storm. In particular he is the patron of commerce in general, or travellers, of dealers in trimmings, of well-sinkers, of soap-makers, of operators of oil-presses and of healers of eyes. He is invoked at the time of a confinement. Charitable gifts of grain, fritters, fruit, meat or fish, made to the poor in his name, are often called *ʿabbāsiyya*. Similarly, in Algeria, the verb *ʿabbas* signifies "to go among the peasants to levy contributions of grain, butter, dried fruits etc...". A weekly pilgrimage takes place within his sanctuary (*ḥurm*), the majority of the participants being blind.

His radiant reputation in the Maghrib explains the presence of *ḳubbas* dedicated to him (Sidi Bel-Abbès, Ouargla, Djellida, etc.), as well as the formation and origin of certain family-names (Belabbas-Nabi, etc.), although the possibility of homonymy with local saints is not to be denied.

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There exist a large number of studies concerning, in detail or in general, the legends and the cult

of this saint: L. Adoue, *La ville de Sidi Bel-Abbès*, Sidi Bel-Abbès 1927, 29-35; H. Basset, *Le cult des grottes au Maroc*, Algiers 1920, 72 (see also review by E. Laoust, in *Hesperis*, i [1921], 227); R. Brunel, *Le monachisme errant de l'Islam, Sidi Heddi et les Heddāwa*, Paris 1955, 37-8, 216, 227, 234, 268, 379; L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920, 58-61; P. Champion, *Rabat et Marrakech*, Paris 1926, 116-17; E. Doutté, *Notes sur l'Islam maghrébin*, in *RHR*, xli (1900), 55-6; idem, *Merrakech*, Paris 1905, 211, 384; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 238, Eng. tr. *Muslim studies*, i, 216-17; P.A. Koller, *Essai sur l'esprit du berbère marocain*, Fribourg 1949, 122, 342-3; Doctoresse Legey, *Essay sur le folklore marocain*, Paris 1926, 5, 92, 155, 158, 198; L. Massignon, *Les "Sept dormants" apocalypse de l'Islam*, in *Mél. Paul Peeters*, ii = *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxviii (1950), 245-60; idem, *Les Sept dormants d'Ephèse (ahl al-Kahf) en Islam et en chrétienté, recueil documentaire et iconographique*, in *REI*, xxii-xxx (1954-62); idem, *Le culte liturgique et populaire des VII Dormants Martyrs d'Ephèse*, in *Studia missionalia* (1961), repr. in *Opera minora*, ii, Paris 1969, 119-180; E. Montet, *Le culte des saints musulmans dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Geneva 1909, 53-6; A. Moulieras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Paris 1895-9, 438-9, 702-3; M. de Périgny, *Au Maroc, Marrakech et les ports du Sud*, Paris 1918, 55, 165; G. Rohlfs, *Mein erster Aufenthalt in Marocco*, Bremen 1873, 392; H. Stumme, *Märchen der Schluh von Tazerwalt*, Leipzig 1895, 51-5, 166-73; E. Vaffier, *Visite à Sidi Bel-Abbès, cité des aveugles*, in *France-Maroc*, ix (1918), 270-3; J. Vernet, *La fecha de composicion de la za'irayat al-alam*, in *al-And.* (1969), 245-6.

(H. Bencheneb)

SABUKTIGĪN [see SEBÜKTIGIN].

ṢĀBŪN (A.), soap.

Prodest et sapo, Gallorum hoc inventum rutilandis capillis; fit ex sebo et cinere ... duobus modis, spissus ac liquidus, uterque apud Germanos maiore in usu viris quam feminis (Pliny, *Hist. nat.* 28, 191). According to this passage, soap is a Gallic invention but the word itself is of German origin. The Romans borrowed it in the form of *sapo*, the Greeks from the latter as σάπων, which in its turn found its way into Arabic as *ṣābūn*. The word denotes a mixture of fat or tallow and vegetable ashes, used to dye the hair red; it was brought on the market in solid or liquid form. In Spain, *ṣābūn* also indicates the lye obtained by leaving the ashes soak in water (*lakhshiyya* < old Castilian *lexía* < Lat. *lixivium*, see Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, no. I, 109; and *Vocabulista*, ed. Schiaparelli, 460). Widely-spread substitutes for soap as a cleansing agent were natron [see NAṬRŪN], salt won from the ashes of alkaline plants (potash [see AL-ĶILY]), and also pastes made from ashes and argillaceous earth (cf. E. Schmauderer, in *Technikgeschichte*, xxxiv [Düsseldorf 1967], 300-10), and other materials. The Egyptians, for making soap, used oil from the radish (*fudjl*), the rape (*saldjam*) and the lettuce (*khass*); soap made from these plants was white, red, yellow or green (Abdallatif, *Relation de l'Egypte*, tr. S. de Sacy, 311). According to Ibn Biklārish, *Mustaʿīnī* (ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz. III, F. 65, fol. 84b), *al-raķķī* (after Raķķa) is named as a well-known kind of coarse soap, similar to date-palm paste (*al-marham al-nakhlī*), from which lozenges are made in Damascus. Other kinds of soap, such as those from ʿIrāķ and the Maghrib, are mentioned by al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 221, who gives the most extensive details on soap altogether.

According to al-Anṭākī, *loc. cit.*, soap allegedly came into the Hermetic writings through a revelation, and is also said to be found in Hippocrates and Galen, partly among the compound drugs and partly among the simple ones. The best soap is said to be that made of clear olive oil, pure potash and good wax. In medicine, soap finds manifold applications, see e.g. Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāķ 1291, iii, 36-7; Ibn Rasūl al-Ghassānī, *Muʿtamad*, ed. M. al-Saķķā, 280-1. Soap softens hard ulcers and ripens them; and it loosens colic pains and removes scabs and psoriasis if the affected spots are rubbed with a piece of cloth soaked in soap. Mixed with salt in equal parts, soap removes itching and festering scabies. Boiled up with attar of roses and rubbed on ulcers on children's heads, soap dries the fluids. If left for seven days as a compress on vesicular tumours (*al-ķurūḥ al-shahdiyya*, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 793) and then washed away with hot water, soap is revealed as an excellent medicine. Mixed with henna and applied as a compress on freckles, it removes them, etc.

Arab geographers frequently mention places where soap is fabricated: Aleppo (Ibn Ḥawķal[1], 177), Bālis on the Euphrates (*ibid.*, 180), Balkh and Tirmidh (Muķaddasī, 342), Arradjān (*ibid.*, 425), Bust (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 110). For the import of soap into Egypt, see Subhi Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1965, 39, 206, 239, 346, and for special applications of soap in chemistry, see M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, Paris 1893, i, 165, 215, ii, 185, 330.

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(A. Dietrich)

ṢĀBUNDJĪ, Louis, a person of the second rank in the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*], born at Dayrak on 20 April 1833, died in Los Angeles, 24 April 1931. With an original first name John, and born a Syrian Catholic, he attended the seminary at Charfé and then the Pontifical College for Propaganda at Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1863 (he renounced his priestly orders in 1899). He taught Latin at the Syrian Protestant College and founded the journal *al-Naḥla* ("The Bee"), which he took up again in London in 1877. He became a British representative in Cairo, accompanied ʿUrābī Pasha [*q.v.*] into exile in Ceylon, served the ruler of Zanzibar and then served the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul. From 1909 onwards, he lived in the United States. This traveller and adventurer (*al-Ṭawāf ḥawla ķurat al-arḍ*, Istanbul 1896, pp. 84), eternal lover (*Dīwān al-naḥla al-manẓūm fī khilāl al-riḥla*, Alexandria 1901, pp. 584) and opportunist, often showed his sympathy for Islam in the form expounded by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] (*K. al-Iktishāf al-thamīn li-iṭālat al-ʿumr miʾat min al-sinīn*, New York 1919, pp. 255). Ṣābundjī was a partisan of the naturalist school of evolutionism.

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(J. Fontaine)

SĀBŪR B. ARDASHĪR, Abū Naṣr Bahāʾ al-Dīn (330-416/942-1025), official and vizier of the Buyids in Fārs. Beginning his career in high office as deputy to Sharaf al-Dawla's vizier Abū Manṣūr b. Ṣāliḥān, he subsequently became briefly vizier himself for the first time in 380/990 and for Sharaf al-Dawla's successor in Shīrāz, Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. He was vizier again in Shīrāz in Djumādā I 386/May-June 996, this time for over three years, and in 390/1000 in Baghdād as deputy there for the vizier Abū ʿAlī al-Muwaffaḳ. Sābūr, although a native of Shīrāz, seems to have had estates or some power base in the Baṭāʾiḥ [see AL-BAṬĪḤA] or marshlands of Lower ʿIrāḳ, whither he frequently retired on his falls from office. His last years were spent in retirement, and he died in Baghdād aged 86 lunar years.

Sābūr had the reputation of being a taciturn and exacting functionary, adept at extracting money for his masters, but he also achieved a lasting fame as the patron of scholars and littérateurs, and al-Thaʿālibī has a section on the poets of Baghdād who praised him (al-Babbaghāʾ, Muḥammad b. Bulbul, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Munadjdjim, etc.). He founded a *Dār al-ʿIlm* in the Bayn al-Sūrayn quarter of Baghdād which reportedly had a library of 10,000 volumes but which was largely destroyed in the fighting in Baghdād in 451/1059 between Arslan al-Basāsīrī and the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg [*q.vv.*]; Sābūr himself was a proponent of the Zaydī Shīʿa, and appointed several Muʿtazilī professors at his foundation.

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SĀBŪR B. SAHL B. SĀBŪR, Christian physician and pharmacologist (d. 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 255/30 November 869).

Sābūr grew up in the Nestorian *milieu* of Khūzistān [*q.v.*]. He must have been educated at the "Academia Hippocratica" in Gondēshāpūr [*q.v.*], where he later held a position in the famous local hospital, and rose to be one of the leading physicians of his time. In Gondēshāpūr he practised medicine and pharmacology until he was appointed court physician by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] and his successors. Sābūr died "as a Christian" (*naṣrāniyyan*), perhaps in Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*].

Though some of Sābūr's writings are lost, two works on dietetics are preserved (i.e. *Ḳuwa 'l-aṭʿima; al-Ashriba*) and, more importantly, the small version of his main pharmacological work *al-Aḳrābādhīn* [*q.v.*] "The Dispensatory", a specialist's handbook on the preparation and application of compound drugs (*adwiya murakkaba*), which originally circulated in three different recensions. Together with ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī's [*q.v.*] *Firdaws al-ḥikma* and Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī's [*q.v.*] *al-Ikhtiyārāt*, Sābūr's dispensatory is a rare, hence important, witness of Arabic pharmacology in the 3rd/9th century.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 297; al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1320/1903, 207; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī, Beirut ²1958, 147; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, 2 vols., Cairo-Königsberg 1882-4, i, 161; cf. O. Kahl, *Sābūr ibn Sahl's (d. 255/869) Dispensatorium parvum [al-Aqrābādhīn al-ṣaghīr]*, diss. Manchester 1992, 28, 48 ff. (with additional bio-bibliographical literature). (O. KAHL)

SABZ ʿALĪ, RAMAḌĀN ʿALĪ, a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* of the 20th century, and an emissary of the Imām of the time, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Agha Khān III. He was born towards the end of the 19th century in Bombay into an established family of traders and was as a youth apprenticed with his uncle, a businessman in Gwādar. There he acquired an interest in learning more about Ismāʿīlī thought and began to deliver lectures on religious topics to members of the community.

He moved subsequently to Karachi to continue his business activities and became prominent in the community as a *wāʿiẓ* and a leader in social development programmes initiated by the Imām. He was also sent to promote the development of institutions in the newly settled Ismāʿīlī communities of Africa. His most noteworthy achievement was an extensive journey he undertook in 1923 as an emissary of the Imām to contact Central Asian Ismāʿīlī communities in the mountainous regions of the Pāmir (including parts of modern Afghānistān, Tādjīkistān and Sinkiang province in China), as well as the former principalities west of the Karakoram, Hunza and Čitrāl, in the northern areas of what is now Pākistān. He kept a diary in which he gave an account of his travels, sketching the hazardous terrain of the region, the location of various communities, often referring to the tumultuous changes affecting these areas after the 1917 Russian Revolution and the period of modernisation and European influence. After his return he continued to be an influential leader and a very effective preacher.

He died in 1938 and in recognition of his services was posthumously endowed with the title of *pīr* by the Imām.

Bibliography: An account of the journey based on Sabz ʿAlī's diary can be found in a Gudjarātī work, *Pīr Sabzāli ni Madhya Asianī mūsāfrī*, Bombay 1968. Biographical details are preserved in S. Abu Turabi, *Dharmnā dhwajdhārī*, Bombay 1981 (AZIM NANJI)

SABZAWĀR, the name for two towns of the eastern Iranian world.

1. Sabzawār in western Khurāsān was, together with Khusrūdjird, one of the two townships making up the administrative district of Bayhaḳ [*q.v.*], the name by which the whole district was generally known in mediaeval Islamic times. It lay in the cultivable zone on the northern rim of the Dasht-i Kawīr or Great Desert. Sabzawār itself is described in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 102, §23.2, as a small town and as the chef-lieu (*ḳaṣaba*) of a district; the Arabic geographers merely mention it as a stage along the roads of Khurāsān and as a *rustāḳ* of Nīshāpūr. In Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's time (8th/14th century), Bayhaḳ was a flourishing district comprising 40 villages (*Nuzha*, 149-50, tr. 148). The Sabzawār district was in the middle years of that same century the centre of the Sarbadārids [*q.v.*], who dominated central Khurāsān during those years, and it is mentioned as the scene of fighting between the invading Özbegs and the Ṣafawids [*q.vv.*] in the later 10th/16th century.

The modern town of Sabzawār (lat. 36°13′ N., long. 52°38′ E.) lies on the highway connecting Tehran with Nīshāpūr and Mashhad, and is ad-

ministratively the centre of a *ba*k*h*s*h* or county within the province of Khurāsān; in *ca.* 1950 it had a population of 28,151 (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā'-i Īrān-zamīn*, ix, 207-8), but 40 years later this had risen to 148,129 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 291; *EIr* art. *Bayhaq* (C.E. Bosworth); and see BAYHAḲ.

2. Sabzawār of Harāt (thus called to distinguish it from 1. above), the name by which the early medieval Islamic town of Isfizār or Asfizār in eastern Khurāsān was more recently called. It lay on the road connecting Sīstān with Harāt, and the mediaeval geographers connected it administratively as much with Sīstān as with Khurāsān. There were four small towns in the district of Isfizār; the region was agriculturally rich, with its lands irrigated by water from perennial streams running down from the mountains of Ghūr [*q.v.*] in central Afghānistān. The early historians mention it as the scene of violent Khāridjite activity, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982), tr. 104, § 23.29, comm. 327, describes the people of Isfizār as bellicose Khāridjites; however, by the time of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, the region was strongly orthodox and Shāfiʿī.

Sabzawār of Harāt is now known as Shīndand, a town within the Farāh province of modern Afghānistān (lat. 33°18 ′ N., long. 62°08′ E.) and is on the modern highway connecting Harāt with Farāh and Ḳandahār.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 412; L.W. Adamec, *Historical and political gazetteer of Afghanistan*. ii. *Farah and southwestern Afghanistan*, Graz 1973, 277-8; *EIr* art. Asfezār (C.E. Bosworth).

(C.E. Bosworth)

SABZAWĀRĪ, Ḥādjdj Mullā Hādī b. Ḥādjdj Mahdī (1212-95 or 1298/1797-1878 or 1881), Persian philosopher of the Ḳādjār period, best-known for his commentary on, and revival of the ideas of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640 [*q.v.*]).

Born in Sabzawār to a landowning merchant family, Mullā Hādī studied Arabic language and grammar in his home city and *fiḳh*, logic, mathematics and *ḥikma* in Mashhad. He then studied in Iṣfahān with such scholars as Mullā ʿAlī Nūrī (d. 1246/1830-1), the first of the Ḳādjār-period scholars of Ṣadrā, and Nūrī's student Mullā Ismāʿīl. Sabzawārī returned to Khurāsān, performed the pilgrimage and married in Kirmān on the homeward journey. He taught for some years in Mashhad and then returned to Sabzawār, where he taught until his death.

Among his most famous works are his *Ghurar al-farā'id* or *Sharḥ-i manẓūma*, an Arabic philosophical poem on which he wrote his own commentary (the first part of which, on metaphysics, was published by M. Mohaghegh and T. Izutzu, Tehran 1969); *Isrār al-ḥikam* (published by H.M. Farzād, Tehran 1361), written at the request of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah (d. 1313/1896 [*q.v.*]); a Persian *dīwān* written under the pen-name of *Isrār*; and commentaries on Ṣadrā's *al-Asfār* and *al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyya* (the latter published together with Ṣadrā's original by S. Djalāl al-Dīn Ashtiyānī, Mashhad 1346, 1360) and on Rūmī's *Mathnawī*.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see also Cl. Huart, *Hādī Sabzewārī*, in *EI*¹; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, Damascus 1961, I, 48-51; Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, ²Tabriz 1347/1968, ii, 422-7; S.H. Nasr, *Renaissance in Iran*, in M.M. Sharif (ed.), *A history of Muslim philosophy*, Wiesbaden 1966, ii, 1543-55; T. Izutsu, *The concept and reality of existence*, Tokyo 1971; idem and M. Mohaghegh, *The metaphysics of Sabzavārī*, Delmar, N.Y. 1977; S.H. Nasr, *The metaphysics of Sadr al-Din Shirazi and Islamic philosophy in Qajar Iran*, in E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran, political, social and cultural change, 1800-1925*, Edinburgh 1983, 177-98.

(A.J. Newman)

ṢĀD, the fourteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed /ṣ/, with the numerical value of 90, according to the eastern order [see ABDJAD]. In the Maghribī order /ṣ/ takes the place of /s/ (thus 60) and /ḍ/ the place of /ṣ/. For an explanation of this fact, similarly attested in a Thamudic abecedary, see M.C.A. Macdonald (in *Bibl.*).

Definition: an alveolar sibilant, voiceless and velarised ("emphatic") in articulation. As a phoneme /ṣ/ is defined by the oppositions /ṣ -s/, /ṣ -ṭ/; it is thus velarised and sibilant.

In Ḳur'ānic recitation, or elevated style of recitation in general, the following assimilations occur: the /ṣ/ at the end of a word becomes assimilated to the /z/ at the beginning of the following word (*-ṣ z-* > *-ẓ ẓ*), but the velarisation may be retained (*-ṣ z-* > *-ẓ ẓ-*). Within a word, the /ṣ/ is partially assimilated to /z/ before /d/ immediately following it (*-ṣd-* > *-zd-*), but the velarisation may also be retained (*-ṣd-* > *-ẓd-*). A /z/ at the end of a word becomes assimilated to a /ṣ/ at the beginning of the following word (*-z ṣ-* > *-ṣ ṣ-*). In the 8th form of the verb the sequence /-ṣt-/ becomes /-ṣṭ-/ by assimilation, carried further by some to complete coalescence, i.e., -ṣṣ- (e.g. *muṣṭabir* and *muṣṣabir*). In analogy to this, initial /t/ of the perfect suffixes, when following /ṣ/, is pronounced /ṭ/ by some (e.g. *faḥaṣṭu*); according to Sībawayh, it is better Arabic not to do so, because the /t/ suffixes of the perfect are variables indicating the subject, while the /t/ infix of the 8th form is stable throughout the paradigm.

An /s/ may be velarised to /ṣ/ in pronunciation, when preceding a /gh/, /kh/, /ḳ/ or /ṭ/ in the same word (e.g. *ṣalakha* for *salakha*, *ṣāṭiʿ* for *sāṭiʿ*). This assimilation, though being only regressive and restricted to the four triggers, is nonetheless probably due to the spread of "emphasis" as a suprasegmental phonemic element throughout the word. That this phenomenon was more general than the orthoepists allow is shown by the spelling variants that are listed in the *ibdāl* works [*q.v.*], cf. pairs like *saʿūṭ/ṣaʿūṭ* and *sukhn/ṣukhn*, but also *ṭirs/ṭirṣ* and *khars/kharṣ* in Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, *K. al-Ibdāl*, ii, 172-96.

For al-Khalīl, the *ṣād*, like the other sibilants (*sīn* and *zāy*), is pronounced with the point (*asala*) of the tongue, i.e., the tapering part (*mustadaḳḳ*) of its end (not the tip). The surviving fragments do not mention the other features of *ṣād* articulation. For Sībawayh, the sibilants (*ṣād*, *sīn*, and *zāy*) have their point of articulation "between the end (*ṭaraf*) of the tongue and a place slightly above (*fuwayḳ*) the incisors (*thanāyā*)." In addition, the *ṣād* is characterised as "muffled" (*mahmūs*), "soft" (*rikhw*), and "covered" (*muṭbaḳ*), which amounts to saying that it is "voiceless" (?), "non-occlusive", and "velarised". *Ṣād*, like all the sibilants, is characterised by a whistling sound (*ṣafīr*). Its "elevation" (*istiʿlā'*) prevents the vowel /a/ from inclining (*imāla*) towards /i/.

Sībawayh mentions two variants (*farʿ*) of *ṣād*: *ṣād* realised like *zāy* (*maṣdar*>*mazdar*, *yaṣduḳu*>*yazduḳu*) and *ṣād* realised like *sīn* (*ṣibgh*>*sibgh*), the first variation being the one which is alone considered to be good (*mustaḥsan*) in the recitation of the Ḳur'ān and poetry.

In modern Arabic dialects, *ṣād* seems to be mostly stable. Due to the common spread of velarisation over whole words, original /s/ often becomes /ṣ/ (for historical attestations of this phenomenon, see Blau, *Christian Arabic*, 111-113 and n. 163); in the Judaeo-Arabic of Tafilalt this occurs also with /sh/ (*shaʿr* > *ṣʿr*, see *ZAL*, ix [1982], 40). Sporadic develarisation of /ṣ/ to /s/ is not uncommon: *ṣadr* > *sder* (in certain Maghribi dialects, see *ibid.* and Cantineau, 48), *ṣadaḳa* > *sadaʾ* (and other, but not all, derivatives of this root in Egyptian, see Hinds-Badawi, *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*, Beirut 1986, s.v., and Blau, *op. cit.*, 109-10). This develarised /ṣ/ is further voiced in the word *zghīr/zghayyir* "small", common in several dialects. Unconditioned deviations are attested for Hadramaut (/ẓ/, see Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, 239), and for parts of North Yemen (a monophonemic /st/ as in *stabrin* for *ṣabr*, see Behnstedt, 7-9, 184-85).

In borrowings from other languages, /ṣ/ renders Middle Persian /č/ (as in *ṣandj* < *čang* and in names like *al-Ṣīn* < *Čīn*) and sporadically Greek /s/ (as in *liṣṣ* < *lēstēs*, *ḳamīṣ* < *kamision* [Latin *camisia*], *ḳayṣar* < *kaisar*).

In *Persian* and *Turkish*, *ṣād* in Arabic loanwords is pronounced /s/. Some genuine Persian words show irregular spelling with the grapheme /ṣ/, such as *ṣad* "100" and *shaṣt* "60". In Ottoman Turkish, *ṣād* is used to render /s/ in the vicinity of back vowels, whereas *sīn* denotes /s/ in front vowel words, as in *ṣoḳmaḳ* vs. *sökmek*.

Bibliography: Sībawayh, *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg, Paris 1889, ii, 452-5; al-Khalīl, *K. al-ʿAyn*, ed. Darwīsh, Baghdad 1967, 65; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo, x, 52-4, 123-31; J. Cantineau, *Etudes de linguistique arabe*, Paris 1960, 46-8, 170; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, i, 57-9, 87; A. Roman, *Etude de la phonologie et de la morphologie de la koine arabe*, Aix-Marseilles 1983, i, 52-65, 305-11; Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, *K. al-Ibdāl*, ed. ʿI. al-Tanūkhī, 2 vols., Damascus 1379, 1; P. Behnstedt, *Die Dialekte der Gegend von Ṣaʿdah (Nord-Jemen)*, Wiesbaden 1987; C. de Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, Leiden 1901; M.C.A. Macdonald, *ABCs and letter order in Ancient North Arabian*, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, xvi (1986), 101-68; idem, *On the placing of Ṣ in the Maghribi* Abjad *and the Khirbet al-Samrāʾ ABC*, in *JSS*, xxxvii (1992), 155-6.

(G. Troupeau, expanded by the Editors)

SAʿD b. ABĪ WAḲḲĀṢ (d. during Muʿāwiya's caliphate), a leading Companion of the Prophet and commander of the Arab armies during the conquest of ʿIrāḳ. His clan was the Banū Zuhra b. Kilāb of Ḳuraysh. His own *kunya* is given as Abū Isḥāḳ but he is also known as (and sometimes listed in biographical dictionaries under) Saʿd b. Mālik since his father's name was Mālik b. Wuhayb (or Uhayb) b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhra. There does not seem to be any explanation why Mālik should have had the *kunya* Abū Waḳḳāṣ. A tradition says that Saʿd asked the Prophet who he was and received the answer, "You are Saʿd b. Mālik ... b. Zuhra and may the curse of God be upon whoever says otherwise". Since the Prophet's mother was also from the Banū Zuhra, the Prophet is said to have acknowledged Saʿd as his maternal uncle.

Saʿd is counted as one of the ten Companions to whom the Prophet promised entry into paradise. The entries devoted to him in the Sunnī biographical works consist largely of traditions reporting his early acceptance of Islam (he was the third, seventh or ninth to do so, at a time before prayer had become an obligation), his role regarding the revelation of certain Ḳurʾānic verses, his being the first to shed blood for Islam and the first to fire an arrow *fī sabīl Allah*, his guarding the Prophet during the night immediately after the *hidjra*, his participation in all of the battles of the Prophet, the fact that the Prophet said to him alone (or, according to another account, to him and to al-Zubayr), "May my mother and my father be a ransom for you", the Prophet's prayer to God that all of Saʿd's petitions would be granted, and other such details. In Shīʿī tradition, the Companions of the Prophet, including Saʿd, are generally viewed more negatively (see E. Kohlberg, *Some Zaydī views on the Companions of the Prophet*, in *BSOAS*, xxxix [1976], 91-98; idem, *Some Imāmī Shīʿī views on the ṣaḥāba*, in *JSAI*, v [1984], 143-75).

A group of traditions tells of the Prophet's visit to Saʿd, who was ill and apparently dying, in Mecca at a time after the *fatḥ* (the precise occasion is variantly given). These traditions focus partly on Saʿd's aversion to the prospect of death in a place from which he had made *hidjra* and partly upon a prophetic decision regarding the proportion of his estate which a Muslim may bequeath before death. For a detailed discussion, see R. Marsden Speight, *The will of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ: the growth of a tradition*, in *Isl.*, l (1973), 248-67; D.S. Powers, *The will of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ: a reassessment*, in *SI*, lviii (1983), 33-53.

Following the defeat of the Arabs at the battle of the Bridge, the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*] is reported to have sent Saʿd in command of an army to central ʿIrāḳ. (Previously he had been ʿUmar's representative responsible for collecting the *ṣadaḳa* tax from the Hawāzin.) It was this army which defeated the Sāsānids at the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*]. There is a report that Saʿd himself was ill at the time and took no part in the battle, and some sources cite verses critical of Saʿd which refer to his absence from the fighting. The victory of al-Ḳādisiyya led to the expulsion of the Sāsānids from ʿIrāḳ and the occupation by Saʿd of al-Madāʾin [*q.v.*], and was sealed by a further defeat inflicted on the Sāsānids at al-Djalūlāʾ [*q.v.*] by a force sent by Saʿd and commanded by his nephew Hāshim b. ʿUtba b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ. The chronology of these events is uncertain, but they are generally situated in the period 14-19/635-40 (for detailed discussion, see F.McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 202-12).

The conquest of ʿIrāḳ was accompanied by the foundation of al-Kūfa [*q.v.*] as the garrison town for those forces which had been at al-Ḳādisiyya and subsequently quartered in al-Madāʾin. Although instructions for the founding of the new town are said to have come from the caliph ʿUmar himself, Saʿd is credited with responsibility for organising the settlement (*kawwafa al-Kūfa*), and he became its first governor. ʿUmar then removed him from office, apparently following complaints from the Kūfans. Prominent in the charges which are said to have been made against him was his failure to lead the prayer properly (*lā yuḥsinu 'l-ṣalāt*—some reports provide details), although accusations are also reported that he was unjust in his judgements, did not distribute spoils fairly, and failed to organise expeditions properly. Possibly also relevant here are reports about the undue elegance or luxury of Saʿd's residence in al-Kūfa, which ʿUmar is said to have found objectionable and caused to be burned. Some accounts indicate that Saʿd subsequently had further spells in authority over al-Kūfa under ʿUmar and possibly also ʿUthmān, but the details are uncertain.

In spite of his dismissal from the governorship of al-

Kūfa, it is widely reported that Saᶜd was named by ᶜUmar as one of the group of six Companions (the *shūrā*) which he appointed to choose his successor as caliph in 23/644 (see, however, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 21, where Saᶜd's membership of the *shūrā* is explicitly denied on the authority of al-Wāḳidī ... Mūsā b. ᶜUḳba and of al-Zuhrī). At the time of appointing him to the *shūrā*, according to a report often cited, ᶜUmar said that he had not removed Saᶜd from Kūfa because of any weakness or treachery, and that, if he was chosen as caliph, the choice should be accepted, and if not, then whoever was chosen should ask Saᶜd for advice.

The last important event in the early history of Islam in connexion with which Saᶜd is mentioned is the struggle between ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.vv.*]. Saᶜd is said to have maintained a position of neutrality, in some reports responding to requests that he should take sides by saying, "Give me a sword which will distinguish between the *muʾmin* and the *kāfir*, and then I will do so". Sometimes this position of neutrality is presented as a sort of ascetic withdrawal. He is said to have refused to have put forward any claims to the caliphate for himself, although his status in Islam would have justified his doing so. There are contradictions within the sources as to whether he attended the "arbitration" court [see ADHRUḤ] or not. Some reports say that he did not give the *bayᶜa* to ᶜAlī following the murder of ᶜUthmān, and others that he eventually gave it to Muᶜāwiya after the end of the *fitna*, although he had earlier refused.

He is said to have spent the last period of his life in his residence (*ḳaṣr*) at al-ᶜAḳīḳ near Medina, and upon his death was carried from there to Medina to be buried in the cemetery of al-Baḳīᶜ. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the governor, prayed over him. Various dates between 50/670-1 and 58/677-8 are given for his death, and his age similarly varies from about 70 to over 80. It is likely that any memories of the historical Saᶜd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ have been much elaborated and developed in the traditions, and the material on him probably reflects hagiographical, polemical, legal and other concerns, as well as the need for entertaining stories and speculation.

Bibliography: Material relating to Saᶜd, recycled, reworked and rearranged, is to be found in most of the forms of traditional Muslim literature, and only some of the more notable sources can be mentioned here. Among the biographical dictionaries, see Ibn Saᶜd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii/1, 97-105; Ibn ᶜAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashḳ*, lith., Dār al-Bashīr, ᶜAmmān n.d., vii, 132-80; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ liʾbni ᶜAsākir*, Damascus 1985, ix, 250-72; Dhahabī, *Siyar aᶜlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1401/1981, i, 92-124; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, Beirut 1408/1987, x, 309-14 (the bibliography provided by the editor, Bashshār ᶜAwwār Maᶜrūf, at 309 n. 2, is valuable). Of the biographical collections devoted to those who were promised paradise, see al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira*, Beirut 1405/1984, iv, 319-35 (*bāb* 8). For references to Saᶜd in *sīra, taʾrīkh* and *futūḥ* works, see the indexes to, e.g., Ibn Hishām, *Sīra;* Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966; Ibn Saᶜd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i and ii; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*; Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*. For Saᶜd's role as an "occasion of revelation", see the Ḳurʾānic commentaries to VI, 52, VIII, 1, and XXXI, 15, in particular. For references to Saᶜd in the standard collections of *ḥadīth*, see s.v. Saᶜd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ in A.J. Wensinck *et alii*, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, viii, Leiden 1988, and (in English) A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook*. For the genealogical tradition, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, tr. W. Caskel and G. Strenziok, index s.v. Saᶜd b. Mālik. In addition to those studies mentioned in the article, see L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, index (vol. vi) to vols. iii, iv and v; M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, index. (G.R. HAWTING)

SAᶜD B. BAKR, BANŪ, a small Arab tribe, usually reckoned as part of the tribe or tribal group of Hawāzin [*q.v.*]. To a section of this tribe belonged Ḥalīma bint Abī Dhuʾayb, Muḥammad's wet-nurse. After the battle of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] her daughter Shaymāʾ, who had been taken prisoner, obtained her release by proving to Muḥammad that she was his milk-sister [see also RAḌĀᶜ. 2]; and some of the men of the tribe, because they were Muḥammad's milk-brothers, were able to facilitate various negotiations. The tribe was apparently divided into several small sections. The group just mentioned fought against Muḥammad at Ḥunayn along with Hawāzin, but there were also others fighting on Muḥammad's side. Yet others supported him at the conquest of Mecca. The expedition to Fadak in 6/628 led by ᶜAlī against a group called only Banū Saᶜd was probably against the section of Saᶜd b. Bakr associated with Hawāzin; they were being punished for accepting Jewish bribes to give military help against Muḥammad.

Bibliography: W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 99 n. and index; Ibn Hishām, index; Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, index. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

SAᶜD B. MUᶜĀDH, chief of the clan of ᶜAbd al-Ashhal in Medina in succession to his father.

At the time of the *Hidjra* he seems to have been the strongest man in the tribe of al-Aws, of which his clan was a part. He had taken part in the fighting prior to the battle of Buᶜāth [*q.v.*] and been wounded. The leader of al-Aws at Buᶜāth, Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk, is reckoned to another clan, but his son, Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, seems to have been second-in-command to Saᶜd in ᶜAbd al-Ashhal. Saᶜd and Usayd were both for a time opposed to Islam and wanted to stop its spread, but first Usayd and then Saᶜd were won over, and Saᶜd became probably the strongest supporter of Islam in Medina and made an important contribution to its wide acceptance. He did not, however, go with others to Mecca for the second meeting at al-ᶜAḳaba [*q.v.*], though he is said to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca on the first occasion after the *Hidjra*. He was the most prominent of the Anṣār to join Muḥammad in the expedition which led to the battle of Badr [*q.v.*], and encouraged many others to participate. In the course of the battle, he made special arrangements for Muḥammad's safety. Three years later, when the Meccans were besieging Medina (the battle of the Khandaḳ), the Jewish clan of Ḳurayẓa [*q.v.*] was in secret negotiations with the enemy, and after the Meccan withdrawal, Muḥammad attacked them and they were forced to surrender unconditionally. Saᶜd b. Muᶜādh had been seriously wounded by an arrow, but at this point he was entrusted with deciding the fate of Ḳurayẓa. This was because he was leader of al-Aws, and several sections of that tribe had been in alliance with Ḳurayẓa. Though these pressed for leniency, Saᶜd's decision was that all the men should be put to death and the women and children sold as slaves; he presumably realised that allegiance to the Islamic community must override all former tribal and clan allegiances. Shortly afterwards he died, and Muḥammad seems to have felt his loss deeply, since he had done more than any other of the Anṣār to ensure the growth of Islam.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, index; Wāḳidī, ed.

Marsden Jones, London 1966, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 296-9; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 2-13; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, index.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

SAʿD b. MUḤAMMAD [see ḤAYṢA BAYṢA].

SAʿD b. ʿUBĀDA, chief of the clan of Sāʿida at Medina.

The clan appears to have been small since it is not mentioned in the fighting leading to the battle of Buʿāth [*q.v.*], but it may have been more influential than its size warranted, perhaps because it was wealthy. Only two members of the clan were at the second meeting with Muḥammad at al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*], but both were included among the *nuḳabāʾ* or representatives. One of these was Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, who had become a Muslim at an early date. Saʿd was badly treated by some Meccans on his way back from al-ʿAḳaba because they had heard something about "the pledge of war", but he eventually received the protection of other Meccans and was able to return to Medina. He appears to have been a wealthy man, because, when Muḥammad attacked the Jewish clan of al-Naḍīr [*q.v.*], he provided a tent and also a large quantity of dates for the army. On an expedition shortly before the conquest of Mecca, his son Ḳays is said to have purchased camels to be slaughtered as food for the army. Ibn Isḥāḳ says that Saʿd was not at the battle of Badr [*q.v.*] because suffering from snake-bite, but al-Wāḳidī and others say he was present. The snake-bite was probably genuine and not an excuse, for Muḥammad seems to have trusted him fully. At this period, Saʿd was probably the second most important man in the tribe of al-Khazradj after ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*], but the latter was never a whole-hearted supporter of Muḥammad, since before his arrival he had been hoping to become "king" of Medina. The struggle for power between Saʿd and Ibn Ubayy led Saʿd to give his fullest support to Muḥammad. In the "affair of the lie" against ʿĀʾisha, shortly before the Khandaḳ attack on Medina, when Ibn Ubayy helped to spread the scandal, it eventually came to a showdown, with Muḥammad wanting to punish Ibn Ubayy. The tribe of al-Aws gave this full support, but Saʿd opposed them on behalf of al-Khazradj and urged leniency. From this point onwards, Ibn Ubayy faded out and Saʿd became leader of al-Khazradj, and after the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh [*q.v.*] leader of the Anṣār as a whole. After the death of Muḥammad, the Anṣār met in the hall (*saḳīfa* [*q.v.*]) of his clan and might have made him Muḥammad's successor had not Abū Bakr and ʿUmar intervened. He is then said to have settled in Syria, where he died a year or two later.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, index; Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 283-5; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 142-5; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, index.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

SAʿD b. Ibrāhīm ZAGHLŪL, Egyptian jurist and politician, from 1918 to his death in 1927 president of the Egyptian Wafd party and in 1924 Prime Minister.

Saʿd Zaghlūl was born as the second son of Ibrāhīm Zaghlūl and his second wife Maryam in July 1858 (others say 1857, 1859 or 1860, discussed by Ramaḍān, *Mudhakkirāt*, i, 48 ff.). His father was a landowner in Abyāna near Fuwwa in the Lower Egyptian province of al-Gharbiyya. Besides the resident notable families Zayd and Ḥusām ad-Dīn, the Zaghālila belonged to the most prestigious and wealthy families of the village. Ibrāhīm Zaghlūl owned about 250 *faddāns* and acted as a village headman. He had inherited this position from his father Aḥmad, to whom the governor of the Buḥayra province, Muḥammad Fāḍil Pasha, had allocated about 230 *faddāns* in around 1840. Although several rumours claimed that the Zaghālila were of Maghribī origin and that they were originally Turks coming from Algeria, the family presumably belonged to those "new Egyptian notables" (then called *abnāʾ al-balad*) who gained fortunes and social power after 1750. It should be noted, however, that the Zaghālila originally were Mālikīs and that only later did Saʿd Zaghlūl become a Shāfiʿī. In contrast to this, many national historians have tried to present Zaghlūl as a son of a local peasant family in order to stress Zaghlūl's "Egyptiannness" as a true "son of the country". Saʿd Zaghlūl also supported the mystification around his origins when in 1883, after having been arrested by British military forces, he claimed that he was not an Egyptian but a Moroccan citizen with a Sharīfian genealogy. Ibrāhīm Zaghlūl's position in the agrarian society enabled him to marry Maryam, the daughter of Shaykh ʿAbduh Barakāt from Minyat Murshid near Fuwwa, in 1851-2. The Barakāt family also belonged to the new agrarian élite which came into power after having introduced the growing of rice under the régime of Muḥammad ʿAlī. Ibrāhīm's first wife, Fāṭima, from a village family, gave birth to two daughters and five sons. Maryam's sons were: Faradj (Allāh), who died after having been born, Saʿd (Allāh) and (Aḥmad) Fatḥī (Fatḥ Allāh, born in 1863). Just after Fatḥī's birth, Ibrāhīm died, and Saʿd was left in the hands of his elder brother Shināwī, who was a member of the local administration. Like other family members, Saʿd inherited a lot of 20 *faddāns* from his father's estate.

As was a common practice among wealthy peasant families in those days, Saʿd, being the eldest son of Maryam was sent to al-Azhar, whereas Fatḥī was chosen to study at a *madrasa* to become a state official. Saʿd went first to a local *kuttāb*, and after five years, in 1870, his half-brother Shināwī sent him to school in the nearby provincial town Dasūḳ where he had been appointed as the head of the district administration. Saʿd apparently stayed in Dasūḳ for about three years, mainly occupied in studying *tadjwīd* [*q.v.*]. For a while, he joined his brother Fatḥī in Rashīd or Rosetta and took lessons from Shaykh Aḥmad Abū Rās, a specialist in law and grammar. In 1873, the fifteen-years old Saʿd moved to Cairo to live on his own in the old city in order to pursue his studies at al-Azhar. There is reason to believe that Saʿd abruptly broke with his past, as he did not join a *riwāḳ* and only once revisited his native village during the next 40 years.

In Cairo, Saʿd presented himself as an Islamic scholar and proudly carried the title and the outfit of a *shaykh*, although he never received an *ʿālimiyya* from al-Azhar. Instead of studying at the University, Saʿd preferred to visit Djamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī's private salon, where he met Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who was ten years older than he. Saʿd became ʿAbduh's *murīd* and regarded him as his true father and himself as ʿAbduh's disciple. Both tried to present their relationship in the tradition of Ṣūfī brotherhood. For some years Saʿd's life was closely bound up with ʿAbduh's destiny. In 1880, Saʿd suddenly broke off his studies at al-Azhar. Perhaps he hoped to get a position in the state administration; but ʿAbduh made him a sub-editor of the journal *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-miṣriyya* in October 1880. In May 1882, his ambitions for a government career were satisfied. The *wakīl* of the Ministry of the Interior, Ḥusayn al-Daramallī, made him a *bāsh muʿāwin* (secretary). A few days before the battle of at-

Tall al-Kabīr (13 September 1882), Saᶜd accepted a position at the Law Court of Djīza. This was his first opportunity to work as a jurist. Saᶜd could now change his outfit and become an Afandī. But in early October 1882 he resigned and was obviously considering following ᶜAbduh, who had left Egypt on 7 January 1883. But ᶜAbduh advised him to stay in Egypt; hence Saᶜd worked with his friend Ḥusayn Saḳar as a lawyer at the Djīza court. As British officials suspected him to be a member of an obscure "society of revenge", Saᶜd was arrested on 20 June 1883; he was released four months later as the accusation proved to be false. Already in February 1884, he resumed his work as a lawyer and kept this position for the next eight years.

When Muḥammad ᶜAbduh returned to Egypt in 1888, Saᶜd Zaghlūl again had an intercessor within the intellectual and cultural urban élites. ᶜAbduh invited him to join the famous salon of Princess Nazlī Fāḍil, who had been an ardent supporter of Aḥmad ᶜUrābī. Now, however, the salon became a most important place of British-Egyptian private diplomacy. Here, Zaghlūl met for the first time the Consul-General Evelyn Baring, later the 1st Earl of Cromer, and many influential journalists and politicians. In 1890, he had already become a great name; as gossip concerning Zaghlūl's liaison with Princess Nazlī was spreading, he gained public recognition within colonial society. Wilfred Scawen Blunt even suggested him to Cromer as a possible minister in an "Egyptian government" which should oust the traditional élites from power. Two years later, Saᶜd's lobbying proved to be a success. He was appointed as a Deputy Chief Judge at the Court of Appeal on 27 June 1892. From now on, Zaghlūl had a well-established position in the Egyptian upper class; but this was only the beginning of his rapid career. From 1892 to 1897, he went several times to Europe in order to study languages and law, and in 1897, he got a diploma in law from the University of Paris. Obviously, he considered himself as a political personality, since he now started to keep a diary which recorded day-by-day summaries of events and cases at the law court and which was meant as an aide-mémoire for future activities. Only in 1903 did he begin to use the diaries for private reminiscences. Zaghlūl's integration into the upper class was crowned when in November 1895 he became engaged to Ṣafiyya, a daughter of Muṣṭafā Fahmī (1840-1914), who had just been appointed (for the third time) as Prime Minister. Now, Zaghlūl was also accepted by the old "Turco-Circassian" élites, as Fahmī himself was of a Turkish origin, his father having come from Algeria to Egypt in the early thirties of the 19th century.

By 1896, when he married Ṣafiyya, Zaghlūl was a rich man. He possessed everything which was important in those days to become a politician: a position, money, reputation, a good marriage and a good knowledge of French and a bit of German. In 1902, the couple moved into a new house in Cairo which would later become a national gathering place. In addition, Zaghlūl bought a large estate in the district of Damanhūr. At that time, the public considered Zaghlūl as a friend of the British, a protégé of the Khedive, a supporter of ᶜAlī Yūsuf (1863-1913) and his journal *al-Muʾayyad*, and as a member of the ruling class. Having been an Afandī in his twenties, Zaghlūl, now being 41 years old, turned into a Pasha. But already at this stage, he was able to integrate within himself the three respective social codes of the Egyptian élites, presenting himself as the personification of an Egyptian identity.

The beginning of the colonial crisis in Egypt in 1905-6 deeply interfered with Saᶜd Zaghlūl's career. After the strike at the Law School in February 1906 and the famous Dinshawāy affair (13 June 1906), Cairo suddenly witnessed a growing public recognition of Muṣṭafā Kāmil's [*q.v.*] nationalist movement, which culminated in a gathering of the later members of the (third) National Party in Zaghlūl's house on 12 October 1906. The colonial consensus ended, and Saᶜd Zaghlūl had to choose either to join the ranks of the urban nationalists or to become a political member of the ruling élite. Cromer decided to promote an "Egyptianisation" of the cabinet by appointing Zaghlūl as the new Minister of Education on 28 October 1906. Obviously, however, Zaghlūl did not feel comfortable with his new position, as his ideas of reforming governmental institutions (here he proved to be more an Afandī than a Pasha) provoked several severe conflicts even with the Khedive. After having decided not to join the urban nationalist movement, Zaghlūl was dragged into the foundation of a new "People's Party" (*ḥizb al-umma*, 21 September 1907) which was sponsored by landlords like ᶜAlī Shaᶜrāwī, Aḥmad Luṭfī as-Sayyid, Muḥammad Maḥmūd, Ḥamd al-Bāsil and Ṭalᶜaṭ Ḥarb. Zaghlūl, who openly declared his mistrust of the urban national movement, continued as Minister of Education in a new cabinet formed by Buṭrus Ghālī in 1908. As a minister, Zaghlūl had only little sucess. As he tried to fulfil his role as a reform-minded Afandī, he clashed with the palace and the traditional structures of governmental institutions; in early 1910, he thought of retiring from politics as he did not see any progress for the nationalist constitutional movement. In addition, urban nationalists heavily attacked him for promoting nepotism, and others even made propaganda for Fatḥī Zaghlūl, that he should replace his brother in office. Fearing to be excluded from the nationalist public, he dismissed the idea of resigning. When on 23 October 1910 he became Minister of Justice, he had to approve the policy that nationalist journalists were to be tried by special courts originally installed to deal with brigands; even more, he had to accept the imprisonment of the leader of the National Party, Muḥammad Farīd [*q.v.*] (23 January 1911). This difficult situation finally led him to retire from office in March 1912; he was then busy looking for new support in party politics. He succesfully rallied for a seat in the new Legislative Assembly, which made him its Vice-President in January 1914. Although his political programme contained only a few suggestions concerning the reforms of the judicial and educational system, Zaghlūl soon gained a reputation of being the most able Egyptian public orator. Being a convinced constitutionalist, Zaghlūl highly esteemed the role of the Assembly as the nation's only political representation. The Assembly met in June 1914 for the last time before the outbreak of the War and the proclamation which made Egypt a British Protectorate. As usual, Saᶜd Zaghlūl left to Europe for the summer; this time, however, he stressed that he wanted to use the break to rethink his political career. In spite of his earlier quarrels with the Khedive ᶜAbbās II Ḥilmī [*q.v.*], Zaghlūl now backed him after his deposition. Personal problems and a career crisis may have added to the fact that Zaghlūl gradually changed his political attitude towards British rule in Egypt. In his view, Britain had now become an opponent of a true constitutional order in Egypt. Being unemployed and showing symptoms of an addiction to gambling, he had lost most of his fortune and riches. He was highly in debt. In order to avoid the gambling salons of

Cairo, he retired to his newly-built house in Masdjid Waṣīf. His political ambition continued to aim at reinvesting the Legislative Assembly, which had been prorogued in late 1914, with power. After the death of Sultan Ḥusayn Kāmil, the new Sultan Fuʾād declared on the occasion of the New Year 1336 (18 October 1917), that the Assembly would "soon" resume its work. This, the parallel discussions on a new Constitution and Woodrow Wilson's declaration on 8 January 1918, encouraged Zaghlūl to revive his role in the Legislative Assembly as the true representative of the Egyptian nation, and consequently with his position as Vice-President, he regarded himself as its best advocate. Meanwhile, the Egyptian landlords openly protested against the rigid measures taken by the British authorities in order to secure the logistics and supply of the army. They pressed Zaghlūl to intervene, but he only carefully presented the complaints to the Sultan and the British officials. Both sides wished to neutralise Zaghlūl. Fuʾād even expressed his thanks to him by suggesting that he should become a minister again. At his house in Masdjid Waṣīf, Zaghlūl now wanted to take advantage of the wrangling over his political future, and he received the most prominent leaders of the nationalist movement. He accepted the idea which Prince Ṭūsūn had promoted of sending a delegation (*wafd*) of the Assembly to the British High Commissioner in order to get permission to travel to Paris and to present Egypt's demand for independence to the Peace Conference. The idea was also favoured by the government; but the Prime Minister Ḥusayn Rushdī (1863-1928) and ᶜAdlī Yegen (1864-1933) disputed the right of Zaghlūl to speak in the name of the nation. On 13 October 1918, Zaghlūl was deputed to see the High Commissioner Wingate with his political friends ᶜAlī Shaᶜrāwī and ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Fahmī and to present a demand for self-determination. The British, however, declared that Zaghlūl was unrepresentative of the Egyptian nation and cold-shouldered the three nationalists. Consequently, the small group started a campaign and issued a circular in which seven members of the Assembly, with Zaghlūl as their "president", were vested with the power to negotiate for the "complete independence" of Egypt, and which should be signed by the members of the Assembly and by the "Egyptian people". This campaign paved the way for the restoration of the national movement, and already in December 1918, the pro-Zaghlūl agitation had reduced other political factions to silence. Even the Prime Minister Rushdī had to accept Zaghlūl's new power position and finally resigned on 1 March 1919, as the British authorities continued to refuse the Wafd's permission to leave for the Peace Conference. On 8 March 1919, after Lord Curzon had accepted resolute action against the nationalists, Zaghlūl, Muḥammad Maḥmūd, Ismāᶜīl Ṣidḳī and Ḥamd al-Bāsil were arrested and exiled to Malta.

From afar, Zaghlūl monitored the manifold unrest in Egypt which reached its peak in March-April 1919. In accordance with his nationalist world view, he considered the revolts to be a firm expression of the people's will to make him the true and only representative of the nation. Finally, the British authorities also implicitly accepted this view, as they wanted to act within the legal framework of a protectorate which required a functioning "indigenous" government. On 7 April 1919, after the Egyptian élites had openly condemned the rebellions, the Special High Commissioner General Allenby released the four exiles and allowed them to leave for Paris with 11 others. Two days later, Rushdī formed a new government; but he soon had to resign again, as he was not able to accept the demands of state officials to recognise Zaghlūl as the nation's sole representative. Meanwhile, since the Wafdists regarded themselves as the only true expression of the Egyptians' political will, Zaghlūl's compatriots started to build up an efficient nationwide organisation which should be the nucleus of a future Egyptian administration.

Zaghlūl spent the next two years in Europe. After the British Protectorate in Egypt was recognised by the Peace Treaty of Paris (28 June 1919), the 15 Wafdists tried to mobilise the public opinion in their favour, but had only a limited success. They also tried to control the boycott of the Milner Mission, which had been formed in order to investigate the spring revolts. Zaghlūl and his delegation stayed in Europe till the end of March 1921. Having reached Cairo on the demand of ᶜAdlī, who wanted to shift the responsibility for the negotiations with the British officials on to the President of the Wafd, Zaghlūl started his famous campaign favouring the complete independence of Egypt. It tried to find a political position between ᶜAdlī and the court faction on the one side and the urban nationalists' activists on the other side. The British warned him several times not to exploit the freedom of press and speech by attacking the government. Zaghlūl, however, did not give in. On 23 December 1921, he was again arrested together with five other leaders of the Wafd (Muṣṭafā an-Naḥḥās, Markam ᶜUbayd, Sinōt Ḥannā, Fatḥ Allāh Barakāt and ᶜĀṭif Barakāt) and sent to Aden. They arrived at the Seychelles six days before the unilateral British declaration of Egypt's independence (15 March 1922). In September 1922, Zaghlūl was sent to Gibraltar, where he was told that he was no more a prisoner but a guest of the British Government. In April 1923, he was allowed to leave Gibraltar for wherever he wanted; as usual, Zaghlūl first went to France (Aix-les-Bains) for a summer course of treatment. He finally returned to Cairo on 17 September 1923 and was welcomed by a large crowd. This embarassed the Liberals, who thought that, after the last elections which had given them a comfortable majority and the fact that Zaghlūl had not had any direct control of the negotiations with the British, the general sentiment in favour of Zaghlūl had cooled down. The Wafd Party, though it had radically criticised the new constitution promulgated on 13 April 1923, soon prepared to run for the next year's elections and tried to exploit the return of the "Nation's prophet" as Zaghlūl was often now called. He pulled out all the stops, toured in the country, invited notables and afandīs, and addressed all kinds of social groups in many public meetings. The poll of January 1924 gave the Wafd a 90% majority, and Zaghlūl was called to form a government which became known as "the people's cabinet". He soon began to centralise the complex decision-making procedures in his own hands and tried to negotiate with the British administration the still unsolved questions concerning the Sudan and the Suez Canal. But the more he exercised direct rule over the Egyptian administration, the more Fuʾād, now King of Egypt, and the British officials mistrusted him. In public, Zaghlūl even became a potential candidate for the presidency of an Egyptian republic. The murder of the *Sirdār* Sir Lee Stack (19 November 1924) provided British officials with a pretext to get rid of the troublemaker. Five days later, Zaghlūl had to resign. Though he continued to play an important public role in Parliament, his deposition ruined his political career. He saw his

organisation turned into a political party accepting other parties as partners. Thus his hope of being the head of an organisation which should be the organic expression of the nation's will vanished. His contemporaries Atatürk and Riḍā Khān were to be more successful than he at becoming heads of state. In Egypt, however, the political public prevented an analogous development. In early summer 1927, his already shaken and poor health deteriorated, and on 23 August 1927 Zaghlūl died in Cairo of erysipelas.

Bibliography: Saᶜd Zaghlūl wrote very little. He published a booklet on Shāfiᶜī law, Cairo n.d. [*ca.* 1878]), a summary of Ibn Miskawayh on *inshā*ʾ and about 28 articles in Egyptian journals of the late seventies and early eighties of the 19th century. It is doubtful, however, whether he wrote them all personally or whether he edited articles of Muḥammad ᶜAbduh. The main sources of his political views are his diaries and some collections of his speeches. See his *Mudhakkirāt*, ed. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm Ramaḍān, i ff., Cairo 1987 ff. and collections of his speeches by Aḥmad Nasīb al-Sukkarī, Cairo 1923; Maḥmūd [Kāmil] Fuʾād, Cairo 1924; Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Djazīrī, Cairo 1927; and Maḥmūd Kāmil Fuʾād, Cairo 1927.

There are quite a lot of biographies in Arabic: by Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Murshid Dāwūd, Cairo 1926; Aḥmad Fahmī Ḥāfiẓ, Cairo 1927; Karīm Thābit, Cairo 1929; ᶜAbduh Ḥasan al-Zayyāt, Cairo 1932; ᶜAbbās Maḥmūd al-ᶜAḳḳād, Cairo 1936; Ibrāhīm Rashād, Cairo 1937; Ḳadrī Ḳalᶜadjī, Beirut 1938; Yūsuf F. al-Naḥḥās, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Saᶜd, Cairo 1952; Ḥāmid al-Mulaydjī, Cairo 1954; Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Djazīrī, Cairo 1954; ᶜAbd al-Khāliḳ Lāshīn, Cairo 1974; idem, Beirut-Cairo 1975; Muḥammad Kāmil Salīm, Cairo 1975; idem, Cairo 1976; Ṭāriḳ al-Bishrī, Cairo 1977; Amīl Fahmī Shanūda, Cairo 1977; Muḥsin Muḥammad, Cairo 1983; ᶜAbbās Ḥāfiẓ, Cairo n.d.; Ḥamdān Sālim an-Naᶜnāᶜī, Damanhūr n.d.

Although there is a huge literature on the Egyptian nationalist movements in Western languages, there are hardly any biographies of Zaghlūl; cf. Fouad Yéghen, *Saad Zaghloul. Le "père du peuple" égyptien*, Paris 1927; for a short political account, see e.g. J.M. Ahmed, *The intellectual origins of Egyptian nationalism*, London 1960, 52-55, 113-17, and J. Berque, *L'Egypte. Impérialisme et révolution*, Paris 1967, 287-295. For his dealings with the British, see E. Kedourie, *Saᶜd Zaghlul and the British*, in idem, *The Chatham House version and other Middle Eastern studies*, London 1970, 82-159, shortened account in idem, *Politics in the Middle East*, Oxford 1992, 158-79. On Zaghlūl's role in the 1919 rebellions, see R. Schulze, *Die Rebellion der ägyptischen Fallahin 1919*, Berlin 1981. His place in the nationalist movements is discussed by *inter alii* I. Gershoni and J.P. Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam, and the Arabs. The search for Egyptian nationhood, 1900-1930*, New York 1986; M. Deeb, *Party politics in Egypt: the Wafd and its rivals, 1919-1939*, London 1979, and also within the frame of national historiography, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiᶜī, *Thawrat sana 1919*, 2 vols., Cairo 1946 and idem, *Fī aᶜḳāb al-thawra*, 3 vols., Cairo 1947-51.

(R. SCHULZE)

SAᶜD (I) B. ZANGĪ, ABŪ SHUDJĀᶜ ᶜIZZ AL-DĪN, Turkish Atabeg in Fārs of the Salghurid line [*q.v.*], reigned in Shīrāz from 599/1202-3 until most probably 623/1226.

On the death of his elder brother Takla/Tekele (Degele, etc.?) b. Zangī in 594/1198, Saᶜd claimed power in Fārs, but his claim was contested by his cousin Ṭoghrïl, the son of his father's elder brother Sunḳur, who had founded the dynasty. Ṭoghrïl retained the royal title for nine years, but throughout that period warfare between him and his cousin continued without a decisive result for either, the country was wasted and depopulated, none would till the ground, and famine and pestilence smote the people. At length, in 599/1202-3, Saᶜd captured his cousin and ascended the throne of Fārs (according to Mīrkhʷānd this happened in 593/1197, after Ṭoghrïl had been defeated by Takla), but at the beginning of his reign famine was so sore in the land that the strong slew and ate the weak, and even when the famine had abated the pestilence remained; but Saᶜd gradually restored prosperity to his people, and, having completed this task, conquered Kirmān from the Shabānkāra Kurds. In 614/1217-18 he invaded ᶜIrāḳ, but was taken prisoner by the army of the Khʷārazm-Shāh ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [*q.v.*], and in order to regain his freedom was obliged to pay a ransom of two-thirds of a year's revenue of his kingdom, to surrender Iṣṭakhr and Ashkūrān, and to agree to pay tribute annually. On his return to Shīrāz, his son Abū Bakr, who had occupied the throne during his captivity, opposed his restoration, and a battle was fought between father and son, in which Saᶜd was wounded in the eye with an arrow, but the citizens admitted him into the city by night, and he seized and imprisoned his son. When the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu [*q.v.*] passed through Fārs on his return from India in 621/1224, he interceded for Abū Bakr, and succeeded in persuading Saᶜd to release him.

According to the most reliable sources, Saᶜd died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 623/November 1226 and after a reign of 29 years was succeeded by his son Abū Bakr. Amongst his building works was a celebrated Masdjid-i Naw or Masdjid-i Atabegī in Shīrāz, completed in 615/1218 (see W. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 156). However, the poet Saᶜdī [*q.v.*] derived his *takhalluṣ* or nom-de-plume not from this Saᶜd (I) but from his son Abī Bakr b. Saᶜd (I) and grandson Saᶜd (II) b. Abī Bakr.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The main ones are Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī, *Simṭ al-ᶜulā* and *al-Muḍāf ilā Badāʾiᶜ al-zamān fī waḳāʾiᶜ Kirmān*; Nasawī; Djuwaynī; Rashīd al-Dīn; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Guzīda*; and Mīrkhʷānd.

2. Studies. C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 172-3; Erdoğan Merçil, *Fars atabegleri Salgurlular*, Ankara 1975, 62-82. See also Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 125-6.

(T.W. HAIG-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SAᶜD B. ZAYD MANĀT AL-FIZR is the name by which a large section of the tribe of Tamīm is named.

The curious cognomen *Fizr* or (according to al-Aṣmaᶜī, *Fazr*) has received no satisfactory explanation, and the philologist Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī asserts that he never met any person who could explain it. Some lexicographers explain it as meaning "more than one", others as "goats", but we may assume that Ibn Durayd is correct when he derives it from the verb *fazara* with the meaning "to split" and that *fizr* means "a chip or fragment". The Arab genealogists give the name of the common ancestor as Saᶜd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm and relate tales to account for the curious name, which amount to the following: Saᶜd had much cattle which he ordered his sons, by different mothers, to take to pasture; they refused and he invited the kindred tribesmen of Mālik b. Zayd Manāt to come and rob the camels. Then when only goats remained, he gave his sons the same

order and they again refused to take them to pasturage. In his anger, he called Arabs of every tribe together (or, according to another version, took his animals to the fair of ᶜUkāẓ) and asked them to take each one goat as plunder (*intahaba*), but allowed no one to take more than one. Thus the goats were scattered all over the country, and this is said to be the origin of the proverb: "I shall not come to you till the goats of al-Fizr (are collected again into one herd)" (al-Maydānī, *Madjmaᶜ al-amthāl*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, ^{2}Cairo 1379/1959, ii, 212b = no 3496). The goats are probably imagined to have had the *wasm* or brand-mark of his clan. The underlying idea appears to be that the divisions of this tribe were found scattered over the whole of Eastern Arabia. The tribe of Tamīm [*q.v.*] is early mentioned, and the genealogies in their case are more fictitious than with other tribes; all they can serve is to show which of the clans shortly before and after the introduction of Islam felt itself as possessing a certain relationship. The poet al-Aḍbaṭ b. Ḳurayᶜ says: "In every wādī are Saᶜd" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiᶜr*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1966, 382), possibly pointing to their wide distribution. Of the many subdivisions mentioned by geneaologists, only those derived through his sons Kaᶜb and al-Ḥārith appear to have had a claim to pure descent, while the descendants of the other sons, ᶜAbd Shams, Djusham, ᶜAwf, ᶜUwāfa and Mālik, were called the *Abnāʾ*. There were doubts as to the purity of their descent; they were settled in Baḥrayn and had largely intermixed with the Persian settlers when this province was under Persian rule. They were, as regards numbers, perhaps the largest Arab tribe, and for this reason played an important part in the wars shortly before Islam and during the conquests, and many persons mentioned in the early times of Islam were members of the various clans of Saᶜd al-Fizr. They sided with ᶜAlī during the struggle for the caliphate and were most prominent during the unruly times in Khurāsān under the later Umayyads and appear to have settled in Persia in large numbers. Others emigrated to North Africa, and the Aghlabī rulers of Ifrīḳiya [see AGHLABIDS] claimed descent from them. The many subdivisions cannot be enumerated here, but it must be stated that the genealogists are far from unanimous in the affiliation of the various sections, and their names disappear early from history under the general name of Tamīm.

Importance may be attached to the tribe of Saᶜd al-Fizr and their nearest kindred clans for having spoken that Arabic which forms the basis of the classic Arabic of literature, as the earliest philologists seem to have framed the rules of Arabic grammar upon the dialect of Tamīm. This was no doubt on account of their widespread diffusion through which their dialect was understood in most parts of Arabia.

Bibliography: The Arabic lexica s.v. *Fizr*; Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 150 ff.; A.A. Bevan, *The Naḳāʾiḍ of Jarīr and al-Farazdaḳ*, Leiden 1905-12, passim; Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Baghdād, 236; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1342, ii, 344-5; Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi, *al-ᶜIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1316, ii, 42; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, passim; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ᶜArab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 204-11; Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, L, and *Register*, 396; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, i, Tafeln, no. 75, ii, Register, 497; S. Kazzarah, *Die Dichtung der Tamim in vorislamischer Zeit*, diss. Erlangen 1982, 145-6 (incs. those fragments of poetry attributed to Saᶜd al-Fizr).

(F. KRENKOW*)

SAᶜD AL-DAWLA b. al-Ṣafī b. Hibat Allāh b. Muhadhdhib al-Dawla al-Abharī, Jewish physician and *wazīr* of the Īlkhān Arghūn [see ILKHĀNS].

His tenure of office lasted from Djumādā II 688/June 1289 until his murder in Rabīᶜ I 690/March 1291. His *ism* and date of birth are unknown. His rise to power must be seen against the background of a radical change of the Mongol political élite in domestic and foreign policies; i.e. from the pro-Islamic policy of the Īlkhān Aḥmad (680-3/1282-4) back to the anti-Islamic policy of the Īlkhāns after the defeat at ᶜAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] on 25 Ramaḍān 658/ 3 September 1260. This policy was aimed at a Mongol-Christian/European alliance against the Mamlūks [*q.v.*] of Egypt and Syria. Under Aḥmad, a convert to Islam, who strove for a peaceful agreement with the Mamlūks (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/3, 707-8, 717, 722-3), the pro-Islamic Mongol élite, together with the *amīr* Buḳa, worked with the *wazīr* Shams al-Dīn al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*]. After the murder of the Īlkhān Aḥmad and the enthronement of Arghūn, the *amīr* Buḳa, who had changed loyalties shortly before the coup d'état, became the most powerful *amīr* in the realm. He tried to preserve the status quo between Mongols and Muslims, even though he could not prevent the fall and murder of the *wazīr* Shams al-Dīn al-Djuwaynī. This situation changed abruptly when Buḳa fell from power and was murdered, and Saᶜd al-Dawla immediately after rose to power in Djumādā II 688/June 1289 (Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 208-16, 217). One month later, on 3 Radjab 688/23 July 1289 the whole Djuwaynī family was liquidated (*ibid.*, 218-19). Arghūn issued an edict prohibiting the employment of Muslim secretaries (Bar Hebraeus, ed. Budge, i, 484-5). This edict was countered by the Mamlūks with an edict in Shaᶜbān 689/August 1290 prohibiting the employment of Jewish and Christian secretaries (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/3, 753). Saᶜd al-Dawla gave all the key positions in the administration to his family, relatives and co-believers. His internal policy aimed at an increase in taxes and a redistribution of funds to fill the treasury. In foreign policy he, together with the Īlkhān, aimed at an alliance with Pope Nicolas IV and the Christian powers of Europe in order to oust the Mamlūks from Syria. A Crusade was planned and eventual possession of Jerusalem by the Pope was envisaged; but nothing came of these plans. Meanwhile, the Mamlūk sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] and his son and successor al-Ashraf Khalīl had expelled the Crusaders from the Syrian coast. Their last stronghold, ᶜAkkā [*q.v.*], fell in Rabīᶜ II 690/March 1291. Shortly before this, on 7 Rabīᶜ II 690/10 March 1291, Arghūn died, and five days before his death Saᶜd al-Dawla was murdered by his Mongol enemies. A persecution of the Jews began that could only be forcibly suppressed by the government.

Regarding Saᶜd al-Dawla's earlier career, he appears for the first time in 682/1283, when Sharaf al-Dīn Hārūn, from the Djuwaynī family, became governor of Baghdād and Saᶜd al-Dawla was dismissed from the supervision of the endowments of the Māristān al-ᶜAḍudī [see BĪMĀRISTĀN] there. In 683/1284 he became deputy (*nāʾib*) of the *shiḥna* in Baghdād and in 686/1287 the financial administrator (*malik*) of Baghdād. Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳutlugh Shāh, a *mamlūk* of the Djuwaynī family, complained about him to the Īlkhān. Saᶜd al-Dawla was sent to the camp of the Īlkhān in his capacity as a physician, and became the private one of Arghūn (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 428, 433, 450). He won the ruler's confidence and was twice sent to Baghdād to check the finances, being in Djumādā I 687/June 1288 made supervisor of finances (*mushrif*) there, and in the same year a group of Jews from Tiflis came to Baghdād to oversee the

charitable endowments of the Muslims. This brought about a revolt there, and the group had to resign (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 454-5). Then in Djumādā II 688/June 1289 he was made *ṣāḥib dīwān al-mamālik*, i.e. *wazīr*, by Arghūn; numerous sources confirm his administrative skill and abilities in general.

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, ed. A.A. Alizade, Baku 1957, 208-10, 217-27; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiᶜa fi ʾl-miʾa al-sābiᶜa*, ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād, Baghdād 1351/1922, 457-64; Waṣṣāf, *Taʾrīkh*, Bombay 1269/1852-3, ii, 235-45; ᶜAbd al-Muḥammad Āyatī, *Taḥrīr-i taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, Tehran 1346/1967, 141-8; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, ed. and tr. E.A. Wallis Budge, Oxford 1932, i, 484-91; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M.M. Ziada, Cairo 1936-9; W.J. Fischel, *Jews in the economic and political life of mediaeval Islam*, New York 1969, 90-117; idem, *Azarbaijan in Jewish history*, in *Procs. of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, xxii (1953), 6-11; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane in Persien 1220-1350*, repr. Amsterdam 1974, i, 382-8, 392-3, 395-6; Spuler, *Mongolen*², 84-5, 246-7, 286, 349; J. Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au moyen age XIIIᵉ-XVᵉ siècles*, Rome 1977, 102-4.

(DOROTHEA KRAWULSKY)

SAᶜD AL-DAWLA [see ḤAMDĀNIDS].

SAᶜD AL-DĪN [see SAᶜDIYYA].

SAᶜD AL-DĪN AL-ḤAMMŪʾĪ (or al-Ḥamūʾī or al-Ḥamawī), MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUʾAYYAD ... b. Ḥam(m)ūy(a) (or Ḥamawayh or Ḥamawiyya) AL-DJUWAYNĪ, famous Ṣūfī *shaykh* of the first half of the 7th/13th century; second cousin of the influential *Awlād al-Shaykh* [*q.v.*] and of another Saᶜd al-Dīn (b. Tādj al-Dīn, d. 674/1276); father of Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (644-722/1247-1322). Saᶜd al-Dīn b. al-Muʾayyad's contemporary Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī mentions (*Mirʾāt al-zamān*, Chicago 1907, 525) that news of the Shaykh's death in Khurāsān had reached him during the year 651, and that he is said to have died in 650 A.H. The latter year is accepted by many authorities, including Djāmī, who specifies that the Shaykh died on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 650/11 February 1253 aged 63 (*Nafaḥāt al-uns*, Tehran 1370 A.H.S., 431 ff.). However, according to the biography written around 750 A.H. by his great-grandson Ghiyāth al-Dīn (summarised by M.T. Dānishpazhūh in *Farhang-i Īrānzamīn*, xiii [1344 A.H.S.], 298-310), as well as Khʷāfī's *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī* (Mashhad 1340 A.H.S., 268-9, 319), the precise dates for the Shaykh's birth and death are 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 586/12 January 1191 and 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 649/3 March 1252, respectively. On the other hand, equally precise but different dates (15 Djumādā I 588 to 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 649) are found in marginal notes of a manuscript dated 728 A.H. (Princeton, Garrett Collection, Mach no. 2753). Still other dates on record are mentioned by Köprülü-zāde Fuʾād, art. *Saᶜd al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī* in *EI*¹.

Saᶜd al-Dīn is primarily known in Ṣūfī history as a disciple of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221 in Khʷārazm). Kubrā wrote an *idjāza* for him, and is said to have "brothered" him with Sayf al-Dīn al-Bākharzī (d. 659/1261 or earlier in Bukhārā). A letter written to him by the latter may indeed indicate such ties with the then nascent Kubrawiyya; but hagiographic reports (such as *Manāḳib-i Awḥad al-Dīn-i Kirmānī*, Tehran 1347/1969, 96-105) suggesting similar ties to Kubrā's major disciple, Madjd al-Dīn al-Baghdādī (d. 3 Djumādā II 606/3 December 1209, for which date, see W. Shpall in *Folia Orientalia*, xxii [1981-4], 72), should be treated with caution. According to Ghiyāth al-Dīn's biography, Saᶜd al-Dīn had pursued theological studies in Khurāsān and, between 605 and 609 A.H., in Khʷārazm; but he joined Kubrā only in 616 or 617 A.H., having in the meantime (A.H. 616 according to the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*) travelled to Damascus, where he received his formal initiation into Ṣūfism from his father's cousin, the Shaykh al-Shuyūkh Ṣadr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad (d. 617/1220), and to Mecca, where he met Abū Ḥafṣ ᶜUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234). Saᶜd al-Dīn himself, as quoted by Ḥaydar al-Āmulī (*Kitāb Naṣṣ al-nuṣūṣ*, Tehran-Paris 1975, 220-1), traced his Ṣūfī affiliation in two ways to Muḥammad b. Ḥamūya (d. 530/1135-6): (a) through direct spiritual association (in the way Muḥammad b. Ḥamūya himself was a "disciple of al-Khiḍr"); (b) through transmission of the *khirḳa* along the line of descent of the Syrian branch of his family (i.e. through Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad).

In any case, some time after the Mongol sack of Khʷārazm, Saᶜd al-Dīn turned, again, to the Middle East, staying now for longer periods in Mecca and Damascus, and travelling widely until 640. During one of his stays in Damascus, he was undoubtedly in touch with Ibn ᶜArabī (d. 638/1240) and his circle, although it would appear that his real contact was the disciple Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī (d. 673/1274) rather than the master himself (cf. Saᶜīd al-Dīn-i Farghānī, *Mashāriḳ al-darārī*, Mashhad 1357/1398, 128). Unlike Ibn ᶜArabī, Saᶜd al-Dīn evidently favoured the Ṣūfī practice of "listening to music" (*samāᶜ*; cf. Muʾayyid al-Dīn al-Djandī, *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, Mashhad 1361/1982, 107). Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (*loc. cit.*) mentions that he lived with his followers on Mount Ḳāsiyūn and describes him as a holy man who shunned the rich, even his own cousins, despite great poverty, but says also that he enjoyed later in Khurāsān the favours of the "kings of the Tatars". The same source also points out that he spent the last week of his life by the tomb of Muḥammad b. Ḥamūya in Baḥrābād (near Djuwayn), and that he was buried there. According to Ghiyāth al-Dīn, he spent the last eight years of his life mainly in Āmul and various places in Khurāsān, including Baḥrābād, where he died during one of his visits.

It must have been during this last period in Khurāsān that ᶜAzīz-i Nasafī (d. *ca.* 700/1300) became his disciple. The latter, a prolific Persian author, popularised some of his master's esoteric ideas, particularly those concerning the unity of Being (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*) and the special status of the "saint" (*walī*). "Monistic" trends in Saᶜd al-Dīn's thought were also noted by Dhahabī (*Al-ᶜIbar*, Kuwayt 1960, v, 206). His peculiar ideas about *walāya* bear a certain affinity to gnostic Shīᶜism, although he belonged, like the rest of his family, to the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab*.

Unlike Nasafī's, Saᶜd al-Dīn's works were reputedly "difficult" due to his penchant for "*ḥurūfī*" speculations. Nasafī, *Kashf al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Tehran 1344 *Sh.*/1965, 4, credits him with a total of 400 books, whereas Ghiyāth al-Dīn lists the titles of 32 otherwise unrecorded writings but mentions none of the works generally attributed to him (see e.g. Brockelmann, S II, 803). Among the latter, the Persian *Risālat al-Miṣbāḥ* has been published in 1983 with a useful introduction by N.M. Hirawī as *al-Miṣbāḥ fi 'l-taṣawwuf* (Tehran 1362/1403).

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al-Kubrā, Wiesbaden 1957, *Einleitung*; M. Molé, *Les Kubrawiya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire*, in *REI* (1961) 61-142; idem, *ᶜAzizoddin Nasafi: le Livre de l'Homme Parfait*, Tehran-Paris 1962, Introd.; H. Landolt, *Nûruddin-i Isfarâyinî: le Révélateur des Mystères*, Lagrasse 1986, *Etude préliminaire*; C. Addas, *Ibn ᶜArabī ou la quête du Soufre Rouge*, Paris 1989. (H. LANDOLT)

SAᶜD AL-DĪN KĀSHGHARĪ (d. 860/1456), *shaykh* of the Nakshbandī Ṣūfī order in Harāt, best known as the preceptor of the poet and mystic ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī (d. 898/1492 [*q.v.*]).

Kāshgharī's piety first showed itself, it is said, during the journeys on which as a child he used to accompany his father, a merchant of Kāshghar with *sayyid* ancestry. Thus when he was twelve years of age, he wept uncontrollably after listening to his father and his associates passionately haggling over the price of some goods for a whole morning. After completing the *madrasa* curriculum (the sources do not tell us where), Kāshgharī conceived an inclination to the Ṣūfī path, and travelling to Bukhārā he joined the circle of Niẓām al-Dīn Khāmūsh, initiatic heir to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Nakshband (d. 791/1391) by one intermediary, ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār (d. 802/1400). Several years later, Kāshgharī set out from Bukhārā on the *ḥadjdj*, but as his master had predicted he was unable to proceed beyond Khurāsān. In Harāt, he made the acquaintance of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Khʷāfī (d. 838/1435) who appears to have attempted to recruit him into his own following, as well as Sayyid Ḳāsim-i Tabrīzī; Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn ᶜUmar; and Mawlānā Abū Yazīd Pūrānī. It may have been on this journey that Kāshgharī decided to settle in Harāt; the episodic and staccato nature of the sources leave the matter unclear. It was, in any event, in Harāt that Kāshgharī spent the most influential years of his life, making the city the third chief centre of the Nakshbandiyya after Bukhārā and Samarkand.

Despite possessing considerable wealth (inherited, perhaps, from his merchant father), Kāshgharī took up residence in the Madrasa-yi Ghiyāthiyya in Harāt, near the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ, and it was in that mosque, which he compared in its sanctity to the Masdjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca, that he met and discoursed with his devotees. These came to include many members of the cultural and literary élite of Herat, above all Djāmī, who was moved to become Kāshgharī's disciple by a dream in which the *shaykh* liberated him from the pangs of a profane love. Djāmī expressed his devotion to Kāshgharī not only in the pages he allotted him in *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (ed. Maḥmūd ᶜĀbidī, Tehran 1370 *sh*./1991, 408-10) but also through a number of references to him in his *mathnawīs* (see e.g. *Silsilat al-dhahab*, in *Haft Awrang*, ed. Murtaḍā Mudarris Gīlānī, 3rd ed., Tehran 1361 *sh*./1982, 164-6) and, most strikingly, the moving *tarkīb-band* in which he eulogised him (*Kullīyyāt*, ed. Shams Brelwī, repr. Tehran 1362 *sh*./1983, 526-9). Kāshgharī's circle was, however, by no means exclusively aristocratic in its composition; it also included artisans such as Mīr Rangraz "the dyer".

Like his master Khāmūsh, Kāshgharī is said to have been in a near-constant state of ecstatic rapture (*ghalaba*); this would frequently overtake him while he was discoursing and cause him to bow his head and fall silent, creating in the uninitiated the impression that he had fallen asleep. He is also reported—again like his master—to have had the ability to manifest the divine attribute of wrath (*kahr*); however, he succeeded in containing this dangerous power. He does not appear to have left any writings, but sixteen of his sayings and discourses are recorded in Fakhr al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ Kāshifī's *Rashaḥāt ᶜayn al-ḥayāt* (ed. Muᶜīniyān, i, 210-18). Some of these, aphoristic in nature, are reminiscent of utterances by Khʷādja ᶜAbd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1089 [*q.v.*]), which may not be fortuitous, given Kāshgharī's acknowledgement of Anṣārī as the pre-eminent saint of Harāt. From other pronouncements of Kāshgharī may be deduced a familiarity with the concepts and terminology of Ibn ᶜArabī, whom Kāshgharī greatly admired, like other early Nakshbandīs (Hamid Algar, *Reflections of Ibn ᶜArabi in early Naqshbandi tradition*, in *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ᶜArabi Society*, x [1991], 54-5).

Kāshgharī died while performing the midday prayer on 7 Djumādā I 860/12 May 1456, and was buried in the Khiyābān suburb of Harāt. The site soon acquired great sanctity, and several of his disciples, including Djāmī, were buried nearby. His tomb was nonetheless neglected during the disorders that came to mark the history of Harāt, and ultimately the headstone itself disappeared. The tomb was restored, and the headstone replaced, by Aḥmad Shah Durrānī [*q.v.*], who also constructed an *īwān* nearby. This *īwān* was rebuilt and provided with two minarets in the late 1950s by Muḥammad Ẓāhir Shāh, the last king of Afghānistān.

One of the devotees of Kāshgharī is said to have been told by the Prophet in a dream that Kāshgharī had advanced no fewer than thirty-two people to the rank of saintship (*wilāyat*), but none of these appears to have been clearly nominated as his successor. Djāmī was manifestly the most prominent of Kāshgharī's disciples, but being temperamentally averse to assuming the burdens of preceptorship, he encouraged the followers of Kāshgharī to gather, after his death, around Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Rūdjī (d. 904-1499). Important, too, among the disciples of Kāshgharī was Mawlānā ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Maktabdār (d. 892/1487), several of whose devotees carried the Nakshbandiyya to places such as Ḳazwīn and Tabrīz in western Persia. In general, however, the initiatic lines descending from Kāshgharī faded out after two or three generations; it was his great contemporary, ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of Samarkand, who proved more significant for the long-term transmission of the Nakshbandī order.

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SAᶜD AL-DĪN KÖPEK b. Muḥammad, an im-

portant court official of two Saldjūḳ sultans of Rūm, Kayḳubād I and Kaykhusraw II. Köpek's place and date of birth are unknown. He is first mentioned as a *tardjumān* (Ibn Bībī, 146). Late in Kayḳubād's reign, Köpek had risen to become *amīr-i shikār* (master of the hunt) and *miᶜmār* (minister of works), entrusted with overseeing the construction of Kayḳubād's new palace at Ḳubādābād [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, 147). Köpek himself erected in 633/1235 a large caravanserai, known as the Zazadin or Sadeddin Han, between Konya and Aksaray. Two extant inscriptions on its portals record the name *Köpek (k.w.b.k.) b. Muḥammad.*

After Kayḳubād's death in 634/1237, Köpek wielded considerable influence over his successor, Kaykhusraw II. Murders, aimed at consolidating Kaykhusraw's position, then followed. Köpek suddenly seized a Khʷārazmian *amīr*, Kïrkhān, who died in prison (Bar Hebraeus, 403; Ibn Bībī, 201). Köpek then organised the murders of Kaykhusraw's two half-brothers and their mother (Ibn Bībī, 204). In 635/1238 Kaykhusraw sent Köpek to occupy Sumaysāṭ on his behalf. Returning home, Köpek killed off the last of the "old guard" state officials, Kaymarī and Kāmyār, who, like him, had served Kayḳubād (Ibn Bībī, 208). In 637/1240, Kaykhusraw eliminated Köpek, because he was a dangerous rival, who had "destroyed the pillars of the state, one by one" (*ibid.*). According to Ibn Bībī, who remains the principal, and often the sole source, for these events, the malevolent Köpek remained true to form, even in death: one of the spectators, assembled to gloat over Köpek's dismembered body, suspended in a cage from a gallows, was killed by the cage falling on him (*ibid.*, 209).

The blame for the murders in Kaykhusraw's reign could, of course, be apportioned differently. After all, Ibn Bībī, the court chronicler of the Rūm Saldjūḳs, is keen to exonerate Kaykhusraw from responsibility for all the deaths, save Köpek's.

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(CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

SAᶜD AL-DĪN TAFTĀZĀNĪ [see AL-TAFTĀZĀNĪ].

SAᶜD WA-NAḤS (A.), literally, "the fortunate and the unfortunate".

These concepts are based on the influence exerted by the planets and the signs of the Zodiac on earthly events. The astrologers describe the stars as being either *saᶜd* or *naḥs*. Thus Jupiter, Venus and the Moon are said to be *saᶜd*, Saturn is *naḥs* and the Sun and Mercury are at times called one or the other. But this can vary as a function of their positions in the ecliptic and of their conjunctions (cf. Abū Maslama Muḥammad al-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig 1933, 198 ff. = M. Plessner, *Picatrix*, London 1962, 209 ff.; *L'agriculture nabatéenne*, i, Damascus 1993, 10-12 et *passim*).

Starting out from these basic indications, the astrologers [see MUNADJDJIM] divided their art into two branches: natural astrology, consisting in the observation of the fortunate or unfortunate influence of the stars on the natural elements, whence arises meteorological divination [see ANWĀʾ and MALĀḤIM]; and judicial or apotelesmatic divination, consisting in the observation of the influence of the stars on human destiny, whence arise genethlialogy (*mawālīd*) or the art of drawing omens from the position of the stars at a person's birth [see NUDJŪM, AḤKĀM AL-, 1.] and hemerology and menology [see IKHTIYĀRĀT], which consist in establishing the calendar of what is fortunate and what is unfortunate [see NUDJŪM, AḤKĀM AL-, 2.].

One should note that the name *saᶜd*, followed by a noun, is given to some stars and constellations (cf. P. Kunitzsch, *Über eine anwāʾ-Tradition mit bisher unbekannten Sternnamen*, in *Beiträge zur Lexicographie des Klassischen Arabisch, Nr. 4*, in *Abh. der Bayerischen Akad. der Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl. (Munich 1983), Heft 5, 57; see this same author's arts. MANĀZIL and NUDJŪM]. This designation does not seem to have borne any divinatory significance.

Bibliography: Given in the article. On Saᶜd, the idol of the Banū Milkān, and Saᶜdān (τύχαι), see T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 147-50. (T. FAHD)

ṢAᶜDA, a town approximately 240 km/150 miles to the north of the chief town of the Yemen, Ṣanᶜāʾ [*q.v.*], situated on the southern edge of the Ṣaᶜda plain, and the administrative capital of the province (*muḥāfaẓa*) of the same name. The town is about 1,800 m/5,904 ft. above sea level and in the 1986 census in the Yemen had a reported population of 24,245 persons. The inhabitants of the province numbered 323,110.

Although al-Hamdānī, 67, informs us that the town was called Djumāᶜ in pre-Islamic times, certain Sabaic inscriptions mention *hgrn ṢᶜDTm*, "the town Ṣaᶜda", together with reference to the predominant tribe of the area, Khawlān [*q.v.*] (Ja 658/11-13, A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs*, Baltimore 1962, 163; Sharaf al-Dīn, 31/14-5; A.G. Lundin, *Sabeyskiy činovnik i diplomat III v.n.e*, in *Palestinskiy Sbornik*, xxv/88 (1974), 97; Ja 2109/7, A.F.L. Beeston, *Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes*, ii/1, Louvain 1986, 49-50). Al-Hamdānī also tells the anecdote of the origin of the name Ṣaᶜda. A weary Ḥidjāzī stopped for the night in the town and lay on his back contemplating the decorated ceiling which pleased him. Twice he exclaimed, "[Someone] has indeed raised it up (*ṣaᶜᶜada-hu, ṣaᶜᶜada-hu*)!" The town's fame for the manufacture of arrowheads is also mentioned by the 4th/10th century Yemeni scholar, who refers specifically to *niṣāl ṣaᶜdiyya/ṣāᶜidiyya*. Iron implements, particularly agricultural, of all kinds seem also to have been made in the town.

The 7th/13th century traveller to the Arabian Peninsula from the east, Ibn al-Mudjāwir [*q.v.*], reports in his *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1951-4, 202-6, that the route north to Ṣaᶜda from Ṣanᶜāʾ, originally an important trade and later pilgrim route, was 20 parasangs (on p. 232, the return journey is 19). The town was built in the pre-Islamic era by Shem, the son of Noah, he adds. The old town, however, did not survive and in the time of al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ, the first Zaydī imām (d. 298/911) a wealthy merchant who would take no expenses built a mosque, perhaps the mosque bearing al-Hādī's name still found in Ṣaᶜda to this day. A whole new town followed with markets, residences etc. Ibn al-Mudjāwir then goes on to describe the wall (*darb*), towers (*burūdj*) and gates, and the 11th/16th century Istanbul ms. contains a plan of the town which is reproduced in

Löfgren's edition, at p. 205. There were four towers: Darb al-ʿAtīḳ (E), Darb al-Ḳāḍī (N), Darb al-Ghuzz (?) (W), built in the time of the Ayyūbid Ṭug͟htakīn b. Ayyūb (d. 571/1175) and Darb al-Ḳāḍī Ibn Zaydān (S). The gates were Bāb ʿAlī b. Ḳāsim, Bāb Darb al-G͟huzz (?), Bāb Darb al-Ḳāḍī Ibn Zaydān, Bāb Ḥūt͟h, presumably also a southern gate leading to the town of Ḥūt͟h between Ṣaʿda and Ṣanʿāʾ, and Bāb Darb al-Imām. The latter tower was built, according to Ibn al-Mud͟jāwir, by the Zaydī imām al-Manṣūr bi'llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 613/1216). The town flourished, watered by rivers and springs, thus producing wheat and barley and abundant trees. Ibn al-Mud͟jāwir's final comment concerns the clothing of the local inhabitants; it is made of silk and cotton, he says, since the area is so hot.

The geographer Yāḳūt (d. 627/1229) refers (ed. Beirut, iii, 406) to Ṣaʿda as a province (*mik͟hlāf* [*q.v.*]), 60 parasangs from Ṣanʿāʾ. He continues that the town is a commercial centre, fertile, and in particular a centre of tanning, the latter facilitated by the abundance of acacia (*ḳaraẓ, Acacia Ehrenbergiana* Hayne) in the area, a plant used in the tanning process.

The town appears to have had very little significance in Islamic times prior to the arrival there in 284/897 of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, the future first Zaydī imām al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ. However, isolated references are found in the chronicles prior to that date, e.g. the first mention of the town in Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn's Zaydī chronicle, *G͟hāyat al-amānī fī ak͟hbār al-ḳuṭr al-Yamānī*, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1968, 125, is under the year 130/748. It seems that the Ziyādids (203-*ca.* 409/818-*ca.* 1018), the Yuʿfirids (232-387/847-997) and the Ṣulayḥids (439-532/1047-1138) were all involved in the area, though never for lengthy periods. After 284/897, however, the town assumes major historical importance as the spiritual, and very frequently the political, capital of the Zaydī imāmate in the Yemen. It remains the spiritual capital to this day. When al-Hādī died in 298/910, he was buried in the mosque in Ṣaʿda which bore his name, as were two of his sons after him, al-Murtaḍā Muḥammad (d. 310/922) and al-Nāṣir Aḥmad (d. 324/935). The tomb and the mosque became particularly sacred among the Zaydīs.

Nowadays, one can still see the mud wall going back to the days of the Imām al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā S͟haraf al-Dīn (912-65/1506-57) and the five gates: Bāb al-Yaman (S), Bāb Nad͟jrān (N), Bāb al-Manṣūra, Bāb D͟juʿrān and Bāb al-Salām. Caravanserais (sing. *samsara*), baths and irrigation works abound, and on a large tell in the town the citadel, called al-Ḳas͟hla, is situated, built at the beginning of the second Ottoman occupation of the Yemen in the time of the Imām al-Manṣūr in the mid-13th/19th century. The major tribe in the area is K͟hawlān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥāf b. Ḳuḍāʿa and the province is divided into five sub-districts (sing. *nāḥiya*): Ṣuḥār, D͟jumāʿa, K͟hawlān, Rāziḥ (all of K͟hawlān b. ʿAmr) and Hamdān.

From the year 294/906 Ṣaʿda became the most important Zaydī mint-town in the Yemen.

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(G.R. Smith)

ṢADĀ (a.), a term with many meanings, including those of thirst, voice, echo, and screech-owl in the sense of *hāma*, which denotes a bird charged with taking shape in the skull of someone who has been murdered, etc. (see the lexica).

It is this latter sense which interests us here. In effect, the pre-Islamic Arabs believed that after death, above all after a violent death, out of the blood of the skull (*hāma*) and parts of the body there arose a bird called *hāma* (or *hām*, the male owl; see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 376), which returned to the tomb of the dead man until vengeance was exacted. This idea was not peculiar to the Arabs; according to F. Cumont (*Lux perpetua*, Paris 1949, 293), "the idea was in ancient times widespread amongst all the peoples of the Mediterranean basin that the essence or the essential being which gave life to a man escaped from the corpse in the form of a bird, above all, in the form of a bird of prey" (other refs. in T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale*, 3 n. 1).

Allusions to this belief are frequent in ancient poetry. One may cite, e.g., Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd, *Muʿallaḳa*, v. 61; ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-T͟haʿlabī of G͟haṭafān, in al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, iii, 2, no. 93, 585; Abū Duʾād al-Iyādī, in *Ag͟hānī*, xvi, 39; Ḳays b. ʿAṣim, in Ibn al-At͟hīr, i, 289-90; and D͟hu 'l-Iṣbaʿ al-ʿAdwānī, in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1924, iii, 121. In general, these poets reproach the family of the murdered person for delaying avenging him, thus delaying the appeasing of his soul. Other poets refer to the echo (*ṣadā*) of a barking announcing a fire implying hospitality [see nār], as in the case of Murra b. Maḥkān, cited by al-Tibrīzī, in *Ḥamāsa*, 690; or else the echo indicating the way to someone lost, as in the case of ʿUtayba b. Buḥayr al-Māzinī and Abū Muḳbil, cited in *ibid.*, 685.

As for the historical and lexicographical sources, they reproduce the same notion set forth above, with slight variants (see esp. al-S͟hahrastānī, *Milal*, in the margins of Ibn Ḥazm, iii, 221; Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, iii, 310-13 = §§ 1191-5; *Ag͟hānī*, xvi, 96; al-Tibrīzī, in *Ḥamāsa*, 454; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 440, citing Mālik b. Anas).

The Prophet denied the existence of three things which formed part of the superstitions of the D͟jāhiliyya, saying, *lā ʿadwā wa-lā hāma wa-lā ṣafar* "there is no contagion, no death owl and no intestinal worms". People subsequently personified these three things and made them responsible, e.g., for contagion with a camel in contact with another there arises leprosy, or digestive and nervous disorders caused by a tapeworm. It is God, he affirms, who afflicts mankind by means of these ills (see *Concordance*, s.vv. al-Tibrīzī, in *Ḥamāsa*, 454; al-S͟hahrastānī, *loc. cit.*, al-Masʿūdī, *loc. cit.*; *LʿA*, s.vv.; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 119).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 3; idem, *La divination arabe*[2], Paris 1987, 513, s.v. *Hibou*.

(T. Fahd)

ṢADAF (A.) (sing. *ṣadafa*) denotes two classes of molluscs: 1. Mussels (*Lamellibranchiata*); 2. Snails (*Gastropoda*), both including the mother-of-pearl. Pearls [see AL-DURR; LU'LU'], originating from the excrescences in the interior of the pearl mussel (*ṣadaf al-durr, al-ṣadaf al-lu'lu'ī*), are of great economic importance. To the edible mussels belong the oysters (*asṭūrū* < ὄστρειον) and, as a popular foodstuff, the common mussel, *Mytilus edulis L., Gr.* μύακες, which, from the ancient pharmacology of Dioscurides, came into the Arabic pharmacopoeias as *miyāķis*. The same applies to the flat mussel, *Tellina planata*, Gr. τελλῖναι, Ar. *dillīnas*. The juice of mussels known as χῆμαι, Ar. *khīmī* (probably *Chana Lazarus* L.) is said to get the digestion going.

Among the snails, the most important are several varieties of the Murex species of the family of the Purpura (*ṣadaf furfūrā* or *ṣadaf al-firfīr*, Gr. πορφύρα). The hypobranchial gland, situated in their mantle cavity, secretes the costly purple dye. Ibn Djuldjul relates that this snail is found in the Algarve [see GHARB AL-ANDALUS] and near Algeciras [see AL-DJAZĪRA AL-KHAḌRĀ'], and that only the Byzantine Emperor is entitled to wear purple. The horny shells of various water-snails, among which the Gr. ὄνυξ, Ar. *ūniķs*, are valued because of their aroma; with regard to their claw-shaped feet, they are also called *aẓfār al-ṭīb* "aromatic claws". The interior of the Purpura and of the trumpet-snail (*Tritonium nodiferum* L., Gr. κήρυκες, Ar. *ṣadaf ķīrūkis*), known as Gr. κιόνια, Ar. *kiyūniyā*, "columella", used to be burned for its etching power. The general term for snail in Arabic is in general *ḥalazūn*; in addition to this, the κοχλίας of Dioscurides was taken over as *kukhliyās* and explained by way of *ķawķan*, the usual term in Hispano-Arabic. Referring to the *K. al-Riḥla* of Ibn al-Rūmiyya, Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, iii, 82, mentions a *ṣadaf al-bawāsīr* which, according to its name, was appropriate for the treatment of hemorrhoids; it was indigenous to the Red Sea coast. Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1396, 166, mentions a Babylonian and a Red Sea snail (*ṣadaf bābilī/ķulzumī*).

In pharmaco-zoology, all varieties of mussels and snails are grouped together as *Limnaces*. Since Dioscurides, the burnt shells of various land and sea snails, mussels and oysters have been in use. Burned with salt in a pan, the shells proved to be a good dentifrice. With the ashes, ulcers could be cleansed and the healing of fresh wounds be quickened. The meat of the trumpet snail is tasty and digestible. Common mussels, when burned and mixed with honey, soften swollen eye-lids, remove obscuration of the pupils, etc.

Finally, the mother-of-pearl, the innermost layer of the shell of mussels and snails, acquires on the inside, through incident light, the well-known soft, iridescent colour, which has made it suitable and coveted for inlaid work and for making jewellery. The mother-of-pearl is called, *ʿirķ (ʿurūķ) al-lu'lu'* "the veins of the pearl". On this, al-Dimashķī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren 78, 6-8, tr. 90, remarks: "From the layers of the pearl mussel are won plates (*ṣafā'iḥ*), which are similar to pearls and are called *ʿurūķ al-lu'lu'*. Each pearl is said to contain one hundred different layers, veined on two sides, which have stimulated poets, mystics and philosophers to use them as images".

Bibliography: The Greek names, mentioned in the article, are all found in Dioscurides, *De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, Lib. II, chs. 4-9 (pp. 122-5); their Arabic renderings are accordingly found in the translation by Stephanos-Ḥunayn: *La "Materia médica" de Dioscórides*, ii, ed. Dubler and Terés, 1952-7, 128-31, and in Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, iii, 81-2, tr. Leclerc, no. 1393; A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, ii, 198-202; idem, *Die Dioscurides-Erklärung des Ibn al-Bayṭār*, Göttingen 1991, 92-4. For pearls in general, see AL-DURR and LU'LU'.

(A. DIETRICH)

AL-ṢADAFĪ, ABŪ ʿALĪ ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD b. Fīrruh (from the Romance word *fiero*, i.e. *al-ḥadīd*) b. Muḥammad b. Ḥayyūn b. Sukkara/Sukkaruh al-Ṣadafī al-Saraķusṭī, known commonly as Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī or Ibn Sukkara, Muslim Spanish scholar and traditionist.

According to ʿIyāḍ, he was born in Saragossa around the year 454/1062. He studied in that town, among others, with Abu 'l-Walīd al-Bādjī [*q.v.*], in Valencia with al-ʿUdhrī and in Almería with Ibn Saʿdūn al-Ķarawī and Ibn al-Murābiṭ. He travelled to the East on 1 Muḥarram 481/1088, performing the pilgrimage and searching for knowledge in Mahdiyya, Cairo, Mecca, Baṣra, Anbār, Wāsiṭ, Baghdād (where his stay lasted five years), Damascus (Ibn ʿAsākir mentioned him in his *Ta'rīkh Dimashķ* because of his visit to the town), Alexandria and Tinnīs. Among his many teachers during his *riḥla*, two were Andalusians, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī and al-Ṭurṭūshī [*q.v.*], as well as Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, Abū Yaʿlā al-Mālikī, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Djurdjānī, Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Khayrūn, Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Siwār (author of the *Kitāb al-Mustanīr fi 'l-ķirā'āt*), al-Mubārak b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Ṣayrafī, Ṭirād b. Muḥammad al-Zaynabī and Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Djārūd. With the Shāfiʿī Abū Bakr al-Shāshī he studied his *al-Taʿlīķa al-kubrā fī masā'il al-khilāf*. In Cairo, al-Ṣadafī obtained the *idjāza* from Abū Isḥāķ al-Ḥabbāl, the most reputed traditionist of the time who had been forbidden to teach by the Fāṭimids. In Ṣafar 490/1096, al-Ṣadafī arrived in al-Andalus, settling in Murcia, where he taught in the *djāmiʿ* mosque, attracting students from all over the Peninsula. Although he was considered a competent expert in *ķirā'āt*, he excelled especially in the science of *ḥadīth*, not only because of the quality of his knowledge but also because of his "high" *isnāds* (i.e. the fact that his chains of transmission had very few links). His powerful memory apparently allowed him to learn by heart entire compilations of *ḥadīth*, remembering both *matn* and *isnād*. He himself copied some of those compilations, like al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* which, together with al-Tirmidhī's *Muṣannaf*, constituted the basis of his teachings. It is said that the major part of the copies of al-Bukhārī's work in the Maghrib are either in the *riwāya* of al-Bādjī (from Abū Dharr), or in the *riwāya* of Ibn Sukkara (transmitted by Ibn Saʿāda). Al-Ṣadafī's own production was limited. Apart from a *Fahrasa*, it consists mainly of *ḥadīth* works: *Djuz' min ḥadīthihi ʿan shuyūkhihi al-baghdādiyyīn, Musalsalāt, Subāʿiyyāt* (collected by Abu 'l-Rabīʿ b. Sālim). Pons and al-Kattānī credit him with writing a work on the *shuyūkh* of his teacher Ibn al-Djārūd. But al-Ṣadafī was mostly a transmitter, and as such he plays an important role in ʿIyāḍ's *Ghunya* and in Ibn Khayr's *Fahrasa*. Apart from some works in the field of Ķur'ānic sciences and ascetism, he transmitted mainly *ḥadīth* works by authors like Ibn Khayrūn, Abu 'l-Fawāris Ṭirād, Abū Bakr al-Barķānī, Abū Nuʿaym, al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān al-Nasawī al-Shaybānī, Ibn Shāhīn, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Azdī, Abū ʿUbayd, al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafa, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn Bashrān, al-Ḥākim, al-Dāraķuṭnī, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Djārūd and Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī. Many of these transmissions were of works on *ʿilm al-ridjāl* by authors like Ibn ʿAdī,

al-Bukhārī, al-Nasāʾī, al-Kalābādhī, Muslim, Abū Bakr al-Barḳānī and al-Bādjī, as well as *ḥadīth* collections. He is remembered as having recited some verses from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣūrī against those who attacked traditionists and *ʿilm al-ḥadīth*. As a Mālikī, he also transmitted *fiḳh* works of this school and some *fahāris* like those of Ibn Khayrūn, al-Bādjī, Ibn Saʿdūn and Ibn al-Ṭuyūrī. Al-Ṣadafī was one of the central figures of his generation in the transmission of *ʿilm*, as has been shown by Urvoy. Among his Andalusian pupils there were members of the Banū Saʿāda, his relatives by marriage (he was married to a daughter of Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. Saʿāda) who inherited his books and documents. Al-Ṣadafī gave the *idjāza* to Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn ʿAṭiyya and Abu 'l-Ṭāhir al-Silafī. Another pupil of his was Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*], who studied with him in Ceuta and who wrote al-Ṣadafī's *Mashyakha*. Another *Muʿdjam shuyūkh al-Ṣadafī* was written by Ibn al-Dabbāgh al-Undī (d. 543/1148 or 546/1151). For his part, Ibn al-Abbār wrote the *Muʿdjam* of al-Ṣadafī's pupils, edited by F. Codera.

Al-Ṣadafī's career as *ḳāḍī* in Murcia was short-lived on his own choice. Although both the people and the Almoravid ruler are depicted as desiring him to be judge and forcing him to accept the post in the year 505/1111, he did so reluctantly and soon decided to retire. His resignation was not accepted and he went into hiding in Almería, finally being allowed to devote himself to the propagation of *ʿilm* (see A.J. Wensinck, *The refused dignity*, in *A volume of oriental studies presented to E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 491 ff., on the recurrent motif of the scholars' refusal to be judges). The letter written by al-Ṣadafī to ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn explaining his refusal to be *ḳāḍī* has been preserved by Yāḳūt. He died a martyr in the battle of Cutanda in the frontier of al-Andalus in the year 514/1120, fighting as a volunteer against the Christians (see Noth's and Urvoy's articles on the meaning of the participation of scholars in *djihād*).

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2. Studies. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, 177-8, no. 143; M. Ben Cheneb, *Etude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjāza du Cheikh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsy*, Paris 1907, 141-3, no. 91; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Le Ṣaḥīḥ d'al-Bujārī. Réproduction en phototype des manuscrits originaux de la récension occidentale dite "Récension d'Ibn Saʿāda" établie à Murcie en 492 de l'Hégire (1099 de J.C.)*, Paris 1928; J.W. Fück, *Beiträge zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte von Buḫārī's Traditionssammlung*, in *ZDMG*, xlii (1938), 74, and 77, no. 30; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, iv, 56; Ziriklī, ii, 255; ʿA.Ḥ. al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, 2nd ed., Beirut 1402/1982, ii, 705-9, no. 364; J. Mª Fórneas, *Elencos bibliográficos arábigoandaluces. Estudio especial de la "Fahrasa" de Ibn ʿAṭiyya al-Garnāṭī (481-541/1088-1147)*, Extracto de Tesis Doctoral, Madrid 1971, 18-19; V. Lagardère, *La haute judicature à l'époque almoravide en al-Andalus*, in *Al-Qanṭara*, vii (1986), 135-228, esp. 221-8 (to be read with caution); J. Robson, *The transmission of Tirmidhī's* Jāmiʿ, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 258-70; D. Urvoy, *Sur l'evolution de la notion de ǧihād dans l'Espagne musulmane*, in *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, ix (1973), 335-71; idem, *Le monde des ulémas andalous du V/XI au VII/XIII*, Geneva 1978, 62-3, 70-8, 95-6, 99-104, 137-72; Mª I. Fierro, *Obras y transmisiones de* ḥadīṯ *(ss. V/XI-VII/XII) en la* Takmila *de Ibn al-Abbār*, in *Ibn al-Abbar. Polític i escriptor àrab valencià (1199-1260)*, Valencia 1990, 205-22; A. Noth, *Les* ʿulamāʾ *en qualité de guerriers*, in *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam*, Madrid 1993 (forthcoming). (MARIBEL FIERRO)

ṢADĀḲ, the equivalent of *mahr* [*q.v.*], dowry. Lane gives *ṣadāḳ*, with the alternative *ṣidāḳ* (noting that the former is more common but the latter more "chaste"), plurals *ṣuduḳ*, *ṣudḳ*, and *aṣdiḳa* as "the *mahr* of a woman". Amongst the other alternative forms given by Lane the most commonly found is *ṣaduḳa* (pl. *ṣaduḳāt*) and the form IV verb of the same root, *aṣdaḳa*, means to name or give a *ṣadāḳ* upon taking a woman in marriage. Al-Djazīrī says that it is derived from *ṣidḳ* truth, honesty, sincerity as it is an indication of the husband's desire to marry by the giving of money; thus the literal meaning is the giving of money which indicates the desire to contract marriage. *Ṣadāḳ* is not found in this form in the Ḳurʾan, but only *ṣaduḳāt* (pl. of *ṣaduḳa*) in sūra IV, 4: "Give the women their *ṣaduḳāt* as a gift". Both *ṣadāḳ* and *ṣaduḳa* appear in *ḥadīth*. "Djābir says: the Prophet of God said: 'He who gives his wife in *ṣadāḳ* a handful of *sawīḳ* [*q.v.*] or dates shall be permitted' (i.e. the marriage shall be valid)." In the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Mālik uses *ṣadāḳ* rather than any of the synonyms.

Bibliography: *LʿA*; Lane; Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*; al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān Bahādur, *Ḥusn al-uswa*, Beirut, 243-6; Djazīrī, *K. al-fiḳh ala 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Beirut 1986, iv, 94; Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī, *Sunan*, part 2, §§ 2105-8. (D.S. EL ALAMI)

ṢADAḲA (A.) has among its meanings that of voluntary alms, often referred to in Islamic literature as *ṣadaḳat al-taṭawwuʿ* "alms of spontaneity", or *ṣadaḳat al-nafl* "alms of supererogation", in distinction to obligatory alms, frequently also termed *ṣadaḳa*, but more commonly known as *zakāt* [*q.v.*]. Both *ṣadaḳa* and *zakāt* are considered by Muslim writers to be of purely Arabic derivation; alms being called *ṣadaḳa* as indicating the sincerity (*ṣidḳ*) of the almgiver's religious belief (e.g. Ibn al-ʿArabi, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1387/1967, ii, 946-7; al-Shirbīnī, *al-Iḳnāʿ*, Cairo i, 212; M. Hamidullah, *Introduction to Islam*, Paris 1388/1968, 68; Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Būlāk, repr. Beirut 1968, i, 548, followed by al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-sāda al-muttaḳīn*, Cairo, iv, 163, derives it from *ṣadḳ*, as being hard on the soul), and *zakāt* with reference to the increase (*yazkū*) or purification (*zakī*) of the property from which they are given (e.g. Ibn Baṭṭāl al-Rakbī, *al-Naẓm al-mustaʿdhab*, on the margin of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *al-Muhadhdhab*, Cairo, i, 140). Modern critical scholarship, however, regards both words as

borrowings, probably directly from Jewish usage (A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 153, 194). *Ṣadaḳa* reflects the Hebrew *ṣ^edāḳā*, which from its original meaning of righteousness developed the sense of alms given to the poor and is commonly used in this sense in Apocryphal and Rabbinic literature, if not already in the Hebrew Bible (cf. F. Rosenthal, *Sedaka, charity*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xxiii/1 [1950-1], 411-414). *Zakāt* is derived from the Jewish Aramaic *zāk̲h̲ūt̲h̲ā*, not attested in classical Jewish sources in the sense of alms (Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 25, but see J. Horovitz, *Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran*, in *HUCA*, ii [1925], repr. Hildesheim 1964, 206 [62]), but which may have acquired this meaning through its common use as the Targumic rendering of *ṣ^edaḳa* (H.J. Kasovsky, *Oṣar les̲h̲ōn targūm Onkelos* (*Concordance*), Jerusalem 1933-40, revised ed. 1986, i, 156) in Biblical passages understood by post-Biblical Jews to refer to alms, an evolution that would parallel that of the Greek *eleēmosynē* (H. Balz and Schneider (eds.), *Exegetical dictionary of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids Mich. 1990, i, 428-9; but cf. G. Levi Della Vida, in *RSO*, iv/4 [1911-12], 1067-9). Modern Muslims have tended to find the claim of borrowing unconvincing (e.g. Yūsuf al-Ḳarḍāwī, *Fiḳh al-zakāt*, Beirut 1397/1977, i, 38-9 referring to *EI*¹). Borrowed in turn from Muslims, *ṣadaḳa* and its derivatives are found in the religious writings of Jews and Christians under Islam (e.g. Bak̲h̲ya b. Paḳūdā, *al-Hidāya ilā farā'iḍ al-ḳulūb*, ed. Yahuda, Leiden 1912, 211 (*al-ṣadaḳa wa 'l-zakāt*); Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ, *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿaḳl*, ed. Ebied and Young, Louvain 1975, 19). *Ṣadaḳa* is found as a male personal name for Muslims, starting from the second generation (Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahd̲h̲īb al-tahd̲h̲īb*, iv, 414-9; A. Schimmel, *Islamic names*, Edinburgh 1989, 41; Brockelmann, S III, 765 (Ṣadaḳat Allāh)), and Jews (S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, Berkeley 1967-93, ii, 576 n. 21, vi, 103-4; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfurt 1902, 329, 331 (Samaritans)) and more recently as a Christian surname (G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, The Vatican, v, 138).

1. Ṣadaḳa *in the Ḳur'ān*. *Ṣadaḳa* and its related verbal forms (*taṣaddaḳa* and the assimilated *iṣṣaddaḳa*) are used 24 times in the Ḳur'ān. All of the passages except XII, 88, stem from the Medinan period (noted by Horovitz, 212 [68]), but the appearance of the plural form in the sense of alms (not a Jewish usage), the existence of the denominative verb *taṣaddaḳa*, to give alms (cf. Rosenthal, 423), and its usage in the extended sense of relinquishing a right (II, 280, V, 45, XII, 88) suggest that the history of *ṣadaḳa* in Arabic is pre-Islamic (cf. J. Obermann, *Islamic origins*, in N.A. Faris, ed., *The Arab heritage*, Princeton 1944, 109-10), a supposition supported by *ḥadīt̲h̲* which depict the giving of *ṣadaḳa* as familiar to both Arabian Jews and pagans before Islam (al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, Cairo 1308, viii, 302; A.J. Wensinck, *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina*, tr. W. Behn, Freiburg im Breisgau 1978, 101). *Ṣaduḳa*, which appears in Ḳur'ān, IV, 4, in the sense of the bride's payment, more commonly known as the *ṣadāḳ* or *mahr*, is of Arabic origin (J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, in *NGW Gott*., xi [1893], 434; Rosenthal, 420-1; the variant *ṣadaḳa* is not well attested (cf. Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1329, iii, 166, not recorded) and appears to be a philologist's creation (cf. Ibn K̲h̲ālawayh, *Muk̲h̲taṣar fī s̲h̲awād̲h̲d̲h̲ al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Bergsträsser, Leipzig 1934, 24)). In the Ḳur'ān, but not the *ḥadīt̲h̲*, *zakāt*, perhaps formed to rhyme with another Aramaic borrowing, *ṣalāt*, with which it is so frequently paired in the Ḳur'ān (A. Spitaler, *Die Schreibung des Typus ṣlwt im Koran*, in *WZKN*, lvi [1960], 217)), is used only in the singular, like the Hebrew *ṣedaḳa*, and has no denominative verb corresponding to its sense of giving alms (noted by W.M. Watt and A.T. Welch, *Der Islam*, Stuttgart 1980, i, 302, but cf. on the latter point Fr. Schulthess, in *ZA*, xxvi [1912], 153, and Horovitz, 206 [62]). *Zakāt* thus appears to have a shorter history as an Arabic word than *ṣadaḳa* and a more pronounced religious colouring, for only it, not *ṣadaḳa*, is used in the Kur'ān in connection with prophets before Muhammad (Watt and Welch, i, 302).

According to Arabic lexicographers *ṣadaḳa* is broader than *zakāt* and is used in the Ḳur'ān for both voluntary and obligatory alms. It thus happens that certain of the most important Ḳur'ānic provisions concerning *zakāt* are couched in terms of *ṣadaḳa* (e.g. IX, 60). In some cases, it is regarded as doubtful whether *ṣadaḳa* is being used to refer to voluntary alms or *zakāt* or both (e.g. II, 271). A similar uncertainty extends to verses which refer to "spending" (*infāḳ*) (e.g. II, 3) and "giving" (e.g. II, 177). To complicate matters, *zakāt* is on occasion, it is claimed, used to refer to voluntary alms (e.g. Ḳur'ān V, 55, al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl*, ed. Fleischer, Leipzig 1846-8, i, 263 (given by ʿAlī while praying); Ḳur'ān, XXX, 39; al-D̲j̲azā'irī, *Ḳalā'id al-durar*, al-Nad̲j̲af n.d., i, 284).

It has been argued that the distinction between voluntary and obligatory *ṣadaḳa* is post-Ḳur'ānic (C. Snouck Hurgronje, *La Zakāt*, in *Selected works*, ed. G.H. Bousquet and J. Schacht, Leiden 1957, 150-70 [*Verspr. Geschr.*, ii, 1-58]). But verses such as II, 177, which refers both to giving one's property to beggars, among others, and to the giving of *zakāt* and LVIII, 13, which enjoins those who have failed to give *ṣadaḳa* to give *zakāt*, indicate that the Kur'an does make a distinction between voluntary alms and *zakāt*, as does IX, 79, which speaks of "believers who give alms of their own accord (*muṭṭawwiʿīn*)" (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *K. al-Ḳabas fī s̲h̲arḥ Muwaṭṭa' Mālik*, ed. Walad Karīm, Beirut 1992, iii, 1191). According to the Islamic sources, voluntary almsgiving, already practiced in Mecca, predates *zakāt*, which was instituted in Medina (e.g. al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl*, on VI, 141; on the date of imposition of *zakāt*, see Hurgronje, *La Zakat*, 157; cf. ʿAlī al-Ḳārī, *Mirḳāt al-mafātīḥ*, Cairo 1309, ii, 409 (*zakāt* was imposed in Mecca and regulated in detail in Medina).

The Ḳur'ānic provisions understood to refer to *ṣadaḳa* in its sense of voluntary alms touch upon themes developed throughout the Islamic tradition. God is spoken of as accepting the alms of His servants (IX, 104). The giving of alms to the poor in secret is said to be preferable to giving openly (II, 271). The proper motivation and demeanour of the almsgiver are indispensable to the religious value of the act: "O believers, do not render your alms of no account by obligation and insult, like one who expends his property for the sake of appearance before the people while not believing in God and the Last Day" (II, 264). The expiatory function of almsgiving is already found in II, 196, which institutes fasting, almsgiving, and sacrifice as atonement for the pilgrim's premature shaving of the head, and more generally in II, 271. The "verse of *ṣadaḳa*" (*āyat al-ṣadaḳa*), IX, 103, taken by most interpreters to refer to *zakāt*, is understood by some to refer to the taking of alms as expiation from certain Anṣārī penitents. The "verse of audience" (*āyat al-munād̲j̲āt*, *āyat al-nad̲j̲wa*), LVIII, 12, enjoins,

or at least encourages, the giving of *ṣadaḳa* before an audience with the Prophet. It is believed to have been in effect only briefly before being abrogated by LVIII, 13 (al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl*, ii, 320, cf. al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, Beirut, iv, 494).

Other Ḳur'ānic verses, although they do not use the term *ṣadaḳa*, figure prominently in later discussions. Several verses (II, 177, III, 92, LXXVI, 8) stress the significance of giving from what one loves. In II, 267, believers are told to give of the "good things" (*ṭayyibāt*) that they have acquired and not to seek out the bad things (*khabīth*) that they would not themselves gladly accept, a verse said to have been revealed when usurious income, now prohibited, was being given away as *ṣadaḳa*. The bountiful reward in store for one who gives "in the cause of God" (*fī sabīl Allāh*) (II, 261, seven-hundredfold) or "to seek God's pleasure" (*ibtighā' marḍāt Allāh*) (II, 265, twofold) is contrasted with the vanity of giving "in pursuit of the life of this world" (*al-ḥayāt al-dunyā*) (III, 117). "Who is it that will make God a goodly loan" (*ḳarḍ ḥasan*), so that He will increase it many times" (II, 245; cf. Proverbs, xix, 17) is said to have been revealed with reference to the Anṣārī Abu 'l-Daḥdāḥ, who gave an orchard of 600 palm trees as *ṣadaḳa* and was rewarded with one million orchards in the hereafter. Ḳur'ān LIX, 9 praises those "who prefer over themselves, even though they be in want," a passage understood to refer to the Medinan *Anṣār* who, setting an example of self-sacrifice (*īthār*), gave so generously to the *Muhādjirūn* (al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunna*, ed. al-Arnā'ūṭ, Damascus 1390/1400, repr. Beirut 1403/1983, vi, 181; al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl*, ii, 324). In other passages, however, the Ḳur'ān urges moderation in giving (VI, 141, cf. al-Bayḍāwī, *op. cit.*, i, 312; XXV, 67).

2. Ṣadaḳa *in* Ḥadīth. The subject of *ṣadaḳa* is dealt with in many *ḥadīth* (most easily accessible in ʿAlī al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, ed. Ḥayyānī and al-Saḳḳā, Aleppo 1391/1971, vi). Although *ṣadaḳa* is sometimes used for voluntary alms in explicit contrast to *zakāt*, its use in the sense of *zakāt* (found also in papyri (G. Khan, *Selected Arabic papyri*, Oxford 1992, i, 53)) remains frequent, with the result that in the classical collections of traditions, the *ḥadīth* dealing with voluntary almsgiving are often found in the chapters on *zakāt*. Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'*, however, already has in addition a separate section on voluntary almsgiving (in the recension of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Maṣmūdī, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo n.d., 615-18). In the interpretation of neither the *ḥadīth* nor the Ḳur'ān was agreement reached as to which sense of *ṣadaḳa* was to be presumed as intended in the absence of further evidence.

Beyond the ambiguity occasioned by the continued use of *ṣadaḳa* for *zakāt*, there is further uncertainty in the interpretation of some traditions created by the not infrequent use of *ṣadaḳa* in the sense of permanent alms (*ṣadaḳa djāriya*), i.e. the trust or *waḳf* [*q.v.*] (on this use in papyri, see R.G. Khoury, *Chrestomathie de papyrologie arabe*, Leiden 1993, 132-3 (Christian)). Some even claimed that *ṣadaḳa* was used in the *ḥadīth* in the sense of the poll tax (*djizya*) [*q.v.*], a usage others rejected as confined to the Taghlib and other Christian Arab tribes (*ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, ix, 4-5).

The references to *ṣadaḳa* in the *ḥadīth* are often of a homiletic character, stressing the excellence of alms given under one or another circumstance, whether that of the giver, the recipient, the time and place of the giving, or the gift (cf. al-Djazā'irī, *Ḳalā'id*, i, 309). Thus when asked what *ṣadaḳa* was best, the Prophet is reported to have answered: "the *ṣadaḳa* you give when you are still healthy and tight-fisted, fearing poverty and hoping for wealth (*Sharḥ al-sunna*, vi, 172-3; al-Tibrīzī, *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*, tr. J. Robson, Lahore 1975, i, 395 (cf. Ḳur'ān, LXIII, 10)). The merit of almsgiving thus lies in the degree of self-denial (*mudjāhadat al-nafs*) (*Itḥāf al-sāda*, iv, 168) a point made more explicitly in the tradition that states that the best *ṣadaḳa* is that which the person with little can manage to give (*djuhd al-muḳill*) (Wensinck, *Handbook*, 20; *Mishkāt*, i, 411 (cf. Ḳur'ān, IX, 79)). Because it is not the monetary value of what of what is given that is paramount, *ṣadaḳa* consisting of a dirham that constitutes half the almsgiver's property is more meritorious than 100,000 dirhams given by a person of great wealth (al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, Cairo 1383/1964, v, 44; ʿAlī al-Ḳārī, *Sharḥ ʿayn al-ʿilm*, Cairo, i, 157). Alms given to a nearer neighbour is better than that given to one more distant. Giving alms to a relative is particularly meritorious, since one earns the rewards both for *ṣadaḳa* and for cultivating family ties. The reward for *ṣadaḳa* given on Friday is double that on other days of the week. Other traditions identify the best *ṣadaḳa* as that given in Ramaḍān. The reward for giving voluntary alms in secret is seventy times that of giving it publicly (al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl*, i, 138, on II, 271; *ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, viii, 284). The place in which alms are given is also significant to its merit. A dirham given in Mecca, according to a Shīʿī tradition, merits a hundred-thousandfold reward, in Medina ten-thousandfold, in Kūfa one-thousandfold. "Whoever gives one dirham of *ṣadaḳa* in Jerusalem (*Bayt al-Maḳdis*) gains his ransom from hellfire, and whoever gives a loaf of bread there is like one who has given [the weight of] of the earth's mountains in gold" (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī). Of all that might be given as alms, water is pronounced to be best, and one who gives water to a thirsty Muslim will drink of the wine of Paradise.

The importance of giving *ṣadaḳa* to avert tribulations in this life and to avoid the punishment of hellfire in the hereafter is the topic of many *ḥadīths*. "Whoever can protect himself against hellfire should do so, even if it should be with half a date". An angel is said to pray that the almsgiver be rewarded, while another angel prays for the destruction of the property of the one who withholds alms. Angels in the form of beggars sometimes come to test a family (al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿā'im al-Islām*, ed. Fayḍī, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 333), and it was Jacob's failure to give alms to an unrecognised prophet in the guise of a beggar that led to the tragedy of Joseph (*ibid.*, ii, 333-4). Where one has nothing tangible to give, one can still utter a kindly word (cf. *Talmud Bavā Bathrā* 9b). Conduct meriting a reward is in fact frequently termed *ṣadaḳa* in the *ḥadīth*. Thus a man's lawful sexual intercourse is *ṣadaḳa*, as is giving assistance with the loading of a beast, and every step take toward prayer. Planting something from which a person, bird or animal later eats counts as *ṣadaḳa*. One who supports himself and his family is credited with *ṣadaḳa* (with proper intention; cf. *Kethubbōth*, 50a). In this extended sense, corresponding to a large degree with the Jewish *gemīlūth ḥasadīm*, "acts of loving kindness" (G.F. Moore, *Judaism*, Cambridge, Mass. 1927, ii, 171-4), even greeting another with a cheerful face is deemed *ṣadaḳa* (cf. *Avōth de-Rabbī Nathan*, xiii, 4). In short, every good deed is *ṣadaḳa* (*kullu maʿrūfin ṣadaḳa*). Not even affirmative action is required, for a Muslim whose property is stolen is credited with having given it as *ṣadaḳa*.

The continuity of Islamic teaching on *ṣadaḳa* with certain Jewish and Christian conceptions of almsgiv-

ing is evidenced by more than one tradition. "Alms averts a bad death (*mītat al-sūʾ*)" (*Kanz al-ʿummāl*, vi, 345, in many versions etc.; *maṣāriʿ al-sūʾ*, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, vi, 406) reproduces Proverbs, x, 2, "righteousness (*ṣʿdaḳa*) delivers from death," understood in the Talmud (*Bavā Bat͟hrā* 10a) to refer to almsgiving delivering one from an unnatural death (*mīt͟hā mes͟hunnā*; cf. Targum ad loc. *mōt͟hā bīs͟hā*). The depiction of the giver of alms as dressed in an expanding coat of mail is reminiscent of Isa., lix, 17, "He put on righteousness (*ṣʿdaḳa*) as a breastplate" which is taken in the Talmud (*Bavā Bat͟hrā* 9b) as comparing the assembly of a coat of armour, chain by chain, with the growth of small acts of almsgiving to a considerable sum. Several *ḥadīt͟hs* which stress the merit of secret almsgiving have exact Biblical parallels. "*Ṣadaḳa* in secret extinguishes the wrath of the Lord" renders Proverbs, xxi, 14, "a gift given in secret soothes anger" as interpreted in *Bavā Bat͟hrā* 9b. Christ's exhortation "do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing so that your giving may be in secret" (Matt., vi, 3,4) appears at the teaching of Muḥammad in several traditions (Wensinck, *Handbook*, 20; *Mis͟hkāt*, i, 407; noted by Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 384, and L. S͟hayk͟hū, *al-Naṣrāniyya wa ādābuhā bayna ʿarab al-d͟jāhiliyya*, Beirut 1923, ii/2, 319).

The model for generosity in almsgiving is provided by the Prophet Muḥammad, who is described in the *ḥadīt͟h* as "the most generous of men, bestowing more good than the loosed wind". He made it a point to give with his own hand and derived more joy from giving than the poor to whom he gave. When asked for anything, he never said no. If he had nothing to give, he remained silent (to elicit others to speak on behalf of the beggar). He is said never to have delivered a sermon without mentioning *ṣadaḳa*.

The Prophet's wives were also known for their almsgiving, notably Zaynab bint D͟jaḥs͟h, the "longest in arm" (*ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, viii, 282-3, others apply the tradition to Sawda), Zaynab bint K͟huzayma al-Hilāliyya, already known before Islam as the "mother of the poor" (*umm al-masākīn*) for her almsgiving, and ʿĀʾisha (al-G͟hazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1387/1967, i, 298), who insisted on returning any blessing bestowed upon her by those she had assisted with alms, thus setting an example of purity of motive (*ik͟hlāṣ*) in giving. Extraordinary generosity was exhibited by ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb, who, when the Prophet urged the giving of *ṣadaḳa*, hastened to give away half of what he owned, only to find that once again he was bested by Abū Bakr, who had given away all that he had. Another Companion, Abū D͟harr al-G͟hifārī [*q.v.*], popular among modern Muslims (M. Rodinson, *Islam and capitalism*, New York 1973, 25), is said to have regarded the best *ṣadaḳa* as the most unsparing. Abū D͟harr was exiled by the caliph ʿUt͟hmān upon the complaint of Muʿāwiya, then governor of Syria, for his controversial view that *zakāt* had not abrogated all other forms of obligatory *ṣadaḳa* and that the Ḳurʾānic condemnation of "those who hoard gold and silver and do not expend it in the way of God" (IX, 34) was not averted by the payment of *zakāt*.

According to the *ḥadīt͟h*, the Prophet, himself so generous in giving *ṣadaḳa*, was scrupulous in not taking it, while accepting gifts intended as tokens of esteem (*hadiyya*) (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, iii, 1449-50). It is agreed that the Prophet was prohibited from receiving *zakāt*, which, by cleansing the property and persons of those who pay it, acquires a taint of impurity, but opinions differ as to why the Prophet would not accept voluntary *ṣadaḳa*. Most, including Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-S͟haybānī, held that he was prohibited from taking it. Among the explanations offered for this prohibition are the indignity, inconsistent with the prophetic office, of accepting alms, the appearance of self-interest (*tuhma*) were the Prophet to accept *ṣadaḳa* while urging others to give it, and the meritoriousness of the Prophet's special deprivation. A minority of scholars, including al-S͟hāfiʿī (*al-Umm*, Cairo 1321-5, iii, 279), entertained the possibility that the Prophet was permitted to accept *ṣadaḳa* but refrained from doing so out of pious scruple. On either view, the Prophet would be free to use amenities, such as wells, dedicated to the use of public at large. The Prophet's declining to accept the *ṣadaḳa* is deemed to be one of the signs of his prophethood (*dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*), the recognition of which led Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] to embrace Islam. There is disagreement whether or not it constitutes a proof for other prophets as well.

Also characteristic of the Prophet, according to the majority of Muslims, but not Imāmī or Ismāʿīlī S͟hīʿīs, is that upon his death he left nothing to his heirs, all his property being *ṣadaḳa*, used here in a sense that includes the *waḳf* of his real property (Wensinck, *Handbook*, 162; cf. I. Hrbek, *Muḥammads Nachlass und die Aliden*, in *ArO*, xviii/3 [1950], 145-6). Here, too, the avoidance of an appearance of self-interest is cited in explanation (*ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, xxiii, 232). According to most authorities, all other prophets were like Muḥammad in leaving no estate for their heirs, but al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī argued on the basis of Ḳurʾān, XIX, 6, and XXVII, 16, that other prophets had left estates, and certain Baṣrans, including Ibn ʿUlayya (d. 218/833), understood the fact of Muhammad's having left no estate to represent one of the personal distinctions (*faḍīla*) granted him, rather than an incident of the prophetic office as such.

3. Ṣadaḳa *in Islamic law*. In addition to using *ṣadaḳa* for voluntary alms, Muslim jurists continue to use the word in a number of other meanings. As in the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt͟h*, *ṣadaḳa* and *zakāt* are often used interchangeably for obligatory alms in legal literature, with which should be included the editorial matter of the *ḥadīt͟h* collections (cf. the occasional doubling usage *al-zakāt wa 'l-ṣadaḳāt* in al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, i, 251 and *Taʾwīl al-daʿāʾim*, ed. al-Aʿẓamī, Cairo, ii, 124, 128). However, against the view that saw them as entirely equivalent (e.g. al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1386/1966, 113), others attempted to draw a distinction based on Ḳurʾānic usage between *zakāt*, which is to be given to the authorities (*īlāʾ al-zakāt*), and *ṣadaḳa*, which the authorities are directed to take (Ḳurʾān, IX, 103). On this view, which corresponds to the distinction between *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* property [see ZAKĀT], *ṣadaḳa* is applicable to lifestock and crops, while *zakāt*, a special kind of *ṣadaḳa*, applies to such personal property (*amwāl*) as gold and silver. This usage, identified as that of certain Ḥanafīs, has left its traces, and a preference for using *ṣadaḳa* to refer to the tax on livestock can be noted elsewhere as well (e.g. Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 167-87). Although *ṣadaḳa* continues to be used for *waḳf*, an effort to reduce ambiguity can be observed in such expressions as *al-ṣadaḳāt al-mawḳūfāt*, *al-ṣadaḳāt al-muḥarramāt* (*al-Umm*, iii, 280-1), *al-ṣadaḳāt al-musabbala* (Ibn Muẓaffar, *K. al-Bayān al-s͟hāfī*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1404/1984, i, 533 (Zaydī), and *ṣadaḳa muʾabbada* (Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Īḍāḥ al-fawāʾid*, ed. al-Kirmanī, Ḳumm 1388, ii, 378). The use of *ṣadaḳa* to refer to expiatory penalties is also found (al-Tahānawī, *K. Kas͟hs͟hāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1862, i, 851).

Ṣadaḳa as a distinct juristic institution only partially

reflects the various forms of charitable giving known to Islam. For the jurist, *ṣadaḳa* falls under the general heading of charitable gifts (*birr*) or gratuitous transfers, *tabarruʿāt*. More specifically, it is treated as a species of gift, *hiba* "in the wider sense" (*bi 'l-maʿnā al-aʿamm*), that is, a gratuitous transfer of tangible property (also *ʿaṭiyya*). It is distinguished from other species of gift by the intention with which it is given, which must be to please God (*li-wadjh Allāh*) in the hope of a reward in the hereafter (*thawāb al-ākhira* (al-Sanʿānī..., Beirut 1405/1985. *Subul al-salām*, ii, 196) and not for any wordly purpose such as to acquire a gift from the donee, which would render it an ordinary gift (also termed *hiba*) or to honour the donee (*hadiyya*). It must, that is, constitute a *ḳurba*, an act performed as a means of coming closer to God. The significance of the donor's intention is evidenced by the Prophet's acceptance of gifts as *hadiyya* but not *ṣadaḳa*, a distinction also found in the form of an explicit prophetic tradition and reflected in the classification of gifts attributed to ʿAlī. Gifts of usufruct (*manfaʿa*) are by definition excluded from *ṣadaḳa*, and fall under the headings of license to consume (*ibāḥa, ḍiyāfa*), loan (*ʿāriya*) or trust (*waḳf*). The extent to which *ṣadaḳa* is separately treated in legal works varies from text to text, and even in those cases where there is a separate discussion of *ṣadaḳa*, some of the rules governing it are to be found in the chapters on gifts and *zakāt*, although it is not to be regarded as a recommended (*sunna*) form of *zakāt* (recommended *zakāt* is, however, known to Imāmī law, Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, *al-Nihāya*, Beirut 1390/1970, 176).

Islamic law, by way of the *ḥadīth*, has preserved only a few of the distinct forms of gift giving known to the Arabs, e.g. the *minḥa* or *manīḥa*, said to be the best kind of *ṣadaḳa*. With Islam there came a radically simpler set of distinctions (even the difference between *hiba* and *hadiyya* is a terminological innovation), in which *ṣadaḳa*, defined by its religious intention, held a special place. Not surprisingly there was a discernible tendency for those giving gifts to prefer the label *ṣadaḳa*, with its connotation of a pious motive, for their transactions, sometimes to the consternation of jurists and with consequences, such as irrevocability, that the donors may not have contemplated. Thus in several Shīʿī traditions Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ is reported to have complained of an erroneous extension, unknown in the Prophet's day, of the term *ṣadaḳa* to ordinary gifts (al-Baḥrānī, *al-Ḥadāʾiḳ al-nāḍira*, ed. al-Irwānī, Beirut 1405/1985, xxii, 262-5; al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, ed. al-Ghaffārī, Tehran 1388-91, vii, 31; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Istibṣār*, ed. al-Kharsān, Tehran 1390, iv, 110; but cf. al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār*, ii, 3-4 (*hiba* labelled *ṣadaḳa* in the Prophet's time).

While the giving of ordinary gifts is recommended (*mandūb ilayhi*), to give *ṣadaḳa* is especially recommended, and, on the basis of the many Ḳurʾānic verses and traditions enjoining it, is classified by later Shāfiʿīs as "strongly recommended" (*sunna muʾakkada*). Under certain circumstances, however, it may be prohibited to give *ṣadaḳa*, as for instance, when doing so would prejudice discharging one's obligation to support family members or pay off creditors, or when the giver knows or suspects that the *ṣadaḳa* will be used for an illegal purpose (*maʿṣiya*).

Even in such cases, however, the preferred view is that the donee acquires a good title. It is debated to what extent *ṣadaḳa* to a person in dire need is to be deemed obligatory. It is recommended that the gift of *ṣadaḳa* be accompanied by a supplication to God for its acceptance.

The rules governing the enforceability of the contract (*ʿaḳd*) of *ṣadaḳa* are essentially the same as those governing an ordinary gift, including the full legal capacity of the donor to enter into gratuitous transactions and the limitation on death-bed transactions [see HIBA]. However, some relaxation of the rules of gifts in their application to *ṣadaḳa* is occasionally to be noted. Thus most Shāfiʿīs in the case of *ṣadaḳa* dispense with the offer and acceptance (*al-īdjāb wa 'l-ḳabūl*) required by them for the validity of a gift. Although most jurists regard the taking of possession (*ḳabḍ, iḥrāz*) as just as essential to the enforceability of *ṣadaḳa* as of gifts, Isḥāḳ b. Rāhawayh made an exception of *ṣadaḳa*, as did al-Shāfiʿī for a time, and this is also reported of a number of early jurists (al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324-31, xii, 48). The Mālikīs, starting from the enforceability in principle of an agreement to make a gift (possession being required to perfect the rights of the donee), go furthest in this direction. The declaration of a firm present intention, or indeed the present intention alone (*al-tabtīl bi 'l-niyya*), to give a particular person *ṣadaḳa*, according to the accepted (*mashhūr*) teaching of Mālik, is enforceable against the donor, so that *ṣadaḳa*, like *ṣᵉdaḳa* in Jewish law (cf. Maimonides, *Mishne Torā, Hilkhōth Mattenōth ʿAniyyim*, 8:1), is to this extent analysed as in the nature of a vow, rather than a contract. Along similar lines, *ṣadaḳa* intended for a particular person who cannot be found, according to some early authorities, including al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, must be given as *ṣadaḳa* to another (cf. *Talmud ʿArakhīm* 6a).

There is disagreement as to what extent the donor of *ṣadaḳa* can bind the donee by conditions attached to the gift. The Shāfiʿīs give effect to such conditions and hold that it is prohibited for the donee to use the *ṣadaḳa* otherwise than according to the terms of the gift. Ḥanafī, Ḥanbalī, Ẓāhirī, Twelver Shīʿī and Zaydī teaching, to the contrary, invalidates all terms and conditions inconsistent with an outright gift of the *ṣadaḳa* property (on the different Mālikī views, see al-Ḥaṭṭāb, *Mawāhib al-djalīl*, Cairo 1329, vi, 50-1).

A vow (*nadhr*) to give *ṣadaḳa* is discouraged, since the maker of the vow may never discharge it or may do so grudgingly. A vow to give *ṣadaḳa* may be discharged before the time originally stated, and a vow to give a specific thing as *ṣadaḳa* may be discharged by giving its value. A vow to give *ṣadaḳa* to the wealthy is said to be invalid. Disagreement is reported as to the judicial enforceability of a vow such as "If I have sexual intercourse with my slave-girl, she is yours as *ṣadaḳa*," said by a husband to his wife, where the intention is clearly not charitable (*nadhr al-ladjādj*).

Unlike *zakāt*, in which the nature and value of the property due is fixed by law (*muḳaddar*), the giver of *ṣadaḳa* is free to determine what and how much he will give. The traditions encouraging the giving of even such trivial things as half a date as *ṣadaḳa* indicate that the object of *ṣadaḳa*, unlike an ordinary gift, need have no market value. It is, however, more meritorious to give *ṣadaḳa* from one's best property, the giving of property that is adulterated or of poor quality being regarded as reprehensible (*makrūh*), and the giving of unlawful (*ḥarām*) property prohibited. Nonetheless, *ṣadaḳa* has functioned as a means of dealing with unsaleable merchandise (Ibn Farḥūn, *Tabṣirat al-ḥukkām*, on the margin of ʿUlaysh. *Fatḥ al-ʿalī al-mālik*, Cairo, ii, 298 (adulterated milk and other substances; badly woven mantles to be shredded as rags for *ṣadaḳa* rather than burned) and the proceeds of illegal transactions (Ibn Hubayra, *al-Ifṣāḥ*, ed. al-Dabbās, Aleppo 1366/1947, 229 (a sale of grapes for winemaking); *Subul al-salām* iii, 14 (a prostitute's earnings); Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, repr. Lahore 1404/1983, ii,

23-4 (misappropriated booty); cf. Ibn Mufliḥ, *K. al-Furūʿ*, ed. Farrādj, Beirut 1388/1967, ii, 663-6 (difficult cases)). The solution of the Ṣūfī al-Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ (d. 187/803), who simply threw away questionable money that had come into his hands, was regarded as unsatisfactory (*Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 166-8). In modern times, Muslims receiving payments of bank interest and insurance proceeds have been encouraged to rid themselves of these by giving them as *ṣadaḳa* (e.g. Dār al-Iftāʾ al-Miṣrī, *al-Fatāwā al-islāmiyya*, ix/28 [1403/1983], 3340, 3342).

Just as there is no minimum for *ṣadaḳa*, according to most jurists there is no maximum (al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ Muslim*, Cairo, vii, 125 quoting Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ; but cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, ix, 138 for a list of early jurists who rejected this). A Muslim of sound mind and body who is able to accept poverty is encouraged to dispose of all his property as *ṣadaḳa*, beyond narrow exemptions. Although there are Ḳurʾānic verses (VI, 41, XVII, 26, 29) and traditions calling for moderation in giving, other verses (II, 262, IX, 79, LIX, 9) and traditions set no such limit, and it was to these as well as to the practice of early Muslims, not to speak of the Prophet, that the majority of jurists looked. The tradition stating that the best *ṣadaḳa* was that which left a sufficiency (*ʿan ẓahr ghinā*), which the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm took as the only criterion for how much one might give (*al-Muḥallā*, ix, 136-42) was widely interpreted to mean "self sufficiency" (*ghinā al-nafs*), i.e. contentment. It is thus permitted to reduce oneself and one's family to penury if those affected are capable of enduring it without becoming a burden on society and without complaint; otherwise it is reprehensible to give away all of one's property, and subsequently to regret one's *ṣadaḳa* deprives it of its reward.

A minority of jurists set down specific limits on how much one might properly give: one-half, more commonly one-third, the proportion set down by Mālik, the Syrian jurists Makḥūl (d. 112/730) and al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774), and the Zaydī Imām al-Hādī (d. 298/911) and recommended by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), or one-fifth, one-seventh, or one-tenth (depending on wealth, attributed to Djābir b. Zayd (d. 93/712) (cf. one-fifth in *Talmud Kethubbōth* 50a).

Unlike *zakāt*, which is designated for specified classes of recipients, there are virtually no restrictions on those to whom *ṣadaḳa* may be given, and the giver is encouraged not to restrict his giving to one group, although the law, following the *ḥadīth*, does identify preferred donees such as relatives and neighbours (al-Nawawī, *al-Madjmūʿ*, Cairo, vi, 260: consensus that relatives are preferred to strangers). A mosque or other institution can be a recipient of *ṣadaḳa*, which is accepted on its behalf by its representative, who can be the donor himself.

Most jurists understand the prohibition against the receipt of *ṣadaḳa* by members of the family (*āl*) of Muḥammad (as variously defined) to apply only to obligatory *ṣadaḳa*, that is, *zakāt*, although the matter was much controverted, with Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf, and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal reported as having prohibited voluntary *ṣadaḳa* to them as well, which was also the view of Zayd b. ʿAlī, Ibn Ḥazm and a number of later jurists.

Although in popular usage *ṣadaḳa* was understood to refer to gifts to the poor, as may be gathered from lexicographical works, both general (*LA*, s.v. *ṣadaḳa*) and juridical (al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa 'l-lughāt*, Cairo n.d., repr. Tehran, ii, 197, s.v. *hiba*; idem, *Taṣḥīḥ al-tarbih*, 93, s.v. *hiba*), the teaching of the jurists is unanimous that *ṣadaḳa*, unlike *zakāt* and the Jewish *ṣedaḳa*, may be given to the "wealthy" (*ghanī*) (as defined for *zakāt* or *zakāt al-fiṭra*). Traditions such as "give to one who asks even if he is mounted on a horse" (*al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 615), the practice of the early Muslims, and Ḳurʾān, XII, 88, are all cited in support of this doctrine. Nonetheless, the reward for giving to the needy is said to be seventy times that of giving to one not in need, and the greater merit (eighteenfold), according to a tradition, of making a loan as compared to giving *ṣadaḳa* (tenfold) is explained by the evident need of the borrower (cf. *Talmud Shabbath* 63a, and Rashi, *ad loc.*). In this spirit, the Shāfiʿī jurists distinguish between *ṣadaḳa* to the poor, which requires no intention of a heavenly reward on the part of the donor, and *ṣadaḳa* to the wealthy, which does.

A point of departure for a thorough-going distinction between *ṣadaḳa* to the poor and to the wealthy is found in the Ḥanafī tradition. Abū Ḥanīfa, who did not recognise the validity of gifts of an undivided share, did uphold a gift in the form of *ṣadaḳa* or *hiba* to two poor persons but not to two wealthy persons (al-Shaybānī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, Karachi 1407/1987, 356). In the former case, it was explained, the poor donees represented the actual single recipient, God. Certain Ḥanafīs are reported to have generalised this teaching and to have recognised as *ṣadaḳa* only gifts to the poor, whether designated by the donor as *ṣadaḳa* or *hiba*, since the intention of giving to the poor can only be to gain a heavenly reward, unlike gifts to the wealthy, where a wordly motive is imputed, even when they are designated as *ṣadaḳa* (al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, xii, 92).

Ṣadaḳa, unlike *zakāt*, may be given to non-Muslims. The earlier prohibition, or popular sentiment of the early Muslims, against doing so is understood to have been abrogated by Ḳurʾān, II, 272, and the Prophet frequently gave *ṣadaḳa* to non-Muslims to bring them closer to Islam (Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī, *Ḍawʾ al-shams*, 1394/1974, ii, 94). The validity of such *ṣadaḳa* applies in the first instance to *dhimmīs*, Jews, Christians and Magians, but according to some jurists *ṣadaḳa* may also be given to enemy aliens (*ḥarbī*) who are related or allied to the Muslims or who are being held as prisoners or whose conversion is hoped for. Such *ṣadaḳa* is deemed meritorious. Non-Muslims are not, however, to be given portions of sacrificial animals (*uḍḥiyya*). Some Shīʿī jurists opposed giving *ṣadaḳa* to any non-Muslims or at least argued that *ṣadaḳa* to non-Muslims be given only in cases of need and only to the extent of that need, and there are Imāmī traditions that oppose the giving of *ṣadaḳa* to Sunnīs and Zaydīs.

The chief practical difference between *ṣadaḳa* and an ordinary gift lies in the almost universal recognition that a gift in the form of *ṣadaḳa* is not subject to revocation (*rudjūʿ*, *irtidjāʿ*, *iʿtiṣār*). While the jurists differ in the degree to which they recognise the revocability, however much disapproved, of ordinary gifts, they agree that *ṣadaḳa* is in principle irrevocable, although the Ḥanafīs regard the irrevocability of *ṣadaḳa* to a wealthy person, which they uphold, as contrary to strict legal reasoning (*istiḥsān*). Mālikī doctrine departs from this principle to the extent of upholding an express right of revocation reserved by a father or mother in a gift of *ṣadaḳa* to their children, a rule extended by some Mālikīs to *ṣadaḳa* between strangers, rendering the gift inalienable during the lifetime of the donor, and both al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal are reported to have held that a father has a right to revoke *ṣadaḳa* to his child. The view of the Imāmī Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 459/1067) (*al-Mabsūṭ*, iii, 314) that *ṣadaḳa* and ordinary gifts were legally in-

distinguishable, even as regards revocability, was regarded as exceptional, and it was, in fact, argued by others that *ṣadaḳa*, being irrevocable, should not be classified as a species of gift (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, ii, 1449).

Various explanations are offered for the irrevocability of *ṣadaḳa*. One is that the donor's heavenly reward for *ṣadaḳa* provides moral consideration for the gift, and gifts for which consideration has been given are irrevocable. This explanation, characteristic of the Ḥanafīs (al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, xii, 58), for whom it is part of a general theory of irrevocability, is cited by others as well, but is open to criticism. It is also suggested that *ṣadaḳa* is irrevocable inasmuch as is given in the first instance to God, the obligation to whom is discharged by delivery to the poor person (al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, xii, 58; cf. al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, iv, 47 (irrevocable because for the sake of God)). Where the nature of the gift is disputed, the donee resisting revocation has the burden of proving that it is *ṣadaḳa*. Significantly, the rule of irrevocability was applied to gifts to the poor which were designated by their donors as ordinary gifts and not *ṣadaḳa*, but which were treated by the jurists, who looked to the substance, not the form, of the transaction, as within the scope of *ṣadaḳa*.

Closely related to the question of the irrevocability of *ṣadaḳa* was that of the re-acquisition of property given as *ṣadaḳa*. In a tradition the Prophet is reported to have told ʿUmar not to purchase a horse that he had previously given as *ṣadaḳa* and to have compared the person who goes back to his *ṣadaḳa* to a dog that returns to its vomit. For most jurists, re-acquisition by a voluntary act of the donor, such as purchase, gift or *ṣadaḳa*, is disapproved, but not passive re-acquisition by inheritance or a wife's re-acquisition as support of what she gave her husband as *ṣadaḳa*. For the Mālikīs, but not the Shāfiʿīs, the disapproval of re-acquisition extends to cases in which the property has passed through one or more intervening owners prior to its re-acquisition. A minority of jurists, including the Ẓāhirīs, regarded all instances of re-acquisition, even by inheritance, as prohibited. The disapproval of re-acquisition extends to obligatory *ṣadaḳa*, that is *zakāt*, and property given as expiation (*kaffāra*) or in discharge of a vow (*nadhr*), and to the enjoyment of the usufruct of what has been given, but not to *ṣadaḳa* intended for the public such as water for a mosque. The rule against re-acquisition (at least by purchase) is variously explained. According to one explanation, the donee in selling the *ṣadaḳa* to the donor will not feel free to bargain at arms' length, and the lower purchase price, coming as a consequence of the *ṣadaḳa*, will vitiate the original gift. A second explanation regards re-acquisition as compromising the "form" (*ṣūra*) of the *ṣadaḳa*, which requires completely divesting oneself of the gift. The Imāmī Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Ḥillī (d. 598/1202) rejected the rules against re-acquisition as inconsistent with the donee's full right of ownership (*K. al-Sarāʾir*, Ḳumm 1410, iii, 174).

The acceptance of *ṣadaḳa* is subject to its own rules. Most consider acceptance under ordinary circumstances to be a "recommended" (*sunna*) act, obligatory only when the recipient is in the most dire need (*muḍṭarr*), and in such cases, the reward for taking may well exceed that for giving. A minority, including Ibn Ḥazm, require that a gift of *ṣadaḳa* be accepted, if only to be at once returned to the giver (*al-Muḥallā*, ix, 152-4).

Apart from a limited number of exceptions, including that of utter want, begging is prohibited, and even then the poor are encouraged to accept their fate without soliciting alms (cf. *Iḥyāʾ* i, 298), the poor who do so being preferred as recipients of *ṣadaḳa* to beggars (cf. Ḳurʾān, II, 273). In any case, if one is able, it is better to earn one's livelihood by the most menial tasks than to beg (to thus be able to give *ṣadaḳa*). Begging has its own etiquette. Importunate begging, begging in a mosque, and begging in the name of God are all disapproved, although in the latter case, according to some, the beggar invoking God's name should not be turned away empty-handed. It is forbidden for a person of sufficient means to beg as if in need and disapproved for him to put himself in the way of receiving alms. Otherwise, such a person may accept unsolicited alms.

4. *The practice of* ṣadaḳa. The giving of *ṣadaḳa* was and remains widespread among Muslims, encouraged as it is by many Ḳurʾānic verses and traditions. These indicate that the giving of *ṣadaḳa* serves a number of distinct functions. *Ṣadaḳa* acts, in the first place, as expiation for sins, and it is recommended that it be given immediately following any transgression (*maʿṣiya*) (*Iḥyāʾ*, i, 298, the advice of the legendary sage Luḳmān), for example, after intercourse with a menstruating woman. Voluntary almsgiving can thus make good shortcomings in the past payment of *zakāt*.

Closely related to the expiatory function of *ṣadaḳa* is its special role in affording protection against all manner of evils. According to a tradition, the *ṣadaḳa* that a Muslim gives wards off afflictions in this world, questioning in the grave, and punishment on Judgement Day (Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, *Tafsīr rūḥ al-bayān*, Istanbul 1911-25, i, 418). Accordingly, it is recommended to give *ṣadaḳa* at the start of each day as insurance against personal troubles (cf. Ḳurʾān, II, 274). The constant giving of little is said to please God more than the occasional giving of much. Although giving *ṣadaḳa* is recommended at all times, it is especially appropriate to give it upon significant occasions such as going to war or on a journey, and the tradition stating that "it is better for a man to give a dirham in alms while he is alive and healthy than one hundred dirhams when he is dying" did not prevent al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī from teaching that "the most appropriate time for a man to give *ṣadaḳa* is his last day in this world and his first in the next" (al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥmad al-Ṣanʿānī, *Tatimmat al-rawḍ al-naḍīr*, with *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, iv, 122-3).

The positive side of giving *ṣadaḳa* lies in the merit that accrues to the giver, greater according to some than that of *zakāt*. *Ṣadaḳa* is encouraged as a means of bringing down sustenance (*rizḳ*) from heaven. The giver of *ṣadaḳa* is promised a reward many times what he has given, from ten times for *ṣadaḳa* given to a healthy person, ninety for a blind or handicapped person, nine hundred times for a needy relative, one hundred thousand for parents, and nine hundred thousand for a scholar.

The merit of giving *ṣadaḳa* does not stop with the giver. "Cure your sick with *ṣadaḳa*," the Prophet is reported to have said. Nor is the benefit of *ṣadaḳa* limited to the living, for according to the *ḥadīth*, *ṣadaḳa* may be given in the name of deceased Muslims, especially by a child on behalf of a parent, and its reward will be presented to them on a platter of light (*ṭabaḳ min nūr*). Although the Muʿtazila are alleged to have denied the efficacy of alms in the name of the deceased, a consensus is claimed for it (al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ Muslim*, vii, 90; al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, iv, 56). The deceased is credited with the merit of having given the *ṣadaḳa*, a reward that does not diminish that of the giver.

In the giving of *ṣadaḳa* Muslims have found also a

means of moral edification. According to the Mālikī jurist Ibn Rāshid al-Ḳafṣī (d. 736/1336), the rationale (*ḥikma*) of the law of gifts is to purify the soul from the malady of avarice (*bukhl*) (*K. Lubāb al-lubāb*, Tunis 1346, 243), and *ṣadaḳa* embodies the virtue of generosity (*djūd, sakhā*ʾ), a reflection of the generosity of God the "All-Giving" (*al-Wahhāb*). "The believer is obligated to instruct his child in generosity and charity just as he is obligated to instruct him in monotheistic doctrine and belief, for the love of this world is the source of all sin," according to Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (Ibn Nudjaym ..., Cairo 1334/1915, *al-Baḥr al-rāʾiḳ*, vii, 284). The transformation of *ṣadaḳa* in the act of giving is depicted in a tradition in which *ṣadaḳa*, personified, addresses its giver: "I was little and you made me much, I was small and you made me great, I was your enemy and you made me your friend, I was perishable and you made me permanent, I was guarded and you made me your guard." On the other hand, the role of *ṣadaḳa* in the redistribution of wealth has tended to be neglected in the growing literature by modern Muslims on Islamic economics, which has understandably focused on *zakāt* (but cf. A. Qureshi, *The economic and social system of Islam*, Lahore 1979, 91-7).

The Ḳurʾān urges believers not to undo their charitable gifts with "obligation" (*mann*) and "insult" (*adhā*). "Kind speech and forgiveness," it teaches, "are better than *ṣadaḳa* followed by insult" (II, 263-4). The giver is forbidden to regard himself as having conferred a benefit on the taker, an attitude than can be exhibited in thought, word or conduct or to demean the taker in any fashion. *Mann* is deemed to be a grave sin (*kabīra*), although there is disagreement as to whether it entirely destroys the reward of the *ṣadaḳa* or merely diminishes it (on the Muʿtazilī teaching of the cancellation of good deeds by bad (*iḥbāṭ*), see M.J. McDermott, *The theology of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd*, Beirut 1978, 258-62). "Obligation" and "insult" can be avoided by giving one's *ṣadaḳa* in secret. The Ḳurʾānic recommendation of "kind speech" is respected by the use of stereotyped replies in turning down the requests of beggars (see e.g. M. Piamenta, *The Muslim conception of God and human welfare as reflected in everyday Arabic speech*, Leiden 1983, 65-6; C.A. Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto*, Milan 1939, repr. 1978, 134), although some early Muslims, like the Prophet, are reported to have preferred silence.

5. Ṣadaḳa *in Ṣūfism and Shīʿī esotericism*. The giving and receiving of *ṣadaḳa* have a special place in Ṣūfism with its encouragement of self-imposed poverty. This had led Ṣūfīs to be distinguished as givers of *ṣadaḳa* and by virtue of their poverty as suitable recipients. There are reports of fabulous sums given away as *ṣadaḳa* by those seeking to elevate their spiritual state (Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, ed. Nicholson, Leiden 1914, 158; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, ed. al-Munīr, Cairo, 170). Such Ṣūfīs could claim the Prophet and Abū Bakr as their models. In the light of the prophetic tradition that the "upper hand [of the giver] is superior to the lower hand [of the recipient]", pious givers of *ṣadaḳa*, unwilling to assume an attitude of superiority, resorted to such devices as putting their hand below that of the poor person (*Iḥyāʾ*, i, 286) or throwing the gift on the ground (al-Ḳushayrī, *al-Risāla*, Cairo, 114).

Ṣūfīs differed in their attitudes toward the acceptance of *ṣadaḳa*. Some, not wishing to compete with the rest of the poor (being themselves spiritually wealthy) and to avoid being indebted to anyone other than God, studiously refrained from accepting *ṣadaḳa*. But Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) already critically notes a Ṣūfī interpretation that the upper hand in the prophetic tradition refers to the recipient (*Talbīs Iblīs*, 179). In accepting *ṣadaḳa* the poor Ṣūfīs were actually conferring a benefit on the giver (al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, tr. Nicholson, Leiden 1914, 316-17 (rejecting the interpretation of the literalist *ahl-i ḥashw*; cf. *Lev. Rabbā* 34:8), and the Ḳurʾānic reference to God accepting *ṣadaḳāt* (IX, 104) and the tradition that the All-Merciful accepts *ṣadaḳa* in His right hand encouraged the view that the actual giver of *ṣadaḳa* was God (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, 316-317; *Iḥyāʾ*, i, 285; anon., *K. Adab al-mulūk fī bayān ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-taṣawwuf*, ed. Radtke, Beirut 1991, 41), a view said to have been cited by wealthy Ṣūfīs in justification of their abusive amassing of fortunes from alms (*Talbīs Iblīs*, 179). Al-Djunayd (d. 298/910 [*q.v.*]), who was among those who regarded it as better to take *ṣadaḳa* than *zakāt* (*Iḥyāʾ*, i, 302), strongly approved the practice of preferring the poor Ṣūfīs as recipients. The humiliation of begging was, in addition, imposed by some Ṣūfī masters on their novices as a form of spiritual discipline.

The influential Andalusian Ṣūfī Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) offered novel interpretations, at once paradoxical and harmonising, of *ṣadaḳa*. The superiority of voluntary alms to the obligatory *zakāt* is expounded on the basis of a metaphysical analysis of obligation (*Futūḥāt*, i, 590-1), but from another point of view the superiority of *zakāt* is upheld (*ibid.*, i, 587). The "upper" and "lower" hands of the tradition are both the "hands" of God, understood as different divine attributes bestowing mercy. The virtues of secret and public giving, properly understood, are such that both should be practiced (they are same for the gnostic or *ʿārif*). But the high point of the influence of *ṣadaḳa* upon Ṣūfī thought probably came with his predecessor Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī (d. 601/1205), whose entire teaching revolved around *ṣadaḳa*, the other institutions of Islam and even the nature of existence being interpreted in its light (al-Tādilī, *Akhbār Abi 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī*, with his *al-Tashawwuf ilā ridjāl al-taṣawwuf*, Rabat 1404/1984, 453-4; C. Addas, *The quest for the red sulphur*, Cambridge 1993, 176-7).

The Shīʿī tradition of esoteric interpretation (*taʾwīl*) did not ignore *ṣadaḳa*. The giving of *ṣadaḳa* is taken as representative of the various forms of assistance that could be offered to the Imām of the Twelver Shīʿīs and his followers. The givers of *ṣadaḳa* mentioned in the Ḳurʾān are the Imāms, who bestow guidance. For the Fāṭimid Chief Justice al-Nuʿmān b. Muḥammad (d. 363/957), voluntary *ṣadaḳa* symbolises the volunteered esoteric knowledge, in the form of admonition and exhortation, that those of higher ranks bestow on those below them (*Taʾwīl al-daʿāʾim*, ii, 94, iii, 63).

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Societas, v/2 (1975), 105-115 (charitable institutions). (T.H. Weir-[A. Zysow])

ṢADAḲA, Banū, a name sometimes given in the mediaeval Arabic sources to the princes of the Mazyadids or Banū Mazyad [*q.v.*] in central ʿIrāḳ. The name derives from the most famous member of the line, Ṣadaḳa (I) b. Manṣūr (479-501/1086-1108 [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: See that to mazyad, banū.

(Ed.)

ṢADAḲA b. Manṣūr b. Dubays b. ʿAlī b. Mazyad, Sayf al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Asadī, ruler of al-Ḥilla of the Arab line of Mazyadids [see mazyad, banū]. After the death of his father in 479/1086-7, Ṣadaḳa was recognised by the Saldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh as lord of the territory on the left bank of the Tigris. During the fighting between sultan Berk-yaruḳ and his brother Muḥammad, Ṣadaḳa was at first on the side of the former, but when Berk-yaruḳ's vizier, al-Aʿazz Abu 'l-Maḥāsin al-Dihistānī, demanded a large sum of money from him in 494/1100-1 and finally threatened him with war, Ṣadaḳa abandoned Berk-yaruḳ and had the *khuṭba* read in the name of Muḥammad. The sultan then tried to win him back by peaceful means; but Ṣadaḳa demanded that the vizier should be handed over to him, and as Berk-yaruḳ could not grant this, the negotiations fell through. Instead of agreeing with Berk-yaruḳ, Ṣadaḳa drove the sultan's governor out of Kūfa and himself occupied the town. In the following year al-Ḥilla [*q.v.*] was founded; previously, the Banū Mazyad had lived in tents.

When Gümüshtekin al-Ḳayṣarī by Berk-yaruḳ's orders appeared in Baghdād in the middle of Rabīʿ I 496/end of December 1102, Īlghāzī b. Artuḳ, Muḥammad's governor there, made an alliance with Ṣadaḳa. In the meanwhile, the caliph al-Mustaẓhir had Berk-yaruḳ again proclaimed sultan; nevertheless, Ṣadaḳa still declined to acknowledge his suzerainty. Soon afterwards Berk-yaruḳ's name was again dropped from the *khuṭba* and the *imām*s confined themselves for the time being to praying for the caliph only without mentioning by name either of the two contending sultans. But the war continued; by Rabīʿ II 496/January 1103, Gümüshtekin had to evacuate Baghdād and, as he was unable to hold out in Wāsiṭ either, Muḥammad was again recognised as sultan in both cities. Ṣadaḳa then extended his power over a great part of the ʿIrāḳ; in the same year, he took the town of Hīt [*q.v.*] on the Euphrates, which Berk-yaruḳ had granted as a fief to one of his followers, and appointed his cousin Thābit b. Kāmil governor of it. In Shawwāl 497/June-July 1104, Wāsiṭ met the same fate and here Muhadhdhib al-Dawla al-Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr was appointed governor. Next came the turn of Baṣra, which had fallen into the hands of the Saldjūḳ Ismāʿīl b. Arslāndjīḳ during the war between Berk-yaruḳ and his brothers. It was not till after the death of Berk-yaruḳ that sultan Muḥammad was able to think of dislodging Ismāʿīl from it and in 499/1105-6 he asked Ṣadaḳa to fight him. In Djumādā I of the same year/January-February 1106, Ṣadaḳa took the field against Ismāʿīl, who was soon forced to surrender, whereupon Ṣadaḳa appointed one of his grandfather Dubays's *mamlūk*s named Altūntāsh to govern Baṣra. But as the latter was very soon surprised and captured by Bedouin bandits, the sultan himself appointed another governor in his place. In Ṣafar 500/October 1106, Kayḳubādh b. Hazārasp al-Daylamī, lord of Takrīt [*q.v.*], had also to yield. After the death of Berk-yaruḳ, Muḥammad had sent the *amīr* Aḳsunḳur al-Bursuḳī [*q.v.*] to Takrīt to occupy the town. As Kayḳubādh would not obey, he was besieged. After several months had passed, he saw the impossibility of holding out any longer, and sent to Ṣadaḳa and surrendered the city to him. Warrām b. Abī Firās was then appointed governor of Takrīt. But Muḥammad could not always look on quietly while Ṣadaḳa's power kept growing, especially as the latter never had any scruples about affording shelter to anyone who had fallen into disgrace with the sultan. When Abū Dulaf Surkhāb b. Kaykhusraw, lord of Sāwa [*q.v.*], took refuge with him and Ṣadaḳa refused to hand him over, long negotiations between Ṣadaḳa and the sultan only resulted in an open breach between suzerain and vassal. The sultan set out in person from Baghdād with a large army, and in the fierce battle which was fought (according to the most usual statement) in the latter half of Radjab 501/beginning of March 1108, Ṣadaḳa was killed at the age of fifty-nine. Like his ancestors, he bore the title *Malik al-ʿArab*; the highest praise is given him by Arab poets and historians for his virtues, notably his liberality and readiness to give assistance, and he is rightly described by A. Müller (*Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii, 122) as "a true Bedouin, brave, stubborn and wily".

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(K.V. Zettersteén)

al-**SAʿDĀN**[1], "the two lucky (planets)", a technical term in astrology referring to the two beneficent planets Jupiter and Venus. On the opposite, Saturn and Mars are *al-naḥsān*[i], "the two unlucky, maleficent (planets)"; cf. al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 228-9. In more detail, al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Tafhīm li-awāʾil ṣināʿat al-tandjīm*, ed. and tr. R.R. Wright, London 1934, §§ 381-2, in the explanation of the "natures" (*ṭibāʿ*) of the planets, describes Saturn as *al-naḥs al-akbar*, and Mars as *al-naḥs al-aṣghar*, i.e. the greater and the lesser evil, and, correspondingly, Jupiter as *al-saʿd al-akbar* and Venus as *al-saʿd al-aṣghar*, i.e. the greater and the lesser luck. This division goes back to Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* i, 5 (on the ἀγαθοποιοί, beneficent, and κακοποιοί, maleficent, planets, according to the teachings of "the ancients", οἱ παλαιοί), and is based on the mixture of the four humours—warm, cool, dry, humid—in each planet. Mercury, according to Ptolemy, is ambivalent; when associated with another planet, it reinforces its power, either beneficent or maleficent; al-Bīrūnī (*loc. cit.*) adds that Mercury, when standing alone, is inclined to beneficence. Cf. also A. Bouché-Leclerc, *L'astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899, 101; J. Ruska, al-saʿdān in *EI*[1].

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(P. Kunitzsch)

al-**SĀDĀT**, Anwar, Egyptian statesman (1918-81).

He was born into a poor family in the Egyptian village of Mīt Abū Kōm, 60 km/40 miles north of Cairo. His father was a civil servant who had to support his wife and thirteen children. Sādāt spent his first seven years in his village, where he was left in the

care of his grandmother while his parents were working in Sūdān (his mother was Sudanese). He went to the village school and thoroughly enjoyed his life amongst the local peasants. He later claimed that his early experiences gave him a deep understanding of the Egyptian peasant's mentality and of his deep roots in the countryside. He considered the *fallāḥ* to be the foundation of society and the guardian of its traditions. When in power, he enjoyed return visits to his village in order to re-establish contact with ordinary people.

In 1925 he moved with his father to Cairo, where he went to secondary school in 1930. In 1936 he just managed to pass his General Certificate of Education. Perhaps more importantly, he was drawn into the political atmosphere of street demonstrations against the British presence and of calls for evacuation and independence. This was the background of a number of young Egyptians at the time, among them ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who were later to play an active role in politics. Like ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, al-Sādāt entered the Military Academy, newly-open to sons of lower class families and previously the preserve of the upper classes.

He graduated as an army officer in 1938 and was sent with ʿAbd al-Nāṣir to Manḳābād in Upper Egypt. The two of them, with one or two others, formed a group of disgruntled soldiers who were eventually to form the core of the Free Officers. Al-Sādāt was transferred to Cairo, where the circle of officers dedicated to the overthrow of the régime gradually expanded. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was the real leader of the group, although al-Sādāt in his memoirs tended to exaggerate the centrality of his own role. In his *Revolt on the Nile* (London 1957) he glorified ʿAbd al-Nāṣir as the leader of the movement. In his autobiography *In search of identity* (London 1978), he put himself at the centre and was much more critical of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. Unbiased accounts would place al-Sādāt very much in the secondary role.

During the second World War, al-Sādāt showed distinct pro-Nazi sympathies in the belief that Germany would be victorious and give Egypt her independence. He was arrested by the British for dubious activities, tried by an Anglo-Egyptian court and imprisoned until October 1944. He escaped from jail and was on the run until the end of the war.

After the war, he did not go back to the army but was active on the fringes of political violence and terrorism. He admitted to being implicated in the assassination of Amīn ʿUth̲mān, the former Minister of Finance, in January 1946. He was re-arrested and tried only in 1948, when he was released without conviction. He then drifted into business and journalism without any great success. Surprisingly, he did not take part, with ʿAbd al-Nāṣir and his comrades, in the 1948 war in Palestine which had such a deep effect on their thinking about the future of Egypt. However, al-Sādāt's lack of success in business led him to rejoin the army as a captain in 1950, when he met again ʿAbd al-Nāṣir and ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm ʿĀmir. They joined together in planning the 1952 coup, although ʿAbd al-Nāṣir did not quite trust al-Sādāt, who had suspect links with al-Ikh̲wān al-Muslimūn [*q.v.*] and even with the palace. He was thus not given a leading role in the coup. On 21 July 1952 he was chosen to read a prepared statement on the radio announcing the coup and the army takeover.

From then on until ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's death, al-Sādāt was a faithful son of the revolution; some would say, a trimmer. He certainly worked loyally in ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's shadow and was at times mocked for his assiduous, self-effacing sycophancy. Once again, al-Sādāt provided two versions of his life with ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. In *My son, this is your uncle Gamal* (Cairo n.d.), published during ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's lifetime, he provided an extravagantly eulogistic picture of his master who could do no wrong and who was the only person who could lead Egypt to a bright future. In his later autobiography, he blamed ʿAbd al-Nāṣir for his dictatorial attitude, his unwillingness to heed advice and for having led Egypt into numerous disastrous situations, the Suez crisis, the Yemen war and the 1967 Israeli defeat.

Al-Sādāt held a number of posts under ʿAbd al-Nāṣir none of any great significance. He edited the newspaper *al-Dj̲umhūriyya*, where he was able to express his own rather extravagant views. In 1962 ʿAbd al-Nāṣir appointed him Secretary-General of the Constituent Assembly with the task of drafting the National Charter. Al-Sādāt was later to claim that this document was merely a front to show that, ostensibly, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was interested in the common man.

Al-Sādāt's most important role was to lead Egypt into one of the greatest setbacks. In 1962 ʿAbd al-Nāṣir sent him to Yemen to advise on whether Egypt should intervene in the struggle between Royalists and Republicans. Al-Sādāt wrongly reported that the Royalists could soon be defeated and that Egypt should send troops to support the Republicans. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir allowed himself to be dragged into a quagmire of fighting until 1967. Al-Sādāt was discredited and receded into the background for a time.

ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's prestige fell to its lowest ebb with the defeat in 1967 in the Six-Day War against Israel. He stayed on as President, tired and ill, and in 1969 he appointed al-Sādāt his deputy in an ostensible attempt to share the responsibilities of office. To what al-Sādāt owed this elevation, other than his total loyalty to ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, is not clear. However, when ʿAbd al-Nāṣir died in September 1970, al-Sādāt was there, ready to take over.

Emerging from the shadows, he quickly showed himself to be his own man, with policies radically different from those of his predecessor. He especially chafed under three of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's bequests—the close ties with the Soviet Union, socialism and the Israeli occupation of the Sinai. He immediately made moves to lessen the burdens of socialism with his "revolution of rectification" and by opening the economy to Western investment, the *infitāḥ*. His relationship with the Soviets was uneasy from the first, and he surprised the world when he ordered all Soviet military experts to leave the country in July 1972. He had, however, to replace Russian aid, and, against all previous wisdom, he turned to the West and, in particular, to the Americans. He became popular in the West, the moderate after ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, who seemed to forgive and to forget all his past criticism of Britain and the United States.

He then turned to the real enemy, Israel, and after months of careful military planning on the morning of 6 October 1973 he launched an attack across the Suez Canal against Israeli fortifications. The Israelis were taken completely by surprise, but after fierce battles they were able to cross the Canal and surround the Egyptian army. The battle ended in a stalemate, but al-Sādāt had shown that Egyptians could plan and fight successfully and it gave him a new basis on which to negotiate. It gave him popularity in Egypt, and he was able to bring the Americans into the search for peace. Henry Kissinger helped to bring about a disengagement; the Israelis moved back across the

Canal, which was reopened for the first time since 1967.

At home, al-Sādāt was facing severe economic problems. He wanted peace with Israel in order to pursue economic development in an atmosphere of stability and security which would encourage foreign investment. A big drain on the budget were the large subsidies on basic foodstuffs and other items. To try to obtain loans from the World Bank (which disliked subsidies), al-Sādāt agreed to withdraw subsidies from several items. The result was immediate and shocking. In January 1977 rioting broke out all over the country. There were many deaths and the army had to be brought in to restore order. Al-Sādāt was stunned. He restored the subsidies and looked around for scapegoats. He blamed the Left and the Marxists, and arrested hundreds of them. It was the beginning of a gradual decline in his popularity. He overreacted as he felt threatened, and introduced stricter censorship and declared a state of emergency.

He had to look abroad for ways of regaining some of his popularity. He felt the peace process was stalled again, and stunned the world by making a dramatic visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 to present his case to the enemy. In a speech to the Knesset he made clear his conditions for a stable peace. The Israelis made no commitments immediately, and it needed the intervention of President Jimmy Carter to bring the two sides closer together during meetings at Camp David in March 1979. A peace treaty was signed between Egypt and Israel by which Israel agreed to withdraw from Sinai, diplomatic and trade relations were to be established and Israeli ships were to be allowed to use the Suez Canal.

The rest of the Arab world believed that al-Sādāt had betrayed the Palestinian cause, since the Israeli Prime-Minister, Menachem Begin, had made no concessions at all to the Palestinians. Egypt was expelled from the Arab League and opposition to the treaty was widespread in Egypt itself. The more extreme Muslim religious groups were very bitter in their opposition. They also believed that al-Sādāt had sold the country to the West, and to the United States in particular. They preached revenge against the traitor, and one group, *Djihād*, put its message into practice when they assassinated al-Sādāt in October 1981 during a parade to celebrate the October crossing of the Canal.

Al-Sādāt was in many ways a leader who had the courage to bring in radical new policies, but he allowed himself to be carried away with his popularity in the West. At the same time he was viewed with deepening indifference or hostility by his own people and hated by other Arabs. Corruption spread around him, while he retreated into an isolation of utter self-confidence and an unwillingness to tolerate any criticism or opposition. His killers claimed that they had complete justification in ridding Egypt of a corrupt tyrant.

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(D. Hopwood)

SADD AL-DHARĀʾIʿ (A.), a term of Islamic law, literally, closing off the means that can lead to evil.

The concept is based on the Sharīʿa's tendency to prevent evil (*darʾ al-mafāsid*) and a legal maxim states that it has preference over achieving good (*djalb al-maṣāliḥ*). *Sadd al-dharāʾiʿ* is viewed as a continuation of *maṣlaḥa mursala* rather than an independent source. Despite this, *sadd al-dharāʾiʿ* is often included in the books of law as an alternative legal source. Said to be based on the Ḳurʾān and *sunna*, it represents a mechanism devised by Mālikī jurists to resolve loopholes in the law. The practical function of *sadd al-dharāʾiʿ* is to prevent improper usage of a legal means to achieve an illegal end. However, unlike *maṣlaḥa* and *ʿurf, sadd al-dharāʾiʿ* is probably the only source of Islamic law to be presented in a negative form. Some scholars, including Muḥammad Abū Zahra, have attempted to study it from a positive angle by focusing on *dharāʾiʿ* alone. This, however, would appear to deprive the source of an essential dimension in favour of a preconceived proviso to prevent a prohibited action. As Ibn al-Ḳayyim states in his *Iʿlām*, "when objectives cannot be reached without certain means, these means become a part of these objectives and are treated as the objectives themselves".

Sadd al-dharāʾiʿ does not target what is good, but what is evil or leads to evil. Muslim lawyers use the "likelihood" of an evil result to prohibit the action that could lead to it. They differentiate between three frequencies, rare, frequent and imminent, although imminent is only labelled as such by assuming the occurrence of the result on the basis of circumstance. An example of a rare (*nādir*) occurrence is planting vines. Although vines could be used to produce alcohol, planting them is not prohibited, since they have many advantages that outweigh the small chance of harm. Selling the grapes to a person known to make wine would be prohibited. In that case, the chance of a harmful result is *kathīr* (frequent) and should be prevented. The third category is based on the intention of the person rather than the possible outcome. Due to the significance of the intention, the four schools vary in how often they refer to *sadd al-dharāʾiʿ*, with the Ḥanbalī and Mālikī schools referring to it most frequently. This is largely caused by their different methodology in establishing the intention of a person. The Imām al-Shafiʿī did not give a share of the inheritance to a wife divorced during her husband's last illness. Al-Shafiʿī argued that "there is no proof that her husband divorced her merely to prevent her inheriting". The Ḥanafī school, like the Malikī and Ḥanbalī, refers to the circumstances to find the proof. The fact that the man pronounced the divorce during his last illness is an indication that he did so to prevent his wife's inheriting. This unjust intention is thus blocked by giving her her share of the inheritance in spite of her divorce.

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(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

AL-SAʿDĪ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿImrān, chronicler of Timbuktu, b. 30 Ramaḍān 1004/28 May 1594, d. after 1065/1655-56. His father's male line was traced to the Banū Saʿd, though the family had been settled in Timbuktu for several generations. Nothing is known of his youth, but in 1036/1626-7 he became *imām* of the Sankore mosque of Bena near Jenne. In mid-life he was employed by the administration of the Bāshalik of Timbuktu (an

institution which owed its origins to the occupation of the area by the forces of the Saʿdian sultan al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī in 999/1591), especially in the administration of Jenne and the Masina region of the Inland Niger Delta. In 1056/1646 he became chief secretary to the Bāshalik in Timbuktu.

His chief claim to fame is his history of Timbuktu and the Middle Niger, simply entitled *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*. This work, in 35 chapters, is mainly concerned with the history of the Songhay empire from the mid-9th/15th century until 1591 and the history of the Bāshalik of Timbuktu from that date down to 1655. The latter period occupies about half of the work. The early chapters are devoted to brief histories of earlier Songhay dynasties, of imperial Mali and of the Tuareg, and to biographies of the scholars and saints of both Timbuktu and Jenne. His acknowledged sources are few. For the 11th/17th century, he relies mainly on personal knowledge, evidently supported by notes (there are several chapters of obituaries and noteworthy events), and on records of the Bāshalik; for earlier periods he rarely mentions his sources, other than "trustworthy persons" or "one of my colleagues". He does, however, cite Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the anonymous *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya* and, for some of the biographies of Timbuktu scholars, the biographical dictionary of Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī (d. 1036/1627 [*q.v.*]), *Kifāyat al-muḥtādj* (a supplement to Ibn Farḥūn's *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab*). The *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* is a prime source for the history of the Middle Niger from the mid-15th to the mid-17th century, our only other chronicle being the *Taʾrīkh al-fattāsh* of Ibn al-Mukhtār (based on Maḥmūd Kaʿti) which effectively stops at 1001/1593.

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SAʿDĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Musharrif al-Dīn b. Muṣliḥ Saʿdī, known as Shaykh Saʿdi, poet and prose writer of the 7th/13th century, is one of the most renowned authors of Persia.

He was born in Shīrāz early in the 7th/13th century, probably between 610-15/1213-19, and died in the same city on 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 691/9 December 1292. More perhaps than any other Persian writer who preceeded him, or of his own period, Saʿdī refers to himself constantly and in highly specific terms throughout the course of his writings; from shortly after his death until the present century elaborate biographies of the poet have been inferred from these references (the fullest and best known being that of Henri Massé, Paris 1919). More recent scholarship on the period and a greater awareness of the sophistication of medieval authors' constructed authorial personae has called many of these details in doubt. The virtual certainty that some are poetic inventions (for example, his capture by Europeans and subsequent deliverance by ransom (*Gulistān*, Book 2, anecdote 32), his unmasking of a fraudulent Brahmin at the Hindu temple in Somnāth (*Bustān*, Book 8, anecdote 8), his claim to have seen someone "in the west" be borne across water on his prayer-mat (*Bustān*, Book 3, anecdote 15)), has caused the authenticity of the remainder to become questionable, with the result that few facts can be deduced with certainty about the poet's life. We are left with the paradoxical situation of knowing very little about an author whose life and personality are considered to be familiar to all students of Persian literature. Among the stories which Saʿdī recounts about himself which may or may not be true are that he was orphaned at an early age, that he studied and subsequently taught at the Niẓāmiyya college in Baghdād, that al-Suhrawardī and Ibn al-Djawzī were his teachers, that he was married at least twice (once in the Yemen, once to the daughter of the individual who, he claimed, ransomed him from the Europeans), and that he travelled extensively throughout the *dār al-Islām* and beyond. His work reveals a mastery of traditional Islamic education and a general intellectual sophistication that could well have been gained in an institution such as the Baghdād Niẓāmiyya. One claim can be accepted with little doubt; his writings imply wide knowledge of the world beyond Persia, and extensive travels clearly played a part in his life (he frequently admonishes his audience to treat travellers well), though whether he ever ventured into either Hindu areas in the East or Christian areas in the West is more problematic. With characteristic humour, Saʿdī cautions his audience not to believe travellers' tales (*Gulistān*, Book 1, anecdote 32) since they are often exaggerations or outright lies, and as his most insistently presented persona in his works is that of a traveller, this should be taken as a warning when considering the truth of many of his statements. As to his being orphaned at an early age, it is true that Saʿdī does show strong sympathy for orphans in his works. As with the admonitions to treat travellers benignly, the sentiment could well have traditional Islamic, rather than personal, causes, but Saʿdī's concern does seem unusually strong and is perhaps drawn from personal experience. The anecdotes about his marriages are both incidental to his making moral points; both are placed in relatively distant lands (Syria, the Yemen—it is noticeable that Saʿdī's stories seem to become less reliable as their provenance gets further from Shīrāz) and are probably to be regarded as fictions. His sexual preferences would seem to have been for young males (Southgate 1984) (no doubt poetic convention played a role, but here too his concern is so insistently presented as to make it seem at least partly personal) and this too perhaps makes the stories of his two marriages slightly less probable, though marriage for reasons that had nothing to do with sexual preference was of course expected of adult Muslims. The reference to al-Suhrawardī does not occur in the earliest mss. of the *Bustān*, besides which Saʿdī was, as G.M. Wickens has remarked (*Morals pointed and tales adorned*, Leiden 1974, 267) "a great name-dropper", which makes the statement dubious. Some authors, however, e.g. Zarrīnkūb (1988, 175) consider that the reference may have been a later addition to the *Bustān* by Saʿdī himself, as he lived almost forty years after the poem was first completed, and that it records an authentic incident in the poet's life. His claim to have been a pupil of the theologian Ibn al-Djawzi (*Gulistān*, Book 2, anecdote 20) has been doubted on the compelling grounds that Ibn al-Djawzī was dead before Saʿdī's birth, but the statement is more credible if we accept that it was al-Djawzī's less illustrious grandson who was Saʿdī's teacher (Ṣafā, iii, 1987, 594). Saʿdī was also said to have met his great contemporary the Ṣūfī poet Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], and a

passage in a perhaps apocryphal treatise (*risāla*) attributed to Saᶜdī suggests that he met the historian Djuwaynī (author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushāy*) and Djuwaynī's brother, chief of the Il-Khānid civil service in Persia. There seems no particular reason to credit these anecdotes (stories of meetings between well known contemporaries being a common invention); the meeting with the Djuwaynī brothers is the more likely as Saᶜdī wrote panegyrics to both of them, but this need not imply actual contact so much as a wish for patronage.

It is in examining the identity of Saᶜdī's patrons and dedicatees that the most reliable information about his life and the world in which he lived can be gained. At least fifteen historical personages were either the subject of panegyrics by Saᶜdī or had works by him dedicated to them. His first datable work, completed after his youthful travels and his return to Shirāz, was the *Bustān* (655/1257) which he dedicated to the local Salghurid atabeg Abū Bakr b. Saᶜd b. Zangī; the *Gulistān*, completed a year later, was dedicated to this ruler's son, Saᶜd b. Abī Bakr b. Saᶜd [see SALGHURIDS]. The poet's *takhalluṣ* or pen-name of Saᶜdī is taken either from the latter, or from his grandfather Saᶜd b. Zangī. (Both derivations present problems; the grandfather died in 623/1226 when Saᶜdī in all probability was still an adolescent; the grandson ruled for only twelve days. The adoption of the *takhalluṣ* may have been made in honour of the grandson while he was still heir presumptive.) Abū Bakr b. Saᶜd ruled as atabeg for over thirty years, and managed to persuade the Mongols, who were busy devastating the north of Persia and ᶜIrāḳ, to leave him and Shīrāz in relative peace. Though his son ruled for a mere twelve days (one of Saᶜdī's most affecting public poems is an elegy on his death in the strophic form known as *tardjīᶜ-band*), the succession stayed within the same ruling house until 662/1264, and Saᶜdī continued to write panegyrics to its members. In a sense, the control of Shīrāz may be said to have stayed for a little longer under the control of the house of Saᶜd, as a granddaughter of Abū Bakr b. Saᶜd married Mengütemür, a son of the Mongol conqueror Hülegü, and she assumed the governorship, at least nominally, of Fārs. The very complex and dangerous political allegiances of the time are reflected in the list of dedicatees of Saᶜdī's poems. On the one side we have an elegy by him on the death of the last ᶜAbbāsid caliph (killed by the Mongols during their sack of Baghdād in 656/1258; Abū Bakr b. Saᶜd immediately travelled to the Mongol court and offered his congratulations, probably as a means of keeping Hülegü away from Fārs), and panegyrics on Saldjūḳ Shāh, the last independent Salghurid ruler of Fārs; on the other there is a panegyric on the murderer of both men, Hülegü, as well as panegyrics on various Mongol appointees to the government of Fārs, and to Ābish Khātūn, granddaughter of Abū Bakr b. Saᶜd and wife of Hülegü's son Mengütemür. As Ābish Khātūn and Saᶜdī both certainly knew, survival at this period depended on accommodation, and Saᶜdī's multiple allegiances, as evidenced by his panegyrics, are but the literary equivalent to the political manoeuvrings of his masters. Saᶜdī has received some blame for his apparent readiness to praise whoever might be in power in Fārs, but the practice was expected and such expediency was both prudent and commonplace (the Djuwaynī brothers, and their brilliant civil, scholarly and literary work done under Mongol patronage, are another case in point). Further, some of his public poems (e.g. his elegy on the death of the last ᶜAbbāsid caliph) cannot have been written with the hope of gain and could have been construed as politically risky. Saᶜdī himself claimed it was indigence that drove him to write panegyrics, and it may also be pointed out that his works in this form frequently consist of moral advice rather than undiluted and incredible praise. Despite the censure sometimes accorded them, his panegyrics contain very fine passages (e.g. the verses to the Mongol *ṣāḥib dīwān* (head of the chancery) Djuwaynī, beginning *kudām bāgh bi-dīdar-i dūstān mānad*).

Saᶜdī's works include the long (*ca.* 4,100 couplets) poem in *mathnawī* form, the *Bustān*, the prosimetrum (*maḳāma*) the *Gulistān*, panegyrics (*ḳaṣāʾid*) on various prominent men of his time, a small number of panegyric elegies (*marthiyāt*), numerous lyric poems (*ghazaliyyāt*), a number of shorter epigrammatic poems (*ḳiṭᶜāt* and *rubāʾiyyāt*) and a small collection of obscene pieces (*khabīthāt*/*hazaliyyāt*). He also wrote a small number of poems (mainly *ḳaṣāʾid*) in Arabic. Six prose treatises (*risālāt*) are also attributed to Saᶜdī, though the attribution of at least some of these is doubtful. Of these treatises the most interesting is the fifth, the *Naṣīḥat-i mulūk*, a brief mirror for princes. A second *mathnawī*, the *Pand-nāma* ("Book of advice") is now regarded as spurious. Saᶜdī's writings were edited by one Bīsitūn within thirty years of his death, and the mss. tradition derives from Bīsitūn's work. The many modern editions (a number of which omit the obscene pieces) of his collected works (*kulliyyāt*) are based on the recension prepared by Muḥammad ᶜAlī Furūghī in the early 1950s.

Saᶜdī's fame rests chiefly on the *Bustān*, the *Gulistān* and his *ghazals*. The *Bustān* and the *Gulistān* are both collections of moralising anecdotes, arranged according to subject matter in books (ten in the case of the *Bustān*, eight in the case of the *Gulistān*). Since both works have been frequently imitated, their formal innovations may not at first be apparent. As a collection of moral tales in verse, rather than a continuous narrative, with a Ṣūfī tinge but without the explicit programmatic Ṣūfism of Sanāʾī's, ᶜAṭṭār's or Rūmī's works, the *Būstan* is unlike any significant previous poem in Persian literature. Similarly, the mixture of prose and verse presented in the *Gulistān*, if not the first instance of its kind in Persian (ᶜAbd Allāh Anṣārī's religious treatises, with their occasional interposed verses, are a previously existing example), immediately makes the genre central to Persian literary history and elevates it to a new level of sophistication.

In order to understand the social and political background against which the works were composed, it is only necessary to point out that the *Gulistān* was completed in the same year as the sack of Baghdād and the extinction of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate by the Mongols. Accommodation with those in power, a preternatural awareness of the vicissitudes of fortune, an extreme wariness of personal and political enemies, the frequent necessity to mask one's true feelings, and the advice to be content with even indigent survival, far from centres of power and influence, are themes that are repeatedly stressed by the author. The epithet "Machiavellian" which has sometimes been applied to Saᶜdī as a reproach is in many ways a valid characterisation, in that both Machiavelli and Saᶜdī, writing in turbulent and potentially disastrous political circumstances, strove to provide advice that would ensure their audience's successful negotiation of an exceptionally risky and faction-ridden world. The crucial difference is that, whereas Machiavelli writes directly to and for a central actor in such political upheavals, Saᶜdī's intended audience, despite his dedication of both works to powerful if provincial

rulers, would seem to be much more those on the sidelines of major events, hoping to survive by luck and their wits. Further, in Saᶜdī's case, to this "Machiavellian" preoccupation with survival must be added a strong sympathy for the vulnerable and weak, especially if they are in any way ill-treated (it is very noticeable for example how often children figure in Saᶜdī's anecdotes, more perhaps than in the writings of any comparable figure in Persian literature), and a constantly reiterated plea for tolerance, perhaps the result of the poet's travels (but see below), the most famous example of which is the poem beginning *banī ādam āᶜḍā-yi yak paykarand* ("the children of Adam are members of one body..." (*Gulistān*, Book 1, anecdote 10).

The moralising tenor of Saᶜdī's writing in the *Bustān* and *Gulistān* on the one hand, and the works' attention to sheer survival on the other, may appear to be contradictory elements. It is undeniable that there is occasionally a sense of strain between the two concerns, but the poet's attempts to integrate them constitute a significant part of the distinctive flavour of the two works, and their immense popularity may perhaps be traced largely to this combination of goals. Although Saᶜdī's extreme facility in the writing of metrical aphorisms has led to many of his lines passing into the common stock of proverbial moral exhortation, the cumulative effect of the anecdotes in both the *Bustān* and the *Gulistān* is not that of an inflexible, internally coherent and absolute ethical system. Occasionally, the moral with which a story closes seems to have little to do with the story itself; anecdotes that offer contradictory moral advice can appear in close proximity (e.g. anecdote 17 of Book 1 of the *Bustān* recommends honesty when dealing with oppressive rulers; anecdote 19 of the same book recommends dissembling prudence when dealing with oppressive rulers) and, similarly, contradictory moral aphorisms are not uncommon (e.g. anecdote 20 of Book 2 of the *Bustān* ends with the advice to return evil with good; anecdote 26 of the same book ends with the statement that oppression of an oppressor is appropriate justice). The dilemma of whether to treat well enemies who may later have it in their power to harm you is one that Saᶜdī very frequently refers to, and anecdotes can be found supportive of both: on the one hand, the wisdom of pre-emptive draconian punishment and, on the other, the meliorating effects of timely mercy. That this relativism is at least to some extent deliberate is suggested by the books' structure; in the seventh books of both the *Bustān* and the *Gulistān*, there are long passages that imply the impossibility of absolute standards when dealing with fallible humanity. In the *Bustān*, the passage in question is that on calumny (towards the end of Book 7), in which it is stated, with typical humorous exasperation on Saᶜdī's part, that no course of action can meet with universal approval. Relativism is even more apparent in the last very lengthy anecdote of Book 7 of the *Gulistān*; here Saᶜdī presents a debate between himself and a *darwīsh* on the relative merits of poverty and wealth; the debate is inconclusive and the two take their question to a religious judge, who admonishes each of them to take account of the truth of the other's arguments and to be reconciled to one another. This conclusion, that moral conclusions are elusive (and that mutual respect and tolerance are preferable to disruptive ethical absolutism) can be gleaned from both the *Gulistān* and *Bustān*, if the anecdotes are taken as balancing and even occasionally contradicting each other rather than singly.

Saᶜdī's innovations, or refinements and organisation of previously extant elements, are no less apparent in his *ghazals*. The form had existed at least since the time of Sanāʾī (i.e. for approximately a century) before being taken up by him [see GHAZAL, ii], but it is with Saᶜdī that it achieves its "classical" perfection (which was to be reshaped and even, in the terms Saᶜdī had established it, disintegrated by Saᶜdī's fellow townsman Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] in the following century). In Saᶜdī's hands, the *ghazal* becomes a lyric unified by tone and subject matter and by his poetic trademark, the (relative) simplicity of his language and its extraordinarily mellifluous elegance. The convention of placing one's *takhalluṣ*, in the penultimate or last line of the *ghazal* became standard with Saᶜdī, though he did not originate the practice. In his hands the *ghazal* achieves its final emancipation from the language of the *ḳaṣīda* (from which it originated), in that the rhetoric no longer addresses itself to public praise with the concomitant expectations of remote allusiveness and arcane corruscation (as for example, in the *ḳaṣīdas* of Khāḳānī and Anwarī [*q.vv.*]); the emotional tenor has become inward and private rather than brilliant and public, and this inwardness is confirmed by the substitution of the poet's own *takhalluṣ* as the culminating moment of the poem, rather than a reference to the public object of praise as was conventional in the *ḳaṣīda*. The indeterminacy of the addressee (a beloved, God, or a patron) of the *ghazal*, again a feature of the form before Saᶜdī's time, is treated with increased subtlety. The inferiority of the speaker to the addressee, axiomatic in the *ḳaṣīda*, is transformed from a political statement into an avowed simplicity of heart which, while certainly conventional, opens the way to finely nuanced adumbrations of personal, private emotional experience (although the possibility that some of Saᶜdī's *ghazals* are political statements under the guise of personal erotic/mystical complaint has also been suggested). Saᶜdī's *ghazals* are divided into four groups: *ṭayyibāt* ("noble, pleasant"— this is by far the largest group); *badāyiᶜ* ("rarities"); *khawātīm* ("seals, final"); and *ḳadīm* ("ancient"). It is not known whether the groupings are the poet's own. Though the *Bustān* and *Gulistān* are profoundly admired in Persia, their fame is second to that of the *ghazals*, which are considered Saᶜdī's greatest achievement. Perhaps because of the relatively easier task presented by the translation of narrative as against lyric work, the *Bustān* and *Gulistān* have in general been admired more than the *ghazals* in the West.

The achievement of Saᶜdī is by any reckoning very great, and his work has been a major formative influence on subsequent writing in Persian. In his writings all trace of a sense of the marginality, or purely local preoccupations, of Persian culture vis-à-vis Islam as a whole has disappeared. This may in part be due to the profound shock of the Mongol invasions, which must at first have appeared to call in question the very survival of the *dār al-Islām* in the East; in the ensuing chaos, the culture of hitherto relatively peripheral areas flourished. One such area was Fārs, where Islamic culture continued more or less undisturbed. (The "coming of age" of Persian as a language of international Islamic culture at this time is also evidenced by Saᶜdī's contemporary Rūmī in Turkey and the slightly younger Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*] in India.) It is also undoubtedly due to the breadth of Saᶜdī's own sympathies and knowledge. This breadth of sympathy is further apparent in the "democratisation" of Saᶜdī's subject matter; previous poets (e.g. ᶜAṭṭār), who had looked beyond the court for subject matter, had done so largely for Ṣūfī reasons; Saᶜdī seems to do

so from pure human sympathy, from a sense of the validity of life at any social level in and for itself. On a par with this is the relative simplification, and thus greater accessibility for a more various audience, of his language when we compare it with that of many of the court poets who preceeded him. Such wide sympathies have led to Saᶜdī being seen as a kind of universal deist (Emerson) or a "humanist" by some western commentators (Yohannan 1987), but there are clear limits to Saᶜdī's sympathies and these should not be overlooked. They are defined with few exceptions by the boundaries of Islam, and are operative within the *sharīᶜa*, hardly beyond it. His writings contain disparaging references to Jews (especially), to Christians and to Hindus (the anecdote concerning the Hindu temple at Somnāth (*Bustān*, Book 8) is such a farrago of misinformation as to make one suspect that it is a deliberate joke, but even if this is so, the joke is hardly one that will appeal now). A notable exception to this tendency is the anecdote (*Bustān*, Book 2, anecdote 1) that has Abraham reproved by God for acting inhospitably to a Zoroastrian (this can, however, be seen as an example of a general unwillingness, discernible in the works of many mediaeval Persian authors, to disparage the customs and civilisation of pre-Islamic Persia, rather than as an indiscriminate tolerance of non-Muslims). Even within Islam, Saᶜdī's sympathies clearly stopped short of being extended to blacks, and certain of his remarks about women have been seen by some as verging on misogyny (the penultimate story of Book 1 of the *Gulistān* is evidence of an at least temporary violent contempt for both blacks and women). Much of this must undoubtedly be attributed to the time in which Saᶜdī was writing, in that he was merely repeating the common prejudices of his age and culture (and part of the shock registered at such moments in Saᶜdī is because he seems so sympathetic to the disadvantaged and/or unfamiliar elsewhere), but there were other Persian writers of his period, and previous periods, who did not indulge in such gratuitously disparaging language to the same extent. ᶜAṭṭār and, in general, Rūmī are examples. That these poets were exclusively Ṣūfī authors is significant; their sense of the illusoriness of the physical world, and therefore of the irrelevance of its categories for judging people's true worth, is not shared by Saᶜdī, whose world-view accepts the validity of common-sense categories within which the earth is considered as a place of tangible reality, happiness and suffering. Saᶜdī's Ṣūfism (he apparently ended his days as a member of a Ṣūfī foundation in Shīrāz) would seem to be close to the "practical" Ṣūfism of al-Ghazālī; that is, it is a way of living in and dealing with the world rather than of renouncing it. Ṣūfism for Saᶜdī is a means of surviving with dignity, and relatively uncompromised, in a dangerous and morally dubious environment. It is linked to notions of retirement from strife rather than the passionate search for transcendence which we find in Saᶜdī's contemporary Rūmī.

One of the most interesting aspects of Saᶜdī's writings is his insistence on his own persona as a presence in his works and thus in his audience's mind. This has led to him being one of the most "known" of Persian authors, in that his readers feel aware of his character to an extent that is true of hardly any other Persian writer from the middle ages. He presents himself as widely travelled, of such ready sympathy that he can be intimate with both the powerful and the weak, almost always ready to intercede on behalf of the disadvantaged, tolerant, a peacemaker and a man who hates slander, pious but not bigoted, simple-hearted with the simple but also canny enough to see through hypocrisy and deception. Occasional stories against himself lend verisimilitude, but they are always placed in his childhood or youth, with the implication that he has now learned better. He is also insistent on his own fame, recounting stories of how he has heard his works recited as far away as India. Much of this must surely be taken as the deliberate creation of an authorial persona. It is, for example, similar to the persona created by the English mediaeval writer Chaucer, and probably for the same reasons; both poets present themselves as charming raconteurs—wise, attractive, avuncular companions, men with broad sympathies who have seen the world but still basically share the plain man's "common sense" world-view. This cosmopolitan, compassionate, shrewd persona is to be regarded chiefly as an advertisement for the work. Significant here, too, is Saᶜdī's strong sense of humour and his previously-noted warning that travellers are liars; Saᶜdī's presentation of himself is a brilliant literary device that he undertakes with every sign of relish at his undoubted skill; it is perhaps the greatest of his literary triumphs.

Perhaps in part because of their self-consciously "international" and unprovincial interests, Saᶜdī's writings were highly influential as models not only in Persia itself but also in Turkey of the Saldjūḳs and the *beylik*s and subsequently in the Ottoman empire. Similarly, in Mughal India, his works quickly achieved great fame, and his *ghazal*s were imitated by Persian-speaking Indian poets within his own lifetime or shortly afterwards. Generally speaking, in countries that have at different periods looked to Persia as a cultural model, he is thought of as the archetypal Persian author, and his works have been a fundamental part of the educational curriculum of those wishing to become acquainted with Persian belle-lettres. His popularity in the Ottoman empire and Mughal India led to his name being known in the West at a relatively early period. French, German and Latin translations of parts of his oeuvre appeared in the mid-7th century, and Gentius brought out an edition of the *Gulistān*, with a Latin translation, in Amsterdam in 1651. The benevolence of Saᶜdī's usual sentiments and his frequent advocacy of irenic tolerance made him particularly attractive to Enlightenment authors, and Voltaire pretended, tongue in cheek, that his *Zadig* was a translation from Saᶜdī. In Germany Herder, and in England Sir William Jones, were both enthusiastic advocates of Saᶜdī's work. In America, Benjamin Franklin borrowed an anecdote from the *Bustān* (that of Abraham and the Zoroastrian) "on account of the importance of the moral, well worth being made known to all mankind", and Emerson saw the poet in more or less the same light—i.e. as an Oriental version of a pragmatic Enlightenment deist. By the mid-19th century, Saᶜdī had been more extensively translated into European languages than any other Persian author, with the possible exception of Ḥāfiẓ.

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SAᶜDIDS, Saᶜdians, a Sharīfian dynasty which ruled in Morocco from the mid-10th/16th century to *ca.* 1070/1659. The Saᶜdids or Saᶜdians or Banū Saᶜd, make their appearance in the history of Morocco at the beginning of the 10/16th century, at the time when the last ruling dynasty of Berber origin, the Banū Waṭṭās [see waṭṭāsids], was in decline. The Banū Saᶜd claimed to have come originally from Yanbuᶜ in the Tihāma of the Ḥidjāz and to be descendants of the Prophet; whatever their origin, they bore the title of *sharīf*.

Since the 8th/14th century, they had lived in the central valley of the Darᶜa, at Tagmaddart. In the following century they established themselves in the Sūs at Tidsi. The first of the Saᶜdids to play a role in the internal politics of Morocco was called Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥman al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh. He was a saintly man, a disciple of al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*], who enjoyed genuine prestige among the neighbouring tribes. In 916/1510 he was appointed war-leader and campaigned against the Portuguese, formally established at Agadir [*q.v.*] since 919/1513 (in reality since 1505). In 917/1511, he had named his eldest son Aḥmad al-Aᶜradj governor of the Sūs; two years later he appointed him his successor. On his death in 923/1517-18, at Afūghāl in the Ḥāḥa, two of his sons shared the political power which he had built up: al-Aᶜradj governed to the north of the Atlas, the younger, Maḥammad al-Shaykh, in the Sūs. These two *sharīfs* were the real founders of the Saᶜdian dynasty, the first Sharīfian dynasty to take power in Morocco.

The two principal objectives of these princes were the struggle against the Christians, in this case the Portuguese, and the conquest of northern Morocco, in other words the eviction of the Waṭṭāsids. In 929/1523 hostilities were declared between them and the *amīr* of Fās, Muḥammad al-Burtugālī. Then in 930/1524 the two *sharīfs* took possession of Marrākush, assassinating the *amīr* of the Hinṭāṭa, al-Nāsir Bū Shentūf, who was in occupation of the town, and al-Aᶜradj became the head of the new state, established *de facto*, with Marrākush as its capital. The tomb of al-Djazūlī, which had been at Afūghāl, was transferred there; thus the city became a venerated site. On two occasions the successor of Muḥammad al-Burtugālī, Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Waṭṭāsī, attempted to attack Marrākush, but without success, and in 916/1530 Waṭṭāsids and Saᶜdians established a frontier between their two "kingdoms", running from Umm al-Rabīᶜ to Wād al-ᶜAbīd. Six years later, the Waṭṭāsid army was routed by that of the *sharīfs* and in 1537, the latter took possession of Tafilālt, part of the territory belonging to the Waṭṭāsids.

The *sharīfs* also pursued the struggle against the Portuguese, and in 948/1541 Agadir, or Santa-Cruz do Cap de Cúe, was taken by Mawlāy Maḥammad. This victory led to a rift between the two Saᶜdian brothers, when Mawlāy Maḥammad refused to share the booty seized from the Portuguese fortress. The younger imprisoned his elder brother, and then in 949/1542 an accord was signed between them. In spite of this apparent reconciliation, a violent quarrel took place between the two princes in 950/1543, and al-Aᶜradj was exiled with his entire family to the Tafilālt; Mawlāy Maḥammad was thus able to occupy Marrākush.

Sole master of the Saᶜdian lands, Mawlāy Muḥammad renewed the struggle against the Banū Waṭṭās of Fās; in 1545, near *Wādī* Derna, he succeeded in taking prisoner Aḥmad al-Waṭṭāsī. Set free two years later, the latter ceded Miknās, the Gharb and the Habṭ to the Saᶜdian. The same year, 953/1547, the *sharīf* laid siege to Fās, a siege which lasted until January 1549, at which date Fās fell, and Mawlāy Maḥammad became the sole ruler of Morocco. As for Aḥmad al-Waṭṭāsi, he was sent to Marrākush. One of the first consequences of this defeat was the abandonment by the Portuguese of their fortresses at Arzila/Aṣīla and at al-Ḳaṣr al-ṣaghīr.

At the same time that the Saᶜdids were undertaking the conquest of Morocco, the Ottoman power established at Algiers was attempted to advance towards the west. Between the two new powers in the Maghrib lay an ancient "kingdom", Tlemcen, ruled by an enfeebled dynasty, the Banū Zayyān or ᶜAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*]: the conquest of Tlemcen seemed a necessity both to the Ottomans and to the Saᶜdians. On 23 Djumādā I 957/9 June 1550, a Sharīfian army commanded by one of the sons of Mawlāy Maḥammad, Mawlāy al-Ḥarrān, entered Tlemcen. It did not stay there long, since a large proportion of the Moroccan troops had to be transferred to the Tafilālt in order to fight against Aḥmad al-Aᶜradj, who had rebelled against his younger brother. In the summer of the same year, when the Saᶜdian garrison, left in the Zayyānid capital under the command of two of the sons of al-Shaykh, was attacked by the Pasha of Algiers, it was unable to resist, and in February 1551 the Algerian army took possession of Tlemcen, which remained henceforward under Ottoman control, the Moulouya/Malwiyya serving as a frontier between Morocco and the Algerian regency.

However, the Waṭṭāsids had not lost hope of regaining power: an uncle of the prince defeated in 956/1549, Abū Ḥassūn, who had for some time found refuge in Spain, succeeded with the aid of the Algerians in defeating the Sharīfians under the walls of Fās, which he entered on 14 Ṣafar 962/7 January 1554. He even allied himself to al-Aᶜradj and to the latter's son, Zaydān, who had succeeded in making themselves masters of the Tafilālt. And if a message addressed by Abū Ḥassūn to his new ally had not been intercepted by Mawlāy Maḥammad al-Shaykh—with the result that the defeat of his son Mawlāy ᶜAbd Allāh was transformed into victory—the Waṭṭāsid would probably have been able to regain the Moroccan throne. But al-Aᶜradj and Zaydān surrendered, and al-Shaykh was enabled to renew the offensive against Abū Ḥassūn, who succumbed to a fatal lance-blow at Musallama on 15 Shawwāl 961/13 September 1554. On this occasion, the Saᶜdians became the undisputed masters of Morocco.

Three years later, on 29 Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 964/23 October 1557, Mawlāy Maḥammad was assassinated by a member of his Turkish bodyguard, Ṣalāḥ b. Kyāhya. Shortly before this, the other *sharīf*, al-Aᶜradj, imprisoned in Marrākush, had been executed by the governor of the town, along with seven of his sons and grandsons. The senior branch of the Saᶜdids was thus eliminated and the succession of the *sharīf* Mawlāy Maḥammad fell to his son, Mawlāy ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ghālib bi'llāh. At the start of his reign, which was marked by an anti-Turkish policy, three of his

brothers advanced as far as Algiers, and two of them even reached Istanbul. In 965/1558, the new sovereign succeeded in defeating the Turko-Ottomans of Algiers near Wādī 'l-Laban and invading the Regency. He attempted, without success, to forge an alliance with the king of Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon. On the other hand, he succeeded in establishing peaceful relations with Spain, which earned him the hostility of the marabouts whose influence was increasing throughout the Maghrib. He also sought to deprive the Portuguese of Mazagan, their last fortress, but failed. Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh died in 981/1574, and his son Mawlāy Maḥammad, already governor of Fās, was recognised as sovereign without hindrance. But another Saʿdid prince was a pretender to the Moroccan throne, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, one of the brothers of the late *sharīf*, who from 1557 onward was conspiring with the Ottoman Sultan to obtain military and financial support. Two years after the death of his brother, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, with a Turko-Algerian force, supplemented by Arab contigents, defeated his nephew at al-Rukn and entered Fās on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 983/11 March 1576. As for Mawlāy Maḥammad, he reached Marrākush, and then, following a further defeat at the hands of his uncle, he took refuge in the Sūs. Subsequently, with the help of the king of Spain, he made his way to Peñon de Vélez.

While the uncle had been aided by the Ottomans, the nephew ultimately obtained the aid of the Christian princes, especially that of the king of Portugal, Don Sebastian, who dreamed of conquering Morocco. In Djumādā I 986/July 1578, a substantial Christian army set out in support of Mawlāy Maḥammad. The clash between this army and that of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik took place on 4 August near the Wādī Mekhāzen; the two Moroccan pretenders and the king of Portugal died in the combat. This battle, the so-called Battle of the Three Kings, had vast repercussions in Europe as in Morocco, where it aroused a veritable surge of national consciousness. The victor was another brother of Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, Mawlāy Aḥmad, who became sultan. His reign was one of the most significant in the entire history of Morocco, as well as one of the longest, since it lasted until 1012/1603.

Having reorganised the country, Mawlāy Aḥmad established diplomatic relations with the Ottoman empire, as well as with Christian nations including Spain, Portugal and England; in 993/1585 English merchants founded the Barbary Company which enjoyed free and exclusive trade with Morocco for twelve years. But the major achievement of the reign was the conquest of the western Sūdān; contacts between the Songhay of the loop of the Niger and Morocco had begun in the 5th/11th century. In the 10th/16th century, the salt-pans of Tegheza, between Timbuktu and Marrākush, were coveted by the Moroccans, and in 986/1578 Mawlāy Aḥmad asked Askia Dāwūd, the ruler of the Songhay, to allow him the exploitation of these salt-pans for a year. Three years later, the Saʿdian *sharīf* ordered the occupation of Touat and the Gourara, and in 992/1584 sent to the western Sūdān a first expedition, which was a disastrous failure. The conquest of Sūdān was decided upon and in 1591 the Pasha Djūdar, commanding the Sharīfian troops, entered first Gao and then Timbuktu. In 994/1596 the Moroccans occupied the loop of the Niger from Koukya to Djenna; the western Sūdān came under Saʿdian domination, and every year, tribute of Sudanese gold was paid to Marrākush. Dissension between the sons of Mawlāy Aḥmad, henceforward to be known as al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī, cast a cloud over the end of the reign of the *sharīf*, who died of the plague on 17 Rabīʿ I/25 August 1603.

During his lifetime, Mawlāy Aḥmad had given some of his sons a degree of administrative responsibility. Following his death, the princes Zaydān and Abū Fāris had themselves declared sultans, at Fās and at Marrākush respectively. A third brother, Maḥammad al-Shaykh al-Maʾmūn, who had been imprisoned by his father for rebellion, succeeded in defeating his brother Zaydān at al-Mouata and being proclaimed in his turn as sovereign at Fās (1604), while Mawlāy Zaydān gained control of the Sūs; the fratricidal struggles which were to lead to the dissolution of the dynasty had begun.

A fourth prince soon claimed his share of the "kingdom", sc. Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, a son of al-Maʾmūn who, in 1015/1606, succeeded in establishing himself at Marrākush. All these struggles devastated the country and destitution was rife. Al-Maʾmūn, whose power was gradually ebbing away, attempted to obtain the support of Tuscany, then appealed to Spain for help, where he was obliged to take refuge in March 1608 as Mawlāy Zaydān had regained power in Marrākush and was threatening Fās. The following year, in the hope of gaining the support of the government of Philip III, king of Spain, the *sharīf* al-Maʾmūn signed a treaty according to which he guaranteed, in exchange for military aid, to cede to him the port of Larache/al-ʿArāʾish [*q.v.*], which Spain had long coveted, lest it be occupied by the Ottoman fleet. On 20 November 1610 Spanish troops commanded by the Marquis of San Germán took possession of Larache, the port and the town. But instead of helping Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Maʾmūn, this action lost him every chance of returning to his throne. He was assassinated in 1022/1613 at Fadjdj al-Fāras.

In 1018/1609, the above-mentioned prince Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, had had his uncle Abū Fāris strangled. He was thus able to succeed his father at Fās, but the kingdom of Fās was no more than a much-reduced territory. Despite the agitations of one of his brothers, Mawlāy Zaghūda, and despite the total anarchy existing in Fās, the reign of Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh lasted until his death in 1032/1623. After him another of his brothers, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, ruled nominally in Fās for four years, but the descendants of al-Maʾmūn were no longer in a position to exert real power.

After the cession of Larache to the Spanish, the only Saʿdian prince considered to be a legitimate sovereign was Mawlāy Zaydān. While the descendants of Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Shaykh tried to maintain their position at Fās, Zaydān established his capital at Marrākush and was recognised by foreign powers as sultan of Morocco. In 1021/1612 he was subjected to the attacks of a religious leader, Abū Maḥallī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who had declared holy war against the Saʿdids, and who even succeeded in entering Marrākush. Mawlāy Zaydān was obliged to flee to Ṣāfī [*q.v.*], whence he attempted to leave Morocco with his retinue, and seventy-three cases of Arabic books. These cases were loaded on a French ship which was intercepted and impounded by the Spanish, who declared it to be legitimate war-booty; the Arabic volumes thus remained in the possession of the Spanish, and were later deposited in the Escurial.

The state of anarchy which pervaded the country enabled various religious chiefs or marabouts to make themselves more or less independent of the ailing central power. Those of the Sūs did not pose a real threat

Genealogical table of the Saʿdid Shurafāʾ

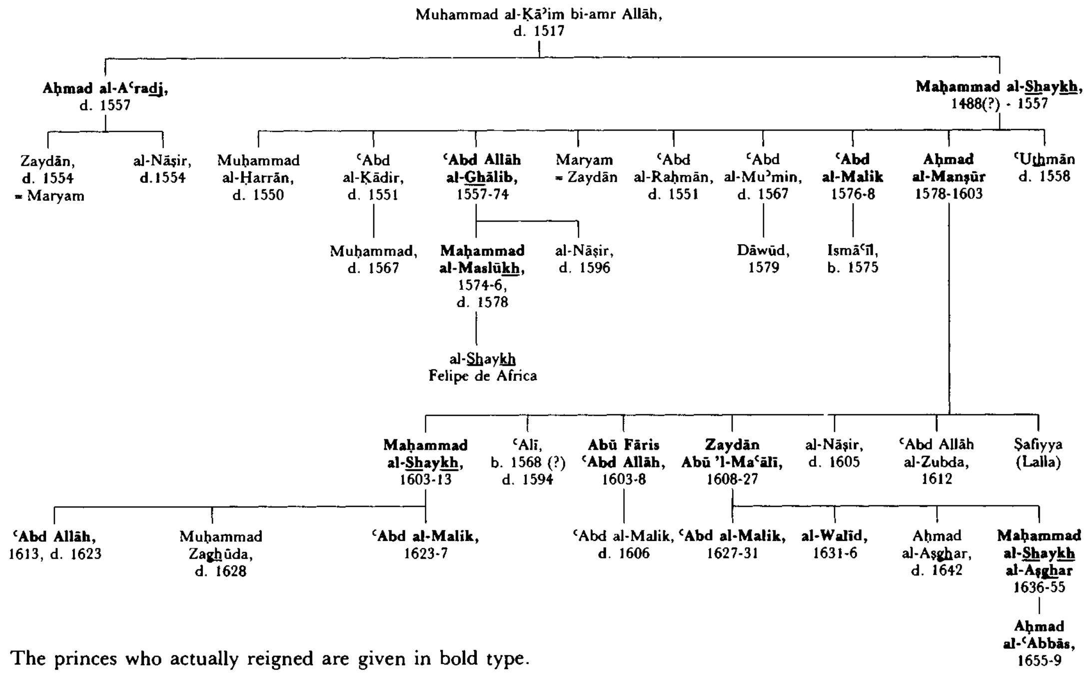

The princes who actually reigned are given in bold type.

to the dynasty, but those of northern Morocco put the government of the *sharīfs* in danger; the arrival of the Moriscos, especially following their expulsion from Spain (1609-10), and their occupation of Rabat which they declared an independent republic, as well as the agitation of a "marabout", al-ʿAyyāshī, in the region of Salā and then at Salā itself, ultimately rendered Mawlāy Zaydān's authority purely theoretical in the north of Morocco.

The *sharīf* Zaydān died in 1036/1627, and his successor was his eldest son Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, who reigned only four years: he was assassinated on 6 Shaʿbān 1040/10 March 1631. The treaty which he had negotiated with France was signed by his brother Muḥammad al-Walīd, on 20 Ṣafar 1041/17 September 1631. Al-Walīd, assassinated in turn, was succeeded by a third son of Mawlāy Zaydān, Mawlāy Maḥammad al-Shaykh al-Aṣghar. The latter succeeded in maintaining control over Morocco, or rather over the region of Marrākush, until 1065/1654; he faced opposition from another maraboutic power, the Dilāʾiyya of the central Atlas [see DILĀʾ in Suppl.]. The last Saʿdian sovereign was the son of al-Shaykh, Aḥmad al-ʿAbbās, who inherited a thoroughly decadent kingdom. After his assassination in 1069/1659, Morocco became the object of contention between the *shurafāʾ* of the Tafīlālt, the ʿAlawīs, and the Dilāʾiyya of the Atlas. The last-named were decisively defeated in 1079/1668, and the Saʿdid *shurafāʾ* were succeeded by the ʿAlawī *shurafāʾ* [see ʿALAWĪS].

If the last Saʿdid princes were characters without much depth, and were in many cases debauched, the first *sharīfs* were outstanding statesmen who encouraged the cultural and artistic life of the country. Although very little remains of the palace of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, the Badīʿ of Marrākush, various religious monuments from the Saʿdian period have been preserved in this town: the great mosques of Bāb Dukkāla and of Mouassin, the tomb of al-Djazūlī, the Ben Yūsuf *madrasa*, and above all the mausoleums of the *sharīfs*, Ḳubūr al-Ashrāf. At Fās, the Saʿdians built little, but to them are owed the two pavilions at the extremities of the court of the mosque of al-Ḳarawiyyīn, as well as the *basātīn*, the northern Burdj and the southern Burdj built by Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 1582.

Until the death of this sultan, the economic situation was such that there were periods of considerable prosperity; the relations of Saʿdian Morocco with European countries facilitated the export of various products such as textiles, horses, wheat, saltpetre, and especially sugar, principally to England (cultivation of the sugar-cane had appeared in Morocco in the 3rd/9th century, and disappeared shortly after the death of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr). It is also to the credit of the Saʿdid *shurafāʾ* that they presided over the birth of a genuine feeling of national consciousness, which resisted any attempt at domination by Christians or Ottomans.

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(CHANTAL DE LA VÉRONNE)

ṢĀDIḲ HIDĀYAT [see HIDĀYAT, ṢĀDIḲ].

ṢĀDİḲ RIFᶜAT PASHA, MEḤMED, Ottoman statesman and diplomat (1807-57). He was born in Istanbul, the only son of a very wealthy family. His father was Ḥādjdjī ᶜAlī Bey, the governor of the Ottoman cannon foundries (*Topkhāne*). Ṣādîḳ Rifᶜat received an education in the palace school, serving his final year in the *Enderūn-i Humāyūn Khazīne Odasî* (the imperial treasury). Thereafter, he was placed in the correspondence department (*Mektūbī Ḳalemi*) of the Grand Vizierate, as an assistant clerk. In 1824 he was promoted to the rank of *khʷādja* (master) and in 1828 he became a junior clerk in the office of incoming correspondence.

He attracted the attention of Sulṭan Mahmūd II [*q.v.*] when accompanying the latter on his tour of Edirne and Gelibolu. He also joined the entourage of Pertew Pasha [*q.v.*], whose protégé he became, just like his more famous contemporary Muṣṭafā Reshīd [*q.v.*]. In 1834 he succeeded Reshid in the position of assistant-receiver (*Āmedī Wekīli*). Next year, Ṣādîḳ Rifᶜat was appointed Ottoman ambassador to Vienna, where he gained the friendship of the Austrian chancellor Prince Metternich, but struck Joseph von Hammer as a novice in diplomacy. During his stay in Vienna, he wrote a memorandum on the "circumstances of Europe" (*Awrupā aḥwālîna dā*ᵓ*ir risāle*, 1837) in which he pointed out the importance of security of life and property and of rational bureaucratic practices, and advocated devoting more attention to trade and industry. According to Ṣādîḳ Rifᶜat, the old Ottoman condescension towards people engaged in trade should end and productivity should be made a central aim of the Ottoman government. The ideas put forward in the memorandum resembled the provisions of the Anglo-Ottoman trade treaty of Balta Limānî of 1838 and of the famous Gülkhāne edict which issued in the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms in 1839.

In 1840, Ṣādîḳ Rifᶜat, now under-secretary of state at the Foreign Office, led a mission to Egypt. Shortly after, he was appointed as under-secretary of state at the office of the Grand Vizier. In 1841, he was promoted to the rank of vizier and served as foreign secretary for nine months, the first of four separate tenures of that post (the others being in 1843-5, 1848 and 1853), always for short periods of time. In the same year he joined the *Medjlis-i Wālā-yi Aḥkām-i ᶜAdliyye* (Exalted Council for Judicial Ordinances), the main consultative body of the early *Tanẓīmāt* era. After a second stint as ambassador to Austria (1842-3) and his second term as foreign secretary, he rejoined the council and became its chairman (with a seat in the cabinet) in 1845. He was to serve as chairman of the council three more times, in 1848-9, 1850 and 1853-4, after which he joined the newly established *Medjlis-i ᶜĀlī-yi Tanẓīmāt* (High Council for Reforms). In between he served as finance minister for three months in 1848, and as minister of state for three months in 1850. In the latter year he also joined the Learned Society (*Endjümen-i Dānish*).

Ṣādîḳ Rifᶜat Pasha was a close associate of Reshīd Pasha and a member of the inner circle of reformers all through the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s. He was a strong supporter of the secularisation of the legal and educational systems and, like Reshīd, ᶜAlī and Fuᵓād Pashas, both preached and practiced the simplification of the Ottoman chancery style. Against the expectations of many of his contemporaries, he never attained the Grand Vizierate.

Ṣādîḳ Rifᶜat Pasha died on 11 January 1857 and was buried in Eyyūb. He left a daughter (who was married to a son of Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, Aḥmed Djelāl Pasha) and a son, Meḥmed Raᵓūf Pasha, who edited and published a number of his father's memoranda under the title *Muntakhabāt-i āthār-i Rifᶜat* (Selected Writings of Rifᶜat). Another small work, called *Risāle-yi akhlāḳ* (Treatise on morals) was for some time used in Ottoman schools.

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(E.J. ZÜRCHER)

ṢADĪḲĪ (the transcription often used by Indian numismatists of what should correctly be ṢIDDĪḲĪ), the name given by Tīpū Sulṭān of Mysore [see MAHISUR] to a gold coin of the value of two pagodas (Port. *pardao*, the name of a gold coin long current in South India in pre-modern times and for which various etymologies have been propounded; see Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, 652-7, 672-8), weighing 106 grains (= 6.87 gr). The name Ṣiddīḳī derives from the epithet borne by the first caliph Abū Bakr [*q.v.*] al-Ṣiddīḳ, in accordance with Tīpū's custom of naming the denominations of his coins after the first caliphs and the Shīᶜī imāms.

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(J. ALLAN*)

AL-**ṢĀDIḲIYYA**, AL-MADRASA, in Tunisian Arabic eṣ-Ṣādḳiyya, in French, le Collège Sadiki, a prestigious educational establishment, founded by a decree of Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ Bey [*q.v.*] of Tunis on 5 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 1291/13 January 1875 on the advice of the reforming minister Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*].

Its foundation marked the culmination of a period of reflection by the reforming élite in Tunisia which, from the middle of the 19th century, opened its eyes to the modern world, was disturbed at the social, cultural and economic backwardness of the country, and had the curiosity to make itself familiar with the sciences of the West. It took into account the fact that all reform, political or administrative, would necessarily involve the updating of teaching methods, the development of the programme of studies and its extension to as great a number as possible of pupils.

The foundation statue of the Ṣādiḳiyya envisaged a double objective: (1) conservation, "revivification" (*iḥyā*ʾ) and renovation (*tad̲j̲dīd*) of the Arabo-Muslim cultural inheritance; and (2) an opening-up to the new world, in its various cultural forms: the mastery of foreign languages as a basic means of communication, and an initiation into the exact sciences and their manifold applications.

The foundation statue of the Ṣādiḳiyya

The College is meant for young Muslim Tunisians (art. 29); instruction there is free (art. 31). There are to be two categories of pupils (resident ones with bursaries, those with half-bursaries and those living externally). Three levels of instruction are envisaged: (1) Primary, in which is to be taught reading and writing, Ḳurʾān recitation, Prophetic tradition and the usual manuals of Islamic studies (*mutūn*); (2) Second level, in which the legal science of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* are to be taught; and (3) (and here are the innovations) the teaching of the exact and modern sciences (mathematics, inc. algebra, geometry, mensuration, engineering); cosmography; geography; natural sciences (the elements of medicine, vertinary science, botany, zoology, mineralogy, agriculture and chemistry); political science and legislation; and, in a word, "everything not prohibited by the *s̲h̲arʿ*, which it is necessary to make available to the Muslim community so that it may organise services of public value" (art. 25).

This third level was to take seven years. Art. 23 envisages the possibility for graduates of "continuing their studies" for a further seven years at the most. This last rule was in effect used in order to send certain pupils to France, Turkey and England; from 1878 to 1881 a dozen students followed courses at the Lycée Saint-Louis in Paris.

Installation of the Ṣādiḳiyya

The effective inauguration of the Ṣādiḳiyya took place on 20 Muḥarram 1292/27 February 1875. The "new school" was at that time installed in Tunis in a former barracks in the rue Ezzenaidya (*al-zanāʾidiyya* "the armourers"), baptised under the French Protectorate as the rue de l'Eglise, and is situated at the present in no. 55 in the rue D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Zaytūna. In 1897, the College was moved to a new building, in Arabo-Mag̲h̲ribī style, dominating the hill over the Ḳaṣba, and which gave place to the Administration of the Habous (*ḥubūs, awḳāf*) and then to an annexe of the National Library (Periodicals Service).

Financial arrangements

In order to provide the College with an assured and autonomous budget, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn allotted to it the greater part of the properties of the former chief minister, Muṣṭafā K̲h̲aznadār [*q.v.*], confiscated by the state. These comprised enormous rural estates, olive groves, building plots in Tunis itself (Tunis-Marine) and in its outskirts (La Goulette, La Marsa, etc.), and houses and shops in the city centre. "By a decree of 10 March 1875, the properties forming the endowment of the Ṣādiḳi College were made into an habous (*ḥubus*) as property held in mainmort, of a religious nature and inalienable. Under the able administration of Muḥammad al-ʿĀrif, the College's finances rapidly prospered". These habous were valued in 1906 at about 20 million francs.

However, from the beginning of the Protectorate, the speculations of European colons, supported by the French administration, allowed, by means of a legal fiction or ruse (*ḥīla*), the disastrous exchange (*ʿiwaḍ*) of the rich properties of the North (*ca.* 4,000 ha) against rents "of enzel" (*inzāl* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) or permanent lease), which could be subsequently bought out for the future payment of twenty annual payments.

Practical arrangements and their variations

A decree of 28 March 1906 (2 Ṣafar 1324) fixed the number of resident pupils of the College at 40, whilst that of the half-bursary holders was not to exceed 100.

These pupils were admitted after a competitive examination embracing the whole of Tunisia. A certificate of elementary primary studies was required of all candidates, whose age had to be (on the 31 December of the year of the competition) between 12 and 15. Between 1906 and 1929 the total number of pupils was 625. In comparison, one may note that in 1905, there were at the Lycée Carnot 846 pupils, including 44 Tunisian Muslims. It was not till the 1930s, under the direction of Gabriel Mérat, that numbers passed the peak of 160. But it was above all under the direction of a former pupil of the College, the first Tunisian who had surmounted the barrier of the competition for agregation in Arabic language and literature, Muḥammad ʿAṭiyya, that its evolution became spectacular. The number of pupils admitted to the entrance competition passed, in 1951, the maximum of 305. The effective total was multiplied by ten, and the prodigious efforts of the director were crowned by the building, on a plot of land belonging to the Crown demesnes, of an annexe to the College, the Lycée K̲h̲aznadār, to which the internal and part of the external students were transferred.

The syllabuses and their successive reform

It was political considerations which usually determined the changes in teaching programmes. Thus it was that, at the beginning of the Protectorate from 1882, the French Minister-Resident Paul Cambon understood the services which the College could render to the new administration. Under the direction of Delmas, in 1892, the secondary education syllabus was modified: kept at a level below that of the lycées, in the scientific field, instruction took on above all a practical and professional aspect. Special courses in literary, administrative and legal translation were introduced there in the light of the certificate and higher diploma in Arabic required for entry into the public service (decree of 1888). The first graduates of the Ṣādiḳiyya were caught up by the administration, which dangled before the eyes of the youth an assured position and treatment. The Ṣādiḳiyya ceased to be basically a place for shaping the learned education of Tunisian youth, but became a "nursery" for officials of the Protectorate administration, a "producer of white-collar workers".

After 1934, the director ʿAṭiyya, going back to the spirit of the College's founder and the letter of its foundation statue (respect for and preservation of the national heritage, with an opening on to the modern world), brought the syllabuses up to the scientific level required by the baccalauréat and assured Arabic language and literature of an adequate role. He diversified studies and, at the second level of instruction, increased the number of specialised sections corresponding to the different series of the baccalauréat:

Section A: classical literature (Latin and Greek introduced for the first time, whence, eventually, were formed cadres for the archaeological service and teachers of the history of ancient Tunisia).

Section B: Sciences plus languages (English, then Italian and German).

Section C: Latin plus sciences.

Section D (crowned by the sole Diploma of completed studies), an education on an administrative (legislative) and legal (elements of law and Islamic jurisprudence) basis.

An innovation should be noted. The director of the Ṣādiḳiyya could admit, as an option at the oral examination for the baccalauréat, questions on Arab-

Islamic philosophy (al-Fārābī, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Khaldūn, etc.).

The success of the Ṣādiḳiyya encouraged an increasing demand from Tunisians for it to be extended to other establishments. After 1944, the Direction of Public Instruction decided to create, on the same model, classes which were described as "Ṣādiḳian" and then "Tunisian" in a number of lycées and colleges: the College Aaloui, the Lycées of Sousse and Sfax and even, under pressure from the Union of Tunisian employees in Public Education, at the Lycée Carnot in Tunis and, for Muslim girls, at the Lycée Louis-René Millet in the rue du Pacha in Tunis.

In 1955, the numbers of participants in the "Tunisian" classes reached 6,000. Studies there were crowned by the "Diploma of Ṣādiḳian studies", which was replaced, after Independence in 1957, by that of the "Tunisian baccalauréat".

Finally, one should mention the indelible impact which the Ṣādiḳiyya has had on Tunisian society, quite apart from its role in the domain of education. "By bringing together on the same benches, in the same refectory and dormitory, children from all classes of this society, Sadiki went on to create the democratic education of youth ... Thanks to the possibility of boarding there, provincials and country-dwellers, hitherto disdained (as *āfāḳīs*) by the children of the capital, found themselves in contact with each other, and learned to know and love each other" (Ali Bach Hamba, 1906).

A mixing-together of youth from all social levels, a free comradeship and close solidarity of feeling, an atmosphere of hard work and a strong feeling of responsibility and duty, have characterised the atmosphere of the Ṣādiḳiyya right up to the present day.

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ṢĀDIN (A.), in early Arabia, the guardian of a shrine (abstract noun, *sidāna*).

The root *s - d - n* contains the sense of "veil, curtain", which puts *sādin* on a level with *ḥādjib*, the first term denoting the guardian of a shrine, and the second, the "door-keeper" of a palace, hence "chamberlain". The *ḥādjib* acts under the orders of someone else, whereas the *sādin* acts on his own initiative (*LʿA*, xvii, 69, citing Ibn Barrī). However, the two terms may be found juxtaposed, e.g. in Ibn Hishām, who says, "The Arabs possessed, as well as the Kaʿba, *tawāghīt* which were shrines (*buyūt*: cf. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 132 ff.) which they used to venerate just as they venerated the Kaʿba; these sanctuaries had *sadana* and *ḥudjdjāb*" (*Sīra*, 55, l. 10). According to him, the personnel of the cult could be reduced to the *sādin* and the *ḥādjib*. The site of the cult itself is called *bayt al-masdan* in a verse attributed to Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj (*loc. cit.*, l. 11). For al-Djāḥiẓ, *sādin* belongs to the Djāhiliyya; it is replaced by *ḥādjib* (*Ḥayawān*, i, 160 ult.). Amongst the offices created by Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*] figures that of the *ḥidjāba* "guardianship of the Kaʿba".

As well as his function as guardian of a shrine, the *sādin* watched over the offerings made to the divinities and practised belomancy [see AL-ISTIḲSĀM BI 'L-AZLĀM]. This was the situation regarding the custodian of the Kaʿba; he shook up the divinatory arrows in the god Hubal's [*q.v.*] quiver.

The *sādin* appears thus in the sources concerning primitive Islam, when Arabian paganism was in full decadence. Going further back and placing him the context of the surrounding Semitic world, one notes that there was both a complementariness and a rivalry between the *sādin* and the *kāhin*. The first had a mantic and augural role, the second, an oracular and ecstatic one. But it often happened that the two were in rivalry and trespassed on each other's territory; also, the absence of one enabled the other to exercise both functions.

Bibliography: Full details in KĀHIN and in Fahd, *La divination arabe*[2], Paris 1987, 109-12. (T. FAHD)

SAʿDIYYA, a Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] and family lineage particularly Syrian and Shāfiʿī in identity, still active today, that grew to prominence also in Ottoman Egypt, Turkey and the Balkans. Notable aspects of the Saʿdiyya are their distinctive rituals and their role in the social history of Damascus. The eponymous founder is Saʿd al-Dīn al-Shaybānī al-Djibāwī (hereafter "Saʿd"). His dates remain uncertain, but most probably fall in the 7-8th/13th-14th centuries. To the extent to which any *ṭarīḳa* may be characterised, the Saʿdiyya is marked by the practice of *khawāriḳ al-ʿādāt* (deeds transcending the natural order, such as healing, spectacles involving body piercing, *ḍarb al-ṣilāḥ*, and, best known, the *dawsa* [*q.v.*], the *shaykh* riding horseback over a "living carpet" of men) and by wide appeal among the middle and lower classes. Few *ʿulamāʾ* appear in the Saʿdī *silsila* and the biographical compendia of notables and *ʿulamāʾ* are ambivalent about Saʿdī activities.

Through successful business and generous extension of their inherited *baraka*, many Damascene Saʿdīs became extremely wealthy and offered a safe haven of hospitality for Ottoman dignitaries at their main *zāwiya* in the tempestuous Mīdān quarter. The order has been fraught with an unusually high level of competitive struggles over the *mashaykha* of the family, the Ṣūfī order and its *awḳāf*. Because the order by and large is hereditary in leadership, family connections predominate over acquired knowledge and training. The Saʿdīs are a good example of the outcome of the combination of saintliness, Ṣūfī organisation and wealth in the Ottoman world.

The encyclopaedic Ṣūfī *silsila* collections of the 11-13/17-19th centuries do not feature the Saʿdiyya prominently. Al-Ḳushāshī (d. 1071/1661), al-ʿUdjaymī (d. 1113/1702) and al-Sanūsī (d. 1276/1859) seem unconcerned with the order, but Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) received the Saʿdī *ṭarīḳa* from the Damascene Aḥmad al-Manīnī (d. 1173/1759) and gives a second *sanad* following the familiar Djunaydī/Imāmī line (*ʿIḳd al-djawhar fi 'l-dhikr wa-ṭuruḳ al-ilbās wa 'l-talḳīn*, ms. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *taṣawwuf*, 3, 332, p. 58). Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1299/1882) presents four *silsila*s, only one of which he received in a personal encounter (*Tibyān wasāʾil al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī bayān salāsil al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, ms. Fātiḥ Ibrāhīm 431, ii, fols. 129a-138a). This line, of his Aleppan *shaykh* Muḥammad b. Yāsīn (d. 1292/1875), can be collated with al-Muḥibbī and other sources to form a reasonably reliable *silsila* (*Tibyān*, ii, fols. 130b-131b; *Khulāṣa*, i, 34-5).

1. The founder. The hagiography of Saʿd, eponym of the *ṭarīḳa*, serves a symbolic function for the order. Historical details about him are scant as is literary production by members of the *ṭarīḳa*. A 20th-century Saʿdī *awrād* work puts his birth in Mecca in 460/1067 and his death in Djibā in the Ḥawrān (Golan, see al-Māliḥ, i, 144-5). The year 621, closer

to Margoliouth's 700/1300 reckoning (*EI*[1]), as a death date is more probable (al-Ḥarīrī, iii, 132, and al-Ziriklī, iii, 84-5) but, based on other members of the *silsila*, al-Nabhānī would place Saʿd in the Mamlūk 8th/14th century (*Djāmiʿ karāmāt*, ii, 91). D'Ohsson gives the date of death as 736/1335 (*Tableau général*, iv, 623), which fits with al-Wāsiṭī's comments (see below). Along with al-Ḥarīrī's *ʿĀbiḳ al-sādāt al-adabiyya fī ṭarīḳ al-sādāt al-Saʿdiyya* are two other *manāḳib* works, by Abū Ṭayyib al-ʿIzzī, and Shams al-Dīn Saʿd al-Ḥalabī (see Ḥilmī, 269-70). Al-Muḥibbī's account of Saʿd's transformation into a Ṣūfī *shaykh* is the earliest found (i, 153).

The father of Saʿd al-Dīn, Yūnus al-Shaybānī, is traced genealogically by the Egyptians to Idrīs I, the conqueror of the Maghrib, and, through him and Saʿd's mother, Saʿd is considered both Ḥasanī and Ḥusaynī (al-Khuḍarī, *al-Wafāʾ bi 'l-ʿahd*, 168-9). The Banū Shayba [*q.v.*] have the right to drape the Kaʿba, and in a poem attributed to Saʿd he speaks of being from the "protectors of the Kaʿba" (al-Ḥarīrī, ii, fol. 123b; Abāẓa and al-Ḥāfiẓ, n. 2, 505). He claims, as well, to be the "*shaykh* of each *ṭarīḳa*" as the direct *murīd* of the Prophet. This meeting with the Prophet is the climax of Saʿd's conversion story. The young rebellious son of Yūnus had left Damascus for a life of highway robbery in the Ḥawrān. Either the Prophet alone, or with Abū Bakr and ʿAlī, or with all the "ten promised Paradise"pose as victims of Saʿd al-Dīn on the road. When the answer for Saʿd's demand for goods and money is the first horseman's recital of Ḳurʾān, LVII, 16 "Has not the time come for the hearts of those who believe to turn humbly to the remembrance of God (*dhikr Allāh*)?" Saʿd goes into ecstasy and falls unconscious. The Prophet moistens some dates in his mouth and feeds them to a now-repentant Saʿd. The leader of the *djinn* is revealed, Saʿd takes *ʿahd* from him, returns obediently to his father and God and thence to Djiba, where he dies after establishing a *ṭarīḳa* (al-Muḥibbī, i, 35; al-Witrī, in Bīṭār, i, 12-15; al-Ḥarīrī, ii, fol. 129b). Further *karāmāt* of Saʿd are enumerated in *al-Wafāʾ*, 171-5.

2. *Ṭarīḳa* origins. European sources usually consider the Saʿdiyya to be a Syrian branch of the Rifāʿiyya (Le Chatelier, 214; Depont and Coppolani, 575; Bliss, 245; Gibb and Bowen, ii, 197). Trimingham makes the point by using al-Wāsiṭī's mention of the *khirka Saʿdiyya* in his work on the Rifāʿīs, *Tiryāḳ al-muḥibbīn*, written *ca.* 720/1320 (*The Ṣūfī orders in Islam*, 73). In fact, al-Wāsiṭī simply lists the Saʿdiyya along with five other Djunaydī *ṭuruḳ* (*Tiryāḳ*, 48-9). Lane's note that the Saʿdiyya is a "celebrated sect of the Rifāʿees" reflects, perhaps, the similarity in practices between the two: loud *dhikr*, *ḍarb al-ṣilāḥ*, power over snakes, and ingesting live coals and glass (*Manners and customs*..., 222). It is true that the two orders are popular in the same *milieus*. The connection between the orders, however, seems to be traceable to a careful manipulation of Saʿd's spiritual lineage. The Syrian Rifāʿī Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī, Sulṭan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's Ṣūfī advisor, championed his *ṭarīḳa*. In a work ascribed to his Baghdādī Rifāʿī *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Rawwās (see introd., al-Ṣayyādī, *al-Ṭarīḳa al-Rifāʿiyya*), Saʿd al-Dīn has a father named Mazīd, an intimate *khalīfa* of Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī [see RIFĀʿIYYA] (Yūnus al-Shaybānī is depicted as Saʿd's pious grandfather, *Ṭayy al-sidjill*, 384). He is said to have been initiated by the Rifāʿī saint in 555/1160 outside Damascus. Aḥmad breathed into his mouth and declared "Mazīd, all that is ours is yours" (al-Witrī, cited by al-Bīṭār, i, 14). According to this version of Saʿd's life, after his miraculous conversion, Mazīd clothed Saʿd in his Rifāʿī *khirka*, the only one Saʿd wore throughout his life. Several of the European accounts mention Abu 'l-Hudā as their source for *ṭarīḳa* backgrounds (e.g. Depont and Coppolani, where Saʿd is "raised by" Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, 327, 330). If Abu 'l-Hudā had, indeed, worked to quash Arab nationalism and to have his brand of Arab Sufism the imperial favorite (Abu Manneh, 148 and *passim*), he was clever to subsume the popular Syrian *ḳuṭb* under his own, Rifāʿī, banner. The Saʿdīs, on their part, often have their *ṣāḥib al-ṭarīḳa* born long before Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī (as noted by Le Chatelier in the late 19th century, 211). ʿAlī Mubārak, writing around the same time as Abu 'l-Hudā, states that the Saʿdiyya are independent of al-Rifāʿī (*Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 129). Ḥarīrī, a devoted Rifāʿī, does not link Saʿd to al-Rifāʿī. Any real ties between the two orders remain to be established.

3. History of the *Ṭarīḳa* in Syria. The first Saʿdī for whom we have contemporary accounts is Ḥasan al-Djibāwī (d. 910 or 914), who came from the Ḥawrān to Damascus in the late Mamlūk period. "The women and most of the common folk believed he could cure insanity" by the thaumaturgic qualities of the *basmallah* (al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, ii, 221-2), attributed to Saʿd's association with the *djinn*. A *madjdhūb* named Khamīs (or Khalīl, d. 912/1506) is reported by al-Ghazzī as bringing Ḥasan to the Mīdān Fawḳānī district of Ḳubaybāt, where he roofed over the unfinished (and unoccupied) tomb of the *nāʾib* Īnāl al-Djākmī for his residence and *zāwiya* (*Kawākib*, i, 191; Wulzinger, 101). From Ṣāliḥiyya ʿAli b. Maymūn (d. 917/1511) took to criticising the obeisance Khamīs required of those who came into Ḥasan's presence, but was later chastened for his ill manners. Ḥasan's son and successor Ḥusayn (d. 926/1519) is the first to display what became a Saʿdī trademark—he served both the spiritually needy and the worldly rulers of Damascus with lavish hospitality at the Saʿdī home (al-Ghazzī, citing Ibn Ṭūlūn [d. 953/1546], *Kawākib*, i, 185). Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn (d. 963/1555) continued the *ṭarīḳa* tradition by holding *halaḳāt al-dhikr* ("free of reprehensible acts and beardless boys"), writing amulets and treating all, *amīr* and *faḳīr*, to banquets at the *zāwiya* (*op. cit.*, ii, 103-4). Saʿd al-Dīn "al-Aṣghar" (d. 986/1578) renovated the *zāwiya* in 964 and was one of only two *aʿyān* mentioned at the inaugural *khuṭba* at the Sulaymāniyya in 967 (iii, 157). It is worth noting that the Saʿdīs never switched from the Shāfiʿī to the Ottoman Ḥanafī *madhhab*.

One of many inner-*ṭarīḳa* struggles occurred among the wealthy Aleppan Saʿdīs, whose *zāwiya* stood outside Bāb al-Naṣr. They held a large *dhikr*, mainly with *fallāḥī* participants, at the Umayyad Mosques of Aleppo. Sh. Abu 'l-Wafāʾ (d. 1010/1601) was reported to the Damascene Sh. Saʿd al-Dīn by a slighted Aleppan for being guilty of sexual misconduct. Saʿd al-Dīn was convinced to strip the *khilāfa* from Abu 'l-Wafāʾ and to confer it on one ʿAbd al-Raḥīm in a written document, which neither Abu 'l-Wafāʾ nor his disciples obeyed. Thus two competing circles of Saʿdī *dhikr* took place in the mosque. The scandal, according to al-Muḥibbī, was not Abu 'l-Wafāʾ's violent temper or profligacy (Margoliouth, *EI*[1]) but the climate of *fitna* in the mosque as the two groups hurled abuse at each other during *dhikr*, such that people came to hate both sides (*Khulāṣa*, i, 152-4). Saʿd al-Dīn's son Muḥammad came to Aleppo, bemoaned his father's involvement in the affair and ordered the two groups to separate places in the mosque. Abu 'l-Wafāʾ's brother and successor Aḥmad (d. 1034/1624), a pious and humble man,

avoided conflict with ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm's *fuḳarā*ʾ (al-Muḥibbī, i, 298-9).

A bitter struggle between the brothers Ibrāhīm (d. 1008/1599) and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1020/1611) led to the former's being ousted from heading the Saᶜdī *dhikr* at the Umayyad Mosque and from the family complex in Ḳubaybāt (al-Būrīnī, i, 305-6). Muḥammad held control of *mashyakhat Banī Saᶜd al-Dīn* and *sadjdjādat al-ṭarīḳ* for 35 years in Damascus. Holdings in agricultural and commercial properties, along with continuous gifts, made him one of the wealthiest men of his time (al-Muḥibbī, iv, 160-1). Ottoman rulers were frequent visitors at the *zāwiya*, and Muḥammad was invited to their homes. Guests describe the daily elaborate four-part ritual at the *zāwiya* of offering rare coffees, sweets, savories and perfumes (al-Ghazzī, *Luṭf al-samar*, 56-61). In a telling scene in 1118/1706, Ibn Kannān points out that while most of the great *ᶜulamā*ʾ (including the three local *muftīs*) witnessed Muḥammad al-ᶜImādī's ceremonial first *dars* at the Sulaymāniyya, the Ottoman Ḳāḍī ᶜĀrif was absent that day; he was at the shrine of Sayyida Zaynab with a Saᶜdī *shaykh* in the company of a crowd of men and women (*Ḥawādith*, 104-5).

A second Saᶜdī *zāwiya*, in Shāghūr, was headed by Abu 'l-Wafāʾ Ibrāhīm (d. 1170/1756). Received by three Ottoman sultans in Istanbul, he established *zāwiyas* and appointed *khalīfas*, probably for the first time outside the hereditary line, in Anatolia, Egypt and Aleppo. The new order was the Saᶜdiyya-Wafāʾiyya (Ḥilmī, 270, not to be confused with the Egyptian Shādhiliyya-Wafāʾiyya). For years the *mutawallī* of the Umayyad Mosque *awḳāf*, this Abu 'l-Wafāʾ appears faultless in the book of the Ḳubaybātī al-Budayrī (who calls him "our *shaykh*," *Ḥawādith*, 192-3; cf. Ibn Kannān, 430) but foppish in al-Murādī (for dragging his robes of state through the *sūḳ* and eating delicacies in common coffeehouses, *Silk*, i, 41-2). Abu 'l-Wafāʾ is remembered for having turned over supervision of the Umayyad *awḳāf* to two Ottoman functionaries, who, after paying him a monthly stipend, spent the remaining vast income on themselves. In 1160/1747 Abu 'l-Wafāʾ led supplicants to Sayyida Zaynab to pray for relief from the plague of locusts that year. The day culminated with his *dawsa* in front of the governor's palace (al-Budayrī, 91). The following year he intervened between imperial forces (*ḳabī ḳūl*) and a coalition of residents and local troops (*yerliyya*) in Mīdān. Treated with respect by the rebels, Abu 'l-Wafāʾ nevertheless seems closer to the eventually victorious government powers (al-Budayrī 117-8, 131). The Shāghūr *zāwiya*, in Zaḳāḳ al-Shaykh, is today called "Masdjid al-Zāwiya" (al-ᶜUlabī, 419-20; cf. Aḥmad al-Saᶜdī's minaret inscription catalogued by Khālid Muᶜādh, dated 1187/1773-4).

Saᶜdī involvement in clashes between the central authorities and the Mīdān continued throughout the Ottoman era. Centred in the midst of this important commercial quarter, known for recalcitrance, the Ṣūfī family may, at times, have stood for localist sentiment (Schilcher, 18-9), but, more often than not, displayed a prudent pro-imperial stance. (It should be noted that Sultans Maḥmūd I, ᶜAbd al-Medjīd and ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II financed renovations at the Djibā Saᶜdī shrine; De Jong, *Les confréries ... Machreq arabe*, 212.)

ᶜAbd Allāh al-Čatadjī, who later was called "Conqueror of Damascus" by the Porte, began his term as governor in 1171/1757-8 by marshaling all non-Damascene soldiery, along with the Ḳābī Ḳūl, to crush the Yerliyya and the population of Mīdān (for his pilgrimage route victories, see al-Barzandjī, *al-Nafḥ al-farajī fī 'l-fatḥ al-djatadjī*, ms. Asas 8724). His troops looted over 20,000 homes and businesses, molested women and girls, killing young and old indiscriminately along their way to the southern end of Bāb Allāh. "The worst calamity since Tīmūr", proclaimed al-Budayrī (213-15), the people emerging after the call of 'Alī's well' "looking like the living dead" (Mikhāʾīl al-Dimashḳī, n. 1, 215 of al-Budayrī). After ᶜAbd Allāh called off the plunder, he ordered the loot be deposited in sanctuary mosque sites. The most precious goods were put in the Saᶜdī *zāwiya* in Mīdān; they mysteriously disappeared (*ibid.*; Budayrī is ambiguous about the circumstances).

Under the Egyptian occupation (1831-9), the Saᶜdī compound clearly served as a refuge for resisting factions. To punish the Mīdānīs for sheltering a fugitive, an Egyptian contingent raided the *zāwiya* and captured twenty men for exile or execution (cf. *Mudhakkirāt ... ḥamlat Ibrāhīm Bāshā*, 64-5). The *shaykh* at the time could have been Khalīl al-Saᶜdī (d. 1264/1847), whom Turkish pilgrims sought (Bīṭār, i, 592; Shaṭṭī, 115-16) or Ibrāhīm b. Muṣṭafā al-Saᶜdī (d. 1282/1865, Bīṭār's father-in-law, *Ḥilya*, i, 12-15).

A Saᶜdī sub-order, the Taghlibiyya, is traced either to a brother (Hilāl, in Shaṭṭī, 301) or son (Muḥammad al-Sādis, in Ḥilmī, 270) of Saᶜd al-Dīn. Noted for the *dawsa* and other *karāmāt*, their most famous *shaykh* was ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir al-Taghlibī (d. 1135/1722). A great Ḥanbalī scholar, he took over Abu 'l-Mawāhib b. ᶜAbd al-Bāḳī's *fiḳh* lessons at the Umayyad mosque and was known for writing amulets for the ill (*Silk*, iii, 58; al-Shaṭṭī, 301). The Taghāliba use the *nisba* al-Shaybāni for their branch (cf. *Idjāza fī 'l-ṭarīḳa al-Shaybāniyya al-Saᶜdiyya*, ms. Asad 9485; al-Shaṭṭī, 218-19). *Dhikr* was held at the ᶜAmāra home (al-Ḥarīrī, i, 211; Bīṭār, ii, 1135). The Taghlibī house is now under the Ministry of Awḳāf, but a diminished *dhikr* takes place in a nearby location.

In addition to the Mīdān and Shāghūr centres, in 1282/1865 Muḥammad b. Amīn (d. 1285/1868) endowed his Ḳaymarī home as a Saᶜdī *zāwiya*. He then traveled to Istanbul to win control of all the Djibā *awḳāf*. His son Ibrāhīm held the *mashyakha* for 50 years, gathering *ᶜulamā*ʾ and rulers to himself (al-Ḥiṣnī, 832; al-Shaṭṭī, 248-9). Disputes over revenues put this family at odds with the leadership at Djibā, where all residents are considered descendants of Saᶜd (De Jong, *op. cit.*, 213). A visitor still encounters ecstatic *ḥaḍras* at the shrine, attached to a large modern mosque, with musical accompaniment and body piercing. Families camp out, hoping for a cure from the *walī* for mentally disturbed relatives.

The Ḳaymarī *zāwiya* received a hair of the Prophet from Sultan ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd. The relic is still brought out on Miᶜrādj night as the Saᶜdī genealogy is presented to the President (or his representative) for his signature. Well into the 1960s, the Saᶜdiyya were hosts for the main Ramaḍān *dhikr* celebrations (Kayyāl, 107-9), but they no longer accept initiates in Damascus. De Jong notes active Saᶜdīs in Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ and the Ḥawrān (*op. cit.*, 212-13). The Saᶜdīs, as a native Syrian Ṣūfī family, continued to inspire reverence, especially in Mīdān. When the "fresh" corpse of Ḥasan al-Djibāwī was moved recently, witnesses saw crowds take away handfuls of the sweet-smelling soil from the grave. At contemporary Ḳādirī *dhikrs* in Damascus, Saᶜd is called upon as one of four great *ḳuṭbs*.

4. Egypt. According to Egyptian Saᶜdī accounts, the order came to Cairo with Yūnus, one of nine sons of Saᶜd al-Dīn, who is credited with beginning the *dawsa* (*al-Wafā*ʾ, 170-1; cf. ᶜAlī Mubārak, ii, 71-2).

Saʿdī conflation between the elder, holy Yūnus al-Shaybānī and this son seems possible. The Fāṭimid dome over the Saʿdī shrine at Bāb al-Naṣr has been positively identified as that of Badr al-Djamāli, *amīr al-djuyūsh* under al-Mustanṣir (r. 427-87/1036-94; Raghib, *Le mausolee...*, 307), so the Saʿdīs in Cairo, also, are located in a pre-established tomb. Al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1441) does not mention Saʿdīs at the *turba* of al-Djamali; the propagator of the *ṭarīḳa* in Egypt would have been a much later descendant (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 364). The first *shaykh* of the Damascene line to be buried at the Bāb al-Naṣr site, after Yūnus, is Aḥmad al-Saʿdī (d. 12th/18th century), but earlier generations emigrated from Syria and were buried elsewhere. Although ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731) praised the Syrian Saʿdiyya in a poem (al-Ḥarīrī, ii, fols. 131a-b), he did not visit the Djibā tomb, and when he happened by chance upon a Saʿdī *dhikr* at the Ḥākim Mosque in Cairo, he participated without enthusiasm (in 1105/1693, *Ḥaḳīḳa*, 263, 423). Al-Djabartī, in describing events of the French invasion in 1218/1798, mentions the Saʿdiyya as joining with the ulema at al-Azhar to pray for deliverance (*ʿAdjāʾib*, iv, 291-2). The Cairene *mashyakha* passed two times to matrilineal descendants (to the Munzalāwīs, *khaṭībs* at the Ḥusayn Mosque, and to the Khuḍarīs).

The Saʿdīs, because of the *dawsa*, are central in the story of state regulation of Egyptian *ṭuruḳ*. Banned in 1881 by the Khedive Tawfīḳ, the prohibition seems to have been more the result of European than Muslim reformist pressure (its loss is bemoaned by McPherson, who blames secular modernism and "Americanism", *Moulids*, 26-8, 56, 264; see de Jong, *Ṭuruq*, 96-8). There is little doubt that the Saʿdīs' position weakened. In 1289/1872 they were at the head of ʿAlī al-Bakrī's convention of *mashāyikh*. In 1905, Saʿdiyya are placed last in the ranks of the official *ṭuruḳ* processions (*op. cit.*, 67, 214). In modern times, Sh. Ḥamūda al-Khuḍarī proclaimed that music in the *dhikr* is not allowed "in the houses of God" and that all dance and self-mutilation are not allowed. The current *shaykh*, ʿAlī b. Ḥamūda al-Khuḍarī, presides over mild *ḥaḍras* during the Saʿdī night in Ramaḍān at the Ḥusayn Mosque (under the aegis of Dr. Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Taftazānī, *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruḳ*, see *Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī*, February 1994, 73). Sh. ʿAlī claims authority over the Saʿdīs "in all Islamic lands" from the Bāb al-Naṣr *zāwiya*. The *ṭarīḳa* is one of the most popular in Upper Egypt. In 1984 N. Biegman photographed Saʿdī *dawsas* in Abul Qumsan, where the chief of police, obeying instructions given him in a dream, allows all Ṣūfī practices (*Egypt*, 14, 160-4). The restraining influence of urban society has restricted Saʿdī practice both in Syria and Egypt.

5. Turkey. The earliest spread of the Saʿdiyya dates most likely from Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Shāghūrī's Turkish visits in the 12th/18th century. Gölpınarlı adds two other transmissions: by Sh. ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 1165/1751) and by Sh ʿOthmān from Kastamonu (*Mezhepler ve tarikatler*, 203-4). We have information about Saʿdī *tekkes* in Istanbul, but the fluidity of *ṭarīḳa* identity at *tekkes* should be kept in mind (Kreiser, *Dervish living*, 51). Of the 259 opportunities to attend different *dhikrs* each week in 19th-century Istanbul, 26 are Saʿdī (greater numbers of Khalwatī, Ḳādirī, Naḳshbandī and Rifāʿī gatherings are listed, *Tekkiye risalesi*, ms. Berlin or. 2792, 1-17). The last official survey of Istanbul *tekkes* mentions 25 Saʿdī *tekkes*, concentrated mainly along the Golden Horn (*Medjmūʿa-yi tekāyā*, publ. 1307/1889, cited in *İA*, art. *Istanbul*). S. Anderson and Brown come close to this figure for the turn of the 20th century (*Dervish orders*, 53-61, and *Dervishes*, 478-80, respectively). Dhākir Shükrī Ef.'s compilation of 1400 Ṣūfī *shaykhs* serving 159 Istanbul *tekkes* from the 10th-14th centuries A.H. includes only fourteen Saʿdīs (out of a total of 349 figures whose *ṭarīḳa* affiliation is stated, *Die Istanbuler Derwischkonvente*, 109-13). Evidence suggests that the Ottoman state attempted to institutionalise the orders in Turkey on the Mewlevī and Bektāshī "mother *zāwiya*" model. The same year in which Muḥammad ʿAlī gave Muḥammad al-Bakrī leadership over the Egyptian *ṭuruḳ* (1812), Sultan Maḥmūd II ordered all Saʿdī *tekkes* to recognise the ʿAbdül-Selām as their *āsitāne* (Kreiser, *Notes ... Turquie*, 56. For other regulating moves before the abolition of the *ṭuruḳ* in 1925, see Kara, *Tekkeler ve zaviyeler*, 255-84).

6. The Balkans. Depont and Coppolani noted Saʿdī centres in several Libyan locations and in the Ḥidjāz (*Les confreries religieuses*, 331-2), and de Jong mentions a Sudanese branch of the Egyptian Saʿdiyya (*Ṭuruq*, n. 218, 178) but the most important implantation of the order outside Syria, Egypt and Turkey occurred in the Balkans, where it continues today. A strong connection existed between local Saʿdī leaders there and the Damascene Saʿdīs, who issued *khilāfātnāmes* to the *āsitānes* in Djakovica and Prizren (Popovics, *Une texte...*, 339). Dates for their arrival are uncertain, but by the 18th century Saʿdī *tekkes* were established in Kosovo, Macedonia, Southern Serbia and in Belgrade (Popovic, *op. cit.*, 342). In 1947 they joined with eight other orders, representing between 60 and 100 *tekkes*, to form an organisation distinct from the official Sunnī community (known as ZIDRA, *Zajednica islamskih derviških redova Alije u SFRJ*, former Yugoslavia, cf. Popovic, *Contemporary situation*, 244-5).

A similar body was founded in Albania in 1936, called the "Divine Light" (*Drita Hyjnore*, *op. cit.*, n. 19, 250). The founder of the Saʿdiyya-ʿAdjiziyya in Albania, Adjize Baba (from Bushat) was initiated into the order by Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Shāghūrī in Istanbul. He constructed the first Saʿdī *tekke* in Djakovica in 1111/1699 (Norton, *Islam...*, 245; Clayer, *L'Albanie*, 163-70). The order may have been introduced earlier, in Tepelen, by Demir Han, a semi-legendary figure from the Crimea. Claimed also by the Bektāshīs, he received the Saʿdī *ṭarīḳa* at the Djibā shrine in Syria. Ewliyā Čelebi does not mention a Saʿdī *tekke* on his visit to Tepelen in 1081/1670; Demir Han probably belongs to a later period (*ibid.*).

Finally, it may be noted that in the popular imagination the Saʿdiyya are linked with the Banū Saʿd, the tribe of the Prophet's wet-nurse Ḥalīma, whose milk was so abundant "she gave more than she could have hoped for" (*al-Wafāʾ*, 164-5). It is not surprising, then, that in addition to other healing talents, al-Murādī points out the Saʿdīs' ability to bolster poor milk supply by passing their hands over a mother's garments (*Silk*, iv, 221).

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(Barbara von Schlegell)

SĀDJ (A.) (Aramaic *shāghā*, from Skr. *saka-*) is the teak tree, *Tectona grandis* L., of the family of the *Verbenaceae*.

This tree, indigenous to the Indian subcontinent and to South-East Asia, is above all coveted for its hard and extraordinarily durable wood and is of particular importance for ship-building and furniture industry. The tree and its qualities are described in detail by the Arabic authors. *Sādj* is the highest tree in the world; it towers high into the air (*yaᶜlū fī 'l-hawāʾ* [var. *'l-samāʾ*]) and has such a width that a multitude of people find a place in its shadow. The wood does not alter even in the advanced age of the tree; it does not decay, nor is it eaten by worms. Its leaves are the elephants' favourite food. They are longer and wider than those of the banana tree (*al-mawz*), and so people wrap themselves in a leaf for protection against the rain. The form of the leaves resembles that of Daylamī shields (*al-tirās al-daylamiyya*). The wood is of a red colour, occasionally turning to black, has a pleasant scent like that of the walnut tree (*al-djawz*) and is therefore used in ᶜIrāḳ, and especially in Baghdād, for house building. From its fruits, which have the size of areca nuts, a thick, blackish oil, the so-called teak oil (*duhn al-sādj*), is won. The secretion from the pouch of the musk deer [see misk] is adulterated with teak oil by dribbling the latter into the pouch. The teak oil disappears completely in the musk and can no more be separated from it nor is it discernible any more; on the other hand, the teak oil increases the weight of the pouch. Only if the musk, when dried and pulverised, does not stick to the object with which it has been pulverised, is it unaltered; if it does stick, it has been adulterated with teak oil.

The most important healing powers ascribed to *sādj* are the following. If the wood, after burning, is extinguished with the juice of the horned poppy (*Glaucium corniculatum* L., *Papaveraceae*) and the remainder crushed and sieved, the powder thus obtained strengthens the pupils if rubbed on the eyes, and it helps against ulcers on the eyelids. If wood dust, obtained by abrading a piece of teak wood on a stone, is mixed with rose water, it heals the eyes and removes headaches. Mixed with water, the dust helps against purulent and bleeding ulcers and dissolves them. *Sādj* oil helps against fever and thirst, and, if taken with honey water, removes heat from the abdomen and stimulates hair growth.

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SADJᶜ (A.), originally, the formal expression of the oracular pronouncement.

1. As magical utterances in pre-Islamic Arabian usage.

Here, *sadjᶜ* was the rhythmical style practised by the Arab *kāhins* [*q.v.*] and *kāhinas* [see al-kāhina], a style intermediate between that of the versified oracular utterances of the Sibylls and Pythians and that of the prose utterances of Apollo (see P. Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes. Essai sur le fonctionnement de l'oracle*, diss. Paris 1950, 15). These utterances are "formulated in short, rhymed phrases, with rhythmical cadences and the use of an obscure, archaising, bizarre and cabalistic vocabulary" (Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 152). Some have sought to see in them an imitation of the repeated, jerky and monotonous cooing of a pigeon or dove (*TᶜA*, v, 370, ll. 13 ff.) or the drawn-out and monotonous moaning of a camel (*ibid.*, ll. 10 ff.).

In origin, *sadjᶜ* denoted the *kāhin*'s entry into a trance, the oracular utterance issuing from this state,

and then the stylistic form of this utterance (details in Fahd, *op. cit.*, 152 ff.). "The fact that it was most often practised by the *kāhinas* (cf. *ibid.*, 98-102), that it was used in magical formulae of cursing, prayers of deprecation and charms, and that it was believed to be understood by the djinn and animals (Lammens, *Le culte des Bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes pré-islamites*, in *BIFAO*, xvii [1919-20], 50), shows that its usage goes back to far antiquity. A Sumerian origin for it is not excluded, since *shugītu*, fem. of *shegu* (Akk. and Hebr. *sh-g-*ᶜ, Ar. *s-dj-*ᶜ), borrowed from Sumerian, designates the hierodule (Bezold, *Babyl.-Assyr. Glossar*, 265), who had to act as oracle in the temple where she officiated" (Fahd, *op. cit.*, 152).

According to I. Goldziher, *sadj*ᶜ formed the prehistory of Arabic poetic metre, since *radjaz* [*q.v.*], the oldest meter of Arabic prosody, is nothing but "ein rhythmisch discipliniertes *sağ*ᶜ" (*Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, i, 76; the same opinion by Wellhausen, *Reste*, ²135 n. 3), whilst Landberg (*La langue arabe et ses dialectes*, Leiden 1905, 7112) rejected this view and thought that *radjaz* and *sadj*ᶜ were equally ancient (cf. A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 403 ff.). Concerning the connection of *radjaz* and its derivatives *r-dj-s* and *n-dj-s* with the pagan cult, see Fahd, *op. cit.*, 153 ff.

In origin, *sadj*ᶜ and *radjaz* must have designated approximately the same idea, sc. the state of ecstasy, the oracular pronouncement which ensued and its formal expression. But gradually, *radjaz* took on a more specialised meaning, sc. that of the oracular utterance of war. Henceforth, *radjaz* was gradually removed from the functions of the *kāhin* and came to approach more closely those of the *shā*ᶜ*ir* [*q.v.*], two functions primitively combined in one person (see Goldziher, *Die Ǧinnen der Dichter*, in *ZDMG*, xlv [1891], 685 ff.; and KĀHIN: Muḥammad considered as *kāhin* and *shā*ᶜ*ir*), but progressively differentiated, since their respective sources of inspiration grew more diverse. It is in this sense that one can say that *radjaz* was the origin of secular poetry, whereas *sadj*ᶜ remained the mode of expression of the diviner, who was always as conservative as the priest with whom he was often identified.

The sources for the first centuries of Islam have preserved for us a large number of oracular pronouncements in *sadj*ᶜ, attributed by tradition to the pre-Islamic *kāhins* and *kāhinas*. They are generally considered by critics as "more or less successful pastiches" (R. Blachère, *Introd. au Coran*, 178 n. 242); however, they are taken as pieces of linguistic evidence. Blachère continues, "In effect, these are apocrypha, but capable of evoking compositions now disappeared for ever" (*HLA*, ii, 189-90). And further on, he adds that one might ask oneself whether these apocryphal oracular sayings do not reflect, more than one thinks, the ancient "prophecies" of the *kāhins*, addressing their tribe in a clumsy and unpolished language (192). Nöldeke avoided pronouncing on their ancientness, at the same time allowing this to emerge clearly (*G des Q*, i, 75 n. 1). Wellhausen wrote that the oldest sūras of the Ḳurʾān were the most important pieces of evidence for the style of the *kāhins* (*Reste*², 137 n. 4). Fück averred that the feature of rhyme in the ecstatic outpourings of the ancient diviners was above that of the common language, and this was the same for the Ḳurʾān (ᶜ*Arabīya*, Fr. tr. Paris 1955, 129-30).

References to these oracular sayings are collected together in Fahd, *op. cit.*, 159 1; their themes have been briefly enumerated by Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 135, see also Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*). Wellhausen brings out the following features, often borrowed from procedures attested in the Ḳurʾān. The *kuhhān* have the custom of covering themselves at the time of their visions, whence the name Dhu 'l-Khimār "the man with the veiling" given to some of them. They use the poetic form *sadj*ᶜ, short, parallel phrases, of which four to six are held together by a single rhyme. He wrote that "das *sağ*ᶜ ist ohne Zweifel die älteste Form der Poesie, entsprechend dem hebräischen Parallelismus der Glieder" (i, 135 n. 3). They are often themselves surprised in the face of their strange visions and utterances (*mā adrāka*), a formula cited 13 times in the Ḳurʾān but not attested in non-Ḳurʾānic oracular pronouncements. They begin with formulae of swearing, and swear by the sun (XCI, 1), the moon (CXI, 1; LXXIV, 32; LXXXIV, 18) and the stars (LIII, 1; LXXXVI, 1-2), by the evening (LXXXIV, 16; CIII, 1) and the morning (LXXXIX, 1; LXXIV, 34; XCI, 1; XCIII, 1), by the clouds (LI, 2 ?) and the winds (LI, 2; LXXVII, 1 ff. ?), by the mountains (XCV, 1 (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 911); XCV, 2; LII, 1) and the rivers (LI, 3 ?), by the plants (XC, 1) and animals (C, 1 ff. ?) by the woodpecker (?) and the pigeon (?), by the wolf and the frog (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 1933-4). Nöldeke only enumerates the sites and edges of the roads, animals (?) and birds (?), the day (XCI, 3; XCII, 2) and the night (CXXIV, 33; LXXXIV, 17; XCI, 4; XCII, 1-2), the light and the darkness, the sun, moon and stars, the heavens (LI, 7; LXXXV, 1; LXXXVI, 1, 11; XCI, 5) and the earth (LXXXVI, 12; XCI, 6).

The two authors give shape to the model of the Arabic oracular utterance on the basis of the ancient sūras of the Ḳurʾān, in so far as they are convinced that Muḥammad utilised the style of the inspired persons of Arabia, whose roots go back to the ancient Semitic past. It should, however, be noted that there are some Ḳurʾānic sayings which are marked by the cosmogonic, eschatological and prophetic ideas of monotheism, such as XXXVII, 1 ff.; LII, 1 ff. (cf. XXXVI, 1; XXXVIII, 1; XLIII, 2; XLIV, 2; L, 1); LXVIII, 1; LXXIV, 102; LXXXV, 2; XCI, 7; LI, 1 ff.; LXXVII, 1 ff.; LXXIX, 1 ff.; C, 1 ff.).

There was, consequently, an adaptation in the Ḳurʾān of the oracular saying to the exigencies of the new concepts which it had to express, a process of adaptation made all the more inevitable by the fact that the Prophet aimed at freeing himself from all the compromising forms of paganism in order to place in relief the originality of his own message and its transcendence.

From this fact, one can say that, although its vision of the created universe, whose witness it invokes solemnly, is expressed by the stylistic forms of divination, their spirit and terminology—which must have undergone substantial changes—do not permit us to discern the primitive model which must certainly have been much more sober and poorer in ideas; likewise, in the eyes of the nomads, the image of its inspirer must have been sketchy and the idea which they formed of themselves must have been feeble.

There is an analysis of some oracular utterances representative of the genre in *La divination arabe*, 162 ff.: one of ᶜAmr b. Luḥayy, two of Ṭarīfa, one of the *kāhina* of the Iyād, one of the *kāhin* of the B. Asad, one of the *kāhina* of the B. Ghanm, and those of the legendary Shiḳḳ and Saṭīḥ.

It should finally be noted that the oracular utterance which, in the preceding cases, is spoken through a human intermediary, supported implicitly or explicitly by a spirit, can also be heard without any such intermediary, either by a simple voice crying in

the night—the case of the *hātif* [*q.v.*]—or through an idol—this is ventriloquism, cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 171-4—or by the summoning of the spirits of the dead—sc. necromancy [see ISTINZĀL]—or, finally, by the interpretation of the behaviour of living or inanimate objects—this is cleromancy [see FAʾL, ʿIYĀFA, ḲIYĀFA] oneiromancy [see RUʾYĀ] and all similar procedures [see DJAFR, FIRĀSA, ḤURŪF, IKHTILĀDJ, KAFF, KATIF, KHAṬṬ, ḲURʿA and MAYSIR]. All these forms arising out of the oracular utterances can be found attested in the traditional literature.

Bibliography: this article is essentially taken from Fahd, *op. cit.*, Paris 1987, 140-76, where can be found details and references. (T. FAHD)

2. Outside *kahāna* before Islam.

Other uses of rhymed sayings refer to weather phenomena. There are two genres. One is represented by a closed corpus of astrometeorological sayings of the Bedouins, the *nawʾ* adages [see ANWĀʾ], which form a kind of a farmer's calender. They relate the heliacal rising of a star, or group of stars, to certain weather changes and activities connected with them. Characteristically, they start with *idhā ṭalaʿa* [*'l-nadjm*], "when [the Pleiades] rise," and usually consist of between four and six cola rhyming with the name of the star(s). The oldest preserved book on the *anwāʾ* is Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889 [*q.v.*]), *K. al-Anwāʾ*, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh and Ch. Pellat, Ḥaydarābād-Deccan 1375/1956; here the sayings are introduced with *yaḳūlu sādjiʿu 'l-ʿarab*, "the rhymer of the Arabs/Bedouins says," or, more freely, "a rhymed folk-saying is the following."

The other genre is descriptions of clouds and rain in what one might call Bedouin ornate prose. It is mostly characterised by "strophic" *sadjʿ*, i.e. a change of the rhyme after two, three, or four cola. Typical is also a liberal use of recherché archaic vocabulary. Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933 [*q.v.*]) says at the beginning of his *K. Waṣf al-maṭar wa 'l-saḥāb*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, Damascus 1382/1963: "This is a book in which we have gathered together what the Bedouins (*ʿarab*) before and under Islam have said in the way of rain and cloud description." Some of the specimens collected in his book are clearly Islamic (e.g. at 30-1), others leave the impression of lexical études; but given the enormous importance of spotting rain and pasture, there is nothing inherently unlikely in stylised reports in somewhat hieratic language already before Islam.

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3. In Arabic literature of the Islamic period.

Since pre-Islamic times, the word *sadjʿ* in the sense of "to recite or speak with assonances, using cadenced and elaborate language", has denoted a type of more or less rhythmical prose of which the principal characteristic is the use of rhythmic units which are generally quite short (from 4 to 10 syllables, on average), terminated by a clausula. These units are grouped sequentially on a common rhyme. The rhymed or assonanced clausula at the end of each rhythmic unit constitutes the essential element of *sadjʿ*, which is appropriately translated as "rhymed and rhythmic prose". It seems that this mode of expression pre-dates free prose and even metrical poetry, with which it has numerous aspects in common, but from which it is distinguished by the absence of metre and of a single rhyme. In the opinion of some scholars, this stylistic form could have been the origin of metrical and prosodic poetry.

A. *Principal phases in the evolution of* sadjʿ

The origins of sadjʿ *in literature*

Although no doubt apocryphal or corrupt, some examples of pre-Islamic rhymed and rhythmic prose have been preserved. They consist for the most part of proverbs, maxims, stories and legends (R. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 190). Here there are also found formulas chanted communally on the occasion of the Pilgrimage to Mecca (see *EI*[1], TALBIYA; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pélerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 179-80). *Sadjʿ* had, furthermore, close links with magic; for these, see section 1, above. Also, the group of men who led the pre-Islamic Arab tribe often included among its members an eminent orator (*khaṭīb*), who should not be confused with the *kāhin*, although the same person might be both soothsayer and *khaṭīb*.

When he was not a poet himself, "the orator played a role analogous to that of the poet, in acting as the spokesman of the tribe in embassies, gatherings and fairs, also in arousing through his oratory the tribal sentiment of the members of his group" (Ch. Pellat, *Langue et littérature arabes*, 58). A semi-legendary individual, Ḳuss b. Sāʿida al-Iyādī [*q.v.*], was considered the greatest orator of the Djāhiliyya [*q.v.*] (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 52). His eloquence became proverbial, so that there were expressions such as *ablagh min Ḳuss* ("more eloquent than Ḳuss") (al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ*, i, 117-18). The Prophet Muḥammad, during his adolescence, is supposed to have encountered him delivering a sermon (*khuṭba*) while mounted on his camel at ʿUkāẓ. Then, some years later, the Prophet is said to have had occasion to recite in public a passage from this speech, which is no doubt apocryphal but is famous nonetheless, and which begins thus: *ayyuhā 'l-nās / idjtamiʿū / wa-smaʿū / wa-ʿū /. Man ʿāsha māt / wa-man māta fāt / wa-kullu mā huwa āt*[in] *āt* (*Bayān*, i, 52, 308-9) ("O [good] people/gather [around me] / hear / and ponder / Every living being is mortal / he who dies belongs [for ever] to the past / and everything which [must] come to pass will [assuredly] come to pass").

Connections of sadjʿ *with the Ḳurʾān*

Form and stylistic refinement play a very important role in the Ḳurʾān, of which one of the principal characteristics is assonance. It is striking to ascertain to what extent this monument of the Arabic language is akin to rhymed and rhythmic prose which—without being used there systematically—nevertheless constitutes its most remarkable artistic peculiarity. The sūra "The Men" (*al-Nās*, CXIV), for example, consists of eight very short rhythmic units. By means of examples of this type, the Ḳurʾān fully legitimised *sadjʿ*.

However, instead of profiting from this providential legitimisation, of developing and expanding, rhymed prose, contrary to all expectation, encountered a certain reticence on the part of a large number of the disciples of the new religion. Thus, in spite of this evident kinship and probably on account of it, *sadjʿ* was to experience a net decline and suffer a long eclipse. Although the reasons for this discredit are not entirely clear, it is possible to identify some of the factors responsible. It is known, first of all, that the Prophet Muḥammad was accused on numerous occasions by his adversaries of being a common soothsayer, and that some of them were intent on comparing the revealed text to the vaticinations of the *kuhhān* of the *Djāhiliyya*. On the other hand, the Muslims of the time dissociated themselves from this mode of expression which, in their view, was still too

closely linked to magic and to certain practices belonging to paganism (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 289-90).

Furthermore, the decline of rhymed and rhythmic prose was a logical consequence of the dogma of the "inimitability" of the Ḳur'ānic text (*i^cdjaz al-Ḳur'ān*), a principle respected by the entire community. However, in spite of this suspicious attitude towards *sadj^c*, the latter was never completely banned. It succeeded in surviving, for almost two centuries, especially in the oral form. Muḥammad's oration at the time of the Farewell Pilgrimage in 10/631 belongs within the framework of this oratorical genre which, subsequently, was to enjoy considerable success. After the death of the Prophet, the orators (*al-khuṭabā'*) spoke in *sadj^c* before the first four caliphs without exposing themselves thereby to the least criticism (*Bayān*, i, 290) (but it should nevertheless be noted that, since at that time, many orators used *sadj^c*-less prose, the authenticity of speeches in *sadj^c* is very much in question).

Under the Umayyads, the multiplicity of politico-religious parties was a factor favourable to the development of the oratorical art, skilfully cultivated by political figures who knew how to make an impression on audiences who remained in spite of everything very partial to *sadj^c*. Around the mosques, the tellers of edifying stories (*ḳuṣṣāṣ*, pl. of *ḳaṣṣ* [*q.v.*]) charmed the crowds, telling them edifying stories (*ḳiṣṣa* [*q.v.*]) in seductive language (Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 108 ff.).

Another resounding speech was that which was delivered by al-Ḥadjdjadj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], the new governor of ^cIrāḳ, on arriving in Kūfa in 75/694 (*Bayān*, ii, 138-40; M. Messadi, *Essai sur le rythme*, 117). Of untypical violence, the harangues of al-Ḥadjdjādj were full of threats designed to intimidate all those who opposed the central power of Damascus. In a general fashion, the expansion of Islam played a capital role in the development of the oratorical art.

Official and progressive rehabilitation of sadj^c

Under the reign of the Umayyad caliph ^cAbd al-Malik (65-85/685-705), Arabic was finally established as the administrative language of the Arabo-Muslim empire. In gradual stages, a specialised bureaucracy came into being. Scribes distinguished themselves in the epistolary genre, official and private. The most eminent among them, ^cAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā, nicknamed al-Kātib (d. 133/750 [*q.v.*]), created the administrative style which was, at the outset, a sort of moderately rhymed and ornate prose. In a well-known epistle (*risāla* [*q.v.*]), he established the rules of the profession of the *kātib* [*q.v.*] and authorised to some extent a more or less discreet return to *sadj^c*, which progressively becomes fashionable again through the expedients of the administration and of the chancellery.

Ibn al-Muḳaffa^c (d. *ca.* 140/757 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of ^cAbd al-Ḥamīd, followed the latter's example in composing manuals to be used by scribes. Subsequently, he attempted to extend the use of this elegant but relatively sober style to texts of a more literary nature. This is what he did in his adaptation in Arabic of the Indian fables known by the title of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], which is considered one of the first books written in literary prose. The successful experiment was followed up and amplified by a number of authors of the 3rd/9th century and most notably by al-Djāḥiẓ. This author played a primary role in the rehabilitation of *sadj^c*. He contributed to this by adopting attitudes in favour of rhymed and rhythmic prose, which he defended on numerous occasions in his work and in the *Bayān* in particular (i, 287-91, iii, 29). But the best homage which he rendered to *sadj^c* consisted in the fact that he practised it himself "with the flexibility, the intelligence and the sense of proportion which appear in all his prose and which give it its subtle and rare quality" (Messadi, *Essai*, 159).

The defeat of the modernist trend and the appearance of the neo-classical movement, which engendered a certain lassitude with regard to ancient poetry, seem to have had the effect of impelling a large number of writers of the 3rd/9th century towards the more free and more varied rhythms of *sadj^c*.

From the 4th/10th century onward, *sadj^c* enjoyed immense success. Little by little, it invaded all domains of literature. "It would seem that the basis of this invasion is to be sought in the high respect accorded to the works of poets by the unanimous opinion of the educated classes. Becoming the substance of literature, a fully harmonious prose... represents, in the eyes of people in love with poetry, a Cinderella figure. Her simplicity seems to them like poverty, and in order to improve her condition, they reckon it appropriate to adorn her with at least one of the ornaments of her sister and rival, this being rhyme" (W. Marçais, *La langue arabe*).

In this period, the use of *sadj^c* became generalised, in the first instance among the secretaries of the administration who adopted the habit of furnishing their texts with rhetorical artifices and literary reminiscencies.

The eminent vizier of the Būyid princes, al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ^cAbbad (326-85/938-95 [*q.v.*]), left a collection of letters of great value. The writer and philosopher Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. after 400/1009 [*q.v.*]) is often compared to al-Djāḥiẓ for his style, of which one of the essential characteristics was the use of a *sadj^c* which was both erudite and simple. Badī^c al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (357-97/968-1007 [*q.v.*]) was one of the most illustrious epistolary stylists of the 4th/10th century. After being the protegé of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ^cAbbād, he went to seek his fortune at Nīshāpūr. A collection of his letters in artistic prose has been preserved. There was in fact a veritable explosion at this time of ornate prose, seen further in the *rasā'il* (collections of which have also been preserved) by Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābi', Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī, Ibn al-^cAmīd and Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr. It was even used for the writing of history, seen in al-^cUtbī's *al-Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī*. Another major name emerges from the host of letter-writers of the later centuries, this being al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil (529-96/1135-1200 [*q.v.*]) who was for a long time the secretary of administration and then associate and vizier of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; and he had an equally illustrious "competitor" in Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr and his collection of *rasā'il*, likewise published. The few specimens of his official writings which have been preserved are characterised by the almost systematic use of rhyme, a highly-affected style which tends to be somewhat wearisome, an abundance of metaphors and of rhetorical devices. This style was to serve as a model in the chancelleries of later periods.

The maḳāma [*q.v.*]

Al-Hamadhānī's masterpiece is his collection of "sessions" which are stories characterised by the use of rhymed and rhythmic prose, sometimes blended with verse, and by the presence of two imaginary persons, the hero and the narrator. In his *maḳāmāt*, al-Hamadhānī did not use *sadj^c* in a systematic manner. He resorted to free prose, for example, in the transitions or when he wanted to quicken the pace of the narrative. In any case, "he remains perfectly the

master of his thought; the rhythmic units designed to convey the idea are constructed according to its terms, the idea is not at all dependent on them" (R. Blachère, *Séances*, 36).

The principal successor to al-Hamadhānī was a grammarian of Baṣra, al-Ḥarīrī (446-516/1054-1112 [*q.v.*]), who not only gave the "session" its classic and definitive form, but also, and more significantly, composed the finest monument of *sadj*ᶜ which the Arabs possess. Al-Ḥarīrī is considered by many Arab critics an incomparable stylist. The interest and the originality of the narrative do not interest him greatly. His principal concern is the style, the rhetoric and the verbal acrobatics which often constitute an end in themselves. The work of al-Ḥarīrī notably includes two texts in which each word begins, in one with *s*, in the other with *sh*. Unlike al-Hamadhānī, al-Ḥarīrī excluded from his "sessions" any passages in free prose. In his work, the use of *sadj*ᶜ was systematic. The rhythmic units, with subtle and complicated rhymes, were arranged in impeccable sequences.

This work immediately enjoyed an unparallelled and durable vogue (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, xvi, 267). But the writers of later times were interested only in the artifices of rhetoric and verbal felicities. Furthermore, this literary genre, so original at the outset, was very soon diverted from its initial aim to serve the most diverse purposes. It ultimately came to be confused with the genre of the *risāla*, from which it was originally distinct. By gradual stages, the word *maḳāma* served "to denote any rhetorical exercise in rhymed prose and not in verse, whatever the motive which inspires it... Any motive whatsoever is considered valid, and this composition, laden to the point of asphyxia with all the sophistications of language, of erudition and of pedantry, such that it becomes indecipherable, is called indiscriminately *risāla* or *maḳāma*" (F. de la Granja, *Maqāmas y risālas andaluzas*, xiv).

Sadjᶜ *in the so-called period of decadence*

The use of *sadj*ᶜ became obligatory. Whatever the subject addressed, history, geography or medicine, the prose-writers of the so-called period of decadence invariably resorted to this mode of expression, which offered them the advantage of concealing a poverty of ideas and, in any case, of enhancing the quality of a text.

The style of the chancellery remained indelibly marked by the method of the Ḳaḍī al-Fāḍil. The rhymed units were stretched and all the figures of *badī*ᶜ [*q.v.*] pressed into service. Historians wrote their works in rhymed prose. For example, al-Khafādjī (979-1069/1571-1659), author of a collection of biographies, resorted to this mode which does not in principle spare any discipline. Numerous "sessions" composed after the manner of al-Ḥarīrī deal with subjects as diverse as love, wine, religion or Ṣūfism. The sonorous words, redundant forms and affectedness ultimately deprived these exercises in verbal acrobatics of any genuine literary worth.

Sadjᶜ *since the* Nahḍa [*q.v.*]

In the 19th century, in the period of the *Nahḍa* (renaissance), the attractions of *sadj*ᶜ were as potent as ever. With the aim of serving the Arabic language, defending its purity and restoring its prestige, Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī (1215-88/1800-71 [see AL-YĀZIDJĪ]) composed sixty *maḳāmāt*, with commentary by himself, collected under the title *Madjmaᶜ al-baḥrayn* ("confluence of the two seas"). He chose this structure, with its long and distinguished pedigree, because it seemed to him ideal for his purpose. Other authors of the 19th century followed the example of al-Yāzidjī, but usually in a less systematic manner.

At the beginning of this century, Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī (1868-1930 [*q.v.*]) tried, for his part, to revive the genre in his novel *Ḥadīth ᶜĪsā b. Hishām*, where the name of the narrator is borrowed from the "sessions" of al-Hamadhānī (H. Pérès, *Les origines d'un roman célèbre de la littérature arabe*). This book, which is primarily a satire on contemporary morals, was composed in a very free rhymed and rhythmic prose. Consequently, this author's concern for form never obscured his concern for substance. Al-Muwayliḥī's approach proves clearly that he did not confine himself to imitating the "sessions" of al-Hamadhānī. The inspiration of the latter is undeniable, but it was used to create a work which is firmly located in the social and cultural reality of his time. Thus his *Ḥadīth ᶜĪsā b. Hishām* represents a synthesis between the classical *maḳāma* and the modern novel.

Although this work is generally considered to be the first monument of the Arabic literature of the 20th century, and although it has inspired a number of imitations and has been the object of numerous studies, further proofs of its undeniable success, there is nonetheless a sense in which it arrived a little too late. It appeared at a time when rhymed prose was beginning to be considered obsolete and archaic, so that al-Muwayliḥī's novel is a kind of swansong of the genre.

However, it is important to avoid giving the impression that, even today, there has been a complete abandonment of *sadj*ᶜ. It should not be forgotten that the latter is in current and constant use in the mosques. On the other hand, having learned by heart in their youth a certain amount of poetry, a few texts in artistic prose and, most important of all, the Ḳurʾān, partially or in total, Arab writers are unable to avoid submitting to an influence which is often unconscious. While generally expressing themselves in free prose, these authors rarely resist the temptation to adorn their style with Ḳurʾānic reminiscences, "with some clausulas, with some alliterations, which give the work a scent of archaism which is not at all disagreeable" (Ch. Pellat, *Langue et littérature arabes*, 205).

B. *The technique of* sadjᶜ

The structure of the Arabic language has without doubt favoured the emergence of *sadj*ᶜ and its considerable development, from the *Djāhiliyya* to the present day. The great variety of morphological themes of the same syllabic structure and of identical or similar rhythm constitutes an inexhaustible supply of clausulas rich in rhyme for lovers of assonance and of verbal sonority. Thus the pattern *fiᶜāl*ᵘⁿ is common to a singular such as *kitāb*ᵘⁿ ("book"), *ᶜitāb*ᵘⁿ ("reproach") or to a plural such as *kilāb*ᵘⁿ ("dogs"). Similarly, the patterns *ḥamrāʾu* ("red") and *shuᶜarāʾu* ("poets") offer at the end identical cadences (Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 189).

I. *External characteristics of* sadjᶜ

(1) *The arithmetical rhythm*

A text written in *sadj*ᶜ is articulated in members of a sentence, the length of which remains within the limit beyond which breath is exceeded. The exigencies of breath, in this context, are important since rhymed prose—like poetry—is intended to be recited before an audience, aloud and having regard to a form of delivery which should be neither too fast nor too slow. Nevertheless, the composer of artistic prose has a fairly wide margin of manoeuvre at his disposal. His rhythmic units can, in fact, be limited to two or three

syllables, just as they can be extended to comprise 13 or 14. The hemistich, the rhythmic unit of verse, which like *sadj^c* is subject to the requirements of breath, comprises from 8 to 15 syllables, according to the length of the metre in question. For this reason there is a tendency to recite the line, not in its entirety and in a single breath, which is difficult, but hemistich by hemistich (Messadi, *Essai*, 17).

In his *Mathal al-sā'ir* (i, 257-8), Ibn al-Athīr distinguished between two types of *sadj^c*: a short type and a long. The unit of measure which he used to determine the average length of each of these two types of *sadj^c* is not the syllable but the word, which leads him draw very approximative conclusions. In fact, he defined the short *sadj^c* as that where each rhythmic unit could comprise from two to a maximum of ten words. Beyond this limit, there begins the long *sadj^c*, the members of which may be moderately long (11 to 15 words), long (15 to 20 words), and very long (20 words and more). Ibn al-Athīr stressed his own preference for the short *sadj^c*, stating that the fewer words there are in each of the parts of the couplet, so much the better (*ibid.*, i, 257).

The rhythmic units being often coupled with clausulas on the same rhyme, the couplets thus constituted can be perfect or unequal. They are perfect when their two members are equal. Ibn al-Athīr considered this type of *sadj^c* as that "which occupies the most noble rank, on account of the equilibrium which characterises it" (*ibid.*, i, 255). But too much equilibrium and regularity engender a monotony and lassitude, which often spoil the rhymed prose of al-Ḥarīrī but which al-Hamadhānī was able to avoid by means of the rhythmic variety of his style. On the other hand, to perfect couplets, Badī^c al-Zamān preferred unequal couplets, of which the first member is longer than the second. This category of couplet has the advantage of conforming to the requirements of breath, demanding less effort in the second, shorter member, than in the first, longer member. Ibn al-Athīr, on the other hand, had no regard for this latter type of combination; for, he explained, being shorter than the first, the second member "then resembles a thing so mutilated that the listener remains tense like one who stumbles, falling short of an objective which he seeks to attain" (*ibid.*, i, 257). This point of view is diametrically opposed to that of M. Messadi, which is hardly surprising, given that it was the *maḳāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī which served as the basic text for Messadi's study of *sadj^c* and that, as mentioned above, al-Hamadhānī had a predilection for couplets in which the first member was longer than the second. The very rare exceptions to this rule, in the work of Badī^c al-Zamān, are generally justified by the sense (cf. Messadi, *Essai*, 23-4).

The third and final category of couplet is that where the second member is longer than the first. It seems that this is less common and less appreciated than the other two. In any case, couplets of this type are rare in the "sessions" of al-Hamadhānī who was, no doubt, obliged to avoid them because they contradicted the requirements of breathing. In this regard, Ibn al-Athīr adopted a more equivocal position. He reckoned, in fact, that unequal couplets with longer final member were acceptable so long as the latter was not "of such a length as to detract excessively from equilibrium" (*Mathal*, i, 255).

If, in *sadj^c*, the couplet is the rule, often the rhythmic units are arranged in groups of three, four or more, on a single rhyme, and contain a perceptibly equal number of syllables. In many cases also, one or more free members, not linked by a single rhyme, succeed, for some reason or another, a series of coupled elements. Such an unexpected independent member, abruptly interrupting the cadence, can be refreshing. "It facilitates, by the relaxation thus obtained, the repetition of the cadence" (Messadi, *Essai*, 28).

While al-Hamadhānī resorted very frequently to free members, which represent approximately a quarter of his *sadj^c*, al-Ḥarīrī avoided them, thus excluding free prose entirely from his *maḳāmāt* but thereby rendering his style rigid and monotonous.

(2) *The rhyme*

To avoid confusion between the rhyme of verse (*ḳāfiya* [*q.v.*]), and that of *sadj^c*, the Arab rhetoricians refer to the latter by the name of *fāṣila, ḳarīna, sadj^c* or *sadj^ca*, which they define as "the correspondence of words in a position of rhyme through an identical [final] consonant" (al-^cAskarī, *Ṣinā^catayn*, 262; Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal*, i, 210). Rather more prolixly, Ibn Wahb al-Kātib gives the following definition: "The *sadj^c* (rhyme) in prose is similar to the *ḳāfiya* (rhyme) in poetry" (*al-Burhān*, 208-9). Rhyme is one of the essential components of the rhythm of *sadj^c*. It constitutes the most apparent phonetic link between two or more rhythmic units, and permits "the prominent setting of the periodicity which is the distinguishing mark of sonant rhythm" (Messadi, 29). It is this which "regulates the cadence and marks the measure", thus separating, like a frontier, the rhythmic members of a text in *sadj^c*.

The richness of the rhyme can be very variable. It is sometimes reduced to the final consonant, then comprising only a single consonantal and a single vocalic element. But more complex combinations exist, formed of two or three corresponding consonantal and vocalic elements, or even more. In the "session" of the Fazāra of al-Hamadhānī, for example, there is a pair of consecutive clausulas in which *nadjībat^{an}* rhymes with *djanībat^{an}*. One might mention also that the rhyme in the pausal form in prose is in contradistinction from the rhyme in poetry (at least, in most cases) which has a vocalic element after the *rawī* (*ḳāfiya muṭlaḳa*), i.e. *kitāb* vs. *kitābū*.

Being the most striking external characteristic of *sadj^c*, rhyme gradually comes to be seen as the fundamental element. Inferior composers of rhymed prose, especially from the 5th/11th century onward, tended to accord it too much importance, seeing it as identical with *sadj^c* itself. However, despite appearances, rhyme plays a considerably more modest role. Admittedly, it brings to rhythmic prose the component of timbre and contributes to the regulation of the cadence of the *sadj^c* by fixing the limit which separates the rhythmic groupings, but it has no influence at all over the formation and the structuring of the latter.

II. *Internal structures of* sadj^c

While the poet is subject to the double constraint of metre and of single rhyme, the writer in *sadj^c* enjoys far greater freedom since, in principle, only rhyme is expected of him. Totally unforeseeable at the outset, the internal rhythm of the phrase depends on the talent of the writer himself. The first grouping of a couplet or of a series is always spontaneous and absolutely free, while the construction of the second is determined by that of the first, and should reflect it in a more or less faithful manner. Thus, unlike in poetry, the rhythmic unit in *sadj^c* is the whole couplet and not the clausula alone, like the hemistich with regard to verse.

Sometimes the two members of the couplet present identical phonetic patterns. The symmetrical correspondences of long and of short syllables are then perfect. Here, for example, is a couplet with numerically equal panels:

yudhību 'l-shiʿra wa 'l-shiʿru yudhībuh // wa-yadʿu 'l-siḥra wa 'l-siḥru yudjībuh

⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑– –

"He (sc. the pre-Islamic poet Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā) melts poetry and poetry melts him // He calls upon the enchantment and enchantment replies to him" (al-Hamadhānī, *Séance poétique*, i, 11). This rigorous type of correspondences is quite rare, partial correspondences being more common (Messadi, *Essai*, 47-51).

In order to improve or to consolidate the rhythmic quality of *sadjʿ*, recourse was often made to the resources of *badīʿ* and, in particular, to *djinās* or *tadjnīs* [*q.v.*], or alliteration, which can involve either the words placed in the interior of the clausula or the rhyming words. This latter category of *djinās* is the more common. It is in fact to be expected that, in the majority of cases, alliteration should appear only in rhyme "since *sadjʿ* is rhymed and by definition the rhyme is a reflection of timbre" (in this regard, the remarks made by Messadi concerning the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī apply most often to *sadjʿ* in general; see his *Essai*, 70-2).

The interplay of short and long syllables (open and closed) determines the rhythmic style of a text in *sadjʿ* or, indeed, in verse. In fact, "the predominance and/or a felicitous distribution of long open syllables (type *mā*) are the specific generators of a musical and singing style". On the other hand, when the themes addressed are those of threat, reprimand or military valour, and the style demanded is energetic and stern, the rhythm is then marked by a net predominance of long closed syllables (type *man*). When the proportion of short syllables is raised to the highest point, this signifies in principle that the style is amorphous and that the rhythm lacks contrast (*ibid.*, 97 ff.).

Besides phonetic coupling, another element engenders and regulates the rhythm also: this is semantic parallelism. The groupings which rhyme together are very often closely linked by a relationship of sense. Al-Djāḥiẓ, who did not seek out rhyme at any price, resorted on the contrary to the coupling of ideas as well as to parallel balance, as a way of improving the rhythm. In a passage of the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (i, 41), he wrote, for example: *wa 'l-kitābu wiʿāʾun muliʾa ʿilman / wa-ẓarfun hushiya ẓurfan*... ("The book is a receptacle full of knowledge / a vessel replete with precious objects...").

Seeking to exploit to the maximum this rhythmic procedure, the writers of rhymed prose fell, little by little, into a sterile verbal automatism, consisting of repeating the same idea in different forms solely for the sake of balance. Showing himself very stern in this respect, Ibn al-Athīr condemned these unproductive repetitions, which he found too widespread in the works of eminent prosewriters, such as the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, al-Ḥarīrī and others besides (*al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, i, 214-15). Good *sadjʿ*, according to him, is that in which there is neither artifice (*takalluf*) nor violence (*taʿassuf*) done to the idea or to its expression for the requirements of the rhyme or of the rhythm (*ibid.*, i, 213).

Bibliography: Examples of *sadjʿ* are disseminated among the works of numerous authors, in particular Ibn Hishām, Ṭabarī, Masʿūdī, etc. See also Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1948, i, 21, 280, 284-306; ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1952, 260-5; Ibn Wahb al-Kātib, *al-Burhān fī wudjūh al-bayān*, ed. Aḥmad Maṭlūb and Khadīdja al-Ḥadīthī, Baghdād 1387/1967; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, Cairo 1973, i, 210 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, Cairo 1936, xvi, 267; *LʿA*, Beirut 1956, root *s-dj-ʿ*, viii, 150-1; W. Marçais, *La langue arabe*, in *BEA*, no. 21 (January-February 1945) (repr. in *Articles et conférences*, Paris 1961); H. Pérès, *Les origines d'un roman célèbre de la littérature arabe...*, in *BEO*, x (1943-4); Goldziher, *Der chaṭīb bei den Arabern*, in *WZKM*, iv, 97-102 (summarised by G.-H. Bousquet in *Arabica*, vii [1950], 16-18); Hamadhānī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Beirut 1889, 1924, 1958; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, iii, 78 ff. (tr. of six sessions); idem, ed. of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, 1822 (2nd ed. Reinaud and Derenbourg, Paris 1847-53); R. Blachère, *Etude sémantique sur le nom maqāma*, in *Machriq* (1953), 646-52 (repr. in *Analecta*, Damascus 1975, 61-7); idem, *HLA*, ii, 187 ff. and index; idem and P. Masnou, *Maqāmāt (Séances) choisies et traduites de l'arabe, avec une étude sur le genre*, Paris 1957; Z. Mubarak, *La prose arabe au IVᵉ siècle de l'Hégire (Xᵉ siècle)*, Paris 1931, index; idem, *al-Nathr al-fannī fī 'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ*, Beirut 1975, index; M. Messadi, *Essai sur le rythme dans la prose rimée en arabe*, Tunis 1981, index; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 108 ff.; F. de la Granja, *Maqāmas y risālas andaluzas*, Madrid 1976; A. Kilito, *Les séances*, Paris 1983; *EI*[1], art. SADJʿ (F. Krenkow).

(AFIF BEN ABDESSELEM)

SADJĀḤ (i.e. Sadjāḥ[1]), Umm Ṣādir bint Aws b. Ḥikk b. Usāma, or bint al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd b. ʿUḳfān, prophetess and soothsayer, one of several prophets and tribal leaders who sprang up in Arabia shortly before and during the *Ridda* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the risings undertaken after the Prophet's death to throw off the political and military supremacy in Arabia of Medina. The genealogy, which her history proves to be the true one, shows that she belonged to the Banū Tamīm. On her mother's side she was related to the Taghlib, a tribe which comprised many Christians. She was a Christian herself, or at least had learnt much concerning Christianity from her relatives. Next to nothing is known concerning the import of her revelations and doctrines; she delivered her messages from a *minbar*, in rhymed prose, and was attended by a *muʾadhdhin* and a *ḥādjib*. Her name, or one of her names, for God was "the Lord of the clouds" (*rabb al-saḥāb*).

Sadjāḥ came to the fore in 11/632-3, after Muḥammad's death. One account of her exploits describes her as a Taghlib upstart, who had arrived from Mesopotamia at the head of a band of followers belonging to Rabīʿa, Taghlib, the Banu 'l-Namir, the Banū Iyād and the Banū Shaybān; she found the Tamīm divided, in consequence of the Prophet's death, by deep internal strife between apostates, Muslims and those who wavered between revolt and allegiance to Medina, and succeeded in converting by her revelations and uniting under her command both branches of Ḥanẓala (the Banū Mālik and the Banū Yarbūʿ), which she intended to lead against Medina. The extent of her influence on the Tamīm seems, however, to have been much greater than this version, intended to minimise their share in the *Ridda*, would have us believe. The prophetess was no outsider, she really belonged to the Tamīm, as the end of her career implies, and had gained, probably for some time before Muḥammad's death, the support of her whole tribe, whose conversion to Islam had been mainly a matter of expediency, easily shaken off.

Sadjāḥ's forces began by attacking the confedera-

tion of the Ribāb, in obedience to one of her revelations, but were severely beaten. Repairing to al-Nibādj (in Yamāma) they suffered a second defeat at the hands of the Banū ʿAmr, and Sadjāḥ had to promise that she would leave the territory of the Tamīm. Followed by the Yarbūʿ, she decided to join the prophet Musaylima [*q.v.*], who still controlled most of Yamāma, in order to unite their fortunes or to restore her own. Their encounter happened at al-Amwāh or at Hadjr. Musaylima was menaced by the Muslim army, and the neighbouring tribes threatened to shake off his authority, so that the arrival of a vanquished, ambitious and desperate colleague, accompanied by many armed followers, proved a trying, indeed a dangerous visitation. There is no reliable account of the meeting: according to one version, the strange couple came to an understanding, recognised each other's mission and decided to unify their two religions and their worldly interests; they were actually married, and the prophetess stayed by Musaylima to the hour of his tragic death. Al-Ṭabarī preserves obscene and very probably fictitious details concerning this union, which must have been rather a political alliance than a lustful orgy; the wedding, according to these legends, was celebrated in the same walled garden where Musaylima was to meet his death.

Other accounts of the meeting are that Musaylima, after having married Sadjāḥ, cast her off, and that she returned to her people; a third version does not mention the marriage, and says that the prophet tried to persuade his rival and would-be ally to attack the Muslims, hoping thus to get rid of her; on her refusal he offered, if she consented to depart, half the year's crops of Yamāma; she declined to go unless he promised half of the next year's harvest as well, set off with the first part of the booty, and left her representatives with Musaylima to wait for the rest, repairing to her kinsfolk. The second part of the ransom was never collected, as Musaylima was vanquished and massacred by Khālid before the next harvest.

Whatever the outcome of Sadjāḥ's relations with Musaylima, her own career was either merged into his, or cut short by repulse, and we hear nothing more of her mission. According to all accounts, she went back to her native tribe, and lived obscurely amongst them. On Ibn al-Kalbī's authority we learn that she embraced Islam when her family decided to settle in Baṣra, which had become the principal centre of the Tamīm under the Umayyads, lived and died there a Muslim, and was buried with the customary prayers and ceremonies.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkkāsha, 405; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 99-100; Ṭabarī, i, 1909-21, 1930, tr. F. McG. Donner, *The conquest of Arabia*, Albany 1993, 84-98, 106; *Aghānī*[1], xviii, 165; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ii, 353-7; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xix, ed. Muḥ. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1975, 75-82; Diyārbakrī, *T. al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1283/1866-7, ii, 158-9; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 13-15; Caetani, *Annali*, A.H. 11, §§ 160-4, 170-3, A.H. 12, §§ 92-3; Kaḥḥāla, *Aʿlām al-nisāʾ*, ii, 177-80; E.H. Shoufani, *Al-Riddah and the Muslim conquest of Arabia*, Toronto 1972; Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 85, 183.

(V. Vacca*)

AL-SADJĀWANDĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh (Abu 'l-Faḍl, Abū Djaʿfar) Muḥammad (Aḥmad) b. Abī Yazīd Ṭayfūr al-Sadjāwandī al-Ghaznawī al-Muḳriʾ al-Mufassir al-Naḥwī al-Lughawī, an innovative Ḳurʾān reader and philologist, died 560/1165 (?).

He lived and worked in Sadj/g/kāwand, a small village half-way to the east of the route from Kābul to Ghaznī in the vicinity of Sayyidābād, dominated by a high-lying citadel, now in ruins, called Takht-i or Shār-i (Shahr-i) Djamshīd. On the foot of this mount is placed the mausoleum of Khʷādja Aḥmad (Muḥammad). Here, even today, the Shaykh is revered as a great and popular Ḳurʾān reader. His system of five, or seven, kinds of pauses in recitation of the Ḳurʾān (1. *lāzim* = *m*, 2. *muṭlaḳ* = *ṭ*, 3. *djāʾiz* = *dj*, 4. *mudjawwaz li-wadjhⁱⁿ* = *z*, 5. *muraḳhkhaṣ ḍarūratᵃⁿ* = *ḍ*, and 6. *ḳad ḳīla* = *ḳ*, 7. *lā* = *l*) has found broad acceptance not only in the East but it is also substantially adopted in the official Cairo edition of the Ḳurʾān (*Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 236-7).

The manuscripts of his *K. al-Wuḳūf* or *al-Waḳf* or *al-Waḳf wa 'l-ibtidāʾ* are numerous. These are differentiated into: (a) a complete or "greater" book, (b) a brief or "shorter" book, often commented and glossed by others, and (c) compendia on this topic by later compilers who follow al-Sadjāwandī's system, also in verses (Garrett 2067, 1). The "greater" as well as the "shorter" *waḳf* book should have originated from his *K. ʿAyn al-tafsīr*, which has not been discovered until today. According to the somewhat younger Ibn al-Ḳifṭī [*q.v.*] (*Inbāh*, iii, 153), al-Sadjāwandī in this commentary on the Ḳurʾān treated also *ḳirāʾāt*, *naḥw*, *lugha*, *shawāhid*, etc. His son Abū Naṣr (Abū Djaʿfar ?) Aḥmad—father and son are sometimes confused—excerpted and presumably modified his father's work under the title *K. Insān al-ʿayn*. Under several other titles attributed to the father dealing with specific themes seem to be hidden other excerpts and adaptations of his main work, for example on syntax and etymology, on strange words and morphology (e.g. Mashhad, Gawhar Shād, iii [1367/1988], 1617 no. 1161).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I[2], 519, S I, 724; R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, i-ii, Wiesbaden-Stuttgart, 1976-87, i, 10.14-20.104-8, ii, 98.105; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*[4], Beirut 1979, vi, 179; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1380/1960, x, 112; M.ʿA. Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*[2], Tabrīz 1347/1968, ii, 442-3; A.Kh. al-ʿUmar, in *MMʿIʿI*, xxx, 4 (1400/1980), 170-3.

(R. Sellheim)

AL-SADJĀWANDĪ, Sirādj al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (Maḥmūd) b. ʿAbd al-Rashīd, Ḥanafī jurist, *flor. ca.* 600/1023. Nothing is known about his life. His *K. al-Farāʾiḍ*, known as *al-Farāʾiḍ al-Sirādjiyya* or simply *al-Sirādjiyya*, on the law of inheritance, was and still is regarded as the standard work in this field. It has been commented upon, glossed, excerpted, shortened and augmented, also in Persian and Turkish, versified (most recently in Cairo 1386/1949; Mushār, 793), repeatedly printed, also in Eng. tr. (repr. New Delhi 1981). The author himself composed a detailed commentary on it. His *K. al-Tadjnīs fi 'l-ḥisāb* or *al-Tadjnīs fi 'l-masāʾil al-ḥisābiyya*, at first probably a part of his primary work, has also been glossed by others. How far his alleged *Kitāb fi 'l-Djabr wa 'l-muḳābala* (perhaps an enlarged version of his *Tadjnīs*?) has to be included here, is not certain (R. Şeşen, *Nawādir*, ii [1400/1980], 75-6).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I[2], 470-1, S I, 650-1; R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, i-ii, Wiesbaden-Stuttgart, 1976-87 i, 102. 104, 106-7, ii, 95. 105; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1380/1960, xi, 233; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*[4], Beirut 1979, vii, 27 (here, as e.g. by Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1955, ii, 106, partially confused with al-Sadjāwandī, Abū ʿAbd

Allāh [*q.v.*]); M.ʿA. Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*[2], Tabrīz 1347/1968, ii, 443. (R. SELLHEIM)

SADJDA (A.) "bowing down", the name of two Ḳurʾānic sūras (XXXII, also called *tanzīl al-sadjda*, and XLI, more commonly called *fuṣṣilat* or *ḥā-mīm*) and within the technical phrase *sadjdat* (or *sidjdat*, or plural *sudjūd*) *al-tilāwa*, in reference to the 14 Ḳurʾānic passages (variant traditions suggest 16, 15, 11, 10, or 4 passages) which require a ritual of bowing to be performed at the end of their recitation. The passages are marked in the margin of the Ḳurʾān text, usually with the word *al-sadjda*. The practice is generally considered *wādjib* "required", in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, and is declared *mustaḥabb* "desirable", in the other schools.

All but one of the Ḳurʾānic *sadjda* passages make direct reference to the act of bowing, although by no means has every possible passage become the focus of this attention (the root *s-dj-d* is used 64 times in the Ḳurʾān, not including the 28 times the word *masdjid*/*masādjid* is used). The passages vary in their suggestions regarding the practice. Some are direct commands to perform it: XXII, 77, "O you who believe, perform the prostration and bow down" (but it is primarily the Shāfiʿī tradition which implements bowing here and sometimes omits it at XXII, 18, thus maintaining a total of 14 verses of *sudjūd*); XLI, 37-8, which indicates that God should be bowed down to, not the sun and the moon; LIII, 62, "So bow down to God and worship" (this verse is not included in some versions of the Mālikī tradition of *sudjūd*); and XCVI, 19, "Bow down and approach (God)" (not included in the Mālikī tradition). The command is expressed negatively in LXXXIV, 20-1, "What is with those who do not believe? When the Ḳurʾān is read to them, they do not bow down" (again, not included in the Mālikī tradition).

Less than commands but suggestive of Muslim practice are passages which speak of the past: XVII, 107-09, which speaks of those who "given the knowledge before you (Muḥammad), when it is recited to them, fall on their faces, bowing down"; XIX, 58, which describes the patriarchs who bowed when the signs/verses of the Merciful were recited; and XXXVIII, 24, "[David] asked forgiveness of his Lord and fell down in prostration and repented." In this one instance the word *sadjda* is not used in the verse but *rākiʿ*; probably as a result, *sadjda* is not required for this verse according to some jurists especially in the Shāfiʿī school (who do then, however, maintain a total of 14 *sudjūd* by including both XXII, 18 and XXII, 77).

Others passages invite a response, such that bowing may be interpreted as a prayerful affirmation, a statement which says "Yes, I do", or suggests affirmation of group membership by saying "I am one of those" or, indeed, "I am not one of those": VII, 206, "Those who are near to your Lord ... bow down to him"; XIII, 15, "All who are in the heavens and the earth bow down to God"; XVI, 49-50, "Everything in the heavens and everything on the earth ... bows down to God"; XXII, 18, "Do you not see that all who are in the heavens and all who are on the earth ... bow down to God?"; XXV, 60, "Shall we bow down to that which you command us?"; XXVII, 25-6, "They do not bow down to God, the one who brings out the hidden in the heavens and the earth"; and XXXII, 15, which suggests that those who bow down when they hear God's signs/verses gain paradise. Some variation in the precise verse ending at which the *sadjda* should be done is to be noted; performing a bowing at the end of *sūra* XV is also mentioned in some sources.

After any one of those passages is recited, whether in the context of *ṣalāt* or *tadjwīd* in general, the following ritual will be observed, although the precise details vary between the legal schools: the *takbīr* is pronounced, a prostration is performed such that the forehead touches the ground, words of praise or supplication appropriate to the verse in question are uttered, and the *takbīr* is uttered again upon rising. Performing these acts requires the state of ritual purity associated with prayer.

Among the oldest datable sources dealing with bowing during Ḳurʾān recitation is Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838), *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut 1991, 66, where the practice in relationship to Ḳurʾān XIX, 58 (not XXXII, 15 as in the printed text) is mentioned; the emphasis of the chapter in this book, however, falls on weeping (*bukāʾ*) during recitation, a practice which in later texts (e.g. al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278 [*q.v.*]), *al-Tibyān*) tends to be overwhelmed by the more formalised bowing. In ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812), *al-Djāmiʿ*, ed. M. Muranyi, Wiesbaden 1992, 62-78, *sadjda* is treated fully, in a manner similar to later *ḥadīth* collections.

The *ḥadīth* books are replete with references to bowing in recitation and the practice of the bowings in the various passages may be established through their testimony. Much of the *ḥadīth* material reflects a debate over whether the practice was actually required or simply meritorious. Later jurists discussed many additional aspects of this practice, including what to do when one hears somebody else reciting a verse which requires *sadjda* and whether (and in which context) the *sadjda* could be delayed.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. "Prostration"; Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, Beirut n.d., i, 133-9, esp. on the *sadjda* in sūra XXII; Muhammad Abul Quasem, *The recitation and interpretation of the Qurʾān: al-Ghazali's theory*, Kuala Lumpur 1979, 44-7 (a tr. of the eighth book from Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*); Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1967, vii, 356-9 (*ad* Ḳurʾān, VII, 206); Nawawī, *al-Tibyān fī ādāb ḥamalat al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1977, 95-108.

(A. RIPPIN)

SADJDJĀD ḤUSAYN, SAYYID [see HIDJĀʾ. iv. Urdu].

SADJDJĀDA (A., pl. *sadjādjid*, *sadjādjīd*, *sawādjid*), the carpet on which the *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*] is performed. The word is found neither in the Ḳurʾān nor in the canonical Ḥadīth; the occasional use of a floor-covering of some kind was, however, known at quite an early period.

1. Early tradition. In the Ḥadīth [*q.v.*] we are often told how Muḥammad and his followers performed the *ṣalāt* on the floor of the mosque in Medina after a heavy shower of rain, so that their noses and heads came in contact with the mud (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb*s 135, 151; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trads. 214-16, 218, etc.). At the time when such traditions arose, the use of some form of carpet was not so general that their origin can be dated so far back as the time of the Prophet. In a series of traditions, the saying is put into Muḥammad's mouth that it was his privilege, in contrast with the other prophets, that the earth was for him *masdjid wa-ṭahūr* (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Tayammum*, *bāb* 1; *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 56, etc.). Al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 130, also tells us that some *faḳīh*s prefer the *ṣalāt* upon the bare earth.

The canonical Ḥadīth gives us the following picture: Muḥammad performs the *ṣalāt* on his own garment, protecting his arms against the heat of the soil during prostration with one of its sleeves, his knees with one end of his robes and his forehead with the ʿ*imāma* (turban) or the *ḳalansuwa* (cap) [see LIBĀS. (i).

The central and eastern Arab lands]; (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb*s 22, 23; Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad. 191; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 320). Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 22, tells us that Muḥammad performed the *ṣalāt* on his *firāsh* (quilt).

The Ḥadīth also informs us that the *ṣalāt* was performed on mats; e.g. al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 131, where a *bisāṭ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] is mentioned; also Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāmat al-ṣalawāt, bāb* 63; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 232; iii, 160, 171, 184, 212; also a *ḥaṣīr* (a mat the length of a man), e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 20; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 52, 59, 130 ff., 145, 149, 164, 179, 184 ff., 190, 226, 291. This tradition is also found in Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad. 266. It is evident from Abu Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 91, that at the end of the 3rd/9th century, dressed skins of animals (*farwa maṣbūgha*) [see FARWA] were already being used.

We also frequently find it mentioned that Muḥammad performed the *ṣalāt* on a *khumra* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 21; Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad. 270; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 129; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 269, 308 ff., 320, 358, ii, 91 ff., 98; al-Nasāʾī, *Masādjid, bāb* 43; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 160). According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlawī's marginal glosses to Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma, bāb*s 63, 64, the *khumra* afforded just sufficient room for the prostration (see above).

The word *sadjdjāda* is found a century after the conclusion of the canonical Ḥadīth literature. Al-Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, explains it to be synonymous with *khumra*. Dozy, *Suppl.*, quotes passages from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who mentions among the customs of a certain *zāwiya* in Cairo that the whole congregation went to the mosque on a Friday, where a servant laid his *sadjdjāda* ready for each one (i, 73, cf. 72). The same traveller tells us something similar regarding Māllī (i.e. Mali [*q.v.*]) where everyone sends his servant with his *sadjdjāda* to the mosque, to lay it ready in his place. He adds that they were made out of the leaves of a palm-like tree (iv, 422).

Some early traditions survived until this century. In Mecca, everyone in the great mosque performs the *ṣalāt* on a *sadjdjāda*, usually a small carpet just large enough for the *sudjūd* [*q.v.*]. After use it is rolled up and carried off on the shoulder. In place of a carpet, a towel is sometimes used, for example the one used to dry oneself after the *wuḍūʾ* [*q.v.*].

In Morocco, the common people do not make any use of the *sadjdjāda*; the middle classes favour small felt carpets (*lăbda*), just large enough for performing the *sudjūd*. *Lăbda*s are especially used by *faḳīh*s and have almost become one of their distinctive marks. They fold them and bear them under their arm in an ostentatious way wherever they go; certain *faḳīh*s refuse to sit down on anything other than their *lăbda*. In Algeria, the *sadjdjāda* is rarely used, except among the heads of *ṭarīḳa*s and various marabouts; here, it usually consists of the skins of goats or gazelles. The common people ascribe miraculous powers to these skins.

In Egypt, *sadjdjāda*s used until the early 20th century to be imported from the carpet-weaving districts of Asia Minor, and were used only by the rich. Persons of the lower orders often perform the *ṣalāt* upon the bare ground; they seldom immediately wipe off the dust which adheres to the nose and forehead, regarding it as auspicious to retain traces of the *sudjūd*.

In the former Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), long narrow mats and carpets were formerly placed on the floor of the mosque before the beginning of the services. After the service these were rolled up and laid aside (Snouke Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/2, 366).

The *sadjdjāda* has assumed special significance in the religious societies and in the dervish orders (see 3. below).

A whole series of mystical interpretations is associated with the *sadjdjāda* or *bisāṭ*. References are found to the *sadjdjāda* of the paths of salvation, and the profession of *tawḥīd* is called the *sadjdjāda* of the faith.

2. Surviving examples. The distinguishing iconography of the *sadjdjāda* as familiar today is the large central *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*], the arch of which is placed to one end of the rug; the field may be plain or decorated. The rug is surrounded by a series of decorative borders. When spread in a mosque, the *miḥrāb* is laid pointing towards the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] wall; for private prayer in the home, the *miḥrāb* is similarly laid pointing in the direction of Mecca. In early *sadjdjāda*s, a representation of a mosque lamp is sometimes placed within the arch of the *miḥrāb*; by the early 13th/19th century, the lamp was often replaced by a bouquet of flowers. Sometimes a pair of candlesticks flank the *miḥrāb*; in later periods, two columns of flowers may be found. Sometimes a short text from the Ḳurʾān is woven at the head of the *miḥrāb*. For communal family prayers, a *ṣaff* (row), a long rug with a row of *miḥrāb*s side by side, may be used. In Turkey, the *sadjdjāda* was known as *namāzlïḳ* (T.); in Persia, as *djā-yi namāz* (P.)

A few rare *sadjdjāda*s in museum and private collections are attributed to the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, but the majority of "antique" *sadjdjāda*s date from the 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries. A few earlier representations of *sadjdjāda* survive in Persian miniatures. A manuscript of Balʿamī's translation of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*, painted in Shīrāz about the second quarter of the 8th/14th century, now in the Freer Gallery, Washington D.C., contains a miniature of Muḥammad seated upon a *sadjdjāda*, in conversation with Abū Bakr and ʿAlī. The *sadjdjāda* is here interpreted as a seat of honour, and a kind of spiritual throne. Similarly, a miniature in the *Miʿrādj-nāma* from Harāt, dated 840/1436, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, depicts Muḥammad with an aureole around his head to indicate his spiritual authority, seated upon a *sadjdjāda*. To the left are Adam, Noah and David; to the right, Abraham, Moses and Jesus. Representations of the *ṣalāt* being performed are rare, but a Mughal miniature of the early 11th/17th century, in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, depicts Djahāngīr and his son in prayer upon two *sadjdjāda*s; the courtiers share a large *bisāṭ*.

Turkey has for centuries been famous for the production of pile carpets. When weaving a *sadjdjāda*, the weaver uses the finest materials within his means, and his best workmanship. Turkey adheres to strict Islamic artistic tenets, wherein the representation of living creatures is forbidden. Turkish designs thus have a balanced formal structure, though the decoration is very rich, incorporating flowers with geometrical ornament. The most famous centres for the weaving of *sadjdjāda*s are Gördes (Ghiordes) and Kula.

The artistic tenets of Islam are less rigidly interpreted in Persia, where animals and birds often appear upon secular carpets. *Sadjdjāda*s are more graceful in style than in Turkey; but though the *miḥrāb* may have more naturalistic elegance, and the lamp and floral ornament more realism, when weaving a *sadjdjāda* the injunction against representing living creatures is observed. The *miḥrāb* is sometimes filled with the traditional "Tree of Life", or with a large flowering plant. A particularly rich *sadjdjāda* may be woven with warp and weft, or even pile, of silk.

In both Turkey and Persia, the rural people and the

nomadic tribes practise rug-weaving, including *sadjdjādas*. The designs are bold, colourful and often profusely ornamented with geometrical and stylised motifs. In addition to pile rugs, tapestry-woven rugs (*ḳilim*) are woven. The *miḥrāb* of the *sadjdjāda* is often very simply delineated, and usually of angular form.

The rugs and *sadjdjādas* of the Caucasus have been little known until the 13th/19th century. The *sadjdjādas* have distinctive geometrical ornament, and stylised motifs of local tradition; many *sadjdjādas* are *ḳilim*-woven.

The normal floor-mat in India is the *darī*, a flat-woven pile-less rug of thick cotton. In the hot season, a light floorspread of fine cotton, painted and printed, was practical. The art of pile-carpet weaving was not introduced until the reign of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) [see MUGHALS. 8. (a) Carpets]. Thereafter pile-woven carpets and *sadjdjādas* following closely the style of Eastern Persia were used only by the wealthy. Henry Cousens, examining the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] for the ASI (Imperial Series of Reports, xxxvii [1916], 59 and plate XXIV), records several long mats with rows of *miḥrābs* for communal worship. Two or three are very simple and may be *darīs*. The rugs are undated, but may be 12th/18th or 13th/19th century. Other *darī*-woven *sadjdjādas*, of attractive simplicity, from the 13th/19th century, survive in museum collections.

A few rare cotton *sadjdjādas* survive, made in the region of Burhānpūr, Khāndesh, in the 12th/18th century. The design is restrained and dignified, the *miḥrāb* and the borders being ornamented with fine painted and printed floral meanders; a particularly Indian feature is the conventional representation of the domed minarets of a *masdjid* rising from the sides of the *miḥrāb* (Irwin and Hall [1971], 26 and plate 8). Printed cotton *sadjdjādas* made in the late 13th/19th century at Masulipatam, at very small cost for the ordinary people, survive in museum collections.

Bibliography: Part 1. Early tradition. In addition to the works cited in the text, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Islam in Nederlandsch-Indie*, Baarn 1913; P. Kahle, *Zur Organisation der Derwischorden in Egyptpen*, in *Isl.*, vi (1916), 149 ff.

Part 2. Surviving examples. S.M. El Sadhi, *Antique prayer rugs from the Orient*, in *The Antiquarian*, xiii/3 (New York 1929), 32-5, 74; M. Mostafa, *Sadjādjid al-ṣalāt al-turkiyya*, Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art 1953; idem, *Turkish prayer rugs*, Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art 1953 (English ed.); R.E.G. Macey, *Oriental prayer rugs*, Leigh-on-Sea 1961; A. Hopf, *Tapis d'Orient: Anatolie, Transylvanie, Caucase, Perse, Turkestan*, Paris 1962 (col. plates pp. 2-6; 12; 14; 17; 20); J.V. McMullan, *Islamic carpets*, New York 1965 (col. plates pp. 4; 7; 30-32; 35-6; 90-1; 106); K.H. Turkhan, *Islamic rugs*, London 1968; Museum für Kunsthandwerk, *Islamische Teppiche: der Joseph V. McMullan Kollektion, New York* (exhibition catalogue), Frankfurt-am-Main 1968-9; J. Irwin and M. Hall, *Indian painted and printed fabrics*, Aḥmadābād 1971 (p. 26 and plate 8); Textile Museum, *Prayer rugs* (exhibition catalogue), Washington D.C. 1974; R. Bechirian, *Tapis: Perse, Turquie, Caucase, Asie centrale, Inde, Chine*, Paris 1976.

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3. In mysticism. Here, the meanings of this term are derivative from its principal function, i.e. a place upon which one prostrates him/herself in prayer. The peculiarity of its Ṣūfī usage is determined by its intimate association with such critical notions of Ṣūfism as "sainthood" (*wilāya* [*q.v.*]) and mystical "gnosis" (*maʿrifa* [*q.v.*]). In other words, if the praying person happens to be a holy and righteous "friend of God" (*walī* [*q.v.*]) or a gnostic possessed of God's sublime mysteries (*ʿārif*), the adherents of Ṣūfism often view him/her as imparting to the prayer mat some of his/her supernatural powers. It is out of the intricate alliance of all-Islamic and mystical beliefs that a distinctly mystical sense of this term has eventually crystallised.

As a symbol and attribute of piety, *sadjdjāda* was appropriated by the Ṣūfīs immediately after its introduction into the religious life of the Muslim community in the early 4th/10th (H. Landolt, *Gedanken zum islamischen Gebetsteppich*, in *Festschrift Alfred Bühler*, ed. C.A. Schmitz and R. Wildhaber, Basel 1965, 244, 247). A prayer mat, for instance, played an important role in an episode included in the collection of stories that depict the ordeal of al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], the celebrated Ṣūfī martyr of Baghdād (see *Akhbār al-Ḥallāj. Texte ancien relatif à la predication ... du mystique musulman al-Ḥosayn b. Manṣôur al-Ḥallāj*, ed., annot., and trans. by L. Massignon and P. Kraus, Paris 1936). In this episode, al-Ḥallādj's inadvertent discovery of the Supreme Name of God that was written on a piece of paper stuck under al-Djunayd's [*q.v.*] *sadjdjāda* led to an ominous encounter between the two Ṣūfī masters. In the course of the quarrel that ensued, al-Djunayd predicted the ghastly details of al-Ḥallādj's impending execution (Massignon, *Passion of al-Ḥallāj, mystic and martyr of Islam*, Princeton 1982, ii, 452). References to the prayer mat as a distinctive mark of the authentic Ṣūfī appear in the classic Ṣūfī manual of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] and his contemporaries (*K. al-Lumaʿ fī 'l-taṣawwuf*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1914, 201; Landolt, *op. cit.*, 247). Somewhat later, in his "Rule for Ṣūfī novices" (*Ādāb al-murīdīn*, tr. F. Meier as *Ein Knigge für Sufis*, in *RSO*, xxxii [1957], 485-524) the noted Persian mystic Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā [*q.v.*] listed the *sadjdjāda* among such recognisable Ṣūfī paraphernalia as the patched mantle (*muraḳḳaʿ* [*q.v.*]), the belt (*āstīn*), the staff (*ʿaṣā*), the turban (*dastār*), the leather bowl (*rakwa*), and, finally, the inevitable Ṣūfī robe (*khirḳa* [*q.v.*]). To each of these typical Ṣūfī items al-Kubrā attributes a symbolic meaning. Thus he describes the *sadjdjāda* as "the carpet of the proximity to God (*ḳurb*)" upon which His faithful servant "has set the foot of worship" (Meier, *op. cit.*, 508). In a passage based on the work of the earlier Ḥanbalī mystic ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] of Harāt, al-Kubrā specifies the proper position to be assumed by a Ṣūfī beginner, when he installs himself on a *sadjdjāda*: he should sit with his hands and legs crossed, his face turned in the direction of Mecca; his thighs and private parts ought to be decently covered. While on his prayer carpet the Ṣūfī is not allowed to blow his nose, spit, or scratch himself. Nor should he converse loudly with those around him and gesticulate. Rather, he should focus his thoughts on God alone in an attempt to grasp what God expects him to do in each particular moment, and then act accordingly. All this, according to al-Kubrā, constitutes "the rules of the *sadjdjāda*." (Meier, *op. cit.*, 509-10). H. Landolt interprets al-Kubrā's instructions as an indication of the special significance that Ṣūfī theorists accorded to the prayer carpet. According to Landolt, it is more than a spot upon which the ritual prayer is performed; in the Ṣūfī tradition the *sadjdjāda* becomes a privileged spiritual space where direct contact with God is effected, i.e. an arena of mystical meditation *par excellence* (*op. cit.*, 247; cf. A. Ferrier, *Initiation au décor rituel du tapis de prière*, in *Connaissance des arts*, Paris [March 1959], 58, 61). This may be true. However, for all intents and pur-

poses, the prayer rug has become neither an unmistakeable sign nor an exclusive prerogative of the Ṣūfī shaykh. Rather, most Muslims considered it to be a symbol of righteousness and an important, albeit optional, condition of ritual purity not necessarily restricted to the realm of Islamic mysticism (see e.g. E.W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London-New York 1966, 73). This may explain why Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*], the Ḥanbalī legist who undertook an exhaustive critique of contemporary Ṣūfī thought and practice, tellingly omits the prayer rug from his discussion of the Ṣūfī "excesses" and exotic "innovations" such as living in isolated lodges (*ribāṭ* [*q.v.*]), donning exotic clothes (*murakkaʿ*, *khirka*), making light of the ablutions and the prayer, encouraging voluntary poverty and begging, indulging in disgraceful musical sessions and dances, etc. (*Talbīs Iblīs*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī Abū 'l-ʿAbbās, Cairo 1990, 145-340). This probably indicates that, in Ibn al-Djawzī's time at least, the *sadjdjāda* was not regarded as an exclusive feature of Ṣūfī life style. In modern times, too, the prayer rug does not figure among the usual accessories of some contemporary mystical fraternities of Persia, i.e. the Dhahabiyya, Khāksār, Niʿmatullāhiyya, which have been meticulously described by R. Gramlich (*Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Dritte Teil: Brauchtum und Riten*, Wiesbaden 1981, 3-12). Yet, the Ottoman traveller Ewliyā Čelebī (d. 1093/1682) in his description of a pilgrimage to the Bektāshī shrine at ʿUthmāndjïk (Anatolia) mentions that visitors (mostly members of the Bektāshī order) were given a *khirka*, a *sadjdjāda*, a standard, a drum, a staff, and a *tādj* "as symbols of dervishship" (q. in J.R. Brown, *The dervishes, or Oriental mysticism*, ed. H.A. Rose, repr. London 1968, 214, 201; cf., however, *idem*, 176-93, where the *sadjdjāda* is not listed among the usual personal belongings of the Bektāshī dervish). Hence, as we can see, the status of the *sadjdjāda* vis-à-vis Ṣūfism is somewhat tenuous. On some occasions it surely can be viewed as a hallmark of the Muslim mystic. Nonetheless, one cannot unreservedly link it to the Ṣūfī piety and way of living in contrast, for instance, to such distinct Ṣūfī accesories as the *murakkaʿ* (and/or the *khirka*), the *tādj* [*q.v.*], the rosary (*subḥa*) worn on the neck, the *kashkūl* [*q.v.*], etc. (see Gramlich, *op. cit.*, 3-12; cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, 178-92).

This uncertainty notwithstanding, with the rise of organised Ṣūfism and the concomitant development of the notion of *wilāya* from the 7/13th centuries onwards, the mystical connotations of the *sadjdjāda* became more strongly pronounced. In numerous oral and written accounts of Ṣūfī miracles (*karāmāt* [*q.v.*]), which circulated widely among diverse Muslim audiences, prayer carpets (or, sometimes, simple sheep and goat skins used for the same purposes) miraculously transport their holy owners, the Ṣūfī saints and marabouts, from one place to the other, a usual destination being Mecca. Again, the theme of "the flying carpet" was not confined exclusively to the mystical tradition. On the contrary, it has become a constantly recurring motif of Middle Eastern literature and folklore. According to one such legend, the last Baghdād caliph used a flying prayer mat in order to escape from the city besieged by the Mongols (Ferrier, *op. cit.*, 58). A person who, in the popular imagination, was closely bound with the motif of "the flying carpet" is the Ḳurʾānic Sulaymān. His magic silk carpet was delivered to him from Paradise (by either God or the Devil). With his throne installed on the carpet, Sulaymān was able to travel far and wide driven by winds which he controlled at will (Landolt, *op. cit.*, 252). Another Ḳurʾānic prophet, Adam, is said to be have received his *sadjdjāda* from the angel Djibrīl, who had made it from the skins of the sheep of Paradise.

In contrast to popular lore that evinces particular fascination with the magic properties inherent in the *sadjdjāda*, Ṣūfī writers tend to emphasise that, whatever thaumaturgic qualities it may possess result from the sanctifying presence of the Ṣūfī *walī*, whose divinely given "grace" (*baraka* [*q.v.*]) miraculously transforms everything around him. When a Ṣūfī saint spreads his shabby prayer rug above the waves (Landolt, *op. cit.*, 253) or performs his supererogatory prayers standing on the mat suspended in the air (Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1329, i, 186; tr. in R.W.J. Austin, *Sufis of Andalusia*, Oxford 1971, 28-9), one realises that it is the saint, not his *sadjdjāda*, that makes such wondrous things possible. In the case of Ibn ʿArabī's narrative, the ordinariness of the prayer mat is intentionally stressed in order to throw into relief the supernatural powers that the presence of God's friend conveys to it. It is noteworthy that in both cases the flying rugs are brought into play with a view to persuading some sceptical, rationalist onlookers who doubted the reality of the miracles ascribed to the Ṣūfī saints.

In keeping with a widespread Ṣūfī belief that was shared by the generality of Muslims, the blessing and the beneficial grace of the *walī* pervade all things and individuals that have come into direct contact with him/her. Such miracle-working grace does not cease with the *walī* 's death. It is thought to be inherited by his/her progeny. On the other hand, it is also immortalised in the *walī*'s shrine as well as his/her personal effects. Both symbolise the saint's invisible presence among his/her relatives and followers. This helps to explain why such vestiges often become objects of veneration similar to that enjoyed by the relics of the Christian saints. It is against the background of this belief that one should view the concepts of the *shaykh* [*walī*] *al-sadjdjāda* and its Persian analogue *sadjdjāda-nishīn*, meaning "the prayer rug sitter" (see e.g. H.A.R. Gibb, *Muhammedanism: an historical survey*, ²Oxford 1968, 152). These terms were normally applied to leaders of Ṣūfī communities or heads of holy lineages [see SHARĪF] who fell heir to the spiritual authority and blessing of a revered saintly founder (see F. Meier, *Abū Saʿīd-i Abū l-Ḫayr (357-440/967-1049). Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Leiden-Tehran-Liège 1976, 438-67, esp. 458). By extension, the entire mystical "path" initiated by a founding saint was regarded as his/her *sadjdjāda*. It can, therefore, be treated as another synonym of *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*], *silsila* [*q.v.*], and *khilāfa* [*q.v.*, section 3], i.e. of the terms applied to various Ṣūfī organisations.

This usage became particularly prominent in Egypt and, to a lesser extent, in North Africa, whereas in the East it appears only sporadically, and does not carry the precise technical meaning ascribed to it in Western Islam (for such occasional usage, see e.g. H.R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit. Das Šaraf-nāma des ʿAbdallāh Marwarīd in kritischer Auswegung*, Wiesbaden 1952, 64, 158). In Egypt, the phrase *mashāyikh [shaykh] al-sadjdjāda* (and its correlate *arbāb al-sadjādjīd*), as technical terms used in official documents, do not seem to have gained wide currency before the end of the 11th/17th century. Both terms were applied to the leaders of Egypt's major Ṣūfī *ṭuruḳ* and *ṭuruḳ*-linked institutions, i.e. *zāwiya* [*q.v.*], *takiyya*, and popular Ṣūfī shrines. The term *arbāb al-sadjādjīd*, however, seems to have been reserved for the four family-based mystical associations, namely those

which traced themselves back to the Rightly-Guided Caliphs and the Companions. According to F. de Jong, these four were essentially family groups turned *ṭuruḳ*. They were: *al-Bakriyya* (descending from Abū Bakr al-Siddīḳ), *al-ʿInāniyya* (ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), *al-Khuḍayriyya* (al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām), and *al-Wafāʾiyya* (ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) (*Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, 13-14). Of the leaders of these family *ṭuruḳ*, the *shaykh al-sadjdjāda al-bakriyya* was to assume special importance when in 1227/1812, in a drive to secure better state control over the Egyptian religious establishment, the Viceroy of Egypt Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] invested the holder of that office with authority over all mystical communities (*ṭawāʾif al-fuḳarāʾ al-ṣūfiyya*) as well as the Ṣūfī shrines and lodges of that country (al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, Cairo 1297, iv, 165; for a tr. of Muḥammad ʿAlī's *firmān*, see de Jong, *op. cit.*, 192-3). For almost a century the holders of this office endeavoured, with varying success, to steer a middle course between the assertive temporal rulers and the restive leadership of Egyptian mystical associations who were anxious to preserve their independence vis-à-vis the Egyptian government (the policies pursued by the incumbents of the *al-sadjdjāda al-bakriyya* from 1227/1812 until 1321/1903 are analysed in de Jong, *op. cit.*). In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the leaders of the newly-founded Egyptian *ṭuruḳ* had to obtain the title of the *shaykh al-sadjdjāda* from the current holder of the Bakriyya "prayer mat", whose hereditary office was called *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣufiyya*. Only after the latter's approval were they recognised by both the government and the Ṣūfī establishment of Egypt represented by the so-called "Ṣūfī Council" (*al-madjlis al-ṣūfī*). The latter, in turn, was always presided over by the *shaykh al-sadjdjāda al-bakriyya* (*ibid.*, 132-46, *et passim*; P. Kahle, *Zur Organisation der Derwischorden in Egypten*, in *Isl.*, vi [1916], 152-3; for a recent example of a newly-founded brotherhood seeking such an approval, see M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in modern Egypt*, Oxford 1973, 36, where the discussion centres on the rise and subsequent functioning of a modern *ṭarīḳa* called *al-ḥāmidiyya shādhiliyya*). In modern Egyptian usage, the central office of a Ṣūfī order, which today appears to be a rather bureaucratised and centralised institution, is called *bayt al-sadjdjāda* (dial. *beit al-siggāda*). It serves as the residence and the office of the order's *shaykh* or his senior aide (*wakīl*). These, in turn, are assisted by a group of the lesser officials known as *khulafāʾ* and *nuḳabāʾ al-sadjdjāda* (*ibid.*, 81). Deputies of the head of an order in a particular area (*khulafāʾ*), regularly send detailed reports on their activities to the *bayt al-sadjdjāda* with a view to keeping its leadership abreast of the developments at the lower levels of the brotherhood (Gilsenan, *op. cit.*, 82, 99, 101, etc.).

A *sadjdjāda* together with banners, drums, cymbals, staffs and a decorated litter are among the most valued regalia of the Egyptian brotherhood. Its guardianship is entrusted to one of the *shaykh's* closest associates, one named *naḳīb al-sadjdjāda par excellence*, in contradistinction to the ordinary *nuḳabāʾ* who run the brotherhood's regional cells on behalf of the regional deputy, i.e. *khalīfa*, a person appointed directly by the *shaykh al-sadjdjāda* (Kahle, *op. cit.*, 164). Yet, unlike the other items listed above, the prayer rug does not seem to play any role in the imposing annual festivities organised by each important Egyptian *ṭarīḳa* (sc. the *mawlid* [*q.v.*]). The *sadjdjāda*, however, comes to the fore in the elaborate ceremonies during which new *khulafāʾ* and *nuḳabāʾ* are introduced into the office respectively by the *shaykh al-sadjdjāda* and the *khalīfa* of a regional Ṣūfī lodge. After this ceremony, the new *khalīfa* buys a simple prayer rug that becomes a symbol of his changed status within the brotherhood (*ibid.*, 157).

The deputy's *sadjdjāda* is normally used in the famous ceremony of "ligature", or "binding the girdle" *shadd*, which was widely practiced by both Ṣūfī associations and some craft guilds (*aṣnāf*; sing. *ṣinf* [*q.v.*]) of the Muslim Middle East. The *shadd* ceremony normally takes place in a *bayt al-sadjdjāda*, a regional *zāwiya*, or, in the case of the *ṣinf*, in a guild's headquarters. The novice who seeks to join a guild or a *ṭarīḳa*—the same applies to the would-be *naḳīb*—enters the circle of dervishes or initiated artisans, where he is solemnly girdled by the *khalīfa* (or the guild's elder), while he is standing on the *sadjdjāda*. The latter on such occasions is referred to as "the carpet of the Truth" (*bisāṭ al-ḥaḳḳ*), or "the carpet of God" (*bisāṭ Allāh*), i.e. the terms indicative of divine presence. This formal initiation, which is seen by its participants as "binding" of a new member (*mashdūd*) to a mystical brotherhood or a fraternity of artisans, is followed by a repast shared by the brethren, who are sitting on the carpet of initiation (H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens auf Grund von "Basṭ madad et-taufīq"*, Berlin 1913, 101-64, 255-67, *et passim*; Kahle, *op. cit.*, 163-67; cf. Brown, *Dervishes*, 173-7; for similar practices in the modern Persian Ṣūfī associations, see Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden, passim*).

Similar initiatory rites are attested for the Ṣūfī *ṭuruḳ* of Anatolia and Persia. Here, however, a sheep-skin (Turk. *pūst, post*) normally replaces the *sadjdjāda* in the *shadd* and similar ceremonies. In Bektāshī lodges (*takiya*) the *posts*, which may be twelve in number but are usually four (J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London-Hartford, Conn. 1937, 178-80; cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, 186-90), symbolise the perpetual presence of the *imāms* and the saints (mostly the order's founding fathers and outstanding *khulafāʾ*), who are especially revered by the Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*]. Among them are the sheep-skins that personify ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Sayyid ʿAlī Sulṭān, Hādjdjī Bektāsh, Ḳayghusuz Abdāl, Bālīm Sulṭān, al-Khaḍir, etc. In the course of the initiatory ceremony, both the head of the lodge (*bāba* [*q.v.*] or *murshid* [*q.v.*]) and the novice (*ṭālib*) prostrate themselves before these sheep-skins to show reverence to their invisible owners (Birge, *op. cit.*, 181-2). The Bektāshiyya go even further in treating the first four of the above-mentioned *posts* as seats of God and his angels. On the other hand, some Bektāshī theories interpreted these *posts* as symbols of the four major stages of the mystical path: *sharīʿa, ṭarīḳa, ḥaḳīḳa, maʿrifa* (Brown, *Dervishes*, 201-2; cf. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden*, 83-4). The overriding importance of the *post* for this Turkish Ṣūfī order is further attested by a special Bektāshī prayer attached to it (Brown, *op. cit.*, 202). Characteristically, it revolves around the theme of the primordial covenant (*mīthāḳ* [*q.v.*]) between God and humankind, which is enshrined in the famous Ḳurʾānic phrase (VII, 172), "Am I not your Lord?" (*a-lastu bi-rabbikum*) (Gramlich, *op. cit.*, 95-6).

In the light of the foregoing, one may venture a guess that the ceremony of initiation into a brotherhood or a guild was deemed to replicate this pre-eternal event as described in the Ḳurʾān and refined in numerous mystical commentaries (see e.g. G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in Classical Islam*, Berlin 1980, *passim*), only this time the novice, by repeating special oath-formulas, pledged allegiance not only to God but to his new spiritual family also.

Within the framework of this imposing pageant, the *sadjdjāda* or the *post* served as token representation of the highest witnesses to the novice's oath, i.e. God and his elect saints.

The sheep-skin belonging to the Ṣūfī leader plays a significant role in the exotic "spiritual concerts" of another Anatolian brotherhood, the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*]. The Mawlawī dervishes treat it simultaneously as the seat of the spiritual pole of the universe (*ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*]), the throne of God, and a paradise on earth. It is not surprising therefore that this *post* enjoys special esteem among the members of this mystical association. Its centrality for the Mawlawī outlook is reflected in their colourful mystical performances as described by H. Ritter (*Der Reigen der "Tanzenden Derwische"*, in *Zeitschr. für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, Berlin, i/2 [1933], 28-40; M. Molé, *La danse extatique en Islam*, in *Sources orientales 6. Les danses sacrées,* Paris 1963, 247-50, 263, 268, etc.; cf. Landolt, *op. cit.*, 249).

Like their Turkish colleagues, modern Persian dervishes have used a *post* rather than a *sadjdjāda* in their initiatory rites, which otherwise follow the pattern of the Egyptian *ṭuruḳ* described above (Gramlich, *op. cit.*, 76-7 *et passim*). This fact, however, does not change the essence of the rite that logically flows from the mystical doctrine of *wilāya*. This doctrine, in turn, goes back to the pre-Islamic past (for an attempt to trace its origin to shamanism, Manicheanism and Buddhism, see Landolt, *op. cit.*, 249, 251-2).

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(A. Knysh)

SĀDJIDS, a line of military commanders who governed the northwestern provinces of the caliphate (Ādharbāydjān, Arrān and Armenia) in the later 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries on behalf of the ʿAbbāsids.

The Sādjids were just some of several commanders, originally from the Iranian East and Central Asia, who came westwards to serve in the early ʿAbbāsid armies. The family seems to have originated in Ushrūsana [*q.v.*] on the middle Syr Darya in Transoxania, the region where the Afshīns [*q.v.*] were hereditary princes until at least the end of the 3rd/9th century, and was probably of Soghdian stock; by the time the family came to prominence in Islamic history, however, it had become culturally Arabicised to a considerable extent.

Abu 'l-Sādj Dēwdād (I) b. Yūsuf Dēwdasht fought in the Afshīn Ḥaydar's army against the anti-ʿAbbāsid rebel Bābak al-Khurramī [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1222) and then with Ṭāhirid forces in Ṭabaristān against the rebel Māzyār [see ḲĀRINIDS] (*ibid.*, iii, 1276). Al-Muʿtazz later appointed him governor of Aleppo and Ḳinnasrīn, and as *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* or police commander in Baghdād he was deeply involved in the strife involving the caliphs and their Turkish guards in Baghdād and Sāmarrā. In 261/875 he was appointed governor of Khūzistān, but when in the next year the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] prepared to march into ʿIrāḳ against the ʿAbbāsids, Abu 'l-Sādj Dēwdād joined Yaʿḳūb and took part in the battle near Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl [*q.v.*]; hence his estates and properties in ʿIrāḳ were confiscated by al-Muwaffaḳ. He nevertheless stayed faithful to the Ṣaffārids, and died at Djundīshābūr in the service of ʿAmr b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] in 266/879 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1937).

His two sons, Muḥammad and Yūsuf, remained, however, in the ʿAbbāsid service. Abū ʿUbayd Allāh or Abu 'l-Musāfir Muḥammad was active in the 880s in operations against rebels in the Ḥidjāz, and acted as the representative of the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] in the Holy Cities. On the death of the governor of Egypt and Syria Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] in 270/884, he accompanied the caliphal expedition against the latter's son Khumārawayh [*q.v.*] led by the general Isḥāḳ b. Kundādjik of Mawṣil, now appointed governor of Egypt and Syria, and took part in the tragicomic "Battle of the Mills". He subsequently quarrelled with Isḥāḳ and in the late 880s fought with him in the Mawṣil region. In 276/889-90, however, al-Muwaffaḳ appointed Muḥammad governor of Ādharbāydjān, the province which from this time onwards became the power-base of the Sādjid family. In 280/893 he acquired Marāgha [*q.v.*] from the local rebel ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī, and was thus involved in warfare with the Armenian Bagratid ruler Smbat (in Arabic, Sunbāṭ) I, temporarily occupying Nakhčiwān and Dwīn [*q.vv.*]. He now felt strong enough to rebel against his ʿAbbāsid master, and it may have been at this point that he assumed the ancient Iranian title of Afshīn (see above), which appears on a dirham of his minted at Bardhaʿa [*q.v.*] in Arrān in 285/898. But he soon made peace again with al-Muʿtaḍid, was confirmed in his governorship and renewed operations against Smbat, penetrating to Ḳarṣ and Tiflis [*q.vv.*] and into Vaspurakan, then ruled by the Ardzrunid prince Sargis Ashot (Arabic, Ashūṭ) I. Muḥammad died of plague in Bardhaʿa in Rabīʿ I 288/March 901.

The army of Ādharbāydjān placed Muḥammad's son Dēwdād (II) in the governorship at Marāgha, but Dēwdād was soon forced out (Shaʿbān 288/July-August 901) by his uncle Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yūsuf. Yūsuf transferred his capital to Ardabīl [*q.v.*]. He insisted on maintaining the direct Sādjid suzerainty over Smbat in Armenia, despite the latter's attempts to place himself directly under the caliph al-Muktafī in Baghdād and his seeking aid from the ʿAbbāsid against Yūsuf. However, on the accession of al-Muḳtadir Yūsuf's governorship of Ādharbāydjān, Arrān and Armenia was confirmed. Now with the authority of the caliph behind him, and with the powerful support within Baghdād of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*], Yūsuf invaded Armenia and conducted a campaign of violence and devastation there, capturing Smbat and then in 301/914 executing him, but by *ca.* 304/917 recognising the rival Armenian dynasty of the Ardzrunids as his vassals in Dwīn.

Yūsuf now turned his attention to northern Persia and conquered Zandjān, Abhar, Ḳazwīn and Rayy from the governor on behalf of the Sāmānids Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ṣuʿlūk, but his relations with al-Muḳtadir deteriorated and the caliph sent against his insubordinate servant an army under his commander-in-chief Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], who defeated Yūsuf in 307-919, capturing him and bringing him back to Baghdād for a spell of three years' imprisonment. On his release in 310/922, he was appointed governor of Ādharbāydjān, Rayy and northern Djibāl province, securing Ādharbāydjān and then Rayy and Hamadhān. In 314/926 the caliph recalled him and appointed him to command an army to be sent against the Ḳarāmiṭa [see ḲARMAṬĪ] in Lower ʿIrāḳ, but he was defeated near Kūfa by the Ḳarmaṭī leader Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī and killed (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 315/February 928). It does not seem that it was at this point that some of Yūsuf's Turkish troops entered the caliphal service in Baghdād, to form there a special regiment of the Sādjiyya. This unit is mentioned previously (e.g. by Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, i, 116, tr. iv, 130, year 311/923-4), and Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 250-1, vi, 415, tr. de Slane, i, 500, iv, 315, cf. iv, 334 n. 11,

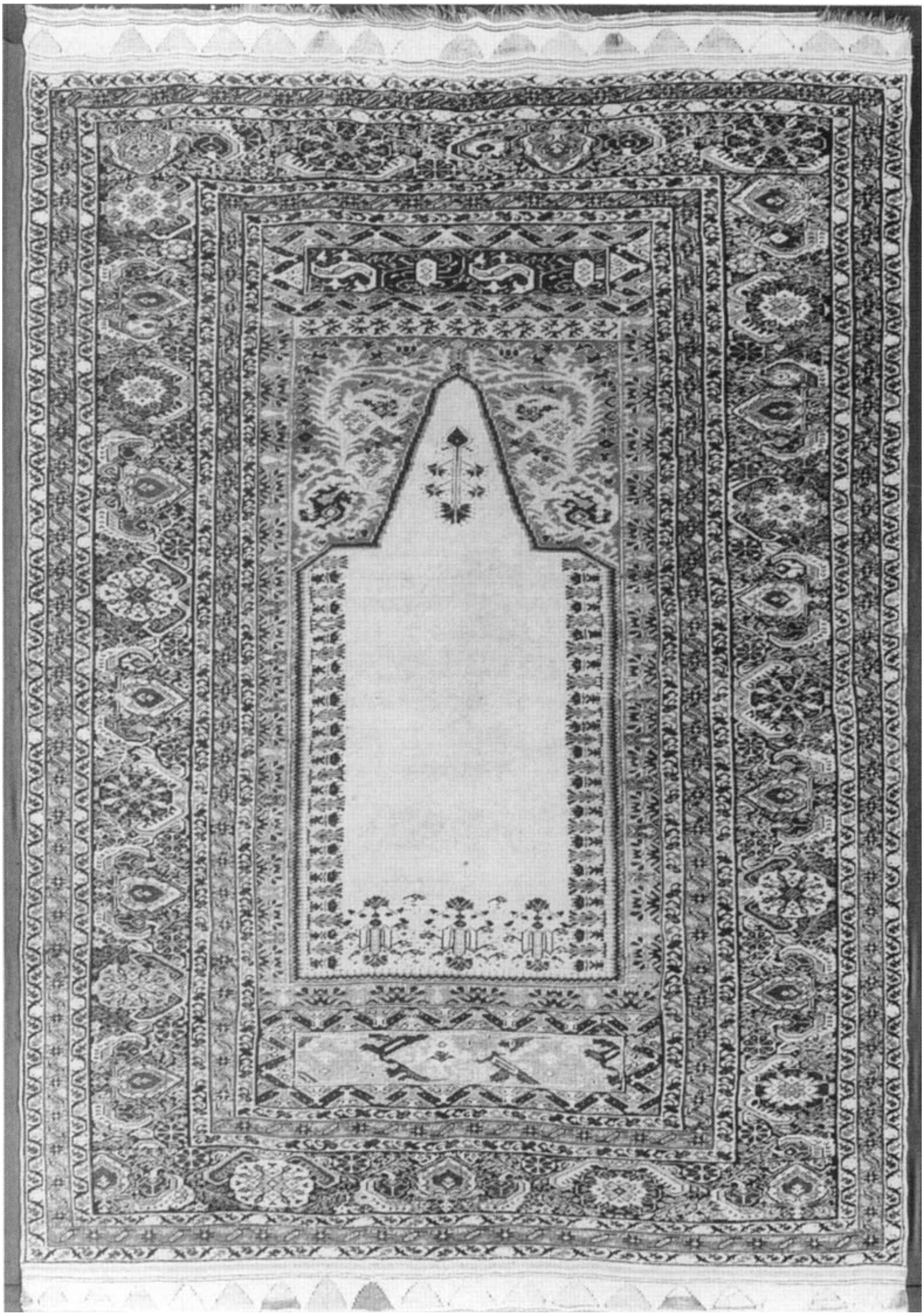

Sadjdjāda. (*Namāzlïk*) (T.), from Gördes, Turkey, 18th century.
(*By courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria & Albert Museum*).

Sadjdjāda. (*Djā-yi-namāz*) (P.), from Kirmān, Persia, 18th century.
(*By courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria & Albert Museum*).

expressly states that *al-adjnād al-Sādjiyya* in Baghdād were named after Abu 'l-Sādj Dēwdād (I), i.e. they were already in existence in the late 3rd/9th century (as noted by Canard, *Akhbâr ar-Râḍî billâh*, Algiers 1946, 49 n. 3).

After Yūsuf's death, his nephew Abu 'l-Musāfir Fatḥ b. Muḥammad Afshīn was made governor of Ādharbāydjān, but was in Shaʿbān 317/September 929 poisoned in Ardabīl by one of his slaves, so that the short line of Sādjid governors in northwestern Persia ended, and the province henceforth fell into the hands of various Kurdish and then Daylamī military adventurers. The Sādjid family did not die out totally; a son of Abu 'l-Musāfir Fatḥ's, Abu 'l-Faradj, was also a commander of the ʿAbbāsids in the mid-4th/10th century.

The Sādjid governorship over Arrān and Armenia was important for the extension of Arab control over the Armenian kingdoms there, particularly under Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj [see further, ARMĪNIYA, at I, 637]. But the Sādjids did not form an independent line of rulers in northwestern Persia, any more than did the Ṭāhirids in Khurāsān before them (even though the increasing enfeeblement of the caliphate after 295/908 made any bid for such independence more feasible), hence they are not to be equated with such an explicitly anti-ʿAbbāsid power as the Ṣaffārids on the eastern fringes of the caliphate; it was only after the end of Sādjid rule in Ādharbāydjān and eastern Transcaucasia that those regions came under native Iranian rather than Arab control. The dīnārs and dirhams minted by the Sādjids in Ādharbāydjān, Arrān, Armenia and, briefly, at Rayy (year 312/924-5, see G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 139-41) all acknowledge fully the ʿAbbāsid caliph as suzerain.

Genealogical table of the Sādjids

Yūsuf Dēwdasht

1. Abu 'l-Sādj Dēwdād (I)

2. Muḥammad — 4. Yūsuf

3. Dēwdād (II) — 5. Fatḥ

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ṭabarī; ʿArīb; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī, *Takmilat taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār*, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Ibn al-Athīr, viii.

2. Studies. C. Defrémery, *Mémoire sur la famille des Sadjides*, in *JA*, 4th ser., ix (1847), 409-16, x (1847), 396-436; M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*, Leiden 1886, 88-94; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 179; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 110-11; W. Madelung, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 228-32. For Sādjid coins, see Miles in *ibid.*, 372.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṢADR (A.), "chest, breast, bosom" (pl. *ṣudūr*), a peculiarly Arabic word, not attested in other Semitic languages, except as a borrowing from Arabic. Its semantic connection with other derivatives of the root *ṣ-d-r* within Arabic is unclear; it may be derived from the basic notion of the verb *ṣadara*, i.e. "to come up, move upward and outward, from the waterhole" (opposite: *warada*). Most concretely, it refers to the chest as part of the body, and as such is dealt with in the lexicographical monographs on the human body called *Khalḳ al-insān* (al-Aṣmaʿī, 214-18; Thābit b. Abī Thābit, 244-54; cf. also Ibn Sīdah, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, i, 19-24). *Ṣadr* may refer to the breast of all animals, or to that of humans only. In the latter case it is contrasted with e.g. the *kirkira* of the camel-stallion, the *labān* of the horse, the *zawr* of the lion, the *djuʾdjuʾ* of the bird, etc. (see al-Thaʿālibī, *Fiḳh al-lugha*, 109: *taḳsīm al-ṣudūr*), but the lexicographers are not unanimous in their definitions of these words (e.g. al-Aṣmaʿī, *Khalḳ al-insān*, 216, l. 12, equates *zawr* and *djuʾdjuʾ* with *ṣadr*). From the noun *ṣadr* the usual two body-part verbs may be derived: *ṣadara* "to hit, wound the chest" and *ṣudira* "to suffer from a chest ailment."

Bibliography: Aṣmaʿī, *K. Khalḳ al-insān*, ed. A. Haffner, in *Texte zur arabischen Lexikographie*, Leipzig 1905 [Arabic title page: Beirut 1903], 158-232; Thābit b. Abī Thābit, *Khalḳ al-insān*, ed. ʿA.A. Farrādj, Kuwait 1955; Ibn Sīdah, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, repr. Beirut n.d.; Thaʿālibī, *Fiḳh al-lugha*, ed. L. Cheikho, repr. Tripoli and Tunis 1981.

The *ṣadr*, like "bosom," is also the seat of emotions and convictions, and interestingly this is the only sense in which it occurs in the Ḳurʾān (with the possible exception of sūra XXII, 46; see, however, below). In the singular (but, strangely, never in the plural) it is consistently connected with the idea of "constriction" (root *ḍ-y-ḳ*, cf. XI 12; XV, 97; XXVI, 13; also root *ḥ-r-dj*, cf. VI, 125; VII, 2) or "dilatation" (root *sh-r-ḥ*, cf. VI, 125; XVI, 106; XX, 25; XXXIX, 22; XCIV, 1) to express anxiety, grief, and rejection vs. serenity, joy, and acceptance. The plural *ṣudūr* is mostly used in conjunction with the idea of thoughts and feelings that are hidden in them (roots *kh-f-y*, see III, 29; III, 118; XI, 5; XL, 19, and *k-n-n*, see XXVII, 74; XXVIII, 69), but which God knows nonetheless; this is particularly expressed in the refrain-like formula *inna 'llāha ʿalīmᵘⁿ bi-dhāti 'l-ṣudūr* "God knows well what ails [their] bosoms" [Arberry: "God knows the thoughts in their breasts"] (III, 119, among others). In two places the *ṣudūr* are closely connected with the *ḳulūb*, "hearts," (XXII, 46: *wa-lākin taʿmā l-ḳulūbu 'llatī fī 'l-ṣudūr* "but blind are the hearts within the breasts," and III, 154: *li-yabtaliya 'llāhu mā fī ṣudūrikum wa-li-yumaḥḥiṣa mā fī ḳulūbikum* "and that God might try what was in your breasts, and that he might prove what was in your hearts").

The early mystics, intent on formulating the internal stages of religious experience, availed themselves of some of these passages from the Ḳurʾān and defined *ṣadr* as one of the inner organs involved [see also ḲALB]. It is especially sūra XXXIX, 22 (*a-fa-man sharaḥa llāhu ṣadrahū li-l-islāmi* "Is he whose breast God has expanded unto Islam...") which prompted Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907 [*q.v.*]) to establish a parallelism between *ṣadr* as the seat of *islām* and—moving inward and upward—between *ḳalb, fuʾād*, and *lubb*, all Ḳurʾānic terms, as the respective seats of *īmān, maʿrifa*, and *tawḥīd* (*Maḳāmāt al-ḳulūb*, 130, cf. P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique*, 321, who also points to a similar terminology in the *Tafsīr* attributed to Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765 [*q.v.*]), where the parallelisms are: *ṣadr* and submission (*taslīm*), *ḳalb* and certitude (*yaḳīn*), *fuʾād* and contemplation (*naẓar*), the *ḍamīr* and the secret (*sirr*), and the *nafs* as the refuge of all good and evil; *ḍamīr* not being Ḳurʾānic, al-Nūrī stays closer to the Ḳurʾān). A similar scheme is proposed by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. after 318/930) in his *K. fī Bayān al-farḳ bayn al-ṣadr wa 'l-ḳalb wa 'l-fuʾād wa 'l-lubb*, 33-47, 79-83 (tr. 28-36, 244-5). He offers several analogies to characterise the relationship of the four parts of the heart (note that *ḳalb* has two meanings,

one comprehensive and one specific), of which the following two may be quoted:

Heart	Almond	Sacred Precinct
ṣadr	outer shell	the *ḥaram*
ḳalb	inner shell	city of Mecca
fuʾād	kernel	Great Mosque
lubb	oil inside kernel	Kaʿba

The *ṣadr* is called thus, because it is the outer part (*ṣadr*) of the heart and its first station. In another work, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī uses an interpretation of the Light Verse (XXIV, 35) to explain the function of the heart and equates the *ṣadr* with the niche (*mishkāt*; see *K. al-Aʿḍāʾ wa 'l-nafs*, 85).

Similar divisions remain popular with later writers, although the term *ṣadr* is not always included, while other terms may be added (relevant sections tr. and discussed by Sachiko Murata, *The Tao of Islam*, 292-9 and ff.). Al-Tirmidhī's scheme is taken up again, with certain alterations, in the Persian Ḳurʾānic commentary of Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī (wrote 520/1126 [*q.v.*]), who replaces the *lubb* by *shaghāf* and, rather than *maʿrifa* and *tawḥīd*, assigns the two functions of *mushāhadat-i Ḥaḳḳ* and *ʿishḳ* to *fuʾād* and *shaghāf* (*Kashf al-asrār*, viii, 411-12; cf. Murata, *op. cit.*, 296-7).

The *ṣadr* is described in a number of metaphorical ways as the place in which the internal dramas of good and evil are staged. According to one passage in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, the heart is the home of faith, the soul is the home of passions. Between them is a wide space called *ṣadr*, from which emanate (*ṣadara*) the orders executed by external organs. Both heart and soul have an opening leading to that place. Through that of the heart the light of faith would shoot into the *ṣadr*, as the fire and smoke of passion would shoot into the breast through the opening of the *nafs*. Whichever triumphs over the other brings about obedience or disobedience. "Et telle est toute l'histoire du cœur et de l'âme" (P. Nwyia, *op. cit.*, 279, summarising a passage from the *Masāʾil*). For other descriptions, in al-Tirmidhī's work, of the struggle in the *ṣadr* between heart and soul, see *al-Furūḳ wa-manʿ al-tarāduf*, *apud* P. Nwyia, *op. cit.*, 122; *Bayān al-farḳ*, 40-7; *Khatm al-awliyāʾ*, 130-1; B. Radtke, *Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī*, Freiburg 1980, 58-71 and index).

A strangely generalised use of the term *ṣadr* appears in *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]). Here the *ṣadr* is presented as a universal feature of creation; each thing can boast of one. Knowledge of it is among the loftiest knowledge on the Path, since the world and each genus is according to the shape of man (microcosm), who is the last created thing. Man alone is according to the Divine shape, externally and internally, and God has made for him a *ṣadr*. Between Him and man there are *ṣudūr* whose number only God knows (ii, 652). This is followed by an enumeration of twenty-seven *ṣudūr*, after which Ibn al-ʿArabī adds that every *ṣadr* has a *ḳalb* and, as long as the *ḳalb* remains in the *ṣadr*, it is blind (cf. sūra XXII, 46), because the *ṣadr* is a veil upon it. If God wills to make it seeing, it goes out from its *ṣadr* and thus sees. E.g. the causes (*asbāb*) are the *ṣudūr* of the existent things, and the existent things are like hearts. As long as an existent thing looks at its cause from which it emerges (*ṣadara*), it is blind to seeing God as the one who made it existent (ii, 652-3).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī, *Maḳāmāt al-ḳulūb*, ed. P. Nwyia, in *MUSJ*, 44, 1968, 129-143; P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970; al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Aʿḍāʾ wa 'l-nafs*, ed. Wadjīh Aḥmad ʿAbd Allāh, Alexandria 1991; idem, *K. fī Bayān al-farḳ bayn al-ṣadr wa 'l-ḳalb wa 'l-fuʾād wa 'l-lubb*, ed. N. Heer, Cairo 1958 (tr. idem, in *MW*, li [1961], 25-36, 83-91, 163-72, 244-58); idem, *Khatm al-awliyāʾ*, ed. ʿUthmān Yaḥyā, Beirut 1965; Sachiko Murata, *The Tao of Islam*, Albany 1992; Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī, *Kashf al-asrār wa-ʿuddat al-abrār*, ed. ʿA.A. Ḥikmat, Tehran 1331-9/1952-60; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Cairo 1911.

In everyday life, the idea of the *ṣadr* being the container of something hidden is expressed in the proverb *ṣadruka awsaʿu li-sirrik(a)* "Your bosom is wide enough for your secret" admonishing a person to keep his secret to himself (al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols., [2]Cairo 1379/1959, i, 396a).

In a figurative sense, *ṣadr* means any "first, front, or upper part" of a thing. A number of technical meanings result.

(a) In prosody *ṣadr* has two unrelated meanings. One refers to the first foot of a verse, as opposed to *ʿadjuz*, the last foot. This latter is also known as *ḍarb*; this, however, defines it as the last foot of the second hemistich as opposed to the last foot of the first hemistich, the *ʿarūḍ*. The structure of a complete line in terms of characteristic elements (*arkān*) is the following: *ṣadr*–[*ḥashw*]–*ʿarūḍ*/*ibtidāʾ*–[*ḥashw*]–*ʿadjuz* (*ḍarb*) (see al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ*, 523-4; Freytag, *Darstellung*, 117-120; Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres*, 40). *Ḥashw* feet occur, of course, only if the hemistich consists of more than the initial and the final foot, i.e. in *musaddas* and *muthamman* lines. The terms *ṣadr* and *ʿadjuz* are often also loosely applied to the entire first and second hemistich, respectively (see Lane, s.v.). This has influenced their use in the technical term *radd al-ʿadjuz ʿala 'l-ṣadr*, referring to the rhetorical figure of anticipating the rhyme word in the first half (at times even the beginning of the second half) of the line (see G.E. von Grunebaum, who compares the *epanadiplosis* of classical rhetoric, *Tenth-century document*, 32 n. 247, 116; G. Kanazi, *Studies*, 56-7; note that, while *ʿadjuz* is still used in its narrow sense of rhyme foot, *ṣadr* has acquired the broader meaning).

Bibliography: Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. Nuʿaym Zarzūr, Beirut 1403/1983; G.W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830; L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres*, Cambridge 1976; G.E. von Grunebaum, *A tenth-century document of Arab literary theory and criticism. The sections on poetry in al-Bâqillânî's Iʿjâz al-Qurʾân*, Chicago 1950, repr. 1974; G. Kanazi, *Studies in the Kitāb aṣ-Ṣināʿatayn of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī*, Leiden 1989.

The other meaning of *ṣadr* in prosody occurs in the context of the phenomenon called *muʿāḳaba*, i.e. the obligatory alternation of the shortening of two adjacent cords [see SABAB]. Thus in the *ramal* metre, the foot *fāʿilātun* may have its first cord *fā-* shortened, thus *faʿilātun*, only if the last cord *-tun* of the preceding foot is not shortened; this case is called *ṣadr*. Or it may have the last cord *-tun* shortened, thus *fāʿilātu*, but only if the first cord *fā-* of the following foot is not shortened; this case is called *ʿadjuz*. Or, finally, it may have both its first and its last cord shortened, thus *faʿilātu*, but only if the preceding and following cords are not shortened; this case is called *ṭarafān* or, more logically, *dhu 'l-ṭarafayn* (the latter in al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ*, 527). These phenomena occur in the metres *madīd*, *ramal*, *khafīf* and *mudjtathth* (Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 149). The apparent reason for their existence is to avoid a sequence of four moving letters.

Bibliography: Sakkākī (see above); Ibn Rashīḳ,

al-ʿUmda fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr wa-ādābih wa-naḳdih, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols., ³Cairo 1383/1963-4; Freytag, *Darstellung* (see above), 108.

(b) In epistolography and the composing of texts in general, the term *ṣadr* refers to the introductory formulae of letters and prefaces in books (the latter also *taṣdīr*). For an extensive disquisition on *ṣudūr* in epistles, including the way one alludes to the main topic already in the *taḥmīd* and how one moves (*takhalluṣ*) from the *ṣadr* to the actual topic (*gharaḍ*), see al-Kalāʿī, *Iḥkām ṣanʿat al-kalām*, ed. Muḥ. Riḍwān al-Dāya, Beirut 1966, 58-72. *Ṣadr* is used in the "old translation" of Aristotle's Rhetoric as one of the terms to render προοίμιον, the exordium or proem, of a speech (see M.C. Lyons, *Aristotle's* Ars Rhetorica. *The Arabic version*, ii, *Glossary*, Cambridge 1982, 123-4, 226). This remains the rendition of choice with the later philosophers. Ibn Sīnā compares the proem which leads into the speech with clearing one's throat before the call to prayer and with warbling on a reed instrument before playing the actual piece (*al-Shifāʾ, al-Manṭiḳ*, 8. *al-Khaṭāba*, ed. M.S. Sālim, Cairo 1373/1954, 237, ll. 12-24). In books, the *ṣadr* may mean a non-technical "beginning, first part", but may also refer to preliminary remarks that precede the actual "introduction." Thus al-Ghazālī, in his *al-Mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*, Būlāḳ 1322, prefixes the following introductory materials to his book: 1. the *taḥmīd* (2-3); 2. the *khuṭba* (after *ammā baʿd*), mainly in *sadjʿ*, with general remarks about reason and knowledge, as well as some autobiographical indications, ending with the titling of the book (3-4); 3. the *ṣadr al-kitāb*, expressly so called, dealing with the definition, the hierarchical status, and the internal structure of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, as also with the reason for the introduction (4-10); and 4. the *muḳaddima*, "introduction," again expressly so named, in which the author presents an outline of logic and epistemology (10-55). Derived from this *ṣadr* is the verb *ṣaddara kitābahū* (*LʿA*), cf. al-Fārābī's introductory epistle to his work on the Organon, the *Risāla ṣuddira bihā 'l-kitāb*, ed. Rafīḳ al-ʿAdjam, in *al-Manṭiḳ ʿind al-Fārābī*, Beirut 1985, i, 55-62. Again, this *ṣadr* contains general notions indicating the status of logic, such as logic vs. grammar, syllogistic vs. non-syllogistic crafts, review of the five syllogistic crafts, overview of Organon and of philosophy in general, and basic ideas about "concept," "proposition," and "definition."

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(c) From the expression *ṣadr al-madjlis*, the upper or front part of the assembly, i.e. "the place/seat of honour," the term *ṣadr* for an outstanding person is synecdochically derived (cf. *kāna ṣadr^an fi 'l-farāʾiḍ wa 'l-ḥisāb*, "he was an eminent expert in inheritance computations and arithmetic," Dozy, s.v.). This has developed into an academic and an administrative sense. For the latter, i.e. the terms *ṣadr* and *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* for the head of the religious administration in post-Mongol Iran and *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* for the grand vizier in the Ottoman empire, see below. In the academic sense, it is mostly applied to a professor in *adab* and mostly in the derived forms *muṣaddar* and *mutaṣaddir*. The respective verbs, *ṣaddara* and *taṣaddara*, mean "to appoint s.o. a professor" and "to be appointed" or "to set o.s. up as a professor," the latter often with the implication of insufficient preparation (see G. Makdisi, *The rise of colleges*, Edinburgh 1981, 203-6, and, particularly, idem, *The rise of humanism*, Edinburgh 1990, 277-9).

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(W.P. Heinrichs)

ṢADR (a.), used in a personal sense, with an extended meaning from Arabic "breast" > "foremost, leading part of a thing", denotes an eminent or superior person or *primus inter pares*, whence its use for a chief, president or minister; cf. the Ottoman Turkish Grand Vizier's title *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* [*q.v.*]. The title was especially used in the Persian world for a high religious dignitary whose function (*ṣadārat, ṣidārat*) was concerned essentially with the administration of religious affairs. In the first mentions of the title and in the structural evolution of the office in the post-Il Khānid period, the titles and prerogatives of the *ṣadr* evolved considerably, and despite lacuna in our sources of information, their evolution can be traced chronologically, as described below.

(J. Calmard)

1. In Transoxania.
2. In the period from the Il-Khānids to the Tīmūrids.
3. The Tīmūrid and Turkmen periods.
4. In the Ṣafawid period.
5. In Mughal India.

1. In Transoxania.

In the cities and towns of Transoxania, the Islamic religious institution, by Ḳarakhānid and Saldjūḳ times predominantly Ḥanafī in *madhhab*, came to enjoy a special position of religious, social and often administrative power *vis-à-vis* the Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS] and subsequent incoming Turkish dynasties. The members of this institution who held office as *imām* and *raʾīs* [*q.vv.*] also came to enjoy the title of *ṣadr*; such *ṣadrs* were to be found, e.g., in Samarḳand, Khudjand, Özkend, Almalīḳ, etc. They were especially influential in Bukhārā, where the Burhānī ones (see below) were further dignified by an intensive form of the title, that of *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*.

Already during the Sāmānid period there is mentioned (e.g. by the local historian Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī al-Ghundjār, d. 412/1021, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 15, and by al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, i, 243-6) the family of the Ismāʿīlīs, who held religious and civic power in Bukhārā. After them there came in 5th/11th century the Ṣaffārīs. In addition to their religious and civic authority, such families were clearly economically powerful also, doubtless possessing urban property and/or rural estates; hence in the assertion of what they took to be their spiritual rights, and probably in defence of their property also, they frequently clashed with the temporal holders of power. Thus the Ḳarakhānid ruler Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Tamghač Khān Ibrāhīm in 461/1069 executed the *imām* and *ṣadr* Ismāʿīl b. Abī Naṣr al-Ṣaffār because he had, according to al-Samʿānī, exhorted the Khān to observe the ordinances of religion and to eschew forbidden things (*ibid.*, viii, 318; cf. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 316, 320).

This willingness to challenge the secular authorities and, if needs be, to suffer for it, was the mark of succeeding religious leaders in Bukhārā, above all, of the next, and particularly celebrated, line of *ṣadrs*, who now, as noted above, bore the more exalted title of *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*, sc. the family of Burhān; all but the founder appear in the sources with the additional designation of *al-Shahīd* "Martyr", having found death at the hands of the Ḳarakhānids or Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*]. The Āl-i Burhān acquired its name from the fact that virtually all of them bore the *laḳab* or honorific title of Burhān al-Dīn "Proof of Religion" or Burhān al-Milla wa 'l-Dīn. The family traced its *nasab* back to the Arab tribes of Khurāsān in the Umayyad period, and seems always to have retained some connection with the city of Marw. Its history has, however, to be pieced together from scattered mentions in the historical sources for the Ḳarakhānid,

Saldjūḳ and succeeding periods and from the *Kitāb-i Mullāzāda* or *K.-i Mazārāt-i Bukhārā* by the Tīmūrid author Muʿīn al-Fuḳarāʾ [see AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, MUʿĪN AL-FUḲARĀʾ, in Suppl.]

When the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*] came to Transoxania in 495/1102, he apparently deposed the reigning *raʾīs* and *imām* of Bukhārā, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Ṣaffārī, and replaced him by the Ḥanafī scholar ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar Māza, who assumed the title of *ṣadr*. There now began the period of dominance, lasting for nearly a century and a half, of the Āl-i Burhān. Linked to Sandjar by marriage, they became, like the Ḳarakhānids, immediate vassals of the Saldjūḳs, until ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's son Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUmar was killed by the pagan Ḳara Khitāy after Sandjar's disastrous defeat at the battle of the Ḳaṭwān Steppe in 536/1141. However, the Burhānīs made their peace with the Gur Khān and were acknowledged as representatives of the Ḳara Khitay in Bukhārā, collecting the land-tax there for the rulers. When the Khwāram-Shāh Tekish appeared at Bukhārā in 578/1182, they likewise accommodated themselves to the new, in practice, temporary, régime. It was apparently to the *ṣadr* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (II) b. Muḥammad (d. 593/1196-7) that Muḥammad b. Ẓufar, the epitomiser of Narshakhī's *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, dedicated his local history. The Burhānīs continued to dominate civic life in Bukhārā under the restored Ḳarakhānids and Ḳara Khitay, and Muḥammad (II) b. Aḥmad (d. 616/1219) was renowned for his wealth and arrogance." We also know of eulogistic Persian poetry addressed to them by such authors as the satirist Sūzanī (d. ?569/1173-4 [*q.v.*]) and Shamsī-yi Aʿradj Bukhārī (*flor. ca.* 1200 AD) (see F. de Blois, *Persian literature*, v/2, 427, 432).

The end of Burhānī dominance came with the outbreak at Bukhārā of the popular movement led by the vendor of shields Maḥmūd Ṭārābī (636/1238-9), and the last Burhānī, Aḥmad (II) b. Muḥammad, was reduced by Ṭārābī to the status of *khalīfa* or deputy of a new *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*, hence preferred to flee and to take refuge with the Ḳara Khitay. But by now, these last were being hard pressed by the Mongols, and were not strong enough to replace Aḥmad in his former glory.

In his place, a new family took over the *ṣadāra* of Bukhārā. The Ḥanafī *faḳīh* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥbūbī was Ṭārābī's candidate, and there now began a line of *ṣudūr* as long-lived and as influential as the Āl-i Burhān, that of the Āl-i Maḥbūb, who inherited from their predecessors the additional form of the title, *ṣadr-i djahān*. The Maḥbūbīs, like the Burhānīs, traced their ancestry back to the Arabs of the time of the Prophet, and they likewise at times employed the *laḳab* of Burhān al-Dīn. Already in the 6th/12th century they had produced notable Ḥanafī scholars, such as the theologian Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Maḥbūbī (546-630/1151-1232), and in the next century or so members of the family continued to write many textbooks of Ḥanafī *fiḳh* which became standard. They are mentioned in the sources until the middle of the 8th/14th century, for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met at Bukhārā in 733/1333 the Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa, probably ʿUbayd Allāh b. Masʿūd al-Maḥbūbī (*Riḥla*, iii, 28, tr. Gibb, iii, 554, apparently mis-identified in n. 56), who was famed as a legal scholar (see Brockelmann, II², 277-8, S II, 300-1); but thereafter, they fade from historical mention.

Bibliography: Barthold, *EI*¹ art. *Burhān* (outdated); C.E. Bosworth, *EIr* art. *Āl-e Borhān*; O. Pritsak, *Āl-i Burhān*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 81-96 (incs. detailed bibliographical information and attempted chronologies of the Burhānī and Maḥbūbī families, with a genealogical table of the former).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In the period from the Il-Khānids to the Tīmūrids.

Apart from uses of *ṣadr* and its compounds in Transoxania, one finds that, under the Il-Khānids, the *laḳab* of *ṣadr-i djahān* was given to the vizier of Gaykhatu (690-4/1291-5), Ṣadr al-Dīn Aḥmad Khālidī Zandjānī, apparently as an honorific title (see Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, *s.v.*, citing Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, and the *Dastūr al-wuzarāʾ*). It was also the title of Mīr Ṣadr-i Djahān Pihānī, an envoy of the Mughals to ʿAbd Allāh Khān Özbeg (see Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian relations* ..., Tehran 1970, 54; idem, *A Calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations (1500-1750)*, Tehran and Karachi 1979-82, ii, 212, 214).

Since we have no precise indications on the function of the *ṣadārat* before the second half of the 8th/14th century, it has been incorrectly thought that it was a Tīmūrid creation (R.M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Tahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv [1961], 103, also in his *Studies on the history of Ṣafawid Iran*, Variorum, London 1987) or even a Ṣafawid one (K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 117; idem and H.R. Idris, *Regierung und Verwaltung des Vordern Orients in islamische Zeit*, Hb der Or. Leiden-Köln 1979, 46-7; criticisms by G. Herrmann, *Zur Entstehung des Ṣadr-Amtes*, in U. Haarmann and P. Bachmann, *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1979, 278, 282). A detailed study of the chancery literature (*inshāʾ*) and of official documents shows that there was no nomination of *ṣadr*s under the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*]. The highest magisterial function in Islam was at that time exercised by the *ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt*, with other religious affairs being the responsibility of the chief vizier or other officials like the *ḥākim-i dīwān-i awḳāf-i mamālik* (analysis of the *Dastūr al-kātib*; cf. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit. Das Šaraf-nāmä des ʿAbdallāh Marwārīd in kritischer Auswertung*, Wiesbaden 1952, 142, and Herrmann, *op. cit.*, 284-5). Under the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*], the highest religious dignitary was also still the *ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt*. The combination of the terms (but not of distinct functions) of *wizārat* and *ṣadārat* is attested under the Karts [*q.v.*] or Kurts of Harāt, with the bestowing of the *wizārat* on Shaykh Muʿīn al-Dīn Djāmī (J. Aubin, *Le khanat de Čaġatai et le Khorassan (1334-1380)*, in *Turcica*, viii [1976], 30; Herrmann, *op. cit.*, 294). The first document which we possess on the specific appointment to an office of *ṣadr* concerns Muʿīn al-Dīn's eldest son, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf (*manshūr* of Rabīʿ II 782/July-August 1380; see Aubin, *op. cit.*, 51; the document is ed., tr. and commented upon by Herrmann, *op. cit.*, 287 ff.). Tīmūr considered himself as a disciple of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, who took part in the five-years' war and died at Tabrīz in 797/1394-5. His brother Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar was linked with Mīrān Shāh, the prince who held the appanage of Khurāsān (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 53). The office of *ṣadārat* attributed to Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn encompassed the direction of affairs concerning all the religious dignitaries (*imām*s, *sayyid*s, *shaykh*s, *ḳāḍī*s, *khaṭīb*s, *muḥtasib*s, *amīn*s "and other religious authorities") of the city of Harāt and its dependent districts. All decisions concerning judicial sentences, teaching, the leadership of the worship, the *khuṭba*, the supervision of weights and measures (*iḥtisāb*), the administration of the *awḳāf*, the inspectorship of finance (*ishrāf*) and

activities of the treasury (*bayt al-māl*), as well as nominations, distributions, appointments and participations of all religious dignitaries and theological students, had to be submitted for his approval.

3. The Tīmūrid and Turkmen periods.

Despite Tīmūr's devotion to Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, the mention of three persons bearing the title of *ṣadr* (after their *ism*) in his reign does not clearly show that they occupied the actual functions of *ṣadārat* (Herrmann, *Zur Entstehung des Ṣadr-Amtes*, 293-4). This is, on the other hand, attested under his son Shāh Rukh (807-50/1405-47). The office is even attributed at one and the same time to several persons in Harāt (at the court's chancery) and in the provinces in the princes' appanages (*ibid.*, 280 ff.; on the provincial *ṣadrs* under Shāh Rukh, see Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XVe siècle. Contribution à l'histoire timouride*, in *Abh. der Akad. der Wiss. und der Lit. zu Mainz*, geistes- u. sozialwiss. Kl. [1956], no. 7, 398). This practice becomes the rule under Ḥusayn Bayḳara (875-912/1470-1506). During his reign, the revenues from *awḳāf* which, like other grants and favours enjoyed complete fiscal immunity, became so important that it was necessary to appoint several *ṣadrs* at the same time in order to supervise these revenues (Khwāndamīr, Tehran 1333, iv, 321; cf. M. Subtelny, *Centralizing reform and its opponents in the late Timurid period*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxi/1-2 [1988], 126). However, in 910/1504-5, Ḥusayn Bayḳara appointed a *ṣadr* whose functions were especially attached to the ruler's service (*mansab-i ṣadārat-i khāṣṣayi humāyūn*, Khwāndamīr, iv, 327; Hermann, *op. cit.*, 282). The fact that the office could be held by several dignitaries at the same time leads one to suppose that there was a hierarchy amongst the various *ṣadrs*. But the mention of a chief *ṣadr* (*ṣadr al-ṣudūr*) only appears once, in a late Tīmūrid document, which seems to indicate the provisional or exceptional character of the office (*ibid.*). The *ṣadr*'s department (*sarkār-i ṣadārat* or *dīwān-i ṣadārat*) occupied the third place in the Tīmūrid administration after the *dīwān-i tuwāčī* and the *dīwān-i māl*. The financial support for the *ṣadrs*, made up of allowances (*ʿulūfa*) and gratuities (*inʿām*) came from a specific tax (*rasm al-ṣadārat* or *sahm al-ṣadārat*) raised as a percentage on *waḳf* revenues (*ibid.*, 283-4).

As for the social origins of the *ṣadrs*, a strong tendency for the post to remain within one family, leading to hereditary control over the office, has been noted (Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, 143-6; Herrmann, *op. cit.*, 281). Although they were the superiors of the *sayyids*, it was only occasionally that they stemmed from this last group. Among the forty *ṣadrs* mentioned by Khwāndamīr for Ḥusayn Bayḳara's reign, there are only three descendants of the Prophet (iv, 321-8; cf. Herrmann, *ibid.*). Some *ṣadrs* were accused of corruption during this reign. A dispute between the descendants of Aḥmad-i Djām and of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī provoked the intervention of the Naḳshbandī *shaykh* Khwādja Aḥrār [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (J. Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandiyya in Mittelasien im 15. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1991, 57-8).

As well as the supervision of the religious leaders and of the *awḳāf* mentioned above for the Kart *ṣadr*, the Tīmūrid *ṣadr* was more explicitly charged with supervising and administering the application of the *Sharīʿa* as head of judicial authority in the state (Roemer, *op. cit.*, 143-6). This prerogative appears also in the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu state, in which one finds the *ṣadr al-sharīʿat* (J.E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu. Clan, confederation, empire*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1976, 11). The reform-minded minister of the Aḳ Ḳonyunlu sultan Yaʿḳūb, the *Ḳāḍī* ʿĪsā Sāwadjī, held both the civil and religious functions with the rank of *ṣadr* (V. Minorsky, *Turkmenica II. The Aq-qoyunlu and land reform*, in *BSOAS*, xvii [1955], 451-8; Aubin, *Etudes safavides. I. Šāh Ismāʿīl et les notables de l'Iraq Persan*, in *JESHO*, ii [1959], 48-9; Woods, *op. cit.*, 156-7). In general, under the Turkmen Ḳara and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu the *ṣadr* held the highest religious office (Roemer, *op. cit.*, 14304).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. For the primary sources in Persian (chronicles, *tadhkirāt*, hagiographical-biographical works on the *ʿulamāʾ*, etc.) and in European languages, see the bibls. in the works cited above, and notably, in S.A. Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago-London 1984; Aubin, *opera cit.*, and *Etudes ṣafavides. III. L'évènement des Safavides reconsidéré*, in *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien*, v (1988); C.J. Beeson, *The origins of conflicts in the Ṣafawid religious institution*, diss. Princeton Univ. 1982, unpubl.; J. Calmard, *Les rituels chiites et le pouvoir. L'imposition du chiisme ṣafavide: eulogies et malédictions canoniques*, in idem (ed.), *Etudes ṣafavides*, Paris-Tehran 1993, 109-50; M.M. Mazzaoui, *The origins of the Ṣafavids. Shīʿism, Ṣūfism and the Gulāt*, Wiesbaden 1972; Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk. A manual of Ṣafavid administration*, GMS, London 1943; A.J. Newman, *The myth of the clerical migration to Ṣafawid Iran: Arab Shʿite opposite to ʿAlī al-Karakī and Ṣafawid Shiʿism*, in *WI*, xxxiii (1993), 66-112; R. Schimkoreit, *Regesten publizierter ṣafawidische Herrscherkunden*, Berlin 1982. On the Tīmūrid *ṣadrs*, see Roemer, text of the *Sharaf-nāma* and tr., 35-44 (for the *nishān-i ṣadārat* documents), comm. 143 ff., and Khwāndamīr. For documents concerning the Ṣafawid *ṣadrs*, see Schimkoreit, *op. cit.*, index. Some documents issued by these *ṣadrs* or concerning them have been published by H. Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Mithāl-hā-yi ṣudūr-i ṣafawī*, Ḳum 1353/1974.

(J. Calmard)

4. In the Ṣafawid period.

The complex of religious institutions inherited by the Ṣafawid administration consisted basically of mosques, religious colleges (*madrasa*), religious endowments (*awḳāf*), and the offices of *ḳāḍī* and *shaykh al-islām*. These were controlled by the state through the office of *ṣadr*, the most important religous position in the realm and one which, in pre-Ṣafawid Persia, had tended to be hereditary in nature (see 2. above). The main function of the *ṣadr* was to supervise and administer the *awḳāf* and the distribution of their revenues to students and scholars and also to charity, hence the full title *ṣadr al-mawḳūfāt*. However, with the advent of Shāh Ismāʿīl I (r. 907-30/1501-24 [*q.v.*]), the nature and function of the office of *ṣadr* changed considerably. Faced with the problem of how to reconcile the "men of the sword", the Turcoman military élite which had propelled him to power, with the "men of the pen", the Persian bureaucrats on whom he depended for the efficient functioning of his state, Ismāʿīl made the *ṣadr* a political appointee. In so far as this arrangement gave the *ṣadr* political influence, he built a bridge between the largely Persian ranks of the *ʿulamāʾ* and the political branch of the administration, dominated during the early Ṣafawid period by *Ḳizilbāsh* military commanders. Although the propagation of religious doctrine and the establishment of doctrinal conformity and uniformity were not the primary function of the *ṣadr*, some scholars believe that for a time he had also to supervise the imposition of Twelver Shīʿism and root out heresy and Sunnism. By the time of Ismāʿīl's death, however, doctrinal uniformity had been largely achieved, and the

energies of the *ṣadr* were devoted once more to the preservation of the religious status quo, and especially to the administration of the *awḳāf*.

It is clear that although the Persian "clerical estate" from which the appointees to the *ṣadārat* were initially taken was essential to the smooth running of the nascent Ṣafawid administration, it was unable to provide the theological and legal backbone for the new Twelver Shīʿī establishment: of the ten *ṣadrs* under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, for example, only one was versed in Twelver Shīʿī jurisprudence, while the Shīʿism of the other nine was open to question. Consequently, Shāh Ismāʿīl and his successors imported Twelver Shīʿī scholars from Baḥrayn, ʿIrāḳ and the Lebanon. The immigrant jurists, experts in Twelver *fiḳh* and *kalām*, began to fill the posts of *shaykh al-islām, ḳāḍī, ḥākim-i sharʿ* and *mudarris*, gradually, as the power of the Arab *mudjtahids* increased, the power of the *ṣadr* began to wane.

The position of the *ṣadr* was further weakened when, during the reign of Shāh Sulaymān, the *ṣadārat* was divided into a "crown" (*khāṣṣa*) and a "state" (*mamālik* or *ʿāmma*) branch. As the division suggests, the *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* was responsible for the administration of the royal endowments, while the *ṣadr-i mamālik* was entrusted with the endowments of private persons.

The *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa*, who enjoyed a higher rank than his colleague, continued to oversee the religious institution in general; according to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, one of the prerogatives of his post was "the leadership ... of all the [persons] called sayyid, ʿulamā, mudarris, Shaykh al-Islām, pīsh-namāz, qāḍī, mutavallī, ḥāfiẓ and the rest of the servants of the sacred tombs, schools, mosques and shrines" (tr. Minorsky, English text, 42). Sitting jointly with the Dīwān-begī, the *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* would try the major crimes at a weekly tribunal held in the *keshīk-khāna*. Appointment of *sharīʿa* judges for the rest of the kingdom was also a function of the *ṣadārat*, and it is here that the sources on late Ṣafawid Persia are clear on the demarcation of duties between the *khāṣṣa* and the *mamālik* branches: the *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* appointed the judges of provinces under the royal *khāṣṣa* and especially those lying in the neighbourhood of the capital Iṣfahān, while the *ṣadr-i mamālik* appointed the judges in the rest of the provinces, such as Khurāsān and Fārs.

The *ṣadr* was to remain one of the highest and most coveted positions in the Ṣafawid administrative hierarchy until the demise of the dynasty. At state functions, the *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* would be seated at the king's left hand, and it was not uncommon for the incumbent to marry into royalty and build up vast estates and considerable wealth of his own. As a locus of religious and political power, however, by the reign of Shāh Sulaymān the *ṣadr* was a spent force, eclipsed by the *shaykh al-islām* and, during the reign of Sulaymān's successor, Shāh, Sulṭān Ḥusayn, by the *mullābāshī*.

Bibliography: Iskandar Beg, *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, lith. Tehran 1314/1896-7; V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, GMS, London 1943; R.M. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980. See also the *Bibl.* to the preceding section 2.

(C.P. TURNER)

5. In Mughal India.

Here the *ṣadr* was a provincial (*ṣūba*) level officer in charge of land-grants in the Mughal Empire. The *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* was a central minister, who was given this title when the Empire was divided into *ṣūbas* by Akbar in 988/1580. Besides controlling land-grants (*madad-i maʿāsh*) and cash-grants (*waẓīfa*), the *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* also recommended appointments of *ḳāḍīs* or judges and *muftīs*, or interpreters of law and customs, though he had himself no judicial functions. The provincial *ṣadrs* were his subordinates, and below them there were local *ṣadrs* (*ṣadr-i djuzw*) and *mutawallīs* (managers of land-grants). Like the *ṣadrs*, the *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* was usually a Muslim theologian, since most land-grants were conferred upon theologians and scholars. He could, however, be an officer in regular service (holder of *manṣab* [*q.v.*]) as well, receiving his own salary through the award of *manṣab*, rather than land-grant. From Akbar's time onwards, non-Muslim divines and religious institutions also began to receive land-grants, and a rigorous procedure of verification was established in which the *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*'s department played an important role. The *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*'s office was held, like that of other ministers, at the Emperor's pleasure, but tended to be of longer duration except during the last years of Akbar, when after the dismissal of the most powerful of these ministers, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī, 987/1579-80, the incumbents changed quite frequently. Whereas Īrānīs dominated other ministerial offices in the Mughal Empire, the office of *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* remained largely (though not entirely) the preserve of Indian Muslims and Tūrānīs, possibly because a Sunnī religious orientation was generally expected here.

Bibliography: The bulk of our information comes from Mughal revenue-grant documents largely unpublished, for a calender of these see *Mughal documents (1526-1627)*, ed. S.A.I. Tirmizi, New Delhi 1989. The standard official statement on the office and its functioning is to be found in Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ed. H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1867-77, i. See also Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal Empire and its practical working up to the year 1657*, Oxford 1936; M. Athar Ali, *The apparatus of empire, awards of ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal nobility, 1574-1658*; Oxford 1985; Rafat M. Bilgrami, *Religious and quasi-religious departments of the Mughal period (1556-1707)*, New Delhi 1984.

(M. ATHAR ALI)

ṢADR-I AʿẒAM (T.) (commonly *ṣadr aʿẓam*), strictly "the greatest of the high dignitaries", that is, the Grand Vizier, a title which, in the Ottoman Empire, was used synonymously with *wezīr-i aʿẓam* from the mid-10th/16th century; its first use in this sense occurs in the *Āṣāf-nāme* of Lüṭfī Pasha [*q.v.*], himself a holder of the office 946-8/1539-41.

Earlier, in the late 8th/14th century, *ṣadr* had been used to refer to the highest official *ʿulemāʾ*, the *ḳāḍī ʿaskers* [*q.v.*], who were promoted to serve as viziers. Later, because the vizier came to operate as military commander in the absence of the sultan, he was appointed, early in the 9th/15th century, from the ranks of the commanders (*ümerāʾ*). Even then the term *ṣadr* continued to be employed in its original general sense of "prominent, high *ʿulemāʾ* dignitary" and, as such, was the common title of the two *ḳāḍī ʿaskers*, sc. the *ṣadr* of Rumeli and of Anatolia (*Rumeli ṣadrī, Anadolu ṣadrī*), and even, though less often, for the *sheykh ül-islām* as *ṣadr-ī fetwā*. Inasmuch as many of the *ümerāʾ*, and especially, a majority of the highest ranking *ümerāʾ* beys, were of slave and *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] origin, the functional shift in the vizierate from the *ʿulemāʾ* to the *ümerāʾ* also implied an ethnic shift away from the Turkish-Muslim-born to those of slave-*dewshirme* origin, especially (but not exclusively) from the imperial household. As such, this shift was a prominent feature in the exaltation of the sultan in the polity. When the number of viziers or *ümerāʾ* commanders to serve in the imperial council (*dīwān-ī humāyūn* [*q.v.*])

was increased first to three and later to five in the 9th/15th century, the chief vizier was distinguished from the others and called the "first" or "greatest" (*wezīr-i ewwel* or *ekber* or *aʿẓam*; see further, WAZĪR).

The *ṣadr aʿẓam*, upon appointment directly by the sultan as absolute deputy (*wekīl-i muṭlaḳ*), was given the sultan's golden signet (*ṭughra*) ring which he carried with him at all times worn around his neck on a silk cord; thus *ṣāḥib-i mühr* (holder of the seal) was another term used for him. However, the reference in the *ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*] of Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] specified the Grand Vizier as the "head of the *wüzerāʾ* and *ümerāʾ*", implying that his authority was limited to military-administrative matters (and did not extend to *ʿulemāʾ* affairs and appointments), in spite of the statement, practically in the same breath, that he is the "absolute deputy in all matters" (*djümle umūruñ wekīl-i muṭlaḳidir*). Neither was his position vs. the *defterdār* (chief of the treasury [*q.v.*]) clear-cut; the latter was independent in his own sphere in his capacity as the minister of the sultan's own treasury (*mālīmīn wekīli*, "the deputy for my treasury") although the Grand Vizier was named his *nāẓir* or supervisor (*Ḳānūn-nāme-yi āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Meḥmed ʿĀrif, in *TOEM*, Suppl. [1330 A.H.], 10). Even in the late 10th/16th century, when the sultan's treasury had become, for all practical purposes, the state treasury, a *defterdār* accused of corruption was not tried by the imperial council on the grounds that he was directly responsible to the sultan.

From the time of Meḥemmed II, the sultan stopped routinely attending meetings of the imperial council and, from the mid-10th/16th century, he was hardly even present; he left it to the *ṣadr aʿẓam*, as the deputy, to chair the proceedings. After the council meeting, the *ṣadr aʿẓam* would report in person to the sultan by reading a *telkhīṣ* (précis) of the most important matters discussed. Sometime during the reign of Murād III [*q.v.*], instead of reading the *telkhīṣ* face-to-face with the sultan, the *ṣadr aʿẓam* was required to send in his *telkhīṣ* and await written instructions, especially on appointments (for examples of *telkhīṣ* and analysis of its significance, cf. Cengiz Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, Istanbul 1970 and Suraiya Faroqhi, *Das telḫīs, eine aktenkundlische Studie*, in *Isl.*, xlv [1969], 96-116).

This change allowed the inner circle of the palace, rather than the vizier, to have the sultan's ear and influence decisions. Consequently, in the first half of the 11th/17th century the *istiḳlāl* (independence) of the vizier, that is, independence of action free from undue influence of persons close to the ruler—his mother the dowager sultan (*wālide sulṭān*) or his consort (*khāṣṣeki*) or companions (*muṣāḥib*)—emerged as one of the most important political issues in the affairs of the empire. Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] claims that in 1066/1656, at a moment of internal and external crisis, Köprülü [*q.v.*] Meḥmed Pasha accepted the grand vizierate only after the young sultan Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*] and his mother Turkhān Sulṭān agreed to his conditions of absolute independence in affairs of state (for an analysis of this appointment, cf. M. Kunt, *Naʾima, Köprülü, and the grand vezirate*, in *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi—Hümaniter Bilimler*, i [1973], 57-63). The sultan and the dowager were so pleased with the old vizier's competent and wise service that, on his death five years later, he was succeeded in office by his son. Indeed, the Köprülü household supplied no less than seven Grand Viziers in the next half century, providing, after the Djandarlî [*q.v.*] family of the late 8th/14th to mid 9th/15th century, a second case of a vizierial dynasty (see also İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Çandarlı vezir ailesi*, Ankara 1974). It is in this period of restoration of vizierial authority that the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Tewḳi-ʿī ʿAbd ul-Raḥmān Pasha (1087/1676-7, published in *MTM*, i/3 [1331], 506 ff.) speaks of very comprehensive and far-reaching duties and powers of the office, without the limitations and the constraints of the two-centuries earlier *ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II. Barely 20 years later, however, a particularly ambitious *sheykh ül-islām*, Feyḍ Allāh Efendi, with the full support of the reigning sultan, Muṣṭafa II [*q.v.*], attempted to dominate the Grand Vizier: this was one of the causes of the rebellion and constitutional crisis of 1115/1703.

In 1837, at the height of Maḥmūd II's [*q.v.*] programme of political restructuring, the title *ṣadr aʿẓam* was converted to *bashwekīl*, chief minister, while at the same time the deliberative function of the imperial council was divided among several new councils. These measures served to reduce both the position of the vizier as absolute deputy and the independence and centrality of government: the ruler and his palace once again became the focus of political as well as administrative life. Maḥmūd II died soon afterwards, in 1839, and the forceful Khüsrew Pasha took over power, restoring both the title and the authority of *ṣadr aʿẓam*, at the accession of the young and diffident ʿAbd al-Medjīd [*q.v.*]. In the early years of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's [*q.v.*] reign, there were two more, equally unsuccessful, attempts to change the title to *bashwekīl*: this time, however, the impetus came not from the sultan but from reformist ministers, for the purpose of establishing the principle of a government sharing collective responsibility to parliament. In the event, even after the constitution was restored in 1908, *ṣadr aʿẓam* remained the title for the chief minister until the end of the sultanate, though now he was responsible to parliament (for an analysis of the grand vizier's position during the transformation of governmental and administrative institutions in the reform period, see C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton 1980, 141, 153, 240 ff.).

Bibliography: In addition to items mentioned in the text, see Pakalın, s.vv. *Sadrazam* and *Vezir*, providing extensive details and comments; the most comprehensive discussion is in İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 111-79; both the *Osmanlı tarihi* sponsored by the Türk Tarih Kurumu (authors, Uzunçarşılı and E.Z. Karal), 7 vols., Ankara 1948-59, and İ.H. Danişmend's *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, 4 vols., Istanbul 1947-55, include lists and brief biographical sketches of all grand viziers; Gibb and Bowen, especially i/1, 107-37, is still useful; for an excellent study of the palace of Süleymān the Magnificent's famous vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], see Nurhan Atasoy, *İbrahim Paşa Sarayı*, Istanbul 1972; the closest we have to a biographical study of a grand vizier is R. Dankoff's translation of relevant passages in Evliya Çelebi, *The intimate life of an Ottoman statesman, Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588-1662)*, New York 1991.

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ṢADR AL-DĪN [see MULLĀ ṢADRĀ SHĪRĀZĪ].

ṢADR AL-DĪN ARDABĪLĪ (Shaykh Ṣadr al-Milla wa 'l-Dīn Mūsā), second son of Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī [*q.v.*], born 1 Shawwāl 704/26 April 1305 (Shaykh Ḥusayn b. Abdāl Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafawiyya*, Iranschähr Publications no. 6, Berlin 1924-5, 39). Designated by his father as his successor and vicegerent (*khalīfa wa nāʾib-munāb*), Ṣadr al-Dīn assumed the leadership of the Ṣafawid Order in 735/1334. He expanded the Ṣafawid mausoleum complex at Ardabīl, adding rooms for private meditation (*khalwat-khāna*), a residence for Ḳurʾān-readers (*dār al-ḥuffāẓ*), and a room (*čīnī-khāna*) which later housed

Shah ʿAbbās I's *waḳf* of porcelain to the shrine (see J.A. Pope, *Chinese porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, Washington 1956).

Although the powerful Mongol *amīr* Čūbān [see ČŪBĀNIDS] had professed to be a disciple (*murīd*) of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn (Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, éd. V. Véliaminov-Zernof, 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1860-2, ii, 132-3), Amīr Čūbān's son, Malik Ashraf, possibly alarmed by Ṣadr al-Dīn's growing political influence, threw him into jail at Tabrīz. He released him after three months, but again tried to seize him; this time Ṣadr al-Dīn escaped to Gīlān. When Djānī Beg Maḥmūd, ruler of the Blue Horde of Western Ḳipčāḳ (742-58/1341-57) [see BATUʾIDS] overthrew Malik Ashraf and put him to death in 758/1357, Ṣadr al-Dīn returned to Ardabīl, but Djānī Beg's promise to allot all Ṣafawid lands to the Shaykh in the form of a *soyūrghāl* had not been enacted before Djānī Beg's death (*Silsilat al-nasab*, 42-3); see also B. Spuler, *The Muslim world*, ii, *The Mongol period*, Leiden 1960, 54-5, and J.B. van Loon, *Taʾrīkh-i Shaykh Uways*, The Hague 1954, 11).

Ṣadr al-Dīn died in 794/1391-2, and was buried in the Ardabīl sanctuary (*Silsilat al-nasab*, 45). He left three sons: Khwādja ʿAlī (who succeeded him as head of the Ṣafawid Order); Shihāb al-Dīn and Djamāl al-Dīn (*ibid.*, 40).

Bibliography: Given in the text.

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ṢADR AL-DĪN ʿAYNĪ, Russian form SADRIDDIN AYNI, one of the leading figures in the 20th century cultural life of Central Asia and in Tadjik literature (1878-1954).

He began as a representative of the reform movement amongst the Muslims of Imperial Russia, that of the Djadīdīds [see DJADĪD]. A formal education at the traditional *madrasas* of Bukhārā left him intellectually unsatisfied. In the early part of his career he was a talented poet in both Tadjik and Uzbek, but after 1905 he became increasingly involved in the social and educational aspects of Djadīdism. In 1917 he espoused the cause of the revolutionary movements and, eventually, that of the Bolsheviks, and when in 1920 the Tadjik S.S.R. was set up, he held leading positions in its cultural life, becoming the first President of the Tadjik Academy of Sciences and retaining this office until his death. He now turned from poetry to prose-writing in a wide variety of fields—literary criticism, history and novels in both Tadjik and Uzbek, culminating in his unfinished memoirs (*Yād-dāsht-hā*/*Yod-dosht-ho*, 4 vols., Stalinabad 1949-54). He is thus the dominant figure in the prose of socialist realism, as also in the moulding of modern Tadjik literature in general.

Bibliography: J. Bečka, in Rypka *et alii, History of Iranian literatures*, Dordrecht 1968, 523-4, 535, 559-64; J. Průšek (general ed.), *Dictionary of oriental literatures. iii. Western Asia and North Africa*, London 1974, 24-5; Bečka, *Sadridin Ayni, father of modern Tajik culture*, Naples 1980; K. Hitchins, in E. Yarshater (ed.), *Persian literature*, Albany 1988, 457-60, 462-3, 467-8. (ED.)

ṢADR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ISḤĀḲ B. MUḤAMMAD B. YŪNUS **AL-ḲŪNAWĪ** (b. 605/1207, d. 16 Muḥarram 673/22 July 1274), disciple of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] and author of influential works on theoretical Ṣūfism.

Ibn al-ʿArabī met Madjd al-Dīn Isḥāḳ al-Rūmī, Ḳūnawī's father, in Mecca in 600/1203 and subsequently travelled with him to Anatolia. A source from the late 7th/13th century tells us that after Madjd al-Dīn's death, Ibn al-ʿArabī married his widow and adopted his son Ṣadr al-Dīn (B. Furūzānfar, *Manāḳib-i Awḥad al-Dīn ... Kirmānī*, Tehran 1347/1968, 84); the fact that Ḳūnawī himself never mentions this is not surprising, given his extreme reticence concerning personal matters. The same source (85) tells us that Ibn al-ʿArabī entrusted Ṣadr al-Dīn for a time to the guidance of his friend Shaykh Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. 635/1238), and this is confirmed by a manuscript letter in which Ḳūnawī says that he was Kirmānī's companion for two years, travelling with him as far as Shīrāz (Chittick, *Faith and practice of Islam*, Albany 1992, 261). By the time he was twenty, Ḳūnawī appears among the listeners to Ibn al-ʿArabī's works in a *samāʿ* dated 626/1229 (O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Damascus 1964, 141). He seems to have remained with his *shaykh* until the latter's death in 638/1240; his name is recorded in many *samāʿ*s deriving from this period. Presumably, the *fatḥ kullī*, or total unveiling of the invisible world, that he mentions as occurring in Damascus (*al-Nafaḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 12) occurred at this time.

Ḳūnawī was teaching, probably in Konya, by the year 643/1245-6, when he led a group of scholars to Cairo and taught Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tāʾiyya* on the way [see SAʿĪD AL-DĪN FARGHĀNĪ]. Little can be gleaned about his life from his works other than occasional references to instances in which he gained visionary knowledge. Thus, for example, on the night of 17 Shawwāl 653/19 November 1255, Ibn al-ʿArabī appeared to him and confirmed that he was his preeminent disciple, even greater than his son Saʿd al-Dīn (*al-Nafaḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 152-3; partial Persian tr. in Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Tawḥīdīpūr, Tehran 1336/1957, 556-7). Ḳūnawī reports that he did not receive oral explanation from Ibn al-ʿArabī concerning most of his works, but instead gained knowledge of them through God's effusion (*al-Fukūk*, ed. Khwādjawī, 240). In his *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn* (ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1959), Aflākī recounts several anecdotes showing that Ḳūnawī had a highly favourable view of Rūmī, and he contrasts Rūmī's simplicity with the sumptuous scholarly trappings of Ḳūnawī's circle (e.g. 95-6). Among Ḳūnawī's important students were ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī, Saʿīd al-Dīn Farghānī [*q.vv.*], and Muʾayyid al-Dīn Djandī (d. *ca.* 700/1300), author of the most influential commentary on Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. Farghānī is especially important because his *Mashāriḳ al-darārī* represents summaries of Ḳūnawī's teachings far more detailed than any of Ḳūnawī's own works. The scientist and philosopher Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] studied parts of *Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl fī aḥādīth al-rasūl* by Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr with him in the year 673 (H. Ritter, *Autographs in Turkish libraries*, in *Oriens*, vi [1953], 63-90).

The works ascribed to Ḳūnawī can be divided into those that are unquestionably authentic and those concerning which some doubts remain. The most important works in the first category are the following:

1. *Iʿdjāz al-bayān fī tafsīr umm al-ḳurʾān* or *Tafsīr al-fātiḥa* (published as *Iʿdjāz al-bayān*, Ḥaydarābād-Deccan 1949; and as *al-Tafsīr al-ṣūfī li 'l-Ḳurʾān*, ed. ʿA. Aḥmad ʿAṭāʾ, Cairo 1969). Both printed editions leave out the author's rather extensive marginal notes. This is Ḳūnawī's longest and perhaps most important work.

2. *Sharḥ al-ḥadīth al-arbaʿīn* (ed. H.K. Yılmaz, *Tasavvufî hadis şerhleri ve Konevînin kırk hadis şerhi*, Istanbul 1990). Ḳūnawī died after commenting on only 29 *ḥadīth*s. The commentary on *ḥadīth*s nos. 21-2 is extensive and provides important elucidations of Ḳūnawī's teachings on imagination and other matters.

3. *Sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*. A relatively concise explanation of the ninety-nine names of God and their traces on the human level.

4. *al-Fukūk* or *Fakk al-khutūm* (ed. M. Khwādjawī, Tehran 1413/1992; printed on the margin of Kāshānī, *Sharḥ manāzil al-sāʾirīn*, Tehran 1315/1897-8). A short commentary on the essential themes of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, focusing on the implications of the chapter headings.

5. *Miftāḥ al-ghayb* (published on the margin of Muḥammad al-Fanārī, *Miṣbāḥ al-ins bayn al-maʿḳūl wa 'l-manḳūl fī sharḥ miftāḥ ghayb al-djamʿ wa 'l-wudjūd*, Tehran 1323/1905; partial ed. and French tr. S. Ruspoli, *La clé du monde suprasensible*, diss., Paris IV 1978). This has always been considered Ḳūnawī's key work; it was taught in Persian *madrasas* after students had mastered the most difficult texts in philosophy. At least nine commentaries have been written on it, mostly in Turkey. One of the more interesting is by 'Abd Allāh Mullā Ilāhī, written in Persian at the command of Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ; the author makes several asides to the ruler in the midst of the text, indicating that he was expecting him to read it (see Chittick, *Sultan Burhān al-Dīn's Sufi correspondence*, in *WZKM*, lxxiii [1981], 37-8).

6. *al-Nafaḥāt al-ilāhiyya* (Tehran 1316/1898), a series of about fifty "inspired breaths", along with other miscellaneous texts including at least 17 letters written to various friends and disciples. Many of the passages refer to Ḳūnawī's visionary experiences.

7. *al-Nuṣūṣ* (ed. S.Dj. Āshtiyānī, Tehran 1362/1983; appended to Kāshānī, *Sharḥ manāzil al-sāʾirīn, ed. cit.*; and appended to Ibn Turka, *Tamhīd al-ḳawāʿid*, Tehran 1315/1897-8). A collection of 21 texts that pertain exclusively to the "station of perfection"; the longest (no. 20), which is taken from the first section of *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*, is perhaps Ḳūnawī's most comprehensive exposition of the doctrine that later came to be known as *waḥdat al-wudjūd*.

8-9. *al-Mufāwaḍāt* (forthcoming critical ed. by Gudrun Schubert). A correspondence initiated by Ḳūnawī with Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*]. Ḳūnawī's first treatise, *al-Mufṣiḥa ʿan muntahā 'l-afkār wa-sabab ikhtilāf al-umam*, addresses the weakness of human reason and poses a series of questions for Ṭūsī; a good portion of the introductory material is drawn from the beginning of *Iʿdjāz al-bayān*. His second treatise, *al-Hādiya*, responds to Ṭūsī's replies (for details on the contents, see Chittick, *Mysticism vs. philosophy in earlier Islamic history: the al-Ṭūsī, al-Qūnawī correspondence*, in *Religious Studies*, xvii [1981], 87-104).

Minor works include the following: 10. *al-Ilmāʿ bi-baʿḍ kulliyyāt asrār al-samāʿ*. A long letter to ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī describing how, when Ḳūnawī was circumambulating the Kaʿba, the meaning of certain verses he had heard suddenly became clear to him. 11. *Nafthat al-maṣdūr wa-tuḥfat al-shakūr*, or *Rashḥ al-bāl bi-sharḥ al-ḥāl*, containing about 50 pages of intimate mystical prayers. This work was sent by mistake to Ṭūsī along with work no. 8, and he offered polite criticism of it in his response. 12. *al-Risāla al-hādiya al-murshidiyya*, also called *al-Risāla al-tawadjdjuhiyya* and *Risālat al-tawadjdjuh al-atamm*. This short work, of which a Persian translation was prepared during Ḳūnawī's lifetime, provides practical instructions concerning the remembrance of God (French tr. M. Valsan, *L'épître sur l'orientation parfaite*, in *Études traditionnelles*, lxvii [1966], 241-68). 13. *Waṣiyya*. A short last will, which mentions among other things Ḳūnawī's close relationship with Ibn al-ʿArabī and Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī. Ḳūnawī advises his disciples to avoid theoretical issues and concentrate on the practical instructions provided in work no. 12. His books on philosophy should be sold and the remaining books made into an endowment, and his own writings should be given to ʿAfīf al-Dīn. A second version adds the names of four people to whom money should be given and tells his daughter Sakīna that she should be careful to observe her ritual obligations (tr. of the first version in Chittick, *The Last Will and Testament of Ibn ʿArabī's foremost disciple and some notes on its author*, in *Sophia Perennis*, iv/1 [1978], 43-58; text of second in Ergin, *Sadraddīn al-Qunawi ve eserleri*, 82-3). Several letters and brief Persian treatises are also extant.

Works of questionable attribution include the following (for others of less likely authenticity, see Brockelmann, G I², 585-6, S I, 807-8): 1. *Mirʾāt al-ʿārifīn fī multamas Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn*. A relatively short discussion of cosmology in Ḳūnawī's characteristic style. Text and English tr. in S.H. Askari, *Reflection of the awakened*, London 1981. 2. *Taḥrīr al-bayān fī taḳrīr shuʿab al-īmān*. This and the following work, both relatively short, are attributed to Ḳūnawī in some manuscripts and reflect his style and concerns. 3. *Marātib al-taḳwā*. 4. *Kitāb al-Lumʿa al-nūrāniyya fī ḥall mushkilāt al-shadjarat al-nuʿmāniyya*. Commentary on a diagram that Ibn al-ʿArabī is said to have drawn up to illustrate the general direction of future events in Egypt [see MALḤAMA]. 5. *Tabṣirat al-mubtadī wa-tadhkirat al-muntahī*. A Persian work that is most likely by one Naṣīr or Nāṣir al-Dīn (tr. in Chittick, *Faith and practice of Islam*, Albany 1992; discussion of authorship at 255-62).

In contrast to Ibn al-ʿArabī, Ḳūnawī focuses on a relatively small number of issues, thereby singling them out as the most essential teachings of his master. His mode of exposition is in no way indebted to Ibn al-ʿArabī or to anyone else (a point he sometimes stresses e.g. *Iʿdjāz*, 147; *Nuṣūṣ*, 22). His major themes are perhaps best summarised in the last section of *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*, in which he proposes a series of questions that he then sets out to answer (282-3): What is the reality of the human being? From what, in what, and how did he come into existence? Who brought him into existence and why? What is the goal of his existence? Briefly, Ḳūnawī answers these questions by describing the modes in which *wudjūd* may and may not be known, the manner in which existent things are differentiated within *wudjūd* through the influence of the divine names, and the way in which the perfect human being (*al-insān al-kāmil*) brings *wudjūd* to full fruition. His essential point is that only the perfect human being manifests all divine names in perfect balance and equilibrium, thereby standing at the centre point of the circle of *wudjūd* and not coming under the influence of any specific attributes. Every other created thing manifests specific names of God and is dominated by either oneness or manyness. Although this theme is also found in Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings, it is not so clearly presented as the key doctrine. Ibn al-ʿArabī roots his teachings in the Ḳurʾān and the *Ḥadīth*, but Ḳūnawī employs a more abstract vocabulary that is much more reminiscent of texts on philosophy, and he highlights a number of technical terms that play no special role in Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings, even though they become basic points of discussion in later works. These include *al-ḥaḍarā al-ilāhiyya al-khams, kamāl al-djalāʾ wa 'l-istidjlāʾ, iʿtidāl*, and *taʿayyun* (for an outline of Ḳūnawī's teachings, see the introduction to Chittick and P.L. Wilson, *Fakhrud-din ʿIrāqī: Divine flashes*, New York 1982). The key term *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, although found in at least one passage of Ḳūnawī's works, has no special technical significance for him. In the works of Farghānī based

on Ḳūnawī's lectures, the term is used in a way that is not picked up by later authors (see Chittick, *Rūmī and* waḥdat al-wujūd, in *The heritage of Rumi*, ed. A. Banani and G. Sabagh, Cambridge, forthcoming).

Ḳūnawī's importance needs to be understood in light of Ibn al-ᶜArabī's pervasive influence on the schools of theoretical Ṣūfism, philosophy and *kalām*. Djāmī had already recognised that Ḳūnawī was the primary interpreter of Ibn al-ᶜArabī's teachings (*Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 556). In effect, the later intellectual tradition read Ibn al-ᶜArabī's works according to the interpretation of Ḳūnawī and his immediate disciples. His role is symbolised by the correspondence he initiated with Ṭūsī. In the Persian letter that accompanies *al-Hādiya*, Ḳūnawī explains that he initiated the correspondence in order to combine the rational approach of the philosophers with the "unveiling" (*kashf*) of the Verifiers. In the correspondence, Ḳūnawī reveals himself as thoroughly familiar with Avicenna's writings and with Ṭūsī's commentary on Avicenna's *al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*; his philosophical bent, in any case, is already obvious in other writings. Far more than Ibn al-ᶜArabī, he employs clear and reasoned argumentation to demonstrate his conclusions, even if he also depends explicitly upon mystical intuition. Largely because of the themes that Ḳūnawī establishes in *al-Fukūk* and in the oral teachings that are reflected in the works of his students, the mainstream of Ibn al-ᶜArabī's school of thought came to stress certain dimensions of the master's teachings that are not necessarily central to his own writings. This explains Michel Chodkiewicz's remark that Ḳūnawī "a donné à la doctrine de son maître une formulation philosophique sans doute nécessaire mais dont le systématisme a engendré bien des malentendus" (*Épître sur l'Unicité Absolue*, Paris 1982, 26).

Bibliography: C. Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur: the life of Ibn ᶜArabī*, Cambridge 1993, *passim*; W.C. Chittick, *The circle of spiritual ascent according to al-Qūnawī*, in *Neoplatonism and Islamic thought*, ed. P. Morewedge, Albany 1992, 179-209; idem, *The five Divine Presences: from al-Qūnawī to al-Qayṣarī*, in *MW*, lxxii (1982), 107-28; idem, *Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī on the oneness of being*, in *International Philosophical Quarterly*, xxi (1981), 171-84; Nihat Keklik, *Sadreddin Konevî'nin felsefesinde. Allah-kâinât ve insan*, Istanbul 1967; *Selçuk Dergisi. Sadreddin Konevî özel sayısı*, iv (1989). On manuscripts of Kūnawī's works, see Osman Ergin, *Sadraddin al-Qunawi ve eserleri*, in *Şarkiyat mecmuası*, ii (1957), 63-90; Khʷādjawī, introd. to Kūnawī, *al-Fukūk*, 32-9.

(W.C. Chittick)

ṢADR AL-DĪN MŪSĀ, the son and successor of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī [*q.v.*] and the founder at Ardabīl of the Ṣafawī order which stemmed from Shaykh Zāhid Gīlānī (d. 700/1301). Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn was born in 704/1305 from Ṣafī al-Dīn's second marriage with Bībī Fāṭima, daughter of Shaykh Zāhid, and died in 794/1391-2, according to the *Silsilat al-nasab-i ṣafawiyya*, hence dying aged 90 having directed the Ṣafawī order for 59 years. Although the hagio-biographical and historical sources concerning him have to be treated with caution, they allow us to trace the essential features of his long career as head of the order.

After the death of his eldest brother Muḥyī al-Dīn in 724/1324-5, Ṣadr al-Dīn replaced him in his function as *khalīfa*, and replaced his father, as his spiritual and material heir, when the latter fell ill before his death, although it seems that Ṣafī al-Dīn's sons were at odds with each other, above all regarding their father's material legacy. Being then 30, Ṣadr al-Dīn achieved the succession without any overt opposition, and at a point when, after the Il Khān Abū Saᶜīd's death (736/1335), the Mongol clan of the Čopans/Čubāns of the Sulduz tribe were disputing over the succession with the Djalāyir tribe, and Ardabīl, the *dār al-irshād* of the Ṣafawiyya, changed hands several times. Originally favoured by the Čopanid Malik Ashraf, he fell out with him and had to flee from Ardabīl with his *khalīfas* and *murīds* to Gīlān; it was the protection of the Khān of Ḳîpčaḳ, Djānī Beg Maḥmūd, of the Golden Horde, who gave protection to Ṣadr al-Dīn and the Ṣafawiyya. When the Djalāyirids led by Uways secured control over Ādharbaydjān in 761/1361, the situation of the order improved. Uways allotted Ardabīl as a *soyurghal* [*q.v.*] to his son Aḥmad, and the latter confirmed and renewed in a *farmān* the established fiscal privileges and revenues of Ṣadr al-Dīn and the order (document of 773/1372 ed. by Massé, Ḳazwīnī, Bayānī, etc.). Despite the influence and respect which Ṣadr al-Dīn enjoyed, the hagio-biographical sources and the documents do not show that he claimed the title of *sayyid* or that he was considered as such during his lifetime, although there were later falsifications allegedly proving an ᶜAlid descent for the Ṣafawids, one of the bases of their claim to dynastic legitimacy.

After his eldest brother's death, Ṣadr al-Dīn is presented as the closest and most favoured of Ṣafī al-Dīn's sons, with other sons relegated to the second rank. He was certainly influential on the material plane, and it is with him that the family's ambitions in acquiring extensive estates and other landed property take shape. Only a small part of these were constituted as *waḳf* proper, the remainder being acquired in full personal ownership (*milk*) or in the shape of family *waḳf* and transmissible to the family's descendants. These acquisitions were purchased from the *amīrs* or from other Turco-Mongol and Mongol nobles, and from other notables; sometimes they were obtained by questionable means, and this gave rise to litigation and conflicts, in particular between the Djuwaynī and Ṣafawī families. As well as the revenues accruing from his direction (*tawliya*) of these sources of wealth, Ṣadr al-Dīn must have had a substantial personal fortune, especially as his mother died soon after his father, as did his brother Abū Saᶜīd and his two halfbrothers ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn and Sharaf al-Dīn. His properties in the region of Ardabīl included villages and shops, and some of these were acquired to the detriment of local notable families. His sons Shihāb al-Dīn and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn were equally active in amassing properties. Apparently through a sense of politics as much as by family sentiment, Ṣadr al-Dīn extended his care and control over the whole of the Ṣafawī family.

With these riches, Ṣadr al-Dīn contributed extensively to the growth of the Ardabīl shrine, which became a complex worthy of the order's prestige and importance. The construction of Ṣafī al-Dīn's tomb, completed towards 1344, is said to have taken ten years. The *Dār al-Ḥuffāẓ* was built on the site of a demolished *zāwiya*, and the building (or perhaps reconstruction?) of various buildings, whose original functions are uncertain, is attributed to him, including one called a *čīnī-khāna* in Shāh ᶜAbbās I's time, a *čilla-khāna* and a *shahīd-gāh*.

With the respect behind him of the Mongol and Turkmen authorities, Ṣadr al-Dīn continued his father's work for the extension of the Ṣafawiyya order, in particular, by sending out *khalīfas* to places like Georgia. The most famous of these *khalīfas*, a controversial figure on account of his heterodox, Ḥurūfī

doctrines [see ḤURŪFIYYA] was Shāh Ḳāsim al-Anwār [see ḲĀSIM-I ANWĀR], his envoy to Khurāsān, who also had links with Shāh Niʿmat Allāh [see NIʿMAT-ALLĀHIYYA]. According to an apparently late tradition, Ṣadr al-Dīn is said to have made the pilgrimage in 770/1368-9 and to have brought back from his visit to the Prophet's tomb in Medina a banner allegedly belonging to Fāṭima and two tambourines used ritually at Ardabīl. He is said to have asked the *Sharīf* of Mecca for his genealogical tree. But as with his father and other Ṣafawī *shaykhs*, he has left no work behind for us to get an idea of the range of his knowledge. Like his father, too, Ṣadr al-Dīn was a mediocre theologian but endowed with great charisma and famed for his Ṣūfī teaching. This fame seems to have gone beyond the Turco-Persian world, for his contemporary Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*] honours him with the title of *shaykh al-shuyūkh* (*ʿIbar*, Beirut 1951, v, 1171).

On his return from the Pilgrimage, Ṣadr al-Dīn is said to have appointed his eldest son Khʷādja ʿAlī as his *khalīfa* and *nāʾib* and to have entrusted to him before his death the spiritual direction and teaching of his disciples (*sadjdjāda-yi irshād wa tarbiyat-i ʿibād*). It seems nevertheless that another son, Shihāb al-Dīn, acted as *shaykh* of the Ṣafawiyya for some time after his father's death, according to some documents. There may conceivably have been more division between *irshād* and *tawliyat*. Whatever the case, it was, according to the official Ṣafawid version, Khʷādja ʿAlī who, probably because of his influence and "meetings" with Tīmūr, was considered as his father's successor after the latter's death in 794/1391-2. Ṣadr al-Dīn was buried at Ardabīl near his father.

Bibliography: This is given substantially in the article ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN ARDABĪLĪ, but see also J. Aubin, *La propriété foncière en Azerbaydjan sous les Mongols*, in *Le Monde iranien et l'Islam*, iv (1976-7), 79-132 (see genealogical table of the Ṣafawiyya at 86-7); idem, *Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zāhid Gīlānī (1218?-1301)*, in *Turcica*, xxi-xxiii (1991) (= *Mélanges Irène Melikoff*); idem, *De Kûhbanân à Bidar. La famille Niʿmatullahî*, in *StIr*, xx (1991-2), 233-61; H. Horst, *Tīmūr und Ḫoǧa ʿAlī*, Wiesbaden 1958; A.H. Morton, *The Ardabil shrine in the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xii (1974), 31-64, xiii (1975), 39-58; H. Sohrweide, *Der Sieg der Ṣafawiden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 95-223; H. Zirke, *Ein hagiographisches Zeugnis zur persischen Geschichte aus der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Das achte Kapitel des Ṣafwat aṣ-ṣafā in kritischer Bearbeitung*, Berlin 1987. (J. CALMARD)

ṢADR AL-ṢUDŪR [see ṢADR].

SADRĀTA, a place in Algeria, founded in 296/908 at 8 km/5 miles to the south-west of Wardjilān (Ouargla) in the territory of the confederation of *ḳṣūr* of the Isedrāten, by the last Rustamid Imām, after the destruction of the principality of Tāhart [*q.v.*] by the Fāṭimids. Its fame is linked with the history of the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib. An Ibādī scholar, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī al-Wardjilānī (d. 570/1174-5) compiled there the *musnad* of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb, based essentially on the tradition of Abū ʿUbayda (ed. Masḳaṭ 1325/1908 under the title of *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*).

The town was razed to the ground in 467/1074, and its people took refuge in Ouargla and in the Mzāb.

Bibliography: See those to IBĀḌIYYA, MZĀB, WARGLA, to which should be added ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, xiii, 267; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 214. (ED.)

AL-ṢAFĀ (A.), literally "hard, smooth stone", whence also "tract of stony ground".

1. Al-Ṣafā is the name of a mound at Mecca which now rises barely above the level of the ground and which, together with the slightly higher, similar eminence of al-Marwa, plays an important role in the ceremonies or *manāsik* of the Meccan Pilgrimage. The names al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (this last also sometimes qualified, e.g. by the local historian al-Azraḳī [*q.v.*], as *al-Bayḍāʾ* "the white") both mean "the stone(s)" (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, *ad* sūra II, 153/158). The twin hillocks mark the beginning and conclusion of the course taken by the pilgrims (the *muʿtamir* performing the *ʿumra* and the *ḥādjdj* performing the *ḥadjdj*), sc. the *masʿā* or *masīl*, whose traversing forms the *saʿy* [*q.v.*], the prelude to the *ḥadjdj* proper.

According to tradition (see e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, *bāb* 9), the *saʿy* between the two hillocks commemorates the fact that Hādjar ran backwards and forwards seven times between these two eminences to look for a spring for her thirsty son. It is certain that cults were located at al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, even in the pre-Islamic period. According to most traditions, there were two stone idols there, Isāf on al-Ṣafā and Nāʾila on al-Marwa, which the pagan Arabs on their *saʿy* used to touch. On the origin of these images, the following story is given in the commentary of al-Nīsābūrī on sūra II, 153/158, and al-Shāfiʿī gives his approval to it: Isāf and Nāʾila were guilty of indecent conduct in the Kaʿba and were therefore turned into stones, which were placed on the two pieces of raised ground al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa to be a warning to all. In course of time, the origin of the stone figures was forgotten and people began to pay them divine worship [see further, ISĀF WA-NĀʾILA]. According to another tradition, there were copper images there (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, 26); according to a third story, demons lived on the two hills who shrieked at night (given in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 397; Th.W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, 136-7; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden 1880, 114 = *Verspr. Geschriften*, i, 76-7; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², Berlin 1897, 77; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke, étude d'histoire religieuse*, Paris 1923, 225-34; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan festivals*, New York 1951, 30-1, 46; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968, 105 ff., 165-6, 210. See also ḤADJDJ; MAKKA; SAʿY. (B. JOEL*)

2. It is further the name of a volcanic region of *ca.* 55 × 25 km to the south-east of Damascus. It is trapezoid and runs north-west/south-east, to the south of the Dīrat al-Tulūl and north-east of Djabal al-ʿArab (Djabal al-Durūz or Djabal Ḥawrān). It forms the southern and south-eastern borders respectively of Mardj Rāhiṭ and Mardj al-Ṣuffar [*q.vv.*], the scenes of several notable battles in the Islamic period.

The name has sometimes, incorrectly, been extended to cover the whole *ḥarra*, or basalt desert, east of Djabal al-ʿArab, particularly in connection with the misnamed "Safaitic" inscriptions [*q.v.*].

The Ṣafā proper is composed of three distinct volcanic cones, Tulūl Raghayla (873 m), Tulūl al-Ḍurs (or Ḍarāʾir or Ḍahīr) (860 m) and Tulūl al-Ṣafā (741 m), the first two being separated from the third by a depression, between one and five km wide, known as Miftāḥ al-Ghayla.

The whole area is covered with the twisted and uneven lava flows from extensive volcanic eruptions in the Holocene, which have suffered very little erosion. Movement within the massif is consequently extremely difficult and there is only one track across it, all others running around its edges.

The lack of erosion means that there is very little

soil, and vegetation is limited to a few small, scattered areas free of rocks. However, there is a forest of pistachio trees spread over a dozen km on the south-western edge of the Tulūl al-Ṣafā.

With the exception of the Miftāḥ al-Ghayla, the interior of the Ṣafā is too barren and too difficult of access to attract settlement, or even the attentions of nomads. However, it is bordered on all sides, except the north, by fertile silt-filled depressions, such as the Ruḥba, which are fed by the seasonal floods from Djabal al-ʿArab. These depressions are known as *riḥāb* (sing. *raḥaba*) and are not, as some writers assume, *ḳīʿān* (sing. *ḳāʿ*), of which the soil is sterile. Some of the water from the winter floods passes into underground channels and some runs on to the *riḥāb*, forming lakes which can last for several months. This compensates to some extent for the low rainfall in this area (mean 100 mm p.a., with considerable variations).

The availability of water, together with the fertility of the soil, has attracted nomads to these *riḥāb* from the Epipalaeolithic onwards. Traces of prehistoric campsites, and graffiti by nomads of the Hellenistic and Roman periods [see SAFAITIC] have been found in large numbers near the *riḥāb* on the eastern and south-western edges of the Ṣafā, while, in the 19th century, Wetzstein (30-1) describes the Ghayāth section of the Ahl al-Djabal sowing grain on the Ruḥba.

The semi-nomadic tribes known as ʿArab al-Ṣafā (Dussaud and Macler, 52-3) are not in fact resident in the Ṣafā but spend most of their time in the Ḥarra of Wādī Rādjil, the basalt desert to the south-east of it.

On present knowledge, sedentary occupation seems to have been restricted to the edges of the Ṣafā and to have occurred only in the Early Bronze Age (e.g. Khirbat al-Ḍabʿ), and the Byzantine/Umayyad period (e.g. Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: J.G. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, Berlin 1860, 6-18, 30-2, 61-6 (still very useful); R. Dussaud and F. Macler, *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*, Paris 1903, 49-52 (historical conclusions to be treated with caution); Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 371-81; F. Huguet, *Aperçu géomorphologique sur les paysages volcaniques du Hauran (Syrie méridionale)*, in J.M. Dentzer (ed.), *Hauran. I*, Paris 1985, 5-17.

[F. BRAEMER and M.C.A. MACDONALD]

ṢAFAD, a small city surrounding the ruins of a once impressive fortress in the hilly region of northern Palestine, 40 km east of ʿAkkā [*q.v.*] and 20 km north of Ṭabariyya [*q.v.*]. The fortress is situated at the summit of a hill *ca.* 840 m high, and enjoys a fine view of the surrounding area, including the Sea of Galilee to the east. In the Crusader period, Ṣafad was an important Templar stronghold; in the Mamlūk period it served as the capital of a province (*mamlaka*), while under the Ottomans it was the centre of a *sandjaḳ* [*q.v.*]. Today it is the principal town of the upper Galilee region in the State of Israel, and is noted—as in the Middle Ages—for its mild and salubrious climate in the spring and summer (see al-ʿUthmānī, ed. B. Lewis in *BSOAS*, xv [1954], 480).

The name Ṣafad derives from Hebr. Ṣefat < root *ṣ-f-h* "to look, observe, watch", appropriate for the splendid view afforded by its location. Sefat is not mentioned in the Old Testament, but has been identified with the Sepph or Seph of Josephus' *Jewish wars*, ii, ch. 20, § 6. Its location is mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud as one of the mountain tops on which bonfires were lit to announce the new moon and festivals.

Little is known of Ṣafad in the early Islamic period, i.e. until the coming of the Frankish Crusaders in 1099. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 412, has virtually no information about the town, and wrongly locates it in the mountains near Ḥimṣ, an indication of its relative obscurity even in the early 7th/13th century. According to Ibn Shaddād, *Aʿlāḳ*, ed. Dahhān, 146, Ṣafad was originally a *tall* on which was found an inhabited village under Burdj al-Yatīm, evidently referring to the future Frankish keep (or the main tower of the inner ward). The Arabic *nisba* al-Ṣafadī is found in a document from the Cairo Geniza, dating from the first half of the 5th/11th century, as is the Hebrew parallel Ha-Ṣefatī in another, almost contemporary document; whether this indicates a Jewish community in the town is a moot point (cf. M. Gil, *A history of Palestine*, 634-1099, Cambridge 1992, 213-14).

The Arab historians state that the Franks built the first fortress at Ṣafad in 495/1101-2, having taken the town in the initial conquest of the country. In 1140 it was apparently renovated (or perhaps built) by King Fulk, and served as a refuge for Baldwin in 1157 after his defeat north of the Sea of Galilee by Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]; and eleven years later, it was transferred to the Knights Templar, since the local lord could no longer afford to keep it up (S. Runciman, *Hist. of the Crusades*, Cambridge 1954, ii, 343, 376; R.C. Smail, *Crusading warfare (1097-1193)*, Cambridge 1956, 102). After the Muslim victory of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*] in 583/1187, Ayyūbid troops kept the fortress under observation, but it was not till the next year that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was able to undertake the conquest of Ṣafad; it surrendered in Shawwāl 584/December 1187 after a fierce six weeks' siege, and the garrison received *amān* and departed for Tyre (M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin*, Cambridge 1982, 141, 145, 285-6, 291; J. Prawer, *Hist. du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris 1969-70, i, 560, 562; J. Riley-Smith, in Ibn Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamelukes and Crusaders*, tr. U. and M.C. Lyons, Cambridge 1971, ii, 213).

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn initially gave Ṣafad and Ṭabariyya as an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] to one of his commanders, but in the early years of the 7th/13th century, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil's son al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] resumed control over these towns, and in 617/1219-20 razed the fortress, fearing an attack by the Franks, who had scored initial successes in Egypt. Then 638/1240 al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl of Damascus, seeking a defensive alliance with the Crusaders against al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt, turned over to the Franks his possessions in Galilee and southern Lebanon, including Ṣafad, whose fortress the Templars now restored (see R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany 1977, 78, 142-3, 266-8; Prawer, *Histoire*, ii, 154-5, 166 and n., 279-80, 286). The restoration work was initiated by Benedict d'Alignan, bishop of Marseilles, and took two-and-a-half years at an immense cost; its annual upkeep was reportedly 40,000 bezants and its peacetime garrison 1,700, which in wartime swelled to 2,200.

The main strategic value of Ṣafad was that it offered the Crusaders an excellent observation point over the Ṭabariyya-Toron road, and more significantly, the Damascus-ʿAkkā road, particularly the important Jacob's Ford (Djisr Banāt Yaʿḳūb [*q.v.*], Vadum Jacob) over the Jordan River, which is only 12 km away. Thus the fortress would gain early warning of approaching Muslim troops, be they raiders or invaders, and notify the other Frankish centres so that an appropriate response could be made. It is dubious whether the garrison of Ṣafad had any real control over these routes, particularly if the Muslims were out in any force, but it certainly served as a symbol of

Frankish power in the area. The fortress was the administrative and economic centre for the area, in which some 260 villages were supposed to be found; this figure would seem to be referring to the Galilee as a whole and not just the immediate hinterland of the town. In the 12th century, at least, there was located there a court of burgesses, indicating a large Frankish presence.

For the Muslims, Frankish Safad was a continual nuisance, and the Mamlūk sultan Baybars (658-76/1260-75 [*q.v.*]) soon set his sights on Ṣafad. In summer 664/1266 he began a six weeks' siege until the garrison, weakened by dissensions, surrendered under *amān*, which did not however allow them to take out arms and property; in fact, the sultan broke this *amān* and had almost the whole garrison killed (the Arabic sources are at pains to justify the sultan's evident rupture of the *amān*) (see P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, tr. P.M. Holt, London 1992, 168-70, 183-4 nn. 61-3; Prawer, *Histoire*, ii, 470-4). Baybars set about repairing the fortress, and Ṣafad was made the administrative centre of a new province, with new civilian buildings, including a mosque, markets, caravanserais and baths (see L.A. Mayer and J. Pinkerfeld, *Some principal Muslim religious buildings in Israel*, Jerusalem 1950, 44-6).

Geographers of the next century or so, including al-Dimashḳī and al-ʿUmarī, describe Ṣafad as quite prosperous, although it was evidently something of a backwater intellectually. The chronicles give little information about events and conditions there, but like the province as a whole, it probably suffered decline from the time of the Black Death (*ca.* 749/1348) onwards. When the Ottomans took over Syria, the Mamlūk province of Ṣafad was transformed into a *sandjaḳ*, part of the larger *wilāyet/eyālet* or *beylerbeylik* of Damascus. Thanks to the relatively systematic tax registers of the Ottoman authorities in the first decades of their rule over Palestine, we have some idea of demographic and economic trends in the district and town. Ottoman rule brought more stability and a consequent prosperity and population increase to both the town and its rural hinterland; by 963/1555-6 there were about 280 villages, mainly Muslim but with a few Muslim-Christian and Muslim-Jewish ones, in the *sandjaḳ* (see H. Rhode, *The administration and population of the Sancak of Ṣafad in the sixteenth century*, diss. Columbia Univ. 1979, unpubl.; idem, *The geography of the sixteenth-century Sancak of Ṣafad*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, x [1985], 179-218; B. Lewis, in *BSOAS*, xvi [1954], 469-501; W.-D. Hütteroth and K. Abdulfattah, *Historical geography of Palestine, Transjordan and southern Syria in the late 16th century*, Erlangen 1977, 175-94). The town, in particular, prospered through the textile industry, having abundant water and accessibility to ports, hence to supplies of wool, and to markets, and also benefiting from an influx of Jewish craftsmen from the Iberian peninsula. There seems to have been a Jewish presence in Ṣafad since the 11th century, and eventually, the Sephardis and other newcomers outnumbered the indigenous "Arabised" (*mustaʿribūn*) Jews there. All this brought a rich spiritual life, so that in the 16th century Ṣafad was a major centre of Jewish mysticism, and the first printing shop of any kind in Syria originated in Ṣafad when a Hebrew printing press was established in 1563. There was some decline in the town's fortunes in the later 16th century, but in the 1670s Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, Istanbul 1935, 438-41, tr. in *QDAP*, iv [1935], 158-61) still found there three caravanserais, several mosques, seven *zāwiyas* and six public baths (see Lewis, *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives*, Jerusalem 1952, 5-7; Rhode, *op. cit.*, 167-9; A. Cohen and Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century*, Princeton 1978, 19-30).

By the early 17th century, Ṣafad had reverted to the status of a small town, and had come under the control of the Druze *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*] of the Lebanon, with his rule subsequently recognised by the Ottoman authorities. In the later 18th century, Ṣafad revived somewhat, probably because of the relatively more stable government provided by the local leaders Ẓāhir (or Ḍāhir) al-ʿUmar (d. 1775) who hailed from Ṣafad, and Aḥmad al-Djazzār Pasha (d. 1805 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), and some fresh Jewish immigration began to take place (see C.-F. Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785*, 2nd ed. London 1788, ii, 230-1; P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, London 1966, 117, 124; Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1973, passim, esp. 119-28). Under Ibrāhīm Pasha's governorship of Syria (1831-40 [*q.v.*], Ṣafad became the commercial centre of Galilee, but suffered from natural disasters like earthquakes and pestilence until some prosperity began to return in the later 19th century. In 1880 Ṣafad became the seat of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sandjaḳ* of ʿAkkā in the *wilāyet* of Beirut. Shems al-Dīn Sāmī, in his *Ḳāmūs al-ʿālam*, iv, Istanbul 1311/1894, gave the population for the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ṣafad as 21,313, of whom 13,971 were Muslims, but a more reliable figure for the actual town is probably that of the 1922 census under the British Mandate (Ṣafad was captured by Allenby's forces in September 1918): 8,760, of whom 5,431 were Muslims, 2,986 Jews and 343 Christians. Under the Mandate, the population gradually grew; at the time of the 1948 war, the total population was 12,000, of whom some 2,000 were Jews. After fierce fighting, Jewish forces gained control of Ṣafad; the Arab populations, some of which had left during the fighting, almost completely abandoned the town (see B. Morris, *The birth of the Palestinian refugee problem 1947-8*, Cambridge 1987, 102-5). At the last census, in 1983, the town's population was 15,853, of whom 379 were Muslims.

Little now remains of the fortress of Ṣafad, already ruined in Ewliyā's time. It suffered much from earthquakes, and the remains were largely used as a quarry for building by the locals. Some excavations have been done by Israeli archaeologists, but the area is now covered with trees and is a park.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Translations of Muslim sources: Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 118-24, 234-5; Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, 116-17; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 524-5; R. Hartmann, *Politische Geographie des Mamlukenreichs*, in *ZDMG*, lxx (1916), 1-40, 477-511; idem, *Die geographischen Nachrichten unter Palästina und Syrien in Ḫalīl aẓ-Ẓāhiris Zubdat kašf al-mamālik*, diss. Tübingen 1907. 18th and 19th century descriptions: Volney; V. Guérin, *Descr. géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*, Paris 1868-90, pt. III, vol. ii, 419-26; C.R. Conder and H. Kitchener, *The survey of Western Palestine, i, Galilee*, London 1881, 248-50, 255-6. General modern descriptions: M. Avi-Yonah *et alii*, *Safed*, in *Encycl. Judaica*, xiv, 626-36; E. Reiner *et alii*, *Sefat*, in *Encycl. Hebraica*, xxviii, 856-9; M.M. Dabbāgh, *Filasṭīn bilādunā*, Pt. 2, vol. vi, Beirut 1974, 74-139; N. Schur, *Hist. of Safed* (in Hebr.), Tel Aviv 1983. Studies of specific aspects: M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, *Landesbau und Burg ... Safad in Obergalilaea*, in *ZDPV*, xcvi (1980), 67-87;

D. Pringle, *Reconstructing the castle of Ṣafad*, in *PEQ*, cxvii (1975), 139-49; T.Th. Tarāwina, *Mamlakat Ṣafad fī ʿahd al-Mamālīk*, Beirut 1982.

(R. Amitai-Preiss)

AL-ṢAFADĪ, al-Ḥasan b. Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Hāshimī, appears to have been a minor government official during the early reign of the Egyptian Sulṭan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]. In any event, we know that in the year 694/1294-5 he was appointed by the *wazīr* Ibn al-Khalīlī to head a mission to al-Fāḳūs in Sharḳiyya province charged with cultivating the crown lands there. While on this mission, al-Ṣafadī reports on a grisly case of cannibalism that he observed at first hand during this famine year, a report which is characteristic of the anecdotal style of his only extant work. This book, *Nuzhat al-mālik wa 'l mamlūk fī mukhtaṣar sīrat man waliya Miṣr min al-mulūk* is a short history of Egypt that ends with the year 711/1311-12 or perhaps as late as 714/1314. From a statement in the British Library manuscript (Add. 233326), it appears that al-Ṣafadī composed the history in the year 716/1316. The earlier part of the work begins with the natural and other advantages of Egypt and gives a succinct account of the earlier rulers consisting mainly of anecdotes, but the chief interest lies in the portion which deals with the Turkish or Baḥrī sultans, in particular al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Even here, however, al-Ṣafadī records very little information which cannot be found in other sources. The B.L. ms., written for the Egyptian caliph al-Mutawakkil, proceeds to record events down to 795/1393, but these were obviously added later by another writer. Two other manuscripts of *Nuzhat al-mālik* are preserved in the B.N., Paris mss. 1706 and 1931, 22. The latter bears the erroneous title of *Faḍāʾil Miṣr*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 34; D.P. Little, *An introduction to Mamlūk historiography*, Wiesbaden 1970, 38-9.

(F. Krenkow-[D.P. Little])

AL-ṢAFADĪ, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, Abu 'l-Ṣafāʾ al-Albakī (696-764/1297-1363), philologist, literary critic and littérateur, biographer, and all-round humanist.

Ṣafad was his family's home, and he was born there. His father, al-Amīr ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak (b. ʿAbd Allāh!) was of Turkic origin; the *nisba* al-Albakī, after some *mamlūk amīr* named Albakī, seems to have belonged to him. From the apparent absence of any mention of him by his son, we may conclude that al-Ṣafadī considered him undistinguished. Relations with his father may also have been strained, if the statement known from Ibn Ḥadjar that his father showed no concern for his professional religious-legal studies until he was twenty was correctly transmitted. The additional indication that he previously studied on his own would seem confirmed by the impression that no early teachers of his are noted. However, he was obviously very gifted. When he went to Damascus as a young man aged twenty and had his first meeting with Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] in 717/1317 or 718/1318, he displayed great knowledge as he proudly and repeatedly recalls (*Wāfī*, vii, 20-22; *Ghayth*, ii, 14; *Aʿyān*, i, 67); his choice of the controversial Ibn Taymiyya seems strange and may have been looked upon with disapproval by his family. He soon established ties, often of friendship, with the great scholars and writers of the age in Syria and Egypt such as Ibn Nubāta, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī [*q.vv.*] among many others. His relationship, both professional and personal, with the older al-Dhahabī and the younger Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī would appear to have been particularly close. Al-Subkī claims him as a Shāfiʿī, but in the cosmopolitan climate of Damascus and Cairo, it was natural for him to be acquainted with representatives of most Muslim and non-Muslim legal and religious groups of the time.

His abilities as a stylist and calligrapher opened up opportunities in government service. The positions he held, sometimes combined, depended on their importance for location; in roughly ascending order, they were *kātib al-dardj*, *al-dast*, *al-inshāʾ* and *al-sirr*, and also *wakīl al-khizāna*, which he was again at the time of his death. An occasional reference by contemporaries to him as *al-ḳāḍī* must have been merely honorary (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiv, 302; al-Subkī, ix, 160). In the 720s/1320s, his official duties brought him to his home town Ṣafad, to Aleppo (between 723/1323 and 726/1326), and, toward the end of the decade, also briefly to al-Raḥba (Raḥbat Mālik b. Tawḳ), but the capital cities of Damascus and Cairo were the centres of his activities. He shuttled back and forth between them, keeping up his intellectual contacts wherever he went and possibly spending more time on his scholarly work than his government employment. The year 755/1354 is attested as that of his pilgrimage undertaken together with the poet Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khayyāṭ (*Aʿyān*, iii, 242); one of his works, *Ḥaḳīḳat al-madjāz ilā 'l-Ḥidjāz*, appears to have centred on it (listed in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 244, l. 5, cf. the quotations in ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥammad al-Djazīrī, *Durar al-fawāʾid*, 453 ff. [Cairo 1384], referred to by van Ess, in *Isl.*, liv, 250, n. 1). He also travelled widely in Syria on lecture tours which led him, for instance, to Aleppo in 759/1358 (*samāʿ* in *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf*). Most of his time, however, was spent in Damascus where during one of the periodic outbreaks of the plague, his energetic activities came to an unexpected end in the night of Saturday to Sunday, 10 Shawwāl 764/23 July 1363.

He had a younger brother, Abū Isḥāḳ Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who died on 4 Djumādā II 742/15 November 1341. He devoted to him an emotional obituary notice that included many of his verses on his death (*Wāfī*, v, 330-7). From *samāʿ*s in his works, we know the names of two sons, both named Muḥammad (Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Bakr), and two daughters, one of them named Fāṭima (Bonebakker, *Some early definitions*, 65 ff.; *Wāfī*, i, introd., p. *djīm*; al-Munadjdjid [ed.], *Umarāʾ Dimashk*, pl. 3; *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf*, at end of first ms., etc.).

His numerous works provide an enormous amount of varied information. They are uniformly instructive and consistently entertaining. Moreover, they are characterised by sound scholarly method and, to all appearances, even a good measure of originality. He himself spoke of 300 volumes of his own composition (al-Subkī, x, 5) or, more plausibly, of 50 volumes and 500 volumes copied (Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*). His copying activity is attested already from 718/1318 for a manuscript of Ibn Nubāta's *Khuṭab*, according to the Princeton *Catalogue of the Garrett collection*, no. 1907 (298B); his own copy of one of his sources, Ibn Khallikān, is preserved in ms. Gotha 1731 (Pertsch, iii, 319). An unusual number of autographs of his own works is preserved, as is often duly noted by scholars and editors, see e.g. H. Ritter, in *RSO*, xii (1929-30), 79-88, and R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1976-87, i, 200-1, pl. 30, ii, 111; they require comprehensive study, together with autograph *samāʿ*s and *idjāzas*. The preservation of so many autographs, the large number of preserved manuscripts, which still await a world-wide census,

and the long chain of commentaries and imitations show the high esteem in which his work was held.

His concern with linguistic problems is evident throughout his literary production. It also led to the composition of long treatises such as *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf* on misspellings and misreadings (facs. of two mss. published in Frankfurt a/M 1985). The announced edition of *Ghawāmiḍ al-Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī may not yet have appeared. Much more central is his seminal work on literary criticism, although by the nature of the enterprise, it is often debatable. Recognition as models of the genre was accorded to his commentaries on Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, entitled *Nuṣrat al-thāʾir*, a severely critical effort (ed. M.ʿA. Sulṭānī, Damascus 1972); on Ibn Zaydūn's *Risāla*, entitled *Tamām al-mutūn* (ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1389/1969); and on al-Ṭughrāʾī's *Lāmiyyat al-ʿAdjam*, entitled *al-Ghayth al-musadjdjam* (sometimes *alladhi 'nsadjam*) (Cairo 1305 [cited here], Beirut 1395/1975, cf. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, xxvii-xxviii [1981], 179-81). Individual rhetorical figures are treated in *Djinān al-djinās* (ed. Samīr Ḥusayn Ḥalabī, Beirut 1407/1987; although not an autograph, ms. Chester Beatty 3103 is dated in his lifetime [752/1351]) and *Faḍl al-khitām ʿan al-tawriya wa 'l-istikhdām* (ed. al-Muḥammadī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥinnāwī, Cairo 1399/1979, see S.A. Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the tawriya and Ṣafadī's Faḍḍ al-Xitām*, The Hague and Paris 1966).

His extensive poetical production is noted first for 718/1318 (*Ghayth*, ii, 4). His *muwashshaḥāt* make up part of his *Tawshīʿ al-tawshīḥ* (ed. Albert Ḥabīb Muṭlaḳ, Beirut? 1966. The title is correctly listed in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, but distorted to *Tawshīḥ al-tarshīḥ* in Ibn Ḥadjar). Epigrams were collected by him in *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* and *al-Ḥusn al-ṣarīḥ fī miʾat malīḥ*. Explanations of old verses are said to be the subject of *Ikhtirāʿ al-khurāʿ*. A *maḳāma* on the pangs of love, *Lawʿat al-shākī wa-damʿat al-bākī*, has been printed frequently. His artistic prose in letters and documents appears to have been preserved in his *Munshaʾāt*, whose relationship, if any, to *Ikhtibār al-Ikhtiyār* in ms. Chester Beatty 5183, dated 753/1352, remains to be investigated. Further material of this sort in *Dīwān al-fuḳahāʾ* (ms. Vienna 389) and *Alḥān al-sawādjiʿ bayn al-bādiʾ wa 'l-murādjiʿ* (so correctly in Berlin Ahlwardt 8631 and Princeton Yahuda Collection, Mach 4368). Much of his poetry and artistic prose, both literary and official, is found dispersed throughout his works as well as some of the biographical literature.

Specialised treatises on subjects such as eyes, tears, riddles, and the valuable scholarly monograph on the numeral seven (70, 700, etc.), entitled *Ṭard al-sabʿ ʿan sard al-sabʿ*, which can also be read in al-Suyūṭī's commentary *ʿAyn al-nabʿ*, or the above-mentioned *Ḥaḳīḳat al-madjāz ilā 'l-Ḥidjāz*, probably inspired by the example of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī and containing much of his occasional poetry, fall basically in the *adab* category, and so does his vast *Tadhkira*, which will yield further information on his literary production and interests, cf. e.g. A.J. Arberry's description of the content of ms. Chester Beatty 3861 in *IQ*, vi (1961), 107-17.

His great biographical collections possess lasting usefulness and have remained indispensable for scholars. The publication of the massive *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt* has been due to the initiative of H. Ritter. The first volume appeared in his *Bibliotheca Islamica* in 1931 (repr. 1962). Publication was resumed in 1949, with twenty-two volumes edited by different scholars having appeared by 1993; its introduction was translated by É. Amar in *JA*, x/17-19 (1911-12). The *Wāfī* is alphabetically arranged according to the names of the biographees, as is *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr wa-aʿwān al-naṣr* that deals *in extenso* with individuals from his own lifetime (3-vol. facs., Frankfurt a/M 1410/1990). For his sources, see Little and van Ess (in *Bibl.*). Specialised biographies of the blind and the one-eyed are, respectively, *Nakt al-himyān fī nukat al-ʿumyān* (ed. A. Zakī, Cairo 1329/1911, cf. F. Malti-Douglas, in *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe* [1979], 7-19, and eadem, in *The Islamic world. Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton 1989, 211-37), and the later and much shorter *al-Shuʿūr bi 'l-ʿūr* (ed. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Ḥusayn, ʿAmmān 1409/1988). His general historical knowledge was often put to good use by him, as e.g. in *Tamām al-mutūn*. His *Umarāʾ Dimashḳ* was published by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid from the *Tadhkira* (Damascus 1374/1955).

Expectedly, pseudo-attributions do exist and remain largely uninvestigated. Al-Ṣafadī could presumably have dealt with the theory and practice of music, but the *Risāla fī ʿilm al-mūsīḳā* published as his by ʿAbd al-Madjīd Diyāb and Ghaṭṭās ʿAbd al-Malik Khashaba (Cairo 1411/1991) is clearly not by him, cf. A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings*, Munich 1979, 276, 304-6. The even more striking attribution of a commentary on the *djafr* treatise *al-Shadjara al-Nuʿmāniyya fi 'l-dawla al-ʿUthmāniyya* supposedly by Ibn ʿArabī, which exists in numerous manuscripts, is only rarely marked by modern bibliographers as spurious, cf., for instance, ms. Berlin, Ahlwardt 4216, as against Princeton, Yahuda collection, Mach 5133; T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Strasbourg 1966, 226-7. A collection of stories and geographical data entitled *Madjmaʿ al-ḥisān wa-fawākih al-djinān* in ms. Yale Landberg 516 = Cat. Nemoy 469 is likewise wrongly ascribed to him.

Bibliography: While the autobiographical sketch mentioned by Ibn al-ʿImād has not yet been recovered, Ṣafadī's habit of frequently indicating the place and date of receiving information provides much biographical detail. This has been successfully exploited by D.P. Little, *al-Ṣafadī as biographer of his contemporaries*, in *Essays on Islamic civilization presented to Niyazi Berkes*, Leiden 1976, 109-20, mainly based on *Aʿyān*, and, in greater detail, J. van Ess, *Ṣafadī-Splitter*, in *Isl.*, liii (1976), 242-66, liv (1977), 77-108. Already his contemporaries, such as Dhahabī, in *al-Muʿdjam al-mukhtaṣṣ*, al-Ṭāʾif 1408/1988, 91-2, mentioned him as he did them, but the formal biographical notices are very limited as to the factual data they contain; if some are lengthy, this is due to ample quotations from his literary production. See, for instance, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī, *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, iv, 203, in the Beirut 1405/1985 edition of Dhahabī, *ʿIbar*; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiv, 303; Ibn Rāfiʿ, *Wafayāt*, Beirut 1402/1982, ii, 268-270; Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, x, 5-32; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, 87-8; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ed. al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm Khān, Beirut 1407/1987, iii, 89-90; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, Cairo 1980—, v, 241-257, with a good list of titles of Ṣafadī's works, and idem, *Nudjūm*, Cairo, xi, 19-21; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 200-1. See, further, Brockelmann, II², 39-41, S II, 27-9. F. Krenkow, in *EI*¹, s.v., and the introductions of modern editions are basically uncritical. Cf. also M. ʿA. Sulṭānī, *al-Naḳd al-adabī fi 'l-ḳarn al-thāmin al-hidjrī bayn al-Ṣafadī wa-muʿāṣirīh*, Damascus 1394/1974. For a reconsideration of his sources, see D. Krawulsky, in *wāfī*, xvii, 704-14.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

ṢAFAITIC is the modern name given to a group

of graffiti in a North Arabian language, expressed in a variety of the South Semitic script. They are found mainly on rocks in the deserts of southern Syria, north-eastern Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia, with isolated finds in ʿIrāḳ, Lebanon and at Pompeii (see M.C.A. Macdonald in *Syria*, lxx [1993], 304-5 for references), and their distribution and content show that they were written almost exclusively by nomads. They are conventionally dated between the 1st century B.C. and the 4th century A.D.

While the majority consist of the author's name and between one and 17 generations of his genealogy, a significant number also contain statements describing his actions or emotions, or events of which he was aware. Many also contain prayers to a variety of deities, and a considerable number refer to adjacent rock-drawings. This was the only period in which literacy has been widespread among the nomads of the Syro-Arabian desert—there are inscriptions by men, women and slaves [*fty*]—and these texts (and most of the Thamudic [*q.v.*] graffiti) are therefore the only surviving first-hand records of their way-of-life, before the pre-Islamic poetry. They are thus of considerable importance since they contain historical, linguistic and palaeo-ethnographic information which is not available from any other source. For a discussion of the phenomenon of literacy among these nomads, see Macdonald, *op. cit.*, 382-8.

The inscriptions were first discovered in 1857 near the eastern edge of the Ṣafā [*q.v.*] in southern Syria, and continue to be known by the 19th-century misnomer "Ṣafaitic", despite the fact that none have even been found within the Ṣafā itself (see *ibid.*, 305-10). More were discovered in 1860, and by 1901 the script had been deciphered. Throughout the 20th century a handful of expeditions have recorded vast numbers of these texts, and by the 1990s over 20,000 had been found in the limited number of areas which have been searched. There are clearly scores of thousands still awaiting discovery.

The Ṣafaitic alphabet belongs to the North Arabian branch of the South Semitic script. The palaeographical development, and the exact relationships within and between the North and South Arabian branches of this script are still disputed (see B. Sass, *Studia alphabetica*, Freiburg 1991, 28-93, and Macdonald in *Anchor Bible dictionary*, New York 1992, iii, 418-19 with script table). The Safaitic script appears to have been used solely for graffiti and to have been spread informally rather than in schools (idem, in *Syria*, lxx [1993], 382-8). Gemination of consonants is not represented, and, in contrast to Lihyanite [see LIḤYĀN], *matres lectionis* are not used, nor is there any notation of diphthongs (if they existed). Writing is continuous and without word-dividers and can be in any direction.

The language of the Ṣafaitic graffiti belongs to the group known as "North Arabian". Safaitic, together with Lihyanite/Dedanite, the different types of Thamudic, and Hasaitic, form a sub-group, known as "Frühnordarabisch", which is most obviously distinguished by its use of the definite article *h-/hn-*, in contrast to the other sub-group (which includes pre-Islamic and later Arabic), which uses *al-* (see W.W. Müller, in W. Fischer (ed.), *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, Wiesbaden 1982, i, 17-36). For descriptions of the grammar, see E. Littmann, *Safaïtic inscriptions*, Leiden 1943, pp. xii-xxiv, and Müller, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, x [1980] 68-72.

The nature and number of the Ṣafaitic inscriptions have produced an extraordinarily rich onomasticon (see Müller, *op. cit.*, 72-3 for a brief survey). Affiliation to a social group is expressed by taking the lineage back to the eponymous ancestor, or to one of his immediate descendants, or by use of the *nisba* (*h-ḍfy* "the Ḍayfite") or by use of the phrase *d͟h ʾl* at the end of the genealogy (*d͟hʾl ḍf* "of the tribe of Ḍayf"). However, the word *ʾl* (cf. Ar. *ʾāl*) is used of all social groups from immediate family to tribe, and even of peoples such as the Romans. On tribes, see Lankester Harding, in *al-Abḥāt͟h*, xxii (1969), 3-25, and Macdonald, in *Syria*, lxx (1993), 352-67.

There is no trace of Christianity or Islam in the Ṣafaitic inscriptions. Prayers are offered to a number of deities among which the commonest are *Lt* (variants (?) *ʾlt* (as in Nabataean and Palmyrene), and in theophoric names *h-ʾlt*, presumably equivalent to the *hn-ʾlt* in the 5th century B.C. Aramaic inscriptions on bowls found at Tell al-Mask͟hūṭa in Egypt, one of which is by a king of Ḳēdār (Rabinowitz, in *JNES*, xv [1956] 1-9 and xviii [1959] 154-5), the *Alilat* of Herodotus 3:8, and Arabic al-Lāt [*q.v.*]); *Lh* (variants (?) *ʾlh* and *h-ʾlh*); *Rḍw/Rḍy*—apparently variants of the same name, for a deity of uncertain sex, but probably male and to be identified with *Ruldaiu* mentioned in the Assyrian Annals, *Orotalt* in Herodotus 3:8, *Arṣû* at Palmyra (see J.T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, Paris 1972, 49) and *Ruḍan* of Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, Cairo 1914, 30-1; *Bʿls¹mn* (the great Aramaean sky god, whose name usually appears in Ṣafaitic as a direct loan from Aramaic *Baʿals͟hamīn*, though occasionally it is found as a calque in the form *Bʿls¹my*); *Ds²r* (a loan from Nabataean *Dws͟hrʾ*, Dus͟hara, but with variants *ds²ry*, *d͟hs²r*, and the etymologically correct *d͟hs²ry* (cf. *D͟hu ʾl-S͟harā* [*q.v.*]), which is, naturally, the common form in the Thamudic E texts of southern Jordan); *S²ʿ-h-qm* (equivalent to Nabataean *S͟hyʿ-ʾl-qwm*) "the companion [or "succour", cf. Syriac *sûyāʿā*] of the group"; and *Yt͟hʿ* (see Macdonald, in *Anchor Bible dictionary*, iii, 422). Invocations are also made to the *Gd* (i.e. *Tyche* or "Fortune") of the two major tribal groups, thus *Gd-Ḍf* and *Gd-ʿwd͟h*.

Any of these deities can be invoked singly or together and there is no discernible difference in the requests made to them. By far the commonest is for security (*s¹lm*), but there are numerous prayers for relief (*rwḥ*) from privation, freedom from want (*g͟hnyt*), booty (*g͟hnmt*), etc., as well as curses on those who damage the inscriptions or drawings and, less often, blessings on those who leave them intact. Other religious expressions include *ʿwd͟h b hʾlh* ("and he sought protection in *h-ʾlh*" (WH 3923, re-read by Macdonald in M. Ibrahim (ed.) *Arabian studies in honour of Mahmoud Ghul*, Wiesbaden 1989, 65-6) which is paralleled by *ʿwd͟h b rḍy* (WH 390). A number of other deities are attested in Ṣafaitic only in theophoric names, *Mnt* (cf. Nabataean *Mnwtw*, Arabic *Manāt* [*q.v.*]), *h-ʿzy* (cf. Nabataean *ʾl-ʿzʾ* and Arabic *al-ʿUzzā* [*q.v.*]), and, most common of all, *ʾl* (*ʾĪl*).

Of religious practice we have virtually no hint. The supposed Ṣafaitic evidence for pilgrimage to the temple of *Baʿals͟hamīn* (LP 350) is based on a misreading (see Macdonald, in *Syria*, lxx [1993], 315, n. 75 and 366, n. 414), though another text (CSNS 424) which refers to *Bʿls¹mn* as "the god of Sīʿ", suggests that the author knew of his famous temple at that place. Inscriptions mentioning sacrifice (*d͟hbḥ*) are usually found in groups, and seldom specify either the victim or the deity, though two texts (C 4358 and 4360) say their authors sacrificed to *Bʿls¹mn* and the authors of two others (unpublished) refer to a high place or altar (*ṣmd*) on which they sacrificed a camel (*d͟hbḥ gml ʿlh*).

Some texts record the building of a cairn (*rgm*) over

the dead (though cairns were often used for other purposes as well), a practice maintained by the modern inhabitants of the area, the Ahl al-Djabal (on "Ṣafaitic" cairns, see Macdonald, in Zaghloul *et alii*, *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan. IV*, Amman 1992, 303-7, and references there; on modern cairns, see W. and F. Lancaster in *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*; iv [1993], 151-69). Some Ṣafaitic texts also refer to a *baliyya* [*q.v.*], or camel left to die at the grave of its master, a pre-Islamic practice described by Islamic writers, and which is also mentioned in an unpublished Nabataean inscription from southern Jordan, which was found associated with a burial of this type. Large numbers of texts are concerned with mourning (*wgm, ndm, wlh*, etc.) and a belief in a personified Death or Fate (*Manā/Manaⁿ*, *Manāyā*), paralleled in the pre-Islamic poetry, is suggested by the phrase "humbled by Fate" (*rghm mny*), which is often used of the dead.

It is clear from these texts that their authors were aware of events beyond the desert. Herod the Great and his successors appear to be mentioned several times, as are (unspecified) Roman emperors (*ḳṣr*) and at least one Nabataean king (see Macdonald, in *Syria*, lxx [1993], 323-46, and in *Trade, contact, and the movement of peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean. Studies in honour of J. Basil Hennessy*, Sydney 1994) and there are a number of (mainly enigmatic) references to the Romans (*Rm*), the Nabataeans (*Nbṭ*), possibly the Ituraeans (*Yṭr*), and the Persians (*Mdhy*). Unfortunately, in most cases it is impossible to identify the exact events referred to. There are also indications that some of the nomads were recruited into auxiliary units of the Roman army (see Macdonald, in *Syria*, lxx [1993], 368-77). The Ṣafaitic inscriptions provide no evidence of a "nomadic threat" to the Roman provinces of Syria and Arabia.

These graffiti provide a picture of the daily life of their authors which shows them to have been fully nomadic, rather than sedentaries or semi-nomads, as has sometimes been suggested (see discussion in Macdonald, in *op. cit.*, 311-22). They were mixed pastoralists, migrating annually with their herds, both of camels and of sheep and goats, between the *ḥarra* (or basalt desert) of southern Syria and north-eastern Jordan, and the *ḥamād* (which they called *mdbr*), in what is now western ʿIrāḳ and northern Saʿūdi Arabia (see Macdonald, in *JRAS*, 3rd series, vol. ii [1992], 1-11, and in *AAE*, iii [1992], 27-30). Many record returning to the same campsites [*dr*] year after year (*ʿm f ʿm*) and the sadness they felt on finding the traces (*ʾthr*) of friends or relatives—a commonplace of nomadic life elevated to an artistic convention in pre-Islamic poetry. Relatively few mention raiding (*ghzz*), which is sometimes supposed to have taken up most of a nomad's time, but it clearly played a part in both the culture and the economy. There are rock drawings showing raids (Macdonald, in *AAE*, i [1990], 24-28) and many other activities, especially hunting and fighting both on horseback and on foot. It is clear from these drawings that these nomads used the North Arabian (*shadād*) camel-saddle but, contrary to a common misapprehension, there is no evidence that these, or any other, North Arabian nomads ever fought from camel-back (see Macdonald in *Archaeology and the rise of Islam*, Special number of *Antiquity* [1995], and in *ZDPV*, cvii [1991], 103). Other entertainment was provided by singing and dancing girls (*ḳnt*, or simply *ghlmt*) who are also depicted in the drawings with bare breasts and swinging tasselled belts.

"*South Ṣafaitic*". E. Knauf has proposed that some of the texts labelled by Winnett "Thamudic E" (later, inappropriately, "Tabuki Thamudic") should be reclassified as "South Ṣafaitic" on the grounds that in style and onomastic content they had more in common with Ṣafaitic than with other forms of Thamudic (Knauf, in *Annual Dept. of Antiquities, Jordan*, xxvii [1983] 587-96). However, the fundamental work on these inscriptions by G.M.H. King has shown that they form a clearly definable group, related to, but distinct from, Ṣafaitic, and that they cannot be divided in the way Knauf suggests (see her *Early North Arabian Thamudic E*, diss. London 1990, in preparation for publication). It is therefore preferable to retain the old neutral label, "Thamudic E", rather than "Tabuki Thamudic" (only a small minority of the texts have been found near Tabuk) or "South Ṣafaitic", which blurs important distinctions. As would be expected, there are a handful of texts which seem to display features of both Ṣafaitic and Thamudic E and these are generally known as "Mixed texts" (see THAMUDIC and Macdonald, in *ADAJ*, xxiv [1980] 188).

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the text, see for bibliographies, W.G. Oxtoby, *Some inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin*, New Haven 1968, and V.A. Clark, *A study of new Safaitic inscriptions from Jordan*, diss. available from University Microfilms International Ann Arbor 1979 [= CSNS].

General surveys: M.C.A. Macdonald, in *Anchor Bible dictionary*, New York 1992, iii, 418-23 (with script table and examples of texts) (N.B. the section on "South Ṣafaitic" should be corrected by reference to the present article), and W.W. Müller, in *PSAS* (1980), 67-74 and the works of Oxtoby and Clark mentioned above. For a detailed discussion of the historical content of the texts, see Macdonald in *Syria*, lxx (1993), 303-408.

Major collections: *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum, pars v*, Paris 1950-1 [= C], E. Littmann, *Safaitic inscriptions*, Leiden 1943 [= LP] which contain texts mainly from Syria; F.V. Winnett, *Safaitic inscriptions from Jordan*, Toronto 1957, idem and G. Lankester Harding, *Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic cairns*, Toronto 1978 [= WH], and the works of Oxtoby and Clark cited above, which contain texts from Jordan. Several thousand texts recorded in Jordan by Macdonald, King and Clark are in preparation. Safaitic inscriptions from northern Saudi Arabia are published by A. Jamme, in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, Berlin 1971, i, 41-109, 611-37, and idem, in *Oriens Antiquus*, vi (1967), 189-213, and ix (1970), 129-32 (the interpretations in these three works should be treated with caution). Finally, G. Lankester Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971, is still an indispensable tool.

(M.C.A. MACDONALD)

SAFĀḲUS, conventional European form SFAX, a town of Tunisia, on the eastern coast to the north of the Gulf of Gabès.

The historical study of the towns of Tunisia poses a series of problems, the approaches to which are far from uniform, given the sparseness of information. The urban societies did not preserve the pieces of evidence, above all, the written ones, concerning their own past nor did they transmit them intact to us. Given these lacunae, stretching over a long period of centuries, historical information is necessarily laconic and disparate.

There was nothing which destined Sfax to become a great regional centre. In order to achieve this, the

Muslims did not mark down the site of Taenea, an important settlement some 12 km/7 miles to the south, despite the 83 ha extent of its site, but chose instead the obscure and modest Taparura for constructing their town. The reasons for this are not clear, although the strategic value of the site was not negligible, being on the sea-coast and at the meeting-point of the classical Africa Vetus and Byzacene, in effect, on the border between central Tunisia—studied by Jean Despois—and southern Tunisia. Hence from this position, Sfax was to play the role of a town situated at the crossroads of routes.

There was a general spurt of town-building in Ifrīḳiya as far back as the 3rd/9th century, in which Sfax played a part, but the processes of change and transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, are hidden from us, and archaeological excavations, hardly yet begun, have not provided any decisive information. Nevertheless, the orthagonal character of the Medina of Sfax and the alignments visible in its environs, lead one to recall the typical Roman layout. But one has to have recource to the information of the Arabic historical tradition, with all the attendant risks.

Origins.

An unusual fact, hence notable, is that, on the model of Tunis and Kairouan, Sfax had—if belatedly—its own historian, Maḥmūd b. Saʿīd Maḳdīsh al-Safāḳusī (d. at Kairouan in 1227/1813), author of the *Nuzhat al-anẓār fī ʿadjāʾib al-tawārīkh wa 'l-akhbār*, a compilation in which the author traces the history of his natal town from the Islamic conquest to the reign of Ḥammūda Pasha (1196-1229/1782-1814) (ed. Ali Zouari and M. Mahfoudh, Beirut 1988). It appears from the historical schema, which he reflects, that the original town had a military function but soon acquired a commercial one. The actual layout of the town and its buildings speedily reflected this process. It seems to have begun with a *ḳṣar* or *burdj* or *maḥris*) called the *Burdj al-aḥmar*, on the site of the modern casbah, and in the neighbourhood of the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Djabla. Did this begin as a simple *ribāṭ* or strong-point and then became a *ribāṭ-maḥris* surrounded by an agricultural-artisanal agglomeration? This particular *burdj* was in fact merely one of several (Buṭriya, Lawza, Inshīla, Maḥris ʿAlī, etc.), numerous in the area and amongst which Ḳṣar Ziyād (35 km/20 miles to the north) was notable. Or was it a centre for fighters for the faith, an instructional centre for religious education, or a staging-post for the *barīd* [*q.v.*] before becoming a commercial centre? Whatever the case, the first nucleus of population was one of *murābiṭun*, to which two groups of fishermen (the *Aʿshāsh* and the *Nwāwla*) were to join. The hinterland had a dense network of villages (*ḳurā*). The sources all agree that trade by land and by sea was the main cause for the evolution of the town.

Urban evolution.

As a mark of its success, Sfax seems to have acquired its first and last fortifications towards the time of Ibrāhīm Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab, between 246/860 and 249/863. The guiding spirit here was its future *ḳāḍī*, the *faḳīh* ʿAlī b. Sālim, a disciple of the Imām Saḥnūn [*q.v.*]. The space enclosed by these walls remained unchanged till the 12th/18th century. It took the form of a quadrilateral 600 m by 400 m, hence covering 24 ha (Sousse, 32 ha; Monastir, 28 ha). The fact that it was only slightly set back from the sea, with a shallow continental shelf there, provided, moreover, a good warning period in case of external attack. The great mosque presumably dated from that same period. It had numerous rebuildings and extensions (e.g. in 379/989 and 479/1086) and only assumed its final form, the one which we now know, in the years between 1183/1759 and 1197/1783. Restricted within its ramparts, the town soon became cramped, but it was not until 1189/1775 that the laying-out of a suburb, *rbāṭ*, near the eastern gate called the Bāb Bḥar, was allowed. It was also provided with a *funduḳ* (1778) and, a little later, a mosque (between 1779 and 1785). The population would have reached saturation point if it has not been for the epidemic of 1199/1785, claiming 15,000 victims, which checked the town's progress. The development process, over a millennium, of the internal lay-out of the town ended up, towards the mid-19th century, in a repertoire of buildings made up of 83 mosques and various oratories, 72 *zāwiyas*, 2,066 houses, 19 oil presses, 35 mills, as many ovens for bread-making, and 12 *burdjs*. With such an array of buildings, Sfax took second place only after the capital Tunis, which had 8,000-9,000 houses. Water was scarce, hence streams had to be utilised, and three basins, as well as domestic and private cisterns, were constructed: the first, the Nāṣiriyya, goes back to the beginning of the 7th/13th century, and the other two date from 1188/1774.

Political history.

Although comparatively important, given the scale of the country, Sfax never assumed a political importance commensurate with its commercial one. Often coveted by outside powers, which often passed it by, it was never subject to any domination except a commercial one. Ḥammū b. Malīl assumed independent power there in 451/1059 when Zīrid power was in decline. After several fruitless attempts, Tamīm only managed to recover it in 493/1099-1100. It rebelled in 504/1110-11 against its Zīrid governor Abu 'l-Futūḥ. It took the side of the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the master of Ifrīḳiya, in 552/1160 before passing into the hands of the Majorcan Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya. It was seized for short periods by the rebels Ibn Abī ʿUmāra (681/1282) and the Banū Makkī (757/1356). It declared for the Ottoman Turks during the period of Ḥafṣid decline in the 10th/16th century, but only reluctantly. In effect autonomous, a *djamāʿa* took the leading political role there. Even Shābbī Sīdī ʿArfa (948/1542) was unable to bring it within his control, though his warriors seized Darghūth. When Kairouan fell to the latter in 964/1557, a *raʾīs* called Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Makkānī was master of Sfax. It was attached to Tripoli and only restored to the *sandjaḳ* of Tunis in 996/1588.

However, the people of Sfax were not lacking in initiative when they managed to escape from the domination of their elites or acted in concert with them. Despite its trade, and perhaps connected with it, Sfax was none the less a corsair centre. For this reason, George of Antioch gave control of it to Roger II of Siciliy. Mastered in 538/1143 but occupied in 543/1148, it only broke free in 551/1156. It was caught up in the policies of Venice and Malta, and local tradition preserves the memory of a naval victory at Rās al-Makhbiz in 1160/1747. Venetian attempts at an occupation (1200/1786 and 1205/1791) failed. Ships of Sfax asking permission to go out raiding represented 15% of all requests made between 1212/1797 and 1213/1798. These ships all belonged to the *ḳāʾid* of the town Maḥmūd Djallūlī. This involvement in the activism of the *djihād* gave the town an aptitude for resistance, seen at the time of the revolt of 1281/1864 and the insurrection of 1298/1881, although at the instigation of the neighbouring tribe of the Methelith.

Economic life.

The town's commerce flourished thanks to its in-

habitants' spirit of enterprise, with a trade orientated towards the Levant. The establishment of the Protectorate dealt a blow to this, but the local people have been recovering their economic enterprise since Independence.

Cultivation of the olive has been known from the 3rd/9th century, and after a period of decline under the Hafsids, recovered in the 11th/17th century; a survey in 1852 enumerated 110,518 trees in the area to the north of the town. These were progressively replaced by almond trees from 1910 onwards. But olive cultivation in the whole of the Sfax region enjoyed an immense increase under the Protectorate, with a large injection of French capital, with 350,000 trees just after 1881, 5,159,829 in 1951 and 6,100.000 in 1972. This monoculture was not without its dangers, and potential difficulties were ony regulated by the creation in Sfax in 1930 of a special Office for Oil, which was to play a leading role in marketing and commerce. Whereas there were only 19 oil-pressing establishments in the mid-19th century, there were some 250 counted in 1972.

The economy of the town of Sfax itself rests on both artisanal production and on service industries (the latter comprising 37 % of all enterprises in 1980). As well as the dominant position of olive production, their had been an industrial transformation from the phosphate production of the Gafsa basin. Trade, however, has been the traditional chief activity of the populace of Sfax; tourism has not taken root there. The local commercial mentality expresses itself in private capitalism, not unlike that of the people of D̲j̲arba [*q.v.*].

Population.

This is difficult to evaluate because of the diaspora, rural emigration and, above all, because of administrative boundary changes. The municipality, created in 1884, had 54,800 people in 1946. The Medina alone had 16,700 in 1954, compared with 130,000 for the rest of the agglomeration. The population tripled between 1936 and 1966, and reached 275,000 *ca* 1975. The town grew in consequence, at the expense of the Rbāt, the Frankish quarter, razed after the bombardments of 1943, of the surrounding *sabk̲h̲as* and even of the nearby sea, whilst the surrounding orchards and gardens, *d̲j̲ināns*, have now completely disappeared. The urban area continues to grow in an anarchic and uncontrolled fashion. Even the medina has been affected by the invasiveness of commercial and artisanal activities spreading out from the *sūḳs* and altering the ancient pattern of residential usage. There has also been threats of flooding and of atmospheric pollution. The safeguarding of the historic areas and rehabilitation of residential quarters will require official intervention, and is bound up with a public debate on the nature and characteristic of the towns of Tunisia, their pasts and their presents.

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(T. Bachrouch)

SAFAR, (A.) "journey", "travel".

1. In law.

In Islamic law, travelling permits certain mitigations in the carrying out of ritual duties. This applies to three topics: 1. ritual purity: according to most schools, a traveller may extend the period during which he is allowed to perform the minor ritual ablution (*wuḍūʾ* [*q.v.*]) by rubbing his foot-covering instead of washing his feet, from one to three days; 2. ritual prayer (*ṣalāt* [*q.v.*]): a traveller is permitted to shorten (*ḳaṣr*) the *ṣalāts* with four *rakʿas* [*q.v.*], i.e. the *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*, the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*, and the *ṣalāt al-ʿis̲h̲āʾ*, to two *rakʿas*, and, according to most schools, to combine (*d̲j̲amʿ*) the *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* with the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*, and the *ṣalāt al-mag̲h̲rib* with the *salāt al-ʿis̲h̲āʾ*; 3. fasting: a traveller is permitted, or according to some, obliged to break the fast of Ramaḍān, but must later make up for the days not fasted. A journey has to satisfy certain requirements in order to allow these mitigations. It has to be undertaken with the intention to cover a certain minimum distance (*masāfat al-ḳaṣr*). Most schools define it as 16 *farsak̲h̲s*, which modern jurists equate with *ca.* 82 km. The S̲h̲īʿīs mention a distance of 24 *mīls*, i.e. *ca.* 48 km. According on the Ḥanafīs, this distance is three days' travelling with an average speed. The Ẓāhirīs, however, acting on the obvious meaning of the word *safar* in Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, hold that any journey permits these mitigations. According to most schools, the aim of the journey is important. The Ḥanbalīs assert that only journeys with a religious purpose, such as performing the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* or *d̲j̲ihād*, count in this respect, whereas the S̲h̲āfiʿīs, Mālikīs and S̲h̲īʿīs hold that the journey must have a lawful aim. According to the Ḥanafīs, the aim of the journey is irrelevant.

Bibliography: Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *Bidāyat al-mud̲j̲tahid*, Cairo 1965, i, 20-1, 166-74, 295-302; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-D̲j̲azīrī, *Kitāb al-fiḳh ʿalā al-mad̲h̲āhib al-arbaʿa*, ²Cairo n.d., i, 144-5, 471-87, 574-5; Ḥillī, *S̲h̲arāʾiʿ al-Islām fī masāʾil al-ḥalāl wa 'l-ḥarām*, Nad̲j̲af 1969, i, 132, 201-2.

(R. Peters)

2. In Islamic life.

See for this, FUNDUḲ; K̲H̲ĀN; RIḤLA; TID̲J̲ĀRA. For envoys and ambassadors, see ELČI; SAFĪR.2. For the pilgrims to Mecca, see ḤAD̲J̲D̲J̲.iii.A. To the *Bibls.* of these articles, add I.R. Netton (ed.), *Golden roads. Migration, pilgrimage and travel in mediaeval and modern Islam*, London 1993.

ṢAFAR, name of the second month of the Islamic year, also called *Ṣ al-k̲h̲ayr* or *Ṣ al-muẓaffar* because of its being considered to be unlucky (C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Atchehnese*, i, 206; idem, *Mekka*, ii, 56). The Muslim Tigrē tribes pronounce the name S̲h̲afar, the Achehnese Thapa. According to Wellhausen, in the old Arabian year, Ṣafar comprised a period of two months in which al-Muḥarram (which name, according to this scholar is a Muslim innovation) was included. As a matter of fact, tradition reports that the early Arabians called al-Muḥarram Ṣafar and considered an *ʿumra* during the months of the Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ as a practice of an extremely reprehensible nature. They embodied this view in the following saying: *Id̲h̲ā baraʾā 'l-dabar wa-ʿafā 'l-at̲h̲ar wa 'nsalak̲h̲a Ṣafar ḥallati 'l-ʿumra li-man iʿtamar*, i.e. "When the

wounded backs of camels are healed and the vestiges [of the pilgrims] are obliterated and Ṣafar has passed, then the ʿUmra is allowed for those who undertake it."

Bibliography: E. Littmann, *Über die Ehrennamen und Neubenennungen der islamischen Monate*, in *Isl.*, viii (1918), 228 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *The Atchehnese*, i, 194-5; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 95; Bukhārī, *Hadjdj*, *bāb* 34; *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, *bāb* 26 and Ḳasṭallānī's commentary. See also AL-MUḤARRAM.

(A.J. WENSINCK)

ṢAFAR (common spelling, Sfar), Muḥammad al-Bas͟hīr a leading figure in the early Tunisian reformist ("evolutionist") and Young Tunisian movements, of Turkish parentage (1865-1917).

Born at Tūnis as the third son of Brigadier-General (*amīr liwāʾ*) Muṣṭafā Ṣafar, he received a strict education, attended first a Ḳurʾānic school and then the élitist Ṣādiḳī [*q.v.*] College from its inception (1875). His excellent record won him the favour of its founder, K͟hayr al-Dīn Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] and a scholarship to Paris. Having lost it a year later owing to the diversion of the school's endowments by K͟hayr al-Dīn's successor, he entered government service (1882), where he rose in seven years to the position of head of the Accountancy department (*raʾīs ḳism al-muḥāsabāt*) of the General Administration, concurrently running and teaching a new Ṣādiḳī branch. More significant were his subseqent roles as (a) founder member of, and contributor to, the semi-official, moderately Islamic, Arabic weekly, *al-Ḥāḍira* ("the Capital", first issue 2 August 1888); (b) co-founder and president of the K͟haldūniyya Association (opened 5 May 1897 [*q.v.*]), where he also gave courses in history which fostered national consciousness, won him a following among students of the Zaytūna [*q.v.*] and helped bring about a Ṣādiḳī-Zaytūnī alliance. One of his disciples was the future leader of the Algerian Salafiyya [*q.v.*], Ibn Bādīs [*q.v.*]; (c) president of the Beylical Ḥabūs Council (*djamʿiyyat al-aḥbās* or *al-awḳāf*, in the mid-1890s). In this capacity, he won particular popularity for the renovation of the Tūnis hospice (*takiyya*, 1905) and for his resistance to *colon* pressure for acquisition of *ḥabūs* lands (see INZĀL and B.D. Cannon, *The Beylical Habus Council and suburban development: Tunis, 1881-1914*, in *The Maghreb Review*, viii/5-6 [1983], 32-39 (important)], which made him obnoxious to the *colon* lobby and its chief, de Carnières; (d) co-founder and moving spirit of the "Ṣādiḳī Alumni Association", which became the main element of the Young Tunisian Party (1907). His ideology derived from a variety of sources: the Near Eastern *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*], Islamic modernism (S͟hayk͟h ʿAbduh) and reformism [see IṢLĀḤ], and Egyptian nationalism (Muṣṭafā Kāmil, Muḥammad Farīd [*q.vv.*]) on one hand, and French civilisation and liberalism on the other. After 1910 the Young Tunisians took on a marked Pan-Islamic (i.e. pro-Ottoman) colouring; al-Bas͟hīr Ṣafar himself was regarded by the Resident-General Alapetite (in 1912) as "the agent of Pan-Islam in Tunisia" (A.H. Green, *The Tunisian Ulama, 1873-1915*, Leiden 1978, 203). Initially, his attitude regarding the Protectorate was that of close collaboration, but inasmuch as the latter yielded to *colon* pressure, it shifted to an oppositional stance, highlighted by his "*takiyya* speech" (24 March 1906) and his report on *ḥabūs* in Tunisia, presented to the North African Congress (Paris, 6-8 October 1908) (texts in C. Khairallah, *Le Mouvement jeune-tunisien*, Tunis 1957, 65-8, 110-17). Shortly before, in order to satisfy the *colons* without overtly antagonising the Tunisians, Ṣafar was appointed governor (*ḳāʾid*) of Sousse province (1908), which removed him from the capital, the control of the *ḥabūs* and the K͟haldūniyya. It also precluded his involvement in Young-Tunisian militancy during the Zaytūna student strike (1910) and the tram boycott (1912). While other leaders (Bās͟h-Ḥānba, al-T͟haʿālibī, etc.) were arrested and exiled, al-Bas͟hīr Ṣafar remained in his post until his death in 1917. Six months earlier, he sent to U. Blanc, Secretary-General of the Protectorate, a vibrant message of loyalty and appreciation of what France had done for the Tunisians (text in *Afrique française*, xxvii/6 [1917], 338B). Nevertheless, his lifelong dedication to the advancement of his people and the defence of its interests earned him a place of honour in the annals of the Tunisian national movement and the title "Father of the modern Tunisian renaissance" (*Abu 'l-nahḍa al-tūnusiyya al-ḥadīt͟ha*, H. T͟hāmir, *Hād͟hihi Tūnis*, Cairo 1948, 83).

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(P. SHINAR)

ṢAFAWIDS, a dynasty which ruled in Persia as sovereigns 907-1135/1501-1722, as *fainéants* 1142-8/1729-36, and thereafter, existed as pretenders to the throne up to 1186/1773.

I. Dynastic, political and military history.
II. Economic and commercial history; trade relations with Europe.
III. Literature.
IV. Religion, philosophy and science.
V. Art and architecture. [see Suppl.]
VI. Numismatics.

I. Dynastic, political and military history.

The establishment of the Ṣafawid state in 907/1501 by S͟hāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*] (initially ruler of Ād͟harbāyd͟jān only) marks an important turning-point in Persian history. In the first place, the Ṣafawids restored Persian sovereignty over the whole of the area traditionally regarded as the heartlands of Persia for the first time since the Arab conquest of Persia eight and a half centuries previously. During the whole of that time, only once, during what Minorsky termed "the Iranian intermezzo" (334-447/945-1055), did a dynasty of Persian origin prevail over much of Iran [see BUWAYHIDS]; for the rest, Persia was ruled by a succession of Arab caliphs, and Turkish and Mongol sultans and k͟hāns. Secondly, S͟hāh Ismāʿīl I declared that the It͟hnā ʿAs͟harī form of S͟hīʿī Islam was to be the official religion of the new state. This was the first time in the history of Islam that a major Islamic state had taken this step. Ismāʿīl's motives in making this decision were probably a combination of religious conviction and the desire to provide the nascent Ṣafawid state with an ideology which would differentiate it from its powerful neighbour, the Sunnī Ottoman empire. At all events, the policy had

far-reaching consequences, because it introduced into the Persian body politic the potential for conflict between "the turban and the crown", between the shahs, representing "secular" government, and the *mudjtahids*, whose dream was theocratic government. This conflict, always latent, emerged into the open from time to time during the Ḳādjār period, and finally burst forth with cataclysmic force in the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

(i) *The origins of the Ṣafawids.*

The origins of the Ṣafawid family are shrouded in some mystery, and the mystery is compounded by falsifications which were perpetrated, probably during the reign of Ismāʿīl I and certainly during that of Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*], in order to produce an "official" Ṣafawid genealogy [see ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN ARDABĪLĪ, *Bibliography*]. Petrushevskii thinks that the fabrication of the "official" Ṣafawid genealogy occurred even earlier, at the beginning of the 8th/14th century (see B. Nikitine, *Essai d'analyse du Ṣafvat al-ṣafā*, in *JA* [1957], 386). There seems now to be a consensus among scholars that the Ṣafawid family hailed from Persian Kurdistān, and later moved to Ādharbaydjān, finally settling in the 5th/11th century at Ardabīl. There, they lived an uneventful life, gradually acquiring a reputation for piety which attracted to them disciples (*murīd*), but it is only with the birth of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn in 650/1252-3, the eponymous founder of the Ṣafawiyya or Ṣafawid order, that Ṣafawid history really begins.

(ii) *The development of the Ṣafawid order (700-907/1301-1501).*

In 700/1301, Ṣafī al-Dīn assumed the leadership of a local Ṣūfī order in Gīlān, and, under him and his successor, Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā [see ṢADR AL-DĪN ARDABĪLĪ], the order was transformed into a religious movement which conducted its propaganda (*daʿwa*) throughout Persia, Syria and Asia Minor. As yet there was no sign of the militant Shīʿism which became a feature of the movement later; indeed, Ṣafī al-Dīn himself was apparently a Sunnī of the Shāfiʿī school. However, the order was beginning to have a political impact, judging by the fact that it attracted the hostility of the Mongol *amīr* Malik Ashraf. We have few details of the development of the order under Khwādja ʿAlī (794-832/1391-2 to 1429) and Ibrāhīm (832-51/1429-47). It is tempting to see the esoteric doctrine of the Ṣafawid order assuming a Shīʿī character under the leadership of Khwādja ʿAlī (see, for example, W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin and Leipzig 1936, 23; and E.G. Browne, in *JRAS* [July 1921], 407, quoted in V. Minorsky's review of Hinz's book in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, xxiii [1937], 954). In the opinion of H.R. Roemer, however, although Shīʿī elements are always present in Folk Islam, "it cannot be proved conclusively that any of the ancestors of Ismāʿīl "had abjured the Sunna and turned Shīʿī" (*The Safavid period*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, Cambridge 1986, 196-7). At all events, there is no doubt that the Ṣafawid order, like many other religious movements that flourished in Anatolia from the 7th-10th/13th-16th centuries, was the direct beneficiary of the destruction by Hülegü of the Sunnī caliphate in 656/1258, and of the policy of the Mongol Īl-Khāns of tolerance toward all religious faiths, which facilitated the spread of heterodoxy generally. While not going as far as to endorse Henri Corbin's famous dictum that "True Shiʿism is the same as Taṣavvuf, and similarly, genuine and real Taṣavvuf cannot be anything other than Shiʿism" (quoted in M.M. Mazzaoui, *The origins of the Ṣafawids*, Wiesbaden 1972, 83 and n. 2), M.F. Köprülü seems correct in saying that, during that period, "Le Soufisme est en faveur, mais l'hétérodoxie recrute facilement des adepts" (L. Bouvat's tr., quoted in Mazzaoui, 57).

When Shaykh Djunayd [*q.v.*] assumed the leadership of the Ṣafawid order in 951/1447-8, the history of the Ṣafawid movement entered a new phase. Not only did he possess religious authority; he also sought material power (*salṭanat-i ṣūrī*) (Khwūrshāh b. Ḳubād al-Ḥusaynī, *Tārīkh-i Īlčī-yi Niẓāmshāh*, B.L. ms. Add. 23,513, fol. 445b). The most powerful ruler in Persia at the time, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djahānshāh [*q.v.*], felt threatened (Amīn b. Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, B.L. ms. Add. 16,734, fol. 516a), and ordered Djunayd to disperse his forces and leave Ardabīl; otherwise, Ardabīl would be destroyed (B.L. ms. Or. 3248, fol. 19a). Djunayd fled, and eventually found asylum with Djahānshāh's rival, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu *amīr* Uzun Ḥasan [see AḲ ḲOYUNLU] in Diyār Bakr. In 864/1460, Djunayd was killed during a foray into Shīrwān, and his son Ḥaydar [*q.v.*] succeeded him as head of the Ṣafawiyya. Initially, Ḥaydar continued the alliance with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and cemented it by marrying Uzun Ḥasan's daughter. After Uzun Ḥasan's death, however, his son Yaʿḳūb in his turn felt threatened by growing Ṣafawid power, and allied himself with the Shīrwānshāh to defeat and kill Ḥaydar in 893/1488. Ṣafawid supporters were now distinguished by the distinctive headgear (*tādj*) of twelve gores, denoting the twelve Ithnā ʿAsharī Imāms, surmounted by a red spike; this *tādj* is said to have been revealed to Ḥaydar in a dream by the Imām ʿAlī, and the wearing of it caused the Ottomans to dub Ṣafawid supporters *ḳizilbash* [*q.v.*] or "redheads"; this derisory appelation was adopted by the Ṣafawids as a mark of pride. Halil Inalcik has noted that, already in the 8th/14th century, Turcoman warriors wore a red cap known as *ḳizil börk*.

After the death of Ḥaydar, the Ṣūfīs of the Ṣafawid order gathered round his son ʿAlī at Ardabīl. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu sultan Yaʿḳūb, now thoroughly alarmed, seized ʿAlī, his two younger brothers Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl, and their mother, and confined them in the fortress of Iṣṭakhr in Fārs. He is said to have spared the lives of the brothers only out of consideration for their mother, Ḥalīma Begī Āghā known as ʿĀlamshāh Begum, who was his own sister (B.L. ms. Or. 3248, fol. 24a). In the struggle for power which followed the death of Yaʿḳūb in 896/1490, one of the contenders, Rustam, released the Ṣafawid brothers from jail after four-and-a-half years (898/1493) and, with the assistance of their followers, defeated his main rival Bāysunḳur. He soon realised that the political aspirations of the Ṣafawids constituted a danger to himself; he re-arrested ʿAlī and his brothers, and planned to kill ʿAlī, and his followers at Tabrīz and Ardabīl. ʿAlī escaped from Rustam's camp, and made for Ardabīl, but was overtaken and killed by Aḳ Ḳoyunlu troops.

According to Ṣafawid "official history", ʿAlī, before he died, designated his younger brother, Ismāʿīl, to succeed him. However, A.H. Morton, in a paper given at the 2nd Safavid Round Table, held at Cambridge 8-11 September 1993, raised some important questions based on new evidence: why was Ismāʿīl given precedence over his elder brother Ibrāhīm, who might normally have been expected to succeed as leader of the Ṣafawid order? Did Ibrāhīm in fact succeed ʿAlī, and did Ibrāhīm's early death make it easier for Ṣafawid historians to "edit him out" of official Ṣafawid history? And, finally, does the passing over of Ibrāhīm in favour of Ismāʿīl mark a division in Ṣafawid ideology between Ibrāhīm,

representing Ṣūfī quietism, and Ismāʿīl, representing militant S̲h̲īʿī *g̲h̲uluww* or extremism? At all events, Ismāʿīl made his way to Gīlān, where he was given sanctuary at Lāhīd̲j̲ān by the local ruler Kār Kiyā Mīrzā ʿAlī. Rustam prepared to invade Gīlān, but was prevented from doing so by further dynastic feuds between rival Aḳ Ḳoyunlu chiefs.

Prima facie, one might have expected that the Ṣafawid revolutionary movement, for such it had become, would have petered out after suffering what would normally have been the devastating loss of not one but three leaders within the space of 34 years. The fact that it did not underlines the extraordinary effectiveness of the Ṣafawid *daʿwa*, particularly among the Turcoman tribesmen of eastern Anatolia and Syria. There were three principal elements which together made up what Minorsky called the "dynamic ideology of the Ṣafawid movement" (*Tad̲h̲kirat al-mulūk*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. XVI, London 1943, 23). First, the Ṣūfī disciples (*murīds*) of the Ṣafawīd order owed unquestioning obedience to their *murs̲h̲id-i kāmil* [see MURS̲H̲ID], the head of the order, who was their spiritual director. Second, the apotheosis of the Ṣafawid leader as a living emanation of the godhead. Already in the time of D̲j̲unayd the Ṣafawid *murīds* "openly called" their leader "God (*ilāh*), and his son, Son of God (ibn Allāh) ... in his praise they said 'he is the Living One, there is no God but he'" (Mazzaoui, *op. cit.*, 73). The poems of S̲h̲ah Ismāʿīl, composed in the Ād̲h̲arī dialect of Turkish under the pen-name of K̲h̲aṭāʾī [see ISMĀʿĪL I. 2], are unequivocal on the subject of Ismāʿīl's divinity (see R.M. Savory, *Some reflections on totalitarian tendencies in the Ṣafawid state*, in *Studies on the history of Ṣafawid Iran*, Variorum Reprints, London 1987, X, 231-2). Such a deviant doctrine placed the Ṣafawids squarely in the camp of the *g̲h̲ulāt* [*q.v.*], or S̲h̲īʿī extremists, such as the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*]. The third element of the Ṣafawid *daʿwa*, which assumed greater importance after the establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty as the s̲h̲āhs strove to give legitimacy to their rule, was their claim to be the representatives on earth of the Twelfth Imām or Mahdī of the It̲h̲nā ʿAs̲h̲arīs. In making this claim, they were of course usurping the traditional role of the *mud̲j̲tahids*.

Taken together, these three elements of the Ṣafawid *daʿwa* produced a heady brew which could readily be translated into direct action, and, in the summer of 905/1499, Ismāʿīl left Lāhid̲j̲ān for Ardabīl to make his bid for power. By the time he reached Ardabīl, 1,500 followers from Syria and Anatolia had joined him (Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. G.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, 25-6). From there, he sent heralds (*d̲j̲ārčiyān*) and couriers (*musriʿān*) to summon more supporters from those areas and also from Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAd̲j̲am [see D̲J̲IBĀL] to a rendezvous at Arzind̲j̲ān [see ERZIND̲J̲ĀN], on the high road between Aḳ S̲h̲ehir and Erzerum [*q.v.*]. His choice of rendezvous clearly indicates where the focal point of his support lay. By the summer of 906/1500, 7,000 *ḳizilbās̲h̲* had rallied to him; they came from the Ustād̲j̲lū, S̲h̲āmlū, Rūmlū, Takkalū, D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳadar, Afs̲h̲ār, Ḳād̲j̲ār and Warsāḳ tribes. Leading his troops on a punitive expedition against the S̲h̲īrwāns̲h̲āh [*q.v.*], he exacted revenge for the deaths of his father Ḥaydar and his grand-father D̲j̲unayd in S̲h̲īrwān; Ismāʿīl then marched south into Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. On the plain of S̲h̲arūr near Nak̲h̲čiwān, he decisively defeated a force of 30,000 Aḳ Ḳoyunlu under Alwand, and shortly afterwards (summer of 906-7/1501; see Erika Glassen, *Die frühen Safawiden nach Qāżī Aḥmad Qumī*, Freiburg i, Br. 1970, 85) entered Tabrīz. Coins were minted in his name; the *k̲h̲uṭba* was read in the name of the Twelve Imāms, and the Imāmī rite was proclaimed the true religion (K̲h̲ʷāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran n.d., iv, 467). Although masters initially only of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, and despite the fact that Alwand was mustering fresh forces; that another Aḳ Ḳoyunlu prince, Murād, was still in possession of Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAd̲j̲am; and that the Tīmūrids still controlled K̲h̲urāsān, the Ṣafawids had in fact won the struggle for power in Persia which had been going on for nearly a century since the death of Tīmūr in 807/1405.

(iii). *The establishment of the Ṣafawid state.*

Since Ismāʿīl I was only seven years old in 900/1494 when his brother ʿAlī was killed in battle with Aḳ Ḳoyunlu troops, and was barely fourteen years old at the time of his accession, it is obvious that the momentum of the Ṣafawid revolutionary movement during that crucial decade was maintained by others. The sources term the men responsible the *ahl-i ik̲h̲tiṣāṣ*, a small group of about seven *ḳizilbās̲h̲* chiefs who were singled out by their special devotion to their leader and who had a special relationship with him. They were charged not only with protecting the person of the young leader but also with planning the final stages of the Ṣafawid revolution.

The first decade of the 10th/16th century was spent by S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl in extending Ṣafawid rule over the rest of Persia [see ISMĀʿĪL I], and also over Bag̲h̲dād and the province of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab, which was wrested from Aḳ Ḳoyunlu control in 914/1508. In 917/1511 Ismāʿīl despatched a *ḳizilbās̲h̲* expeditionary force to Transoxania to assist the Tīmūrid Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur [see BĀBUR] in recovering his ancestral dominions from the S̲h̲ībānī Özbegs. The combined Ṣafawid and Tīmūrid force occupied Samarḳand, where Bābur made good his promise, in return for Ṣafawid help, to have Ismāʿīl's name inserted in the *k̲h̲uṭba* and coins minted in his name (*Aḥsan al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 127), but "the numismatic evidence for this is equivocal" [see BĀBUR, and its *Bibliography*]. Bābur, having also occupied Buk̲h̲ārā, sent the *ḳizilbās̲h̲* troops home, whereupon the Özbegs promptly counter-attacked and drove him out of Buk̲h̲ārā. Further Ṣafawid assistance from the governor of Balk̲h̲ temporarily stabilised the situation, but in 918/1512 a Ṣafawid force under the *wakīl* Amīr Nad̲j̲m was annihilated by the Özbegs after many of the *ḳizilbās̲h̲* had mutinied against their Persian commander (see Savory, *The political murder of Mīrzā Salmān*, in *Studies on the history of Ṣafawid Iran*, xv, 186-7). This defeat put an end to Ṣafawid aspirations to extend their influence into Transoxania, and, for most of the Ṣafawid period, the problem of the defence of the northeastern frontier against nomad invasions remained largely unsolved.

On the north-western frontier, Ṣafawid expansionism was a major factor in precipitating war with the Ottomans, a war which soon threatened the very existence of the nascent Ṣafawid state. Not surprisingly, the Sunnī Ottomans were alarmed by the vigorous propagation of the militantly S̲h̲īʿī Ṣafawid *daʿwa* in areas of eastern Anatolia and in the region of the Taurus mountains, which constituted an indeterminate frontier between the Ottoman empire and the Mamlūk state. Even more alarming for the Ottomans was the great success of this *daʿwa* among the Turcoman tribes, and the recruitment of significant numbers of these tribesmen into the Ṣafawid army. In 907-8/1502 the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] deported large numbers of S̲h̲īʿīs from Anatolia to the Morea, and he strengthened his garrisons on the

eastern frontier after Ismāʿīl overran Diyār Bakr and large areas of Kurdistān in 913/1507-8. In 916/1510, after his great victory at Marw over the Özbegs, Ismāʿīl sent the head of the Özbeg leader, Muḥammad Shībānī Khān, to Bāyezīd III. The following year, 917/1511, when a major Shīʿī revolt broke out in Tekke, and at the same time civil war erupted between Bāyezīd and two of his sons, Selīm and Aḥmed, Shāh Ismāʿīl sought to turn the situation to his advantage. His scheme to mobilise support for Murād, son of Aḥmed, came to nothing, but a Ṣafawid force under Nūr ʿAlī Khalīfa Rūmlū carried fire and sword as far as Tūkāt, where the *khuṭba* was read in the name of Ismāʿīl, and defeated a large Ottoman force under Sinān Pasha. Meanwhile, Bāyezīd II had been forced to abdicate in favour of his son Selīm on 7 Ṣafar 918/24 April 1512. At once, Selīm set about mustering a huge army of 200,000 men for the invasion of Persia, and, as an initial measure, "proscribed Shiʿism in his dominions and massacred all its adherents on whom he could lay hands" (H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, i/2, Oxford 1957, 189). Marching by easy stages across Anatolia into Ādharbāydjān, Selim reached Čāldirān [*q.v.*] on 1 Radjab 920/22 August 1514, where a battle was fought the following day (see M.J. McCaffrey, *Čālderān*, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, v, 656-8; Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Djang-i Čāldiran*, in *Madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, i/2 [1953-4], 50-127). The Ṣafawid army was heavily defeated. Most sources say that the Ottomans outnumbered the Ṣafawid forces two to one, but the Ottoman artillery and handguns, of which as yet the Ṣafawids had little experience [see BĀRŪD. v], were the decisive factor. After their victory, the Ottomans entered Tabrīz, the Ṣafawid capital, but recalcitrant Janissaries thwarted Selīm's plan to winter there and complete the conquest of Persia the following year, and he withdrew eight days later, on 23 Radjab 920/13 September 1514.

The consequences of the defeat at Čāldirān were both material and psychological. In terms of territory, the result was the annexation by the Ottomans of the regions of Diyār Bakr, Marʿash and Albistān. In terms of casualties, many high-ranking *ḳizilbāsh amīrs*, and three prominent members of the *ʿulamāʾ*, were killed. Psychologically, the defeat destroyed Ismāʿīl's belief in his invincibility, based on his pretensions to divine status. During the last ten years of his life, despite serious losses on the eastern frontier (Balkh: 922/1516-17; Ḳandahār [*q.v.*]: 928/1522), and the near-loss of Harat in 927/1520 and 930/1523, Ismāʿīl never again took the field in person; furthermore, he gave less personal attention to state affairs. The defeat also fundamentally altered the relationship between Ismāʿīl as *murshid-i kāmil* and the *ḳizilbāsh*, his *murīds*. The habitual rivalries between the *ḳizilbāsh* tribes, which had been temporarily sublimated into the dynamic ideology of the Ṣafawid *daʿwa*, resurfaced in virulent form immediately after the death of Ismāʿīl, and led to ten years of civil war that rent the fabric of the Ṣafawid state (930-40/1524-33).

The administrative structure of the Ṣafawid state under Ismāʿīl I was essentially a Turco-Persian condominium. From the beginning there was tension (initially creative) between the *ḳizilbāsh* who, since their military prowess had achieved political power for the Ṣafawids, considered that the principal offices of state should be their perquisite, and the Persians, who in the main staffed the ranks of the bureaucracy and the religious establishment. Friction was inevitable because, as Minorsky put it, the *ḳizilbāsh* "were not party to the national Persian tradition. Like oil and water, the Turcomans and the Persians did not mix freely, and the dual character of the population profoundly affected both the military and civil administration" (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 188). Each faction saw the other in terms of racial stereotypes (see Savory, *The Qizilbash, education and the arts*, in *Studies on the History of Ṣafawid Iran*, XVI, 168 ff.). The Persians saw the *ḳizilbāsh* as fighting men of only moderate intelligence. The *ḳizilbāsh* considered the Persians effete, and referred to them by the pejorative term "Tādjīk", i.e. non-Turk. Ismāʿīl attempted to reduce the friction by creating a new office of *wakīl-i nafs-i nafīs-i humāyūn*, who was to be the *alter ego* of the Shāh [see DĪWĀN. iv], superior in rank both to the *wazīr*, the head of the bureaucracy, and the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, the commander-in-chief of the *ḳizilbāsh* forces (see *EIr*, art. *Amīr al-Omarāʾ*. ii. Safavid usage). The weakness of this plan was that the appointee to the new office had to be either a Turk or a Tādjīk, and the antipathy between the two groups was, if anything, exacerbated rather than mitigated. The other administrative change made by Ismāʿīl I was to make the *ṣadr*, who had been the head of the religious institution in Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and Tīmūrid administrations, a political appointee. The idea was that the *ṣadr* would be answerable to the Shāh for the good behaviour of the *mudjtahids*, who resented the usurpation by the Shāh of their prerogative to be the representatives on earth of the Mahdī [*q.v.*], and who might feel inclined to challenge this presumption. This stratagem, too, was far from being an unqualified success.

(iv) *Internal discord and external enemies: the Ṣafawid state from 930/1524 to 996/1588.*

Ṭahmāsp, who succeeded in father Ismāʿīl I in 930/1524, was at the time ten years and three months old; he was the ward of a *ḳizilbāsh amīr* who saw himself as the *de facto* ruler of the state [see *EIr*, art. *Dīv Solṭān*]. For almost ten years rival *ḳizilbāsh* factions fought for control of the state (see Savory, *The principal offices of the Safawid state during the reign of Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76)*, in *Studies on the history of Ṣafawid Iran*, V, 65-71). Eventually, Ṭahmāsp reasserted his authority to such good purpose that he ended up by reigning for 52 years, the longest reign in Persian history. Ṭahmāsp has been paid scant attention by historians. Perhaps his unattractive character has deterred them from making a major study of him. He is portrayed as a religious bigot (cf. e.g. the Jenkinson episode (Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, 111-12), and the celebrated visit to Persia in 951/1544 of the fugitive Mughal Emperor Humāyūn [*q.v.*] (see also MUGHALS. 2. External relations, and Savory, *op. cit.*, 66); as avaricious (*Narrative of the Most Noble Vincentio d'Alessandri, ambassador to the King of Persia for the Most Illustrious Republic of Venice*, in *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Hakluyt Society, London 1873, 217-19); *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, 2 vols., London 1939, i, 54); and as capable of ordering particularly sadistic punishments in an age in which cruel punishments were commonplace (see, for example, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 274, 285, 356). Apparently a debauchee in his youth, Ṭahmasp made a public act of repentance (*tawba*) at the age of twenty, and subsequently not only rigorously prohibited the drinking of wine and other alcoholic beverages, and the use of hashish, but placed severe restrictions on singing and the playing of musical instruments. Furthermore, he ordered that the considerable revenues accruing to the treasury from gambling casinos, taverns and brothels be expunged from the account-books (*ibid.*, 246, 489).

D'Alessandri's charge that Ṭahmāsp was "a man of very little courage" (*op. cit.*, 216) must be rejected (see Savory, *op. cit.*, 57-8). In the course of his reign, the Özbegs launched five major attacks on K͟hurāsān, and the Ottomans, under their most powerful sultan Süleyman II, made four major invasions of Persia. It is true that Persia lost territory (Bag͟hdād in 942/1535), and that Ṭahmāsp was forced to move the Ṣafawid capital from Tabrīz to Ḳazwīn in 955/1548 (L. Lockhart, *Persian cities*, London 1960, 69; A.K.S. Lambton, in ḲAZWĪN, gives 962/1555), but, with the meagre resources available to him, he successfully fought a series of wars on two fronts (Savory, *op. cit.*, 58 ff.), and, in 962/1555, he was successful in negotiating with the Ottomans the Treaty of Amasya on terms not unfavourable to Persia; peace remained unbroken for the remainder of Ṭahmāsp's reign (see *EIr*, i, 928: AMASYA; N. Itzkowitz, *Ottoman empire and Islamic tradition*, New York 1972, 35-6; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1976, i, 109).

Although it was S͟hāh ʿAbbās I who accelerated the process of converting the Ṣafawid state from a Turco-Persian condominium into a multi-cultural society, it was Ṭahmāsp who began it by introducing new ethnic elements from the Caucasus region, namely, Armenians, Georgians and Circassians, and by recruiting members of these groups into Ṣafawid service. Such recruits were called *g͟hulāmān-i k͟hāṣṣa-yi s͟harīfa* [see G͟HULĀM. ii, Persia], an obvious analogy with the Ottoman *ḳapî ḳullarî*. After the death of Ṭahmāsp in 984/1576, the struggle for a dominant position in the state was no longer only between the two "founding nations", Turcomans and Tād͟jīks, but was a three-cornered fight for power involving ambitious members of the new Caucasian factions. This fight was complicated greatly by the emergence of the *ḥaram* as an important source of political power, as Circassian and Georgian mothers of royal princes intrigued to secure the succession of their particular sons. From the time of D͟junayd onwards, all Ṣafawid leaders had had Turcoman mothers. After the death of Ṭahmāsp, however, because neither of the "*ḳizilbās͟h*" candidates, the mentally unstable Ismāʿīl and the purblind Sulṭān Muḥammad K͟hudābanda, was suitable as a ruler, one *ḳizilbās͟h* tribe, the Ustād͟jlūs, threw its support behind Ṭahmāsp's third son, Ḥaydar, whose mother was a Georgian. The majority of the *ḳizilbās͟h* saw the prospect of a ruler strongly supported by the Georgian faction as a threat to their own pre-eminence, and assassinated Ḥaydar; they then placed on the throne first, Ismāʿīl II (984-5/1576-7), and then Sulṭān Muḥammad S͟hāh (985-96/1578-88).

The history of the Ṣafawid state prior to the accession of ʿAbbās I (*q.v.*; see also *EIr*, art. *ʿAbbās I*) is an evolutionary phase, during which attempts were made to deal with certain basic problems posed by the establishment of the state. An attempt was made to incorporate the original Ṣūfī organisation of the Ṣafawid order in the state. An attempt was made to prevent the *ḳizilbās͟h* from acquiring a dominant position in the state at the expense of the Tād͟jīks or Persians. Both failed. As a result of the first failure, there was a marked movement away from the theocratic form of government of the early Ṣafawid state toward a greater separation of spiritual and temporal powers. The second failure led to the introduction of elements which were neither Turcoman nor Persian, but Caucasian Christian, as a sort of "third force" to offset the influence of the other two.

The pre-ʿAbbās period was one in which the functions of the principal officers of state were not precisely defined, and the boundary between the political establishment and the religious establishment was not clearly demarcated. For example, one finds a military officer, the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, exercising a considerable measure of political authority, and one finds *ṣadrs* and other religious officials holding military rank and leading troops into battle; the *ṣadr* himself, as already noted, was a political appointee. One must beware, therefore, of using terms like "civil", "military", "religious", and the like, in any precise sense. By the end of the reign of Ṭahmāsp, the power of the *ṣadr* had declined. This was due in part to the division of the office into that of *ṣadr-i ʿāmma* and *ṣadr-i k͟hāṣṣa*, and in part to the fact that one of the *ṣadr*'s important functions in the early Ṣafawid state, namely, the imposition of It͟hnā ʿAs͟harī uniformity throughout Persia, had largely been achieved by the end of the reign of Ismāʿīl I. With the gradual abandonment of the concept of *wakīl* as the *alter ego* of the s͟hāh, the importance of the *wazīr* as the head of the bureaucracy increased and, by the time of ʿAbbās I, the *wazīr* had emerged as one of the most powerful officers of state.

(v) *The Ṣafawid state at the height of its power under S͟hāh ʿAbbās I (996-1038/1588-1629).*

The *ḳizilbās͟h* inter-tribal rivalry, the succession struggles, and the attempt by a Tād͟jīk faction to end *ḳizilbās͟h* dominance, went on for eleven years after the death of Ṭahmāsp, and so weakened the ability of the state to resist its external enemies that the Ottomans made inroads in Ād͟harbāyd͟jān and the Özbegs in K͟hurāsān: the citadel at Tabrīz had been in Ottoman hands since 993/1585; Harāt had fallen to the Özbegs in the spring of 996/1588. When ʿAbbās, the third son of Sulṭān Muḥammad S͟hāh, was placed on the throne in 996/1588, the prospects for the survival of the Ṣafawid state were as bleak as they had been in 920/1514 after the battle of Čāldirān. The events of ʿAbbās's youth had made him determined to make himself independent of the untrustworthy *ḳizilbās͟h* tribes; yet he could not dispense entirely with their fighting qualities. His solution was to raise a standing army, itself an innovation in Persia, from the ranks of the *g͟hulāms*. The new regiments would be paid from the royal treasury, and would be loyal to him personally, and not to a tribal chief; they included regiments of musketeers [see BĀRŪD. v. The Ṣafawids]. The reorganisation of the army necessitated a reduction in the number of provinces under *ḳizilbās͟h* administration (*mamālik*), in which the greater part of the revenue was consumed locally, and an increase in the number of provinces under direct royal administration (*k͟hāṣṣa*), the revenues from which accrued to the royal treasury. *G͟hulāms* were not only recruited for military service but were appointed to positions within the royal household and the *k͟hāṣṣa* administration. These policies set in train a social and political revolution. Minorsky has calculated that, by the end of the reign of ʿAbbās I, about one-fifth of the high-ranking *amīrs* were *g͟hulāms* (*Tad͟hkirat al-mulūk*, 17-18); by 1007/1598, only ten years after the accession of ʿAbbās I, an Armenian from Georgia had risen to the position of commander-in-chief of all the Ṣafawid armed forces (see *EIr*, art. *Allāhverdī Khan*). The changed social and political basis of the Ṣafawid state was naturally reflected in its administrative structure. The offices of *wakīl* and *amīr al-umarāʾ*, relevant to the period of *ḳizilbās͟h* domination, fell into disuse. The *ḳūrčībās͟hī*, or commander of the élite corps of *ḳūrčīs* [see ḲŪRČĪ] continued to be listed among the principal officers of state, but his importance, too, declined *pari passu* with the decline of the *ḳizilbās͟h*. Instead, we hear of a new officer, the *sipāhsālār*, or

commander-in-chief of all troops, ḳizilbāsh and non-ḳizilbāsh. The commanders of the two of the new regiments in the reorganised army, the ḳullar-āḳāsi, or commander of the ghulāms, and the tufangčī-āḳāsi, or commander of the musketeers, join the highest echelons of the administration. The growing centralisation of the bureaucracy resulted in the increased status of the wazīr, who now boasted such titles as iʿtimād al-dawla ("trusty support of the state") or ṣadr-i aʿẓam ("exalted seat of honour").

The new army could not be organised and trained overnight, and it was ten years before ʿAbbās felt ready to take the field. In the meantime, he had been forced to sign a treaty by which he ceded to the Ottomans large areas of Ṣafawid territory, including Ādharbāydjān, Ḳarabāgh, Gandja, Ḳarādja-dāgh, Georgia, and parts of Luristān and Kurdistān; in the east, the Özbegs overran the province of Sīstān, and in 998-9/1590 the Mughals recaptured Ḳandahār, which had been in Ṣafawid hands since 965/1558. The tide began to turn in 1007/1598, when ʿAbbās scored a signal victory over the Özbegs and recaptured Harāt, but the Özbegs remained a formidable enemy, and in 1011/1602 a Ṣafawid army was forced to retreat from Balkh with heavy losses. In 1012/1603 ʿAbbās launched a series of major offensives against the Ottomans in the north-west. Tabrīz was recaptured, and the Ottomans were pushed back behind the river Aras. By 1016/1607, the last Ottoman soldier had been expelled from Ṣafawid territory as defined by the Treaty of Amasya in 962/1555, and in 1033/1624 the Ṣafawids recaptured Baghdād.

The reputation of ʿAbbās I does not rest solely on his military and political achievements. His reign is notable for a remarkable flowering of the arts, both fine and applied. It is also notable for a major exercise in urban planning, when ʿAbbās I in 1007/1598 transferred the capital from Ḳazwīn to Iṣfahān, and proceeded to lay out an entirely new city cheek by jowl with the ancient one. The focus of the new city was the great Maydān-i Naḳsh-i Djahān, 507 m in length and 158 m in width; the Čahār Bāgh avenue (see *EIr*, art. *Č(ah)ār-bāg-e Eṣfahān*) started at a point near the Maydān and ran south for more than two miles, crossed the Zāyanda-rūd by the Allāhverdī Khān bridge, and ended at the pleasure gardens known as Hazār-djarīb.

The economic prosperity of Persia also increased dramatically under ʿAbbās I. The new capital, Iṣfahān, became a thriving metropolis, and Western diplomatic representatives began to make their way to it. The primary objective of all European diplomats was the development of trade (see 2. Economic and commercial history). The secondary purpose of envoys from Roman Catholic countries was the furtherance of the interests of the various religious Orders operating in Persia: Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites, Jesuits and Capuchins. The first envoy who was not a member of a religious Order was Don García de Silva y Figueroa, ambassador from King Philip III of Spain, who arrived at Iṣfahān in 1025/1617; next, after ʿAbbās I had enlisted the aid of ships of the English East India Company to expel the Portuguese from Hormuz in 1031/1622, was the first official English ambassador to the Persian court, Sir Dodmore Cotton; finally, in 1076/1665, Louis XIV of France followed suit, and sent two envoys to Persia.

(vi) *The decline and fall of the Ṣafawids (1038-1135/1629-1722).*

Chardin's well-known dictum: "When this great prince (Shāh ʿAbbās I) ceased to live, Persia ceased to prosper!", though exaggerated, contains within it a kernel of truth. Shāh Ṣafī, the grandson and successor of ʿAbbās I (1038-52/1629-42), seemed intent only on maintaining his own position by putting to death or blinding possible rivals such as princes of the Ṣafawid house and powerful officers of state such as the ḳūrčībāshī. In 1047-8/1637-8 two important cities, Baghdād and Ḳandahār, were lost. Ṣafī's son and successor, ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66), was a more able ruler, resembling his great-grandfather ʿAbbās I in his administrative skill and powers of military leadership. He was less able to withstand pressure from the religious leaders, however, and although Christians continued to enjoy considerable freedom of worship, ʿAbbās I's policy of religious tolerance was breached by ʿAbbās II's treatment of Jews. In fact, it was becoming clear that many of the policies put in place by ʿAbbās I could be maintained only by a ruler endowed with his outstanding abilities. It is the tragedy of the reign of ʿAbbās I that, by his own act, he made it unlikely that his successors would be of similar calibre. To begin with, he followed the traditional Ṣafawid practice of appointing the royal princes to provincial governorates, where they were placed in the care of a ḳizilbāsh chief who held the title of *lala* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] "guardian" or "tutor". The *lala* was responsible not only for his ward's physical well-being, but also for training him in statecraft. Thus in 999/1590-1 ʿAbbās I appointed his eldest son, Muḥammad Bāḳir Mīrzā, governor of Hamadān and *amīr al-umarāʾ* of the province (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, text, ed. Īradj Afshār, 2 vols., Tehran 1334-5 Sh./1955-6, i, 440, tr. Savory, 2 vols., Boulder, Col. 1978, ii, 614). In 1024/1614, however, his son was murdered, probably with the Shāh's connivance, on suspicion of plotting against him (*ibid.*, text, ii, 883-4, tr., ii, 1098-9). From then on, the royal princes were closely confined in the ḥaram, where their only companions were their tutors, the court eunuchs, and the women of the ḥaram. The new policy bore obvious similarities to the Ottoman ḳafes ("cage") system, which was introduced slightly earlier, during the reign of Selīm II (974-82/1566-74) (see Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, 179). Shaw notes that the new system resulted in increased political power for the women of the harem, and introduced the "sultanate of the women", which lasted well into the 11th/17th century. In Ṣafawid Persia, there was a similar result. Chardin calls the ḥaram "un Conseil privé, qui l'emporte d'ordinaire par dessus tout, et qui donne la loi à tout" (*Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, 10 vols., v, 240). Moreover, the new policy failed in its essential purpose, namely, to prevent treasonable behaviour or the suspicion of treason on the part of the royal princes. On the contrary, once confined to the ḥaram, they became the centre of intrigue to a far greater extent than had previously been the case. This led ʿAbbās to blind his sons Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā in 1030/1620-1 (Iskandar Beg, text, ii, 965, tr., ii, 1187), and Imām Ḳulī Mīrzā in 1036/1626-7 (*ibid.*, text, ii, 1064, tr., ii, 1288); two other sons had died young of natural causes, and so ʿAbbas had left himself without an heir.

The third factor in the decline of the Ṣafawids was the inordinate extension of the policy, begun under ʿAbbās I and continued under his successors, of converting *mamālik* to *khāṣṣa* provinces. By the end of the reign of ʿAbbās I, only those frontier provinces in which an instant response to enemy invasion was essential, remained in the hands of ḳizilbāsh gover-

nors. This process had two undesirable effects: first, the military strength of the Ṣafawid state was weakened. Whether or not the *g̲h̲ulām* troops were as good fighting material as their *ḳizilbās̲h̲* predecessors is debatable, but, when the overall number of men in the army was allowed to decline, the consequences were predictable; second, the administration of the *k̲h̲āṣṣa* provinces, by officials who were royal bailiffs or intendants and were little more than tax-farmers, was more oppressive than that of *ḳizilbās̲h̲* governors of *mamālik* provinces. As Minorsky says, Chardin, "in his paragraph on the Khāṣṣa, ... has unmasked one of the basic evils of administration which contributed to the fall of the dynasty" (*Tad̲h̲kirat al-mulūk*, 26). The extent to which Ṣafawid military power had declined was dramatically demonstrated in 1135/1722, when a small band of marauding Afg̲h̲āns succeeded in starving the Ṣafawid capital into surrender.

Under the last two Ṣafawid s̲h̲āhs, Sulaymān (1077-1105/1666-94) and Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-35/1694-1722), the pace of decline accelerated. Both were weak and pliable rulers, products of the *ḥaram* system. Sulaymān, an alcoholic, had little interest in affairs of state. His son, S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, was no better, and his derisive nickname "Mullā Ḥusayn" is significant. Unrestrained by the authority of the ruler, the "privy council" of the women of the *ḥaram* and the court eunuchs usurped power at the centre of the ruling institution. Equally serious was the emergence of the *mud̲j̲tahids* and other religious leaders as a powerful political force. The political role of the *ṣadr* was assumed first by the *s̲h̲aykh al-islām*, and then, after the accession of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, by a new official called the *mullābās̲h̲ī*. There was an outpouring of works on It̲h̲nā ʿAs̲h̲arī theology, jurisprudence and tradition and, as S̲h̲īʿī orthodoxy became more rigidly formalised, there was increasing persecution of heretics. Ṣūfīs, who had brought the Ṣafawids to power, were now a principal target of the *mud̲h̲tahids*, one of whom even acquired the soubriquet of *ṣūfī-kus̲h̲* or "Ṣūfī-slayer" (see Browne, *LHP*, iv, 386 ff.). ʿAbbās I's policy of religious tolerance, which had been responsible for much of the economic prosperity of Persia during his reign, was abandoned. Not only did the usual targets, Christians and Jews, suffer as a result, but philosophers and non-conformist Muslims as well (D. Morgan, *Medieval Persia 1040-1797*, London and New York 1988, 149). The upsurge of religious intolerance resulting from the increased power of the *ʿulamāʾ* also had economic consequences (see section II), and this factor must be added to Minorsky's "more conspicuous factors" (*Tad̲h̲kirat al-mulūk*, 23) for Ṣafawid decline.

In 1121/1709 Mīr Ways, chief of the G̲h̲alzay Afg̲h̲āns [see G̲H̲ALZAYS], hitherto a vassal of the Ṣafawids, rebelled and occupied Ḳandahar, and this was followed by the revolt of the Abdālī [*q.v.*] Afg̲h̲āns. Mīr Ways's successor, Maḥmūd, subdued the Abdālīs and, in 1131/1719, led a force across the Das̲h̲t-i Lūṭ and entered Kirmān unopposed. Thus encouraged, he returned two years later with a larger force, and marched on Iṣfahān. Vacillation on the part of the S̲h̲āh, treachery within the ranks of Ṣafawid officials at Iṣfahān, and the pathetically weak state of the Ṣafawid army, enabled Maḥmūd to rout a mainly scratch Ṣafawid force at Gulnābād near Iṣfahān on 20 D̲j̲umādā I 1134/8 March 1722. Maḥmūd, his force too small to carry the city by storm, starved it into surrender six months later; on 1 Muḥarram 1135/12 October 1722 Sulṭān Ḥusayn S̲h̲āh surrendered unconditionally, and handed over the crown to Maḥmūd.

(vii) *The Afg̲h̲ān interregnum 1135-42/1722-29; Ṣafawid* rois-fainéants *(1135-48/1722-36); the end of the Ṣafawid dynasty.*

The third son of S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā, had escaped from Iṣfahān during the Afg̲h̲ān siege, and had proclaimed himself S̲h̲āh at Ḳazwīn on 30 Muḥarram 1135/10 November 1722 with the title of Ṭahmāsp II, but was driven out by the Afg̲h̲āns and took refuge at Tabrīz. An uprising of the townspeople of Ḳazwīn against the Afg̲h̲āns precipitated the slaughter by Maḥmūd at Iṣfahān of Persian government officials, members of the nobility, and about 3,000 *ḳizilbas̲h̲* guards. In 1137/1725 a report that S̲h̲āh Sultān Ḥusayn's second son, Ṣafī Mīrzā, had escaped from Iṣfahān caused Maḥmūd to put to death at least eighteen members of the Ṣafawid royal family. Shortly afterwards, Maḥmūd was overthrown by his cousin As̲h̲raf, who was proclaimed S̲h̲āh on 12 S̲h̲aʿbān 1137/26 April 1725. The Afg̲h̲ān writ only ran in central and south-eastern Persia, and As̲h̲raf's efforts to seize Ṭahmāsp II failed. The strife in Persia tempted Tsar Peter the Great to occupy Darband and Bākū in 1135/1723, and in 1138-9/1726 the Ottomans also took advantage of the situation and once again invaded Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān; this invasion led As̲h̲raf to execute S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn. In 1140/1727 As̲h̲raf was forced to negotiate peace with the Ottomans and to recognise as Ottoman territory large areas of Persian Kurdistān, Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲an, Ḳarabāg̲h̲ and Georgia. In 1139/1726 Ṭahmāsp II was joined by Nādir K̲h̲ān Afs̲h̲ār [see NĀDIR S̲H̲ĀH AFS̲H̲ĀR], who dubbed himself Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī K̲h̲ān and claimed that his goal was the restoration of the Ṣafawid monarchy. After winning a number of victories over the rival Ḳād̲j̲ārs and their Turcoman allies in K̲h̲urāsān, and over the Abdālīs, Nādir routed As̲h̲raf, entered Iṣfahān on 16 D̲j̲umādā I 1142/7 December 1730, and placed Ṭahmāsp II on the throne.

After five years of campaigning (1142-48/1730-35), Nādir regained all Persian territory lost to the Ottomans (see Shaw, *op. cit.*, 238-9, 243), and peace was negotiated on the basis of a reversion to the frontiers laid down in the Treaty of Zuhāb in 1049/1639. Nādir's campaigns against the Russians were equally successful. By the terms of the Treaty of Ras̲h̲t (4 Shaʿbān 1144/1 February 1732), Russia returned all Persian territory south of the river Kūra, and by the Treaty of Gand̲j̲a (28 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1147/21 May 1735), Russia surrendered Bākū and Darband.

On 17 Rabīʿ I 1145/7 September 1732, Nādir deposed Ṭahmāsp II, and placed the latter's son on the throne with the title of ʿAbbās III. Four years later, Nādir abandoned the pretence of restoring the Ṣafawid monarchy, deposed ʿAbbās III, and had himself crowned S̲h̲āh on 24 S̲h̲awwāl 1148/8 March 1736 as the first ruler of the new Afs̲h̲ārid dynasty. During Nādir's absence in India, his son Riḍā Ḳulī K̲h̲ān had Ṭahmāsp II and ʿAbbās III put to death in 1152/1740, together with ʿAbbās's younger brother Ismāʿīl (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 177-8, 180). The accession of Nādir S̲h̲āh brought to an end more than two centuries of Ṣafawid rule, which had existed in name only since 1135/1722, but Ṣafawid pretenders, who first made their appearance during the reign of the Afg̲h̲ān As̲h̲raf, continued to manifest themselves as late as 1187/1773, under the Zands (see J.R. Perry, *The last Ṣafawids*, in *Iran JIBPS*, ix [1971], 59-69).

II. Economic and commercial history; trade relations with Europe.

(i) *European attempts to develop trade with Ṣafawid Persia.*

Trade has a way of ignoring national boundaries and the wishes of political leaders. Thus it was that, when the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 857/1453 put an end to the trade of the Republic of Venice in the Black Sea, the Venetians found a temporary gap in the Ottoman defences in Ḳaramān, and continued to trade with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan via this route. The decisive defeat of Uzun Ḥasan by the Ottomans on the Upper Euphrates in 878/1473, and the final incorporation of Ḳaramān into the Ottoman empire in 880/1475, sealed off this line of communication with Iran. In 1488, however, the Portuguese sea-captain Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope, thus outflanking the Ottoman empire and also the Italian city-states of Venice and Genoa, and opening up the possibility of trade with Persia via the Persian Gulf. In 913/1507, less than a decade after Vasco da Gama had reached India, the Portuguese, under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque, arrived in the Persian Gulf. The Portuguese Viceroy at once saw the great strategic and commercial importance of Hormuz [see HURMŪZ], and in 921/1515 he returned and occupied the city, thus establishing the first European foothold on Ṣafawid territory. For the Portuguese, although the vassal (*titulado*) King of Hormuz had, by the Treaty of Mīnāb (929-30/1523) granted them *inter alia* a site for the construction of a factory, the most lucrative aspect of their occupation of Hormuz was control of the customs.

The English, conceding control of the Persian Gulf to the Portuguese for more than a century, attempted to turn the northern flank of the Ottoman empire by opening up a trade route to Russia and Persia via the hazardous sea route north of Scandinavia to Archangel. The first English joint-stock company formed for this purpose, in 1553, was called "The Mysterie and Companie of the Merchant Adventurers for the Discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and Places unknown", and had Sebastian Cabot as its Governor. The Company was successively named "The Muscovy Company" and "The Russia Company". In 964-5/1557, Anthony Jenkinson and two other merchants reached Astra**kh**ān, and crossed the Caspian Sea to Bu**kh**ārā. Four years later, Jenkinson returned, and this time crossed the Caspian and landed on Ṣafawid territory in **Sh**īrwān. On 23 Rabīʿ I 970/20 November 1562, he was received in audience by **Sh**āh Ṭahmāsp, and delivered to him a letter from Elizabeth I, in which the Queen desired "to treate of friendship, and free passage of our Merchants and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carry away theirs to the honour of both princes, the mutual commoditie of both Realmes, and wealth of the Subjects" (Anthony Jenkinson, *Early voyages and travels to Russia and Persia*, Hakluyt Society, 1st Series, nos. lxxii-lxxiii, 2 vols., London 1886, i, 147). Although **Sh**āh Ṭahmāsp dismissed Jenkinson with the remark "Oh thou unbeleever, we have no neede to have friendship with the unbelievers", the **Sh**āh's brother-in-law, ʿAbd Allāh **Kh**ān Ustād**j**lū, governor of **Sh**īrwān, granted important trading privileges to the Muscovy Company; but the dangers of the sea-route to the White Sea, and attacks by bandits in the Volga region, caused the Company to abandon this route in 988-9/1581.

In the same year, English merchants tried to gain access to the Persian market by the overland route from the eastern Mediterranean across Syria and Mesopotamia. John Newberie, having reached Hormuz on the Persian Gulf by this overland route, persuaded the merchants of the recently formed Levant Company to interest themselves in trade with Persia, and in 996-7/1583 he returned to Persia hoping to open a factory at Hormuz. He and his fellow-merchants were seized by the Portuguese commandant as heretics and spies, and sent to Goa to stand trial; they were subsequently released. In 1008-9/1600 John Mildenhall, a London merchant, again took the overland route to Persia, and went on to India, but English attempts to open up trade with Persia by the overland route from the Levant proved no more successful than their attempts to use the sea route north of Scandinavia.

By 988-9/1581, the Portuguese had fought off a challenge to their supremacy in the Persian Gulf from the Ottomans (see Savory, *The history of the Persian Gulf*, in A.J. Cottrell (ed.), *The Persian Gulf states*, Baltimore and London 1980, 23-4), but a new challenge faced them from the merchants of the English East India Company, founded in 1008-9/1600. On 12 Ramaḍān 1024/5 October 1615, two merchants of this Company, Richard Steele and John Crowther, obtained a *farmān* from **Sh**āh ʿAbbās I which ordered the **Sh**āh's subjects "to kindly receive and entertaine the English Frankes or Nation, at what time any of their ships or shipping shall arrive ate Jasques (**D**jāsk), or any other of the Ports in our Kingdome: to conduct them and their Merchandise to what place or places they themselves desire: and that you shall see them safely defended about our Coasts, from any other Frank or Franks whatsoever" (Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his pilgrim(e)s*, 20 vols., Glasgow 1905-71, iv, 279). The following year Edward Connock arrived at **D**jāsk to open a factory, and was cordially received by ʿAbbās I, who granted the Company further privileges. This second *farmān* does not appear to be extant, but the gist of it is probably contained in the *farmān* of **Sh**āh Ṣafī dated 1038/1629, which *inter alia* gave English merchants the right to buy and sell freely in Persia; moreover, the English ambassador, when appointed, was empowered to appoint agents and factors in Persia (Sir Arnold T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf: an historical sketch from the earliest times to the beginning of the twentieth century*, Oxford 1928, 139). In 1027-8/1618 ʿAbbās I agreed not to export any silk to Spain or Portugal, or to Europe via Ottoman territory. He also promised to supply the English East India Company with a quantity of silk annually at a fixed rate, and to allow this silk to be exported from Persia free of duty. Portugal did not give up its monopoly of Persian Gulf trade without a fight, but a strong Portuguese squadron under Ruy Freyre de Andrade was defeated in two naval battles off **D**jāsk in Muḥarram-Rabīʿ I 1030/December-January 1621. These victories paved the way for the combined operation in 1031/1622 in which Ṣafawid troops, transported by ships of the English East India Company, dislodged the Portuguese from Hormuz.

English ascendancy was short-lived. The formation of the Dutch East India Company in 1602 signalled the determination of the Dutch to challenge both England and Portugal for control of the East Indies spice and pepper trade, and within a few years they were challenging the position of England in the Persian Gulf as well. In 1031/1622, under the terms of the agreement with ʿAbbās I, the English East India Company was to receive one-half of all customs dues levied on merchandise passing through Bandar ʿAbbās, but the Dutch refused to pay. On the accession of Ṣafī I in 1038/1629, the Dutch outmanoeuvred the English and obtained important privileges from

the Shāh. They founded a factory at Bandar ʿAbbās, and rapidly established a monopoly of the spice trade between Persia and the East Indies. In 1055/1645 they obtained from ʿAbbās II a licence to buy silk anywhere in Persia and export it free of customs duty. The English, who succeeded in getting their privileges renewed by Shāh Ṣafī only in 1042/1632, were fighting a losing battle. They started to move their factory from Bandar ʿAbbās to Baṣra, but a Dutch squadron sailed to Baṣra and destroyed it. In the second half of the 11th/17th century, the Dutch reigned supreme in the Persian Gulf. The third European East India Company, the French, came late to the field (1074-5/1664), but succeeded in obtaining from ʿAbbās II trading privileges similar to those already granted to the English and Dutch, including the right to open a factory at Bandar ʿAbbās. The overthrow of the Ṣafawids in 1135/1722 and the consequent insecurity in Persia militated against the operations of European merchants there, and at the same time the growth of piracy in the Persian Gulf threatened the safety of European vessels. By 1142-3/1730, most European countries trading with Persia were operating at a loss.

(ii) *Persia's domestic and foreign trade.*

The bases of the Ṣafawid domestic economy were agriculture and pastoralism, and, as formerly under the Saldjūḳs and the Mongols, there was a dichotomy between the settled rural life of the peasants and the semi-nomadic life of the pastoralists. In addition, there was an ethnic dichotomy. The Turcoman tribes "were cattle-breeders and lived apart from the surrounding population. They migrated from winter to summer quarters. They were organised in clans and obeyed their own chieftains" (A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 106). The Persian peasants tilled the land and were subject to a system of land-tenure which had changed little since Sāsānid times.

The Ṣafawid period saw the development of a money economy and the growth of economic prosperity which reached its highest point during the reign of ʿAbbās I and declined thereafter. ʿAbbās I, by his building of roads, and even more by the construction of numerous bridges and caravanserais along the main routes, provided the infrastructure essential to the development of trade. The stationing of road-guards (*rāhdārān*) at key points, besides providing useful revenue in the form of tolls, ensured, according to the testimony of European travellers, a degree of safety and security for travellers and caravans which exceeded that obtaining in neighbouring countries. Security declined under the weak Shāhs Sulaymān and Sulṭān Ḥusayn (J. Emerson, *Ex Oriente Lux: some European sources on the economic structure of Persia between about 1630 and 1690*, Cambridge Ph.D. thesis 1969, unpubl., 218).

An important feature of the domestic economy under ʿAbbās I was the royal workshops (*buyūtāt-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*), which numbered 32 at the time of Chardin and 33 in 1138-9/1726 (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 30), and employed some 5,000 skilled artisans and craftsmen. This system has been criticised as "state capitalism" (Banani, Keywānī), and ʿAbbās I's policy of making the silk trade a royal monopoly is said to have stifled the entrepreneurial spirit of Persian merchants. European travellers, however, attest to the flourishing state of the bazaars in Ḳazwīn, Iṣfahān and Shīrāz, and it is doubtful whether Persian merchants could have survived European competition in the silk trade without state support. Indeed, they lacked sufficient capital to sustain trade on a large scale at all (R.W. Ferrier, *Trade from mid-14th century to the end of the Safavid period*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, 484).

Domestic trade alone could not have raised the Ṣafawid state to the level of prosperity to which ʿAbbās I aspired, and he devoted much effort to the development of international trade. In this effort, Jews and Indians played an important role as brokers, and Armenians as providers of international credit. ʿAbbās I created a new suburb of Djulfā [*q.v.* in Suppl.] at Iṣfahān, and transferred there several thousand Armenian families from Djulfā in Ādharbāydjān. They were allowed to practise their Christian faith without harassment by the state (the Shāh even made a donation toward the cost of the Armenian cathedral), and ʿAbbās I, by granting them the privilege of being represented by an Armenian mayor (*kalāntar* [*q.v.*]), made them virtually an autonomous community (again, Ottoman parallels should be borne in mind [see MILLET]. The Armenian merchants prospered, and travelled throughout Europe in pursuit of commerce. Much of their wealth derived from the silk trade, the organisation of which "must be regarded as one of ʿAbbās's great organizational achievements" (N. Steensgaard, *The Asian trade revolution of the seventeenth century*, Chicago 1973, 381). English merchants who tried to force down the Shāh's price by buying silk on the free market found themselves unable to do so (*ibid.*, 377). Persian ambassadors accredited to European capitals were customarily required to include in their baggage some bales of silk; this rule applied even to ambassadors who were Europeans. With the accession of Shāh Ṣafī (1038/1629), the royal monopoly on silk was broken, and money was diverted from the royal coffers to the pockets of Armenian merchants. For a time, Dutch merchants who, unlike the English East India Company factors, were not reluctant to co-operate with the Armenians, turned a profit by buying silk privately. In desperation, the English East India Company offered the Armenians in 1099-1100/1688 the status of "honorary Englishmen" (Ferrier, *The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century*, in *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xxi [1973], 50), but it was too late; the Armenians preferred the security of the Aleppo route, in co-operation with the Levant Company, to the hazards of the sea-route from the Persian Gulf (hostilities between the Ottomans and the Ṣafawids had militated against the use of overland routes to Mediterranean ports, but the Treaty of Zuhāb (1049/1639) ushered in a long period of peace between the two, and the overland routes once more became attractive). The English East India Company was no longer able to compete in the silk trade, and stopped buying Persian silk after 1049-50/1640 when silk prices in Europe slumped (J. Foran, *Fragile resistance: social transformation in Iran from 1500 to the Revolution*, Westview Press 1993, 65). In any case, by about 1059-60/1650 Bengal silk had become a cheaper source of supply for the East India Companies. In general, however, the patterns of trade established with Europe in the 1620s were maintained until 1722. The average value of Persia's exports in the 11th/17th century, of which silk constituted a major part, was between £ 1-2 million sterling (*ibid.*, 69). Carpets never constituted a large part of Ṣafawid exports. Carpet workshops existed at Iṣfahān, Kāshān and Kirmān, and Shāh ʿAbbās I, like his grandfather Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, was personally interested in developing the carpet-weaving industry. It was quicker, easier and cheaper for Europeans to import carpets from Turkey than from Persia during the long periods when the Ottomans and Ṣafawids

were at war. Ṣafawid carpets were exported to Mug̲h̲al India, to the Portuguese colony at Goa, and to Indonesia, mostly shipped by the Dutch East India Company; some of these found their way to the Netherlands and the London market. The Ṣafawids transformed a "simple produit artisanal des régions rurales" into "art digne de la cour et des palais princiers" (Nadereh Aram-Zanganeh, *Le tapis persan aux XVI*[e] *et XVII*[e] *siècles: contribution à une sociologie de l'art persan*, Lausanne 1984, 12), but the luxury carpet trade, depending as it did on royal patronage, declined after the overthrow of the Ṣafawids (see Savory, in *EIr*, art. *Carpets*. i. Introductory survey, iv, 834-9).

Both internal and external factors contributed to the decline of the Persian economy after the time of ʿAbbās II, and by the end of the 11th/17th century the balance of trade had turned against Persia. Silk production probably declined; and Persia began to import large quantities of cloth from India for which it had to pay cash. Furthermore, the Dutch drained large quantities of gold and silver from Persia as payment for spices (Foran, 67-9). The merchants with the greatest reserves of cash were the Armenians; the royal treasury tended to hoard the best coins, and in addition Indian moneylenders and Armenian merchants tended to take the better coins out of circulation or out of the country altogether. The result was a considerable degree of debasement of the currency. Nevertheless, there was little inflationary pressure on the economy until the Afg̲h̲ān occupation in 1135/1722, when it became a significant factor. Finally, the collapse of ʿAbbās I's multicultural state with its policy of religious tolerance caused serious harm to the economy. The increased political influence of the *ʿulamāʾ* in the last half-century of Ṣafawid rule (the persecution of Jews under ʿAbbās II was an earlier portent of things to come) led to persecution of Armenian and Hindu merchants and the forcible conversion of Jews and Zoroastrians to Islam. Many Zoroastrians fled to the Kirmān area, where they welcomed the Afg̲h̲āns as "liberators". From 1131-2/1719 onwards, there were uprisings among non-S̲h̲īʿī minorities in S̲h̲īrwān, Kurdistān, K̲h̲ūzistān and Balūčistān (Foran, 75 ff.). The dynastic struggles which followed the assassination of Nādir S̲h̲āh in 1160/1747 did still further damage to the economy, and, despite some improvement in trade in Fārs under the Zands, a Select Committee appointed by the Court of Directors of the English East India Company concluded in the 1780s that "the comparison between the past and present state of Persia, in every respect, will be found truly deplorable" (see C. Issawi (ed.), *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago 1971, 86).

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(R.M. Savory)

III. Literature.

It is still difficult to assess properly the effects of the Ṣafawid conquest on the cultural life of Persia. There can be no doubt about the importance of the Ṣafawid period to the history of Persian art. During the first half of the 16th century, the arts of the book flourished like never before. Calligraphy and book-painting benefited greatly from the patronage of the ruling dynasty and there was an equal interest in architecture, exemplified in particular by the magnificent buildings which were erected in Iṣfahān in the course of the 17th century. Philosophy also reached a high point of development in the works of Mullā Ṣadr al-Dīn al-S̲h̲īrāzī [*q.v.*] and other members of his school. Literature, however, fared less well, according to a generally held view. The founding of the Ṣafawid state, with all its momentous consequences for the social structure of the country and its religious life, allegedly brought the golden age of Persian literature to an end. From there on, a time of decline set in, which was not only poor in new heights of literary art but actually led to stagnation and a deterioration of style.

One of the factors which helped to create this negative view on Ṣafawid literature was the change of literary taste in Persia which occurred about the middle of the 18th century, shortly after the Ṣafawid period had come to a close. This brought about a strong condemnation of the excesses to which the Indian style [see sabk-i hindī] in Persian poetry had led and a "return" (*bāzgas̲h̲t*) to the standards of earlier styles. As a result, a neo-classicist view of post-Tīmūrid literature was established which not only left its mark on Persian literary criticism until the present day, but also had a great impact on evaluations by Western scholars. Only recently a more positive ap-

preciation of the Indian style is emerging. This seems however not yet to have led to a proper distinction between Ṣafawid literature and the Indian style, notwithstanding the fact that the latter did not have an effect on the poets of Persia until the second half of the rule of the Ṣafawids (see, for instance, E. Yarshater's essay *The Indian or Ṣafavid style: progress or decline?*). As a matter of fact, the 16th century constitutes a separate chapter in the history of Persian literature. The *tadhkira* writers of the period provide us with a lively picture of the literary scene in Ṣafawid Persia which is marked by a series of innovations quite distinct from those which later on became characteristic of the Indian style. Valuable collections of material on this period are available now in the works of Dh. Ṣafā and A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī.

Furthermore, the impact on literature of the religious revolution brought about by the Ṣafawids tends to be overrated. The active support of the dynasty to the spread of Shīʿism in a country which was still overwhelmingly Sunnī, was even said to have caused a "Shiʿite standardisation of literature" (Rypka, 292). The well-known injunction of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I to the poet Muḥtasham [*q.v.*], to celebrate the Family of the Prophet in his poems rather than praise the secular ruler, is often quoted out of context. It has been given the significance of a radical turn from the traditions of court patronage by the Ṣafawid dynasty as a whole, whereas it probably only points to a personal change of heart of one monarch, which temporarily brought to an end a period of exceptionally lavish patronage to the arts during the first half of the 16th century. It is, on the other hand, evident that a very substantial part of the poems and prose works produced in this period could be labelled either secular or mystical, but do not carry specifically Shīʿī characteristics.

The Ṣafawids, both the shāhs and the other members of the royal house, were well-educated and often participated personally in artistic and literary pursuits. Already Ismāʿīl I (reigned 907-30/1501-24) resumed the traditional function of royal patronage, which had been fulfilled so brilliantly by two of his predecessors in the late 9th/15th century: the Tīmūrid Ḥusayn Baykārā (d. 912/1506) at Harāt and the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu sultan Yaʿḳūb (d. 896/1490) at Tabrīz. In 917/1511, during his campaign in Khurāsān, Ismāʿīl took the time for a visit to Djām, where the aged poet Hātifī [*q.v.*] lived, to ask him tc celebrate the Ṣafawid victory with an historical epic on the lines of his famous *Ẓafar-nāma* on the life of Tīmūr Lang. Although this poem remained unfinished, it set an example for similar *mathnawīs* in the heroic style of the *Shāh-nāma* written later on for the Ṣafawid Shāhs. Poems of this kind were composed, for instance, by Ḳāsimī Gunābādī (d. 982/1574?) for Ismāʿīl and Ṭahmāsp. The same poet also wrote a *Kār-nāma* on the former Shāh's performance as a polo player. The *ghazal* poet Ṣāʾib [*q.v.*] celebrated ʿAbbās II's conquest of Ḳandahār in 1059/1649-50 in an *ʿAbbās-nāma* (cf. Rieu, ii, 694).

Such martial panegyrics did not exhaust Ismāʿīl's interest in literature. Ahlī of Shīrāz (d. 942/1535), who had been a distinguished poet of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, dedicated to him the romantic poem *Siḥr-i ḥalāl*, a work of great rhetorical artistry. Other officials and courtiers joined in this patronage, notably Ismāʿīl's *wakīl* Yār Aḥmad Khūzānī, better known as Nadjm-i Thānī (d. 918/1512). Among the poets attached to Ismāʿīl's court were Ummīdī (d. 925/1519 or 930/1523-4), who left a small number of panegyrics and religious *ḳaṣīdas*, Lisānī (d. 940/1533-4) and Wāḥidī (d. 942/1535). The Shāh himself, under the pen name Khaṭāʾī [see ISMĀʿĪL I. 2], wrote Turkish poetry, remarkable for its daring statements of extreme *ḳizilbāsh* doctrines.

More conspicuous yet was the interest Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76) took in literature and the arts during the first twenty years of his reign. His patronage was matched by the *wakīl* Ḳāḍī Djihān and the Shāh's brother Sām Mīrzā (923-74/1517-67 [*q.v.*]). The latter left the most valuable record of early Ṣafawid literature in a *tadhkira* entitled *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*. Prominent among the many court poets of his reign were the *wakīl*'s son Sharaf Djihān (d. 968/1560), the satirist Ḥayratī (d. 961/1553), Ḍamīrī (d. after 985/1578), and ʿAbdī Bēg Nawīdī (d. 988/1580). After Ṭahmāsp lost his interest in patronage, about 951/1544-5, the support of the central court to literature remained drastically reduced for several decades. This attitude had two noticeable consequences: the aforementioned emphasis on religious poetry, as exemplified in the works of Muḥtasham (d. 996/1587), and the beginning of the exodus of poets and artists to Indian courts.

This emigration of literary talent, in which also many artists and scholars took part, began in the late 16th century and continued up to the reign of the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1658-1707), should be seen against the background of the internationalisation of Persian civilisation, which reached its height during this period. This phenomenon encompassed most of the Islamic lands in Asia, in particular the Indian subcontinent, Uzbek Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire, but India was by far the most important. A great demand for poets from Persia arose which could not be matched by the often wavering patronage of the Ṣafawids. As it appears from biographical sources, the motivations to travel to India were quite varied. Ghazālī of Mashhad (d. in Gudjārāt 980/1572), one of the first to leave Persia, fled from Shīrāz after he had been accused of heresy (*ilḥād*). Others had run into difficulties with their patrons at home, or were allured by the prospect of fame and riches to be won at the Indian courts.

Patronage in Ṣafawid Persia was not restricted to the court of the Shāh. Especially during the first century of Ṣafawid rule, the courts of provincial governors, usually also members of the royal house, made a significant contribution. At Hamadān, Ṭahmāsp's brother Bahrām Shāh supported his own circle of poets, whereas Mashhad unter the rule of the latter's son Ibrāhīm Mīrzā (964-76/1556-68) gained renown as an artistic centre compensating, temporarily at least, for the lack of interest at the Shāh's court. Here poets like Thanāʾī (d. Lahore 995 or 996/1586), Maylī of Harāt (d. in India 984/1576) and Walī Dasht-Bayāḍī (d. 1001/1592-3) flourished, as well as some of the most important painters and calligraphers. The more remote provincial court at Yazd under Mīr-Mīrān Ghiyāth al-Dīn patronised the poet Waḥshī [*q.v.*] of Bāfḳ (d. 991/1583). Outside the courts other cities were the scene of a lively pursuit of letters, e.g. Shīrāz, where ʿUrfī [*q.v.*] (d. in India 999/1590-1) spent his early years, and Kāshān, the hometown of Muḥtasham. It was not unusual for poets to stay away from the court while still writing panegyrics for the rulers. From Baghdād, Fuḍūlī (d. 970/1562-3 or 963/1556 [*q.v.*]), who is best known for his poems in Azeri Turkish, paid homage to the Ṣafawids until that city was taken over by the Ottomans. Muḥtasham sent his poems to Indian courts but never travelled there himself. Increasingly, it seems, poetry began to become a private matter, as for instance in the case of

Saḥābī of Astarābād (d. 1010/1601-2 [*q.v.*]), the master of the *rubāʿī* of this period, who lived for many years as a recluse near the shrine of Nadjaf.

Up to a certain extent, court poetry revived under ʿAbbās I (996-1038/1588-1629), first at Ḳazwīn, and since 1598 at Iṣfahān. The position of a *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* [*q.v.*] was filled by Ruknā Masīḥ (d. 1066/1655 or 1070/1659-60), and then by Shifāʾī (d. 1037/1627). They both also served the Shāh as physicians. In 1006/1597 Masīḥ went to India after he had been accused of giving too little attention to his patron's health. Discontent with the situation of the poets at the court of Iṣfahān was expressed by Kawtharī of Hamadān (d. after 1015/1606) when in a poem dedicated to Shāh ʿAbbās he made a reference to the lavish patronage offered at the courts of India (ʿAbdu'l Ghani, ii, 168-71). On the other hand, it is reported that the poet Shānī received his weight in gold as a reward for a single felicitous line in honour of the Imām ʿAlī (*ibid.*, ii, 163). Among the poets at ʿAbbās' court were further Fārigh (*fl. ca.* 1000/1591), Kamālī (d. 1020/1611-2), and Zulālī of Khʷānsār (d. 1024/1615).

A last period of great literary activity at the court of Iṣfahān were the reigns of Ṣafī I (1038-52/1629-42) and ʿAbbās's II (1052-77/1642-66). This was the time of Djalāl al-Dīn Asīr [*q.v.*] (d. 1049/1639-40), Ḳudsī (d. 1056/1646-7), Amānī of Māzandarān (d. 1061/1651) and Faṣīḥī (d. *ca.* 1080/1670), but above all of Ṣāʾib (d. 1088/1677-8 [*q.v.*]), the greatest poet of Ṣafawid literature.

The *ghazal* continued to be the principal poetic form, but the poets of the 16th century tried to renew its rather soulless and abstract features by developing a new style called already by contemporary writers *wuḳūʿ-gūʾī* or *zabān-i wuḳūʿ*. By this they meant the fashion to introduce references to actual experiences of love and incidents occurring in the relationship of lovers and their beloveds. Although the motives they used were usually conventional (most of them belonged to the tradition of *taghazzul* from the earliest period onwards), they succeeded in creating an elegant lyricism, written in a simple language, often close to everyday speech, and an unadorned style. Bābā Fighānī [*q.v.*] is frequently mentioned as a predecessor of his trend, one of the earliest representatives of which was Sharīf Djihān. The *wuḳūʿ* style generated a number of subsidiary genres, like the one called *wā-sūkht*, the theme of which was the lover's turning away from the beloved (cf. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Wuḳūʿ*, 681-8), and *ḳaḍā wa ḳadar*, on erotic incidents which exhibit the workings of fate. Towards the end of the 16th century, a much more ingenious idiom began to develop: it was characterised by the search for new and unusual imagery and a sophisticated use of the traditional motifs. In the 17th century, Ṣāʾib brought the *ghazal* back to a more abstract level, without adding much to its stock of themes and motives. Recently, his poetry, marked by the frequent use of proverbial illustration (*irsāl-i mathal*), has been revalued by Persian critics as an acceptable form of the Indian style, to which the term "style of Iṣfahān" is applied.

The *ḳaṣīda* was still occasionally used for courtly panegyrics, but far more often as a medium for *manḳabat* poetry, i.e. hymns praising the Prophet and the Imāms. Stanzaic poems became extremely popular for Shīʿī elegies, like the famous *dawāzdah-band* of Muḥtasham. As a secular form of love poetry, expanded patterns known as *musaddas* and *murabbaʿ* were put into currency, especially by Waḥshī; some of these poems have survived as popular songs.

Mystical *rubāʿīs* were written in great numbers, as is evident from the anthologies compiled in this period. Intricate rhetorical artifices, which had come into fashion already during the Tīmūrid period, continued to be used in topical quatrains, especially in chronograms. The quatrain was also frequently used for poems featuring young craftsmen, known as *shahrangīz* [*q.v.*] or *shahrāshūb*. This genre was introduced at the court of Ṭahmāsp by Lisānī and Wāḥidī.

Many poets attempted to compose a *khamsa* [*q.v.*] after Niẓāmī's example, or even a *sabʿa* on the lines of Djāmī [*q.v.*]. Various new subjects for narrative poetry were introduced: they were either taken from ancient lore (eg. the love between Sultan Maḥmūd and his slave Ayāz), or they were newly invented as allegories. Outstanding *mathnawī* poets were ʿAbdī Bēg Nawīdī, who also wrote a work in imitation of Saʿdī's *Būstān*, Zulālī, whose *Maḥmūd wa Ayāz* became very popular, and Shifāʾī, the author of *Namakdān-i ḥaḳīḳat*, in the style of Sanāʾī. Short *mathnawīs* usually dealt with themes related to the *wuḳūʿ-gūʾī* as it was fashionable in *ghazals*. Most court poets produced a *Sāḳī-nāma*, based on motives derived from anacreontic verse, which could be either devoted to panegyrics or to mysticism.

Among the prose works written in Ṣafawid Persia, the *tadhkiras* took a prominent place. They were written according to the principles of this genre, which had been established in the late Tīmūrid period by Dawlatshāh and ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.vv.*]. The latter's work provided the model for *Madjmaʿ al-khawāṣṣ*, written in Čaghatāy Turkish by the painter and poet Ṣādiḳī Bēg [see further MUKHTĀRĀT. 2. In Persian literature]. The *tadhkiras* are also valuable sources of critical judgments on contemporary poetry. Among the historical works written under the Ṣafawids, Ḥasan Bēg Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* (985/1577) and Iskandar Munshī's [*q.v.*] *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (1038/1628-9) deserve special mention. The *Tadhkira-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsp* is a contribution to historiography made by the Shāh himself on the basis of a speech delivered to Ottoman ambassadors at his court in 969/1562. In the religious sciences, including the flourishing school of Shīʿī philosophy, Arabic remained the common linguistic medium. However, several remarkable works were written in Persian as well, e.g. the *Djāmiʿ-i ʿAbbāsī* by Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀmilī [*q.v.*], on religious law and various related subjects, and the theological treatise *Gawhar-i murād* by ʿMullā ʿAbd al-Razzāk Lāhīdjī [*q.v.*], one of the pupils of Mullā Ṣadrā, and a long series of theological writings by Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī-yi Thānī [*q.v.*].

Persian literature of the Ṣafawid period has been dealt with also elsewhere in this Encyclopaedia: see Vol. IV, ĪRĀN. vii—Literature, 68a-69b, and, as far as contemporaneous Indo-Persian literature is concerned, Vol. VII, MUGHALS. 10. Literature, 340b-344a; on the most important stylistic trend of the period [see SABK-I HINDĪ].

Bibliography: E.G. Browne, *LHP*, iv, 161-77; Muhammad ʿAbdu'l Ghani, *A history of Persian language and literature at the Mughal court*, i-ii, Allahabad 1929; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 291-304; Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Maktab-i wuḳūʿ dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehrān 1348 *Sh.*/1969-70; A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, New Haven-London 1976; Sh. Kadkanī, *The Safavid period*, in G. Morrison (ed.), *History of Persian literature*, H. der Or. Leiden-Köln 1981, 145-65; Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/1-2, Tehran 1363/1984, esp. 635-1420 (a list of 126 poets from this period, including poets at Indian courts); idem,

Persian literature in the Safavid period, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, vi, Cambridge 1986, 948-64; Ehsan Yarshater, *Persian poetry in the Timurid and Safavid periods*, in *ibid.*, 965-94; idem, *The Indian or Safavid style*, in E. Yarshater (ed.), *Persian literature*, Albany 1988, 249-88. (J.T.P. de Bruijn)

IV. Religion, philosophy and science.

As for all pre-modern societies so Ṣafawid-period developments in both "high"/"élite" and "low"/"popular" religious discourse, philosophical inquiry and certain areas of scientific theory and practice are most usefully understood in terms of the association of their practitioners with the patronage, 'lines of interest', links or influence of different segments of society. Because of a continuity with immediately preceding social formations, developments in the discourses of these disciplines tended to be enriched and enhanced rather than to suffer breaks with the pre-Ṣafawid heritage. More often than not the written legacy of these disciplines is dominated by the producers of "high"/"élite" discourse, i.e. the literate few, usually protégés of the socio-economic and political élite. So limited was their number that the same few names frequently appear as practitioners in different disciplines. "Popular" expression in these disciplines is also visible in this period, however, in the religious and medical realms in particular. Indeed, such was the extent of "popular" antipathy of various non-élite, social groups to some "high"/"élite" practitioners and their sponsors among the political and socio-economic élite, that only the continuous support of the latter insured the survival, if not the triumph, of their protégés and their contributions in their own time sufficient to provide some legacy for the future.

I. *Religious trends*

The importance of such links of association and the extent of "popular" animosity toward élite practitioners and their court patrons is particularly evident in the religious discourse of the period.

There had been S͟hīʿī communities scattered throughout Persia since the disappearance of the Twelfth Imām in 260/873-4. The establishment of Twelver S͟hīʿism by S͟hāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*] in 907/1501-2, at the Ṣafawid capture of Tabrīz, portended a repeat of the short-lived conversion to the faith of the Il-K͟hānid Sultan Öld͟jeytu (d. 716/1316 [*q.v.*]) an "event" which must later have appeared to stem more from *Realpolitik* than from genuine conviction. Indeed, in the first century of the Ṣafawids, the court's identification with, and efforts to patronise and promulgate, the faith met with limited success in Ṣafawid territory and won little credibility within the Twelver community itself and, in fact, exacerbated existing differences between and among the Ak͟hbāriyya and the Uṣūliyya [*q.vv.*]

Ismāʿīl's interest in the faith had no basis in the history of the Ṣafawid Ṣūfī order. Initially, the order had comprised mainly S͟hāfiʿī Sunnīs, had maintained an attitude of political quietism and had claimed no special relationship to any member of the Prophet's family [see 1. above]. Following an influx of peasants and tribal nomads the order became a militantly messianic movement under S͟haykh Ḥaydar (d. 851/1447) and S͟haykh D͟junayd (d. 893/1488) [*q.vv.*]. During Ismāʿīl's reign members of the Ḳīzīl-Bās͟h [*q.v.*] élite evinced little interest in the details of the doctrines and practices of the newly established faith. Ṣafawid religious discourse simply appended extremist Twelver interpretations to similarly radical representations of other religious traditions in order to legitimise the divine nature of the ruler and his mission: Ismāʿīl depicted himself variously as "Jesus, son of Mary", various pre-Islamic Persian epic figures, as well as *al-imām al-ʿādil al-kāmil* ("the just, the perfect Imām"), the latter title being a reference both to a just secular ruler and, in Twelver terminology, to the Hidden Imām himself. Such allusions encouraged the reverence among the lower-ranking Ḳīzīl-Bās͟h warriors required to fuel the constant struggle against such of the order's enemies as the Sunnī Özbegs and Ottomans, rival S͟hīʿī elements such as the Mus͟haʿs͟haʿ [*q.v.*], and, throughout the period, competing Ṣūfī messianic movements, whose social origins and religious inclinations often approximated those of the Ṣafawids (Newman, *The myth*, 68-76).

If the Ṣafawids' commitment to orthodox Twelver S͟hīʿism seemed problematic, so was the existence of the Ṣafawid polity itself. The constant wars between the Ḳīzīl-Bās͟h and their opponents and the Ṣafawids' repeated losses of territory to both the Özbegs and the Ottomans throughout this period, only underscored the fragility of the Ṣafawid experiment.

For Arab Twelver clerics resident outside Ṣafawid territory, a special, additional source of aggravation was the open association with and services rendered to Ṣafawid S͟hīʿīsm by ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Karakī (d. 940/1534 [*q.v.*]) beginning soon after Ismāʿīl's profession of faith, as well as the compensation for these which al-Karakī received in land and cash.

In the D͟jabal ʿĀmil region of Lebanon, both well-established and such younger scholars as S͟hayk͟h Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī, called al-S͟hahīd al-T͟hanī (the second martyr) (d. 965/1557), and his student and associate al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (d. 984/1576) expressed their disapproval of Ṣafawid S͟hīʿism and of al-Karakī by shunning all Ṣafawid entanglements and territory, even though both al-Karakī and S͟hayk͟h Zayn al-Dīn were proponents of the Uṣūliyya tendency within Twelver S͟hīʿism.

By this period, owing expecially to the contributions of such scholars as D͟jaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī (d. 676/1277) and al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) [*q.vv.*] who had "converted" Öld͟jeytu, the Uṣūliyya had stressed the application of subjective disciplines and rationalist principles—including *id͟jtihād* [*q.v.*]—to the Twelver-accepted revelation, and the authorisation of *al-faḳīh al-d͟jāmiʿ li-s͟harāʾiṭ al-iftāʾ* ("the legist whose study of those disciplines and principles permitted him to issue a *fatwā*") to undertake in the period of occultation (*g͟hayba* [*q.v.*]) many practical activities reserved for the Imām during his presence, based on the Imām's designation of the *faḳīh* as his *nāʾib* (deputy). The Uṣūliyya also divided the community into the unschooled *ʿāmmī* (lay believer) and the *mud͟jtahid* [*q.v.*], requiring the former to practice *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] of the latter's legal ruling and accept his authority over other matters of doctrine and practice within the community. In addition, the Uṣūliyya permitted to the *faḳīh* a wide scope of interaction with the secular political establishment, especially insofar it might protect or further the interests of the community. Al-Karakī initially argued that his involvement with the court was permitted by virtue of his being *nāʾib* to *al-imām al-ʿādil*, an implicit acceptance of Ismāʿīl's claims to the imāmate. Criticised on this point, al-Karakī advanced the concept of *niyāba ʿāmma* ("general delegation of the Imām's authority"), identified *al-faḳīh al-d͟jāmiʿ li 'l-s͟harāʾiṭ* as *nāʾib ʿāmm* ("general deputy") of the Imām, and justified his involvement with the court as that permitted between the *nāʾib ʿāmm/faḳīh* and *al-d͟jāʾir* (the tyrannous ruler)

as leader of a non-Twelver political institution. The open criticism of al-Karakī's association with the court by such clerics from the Gulf and the Shīʿī shrine cities in Arab ʿIrāḳ as Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-Ḳaṭīfī (d. after 945/1539) pointed to the presence of anti-Uṣūlī, Akhbārī-style polemic in the community during the first Ṣafawid century. In exchanges with al-Karakī, al-Ḳaṭīfī, for example, promoted the definition of *al-djāʾir* of such earlier Akhbārīs as Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūḳ (d. 381/991-2 [see IBN BĀBAWAYH]), as a false claimant to the imāmate—implicitly denouncing Ismāʿīl as such—and rejected the *niyāba* of the *faḳīh* and thereby the latter's role in such practical activities as the collection and distribution of *zakāt* and the leadership of Friday prayer. Where al-Karakī's support derived primarily from the court, elements of al-Ḳaṭīfī's critique clearly enjoyed the support of both certain Arab ʿIrāḳī Twelver clerics and of the local poor and artisanal sections of the ʿIrāḳī Shīʿa. The resentment of these "popular" classes derived at least partly from their having been taxed to pay for a tour of the area by Ismāʿīl, accompanied by al-Karakī, after the Ṣafawids' capture of Baghdād in 914/1508.

The widespread censure of al-Karakī forced his permanent relocation to the court. There the intra-Ḳizil-Bāsh civil war following Ismāʿīl's death encouraged factions at court to support the challenge of several Persian clerics and the *ṣadr* Niʿmat Allāh al-Ḥillī (d. 940/1533)—a student of al-Karakī and the first genuine Twelver cleric to hold the post—to the latter's ruling that the *faḳīh/nāʾib* might lead the Friday prayer, a challenge also supported by al-Ḳaṭīfī. Al-Ḥillī's co-*ṣadr* Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Dashtakī (d. 948/1541) criticised specific instances of al-Karakī's exercise of power (see also below, subsections II and III. ii. on philosophy and astronomy).

Al-Karakī's triumph in these contests—al-Ḥillī was banished, al-Ḳaṭīfī admonished, al-Dashtakī dismissed, another student of al-Karakī was appointed *ṣadr*, and in 939/1532 a *firmān* was issued declaring al-Karakī *nāʾib al-Imām* and granting him authority over the polity's religious affairs and the faith's propagation—was, however, more apparent than real. Court support for al-Karakī owed more to the efforts of the ascendant Shamlū to hand over responsibility for the spiritual sphere to a cleric of proven loyalty, freeing themselves to consolidate their own position at the centre of the Ḳizil-Bāsh coalition; indeed, given the terminology of the *firmān*, al-Karakī was perhaps directed to compose the *firmān* himself. Beyond lip-service, the political élite paid little interest to the faith. Moreover, the *firmān*'s charge to al-Karakī to further promulgate the faith within the realm suggested that Twelver Shīʿism had failed to expand significantly the number of its adherents in Ṣafawid territory.

Indeed, internal and external forces opposed to al-Karakī, if not also Ṣafawid Shīʿism itself, only flourished. The former, as represented by al-Ḥillī, continued to grow stronger in such a way that, although a student of al-Karakī became *ṣadr* sometime after al-Karakī's death, Friday prayer services were discontinued in Ṣafawid territory. Within the larger Twelver community regionally, al-Ḳaṭīfī's sniping persisted, as did the Lebanese clerics' open boycott of Ṣafawid Shīʿism and disavowal of al-Karakī's association therewith. These clerics experienced little harassment from Sunnī Ottoman authorities. Zayn al-Dīn's sudden execution by the Ottomans in 965/1557—at which al-Ḥusayn fled to Ṣafawid territory with his young son, Shaykh Bahāʾī (d. 1030/1621) al-ʿĀmilī [*q.v.*, and see below, subsections II and III]—failed to spark any mass migration of Arab Twelver clerics from Ottoman to Ṣafawid territory. Al-Ḥusayn himself, though he accepted court positions and remuneration, later left Ṣafawid territory and disavowed his own Ṣafawid associations.

The continuing losses by the Ṣafawids of substantial territories to the Ottomans, beginning a year after al-Karakī's death in 941/1534 (including Baghdād and the shrine cities), the 962/1555 treaty formalising those losses, the chaos that further shook the "empire" at the death of Ṭahmāsp, and the effort to re-establish Sunnism under Ismāʿīl II (984/1576-7 [*q.v.*]) only pointed to the imminent demise of the Ṣafawid experiment and underlined the precarious position of the faith in Ṣafawid hands. Indeed, pockets of Persian Sunnism, e.g. in Ḳazwīn, remained viable over the entire period.

Prominent Twelver Uṣūlī scholars continued their boycott of Ṣafawid Shīʿism in the latter part of the century. Neither Zayn al-Dīn's son al-Ḥasan (d. 1011/1602-3), aged seven at his father's death, or his relative and associate Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 1009/1600)—authors of the important *Maʿālim al-dīn* and *Madārik al-aḥkām* respectively—were removed from Ottoman territory. Both studied with al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad in the Lebanon and in ʿIrāḳ with the Persian clerics ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazdī (d. 981/1573) and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ardabīlī (d. 993/1585, author of the influential *Madjmaʿ al-fāʾida* and *Zubdat al-bayān*), both of whom had abandoned Ṣafawid territory. Both also later forsook plans for a pilgrimage to Mashhad for fear ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] would press them into his service.

The existence of significant Twelver communities located at and around the shrine cities of ʿIrāḳ, as well as the Gulf and the Lebanon, as alternative points of focus and independent bases for the community, facilitated both the Uṣūlī and Akhbārī critiques of Ṣafawid Shīʿism in general and the manner in which al-Karakī had cast his lot with Ṣafawid Shīʿism in particular.

In the 11th/17th century, however, in a gradually improving politico-military atmosphere, the patronage of the court and the Ṣafawid political and socio-economic élite was directed to the establishment of Twelver centres in Persia. The development of these as alternatives to the educational centres and shrines located in Ottoman territory, especially those of ʿIrāḳ—captured in 1033/1623-4 but lost to the Ottomans in 1048/1638 and never retaken—and Mecca and Medina, complemented Ṣafawid efforts to develop Persian centres of commerce and trade and stem the outflow of precious metals. Attention to economic considerations grew with rising expenditures and falling revenues over the century, particularly after the accession of ʿAbbās II in 1052/1642 (Matthee, *Politics and trade*, esp. 218-77, and 239, citing the 17th-century account of Tavernier; idem, *The career of Mohammed Beg*).

ʿAbbās I designated Iṣfahān as the new Ṣafawid capital and he, later shāhs, and associates of the court, made important additions to older buildings and founded new mosques and schools in the city; by late in the century, it contained more than 150 mosques and 48 religious schools. The court and its associates also contributed directly to the enhancement of Ḳum [*q.v.*], location of the tomb of Fāṭima, sister of the eighth Imām, as an educational centre and pilgrimage site; later shāhs were buried in precincts adjacent to the shrine itself. ʿAbbās I's famous walk from Iṣfahān to Mashhad, burial place of the eighth Imām, typified

efforts made to enhance the fame of that city and its shrine.

Many individual clerics were often direct recipients of the patronage which these programmes involved. As part of his massive building programme in Iṣfahān, ᶜAbbās built a school for ᶜAbd Allāh al-Shushtarī (d. 1021/1612-13), who had come to Persia from Nadjaf, where he had studied with al-Ardabīlī. ᶜAbbās built a mosque for Luṭf Allāh al-Maysī (d. 1032/1622-3), grandson of a Lebanese cleric who had avoided the court. Shaykh Bahāʾī, who had served as *Shaykh al-Islām* in Harāt and composed his *Zubdat al-uṣūl*, an important work of Uṣūlī jurisprudence, was appointed to the same post in Iṣfahān, took an active role in the capital's building programme and also undertook domestic political missions for ᶜAbbās, managing the shāh's constitution of his estates as *wakf*.

As these clerics' close connection with the court paralleled that of al-Karakī, so many observed and built on his Uṣūlī pronouncements. All staunchly supported the conduct of Friday prayer service during the occultation, for example. Mīr Dāmād (d. 1040/1630-1 [see AL-DĀMĀD and below, subsections II and III. i])—whose father was son-in-law to al-Karakī, and who had studied under students of al-Shahīd al-Thānī, including the father of Shaykh Bahāʾī, and was a close associate of the courts of both ᶜAbbās I and Ṣafī—using the concept of general delegation of authority, stated that the individual in possession of *al-niyāba al-ᶜāmma* was to lead that prayer, and defined the latter as the *mudjtahid/fakīh* who had attained *sharāʾiṭ al-iftāʾ*. Shaykh Bahāʾī supported an active role for the *fakīh* in the collection and distribution of the *zakāt* and *khums*, following similar rulings by earlier Uṣūlī clerics. Their court connections affirmed these clerics' concomitant endorsement of the *fakīh*'s associating with the established political institution, and legitimised the court's claim to a special, indeed exclusive, relationship with the faith itself.

These Persian centres and clerics increasingly became a focus for the region's Twelver community, attracting both Persian and Arab students and producing many of the most prominent scholars of the later 11th/17th century. Thus among Shaykh Bahāʾī's students were Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640 [see MULLĀ ṢADRĀ, and also below]), Muḥammad Taḳī al-Madjlisī (d. 1070/1659 [*q.v.*]), Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Sabzawārī (d. 1090/1679), Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680 [*q.v.* and see below, subsections II and III. i]) and Mīrzā Rāfiᶜ al-Dīn Nāʾinī (d. 1099/1688). Many of this generation of scholars also both supported, and enjoyed good relations with, the court and approved of the expanded role of the *fakīh* during the occultation. Thus Sabzawārī—a proponent of *al-niyāba al-ᶜāmma* and teacher at al-Shushtarī's school—officiated at, and Nāʾinī attended, the *djulūs* or accession ceremony of Shāh Sulayman. Muḥammad Taḳī al-Madjlisī was Friday prayer leader in Iṣfahān and his son the noted cleric Muḥammad Bāḳir (d. 1111/1699), following in the footsteps of his father's teacher Shaykh Bahāʾī, was appointed the capital's *Shaykh al-Islām* by Shāh Sulaymān; his famous, massive *ḥadīth* compilation, the *Biḥār al-anwār*, was assembled with court assistance (Kohlberg, *Beḥār al-Anwār*). Like the Madjlisī family, which included such later eminent Uṣūlī scholars as Muḥammad Bāḳir b. Muḥammad Akmal al-Bihbahānī, al-Waḥīd (d. 1205/1791 [*q.v.*]), the Marᶜashī [*q.v.*] family, forebearers of the present-day Marᶜashī-Nadjafī family, also had important court connections in this period. These included marriage with the family of ᶜAbbās I, appointment to the position of *ṣadr*, and the designation by ᶜAbbās II of one of their number, Khalīfa Sulṭān (d. 1065/1655), himself a noted cleric, to the vizierate.

The relations between this second-generation of Persian-based Twelver clerics and the court continued to legitimise the Ṣafawid's public, and exclusive, claim to a special association with the faith, although these claims were expressed in less extreme terms than in the previous century. Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī, for example, in an essay reflective of the continued, but more restrained, nature of this affiliation, argued that Ismāᶜīl's appearance portended the impending re-appearance of the Mahdī himself (Babayan, *The waning*, 182-5, 189-91). The same clerics were also actively involved in the domestic propagation of the faith. Al-Shushtarī's school was built in the heart of the bazaar, for example. Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, his associate and friend Muḥammad Taḳī al-Madjlisī, and his son Muḥammad Bāḳir, were among those who wrote numerous Persian-language tracts on the most basic doctrines and practices of the faith.

As the faith established and broadened its foothold in the country, so the disputes over matters of doctrine and practice, and the relation between the clergy and the state, found expression in Ṣafawid territory as well. The Uṣūliyya/Akhbāriyya dispute, which turned on this combination of arguments, was given new life in Persia following the accession of ᶜAbbās I with the open association of such of the Uṣūlīs as Shaykh Bahāʾī and Mīr Dāmād with the court. By later in the century, the dispute had flourished to such an extent that among the ever-larger number of Twelver clerics resident in Persia factions within each tendency became discrete. Extreme Uṣūlīs asserted the falseness of the Ṣafawid association with the faith, and argued for direct clerical rule. The Uṣūlīs and the moderate Akhbārīs (*mudjtahid-muhaddith*), however, agreed on the authority of the *fakīh* as *djāmiᶜ sharāʾiṭ al-idjtihād* over matters of doctrine and practice and permission for him to interact with the established political institution. This latter group included Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī (d. 1030/1640) (often identified as the "founder" of the Akhbārī school, see Kohlberg, *Astarabadi*) and such higher-ranking, court-connected scholars at Iṣfahān and provincial centres as Muḥammad Taḳī al-Madjlisī, Khalīl al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 1088/1677), Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Shīrāzī al-Ḳummī (d. 1098/1687, and *Shaykh al-Islām* in Ḳum during the reign of Shāh Sulaymān) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ᶜĀmilī (d. 1104/1693 [*q.v.*]) (who came to Persia, settled in Mashhad, and was there appointed *Shaykh al-Islām*.

By contrast, the radical Akhbārīs (*muḥaddith*) were particularly a force in the provincial and smaller centres of the faith inside Ṣafawid Persia, such as Mashhad, and peripheral regions outside Ṣafawid territory, where they were more likely strong among lower-ranking urban clerics and recent immigrants to the cities. Unschooled in, and rejecting the validity of recourse to the rationalist legal sciences, these clerics relied solely on the *ḥadīth* of the Imāms in all matters of doctrine and practice; some rejected the Ḳurʾān itself as evidence (Newman, *The nature of the Akhbārī/Uṣūlī dispute*).

Religious orthodoxy did not always win the day among all segments of the "lay" community. "Popular" religious practices and customs, of which the court and its clerical protégés disapproved and tried to suppress or control, remained widespread.

Coffee-houses, for example, were a ubiquitous feature of the country, particularly in the second Ṣafawid century owing to the rapid urbanisation of such cities as Iṣfahān in this period [see KAHWA]. These were patronised by all classes of people, but especially by such of the "lower" orders as artists, poets, tellers of religious stories, scholars, musicians and Ṣūfīs. When the court perceived its interests were threatened, it enlisted the clergy to crack down on these and other "popular" pastimes and activities. The "purge" of 939/1523 coincided with the "victory" of al-Karakī over his opponents, for example (Rumlū, 113). In the second Ṣafawid century, as the economic hardships of the mid-century encouraged the court to develop indigenous religious centres, the court capitalised on clerical orthodoxy to check any coffee-house based dissent and to focus popular attention on minority merchants as prominent, subordinate, actors in the country's economic life. ᶜAbbās I feared the overtly political nature of coffee-house conversations, and assigned clerics to monitor activities in coffee-houses and to preach sermons on Islamic law or lead prayers. ᶜAbbās II's vizier Khalīfa Sulṭān launched a widespread, if also temporary, suppression of certain coffee-house excesses, wine-drinking and prostitution, and a similarly shortlived effort to convert the country's Jews—like that undertaken by ᶜAbbās I—and to restrict certain activities of Armenian merchants (Matthee, *Coffee in Safavid Iran*, esp. 26-30; idem, *The career of Muhammed Beg*, 27-9; Āl-e Dāwūd, *Coffeehouse*, 1-2; Babayan, *The waning*, 255-6).

Also problematic were Ṣūfī influences rivalling the paramountcy of the Ṣafawid Ṣūfī order and the associated hegemonic position of the Uṣūlī clerical establishment. These challenges frequently involved elements of rural and urban *ṭarīḳa* Ṣūfism and became especially ominous when linked with messianic revivals among both rival and intra-Ḳizil-Bāsh tribal movements. The various phases of the Nuḳṭawiyya [*q.v.*] "heresy" typified these connections and the resultant Ṣafawid concern, especially the Nuḳṭawī rebellion against ᶜAbbās I in 1002/1593, in which both members of the Ḳizil-Bāsh confederation and disaffected urban elements were implicated (Babayan, *op. cit.*, 46-7; Amoretti, *Religion*, 644-6). The *khurūdj* of Darwīsh Riḍā in 1040/1631 was particularly threatening for its messianic overtones and the support the latter engendered among some Ṣafawid *oymaḳs* (Babayan, *op. cit.*, 103-4). The urbanisation trends of the second Ṣafawid century further encouraged the rise of urban-based lower-class/"popular" Ṣūfī movements.

The Uṣūlī/Akhbārī polemic intersected with the broader concern with Ṣūfī influence. Members of each *madhhab* denounced Ṣūfī orders and their "heretical" practices, but imputing "low" Ṣūfī tendencies especially became a device of the lower-ranking, or otherwise peripheralised, clerics with which to assault the small number of court-supported Uṣūlī and moderate Akhbārī clerics and their associates. These were a small group, often conveniently related by ties of family and education, whose interests in aspects of élite/"high" philosophical or gnostic inquiry were as exclusivist and élitest in doctrine and practice as their jurisprudence. These denunciations were especially frequent during the second Ṣafawid century, coinciding with court efforts to combat such Ṣūfī-oriented movements as the Nuḳṭawīs and that of Darwīsh Riḍā, the still-strong Ṣūfī proclivities among the Ḳizil-Bāsh and the Ṣūfī influence in the rapidly expanding urban centres, including e.g. Iṣfahān. Such criticism won sufficiently widespread appeal to help force the resignation of Shaykh Bahāʾī as *Shaykh al-Islām* in Iṣfahān. Bahāʾī's student Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī was likewise charged with Ṣūfī inclinations; Rahman (*The philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā*, 2-3) has suggested that Ṣadrā's disagreement with his teacher Mīr Dāmād and his subsequent repudiation of such concepts as *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, as in his *Ṭarḥ al-kawnayn*, can at least be partly explained as the result of such attacks. Ṣadrā's only Persian-language prose work, *Sih aṣl*, was a defence against allegations of Ṣūfī tendencies.

The interest of Fayḍ al-Kāshānī—a student of Bahāʾī, Mīr Dāmād, and Ṣadrā, and the latter's son-in-law—in Akhbārism was at least partly defensive, stemming from a growing appreciation of the potential and real attacks against him for his court and family connections and his own philosophical interests. In fact, Fayḍ accepted enough of Uṣūlī doctrine—arguing that the command of the shāh was sufficient justification for the performance of Friday prayer, leading Friday prayer in Iṣfahān and ruling that the *faḳīh*, based on *al-niyāba*, ought to oversee the collection and distribution of *al-khums*—to qualify him as a *mudjtahid-muḥaddith*; his philosophical proclivities similarly tended to the "high", exclusive gnosticism of his teachers. Sabzawārī was also attacked for his purported Ṣūfī tendencies.

Later in the century, Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī, another associate of the court and *Shaykh al-Islām* of the capital, was forced into a posthumous defence of his father Muḥammad Taḳī—like Fayḍ al-Kāshānī a *mudjtahid-muḥaddith* with philosophical tendencies—against charges that the former was a Ṣūfī. His own disclaimer of interest in and his censure of Ṣūfism and philosophy, and also his work with Twelver *ḥadīth*, at least partly stemmed from concern lest he be subjected to similar attacks from the same quarters. Nevertheless, al-Madjlisī exhibited some interest in Islamic esoterica, and his essay on the Jews *Ṣawāᶜiḳ al-Yahūd* is a balanced, if stern, discussion of the general duties enjoined on the *ahl al-dhimma*, in which he stated that some prohibitions were without legal foundation and in which he permitted Muslim rulers a wide latitude in implementing any or all of them.

If widespread approval for anti-Uṣūlī polemics increased such "discretion" in Uṣūlī discourse, the court's backing for its clerical supporters nevertheless assured their dominance of key religious institutions, and thus the material wherewithal to continue their intellectual activity throughout the period. By later in the Ṣafawid period, the Persian centres of the faith were on a par with, if they had not eclipsed, the ᶜIrāḳī shrines, and developments in the Uṣūlī and Akhbārī traditions in this period enabled the faith to weather its disestablishment following the fall of the Ṣafawid house. Akhbārīs fled to the ᶜIrāḳī shrine cities at the time of the Afghān invasion and were eventually defeated as a force within the community by al-Waḥīd al-Bihbahānī (Cole, *Shīᶜi clerics*, esp. 15-23).

Crucial to and further cementing this Uṣūlī triumph, however, was the Ṣafawid-period articulation of concepts enhancing clerical authority within the community. The final formalisation of the concept of *al-mudjtahid al-muṭlaḳ*, for example, facilitated further differentiation in the clerical hierarchy and the subsequent evolution of such concepts as *mardjaᶜ-i taḳlīd* (the source of emulation) [*q.v.*], the rankings of *ḥudjdjat al-islām* [see ḤUDJDJA] and *ayātullāh* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and, eventually, the principle of government by an expert in jurisprudence, or *wilāyat-i faḳīh*. The Uṣūlīs' recovery of control over the Persian Shīᶜī religious institution—the schools, shrines and mosques—and Ḳādjār patronage of the faith, on the

Ṣafawid model, provided the clergy with resources to maintain and eventually activate these concepts in spite of, if not also as much because of, the hostility of the various established political institutions and their ubiquitous foreign backers.

II. *Philosophy in the Ṣafawid period*

The written legacy of the practitioners of "high" philosophical and rationalist religious discussion identifies them as members of the same tiny, scholarly class who traditionally served and identified with the agenda of the established political institution. The conditional nature of court interest and support, the inherent tendency to restrict the scope for inquiry permitted the untrained, and the extent to which the scope and style of their inquiry was determined by the preceding discourse, were thus as much features of "high" philosophical inquiry as the "high" religious one. As leading Uṣūlī scholars, these philosophers also participated in the teaching and training of future generations of Shīʿī philosophers, thus enhancing the reputation of the Persian centres of education and study as well as creating a new class of clerics whose interests were linked with those of the political and socio-economic élite.

That the careers and scholarly agenda of the "high"/"élite" philosophers of the Ṣafawid and earlier periods were more similar than not, is evident from examining figures who lived through both. Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Dawānī (830/1426-908/1502-03 [*q.v.*]), for example, was based in Shīrāz and studied with students of al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413 [*q.v.*]) and teachers of Ibn Hadjar al-ʿAskalānī (d. 852/1449 [*q.v.*]). Dawānī enjoyed the patronage of and served the region's pre-Ṣafawid political establishments, including the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd (d. 873/1469 [*q.v.*]) and the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd II (d. 918/1512 [*q.v.*]).

Although his philosophical contributions have yet to receive detailed, comparative attention, Dawānī appears to have been primarily a reviver of aspects of the Illuminationist tradition, while remaining loyal to the rationalist aspects of Ibn Sīnā's thought (Rahman, *The philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā*, 9). Like Suhrawardī (d. 578/1191 [*q.v.*, and see also ISHRĀĶ and ISHRĀĶIYYŪN]), Dawānī maintained that existence had one reality and no multiplicity. Like Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274 [see AL-ṬŪSĪ]), Dawānī's cosmology involved the gradual unfolding of intellects, spheres, elements, and kingdoms. The active intellect—which he identified with the original essence of the Prophet—bridges the gap between heaven and earth. The revolutions of the spheres, by nature stationary but changeable in quality, control the material world and create new situations wherein the active intellect engendered a new form to reflect itself in the mirror of elemental matter. In this way, the intellect passes through the various states of matter and finally appears in man in the form of acquired intellect, eventually re-acquiring its original form of unity of collective potential. This circular process he termed *ḥarakat-i waḍāʿī*. The motions in the process are in fact the shadows of motion proceeding from God's desire for self-manifestation; the mystics term this the flashing of Self upon Self. In his metaphysical *al-Zawra*, Dawānī elevated mysticism above philosophy, even as he asserted both had the same goal, because mysticism benefitted from divine grace and so was free from doubt and uncertainty and thus nearer to prophethood.

At the same time, some of his works clearly reflect his other role as a royal scribe, the career for which he was probably as well, if not better, known at court. His works in this genre, written for royal benefactors, included a description of a military review in Fārs entitled *ʿArḍ-nāma*, and his contribution to the "mirror for princes" genre *Akhlāķ-i djalālī*. Indeed, he also dedicated to his royal patrons his Ishrāķī-style commentary *Shawākil al-nūr* on the *Hayākal al-nūr* of Suhrawardī.

Although later sources contend that he was a Shīʿī practising *taķiyya* prior to the rise of Ismāʿīl, Dawānī's Sunnī proclivities were unequivocal in his early works. Even after the Ṣafawid occupation of Tabrīz, he is said to have rejected Ismāʿīl's messianic claims. The court functionary's traditional capacity for adjustment was evident, however, in Dawānī's almost perfunctorily Shīʿī work *Nūr al-hidāya*, probably composed as the Ṣafawids approached Shīrāz, where he died before the city's capture. Dawānī's student Djamāl al-Dīn al-Astarābādī (d. 931/1524-5) was the sixth Ṣafawid *ṣadr* but, like his teacher, was more comfortable with philosophical disputes than the tenets of the newly established faith (Newman, *The myth*, 75 n. 24).

Dawānī clashed with his contemporary Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Dashtakī (d. 903/1498), another "high" philosopher associated with both the Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid courts, both in treatises and also in glosses on works by al-Ṭūsī and Suhrawardī. Ṣadr al-Dīn's son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr (see also the preceding section) continued the anti-Dawānī polemic after the death of the original protagonists. Although the details are still poorly understood, the disagreement involved points of debate well within the tradition of Islamic "high" philosophy to date. Dawānī, like Suhrawardī, argued e.g. that existence had but one, single reality, where Ghiyāth al-Dīn argued there was no existence at all.

Like Dawānī and his own father, Ghiyāth al-Dīn was as much a court protégé and functionary as other Shīrāzī philosophers in the tradition of Ķutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*; see also below, subsection III. ii], himself a student of al-Ṭūsī. Ghiyāth al-Dīn maintained good relations with Bāyezīd II, and served as vizier to the Tīmūrid Sultan Ḥusayn Bayķara (r. 874-911/1469-1506 [*q.v.*]). Although for the Ṣafawids the religio-political proclivities of both Dashtakīs were less important than their status as court functionaries, later Ṣafawid and post-Ṣafawid biographers claimed that Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad was the first openly Shīʿī member of the family. Shāh Ismāʿīl reportedly called on Ghiyāth al-Dīn to undertake repairs to al-Ṭūsī's observatory at Marāgha [*q.v.*] (see also below, subsection III. ii), and in 936/1529 Ṭahmāsp appointed him co-*ṣadr* with al-Ḥillī. Ghiyāth al-Dīn's challenge to al-Karakī coincided with, if it did not support, that of al-Ḥillī and certain tribal elements (see above). At his dismissal, Ghiyāth al-Dīn returned to Shīrāz's Manṣūriyya school.

Members of Nasr and Corbin's "Iṣfahān School of Philosophy"—Shaykh Bahāʾī, Mīr Dāmād, Mullā Ṣadrā, Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, Mīr Findiriskī (d. 1050/1640 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and ʿAbd al-Razzāķ al-Lāhidjī (d. 1072/1662 [*q.v.*])—the "high" philosophers of the second Ṣafawid century, were similarly close associates of the court, but with clear-cut allegiance to the basic tenets of Uṣūlī Shīʿism. Like Ghiyāth al-Dīn, their fortunes varied with broader socio-religious and political trends. Like him also, they served the court also as scribes. However, spurred on by the interest of Nasr and Corbin, analysis has revealed they advanced important contributions to Islamic philosophy.

Nasr and Corbin distinguished Mīr Dāmād—student of both Shaykh Bahāʾī and the latter's

father—as the outstanding figure of Ṣafawid-period philosophy. Subsequent Persian evaluations have only echoed this assessment, according him such titles as *Sayyid al-ḥukamāʾ* ("Master of the wise men"), *Sayyid al-falāsifa* ("Master of the philosophers"), and *muʿallim-i thālāth* ("the third teacher", after Aristotle and al-Fārābī [*q.v.*]).

Mīr Dāmād's contribution to Uṣūlī doctrine and practice has been noted. His philosophical accomplishment was to build on the interpretations of Suhrawardī—whose notion of the principality of essence (*iṣālat al-māhiyya*) over existence (*wudjūd*) he accepted—and Dawānī and to revive Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics and transform it from a purely rational, abstract system of thought into a spiritual reality through the application of Ishrāḳī principles within a Shīʿī framework. His preoccupation with issues of time and the relation between the eternal (*ḳidam*) and the created (*ḥudūth*) produced his most famous philosophical contribution, the concept of *ḥudūth-i dahrī* ("origination, or creation, in perpetuity"). The latter distinguished three, separate and distinguishable levels of being and postulated a middle level (*dahr*) between the immutable world (*sarmad*) and the changing world (*zamān*), in which the two are related and through which the eternal, unchanging reality manifests itself in the world. Mīr Dāmād's merging of Avicennan philosophy with Suhrawardī's illuminationism within a Shīʿī construct informed the thought of later Ṣafawid-period philosophers, including that of his students Mullā Ṣadrā, Mīr Dāmād's son-in-law Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlawī and Mullā Shamsā Gīlānī (d. 1098/1686-7). The latter, especially, continued Mīr Dāmād's efforts to harmonise aspects of the contributions of Ibn Sīnā and Suhrawardī.

Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī was born *ca.* 980/1571 to an aristocratic Shīrāzī family. In Iṣfahān he studied the Twelver Shīʿī religious sciences with Shaykh Bahāʾī and the rationalist, philosophical disciplines with Mīr Dāmād, spent more than a decade in Kahak near Ḳum, after which he was invited by ʿAbbās II to return to Shīrāz to teach. He spent the last thirty years of his life teaching at the city's Khān school—built for him by Allāhwardī Khān, the governor of Fārs—during which time he completed many of his best-known works.

Ṣadrā's thought built on that of Mīr Dāmād in order to integrate Ibn Sīnā's thought with Ishrāḳī interpretations through a Twelver Shīʿī framework. Initially, Ṣadrā agreed with Mīr Dāmād and Suhrawardī on the principality of essence, while existence was an unreal mental, phenomonological derivative. Eventually, however, as he made clear in his *magnum opus al-Asfār al-arbaʿa*, written when he was nearly sixty, he agreed with Ibn Sīnā's understanding of the principality of existence (*iṣālat al-wudjūd*) over essence, even as he accepted the notion that existence, while a single reality (thus following Dāwānī and Mīr Dāmād), manifested itself luminously in different degrees and stages (Rahman, *The philosophy*, 1-3; Nasr, *Three Muslim sages*, 67).

Ṣadrā also came to reject Mīr Dāmād's *ḥudūth-i dahrī*, on the grounds that the objects which become manifest in the *dahrī* level of existence are but individual forms and do not represent species as did Platonic forms. In this, he accepted aspects of Suhrawardī's doctrine of Lord of the Species (Rahman, *ibid.*, 47-8).

Ṣadrā's debt to Suhrawardī also manifested itself in his adherence to the notion of "trans-substantial motion" (*al-ḥaraka al-djawhariyya*). Ibn Sīnā had rejected this concept and denied the reality of "Platonic ideas". As Ṣadrā held that a single reality revealed itself in varying degrees and stages and upheld the notion of Platonic ideas of archetypes of things which became manifest in the world, *al-ḥaraka al-djawhariyya* became the means by which the substance of these changed and evolved to a stage where they achieved immutability. Likewise, man himself can achieve this state. Indeed, for Ṣadrā the goal of *ḥikma* is precisely the realisation of this status. Thus trans-substantial motion is for Ṣadrā both a point of metaphysics and of natural philosophy.

Ṣadrā's doctrines also included many of the basic principles of gnosis as formulated by Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], as Ṣadrā understood the necessity for a relationship between mystical experience and logical thinking. In harmonising philosophy and gnosis, Mullā Ṣadrā was building on the work of Islamic thinkers from the 6th/12th to the 10th/16th century, including Ḳutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, al-Djurdjānī, Ḥaydar Āmulī, Radjab Bursī, Ibn Turka Iṣfahānī, Ibn Abī Djumhūr Aḥsāʾī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Mīr Dāmād himself. However, unlike some of these earlier scholars, Ṣadrā grounded his reconciliation of these two traditions of inquiry firmly in the revelation of Twelver Shīʿism.

Of note is the fact that Ṣadrā composed nearly all of his works in Arabic, reflecting the fact that his intended audience was based in the exceedingly tiny class of highly sophisticated, mainly religious thinkers of the time. In his own time, the influence of Ṣadrā's thought was quite limited, though links to Akhbārī and Shaykhī thought have been suggested (Morris, *The wisdom*, 49). In the Ḳādjār period, Ṣadrā's contributions were re-activated by Mullā Hādī Sabzawārī (d. 1295/1878 or 1298/1880-1 [*q.v.*]).

Ṣadrā's students included his son-in-law Fayḍ al-Kāshānī and al-Lāhidjī, another son-in-law, who himself taught Muḥammad b. Saʿīd Ḳummī, Ḳāḍī Saʿīd Ḳummī (d. 1103/1691). In addition to being a judge, Ḳummī was also a physician and a gnostic, even as he, like the earlier generation of Iṣfahān School members, worked solidly within the framework of Twelver Shīʿism. Indeed, as summarised by Corbin, at the hands of Mīr Dāmād, Ṣadrā and Ḳāḍī Saʿīd Ḳummī "Ishrāḳī Avicennism became the Shīʿite philosophy" (*Creative imagination*, 23).

It has been suggested that Mīr Findiriskī was also a student of Mullā Ṣadrā. Mīr Findiriskī was a prominent figure both at court and among such of his contemporaries as Mīr Dāmād and Shaykh Bahāʾī, involved himself in some Ṣūfī practices, lived a simple, ascetic lifestyle, travelled to India several times and was familiar with aspects of Hinduism as well as with such of the occult sciences as alchemy. If he studied with Ṣadrā, his own "high" gnostic interests manifested themselves in a closer affiliation with Ibn Sīnā and included a denial of Ṣadrā's notion of trans-substantial motion. Among his students were Mullā Rafīʿā Gīlānī (d. 1082/1671-2), the Uṣūlī jurisprudent Muḥammed Bāḳir Sabzawārī (see the preceding section), the jurisprudent and philosopher Āghā Ḥusayn Khʷānsārī (d. 1080/1669-70), and Radjab ʿAlī Tabrīzī (d. 1080/1669-70). The latter, also an opponent of trans-substantial motion, taught Ḳāḍī Saʿīd Ḳummī.

The prolonged attack against the "high" scholasticism practised by these philosophers and like-minded religious scholars in the second Ṣafawid century is discussed in the preceding section.

III. *Science and society in the Ṣafawid period*

As the patrons and practitioners of "high" philoso-

phy and "high" religious discourse were drawn from the court and its small, learned coterie, so the legacy of Ṣafawid-period science, broadly construed, is initially understood with reference to the careers and contributions of those literate few who enjoyed the backing of both the central and provincial courts. Indeed, some of the small number of masters of "high" religious and philosophical inquiry attained proficiency in certain scientific disciplines. Evidence of "popular" theories and practices is available, however, especially, for example, in medicine.

i. *Medicine in the Ṣafawid period*

That Persian society as a whole was aware of and affected by issues of illness and wellness is amply attested. The court chronicles report plague (*ṭāʿūn* [*q.v.*]) in Ardabīl in 981/1573 (Ḳummī, i, 587), plague and cholera (*wabāʾ*) in Tabrīz in 988/1580 (*ibid.*, ii, 713), plague in Ḳum and Khurāsān the next year (*ibid.*, ii, 723), plague and cholera in Ḳazwīn in 1001/1592-3 (Munshī, ii, 631-2), and plague in Ādharbaydjān and then Ḳazwīn in 1033/1623-4 (*ibid.*, ii, 1243). In 1095/1684 cholera struck Rasht and spread to Ardabīl the following year. In 1097/1686 cholera also struck Tabrīz and Māzandarān (Khātūnābādī, 538).

The court and its associates were themselves directly affected by illness in this period. Ismāʿīl died in 930/1524 from an illness which "skilful physicians" could not cure (Ḳummī, i, 153). Ṭahmāsp fell ill in 967/1559 for two months (Khātūnābādī, 481). Again, in 982/1574 he fell ill from a "burning fever" (*tab-i muḥarraḳ*), an event leading to a *fitna* at court (Ḳummī, i, 588). He was cured, but died of another illness two years later; in that instance one attending physician was executed for his treasonously unsuccessful efforts (*ibid.*, i, 600). Muḥammad Khudābanda had an eye problem which Elgood put down to "corneal opacity" due to an attempt to blind him in his youth (Elgood, 61). ʿAbbās I fell ill on numerous occasions, from fever during a visit to Mashhad in 1008/1599-1600 (Munshī, ii, 783), in 1029/1619-20 from an illness which affected many at court (*ibid.*, ii, 1176), and again in 1037/1628 from a fever which eventually killed him (*ibid.*, ii, 1297-8). Illness felled ʿAbbās II.

Of the court literati, some of whose names have been mentioned above, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr Dashtakī had such a fear of syphilis (*ātishak*) that he refused to shake hands (Ḳummī, i, 296-7; Elgood, 24). The 1001/1592-3 plague and cholera which struck Ḳazwīn killed Ḥusayn al-Karakī al-ʿĀmilī, who had served as Ardabīl's *Shaykh al-Islām* and was grandson of ʿAlī al-Karakī (Munshī, ii, 631-2). Mīr Dāmād was afflicted with scabies (*djarab*), and then "hectic fever" (*ḥummā-yi diḳḳ*) (Elgood, 40). This is not to mention the numerous instances of dysentery (which struck Muḥammad Khudābanda in his last days), smallpox, strokes and fevers, and unnamed illnesses which afflicted and killed those favoured by the court chroniclers.

The different medical theories and practices to which the court and its associates subscribed reveal the availability in society both of the traditional components of Islamic medicine—Galenic/humoural theory, prophetic medicine, and folk medicine and magic (Dols; *Ṭibb al-aʾimma*, vii-xxiii; Savage-Smith, *Islamic medicine*)—and other explanations of illness and wellness.

Many of the individual medical practitioners and medical families best-known in the contemporary and later sources were among the small number of associates of the central and provincial courts, and most were adherents of Galenic [see DJALĪNŪS] medicine. The early Ṣafawid-period physician Bahāʾ al-Dawla (d. *ca.* 912/1507), like Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī, served the Tīmūrid Ḥusayn Bayḳara. Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd Kāshī (d. 946/1539), "the Galen of the time", was physician to Ṭahmāsp (Rumlū, 134; Ḳummī, i, 293). His medical "dynasty" included his two sons ʿImād al-Dīn and Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn (d. 953/1546), the son of the latter, Nūr al-Dīn (d. 970/1562), who also served Ṭahmāsp, and the son of the former, Muḥammad Bāḳir, who served ʿAbbās I and wrote a well-known essay on ophthalmology. Both Shaykh Bahāʾī and Mīr Dāmād studied under and taught several court physicians. Bahāʾī, for example, taught Ḳāḍī b. Kāshif al-Dīn Ḥamawī (see also below, subsection ii), who had also studied with ʿImād al-Dīn and later sought and received a ruling from Bahāʾī to administer wine to Mīr Dāmād for his scabies and hectic fever, a cure which was successful. He wrote an essay on this point for ʿAbbās I, and another treatise for ʿAbbās II. Ḥamawī's father had come from Yazd to serve ʿAbbās I as a physician, and his son, also a physician, later emigrated to India. The surgeon Ḥakīm Muḥammad enjoyed the patronage of Shāh Ṣafī. Muḥammad Bāḳir ʿAlī Khān, author of a works on cardiac drugs, fevers and gynaecology, served Shāh Sulaymān and Sultan Ḥusayn. Mīr Muḥammad Zamān wrote the famous pharmocopoeia *Tuḥfat al-muʾminīn* for Sulaymān; his father had also served the court. Ḳāḍī Saʿīd Ḳummī (on whom see the preceding section) was also a physician (for a list of court-connected physicians, see Munshī, i, 263-6).

The medical writers in this tradition were familiar with the great medical compendia of the Islamic Galenic medical tradition, including those of al-Rāzī, Ibn Sīnā, al-Djurdjānī, and the late 8th/14th Shīrāzī medical writer Manṣūr b. Muḥammad, called Ibn Ilyās, but are perhaps better known for separate monographs on specific, practical medical issues, many of which were written for their royal patrons. Bahāʾ al-Dawla's *magnum opus Khulāsat al-tadjārib* was arranged like al-Rāzī's *al-Ḥāwī*. ʿImād al-Dīn composed a general medical work in the style of the older books, but also an essay on the china root (*čūb-i čīnī*)—this being acknowledged as a universal cure, and which ʿImād stated cured infertility, opium addiction, baldness, rheumatism and haemorrhoids—and one on the bezoar stone. His essay on syphilis is said to have caused Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī's fear of the illness (Elgood, 52-3, 24). In addition to his essay on alcohol, Ḥamawī also wrote an essay on the china root, tea and coffee for ʿAbbās II (Elgood, 39-40). Muḥammad Bāḳir b. ʿImād al-Dīn wrote an essay for ʿAbbās I on ophthalmology during the later's Tabrīz campaign; in fact, probably owing to the circumstances of its composition, it also covers wounds, ulcers and syphilis (Elgood, 69). Ḥakīm Muḥammad's work on surgery was dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī, and included chapters on pre- and post-operative procedures. This work suggests that most surgery was for accidents and wounds; the few operations of choice included castration and circumcision. The author devoted several pages to descriptions of surgical instruments, and a section to anaesthetics (Elgood, s.v., and esp. 153-4). A large number of pharmacopoeias [see AḲRĀBĀDHĪN] were written in this period, including the *Ṭibb-i shifāʾī* of Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Shifāʾī (d. 974/1556), the basis for the French work of 1681, the *Pharmacopoeia persica* of Father Angelus (Elgood, 33-4).

Although belonging to the Galenic tradition, these writers were not themselves unobservant or uncritical.

Elgood, himself a practising physician, credited Bahāʾ al-Dawla with the first accounts of whooping cough decades before the European account (Elgood, 279-80, xiv). He also commended Bahāʾ's awareness of raised blood pressure during pregnancy (270-1). The surgeon Ḥakīm Muḥammad stressed the necessity of cleaning surgical knives between uses, perhaps, so Elgood suggested, having observed the problem of implanting diseased cells from one patient to another (160). Ḥakīm Muḥammad also noted the tendency for cancer of the breast to reappear elsewhere in the body after a mastectomy (*ibid.*, 188, 231).

Indeed, women's illnesses and matters of pregnancy and fertility were frequently addressed in both medical textbooks and monographs. The latter included the essay of Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān b. Ḥasan Shamlū—not a medical practitioner at all, but one-time civil governor of Ḳum—dedicated to Shāh Sulaymān and titled *Khirḳa-yi khānum dar ʿilm-i ṭibb* ("Women's rags on the science of medicine"), and that of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn's court physician, *Mirʾāt al-djamāl* ("Mirror of beauty"). Such writings, some of whose material derived from earlier medical and religious writings, covered such matters as birth control and abortion, morning sickness, breast feeding and early childhood illnesses.

Given the occasional, spectacular lack of success of these court physicians with their most important patient/patron, and probably also due to the shāhs' tribal backgrounds, the court was also sympathetic to non-Galenic theories and practices.

Prophetic medicine was also a source of medical understanding. Among the Shīʿa, in particular, there was a tradition of medicine based on the *ḥadīth* of the Imāms and thus amenable to easy memorisation. As early as the 3rd/9th century collection *Ṭibb al-aʾimma*, this Shīʿī medical tradition included elements of the Galenic tradition, but also cited the Imāms' advice on preventive medicine, abstention from certain foods, cupping and cauterisation, the use of particular blends of herbs and spices, and statements involving "magic" and warnings about and prayers to counter the evil eye (*Ṭibb al-aʾimma*, Preface). In his anatomical treatise Ibn Ilyās, although not a Shīʿī, accorded equal weight to the prophetic and Galenic medical traditions. In the Ṣafawid period, ʿAlī Afḍal Ḳāṭiʿ included citations from earlier prophetic traditions in his *Ḳarābidīn* (Elgood, 36-8). Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī devoted a portion of his *Biḥār al-anwār* to medicine, including a Galenic-style discussion of human anatomy followed by chapters of medical statements credited to the Imāms drawn from such early sources as *Ṭibb al-aʾimma*. As al-Madjlisī's compilation was the product of the Uṣūlī/court effort to promulgate its vision of orthodoxy throughout Ṣafawid territory, however, the inclusion of a medical section also suggests an effort to challenge less orthodox—perhaps especially, for example, Sunnī-based, or radical Akhbārī—prophetic medical traditions.

Evidence of other sources of medical theories and customs of the semi-literate and especially the illiterate classes (the bulk of the population in Ṣafawid Persia) can also be inferred. Pre-Ṣafawid medical texts often included citations of Persian-language medical verses on a variety of subjects. The anatomical treatise of Ibn Ilyās, *Tashrīḥ-i Manṣūrī*, cited verse often using the formal Arabic anatomical terminology similar to the medical verse of Ibn Sīnā, already available in Persian. In style, however, Ibn Ilyās's citations resemble the little-known Persian verse of the 3rd/9th century Persian physician Ḥakīm Maysarī (*Dānish-nāma dar ʿilm-i pazishkī*, ed. B. Zandjānī, Tehran 1344 *Sh*./1987). The scanning and rhyming schemes of such verse facilitated its memorisation, and might have been especially useful for the semi-literate practitioners with whom the bulk of the population was most likely to come into contact.

Ṣafawid-period medical writers continued this tradition. In the early 10th/16th century, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad of Harāt composed several works of medical verse, including a versified discussion of illnesses which an individual far from any doctor might have to treat himself. ʿAlī Afḍal Ḳāṭiʿ, author of the pharmacopoeia *Ḳarābidīn*, quoted some medical verse (Elgood, 18, 113-15, 117). Ibn Ilyās's anatomy, with its medical verse, was also much copied in this period.

Other traditions of medical explanation were also available. Celestial events, including the appearance of a fiery comet in 1027/1617-18, for example, were blamed for subsequent wars and uprisings in Europe and the Ottoman empire, widespread pestilence in Gīlān and Māzandarān (predicted by astrologers after the comet's appearance), an earthquake in Khurāsān in 1028/1618-19, the death of many commoners and nobles, and, together with the terrible heat of Māzandarān, predicted by the same astrologers, the illness of ʿAbbās himself the next year (Munshī, ii, 1162-8, 1176). Shaykh Bahāʾī's death in 1030/1620-1 came after hearing a voice during prayers at the tomb of Bābā Rukn al-Dīn Iṣfahānī. After this incident he "prepared himself for death"; as he predicted, three months later he fell ill and died (Munshī, ii, 1189-90).

Aware of their own limitations and of the challenges of other traditions, the court-based medical practitioners did practice some medical pluralism. Bahāʾ al-Dawla prescribed certain incantations in the case of plague, and magic before surgery in the case of certain instances of the urethra being blocked (Elgood, 173-4, 179). Ḥakīm Muḥammad, although generally disavowing all sorts of magic, charms, and the evil eye, noted certain bone fractures required divine intervention (Elgood, xvi). The court's interest in astrology is also clear, as recounted above. Indeed, sometimes rulers consulted its practitioners about the suggestions of the Galenic practitioners (Minorsky, 57-8, 128).

The court was keenly aware of the importance of public welfare generally to the stability of the broader socio-political fabric. In response to the 910/1505 famine and inflation, for example, Ismāʿīl ordered the sale of grain, and eventually also the execution of the responsible official owing to his poor response to the crisis (Rumlū, 36). ʿAbbās I, following an earthquake that struck Shīrwān [*q.v.*] while he and his party were in the region, ordered court phlebotomists to bleed the injured after which, it was reported, they "revived a little" (Munshī, i, 928-9).

The court also took practical measures to secure the flow and quality control of health services in particular. In the second Ṣafawid century, "physicians, including druggists and perfume-sellers (*ʿaṭṭārān*)"—probably including such individuals as the opium seller, the seller of henna, and the seller of musk and perfume, and perhaps the surgeon (*djarrāḥ*), the stitcher (*bakhya-dūz*) (Keyvani, 263-4) and perhaps also the eye specialist (*kaḥḥāl*) (Elgood, 56, 63)—comprised one of the thirty-three main guilds in Iṣfahān, each of which would have been headed by a *bāshī* (Keyvani, 49-50). Some of these professions apparently had well-defined ranks: the surgeon rank comprised the master surgeon (*ustād*), the bone-setter (*mudjabbir*), and the barber (*salmānī*) who, however, was considered of lower-status and did not have a shop in the bazaar

(Elgood, 56, 140-1, 145-6; Keyvani, 50-3). The barber could perform cupping as well as bleeding, and circumcision, which could also be done by a *mullā* or *ḳāḍī*. The richer the patient the more likely a professional was employed e.g. the master surgeon, for such tasks (Elgood, 126-8, 140, 146).

The court's purpose in maintaining an administrative apparatus for the guilds was both to maintain quality control and to organise these crafts for its own use. The court met its needs from the bazaar where some of these practitioners maintained stalls (Keyvani, 63-4, 240). To insure immediate access, however, the court also maintained sections within the royal workshops for such groups as "druggists and perfumers" (*ʿaṭṭār khāna*) (Keyvani, 169-70; Minorsky, 100, 128) and, when on the move, maintained its own band of phlebotomists. The shāh's private barber (*khāṣṣa-tarāsh*) oversaw such groups as bloodletters (*faṣṣādān*) and circumcisers (*khatna-kārān*) (Elgood, 143; Keyvani, 55-6). Some of these bazaar-based practitioners were probably among those who gravitated toward the growing urban-based Ṣūfī orders of the day (Keyvani, 205-11).

The Ṣafawids were more interested in and exercised greater control over guilds than had Tīmūrids (Keyvani, 63). Indeed, sometime in the 11th/17th century, the court established the post of *Ḥakīm-bāshī* ("chief doctor"), combining the position of the shāh's personal physician—in which he was assisted by the *ʿAṭṭār-bāshī* ("chief pharmacist")—with the position of chief of the entire profession. He also designated a physician for any member of the court requesting one (Minorsky, 57, 128).

Such earlier medical writers as al-Djurdjānī spoke with respect of the importance and role of midwives (Elgood, 205-7, 219-20, 227-8, 266-7, 281). Keyvani (177) noted the preponderance of Jews among Iṣfahān's midwives. He also cited the presence of Jewish druggists and observed that the Armenian community possessed an apparently parallel system of craft guilds, including medical practitioners (180-1).

The court also realised the importance of providing for the basic needs of the poorest urban elements, less able to afford access to the bazaar, especially during times of famine or economic crises. European visitors and Persian sources mention hospitals in such cities as Iṣfahān (Munshī, ii, 1295; Elgood, 29), Tabrīz (where Chardin saw three, Elgood, 29), Ardabīl (again seen by Chardin, Elgood, 29), Kazwīn (*ibid.*), and Yazd (*ibid.*), and the shrine at Mashhad (*ibid.*). The travellers' descriptions suggest, however, that some of these were either, or as much, a food distribution centre or else *sharbat-khāna* (dispensary), the latter like that headed by Ḥakīm Yār ʿAlī Ṭihrānī, and used especially to treat the poor and indigent, during the reign of Ṭahmāsp (Munshī, i, 265; Elgood, 32, Ḳummī, i, 605 n. 16).

The Ṣafawid élite also maintained the traditional interest in aspects of veterinary sciences, horses and falcons in particular, and the literati responded to this interest. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Lārī (d. 980/1571), a student of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī and later minister at the court in India of Humāyūn (d. 963/1556) and then guest of the Ottoman sultan Selīm II (d. 982/1574), composed an essay on *bayṭarī* (the veterinary sciences). The noted court-associate and *mudjtahid-muḥaddith* jurisprudent Fayḍ al-Kāshānī was among those who authored essays on horses, for example, his being entitled *Waṣf al-khayl* (Rumlū, 197; Ḳummī, 580; Sādjdjādī, *Dām-pazishkī*).

ii. *Astronomy and associated sciences*

The concern of the court, and indeed that of several segments of Persian society, with the divinatory sciences has already been noted. This interest manifested itself in support for "orthodox" and "less orthodox" practices and individuals.

Like their predecessors, the Ṣafawids paid the customary attention to *ʿilm al-hayʾa* [*q.v.*] or astronomy. The chief practitioners upon whom they called were drawn from the same small circle of scholars/court functionaries. Thus Ismāʿīl I summoned Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī from Shīrāz to undertake repairs to the observatory at Marāgha founded by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. The project, part of an extended effort to compile a set of star tables along the lines completed under earlier rulers, was envisioned as requiring a period of thirty years of observation, and so was abandoned, probably as a result of the same politico-military pressures which prompted the issuance of the *firmān* to al-Karakī. Dashtakī also wrote an essay *al-Safīr fī ʿilm al-hayʾa* ("The ambassador on the science of astronomy"), in which he both introduced and criticised aspects of Ptolemaic astronomy, including that practised by al-Ṭūsī (in particular, features of al-Ṭūsī's famous "Couple") and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, and referred to two other, still unlocated, studies of his own on the "reform" of this school of astronomy (Rumlū, 303-4; Ḳummī, i, 296; Newman, *Dashtakī, Ghiyāth al-Dīn*; Saliba, 93-4). Indeed, the nominal reason for his clash with al-Karakī was disagreement with the latter's calculations of the direction of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] in mosques throughout Ṣafawid territory. Later scholars opposed to al-Karakī's association with the court, including Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, expressed their disapproval of that association by refusing to pray in the directions of the *ḳibla* specified by al-Karakī (Newman, *The myth*, 99-101, 105). Ṭahmāsp envisioned construction of an observatory at Iṣfahān as part of an effort to compile observational records (*zīdj*), but this project also never developed (Winter, 588).

Numerous astronomical manuals were written in this period. In the next century, for example, the jurisprudent/philosopher Shaykh Bahāʾī contributed to this tradition with his *Tashrīḥ al-aflāk*. Not surprisingly, opposition to Bahāʾī also manifested itself in this arena as well. *Tashrīḥ al-aflāk* contained a vigorous defence of the science of astronomy itself (Saliba, 95-6), suggesting that the forces conspiring against him as a representative of the court-supported traditions of Uṣūlī jurisprudence and "high" philosophical inquiry linked these with other "high" scientific disciplines. Indeed, his *al-Ḥabl al-matīn*, completed *ca.* 1007/1597, was at least partly written as a defence of astronomy generally, but also specifically of al-Karakī's *ḳibla* ruling of the previous century, to the point that Bahāʾī downplayed his own father's criticisms of al-Karakī's calculations (Newman, *Towards a reconsideration,* 180-5).

A contemporary commentator on Bahāʾī's *Tashrīḥ al-aflāk*, Muḥammad Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, also addressed issues in Ptolemaic astronomy and their solutions (Saliba, 97-8). Bahāʾī's student Ḳāḍī b. Kāshif al-Dīn Ḥamawī (see above, subsection i), a physician, also wrote an astronomical handbook (Winter, 592).

The court and its associates were also active patrons of makers of astrolabes [see ASṬURLĀB] and celestial globes. The traveller Chardin gave a detailed description of astrolabe construction in this period (Winter, 596-9; Savage-Smith, *Islamicate celestial globes,* 45-9, 74, 80). An early modern European celestial map brought to Ṣafawid Persia by Chardin's contemporary J.-B. Tavernier was probably the basis for astrolabe plates produced in Yazd which incorporated

the latest European discoveries; the subsequent influence of these plates appears to have been negligible, however (Savage-Smith, *Celestial mapping*, 65-8). Shaykh Bahāʾī, again, dedicated a short essay on the astrolabe to a minister of ʿAbbās I (Winter, 592).

Divinatory methods considered less orthodox today also appear to have enjoyed official support. Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Yazdī, author of the court chronicle *Tārīkh-i ʿAbbāsī* and chief astronomer to ʿAbbās I, also composed an essay on *raml* (geomancy) for Khān Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, ruler of Gīlān.

Related to the work in the astronomical sciences was that done in *ʿilm al-ḥiṣāb* [*q.v.*] or mathematics. Not surprisingly, perhaps, such close associates of the court as Shaykh Bahāʾī were among those who composed essays in this field.

iii. *Military technology*

Patterns of developments in military technology are similarly explicable in relation to the larger Persian social formation and the Ṣafawid politico-military achievement itself.

Firearms were available and used in Persia from the 9th/15th century and cannon were used by the Ṣafawid armies in their sieges of Anatolian cities of the Ottoman empire. The Ṣafawid interest in the new technology was spurred on by the Čāldirān defeat in 920/1514. Ṣafawid shāhs received both firearms and cannon from the Tsars and requested both of these from Tuscany and the Pope. ʿAbbās I received arquebuses from Russia, Venice and England, the latter after the East Indian Company established relations with the court (Matthee, *Firearms*). There are frequent references to musketeers (*tufangčīs*) and artillery (*tūp-khāna*) in the late Ṣafawid administrative manual *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, and one of the 33 main guilds of Iṣfahān was that of "armourers", comprising makers of bows and arrows as well as makers of rifle stocks, rifles and gunpowder (Keyvani, 50).

Nevertheless, muskets and arquebuses, cannon and siege artillery, never achieved widespread use in Ṣafawid armies. The mounted warriors of these armies spurned use of the former, "clumsy, cumbersome, and quite ineffective", noisy form of weaponry, the more so as the Ṣafawid infantry, the main employer of these weapons, was recruited from the peasantry and the poorer, probably urban, classes. Even the new *ghulām* [*q.v.*] corps, ostensibly introduced to undercut the power and prestige of the Ḳizil-Bāsh forces, under-utilised these weapons, by contrast with such similar formations as the Ottoman Janisaries, and a similar Russian contingent, who were trained in and equipped with the latest technology (Matthee, *op. cit.*).

Especially in comparison with Persia's Ottoman and Mughal neighbours, the general lack of wheeled transport and the Persian physical environment—e.g. the lack of navigable waterways—hindered the widespread incorporation of heavy field and siege artillery, although it was clearly available. The mining of ingredients crucial for the production of canon and gunpowder—sulphur, saltpetre, charcoal and such metals as iron, copper and tin—was extremely difficult in this period. Heavy artillery also was of little use to Persian military strategy, which was based on the ambush and a scorched earth policy and not on open confrontation with the enemy (*ibid.*).

Siege artillery was little used by the Ṣafawid armies for a variety of reasons. In this period, rulers left many cities unwalled or did not maintain city walls, devoting attention instead to the citadels within the cities. The extension of Ṣafawid power kept Persia's cities safe from internal threats and protected the interior ones from external threats. Moreover, the continued importance of the Ḳizil-Bāsh in Persian society ensured that non-urbanised regions, the steppes in particular, were the subject of comparably greater attention.

Finally, the Ṣafawids' main enemies on the north and east, particularly the Özbegs, Afghans and Balūč, utilised firearms less than the Ṣafawids themselves, thus providing little impetus for the Ṣafawids to change their military tactics. Unwieldy artillery was of little use in battles involving mounted cavalry. The Balūč and Afghān advance into Ṣafawid territory, culminating in the capture of Iṣfahān in 1135/1722, was accomplished mainly without firearms. It was starvation which finally forced the city's surrender to the invaders, and not the few mounted guns which did appear there (Matthee, *Firearms*; and see further on the whole topic, BĀRŪD. v. The Ṣafawids).

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V. Arts and architecture.

The period of more than two centuries (907-1145/1501-1732) from the advent of Shāh Ismāᶜīl I to the demise of the last Ṣafawid rulers is marked by significant changes in Persian patronage, taste, and aesthetics and by the powerful role of political and religious ideology in shaping the arts. While royal patrons, like Ṭahmāsp I and ᶜAbbās I, who had long reigns in which to imprint their strong personal tastes on the arts, exerted great influence, there is abundant evidence documenting the increasing importance of sub-royal patronage and non-aristocratic patronage of the arts. As always, family ties were important in landing commissions and appointments at court, and intermarriage among artists' families was extensive: the 10th/16th-century calligrapher Muḥibb ᶜAlī, for instance, was the son of the royal scribe Rustam ᶜAlī and the grand-nephew of Bihzād [*q.v.*] and the cousin of the notable painter Muẓaffar ᶜAlī. Signed or reliably ascribed works of art and architecture became far more plentiful than in earlier times, as did overt displays of connoisseurship and proud references to impressive collections of precious books, not only illustrated manuscripts but also sumptuous albums (*muraḳḳaᶜ* [*q.v.*]) that included fragments of larger works, admired single-page calligraphies, paintings, and drawings, and occasional examples of the work of foreign artists: around 977/1570 prince Ibrāhīm assembled an album of paintings and drawings by Bihzād and several albums of calligraphies by Mīr ᶜAlī Harawī that were as much esteemed as a great illustrated manuscript. These changes imply a more pronounced artistic self-consciousmess and worldly appreciation of the arts than in Il-Khānid or Tīmūrid Persia, as do the numerous lengthy accounts of the arts written by individuals like the painters Dūst Muḥammad and Ṣādiḳī Bek, the calligrapher Sulṭān ᶜAlī, and the art-loving officials Iskandar Munshī and Ḳāḍī Aḥmad. The latter writer takes special paints to establish a particularly Ṣafawid theoretical base for the visual arts that gives equal weight and propriety to painting and calligraphy: thus ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is credited with being the master of the two *ḳalams*, the reed of the scribe and the brush of the painter, so that ᶜAlī, as the first Muslim painter, ranks in importance with the renowned Mānī, the legendary pre-Islamic Iranian painter. The centrality of ᶜAlī is likewise evident in the earliest buildings constructed under Ṣafawid patronage and pervades the finest architectural inscriptions in Iṣfahān a century later: the state ideology that separated Shīᶜī Persia from rival Sunnī Ottoman, Uzbek and Mughal domains pervades its arts. A profitable art trade brought European prints and printed books to Persia and took the work of some Ṣafawid painters to wealthy patrons in India, while Persian ceramics were purchased by European merchants for sale at home. The European presence in Ṣafawid Persia included not only diplomats, merchants, travellers and missionaries but also artists, and western European influence and an increasingly strong sense of naturalism are notable in the pictorial arts in the last century of Ṣafawid rule.

Ismāᶜīl I. Adherence to ᶜAlī and mystical Shīᶜism, early evident in the poetry of Shāh Ismāᶜīl, distinguished the régime from its western, northern, and eastern Sunnī neighbours and rivals and affected content and context of the visual arts. Architecture under this first Ṣafawid shāh is little known: the two principal monuments are the 928-9/1521-2 Masdjid-i ᶜAlī and the 918/1513 tomb of Hārūn-i Wilāyat, both in Iṣfahān's bazaar area and both reflecting in their names the strident adherence to ᶜAlī characteristic of Ismāᶜīl's reign. The tomb is justly celebrated for its portal, decorated in faience mosaic closer in style to the ornamentation of 9th/15th century Turcoman architecture of western Persia than to that of the

Tīmūrid east. Ismāʿīl's exposure to Turcoman styles is also evident in a painting attributed to the painter Sulṭān Muḥammad, *Sleeping Rustam defended from a lion by his horse Rakhsh* (reproduced in S.C. Welch, *A King's Book of Kings*, fig. 10), that most probably belonged to a *Shāh-nāma* begun and never completed for the first Ṣafawid ruler. The heir apparent, Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā, appointed governor of Harāt in 922/1516, returned to Tabrīz in 928/1522 at the age of nine, accompanied by the pre-eminent Tīmūrid painter, Bihzād, who was promptly appointed head of the royal *kitāb-khāna* (library and workshop). The convergence of the Turcoman and Tīmūrid artistic traditions during the first half of the 10th/16th century is the essential element in the development of mature Ṣafawid court styles in architecture and the arts.

Ṭahmāsp I. Too young to rule effectively in 930/1524, the young shāh turned his attention to the arts of the precious book and initiated the production of the greatest *Shāh-nāma* in Persian history. The *Shāh Ṭahmāsp Shāh-nāma* was a sumptuous creation, with 258 paintings, superb calligraphy and stunning illumination. The collaborative endeavour of dozens of different artists, it was successively under the direction of some Persia's foremost talents, like Āḳā Mīrak and Sulṭān Muḥammad, and its paintings delineate the evolution of Ṣafawid court style of Turcoman and Tīmūrid modes. Containing no colophon giving either the date of completion or the name of the scribe or scribes, the book occupied the talents of the royal atelier for some twenty years, and was complete when Dūst Muḥammad wrote his *Account of past and present painters* in 953/1546. As one of the important contributors to the *Shāh-nāma*, this painter, calligrapher, and chronicler of the arts knew it well and specifically singled out for great praise the painting of *The court of Gayūmarth* by Sulṭān Muḥammad (reproduced in Welch, *op. cit.*, 89). Other great projects of the shāh's patronage include the 946-50/1539-43 *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī now in the British Library. In keeping with the Tīmūrid princely tradition, the shāh's brothers Bahrām and Sām were also keenly interested in this most exclusive of court arts. The depiction of murals in illustrations of architectural interiors, as well as some surviving examples in extant buildings, indicate that wall painting was also an important activity for painters, and this tradition continued for the rest of the Ṣafawid era. In 955/1548 the shāh removed the seat of government from Tabrīz to Ḳazwīn. He came increasingly to favour orthodoxy, and his passion for the arts of the secular book waned, though a 959/1552 Ḳurʾān, almost certainly created for Ṭahmāsp, indicates that calligraphers and illuminators of the highest ability were still employed in the royal *kitāb-khāna* (reproduced in T. Falk (ed.), *Treasures of Islam*, 100-1). Many of his artists left the court in search of other patronage: some went to work for princes in provincial posts, like the shāh's gifted nephew Ibrāhīm (the patron of the great 963-72/1556-65 *Haft awrang* of Djāmī now in the Freer Gallery), while others, like Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī, moved further east to Mughal India, where they were instrumental in shaping classic Mughal court painting.

ʿAbbās I. Following a decade of instability after Ṭahmāsp I's death in 1576, ʿAbbās I brought great energy to his 42-year reign. Like his predecessors, he initiated a great *Shāh-nāma* project that re-established a large and productive royal atelier, and he took an active interest in the arts of the book. He particularly favoured the painters Ṣādiḳī Bek and Riḍā ʿAbbāsī [*q.v.*], supported the rival calligraphers ʿAlī Riḍā Tabrīzī and Mīr ʿImād, and even mediated disputes within the royal *kitābkhāna*. The dispersal of artistic talent during Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign and the broader diffusion of wealth from ʿAbbās's economic reforms increased the numbers of patrons from the lesser aristocracy, official and military classes, professionals, and merchants. Many of these new patrons appear to have bought, rather than commissioned, works of art, so that the production of less expensive single-page drawings and paintings flourished. Virtuoso demonstrations more than collaborative endeavours, they took their subject matter from a variety of sources: images drawn from contemporary and mundane society that are often humorous or even sharply satirical (Pl. XLV); elegant courtiers, sometimes identified by name; wistful lovers and Riḍā's fashion-plate youths (Pl. XLVI), often accompanied by mystical verses, who presumably correspond to the divine beloved. Ṣafawid metalwork was also frequently adorned with mystical poetry that indicates how deeply and thoroughly Ṣūfism suffused the culture (Pl. XLVII).

But the shāh also recognised the importance of the arts in promoting the economic well-being of Persia. Some carpet manufacturing under royal patronage was profitably directed at commissions from European nobility (Pl. XLVIII), and the role of textiles in commerce, always significant in Islam's past, seems to have been especially enhanced. Ṣafawid silk textiles demonstrated diversity and virtuosity in technique, and they depended to a remarkable extent upon figural decoration; some royal painters worked as textile designers, and silk cloths were decorated with scenes of Ṣafawid victories over inveterate enemies like the Uzbeks, as well as with visiting Europeans, youthful lovers, and the beauties of gardens and nature (Pl. XLIX). Likewise, he encouraged ceramic production, and, in addition to more traditional lustre wares, Persian potters imitated Chinese blue-and-white ceramics for sale to European merchants in the China trade as well as to satisfy the substantial demand in Persia (Pl. L). Persian manuscripts and single-page works of art were even bought by merchants for sale outside Persia.

Foreign contacts and international trade were vital elements in ʿAbbās's strategy for his state, and, apart from the European and Indian diplomats and merchants who came to Persia, there were European scholars, missionaries, and independent travellers whose interests generally extended more broadly. They remained an important feature of Persian cultural and social life throughout the 11th/17th century, and their published reports not only stimulated contemporary interest in Persia but also serve as major sources of information for modern scholarship. Their attention was particular drawn to the city of Iṣfahān [*q.v.*], which ʿAbbās chose as his centre of government in 1006/1598 and where he undertook one of the greatest building programs in Islamic history. Blessed with year-round water from the Zayandeh River, the city appeared to visitors like a green forest accentuated by brilliant tiled domes. To the south across the river the shāh established the community of New Djulfā [*q.v.* in Suppl.] for Christian Armenians who provided most of the multilingual merchants involved in Persia's international commerce, and their richly decorated extant churches are a striking synthesis of 17th-century Persian and European art and archtitecture.

In order to promote safe commercial travel within Persia, ʿAbbās ordered the construction of dozens of *khāns* [*q.v.*] or caravanserais. Most of them also served as or were connected with bazaars, and they are

among the most impressive examples of Ṣafawid architecture. The Ḳaysariyya bazaar in Iṣfahān is the best preserved and connected the city's old *djāmiʿ* with ʿAbbās's new city centre, a large rectangular *maydān*, 2 km to the southwest (Pl. LI). It provided not only shops for manufacture and commerce but also access to immediately adjacent mosques, like the 1065/1654 Masdjid-i Ḥakīm, that served merchants and their customers. The Ḳaysariyya's entrance occupies the north end of the new *maydān*; 500 m distant at the south end is the entrance to the Masdjid-i Imām, a brilliant construction on the classic four-īwān plan completed in 1637. Both buildings dominate their respective sides and suggest the preoccupation with large size, showy opulence, glistening surfaces, and dramatic effects that are major components of the Ṣafawid aesthetic: the *maydān* itself was an open area for military parades, commerce, music, acrobatics, and other kinds of entertainment. Less dominant are the adjoining buildings—the single-domed Shaykh Luṭf Allāh mosque on the east side and, opposite it across the *maydān*, the ʿĀlī Ḳāpū or High Gate entrance to the shāh's gardens and Čihil Sutūn palace that extend to the west. While the Shaykh Luṭf Allāh mosque's dome is decorated in traditional faience mosaic, the decorative programme of the Masdjid-i Imām is laid out in large glazed tiles, a technique demanding precise knowledge of the reaction of clays and glazes to firing, especially where the tiles were curved to cover the surface of domes and *mīnars*. Extensive use of this type of tile decoration must have required the employment of gifted potters and painters, and may partly account for the apparent decline in the sophistication of more traditional ceramics in the Ṣafawid period. Both mosques were provided with splendid inscriptions designed by ʿAlī Riḍā Tabrīzī that cite passages from both Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth* underscoring and supporting the Ṣafawids' descent from ʿAlī and their special role as protectors of Shīʿī Islam in Persia. To the same end, ʿAbbās also made lavish gifts of carpets and ceramics to the dynastic shrine of Shaykh Ṣafī in Ardabīl.

The second level of the ʿĀlī Ḳāpū is dominated by its projecting *ṭālār*, a colonnaded verandah more usually associated with far more private dwellings, where it would provide an open and sheltered vista toward an enclosed garden, pool, or courtyard that served as the physical centre of domestic space. In the shāh's palace, however, the *ṭālār* is no longer intimate but opens instead on to the *maydān*, as if that vast space were itself an inner court, enclosed by the arcades on all four sides and subject to the patriarch's focussed glance and discipline. The king could also ritually present himself to those assembled in the *maydān* below. It is an architectural simile for the increased power of the central administration and of the shāh as both autocrat and head of the Ṣafawiyya Ṣūfī order. To the west, running roughly parallel to the *maydān*, was the *čahār bāgh*, an avenue and watercourse lined by the mansions and gardens of the wealthy and supplied by an elaborate hydraulic system with water from the river. While this part of Iṣfahān must have been a veritable garden city for the rich, its natural imagery does not seem to have permeated the imagery of painting, for the garden, which had served as the setting for many earlier illustrated scenes from Persian literature became a relatively infrequent backdrop in paintings by Iṣfahān's artists.

Later Ṣafawid art and architecture. In the century after Shāh ʿAbbās I, ceramics and sumptuous textiles continued to be important sources of revenue and were admired items of luxury trade in Europe and India. Traditional literary themes in the arts of the book were in part supplanted by often incisive depictions of actual, ordinary, and even outlandish individuals, of exotic persons from other lands, of implicit and occasionally fairly explicit eroticism, of carefully-observed nature (Pl. LII), and of actual events and formal portraits. Although the European technology of printing was ignored and traditional calligraphy continued to flourish in the hands of masters like Muḥammad Riḍā (Pl. LIII), the impact of European prints and the influence of European modes of representation increased, notably in the work of Muḥammad Zamān (Pl. LIV), and traditional styles began to take on a more international guise, while European travel accounts accorded Iṣfahān a reputation rivalling that of Istanbul, Dihlī, and Āgrā. Although there were no subsequent urban projects as grandiose as the *maydān*, architecture and the arts evinced similar aesthetic and cultural concerns. ʿAbbās II undertook major building and restoration programs at the Shrine of the Imām Riḍā in Mashhad [*q.v.*], and during the reign of Sultan Ḥusayn I an impressive *madrasa* and adjoining *khān* were built on the *čahār bāgh* in design and style making obeisance to the Masdjid-i Imām.

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VI. Numismatics.

The Ṣafawid coinage was introduced following the victories of Shāh Ismāʿīl I over the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Turkmen in 907-8/1502, and continued without break

until the deposition of Shāh ʿAbbās III by Nādir Shāh in 1148/1736. All the rulers, except for the ephemeral Sulṭān Ḥamza who administered the state in 994/1586, struck coinage in their own names, and one even struck it in two, first in that of Ṣafī II and then, after his re-enthronement, as Sulaymān. After Nādir Shāh's death in 1160/1747 coins were also occasionally issued in the names of Ṣafawid pretenders who claimed paternal, maternal or even entirely fictive royal descent until the death of the last claimant in 1200/1786. The examination of these coins, however, properly forms part of the later monetary history of Persia.

During the period of Ṣafawid rule, the Persian currency system was based on the *tūmān*, a unit of account whose value was fixed at the currently-established weight of 10,000 silver dīnārs. The weight of the *tūmān* was customarily expressed as a fixed number of *mithkāls* or *nukhūds* of refined silver which could then be converted into coin with the value of 10,000 dīnārs. One *mithkāl*, weighing approximately 4.60 gr, was equal to 24 *nukhūds* which each weighed about 0.192 gr.

Table 1 shows the extent of the Ṣafawid silver coinage, giving the name of the ruler, the weight(s) of the *tūmān* in *nukhūds* during his period of rule, and the names of the various silver coins, their individual value in dīnārs and their theoretical weight in grammes. It should be noted that weight standards were not always uniform and that local variations existed, particularly in the Caspian region and the eastern provinces. The heaviest coin was usually the most popular and most commonly struck. Under Ismāʿīl I the principal coin was the *shāhī* valued at 50 dīnārs, 200 per *tūmān*. Then under Ṭahmāsb I came the double *shāhī*, or 100 dīnārs, 100 per *tūmān*, which during the rule of Muḥammad Khudābanda was renamed the *muḥammadī*. ʿAbbās I introduced the four *shāhī*, 200 dīnārs, 50 per *tūmān*, which he named the *ʿabbāsī*. The *ʿabbāsī* remained the normal Persian denomination for the remainder of the dynasty and for a time afterwards, except for a brief period between 1123 and 1129 under Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn when it was supplanted by the oblong-shaped five *shāhī* (the *ḥusaynī*?). It should be noted that coins valued above five *shāhīs* were produced especially for the ruler to distribute during the Nawrūz [*q.v.*] celebrations, and these usually quickly found their way to the jewellers for conversion into personal ornaments.

Table 2 summarises the Ṣafawid gold coinage. Gold played a much smaller rôle in the Persian currency system than did silver or copper. Indeed, in the century before the accession of Shāh Ismāʿīl I the Tīmūrids had struck no gold at all in their Persian mints. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, who succeeded the Tīmūrids in the west, introduced the striking of the gold *ashrafī* in Tabrīz during the last quarter of the 9th/15th century as a trade coin. In its weight, *ca.* 3.45 gr, dumpy fabric and epigraphy, it was copied so exactly on the Burdji Mamlūk *ashrafī* popularised by al-Ashraf Barsbāy that the name of the ruler in the legends often has to be read in order to distinguish one currency from another. The earliest gold coin of Ismāʿīl I was a copy of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu/Burdji Mamlūk *ashrafī* in both weight and design, but it was not long before the Persian artistic tradition reasserted itself as evidence of Ismāʿīl's determination to stage a Persian religious and cultural revival. Quite exceptionally in Islam, the Ṣafawids struck both their gold and silver coins from the same dies, and as none of them bore any mark of denomination it would have been easy for counterfeiters to gold-plate silver and pass it off on the unwary had gold been in regular circulation. Contemporary travellers to Persia recorded that local gold was very rarely seen and little used in commerce.

Although all the gold coins were popularly called *ashrafī*, there were actually several different varieties to which this name was given, which were distinguished from one another by their weights rather than by their designs or legends. Ismāʿīl used two standards for his gold coinage—one based on the weight of the traditional Islamic *mithkāl* or coinage dīnār of 24 *nukhūds* (approximately 4.60 gr), and the other, the true *ashrafī*, with its origin in the weight of the Venetian gold ducat, weighing 18 *nukhūds* (approximately 3.45 gr). The latter was theoretically exchangeable at par with European ducats, the Mamlūk *ashrafī* and the Ottoman *sulṭānī*. Halves and quarters were struck in both standards, and the latter became popular in eastern Persia where its use was linked to the quarter *ashrafīs* issued by the Mughal rulers in the Badakhshān region of Afghānistān.

Under the Ṣafawids all gold coins were treated as a commodity with no fixed price against the silver *tūmān*. Their purchasing power fluctuated according to supply and demand, type of commodity, season of the year and the perceived reliability of the original issuing agent. Traders always preferred Venetian ducats, and generally held the Ṣafawid coinage in low esteem. In the 11th/17th century, local gold virtually vanished from the Middle East and Persia. Because both regions preferred silver to gold, the price of silver was relatively higher throughout these areas than it was in Europe, where gold was favoured. This gave European traders a perfect opportunity to import inexpensive silver from the New World which they sold locally for gold at great profit to themselves. In time, so much gold was siphoned out of Persia that it was said that the only gold coins to be struck by Ṣafī I, ʿAbbās II and Sulaymān were those that the rulers presented to their courtiers at the Nawrūz celebrations. Thus the custom arose of striking gold at the weight of the popular silver denominations, the *ʿabbāsī*, *muḥammadī* and *shāhī*, and giving them a nominal value in dīnārs ten times that of their silver originals. These rare pieces, as well as the magnificent gold ten-*mithkāls* and ten-*ashrafīs* modelled on the multiple ducats of Venice and the Holy Roman Empire, were *pièces de plaisir*, and were usually incorporated into jewellery as a sign of royal favour.

Copper coinage played a central rôle in the local economy of Ṣafawid Persia. While gold and silver were struck under royal license, copper *fulūs* were issued by the provincial governors. To avoid infringing upon the royal prerogative, the coins they struck did not bear the governors' names, but included easily-recognised figures of objects, often animals, birds or even humans on one face and the name of the mint and year of striking on the other. This made the *fulūs* easy to identify, which was important because it was the custom to recall the copper coinage not only annually but whenever the incumbent was replaced by a new appointee. The coinage was then recalled, restruck and sold to the people at a price which was said to yield a 50% profit on the value of the issue. To make this system feasible, only locally-struck copper coin was permitted to circulate, and only coins of the current governor and year were accepted at full value. *Fulūs* were occasionally given denominational names; for example *yek* or *dō dīnār* were valued at one or two dīnārs, *ḳaz* or *ḳazbak* at five dīnārs and *tanga* at ten dīnārs. Because the lifespan of copper was so short, very little care was taken in its manufacture, and

TABLE 1
ṢAFAWID SILVER COINAGE
Summary of weight standards and denominations

		bisti	*pūl*	*shāhī*	*muḥammadī*	*ʿabbāsī*	5 *shāhī*	donative coins						
Ruler and years	*Nukhūds* per *tūmān*	20 dīnār	25	50	100	200	250	300	400	500	750	800	1000	1500
Ismāʿīl I 906-23	9,600		4.60	9.20	18.40									
923-7	5,400		2.60	5.18	10.36									
928-30	4,050		1.94	3.88	7.77									
Ṭahmāsb I 930-8	4,050	1.55		3.88	7.77									
938-45	2,900	1.11		2.78	5.56									
(936-42)	2,800				5.18									
945-84	2,400		1.15	2.30	4.60									
Ismāʿīl II 984-5	2,400			2.30	4.60									
Muḥammad Khudābanda 985-95	2,400			2.30	4.60									
ʿAbbās I 995-1003	2,400		1.15	2.30	4.60	9.20								
1003-37	2,000	0.76		1.92	3.84	7.68								
Ṣafī I 1038-52	2,000	0.76		1.92	3.84	7.68	9.60							
ʿAbbās II 1052-77	1,925	0.74		1.84	3.69	7.39	9.24			18.48			36.96	
Ṣafī II Sulaymān 1077-1105	1,925	0.74		1.84	3.69	7.39				18.48			36.96	
Ḥusayn 1105-23	1,925	0.74		1.84	3.69	7.39				18.48			36.96	55.44
1123-9	1,800			1.73	3.45	6.91	8.64	10.36			26.88			
1129-35	1,400		0.67	1.34	2.68	5.37				13.44			26.88	
(1133-5)	1,200					4.60			9.20			18.40		
Ṭahmāsb III 1134-44	1,400	0.53		1.34	2.68	5.37				13.44			26.88	
ʿAbbās III 1144-8	1,400	0.53		1.34	2.68	5.37								

relatively few pieces have survived to find a place in museum coin cabinets.

As on other Islamic coinages, the coin legends used by the Ṣafawids fall into two main categories: the religious texts which are found on the obverse and the political on the reverse. The obverse for all rulers except Shāh Ismāʿīl II contains the Shīʿī profession of faith, *lā ilāh illā Allāh, Muḥammad rasūl* (or *nabī*) *Allāh,*

TABLE 2
ṢAFAWID GOLD COINAGE
Summary of weight standards and denominations

Ruler and years	*Mithkāl* or dīnār (24 *nukhūd*) 1	½	¼(10)	*Ashrafī* or ducat (18 *nukhūd*) 1	½	¼(10)	2000 dīnārs, gold ᶜAbbāsī	1000 dīnārs, gold Muḥammadī	500 dīnārs, gold Shāhī	Uncertain value	Remarks
Ismāᶜīl I 906-30	4.60	2.30	1.15	3.45	1.73	0.86					gold plentiful, both standards in use
Ṭahmāsb I 930-84	4.60	2.30	1.15	3.45	?	0.86		29 *nukhūd* 5.56			gold plentiful, both standards in use
Ismāᶜīl II 984-5	4.60	?	?								coinage rare, *mithkāl* standard only
Muḥammad Khudābanda 985-95	4.60	2.30	?								gold plentiful, *mithkāl* standard only
ᶜAbbās I 995-1003	4.60	2.30	1.15				48 *nukhūd* 9.20 gr				gold plentiful, *mithkāl* standard only
1003-37							40 *nukhūd* 7.68 gr	20 *nukhūd* 3.84 gr	10 *nukhūd* 1.92 gr		gold scarce; gold struck at weight of silver coinage
Ṣafī I 1038-52								20 *nukhūd* 3.84 gr			gold rare; gold struck at weight of silver coinage
ᶜAbbās II 1052-77					1.73					14 *nukhūd* 2.68 gr	gold rare, no fixed standard
Ṣafī II/ Sulaymān 1077-1105			46.00	3.45			38 *nukhūd* 7.29 gr		9.5 *nukhūd* 1.82 gr		gold rare, mixed standards
Ḥusayn 1105-35				3.45			28 *nukhūd* 5.37 gr.				gold scarce, ducat standard revived
1133-5										15 *nukhūd* 2.88 gr	emergency coinage
Ṭahmāsb II 1135-44				3.45		34.50	28 *nukhūd* 5.37 gr.		7 *nukhūd* 1.24 gr		gold plentiful, ducat standard in use
ᶜAbbās III 1144-8				3.45			28 *nukhūd* 5.37 gr				gold plentiful, ducat standard in use

ᶜAlī walī Allāh with or without the names of the Twelve Imāms: *ᶜAlī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, ᶜAlī, Muḥammad, Djaᶜfar, Mūsā, ᶜAlī, Muḥammad, ᶜAlī, Ḥasan* and *Muḥammad.* The names of the Twelve Imāms were first employed by the Ilkhān ruler Öldjeytü between 709 and 716 on his two Shīᶜī coin types, and they then reappeared 200 years later when Shāh Ismāᶜīl made Twelver Shīᶜism the state faith of Persia. During his brief reign, Shāh Ismāᶜīl II used a poetic distich in place of the *kalima* in order to prevent the holy words from falling into the hands of unbelievers. The religious legends were usually inscribed in *naskhī* script.

The reverse legends usually contain the name of the ruler, the mint names and the years of striking. The ruler's name usually lacks his patronymic, the exceptions being Ismāᶜīl II and Muḥammad Khudābanda, who give that of their father *b. Ṭahmāsb.* Their titles are of two kinds, those that define the ruler's relationship to the people he ruled and those that define his relationship to the Shīᶜī faith. The former are in Arabic, usually inscribed in *naskhī* script, and are more or less elaborate depending on the number of words which could be fitted on a die, e.g. *al-Sulṭān al-ᶜĀdil, al-Kāmil, al-Hādī, al-Wālī, al-Ghāzī fī Sabīl Allāh Abu 'l-Muẓaffar, Shāh.... Bahādur Khān, al-Ṣafawī al-Ḥusaynī, khallada Allāh taᶜālā mulkahu wa-sulṭānahu.* This form was used by Ismāᶜīl I, Ṭahmāsb I, Ismāᶜīl II, Muḥammad Khudābanda, ᶜAbbās I and Ḥusayn. Ḥusayn also used *al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān al-Khāḳān b. al-Khāḳān. Al-Ṣafawī al-Ḥusaynī* refers to Shaykh Ṣafī al-

Dīn Ardabīlī [*q.v.*], the ancestor of the dynasty, who claimed descent from the third Imām Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. This ancestral claim parallels that of the contemporary Ḥasanī Sharīfs of Morocco, who were then using *al-Ḥasanī* among their own titles. Perhaps both dynasties emphasised their illustrious descent in order to embarrass the Ottomans, who had no claim to such prestigious ancestry.

The legends which proclaim the ruler's Shīʿī allegiance are in Persian. The better known of these are *Ghulām-i Imām Mahdī ʿalayhi al-salām* and *Ghulām-i ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib ʿalayhi al-salām* used by Ṭahmāsb I and Muḥammad Khudābanda; *Banda-yi Shāh-i Wilāyat* used by ʿAbbās I, ʿAbbās II, Ṣafī II-Sulaymān and Ḥusayn, and *Ghulām-i Shāh-i Dīn* used by Ṭahmāsb II. Poetical distichs in Persian incorporating the name of the ruler within their texts were employed by ʿAbbās I, Ṣafī I, ʿAbbās II, Ṣafī II-Sulaymān, Ḥusayn, Ṭahmāsb II and ʿAbbās III. At the end of Ṣafawid power, when Ṭahmāsb Ḳulī Khān, the later Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], controlled Ṭahmāsb II and ʿAbbās III, anonymous distichs were also inscribed in the name of the eighth Imam, ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā. Such distichs were also used by the Zands and early Ḳādjārs, who avoided placing their own names on the coinage while a Ṣafawid pretender still existed. These secular legends are usualy inscribed in *nastaʿlīḳ*, the script in which poetry was usually written.

State control over the monetary system was exercised by the *Muʿayyir al-Mamālik*, the State Assayer, who reported directly to the ruler. Under him were the local chief assayers and *ḍarrābī bashī*, masters of the mint, who were jointly responsible for ensuring that the gold and silver were of the right alloy and that the manufacture of the blank flans and their striking into coin proceeded according to the regulations in force. The management of the mint was farmed out to local concessionaires who were responsible for collecting and remitting the seignorage, *wādjibī*, charged for refining metal, manufacturing gold and silver thread for weaving carpets and luxury cloth, and for striking coins. The raw metal was delivered to the mints in the form of bullion and foreign or obsolete coins. Seignorage varied widely from 2% to 20% of the metal value based on what local commercial and political circumstances could bear.

Under the Ṣafawids, the main state mints were located in Iṣfahān and Tabrīz, whenever the latter was not under Ottoman control. Other main urban centres that witnessed more or less continual minting activity were Hamadhān, Kāshān, Ḳazwīn, Shīrāz and Yazd, as well as those in the main shrine towns of Ardābil and Mashhad. The ports of Rasht in the north and Ḥuwayzā in the south were chiefly concerned with restriking foreign coin as it entered the Ṣafawid dominions, while the almost continuous wars were financed by the *Urdū* (army) mint as well as those located in the north-western fortress towns of Eriwān, Gandja, Nakhčiwān, Shamākhī and Tiflīs, whenever these were not held by the Ottomans. Besides these towns, both Ismāʿīl I and Ṭahmāsb I operated many local mints which varied greatly in their importance and in their production of coin. Initially they served to reinforce the ruler's authority throughout the country and to spread the observance of the Twelver Shīʿī doctrines to areas where they may have been only lightly observed before the Ṣafawid conquests. However, like the Ottomans, the Ṣafawids found that a large number of small and remote mints gave only a marginal return to the state treasury and were often wide open to local manipulation and malpractice. Thus during the economic hardships and inflation of the 11th/17th century most of them were closed down unless a locally powerful governor could maintain their existence either as a matter of local prestige or to meet exceptional local needs.

Although Ṣafawid coins have survived in large numbers, no systematic effort has been made to study them within their political and economic contexts. They are usually treated, quite correctly, as the first section of the modern coinage of the Shāhs of Persia. The standard works on the Ṣafawid coinage need to be updated because of the many discoveries that have been made since they were published.

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(R. Darley-Doran)

ṢAFDĀR DJANG, Mīrzā Muhammad Muḳīm Ṣafdār Djang ("the Lion in War") (1708-54) the second *Nawwāb* or ruler of the North Indian post-Mughal successor state of Awadh [*q.v.*] (Eng. Oudh) from 1739 until his death fifteen years later. Nephew, son-in-law, and successor to Saʿādat Khān Burhān al-Mulk, and like him an immigrant to India from Nīshāpūr, he expanded his territory in the Gangetic valley while retaining as much influence as possible within the declining Mughal Empire. This was an era of political fragmentation, regional state formation, and massive cultural revival that together help form modern South Asian identity, but the post-Mughal aristocracy still sought to restore the Empire, and Ṣafdār Djang was very prominent in the struggle.

The Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, ruler of a larger successor state in the south, and *Wazīr* or deputy to the Mughal Emperor, wrote on his deathbed in 1748 to Ṣafdār Djang, "You are now the most promising of our current youth. Take that office [Imperial *Wazīr*] upon yourself, and exert yourself in recovering the affairs of the Empire." Ṣafdār Djang fought in a civil war in and around Dihlī in 1753 over the control of imperial offices, by then virtually powerless but invested with residual authority throughout India. This civil war marks the final breakaway of Awadh from the imperial system in India.

Although his reign marks the emergence of Awadh as an autonomous successor state in the mid-Gangetic plains, his tomb, a splendid example of late Mughal architecture, stands in what is now New Delhi.

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(R.B. Barnett)

ṢAFF (a.), pl. *ṣufūf*, literally "rank, row or line, company of men standing in a rank, row or line" (Lane, 1693 col. 3), a term with various usages.

1. In religious practice. Here, *ṣaff* is used for the lines of worshippers assembled in the mosque or elsewhere for the prescribed worship; see on this, ṣalāt.

2. In military organisation. In the traditional formation of armies on the march or on the battlefield (*taʿbiya*), there was a classic five-fold division of a centre, its left and right wings, a vanguard and a

Na<u>sh</u>mī the Archer, signed by Riḍā and dated 1031/1622. Harvard University Art Museums.

Young Man in a Blue Cloak, signed by Riḍā, late 16th century. Harvard Art Museums.

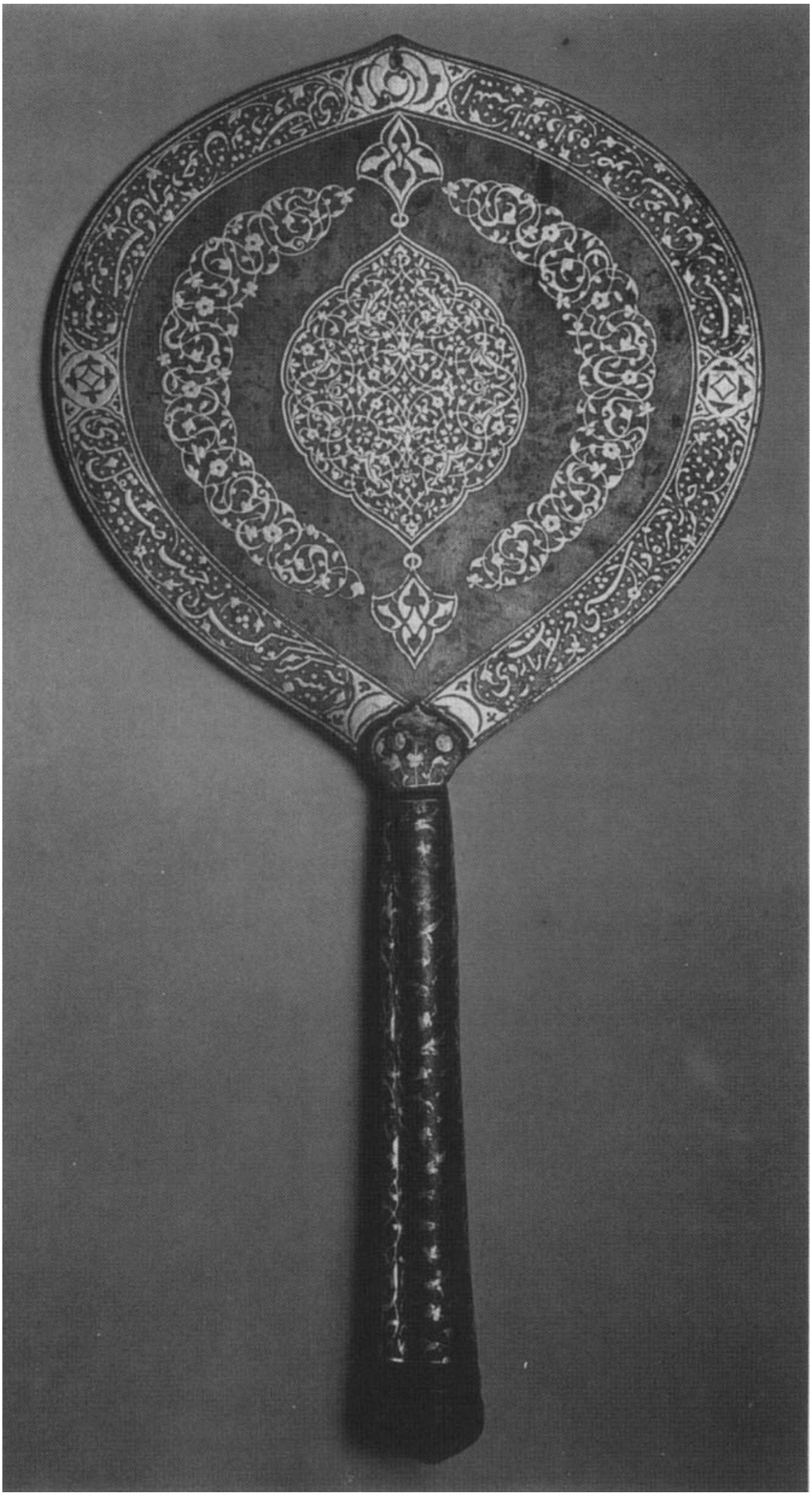

Steel mirror, 17th century. Nelson-Atkins Gallery of Art.

"Shāh ᶜAbbās" or "Polonaise" carpet, silk enriched with silver and gilt thread. Nelson-Atkins Gallery of Art.

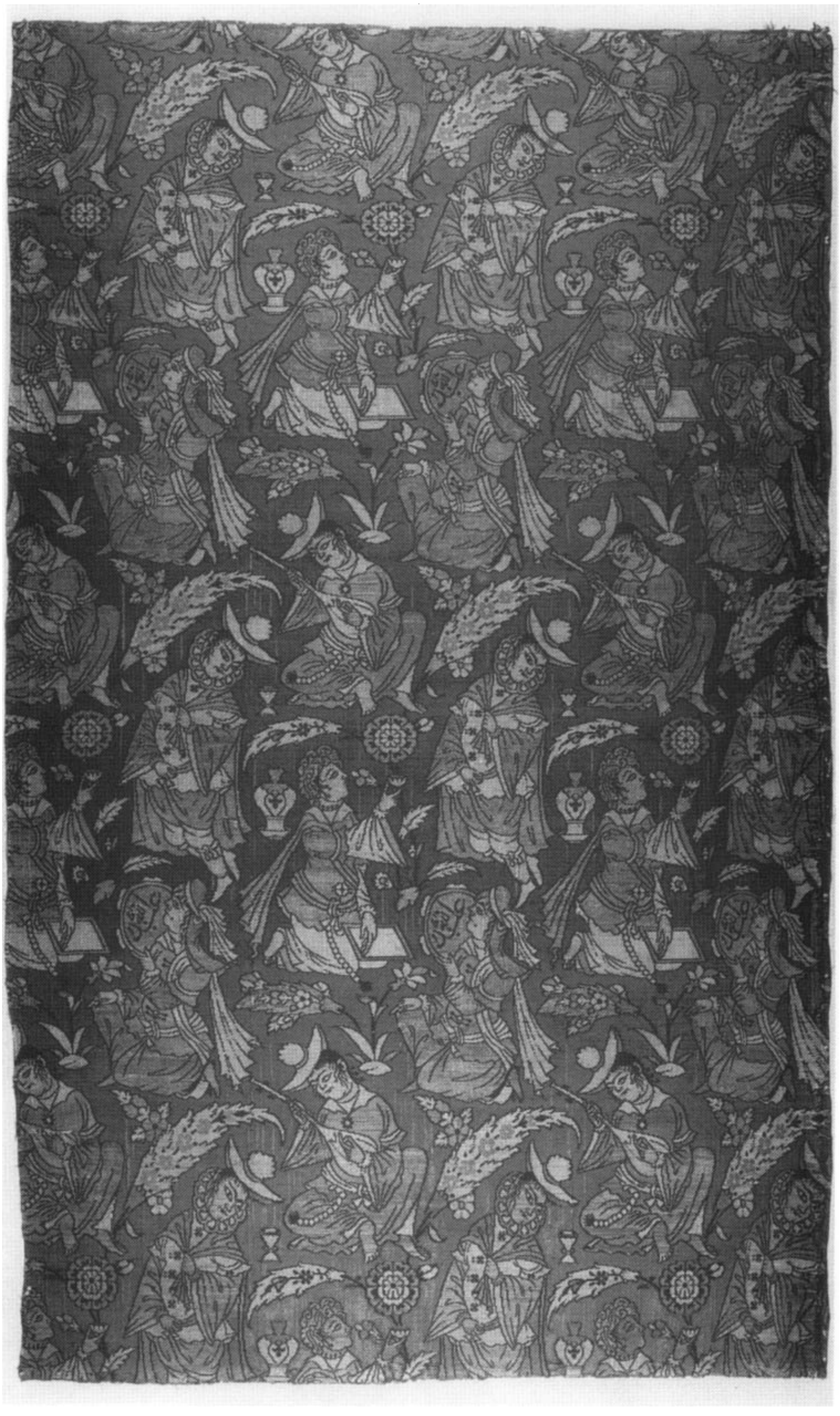

Fragment of satin brocaded silk with silver thread. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J.H. Wade Fund.

Blue-and-white dish. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

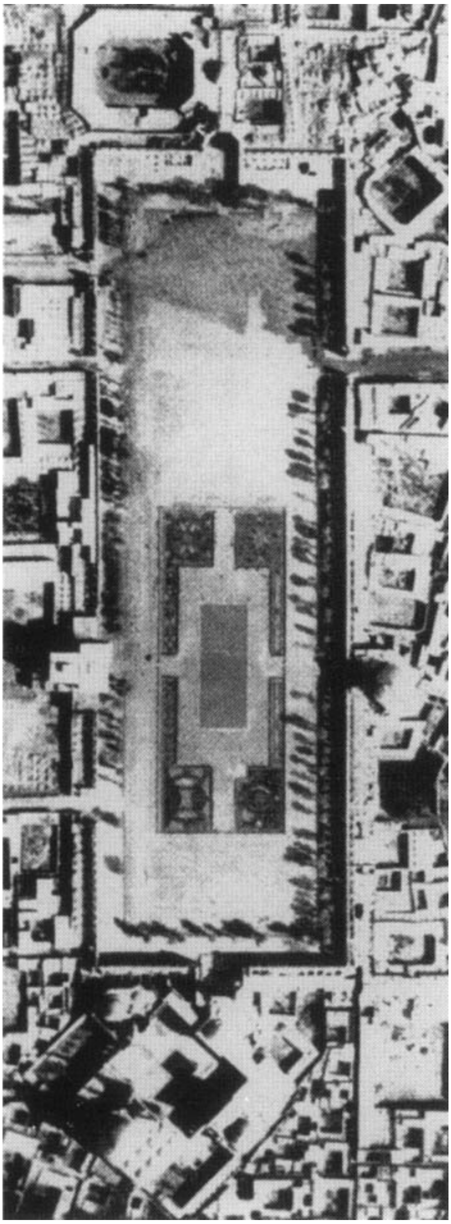

Maydān, Iṣfahān. Computer-enhanced aerial view from *Athār-e Īrān, Annales du Service archéologique de l'Īrān*, ii (1937), 104.

Bird, Butterflies, and Blossoms, signed by Shafīʿ ʿAbbāsī and dated 1062/1652. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase, Andrew R. and Martha Holden Jennings Fund.

An Invocation for divine assistance and protection against evil. Calligraphy signed by Muḥammad Riḍā, late 17th century. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Return from the flight into Egypt, 1100/1689, signed by Muḥammad Zamān and based on a print by Lucas Vosterman after Peter Paul Rubens. Harvard University Art Museums.

rearguard (whence the term *khamīs* for an army). In actual battle, such as the engagements of the Arabs with the imperial Sāsānid army in ʿIrāḳ in the 630s, the Arabs drew themselves up into *ṣufūf* or ranks. The Prophet is said to have straightened, with an arrow held in his hand, the *ṣufūf* of the Muslims before the battle of Badr [*q.v.*] in 2/624 (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 443-4, tr. Guillaume, 300; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1319, tr. M.V. McDonald and W.M. Watt, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. VII. The foundations of the community*, Albany 1987, 53-4), and the Ḳurʾānic verse LXI, 4, "God loves those who fight in His way in ranks, as though they were a building well-compacted" was adduced in support of the *ṣaff* formation. Only in the later Umayyad period does the use come in of troops concentrated into small, compact blocks (*karādīs*, sing. *kardūs*, *kurdūs*), but the *ṣaff* formation continued after this as a standard deployment.

See further, ḤARB. ii. The Caliphate, and the *Bibl.* there, to which may be added C.E. Bosworth, *Armies of the Prophet*, in B. Lewis (ed.), *The world of Islam. Faith, people, culture*, London 1976, 202-4.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

3. In North African social organisation. Here, *ṣaff* denotes in certain parts of the Maghrib, chiefly Algeria, Southern Tunisia and Libya, a league, alliance, faction or party. In Morocco, the term *leff* [*q.v.*] is used with the same meaning throughout. As such *ṣaff* is vocalised with a *ḍamma* instead of *fatḥa* (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 834). French spellings vary from *çof* and *çoff* to *sof* and *soff* (pl. *sfouf*).

The term refers to a major form of rural sedentary and transhumant Berber and nomadic Arab political organisation, viz. a diffuse system of two (or more) mutually opposing or rivalling leagues, often of uncertain origin, dividing villages or desert towns *ḳṣūr* (sing, *ḳṣar*), clans and families, or comprising whole tribes. Parallels have been looked for in classical Greece (R. Montagne), archaic Rome (E. Masqueray), Albania and Corsica (J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1949, 145) and in mediaeval Italy (e.g. Guelphs and Ghibellines). As a rule, neighbouring tribal units belonged to opposite alliances but a neighbour-but-one belonged to one's own alliance. The obligation of mutual assistance between league members was strict and might include cash, provisions, arms, volunteer labour, fighting, shelter and providing for a family whose head was killed in feud or battle. The stronger the solidarity of a given league, the less would an opposing neighbour feel tempted to attack or trespass on his neighbour lest he activate the entire league. Causes of conflict were never lacking at every tribal level, the most common being land, water, trees, grazing, pastures, livestock, harvests, women, honour or a personal vendetta.

In Greater Kabylia, where the *ṣaff* phenomenon was first observed by Europeans (Devaux, Hanoteau and Letourneux, Masqueray, see *Bibl.*), the basic political unit was the village. Divided into two moieties, its cohesion was due to its political organs: the village assembly (*djamāʿa*), its executive officer (*amīn*) and the customary law (*ḳānūn*). Its complex *ṣaff*-system, despite its dualistic and antagonistic character, managed, by some "strange and obscure ponderation" (P. Bourdieu, *Sociologie de l'Algérie*, Paris 1970^2, 20) to maintain an overall equilibrium. Until the end of the 18th century, the whole of Greater Kabylia was divided in two great leagues named the "upper" and the "lower" leagues (*soff ufella, soff bū ʿadda*). These were territorial, not personal alliances, and their disposition on the ground resembled that of a chequerboard—a pattern already apparent in the *ṣaff* map given by Devaux, 40, and later encountered in Morocco (Montagne 1930). By the end of the 19th century, this system was "overlaid" by four major alliances: Ait Iraten (comprising 12 tribes), Zwāwa (10 tribes), Ait Illilten (6 tribes) and Ait Djennād (7 tribes).

Further south, the Berber-speaking Shāwiya of the Awrās massif [*q.v.*] who lived in villages and hamlets like the Kabyles but were more dispersed and largely semi-nomadic, also retained, though more sketchily, their political organisation and *ṣaff* spirit; almost all groups rallied round the two great tribes, Awlād Dāwūd and Awlād ʿAbdī, and participated in their mutual quarrels. Of a more personal type were the *ṣaffs* of several Arab "feudal" families in the Constantinois, such as the clans of Bū ʿUkkāz and Ben Gāna.

Still further south, in the Ibāḍī confederation of the Mzāb [*q.v.*], despite the unity of its heterodox creed and religious leadership (*ḥalḳat al-ʿazzāba*), each of the seven walled settlements (*ḳṣūr*) had its own secular assembly (*djamāʿat al-ʿawāmm*), often conflicting interests and *ṣaffs* both within the *ḳṣar* and between the *ḳṣūr*. Here, too, causes for friction and conflict, sometimes sanguinary, were not lacking: first comes water shortage (after Ghardāya, the capital, had dammed off the wādī Mīzāb for her own use, creating endless disputes with the towns Mlīka and al-ʿAṭf). Ghardāya itself, in times of crisis, split in two hostile camps: Eastern (*ṣaff sharḳī*), led by Awlād b. Sulaymān and allied with the *ḳṣar* Bni Isgen, and Western (*ṣaff gharbī*), led by Awlād ʿAmmī ʿĪsā and in league with Mlīka. Even its Jewish quarter (*mallāḥ* [*q.v.*]) became infected by the *ṣaff* spirit; in 1893 it split in two parties, Sullam and Balouka, when the latter erected a separate synagogue. Other towns and oases in the High Plains and northern fringes of the Sahara so divided were Wargla (Wardjlān), where in addition to neighbourhood rivalries there was fierce enmity between it and nearby Ngusa since the end of the 14th century, when the latter concluded a defence pact with the nomadic Arab tribe of Saʿīd ʿUtba (Hilāl), posing as defenders of the Sunna against the largely Ibāḍī Warglīs (Lethielleux, *Ouargla*, Paris 1983, 173), and Laghouat (al-Aghwāṭ), where the two rivalling quarters—each with its own mosque and market—used to fight each other, but always outside the town, and on an appointed day. They, too, had their Arab nomad helpers, the Larbaa (*al-Arbaʿa*) confederation.

As a case *sui generis* can be seen the important maraboutic tribe of *Awlād Sīdī Shaykh* based on their *zāwiya* El Abiod, where Sharāḳa and Gharāba quarrelled over transfer of *baraka* and control of their alms, raiding in the process each other's flocks and involving in their rivalry the Turkish and Moroccan authorities. In 1838, Sī Ḥamza, leader of the Sharāḳa, rallied round the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], but when their relations soured, Sī Shaykh, leader of the Gharāba, became ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's staunchest supporter. With the latter's defeat, Sī Shaykh was interned in Morocco, while Sī Ḥamza rose from underdog to victor: he was appointed *khalīfa* over the Sahara by the French. Even the oasis group of Tawāt [*q.v.*] (Touat) used to be divided into two opposing factions, the Yaḥmad and Sufyān. Though reconciled today, they still celebrate their annual *ziyāra* separately. The same goes for their "capital", the oasis of Tamentīt, divided in two opposing factions, the Mrabṭin and Dāreb (K. Suter, *Étude sur le Touat*, in *Rev. Geogr. alpine*, 1952/7, 449-50).

Tunisia, too, had its share in *ṣaff* formations. Traditionally, there existed two rivalling leagues in the south, with ramifications in the north, in Eastern

Algeria and Tripolitania, named Shaddād and Yūsuf. The suggestion that these names reflect the opposition between Berbers and Arabs has been refuted by A. Martel (see *Bibl.*). Possibly they go back to the rivalries between the Hilāl and Sulaym [*q.vv.*], who invaded the Maghrib in the 11th century and occupied there two distinct domains: the former, that of the West or Black Tents, the latter, that of the East or White Tents, with the partition line running along the meridian of Tripoli. Yet in the 13th century, the latter were encouraged by the Ḥafṣids to expand into Tunisia and push the Banū Riyāḥ (Hilāl) into the Constantinois and the Zāb, where the Ben Gāna, Tuggurt, Larbaʿa and Ḥanānsha leaned on the *ṣaff* Yūsuf, while the Bū ʿUkkāẓ, Ṭrūd, Shaʿānba, Tamāsīn and al-Wād (El Oued) were supported by the *ṣaff* Shaddād. In the east, the same leagues divided politically a number of tribes in the Fazzān and Greater Syrte (Martel, Cauneille, see *Bibl.*). Major issues on which they adopted opposite stances were: the Ottoman conquest, rule of the pashas, the "national" beys, the revolt of ʿAlī Pasha against his uncle Ḥusayn, founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, and the ensuing troubles (1729-56), which divided the tribes of the High and Low Steppes, as well as towns and villages in the coastal plain (*Sāḥil*), into two *ṣaffs*, the "Ḥusayniyya" and Bāshiyya (Despois, see *Bibl.*). In the south, the former were supported by *ṣaff* Yūsuf, the latter by Shaddād.

Ṣaff/*leff* dynamics, as illustrated above, form one possible perspective on the structure and functioning of tribal society in North Africa and one way of explaining, how order, stability and cohesion are maintained in a stateless society, where central authority is lacking or ineffective. Another perspective and explanation is provided by the so-called segmentary theory, which uses the concept of "nesting" and "balanced opposition" of tribal segments at the same level of segmentation along the genealogical tree. This theory, to which the names of E. Durkheim, E.E. Evans-Pritchard, E. Gellner and D.M. Hart are chiefly attached, and which seems to dominate the field of social anthropology in North Africa today, falls outside the scope of this article.

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al-**SAFFĀḤ** [see abu 'l-ʿabbās].

ṢAFFĀRIDS, a dynasty of mediaeval eastern Persia which ruled 247-393/861-1003 in the province of Sidjistān or Sīstān [*q.v.*], the region which now straddles the border between Iran and Afghānistān.

The dynasty derived its name from the profession of coppersmith (*ṣaffār, rūygar*) of Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth, founder of the dynasty. Sīstān, on the far eastern periphery of the caliphal lands, had begun to slip away from direct ʿAbbāsid rule at the end of the 8th century, when Khurāsān and Sīstān were caught up in the great Khāridjite rebellion, led by Ḥamza b. Ādharak (d. 213/828 [*q.v.*]), which took advantage of such factors as resentment against caliphal tax exactions. Thereafter, the *khuṭba* was maintained in the capital of Sīstān, Zarandj or Zarang, for the ʿAbbāsids; the caliphal governors of Khurāsān in Nīshāpūr, the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*], re-established the position in Khurāsān after Ḥamza's death, but were rarely able to collect revenue outside Zarang itself, and the surrounding countryside of Sīstān remained dominated by the Khāridjites. In this period of waning caliphal power in Sīstān, the orthodox elements in the towns there and in the town of Bust [*q.v.*] to the east, which depended administratively on Sīstān, were thrown back on their own resources. Hence they organised bodies of anti-Khāridjite vigilantes, *mutaṭawwiʿa* [*q.v.*], "volunteer fighters for the faith", a term which seems to have been largely co-terminous with that of the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*], rowdy and bellicose urban elements, a feature of many of the eastern Persian and Transoxanian towns at this time (see C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 167-71).

Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth was one of four brothers, of plebeian origin, who arose out of one of these anti-Khāridjite *ʿayyār* bands. Displaying immediately leadership qualities, he was soon able to set aside the *ʿayyār* chiefs Ṣāliḥ b. al-Naḍr and Dirham b. Naṣr and assume power over Sīstān for himself (247/861). He then extended his authority eastwards into al-Rukhkhadj and Zamīndāwar [*q.vv.*] (in the east of modern Afghānistān), killing the local ruler there, the Zunbīl, in 251/865, and then penetrating into Zābulistān [*q.v.*], the district around Ghazna and Gardīz [*q.vv.*], and the Kābul-Bāmiyān region, where ruled the Kābul-Shāhs. He drew an extensive booty and slaves from these areas, and probably in some part paved the way for the gradual Islamisation in the next century of these fringes of the Indian cultural and religious world. The Ṭāhirid city of Harāt was attacked in 257/870-1, and Yaʿḳūb's operations in the Bādhghīs [*q.v.*] region also led to the submission of substantial numbers of the local Khāridjites, some of whom entered the Ṣaffārid service and formed a special contingent within the army, the so-called *Djaysh al-Shurāt*.

Yaʿḳūb now turned his attention to the much richer and more attractive lands to the west of Sīstān, and this of course meant more clashes with the representatives of caliphal power in such provinces as Khurāsān, Kirmān, Fārs and Khūzistān. Kirmān was invaded in the early 250s/late 860s, so that the caliph was compelled to acknowledge Yaʿḳūb as governor there; and raids were made southwards into Makrān, the southern part of what is now Balūčistān, and westwards from Kirmān into Fārs, an especially rich province the loss of whose revenues was a serious blow to the ʿAbbāsids. In 259/873 Yaʿḳūb invaded Khurāsān, entered Nīshāpūr without striking a blow and ended the rule there of the Ṭāhirid governors, afterwards pushing into the Caspian region against the local Iranian princes there but without achieving any permanent successes there. The caliph could not ignore the overthrow of his Ṭāhirid nominees, and al-Muʿtamid denounced publicly the unlawfulness of Yaʿḳūb's annexations. Yaʿḳūb's riposte was to march from Khūzistān into ʿIrāḳ, but near Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl [*q.v.*] on the Tigris, only 50 miles from Baghdād, he

Genealogical table of the Ṣaffārids

(a) The Laythids or "first line"

- al-Layth
  - 1. Yaʿḳūb
  - 2. ʿAmr
    - Muḥammad
      - 3. Ṭāhir
      - Yaʿḳūb
        - 7. ʿAmr
      - Bānū = Muḥammad b. Khalaf, see (b)
  - ʿAlī
    - 4. al-Layth
    - 5. al-Muʿaddal
    - 6. Muḥammad

(b) The Khalafids or "second line"

- al-Layth
  - Khalaf
    - Muḥammad = Bānū bt. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, see (a)
      - 8. Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad
        - 9. Khalaf

was defeated by caliphal forces (9 Radjab 262/8 April 876). Even so, he recovered Khūzistān and retained control of Fārs till his death three years later; Fārs remained thus, subtracted from ʿAbbāsid control and under the rule of the Ṣaffārids or of their commanders, until the time of the fifth Ṣaffārid *amīr*, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Layth (298/910-11), when it was briefly recovered by the ʿAbbāsids, only to pass irrevocably from their hands into those of the Būyids or Buwayhids [*q.v.*] a quarter of a century later; we possess today more coins minted by the early Ṣaffārids in Fārs than from any other part of their empire.

Yaʿḳūb's brother ʿAmr [*q.v.*] succeeded to the command of the army, after a short trial of strength with his other brother ʿAlī, when the founder of Ṣaffārid fortunes died at Djundīshābūr in Shawwāl 265/June 879. Whilst tenaciously holding on to the Ṣaffārid conquests in Fārs and Khūzistān, ʿAmr in general adopted a somewhat more conciliatory policy towards the caliphate, at various times seeking formal investiture with the governorships of his various provinces; one effect of this new attitude was that the Regent al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*] was now better able to concentrate on the suppression of the Zandj [*q.v.*] rebellion in Lower ʿIrāḳ and southern Khūzistān. Enjoying as he did—if only intermittently—some degree of caliphal approval, ʿAmr embarked on a protracted struggle to establish his authority in Khurāsān which, after Yaʿḳūb's capture of Nīshāpūr, had reverted to being controlled by various adventurers, former commanders of the Ṭāhirids (some of whom claimed to be aiming at restoring the Ṭāhirids, but all were in the long run forwarding their own personal interests), such as Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī [see KHUDJISTĀN] and Rāfiʿ b. Harthama [*q.v.*]. ʿAmr also continued his brother's policy of raiding into eastern Afghānistān towards the Indian borders at some point before 283/896, when rich presents of idols captured by him reached the caliph in Baghdād. Rāfiʿ was not finally subdued until 283/896, when ʿAmr was able to send his head to al-Muʿtaḍid. His prestige was now at its apogee, and the caliph invested him with all his existing territories, including now Khurāsān and Rayy. But ʿAmr's overweening pride now led him to claim, since he was legitimate governor of Khurāsān, suzerainty also in Transoxania, over the local dynasty there of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], a pretension to which al-Muʿtaḍid assented. ʿAmr marched into Ṭukhāristān to assert these rights, but was defeated by Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (Rabīʿ I or II 287/March-May 900), who eventually sent him captive to Baghdād, where he was killed just after al-Muʿtaḍid's own death in 289/902.

With ʿAmr's capture, the vast military empire which the two brothers had built up began to shrink somewhat. Khurāsān passed to the Sāmānids, and became an integral part of their dominions for nearly a century. But ʿAmr's successors and their Turkish commander Sebük-eri managed to hold on to Fārs and Kirmān, as well as the heartland of Sīstān itself, for another decade or so; suzerainty was exercised over the local rulers in Makrān, the Maʿdānids [see MAKRĀN], and for a while, it seems, across the Gulf of Oman in ʿUmān. The Ṣaffārid amirate was thus still far from negligible. ʿAmr was succeeded in Zarang by his grandson Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, who ruled in effect jointly with his brother Yaʿḳūb, but there was a faction in Sīstān which favoured the claims of the sons of ʿAlī b. al-Layth, partly because ʿAlī had been Yaʿḳūb b. al-Laysh's original choice as successor but had been elbowed aside by ʿAmr (see above). Al-Layth b. ʿAlī prevailed militarily in 296/909, but had to face the continuing insubordination of Sebük-eri, who controlled Fārs and who in 297/910 defeated and dispossessed from Sīstān al-Layth. The latter's

brother Muḥammad was hailed as *amīr* in Zarang (298/910), but at this point the caliph al-Muktadir invested the Sāmānid Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl with the governorship of Sīstān and instructed him to end the rule of the Ṣaffārids for good. A Sāmānid invasion followed, with Zarang captured in Radjab 298/March 911, and Muḥammad and his brother al-Muʿaddal, who had also briefly held power in Zarang, were both captured and deported to Baghdād.

This marks the end of the first line of the Ṣaffārids, what might be termed the Laythids, sc. descendants of al-Layth, father of the four brothers. Yaʿkūb and ʿAmr had been backed by a professional army of the type increasingly the norm in the central and eastern Islamic lands at this time. There was a nucleus of slave *ghulāms* [*q.v.*], comprising essentially Turks from the Central Asian steppes and Indians, plus troops of many other nations attracted by the prospects of plunder under the capable leadership of the two Ṣaffārid brothers. As a result of their conquests, the brothers amassed a full treasury, from which tribute was sent only intermittently, in the intervals of calm relations, to Baghdād. In fact, Yaʿkūb especially was contemptuous of the ʿAbbāsids and of the aristocratic Arab political and social tradition which they and their governors like the Ṭāhirids represented and which had hitherto prevailed in the caliphal lands. As a self-made man of unpretentious background, he was concerned above all to promote his own family's interests and to cut loose his native province Sīstān from financial and other dependence on the ʿAbbāsids and their rapacious governors. Yaʿkūb and ʿAmr therefore represent a new trend in the history of the Islamic lands at this time: a conscious repudiation of the "caliphal fiction" whereby all provincial rulers theoretically derived their authority from an act of delegation by the head of Sunnī Islam, and in this wise the constituting of their military empire marks a definite step in the decline of direct caliphal political authority and the corresponding rise of autonomous and later *de facto* independent provincial dynasties. It might also be noted that there formed round them, in later decades, a popular tradition in Sīstān which regarded them as upholders of the province's interests against predatory outsiders, a feeling that was to be a distinct factor in the failure of the Sāmānids permanently to establish their authority within Sīstān and the return of a parallel branch of the family to power (see below).

The twelve or thirteen years 298-311/911-23 form an interim during which the Sāmānids led two expeditions into Sīstān and during which what might be described as patriotic, perhaps even proto-nationalistic, reactions against them by the people of Sīstān took place. In the course of rebellion against the Sāmānids, a child great-grandson of ʿAmr b. al-Layth, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿAmr, was briefly raised to the throne (299-300/912-13) as a figure-head, but real power rested in the hands of several local commanders, such as Muḥammad b. Hurmuz, called Mawlā Ṣandalī, Kathīr b. Aḥmad and Aḥmad b. Kudām.

Disturbed conditions in Sīstān also allowed the local *ʿayyārs* to play a significant role during these years, and it was the *ʿayyārs* of Zarang who in 311/923 brought to power Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf, whose grandfather al-Layth (not identical with the al-Layth who was father of Yaʿkūb and ʿAmr) had been a distant kinsman and associate of the two original Ṣaffārid brothers and whose father's wife had been a grand-daughter of ʿAmr's. Abū Djaʿfar thus inaugurates the second and last line of the Ṣaffārids, which may conveniently be styled the Khalafids, and he ruled for some 40 years (311-52/923-63). Abū Djaʿfar soon extended Ṣaffārid authority to Bust and into al-Rukhkhadj, and made Sīstān once more a force in the politics of the eastern Islamic world, with its *amīr* enjoying the prestige of an equal with that of the Sāmanids and without, it appears (e.g. on the evidence of coins) any sign of subordination to Bukhārā.

There seems to have been a growth of factionalism and internal opposition during the later part of Abū Djaʿfar's reign, leading to his murder by one of his Turkish *ghulāms* in Rabīʿ I 352/March 963. He was succeeded by his son Abū Aḥmad Khalaf (352-93/963-1003), last and more famous of the *amīrs* of this second line. Khalaf at first ruled in close partnership with a commander of Sīstān, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad, who had Ṣaffārid blood in his veins on his mother's side, making Ṭāhir his regent when he departed for the pilgrimage. The not unpredictable result of this arrangement was that, when Khalaf returned to Sīstān in 358/969, Ṭāhir was unwilling to relinquish power and Khalaf had to secure military help from the Sāmānids to assert his claims, when Ṭāhir conveniently died in 359/970 and Khalaf could re-enter Zarang as *amīr*. The struggle was nevertheless carried on by Ṭāhir's son Ḥusayn, who in turn secured Sāmānid aid, this time against Khalaf. A period of civil warfare followed, with Ḥusayn generally supported by the Sāmānids and with Khalaf, so the sources imply, consequently refusing to send any tribute to Bukhārā. Only after 373/983, when Ḥusayn had been defeated and then died, was Khalaf's power firmly established, so that he was able to send expeditions into Kirmān to collect taxation there.

Meanwhile, a new power had arisen in eastern Afghānistān, that of Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] in Ghazna, the founder of Ghaznawid [*q.v.*] power there, who had in 367/977-8 occupied Bust and who in the 990s was asserting his power in Khurāsān also against the decaying Sāmānid authority. Khalaf tried to incite the Karakhānids of Transoxania [see ILEK KHĀNS] against Sebüktigin and his son Maḥmūd, but once Maḥmūd was firmly on the throne in Ghazna (388/998), unrest and revolt within Sīstān allowed the Ghaznawid *amīr* to intervene there, and Khalaf was finally deposed in 393/1003, dying in captivity at Gardīz a few years later.

With Khalaf the Ṣaffārids end. Later in the 5th/11th century, a new line of local rulers emerges in Sīstān, under Saldjūk suzerainty, but these maliks of Nīmrūz, as they are often termed in the sources, had no demonstrable connection with the Ṣaffārids; for these maliks, see SĪSTĀN.

Although the careers of Yaʿkūb and ʿAmr were filled with furious military activity, allowing little time for the arts of peace, the succeeding Khalafids had a distinctly significant part in the culture of their time. In fact, Yaʿkūb, as a supremely successful commander, had already had his own circle of court panegyrists, one of whom, the secretary Muḥammad b. Waṣīf [*q.v.*], has a significance in the renaissance of New Persian literature by his having composed verses for the *amīr* in the only language he could understand, sc. Persian, rather than in the incomprehensible Arabic. Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad assembled around himself a scintillating array of scholars who enjoyed his patronage, including the philosopher and logician Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad (d. *ca.* 375/985 [see ABŪ SULAYMĀN AL-MANṬIKĪ], and he was the *mamdūḥ* of the Sāmānid poet Rūdakī [*q.v.*]. Khalaf's court in Zarang was visited by writers like Badīʿ al-Zamān al-

Hamad͟hānī [*q.v.*]; and the *amīr* secured lasting fame for himself by commissioning a 100-volume Ḳurʾān commentary, a summation of all previous knowledge on the Holy Book, the manuscript of which, however, did not survive the Mongol devastations of the cities of K͟hurāsān and their libraries.

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al-ṢĀFFĀT (a.), the title of sūra XXXVII of the Ḳurʾān, and a word used three times in the text including at XXXVII, 1, where it is generally understood by the early *tafsīr* authorities to mean "(angels) standing in ranks" (and translated as "Celles qui sont en rangs" [R. Blachère], "Those who range themselves in ranks" [A. Yusuf Ali], and "Die in Reih und Glied stehen" [R. Paret]). The meaning is derived from the verb *ṣaffa* referring to camels (or military units) lined up in a row (for sacrifice, as in Ḳurʾān, XXII, 36, using the broken plural *ṣawāff*). The sense of the terse oath phrase *wa 'l-ṣāffātⁱ ṣaffᵃⁿ* in XXXVII, 1, has been clarified through association with other Ḳurʾānic passages. The masculine plural form of the same word, *al-ṣāffūn*, is used in XXXVII, 165, to denote beings who "declare the glory of God", that being understood to be the function of angels as in II, 30, XXXIX, 75, XL, 7, XLI, 38 and XLII, 5; angels explicitly "stand in ranks", *ṣaffᵃⁿ*, in LXXVIII, 38 and LXXXIX, 22.

In XXIV, 41, and LXVII, 19, however, the word *ṣāffāt* is frequently glossed as "outspread wings" of birds; this meaning derives from the contrast drawn in LXVII, 19, in which birds fly up above with "outspread wings", *al-ṭayr fawḳahum ṣāffāt*, and then "fold them in (when resting)" or "beat them (against their sides)", *yaḳbiḍna*; this is a more doubtful sense of the word, depending perhaps on an image of outstretched wings as being "in a line". Regardless, as a result, the passage in XXXVII, 1, is sometimes understood as a reference to birds rather than angels.

In interpreting these verses, a parallel is often drawn to Muslims standing in rows in the *ṣalāt*, the idea of being in rows linked thereby to images of the universe as worshipping God.

Bibliography: Lane, s.v.; the *tafsīr* tradition on the three verses, especially Ḳurṭubī, *al-D͟jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1967, XV, 61-2 (*ad* Ḳurʾān, XXXVII, 1); R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart 1971, *ad* Ḳurʾān XXIV, 41.

(A. Rippin)

ṢAFĪ (pl. *ṣafāyā*), ṢAWĀFĪ (a.), two terms of mediaeval Islamic finance and land tenure. The first denotes special items consisting of immoveable property selected from booty by the leader [see fayʾ and g͟hanīma], while the second is the term for land which the Imām selects from the conquered territories for the treasury with the consent of those who had a share in the booty (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1966, 192). In pre-Islamic Arabia the leader was also entitled to one-fourth (*rubʿ*) or one-fifth (*k͟hums*) of the booty in addition to the *ṣafī*. The custom of *k͟hums* was upheld by the prophet and given Ḳurʾānic sanction in sūra XLI. There was general agreement under the Rās͟hidūn caliphs that the caliph likewise might retain one-fifth of the booty. In the case of landed property, it became *ṣawāfī*, in effect crown land. In Sunnī theory, the right of the Prophet to select for himself moveable property from war booty terminated with his death, but in S͟hīʿī theory it passed to the Imāms.

In pre-Islamic Persia, crown lands were extensive; and the possessions of the Sāsānid royal household (*ōstān*) were scattered over the country. Their administration was under a special department called *dīwān ī ōstāndārīh* (A. Perekhanian, *Iran society and law*, in *Cambr. hist. Iran*, iii (2), 669). The accounts of the income from crown lands were kept in a separate register apart from the land tax. Prior to the reforms of the 6th century A.D., the Sāsānid land tax was assessed as a proportion of the crop, and varied from one-third to one-sixth of the crop, depending upon the amount of irrigation and the productivity of the land (A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1936, 118-119). Some crown lands were assigned to the royal family, as for example the crown district of Kaskar, which K͟husraw Parwīz assigned to his cousin Narsah about the year A.D. 624; and some were granted as payments to supporters of the régime, such as the land grants made to the Banū Lak͟hm at Ḥīra to secure the desert frontier. Some royal property survived the Islamic conquest in the hands of those who had come to terms with the Muslims and some, in the confusion which followed the conquest, was appropriated by local *dahāḳīn* (M.G. Morony, *Landholding in seventh century Iraq*, in A.L. Udovitch (ed.), *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900*, Princeton 1981, 148 ff.).

The legal theories developed by the *fuḳahāʾ* with regard to crown land, communal land and booty were based on the treatment of Sāsānid crown land, abandoned land and waste land in the Sawād [*q.v.*] after the Islamic conquest, and on the varying interpretations of incidents at the time of the conquest interpreted in terms of their own concept of communal ownership and the responsibilities of the caliph as Imām. M.G. Morony has drawn attention to a tendency on the part of both Islamic and Western scholars to describe the land settlement ascribed to ʿUmar I in terms of a conscious policy based on theories that only emerged later in the fully-developed Islamic law (*op. cit.*, 154. See also W. Schmucker, *Untersuchungen zu einigen wichtigen bodenrechtlichen Konsequenzen der islamischen Eroberungsbewegung*, Bonn 1972, 25-6 and *passim*).

It is difficult to disentangle the course of events during and after the conquest from the often-conflicting traditions, in particular since many of the statements about what ʿUt͟hmān did were elicited

during the second civil war (Morony, 161). The measures adopted to deal with the administrative and other problems which arose were often of an *ad hoc* nature. It is generally accepted that ᶜUmar I, after the defeat of the Sāsānids at the battle of Dj̲alūla (16/637), confiscated all lands belonging to the Persian royal house, property belonging to fire-temples, post-houses, and mills, drained marshes and swamps in Mesopotamia, exempted them from the *fay*ʾ and declared them to be *sawāfī al-ustān* and, according to tradition, ordered four-fifths to be allotted to the army one-fifth to be reserved for the caliph for the community (*ibid.*, 155).

Al-Balād̲h̲urī states that ᶜUmar established the peasants (*ahl al-sawād*) in their lands, levied *dj̲izya* on their heads and *ṭasḳ* on their lands (*Futūḥ*, 273; Morony, 159). This presumably refers to the practice in the Sawād generally, including those districts made into *ṣawāfī*. According to Ḳudāma's account, the *ṭasḳ* was levied in the *ṣawāfī al-ustān* at the rate of half the crop. It is not clear from Ḳudāma's account whether the Sawād, including the *ṣawāfī*, was originally assessed by measurement (*misāḥa*) or by *muḳāsama* [*q.vv.*], that is, by a proportion of the crop, or in some districts by *misāḥa* and in others by *muḳāsama*. He states that ᶜUmar sent ᶜUmar b. Ḥunayt̲h̲ to measure the Sawād (after the conquest) and that he imposed 10 dirhams *per dj̲arīb* on vines and trees, 5 dirhams on date palms, 6 dirhams on green sugar cane, 4 dirhams on wheat, and 2 dirhams on barley (or according to other traditions he assessed them at a higher rate). He then measured the cultivated land and all land to which water could be brought, so that it could be cultivated, and imposed on all this by way of tax one *ḳafīz* (of its produce) and one dirham. This was changed later by the *Imām*, taking into account the quantity of the crops and the expenses incurred in the transport of the grain and fruits to the market (*Taxation in Islam*, ii, *Qudāma b. Jaᶜfar's Kitāb al-Kharāj, part seven*, tr. with introd. and notes by A. Ben Shemesh, Leiden 1965, 39, Arabic text, 121; Abū Yūsuf, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, tr. E. Fagnan, Paris 1921, 58 ff.). It seems probable that some at least of the land to which Ḳudāma refers, in particular that "to which water could be brought so that it could be cultivated", was or became *ṣawāfī*.

The revenue (*k̲h̲arādj̲*) from the territory of the Sawād which was made into *ṣawāfī* by ᶜUmar is variously recorded. According to a tradition quoted by Yaḥyā b. Ādam, it was 7,000,000 dirhams (*Taxation in Islam*, i, *Yaḥyā ben Ādam's Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. and tr. with introd. and notes by A. Ben Shemesh, Leiden 1967, 53). Abū Yūsuf quotes the same tradition; he also records that some of the elders of al-Madīna states that ᶜUmar made *ḳaṭīᶜa* grants from this land (Fagnan, 87, *Taxation in Islam*, iii, *Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb al-kharāj*, tr. with introd. by A. Ben Shemesh, Leiden 1969, 75). Ḳudāma similarly gives the figure of 7,000,000 dirhams (*Taxation in Islam*, ii, 35-6). Abū Yūsuf also quotes another tradition which gives the revenue of the *ṣawāfī al-ustān* as 4,000,000 dirhams (text, 86, tr., 75). Al-Māwardī, on the other hand, states that the revenue was 9,000,000 dirhams and that it was to be expended on the general interests of the Muslims. Contrary to the tradition quoted by Abū Yūsuf, he asserts that no *ḳaṭīᶜa* grants were made on it (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1966, 192-3).

Under ᶜUt̲h̲mān changes began to occur in the theory of *ṣawāfī*. Gradually the concept emerged that property held by the Commander of the Faithful for the Islamic community was at his disposal, and the distinction between *fay*ʾ land and *ṣawāfī* became blurred. ᶜUt̲h̲mān made land grants (*ḳaṭāʾiᶜ*) from *ṣawāfī* to tribal leaders at Kūfa. Among these were the grants to Dj̲arīr b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Badj̲alī on the banks of the Euphrates, to As̲h̲ᶜat̲h̲ b. Ḳays al-Kindī at Tīzanābād̲h̲ near Ḳādisiyya, to Saᶜd b. Mālik at the village of Hurmuzān and to ᶜAbd Allāh b. Masᶜūd in al-Nahrayn (Morony, 158; Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 273-4; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2376). In the last two cases, one-third and one-fourth of the produce was taken by way of rent (Abū Yūsuf, tr., 93), which suggests that by this time some or most of the *ṣawāfī* were assessed by *muḳāsama*. The village of Tīzanābād̲h̲, later called al-As̲h̲ᶜat̲h̲, remained in the family of al-As̲h̲ᶜat̲h̲ b. Ḳays at least until 74/693 (Morony, 173, 118 n.), which is evidence that some *ḳaṭīᶜa* grants had by this time become hereditary.

ᶜUt̲h̲mān also made *ḳaṭīᶜa* grants of undeveloped land round Baṣra. One such was the grant of the swampy ground called S̲h̲aṭṭ ᶜUt̲h̲mān across from Ubulla to ᶜUt̲h̲mān b. Abi 'l-ᶜĀṣ al-T̲h̲aḳafī in order to drain and reclaim it and to compensate him for the land the caliph had bought from him in Medina (*ibid.*, 158; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 351). Ḳudāma and al-Māwardī interpret ᶜUt̲h̲mān's actions in granting *ḳaṭāʾiᶜ* as based on a belief that it was more beneficial for the Muslims that the *ṣawāfī* should be cultivated than left without cultivation and that he therefore granted them to whom he saw fit for the purpose of cultivation and so that the share (i.e. the rent or tax) due on them might be paid to the Muslims (*Taxation in Islam*, ii, 36; *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 193). That revenue from *ṣawāfī* was said to have increased under ᶜUt̲h̲mān to 50,000,000 dirhams (al-Māwardī, 192-3) is supporting evidence for Ḳudāma's interpretation. At the same time it would seem, ᶜUt̲h̲mān's actions were also designed to reward his own followers. Morony considers that the result of ᶜUmar's policy was to establish the nucleus of a Muslim Arab landed aristocracy in the Sawād, the property they held consisting of the same village estates that had been held by Sāsānid nobles from the crown before the conquest (*Landholding in seventh century Iraq*, 158). These grants to ᶜUt̲h̲mān's supporters served, however, to alienate others of the Muslim community who disputed the conversion of the land round Kūfa into *ṣawāfī*, maintaining that it was *fay*ʾ land, the revenue of which belonged to them. It was this dissatisfaction that was one of the causes of Kūfan support for the revolt which brought ᶜUt̲h̲mān's caliphate to an end in 35/656 (*ibid.*).

In the reign of Muᶜāwiya (41-60/661-80) there was a further increase in crown lands both in ᶜIrāḳ and in the Ḥidj̲āz (Morony, 174; Schmucker, 135-6, 142). ᶜAbd Allāh b. Darrādj̲, whom Muᶜāwiya had put in charge of the *k̲h̲arādj̲* of Kūfa in 41/661, is said to have identified former Sāsānid crown lands on the basis of a supposed register of Sāsānid crown lands recovered from Ḥulwān where Yazdagird III is alleged to have left it, and to have cut down the reeds and built dams and thus reclaimed them from the swamps (*baṭāʾiḥ*) (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 290, 295; al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 258). A good deal of former Sāsānid crown land had apparently been lost to the swamps below Kaskar in A.D. 628, and it was there that Ibn Darrādj̲ began to reclaim land (Morony, 160). Grants, some of them very large, from this reclaimed land in Lower ᶜIrāḳ were made to relatives and supporters of the Umayyads (*ibid.*, 161). In the revolt led by Ibn al-As̲h̲ᶜat̲h̲ against al-Ḥadj̲dj̲ādj̲ in 82/701, the register of *ṣawāfī* land was burnt after the battle of Dayr al-Dj̲amādj̲im and many *ṣawāfī* lands were seized by neighbouring landlords and others (Abū Yūsuf, tr.

Fagnan, 86-7; al-Māwardī, 193). However, the revolt was crushed, Wāsiṭ was founded and more land was reclaimed from the swamps of Lower ʿIrāḳ and turned over to the partisans of the Umayyads (Morony, 162). Further increases of *ṣawāfī* land occurred under ʿAbd al-Malik and Walīd I [see KHĀLIṢA], but ʿUmar II (99-101/717-20) forbade any further appropriations of state lands to individuals (H.A.R. Gibb, *The fiscal rescript of ʿUmar II*, in *Arabica*, ii [1955], 10).

Under the ʿAbbāsids it seems to have been tacitly assumed that the leader of the community, whether he was the caliph or a local ruler, might appropriate to himself extensive districts [see further KHĀLIṢA]. There was in any case a great increase in crown land in the ʿAbbāsid period. Increasingly from the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), fiscal assignments were made on the land, and grants of land, including presumably *ṣawāfī*, were made to the troops and military officers and other officials of the caliph's administration. According to Miskawayh, al-Muḳtadir, after he was restored to the caliphate in 317/929, distributed largesse to the army, and when the available cash was exhausted he sold land to them and made it a condition in the documents of sale that the buyers should pay tax to the public treasury on what they had purchased at the rate levied on *ḳaṭīʿa* grants, which paid *ʿushr*. Thus the difference between what was paid on estates in *ustān* land (i.e. *ṣawāfī* land, the rent or tax of which might be as much as half the produce) and land given as *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* (which paid *ʿushr*) was contracted to the purchasers as a gift. These contracts made by ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās, whom al-Muḳtadir had appointed as his agent in the matter, were attested and the estates (*al-ḍiyāʿ wa 'l-amlāk*) were sold to the army for very low prices. Thābit b. Sinān relates that one day in the year 317/919-20 he was present in the office of the *wazīr* Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*], who was "entirely occupied with the signing of sales of estates (*al-ḍiyāʿ*) to the troops and the assignation to them of the difference between the assessments as a gift. The officials in the bureaux were also kept at work hunting out the assessments of the lands which were being sold" (*Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ed. and tr. Amedroz and Margoliouth, Arabic text, i, 200, iv, tr. 225). From this, it would seem that *ṣawāfī* land in ʿIrāḳ (whatever its origins) still paid a higher rate of taxation in the early 4th/10th century than land which had been granted as *ḳaṭāʾiʿ*.

In the early ʿAbbāsid period, Sunnī *fuḳahāʾ* belonging to the various schools assembled the traditions and legal prescriptions concerning the classification and taxation of land. Their theory concerning *ṣawāfī* was based primarily on ʿUmar's actions or supposed actions in the settlement of the Sawād. There are differences in matters of detail between them as a result of the different and sometimes contrary nature of the traditions, but the general consensus is that *ṣawafī* land derived from the principle which permitted the Imām to reserve one-fifth of the conquered land for the public treasury in the interests of the Muslims and that grants of *ṣawāfī* land did not carry full rights of ownership. In practice, there were frequent deviations from the theory of the early legal scholars. Nevertheless, later scholars maintained the theories put forward by their predecessors. There are, however, exceptions. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kindī al-Samdī al-Nazwī (d. 557/1161-2) gives in the *Muṣannaf* different versions of the origin of *ṣawāfī*. One is to the effect that *ṣawāfī* were possessions that had been owned by people who had abandoned their lands because they had been treated iniquitously by unjust rulers. For this reason, al-Nazwī claims that legal scholars considered the *ṣawāfī* unlawful (*ḥarām*). Kister points out that this opinion reflects later perceptions (see his *Land, property and jihad*, in *JESHO*, xxxiv [1991], 308 ff.).

The Shīʿī theory of *ṣawāfī* differs from the Sunnī one and might cover both moveable or immoveable property. It is confused with *ṣafī* (see above). Whereas in Sunnī theory only one-fifth of the land of former kings was *ṣawāfī*, all the lands of former kings were considered to belong automatically to the Shīʿī Imām. They were regarded as part of the *anfāl*, which consisted of lands which were abandoned by their owners without fighting, dead lands, lands on mountain tops, plantations, mines and lands of former kings (*ḳaṭāʾiʿ al-mulūk*). *Anfāl* lands belonged to the imām, who could alienate them as he saw fit (Hossein Modarressi Tabatabaʾi, *Kharaj in Islamic law*, London 1983, 8 ff. See also A.K.S. Lambton, *State and government in medieval Islam*, Oxford 1981, 247, and KHĀLIṢA, at IV, 974).

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(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

ṢAFĪ, the by-name of FAKHR AL-DĪN ʿALĪ b. Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ KĀSHIFĪ (b. 21 Djumādā I 867/11 February 1463, d. 939/1532-3), author, preacher and prominent Naḳshbandī Ṣūfī, and son of the famous Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ [see KĀSHIFĪ].

Born in Sabzawār, he was brought up and educated in Harāt. His mother was the sister of Djāmī [*q.v.*]. Among his early teachers were Djāmī and Raḍiyy al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Lārī. He was early attracted by Naḳshbandī ideas, and travelled to Samarḳand in 889/1484 and again in 893/1487-8 to study with Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], chief of the Naḳshbandī order. In 904/1498-9 he married the daughter of Khwādja Muḥammad Akbar b. Saʿd al-Dīn Kāshgharī. After the death of his father in 910/1504-5, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī succeeded him as leading preacher in Harāt. In 938-9/1531-2 he was confined for a year in Harāt when the city was besieged by the Özbegs. When the siege was broken by the forces of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 939/1532-3, he took refuge with Sayf al-Mulūk Shāh Muḥammad Sulṭān, the *shār* of Ghardjistān [*q.v.*], but in the same year that area was attacked and he returned to Harāt, where he soon died and was buried in the city. Some have suggested that he became a Shīʿī later in life, but nothing definite in this regard can be stated. His works are: (1) *Rashaḥāt-i ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, completed in 909/1503-4 (ed. ʿA.A. Muʿīniyān, 2 vols., Tehran 2536/1977-8); (2)

Laṭāʾif al-ṭawāʾif (ed. A. Gulčīn Maʿānī, Tehran 1367/1988-9); (3) *Ḥirz al-amānī min fitan al-zamān* (Lucknow 1290/1873); (4) *Kashf al-asrār*, also called *Tuḥfa-yi khānī* (Bodleian cat. 2749; Ivanow, cat. ASB [Curzon Coll.] 648); (5) a *mathnawī* entitled *Maḥmūd wa Ayāz* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, col. 445); (6) *Anīs al-ʿārifīn* (Ismāʿīl Pasha Baghdādlī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Bilge and İnal, Istanbul 1951-5, i, col. 743).

Bibliography: See that for KĀSHIFĪ.

(W.L. HANAWAY)

ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN ARDABĪLĪ, Shaykh Abu 'l-Fatḥ Isḥāḳ, son of Amīn al-Dīn Djibrāʾīl and Dawlatī, born 650/1252-3, died 12 Muḥarram 735/12 September 1334 at Ardabīl [*q.v.*], eponymous founder of the Ṣafawid Order of Ṣūfīs and hence of the Ṣafawid dynasty, rulers of Persia 907-1148/1501-1736 [see ṢAFAWIDS].

Traditional hagiographical accounts depict Ṣafī al-Dīn as being destined for future greatness from infancy. As a boy, he spent his time in religious exercises, experienced visions involving angelic beings, and was visited by the *abdāl* and *awtād* [*q.vv.*]. As he grew up, he could find no *murshid* (spiritual director) at Ardabīl capable of satisfying his religious needs. When he was twenty years old (670/1271-2), he travelled to Shīrāz to meet Shaykh Nadjīb al-Dīn Buzghūsh, who had been recommended to him as a *murshid*. On his journey south, he continued to seek a spiritual director in the various towns through which he passed, but still without success, and, on his arrival at Shīrāz, he learned that Shaykh Nadjīb al-Dīn had just died. He was then advised that the only person capable of analysing his mystical state (*ḥāl wa aḥwāl*), his visions (*wāḳiʿāt*), and his spiritual stations (*maḳāmāt*) was a certain Shaykh Zāhid Gīlānī. Ṣafī al-Dīn eventually found Shaykh Zāhid at the village of Ḥilya Kirān on the Caspian in 675/1276-7, and at once realized that the Shaykh, then sixty years of age, was the *murshid* he had been seeking.

Shaykh Zāhid treated Ṣafī al-Dīn with extraordinary favour. He gave his daughter Bībī Fāṭima in marriage to Ṣafī al-Dīn, and his son Ḥādjdjī Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad married Ṣafī al-Dīn's daughter. Ṣafī al-Dīn had three sons by Bībī Fāṭima: Muḥyī al-Dīn (died 724/1223-4); Ṣadr al-Milla wa 'l-Dīn, who succeeded him as head of the Ṣafawid order; and Abū Saʿīd. Before his death in Radjab 700/March 1301, Shaykh Zāhid designated Ṣafī al-Dīn to succeed him as head of the Zāhidiyya order. This caused great resentment among some of Shaykh Zāhid's followers, and especially on the part of his elder son, Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī, and his family. Shaykh Zāhid's younger son, Ḥādjdjī Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, who was in any case Ṣafī al-Dīn's son-in-law, was placated by grants of land and other property. There is evidence that Ṣafī al-Dīn connived at the expropriation by his son-in-law of certain *wakfs* controlled by Djamāl-Dīn's son, Badr al-Dīn Djamālān; the Mongol Īl-Khān Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] intervened in 720/1320 to restore the rights of Badr al-Dīn (V. Minorsky, *A Mongol decree of 720/1320 to the family of Shaykh Zāhid*, in *BSOAS*, xvi/3 [1954], 519-20). On the other hand, Shaykh Zāhid's descendants were not immune from the usurpations of Mongol *amīrs*.

Under Ṣafī al-Dīn's leadership, the Zāhidiyya order, under its new name Ṣafawiyya, was transformed from a Ṣūfī order of purely local significance into a religious movement, based on Ardabīl, whose religious propaganda (*daʿwa*) was disseminated throughout Persia, Syria and Asia Minor, and even as far away as Ceylon (H.R. Roemer, *The Safawid period*, in *Camb. Hist. Iran*, vi, 192). Even during his lifetime, Ṣafī al-Dīn wielded considerable political influence, and his designation of his son Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā to succeed him makes it clear that he was determined to keep this political power within the Ṣafawid family. After his death, his mausoleum at Ardabīl became an important place of pilgrimage (for an inventory of the contents of the shrine compiled in 1172/1758-9 by its *mutawallī* Sayyid Muḥammad Ḳāsim Beg Ṣafawī, see *Gandjīna-yi Shaykh Ṣafī*, Tabrīz 1348 Sh./1969. See also M.E. Weaver, *The conservation of the shrine of Sheikh Safi at Ardabil, Second preliminary study, July-August 1971*, UNESCO, Paris 1971). Though he may be regarded as the founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty, which promulgated Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism as the official religion of the state, Ṣafī al-Dīn himself was nominally a Sunnī of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. However, given the syncretist religious climate of the period of Mongol rule in Persia, too much emphasis should not be placed on this.

Bibliography (in addition to sources referred to in the text): Darwīsh Tawakkulī b. Ismāʿīl Ibn Bazzāz, *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, written about 759/1357-8, some twenty-four years after the death of Ṣafī al-Dīn. It is a mainly hagiographical work. Because the whole question of Ṣafawid genealogy is extremely complex, and because later copies of the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* were tampered with during the reigns of Shāh Ismāʿīl I and Shāh Ṭahmāsp [*q.vv.*] to produce an "official version" of the origin of the Ṣafawids, the two copies of this ms. which antedate the establishment of the Ṣafawid state in 907/1501 are of particular importance: ms. Leiden 2639 (dated 890/1485), and Ayasofya 3099, dated 896/1491 (lith. text ed. Aḥmad al-Tibrīzī, Bombay 1329/1911). Study of these earlier mss. has led scholars to challenge the claim of the Ṣafawid family to *siyādat* and to descent from the Seventh Ithnā ʿAsharī Imām, Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*]; see Sayyid Aḥmad Tabrīzī (Kasrawī) [*q.v.*], *Nizhād wa tabār-i Ṣafawiyya*, in *Āyanda*, ii (1927-8), 357-65; *Ṣafawiyya sayyid nabūda and*, in *ibid.*, 489-97; and *Bāz ham Ṣafawiyya*, in *ibid.*, 801-12 (a later publication, *Shaykh Ṣafī wa tabārash*, [1]Tehran 1323 Sh./1944, [2]Tehran 1342 Sh./1963, is a rewritten and expanded version of these articles); Zeki Velidi Togan, *Sur l'origine des Safavides*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1957, 345-57; M. Bina-Motlagh, *Scheich Safi von Ardabil*, diss. Göttingen 1969; Erika Glassen, *Die frühen Safawiden nach Qāżī Aḥmad Qumī*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1970; M. Mazzaoui, *The origins of the Safawids*, Freiburger Islamstudien, Band III, Wiesbaden 1972, 47 ff.; B. Nikitine, *Essai d'analyse du Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā*, in *JA* (1957), 385-394. On the history of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn's time, see Shaykh Ḥusayn b. Abdāl Zāhidi, *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafawiyya*, Iranschähr Publications no. 6, Berlin 1343/1924-5; Browne, *LHP*, iv, 3-44; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin and Leipzig 1936, 12-14; R.M. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980, 5-9. On connections between the Ṣafawiyya and Anatolian dervish orders, see F. Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-Din*, Leipzig and Berlin 1921, 78 ff.; F. Babinger, *Marino Sanuto's Tagebücher als Quelle zur Geschichte der Ṣafawijja*, in *A volume of oriental studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 28-50; H.J. Kissling, *Zur Geschichte des Derwischordens der Bajrāmijje*, in *Südost-Forschungen*, Band XV, München 1956, 237-68.

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ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. SARĀYĀ AL-**ḤILLĪ** al-Ṭāʾī al-Sinbisī, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin (b. 5 Rabīʿ II 677/26 August 1278 [according to al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*,

xviii, 482, 6-7, and most other sources] or Djumādā II, 678/Oct.-Nov. 1279 [according to al-Birzālī (d. 739/1339; *q.v.*) who claims to have received this information from al-Ḥillī himself, see Ḥuwwar, 20], d. probably 749/1348), the most famous Arab poet of the 8th century A.H.

In spite of his fame, information about his life is rather scarce; even the year of his death is variously given (see Bosworth, *Underworld,* i, 138, n. 26). Born in al-Ḥilla [*q.v.*], a centre of Shīʿī learning, and a Shīʿī himself (see below), he left his native town in 701/1301-2 (see introd. to poems *Dīwān*, 70 and 94) to betake himself to the court of the Turkmen Artuḳids [*q.v.*] of Mārdīn. The reasons for this move were, on the one hand, the atmosphere of factionalism and vendetta in al-Ḥilla; he himself had taken revenge for one of his uncles, who had been murdered, and thus was in fear for his own life (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xviii, 485 l. 1, mentions, from autopsy, the scars that Ṣafī al-Dīn had retained from the fight; see also Ṣafī al-Dīn's introd. to the *Dīwān*, 4, tr. Bosworth, *Underworld,* i, 137, and the ten poems devoted to the affair [*wāḳiʿa*] of his uncle in *Dīwān*, 9-18, 36-38, the introd. to the poem *Dīwān*, 11, dating the revenge to the same year 701/1301-2 in which he went to Mārdīn). On the other hand, the Artuḳid principality of Mārdīn, under Īlkhānid suzerainty, was a flourishing and relatively peaceful place. Ṣafī al-Dīn, who had already won some fame as a poet, was warmly received by al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nadjm al-Dīn Ghāzī (reigned 693-712/1294-1312) and most likely composed the *Durar al-nuḥūr fī madāʾiḥ al-Malik al-Manṣūr* (see below) to introduce himself to the prince. Henceforth, he considered Mārdīn his home town. He became a *nadīm* and court poet of al-Malik al-Manṣūr as well as of his son and successor (after the ephemeral ʿImād al-Dīn ʿAlī) al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Shams al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ (reigned 712-65/1312-64; the correct name is Ṣāliḥ rather than Maḥmūd given here vol. I, 663; see *Dīwān*, 5, where the name occurs as a *ḳarīna* in rhymed prose). However, his main source of income was trade. As a merchant he travelled widely, which also meant that a fair number of his praise poems were mailed to their addressees rather than recited in person. His travels also afforded him opportunities to present poems to other rulers and notables, thus the Ayyūbid lord of Ḥamāt (under Mamlūk suzerainty) and well-known historian and geographer al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Abu 'l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl (reigned 710-32/1310-31, see ABU 'L-FIDĀʾ; cf. *Dīwān*, 142-8) and his son and successor al-Malik al-Afḍal Muḥammad (reigned 732-42/1331-41, cf. *Dīwān*, 148-61, and al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, ii, 444). His most important sojourn outside Mārdīn, however, was his stay at the court of the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] in Cairo, following his pilgrimage in 723/1322 (see *Dīwān*, 62, l. 3, and for the date see 114, l. 10; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, ii, 87, 21, and *Wāfī*, xviii, 482, ll. 7-8, dates his stay in Cairo "*ca.* 726/1326", but thinks that he may have visited Cairo twice). He was introduced to the sultan by the sultan's confidential secretary ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 730/1329), and he also met with important scholars, such as the *sīra* writer and poet Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334 [*q.v.*]) and the grammarian Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344 [*q.v.*]) (see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, ii, 87, l. 23; *Wāfī*, xviii, 482, l. 9; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, 370, l. 2). After some well-received panegyrics, the sultan suggested that Ṣafī al-Dīn collect his poetry into a thematically arranged diwan (see *Dīwān*, 5, for the story, and 62-9 for the poems). This is the existing *dīwān*. In 731/1331 al-Ṣafadī met Ṣafī al-Dīn near Aleppo, when the latter was petitioning the governor of Syria Sayf al-Dīn Tängiz, who was hunting in the area, to apprehend a thief who had stolen from him in Mārdīn. On that occasion al-Ṣafadī received a comprehensive *idjāza* from Ṣafī al-Dīn for all his past and future work and all works that he was permitted to transmit. In 747/1346-7 al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415 [*q.v.*]), then still a young man of seventeen, met Ṣafī al-Dīn in Baghdād, when the latter was about seventy years old; he says that it was hard to believe that this man had composed the poetry he was known for (quoted by al-Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, Tehran 1299/1881-2, 471).

As a man from al-Ḥilla, Ṣafī al-Dīn could hardly be anything but Shīʿī, and al-Ṣafadī says so explicitly, adding that being a Shīʿī was nothing "heretical" (*bidʿī*) in al-Ḥilla (*Aʿyān*, ii, 87, ll. 10-11). Ibn Ḥadjar felt that some of his poetry smelled of *rafḍ* (*Durar*, ii, 369, penult.), in the sense of an outright rejection and vituperation of the first caliphs, although al-Ḥillī himself—and Ibn Ḥadjar is aware of that—had expressed his esteem for the first caliphs, and the Companions in general, in his poetry (see e.g. *Dīwān*, 59, two poems). He could hardly have done otherwise in the strongly Sunnī world in which he moved.

Ṣafī al-Dīn's literary output includes the following works that are extant:

1. The *Dīwān*. Collected at the suggestion of al-Nāṣir b. Ḳalāwūn, probably in 723/1322 (see above), and arranged according to genres, this *Dīwān* is expressly called a selection. Moreover, poetry composed after completion of the *Dīwān* would *eo ipso* not be included; however, the *Dīwān* does contain a few poems referring to later events (see ʿAllūsh, 113-14, and Salīm, 38-9). Whether these were inserted by the poet himself or by later copyists is unclear. This means that a fair part of Ṣafī al-Dīn's total poetic production is not included in the *Dīwān*; the selections offered by al-Ṣafadī, both in the *Aʿyān* and the *Wāfī*, contain indeed a substantial number of items not to be found in the *Dīwān*. The same is true, though to a lesser extent, for the selections made by al-Kutubī. Brockelmann (II, 160, S II, 199-200) lists a number of poems that have been transmitted outside the *Dīwān*; no indication is given whether or not they are contained in the existing text.

The arrangement of the *Dīwān* is as follows (note that the chapter headings are composed in *sadjʿ* which accounts for some tautologies):

ch. 1: self-glorification, heroic songs, and incitation to assume leadership (*fī 'l-fakhr wa 'l-ḥamāsa wa 'l-taḥrīḍ ʿalā 'l-riʾāsa*);

ch. 2: encomium, praise, gratitude, and congratulation (*fī 'l-madḥ wa 'l-thanāʾ wa 'l-shukr wa 'l-hanāʾ*);

ch. 3: hunting poems and various descriptions (*fī 'l-ṭardiyyāt wa-anwāʿ al-ṣifāt*);

ch. 4: friendship poems and introductory poems in correspondences (*fī 'l-ikhwāniyyāt wa-ṣudūr al-murāsalāt*);

ch. 5: elegies on the great and condolences for friends (*fī marāthī 'l-aʿyān wa-taʿāzī 'l-ikhwān*);

ch. 6: flirtatious and elegiac love poetry and elegant amorous verse (*fī 'l-ghazal wa 'l-nasīb wa-ẓarāʾif al-tashbīb*);

ch. 7: wine poems and select flower poems (*fī 'l-khamriyyāt wa 'l-nubadh al-zahriyyāt*);

ch. 8: complaint, reproof, calling in a promise and the answer (*fī 'l-shakwā wa 'l-ʿitāb wa-taḳāḍī 'l-waʿd wa 'l-djawāb*);

ch. 9: poems announcing presents, apologies, entreaties, and poems asking for forgiveness (*fī 'l-hadāyā wa 'l-iʿtidhār wa 'l-istiʿṭāf wa 'l-istighfār*);

ch. 10: tours-de-force, riddles, and mnemonic verse

(*fī 'l-ʿawīṣ wa 'l-alghāz wa 'l-taḳyīd li 'l-īdjāz*);
ch. 11: jocular verse, satirical poems, and obscene poems (*fī 'l-mulaḥ wa 'l-ahādjī wa 'l-iḥmāḍ fī 'l-tanādjī*);
ch. 12: wise sayings, poems of renunciation, and remarkable odds and ends (*fī 'l-ādāb wa 'l-zuhdiyyāt wa-nawādir mukhtalifāt*).

Al-Ḥillī clearly runs the whole gamut of existing genres and, in so doing, revives certain genres that had not been cultivated much for some time, such as the *khamriyya* [*q.v.*] and the *ṭardiyya* [*q.v.*]. Others, such as *madḥ* and *hidjāʾ*, are comparatively under-represented, and for a reason: when al-Ḥillī embarked on his poetic career, he had the noble intention of not writing any panegyrics nor lampoons. Shunning the encomiastic genre was something he could not keep up, although it is remarkable that a number of poems addressed to the Artuḳids are an expression of gratitude rather than pure princely praise. As for the lampoons, he insists that he never wrote any for his own sake; the examples included in the pertinent chapter of the *Dīwān* are, so it is alleged, all ghost-written for friends. Unexpectedly, he includes even mnemonic verse in his *dīwān*, mainly containing lists of technical terms and the like in such diverse fields as music, rhyme theory, metrics, administration, ornithology, chess, and medicine.

The *Dīwān* contains only poems in the *fuṣḥā* language, except for two instances of a *khardja zadjaliyya* attached to a *muwashshaḥ* (*Dīwān*, 321, 323); for al-Ḥillī's other dialect poetry see no. 4 below. He uses the full range of possible forms: *ḳaṣīda*, *ḳiṭʿa* (particularly also very short poems of an epigrammatic character as well as of the kind called "poetic snapshots" by G. von Grunebaum), *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*] (in *Dīwān*, 144, he calls himself enamoured with this form), *musammaṭ* [*q.v.*] (in particular *mukhammas*, including *takhmīsāt* of existing poems), and *dūbayt* (see RUBĀʿĪ).

Some conspicuous poems deserve special mention: (a) *al-Kāfiya al-badīʿiyya fi 'l-madāʾiḥ al-nabawiyya*, a poem in praise of the Prophet modeled on the *Burda* [*q.v.*] of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], thus a *mīmiyya* in the metre *basīṭ*, 145 lines long, each line containing one, in some cases two or three, figures of speech, 151 altogether (*Dīwān*, 496-511). The names of the figures are explicitly given between the lines. The story of the poem's genesis is mentioned in a short prose introduction: how the poet intended to write a book on rhetorical figures, but was prevented from doing so by falling gravely ill; how in a dream he received a message from the Prophet enjoining him to praise the latter and promising speedy recovery; and how he combined his original intention with his new task by composing the *badīʿiyya*. It proved to be the starting-point of a new genre of poetry. For al-Ḥillī's own commentary see below no. 2.—(b) *al-Ḳaṣīda al-sāsāniyya*, a poem of 75 lines in the *ṭawīl* metre, written in the argot of the tramps, who called themselves the Banū Sāsān [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān*, 444-8). The poem was ghost-written for a friend who for some unspecified reason wanted to be accepted in the circles of the tramps. It is preceded by a *maḳāma*-like introduction. For a critical edition, translation, and study of the poem see C.E. Bosworth, *Underworld*, i, 132-49 (study); ii, 291-345 (tr. and comm.); 41-84 (ed., Arabic pagination). The above title of the poem does not occur in the *Dīwān*, where the argot is called *lughat al-ghurabāʾ* ("language of the homeless"). Whether al-Ḥillī knew the work of his predecessors in the art of the argot *ḳaṣīda*, al-Aḥnaf al-ʿUkbarī and Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī, is not clear (see *ibid.*, i, 141-2); but given his wide-ranging literary interests, it stands to reason that he was aware of this poetic mini-genre. Comprehension of the poem is made possible by interlinear glosses in some of the manuscripts (see *ibid.*, i, 143).—(c) The *gharīb* poem, 15 lines in the *khafīf* metre (*Dīwān*, 443-4), answering a criticism that his poetry, though good, suffered from a lack of rare (*gharīb*) vocabulary. Al-Ḥillī first gives four lines of cacophonous archaic words, then enters into a declaration of the unsuitability of such language for his own sophisticated age (cf. also I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896-99, i, 171-2; Bosworth, *Underworld*, i, 139-40).—(d) The Candle Cycle, a series of six poems of varying length, five in *kāmil*, one in *sarīʿ*, welcoming and describing the candles, when they were brought in and lit in the evening *madjlis* at the court of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (*Dīwān*, 121-4). The first is said to have been improvised, with a promise to continue in the same way during the following nights.—(e) The Bacchic Cycle, a series of seven *khamriyya*s addressed to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, one for each day of the week, each seven lines long and rhyming with the name of the day, in various metres (*Dīwān*, 363-6).

For metrical peculiarities, one should mention a poem in a "long metre" (*wazn ṭawīl*) which, in the introduction, is said to have been used, if incorrectly, by earlier poets (*Dīwān*, 147). It seems to be a *munsariḥ* with a long syllable added at the beginning and end of each hemistich. Two further poems are characterised as being in Persian metres (*al-awzān al-aʿdjamiyya*); one is in the standard form of the *khafīf musaddas makhbūn maḥdhūf* (*Dīwān*, 293), the other in one of the most common Persian metres, the *muḍāriʿ muthamman akhrab makfūf maḥdhūf* (*Dīwān*, 307-8). A knowledge of Persian is not attested for al-Ḥillī, but it is not unlikely (cf. also his knowledge of the Persian musical terms *tarāna*, *awāza*, *awāzgasht*, and *sarband*, in *ʿĀṭil*, 26, ll. 8-9).

2. *al-Natāʾidj al-ilāhiyya fī sharḥ al-Kāfiya al-badīʿiyya*, al-Ḥillī's own commentary on his *badīʿiyya*. In the introduction he gives a short overview of the history of "the science of *badīʿ*", and in an appendix at the end he lists the seventy *badīʿ* works that he read and used for his poem and commentary, adding that he owned copies of most of them.

3. *Durar al-nuḥūr fī madāʾiḥ* [var. *imtidāḥ*] *al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, also known as *al-Ḳaṣāʾid al-Artuḳiyyāt*, and referred to by the poet himself as *al-Maḥbūkāt* (*Dīwān*, 70, l. 2); the last title is actually a generic designation, more precisely *al-maḥbūkāt al-ṭarafayn* "those with two opposite ornamental seams" referring to their technical peculiarity as described below. This is a series of 29 odes, each of 29 lines (the version printed in the editions of the *Dīwān* has lacunae; the full text in ed. Cairo 1283/[1866] and in *Madjmūʿ muzdawidjāt*, 95-134, which also contain the *sadjʿ* introduction missing from the *Dīwān* version). Each poem is characterised by a letter of the alphabet that serves (a) as the rhyme letter and (b) as the first letter of each line; the letters include *lām-alif* (preceding *yāʾ*), but there is no *maḳṣūra*. In the introduction, Ṣafī al-Dīn claims invention of this technique, but ʿAllūsh, 120-1, points out two earlier examples and one might add that the exact same organisational principle is used by Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]) in a series of ten-line poems in his *Dīwān* (Būlāḳ 1271/1855), 219-32. However, al-Ḥillī's work became the model for a mini-genre of poetry termed *rawḍa* "garden" (see ʿAllūsh, 121-2, for a list of later specimens).

4. *al-Kitāb al-ʿāṭil al-ḥālī wa 'l-muraḳhkhaṣ al-ghālī*, the first poetics of Arabic dialect poetry. It deals with the

four genres of *zadjal* [*q.v.*], *mawāliyā* [*q.v.*], *kān wa-kān* [*q.v.*], and *ḳūmā* [*q.v.*]. The work is important not only as a—normative—description of the generic, prosodic, and linguistic properties of these types of popular poetry, but also as an anthology that has preserved much that would otherwise be lost. Ritter and Hoenerbach have exploited it for the contribution it makes to our knowledge of the work of the *zadjal* poets Ibn Ḳuzmān (d. 555/1160 [*q.v.*]) and Mudghalīs (d. after 577/1181-2) (see *Bibl.*). In addition, Ṣafī al-Dīn also includes a goodly amount of his own production. He explicitly says that in his *Dīwān* he collected only his *muʿrab* poetry, i.e. *shiʿr* (in the narrow sense), *muwashshah*, and *dūbayt*, whereas his *malḥūn* poetry is relegated to the present work (*ʿĀṭil*, 6). In a way, then, the *ʿĀṭil* is an extension of his *Dīwān*.

5. *al-Durr al-nafīs fī adjnās al-tadjnīs*, a treatise on one of the poet's favourite figures of speech, the paronomasia. Quoted in his *Dīwān* for a newly-invented type of *tadjnīs* used in the poem in question (*Dīwān*, 423-4), it is preserved in a defective ms in Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 73 *madjāmīʿ m* (five pages; see Ḥuwwar, 73).

6. *al-Aghlāṭī*, an antibarbarus, preserved in ms. Escorial 123 (63 folios, see Ḥuwwar, 64).

7. There are five *Rasāʾil* printed in the *Dīwān*: (a) *Risālat al-Dār fī muḥāwarāt al-fār* (*Dīwān*, 484-91). This is a *maḳāma*-like story which, in an amusing style, addresses a complaint to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. The narrator is al-Ḥillī's house in Mārdīn which describes to its neighbour, the citadel of the Artuḳid sultan, how the mice in the house complain to each other about the hard times on which the owner of the house has fallen, due to a large overdue loan given by him to a high governmental official.—(b) *al-Risāla al-muhmala* (*Dīwān*, 511-13). Addressed to al-Nāṣir b. Ḳalāwūn in 723/1323, it contains a complaint against the vizier Karīm al-Dīn [see IBN AL-SADĪD, KARĪM AL-DĪN]. As indicated by the title, the *risāla* is entirely composed of words with undotted letters.—(c) *al-Risāla al-tawʾamiyya* (*Dīwān*, 513-15). Written in 700/1300-1 in Mārdīn, it grew out of a discussion in the *madjlis* of al-Malik al-Manṣūr about a poem by al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*] which displayed a technique that al-Ḥillī then imitates throughout the *risāla*, to wit: the text consists entirely of pairs of words that are identical in their *rasm* but different in their diacritics and/or vowels. The members of the *madjlis* opined that none of their contemporaries would be able to imitate al-Ḥarīrī's tour-de-force. Ṣafī al-Dīn took up this challenge and produced a showcase of his talents, not least with the intention of gaining a secretarial position at the Artuḳid court. The date given seems to suggest that his stay in Mārdīn had an exploratory character and antedated his definitive move there. According to the author's introduction, the *risāla* is meant to inform al-Malik al-Manṣūr about the events in al-Ḥilla that forced the poet to flee.—(d) *Ḥall al-manẓūm* (*Dīwān*, 515-17). This is actually a report about a literary challenge, in which the author is asked to form a *risāla* out of all the letters, without addition or repetition, of the first seven lines of the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imraʾ al-Ḳays and then to reassemble them in a poem of the same metre and rhyme. Which, of course he does.—(e) An answer to the condolences sent by al-Malik al-Ḳāhir, lord of Arzan [Erzurum], to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, lord of Mardin, on the occasion of the death of the latter's brother al-Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn (*Dīwān*, 517-18).—A fair number of *rasāʾil* must have been lost, as witnessed by the collection of short poems in the *Dīwān* that are said to have served as proems (*ṣudūr*) to the author's epistles (see above).

8. *al-Mathālith wa 'l-mathānī fī 'l-maʿālī wa 'l-maʿānī*, a selection of fragments of two or three lines from the *Dīwān* made at the behest of al-Malik al-Afḍal of Ḥamāt and arranged by topic in twenty chapters. The ms. preserved in Paris, BN 1553, was read before the author in 743/1342-3 (53 folios, see Ḥuwwar, 74-5; for a list of chapters which closely resembles that of the *Dīwān*, but adds to it, see Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, in *RAAD*, iv [1924], 210-20, here 214).

9. *al-Mīzān fī ʿilm al-adwār wa 'l-awzān*, a treatise on rhythmical cycles and metres in music, preserved in ms. Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt 46 *mūsīḳī* (43 folios, see Ḥuwwar, 75).

10. *Fāʾida fī tawallud al-anghām baʿḍihā ʿan baʿḍ wa-tartībihā ʿala 'l-burūdj*, "an astrologico-musical treatise dealing with the connection of the notes of the musical scale with the heavenly bodies" (H.G. Farmer, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965, no. 279).

11. *ʿIddat abḥur al-shiʿr*, a short treatise on prosody, see Brockelmann, II, 160, no. 11.

12. *Kitāb fī 'l-Awzān al-mustaḥdatha ka 'l-dūbayt*, see Brockelmann, S II, 200, no. 21.

As a poet, al-Ḥillī has enjoyed a rather uneven reputation. For his contemporaries he was "*the* poet of our time" (*shāʿiru ʿaṣrinā ʿala 'l-iṭlāḳ*, *al-Ṣafadī*, *Wāfī*, xviii, 482, l. 1) and for some even unrivalled among all poets, ancient and modern (*lam yanẓim-i 'l-shiʿra aḥad^un mithluhu lā fī 'l-mutaḳaddimīna wa-lā fī 'l-mutakhkhirīna muṭlaḳ^an*, Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf [d. 731/1330, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, ii, 117-19], *apud* al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xviii, 482, ll. 10-12). His popularity in Arab lands has remained undiminished through the centuries (see personal note by Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, in *RAAD*, iv [1924], 212, bottom). Western evaluations have, at least in part, been less friendly. M. Hartmann (*Strophengedicht*, 79) und O. Rescher (*Beitraege*, 2) offer devastating judgements, but those are more or less foregone conclusions based on the preconception that as an epigone al-Ḥillī could not produce but empty chatter, made hardly more palatable by excessive wordplay. R. Nicholson is certainly more appreciative, stressing that "he combined subtlety of fancy with remarkable ease and sweetness of versification" (*Literary history*, 449), only to continue that "many of his pieces, however, are *jeux d'esprit*." More recently, W. Hoenerbach, in the introduction to his edition of *al-ʿĀṭil al-ḥālī*, has drawn attention to a *kān wa-kān* poem describing an erotic adventure where al-Ḥillī proves himself a master of lighthearted narrative poetry. A thorough literary study of al-Ḥillī's poetic works has yet to be undertaken, but the following preliminary characterisations can be made: (1) He was very conscious of being the heir to a long poetic tradition, and one of his goals, in this situation, was to cultivate each and every genre that existed, or ever had existed, in Arabic poetry, no matter whether this genre was defined by content, form, or language register. Typical in this respect is the remark he makes at the beginning of the *kān wa-kān* section in *al-ʿĀṭil al-ḥālī* (149, l. 4): "Among the things I composed in it [sc. *kān wa-kān*], so that my poetic output not be devoid of it ..." (*li-allā yakhluwa naẓmī minhu...*). As already mentioned above, this pursuit of completeness resulted in the resuscitation of certain genres that had fallen by the wayside (e.g. *khamriyya* and *ṭardiyya*) and also, where morally questionable poems like invectives were involved, in the use of the remarkable expedient that all these poems were ghost-written for friends.—(2) Likewise a reaction to the burden, or stimulus, of the tradition was his express use of intertextuality in the form of *takhmīsāt* [see MUSAMMAṬ], especially of poems from the

Ḥamāsa of Abū Tammām [*q.v.*] (see *Dīwān*, 15-16, 22-6, 41-2), but also e.g. of the famous *nūniyya* of Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*] (see *Dīwān*, 349-53); or in the form of cento-like compositions (see *Dīwān*, 34-5, for a poem whose first hemistichs are taken from al-Ṭughrāʾī [*q.v.*], while the second hemistichs are borrowed from al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*]). Less radical cases of "incorporation" (*taḍmīn*) are also to be found, and so are "counter-poems" (*muʿāraḍa*) and "answer-poems" (*idjāba*).—(3) The poetic productions just listed belong to an aspect of al-Ḥillī's art that might be called word games. This was an important, though perhaps to the contemporary Western mind somewhat unpoetic, activity in the *madjālis* of the *udabāʾ*. The characteristic terms, which one finds *passim* in the introductions to poems in the *Dīwān*, are *iḳtirāḥ* and *luzūm*. The first means the "suggestion" or the "challenge" that the members of a *madjlis* put to the poet, the second refers to any handicap that the *madjlis*, or the poet himself, may impose on the poet; it is, thus, more general than the rhyme scheme normally designated by this term (see LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM), of which there is also a number of examples in the *Dīwān*. Al-Ḥillī is so much in control of all aspects of the language that he masters the strangest impositions with staggering facility.—(4) Alongside these cerebral exercises, there is also poetry for the "heart". Ṣafī al-Dīn stresses several times that he aims at an accessible, easily comprehensible poetic language (even in his *Badīʿiyya*, see *Sharḥ*, 55). His *gharīb* poem (see above) is programmatic in this respect. Its beautiful last line reads: *innamā hādhihi 'l-ḳulūbu ḥadīdᵘⁿ/wa-ladhīdhu 'l-alfāẓi maghnāṭīsu* which translates as: "These hearts [of ours] are iron and sweet words [their] magnet". Given his mostly pleasant and easy language, this line could serve as a motto for al-Ḥillī's poetry. Ibn Iyās (d. *ca.* 930/1524 [*q.v.*]) corroborates this by saying that double entendre (*tawriya*) was not al-Ḥillī's forte, since in his versification he preferred simple poetry (*wa-kāna yarḍā fī naẓmihi bi 'l-shiʿri 'l-sādhidj*, see *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, i/1, 526).

Bibliography: Works. (1) *Dīwān*, Damascus 1297/[1879]-1300/[1883] (*editio princeps*, used here for quotation, containing also the chapter on obscene poetry, suppressed in the two Beirut editions); the later editions Beirut 1893, al-Nadjaf 1956, and Beirut 1961 are mere reprints, the second Beirut edition with numerous omissions. All are uncritical and rather faulty. The claim on the title page of the al-Nadjaf edition that it is based on several mss. is untrue. A critical edition, including the poems preserved outside the *Dīwān*, has been prepared by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Ḥuwwar (not seen; published?), see Ḥuwwar, 8.—(2) *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya al-badīʿiyya*, ed. Nasīb Nashāwī, Damascus 1402/1982.—(3) *Durar al-nuḥūr fī madāʾiḥ* [var. *imtidāḥ*] *al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, Cairo 1283/[1866]; also printed in *Dīwān*, 521-60 (with lacunae); and in *Madjmūʿ muzdawidjāt ... maʿa ḳaṣāʾid ẓarīfa ... minha 'l-Artuḳiyyāt*, ed. Ḥasan Aḥmad al-Ṭūkhī, lith. Cairo 1299/[1882], 95-134.—(4) *al-Kitāb al-ʿāṭil al-ḥālī wa-'l-murakhkhaṣ al-ghālī*, ed. W. Hoenerbach, *Die vulgärarabische Poetik al-Kitāb al-ʿāṭil al-ḥālī wal-muraḫḫaṣ al-ġālī des Ṣafīyaddīn Ḥillī*, Wiesbaden 1956 (used here for quotation); ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Cairo 1981.—Translations. *Szafieddini Hellensis ad Sulthanum Elmelik Aszszaleh Schemseddin Abulmekarem Ortokidam carmen*, ar. ed. interpret. et lat. et germ. annotationibusque illustr. G.H. Bernstein, Lipsiae 1816; F. Rückert, *Safi eddin von Hilla. Arabische Dichtung aus dem Nachlass*, ed. H. Bobzin, Wiesbaden 1988; G.W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 405-8 (*takhmīs* of a *Ḥamāsa* poem by Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa [cf. *Dīwān*, 15-16], with German tr.); O. Rescher, *Beitraege zur Arabischen Poesie* (*Übersetzungen, Kritiken, Aufsätze*), vi/1: *Qaçîden von Çafî eddîn el-Hillî, Ibn el-Wardî, el-Bustîy, el-Aʿšā und Ferazdaq*, Stuttgart 1954-5, 1-49.—Sources. Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, xviii, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, Stuttgart 1988, 481-512; idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr wa-aʿwān al-naṣr*, facs. ed. Fuat Sezgin, 3 vols., Frankfurt 1410/1990, ii, 86-98; Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-8, ii, 335-50; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Ḥaydarābād-Deccan 1349/[1930-1], ii, 369-71; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo n.d., x, 238-9; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, ed. Muḥ. Muṣṭafā, i/1, Wiesbaden 1395/1975, 526, 11 ff.—Studies. For an overview of critical writings in Arabic, see Ḥuwwar, 5-7; monographs: Djawād Aḥmad ʿAllūsh, *Shiʿr Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī*, Baghdād 1379/1959; Maḥmūd Rizḳ Salīm, *Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī*, Cairo 1960; Yāsīn al-Ayyūbī, *Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī*, Beirut 1971; Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Ḥuwwar, *Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, ḥayātuh wa-āthāruh wa-shiʿruh*, ²Damascus and Beirut 1410/1990.—C.E. Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic underworld*, 2 vols., Leiden 1976, i, 132-49; ii, 291-345, Arabic pagination 43-84; M. Hartmann, *Das Arabische Strophengedicht. I. Das Muwaššaḥ*, Weimar 1897, 79-80; H. Ritter and W. Hoenerbach, *Neue Materialien zum Zacal. I. Ibn Quzmān* [&] *II. Mudġalīs*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 266-315; v (1952), 269-301 (mostly based on materials found in *al-ʿĀṭil*); W. Hoenerbach, introd. to *ʿĀṭil*. (W.P. HEINRICHS)

ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN AL-URMAWĪ, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Yūsuf b. Fākhir al-Urmawī al-Baghdādī (Ṣūfī al-Dīn in some Ottoman sources), renowned musician and writer on the theory of music, was born *ca.* 613/1216, probably in Urmiya. He died in Baghdād on 28 Ṣafar 693/28 January 1294, at the age of *ca.* 80 (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa*, 480).

The sources are silent about the ethnic origin of his family. He may have been of Persian descent (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] calls him *afḍal-i Īrān*). In his youth, Ṣafī al-Dīn went to Baghdād. Well-educated in Arabic language, literature, history and penmanship, he made a name for himself as an excellent calligrapher and was appointed copyist at the new library built by the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim. Both Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī [*q.v.*] and Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Suhrawardī (d. 741/1340) figure among his disciples in the art of calligraphy. After the fall of the caliphate, the governor of ʿIrāḳ, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā-Malik Djuwaynī [*q.v.*], and his brother, the *ṣāḥib-i dīwān* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Djuwaynī [*q.v.*], placed him in charge of the chancery (*dīwān al-inshāʾ*) of Baghdād. The honorific titles of *al-ṣadr al-kabīr*, *al-ʿālim al-fāḍil*, and *al-ʿallāma*, given to him in 676/1277 by the renowned littérateur and philologist Ibn al-Ṣayḳal (d. 701/1302), indicate his high literary and social status. He had also studied Shāfiʿī law and comparative law (*khilāf al-fiḳh*) at the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa* (opened 631/1234). This qualified him to assume a post in al-Mustaʿṣim's juridical administration and, after 656/1258, to head the supervision of the foundations (*naẓariyyat al-waḳf*) in ʿIrāḳ until 665/1267, when Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] took over.

Only in the later days of al-Mustaʿṣim's reign did al-Urmawī become known as a musician and excellent lute player and accepted as a member of the private circle of boon companions, thanks to one of his music students, the caliph's favoured songstress Luḥāẓ. His additional salary of 5,000 dīnārs (= 60,000 dirhams at

that time) from this activity allowed him to lead a luxurious life. It also helped him to survive the fall of Bag̲h̲dād, namely, by generously accommodating one of Hülegü's officers who, in return, introduced him to the new ruler. Hülegü was impressed by his art and erudition, and doubled his income, if we can rely on the autobiographical data given by al-Urmawī to the historian ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Irbilī (d. 726/1326) when they met at Tabrīz in 689/1290. His musical career, however, seems to have been supported mainly by the Ḏj̲uwaynī family, especially by S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Muḥammad and his son S̲h̲araf al-Dīn Hārūn (put to death in 685/1286). After the demise of his patrons, he fell into oblivion and poverty. Placed under arrest on account of a debt of 300 dīnārs, he died in the S̲h̲āfiʿī *Madrasat al-k̲h̲all* in Bag̲h̲dād. Two of his sons became secretaries in the capital. One was called Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad; the other, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, died in 671/1272 and was buried in the *ribāṭ* of Ibn al-Sukrān (d. 667/1269), near Bag̲h̲dād (see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ādāb, sub* letters *ʿayn* and *kāf*). Another son, Ḏj̲alāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, was a man of letters and in 676/1299 attended Ibn al-Ṣayḳal's interpretation of his *al-Maḳāmāt al-Zayniyya* in the Mustanṣiriyya (see G. ʿAwwād and Ḥ. ʿA. Maḥfūẓ, in *Mad̲j̲. Kull. Ādāb, Bag̲h̲dād*, iv [1963], 261).

As a composer, al-Urmawī cultivated the vocal forms of *ṣawt, ḳawl* and *nawba*. That the *ṣawt* was, in his days, a song of only a "few parts" (*ḳalīl al-ad̲j̲zāʾ*), is explained by Mubārakṣ̲h̲āh in his commentary on al-Urmawī's *Kitāb al-Adwār*. This is confirmed by two examples of *ṣawt* compositions that al-Urmawī has recorded in musical notation at the end of the *K. al-Adwār*, using letters for the pitch and numbers for the length of the notes. *Ḳawl* songs were more sophisticated compositions, as shown by a piece by al-Urmawī set down in a score by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn S̲h̲īrāzī at the end of the music chapter of his *Durrat al-tād̲j̲*. A *ḳawl* could also be one of the three (or four) parts of the vocal "suite" (*nawba* [*q.v.*]), a musical genre favoured in al-Urmawī's time. Ṣafī al-Dīn is reported to have composed no less than 130 pieces in the *nawba* form. Most of them were still known to the noted musician Kutayla (*fl.* 730/1330) who performed them at the courts of Mārdīn and Cairo. Al-Urmawī's students of the first and the second generation, among them Ḏj̲amāl al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī (born 661/1263) and Niẓām al-Dīn b. al-Ḥakīm (d. *ca.* 760/1358), disseminated his works in Persia, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt. Some of his song texts are transmitted with indications of the mode and the musical metre by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī [*q.v.*].

In the anonymous Persian *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (8th/14th cent.), al-Urmawī is credited with the invention of two stringed instruments, the *nuzha* and the *mug̲h̲nī* (see H.G. Farmer, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, First Series, London 1931). It is puzzling, however, that the musician and music theorist ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. G̲h̲aybī Marāg̲h̲ī [*q.v.*], who had a high regard for al-Urmawī and wrote a commentary on his *K. al-Adwār*, did not mention this when describing the *mug̲h̲nī* in his own works.

Al-Urmawī owes his lasting fame to his two books on music theory, the *K. al-Adwār* and *al-Risāla al-S̲h̲arafiyya fi 'l-nisab al-taʾlīfiyya*. The former was written while he still worked in the library of al-Mustaʿṣim. The caliph was well-known for his addiction to music. Thus we can assume that this field was sufficiently represented in his library to provide al-Urmawī with the necessary source material. The earliest known manuscript of the *K. al-Adwār* was finished in 633/1236 (ms. Nuruosmaniye 3653), when the author was *ca.* 20 years old. Its ductus closely resembles Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī's handwriting, so it may well be a holograph. The *K. al-Adwār* is the first extant work on scientific music theory after the writings on music of Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*]. It contains valuable information on the practice and theory of music in the Perso-ʿIrāḳī area, such as the factual establishment of the five-stringed lute (still an exception in Ibn Sīnā's time), the final stage in the division of the octave into 17 steps, the complete nomenclature and definition of the scales constituting the system of the twelve *maḳāms* (called *s̲h̲udūd*) and the six *āwāz* modes (see O. Wright, below), precise depictions of contemporary musical metres, and the use of letters and numbers for the notation of melodies. All this occurs in the *K. al-Adwār* for the first time, making it a historical source of greatest value. By its conciseness it became the most popular and influential book on music for centuries. No other Arabic (Persian or Turkish) music treatise was so often copied, commented upon and translated into Oriental (and Western) languages. The *K. al-Adwār* was conceived as a compendium (*muk̲h̲taṣar*) of the standard musical knowledge. However, owing both to its apparent uniqueness and to the fact that not a single authority or written source is quoted, the book was regarded as an original work with innovative contributions of its author, especially with regard to the division of the octave. Considering the youth of the author and the purely descriptive style of the book, which does not reveal any personal contribution, the original part of Ṣafī al-Dīn cannot be ascertained and may have been less than assumed. An analysis of the extant manuscripts, many of them transmitted anonymously, and of the differing redactions of the text, might help to clarify this question. The *K. al-Adwār* was translated several times into Persian. In addition to some anonymous translations, one was made in 746/1345 by ʿImād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Kās̲h̲ānī for the ruler Abū Isḥāḳ Īnd̲j̲ū (see Munzawī, no. 40736). An enlarged version of the text was translated in 1296/1879 by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad Ḏj̲aʿfar Iṣfahānī, and dedicated to Mīrzā Āḳā K̲h̲ān Nūrī, the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh (printed, see below, cf. Munzawī, no. 40737). A Turkish translation was made by a certain Aḥmed-og̲h̲lu S̲h̲ükrüllāh (9th/15th cent.), and incorporated, as chapters 1-15, into his compilation called *Risāla min ʿamal al-adwār* (see Raʾūf Yektā, in *MTM*, ii/4 [1331/1913], 137; M. Bardakçı, in *Tarih ve toplum*, xiii [1990], 350-4). Several commentaries were composed during the 8th/14th century and at the beginning of the 9th/15th. The first of them, *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-afkār fī maʿrifat al-Adwār*, was written in Persian on behalf of Sultan Uways [*q.v.*] by S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣayrafī (Munzawī, no. 40754). A most important Arabic commentary was composed in 777/1375 by a certain Mubārakṣ̲h̲āh and dedicated to S̲h̲āh S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ (French tr., see below; H.G. Farmer's identification of the author with ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḏj̲urd̲j̲ānī is not convincing). A Persian commentary was written in 798/1396 by Luṭf Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Samarḳandī on behalf of a certain Amīrzāda Saydī (see Munzawī, nos. 40793-94). Another Persian commentary was written by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. G̲h̲aybī Marāg̲h̲ī, supplemented by a lengthy *k̲h̲ātima*, called *Zawāʾid al-fawāʾid* (printed, see below). A passage from the *K. al-Adwār* was translated into French by F. Pétis de la Croix (d. 1713) on the request of Joseph Sauveur (d. 1716) who gave a first account of al-Urmawī's division of the octave (*Système général des intervalles de sons*, in *Mémoires de l'Acad. Royale* [Paris

1701], 328-30). A more complete French translation, based on the anonymous ms. Paris B.N. ar. 2865, was made by A.M.-F. Herbin (d. 1806) on behalf of G.-A. Villoteau. He printed part of it in his *De l'État actuel de l'art musical en Égypte* (in *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, xiv, Paris 1826, 47-110). The interpretations of both Villoteau and Fétis (*Histoire générale de la musique*, ii, Paris 1869, esp. 55), who erroneously detected one-third-tones in the scales described by al-Urmawī, were inferior to that of Sauveur, and even more so to the correct description already given by J.-B. De La Borde (*Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, i, Paris 1780, 163-6). Al-Urmawī's division of the octave was much appreciated by European scholars from the late 19th century onwards.

Ṣafī al-Dīn's second book, *al-Risāla al-Sharafiyya*, was written around 665/1267. It is dedicated to his student and later patron, Sharaf al-Dīn Djuwaynī. In the scientific, literary and artistic circle of the Djuwaynī family, al-Urmawī was in contact with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. The eminent scholar (who left a short treatise on the proportions of musical intervals perceivable in the pulse) may have stimulated al-Urmawī's interest in Greek science. In fact, the *Sharafiyya*, though treating basically the same subject matter as the *K. al-Adwār*, is more indebted to Greek theory than the latter. It is also possible that al-Urmawī was inspired to write his second book after becoming acquainted with the *K. al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr* of al-Fārābī [*q.v.*], in which ample use is made of Greek source material, and which he might not have known when he wrote the *K. al-Adwār*. In contrast to his first book, the teachings of his great predecessor al-Fārābī are quoted and discussed here. *Al-Risāla al-Sharafiyya*, although being the more extensive work, was, on the whole, less popular than the *K. al-Adwār*. In Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī's *Durrat al-tādj* and in the works of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Marāghī, however, it was extensively used (partly criticised by Shīrāzī, but defended by Marāghī). The latter even refers to the *Durrat al-tādj* as a commentary on the *Sharafiyya* (see *Maḳāṣid al-alḥān*, Tehran 1344/1957, 58).

The supposed title *Fī ʿulūm al-ʿarūḍ wa 'l-ḳawāfī wa 'l-badīʿ* in ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Clark 21/1 (fols. 1-71, copied 758/1357, see *Cat.*, ii, 201-4, no. 247) is not the title of another book written by al-Urmawī (Brockelmann, S I, 907, no. 3, follows Farmer), but the subtitle of the *Miʿyār al-nuẓẓār fī ʿulūm al-ashʿār* by the philologist ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zandjānī (Brockelmann, S I, 498, no. IV).

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SAFĪD KŪH (p.), in Pashto Spīn Ghar ("The White Mountain"), the name of a mountain range falling mainly in eastern Afghānistān. According to Bābur, it derives its name from its perpetual covering of snow; from its northern slopes, nine rivers run down to the Kābul River (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 209, cf. Appx. E, pp. xvii-xxiii).

The Safīd Kūh, with its outliers, runs from a point to the east of Ghazna [*q.v.*] in a northeasterly and then easterly direction almost to Attock [see atak] on the Indus (approx. between longs. 68° 40′ E. and 72° E.), in general separating the Kābul and Lōgar River valleys on its north and west from the Kurram River valley and the Afrīdī area of Tīrāh on its south. Its highest peak is Sikārām (4,761 m/15,620 ft.). The Khyber Pass [see khaybar] lies at its northeastern tip, and on its northern and eastern spurs are the passes between Kābul and Djalālābād which the British forces involved in Afghānistān during 1841-2 had to negotiate. The middle part of the range forms the present political boundary between the Nangrahār [*q.v.*] province of Afghānistān and the Khurram [*q.v.*] Tribal Area of Pākistān.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer on India*[2], i, 28-9; J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie d'Afghanistan: étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 28, 106. (C.E. Bosworth)

SAFĪD RŪD (p.) "White River", a river system of northwestern Persia draining the southeastern part of Ādharbaydjān and what was, in mediaeval Islamic times, the region of Daylam [*q.v.*]. The geographers of the 4th/10th century already called it the Sabīd/Sapīdh Rūdh, and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (8th/14th century) clearly applies it to the whole system.

In more recent times, however, the name tends to be restricted to that part of the system after it has been formed from the confluence at Mardjil of its two great

affluents, the Ḳizil Üzen [*q.v.*] coming in from the left and the Shāh Rūd from the right. This stretch forces its way through a gap between the Alburz Mts. in the east and the Tālish Mts. to the north-west, and runs down to the Caspian Sea. Thus although its affluents are quite lengthy, the Safīd Rūd itself runs now for only some 110 km/60 miles. When it reaches the coastal plain of Gīlān [*q.v.*], the river divides into numerous channels, whose courses are continuously shifting, and flows out through the delta which the river's alluvia have pushed out into the Caspian. Parts of this delta region are thickly wooded, with a humid and unhealthy climate; here also, rice is cultivated. The gap beween the mountains through which the Safīd Rūd flows provides a means of communication from Gīlān to the plateau of the Persian interior, and at the present time carries the Rasht-Ḳazwīn-Tehran road.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern caliphate*, 169-70; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 77, 136-7, comm. 388-90; Admiralty Handbook, *Persia*, London 1945, 36-7, 146-8; *Camb. hist. Iran*, i, 11, 42, 269, 271. (C.E. Bosworth)

SAFĪNA (A. pls. *sufun, safāʾin, safīn*), a word used in Arabic from pre-Islamic times onwards for ship. Seamanship and navigation are in general dealt with in MILĀḤA, and the present article, after dealing with the question of knowledge of the sea and ships in Arabia at the time of the birth of Islam, not covered in MILĀḤA, will be confined to a consideration of sea and river craft.

1. In the pre-modern period.

(a) *Pre-Islamic and early Islamic aspects.*

The most general word for "ship" in early Arabic usage was *markab* "conveyance", used, however, in the first place for travel by land, with such specific meanings as "riding-beast", "conveyance drawn by animals". *Safīna* "ship" occurs only sparingly in the Ḳurʾān (three times, in connection with the boat used by Moses and al-Khiḍr and with Noah's Ark), and was early noted, e.g. by Guidi and Fraenkel, as a probable loan word from Syriac (with Hebrew and Akkadian forms), ultimately from the common Semitic root *s-p-n* "to cover in", cf. Akkad. *sapīnatu*, Hebr. *sᵉpīnah*, "ship", as in Jonah, i, 5; it probably entered Arabic via Syriac at an early date, since it occurs in pre-Islamic poetry (see S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 216-17; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 171-2). Much more frequent in the Ḳurʾān is *fulk*, used *inter alia* of Noah's Ark and the ship from which Jonah was thrown, again clearly a loan word, but of less certain origin than *safīna*; Vollers suggested one from Greek *epholkion* "a dinghy towed after a boat", but also found in *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* to denote a larger vessel used in Red Sea waters (see Jeffery, *op. cit.*, 229-30).

The absence of a genuine Arabic word for "ship" is not surprising, given the Arabian peninsula's total lack of navigable rivers or lakes; the region thus contrasts sharply with the Nile valley of Egypt and with Mesopotamia, where traffic on its rivers early gave rise to a highly-developed vocabulary in Akkadian relating to ships and navigation (see A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen* ..., Studia orientalia, Societas orientalia fennica, viii/4, Helsinki 1939), with a linguistic legacy which was handed down to Islamic times (see below).

The Arabian peninsula is, on the other hand, surrounded by seas on three sides, hence some of its inhabitants at least must have had some acquaintanceship with the sea and ships, even if the Arabs of the Ḥidjāz and Nadjd preferred travel by land, so that the original direction of Arab-Islamic expansion was northwards to Palestine, Syria and ʿIrāḳ rather than e.g. across the Bāb al-Mandab towards Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. The use of ships was certainly familiar to the populations of the southern shores of the Persian Gulf, but the sailors involved were probably from the mixed Persian-Arab element of these coastlands; see further on this, G.F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early medieval times*, Princeton 1951, ch. I, and MILĀḤA. 1.

A consideration of the sea in the Ḳurʾān and of Muḥammad's possible knowledge of it was undertaken by W. Barthold in a brief but suggestive article, *Der Koran und das Meer*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxiii (1929), 37-43. He asked, with justice, how the Holy Book could contain such vivid pictures of the sea and its storms. "This question", he says, "is of particular interest, because descriptions of the sea are in general foreign to Arab poetry, particularly pre-Islamic. Muḥammad's biography does not credit him with any sea voyages, not even with a journey along the coast". Nor does it make him visit any of the seaports of the time like Djudda [*q.v.*], Shuʿayba or Ghazza [*q.v.*]. Nöldeke went so far as to assume (*Isl.*, v [1914], 163, n. 3), where he was dealing with the trade of the Ḳuraysh with Abyssinia, that Muḥammad "may possibly himself have been there on one occasion, as sūras X, 23, XXIX, 65, XXIV, 40, sound as if he had personally experienced the terrors of seafaring". Fraenkel (*op. cit.*, 211) deduced from the Ḳurʾān, "that the early Arabs well appreciated that their land was washed by the sea on three sides. Seafaring was of great importance, at least among the commercial circles to which Muḥammad belonged", otherwise, he thought, Muḥammad would not have spoken in no less than 40 passages of the grace of God, who puts the sea at the service of mankind. Fraenkel even talked of "regular traffic" with Abyssinia, which is indicated among other things (e.g. Abyssinian slave-girls in Arabia at this time) by two traditions, according to one of which the wood of a ship stranded at Shuʿayba was used for building the Kaʿba (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1135), and, according to the other, the first *muhādjirūn* sailed on two merchant ships which were going to Abyssinia (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1182). But in the case of the stranded ship, it is definitely said to have been Byzantine, and in the second passage there is nothing to indicate that the ships were Arab (Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1924, 380, thought that they were foreign). Everything indicates that it is much more probable that this connection between Arabia and the opposite coast was maintained by the Abyssinians, a suggestion made also by Barthold, *op. cit.*, 43, for quite different reasons. Lammens (*La Mecque*, 385) even spoke—not, however, without encountering contradiction—of an Abyssinian dominion of the seas and found in the Meccan chronicles no mention of an Arab ship trading with the kingdom of Aksum (idem, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, i, Rome 1914, 15). On the other hand, he had to acknowledge that the many references in the Ḳurʾān and *Sīra* to navigation suggest an intimate acquaintance with the sea. But no compatriot of Muḥammad or any Bedouin of the Tihāma is ever mentioned as a sailor; this is left to the foreigners on the Red Sea coast (idem, *La Mecque*, 379).

Among the references to sailing in the early poetry, that in l. 102 of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm's *Muʿallaḳa* is specially remarkable. He boasts of his Taghlibīs that they cover the surface of the sea with their ships. While Goldziher (*Das Schiff der Wüste*, in *ZDMG*, xliv [1890], 165-7), who held Fraenkel's point of view, said that this line is undoubtedly of great importance, Nöldeke, *Fünf Moʿallaqāt*, i, 49, was inclined to the

view that "the Ta**gh**lib used sometimes to sail the Euphrates in boats" and that "there can be no question of seafaring in the proper sense". He takes *baḥr* here to mean the broad waters of the Euphrates. The whole context shows that we have here to deal simply with a poet's boasting (cf. also G. Jacob, *Altarabische Beduinenleben*², 149), which would have all the more effect as this kind of activity on water was quite unknown to other tribes and, indeed, they had a certain fear of it (see below). Apart from this isolated line, Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pointed out that, in the old poetry, the sea and various elements in navigation are frequently used in similes; the caravan on the march, for example, is frequently compared with ships sailing on the sea. These images, which are usually quite colourless, may, however, have originated on the coast and have wandered inland as clichés, without it being necessary to assume that the poet using them was personally acquainted with the sea. One recalls the stereotyped nature of the *nasīb* [*q.v.*].

Now, as the occasional references to navigation must have some basis in fact, and on the other hand, we know nothing of any enterprises by sea on any large scale, it is natural to assume that "the Arabs before Muḥammad never got beyond coastal traffic along the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf", as Wüstenfeld supposed in *NGW Gött.* (1880), 134. Lammens, *La Mecque*, 381, thought that there can only have been fishing on a very small scale not far from the shore and the occasional plundering of stranded ships (see above).With regard to the "foreign imports", which were already found at this date in Arabia, Jacob thought, *op. cit.*, 149, that "in any case foreign ships (especially Ethiopian and Indian) came to Arab ports more often than vice-versa". Imports are indicated by numerous foreign wares, while, as G.W. Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der Arabischen Sprache*, Bonn 1861, 276 ff., emphasised Arabia had few products likely to be exported by ship to foreign lands.

These remarks, however, hold primarily for the Ḥi**dj**āz and adjoining lands and cannot be applied without question to the whole of Arabia. For this region, in particular, there were certain factors unfavourable for the development of shipping. The story of the stranded ship (see above) clearly shows the lack of wood in the neighbourhood of Mecca. There are no good or large harbours on the coast; certain old anchorages like Leukekome, al-**Dj**ār [*q.v.*] and **Sh**uʿayba later became quite deserted [see ḤI**DJ**ĀZ]. The Red Sea itself was dreaded on account of its storms and reefs, particularly in the north (see BAḤR AL-ḲULZUM, and A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, Heidelberg 1922, 476, Eng. tr. 509). Arabia had, moreover, no navigable rivers which might have formed a training-ground for seafaring.

It is no wonder, then, if the true Badawī had a natural horror of the sea which for long prevented him from entrusting himself to the water. This attitude must have hampered the beginnings of Islamic seafaring, and can still be traced even to-day (see L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions ... à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920, 1, 3; W.G. Palgrave, *Narrative of a year's journey ...*, London 1865, i, 430, quotes "the most un-English words of the Ḥejazee camel-driver": "He who twice embarks on sea is a very infidel"). This dread finds expression in the Ḳurʾān, where we have references to "waves mountains high", "darkness on the wide deep sea, covered by the towering waves above which are clouds of darkness piled upon one another" etc. (sūras XI, 44, XXIV, 40, also X, 23, XI, 45, XXXI, 31; cf. also the humorous poem in Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 62). Perhaps it is for this reason that the Meccans left navigation to foreigners (see above); in addition, there was the contempt felt for certain trades (see Goldziher, in *Globus*, lxvi [1894], 203-5). As the Azdīs in ʿUmān were sailors and fishermen, they were scorned by the Tamīm as "sailors" (see Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 25). We have also references to Nabataean and occasionally also to Jewish sailors (see Lyall, *The Dīwāns of ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ ...*, Leiden-London 1913, pp. viii, 5, 6).

It is therefore not surprising that in later times, when the value of shipping in peace and war was finally recognised, sayings were put into the mouth of the Prophet definitely permitting trade by sea and praising the merits of the martyr of the sea (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *Barter* and *Martyr*(s); also Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, 15-16). But it was a long time before this view prevailed. Even at the time when Muḥammad was cutting the Ḳuray**sh** off from their markets in the north, they preferred a great detour through the desert to taking the sea route (Lammens, *La Mecque*, 381). The first caliphs were still against any enterprise at sea. ʿUmar was greatly impressed by a series of misfortunes in the Mediterranean and Red Sea (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2595, 2820; he is said to have forbidden sailing [or only for worldly purposes?], see Goldziher, *Das Schiff der Wüste*, *loc. cit.*). He even went so far as to punish the chief of the Ba**dj**īla tribe ʿArfa**dj**a b. Har**th**ama al-Bāriḳī, whom he had ordered to invade ʿUmān, because he had done it by sea, even although he had been successful (Ibn **Kh**aldūn, *ʿIbar*, i, 211). Yet within five years of Muḥammad's death (15/637) an Arab fleet from ʿUmān reached Tānah near Bombay and another expedition went to the Gulf of Daybul (al-Balā**dh**urī, *Futūḥ*, 431-2). But it was Muʿāwiya who was the founder of the Arab navy. The creation of a fleet became more and more urgent during his wars against the Byzantines, in which the harbours of the Levant coasts and Egypt were often threatened. On this question, he had during his governorship to meet the resistance of the caliphs, but ʿU**th**mān finally consented. Alexandria, in particular, provided ships and sailors. It was not till a later date that Muʿāwiya is said to have established naval bases on the Palestine coast also (al-Balā**dh**urī, 117). In spite of their dread of the sea, "the Arabs made the change from the desert and the camel to the sea and ship with astonishing rapidity" (so Wellhausen, in *NGW Gött.* [1901], 418). Bold and daring admirals soon arose among them, notably Busr b. Abī Arṭāt and Abu 'l-Aʿwar al-Sulamī [*q.vv.*].

We possess only very exiguous information on the actual vessels used in early times round the coasts of Arabia. These were probably simple craft, made of planks bound together with cords of palm fibre (such seems the most probably meaning of ***dh**āt alwāḥ wa-dusur* in Ḳurʾān, LIV, 13, a description of Noah's Ark): one of the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*] which the *udabāʾ* enumerated was that the Umayyad governor al-Ḥa**djdj**ā**dj** b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] was the first to have had constructed ships of timber with the planks nailed and caulked (al-**Dj**āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ed. A.S. Hārūn, Cairo n.d., i, 82-3). The so-called "sewn [with cord of fibre]" ships are mentioned at later dates, up to the 9th/15th century, as a feature of Indian Ocean ship building; a travellers' tale doubtless invented to explain the prevalence of this construction practice posited the existence of magnetic mountains or islands in the Red Sea or in Indian waters which drew the nails out of ships and caused them to sink [see MA**GH**NĀṬĪS. 1, at vol. V, 1168a].

(H. KINDERMANN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

(b) *The Mediterranean.*

In Mediterranean waters, the Arab ships used against the Byzantines were crewed by the Greco-Semitic population of the Levantine and Egyptian coastlands and carried a fighting force, initially of the Arab *muḳātila* and then, at a later period, of professional soldiers, whose task was to hurl projectiles at the enemy, engage in hand-to-hand fighting when required and to disembark for land operations. Amongst various types of ship mentioned is the *shawna/shīnī/shīniyya/shānī*, pl. *shawānī*, a vessel of the galley type, i.e. with a crew of oarsmen, whose use is mentioned in the Arabic chronicles up to Mamlūk times; Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century) apply it to the corresponding Byzantine vessels, of the *dromon* or war galley type (see H. Kindermann, *"Schiff" im Arabischen. Untersuchung über Vorkommen und Bedeutung der Termini*, Zwickau i. Sa. 1934, 53-4; Darwīsh al-Nukhaylī, *al-Sufun al-islāmiyya ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿdjam*, Cairo 1974, 83-5; MILĀḤA. 1, at vol. VII, 44b). Another term, *khalī/khaliyya*, pl. *khalāyā*, is defined as a large ship; an attempt to see in this word the origin of Old Span. *galea/galera*, i.e. galley, was rightly dismissed by Kindermann, *op. cit.*, 25, as implausible. Frequently mentioned in accounts of the naval warfare between the Muslims and the Franks during Crusading and Mamlūk times is the large galley called *ghurāb*; thus the expedition launched from Būlāḳ by the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Čaḳmaḳ against the Knights Hospitaller in Rhodes in 844/1440 comprised fifteen *ghurābs* conveying a large force of royal *mamlūks* and volunteers (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, and al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, cited in C.E. Bosworth, *Arab attacks on Rhodes in the pre-Ottoman period*, forthcoming). The name *ghurāb* may derive, in the surmise of K. Vollers, from Span. *caraba* < Latin *carabus* < Grk. *karabos/karabion*, see Kindermann, 68-71, and al-Nukhaylī, 104-12 (in archaic Anglo-Indian usage, it yielded the term *grab*, a type of ship often mentioned, in the Indian Ocean context, from the arrival of the Portuguese to the 18th century, see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*², London 1903, 391-2). (For information on the constituting and deployment of Muslim navies in the Mediterranean, see BAḤRIYYA. 1. The navy of the Arabs up to 1250, in Suppl., and 2. The navy of the Mamlūks.)

With the appearance of the Turks as a factor in naval warfare around the shores of Asia Minor and in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean seas during the 9th/15th century, a new phase of ship construction began, based on the principal Ottoman dockyards at Gallipoli and at Ḳāsim Pasha near Ghalaṭa [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Istanbul [see TERSĀNE]. Until well into the 11th/17th century there persisted a general distinction between the heavy "round ships" used as merchantmen and the long galleys used as men-of-war, although the distinction was never absolute. But during the 9th/15th century significant advances in naval technology were made both in the Mediterranean and along the Atlantic seaboard of Europe. The clumsy, single-masted "cog" (Ital. *cocca*, Tkish. *köke*, see H. and R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The lingua franca in the Levant. Turkish nautical terms of Italian and Greek origin*, Urbana, Ill. 1958, 171-3, no. 202), with a single square sail, gave way to three-masted vessels with more than one square sail on the mainmast and a lateen sail on the mizzen. These ships were far more manoeuvrable, and formed the basis of the worldwide naval ventures of the Portuguese and Spanish, and later, the English and Dutch. In the Mediterranean, both the Venetians and the Ottomans experimented with large round ships for use as warships; a galleon ordered by Mehemmed the Conqueror [*q.v.*], weighing 3,000 tons (*fūči* < Grk. *boutsi*, see Kahane and Tietze, 496-8, no. 752) and built in imitation of Italian and Spanish vessels, sank on launching; the mounting of heavy artillery on the upper decks posed obvious problems of stability.

But the armed long ship or galley (Tkish. *ḳadïrgha* < Grk. *katergon*, see Kahane and Tietze, 523-6, no. 785) remained the main, and at times, the only type of warship in the Ottoman fleets. This had the advantage of being swift and manoeuvrable, of having a shallow draught so that it could operate close inshore, and, since it had oars, could travel on calm days when the galleon which relied purely on sail was becalmed. However, the superior size and armament of the galleon made it more effective than the galley as a fighting ship, and this was seen in the Indian Ocean during the 10th/16th century when the Portuguese, with their carracks, could not be dislodged from Hurmuz and Goa by the Ottoman fleet's galleys. Within the Mediterranean, the galley fleets of both the Turks and the Christians had to operate in the comparatively storm-free spring and summer months, especially as such ships, with their cannon as well as their oarsmen and fighting troops, carried large crews in relationship to their size, hence could not operate for too long away from base.

The Venetians made an innovation in naval technology with their use of the galleass in their fleet at Lepanto [see AYNABAKHTĪ] in 979/1571; this ship tried to combine the advantages of the galleon, with the ability to fire cannon broadsides, and of the galley, with its hull and rigging. The Ottomans started building them (Tkish. *mawna*) in the next year, but it was not until the later 11th/17th century that the Ottomans began to employ galleons on a large scale. See in general, İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948; C.H. Imber, *The navy of Süleyman the Magnificent*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 211-82, with a useful glossary of naval and administrative terms at 277-82; and BAḤRIYYA. 3. The Ottoman navy.

(c) *The Mesopotamian-Khūzistān river systems.*

Here, nautical traditions went back to ancient times (see Salonen, *op. cit.*). Some terminology from Sumerian and Akkadian was carried over into the Arabic vocabulary of sea and river navigation and of irrigation constructions and practices of Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid times (see Bosworth, ... *Some remarks on the terminology of irrigation practices and hydraulic constructions in the Eastern Arab and Iranian worlds in the third-fifth centuries A.H.*, in *Jnal. of Islamic Studies*, ii [1991], 78-85). Likewise, there must have been some continuity in the designing and building of boats suitable for use on the Euphrates, Tigris, Kārūn and their tributaries; this was certainly the case with the raft floated on inflatable goatskins called *kelek* [*q.v.*] (< Akk. *kalakku*, ultimately from Sumerian), and probably also with the similar raft of early ʿAbbāsid times, the *ṭawf*, although the etymology of this is obscure (see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 84-5).

The historical and *adab* sources of the ʿAbbāsid period are replete with references to the various types of craft which conveyed both passengers and freight on these rivers, which were exceptionally favourable for navigation, especially as the slightly higher level of the Euphrates, compared with the Tigris, meant that the transverse canals from the former to the latter could be used for speedy transport eastwards. The Euphrates was navigable up to Samosata [see SUMAYSĀṬ], hence could be used for goods traffic be-

tween ʿIrāḳ and the Djazīra and northern Syria, whilst down the Tigris to Baghdād came goods from Armenia and Kurdistān. Amongst the large ships used especially for freight are mentioned the *kurkūr*, pl. *karākīr* (probably from Grk. *kerkouros*, Latin *cercurus*), known to the pre-Islamic poets who frequented the Lakhmid court at Ḥīra, including al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī [*q.v.*], who speaks of the *kurkūrs* of the Nabaṭ on the Euphrates (Fraenkel, 217; Kindermann, 79-81; al-Nukhaylī, 120-5).

The types of craft for both passengers and goods were very numerous. The Baghdād parasite of the early 5th/11th century, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim [*q.v.*], recites in his *Ḥikāya* a list of nineteen of these, including the *kārib, zabzab, sumayrī, ḥarrāḳa, ṭayyāra* and *marākib ʿammāliyya* (*ʿammāla*) "freight craft" (ed. A. Mez, *Abulkâsim, ein bagdâder Sittenbild*, Heidelberg 1902, 107). As in the last example, some names are clearly descriptive, e.g. *ṭayyāra* "flyer", a kind of skiff. *Ḥarrāḳa* "fire ship" presumably denoted in origin a warship from which fire could be hurled at the enemy, but was soon used for passenger-carrying craft in Mesopotamia and also on the Nile (Kindermann, 72-3; al-Nukhaylī, 32-7); the caliph al-Amīn had five luxury *ḥarrāḳāt* built as pleasure boats on the Tigris, each in the shape of a lion, elephant, eagle, serpent and horse (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 951-2). *Sumayriyyāt* are mentioned as troop-carrying craft in the historical accounts of the Zandj rebellion in the later 3rd/9th century, being used by both the caliphal forces and the rebels, whilst in 315/927 the general Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*] sent 500 troops from Baghdād downstream in *sumayriyyāt* in order to prevent the Carmathians [see KARMAṬĪ] from crossing the Euphrates (Kindermann, 42-3).

Often mentioned as used by the caliphs and great men of state is the swift vessel called *zaww* (< Pers. *zūd* "speedy" or, more probably, Kindermann thought, from a Chinese word for "vessel", 36-7), which could be a luxuriously-appointed gondola. *Zawrak*, pl. *zawāriḳ* (a word of Persian origin?) denoted in the ʿIrāḳī context a skiff or dinghy, for local traffic (al-Iṣṭakhrī saw innumerable *zawraḳs* in the waterways around Baṣra); but what were obviously much larger, sea-going *zawraḳs* are recorded in the Mediterranean, including in fighting against the Crusaders off the Palestine coast and for transporting troops from Egypt for a further attack on Rhodes in 848/1444 (Kindermann, 37-8; al-Nukhaylī, 59-62; Ibn Taghrībirdī, cited in Bosworth, *Arab attacks on Rhodes in the pre-Ottoman period*). See for Mesopotamian river traffic in general, Mez, *Renaissance*, 455, Eng. tr. 485 ff.

(d) *The Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean shores.*

The characteristic features of the mediaeval Arabic ocean-going ships have been given by Hourani as, first, the sewing-together of the planks rather than nailing (see above) and, second, the fore-and-aft set of the sails. Ibn Djubayr observed large barques or *djalbas* (< Port.-Span. *gelba*/*gelva*, with another form *gallevat* which yielded Eng. "jolly-boat", cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, 361-3; in modern times, "jolly-boat" has been borrowed back into Arabic, since H. Ritter noted, in *Isl.*, ix [1919], 137, that the lifeboat of a steamer on the Tigris was called a *djālibōṭ*) being built at ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*] on the Red Sea coast which were stitched together with coir, i.e. coconut palm fibres (*kinbār*) (*Riḥla*, ed. Wright and de Goeje, 70). Only from the 9th/15th century did nailed construction begin to be used on the Malabar coast of South India, possibly in imitation of the Portuguese warships (Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean*, 87 ff.).

A list of Arabic terms for ships used round the South Arabian coasts from later mediaeval times has been given by R.B. Serjeant in his *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast. Ḥaḍramī chronicles*, Oxford 1963, repr. Beirut 1974, 132-7, Appx. II *Arabic terms for shipping*. Here are to be found terms used elsewhere in the Islamic world, such as *ghurāb* or grab; the *djal(a)ba*, pl. *djilāb*; and the *barsha*, according to Kindermann, 4-5, a long, covered boat, but also applied to large warships, as with the Ottoman *barčas* (< Ital. *bargia, barza*, see Kahane and Tietze, 98-9, n. 80) (cf. Imber, *The navy of Süleyman the Magnificent*, 212-13). Connected by observers of the early modern period with the Gulf of Oman and Indian waters was the *baghla*, lit. "mule", a large sailing ship (< Span.-Port. *bajel, baxel*, etc., yielding Anglo-Indian "buggalow" and possibly "budgerow", see *Hobson-Jobson*, 120, 123). Most characteristic, of course, of these waters, for western observers, was the dhow, which Kindermann, 26-7, noted under *dāw* or *dāwa*, suggesting a Persian or ultimately Indian etymology; see for the dhow, below, section 2. In modern times.

Bibliography: Given in the article. The works of Kindermann and al-Nukhaylī list the types of ship alphabetically. See also Suʿād Māhir, *al-Baḥriyya fī Miṣr al-islāmiyya wa-āthāruhā al-bāḳiya*, Cairo n.d. [1967], 147-238. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In modern times.

See for this, MILĀḤA. 4. In modern times, to the *Bibl.* of which should be added H. Ritter, *Mesopotamische Studien. I. Arabische Flussfahrzeuge auf Euphrat und Tigris*, in *Isl.*, ix (1919), 121-43. (ED.)

Finally, it should be noted that in astronomy, *Safīna* represents Argus, one of the eastern constellations made up of 45 stars, the brightest of which is *Suhayl* or Canopus. On the other hand, *Safīnat Nūḥ* denotes the Great Bear. (G. OMAN)

SAFĪR (A., "ambassador", "messenger").

1. In Shīʿism.

Here, this is a term used to refer to the deputies of the twelfth imām during the Lesser Occultation (260-329/874-941) [see GHAYBA]; there were four such deputies.

The doctrine that the hidden imām is represented by a deputy appears to have taken shape in the circles of the Nawbakht family [*q.v.*], whose members played a prominent role in the ʿAbbāsid court in the early 4th/10th century. According to a recent study, it was Ibn Rawḥ (Rūḥ) al-Nawbakhtī [*q.v.*], regarded by the Twelver Shīʿīs as the third *safīr*, who first claimed to be such a deputy; the first and second *safīrs* were given this title posthumously in order to establish that the office of *sifāra* had come into being immediately following the occultation of the imām (V. Klemm, *Die vier sufarāʾ*, 140-1). The term *safīr* as referring to these deputies is first attested in the *K. al-Ghayba* of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nuʿmānī (d. *ca.* 345/956 or 360/971), though neither their names nor their number is given. The four are listed in Ibn Bābawayh's [*q.v.*] *Ikmāl al-dīn* (408-9); and the most detailed accounts of their activities are found in the *K. al-Ghayba* of Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067). These accounts are largely dependent on two works now lost, the *Akhbār Abī ʿAmr wa Abī Djaʿfar al-ʿAmriyyayn* of Abū Naṣr Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn Barniyya al-Kātib (*fl.* second half of 4th/10th century), and the *Akhbār al-wukalāʾ al-arbaʿa* of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās b. Nūḥ al-Sīrāfī (d. *ca.* 413/1022).

The function of the *safīrs* as described in Twelver Shīʿī texts was to act as senior agents (*wakīls*) of the twelfth imām and to oversee the affairs of the com-

munity by coordinating the work of all other *wakīls* in the ʿAbbāsid empire, collecting the dues owed the imām and his family and transmitting his orders and responsa. According to Ibn Bābawayh and al-Ṭūsī (who are followed by later authors), the four *safīrs* were:

a. Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-ʿAmrī of the Banū Asad (d. before 267/880). When he was only eleven years old he already served the tenth imām ʿAlī al-Hādī (d. 254/868) [see al-ʿAskarī]; later he became a confidant of his son al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*]. Abū ʿAmr traded in butter, and was therefore known as al-Sammān. His profession enabled him to conceal in butter receptacles the money collected from the Shīʿīs and to transport it secretly to the imām. Before al-ʿAskarī died he appointed Abū ʿAmr as *safīr*, an appointment subsequently confirmed by the twelfth imām from his place of hiding.

b. Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-ʿAmrī (d. Djumādā I 304/916 or 305/917), son of the first *safīr*. He is said to have spent a total of some fifty years in the service of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth imāms.

c. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Rawḥ al-Nawbakhtī (d. 18 Shaʿbān 326/20 June 938), author of a *K. al-Taʾdīb* and a close associate of the vizier family of Banu 'l-Furāt. Following the end of the second vizierate of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt in 306/918 [see ibn al-furāt], Ibn Rawḥ was forced for reasons unknown to go into hiding; there he remained until Ibn al-Furāt's brief reinstallation in 311/923. During that time he appointed ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Shalmaghānī [*q.v.*] as his deputy, but then accused him of heresy. For five years (312-7/924-9) Ibn Rawḥ was imprisoned by the caliph al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*], either for financial misconduct or because of his suspected links with the Ḳarmaṭīs. He was released by Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*].

d. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Simmarī (traditionally read al-Samarrī) (d. mid-Shaʿbān 329/ mid-May 941). Like his three predecessors, he lived and was buried in Baghdād. His period in office was brief; a few days before his death he received a message from the twelfth imām announcing the onset of the Greater Occultation.

While the *safīrs* are regarded as inferior to the imāms, they are reported by most authorities to have been accorded some of the imāms' special powers, such as the ability to foretell future events and to perform miracles; this latter ability is said to have been conferred on them by the twelfth imām to serve as proof that they were his representatives (al-Ṭūsī, *K. al-Ghayba*, 256; cf. M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin dans le shīʿisme originel*, Verdier 1992, 271-5). The Banū Nawbakht, in contrast, argued like the Muʿtazila that the *safīrs* could not perform miracles (al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Awāʾil al-maḳālāt*, ed. Faḍl Allāh al-Zandjānī, Tabriz 1371, 41).

In addition to the genuine *safīrs*, Shīʿī authors mention various pretenders who claimed the title for themselves. Among them are Aḥmad b. Hilāl al-Karkhī, Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr (the eponymous founder of the Nuṣayriyya) and al-Shalmaghānī (E. Kohlberg, *Barāʾa in Shīʿī doctrine*, in *JSAI*, vii [1986], 139-75, at 166-7).

Two further terms are used synonymously with *safīr*: (1) *bāb* (gate) [*q.v.*], a word which in the pre-*ghayba* period referred *inter alia* to the personal attendant of the imām (Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāḳib āl Abī Ṭālib*, Nadjaf 1375-6/1956, iii, 232, 311, 340, 400, 438, 476, 487, 506, 525); (2) *nāʾib* (lieutenant) or *nāʾib khāṣṣ*. The latter in particular was used by authors in the Ṣafawid period in contrast to the *nāʾib ʿāmm* (the jurist) (N. Calder, *Zakāt in Imāmī Shīʿī jurisprudence, from the tenth to the sixteenth century A.D.*, in *BSOAS*, xliv [1981], 468-80, at 479-80).

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(E. Kohlberg)

2. In diplomacy.

Here, *safīr*, pl. *sufarāʾ*, initially meaning envoy as well as mediator and conciliator, becomes ambassador or diplomatic agent (Turkish *sefīr*, but *elči* [*q.v.*] is more commonly used; Persian *safīr*).

(a) In the central and eastern Arab lands. Diplomacy by means of emissaries existed from the early days of Islam. The Prophet employed envoys in dealing with the towns of Ḥidjāz and Nadjd, dispatched messengers to Byzantium, Persia, Egypt and Ethiopia to invite them to join Islam, and received missions sent to him. Such diplomatic intercourse for military, political, and religious purposes continued under the Rāshidūn caliphs and the Umayyads, most prominently in negotiating war and truce with the Byzantines. Diplomacy became more organised with the stabilisation of the Islamic empire under the ʿAbbāsids, who exchanged envoys with heads of other states near and far, in order to discuss issues of war, peace and international alliances, to deliver good-will messages and, invariably, to spy. A famous instance

of these contacts (whose authenticity, however, is in some doubt) was the exchange of embassies between Charlemagne and Hārūn al-Rashīd, in which the former reportedly sought a coalition with the latter against Byzantium [see IFRANDJ]. Another line of dialogue developed through envoys between the caliph in Baghdād and provincial governors who had become autonomous, such as the Ayyūbids, and between the caliph and Islamic states not under his sovereignty, such as the Fāṭimids and Umayyads of Spain. With practice came the criteria for choosing state emissaries (prudence, courage, charm and, of course, dependability were prerequisite), patterns for conducting missions and modes of entertaining foreign envoys, as well as an elaborate diplomatic vocabulary. Al-Ḳalḳashandī's [*q.v.*] 9th/15th-century multi-volume manual for scribes in the Mamluk chancery, the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, is an impressive mirror of these sophisticated diplomatic standards.

The spread of European commerce brought European consuls to the Levant and North Africa from the 7th/13th century [see CONSUL], men who discharged a variety of diplomatic functions. In the 10th/16th century, as the Arab lands came under Ottoman rule, the region's locus of international diplomacy shifted to Istanbul [see ELČI]. Only Morocco, remaining an independent sultanate, continued to conduct international relations independently through correspondence and the occasional dispatch of emissaries. Until the late 18th century (when the Ottomans began setting up resident embassies abroad), official contacts with non-Muslim states took place mostly in the region itself, through foreign consuls and messengers. Muslim envoys were sent out quite infrequently, and then only on brief missions, often with limited objectives.

The establishment of new Arab states following the First World War marked a new stage in the region's diplomatic history. During the interwar period, relations among these states gradually assumed a formal nature, an emphatic sign—one among many—of their new status. This was so especially in the 1930s, with the attainment of greater or full independence from foreign control; the April 1936 Saudi-Iraqi Treaty of Friendship and its Saudi-Egyptian counterpart in May, both formalising diplomatic relations between the parties, were typical instances of this trend. Simultaneously, with the gradual departure of European powers from the region, their domination gave way to mutual diplomatic representation—as specified e.g. by the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi treaty and the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty, both providing for a replacement of British High Commissioners by an exchange of ambassadors. Modern diplomatic protocol, terminology, and ranks, having been adopted by the Ottomans during the 19th century, were now readily applied. *Safīr* became the technical equivalent of ambassador (fem. *safīra*, ambassadress or an ambassador's wife), and came to be used for other functions in construct titles such as *safīr mufawwaḍ* (ambassador plenipotentiary), *safīr fawḳa 'l-ʿāda* (ambassador extraordinary), etc. More ranks and functions are represented by additional terms: *mabʿūth* (or *mandūb*), for envoy or minister, *mustashār* for counsellor, *sikratīr* for secretary, *mulḥaḳ* for attaché, and *ḳāʾim bi-aʿmāl* for chargé d'affaires.

Bibliography: Lane, s.v.; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 15, 53; Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, *The Muslim conduct of state*. 6Lahore 1973, 150-61; M. Khadduri, *War and peace in the law of Islam*, Baltimore 1955, 239-50; B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, New York 1982, esp. ch. 4. For the usage of *safīr* and related terms in modern diplomacy, Mohammad Assaad Nafeh, *Nafeh's political encyclopaedia*, Cairo 1969, 735 ff. See also DIPLOMATIC; IMTIYĀZĀT. (A. AYALON)

(b) In Muslim Spain. In the Arabic sources of al-Andalus, we also find some words derived from the root *s-f-r*, meaning "to travel on mission on behalf of..."/"to be a negotiator, a mediator" (stem I) (as in al-Maḳḳarī, i, 645-6); "to make somebody travel", "to send somebody as an ambassador" (stem II); "to be sent on mission/embassy" (stem V); *safīr* (pl. *sufarāʾ*) "ambassador" (as in Ibn Ḳuzmān, 38/4/4; *Vocabulista*: "mediator", "nunciator"); *sifāra* (pl. *-āt*) "the charge of mediator", "embassy", "post or functions of ambassador". The usage of the words derived from the root *s-f-r* alternates—in a proportion and distribution not yet elucidated—with the words derived from the roots *r-s-l* ("to send a messenger", etc.) and *w-f-d* ("to go somewhere on behalf of somebody", etc.).

These words, and their contexts, throughout the history of al-Andalus, exhibit the fact that connections between individuals and groups were established by a "messenger", and that relations were engaged and accepted by all the Andalusī states; that means that more or less intensive and institutionalised diplomatic activities were established by an "ambassador" with the charge, the post, or rather the functions of representing the interests of a power, sporadical or continually, circumstantial or more specifically.

Although precise analysis on this aspect has not yet been done, we cannot deduce from the sources that the *sifāra* was an institutionalised charge, like a *wilāya* or *khuṭṭa*, but most probably was an "activity", in the sense that a person was *safīr* only while carrying out his mission. There is no indication in the sources on al-Andalus of the existence of permanent embassies.

Embassies were frequently assigned to those who knew another language in addition to Arabic, such as the *dhimmiyyūn*: the *naṣārā* (Christians of al-Andalus) and the Jews. Amongst the *naṣārā* were the Andalusian bishop sent by the caliph of Cordova ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir to Ramiro I of Leon (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, v, 350), and the bishop Recemundo, known as Rabīʿ b. Zayd [*q.v.*], sent by al-Nāṣir to Germany in 955-6. The Christians of al-Andalus [see MOZARABS] were also sent by the Christian kings of the North to the Islamic territories and, on some occasion, were alternate ambassadors, such as the *ḳūmis* Sisnando Davídiz, who was initially the messenger of al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville to the court of Leon and then became the ambassador of the Christian kings to the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, for example to the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh (*The Tibyān*, 226, n. 241).

Amongst the Jews were Ibn Shālib al-Yahūdī, ambassador of Alphonso VI of Castile to al-Muʿtamid of Seville [*q.v.*], who killed al-Yahūdī (it was a permanent risk for ambassadors); Ibrāhīm b. al-Fakhkhār al-Yahūdī, well-known poet in the Arabic language, was the ambassador of Castile to the Almohad court. Other Jews were also sent by the Andalusian kings, such as the powerful Cordovan Jew Ḥasdāy b. Shaprūṭ, who was the outstanding vizier of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, and was entrusted with missions to Barcelona (940), Leon (in 941 and 955) and Navarre. He was also assigned the task of receiving the Byzantine Constantine VIII's ambassadors in Cordova (944) and the Saxon emperor Otto I's ambassadors (956).

Some outstanding Muslim personalities in al-Andalus, renowned for their culture and eloquence, were also designated as ambassadors, such as the Cor-

dovan poet al-Ghazāl, sent by the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II to the Vikings (*madjūs*), and to Constantinople; and the Granada vizier and polygraph Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], who went on three or four diplomatic missions to the Marīnids [*q.v.*] of Fās. Other personnalities renowned for their religious prestige were also sent on missions. For example, the two Ibn al-ʿArabīs were entrusted with obtaining the recognition of the Almoravid *amīr* Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn by the ʿAbbāsid court. Merchants sometimes played the role of ambassadors, such as the Granadan al-Bunyūlī, charged by the Naṣrid sultan to get help from the Mamlūk sultan al-Ẓāhir, in 845/1441.

It is useful to classify the Andalusian embassies according to their destination, whether within al-Andalus or outside it. The destinations of the external embassies are to be classified as either to *Dār al-Islām* (the other Muslim territories) or to *Dār al-ḥarb* (non-Muslim territories). The internal embassies were exchanged either amongst the different administrations or between the administration and the subjects, or vice-versa, such as those sent by the Almohad court in Marrākush to every part of its empire. The external embassies, well-known but not yet analysed, excepting those of the Umayyad period (Lévi-Provençal; el-Hajji), show that permanent relations between al-Andalus and the rest of the Muslim world existed as, for example, with the ʿAbbāsids, Egypt and finally with the Turks, but especially with the Maghrib. There are many references to missions which were sent from al-Andalus to the Christian north of the Iberian Peninsula, to the *Ifrandja* and other European parts, and especially to Byzantium.

Andalusian sources point out the luxury and ostentation of the receptions given by some Andalusian sovereigns for foreign ambassadors, with the purpose of political propaganda (Granja, *Embajada*).

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3. In Muslim India.

Elaborate rules were laid down in mediaeval India regarding the qualifications and protocol duties of ambassadors. Fakhr-i Mudabbir quotes the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet as the guiding principle: "When you send an ambassador to me, he should be of good reputation, handsome and of good voice." (*Ādāb al-ḥarb wa 'l-shadjāʿa*, ed. A.S. Khwānsarī, Tehran 1346/1967, 142). The Dihlī Sultans received envoys in such awful atmosphere of dignity and grandeur that, according to Djūzdjānī, many of them fainted in the *darbār* (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Calcutta 1864, 316-19; Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, Calcutta 1862, 30-3). Envoys were sent for different purposes—diplomatic, religious, economic, cultural etc.—and Abu 'l-Faḍl refers to the spiritual and temporal objectives of ambassadorial functions (*Akbar-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, ii, 262).

Envoys to and from the caliph. Envoys were sent to secure letters of investiture (*manshūr*) from the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. Iltutmish sent Ikhtiyār al-Mulk Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ḥabash to Baghdād, and twice Raḍiyy al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī [*q.v.*] came to Iltutmish as envoy of the caliphs. When the caliph granted investiture to Iltutmish, legalising the status of the Dihlī Sultanate, he celebrated the occasion with great éclat. On another occasion, the caliph sent an envoy, Ḳāḍī Djalāl Urūs, with a copy of the *Safīnat al-khulafāʾ*, allegedly containing an autographic inscription of the caliph al-Maʾmūn. With the fall of Baghdad, contact with caliphal authority there came to an end, but after many enquiries, Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ established contact with the fainéant ʿAbbāsids in Egypt. In 744/1343 he sent Ḥādjdjī Radjab Burḳuʿī to the caliph requesting a *manshūr*. When Ḥādjdjī Saʿīd Ṣarṣarī, Sayyid Ziyād, Mubashshir Khalwātī and Muḥammad Ṣūfī brought the investiture, the sultan went out barefoot to receive them. The caliph later sent Shaykh al-Shuyūkh Rukn al-Dīn and Makhdūm-zāda Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad as his envoy to the sultan. As the Makhdūm-zāda was the grandson of the caliph al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, he was lodged at the palace of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī and 400,000 dīnārs were sent for washing his head (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 261-2, tr. Gibb, iii, 680-1). In 754/1353 Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Samīt brought an investiture patent for Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, and a new one arrived in 766/1364. The sultan sent to the caliph details of his benefactions, religious endowments and public works through Maḥmūd Shams Kurd Ḳāḍī Nadjm al-Dīn Ḳurashī and Khwādja Kāfūr Khalwatī, and Maḥmūd then brought back mandates from the caliph (*Sīrat-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, ms. Bankipur). At a later date, the Mughals did not recognise the Ottomans as caliphs, but in 1785 Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.v.*] sent his envoys to Istanbul to obtain an investiture from the Sultan-caliph.

The Mongol period. Both Čingiz Khān and his rival the Khwārazm-Shāh sent their envoys to Iltutmish seeking his support. In 1246 when a Mongol commander attacked India, Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā of Multan, was sent to negotiate peace. Two years after the fall of Baghdād, in 658/1260, emissaries from the Mongols visited India and were accorded a royal reception by sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 317-18).

Envoys to and from the Il-Khān. Arghun, Ghazan and Muḥammad Öldjeytü Khudābanda sent their envoys to the Dihlī court, and the great vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*] came as an envoy to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (Nizami, *Rashid al-Din Fazl Allah and India*, in *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Rashid-Al-Din Fadl Allah*, Tehran 1971, 36-53). Rashīd al-Dīn came again as an envoy to the court of Mubārak Khaldjī (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ed. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān,

ii, 200), and Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ sent and received envoys from Sultan Abū Saʿīd.

Envoys to and from neighbouring countries. According to Baranī, ambassadors from distant lands came to the court of Balban. During the time of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ envoys came from ʿIrāḳ, Syria, China and K̲h̲ʷārazm, and the Chinese ambassador, Tursi, came with a large retinue; in return, Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ sent the Amīr Maḥmūd Harawī as his envoy to China.

Envoys to the Ottomans. Muḥammad S̲h̲āh Bahmanī III of the Deccan (867-87/1463-82) was the first Indian ruler to exchange envoys with the Ottomans, and Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ sent Mawlānā Afḍāl al-Dīn-og̲h̲lu Meḥmed Čelebi as his envoy. Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh Bahmanī (887-924/1482-1518) sent Mullā Niʿmat Allāh to Bāyezīd II as his emissary. The Muẓaffarids of Gud̲j̲arāt exchanged several embassies with Selīm I (918-26/1512-20), and Bahādur S̲h̲āh sent envoys to Istanbul seeking Ottoman help against the Mug̲h̲al Humāyūn. The Mug̲h̲als considered the Ottomans as their rivals and did not like to exchange envoys with them. Nevertheless, Turkish records say that Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs, the Ottoman admiral, carried a letter from Humāyūn to Süleymān the Magnificent in which Humāyūn addressed the Sultan as "the K̲h̲alīfa of the highest qualities." The Ottoman documents used the terms *Hind elčisi* or *elčiye-i Hind* to denote Mug̲h̲al ambassadors, but no details are available in the Indian chronicles about these Mug̲h̲al envoys. The envoys of the Ottoman governor of Yemen were, however, treated with scant respect by Akbar (N.R. Faruqi, *Mughal-Ottoman relations*, Delhi 1989, 20 ff.).

Envoys to and from the Uzbeks. Akbar was afraid of Uzbek power and treated them with suspicion. However, in 979/1571 ʿAbd Allāh K̲h̲ān Uzbek, ruler of Transoxiana, sent an embassy to Akbar.

Envoys to and from Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid Persia. The sultans of Golkonda, Bid̲j̲āpur and Aḥmadnagar sent ambassadors to the court of S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp I, whilst in 847/1443 S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲'s ambassador ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ had been received by the Hindu ruler of Vijayanagar, King Devendra.

Humāyūn, who was beholden to the Ṣafawids for help, developed contact with them, and during the time of Akbar, many ambassadors came and went to Persia. In 1004/1596 the Emperor sent Mirza Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Kāsī and Abū Nāṣir Kāfī to S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās, and according to Iskandar Beg Mun̲s̲h̲ī, they were received with honour (tr. R.M. Savory, *History of Shah Abbas the Great*, Boulder, Col. 1978, ii, 705-6). Abu 'l-Faḍl's account of the reception of these envoys is silly and pedantic (*Akbar-nama*, tr. iii, 1112).

Several envoys were sent by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās to D̲j̲ahāngīr. In 1020/1611 Yādgār ʿAlī Tālis̲h̲ came to mourn Akbar's death and to congratulate D̲j̲ahāngīr on his accession. When Yādgār ʿAlī returned to Persia, D̲j̲ahāngīr's envoy K̲h̲ān ʿAlam accompanied him. In 1024/1615 a second Persian embassy headed by Muṣṭafā Beg came to D̲j̲ahāngīr's court with huge presents, including European hounds which D̲j̲ahāngīr had asked for. In the following year Muḥammad Riḍā Beg came to D̲j̲ahāngīr to obtain monetary aid aginst Ottoman Turkey and to bring about an amicable settlement between D̲j̲ahāngīr and the Shīʿī states of the Deccan. For envoys to and from S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān, see Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, Allahabad 1973, 210-32.

Queen Elizabeth's envoy to Akbar. Elizabeth of England sent an envoy to Akbar in 1583 with a letter which was "the earliest communication between the government of India and England" (V.A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, Oxford 1919, 229).

Akbar's envoys to Europe. Akbar desired to send envoys to Philip II of Spain recommending universal peace and harmony; a diplomatic mission, consisting of Sayyid Muẓaffar, ʿAbd Allāh K̲h̲ān and Father Monserrate was dispatched to Lisbon, but was unable to reach there.

Jesuit missions at Akbar's court. Akbar's interest in religious debates led to the arrival of several Jesuit Missions at Akbar's court in 1580 and after, and in return Akbar sent ʿAbd Allāh as his envoy to Portuguese Goa (see E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London 1932).

British envoys at D̲j̲ahāngīr's court. D̲j̲ahāngīr welcomed William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe, but refused to conclude a commercial treaty with England. Hawkins was, however, persuaded to remain at the court as the resident ambassador.

Envoys of the Deccan states and provincial Indian states. Three types of envoys have been identified in regard to the Deccan of the 10th/16th century: (a) *ad hoc* envoys, called *rasūls*, who were sent to offer congratulations or condolences; (b) the *ḥād̲j̲ib-i muḳīm*, literally, attaché; originally assigned to the army of friendly powers; and (c) *wakīls* or permanent ambassadors accredited to certain foreign powers (H.K. Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*, Delhi 1974, 218-19). Provincial kingdoms like D̲j̲awnpūr, Bengal, Mālwā and Gud̲j̲arāt sent envoys within India with the limited objectives of winning support in their conflicts with the adjoining states, but it is only regarding the Deccan that one finds contact with outside powers. In Gud̲j̲arāt, the ambassadors were mainly concerned with the activities of the Portuguese.

Envoys to the West during the 18th and 19th centuries: Tīpū Sulṭān of Mysore sent his envoys to France and Turkey; Louis XVI received his envoy with honour, but refused to enter into any alliance against the British. One of the last Mug̲h̲al Emperors, Akbar S̲h̲āh II, sent Rad̲j̲a Rām Mohan Roy to London in 1827 to plead his case for an increase in his *pīs̲h̲kas̲h̲* or pension.

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(K.A. Nizami)

ṢĀFĪT̲H̲A, a place in western Syria, situated in the D̲j̲abal Bahrāʾ region. This last becomes lower as it falls southwards, with a large gap commanded to the north by Ṣāfīt̲h̲a and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [*q.v.*] and to the south by ʿAkkār and ʿIrḳa [*q.vv.*]. The mountains of the ʿAlawīs fall southwards into the Ṣāfīt̲h̲a depression.

Ṣāfīt̲h̲a was the Ἀργυρόκαστρων of Byzantine authors, Castrum Album or Chastel Blanc of the

Latin ones, and is the main place in the district, with its fortress called in Arabic texts Burdj Ṣāfītha; this last lies to the east of the present village and dominates the foothills of the Djabal Nuṣayrī to the north. It commands two valleys at a point midway between Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and Ṭarṭūs and also a large gap, to the south of the Djabal Bahrā', by means of which Ḥimṣ [q.v.] is connected with Ṭarābulus al-Shām. From Antiquity, the castle of Ṣāfītha commanded the route connecting Ḥamāt [q.v.] and Ṭarṭūs on the coast, i.e. the passage from central Syria to the Mediterranean. Situated on a basalt peak at an altitude of over 400 m/1,312 feet, it protected the lands to the north in mediaeval times from the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs. The region around Ṣāfītha was a fertile one, with olives grown there from classical times, and with vines, figs and white mulberry trees for silk worms grown there in mediaeval times.

The fortress of the mediaeval Christian town of Ṣāfītha was a strong rectangular donjon with rounded angles, originally protected by double defensive walls. The Order of the Temple was responsible for its construction, upkeep and manning. From 526/1132 onwards, the Franks built fortresses in the Djabal Anṣāriyya against the Ismā'īlīs, who paid them a tribute in gold pieces and wheat. The Templars' aim was to control the gap between Ḥimṣ and Ṭarābulus in the hinterland of the Knights Hospitallers' territory. The plan of the castle resembled that of Markab [q.v.] in being elliptical, originally with a double wall, but later with a single wall with rectangular salients, as at Ṭarṭūs and 'Athlīth [q.v.], and with a moat 15 m/49 feet deep and 13 m/42 feet wide. The stones were dovetailed together and linked by iron crampons sealed with lead. Some modifications to it were made by Louis IX (St. Louis) when he was staying in Syria (Ṣafar 548-Ṣafar 652/May 1252-end of April 1254), including an even more complex entry with a portcullis and four successive gates. The first protective wall, in the shape of an irregular polygon, had a glacis before it. The actual keep had its own water supply, kept in a vast subterranean cistern hewn out of the rock and replenished by rainfall brought through conduits, and could thus withstand a certain period of siege, and there was also an external cistern (*birka*) where mounts and other beasts could drink. The chapel of St. Michael within the castle resembled the Romanesque churches of the South of France of the late 12th century, and, like all similarly-placed chapels of the Templars and Hospitallers, was devoid of ornamentation. In the thickness of the walls, a staircase led to the Great Hall (*palatium*) and the armoury. The keep itself was 28 m/90 feet high and had two floors, reached by a staircase on the west side. Down below was a subterranean prison. The region, and Syria in general, was always liable to earthquakes, and the fortress of Ṣāfītha was damaged in 565/1170, 597/1201 and the following year, only the chapel of the fortress being unscathed. Communication between the strong points of the Franks was by means of smoke signals by day and fire ones by night, but the Crusaders learnt the use of carrier pigeons from the Muslims, and Jacques de Vitry, the envoy of Pope Honorius III, announced his arrival at Ṣāfītha in 614/1215 by this means. The garrison of the castle comprised over 700 knights and their squires, divided into 50-man sections, in addition to large numbers of artisans, such as blacksmiths and armourers, and also the prisoners. There were stores of supplies and provisions, and in times of threatened attack, the local villagers would seek refuge there also.

Of later history, it is recorded that in 1270/1854, a petty chieftain, Ismā'īl Bey, seized Ṣāfītha and proclaimed himself *mushīr* [q.v.] or governor acting as an "Old Man of the Mountain", which provoked a revolt of the Muslims of the region; four years later, he was murdered by a relative. After this, Ṣāfītha was integrated into the Ottoman empire.

The present-day village is situated on the site of the mediaeval fortress. In the early 19th century, the *kaḍā'* of Ṣāfītha was one of the constituents, with al-Markab, Tell Kalākh, 'Umrāniya and Ṭarṭūs, of the *sandjak* of Ṭarṭūs. In 1916 it had 2,500 inhabitants, including 1,500 Nuṣayrīs [see NUṢAYRIYYA] and 850 Syrian Orthodox. In 1920 the administrative district of Ṣāfītha comprised 202 villages, with 41,500 people, including 20,000 Nuṣayrīs, 10,000 Muslims, 6,500 Greek Orthodox, 4,500 Maronites, 300 Greek Catholics and 200 Protestants. In this same year the *kaḍā'* of Ṣāfītha, with the town as its chef-lieu, was detached from the *sandjak* of Ṭarābulus al-Shām, and then made part of the State of the 'Alawīs established in 1922 as part of the federation of Syria. In 1945 the *kaḍā'* became part of the *muḥāfaẓa* of the 'Alawīs. After 1954, the local population, essentially peasant cultivators, supported the Parti Populaire Syrien. Local activities include carpet weaving and the cultivation of cotton and tobacco. The village now surrounds the castle and its dominating donjon, and its houses are essentially built from stones taken from the castle's enceinte. The chapel of St. Michael in the donjon is still used by the Greek Orthodox members of the population. In the 1960s Ṣāfītha became a tourist centre, for skiing in winter and with an open-air bathing pool.

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ṢAFIYYA bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, Muḥammad's eleventh wife, was born in Medina and belonged to the Jewish tribe of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr [see al-naḍīr]; her mother Barra bt. Samaw'al, the sister of Rifāᶜa b. Samaw'al, was of the Banū Ḳurayẓa [*q.v.*]. Her father and her uncle Abū Yāsir were among the Prophet's most bitter enemies. When their tribe was expelled from Medina in 4 A.H., Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab was one of those who settled in Khaybar [*q.v.*], together with Kināna b. al-Rabīᶜ, to whom Ṣafiyya was married at the end of 6 or early in 7 A.H.; her age at this time was about 17. There is a tradition that she had formerly been the wife of Sallām b. Mashkam, who had divorced her.

When Khaybar fell, in Ṣafar 7/June-July 628, Ṣafiyya was captured, together with two of her cousins. In the division of the spoils she had been assigned, or actually given, to Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī, but when Muḥammad saw her he was struck by her beauty, and threw his mantle over her as a sign that he had chosen her for himself. He redeemed her from Diḥya against seven head of cattle, and gave her the option of embracing Islam. Her husband was condemned to a cruel death by Muḥammad for having refused to give up the treasure of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr. The nuptials were celebrated with haste and with a modest wedding feast, either in Khaybar itself or on the way back to Medina. Ṣafiyya's dowry [see mahr] consisted of her emancipation. Her position as a wife, which was questioned, was established by the veil or *ḥidjāb* [*q.v.*] being imposed on her and her receiving a portion of Muḥammad's booty.

In Medina, Ṣafiyya received a cold welcome; ᶜĀ'isha [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad's other wives showed their jealousy with slights upon her Jewish origin. She gave the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima [*q.v.*] gold from her earrings, which may indicate that the two were allies in the politics of Muḥammad's harem. Doubts about Ṣafiyya's commitment to Islam and the suspicion that she would avenge her slain kin are recurring themes in the numerous biographies of her composed through the centuries. In these stories, the Prophet (or ᶜUmar) admonishes the doubters and re-affirms the quality of her Islam, despite her being a Jewish convert. During Muḥammad's last illness, Ṣafiyya expressed her devotion to him, and was criticised by the other wives.

Ṣafiyya's marriage to the Prophet was predicted in a dream while she was still married to Kināna, and her husband beat her for desiring another man. The miracle and her suffering for Islam and the Prophet, as well as her reputation for crying won her a place in Ṣūfī works. She appears in all the major books of *ḥadīth*s and indices of transmitters, although she related relatively few traditions compared to ᶜĀ'isha and Umm Salama [*q.v.*]. A number of events in her life serve as legal and customary precedents.

In 35/656, Ṣafiyya sided with ᶜUthmān [*q.v.*]; while he was besieged in his house she made an unsuccessful attempt to reach him, and she used to bring him food and water by means of a plank placed between her dwelling and his. When ᶜĀ'isha asked her to be present at ᶜUthmān's last interview with ᶜAlī, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, which took place in her house, Ṣafiyya went, and tried to defend the unfortunate caliph.

She died in 50/670 or 52/672, during Muᶜāwiya's caliphate, leaving a fortune of 100,000 dirhams in land and goods, one-third of which she bequeathed to her sister's son, who still followed the Jewish faith. Her dwelling in Medina was bought by Muᶜāwiya for 180,000 dirhams.

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(V. Vacca-[Ruth Roded])

ṢAFİYYE WĀLİDE SULṬĀN (Cecilia Baffo), Ottoman queen mother, born in Venice in 1550, died in 1014/1605.

The daughter of the Italian Baffo, governor of Corfu, when she was fourteen years old, while travelling between Venice and Corfu on the Adriatic Sea, she was captured by Ottoman pirates. On account of her beauty, she was taken to the palace of prince Murād, grandson of Süleymān and governor of the *sandjak* of Manisa. In the Manisa palace, she became a Muslim, learned Turkish and was trained in palace manners. In 972/1565, she was presented to Murād. She gave birth in 973/1566 to prince Meḥemmed, who became the first great grandchild of Süleymān and was named by him, and subsequently to the princesses ʿĀʾis̲h̲e and Fāṭima. In 974/1566, after Süleymān's death, Murād's father took over the throne as Selīm II and Murād became the *welī ʿahd*. In 982/1574, following Selīm's death, Murād succeeded as Murād III. Ṣafiyye was now 25 years old and had already become the head *k̲h̲āṣṣekī* [*q.v.*]. During Murād's reign, she gained growing influence in the palace, taking great care that the relations between Venice and the Ottomans were amicable. She was 33 years old when her mother-in-law, Nūr Bānū Wālide Sulṭān [*q.v.*] died (991/1583), and Ṣafiyye became the first lady of the Ottoman Empire. Since she was constantly in conflict with her mother-in-law and with Süleymān's daughter Mihrimāh and her sisters-in-law Ismik̲h̲ān and Gewherk̲h̲ān, it was only after the deaths of these women that Ṣafiyye became very powerful. Murād III remained very much in love with her until his death in 1003/1595, when he was succeeded by Meḥemmed III. Ṣafiyye thus became queen mother at the age of 45, and exercised an extensive influence on the politics of the Empire. In 1012/1603 her son Meḥemmed III died, and her grandson Aḥmed I took over the throne. Repulsing his grandmother's influence on the Palace and on Ottoman politics, on S̲h̲aʿbān 1012/February 1604, 19 days after he was enthroned, he sent Ṣafiyye away from the Ṭopḳapï Palace to the old Palace in Bāyezīd; she died a year later in D̲j̲umādā II 1014/November 1605.

Ṣafiyye was the fifth of the queen mothers in the Ottoman palace. Her intelligence, beauty and the power which she exercised over the Empire became legendary, although it was alleged that she had managed to make herself a great fortune through bribery. She had started to build the *Yeñi D̲j̲āmiʿ* in Istanbul, but died before its completion.

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(ÇİĞDEM BALIM)

ṢAFḲA (A), a term of Islamic law meaning literally, "striking hands together". The parallel root *ś-f/p-ḳ* (and in other places, more correctly, *s-f/p-ḳ*) is found in Biblical Hebrew, cf. Isa. ii. 6 "they strike hands with foreigners". *Ṣafḳa* is a non-Ḳurʾānic word, but *taṣdiya* is found in sūra VIII, 35, with a comparable meaning.

Technically, *ṣafḳa* has come to mean the ratification of a commercial contract, a formal, symbolic act for concluding a contract which has been disregarded in practice by Islamic law. Striking hands together, although associated with sale (*bayʿ*), should be designated *ṣafḳ* rather than *bayʿ*, as stated by Schacht in art. BAYʿ. The concept of *ṣafḳa* remained unique in its usage since, unlike *bayʿ*, it contains the meaning of a bargain that is achieved swiftly and profitably. Evidently, striking the hands together can only be used as an expression of acceptance once an offer (*īd̲j̲āb*) is presented. Acceptance (*ḳabūl*), can according to most schools, excluding the S̲h̲āfiʿī, be delayed until the end of the meeting of the two parties (*mad̲j̲lis al-ʿaḳd*). The S̲h̲āfiʿīs, who require immediate acceptance, have made a provision that the two parties can cancel the contract providing they are still physically at the place where the deal was negotiated (*k̲h̲iyār al-mad̲j̲lis*); but once they leave, the deal is final. It is imperative to add that the expression of will, under these conditions, can be in any form, whether by striking the hands together or verbal affirmation, providing it conveys the clear intention.

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(MAWIL IZZI DIEN)

ṢAFWĀN B. ṢAFWĀN AL-**ANṢĀRĪ**, Arab poet of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.H. known for his ideological poetry in support of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*]. Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ [*q.v.*] is the only source for the few bits of information on his life and the sparse samples from his poetry that we have. The biographical snippets show him in Multān at the court of the governor of Sind, Dāwūd b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī, who held this office from 184/800-205/820 [see MUHALLABIDS, toward the end]. In all of them he is al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ's authority on elephants, quoting poetry by the elephant expert Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Azdī *mawlāhum*; describing what kind of ruses this man used in fighting against war elephants; and indicating how the Indians trained these animals (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 76 [read, with Pellat, *zuwwār* for *ruwāt*], 77, 114-15). As for Ṣafwān's poetry the surviving pieces show strong support for Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ, founder of the Muʿtazila (d. 131/748-9 [*q.v.*]), and other leaders of the movement and equally strong animosity against the poet Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār b. Burd (d. 167 or 168/784-5 [*q.v.*]), after the latter had broken away from Wāṣil's circle. Since some of the lines in praise of Wāṣil seem to speak of a contemporary, Ṣafwān must have been of a ripe old age, when he joined the Multān governor, unless, of course, one assumes two different Ṣafwāns. However, in addition to his name, his apparent interest in natural history, which comes through in both the early poetry and the later reports, would be an argument for the identity of the two personages.

His most famous poem is the glorification of earth, a counter-poem against Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār's apotheosis of fire, which also includes a pro-Muʿtazilī *fak̲h̲r* and a *hid̲j̲āʾ* against Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār and his sect, the somewhat shadowy extremist Kāmiliyya S̲h̲īʿa (*Bayān*, i, 27-30; 33 lines, *ṭawīl*, rhyme -Cdi). Shortened versions of this poem, clearly quoted from al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, appear also in al-Bag̲h̲dādī (d. 429/1037 [*q.v.*]), *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, 39-42, in the section on the Kāmiliyya (20 lines), and in Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥakīm (8th/14th century), *al-Dawḥa al-mus̲h̲tabika*, 25-27, where it is quoted for the enumeration of minerals and ores it contains (13 lines). Of similar content is a shorter poem (*Bayān*, i, 32, 9 lines, *ṭawīl*, rhyme -Cdu). The earth-fire controversy has been seen as an early Muʿtazilī-S̲h̲īʿī polemics (Nyberg in *EI*[1], s.v. AL-MUʿTAZILA) as well as a S̲h̲uʿūbī attack by Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār, defending the Zoroastrian holiness of fire, with a counter-attack upholding the claims of the earth. The context(s) in which this polemics became meaningful is none too clear. Another poem defending Wāṣil against Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār's *hid̲j̲āʾ* also mentions the missionaries that Wāṣil sent out (*Bayān*, i, 25-6; 22 lines, *ṭawīl*, rhyme -3ri); this was interpreted by Nyberg, *loc. cit.*, as indicating the existence of a pro-Abbasid network of propagandists, but was probably not more than a religious undertaking [see AL-MUʿTAZILA, here vii, 783b-784a, and van Ess, ii, 386-7].

The remaining fragments are: two lines on the

date-palm (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 78; *mutaḳārib*, rhyme -2lu); one line characterising Wāṣil (*Bayān*, i, 22; *basīṭ*, rhyme -āḳi); one line in praise of Wāṣil's *zuhd* (*Bayān*, i, 27; *ṭawīl*, rhyme -3ʿuh); and two lines of *hidjāʾ* against Bashshār and his brothers, addressed to his mother (*Bayān*, i, 31, *basīṭ*, rhyme -Cdi).

Bibliography : 1. Texts. Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 1367/1948; idem, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. Hārūn, ²Cairo n.d.; Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, ⁴Beirut 1400/1980; Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥakīm (8th/14th century), *al-Dawḥa al-mushtabika fī ḍawābiṭ dār al-sikka*, ed. Ḥusayn Muʾnis, Madrid 1379/1960.

2. Studies. ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Balbaʿ, *Adab al-Muʿtazila ilā nihāyat al-ḳarn al-rābiʿ al-hidjrī*, Cairo n.d. (preface dated 1959), 356-61, 390-6; Ch. Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1955, 175-7; W.M. Watt, *Was Wāṣil a Khārijite?*, in R. Gramlich (ed.), *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen Fritz Meier zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1974, 306-11 (incs. a tr. of the "missionary" poem); Pellat, *Ṣafwān ibn Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī et Beshshār* [sic] *ibn Burd*, in R.M. Savory and D.A. Agius (eds.), *Logos Islamikos. Studia Islamica in honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens*, Toronto 1984, 21-34 (includes tr. of the three long poems); J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, ii, Berlin 1992, 382-7 (study of Ṣafwān with emphasis on the "missionary" poem), v, Berlin 1993, 183-92 (tr. of and comm. on the three long poems), see also ii, 5-14 (on Bashshār), and i, Berlin 1991, 269-72 (on the Kāmiliyya).

(W.P. Heinrichs)

ṢAFWĀN B. IDRĪS b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĪsā b. Idrīs al-Tudjībī al-Mursī al-Kātib, Abū Baḥr (560-98/1164-1201), poet and scholar of Muslim Spain.

He was born in Murcia when the town was ruled by Ibn Mardanīsh (d. 567/1172), but the major part of his life witnessed Almohad times (see the studies of Gaspar Remiro and Guichard about the history of Murcia under Almohad rule). He belonged to an important family of the town, the Banū Idrīs, some of whom were judges. Ṣafwān gives information on them in his *Zād al-musāfir* (152-7). He studied with his father and his relative, the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Idrīs, as well as with Abū Bakr b. Mughāwir, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḳāsim, Abū Ridjāl b. Ghalbūn, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās b. Maḍāʾ (who taught him Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn Ḥubaysh, Ibn Bashkuwāl (who gave him the *idjāza*), Abu 'l-Walīd b. Rushd, Abū Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥadjarī, Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥawṭ Allāh and Ibn ʿAyshūn. Ṣafwān b. Idrīs was one of the most important poets and *udabāʾ* of his time. His biographers record at length praises about him. He wrote: (1) *Badāhat al-mutaḥaffiẓ wa-ʿudjālat al-mustawfiz*, a compilation of his prose and poetry; (2) *Kitāb al-Riḥla*; (3) *Zād al-musāfir wa-ghurrat muḥayyā 'l-adab al-sāfir*, a biographical compilation of Andalusian poets of the 6th/12th century, which supplements the works of Ibn Khāḳān (d. 529/1134) and Ibn al-Imām (d. *ca.* 550/1155). It was edited by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Maḥdād, Beirut 1358/1939, repr. Beirut 1970. Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*] emulated it in his *Tuḥfat al-ḳādim*. It is one of the sources of Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī's *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*, which also includes a section devoted to Ṣafwān (see E. García Gómez, *El libro de las banderas de los campeones de Ibn Saʿīd al-Magribī*, Barcelona 1978, 138, 159, 195, 196, 239, 248, 253, and 243-4); (4) *Rasāʾil*, some of which have been preserved, like the letter he wrote congratulating the judge Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Baḳī (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, v, 68-9), another on *taghāyur mudun al-Andalus* sent to the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ii, 170-5; tr. F. de la Granja, *Geografía lírica de Andalucía musulmana*, *Historia de Andalucía*, Madrid 1981, v, 85-7), another entitled *Ṭirād al-djiyād fī 'l-maydān wa-tanāzuʿ al-ladhdhāt wa 'l-ikhwān/al-akhdān fī taḳdīm Mursiya ʿalā ghayri-hā min al-buldān*; and (5) *Dīwān*. Some of his verses are recorded by his biographers. He is especially remembered for the elegies (*marāthī*) which he wrote in commemoration of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and the descendants of the Prophet (*taʾbīn al-Ḥusayn wa-bukāʾ ahl al-bayt*). In connection with this production, the sources record a story according to which Ṣafwān is said to have travelled to Marrākush, where he tried to earn money by praising the rulers in his poems in order to pay for the trousseau of his daughter who had reached marriageable age. None of his attempts was successful. Disappointed, he decided to write panegyrics of the Prophet and his family. It was then that the Almohad al-Manṣūr Yaʿḳūb b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin saw the Prophet in a dream interceding on Ṣafwān's behalf, and from then onwards Ṣafwān was never to have again financial problems. Ṣafwān corresponded with the poet Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. Mardj al-Kuḥl (d. 634/1236) (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, v, 57-9). The most noted of Ṣafwān's pupils was Abu 'l-Rabīʿ b. Sālim al-Kalāʿī. Ṣafwān died young, aged 38, and his father recited the funeral prayer over him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, ed. Codera, no. 1231 (ed. ʿIzzat al-ʿAṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo 1955, no. 1895); Balafīḳī, *al-Muḳtaḍab min Kitāb Tuḥfat al-ḳādim li-bn al-Abbār*, Cairo-Beirut 1982, 135-9; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ed. Margoliouth, xii, 10-4, no. 3; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā 'l-Maghrib*, ed. Ṣ. Ḍayf, Cairo 1953-5, ii, 260-1, no. 533; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, ed. ʿA. Hārūn and S. Aʿrāb, Rabat 1993, no. 120 (the source is Ibn Furtūn's *Dhayl*); Ibn Saʿīd, *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*; Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut n.d., iv, 140-3, no. 264; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvi, 321-4; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, ed. M.ʿA. ʿInān, Cairo 1973-7, iii, 349-59; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 117, no. 198; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968, v, 62-74 and index; Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ii, 23 (no. 1694), ii, 236 (no. 2642), iii, 527 (no. 6769): Ibn Ibrāhīm, *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush wa-Aghmāt min al-aʿlām*, Rabat 1974-83, vii, 361-72, no. 1046; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr*, Cairo 1950-2, i, 161, no. 496; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, 256, no. 210; Brockelmann, I², 322, S I, 482; ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1957-61, v, 19-20; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábigo-española*, Barcelona 1928, 191; M. Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905, 259; P. Guichard, *Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquête (XIᵉ-XIIIᵉ siècles)*, Damascus 1990-1, esp. i, 127-32.

(Maribel Fierro)

ṢAFWĀN B. AL-MUʿAṬṬAL (the *fatḥa* of the *ṭ* is confirmed in Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Hārūn, 310; occasionally wrongly al-Muʿaṭṭil), from the tribe of Sulaym, was a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad. His year of birth does not seem to be recorded, and he is mentioned as having died a martyr's death during the Arabs' conquest of Armīniya in 17/638 (cf. Ṭabarī, i, 2506) or 19/640 (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iii, 441). Other reports have it that he met his death at a much later date in the year 59/679 (cf. Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, 226-7) or

60/680 in Shimshāṭ in the Djazīra (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, iv, 282), where his grave was venerated.

He is said to have lived in Medina and to have embraced Islam shortly before the expedition to the well of al-Muraysīʿ of the Banu 'l-Muṣṭaliḳ. After that, he is reported to have participated in the Prophet's military campaigns, the first being the Battle of Khandaḳ or the Ditch. He owes his fame mostly to the role he is reported to have played in the *ifk* affair, i.e. the scandal around ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*], the Prophet's favourite wife. An allegation had been brought into circulation, slanderous as it turned out, about ʿĀʾisha having had illicit relations with Ṣafwān on their joint return from the Prophet's expedition to the Banu 'l-Muṣṭaliḳ in the year 5/627, when, after having become separated from the main caravan, they sought to catch up with it on a solitary trek through the desert. For details of the affair, see Ibn Isḥāḳ's *Sīra*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, iii, 309-18, ed. Wüstenfeld, 731-8 = al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl, ii, 153-7, iii, 103-9. In the aftermath of the affair, ʿĀʾisha is said to have made a statement to the effect that Ṣafwān was impotent and had never touched a woman (also recorded in Ṣafwān's own words, al-Bukhārī, iii, 108, ult.). This allegation is contradicted in another report (cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ed. M. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, ii, 330, Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 80) in which it is alleged that someone presenting herself as Ṣafwān's wife once came to the Prophet in order to complain about her husband forcing his will upon her and hitting her, saying *ana radjul shābb fa-lā aṣbir* ... ; for an attempt at harmonisation, see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iii, 441.

During an exchange with the poet Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*], whom Ṣafwān blamed for having had a part in spreading the rumour about him and ʿĀʾisha, he is said to have struck him with his sword. Another story, extant in different versions, has it that he hit Ḥassān because of his denigrating verses directed at a group of *Muhādjirūn* who had sought out the Prophet to embrace his cause. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda [*q.v.*], a leading Anṣārī, induced Ḥassān in the presence of the Prophet to give up his claim for retaliation on Ṣafwān. Then Saʿd presented Ṣafwān with a mantle. The Prophet gave Ḥassān an Egyptian woman and/or a certain piece of property as appeasement, while Ṣafwān was ultimately left unpunished. The various versions of the story, complete with the verses supposedly recited by both, are recorded in many sources, most extensively in al-Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, ii, 436 ff., and *Aghānī*[3], iv, 155-63. Whether or not they contain a kernel of historicity is hard to establish; they may be no more than background embellishments of Ṣafwān's role in the *ifk* affair, assuming then that the tale is historically tenable. (The story's plausibility has been recently evaluated anew in G.H.A. Juynboll, *Early Islamic society as reflected in its use of isnāds*, forthcoming in *Le Muséon* [1994].) According to Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 51, 181, he later settled in Baṣra and took up residence near the Mirbad [*q.v.*]. For other exploits of Ṣafwān, cf. al-Wāḳidī, index, s.n. For his participation in the conquest of al-Djazīra, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 172-5, 184.

Bibliography: Given in the article. In general, see *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, viii, s.n.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 312; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ed. Badjāwī, iii, 440-2; for the tribe of Sulaym, see M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym. A contribution to the study of early Islam*, Jerusalem 1989.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

AL-ṢAGHĀNĪ, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Ḥasan, *adīb*, *floruit* during the 7th/13th century.

He is noted only for his poetic version of the animal fable collection, originally translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*]. This version he called *Durrat al-ḥikam fī amthāl al-Hunūd wa 'l-ʿAdjam*, and he completed it on 20 Djumādā 640/15 November 1242 (according to the Vienna ms.) or possibly some 25 years later (according to the other extant ms. of Munich); see Brockelmann, S I, 234-5.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

AL-ṢAGHĀNĪ, Raḍiyy al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥaydar b. ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḳurashī al-ʿAdawī al-ʿUmarī, lexicographer and *muḥaddith*, who owed his name to the upper Oxus province of Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*], Arabised form Ṣaghāniyān.

He was born in Lahore on 10 Ṣafar 577/25 June 1181 according to the most generally accepted report. He commenced his studies in Ghazna, first under his father who was a *mutakallim*, then under a number of scholars, most notable of whom was Niẓām al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī [*q.v.*]. In further pursuit of knowledge, he travelled—between the years 605/1208-9 and 615/1218-9—to Mecca, Medina, Aden and Maḳdishū. The notice by his contemporary, Yāḳūt [*q.v.*] (*Udabāʾ*, iii, 211-12), which ends in the year 613/1216-17, clearly shows that Ṣaghānī had by that early time acquired enough fame and respect to warrant his inclusion in a biographical dictionary. In Ṣafar 615/May 1218 he came to Baghdād for the first time (see his *al-ʿUbāb*, under the root *ḳ r ṭ*, in the editor's introd., 9), and two years later was sent to India by the caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*], where he stayed for several years. He came back to Baghdād in 624/1226-7, only to be sent, in the same year, once more to India, this time by al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*]. Impoverished there, he managed to get back to Aden in 630/1232-3 and then to Baghdād in 637/1239-40. In his later days he taught at the Marzubāniyya *ribāṭ*, but resigned his post in 640/1242-3 when he came to learn that the *shaykh* of this *ribāṭ* had to be a Shāfiʿī (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa*, Baghdād 1351/1932-3, 263); hence al-Mustaʿṣim entrusted him with the Ḥanafī Tutushiyya *madrasa*, and it is in this period that he wrote his *Mashāriḳ al-anwār* and *al-ʿUbāb*. His death is most widely reported to have been on 19 Shaʿbān 650/25 October 1252.

Al-Ṣaghānī's contribution was predominantly in the field of lexicography. By his time, it was deemed no longer possible for a lexicographer to investigate usage among the desert Arabs, due to the so-called loss of the earlier "purity" in their language. Al-Ṣaghānī, however, seems to have made up for this major handicap by concentrating on the shortcomings and errors of his predecessors in *riwāya*, *taṣḥīf*, attribution of poetry, etc. Aided by his vast knowledge (cf. his list of sources in *al-ʿUbāb*, i, 7-9), he produced three of his major works that can be seen in the light of the above. These are: (1) *al-Takmila wa 'l-dhayl wa 'l-ṣila* (ed. ʿA.ʿA. al-Ṭaḥāwī *et alii*, 6 vols., Cairo 1970-9), a supplement to al-Djawharī's *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, which comprises linguistic usages overlooked by al-Djawharī and extensive corrections of his errors; (2) *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* (Brockelmann, S I, 614; Sezgin, viii, 219), which incorporates *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, *al-Takmila*, and al-Ṣaghānī's own *Ḥāshiya ʿalā 'l-Ṣiḥāḥ*, in which he amended still further errors of al-Djawharī, and (3) *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir wa 'l-lubāb al-fākhir* (ed. Y.M. Ḥasan, i, Baghdād 1978, and ed. M.Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, Baghdād 1397/1978 ff.) in which he only got as far as *b-k-m* before he died. This book, according to al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, Cairo 1964, i, 519) is the greatest linguistic treatise after the era of al-Djawharī, along with Ibn

Sīda's *al-Muḥkam*. It is indeed in this work that al-Ṣag̲h̲ānī's mastery of the sources and his vast *riwāya* are most clearly manifested, and in his introduction (pp. 12-19) he lists but a few of the more glaring errors of al-Azharī in his *Tahd̲h̲īb al-lug̲h̲a* (over 1,000 in all), al-D̲j̲awharī in his *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (over 2,000), and Ibn Fāris in his *al-Mud̲j̲mal* (over 500), and ridicules Ibn al-Sikkīt's *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* as needing an *iṣlāḥ* of its own, and Ibn ʿAbbād's *al-Muḥīṭ* as having comprised (*aḥāṭa*) error and *taṣḥīf*.

Another obvious linguistic interest of al-Ṣag̲h̲ānī is demonstrated by his work on patterns, as in his *K. yafʿūl* (ed. H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1939), *K. al-Infiʿāl* (ed. A. K̲h̲ān, Islāmābād 1977), *K. al-Iftiʿāl* (Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, v, 47), *Mā banat-hu 'l-ʿArab ʿalā faʿāli* (ed. ʿA. Ḥasan, Damascus 1964), and *Naḳʿat al-ṣadyān fīmā d̲j̲āʾa ʿalā wazn faʿlān* (Brockelmann, S I, 615). The published titles show that al-Ṣag̲h̲ānī, despite being innovative in some of his subject matter, as in collecting the verbs of the *infaʿala* pattern (cf. *K. al-Infiʿāl*, 1), did not attempt to explore the meanings of each pattern or to establish general meanings with which constituent verbs can be identified; thus his books in this genre are merely lists of words from a certain pattern which any general lexicon would have, but listed alphabetically under their roots.

Some of al-Ṣag̲h̲ānī's other lexicographical works include *al-S̲h̲awārid fī 'l-lug̲h̲a* (ed. ʿA.ʿA. al-Dūrī, Bag̲h̲dād 1983, and ed. M. Ḥid̲j̲āzī, Cairo 1983) of the *nawādir* genre; a *tawṣhīḥ* or *tasmīṭ* of Ibn Durayd's *maḳṣūra* called *S̲h̲arḥ al-ḳilāda al-simṭiyya fī tawṣhīḥ al-Duraydiyya*, preserved in a *muk̲h̲taṣar* by Ibn al-Ḥād̲j̲ib (ed. S.M. al-ʿĀnī and H. Nād̲j̲ī, Bag̲h̲dād 1977); *K. al-Aḍdād* (ed. A. Haffner, Beirut 1912); and a number of thematic works the titles of which include *K. fī asmāʾ al-asad*, *K. fī asmāʾ al-d̲h̲iʾb wa-kunāhu*, *K. al-ʿāda fī asmāʾ al-g̲h̲āda*, and *K. K̲h̲alḳ al-insān*.

To a lesser extent, Ṣag̲h̲ānī contributed to the realm of *ḥadīt̲h̲*, and his main work here is *Mas̲h̲āriḳ al-anwār al-nabawiyya ʿalā ṣiḥāḥ al-ak̲h̲bār al-muṣṭafawiyya* (printed several times in Leipzig, Istanbul, and Beirut). The importance of this treatise, which integrates the two *ṣaḥīḥ*s of Buk̲h̲ārī and Muslim, lies in the fact that it is the earliest contribution of India to *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature (see HIND, in *EI*², at III, 435; and a list of its *s̲h̲urūḥ* in Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, v, 548 ff.). Even here, al-Ṣag̲h̲ānī's foremost linguistic interests emerge in his classification of the material, basically according to the particle (e.g. *in, id̲h̲ā, mā, laysa, law, ḳad*, etc.) or morphological unit (e.g. elative, imperfect, imperative, etc.) with which the *ḥadīt̲h̲* begins. His other works include two *risāla*s on apocryphal *ḥadīt̲h̲*, namely *al-Durr al-multaḳaṭ fī tabyīn al-g̲h̲alaṭ* (ed. S.M. al-ʿĀnī, in *Mad̲j̲allat Kulliyyat al-Imām al-Aʿẓam*, i [1972], 139-72), and his *Risāla fī 'l-mawḍūʿāt min al-aḥādīt̲h̲* (published under the title *Mawḍūʿāt al-Ṣag̲h̲ānī*, ed. N.ʿA. K̲h̲alaf, Cairo 1980). Of the *rid̲j̲āl* genre are his *Naḳʿat al-ṣadyān fī man fī ṣuḥbatihim naẓar min al-ṣaḥāba* (ed. S.K. Ḥasan, Beirut 1990) and *Asāmī s̲h̲uyūk̲h̲ al-Buk̲h̲ārī* (Sezgin, i, 130).

Bibliography (further to that given in the text): Brockelmann, I², 443-4, S I, 613 ff.; Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 327; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, ed. Flügel, vii, 1197, no. 7343; D̲h̲ahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, Ḥaydarābād 1337/1919, ii, 120; idem, *al-ʿIbar*, Kuwait 1960-6, v, 205; idem, *Siyar*, Beirut 1985, xxiii, 282; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, xii, Wiesbaden 1979, 240; Ibn S̲h̲ākir, *Fawāt*, Beirut 1973, i, 358; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1339/1921, iv, 121; Sallāmī, *Tārīk̲h̲ ʿUlamāʾ Bag̲h̲dād*, Bag̲h̲dād 1938, 48-9; Ibn Abī 'l-Wafāʾ, *al-D̲j̲awāhir al-muḍiyya*, Ḥaydarābād 1332/1914, i, 201-2; Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, *D̲h̲ayl Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, Cairo 1953, ii, 265; Fīrūzābādī, *al-Bulg̲h̲a*, Damascus 1972, 63; Makkī, *al-ʿIḳd al-t̲h̲amīn*, Cairo 1965, iv, 176-9; Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, Cairo 1956, i, 385; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdi, Cairo, vii, 26; Ibn Ḳuṭlūbug̲h̲ā, *Tād̲j̲ al-tarād̲j̲im*, Bag̲h̲dād 1962, 24; Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, ed. M.A. D̲j̲ād al-Mawlā *et alii*, Cairo n.d., ii, 421; Ibn Abī Mak̲h̲rama, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ t̲h̲ag̲h̲r ʿAdan*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1936, ii, 53; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt*, year 650; J.A. Haywood, *Arabic lexicography*, Leiden 1976, 67; J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 228 ff.; Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, *al-Muʿd̲j̲am al-ʿArabī*, Cairo 1956, 530 ff. (RAMZI BAALBAKI)

ṢAG̲H̲ĪR (A.), infant, child, minor (opp. *bālig̲h̲* [*q.v.*]), one who has not attained to puberty (opp. *kabīr*). Minority ends with the onset of physical maturity, and the ability to control one's own affairs (see al-Wans̲h̲arīsī, ii, 269). In the absence of signs of physical maturity, fifteen was generally regarded as the age that divided between majority and minority for males and females alike (see BĀLIG̲H̲ and Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 17, Eng. tr. *Muslim studies*, ii, 29). Entrusting a boy or a girl with their respective adult functions was the accepted way to examine mental maturity (*rus̲h̲d*) (see Ibn Ḳudāma, iv, 523). Physical maturity as coincident with the conclusion of formal-religious education and the start of work without parental supervision is reported also for contemporary Muslim societies (see e.g. Ammar, 183).

1. Terminology.

Arabic has a rich vocabulary to designate childhood and its subdivisions. Within high Islamic culture childhood is seen as a unique period which has its own gradual process of development, physically and psychologically different from other periods in human life. As such it finds clear expression in writings of various kinds, legal, theological, hygienic-medical, ethical and pedagogical as well as belles-lettres. At the same time, it remains difficult to know exactly how this and other (sometimes contradictory) concepts of childhood influenced the everyday life of children in Muslim societies.

While in its mother's womb, the child is called *d̲j̲anīn* (foetus). The general term for "child" is *walad*, and other terms have special shades of meaning, e.g. *nad̲j̲l* "progeny" and *faraṭ* "a child who dies before reaching maturity", lit. "dying before his/her parents". Other terms designate in addition a specific period within childhood. Among these are *ṣabiyy* ("a youth, boy, or male child... or one that has not yet been weaned... so called from the time of his birth"), *ṣabiyya* ("a young woman, girl, or female child", Lane), *salīl* ("a child or male offspring", Lane); "a child, specifically at the time of his birth and (from then) until its weaning" (Ibn Sīdah, *Muk̲h̲aṣṣaṣ*, Būlāḳ 1316, 31); *ṭifl* ("... a child until he discriminates... after which he is called *ṣabiyy*..." or "a child from the time of his birth... until he attains to puberty...", Lane); ("at his birth the child is designated *ṣabiyy*, afterwards he is called *ṭifl* although I do not know how long...", Ibn Sīdah. 31): *ṭalā* (... "the youngling of any kind... an infant until a month old or more," Lane): *s̲h̲ark̲h̲* ("a youth or young man... the offspring of a man...", Lane); *g̲h̲ulām* ("a young man, youth, boy... or one from the time of his birth until he attains to the period termed *s̲h̲abāb*, meaning young manhood...", Lane).

Terms for either a limited period within childhood or a specific phenomenon connected with a child's physical or mental development are *ṣadīg̲h̲* ("an epithet applied to a child... in the stage extending to his completion of seven days... because his temple

becomes firm... only to this period", Lane); *raḍīʿ* ("a child while it is a suckling", Lane); the verb *taḍabbaba* (also *taḥallama*, Lane, and *ighṭāla*, Ibn Sīdah, 32) ("he [a child] became fat...", Lane); *iththaghara* ("he [a boy] bred his central milk teeth... or... front teeth... or he bred his teeth after the former ones had fallen out", Lane) (several terms refer to different stages of this process: *shakka, ṭalaʿa, nadjama, nasaʿa, intaḍat* (*al-sinn*), *adrama* (*al-ṣabiyy*), *aḥfara, abdaʾa* [Ibn Sīdah, 331]; *faṭīm* ("a child weaned or ablactated", Lane); *dāridj* (*daradja*: "... said of a child: 'he walked a little, at his first beginning to walk' ", Lane); *djafr* (*djafara*: "he, or it, became wide... or became inflated or swollen", Lane; Ibn Sīdah, 33); *mustakrish* (*istakrasha* [also *tazakkara*, Lane] "... he [a kid and a boy] became large in his stomach or became hard in his palate.. and began to eat"); *djahwash* ("the child who passed the stage of weaning becomes *djahwash*", Ibn Sīdah, 33); *fāķiʿ* ("he [a boy] became active, and grew...", Lane); *ḥazawwar* ("a boy who has become strong... and has served... or one who has nearly attained the age of puberty...", Lane); *mutaraʿriʿ* (also: *mulimm* [Ibn Sīdah, 34] "... a boy... almost or quite past the age of ten years, or active", Lane); *muṭabbikh* ("... a young man that is full [or plump]", Lane); *yāfiʿ* ("a boy grown up... grown tall", Lane); *khumāsiyy* ("a boy five spans [*ashbār*] in height... said of him who is increasing in height...", Lane); *waṣīf* (*awṣafa* and *istawṣafa*: "he [a boy] became of full stature and fit for service", Lane); *ghaydāķ* ("... soft or tender; applied to a youth or young man... applied to a boy signifies 'that has not attained to puberty' ", Lane); *murāhiķ* (also *kawkab*, Lane) (*rāhaķa, arhaķa*: "... he [a boy] was, or became, near to attaining puberty or virility...", Lane); *akhlafa* ("the boy passed the time when he had nearly attained to puberty... he nearly attained to puberty; so that those who looked at him differed in opinion...", Lane); *ḥālim* ("originally signifies *muḥtalim* [dreaming and particularly dreaming of copulation and experiencing an emission of the seminal fluid in dreaming]... hence used in a general sense... meaning one who has attained to puberty, or virility...", Lane); *anbata* ("his [a boy's] hair of the pubes grew forth... he having nearly attained the age of puberty...", Lane); *shabala* ("he [a boy...] became a youth or young man...", Lane); *balagha al-ḥinth* ("he [a boy] attained to the age when he was punishable for sin... or attained to the age when the pen [of the recording angels] began to register his acts of obedience and of disobedience...", Lane); *ashhada* ("he [a boy] attained to puberty... and *ashhadat*: she [a girl] menstruated and attained to puberty"); *ḥāniṯ* ("a child who reached the age of reason", Ibn Sīdah, 35). *TA* points to those terms which signify the main stages of childhood and arranges them according to the course of the child's development: "a child when born is called *raḍīʿ* and *ṭifl*, then *faṭīm*, then *dāridj*, then *djafr*, then *yāfiʿ*, then *shadakh*, then *muṭabbikh* and then *kawkab*" (see also Ibn Ķayyim al-Djawziyya, 183).

The terms used in the Ķurʾān to designate infants, children and young people are *ṭifl*, *ṣabiyy*, *walad* and *ghulām*, mentioned above, as well as *fatā* (a youth), *banūn* (male children), *dhurriyya* (offspring) and *yatīm* (a fatherless child) (O'Shaughnessy, 33-43).

2. Subdivisions of childhood.

Medical-hygienic writings contain detailed descriptions of the physical and mental characteristics of the various stages in childhood and relevant treatment instructions. Thus Ibn al-Djazzār al-Ķayrawānī (d.? 395/1004), following Hippocrates, divides childhood into four periods: 1. infancy proper from birth to dentition (*sinn al-wildān*); 2. second infancy from dentition to the age of seven (*sinn al-ṣibyān*); 3. childhood from the age of seven to fourteen (*sinn ibn sabʿ sinīna*); 4. the age of transition from childhood to puberty starting at the age of fourteen (*Siyāsat al-ṣibyān*, 86-7). Another division is offered by ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Ķurṭubī [*q.v.*]: 1. from birth to forty days—a period characterised by drastic changes; 2. from forty days to the appearance of molar teeth, at seven months, a stage characterised, *inter alia*, by the beginning of the development of the senses as well as the imagination and the mental qualifications; 3. from dentition to the growth of the child's hair (the exact age is not mentioned), a stage characterised by further mental development as well as by weaning and the beginning of talking and walking, increase in the child's energy, and excellent memory (57-60, and also al-Baladī, 75).

Instructions for physical treatment as well as moral education of children on a more popular level, directed at parents and nurses, are based on the same concept of childhood as a unique period in human life with its own gradual development process (Ibn Ķayyim al-Djawziyya, 137-44, and 183, where the author lists twelve terms which signify various periods in the child's life from birth to maturity).

In the context of children's mental development the appearance, at about the age of seven, of *tamyīz*, the faculty of "discernment", which enables the child to grasp abstract ideas and thus to distinguish between good and evil, is regarded by doctors and educators as a most important stage. Its obvious manifestation being a sense of shame, discernment rounds off the development of the senses, ushers in the "stage of intellectual grasp" and presages the perfection of mental and moral qualities in adolescence. (See e.g. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, iii, 22, 72, 92; Motzki, *Das Kind*, 421-3.) For the mental developments in the earliest period of a child's life, significant are the first smile, at the age of forty days, revealing the onset of the infant's self-awareness and mental development, and the first occurrence of dreams at the age of two months (Ibn Ķayyim al-Djawziyya, 176). In socio-religious terms, important stages are: one week after birth, when the *ʿaķīķa* [*q.v.*] and *tasmiya* ceremonies (see below) take place; six years, when the child's (formal) education starts, nine years, when children are to be separated from each other in bed, thirteen years, when children should be beaten on neglecting prayer, sixteen years—the age of marriage (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 276).

3. Children and parents.

Certain branches of the Islamic religious literature frequently raise issues of child-rearing in the context of marital matters (see e.g. Ibn Bābawayh, iii, 274-7, 304-19; Ibn Ķudāma, ix, 299-313). In Muslim societies the principal purpose of marriage was, and still is (see Ammar, 93), the bearing and rearing of children, its fulfillment an obligatory religious mission: to please God by contributing to the continued existence of the human race, using the means that God created for this goal, and to please the Prophet Muḥammad by enlarging the community of the faithful. This in addition to the personal advantages children bring: "... the blessing of the righteous child's invocation after his father's death" and "... the intercession through the death of the young child should he precede his (father's) death" (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 67-70; Farah, 53-4). Each child, particularly a good one (*al-walad al-ṣāliḥ*), is therefore regarded as one of God's blessings. On the other hand, contraception existed and was lawful in mediaeval Muslim societies for economic reasons, for the benefit of the

woman and for the welfare of the existing children (Musallam, ch. 1).

Mediaeval Islamic sources abound in accounts of loving, tender relationships between parents and children including close physical contacts. The Prophet Muḥammad is often shown as one who knew how to treat children properly. For instance, once he hastened to wash the dirty face of a child and kiss him instead of ʿĀʾisha, who was unable to bring herself to do so, while on another occasion he remained prostrated in prayer longer than necessary so as not to disturb his grandson Ḥusayn who was riding on his back (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 275-9). According to one of the most revealing traditions in this regard, a caring father who in the middle of the night gets up to warm his children with his own clothes is more virtuous than a fighter in a holy war (*ibid.*, ii, 41). No wonder, then, that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī [*q.v.*], the epitome of *djihād*, is also depicted as a loving father to his seventeen children (Ibn Shaddād, *Fī sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, n.p. n.d., 52, 59).

Children, especially when grown-up, are portrayed as arousing expectations in their parents, making them proud and others envious. They are expected to be energetic, brave and intelligent (al-Ḳaysī, fol. 171b). However, besides this type of parent-child relationships other, sometimes contradictory, types have always existed. On the whole, expressions of parental care for and love of their offspring refer to male children, with explicit observations reflecting discrimination against, even hatred of, females (see below). But even males were sometimes regarded as little other than property and a source of labour. Thus, while several Ḳurʾānic texts stress the strong love of parents for their children (e.g. XXVI, 17; XVII, 24; XXVIII, 9; XXXI, 33) the Ḳurʾān also depicts children (*banūn, awlād*), and possessions (*māl* or *amwāl*) as a temptation to disbelievers and believers alike (e.g. VIII, 28; LXIV, 15; LVII, 20; LXIII, 9; O'Shaughnessy, 38-9, 42). Side-by-side with the notion of the child's purity and innocence (for a comparison between children and saints, see al-Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, Cairo 1317, 134) there existed an image of the child as an ignorant creature, full of desires and with a weak and vulnerable spirit. This image, and the concept behind it that childhood is no more than a "passage" leading to the "parlour" of adulthood, justified extensive, sometimes excessive, use, by parents and teachers, of corporal punishment in order to correct undesirable traits (although reservations and proposals for alternatives to physical punishment are also found in Muslim educational thought) (Giladi, *Children of Islam*, 61-6). Children also suffered from adult violence (verbal or physical) motivated by other than educational principles. On the other hand, child abandonment and infanticide, phenomena not unknown in mediaeval Muslim societies in spite of the unequivocal religious rejection (Ḳurʾān LXXXI, 8; VI, 137, 140, 151; XVII, 31; LX, 12; XVI, 57-9), were not necessarily motivated always by feelings of hatred or contempt but may have served as a means of (post partum) birth control, particularly in times of want and economic duress (Giladi, *ibid.*, 78-9, 101-15). Even in Islamic consolation treatises for bereaved parents (see below), one finds contradictory motivations: love and tenderness towards infants and children and strong emotional ties which made their death very difficult for parents to accept, on the one hand, and steadfastness in the face of children's death, even the readiness of parents to sacrifice their offspring for the sake of God, on the other (see Giladi, "*The child was small*", 367-86).

It has been suggested that in the traditional patrilineal Arabic-Islamic family the child "is a miniature adult, capable at most of childishness. His value lies in what he will be, not in what he is" and that "childhood is de-realised to such an extent that is deliberately ignored by the fathers who willingly hand over to the mothers responsibility for their sons for a large part of their childhood" (Bouhdiba, *Sexuality*, 219). The special emotional relationships between mothers and (particularly male) children and their long-term impact on the latter (Bianquis, 578; Bouhdiba, *The child and the mother*, 128, 132-5) can be explained against this background. Anthropological research among contemporary Muslim societies gives an even stronger impression than do historical sources of the complexity of parent-child relationships. Thus the centrality of children for their parents, adult awareness of the great responsibility involved in raising and educating children, the attention for children's needs, on the one hand, but limited and not very effective interactions between adults and children and a strong feeling that children are a heavy burden, on the other, together with differences in attitudes towards males and females, are some seemingly inconsistent and contradictory observations (Friedl, 195-7, 210-11; cf. Ammar, 53).

The Ḳurʾān, under Judaeo-Christian influence and as a response to the challenge of structural changes in tribal society, shows special sensitivity towards children. Rejecting the pre-Islamic concept of children as their fathers' property, it acknowledges their own right to live and regards their life as sacred (see e.g. XVII, 31; VI, 151). This principle the *Sharīʿa* extends even to foetuses: a special indemnity (*ghurra*) is to be paid for causing an abortion. An unborn child can inherit, receive a legacy and, if it is a slave, be manumitted (Schacht, 124, 186; Motzki, *Das Kind*, 409-10).

The child's right to an established paternity (*nasab*), crucial in patrilineal families, gives rise to mutual rights of inheritance, guardianship and maintenance (Nasir, 156-61). It should be emphasised that Islamic law placed very few difficulties in the way of recognising the legitimacy of children. By regulating *ʿidda* [*q.v.*], Ḳurʾānic law intended to help identify the biological father in cases of divorce or the father's death. As a rule, however, any child born in wedlock is regarded as legitimate (*al-walad li-ṣāḥib al-firāsh*... "the offspring belongs to the owner of the bed...", see Rubin, 5-26), provided that it is born not less than six months after the beginning of cohabitation, and not later than (according to the Ḥanafīs) two (according to the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs) four or even five years (al-Wansharīsī, iv, 477) after the last intercourse between husband and wife (see NIKĀḤ, at VIII, 28). This means, in fact, that any child born to a woman, from any intercourse, is to be considered the legal offspring of her husband or master. Formal paternity can be established also through acknowledgment (*iḳrār*), to be used only when the child's lineage is unknown and biological fathership is feasible, or through evidence (*bayyina*) involving the testimony of two men or a man and two women (Levy, 135-9; al-Barā, 11-20, 27). Only by *liʿān* [*q.v.*] can a husband challenge the legitimacy of a child and disown his paternity. Sunni jurists showed more leniency towards *awlad zinā* (offspring born out of wedlock) than Shīʿī-Imāmī ones in the contexts of purity, marriage and wet-nursing. But even among the Imāmī Shīʿīs, the argument that it remains impossible to know for certain whether or not someone is *walad al-zinā* played a role (Kohlberg, 237-66).

The Ḳurʾān abolished the pre-Islamic custom of adoption, whereby an adopted child could be assimilated in a legal sense into another family, and replaced it by the recommendation that believers treat children of unknown origin as their brothers in the faith and clients (XXXIII, 4-5, 37-40). Adoption was regarded by the *Sharīʿa* as a lie, as an artificial tie between adults and children, devoid of any real emotional relationship, as a cause of confusion where lineage was concerned and thus a possible source of problems regarding marriage between members of the same family and regarding inheritance (Fahd and Hammoudi, 334-6). However, the custom of adoption, rooted in local tradition, survived in some Muslim communities, e.g. those of North Bali (Wikan, 452).

Viewing children as vulnerable, dependent creatures, Islamic law supplies various rules for the protection of their body and property. In some cases more attention is given to the child's benefit (*manfaʿat al-walad*; see e.g. al-Sarakhsī, v, 207, vi, 169) than to the interests of its parents. Fathers, because of their discretion and compassion, retain the power of guardianship (*wilāya* [*q.v.*]) over the child which involves guardianship over property (*wilāyat al-māl*) and over the person (*wilāyat al-nafs*), including overall responsibility for physical care, socialisation and education. To these should be added the father's duty to marry his child off when the latter comes of age (*wilāyat al-tazwīdj*). Mothers, because of their pity and gentleness, are entrusted with the care and control of their children for the first few years of their life and, in case of dispute, have the right to custody during these years. If a mother dies, the responsibility falls on other female relatives, preferably in the mother's line (see ḤAḌĀNA, and Pearl, 92, 97-9).

Riḍāʿa (lactation) [see RAḌĀʿ] is the basic right of any infant at least during the first two years of its life (Ḳurʾān, II, 233; XXXI, 14; XLVI, 15). Moreover, it is the mother's obligation (which, according to some opinions, can be enforced on her, if necessary, even if this involves injury) unless the alternatives do not endanger the infant's life and are economically viable. At the same time, *riḍāʿa* is a mother's right, though it can be denied when she demands to be paid a certain sum for it and another woman is ready to suckle without or for lower pay. The father again is responsible for the infant's welfare in this regard, for covering the expenses involved (Ḳurʾān, *ibid.*, and LXV, 6), for finding a physically and morally suitable wet-nurse, if necessary, and for making sure she treats the infant well (Ibn Taymiyya, *Ikhtiyārāt*, 286; Ibn Ḳudāma, ix, 312; al-Sarakhsī, xv, 122; al-Barā, 31-5).

Cognisant of the infant's needs, and in the belief that character traits are transmitted through the mother's milk, Muslim jurists emphasise the preference of maternal suckling. Also, some jurists regard harmful for the nursling, and even forbid, sexual relations with a nursing woman (*ghīla*), in contrast to the authorisation given by a *ḥadīth* (Ibn Bābawayh, iii, 305; al-Djūghī, fol. 65a; Musallam, 15-16).

Feeding of children in general and breast-feeding in particular constitute a central theme in mediaeval medical-hygienic writings and in the child-rearing manuals that Muslim doctors compiled under the strong influence of Greek medicine. These writings deal with such key questions as maternal suckling versus wet-nursing, the recommended characteristics of wet-nurses, the frequency of breast-feeding, the weaning of the child and the like. This, in addition to instructions on how to treat the infant immediately after birth, how to prepare its cradle, to wash and swaddle it, advice on how to calm weeping children, on teething, on how to treat children when they start walking and talking and recommendations regarding entertainment and the company of other children. Together with observations on e.g. birth shock and the psychological development of the child, the authors discuss such theoretical issues as the relationships between innate dispositions and acquired characteristics, the changeability of natural dispositions, etc. It is clear that such 4th/10th-century authors of comprehensive medical compilations as al-Madjūsī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*], but particularly the writers of gynaecological, embryological and paediatric treatises, like Ibn al-Djazzār, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Baladī and ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Ḳurṭubī, attached perhaps even greater importance to paediatrics than their Greek predecessors. Moreover, their rich and diversified knowledge implied an understanding of some of the unique characteristics of children from physical as well as psychological points of view. Ibn al-Djazzār's *Siyāsat al-ṣibyān*, for instance, has fifteen chapters on infant diseases and methods of healing in addition to six chapters on the hygienic care of newborn infants. Part of the material included in these paediatric writings was later "Islamised", popularised and adapted for use by literate parents and nurses, for instance by Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya in his *Tuḥfat al-mawdūd* (Giladi, *Children of Islam*, 4-8, 19-34). Obviously, popular medicine and magic played an important role in the treatment of children among the common people (Ullmann, 2, 92).

The first stages of incorporating the new-born child into the larger human society, and particularly into the Muslim community, are symbolised by a series of childhood rites, most of them of tribal, pre-Islamic origin for whose performance the father has the responsibility. By reciting in his ears, immediately after birth, the formula used for the call to prayer (*adhān*) as well as the words chanted in the mosque at the beginning of the prayer (*iḳāma*), the infant was believed to acquire the basic principles of Islam. *Taḥnīk*, the rubbing of the infant's palate with a date, was another ceremony early Muslims performed soon after birth. It probably symbolised the curbing of the child's natural desires and the harnessing and directing of his energies, for it clearly parallels the practice of putting, for the first time, a rope in a horse's mouth. It might also signify the readiness of the community to share its food with the new-born child, accepting it as a member (Giladi, *Children of Islam*, 35-41; Motzki, *Das Kind*, 413). Other ceremonies, i.e. naming (*tasmiya*) (Schimmel, 14-24), the first haircut, which separates the child from its previous environment (Van Gennep, 50, 53-4), and the *ʿaḳīḳa* [*q.v.*], the slaughter of a sheep or a goat to redeem the child and to express gratitude for its birth, are delayed to the seventh day after birth when the prospects for the infant's life look brighter. By performing these rites, the father confirmed his fatherhood in public and thus his responsibility towards the child. Some Muslim scholars have suggested adding male circumcision (*khitān* [*q.v.*]), regarded as an act of purification and incorporation into the community of faithful (Van Gennep, 72), to the ceremonies of the seventh day. However, most say that circumcision should be performed later, at the age of seven (when the male child, under his father's supervision, starts his systematic religious education) or ten or even thirteen years. In the latter case, it is probably designed to mark the beginning of adolescence and to prepare the child for marriage (Motzki, *ibid.*, 416-17). Female circumcision (*khafḍ* [*q.v.*]), explained as primarily a means of

restraining a woman's sexual desire and maintaining chastity, is also practised when the girl is between six and thirteen years (on childhood rites, particularly male and female circumcision, in a contemporary Muslim community see Ammar, 116-23).

Ensuring that his children receive a good education is another of the father's duties. According to mediaeval Muslim thinkers, character training should start in early childhood, when the child's soul is still pure and impressionable and good character traits can be engraved upon it as upon a smooth stone. At this stage, protecting the child from harmful influences in its social environment is crucial. In writings inspired by Greek ethical thought, moral education is guided by the ideal of balancing the psychic forces of desire and anger. To be content with little, meekness and endurance are the traits the child should acquire through specific habits of eating, sleeping, dressing, and social conduct (see al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā*ʾ, iii, 92-5). Recommendations concerning relaxing games and physical activity for children include the advice to teach them swimming and archery (Giladi, *Children of Islam*, 58-9). While the basic principles of faith should be inculcated as soon as the child starts talking, the age of *tamyīz* is generally perceived as the appropriate time to begin systematic education, primarily towards performing the religious commandments (see al-Ghazālī, *ibid.*, al-Ṭabarsī/al-Ṭabrisī, 175), and for sending male children to the *kuttāb* [*q.v.*] (or *maktab*) for their elementary education. The popularity of this institution in Muslim countries might have delayed by some years the induction of children into the labour force. Female children were generally educated at home by their mothers to fulfill their religious duties and to carry out household work. Obedience to God, filial piety and good conduct are the basic aims of child education (see Ḳurʾān, IV, 36; XXXI, 13, 16-9), their accomplishment ensuring the child a happy life in this world and, more important, in the Hereafter (Motzki, *ibid.*, 35-48). After they had completed their elementary education, the father was expected to help his male children choose an occupation in accordance with their talents and inclinations and train them toward their vocation (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, 144-5).

Instructions for the rearing and education of children of the nobility and the upper classes are included in *waṣāyā* ("injunctions") which fathers formulated for tutors (many of which are scattered through *adab* compilations, see e.g. Ibn Ḳutayba, v, 166-8; al-Djāḥiẓ, ii, 75) and in the "Mirrors for Princes" literature. Thus al-Māwardī [*q.v.*] in his *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* (fols. 106-10) makes the selection of a good woman as the future mother the starting point of his discussion. Special emphasis is laid on the moral and physical education of princes and on enriching the curriculum of their elementary education (usually consisting mainly of Ḳurʾān) with studies of language, history and poetry.

Parents were believed to be questioned (and accordingly rewarded in the Hereafter) as to how they had fulfilled their duties towards their offspring, particularly in the domain of education, since God regarded these as more important than the obligations children had towards their parents (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, 136; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā*ʾ, iii, 92).

Many parents in pre-modern Muslim societies experienced the loss of one or more children. The generally high rates of infant and child mortality rose even more drastically as a result of recurring epidemics of the Black Death, particularly from the 8th/14th century onwards. Juridical and theological writings deal with the ways in which deceased infants and children should be treated, and with their fate in the Hereafter. The focus of legalistic considerations is whether or not the child is to be regarded as a human being in the full sense of the word. The answer given by some well-known jurisconsults, like al-Sarakhsī (ii, 57), is in the affirmative. This means, for instance, that the coffin of a dead child is to be borne by people, not on the back of an animal, and that the washing of an infant's corpse and the prayer for him should be exactly the same as for a deceased adult. Ḳurʾān commentators, theologians and heresiographers discuss such issues as whether or not children are questioned in the grave, whether children of unbelievers are sent by God to Hell, whether God punishes children in the Hereafter, and the exact status of Muslim children in Paradise (Rosenthal, 9-15). Discussions of this sort, abstract as they were, mirror, in some cases, certain concepts of childhood and attitudes towards children.

Like *ḥadīth* compilations, early Muslim sources contain much material on how to react to children's death, which later, against the background of the Black Death, were collected in special, apparently widely circulated, consolation treatises for bereaved parents (see e.g. al-Manbidjī, al-Ḳaysī and al-Sakhāwī, all from the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries). Their main task was not to deal with the theological problems involved in the death of innocent creatures but rather to help bereaved parents cope with outbursts of emotions and with the psychological difficulties they experienced. Most interesting in these treatises, as well as in a few lamentation poems written for or by bereaved fathers (see e.g. Ibn al-Rūmī, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1973-9, i, 244, ii, 625, 6; Ibn Nubāta, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1905, 156, 218, 347, 348, 546), are the tension between the emotional-spontaneous type of reaction, on the one hand, and the religious-"rational" one, on the other, and the efforts to harmonise them. They bring to light strong psychological attachments resulting in moving emotional reactions in case of death but also call for restraint and control and even point out the religious "advantages" of children's death. However, these efforts too of Muslim scholars to impose on the believers a certain cultural pattern for the emotional expression of grief often reveal a degree of understanding of basic psychological needs. Although lacking any precise information on mortality rates in pre-modern Muslim societies, consolation treatises can give us a clear idea of the dimensions of the problem and draw a partial picture of the circumstances of children's lives and causes of their deaths.

The burial of deceased infants as adults, strong psychological ties between parents and children expressed through intense, heart-rending grieving in cases of children's death, difficulties in comforting bereaved parents as well as opposite reactions of restraint and control are all part of contemporary Muslim communities. However, the link between them and Islamic ethics is not always unequivocal (Granqvist, 90-2; Wikan, 451-3).

4. Children in society.

Any child born to Muslim parents is regarded as Muslim. According to the rule, formulated by a *ḥadīth*, that Islam "overcomes" other religions (*yaʿlū wa-lā yuʿlā*) (al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Djanāʾiz*, *bāb* 80) this is true also when only one parent is Muslim. Al-Sarakhsī (v, 210), on the other hand, maintains that the child follows his father's faith (...*al-walad... muslim bi-islām al-ab*).

According to some legal opinions, the fact that children lack responsibility (*takalluf*), that they are

neither rewarded nor punished for their deeds (*marfūʿ al-ḳalam*), that they are not even addressed by religious preaching (*ghayr mukhāṭab bi 'l-islām*), makes their conversion to Islam (or their apostasy) invalid (al-Sarakhsī, x, 120, 122, 123). Other debatable questions are whether children should be obliged to pray, to fast during Ramaḍān, to pay legal alms, to make a pilgrimage, or even whether children may be allowed to serve as *imāms* in public prayer. Even though they are aware of the special religious status of children, there is no agreement between jurists on these questions. Thus for both Ibn Masʿūd and Ibn ʿAbbās a child could not lead in prayer since it is not one of the "people of perfection" (*ahl al-kamāl*) (Ibn Ḳudāma, ii, 54). A common argument is that the observance of religious commandments, particularly prayer and the fast of Ramaḍān, is for children of an educational rather than formal-religious significance.

The special legal status of the child is reflected also in spheres outside the purely ritual domain. Being subject to legal disability or interdiction (*ḥadjr*) children, like the insane (*madjnūn*) and the idiot (*maʿtūh*), do not have the capacity to contract and to dispose (*taṣarruf*), do not owe full obedience to criminal law and therefore cannot be punished as Muslims who are sane and come of age. Thus a minor may be guilty of deliberate homicide, but because legally he is not considered capable of forming a criminal intent, he is not subject to the death penalty (Coulson, 179). Still, Islamic law distinguishes between various stages of childhood: The infant (*ṭifl*), who is wholly incapable, can incur certain financial obligations. A minor (*ṣabiyy, ṣaghīr*) has in addition the capacity to conclude purely beneficial transactions and to accept donations and charitable gifts. An intelligent (*ṣabiyy yaʿḳilu*), discriminating (*mumayyiz*) minor, moreover, can adopt Islam, enter into a contract of manumission by *mukātaba*, if he is a slave, and carry out a procuration (Schacht, 124-5).

That Islamic law allows child marriage seems to contradict its general attitude of protection towards children. The *Sharīʿa* may have been following the social practice of the Islamic core countries in the 1st-4th/7th-10th centuries. Little is known about the frequency, the possibly differential regional distribution, manner of functioning and motives of child marriage, though the issue is raised, sometimes rather frequently, in pre-modern *fatāwā* collections from regions as far afield as Morocco (al-Wansharīsī, iii, 30, 90, 96, 130, 195, 281, 292, 378) and Palestine (Motzki, *Muslimische Kinderehen*, 82-90). Contemporary ethnological and sociological field studies have shown that in various regions and milieux of the Middle East there exists a practice of marriages in which either one or both partners are children. However, more recent family legislation in Islamic states prescribing a minimum age for social and demographic reasons has led to a marked decline in the number of child marriages [see NIKĀḤ]. From *al-Fatāwā al-Khayriyya* by the Ḥanafī jurisconsult Khayr al-Dīn al-Ramlī (993-1081/1585-1670), it emerges that the minors involved were predominantly girls, that marriage contracts were made up for them while their ages ranged anywhere between birth and sexual maturity, and that generally neither the wedding nor marital sexual intercourse were postponed until they had reached sexual maturity (Motzki, *ibid.*).

The sexuality of infants was deemed insignificant and males could be dressed, for instance, in silk clothes more typical of women (Ibn Ḳudāma, i, 629). This was no longer allowed for older children the moment adults noticed their budding sexuality (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, iii, 93). *Ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* compilations recommend separating children in bed when they have reached the age of ten (according to one version, six), having adults avoid washing children of the other sex as soon as they are seven years, and even consider any form of physical contact between a mother and her six-year-old daughter a form of adultery (Ibn Bābawayh, iii, 275-6; Ibn Ḳudāma, ii, 313-4, 400; al-Djūghī, fol. 66a), thus reflecting the awareness of the latent sexuality of children approaching maturity. The popularity of child marriage renders this awareness even more obvious.

It is told of the Prophet that he did not allow the fourteen-year-old Ibn ʿUmar to join the Muslim fighters at Uḥud, but a year later agreed to include him among the warriors of the battle of Khandaḳ (al-Shāfiʿī, vi, 135). While reaffirming the age of fifteen as a criterion of majority, this *ḥadīth* reflects a general Islamic objection to the participation of children in war. The prohibition, attributed to the Prophet (see e.g. Mālik b. Anas, 163-4), against the killing of an enemy's children (and women) in time of war is also important here. In his explanation, Ibn Taymiyya (*Madjmūʿ fatāwā*, xvi, 80) bases himself on a threefold argument: (a) like Muslim children, the enemy's children, from the juridical point of view, are to be regarded as innocent and not responsible; (b) like women in the enemy's homeland, they are not a part of the fighting force; and (c) there is always the possibility for them to become Muslims.

The Ḳurʾān calls for a just treatment of a fatherless child (*yatīm*). Nineteen texts make mention of children of such status, the earliest speaking of God's providential care of Muḥammad. Several verses from the Meccan period forbid any harsh and oppressive treatment of fatherless children, urge kindness and justice towards them, particularly in the matter of property rights, and speak of feeding them as well as the poor. Exhortations to respect the property rights of children as well as to provide for their security by marrying them off are included in some of the Medinan *sūras* (O'Shaughnessy, 35-8) and echoed in later legal writings (see e.g. al-Sarakhsī, xv, 129; al-Djūghī fols. 66a-b). Orphanages and foundling homes were unknown in pre-modern Muslim societies (unlike their European counterparts), so that caring for these children and educating them was the responsibility of relatives. An abandoned child (*laḳīṭ* [*q.v.*], *manbūdh*) was also brought up within an individual family. That the practice of abandonment was known in mediaeval Muslim societies, probably as a means for regulating family size or as a device for disposing of illegitimate children, can be inferred from the juridical literature. Questions such as the status of the foundling and his religious identity, his maintenance, the management of his property, claiming abandoned children and the like are rather frequently dealt with (see e.g. Mālik b. Anas, 293; al-Shāfiʿī, vi, 263; al-Samarḳandī, i, 315-16).

A preference for males is typical of Muslim societies with a patrilineal family structure. The majority of the utterances in Arabic-Islamic sources that show understanding and sympathy for children refer to males. That females were discriminated against from birth is shown, *inter alia*, by the efforts religious scholars made to counteract this practice by praising fathers devoted to their daughters (Ibn al-Djawzī, 356-9) and denouncing the rejection of newborn females that sometimes led fathers to wish them dead (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, 10-13). It is against this background that differences in treating and educating male and female children and even female infanticide are to be explain-

ed. It should be emphasised, however, that infanticide was committed not only on females and that it was not necessarily always motivated by feelings of hatred or contempt for the victim (see above). Occasionally, jurists made attempts to close (or at least minimise) the gap between female and male children where religious status or education were concerned. Thus, while the common view was held that the urine of only female children was unclean, Ibn Ḳudāma (i, 734-5) claimed that the urine of children in general was impure. Statements, rare as they are, concerning the validity of the prayer of an intelligent female child, like that of her male counterpart (*ibid.*, i, 647), or regarding the obligatory status of female circumcision (Ibn al-Djawzī, 144) should also be mentioned in this context. Scholars urge Muslims to grant their daughters a basic religious and moral training, and there are testimonies to the effect that special institutions of elementary education for female children existed in mediaeval Muslim societies (Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, 171). Among the authors of consolation treatises for bereaved parents, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī [*q.v.*] seems to have been particularly sensitive to the impact of female children's deaths and quotes an impressive number of narratives which pertain to bereaved mothers (Giladi, "*The child was small*"..., 382-5).

Contemporary Middle Eastern thinkers have drawn attention to the significance of Islamic as well as local-customary traditional attitudes towards children, of parent-child relations in patrilineal families and of the traditional methods of formal education in Islamic countries as influential factors in their societies (Bouhdiba, *The child and the mother*..., 126-41; Sharabi, 240-56). The growing awareness of the pschological and socio-cultural role of rearing and educating children and of their status in society is reflected in the relatively new inclination of authors of autobiographies to devote whole chapters, sometimes even entire works, to their childhood (see e.g. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn; Sayyid Ḳuṭb; Aḥmad Amīn; Ḥusayn Aḥmad Amīn).

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(A. GILADI)

ṢAḤĀBA (A.), (pl., sing. *ṣaḥābī*, other plural forms are *aṣḥāb*, *ṣaḥb*, *ṣuḥbān*) are the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad, who in many respects are key-figures in the early history of Islam. In the critical approach of tradition (*ʿilm al-ridjāl* [*q.v.*]), which is a section of *ḥadīth* literature, they are considered as reliable transmitters of statements, deeds and instructions of the Prophet. Their own deeds and statements, too, are worthy of imitation, particularly in the history of Islamic rites.

The first endeavours to define the *ṣaḥāba* as a distinct group of individuals, and to establish the most important criteria according to which someone might be given the title of *ṣaḥābī*, probably reach back to the outset of the 2nd/8th century. At the beginning of the *K. Faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-nabī* of his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Bukhārī [*q.v.*] gives a short definition of a *ṣaḥābī*, which, however, needs further interpretation. According to him, such an individual, while being a believing Muslim, must have accompanied (*ṣaḥiba, lahu ṣuḥba*) the Prophet or have seen him. It has always remained a point of discussion whether the simple fact of having seen (*ruʾya*) the Prophet is sufficient in this respect. In general, participation in a number of the Prophet's campaigns, adulthood (*bulūgh al-ḥulum*), and capability of transmitting directly from the Prophet were basic prerequisites. According to a passage in Ibn al-Athīr (*Usd al-ghāba*, ed. Tehran, n.d., i, 12), the division of the *ṣaḥāba* in classes was already common in the time of al-Wāḳidī (130-207/747-823 [*q.v.*]) at the latest. He clearly speaks of a classification of the *ṣaḥāba* according to their pre-eminence in Islam (*ʿalā ṭabaḳātihim wa-taḳaddumihim fī 'l-islām*). For this, the moment of conversion to Islam was evidently of particular importance. Ibn Saʿd (*al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, ed. Sachau *et alii*, Leiden 1905-40) places the moment of conversion in a clearly defined historical context: certain individuals accepted Islam before the Prophet entered the house of al-Arḳam b. Abi 'l-Arḳam in the neighbourhood of Ṣafā (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 34, ll. 21-3; 59, ll. 10-11; 62, ll. 15-7; 88, ll. 2-4; 107, ll. 5-7; 116, ll. 21-3; 164, ll. 16-8, etc.; for further references, see M. Muranyi, *Die ersten Muslime von Mekka*... in *JSAI*, viii [1986], 28). This circle of early Muslims (*aslama ḳadīm^an/kāna ḳadīm al-islām*) is also designated as *al-sābiḳūn/al-sābiḳūn al-awwalūn* who, after ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had entered al-Arḳam's house, counted 53 persons (see the list in al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ and Ḥusayn al-Asad, Beirut 1990⁷, i, 144-5).

The *sābiḳūn* are also mentioned in Ḳurʾān, IX, 100, and LVI, 10. Ḳurʾān exegesis (*tafsīr* [*q.v.*]) already defines them in the light of the historical events of Muḥammad's prophethood and considers as *sābiḳūn* those Muslims who prayed in both directions, viz. Jerusalem and Mecca, who emigrated with Muḥammad to Medina, and who took part in the battle of Badr [*q.v.*] and in the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*]. The latter are also called *aṣḥāb al-shadjara*, i.e. those who took the oath of allegiance to the Prophet (*bayʿat al-riḍwān*) under the tree in the oasis of al-Ḥudaybiya.

The élite of the Meccan Muslims are also designated as the (first) Emigrants (*al-muhādjirūn* (*al-awwalūn*)), i.e. those who had joined the Prophet by March 628 (al-Ḥudaybiya at the latest, or, according to another interpretation, by January 624 (the date of the change of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*].

Members of Arab tribes, who settled at Medina after their conversion to Islam and thus renounced returning to their tribes, are also designated as *muhādjirūn*. However, in the endeavours of classification carried out by the following generations, these individuals do not appear among the "Emigrants" from Mecca, who emigrated with Muḥammad—or shortly afterwards—to Medina.

The above-mentioned classification cannot be established for the Medinan "Helpers" (*al-Anṣār* [*q.v.*]). Mentioned are only those representatives of the two main tribes of Yathrib [see MADĪNA]—the Aws and the Khazradj—who took part in the secret meetings which the Prophet held at al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] in order to negotiate guarantees of protection for himself and for the Meccan emigrants at the eve of the Hidjra [*q.v.*]. The *Anṣār* did not take part in Muḥammad's campaigns before Badr (Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 6, l. 16; al-Wāḳidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London 1966, i, 11, 48).

The moment of conversion to Islam and the participation in the campaigns of the Prophet were of particular importance for the economic and social position of the *ṣaḥāba* and of their descendants. These aspects seem to have been taken into consideration when, under ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the lists for endowments were established (see G.R. Puin, *Der Dīwān von ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb*, diss. Bonn 1970).

Early lists in the Maghāzī literature, among which is a papyrus fragment of the 2nd/8th century with the names of the fighters at Badr (A. Grohmann, *Arabic papyri from Ḫirbet al-Mird*, Louvain 1963, 82-4), confirm the keen interest of historiography in the above-mentioned endeavours of classification. Ibn Saʿd composed his *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā* on the basis of this principle of classification, and also from old lists given by the historiographers. In the first class (*ṭabaḳa*) are mentioned the *ahl al-sābiḳa*, the fighters at Badr from among the Meccan Emigrants and the *Anṣār*, the twelve *nuḳabāʾ* of al-ʿAḳaba and some Muslims whose participation in the battle of Badr cannot be proved beyond doubt. In the second class are found the Emigrants who were converted at an early date and had migrated to Abyssinia, and the fighters at Uḥud [*q.v.*]. A third class, only known to us through allusions by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī [*q.v.*], comprises the participants in the "Battle of the Ditch" (*khandaḳ* [*q.v.*] (see *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1853-4, i, 445 no. 1047). In still another class, Ibn Saʿd brings together the individuals who were converted before the conquest of Mecca. Another group of early Muslims, who accepted Islam during the Prophet's stay at Mecca, are the so-called *mustaḍʿafūn*, a term which W.M. Watt (*Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 88, 96) renders with "those who are considered weak". They represent the class of Meccans who were socio-economically weak and destitute, and who were prevented by their clans from participating in the Hidjra. According to Ḳurʾān exegesis, Sūra IV, 75, refers to this group of the oldest *ṣaḥāba*.

The good qualities and virtues of the *ṣaḥāba*, measured against their early merits for Islam (*manāḳib, faḍāʾil*), were a favourite theme already in the narrative art of the oldest historiographers of the early 2nd/8th century. The works of the 3rd/9th century known as *muṣannafāt* [*q.v.*] in their turn devote a special *kitāb* to this theme: *faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-nabī, manāḳib al-anṣār*. In the meantime, specific collections were devoted to the ten Companions of the Prophet to whom he is said to have promised paradise (*al-mubashsharūn al-ʿashara*), namely the four "rightly guided" caliphs, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Mālik, Saʿīd b. Zayd and Abū ʿUbayda ʿĀmir b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.vv.*] (see e.g. al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira fī manāḳib al-ʿashara*, ²Ṭanṭa 1953).

Due to the narrative art of the historiographers, the *ṣaḥāba* in later times gradually took on charismatic features. In Sunnī Islam, abuse of them (*sabb al-ṣaḥāba*) is considered as a sin and, according to many interpretations, is even to be punished by death. It is a duty to pronounce the *tarḍiya*, i.e. the eulogy *raḍiya 'llāhu ʿanhu*, when one mentions the name of a Companion of the Prophet.

Historiography, local history in particular, deals in detail with information which has been transmitted

about the stay of *ṣaḥāba* in provincial towns. One-third of the *K. Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbāruhā* by the Egyptian author Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) (ed. C.C. Torrey, New Haven 1922) consists of lists of those Companions who stayed in Egypt and whose traditions circulated there. Similar lists originated also in other localities: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā (second half of the 3rd/9th century), *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt ahl Ḥimṣ/Taʾrīkh al-Ḥimṣiyyīn*; Aslam b. Sahl b. Aslam b. Baḥshal, *Tasmiyat al-ḳarn al-awwal al-ḳādimīn madīnat Wāsiṭ min ṣaḥābat rasūl Allāh* (ed. Dj. ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1967, see W. Hoenerbach, *Über einige arabische Handschriften in Bagdad und Tetuan*, in *Oriens*, viii [1955], 103 ff.); Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḳushayrī (d. 334/946), *Taʾrīkh Raḳḳa wa-man nazalahā min aṣḥāb rasūl Allāh* (see *GAS*, i, 348). The *K. Taʾrīkh Dārayyā* by ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Khawlānī (d. *ca.* 365-70/975-80, see *GAS*, i, 348) contains a chapter on the *ṣaḥāba* of the town: *dhikr man nazala Dārayyā min aṣḥāb rasūl Allāh*... (ms. Tunis, Aḥmadiyya, no. 15881, fols. 2b-4a; *GAS*, i, 348, is to be corrected accordingly). Many fragments from these works, and from others which have been lost, are found in Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, and in *Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb* by the Cordovan Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī (d. 1070 [*q.v.*]) (ed. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo n.d.).

While Islamic historiography—apart from some controversial representations among Islamic sects—depicts almost without criticism the contribution of the *ṣaḥāba* to the early history of Islam and their historical role in it, *ḥadīth* literature and criticism of the late 2nd/8th and early 3rd/9th centuries apply other standards. It is true that they do not call into question the credibility of individual Companions of the Prophet as transmitters of his statements and as prime witnesses of his deeds, but an *isnād* [*q.v.*] with a specific *ṣaḥābī* as prime witness is nevertheless preferred to another one.

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted in the article, see Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ wa-ṭabaḳāt al-aṣfiyāʾ*, repr. Beirut 1985; Abū Saʿd al-Khargūshī, *Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā*, ms. Leiden, Or. 3014; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khazradjī, *al-Durr al-munaẓẓam fī ziyārat al-Muḳaṭṭam*, ms. B.L. Or. 3049; E. Kohlberg, *Some Imāmī Shīʿī views on the Ṣaḥāba*, in *JSAI*, v (1984); M. Muranyi, *Die Prophetengenossen in der frühislamischen Geschichte*, Bonn 1973; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956; R. Veselý, *Die Anṣār im ersten Bürgerkriege*, in *ArO*, xxvi (1958), 35-58. (M. Muranyi)

ṢAḤĀBĪ ASTARĀBĀDĪ, Kamāl al-Dīn, Persian poet of the 10th/16th century, born in Shushtar [*q.v.*]. He is known as Astarābādī after his father's place of origin, which was Astarābād, and also as Shūshtarī after his own place of birth. Some writers have called him Nadjafī since he lived for forty years at Nadjaf, where he went towards 970/1562-3 during the reign of the Ṣafawid ruler Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76). During his stay in that city, he studied and taught, as one of the jurists of his time, at the holy shrine attached to ʿAlī's tomb. The author of the *Haft iḳlīm*, Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī [*q.v.*], describes him as a man of austere habits whose pious living endeared him to people of all classes. He died at Nadjar in 1010/1601-2, and was buried there.

Ṣaḥābī's poetical output consists chiefly of *ghazals* and *rubāʿīs*. He was also the author of a *mathnawī*, based upon a Ṣūfī theme and employing the same metrical form as that used by Niẓāmī for his *Bahrām-nāma* (*Haft paykar*). It comprises 343 couplets and was dedicated to Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 996-1038/1588-1629). Ṣaḥābī is remembered essentially for his *rubāʿīs*, the total number of which is most probably around 6,000. Some early writers, however, place the figures much higher, but the numbers quoted by them appear to be exaggerated. In his poetry, Ṣaḥābī deals with mystical and moral themes. He was one of the chief poets of the Ṣafawid period whose verse, according to Shiblī Nuʿmānī, reflects a philosophical colour (cf. *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, v, 3rd ed., Aʿẓamgaṛh 1942, 209). Besides poetry, Ṣaḥābī also composed, in mixed prose and verse, a Ṣūfī treatise (*risāla*), entitled *ʿUrwat al-wuthḳā* ("The true faith").

Bibliography: Ṣaḥābī Astarābādī, *Rubāʿiyyāt yā kulliyyāt-i Ṣaḥābī Astarābādī*, in *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-yi Madjlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, iii, no. 1087; idem, *Muntakhab rubāʿiyyāt-i Ṣaḥābī*, B.L. Or. 329; Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ed. Djawād Fāḍil, Tehran (?) n.d., iii; Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātishkada*, ed. Ḥasan Sādāt Nāṣirī, Tehran 1338/1959, ii; Riḍā-ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ed. Maẓāhir Muṣaffā, Tehran 1339/1961, ii/1; idem, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn* Tehran 1344/1965; Shāhnawāz Khān Khwāfī, *Bahāristān-i sukhan*, Madras 1958; Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Sandīlawī, *Tadhkira-yi makhzan al-gharāʾib*, ed. Muḥammad Bāḳir, Lahore 1970, ii; Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Natāʾidj al-afkār*, Bombay 1336/1957; Muḥammad Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Ṣaḥābī Astarābādī*, in *Armaghān*, xiii/9 (November-December 1932); *Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā*, xv/4; Browne, *LHP*, iv; Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz 1328/1949, ii; Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i naẓm u nathr dar Īrān wa dar zabān-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1363/1984, i-ii; Dhabīh Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1367/1988, v/2; idem, *Gandj-i sukhan*³, Tehran 1368/1989, iii; Rypka, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, Abū Ṭālib Raḍawī-nizhād, *Čahār-ṣad shāʿir-i barguzīda-yi Pārsī-gūy*, Tehran 1369/1990. (Munibur Rahman)

SAHARA [see al-ṣaḥrāʾ].

SAHĀRANPŪR, a city of northern India in the uppermost part of the Ganges-Djamnā Doʾāb (lat. 29° 57′ N., long. 77° 33′ E.), now in the extreme northwestern tip of the Uttar Pradesh State of the Indian Union.

It was founded in *ca.* 740/1340, in the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] and was named after a local Muslim saint, Shāh Haran Čishtī. The city and district suffered severely during the invasion of Tīmūr; in 932/1526 Bābur traversed them on his way to Pānīpat, and some local Mughal colonies trace their origin to his followers. Muslim influence gained much by the proselytising zeal of ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs, who ruled the district until the reign of Akbar. Under Akbar, it was the centre of a *sarkār* and important enough to be a mint place. In the reigns of Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān, Sahāranpūr was a favourite summer resort of the court, owing to the coolness of its climate and the abundance of game in its neighbourhood. Nūr Djahān had a palace in the village of Nūrnagar, which perpetuates her name, and the royal hunting seat, Pādshāh Maḥall, was built for Shāh Djahān. After the death of Awrangzīb, the district suffered severely from the inroads of the Sikhs, who massacred Hindūs and Muslims indiscriminately, until, in 1716, they were temporarily crushed by the imperial Mughal authority. The upper Doʾāb then passed into the hands of the Sayyids of Bārha [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and on their fall in 1721 into those of several favourites. In 1754 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī conferred it on the Rohilla, Nadjīb Khān [*q.v.*], as a reward for his services at the battle of Kotila. Before his death, in 1770, it was overrun by Sikhs and

Marāthās. His son Ḍābiṭ Khān revolted from Dihlī, but was reconciled, and his son Ghulām Ḳādir, who succeeded him in 1785, established a strong government and dealt firmly with the Sikhs. He was a coarse and brutal chief, and in 1788 he blinded the emperor Shāh ʿĀlam, being subsequently justly mutilated and put to death by Sindhya. Sahāranpūr remained nominally in the hands of the Marāthās, but actually in those of the Sikhs, until its conquest and occupation by the British after the fall of ʿAlīgaṛh and the battle of Dihlī in 1803. Sahāranpūr was only slightly affected by the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, even though this last broke out in the nearby city of Meerut [see MĪRAṬH], with order restored by a Gurkha force by the end of 1857.

It is now the administrative centre of a District of the same name, a meeting-place for roads and railways and a centre for agriculture and food processing. The population of the city was 225,700 in 1971; at the opening of the 20th century, a majority of this urban population was Muslim, but many of these migrated to Pakistan after 1947.

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(T.W. HAIG-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-**SAHBĀʾ**, is the name of a wādī in the al-Khardj [*q.v.*] district of Nadjd [*q.v.* and see AL-ḤAWṬA], the central province of modern Saudi Arabia. The word itself is the feminine of an adjective of the form *afʿalu*, but it has no comparative or superlative signification (Wright, *Grammar*, i, 185A, cf. AL-ṢAḤRĀʾ). It is related to *sahb*, pl. *suhub* "desert, level country". The large valley runs eastwards into the Gulf basin across the sand desert of al-Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*] and, north of Yabrīn, of al-Djāfūra (see the map in AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT).

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(E. VAN DONZEL)

SAḤBĀN WĀʾIL, the name given to an orator and poet of the tribe of Wāʾil, "whose seductive eloquence has passed into a proverb and who, it is said, whilst addressing an assembly for half-a-day, never used the same word twice" (Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, i, 1057; see *LʿA* and the other lexica). Speaking of the random effects of chance, whereby some person became a household word whereas others, equally meritorious, do not, al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 104), cites Saḥbān Wāʾil, who was eclipsed by his contemporary Ibn al-Ḳirriyya, murdered by al-Ḥadjdjādj in 84/703 (*loc. cit.*, n. 5).

In his eulogy of the book (*al-kitāb*), the same al-Djāḥiẓ (*ibid.*, i, 39) says: "If you wish, it can be more eloquent for you than Saḥbān Wāʾil or more tongue-tied than Bāḳil" (an adolescent), echoing a proverb which figures in all the collections, where it is said "more convincing (*ablagh*) than Saḥbān Wāʾil, whereas one says "clearer (*afṣaḥ*) than Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*]" (cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1924, ii, 119).

Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 1257, attributes to him seven verses in which he praises the courage of the army of Ḳutayba b. Muslim (49-96/669-715 [*q.v.*]) in the course of the conquest of Afghānistān between 89/705 and 90/706, notably, at the time of the conquest of Khoḳand [*q.v.*], which would indicate that Saḥbān was still alive in the caliphate of al-Walīd I (86-96/705-15).

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(T. FAHD)

ṢĀḤIB (A.), "companion", a term with various senses in Islamic usage. Formally it is an active participle of the transitive verb *ṣaḥiba yaṣḥabu* "to associate with", but semantically a pure noun; it thus cannot govern an object in the accusative. The most common plural is *aṣḥāb*, of which the double plural (*djamʿ al-djamʿ*) *aṣāḥīb* is given in the dictionaries, while its "diminutive of the plural" (*taṣghīr al-djamʿ*) *uṣayḥāb* is attested (Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v.). Other plurals include *ṣaḥb* (a collective noun), *ṣiḥāb* and *ṣuḥbān*, the verbal nouns *ṣuḥba* and *ṣaḥāba* are also employed as plurals (collectives). For the Companions of the Prophet one finds *ṣaḥb*, *aṣḥāb*, and specifically *ṣaḥāba* [*q.v.*], the last of which yields the designation of the individual, *ṣaḥābī*, by *nisba* formation (a procedure not uncommon with collective nouns). In the vocative the truncated form (*tarkhīm*) *yā ṣāḥi* for *yā ṣāḥibī* "O my companion" is well attested. The fem. is *ṣāḥiba*, with the plural *ṣawāḥib* and the double plural *ṣawāḥibāt* (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v.).

Ṣāḥib, in its various semantic transformations, has produced a considerable number of titles, allusive names, and some technical terms, mostly by being the first term in a genitive construct. The idea of "companion" is specialised in cases where one speaks of the *ṣāḥib* of a poet, soothsayer, or orator, meaning his *alter ego* among the *djinn* from whom he receives (some of) his inspiration (also called *shayṭān* [*q.v.*], *raʾī*, and *tābiʿ*); this is a pre-Islamic notion, but one that lives on in Islamic times as a literary fiction (e.g. in the *Risālat al-tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ* of Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*]). Still with the meaning "companion", the term has sometimes been used to refer to the counsellors of a ruler, thus in Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's *Risāla fī 'l-ṣaḥāba* (see Ch. Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, mort vers 140/757, "conseilleur" du Calife* [Paris 1976], 88-9). The plural *aṣḥāb* followed by the name of a locality in the genitive serves to refer to people who are companions in that particular place; thus Ḳurʾānic phrases like *aṣḥāb al-djanna*, *aṣḥāb al-nār* and *aṣḥāb al-kahf*.

In a different specialisation *ṣāḥib* may acquire the meaning of "disciple", because the student is a constant companion of his master. Thus *al-Ṣāḥibān* in Ḥanafī sources refers to the "two disciples" of Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], i.e. Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī [see AL-SHAYBĀNĪ]. Specifically, this term is used in Ṣūfism to designate the "adept" as opposed to the *maṣḥūb*, the "master", their relationship being called *ṣuḥba* (see e.g. W.C. Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge*, Albany 1989, 270-4). The plural *aṣḥāb* followed by a personal name in the genitive is, alongside the *nisba* formation, the normal way of expressing the "adherents of so-and-so" or the "members of his school": *aṣḥāb Abī Ḥanīfa* = *al-Ḥanafiyya*. Al-Fayyūmī (d. 770/1368) considers this last usage figurative (*madjāz*), presumably because the school members are mostly not contemporary with the founder (*al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr*, Beirut 1398/1978, 394).

In one of its semantic developments, the term *ṣāḥib* becomes more general: "partner", "match" (sometimes "adversary"), and finally "someone (or something) endowed with s.th. or characterised by s.th." In this last sense it ends up being synonymous with *dhū* (cf. *ṣāḥib al-ḥāl* = *dhu 'l-ḥāl*, "the noun modified by a circumstantial accusative"). Here belong the rather

popular allusive names, such as *ṣāḥib al-ḥūt* "the man with the fish = Jonah (see Sūra LXVIII, 48, and cf. the synonymous *dhu 'l-nūn* in Sūra XXI, 87); *ṣāḥib al-ḥimār* "the man with the donkey" = the Khāridjite rebel Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī [*q.v.*] (cf. *dhu 'l-ḥimār*, nickname of the Yemeni pseudo-prophet Ayhaba at the time of the Prophet, and for the symbolism of riding a donkey, see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten*, Munich and Berlin ²1943, Eng. tr. *History of the Islamic peoples*, London 1949, 49); *ṣāḥib al-nāḳa* "the man with the she-camel" and *ṣāḥib al-shāma* "the man with the mole" = the two Ismāʿīlī agitators Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh and al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh (see F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrine*, Cambridge 1990, 132). This type of cognomen seems to be particularly common with religious rebels and "liberators" and has the air of being a code and/or taboo name. This type may also occur in the plural: *aṣḥāb al-fīl* "those with the elephant" (Sūra CV, 2). In the same semantic category belongs the plural *aṣḥāb* followed by an abstract noun in the genitive to denote adherents of a specific concept: *aṣḥāb al-tanāsukh* "the believers in metempsychosis", *aṣḥāb al-raʾy* "the proponents of juridical discretion" as opposed to the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* "the proponents of (the exclusive use) of Prophetic Tradition." The last example shows that, even with a concrete noun (*ḥadīth* being a corpus of texts), the resulting compound may still belong in this category, with "belief in", "defence of", or a similar notion being understood. Thus e.g. *ṣāḥib al-dīk* and *ṣāḥib al-kalb* "the advocate of the rooster" and "the advocate of the dog" (in al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, passim); obviously, these expressions could also mean the "owners" of the rooster and the dog.

By narrowing the semantic field just mentioned one arrives at the notion of "possessor, owner, lord, chief." In the legal sense of ownership one finds it in *ṣāḥib al-bayt* "the owner of the house" and similarly in *ṣāḥib al-dayn* "debtor." In the sense of "chief" it forms part of the designation of a good many administrative offices: *ṣāḥib al-djaysh* "army chief", *ṣāḥib al-barīd* "chief of intelligence", *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* "police chief", *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ* "market inspector" (= tr. of Grk. *agoranomos*, later on called *muḥtasib*, cf. J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 25), *ṣāḥib al-dīwān*, or Persian *ṣāḥib-dīwān* "chief financial administrator under the Īlkhāns, on a par with the vizier." Somewhat removed, but still in the same category, the author of a book may be called *ṣāḥib al-kitāb*. Used with the title of a famous book, this would again result in an allusive name: *ṣāḥib al-Kashshāf* "the author of the *Kashshāf*", i.e. al-Zamakhsharī, author of the Ḳurʾānic commentary of that title.

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

ṢĀḤIB ATĀ OGHULLARİ, the modern designation for the descendants of the Rūm Saldjūḳid vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 687/1288), known as Ṣāḥib Atā. Literary sources record two sons of Fakhr al-Dīn, Tādj al-Dīn Ḥusayn, the eldest (Ibn Bībī, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure*, Leiden 1902, iii, 337) and Nuṣrat al-Dīn (Aḳsarāʾī, ed. Osman Turan, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, Ankara 1944, 74). An anonymous *Tawārīkh-i āl-i Saldjūḳ* completed after 765/1363 also mentions a daughter (F.N. Uzluk, *Anadolu Selçukluları devleti tarihi*, Ankara 1952, *facs.* text 70). The enduring influence of the family in the western borderlands of the Rūm Saldjūḳid domains dates from the years following the accession of Rukn al-Dīn Ḳilič Arslan [see ḲILIDJ ARSLAN IV] to the sultanate in 644/1246, when the principality of the March (*imārat-i wilāyat-i udj*) was bestowed on Tādj al-Dīn and Nuṣrat al-Dīn, with Kütahya [*q.v.*], Sanduḳlu, Ghurghurum and Aḳshehir as an appanage. (Aḳsarāʾī, 74). The brothers evidently did not retain these lands. However, in *ca.* 670/1271 they again jointly received the commandership (*serleshkerī* = *subashilik*) of Ladīḳ, Khonas and Ḳaraḥiṣār Devele (Ibn Bībī, *op. cit.*, iv, 308). The last of these is evidently the same as Afyūn Ḳaraḥiṣār [*q.v.*], which remained in the possession of the family into the following century.

In 676/1277 both brothers lost their lives at the battle of Altuntash against the rebel Djimri [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARİ] who, for a while, occupied Ḳaraḥiṣār Devele (Aḳsarāʾī, 151). However, after his defeat and death the town evidently returned to the possession of the family of Ṣāḥib Atā. The anonymous *Tawārīkh-i āl-i Saldjūḳ* refers to a victory in 686/1287 of the Germiyānids [see GERMIYĀN-OGHULLARİ] over the lord of Ḳaraḥiṣār, the son of Ṣāḥib Atā's daughter (Uzluk, *loc. cit.*). In his list of Turkish principalities submitting to the *noyan* Čoban [*q.v.*] after the accession of the Ilkhānid Abū Saʿīd in 716/1316, Aḳsarāʾī, 311, mentions Ḳaraḥiṣār Devele as being in the possession of the "grandsons of Fakhr al-Dīn". Al-ʿUmarī too, in about 730/1330, notes that "Ḳarasār" belonged to "Ibn al-Ṣāyib" (= al-Ṣāḥib) who possessed, in addition, a thousand villages and four thousand cavalrymen. To defend his possessions against Čoban's son, Timurtash, he had sought the protection of the lord of Germiyān through marriage to his daughter (*Masālik al-abṣār*, cited by Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, 1st series, ii [1327/1909], 563 ff.). An inscription over the portal of the Ḳubbeli Djāmiʿ in Afyūn Ḳaraḥiṣār, bearing the date 731/1331, names the founder of the mosque as the "great lord" (*al-mawlā al-muʿaẓẓam*) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, who was presumably the "Ibn al-Ṣāḥib" to whom al-ʿUmarī refers. An inscription dated 742/1341 on the Ulu Djāmiʿ in Afyūn Ḳaraḥiṣār refers to the same person as "Nuṣrat al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn Aḥmad", describing him as "the progeny of the great viziers" (*sulālat al-wuzarāʾ al-ʿiẓām*) (Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TTEM*, 1st series, xi [1341/1923], 357). It is conceivable that this Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was the son of the "Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad son of (Nuṣrat al-Dīn?) Ḥasan son of (Fakhr al-Dīn) ʿAlī (Ṣāḥib Atā) son of Ḥusayn" who is buried in the Sahip Ata Mausoleum in Konya (Aḥmed Tewḥīd, *loc. cit.*).

Evidence of the family disappears in the second half of the 8th/14th century, but in the Ottoman period Afyūn Ḳaraḥiṣār continued to be known as Ṣāḥib'in Ḳaraḥiṣārī (Neshrī, ed. F.R. Unat and M.A. Köymen, *Kitāb-i Cihānnümā*, Ankara 1949, i, 65) or, from the 10th/16th century, as Ḳaraḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib ("Ṣāḥib's Ḳaraḥiṣār").

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(C. Imber)

ṢĀḤIB AL-BĀB (A.), "high chamberlain", a title borne, in Fāṭimid Egypt, by a man of the sword counted amongst the first rank of *amīrs* ("*amīrs* bearing a collar", *al-umarāʾ al-muṭawwaḳūn*). This official ranked next after the vizier, and his office, or "lesser vizierate", was in fact the stepping-stone to the vizierate for Yānis al-Rūmī, Riḍwān al-Walakhshī and Abu 'l-Ashbāl Ḍirghām b. ʿĀmir. The greater part of our information on this official duties comes from Ibn al-Ṭuwayr: he was president of the tribunal considering petitions and requests when the vizier was not a "man of the sword", and he sat at the golden

door of the palace in order to register complaints and pleas. When the vizier was a "man of the sword" and presided in person, the *ṣāḥib al-bāb*'s role as simple assistant was reminiscent of that of the *ḥādjib* amongst the Mamlūks.

The institution did not exist among the first Fāṭimids, and Ḥusām al-Mulk Aftakīn, in the time of the vizierate for al-Afḍal, was the first *ṣāḥib al-bāb* to be mentioned in the sources (beginning of the 6th/12th century). The *ṣāḥib al-bāb* was addressed as *al-Muʿaẓẓam*; the first to be thus called was the *amīr* Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Khumurtāsh al-Ḥāfiẓī in *ca.* 535/1141. His deputy, to whom he delegated the important office (called *al-niyāba al-sharīfa*) of assigning their places to envoys accredited to the court, was generally a legal figure or a religious dignitary, whom one addressed as ʿAdiyy al-Mulk. The *ṣāḥib al-bāb* occupied an important place in the processions forming part of the official ceremonies and the caliphal receptions of the later Fāṭimids [see MAWĀKIB. 1], a ceremonial occasion which Ibn al-Ṭuwayr [*q.v.*] describes in detail.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-muklatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Beirut 1992, 120-8; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Ḥasan al-Shammāʿ, Baṣra 1967-70, iv/1, 136-7, 147; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 478, 484; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 403, 461; idem, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, iii, 336, 342.

(AYMAN F. SAYYID)

ṢĀḤIB GIRĀY KHĀN I, khān of the Crimea (939-58/1532-51) and khān of Ḳazan (927-30/1521-4), son of Mengli Girāy Khān I [*q.v.*] and his wife Nūr Dewlet, mother through an earlier marriage of Muḥammad Emīn (d. 925/1519), the last khān of Ḳazan [*q.v.*] in direct line from Ulugh Muḥammad, khān of the Golden Horde (1419-24, 1427-38). Half-brother of Meḥmed Girāy Khān I (920-9/1515-23 [*q.v.*]), Ṣāḥib Girāy was instrumental in this latter khān's new hostile policy against Muscovy, their father Mengli Girāy's traditional ally. In 927/1521, Ṣāḥib Girāy was able with the khān's help to drive away the Russian-backed candidate, Shāh ʿAlī, and to occupy the throne of Ḳazan, thus stressing the Girāy family's claims to the heritage of the Golden Horde. In concurrence with Meḥmed Girāy Khān I, he subsequently engaged in a struggle with Muscovy for the possession of the steppe region, which was to come to an end only 31 years later with Tsar Ivan IV's (1533-84) destruction of that khānate. In 929/1523, the brothers attacked the khānate of Astrakhān [*q.v.*], from where they ousted Ḥusayn Khān, Muscovy's candidate. In the same year, they launched a major campaign against Grand Prince Vasiliy III of Muscovy (1505-33). In the following year, as Vasiliy III prepared an expedition against Ḳazan, Ṣāḥib Girāy abdicated from the throne of Ḳazan, designated his nephew Ṣafā Girāy (first reign 930-7/1524-31) as his successor and took refuge with the Ottomans. The following eight years, Ṣāḥib Girāy stayed in Istanbul as a guest and trusted friend of sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnī (1520-66 [*q.v.*]). He not only participated in that sultan's campaigns, e.g. in Hungary in 1532, but he also became intimately acquainted with Ottoman institutions and culture.

After both the Ottoman-backed Seʿādet Girāy Khān I (1524-May 1532) and his nephew Islām Girāy Khān I (May-Sept. 1532 [*q.v.*]), who had found support with parts of the Crimean tribal aristocracy, had renounced the khānship, the Ottoman sultan confirmed with a *firmān* (reference to this is made in a document, the text and translation of which is given in *Khanat de Crimée*, 121-5; transcription in Gökbilgin 1973, 55-6) Ṣāḥib Girāy as the new khān and the former khān, Islām Girāy, as his *ḳalgha* [*q.v.*] or heir apparent. Accompanied by a large detachment of Ottoman troops (*ḳapī ḳulu*), among them 360 artillerymen (*topču* and *tüfenkči*) and 1,000 Janissaries, the new khān received the homage of the representatives of the Crimean noble clans (*ḳaraču beys*) at the mouth of the Dnepr (Özü [see ÖZI]) river. He was the first Crimean khān to receive the *segbān aḳčesi* or accession money.

Obviously, the new khān had not been accepted by the entire Crimean noble families. An undated letter of a Crimean nobleman to the Ottoman sultan, probably written towards the end of 1533 or at the beginning of 1534 (See *Khanat de Crimée*, 125-7), accuses the khān of not respecting the customs and traditions of the past.

In the same letter, the sultan is asked to designate a new khān, arguing that the power struggle between Ṣāḥib Girāy Khān and his *ḳalgha* Islām Girāy, each supported by partisans from the noble clans, was threatening to ruin the country. Ṣāḥib Girāy's troubles with his nephew Islām Girāy continued until he succeeded, in 1537, in having him killed by Bāḳī Beg, one of the leaders of the eminent Crimean *ḳaraču* clan of the Manghīts and subsequently Ṣāḥib Girāy's most dangerous opponent. After this incident, the Crimean nobles who had been partisans of Islām Girāy paid allegiance to the khān.

Ṣāḥib Girāy Khān was now free to participate as a much-honoured ally in the Ottoman campaign against Moldavia (1538), which ended with the establishment of the *sandjaḳ* of Aḳkerman comprising the territories of Budjaḳ [*q.v.*], between the rivers Prut and Dnestr, and the neighbourhood of the former Tatar fortress of Özü/Očakov (cf. G. Veinstein, *L'occupation ottomane d'Očakov et le problème de la frontière lituano-tatare, 1538-1544*, in *Passé turco-tatar-Présent soviétique. Études offertes à A. Bennigsen*, Louvain-Paris 1986, 123-55). In the following year, the khān turned his attention towards his unruly Čerkes neighbours. Owing to the rugged terrain, however, the campaign was not successful, nor was another one in 1542.

In winter 1539/40, the khān sent an army of 30,000 men on a raid against Muscovy, under the command of the *ḳalgha*, his son Emīn Girāy. In winter 1541, Ṣāḥib Girāy in person led an—unsuccessful—campaign into Muscovite territory, but then finally managed to kill the Manghīt Bāḳī Beg, associated with the Noghays [*q.v.*] of the steppe who represented the most imminent threat to the Crimean Tatars and their pasture lands outside the peninsula. In 1546, Ṣāḥib Girāy's firearms dealt a severe blow to the Noghays' pre-eminence in the steppe. In 1549, he went on a punitive campaign against the khān of Astrakhān in an effort to preserve Crimean political claims in that region.

In spite of his excellent relations with the Ottoman court, at least during the first half of his rule, Ṣāḥib Girāy proved to be more than a puppet ruler in the service of sultan Süleymān's power game in the Black Sea area, or, on a different level, the preservation of the sultan's peaceful policy towards Muscovy in view of his trade interests. The khān's main political objective remained the containment of his northern neighbour. In this aim, he made regular inroads into that territory.

Both the intervention of the Shīrīn bey on behalf of the powerful Crimean aristocracy and the suspicion of Ottoman court circles in regard to Ṣāḥib Girāy's independent political action led to the khān's final downfall. Under the pretext of investing Dewlet Girāy

[*q.v.*], another "hostage" prince at the Sublime Porte, with the khānship of Ḳazan, the Ottoman sultan sent Dewlet Girāy with an Ottoman detachment to the peninsula, where he was able to win general support (Ramaḍān 958/Sept. 1551). Ṣāḥib Girāy subsequently was murdered in the fortress of Ṭāmān, together with his sons, by a partisan of his nephew and successor Dewlet Girāy, who was to become the most powerful khān of the 16th century.

Ṣāḥib Girāy Khān was considered a courageous and resourceful, though harsh ruler, both by his contemporaries and by later chroniclers. In spite of his marked taste for Ottoman civilisation, he pursued Crimean political interests by strengthening the Čingizid steppe tradition—the khān's power against that of the leaders of the tribal aristocracy (İnalcık, *passim*). It was most probably in the reign of Ṣāḥib Girāy Khān that the seat of power was transferred from Eski Ḳirīm (Solghat) to Bāghče Saray [*q.v.*]. Diplomatic evidence seems to indicate that from 1533 onwards, Bāghče Saray was the place where the khāns had their palace and where they received foreign representatives (Fisher, *Crimean Tatars*, 29-30). ʿAbd ül-Ghaffār (*ʿUmdet ül-tewārīkh*, 101-2) mentions his building activities, a mosque, a medrese, palaces, a double bath and shops. The cultural life of the Crimean peninsula took a decisive turn towards Ottomanisation in the spheres of the military, of institutions and of the arts.

The most detailed source on both political and cultural life under Ṣāḥib Girāy Khān's reign is *Tārīkh-i Ṣāḥib Girāy Khān*, the first chronicle of Crimean Tatar history as such, completed in 960/1553, shortly after the khān's death, by Ḳāysūnī-zāde Meḥmed Nidāʾī, known as Remmāl Khʷādja, the khān's physician and astrologer.

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(B. Kellner-Heinkele)

ṢĀḤIB ḲIRĀN (A. and P.), a title meaning "Lord of the (auspicious) conjunction". *Ḳirān* means a conjunction of the planets, *ḳirān al-saʿdayn* [see AL-SAʿDĀN] a conjunction of the two auspicious planets (Jupiter and Venus), and *ḳirān al-naḥsayn* a conjunction of the two inauspicious planets (Saturn and Mars). In the title, the word refers, of course, to the former only. The Persian *i* of the *iḍāfa* is omitted, as in *ṣāḥib-dil*, by *fakk-i iḍāfa*. The title was first assumed by the Amīr Tīmūr, who is said to have been born under a fortunate conjunction, but with whom its assumption was, of course, an afterthought. After his death, poets and flatterers occasionally applied it to lesser sovereigns, even to so insignificant a ruler as the South Indian Burhān II Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar [see NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS], but it was officially assumed by Tīmūr's distant descendant, the Mughal emperor Shāh Djahān [*q.v.*], who styled himself *Ṣāḥib Ḳirān-i-Thānī* "the second Lord of the Conjunction".

Ṣāḥib-Ḳirān was also, in Persia, where it has since been corrupted into *Ḳirān* or *Ḳrān*, the name of a coin of 1000 *dīnārs*, the tenth part of a *tūmān*.

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ṢĀḤIB AL-MADĪNA (A.), an administrative function found in mediaeval Islamic Spain.

Documentation for this is almost exclusively found in regard to al-Andalus. The Granadan jurist Ibn Sahl [*q.v.*], in his *al-Aḥkām al-kubrā*, mentions it amongst the six traditional functions (*khuṭṭa* or "magistratures") which gave their holders the right to pronounce judgements (the *ḳāḍī*, the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*, the *ṣ. al-maẓālim*, the *ṣ. al-radd*, the *ṣ. al-madīna* and the *ṣ. al-sūḳ*). According to the Valencian Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*], there existed until the 7th/13th century two distinct magistratures, sc. the *ṣāḥib al-madīna* and the *ṣ. al-shurṭa*. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Saʿīd [*q.v.*] (in the great, later compilation of Andalusian culture by al-Maḳḳarī, the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*), and in the following one, Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], in his *Muḳaddima*, also mention the title of *ṣ. al-madīna*, but make it the designation of the chief of the police or *shurṭa* in Muslim Spain. However, the Sevillan Ibn ʿAbdūn [*q.v.*], who in his treatise on *ḥisba*, written towards the end of the 5th/11th century, passes in review the administrative offices in the capital at the end of the period of the Taifas and that of the first Almoravids, does not mention it. Nor does it appear in the detailed list of functions given by the Maghribī al-Wansharīsī [*q.v.*] in his *K. al-Wilāyāt*, even though this last is in part inspired by the Andalusian tradition.

Nevertheless, the Arabic sources on al-Andalus amply attest the existence of this "magistrature of the town" from the reign of the Umayyad *amīr* of Cordova ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52), who is said, according to Ibn Saʿīd, "to have separated the *wilāyat al-sūḳ* from the functions of the *shurṭa* called *wilāyat al-madīna*", until the crisis of the caliphate in the early 5th/11th century. The names of a good number of its holders are known to us. Ibn Ḥayyān's [*q.v.*] *Muḳtabis*, which used the *Annals* of ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī, an author contemporary with the caliphate, testifies to the existence of two *wilāyat al-madīnas*, one for Cordova and one for the new capital of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. The importance of the persons holding this first charge or dignity appears from the duties entrusted to them under the amīrate and the caliphate. These were diverse, and could involve policing and public order, justice, the levying of taxes and even leading armies, all of which leads one to think that there were no strictly determined duties but rather, on a basis difficult to determine for the city of Cordova, a nexus of functions varying in extent according to the confidence placed in the holder, especially as this last often piled up for himself other offices (was it as *ḳāʾid* or *wazīr*, or as *ṣāḥib al-madīna*, that such a person holding these offices at the same time might lead a military expedition?).

Under the caliph al-Ḥakam II, the detailed descriptions of the protocollary order of official ceremonies during the years 360-4/971-5 place the *wazīr*, *kātib* and *ṣāḥib al-madīna* of Cordova Djaʿfar b. ʿUthmān al-Muṣḥafī immediately on the caliph's right; but since this concerns the "strong man" at this moment in the régime, it is hard to discern exactly under which title he held this preponderant role. It is nevertheless certain that the post was at this time a lofty one; on al-

Ḥakam's death in 366/976, al-Muṣḥafī designated the dead ruler's youngest son, Hishām II, as caliph, himself assumed the office of *ḥādjib* (which had not been filled for several years) and designated his own son *ṣāḥib al-madīna* of Cordova. A little later, in his brilliant ascension to the heights of power, Muhammad Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (the future al-Manṣūr), in the first place stripped the latter of his post in order to occupy it personally, and then eliminated al-Muṣḥafī himself and replaced him as *ḥādjib*. Afterwards, under the ʿĀmirid dictatorship, the function and title lost their importance. However, it is known that, at this time, a high personage, a cousin of al-Manṣūr's, held the title of *ṣāḥib al-madīnatayn* ("in charge of the two cities", i.e. Cordova and, it is thought, the official ʿĀmirid centre of al-Madīna al-Zāhira rather than the caliphal one of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, which had no importance in practice by this time).

The fact that the office seems to have existed only in al-Andalus poses a problem. It has been seen above that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II is supposed to have created the office. J. Vallvé, in a detailed study of the history of this function under the Umayyads, has set forth the hypothesis that the *ṣāḥib al-madīna* could derive from the *comes civitatis* of the Roman and Visigothic period. The idea ought to be approached with prudence. Certainly, the sources bear witness to the existence, during the Umayyad amīrate, of an office of *ḳūmis* [*q.v.*] entrusted to a Christian, who originally had jurisdiction over the Mozarab community but who was at times the recipient of the sovereign's confidence and given various functions, including the command of the guard, the *kitāba* and the collection of taxes, even involving those from the Muslims. But the pieces of evidence adduced by Vallvé himself allow us to aver that, under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, there existed contemporaneously a *ḳūmis* of the Christians—for whom there are still some indications in the 4th/10th century—and a *ṣāḥib al-madīna*, and this makes the idea—in any case not very acceptable in the context of the Iberian peninsula under Islam—of a transformation pure and simple of the *comes civitatis* into the *ṣāḥib al-madīna* difficult to accept. Nevertheless, can one exclude the possibility that the change in numerical proportion between Christian and Muslim populations in Cordova in favour of the second group might, in the 3rd/9th century, have led to the transfer to a newly-created office/magistrature involving administrative and judicial functions which had been, in practice, and in the context of the capital city, exercised until then by the "count" of the Christians?

Vallvé's hypothesis endeavours to take into account an exceptional case in al-Andalus, which is complicated by the fact that, after the Reconquista, in Aragon and Navarre at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th centuries, the Christians gave to the municipal magistrate appointed by the king for administration and for rendering justice in the towns, the title of *justicia*, but also that of *zalmedina*, obviously a linguistic calque of the Arabic *ṣāḥib al-madīna*. The same state of affairs is attested in Christian Toledo, where there existed in the 12th century a *zafalmedina*. This leads one to suppose that, in the political capitals of principalities reconquered by the Christians at the end of the period of the Taifas, there still existed an official in the Umayyad tradition exercising the duties of *ṣāḥib al-madīna* or bearing the title.

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(MOHAMED MEOUAK and P. GUICHARD)

ṢAḤĪFA (A.), lit. "a flat object, a plaque, a leaf", whence "a surface or material on which one can write", applied especially to fragments of the Ḳurʾān or *ḥadīth* or any other document of a solemn nature, whence finally, the written texts themselves. The pl. *ṣuḥuf* is uncommon for feminine nouns (but cf. *madīna*, pl. *mudun* "town", *safīna* pl. *sufun* "ship").

1. Linguistic usage.

The term appears contemporaneously with the advent of Islam, but must evidently have existed before then. In Ḳurʾān, XLIII, 71, *ṣiḥāf* also appears as a pl. of *ṣaḥfa*, with the sense "plates, platters", but *ṣuḥuf* appears eight times in the sacred text. Sūras XX, 133, and LXXXVII, 18, refer to "the ancient scriptures", in LXXXVII, 19, and LIII, 36-7, described more narrowly as those of Abraham and Moses, always in the perspective of a continued revelation, from the Creation to Muḥammad, without naming the latter. But it is clearly Muḥammad who is referred to in LXXX "He frowned", and v. 13 mentions the *ṣuḥuf mukarrama* "honoured leaves". Slightly later, after the Hidjra of A.D. 622, there comes XCVIII, 2, *ṣuḥuf muṭahhara* "purified leaves". The Prophet's contemporaries, always hostile, would have liked some *ṣuḥuf munashshara* "leaves/scrolls spread out/unrolled", LXXIV, 52. Finally, to announce the end of the world, a series of utterances beginning with *idhā* "when..." describe apocalyptic events, including *wa-idhā 'l-ṣuḥuf nushirat* "when the leaves/scrolls will be spread out/unrolled" (LXXXI, 10), which could also mean the documents in which men's deeds are recorded.

Ṣaḥīfa and *muṣḥaf* and their plurals are attested in *Ḥadīth* 63 and 65 times respectively (Wensinck, *Con-*

cordance, iii, 360-1). As a leaf meant to receive a written text, the *ṣaḥīfa* could be rolled up (*ṭawā*) or spread out/unrolled (*nas͟hara*), and might often be suspended (*ʿallaḳa*) e.g. from the hilt of a sword. It was meant to be read in public and put into effect like an edict or ordinance.

The Prophet, just before his death, asked for a *ṣaḥīfa* for writing upon at his dictation (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 346; Ibn Mād͟ja, *Zuhd*, 7). This must refer to a blank piece of writing material, a leaf of parchment or papyrus.

According to the *Sīra* (Ibn Isḥāḳ and Ibn His͟hām [*q.vv.*]), there will be a mysterious fire which will devour the unjust person but spare the one who has suffered injustice. Two priests will come forth publicly, with their *muṣḥafs* round their necks, and walk through the fire. Idols and offerings will be consumed, but not the two *muṣḥafs* (*Sīra*, Cairo 1937, i, 24). The first Muslim migrants to Ethiopia witnessed the bishops spreading out (*nas͟harū*) their *muṣḥafs* (*ibid.*, i, 358). At the moment of ʿUmar's conversion, the latter found with his sister and brother-in-law a *ṣaḥīfa* (parchment? leaf?) on which was written the opening of sūra XX (*ibid.*, i, 364-6).

Correlatives of *ṣaḥīfa* include: *ḳirṭās* [*q.v.*], occurring once in the Ḳurʾān, as also its pl.; *kitāb* [*q.v.*], occurring 255 times, and its pl. six times; *lawḥ* [*q.v.*], once, and its pl. four times; *mawt͟hiḳ/mīt͟hāḳ* [*q.v.*], only to be connected with *ṣaḥīfa* under its aspect of pact, treaty, convention; *nusk͟ha* [*q.v.*], once only; *raḳḳ* [*q.v.*], once only; *ruḳʿa*, non Ḳurʾānic but with the sense of a piece of clothing or administrative document, or a sealed, personal message (*Sīra*, i, 26); *sifr*, non-Ḳurʾānic, but found there five times in its pl. *asfār*, with the sense of books, volumes; and *waraḳ(a)* [*q.v.*], three occurrences altogether, a leaf of a tree or of a ms. in *Ḥadīt͟h* (Ibn Mād͟ja). There are obvious links between all these terms designating materials meant to receive writing, with all the sacred connotations of this latter term. An impression is given that communication with the divine is perceived as taking place on three levels: (1) the *risāla*, or mission of God's messengers; (2) the *kutub*, the writings resulting from this mission; and (3) the *ṣuḥuf*, leaves in the form of archives, documents to which later reference is always possible.

2. Definition.

Ṣaḥīfa does not refer to a leaf, since we have the word *waraḳa* in both Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīt͟h*, nor yet paper (only after *ca.* A.D. 750), but a flat, smooth surface specially prepared for writing, a document written on a page on a flat surface, not a stone, such as parchment or papyrus.

The *muṣḥaf* is a collection of written leaves placed between two covers (*ṣuḥuf bayn daffat^ayi/lawḥ^ayi 'l-muṣḥaf*), or a collection of a complete assemblage of leaves, each leaf being called a *ṣaḥīfa*, or a collection of pieces, of documents, a corpus or vulgate. In his *LʿA*, ix, 186a-187a, Ibn Manẓūr defines a *ṣaḥīfa* as a surface of writing upon in the form of a leaf. It differs from a *ruḳʿa*, which is necessarily sealed, whilst a *ṣaḥīfa* can be opened out, fixed on a wall or attached to something. He mentions, in this connection, the anecdote about Ṭarafa and al-Mutalammis [*q.vv.*], both of them bearers of a *ṣaḥīfa*, an unsealed letter from the king ʿAmr b. Hind ordering their execution. By getting the letter deciphered by a youth, al-Mutalammis escaped death, whilst Ṭarafa perished.

A *ṣaḥīfa* could be a leaf on which was transcribed the text of a pact or treaty, meant to be read out to the people and fixed on the wall of the Kaʿba or public place, whilst the expression *ṣuḥuf muṭahhara/mukarrama* could mean the leaves on which the Divine Revelation was written.

3. History.

The conversion of ʿUmar was a shock for the Prophet's enemies and encouraged the first Muslims, who performed their worship at the Kaʿba itself. This conversion resulted from the discovery of a *ṣaḥīfa* (= page) of the Ḳurʾān which ʿUmar had read at his sister's house (see above). This gave rise to another *ṣaḥīfa*, an agreement amongst the leading men of Ḳurays͟h, a kind of resolution voted upon by the people of Mecca and posted up inside the Kaʿba. (This edict recalls such documents amongst the ancient Romans, which were written on a leaf, read out to the people and publicly posted in the Forum.) (*Sīra*, i, 371, 397, 399; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1189-98).

In A.D. 619, there had taken place the emigration of many of the Muslims from Mecca to Ethiopia [see HID͟JRA; MUHĀD͟JIRŪN], whilst those remaining in Mecca had protection from the young ʿUmar. But in a counter-stroke, the Meccan leaders produced from their deliberations a *ṣaḥīfa*, this event being the most important one in the history of Meccan-Muslim relations in the years immediately before the Hid͟jra. A social and economic boycott of the Muslims of the Banū Hās͟him and of al-Muṭṭalib was envisaged, involving a prohibition of marriages with them and avoidance of commercial contacts. These two Muslim clans took refuge in their *s͟hiʿb* or ravine, on the lands of Abū Ṭālib. The boycott lasted for two or three years, during which the *ṣaḥīfa* was posted up in the Kaʿba, but was not completely watertight. Certain citizens eventually banded together to denounce the pact, and five of them, Zuhayr b. Umayya, al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī, Abu 'l-Bak͟htarā b. His͟hām and Zamʿa b. al-Aswad, harangued the crowd in front of the Kaʿba and denounced the *ṣaḥīfa*; but the story goes that the words of it had all been eaten away by worms, with the exception of the opening words "In thy name, O Lord!" (*Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 247-51; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 121-2).

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(A. GHÉDIRA)

ṢAḤĪḤ (A.), literally, "sound, healthy".

1. As a technical term in the science of *ḥadīt͟h* [*q.v.*], i.e. Muslim tradition.

It did not come into use immediately with the onset of *isnād* criticism, for al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. 360/970 [*q.v.*]), who wrote the first systematic work on *ḥadīt͟h*, does not seem to have applied it yet. It is used by mediaeval as well as modern Muslim tradition experts (sometimes followed in this by some western scholars) to describe or qualify one particular prophetic tradition or a whole collection of such traditions. *Ṣaḥīḥ* traditions constitute one of the three major subdivisions of Muslim traditions, the other two being *ḥasan*, i.e. "fair", and *ḍaʿīf*, i.e. "weak". The commonest definition of a tradition which is declared *ṣaḥīḥ* is that it is supported by an *isnād* [*q.v.*] which is labelled as *ṣaḥīḥ*, namely, one which shows a chain of transmitters going back to the Prophet in an uninterrupted manner, i.e. each pair of two transmitters in that chain must both be considered *ʿadl*, i.e. "upright" or "honest" to the point that their testimonies are admissible in a court of law, and *ḍābiṭ*, i.e. "painstakingly accurate". Finally, they should be known to have met each other. In the case where a personal meeting of two transmitters is not recorded in so many words, it is imperative for an *isnād* in which these figure to be called *ṣaḥīḥ*, that their lifetimes should show a sufficient overlap (in Arabic: *muʿāṣara*) for a master-pupil relationship, or at least some transmission, to become feasible. Moreover, for a tradition to be *ṣaḥīḥ*, it should neither be *s͟hād͟hd͟h*, i.e. attested by a single *isnād*

not found anywhere else, nor *muʿallal*, i.e. marred by a *ʿilla*, i.e. a (hidden) defect pertaining to one pair of transmitters in its *isnād*. In short, a *ḥadīth* that deserves to be labelled *ṣaḥīḥ* is one credited with the highest possible degree of acceptability.

Many different *isnād* strands received the qualification of being "the most *ṣaḥīḥ* strand of all" at the hands of various early tradition scholars, but none is more famous than al-Bukhārī's favourite strand: (al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*])-Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*]-Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*]-ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*]-Prophet. This strand was used also to support untold numbers of doubtful traditions, as its very frequent occurrence in e.g. the *Lisān al-mīzān* of Ibn Ḥadjar [*q.v.*] testifies. For a survey of the other strands held to be particularly *ṣaḥīḥ*, see *Bibl.*

Tradition collections entitled *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* are the canonical collections by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]), Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 261/875 [*q.v.*]) and al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892 [*q.v.*]). Those of al-Bukhārī and Muslim are, furthermore, generally referred to as "the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*". Besides, the post-canonical collection made by Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965 [*q.v.*]) entitled *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ ʿalā 'l-taḳāsīm wa 'l-anwāʿ* is often abbreviated to *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān*, cf. the redaction of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Balbān al-Fārisī (d. 739/1339) called *al-Iḥsān bi-tartīb ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān*, ed. Kamāl Y. al-Ḥūt, Beirut 1987, 10 parts. Finally, there is the early, mainly Ibāḍī [see IBĀḌIYYA] collection of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb (d. *ca.* 170/785) which is sometimes called *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*.

Bibliography: For a survey of definitions of, and gradations and sub-divisions within, the technical term, as well as the most *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* strands linked to various Companions and later key figures in *ḥadīth*, see al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muʿẓam Ḥusayn, Cairo-Ḥaydarābād 1937, 58-62; Nawawī, *Taḳrīb*, tr. by W. Marçais in *JA*, 9e séries, XVI (1900), 480-97; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *al-Muḳaddima* [*fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*], edited with *Maḥāsin al-iṣṭilāḥ* of Sirādj al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Bulḳīnī by ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, Cairo 1974, 82-102; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ taḳrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1966, I, 62-152; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 141-57. (G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

2. In law.

In Islamic law, a legal act is regarded as valid, i.e. having its desired legal effects, if all its essential elements (*rukn*, pl. *arkān*) are present and the necessary conditions (*sharṭ*, pl. *shurūṭ*) are fulfilled. If one or more of these elements or conditions are lacking, the act is null and void (*fāsid* or *bāṭil* [*q.v.*]), therefore does not exist and has no effect. This classification applies to acts of devotion (*ʿibādāt*) as well as to legal acts (*muʿāmalāt*). With regard to the former, the desired effect is being acquitted of an obligation, which will result in reward in the Hereafter. Thus an obligatory *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*] performed in compliance with the prescriptions, is valid, counts as the discharge of a duty and will be recompensed after one's death. Similarly, a repudiation duly pronounced according to the rules is valid and produces its legal effects such as the dissolution of the marriage and the beginning of the waiting period for the wife (*ʿidda* [*q.v.*]). Valid acts are not necessarily binding (*lāzim*). Most schools recognise as valid suspended (*mawḳūf*) acts, i.e. legal acts that have no obligatory effect until after their ratification by a third party, such as acts performed by an unauthorised agent (*fuḍūlī*) or a discerning minor (*mumayyiz*). In order to be binding they have to be approved by the principal or the guardian. They are classified as valid because, after ratification, they are regarded as having bound the principal or the minor from the moment the original act was performed.

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(R. PETERS)

3. In grammar.

Here, *ṣaḥīḥ* usually refers to the "sound" letters, loosely the consonants of Arabic, defined by default as being neither "weak" letters, *muʿtalla*, viz. the semivowels *alif, wāw, yāʾ* [see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ], nor vowels, viz. *fatḥa, kasra* and *ḍamma* [see ḤARAKA WA-SUKŪN, KASRA]. The criteria of soundness and weakness are purely phonetic and date at least to the 2nd/8th century; Sībawayhi (*flor.* 170/786 [*q.v.*]) and al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791, e.g. *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, i, 51, 57, 59) both use *ṣaḥīḥ* and *muʿtall.*

The soundness of a letter (sc. phoneme: *ḥarf* [*q.v.*] denotes grapheme and phoneme alike, which does not imply that the grammarians overlooked the distinction) lies in its stability in all vocalic environments, unlike the weak letters, which are unstable between and after vowels, and in its organic difference from the vowels, which are articulated without any interruption in the air stream, while the sound phonemes, continuant or plosive, always involve some constriction. The morphophonological implications of these articulatory features were minutely observed by the grammarians, who described in detail the various allophones and such sound-changes as assimilation (*idghām* [*q.v.*]), dissimilation, metathesis and substitution (*ibdāl* [*q.v.*], and see al-Nassir, Bakalla, Bohas and Guillaume).

On the morphological level, a verb stem containing no weak radicals is called a "sound verb" *fiʿl ṣaḥīḥ* (or *fiʿl sālim*), with much inconsistency regarding the place of *hamza* in this scheme, and the "sound" plural is likewise *al-djamʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* as well as the more usual *al-djamʿ al-sālim*.

It has been noted that *ṣaḥīḥ* in later grammar may also denote a "correct" utterance (Versteegh, 34): a possible logical origin is hinted at, though the phrase *kalām ṣaḥīḥ* is already found in Sībawayhi, Derenbourg, i, 353, Būlāḳ, i, 400. More important than origins, however, is the still unexplored peculiarity that the same grammatical term may occur at different levels of analysis, indicating an approach to terminology fundamentally at variance with modern linguistic conventions.

Bibliography: The articles referred to above, especially ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ, contain extensive bibliographies, to which may now be added the following: G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976; M.H. Bakalla, *Ibn Jinnī: an early Arab Muslim phonetician. An interpretative study of his life and contribution to linguistics*, London-Taipei 1982; G. Bohas and J.-P. Guillaume, *Études des théories des grammairiens arabes. I, Morphologie et phonologie*, Damascus 1984; al-Khalīl, *K. al-ʿAyn*, ed. M. al-Makhzūmī and I. al-Samarrāʾī, Beirut 1988, i, 47-61; C.H.M. Versteegh, *Arabic grammar and Qurʾānic exegesis in early Islam*, Leiden 1993; A.A. al-Nassir, *Sibawayh the phonologist*, London 1993.

(M.G. CARTER)

SĀḤIL (A.), European form Sahel, a geographical term meaning "edge, border zone". It is, grammatically, an active participle with a passive meaning (*fāʿil bi-maʿnā mafʿūl*, see e.g. *LʿA*, ed. Beirut

1375/1956, xi, 328a, "eaten away by the sea" whence "shore".

The term has various regional applications, in accordance with the meaning "fringe area, zone".

1. *In the Maghrib.*

(a) The Sāḥil of Tunisia (Sāḥil of Sousse, Sāḥil of Sfax). This is the coastal region of the low steppes of the north, around the towns of Sousse, Monastir and Mahdia, having a maritime climate and rainfall in excess of 300 mm per annum and characterised by the importance of its olive groves and the antiquity of its urban network.

(b) The Sāḥil of Algeria. This is applied to the coastal regions of Algeria, mainly those around Algiers and Oran.

2. *To the south of the Sahara.*

The Sāḥil (in the best known sense of the word) here is defined by the Arabic authors as a southern "shore" of the Sahara, here compared to a sea. The term was taken up in 1900 by the botanist Auguste Chevalier, who posited an opposition in West and Central Africa of increasingly humid zones called Saharan, Sahilian, Sudanian and Guinean.

The Sāḥil zone thus delimited includes several African states, from west to east: Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Fasso (Upper Volta), Niger, the northeastern extremity of Nigeria, Chad and the Sudan, with an area of about 4 million km^2. The term is, however, used above all for the central and western part, from Tibesti to the Atlantic Ocean. The Sāḥil does not have any well-marked physical features. Like all the Sahara [see AL-ṢAḤRĀʾ], flat surfaces predominate, either in the form of plains resulting from the levelling of the ancient pre-Cambrian shield, making up the main part of the countryside and interrupted by rare *inselbergs*, or else in the form of essentially sandstone plateaux edged with abrupt slopes making up striking relief features, such as, from west to east, the Tagant and Assaba, the plateaux of Bandiagara and the Hombori, and the Ennedi massif. Really mountainous massifs are rare, apart from the volcanic one of the Djebel Marra in the Sudan, reaching 3,000 m/10,000 feet. Within this little-differentiated topography, the surface is often made up of *regs* [*q.v.*], but the dominant characteristic of the Sāḥil surfaces is the importance of the ergs (*ʿirḳ*). These great stretches of dunes, of which the great Saharan ergs often extend towards the southwest, are actually clothed with a herbaceous vegetation which stabilises the sands; they are made up of extended parallel bands of terrain (several dozen km), and increasingly flattened by water erosion as one travels southwards. Oriented ENE-WSW, and covered with reddish sands, these bands are separated by gullies between the dunes, e.g. the ergs of Trarza and Cayor in Mauritania, the Gourma to the south-east of Timbuctu, the Azaouak to the south-west of the Aïr, the Daza and Djourab to the north-east of Lake Chad and the Goz of Sudan. These ergs are the remnants of important climatic variations which have taken place over the last millennia, and have sometimes brought about an important advance of the desert southwards and the fixing of sand dunes, and at other times a retreat of the Sahara northwards accompanied by a considerable extension of Lake Chad and the overflowing of the Niger northwards, as was the case during the period 8,000-2,000 B.C., with the reversion to conditions identical with those of the present time having lasted hardly more than 3,000 years. Over the Sāḥil zone in general, there is shrubby steppeland in the south, becoming bushy in the north, with a weak vegetation covering index, and which is more and more open as one approaches the Sahara. Large, allogenous rivers—the Senegal, Niger, Chari and Nile—bring into the region waters which are often abundant.

The absence of topographical boundaries leads one to describe the Sāḥil as the zone of transition between the Sahara and the more humid regions of tropical Africa. Hence it can only be delimited by means of climatic characteristics, much discussed by writers; thus Ch. Toupet considers as Sāḥilian the band of terrain comprised between the annual mean isohyets of 100 mm in the north and 700 mm in the south, whilst Y. Péhaut limits it to the 150-200 mm band in the north and the 600 mm one in the south. This "climatic" definition is further complicated by the importance of variations in precipitation over the course of the years. The great droughts affecting the Sāḥil since 1967 have brought about displacements of the climatic zones towards the south by several hundred kilometres, and extensive changes for the worse in the natural habitat, worsened by the increases in population and their herds and by the fragility of the sandy soils of the ancient ergs; during years of greater rainfall, the Sahara-Sāḥil boundary retreats northwards, but the deterioration of the habitat is often irreversible and never completely restored. These droughts are due to the marginal position of the Sāḥil in relation to the inflow of rainfall. The Sāḥil in general is characterised by the alternation, in the course of each year, of a long dry season during which the northerly trade-winds (called *Harmattan* when they are continental) and a rainy season corresponding to the influx of humid air of the summer monsoons originating in the Atlantic Ocean (Gulf of Guinea). These monsoons, fairly abundant in the southern part of the Sāḥil, become more and more feeble and irregular as one approaches the Sahara.

The population of the Sāḥil is characterised by a marked decrease in density as one goes from south to north and by the mixture of "blacks" and "whites", more or less Islamised, with a distribution only explicable by what it has been possible to piece together of the history of the region and of the great empires which dominated it, poorly known for the central and western Sāḥil. The first empire, that of Ghāna [*q.v.*], which extended from the southern Sahara as far as Guinea, was described in 1068 by al-Bakrī in his description of West Africa. It was interrupted in the 5th/11th century by the arrival of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], who came from southern Morocco and created an empire stretching from al-Andalus to the western Sāḥil; this did not last, but brought Islam and the Arabic language to the region. In the 7th/13th century, a new empire, that of Mali [*q.v.*], arose, from the Sāḥil to the tropical forest, in the bend of the Niger. After its apogee in the 8th/14th century, it was supplanted a century later by the Songhay empire, whose capital Gao was destroyed by an expedition sent from Morocco in 1591. At the same time, around Lake Chad, the dynasty of the Safawa reigned from the 3rd/9th to the 13th/19th century with various fortunes.

In all these regions, the penetration of Islam was achieved essentially in peaceful ways, favoured by the great empires based on commerce, and whose ruling classes showed themselves fairly tolerant. It was often the nobles and urban populations which became converts, whilst the rural populations, making up the mass of the people, remained animists. This penetration was equally the work of numerous Muslim traders involved in the trans-Saharan commerce, involving above all the export of gold, for which the

Sudan was the main world producer, to the Mediterranean countries, and the slave traffic, which had for long been important, to the lands of the Maghrib. It was likewise favoured by a general movement, since the Middle Ages, of the sedentary black populations, pushed southwards by nomads who were Muslims, and possibly by a deterioration in climate.

The present-day population of the Sāḥil shows a complex pattern of overlapping peoples, including societies often strongly hierarchical in social structure, which can be distinguished by their ways of life: the pure nomads, found especially in the northern Sāḥil, corresponding to the southwards extension of the great Saharan groups: Moors in the west, Touaregs in the centre and Tubus in the east. The semi-nomads, like the Kreda to the east of Lake Chad, regularly increase proportionately, and possess palm-groves or practise stock-rearing and an extensive agriculture at the same time, sometimes organising the transhumance of their herds under the care of herdsmen. The Peuls or Fulbe, a people whose origin is badly known, belong to this category, whilst practising stock-rearing of bovines which are more of a social value than one of food supply. Finally, the cultivators, mainly blacks, have great difficulty in practising dry farming in a climate with such feeble and irregular rainfall; the cultures utilising river water along the great waterways depend on the volume of the flood waters of those rivers, and irrigated systems of agriculture remain rare. Within these activities, formerly highly hierarchical, recent political changes have brought a reversal in the strength of forces; the nomadic Saharan tribes, which were formerly dominant through their razzias and through the slave traffic, have found themselves ruined by the drought, the disappearance of the great caravan traffic and the collapse of social structures, and are subordinate to a political authority in the hands of the sedentary black populations, more quickly susceptible to education.

The peoples of the Sāḥil have often been severely affected by the great droughts which have adversely affected their modes of life at a time when they have been demographically increasing—e.g. it has been estimated that the population of Senegal has increased from one million at the beginning of this century to one of *ca.* 7.5 millions in 1990—and the increase in herds has damaged the environment. Unfavourable economic conditions (decline in the value of primary products and of agricultural products for export), and the division of the Sāḥil into several states with scanty resources, have added to climatic deterioration to make the Sāḥil one of the regions of the globe in the greatest difficulties.

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SĀHIR, DJELĀL (Celal Sahir Erozan), Ottoman and early Republican Turkish poet and author, born in 1299/1883, died in 1935.

He was the son of Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Pasha of Yemen and Fehime Nüzhet of the Tatar Ḥādjī Dāwūd Khān family, herself an author and poet. Sāhir grew up with his mother in Istanbul, attended the Dāwūd Pasha Rüshdiyye and the Wefā Iʿdādī schools and took private French lessons. He began writing poetry at the age of 14, and his poems were first published in *Therwet-i fünūn* [*q.v.*], the journal of the literary group *Edebiyyāt-i djedīde*. When the group renewed itself under the name *Fedjr-i ātī* [*q.v.*], whose motto was art for art's sake, he became for a while the leader of the group. Although they were for the westernisation of Turkish literature, their language remained complex, with much use of the Persian and Arabic lexicons, the use of traditional love themes and writing in *ʿarūḍ*, i.e. the traditional metres of poetry. He left the Faculty of Law in Istanbul after two years and in 1903 was employed at the Foreign Office. After *Fedjr-i ātī* dissolved itself, Sāhir wrote for the journal *Genč ḳalemler* ("Young Pens") during 1911-12, this being the voice of the nationalist movement, advocating use of the national language and a national literature. During this time, Sāhir wrote with the syllabic folk metre of Turkish. He left the Foreign Office and first taught literature in high schools but later became a merchant. He acted chiefly as the founder or editor of various periodicals as well as writing in them (*Seyyāre, Demet, Kitāblar, Türk Yurdu, Bilgi, Khalḳa Doghru* and *Türk Sözü*). These journals were mostly devoted to the promotion of Turkish nationalism during the war years. *Kitāblar*, published in the 1920s, were monthly books containing poems, plays, short stories called *Birindji kitāb....sekizindji kitāb*. He was appointed as a member of the Commission for Language Reform and became a member in the National Assembly for Zonguldak in 1928. In 1932 he was among the founding members of the *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti*. He died in 1935 in Istanbul, having married three times and having six children.

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SAHL b. HĀRŪN b. RĀHAWAYH (or Rāhīyūn, Rāhyūn, Rāmnūy), Persian author, translator, and a poet of great repute who wrote in Arabic in the early ʿAbbāsid period and died in 215/830. He was born in Dast-i Maysān or in Maysān [*q.v.*] in south-eastern ʿIrāḳ. His family, originally from Nīshāpūr, had moved to the Maysān region and then to Baṣra, whence his *nisba* al-Baṣrī.

The period of his youth and early education remains in obscurity. He attracted public attention first as the secretary of Hārūn al-Rashīd's vizier Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī (170-87/786-803). Under Yaḥyā, he was charged with the distribution of certain public payments (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, v, 58). He survived the fall of the Barmakids, became an intimate of al-Rashīd and acted as his *ṣāḥib al-dawāwīn* (Ibn al-Abbār, *Iʿtāb al-kuttāb*, Damascus 1961, 85-6). It is not known whether he held this office under al-Amīn, although during the pursuing civil war and fratricide which ravaged Baghdād, he remained in the capital and had contact with al-Amīn's vizier al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 346). Under al-Maʾmūn he was bound to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*], and served primarily as the chief director of the House of Wisdom (*bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*]).

Early literary tradition portrays Sahl as the foremost partisan of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], though by religious preference he was a Shīʿī (al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1887, i, 313). The story known as "Sahl's rooster", related by the zealous Shīʿī poet Diʿbil al-Khuzāʿī [*q.v.*], confirms his ties with the Shīʿīs (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 374-5). However, he seems to have favoured, as many learned men of his

generation did, the Muʿtazilī doctrine and is mentioned next to its leading mentors Abu 'l-Hudhayl, al-Naẓẓām and al-Djāḥiẓ (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vii, 182, 206; al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1965, 172).

Sahl found an ardent admirer and friend in his younger contemporary al-Djāḥiẓ, who praised him as a trustworthy gentleman not shy in defending the truth even to his own loss; a superlative orator, master of rhetoric and style, author of many treatises and voluminous books (*Bayān*, i, 52, 89). Still more warmly Abu 'l-ʿAynāʾ [*q.v.*] wrote of Sahl: "God enhanced the worth of the world by letting him be one of its residents!" (al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣāʾir wa 'l-dhakhāʾir*, Damascus 1964, iii_1, 326 n. 1).

In his own time Sahl became outstanding in eloquence and learning, and wrote books in challenge of the Arabic classics (Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Cairo 1964, 242). He had a refined taste for the creation of short, semi-lyrical exhortations, whose terse prose aroused the admiration of connoisseurs of the Arabic language. He was equally remarkable for the merit of his poetry. No *dīwān* or collection of poems survives from him. Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 191) estimated his poems only at about fifty pages. Many of these, adorned with maxims and admonitory precepts, are extant in scattered *adab* works. By his wisdom and prudence and his literary aptitude, he acquired great celebrity and his name became proverbial. People would say: "Sahl b. Hārūn has composed your words!" (Ibn Nubāta, 242), or "You speak with the tongue of Sahl b. Hārūn!" (Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Djazīra*, Beirut 1978, ii/2, 729). More than five centuries afterwards, Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], who considered Sahl's *Rasāʾil* as peerless examples of Arabic literary composition, recommended them to the intelligent critic and those with literary taste who desired to master the Arabic language and a high order of eloquence (*Muḳaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 393).

Together with Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.vv.*], and ʿAlī b. ʿUbayda al-Rayḥānī, Sahl belongs to that community of authors and translators of Pahlavi literature who effected a prodigious place for Persian literary, political and cultural traditions among Muslims. The titles of his books clearly reveal his interest for the ancient heritage of Persia. The first field in which he relied heavily on Persian sources was the application of *andarz* or "wisdom" literature in his books of fable, told in the speech of humans, birds and animals (Ibn al-Nadīm, 197). He wrote a *Kitāb Thaʿala wa-ʿAfrāʾ*, and one *al-Namir wa 'l-Thaʿlab* "the Panther and the Fox", in imitation of the revered Pahlavi fable *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*]. From the former only some brief excerpts are extant. The second survives in an abridged form, and has been published. This is told in a continuous narrative without the interjection of independent apologues characteristic of the *Kalīla*. In both books, Sahl creates situations for animals to convey ethical and didactic counsels to his readers, a literary device much favoured by Persians. From the published fragments it cannot be determined whether he translated these from Pahlavi originals or created them himself. Some mediaeval critics found these superior even to their prototype (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, Beirut 1965-79, i, 89). A striking feature introduced for the first time into Arabic literature by Sahl is the application of an epistolary style in fables. Sahl's success in this field won him the honorable nickname "Buzurgmihr-i Islām", which not only put him in the same rank of Khusraw I Anūshirwān's (531-79) famed vizier Buzurgmihr, but also signified the role he had assumed in the Persianisation of al-Maʾmūn's court, that of the supreme wise man in politics and adviser to the caliph.

Sahl's famous encomium on avarice, *Risāla fī 'l-Bukhl*, whose authenticity is sometimes doubted, forms the beginning of al-Djāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, and is incorporated also by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (vi, 200-4). Handling and exaltation of irreverent themes seems to have constituted a challenging arena for talented men to test their literary genius in this period. For the opponents of the Shuʿūbiyya, however, it was easy to charge the author with frugality; and Sahl had to explain that his intention was the opposite (Ibn Nubāta, 244). This was recognised as an intellectual *coup de force* in exhibiting his literary puissance (al-Ḥuṣrī, 831).

Beside composing books of fable and belles-lettres, he also handled political subjects, as in his *Kitāb Tadbīr al-mulk wa 'l-siyāsa*, surely adopting his ideas from Persian political philosophy. Books on politics have left their greatest mark on the Arab-Islamic diplomatic practices. His description of the qualities of the chamberlain, *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*], was based perhaps as much on personal experience as on the lost Sāsānid book *Shāhī* or *Shāhīnī* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, ii, 39). In *Sīrat al-Maʾmūn* (Ibn Nubāta, 242), Sahl treated topics common to *Siyar al-mulūk* which describe royal customs of the Persian kings, dignitaries and heroes. Al-Ṭabarī's long passages on the rise of rivalries between the two brothers al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, and anecdotes about al-Maʾmūn recorded on Sahl's authority in other sources, may have had their origin in this book. His treatise on jurisprudence and the function of the *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*], *Risāla fī 'l-Ḳaḍāʾ*, addressed to the Persian jurist and judge of Baṣra ʿĪsā b. Abān b. Ṣadaḳa b. ʿAdī b. Mardānshāh of Fasā (in office from 211/826 until his death in 220/835), echoed his experience in judicial matters and legal interpretation.

Among Sahl's many translations was the romance *Wāmiḳ and ʿAdhrāʾ* which was supposed to have been compiled at the time of Anūshirwān and presented to him. The famous verse on the wall of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn Palace, which pertains to the time of Khusraw Parwīz (590-628), is a direct reference to this romance (Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 132-3), but we have no indication whether Sahl's translation was in verse or in prose. Not knowing much about the content of this epic, one cannot determine its relationship to the poet ʿUnṣurī's [*q.v.*] New Persian versification of the *Wāmiḳ u ʿAdhrāʾ* romance, but the *Vorlage* of ʿUnṣurī's version was clearly a Greek one and not any intermediate Pahlavi translation. Sahl's book *Adab Ashk b. Ashk*, apparently a compilation of political and wisdom literature attributed to the Arsacid King Ashk b. Ashk, displayed his interest in Parthian subjects. Sahl's books, amounting to some 20 titles—Ibn al-Nadīm listed only 13—were without doubt very popular and of great social value, but al-Djāḥiẓ's claim (*Rasāʾil*, i, 351) to have used Sahl's name to publicise some of his own works is more probably a fiction.

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Bukhl), 1, 5, 21, 40, 43, 93, 106, 130, 154, 182, and the editor's notes 268-71, 279, 280, 288, 301, 357, 382; idem, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1947, ii, 374-75, iii, 66, 466, v, 603, vi, 388, 431; vii, 182, 201-2, 206; idem, *Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1964, ii, 38-39, 261-2, 303-4; al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḳayrawānī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, Cairo 1969, 97, 109, 117, 151, 302, 365, 545, 576-8, 831, 949; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1940-53, ii, 123, 136, 137, 207, 295, 338, iii, 7, 302, 311, iv, 179, 189, 198, v, 58-65, 69, 339, vi, 180, 196, 200-4; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *al-Tadhkira al-ḥamdūniyya*, Beirut 1983, i, 253, 299, 348, 374, 416-17, ii, 17, 325, 382. For studies, see ʿĪsā ʿĀkūb, *Taʾthīr al-ḥikam al-Fārisiyya fi 'l-adab al-ʿArabī fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿAbbāsī al-awwal*, Damascus 1989, 183-8, 294-6; M.-G. Balty-Guesdon, *Le Bayt al-Ḥikma de Baghdād*, in *Arabica*, xxxix (1992), 131-50; J.H. Kramers, *EI*[1] art. s.v.; M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Sahl b. Hārūn*, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī*, vii (1927), 5-27, repr. in his *Umarāʾ al-bayān*, Cairo 1937, 159-90; Shawḳī Ḍayf, *Sahl b. Hārūn*, in his *al-ʿAṣr al-ʿAbbāsī al-awwal*, Cairo 1966, 526-40; A. Muhamed Yāgī, *Sahl ibn Hārūn. Edition des fragments avec traduction précédée d'une introduction sur cet auteur et ses œuvres*, diss. Paris, Sorbonne 1956, unpubl. (MOHSEN ZAKERI)

SAHL AL-TUSTARĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH b. Yūnus b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rafīʿ, an influential Ṣūfī of mediaeval Islam, was probably born in 203/818 in Tustar, Khūzistān, and died in 283/896 in Baṣra. The essential course of his life can be reconstructed on the basis of fragmentary hagiographical accounts, included in the Ṣūfī primary sources, and incidental references of Islamic historical literature.

Until a short time after his pilgrimage to Mecca in 219/834, al-Tustarī received his basic education from his maternal uncle Muḥammad b. Sawwār (who transmitted *ḥadīth* on the authority of Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*]) and Ḥamza al-ʿAbbādānī, an obscure spiritual instructor residing at the *ribāṭ* of ʿAbbādān [*q.v.*], where al-Tustarī had a vision of God's supreme name (*ism Allāh al-aʿẓam*) written in the sky with green light from east to west (al-Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 17, 24; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 116). Al-Tustarī met his Ṣūfī forebear Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī [*q.v.*] at least once in his life, but it is not certain whether he became his direct disciple. After spending some twenty-odd years in his hometown, engaged in austere practices, especially fasting, al-Tustarī emerged with a teaching of his own about the time of Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī's death in 245/860 and gathered a group of disciples around himself. Prominent among his disciples were Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (d. 297/909), said to have served al-Tustarī for sixty years, and al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] who stayed with him for about two years. About the time when the Zandj [*q.v.*] occupied Tustar for a short time in 263/877, al-Tustarī was summoned from Tustar to the camp of the Ṣaffārids to cure their ailing leader, Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] (cf. Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, x, 210), who had been wounded in his defeat by the caliphal regent al-Muwaffaḳ at Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl [*q.v.*] in 262/876. Expelled from his home town for political or doctrinal reasons (al-Sarrādj, *Lumaʿ*, 407, cf. Arberry, *Pages*, 9), al-Tustarī took up residence in Baṣra early in 263/877, though another strand of source evidence would suggest that he had settled there as early as 258/871 when the Zandj sacked the town (al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, iii, 104). In Baṣra, al-Tustarī was welcomed by Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī (d. 275/889 [*q.v.*]) but, because of his claim to be "the proof of God" (*ḥudjdjat Allāh*), became involved in religious controversy with Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Sādjī (d. 307/909) and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī (d. 317/929), two leading Shāfiʿī scholars of the city (al-Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 67).

Shortly after his death in Baṣra, al-Tustarī's direct disciples split into two groups (cf. Böwering, *Mystical vision*, 75-99). One group selected Baghdād as the centre of activity, either joining the Ṣūfī circle of al-Djunayd [*q.v.*], as did Abū Muḥammad al-Djurayrī (d. 312/924) and Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Muzayyin al-Tirmidhī (d. 328/939), or associating with the Ḥanbalīs in the Muḥawwal quarter of Baghdād, as did Abū Muḥammad al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941 [*q.v.*]) and two crucial transmitters of al-Tustarī's teachings, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Sidjzī and Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿUmar b. Wāṣil al-ʿAnbarī (d. 312/924). The other group of al-Tustarī's disciples stayed on in Baṣra and found acceptance among the local Mālikīs. It formed the nucleus of a theological school, known as the Sālimiyya, that was organised by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (d. 356/967), who is frequently confused in the sources with his father, al-Tustarī's life-long associate. The most famous exponent of the Sālimiyya, however, was Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996 [*q.v.*]) who, in his *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, frequently cites Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sālim as "our *shaykh*" and al-Tustarī as "our *imām*". The Sālimiyya, who also adopted ideas propagated by Abū Ḥulmān al-Fārisī al-Dimashḳī (d. *ca.* 340/951), became the target of a lost refutation (*ar-Radd ʿalā Ibn Sālim*) written by the Shāfiʿī (or Ẓāhirī) Ibn al-Khafīf (d. 371/981). Possibly on the basis of this refutation, a list of eighteen objectionable propositions was drawn up in Ḥanbalī circles by Ibn al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1065 [*q.v.*]) in his *Muʿtamad* (217-21), of which ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djilānī [*q.v.*] copied and rejected twelve propositions in his *Ghunya* (i, 106-7). The last major exponents of the Ṣālimiyya were Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ahwāzī (d. 446/1055; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xviii, 13-8), Abū Shakūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Sayyid al-Sālimī (d. shortly after 470/1077; see *GAL*, I, 419; S I, 744) and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Zabīdī (d. 555/1160; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xx, 316-9).

Beginning with Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, 186, quite a number of treatises have been ascribed to al-Tustarī in Islamic bibliography. All of these appear to be lost under their titles, but two works attributed to al-Tustarī are extant. They are a Ḳurʾān commentary, *Kitāb Fahm al-Ḳurʾān* (published as *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*, Cairo 1326/1908 and 1329/1911), and a collection of al-Tustarī's sayings in three parts with the commentary of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣiḳillī (d. *ca.* 386/996), preserved in the collective ms. Köprülü 727 (one part of which, *al-Muʿāraḍa wa 'l-radd*, was published by M.K. Gaafer, Cairo 1980). Many fragments of al-Tustarī's commentary on Ḳurʾānic verses are cited in Sulamī's *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-tafsīr*, which is accessible only in manuscript (for a table of references and the parallel citations in Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī's *ʿArāʾis al-bayān*, see G. Böwering, *Mystical vision*, 113-24). Al-Tustarī's extant works are not his own writings, but were compiled by his followers who based themselves on the core of his teachings. The other tracts attributed to al-Tustarī (see *GAS*, i, 647) are marginal or spurious (for an annotated list of Tustarī's works, see Böwering, *op. cit.*, 11-18, and add *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, ms. Azhar, *Riwāḳ al-atrāk* 7, and the excerpts included in ms. Ẓāhiriyya 9595, fols. 35-43). The two works attributed to al-Tustarī and the considerable body of anecdotes and sayings quoted on

his authority in the Ṣūfī primary sources give a fragmentary yet substantive picture of al-Tustarī's mystical theory and practice.

The central idea of al-Tustarī's mysticism is the Ṣūfī recollection of God (*dhikr* [*q.v.*]), which he put on a firm theoretical basis. All his life he observed the method of recollecting God by repeating a mental prayer, "God is my witness" (*Allāhu shāhidī*, cf. al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, 83) and understanding it as his daily sustenance (*ḳūt*). He interpreted it experientially as the break-through to God, who effects His own recollection within the mystic's heart (*dhikr Allāh bi 'llāh: al-dhikr bi 'l madhkūr*, cf. al-Tustarī, *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, 25-6, 80). Anchoring *dhikr* in the self-revelation of God at the primordial covenant in pre-existence (*a-lastu bi-rabbikum*, Ḳur'ān, VII, 172), al-Tustarī understood *dhikr* as anamnesis. The mystic rediscovers the primaeval moment before God in the inmost recesses of his soul (*sirr al-nafs*) when he listens to Pharaoh's blasphemous proclamation of his own lordship, "I am your Lord Most High" (*anā rabbukum al-aʿlā*, LXXIX, 24). Listening to God, the true speaker of the Ḳur'ān, the mystic ironically perceives the actual essence of belief flowing from the tongue of unbelief and remembers in his experience the moment when God, in pre-existence, affirmed His oneness and lordship before all humanity. There is only one who can truly say, "I am" (*anā*), God, giving expression to the secret of divine lordship (*sirr al-rubūbiyya*) captured by the mystic in the experience of *dhikr* (cf. Böwering, *Mystical vision*, 187-207). Al-Tustarī's practical Ṣūfī ideal was incessant repentance (*al-tawba farīḍa ʿalā 'l-ʿabd maʿa kulli nafas*, al-Sarrādj, *Lumaʿ*, 407, cf. Arberry, *Pages*, 9) and complete trust in God (*tawakkul*) which he understood as handing oneself over to God like the corpse in the hands of the undertaker (al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, 368).

Al-Tustarī's thought is deeply intertwined with Ḳur'ānic exegesis. He proposed a pattern of Ḳur'ān interpretation that theoretically distinguished four meanings for each verse, literal (*ẓāhir*), allegorical (*bāṭin*), moral (*ḥadd*) and anagogical (*maṭlaʿ*, *muṭṭalaʿ*). In fact, however, he consistently employed only two levels of meaning, a literal and an allegorical sense, combining *ẓāhir* and *ḥadd* as opposed to *bāṭin* and *maṭlaʿ*. In his theology, al-Tustarī understood God under the symbol of light (*nūr*) on the background of the light verse (*āyat al-nūr*, XXIV, 35) and chose the phrase of "the light of Muḥammad" (*nūr Muḥammad*) to designate the primal man and prototypical mystic, apparently in vague association with logos speculations and Shīʿī terminology. In interpretation of II, 30, and LIII, 13-18, he conceived of Muḥammad as the column of light (*ʿamūd al-nūr*) standing in primordial adoration of God, the crystal which draws the divine light upon itself, absorbs it in its core (*ḳalb Muḥammad*) and projects it unto humanity in the Ḳur'ān.

In his psychology, al-Tustarī played on the double-entendre of *nafas* (breath; life-breath) and *nafs* (soul, self), and perceived the human soul as the theatre of a struggle between two antagonistic tendencies, that of the God-centred orientation of the human heart (*ḳalb*), his spiritual self (*nafs al-rūḥ*), and that of the self-centred inclination of the carnal soul (*al-nafs al-ammāra bi 'l-sū'*), his natural self (*nafs al-ṭabʿ*). Interpreting Ḳur'ān, XXXIX, 42, al-Tustarī traced the two selves to the notion of *tawaffī* (God's taking the souls unto Himself in death, sleep and mystic ascent) and understood each of them as a subtle substance (*laṭīf*), one luminous, the other coarse. Al-Tustarī's notion of faith (*īmān*) did not only include profession with the tongue (*ḳawl*), conformity of action (*ʿamal*) and intention (*niyya*) but also the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaḳīn*), by which the mystic is enabled to anticipate God's final self-revelation (*tadjallī*) experienced in the beatific vision. Al-Tustarī found the basis for his idea of *tadjallī* in Ḳur'ān, XLIII, 70-2, a reference to the people of paradise, rather than in the Ḳur'ānic reference to Moses, who was unable to bear the sight of God's revelation (VII, 143).

There are only fragmentary source texts illuminating al-Tustarī's resolution of the central problem of Muslim theology concerning the interrelation between divine omnipotence and human responsibility. Al-Tustarī's thought attempts to achieve a conjunction of opposites and foreshadows Ashʿarī themes. However, these themes may have been introduced into his *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān* by his disciples in the aftermath of al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*]. God creates both good and evil and possesses two kinds of will, volition (*mashī'a*) and an express will (*irāda*). Since human action is caused by the divine agency, God has to possess divine foreknowledge (*ʿilm Allāh al-sābiḳ*) of it prior to its occurrence. God's providence (*tadbīr*), made explicit in His command (*amr*) and interdiction (*nahy*), runs parallel to God's guidance (*hidāya*), made explicit in His help (*maʿūna*, also termed *wilāya*) and protection (*ʿiṣma*). When man performs an action in conformity with the divine Command and Interdiction, he is granted the divine succour of God's *maʿūna*, i.e. divinely given success (*tawfīḳ*). Should he commit an action in opposition to the divine Command and Interdiction, man places himself outside the divine custody and is deserted by God, who withdraws His *ʿiṣma* and forsakes man (*khidhlān* [*q.v.*]). It is man's duty to turn to God with thanksgiving when he performs a good deed (*ḥasana*) and to seek God's succour through repentance when he commits an evil deed (*sayyi'a*). Whether man conforms to or opposes the divine Command and Interdiction, in each case the action comes from God although it is executed through man and by man (*minhu bihim wa-lahum*, see Böwering, *Mystical vision*, 175-84).

Bibliography: Tustarī, *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān al-karīm*, Cairo 1329/1911 (this edition cited); Sarrādj, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, Leiden 1914; Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb fī muʿāmalāt al-maḥbūb*, 4 vols., Cairo 1351/1932; Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, 199-205; Ḳushayrī, *al-Risāla al-ḳushayriyya*, Cairo 1385/1966; al-Anṣārī al-Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kābul 1341 *sh.*/1961; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā' wa-ṭabaḳāt al-aṣfiyā'*, 10 vols., Cairo 1351-7/1932-9; Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, 2 vols., Cairo 1315/1897; Ibn al-Farrā', *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, Beirut 1974; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī, *al-Ghunya li-ṭālibī ṭarīḳ al-ḥaḳḳ*, 2 vols., Cairo 1322; A.J. Arberry, *Pages from the Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, London 1947; G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam*, Berlin-New York 1980; M.K. Gaafer, *Min al-turāth al-ṣūfī*, Cairo 1974; I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xli (1907), 73-80; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1968; C. Tunc, *Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh at-Tustarī und die Sālimīya*, Bonn 1970. (G. BÖWERING)

AL-SAHM (A.) "arrow". For the use of arrows in archery, see ḲAWS.

1. In science.

a. Geometrical term. If one erects a perpendicular *c b* in the middle of a chord of an arc, which reaches to the arc, this is called *al-sahm*, the versed sine (*al-djayb al-maʿkūs*) of the arc *a b*; the sine (*al-djayb al-mustawī*), which corresponds to our sine, is *a c* (see—in

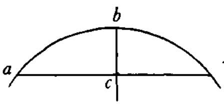

addition to many other passages—al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* ed. van Vloten, 205). The versed sine played a much more important part in the older mathematics from the Hindus onwards than it does in modern mathematics (cf. e.g. A. von Braunmühl, *Geschichte der Trigonometrie*). Sine and versed sine are measured in the parts of the radius of the circle, the latter being taken as equal to 60 parts or = 1.

b. Astrological term. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī says that the expression *sahm al-ghayb* (the arrow, the hitting of the secret of the future', see *op. cit.*, 327, 338, 410) is astrological. (E. WIEDEMANN*)

c. Astronomical term. *Ṣūrat al-Rāmī*, constellation of Sagittarius, and also *al-Ḳaws*, bow of Sagittarius (cross-bow), is a southern constellation of the ecliptic, which, according to Ptolemy and the Arabs, consists of 31 stars mainly of southern latitude, which are almost all of the 3rd to 6th degrees of magnitude. Ptolemy gives only star 24 of Sagittarius (Arabic, *rukbat al-yad al-yusrā*, elbow of the left arm) the magnitude 2-3, while al-Bīrūnī (*al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Berl. ms. 275, fol. 205b) gives magnitude 2 for stars 24 and 23 (*kaʿb al-yad al-yusrā* = knuckle of the left hand); of Sagittarius in Ulugh Beg, however, except star 3 of Sagittarius (*ʿala 'l-djānib al-djanūbī min al-ḳaws* = the one south of the bow), which, according to him, is 3-2 in magnitude, they are only of the 3rd or lower degrees of magnitude. This 20 ε Sagittarii is really of 1.9 magnitude (on *ʿUrkūb al-rāmī*, see C.A. Nallino, *Opus astronomicum*, ii, 163). The following stars of Sagittarius are also noteworthy: *Naṣl al-sahm* = point of the arrow, and the so-called "eye of the archer", *ʿAyn al-rāmī*, or, according to al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, *al-Saḥā'ib al-muḍaʿʿafa ʿala 'l-ʿayn* = the nebulous double-star which is in the eye. Neither in al-Bīrūnī nor in Ulugh Beg is there any mention of ostriches (the ostrich going to drink and coming back from drinking) which are mentioned by L. Ideler (see below).

Among the Greeks, Sagittarius was called ὁ τοξότης; among the Romans, Sagittarius, Sagittifer and Arcitenens. There is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians or Babylonians knew of *al-Ḳaws* as a bow-constellation. The bow-constellation of the latter was the bow-shaped group of stars ε δ τ Canis majoris + κ λ Puppis.

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809, 183-91; F.W.V. Lach, *Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Sternnahmen*, Leipzig 1796, 83; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī, *Description des étoiles fixes composée au milieu du dixième siècle de notre ère par Abd al-Rahman al-Sûfi*, tr. H.C.F.C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874, 30; E.B. Knobel, *Ulugh Beg's catalogue of stars*, Washington 1917, 40, 105; P. Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen in Europa*, Wiesbaden 1959, 205.

(C. SCHOY*)

2. In law.

Here, *sahm*, pl. *ashum*, is found in two separate contexts. In *farā'iḍ* [*q.v.*] (the allotted portions), it refers to the fixed share of an heir (*wārith*).

Sahm is also used in partnership (*sharika*) and profit-sharing (*muḍāraba*). As a term used in modern share companies (*sharikat al-ashum*), it is defined as a partial ownership of a large capital (*ḥuḳūḳ milkiyya djuz'iyya*). The holder is called *musāhim*. *Sahm*, unlike the commercial bond *sanad*, is permitted in Islamic law because it contains no interest. According to al-Ḳarḍāwī, *zakāt* is only required on self-generating shares in companies that do not change the essence of their trading commodity, like import-export companies or dealers in crude oil. The shares in these examples are seen as the actual active capital, therefore they are liable to *zakāt*. *Zakāt* is not paid on shares which do not generate profit directly. An example of this is shares in companies that provide public services. However, Abū Zahra, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Khallāf maintain that all shares should be treated as ordinary capital. With regard to trading in *ashum*, it appears to be a *de facto* practice in most Muslim countries, including Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. This is despite the fact that Islamic law views it with suspicion, likening it to gambling (*maysir* [*q.v.*]) and prohibited speculation.

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AL-SAHMĪ, ḤAMZA B. YŪSUF al-Ḳurashī al-Djurdjānī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (b. at an unknown date towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, d. 427/1038 at Nīshāpūr), traditionist and legal scholar.

A native of Gurgān [*q.v.*] in the Caspian coastlands, where he was a *khaṭīb* and preacher, his major work, and apparently the sole surviving one, is his *Ta'rīkh Djurdjān* or *Kitāb Maʿrifat ʿulamā' ahl Djurdjān*, essentially a *ridjāl* [*q.v.*] work devoted to the scholars and *muḥaddithūn* of his native province, to which is prefixed (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1369/1950, 4-18) a brief historical introduction on the Arab conquest of Gurgān and its Arab governors. His information on the scholars of Gurgān was subsequently used by later writers such as al-Samʿānī, Ibn ʿAsākir, Yāḳūt, al-Dhahabī [*q.vv.*], etc. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa also mentions of his work a *T. Astarābādh* and a *K. al-Arbaʿīn fī faḍā'il al-ʿAbbās*, whilst his *Su'ālāt ʿan al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dāraḳuṭnī* [*q.v.*] is quoted by later writers on *ḥadīth*.

Bibliography: See the introd. to the Ḥaydarābād edn. of the *T. Djurdjān* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Yamānī; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 314; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 446, 458, 465, 523; Brockelmann, I², 407-8; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 209. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṢAḤN-I THAMĀN or MEDĀRIS-I THAMĀNIYYE, the eight *medreses* or colleges [see MADRASA] founded by the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] as part of the ancillaries to his great Fātiḥ Mosque, the whole forming a *külliyye* [*q.v.*] or complex.

The *külliyye* was begun in 867/1463 and completed in 875/1471, and the architect responsible was one Sinān, called variously "the Elder", to distinguish him from the great architect of the following century, Ḳodja Sinān [see SINĀN], or *ʿĀtiḳ* or *Āzādli* "the freedman", implying that he had been of non-Turkish slave status. The eight *medreses* were situated to the east and west of the Mosque, the first group of higher *medreses* being called the Aḳdeñiz or "Mediterranean" group and the second one the Ḳaradeñiz or "Black Sea" group. There were further, lower (*Tetimme*) *medreses*, a hospital, an *ʿimāret* [*q.v.*], a *ṭābkhāne* or hospice, a library and the two tombs for the sultan himself and his wife Gülbahār Sulṭān, in the complex.

Each of the Ṣaḥn *medreses* had domed rooms (*ḥüdjres*) and a lecture room, with a total of 120 rooms for resident students who, according to the *wakfiyye* for the whole complex, had a stipend of two *aḳčes* a day; there

were also day students, of which the 19th century historian Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] was one (*Tedhākir*, iv). The basic stipend of the *müderrisīn* was 30 *akčes* a day. Little definite is known about the organisation and curricula of the *Tetimme medreses*; their buildings have now disappeared, though those of the Ṣaḥn-i Thamān survive.

The Ṣaḥn-i Thamān produced a large number of scholars and jurists, some of whom played leading roles in the Ottoman state and society; like most of the surviving buildings in the complex, it was much restored and rebuilt over the centuries.

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ṢAḤNA, a small town in the Zagros Mountains of western Persia on the highroad between Kangāwar and Bīsutūn at 61 km/38 miles from Kirmānshāh [*q.v.*]. The district of Ṣaḥna contains about 28 villages inhabited by settled Turks belonging to the tribe of Khodābandalū (of Hamadān). At Ṣaḥna there are a few Ahl-i-Ḥakk [*q.v.*], who are in touch with their spiritual superiors in Dīnawar [*q.v.*], a frontier district in the north. Ṣaḥna must not be confused with Sinna [*q.v.*] or Sanandadj [*q.v.*], the capital of the Persian province of Kurdistān, the former residence of the *Wālīs* of Ardalān [*q.v.*]. Quite near Ṣaḥna on the steep bank of the stream are two funerary chambers carved out of the rock and dating in all probability from the Achaemenid period. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 195, spells Saḥna (with *sīn*), and further mentions another Saḥna near Anbār in ʿIrāḳ.

Modern Ṣaḥna is the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* of the same name in the province of Kirmānshāh (long. 47° 33′ E., lat. 34° 29′ N., alt. 1,342 m/4,400 feet). In *ca.* 1950 the population of the *bakhsh* was 47,500; by 1991 the population of the town alone was 29,275 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

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SAḤNŪN, Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Salām b. Saʿīd b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥassān b. Hilāl b. Bakkār b. Rabīʿa al-Tanūkhī (160-Radjab 240/777-December 855) (nicknamed Saḥnūn, it is said, on account of his shrewdness, or from the name of a bird), a Kairouan *faḳīh* who played a decisive role in the conversion to the Mālikiyya [*q.v.*] of Muslim Spain and of the entire Maghrib where, even today, there exist only a few Ibāḍī pockets (the island of Djerba and Mzab), and a small number of Ḥanafīs.

The question as to whether Saḥnūn was an Arab by pedigree or by virtue of clientship was sometimes asked, and was resented by Saḥnūn; he was in no doubt as to the authenticity of his Arab genealogy. Although not common, the name Saḥnūn (cf., possibly, the diminutive of the form *faʿlūn*, which expresses affection, as in Khaldūn, Zaydūn, Saʿdūn and Ḥamdūn) is attested throughout the Muslim West, in Spain (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, Paris 1937, 79, 81, 113), in the central Maghrib (Brockelmann, S II, 715), and at Kairouan, where another *faḳīh* of the same period, Saḥnūn b. Aḥmad b. Yalūl, bore the same name (M. Talbi, *Biographies Aghlabides extraites des Madārik du Cadi ʿIyāḍ*, Tunis 1968, 202, 203). The form Suḥnūn, still in use today, is erroneous (Ibn Makkī al-Ṣiḳillī, *Tathḳīf al-Lisān*, Cairo 1966, 243).

Saʿīd, Saḥnūn's father and a native of Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] in Syria, was probably a soldier in the army of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī who, in 155/772, had brought Ifrīḳiya into the ʿAbbāsid orbit, and is said to have received, as a reward for his services, a modest allocation of land in the Sahel of Tunisia. Saḥnūn, who remained a farmer throughout his life, made considerable improvements to the fertility of the land and was thus enabled to exchange poverty for prosperity, allegedly without any change in his style of living. Even after becoming a prestigious *faḳīh* he would still go out, with his plough and his team, to work personally in his fields. Saḥnūn is described as "a man of average height, with light brown skin, a handsome beard, long hair, large eyes and broad shoulders" (Talbi, *op. cit.*, 95). He wore a string of beads around his neck; in the countryside he wore a woollen tunic, with a towel around his head; and in the town, in winter, he dressed in a black burnous. He is known to have had a daughter, Khadīdja, who remained a spinster and whom he held in the very highest of regard, and a son, Muḥammad, whom he educated with care and who became in his turn a brilliant *faḳīh*.

In the time of Saḥnūn, Kairouan was already a major metropolis in all respects: with its opulence, the diversity of its population, its expansionist policy in Sicily—an operation sponsored and directed by a *ḳāḍī*, Asad b. al-Furāt—and its numerous *faḳīhs*. All the trends of Muslim thought were represented there: Muʿtazilī, Murdjiʾī, Sunnī, Ibāḍī, Ḥanafī (then the majority trend) and Mālikī. In the mosques as well as in private dwellings, in the court or in the *ribāṭs*, discussions were animated, and relations often strained. There were mutual accusations of *kufr* (heresy), and copious exchanges of curses. It was in this environment that Saḥnūn was born and nurtured.

Many of the Kairouanese masters, including Asad b. al-Furāt who ultimately sided with the party of the Ḥanafīs, had studied directly under Mālik [*q.v.*], and it was with them that Saḥnūn served his first apprenticeship. Two of his masters exerted a particularly decisive influence on him: Buhlūl b. Rāshid (d. 183/799), who was more of an ascetic than a *faḳīh*, and most of all the Tunisian ʿAlī b. Ziyād (d. 183/799) who had been the first to introduce the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik into Ifrīḳiya. All that remains of his version is a fragment recently edited by al-Shādhilī al-Nayfar (Beirut 1980, 1984).

Saḥnūn made his way to the East, for purposes of *riḥla*, to complete and perfect his education, either in 178/794 or in 188/804. The latter date is by far the more plausible. The list of his masters in the East includes 21 names; among these, the figure of the disciple of Mālik, the Egyptian Ibn al-Ḳāsim al-ʿAtaḳī (d. 191/807), stands out prominently. Asad b. al-Furāt (d. 212/827) had already preceded Saḥnūn in visiting Ibn al-Ḳāsim. From Saḥnūn's questions to the latter,

starting from a Ḥanafī outline, and after discussion, the *Asadiyya* was born, the fruit of a compromise, of a kind of Ḥanafī-Mālikī syncretism. Almost from the moment of its completion, the *Asadiyya* wielded an enormous impact, first in Egypt, then in Ifrīḳiya. With it an era, that of *ḥadīth*, came to an end, and another began: that of *masāʾil*, of prepared solutions. It was a sort of code which responded to a pressing need and arrived at the right time.

Armed with a copy of this book, obtained by not the most scrupulous of means, Saḥnūn took the road to Fusṭāṭ in his turn. His *riḥla* was to last three years. Under the direction of Ibn al-Ḳāsim the *Asadiyya* was submitted to a new analysis, in a spirit of greater fidelity to the teaching of Mālik. Saḥnūn gave the text thus revised the title of *Mudawwana*, a name borrowed from another disciple of Mālik, Ashhab (d. 204/819). Barely had it become known when the *Mudawwana*—the term is currently employed in Morocco with the meaning of code—eclipsed the *Asadiyya* completely. As evidence of this eclipse, only a few pages of the *Asadiyya* survive, while the *Mudawwana* has been the object of numerous commentaries and summaries [see MĀLIKIYYA, vol. VI, at 278b). Its influence was decisive in the crystallisation and diffusion of the *madhhab* of Mālik throughout the Muslim West, as is proved by the fact that the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*], in his attempt to eradicate Mālikism, consigned the work to the flames, thus paying it the ultimate tribute. The *Mudawwana* was edited in the name of Mālik, Saḥnūn's recension after Ibn al-Ḳāsim (Cairo 1323/1905-6).

Like Asad, Saḥnūn had begun his career teaching the Ḳurʾān to children in a building (*bayt*) rented for this purpose (ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Munīf, *Adjwibat Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn*, in *al-Nashra al-ʿilmiyya li 'l-Kulliyya al-Zaytūniyya*, Tunis 1982-3, vi, 239). On his return from the East in 191/807, henceforward enjoying the prestige conferred by the *riḥla*, he established himself as a teacher. He was then about thirty years old, with a long career in education, approximately half a century, ahead of him. Unlike Asad for example, he never seems to have taught in the Great Mosque of Kairouan. As opposed to primary education, higher education was offered free of charge. Saḥnūn gave his courses sometimes in Kairouan, at other times, according to the seasons, at his agricultural property, at Manzil Ṣiḳlāb in the Sahel. It was there that one of his most illustrious disciples, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar (d. 289/902) first made his acquaintance. The students were received at his residence, according to the time of year, in a room set aside for the purpose, or in front of the main entrance. Armed with their books—they had previously made their own copies of the *Mudawwana*, and other works as well—and their ink-wells, they took their seats on the ground. Some brought mats. A student was nominated to read the text, and the master made comments, sometimes with angry vehemence. As the prestige of the master was consolidated, students flocked in from all directions, especially from Muslim Spain. The place was often crowded, and the students were of all ages and all classes. The future *ḳāḍī* Ibn Ṭālib (d. 275/888), of aristocratic family, began attending Saḥnūn's courses when he was barely an adolescent. Saḥnūn noticed him and urged him to wear "the scholarly habit". "When the next course began," Ibn Ṭālib relates, "I presented myself with shaved head, and dressed in the manner of scholars" (Talbi, *op. cit.*, 209). The throng which gathered around Saḥnūn was great, and somewhat bizarre. "His courses were attended by more pious people (*ʿubbād*) than genuine students" (Talbi, *op. cit.*, 119). Some slept openly. The master did not object, considering that even thus they were gaining the benefit of *samāʿ* (audition). The popularity of his courses is clearly illustrated by the fact that miraculous phenomena were associated with them; it is related in all seriousness that the *djinn* themselves attended them.

In certain circumstances, prestige inevitably attracts controversy. Having become, with advancing age and after the death of Asad, the undisputed leader of Ifrīḳiyan. Sunnism, Saḥnūn also became a legitimate target. In Shaʿbān 231/April 846, the old quarrel regarding the nature of the Ḳurʾān—created according to the Muʿtazilīs, uncreated according to the Sunnīs—became suddenly acrimonious. In Baghdād, al-Wāthiḳ declared his hostility towards the Sunnīs while in Kairouan, Abu Djaʿfar Aḥmad, who had usurped power at the expense of his brother, the *amīr* Muḥammad I, seized the opportunity to kill two birds with one stone, bringing his policy into line with that of the caliphate, as was traditional, and at the same time offering pledges to the Muʿtazilīs who had supported him in his confrontation with the Sunnīs. Aḥmad b. Naṣr, a fervent representative of the doctrine of the uncreated Ḳurʾān, was executed in Baghdād by al-Wāthiḳ personally in Shaʿbān 231/April 846. The following month, Saḥnūn, who had taken refuge in the *ribāṭ* of Ḳaṣr Ziyād in the Sahel, was arrested and transferred to Kairouan. A trial took place in the Palace in the course of which the Muʿtazilī *ḳāḍī* Ibn Abi 'l-Djawād, who had held this post for eighteen years and had sided with the usurper, demanded his execution. More fortunate than Aḥmad b. Naṣr, Saḥnūn was merely placed under house arrest. This did not last long; the following year the *amīr* Muḥammad I regained power, sent his brother into exile in the East, dismissed his *ḳāḍī* Ibn Abi 'l-Djawād and, in accordance with the movement which had begun in the East with the accession of al-Mutawakkil, practised a policy of reconciliation with the Sunnīs.

It was in these circumstances, and after protracted negotiations, that Saḥnūn was appointed *ḳāḍī*, with full powers (Monday, 4 Ramaḍān 234/1 April 849). He was then 74 years old. He was elevated to this post by a Sunnī consensus, and he was helped in particular by the support of the Ḥanafī *faḳīhs*, who were then broadly in the majority, and of their leader Sulaymān b. ʿImrān. As a means of consolidating the Sunnī consensus, Saḥnūn involved the latter in the exercise of his functions, and began taking important measures designed to strengthen Sunnism and to reinforce the power of the *ḳāḍī*. For audiences he set aside a special room to which only plaintiffs were admitted, having submitted a written application, in person and in turn, without the option of being represented by third parties, whatever the social rank of the applicant.

Released, as was to be expected, by the authorities, the Muʿtazilī Ibn Abi 'l-Djawād, son-in-law of Asad, was placed under arrest, officially on a charge of financial embezzlement, something which the accused persisted in denying until the end. Naturally, the underlying motive for the indictment was otherwise. In addition to personal motivations, Saḥnūn had decided to strike a blow against heresy. He was in fact, so it is related, very severe in his opposition to the innovators (*ahl al-bidaʿ*), of whom Ibn Abi 'l-Djawād was not one of the least. Day after day, with the object of extorting the desired confession from him, Saḥnūn had him flogged in the courtyard of the Great Mosque, until he died. This death, allegedly, weighed heavily on his conscience, but this did not

deter him from pursuing energetically his policy of the repression of heresy, in other words the freedom of independent thought.

Hitherto, in the multiple circles of scholarship, representatives of all tendencies were able to express themselves freely in the Great Mosque of Kairouan. In a process amounting to a purging of the community of scholars there, Saḥnūn put an end to this "scandal". He dispersed the sects of the *ahl al-bidaᶜ*; the leaders of heretical sects were paraded ignominiously, and some were compelled to recant in public. Saḥnūn was one of the greatest architects of the exclusive supremacy of Sunnism in its Mālikī form throughout the Muslim West.

Like all Sunnīs, he condemned recourse to the sword "even against the unjust *imāms*" (al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, Beirut 1983, 368), which does not mean that the barometer of his relations with the authorities was set fair. From the outset he took the position of guarantor of an intransigent justice, upright and equal for all—including the entourage of the *amīr*—and of redresser of wrongs, which often led him into vehement confrontation with Muhammad I, in particular with his insistence on the release of numerous women unjustly condemned to slavery in the course of various operations aimed at the repression of insurrections. On numerous occasions he felt obliged to offer his resignation. Although he did not accept this resignation the *amīr*, tired of his criticisms and of the incessant complaints of his entourage, ultimately gave him an associate in the person of al-Ṭubnī, a *ḳāḍī* reputedly ignorant but complaisant. Some time later, in the morning of Sunday 7 Radjab 240/2 December 854, Saḥnūn died, depressed and embittered. As required by Tradition, he was buried in the afternoon of the same day. As a supreme tribute, or for reasons of political expediency, the *amīr* conducted the funeral prayers in person. His Muᶜtazilī entourage was not so forgiving: "He accused us, and we accuse him, of heresy", they said (Talbi, *op. cit.*, 133). His mausoleum, in the outskirts of Kairouan, is the object of constant veneration.

The name of Saḥnūn remains associated with the definitive triumph of Mālikism throughout the Muslim West, a triumph which Ibn Khaldūn, as a sociologist, explains by reference to Bedouinism (*Muḳaddima*, Beirut 1956, 810-11). This explanation does not take account of the fact that it was Ḥanafism which enjoyed a broad majority at the outset. In the reversal of the situation, it is therefore necessary to stress the exceptional role played by Saḥnūn. At his initiative, and by means of his prestige, Kairouan became a major centre for the study and diffusion of Mālikī *fiḳh*. He left, it is said, some 700 disciples, all of them "truly shining lights in their respective towns" (Talbi, *op. cit.*, 120). Among them, we have recorded 57 in Muslim Spain.

But Saḥnūn was not only a great *faḳīh*. His knowledge was matched by his piety, and by a life which was austere to the point of asceticism. Although wealthy—at the end of his life he possessed 12,000 olive-trees (*ibid.*, 163)—he disposed of his income in the form of alms and continued to live a life of poverty. He was easily moved to tears, and frequently sought seclusion in the *ribāṭ* of Ḳaṣr Ziyād. Rather curiously, and in a manner contrary to much of Tradition, he preached a version of monasticism: "If one can get by without a wife," he said, "it is preferable to renounce marriage" (al-Mālikī, *op. cit.*, 364). "In him there were qualities," wrote Abu 'l-ᶜArab, "which were not to be found combined in any other: perfect knowledge of the law (*fiḳh*), sincere piety, rigour in the application of justice, contempt for temporal things, simple tastes in food and clothing, generosity and refusal to accept anything from princes" (*Ṭabaḳāt*, Algiers 1914, 101).

Saḥnūn was a great master of *fiḳh* and also a man of rigorous and demanding ethics. It is this which explains his success, and the constant veneration in which he is still held.

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(M. Talbi)

AL-ṢAḤRĀʾ (A.), in English the Sahara, the name given to the desert in the northern part of Africa. *Ṣaḥrāʾ* is the feminine of the adjective *aṣḥar* "fawn, tawny coloured". It is applied by certain authors to an ensemble of stony terrain, steppelands and sands (cf. al-Idrīsī, ed. de Goeje, 37 n.), whilst the term *mudjdiba* designates more particularly terrain covered with moving sands and totally waterless (see Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, 137, tr. Reinaud, ii/2, 190). Leo Africanus uses it as a synonym for "desert" in general, see Schefer's ed., i/1, 5.

1. *History of the term.*

The Arabic authors provide only fragmentary and often vague items of information on the Sahara. The only region which they know with some precision is the northern zone, bordering on Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib, the zone within which Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 190) includes the Tafilalt, Touat, Gourara, Fezzan and even Ghadāmis. These authors further disagree on the boundaries of the Sahara. Thus al-Bakrī asserts that the sands mark the beginning of the "land of the blacks" (*Masālik*, Algiers 1911, 21, tr. de Slane, 49). Ibn Khaldūn, on the contrary, states that this land is separated from Barbary by a vast region formed from deserts "where one risks dying of thirst". One also finds here and there some information on the parts of the desert crossed by caravan routes (e.g. on the western Saḥāra; cf. the description of the desert called Nisar or Tisar by al-Idrīsī, Yusr by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ) or on certain trade centres like Tadmakka and Awdaghust [*q.v.*] (al-Bakrī, 339). Leo Africanus sums up the items of information given by his predecessors. He identifies the Sahara with the Libya of the ancients (i, 5) and attempts a regional division based on the peoples there. He distinguishes five parts to the Sahara: (1) the desert of the Zenaga from the Ocean to the salt workings of Tegaza; (2) the desert of Wanzigha, from the salt workings of Tegaza to the Aïr towards the east and the desert of Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*] to the north; (3) the desert of Targa (Touareg), bounded in the west by Ighidi, to the north by Touat, Gourara and the Mzāb [*q.v.*] and to the south by the kingdom of Agades; (4) the desert of the Lamta [see LAMṬA], bounded on the north by the deserts of Ouargla and Ghadāmis, and on the south by the deserts which stretch as far as Kano; and (5) the desert of the Bardawa, that between the desert of the Lamta in the west, the desert of Awdjila in the east, Fezzan to the north and Bornu to the south (tr. Schefer, iii, 267 ff.).

2. *Boundaries.*

The present-day Sahara is bounded on the west by the Atlantic; on the north by the chains of the southern Atlas from the Moroccan High Atlas to the hills of Gafsa in Tunisia; then by the Mediterranean, then Libya (apart from some better-watered areas of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica) as far as Egypt; on the south by the Sāḥil [*q.v.*] and its extensions to the Sudan. To the east, some authors end it at the Nile valley, whilst others extend it as far as the Red Sea and include with it the deserts of Arabia, which in effect form part of the same, diagonal-running arid region extending from Mauritania to the deserts of China, in which the Red Sea is the only topographical interruption, though not climatically. The area of the Sahara may be estimated at between 8.5 million and 9.5 million km^2 according to the criteria adopted by various authors for its boundaries.

3. *Physical geography.*

(a) Climate and vegetation. The Sahara is characterised above all by its desert climate, linked to the great anticylones which often fix themselves there. The great scarcity and irregularity of rainfall, as well as its pronounced isolation, make the southern part of the region one of the hottest of the globe, where the average annual temperature can reach 30°. These two factors join together to make the air extremely dry and to bring about intense evaporation, even if there are notable differences between the central region of the desert and its fringes; on the periphery, rainfall, though feeble, arrives at least once a year, and the action of water running, favoured by the absence of vegetation cover, remains the predominant factor modifying the natural milieu in the semi-arid and arid areas, when these are not too pronounced; the steppe lands to the north, more complex in the Sāḥil [*q.v.*] to the south, mark the transition to wetter regions and form milieux relatively more favourable to human activity and to pastoralism. It is only in the central part of the Sahara that the action of water becomes negligible in the areas which are completely arid and hyper-arid; effective rainfall there is so rare, and separated in time by several years, that the action of temperature and, above all, that of the wind, becomes the essential factor making for erosion of a virtually fixed environment, such as can be observed in the great plains of Tanezrouft on the Algerian-Mali frontier and of Ténéré on the Algerian-Niger frontier, or in the *sarīrs* of southern Libya. In the desert proper, vegetation is extremely sparse, apart from in certain wadi beds where some spiny trees manage to maintain themselves by deriving water from deep underground.

The abundance of prehistoric artefacts in the most desolate regions of the Sahara point to the region having undergone climatic modifications. Since the beginning of the Quaternary, it has been affected by alternate phases of humidity and dryness connected above all with changes in the earth's orbit. The last humid phase, the better known, took place mainly between 6,000 and 2,000 B.C. It affected the whole of the Sahara, and conditions were clearly more favourable, as shown by frequent traces of lake- dwelling sites which allowed the installation of Neolithic peoples throughout almost all the desert. These peoples covered the sandstone rock faces with numerous carvings and paintings depicting the fauna of wet zones.

(b) Relief. The mountainous massifs, even if at times important, cover only a small part of the Sahara. They number three. The Tibesti (21° N, 18° E), the most extensive and the highest, reaching 3,400 m/10,300 feet; the Hoggar [see AHAGGAR] (23° N, 6° E), slightly lower at 3,000 m/9,000 feet; and the Aïr (18° N, 8° E), only reaching 2,300 m/7,000 feet. Other massifs, such as the Adrar of the Ifoghas and the Adrar of Atar [see ADRAR], are clearly of lesser importance and are only remarkable in relation to the surrounding plains. In essence, the greater part of the Sahara is made up of vast flat regions, of diverse origin and divisible into two groups. The vast erosion surfaces which have levelled the ancient shields of the African plate formation cover the greater part of the Sahara; they are often interrupted by residual reliefs with steep slopes, called in the Earth Sciences by German terms, *inselbergs* when they are isolated, and *inselgebirge* when they form small mountainous massifs covering a small part of the surface (e.g. the "massif" of the Eglab on the Algerian-Mauritanian border). The other surfaces are made up of sedimentary coverings of the base, forming plateaux and called *ḥamādas* when they are not too worn by erosion. These coverings are sometimes ancient (sandstone *tassilis* around the Hoggar and Tibesti massifs, often much dissected by erosion), and sometimes more recent (the great Mesozoic *ḥamādas* of the Tademaït plateaux to the north of In Salah, and the recently-formed *ḥamādas* of the southern piedmont region of the Saharan Atlas). The greater part of these surfaces is covered by the *reg* [*q.v.*], occasionally covered by a thin sandy surfacing. In effect, contrary to an idea frequently put forward, the sand dune massifs making up the *ergs* hardly cover more than one-sixth of the area of the Sahara, even though they may at times make up very extensive ensembles like the Great Western Erg (*ca.* 80,000

km^2) and the Great Eastern Erg in the north of the Algerian Sahara, and the Edeyen (a Berber term) of Murzouk in Libya, or the Great Erg of Bilma (Chad-Niger), at the point of contact between the Sahara and the Sāḥil. Watercourses (*wādīs*) are rare, above all in the hyper-arid central part; their valleys are often very wide and their beds, which are not commensurate with the current quantity of water transported, are favourable spots for human activity; they are the heritage of the more humid climatic variations of the Quaternary period.

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4. *Human geography and population.*

The ancient human population of the Sahara is complex, and has its roots in the distant past. One must in fact go back to the beginnings of the Neolithic period (*ca.* 8,000 B.C.) in order to see how, each time when the climate becomes more wet, the desert becomes repopulated on the its margins—Maghrib, Nile valley, the Sāḥil. The population was already varied, as is seen in the diversity of the axes of population. All through the Neolithic period, the ancestors of numerous present peoples of North Africa lived in the Sahara: Palaeoberbers, between North Africa, the Tropic of Cancer and the Nile, negroid Sudanese, and Nilotic peoples. Rock art shows this diversity: in the Tassili n'Ajjer, the Acacus, the Ahaggar, etc., are carved and, above all, painted scenes of hunting, livestock rearing and daily life which inevitably evoke the nomads of the Sahara and the northern Sāḥil—Moors, Touaregs, Tubus, Peuls or Fulanis, etc.

Growing desiccation led to, from 2,000 B.C. onwards and even earlier in the Egyptian Sahara, a retreat of human occupation; hunters, pastoralists and primary agriculturists had to follow southwards the retreat of the isohyets. In the eastern Sahara, numerous Palaeoberber groups (including the Lebu, who provided the ethonym "Libyan") were compelled, often with sucess, to penetrate into the Nile valley, where the Libyans or Tehennu played an important role in the birth and florescence of Pharaonic civilisation.

From the beginning of the present era, desiccation became general. Except for a few refuge areas, valleys or mountains, the Sahara henceforth made obligatory an economy and way of life which only certain human groups were ready to accept, and which was to allow them to control the Saharan expanses: Berbers (Lawāta, Sanhādja, Zanāta, Lamṭa, Hawāra, etc., ancestors more or less directly of the white-skinned nomads, Moors and Touaregs, of historical times), Tubus, Zaghāwa (between Fezzan, Tibesti, Lake Chad and Kordofan), etc.

The Romans, masters of Egypt and North Africa at this time, knew hardly anything of the Sahara. They were content with military campaigns of intimidation or of reconaissance, without any intention of colonisation, and with a simple, necessary belt of southern defences for controlling the nomads of the northern Sahara. Only Fezzan, under control of the Garamantes, to some extent vassals from A.D. 69 onwards, was frequented by the Romans, for reasons as much commercial as political, starting from the Libyan littoral and from the Nile valley.

The economy was based on stock rearing (goats and, above all, camels), the razzia and war, domination of the oases (where traces of the Neolithic period population survived) and the beginnings of caravan trade, initiated by the very rapid growth in the number of dromedaries.

At this time, the Sahara was already a barrier, as much climatic as cultural, between the Nile, North Africa and the Sāḥil. Each ensemble of territories now developed specific characteristics. Commerce and the advent of Islam, however, were to bring them together again, for, in future, the Sahara itself was only to be attractive because of the possibility of being out of sight there, as with the Khāridjites of Mzāb or of Sidjilmāsa, where were to be found certain Arab tribes which had been pushed back or were particularly adventurous.

Contrariwise, between the introduction of the dromedary and the lure of the rich markets of the Maghrib (from Fāṭimid times onwards) and of Europe, an economic system based on interchange developed progressively across the desert. From the 8th century onwards, bands of Arab traders coming from the Maghrib established themselves in the lands of the Sāḥil, which the Arab geographers and travellers describe (Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Bakrī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, etc.). Towns either developed or were created (Awdaghust, Ghāna, Djenné, Gao, Tademekka, Agadès, etc.). From the 13th century, the Sāḥil profited extensively from the system, by controlling exports—and not only those of gold—across the desert.

The 14th century was the golden age for these trans-Saharan relations. The Meccan Pilgrimage of the king of Mali, Mansa Mūsā [*q.v.*], in 1324, was the apogee of this, so impressive was its richness. But from the end of the 15th century onwards, the more and more exigent presence of Europeans on the Atlantic coasts of Africa disturbed trans-Saharan relations and made human relations harder.

Around the 10th century, a period of climatic remission allowed a number of peoples of the Sāḥil—Soninke, Bambara, Soghaï, Mossi, Zarma, Hausa, Peul or Fulani, Kanuri, Kanemi, etc.—to re-establish themselves as far as the 20° latitude north, where they could now for the first time practise stock rearing and even, at times, agriculture. They also formed political entities, straddling the Sahara and Sāḥil, which were the first ones in that region and which clashed, towards the north, with those of the Berbers and Arabs.

Arab penetration was in fact an early one, along the tracks, which became the axes for human, commercial, intellectual and religious penetration. From the outset of their conquest of North Africa, they were attracted by the Sahara, in respect of gold and of slaves from its southern fringes. The first moves date from 666 (Fezzan and possibly Kawar), 682 (Sūs) and 734-5 (from Morocco towards Senegal). But during the 7th-8th centuries, the Arabs were still too much strangers to the Sahara for them to establish themselves there for any lengthy duration.

In the western Sahara, there was a strong current of contacts between Morocco and the Sāḥil, where the town of Awdaghust became important from before the 7th century. At the opening of the 11th one, Berbers of Mauritania—the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN]—launched themselves in an immense politico-religious movement of conquest, of which the Berber-Sudanese front was as important as the Moroccan-

Hispanic one. The region then fell once more into an indrawn state, troubled only by the progressive and irresistible movement, as far as the banks of the Senegal, of Arab tribes coming from Morocco, who gradually were to form, together with the Berber substratum, the basis of the Moorish peoples of the western Sahara.

In the Niger bend, Gao was already a powerful, and Muslim, town in the 8th century, frequented by the Massouf Berbers, living between Mauritania and Mali. Its relations with the Maghrib (Tāhart, Ghadāmis, Ghāt, Tunis and Tripoli) and with Egypt, and even with Spain, were close. Timbuctu [*q.v.*], founded in the 12th century, was another of these staging-post towns of the desert. The kingdom of Mali [*q.v.*] was a truly international power, which the Ottoman empire, the Ḥafṣids of Tunis and the Moroccan dynasties had to take into account. But the region was frequently devastated by the rivalries of the peoples of the Sāḥil (Soninke, Songhaï, Mossi, Peul or Fulani, etc.), the Touaregs (who definitively seized the Aïr from the Hausas in the 12th century) and, later, the Moroccans, who endeavoured, without great success, to establish their power in the Sāḥil in the 16th century by destroying the Songhaï empire (battle of Tondibi, 1591).

In the eastern Sahara, there were several large groupings, along axes to the Mediterranean, by means of two main routes, Aïr-Ahaggar and Kawar-Djado, with Fezzan as a staging-post. The kingdom of Bornu [*q.v.*] was the most important of these between the 16th and 18th centuries, in contact with the Ottomans, who controlled Cairo, Tripoli and Tunis, and who were above all interested in the slave traffic. The Tubus, long established between Fezzan, Djado, Ennedi and Lake Chad, resisted all pressures.

Yet further to the east, relations existed between the Chad basin and the Nile valley in the Sudan, via Ennedi and Dārfūr [*q.v.*].

The Europeans did not really appear until the 18th century. Previously, only the coastlands were known to them above all, to the Portuguese. The account of the Moroccan Leo Africanus [*q.v.*], who crossed the Sahara between 1510 and 1514, gave Europe access to knowledge which, alone amongst outsiders, was at that time accessible only to the Arabs. In the 19th century, the Europeans acquired for themselves the means for exploring the interior of Africa, for varying reasons, amongst which were prominent a desire to combat the places of origin for slavery and a search for new economic outlets. All through this century, numerous explorers laid down the ways for colonisation, which was often violent and which excited strong reactions, frequently led by the Muslim Ṣūfī orders of the Sāḥil, linked as they were with the Orient and the Maghrib. These last played an essential role in the definitive Islamisation of the Sāḥil. One may mention, amongst the main explorers, before they yielded place to military men, Mungo Park, Laing, Caillé, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlfs and Nachtigal.

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5. *The contemporary Sahara.*

Insofar as agriculture has not been able to develop

in the desert except under the beneficent effect of irrigation (this marking the great difference between it and the countries of the Sāḥil, where one can speak of dry farming, under conditions of rainfall, as likewise in the lands bordering the northern edge of the Sahara), men have systematically colonised the more low-lying parts. These zones, on one hand, can benefit, all along the northern edge of the desert, from the flowing of streams whose waters can be diverted towards agricultural lands, and, on the other hand, they allow the underground water level to be reached more easily by means of wells from which water is raised by manpower, animal power or mechanical pumps. But since the end of the last century, the resources of the deep water table have been tapped through deep bore-holes, in this instance, artesian wells (water under pressure, hence spurting out) and provide a supplementary advantage. The most abundant resources are those of the so-called Albian water table (or the Intercalary Continental ones), utilised in the Algerian and Tunisian Sahara, which is also the origin of the Great Artificial river of Libya, an enormous aqueduct which transfers water towards the coastal zones. But inasmuch as the Intercalary Continental water table is made up of fossil water (the results of the last rainfall of the Quaternary period), the question must be posed, how long can this hydraulic source last? The question remains nonetheless pressing because it is these deep bore holes which are the basis for the spectacular development of the palm groves of the Algerian lower Sahara and the nearby Tunisian Sahara, comprising a commercial agriculture founded on the production of dates of exceptional quality (the "deglet nour") which has supplanted the self-subsistence agriculture which was for long the only one practiced in the oases. It is equally true that agriculture, even in regard to the date palm groves which best characterise the Saharan oasis and which furnish an important part of the food supply, has only, over the centuries, played a secondary role in the economy of the Sahara, and has never allowed the local peasants to become rich. For long, it has merely been the indispensable complement of urban development.

For the Sahara, the necessary means for passage between black Africa and the Mediterranean before maritime routes began to provide an alternative means of trade relations, has known quite a florescence of towns, mainly on its borders, the best known being Sid̲j̲ilmāsa (whose ruins lie near the town of Rissani in Morocco), Timbuctu (in modern Mali); in Algeria, Ouargla and Ghardaïa, and in Tunisia, Tozeur, were the termini for trans-Saharan caravans, whilst the towns of the Mauritanian Adrar (e.g. Atar) or of the Libyan desert (Ghat, G̲h̲adāmis) played the roles of staging-posts in the journey across the desert. These functions of the town, for long dormant after the disorganisation of traditional connections consequent on the partition of Africa by competing colonial powers, today enjoy a new vigour, but in a totally different context. This arises within the framework of new economic resources, utilising underground ones, notably hydrocarbons, above all in the Algerian and Libyan Saharas, and, much less, in Tunisia; also, there has been a diversification in employment, of which the towns have been the main beneficiaries, so that the pressure of urban populations weighs more and more heavily on the organisation of the Saharan region. Manufacturing and industrial activities, and administrative expansion—in order the better to control the Saharan region—and the growth of commerce, have all given a new vigour to the towns, whose populations have swollen enormously.

Because of this, the oasis societies have undergone deep changes, since the ways of urban consumption and ways of life have expanded rapidly, as much amongst the sedentaries as amongst the nomads. Many of the traditional modes inherited from the past, whose management has been perfectly mastered by the local populations, will probably continue to have their *raison d'être*. But the most spectacular evolution stems from the development of agriculture for the market, mainly based on the cultivation of out-of-season vegetables which the Sahara can produce, given its latitude and the length of sunshine there; the agricultural populations which have been best able to adapt to market demands are from those parts of the Sahara which are the best supplied with towns, with mercantile traditions, with the best food supplies and labour resources, and most easily linked to the great centres of consumption, i.e. the towns of the Mediterranean littoral and the export outlets. Furthermore, the Saharan expanses, by virtue of their rich hydraulic reserves, are more and more considered as reserves of land, immense regions to be colonised, whose value for intensive agriculture (mainly based on cereals, above all wheat) may possibly allow of a solution to the problem of finding food supplies (at least on the local scale; for the national scale, this is a utopian dream). Whence the increased number of deep bore-holes which supply the self-propelled sprinklers and which create a new landscape, that of agribusiness, whose real place in the desert will be determined in the future.

In this context, nomadism is only a residual, very much a minor, activity, despite the tenacious legend which sees the Sahara as essentially a land of nomads. Decades of unrestrained urbanisation have in fact radically modified the general picture, apart from the effects of the long periods of desiccation which have affected the fringes of the desert (where the most numerous groups of nomads live) and which have erased the complementary factors (climatic, whence vegetational) making up the support for nomadic life. A new complementarity, this time based on relationships with the town, has replaced these latter ones; the nomad may now raise livestock for slaughter on the account of his relatives who have become sedentarised, or he may now become an adjunct of tourism (guide or camel-driver accompanying excursionists), or yet again he may have become an agriculturist once more, often aided by the state, which endeavours to settle the nomads—unless these principal sources of income stem from what is regarded as a side-activity, the nomad himself having kept up a semi-way of life as a nomadic herdsman, with the family continuing to live in a tent. In sum, the abandonment of vast pastoral areas has as its corollary the end of a certain control over the expanses which the nomads enjoyed; the Saharan expanses have never been so empty, and the contrast between the towns where men and activities are now concentrated and the pasture lands which have now become useless, has never been so brutal.

Development policies applied to the Sahara all end up, whatever the political options chosen by the various states, in processes which inevitably converge on the same constant: a state-directed structure and a multiplication of relationships which bring about forms of association in the most varied fields. In practice, all of these work together to break up the isolation which was once the common lot of the Saharan peoples: a good network of roads, access to wage-earning employment, the developing role of the towns within the framework of a voluntarist policy and the generalising of a market economy. In sum, in a few

decades only we have witnessed a process of integration in the sense used in politics, i.e. entry into a vast grouping which is transforming the life of the Saharan peoples by bringing them fully into the process of state-building.

That the Sahara is going to be, in the future, an expanse which not only retains its population but attracts people as well, is the tangible proof that it has become part of the development process. The attachment of these immense Saharan expanses to the Mediterranean province of each of the states involved constitutes a geopolitical factor of first-rank importance.

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(J. BISSON)

SAHSARĀM, variously spelt as Sahasrām, Sasarām, Sassaram, Sasiram, a small town in the S͟hāhabād district of Bihār in India (lat. 24° 58′ N., long. 84° 01′ E.), associated with the name of S͟hīr S͟hāh Sūr (946-52/1539-45 [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE]), initially as his military *iḳṭāʿ* and subsequently as his burial place, this last considered to be "one of the grandest and most imaginative architectural conceptions in the whole of India" (P. Brown, *Indian architecture*, 84). Legend ascribes the name to "certain Asura or demon who had a thousand arms, each holding a separate plaything" (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*², xxii, 111). East of the town, near the summit of a spur of the Kaimur range is a Buddhist site where, in a small cave, there is an important Aśōka inscription. Here also stands the tomb of Pīr Čandan S͟hahīd. Abu 'l-Faḍl mentions Sahsarām as one of the 18 *maḥalls* of the *sarkār* of Rōhtās [*q.v.*] and refers to its revenues, climate, military contingents, etc.

The main attraction of Sahsarām is a group of royal tombs of S͟hīr S͟hāh, his father Ḥasan Sūr, his son Salīm S͟hāh and the architect ʿAlawal K͟hān, each of which has its own marked architectural character. S͟hīr S͟hāh's tomb is an "architectural masterpiece". It stands in a vast artificial lake with an octagonal hall surrounded by an arcade which forms a gallery. Its imposing structure rises in five stages to a total height of about 45.5 m. Spreading out to the water's edge is a continuous plinth of steps. The tomb chamber has inscriptions carved on the *ḳibla* wall. The roof is supported by four Gothic arches. Brown, *op. cit.*, 85, considers the tomb structure "an inspired achievement, a creation of sober and massive splendour of which any country would be proud."

Other buildings of Sahsarām worthy of mention are the *Ḳalʿa*, the *ʿIdgāh* and the *ḥammām* or Baths.

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(K.A. NIZAMI)

AL-SAḤŪL, the name of both a town and a *wādī* in Yemen. The town lies on the road from Ibb [*q.v.*] to al-Mak͟hādir near the ruins of Ẓafār al-As͟hrāf, in ancient times the capital of the Ḥimyarite kingdom (see Smith, *Ayyūbids*, ii, 216). For Wādī Saḥūl, see *Eduard Glaser's Reise nach Mârib*, ed. D.H. Müller and N. Rhodokanakis, Vienna 1913, charts 2-3. Al-Saḥūl was called *Miṣr al-Yaman* on account of its wealth in corn, and was celebrated for the so-called Saḥūlī cloaks (*saḥūliyya*) made there of white cotton. The Prophet is said to have been shrouded (*kufina*) in two of them for burial. Al-Saḥūl is mentioned in connection with the journey made by Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan from D̲juwwa via Wuṣāb to D͟hamār [*q.v.*] (see al-K͟hazrad̲jī, i, 111; on Asad al-Dīn, see AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD, 1; RASŪLIDS, and Serjeant-Lewcock, *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 64-6).

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(E. VAN DONZEL)

ṢAHYŪN (present-day (Arabic) ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN; Greek SIGON; Frankish SAÔNE), a stronghold of the D̲jabal al-ʿAlawiyyīn (Nuṣayrī Mountains), situated about 25 km/15 miles north-east of the Syrian port of

al-Lādhiḳiyya (Latakia), near the town of al-Ḥaffeh. The castle occupies a narrow, east-west running spur, isolated by a rock-hewn fosse on the east, and protected by deep ravines on the north and south. The principal extant constructions are the remains of a Byzantine citadel on the highest, middle point of the site; extensive and better-preserved Frankish fortifications, including a massive keep, walls and bastions at the eastern end; and a mosque and a *ḥammām* bearing the name of the Mamlūk ruler Ḳalāwūn.

The earliest attested occupier was a dependant of Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] the Ḥamdānid ruler of Aleppo. In 975/364-5, he surrendered the castle to the Byzantine Emperor John Tzimisces. The site remained in Byzantine hands until the beginning of the Crusades. By 513/1119, the castle was in the possession of the Frankish Count Robert the Leper, from whose descendants Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn wrested it in 584/1188. The Ayyūbid ruler gave the place to his lieutenant Mankurūs b. Khumārtigin. The latter's heirs ruled it until 671/1272, when it was handed over to the Mamlūk al-Ẓāhir Baybars. The castle subsequently became the refuge of Sunḳur al-Ashḳar, an *amīr* of Baybars' successor Ḳalāwūn, in al-Ashḳar's rebellions against Ḳalāwūn, until their dispute was resolved in 685-6/1287. For at least the next century under the Mamlūks, Ṣahyūn seems to have flourished. Abu 'l-Fidā' reports a town as having grown up next to the castle. Traces of extensive settlement are still visible to the east of the fosse. Later, however, the entire site was abandoned.

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(D.W. Morray)

ṢĀ'IB, Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī, Persian poet of the 11th/17th century.

The precise date of his birth is not known, but it is presumed that he was born around 1010/1601-2. His father, Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, was a leading merchant of Tabrīz. When Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 985-1038/1587-1629) made Iṣfahān his capital he caused many merchants from Tabrīz to settle there, in the quarter named ʿAbbāsābād. At this time Ṣā'ib's father moved to Iṣfahān, where the poet is said to have been born. In his verses, however, Ṣā'ib often invokes his connection with Tabrīz, and consequently he is referred to both as Iṣfahānī and as Tabrīzī.

Ṣā'ib's early upbringing took place in Iṣfahān. He obtained his education at home, and became involved in poetical exercises at a young age. He is reported to have received his training in poetry from Ruknā Masīḥ of Kāshān (d. 1066/1655 or 1070/1659-60) and from Sharaf al-Dīn Shifā'ī (d. 1037/1628), although this is discounted by some recent authorities. During his youth he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and also visited the shrine of ʿAlī al-Riḍā in Mashhad.

Towards 1034/1624-5, Ṣā'ib set out for India. His decision was, allegedly, in reaction to the conduct of some self-seeking individuals who were engaged in poisoning the ears of Shāh ʿAbbās I against him. It is also possible that, like other Persian poets of his age, he was drawn to the Mughal court in expectation of rich rewards. His journey took him through Harāt and Kābul, where in the latter place he found access to Muḥammad Riḍā Aḥsan Allāh, popularly known as Ẓafar Khān (1013-73/1604-63), who served as administrator on behalf of his father Khʷādja Abu 'l-Ḥasan Turbatī (d. 1042/1633), a distinguished Mughal nobleman. Ṣā'ib benefited from the generosity of Ẓafar Khān, and the two men struck up a friendship which seems to have continued even after the poet's return to Persia.

At the beginning of Shāh Djahān's reign (1037-69/1627-58), Zafar Khān was called back from Kābul to the royal court, and Ṣā'ib accompanied his patron to India. It is said that the Emperor bestowed upon the poet the title of Mustaʿidd Khān and appointed him to the command of 1,000 horsemen, which carried with it an award of 20,000 rupees. In the middle of Rabīʿ II/November 1629, Ẓafar Khān was sent to the Deccan, and Ṣā'ib accompanied him. While the poet was staying in Burhānpūr [*q.v.*], he received the news that his father had arrived in Āgra from Iṣfahān with the intention of inducing his son to return home. Upon hearing this, Ṣā'ib composed a *ḳaṣīda* in which he expressed the wish to return to Persia. In 1042/1632, Ẓafar Khān was made governor of Kashmīr, and he took Ṣā'ib with him. The poet visited Kashmīr, and thence proceeded to Persia with his father.

Ṣā'ib's stay in India lasted for some seven years. His verses show that he missed his homeland and longed to go back; thereafter, he did not make any other long journey. He would sometimes visit places inside Persia, but only to meet poets and learned men in connection with his literary activities. His fame kept growing, and his works were in demand from rulers and dignitaries. He was appointed by Shāh ʿAbbās II (r. 1052-77/1642-66) as his poet-laureate—a position in which he reportedly enjoyed almost the same privileges as any minister. In his old age, he never set foot outside Iṣfahān, and was later buried in the same retreat where he stayed. Opinions differ regarding the date of his death, which is placed variously between 1080/1669-70 and 1088/1677-8.

Ṣā'ib is described as a devoutly religious man. According to the *Khizāna-yi ʿāmira*, he was a Sunnī. Despite his religious affiliation, he was well-liked by all classes of Persians, who were chiefly Shīʿī, because of his discretion as regards religious beliefs. Unlike many poets, he was free from greed, rivalry and malice. He often chose the works of other poets as a model for his own poems, acknowledging his source by name as a mark of appreciation.

The poetical output of Ṣā'ib is extremely voluminous. The total number of verses ascribed to him varies from 80,000 to 125,000. Likewise, estimates also differ regarding the size of his *mathnawī Ḳandahār-nāma* ("The book of Ḳandahār"), which he composed to commemorate the capture of the Afghān province by the Persians from the Mughals in 1059/1649. These estimates range from 35,000 to 135,000 couplets. To be sure, the above figures are an exaggeration, but, as Shiblī Nuʿmānī has pointed out, there can be no doubt that Ṣā'ib was the most prolific of the latter-day poets. It is reported that he prepared some collections of his verses according to their subject-matter. One of them, named *Mir'āt al-djamāl* ("The mirror of beauty"), contained verses relating

to the physical features of the beloved; another, called *Mirʾāt al-khayāl* ("The mirror of thought"), included in its contents allusions to mirror and comb; and yet another, entitled *Maykhāna* ("Tavern"), devoted itself to examples of verses mentioning wine and tavern. In addition, Ṣāʾib put together a selection of the opening couplets from his poems and other verses in a volume which he called *Wādjib al-ḥifẓ* ("Worthy of keeping"). He also compiled an anthology, entitled *Bayāḍ*, which contained a selection of his own verses as well as those of other poets, both old and new.

Ṣāʾib was well-versed in the art of calligraphy, a family legacy which may be traced to his uncle, Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d. 940/1533-4), titled Shīrīn-ḳalam ("Of sweet pen"), who was a master calligrapher of his time. There exist several manuscripts of Ṣāʾib's works in his own handwriting, indicating the poet's skill in the *nastaʿlīḳ* form of calligraphy.

Among the verse forms employed by Ṣāʾib, the predominant one was the *ghazal*. His collection contains some *ḳaṣīdas* and *mathnawīs*, but these constitute an insignificant part of his huge output. It is the quantity and quality of Ṣāʾib's *ghazals* that lend stature to his poetry. The poet sought to change the direction of the *ghazal* by investing it with a new imagery and a refreshing thought pattern. He was careful to avoid stereotypes. Even when presenting a conventional theme, his aim was to transform it so as to convey an impression of novelty. One of the devices he employed very successfully was the *irsāl-i mathal*, in which the poet makes a statement in the first line of the couplet and reinforces it by an example in the second line. With Ṣāʾib, this mode of expression, which could easily become contrived when employed by lesser poets, retained its spontaneity because of his skilful handling.

Ṣāʾib was a leading exponent of the Indian style of Persian poetry (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]). He remained a towering figure in the literary world of Persia until his fame suffered a decline in the 18th and 19th centuries when the style which he represented lost its appeal with the local poets and arbiters of taste. This change is reflected in the views expressed by such later writers as Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar (d. 1195/1781) and Riḍā-ḳulī Khan Hidāyat (d. 1280/1871). Ādhar accuses Ṣāʾib of initiating "a novel and disagreeable style", following which poetical standards underwent progressive deterioration; and Hidāyat declares that the trend which the poet chose for himself was not admired during the author's time. While Ṣāʾib's popularity diminished in his own country, the esteem enjoyed by him in the Indian sub-continent among students of Persian literature has continued unabated over the ages. Lately, the literary scene in Persia has also witnessed a revival of interest in Ṣāʾib, as shown by the successive publication of his poetical works and the appearance of numerous articles about his poetry.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

SĀʾIB KHĀTHIR, influential musician of the early Umayyad period, d. 63/683.

According to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the source for what information we have on him, Abū Djaʿfar Sāʾib Khāthir was a *mawlā* of Persian origin. By trade a food or, possibly, wheat (*ṭaʿām*) merchant in Medina, he became well-known as a singer and was attached to an important patron, ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*]. He is also said to have sung, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya (41-60/661-80), for his son Yazīd and, at the instigation of ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar, before Muʿāwiya himself. He was killed during the battle of al-Ḥarra, in 63/683.

The Ḥidjāz, and Medina in particular, was a centre of musical innovation during the 1st/7th century, and Sāʾib Khāthir is identified as one of the key figures in this process. He is portrayed in one account as having performed in traditional fashion, singing improvised (*murtadjil*) airs to the accompaniment of a percussion stick (*ḳaḍīb*). But in another, conforming to a standard narrative formula used in the *Aghānī* to encapsulate change, he is said to have been the first musician in Medina to introduce what would become the standard practice of the singer accompanying himself on the lute (*ʿūd*). With Sāʾib Khāthir, too, is associated the absorption and integration of Persian elements, for in reaction to the impression made on ʿAbd Allāh b.

Djaʿfar by the Persian songs of Nashīṭ [*q.v.*], he is said to have set Arabic verse in the same style. It is such developments that were to lead to the elaboration of the sophisticated court-music tradition eventually codified by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī (150-235/767-850 [*q.v.*]) and it is, indeed, Sāʾib Khāthir's song *li-man ͥ l-diyāru rusūmuhā ḳafr ͧ* that is claimed to initiate the stylistic prototype or first stage of that tradition, the early Umayyad *ghināʾ mutḳan*. Alternatively, this piece is perceived as the earliest instance in Arabic of *ghināʾ thaḳīl*, pointing towards the emergence of a "heavy" vs. "light" (*khafīf*) divide with which will later be associated notions of an Arab vs. Persian stylistic cleavage. That Sāʾib Khāthir was considered to be a major figure in this early period of radical change is also indicated by the roll-call of great Umayyad singers who are said to have learned from him (even if the extent of their indebtedness is impossible to define): Ibn Suraydj, Djamīla, ʿAzza al-Maylāʾ and, in particular, Maʿbad [*q.v.*], to whom, it is alleged, some of Sāʾib Khāthir's own compositions were later attributed.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[3], viii, 321-6; H.G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music to the XIII*[th] *century*, London 1929, repr. 1973, 53-4 and *passim;* Shawḳī Ḍayf, *al-Shiʿr wa 'l-ghināʾ fi 'l-Madīna wa-Makka li-ʿaṣr Banī Umayya*, Cairo n.d., 58.

(O. WRIGHT)

SAʿĪD B. **ABĪ ARŪBA**, Mihrān Abu 'l-Naḍr al-ʿAdawī al-Baṣrī (born *ca.* 70/689, d. between 155 and 159/771-6), traditionist in Baṣra, *mawlā* of the Banū ʿAdī b. Yashkur. Saʿīd is mentioned among the first who compiled systematic *ḥadīth* collections of the *muṣannaf* [*q.v.*] type (see IBN DJURAYDJ; Juynboll, 22; Van Ess, 63). Among his works were a *K. al-Sunan* and a *K. al-Ṭalāḳ*; none of them is extant. His repute as a traditionist is equivocal; he is generally considered reliable until he became "confused" some ten years before his death. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is said to have accused him of tampering (*tadlīs* [*q.v.*]) with *isnāds* [*q.v.*] (al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl fī naḳd al-ridjāl*, ed. al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1963, ii, 152). Probably his reputation was impaired because he adhered to the doctrine of the free will [see ḲADARIYYA]. Saʿīd is known best as transmitter of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], and of his teacher Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma [*q.v.*], whose *K. al-Manāsik* he edited (Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 32; Van Ess, 143). Via Ḳatāda, he also transmitted Ḳurʾānic exegesis and stories about the prophets (see Khoury, *passim*). A number of people transmitted *ḥadīth* or other materials from Saʿīd, notably ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Sāmī (d. 189/805; Van Ess, 73).

Bibliography: Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 91-2; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, ii, Berlin-New York 1992, 62-5, 72-8; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 22, 164; R.G. Khoury, *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam*, Wiesbaden 1978.

(W. RAVEN)

SAʿĪD B. AL-**ʿĀṢ** B. UMAYYA, a member of the Aʿyāṣ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] component group of the Umayyad clan in Mecca and, later, governor of Kufa and Medina, died in 59/678-9, according to the majority of authorities.

His father had fallen, a pagan, fighting the Muslims at the battle of Badr [*q.v.*] on 2/624 when Saʿīd, his only son, can only have been an infant. He nevertheless speedily achieved great prestige in Islam not only as the leader of an aristocratic family group but also for his liberality, eloquence and learning. He was in especially high favour with ʿUthmān, and was appointed by that caliph, together with the other Ḳurashīs ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith and the Medinan Zayd b. Thābit [*q.v.*], to prepare a Ḳurʾān vulgate text on the basis of the *muṣḥaf* [*q.v.*] of Ḥafṣa, probably in 32-3/652-4 (see Nöldeke-Schwally, *G des Q*, ii, 48, 50-2, 56). He married two of ʿUthmān's daughters, Maryam and Umm ʿAmr, and also had links with the Marwānid branch of the clan through his marriage to Umm al-Banīn, daughter of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*].

In 29/649-50 he was appointed governor of Kūfa in succession to al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba, achieving a reputation as a military commander by leading expeditions into Ādharbaydjān and the Caspian provinces. But he incurred unpopularity in unruly Kūfa—to him is attributed the saying that the Sawād [*q.v.*] of ʿIrāḳ was the garden of Ḳuraysh, i.e. meant to be exploited by the Meccans—and his return to his post from Medina at the end of 34/655 was blocked by the *ḳurrāʾ* and other agitators in Kūfa under Yazīd b. Ḳays al-Arḥabī and Mālik al-Ashtar, who proclaimed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] governor in the city. Saʿīd fought in defence of ʿUthmān's *dār* in Medina when it was attacked by the rebels of the Egyptian army and was wounded protecting the caliph; but, after at first inclining to the cause of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾisha, he declined to participate in the Battle of the Camel, and settled in Mecca. He did not participate in the events of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] either, but Muʿāwiya in 49/669 appointed him governor of Medina in place of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and he remained in office till replaced by the latter in 54/674.

He finally returned to his estates in the Wādī 'l-ʿAḳīḳ at Medina, and died at al-ʿArṣa, most probably in 59/678-9. The leadership of his family then devolved on his son (as many as 14 sons of his are enumerated in the *nasab* literature, e.g. in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 136-49) by Marwān's daughter, ʿAmr al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*].

Although an Umayyad, Saʿīd had close relations with some members of the Hāshimī family, and it was recalled by them that he had taken no part against ʿAlī in the First Civil War (see Lammens, *Moʿâwia I*[er], in *MFOB*, i [1906], 27-9); early Islamic historical writing is, accordingly, rather favourable to his image.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): 1. Sources. Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 176-8; Ibn Saʿd, v, 19-24; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 119, 198, 280, 322, 328-9, 334, 336; idem, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ivb, ed. Schloessinger, 130-6; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 152, 190, 192, 207, 267, 283-4; Ṭabarī, i, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, ii, 309 ff.; idem, *Kāmil*, iii and iv, index; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 5059; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 281-2.

2. Studies. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 117-21; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der Zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 114-15, 117-18; Hichem Djaït, *La grande discorde. Religion et politique dans l'Islam des origines*, Paris 1989, 119, 122-5.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SAʿĪD B. AL-**BIṬRĪḲ** (not Baṭrīḳ) or Eutychius (263-328/877-940), Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, author of works of medicine, history and apologetics, and one of the most important figures in the Melkite literature of his period.

The only known biographical elements derive from the author himself (ed. Cheikho, ii, 69-70, 86-7, 88) and from his continuator (Yaḥyā, in *PO*, xviii, 713-19); they are repeated, without additional information, in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. Born at Fusṭāṭ on 27 Dhu

'l-Ḥidjdja 263/10 September 877, Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ studied medicine and distinguished himself as a practitioner; he was elected patriarch of Alexandria on 8 Ṣafar 321/7 February 933, at the age of sixty, and then received the name Eutychius. To resolve the contradiction between the two items of information—the age and the year—M. Breydy (*Études*, 5 ff.) proposes fixing the accession of Saᶜīd to the see of Alexandria on 13 Ṣafar 323/22 January 935 (according to the version given in two manuscripts). His patriarchate was controversial, and darkened by the division of the Melkite community of Egypt into two rival factions and by the spoliations which ensued. Saᶜīd died on Monday, 30 Radjab 328/11 May 940 in Alexandria.

(a) *Medicine.*

Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ is the author of a medical treatise, *K. fi 'l-Ṭibb* or *Kunnāsh* (mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa), of which a manuscript has been preserved in the Manādīlī collection at Aleppo (cf. P. Sbath, *al-Fihris*, i, 9, no. 23).

(b) *History.*

Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ is best known for his universal history dedicated to his fellow-physician ᶜĪsā b. al-Biṭrīḳ, *K. al-Ta'rīkh al-madjmūᶜ ᶜalā 'l-taḥḳīḳ wa 'l-taṣdīḳ*, also called by the copyists *Naẓm al-djawhar*, and generally known, since its edition by Pococke, under the title of *Annales*, although this is not strictly speaking a case of annals but of a universal history in which the material is divided chronologically according to the reigns of sovereigns. With this first Christian history in the Arabic language, dealing simultaneously with religious and secular events, Saᶜīd intended to offer to the Melkite community a history which would enable it to assert its identity vis-à-vis the other Christian communities, and vis-à-vis the Byzantine and Arab empires.

It begins with the creation of Adam and deals with Biblical history until the Babylonian exile, then expands into a history of the Near East until the birth of Christ, devotes substantial treatment to the beginnings of the Church, to heresies and to councils, to monasticism in Palestine, without, however, neglecting the reigns of Byzantine and Sāsānid sovereigns, and concludes with Arabo-Muslim history, pursued until the fifth year of the caliphate of al-Rāḍī (326/937-8). As he himself explains in the introduction, Saᶜīd sets out to make a work of compilation on the basis of various sources which he does not mention, but the most important of which can be identified (cf. Breydy, *Études*, ch. ii): an Arabic version of the Bible, the *Cave of treasures*, the *Alexander Romance*, the history of the Sāsānid kings translated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ [*q.v.*], hagiographical writings (St. Epiphanus of Cyprus, St. Euthymus, St. Sabas, St. John the Almoner, etc.), popular legends (including the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus), and Muslim traditionists such as ᶜUthmān b. Ṣāliḥ (cf. Breydy, *La conquête arabe*. Cf. also G. Levi Della Vida, *Two fragments of Galen in Arabic translation*, in *JAOS*, lxx [1950], 182-7). Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ makes every effort to insert the information thus assembled into a chronological frame supplied successively by the history of the Bible, by the reigns of the kings of Persia, of Alexander, of the kings of Egypt, of Roman emperors, of Sāsānid sovereigns, of Byzantine emperors, and finally, from the time of the Arab conquest, of caliphs. Saᶜīd situates the Incarnation in the year 5500, thereby following not the calculations of Byzantine chronographers but the era of Africanus, still used by those whom Grumel dubs "adherents of the mystical 5500" (*La chronologie*, 22 ff., 157).

The *Ta'rīkh* was continued at the beginning of the 5th/11th century by Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī [*q.v.*], who gives interesting details regarding the manuscripts which he has been able to consult: "I have examined a certain number of manuscripts of the book of Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ, and found that some of them contained history up until the beginning of the caliphate of al-Ḳāhir, in other words, until the year in which Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ was appointed Patriarch of Alexandria; on the other hand, other manuscripts had been supplemented for some reason by additions on the part of the continuator of the book, which were not to be found in the authentic manuscript. I have seen the authentic manuscript and, besides this, other manuscripts where [the history] reaches the point of the caliphate of al-Rāḍī, that is year 326 of the Hidjra. It is principally on the basis of this manuscript that I have composed this book, because this manuscript is the most complete in exposition and the closest to the period [of the author]. I believe that the reason for the incompleteness at the end of certain of these manuscripts, and for the fact that their account is abridged in relation to what appears in the authentic manuscript, is that the book was copied in the lifetime of the author at different times; the copies of this book becoming known to people, each copy contained in its entirety history up until the moment when [the copy] had been written" (*PO*, viii/5, 709-10).

Today, some thirty manuscripts of Saᶜīd's *Ta'rīkh* have been counted (cf. Graf, *GCAL*, 34-5; Breydy, *Études*, ch. iv; J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire*, 26-7), which is indicative of the book's success. It was known in the West from the 17th century onwards. In 1642, John Selden edited, translated and commented on a brief extract concerning the preaching of St. Mark and the origins of the Church of Alexandria; in 1661, A. Ecchelensis refuted Selden by producing a new translation of the same passage; in 1658-9, E. Pococke published the complete text of the *Ta'rīkh* on the basis of the manuscripts obtained by Selden (all three copied in Aleppo in the 17th century), accompanied by a Latin translation and index. This translation was reproduced, as were those of Selden and of Ecchelensis, in the *Patrologia* of Migne. In 1906-9, L. Cheikho, alone for the first part, in collaboration with Ḥ. Zayyāt and B. Carra de Vaux for the second, re-edited the Arabic text on the basis of the manuscript of the Zayyāt collection while giving the variants according to the Pococke edition, to which B. Carra de Vaux added a collation with two manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris; this edition also contains the continuation owed to Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī. In 1987, B. Pirone produced an annotated translation into Italian, according to Cheikho's text.

The manuscripts, even though they differ on the date of the end of the chronicle and contain more or less significant variants, represent the same recension of the text. Nevertheless, one manuscript stands out from the others: the ms. Sin. Arab. 580 (582) of Saint Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai, considered an anonymous chronicle (the manuscript is mutilated at the beginning and at the end) until Breydy claimed to have identified it as the original, and even autographical, recension of the *Ta'rīkh* of Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ, henceforward regarding all the other manuscripts as bearers of a version adapted and amplified in Antiochian circles in the 11th century, perhaps by Yaḥyā himself. Breydy bases his conclusion on three arguments: (1) The script of Sin. Arab 580 (582) makes it possible to date this manuscript at the beginning of the 10th century (a cursive Kūfic, sometimes poorly deciphered by the authors of the later recen-

sion, examples in *Mamila ou Maqella?*, 73-4, and in *Études*, 33-4); (2) The statement by Yaḥyā himself (*PO*, xviii/5, 708-9) that after his arrival in Antioch he had revised his own work with the aid of chronicles which then became available to him, and that he had intended to correct in the same manner the *Taʾrīkh* of Saᶜīd which he considered flawed and incomplete. Although he adds that he abandoned this project, Breydy thinks that he, or others, did not resist the temptation; (3) The fact that all the manuscripts of the *Annales* belong to the Antiochene Melkite circle, and the late date of a number of copies (the earliest do not date back beyond the 13th-14th centuries). Comparison between the so-called Alexandrian recension of Sin. Arab. 580 (582) and the so-called Antiochene recension of the Pococke and Cheikho editions, outlined in *Études*, ch. v., has not been made in detail by Breydy except with regard to the taking of Jerusalem by the Persians and its reconquest by Heraclius (in *Mamila ou Maqella?*); it permits him to establish the Arabo-Jacobite origin of the first version, while the additions and glosses of the second would seemingly derive from Byzantine sources found at Antioch. Only a critical edition taking account of the entirety of the manuscript tradition, comparison between the two versions, and precise study of the origin of the additions, could definitively confirm, or refute, the conclusions of Breydy.

The vehement opposition displayed by Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ towards other Christian persuasions led to ripostes, among others, from the Copt Sāwīrus (Severus) Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ [*q.v.*] in his *Kitāb al-Madjāmiᶜ* (P. Chebli, *Réfutation de Saᶜīd ibn Baṭrīq (Eutychius). Le livre des conciles*, in *PO*, iii [1905], 121-242) and from the Nestorian Elias of Nisibis (L. Horst, *Das Metropoliten Elias von Nisibis Buch vom Beweis der Wahrheit des Glaubens*, Colmar 1886, 23, 56 ff.). The few lines in which Saᶜīd denies the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites (ed. Cheikho, i. 210), repeated by William of Tyre (*History*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 1018, cf. R.W. Crawford, *William of Tyre and the Maronites*, in *Speculum*, xxx [1955], 222-8), drew down upon Saᶜīd the fury of the Maronites, from Ecchelensis to historians of the present day. A rigorist Muslim, Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], refuted in his turn the Chalcedonian views espoused by Saᶜīd, not out of affection for Nestorian or Monophysite doctrines but to show the contradictions of the Melkite doctrine (G. Troupeau, *Ibn Taymiyya et sa réfutation d'Eutychius*, in *BEO*, xxx [1978], 209-20). Numerous later authors made use of Saᶜīd's *Taʾrīkh*, among others al-Masᶜūdī [*q.v.*] who met him in Fusṭāṭ (*Tanbīh*, ed. De Goeje, 154, tr. B. Carra de Vaux, *Le Livre de l'avertissement*, 212; cf. also idem, *Murūdj*, tr. Ch. Pellat, ii, 493), George the Friar (cf. P. Schreiner, *Fragment d'une paraphrase grecque des Annales d'Eutychès d'Alexandrie*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, xxxvii [1971], 384-390), William of Tyre for his chronicle of Arab sovereigns (a work which is lost, but mentioned in the prologue to his *History*, ed. Huygens, 100; cf. H. Möhring, *Zu der Geschichte der orientalischen Herrscher des Wilhelm von Tyrus. Die Frage der Quellenabhängigkeiten*, in *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, xix [1984], 170-83), not to mention Ṣalība b. Yūḥannā, al-Makīn [*q.v.*] and al-Maḳrīzī [*q.v.*].

Furthermore, it has been established that the account of events in Sicily for the years 827-965, which follows the *Annales* of Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ in the Cambridge manuscript and is for this reason generally known as the *Cambridge chronicle* (for editions and translations of this text, see Brockelmann, I², 155), is to be attributed not to Saᶜīd but to an Arab compiler of the 11th century who followed a Greek text (cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i, 342-6, ii, 2, 99-106). Nasrallah possessed in his personal library another manuscript of the *Annales* with this same addition (*Histoire du mouvement littéraire*, 27, 54). Similarly, a letter edited in Paris in 1642 and on numerous subsequent occasions should not be attributed to Saᶜīd (contrary to the affirmation of Brockelmann, I², 154) but to Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople (552-65) who was in correspondence with Pope Vigilius.

(c) *Apologetics*.

Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ undertook the defence of the Chalcedonian faith not only in his *Taʾrīkh* but also in a work of apologetics which has not been preserved: *K. al-Djadal bayn al-mukhālif wa 'l-naṣrānī* (mentioned by Saᶜīd himself, *Annales*, ed. Cheikho, i, 176, and by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa). Nasrallah (*op. cit.*, 31) has advanced the hypothesis that the three long refutations of the Nestorians and the Jacobites (ed. Cheikho, i, 159-61, 161-75, 196-7), which interrupt the narration and are introduced by the expression *ḳāla Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ al-mutaṭabbib*, were inserted at a later stage, and that the first and the third of these passages are borrowings from the *K. al-Djadal*; as for the second of these passages, on account of its similarity to another work of apologetics, the *K. al-Burhān*, it poses a new problem, that of the attribution of this work to Saᶜīd. On the basis of the presence of the same passage in both books—the *Taʾrīkh* and the *K. al-Burhān*—G. Graf (*Ein bisher unbekanntes Werk*, and *GCAL*, ii, 37) considered that Saᶜīd was the author of the *K. al-Burhān*. While it is certain that this treatise was composed in Arabic by a Chalcedonian before 944 (since it situates in Edessa the mandilium which was transferred to Constantinople in that year, which is confirmed by a note to Sin. Arab. 75, composed in 982, declaring that its author inherited this manuscript from his grandfather, cf. Nasrallah, *op. cit.*, 32-3), the attribution to Saᶜīd is today not considered valid (criticism of Graf's hypothesis, notably from F. Tautil, in *al-Mashrik*, xxvii [1929], 914-19, and Nasrallah, *op. cit.*, 31 ff.).

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Sources and studies of Saᶜīd: *Histoire de Yaḥyā-Ibn-Saᶜīd d'Antioche, continuateur de Saᶜīd-Ibn-Biṭriq*, ed. and tr. J. Kratchkowsky and A. Vasiliev, in *PO*, xviii/5, xxiii/3; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa, ed. Müller, ii, 86-7, ed. Beirut, 545-6; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i, 404-5; G. Graf, *Ein bisher unbekanntes Werk des Patriarchen Eutychius von Alexandrien*, in *Oriens christianus*, N.S. i (1911), 227-44; F. Nau, *Eutychius*, in *DTC*, ii, cols. 1609-11; Brockelmann, i², 154-5, S I, 228; Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 32-8; Sezgin,

GAS, iii, 297; M. Breydy, *La conquête arabe de l'Égypte. Un fragment du traditionniste Uthman ibn Salih (144-219 A.H. = 761-834 A.D.), identifié dans les Annales d'Eutychios d'Alexandrie (877-940 A.D.)*, in *Parole de l'Orient*, viii (1977-8), 379-96; idem, *Mamila ou Maqella? La prise de Jérusalem et ses conséquences (614 AD) selon la recension* alexandrine *des Annales d'Eutychès*, in *Oriens christianus*, lxv (1981), 62-86; idem, *Études sur Saʿīd Ibn Baṭrīq et ses sources*, Louvain 1983 (*CSCO*, 450, *Subsidia*, lxix); J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise melchite du Vᵉ au XXᵉ siècle*, ii/2, Louvain 1988, 23-34.

(Françoise Micheau)

SAʿĪD b. **ḤUMAYD** b. Saʿīd al-Kātib, Abū ʿUthmān, ʿAbbāsid scribe, epistolographer and poet. His exact dates are unknown, but he was probably born in the last years of the 3rd century A.H. and died after 257/871 (or 260/874), the year of Faḍl al-Shāʿira's death [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. His family came from the lower Persian nobility—he himself is sometimes called *al-dihḳān*—and he claimed royal Persian descent. He seems to have held various lower provincial offices, before stepping into the limelight as the *kātib* of Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, vizier to al-Muntaṣir (r. 247-8/861-2 [*q.v.*]), for whom he drew up the *bayʿa* declaration (preserved by al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ix, 235, tr. J. Kraemer, 199-202; al-Sāmarrāʾī, 74-8). Under the latter's successor, al-Mustaʿīn (r. 248-52/862-6 [*q.v.*]), he headed the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* (al-Ṭabarī, ix, 264, tr. G. Saliba, 13).

He was, however, less of a career administrator, comparing, as he did, the government service with a bath-house: if you are inside, you want to get out, and if you are outside, you want to get in (Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *al-Tashbīhāt*, ed. Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān, Cambridge 1950, 316); his favourite ambience was the literary salons of his time, especially that of the famous poetess, songstress, and lute-player, Faḍl al-Shāʿira. With her he had a stormy love relationship, which occasioned a fair amount of poetry on both sides. But his love poetry and, if we can trust the anecdotes, his love life, was by no means restricted to females.

Ibn al-Nadīm lists a collection of his poetry (*Fihrist* 123[23]; 166[18-19] [50 folios]) and a collection of his letters (*ibid.* 123[23]). Neither has been preserved, but the specimens and fragments transmitted in secondary sources have been collected by al-Sāmarrāʾī (see *Bibl.*). He lists 43 pieces of prose, many of which are short sayings, while only two are lengthy documents. One is the *bayʿa* for al-Muntaṣir (see above), the other presents a description of a battle during the civil war between al-Mustaʿīn and al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], written on 24 Ṣafar 251/25 March 865 (reading *bakīna* for *khalawna* in the text) at the behest of the governor of Baghdād, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, to be read in the Friday mosque (al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ix, 296-303, tr. Saliba, 50-8; al-Sāmarrāʾī, 105-17). The collected poems and fragments of such run into 73 (plus 17 doubtful) items; the longest has thirteen lines. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893 [*q.v.*]) presents Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd as a very able plagiariser (*Fihrist*, 123[20-1]), remarking that, if one were to say to his prose and poetry "Return to your originators", nothing would stay with him. This is, however, not an original critique, either. According to the anecdotes, he was a facile improviser, and his poetry cannot be expected to be highly innovative. Most of the preserved pieces are in the *ghazal* genre; they are smooth and elegant.

His *shuʿūbī* attitude [see shuʿūbiyya] emerges from the title of another book, now lost, that reads *K. Intiṣāf al-ʿadjam min al-ʿarab*, "Demanding justice for the Persians from the Arabs", also known as *al-Taswiya* "The equalising" (*Fihrist*, 123[22-3]). The choice of words here shows him to be a moderate who did not claim superiority for the Persians.

Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd had a number of namesakes—al-Sāmarrāʾī enumerates five of them (*op. cit.*, 32-4)—of which Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd b. al-Bakhtakān (*Fihrist*, 123[27-30]) was easily confused with our man due to the similarity in name as well as in *shuʿūbī* conviction.

Bibliography: The main sources for his life and his works are Ṭabarī, tr. J. Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiv, *Incipient decline*, Albany 1989, tr. G. Saliba, xxxv, *The crisis of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1985, index; and Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. ʿA.A. Farrādj, xviii, Beirut 1959, 90-102 (on Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd), xix, Beirut 1960, 257-71 (on Faḍl al-Shāʿira). For other sources, see *GAS*, ii, 583. Study and collection of works by Yūnus Aḥmad al-Sāmarrāʾī, *Rasāʾil Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd wa-ashʿāruh*, Baghdād 1971.

(W.P. Heinrichs)

SAʿĪD b. **SULṬĀN** b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd Āl Bū Saʿīdī, ruler of ʿUmān and Zanzibar (b. Muscat 1791, d. at sea on 19 Oct. 1856). He and his brother Sālim succeeded jointly in 1806, but shortly were usurped by their cousin Badr, whom Saʿīd assassinated. Sālim had the title Imām, but was a nonentity; the effective power was in Saʿīd's hands. When Sālim d. Saʿīd was not elected to the imāmate, he preferred using the title Sayyid, used without distinction by all the princes of the family. Nevertheless, European sources frequently refer to Saʿīd as Imām. He never used the title Sulṭān.

The fissiparous ʿUmānī tribal system, family quarrels, Wahhābī expansionism in central Arabia, and disputes with other Gulf states, together with Anglo-French rivalry, complicated the earlier part of his reign. Muscat, nevertheless, was pivotal in the western Indian Ocean in a lively commerce which had attracted resident Indian merchant houses. Saʿīd developed an army with Balūčī and other mercenaries, and also a fleet which could also serve mercantile ends. The grandson of its commander, Abdalla Saleh Farsy, was Saʿīd's Swahili biographer.

In 1698 the preceding Yaʿrubī dynasty had acquired the eastern African coast from Mogadishu to Tungi in northern Mozambique. Control was little more than nominal. In Mombasa [*q.v.*] the Mazarʿi *liwalis* had made themselves virtually independent, as had the Sultans of Pate and Kilwa [*q.vv.*], and petty rulers in Pemba, Tumbatu and Zanzibar, save for the occasional payment of tribute. In 1822 the Mazarʿi had seized Pemba [*q.v.*], and Saʿīd sent an expedition against them. In 1827 he came to enforce his authority over the Mazarʿi in person; in 1824-6 they had attempted independence under British protection, which was disowned by Whitehall.

By 1834 Saʿīd had determined to move his capital to Zanzibar, which he had first visited in 1828. He now divided his time between Muscat and Zanzibar almost equally, only finally settling in Zanzibar in 1840. Apart from tax revenue, his move was primarily commercial. After 1839 Indian caravans, that is, caravans funded by the Indian merchant houses, went inland, for ivory, slaves and other products of the interior. The caravans were armed, for Saʿīd had no ambitions for an interior empire. The changes were formalised by the establishment of consulates: United States (1837), Britain (1841), France (1844), whose countries, with Germany, became the principal buyers. Commerce was his principal preoccupation, and his own ships exported goods to India and

Arabia, and occasionally to Europe and to China. The range of his interests is exemplified in 1845, when he sent an Arab horse as a present to the American President, and himself received an Imperial dinner set of sixty-four pieces from the Chinese Emperor, of a kind of porcelain reserved for the Imperial Family alone.

From 1822 he was under pressure to end the slave trade, when he was forced to forbid the sale of slaves to Christian powers. In 1845 he was persuaded into a further treaty prohibiting both import and export of slaves from his African dominions. Since he had no control inland it was not difficult to evade these provisions.

The prosperity of Zanzibar, and in particular the wealth that accrued from the clove trade, in which Zanzibar now led the world, was to a great extent dependent on Saᶜīd's patriarchal administration. He developed no constitutional or commercial system. He sat publicly daily to hear cases like any desert chieftain. Commercially, he was dependent on the ability and good will of the Indian merchants, whose immigration he encouraged. Mosques, palaces in the town and the countryside, and the packed houses in Zanzibar town spoke of the success of his regime.

His only existing portrait, painted from memory after an audience by an American naval officer, can be seen in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. An intimate portrait of his private life is given in the *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess* by his daughter Salme (so she pronounced Sālima), written in 1886. He had no children by his legal wives, but of his *surias*, chiefly Circassians, with some Georgians, Assyrians and Ethiopians, some seventy in all, twenty-five sons were born and an unknown number of daughters. Strict in his observance of the daily prayers, he delighted in lavish generosity at the great festivals; his personal life was of the simplest. He was an accomplished horseman and practical seaman. Saᶜīd, wrote a British consul, was "most truly every man's friend; he wishes to do good to all."

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

SAᶜĪD b. ZAYD b. ᶜAmr b. Nufayl ... b. ᶜAdī b. Kaᶜb b. Luʾayy, a Companion of the Prophet from the tribe of Ḳuraysh̲ [*q.v.*] and one of Muḥammad's earliest converts.

His mother was Fāṭima bint Baᶜd̲j̲a b. Umayya of the clan of K̲h̲uzāᶜa. His *kunya* was Abu 'l-Aᶜwar or Abū T̲h̲awr. He was one of ᶜUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb's cousins and at the same time his brother-in-law through his wife, who was ᶜUmar's sister, as well as through ᶜUmar's wife who was his sister. He assumed Islam before Muḥammad entered the house of Zayd b. al-Arḳam and ᶜUmar's conversion is said to have taken place under the influence of Saᶜīd and his family.

His father, Zayd b. ᶜAmr, was one of the *ḥanīfs*; he was much interested in monotheism, refused to worship idols, warned his contemporaries against idolatry and confessed the "religion of Abraham" [see ZAYD B. ᶜAMR]. It is said that he died in the year when the Kaᶜba was rebuilt, an event in which also Muḥammad is said to have taken part.

Saᶜīd migrated with the Muslims to Medina, where Muḥammad "brothered" him with Rāfiᶜ b. Mālik al-Zuraḳī, or, according to others, with Ubayy b. Kaᶜb.

When the rumour of the return of the Ḳuraysh̲ caravan from Syria reached Medina, Saᶜīd, together with Ṭalḥa b. ᶜUbayd Allāh, was sent on scouting service. They met the caravan at al-Ḥawrāʾ and hurried back to Medina to report the news. But Muḥammad was already on his way to Badr, and the battle took place without their taking part in it. They nevertheless obtained their portion from the booty. Saᶜīd was present at all the other *mas̲h̲āhid* and distinguished himself in the battle of Ad̲j̲nādayn [*q.v.*] (13/634), where he was at the head of the cavalry in the battle of Fiḥl [see FAḤL] (13/634), where the infantry was under his command, and in the battle of the Yarmūk [*q.v.*] (15/636).

At ᶜUmar's death, Saᶜīd belonged to those who promoted ᶜUt̲h̲mān's election as caliph. Yet he was not content with his government, though he did not join the ᶜAlid party.

He died in 50 or 51/670-1 in ᶜAḳīḳ near Medina, where he was buried. It is said that he reached the age of over 70 years. According to others, he died as governor of al-Kūfa under Muᶜāwiya.

Saᶜīd never played a significant role in the Muslim community. He was honoured because of his early conversion and belongs to the ten who were promised Paradise (*al-ᶜas̲h̲ara al-mubas̲h̲s̲h̲ara*). Muḥammad is sometimes (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 187-8) represented as ascending mount Ḥirāʾ or Uḥud with some of his Companions. As the mountain begins to tremble, he says: "Stand fast, O mountain, for on thee walk a prophet, a *ṣiddīḳ* and witnesses." Then he proceeds to beatify his Companions, among whom Saᶜīd mentions himself in a veiled manner in some traditions. Some of the forms of this report may remind us of Jesus' transfiguration on the mountain (Matt. xvii).

Saᶜīd belonged to those whose curse (*duᶜāʾ*) was efficacious. This is illustrated in the story of a woman who, being cursed by him, became blind and was drowned in a well into which she happened to fall because of her blindness.

Saᶜīd's *musnad*, i.e. the traditions handed down on his authority, is to be found in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, i, 187-90.

Bibliography: Ibn Saᶜd, iii/1, 275-81; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Iṣāba*, ed. Bad̲j̲awī, iii, 103-5; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Usd* s.v.; Ibn His̲h̲ām, *Sīra*, index; Abū Nuᶜaym, *Ḥilya*, i, 95-7; Ṭabarī, *Indices*, s.v.; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, Indices, s.v.

(A.J. WENSINCK-[G.H.A. JUYNBOLL])

SAᶜĪD (ABĪ) YAᶜḲŪB YŪSUF AL-FAYYŪMĪ [see SAᶜADYĀ BEN YŌSĒF].

SAᶜĪD ABŪ BAKR (1317-67/1899-1948), Tunisian man of letters, who had an original and rich career as a self-taught poet, writer and journalist, all at the same time.

He was born at Moknine in the Tunisian Sāḥil on

28 October 1899 into a modest family of rural origin. His first studies were at the local Ḳurʾānic school of the town, where he speedily revealed himself to his teachers as one possessing a lively intelligence and, in particular, a precocious poetic talent. He composed his first verses at the age of eleven, and an anecdote is retailed about this, generally reported and related by those who had known him: he dealt with his subject of school composition in verse, at the same time preventing his masters from making the slightest correction. For financial reasons, he was unable to proceed to secondary studies, and it was from a lawyer and literary man from the Sāḥil region, one Rādjiḥ Ibrāhīm, who practiced at Sousse, that he found encouragement, both moral and material. This last made Saʿīd his secretary and placed his personal library at his disposal. Saʿīd profited from this to complete his education, as a genuine autodidact. Soon afterwards, he made contact with certain organs of the press in the capital Tunis, becoming a correspondent for them. Having mastered Arabic and French, and even Hebrew, with the encouragement of his patron Rādjiḥ Ibrāhīm, he went to Tunis and established himself there permanently, working as an editor for various newspapers and journals, such as *al-Fadjr*, *al-Badr*, *al-ʿArab*, *Lisān al-Shaʿb*, *al-Nadīm*, *al-Wazīr* and *al-Ṣawāb*, in the last of which he published his first poem, on 21 May 1920. This made him famous on account of its subject, the rights of the Tunisian woman (whose interests he hymned in several of his poems) to liberty, education, culture and total emancipation, thereby recalling Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād, another contemporary man of letters who was, like Saʿīd Abū Bakr, a strong defender of the rights of women.

But it was in *al-Nahḍa* that he made his career, and it was there that he came to prominence through his rich and colourful style, publishing there a long article on the sessions of the First Constituitive Congress of the Néo-Destour Party held at Ksar-Hellal on 2 March 1934. It was there also, as in *al-Nadīm* too, that he began and continued regularly to publish his poems of a social and political character, in particular, summoning the people to "awake from their torpor" and their miserable circumstances, and employing a revolutionary emphasis and an innovative style. Saʿīd had little regard for the rigorous rules of prosody, and he appeared as an avant-garde poet for whom the restraints of metrics and rhyme were not to constitute a barrier to expression of basic feelings ideas and thought. This appeared quite clearly in his two poetic collections: *al-Saʿīdiyyāt*, published in 1927 in one volume (2nd ed. 1981) and *al-Zaharāt*, published at an unspecified date.

On another level, one should mention that Saʿīd brought out, from the 1930s to the beginning of the Second World War, an illustrated journal called *al-ʿĀlam al-muṣawwara*, which became, for a time, *al-ʿĀlam al-adabī*, and then, after October 1940, in an illustrated form, *Tūnis al-muṣawwara*, this being the main means whereby he earned his livelihood. After a long gap due to the Second World War, this journal re-appeared in July 1947. As a great lover of art, Saʿīd assiduously frequented not only the men of letters but also the artistic circles in the capital, where he learnt to play the violin and got to know a girl of the Tunis petite bourgeoisie, whom he married.

He was equally fond of travelling, and visited, as well as France, Algeria (in particular, the Constantine region), Morocco and Spain, especially Andalusia, with its main cities (Granada, Cordova and Seville). With regard to this last region, "melting-pot of Arab-Islamic civilisation", he wrote a travel narrative, in the fashion of an Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, with the title *al-Andalus ka-annaka tarāhā* (1931).

On 29 January 1948 he died, and was buried at Tunis. After the achievement of Independence, his remains were moved to the Mausoleum of Martyrs in his native town of Moknine, and this last has, for several years, and in homage to the person and his work, organised regularly a cultural and artistic festival in his memory. His name has been given to one of the main streets of the capital as well as in towns of the interior.

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(H. Chaouch)

SAʿĪD b. Yaʿḳūb al-**DIMASHḲĪ**, Abū ʿUthmān, physician and translator of Greek scientific works into Arabic. As one of the leading physicians of his time, he enjoyed the favours of the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (d. 334/946 [*q.v.*]). When the latter endowed a hospital in the Ḥarbiyya quarter of Baghdād in 302/914-15, he appointed Abū ʿUthmān as chief physician with the joint responsibility of supervising the hospitals of Baghdād, Mecca and Medina (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 234, ll. 8-10, according to Thābit b. Sinān; cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vi, 128; on the vizier's measures for public health, see *ibid.*, 221-2, and al-Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, 193-4).

As a translator, he served not only the demands of the medical profession but showed equal competence in mathematics and philosophy. Together with Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn and Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.vv.*], the most eminent transmitters of Hellenistic science in his generation, he was close to the Shīʿī *mutakallim* and heresiographer al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī (*q.v.*; and see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 177).

Of his medical works, versions of Galen's *De pulsibus ad tirones* (with a commentary ascribed to Johannes Philoponus) and *De nervorum dissectione*, and of *De urinis* by Magnus of Emesa, are extant in manuscript; his own tabular compendium of *De pulsibus* is lost (see Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 82, 90, 159; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 81, 90). His translation of the commentary of Pappus on Euclid's *Elements*, book X (on commensurable and incommensurable magnitudes [irrationalities]) has preserved a valuable document, lost in the original Greek, of the late Alexandrian tradition of mathematics (see Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 175; ed. W. Thomson, with G. Junge, *The commentary of Pappus on book X of Euclid's Elements*, Cambridge, Mass. 1930; German tr. H. Suter, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mathematik bei den Griechen und Arabern*, Erlangen 1922, 9-78).

His lasting importance as a translator lies in his philosophical work, where his scope went far beyond the ethical Platonism and Galenism of the medical

tradition, as attested in his own *masāʾil* on Galen's *De moribus* (lost, see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 234) and a chapter of sayings in the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (ed. Dunlop, 125-6). An ethical treatise *Faḍāʾil al-nafs*, attributed to Aristotle and otherwise unknown, is quoted by Miskawayh in Abū ʿUthmān's version (*Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ*; ed. Ḳ. Zurayk, Beirut 1966, 86-91; see S. Pines, *Un texte inconnu d'Aristote en version arabe*, in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge*, xxiii [ann. 31: 1956], 5-43, esp. 16). His translation of Aristotle's *Topica*, books I-VII, became the definitive version of this fundamental textbook of logical reasoning (ed. ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Manṭiḳ Arisṭū*, Cairo 1948-52, 467-689 = ²Kuwayt 1980, 487-725), finished before 298/910-11, the date of a copy taken from Abū ʿUthmān's exemplar (see *ibid.*, ¹532). Even more widely read was his rendering of Porphyry's introduction (*Isagoge*) to Aristotle's *Categories* (ed. Badawī, *Manṭiḳ Arisṭū*, ¹1019-68 = ²1055-1104). A partial translation of Aristotle's *Physics*, comprising at least books IV (with the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 250.14) and VII is quoted by the Arab commentators (ed. Badawī, Arisṭūṭālīs, *al-Ṭabīʿa*, Cairo 1962, 318 l. 2, 754-5). His version of Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* (*Fihrist*, 251 l. 3) may have formed the basis of a compendium written by his patron, al-Nawbakhtī (mentioned in the *Fihrist*, 177).

Of particular interest, and indicative of his philosophical leanings, is a number of treatises by (and attributed to) Alexander of Aphrodisias; some of these were translated by himself, but others were collected by him from earlier work done by a circle of translators around al-Kindī [*q.v.*], and transmitted as al-Dimashḳī's work in later copies. In view of Alexander's rôle as a mediator between Peripatetic and Neoplatonic thought, and due to the inclusion of excerpts from the *Elements of theology* by Proclus into the Arabic *Theology of Aristotle* drawn upon by al-Dimashḳī, he contributed to the integration of Hellenistic philosophy in the Aristotelianism of the *falāsifa*. (See J. van Ess, *Über einige neue Fragmente des Alexander von Aphrodisias und des Proklos in arabischer Übersetzung*, in *Isl.*, xlii [1966], 148-68; G. Endress, *Proclus Arabus*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1973, 35-38, 58-61, 75-6; F.W. Zimmermann, *The origins of the so-called Theology of Aristotle*, in *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages*, London 1986, 110-295, esp. 130, 184 ff.).

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2. Studies. A.G. Kapp, *Arabische Übersetzer und Kommentatoren Euklids ... auf Grund des Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ des Ibn al-Qifṭī*, in *Isis*, xxiii (1935), 81-2; M. Meyerhof, *Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad*, in *SB Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., no. 23, Berlin 1930, 38; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900, 49 (no. 98); R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 67 (and index); S. Pines, *La doctrine de l'intellect selon Bakr al-Mawṣilī*, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, ii, 350 ff. (on a treatise dedicated to Saʿīd). (G. Endress)

SAʿĪD EFENDI, later **PASHA**, Meḥmed Čelebi-zāde, Ottoman Turkish official and Grand Vizier, born in Istanbul at an unknown date, died in 1174/1761. He was the son of the statesman and diplomat Mehmed Yirmisekiz Čelebi Efendi [*q.v.*], and accompanied his father on his diplomatic mission to France in 1132/1720-1. After a career as a secretary in the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn*, he himself was sent on embassies to Sweden and to France (1154-5/1741-2), and in 1169/1756 became Grand Vizier to ʿOthmān III [*q.v.*] for five-and-a-half months. He finished his career as governor of Egypt and then of Adana and Marʿash, dying in the latter place.

He was the author of *inter alia* a collection of poetry and a dictionary of materia medica, the *Fewāʾid ül-müfredāt*, but a particular claim of his to fame was his association with Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.*], the pioneer printer of Islamic Turkish books in Turkey, being with Ibrāhīm the joint grantee of the original *firmān* issued by Aḥmed III for the establishment of a printing press in 1139/1727 [see maṭbaʿa. 2. In Turkey].

Bibliography: See that to meḥmed yirmisekiz čelebi; also Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, s.v.; *Türk dili ve edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, ii, 128-9. (Ed.)

SAʿĪD PASHA, Muḥammad, youngest son of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] and hereditary viceroy of Egypt, theoretically under Ottoman suzerainty, 1854-63. He was styled Pasha, but was already known in informal and unofficial usage as Khedive before this latter title was formally adopted after his death [see khidīw].

Born in 1822, his father had had a high opinion of his capabilities and had sent him at the age of only nineteen to Istanbul for negotiations over the tribute payable by Egypt to the Porte. Saʿīd's uncle and predecessor in the governorship of Egypt, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I b. Aḥmad Ṭūsūn [*q.v.*], had endeavoured to change the succcession arrangements in the Ottoman *firmān* of 1841, providing that the succession should go to the eldest living descendant of Muḥammad ʿAlī's line, in favour of his own progeny, hoping that his son Ilhāmī Pasha would succeed him. ʿAbbās's death was briefly concealed, but Saʿīd nevertheless managed to succeed without difficulty in July 1854.

ʿAbbās Ḥilmī had been both zealous in guarding his rights *vis-à-vis* the Ottoman sultan and also suspicious of European pressures on Egypt and of foreigners in general. Saʿīd, however, was less mistrustful of the West and its new techniques, having had several European tutors, and had an especial fondness for French culture; he appeared as a mild and benevolent ruler, more popular than his secretive, traditionalist predecessor. But he was also somewhat weak and susceptible to advice from interested parties, so that he succumbed to the charm of Ferdinand de Lesseps and granted to him the famous Suez Canal concession (see below).

Possibly influenced by outside advisers, Saʿīd revived many of his father's economic, social and legal policies, whilst relaxing the extreme centralisation of Muḥammad ʿAlī's time. He promulgated the first comprehensive law in Egypt on private landed and immoveable property, granting the right freely to dispose of this, and abolished the state monopoly over agricultural products (1858) (see G. Baer, *A history of landownership in modern Egypt 1800-1950*, London 1962, 7-10); these measures paralleled similar reforms in Turkey under the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. Saʿīd was interested in railways and other forms of communication. The railway between Cairo and Alexandria was finished and a concession granted to the Eastern Telegraph Co. In 1854 the first River Navigation and Transport Co. in Egypt was founded, and in 1857 a commercial

Navigation Co. to help foreign trade. Above all, in 1854 de Lesseps received his first Suez Canal concession, confirmed by the Pas̲h̲a in 1856. The European powers, including both France at the outset and Britian, tried by diplomacy to hinder the project, but work was begun in 1859 by peasant corvee labour and continued for a decade; the seaport at the northern end of the Canal was named Port Saʿīd [*q.v.*] after the Pas̲h̲a (see D.S. Landes, *Bankers and Pashas. International finance and economic imperialism in Egypt*, London 1958, 69 ff., 173 ff.; D.A. Farnie, *East and West of Suez. The Suez Canal in history 1854-1956*, Oxford 1969, 32 ff.).

In the financial sphere, the Bank of Egypt was founded in 1854 and the process began during Saʿīd's reign whereby European financial and commercial influence became pervasive. The Pas̲h̲a's financial needs for his military ventures (see below) and his public works led him to seek a £ 3 million loan from a London banking house, a harbinger of the disastrous financial policies which were to drag down his successor Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] (see Landes, *op. cit.*, 62 ff.).

Saʿīd did not favour an expansionist policy in the Sudan, and left its governorship to Prince Ḥalīm; on the occasion of a visit to K̲h̲arṭūm [*q.v.*] in 1857, he made the first attempts to abolish the traffic there in black slaves. He did, however, continue the Egyptian contingent of 8,000 men which ʿAbbās Ḥilmī had sent to the Ottomans' side when the Crimean War broke out, and he also sent a regiment to assist the Emperor Napoleon III in his endeavour to maintain the Archduke Maximilian on his throne in Mexico.

Saʿīd died in Alexandria on 17 January 1863 and was buried there. His nephew Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who had already been prominent during Saʿīd's reign on diplomatic missions, including to Paris in 1855, as regent within Egypt and as *Sirdār* or Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army in 1861, succeeded him without difficulty.

Bibliography: For older works, see the *EI*[1] art. Of modern references, in addition to those in the article, see P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922, a political history*, Ithaca 1966, 195-6; P.J. Vatikiotis, *The history of Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Sadat*², London 1980, 72-3; E.R. Toledano, *State and society in mid-nineteenth century Egypt*, Cambridge 1990, index s.n. *Sait Paşa*.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SAʿĪD AL-DĪN Muḥammad b. Aḥmad **FARG̲H̲ĀNĪ**, often called Saʿīd-i Farg̲h̲ānī, author of important Ṣūfī works pertaining to the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī. Sometimes the form Saʿd al-Dīn is found, but this seems to be a copyist's correction of the unusual form. On a manuscript of his *Mas̲h̲āriḳ al-darārī* dated 678/1279-80 (Esad Ef. 1511), the name is given as in the title of this entry, with "Kādānī" added after the *nisba* Farg̲h̲ānī. Ḥādjdjī K̲h̲alīfa gives death dates of 691/1292 and *ca.* 700/1300-1 (ed. Flügel, no. 365); Osman Yahia prefers 695/1296 (introd. to Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, *Kitāb Naṣṣ al-nuṣūṣ*, Tehran 1975, 18); Brockelmann has 699/1299 (S I, 812).

Little is known of Saʿīd al-Dīn's life. In his *Manāhidj al-ʿibād* (Istanbul 1988, 184) he tells us that he entered Ṣūfism at the hand of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Nadjīb al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Buzg̲h̲us̲h̲ of Shīrāz (d. 678/1279), a disciple of Shaykh S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar Suhrawardī. Later, he benefited from Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūnawī (d. 673/1274), and then from S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad b. al-Sukrān al-Bag̲h̲dādī and "others." Ḳūnawī tells us that Farg̲h̲ānī and several other scholars were his companions when he travelled in the year 643/1245-6 to Egypt and began teaching Ibn al-Fāriḍ's famous *ḳaṣīda, Naẓm al-sulūk* (also known as *al-Tāʾiyya*). Several people took notes with the aim of composing books, but only Farg̲h̲ānī was successful (letter of approval to Farg̲h̲ānī, *Mas̲h̲āriḳ al-darārī*, ed. S.Dj. Ās̲h̲tiyānī, Mas̲h̲had 1398/1978, 5-6, 77-8). Sibṭ Ibn al-Fāriḍ quotes S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Ikī (d. 697/1298), a disciple of Ḳūnawī's and *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-s̲h̲uyūk̲h̲* in Cairo, to the effect that after lecturing on *ḥadīt̲h̲* in Arabic, Ḳūnawī would recite one verse of *Naẓm al-sulūk* and explain its meaning in Persian, and it was these explanations that Saʿīd al-Dīn recorded (Th.E. Homerin, *From Arab poet to Muslim saint*, Columbia, S.C. 1994, 29; cf. Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. M. Tawḥīdīpūr, Tehran 1336/1957, 542).

Farg̲h̲ānī is best known for his Persian and Arabic commentaries on *Naẓm al-sulūk*. The full name of the first is *Mas̲h̲āriḳ al-darārī al-zuhar fī kas̲h̲f ḥaḳāʾiḳ naẓm al-durar*, while the second is called *Muntahā ʾl-madārik wa-mus̲h̲tahā lubb kull kāmil aw ʿārif wa-sālik* (2 vols., Cairo 1293/1876). Ḳūnawī's just-cited letter of approval is appended to the end of the introduction to the Persian text. The Arabic commentary is half again as long as the Persian and includes a much expanded introduction, without Ḳūnawī's letter; it was being read in Cairo as early as 670/1271 (Massignon, *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj*, Eng. tr. Princeton 1982, i, 44). Both works were widely cited as authoritative expositions of the teachings of Ḳūnawī. Djāmī was particularly fond of *Muntahā ʾl-madārik* and called its introduction an unparalleled exposition of "the science of reality" (*Nafaḥāt*, 559).

Farg̲h̲ānī's third work, the Persian *Manāhidj al-ʿibād ilā ʾl-maʿād*, outlines the five pillars of Islam along with basic Ṣūfī *ādāb*. It was not as widely read as the other two, but it gained more readership than it might have because Ḳuṭb al-Dīn S̲h̲īrāzī (d. 710/1311 [*q.v.*]), who studied *ḥadīt̲h̲* with Ḳūnawī, incorporated it into his philosophical encyclopedia, the *Durrat al-tādj*, as the last and "most important" part of the book (see J. Walbridge, *A Sufi scientist of the thirteenth century: the mystical ideas and practices of Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī*, in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The legacy of mediaeval Persian Sufism*, London 1992, 323-40; idem, *The science of mystic lights. Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and the Illuminationist tradition in Islamic philosophy*, Cambridge, Mass. 13, 176-8). According to Ḥādjdjī K̲h̲alīfa, the *Manāhidj* was translated into Arabic with the title *Madāridj al-i ʿtiḳād* by Abu ʾl-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Bidlīsī. Ḥādjdjī K̲h̲alīfa (no. 1263) also attributes a commentary on Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* to Saʿīd al-Dīn, but the ascription is unlikely. Another book that is often attributed to Farg̲h̲ānī is the important unedited compendium of *Ṣūfī* technical terms, *Laṭāʾif al-i ʿlām fī is̲h̲ārāt ahl al-ilhām*; some of the definitions are indeed taken from *Muntahā ʾl-madārik*. However, neither the style of the work nor what the author says about himself allows for this attribution; he speaks of his own works on *kalām* (under the definition of *al-rūḥ*) and mentions (under *al-ʿilm al-ladunī*) that he was a disciple of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (659-736/1261-1336 [*q.v.*]).

The *Mas̲h̲āriḳ al-darārī* and *Muntahā ʾl-madārik* are important as two of the earliest commentaries on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem, but their main significance lies in their formative influence on the way in which the teachings of Ibn al-ʿArabī were developed. Like Ḳūnawī, Farg̲h̲ānī singled out certain of Ibn al-ʿArabī's discussions and technical terms for emphasis. The net result was that Ibn al-ʿArabī's well-known followers were drawn much closer to the philosophical

mode of expressing Islamic teachings than was the S͟hayk͟h al-Akbar himself. Farg͟hānī's introduction to *Muntahā 'l-madārik* is an especially good example of a dense philosophical and relatively systematic exposition of Ibn al-ᶜArabī's teachings. It provides a better survey of the technical terms and discussions that were to play major roles in theoretical Ṣūfism in the coming centuries than does Ibn al-ᶜArabī's own *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, which was to be the object of over one hundred commentaries.

Bibliography: See also W.C. Chittick, *Spectrums of Islamic thought: Saᶜīd al-Dīn Farg͟hānī on the implications of oneness and manyness*, in Lewisohn, *op. cit.*, 203-17. (W.C. Chittick)

SAᶜĪD AL-**SUᶜADĀʾ**, the name of a *k͟hānḳāh* or establishment for Ṣūfīs at Cairo founded during the Ayyūbid period in a former Fāṭimid house within al-Ḳāhira, now in the modern D̲j̲amāliyya street (*Index des monuments historiques*, no. 480).

In Fāṭimid times it was a dwelling facing the *Dār al-wizāra*, at that period the ministry of justice. Some famous persons dwelt there, such as the vizier Ṭalāʾiᶜ b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*], who had a tunnel dug to connect it with the *Dār al-wizāra*. It was at this point that it acquired its name of Saᶜīd al-Suᶜadāʾ "the Supremely-happy one", from the name of the person thus styled, the *ustād͟h* Ḳanbar (or ᶜAnbar), an instructor at the great palace under al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] (al-Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 415).

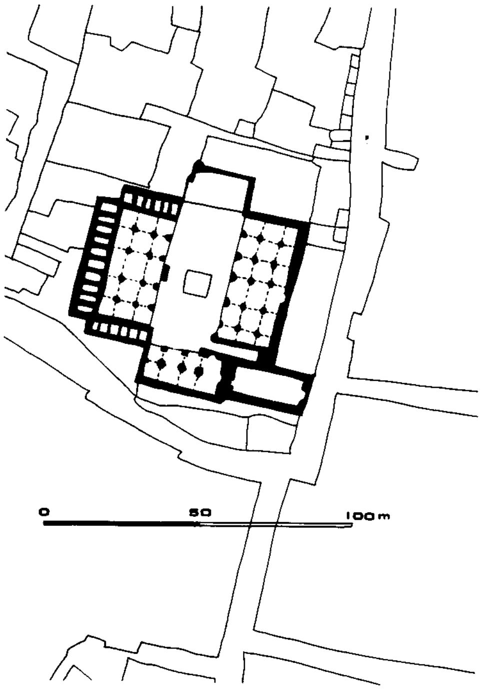

K͟hānḳāh Saᶜīd al-Suᶜadāʾ: plan as it was in 1987 (CEAA, Versailles).

With the change of dynasties, the Fāṭimid palaces were destroyed, but this one was spared. At an early date, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn installed there the Kurdish *amīrs* of his government and then, in the framework of his policy for the restoration of the Sunna (in which he founded not only *madrasas* but also *k͟hānḳāhs*), he made it over to Ṣūfī *fuḳarāʾ* who had come from a distance. He appointed over it a *s͟hayk͟h* with a salary, whilst the Ṣūfīs themselves received a daily allowance of bread, meat and provisions from the revenues of the *waḳf* instituted in 569/1173-4. These properties comprised a garden in the district of Birkat al-Fīl and Ḳaysariyyat al-Sarrāb in Cairo, and part of Dahmur in al-Bahnasiyya. Saladin also built nearby a *ḥammām* for the Ṣūfīs (still functioning in the 19th century and called the "Ḥammām al-D̲j̲amāliyya", used by men and women, see ᶜAlī Pas͟ha Mubārak, *K͟hiṭaṭ d̲j̲adīda*, ii, 218).

This was the first *k͟hānḳāh* in Egypt, and its head was appointed *s͟hayk͟h al-s͟huyūk͟h*—this until this post reverted to the *s͟hayk͟h* of the *k͟hānḳāh* of Siryāḳūs in 724/1324—so that it was thus at the head of "official" Ṣūfism. From this time onwards, this place acquired the name of Duwayrat al-Ṣūfiyya, little house of the Ṣūfīs. It also sheltered Muslim travellers requiring shelter, religious hospitality being one of the basic duties in the Muslim world at this period. Since it was a *k͟hānḳāh*, the *k͟huṭba* was not given there, and on Fridays the Ṣūfīs went to pray in the mosque of al-Ḥākim; later, when the mosque of al-Aḳmar had been restored, they went there for their worship. The Ṣūfīs of this *k͟hānḳāh* were so famed that the people, in order to acquire their *baraka*, came each Friday from al-Fusṭāṭ and al-Ḳāhira to join with them in their procession to the mosque of al-Ḥākim. Al-Maḳrīzī (*K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 416) says that 300 Ṣūfīs were accommodated there. In addition to their daily bread and meat, they received confectionery, soap and a wardrobe (eight sets of clothing a year); in 708/1309 their emoluments were increased (idem, *Sulūk*, ii, 50). This prosperity lasted until the crises of 806/1403-4, when the kitchens had to be closed (idem, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 416). From the second half of the 9th/15th century onwards, the *k͟hānḳāhs*, closely linked to the secular power, lost some of their prestige, and, with the decline of their *waḳfs*, some of their revenues. Saᶜīd al-Suᶜadāʾ did not escape this process.

From the architectural viewpoint, this monument, rebuilt in the Mamlūk period (Fernandez, 22), displays a plan with a central court surrounded by four *īwāns*, the eastern one being the prayer room, and there are cells for the residents. A minaret was built at a late date, in the 780s/1380s, by the *s͟hayk͟h* S͟hihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī (al-Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 416). This monument was classified by the Committee for the Preservation of Islamic Monuments in 1931.

Bibliography: There is a notice entitled *al-k͟hānḳāh al-Ṣāliḥiyya dār Saᶜīd al-Suᶜadāʾ duwayrat al-ṣūfiyya*, in Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 415-6, and another, *D̲j̲āmiᶜ al-k͟hānḳāh* in ᶜAlī Pas͟ha Mubārak, *al-K͟hiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya*, Cairo 1981, ii, 218. For the institution and its role in society, see L. Fernandez, *The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt: the* khanqah, Berlin 1988. On Ṣūfism in mediaeval Egypt: E. Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie (fin époque mamlouke-début époque ottomane)*, IFEAD, Damascus, forthcoming; J. Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in mediaeval Cairo, a social history of Islamic education*, Princeton 1992; J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971. For the topography of Cairo at this time, see N.D. MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo, a topographical study*, Cairo 1992, and for the architecture of this *k͟hānḳāh*, *Bull. du Comité de Conservation des Monuments Islamiques*, xxvii (1911), 192, and xxxvi (1936), 33. (Sylvie Denoix)

AL-**ṢAᶜĪD** or Ṣaᶜīd Miṣr, the term which in Arabic denotes Upper Egypt, this being, in the strict sense of the term, the serviceable section of the Valley of the Nile (from 5 to 10 km in breadth by some 900 km in

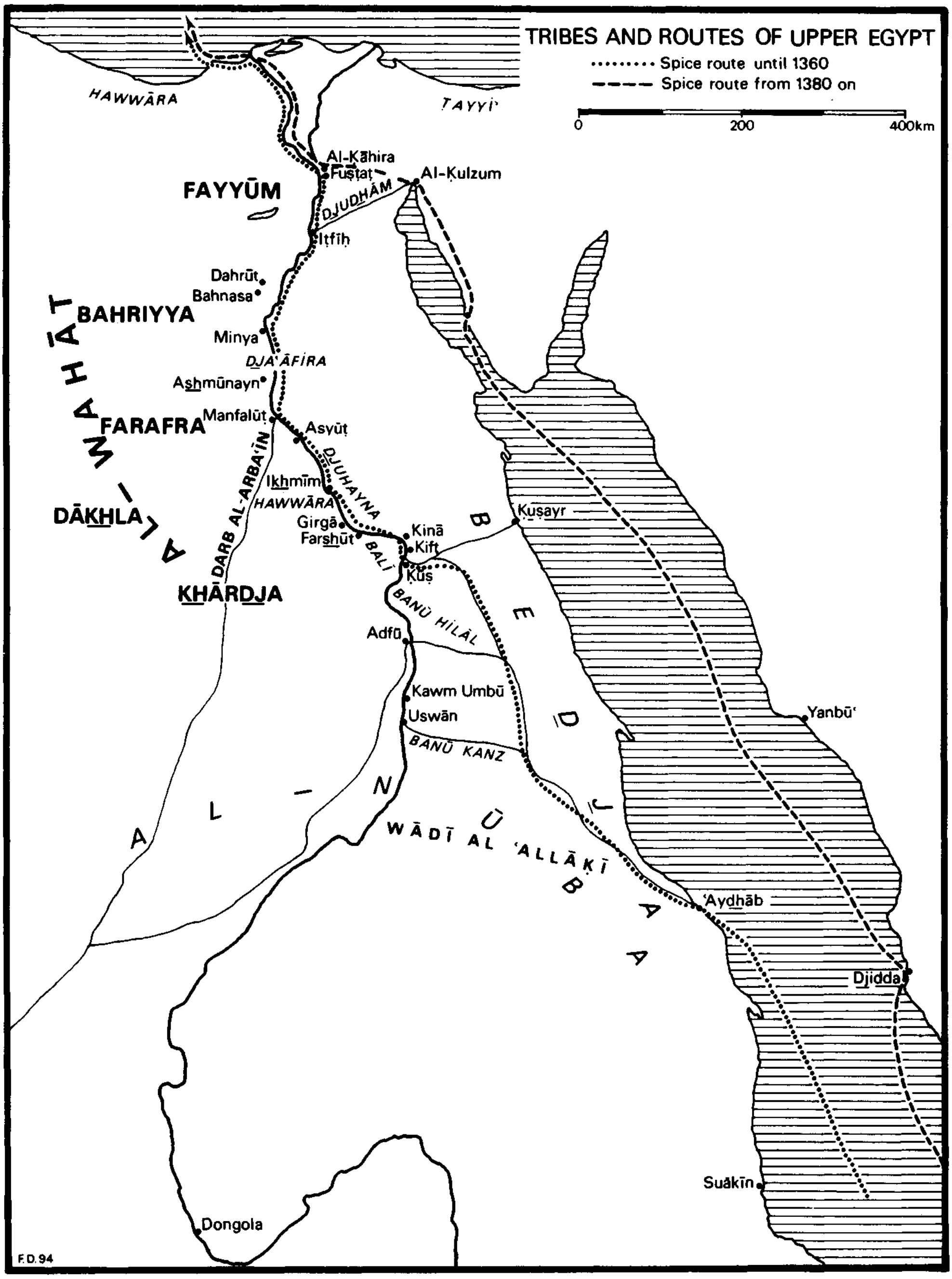

length), situated between Cairo and Aswān [*q.v.*]; to this should be added the Fayyūm [*q.v.*], considered one of the provinces of Upper Egypt, and the nearby oases in the western desert (al-Wāḥāt: Baḥriyya, Farāfra, Dākhla, Khārdja [*q.vv.*]), over which the authorities of the Valley have been obliged to exercise supervision; finally, to the east, the security of the tracks crossing the mountainous region between the Nile and the Red Sea has also been the responsibility of these authorities. The history of the Ṣaʿīd cannot be understood without consideration of these routes and of the populations which made use of them at different times; measures taken to control them were often the basis of the importance successively attained by different towns in the Valley.

1. History.

According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ Miṣr*, 169), the Arab troops arriving from the north, in the year 20/641 or shortly thereafter, at first ignored the existence of the Fayyūm and proceeded along the Valley under the leadership of ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd, to whom control of Upper Egypt had been entrusted from the outset, until they encountered the forces of the kingdom of Nubia [see NŪBA]. An official treaty or *baḳṭ* [*q.v.*], a revival of the Graeco-Roman *pactum*, was established with the Nubians from 31/652 onwards. But

in the interests of maintaining a recognised border, it was logical that the principal garrison of Upper Egypt should be established at Aswān, while in the Valley there were located only a few Arab military installations ranged along the Nile, quite isolated among the Coptic populations, which sometimes comprised large conurbations such as As͟hmūnayn and Ak͟hmīm (al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 217). From the outset, Upper Egypt seems to have had its own governor, distinct from the governor of Fusṭāṭ (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 11; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 173), but this may have applied only in the context of the maintenance of order; the governor of Fusṭāṭ spent six months in Upper Egypt in 112/730 with the object of establishing there the basis of a taxation system. Anti-fiscal revolts seem to have erupted from the end of the 1st/7th century onward, before the great revolt of 121/739, which was suppressed with severity (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 81). Subsequently, Upper Egypt does not seem to have been involved in the other revolts occurring in the Delta.

Onomastic analysis of the funeral inscriptions of the cemetery of Aswān, which are known to this day, shows that conversions must have begun at a fairly early stage around the southern garrison. Furthermore, an Arab immigration, apparently with a Ḳaysī majority, took place directly from the Ḥid̲j̲āz, across the Red Sea. Overall, the Arab population of Upper Egypt increased considerably in the course of the 3rd/9th century. On the one hand, possibly following measures taken under al-Muʿtaṣim in 218/831 to remove Arabs from the army, two substantial Yemenī groups moved from the region of Fusṭāṭ towards Upper Egypt, the D̲j̲uhayna towards the region of As͟hmūnayn and the Balī towards Ak͟hmīm, and there were others who moved further to the south between the Nile and the Red Sea. On the other hand, during the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), an important Ḳaysī group of Rabīʿa (of the Banū Ḥanīfa of Yamāma) crossed the Red Sea and established itself in the Wādī ʿAllāḳī [*q.v.*] in the mountains to the south of Aswān, to extract gold there, setting negro slaves to work in the mines. It was probably this influx of Arab groups which provoked the reaction of the Bed̲j̲a [*q.v.*], populations of Hamitic language, partially converted to Christianity, living between the Nile and the Red Sea, who used to frequent the Valley for purposes of trade. Efforts were made to establish a *modus vivendi* with them, in order to facilitate trade and prevent incidents at the times of their visits to the Valley. In the 3rd/9th century they carried out raids on Aswān, Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*] and Ḳifṭ [*q.v.*], where defensive measures had to be taken. An initial military action aimed at pacification, led by a caliphal governor with authority over the lands of the Red Sea from the Gulf of Suez to Aswān (*ca.* 232/847), was compromised by the arrival of Arab gold prospectors in territory belonging to the Bed̲j̲a. Fresh military operations were necessary, as well as reinforcement of the Arab groups. The situation did not begin to stabilise until *ca.* 255/870, when a certain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī, who claimed to be an ʿAlid, detached for himself an autonomous enclave in the region of the mines and beyond, relying on the support of groups of Rabīʿa and D̲j̲uhayna in his conflict with the Bed̲j̲a and the Nubians. Subsequently, the Rabīʿa joined forces with the Bed̲j̲a to drive out the D̲j̲uhayna, who probably emigrated towards Sawākin [*q.v.*]. The Bed̲j̲a thus entered into Arab tribal alliances, were gradually converted to Islam and became useful auxiliaries against the Nubians. This activity in the region of the mines, with its port on the Red Sea, ʿAyd͟hāb [*q.v.*], beginning at this time to engage in commerce beyond the simple provisioning of the mines, made of Aswān, which was trading on equal terms with Nubia, a vigorous city, the only Muslim city of Upper Egypt (even if all its inhabitants were not Muslims). The proximity of the Ḥid̲j̲āz accounts for the cultural activity of the place, especially in the realms of *ḥadīth* and of *fiḳh*. The city attained the zenith of its prosperity in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries.

During these two centuries, certain characteristics of Muslim Upper Egypt became evident. With the numbers of Muslims in Egypt increasing, and the importance of Fusṭāṭ to the north recognised, Upper Egypt, poorly controlled by distant Aswān (which still had its own governor), was a natural refuge for any revolt against the power of the north, which was not always successful in its pursuit of a rebel towards the south: such was the case for example with the troops of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], beaten to the north of Ḳūṣ in 256/870 before defeating, near Ak͟hmīm, Ibn al-Ṣūfī, an ʿAlid who ultimately escaped by way of ʿAyd͟hāb (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 213). Furthermore, since the Mag͟hrib had also become a country with a large Muslim population, and was above all an operational base for Fāṭimid ambitions, pressure was exerted on Upper Egypt by way of the western routes, controlled by Berber populations which also dominated the oases. In 307-9/919-21, Fāṭimid troops succeeded in reaching Upper Egypt, and in 323/935, a pro-Mag͟hribi armed group briefly controlled the Fayyūm before being obliged to withdraw westward via Alexandria and Cyrenaica. The Valley of the Nile, in spite of the multiplicity of communications between north and south, had still not yet acquired a solid unitary organisation in the context of a strong Muslim state. Shortly after the installation of the Fāṭimids in Cairo, in 361/973 a *s͟hayk͟h* of the Banū Kilāb (Ḳaysīs), rebelled in Middle Egypt in the name of the ʿAbbāsids, and from 362/973 to 364/975, the region between Ak͟hmīm and Asyūṭ [*q.v.*] was held by elements favourable to the Carmathians [see ḲARMAṬĪ]. Gradually, the Fāṭimid power was able to unify the Valley firmly and to impose between Arab groups a functional equilibrium, which was the foundation for the flowering of mediaeval Upper Egypt. Thus the caliph al-ʿAzīz (365-86/976-96 [*q.v.*]), installed in the southern part of Upper Egypt the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] and the Banū Sulaym (Ḳaysīs), some of whose members seem already to have moved into the region of the mines (it is known that the Banū Sulaym worked mines in Arabia), if not into the oases of the west. They should be distinguished from their fellow-tribesmen of the Delta, previously installed, whom the caliphs were to expel to the Mag͟hrib in the 5th/11th century on account of their frequent revolts. In Upper Egypt the Banū Hilāl were loyal supporters of the ruling power, and to the south, the Cairo government also relied on the Rabīʿa (Ḳaysīs) to protect the Nubian frontier: it was at the beginning of the 5th/11th century that the title *Kanz al-Dawla* appeared for the first time, bestowed by the caliph on the *s͟hayk͟h* of the Rabīʿa. Subsequently, the name Banū Kanz came to be applied to this composite tribal group (Rabīʿa and Bed̲j̲a), the ancestors of the present-day Kenouz. Thus the Cairo government preferred to rely in the south on the dominant Ḳaysī groups (Banū Hilāl, Rabīʿa), while in the north the Yemenī groups (Balī, D̲j̲uhayna) were considered less dependable. First installed in the region of As͟hmūnayn, the D̲j̲uhayna had been forced to move towards Asyūṭ, since the Fāṭimids had installed in their place members of the D̲j̲aʿāfira (from

Ḳuraysh), to contain them towards the north. Ḳaysī groups thus played an official role, also controlling the most important routes linking the Valley of the Nile with ʿAydhāb, which was initially the point of access to the Ḥidjāz, which the Fāṭimids hoped to dominate, later a centre for the importation of spices which were transported towards Cairo and Alexandria.

In the 5th/11th century, the unification of the Valley of the Nile from Fusṭāṭ to Aswān, promoted by Fāṭimid policy, ultimately found expression in major changes, essentially resulting from the crisis which destabilised the caliphate in the 460s/1070s. Between 459/1067 and 466/1074, it is known that negro troops, in conflict with other elements of the army, expelled from the Delta and from Cairo, arrived and established themselves in the region of Aswān, and that all the Bedouin groups of Upper Egypt, from the Djaʿāfira in the north to the Banū Kanz in the south (evidently including the Yemenī groups), withdrew from obedience to the government. When normality was restored in 469/1077 by Badr al-Djamalī [*q.v.*], it was announced that the authorities had decided (perhaps because the Banū Hilāl had remained loyal), to establish a new centre for the maintenance of order in Upper Egypt at Ḳūṣ, at the limit of their zone of settlement, in a locality hitherto essentially Coptic. In 467/1075, the expressions Upper Ṣaʿīd and Lower Ṣaʿīd are encountered for the first time (*Sidjillāt mustanṣiriyya*, 185): Ḳūṣ became the capital of Upper Ṣaʿīd. Its importance grew gradually: following its selection by the authorities, the track from Ḳūṣ to ʿAydhāb became the principal caravan route towards the Red Sea; in 516/1122 a mint was established there, which no doubt continued to function until the arrival of the Ayyūbids. From the 530s/1130s onward, the governors of Upper Ṣaʿīd acquired, on account of their resources and the troops at their disposal, such status in the Fāṭimid realm that they intervened directly in the crises which marked the end of the caliphate. The result was evidently the laying of the foundations of a Muslim city at Ḳūṣ. The authority of the governor often extended to the north as far as Akhmīm. In Lower Ṣaʿīd, the importance of Asyūṭ also grew, while in the north again, Minya, the object of concern on the part of the authorities (as evidenced by the foundation of its mosque by Ṭalāʾiʿ, before 549/1154) gradually gained ascendancy over Ashmūnayn. In the far south, Aswān, although deprived of a major part of its administrative and economic role, nevertheless remained in the 5th/11th century the single major Muslim conurbation of Upper Egypt (the majority of the mausolea which have survived into the present date from this period), and the only true centre of culture and of the diffusion of Shīʿism.

The transition from the Fāṭimids to the Ayyūbids was a difficult period for Upper Egypt, precisely because Shīʿism had spread there and because the new arrivals, the Ghuzz as they were called in Egypt, immediately set about imposing the system of *iḳṭāʿs* [*q.v.*], which was not to the liking of the Arab groups. In 570/1175 the whole of Upper Ṣaʿīd rose in revolt with the object of restoring the Fāṭimids; the failure of the revolt did not discourage the Shīʿīs of Ḳifṭ, who in 572/1177 were subjected to harsh repression; arrests continued to take place for a long time, and Shīʿī groups survived in the south of Upper Egypt, towards Edfou, until the Mamlūk period. The reconquest of Upper Egypt by Sunnism was, however, encouraged by the fact that, since the end of the 5th/11th century and the installation of the Crusaders in Palestine, all the Pilgrims from the Muslim West, which had remained Sunnī, were obliged to utilise the routes of Upper Egypt towards ʿAydhāb and the Ḥidjāz, which led sometimes to the implantation of Maghribī communities in the cities of the Valley, even to the creation of small localities with a Maghribī majority (such as Damāmīn, to the north of Ḳūṣ) and to the installation of fervent Sunnīs, zealots of the Sunnī counter-reformation, at Minya, at Asyūṭ and at Ḳenā [*q.v.*] in particular (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḳināʾī, d. 592/1195) and in its surrounding region, which became the most important departure-point for Pilgrims leaving the Valley for the Ḥidjāz. Even after Saladin had succeeded in overthrowing the kingdom of Jerusalem, Maghribī pilgrims continued to pass in large numbers through Upper Egypt, in the footsteps of their elders. It was in part as a result of their activities, and the use of their *ribāṭs*, that Sunnism was enabled to recapture the territory: Aswān had its *madrasa* before the end of the 7th/13th century and the first *madrasa* of Ḳūṣ was founded in 607/1210. For Upper Egypt, the first half of the 7th/13th century was a period of peace and prosperity, of agricultural progress (sugar-cane) and commercial activity instigated by the Kārimī [*q.v.*] merchants, and of urban growth.

The fall of the Ayyūbids was marked in Upper Egypt by a major Bedouin revolt, possibly beginning after the arrival of Louis IX at Damietta in 647/1250 (which had drawn the majority of the troops towards the north). It was led by the *Sharīf* Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Thaʿlab, of the Djaʿāfira, to the north of Asyūṭ, against the military régime which, even before the accession to power of the Mamlūks, had been felt to be increasingly oppressive. The revolt was finally crushed in 653/1255, but it was only the first manifestation of refusal on the part of the Arab groups to accept the military régime. In the Valley, order was firmly restored. The system of *iḳṭāʿ*s once more functioned regularly (stockbreeding no doubt contributed substantially to the burgeoning revenues), and following the reforms of 727/1327 there was a privatised system for administration of *iḳṭāʿ*s, which gave to the clerks, most of them Copts, a role which could only contribute to the prosperity of their community. But on the other hand, the movement towards the creation of Muslim élites in the *madrasas* of Upper Ṣaʿīd (it is known that 16 *madrasas* existed at Ḳūṣ, and there were others in other localities), renewing the activity previously exercised by Aswān, let to a more thorough Islamisation of this region, while Middle Egypt remained sparsely Islamised. The Arabs were kept under strict supervision, and the authorities continued to rely on the same tribal groups. When in 671/1272 sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] inflicted the first blows against the Nubian kingdom, the Banū Kanz offered their assistance; it is known that this led to the installation at Dongola of a Muslim prince in 716/1316, and to the control, at least temporary, of the Banū Kanz over Nubia; but this was also the end of a sedentary power whose presence hitherto had played an important role in denying access to the Bedouin tribes, to the east of the Nile, but also to the west. Meanwhile, in Upper Egypt, Balī and Djuhayna (Yemenīs) remained hostile, taking advantage of all the opportunities offered by political troubles in Cairo, or by Mongol aggression, to rebel in the region of Asyūṭ and of Manfalūṭ, or to cause disruption on the routes between the Nile and the Red Sea. The definitive accession to power of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad [*q.v.*], which owed much to the Bedouin of Syria, seemed to mark an improvement in relations between the Mamlūk power and the Arab groups; it was manifested especially by a relaxation of the strict supervision hitherto exercised over the tribes. Groups

of Ṭayyiʾ and of Djudhām [*q.vv.*, Yemenīs] thus came from Syria to join the Yemenī groups of Middle Egypt, and by way of the *darb al-arbaʿīn*, their advance towards Central Africa, which was quite unhindered, began from Manfalūṭ. From 721/1321-2 onward, Manfalūṭ (already a royal *iḳṭāʿ*), became a famed slave market (al-Udfūwī, *Ṭāliʿ*, 427). The result of these developments appeared after the death of the great sultan: the Yemenī groups (under the leadership of the ʿArak, from the Djudhām rather than the Djuhayna), more numerous and enriched by their new activities, became uncontrollable, provoking ever more violent incidents (745-55/1345-55), to the point where the ruling power was forced to make concessions, agreeing to rely henceforward on the support of these Arab groups which had hitherto been hostile, entrusting to them responsibility for the maintenance of order and some *iḳṭāʿ*s.

The consequences of this evolution were significant in an Upper Egypt where epidemics, from the mid-8th/14th century onward, rendered more precarious the sedentary structures confronting the nomads. The Yemenī groups, which had outflanked the Banū Kanz by way of the south, forced them to withdraw towards Aswān, and from 767/1365-6 onward the latter, turning hostile, made the route to ʿAydhāb impassable (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iii, 300; from this date, the port ceased to be a centre for major commerce, and there are no grounds for suspecting deliberate destruction on the part of a Mamlūk sultan). The transport of spices was for some time conducted by way of Ḳuṣayr [*q.v.*], and then, as the extortions practised by the Mamlūk authorities in Upper Egypt proved a greater threat to the merchants than the aggression of the Bedouin, the merchants preferred to tackle the difficulties of navigating in the Red Sea, unloading the precious merchandise at Ṭōr, at the foot of the Sinai peninsula, where a port and a market were being developed (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, 54); from here, spices were transported directly to Cairo and no longer passed through Upper Egypt. The cessation of this traffic had the effect that Upper Egypt, increasingly difficult to control, lost much of its interest for the Mamlūk authorities and its development stagnated, although efforts were made for some time to protect Aswān, encircled at it was by the Banū Kanz. In the north, it was also necessary to forestall trouble. In 780/1378, a post of *nāʾib al-salṭana* (a sort of Prefect of Upper Egypt) was created and inaugurated at Asyūṭ. The centre of gravity of Muslim Upper Egypt was thus relocated: the regions of Asyūṭ and Akhmīm, still used for access to the Ḥidjāz by way of Ḳuṣayr, seemed at this stage more buoyant than the south. But the sultanate was no longer able to maintain in the country sufficient forces to impose its authority. In 782/1380, the grand *amīr* Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*], soon to be sultan, took the decision to install in the region a group of Hawwāra [*q.v.*] Berbers, hitherto in Behera, where pressure from the Bedouin was proving too strong (al-Maḳrīzī, *Bayān*, 60). They became the new supporters of the authorities against the Arab groups, more efficacious than the *nāʾib* of Asyūṭ (a function which seems not to have lasted long); the time of Asyūṭ was yet to come. The control of the Bedouin was now the principal problem in Upper Egypt. It was handled to an increasing extent by the annual dispatch of *amīrs* from Cairo, in missions known as *kashf*, which had hitherto consisted in guaranteeing security during harvests (Upper Egypt paid taxes in kind), and in inspecting the condition of the canals. From 784/1382 onward, an *amīr* of the *kashf*, whose powers extended to Bahnasā and Aṭfīḥ [*q.vv.*], was installed in the Fayyūm, no doubt to prevent too many Bedouin groups from following the Hawwāra towards the south. The latter were installed at Girgā [*q.v.*]. They supported Barḳūḳ loyally in his efforts to maintain himself in power in Cairo (in 791/1389) as well as against the Banū Kanz of the south, now in full revolt. In fact, other Bedouin had already succeeded in bypassing the barrier of the Fayyūm: other Hawwāra, hostile, who had installed themselves near Dahrūt, to the north of the ʿArak, as well as Fazāra (Dhubyān, Ḳaysīs) who had settled near Minya and were perhaps the originators of the links which were established from the 9th/15th century between this town and central Africa. New arrivals also came from the east, including the Aḥmadī, who, according to Ibn Ḥadjar, were Balī from the region of Yanbūʿ, coming from Arabia to rejoin their displaced fellow-tribesmen to the north of Ḳūṣ.

Upper Egypt at the end of the 8th/14th century was thus traversed by Bedouin groups, the most submissive of which could only be obedient to a stable power. At the time of the second Mongol invasion, political disorders and then a plague provoked a crisis at the beginning of the 9th/15th century in which the Mamlūk state narrowly avoided total dissolution. There can be no doubt that the insurrection was general; in 804/1401, the *nāʾib al-salṭana* of Asyūṭ and the governor of Manfalūṭ were both killed by Bedouin. Subsequently, nothing is known of events in Upper Egypt until 816/1413, at which date the sultan's *ustādār* brought from Upper Egypt to Cairo horses, camels, cattle, sheep, cereals, weapons, slaves, gold and jewellery seized forcibly as compensation for taxes which had not been paid during the crisis. It was not until the sultanate of Barsbāy [*q.v.*] that the administration of Upper Egypt regained a more regular aspect, less suggestive of official pillage of the land. At Girgā, the Hawwāra had become respectable landowners; the *amīr* Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had founded the old mosque of the town; his successors, some of whom absorbed good Islamic culture and were regarded as saintly men, were now accepted by the Muslim élite of the region; agricultural land was exploited and the production of sugar cane kept the presses supplied. The sultan, whose authority no longer extended as far as Aswān (the land of the Banū Kanz began at Kom Ombo) was obliged to reckon with the *amīrs* of Girgā to the south, while to the north, two *kāshifs* (the term is still in use) were installed at Asyūṭ (where there was no longer a *nāʾib*) and in Middle Egypt, overriding the authority of the governors. Beginning with the decade of the sixties of the 9th/15th century, the sultans attempted to restore their authority overall, including over the *amīrs* of Girgā, but difficulties encountered anew by the régime in the second phase of the sultanate of Kāyitbāy [*q.v.*], foiled these aspirations. After the death of this sultan there was even a resumption of large-scale fiscal expeditions to Upper Egypt, these being the only means of collecting taxes, conducted this time by royal *dawādārs*. The Bedouin had clearly decided to exploit the opportunities provided by the confrontation with the Ottomans. After the defeat of the Egyptian army (922/1517), Ṭūmānbāy, the last sultan, attempted to go and regroup his forces in Upper Egypt, but was unable to move beyond Girgā. The *amīr* of the Hawwāra responded to his appeal for help with a declaration of loyalty to the Ottoman sultan Selīm. The latter, once installed in Cairo, awarded him direct authority over the whole of Upper Egypt, while the powers of the governor of Cairo were limited to the city and to the Delta.

The Ottoman state officially recognised the authority of the Banū ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz until the beginning of the 11th/17th century; from 980/1570 onward, advantage was taken of familial tensions among the Banū ᶜUmar to install at Girgā an Ottoman detachment under the orders of a *sandjak*, who exercised authority in conjunction with the *amīr*. In 1019/1610 or later, the power of the Hawwāra *amīrs* came to an end, and the *sandjaks* were replaced by beys. Ottoman administration was thus ultimately established in Upper Egypt and the land was divided into *kāshifliks*. The beys succeeded for some time in controlling the Bedouin and endowed Girgā with new monuments. The wealth of Upper Egypt made them important personnages, who intervened in the political struggles of Cairo. But from the 1660s onward, the succession of beys at Girgā proceeded at a more rapid rate, and there was a resurgence of Bedouin power, especially at Akhmīm and Farshūṭ. Pursuing the old Bedouin policy of infiltration of the state, the Bedouin *amīrs* allied themselves with the main body of the army, as Janissaries and *ᶜazabs*, and obtained by this means fallow land which they restored to fertility; and commerce with the lands of Black Africa brought them additional resources. They intervened thereafter in the nomination of the beys at Girgā, and the 12th/18th century was once more for Upper Egypt a period of Bedouin hegemony; the beys and the *kāshifs* were less powerful than them and were regarded as strangers in the land. Out of the conflicts between the numerous candidates for power among the Bedouin, from the 1150s/1740s onwards, another major Hawwāra family emerged, the Banū Hummām of Farshūṭ, who succeeded in imposing their authority until the intervention of the Cairo authorities in 1183/1769. Under their domination, the south of Upper Egypt enjoyed a degree of prosperity; the commerce of Ḳuṣayr increased, leading to the resurgence of Ḳenā, and caravans of slaves arrived from the sultanate of Fundj [*q.v.*] under the protection of ᶜAbābda Arabs (the heirs of the Banū Hilāl, competing for control of the routes with the heirs of the Yemenī groups, Banū Wāṣil and Maᶜazza). But further to the west of the Nile, the route of the *darb al-arbaᶜīn* under the protection of the Banū ᶜAdī (belonging to the Yemenī group of the Lakhm), evaded the control of the Hawwāra *shaykhs* and gave Asyūṭ its opportunity. When at the end of the 12th/18th century the Hawwāra were decisively defeated, Girgā lost its pre-eminence and Asyūṭ finally replaced it; commerce with the Negro lands was to bring it to its zenith in the 19th century. In the context of the revival of the state, Upper Egypt was to lose some of its specific nature. After it had offered a means of strategic retreat to the opponents of Muḥammad ᶜAlī, the victory over the beys in Ṣafar 1226/February 1811, between Ḳūṣ and Ḳenā, gave the signal for the massacre of the Mamlūks in the Citadel of Cairo, and one of the ancient roles of Upper Egypt came to an end. In 1227/1812, a new survey of territories definitively shattered the power of the Bedouin.

The influx of these populations has conditioned the history of Upper Egypt. The census of 1898 indicates the strongest Bedouin concentrations in the zones of access to the Valley in the north (they represent more than 10% of the population in the province of Beni Suef, the former governorate of Aṭfīḥ, and more than 16% in the Fayyūm) and in the zones of egress to the south (in Nubia, where Aswān is still situated they also account for more than 10%), in contrast to the centre (Minya: 6.6%; Asyūt: 3.7%; Girgā: 1.5%; Ḳenā: 4.4%), where their role has, however, been considerable. When the epidemics of the second half of the 8th/14th century had enfeebled the Mamlūk authorities, who reacted to the crisis with brutality alone, and when in consequence major commerce was diverted from Upper Egypt, depriving it of an important factor of development, the Bedouin influx had the effect that neither Asyūṭ nor Girgā was able to carry on establishing the productive works of the Muslim élites, begun by Aswān (9th-10th centuries) and Ḳūṣ (12th-14th). This explains the presence of the significant Christian minority in Middle Egypt, a part of the Valley the history of which has yet to be written.

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in the course of the article, see J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1919; J.-C. Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute Egypt médiévale: Qūṣ*, IFAO, Cairo 1976; T. Walz, *Trade between Egypt and Bilād as-Sūdān, 1700-1820*, IFAO, Cairo 1976. (J.-C. GARCIN)

2. Dialects.

In a broader sense, the Arabic dialects of the Ṣaᶜīd are those of the peasants and the Bedouins who dwell in the Nile valley, the oases of the Western Desert and the Eastern Desert. In a narrower sense, the dialects of the Ṣaᶜīd are those of the peasants, as they are spoken in the Nile Valley from al-Djīza in the north to Aswān in the south where the domain of the Nubian language begins. There are super-regional varieties used in popular songs, ballads etc., and poetry by ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Abnūdī is available in printed form.

These peasant dialects are relatively well known through the data collected for the Egyptian dialect atlas and other, more detailed studies (see *Bibl.*).

Some principal isoglosses which distinguish these Ṣaᶜīdī dialects from those of peasants in the north (in brackets) are:

(1) preservation of long vowels before consonant clusters: *māska* (*maska*)
(2) the closed antepenultima receives stress: *mádrasa* (*madrása*)
(3) no stress on the *-it*/*-at* of the 3.f.s. perfect: *ḍárabitu, ḍarábitu, ḍúrubta* etc. (*ḍarabítu*)
(4) 1.s. perfect *gīt* "I came" (*gēt*)
(5) plural forms as *bibān* "doors", *fisān* "axes" (*ibwāb, fūs*), and *dukūra* "males", *sibūᶜa* "lions" (*dukúra, sibúᶜa*)
(6) numerous lexical items: *ṭūrya* "hoe" (*fās*), *fās* "axe" (*balṭa*), *zaᶜaf* "palm leaves" (*xūṣ*), *farrūga* ~ *farrūga* "chicken" (*farxa*), *baḥḥa* ~ *biḥḥa* ~ *buḥḥa* "duck" (*baṭṭa*), *ḥawš* ~ *ḥōš* "stable, cow shed" (*zirība* ~ *zirbiyya*)

Two major groups of dialects can be distinguished within the Ṣaᶜīd: Middle Egyptian (ME) from the outskirts of al-Djīza to Abū Tīdj (some 25 km south of Asyūṭ) and Upper Egyptian (UE) proper from Abū Tīdj to Aswān. Whereas ME has basically the same rules of elison and insertion of /i/ as the Delta dialects, excluding those of the Sharḳiyya province, UE is strongly influenced by Bedouins, apparently of western origin, who settled there in the past and intermingled with the local population. Therefore, in ME there is no elision of /i/ after -CC *yíktibu* "they write" and insertion takes place after -CC *ibnə kalb* "son of a dog", in contrast to UE *yíktbu* ~ *yíkətbu* and *ibən kalb*, except UE 2 (see below) which resembles Southern ME (SME) not only in this respect. Further, all UE dialects show glottalised /ṭ/ [ṭ] like the Awlād ᶜAlī at the Mediterranean littoral, a verbal noun of the IInd stem of the type *xaṭṭīṭ* ~ *ziṭṭīṭ* "furrowing" (*taxṭīṭ*) and the plural types *fiᶜilla, fiᶜᶜēl, fuᶜᶜūl* as in *ḥṣinna* "horses", *biṭṭēš* ~ *buṭṭūš* "buffalo calves". The dialec-

tological distinction between ME and UE is consistent with differences in the material culture of the peasants, see Winkler, 1936, 455. ME and to some extent UE 2 seem to represent an older type of Ṣaʿīdi Arabic less influenced by Bedouins.

Other isoglosses permit further subdivision of the two groups: Northern ME with two subgroups: NME 1 (south of al-Djīza, northern Banī Swayf province and al-Fayyūm), NME 2 (southern Banī Swayf from al-Fashn to al-Minyā), SME (to Abū Tīdj), UE 1 (approximatively to Nadjʿ Ḥammādi, on the east bank from Ḳūṣ farther south to the altitude of Armant, on the west bank from al-Ballāṣ to al-Ḳurna), UE 2 (the Ḳena bow on the east bank approximatively from Nadjʿ Ḥammādi to Ḳūṣ and on the west bank to al-Ballāṣ), UE 3 (on the west bank from al-Ḳurna (al-Baʿīrāt) to Esna), UE 4 (on the west bank from Esna to Gharb Aswān, on the east bank from the latitude of Armant to Aswān). Linguistic borders in UE tend to be somewhat blurred and the dialects may differ from village to village. The distinctive features of these dialect groups include:

(7) preservation of /i/ after -vC: *misikit* "she took" in NME, a feature which sets NME apart from SME and links it to the western and northern parts of the Delta and the oases
(8) insertion of /a/ in a cluster -Cr-: *bukaṛa* "tomorrow" in NME 1 which separates NME 1 from NME 2 with the borderline near al-Fashn; /g,ğ for /*ḳ/ and /*ğ/ instead of /ʾ,g/ beginning from NME 2 to the south
(9) /g,ğ/ for /*ḳ/ and /*ğ/ instead of /ʾ,g/ beginning from NME 2 to the south
(10) preservation of diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ in NME 1: *hawn* "mortar", *bayt* "house" (*hōn, bēt* elsewhere)
(11) allomorphy of the IInd and IIId stems: one allomorph for perfect and imperfect in NME: *kallam - yikallam* (NME 1), *killim - yikillim, ʿallim - yiʿallim* (NME 2), in contrast to two allomorphs with morphological distribution in SME and UE: *kallam - yikallim*
(12) preservation of /a/ in *katīr* "much" and *yitmasik* "he was seized" in SME and UE 2 (*kitīr, yitmisik* elsewhere)
(13) paradigmatic levelling in the imperfect, either complete, such as *niktib - nikətbu* in UE 1 and UE 3, or incomplete, such as *aktib - niktibu* in UE 2. There is no such levelling in ME and UE 4.
(14) genitive exponent: *shugl* in UE 1, *hinīn* in UE 2, *ihnīn* in UE 3, 4, *allīl* ~ *allēl* in UE 4
(15) Ist stem perfect i-type: *kíbir* in ME and UE 2, UE 4, *kbír* in UE 1, *íkbir* in UE 3
(16) *ba*-prefix for present tense in UE 2 and UE 4
(17) *gáhawa*-syndrome in UE 1 and UE 3: *aḥamaṛ* "red"
(18) stress on the final syllable of words like *shtā* "winter" in UE 1 and UE 3 (*šíta* elsewhere)
(19) vowel alternations a > i,u in UE 3: *masak* "he took" - *misikat* "she took", *bagaṛ* "cows" - *buguṛa* "a cow"
(20) /a/ in word-initial position instead of /i/ in UE 4: *anta* "you m.", *aḥna* "we", *alli* "which", *al-* "the", *atfaḍḍal* "please", *ambāriḥ* "yesterday", *amm* "mother" etc. a feature shared with Central Sudan.

Fem.pl. forms, a Bedouin feature, such as *yikətban* "they write" occur in UE 3 and 4. For historical aspects, see Woidich, 1994; for Coptic remnants in the lexicon, see Behnstedt, 1981.

Very little is known about the speech of Bedouins found mostly at the fringes of the Nile valley, the Oases and in the Eastern Desert. The dialects of the four Western Oases are closely related to ME by syllable structure, but deviate in many other respects (see Behnstedt-Woidich, 1982). The ʿAbābida in the Eastern desert (Bīr Umm ilFawaxīr) seem to speak a Sudanese type of dialect, with *riğílha* "her leg" and with a stressed final vowel in *ḥablī* "my rope" and *ḥamṛā* f. "red".

Bibliography: P. Behnstedt, *Weitere koptische Lehnwörter im Ägyptisch-Arabischen*, in *Die Welt des Orients*, xii (1981), 82-98; Behnstedt and M. Woidich, *Die ägyptischen Oasen - ein dialektologischer Vorbericht*, in ZAL, viii (1982), 39-71; eidem, *Ägyptischer Dialektatlas*. Band 1-2, Wiesbaden 1985. Band 3. *Texte*. Teil 2. *Niltal und Oasen*, Wiesbaden 1988; Abdelghany A. Khalafallah, *A descriptive grammar of Saʿīdi Egyptian Arabic*, The Hague 1969; W. Vycichl, *Zur Sprache und Volkskunde der ʿAbbādi*, in *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1953), 177-84; H.A. Winkler, *Ägyptische Volkskunde*, Stuttgart 1936; M. Woidich, *Ein arabischer Bauerndialekt aus dem südlichen Oberägypten*, in *ZDMG*, cxxiv (1974), 42-58; idem, *Upper Egyptian Arabic and dialect mixing in historical perspective*, in *Festschrift Georg Krotkoff*, 1994.

(M. WOIDICH)

ṢĀʿID AL-ANDALUSĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ṢĀʿID B. AḤMAD b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Taghlibī, called AL-ḲĀḌĪ ṢĀʿID (420-62/1029-70), Spanish Muslim author.

He was born at Alméria, where his parents had taken refuge during the civil wars which devastated Cordova, their place of origin, and his grandfather had been *ḳāḍī* of Sidonia. His father died as judge of Toledo in 449/1057, and Ṣāʿid was to succeed him there in 460/1068 till his death there in 462/1070. The sweep of his life reflected these circumstances. Born of a line of legal officials, he received a solid legal education at Alméria and then Cordova, following, according to Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn Ḥazm's teaching. But the formation of the Taifas, the relative decline of the caliphal capital compared with the new provincial ones, the search for knowledge and for patrons, all led him to Toledo. There, in the reign of al-Maʾmūn b. Dhi 'l-Nūn (429-67/1038-75), the "philosophical" sciences—mathematics, astronomy, logic and medicine—were enjoying a renaissance, and he was henceforth to devote himself to these.

Three works are attributed to Ṣāʿid: a *K. fī Iṣlāḥ ḥarakāt al-nudjūm*, on the correction of earlier astronomical tables; a *Djawāmiʿ akhbār al-umam min al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam*, a universal history; and finally, his *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, a classification of the sciences and of the nations. Only this last work survives.

Its translator, R. Blachère, was astonished at the authority attributed to it already by the eastern scientific encyclopaedists, like Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. Ostensibly, the 80 pp. of the *Ṭabaḳāt* hardly merit so much honour. Their main point revolves round distinguishing at the outset, amongst the peoples of the world, those who do not know "philosophy"—Turks, Chinese, Berbers, etc.—from those who have achieved merit in them—Indians, Persians, Chaldaeans, Egyptians, Greeks and *Rūm*, Arabs and Jews. In all, there are thus eight nations for whom Ṣāʿid briefly cites, when he knows of them, their scholars and chosen disciplines.

The catalogue is rudimentary, but has a certain guiding thread. Science goes from East to West, from India to Spain, which holds its last living embodiment. Above all, these eight peoples have handed down the sciences according to the strict historical

continuity—or geographical contiguousness—required by the *isnād* in the religious sciences, i.e. the chain of guarantors for a fact which one wishes to carry back, generation by generation, to the Prophet or his Companions. The success of Ṣāʿid's little work may well have stemmed from this trait, as set out in its title, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* "The generations of the nations". The *ḳāḍī* of Toledo thereby inserts within the classification of the philosophical sciences a principle directly inherited from the religious science disciplines, much more familiar to the immense majority of his readers. He established the truths of mathematics or astronomy as one would do for *ḥadīth*, by an irreproachable *isnād* which attests their exact transmission and preserved integralness, right from their origins.

From this point onwards, a question arises. Should one see in Ṣāʿid, in accordance with M.-G. Balty-Guesdon, one of those philosophers of which al-Andalus offers examples in the 6th/12th century, one of those who aimed at tracing the crucial frontier between rational knowledge and revealed religious dogma? Or should one, on the contrary, see in him the conciliator of two classes of the sciences which he knew well, as a judge by day and an astronomer by night? The plan and the guiding thread of the *Ṭabaḳāt*, as also the discrete reference to prophetic sources for all knowledge—the Semitic origin ascribed to Greek philosophy, the privileged place of the Jews at the end of the chain of nations—incline one rather to the second view.

Bibliography: *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1913, new ed. H. Bū ʿAlwān, Beirut 1985, Fr. tr. R. Blachère, *Catégories des nations*, Paris 1935. See also M.-G. Balty-Guesdon, *Médecins et hommes de science en Espagne musulmane*, diss. Univ. of Paris III 1992, 3 vols.; idem, *Al-Andalus et l'héritage grec d'après les Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, in *Perspectives sur la science et la philosophe grecque*, Paris 1993; G. Martinez-Gros, *Classification des sciences et classification des nations, trois exemples andalous du Vᵉ/XIᵉ siècle*, in *Mélanges de la Casa de Velasquez*, xx (1984), 83-114; idem, *La première histoire andalouse des sciences*, in *Autrement, Tolède XIIᵉ-XIIIᵉ siècles* (Feb. 1991), 200-17. (G. MARTINEZ-GROS)

ṢĀʿID AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, ABU 'L-ʿALĀʾ ṢĀʿID B. AL-ḤASAN al-Rabaʿī al-Lughawī, poet and grammarian in Muslim Spain (*ca.* 339-417/*ca.* 950-1026).

Born at Mawṣil or in its region, educated in poetry and the linguistic sciences at Baghdād, Ṣāʿid arrived *ca.* 380/990 in Spain, probably attracted by the news of the largesse lavished by its princes on scholars who came to them from the East. All the sources agree in describing him as a facile poet, with an untidy appearance, an incorrigible drunkard and a perpetual spendthrift. But he knew how to ask for money with the same lightness of touch that he employed in spending it. Al-Andalus was at the peak of its might under the rule of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], who had relegated the Umayyad caliph to the background. It was to the presence of this all-powerful minister that Ṣāʿid was admitted, and recompensed on a princely scale for his talents. One day, when he was short of cash, he made a shirt out of all the purses which he had received and, according to the source, dressed himself in it or dressed his slave Kāfūr in it. He appeared thus before the *ḥādjib*, whilst praising him for having given enough to cover a man with a tunic but which unfortunately revealed the bottoms, open to view and empty, of his money bags. Al-Manṣūr laughed, and opened up his coffers.

The minister's favour had, however, a more profound effect. As the seat of a caliphate since 317/929, Cordova intended to surpass Baghdād, and held mastery of the Arabic language as one of the stakes in this contest. The Andalusians freely admitted the fluency of the Easterners, but they stressed the solecisms which these Arabs, over-confident in their own natural speech, inflicted on the language of the ancient poets. The grammarians al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*], who came from Baghdād, and al-Zubaydī had thrown lustre on the reigns of the caliphs ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (d. 350/961) and al-Ḥakam II (d. 365/976). Al-Manṣūr's usurpation added a question to the debate. The minister had in his turn to overshadow, by his merits, the glory of his masters, as they themselves had claimed to throw the star of Baghdād into the shade. Ṣāʿid was openly welcomed as the al-Ḳālī of al-Manṣūr. His major work *Fuṣūṣ fī 'l-ādāb wa 'l-ashʿār wa 'l-akhbār*, written in 385/995, prided itself on thrusting the *Nawādir* of the old master into oblivion without borrowing the least example from that work.

In practice, Ṣāʿid's preferences were for lexicography (*lugha*) rather than for grammar, and for the poetry which constituted its treasury. Put to the test when he first came to court, Ṣāʿid became worried over the grammatical obscurities which were hurled at him, but triumphed in the explanation of a verse by Imruʾ al-Ḳays. He could not have done anything better to please the *ḥādjib*, who on every occasion cultivated the purest of the Arabic values upon which the Cordovan caliphate aimed to base itself. The only other work of Ṣāʿid's which is mentioned was precisely a "story" in the Bedouin taste which he wrote for his master.

Altogether, the opinion of posterity in al-Andalus remained a guarded one. The Easterner was reproached for his boastfulness, and in this there may perhaps have been a discreet condemnation of the regime which he served. According to al-Maḳḳarī, the Arab Ṣāʿid came out worst in a linguistic dispute with a knowledgeable young slave boy. Above all, Ibn al-ʿArīf [*q.v.*], the tutor of al-Manṣūr's children, after having failed in convincing the latter of Ṣāʿid's plagiarism, ridiculed Ṣāʿid by inventing a factitious book and author whom Ṣāʿid soon claimed to have read. Al-Manṣūr was furious, and had the *Fuṣūṣ* thrown into the river, before pardoning him. The world of scholarship was less indulgent.

After al-Manṣūr's death (392/1002), Ṣāʿid was less often seen in the entourage of his son al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*]. Ibn Ḥazm, then aged 12, saw him, however, still declaiming one of his poems. The civil warfare (399-422/1009-31) caused him to move to Dénia, and then to Sicily, where he died, in 417/1026 according to Ibn Ḥazm.

Bibliography: R. Blachère, *Un pionnier de la culture arabe orientale en Espagne au Xᵉ siècle: Ṣâʿid de Bagdad*, in *Hespéris*, x (1930), 15-36, where a list of the relevant texts can be found, in particular, Maḳḳarī, i, 382-4, ii, 52-8; Ibn Bashkuwāl, no. 536; Ḥumaydī, no. 509. See also E. García Gómez, *La entrada de Ibn Ḥazm en el mundo official*, in al-And., xviii (1953), 437-8. (G. MARTINEZ-GROS)

SAÏDA [see SAʿĪDA].

SAʿĪDA (French form, SAÏDA), a town of Algeria, the chef-lieu of the department (*wilāya*) of the same name, situated 175 km/108 miles from Oran (Wahrān [*q.v.*]) and 95 km/59 miles from Mascara (al-Muʿaskar [*q.v.*]), at an altitude of 900 m/2,950 feet. It is on the wādī Saʿīda, in touch with the Causse of Oran (hills of Saïda) and the High Plains, limestone plateaux which form part of the Atlas of the Tells, to

the east of the hills of Ouarsenis (Wansharīs). The town had about 30,000 inhabitants and the department about 200,000 in 1987. The region is suitable for raising cereal crops and for sheep rearing.

The recurrent strategic position which the site has retained through history, ever since it was occupied by a Roman settlement, was highlighted in modern times when it became one of the headquarters of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], who built a fort there but dismantled it in 1841 on the approach of French troops under General Bugeaud. In 1844, General Lamoricière constructed from it another fort slightly to the north, which became the nucleus of the present town.

Bibliography: See those to ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. MUḤYĪ 'L-DĪN and AL-MUʿASKAR. (ED.)

SAʿĪDĀ GĪLĀNĪ, Indo-Persian poet of the 11th/17th century.

Details are lacking regarding his early life. He went to India from his native Persia during Djahāngīr's reign (1014-37/1605-27), and lived on to serve under his successor Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-58). Apart from poetry, he was skilled in calligraphy, engraving and assaying of precious stones. Djahāngīr gave him the title of Bēbadal Khān, perhaps as an appreciation of his talent since *bēbadal* means "matchless". In addition, he was appointed officer-in-charge of the royal jewellery, a position which he continued to hold during Shāh Djahān's reign. Under the latter ruler, he also received the command of 800 infantry and 100 cavalry.

In 1037/1628, soon after becoming emperor, Shāh Djahān decided that a lavish throne, inlaid with gems, should be constructed for his personal use. The charge of this enterprise, which later materialised in the celebrated Peacock Throne (*Takht-i Ṭāwūs*), was entrusted to Saʿīdā Gīlānī, who supervised the project. It took seven years for the completion of the throne, which was inaugurated on Nawrūz 1044/23 March 1635. To commemorate this event, Saʿīdā Gīlānī composed a *ḳaṣīda* of which only remnants have survived. The *ḳaṣīda* is said to have contained 134 couplets, each line of which carried a chronogram. Some of the chronograms were related to Shāh Djahān's birth (1000/1592), some to his coronation (1037/1628) and the majority to his gracing the Peacock Throne for the first time.

There is no information as to when or where Saʿīdā Gīlānī died. That he was still living in 1047/1637-8 is confirmed by one of his chronograms of that date commemorating the completion of a mosque built by Shāh Djahān in Adjmēr.

Very little can be said about Saʿīdā Gīlānī as a poet, since his extant writings are limited to a handful of pieces scattered in the historical accounts of the period. He is reported to have composed a *mathnawī* of some 5,000 couplets dealing with Djahāngīr's reign. His poetry earned for him royal recognition. On 14 Shahrīwar 1027/26 August 1618 he was rewarded handsomely by Djahāngīr for a *ḳaṣīda* composed by him for the emperor, and in 1042/1633 he received a similar treatment from Shāh Djahān for composing a poem which described the courage of Prince (afterwards Emperor) Awrangzīb in an elephant combat. Saʿīdā Gīlānī's special skill lay perhaps in the making of chronograms. Apart from those mentioned earlier, he composed them on such events as Djahāngīr's conquest of the fort Kāngra (1029/1620), his building a mosque there (1031/1621-2) and the death of his wife Mumtāz Maḥall (1040/1631 [*q.v.*]).

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

ṢĀʾIFA (A.), pl. *ṣawāʾif* (< *ṣayf* "summer"), summer raid or military expedition (see Lane, 1756; Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 857).

1. In the Arab-Byzantine warfare.

The term is used by the early Islamic historians to denote the raids of the Arabs into Byzantine Anatolia. These were normally mounted annually, over a period of some two centuries, beginning during the governorship in Syria of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.v.*], i.e. from *ca.* 640 onwards. They tailed off in the 3rd/9th century as the ʿAbbāsid caliphate became racked by internal discord and as the Macedonian emperors in general turned the tables and took the offensive against the Arabs.

These expeditions were launched during the summer months, in order to avoid the harsh wintry conditions of the Anatolian plateau, from bases in the *thughūr* or frontier zones of northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia. The ways of entry through the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountains included the Cilician Gates [see CILICIA], approached from bases like al-Maṣṣīṣa and Ṭarsūs [*q.vv.*], and the famous pass (*darb*) of al-Ḥadath [*q.v.*] between Marʿash and Malaṭiya [*q.vv.*]. Such historical sources as al-Yaʿḳūbī, Khalīfa b. al-Khayyāṭ and al-Ṭabarī are normally careful to list for each year the *amīr* who led the summer raid. This command was of premier importance. Sometimes caliphs like Muʿāwiya, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, Hārūn al-Rashīd or al-Muʿtaṣim personally led their armies, or else the command would be held by some member of the ruling family, such as the Umayyad prince Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] or the ʿAbbāsid ones Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās and his son ʿAbd al-Malik.

Bibliography: For the history of the campaigns, see the standard studies on Byzantine-Arab relations of Bury, *A history of the Eastern Roman empire*; Ostrogorsky; Vasiliev; Honigmann; Canard, in *Camb. med. hist.*, iv, *The Byzantine empire*, pt. i, *Byzantium and its neighbours*; and now W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Arab conquests*, Cambridge 1992. Also C.E. Bosworth, *The Byzantine defence system in Asia Minor and the first Arab incursions*, in *The fourth international conference on the history of Bilād al-Shām*, Eng. and Fr. papers, vol. i, ʿAmmān 1987, 116-24, and idem, *Byzantium and the Syrian frontier in the early Abbasid period*, in *The fifth international conference on the history of Bilād al-Shām*, Eng. and Fr. section, ʿAmmān 1412/1991, 54-62. See further ʿAWĀṢIM; GHĀZĪ; and THUGHŪR.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In Muslim-Christian warfare in Spain.

Given that Muslim Spain (al-Andalus) was geographically a European entity with Marches (see below), beyond which there was at all times an independent Christian presence to be reckoned with, the appearance of the *ṣāʾifa* in Umayyad Spain is not surprising. Of the importance it came to assume in Iberian Peninsular history one clear indication is the passage of *al-ṣāʾifa* into Castilian as *aceifa* (whence, for instance, *salir en campaña de aceifa* "go on a summer campaign"). Although in Arabic chronicles such expressions as *g͟hazā/ag͟hzā bi ʾl-ṣāʾifa* "lead/send (s.o.) to lead the *ṣāʾifa*" occur mainly in the context of expeditions against the Christian north of the Peninsula, they occur also in the context of campaigns within al-Andalus itself against centres of rebellion or Viking raiders [see AL-MAD̲J̲ŪS]. Thus it was not with the identity and location of the enemy that *ṣāʾifa* was primarily and originally associated, but with the time of year at which an expedition was launched—which could be as early as 1 May or as late as the end of July, though the norm would seem to have been at a time midway between these two extremes. When necessary, expedient or limited in scope, campaigns were conducted outside the summer season and likewise took their name from the time of the launch. Hence one in winter was a *s͟hātiya*, one in spring a *rabīʿiyya* and one in autumn a *k͟harīfiyya* (on these last two in the time of the ʿĀmirid al-Manṣūr (below, para. 4), see al-ʿUd͟hrī, in *Bibl.* below, 79, 80).

By the end of the reign of Alfonso I, king of Asturias (739-57) and conqueror of much of northwest Spain and Portugal, perhaps as much as a quarter of the Peninsula formed no part of al-Andalus, and of that proportion a fair share was an uninhabited *limes* known as the Marches (*al-t͟hug͟hūr*). Of these there were originally three: the Upper (*al-aʿlā*), the Middle (*al-awsaṭ*), and the Lower (*al-adnā*). Each was controlled, not by a civil governor, but by a military commander (*ḳāʾid*) based at Saragossa, Toledo and Mérida, respectively. Such was the position during the Emirate of the 3rd/9th century, though with the gradual contraction of al-Andalus changes had already begun to take place that in the long run were to result in the reduction of the *t͟hug͟hūr* to two: the Upper, or Farther (*al-aḳṣā*), still based on Saragossa and covering Navarre and the North-East, and the Middle, or Hither (*al-adnā*), covering Castile and the Kingdom of Léon, not from the increasingly remote Toledo, but from Medinaceli (Madīnat Sālim [*q.v.*]), which on the orders of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] in 335/946 had been made into a heavily fortified base from which to launch *ṣawāʾif* against Christian positions in the upper and middle reaches of the Douro valley. The *t͟hug͟hūr* so constituted did not of course survive indefinitely: in time, frontiers inevitably changed as Islam retreated before advancing Christendom, and, as circumstances changed, the *ṣāʾifa* underwent changes of scale, form and style. This being so, attention here will be focused almost exclusively on a limited number of aspects drawn from data relating to *ṣawāʾif* against the Christian north during the Umayyad period (138-42/756-1031)—data which cannot of course be taken as valid for all Umayyad *ṣawāʾif* conducted by different leaders on different occasions over so long a span of time.

The conduct, scale, regularity and success of such *ṣawāʾif* depended on the central government's willingness, readiness and ability to launch them, all of which factors depended, in turn, on a ruler's strength of governance and purpose, internal peace and stability, the availability of reliable troops and loyal and able commanders, and so on. An early example of a ruler moved by religious zeal and bent on seizing opportunities open to him was His͟hām I (172-80/788-96 [*q.v.*]), whose generals led *ṣawāʾif* in almost every year of his reign—several against Alava and Old Castile in the north, several to the Asturias in the North-West and one, reaping a particularly rich harvest of booty, against Gerona and Narbonne in the North-East. For his son al-Ḥakam I (180-206/796-822 [*q.v.*]), obliged for much of his long reign to quell insurrections from the Marches down to Cordova itself, *ṣawāʾif* were anything but the annual events they became under his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/796-822 [*q.v.*]), who, despite some early internal upheavals, personally led or dispatched *ṣawāʾif* almost every year of his reign against the Asturio-Leonese kingdom. In operations against the Franks in what is now Catalonia he entrusted command in 212/828 to his Umayyad kinsman ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Balansī ("of Valencia"), a man whose Arabic designation *ṣāḥib al-ṣawāʾif* is worth noting here if only because it seems *not*, as may be thought, to have derived from any special office or rank he held, but was, rather, an *ad hominem* style acquired through the long and distinguished services he rendered as an organiser and leader of *ṣawāʾif*.

From among the constants and many variables of the Umayyad *ṣawāʾif*—under which those of the ʿĀmirid *ḥād͟jib* [*q.v.*] al-Manṣūr (Almanzor) [*q.v.*, at vol. VI, 430 ff.] are to be subsumed—only one or two can be touched on here. Of constants, the most important was the need, imposed by Cordova's remoteness from the far north, to ensure the smooth progress of troops towards a distant base from which, once rested and marshalled, they would take the field. To delay till the last moment disclosure of the chosen route was one factor offering Cordova the best prospect of success for the outward journey. By far the most crucial factor, however, was its need to provision its men on the march. As it was normal to have the army live off the land in areas to be crossed, ascertainment of the state of crops and harvests was a precondition of the launch of a *ṣāʾifa*, for drought could lead to the cancellation of a *ṣāʾifa* and the frustration of plans such as even ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*] had to suffer, for example, in 303/915. Years later Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (al-Manṣūr from 371/981) was to provide against any similar setback by creating, notably in Cordova and strategic forward positions, vast stockpiles of grain, which lasted over several lean years from 378/988.

The recruitment, composition, organisation, funding and equipment of troops for Umayyad *ṣawāʾif* are, like their precise aims and *modus operandi*, beyond the scope of this article. What should be said, however, is that the *ḥus͟hūd* of our sources' expression *al-d͟junūd wa ʾl-ḥus͟hūd* were provincial recruits enlisted for a *ṣāʾifa* to swell the regular army. Instructions for their recruitment went out as early as February, and after mobilisation (*istinfār*) in the summer they would converge on the outskirts of Cordova. Around the same time, commanders in the Marches would be ordered to prepare their contingents to join the Cordovan forces on arrival. Whether or not the ruler was to lead a *ṣāʾifa* in person, he would normally oversee preparations, which could last up to 30-40 days. From his palace he would process, amid popular acclaim, with his guard and entourage to royal quarters within his troops' encampment on the great Faḥṣ al-Surādiḳ ("pavilion plain"), north of Cordova. One notable ceremony to follow much later was the solemn fastening of banners (*ʿaḳd al-alwiya*) to commanders' lances in Cordova's Great Mosque on the Friday before the troops departed. Upon their return the banners would be replaced on the walls of the mosque.

Whatever profit the Umayyads may have derived

from even the most successful of their *ṣawāʾif*, it was certainly not any lasting extension of the boundaries of al-Andalus. That such was not the basic aim of the *ṣāʾifa* (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 103 ff.) may well be true. What seems no less true is that in al-Manṣūr's hands the *ṣāʾifa* became less of a routine response to Christian initiatives than an assault of unexpected and unprecedented ferocity as it was drawn into the ʿĀmirid's military policy, which, however rewarding and morale-boosting in the short term, was ultimately to prove wholly counterproductive for Islam in Spain (on which see Chalmeta, at vol. VI, 432).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, index *svv. ṣāʾifa* (to which add p. 145), *ṣāḥib al-ṣawāʾif*; iii, 18, 41, 55-112 (for all aspects of military organisation, many relevant to the *ṣāʾifa*, but see esp. 85-90, 92 n. 3, 101-6), 291, 465. For the Umayyad period, Lévi-Provençal used all the sources available to him. Although these remain very much the same, some, most notably important parts of the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], were not generally available either in the Arabic or in translation. The situation has since improved with the appearance of *Muḳtabis* texts edited by ʿA. ʿAlī al-Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1965, M. ʿAlī Makkī, Cairo 1971, P. Chalmeta, F. Corriente, M. Ṣubḥ, Madrid-Rabat 1979, and translations by E. García Gómez, *Anales palatinos del califa...Al-Ḥakam II*, Madrid 1969 (corresponding to Ḥadjdjī text), and Mª J. Viguera and F. Corriente, *Crónica del califa ʿAbdarraḥman III*, Saragossa 1981 (corresponding to Chalmeta text), etc. An important text for Almanzor is al-ʿUdhrī, *Nuṣūṣ ʿan al-Andalus/Fragmentos geográfico-históricos de al-Masālik*, ed. ʿA. al-Ahwānī, Madrid 1965, 74-80, and important studies are: L. Seco de Lucena, *Acerca de las campañas militares de Almanzor*, in *MEAH*, xiv-xv (1965-6), 7-29 (cf. idem, *New light on the military campaigns of Almanzor*, in *IQ*, xiv [1970], 126-42); J.M. Ruíz Asensio, *Campañas de Almanzor contra el reino de León (981-86)*, in *An. Est. Med.*, v (1965), 31-64. No attempt is made here to handle material for the post-Umayyad periods. (J.D. Latham)

ṢĀʾIGH (a.), pl. *ṣāgha* and *ṣawwāghūn*, goldsmith, denotes a group of skilled craftsmen in Islamic society. In the early centuries of Islam, according to al-Djāḥiẓ and al-Khuzāʿī, the goldsmiths were mainly artisans of Jewish and Christian faith, but some Arab writers also recognised the existence of Muslim goldsmiths.

The earliest recorded goldsmiths known to Islamic history, according to Kattānī, belonged to the Jewish tribe of Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ [*q.v.*] of Medina during the Prophet's time. Their skill was highly rated in society, yet the mediaeval Arabs thought that it was a demeaning skill which caused the loss of manliness (*murūwwa*). On the whole, public opinion was critical towards the goldsmith's profession, and they were allegedly censured by the Prophet Muḥammad in these harsh words: "The worst liars of mankind are the dyers (*ṣabbāghūn*) and the goldsmiths (*ṣawwāghūn*)" (al-Kattānī, *Tarātib*, ii, 91); in other words, he said, "The worst liars of my *umma* are the dyers and goldsmiths" (cf. al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii, 53). A similar attitude towards the *ṣāgha* was attributed to the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who doubted their reliability with customers (al-Kattānī, *Tarātib*, ii, 64). Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and other scholars of the ʿAbbāsid period were said to have warned of evil moral consequences resulting frequent public visits to goldsmiths' shops (cf. al-Lubūdī, *Faḍl al-iktisāb*, fol. 58b). The *ḥisba* manuals are critical of their fraudulent alloying of gold with other cheaper metals like silver or copper, and their usurious transactions.

Among Arab bellelettrists, al-Djāḥiẓ cited an Arab woman's name as Salma bint al-Ṣāʾigh (cf. *Ḥayawān*, iv, 377) who belonged to the Syrian *Anbāṭ* (pl. of *Nabaṭ*, referring to the remnants of the Aramaic-speaking indigenous population of Syria and ʿIrāḳ during the early ʿAbbāsid period). Moreover, Ibn al-Athīr and al-Samʿānī noted the usage of *al-Ṣāʾigh* as a *nisba* among Muslims from the 2nd/8th to 4th/10th century. Some of these persons were cited among expert transmitters of *ḥadīth* in the mediaeval Islamic world, and at least one of them was a well-known Arab writer called Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh ("goldsmith's son"). Besides being reliable transmitters of religious knowledge (*ʿilm*), some goldsmiths had attained upward social mobility. The customary law of *kafāʾa* was leniently applied to the goldsmiths, who could marry outside their own social group into the wealthy and respectable groups of the bourgeoisie such as the cloth-merchants (*bazzāz*) and perfumers (*ʿaṭṭār*).

Early Islamic cities such as Fusṭāṭ, Baghdād, Cairo, Damascus, Tunis, and so on had separate goldsmiths' markets (*sūḳ al-ṣāgha*). Al-Ibshīhī, writing a rare tale about a goldsmith, illustrates the goldsmith's guild wherein the master-craftsman (*muʿallim*) employed and trained journeymen (*ṣāniʿ*, pl. *ṣunnāʿ*) in workshops and earned handsome wages. Literary sources provide evidence regarding the existence of goldsmith's guilds over the centuries in many Islamic cities of the Middle East until modern times.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 377-9; idem, *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Naṣāra*, in *Thalāth rasāʾil*, ed. Finkel, Cairo 1926, 17; Khuzāʿī, *Takhrīdj al-dalālāt*, Tunis n.d., ix, 460; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1908, 195; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb*, Baghdād n.d., ii, 232-3; Ibn al-Fuwāṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa* ed. M. Djawād, Baghdād 1932, 67; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, Ḥaydarābād-Deccan 1977, viii, 266-71; Yāḳūt, iv, 869; Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghabar*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Kuwait 1966, v, 344, 373; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiv, 98; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931, xiv, 21; Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327/1909, ii, 320; Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, Cairo 1890, ii, 232-3; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Lubūdī, *Kitāb Faḍl al-iktisāb*, Chester Beatty ms. no. 4791, fol. 58b; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba fi-ṭalab al-ḥisba* ed. al-Baz al-ʿArinī, Cairo 1946, 77-8; Ibn Bassām al-Muḥtasib, *Nihāyat al-rutba fi-ṭalab al-ḥisba*, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Sāmarrāʾī, Baghdād 1968, 106-7; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, London 1938, 144-7; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib Baghdād*, Baghdād 1924, 26; idem, *al-Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād-Deccan, 1938-40, ix, 61; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, Cairo 1928, iii, 843-4; W.J. Fischel, *Jews in the economic and political life of mediaeval Islam*, London 1968, 74 ff.; M.S. Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʾāt al-shāmiyya*, Paris 1960, 264-5; Rafāʾīl Bābū Isḥāk, *Aḥwāl Naṣārā Baghdād fi ʿahd al-khilāfa al-ʿAbbāsiyya* ("The situation of the Christians of Baghdād during the ʿAbbāsid period"), Baghdād 1960, 64; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Tarātib al-idāriyya*, Beirut n.d., ii, 64, 91; G. Baer, *Egyptian guilds in modern times*, Jerusalem 1964, 155-69; idem, *Guilds in Middle Eastern history*, in *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M.A. Cook, London 1970, 11-30; M.A.J. Beg, *Social mobility in Islamic civilization—the classical period*, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1981, 62; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, iv, London 1983, 200-25. (M.A.J. Beg)

ṢĀʾĪN ḲALʿA, a little town and district in

southern Ādharbaydjān, on the right bank of the Djaghātū, the modern town of Shāhīn Dizh. In the south the boundary runs a little over the river Sāruḳ, a tributary on the right bank of the Djaghātū. In the north it is bounded by the district of ʿAdjarī, in the east by the province of Khamse. The name is derived from the Mongol *sayin* "good".

The local Turkish Afshar tribe, of which a part had to emigrate to Urmiya to make room for the Čārdawrī (Čārdowlī) tribe of Lur origin (the district of Čardawr on the Saymara), were brought by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh from Shīrāz at the beginning of the 19th century. The chief of the Čārdowlī lived at Maḥmūddjiḳ and commanded about 5,000 men. In 1830 Ṣāʾīn Ḳalʿa was destroyed by a Kurdish invasion under Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh. Ṣāʾīn Ḳalʿa, formerly occupied by a Persian garrison, guarded the entrance to Ādharbaydjān through the Djaghātū valley. The caves of Kereftū with a Greek inscription, described by Ker Porter (*Travels*, ii, 538-52; Ritter, ix, 816), as well as the site of Takht-i Sulaymān (the ancient Gazaka, al-Shīz of the Arabs; cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 108), are in the territory of the Afshars of Ṣāʾīn-Ḳalʿa. The lake of Čamli Göl (near the village of Bādarlī) with a floating island is likewise well known. A section of the Afshars belong to the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ sect [*q.v.*], the local chiefs of whom in Bent's time lived at Nazar-bābā and Gandjābād (cf. V. Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ*, in *RMM*, xl-xli [1920], 19-97; *RMM* [1922], 53, 76).

The modern town of Shāhīn Dizh (long. 46° 35′ E., lat. 36° 43′ N., alt. 1,350 m/4,428 ft.) is the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* of the same name in the province (*ustān*) of West Ādharbāydjān; in *ca.* 1950 it had a population of 3,170 (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, iv, 295), which by 1991 had risen to 25,050 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

Another fortress called Ṣāʾīn-Ḳalʿa on the river Abhar, to the east of Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*] and mentioned by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (see Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 222), should not be confused with this Ṣāʾīn Ḳalʿa.

Bibliography: Sir H. Rawlinson, in *JRGS*, x (1841), 40; H. Schindler, in *ZGEB*, xviii (1883), 327; T. Bent, in *Scotch Geogr. Magazine* (1890), 91; A.F. Stahl, in *Petermann's Mitteilungen* (1905), 33 (with a map of the district and indications of its mineral wealth); A.V.W. Jackson, *Persia past and present*, New York 1906, 121 ff.

(V. Minorsky*)

SAʿĪR (A.), one of the various words used in the Ḳurʾān for Hell Fire. *Saʿīr* seems to be a native Arabic formation (unlike Djahannam and possibly Ṣaḳar [*q.v.*]) with the meaning "[place of] fiercely kindled flame". It occurs 16 times in the Holy Book (IV, 11/10, 58/55, XXII, 4, etc.), most frequently in third Meccan period and Medinan sūras.

Bibliography: Nöldeke-Schwally, *G des Q*, i, 89; T. O'Shaughnessy, *The seven names for Hell in the Qurʾān*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 455-7. (Ed.)

AL-SĀḲ (A.), lit. "leg" or "thigh", used in various senses in Islamic mathematics and astronomy. Thus, for example, *sāḳ* means the foot of a compass, the perpendicular of a right-angled triangle with horizontal base, or the equal sides of an isosceles triangle. Another term for the foot of a compass is *ridjl*, and *ḍilʿ* is also used for any side of any triangle. (See further ʿILM AL-HANDASA, in Suppl.).

In astronomy [see NUDJŪM] *sāḳ* may refer to a star that is in a leg of a constellation figure representing a person or an animal, as in *sāḳ al-asad* or *sāḳā 'l-asad* (dual) for either or both of α Bootis and α Virginis, regarded in Arab tradition as the hind legs of Leo. The word *sāḳ* in the name of the star *sāḳ sākib al-māʾ*, the leg of the water-carrier, δ Aquarii, was corrupted by Europeans in the Middle Ages to Scheat. The same star with its name half-Persianised as *sāḳ-i sākib-i māʾ* is represented on the retes of numerous Indo-Persian astrolabes [see ASṬURLĀB].

Sāḳ al-djarāda, lit. "the locust's leg", is the name given to a variety of vertical sundial [see MIZWALA] in which the horizontal gnomon is moved along a groove at the top of the rectangular sundial according to the season (since the shadow-lengths at the hours depend on the solar longitude). An example from Syria, made for the Ayyūbid sultan Nūr al-Dīn in 554/1159, with markings serving the latitudes of Damascus and Aleppo on either side, survives virtually intact (the gnomon is missing). The name of the device derives, with some stretching of the imagination, from the form and shape of the main astronomical markings.

Bibliography: On the use of *sāḳ* in simple geometry see, for example, Mohamed Souisi, *La langue des mathématiques en arabe*, Tunis 1968, 206-7 (*sub s-w-q*). On the star(s) *sāḳ al-asad*, see P. Kunitzsch, *Untersuchungen zur Sternnomenklatur der Araber*, Wiesbaden 1961, 104. On the star Scheat, see idem, *Arabische Sternnamen in Europa*, Wiesbaden 1959, 203. On the instrument called *sāḳ al-djarāda*, see P. Casanova, *La montre du sultan Noûr ad Dîn*, in *Syria*, iv (1923), 282-99, and S. Cluzan, J. Mouliérac and E. Delpont (eds.), *Syrie - Mémoire et civilisation*, Paris 1993, 436-7. (D.A. King)

AL-ṢAḲĀLIBA, sing. Ṣaḳlabī, Ṣiḳlabī, the designation in mediaeval Islamic sources for the Slavs and other fair-haired, ruddy-complexioned peoples of Northern Europe (see A.Z. Velidi Togan, *Die Schwerter der Germanen*, 19-38).

1. The Ṣaḳāliba of Northern and Eastern Europe.

The actual name was a borrowing from Middle Greek Σκλάβος, "Slav." This, in turn, is to be connected with the self-designation of the Slavs, *Slověne* (cf. the Rus' usage *Slověne, Slovyane, Sloven'skïy yazïk* "Slavs", "Slavic nation" in the *Povest' vremyannïkh let*, in *PSRL*, i, 5-6, 28, Mod. Russ. *Slavyane*, Ukr. *Slov'yanï*, Pol. *Słowianie*, Czech. *Slované*, Bulg. *Slavyani*, etc.). This latter form is reflected in the Σκλαβηνοί, Σκλαυηνοί/*Sclaveni* (sing. Σκλαβηνός: **Slavěn-in* < **Slověn-in*), the Byzantino-Latin rendering of this collective name of the Slavs. It also was used to denote the central-southern grouping of Slavic tribes by 6th-7th century Byzantine (e.g. Procopius and Theophylactus of Simocatta) and Latinophone authors (e.g. Jordanes).

Due to the large numbers of slaves that came to Western Europe from the Slavic lands, the ethnonym "Slav" came to denote "slave" (< M. Eng. *sclave*, cf. French *esclave*, Ital. *schiavo*, Germ. *Sklave*, Mod. Greek Σκλάβος) in a number of European languages (see comments of Menges, *Outline*, 11-12; Kupfer and Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie*, 29, n. 2). A reflection of this semantic development can be seen in the Hispano-Arabic use of this term to designate, at first, Slavic slaves brought to Spain (where their role was analogous to that of the Turkic *ghilmān* of the rival ʿAbbāsids) and subsequently all foreign slaves in Spanish Umayyad service [see 3. below].

Although there was some ambiguity in the Arabic usage of this term, its initial meaning was undoubtedly "Slav." Early on, however, it spread to neighbouring peoples as well. Thus the early 3rd/9th century polymath al-Khwārazmī (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Mžik, 105)

speaks of the "country of Gharmāniyā, which is the land of the Ṣaḳāliba." Ibn Faḍlān, who journeyed to Volga Bulgharia in 309-10/921-2 (the subject population of which included, in addition to various Turkic groups, Finno-Ugrian and other northern peoples), termed the Bulghār ruler "King of the Ṣaḳāliba" (see Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*).

The Arab accounts derive the eponymous Ṣaḳlab from Mādhāy b. Yāfith (al-Masʿūdī, Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb) or ʿŪdjān b. Yāfith. Al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āthār*, 614), however, derives him from the descendants of Līṭ b. Kalīkhīm b. Yūnān b. Yāfith and presents him as the brother of Rūm, Arman and Firandj. According to the tale preserved in the anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, 103-4, Ṣaḳlab's father, whose mother died immediately after his birth, was raised on dog milk and developed a canine disposition. His son was called "Ṣaḳlab" (hence the popular etymology found in Gardīzī who derives this name from *Sag-lābī* < Pers. *sag* "dog"). Later, as each of Yāfith's children acquired a land of their own, Ṣaḳlab struggled with Rūs, Kimārī and Khazar for possession of a territory, but was defeated. He was thus obliged to make his home in the north. This homeland of the Ṣaḳāliba is described as very cold, with homes built underground and heated by steam, a theme found in a number of the detailed descriptions in the Islamic geographical literature dealing with the Ṣaḳāliba lands. Gardīzī, in his tale of Ḳïrghïz (Khirkhīz) origins, relates that the leader of the Khirkhīz "was from the mass of the Saḳlābs." Having killed a Byzantine envoy, he was forced to flee to the Khazars, Bashdjirts and Toḳuz Oghuz. There he was joined by other Ṣaḳāliba. Gardīzī concludes that this is why "the features and traits of the Saḳlābs are to be found among the Khirkhīz (such as) reddishness of hair and whiteness of skin" (tr. Martinez, 124-6, ed. Barthold, 28-9). This constitutes one of several indications of the presence of an ancient Europoid strain among the Ḳïrghïz. It also shows the close association, in the Islamic geographical literature, of a certain fair-haired, ruddy complexioned population type of Eurasia with the Slavs.

The later Perso-Islamic historical tradition, in a notice of dubious historicity, mentions a "pass of the Khazars and Ṣaḳāliba" in connection with the activities of the Sāsānid Djāmāsp, who briefly ruled Persia 496-8. These and other notices purporting to record their presence in the north Caucasian zone in the early decades of Islam (e.g. Balʿamī) are almost certainly anachronistic. Paradoxically, we are probably on surer ground with references to Slavs that had been transplanted to Asia Minor or were serving in Byzantine forces that might have had contact with the Arabs as early as the decades preceding the advent of Islam. The earliest evidence for Arabo-Slavic contacts is found in the Byzantine sources. The 10th century chronographer Theophanes, ed. de Boor, i, 348, notes that *s.a.* 6156/664-5, some 5,000 Σκλαυινοί living on "Roman" territory defected to the Umayyad commander ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid (ὁ Ἀβδεραχμάν ὁ τοῦ Χαλέδου), going with him to Syria and settling in the village of Seleucobolus in the region of Apamea. During the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik (Ἀβιμέλεχ), *s.a.* 6184/692-3, Νέβουλος, the commander of a force of 30,000 men that had been recruited from the Slavs settled in Asia Minor, was bribed by the Arabs and together with 20,000 of his men came over to the Arab side. The Byzantine Emperor Justinian II (685-95, 705-11) slaughtered the remaining Slavs at Leucate (Theophanes, i, 365-6).

The oldest reference in Arab writings, however, is found in the works of al-Akhṭal (d. 91/710 [*q.v.*]), a Christian poet of the Taghlib tribe who was one of the favourites of ʿAbd al-Malik. In one of his poems he makes a brief reference to the "throng of reddish Ṣaḳāliba" *djamʿat al-Ṣaḳāliba al-ṣuhb*, see text and discussion in Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, i, 6 ff., and also his *Świat*, 339). Mention is made of the Saḳāliba by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, a one-time governor of Khurāsān and then rebel against caliphal authority [see MUHALLABIDS], in a speech given on the eve of his final and fatal encounter with the Umayyads. This took place in 102/720, and his remarks were preserved in a collection of notable addresses by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (see Lewicki, *Un temoignage arabe*, 319-31). The Saḳāliba noted here were, in all likelihood, one or another of the diasporan Slavic groupings that were either serving in the Byzantine forces or living as transplanted colonists in Asia Minor. This notice is important in that it comes directly from a contemporary. Direct contact with the Slavic lands, however, took place only after the Arabs had secured Ḵhʷārazm in the early 8th century (see Lewicki, *Świat*, 326-7), and it became one of the principal entrepôts for commerce with eastern and northern Europe.

The later historian al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 359, 360, mentions a "city of the Ṣaḳāliba" s.a. 96/714-5 and 98/716-7 which Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] conquered in 98/716-7 in his campaign against Constantinople. It is unclear whether this Slavic urban settlement is to be sought in Asia Minor or in the Balkans, although the former seems more likely. Several decades later, in a different theatre of operations, the Umayyad commander and future caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad, in 120/737 made a daring advance into Khazar territory, capturing the city of al-Bayḍāʾ (probably Sarkel on the Don). Proceeding further, as we learn from the account of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī (viii, 71-2, see also Togan, *Reisebericht*, 295 ff.), he "attacked the Ṣaḳāliba and the various infidels who lived beyond them", taking prisoner some 20,000 families. Marwān continued his advance and made camp on the "River of the Slavs" (*nahr al-Ṣaḳāliba*). In this region, he succeeded in capturing the Khazar Ḳaghan and compelled him to embrace Islam. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 207-8, has a brief notice on this campaign, noting that the 20,000 captive Ṣaḳāliba who were settled in Khākhīṭ (Kakhet'i in Georgia) later revolted, and Marwān "attacked and killed them." The location of this *nahr al-Ṣaḳāliba* remains controversial. It has often been identified with the Volga (Togan, *Reisebericht*, 305). Another view (*ibid.*, 307), however, identifies these Ṣaḳāliba with the Burṭās, Suwār, Asgil and other Turkic and Finnic peoples of Volga Bulgharia. A passage in al-Masʿūdī's *Tanbīh*, 67, however, brings us southward to the Don. He remarks that "many settlements of the Ṣaḳāliba and other nations who penetrated deep into the north" are on a great river called *ṭnāys* (Tanais). The *Ḥudūd*, tr. Minorsky, 75, 216, reflects the confusion of the mediaeval Muslim historians and geographers regarding the rivers of the Ṣaḳāliba and Rūs lands, presenting us with a conflation of the information on the Don and Volga. It notes that the river of the Rūs "rises from the interior of the Ṣaḳlāb country ... skirts the confines" of the three Rūs urban centres and the Ḳïpčaḳ land and "empties itself into the river Ātil." With later authors the situation is not significantly clearer. Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (473-565/1080-1170 [*q.v.*]), a native of Muslim Spain who spent much of his adult life in the Volga region (from 525/1131 largely in Ṣāḳsīn/Sākhsīn), passed through the lands

of the Ṣaḳāliba (actually the Rūs region) on a journey that eventually brought him to Hungary *ca.* 1150. He reports that he left Bulg̲h̲ār by ship on the "river of the Ṣaḳāliba", by which he appears to have designated the Oka (ed. and tr. Dubler, 22/61, 196-9). His contemporary, al-Idrīsī (ed. Bombaci *et al.*, viii, 909-10), but without al-G̲h̲arnāṭī's first-hand knowledge, designates the Don as the *nahr rūsiyya*.

With regard to other riverine centres, al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 67, 183) also mentions the *Danuba/*Danābī (Danube) and Malāwa (Morava) rivers on which Ṣaḳāliba settlements are to be found. Around the Malāwa, in particular, were the habitats of the *Nāmd̲j̲īn* (< Slav. *Nemčin* "German") and *Murāwāt* (Moravians, see below).

The same Marwān who led the successful 120/737 campaign, when he became caliph, placed Ṣaḳāliba colonies along the borders with Byzantium in Cilicia (at al-K̲h̲uṣūṣ), northern Syria (at Salmān, near Ḳūrus/Cyrrhus) and the upper Euphrates (Ḥiṣn Ziyād/Arm. K̲h̲artabirt, on the border zone). The second ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Manṣūr, in 140/757-8 sent his son to raid the Ṣaḳāliba (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 237). In that same year, according to al-Balād̲h̲urī, 166, the caliph rebuilt al-Maṣṣīṣa (Mopsuestia) and transplanted thither Ṣaḳāliba, Persians and Christian Nabataeans from al-K̲h̲uṣūṣ. Some of these Ṣaḳāliba may have been involved in the disturbances reported by al-Yaʿḳūbī (Lewicki, *Osadnictwo*, 488, and discussion in his *Źródła arabskie*, i, 265-6). Evidence for Slavo-Muslim co-operation against Byzantium can be seen in the notice found in Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*DAI*, 228/229) which tells of a raid on Patras in the Peoloponnesus *ca.* 805-7 by Slavs coming from that region who were assisted by "African Saracens." The antecedents of this alliance are obscure. Still more murky is the report in al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 598-9), s.a. 239/853-5 or 240/854-5, regarding an unnamed "ruler (*ṣāḥib*)" of the Ṣaḳāliba, to whom the Georgian mountaineers, the Ṣanāriyya (Ts'anar), appealed (along with similar entreaties to the Byzantine Emperor and K̲h̲azar Ḳag̲h̲an) for aid against the caliphal forces led by the Turkic general Bug̲h̲a the Elder [*q.v.*].

The Slavic polities that took shape in the Balkans were, of course, oriented, in peace and war, towards Constantinople. Although the Muslim sources largely ignore the ferocious Byzantino-Bulg̲h̲ar wars of the 8th-9th centuries, al-Ṭabarī (iii, 2152-3) knows of a "king of the Ṣaḳāliba" who, in 283/896-7, attacked the Imperial capital. This was the now Slavicised Bulgarian king Symeon (*reg.* 893-927), whose attempt on Constantinople had actually begun in 894 and came to an end in 897 (on Symeon and Byzantium, see Fine, *The early medieval Balkans*, 137-58). According to al-Ṭabarī, the Emperor defeated him only with the aid of Muslim troops which he recruited from the Muslims who were in his territory, but Byzantine sources make no mention of such assistance.

Well before this time, however, the Muslim world was already gaining more direct access to the lands of the Ṣaḳāliba and incorporating the knowledge acquired thereby into geographical schemes derived from the Graeco-Roman tradition. Thus the *Kitāb al-Zīd̲j̲* written *ca.* 156/772-3 by al-Fazārī, typical of the mathematical geography of this era (the pertinent fragment from which is preserved in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ed. Pellat, ii, 377), placed the Ṣaḳāliba at the end of a quite realistic listing of peoples that included the Tog̲h̲uzg̲h̲uz, the "Turks of the K̲h̲āḳān", the K̲h̲azars, al-Lān (Alans) and Burd̲j̲ān (Danubian-Balkan Bulg̲h̲ars), and presented them as occupying a region extending 3,500 *farsak̲h̲s* in length and 700 *farsak̲h̲s* in width. Al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī (105), however, equated the country of the Ṣaḳāliba with "G̲h̲armāniyā" (the "Germania" of the Latin tradition), i.e. Central Europe. In keeping with this scheme, the country of "Sarmāṭiyya" (Sarmatia) was identified with the territories of the Burd̲j̲ān and al-Lān (Alans). Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 92, 155, with Ibn al-Faḳīh, 6-7, 83, following him, divides Europe (*Arūfā*) into "al-Andalus, al-Ṣaḳāliba, al-Rūm and Firanja." The Ṣaḳāliba are placed north of al-Andalus, alongside of the Burd̲j̲ān and Abar (Avars). In another passage, Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 119, notes the K̲h̲azar, Alans, Ṣaḳāliba and Abar in a listing reflecting the disposition of the larger, politically more important peoples extending from the Volga to Central Europe (Ibn Rusta, 98 has a similar listing).

The location of the Ṣaḳāliba lands

By the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, the material deriving from first-hand sources, i.e. travellers, merchants (Jewish and Muslim), Muslims who had spent time in Byzantium and Eastern Europe (e.g. Muslim b. Abī Muslim al-D̲j̲armī and the sources that came to comprise the "Caspian Codex", see Zak̲h̲oder, *Kaspiyskiy svod*) and had direct experience of the region, had substantially increased. As a consequence, the information available to the Muslim world, although not without serious lacunae (cf. the confusion noted above with regard to the "river of the Ṣaḳāliba"), became more expansive and richer in detail. Our 4th/10th century sources are unanimous that the Ṣaḳāliba occupied a heavily forested, "vast country" subject to ferocious frosts. The borders of this "country of the Ṣaḳāliba", however, are not precisely delineated. According to the *Ḥudūd*, tr. 158, to the east lay the Inner Bulg̲h̲ārs and some of the Rūs, to the south were some parts of the Gurz Sea (usually the Caspian but here designating (see 53) the Black Sea) and some parts of Rūm. To the west (actually north-west) and north were the "Uninhabited lands." The Sea of Azov (the Maeotis, *Māwṭs* in the *Ḥudūd*, 54) is noted as the "extreme limit of the Ṣaḳlābs towards the north." Al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āt̲h̲ār*, 614), writing in 674/1275-6, but largely using older data, places the Saḳlāb country in the west of the sixth and seventh climes, adjoining the K̲h̲azar realm and the mountains of Rūm.

The Slavic primary habitat and migrations

The imprecision of our sources with regard to Ṣaḳāliba borders is understandable. These lands, although very important for trade, were distant, dangerous and difficult of access. Moreover, from the 5th-9th centuries the Slavs had been undergoing a series of migrations out of their ancient habitat. Gothic, followed by Hunnic, pressures provided the catalyst for the breakup of Proto-Slavic "unity" and the migrations of elements of the Slavs southwards towards the Danube and across it to the Balkans and westward into Germanic and (earlier) Celtic lands. By 527, the Antes and Sclaveni were raiding the Byzantine Balkan holdings. This pressure increased with the advent of the Avars in the Western Eurasian steppes *ca.* 558. By the early 7th century, the Slavs were swarming over many parts of the Balkans, penetrating as far as Greece. Slavo-Avar pressure increased during the reign of Heraclius (610-41), who successfully defended Constantinople against a joint Avaro-Slav-Persian land and sea assault in 626. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*DAI*, 146/147-148/149, 152/153), the Serbs and Croats took possession of the

lands that now bear their names during the reign of Heraclius.

Although our Muslim sources came into direct contact with the Slavs after the great migrations were completed, the various Slavic groupings, extending from the Elbe and Baltic to the Pontic zone and Balkans, were still in the process of defining themselves as political entities. The Islamic authors of the ʿAbbāsid era were aware of them, collectively, as a distinct ethnolinguistic and cultural grouping consisting of various branches. Some of these subgroupings, in certain of our accounts, were already emerging as more clearly defined polities with their own identifying characteristics. Others, unaccountably, remained a liminal presence. Nonetheless, we have a number of remarkable accounts of the Ṣaḳāliba, with an occasional wealth of detail. These accounts are associated with three historico-geographical traditions (to some degree interrelated) that are represented by Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī; al-Masʿūdī; and Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb.

The Ṣaḳāliba lands

The Ibn Rusta-Gardīzī tradition (Ibn Rusta, 143-5; Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, 38-9, tr. Martinez, 162-6, elements of which are also preserved in the *Ḥudūd*, 158-9, and Marwazī) is largely ethnographic and derives primarily from sources belonging to the 3rd/9th century. It begins by noting that the Ṣaḳāliba lands were only 10 days' travel from those of the Pečenegs [*q.v.*]. The Ṣaḳāliba country was located beyond the steppe in dense forests. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 142) "their residences are in the north towards where it joins the west." Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb (ed. Kowalski, *Relacja*, 1, 56), writing in the 960s, however, has them stretching from the Syrian Sea (*Baḥr al-Shāmī*, i.e. Eastern Mediterranean) to the "Ocean" (the Baltic being meant here). Ibn al-Faḳīh, 295, in a reference, perhaps, to an Eastern Slavic grouping located near the north Caucasus, remarks that the Caucasus is connected to the land of the Ṣaḳāliba and "in it there is also a tribe of the Ṣaḳāliba".

Tribes, political organisation and urban centres

Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb (7) describes the Ṣaḳāliba, in general, as possessing formidable military might. Indeed, if not for their excessive divisions, "no nation could stand up to them in power."

We have a variety of notices on the titles and leaders of the Ṣaḳāliba. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 17, and al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 102, mention that the "king of the Ṣaḳāliba" has the title **ḳnāz* (al-Bīrūnī has قبّار *ḳbbār* = قناز cf. Russ. *knyaz'* "prince", a title ultimately of Germanic origin). Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 142-5) has an important notice on the Ṣaḳāliba tribal polities known to him. He remarks that they have kings, are divided along tribal lines ("they [comprise] many tribes and a vast [number] of types") and often war among themselves. He makes reference to a tribe among them "in which the kingdom (*al-mulk*) was of old", implying the earlier existence of some all-encompassing Slavic political union. "Their king was called *Mādjak* and his tribe is called *Walīnāba*. The tribes of the Ṣaḳāliba followed this tribe in other times past...". He further comments that the *Walīnāba* were the "purest of lineage, ... the greatest of their tribes and the foremost among them... Then the authority between these tribes was disputed and their (political) organisation (*niẓām*) came to an end. Their tribes formed different groups. Each tribe placed a king over itself...". Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb (1-2), who gives the name/title of this king as *Mākhā*, largely repeats al-Masʿūdī's information, adding that in his day, the "tribes of the north have gained ascendency over some of them and inhabit" some of their lands (probably a reference to the growing power of the Germanic Holy Roman Emperors in the western Slavic territories).

Elsewhere, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 144, perhaps referring to the situation in his own day, mentions *ʾldyr* as the leading king of the Ṣaḳāliba, a ruler possessing many towns, cultivated fields, large armies and to whose territory Muslim merchants were wont to travel for trade. Beyond his lands lay those of the "king of al-Afragh" (Prague, see below). The identity of this figure is also unknown. Russian and Ukrainian historians (e.g. Hrushevs'kiy, i, 408) suggested that *ʾldyr* was al-Dirr = the Varangian Dir of the Rus' chronicles, who briefly held Kiev in the mid-9th century. Given the context, this seems unlikely. Lewicki (*Świat*, 356) reads this name as **Aldayr* and proposes him as a ruler of White Croatia. This is not impossible, but it lacks corroborating evidence.

The Ibn Rusta-Gardīzī tradition, reflected also in the brief notices in the *Ḥudūd*, 159, and *Mudjmal*, 421, reports that their chief, whom all obey, wears a crown. Their chief of chiefs is named **swyyt blk* and his deputy is called **swbndj* (**shwbandj*). The first name appears to be a rendering of *Svętoplok/Svĕtoplok (cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, 64/65, 176/177, 180/181, Σφενδοπλόκος), the king (*reg.* 870-94) of Moravia before it was overrun by the Hungarians.

The second name/title noted by our sources is viewed as an attempt to render a Slavic **zhupanets* < *zhupan* (an Old Slavic title of possible Avar or Turkic origin).

Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb (1) reports that in his day, the Ṣaḳāliba had four kings: an unnamed ruler of the Bulgarians (*Bulḳārīn*), *Bwyṣlāw* (*Boyeslav, probably Boleslav I, 935-67, the Bohemian ruler, see Kowalski, *Relacja*, 60), the "king of Frāgha (Prague), *Bwyma* (*Boyma = Bohemia) and *Krkwʾ* (Krakow, a reference to Boleslav I's control of White Croatia), *Mashḳa*, king of the North (a reference to Mieszko I of Poland) and *Nāḳwn* (Nakon) in the far west." Nakon was the ruler of the Obodriti/Obodriči, the most politically advanced grouping of the Polabian Slavs in the mid-10th century (see Leciejewicz, *Słowianie zachodni*, 157; Salivon, *Samosoznanie*, 131-40). Ibrāhīm, who journeyed to this land, has left us a detailed description of these kingdoms. Nakon's realm, in the west, was bordered by the Saxons (*Sakswn*) and the *Murmān* (Normans, probably Danes; see Kowalski, *Relacja*, 63); to the east were the Veleti/Vilci/Ljutiči; and in the south were the Lusatian Sorbs/White Serbs (see Salivon, *Samosoznanie*, 132). King Boyeslav/*Boleslav's realm extended from Prague to Krakow, requiring some three weeks' journey. Prague, our source notes, was constructed of stone and lime. This land, according to Ibrāhīm, who reports the prices for wheat, barley and fowl there, was deeply involved in commerce. Ṣaḳāliba, Rūs, Hungarians, Muslims and Jews came to trade, bringing out slaves, tin and furs. Ibrāhīm reckons among the remarkable characteristics of the people of Bohemia, given the stereotypical image of the Saḳāliba in the Islamic lands, the relative absence of blondness among them. Most, he reports, have dark brown hair.

The land of the king *Mashḳa* (Mieszko I) is described by Ibrāhīm 4-5) as the most extensive of the Saḳāliba domains, with fertile soil and an abundance of foodstuffs, meat and honey. The king supported his

army of 3,000 armoured men, 100 of whom are equal to 1,000 of others, from the taxes levied on the markets. The king also provided for the children, male and female, of his army, including dowry and bride-price payments. Mas̲h̲ḳa's neighbours are the Rūs in the east and the Baltic Pruss (*Brūs*) in the north. Our source then passes on to an account of the (now) Slavicised Bulgarians (*Bulḳārīn*), whose land he did not personally visit, but whose emissaries he met in Magdeburg (*Mād̲h̲ībūrg̲h̲*) at the court of Otto I. He reports that they had more than a rudimentary governmental apparatus and had men who were familiar with foreign languages.

Of the other tribes and their rulers, almost all of whom are to be found in the Central European Slavic lands, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 142-3) first mentions the **Usṭutrāna*. This name is also cited by Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb, 9, 120 ff.) who has the corrupted form *Ṣbrāba* (var. lect. *ʾṣṭbrāna, ʾṣṭrāna, ʾṣṭrāʾa, ʾṣṭbwāna*). These are the Stodorane of Brandenburg, the Heveldi of the German chroniclers (see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 104). The king of these *Usṭutrāna* is recorded as *Baṣklabid̲j̲*. Next are the *Dūlāba* whose king "at the present time is called *Wānd̲j̲ ṣlāf*." These are the Dudlebi/Dulebî, an Eastern Slavic tribal grouping, much oppressed, according to Slavic historical tradition, by the Avars (*PSRL*, i, 11-12) whose territory extended into Western and Southern Slavic regions. The name of their ruler *Wānd̲j̲ ṣlāf* is undoubtedly Vęceslav (Wenceslas), whom Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 103, identifies with Wenceslas I of Bohemia (920-9), for which there is no evidence other than a similarity of names. Our sources place them alongside the *Nāmd̲j̲īn* (<Slav. *nemčin, nemets* "German", see above), whose king is called *G̲h̲arānd* and who are described as "the bravest of the tribes of the Ṣaḳāliba and the most chivalrous." These are the Germans of Conrad of Franconia (d. 919). Clearly, the use of the Slavic **Nemčin* probably points to a Slavic source for this ethnonym in the Muslim world (cf. also the K̲h̲azar Hebrew Correspondence; Ottoman Turkish [*q.v.*] *Nemče* "German, Austrian" is most probably a later, independent borrowing). Next to them is the unidentified tribe called *Mnābīn* (omitted in Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb) led by **Ratīmīr*. This grouping is followed by the *Sarbīn*, the Serbs, of whom al-Masʿūdī remarks that they are "awe-inspiring" (*muhīb*). Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 106-9, who conjectures that al-Masʿūdī's notice stemmed from the first third of the 9th century, identified them with the Lusatian Sorbs, the "White" or "unbaptised" Serbs noted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*DAI*, 152/153), as living beyond the Hungarians in a region called Βοϊκι, bordering also on the Franks and Great Croatia. Given the Central and Eastern European thrust of our source's information, which does not really touch on the South Slavs, this is probably correct.

Next are the *Murāwat*, the Morava or Moravians (most probably of the former Great Moravia, see Lewicki, *Znajomość*, 98-9). Gardīzī, tr. Martinez, 161, ed. Barthold, 38 (ms. *mrdāt* = *mrwāt*) places them 10 days' north of the "Nandur" (the Danubian Bulg̲h̲ars), beyond the "great mountain range" (the Carpathians). They are described as numerous (greater than the Byzantines) and wearing clothing resembling that of the Arabs (turban, shirt and waistcoat). They practise agriculture and viniculture due to the abundance of water which is not channelled into ditches or canals, but follows its own course over the ground. They consist of two distinct communities (regrettably not further defined). Most of their trade is with the West (ms. *ʿrb* for *g̲h̲rb*, thus Barthold, 59, translates this as "they carry on their trade predominantly with the Arabs"). There is a rather confusing version of this notice in the *Ḥudūd*, 160, in its section on the "*Mirvāt.*" Here, their eastern neighbours are given as some of the K̲h̲azarian Pečenegs and portions of an unnamed mountain range. To their south are other K̲h̲azarian Pečenegs and the Gurz Sea (the Black Sea). In the west are some parts of the Gurz sea (?!) and the Inner Bulg̲h̲ārs. To the north are some Bulg̲h̲ārs and the *Wnndr* mountains. The *Ḥudūd* further comments that they are Christians who speak Arabic (*Tāzī*) and *Rūmī*. Their dress is like that of the Arabs and they live in tents and felt huts. All of these details, in particular their linguistic affiliations, seem highly improbable (see Minorsky's comments, 442). They are portrayed, in the *Ḥudūd*, as being "on friendly terms with the Turks" (the Hungarians, who conquered them and destroyed their state in the late 9th century) and the Byzantines. This would appear to date this notice to the mid-9th century. Their neighbours, in al-Masʿūdī's narrative, are the *K̲h̲urwātīn* (the White Croatians are meant here, see above), the *Ṣāṣīn* (perhaps to be emended, as Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 122, suggests, to **Ṣāk̲h̲īn* "Ček̲h̲s") and the unidentified *Ḥs̲h̲yābīn, K̲h̲as̲h̲ānīn* in Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 140-1, would see in them the Guduscani (**D̲j̲uṣ̲h̲s̲h̲ānīn*), a Slavic tribe noted together with the Obodriti and Timočane in Frankish sources, who sent embassies to the Frankish court in the early 9th century. The last tribe in Ibrāhīm's variant of al-Masʿūdī's listing is the *Brānd̲j̲ābīn*, in whom Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 107, would see *Braničevin.

Beyond the domain of *ʾldyr* (see above), the foremost king of the Ṣaḳāliba, according to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 144, is the king of al-Afrag̲h̲ (Prague) who has "mines of gold, cities, vast, cultivated fields, many armies and great numbers (of people)." He conducts wars with the surrounding states of Rūm, the Franks (*al-Firand̲j̲*) and the Langobards (*lbzkrd*, recte *lnwkbrd* for *lnkwbrd*) with "alternating success (*sid̲j̲āl*). Beyond him is the "king of the Turks" (Hungarians), whose people are "the most handsome in appearance of the Ṣaḳāliba, the greatest in number and the most ferocious."

Near the eastern border of the Ṣaḳāliba is the town *Wāntīt (Ibn Rusta, 143, Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, 38, tr. Martinez, 162; *Ḥudūd*, 159: Wābnīt, cf. the *Wnntīt* of the K̲h̲azar Hebrew correspondence (Kokovtsov, 31, 88-9 n. 4)), some of whose inhabitants, according to the *Ḥudūd*, "resemble the Rūs." It has long been suggested that *Wāntīt* rendered **Vętič(i)*, the name of an Eastern Slavic tribe, the Vyatiči.

Although some elements of the accounts of the Muslim historians and geographers touch on the Eastern Slavic groupings, most of our information on the latter is inextricably tied to the Rūs theme [see RŪS]. Abū Ḥāmid (ed. Dubler, 25-6/64, tr. Bol's̲h̲akov, 37), however, makes no distinction, for in his day, the Rūs, whatever their origins, were fully Slavicised. He reports that he went to a city of the Ṣaḳāliba called *G̲h̲ūr Karmān* (Dubler: G̲h̲ūr Kūmān, cf. also Bol's̲h̲akov, who attempts to interpret "Kuyav" = Kiev from this form). "In it are thousands of Mag̲h̲ribians, with the appearance of Turks. They speak Turkic and shoot arrows like the Turks. They are known in this country as the *Bad̲j̲na*" (= Pečeneg). In this connection we might recall that Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn (ed. Karīmī, i, 482) refers to Kiev by its Turkic name *Men Kermen*. *Kermen* is a Ḳïpčaḳ Turkic word meaning "fort, city." It was borrowed into 14th century Russian as well. Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn fur-

ther notes the presence there of the *ḳawm-i kulāh-i siyāhān*, the *Černii Kloboutsi* (Mod. Russ. *Černïe Klobuki* "[people] of the black cowls") of the Rus' sources. These were Turkic tribesmen who had taken service with the Rus' princes of Kiev. One of the constituent elements of the Černii Kloboutsi were remnants of the Pečeneg tribal union. The confusion of these Turks with "Maghribians" probably stems from some element of their dress. Some of them seem to have been Muslims, for Abū Ḥāmid, who was departing for Hungary (*Bāshghird, Unḳūriyya*), left behind some of his students to care for their needs. *Ghūr Karmān*, then, would appear to be a Turkic name for Kiev; see Pritsak, *Eine altaische Bezeichnung*, 1-13. In Hungary, Abū Ḥāmid also encountered Muslim "Maghribians", in all likelihood, Pečenegs (Hung. *Besenyő*) who were in the service of the Hungarian kings (see comments of Bol'shakov, 75).

The slave trade

The Ṣaḳāliba lands and peoples were intimately associated, as we have noted, with the slave trade, so much so that their name became synonymous with it. Slaving raids aimed at the Ṣaḳāliba were largely carried out by the Hungarians and the Rūs. Ibn Rusta, 142, has a particularly full notice. He reports that the "Madjghariyya" rule over their Ṣaḳāliba neighbours. "They require of them raw materials (*muʾan ghalīza*) (as tribute)" and treat them like prisoners of war. They raid them regularly and take their captives to "Kardj" (Kerč) in the Crimea. This, presumably, was their point of entry into the Byzantine world. The Rūs engaged in similar slaving raids, taking their captives to Khazaria and Volga Bulgharia, where they were sold. Some Ṣaḳāliba, according to Gardīzī (tr. Martinez, 166, 167, 169, ed. Barthold, 39), voluntarily worked for the Rūs as bond servants in order to be "free of [further obligations of] service." This same source, however, notes that the Ṣaḳāliba themselves have "many captured slaves." Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 305, reports that most of the Ṣaḳlabī, Khazar and Turkic slaves came to Khʷārazm, along with the furs, etc. of the northern forests. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 339, 340, 392, presents Khʷārazm as not merely a passive recipient of this bounty. The Khʷārazmians themselves engaged in slaving expeditions to Bulghār and the northern lands. In addition to Khʷārazm and the Sāmānid orbit, Muslim Spain via the Maghrib, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (i, 97, 110; see also Lewicki, *Świat*, 365), was one of the entry points of Ṣaḳāliba slaves into the Islamic world. Another market was Ādharbaydjān in Trancaucasia, whither Ṣaḳlābī, Greek, Armenian, Pečeneg and Khazar slaves were also brought (*Ḥudūd*, 142).

Religion

In his account of Khazaria, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 213-14, portrays the Ṣaḳāliba and Rūs as the principal pagans of the country. In contrast to the Muslims, Christians and Jews, who each have two judges for their respective communities, the pagans were accorded only one "who renders judgment according to pagan practice (*bi-ḥukm al-djāhiliyya*), the judgment of reason." The tradition represented by Ibn Rusta, 144, Gardīzī, tr. Martinez, 164, ed. Barthold, 38, and the *Ḥudūd*, 158, states that they are all fire-worshippers. Clearly, this notice stems from material that had been gathered before elements of the Slavs were converted to Christianity in the mid-late 9th century. Worship of the hearth fire and of the sun among the pagan Slavs, bespeaking strong ancient Iranian influences, is well-established in the scholarly literature.

Ibn Rusta, 127, is aware, however, that Christianity had already been adopted by Balkan Slavs during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Basil I (867-87). In reality, Christianity had already begun to make headway among the Balkan Slavic peoples before the era of Basil I. Events came to a head in the latter years of the reign of Basil's predecessor, Michael III (842-67). In the course of an extraordinary concatenation of diplomatic and military initiatives undertaken by the Franks, Great Moravia, the Balkan (Turkic) Bulgharian realm and Byzantium, the Bulghar ruler, Boris, converted to Orthodox Christianity in 864 (on the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, which forms the backdrop to these events, see F. Dvornik, *Byzantine missions among the Slavs*, and Vlasto, *The entry of the Slavs*, 155 ff.). The Slavic subjects of the Bulghars were already moving towards Christianity. The conversion, at first resisted by some elements of the Turkic Bulghar aristocracy, ultimately contributed to their complete Slavicisation. The Slavs to which Ibn Rusta referred are generally believed to be elements of the southern Serbian tribes converted in 877 (Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 239-42). Vlasto, 208, has concluded that the bulk of the Serbs were Christian from about 870. Fine, *The early medieval Balkans*, 139-40, however, views them as still essentially pagan at this time. The comment by Ibn al-Faḳīh, 77, that the "Ṣaḳāliba have crosses" is, in all likelihood, a reference to the Balkan Slavs (Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, ii/1, 56). Similarly, the report in *Ḥudūd*, 157, regarding "Christianised Ṣaḳāliba" in a "province of Rūm" who pay taxes to the emperor points further to the South Slav area. Al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 181-2, perhaps alluding to the struggle between Rome and Constantinople in the 9th century for the confessional loyalty of the newly-emerging Slavic Christian communities, notes that "the majority of the Ṣaḳāliba, the Burghar and other nations which are devoted to Christianity obey the ruler of "Rūmiyya." This must refer to the Byzantine emperor rather than the Pope of Rome.

Furs among the Ṣaḳāliba

According to Abū Ḥāmid (ed. Dubler, 22-3/61-2, tr. Bol'shakov, 35), the "River of the Ṣaḳāliba" has in it an animal with a black pelt that looks like a small cat. It is called a "water sable" and its hides are exported to Bulghār and Sakhsīn [see ṢĀḲṢĪN]. They conduct their business affairs using fur-less, old squirrels pelts (as currency). If the head and claws are intact, 17 of these are worth one silver dirham. They tie them up in a bundle and call it a *djuḳn*. Furs, as we know from indigenous sources, served as currency in Rus', indeed a small unit of currency was the *kuna* (cf. Mod. Russ. *kunitsa* "marten"). Dubler (348) saw *djuḳn* as a possible garbling of *kuna*. Bol'shakov (73-4) preferred a reconstruction of the Arabic form as **djrfn* for Old Russ. *grivna*, a unit of currency larger than the *kuna*. Abū Ḥāmid then goes on to describe the use of these furs, with the ruler's seal on them, as currency.

Later references

There are some, anachronistic, references to the Saḳāliba in the later Muslim sources, which repeat information stemming from the 9th-10th centuries. Most of these, however, no longer deal with them as a specific ethno-linguistic unit, but rather as distinct countries, cf. al-Idrīsī's extensive treatment of "Buʾāmiyya" (Bohemia), "Buluniyya" (Poland) and "Rūsiyya (see Lewicki, *Polska*). Thus al-Dimashḳī (261-2) largely cites the information of al-Masʿūdī, al-Bakrī (who preserved Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb's account for us), al-Idrīsī and the historian Ibn al-Athīr (tale of the Rūs conversion). An interesting mix of old and

more recent data is found in Abu 'l-Fidā's *Taḳwīm al-buldān*. For example, he reports the more current hydronyms: *Ṭunā* (Danube), *ʾzw* (Turk. Özü = the Dnepr), *Tān* (Don) (ed. Reinaud, 63-4). Following Ibn Saʿīd, he makes note of the city of *Lūyāniyya* which belonged to the greatest of the Ṣaḳāliba kings (206). It is described as one of the most important ports on the Baltic. Near it, towards the east, is the (city of ?) *Ṣāṣīn* (perhaps *Ṣādjīn*) (Lewicki, *Świat*, 328, suggests that the two Baltic Slavic centres noted here are Wolyń Pomorski and Szczecin). In the Balkans, he mentions the mountains of Croatia (Djabal *Khurwāsiyā) and Slavonia (*Ishkafūniyya*) (202). The latter is placed (211) on the shore of the "Sea of Venice" (the Adriatic). By the Mongol era, however, many of the themes of the classical Islamic geographers were repeated uncritically and occasionally incorrectly. Thus al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār*, 616-17, sees in Mashḳa (Mieszko, see above) the name of a "broad city in the country of the Ṣaḳāliba at the coast of the sea" as well as the name of its ruler. Moreover, his customs are contrasted with those of the "other Turks", blurring thus the Ṣaḳāliba, the Turks and others of the Northern peoples.

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(P.B. GOLDEN)

2. In the central lands of the caliphate.

The white slaves in the armies of the ʿAbbāsids, when the caliphate underwent its military transformation during the 3rd/9th century [see DJAYSH and GHULĀM. 1], were predominantly Turks and Rūm, the latter probably in majority Greeks and Armenians. But by the opening of the 4th/10th century, a certain number of Ṣaḳāliba, here to be interpreted as Slavs from Central and Eastern Europe and possibly as some of the Ugrian peoples of Eastern Russia [see BURṬĀS], appear within the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, though only as a subordinate element of the slave troops there, given the easy availability to the ʿAbbāsids of Turks from Central Asia and the South Russian steppes.

It is with the Fāṭimids that we really find a significant Slav military element. Ṣaḳlabī commanders are known in the army of the Aghlabids of Tunisia, but the early Fāṭimids had a prominent commander and admiral, Ṣābir, a freedman of the governor of Sicily Ibn Ḳurhub, and Ṣābir's Slav seamen and troops har-

ried the coasts of southern Italy as far as Salerno and Naples. The geographer and traveller Ibn Ḥawḳal (378/988) noted that the most populous quarter in Palermo was the *ḥārat al-Ṣaḳāliba* (ed. Kramers, 119, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 118). But it was under the caliph al-Ḳāʾim (322-34/943-46 [*q.v.*]) that the Slav element in the Fāṭimid forces really increased, especially after the revolt of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] and his Berber Khāridjite supporters showed the need for reliable professional troops. Hence several Ṣaḳlabī commanders, with typical slave names like Maysūr, Marām and Bushrā, begin to be mentioned in the historical texts. Earlier authorities, such as Amari and his reviser Nallino, interpreted the consonant ductus الصقل/الصقلي of the sources as *al-Ṣiḳillī* "the Sicilian", but I. Hrbek has pointed out that it is unlikely that native Sicilians (for whom the plural form is normally *al-Ṣiḳilliyyūn*), enjoying protected *dhimmī* status, would be enslaved.

The real origin of these Ṣaḳāliba must have been the Slav peoples of Central Europe and the Balkans, then in considerable turmoil from the warfare of the Byzantines and local Croat, Serb and Bulghar rulers and from expansionist pressures against the Slavs from the Germanic *Ostmark*. Prague was a centre of the slave trade, and St. Adalbert relinquished the bishopric of Prague in A.D. 987 because he could not ransom all the Christian slaves which Jewish merchants brought thither. Captives of war were shipped as slaves, almost certainly by the Venetians, through the ports of Dalmatia [*q.v.* in Suppl.], with the Muslim potentates as their purchasers, and, despite Papal and Imperial anathemas, this traffic continued well into the 5th/11th century; in 1076 Pope Gregory VII made King Zvonimir swear as part of his coronation oath not to allow the slave trade in Croatia and Dalmatia.

Within the Fāṭimid caliphate, the Slavs continued to play a conspicuous role in the reign of al-Muʿizz (341-65/953-75 [*q.v.*]), and al-Maḳrīzī states that the caliph learnt the languages of his servants and retainers, sc. Berber, Rūmiyya (according to Hrbek, probably the Sicilian dialect of Italian), Sūdāniyya and Ṣaḳlabiyya. Two of his prominent commanders, the eunuch Ḳayṣar and Muẓaffar, were Slavs, but the most celebrated of all was the conqueror of Egypt for the caliph, Djawhar [see DJAWHAR AL-ṢIḲILLĪ], whose ambiguous *nisba* is probably to be interpreted as al-Ṣaḳlabī, as is possibly that of the eunuch commander Djawdhar [*q.v.*]. Djawhar's career, together with those of his son al-Ḥasan and, probably, of the eunuch Bardjawān [*q.v.*] in the reign of al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021 [*q.v.*]), mark the apogee of Slav influence in the Fāṭimid state. During the course of the 5th/11th century, Slavs became less prominent in the army as the share of the Turks increased and as conditions in the Balkans became more peaceable, with the formation of stronger nation states there. They nevertheless continued to be the favoured bearers of the ceremonial parasol or *miẓalla* [*q.v.*] (this office coming fourth in the administrative-military hierarchy after the vizier, the head chamberlain or *ṣāḥib al-bāb*, and the commander-in-chief or *isfahsālār*), and they left a mark on the topography of Fāṭimid Cairo, according to al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1324/1906, iii, 68, in the shape of the *darb al-Ṣaḳāliba* in the Zuwayla quarter of the city.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922, 155-6, Eng. tr. 159-60; I. Hrbek, *Die Slawen im Dienste der Fāṭimiden*, in *ArO*, XXI (1953), 543-81; J.L. Bacharach, *African military slaves in the medieval Middle East: the case of Iraq (869-955) and Egypt (848-1171)*, in *IJMES*, xiii (1984), 471-95. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

3. In the Muslim West.

As noted in section 1 above, the Arabic geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries gave the name *Ṣaḳāliba* to the peoples of the centre and north-east of Europe occupying territories which stretched from north of the Byzantine empire to the lands of the Khazars and Bulghārs in the east to those of the Franks and Lombards in the west, corresponding, it appears, to the lands of the Slavs.

Since Umayyad times, slaves of such origin in the Islamic world had reached appreciable numbers, used as domestic slaves and as soldiers, in particular in caliphal service (see above, section 2). It seems that in the west, these Ṣaḳāliba came mainly from the commerce which had developed in the 8th and 9th centuries between the *Dār al-Islām* and the lands of the Carolingian West. Western sources, and to a small extent, Arabic ones, attest the fact that these slaves, the product of war and, probably also, of raids mounted from Christian Germany into the Slav lands, were forwarded to Spain, and probably also the Maghrib, by merchants from marginal ethno-cultural groups acting as intermediaries between the Christian and Islamic worlds: "Greeks" of Italy (Neapolitans, Amalfitans and, very likely also, Venetians), and above all, the Jews of Spain and Septimania.

It appears also that, very soon, the Ṣaḳāliba sold in Spain had previously, on reaching Muslim territory, undergone castration, evidently to increase their value on a market where the demand for eunuchs was strong, given the need for male staff for the running of harems. These facts doubtless explain why the term Ṣaḳāliba soon acquired the specialised meaning of "a white eunuch", in opposition to the *ʿabīd*, black slaves. In the 4th/10th century, this trade was very important and seems to have been the main cause for the rise of the great port of Almeria, from which these slaves were re-exported to other Muslim lands of the Mediterranean basin. Thus the castration was done in al-Andalus, in connection with an important Jewish group attested in the town of Lucena. Those Ṣaḳāliba brought to Khwārazm or Khurāsān from the eastern part of the Slav world do not appear to have been the object of the same treatment, but little is known about this question apart from what is mentioned exiguously in the geographers.

In an important article, David Ayalon has considered afresh the question of the true origin of these Ṣaḳāliba, which most authors, following Dozy, considered as stemming from wars and raids of the Muslims of al-Andalus against the southern fringes of the Christian West (northern Spain, southern France, the coasts and islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea) rather than from the actual Slav lands. According to Ayalon, the text of Ibn Ḥawḳal adduced by Dozy, Lévy-Provençal, Ashtor, etc., has been wrongly interpreted. He holds that the Arabic geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries made a clear distinction between the Galicians, Franks and Lombards on one hand, and the Ṣaḳāliba or Slavs on the other. Hence it could be said that, given the fact that many of the Ṣaḳāliba were supposed to come from the Carolingian empire and not from the Slav lands, the military importance of slaves of Christian origin in the mediaeval Islamic world has been exaggerated. Ayalon's thesis is that, in the main centres of Muslim power, and even in al-Andalus, for long, pagan soldiers with white skins from the *Dār al-Ḥarb* were preferred to Christians from Europe, who appear in this role relatively late.

This reconsideration, and the interpretation of Ibn Ḥawḳal's text, should be approached with prudence. Ayalon virtually leaves out the Western documentation, in Arabic and Latin, which should be carefully re-examined before reaching the conclusion which he proposes. In principle, and from the ethno-geographical viewpoint, Ibn Ḥawḳal may not be confusing the Ṣaḳāliba with the Franks and other peoples of the West. But in the same passage he says that the people of al-Andalus "attack the Slav lands in the directions of Galicia, the Frankish lands, Lombardy and Calabria and take prisoners there", which is hardly comprehensible unless one admits that the human product of Saracen piracy on the Western European coasts was considered as belonging to the general group of Ṣaḳāliba. This point mignt be verifiable in certain particular cases, such as that of the "Slav" ruler of the Denia *ṭāʾifa* in the 5th/11th century, Mudjāhid, whose origin was, there is reason to think, Italian.

In the East, some Ṣaḳāliba—it is difficult to know whether these were eunuchs or not—were used as soldiers by the Umayyads of Damascus, perhaps in imitation of the Byzantines, who had corps of Slav troops. The ʿAbbāsids favoured the use of Turks, and the Slavs played only a minimal role in Baghdād. But in al-Andalus, the Cordovan Umayyads seem to have prolonged, in this sphere as in others, the Damascus tradition. Servants of Ṣaḳlabī origin are attested in the 3rd/9th century under the amīrate, but it was under the caliphate that their increase in numbers became spectacular. At the end of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's reign (350/961), there are said to have been almost 14,000 Ṣaḳāliba at Cordova.

These persons, who had come as children into the service of the state, received a good "technical" and intellectual education, and were used as domestic attendants, court officials, soldiers and administrators, reaching the highest levels in all these spheres. Already under the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh, at the end of the 9th and opening of the 10th centuries, the most influential of the viziers was Badr al-Ṣaḳlabī. Under al-Ḥakam II, the influence of high Ṣaḳlābī officers rose still further. At his death in 365/976, two of them, Fāʾiḳ al-Niẓāmī and Djawdhar, director of the *ṭirāz* and court jewelry manufacture, and chief falconer, respectively, but also commanders of the Ṣaḳlabī guard, who had both enjoyed the trust of the dead ruler, wished to set aside his son and official heir, Hishām, who was not yet twelve years old, and enthrone in his place al-Mughīra, one of al-Ḥakam II's brothers. But their plans were frustrated by the ministers al-Muṣḥafī and Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, the future al-Mansūr, the first of Berber and the second of Arab origin, who took advantage of the disquiet amongst ruling circles concerning the increased power of the Ṣaḳāliba.

In Hishām's reign, power was speedily appropriated by al-Manṣūr, who in his turn relied on numerous Ṣaḳlabī elements faithful to him, as did likewise his two sons after him. During the crisis which followed the "Cordovan revolution" of 399/1009 and the fall of the ʿĀmirids, and until the demise of the caliphate in 422/1031, several chiefs from the ʿĀmirid Ṣaḳāliba played a major role in the politico-military manoeuvrings which accompanied tye breakdown of the Umayyad central administration. The main ones here were Wāḍiḥ, commander of the Medinaceli march, and head of the "Ṣaḳlabī-Andalusian" party which, with the caliph al-Mahdī, disputed control of Cordova with the Berbers of the caliphal army and their concurrent caliph al-Mustaʿīn until his death in 402/101. Two other chiefs, Khayrān and Mudjāhid, then played a comparable role, but based respectively on Almeria and Denia, where they had built up practically autonomous powers which were transformed into *ṭāʾifa*s once the central government disappeared completely.

Two other "Slav" *ṭāʾifa*s took shape at the same time on the eastern coast of al-Andalus, those of Tortosa and Valencia, without one knowing properly how the Ṣaḳlabī elements managed to achieve the upper hand in this region. The most brilliant of these rulers was incontrovertibly Mudjāhid of Denia (403-36/1012-45), famed for his ambitious, but unfortunate, enterprise against Sardinia [see SARDĀNIYA] and, above all, by his maecenate which made Denia for a while one of the cultural capitals of the Mediterranean West, especially in regard to lexicography and the Ḳurʾānic readings. It was at his court or that of his son ʿAlī (436-68/1045-75) that the *Risāla* of Ibn Garcia [see IBN GHARSIYA] was written, the only important Andalusian work belonging to the anti-Arab—although perfectly Arabised culturally—movement of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*]. The Slav *ṭāʾifa* of Denia is the one which lasted longest, the others having disappeared towards the middle of the 5th/11th century (the supply of Slavs hardly continued, it would appear, after the end of the caliphate).

The Ṣaḳāliba phenomenon in al-Andalus must be considered in company with the acquisition of power by Turkish elements in the ʿAbbāsid caliphate or by other military elements of servile origin in various parts of the Muslim world during the history of *mamlūk*s in Egypt and blacks in 11th/17th-century Morocco. In the though-provoking works on this problem of Patricia Crone and Daniel Pipes, neither have fully taken into account the Ṣaḳāliba of Spain and, more generally, of the Muslim West, although these would have merited consideration. Elements of this origin played a role, probably less important and under the political control of the régimes they served, in Ifrīḳiya from the Aghlabid period to the Zīrid one, above all in the Fāṭimid caliphate there and then in Cairo (see above, section 2). Al-Bakrī mentions contingents of Ṣaḳāliba in the little state of Nakūr [*q.v.*] in the 4th/10th century, but it is true that this principality lived in the shadow of al-Andalus. A quarter of Palermo is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawḳal as the *ḥārat al-Ṣaḳāliba*, and during the Arabo-Norman period, the kings of Sicily had in their service Muslim eunuchs who can probably be considered as Ṣaḳāliba.

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(P. GUICHARD and MOHAMED MEOUAK)

SAḲAR (A.), one of the terms employed in the Ḳurʾān (LIV, 48; LXXIV, 26-7, 42) to denote Hell or, more precisely, according to certain authorities, one of the gates of Hell (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, on LIV, 48) or else one of the "stages" (*daraka*, *ṭabaḳa*, see al-Ṭabarī and al-Rāzī on LXXIV, 26). There is uncertainty amongst the lexicographers as to whether the word was of foreign origin (like *djahannam*) or whether it was derived from the Arabic root *s-ḳ-r*/*ṣ-ḳ-r*, meaning the extreme heat of the sun (see *LʿA*, s.r. *ṣ-ḳ-r*; one should note that Jeffery, for his part, does not mention it in his *Foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*). See also SAʿĪR.

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SAKARYA (Ottoman orthography Saḳārya or Ṣaḳārya, modern Turkish Sakarya), a river in Turkey. It rises near Bayāt in the northeast of Āfyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār. In its eastward course it enters the *wilāyet* or *il* of Ankara, through which it runs to a point above Čakmaḳ after receiving on its left bank the Sayyid Ghāzī Ṣū and several other tributaries on the same side. It then turns northwards describing a curve round Siwri Ḥiṣār. Here it receives on the right bank the Engürü Sūyu from Ankara and near this confluence the Porsuk on the opposite bank. A little to the south of this point is the bridge of the Eski-shehir-Ankara railway. Farther on, towards the north, the Sakarya receives on its right bank the Kirmir Ṣū, and then taking a sudden turn, it runs westwards to Lefke, traversing the former *wilāyets* of Kütahya and Khudāwendigār. At Lefke the Sakarya is joined on the left by the Gök Ṣū from Bursa. After Lefke it turns sharply to the north, entering the district of Izmid near Mekedje, having now run 400 km/250 miles. The most flourishing part of its course now begins, and there are fine crops of cotton, wheat, vegetables, besides vineyards and the rearing of silkworms. It now runs in a north-easterly direction through the districts of Geiwe, Ada Pazārī and Ḳandīra, to enter the Black Sea near Indjirli. The stretch of its course in the district of Izmid is 112 km/70 miles; near Ada Pazārī it receives the waters of the Mudirni Ṣū from Ḳastamūni on the right bank and of the Čarkh Ṣū from lake Ṣabandja [*q.v.*]; on the left, 2 km/1¼ miles north of Geiwe is a bridge of six arches built by Sultan Bāyezīd I and at Lefke, Ewliyā Čelebi (iii, 11) also mentions a fine bridge of wood. The railway crosses the river four times between Izmid and Biledjik.

The Sakarya is the ancient Sangarius (see Pauly-Wissowa, Ser. 2, i, col. 2269, and J. Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronymie*, Wiesbaden 1977, 129, where the name, including Hittite parallels, is discussed). It has changed its course since the Byzantine period, as is shown by the great bridge built by Justinian over it in 561, which is now 3 km/2 miles from Ada Pazārī. This bridge is now called *Besh Köprü* (in classical times Pentegephyra or Pontogephyra; see Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 214, 215), but at the present day the river no longer runs below its arches.

The Sakarya is not navigable; its lower course is only used for transporting to the Black Sea the wood from the thick forests of the neighbourhood. In prehistoric times, the river ran westwards into the Sea of Marmara; the lake of Ṣabandja [*q.v.*] and the Gulf of Izmid mark the track of its ancient course. In 909/1503 Sultan Selīm I conceived the idea of re-establishing communication between the Sakarya, the lake (the level of which is above that of the river) and the gulf in order to bring more easily to his capital the wood required for the building of his fleet. Being convinced of the feasibility of the project by the report of experts, he gave orders for its execution, but the opponents of the scheme were able to frustrate it by the argument of the *rishwet* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, Constantinople 1145, 660; see further, ṢABANDJA).

For a period, in the reign of ʿOthmān I [*q.v.*], the Sakarya formed the frontier of his territory on the west and south, and for his conquests he had to cross the river (e.g. for the capture of Aḳ Ḥiṣār in 1308; see ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1332/1914, 12, 24), After then, the Sakarya did not play an important part in Ottoman history until the famous battle on the Sakarya from 24 August to 10 September 1921, when the Greek army was defeated in a last great effort to reach Ankara. By the counter-offensive of 10 September, the Greeks were thrown back to the west of the Sakarya and forced to take up the line Eski shehir-Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār. In August 1922, the Turkish army was victorious for a second time near the Sakarya; this was the beginning of the Turkish offensive which ended in the complete reconquest of Anatolia and the hurling of the Greek armies into the sea at Izmir (see S.J. and E.K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976-7, ii, 360-3).

Sakarya is now the name of an *il* or province of modern Turkey, with its chef-lieu at Adapazarı [see ADA PĀZĀRĪ].

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(J.H. KRAMERS*)

AL-SAKHĀWĪ, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Khayr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfiʿī, Egyptian *Ḥadīth* scholar and prosopographer (b. Rabīʿ I 830/January 1427, d. Shaʿbān 902/April 1497).

He belonged to a prominent family of *ʿulamāʾ* who had settled in a quarter of the old Fāṭimid district of Cairo after migrating from the central Delta town of Sakhā two generations previously. Al-Sakhāwī excelled in his formal education, his performance typical for a student who planned to teach the Islamic sciences. Introduced to advanced studies in Prophetic traditions by the famous *shaykh* Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī [*q.v.*], al-Sakhāwī soon acquired renown for his own mastery of *Ḥadīth*-related disciplines. Revering Ibn Ḥadjar as a paragon of erudition and piety, al-Sakhāwī

dedicated his career to augmenting his mentor's accomplishments. But in fact, al-Sakhāwī's aptitudes inclined him toward the production of works remarkable more for their encyclopaedic scope than for their originality of method. Al-Sakhāwī's most noteworthy achievement was his massive biographical dictionary of 9th/15th-century notables, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ* (ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḳudsī, 12 vols., Cairo 1353-5/1934-6). While the range and diversity of individuals included (the final volume dwells exclusively on women) render the *Ḍaw'* one of the foremost primary sources for research on the *ʿulamā'* of the central Islamic lands in pre-modern times, the organisation of data in its myriad entries highlights those qualities most esteemed by the scholastic élite when they evaluated their own peers.

Al-Sakhāwī held several appointments as *Shaykh al-Ḥadīth* in distinguished religio-academic institutions of Cairo. He also travelled to the Syrian districts of the Mamlūk empire, witnessing recitations of *Ḥadīths* by candidates for *idjāza* certificates and debating controversial texts with colleagues on numerous occasions in the provincial capitals. Al-Sakhāwī made his first pilgrimage in 870/July-August 1466 and returned to the Ḥidjāz on the Ḥadjdj twice again, spending subsequent years in scholarly residence there. He relished his sojourns in the holy cities as a signal opportunity to interact with scholars from the eastern Muslim world. In Cairo, he had provoked the ire of several rivals, notably the other eminent polymath of his age, al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*], for his outspoken criticism of their compositions. Al-Sakhāwī decried the state of contemporary studies in Prophetic traditions, convinced they were declining in accuracy for three reasons: mediocre training in appropriate methods of transmission, limited knowledge of history and its applications to related disciplines, and parochial deviation from orthodox curricular norms. He summarised these views in a treatise on historical methods, *al-Iʿlān bi 'l-tawbīkh li-man dhamma ahl al-ta'rīkh* (publ. Damascus 1349/1930-1, tr. F. Rosenthal as *The open denunciation of the adverse critics of the historians*, in *A history of Muslim historiography*, ²Leiden 1968, 263-529). Although significant in its own right as an inventory of technical definitions and applications of scholastic terminology, the *Iʿlān* is perhaps al-Sakhāwī's outstanding theoretical achievement because its author insightfully portrayed the historian's craft and objectives, learned and religious, as they evolved from the classical period of Islam to his own day.

Although justifiably respected as a prominent figure of late mediaeval scholasticism, al-Sakhāwī disguised a propensity for personal vindictiveness against his adversaries and those of his associates under the guise of a pious wish to evaluate his contemporaries' moral probity in order to assess the validity of their opinions, both for interpretation of the *Sharīʿa* and the giving of historical details. While often captivating, al-Sakhāwī's caustic opinions of his colleagues and derogatory remarks about their shortcomings must be weighed with caution. By contrast, his factual information is reliable due to its centrality in his encyclopaedic approach and to his keen awareness that opponents would expose any errors or distortions he committed in return for his denunciation of them and their works.

In his final years, al-Sakhāwī returned to the Ḥidjāz where he devoted his remaining energies to the completion or refinement of several texts and the training of students in *Ḥadīth* transmissions. He died in Medina.

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ṢAKHR, BANŪ, an Arab tribe in what is now Jordan.

The Mamlūk encyclopaedists Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 723/1341) and al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) mention this Djudhāmī-Ḳaḥṭānī tribe as living in the eastern plateau of the Mamlūk province of al-Karak [*q.v.*]. The tribe comprised the following six clans: al-Daʿdjiyyūn, Banū Shadjāʿ, al-Ḍabiyyūn, al-ʿAtwiyyūn, Banū Wahrān, and Banū Hūbir.

The Ottoman *tapu defters* mention about 12 groups (*djemāʿāt*). Each *djemāʿa* is listed under its own *shaykh*, with the total number of tribesmen about 643 households plus 36 bachelors. The Ottoman state levied *ʿādat* from them and the tribe of Karīm, which amounted to 38,000 *aḳčes*. Records from the 17th and 18th centuries provide no more information, while 19th-century and early 20th-century sources report on the tribe in detail, especially in the accounts of European travellers such as Musil. The clan names of the earliest records do not match those in the later ones.

In modern-day oral tradition, the Banū Ṣakhr are in origin an 18th-century tribe that came to Transjordan from the Ḥidjāz in the early 19th century. They first settled in southern Jordan and then moved north; thus they claim that their territory extended from the Ḥawrān in the north to the south of modern Jordan. Part of the tribe settled in the northern villages of the *sandjaḳ* of ʿAdjlūn while others, the Ṣukhūr al-Ghūr (the Jordan Valley Ṣukhūr), settled in the fertile northern regions of the Jordan Valley.

The Banū Ṣakhr tribe played a significant role in the Transjordanian steppe (*bādiya*) because the Pilgrimage route between Damascus and the Ḥidjāz passed through their territory. The Ottoman state paid them a subsidy or *al-ṣurra* annually, but during periods of Ottoman weakness, or when they suspended payment of the annual allocations, the tribesmen would violate their commitments and loot the Pilgrimage caravan as it passed through their territory. One of many such cases was in 1753, when Shaykh Ḳaʿdān al-Fāyiz looted the caravan, amongst whose members was the sister of the Ottoman sultan.

The tribe also levied their own taxes as *khāwa* from the neighbouring villages, particularly those in the *sandjaḳ* of ʿAdjlūn. More often they simply raided the villagers' fields. Arabic press accounts provide plenty of information on looting and attacks against the villages of the *sandjaḳ* of ʿAdjlūn, particularly Ramthā,

in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They also rented out their camels as transport animals for the pilgrimage caravan, merchants and travellers. With the construction of the Ḥidjāz Railway [*q.v.*] in 1906, their role diminished and they shifted away from camel herding to raising sheep and goats.

After the Ottoman *Tanẓīmāt* reforms, the Banū Ṣakhr began to settle near abandoned sites with wells or reservoirs constructed by the Romans and later mantained and repaired by the Mamlūks and Ottomans. To encourage this process, the Ottomans treated some of the tribal *shaykhs* with dignity and gave them honorific titles. This put the *shaykhs* in a privileged position to register the lands within their territory under their own names.

The relations between the Banū Ṣakhr and the other tribes, such as the Ḥuwayiṭāt, the Banū ʿAtiyya, and the Sardiyya, were almost hostile and they often raided each other. But these tribes, especially the Banū Ṣakhr and Sardiyya, formed an alliance, fostered by intermarriage, known as *ʿArab al-Shimāl* ("Bedouin of the North") to face the invading ʿAnaza tribe and its clients. As in other tribes, there were continuous struggles for leadership among the prominent members of the tribe. This was very evident in the paramount house of al-Fāyiz.

With the establishment of the modern state of Jordan, law and order gradually prevailed. The late King ʿAbd Allāh adopted a new pacification policy and took steps to assimilate as many members of this tribe and other tribes as possible into the armed forces, especially in the Desert Patrol Forces. The Banū Ṣakhr now have their own elective constituency and since the establishment of the first legislative house in Jordan in 1928 they have had their own representation. They are now almost totally integrated into the fabric of the state. With the spread of education, a growing portion of this tribe is opting for agriculture and business and deserting their old way of life, so that nomadism among them has almost come to an end.

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(Mohammad al-Bakhit)

SĀḲĪ (A.), cup-bearer, the person charged with pouring wine, to be distinguished from the chief butler or sommelier (*sharābī* or *ṣāḥib al-sharāb*). The chief butler, an important official of the ʿAbbāsid court and the great houses of the highest classes (M.M. Ahsan, *Social life under the ʿAbbāsids*, London 1979, 156), is not unreminiscent of the *sār ha-mashkīm* of the Pharaohs' court (Gen. xl, 1) and the Sāsānid *maybadh* (A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen 1944, 21-3, 389).

1. In Arabic usage.

During the *Djāhiliyya*, *sāḳī* had a double connotation: on one hand, it denoted the generous man who gave water to thirsty persons when water was scarce, and as such, deserved high praise (al-Aʿshā, 273 ll. 5-6, poet Aʿshā Tamīm; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, 279; al-Khansāʾ, *Dīwān*, ed. Cheikho, 136 l. 12); on the other hand, it meant the person who gave out wine. The first sense was rapidly eclipsed, and only the second one remained, the subject of this article. *Sāḳī* meaning cup-bearer seems to have been in current usage in pre-Islamic and Umayyad poetry (*al-Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, ed. Ahlwardt, 8 l. 8; Salāma b. Djandal, *Dīwān*, ed. Cheikho, 14 l. 2; *Ḥamāsa*, 400 l. 11). Synonyms or quasi-synonyms are attested: *mudīr* (noun of agent from *adāra* "to circulate", Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *K. Fuṣūl al-tamāthīl*, 133, poet Muslim b. al-Walīd; Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dīwān*, Ḥaydarābād 1377/1958, 319); *khādim*, from the later Umayyad period (al-Walīd b. Yazīd, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1967, 29; al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 60, 70); and the paraphrase *dhū zudjādjāt* (the one who holds the glasses, al-Aʿshā, 45 v. 41). Essentially, the *Djāhilī* poets attached to the court of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], such as al-Aʿshā, ʿAdī b. Zayd, and at Djilliḳ, Ḥassān b. Thābit, had variations on this theme for many decades. Al-Aʿshā describes the *sāḳī* dressed in a *sirbāl* or tunic which he hitched up in order to be able to move more freely, and he protected his mouth by a piece of linen cloth (*fidām*), following the usage of Zoroastrian priests, which served as a filter for tasting the drink and also so that he could know the precise taste; the adjective *mufaddam* is used to denote such a *sāḳī*. Also, he had two pearls hanging from his ears (*nuṭaf, luʾluʾ, tūma, mutawwam*), and he smeared his hands with red *farsīd* (al-Aʿshā, 45 v. 41, 52 v. 21, 178 vv. 34-5, 200 vv. 6-7, 214 v. 24). In pre-Islamic times, at al-Ḥīra, drinking was done in the Persian fashion, as the terms employed for such proceedings, including those concerning the *sāḳī*, readily attest.

We are poorly informed about the social origins of these servants, but it is very likely that, outside the Syrian and ʿIrāḳī centres, they came with the *tudjdjār* or peripatetic wine-suppliers. However, references to female *sāḳiyas* indicate that this service was reserved

for captives in war or in raids, hence it was a degrading task (Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, Leiden 1905-12, 1068).

In fact, the cup-bearer had to work hard, since he had various tasks to fulfil during the time which the drinking-session lasted. He filled cups and presented them to the participants, decanted the wine after broaching (*bazala*) the jars (*dinān*), mixed the wine with water (*ḳatal*), filtered it and even aged it (*ṣahbāʾu ʿattaḳahā li-sharbⁱⁿ sāḳi*, al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, i, 6 l. 4, poet Salāma b. Djandal; ʿUmar b. Abi ʾl-Rabīʿa, *Dīwān*, Leipzig 1902, 47 l.10; *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, i, 554 l. 6, ii, 888 l. 9; al-Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1891, 3 l. 6, 321 l. 8; *LʿA*, vii, 7 l. 13). Under the ʿAbbāsids, the evolution of taverns meant for the cup-bearer an increased amount of work; the *khammāra* or *ḥānūt* could extend over two or even three storeys, entailing new procedures. A miniature of Sulṭān Muḥammad, illustrating a poem of Ḥāfiẓ, allows us to follow the *sāḳī*'s work: on the ground floor, a young, beardless cup-bearer takes up a full jar, and attaches it to a cord drawn by a colleague in order to serve the drinkers; on the second storey, another *sāḳī* empties a *dann* and pours the drink into a goblet (S.C. Welch, *Wonders of the age. Masterpieces of early Safavid painting*, Cambridge, Mass. 1979, no. 44, 128-9). Very often, even during the Djāhiliyya, a single server was not enough; this explains the need for two servers (*al-sāḳiyānⁱ*) for one *madjlis* or session (al-Ḥuṭayʾa, *Dīwān*, in *ZDMG*, xlvii, 78 l. 17; al-Azharī, ii, 259; Dhu ʾl-Rumma, *Dīwān*, Cambridge 1919, 609, v. 45). On the other hand, girls were not good for this work. The *sāḳiya* is rarely found in the older period, but more frequently under the ʿAbbāsids (ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa, *Dīwān*, 29 l. 1; *Djamharat nasab Ḳuraysh*, i, 233; al-Aʿshā, 36 l. 1, evokes a young serving girl called al-Rabāb; for the ʿAbbāsids, see *Aghānī*³, xiii, 78, Ḥammād ʿAdjrad; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1968, 79, 85-6, poet Abu ʾl-Shīṣ; al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *Dīwān*, 712, vv. 6-13). Finally, the anonymous poet cited by al-Djāḥiẓ affirms that the ideal *sāḳiya* should be a young girl between puberty and being nubile (*Rasāʾil*, Cairo, ii, 96). The sexual connotations need to be taken into account here, especially with the appearance of *ghulāmiyyāt* at the time of al-Amīn, who distributed the wine to the topers in the most private *madjālis*; their use is said to have been thought up by Umm Djaʿfar to distract the caliph's pronounced taste for catamites (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Beirut 1974, v, 213-14 = §§ 3451-2). However, one should note in this connection that ʿAdī b. Zayd al-ʿIbādī, describing sessions amongst the Lakhmids (*Dīwān*, Baghdād 1385/1965, 78-9 vv. 13-17), and Ḥassān, mentioning another one amongst the Ghassānids (*Dīwān*, London 1971, 91), evoke the *ḳaynas* [*q.v.*] as fulfilling the function of cup-bearer. This second author states that this was only for a short period of time. They could, thus, be used in such milieux, and there were no obstacles to their undertaking this task.

The theme preserves a remarkable stability up to the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period. Authors are content to describe the dress and deportment of the cup-bearer and to recount the various obligations which he had to fulfil. Libertines like Muṭīʿ b. Iyās and Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, and inveterate topers like Abu ʾl-Hindī, display a rather surprising conservatism with regard to the *sāḳī*; everyone is happy to repeat al-Aʿshā and other *Djāhilī* poets. The extensive changes introduced into the world of wine with regard to the places of drinking, the distributor of the drinks and the social surroundings of the drinkers, are hardly mentioned. It is only with Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb, the master of Abū Nuwās, that the essential step forward was made; he asked sexual favours of his *sāḳī* (*Aghānī*, Cairo 1390/1970, xviii, 100). Henceforward, the correspondence between the Ganymede and the cup-bearer is perfect. This personage of Greek mythology served as the cup-bearer, and, according to some, as the sexual companion of Zeus. Under the Romans, Ganymede assumed the role of cup-bearer and mignon (Pauly-Wissowa, i/13, 739, section *Hellenistisch-römische Zeit*). Moreover, in mediaeval Latin poetry the one who hands round the wine bestows his favours also on the drinkers.

Nevertheless, it is with Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] that this personage assumes firm shape and becomes one of the main protagonists in Bacchic poetry. The effeminate character of the *sāḳī* takes shape and, indeed, assumes its definitive form. This involves a young boy, graceful and coquettish like a girl. His swaying bearing reveals his well-endowed hindquarters; he smears his eyes with collyrium, perfumes his hair and adorns his forehead and temples with a kiss-curl in the form of scorpions or of an elongated letter *nūn*. His voice and pronunciation are identical with those of women. He is clearly submissive and ready to consent to the advances of the topers. He is at one and the same time a cup-bearer, a mignon and a singer with an agreable voice. The poets have no compunction in adopting here the most frank modes of expression, especially as these mignons-servers were Christian *dhimmīs* wearing the distinguishing girdle or *zunnār* (J. Bencheikh, *Poésies bachiques d'Abū Nuwās, thèmes et personnages*, in *BEO*, xviii [1963-4], 62-3). Finally, this same poet transformed the *sāḳī* into a symbol of love in the manner of city-dwellers. By his intervention, he was able to give full rein to his hostility towards the Bedouins. In his *khamriyyāt*, he contrasts the happiness arising from possession of a cup-bearer and the perpetual unsatisfied yearning of the lover of Hind, Asmāʾ and Zaynab (A. Arazi, *Abū Nuwās, fut-il shuʿūbite?*, in *Arabica*, xxvi [1979], 14-15). From the 3rd/9th century onwards, this theme becomes a conventional one. The poets have no other way of treating this protagonist of Bacchic poetry in his double role of cup-bearer and mignon dispensing carnal favours. He becomes a stereotype; the same motifs, encounters, and even metaphors, recur amongst the poets over the centuries. Furthermore, he comes into relief, from this time onwards, in *adab* literature; the various anthologies devote chapters to him which go over the same material (see *Bibl.*).

The neighbouring Jewish and Persian cultures adopted the personage and the relevant motifs. The term, in its Arab form, is found in each one equally (H. Brody and J. Schirmann, *Secular poems*, Jerusalem 1974, dedicatee of poem, p. 24; Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān, *Dīwān*, ed. Yāsimī, 639). Hebrew poetry, with Samuel ha-Nagid (993-1056) (*Divan*, Jerusalem 1966, 88, 284, 286, 290, 294), Saloman ibn Gabirol (1020-57) (*Secular poems*, Jerusalem 1974, 24, 82) and Moshe ibn Ezra (1055-1135), imitate in every point the Arabic one (see Schirmann, *La poésie hébraïque en Espagne et en Provence*, Jerusalem-Tel Aviv 1959, 373, 391; idem, *The ephebe in medieval Hebrew poetry*, in *Sefarad*, xv [1955], 55-68; Y. Ratzabi, *The drinking songs of Samuel ha-Nagid*, in *Annual of Bar-Ilan Univ. in Judaica and the Humanities*, Ramat-Gan 1972, 423-74).

For Persian literature, see the following section.

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2. In Persian usage.

The *sāḳī* appears in New Persian literature as early as the 3rd/9th century in the poetry of Abū Shakūr of Balkh (G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, 2 vols., Paris 1964, i, 80, ii, 95). Niẓām al-Mulk (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340/1962, 132-3) describes how Turkish slaves were trained during the Sāmānid period, though no longer in his own times. In the sixth year of an eight-year cycle in which the slave was trained for both military and domestic service, he could be made a cup bearer. The *sāḳīs* were considered part of the private staff of a ruler and they would stand near or around the throne (*ibid.*, 55). In the Ghaznavid court they could also act as food tasters (Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh*, ed. ʿA.A. Fayyāḍ, Mashhad 1350/1971, 527-9). At the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, the *sāḳīs* were as close to the ruler as were the *nadīms* (*ibid.*, 4). Physical beauty was important in the choice of individuals to be wine servers. Bayhaḳī (329-30, 527-9) describes festive occasions when the *sāḳīs*, whom he calls *māhrūyān* "moon-faced", would appear splendidly attired and attract the amorous glances of courtiers. These characteristics of the *sāḳī*, sc. being a Turk, military training, exceptional beauty, and closeness to the ruler, help explain the image of the *sāḳī* as it developed in poetry after the 5th/11th century.

As the influence of mystical thought became more widespread in Persia, the *sāḳī* developed into a "type" and became an important character among the *dramatis personae* of Persian lyric poetry. He is generally identified with the object of love and the same epithets are applied to him as to the earthly beloved. The two genres in which the *sāḳī* appears most prominently are the *ghazal* and the *sāḳī-nāma*. The mystical imagery of wine-drinking was well developed by the 8th/14th century, and two examples will be mentioned that show something of the nature of the *sāḳī* in this context. Khwādjū Kirmānī (679-753 or 762/1281-1352 or 61), an older contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ, has a *ghazal* (*Dīwān*, ed. A. Suhaylī Khwānsārī, Tehran 1336/1957, 331-2, no. 325) addressed to the *sāḳī* in which the wine server is intoxicatingly beautiful (with the conventional attributes of physical beauty), an idol, the Khiḍr of the age, the physician for the pain of separation, the ever-shining sun, and the never-waning moon that lights the sun. He serves the water of eternal life and the wine of union.

The *sāḳī-nāma* developed from a two-verse apostrophe beginning *biyā sāḳī* "Come, Sāḳī", the first known example being from a *mathnawī* in the *mutaḳārib* metre by Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī (*fl.* ca. 442/1050). Niẓāmī used it throughout his *Sharaf-nāma*, as did his imitators in their romances of Alexander, and this apostrophe came to be called a *sāḳī-nāma*. Ḥāfiẓ wrote a *mathnawī* in *mutaḳārib* beginning *biyā sāḳī*..., and on this model there gradually developed a separate genre in the same metre and form wherein the speaker calls to the *sāḳī* for wine and complains of the instability of the world, the fickleness of destiny, and the inconstancy of his beloved. A recent example of the genre by Gh. Raʿdī Ādharakhshī is entitled *Biraw sāḳī*... "Go, Sāḳī" (*Āyanda*, v [1358/1979], 1-4).

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3. Representations in Islamic art.

The fluctuating prominence of the *sāḳī* (m.) and the *sāḳiya* (f.) as a pictorial theme reflects phases of artistic development as well as variations in customs, etiquette and social status. *Sāḳīs* are portrayed in a variety of circumstances, from attendants at a court to servants in a tavern or as participants in drinking parties in which distinctions between the server and the served are often moot. During the 2nd/8th to 6th/12th centuries rulers and princely figures, although often portrayed cup in hand, are only rarely shown in the company of a *sāḳī*; the rulers' rigid frontal posture gives such images a formulaic quality (Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgenson, *The Islamic paintings in Cefalù Cathedral, Sicily*, in *Hafnia* [1978], 131-41).

Despite their rarity, early Islamic depictions of the *sāḳī* have historical importance. Both Sāsānid court protocol and themes drawn from Dionysiac imagery are reflected in early Islamic representations. The scene of wine-drinking depicted on a silver platter, attributed to 2nd/8th-century Persia, and now in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, shows various facets of the *sāḳī*'s role. The focal point of its composition is a princely figure, surrounded by attendants, reclining on a couch while holding a wine bowl in one hand and a flower stalk in the other hand. The foreground is occupied by a much smaller figure who appears to be a *sāḳī*. He stands with crossed hands resting on his chest and his mouth is covered by a protective mask similar to that worn by Zoroastrian priests, probably to avoid polluting the cup with his breath or saliva, a custom mentioned by the pre-Islamic poet al-Aʿshā (see above, section 1; J.K. Choksy, *Purity and pollution in Zoroastrianism*, Austin 1989, 84-6, fig. 12). The tools of his trade appear to the right—a ewer and a tripod supporting a sieve through which wine is being filtered into a two-handled jug. Judging by his small size, this *sāḳī* was a relatively humble servant. A larger attendant stands behind the reclining drinker while two seated musicians face the latter (V.G. Lukonin, *Iskusstvo drevnego Irana*, Moscow 1977, 169).

A fragmentary wall painting discovered in the ruins of an ʿAbbāsid palace at Sāmarrā [*q.v.*] depicts two *sāḳiyas*, with a flask in one hand and a bowl in the other. Each pours wine into the other's bowl, which hints at other ceremonial aspects of winedrinking (E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin 1927, 9-13,

pls. I-III; Janine Sourdel-Thomine, B. Spuler *et alii, Die Kunst des Islam*, Berlin 1973, 223, pl. XXIII). Their dancing posture and interlocked arms suggest that they were mixing wine to a musical accompaniment. R. Ettinghausen has linked this painting with a Sāsānid adaptation of Dionysiac themes, such as the scantily clad women who dance or play musical instruments depicted on Sasanian silver vessels (*Dionysiac motifs*, in *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Leiden 1972, 4-5, 9). The ᶜAbbāsid poet Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās al-Nās͟hī describes a wine bowl adorned with bending and coquettish women, and Abū Nuwās mentions a *sāḳiya* who performs a pagan ritual as she mixes wine and water (I.Yu Kračkovskiy, *Sasanidskaya čas͟ha v stik͟hak͟h Abū Nuvāsa*, in *Izbrannye sočineniya*, Moscow 1956, 340; idem, *Abū Nuvās o Sasanidskoy čas͟he*, in *ibid.*, 389-91).

Both *sāḳīs* and *sāḳiyas* appear in depictions of Islamic princes or rulers in various media. Four female attendants, including two musicians and a *sāḳiya*, are shown in attendance around the seated ruler who is depicted on a silver platter, which has been attributed to early 3rd/9th-century Marw, now in the Hermitage Museum. The *sāḳiya* standing to the ruler's left holds a ewer in one hand and a piece of fruit in the other (B. Marschak, *Silberschätze des Orients*, Leipzig 1986, 76-7, figs. 30, 32). More commonly shown, however, are *sāḳīs*. One is depicted in a vignette from the ceiling of the Capella Palatina in Palermo, built in 1140, where he holds both a cup and a flask (R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, Geneva 1962, 44-5). The Hermitage owns a silver vessel, attributed to K͟hurāsān *ca.* 90/1000, which depicts a seated prince flanked by two youths in Turkish attire; one holds a flower, the other a ewer and cup (Marschak, *op. cit.*, 77-8, fig. 33).

Literary references suggest that by the 4th/10th century a Turkish youth was considered the ideal *sāḳī*. When the vizier al-Muhallabī was offered a drink of water at the palace of the caliph al-Muṭīᶜ (334-63/946-74 [*q.v.*]), he was allowed to keep not only the service, a golden tray and a crystal jug covered with a piece of silk-brocade, but also the server, "a Turkish *g͟hulām* with an unblemished visage and beautiful clothes" (Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm dār al-k͟hilāfa*, ed. M. ᶜAwwād, Bag͟hdād 1383/1964, 69). The mechanical *sāḳī* described by al-D̲j̲azarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in his book on mechanical devices is characterised as a "ten-year old slave" who wears a short tunic and cap. He holds a glass cup in his right hand and a fish in his left. At prescribed intervals wine flows through the fish into the glass. The glass can be removed and the wine drunk. After the glass is returned to the *sāḳī*'s hand the process is repeated. A youthful *sāḳī* holding a ewer and cup also stands by the ruler's side in a mechanical boat filled with drinking figures which can be floated on a basin during festivities (*The Book of knowledge of ingenious mechanical devices*, tr. D.R. Hill, Dordrecht 1974, 107, 118, pls. XIV, XVII).

During the rule of slave dynasties such as the Atabegs in Syria or the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria, youthful slaves chosen as an *amīr*'s or sultan's personal servants, including his *sāḳī*, acquired an increased importance and often rose to high rank in later life. *Sāḳīs* are depicted along with weapon-bearers clustered around seated rulers in paintings and on inlaid metalwork produced in ᶜIrāḳ and Syria during the 6th/12th to 8th/14th centuries (Estelle Whelan, *The Khāṣṣakīyah and the origins of Mamluk emblems*, in *Content and context of visual arts in the Islamic world*, ed. Priscilla Soucek, University Park 1988, 220-4). A *sāḳī* standing with a cup in his right hand and a flask in his left is shown among other courtiers on the Mamlūk basin inlaid by Muḥammad Ibn al-Zayn now in the Louvre and often referred to as the "Baptistère de St. Louis" (Esin Atil, *Renaissance of Islam: art of the Mamluks*, Washington, D.C. 1981, 21-2). Among the Mamlūks, in particular, the *sāḳī*'s goblet was transformed from a token of servitude to an indicator that its bearer belonged to a privileged élite. Schematic drawings of a footed goblet appear on objects or structures belonging to *sāḳīs* or former *sāḳīs*. It was used as such by Sultan Kitbug͟hā both before and after his accession to the throne (Whelan, *op. cit.*, 230, 234; L.A. Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, Oxford 1933, 5, 10-11 and *passim*).

The world of the *sāḳī* was not restricted to the courts of rulers or their *amīrs*, for they were also employed in public taverns. The range of tasks they performed there is vividly illustrated in a painting from a manuscript of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt* dated to 634/1237. It shows the entire cycle of wine production and consumption in a two-storey tavern. On the lower level, grape juice flows out of a basin in which a youth tramples grapes, and another youth strains the juice through a cloth-covered vessel supported on a tripod. Two youths pass a wine jug from the first to second floor. Nearby, two men seated at a table drink wine from cups (Paris, B.N., ms. ar. 5847 fol. 33a; D. and Janine Sourdel, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique*, Paris 1968, 432, fig. 169). This condensed depiction may suggest that the beverage being consumed was only slightly fermented (J. Sadan, *Vin - fait de civilisation*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. Miriam Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 132-3).

The most significant transformations of the *sāḳī*'s visual role, however, occurred in post-Mongol Persia. The Mongols and their successors, particularly the Tīmūrids, were dynasties whose appetite for alcoholic beverages often reached epic proportions, and painters frequently depict both the serving and drinking of intoxicants in court settings. Under the Mongols, a form of official court portraiture existed in which a ruler and his consort were portrayed on a throne surrounded by their attendants, officials and relatives. Typically, the ruler and his consort appear to be drinking wine from shallow cups. One or more *sāḳīs* kneel before their throne holding a golden tray ready to replenish their cups from flasks standing on a nearby table (Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: the albums and illustrated manuscripts*, tr. J.M. Rogers, Boston 1986, 69, pls. 43, 44).

During the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, features of these Mongol paintings—the table loaded with flasks, the kneeling *sāḳī*, and drinkers in a more naturalistic pose—are echoed in many subsequent depictions, even those produced for anonymous patrons which illustrate literary texts such as the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī or the *K͟hamsa*s of Niẓāmī and K͟husraw Dihlawī (*ibid.*, 89, pl. 56; T.W. Lentz and G.D. Lowry, *Timur and the princely vision*, Los Angeles 1989, cat. no. 21, p. 66, 110-11). Tīmūr's grandson Bāysung͟hur b. S͟hāh Ruk͟h is even shown with a wine cup in hand and attended by *sāḳīs*, one of whom kneels, while on horseback at a hunt (*ibid.*, 132, fig. 132).

The most detailed presentation of the *sāḳī*'s role in Tīmūrid court life comes in the frontispiece of a *Bustān* of Saᶜdī, now in Cairo, made for Sultan Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā and dated to 893/1488. This double-page painting executed by Bihzād shows a drinking party in progress. Even though several participants have already succumbed to the effects of alcohol, five *sāḳīs* on the right page prepare another round of drinks.

Two decant wine from an unglazed jug into flasks while another pair pours an unidentified liquid from a smaller silver flask through a funnel into a gold one. The fifth *sāķī*, holding a spouted ewer, stands waiting, perhaps to mix water with the wine. Below them, a servant carrying a twohandled jug rushes toward the royal party. On the far left of the left-hand page, two more *sāķīs* stand with tray and flask ready to fill any empty cups. This painting also hints at the court production of alcoholic beverages. In the upper right, above the five *sāķīs*, is a building containing a large earthenware vessel which may be a wine-cellar. In front of this structure, two Indians sit near a distilling apparatus, possibly producing distilled spirits (*ibid.*, cat. no. 146, 260-61, 286).

A true fusion between the *sāķī*'s practical and literary roles comes only in Ṣafawid paintings, which combine the relaxed and informal mood of the Tīmūrid drinking party with literary allusions. The best examples of this juxtaposition of the mundane and the mystical illustrate the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ. Two such paintings belong to a *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ made for Sām Mīrzā, the younger brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I; one depicts a prince and his courtiers celebrating the end of Ramaḍān, the other shows a drinking party in a tavern attended by both dervishes and angels. In the festival scene it is the shāh, not the *sāķī*, whom Ḥāfiẓ compares to the moon, and his appearance becomes a signal for the serving of wine to celebrate the end of Ramaḍān. As a *sāķī* hands the prince a golden winecup, a veritable parade of attendants carrying golden flasks on silver trays prepare to serve his guests, and two of them distribute bottles among the celebrants. Another painting from this manuscript explores the metaphor of intoxication as path to salvation and divine union. Even the "angel of mercy" shown on the building's roof offers other angels a cup of wine. In the building and its surroundings, several *sāķīs* ply their trade. One reaches deep into a large jar to fill the flask of a celebrant who brandishes a book in one hand as if trying to exchange it for wine, while others hold wine cups or wine jugs. The link between intoxication and poetic inspiration is alluded to by a white-bearded man, who tries to read in an inebriated state (S.C. Welch, *Persian painting*, New York 1976, 66-9, pls. 17, 18; Priscilla Soucek, *Sultan Muhammad Tabrizi: painter at the Safavid court*, in *Persian masters: five centuries of painting*, ed. Sheila Canby, Bombay 1990, 58-61).

Few paintings rival these in the subtlety and complexity of their interplay of visual and verbal conventions, but it is in the later 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries that the *sāķī or sāķiya* emerges as an independent artistic theme in drawings or paintings designed to be mounted in albums. These *sāķīs* or *sāķiyas* stand in coquettish poses or project a langorous and often androgynous sensuality, attributes of the cup-bearer long stressed in the literary tradition (A. Welch, *Shah ʿAbbas and the arts of Isfahan*, New York 1973, 32, 65, 72, 82, nos. 11, 50; I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de Shah ʿAbbas Ier*, Paris 1954, 189, 193, pls. XXV-XXVI, XXX-XXXIII, LXXV, LXXVII-LXXIX; Marie Lukens Swietochowski and Sussan Babaie, *Persian drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1989, nos. 58-9, 74-7, nos. 24, 32-3). Remnants of similar paintings have been uncovered on the walls of Ṣafawid palaces such as the Čihil Sutūn and ʿĀlī Ķapu and particularly in their private inner chambers (Babaie, *Safavid palaces at Isfahan: continuity and change (1590-1666)*, Ph.D. diss. New York University 1993, unpubl., 171-4, 183, 188-9, figs. 160-2, 169-72, 175-7).

The pairing of youthful *sāķīs* with bearded men was evidently considered particularly appropriate to the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ. Two mid-11th/17th-century Ḥāfiẓ manuscripts, one in Dublin, Chester Beatty, ms. P. 299, the other in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, H. 1010, are virtual albums (A.J. Arberry, B.W. Robinson *et alii*, *The Chester Beatty Library: a catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures*, Dublin 1962, 68; F.E. Karatay, *Farsça yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1962, 221, no. 645). The Dublin manuscript has 450 tinted drawings on 500 folios, and the Istanbul one 555 on 578 folios. Most of them juxtapose a youthful *sāķī* and an older man.

Depictions of the *sāķī* and *sāķiya* in Islamic art have strong parallels with the descriptions of these figures in the literary tradition. Despite their initial role as servants, some came to embody an ideal of beauty which inspired poets and painters alike. This evolution, apparent in literature as early as in the 4th-5th/9th-10th centuries, became prominent in painting only later, especially under the Ṣafawids.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(PRISCILLA P. SOUCEK)

AL-**SAĶĪFA**, SAĶĪFAT BANĪ SĀʿIDA. The word *saķīfa* (*LʿA*, s.v.), an approximate synonym of *ṣuffa* (*LʿA*, s.v.: *bahw, mawḍiʿ muẓallal*), denotes in Arabic a covered communal place appropriate for conversation and discussion. While the word *ṣuffa* seems rather to be applied to the space covered with palm foliage which constituted the primitive mosque (see MASDJID. 1, 2), *saķīfa* appears to denote any type of forum or public courtyard, covered in accordance with the same traditional procedures.

In historical texts, the term is applied virtually exclusively to the prolonged and acerbic negotiations which preceded the nomination of Abū Bakr as successor to the Prophet Muḥammad in the leadership of the nascent community. These took place at Medina in the summer of 11/632, on the territory of the Banū Sāʿida, a Khazradjī clan of the Anṣār [*q.v.*]. The expression *saķīfat Banī Sāʿida*, usually shortened to *al-saķīfa* or *yawm al-saķīfa* in the texts, is furthermore invariably applied to this specific historical episode.

The texture of the narrative, which figures in practically all accounts of the beginnings of the community, presented in the earliest times not as a continuous narration but in the form of *ḥadīth*, as a result of which it has become an article of faith in Sunni Islam, generally comprises the following elements:

(1) Respective merits of Abū Bakr and of ʿUmar. The Prophet had always shown a certain preference for his two original Companions, but possibly with a bias in favour of ʿUmar. The influence of ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*], who openly admired the latter, is perhaps not irrelevant in this context. The Prophet's explicit appointment of Abū Bakr to lead the Prayer in his place, which is often evoked, remains inconclusive in that it does not relate formally to the political leadership of the community. Always present in this narrative, ʿUmar was furthermore to play the role of elder statesman to Abū Bakr, himself a somewhat colourless personality, until his own accession to the caliphate.

(2) Account of the *saķīfa* proper, with the following significant features.

The resistance of the Anṣār to the appointment of a Muhādjir [see AL-MUHĀDJIRŪN] is first shown by the reluctance of one of their chieftains, named Bashīr b. Saʿd b. Thaʿlaba [*q.v.*], who nevertheless was soon to pledge allegiance. But he was replaced by another, the rather more formidable Saʿd b. ʿUbāda [*q.v.*], who remained defiant until his death. The adherence of the Anṣār was ultimately obtained—by force where cer-

tain elements among them were concerned. The Banū Umayya, for their part, would yield only to the decisive injunctions of ʿUmar. The same applied to other individuals and groups whose adherence Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, supported by Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*], successively obtained. The list of these groups, and the chronology of their adherence, suggest the more or less deliberate appropriation of an undoubtedly authentic historical basis. Thus it is possible to observe successively the adherence of ʿUthmān and of the Banū Umayya, of Saʿd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, of the Banū Zuhra, of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, and finally of ʿAlī [*q.vv.*].

In the account of Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), which is one of the most ancient known, the figures of ʿAlī, of Fāṭima, and subordinately, of al-ʿAbbās, are totally absent. They feature strongly, however, in that of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), where ʿAlī is highlighted in his role of an opponent, supported by a faction of the Anṣār. Following on this, a special chapter is very often devoted to the oppositional attitude of ʿAlī and of his entourage, where all the evidence suggests that Fāṭima plays the central role. Being advised of the lukewarm opinions of the Anṣār, she is said then to have persuaded her husband to undertake a campaign of inducement aimed at them. Some weeks after the death of the Prophet she rather conveniently died, while ʿAlī remained apparently the last opponent. He was to come round in his turn, bringing with him the "Banū Hāshim". Al-ʿAbbās, who sometimes appears as an adviser of ʿAlī on behalf of the *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*], and who maintained strong reservations regarding Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, withdrew from the game, no doubt with an eye to the future.

A final chapter comprises the "*khuṭba* of Abū Bakr", a fragment of pious anthology of no great importance retained in the same terms by historians as well as by authors of *adab*.

The account of the *saḳīfa* is followed by that of the *ridda* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and of the incomparable support which Abū Bakr received from ʿUmar in these circumstances.

The evolution of the form of the account, worthy of the ancient theatre, is very revealing. ʿAbbāsid propaganda, after the wavering of the Muʿtazilī era, was obliged to give prominence to the personalities of the first two caliphs, whose posterity never represented a political danger, in contradistinction to that of their two successors who, in various guises, remained the symbols of two oppositional dynastic tendencies.

It is no less important to show how the Umayyads, initially outsiders, were among the first to return to the fold, without a blow being struck. It is known that the tendency which become dominant from the 3rd/9th century onward is aimed at the rehabilitation of the "Umayyad century", with the object of forming a common front in opposition to the activities of the Shīʿīs.

The account of the oppositional intrigues of Fāṭima, perhaps superimposed, shows incontrovertibly the permanent distrust by Sunnism in regard to ʿAlid dynastic aspirations, claiming descent from the Prophet's daughter. But it is skilfully tempered by the account of the attitude of ʿAlī, who submitted without a murmur after the demise of his troublesome wife, earning his accession to the caliphate and the respect of future generations.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo 1346, ii, 127-31; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Leiden 1904-40, iii/1, 126-33; Ps.-Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, Cairo 1377/1957, 1-17; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1815-30; Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, Oxford 1966, ii, 723-6, 727-31; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1378/1958, i, 128; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1303, ii, 122-5; G. Lecomte, *Sur une relation de la Saqīfa attribuée à Ibn Qutayba*, in *SI*, xxxi (1970), 171-83. See also the *Bibl.* of ABŪ BAKR, as well as articles devoted to the other major protagonists mentioned in the text.

(G. LECOMTE)

SAKĪNA (A.), a term of the Ḳurʾān and of Islamic religion. The root *sh-k-n* (Akkadian, Hebrew, Aramaic) or *s-k-n* (Arabic) means basically "to go down, rest, be quiescent, inhabit", and the corresponding Later Hebrew form to Arabic *sakīna* is *shekhīnā* and the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic one *shʿkhīnā*, Syriac *shʿkīntā*. Cf. Hebr. *ham-mishkan, mishkan Yhwh*, Syr. *mashkan zabhnā/zabhnō*, Ar. *ḳubbat al-zamān* (al-Ḳardāḥī, *Lubāb*, Beirut 1887, ii, 546-7), referring to Moses' tent sanctuary, Exod. xxv. 22). The Hebrew usage is generally considered (though not by the native Arabic scholars) as the source of Ar. *sakīna*. Derived from the idea of "dwelling within s.th. or s.o." is Ar. *maskūn* "possessed by a spirit, demon, Iblīs", cf. Syr. *sheknō*, pl. *sheknē*, " the demon within a person". Not in fact connected with this Arabic term, but deriving from a different root in Akkadian, via Hebrew and Aramaic, is Ar. *miskīn*, "destitute, poor, wretched"; for this, see MISKĪN.

The Ḳurʾān has a large number of words derived from the root *s-k-n*. Apart from the basic meanings of "habitation, residence, hearth, shelter for the night, place where spouses meet", there are also "to subdue (the winds)" (XLII, 33), "to cause the water to settle on the earth (XXIII, 18), "to halt the shadow" (XXV, 45), etc. What interests us here is the allegorical sense assumed by the term *sakīna* in six verses of the Ḳurʾān, beginning with II, 248, where it refers to Biblical history. The Israelites, refusing to acknowledge the authority of Saul, God's Chosen One, to reign over them (cf. I Sam. x, 26 ff.), hear their prophet (*nabiyyuhum* = Samuel) say, "The sign of his kingship will be that the Ark (*tābūt*, which had been carried off by the Philistines, I Sam. v, 1 ff.) will come to you. [In this Ark] there is a *sakīna* from your Lord and a relic (*baḳiyya*, the heritage of the prophets, sc. Moses' staff and Aaron's yellow turban, according to Ibn Sīdah, in *LʿA*, ed. Beirut, ii, 174-5) of what was left by the family of Moses and the family of Aaron, and it (sc. the Ark) will be carried by the angels".

According to Exod. xl, 34-5, in the Ark there was "the glory (*kābōd*) of Yahweh. Now, according to G. Vajda, the term *shʿkhīnā*, absent from the Bible, assumed "in some way a consequential meaning to the Biblical word *kābōd*. It implies something of God, without being taken, in the majority of its attestations, as being identical with God. His translation of "presence" is a step towards abstraction, its spiritualisation, if one wishes to express it thus, without bringing us much knowledge of the object signified (cf. the review of Goldberg [see *Bibl.*], in *REJ*, cxxviii [1969, publ. 1970], 280-2). In essence, Goldberg's opinion, 455, is that, in Vajda's formulation, the term *shʿkhīnā* was expressly created to denote the act of inhabitation, and then the divinity which "inhabits". Originally, and above all, the term thus denoted the divinity present in the sanctuary; it was accordingly first of all limited to the type of *shʿkhīnā* involving a presence and only understood secondarily in the sense of manifestations of the divinity (*ibid.*, 281).

This "presence" of God was equally displayed outside the Ark by a cloud which enveloped it. Its presence marked a halt in the march and its disappearance the resumption of the march (Exod. xl, 36-8).

It is this presence of God which the term *sakīna* ex-

presses in the other Ḳurʾānic citations, a presence shown in the divine aid vouchsafed to the Prophet and the believers in battle, giving them the victory. Hence at the encounter of al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] in the year 6/628, on the way to Mecca, "God was satisfied with the believers when they were swearing allegiance to you under the tree, and He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down upon them the *sakīna* and He recompensed them with a victory near at hand" (xlviii, 18). At the time of the conquest of Mecca, "It is He who sent down the *sakīna* in the hearts of the believers, in order that they might add faith to their (existing) faith" (xlviii, 4). Confronting the unbelievers whose hearts were still animated by the fierceness of the *Djāhiliyya*, "God sent down His *sakīna* upon His messenger and upon the believers, and caused them to cleave to the word of piety" (xlviii, 26). Already, fleeing from Mecca in the company of Abū Bakr, "God sent down His *sakīna* upon him (sc. in the Cave) and supported him with hosts whom you did not see" (ix, 40).

We are thus in a context of warfare, as were the Israelites in the time of Saul who asked God to give them a leader capable of leading them to victory (cf. Ḳurʾān, II, 246).

This divine aid, bestowed on the Prophet at Badr (III, 123 ff.), is vouchsafed by an innumerable, invisible army, which appears in the shape of a "transparent, waterless cloud" (or in the form of a mythical bird), called by Tradition *ṣarad*, *ṣurad* or *ṣurrad*. Mudjāhid [*q.v.*] relates that "the *sakīna*, the *ṣarad* and Gabriel came with Abraham from the north (*al-Shām*)" (cf. his *Tafsīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Sūratī, Dōḥa, Ḳaṭar 1396/1976, 114). Al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, 27 ff., cf. also *LʿA*, *loc. cit.*, likewise relates that it was with Abraham (cf. Goldberg, 300 ff.) that the *sakīna* came to Mecca. It had a head like that of a she-cat and two wings (on the *sakīna* as a supernatural force in animal form, see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896-9, i, 198, and Scholem [see *Bibl.*], 53), and it came down "like a cloud (*ghamāma*) or a mist (*ḍabāba*), having in its centre something like a head which could talk" (27). Later on (30), "Ibrāhīm came from Armenia on Burāḳ [*q.v.*] with the *sakīna*, which had a face which could talk; it whistled like a light breeze". When Abraham wished to build the Kaʿba, the *sakīna* unfolded itself like a snake on the first foundations and told him, "Build on top of me", "and so he built; hence every Bedouin in flight and every powerful person inevitably circumambulates the sanctuary under the *sakīna*'s protection" (31).

All these traditions connect the *sakīna* with the sanctuary, as it is in Ḳurʾān, II, 248, and link it with the Prophet's battles, with the idea of his being victorious, as in the other citations involving God's aid in the form of an invisible army. In a study on the *Ḥanīfs*, in *REJ*, cxxx (1971), 165-82, J.-Cl. Vadet brought forward an argument giving credence to this view of things. He explains the Ḳurʾānic hapax *ribbiyūn*, in III, 146, by the Biblical hapax *mē-ribhᵉbhōt ḳōdesh* (mostly amended to *mrībhath ḳādesh*) (Deut. xxxiii, 2, cf. v. 17, *rebᵉbōth* "hosts" of Ephraim), to be translated as "the saintly hosts". Moses, "the man of God, blessed the Children of Israel before he died, saying Yahweh has come down from Sinai; He raised himself up for those of Seʿīr; He shone forth from the mountain of Pharan; and He came forth from the saintly hosts". Envisaging his approaching end, Muḥammad asks his devotees what they would do after his death, "Would you go back to your errors?", and he continues, "How many a prophet has there been who has fought at the head (or: accompanied by) numerous armies (*ribbiyyūn kathīrᵘⁿ*), and they did not become discouraged because of what befell them in the way of God, nor grew weak nor became quiescent (*istakānū*)? God loves those who endure" (III, 146).

Placed in a context like that of Deut. xxxiii, 2, sc. Moses' farewell speech to his community, this verse takes on a quite different meaning. It is thus a case of innumerable, invisible armies by means of which God sustains His prophets in the accomplishment of their missions, i.e. of the *sakīna* being identified with the Ark and signifying its Presence, and of *ribbiyyūn*/*ṣarad* denoting the numberless army of angels, the saintly hosts, who appear in the form of a cloud. *Sakīna* and *ṣarad* represent two of the many forms of theophany.

Beyond this prophetic context just noted, the *sakīna* assumes in Ḥadīth (see *Concordance*, ii, 494-5), as in rabbinical tradition (see Goldberg), a spiritual and moral signification. It "enveloped" the Prophet (*ghashiyat-hu*) at the moment of revelation (*waḥy*), came down (*nazalat*) on the Kurʾān ("We have brought down the Kurʾān in a discontinuous form (*faṣlᵃⁿ*) and the *sakīna* in a continuous one (*ṣabrᵃⁿ*)"), hovered above the Prophet when he left ʿArafa and above the believers, and spoke with the tongue (*lisān*) of ʿUmar (b. al-Khaṭṭāb). It is identified with a collection of moral attitudes and virtues—gravity, bearing, modesty, dignity, calmness, patience, magnanimity, clemency and everything which characterises a pious person. In Islamic mysticism, it becomes an "interior illumination" (*nūr fi 'l-ḳalb*), after the manner of gnosis and the Kabbala, which make it into a "light emanating from the primaeval light" (*Urlicht*) which is none other than God Himself (cf. Scholem, 78 ff.).

Bibliography: See especially, for the term in its Rabbinical context, A.M. Goldberg, *Untersuchungen über die Vorstellung von der Schekhinah in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur*, Studia Judaica, V, Berlin 1969, in which, with a little patience, one can find the origin of the Ḳurʾānic and Ḥadīth conception from the collection there of Islamic data. See also Goldziher, *La notion de la Sakîna chez les Mahométans*, in *RHR*, xxviii (1893), 1-13, and idem, *Abhandlungen*, i, 177-212. On the evolution of the notion of the *shᵉkhīnā*, see G. Scholem, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der kabbalistischen Konzeption der Schechinah*, in *Eranos-Jahrbücher*, xxi (1953), 45-107.

(T. Fahd)

ṢAḲİZ (the Ottoman Turkish name for Chios, the Greek name of this island and of its capital; *ṣaḳız* means "gum mastic", a testimony to the product for which Chios was famous), an island in the eastern Aegean alongside the Turkish coast, from which only 8 km/5 miles separate it at the narrowest point of the strait of Chios (*Ṣaḳız boghazî*); the large peninsula of Karaburun on the mainland, jutting north, separates the island's northern half from the gulf and port of Smyrna [see izmir in Suppl.].

With an area of 841 km², it is the fifth largest island of the Aegean after Crete [see iḳrītish], Euboea [see eğriboz], Lesbos [see midilli], and Rhodes [see rodos]. Administratively, Chios forms one of Greece's 52 *nomoi*; its *nomos* also includes two other important features: the islands of Psara and Antipsara some 20 km/12 miles to the west, and the Oinousses islets (Koyun adaları in Turkish, Spalmadori in Italian; the last-named form is customarily used in western scholarly literature) between it and the Karaburun peninsula. The capital and main port city is situated on the island's eastern coast near the strait's narrowest point opposite the Turkish harbour of Çeşme [see česhme].

The importance of Chios, which it owed to several factors, rose to a peak between the 14th and 16th centuries but continued until the early 19th. The factors were its crossroads position on maritime and continental trading routes, the uniqueness of the much-prized gun mastic produced nowhere else (lentisk shrubs grow in other parts of the Mediterranean too, but only the soil of southern Chios gives to the gum which their bark exudes the desired quality), and the acumen of the Genoese (masters of the island between 1304 and 1566), who used the port, in tandem with Galata, as the hub of their commercial empire; in fact, most of these aspects continued even after the Ottoman conquest of 1566 or re-emerged in other forms (such as the enterprising spirit of its Greek population). The island's role in the Middle Ages must be linked with that of the two Phokaias from where the Genoese exported alum, and with the port of Çeşme from where goods other than alum brought from or through Anatolia were ferried to Chios for long-distance shipment. The last-named aspect continued well into the Ottoman period until it was definitively eclipsed by the dramatic rise of Smyrna in the 17th century.

No known evidence suggests that Chios would have attracted much attention of the Arabs in the early centuries of Islam, but its proximity to the mainland exposed this Byzantine possession to Muslim raids once the Turks penetrated Anatolia by the end of the 11th century. The maritime principality (1089-92) of the Saldjūḳ prince Čaka or Čakan, with Smyrna as its base, included Chios. Repetition of a similar conquest by the principality of Aydîn [see AYDÎN-OGHLU], especially by its dynamic prince Umur Beg [see UMUR PASHA] in the first half of the 14th century, was staved off by combinations of multinational and multiconfessional alliances, rivalries and military and naval campaigns, and even a Crusade. By itself, Byzantium appeared unable to defend Chios and the nearby coastal places against the Turks, and had to accept help from such naval powers as the Venetians, Catalans, Hospitallers of Rhodes, Genoese, or more general leagues of western Christendom, ceaselessly urged on by the Popes. The high price, both spiritual and economic, of western help and presence sometimes made such Byzantine emperors or contenders for the throne as Andronicus III (1329-41) or John Cantacuzenus prefer a Turkish alliance. Chios came by 1304 under the control of the Genoese family of Zaccaria; meanwhile, they or their other countrymen also laid hands on the two Phokaias (Old and New, Eski Foça and Yeni Foça in Turkish) near the northern entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna. Although their hold on Chios was interrupted by Andronicus, who with the help of Umur Beg reclaimed Byzantine control of some of these places (this help, however, could receive a different interpretation in the Turks' eyes: the Ottoman historian Eflākī mentions a raid on the island by Umur, who carried off much mastic as booty and subjected the island to the *kharādj* [*q.v.*], thus incorporating Chios into the *Dār al-Islām*; see İnalcık, in *Bibl.*).

The Crusade of 1344, which captured Smyrna from the Turks, set in motion a chain of events that indirectly led to a Genoese reconquest of Chios (1346). This time it was not a family but a company of shareholders who acquired control of the island and kept it until the Ottoman conquest of 1566. This company was known as the Maona of Chios, and secondarily, from 1362 when its definitive charter was established, as the Giustinianis; "Maona" is believed to be a term of Arabic origin (*maʿūna* "help, solidarity", hence commercial company; see *Bibl.* and MAʿŪNA). The Giustinianis were a family whose house in Genoa was acquired by the company as its headquarters there. A *podestà* sent by the government of Genoa was the titular governor of Chios (as were the two *podestàs* of Old and New Phokaia respectively), but otherwise, the company was virtually autonomous on the island. Initially, a vague kind of suzerainty was also conceded to the Byzantine emperor, and an annual sum was sent to him; gradually, however, the tribute paid to the Turks became more significant. At first given to those of Aydîn (by the Byzantine governor in Andronicus's time), eventually this sum became an important annual tribute sent to the Ottoman sultan, and kept increasing until it reached 14,000 ducats in Süleymān II's [*q.v.*] time (still bearable, if the reported revenue of 30,000 ducats did not falter). It was the Maona's inability to carry out this obligation during the last three years of their rule that by 1566 contributed to the Ottoman decision to seize the island.

Genoese rule in Chios was remarkable for its long duration in the face of Ottoman expansion, for the economic role the island played as a source of gum mastic, as a transit port in international shipping, and for the co-existence of a Greek Orthodox population with a ruling Latin Catholic élite. Luck (a grain blockade and then a devastating raid by Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] with 60 ships, in or soon after 1397, might have been followed by conquest if Tīmūr [*q.v.*] had not eliminated the dynamic sultan). Diplomacy, economic strength and care not to provoke the Ottomans, rather than military or naval strength, ensured its long survival, in contrast to Hospitaller Rhodes, for example. This contrast, however, also showed the arrangement's ultimate fragility when we compare the Ottoman conquest of Rhodes (1522) with that of Chios. Frustrated by the failure to conquer Malta (1565), Süleymān sent the imperial fleet under the *ḳapudān pasha* Piyāle Pasha [*q.v.*], the conqueror of Djarba [*q.v.*] in 1560) in the spring of 1566 on a campaign whose goal, contrary to Europe's fears, was not a renewed attempt against Malta but against Chios: the conquest consisted of an arrest of the Maona's governing body whose twelve members had come with presents on board the commander's ship, and an unopposed occupation of the island.

Some of the contradictions and special features that marked the history of mediaeval Chios continued during its Ottoman period. Until the tragedy of 1822, the island enjoyed a unique status that made it stand out as a prosperous and happy place where all the three main communities—Orthodox Greek, Catholic Latin, and Muslim Ottoman—lived in relative harmony. Like other large islands and conquered provinces, Chios became a *sandjaḳ* [*q.v.*] (in this case, part of the *eyālet* [*q.v.*] of *Djazāʾir-i Baḥr-i Safīd* [*q.v.*]), governed by an administrative body of the standard type and secured by a garrison of at most 2,000 troops quartered chiefly in the capital's citadel; aside from these representatives of the Porte, there were almost no other Turks on the island, and the population had virtual autonomy in its internal affairs. Some of the mostly Genoese, Catholic élite stayed on after the conquest, and they did not lose all their privileges forthwith. These last survived even the 1599 attempt by the Florentines to conquer the island, but the Venetian conquest and brief possession in 1694-5 did deal them a serious blow which, however, further strengthened the position of the Orthodox majority governed by an enlightened oligarchy: the Catholic élite, accused of collaborating with the invader, definitively lost their

privileges to the Greeks. The Venetian attack, undertaken during the Ottoman-Hapsburg war of 1683-99, provoked a naval response from the Turks, whose ultimate victory revealed the successful modernisation of the imperial fleet under the able leadership of Mezemorta Hüseyin Pas̲h̲a [see ḤUSAYN PAS̲H̲A, MEZZOMORTO]. For the reasons stated above, Turkish victory ushered in what may have been the happiest period in the history of Chios and which lasted until 1822. The island continued to export gum mastic (partly to Istanbul, where the ladies of the Harem were among the principal consumers), but it also participated in the dramatic surge of Ottoman Greek maritime trade and merchant marine during the 18th century. Enterprising families developed business ties with Europe, and participated in the intellectual and scientific rise of the West, some of which they in turn propagated in Ottoman society where they frequently enjoyed the status of high officials and the sultan's physicians. Alexander Mavrocordato (1637-1719), who had studied medicine in Padua, wrote a Latin treatise on the circulation of the blood, and became prominent as the chief dragoman of the Porte during the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 [see ḲARLOFČA].

The waters off Chios were visited by the Russians in the summer of 1770, an operation undertaken in the framework of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74. A clash between the Russian fleet under Admiral A.G. Orlov and the Ottoman one under Ḥusām ul-Dīn Pas̲h̲a ended in a draw, but it was highlighted by the exploits of the *ḳapudān-i humāyūn* Ḥasan Beg (later Pas̲h̲a; see D̲J̲EZĀʾIRLI G̲H̲ĀZĪ ḤASAN PAS̲H̲A) against the ship of Admiral G.A. Spiridov. The Turks withdrew to Çeşme, which by then served as a naval base; the result was the notorious destruction of the entire Ottoman fleet by fire ships with which the Russians managed to attack the crowded harbour in the night of 7 July. The subsequent attempt to seize the port of Chios was repulsed by the Turkish garrison, or was given up due to reports of the plague on the island. While the triumph at Çeşme earned Orlov the honorific title "Česmenskiy" conferred on him by Catherine II, Ḥasan Beg's heroism was noticed by Istanbul, which aptly entrusted to him the defence of the Dardanelles and the rescue of Lemnos from the Russians and eventually raised him to the post of *ḳapudān pas̲h̲a*.

The peace and prosperity of Chios abruptly ended in 1822, when revolutionary Greeks from other places, especially from the island of Samos [see SISAM], landed on Chios and incited some of its inhabitants to second the uprising which was agitating the mainland. The besieged Turkish garrison in the capital's citadel held out until the imperial fleet brought relief. The subsequent repression carried out on the orders of the governor, Waḥīd Pas̲h̲a, against the objections of the fleet's commander, the *ḳapudān pas̲h̲a* Naṣūḥ-zāde ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, crippled the island (which lost over one-half of its population—estimated at some 80,000 souls—in the slaughter and deportation to the slave market in Smyrna), and may have indirectly spurred Europe to increase its support for Greece's independence. Like most conflicts involving Chios, this one too had a markedly naval dimension, and although the Ottoman fleet prevailed, the Greek side scored a well-remembered triumph when on 18 June Konstantin Kanaris sank the Turkish flagship in the harbour of Chios; while the *ḳapudān pas̲h̲a* with most hands perished, the Greek native of Psara thus launched his own career that would propel him to the pinnacle of Greek politics. Both Mezemorta Ḥüseyin Pas̲h̲a and Naṣūḥ-zāde ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a are buried in Chios.

Nevertheless, Chios displayed remarkable resilience even after this tragedy, and benefited once more from the benign Ottoman rule which by 1832 allowed the Greek population to re-establish much of its internal autonomy; this was underscored by the respect which the sultan ʿAbd al-Med̲j̲īd I [*q.v.*] showed the island's ruling elite during his 1856 visit. On the formal level, the Chiotes' self-rule ended in 1283/1866 as a result of the restructuring of the Ottoman empire, which replaced the *eyālet* structure with that of the much more uniform *wilāyat* [*q.v.*] system; the administrative centre of the new *wilāyat* of *D̲j̲azāʾir-i Baḥr-i Safīd*, usually in Rhodes, sometimes moved to Chios. The governor of the island (called *müteṣarrif* in this period) was from 1887 until his death in 1888 the Ottoman writer and reformist Nāmiḳ Kemāl [see KEMĀL, MEḤMED NĀMIḲ]. The recovery of Chios, well under way during this final stage of Ottoman rule, was dealt a serious blow by a devastating earthquake in 1881.

Ottoman rule in Chios ended in the same manner as in Lesbos but slightly later (December 1912/January 1913), and Greek sovereignty was ratified by the same two treaties (London 1913 and Lausanne 1923).

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(S. SOUCEK)

SAḲḲĀ' (A.), lit. water-carrier, was a term denoting manual workers who carried water in a leather-bottle (*ḳirba*) or jar (*kūz*) on their shoulders or on a mule (and even on a camel in rare circumstances) in pre-modern towns and large villages as well as pilgrimage centres throughout the Middle East and North Africa. A leather bottle during the early Islamic period reportedly cost a modest sum of about 3 dirhams. The necessity for supplying drinking water to the thirsty and the poor members of the community was regarded, according to a tradition (*ḥadīth*), as a work of excellent charity (*ṣadaḳa*). On the other hand, refusal to supply water to a thirsty person is an act of great sin (al-Dhahabī, *Kabā'ir*, 362). It was therefore recommended to wealthy Muslims to build water-fountains (*sabīl* [*q.v.*]) and dig wells for charitable purposes. The habit of selling water from a well (*bi'r*) to the people of Medina, after the Hidjra of the Prophet Muḥammad, led the companion ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān to buy the well-known Bi'r Rūma for supplying water free of cost to many inhabitants of the oasis town. An engraving on a public fountain in Cairo proclaims the tradition that the offering of drinking water is an action of spiritual merit.

The virtue of carrying water extolled in an Islamic tradition inspired many pious Muslims to accept this profession. Such were the notable instances of the Arab poet Abū Tammām (d. 232/846), the Persian poet Shaykh Saʿdī (d. 682/1283) and the mystic Ibrāhīm b. Adham, who were water-carriers for various lengths of time in their life. The historian al-Dhahabī illustrates a typical water-carrier in the career of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Muḳri' Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Saḳḳā' (d. 572/1176) who regularly earned a livelihood as a water-carrier supplying water manually to the houses of the public. Ibn al-Saḳḳā' was also a recounter of Islamic traditions. Many Arab historians and writers of the ʿAbbāsid epoch quote Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī's (d. 245/859) frequent reference to a case of the virtue (*murū'a*) in the life of a well-dressed Baghdādī itinerant water-carrier (*saḳḳā'*) who refused to accept payment of a dīnār as the price of a drink of fresh water from a foreigner.

In spite of their good reputation, however, the water-carriers, according to al-Djāḥiẓ, could never become wealthy and prosperous during the heyday of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate; their poor economic condition was comparable to that of the brick-layers, potters, ploughmen and groups of other minor craftsmen and workers. The carriers of the essential commodity of water enjoyed probably the highest prestige among pre-industrial workers in Islamic society. Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/729) affirmed the favourable status of the water-carrier in his interpretation of dreams. Also, the writers of the *ḥisba* manuals insisted on cleanliness and the hygienic condition of the jars, cups and leather bottles of the water-carriers in the interest of public health. The encyclopaedic Arab biographer al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362) noted that *al-Saḳḳā'* was an established *nisba* among his contemporaries, who included some teachers of *ḥadīth* and learned men.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān* ed. Hārūn, iv, 435; Thaʿālibī, *Bard al-akbād fī 'l-aʿdād*, in *Khams rasā'il*, Constantinople 1301/1883, 129; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Akhbār al-ẓirāf*, Damascus 1928, 31; idem, *Manāḳib Baghdād*, Baghdād 1924, 31; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1951, i, 203, xiii, 44, 180; Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, ii, Cairo 1953, 1214; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb*, Cairo 1938, i, 547-8; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, Leipzig 1903, 30-3; Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Cairo 1949, 407; Ibn Bassām al-Muḥtasib, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Baghdād 1968, 25-6; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, London 1938, 96-7; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931, i, 50; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, i, Cairo n.d., 476; Ṣafadī *Wāfī*, i, 31, xxii, 74, 85; Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-Kabā'ir*, ed. A.R. Fakhūrī, Aleppo 1978, 362; Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, Cairo 1952, ii, 62; Djabartī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-āthar*, Cairo 1967, vii, 313-14; N. Élisséeff *et al.*, in *RCEA*, xvi, Cairo 1964, 145; M.A.J. Beg, *A contribution to the economic history of the Caliphate: a study of the cost of living and the economic status of artisans in ʿAbbāsid Iraq*, in *IQ*, xvi (1972), 140-67; idem, *Water-carriers in early Islamic civilization*, in *IC* (1984), 75-8; Ibn Seerin's *Dictionary of dreams*, translated from the Arabic by Muhammad M. al-Akili, Pennsylvania 1992, 469.

(M.A.J. BEG)

SAKKĀKĪ, one of the early poets in Čaghatay Turkish ("early" meaning, before Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī's [*q.v.*] time). He lived around 802/1400, presumably in Samarḳand, but certainly all his lifetime in Transoxania. As we can infer from the dedications of his *ḳaṣīdas*, his patrons included Khalīl Sulṭān (ruler in Samarḳand 807-12/1405-9), Ulugh Beg (812-53/1409-49) and Arslan Khʷādja Tarkhan. Almost all the information about his person is gained from remarks made about him by Nawā'ī in his *Madjālis an-nafā'is* and in the *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*. Although he was popular in Samarḳand during his lifetime, Nawā'ī is relatively depreciative of Sakkākī's talent, a judgement apparently shared by others; apart from one *bayt* quoted by Nawā'ī, the only known reference to his work by another poet is the quotation of one *bayt* in the collective manuscript in which Sakkākī's *dīwān* is preserved. The following statement by Nawā'ī is well-known: he says that he heard people in Samarḳand claim that "all good poems by Luṭfī belong to him (Sakkākī); he (Luṭfī) has stolen them and has attached his name to them." Nawā'ī goes on to comment that "this is the kind of silly boast which is widespread in Transoxania". (The statement is usually wrongly interpreted the other way round by Turkish scholars as meaning that Sakkākī was rumoured to have done the stealing.) Indeed, Nawā'ī may just betray a shade of southern chauvinism here, quite apart from the fact that a certain amount of local pride on the part of the Transoxanians may be expected for a time in which the focus of literary activity only just has been shifting southwards to Harāt. In any case, it is clear that the work of Sakkākī is directly

interrelated with Luṭfī's poetry (Eckmann 1959) and that of others (Hofman 1969).

Both the language and poetics of Sakkākī highlight the arbitary nature of his classification as a "Čaghatay" poet; at least in the early stage, this designation at one and the same time refers to a person being a Persian-style court poet and to the political context (i.e. he worked at a Tīmūrid court). But his language has preserved some typical Khwārazmian Turkish traits, e.g. the rendering of *δ as z ~ y (e.g. *azaḳ* ~ *ayaḳ* "foot"); this tendency is probably enhanced by the fact that he was from Transoxania and may thus prove helpful in solving the problem of the relationship of his poetry with other contemporary poets (most notably: Luṭfī). The rules of *ʿarūḍ* metrics applied by Sakkākī also definitely reflect the late Khwārazmian Turkish stage. It is the same as is found in Khwārazmī's *Maḥabbat-nāma*: etymologically long vowels are still frequently metrically long, whereas a first stage of Persification of the metre is noticeable in the regular occurrence of *imāla* (only in Arabo-Persian loan words). Characteristic is the variable rendering of the words *birlä* ~ *bilä* "with" and *ermäs* ~ *emäs* to fit the exigences of the metre. The extended *radīf* is a feature also found in e.g. Luṭfī's poetry. The preponderance of the genres of the *ghazal* and the *ḳaṣīda* are to be expected with a court poet; they carry with them a larger range of metres and new Persian style imagery of the kind which is usually associated with Sakkākī's near-contemporary Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*]. However, considering the general context in which the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ arose, one should be careful when attributing similarities in any contemporary poet to Ḥāfiẓ's style to direct influence. Another commonplace statement about Sakkākī introducing elements of traditional oral poetry in his verses must also be viewed with caution: occasional sequences of alliteration are already encountered in Rabghūzī's [*q.v.*] *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (710/1310). And after all, relatively simple language and inclusion of folksy elements are a common characteristic of *ghazal* writing (both Persian and Turkish) of his age.

These philological, linguistic and literary problems still await thorough treatment; even a critical edition of Sakkākī's poems is lacking. The only version of Sakkākī's *dīwān* extant is contained in 31 folia of a British Library manuscript, Or. 2079, and even that is incomplete. It contains one *munādjāt*, one *naʿt*, 12 *ḳaṣīdas* (plus one defective one) and 57 *ghazals* (*ghazals* with end rhymes from *bāʾ* to *nūn* are lacking). Three more *ghazals* (parallel in Uyghur and Arabic script) were found in a manuscript of the Ayasofya Library, Istanbul, 4757. One *bayt* is quoted by Nawāʾī, and one *bayt* by Yaḳīnī (ms. B.L. Or. 2079, fol. 319b).

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2. Studies. J. Eckmann, *Die tschagataische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 306-8; H.F. Hofman, *Turkish literature*, Section 3, Pt. 1, Utrecht 1969, v, 153-7 (and further references there); E. Rustamov, *Uzbekskaya poeziya v pervoy polovine XV veka*, Moscow 1963; Ye.E. Bertel's, *Navoi. Opït tvorčeskoy biografii*, Moscow-Leningrad 1948, 54-8.

(H. Boeschoten)

AL-SAKKĀKĪ, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Khwārazmī Sirādj al-Dīn, influential rhetorician writing in Arabic. He was born in Khwārazm on 3 Djumādā I, 555/11 May 1160 according to most sources, or in the year 554, according to his contemporary Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, ed. Rifāʿī, xx, 59). He died toward the end of Radjab 626/mid-June 1229 in Ḳaryat al-Kindī near Almāligh in Farghāna. In spite of his fame already during his lifetime, the circumstances of his life are shrouded in obscurity—a fact most likely attributable to the upheavals of the Mongol conquest. Very brief notices on him appear in the Ḥanafī biographical dictionaries (Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, *Tādj al-tarādjim*, Baghdād 1962, 81-2; Ibn Abi 'l-Wafāʾ al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍiyya*, Ḥaydarābād 1332, ii, 225-6; and ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya*, ed. B.A. al-Naʿsānī, Cairo 1324/1906, s.n.) as well as in al-Suyūṭī's dictionary of language scholars (*Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1384/1964-5, ii, 364), while some legendary anecdotal accounts have been transmitted in the Eastern tradition (prominently in al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, ed. M.ʿA. al-Rawḍātī, n.p. 1367, 745-6). The edifying story that al-Khwānsārī recounts on the authority of the *Zīnat al-madjālis* of Madjd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Madjdī (a contemporary of Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, who died in 1030/1621), the gist of which is that al-Sakkākī started out as an accomplished craftsman (a smith) and began the career of a scholar rather late at the age of thirty, is very likely a transposition of a similar *curriculum vitae* told about the Shāfiʿī scholar al-Ḳaffāl ("the Locksmith") al-Marwazī (Ibn Khallikān, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut n.d., iii, 46; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo n.d., iii, 199). Al-Khwānsārī hints at this possibility (*Rawḍāt*, 745, ll. 33-4), and the fact that, in the story, the teacher of al-Sakkākī is portrayed as a Shāfiʿī corroborates the borrowing. Nevertheless, a certain similarity in their life curves may have prompted the transposition of the story. However, whether al-Sakkākī himself or, more likely, one of his forebears was a die-cutter (*sakkāk*) or whether his *nisba* is derived from an otherwise unattested place-name Sakkāka is a moot point in the sources. Other stories depict al-Sakkākī as an expert in magic and occult sciences (al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt*, 746; al-Laknawī, *Fawāʾid*, 301); as al-Nasawī's biography of the Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu (*r.* 617-28/1220-31) shows, al-Sakkākī's fame in this field was already well established during his lifetime (*Sīra*, ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1891, 150-1; tr. idem, Paris 1895, 249-50; ed. Ḥ.A. Ḥamdī, Cairo 1953, 253-4). He seems to have made the transition from the Khwārazmshāhs to the Mongols quite successfully, since one of the stories that feature al-Sakkākī's magical powers put him in the entourage of Čaghatay Khān [*q.v.*] at Almāligh. However, calumnies on the part of the latter's vizier Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥabash ʿAmīd resulted in al-Sakkākī's incarceration, and he is said to have died after three years in jail.

The Ḥanafī biographical dictionaries mention a few of his teachers in law, among whom Sadīd b. Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭī deserves mention, because in the chain of scholarship he was the link between al-Sakkākī and al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]). Like the latter, al-Sakkākī was a Muʿtazilī. As for the linguistic disciplines, he himself refers with great veneration to his teacher al-Ḥātimī who, however, cannot be otherwise identified (for references to quotations, see Simon, *Sprachbetrachtung*, 77-8, n. 38). The only known disciple of al-Sakkākī is Mukhtār b. Muḥammad al-Zāhidī (d. 658/1260) who is said to have studied *kalām* with him; Mukhtār is the author of

the *fikh* work *Kunyat al-munya* which has acquired a certain fame for being one of the few sources for the old Khwārazmian language, containing, as it does, phrases in that language that have some legal import (see KHWĀRAZM, at vol. IV, 1062). It is not unlikely that al-Sakkākī was quadrilingual in Khwārazmian, Khwārazm Turkic, Persian and Arabic.

In spite of a number of lost or doubtful works that have been ascribed to him, al-Sakkākī is really a man of one book, the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*. This "Key to the Sciences" is not, as imprecise formulations in secondary sources can lead one to believe, a work of rhetoric. Rather, the author intended to cover all linguistic disciplines, with the exception of *lugha* "lexicon, lexicography". The work is divided into three major parts dedicated respectively to *ʿilm al-ṣarf* "morphology", *ʿilm al-naḥw* "syntax", and *ʿilm al-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān* "stylistics and theory of imagery". The first part contains at its beginning also a brief section on phonetics (*makhāridj al-ḥurūf*) and a discussion of root formation and semantic derivation (*ishtiḳāḳ*), while the third part has the following supplements: (1) a brief section on rhetorical figures (*wudjūh* ... *li-ḳaṣd taḥsīn al-kalām*); (2) a *takmila* on *ḥadd* "definition", and (3) one on *istidlāl* "argumentation"; and (4) and (5) a *tatimma* on poetry dealing with *ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ* "metrics" and *ʿilm al-ḳāfiya* "rhyme theory". Finally, in the *khātima* the author wards off attacks on the linguistic correctness of the Ḳurʾān. A complete count of all the topics, whether dealt with in the main parts or in appendices, results in the number of "twelve Arab sciences (i.e. language sciences)" that later authors have detected in al-Sakkākī's work (see e.g. al-Khwānsārī, 745, l. 32). It is clear that the author wanted to cover all aspects of language, from the sounds to various shapes and styles of meaningful language.

Historically, the most important part of the work was its third chapter, on stylistics and imagery. It was the root from which most of the later *madrasa* literature on *ʿilm al-balāgha* "rhetoric" sprang (this term is not yet technically used in al-Sakkākī, as might appear from the art. BALĀGHA). Al-Sakkākī's main sources here were, for the "science of *maʿānī*" (i.e., *maʿānī al-naḥw* "semantics of syntactical relations"), the *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz* of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (see AL-DJURDJĀNĪ in Suppl.) and, for the "science of *bayān*" (i.e., lit. "elucidating discourse" = "indirect presentation by way of images"), the same author's *Asrār al-balāgha*. In addition, he is influenced by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]) *Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz*. The latter is a precursor of al-Sakkākī in the sense that he, too, tried to harness the fertile but groping thought of al-Djurdjānī into a strict and logical system, though the outcome differs considerably from al-Sakkākī's.

The third chapter of the *Miftāḥ* was influential for Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik (d. 686/1287) in his *al-Miṣbāḥ fī 'l-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān*, although the extent of his dependence needs further study (see Sellheim, *Materialien*, i, 299 ff.). Historically more important by far are the two works of al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338), the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* and, less so, its expanded version, *al-Īḍāḥ*. Al-Ḳazwīnī was not averse to criticising al-Sakkākī on certain points and making a number of adjustments that prove his independent mind. Both Ibn Mālik and al-Ḳazwīnī raise al-Sakkākī's appendix on the rhetorical figures to the status of a separate discipline, the *ʿilm al-badīʿ*. Thus the "science of eloquence" (*ʿilm al-balāgha*) with its three branches of *maʿānī, bayān* and *badīʿ* takes its final shape and, as presented in the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of al-Ḳazwīnī, henceforth dominates scholastic rhetoric.

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(W.P. HEINRICHS)

SAḲḲĀRA, a village in the Egyptian province of al-Djīza, on the western bank of the Nile, near the mountain ridge that separates the fertile lands of the Nile Valley from the desert, approximately 20 km to the south of Cairo. In the 9th/15th century this locality seems to have been better known under the name of Arḍ al-Sidra (cf. Ibn al-Djīʿān, *Tuḥfa*, 139, l. 18; S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd Allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad*, Paris 1810, 671; cf. also Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, ii/3, 45; Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern*, i, 209), because it belonged to Būṣīr = (A)Bū Ṣīr al-Sidr, the neighbouring village to the north that was equally well known for its Pharaonic remains (see e.g. Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, 117: Bū Ṣīr Radjab = Bū Ṣīr al-Sidr). In the year 777/1376 (the date to which our source, Ibn al-Djīʿān's 15th-century cadastral survey, here refers), this village had an arable area of 240 *faddāns* and was in the hands of the sons of the governor Arghūn Shāh (d. 731/1331; cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, ii, 306-8, no. 367); ʿUmar b. Arghūn Shāh in particular was a key figure in Mamluk politics in the sixties of the 8th/14th century (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, iii, 63, l. 2).

Originally, the name Saḳḳāra (one also finds Ṣaḳḳāra) seems to have referred to another village (in the Ṭammūh/Ṭamwayh district further north) with a tax yield of 10,000 army dīnārs and a cultivated territory of 790 *faddāns*. It formed, like most of the taxable settlements in al-Djīziyya province in Mamlūk times, part of the Royal domains, *al-dīwān al-sulṭānī* (cf. Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, 150; Ibn al-Duḳmāḳ, *al-Intiṣār*, iv, 132 [not 133, as in *EI*[1]]; Ibn al-Djīʿān, *Tuḥfa*, 144, l. 25; de Sacy, 675). When this settlement was eventually given up, evidently well prior to the end of the Mamlūk sultanate, its name was transferred to "modern" Saḳḳāra.

Saḳḳāra is famous for the huge cemeteries of Pharaonic times (see the charts and tables in the article "Saqqara, Nekropolen", in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, v, 387-428, esp. 398-400, 401-2, 415) located on the slope of the Gebel and the adjacent elevated terrain, always in visual connection with Memphis (Manf

[*q.v.*]), the capital of the Egyptian Old Kingdom, to which this city of the dead belonged. The modern Arabic name of the village is derived from Sokar/Socharis, "the coffined one", i.e. the King of the Dead, whose cave is supposed to have been in the vicinity. The famous necropolis of Saḳḳāra which developed, during the first three dynasties of the Old Kingdom, from north to south along the mountain range and then westward into the desert, contains royal tombs (pyramids, mastabas) of the three first dynasties (including the famous step pyramid (*al-haram al-mudarradj*) of King Djoser of the Third Dynasty), private tombs especially from the Fourth to Sixth Dynasties, free-standing chapels from the first intermediate period and the Middle Kingdom, and, last but not least, the burial sites from the Saitic era, when Memphis re-emerged, after the Assyrian yoke had been shaken off, as a major centre of the country. In this late period, the pristine Egyptian cults were consciously resuscitated, both on religious and economic grounds. New cemeteries were opened in Saḳḳāra—as it were, on sacred ground—for all strata of the population. And it was during this final period of Egyptian independence (21st Dynasty onwards) that the famous burial catacombs and mortuary-cult temples for the Sacred Animals of Memphis, notably the Serapaeum for the Apis Bulls, were erected within the Saḳḳāra necropolis. To the mediaeval Muslims the mummified animals that were found here were particularly fascinating (not the least because they were so reprehensible on dogmatic grounds) (cf. e.g. al-Maḳrīzī's report on the dead "hoopoe", *hudhud* = ibis, *Das Pyramidenkapitel in al-Maḳrīzī's "Ḫiṭaṭ"*, ed. and tr. E. Graefe, Leipzig 1911, Arabic text 21, l. 4, German tr. 67).

Saḳḳāra's importance for Egyptology was further enhanced by the discovery, in 1824, of the first two papyri, contained in sealed pottery, in a tomb (or well) in the funerary precinct.

The Arabic toponym that, during the Islamic Middle Ages, seems to have customarily denoted the necropolis of Saḳḳāra with its awe-inspiring and vast Pharaonic architectural vestiges, was, however, not Saḳḳāra, but rather, by way of metonymy, "Dayr (A)Bū Hirmīs", the monastery of Apa Jeremias (should one rather read: Dayr Hirimyas?, cf. Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 95-6). In his list of the 54 villages surrounding the great pyramids of Djīza, Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī (d. 649/1251) omits Saḳḳāra, yet names, as no. 14 and no. 16, both Bū Hirmīs and Shubrā Bū Hirmīs (*Anwār ʿulwiyy al-adjrām fi 'l-kashf ʿan asrār al-ahrām*, 50, ll. 7 and 8; we also find Bū Ṣīr Bū Radjab and Bū Ṣīr al-ahrām, 50, ll. 8 and 9). Apa Jeremias' monastery (whose remains were rediscovered only at the beginning of the 20th century and where excavations continue to be carried out) stood within the precinct of the Saḳḳāra necropolis. The historian and traditionist Ḳāḍī Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Ḳuḍāʿī (d. in Fusṭāṭ in 454/1062), reporting from the well-known Egyptian authority Yaḥyā b. ʿUthmān b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 282/895), relates the story of a denizen of the Upper Egyptian Koptos/Ḳifṭ and how a corpse was discovered in this monastery when a grave was dug. On the chest of the dead man, a papyrus scroll from the aegis of the Roman emperor Diocletian was found, written in "oldest Coptic" script, which informed of the otherwise inaccessible antediluvian Egyptian history (cf. Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī, *Anwār*, 100, l. 3-102, l. 4; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, in *Pyramidenkapitel*, 21, ll. 13 ff., German tr. 67 ff., cites the same report, probably on al-Idrīsī's authority).

The region of Apa Jeremias, i.e. Saḳḳāra, was correctly identified as the heartland of the most ancient history of Egypt. The Sharīf Tādj al-Sharaf Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī al-ʿUbaydalī (d. 666/1267), an avid student of Pharaonic architecture in his time, placed the cradle of the oldest Egyptian people in this very region (*nawāḥī Bū Ṣīr wa-Bū Hirmīs*, cf. *Anwār*, 107, l. 12), and, incidentally, even considered as conceivable a pre-Adamite (not just antediluvian) date for their impressive activities. From the testimony of stones found in St. Jeremias' monastery that bore hieroglyphic inscriptions not—or not only—on the visible front side, but also inside, where they were connected with neighbouring slabs, he inferred the existence of different historical layers in the history and architecture of Old Egypt.

The step pyramid in the immediate neighbourhood of Apa Jeremias' monastery is portrayed as the tomb of the legendary Egyptian knight (*fāris ahl Miṣr*) Ḳaryās, who had the valour and strength of one thousand fighters, whereas the huge pyramid to the north of the monastery, also built in steps, is said to have become the resting place of Ḳaryās' sovereign (cf. *Anwār*, 118, ll. 8 ff.; al-Maḳrīzī, *Pyramidenkapitel*, 27, ll. 3 ff., German tr. 72). Also, Yāḳūt speaks, in his geographical repertory (s.v. *Dayr Hirmis*), of the pyramid by the monastery of Apa Jeremias. Other authors, such as Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (*Churches and monasteries*, fol. 65a), only summarily refer to the "flourishing and populous" monasteries in the al-Djīziyya province.

Like all the spectacular Pharaonic sites, the mastabas of Saḳḳāra have also been identified with localities of the Muslim *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*]. Whereas the great pyramids of Djīza were seen, by some authors, as Joseph's granary, his prison (*sidjn Yūsuf*) tended to be localised in Saḳḳāra (see e.g. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 317, l. 11; see also the reference given by J. Walker in the *EI*[1] art.).

Bibliography: A lengthy bibl. of mediaeval Islamic Pharaonica is to be found in U. Haarmann, *Das Pyramidenbuch des Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Idrīsī*, Beirut 1991, Arabic 272-83. On the apocryphal tradition associated with Old Egypt in mediaeval Islam, see now also U. Sezgin, *al-Masʿūdī, Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīfšāh und das* Kitāb al-ʿAǧāʾib. *Aigyptiaca in arabischen Texten des 10. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.*, in *ZGAIW*, viii (1993), 1-70.

(U. Haarmann)

SAḲḲIZ, a small town of Persian Kurdistan, now the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* or county in the province of Kurdistan (lat. 36° 14′ N., long. 46° 15′ E.). It lies on the western side of the upper Djaghatū Čay valley some 77 km/50 miles to the southeast of Mahābād [*q.v.*] and on the road southwards to Sanandadj and Kirmānshāh [*q.vv.*].

The Kurdish population are from the Mukrī tribe, Shāfiʿī Sunnīs and with the Naḳshbandī Ṣūfī order influential amongst them. In the early 20th century, the local khān was a relative of the *wālīs* of Ardalān and Sanandadj. In *ca.* 1950 Saḳḳiz town had a population of 9,900, but by 1991 this had risen to 99,048 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). Until recently, it had a small community of Neo-Aramaic-speaking Jews, but these have now probably all emigrated to Israel.

Bibliography: Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, v, 241-2.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SAḲSĪN, the name of one or more cities in Western Eurasia.

The location of this city (or cities) is still unclear. It is unrecorded in the classical Islamic geographies. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly

Cambridge, Mass. 1982-5, i, 330), who finished writing his *Dīwān lughat al-Turk* in *ca.* 469/1077, notes it as "a city near Bulghār. It is Suwār." The latter was a tribal name (*Saviri/Σαβίροι* of the Latin and Byzantine sources) of one of the constituent elements of the Volga Bulghārs. In this regard, Togan (*Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, 203-4, cites the theologian Sulaymān b. Dāwūd with the *nisba* al-Suwārī or al-Saksīnī. It seems unlikely that this is the Volga Bulgharian city of Suwār, which was within the Bulghār core lands. Rather, it probably points to the presence of a substantial Suwār population in Saksīn which is confirmed by Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (see below). Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 259, 252; Togan, *op. cit.*, 204), pairs Saksīn and Bulghār as "two small cities of the sixth clime", much land belongs to them and they export furs. He places them at 32° = 750 farsakhs distant from Mecca (10/10) and remarks (21/23) that the eastern frontier of Iran, which begins in Sindh, runs to the frontier of Saksīn and Bulghār. The Islamic historians of the Mongol era invariably pair Saksīn and Bulghār. Thus Djūzdjānī, ed. Lees, 446, 451, tr. Raverty, ii, 1283, 1292, notes that Berke Khān was born at the time that his father, Tūshī (Djoči) was invading the territory of Saksīn, Bulghār and Saḳlāb. Similarly, Djuwaynī, ed. Ḳazwīnī, i, 31, 150, 205, iii, 15, tr. Boyle, i, 42, 190, 249, ii, 557, and Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, i, 455, tr. Boyle, *Successors*, 33, place Saksīn and Bulghār in apparent close propinquity to one another and to the Ḳïpčaḳ country (see also Waṣṣāf and Aḥmad Ghaffārī (d. 975/1567-8) in Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik*, 82, 84, 86, 211/270). Indeed, Djuwaynī places the *ordu* of Batu in the "Bulghār and Saksīn country." Al-Bakuwī (ed. Buniyatov, fol. 69b/p. 107), a geographer of the early 9th/15th century, says that by his day Saksīn had been inundated and had vanished without a trace, but he appears to place the later Saray Berke at or near Saksīn. A broad over-view of the relationship of Saksīn to the other cities of the Mongol era is seen in al-ʿUmarī, ed. and tr. Lech, Arabic text, 85/142, who outlines the borders of the Khānate of Ḳïpčaḳ (= the Ulus of Djoči) as: "the Amu Daryā, Khwārazm, Sighnāḳ, Sawrān, Barkand, Djand, Sarāy, Mādjar, Azāḳ, Aḳča Karmān, Kaffa, Sudāḳ, Saksīn, Ukak and Bulghār," placing Saksīn, it would appear, in the southern section of the Volga lands, east of the Crimean centre of Sudāḳ. This city also figures in an interesting listing of the lands and peoples given to Djoči as his appanage: Khwārazm, the Dasht-i Khazar, Bulghār, Saksīn, the Alans, the Ās, the Rūs, Mikes (?) and the Bashḳird (see Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, in Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik*, ii, 91/Pers. text 219, see a similar listing in the anonymous *Shadjarat al-Atrāk*, in *ibid.*, ii, 204/Pers. text 264).

According to the rendering of Ibn Saʿīd found in Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 204-5, it was a famous city, in which in his day a son of Berke resided. It was located in the north of the *Krmāniyya* (probably *Kūmāniyya*, i.e. Cumania) lands on the river *Ṭanābrus*. The latter hydronym normally renders the Dniepr, but in this instance most certainly designates some more easterly river. The text of Ibn Saʿīd, ed. ʿArabī, 203-4, sets it within the context of a discussion of the lands of the Ponto-Caspian region, following a discussion of Maṭarkhā (Ταμάταρχα of the Byzantine sources, Tmutorokan' of the Rus'). Abu 'l-Fidā goes on to place it at the 67° E. long, and 53° N. lat. and to the west of the city of *Swh* (ms. also *mwh*). To its east, according to Ibn Saʿīd, 204, was the city of *Ḳrāght*. Abu 'l-Fidā, subsequently in his narrative, citing the *Kitāb al-Aṭwāl*, notes the city *Sḳsn*, spelled without *yāʾ*, which is placed at 162° 30′ E. long. and 40° 50′ N. lat., although he suspected that this might be another city. According to Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 670, the fortress of Manḳishlāgh is between Khwārazm and Saksīn and the lands of the Rūs near the sea of Ṭabaristān (Caspian Sea). Al-Yazdādī, in Ibn Isfandiyār (tr. Browne, 33-4, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1320/1941, 80-1) says that in his time Āmul was the market for the wares of Saksīn and Bulghār. Merchants from ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Khurāsān and India came to Āmul to purchase goods there. The merchants of Ṭabaristān went to Bulghār and Saksīn which is "located on the shore of the sea opposite Āmul." This would appear to place this Saksīn in the lower Volga. Our source further adds that the voyage by boat from Āmul to Saksīn took three months, but the return journey was only one week because the former was upstream and the latter down (Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, 170, views "Āmul" as a possible error for "Ātil" occasionally confused in the sources).

Modern scholars have placed Saksīn on the Yayïḳ/Ural rivers (Dorn, *Caspia*, 116) or with greater probability on the Volga, see Marquart, in *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, 56, Barthold, *Očerk istorii turkmen. naroda*, in his *Sočineniya*, ii/1, 588. In other works e.g. *Mesto prikaspiyskikh oblastey v istorii musul'manskogo mira*, in *ibid.*, ii/1, 690, Barthold also opted for the Ural River. Pelliot, *Notes sur la Horde d'Or*, 168, 170-2, however, was willing to accept either one. Moreover, he suggested that there were two Saksīns, confused in sources such as al-Ḳazwīnī, one the old Khazar city, the other dominated by Oghuz tribes (and a Bulghār official, see below). Following Ibn Saʿīd, he concluded that Saksīn, during the time of Berke (d. 1266) must have been the principal city of the Djočids. Polyak, *Novïe arabskie*, 46, suggested that Saksīn denoted the pre-Mongol era city, the khān's headquarters which later became Saray Berke as well as the whole region around it. He locates this on the Akhtuba, an eastern tributary of the Volga. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 453, was prepared to see in Saksīn the earlier Khazar city of Sarïghshïn on the lower Volga. Dunlop, *History*, 248, was similarly inclined. Artamonov, *Ist. Khazar*, 445 (following yet another suggestion of Barthold, *Kavkaz, Turkestan, Volga*, in *Sočineniya*, ii/1, 794, and Westberg, *K analizu*, 37 ff.), viewed it as the revived Itil, the old Khazar capital in the Volga delta. The Mongol era information, in any event, appears to point in the direction of the lower Volga region.

Our most thorough account comes from Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (473-565/1080-1170 [*q.v.*]), a Spanish Muslim who spent a good part of his adult life in the Volga region (from 525/1131 onwards largely in Ṣaḳṣīn). In his account (ed. Dubler, 5-9, Russ. tr. Bol'shakov, 27-30, considerable elements of which are repeated by al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār*, Beirut 1389/1969, 599), he places the city at some 40 days travel from Bulghār in the "country of the Khazars", which would again point to the lower Volga region. His reference to the Khazars and to Muslim communities from that people in the city, may be more consistent with the geographical nomenclature that he has adopted than with the ethnic realities, although it is certainly possible that Muslims of Khazar origin were still resident in the region. More concretely, he writes that there were 40 Oghuz tribes in the city, each led by its own *amīr*. Saksīn, however, appeared to be under Volga Bulghar overlordship for an *amīr* representing that powerful mercantile state resided in the centre of the city. The Bulghars also lived around a large Friday mosque. There was another Friday

mosque for the Suwārs, who were "also numerous." The private residences seem to have largely been the tents of the nomads or log cabins made of pine wood. In this respect, Saḳsīn was much like the old Khazar capital and the Volga Bulghar cities. Similarly, the city was filled with foreign merchants, some, like our source, coming from the western regions of the Islamic world. In Abū Ḥāmid's account, the city has a strong Muslim character. Each of its various groups had its own judges, jurisconsults and preachers. With the exception of the Maghribīs of the Mālikī *madhhab* or other foreigners who followed the Shāfiʿī school, the natives of the city were Ḥanafīs.

In addition to the ferocious cold of the region, Abū Ḥāmid, in discussing the local peculiarities that might be of interest, mentions the enormous size and weight of certain types of fish caught in "the river" that are unique to that region. One such fish could only be carried by a powerful camel. Another type of fish is described as boneless, and it "is like the tail of a lamb roasted with chicken meat. It is even better than the meat of a plump lamb." Lamp oil can be extracted from this fish as well as isinglass. Its meat could also be cured and became "the best of all the dried meats in the world." The currency there is made of lead, of which eight Baghdād *mann* = 1 dīnār. Sheep cost ½ *dānaḳ* each, rams ¼ *tassūdj*; there is also much fruit.

Of Saḳsīn's actual history, we know little. Djūzdjānī, tr. Raverty, i, 234, says the early ruler of the Khʷārazmshāh state, Ḳuṭb al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Aybak (= Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad? *regn.* 490-521/1097-1121) "guarded the frontiers of Khʷārazm Shāh from the infidels of Saḳsīn, Bulghār and Ḳifčaḳ." Such "infidels" would almost certainly have been the Ḳïpčaḳ-Ḳanglï tribes [*q.vv.*] of the region. More concrete, but still infrequent references appear in the sources relating the events of the Mongol invasions. Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Beirut, xii, 388), notes that in late 620/1224, following their defeat at the hands of the Volga Bulghārs, the Tatars "came to Saḳsīn on the return route to their king Djankīz Khān and the land of the Ḳïpčaḳ was free of them." There are other scattered references to Saḳsīn in the accounts of the conquest of the lands of the Ḳïpčaḳ, Volga Bulghāria and Rūs (cf. also *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, 572; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 255). After the conquest of Khʷārazm, the Mongols, probably later in 1221 or 1222, invaded Saḳsīn, Volga Bulghāria and the "Slav" lands (Djūzdjānī). Another campaign was launched against them in 1229 (Djuwaynī, i, 150, tr. Boyle, i, 190). The Russian Chronicles (*PSRL*, i, 453) report that the "Saksini" and Cumans fled from the lowlands to the Volga Bulghārs. But, the Tatars defeated the Bulghār guards near the Ural river. Latin sources (Carpini, ed. Menestò, 290-1, and the *Tatar relation*, 100/101) indicate that the "Saxi" (for *Saxini? Benedict the Pole, who took part in this mission, remarks that the "Saxi", whom he took to be Goths, like their immediate neighbours, the "Alani" and "Gazari" were Christians, see Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, i, 137) in one of their cities resisted until the Tatars dug an underground passage into their city. In any event, by 1236 the whole region had been subjugated by the Mongols. William of Rubruck (tr. P. Jackson, London 1990, 257) mentions the city of "Summerkent", a city of the Saḳsīn region or a dependency of it, located on an island in the Volga, which resisted for some 8 more years before succumbing to the Tatars (on Mongol military operations here, see Allsen, *Prelude*, 12-16). Saḳsīn as a city survived the devastation of the Mongol conquest to enjoy a brief period of prominence, in association with the Mongol ruling line. Thus al-Dhahabī (in Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik*, i, 202/205) mentions it, sometime in the 640s/1240s, as the city from which Berke Khān went to Bukhārā to visit Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn al-Bākharzī [*q.v.*] who played a role in his conversion to Islam. As we have already noted, it was subsequently the residence of one of Berke's offspring.

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(V.F. Büchner-[P.B. Golden])

SĀL-NĀME (T.), a term of Ottoman Turkish administration:

1. Official yearbooks issued by the Ottoman central government, by provincial authorities and a number of civil (ministries) and military (army, fleet) institutions, appearing between 1263/1847 and the end of the Empire (1918).

They unite characteristics of European handbooks (*Almanach de Gotha*, French *Annuaires Officiels*), a synoptic calendar and traditional Ottoman historical and bureaucratic materials (condensed history of the dynasty, itineraries, *defter*/registers such as budgets). The *sāl-nāmes* are reliable instruments with almost all details on state officials (at the supervisory level), administrative organisation, toponomy, communications, laws and regulations, although one should refer to the *Taḳwīm-i Weḳāʾiʿ* for up-to-date information. The Imperial *sāl-nāmes* give summary population data; the provincial editions often provided information on male and female population down to the *ḳaḍā* level, data on migration, numbers of household, births and deaths in urban areas, population by *millet*, and city and even village size, though the depth and quality of information varied according to geographic area (J. McCarthy, *Muslims and minorities. The population of Ottoman Anatolia and the end of the Empire*, New York 1983).

The first imperial *sāl-nāmes* were modest, lithographically-produced booklets, but their size and quality improved gradually (for the content of the first state year book, compare *Sâlnâme. Le premier annuaire de l'Empire ottoman ou tableau de l'état politique civil, militaire, judiciaire et administratif de la Turquie depuis l'introduction des réformes opérées dans ce pays par les sultans Mahmoud II et Abdul-Medjid, actuellement regnant; traduit du Turc et accompagné des notes explicatives par T[homas] X[avier] Bianchi*, Paris 1848 = *JA*, Sér. 4, x [1847], xi [1848]). After 1888, the Personal Records Administration (*Sid̲j̲ill-i Aḥwāl-i Meʾmūrīn Idāresi*) was responsible for the governmental almanacs. In the provinces, the first almanacs appeared in Sarajevo (*Sāl-nāme-yi Wilāyet-i Bosna*, 1283/1866), Aleppo (Ḥaleb), Konya, Sūriye, and the Danube province (Ṭuna). Like the official provincial newspapers, they were the responsibility of the *mektūbd̲j̲u-yi wilāyet*. Some provincial year-books appeared with Arabic, Greek and "Bosnian" translations. Many included illustrations and tables. They were an instrument to demonstrate progress made by the government and to encourage competition between administrators.

2. Semi-official and non-governmental annuals. Some of these were annual reports of welfare organisations (e.g. *ʿOt̲h̲mānlī Hilāl-i Aḥmer D̲j̲emʿiyyeti*, 1329/1331; *D̲j̲emʿiyyet-i tedrīsiyye-i İslāmiyye*, 1332/1913). Ebu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ (Ebūżżiyā) Tewfīḳ [*q.v.*] was the publisher of the most successful almanacs for a vast reading public. The first appeared under the name *Sāl-nāme-yi Ḥadīḳa* (1873). Later, it was published under different names such as *Sāl-nāme-yi Ebu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ* (the first edition was destroyed in the printing press by order of the sultan) and *Newsāl-i Maʿrifet*.

3. Republican Turkey published a series of *Türkiye D̲j̲umhūriyeti Dewlet Sāl-nāmesi* (first 3 vols. 1925-6 to 1927-8 in Arabic script; 1928-9 under the title *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Yıllığı*). There were several attempts to revitalise the provincial almanacs under the name of *İl yıllıkları* (1967 and 1973).

Bibliography: Hasan Duman, *Ottoman year-books [Salname and Nevsal]. A bibliography and a union catalogue with reference to Istanbul libraries*, Istanbul 1982; A. Ubicini and Pavet de Courteille, *État présent de l'Empire ottoman. Statistique, gouvernement, administration, finances, armée, communautés non musulmanes etc. etc. d'après le Salnâméh (annuaire impérial) pour l'année 1293 de l'hégire (1875-76) et les documents officiels le plus récents*, Paris 1876; M. Hartmann, *Das erste Jahrbuch der geistlichen Behörden des Osmanischen Reiches*, in *WI*, iv (1916-17), 26-32; K. Kreiser, *Quellen zur Landeskunde und Geschichte des Jemen in türkischer Sprache*, in *Resultate aktueller Jemen-Forschung, eine Zwischenbilanz* (Bamberger Geographische Schriften, 1), Bamberg 1978, 93-122; J. McCarthy and J.D. Hyde, *Ottoman imperial and provincial Salnames*, in *IJMES* (1978); C.V. Findley, *Ottoman civil officialdom. A social history*, Princeton 1989. Many official and private *sāl-nāmes* are available in microfiche (Ottoman Microform Project. The University of Chicago/Middle East Documentation Center).

(K. Kreiser)

SALĀ, dialectically Sla, current French and English form Salé, a town of Morocco on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Būragrag (older Asmir), situated on a flat, sandy stretch of land. Pre-18th century sources often mix up S̲h̲alla, Salé and Rabat. *Selā would mean "crag, cliff" in Punic (though not in fact attested in extant Punic texts) but a Phoenician past for the town is based only on hypothesis.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 78, mentions a town and some *ribāṭs* on the river of Salā, whilst al-Bakrī states that ʿĪsā, the son of Idrīs II, was the ruler of the town. But this could also refer to S̲h̲alla rather than Salé proper. The town was probably founded by the Banū ʿAs̲h̲ara during the 5th/11th century. At first the Banū ʿAs̲h̲ara were at S̲h̲alla, but left it for the right bank of the river where they built palaces and held a court which rivalled those of the Spanish Taifas (M. Bencherifa, *Usrat Banī ʿAs̲h̲ara*, in *al-Baḥt̲h̲ al-ʿIlmī* [Rabat 1967], 177-219). Under the Almoravids, the Banū ʿAs̲h̲ara retained their prestige in the town, whose agricultural and commercial prosperity is described by al-Idrīsī. Salé's resistance to the Almohads provoked the destruction of its ramparts and the elimination of the Banū ʿAs̲h̲ara, whose palace ʿAbd al-Muʾmin requisitioned. The town became a royal encampment, although if the army stopped in the region on its way to al-Andalus, it was, rather, from the Mediterranean ports that it embarked.

The re-foundation of Rabat [see ribāṭ al-fatḥ] does not seem to have harmed Salé, whose role continued to be important; the caliphs often stayed there and undertook important building works: the provision of water (*sūr al-aḳwās* or wall of the arches), and construction or restoration of the Great Mosque, Masd̲j̲id al-Ṭāliʿa, which has always occupied the same place. The Marīnid conquest was marked by the seizure and sack of the town by the Castilians in 658/1260; goods were pillaged and burnt and a substantial part of the population massacred. Amongst the inhabitants carried off as slaves was the *ḳāḍī*, who was a descendant of the Banū ʿAs̲h̲ara. The Marīnid Abū Yūsuf (656-85/1258-86) came to the help of the town and took part in rebuilding those walls which had not been rebuilt by the Almohads

(Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, section on the Almohads, Rabat 1985, 418-25; A. Huici Miranda, *La toma de Salé por la escuada de Alfons X*, in *Hespéris* [1952]).

Between the 5th/11th and 8th/14th centuries Salé enjoyed real prosperity. The agricultural richness of the region, and commercial and artisanal activity, are attested in the sources, and despite the mediocre standard of the port (al-Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, 85), commercial traffic was important. Oil was imported from Seville, and corn, bees'- wax, hides, wool and indigo were exported (F.B. Peglotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, Cambridge, Mass. 1936). Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who spent three years there (760-3/1359-61) states that it was the "capital for cotton and linen" (*Miʿyār al-ikhtiyār*, Rabat 1977, 74). Fishing was especially flourishing. To the Almohad foundations, the Marīnids added a series of monuments, including two *madrasas*, a *māristān* and the Zāwiyat al-Nussāk. The arsenal, arranged within the interior of the walls, has not held out against the encroaching sands (H. Terrasse, *Les portes de l'arsenal de Salé*, in *Hespéris* [1922], 111). In the course of the 8th/14th century, Ibn ʿĀshir [*q.v.*], one of the two patron saints of the city, attracted thither an important group of Ṣūfīs, including Ibn ʿAbbād of Runda (M. al-Ḥaḍramī, *al-Salsal al-ʿadhb*, Salé 1988).

After the Iberian attacks on the Moroccan coasts, Salé remained one of the few ports which were not occupied and which the Saʿdians tried to utilise; the presence of an important Genoese colony attests commercial activity there. If the expelled Moriscos took refuge there, the so-called "corsairs of Salé" were in reality installed in the double city of Rabat (R. Coindreau, *Les corsaires de Salé*, Paris 1948). The town was an important stake in the struggle for power between the *zāwiya* of al-Dilā [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and the famous marabout al-ʿAyyāshī, murdered in 1051/1641 by the Khloṭs [see KHULṬ] (M. Ḥādjdjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾiyya*, Rabat 1964). Rabat and Salé called in al-Khaḍir Ghaylān to expel the Dilāʾīs; the town suffered the effects of the general anarchy, and its history was very eventful. But the arrival in power of the ʿAlawīs [*q.v.*] was favourable for it. The system of defences was reinforced by a series of keeps and a girdle of walls, mosques were built, as well as a *madrasa*, al-Madrasa al-ʿAdjība; the Great Mosque was enlarged and provided with a new minaret. However, from the 18th century onwards, Salé's activities as a port began to decline; the harbour silted up and was unable to admit boats above a certain tonnage. The prohibition of corsair activity by the sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and the founding of the town of al-Sawīra (Mogador), which attracted European commerce, dealt a severe blow to its maritime role. Salé was, moreover, several times bombarded by the French (in 1844 and 1851).

Internal trade remained active and intellectual life relatively important up to the opening of the present century. The artisans of Salé, organised into guilds, were busy with leatherwork and pottery, and produced carpets, mats and embroidery. The immediately surrounding region provided the necessary cotton and linen; fishing for shad, which went back to mediaeval times, furnished substantial revenues for the habours. The town notables, interested in agriculture, invested in the Gharb [*q.v.*]. The opening up of the Moroccan market to European manufactures led to the collapse of these artisan activities, with the textile workers, tanners and sandalmakers particularly affected.

The establishment of the Protectorate had a threefold effect. The town became detached from its hinterland; its artisanal production collapsed; and it became a satellite town of the new capital, Rabat. Salé received a substantial influx of rural immigrants; its population leapt from 17,000 in 1918 to *ca.* 600,000 in 1992. The market-garden zone, which had been covered with orchards and *sāniyas*, was gobbled up by uncontrolled construction development.

Present-day industry makes use of an important manpower element (mainly female) for textiles; Salé continues to produce carpets, mats, embroidery and pottery, and supplies the countryside. Despite its aspect as a dormitory town and its numerous bidonvilles, the *médina* retains its traditional character and celebrates the Mawlid [*q.v.*] by an important ceremony which goes back to Saʿdian times (V. Loubignac, *La procession des cierges à Salé*, in *Hespéris* [1946], 5-30).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes de Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920; *Villes et tribus du Maroc. Rabat et sa région*, Paris 1921; J. Goulven, *Les Mellahs de Rabat-Salé*, Rabat 1927; J. Couste, *Les grandes familles indigènes à Salé*, Rabat 1931; Leo Africanus, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956; J. Meunié, *La Zaouya an Noussak*, in *Mél. d'Hist. et d'Archéol. de l'Occident musulmane, Alger*, ii (1957), 129-45; R. Thouvenot, *Les vestiges de la route romaine de Salé à l'oued Beth*, in *Hespéris* (1957), 73; Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, Paris 1963; M. Naciri, *Salé, étude de géographie urbaine*, in *Revue de Geogr. du Maroc* (1963); K. Brown, *An urban view of Moroccan history: Salé, 1000-1888*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, xii (1971); Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1975; Brown, *People of Salé, tradition and change in a Moroccan city 1830-1930*, Manchester 1976; Benali Doukkali, *al-Itḥāf al-wadjīz*, Salé 1986; J. Bassar-Benslimane, *Le passé de la ville de Salé dans tous ses états*, Paris 1992.

(HALIMA FERHAT)

SALADIN [see ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN].

SALAF, a term of Islamic law and financial practice. As a noun doing duty for the verbal noun of *aslafa*, it is accorded a long entry in Lane (1403, col. 3), from which it can be seen that it is a word with a range of meanings relating to financial transactions of which the basic feature is a prepayment or a loan. A point that is not made in this entry, but which Lane would have done well to make for the benefit of the general, as opposed to the specialist, user of his lexicon is the essentially legal nature of the material utilised by his authorities for the various explanations of the word.

In works of classical jurisprudence *salaf* occurs in two main senses. Of these, one, when reduced to bare essentials, denotes a purchaser's prepayment for goods due for delivery by the recipient of such payment at the end of a specified period. In this sense, the term is held to be synonymous with *salam* [*q.v.*], the main aspects of which are dealt with under that head. The second of the two senses referred to is that attaching also to the term *ḳarḍ* or "loan", of a type recognised by the *Sharīʿa* as lawful and involving "the loan of fungible commodities, that is, goods which may be estimated and replaced according to weight, measure, and number" (Udovitch, 106; see *Bibl.* below). In this kind of loan "the borrower undertakes to return the equivalent or likes of that which he has received, but without any premium on the property, which would, of course, be construed as interest. The most likely object of a *ḳarḍ* loan would be currency or some other standard means of exchange" (*ibid.*, 106-7). Known also as *ḳarḍ ḥasan*, this type of loan must not only attract no interest, i.e. not be a *salaf bi-ziyāda*:

Salā. Court of the Marīnid *medersa*.

it must also be such as to allow no advantage (*manfaʿa*) to accrue to the lender from his loan—though what constitutes "advantage" in what circumstances is, in fact, not a matter on which there is a consensus of juristic opinion (Saleh, 41 ff., 99; see *Bibl.* below).

For the sake of completeness and, more importantly, to dispel any confusion or misunderstanding that may arise in readers' minds, it should be noted that the *ḳarḍ* is but one of two types of loan recognised by the *Sharīʿa*. The other is the *ʿāriya* (or *ʿāriyya*, the alternative preferred by Udovitch) "a loan for use which transfers the usufruct of property gratis to the borrower" (Udovitch, 106). Here the borrower's free use of the object of the loan, of which the lender retains ownership, lasts until and unless the contract is rescinded at will by either of the two parties to the agreement. To this type of loan the term *salaf* is, in Islamic law, technically inapplicable.

Bibliography: Lane, *loc. cit.* above (best consulted in conjunction with the present article and SALAM); A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in medieval Islam*, Princeton 1970; N.A. Saleh, *Unlawful gain and legitimate profit in Islamic law*, Cambridge 1986 (see esp. 35-48, 99-100). For primary sources, see the bibliographies contained in each of the last-named works. Particularly useful in certain respects for Mālikī law is O. Pesle, *La vente dans la doctrine malékite*, Rabat 1940 (see esp. 11 ff., 181, 197, 209), but the work suffers from the lack of a bibliography. To no small extent D. Santillana's monumental *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, 2 vols., Rome 1925-38, will compensate readers for this deficiency.

(J.D. LATHAM)

AL-SALAF WA 'L-KHALAF (A.), lit. "the predecessors and the successors", names given to the first three generations and to the following generations of the Muslim community respectively.

It was the *Sunna* [*q.v.*] rather than the Ḳurʾān which instituted one of the most characteristic traits of the Islamic vision of history by imposing the idea a priori that this history was said to have begun with a golden age, which was said to have been inevitably followed by a period of relaxation of standards, deviation and finally of division. A saying of the Prophet—of which there exist various versions transmitted by different authorities—is accordingly very frequently cited in Islamic literature of all periods and in all sorts of disciplines mixed together: "The best of you are those of my own epoch (*ḳarnī*), then those who follow on, then those who follow them..." (the version of al-Bukhārī, from ʿImrān b. Ḥusayn, in *Ṣaḥīḥ, k. al-shahādāt, bāb lā yashhadu ʿalā shahāda*...; for other versions, see *Concordance*, v, 372).

The word *ḳarn* "epoch, age" figuring in this *ḥadīth*, being most commonly, though not invariably, taken as a synonym of *ʿaṣr* (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Beirut 1411/1990, xii, 131), it is the three first "generations"—those of the Companions or *ṣaḥāba* [*q.v.*], of the Successors or *tābiʿūn* [*q.v.*] and those of the Successors of the Successors or *atbāʿ al-tābiʿīn*—which are distinguished from the rest of the Islamic community, and it is in them that the community is to recognise the "Pious Predecessors" (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*), its norms and its models. According to Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] (see his *Madjmūʿ al-fatāwā*, Rabat 1401/1981, x, 357), this privileged period of the community ended around 132/750 (hence it ran until the end of the Umayyad caliphate), but al-Rāzī, who refused to give precise dates, mentioned that certain authorities counted a *ḳarn* as comprising 60, 70 or even 80 lunar years.

In this way, each of the qualities given prominence by Islamic ethics is personified in one or other of the *salaf* ʿAlī typifies courage and bravery, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās learning, etc.). Moreover, each particular intellectual discipline, and each particular trend of that discipline, whether appealing to the letter or the spirit, was to search for a precursor amongst the *salaf*, a person reputed to be its initiator hence embodying thereby the role of guarantor of the legitimacy of the discipline in question.

In practice, the precedence of the *salaf* is only fully displayed in regard to the generation of the Prophet's Companions. On one hand, for the majority of scholars, their quality of being reliable transmitters (*thiḳa*) of the Prophet's *Sunna* was incontestable and so did not require the testing and verification procedure (*taʿdīl*), traditionally required at the outset of all transmitters (see e.g. al-Djuwaynī, *al-Burhān fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, Cairo 1400/1980, i, 625-32). On the other hand, only a minority of scholars were to go so far as to uphold the view that "the word of just one Companion" (*ḳawl al-wāḥid min al-ṣaḥāba*) constituted, after the manner of the Prophet's Sunna, a proof (*ḥudjdja*) which could establish a legal prescription binding the Community in general: this leads back to a consideration of the Companions' sayings as one of the sources quite separate from *fiḳh* (see e.g. Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Iʿlām al-muwaḳḳiʿīn*, Beirut 1991, iv, 90-117).

In a more general fashion, if the conception that the past model for the community is situated at some point beyond the present time is an invariable element within the Islamic conscience, its interpretation has nevertheless varied and has taken shape as two attitudes which are really antithetical to each other. The first may be described as a "confident reliance on the past", a genuine traditionalism which tends to neutralise the evolutionary effects linked with the tension created by the gap between an ideal past and a present always on this side of the ideal past. The second attitude, that of the *salafiyya* [*q.v.*], ancient and modern, on the contrary continually endeavours to update the changes—conceived as necessary alterations in relation to deviations and innovations, *bidʿas*—believed to be necessary in view of the restoration in all respects of the ideal past (more or less freely defined in relation to the demands of each particular period) of the *salaf*.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Remarkably enough, there does not exist any special monograph on the theme of *al-salaf wa 'l-khalaf* as such. Cf., however, R. Gramlich, *Vom islamischen Glauben an die "gute alte Zeit"*, in idem (ed.), *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen Fritz Meier zum 60. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1974, 110-17.

(E. CHAUMONT)

SALAFIYYA, a neo-orthodox brand of Islamic reformism, originating in the late 19th century and centred on Egypt, aiming to regenerate Islam by a return to the tradition represented by the "pious forefathers" (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, hence its name) of the Primitive Faith. For definition, background, origins, doctrines and general aspects see IṢLĀḤ; MUḤAMMAD ʿABDUH; RASHĪD RIḌĀ.

1. In North Africa.

(a) Tunisia. Tunisia was the first Maghrib country to receive a reformist (though not purely *salafī*) message from the East. Muḥammad ʿAbduh visited Tunis (December-January 1885) with a view to establish there a branch of *al-ʿUrwa al-Wuthḳā* secret society. He was received with some reserve by the older Zaytūna Shaykhs of the Mālikī school, but

found support among the junior Mālikī ʿulamāʾ and the Ḥanafīs. ʿAbduh's second visit to Tunis (September 1903) did not improve his relations with the Zaytūna conservatives, although he appeared with the prestige of Chief Muftī of Egypt. Facts that did not endear him to them included his insistence on the need to acquire secular knowledge beside the religious sciences and his condemnation of Ṣūfī quietism, fatalism and *tawakkul* [*q.v.*]; his "Transvaal *Fatwā*" (which permitted Muslims in a Christian country to wear a European hat and eat meat slaughtered by a *kitābī*); his clash with the Zaytūnī *ʿālim* Ṣāliḥ al-S̲h̲arīf, who accused him of Wahhābism (because of his sympathy with the Wahhābī drive against saint-worship); the appearance of the foremost Salafī journal *al-Manār* [*q.v.*], which a group of ultras, following ʿAbduh's visit, petitioned the Prime Minister to ban from entry to Tunisia; the uproar created in maraboutic circles by two young Salafīs, outspoken critics of saint worship, Muḥ. S̲h̲ākir and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-T̲h̲aʿālibī [*q.v.*]. The former, influenced by *al-Manār*, publicly condemned maraboutism as a form of paganism, for which he was dismissed from his teaching post in Sfax (1902). The latter, a Zaytūna student, had launched upon his return from a two-year stay in Egypt and the East, a violent campaign against the marabouts and pleaded for a rationalist interpretation of the Ḳurʾān. He was summoned before a *s̲h̲arīʿa* court on a charge of blasphemy, but thanks to French intervention, got away with a light prison sentence (1904) (according to one version). The solid support lent to the attacked marabouts by the Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ* showed that the traditional accommodation between the two main components of the religious institution was still a reality and deterred other Salafī sympathisers among the *ʿulamāʾ*.

After ʿAbduh's death (1905), the contacts between the Zaytūna and the Cairene Salafiyya continued under his successor, Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, the latter's conservative bent being more to the liking of the former. Yet while they agreed on several issues such as opposition to the French Protectorate and the need of reform of the Zaytūna, they differed on points of Ḳurʾānic exegesis and on major political issues: the Young Turks (Riḍā was against them, the Tunisians in favour), the Arab Congress in Paris, the Great War and the Arab Revolt (the Tunisians sided with the Ottomans, Riḍā with the Arabs). Meanwhile, the Young Tunisian Party was founded (1907), based on an alliance of secular modernists and Salafī reformists and headed by ʿAlī Bās̲h̲ Ḥānba and al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, respectively. Their involvement in the Zaytūna student strike (1911) and the tram boycott (1912) resulted in a ban of their party and the expulsion of its leaders. In 1920, a similar alliance of secular and liberal nationalists with ʿAbduhists and Salafīs produced the Liberal Constitutional Party ("Destour") led by al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, whose anonymously printed publication *La Tunisie martyre* (1920), a nationalist manifesto and indictment sheet of French policy, formed the basis of its programme. After his departure for the East (1923) the Party stagnated until it was joined (since 1927) by a group of graduates of French universities, led by Dr. Materia and H. Bourguiba. The divergent tendencies of the oldtimers and newcomers inevitably led to a split (1934), after which the latter, henceforward known as the "Neo-Destour", spearheaded the nationalist struggle, while the former, dubbed by their opponents "Old Destour", persisted in an intransigent but ineffectual stance. In 1937, al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, back in Tunis from his long self-imposed exile, attempted to reunite the two parties under his leadership, but was defeated by Bourguiba and withdrew from politics.

Salafism, however, made itself felt in other domains: (a) the Free Schools; (b) the Arabic periodical press, most of which was permeated in the 1930s by a puritanical, "Wahhābī" spirit, extolling classical Arabic and its cultural heritage, emphasising Tunisia's ties with the Arab East, castigating social ills and vices (esp. alcoholism and prostitution), satirising imitation of Europe and feminism, condemning naturalisation and Christian missionary activities; (c) associations such as the K̲h̲aldūniyya [*q.v.*], Young Men's Muslim Association (YMMA) and the very popular but shortlived Society for the Preservation and Teaching of the Ḳurʾān (for adults). Yet the Tunisian Salafīs, unlike their Algerian counterparts, did not succeed in creating a durable organisation with a recognised leadership and action programme. They showed the people a middle road between the mediaeval synthesis and westernisation, but had no answer for Tunisia's social and economic problems, nor a practical means to recover its independence. Small wonder then that the Salafiyya did not find its place in independent Tunisia and kept silent, especially after the sweeping secularisation programme carried through legislature by the will of Bourguiba. Whether the current fundamentalist (or "Islamist") movement (MTI), which traces its roots back to the Ḳurʾānic Preservation Society (formed at the Zaytūna in 1970, cf. S. Waltz, *Islamist appeal in Tunisia*, in *MEJ*, xl [1986], 652), should be regarded as an avatar of the Salafiyya has not yet been definitely established.

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(b) Algeria. Of all the Mag̲h̲rib countries, it was Algeria where Salafī reformism found its fullest and most effective expression and response. Perhaps the main reasons of its success, apart from the quality of its leadership were that it was here that the danger to Algerian national identity, personality and "soul", to Islamic religion, ethics and way of life, and to classical Arabic language and culture was felt to be the greatest. This threefold threat was implicit in Algeria's colonial situation—her ambiguous status of being legally part of France but in fact a colony of massive European settlement which uprooted and

proletarianised its native peasantry, forcing large numbers to emigrate to France, transforming its economy and creating a thin layer of gallicised *évolués* who were taught "nos ancêtres les Gaulois" and aspired to complete political and cultural (but not religious) identification with France.

The emergence of the Salafiyya in Algeria is usually seen as a consequence of ʿAbduh's visit to Algiers (and Constantine), August-September 1903. According to R. Bencheneb, the persons who met him represented three trends of the Algerian élite: the conservatives, the modernists and those of French civil status.

Prominent among the first-named were three professors of official *madrasas*, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Madjdjāwī, who taught Arabic and Islamic Law at Algiers, was active in the Algerian *nahḍa* and wrote against social ills, superstitions and old customs; ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm b. Smāya, noted advocate of "Islamic nationalism" (*ḳawmiyya islāmiyya*), in close touch with Cairo and Istanbul, host of ʿAbduh's visit in Algiers and campaigner in 1911 against conscription into the French army; and Muḥ. Saʿīd b. Aḥmad al-Zawāwī, surnamed "Ibnu Zekri", a *zāwiya*-bred Kabyle scholar and *imām* of a mosque, who published in 1904 a pamphlet insisting on the need of *zāwiya* reform in Kabylia and denouncing customary laws that disadvantaged the Kabyle woman. To the same trend belonged two Constantine *ʿālims*, Ḥamdān al-Wanīsī, teacher and mentor of Ibn Bādīs [*q.v.*], and Mawlūd b. Mawhūb al-Ḥāfiẓī, real leader of the conservatives, long-time *Muftī* of Constantine, partisan of progress and reform, open to modern science and European ideas. For Merad (1967, 126), his reformism consisted in improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of Algerian Muslims without judging them for their beliefs, whether maraboutic or other. The French-assimilated modernists dismissed the conservatives as "old turbans", arrogant bourgeois, great feudals, selfish, lazy and corrupt, whose attachment to tradition impeded progress and merger.

ʿAbduh's visit, though brief, made a strong and lasting impression. He appeared as an educator and missionary of faith, hope and effort, he showed the Algerian intelligentsia what it was looking for: the possibility of reconciling religion and progress, tradition and renewal, while safeguarding their national identity. Whether he also conveyed a political message has been both suggested (Merad, 1964) and denied (Bencheneb 1981, 131). It took, however, a decade for the fruits of ʿAbduh's visit to become visible. In 1913 there appeared at Algiers two Arabic weeklies, *al-Fārūḳ* and *Dhu 'l-Faḳār*, both of expressly ʿAbduhist inspiration and non-political. Their aim was twofold: to publicise ʿAbduh's teachings and to criticise the religious situation in Algeria, chiefly the Ṣūfī orders and marabouts, popular superstitions and vices. A special target was the economic rôle of the local Jews. Both were suspended by 1915, but *al-Fārūḳ* reappeared in 1921.

A decade later, the diffuse Salafī trends begin to take shape again with the publication of *al-Muntaḳid* (July 1925), suspended and replaced shortly after by *al-Shihāb* (December 1925, first weekly, then monthly). Thanks to the extraordinary personality of its founder and editor, the Constantine *ʿālim* ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Bādīs [*q.v.*, and see IṢLĀḤ], as well as the qualities of his collaborators, it became in the 1930s the most prestigious tribune of the Maghribī Salafiyya (it was dubbed "the *Manār* of the Maghrib"), until its cessation by the end of 1939.

The team assembled by Ibn Bādīs comprised a number of persons, most of whom shared a common "homeground"—the Province of Constantine—a period of study at the Zaytūna and (some of them) a stay of up to 10 years in the East, but they differed greatly in background, skills and temperament (see on these persons, Merad, 1967, 79-118). Six years later, this team became the nucleus of the Association of Algerian Muslim *ʿulamāʾ* (*Djamʿiyyat al-ʿulamāʾ al-muslimīn al-djazāʾiriyyīn* = AUMA) (1931). Its aims, as stated in the statutes, were to be purely religious, moral and cultural; all political discussion or interference in any political question were strictly forbidden. There ensued a struggle for dominance between the Salafīs and marabouts in which the former prevailed, but the latter, led by Ḥāfiẓī, set up a rival anti-reformist organisation which they called *Djamʿiyyat ʿulamāʾ al-sunna al-djazāʾiriyyīn* = AUSA (1932), the addition of the word *sunna* implying that their adversaries had become tainted by heresy in co-opting to their committee a representative of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*], Ibrāhīm Bayyūd. There followed a year of bitter polemics between the two camps, which exposed the intrinsic weakness of the marabouts, their intellectual poverty, their moral decay and inability to evolve and meet the challenge of the times. They were on the whole unable, in spite of their numbers, well-knit framework, widespread ramifications, monastic discipline and economic strength, to devise effective long-range counter-measures to withstand the Salafī onslaught, and had to depend on the initiative, support and guidance of the French Administration, which did not enhance their prestige.

A secondary target of the Salafī reformists was the class of official ministers of the cult, or Muslim "clergy". In 1934-5 they numbered 385 (22 *muftīs*, 159 *imāms* and 204 others. Merad, 1967, 418). Since political dependability (i.e. loyalty and docility) were often given precedence over professional aptitude and moral integrity, the religious civil service as a whole lost in the course of time most of its credit in the public eye. Both sides, however, refrained as a rule from direct attacks on each other. The two major charges which the official "clergy" proffered against the Salafiyya were separatism (from France) and Wahhābism.

Apart from the upper hand gained by the Reformists over the marabouts, a number of events facilitated or marked the progress of the former during the 1930s: (a) Muslim resentment over the triumphant centennial celebrations of the French conquest of Algiers (1930); (b) the initially benevolent attitude of the anti-maraboutic director of Native Affairs, Jean Mirante, towards the Reformists. (c) the AUMA-Administration crisis of 1933-4 following the ban on unlicensed (i.e. Reformist) preaching in the official mosques and on Reformist teaching in a number of free schools, further widened popular support for the Reformists; (d) the paradoxical alliance of the Reformists with the assimilationist Fédération des Élus, led by Dr. Bendjelloul and Farḥāt ʿAbbās, for electoral purposes; (e) the bloody anti-Jewish riots of Constantine (3-5 August 1934); the fact that these riots occurred in the very centre of Salafī reformism and home town of Ibn Bādīs, cast a strong suspicion on the latter but redounded to his advantage thanks to his rôle as a restorer of intercommunal peace; (f) the first Reformist congress, held at Algiers in September 1935, enabled the AUMA to take stock and appear as a political and national force in Algerian public; (g) the central rôle played by the Reformists in the preparation and conduct of the Islamic Congress of Algiers (June 1936), convened with a view to adopt

and present to the Popular Front Government the combined demands of the three main participants: *Élus*, Reformists and Communists (Marabouts and official ministers of the cult were not invited; a dissident participant was Aḥmad Meṣṣālī Ḥādjdj, leader of the Paris-based proletarian and separatist North African Star (since 1937 renamed Algerian People's Party = PPA), was not invited, but he attended nevertheless). The demands of the Reformists included: preservation of the Muslim personal status, reorganisation of the judicial systems, separation of Religion and State (i.e. independence of the Muslim cult), restitution of all religious buildings and control of *wakf* revenues, and abolition of all discrimination regarding the Arabic language.

The congress delegation was well received in Paris, but a telegram disavowing it, sent by the Mālikī vice-Grand Muftī of Algiers, Maḥmūd Ben Dālī (dubbed Kaḥḥūl) and others to the Premier Léon Blum, had serious consequences: on 2 August the Muftī was murdered and the assassin pointed to the Reformist leader ʿUḳbī as the man who had hired him, although ʿUḳbī was finally exonerated in 1939.

ʿUḳbī's defenders after his arrest, who included also some Jewish civic leaders, presented the matter as a new Dreyfus affair, staged by the Administration in order to discredit the Reformists. From this joint effort to clear ʿUḳbī's name was born the "Union des Croyants Monothéistes", whose principal members on the Muslim side were Ibn Bādīs and ʿUḳbī. The exertions of this group are believed to account to some extent for the correct attitude observed by the Algerian Muslims towards the Jews during the Vichy régime, though incitements against the Jews were not lacking (see M. Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie*, etc., Paris 1950, 81).

On the other hand, the ʿUḳbī affair sowed discord and confusion in the Muslim camp itself. A major event, that was seen by many as a turning-point in Franco-Algerian relations, was the failure of the so-called Projet Blum-Viollette, a bill of law that would have granted certain categories of *évolués* (*ca.* 21,000 persons) the political rights of a French citizen without loss of their Muslim personal status. Owing to opposition of the *colons* and their lobby in Paris, the bill never came up for discussion in the Chamber of Deputies.

A year later (July 1938) the *Élus* split, when each of their two leaders, Bendjelloul and F. ʿAbbās, tried to create a camp of his own. Lastly, the AUMA itself suffered breakaways. At its annual convention (September 1938), ʿUḳbī strongly criticised Ibn Bādīs' group for excessive involvement in politics and lack of support for France. A year later he founded a group and a paper of his own, *al-Iṣlāḥ al-islāmī*, forsook politics for free education and religious and moral reform, appealed to the Algerians to stand by France in her hour of need, and put a damper on his anti-maraboutic zeal.

ʿUḳbī's secession, more than anything else, underlined the AUMA's (chiefly, Ibn Bādīs' and Ibrāhīmī's) animosity against France. It became evident, already in 1936, in Ibn Bādīs' famous rejoinder to F. ʿAbbās, affirming that "... this nation is not France, cannot be France and does not want to be France" (*Shihāb*, April 1936). The crucial factor came after the outbreak of World War II, when the AUMA abstained from declaring its loyalty to France. During the War, the AUMA, classed as hostile to France, was practically dormant. In February 1945 it formed with the *Élus* and the PPA a nationalist front, headed by ʿAbbās. Their campaigns against French dominance are believed to have had a share in creating the atmosphere that made possible the uprising in the Constantinois on V-Day (8 May 1945), in which a hundred Europeans and thousands of Algerians lost their lives. The deep rift opened between the French and the Algerians by this event was never bridged. The new hopes raised by the *Statut organique*, granted to Algeria by the law of 20 September 1947, were soon dashed. Its centrepiece, an elected Algerian Assembly, was to apply, *inter alia*, the principles of independence of the religious institution and of the equal status of the Arabic language, demanded by the AUMA from its inception. After 1950, with the opening of political crises in Tunisia and Morocco, it became increasingly clear that Algeria, too, was heading for a confrontation.

During the War of Liberation (1954-62), Islam played an important rôle as a diffuse but effective mobiliser of the masses, quite apart from the AUMA which, though morally supportive, was rather slow in joining hands with the FLN (manifesto of January 1956). According to A. Nadir (1975), this cautious stance was due to the aversion of the *ʿulamāʾ* from violence and to their bourgeois origin and culture. It also enabled the AUMA to keep its reserves intact. The FLN, on the other hand, could not dispense with the AUMA, owing to their ideological indigence and the inability of secularism and socialism to attract the masses. They made A.T. Madanī, historian and Secretary-General of the AUMA, the spokesman of the Provisional Algerian Government (GPRA, 1958) and entrusted him later (September 1962) with the Ministry of *Waḳfs* and Culture.

While Salafī reformism ceased to exist as a party in independent Algeria, it informed government policy in the religious field. By contrast, maraboutism, its old *bête noire*, is lying low. Government and the Reformists barely tolerate saint worship, but combat the religious charlatans and exorcists. It could thus be said, as late as 1977, that the regime "completely controlled the religious field" (B. Etienne, *L'Algérie, cultures et révolution*, Paris 1977, 118-43). Fifteen years later, this statement seems no longer true. The influence of the Islamic revolution in Iran and elsewhere, the ever-deepening economic and social crisis in Algeria, with a one-party army-controlled régime unable to cope with it effectively, and a belated attempt at democratisation made by President Ben-Djedīd—all these factors combined (coming on top of nearly seventy years of exposure to Salafī reformism) may explain the landslide victory of the fundamentalist Islamic Front of Salvation (FIS) and its allies in the first round of the general elections (January 1992). The refusal of the army to accept the verdict of the polls, and its resolve to use force instead of accommodation, have created a sanguinary confrontation whose outcome still lies in the future.

Apart from the record of Salafī reformism in politics, it achieved quite remarkable results in its proper spheres of activity, sc. religion, culture and ethics, which provided the spiritual foundation of Algerian nationalism. By 1958 the AUMA had an estimated 10,000 active members, and 100,000 (?) sympathisers, divided in 126 sections, 34 *cercles* and 70 *communautés cultuelles*. It enjoyed wide support in the representative bodies of Algeria down to village *djamāʿas* and even more in the Association of North African Muslim Students (AEMNA), had made converts among the graduates of official *madrasas* and French schools, even among *muḳaddams* of certain *zāwiyas*, had penetrated the Awrās massif, stronghold of maraboutism, the Summām valley and the Saharan fringes (Laghouat, Sūf). The principal means of

Salafī-Reformist indoctrination were the free school, the mosque and the press. The number of free schools grew steadily since 1925, especially in the province of Constantine, the "home-ground" of Ibn Bādīs and his team. For the year 1934-5 Merad (1967: 338) gives the figure of 70 schools, each consisting of one or two classes, totalling a hundred classes with 30,000 pupils of both sexes. According to a later estimate, there were by 1958 181 schools with 40,000 pupils, of which 123 were Reformist Ḳurʾānic schools and 58 free *madrasas* dispensing a primary education to 11,000 pupils. Classes were held 272 days annually (as against 157 days in French schools). In addition there was the Ben-Bādīs Institute (secondary school level, opened in 1947) with 700 students. Most schools served also as local branches of the AUMA and clubs for Reformist youth. In their curricula the emphasis was heavily on classical Arabic (spoken Arabic and Berber were banned), Ḳurʾān with relevant commentary, some *ḥadīth*, some *fiḳh*, history of the Arabs (chiefly the period of the Prophet and the *Rāshidūn* caliphs) and of Algeria, with a view to foster national pride and an aspiration to renew their pristine glories. Important items were Algerian patriotic songs and the formula-creed: Islam is my religion, Arabic is my langage, Algeria is my fatherland (*waṭanī*).

Next to teaching, the Salafī *ʿulamāʾ* tried to infuse new life into the preacher's art, which had become a purely mechanical affair, divorced from reality and the needs of the people. Three of them stand out as orators: Ibn Bādīs, Ibrāhīmī and ʿUḳbī, who greatly differed in style, but they all captivated their audiences by their excellent command of classical Arabic, their missionary zeal and the novelty of their message.

As to the press, the Algerian Arabic papers, like their Middle Eastern *confrères* [see DJARĪDA], suffered from a number of handicaps and shortcomings: they were published by amateurs, their financial resources were precarious, their technical equipment rudimentary, their readership restricted owing to high illiteracy, their very existence in constant danger of suspension. Few had a lifespan of more than 10 years. They were the veteran conservative *Nadjāḥ*, the Salafī *Shihāb*, *Iṣlāḥ* and *Baṣāʾir*, the ʿAlīwī *Balāgh* and the neo-Ibāḍī *Wādī-Mīzāb*. Despite the above drawbacks, the Salafī organs could attain their goal, as theirs was a press of opinion, not of information. Apart from Islam, Arabic and Algerian national identity, two themes were of major concern to them: (1) Salafī ethics, or "moral rearmament"; and (2) the "struggle for the past" or their vision of history.

The re-evaluation of Islamic ethics by the Algerian reformists, like that of the eastern Salafīs, stemmed from a poignant realisation of the contrast between the present state of subjection to an infidel power and Arab might and glory in the days of the *Salaf*. The call was therefore for a revival of those vital moral forces that had led the Arabs to greatness but had lain dormant for centuries under the influence of Ṣūfī ethics, with its emphasis on contempt of the *dunyā*, unconcern with the morrow and future, fatalism, quietism and passive acceptance of things as they were. In order for a change to occur, the Muslim must return to a pure, strictly unitarian belief in God and trust in destiny, the fruit of a scrupulous observance of ritual, which in turn foster vitality, energy, willpower, self-reliance, activity, work, movement and speed (value of time), resolve, effort, perseverance and constancy, ambition, quest of fame, hope—all of which become key-words in the Reformist lexicon.

In the domain of social ethics, the Reformist efforts did not extend beyond the fostering of qualities making for social cohesion and the combatting of certain vices, such as prostitution, alcoholism and gambling—made doubly hateful because of the Ḳurʾānic ban and the influence of the Europeans on their spreading. They also campaigned against customs proscribed by Wahhābī-Salafī puritanism, such as ruinous spending on weddings and other celebrations, noisy funerals and popular *bidʿas* relating to saint-worship. Social reform in the modern acceptation was none of their concern. They preferred to leave it to the politicians and labour leaders when they did not actually oppose it, as they did in all major questions relating to women's liberation, such as the veil, polygamy, divorce and inheritance (as did Rashīd Riḍā). This cautious stance may be explained by the strong conservatism of Maghribī society, the bourgeois background of Ibn Bādīs, the conviction that social justice was provided by the Ḳurʾān and the *Sharīʿa*, the desire to safeguard the traditional structure of the Algerian family as the last bulwark of Islam against the disruptive influences of the West and last, but perhaps not least, dependence for financial support on the well-to-do classes (as suggested by Merad, 1967, 304).

Reformist history writing (Mīlī, Madanī, Fāsī; see Shinar, 1971) was guided by several basic assumptions: there have existed a polarity and a dichotomy between East and West since the dawn of history; the East is superior to the West in spiritual values, ethics and original culture; the ways of the West, spearheaded by Rome and the Latin heirs of her imperial traditions, are domination, oppression and exploitation; the Maghrib is part of the Semitic East by origins, spirit and culture; the Berbers, already Semiticised by the Phoenicians, merged with the Arabs into one nation through Islam and the Arabic language, stood up to every conqueror and proved their capacity to establish one of the greatest states in the world; Algeria had and still has her own national identity and history, despite Western efforts to dilute and obliterate them. Her history is illustrated by the following figures and dynasties: Jugurtha the Numidian, Rome's greatest foe (see M.-Ch. Sahli, *Le message de Yougourtha*, Algiers 1947); ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, Arab conqueror of the Maghrib for Islam, buried in Algerian soil; the Rustamid [*q.v.*] imāmate of Tāhart (despite its being heretical Khāridjite); ʿAbd al-Muʾmin the Algerian [*q.v.*], the real founder of the Almohad caliphate; and the ʿAbd al-Wādid [*q.v.*] dynasty of Tilimsān (Tlemcen). Even the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*], whose invasion of the Maghrib had been described since Ibn Khaldūn as the greatest catastrophe to befall the region in the Middle Ages, is seen by the Reformists as a blessing in disguise, because it permanently fixed its Arab character. The latest hero has been ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥyī al-Dīn [*q.v.*], champion of Algerian resistance to the French.

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(c) Morocco. Like the Tunisian Salafiyya, its Moroccan counterpart cannot compare with that of Algeria as regards scope, duration and political significance. Nor did it create a centralised organisation, collective leadership and a common action programme. It was the first manifestation of an awakened national-Islamic consciousness, a transitional phase between armed Berber resistance against the French and Spanish occupiers and the emergence of a political movement, the Young Moroccan Party, which was stimulated by the Rīf War and triggered by the notorious Berber Dahir (1930). It absorbed the Salafī ideology and its agents, but went far beyond it. Yet, though brief, Salafism proved remarkably effective, winning support and sympathy in high quarters including sultans, *mak̲h̲zen*, *ʿulamāʾ* of the Ḳarawiyyīn and the high bourgeoisie, but was seen by the French as a potential threat to their protectorate. Unlike the Algerian reformists, the Salafīs of Morocco did not have to create a separate national history and identity; existence of the latter was a historic fact, so they could dedicate themselves to the other major goals of Salafī reformism: the eradication of saint worship, especially the pilgrimages to saints' tombs with their attendant *bidʿas*, including the anthropolatrous and "naturistic" beliefs and practices of the lower Ṣūfī orders, and the reform of the traditional educational system in ʿAbduh's spirit. In addition, they campaigned against extravagant and ruinous wedding celebrations. A theme that came last to the fore, but then with dramatic effect, was France's Berber policy. In their drive against maraboutism, the Salafīs were preceded by two Wahhābī-inspired sultans, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and his son Mawlāy Sulaymān [see ʿALAWĪS]. The latter's anti-maraboutic "pastoral letter" (1811) involved him in a military struggle with the maraboutic establishment that nearly swept away the dynasty (1822). His immediate successors adopted a more cautious policy, but in May 1909 Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ, a strong Salafī sympathiser (he wrote a refutation of Tid̲j̲ānī claims) put to death, and closed the *zāwiyas* of, the Idrīsī *s̲h̲arīf* Muḥammad al-Kabīr b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Kattānī, chief of the Kattāniyya order and leader of the clerical opposition to the French. Al-Kattānī was suspected of plotting to overthrow the reigning dynasty and restore the Idrīsid one (E. Michaux-Bellaire, in *RMM*, v [1908], 393-423, and Laroui 1980, 405). The next sultan, Mawlāy Yūsuf, continued the same line. In 1924 the Council of *ʿUlamāʾ*, at his behest, decided to burn all writings of the Tid̲j̲ānī writer Muḥammad al-Nad̲h̲īfī. In 1933, his son and successor Sīdī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf banned all manifestations of the ʿĪsāwa order, and in 1946 he prohibited the founding of new orders or opening of new *zāwiyas* without prior permission.

Even Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm, leader of the Rīf War (1921-6) espoused the Salafī ideology and tried to spread it in the Rīf [*q.v.*] in order to bolster Rīfī morale and counteract the defeatist propaganda of some Ṣūfī orders, burning, as a reprisal, two of their *zāwiyas* (Shinar 1965, 169 ff.). This attitude of the orders was branded as treason by the Young Moroccans and deepened their enmity towards the entire Ṣūfī establishment. After the Rīf War, their chief maraboutic target became the new head of the Kattāniyya, al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī. First signs of an anti-maraboutic trend among Moroccan intellectuals appear in the second half of the 19th century: the historian Aḥmad b. K̲h̲ālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī (d. 1897 [*q.v.*]), who declared himself an enemy of pilgrimages to saints' tombs (*mawsims*) (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 368), and ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Sanūsī, *ʿālim* of the Ḳarawiyyīn and member of the Royal Council under Mawlāy Ḥasan (1873-1894), who brought back some Salafī ideas from his travels in the East and tried to propagate them in Morocco, but with little success.

Far more effective was the action led by Abū S̲h̲uʿayb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dukkālī, dubbed "the Moroccan ʿAbduh" (1878-1937). He studied at the Azhar around 1900, became Vizier of Justice, taught ʿAbduh's doctrine at the Ḳarawiyyīn and in Rabāṭ, left again for the East after 1912, expounded ʿAbduh's teachings at Mecca and befriended Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā and his *Manār* group, as well as the "Father of Pan-Arabism", the Druze *amīr* S̲h̲akīb Arslān. After the First World War, he returned to Morocco and toured the country with a group of followers, preaching, felling sacred trees and smashing sacred stones. His eloquence and charisma earned him a wide following. Among his disciples the most militant were (a) Muḥammad G̲h̲āzī, a native of Miknās (Meknès) who

clashed with ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī (see above) in 1920, was expelled from the Ḳarawiyyīn in 1923 and founded a "free school" in 1926. He was noted as a nationalist poet and *faḳīh*; and (b) ᶜAllāl al-Fāsī (1907-74 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), *ᶜālim*, of the Ḳarawiyyīn, fervent patriot, poet and teacher, became the foremost nationalist leader from 1929 onwards, thus embodying in his person the transition from Salafiyya to nationalism. The philosopher M.ᶜA. Lahbabi (*Du clos à l'ouvert*, Casablanca 1961, 65) calls him the "theorist of the Salafiyya", by virtue of his book, *Self-criticism* (*al-Naḳd al-dhātī*, Cairo 1952).

Similar groups to those of Rabat and Fās were formed at Marrākush, Tiṭṭāwīn and Ṭandja. In the two latter towns, Salafī activity centred around Muḥammad Dāwūd, historian of Tiṭṭāwīn, and the Bennūna family, whose head, al-Ḥādjdj ᶜAbd al-Salām, ex-Vizier of Justice, was dubbed "Father of Moroccan nationalism".

Finally, there must be mentioned the Islamic activist Muḥammad Makkī al-Nāṣirī, scion of a noted Rabāṭī family (b. 1904). He studied in Cairo, returned to Morocco in 1927, was expelled in 1930 following his campaign against the Berber Dahir and presented an indictment sheet against France's Berber policy to the pan-Islamic congress of Jerusalem (December 1931). In 1937 he founded and led the Moroccan Unity Party (PUM). For his early reformist thinking we have his pamphlet, entitled *Iẓhār al-ḥaḳīḳa wa-iblāgh al-khalīḳa*, which called for a reform of Muslim society by a return to true Ṣufism based on practical ethics (see L. Massignon, in *REI*, i [1927], 33).

The other major field of Salafī activity was the reform of the educational system, more especially the establishment of "free schools" (*madāris ḥurra*), also called "renovated Ḳurᵓānic schools". The Salafīs were neither the first nor the only ones to create them. J. Damis distinguishes four categories among the "founding fathers" and patronage committees: merchants, Salafīs, *ᶜulamāᵓ/fuḳahāᵓ* and members of some Ṣūfī orders. They shared an awareness of the backwardness of the traditional Ḳurᵓānic school (*msīd*), the example of reformed schools in the East (Egypt and Syria), a cultural nationalism and a moral reservation with regards to the public school with its emphasis on French and modern subjects and its secular atmosphere, at the expense of Arabic, Ḳurᵓān and Islam. Yet they were influenced by the public school in matters of organisation, management, methodology and equipment. The first free schools opened in 1919 in Rabāṭ, Fās and Tiṭṭāwīn. By the late 1940s there were 121 free schools with 14 annexes and 26,800 students. The teaching staff came mostly from the Ḳarawiyyīn and the pupils from the urban middle class. Their curricula varied. Thus the Bū-Hlāl school (Rabāṭ 1918) claimed to offer courses in modern sciences, history, geography, French and gymnastics, while the Marrākush school (1952) taught mainly Ḳurᵓān, Arabic grammar, some *fiḳh*, arithmetic and French. The overall effect of the free school in Morocco was that it served as a reactor against French culture, a vehicle of modern Arabic culture, a precursor and (later) auxiliary of Moroccan nationalism, and a promoter of, and (later) brake on, social mobility and mutation.

The importance of the Salafiyya in Morocco has been variously assessed. E. Dermenghem, a keen and sympathetic observer of Maghribī Islam, marvelled in 1933 at the speed with which the Salafiyya had succeeded in drastically reducing the influence of the marabouts (al-Fāsī, 1948, 155). ᶜA. Laroui, the Moroccan cultural historian, holds that from 1912 to 1925, Salafism had become the common ideology of the sultan, the central *makhzen*, the Fāsī *ᶜulamāᵓ* and the bourgeoisie, had rendered exclusive the sultan's religious authority, had inspired Bin ᶜAbd al-Karīm's reform drive against local Berber custom (yet failed to win the support of the marabouts), with its methodology serving all schools of thought and all interest groups (Laroui 1980, 428-9). The Moroccan philosopher M.A. Lahbabi (al-Ḥabābī), on the other hand, finds that despite all its efforts and successes, the results of Salafī action were disappointing, owing to the upheavals engendered by the industrialisation of the modern Moroccan cities (*Du clos à l'ouvert*, Casablanca 1961, 65).

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(P. SHINAR)

2. In Egypt and Syria.

The early history of the Salafiyya in both Egypt and Syria (in the sense of *Bilād al-Shām*, Greater Syria) is closely connected. Muḥammad ᶜAbduh's [*q.v.*] stay in Beirut (1882-8, with lengthy interruptions) gave him the opportunity to make some of the *ᶜulamāᵓ*, civil servants and intellectuals there familiar with his own and with al-Afghānī's [*q.v.*] ideas about the necessity and the contents of a reform of Islam [see IṢLĀḤ, and also Delanoue, in *Bibl.*].

Some years later, a considerable number of Syrian adherents and spokesmen of the Salafiyya, among them Ṭāhir al-Djazāᵓirī and Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī (see below), travelled to Egypt. Some of them stayed there for a considerable length of time, some even taking up domicile in Egypt permanently and influencing, by their activities as publicists and in other ways, the discussion of Islamic reform, even far beyond Syria and Egypt.

Notwithstanding this mutual influence between Syrian and Egyptian Salafīs, manifesting itself, among other things, by lively correspondence, reciprocal visits, lecture tours, letters to the editor and book reviews, encounters at Pan-Islamic congresses [see MUᵓTAMAR] etc., the Salafiyya attained in each

region a certain degree of distinct and independent development. This was the case e.g. regarding some differences in emphasis within the intended reform concerning the perception of certain phases of Islamic history, and also with regard to the historical role of the *madhāhib*. With individual authors, these differences might reach from nuances to clear divergences. But the basic positions of the Salafiyya in Egypt and in Syria are to a large extent the same [see IṢLĀḤ, esp. C. *The principal doctrinal positions*].

(a) Egypt. The origin and early development of the Salafiyya in this country is above all connected with the names of al-Afghānī, ʿAbduh, al-Kawākibī and Rashīd Riḍā [*q.vv.*]. With *al-Manār* [*q.v.*], the last mentioned created in Cairo in 1898 the most influential organ of the Salafiyya. From 1926 onwards, *al-Manār* was joined by *al-Fatḥ* (Cairo), a periodical of similar tendency which, after the death of Rashīd Riḍā and the cessation of *al-Manār* in 1935, was considered until 1948 the most important (though not the only) journalistic forum of the Salafiyya in Egypt (see al-Djundī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii). Its editor and main author, Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.* in Suppl.], had founded, together with his Syrian compatriot ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ḳatlān (d. 1931), the *Maṭbaʿa Salafiyya* (including a bookshop), a printing press whose production reflects all the essential desiderata of the movement (see *Fihrist al-Maktaba al-Salafiyya*, ed. Ḳuṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1399/1978-9).

In the years 1927-8 the development of the Salafiyya in Egypt entered a new phase. In this context, one may speak of the rise of a Neo-Salafiyya (Schulze, 90 ff., see Index, 499). With the *Djamʿiyyat al-shubbān al-muslimīn* and the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] there now came into being for the first time organisations that wanted to bring the goals of the Salafiyya down from the level of an intellectual discourse to be spread among the masses of the people by way of the *daʿwa* [*q.v.*].

Characteristic for these and many other organisations of a later date, some of them radical and militant, are their relatively strict internal structure—often reminiscent of the tradition of the *ṭuruḳ* [see ṬARĪḲA]—, the authority of an *imām* or a *murshid* [*q.vv.*], and the emphasis on preserving a distance from the religious establishment and (even more so) from the government. In some cases the creation of secretly operating armed groups can be added to the list. The latter in particular consider themselves as a kind of avant-garde of the true *umma*; they justify their actions (including assaults against politicians and other presumed or real opponents) as *djihād* [*q.v.*; see also MUDJĀHID. 3. In modern Arab usage]. However, it is not only these, but also—and rightly so—other 'moderate' Islamic movements, intellectual circles and individual authors in Egypt that claim the spiritual heritage of the Salafiyya.

Central topics in the Salafiyya literature in Egypt were the necessity of a reform of Islam on the one hand and resistance to secularisation on the other. In the light of these two problems, the authors of the Salafiyya treated a number of specific questions, such as western imperialism, the role of the Christian missions and of Orientalism [see MUSTASHRIḲŪN], Zionism and Freemasonry [see FAR-MĀSŪNIYYA in Suppl.], foreign educational institutions and the westernisation of Egyptian culture, state universities, the Azhar [*q.v.*] and the necessity of its reform, the role played by the Ṣūfī orders (in the eyes of the Salafiyya a negative one), the question of the caliphate [see KHALĪFA] and the danger of importing the ideas of Kemālism [see ATATÜRK].

Some authors made it their aim to attack incessantly certain writers whom they considered as particularly dangerous representatives of secularisation and westernisation. A favourite target of their criticism was Ṭāhā Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] and his role as a man of letters, literary critic, historian of early Islam and cultural policy-maker (see e.g. Muṣṭafā Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfiʿī, *Taḥta rāyat al-Ḳurʾān*, [1]Cairo 1926, [7]1974; Anwar al-Djundī, *Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, ḥayātuhu wa-fikruhu fī mīzān al-islām*, [2]Cairo 1977). In the discussion about the authenticity of *ḥadīth* literature, which had flared up because of the influx of orientalist writings, the authors of the Salafiyya also took sides fervently (see G.H.A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the Tradition literature. Discussions in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1969).

In principle, the Salafiyya in Egypt was and has remained oriented towards Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, some of its authors showed already in the 1920s, and even more so during the following two decades, a tendency towards blending Islam and Arab nationalism [see ḲAWMIYYA. i]. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb and others increasingly emphasised in their writings the close relation between *ʿurūba* and Islam and the particular role of the Arabs in Islamic history. They described the Arab fatherland as a bastion of Islam and the Arab nation as an instrument of its political salvation in the present time. Thus Pan-Arab unity [see PAN-ARABISM] is the prerequisite for the union of all Muslims and therefore the immediate goal. Many authors of the Salafiyya ascribed to Egypt the leading role for achieving Arab unity, and therefore fought strongly against an Egyptian nationalism which limited itself to the valley of the Nile. Unintentionally, they encouraged in the 1930s and 1940s the rise of an essentially secular Arab nationalism, whose spokesmen up to Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] made selective use of certain arguments of the Egyptian Salafiyya (see Gershoni in *Bibl.*).

During the first two years after the "Free Officers" had seized power in 1952, the Salafiyya in Egypt had relatively favourable possibilities to develop. However, already at that time internal differences of opinion about specific questions became visible, for instance in the appraisal of hereditary monarchy and its role in the history of Islam (Ende, 99-103). After the Muslim Brotherhood had been banned in 1954, the public influence of the Salafiyya declined and many of its followers left the country (mainly to Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt). However, individual Salafīs such as Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ghazālī and Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir occasionally found the opportunity to express themselves in books or journals (e.g. in *al-Risāla*), for instance, in connection with the repeated campaigns of the government against the Marxist Left. Many writings of earlier or contemporary Salafiyya authors also appeared to be appropriate for providing a religious-legal justification for "Arab socialism" which was propagated by the State [see ISHTIRĀKIYYA]. For this reason, a description of Islamic socialism by the leader of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī (d. 1964) could also be published in Cairo (*Ishtirākiyyat al-islām*, [1]Damascus 1959, [2]Damascus and Cairo 1960, [3]Cairo n.d., in the series *Ikhtarnā laka*; see for this, Sami A. Hanna and G.H. Gardner, *Arab socialism*, Leiden 1969, esp. 149-71).

However, the limits of a political activity in the sense of the (Neo-)Salafiyya, apart from the "Arab Socialist Union", were very narrowly prescribed. The government reacted very harshly indeed at alleged or real conspiracies, as was clearly shown by the execution of Sayyid Ḳuṭb [*q.v.*] in 1966.

After the war of June 1967, and even more so after the death of Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir in 1970, the ideas of the Salafiyya or of the Neo-Salafiyya (see above) saw a new boost in connection with the revival of ancient militant organisations and the emergence of new ones (see the studies by Carré, Jansen and Kepel, mentioned in the *Bibl.*).

(b) Syria. The origins of the Salafiyya in Syria are connected with the names of Ṭāhir al-Djazāʾirī and Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī in the first place. The circle of friends and disciples which formed around al-Djazāʾirī directly or indirectly influenced almost all the Sunni Muslim intellectuals who after the First World War became prominent in Syria. Having sought the support of the Ottoman Turkish reformers and, from 1908 onwards, of the Young Turks in particular, most of the Syrian Salafīs, already from 1909-10 onwards turned to Arab nationalism (see Commins, 124 ff.). Many of them played a role in the Arab clubs and movements of the time (including the secret organisations), and some of them, like ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Zahrāwī (executed in 1916), are counted among the martyrs of the national movement against Ottoman Turkish domination (Adham al-Djundī, *Shuhadāʾ al-ḥarb al-ʿālamiyya al-kubrā*, Damascus 1960; E. Tauber, *The emergence of the Arab movements*, and idem, *The Arab movements in World War I*, both London 1993).

Ṭāhir al-Djazāʾirī, born in Damascus in 1852, was the son of a religious scholar who had emigrated from Algiers to Syria in 1846-7. Under him and under the Ḥanafī scholar Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maydānī (d. 1881), Ṭāhir acquired a solid education in the religious sciences, but—already early on—he also developed an interest in the modern natural sciences. Supported by Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], he was, from 1877 onwards, engaged in building up a modern educational system in Syria (between 1879-83 as general supervisor for the elementary schools). From 1880 onwards, the above-mentioned circle of friends and disciples (*ḥalḳa*) began to form around him. Between 1907-19 Shaykh Ṭāhir lived in exile in Egypt. He died in Damascus in January 1920. Among his achievements are counted, among other things, the foundation (or new arrangement) of the Ẓāhiriyya library in Damascus and of the Khālidiyya library in Jerusalem.

Shaykh Ṭāhir's publications consist mainly of textbooks for the state schools. They reflect his religious-reformist ideas only indirectly. He preferred to expound and discuss his thoughts in his *ḥalḳa*. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī (1866-1914), with whom Ṭāhir was in close contact, especially in the years 1906-7, proceeded differently. In most of his works (several of them have been published only posthumously) we meet al-Ḳāsimī as a resolute reformer (see the list of his writings, with commentary, in Ẓāfir al-Ḳāsimī, 632-88). His repeated criticism of *taḳlīd* and of the rigid adherence to the four Sunnī schools of law (*al-taʿaṣṣub li 'l-madhāhib*) laid him open to the accusation that he wished to found his own *madhhab*. The discussion he triggered on the advantages or dangers of *lā-madhhabiyya* is going on in Syria until the present day (Wild, *Muslim und Madhhab*; cf. Muḥammad Saʿīd Ramaḍān al-Būṭī, *al-Salafiyya, marḥala zamaniyya mubāraka, lā madhhab islāmī*, Damascus 1988).

From its beginning, the Syrian Salafiyya has never formed an ideologically homogeneous bloc. Rather, one recognises in individual representatives of the movement quite different positions about particular questions. However, their criticism of many forms of *taṣawwuf*, as well as of many popular religious customs and notions, inspired by Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] and his school, is more or less uniform. Examples are ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Zahrāwī's *al-Fiḳh wa 'l-taṣawwuf* (Cairo 1901) and al-Ḳāsimī's *Iṣlāḥ al-masādjid min al-bidaʿ wa 'l-ʿawāʾid* (Cairo 1923, ²Beirut 1970). Likewise in the tradition of Ibn Taymiyya and the neo-Ḥanbalī school and in agreement with the sympathies of the Salafiyya for the Wahhābiyya is the generally critical appraisal of the Shīʿa and its role in Islamic history, though not all Syrian Salafīs are uniformly severe in their judgment (Laoust, *Essai*, index, 729; Ende, 59-75; Commins, 84-5). In the same context belongs the endeavour of some early Salafiyya authors in Syria and their disciples to glorify the empire of the Umayyads of Damascus as a truly *Arab* one, and to defend it against accusations by many historians and other authors of the past (Ende, esp. 64-75, 91 ff.). It was above all Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī [see KURD ʿALĪ] who distinguished himself in this respect and who made it possible that this and other positions of the Salafiyya could be represented in the publications of the Arab Academy of Damascus, founded and directed by him for many years [see MADJMAʿ ʿILMĪ. 2a. *Syria*] (Hermann, esp. 207 ff.).

The "Arabisation of Islam", which can be observed later in the Egyptian Salafiyya (see above), is in part characterised by arguments which, already before the First World War, were discussed by members of the Syrian Salafiyya and have been propagated in Egypt by such authors as Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, a disciple of Ṭāhir al-Djazāʾirī.

As in Egypt, the ideas of the Salafiyya have been taken up and converted into political action by radical Muslim organisations also in Syria. This holds true in the first place for the Muslim Brotherhood which in the middle of the 1940s emerged from the fusion of several Islamic societies. The leaders of the Brotherhood, above all Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī, Maʿrūf al-Dawālībī and Muḥammad al-Mubārak, found over several years the opportunity to make their ideas public in journals such as *al-Muslimūn* and *al-Tamaddun al-islāmī*. Having been banned for the first time in 1952, the Muslim Brotherhood and similar organisations of the militant Neo-Salafiyya of Syria have been suppressed in various degrees and at times persecuted with great harshness. Many of their members went into exile to such countries as Jordan and Saudi Arabia (see Reissner, Carré-Michaud and Abdallah).

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ṢALĀḤ ʿABD AL-ṢABŪR (1931-81), leading Egyptian poet, critic, playwright, translator and journalist. He was born in al-Zaḳāzīḳ in the Delta; in his early youth he learnt the Ḳurʾān by heart and read the classical poets and the modern romantics such as Ibrāhīm Nādjī and Maḥmūd Ḥasan Ismāʿīl. Later on, during the 1940s he joined the Ikhwān al-Muslimūn [*q.v.*], but soon became disenchanted with their ideology and became interested in secular social realism, a view which he expressed in his *al-Nās fī bilādī* ("The people in my country").

Ṣalāḥ graduated from Cairo University in 1951 and worked at the Ministry of Education, but left it for journalism. He was an editor at the *Rūz al-Yūsuf* weekly journal and assistant literary editor of the Literary Supplement of *al-Ahrām*. He published in various leading Arabic newspapers, and also served in government positions,. being director of *al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma li 'l-Kitāb* until his premature death.

Ṣalāḥ acquired a great enthusiasm for Western literature. He read Shakespeare's plays and the romantic poets, followed by T.S. Eliot and Yeats, these last two poets making the deepest influence on his poetry, and versified dramas and criticism. He was one of the first Egyptian poets who adopted *vers irregulier* (1951), which the ʿIrāḳī poets termed "free verse", a method of versification which is based upon an irregular number of feet (*tafʿīl*) and an irregular rhyme scheme.

In Ṣalāḥ's poetry, sadness and melancholy prevail. His first anthology, *al-Nās fī bilādī*, bears clear influences of social realism, using simple diction similar to ordinary speech, as well as the poetic technique and ideas of T.S. Eliot. He depicted popular daily life and the emptiness, hard life and poverty of the ordinary urban and country Egyptians. Moreover, he was among the few Arab poets who were able to present Arabic poetry with a successful example of a poem written in blank verse (*shiʿr mursal*) entitled *Abī* ("My father") (*al-Nās*, 55-8). This is because he was aware of the importance of using enjambement (*tatmīm*) between the verses, a poetic technique which was considered a fault (*ʿayb*) in classical poetry. However, there are also clear influences in the motives and images, and even in wording, from Eliot's *The waste land, The hollow men, Ash Wednesday*, and *The love song of J. Alfred Prufrock*, upon Ṣalāḥ's poetry, which was published in several other anthologies.

In drama, Ṣalāḥ was among the leading Arab writers of plays in blank verse. He was acquainted with dramatic literature through reading the plays of Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm and ʿAlī Aḥmad Bākathīr in Arabic, and of Shakespeare, Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw and Greek drama in English, though he did not see any play performed on stage till he came to Cairo at the age of twenty.

His dramas deal with the tyranny and oppression exercised by the authorities and the responsibility of art and literature towards social institutions. His characters are engaged tragic heroes or cowardly conspirators who betray their values and join forces with the authorities. However, being a talented poet, his poetic style and images save him from direct and prosaic expression. His first drama, *Maʾsāt al-Ḥallādj* ("The tragedy of al-Ḥallādj") (1964), bears the influence of Greek tragedy. The play deals with the engagement of the intellectual in a historical frame, putting forward the view that al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] was crucified in consequence of what were considered revolutionary action, blasphemous ideas and utterances, as in the cases of Socrates and Jesus. There are clear influences from Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* upon this play, especially in the motives of martyrdom, justice, and the struggle between the state and the religious authorities.

The second play by Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr is *Musāfir layl* ("Traveller at night") (1969), in which he depicted the role of social and political institutions in destroying the individual. In his third play, *al-Amīra tantaẓir* ("The Princess is waiting") (1969), he dealt with the idolising of leaders; while in his fourth play, *Laylā wa 'l-madjnūn* ("Layla and the madman") (1970), he was concerned with poverty, the oppression of women and the spiritual emptiness and impotency of intellectuals in Egypt before the revolution of 1952, which encouraged political corruption. In his mythological play *Baʿda an yamūt al-malik* ("After the death of the King") (Beirut-Cairo 1973), he considered the political conditions in Egypt in the seventies, calling for a revival of life through death.

In his youth, Ṣalāḥ was influenced by the poets of the Mahdjar [*q.v.*]. In his spiritual autobiography *Ḥayātī fi 'l-shiʿr* ("My life in poetry") he revealed his theory of poetics which was developed under the influence of Plato, Aristotle and Nietzsche, giving them his own interpretation; thus he claimed that Aristotle's catharsis takes place at the time of the creative process and that it does not only purify the soul from fear and pity but also from the emotion of revenge.

Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr wrote, beside his four translations of books by Ibsen, Eliot and Lorca, several collections of articles in which he discussed his ideas and theories on literature, politics, society and arts, as well as European and American theatre and literature, all presented in a clear and elegant style, in such collections as *Aṣwāt al-ʿaṣr* ("The voices of the age") (1961) (on European and American literature and theatre); *Mādhā yabḳā minhum li 'l-tārīkh* ("Which memory will they leave after their death?") (1962) (studies on the achievements of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-ʿAḳḳād, Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm and al-Māzinī); and several others.

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(S. Moreh)

ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN, AL-MALIK AL-NĀṢIR ABU 'L-MUẒAFFAR YŪSUF B. AYYŪB (SALADIN), the founder of the dynasty of the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*], and the champion of the *djihād* against the Crusaders (born 532/1138, died 589/1193).

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, or Saladin as he is normally known in Europe, was a Kurd, whose family originated from Dvīn in Armenia. His father Ayyūb and his uncle Shīrkūh [*q.v.*] found service in the Saldjūḳ state, and Saladin was born at Takrīt on the Tigris above Baghdād while Ayyūb was acting as governor there. The family transferred its services to Zangī [*q.v.*] and then to his son and successor in Aleppo, and later also ruler of Damascus, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd [*q.v.*]. In Saladin's early manhood (the precise date is doubtful), he followed his elder brother Tūrānshāh in the post of prefect (*shiḥna*) at Damascus. Shīrkūh persuaded Nūr al-Dīn to sanction a series of interventionary expeditions to Egypt, where the Fāṭimid caliphate was threatened by the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem. On three occasions Zangid armies entered Egypt, in 559/1164, 562/1167 and 564/1169, the last occasion resulting in Shīrkūh's taking power as Fāṭimid vizier. During these expeditions Saladin, though generally unwilling to go, played a significant role, particularly in defending Alexandria besieged during the second campaign.

Shīrkūh soon died (22 Djumādā II 564/23 March 1169) and within a short while, by a combination of pressure and largesse, Saladin emerged to follow him as commander of the Syrian force and as vizier appointed by the palace. It is with this appointment that, in the style of Fāṭimid viziers, he adopted the title al-Malik al-Nāṣir. It is said that Saladin won supporters by being generous "as though they were his kin", a revealing phrase. Extravagant generosity was to remain an instrument of his policy, though not one that passed without criticism from his hard-pressed administrators, such as al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*]. Some early sources suggest that before this juncture in his life Saladin was lax in his religious observance and lacking in moral seriousness, but that, with his new responsibilities, he professed "repentence" (*tawba*) and developed a sense of purpose. This has all the hallmarks of a stock theme.

The next few years were spent securing his position in Egypt against the residual forces of the Fāṭimid caliphate (e.g. by crushing the Sudanese regiments in 564/1168), and against external attacks on Egypt (by defeating the joint Crusader-Byzantine attempt on Damietta in 565/1169). Nūr al-Dīn's demands for more active military support and for substantial financial contributions towards his plans of reconquest from the Franks were not answered by Saladin. The contradictions inherent in Saladin's position were clear. Whether or not he was loath to suppress the Fāṭimid caliphate because his position as Fāṭimid vizier gave him independent authority, that step, demanded by Nūr al-Dīn, was finally taken in 567/1171 with little or no public disturbance, and Egypt became officially Sunnī and returned to ʿAbbāsid allegiance. The title *Muḥyī dawlat amīr al-muʾminīn* ("Reviver of the empire of the Commander of the Faithful") was to be frequently employed in Saladin's inscriptions.

Nūr al-Dīn without doubt remained discontented with the situation. He sent Ibn al-Kaysarānī in 569/1174 to audit the finances of Egypt, which, if one believes Ibn Abī Ṭayy, almost led to an open breach, and Nūr al-Dīn was perhaps contemplating a military expedition to impose his authority directly, when in Shawwāl/May of that same year he died. The nature of any difference between Saladin and Nūr al-Dīn is difficult to gauge, granted the partiality and *ex post facto* nature of our sources.

Nūr al-Dīn's successor, Ismāʿīl, was young and inexperienced. Damascus and Aleppo fell to opposing cliques, willing to make concessions to the Franks to win their support or divert their attacks, and the branch of the Zangid house that ruled at Mawṣil showed expansionist ambitions. At this juncture Saladin took the important step that marked out the rest of his life. He responded to the invitation of the *amīr* Ibn al-Muḳaddam and took over Damascus (Rabīʿ II 570/October 1174). He presented himself as the true moral heir of Nūr al-Dīn and the most fit and disinterested protector of his successor, Ismāʿīl. Pro-Zangid sources attacked him as an adventurer and usurper, a self-seeking upstart Kurd who would thrust aside the descendants of his former master. The question of motives, possibly irrelevant in the last resort, cannot be satisfactorily answered. Ambition and a consciousness of personal worth and fitness for a task are not incompatible with a high moral purpose.

If the Franks were ever to be expelled, it was necessary to unite large Muslim forces. As at least one Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* recognised soon after the establishment of the Crusader states, the union of the forces of Egypt, Syria and the Djazīra was likely to be needed (E. Sivan, *Genèse de la contre-croisade, un traité damasquin du début du xiiᵉ siècle*, in *JA*, ccliv [1966], 213). To create such a union necessarily involved whoever sought to do that in a policy of expansion, as it had involved Nūr al-Dīn. The problem for Saladin, which had also existed for Nūr al-Dīn, was that in order to pursue such a union he had to wage war on Muslims to compel their submission if they rejected the call to perform their duty in the *djihād*, and he had either to conclude agreements with the Franks to secure himself on that front during his campaigning absences in the Djazīra or risk their damaging raids, in both cases leaving himself open to criticisms of neglecting the *djihād*.

With Damascus gained, Ḥims, Ḥamāt and Baʿlabakk came quickly under Saladin's control, but in Radjab 570/January 1175 he withdrew from a short siege of Aleppo when faced by combined Zangid counter-moves. Having first offered to give up all but Damascus and to accept the nominal suzerainty of

Ismāʿīl, Saladin gained a victory over the Zangid forces at the Horns of Ḥamāt in Ramaḍān 570/April 1175, after which a peace was made, and Saladin also received a diploma from the caliph, granting him delegated authority over Egypt and Syria, except for Aleppo and its dependencies. In Shawwāl 571/April 1176 the combined Zangid armies, having taken the offensive despite the treaty of the previous year, were defeated for the second time at Tall al-Sulṭān, near Aleppo, but Saladin was still unable to force the city's surrender. Saladin's gains, including some north of Aleppo, were confirmed by a new treaty in Muḥarram 572/July 1176. However, the ruling junta around al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl in Aleppo, and the other Zangid princes, remained impervious to Saladin's propaganda and suspicious of his aims.

During these campaigns Saladin suffered two attacks by Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān's [*q.v.*] Ismāʿīlī Assassins, prompted by his Aleppan enemies, but subsequently, after some show of force in Assassin territory, he seems to have established a *modus vivendi* with them (see B. Lewis, *Saladin and the Assassins*, in *BSOAS*, xv [1953], 239-45).

His campaigning against the Franks was limited at this time and included the overconfident raid into Palestine that ended in defeat between Ascalon and Ramla at the unidentified "Mons Gisardi" in Djumādā 573/November 1177. This lesson was taken to heart, but it was an inauspicious beginning to any plan of making good his claim to be Nūr al-Dīn's successor in the prosecution of the *djihād*. Better success followed in Muḥarram 575/June 1179 with the defeat of King Baldwin at Mardj ʿUyūn and the destruction of Bayt al-Aḥzān or Jacob's Castle in Rabīʿ I/August of that year.

During the next five or six years, Saladin was mostly involved in Mesopotamian affairs, which were of great complexity and are too complicated to be treated exhaustively here. On several occasions Saladin was able to make gains on being invited to intervene in disputes or after appeals for assistance. In 576/1180 the Artuḳid ruler of Ḥisn Kayfā, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳara Arslan, appealed to him for help in a dispute with Ḳilidj Arslan [*q.v.*], the Rūm Saldjūḳid, whose advance against Raʿbān had been checked the year before by Saladin's nephew, Taḳī 'l-Dīn ʿUmar. Saladin also intervened in Zangid politics after the death of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, the ruler of Mawṣil, in Ṣafar 576/June 1180, and refused to acknowledge the succession of his brother, ʿIzz al-Dīn, arguing that he was acting with the authority granted him by the caliph. In Aleppo al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl died during Radjab 577/December 1181. Saladin was anxious that Aleppo and Mawṣil should not be combined in hostile hands. In Muḥarram 578/May 1182 he marched from Cairo, never to return again. His main preoccupation was Aleppo, which in the meantime ʿIzz al-Dīn had exchanged for Sindjār [*q.v.*] with his brother, ʿImād al-Dīn Ghāzī. After some operations against the Franks, including a major but inconclusive battle near Baysān and an opportunistic assault on Beirut, Saladin arrived at Aleppo in Muḥarram 579/September 1182. He embarked on negotiations rather than active military measures. However, he was then invited by sympathisers, chiefly Gökburi of Ḥarrān, to cross the Euphrates, where he accepted the alliance, or received the surrender, of Begteginid, Artuḳid and Zangid possessions, Sarūdj, Edessa, Raḳḳa, al-Khābūr, and Nisibis. Mawṣil itself was then besieged, perhaps more in the hope of exerting pressure on ʿIzz al-Dīn in the continuing diplomatic and propaganda war than of reducing the city. Withdrawing from Mawṣil, Saladin captured Sindjār from ʿIzz al-Dīn before going into winter quarters at Ḥarrān.

In the following spring, Reynald de Chatillon launched his disturbing but ultimately unsuccessful naval raid into the Red Sea. The countering of this threat to the Ḥidjāz gave Saladin further propaganda opportunities. Beyond the Euphrates he resolutely confronted a force gathered from Mawṣil and its northern neighbours, Khilāt, Bitlīs and Mārdīn, which disbanded ineffectually. This was followed by Saladin's capture with caliphal sanction of the powerful fortress of ʿĀmid (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 578/April 1183), which he gave, as promised, to his vassal Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad. This constituted a great moral and propaganda coup. As a result of this the other Artuḳid cities of Mayyafāriḳīn and Mārdīn submitted to Saladin.

Aleppo, more isolated then ever, was once more put under pressure, and in Ṣafar 579/June 1183 ʿImād al-Dīn, rather against the will of his *amīrs* and the populace, agreed to surrender the city and receive back Sindjār along with other towns in addition. He also agreed to provide troops for Saladin's campaigns.

Having achieved this important goal, Saladin led large forces, gathered as a result of the recent extensions of his authority, into the territory of the kingdom of Jerusalem during the remainder of 579/1183, but provoked no decisive field engagement. There was also an unsuccessful attack on al-Karak [*q.v.*], followed by a second attack in Djumādā I-II 580/August-September 1184. Apart from the wish to punish Reynald, the lord of Transjordan, for his raids, the capture of al-Karak would mean an improvement in communications between Egypt and Damascus.

Saladin found another opportunity to move against Mawṣil when Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf of Irbil called upon him for help against ʿIzz al-Dīn and the latter's new ally, Ḳizil Arslān, the Atabeg of Ādharbaydjān. Saladin arrived before Mawṣil in Rabīʿ II 581/July 1185 to besiege it for the second time. This same summer, some of the northern princes, Shāh Arman b. Sukmān of Khilāt and Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, the lord of ʿĀmid, died, and attempts to make a satisfactory settlement of their affairs deflected his efforts for a while. After returning to Mawṣil, negotiations were set afoot, but Saladin himself fell ill and withdrew his forces in Ramaḍān 581/December 1185. However, exhaustion and a lack of effective allies led Mawṣil to sue for a lasting peace. An embassy, in which the future biographer Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād [*q.v.*], took part, came to Saladin at Ḥarrān in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 581/February 1186 and reached satisfactory conclusions, accepting the crucial obligation to provide troops for the *djihād*, and so Saladin's overlordship was finally recognised.

After a year of recuperation and internal reorganisation, the long-awaited campaign was launched at the beginning of 583/spring 1187. Saladin's allies were summoned from all quarters, and the full forces of the Crusader states (except for Antioch with which a truce had been made) were brought to battle at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn, on the heights to the west of Tiberias, on Saturday, 24 Rabīʿ II 583/4 July 1187. It ended in an annihilating defeat for the Crusaders. Demoralised and with reduced garrisons, many towns and strongplaces surrendered or fell quickly. Acre surrendered on 1 Djumādā I/9 July and Saladin sent out his forces in various directions. By the middle of Djumādā II/early September, all the coast from Gaza to Djubayl was in Saladin's hands, apart from Tyre. At this point Saladin moved to Jerusalem, the sym-

bolic goal of the *dj̲ihād*. The city surrendered, after nearly two weeks of siege and some spirited resistance, on 27 Radj̲ab/2 October and Saladin solemnly installed in the Aḳṣā Mosque the *minbar* that Nūr al-Dīn had prepared for this moment.

Saladin has been criticised for his failure to give high priority to the capture of Tyre. This and the other ports would clearly be crucial for any eventual rescue expedition from Europe, but Saladin was not to know that Conrad de Montferrat would arrive just when he did to stiffen its defence. It was also strategically important to reduce the *points d'appui* represented by the inland castles, and the terms that Saladin offered, backed by the confidence that people had in his word, accelerated the surrender of many places. Although Saladin has been described as only a moderately good strategist and tactician, there is also a more positive judgement on his strategy at this stage in his operations, understood in the light of its possible relationship with the theoretical work of al-Harawī, *al-Tadhkirat al-harawiyya fi 'l-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya* (see W.J. Hamblin, *Saladin and Muslim military theory*, in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, Jerusalem 1992, 228-38). Many refugees from the interior assembled in Tyre. A siege of the city that began in Ramaḍān 583/November 1187 proved fruitless, and the majority of the Muslim armies disbanded in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 583/January 1188.

When campaigning began again during 584/1188, Saladin made further conquests in northern Syria, taking Ṭarṭūs, Djabala, Lādhaḳiyya, Ṣahyūn and Balāṭunus but not attempting Tripoli. He also took the outlying fortresses of the principality of Antioch, but then made a truce without any attack on Antioch itself. In Shawwāl 584/December 1188, having moved south *via* Damascus, Saladin forced the surrender of Ṣafad [*q.v.*], and Kawkab (Belvoir) fell in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 584/January 1189. Further south, al-Karak finally succumbed to al-ʿĀdil's [*q.v.*] siege, and Shawbak [*q.v.*] followed several months later.

The regular arrival of the forces of the Third Crusade led to their investment of Acre and the besieging of the besiegers for a period of almost two years. Saladin looked far and wide for assistance, fostering relations with the Byzantines (see C.M. Brand, *The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185-1192: opponents of the Third Crusade*, in *Speculum*, xxxvii [1962], 167-81) and courting (unsuccessfully) the Almohads of North Africa for naval help (see M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Une lettre de Saladin au Calife almohade*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 279-304). Acre fell to the Franks in Djumādā II 587/July 1191. For a little more than a year after this military operations on the Palestine plain, led by Richard I of England, continued indecisively, and a Frankish attempt to march inland against Jerusalem had to be abandoned. Long and involved negotiations ended in Shaʿbān 588/September 1192 with the agreement to a general peace for three years and eight months and a recognition of Frankish coastal gains from Acre to Jaffa.

Saladin made various visits of inspection and organisation in the reconquered lands, again put off a proposed journey to the Ḥidjāz to perform the *Ḥadjdj*, and returned to Damascus, where he fell ill. After about two weeks of steady decline, movingly described by his confidant, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, he died on Wednesday, 27 Ṣafar 589/3 March 1193. He was buried initially within the Damascus citadel, but during Muḥarram 592/December 1195 his body was transferred to a newly-built tomb (*turba*) north of the Umayyad Mosque (Abū Shāma, *al-Dhayl ʿalā 'l-Rawḍatayn*, ed. al-Kawtharī, Damascus 1947, 8, and Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, vii, 206).

Saladin's death occurred only a few months after the peace had been made. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād claimed that Saladin had earlier contemplated the rejection of any peace proposals and wished to carry on the fight until every last Frank had been driven out of the Levant. The fact that the peace had been signed and a period of respite guaranteed was subsequently seen as a blessing, as his death while hostilities were still continuing would have produced a situation full of danger.

The cohesion of Saladin's empire was tested to the full by the events of the Third Crusade. The hardships and expense of this long campaigning, the reverses and the slow decline in morale, meant that some northern allies, also faced by their own local problems and rivalries, failed to send their troops. Saladin's nephew, Taḳī 'l-Dīn, also withdrew to follow his own ambitions at Mayyāfāriḳīn and added to that region's complications. However, the point has been fairly made by Gibb that many of Saladin's vassals, including the Zangids of Mawṣil and Sindjār, although initially constrained to accept his suzerainty, continued to rally to his standard with their contingents throughout this period. Had they refused, it would have been difficult indeed to spare troops to force them. This suggests that by this stage Saladin's cause had to some extent been accepted as the cause of Islam and of the *dj̲ihād*.

Saladin's desire to win the wider acceptance and cooperation of ruling and religious circles are themes that informed his propaganda addressed to Baghdād and elsewhere. The ways in which the ideals of the *dj̲ihād* were fostered and the message spread through society under Saladin have been studied exhaustively by E. Sivan (*L'Islam et la Croisade. Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux Croisades*, Paris 1968, ch. 4). Saladin's public statements maintained that the ultimate aims of *dj̲ihād*, the duty of Muslim princes to participate, and also the delegated authority he had been given by the caliph, justified his compulsion of those unwilling to join the common cause. How much weight the pronouncements of the caliph and his granting of supporting diplomas had in the battle for mens' minds and allegiance over against considerations of temporal interest it is difficult to say. Saladin clearly thought it worth while to keep up a barrage of letters to Baghdād seeking formal delegation of ever-widening authority and sanction for his politics and military moves. It is doubtful, however, whether the rhetoric in letters written by such persons as al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil really amounted to the expression on Saladin's part of a desire to restore the caliphate as the active centre of a renewed Islamic political entity, as Gibb has suggested. Even he has admitted that "propaganda points may be difficult to disentangle from religious zeal." Indeed, it seems that the nearer the frontiers of Saladin's empire came to Baghdād, the more troubled were his relations with the caliphate which itself was attempting to expand its temporal influence and areas of control. Symptomatic was the brawl over precedence between ʿIrāḳī and Syrian pilgrims during the *Ḥadjdj* of 583/February 1188, which ended in the death of Saladin's long-time supporter, the *amīr* Ibn al-Muḳaddam.

Saladin spent most of his life in Syria, and Damascus was always his preferred place of residence. Egypt and her resources supplied the means for his expansionist policy and his victories. For long periods he entrusted its government to his brother al-ʿĀdil, and to his chief civilian administrator, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil. There are signs that the economic strain of the constant campaigning affected Egypt and Syria too, and that social unrest was growing. Serious financial

problems arose, partly because of the exhaustion of the Upper Egyptian gold-mines but mainly from the demanding military expenditure. This led to the debasement of the dīnār, the end of the stability which the Fāṭimid currency had known (A. Ehrenkreutz, *The crisis of the* dīnār *in the Egypt of Saladin*, in *JAOS*, lxxvi [1956], 178-84). It is interesting to note that the addition of Yemen to the empire, which had been conquered for the Ayyūbids by Saladin's brother Tūrān-shāh, and later ruled by another brother, Ṭughtakīn, clearly created hopes that it would be a source of treasure, and that Saladin's complaints, when that was not satisfactorily forthcoming, mirror Nūr al-Dīn's earlier complaints about the insufficient aid he had received from Egypt.

Saladin's lands were administered by a decentralised bureaucracy, the details of which will probably always remain obscure. As for Egypt itself, we possess a work on the land tax, in an imperfect version, revised about 581/1185 (see ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Makhzūmī, *Kitāb al-minhādj fī ʿilm al-kharādj*, ed. Cl. Cahen and Y. Ragheb, Cairo 1983, and also Cahen, *Makhzūmiyyāt. Études sur l'histoire économique et financière de l'Égypte médiévale,* Leiden 1977), and there is also extant a wider examination of the bureaucracy by Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209) entitled *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn* (ed. A.S. Atiya, Cairo 1943). At various times during his life he delegated the control of parts of his empire to the growing number of family members and to trusted officers of the army, relying on family and personal loyalties and on a balance of interests to preserve the whole. The last arrangement he made for the division of power in his empire did not, however, endure long after his death. Saladin may or may not have been personally indifferent to wealth and possessions. In general, however, he recognised and forwarded the interests of his family and was eager to protect their dynastic future, although at times the wishes and ambitions of members of his family, especially his brothers Tūrān-shāh and Ṭughtakīn, caused him difficulties. He was nevertheless capable of arguing against claims of hereditary expectations on the occasions when the Zangids advanced them. Ultimately, the dominant role passed to a collateral branch of the Ayyūbid family, to his brother al-ʿĀdil and his descendants, and for most of the dynasty's history Saladin's direct descendants ruled only in Aleppo.

Fundamentally his position depended on the army, the core of which was his personal guard, the *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*]. Apart from the dominant contribution of Egypt, each urban centre in greater Syria and the Djazīra maintained an *ʿaskar* commensurate with its resources. The whole army, which was paid by *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] or by monthly salary (*djāmakiyya*) was still largely free-born, although the sultan, princes and *amīrs* had their personal *mamlūk* contingents (see H.A.R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in S.J. Shaw and W.R. Polk (eds.), *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, Boston 1962, 74-90). Because of the domination of the Mediterranean by the Italian states both for trade and for the movement of troops, Saladin made attempts to revive Fāṭimid naval power, and his ships made some useful contributions to his operations, but ultimately lost control of the sea during the Third Crusade (see Ehrenkreutz, *The place of Saladin in the naval history of the Mediterranean Sea in the Middle Ages*, in *JAOS*, lxxv [1955], 100-16).

Unlike his mentor, Nūr al-Dīn, who was a Ḥanafī, Saladin adhered to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, in which he was followed by practically all the members of his dynasty. In his theology he was of the Ashʿarī persuasion. In the reported wording of the *waḳfiyya* for the *khānḳāh* which he founded in Cairo (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 415-16), the residual beneficiaries of the *waḳf* income are "poor Shāfiʿī or Mālikī *fuḳahāʾ*, who are of the Ashʿarī creed." In the construction inscription for the *madrasa* which he founded at the tomb of al-Shāfiʿī, in which unusually Saladin's name and titles have no mention but only the initiative of the *shaykh* al-Khabūshānī is stressed, the Ashʿarī anti-Ḥashwiyya nature of the foundation is made explicit. In many respects, in the public image at least, his régime followed that of Nūr al-Dīn in striving to suppress non-Islamic elements in society and administration and in promoting Sharīʿa norms. There is little evidence of specifically anti-Ismāʿīlī activity. Once the Fāṭimid court and the ruling establishment had been scattered and the ineffectual attempts at counter-coups dealt with, the underlying Sunnī nature of Egyptian society could assert itself. As for intellectual pursuits, he studied *Ḥadīth* and was fond of poetry, ʿUsāma b. Munḳidh being an especial favourite.

As regards his building activity, he was responsible for much military work throughout his lands. The grand design to enclose Cairo and Fusṭāṭ with a defensive wall was begun on his behalf by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ḳarāḳūsh [*q.v.*] but never completed. The citadel at Cairo was also conceived by Saladin and started in 572/1176-7, but finished after his reign and subjected to many later changes. Adjacent to the Imām al-Shāfiʿī's tomb he constructed a *madrasa* for the Shāfiʿīs (see above) and near the mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ a *madrasa* for the Mālikīs, which came to be known as al-Ḳumḥiyya. The latter was begun in Muḥarram 566/September 1170. In Cairo proper he converted the former residence (*dār*) of the Fāṭimid vizier al-Maʾmūn into a *madrasa* for the Ḥanafīs (*waḳfiyya* dated Shaʿbān 572/March 1177) and built a *khānḳāh* (*waḳfiyya* dated 569/1173-4). These were the earliest examples of such institutions to be founded in Egypt. He also converted part of the Fāṭimid palace into a hospital (*bīmāristān*) during 577/1182. After the reconquest, Jerusalem received much of his attention, in the restoration of the Dome of the Rock and the Aḳṣā Mosque to make them fit for Muslim worship, and also in the conversion of the Latin Patriarch's residence into a Ṣūfī *khānḳah* (endowed in 585/1189), the conversion of the church of St Anne into the Ṣalāḥiyya, a *madrasa* for the Shāfiʿīs (also endowed in 585/1189), and in the provision of a hospital (begun 588/1192).

Saladin's personality is somewhat hidden behind the image-making of his admirers. One thing beyond doubt is that he could inspire devotion in his followers. His generosity, fidelity and compassion are vividly portrayed, but he could also be ruthless. He was impatient of details of administration. The generally pro-Zangid Ibn al-Athīr [*q.v.*], who frequently skews his historical account to Saladin's disadvantage, in his final summary of Saladin's life and career nevertheless gives a more positive assessment, when he writes, "He was a man of religious knowledge and culture, a *Ḥadīth* scholar. In short he was a man of rare qualities in his time, much given to generosity and fine deeds, a mighty warrior of the *djihād* against the infidels." The contemporary historian William of Tyre, whose record of events ends at 1183, portrays him as a generous, energetic and ambitious ruler, whose policies present a real threat to the Crusader states. In due course, in mediaeval European literature the historical Saladin was lost sight of and he became a mythic figure of chivalry. A romanticised view of him continued into

19th-century literature, most notably in Sir Walter Scott's historical novel, *Ivanhoe.*

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(D.S. Richards)

ṢALĀLA, the name of the administrative capital of the Southern Region (Ẓafār [*q.v.*], Dhofar, also Djanūbiyya) of the Sultanate of Oman [see ᶜUMĀN) and of the plain in which the town is situated. The town stands on the shore of the Indian Ocean and is 850 km/528 miles as the crow flies south-west of the capital of the Sultanate, Muscat [see MASḲAṬ] and about 120 km/75 miles from the present border with the Republic of Yemen. The town is the seat of the Minister of State and the Wālī of Dhofar.

The town is a modern one which has developed from a small market town only in the post-1970 period. There is a plentiful supply of water from both wells and streams, and the town is the centre of a rich agricultural area which produces grain, papayas, bananas, sugarcane, fruit and vegetables. There are no dates in the area and the thousands of palms produce coconuts. Much of the produce is produced in Ṣalāla itself, and there is a green band of agricultural lands and gardens which stretches through the centre of the rectangular town and which can be seen clearly from the air when flying over the town. In the north and south of the town lie built-up areas, with the extremely prominent royal palace and its complex, called al-Ḥuṣn, in the south on the sea shore.

In the extreme east of the town lie the ruins of al-Balīd (a modern Djibbāli rather than an Arabic name). These undoubtedly mark the important mediaeval settlement of Ẓafār. The port of mediaeval Ẓafār and of modern Ṣalāla was and remains Raysūt, with its perfect natural harbour some 15 km/9 miles across the bay to the south-west.

Bibliography: There is little information on the town, but three books produced by the Ministry of Information of the Sultanate of Oman are useful: *Sultanate of Oman throughout 20 years, the promise and the fulfillment*, and *Oman, the modern state*, both without a date, and *Salṭanat ᶜUmān wa-masīrat al-khayr, al-Minṭaḳa al-djanūbiyya*, Ẓafar 1986; D. Hawley, *Oman and its renaissance*, London 1977; Liesl Graz, *The Omanis, sentinels of the Gulf*, London and New York 1982, 121-4.

(G.R. Smith)

SALAM (A.), a term of Islamic law. It is used to designate a particular contract classifiable as a contract of sale (*bayᶜ* [*q.v.*]) and synonymous, in appropriate contexts, with the term *salaf*, nobably in ᶜIrāḳī works of classical jurisprudence. Regarded as a category of transaction in its own right, *salam* has as its fundamental principle prepayment by a purchaser (*al-musallim*) for an object of sale (*al-musallam fīhi*, i.e.

merchandise constituting the subject-matter of the contract) to be delivered to him by the vendor (*al-musallam ilayhi*) on a date at the end of a specified period. In such a transaction, the consideration (i.e. the price, be it in cash or in kind) agreed upon at the contracting parties' meeting (*madjlis al-ʿaḳd*) for delivery of the merchandise is termed *raʾs al-māl*. Inasmuch as the latter was, as it still is, the normal Arabic term for "capital" in the financial sense of the word, it is not difficult to infer from it the essentially economic purpose that the *salam* was intended to serve, namely that of affording small traders the wherewithal to supply customers' needs and thereby enabling such traders to perform the same sort of basic function as that performed in modern developed economies by wholesalers in their business of supplying the needs of retailers and artisans.

Among features characteristic of a *salam* contract the most striking for those acquainted with the *Sharīʿa* are the unavailability of the subject-matter of the contract at the meeting of the parties, on the one hand, and the vendor's lack of possession of or title to it, on the other. What makes them so striking is that they seem to mark a fundamental departure from the *Sharīʿa*'s strict principles governing commercial transactions and expressly designed to exclude from the latter any possibility not only of *ribā* [*q.v.*] (i.e. unlawful gain or interest, in whatever form, on a capital loan or investment), but also—and very much more importantly in the context of *salam*—of *gharar* ("chance", i.e. risk, uncertainty, speculation). Be that as it may, the early mediaeval jurists, once conscious of the need to recognise the validity of a practice that was in effect an economic necessity meeting the legitimate needs of the public, deemed it both appropriate and expedient to accommodate *salam* within the ideal framework of the *Sharīʿa* law and found themselves able to invoke in support of it, *inter alia*, the authority of a Tradition attributed to the Prophet himself.

To incorporate the principle of *salam* in Islamic law was one thing; to implement it was another. On certain basic matters (e.g. that the price and object of a *salam* sale cannot both be currencies; that the objects of sale should be fungible (*mithlī*, i.e. replaceable by others answering to the same definition), weighable (*mawzūn, waznī*) or measurable (*makīl, kaylī*), etc.) the main Sunnī schools of law were broadly in agreement, but on many points of detail important differences of opinion took shape and prevailed in the doctrine of particular schools. And so it is that we find, for example, that in Ḥanafī law living animals are not held to be proper objects of a *salam* sale, whereas in Mālikī law the contrary is the case. Again, in Ḥanafī law the object of a *salam* sale must be in existence at the time of the contract and from the time the latter is concluded until the time it is delivered, while in Mālikī law the requirement is only that the object be available at the time when delivery falls due. Exceptional and peculiar to Shāfiʿī law is the surprising doctrine that *salam* can be an immediate transaction and not necessarily one providing for future delivery of the object of sale. Similarly exceptional and hardly less surprising is the Mālikī doctrine that the price for the object of sale need not be paid at the *madjlis al-ʿaḳd*, but may, by mutual understanding, be postponed for up to three days or, in certain circumstances, for even longer than that. And so on.

Since by its very nature a *salam* transaction denies the purchaser what is known as "option after inspection" (*khiyār al-ruʾya*) of the object of sale, a description of the latter is the only possible means of avoiding ignorance (*jahl*) of it and of safeguarding the *salam* contract against the intrusion of a material element of risk or uncertainty (*gharar*). According to Ibn Ḳudāma (541-620/1147-1223 [*q.v.*]), the well-known luminary of the Ḥanbalī school, knowledge of the subject-matter—designated *ʿilm* in his terminology—is essential to the validity of a *salam* contract and should be imparted by a description stating the genus and species of whatever is in question and declaring the condition of the latter, be it good or bad. According to the same jurist, both Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik required the description to supply only such detail as was, in their view, sufficient to enable one to identify the object of sale, while Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Shāfiʿī required the detail to extend to such matters as colour, country of origin and other characteristics influencing price and use.

For obvious reasons, it is beyond the scope of this article to identify all the respects, or even all the most important respects, in which the doctrines of the four Sunnī schools of law coincide or diverge on the rules governing *salam* transactions. From what has been said hitherto it will be quite clear that important particulars of *salam* sale are matters on which the different schools do not always speak with one voice. Accordingly, in one's utilisation of sources identification of the schools to which data relate is a *sine qua non*.

Bibliography: N.A. Saleh, *Unlawful gain and legitimate profit in Islamic law*, Cambridge 1986 (esp. 71 ff.), a work in which the doctrine of the Ibāḍī school of law, peculiar to ʿUmān, is treated in addition to the doctrines of the four orthodox schools; A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in medieval Islam*, Princeton 1970, 72, 79; J.A. Wakin, *The function of documents in Islamic law*, Albany 1972, 193-200 (*Bāb al-salam* [in Arabic], Introd., 41-2). Particularly useful in some respects for Mālikī law is O. Pesle, *La vente dans la doctrine malékite*, Rabat 1940 (see esp. 175-96), which may be consulted along with D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, 2 vols., Rome 1925-38. For primary sources see the bibliographies of Saleh, Udovitch, Wakin and Santillana (Pesle, though citing his sources, offers no bibliography).

(J.D. Latham)

SALĀM (a.), verbal noun from *salima*, "to be safe, uninjured", used as substantive in the meaning of "safety, salvation", thence "peace" (in the sense of "quietness"), thence "salutation, greeting" (cf. Fr. *salut*); on the statements of the older Arab lexicographers, see *LʿA*[1], xv, 181-3, passim.

The word is of frequent occurrence in the Ḳurʾān, especially in the sūras which are attributed to the second and third Meccan periods. The oldest passage that contains *salām* is XCVII, 5, where it is said of the *Laylat al-Ḳadr*, "It is salvation until the coming of the dawn". *Salām* is also to be taken in this meaning in L, 34; XV, 46; XXI, 69; XI, 48. *Salām* means salvation in this world as well as in the next. In the latter meaning we find it used in the expression *Dār al-Salām* "the abode of salvation" for Paradise (X, 26; VI, 127). In the Medinan verse, V, 16, which is addressed to the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, we find the expression *subul al-salām*, the paths of salvation (cf. Isa. LIX, 8, *däräk shālōm*).

But *salām* is most frequently used in the Ḳurʾān as a form of salutation. Thus in LVI, 91 (first Meccan period), the people of the right hand are greeted by their companions in bliss with *salām laka* "Peace be upon thee" (according to al-Bayḍāwī; for other explanations see *LʿA*[1], xv, 184, 8 ff.; and Allāh), *salām* (XXXVI, 58; XIV, 23; X, 10; XXXIII, 44) or *salām ʿalaikum* (XVI, 32; XXXIX, 73; XIII, 24) is the

greeting which is given the blessed in Paradise or on entering Paradise (cf. also XXV, 75); *salāman salāman* in LVI, 26 (other reading *salāmun salāmun*; cf. XIX, 62) is presumably also intended as an auspicious exclamation (other interpretations in al-Bayḍāwī). Those on the Aʿrāf [*q.v.*] call to the dwellers in Paradise *salām ʿalaykum* (VII, 46). *Salām* is also the greeting of the guests of Ibrāhīm and his reply (LI, 25; XI, 69; cf. XV, 52). Ibrāhīm takes leave with *salām ʿalaika* (XIX, 48) from his father, who threatens him. In XX, 47, Mūsā in his address to Firʿawn is made to use the expression *al-salām ʿalā man ittabaʿa 'l-hudā* "peace be upon him who follows the right guidance". According to the first explanation in al-Bayḍāwī, *al-salām* here means the greeting of the angels and guardians of Paradise; but as these words are not at the beginning of the speech, an other interpretation prefers to consider it as an affirmative sentence and to take *salām* as "security from God's wrath and punishment" (cf. al-Bayḍāwī on the passage and *LʿA*¹, xv, 183, 7-8). *Salām ʿalaykum* "peace be upon you" is found in VI, 54, at the beginning of the message which the Prophet has to deliver to the believers and in XXVII, 59, a *salām* is uttered over God's chosen servants. As a benediction, *salām* is also used repeatedly in XXXVII, where at the end of the mention of each prophet a *salām* is uttered over him (verses 79, 109, 120, 130, 181; cf. also XIX, 15, 33). *Salām* may be used in an ironical sense in XLIII, 89, at parting from the unbelievers and *salām ʿalaykum* in XXVIII, 55 (other interpretations in al-Bayḍāwī). This might perhaps hold of *salāman*, XXV, 63, also, with which the servants of the Merciful reply to the ignorant (*djāhilūn*), but the commentators take it in the sense of *tasalluman* or *barāʾatan*. In LIX, 23 (Medinan) *al-salām* occurs as one of the names of God, which al-Bayḍāwī interprets as *maṣdar* used as *ṣifa* in the meaning of "the Faultless" (for other explanation, see *LʿA*¹, xv, 182, 7 ff., 20 ff.). *Al-salām* in the expressions *dār al-salām* and *subul al-salām* is therefore also interpreted as a name of God (cf. al-Bayḍāwī on VI, 127; X, 25; V, 16; *LʿA*¹, xv, 182, 2-3, and the notice at the end of this article). The word has even been taken to mean God in the formula *al-salām ʿalaykum* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, on VI, 54, Cairo 1278, III, 54, 21-2; *LʿA*¹, xv, 182, 8-9). It is improbable that the greeting is intended in *alḳā 'l-salāma* in IV, 94; another reading is *al-salama*, as in the similar expression in IV, 90-1; XVI, 28, 87.

The denominative verb *sallama* is first found in the Medinan sūras, namely, XXXIII, 56, where it is recommended to utter *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*] and *salām* over the Prophet, and in XXIV, 27, 61 (see below).

At quite an early period, the view became established that the *salām* greeting was an Islamic institution. This is, however, only correct in so far as the Ḳurʾān recommends the use of this greeting in a late Meccan passage and in two Medinan passages: in VI, 54, it is commanded to the Prophet: "If those come to you who believe in Our signs say: "Peace be upon you" (*salāmun ʿalaykum*). Your Lord hath laid down a law of mercy for himself"; and in XXIV, 27: "O ye believers, enter not into dwellings which are not your own before ye have asked leave and said *salām* (*wa-tusallimū*) on its inhabitants", etc.; similarly, XXIV, 61: "If ye enter dwellings, say *salām* upon one another (*fasallimū*)", etc. (cf. a similar prescription Matt. x, 12, Luke x, 5); iv, 86, where the more general expression for greeting (*ḥayyā*) is used, is also referred to the *salām* salutation. But Goldziher has pointed out (*ZDMG*, xlvi, 22-3) and quoted passages from poets in support of the view that *salām* was already in use as a greeting before Islam. The corresponding Hebrew and Aramaic expressions *shālōm lᵉkā, shᵉlām lāk (lᵉkōn), shelāmā ʿalāk*, which go back to Old Testament usage (cf. Judges xix, 20, 2 Sam. xviii, 28, Dan. x, 19, 1 Chron. xii, 19), were also in use as greetings among the Jews and Christians (cf. Dalman, *Gramm. d. jüd.-palästin. Aramäisch*², Leipzig 1905, 244); according to *Talmūd Yᵉrushalmī, Shᵉbīʿīt*, IV, 35b, *Shālōm ʿalēkām* was Israel's greeting. See also Pᵉshītta Matt. x, 12, xxvi, 49, Luke x, 5, xxiv, 36, John xx, 19, 21, 26, and Payne Smith, *Thes. Syriacus*, cols. 4189-90). A very great number of Nabataean inscriptions further show the use of *sh-l-m* to express good wishes in North-western Arabia and the Sinai Peninsula (*CIS*, ii, *Inscriptiones aramaeae*, i, no. 288 ff., twice repeated in nos. 244, 339, thrice repeated in no. 302) and the Arabic *s-l-m* frequently occurs in the Ṣafaitic inscriptions as a benedictive term. Cf. E. Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der Ṣafā-Inschriften*, Leipzig 1901, 47, 52-3, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 70; *Semitic inscriptions*, New York-London 1905, Safaïtic inscrs., nos. 5, 8, 12, 15, 69, 128, 134.

If the line *salāmaka rabbanā fī kulli fadjrin* quoted in *LʿA*¹, xv, 183, 5 from below, were genuine and really by Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt [*q.v.*], one might perhaps conclude from it that there was a benedictory use of the *salām* formula in the morning service in certain monotheistic circles of North Arabia. Presumably the usage, influenced by Christian and Jewish views, had given the word a special significance in the region of Aramaic culture. Lidzbarski's suggestion (in *ZS*, i, 85 ff.) that *salām* reproduces the idea expressed by σωτηρία need not be discussed here, but his explanation of *Islām* as the infinitive of a denominative verb *aslama* formed from *salām*-σωτηρία ("to enter into the state .... of *salām*"), cannot be reconciled with such expressions frequent in the Ḳurʾān as *aslama wadjhahu li 'llāh, aslama li-Rabb al-ʿālamīn*, etc.

Muḥammad must have placed a high religious value on the *salām* formula, as he considered it the greeting given by the angels to the blessed and used it as an auspicious salutation on the prophets who had preceded him. A *salām*, like that in the *tashahhud* (see below) or like the salutation of peace which closes the *ṣalāt* and has its parallel in the Jewish *tᵉphillā* (cf. E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islam. Gebets u. Kultus*, in *AbhPrAkW*, phil.-hist. Kl. [1913], no. 2, p. 18), may have been from the first an essential feature of the ritual of divine service. According to a tradition (al-Bukhārī, *al-Istiʾdhān, bāb* 3, *al-Adhān, bāb* 148, 150), originally they uttered the *salām* at the close of the *ṣalāt* on God, on Djibrīl, Mīkhāʾīl and other angels. With the remark that God is himself the *salām* (cf. Ḳurʾān, LIX, 23), the Prophet disapproved of this and laid down what should be said in the *tashahhud*; the *salām* utterance belongs to it in the form given below. On varying traditions regarding the *tashahhud*, see al-Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, i, 103 ff.; cf. also Goldziher, *Über die Eulogien*, etc. in *ZDMG*, l, 102.

In the ritual of the *ṣalāt* as legally prescribed, the benediction on God and the *salām* on the Prophet, on the worshipper and those present and on God's pious servants, precede the confession of faith in the *tashahhud* (*al-salāmu ʿalayka, ayyuhā 'l-nabiyyu, wa-raḥmatu 'llāhi wa-barakātuhu; al-salāmu ʿalaynā wa-ʿalā ʿibādi 'llāhi 'l-ṣāliḥīna*). Among the compulsory ceremonies of the *ṣalāt*, there is also at the end of it the *taslīmat al-ūlā*, the fuller form of which consists in the worshipper in a sitting position turning his head to right and left and saying each time *al-salāmu ʿalaykum wa-raḥmatu 'llāh*. See al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ Ibn*

Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī ʿalā matn Abī Shudjāʿ, Cairo 1321, i, 168, 170.

The preference of the Ḳurʾān for the *salām* formula and its liturgical use may have contributed considerably to the fact that it soon became considered an exclusively Muslim greeting (*taḥiyyat al-islām*). As already mentioned above, the Ḳurʾān prescribes the *salām* on the Prophet to follow the *taṣliya*. Tradition reports that the latter endeavoured to introduce it. When ʿUmayr b. Wahb was brought before him and gave him the pagan greeting (*anʿimū ṣabāḥ^an^*), the Prophet said: "God has given us a better greeting than thine, namely *al-salām*, the greeting of the dwellers in Paradise (Ibn Hishām, 472, below, ff.; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1353, 10-11). Those around him are also said to have been eager to introduce this greeting. Al-Wāḳidī relates that ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd, who immediately after his conversion wanted to convert his own townsmen in Ṭāʾif to Islam, called the attention of Thaḳīf, who saluted in the heathen fashion, to the greeting of the dwellers in Paradise, *al-salām* (Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 369; Sprenger, *Das Leben .... des Moḥammad*, iii, 482; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 264). According to Ibn Isḥāḳ, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba instructed the deputation to Muḥammad from Thaḳīf how they were to salute the Prophet, but they would only use the greeting of the Djāhiliyya (Ibn Hishām, 916, 5 ff.; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1290, 9 ff.; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, iii, 485; Goldziher, *loc. cit.*). The Jews are said to have distorted this greeting with respect to Muḥammad to *al-sām ʿalayka* "death to you", whereupon the Prophet answered *wa-ʿalaykum* "and to you" (al-Bukhārī, *al-Istiʾdhān, bāb* 22; *al-Adab, bāb* 38; *LʿA*[1], xv, 206). According to Ibn Saʿd (iv/1, 163, 15), Abū Dharr was the first to greet the Prophet with the Muslim greeting. In the same author (iv/1, 82, 2) we find *salām ʿalaykum* at the beginning of a letter from Muʿāwiya to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

The expressions which could be used were *salām* or *salām ʿalaykum* (*-ka*) or *al-salām ʿalaykum*. Umm Ayman is said to have used simply (*al-*)*salām* to the Prophet (Ibn Saʿd, viii, 163, 7-8, 9-10). In the Ḳurʾān, the use of *salām ʿalaykum* preponderates. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī endeavours to explain that the indefinite form is preferable and expresses the conception of perfect greeting (ii, 500, 35 ff., iii, 512, 11 ff.). Following him, al-Shāfiʿī is said to have preferred *salām^un^ ʿalayka* in the *tashahhud* (iii, 512, 35); but the Shāfiʿī school also allows the definite form here (al-Bādjūrī, i, 168; *LʿA*[1], xv, 182, 12-13). The formula *al-salām ʿalaykum* was, however, much used as a greeting. This undetermined form is expressly prescribed in the *taslīma* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ii, 501, 5; al-Bādjūrī, I, 170; *LʿA*[1], xv, 182, 13 ff.). As a return greeting, *wa-ʿalaykum al-salām* became usual (for further details on this inversion see Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ii, 500, 29 ff., iii, 512, 21 ff.). According to Ibn Saʿd (iv/1, 115, 19-20), ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar replied with *salām ʿalaykum*.

According to some traditions, Muḥammad had described the expression *ʿalayka 'l-salām* as the salutation to the dead and insisted on being greeted with *al-salām ʿalayka* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2395; Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*, Cairo 1311, ii, 176 below). The first-named form of the greeting is actually found in elegiac verses (*op. cit.*, ii, 177; *LʿA*[1], xv, 182). But there are also traditions in which the Prophet greets the dead in the cemetery with an expression beginning with *(al-)salām* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2402, 10 ff.; Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr and *LʿA*[1], *locc. cit.*). ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar also on returning from a journey is said to have saluted the graves of the Prophet, of Abū Bakr and of his father with *al-salām ʿalayka* (Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 115, 5 ff.).

The *salām* formula was very early extended by the addition of the words *wa-raḥmatu 'llāhi* or *wa-raḥmatu 'llāhi wa-barakātuhu*. The first extension became used in the *taslīma* and the second in the *tashahhud* (see above). Applicating the Ḳurʾānic commandment (IV, 86, "when ye are saluted with a salutation, salute the person with a better than his or at least return it") it is recommended (*sunna*) in the return greeting to add the wish of blessing and benediction or occasionally, when replying to a simple *salām*, only the former (cf. al-Bukhārī, *al-Istiʾdhān, bāb*s 16, 18, 19). If anyone is saluted with the threefold formula, he must reply with the same (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūra IV, 86, *op. cit.*, ii, 502, 14 ff.). According to Lane (*Manners and customs*[3], i, 229, note), the threefold formula was very common as a return greeting in Egypt; cf. also Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto*[2], Milan 1913, 121. In Mecca, it is comparatively rarely used; the reply usual there is *weʿalēkum es-salām war-raḥma* (*we-raḥmatu 'llāh* or *wal-ikrām*); cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter u. Redensarten*, The Hague 1886, 118. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, ii, 788, note) thought that the longer form recalls the priest's blessing in Num. vi, 24-6. The application of *ʿalaykum* to a single person is explained by saying that the plural suffix includes the two accompanying angels or the spirits attached to him (i.e. the person; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ii, 501, 19 ff., cf. iii, 513, 17 ff.).

At the conclusion of a letter, the expression *wa 'l-salāmu* (*ʿalayka, -kum*) is often used e.g. Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 27, 17, 27, 28, 2, 5, 23, 29, 13, 21. Al-Ḥarīrī (*Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, ed. Thorbecke, 108, 9 ff.) disapproves of the use here of the indefinite form (*salām^un^*), which, according to the more correct use, should only be used at the beginning. *Wa 'l-salām* has occasionally the meaning of "and that is the end of it" (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.*, 92).

In keeping with Ḳurʾān, XX, 47, it became usual to use the form *al-salām^u^ ʿalā man ittabaʿa 'l-hudā* to non-Muslims when necessary (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ii, 501, 26 ff., iv, 706, 19-20). It is found, for example, in letters ascribed to Muḥammad (al-Bukhārī, *al-Istiʾdhān, bāb* 24; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 28, 10-11; cf. line 6 there at the beginning of the letter, *salām^un^ ʿalā man āmana*). Papyri of the year 91/710 bear early testimony to its use (*Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i, ed. C.H. Becker, Heidelberg 1906, i, 29, ii, 40-1, iii, 87-8, x, 11, xi, 7, xviii, 9). A letter from Muḥammad to the Jews of Maḳnā concludes, however, with *wa 'l-salām* (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 28, 23); similarly a letter to the Christians in Ayla (*ibid.*, 29, 12-13). In *Ḥadīth*, also, a tendency is noticeable not to deny the *salām* greeting, at least as a reply, to unbelievers and the *Ahl al-Kitāb* (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*[2], v, 111-12; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *loc. cit.*).

Salām means also a *ṣalawāt* litany, which is pronounced from the minarets every Friday about half an hour before the beginning of the midday service before the *adhān*. This part of the liturgy is repeated inside the mosque before the beginning of the regular ceremonies by several people with good voices standing on a *dikka* (Goldziher, *Über die Eulogien*, etc., in *ZDMG*, l, 103-4; cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, i, 117). The same name is given to the benedictions on the Prophet which are sung during the month of Ramaḍān about half an hour after midnight from the minarets (*ibid.*, ii, 264).

The auspicious formula *ʿalayhi 'l-salām*, which, according to the strictly orthodox opinion, like the *taṣliya*, should only follow the names of Prophets, but

was more freely used in the earlier literature (cf. also al-Bukhārī, *al-Isti'dhān*, *bāb* 43: *Fāṭima ʿalayka 'l-salām*), was used by Shīʿa without limitation of ʿAlī and his descendants also (Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, I, 121 ff.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, iii, 511 ff.).

The Sunnīs of India make a magical use of the so-called seven *salāms* which refer to sūra XXXVI, 58; XXXVII, 79, 109, 120, 130; XXXIX, 73; XCVII, 5. In the morning of the festival of Akhir-i Čahār-shamba [see ṢAFAR], they write the seven *salāms* or have them written with saffron water, ink or rosewater on the leaf of a mango tree or a sacred fig tree, or of a plantain. They then wash off the writing in water and drink it in the hope that they may enjoy peace and happiness (Djaʿfar Sharīf-Herklots. *Islam in India or the Qānūn-i Islām*, new ed. W. Crooke, London 1921, 186-7).

On coins, *salām* (sometimes abbreviated to *s*) means "of full weight, complete" (cf. J.G. Stickel, *Das grossherz. Orient. Münzcabinet zu Jena (Handb. d. Morgenl. Münzkunde)*, Leipzig 1845, i, 43-4; O. Codrington, *A manual of Musulman numismatics*, London 1904, 10).

[Employed as a name of God, *al-Salām* is understood by the commentators as a *maṣdar* used metaphorically in the sense of *dhu 'l-salām, salām* being in this context an equivalent of *salāma* "the state of being preserved from ...". Whence there arise, fundamentally, two interpretations. God is *al-Salām* (1) inasmuch as He is preserved from all imperfection and infirmity (*dhu 'l-salāmat[i] min kull naḳṣ[in] wa-āfa*), and (2) inasmuch as created beings are preserved from all injustice on His part (*salima 'l-khalḳ min ẓulmihi*). Contrary to the commentary given by L. Gardet (in AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ), the idea of "peace" is in no degree, here, taken into consideration. See D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, Paris 1988, 204-5].

Bibliography: In addition to that mentioned in the article: Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Būlāḳ 1293, i, 276-7; Lane, *op. cit.*, i, 298 ff.; Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Leiden 1905-13, ii, 776-81, 786-9; H. Ringgren, *Islam, 'aslama and muslim*, Horae Soederblomianae ii, Uppsala 1949.

(C. van Arendonk-[D. Gimaret])

SALAMA b. DĪNĀR, Abū Ḥāzim al-Makhzūmī, called al-Aʿradj "the Lame" (d. *ca.* 140/757), traditionist and judge in Medina, regarded as a proto-Ṣūfī mystic; he was of Persian origin. Various aphorisms (*ḥikam*) and elegant sayings of his are preserved in citations, and also his answers to questions put to him by the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*]; also, a collection of his *masā'il* [see AL-MASĀ'IL WA 'L-ADJWIBA] is extant in manuscript.

Bibliography: Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iii, 171-2; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 634-5; R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion. Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimān b. ʿAbdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen*, Wiesbaden 1987, 195-205.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SALĀMA b. DJANDAL, a poet of pre-Islamic times, was a member of the clan al-Ḥārith, which belonged to the large division of Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt of the tribe Tamīm. Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī places him in the 7th class of poets (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarā'*, ed. Hell, Leiden 1916, 36). He is reckoned among the excellent poets of the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] of whom only a few poems are preserved (*al-muḳillūn*). According to two events mentioned in his verses, he must have flourished during the second half of the 6th century of our era. The *Naḳā'iḍ* of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*] give two poems of Salāma, not included in his *dīwān*, where he celebrates the victory of Djadūd, a battle, in which the clan of Minḳar, a division of Zayd Manāt, defeated the Banū Shaybān of the tribe Bakr b. Wā'il. It must have taken place about the middle of the 6th century. In his longest poem (*Dīwān*, no. 3, v. 38), also included in the *Aṣmaʿiyyāt* (no. 42, v. 38), he refers to the end of the king al-Nuʿmān III [*q.v.*] of Ḥīra, who was trampled to death by elephants at the order of the Persian ruler Khusraw Parwīz in 602, which provides a *terminus post quem* for Salāma's death. There is no evidence that he lived to the time of Islam, and none of his descendants appear to be named in the biographies of early Muslims.

Another reference in his *dīwān* has caused some confusion among scholars. There is a monothematic poem of four lines (no. 7) addressed to Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Maḥmūd of the clan of Marthad, who had taken the poet's brother Aḥmar (sometimes mispelled Aḥmad) prisoner and released him without ransom on account of Salāma's intercession (cf. also al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. ʿA.S. Hārūn, Cairo 1367/1948-50, iii, 318). A different report has it that al-Aḥmar had been taken prisoner in a raid led by ʿAmr b. Kulthūm [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān ʿAmr*, introduction to poem no. 2, ed. F. Krenkow, in *Mashriḳ*, xx [1922], 591-611, cf. 592, and also Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 147; *Aghānī*[1], ix, 183). Whether the two reports are mixed up, or whether Aḥmar b. Djandal had been taken prisoner on two different occasions, cannot be established. If the latter is true, we have corroborating evidence for the life span of Salāma, since it makes him a contemporary of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm.

Salāma's *dīwān* has come down to us in the recensions of al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*] and of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, the representatives of the Baṣran and the Kūfan schools respectively. The two recensions were united by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Aḥwal (d. after 259/873), who pointed out occasional differences between the Baṣran and the Kūfan tradition. The text is preserved in four manuscripts. They form the basis of Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳabāwa's edition (Aleppo 1387/1968), which supersedes the earlier editions of Cl. Huart (*JA*, 10e série, xv [1919], 71-105, with French translation) and L. Cheikho (Beirut 1920). The *dīwān* contains 8 poems, 136 verses in all. In addition, the editor collected 27 poems and fragments from other sources, amounting to 80 verses.

Salāma is reputed to have excelled in the description of horses (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *loc. cit.*), and, indeed, his most famous ode, included in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* [*q.v.*] (no. XXII), contains a magnificent passage about the tribe's horses for battle (no. 1, vv. 5-15), in place of the conventional camel theme. The poem begins with a complaint of old age (vv. 1-3) and ends with tribal *fakhr*. There are two other polythematic odes in the *dīwān*, a tripartite form (no. 2) and a bipartite poem (no. 3), both ending with a combination of *fakhr* and *hidjā'* [*q.v.*], which is also the prevailing topic of Salāma's monothematic poems. His verses appear ancient in wording and imagery, and give the impression of authenticity. He refers to swords of Buṣrā and al-Madā'in, which are seldom mentioned in verses of later times, as swords were no longer obtained from there. That he mentions writing or even inkstands and parchment (no. 3, v. 2) is not at all strange as these things were more widely known than is generally admitted. The occurrence of the term *Allāh* (no. 1, v. 12) should not be taken as a sign of later interpolation, and Salāma's reference to *al-Raḥmān* (no. 3, v. 36) is hardly sufficient to prove that he was a Christian, as was assumed by L. Cheikho.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. C.J. Lyall, i, Arabic

text, Oxford 1921 (no. XXII), ii, Translation and notes, *ibid.* 1918, iii, Indexes to the Arabic text, comp. by A.A. Bevan, London 1924 (GMS, N.S. III); *al-Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, ed. ʿA.S. Hārūn and A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1964 (no. 42); *The Naḳāʾiḍ of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ*, ed. A.A. Bevan, i-iii, Leiden 1905-12, i, 144 ff. See also Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 257; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 192. Verses of Salāma are cited in most books dealing with ancient Arabic poetry, e.g. in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* 40 times.

(F. Krenkow-[Renate Jacobi])

SALĀMA MŪSĀ, Egyptian journalist, encyclopaedist, socialist, political campaigner, enthusiastic moderniser and "westerniser". Born *ca.* 1887 to a well-to-do Coptic family near Zagazig, he died on 5 August 1958. He attended both Christian and Muslim *kuttābs*, a school of the Coptic Charitable Society, and then the "national" school. From there he went to the Tawfīḳiyya (where he taught briefly in 1919), and the Khedivial College in Cairo. As a youngster he read avidly the Arab dailies and reviews, that spread the new ideas from Europe and made accessible European literature; to *al-Muḳtaṭaf* he owed his scientific leanings and his simple, telegraphic style of writing that made his ideas accessible to a broad audience.

In 1907 he went to Paris. In Europe he was to develop his ideas about the emancipation of women; his book *al-Marʾa laysat luʿbat al-radjul* (Beirut 1956) voices his opinions on this subject. He went to London in 1908, joining Lincoln's Inn where he studied law, and following courses in Egyptology, geology, biology, and economics. There he became acquainted with the works of many of the authors (Darwin, Spencer, Shaw, H.G. Wells, Elliot Smith, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Gorki, Sartre, Goethe, Nietzsche, Marx, Freud, Gandhi, etc.), who influenced him profoundly, discussed in *Hāʾulāʾi ʿallamūnī* (Cairo 1953). In Paris *L'Humanité* had introduced him to socialist ideas; in London he was to join the Fabian Society, where he met Shaw. From Shaw he derived many of his humanistic socialist ideas; he analyses his life and works in *Bernard Shaw* (Cairo 1957).

Throughout most of his life he wrote for the Egyptian press; his book *al-Ṣaḥāfa ... ḥirfa wa-risāla* (Cairo 1963) is on the profession of journalism. Returning to Egypt from Europe, he received his training on *al-Liwāʾ* newspaper. He was to collaborate on *al-Djāmiʿa, al-Muḳtaṭaf, al-Maḥrūsa, al-Akhbār, al-Balāgh, Djarīdat Miṣr, Madjallat al-Ḥadīth, al-Nidāʾ, al-Wafd al-Miṣrī, Akhbār al-Yawm, al-Djīl, al-Indhār* and many other journals. In 1914 he founded in Cairo the first Egyptian weekly, *al-Mustaḳbal*, dedicated to science and literature. From 1923 to 1929 he helped edit *al-Hilāl*. He wrote for its press: *Ashhar al-khuṭab wa-mashāhīr al-khuṭabāʾ* (Cairo 1924) an anthology of the most important European and Arab authors; *Ashhar ḳiṣaṣ al-ḥubb al-taʾrīkhiyya* (1925) love stories from history and from Arabic literature; *Aḥlām al-falāsifa* (1926) on the utopian ideas of philosophers from Plato onwards; *Ḥurriyyat al-fikr wa-abṭāluhā fi 'l-taʾrīkh* (1927) examining the struggle to maintain freedom of expression; *al-ʿAḳl al-bāṭin wa-maknūnāt al-nafs* (1927) a study on the theories of Freud and Jung, and *Taʾrīkh al-funūn wa-ashhar al-ṣuwar* (1927) partially dedicated to the development of art in Egypt. In 1929 he founded the monthly *al-Madjalla al-Djadīda* and the weekly *al-Miṣrī*; both were suppressed, but *al-Madjalla al-Djadīda* later reappeared. From 1940 to 1942 he collaborated on *al-Shuʾūn al-Idjtimāʿiyya*, the magazine of the Ministry for Social Affairs.

A pioneer in the creation of the Arab socialist movement, in 1920 he helped form the short-lived Egyptian Socialist Party. He was to acknowledge late in life that the ideas of Marx had had the most profound influence on him. He had published *al-Ishtirākiyya* (Cairo 1913), a short treatise on socialism (tr. in G. Haupt and M. Reberioux, *La Deuxième Internationale et l'Orient*, Paris 1967, 423-38, and in S.A. Hanna and G.H. Gardner, *Arab socialism*, Leiden 1969, 275-88). His *al-Dunyā baʿd thalāthīn ʿām* (1930) is on the prospects for socialism in Egypt. A collection of articles, *Mashāʿil al-ṭarīḳ li 'l-shabāb* (Cairo 1959) attempts to guide the young on the revolutionary road. His *Muḳaddimat al-subirmān* (Cairo 1910) on socialism, evolution, and eugenics, advocates the application of selective reproduction and sterilisation to produce a Superman. The second edition, *al-Yawm wa 'l-ghad* (Cairo 1927) discusses the ideas of Darwin, Nietzsche, and Shaw, and the emancipation of women. *Ḍabṭ al-tanāsul wa-manʿ al-ḥaml* (Cairo 1930), written with Dr Kāmil Labīb, returns to the necessity of improving the species and tackles birth control.

On his return to Egypt, he had publicised the theory of evolution; he discusses Darwin's *On the origin of the species* in his most popular work *Naẓariyyat al-taṭawwur wa-aṣl al-insān* (Cairo 1925), developed in *al-Insān ḳimmat al-taṭawwur* (Cairo 1961). He was to question the "commonly accepted mysteries" and turn to a belief in the "social value of religion." His book *Nushūʾ fikrat Allāh* (Cairo 1912) is a summary of the ideas of Grant Allen on *The evolution of the idea of God*.

Under the influence of Gandhi, he founded the league *al-Miṣrī li 'l-Miṣrī*, encouraging Egyptians to buy local products and to boycott foreign goods, arguing his case in *Djuyūbunā wa-djuyūb al-adjānib* (Cairo 1930). His *Ghāndī wa 'l-ḥaraka al-hindiyya* (Cairo 1934) describes the struggle of Gandhi against British imperialism. Mūsā's two principal foes in his writings were to be the British imperialists and Egyptian reactionaries; he was to wage a life-long battle in defence of democracy in Egypt. He was arrested and imprisoned on several occasions for alleged propaganda for a republican form of government and for writing on socialism and communism. Finding abhorrent the conduct of the palace and its supporters, he was amongst those intellectuals who welcomed the revolution of 1952. His *Ḥurriyyat al-ʿaḳl fī Miṣr* (Cairo 1945) deals with the lack of freedom of Egyptian intellectuals, and *Kitāb al-Thawrāt* (Beirut 1954) examines the French and Bolshevik Revolutions, and the two Egyptian revolutions of 1919 and 1952.

Altogether he wrote about 40 books, many of his writings first appearing in the periodical press. Amongst his collections of articles are *Mukhtārāt Salāma Mūsā* (Cairo 1926); *Fī 'l-ḥayāt wa 'l-adab* (Cairo 1930); *Tarīḳ al-madjd* (Cairo 1949); *Aḥādīth ilā 'l-shabāb* (Cairo 1957) and *Maḳālāt mamnūʿa* (Beirut 1959) a collection of censored and banned articles. In his *al-Balāgha al-ʿaṣriyya wa 'l-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* (Cairo 1945) he criticises traditional Arabic eloquence for being unable to reflect the ideas of his age; at one stage, he had advocated replacing the Arabic script by the Latin, since he felt that the Arabic characters obstructed scientific progress. On literature, his *al-Adab li 'l-shaʿb* (Cairo 1956) applies social realism to contemporary Egyptian and classical Arabic literature; whilst *al-Tadjdīd fi 'l-adab al-indjilīzī al-ḥadīth* (Cairo 1934) examines the development of modern English literary trends. He published several collections of stories: *Ḳiṣaṣ mukhtalifa* (Cairo 1930) a selection of stories, particularly from Russian literature; *Min adjl al-salām, ḳiṣaṣ sūfyātiyya* (Cairo 1956 with ʿAbd al-Munʿim Ṣubḥī); *Ruddū ilayya ḥayātī, madjmūʿa*

ḳiṣaṣiyya (Cairo 1960); *Intiṣārāt insān* (Cairo 1960) and *Iftaḥū lahā 'l-bāb* (Cairo 1962). In *al-Djarīma wa 'l-ʿiḳāb* (Cairo 1912) he translated part of Dostoyevsky's *Crime and punishment*.

His writings on psychology were published in *al-Sīkūlūdjiyya fī ḥayātinā al-yawmiyya* (Cairo 1936); *al-Shakhṣiyya al-nādjiḥa* (Cairo 1942); *ʿAḳlī wa-ʿaḳluka* (Cairo 1947); *Muḥāwalāt sīkūlūdjiyya* (Cairo 1952) and *Dirāsāt sīkūlūdjiyya* (Beirut 1956). Amongst his varied studies, his book *Miṣr, Aṣl al-Ḥaḍāra* (Cairo 1934) is an analysis of Elliot Smith's ideas on pharaonic civilisation; *Fann al-ḥayāt* (Cairo 1929) is a description of love as a formative element in family and society; *Ḥayātuna baʿd al-khamsīn* (Cairo 1944) deals with life's problems after the age of 50; *al-Nahḍa al-Urubbiyya* (Cairo 1935) examines the renaissance in the west and its influence on Arab civilisation, whilst the unpublished *Muʿdjam al-afkār* is an analysis of movements of thought. *Al-Tathḳīf al-dhātī aw kayf nurabbī anfusanā* (Cairo 1946) is on his personal acculturation experience. His autobiography, *Tarbiyat Salāma Mūsā* (Cairo 1947, revised 1958), has been described by Jacques Berque as "one of the most moving books in modern Arabic literature" (a tr. was edited by L.O. Schuman, *The education of Salāma Mūsā*, Leiden 1961).

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(P.C. Sadgrove)

SALĀMĀN and ABSĀL, two characters who figure prominently in a series of pre-modern philosophical and mystical allegories written in Arabic and Persian. The characters are first mentioned by Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*], in the ninth chapter of his *Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, where he discusses the "Stages of the Gnostics" (*maḳāmāt al-ʿārifīn*). Here he states that:

> Gnostics have stages and degrees by which they are favoured over others while in their earthly life. It is as if their bodies were garments that they had removed and striped away (to move) toward the Realm of Sanctity (*ʿālam al-ḳuds*). They have things hidden within and manifest without that are denied by whomever would deny them but are deemed momentous by whomever has come to known them.
>
> We will tell you about these things. And when your ear has been struck by what it hears, and what you will hear has been narrated to you, it will be a story of Salāmān and Absāl.
>
> Know that Salāmān is a similitude coined for you and that Absāl is a similitude coined for your degree in gnosis (*ʿirfān*), if you be one of its folk. So decipher the symbolism (*al-ramz*), if you are able (iv, 48-51).

Ibn Sīnā also mentions the name of Absāl in his "Treatise on Destiny" (*Risāla fī 'l-ḳadar*) (Mehren, *Traités mystiques*, fasc. iii/5-6), but the story is not in the list of his compositions provided by Abū ʿUbayd al-Djūzdjānī [*q.v.*], the philosopher's companion, student, and biographer (despite al-Ṭūsī's assertion that it is), nor does it appear in any of the other traditional bibliographies of Ibn Sīnā's works (such as those of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, or Ibn Khallikān [*q.vv.*]. No manuscript of the narrative has so far appeared.

In his commentary on *al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] suggests etymologies for the two names and states that there existed a story "among the Arabs" about the two characters, but he acknowledges that this version appears to have little connection with Ibn Sīnā's intent.

Our only source for the possible contents of the story is Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's [*q.v.*] commentary on *al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt* (iv, 49-57). Al-Ṭūsī first recapitulates al-Rāzī's remarks. Then he summarises the contents of two versions of the story that he came across in the twenty years after he finished his commentary (for translations and full discussions of both versions, see Corbin, *Avicenna*, 204-41; cf. Heath, *Allegory*, 94-6. The allegorical decoding provided in the summaries below is al-Tūsī's).

The first version, which al-Ṭūsī believes "one of the common philosophers devised to fit the Shaykh's [i.e. Ibn Sīnā's] discussion", was purportedly of Greek origin and translated into Arabic by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] (iv, 52). In this narrative, Salāmān is a young prince (the rational soul) whom his father (the active intellect) has engendered without recourse to a woman (matter) through the ingenuity of his minister (divine emanation). Salāmān is nursed by a young and beautiful woman, Absāl (the corporeal faculties), with whom he falls desperately in love. When his father, the king, disapproves of this attachment, Salāmān flees with Absāl to the lands of the far west (the material realm). Through his father's patient guidance, he is eventually freed of his ties to Absāl and assumes his rightful place on the throne. (A text of this version is included in *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, 112-19.)

Al-Ṭūsī ascribes the second version to Ibn Sīnā, and justifiably so since it contains a scene referred to by the philosopher in his "Treatise on Destiny" (mentioned above). In this rendition, Salāmān is a king (the rational soul) and Absāl is his younger brother (the theoretical faculty of the rational soul advanced to the level of the acquired intellect) who aids his older sibling while resisting the sexual advances of the latter's wife (the bodily faculties). After conquering the East and the West, Absāl is poisoned by his brother's wife. Learning this, Salāmān executes his wife and retires to solitary meditation of God.

The next major use of the characters apears in the *Treatise of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, written by the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl [*q.v.*]. Ibn Ṭufayl states in his introduction that he composed the narrative to clarify what Ibn Sīnā meant by the phrase "Oriental Philosophy" (*al-ḥikma al-mashriḳiyya*), and he refers to passages from the final chapters of *al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*. Nevertheless, Ibn Ṭufayl's use of the characters is original, and his *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* is a significant philosophical composition in its own right.

In this narrative, Salāmān and Absāl appear toward the end of the story, after the main character,

Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān [*q.v.*], has perfected himself and achieved a state of union with the Divine. Absāl, who represents the inner dimension of religious spirituality, appears on Ḥayy's island seeking a place to engage in solitary spiritual contemplation. When the two meet, Absāl learns of Ḥayy's spiritual attainments and becomes his disciple. When Ḥayy discovers from Absāl of the existence of revealed religion among the latter's people, he decides to visit their island to inform them of the inner truths that their revelation contains. On the island, the two encounter Absāl's friend, Salāmān, who represents upright and sincere adherence to the external tenets and rituals of religion. Ḥayy finds that he cannot convey his spiritual and intellectual truths because the islanders are spiritually and mentally incapable of receiving them. So he and Absāl return to their island to pursue their pursuit of truth away from society.

The last major version of a story using the characters of Salāmān and Absāl occurs in a narrative of the same name by the Persian poet, Dj̲āmī [*q.v.*], that is included as one of seven *mat̲h̲nawīs* in the poet's *Haft awrang*. Dj̲āmī's version (translated into English by the 19th-century poet Edward Fitzgerald) follows fairly closely the plot line of the Greek story summarised above (see Arberry, *Fitzgerald's Salaman and Absal*, which supplies two versions by Fitzgerald as well as a literal English translation of Dj̲āmī's Persian text). Dj̲āmī explains the allegorical symbols of his story at its conclusion.

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SALAMANCA [see S̲h̲ALAMANḲA].

SALAMIYYA, a town in central Syria in the district of Orontes (Nahr al-ʿĀṣī), about 25 miles south-east of Ḥamāt and 35 miles north-east of Ḥimṣ (for the town's exact situation, see Kiepert's map in M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1899, i. 124 ff., and ii, 401; *National Geographic Atlas of the World*, 5th ed., Washington D.C. 1981, 178-9). Salamiyya lies in a fertile plain 1,500 feet above sea level, south of the Dj̲abal al-Aʿlā and on the margin of the Syrian steppe. The older and more correct pronunciation of this town's name was Salamya (al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 61; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 110), but the form Salamiyya is also found very early (al-Muḳaddasī, 190; Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 76, 98) and is now the form almost universally in use (cf. also Yāḳūt, *Muʿdj̲am*, iii, 123; Littmann, *Semitic inscriptions*, 169 ff.). The *nisba* from the name is Salamī. The town seems to be the ancient Salamias or Salaminias, which flourished in the Christian period, but the references of the classical authors to this place are uncertain. Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, gives a popular etymology. The town, he says, was originally called *Salam-miʾa*, after the hundred surviving inhabitants of the destroyed town of al-Muʾtafika; the survivors then settled in Salamiyya and rebuilt it.

The situation of the town was important as an outpost of Syria, where main routes from the steppe (Palmyra) and ʿIrāḳ joined; but it was never of any great military importance. Salamiyya was conquered by the Arabs in the year 15/636, and became one of the towns of the *Dj̲und* of Ḥimṣ; it was only after 906/1500 in the Mamlūk period that it was placed in the district of Ḥamāt for administrative purposes.

During the 2nd/8th century, soon after the victory of the ʿAbbāsids, the ʿAbbāsid Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, and later some of his descendants, settled down in Salamiyya. In 141/758, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī had been appointed as the governor of southern and central Syria, and he paid some attention to reconstructing Salamiyya. The town is said to have been most indebted to Ṣāliḥ's son ʿAbd Allāh, who rebuilt it and developed the irrigation system of the locality and its environs (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 324). This ʿAbd Allāh was held in high esteem by his cousins, the first two ʿAbbāsid caliphs. On his way to Jerusalem in 163/779-80, the caliph al-Mahdī stayed with ʿAbd Allāh in Salamiyya and admired his house (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 500, tr. H. Kennedy, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxix, *Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī*, Albany 1990, 215). In this same year, ʿAbd Allāh, who had meanwhile married al-Mahdī's sister, was appointed as the governor of al-Dj̲azīra. There are more scattered references to the fact that many ʿAbbāsid Hās̲h̲imids lived in Salamiyya from early ʿAbbāsid times (see, for instance, al-Nīsābūrī, *Istitār al-imām*, 115 ff., 123-5, tr. Ivanow in his *Ismaili tradition*, 160 ff., 171-3; Ibn Ḥazm, *Dj̲amharat al-ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn, Cairo 1391/1971, 20; Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, *ʿUyūn al-ak̲h̲bār*, iv, 365, 402).

Almost nothing has survived in Salamiyya from this early ʿAbbāsid period. There is the foundation inscription of a mosque on a stone (not *in situ*) at the entrance to the citadel. It is probable that this inscription is dated 150/767-8 and it belonged to a mosque founded by those ʿAbbāsids, which may have been destroyed later (about 290/903) by the Ḳarmaṭīs who invaded the town. Still another inscription stemming from an ʿAbbāsid has been found in the citadel; according to Littmann's plausible suggestion, it belongs with two other inscriptions to the period from 280/893-4 (or, for another view, see Hartmann, *Die arabischen Inschriften*, 55).

The fact that Salamiyya was the centre of an important branch of the Hās̲h̲imids and the isolated position of the town perhaps account for its important role in the early history of the Ismāʿīlī movement as the secret headquarters of the pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. According to the later Ismāʿīlīs, the early Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* was organised and led by a number of hidden *imāms* (*al-aʾimma al-mastūrīn*), who were descendants of the S̲h̲īʿī *imām* Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. It was ʿAbd Allāh, a great-grandson of al-Ṣādiḳ and one of these hidden *imāms*, who, after living in different localities in K̲h̲ūzistān and ʿIrāḳ, fled to Syria and eventually settled down in Salamiyya at an unknown date around the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. At the time, Salamiyya was held by the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, who had transformed the

town into a flourishing commercial centre. The ʿAlid ʿAbd Allāh, the Ismāʿīlī leader who then posed as an ordinary Hāshimid and a merchant, was granted permission by the ʿAbbāsid lord of the town to settle there; later, he built a sumptuous palace for himself in Salamiyya which evidently continued to be used by his descendants and successors as the central leaders of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* (see al-Nīsābūrī, 116 ff., tr. Ivanow, 161 ff.; Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, iv, 357-66). Salamiyya served as the headquarters of the Ismāʿīlī movement until the year 289/902; it was from there that *dāʿīs* were originally dispatched for propagating the Ismāʿīlī teachings and initiating the *daʿwa* in different regions. These activities were greatly intensified around the middle of the 3rd/9th century.

ʿUbayd Allāh (ʿAbd Allāh), the last of these hidden *imāms* and the future Fāṭimid caliph al-Mahdī, was born in Salamiyya in 259 or 260/873-4. In 286/899, not long after his accession to the central leadership of the movement, ʿUbayd Allāh introduced some important changes into the doctrines propagated by the early Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. However, the new instructions issued from Salamiyya were not endorsed by certain regional *dāʿīs*, notably Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ and his chief assistant ʿAbdān, who led the *daʿwa* in ʿIrāḳ and adjacent areas. ʿAbdān was dispatched on a fact-finding mission to Salamiyya. Having become convinced of ʿUbayd Allāh's reform, Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān broke away from the central leadership; the dissident view found supporters also in Baḥrayn and some eastern Ismāʿīlī communities. The Ismāʿīlī movement was now split into two rival factions, the dissident Ḳarmaṭīs and the loyal Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs (see W. Madelung, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii [1961], 65-86; F. Daftary, *A major schism in the early Ismāʿīlī movement*, in *SI*, lxxvii [1993], 123-39). The *dāʿī* Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, who had initially remained loyal to ʿUbayd Allāh, soon manifested his own rebellious intentions and led the Ḳarmaṭī revolts of ʿIrāḳ and Syria during 289-94/902-7 (H. Halm, *Die Söhne Zikrawaihs und das erste fatimidische Kalifat 290/903*, in *Die Welt des Orients*, x [1979], 30-53). ʿUbayd Allāh had already left Salamiyya a year before the rebellious Ḳarmaṭīs, led by Zikrawayh's sons, entered it in 290/903. The Ḳarmaṭīs massacred the inhabitants of Salamiyya, also destroying ʿUbayd Allāh's palace there. The success of the Ḳarmaṭīs in Syria was, however, short-lived. By 291/903, the Ḳarmaṭīs were severely defeated by an ʿAbbāsid army near Salamiyya; and their leader in Syria, one of Zikrawayh's sons, was captured and taken before the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muktafī, who had him executed. Meanwhile, ʿUbayd Allāh had embarked on the fateful journey that took him to North Africa where he founded the Fāṭimid caliphate. It is not impossible that the quadrangular citadel in the centre of Salamiyya goes back to the Ismāʿīlī period of the town; according to van Berchem, it belongs to an early period architecturally.

In the 4th/10th century, Salamiyya must have been in an area inhabited by Bedouins (Sayf al-Dawla's campaign; cf. Hartmann, in *ZDPV*, xxii [1899], 175, 176). At the end of the 5th/11th century, it was included in the possessions of the brigand Khalaf b. Mulāʿib, who acknowledged Fāṭimid suzerainty. There is evidence of this in an inscription in Kūfic characters, dated 481/1088, on the door beam of a mosque in Salamiyya. According to Ibn al-Athīr (x, 184), Khalaf took Salamiyya in 476/1083-4; he was then already master of Ḥimṣ. But in 485/1092, he lost Ḥimṣ and the lands that went with it to the Saldjūḳ Tutush, brother of Malik Shāh (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, 115, 120, 132, 149-50; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1981, 63, 76). In the inscription, studied extensively by Rey, Hartmann, van Berchem and Littmann, Khalaf says that he has erected this *mashhad* on the tomb of the *ḳāʾid* Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Djarīr (or Djaʿfar), whose servant (*ṣāniʿ*) he calls himself. However, the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs have traditionally regarded this tomb as that of their early *imām* ʿAbd Allāh, one of the hidden *imāms* of the pre-Fāṭimid period, calling the mausoleum locally as the *maḳām al-imām*. H. Halm, who studied and reinterpreted the inscription in 1980, lends support to the local Syrian Ismāʿīlī tradition by holding that the mausoleum was in all probability originally erected, about 400/1009, over the tomb of the *imām* ʿAbd Allāh by the Kutāmī *ḳāʾid* ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar (b. Falāḥ), the Fāṭimid commander who seized Salamiyya for the Fāṭimids and whose name appears in the inscription, and that Khalaf merely repaired the site, some four decades later (see Halm, *Les Fatimides à Salamya*, 144-7, with photographs of the site on 148-9).

During the Crusades, Salamiyya is never mentioned as a fortress but frequently as a meeting place for the Muslim armies. Politically it has always shared the fate of Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*]. Thus it passed to Riḍwān, son of Tutush, in 496/11102-3. In 532/1137-8, the Atabeg Zankī b. Aḳ Sunḳur, who was then besieging Ḥimṣ, set out from Salamiyya on his campaign against the Greeks at Shayzar (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 36 ff.), and in 570/1174-5 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn obtained the town together with Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt from the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn al-Zaʿfarānī (*ibid.*, xi, 276). In 626/1229, we find the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil I in Salamiyya as a staging-post for ʿIrāḳ; the lord of Ḥamāt came there to submit to him. Two years later, al-Kāmil gave the town to Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, who rebuilt the fortress of Shumaymish north of it on one of the peaks of the Djabal al-Aʿlā (*ibid.*, xii, 318, 329; van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, i, 171, 173) which had been destroyed by the earthquake of 552/1157 (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, i, ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1954, 306, tr. E. Blochet, *Histoire d'Alep*, Paris 1900, 21). In 698/1299, the Egyptian army was defeated at Salamiyya by the Mongols under Ghāzān; the battle was followed by the brief Mongol occupation of the city of Damascus.

In the 8th/14th century, Salamiyya was part of the important frontier lands (called al-Sharḳiyya) of the *mamlaka* of Damascus. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, in whose territory as lord of Ḥamāt the town lay during the Mamlūk period, mentions an aqueduct between Salamiyya and Ḥamāt. In 726/1326, he went with his troops to clear out this channel (autobiography of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ in *RHC. Historiens Orientaux*, i, 168, 185; tr. P.M. Holt, *The memoirs of a Syrian Prince, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, sultan of Ḥamāh*, Wiesbaden 1983, 18, 85). This aqueduct no longer exists. Perhaps it is the same as is mentioned by al-Dimashḳī (207) as in existence between Ḥimṣ and Salamiyya and built by the ʿAbbāsid ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ. At this time Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii, 123) speaks of seven prayer-niches near Salamiyya below which some *tābiʿūn* or Successors were buried; he also mentions the tomb of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī, the companion of the Prophet.

Under Ottoman rule, the town gradually ceased to be of importance. By the early decades of the 13th/19th century, Salamiyya was entirely deserted and lying in ruins, probably on account of the lack of adequate protection against the Bedouins (see C.L. Meryon's *Travels of Lady Hester Stanhope*, London 1846, ii, 93, 211-12, and L. de Laborde's *Voyage en*

Orient, Paris 1838, ii, 13, who visited Salamiyya in 1813 and 1827 respectively). A new phase in the history of Salamiyya began in the middle of the 13th/19th century. It was at that time that Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad, the Ismāʿīlī *amīr* of Ḳadmūs who had succeeded in establishing his authority over a large section of the Ismāʿīlī community in Syria and who had been outlawed earlier for his rebellious activities, was permitted by the Ottoman authorities to settle permanently with his people in an area east of the Orontes river. The Ismāʿīlī settlers were also exempted from military conscription and taxation. These arrangements were evidently confirmed by a *fermān* of Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd, dated Shaʿbān 1265/July 1849. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad chose the ruins of Salamiyya as the site of his new Ismāʿīlī settlement. An increasing number of Ismāʿīlīs from the western mountains gradually joined the original settlers in Salamiyya, attracted by the prospect of receiving free land in a district where they would furthermore be neither taxed nor conscripted (for details, see N.N. Lewis, *The Ismaʿilis of Syria today*, in *Royal Central Asian Society Journal*, xxxiv [1952], 69 ff.; M. Ghālib, *The Ismailis of Syria*, Beirut 1970, 156 ff.).

By 1861, Salamiyya had become a large village with numerous dwellings in its restored fort (J.H. Skene, *Rambles in the deserts of Syria*, London 1864, 158). Soon the Ismāʿīlī settlers, whose numbers increased continuously by new arrivals, established villages around Salamiyya, expanding the cultivable land of the district and improving its irrigation. By 1878, Circassians also began to migrate to Salamiyya. However, the bulk of the land of Salamiyya and its villages remained in the hands of the Ismāʿīlīs. In time, the growth and prosperity of Salamiyya was officially recognised by the Ottoman authorities who, in 1884, created a special administrative district (*ḳaḍāʾ*) centred on Salamiyya within the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥamāt; a few years later, troops were stationed there, conscription was initiated, normal taxes were levied, and Salamiyya began to appear regularly in the annual *Sālnāme-yi Sūriye wilāyeti* of the Ottomans. By the end of the 13th/19th century, Salamiyya reportedly had more than 6,000 inhabitants, with a good irrigation system (V. Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, Paris 1896, 436, 453 ff.). The last major migration of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs to Salamiyya occurred in 1919; these settlers built their houses in a new quarter of the town known as the "quarter of the Ḳadmūsīs". In the present century, Salamiyya has become an important agricultural centre in Syria, where a variety of crops, including wheat and legumes, are cultivated.

In 1304/1887, the Ismāʿīlīs of Salamiyya, who, like the bulk of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs, had hitherto belonged to the Muḥammad Shāhī branch of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, transferred their allegiance to the Ḳāsim Shāhī line of Nizārī *imāms*, then represented by Agha Khān III. The latter organised the Ismāʿīlīs of Salamiyya and also built several schools and an agricultural institution there. With a population of 95,000 in 1993, the great majority of whom are Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, Salamiyya now accounts for the largest concentration of Ismāʿīlīs in Syria as well as in the Near East. In recent years, the Ismāʿīlī community of Salamiyya has benefited from the communal and religious activities of Agha Khān IV, the 49th and present *imām* of the Ḳāsim Shāhī Nizārīs, whose father Prince ʿAlī Khān is buried in Salamiyya in a special mausoleum adjacent to the town's newly-constructed Ismāʿīlī centre (*djamāʿat-khāna*).

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(J.H. Kramers-[F. Daftary])

SALAR, a Muslim and Turkic-speaking minority in Northwestern China.

They are otherwise called Sa-la in Chinese. Their total population in the P.R.C. is about 69,000 and the greater part of them live in the Sala Autonomous Prefecture of Hsün-hua, Ch'ing-hai province; the population here was *ca.* 49,000 in 1984. The Salar oral traditions unanimously tell that they emigrated from Samarḳand to Hsün-hua in 1370 under the reign of the first Ming Emperor. They are regarded to have originated from Salar (or Salor [see SALUR]) tribesmen of the Turkmen nation distributed in the Samarḳand region. The Ch'ing-hai Salars were firstly reported in Ch'ing source in the middle of the 18th century. The Salars are Muslims and some of them became adherents of the Ṣūfī order of the Djahriyya from the early 18th century. In 1781 conflicts broke out among the Salars, who had been divided into two sects, that of the New Teaching (Djahriyya) and that of the Old Teaching, but adherents of the New Sect were severely militarily repressed by the Ch'ing authorities. There were several rebellions of the Salar New Sect against the local authorities down to the late 19th century. The Salars at Hsün-hua consisted of eight *kung* (originally eleven *kung*; *kung* means village or community) with their base at Hsün-hua. They were engaged in farming, cattle-breeding, fishing, etc. In the Salar region, there were nine large, core mosques, each of which administered subordinate mosques. Religious leaders of Salar mosques, on the lines of *akhōn*, *imām*, *mullā*, *ḳāḍī* and *khaṭīb*, were known: festivals, such as the *ʿīd al-fiṭr*, *ḳurbān* and *barāt* were observed, and the Salars had tombs called *ḳubbas*

(generally called *kumpei*). The Salars are now officially recognised as one of the 55 minority peoples of the P.R.C., and they coexist with the Han Chinese.

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(T. SAGUCHI)

SĀLĀR (P.), commander. From the older Pahlavi *sardār* there arose as early as the Sāsānid period the form *sālār* with the well-known change of *rd* to *l* and compensatory lengthening of the *a* (cf. *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, i,[a] 267, 274). The synonymous word in modern Persian *sardār* is not a survival of the ancient *sardār*, but is a modern formation; indeed, the elements from which the ancient word was composed still exist in the modern language. The old Armenian took over the Pahlavi *sālār* in the form *salar*; the form *sardār* which would give **sardar* in Armenian is not found in the latter language. A latter, probably modern Persian loan-word in Armenian is (*spa*) *salar* with *l* instead of *ł*. On this and on other late Armenian forms, cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, i, 235, 239. In the first of these two references, the Pahlavi combinations of the word are also given. On the etymology, cf. also Horn, *Grundriss der neup. Etymologie*, 153; Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, 72; Junker, *The Frahang i Pahlavīk*, Berlin 1912, 37, 79.

In the mediaeval Islamic Persian world and in those lands culturally affected by it, such as the central Arab lands of ʿIrāḳ and Syria, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Muslim India, *sālār* was essentially a military term, as e.g. in *sipah-sālār* "supreme army commander", the equivalent in Persian of the Arabic *amīr al-umarāʾ*, *ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb* or *al-ḥādjib al-kabīr* found amongst dynasties like the Sāmānids, Būyids, Ghaznawids and Great Saldjūḳs [see ISPAHSĀLĀR].

But *sālār* by itself was often used for the commander of a particular group, such as the commander of the Muslim *ghāzīs* or fighters for the faith centred on Lahore in the Ghaznawid period and organised for raiding into the Hindu *dār al-kufr* (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 114). Certainly in the 5th/11th century, various of the towns and districts of Khurāsān seem to have had *sālārs* heading local forces organised either for defence or for *ghazw*. The *Sālār* of the district between Bādhghīs and Ḳuhistān called Būzgān was an active figure there in the events spanning the transition from Ghaznawid to Saldjūḳ rule in Khurāsān during the 1030s (see *ibid.*, 254, 261, 262-4), and some sources describe this Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Būzdjānī as becoming the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg's first vizier (see H. Bowen, *Notes on some early Seljuqid viziers*, in *BSOAS*, xx [1957], 105-7). Likewise, in Nīshāpūr at this time, a *sālār* of what was perhaps a local militia is mentioned, and this command may have been one of the functions of the town's *raʾīs* [see RAʾĪS. 2.] (see R.W. Bulliett, *The patricians of Nishapur, a study in medieval Islamic social history*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 68-9); he seems to have been regarded as a key figure in 429/1030 when it was a question of the establishing the authority of the dead sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna's son Masʿūd in Nīshāpur rather than that of his brother Muḥammad (see Ibn Funduḳ, *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Bahmanyār, 267-8). There was a prominent family in Bayhaḳ, the Sālāriyān, the descendants of one *Sālār* Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Muḥsin al-Muṭṭawwiʿ, who had been head of the *ghāzīs* and had fought at Tarsus (*ibid.*, 124).

In administrative documents from mid-6th/12th century eastern Persia and Transoxania, *sālār*, together with such terms as *muḳaddam* and *sarhang*, appears as a rank for commanders just below the supreme commander (H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 42, 47, 120, 160.

In general mediaeval Islamic usage, *sālār* is also found—as far west as Mamlūk Egypt and Syria—in such compounds as *ākhur-sālār* "head of the stables" and *khwān-sālār* "steward", given that these high royal household offices were usually allotted to high-ranking Turkish military commanders.

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SĀLĀR DJANG (Sir), the title by which Mīr Turāb ʿAlī, a Sayyid of Persian descent and one of the greatest of modern Indian statesmen, was best known.

He was born at Ḥaydarābād, Deccan, on 2 January, 1829, and, his father having died not long after his birth, was educated by his uncle, Nawwāb Sirādj al-Mulk, Minister of the Ḥaydarābād State. He received an administrative appointment in 1848, at the age of 19, and on his uncle's death in 1853 succeeded him as Minister of the State. He was engaged in reforming the administration until 1857, the year of the Sepoy Mutiny, when the Niẓām, Nāṣir al-Dawla, died and was succeeded by his son Afḍal al-Dawla. The news of the seizure of Dihlī by the mutineers greatly excited the populace, and the British Residency was attacked by a turbulent mob, aided by some irregular troops, but throughout the darkest days of the rebellion Sālār Djang not only remained true to the British connection, but strengthened the hands of his master and suppressed disorder. The services of the State were recognised by the rendition of three of the districts assigned in 1853 on account of debts due to the Company, and by the cession of the territory of the rebellious Rādjā of Shorāpūr. In 1860 and again in 1867 plots to estrange the great Minister from his master and to ensure his dismissal were frustrated by two successive British Residents, and Sālār Djang remained in office. In 1868 an attempt was made to assassinate him but the assassin was arrested and executed, despite Sālār Djang's efforts to obtain a commutation of the sentence. On the death of Afḍal al-Dawla in 1869, Sālār Djang became one of the two co-regents of the State during the minority of his son and successor, Mīr Maḥbūb ʿAlī Khān, and on 5 January 1871, he was invested at Calcutta with the insignia of the G.C.S.I. In November 1875, he and other nobles represented the young Niẓām at Bombay on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, and in April 1876, he visited England and was presented to Queen Victoria. He received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford and the Freedom of the City of London. In January 1883, he was engaged in making preparations for the contemplated visit of the Niẓām to Europe, but on 7 February, after entertaining Duke John of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who was visiting Ḥaydarābād, on the Mīr ʿĀlam Lake, he was attacked by cholera and died on the following morning. Though always known by his first title, Sālār Djang, he bore the higher titles Shudjāʿ al-Dawla and Mukhtār al-Mulk.

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ṢALĀT (A.), ritual prayer. Unlike other types of prayer—in particular the prayer of supplication [see DUʿĀʾ], the remembrance of the Divine Names [see DHIKR] or Ṣūfī confraternities' litanies [see WIRD]—the *ṣalāt*, principal prayer of Islam, forms part of the *ʿibādāt* or cultic obligations. The word clearly derives from the Syriac *ṣᵉlōtā* "prayer" and had adopted its Arabic form before the Islamic period (see Jeffery, 198-9). The structure of this article will be as follows:

I. In the Ḳurʾān.
II. In *ḥadīth* and legal elaborations.
III. The five daily prayers.
IV. The other ritual prayers.
V. *Ṣalāt* and Islam.

I. *In the Ḳurʾān.*

A. General insistence on prayer. In the Sacred Book of Islam, *ṣalāt* stands out prominently in an atmosphere of invocation of God. It would be arbitrary to separate totally the "ritual prayer" from other forms of prayer. *Ṣalāt*, the whole of which expresses praise and adoration, thus becomes the echo of specific prayers in the Ḳurʾān (cf. III, 26; X, 10) and of the usual feelings which it inspires or reflects.

In the Ḳurʾānic universe in fact, there is no religion without prayer. This last is expressed by numerous roots and words which mark its different orientations: thus the prayer of supplication or invocation (*duʿāʾ*), the appeal for pardon (*istighfār*) and glorification (*tasbīḥ*). The quality of prayer and its acceptance by God are the object of precise considerations (XL, 50; XLI, 49-51; II, 186) and of careful advice (VII, 55-6; XXI, 90; XL, 60; cf. VI, 52). Particularly notable is the diversity of protagonists or subjects of prayer: outside Islam like the associators (VI, 108; VII, 32 and 35) or the Christian hermits (who are probably described in XXIV, 36-8); before Islam like the wife of Pharaoh (LXVI, 11), the Man of the Fish (=Jonah, XXI, 87), and the three great models represented by Abraham, Moses and Zachariah (e.g. XXVI, 83-9; XX, 25-35; XIX, 3-6); within Islam like Muḥammad and the other Muslims (e.g. III, 26-7; XVIII, 80-1; II, 286; XVII, 24); and after Islam, as it were, like those chosen to reside in the Gardens of Delight (X, 10). In short, before becoming the obligatory and codified activity which forms the object of this article, prayer is first of all, and always remains so in the Ḳurʾānic vision of the world, the fundamental fabric of religious behaviour.

It is necessary above all to avoid projecting indiscriminately upon the word *ṣalāt*, and upon the verb *ṣallā* which is constructed on the basis of this substantive, the technical sense of Muslim ritual prayer. In the shortest, and one of the most ancient sūras, the reading is *fa-ṣalli li-rabbika wa-nḥar*, "therefore make the prayer to your Lord and sacrifice [a victim]" (CVIII, 2); this "prayer" could not be the *ṣalāt*. Similarly, in IX, 99 (cf. 103), the *ṣalawāt al-rasūl* probably refer to the prayers of benediction pronounced by the Prophet on Bedouin bringing their offerings (cf. Paret, 210-11). In VIII, 35, *ṣalātuhum* denotes explicitly the prayer of unbelieving Meccans (cf. CVII, 4-7); while in VI, 162, *ṣalātī* represents the totality of the devotional activity of Muḥammad, his life of prayer. Other instances of the root *ṣ-l-w* may also have no connection with ritual prayer (e.g. XVII, 110; LXX, 34).

The fact remains, however, that the word *ṣalāt* most often denotes this ritual prayer, the forms and rhythms of which evolved gradually, but which became at a very early stage a constitutive and distinctive element of Islam.

B. Importance of ritual prayer. There exist 65 instances of *al-ṣalāt* in the singular with the definite article. These usages always seem to indicate a ritual prayer, this being a cultic act comprising certain prescribed gestures and words, which is considered the form of prayer most closely associated with the religion. Its importance is not determined only by the frequent occurrence of the word. The Ḳurʾān opens with the *Fātiḥa*, sūra I, and this is recited at every *rakʿa*. With its sober and full tenor, as with its wording in the first person plural, it is so well adapted to liturgical use that its composition for this very purpose can scarcely be doubted. Consequently, its location at the opening of the Ḳurʾān gives a particular emphasis to *ṣalāt*. The outstanding worth of the latter is again underlined in II, 3, and the remainder of the Ḳurʾānic text corroborates this status.

Furthermore, the Book places the origin of ritual prayer, under divine guidance, at the outset of humanity. All the prophets practised ritual prayer (cf. XIX, 58-9, and 55; XXI, 73). Abraham appealed to his Lord to grant to him and his descendents, the privilege of performing *ṣalāt* (XIV, 37, 40). The obligation of ritual prayer was intimated to Moses in a particularly solemn manner (X, 87; XX, 14), and to Jesus in a quite different atmosphere (XIX, 31). Thus ritual prayer belonged at all times to the correct and immutable religion which is professed as a *ḥanīf* [*q.v.*] (XXX, 30-1; XCVIII, 5). It is often said that the revealed Laws change with the Messengers of God, while the latter maintain the same proclamation of the Unique One (*tawḥīd*). This view of things needs to be extended. In the Ḳurʾān, ritual prayer is presented as the immediate and constant corollary of belief in God. Whatever variations may exist in the practical prescriptions, a *ṣalāt* forms part of Ḥanīfism.

C. *Ṣalāt* in the evolution of the Ḳurʾānic message. To the above-mentioned uses of the word in the singular with the definite article, there should be added two instances (both in XXIV, 58) of the singular in the genitive construction. Hence, in the technical sense of ritual prayer, there is a total of 67 uses in the singular without affix. None of them belong to the primaeval sūras, i.e. to the most ancient sūras of that which Blachère calls the first Meccan period (the verse LXXIII, 20 is, by general agreement, much later than the remainder of the sūra). It is possible that the word in question does not appear before the period which, on both sides of the Hidjra, extends approximately from 620 to 624. It is significant that there is a single example in the *ḥawāmīm* sūras (in XLII, 38, in the context of moral advice). On the other hand, II, IV, V, IX and XXIV, all of them Medinan and contemporary with or later than the changing of the *ḳibla*, contain 33 uses: half of the total in a text which covers no more than 20% of the length of the Ḳurʾān. In other words, in the five sūras mentioned above, *ṣalāt* is presented proportionally four times more than in the remainder of the Ḳurʾān. This is no accident. The sūras cited correspond to the establishment of Islam as an institutional religion. Ritual prayer is a fundamental element of this, which accounts for the frequency with which it is mentioned.

This analysis is corroborated by the close link between *ṣalāt* and *zakāt*, "purification" of riches through giving. These two practices are prescribed or approved of together at least 25 times: *wa-aḳīmū 'l-ṣalāt wa-ātū*

'l-zakāt (IV, 77, etc.). Now it is known that the notion of alms is also expressed in the Ḳurʾān by the word *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*] and by the verb *anfaḳa* (to give of one's goods), and that the concept underlying the three Arabic terms has experienced an evolution: first, free giving from person to person, then religious obligation in the context of Islam. Ultimately the *zakāt*, enjoined especially in the five sūras already mentioned, takes on the precise meaning of a communal tax. "Purification" is accomplished by contributing to the treasury of the community, and the distribution of these henceforward compulsory "alms" (*ṣadaḳāt*) is codified under eight headings in IX, 60. Mention of this obligatory tax alongside ritual prayer is further evidence of the communal importance and finality of the latter.

D. The times of *ṣalāt*. In sketching the general line of an evolution which ends in the establishment of prayer as a pillar for the religion of God and of His Messenger, a thorny problem has been left aside: which are, according to the Book of Islam, the hours and the times of official prayer? Was there in the lifetime of the Prophet a progressive organisation, the signs of which would be perceptible in the Ḳurʾān?

To answer this question, it is not enough to base conclusions on the verses where the word *ṣalāt* is mentioned. It is necessary to take into account all the passages which mention a communal prayer of the disciples of Muḥammad or present as a model his habits of prayer.

Muslim prayer is born from the personal prayer of Muḥammad. The most ancient Ḳurʾānic passages which give temporal indications are addressed to the Prophet. They all enjoin upon him nocturnal prayer (LXXIII, 2-7, etc.), and to this, one adds praise at the setting of the stars (LII, 48-9), another, invocation of the name of his Lord at the dawning and at the declining of the day (LXXVI, 25-6), the last, praise before the rising of the sun and before its setting (L, 39-40). No doubt from the same period is the reference to the dwellers in the Garden of Paradise who previously prayed on the earth, keeping vigil into the last hours of the night (*bi 'l-asḥār*: LI, 16-18).

With different words, the same rhythms, still at Mecca, are subsequently maintained (XX, 130; XVII, 78-80; XL, 55), but it is soon observed that a prayer group is formed around Muḥammad: "Enjoin *ṣalāt* upon your people" (XX, 132); "Stay with those who invoke their Lord" (XVIII, 28; cf. XXV, 64-5; XXXIX, 9).

In the years 620-4, the communal nature of prayer becomes manifest. The most ancient prescription first addressing the community of disciples seems to be VII, 204-6 (cf. XI, 112-4). In XXX, 17-18, the commandment given them is to pray to God evening and morning, then comes this phrase: "To Him be praise in the heavens and on the earth, at the declining of the day (*ʿas͟hiyy^{an}*) and when you are at midday (*wa-ḥīna tuẓhirūn*)". To give here to the word *ʿas͟hiyy* a sense other than that which it habitually expresses in the Ḳurʾān (cf. XVII, 28 and XL, 55, parallels to XX, 130 or XLVIII, 9, etc.), would be arbitrary. On the other hand, the last section of the phrase does indeed seem to designate an additional time of prayer, the novelty of which is perceptible in II, 238: "Be steadfast in your prayers, in the median prayer as well (*wa 'l-ṣalāti 'l-wusṭā*)...".

The years following the changing of the *ḳibla* see the consolidation of the institutional nature of prayer. Then, as noted above, the link between ritual prayer and the communal tax becomes a great deal tighter (LXXIII, 20, etc.). In IV, 103, a degree of organisation emerges: "Ritual prayer is enjoined upon believers at fixed times". Finally, in XXIV, 58, on both sides of the middle of the day (cf. II, 238, quoted above), there are named incidentally "the prayer of the dawn (*fad͟jr*)" and the *ṣalāt al-ʿis͟hāʾ*.

In the Ḳurʾān as a whole, the times of prayer are indicated with a richness of vocabulary which shows a practice still at the evolutionary stage. There are, it seems, three essential times (to which the median prayer is added somewhat later).

(a) At one of the "two extremities of the day" (XI, 114; cf. XX, 130), is the dawn prayer, *fad͟jr*, also called, with slight nuances, by a number of names: *bukra, ibkār, g͟huduww* and *g͟hadāt*, as well as "before the rising of the sun" and "when you are in the morning".

(b) At the other extremity, is the decline of the day, *ʿas͟hiyy*, in other words the second part of the afternoon, in particular its final phase, *aṣīl*, pl. *āṣāl*, to which apparently corresponds the *dulūk al-s͟hams* of XVII, 78, as well as "before the setting of the sun" and "when you are in the evening".

(c) The nocturnal prayer is denoted by the verb *tahad͟jd͟jad* (*hapax* in XVII, 79) and by expressions such as *ānāʾ al-layl* or *zulaf min al-layl*. LXXIII, 20, recommends moderation in long vigils of prayer, and the explicit inauguration of the *ṣalāt al-ʿis͟hāʾ* could be ascribed to the same purpose.

Alongside this daily division, prayer is subject to another temporal determination, this time in the weekly context. This is the Friday prayer, mentioned in a single passage of the Ḳurʾān: "O you who believe! When you are called to ritual prayer on the day of assembly, come quickly to the remembrance of God, leave your business" (LXII, 9; see D͟JUMʿA).

E. Conditions and characteristics of *ṣalāt*. A public call to prayer, expressed by the verb *nādā*, is mentioned twice (V, 58; LXII, 9). The necessity of ritual purification before prayer is indicated in a detailed fashion in IV, 43, and V, 6, which both authorise *tayammum*, this being the use of fine sand instead of water in the absence of the latter. Ritual prayer must be performed facing in a precise and constant direction. This direction is that of *al-masd͟jid al-ḥarām*, i.e. the Kaʿba of Mecca. This is stated three times, most emphatically, in II, 142-50. This outstanding passage, which can be dated with certainty in the year 2/624 (probably in the middle of the month of S͟haʿbān, corresponding to mid-February, but possibly a month earlier, in Rad͟jab), does not confine itself to instituting the *ḳibla*. It enjoins upon the believers the abandonment of a former *ḳibla*, which according to all extra-Ḳurʾānic evidence was the direction of Jerusalem (almost the opposite in fact, for Muslims then living in Medina). A problem remains: what was the *ḳibla* before the Hid͟jra? It was definitely the direction of Jerusalem, but: (1) the Prophet had probably approved it for the Anṣār of Yat͟hrib two years before emigrating to there (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *D͟jāmiʿ*, ii, 4, 5, 12); but he did not adopt it himself until later, if the account of al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr is to be believed (cf. Ibn His͟hām, 294; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1218-19); (2) the former practice of Muḥammad in the city of his birth remains uncertain. On these questions, see ḲIBLA.

Whatever the case may be, ritual prayer is animated in its entirety by two internal movements, glorification (*tasbīḥ*) and praise (cf. ḤAMDALA; and see XX, 130; XXXIII, 42; XL, 55; L, 39-40, etc.). Appeal for pardon is sometimes included here (XL, 55; cf. III, 17; VII, 204). These sentiments are inseparable from contrasting physical attitudes: stand-

ing upright and prostration (cf. II, 238; IV, 102; L, 39-40, etc.; in addition, for nocturnal prayer, XXV, 64; XXXIX, 9). The technical term *rakʿa* is absent from the Ḳurʾān, but bowing is often expressed by the corresponding verb, normally in association with prostration (V, 55; IX, 112; XLVIII, 29); however, it is not clear that these prostrations form part of *ṣalāt* (cf., in addition, II, 43; III, 43; XXII, 26 and 77). On the other hand, public reading of the Ḳurʾān is a manifest and vital element of it (VII, 204-6; XVII, 78; XVIII, 27-8; XXXIX, 45; XXXV, 29; LXXIII, 20, etc.).

II. *In* ḥadīth *and legal elaborations.*

The two principal Sunnī canonical collections of prophetic traditions both begin with *ḥadīth*s on the five pillars of Islam. After the affirmation of faith, they therefore deal with ritual prayer. Among the *ʿibādāt*, it is this which occupies by far the greatest amount of space in their work: 200 pages in the work of al-Bukhārī, and more than double this in Muslim's. This vast quantity of material is organised by both in a series of "books" (*kitāb*), which form three major blocks. First is the *sine qua non* condition of ritual prayer, this being legal purity (*ṭahāra*): to which correspond in al-Bukhārī's case books of ablution [see WUḌŪʾ], of general washing [see GHUSL], of menstruation [see ḤAYḌ], of washing with fine sand [see TAYAMMUM]. Then come traditions which determine general aspects and elements of *ṣalāt*. Finally, numerous books examine particular cases, such as the prayer of major festivals or that of funerals. This general organisation is not peculiar to the two *Ṣaḥīḥ*s but also belongs, with minor variations, to the other four canonical collections.

In the 3rd/9th century, when all these works were compiled, the time-table and conduct of prayers were fixed. Their detailed rules will be presented below in section III. They were liable to vary all the less in that judicial consideration of these fundamental matters had also, by this stage, been basically concluded. It was, in fact, the 2nd/8th century which saw the activity of the scholars who gave their names to the four great schools or *madhāhib* of Sunnī Islam. This article will seek neither to show the quite modest differences which divide them on the subject of *ṣalawāt* nor to determine their relationship to the traditions and to the traditionists. Considering from a broad perspective the ritualistic doctrine and practice which were then crystallised, our intention is merely to underline a number of principles which govern Muslim prayer and various aspects of its practice.

A. General principles of prayer.

1. *Perfected institutionalisation.* The *ṣalāt* of the traditions is entirely ritual, and linked to five times of the day. This divine determination is presented in two different manners. On the one hand, *ḥadīth*s related by Anas b. Mālik (sometimes quoting Abū Dharr, sometimes Mālik b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa) describe an ascension of the Prophet into the heavens, where he ultimately receives from God Himself, after some haggling, the prescription of five daily prayers for his community (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 1 and *Manāḳib al-Anṣār, bāb* 42; Muslim, *Īmān*, nos. 259, 263, 264). On the other hand, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī records a *ḥadīth* related by Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣārī according to which Gabriel descends five times to Muḥammad to induce him to pray, implicitly at the prescribed times (al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḳit, bāb* 1; Muslim, *Masādjid*, nos. 166-7).

2. *Obligatory nature.* The five prayers are obligatory every day for each Muslim man or woman who is past the age of puberty and of sound mind.

3. *The direction of prayer.* In all the ritual prayers, turning towards the Kaʿba is strictly obligatory; see ḲIBLA.

4. *Use of the Arabic language.* This is a very firm doctrine in the majority of the schools (see e.g. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itḳān, nawʿ* 35, Beirut 1407/1987, i, 340-1). As regards the recitation of the *Fātiḥa* by a Muslim incapable of saying it in Arabic, the Ḥanafīs have, however, authorised the use of other languages. For discussions of this issue in Turkey and in Egypt in the 20th century, see ḲURʾĀN, i.

5. *The call to prayer.* Each of the five daily prayers is announced by the voice of the muezzin. This call to the Community (mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, as noted above) was established at Medina. Each prayer is preceded by two calls, separated by an interval of time; the first is the *adhān*, the second the *iḳāma* [*q.vv.*].

6. *The* rakʿa. This word denotes an invariable sequence of bodily positions and movements, accompanied by words, which belongs to the substance of *ṣalāt*. In every ritual prayer (with the exception of the prayer over the dead), the *rakʿa* is performed at least twice in succession. The practice of the *rakʿa* is described below, in section III, B.

7. *Importance of communal prayer.* Numerous traditions stress the excellence of the "prayer of the congregation" (*ṣalāt al-djamāʿa*). Two of them are particularly famous. On the one hand, "The prayer which a man performs in congregation is worth twenty-five of his prayers in his home or in the market-place" (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān, bāb*s 30, 31, and *Ṣalāt, bāb* 87; Muslim, *Masādjid*, nos. 245-8, etc.). On the other, the Prophet contemplated personally burning down the houses of those who were not present at the prayer of the congregation (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān, bāb*s 29, 34; Muslim, *Masādjid*, nos. 251-4, etc.). The call to ritual prayer demonstrates its communal nature. The latter is emphasised by the liturgical *Āmīn* added to the *Fātiḥa* (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān, bāb*s 111-13; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, nos. 72-6), as by the invocation "To you be praise, our Lord!", said in response to the *imām*'s utterance "God hears him who praises Him" (see below, section III, B, third element of the *rakʿa*), and, furthermore, by the final salutations of the *imām* and of the other faithful. The obligation to participate in collective prayer is more strongly asserted by the Mālikīs (al-Malaṭāwī, 166-7) than by the Ḥanafīs (al-Ghāwidjī, 132 ff.). The participation of women is permitted, but not recommended. The favoured place for communal prayer is clearly the mosque: see MASDJID, i, C, 2.

8. *The* imām. For communal prayer to take place, two adults must be present, one of whom is the *imām* of the other. The *imām* is the *sine qua non* condition of congregational prayer. Numerous prophetic traditions determine his function. They are conveniently listed by Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, nos. 77-101, and by al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb*s 43 ff. The *imām* must be male, of good reputation, educated. As a general rule, the faithful place themselves in ranks (*ṣufūf* [see ṢAFF]) behind the *imām*, perform the ritual gestures with him, and repeat his words. If there is only one man with the *imām*, he places himself to his right; if there are two or more, they place themselves behind him. Women always place themselves behind the men; if there is only one woman with the *imām*, she places herself behind him.

9. *The* djahr. In Ḳurʾān XVII, 110, the text reads "Do not raise your voice in your prayer, and do not pray in a whisper, but seek a way between the two." On the basis of a *khabar* of Ibn ʿAbbās, the commentators see in this a measure of caution in the face of Meccan unbelievers (cf. e.g. al-Rāzī, xxi, 70; al-

Ḳurṭubī, x, 343). But traditions show that Muḥammad, at Medina, said certain prayers in a loud voice (*dj̲ahr*) and others in a whisper (cf. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ad̲h̲ān, bāb*s 96, 97, 99, 100, 105, 108, etc.). From this it has been concluded that the Ḳurʾānic verse was calling, not for a happy medium, but for an alternation of the two styles. As a result, the *imām* is obliged to declaim in a loud voice the first two *rakʿa*s of specific prayers, and in a whisper the other contingent *rakʿa*s of these prayers and all the *rakʿa*s of the other prayers (cf. al-G̲h̲āwadj̲ī, 128-9; al-Malaṭāwī, 136-7).

10. *The* ṭumaʾnīna. Prayer must be performed soberly and calmly, with close attention to the rhythm as it unfolds. A tradition shows the Prophet making a worshipper who had neglected this principle start again three times (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ad̲h̲ān, bāb*s 95, 122; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, no. 45). All the authors make this one of the fundamental requirements of ritual prayer (cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, 31, 36; al-G̲h̲āwidj̲ī, 127-8; al-Malaṭāwī, 135).

B. Various aspects. Anyone who has inadvertently omitted or misplaced one of the elements of the prayer and becomes aware of this before the end of the latter is obliged to perform or recast this element and furthermore, at the end of his prayer, to add immediately the "prayer of negligence" (*ṣalāt al-sahw*). This consists of performing two prostrations with their *takbīr*, then sitting for the *tas̲h̲ahhud* and the final salutation. This practice is blended with divergencies imposed by the different schools, and there are also elaborate subtleties according to the judicial qualification of the elements neglected, according to whether the negligence is or is not the act of an *imām* whose direction has been followed since the beginning or otherwise of the prayer, according to the certainty or simple doubt of the worshipper with regard to his own negligence, according also to faults which can include the performance of the "prayer of negligence" itself. See al-G̲h̲āwidj̲ī, 236-41; al-Malaṭāwī, 159-63. It may be noted in passing that the worshipper can quite easily make a mistake over the number and the nature of the *rakʿa*s which he has already performed especially if he adds supererogatory prayers at the beginning or at the end of a canonical prayer.

It should be stated that the issue of negligence is part of a corpus of traditional and judicial specifications. There is an abundance of minute regulations concerning the words and especially the gestures of prayer, the clothing and shoes to be worn for it, the behaviour to be followed, the place where it is to be performed and the ritual purity which is to be observed. Also worthy of note is the interesting notion of *sutra* [*q.v.*]. This word, which initially denotes a veil or a screen, is the technical term for any object placed by the worshipper some distance before him, in front of which no person should pass while the prayer is being performed.

The legislation regarding prayer is not devoid of flexibility. Traditions show Muḥammad as concerned to alleviate as far as possible the rigours of observance. Thus he shortened the prayer on one occasion, when a child began to cry in the congregation, appreciating the mother's distress (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ad̲h̲ān, bāb* 65; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, nos. 191, 192). Similarly, he was vehemently opposed to excessively long Ḳurʾānic readings during the ritual prayer and was concerned that people should not consider themselves obliged to imitate his own personal devotions (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ad̲h̲ān, bāb*s 60-4, 80-1; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, nos. 182-90).

This flexibility is also in evidence on other occasions: cancellation of communal prayer when the weather is especially inclement, delay of the prayer of *ẓuhr* at times of excessive heat, and then the combination (*dj̲amʿ*) of the latter with the prayer of *ʿaṣr*, as also sometimes happens with the two prayers of *mag̲h̲rib* and of *ʿis̲h̲āʾ*. This amenity of combining the above-mentioned prayers is especially accorded to one who is travelling in haste. Later jurisprudence (or indeed casuistry) did not omit to solve the particular difficulties (notably regarding orientation towards the *ḳibla*, and regarding the execution of the required gestures) encountered by the traveller (cf. below, section IV. F) and the invalid.

Having presented, in the first two sections of this article, the evolution and the fundamentals of ritual prayer in Islam, the next stage is to illustrate the long-established rules of *ṣalāt*.

III. *The five daily prayers.*

A. Distinctive characteristics of each. The five prayers differ from one another in terms of the vocal force with which they should be uttered, but most of all in terms of the time fixed for each and of its length.

1. The prayer of the morning (*ṣubḥ*) or of the dawn (*fadj̲r*) is of two *rakʿa*s. Here the *Fātiḥa* and the Ḳurʾān are recited in a loud voice (*dj̲ahr*). Its time begins with "the true dawn" (*al-fadj̲r al-ṣādiḳ*), when faces can still not yet be recognised, and extends until the day-break as such, *before* the sun appears.

2. The prayer of midday (*ẓuhr*) is of four *rakʿa*s. Here the *Fātiḥa* and the Ḳurʾān are recited in a whisper (*isrār*). Its time begins when the sun, passing the zenith, commences its decline. It normally continues until the time when the shadow of objects is equal to their height.

3. The prayer of *ʿaṣr* (middle and late afternoon) is of four *rakʿa*s. Here the *Fātiḥa* and the Ḳurʾān are recited in a whisper. Its time begins when the shadow of objects is equal to their height, and it normally continues until the time when the light of the sun turns yellow; but this prayer may still be performed until the end of the day, *before* the setting of the sun.

4. The prayer of *mag̲h̲rib* (after the setting of the sun) is of three *rakʿa*s. Here the *Fātiḥa* and the Ḳurʾān are recited in a loud voice. Its time begins when the sun has disappeared beneath the horizon, and normally continues until the disappearance of the twilight radiance or *s̲h̲afaḳ* [*q.v.*]. (Concerning the ancient Judaising deviation of Abu 'l-K̲h̲aṭṭāb, for whom the time of this prayer would begin only when the stars shine brightly, see Wasserstrom's article, in Bibl.).

5. The prayer of *ʿis̲h̲āʾ* (evening or beginning of the night), sometimes called *ʿatama* (black night), is of four *rakʿa*s. Here the *Fātiḥ* and the Ḳurʾān are recited in a loud voice. Numerous traditions clearly fix the commencement of its time (e.g. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 24, 1, repeated in *Ad̲h̲ān, bāb* 162, 1; al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *ʿUmra, bāb* 20, 1, parallel to *Dj̲ihād, bāb* 136, 2, and to Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, no. 43; Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, no. 48): it is the disappearance of the *s̲h̲afaḳ*, that redness of the sky which follows the setting of the sun (cf. *LʿA*, x, 180a; the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa, who interpreted this *s̲h̲afaḳ* as the whiteness of the twilight coming after the redness of the sunset, seems to be isolated). It should be recalled that, in the Ḳurʾān, the word only occurs once, without connection with prayer and in an oath (LXXXIV, 16; cf. the commentaries of al-Ṭabarī, xxx, 119, and al-Rāzī, xxxi, 108-9). As for the symmetrically converse phenomenon in the circadian cycle, i.e. the column of zodiacal light called in Arabic *al-fadj̲r al-kād̲h̲ib* "the false dawn" (or *d̲h̲anab al-sirḥān* "the wolf's tail": cf. *LʿA*, s.v. *f-dj̲-r*, at v, 45a),

the Muslims astronomers have made a detailed study of it which is of no relevance to this article. The normal time of the prayer of *ʿishāʾ* extends until the end of the first third of the night.

For more details concerning the times of prayer, with references to *ḥadīth*, see MĪḲĀT.

B. Conditions and development of prayer. The conditions (*shurūṭ*) of prayer are nine in number according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (*al-Uṣūl*, 26-30): 1. Being a Muslim; 2. Mental health; 3. Discernment, i.e. the age of reason (seven years); 4. and 5. Ritual purity [see ṬAHĀRA and this article, above, section II]. This is attained on the one hand by *wuḍūʾ* or by *ghusl*, which respectively annul the minor *ḥadath* and the major *ḥadath* (or *djanāba*): this is the *ṭahāra ḥukmiyya*, "prescribed". On the other hand purity demands the elimination of any blemish (*khabath*) from the body, the clothing and the place: this is the *ṭahāra ḥaḳīḳiyya*, "real". It is impossible to emphasise too much the considerable importance and the minute precision of the corresponding requirements; see also NADJIS ("impure"); 6. Covering the pudenda in the sense intended by the law; 7. Being present at the time of the corresponding prayer; 8. Being turned in the direction of the *ḳibla*; 9. Formulating the intention (*niyya*) of performing the precise prayer which is about to be undertaken. These conditions are explicitly or implicitly common to all the judicial schools. On the other hand, the schools differ on a number of points regarding the bodily positions or the words or, indeed, the judicial nature of the obligation attached to such-and-such an element. Some of these details will be mentioned below. They do not affect the fundamental pattern of prayer, which is as follows.

The rite begins with sacralisation. First, the hands are raised above the shoulders, to the level of the ears, and the words *Allāhu akbar* "God is most great!" (cf. Ḳurʾān VI, 78) are said. This is the *takbīrat al-iḥrām*. The hands are then placed on the base of the chest, the right hand over the left: the position of *ḳabḍ* (cf. al-Ghāwidjī, 136 ff.). The Imāmīs and, classically, the Mālikīs, on the other hand, let the arms fall at this point: the position of *sadl* or *irsāl* (cf. al-Malaṭāwī, 137, 139-40; however, he considers as permitted the position of *ḳabḍ*, which is spreading in the Maghrib under the influence of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*]).

The majority of Sunnīs add here an opening prayer (*duʿāʾ al-istiftāḥ*) as follows: *subḥānaka Allāhumma wa-bi-ḥamdika wa-tabāraka smuka wa-taʿālā djadduka wa-lā ilāha ghayruka* "Glory to You, O God, and praise to You! Let Your name be blessed, exalted Your greatness! There is no other god but You!" (On other possible formulas, in particular the Shāfiʿī formula, see al-Ḳurṭubī, vii, 153-4; al-Djazāʾirī, 255-6).

And directly thereafter (except in the case of the Mālikīs), *aʿūdhu bi'l-Lāh min al-Shayṭān al-radjīm* "I take refuge in God against the reprobate Demon".

Then begins the first *rakʿa*. This term ("an inclination") denotes an invariable series of attitudes and formulae which constitute an element to be repeated a set number of times in the course of a completed ritual prayer, which develops as follows:

1. Standing upright. Recitation of the Ḳurʾān (*ḳirāʾa*). Hands and arms are, as above, in the position of *ḳabḍ* or of *sadl* according to schools. First to be recited, with each *rakʿa*, is the *Fātiḥa*, to which the response *Āmīn* is added. Then, in the first two *rakʿas* only, another Ḳurʾānic passage is spoken. This is normally longer with the first *rakʿa* but shorter with the second. Brief sūras such as *al-Naṣr* (CX) or *al-Ikhlāṣ* (CXII) may be considered sufficient. The minimum requirement is three short verses or one long verse.

2. The worshipper says *Allāhu akbar*, then leans at a right-angle (*rukūʿ*), the hands placed on the knees, and says three times, *subḥāna rabbiya 'l-ʿaẓīm* "Glory to my Lord, the Great One".

3. The worshipper draws himself up (*iʿtidāl* or *rafʿ*), saying *samiʿa 'Llāhu li-man ḥamidahu* "God hears him who praises Him". Upright, he adds *Rabbanā, wa-laka 'l-ḥamd* "To You be praise, our Lord!" (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 82, and 128, 2; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, nos. 28, 62, 77), or *Allāhumma, Rabbanā, laka 'l-ḥamd* "O God, our Lord, to You be praise!" (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 125; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, nos. 86-9; al-Ghāwidjī, 145).

4. The worshipper prostrates himself (*sudjūd*), saying *Allāhu akbar*, then says three times *Subḥāna rabbiya 'l-aʿlā* "Glory to my Lord, the Most High!" The body should then rest on the forehead (and the nose), the palms of both hands, both knees and both feet.

5. The worshipper raises his head to say *Allāhu akbar*, then he sits on his heels (*djulūs* or *ḳuʿūd*), knees on the ground, hands placed on the thighs. Then he says *Rabbi ghfir lī* "O my Lord, pardon me!"

6. The worshipper prostrates himself a second time, saying *Allāhu akbar*, then he says three times *Subḥāna rabbiya 'l-aʿlā* "Glory to my Lord, the Most High!" The Ḥanbalīs (cf. al-Mardāwī, 48) and the Shāfiʿīs return subsequently to a sitting position: this is the *djalsat al-istirāḥa*, a practice which is now widespread among the Mālikīs.

He then stands upright for the second *rakʿa*, identical to the first.

At the end of this second *rakʿa*, instead of standing upright, the worshipper raises his head to say *Allāhu akbar*, then sits on his heels, knees on the ground, hands placed on the thighs. The *tashahhud* "affirmation of faith", is then said, as follows: *al-taḥiyyāt li-Lāh, wa 'l-ṣalawāt wa 'l-ṭayyibāt. Al-salāmu ʿalayka, ayyuhā 'l-nabī, wa-raḥmatu Llāhi wa-barakātuh. Al-salāmu ʿalaynā wa-ʿalā ʿibādi Llāhi 'l-ṣāliḥīn. Ashhadu an lā ilāha illā Llāhu waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu wa-ashhadu anna Muḥammadan ʿabduhu wa-rasūluhu* "To God be salutations, prayers and fine words. Peace be upon you, O Prophet, also the mercy and blessings of God. Peace be upon us and upon the good servants of God. I affirm that there is no god other than God, He alone, who has no partner; and I affirm that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger". At the beginning of this last phrase, the index finger of the right hand is raised to underline the declaration of Uniqueness. The *tashahhud* above is the version given in al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bābs* 148, 150 (cf. Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, no. 55). The beginning of the formula differs slightly among the Mālikīs (cf. al-Malaṭāwī, 147).

After the *tashahhud*, the worshipper stands up to say, as above, the third and the fourth *rakʿas*.

At the end of the latter, the *tashahhud* is recited again, with the following addition: *Allāhumma ṣalli ʿalā Muḥammadin wa-ʿalā āli Muḥammadin kamā ṣallayta ʿalā Ibrāhīma wa-ʿalā āli Ibrāhīm, wa-bārik ʿalā Muḥammadin wa-ʿalā āli Muḥammadin kamā bārakta ʿalā Ibrāhīma wa-ʿalā āli Ibrāhīma fī 'l-ʿālamīn, innaka ḥamīdun madjīd* "O God, bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad as You blessed Abraham and the family of Abraham, and bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad as You blessed Abraham and the family of Abraham in the worlds. You are worthy of praise and of glory!" This formula (called *al-ṣalawāt al-ibrāhīmiyya*) is inspired in part by Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 56, and XI, 73, and is found in this form in al-Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, *bāb* 10, 5; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, nos 65-6 (cf. also al-Malaṭāwī, 148-9; Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, 38-9; al-Ghāwidjī, 142).

Finally, still sitting, the worshipper turns to the right, saying *al-salāmu ʿalaykum wa-raḥmatu Llāhi wa-barakātuhu* "Peace be upon you, with the mercy and the blessings of God!" (only the first two Arabic words are strictly obligatory). Then he turns to the left, repeating these words. These two *taslīmas* terminate the prayer through the desacralisation (*taḥlīl*) of the one who has performed it. (In communal prayer, the *imām* makes only one salutation.)

The preceding pattern corresponds to the very frequent case of a prayer in four *rakʿas*. If the prayer has only three *rakʿas*, what would follow the fourth is done at the end of the third. If the prayer has only two *rakʿas*, the second is followed immediately by the *tas͟hahhud*, the "Abrahamic" prayer and the final salutation.

C. Actual practice. Having just described the performance of this ritual prayer, having earlier outlined the other rules regulating it, it would now be appropriate to examine how it is practised in reality. Certain countries, such as Egypt, are more observant in this regard than others, as is easily ascertained. But precise studies seem to be lacking on this subject. Such studies could, according to countries or regions, identify the practice of *ṣalāt* by men and women, individually or communally, for the daily prayers and for the Friday prayer, and enquire, naturally, into the contingent effects of urbanisation, of change of social class, of emigration to a country with a non-Muslim majority.

IV. *The other ritual prayers.*

These are, like the preceding, prayers codified by *fiḳh* and comprising the performance of a fixed number of *rakʿas*. Numerous and varied, they are generally classified by the jurists according to their degree of obligation, which can vary according to the schools (*farḍ, wād͟jib, sunna*). Principal aspects will be presented here in the following order: (1) The major community prayers which mark the week and the year (A and B); (2) The daily prayers which are not strictly obligatory, i.e. which do not form part of the *farāʾiḍ* (C, D, E); (3) Prayers which are performed in particular (F) or exceptional (G, H, I) circumstances; and (4) Finally, the prayer over a deceased person (J).

A. The Friday prayer (*ṣalāt al-d͟jumʿa*). The second Arabic word, which now denotes the above-named day of the week, initially signifies "meeting, assembly". It is in this sense that it is found (in the form *al-d͟jumuʿa*) in Ḳurʾān, LXII, 9. Before Islam, as is shown in D͟JUMʿA, the *yawm al-d͟jumuʿa* was nothing other than a market-day. It was usually known by another name, *yawm al-ʿarūba* or, without the article, *yawm ʿarūba* (see *LʿA*, s.v. *ʿ-r-b*, i, 593; al-Zamak͟hs͟harī, *Kas͟hs͟hāf*, on LXII, 9, and al-Ḳurṭubī, xviii, 97: according to a *k͟habar* of these two commentators, the first to have given this gathering the name of *d͟jumʿa*, was allegedly Kaʿb b. Luʾayy, an ancestor of Muḥammad, who lived some 150 years before him).

The Friday prayer is performed at the time of the midday prayer, which it replaces. It must take place in a mosque. It is only obligatory in substantial localities, and with the participation of a minimum number of men who are permanent residents, this number being (including the *imām*) four according to the Ḥanafīs, twelve according to the Mālikīs, and forty according to the S͟hāfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs. Women may participate, but it is not compulsory for them, and they are not included in the required number. (See B.A.B. Badrān, *al-ʿIbādāt al-islāmiyya. Muḳārana ʿalā 'l-mad͟hāhib al-arbaʿa*, Alexandria 1969, 95-6; al-G͟hāwid͟jī, 160-5; al-Malaṭāwī, 184-5).

It is customary that the Muslim arriving at the mosque for this communal prayer first performs individually a prayer of two *rakʿas*. After the call to prayer, the preacher, standing upright on the *minbar* [*q.v.*], delivers a double sermon [see K͟HUṬBA]. Both praise God and call for His blessings on the Prophet, before exhorting the believers. The two sermons are separated by a short pause, during which the orator sits. Subsequently, he normally leads personally an obligatory prayer of two *rakʿas*, in a loud voice.

B. The prayer of the two feasts (*ṣalāt al-ʿīdayn*). See ʿĪD. The two feasts are that of the breaking of fast and that of sacrifices. The special prayer, in a very festive ambience, is of two *rakʿas*, in a loud voice. Its time begins approximately half an hour after the rising of the sun, and concludes when it is at the middle of its course. There is neither *ad͟hān* nor *iḳāma*. But numerous *takbīrāt* are added, their number and place varying slightly according to the judicial schools. At the first *rakʿa*, the sūra *al-Aʿlā* (LXXXVII) is usually read. The prayer is not preceded, but followed by a double *k͟huṭba* performed like that of Friday and relating to the cultic duties of the feast being celebrated, as well as their religious significance. Although women are not obliged to do so, they are strongly advised to attend, even in a state of ritual impurity (in which case they are present for the prayer without performing it), in order to share in the communal joy and edification; cf. e.g. al-Buk͟hārī, *ʿĪdayn*, *bābs* 15, 21; Muslim, *ʿĪdayn*, nos. 10-12. In Jomier, 45-50, a detailed description is found of the prayer of the feast of sacrifices performed in Cairo in 1379/1960.

C. The *ṣalāt al-witr*. According to the Ḥanafīs, it is a duty (*wād͟jib*) without being an obligation (*farḍ*) in the sense which they give to this word. But for the other schools, it is only a custom (*sunna*), albeit a particularly strong one (*muʾakkada*). The *ṣalāt al-witr* should be performed between the evening prayer and the dawn prayer (preferably towards the end of the night). For its history, see WITR. The term signifies "uneven" and denotes a special *rakʿa* which is performed in isolation or which is added to one or more pairs (*s͟hafʿ*) of *rakʿas*. It is forbidden to perform other *rakʿas* between this latter *rakʿa* and the canonical prayer of the dawn. The prayer of *witr* is generally of three *rakʿas*; there are read, respectively, after the *Fātiḥa*, the sūras CXII to CXIV according to the Mālikī al-Malaṭāwī, 196, or LXXXVII (*al-Aʿlā*), CIX (*al-Kāfirūn*) and CXII (*al-Ik͟hlāṣ*) according to the Ḥanafī al-G͟hāwid͟jī, 188. With the prayer of *witr* the question of *ḳunūt* is associated. In the article ḲUNŪT the various senses of this word in the Ḳurʾān and in tradition are set forth. The Mālikīs deny that there is a *ḳunūt* in the prayer of *witr* (al-Malaṭāwī, 196). The S͟hāfiʿīs use a formula transmitted by al-Tirmid͟hī, the translation of which is to be found above, vol. V, 395. The Ḥanafīs (al-G͟hāwid͟jī, 188-9) consider as a duty, after the performing of the third *rakʿa*, a *duʿāʾ al-ḳunūt* which begins with *Allāhumma, innā nastaʿīnuka wa-nastahdīka*. The translation is as follows: "O God! we ask for Your aid and Your guidance. We implore Your pardon and return to You. We believe in You, we submit ourselves to You, we praise You for all Your goodness. We are grateful for Your [favours] and not ungrateful, we reject and abandon those who are unfaithful to You. O God! it is You that we worship, to You that our prayers and our prostrations go, towards You that we return with promptitude. We hope for Your mercy and fear Your anger: for Your severe punishment cannot fail to overtake the unbelievers. May the blessings and the peace of God be upon our master Muḥammad, and upon his Fami-

ly and his Companions!" This text, in a slightly shorter form, is found in Abū Dāwūd (*Marāsīl, bāb mā djāʾa fī-man nāma ʿan al-ṣalāt*, 12-13), according to whom it was reportedly taught to Muḥammad by Djibrīl himself. As for the Imāmīs, on the contrary, for them the *ḳunūt* is a personal prayer of intercession (*duʿāʾ*), optional and meritorious, which is definitely said during the *witr*, but which is also said in each of the five daily prayers, while standing, between the Ḳurʾānic reading of the second *rakʿa* and the inclination which follows. This Shīʿī *ḳunūt* is of free content, but certain formulas are frequently used, in particular, the prayer mentioned in Ḳurʾān, II, 201.

D. The nocturnal prayer. See TAHADJDJUD and, for the prayers specific to the nights of Ramaḍān, TARĀWĪḤ.

E. Other supererogatory prayers (*nawāfil*). These are in particular groups of two or four *rakʿas*, the performance of which is recommended, according to the circumstances, before or after one or other of the five obligatory prayers (cf. al-Ghāwidjī, 204 ff.; al-Malaṭāwī, 157-8). But it is also possible, for example, to perform the prayer of the morning (*ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā*), of two *rakʿas* at least; its time begins approximately half an hour after the sunrise, and continues until midday (like the prayer of the two feasts).

F. Prayer on a journey (*ṣalāt al-musāfir*). The text reads in Ḳurʾān, IV, 101, "And when you are travelling through the land, it is no sin for you to shorten your prayer if you fear lest the unbelievers put you to the test; the unbelievers are for you a declared enemy" (cf. al-Rāzī, xi, 16-23; al-Ḳurṭubī, v, 351-62). This verse has been clarified, and its import extended to all journeys, by prophetic traditions, two in particular (Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, nos. 4, 8). The outcome of later elaborations is that the canonical prayers of *ẓuhr*, *ʿaṣr* and *ʿishāʾ* are reduced to two *rakʿas* (instead of four) during every lawful journey of more than approximately 80 km/50 miles (sixteen parasangs for the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs, three days' walking for the Ḥanafīs). The journey is regarded as continuous unless it is broken by a halt of 15 days, according to the Ḥanafīs (al-Ghāwidjī, 27), or four full days according to the other schools (al-Ḳurṭubī, v, 357; al-Malaṭāwī, 179-80). The distance alone is taken into consideration, whatever the means of transport, and thus the duration of the effective displacement. Unlike the other schools, the Ḥanafīs regard the above-mentioned abridgement, not as something permitted but as a duty (*wādjib*); as a result of this, in the case of error on the part of the believer in the course of the prayer, or if he performs it behind an *imām* who is not himself travelling, precise judicial consequences ensue. The prayers of *ṣubḥ* and of *maghrib* remain unchanged.

G. The prayer of fear. See ṢALĀT AL-KHAWF.

H. The prayer appealing for rain (*ṣalāt al-istisḳāʾ*). This is a communal prayer, the time of which is the same as for the two feasts (above, B). But it takes place in an atmosphere of penitence and of supplication, in ordinary clothing and in the open air. Two *rakʿas* are performed. At the beginning of each, the *imām* appeals at length for the pardon of God. He then delivers a double *khuṭba* (as in B above), exhorting the congregation to practise good deeds. At the end, facing the *ḳibla*, he turns his cloak inside out (a symbolic gesture, magical in origin), members of the congregation do the same, and he begs at length for the coming of rain. This ritual is based on the example of Muḥammad who, in his supplication, raised his hands high towards the sky (cf. the little "books" on *istisḳāʾ* which are located, in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, between the prayer of the two feasts and that of the eclipse. See also al-Malaṭāwī, 200-1; al-Ḳurṭubī, i, 418, xviii, 302, respectively on Ḳurʾān, II, 60 and LXXI, 10-11). On rogatory rites in pre-Islamic Arabia, see ISTISḲĀʾ.

I. The prayer of the eclipse (*ṣalāt al-kusūf*). It should first be noted that, in the language of *ḥadīth*, the words *kusūf* and *khusūf*, as well as the verbs of which they are the *maṣdars*, are employed interchangeably for the sun and for the moon. In the classical Arabic language, on the contrary, *kusūf* refers rather to the sun, while *khusūf* is reserved for the moon (cf. *LʿA*, ix, 67a, 298). The fact remains that the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, as well as al-Nasāʾī, devote a whole "book" to the *kusūf*. Here as elsewhere, the conduct of the Prophet has served as a model for the Community after him. In the case of eclipse of the sun or of the moon, a communal prayer of two *rakʿas* is held in the mosque. Its time is the same as that of the two feasts (see B, H). There is neither call to prayer nor *iḳāma* nor sermon. The Ḳurʾānic recitations are spoken in a whisper. The peculiarity of this prayer is that each *rakʿa* contains, after the inclination and the standing upright, which are very prolonged, a second long inclination and a second standing upright before the prostration (cf. al-Malaṭāwī, 200). See also KHUSŪF.

J. The prayer over a dead person (*ṣalāt ʿalā 'l-mayyit*). It is also called *ṣalāt al-djanāza* (or *djināza*). It is an obligation which is incumbent on the community (*farḍ kifāya*) and not on each individual concerned. Unlike the others, this prayer involves no performance of *rakʿa*. The *imām* stands upright facing the *ḳibla* (the body of the deceased being laid crosswise before him). The others line up in ranks behind him as for every ritual prayer. The *imām* says, in a loud voice, four *Allāhu akbars*. After the first, he gives praise to God; after the second, he says the "Abrahamic prayers" (see above, III. B, towards the end); after the third, he prays (*duʿāʾ*) for the deceased; after the fourth, he pronounces the final salutation (cf. *ibid.*). Several points need to be underlined. (1) The recitation of the *Fātiḥa* after the first *takbīra* is obligatory according to al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Ḥanbal; it may optionally take the place of praise of God according to Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs (cf. al-Ḳurṭubī, viii, 222; al-Ghāwidjī, 176). (2) The *duʿāʾ* for the deceased, which is not said in a loud voice, does not have a fixed formula, but some fine traditional texts are to be found in al-Malaṭāwī, 212-13. They contain substantial variants when the deceased is a woman and in the case of a child. (3) The prayer *ʿalā 'l-mayyit* is performed only once, and normally in the presence of the corpse. However, this last condition is dispensed with, on the one hand when the body has disappeared in some natural disaster, such as a flood, or in battle, on the other hand when homage is rendered in several places to an eminent Muslim person who has recently died. (4) In reference to the Hypocrites of Medina [see AL-MUNĀFIḲŪN], it was enjoined upon Muḥammad, in Ḳurʾān, IX, 84, "Do not ever pray for one of them when he dies, and do not stand by his tomb; they have not believed in God and His Messenger, and they die in impiety". On this basis, and on that of diversely interpreted prophetic traditions, jurists have sought to determine which Muslims should be denied the ritual burial prayer. It may be recalled that the great judge of Rayy, ʿAbd al-Djabbār, a Muʿtazilī but nevertheless a Shāfiʿī, refused to pray, in 385/995, over the mortal remains of the vizier Ibn ʿAbbād, on account of extortions which he had committed and for which he had shown no repentance. Al-Ḳurṭubī, viii, 221, asserts that the prayer should be performed over all

Muslims, even those guilty of serious sins, except for "heretics" and declared rebels (*ahl al-bida^c^ wa 'l-bughāt*). Although suicide is denounced by Islam, the prayer should be performed over one who is guilty of this, according to al-Ghāwidjī, 180, and al-Malaṭāwī, 211, l. 8. For mortuary ablutions and the burial itself, see DJANĀZA.

V. Ṣalāt *and Islam.*

A. The position of *ṣalāt* in relation to other religions. When Islam came into existence, and spread rapidly to the Near and Middle East, it came into contact there, besides traditional cults and gnostic sects, with four organised religions. Rabbinical Judaism, within a liturgical system which was essentially synagogical, already included three daily prayers which the believer is required to recite, even in isolation: at dawn (*shaharit*), in the afternoon (*minḥāh*) and the evening (*arvit*). These *tefillōt* have a communal nature which is demonstrated by the use of the plural in their formulas. Syriac (or Byzantine) Christianity had structured monastic prayer in seven offices. The third religion, Manichaeism, although admittedly less actively manifest than the others, was far from being dead; it was to show itself unexpectedly active in the first two centuries of the caliphal empire. It is known that the Manichaean "hearers (*auditores*)" (as distinct from the "elect", to whom they were subordinate) were under an individual obligation to perform four prayers every day at fixed times (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 396-7, tr. Bayard Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, 790-1; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. Badrān, 629, tr. G. Monnot, *Livre des religions et des sectes*, i, 661). These ritual prayers were a sequence of prostrations, accompanied by praises to higher beings, and punctuated by return to the upright position. The formulas of adoration seem to have been impersonal, but with reference to Mani as "our Guide", in the plural (*hādīnā* in the text of the *Fihrist*). Mazdaeism, finally, imposed on each Zoroastrian the ritual of five daily prayers, to be said individually at prescribed times (cf. Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians. Their religious beliefs and practices*, London 1979, 32-3; eadem, *Zoroastrianism*, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1992, 138-9; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1962, 76).

Five daily prayers: this is the rhythm of *ṣalāt*. It is known that Ignaz Goldziher saw here, not a simple coincidence but the result of a "Persian" influence (*Islamisme et parsisme*, in *RHR*, xliii [1901], 15, repr. in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Hildesheim 1970, iv, 246). It seems, indeed, inappropriate to attach too much importance to the number of prayers, the result of contingent evolution rather than of deliberate organisation. A comparison between religions would more usefully examine the integration of the cosmos in the prayer, or the converse, but such is not the subject of this article. Also very significant is the tonality of a rite, communal or otherwise. The value ascribed by *ḥadīth* to prayer in assembly has been noted (cf. above, section II. A. 7), and there will be discussion below of the links woven between Muslims by their ritual prayer. However, the latter, it must alway be remembered, is fundamentally individual. Its obligation is personal. Almost all its formulas, excepting the *Fātiḥa*, are in the first person singular. The faithful, behind the *imām*, repeat the phrases which he himself has spoken in the singular and in his own name; he does not represent the congregation in any way but merely serves it as a model of correct practice. Without intermediary or intercession on the earth, the believer acts spiritually only on his own account (cf. Ḳur'ān, II, 48; VI, 164; etc.; R. Arnaldez, *L'Islam*, Paris 1988, 22, 28). This general flavour was to be further accentuated by the Ṣūfīs. As far as ritual prayer is concerned, even when it is practised communally, the Muslim is alone before the One.

B. The place of *ṣalāt* in the Muslim religion. Ritual prayer is the heart of Islam. It is by means of it that the Muslim remains in permanent contact with the Ḳur'ān, from which it has been inseparable from the outset (cf. XVII, 78, etc.). Ḳur'ānic recitation is a fundamental element of all *ṣalāt*, as is prominently expressed by the recitation of the first sūra with each *rak^c^a* (cf. above, section III. B. 1). It is also above all in ritual prayer that the worshipper adheres to and obeys the Muslim Law, since *ṣalāt*, which is the second pillar of Islam, includes the first, i.e. the profession of faith, explicitly contained and renewed in the call to prayer as in the *tashahhud*. Furthermore, the ritual prayer, of which the institutional link to *zakāt* has been observed above (cf. above, section I. C), is also intimately linked to the other two major cultic obligations, sc. fasting and the Pilgrimage. But even more than by virtue of this central situation among the *^c^ibādāt*, Muslim prayer owes its exceptional importance to the constant link which it establish between the faithful individual and the three supreme realities of his religious universe: the Community, the Prophet and God.

The link to the Community is first established by the marked preference for prayer performed communally (cf. above, section II. A. 7). It is remarkable that even in prayer spoken in isolation, modalities are retained which relate intrinsically to a congregational prayer: the *Āmīn* added to the *Fātiḥa* which is initially the response of the faithful to the recitation of the latter by the *imām*, and the final *taslīm*. The *Fātiḥa* itself is in the first person plural, as is a phrase of the *tashahhud*, "May peace be upon us and upon the good servants of God"; thus every *rak^c^a* begins and concludes on a note of solidarity in the faith. But the communal nature of the prayer is expressed and realised to its ultimate extent in the mosque. "Place of prostration", zenith and epitome of the plastic and decorative arts, living museum of religious eloquence and chant, the mosque is furthermore a rich and complex institution [see MASDJID]. Here are manifested vividly the unity and the diversity of Islam, of its tones, of its cultures. The mosque, in addition, is the setting for the great Friday prayer (cf. above, section IV. A). It is here that the local community finds and finds again its cohesion at all levels, by means of the assembly of believers, certainly, but also by virtue of the personality and the speech of the one who addresses them in the *khuṭba*. In parallel, the Muslim community twice each year reaches a heightened awareness of its worldwide unity by the celebration of another ritual prayer, that of the two feasts (cf. above, section IV, B), both of which come at the conclusion of an intense collective process. The second, the "great feast", is in tune with the action of the pilgrims at Mecca and Minā. It is quite remarkable that, in regard to what is done there on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, a tradition explicitly underlines the pre-eminence of *ṣalāt* and of its *ḳibla* over ritual sacrifice (al-Bukhārī, *Aḍāḥī*, *bāb* 12; Muslim, *Aḍāḥī*, no. 6). That which the Pilgrimage attains once per year, prayer accomplishes five times in a day. It turns the Muslim towards the centre of Islam; one can truly say that it makes the man a Muslim. Two traditions affirm this. "Between man and his association [with God], and unbelief, there is only the abandonment of ritual prayer" (Muslim, *Īmān*, no. 134); and "He who performs our

ritual prayer, and turns towards our *ḳibla*, and eats animals slaughtered according to our manner, he is the Muslim" (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 28). It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the *ḳibla*. By turning from all quarters towards the symbolic place given by God to their Prophet, the Muslims converge, and their prayer thereby acquires, much more than by virtue of the contingent public performance of this individual rite, a communal nature. It is therefore not surprising that the simple words *ahl al-ḳibla*, meaning the people who maintain that prayer must be performed in the direction of the Kaʿba, have often been used to denote and define the members of the community (cf. Ibn Mādja, *Djanāʾiz*, 31, one of the earliest instances of this usage).

On the other hand, *ṣalāt* maintains incessantly the link between the Muslim and his Prophet. The latter is mentioned twice in the *tashahhud*, of which the second phrase is addressed directly to him. As for the prayers known as "Abrahamic" (cf. above, section III. B), they could be called Muḥammadan, since the name of Muḥammad occurs there four times, as often as that of Abraham, just before the *taslīm* of desacralisation. Thus each *ṣalāt*, like each second *rakʿa*, is concluded with veneration of the Messenger. But this is not all. It must not be forgotten that the entire content and the precise timing of the ritual prayer bear the mark of the Prophet. The Ḳurʾān, as has been seen, firmly lays down the principle of *ṣalāt* and its major characteristics. But almost all the details of its ritual, the temporal limits of its performance and the rules governing the abridgment or the combination of daily prayers as well as the performance of other ritual prayers, are based on the personal authority of the Prophet, in other words on the exemplary and inspired practice of the one of whom it is written, "In the Messenger of God, you surely have a fine model" (Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 21; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Witr, bāb* 5; Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, no. 36). Invariably, even when no saying of Muḥammad is reported, the rule of the prayer is expressed in the words "I have seen the Prophet do thus" (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 50; cf. *Adhān, bābs* 95-6 etc.). In point of fact, *ṣalāt* is an imitation of Muḥammad.

However, the essence of *ṣalāt* is elsewhere. It is towards God that the Muslim turns his face (cf. Ḳurʾān, VI, 79). Hence the value of prayer. It may be asked for guidance in the making of a choice: cf. ISTIKHĀRA, and al-Ghāwidjī, 220-1 (who quotes al-Bukhārī, *Tahadjdjud, bāb* 25); the caliph al-Maʾmūn made this prayer before replying to a message of the Basileus, as is related by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vii, 95 = § 2779). Appeal may be made to it in the case of great need, in particular when recovery from an illness is sought. In any case, purification from one's sins is to be found in prayer; a well-known tradition likens prayer to a stream of water passing before the house of a man, who washes himself in it five times a day (al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 6; Muslim, *Masādjid*, nos. 283-4). In a general manner, in charging with meaning all the gestural and verbal acts of prayer, the Muslims have merely developed the virtualities of its rite. For this purpose, they have contemplated numerous passages of the Ḳurʾān. "Say: My ritual prayer and my sacrificial offering, my life and my death, are for God, the Lord of the Worlds, who has no partner; this is the commandment which I have received, and I am the first of those who submit" (VI, 162-3); and "It is I who am God. There is no god other than Me. Therefore worship Me, and accomplish prayer in remembrance of Me" (XX, 14, addressed to Moses; cf. Isa. xliii. 11, and xlv. 5). The faithful of Islam were directed towards this spiritualisation by *ḥadīths* such as the following, recounted by Abū Hurayra: "It is when he is in prostration that the man is closest to his Lord" (Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, no. 215). Another form of the same tradition, this time recounted by Ibn Masʿūd, is mentioned by al-Ṭabarsī/al-Tibrisī, *Madjmaʿ al-bayān*, in his commentary on a striking commandment of God to his Messenger, "Prostrate yourself and draw near!" (XCVI, 19). Mystics have specifically applied to ritual prayer the definition of *iḥsān* in the *ḥadīth* of Gabriel, "Good conduct is to worship God as if you saw Him: for you do not see Him, but He sees you" (al-Bukhārī, *Īmān, bāb* 37; Muslim, *Īmān*, no. 1). Al-Ghazālī devoted to ritual prayer the fourth volume of his interpretation of the *ʿibādāt* in the *Iḥyāʾ*. Here he insists on humility as the basis of a true prayer, and on the "presence of the heart" which must accompany it throughout. These are the same central perceptions as those shown by al-Rāzī in his commentary on Ḳurʾān, XXIX, 45: "Recite that which has been revealed to you of the Book and accomplish ritual prayer, for ritual prayer banishes lewdness and that which is denounced...". The author of the *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* poses an analogy: "If a sweeper wore a garment of gold brocade, it would become impossible for him to concern himself with filth. Similarly, the man who performs prayer has put on the garment of religious fear (*taḳwā*), for he stands in the presence of God, the right hand placed over the left hand, in the attitude of one who looks upon a majestic king. The garment of religious fear is the finest of garments: it is more noble for the heart than is gold brocade for the body. Also, the man who wears it cannot concern himself at all with the filth of turpitude" (xxv, 72-3). This king, quite evidently, is the King of the Day of Judgment. This conviction gives meaning to the *ṣalāt* which numerous Muslims have sought to perform immediately before their death (cf. for example al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §§ 1774, 3361).

The Ṣūfīs were to do nothing in this context other than to develop, sometimes magnificently, the common spirituality of Islam. The central idea being always that of the presence, two lines emerge (cf. *djalāl* and *djamāl*): on the one hand, the presence of God makes it possible to speak to Him in confidence (*munādjāt*); on the other the presence before God as on the Day of Resurrection fills one with fear. During the *ṣalāt*, the worshipper leaves the world. It is a spiritual ascension comparable to the *miʿrādj* of the Prophet (Dāya, 168 = tr. Algar, 184; Schimmel, 218-19). Or further, according to a striking expression: "The key of the Garden is ritual prayer; and the key of ritual prayer is ritual purification" (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 340 [*sic*], towards the end). This prophetic tradition throws into sharp relief the two inseparable faces of *ṣalāt*, legal prescription and spiritual dimension.

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ṢALĀT AL-KHAWF (A.), "the prayer of fear". In a context of warfare "in the way of God", the text reads in Ḳurʾān, IV, 102: "When you are with the believers and you perform the prayer at their head, let a group of them pray with you, while they stand ready with their arms, and keep behind you during the prostration. Then let another group which has not yet prayed come to pray with you, while they stand guard, with weapons to hand. Those who refuse to believe would prefer that you lay aside your arms and your baggage, so that they may catch you unawares." This alternative ritual prayer has received its name from another passage of the Ḳurʾān: "If you *fear* [an attack, pray] on foot or on horseback" (II, 239). Notwithstanding the ellipses of syntax (which permit a different translation), the general sense of the first verse is clear: when a Muslim band is close to the enemy, one group will perform the ritual prayer while the other stands guard, then the roles are to be reversed.

The text of the Ḳurʾān is clarified by prophetic traditions. The canonical collections are of very varied scope with regard to this issue. Muslim has eight *ḥadīths* on the question, and Ibn Mādja only three, while al-Nasāʾī has compiled 27 of them. The general arrangement enunciated by the Ḳurʾān poses a series of technical questions. The traditions do not all convey the same answer.

The central question, which includes several gradations, is the following. Two prayer-groups are distinguished and separated by the Ḳurʾānic text; to these will be added their common *imām* who, it should be recalled, is obliged to perform the prayer in his own name. Thus there is a total of three praying units, singular or co-ordinated. The rules of prayer being as they are, for each of these units there are numerous judicial problems to be solved.

When is the *takbīr* of sacralisation pronounced? By all present together, with the *imām*, at the beginning of his prayer, even if one of the two groups then turns its back towards the *ḳibla* (Abū Dāwūd, no. 1240; al-Nasāʾī, 141; cf. Muslim, no. 307). But according to others, the second group performs the *takbīr* at the beginning of its own prayer (Abū Dāwūd, no. 1239; cf. Muslim, no. 308).

How many *rakʿas* are performed by the *imām*, and how many by each of the two groups? The question is especially posed, historically, for the prayers of *ẓuhr* and of *ʿaṣr*, which normally have four *rakʿas*. There are three answers.

(a) The *imām* performs four *rakʿas*, successively guiding each of the groups as it performs two *rakʿas*: a tradition related by Djābir (e.g. in Muslim, no. 311-12; Abū Dāwūd, no. 1248) and followed by Ḥasan al-Baṣrī according to al-Ḳurṭubī (v, 368) and al-Rāzī.

(b) The *imām* performs two *rakʿas*, successively guiding each of the groups as it performs only one *rakʿa*; a tradition related notably by Ibn ʿAbbās via Mudjāhid (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *bāb* 3; Abū Dāwūd, nos. 1246-7; cf. al-Tirmidhī, no. 567).

(c) The generally accepted solution: everybody performs two *rakʿas*. In other words, the number of *rakʿas* is the same for the prayer of fear as for the prayer on a journey (cf. ṢALĀT. IV. F; consequently, three *rakʿas* will be retained at the prayer of *maghrib*).

It being thus accepted that the *imām* performs the same number of *rakʿas* as each of the groups, the questions remain, how is the whole of the rite organised, and when does each of those praying perform the *taslīm* of desacralisation? The successive *rakʿas* will be designated by the following symbols: A = performed by group A only; B = performed by group B only; MA = performed by group A with Muḥammad (or at a later stage with the *imām*); MB = performed by group B with Muḥammad. Theoretically, a dozen or so solutions are possible. In fact, the canonical *ḥadīths* present three (appropriate references are given in each case):

MA, MB, B, A: tradition of Ibn ʿUmar via his son Sālim (al-Bukhārī, *bāb* 1; Muslim, no. 305; al-Nasāʾī, 139-40; al-Tirmidhī, no. 564), followed by certain Mālikī teachers (al-Ḳurṭubī, v, 366-7); Ibn Masʿūd (*ibid.*).

MA, B, MB, A: tradition of Djabr b. ʿAbd Allāh (Muslim, no. 307; al-Nasāʾī, 143-4).

MA, A, MB, B: well-known tradition of Sahl b. Abī Ḥathma via Ṣāliḥ b. Khawwāt, which comprises two versions:

— Version transmitted by Yazīd b. Rūmān: Muḥammad performs the *taslīm* with group B at the very end (Muslim, no. 310; al-Nasāʾī, 139): this is the doctrine of al-Shāfiʿī and of Ibn Ḥanbal, according to al-Ḳurṭubī, v, 366.

— Version transmitted by al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad: Muḥammad performs the *taslīm* after the end of *rakʿa* "MB" (Abū Dāwūd, no. 1239; cf. Muslim, no. 309, and Ibn Mādja, no. 1259); this is the doctrine of Mālik (according to al-Ḳurṭubī) and of al-Malaṭāwī.

The community of traditionists and jurists acknowledge that these *ḥadīths* cannot be harmonised. They record various measures taken by Muḥammad in different circumstances, where the requirements of security were not always of the same urgency. Two examples are recalled with particular clarity. On the one hand, the encounter at Dhāt al-Riḳāʿ, in Nadjd, during the expedition against the Ghaṭafān, in 4/626 (cf. Ibn Hishām, i, 662; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1454-5; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 1489). The place is mentioned in the tradition of Sahl b. Abī Ḥathma, also for example in the tradition of Abū Hurayra (al-Nasāʾī, 141). The enemy was then located in the direction opposite to the *ḳibla*; while performing the prayer, the Muslims then turned their backs towards the adversary, put-

ting themselves in the greatest danger. On the other hand, on an occasion when the Muslims, at ʿUsfān, confronted an enemy band commanded by Khālid b. al-Walīd, the enemy was located in the direction of the *ḳibla*, a much more advantageous situation (tradition of Abū ʿAyyāsh al-Zuraḳī, in Abū Dāwūd, no. 1236; al-Nasāʾī, 144-5).

The "prayer of fear" is specifically Muslim. However, the conflict between the duty, the desire or the need to pray on the one hand, and on the other the necessity of fighting, may be encountered in other religions. In the context, not of prayer admittedly, but of a pious work, this situation applied during the restoration of the walls of the Holy City, *ca.* 445 B.C.: "From that day forward half the men under me were engaged in the actual building, while the other half stood by holding their spears, shields and bows, and wearing coats of mail; and officers supervised all the people of Judah who were engaged on the wall" (*Neh.* iv, 16, tr. *NEB*).

Thus far, consideration has been given to the original arrangements applied to the prayer rite in order to permit its observance "in assembly" in proximity to the enemy, on the very solid basis of Ḳurʾān, IV, 102. But also quoted, at the outset, was another passage: "If you fear [an attack, pray] on foot or on horseback" (II, 239). In commenting on it, Fakhr al-Dīn correctly observes: "The prayer of fear is of two kinds. The first, when one is in a position of combat, and this is what is envisaged by this verse. The second, when one is not (yet) in a position of combat, is that which is mentioned in the sūrat al-Nisāʾ (IV)" (al-Rāzī, vi, 154). Once battle has been engaged or is imminent, in the presence of the enemy, there is a duty, according to Abū Hanifa, to delay the prayer until the situation is more favourable. But al-Shāfiʿī and Mālik firmly assert, on the contrary, that prayer should be observed at its proper time, during the battle itself, individually, even when mounted, with the understandable reduction to two *rakʿas* of the prayers which normally comprise four, and with two considerable relaxations of the ritual prescriptions. The first is, in case of necessity, abandonment of the *ḳibla*. The second is the replacement of bowings and prostrations by their *īmāʾ* (cf. the tradition related by Ibn ʿUmar, in al-Bukhārī, *bāb* 2 and Muslim, no. 306, and that related by al-Awzāʿī, in al-Bukhārī, *bāb* 4). This means that it is sufficient to signify the corresponding act by its outline. The body or the head is slightly inclined to symbolise and signify ritual bowing; a rather deeper inclination represents prostration. These relaxations of the rite are not isolated; on the contrary they are related to similar dispositions concerning the prayer of the traveller and that of the invalid. Thus Islamic law contains precedents which could be used to find solutions to other problems.

Bibliography: See the bibliography to ṢALĀT, and in particular Ḳurṭubī, iii, 223-6, v, 364-73; Malaṭāwī, 193-4; Rāzī, vi, 153-6, xi, 24-7. As for the four works of *sunan*, the "prayer of fear" is treated there as follows: Abū Dāwūd, ed. M.M. al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 4 vols., Cairo 1348/1930, ii, 11-18; Ibn Mādja, ed. M.F. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, 2 vols., Cairo 1391/1972, i, 399-400; Nasāʾī, 10 vols., Cairo 1383/1964, iii, 136-46; Tirmidhī, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, 5 vols., Cairo 1356/1937, ii, 453-7.

(G. MONNOT)

ṢALAWĀT [see TAṢLIYA].

AL-**SALĀWĪ** [see AL-NĀṢIR AL-SALĀWĪ].

ṢALB (A.), "crucifixion". In Islamic doctrine and practice, it refers to a criminal punishment in which the body of the criminal, either living or dead, is affixed to or impaled on a beam or tree trunk and exposed for some days or longer.

Before Islam, many cultures, including the Persian and Roman ones, practised crucifixion as a punishment for traitors, rebels, robbers and criminal slaves (M. Hengle, *Crucifixion in the ancient world*, London 1977).

The Ḳurʾān refers to crucifixion in six places. The significant verse for legal practice is V, 33: "The recompense of those who make war on (*yuḥāribūn*) God and His messenger and sow corruption (*fasād*) in the earth shall but be that they shall be slain, or be crucified (*yuṣallabū*), or have their hands and feet cut off on opposite sides, or be banished from the earth...".

The standard *ḥadīth* collections report one case where Muḥammad practiced crucifixion (of persons who murdered a shepherd and stole camels). This account is, however, contradicted by many others describing a different punishment (cutting hands and feet and gouging eyes) (see al-Nasāʾī, *taḥrīm al-dam*, *bāb*s 7-9). In another *ḥadīth*, the first crucifixion in Medina was by ʿUmar, of two slaves who killed their mistress (see Abū Dāwūd, *ṣalāt, bāb* 61).

Fiḳh [*q.v.*] applies the above verse chiefly to highway robbers, as *ḥadd* [*q.v.*; and see ḲATL]. The choice of crucifixion, instead of another of the four stated penalties, is governed by complex, contested rules. Most scholars require that a robber who both killed and took property be crucified, as a *ḥadd* penalty (see ḲATL); others, while requiring execution, do not demand crucifixion. For most scholars, offenders are to be beheaded before being crucified. Mālikīs, with most Ḥanafīs and most Twelver Shīʿīs, provide that the offender is crucified alive, but then killed by lance thrust. For the Ẓāhirīs, crucifixion itself must cause the death. Most scholars limit the period of crucifixion to three days (after which the body is to be washed, prayed over and buried).

Various minority views permit or prescribe crucifixion for crimes other than highway robbery, usually on authority of the same verse. These crimes include insults to the Prophet (*sabb al-nabī*) [see ḲATL], heresy (*zandaḳa*) [see MURTADD; ZINDĪḲ], sorcery [see SIḤR], and killing by stranglers (*khannāḳūn*) and assassins drugging their victims (*mubannidjūn*), such punishments sometimes represented as *ḥadd* and sometimes as *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*]. The quoted verse itself conceivably applies to anyone whose corrupting effect on society can be prevented only thereby (Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, Cairo 1322, 55). Al-Māwardī (apparently alone) permitted crucifixion while alive (but not necessarily to death) as a generally applicable form of *taʿzīr* (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1966, 239; cf. al-Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj*, Cairo 1967, viii, 21).

Reports of actual crucifixions exist under most of these doctrinal headings. Exposure, often extremely prolonged, of headless bodies is common, especially for political or religious opponents [see e.g. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ZUBAYR; ḤASANAK; IBN BAḲIYYA]. Crucifixion while alive also appears, such as for al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] and murderous slaves (H. Ritter, *Kreuzigung eines Knaben*, in *Oriens*, xxv [1976], 38-40, suggesting a frequency in the 7th/13th century of crucifixion to death).

In later Persian and Turkish usage, *ṣalb* meant "hanging". In the form of exposure after beheading, crucifixion is practised in Saudi Arabia today.

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repr. Paris 1975, i; J.L. Kraemer, *Apostates, rebels and brigands*, in *IOS*, x (1980), 34-73.

(F.E. Vogel)

SALDJŪḲIDS, a Turkish dynasty of mediaeval Islam which, at the peak of its power during the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, ruled over, either directly or through vassal princes, a wide area of Western Asia from Transoxania, Farghāna, the Semirečye and Khwārazm in the east to Anatolia, Syria and the Ḥidjāz in the west. From the core of what became the Great Saldjūḳ empire, subordinate lines of the Saldjūḳ family maintained themselves in regions like Kirmān (till towards the end of the 6th/12th century), Syria (till the opening years of the 6th/12th century) and Rūm or Anatolia (till the beginning of the 8th/14th century) (see below, section III).

I. The historical significance of the Saldjūḳs
II. Origins and early history
III. The various branches of the Saldjūḳs
1. The Great Saldjūḳs of Persia and ʿIrāḳ
2. The Saldjūḳs of Western Persia and ʿIrāḳ
3. The Saldjūḳs of Kirmān
4. The Saldjūḳs of Syria
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IV. Intellectual and religious history
1. In Persia and ʿIrāḳ
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VI. Art and architecture
1. In Persia
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VII. Literature
1. In Persia and ʿIrāḳ
2. In Anatolia
VIII. Numismatics
1. In Persia and ʿIrāḳ
2. In Anatolia

I. The historical significance of the Saldjūḳs

The appearance of the Saldjūḳs undoubtedly marks a change in the course of the history of the central and eastern Islamic lands, but the nature and extent of this change, affecting a wide range of aspects of both material and religio-cultural life, are not easy to evaluate and have given rise to controversy (see below).

The Saldjūḳs arrived on the scene of the Islamic world only a few decades after the practical and moral authority of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Baghdād had reached its lowest ebb under the political and military tutelage of the Shīʿī Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS]. At the same time, many of the petty Arab principalities of ʿIrāḳ, al-Djazīra and northern Syria were also Shīʿī, but the most serious threat of all came from the constituting of the rival Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī caliphate in North Africa, Egypt and southern Syria of the Fāṭimids, still in a militant, expansionist stage and with a capital, Cairo, which was beginning to outstrip Baghdād in material and intellectual splendour alike.

The installation of the Turkish Saldjūḳs in Persia, ʿIrāḳ, al-Djazīra and northern Syria reversed this apparently unrelenting march of political Shīʿism, and it was to be another four centuries or so before Shīʿism would be able permanently to affect the religious complexion of large stretches of the northern tier of the Middle East, sc. Persia and eastern Anatolia (and, somewhat paradoxically, through the agency of further Turkish/Turkmen elements there, notably through the Ṣafawids and their Ḳizilbash followers). The Saldjūḳs were Sunnīs, and Ḥanafīs in *madhhab*, who wished to replace existing powers in Persia, including the Ghaznawids and the generally Shīʿī Daylamī dynasties of northern and western Persia (at the same time, by the removal of the latter relieving the ʿAbbāsids of a certain amount of pressure and constriction) without, however, giving up the fruits of military and political victory, which they now wished to enjoy themselves. This explains why, although al-Ḳāʾim welcomed Ṭoghrïl Beg's appearance at the outset, subsequent relations between the ʿAbbāsids and the Great Saldjūḳs were not always smooth. The caliphs soon found that they had little more freedom to manoeuvre than they had had under the Būyids. They only came into their own again during the middle years of the 6th/12th century, when they were able to show increased independence of mind and of freedom of action vis-à-vis the declining Saldjūḳs. This revival of the caliphate was to be transitory; both ʿAbbāsids and Saldjūḳs were shortly to be swept away by new, dynamic forces from the East, notably the Khwārazmshāhs and above all the Mongols. Yet through the co-existence for something like 130 years of the two dynasties, the conditions were created for the development within Islam, even if dictated by practical necessity, of the concept of the caliph-imām as spiritual and moral leader and the sultan, in this case the Saldjūḳ one, as secular, executive leader of a large proportion of the Muslims (see further, KHALĪFA. (i) B; SULṬĀN; and below, section V. 1).

The irruption of the Saldjūḳs into the Islamic lands was only the beginning of a prolonged movement of peoples from Inner Asia into the Middle East, one which was to have long-term social and economic as well as political and constitutional effects. Whilst many of the Turkmen elements percolating into northern Persia all through the Saldjūḳ period passed on towards Anatolia, others became part of the increasing nomadic and transhumant population of Persia and the central Arab lands, and this process became accelerated in the time of the succeeding invaders mentioned above, sc. the Khwārazmshāhs and Mongols, through the movements of Turco-Mongol peoples. There resulted a transformation of land utilisation, social organisation and ethnic composition in the territories affected, associated with new systems of land tenure such as the *iḳṭāʿ* and the later *soyurghal* [*q.vv.*] and with the pastoralisation of extensive areas of the northern tier of the Middle East, so that Turkish (and, to a much lesser extent, Mongol) tribesmen became integral parts of the population there, previously mainly Persian and Arab, bringing with them their languages. The use of these land grants to support professional soldiers, and the availability of reservoirs of tribal manpower, first of all in the Saldjūḳ period buttressed the authority of the sultans and their epigoni, the atabegs [see ATABAK]; but in the course of time it led to the political and military domination of Turkish dynasts or military leaders from Bengal to Algiers.

A further effect of the assumption of political leadership by the Great Saldjūḳs lay in the consolidation of Sunnī authority as the dominant ethos of rule in the central Islamic lands. Although barbarians at the outset (and the first Saldjūḳ sultans, at least in Persia and ʿIrāḳ, remained substantially unlettered), these Turks knew how to make the best use of the existing Persian and Arab administrative structures already in place, and the viziers and officials whom they employed, such as al-Kundurī, Niẓām al-Mulk and al-Ṭughrāʾī [*q.vv.*], shed as much lustre on their masters as had done the great viziers of the 4th/10th century on their Būyid employers. Culturally, the constituting of the Saldjūḳ empire marked a further

step in the dethronement of Arabic from being the sole lingua franca of educated and polite society in the Middle East. Coming as they did through a Transoxania which was still substantially Iranian and into Persia proper, the Saldjūḳs—with no high-level Turkish cultural or literary heritage of their own—took over that of Persia, so that the Persian language became that of administration and culture in their lands of Persia and Anatolia. The Persian culture of the Rūm Saldjūḳs was particularly splendid, and it was only gradually that Turkish emerged there as a parallel language in the fields of government and *adab* [*q.v.*]; the Persian imprint on Ottoman civilisation was to remain strong until the 19th century.

The region of the Middle East where the coming of the Saldjūḳs was to have the most immediate and obvious impact, with enduring political, religious and cultural effects which are strongly visible today, was Anatolia. Here the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm based on Ḳonya and other Turkish principalities in northern and eastern Anatolia took over the greater part of the former Byzantine and Armenian territories of Asia Minor. It is for this region that the geographical designation Turcia/Turchia, etc., first apparently appears specifically in Western European usage at the time of the Third Crusade of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1187-92) (thus according to Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey. A general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071-1330*, London 1968, 144-5).

The details of the Saldjūḳs' part in the gradual Turkification of Asia Minor will be considered below under section III. 5; see also ANADOLU. iii. i. But it should be noted that the consolidation of the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm as the political, cultural, religious and geographical predecessor of the modern Turkish Republic, has been a salient point in the assessment of the general importance of the Saldjūḳs in Middle Eastern history by contemporary Turkish historians. Over some half-a-century, the role of the Saldjūḳs as the first Turkish, Islamic power to establish itself in the heartlands of the Islamic world (ignoring dynasties on the far peripheries like the Ghaznawids in Afghānistān and India and the Ḳarakhānids in Transoxania) has been the starting-point for much analysis and speculation by these Turkish scholars. In part, this has been a reaction against 19th century European views, those formed in the light of the Greek and Balkan peoples' freeing themselves from what was viewed as Ottoman Turkish religious oppression and maladministration and in the light of the issues raised by the "Eastern Question", and expressed by such scholars as Ernest Renan. According to these views, the Turks, unlike the Semitic Arabs and the Indo-European or Aryan Persians, had contributed nothing to the fabric of Islamic civilisation since they came from the one region of the Old World, Inner Asia, from which no great religions or cultures have ever emerged. But it has also been a reaction against a long-established, inter-Islamic judgement, arising out of specific political conditions, sc. the four centuries' long domination by the Ottoman Turks of the heartlands of Arab-Islamic culture, the lands from Egypt to ʿIrāḳ. From this has arisen the contemptuous dismissal of the Turks as essentially unoriginal barbarians, deriving their culture from the Arabs and Persians, a nation of soldiers and administrators rather than one of creative achievers in the intellectual and cultural fields. The persistence of such views, still enshrined today in the school and university textbooks of the Arab world, reflect attitudes of ethnic disparagement (and enables the Turks to be cast as continuingly responsible for the ills and failures of Arab political systems and society since the break-up of the Ottoman empire). (See on these attitudes, B. Lewis, *The Mongols, the Turks and the Muslim polity*, in *Islam in history. Ideas, men and events in the Middle East*, London 1973, 179-98; U. Haarmann, *Ideology and history: the Arab image of the Turk through the centuries*, in *IJMES*, xx [1988], 175-96.)

It is not therefore surprising that 20th-century Turkish historians have combatted such attitudes and have seen the Saldjūḳ Turks as bringing new and valuable influences into the Islamic society which they found on entering it. According to such a view, elements of Turkish steppe culture were not completely overlaid but contributed to and enriched Islamic civilisation, which became a synthesis of Turkish plus existing Islamic elements: the principle of social mobility and democracy within the steppe tribal unit, the conception of world dominion which enabled the Turkish sultan to act as the executive counterpart of the caliph's universal religious and moral authority, the traces of the role in steppe life of Turkish holy men within later Turkish Ṣūfism, etc. Indeed, the Turks revitalised Islam. The going-back to the Saldjūḳs as Turkish heroes and as the founding fathers of the Muslim Turkish culture, actually goes back to the earlier part of the 20th century, to Ziyā Gök Alp and Kemāl Atatürk [*q.vv.*], figures who, in an age of Ottoman terminal decline or recent disappearance, tended to view the Ottoman interlude of Turkish history with ambivalent feelings: an empire tainted with cosmopolitanism and a semi-colony of the West. The Saldjūḳs who founded the Rūm sultanate, within almost the same geographical bounds as post-1922 Turkey, could thus be regarded as the precursors of the modern Republic. All sorts of other arguments have been brought into play here, such as the question whether the Turkish invasions of Anatolia from the later 5th/11th century onwards were unplanned plunder raids or part of a pre-planned grand strategy going back to the early decades of the century, a reasoning put forward by some Turkish nationalist historians (see further, below, section III. 1, 5).

These discussions have arisen out of the process, common enough in the recent history of central and eastern Europe as well as of Turkey, in which historical, linguistic and nationalist feelings are used as a formative impulse in, or as a justification for, the consolidation of a nation state, a process which has come into existence as a protest against, and in conflict with, the existing state pattern (see H. Kohn, *The idea of nationalism, a study in its origins and background*. New York 1961, 324-5, 329-31). As forming a fascinating case study, they have attracted the attention and the analyses of western orientalists, notably of Martin Strohmeier, *Seldschukische Geschichte und türkische Geschichtswissenschaft. Die Seldschuken im Urteil moderner Türkischer Historiker*, Berlin 1984, who surveys the whole topic in great detail, and of Gary Leiser in his useful *A history of the Seljuks. İbrahim Kafesoğlu's interpretation and the resulting controversy. Translated, edited and with an introduction ...*, Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill. 1988, which makes available in an annotated English translation Kafesoğlu's lengthy *İA* article on the dynasty plus the views of other Turkish scholars involved in Saldjūḳ history, notably Osman Turan and Ahmed Ateş.

II. Origins and early history

The Saldjūḳs were in origin a family group or clan of the Oghuz Turkish people. The Toḳuz Oghuz or "nine tribes of the Oghūz" formed part of the early Gök Türk empire of the early 8th century, and as such

are mentioned in that empire's royal annals, the Or-khon [*q.v.*] inscriptions. When that empire collapsed in 741, the Oghuz chief eventually acquired the military office of Yabghu (a term which turns up later in the early history of the Saldjūḳs in Transoxania and Khurāsān, see below) of the right wing of the horde of the Western Turks. The Oghuz moved southwestwards through the Siberian steppes to the Aral Sea and the frontiers of Transoxania, and westwards to the Volga and South Russia. The Arab envoy to the king of the Bulghārs, Ibn Faḍlān [*q.v.*], found the Oghuz nomadising in the steppes between Khwārazm and the lower and middle Volga in the opening decades of the 4th/10th century; and with their appearance on the northern fringes of the Sāmānid amirate later in that century, they enter the full light of Islamic history [see GHUZZ].

(Following one of the conventional Western spellings, Saldjūḳ is used here in the *EI*. However, Barthold pointed out (*Turkestan*[3], 257 n. 1; *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, Paris 1945, 80) that the frequently-found spelling Seldjūḳ contravenes the rules of vowel harmony in Turkish languages and that Maḥmūd Kāshgharī in his *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk* (ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bey, i, 397, tr. Atalay, i, 428) spells the name with *kāf* and presumably front vowels, i.e. Seldjük or Selčük, with similar spellings in the *Kitāb-i Dede Ḳorkut* and other texts. P. Pelliot, in his *Quelques noms turcs d'hommes et de peuples en -ar/-är, ur/ür, -ïr/ir*, in *Oeuvres posthumes*, Paris 1949, ii, 176-7 n. 2, took a similar line: "si je donnerais une transcription scientifique, je parlerais des Säljük". On the other hand, the spelling with *ḳāf* and implied back vowels is very old in the Arabic-script sources and in such Armenian renderings as *Salčʾuk*, pl. *Salčʾukhik*, of Kirakos of Gandja. Karl Menges suggested (in *JNES*, x [1951], 268 n. 2), an origin of the name in the verb *salmak* "attack, charge" (Clauson, *Etymological dictionary*, 824, has, however, for the root *sal-* the related but somewhat different meaning of "violently to move, agitate s. th.") > *salčuk* "dashing, charging". Many Western scholars have preferred to use some form of the name with back vowels, whilst commenting on the extremely fluid state of Turkish vowel harmony and orthography at this early period. See further C.E. Bosworth in *The Ghaznavids*, 299 n. 44, and the opening section of Kafesoğlu's *İA* art. *Selçuklular*, tr. Leiser, 21-2.)

Within the Oghuz people, the leading tribe was that of the Ḳïnïḳ, from whom their princes sprang, according to Kāshgharī again (i, 56, tr. i, 55). The Saldjūḳ family or kin-group (it does not seem in origin to have been a much greater social group) came from the Ḳïnïḳ; later, when the Saldjūḳs had achieved power in Persia, attempts were made to give the family a glorious past, and Ṭoghril Beg's official Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Ibn Ḥassūl (d. 450/1058) linked them with the legendary Turkish king Afrāsiyāb. On somewhat more certain historical ground, during the 4th/10th century the Saldjūḳ leader (called Saldjūḳ b. Duḳaḳ b. Temür Yalïgh "Iron bow") seems to have held the office of Sü Bashï or military commander, at the side of the Yabghu. Because of dissensions, the Saldjūḳs fled with their herds from the Yabghu to Djand [*q.v.* in Suppl.] on the lower Syr Darya, and it was in this region that Saldjūḳ died and that his family and followers became Muslim; the hostility of these two branches of the Ḳinïḳ was not resolved till 433/1041, when the Saldjūḳs, by then victorious in Khurāsān and Khwārazm, drove out from the latter province the Yabghu ʿAlī's son and successor Shāh Malik (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 177-8, 256-7; Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 210-19).

Now on the borders of Khwārazm and Transoxania, the Saldjūḳs and other Oghuz bands hired out their military services, to the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], by this time in increasing difficulties, to the latter's eventual supplanters north of the Oxus, the Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK KHĀNS] and to the local rulers in Khwārazm, moving into the steppe fringes of these regions and into the Ḳara Ḳum [*q.v.*] in what is now the Turkmenistan Republic. At the outset, the Saldjūḳs were led by the three sons of Saldjūḳ, Mūsā, Mīkāʾīl and Arslan Isrāʾīl [see ARSLAN B. SALDJŪḲ] (and possibly by a fourth one, Yūsuf) and, from the next generation, Mīkāʾīl's two sons Ṭoghrïl Beg Muḥammad and Čaghrï Beg Dāwūd [*q.vv.*].

Bands of Oghuz were scattered after a defeat by Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*] in 428/1029 throughout Khurāsān and northern Persia (the so-called "ʿIrāḳī" Turkmens), but whether a raid as far as Ādharbāydjān and Armenia under Čaghrï Beg had taken place some ten years earlier is uncertain (though upheld as such by a nationalist-minded historian like Kafesoğlu as a kind of *praeparatio evangelica* for the Saldjūḳ incursions into Anatolia in the second half of the century). By 426/1035 the Saldjūḳs and their followers were asking Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] for a grant of Nasā, Farāwa and Sarakhs [*q.vv.*] and their pasture lands on the northern rim of Khurāsān. Over the next few years, they infiltrated Khurāsān and raided westwards into northern Persia, their lightly-armed and highly-mobile cavalrymen proving more than a match for the more heavily-armed but cumbersome Ghaznawid army, so that with the defeat of Masʿūd at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 431/1040, the Saldjūḳs were soon able to overrun Khurāsān and then to sweep into the remainder of Persia. We need not assume that the actual numbers of the Turkmens were very large, for the ways of life possible in the steppes meant that there were natural and environmental limitations on the numbers of the nomads. Yuri Bregel has implied, working from the 16,000 Oghuz mentioned by the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī as present on the battle field of Dandānḳān (*Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 619), that we should probably assume, in this instance, a ratio of one fighting man to four other members of the family, yielding some 64,000 Turkmens moving into Khurāsān at this time (*Turko-Mongol influences in Central Asia*, in R.L. Canfield (ed.), *Turko-Persia in historical perspective*, Cambridge 1991, 58 and n. 10).

But various Kurdish and Daylamī dynasties of the Caspian regions and Djibāl were now attacked, although the process of overcoming the more powerful and long-established Būyids in Fārs and ʿIrāḳ was slower. It was not until 447/1055 that Ṭoghrïl was first able to enter Baghdād and depose the Būyid prince al-Malik al-Raḥīm Khusraw Fīrūz [*q.v.*], and the last Būyids to rule in southern Persia lost their power only a few years later. What had helped the Saldjūḳ chiefs to triumph, A.K.S. Lambton has suggested, were their obvious leadership qualities combined with a certain level of sophistication derived from a past in the steppes which had been not altogether unfamiliar with urban life in, for example, the towns on the lower Syr Darya; hence they were able to lead the Oghuz bands towards the formation of a higher political organism, the sultanate in Persia and ʿIrāḳ, than those Oghuz who stayed behind in the steppes between the Syr Darya and the lower Volga, what were later called the Ḳïpčaḳ steppes (*Aspects of Saljūq-Ghuzz settlement in Persia*, in D.S. Richards (ed.), *Islamic civilisation 950-1150*, Oxford 1973, 111).

Ṭoghrïl had already adopted something of the style

of an independent ruler during his first, temporary occupation of Nīshāpūr [*q.v.*], the capital of Khurāsān (429/1038), making the *khuṭba* in his own name (though perhaps at the side of Sultan Masʿūd's name) and assuming the title of *al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam* "Exalted Ruler", one which subsequently appears on his coins. He was now in touch with the ʿAbbāsid caliph in Baghdād, the fount of legitimising authority for Sunnī rulers, and when he entered Baghdād for a second time in 449/1058, al-Ḳāʾim [*q.v.*] bestowed on him *alḳāb* or honorific titles and robes of honour in the ʿAbbāsid colour of black. Ṭoghrïl was to exult in his role of deliverer of the caliph from the pressure of Shīʿī powers like the Būyids, Mazyadids and Fāṭimids, and even aspired to take an ʿAbbāsid princess to wife, a proposal which her father fought off, however, for as long as possible (see below, 2). All this now gave Ṭoghrïl an authority quite different in nature from the limited authority which he had enjoyed under Turkish tribal custom as war leader and tribal chieftain, one which set the Saldjūḳs on the road to becoming rulers integrated within the Perso-Islamic monarchical tradition—a process which was never, however, fully completed (see below).

Ṭoghrïl had thus become supreme ruler over the former Būyid lands in western and southern Persia, in addition to the former Ghaznawid ones in the east, with the title of sultan and the position of head of the Saldjūḳ family, now starting on the process of becoming a ruling dynasty. His position crystallised the new division of authority, within the central and eastern lands of Sunnī Islam, between the ʿAbbāsid caliph-imām as spiritual and moral head and the Saldjūḳ sultan as secular ruler, and this dichotomy was to become a major feature of the Saldjūḳ period in Islamic history, although it was to be some considerable time before the writers on law and the state, constitutional theory would recognise the fait accompli. It could obviously not have been discernible to a writer like al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058 [*q.v.*]) in his *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* (al-Māwardī had actually met Ṭoghrïl in the 1040s in a meeting near Rayy as the caliph's envoy, protesting against Turkmen depredations in Persia), and even when the process was perfectly apparent, e.g. to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]), the latter was reluctant to spell out the full implications and resorted to what Carole Hillenbrand has called "pious dishonesty" or else to tortuous and casuistic argumentation (*Islamic orthodoxy or Realpolitik? Al-Ghazālī's views on government*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xxxvi [1988], 86; see also Lambton, *Concepts of authority in Persia: eleventh to nineteenth centuries A.D.*, in *ibid.*, 97-8) in order to preserve the fiction of the caliph's supreme executive power over the *Dār al-Islām*. In fact, the direct authority of the caliphs within ʿIrāḳ and western Persia was to revive and expand considerably during the course of the 6th/12th century *pari passu* with the increased dynastic squabbling and diminished military effectiveness of the Great Saldjūḳ sultans (in addition to the articles KHALĪF and SULṬĀN, see for a good, concise account of these topics and events, T. Nagel, in U. Haarmann (ed.), *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, Munich 1987, 146 ff.).

The sultans never conceived of themselves as despotic rulers over a monolithic empire, rulers in the Perso-Islamic tradition of the power state as it had developed, for instance, under the early Ghaznawids [*q.v.*]. They had risen to power as the successful military leaders of bands of their fellow-Oghuz tribesmen, and at the outset depended solely on these tribal elements. The position of the Saldjūḳ sultans was thus fundamentally different from their predecessors in the East, both from the Sāmānids, with their aristocratic Iranian background but a military dependence on professional, largely slave Turkish, troops, and from the Ghaznawids, themselves of slave origin and dependent on a purely professional, salaried standing army; likewise, their opponents in the West, the Būyids and Fāṭimids, had come to depend upon professional, multi-ethnic armies. The sultans did not prove to be wholly exempt from the pressures arising out of the ethos of power in the Middle East at this time; they endeavoured to increase their own authority and to some extent to marginalise the Turkmen tribal elements, yet these last remained strong within the empire, and on occasions, powerful enough to aspire, through their favoured candidates for the supreme office of sultan, to a controlling influence in the state.

In any case, the sultans, especially those of the 5th/11th century, could not divest themselves completely of their steppe origins, and we have no reason to think that they wished completely to do so. Ṭoghrïl, Čaghrï and Alp Arslan had grown up within the Oghuz tribe, and when they became Islamic territorial rulers they were nevertheless careful still to observe tribal law and custom when those did not clash with their new roles as sultans (but for an occasion when the new Islamic principles firmly overrode tribal custom, sc. in regard to the succession, see below, section III. 1). Sandjar, having within his Khurāsānian dominions substantial groups of still unassimilated, tribally-organised Oghuz, was likewise conscious of his dual position. One later Turkish source states that, in accordance with ancient practice, he gave the right wing of his army to the Ḳayï and Bayat clans of the Oghuz and the left wing to the Bayïndir and Bičine (*Muntakhab-i tawārīkh-i saldjūḳiyye*, quoted by İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 22-4). Several administrative documents from the period illustrate Sandjar's care to regulate his relations with his Ghuzz subjects; cf. Lambton, *The administration of Sanjar's empire as illustrated in the* ʿAtabat al-kataba, in *BSOAS*, xx (1957), 382, and eadem, *Aspects of Saljūq-Ghuzz settlement in Persia*, 109-11. During Malik Shāh's reign, the great vizier of Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh, Niẓām al-Mulk, commented in his *Siyāsat-nāma*, § 26, that the sultans had obligations towards their former backers, the Turkmens, hence should preserve some role for them in the state apparatus amidst the trends towards administrative and military centralisation and professionalism (see also Lambton, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 246-7).

The persistence of influences from the Oghuz tribal past is seen in the sultans' policy of allotting various provinces of the empire as appanages from Saldjūḳ male relatives who had a claim, by virtue of seniority or experience, to some share in the material advantages of power. Ṭoghrïl's brother Čaghrï had from the time of the Dandānḳān victory been left with control over the eastern territories: Khurāsān; any lands north of the Oxus that he could conquer from the Ḳarakhānids or from the Oghuz Yabghu in Khwārazm; and any further parts of Afghānistān that he could wrest from the Ghaznawids. (Exactly in what degree Čaghrï was considered by the Saldjūḳs' Turkmen followers as inferior in status to Ṭoghrïl, or whether he was inferior at all, is a question discussed by R.W. Bulliet in his article *Numismatic evidence for the relationship between Ṭughril Beg and Chaghrī Beg*, in D.K. Kouymjian (ed.), *Near Eastern numismatics iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles*, Beirut 1974, 289-96; his conclusion is that they were

in fact equal, at least at the outset, and that this equality in status was recognised by symbols on their coins.) Čag̲h̲rī died in 452/1060, and his son Alp Arslan, already active latterly in the affairs of the East, took over power there; after Ṭog̲h̲rïl's death in 455/1063, he moved westwards and assumed supreme direction of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ empire; all subsequent rulers of the Great Sald̲j̲ūḳ line and the Sald̲j̲ūḳ rulers in ʿIrāḳ and western Persia sprang from Alp Arslan. A further brother of Ṭog̲h̲rïl's and Čag̲h̲rï's, Mūsā Bīg̲h̲ū or Payg̲h̲ū [see PAYG̲H̲Ū], was left to bring under his control as much as possible of Sīstān, at that time ruled by the Maliks of Nīmrūz of the Naṣrid line [see SĪSTĀN]. Čag̲h̲rï's eldest son Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*] was to expand southwards through Ḳuhistān to Kirmān, and in fact founded the largely autonomous Sald̲j̲ūḳ amirate in Kirmān which was to last for nearly a century and a half (see below, II, 4). Other members of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family also received grants: Ibrāhīm Inal or Yinal (who may have been a cousin and half-brother on his mother's side to Ṭog̲h̲rïl but whose precise position within the family is not wholly clear, cf. V. Minorsky, *Äïnallu/Inallu*, in *RO*, xvii [1951-2], 5-6) received Ḳuhistān, and Ḳutlumus̲h̲ (or Ḳutamis̲h̲) b. Arslan Isrāʾīl received Gurgān and Ḳūmis, whilst the sons of Čag̲h̲rï, Yāḳūtī and Alp Arslan, accompanied Ṭog̲h̲rïl westwards at this time.

Over the following years, there was much discontent within the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family over the idea of father-son descent from Čag̲h̲rï to Alp Arslan and then to Malik S̲h̲āh. Already during Ṭog̲h̲rïl's lifetime, Ibrāhīm Inal and two of his nephews had rebelled unsuccessfully against Ṭog̲h̲rïl (451/1059). When Alp Arslan claimed the throne of the whole Sald̲j̲ūḳ dominions in 455/1063, his uncle Ḳutlumus̲h̲ revolted at Sāwa [*q.v.*] in the next year, voicing the old Turkish idea of the seniorate, the right of the eldest suitable male relative to have the supreme leadership; and when Malik S̲h̲āh succeeded to power in 465/1072, his uncle Ḳāwurd rebelled, but was executed at the prompting of Niẓām al-Mulk. As some compensation for the rejection of Ḳutlumus̲h̲'s claim, Alp Arslan deflected the latter's son Sulaymān, together with other Turkmen elements who were imbued with the spirit of plunder and *g̲h̲azw* and who were probably impatient of the increasingly centralised direction of the state, westwards into Anatolia, where new vistas of expansion opened up in the wake of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ victory over the Byzantines in 463/1071 of Malāzgird [*q.v.*]. In this way, there eventually came into being the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultanate of Rūm based on Ḳonya (see below, section III. 5).

Bibliography: A good survey of both primary and secondary sources (to *ca.* 1960) is to be found in the *Bibl.* to Cl. Cahen's art. G̲H̲UZZ; especially to be noted is Cahen's further article *Le Malik-Nameh et l'histoire des origines seljukides*, in *Oriens*, ii (1949), 31-65, which brings together information from the lost *Malik-nāma* (which was probably written for the young prince Alp Arslan shortly after the death of his father Čag̲h̲rï Beg in 452/1060; see also Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 219) preserved in Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, Barhebraeus and Mīrk̲h̲ʷānd. Of additional and/or subsequent secondary sources, see R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*[4], 203 ff.; *İA*, arts. *Oğuzlar* (Faruk Sümer) and *Selçuklular* (Kafesoğlu); W. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia. iii. A history of the Turkman people*, Leiden 1962, 99-102; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 15-23, 42 ff.; M.A. Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu tarihi*. i. *Kuruluş devri*, Ankara 1979; P.B. Golden, in *Camb. hist. of early Inner Asia*, Cambridge 1990, 361 ff.; art. TURKMENS. For chronology and genealogical tables, see Zambaur, *Manuel*, 143-4, 221-2; Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 115-18, 129-31; Leiser, *A history of the Seljuks*, 198-205.

III. The various branches of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs

The history of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ dynasty may now be followed through its component lines as listed above. Only salient events and major trends will be noted; for a detailed treatment of historical events, see the articles on individual sultans and princes and on the various provinces and regions ruled at times by the Sald̲j̲ūḳs.

1. The Great Sald̲j̲ūḳs of Persia and ʿIrāḳ (429-552/1038-1157)

The definitive capture of the former capital of G̲h̲aznawid K̲h̲urāsān, Nīs̲h̲āpūr, took place in 431/1040. Leaving affairs to his brother Čag̲h̲rï (see above, section II), Ṭog̲h̲rïl's main aim now was to expand westwards against the Daylamī and Kurdish princes of northern Persia, making Rayy his temporary capital and base for these operations. The securing of the rich lands of D̲j̲ibāl and the reduction of the Būyids were thus is objectives, with Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and the routes into the Caucasus, Armenia and Anatolia being left to the less-disciplined bands of Turkmens. The civil strife which broke out amongst the sons of the Būyid Abū Kālīd̲j̲ār [*q.v.*] after his death in 449/1048-9 facilitated Ṭog̲h̲rïl's intervention, especially when political chaos in Būyid Bag̲h̲dād seemed likely to lead to a degree of Fāṭimid control over the very capital of the ʿAbbāsids. In 447/1055 Ṭog̲h̲rïl assembled troops in D̲j̲ibāl and at Hamad̲h̲ān and marched on Bag̲h̲dād, ending there the feeble rule of the Būyid al-Malik al-Raḥim. Other Būyid princes survived only as Sald̲j̲ūḳ puppets in Fārs, and by 451/1060 all immediate threats to the ʿAbbāsids had been averted. Ṭog̲h̲rïl now exulted in his role of deliverer of the caliph. He received the honorific titles (*alḳāb* [see LAḲAB]) of *Rukn al-Dawla* and *Malik al-Mas̲h̲riḳ wa 'l-Mag̲h̲rib*, and was formally addressed as *Sulṭān* [*q.v.*] (a title for princes already in informal use, but now raised to the formal level and appearing as such e.g. on Ṭog̲h̲rïl's coins). He put pressure on al-Ḳāʾim to let him marry one of the ʿAbbāsid's daughters, so that the rapprochement between Sald̲j̲ūḳs and ʿAbbāsids, now the secular and spiritual leaders respectively of Sunnism in the central lands of the *Dār al-Islām*, begun by al-Ḳāʾim's marriage with a daughter of Čag̲h̲rï Beg some years before, could further be made closer (for a detailed analysis of this episode, and of Ṭog̲h̲rïl's probable motives, see G. Makdisi, *The marriage of Ṭug̲h̲ril Beg*, in *IJMES*, i [1970], 259-75).

Whilst Ṭog̲h̲rïl was occupied in the west, Čag̲h̲rï, from a base at Marw (which was to remain the Sald̲j̲ūḳ capital in the east up to and including Sand̲j̲ar's time), maintained control over K̲h̲ʷārazm against pressure from Ḳïpčaḳ nomads and a possible revival of Ḳarak̲h̲ānid ambitions their. He and his son Alp Arslan also kept up warfare against the G̲h̲aznawids, who, under Masʿūd's son Mawdūd [*q.v.*], were unreconciled to the loss of their Persian provinces; operations and counter-operations took place in northern Afg̲h̲ānistān during the 430s-440s/1040s-1050s until peace was finally made on the accession of the G̲h̲aznawid sultan Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd in 451/1059, with a division of territories more or less dividing what is modern Afg̲h̲ānistān by a north-south line. It was during these years also that Čag̲h̲rï's son Ḳāwurd set up an amirate of his own in Kirmān (see below, 3), and Sald̲j̲ūḳ suzerainty was extended

over the local maliks in the nearby province of Sīstān.

When the childless Ṭoghrïl died, Čaghrī's son Alp Arslan, who had been governing the province of Khurasān since his father's death, succeeded to the Saldjūḳ sultanate against the claims of another brother, Sulaymān. The great commanders of the Saldjūḳ army, and certainly Alp Arslan's vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, seem to have felt that the interests of the Saldjūḳ family and of their followers—and perhaps even the interests of the Saldjūḳ dominions, if such a sophisticated and prescient attitude may be attributed to their new ruling class—would best be served by a strong, unified rule; hence Alp Arslan became supreme sultan of all the Saldjūḳ lands. His ten years' reign (455-65/1063-73) and the twenty years' one of his son and successor Malik Shāh (465-85/1073-92) mark the zenith of the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate. Both rulers kept control over their far-flung territories by living lives of ceaseless journeying through the lands and campaigning on their borders. The threat of economic dislocation to the agricultural prosperity of Persia was alleviated by the deflection of the Turkmens and their herds westwards, against the Christian princes of the Caucasus and Anatolia and against the Fāṭimids and their allies in Syria, and Alp Arslan attached such importance to these projects that he fought in Georgia and Armenia personally in 456/1064 and 460/1068. Hence during their reigns, Persia and ʿIrāḳ enjoyed considerable agricultural and commercial prosperity.

Behind the two sultans stood the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, whose influence was so marked and all-pervasive in the state that a later historian like Ibn al-Athīr calls his thirty years of office *al-dawla al-Niẓāmiyya*. Alp Arslan never himself visited Baghdād, but the Saldjūḳ presence was upheld there by a *shiḥna* or military governor, usually one of the Turkish commanders in the Saldjūḳ army of slave origin. During his reign, relations with the caliph were on the whole more cordial than they had been in Ṭoghrïl's time and were crowned in 464/1071-2 by the marriage of the sultan's daughter to al-Ḳāʾim's son and heir, the future caliph al-Muḳtadī [*q.v.*]. What gave Alp Arslan a great personal reputation as a Muslim hero was of course his campaign into Anatolia and defeat of the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes at Malāzgird [*q.v.*] in 463/1071, although there are no indications that this was part of an official, systematic programme of aggressive expansionism in Asia Minor; Alp Arslan was probably content to nibble away at the eastern frontiers of Byzantium, and on this occasion confined himself to imposing tribute on Romanus and demanding the retrocession of some formerly Muslim border towns along the Byzantine-Muslim frontier (requirements which the deposition of the Emperor at Constantinople shortly afterwards rendered null and void).

Alp Arslan made Malik Shāh heir to the throne in 458/1066, and on this occasion, mindful of traditional obligations to his family, redistributed various governorships on the eastern fringes of the empire to princes of the Saldjūḳ family. The sultan was concerned to make firm the Saldjūḳ position on the far northeastern fringes of his empire, and several marriage alliances were made with the dominant Turkish power in Transoxania and eastern Turkestan, the Ḳarakhānids; but the granting out of these eastern march lands of the empire as appanages seems to indicate that the Great Saldjūḳs now regarded Persia and ʿIrāḳ as the real centre of gravity of their empire.

Malik Shāh continued and in some ways surpassed the achievements of his father, even though he was still only thirty-seven when he died. Niẓām al-Mulk remained the administrative mainstay of the sultanate, guiding the new, only eighteen-years old, monarch on his accession and hoping to mould him into the ideal of a Perso-Islamic despotic ruler, the image implicit in his treatise on statecraft, the *Siyāsat-nāma*. The vizier aimed at the creation of a centralised administration built around his *dīwān*, but the old Turkish ways and attitudes continued to be significant in regard to the sultan's conception of his own authority and his obligations to his own people, although these ways and attitudes are not always apparent from the exclusively Persian and Arabic sources. Senior members of the Saldjūḳ family were still very much conscious of what they regarded as their rights under steppe and tribal custom. Thus Ḳāwurd, Malik Shāh's uncle, a commander of great experience and *amīr* in Kirmān for a quarter of a century (see below, 3), took military action soon after Malik Shāh's accession in 465/1073 to enforce his claim to supreme power, as he saw it, since he was the senior member of the Saldjūḳ family, a claim grounded in the older, pre-Islamic ways, one which Malik Shāh nevertheless rejected on the grounds of the superiority of father-son descent in the transmission of power, the procedure which was now the norm in the new world of Perso-Islamic governmental tradition. It was the new, professional slave soldier element of Malik Shāh's army which secured for him the victory at Hamadhān over Ḳāwurd, rather than the Turkmen, tribal one, and the Turkmens established in those northern and eastern parts of Persia suitable for pastoral nomadism or transhumance probably now began to feel a certain alienation from what was going on in the sultans' main centres in the west at Hamadhān and Iṣfahān; these discontents were to well up in Khurāsān during the latter part of Sandjar's reign there (see below).

The new sultan was strong enough to exclude the ʿAbbāsid caliph from secular affairs in ʿIrāḳ, but day-to-day relations between the two powers were conducted through their respective viziers. The marriage alliance with the caliphate in 480/1087, when al-Muḳtadī married one of Malik Shāh's daughters, did not bring about the expected harmony, and shortly before he died Malik Shāh set about making Baghdād his winter capital and may even have toyed with the idea of deposing al-Muḳtadī and replacing him with his infant grandson, the offspring of the marriage just mentioned.

Externally, Malik Shāh inherited his father's concern about the northwestern territories, the regions of especial Turkmen concentration, Ādharbāydjān and Arrān, which he placed under his cousin Ismāʿīl b. Yāḳūtī b. Čaghrī's governorship, and he himself led campaigns against Georgia. But the policy of expansion into Anatolia by the sons of Qutlumush b. Arslan Isrāʾīl, Sulaymān and Manṣūr, who by 474/1081 were raiding as far as Iznik and the shores of the Sea of Marmara, was not an official one by the Saldjūḳ sultanate but the result of private enterprise by these cousins of the sultan, acting outside his own sphere of control, an enterprise which he did not necessarily regard with any great approval. Of more pressing importance to Malik Shāh was the upholding of Saldjūḳ authority in al-Djazīra and Syria against the local Arab amirates there, some of which were Shīʿī and therefore possibly pro-Fāṭimid in sentiment. From the Saldjūḳ bases in ʿIrāḳ and Syria (the latter province dominated after 471/1078 by Malik Shāh's brother Tutush, see below, 4), the sultan towards the end of his life secured the *khuṭba* for the ʿAbbāsids from the

venal Sharīfs of Mecca and set about extending Saldjūḳ power down the west coast of Arabia into the Ḥidjāz and to Yemen and down the east coast into al-Aḥsā, projects permanently cut short by his death. At the other end of the empire, Malik Shāh had invaded Transoxania in 466/1073-4 in retaliation for a Ḳarakhānid attack on Ṭukhāristān prompted by Alp Arslan's death. He now in 482/1089 intervened militarily again in Transoxania in order to uphold Saldjūḳ overlordship, at a point when the Ḳarakhānid realm was internally troubled, and he even received the homage of the eastern Ḳarakhānid ruler of Kāshghar. With the Ghaznawids, however, the sultan had to treat on equal terms, arranging marriage links, although there seems to have been, certainly in the spheres of coinage and titulature, a perceptible Saldjūḳ cultural influence in Ghazna at this time.

Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092 marked the end of halcyon days for the Great Saldjūḳs. Instead of that sultan's firm rule, a situation immediately arose involving various young, untried princes and their ambitious mothers, with no wise and restraining hand in the state like that of Niẓām al-Mulk. An attempt by Malik Shāh's widow Terken Khātūn and the enemies of the recently-assassinated Niẓām al-Mulk to place Malik Shāh's four year-old son on the throne as Maḥmūd (I) failed. His older sons Berk-yaruḳ and Muḥammad Tapar, joined by their ambitious uncle Tutush until this latter was defeated and killed by Berk-yaruḳ's troops in 488/1095, now engaged in prolonged warfare with each other over the succession until Berk-yaruḳ died in 498/1105. Muḥammad brushed aside an attempt to raise Berk-yaruḳ's infant son to the throne as Malik Shāh (II), and from his base in Ādharbāydjān was able to succeed to the throne of the united Saldjūḳ dominions of western Persia and ʿIrāḳ, Khurāsān and the east having been placed by Berk-yaruḳ under the governorship of his young half-brother Aḥmad Sandjar (see below). Fortunately for the Saldjūḳs, distracted as they largely were by internal strife, the external frontiers of the empire held firm in these years, for the appearance of the Frankish Crusaders in the Syrian coastlands and the region of the upper Euphrates bend in 1098 and then the next year in Palestine was not felt as a major threat to the Saldjūḳ positions in central Syria and al-Djazīra. But the internecine warfare, affecting western Persia in particular, inevitably affected the personal authority of the contenders, who had to seek military support from the great slave commanders of the army and from the Turkmen begs and their personal followings. As a result, Turkmen principalities now began to take shape in provinces like Khūzistān, Diyār Bakr and al-Djazīra, headed by Turkish atabegs, nominally the tutors and guardians of young Saldjūḳ princes granted these provincial appanages according to the still-influential Turkish conception of a patrimonial share-out of offices and governorships. Not only did the central authority of the state decline in effectiveness, but continual warfare and the need for money to support the rival armies heralded a period of economic and social regression compared with the internal peace of previous reigns. The number of *iḳṭāʿ*s granted out during these years increased perceptibly, and the relaxation of central political control and general uncertainty and stress amongst the populace allowed a radical group of the Shīʿa like the Ismāʿīlīs or Assassins (see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, and add to the *Bibl.* there, F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrine*, Cambridge 1990) to strengthen their grip on various strongholds seized by them towards the end of Malik Shāh's reign in both Syria and Persia (see M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins. The struggle of the early Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs against the Islamic world*, The Hague 1955, 72-98; idem, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 424-51; Daftary, *op. cit.*, 324 ff.).

Muḥammad, undisputed sultan 498-511/1105-18, succeeded in re-asserting a good measure of control over the empire, with action against the Assassins in Djibāl and Daylam, and in 501/1108 he overthrew the Shīʿī Mazyadid *amīr* of Ḥilla in central ʿIrāḳ, Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr [see MAZYAD, BANŪ], thereby gaining the preponderance in ʿIrāḳ. Muḥammad was, indeed, the last Great Saldjūḳ sultan to rule the western parts of the empire with any degree of firmness, having left his brother Sandjar in Khurāsān as his viceroy, with the title of malik. When Muḥammad died, Sandjar was the senior member of the dynasty, and although it had been the practice over some eighty years for the supreme sultanate to be held by the Saldjūḳ who controlled western Persia and ʿIrāḳ, Sandjar's seniority gave him a special standing under Turkish tribal custom. He had first been appointed as governor of Khurāsān by Berk-yaruḳ, and Sandjar's coins minted up to 493/1100 acknowledge Berk-yaruḳ as his suzerain; but after that date, he had transferred his allegiance to Muḥammad (see N.M. Lowick, *Seljuq coins*, in *NC*, 7th ser., vol. x [1970], 244-6). He now assumed the role of supreme sultan, a move which the weaker, quarrelling sons of Muḥammad were unable to oppose, so that Sandjar's name was generally placed on their coins before their own; thus coins minted early in his reign by Maḥmūd (II) b. Muḥammad, sultan in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ (511-25/1118-31), attribute to Sandjar the title *al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam* but simply give Maḥmūd's own name and patronymic.

Aḥmad Sandjar thus became ruler over northern Persia and Khurāsān, whilst his nephew Maḥmūd tried to maintain his authority in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ over his unruly brothers (see below, 2). Sandjar brought Maḥmūd, who was reluctant to acknowledge his uncle's supreme authority, to heel by defeating him in battle near Sāwa [*q.v.*] in 513/1119. Henceforth, Maḥmūd, and then his successors Ṭoghrïl (II) (526-9/1132-4) and Masʿūd (529-47/1134-52), remained clearly his vassals, with the title of sultans but in reality with the status of maliks; only latterly, during the period of Sandjar's preoccupation with affairs in Transoxania and Khᵂārazm, did Masʿūd attain somewhat more freedom of action. Even so, the passage of time and the unprecedented length of Sandjar's rule in the east, first as malik and then as supreme sultan, in general strengthened Sandjar's moral authority within the dynasty.

Sandjar continued the policy of Berk-yaruḳ and Muḥammad by launching attacks on the Ismāʿīlīs of both Daylam and Ḳuhistān after the death in 518/1124 of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, but without seriously affecting these sectarians' power in those localities. He also endeavoured, both as malik and then as sultan, to retain the Saldjūḳ overlordship established beyond the northeastern borders of the Saldjūḳ empire by his father Malik Shāh, who had made the Ḳarakhānids of Transoxania his tributaries. He placed Arslan Khān Muḥammad on the throne in Samarḳand in 495/1102 and confirmed the religious leadership in Bukhārā of the *ṣadrs* of the Āl-i Burhān [see ṢADR AL-ṢUDŪR], but at the end of Arslan Khān's long reign, Sandjar once more appeared at Samarḳand and placed a fresh nominee on the Ḳarakhānid throne. In neighbouring Khᵂārazm, the Turkish Shāhs of the line of Anūshtigīn Gharčaʾī [see KHᵂĀRAZM-SHĀHS] ruled also as

Sandjar's vassals; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Anūshtigin always remained respectful towards the Saldjūḳ sultan, but his son Atsiz had his own ambitions and in 533/1138 rebelled openly against Sandjar's overlordship. The latter led expeditions against him on this and on subsequent occasions, but events were soon to prove that Saldjūḳ resources were overstretched in attempting to keep up any degree of military control beyond the Oxus. More lasting, however, was the assertion of Saldjūḳ suzerainty over, and the communication of a strong Saldjūḳ cultural influence within, the Ghaznawid sultanate in Afghānistān and northern India, when the sultan in 510/1117 placed his protégé Bahrām Shāh on the throne of Ghazna.

The catalyst for the ending of Saldjūḳ influence beyond the Oxus was the appearance within the Islamic lands there of a new power, the pagan Ḳara Khiṭay [*q.v.*] from northern China, who moved against Transoxania, provoking Sandjar to intervene as suzerain of the threatened Ḳarakhānids there. But in a fiercely-fought battle in the Ḳaṭwān steppes to the east of Samarḳand, the Muslim forces were routed by the Ḳara Khiṭay, and Sandjar and the Ḳarakhānid ruler Maḥmūd Khān had to flee southwards to Khurāsān (536/1141).

Sandjar's prestige was badly affected, and the remaining years of his reign were spent in trying to preserve his Khurāsānian possessions at a time when new, aggressive powers, in addition to the Ḳara Khiṭay (who soon showed that they had no ambitions south of the Oxus), were arising in the east, sc. the Khwārazm Shāhs and the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] from central Afghānistān. But it was stresses and discontents within Khurāsān which, despite Sandjar's attempts to stay attuned to Turkmen feeling there (see above, section II), brought his rule there to a dismal and painful end. The expense of warfare in these far eastern lands meant increased taxation demands on the population of Khurāsān, including on the bands there of nomadising Oghuz or Ghuzz. They became increasingly restive under Saldjūḳ financial oppression, until in 548/1153 they burst out into open revolt against the sultan. The province lapsed into chaos and violence, but most disastrously, Sandjar himself was captured by the Ghuzz and kept in close tutelage. He managed to escape only after a lengthy confinement, and shortly afterward died, at the age of seventy-one, in 552/1157. The leaderless commanders of the Saldjūḳ army in Khurāsān had offered the sultanate to the Ḳarakhānid Maḥmūd Khān, who was actually Sandjar's nephew. The then Saldjūḳ sultan in the west, Muḥammad (II) b. Maḥmūd, agreed to this, and it was clear that the *amīrs* of the Saldjūḳ army in Khurāsān regarded effective rule by the Saldjūḳ family there as finished, and in the ensuing years they were to divide out amongst themselves the power in Khurāsān. To contemporaries, it seemed like the end of an epoch, for Sandjar had ruled, as malik and sultan, for over sixty years.

2. The Saldjūḳs of Western Persia and ʿIrāḳ (511-90/1118-94)

The history of this line of sultans follows on from the reign of the last Great Saldjūḳ sultan in the west, Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, but the unity and effectiveness of the sultanate here, briefly re-established by Muḥammad, could not be maintained. His sons and successors include several of mediocre capabilities, but some also of high calibre; yet the conditions in which they endeavoured to exercise their power were now very different from those of forceful rulers like Ṭoghrïl Beg, Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh. Following old Turkish practice of a patrimonial share-out of power, five of Muḥammad's sons contended for mastery in various parts of the realm over the next three or four decades: Maḥmūd, Masʿūd, Ṭoghrïl, Sulaymān Shāh and Saldjūḳ Shāh, all exerting some sort of authority for a while and all but the last actually ruling as sultans. With the succession permanently in dispute, a decisive voice was that of the Turkish atabegs, commanders who were originally attached as tutors to young Saldjūḳ princes sent out as provincial governors but who frequently arrogated to themselves political and military power in these governorships (see ATABAK, and. Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, London 1988, 229-33), and of those *amīrs* who had personal armies and could therefore lend their support to one or other of the contenders. Naturally, this support had its price: the interference of these *amīrs* in central government affairs and the increased alienation of state lands which had to be distributed as *iḳṭāʿ*s in payment to the military. The decay of the once mighty and united sultanate was lamented by contemporaries, and in Maḥmūd's reign, the secretary and historian Anūshirwān b. Khālid [*q.v.*] mourned the situation: "In Muḥammad's reign the kingdom was united and secure from all attacks; but when it passed to his son Maḥmūd, they split up that unity and destroyed its cohesion. They claimed a share with him in the power, and left him only a bare subsistence". He likewise asserts that, by the time of his death in 525/1131, Maḥmūd had got through the treasury of eighteen million dīnārs plus estates, jewels, clothing, etc., left by his father (al-Bundārī, 134-5, 155-6).

The general tendency during these years of civil strife between the sons of Muḥammad was for the sultan to exercise authority in ʿIrāḳ and southern Djibāl, but to have little beyond these regions; thus during Maḥmūd's reign (511-25/1118-31), Ṭoghrïl held northern Djibāl and the Caspian provinces and Maḥmūd was never able to dislodge him, whilst Masʿūd held Ādharbāydjān, Mawṣil and al-Djazīra. Even within ʿIrāḳ, Maḥmūd's position was challenged by local powers there like the Mazyadids and ambitious commanders like ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (see on this last, H.A.R. Gibb, *Zengi and the fall of Edessa*, in *A history of the Crusades*, i, 449-62), so that the Saldjūḳ hold on ʿIrāḳ tended to be confined to the central part only. Anūshirwān b. Khālid, again, noted how Sandjar had appropriated all the northern Persian provinces as *iḳṭāʿ*s, how most of Fārs and Khūzistān was held by Maḥmūd's rival Saldjūḳ Shāh, and how the Mazyadid Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa held much of southern and central ʿIrāḳ, so that the sultan was left with only an exiguous amount of territory from which he could grant *iḳṭāʿ*s to his supporters, and had to resort to arbitrary confiscations (al-Bundārī, 134-5). The preoccupations of the Saldjūḳs within their own territories allowed the Christian Georgians, under the great David "the Restorer", to recover ground in eastern Transcaucasia [see AL-KURDJ]. A longer-term trend was that Saldjūḳ dissensions gave the ʿAbbāsids an opportunity to increase their military effectiveness and secular power during the course of the 6th/12th century, under the forceful rule of such figures as al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-35 [*q.v.*]), al-Muktafī (530-55/1136-60 [*q.v.*]) and, above all, al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225 [*q.v.*]). Their lengthy periods of rule contrasted with the frequent changes in the holders of power within the sultanate, and these caliphs were moreover served by capable viziers such as ʿAwn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayra and his son ʿIzz al-Dīn [see IBN HUBAYRA] dedicated to raising the effectiveness of the

caliphate in the politics of the age. Accordingly, it became more and more difficult for the Saldjūḳs to maintain what they had come to regard as their rights in Baghdād, including the payment of tribute to them by the caliphs and the maintenance of a *shiḥna* within the city. The high points of Saldjūḳ authority at this time were reached in 529/1135, when Masᶜūd b. Muḥammad (529-47/1134-52) defeated the caliph al-Mustarshid outside Hamadhān, soon after which the caliph was mysteriously killed in the sultan's camp; and in 530/1136, when Masᶜūd deposed al-Mustarshid's successor al-Rāshid (529-30/1135-6 [*q.v.*])—who had assembled, but in the end unsuccessfully, a grand coalition of discontented Saldjūḳ princes and Turkish commanders against the sultan—and installed in his stead his uncle al-Muḳtafī. However, the new caliph soon began vigorously to assert his secular rights, to build up his army by purchasing Armenian and Greek slave soldiers and then to defy the sultan. When Masᶜūd died, al-Muḳtafī expelled from Baghdād the Saldjūḳ *shiḥna* and appropriated the sultan's palace and lands there; no representative of the Saldjūḳs were allowed in the capital again.

Ādharbāydjān, where Masᶜūd had maintained himself before achieving the sultanate, passed to the Saldjūḳ prince Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd, from where he made several attempts to secure the sultanate for himself; but by the end of Masᶜūd's reign, power in Ādharbāydjān was monopolised by two Turkish commanders, Eldigüz or Ildeniz [*q.v.*], atabeg of prince Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl (II), and Aḳ Sunḳur Aḥmadīlī [see AḤMADĪLĪS] of Marāgha. The line of Eldigüzids or Ildeñizids [*q.v.*] was to form a significant power in Arrān, most of Ādharbāydjān and parts of Djibāl until the early 7th/13th century: until the death of the last Saldjūḳ of Persia, Ṭoghrïl (III) b. Arslan (590/1194) as theoretical vassals of the Saldjūḳs, but thereafter as a fully-independent if short-lived dynasty. Likewise, Fārs was during Masᶜūd's reign dominated by the Turkish commander Boz Aba, who towards the end of his rule there supported the claims to the sultanate of two of the sons of Maḥmūd, Malik Shāh (III) (547-8/1152-3) and Muḥammad (II) 548-55/1153-60); after this, Fārs became the base for the atabeg dynasty there of the Salghurids [*q.v.*]. Mawṣil and al-Djazīra, a march province against the Frankish County of Edessa and various recalcitrant Turkmen potentates of Syria and southeastern Anatolia, was governed by a Saldjūḳ freedman Aḳ Ṣonḳur al-Bursuḳī [*q.v.*] until 519/1126, but he was the last ruler in this region who could really be described as a dependent of the Saldjūḳs, for the sultans' increasing difficulties were to allow Zangī after 521/1127 to achieve virtual independence there. Indicative of the growing real power of the Atabegs was the appearance of their names on Saldjūḳ coins minted from 511/1118 onwards, i.e. from the accession of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, whereas previously, only the names of the caliph and the sultan had been given on them (cf. Lowick, *Seljuq coins*, 246-50).

With Masᶜūd's death in 547/1152, the Saldjūḳ sultanate of the west entered its final phase of decline; Ibn al-Athīr writes that "with him, the fortunes of the Saldjūḳ family died; after him there was no banner to depend upon or to rally round". This juncture was also, as will be recalled from 1. above, the one when the senior member of the family, Sandjar, was becoming embroiled with the Ghuzz in Khurāsān, hence could give no help to his kinsmen in the west. Trends discernible during the previous three decades were now accentuated. The northwest of Persia remained dominated by the Eldigüzids and Aḥmadīlīs; Armenia and Diyār Bakr were disputed by the atabeg line of the Shāh Armanids of Akhlāṭ and the Ayyūbids [*q.vv.*]; Mawṣil and al-Djazīra were held by the Zangids; Turkmen governors controlled Khūzistān; and the Salghurids strengthened their grip on Fārs, one which was to endure well into Il-Khānid times. The caliph al-Muḳtafī was now the chief power in ᶜIrāḳ, and after 575/1180, al-Nāṣir b. al-Mustaḍīʾ made himself a central figure in the politics and diplomacy of the central Islamic lands; but by now, the main threat to the ᶜAbbāsids came not from the Saldjūḳ sultans but from the vigorous and expanding Khʷārazm Shāhs.

Sultan Masᶜūd left no direct heir so that, as after his father Muḥammad's death, there ensued a series of succession disputes amongst the Saldjūḳ princes with claims to the throne, including his brother Sulaymān Shāh and various of his nephews, none of whom, with the exception of Muḥammad (II) b. Maḥmūd (548-54/1153-9), were of more than mediocre ability. They were all largely dependent on the support of the great Turkish commanders, who used Saldjūḳ claimants as shields for their own personal ambitions and who were often allied by marriage with the Saldjūḳ family; thus Arslan Shāh b. Ṭoghrïl (II) (556-71/1161-76) was the stepson of the atabeg Eldigüz, since the latter had married Ṭoghrïl's widow. The Saldjūḳ family still had a certain amount of *baraka* and prestige in its name, especially in the eyes of their Turkmen tribal followers. The Oghuz of Khurāsān treated the captive Sandjar in a contemptuous and humiliating fashion, but did not apparently ill-treat him, and when in 549/1154-5 the *amīrs* of the Saldjūḳ army in ᶜIrāḳ were trying to rally their forces against the caliph al-Muḳtafī, they brought out from his captivity in the citadel of Takrīt Arslan Shāh b. Ṭoghrïl (II), the future penultimate sultan of the dynasty, in order to inspirit the army and the Turkmens (al-Bundārī, 236-7). But such feelings now began to wear thin.

During his six years or so as sultan, Muḥammad (II) tried energetically to restore the Saldjūḳ position in ᶜIrāḳ, defeating his uncle and rival Sulaymān Shāh and besieging Baghdād (551-2/1157) before illness and death overtook him with his task inaccomplished. The Turkish commanders were at variance over the choice of a successor, for the prestige of the Saldjūk name still demanded a Saldjūḳ prince as nominal supreme ruler in western Persia. In 556/1161 Eldigüz's candidate Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl was installed in the capital Hamadhān, but the caliph al-Mustandjid [*q.v.*] refused to recognise him as sultan, fearing the constituting of a powerful Saldjūḳ-Eldigüzid state which would once again reduce caliphal power. Eldigüz and, after 570/1175, his sons Pahlawān Muḥammad and Ḳïzïl Arslan [*q.vv.*], secured the *khuṭba* for their protégé sultan Arslan in Khurāsān, now ruled by Turkish *amīrs*, and also in Mawṣil and al-Djazīra, by exerting pressure on the Zangids there; the Eldigüzids did indeed dominate the politics of northern Persia and beyond at this time, and were the most effective deterrent to the ambitions of the Khʷārazm Shāhs within Persia.

Arslan not surprisingly chafed under Eldigüzid tutelage. On Eldigüz's death he tried to break away from this, but himself died shortly afterwards, and Pahlawān Muḥammad now set up the last of the Saldjūḳ sultans of Persia, the child Ṭoghrïl (III) b. Arslan (571-90/1176-94). Ṭoghrïl was praised by contemporaries both for his learning and for his martial abilities. On reaching his maturity, Ṭoghrïl attempted, with aid from the Turkish commander in Rayy,

Ḳutlug̲h̲ Inanč Muḥammad, to break away from Ḳïzïl Arslan ʿUt̲h̲mān's grip, but failed and was seized and jailed by the latter, who then claimed the sultanate for himself before he died mysteriously a year later. Ṭog̲h̲rïl was released after two years' incarceration, gathered support in northern Persia and made himself master of Ḏj̲ibāl; but he was unable to prevail against the K̲h̲ʷārazm S̲h̲āh Tekis̲h̲, and in a battle outside Rayy in 590/1194 was defeated and killed. Since the line of Ḳāwurd's descendants in Kirmān had ended only a few years before (see below, 3), this marked the end of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ dynasty in Persia and ʿIrāḳ. The sources note that the dynasty began with a Ṭog̲h̲rïl and ended with a Ṭog̲h̲rïl. The dynasty's demise does not seem to have stirred up any feelings of regret or nostalgia; for almost four decades the sultans had been only one element, and that an increasingly enfeebled one, in the complex pattern of Persian politics on the eve of the twin catastrophes of K̲h̲ʷārazmian and then Mongol invasion.

Bibliography: The bibliography for a century and a half of the history of much of the central and eastern lands of Islam is immense. Detailed reference may be made to the bibls. to the articles on individual sultans, caliphs and atabegs. There are relevant sections in J. Sauvaget, *Introd. à l'histoire de l'Orient musulman*, 140 ff., in Cl. Cahen's English *refonte* and enlargement, *Jean Sauvaget's Introduction to the history of the Muslim East*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1965, 151 ff., and Cahen's *Introd. à l'histoire du monde musulman médiéval VIIᵉ-XVᵉ siècle*, Paris 1982, 149-50. Kosuke Shimizu, *Bibliography on Seljuk studies*, Tokyo 1979, is based on a previous Turkish bibl. *The Index islamicus* of J.D. Pearson *et alii* has items on Sald̲j̲ūḳ history in its sections on Turkey and Persia. Finally, there are extensive bibls. by Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 683-9, and by Leiser, in *A history of the Seljuks*, 190-6; see also the bibl. given above in section I. Hence only some of the main sources specifically bearing on Sald̲j̲ūḳ history will be noted here summarily.

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3. The Sald̲j̲ūḳs of Kirmān (440-582/1048-1186)

After his victory in K̲h̲urāsān, Ṭog̲h̲rïl Beg sent an expedition in 433/1041 to conquer the province of Kirmān, in southeastern Persia, from its Būyid ruler, ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Kālīd̲j̲ār Marzubān [*q.v.*]. This was repulsed, but Sald̲j̲ūḳ rule was imposed on Kirmān, and on the mountain peoples of the southern part of the province, the Ḳufṣ [*q.v.*] and Balūč [see BALŪČISTĀN. A.], by Ḳara Arslan Ḳāwurd in 440/1048. Eventually, this control was extended to the Arabian Sea coast in Makrān, and over the Gulf of Oman to ʿUmān, where a Sald̲j̲ūḳ *s̲h̲iḥna* was installed and suzerainty exerted over the local Arab rulers for nearly eighty years. The varied topography and climatic zones of Kirmān itself were congenial to Ḳāwurd's G̲h̲uzz followers, who were able to practice there a transhumant way of life with their flocks, whilst the slave and other professional soldiers in his forces were granted *iḳṭāʿ*s from the agricultural lands there.

The detailed history of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ amirate which now came into being can be followed in KIRMĀN. History, and only a few general points will be made here. The compact geographical boundaries of the amirate seem to have allowed a greater degree of administrative centralisation within it as compared with the lands of the wider Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultanate in Persia and ʿIrāḳ. Muḥammad S̲h̲āh b. Malik S̲h̲āh of Kirmān (537-51/1142-56) had, according to the local historian Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 29-30, a highly-developed espionage and intelligence system, both within Kirmān and outside, extending as far as K̲h̲urāsān and Iṣfahān. On the whole, and until the chaos of the last decade or so of the amirate's existence, Kirmān enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity. This was helped by the province's position on the trade routes which ran down from K̲h̲urāsān and Central Asia to the Gulf shores, carrying commerce which the *amīrs* themselves, since they drew a substantial income from transit taxes on merchants and from customs dues levied at ports like Tīz in Makrān (see below, section V. 1), encouraged considerably. Thus caravanserais were built and the roads protected against the brigandage of the Ḳufṣ and other lawless elements. During the long rule of Arslan S̲h̲āh (I) b. Kirmān S̲h̲āh (495-537/1101-42) and during that of Bahrām S̲h̲āh b. Ṭoghrïl S̲h̲āh (565-70/1170-5), foreign merchants, including Rūmīs and Indians, established trading colonies in the towns of Kirmān or Bardasīr (the *amīrs*' summer capital) and in Ḏj̲īruft [*q.v.*] (the winter capital) (Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī, *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, Tehran 1311/1932-3, 70-1; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 25-6, 49). It was Arslan S̲h̲āh, one of the outstanding rulers of his family, who, according to Ibn al-Ḏj̲awzī,

in 533/1138-9 sought the mediation of Sultan Masʿūd b. Muḥammad in seeking the hand of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustarshid's widow; he had already cemented links with the main branch of the Saldjūḳs by marrying one of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh's daughters. Indeed, relations with the supreme sultans in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ, and with Sandjar in the east, remained close; at the outset, Ḳāwurd's coins had acknowledged the authority of the ruler of the east, his father Čaghrī Beg, and in general, the Kirmān *amīrs* continued to express their subordination on their coins (see Lowick, *Seljuq coins*, 250-1, and Bulliet, *Numismatic evidence for the relationship between Ṭughril Beg and Chaghrī Beg*, 290-1).

For most of the amirate's existence, its rulers were content to enjoy their own province, but on certain occasions the *amīrs* endeavoured to extend their military power or their diplomatic activities beyond the boundaries of Kirmān. It was Ḳāwurd's army which in 454/1062 entered the neighbouring province of Fārs, defeated the Shabānkāraʾī Kurdish chief Faḍlūya there and ended the rule of the nominal rulers of Fārs, the Būyids; Fārs now became part of Ṭoghrïl Beg's sultanate, although Saldjūḳ control was not finally made firm until Faḍlūya was captured and killed in 461/1069. Ḳāwurd's own claim to the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate, as senior member of the family after Alp Arslan's death, and his resultant bid for power, have been mentioned above in 1. Arslan Shāh in 508/1114-15 invaded Fārs, then under the Turkish commander, on behalf of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, Čawuli Saḳāʾū, and also intervened at one point in a succession dispute at Yazd involving the vassal governor of the Saldjūḳs there, the Daylamī ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Garshāsp [see KĀKŪYIDS].

Many of Kirmān's historic contacts were with the lands further east; in previous times Kirmān had formed part of such military empires as those of the Ṣaffārids (later 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries) and of the Ghaznawids (early 5th/11th century). In the succession dispute of 510-12/1117-18 between the Ghaznawids Arslan Shāh and his brother Bahrām Shāh, the latter appealed to Arslan Shāh of Kirmān for help; but Arslan Shāh preferred to leave a situation which came more within Sandjar's sphere of interest (the dispute was in fact resolved by Sandjar's military support at Ghazna for Bahrām Shāh's candidature). At some date unspecified by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, Ḳāwurd sent his son Amīrān Shāh with an army into Sīstān, although at this time Sīstān was attached, as a vassal state, to the Great Saldjūḳs controlling Khurāsān, to Ṭoghrïl's brother Mūsā Bīghū or Payghū and shortly afterwards to Čaghrī's son Yāḳūtī, and then in the next century, to Sandjar.

The events of the last years of the Saldjūḳ amirate in Kirmān were in many ways a replica of what had already happened in the Saldjūḳ lands of western Persia and Khurāsān. In a period of short-reigning *amīrs*, especially after 565/1170, the Saldjūḳ princes in Kirmān fell under the control of slave commander atabegs, such as Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān, the former atabeg of Ṭoghrïl Shāh b. Muḥammad (I) Shāh b. Arslan Shāh. The warfare which raged between the contenders for power devastated the countryside of Kirmān and imposed new financial burdens on its people. Added to this, from 575/1179-80 onwards, Kirmān was afflicted by fresh bands of Oghuz tribesmen deflected southwards from Khurāsān by the fighting there between the Khwārazm Shāhs and the Ghūrids, and these bands brought further ruin to agriculture and trade, bringing about severe famine in towns like Bardasīr. Finally, in 582/1186, the Oghuz leader Malik Dīnār took over the province from the last Saldjūḳ *amīr*, Muḥammad (II) Shāh b. Bahrām Shāh, who fled and ultimately entered the service of the Ghūrids. This event came only eight years before the end also of the Saldjūḳ sultanate in Western Persia; only in Anatolia did the Saldjūḳs now remain as rulers.

Bibliography: In addition to the general primary sources for Saldjūḳ history listed in 2. above (Rāwandī, Bundārī, Ḥusaynī, Ibn al-Athīr, etc.), Kirmān is especially well served for this period by its quite abundant local histories, in particular, by Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī's *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā li 'l-mawḳif al-aʿlā* and his *Badāyiʿ al-zamān fī waḳāyiʿ Kirmān*, but also by what is in effect a special history of the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's *Taʾrīkh-Saldjūḳiyān-i Kirmān*. For full details, see the *Bibl.* to KIRMĀN.

Of secondary sources, see M.Th. Houtsma, *Zur Geschichte der Selǵuqen von Kermân*, in *ZDMG*, xxxix (1885), 362-410 (essentially a résumé of Houtsma's own edition of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm); Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 58-60, 87-90, 117, 173-4; Erdoğan Merçil, *Kirman Selçukları*, Istanbul 1980.

4. The Saldjūḳs of Syria (471-511/1078-1117)

The Turkmen bands which had come westwards with the Saldjūḳ brothers went mainly towards Armenia, the Caucasus and Anatolia, but others of them infiltrated the regions of Diyār Bakr and the upper part of al-Djazīra. Already in the later part of Ṭoghrïl's reign, Turkmens had reached Malaṭya. In the 1060s they were harrying the countryside around Edessa (Urfa or al-Ruhā [*q.v.*]), and Alp Arslan, during the course of his campaign against the Byzantines, attacked the city in spring 453/1071, and it may have accepted the nominal suzerainty of the Saldjūḳ sultan; over the next three decades, until the arrival of the Frankish Crusaders, Edessa was to be attacked by various Turkmen commanders, including the Saldjūḳ prince Tutush and the Artuḳid Sukman of Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Mārdīn (see J.B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'*, Oxford 1970, 220 ff.).

The Saldjūḳ sultans came to attach importance to Syria as the westwards extension of the position which they had established for themselves since Ṭoghrïl's time in Mawṣil and the southern parts of al-Djazīra, but most of all because it was a march province between themselves, the champions of Sunnī orthodoxy as they saw themselves, and their Shīʿī opponents and rivals, the Fāṭimids. Syria was a region of great fragmentation, politically, ethnically and confessionally, with a strong local strain of Shīʿism amongst the Muslim Arab tribes and principalities there; the First Crusade was shortly afterwards to take advantage of these political, tribal and sectarian divisions.

In the second half of the 5th/11th century, the Fāṭimids' hold on southern Syria and Palestine was progressively reduced, until by the time of appearance of the Franks, they held only some fortresses on the Palestinian and Lebanese coasts. This rolling-back of Fāṭimid control from inland Syria and Palestine was in part the work of various Turkmen commanders despatched there by the Great Saldjūḳs, and in part that of Turkmen begs and their flocks, allowed to infiltrate Syria and act on their own initiative. This last was the case with the tribal beg Atsïz b. Uvak [*q.v.*], who first, in 463/1071, entered southern Syria and Palestine at the invitation of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*], who hoped to use him as a counterforce against the rebellious Bedouin Arab tribesmen

of the region. Atsïz tried to set up a Turkmen principality of his own there but, having fallen out with the Fāṭimids, whose army besieged him in Damascus, he had to appeal for aid to the Saldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh. The latter in fact decided to allot central and southern Syria and Palestine as an appanage for his brother Tutush [*q.v.*]; once Tutush arrived in Syria, he lifted the siege of Damascus but executed his potential rival Atsïz (471/1078).

Tutush then began an amirate in Syria which lasted for seventeen years (471-88/1078-95). Northern Syria, with its strategically-placed centre of Aleppo, had been controlled by the Arab Mirdāsids [see MIRDĀS, BANŪ], latterly in full decline, and replaced after 472/1080 by the Saldjūḳs' vassal, the ʿUḳaylid Muslim b. Ḳuraysh [see ʿUKAYLIDS]. Disputes over possession of Aleppo between Tutush and the Saldjūḳ leader of raids into Rūm, Sulaymān b. Ḳutulmush (see below, 5), which ended in Sulaymān's defeat and death in battle in 479/1086, led to Malik Shāh's coming west from Iṣfahān personally with a large army in order to impose order in Syria. He occupied Aleppo and appointed various of his commanders as governors: Bozan in Edessa, Yaghï Siyan in Antioch, Aḳ Sonḳur in Aleppo and northern Syria, and the Turkmen beg Artuḳ in Jerusalem. Al-Djazīra and Syria were thus firmly brought within the supreme sultan's control, with Tutush's authority confined to central and southern Syria. All these local governors and Tutush were ordered to conduct operations against the coastal areas of the Levant, where petty rulers like Ibn ʿAmmār of Tripoli [see ʿAMMĀR, BANŪ] still enjoyed virtually undisturbed power.

The death of Malik Shāh in 485/1092 enabled Tutush to put forward his claim, as the most experienced of the surviving sons of Alp Arslan, to the supreme Saldjūḳ sultanate. He proclaimed himself sultan at Damascus, managed to kill Aḳ Sonḳur and Bozan, and extended his military power over all Syria and al-Djazīra, preparing to march eastwards into Persia against Malik Shāh's successor Berk-yaruḳ (see above, 1). But a majority of the great Turkish commanders—doubtless hoping to achieve a greater role in the state under the youthful Berk-yaruḳ than under the mature Tutush—eventually rallied to Berk-yaruḳ, and Tutush was defeated and killed near Rayy (Ṣafar 488/February 1095).

Berk-yaruḳ was never, however, able to exert his authority in the lands west of ʿIrāḳ, and Tutush's two sons Riḍwān and Duḳāk, encouraged by the latter's atabeg Ṭughtigin [*q.v.*], a former slave commander of Tutush's, succeeded to their father as maliks in Syria at Aleppo and Damascus respectively, refusing to recognise Berk-yaruḳ as sultan and making the *khuṭba* in Syria in their own names. The reigns of both of these princes largely coincided with the arrival in the Levant of the First Crusade, which injected a new element into the already complex political and dynastic rivalries in Syria.

Duḳāḳ (488-97/1095-1104) remained for all of his reign very much in the shadow of Ṭughtigin, who was not only his atabeg but also his stepfather, since Tutush had given Duḳāḳ's mother in marriage to Ṭughtigin. From the outset, Riḍwān (488-507/1095-1113 [*q.v.*]) was at odds with his brother and with Ṭughtigin, and in 489/1096 or the following year, the two sides clashed in battle near Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*], Riḍwān having secured troop reinforcements from the Fāṭimids. Duḳāḳ and Yaghï Siyan were decisively defeated, and had to agree to placing Riḍwān's name in the *khuṭbas* of Damascus and Antioch before their own. When the Crusaders besieged Yaghï Siyan in Antioch, Duḳāḳ and Ṭughtigin sent soldiers to reinforce an army sent by the supreme sultan Berk-yaruḳ, but failed to save the city (henceforth the centre of the Latin Principality of Antioch), and Riḍwān himself was soon afterwards defeated by the Franks. Duḳāḳ died in 497/1104, and Ṭughtigin simply replaced him at Damascus by Duḳāḳ's young brother Ertash or Begtash, until shortly afterwards Ṭughtigin dispensed with them and assumed both *de jure* and *de facto* power. With this, Saldjūḳ rule in Damascus ended.

Although there were local, temporary alliances amongst the Turkish and Arab princes of Syria and Palestine against the Crusaders, the irreconcilable division between Riḍwān and Ṭughtigin had allowed the Franks to continue their march southwards to Jerusalem and beyond. Damascus, a firmly Sunnī city and the bastion of orthodoxy in Syria, was, under the skilful rule of Ṭughtigin, able to withstand pressure from the Crusaders, and Ṭughtigin went on to found his own short-lived Turkish dynasty there, the Börids [see BŪRIDS]; before his death in 522/1128, he had in 509/1116 been reconciled to the Saldjūḳ sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad and had been appointed governor for the Saldjūḳs over Syria.

After Duḳāḳ's death, the Aleppo branch of the Saldjūḳs of Syria had nevertheless another decade of life under Riḍwān. This last was in a more difficult position than his brother had been in Damascus. Aleppo was more exposed to Frankish attacks, both from the nearby County of Edessa and also from the Crusaders in the west Syrian Levantine coastlands. His willingness to use the Ismāʿīli or Assassin elements within Aleppo as his allies, in the often desperate situations in which he found himself, gave him a tainted reputation amongst the orthodox Muslims. Conscious of his weak position, he tried to avoid warfare if the risks were too high and, if necessary, to buy off the Crusader princes. He was perfectly prepared to ally with the Franks in the complex, petty rivalries of the north Syrian region, as in 501/1108, when he allied with Tancred of Edessa and Antioch against the lord of Mawṣil, the Saldjūḳ commander Čawuli Saḳāʾū and the latter's ally, the dispossessed Baldwin of Edessa; and when, later, Mawdūd of Mawṣil and Ṭughtigin organised an *djihād* against the Crusaders, Riḍwān sent only a small, token force.

Riḍwān died in 507/1113, and was succeeded briefly by his young sons Alp Arslan (507/1113) and Sulṭān Shāh (508-17/1114-23), the latter under the tutelage of the Artuḳids Il Ghāzī and then Nūr al-Dawla Balak, control of Aleppo falling after 517/1123 to Aḳ Ṣonḳor al-Bursuḳī. The Saldjūḳ sultans in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ thus no longer had any influence in Syrian affairs, and relations between ʿIrāḳ and Syria were henceforth to be the responsibility of autonomous, former Saldjūḳ commanders like Aḳ Sonḳur al-Bursuḳī and ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī. The long-term effect of direct Saldjūḳ interest in Syria, from the middle years of the 5th/11th century onwards for roughly half-a-century, had been to introduce the new element of Turkmen begs and their tribesmen, and in their followings, a number of Kurds also, into what had previously been a predominantly Semitic land; henceforth, the region became even more ethnically varied.

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; Ibn al-Furāt; Ibn ʿAsākir; Ibn al-Djawzī; Ibn al-ʿAdīm; Ibn al-Athīr. For a detailed survey of the Arabic sources, see Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque*, Paris 1940, introd. on the sources, 35-49.

Of secondary sources, see H.A.R. Gibb, *The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades ... from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisī*, London 1932, introd.; Cahen, *La Syrie du nord*, parts 1 and 2; idem, *The Turkish invasions: the Selchükids*; in *A history of the Crusades*, i; Kafesoğlu, *A history of the Seljuks*, tr. Leiser; Ali Sevim, *Suriye ve Filistin Selçukları tarihi*, Ankara 1983.

5. The Saldjūḳs of Rūm (*ca.* 483-707/*ca.* 1081-1307)

It is soon after Alp Arslan's victory at Malāzgird (see above, section III. 1) that we hear of the activities in Anatolia of the four sons of Ḳutalmïsh or Ḳutlumush b. Arslan Isrāʾīl, and the descendants of one of these sons, Sulaymān, were to found in central Anatolia the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm based on Iconium or Konya [*q.v.*]. As noted above (*loc. cit.*), and *pace* the views of some modern Turkish nationalist historians, these activities seem to have been purely acts of individual enterprise, although later official historiography promoted by the Saldjūḳs of Rūm in the 7th/13th century asserted that the Great Saldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh had, on his accession, personally bestowed the land of Rūm on his cousins, the sons of Ḳutalmïsh. In fact, these last seem earlier to have been under official Saldjūḳ surveillance, and only managed to escape to the safety of the fluid, governmentally uncontrolled Anatolian frontiers after Alp Arslan's death. Official disapproval continued under Malik Shāh, who had Manṣūr b. Ḳutalmïsh killed, and although Sulaymān escaped, he was later killed in battle, contending with his kinsman Tutush for control of Aleppo in 479/1086.

Meanwhile, Turkmen bands had been operating within Asia Minor, raiding as far as the shores of the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean, so that Sulaymān had reached Nicaea or Iznik in the far north-west of the land, and it is from this time that one may roughly date the beginnings of a Saldjūḳ principality in Anatolia. After Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092, Sulaymān's son Ḳïlïč Arslan I (485-500/1092-1107) managed to escape from captivity and was raised to the leadership of the Turkmens on northwestern Anatolia, only moving his capital to Konya after the Frankish armies of the First Crusade recaptured Nicaea in 1097. Malik Shāh had not had any definite plan for the overrunning of Anatolia. He did, however, regard himself as head of all the Turks, and wished to control the Turkmens, the most anarchically-inclined of his people, and in pursuit of this had been prepared to make an agreement with the Byzantine Emperor Alexis Comnenus, whose empire was being threatened by the Turkmens' depredations.

The infant Saldjūḳ principality in Konya was only one of several Turkmen *beyliks* which now took shape in central and eastern Anatolia, such as the Saltuḳids [see SALTUḲ OGHULLARÏ] in Erzerum, the Mengüdjekids [see MENGÜČEK] in Erzincan and other towns of the east, the Shāh Armanids [*q.v.*] of Sökmen's line in Akhlāṭ to the west of Lake Van and the Artuḳids [*q.v.*] in Diyārbakr. The most serious rival, because geographically closest to the Saldjūḳs, was the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] of north-central Anatolia, who controlled the northerly route across the land via Sivas, Kayseri and Ankara, and who after 529/1134-5 enjoyed the title of *Malik* bestowed on them by the ʿAbbāsid caliph for their zeal in *ghazw* against the Byzantines.

When Ḳïlïč Arslan I was killed in battle, there was a temporary division of the Saldjūḳ lands. The appearance of the First Crusaders and a re-assertion of Byzantine power, plus the policy of containment of the Turkmens applied on their western frontier by the Great Saldjūḳ sultans in Persia and ʿIrāḳ, had meant that the various Turkish groups in Anatolia were confined to the interior of Asia Minor. There was some occasional cooperation between the Saldjūḳ of Rūm Rukn al-Dīn Masʿūd I b. Ḳïlïč Arslan I (510-51/1117-56) and the Dānishmendids against such foes as the Byzantines and the Armenians of Cilicia and Little Armenia, but after the death of the Dānishmendid Muhammad b. Gümüshtigin in 536/1142, the Saldjūḳs gradually secured the preponderance in central Anatolia. Masʿūd fought off only with difficulty a Byzantine attack on Konya led by Manuel I Comnenus (541/1147), being saved by the Emperor's receiving news of the appearance further west of the Second Crusade. Masʿūd's son ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḳïlïč Arslan II (551-*ca.* 581/1156-*ca.* 1185) secured revenge by inflicting a severe defeat on Manuel's army at the pass of Myriocephalon near Lake Eğridir in 572/1176, thereby preventing a further attack on the capital. Myriocephalon was as significant in its long-term effects as Malāzgird had been. The Frankish-Byzantine project for the recovery of Anatolia collapsed and Greek hopes of such a reconquest faded, a process to be sealed by the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Fourth Crusaders and the reduction of Byzantine control over Anatolia to the region around Nicaea and the principality of Trebizond. The Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm and the general Turkish presence were now an inassailable reality and could not be regarded in any way as temporary. In practice, as with Alp Arslan after Malāzgird, Ḳïlïč Arslan II's policy towards the Greeks was restrained and moderate, and he seems to have been content with the aim of uniting all the Turks of central and eastern Anatolia under his own rule rather than with dealing further direct blows at the Byzantine empire.

Neither the Muslim nor the Byzantine sources are very informative about the question of Saldjūḳ titulature and monarchical practices at this time. Greek writers had accorded the title of "sultan" to Sulaymān in the later 5th/11th century, but this can only have reflected an informal usage by Sulaymān's Turkmen followers, for neither the Great Saldjūḳ sultan not the ʿAbbāsid caliph can have bestowed it on him. Writers of the 6th/12th century seem to have described the rulers in Konya as *Malik*s more often than as sultans, but it is difficult to discern what the relationship between the two titles was at this time. From coins and inscriptions, and from some quasi-official documents, we know that Ḳïlïč Arslan II called himself "Sultan of the Arabs and the ʿAdjam", the latter term clearly implying the Turks rather than the Persians (as in traditional, earlier usage) and, latterly, "Sultan of the land of Rūm, and of the Armenians, Franks and Syria" (the Saldjūḳs referred to their land at this time, at least in informal usage, as Rūm, and themselves as the Saldjūḳs of Rūm; see RŪM. 2). The title of *Ghāzī*, employed by the Dānishmendids and the eastern Anatolian Turkmen princes, is absent amongst the Saldjūḳs. Like the Great Saldjūḳs of the 6th/12th century, young members of the Rūm Saldjūḳs had Atabegs at their sides, and these are still found—although little is known of them beyond their names—in the 7th/13th century; but the office never acquired in Rūm the importance, with its potentialities for seizure of *de facto* power in the state, which it did in the Saldjūḳ dominions further east.

A further consequence of the Myriocephalon victory was that it eventually opened up for the Saldjūḳs the way towards the Mediterranean shores and the

ports of Antalya (seized by Kay Khusraw I in 601/1207) and Alanya (named ʿAlāʾiyya after the sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubādh I, 616-34/1220-37). Also, towards the end of the 6th/12th century the Turkmen *amīr* of Tokat captured Samsun [see ṢAMṢŪN], thus bringing Turkish arms to the Black Sea shores, and this was followed by the conquest of Sinope [see SĪNŪB] by ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs I (608-16/1211-20) from the Trebizond Comneni in 611/1214. Hence whereas the Turkish powers of Anatolia had been essentially landlocked and confined to the interior plateau, they now had access to the seas. For the Saldjūḳs, this was to mean exploitation of their position athwart the north-south trade routes of Anatolia and trade relations with the Venetians—enemies of the Byzantines—in Antalya, so that the sultanate benefited from Venetian trade with Alexandria. Commerce between the Black Sea ports and the great Crimean entrepôt of Sughdāḳ tended to be controlled by the Greek principality of Trebizond, but from 1225 to 1239, the date of the definitive conquest of South Russia and the Crimea by the Mongols of the Golden Horde [see BATU], Kay Ḳubādh I was able, through Kastamonu and the Black Sea ports, to establish his suzerainty in Sughdāḳ [*q.v.* and ḲIRIM].

Towards the end of his life, in one of the periodic recrudescences of the old Turkish principle of patrimonial division, Ḳilič Arslan II divided his kingdom amongst his ten sons and some other male relatives, allotting various towns to each of them. Not surprisingly, a period of succession disputes and weakness ensued over the next two decades. In 1190 the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and his Crusading army plundered Konya whilst Ḳilič Arslan took refuge in the citadel. But the crisis in the state was surmounted by the opening of the 7th/13th century, and the first forty years of this century were to mark the apogee of the sultanate under such rulers as Kay Kāwūs I and Kay Ḳubādh I. For half a century there was peace with Byzantium, the result of an agreement between Kay Kāwūs I and Theodore Lascaris, and the Saldjūḳs henceforth concentrated their military efforts on the eastern frontiers, in Cilicia, Syria, al-Djazīra, and against Trebizond. But these eastern fringes of Anatolia were now in fact becoming threatened by the expansionism of the Khʷārazm Shāhs [*q.v.*]. The Khʷārazmians first appeared in eastern Anatolia in 623/1226, leading Kay Ḳubādh I to ally with the Ayyūbids of Syria and Diyārbakr, equally menaced. The Saldjūḳ sultan was now at the height of his power, as undisputed master of most of Anatolia and suzerain of the surrounding smaller Christian Greek, Armenian and Georgian states; the financial and artistic resources which he could command for building purposes and the splendour of his manner of life are seen in the many palaces which he constructed, such as the Ḳubādhābād palace on Lake Beyşehir and the Kay Ḳubādhiyya one near Kayseri [*q.vv.*], both only now being excavated properly.

The Mongols appeared in eastern Anatolia in 640/1242-3 at a time when the Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw II had only just with difficulty quelled the prolonged rebellion in eastern and northern Anatolia, which had started in 638/1240, of a Turkish popular holy man, Baba Isḥāḳ, who claimed to be a prophetic messenger (*rasūl*) [see BĀBĀʾĪ, and below, section IV. 2]. Kay Khusraw II (634-44/1237-46) was distinctly less capable than his predecessors, but he assembled an army which included, as well as his own troops, Armenians, Greeks and Franks; however, he was defeated by the Mongol commander Baydju at Köse Dagh [*q.v.*] in the region of Sivas (641/1243). Although the Mongols allowed the sultan to retain his throne in Konya, it was as a vassal of the Mongols liable to heavy tribute. There was subsequently dissent within the client Saldjūḳ state when the dead Kay Khusraw II's throne was disputed by the officials and commanders supporting his minor sons. Only in 659/1261 did Rukn al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs II establish a certain measure of power in Konya. But until his execution in 676/1277 by the Il Khānid Abaḳa after a Mongol defeat at the hands of the invading Mamlūk army of Baybars of Egypt and Syria, real power in the Saldjūḳ state was exercised by the *Parwāna* Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān [*q.v.*], son of a former vizier of the Saldjūḳs, who worked closely with the Mongols and endeavoured to reduce tensions between incoming Turco-Mongol soldiers and the established Turkmen groups of Anatolia. His death marks the end of semi-independence for the sultans in Konya, for the Il Khānids now resorted to direct rule through their own alien Persian and Turco-Mongol official and commanders. The Saldjūḳ military forces were disbanded, to swell the ranks of malcontents and bandits throughout the Anatolian countryside.

Specifically Perso-Mongol institutions and practices were now introduced into Anatolia, in particular, fiscal ones (see below, section V. 2). Mongol taxation in Anatolia was undoubtedly heavy, but there was nevertheless little perceptible adverse effect on the general economic and commercial well-being of the area, with agricultural production and external trade remaining buoyant and with a continued endowment and construction of public and charitable buildings (see below, sections V. 2, and VI. 2).

The Il Khāns led various expeditions into Anatolia to quell local rulers such as the Ḳaramānids [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARĪ] and Ashrafids [see ASHRAF-OGHULLARĪ] and other unrest, and to reassert Mongol financial demands, such as the expedition of Gaykhatu in 690-1/1291-2 which spread terror and devastation throughout southern Anatolia as far west as Menteshe [see MENTESHE-ELI] and the Aegean Sea coastlands. Various ambitious Turco-Mongol commanders within Anatolia also led revolts, contributing to a general atmosphere of disintegration and tyrannical rule. The *fainéant* Saldjūḳ sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubādh III was executed by Ghazan Khān [*q.v.*] in 702/1303, and the sultanate disappeared, in obscure circumstances, in 707/1307. It was only after a period of control by the Il Khānids' commanders of the Čobanid family [see ČŪBĀNIDS] that Anatolia eventually emerged into the age of the *beyliks*, with a fragmentation of *ṭawāʾif* or petty principalities comparable to those in 5th/11th-century Muslim Spain.

Some descendants of the Rūm Saldjūḳs seem to have survived into later times. One Ḳilič Arslan b. Luṭfī b. Sawčī, possibly a Saldjūḳ, governed Alanya in the 1460s before the Ottoman annexation of 876/1471; and a later Ottoman historian, ʿĀlī, says that after the deposition of the last Saldjūḳ Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd III, Ghazan granted Sinope to a Saldjūḳ prince, Ghāzī Čelebi, who became active from there against the Greeks of Trebizond and the Genoese in the Black Sea.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. See the bibl. to the *EI*[1] art. SELDJŪḲS, brought up to date by that in Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey. A general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071-1330*, London 1968, revised Fr. version, *La Turquie pré-Ottomane*, Istanbul 1988. Of special importance are the histories of the Anatolian authors Ibn Bībī, Aḳsarāyī's *Musāmarat al-akhbār* and the anonymous *Taʾrīkh-i āl-i Saldjūḳ*, plus the supplementary infor-

mation from Arabic, other Persian, Greek, Armenian and Syriac sources. Still valuable is M.F. Köprülü's extended survey of sources in *Anadolu Selçukları tarihi'nin yerli kaynakları*, in *Belleten*, vii (1943), 379-522, now more easily accessible in an Eng. tr. and with valuable updating and further references by G. Leiser, *The Seljuks of Anatolia, their history and culture according to local Muslim sources*, Salt Lake City 1992.

2. Studies. Cahen, *op. cit.*; S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the eleventh through the fifteenth century*, Berkeley, etc. 1971; Osman Turan, ch. *Anatolia in the period of the Seljuks and the Beyliks*, in *Camb. hist. Islam*, Cambridge 1970, i, 231-50; idem, *Selçuklar zamanında Türkiye. Siyâsi tarih Alp Arslan'dan Osman Gazi'ye 1071-1318*, Istanbul 1971; A.G.C. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East: its relations with the Seljuk sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols A.D. c. 1192-1237*, Thessalonike 1981; G. Leiser (tr. and ed.), *A history of the Seljuks. İbrahim Kafesoğlu's interpretation and the resultant controversy*, Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill. 1988, 67-78. See also ANADOLU (iii) (i) on the course of the first Turkish conquests there, and the arts. on the individual sultans, KAY KĀWŪS I-II; KAY KHUSRAW I-III; KAY ĶUBĀDH I-III; ĶILĪDJ ARSLAN I-IV. For the chronology and genealogical connections of the Saldjūķ sultans of Rūm, see C.E. Bosworth, *The new Islamic dynasties*, ch. XI, no. 102.

IV. Intellectual and religious history

1. In Persia and ʿIrāķ

The territories of the Great Saldjūķs and their successors here formed a mighty empire, of an extent not seen since the heyday of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, that century between 750 and 850 A.D. As heads of this empire, the Saldjūķ rulers in the second half of the 5th/11th century came to a working arrangement with the caliphs of their time which involved an affirmation of the caliph as the moral and spiritual head of the orthodox Sunnī community but which also incorporated the sultanate as the executive arm of the ideal Islamic government. The two were interconnected, for whilst the sultan derived, under the *sharīʿa*, his ruling authority from the caliph, the latter recognised that the sultanate provided the restraining and coercive power, Ibn Khaldūn's *wāziʿ*, which alone could bring about stability in civil government and thus enable the subjects to live the good Muslim life in the present world and to achieve salvation in the next. It was to be the task of al-Ghazālī, in particular—a man whose whole career was spent during the halcyon decades of Saldjūķ power—to establish the theoretical bases for this relationship and partnership between caliph and sultan (see L. Binder, *Al-Ghazali's theory of Islamic government*, in *MW*, xlv [1955], 229-41).

The orthodox Sunnism which al-Ghazālī represented was thus the religious force behind the Saldjūķ ideal of government. Now that the Shīʿī Būyids had been overthrown, Sunnism had behind it the full support of the Saldjūķ ruling authority in the ʿIrāķī and Persian lands, and it was at this time a vital, intellectually far-ranging force, uniting within itself many stimulating curents of thought. Thus although Muʿtazilism [see MUʿTAZILA] was in the end successfully challenged by what became the Ashʿarī and, later, the Māturīdī forms of *kalām* or dogmatic theology and argumentation, it still retained some strength amongst Sunnī scholars in Baghdād and in the eastern parts of the empire, notably Khurāsān, as also in Khwārazm and Transoxania, as well as influencing some strains of Shīʿism. In addition to this, Sunnī orthodoxy was represented within the Saldjūķ dominions by the traditionalist Ḥanbalism and, much more widely, by the two orthodox theological systems of the Ashʿarī and then the Māturīdī *kalām*, mentioned above, whose counterparts in the sphere of law or *fiķh* tended to be the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī *madhhabs*, although the correspondence was not always an exact one, and the various *madhāhib* did not necessarily have ties to any particular theological school; George Makdisi has pointed out that Ashʿarism was not coterminous with Shāfiʿism and that there were Shāfiʿī opponents of the Ashʿarī *kalām*, though such opposition was obviously not so violent as e.g. amongst the Ḥanbalīs (see his *Ashʿarī and the Ashʿarites in Islamic religious history*, in *SI*, xvii [1962], 37-80, xviii [1963], 19-39; he also makes the general point here that the strength and importance of Ashʿarism in the historical development of Islamic theology has in any case been exaggerated). Shāfiʿism-Ashʿarism, which gave especial emphasis to tradition, *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*, and see ASHʿARIYYA], in the formation of law and theology, became implanted at Nīshāpūr in the early 5th/11th century through the efforts of certain famous *mutakallimūn* like Ibn Fūrak [*q.v.*], as part of a general eastwards expansion into Persia by Shāfiʿism in the 4th/10th century. Ḥanafism, with its greater emphasis on rationalism in the evolution of *fiķh* [see ḤANAFIYYA] had early become dominant in Persia, spreading to Sāmānid Transoxania, and remaining entrenched in such northern Persian centres as Rayy. During the Saldjūķ period it had the great advantage of support from the Turkish ruling establishment, above all, from such sultans as Ṭoghril Beg and Alp Arslan, who were especially fervent proponents of Ḥanafism. They pursued deliberate policies of appointing Ḥanafī *imāms*, *ķāḍīs* and *khaṭībs* wherever possible within their dominions, and of curbing the Shāfiʿīs; it was not until after Alp Arslan's death that the Ashʿarī-Shāfiʿī vizier Niẓām al-Mulk was able cautiously to promote his own favoured party and to endeavour to redress the balance somewhat in favour of the Ashʿarīs and Shāfiʿīs (see for the effects of this policy in one place, R.W. Bulliet, *The political-religious history of Nishapur in the eleventh century*, in D.S. Richards (ed.), *Islamic civilisation 950-1150*, Oxford 1973, 85-8). Ḥanbalism during the Saldjūķ period was essentially centred on Baghdād and Damascus (the latter city, of course, only directly ruled by the Saldjūķs for some forty years, see above, section III. 4). It had been strengthened in the century preceding Ṭoghrïl Beg's appearance in the ʿAbbāsid capital through its rôle as the focus there for Sunnī opposition to the Būyids' pro-Shīʿī measures [see ḤANĀBILA]. After 447/1061 it had to compete there with other forms of Sunnism, such as the Shāfiʿism-Ashʿarism taught from the Baghdād *madrasa* or college founded by Niẓām al-Mulk in 459/1067 (see further on this, below), and with Muʿtazilism and Ṣūfī mysticism. But it produced one of the greatest theologico-political figures of Baghdād's history, Ibn ʿAķīl (d. 513/1119 [*q.v.*]), and in the 6th/12th century Ḥanbalism enjoyed a resurgence in influence under the patronage of caliphal officials like ʿAwn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayra (d. 560/1165 [*q.v.*]) and the example of the Ṣūfī *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ķādir al-Djīlānī (d. 561/1146 [*q.v.*]; during this period, several Ḥanbalī *madrasas* were founded by influential patrons (see Makdisi, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv [1961], 26-9). The deleterious effects of the sectarian-social rivalries between Sunnī theological and legal schools, the Shīʿa and the Karrāmiyya, were visible in the social and religious turmoil in many of the towns

of the Saldjūḳ empire, from Baghdād to Harāt, mentioned below in section V.1, concerning the *ʿaṣabiyyāt* (see in general on Sunnism at this time, W. Madelung, *Religious trends in early Islamic Iran*, Albany 1988, 26-38).

The dominant forms of Sunnī *kalām* just described likewise triumphed in the end over the more speculative forms of Islamic thought, those of the *falāsifa* or philosophers [see FALĀSIFA; FAYLASŪF], with their Aristotelian or Neoplatonist forms of reasoning; al-Ghazālī's exposé in his autobiographical *al-Munḳidh min al-ḍalāl* of the insufficiency of philosophy to provide a sure foundation for man's salvation, and his polemic against its exponents, his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, were only two of several attempted refutations. Nevertheless, the succession of followers of the great Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037 [*q.v.*]) continued in the Persian lands during the Saldjūḳ period, and the scientist, philosopher and poet ʿUmar Khayyām (d. 526/1131 [*q.v.*]) regarded Ibn Sīnā as his master; it seems that ʿUmar entered the service of Malik Shāh after that sultan's expedition into Transoxania against the Ḳarakhānid Shams al-Mulk Naṣr in 466/1073-4 (see above, section III.1) and became one of his *nadīms* [*q.v.*] or intimates.

Above all, the overriding strength of Sunnism manifested itself in the religious-educational field, with the great impetus to the foundation and endowment of new *madrasas* and *masdjids*, mosque-colleges, under the patronage not only of the Saldjūḳ sultans but of numerous of their viziers, officials, of merchants, of city notables, etc. (see on this movement, below), a movement which affected not only the lands of Persia and ʿIrāḳ ruled over by the Saldjūḳs but also the more westerly ones of the Levant and Egypt, especially after the disappearance of the Shīʿī Fāṭimids from there.

Madrasas, mosque-colleges and associated teaching institutions like the *dār al-ʿilm* had existed in ʿIrāḳ and the Persian lands since at least the 4th/10th century, and the Būyids and such governors of theirs as Badr b. Ḥasanawayh [see ḤASANWAYH] had enthusiastically furthered and endowed their foundation. But their spread received an impetus under the Saldjūḳs through the patronage of great men like the Shāfiʿī-Ashʿarīs Niẓām al-Mulk and Malik Shāh's *mustawfī* or chief accountant Tādj al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim; the Ḥanafī *mustawfī* of Alp Arslan, Sharaf al-Mulk Abū Saʿd, who founded the shrine-college of Abū Ḥanīfa in Baghdād which seems to have been more important than the celebrated Niẓāmiyya there; and the Ḥanbalī viziers of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, such as Niẓām al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Ibn Djahīr [see DJAHĪR, BANŪ], whose residence in the capital, subsequently turned into a *madrasa*, was presided over by the prominent scholar Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*] (see Makdisi, *op. cit.*, 17 ff.). Best known is the network of Shāfiʿī-Ashʿarī colleges founded by Niẓām al-Mulk across the Saldjūḳ dominions (the later biographer of Shāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, al-Subkī [*q.v.*], enumerates nine *Niẓāmiyyas*, of which five were in Khurāsān and the Caspian provinces, one in Djibāl and three in ʿIrāḳ); a novel feature here was that the vizier reserved for himself and his descendants administrative control of them. But the general religious and cultural significance of these institutions may have been disproportionately stressed in both the contemporary sources and in modern studies, for by the 6th/12th century the Niẓāmiyyas do not seem to have been particularly flourishing, and the descendants of the vizier had lost control of them. In Nīshāpūr, the *Niẓāmiyya* there was headed in the first half of that century by a pupil of al-Ghazālī's, but he was killed by the Oghuz in 548/1153-4, when several other *madrasas* and mosques were destroyed (see Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur. A study in medieval Islamic social history*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 73-5, 254-5, and, in general, MADRASA. I. 4 and NIẒĀM AL-MULK].

Much light is shown on the distribution of Shīʿism during the Saldjūḳ period by two Shīʿī works of the time, the *Kitāb al-Naḳd* of ʿAbd al-Djalīl Ḳazwīnī Rāzī (mid-6th/12th century) and the *Tabṣirat al-ʿawāmm* of Sayyid Murtaḍā Rāzī from the opening of the 7th/13th century. They confirm the impression of the historical and biographical sources that Khurāsān and Transoxania were strongholds of Sunnī orthodoxy, apart from communities of *sayyids* in places like Nīshāpūr, Ṭūs and Bayhaḳ, but that Shīʿism had some strong groups in northwestern Persia, with the Zaydīs in the Caspian provinces (where the *khuṭba* was still made in some places for the Zaydī *imām*), and the Djaʿfarīs or Twelvers influential in the urban centres of Djibāl like Rayy, Ḳazwīn, Ḳumm, Āwa and Kāshān, having their own *madrasas* and *ḳubbas* [*q.v.*] or tombs in some of these centres. The establishment of Ismāʿīlism in Daylam, the region of Iṣfahān and Ḳuhistān has already been noted (above, section III, 1). The two great groups of the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, although on occasion at odds with each other, and with the Shīʿa stimatised as *Rawāfiḍ* [see RĀFIḌA] in Sunnī works like Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, in practice mostly co-existed peacefully with each other, and Shīʿīs were represented quite significantly in the ranks of Saldjūḳ officialdom right up to the office of vizier; the common enemy of both was Ismāʿīlism (see A. Bausani, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 290-6; J. Calmard, *Le chiisme imamite en Iran à l'époque seldjoukide d'après le* Kitāb al-Naqd, in *Le monde iranien et l'Islam, sociétés et cultures*, i [Geneva-Paris, 1971], 43-67).

The Saldjūḳ period was further important for the development of Ṣūfism in provinces like Khurāsān, Transoxania and ʿIrāḳ, with a distinctive school of Ṣūfism now emerging in the Persian lands. This was particularly the case with Khurāsān, where Ṣūfism was henceforth to benefit much from official Saldjūḳ patronage, whereas, up to the opening of the 5th/11th century, *zuhd* or asceticism there had been mainly the province of the Karrāmiyya (on whom see below), with some adherents of the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] in the towns (see J. Chabbi, *Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasan*, in *SI*, xlvi [1977], 41-5, 55-9). In the early years of the Saldjūḳ period, the Ṣūfī *shaykh* and thaumaturge Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr was still living (d. 440/1048-9 [*q.v.*]) and allegedly foretold the greatness of Ṭoghrïl and Čaghrï when they visited him at Mayhana [*q.v.*] (see F. Meier, *Abū Saʿīd-i Abū l-Ḫayr (357-440/967-1049), Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Leiden-Tehran-Liège 1976, 327-9). From the next generation or so were ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī (d. 481/1089 [*q.v.*]) and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī (d. 465/1072) [*q.v.*]) who, together with Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]), did much to incorporate the moderate form of Ṣūfī mysticism into the fabric of Sunnī orthodoxy. A notable feature of Persian Ṣūfism at this time came to be its grouping around the *khānaḳāhs* [see KHĀNḲĀH] or dervish convents, and the influence of Khurāsānī *shaykhs* and their institutions spread westwards through the Saldjūḳ lands; thus Chabbi has noted that the founders of the *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*] or centres for devotion, study, preaching, etc., in Baghdād during the first half of the 5th/11th century were almost all Khurāsānīs (*La fonction du ribat à Bagdad du Vᵉ siècle au début du VIIᵉ siècle*, in *REI*, xlii

[1974], 107). The next century, the 6th/12th one, was notable for the formation of several of the major dervish orders (*ṭuruḳ* [see ṬARĪḲA]), including the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*], the Yasawiyya [see AḤMAD YASAWĪ], the Rifāʿiyya, the Suhrawardiyya [*q.vv.*] and the Kubrawiyya [see KUBRĀ, NADJM AL-DĪN]. See further, J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 31-60; Bausani, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 296-302; Madelung, *op. cit.*, 49-53.

As just noted, the ascetic strain within Ṣūfism originally had had its counterpart in eastern Persia in the form of the ascetic but activist movement of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*], especially vociferous in Nīshāpūr and strong in the rural, mountainous, eastern fringes of the province, what is now western Afghānistān. In the early years of the 5th/11th century, the Karrāmiyya and their *khānaḳāhs* had enjoyed some patronage from the Ghaznawids; this favour disappeared with the advent of the Saldjūḳs and became an active disapproval on the part of the ruling authority, but the Karrāmiyya remained an assertive element in Nīshāpūr and elsewhere all through that same century (as their mention as participants in the *ʿaṣabiyyāt* of the time shows); it was only during the course of the succeeding 6th/12th century that they were pushed eastwards into regions less accessible to Saldjūḳ control such as Gharčistān and Ghūr; thus the Karrāmī *madrasa* at Bayhaḳ, founded in the opening years of the 5th/11th century, had disappeared when the local historian Ibn Funduḳ wrote (sc. in 563/1168), although the Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī ones still survived (*Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317/1938, 194, 220-1; and, in general on the Karrāmiyya, Madelung, *op. cit.*, 39-46).

Bibliography: Given in the article; see especially Bausani's ch. *Religion in the Saljuq period*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 283-302; and Madelung's *Religious trends in early Islamic Iran*, which in part covers the Saldjūḳ period, notably chs. 3-4, 6-7.

2. In Anatolia

The Turkmens who entered Anatolia no doubt brought with them vestiges of the pre-Islamic, Inner Asian shamanistic past (survivals of which were explored by Fuad Köprülü in various of his works, such as his *Influence du chamanisme turco-mongol sur les ordres mystiques musulmans*, Mems. de l'Institut de Turcologie de l'Université de Stamboul, N.S. 1, Istanbul 1929), but eventually became in considerable measure firm adherents of the near-universal Islamic *madhhab* for the Turks, the Ḥanafī one. But there seems to have been little original or creative theological and legal writing within Rūm until well into the 7th/13th century, and the Turks of Anatolia were content to take from the ample heritage of the flourishing and productive Ḥanafī scholarship of Khurāsān and Transoxiana, transmitted to the lands further west by those scholars who in the 7th/13th century moved westwards before the advancing Mongols, such as Yūsuf b. Abī Saʿīd Aḥmad al-Sidjistānī, who composed at Sivas in 639/1241-2 his *Munyat al-muftī*, which became a popular law book throughout the central and eastern Islamic lands (cf. Brockelmann, I², 473, S I, 653). The concrete embodiments of the Islamic faith, in the form of mosques and *madrasas*, were somewhat late in appearing in Anatolia. The earliest mosques appear in the dominions of the Saldjūḳs and of the Turkmen dynasties of the Dānishmendids, Mengüdjekids and Saltuḳids only after *ca.* 550/1155, whilst the earliest *madrasa* in Anatolia, known from its foundation inscription, was built at Kayseri in 589/1193; this institution had by that time been flourishing in the Arab-Persian lands further east for nearly two centuries. Only with the consolidation of the sultanate in the 7th/13th century do mosques and *madrasas* become numerous in such towns as Konya, Kayseri and several other Anatolian ones, as also in Artukid Mārdīn [see MADRASA, III, at vol. V, 1145-6].

Mysticism soon enjoyed a particularly lively growth in Anatolia, not only drawing its strength from the Persian lands (see below) but also attracting such a figure as the great Arab mystic of Spanish Muslim origin, Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]), who travelled to Malatya and as far as Sivas and Konya. He was followed by his disciple ʿAfīf al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291 [*q.v.*]), who settled in Rūm for some time. Ibn al-ʿArabī was to have a considerable influence in Anatolia through Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūnawī (d. 673/1274 [*q.v.*]), so that his works later became standard texts for study in the curricula of the Ottoman *madrasas*. Contacts with North African pilgrims who returned home via Anatolia were sufficient for them to have a small mosque of their own in Konya. Yet it was the Persian spiritual and literary tradition which speedily became dominant, reflecting Persian influence in other spheres such as administration and court life (see below, section V. 2). The Saldjūḳ sultans themselves earlier adopted Persian epic names like Kay Kāwūs, Kay Khusraw and Kay Ḳubādh. The process was necessarily accentuated in the 7th/13th century when there arrived in Konya such distinguished refugees as Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Walad (d. 628/1231) and his son Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1275 [*q.v.*]), from an ancient family in Balkh of preachers and mystics. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad was invited to his captal by the sultan Kay Ḳubādh I, but did not survive there for long. His son, on the other hand, spent the greater part of his adult life at Konya, and it was there that he composed his *Mathnawī* (see below, section VII. 2). The Saldjūḳ capital accordingly became the centre of the Mawlawī Ṣūfī order as developed by Mawlānā's son Sulṭān Walad (d. 712/1312 [*q.v.*]), with Rūmī's tomb as its spiritual power-house for centuries to come [see MAWLAWIYYA]. Another figure who came westwards to Rūm was Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī Dāya (d. 654/156 [*q.v.*]), a former *murīd* of the Ṣūfī master Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā [*q.v.*], eponymous founder of the Kubrawiyya order, who does not, however, seem to have found Anatolia congenial and who moved back to Tabrīz and Baghdād; even so, his *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* (see below, section VII. 2) became very popular in Anatolia and was later translated into Turkish.

Such religious traditions and practices as those outlined above helped to consolidate what became the dominant, official Sunnism of Anatolia. But at a less exalted and articulate level were currents of beliefs which may well have gone back to the animistic past of the Turks, mentioned at the beginning of this section, especially amongst the Turkmens outside the towns, and there probably existed also ill-formed and emotionally-based pro-Shīʿī feelings such as were to be undoubtedly discernible amongst the ʿAlawī Turkmens of eastern Anatolia in the early Ottoman period. Only at times of particular political and social stress or upheaval did these somewhat inchoate trends of belief and thought come to the surface, assume tangible form and impinge on the wider political scene. Such was the case with the Bābāʾī movement, a religious one with social overtones, which disturbed much of Anatolia in the years just before the Mongol invasion there. Its leader, a popular, charismatic figure, Baba Isḥāḳ, defied the Saldjūḳ armies for some time, and his movement was never completely ex-

tinguished in the countryside. It seems to have included extremist, messianic S͟hīʿī elements which recrudesced, or merged, soon afterwards, in the Bektās͟hī movement, a connection explicitly made by the 8th/14th-century Ṣūfī biographer Aflākī; Ḥād͟jd͟jī Bektās͟h may have been a disciple of Baba Isḥāḳ [see BĀBĀʾĪ; BEKTĀS͟HIYYA].

Finally, a word should be said about the possible interaction of the great faiths in Anatolia, specifically between Islam and the Christian substratum there. It is hard to reach firm conclusions on such an elusive matter, but it seems that certain sultans, such as Kay Ḳubād͟h I, were enlightened and tolerant rulers, conscious of the mixture of faiths and ethnoi over which they ruled. There were both Armenians and Greeks in the capital Konya, the latter with their monastery of St. Chariton and some Jews. Rūmī seems to have had harmonious relations with the local *D͟himmīs*, whilst remaining convinced of his own divine mission to convert them. Throughout Anatolia there was at the popular level an interchange, or double veneration, by Christians and Muslims at many holy sites (some no doubt with a continuity of *mana* going back to classical times), with the frequent equating of a saint of one faith with a saint of the other. The best-known of such equations is that of St. George with K͟hiḍr Ilyās [*q.v.*]; at Konya, Muslims revered St. Amphilochius in the guise of Aflāṭūn or Plato, whose tomb was considered to be located there; elsewhere, they identified Ṣarī Saltuḳ Dede [*q.v.*] with St. Nicholas and Ḥād͟jd͟jī Bektās͟h at Ḳīrs͟hehir with St. Charalambros.

Bibliography: F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the sultans*, Oxford 1929; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 248-61, 347-58; Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*; Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*.

V. Administrative, social and economic history

1. In Persia and ʿIrāḳ

Such an empire as the Sald͟jūḳ one was not homogenous in social and ethnic composition, and, as noted above in section I, could not be ruled as a despotism, with a highly-centralised administration, like its predecessor in the eastern Persian lands, the G͟haznawid empire. For, to take one prerequisite for centralised, authoritarian control over a far-flung empire, sc. an efficient internal espionage system and postal service network (*barīd*, later *ulag͟h*), the Sald͟jūḳ sultans deliberately eschewed this; Niẓām al-Mulk's lament that the Sald͟jūḳ sultans showed no interest in this system is well-known (*Siyāsat-nāma*, § 10), and Anūs͟hirwān b. K͟hālid implies that Alp Arslan's abolition of the previously-existing *barīd* and *k͟habar* system, on the basis of what he calls a "whim" (*wahm*) but which was more likely a deliberate choice, was a cause of the spread of Ismāʿīlism and of the terror in people's minds which exaggerated, ill-informed accounts of the Assassins' activities brought about (al-Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, 67).

In any case, the early sultans, with their Central Asian tribal origins, did not at first conceive of themselves as territorial monarchs but as leaders of nomadic hordes who happened to range with their flocks in search of pasture over a particularly large stretch of territory within the *Dār al-Islām*. But these ideas soon became modified as, already by the end of Ṭog͟hrīl's reign and during that of Alp Arslan, the sultans settled down as rulers over a defined territory, even though the Sald͟jūḳs never, until the end of the dynasty, resided in one permanent, fixed capital. As rulers over an empire of vastly differing climatic and topographical zones, from the deserts and steppe lands of northern Syria and ʿIrāḳ to mountains and plateaux of Persia, they often moved between summer and winter capitals, echoing their nomadic past. Hence a fair number of the cities of their empire, including Nīs͟hāpūr, Rayy, Iṣfahān, Hamad͟hān and Bag͟hdād itself, served at one time or another as centres for their power (see below). Normally, of course, the court and administrative departments of central government travelled with the sultans when they were on campaign or simply journeying across their lands.

Thus by Malik S͟hāh's reign, the sultan came to exercise a delimited territorial authority, although it was one exerted with different degrees of intensity. Right to the end of the Sald͟jūḳ empire, there were whole stretches of territory which were substantially left, usually on payment of some taxation, to their indigenous tribal peoples, such as those of Kurdistān and Luristān in D͟jibāl and much of Fārs, and the Ḳufṣ and Balūč in Kirmān and Makrān, or to the Og͟huz nomads in such areas as the Mūḳān steppes in Arrān [*q.vv.*] and the steppe lands of Gurgān and Dihistān [*q.vv.*] to the southeast of the Caspian Sea; and the sultans took care to maintain, as far as was possible with the demands of security and financial requirements, amicable links with such groups (see on the tribes during this period, A.K.S. Lambton, *Aspects of Saljūq-Ghuzz settlement in Persia*, in Richards (ed.), *Islamic civilisation 950-1150*, 121-4, and ĪLĀT. For the sultans' attitudes towards their fellow-Turkmens, see above, section II). Regarding the Kurds, Anūs͟hirwān b. K͟hālid says that Muḥammad b. Malik S͟hāh carefully conciliated the S͟habānkāra [*q.v.*], normally a turbulent element in Fārs and the scourge of the settled population, by attaching their chiefs to his service at court; when his successor Maḥmūd stopped this practice, the S͟habānkāra reverted to their old plundering ways (al-Bundārī, 122), with deleterious effects on the economy of Fārs and the upper Persian Gulf region (see further, below). But in general, Lambton concluded (*op. cit.*, 124-5), that the additional nomads who came into Persia with the Sald͟jūḳ invasions did not cause widespread dislocation but may even have contributed to the general prosperity of the lands in that they now supplied the cities and towns with milk and meat products and may have contributed to the stock of transport animals available for trading purposes.

On the fringes of the empire, local princes were often allowed to remain as feudatories. In the northwest, the S͟haddādids [*q.v.*] of Dwin and Gand͟ja and the Marwānids [*q.v.*] of Diyār Bakr were left in power until Malik S͟hāh's reign. In ʿIrāḳ, the ʿUḳaylids [*q.v.*] held Mawṣil till the end of the 5th/11th century, with minor branches persisting in Diyār Muḍar till the advent of the Zangids, whilst the Mazyadids [see MAZYAD, BANŪ] of Ḥilla in central ʿIrāḳ were particularly adept at playing off against each other the Sald͟jūḳ sultans and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in order to preserve their own authority, a policy which was successful for over ninety years, until the middle years of the 6th/12th century. In the Caspian provinces, various petty princes were left alone, as were the survivors of the Kākūyid dynasty [*q.v.*] in central Persia. On the eastern fringes of the empire, the Maliks of Nīmrūz or Sīstān were left alone, and survived there long after the Sald͟jūḳs themselves had disappeared from history. Such dependents forwarded tribute and/or troops contingents to the sultans' armies when required; thus we read of the Kākūyid princes, the rulers of Sistan and the Bāwandids [*q.v.*] of Māzandarān participating in Sand͟jar's wars. When the sultans were able to extend

their authority by military force into lands outside the empire, as happened with the Ḳarakhānids in Transoxania on various occasions, the Ghaznawids in eastern Afghānistān (see above, section III. 1) and the Shīrwānshāhs in eastern Caucasia (see al-Bundārī, 139-41), tribute would be exacted from those potentates, although this source of income was obviously sporadic.

Within the directly-administered areas of the empire, much land was, in the course of time, alienated by assignments of revenue on particular lands, *iḳṭāʿ*s, a term which covered, however, a very wide variety of different types of grant (see Lambton, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 233-4; and IḲṬĀʿ). The grants of the first Saldjūḳ sultans were mainly as appanages for other members of the family who had claims, under tribal concepts, of a share-out of the total assets of the ruling family or the chiefs; these were especially to be found in northern Persia, Khurāsān and the upper Oxus lands (see above, sections II and III. 2). But grants were also made at an early date to the Turkish generals of the professional, standing army which Ṭoghrïl in his later years, and then Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh, were compelled to recruit after the danger of sole reliance on the Oghuz tribal bands had been demonstrated by the latter's part in the revolts of disgruntled Saldjūḳ princes, such as Ibrāhīm Inal and Ḳāwurd (see above, section I). Such earlier grants were delegations of the sultan's authority, and did not imply any hierarchy of vassalage or a bestowal of permanent territorial or financial rights. These last only crept in during the 6th/12th century, when the warring Saldjūḳ sultans and princes were desperate to acquire troops and had to alienate more and more lands to great commanders as the price of their military support. Eventually, the process was to lead to the formation of the autonomous atabeg principalities of northern and western Persia, of northern Syria and al-Djazīra and of eastern Anatolia (see above, section II), but, from the legal aspect, these principalities rested upon an act of usurpation and not one of delegation or vassalage. All these trends were to have long-term effects upon land utilisation, the social and economic status of the cultivators and the ethnic complexion of the regions in question. For a fuller consideration of the trends, see Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, ch. III; eadem, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 231 ff.; eadem, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, London 1988, 97-115; Bosworth, in *ibid.*, 82-4; and IḲṬĀʿ.

The heart of the sultans' power lay in their own court entourage, the *dargāh*, whose smooth functioning was ensured by a series of influential officials such as the *wakīl-i dār* or intendant, the *ḥādjibs* or chamberlains, the *djāma-dār* or master of the sultan's wardrobe, the *ākhur-sālār* or head of the royal stables, the *khʷān-sālār* or master of the royal kitchens; the latter's function were especially important for the dispensing of general hospitality in accordance with steppe traditions and of feasts (*shölen*) for the Saldjūḳs' tribal followers, the providing of which Niẓām al-Mulk (*Siyasat-nāma*, § 35) was keen to uphold (see Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı devletinin teşkilâtına medhal*, 33-41; Lambton, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 224-7, 238-90). These offices tended to be held by great Turkish commanders, either the ruler's slaves or his freedmen. The importance of the court entourage and its members within the state varied according to the ruling sultan's strength of character and his control over its factions and rivalries. The sultans' womenfolk might at times exercise an influence which could affect the direction or the running of the state, especially at the deaths of sultans and the not infrequent succession crises and disputes which ensued. The sultans normally proclaimed during their own lifetime one of their sons as heir (*walī al-ʿahd*), but their wishes did not always prevail unchallenged, not only from discontented Saldjūḳ princes who thought they had claims to the throne (see above, sections II and III. 1) but also from the rulers' widows and other female relatives, pushing the claims of their own sons; this was notoriously the case when Malik Shāh died, and his widow Terken Khātūn unsuccessfully proclaimed her own child Maḥmūd in Iṣfahān against Berk-yaruḳ (see on the role of the women at this time of troubles, Sanaullah, *op. cit.*, 8-17; and, in general, for courts and court life during the Saldjūḳ period, Bosworth, *EIr* art. *Courts and courtiers. iii. In the Islamic period to the Mongol conquest*).

The means by which this power of the sultans was exercised were, firstly, through the army and the coercive force which it could exert, and secondly, through the civil administration of the empire controlled by a series of *dīwāns*, both of which were, of course, interconnected through the overriding need for the provision of finance for them. By Malik Shāh's time the army's main strength lay in its professional troops, in part supported by *iḳṭāʿ*s but to a significant extent still paid directly in cash from the royal treasury (cf. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, § 23). Its nucleus was the force of slave *ghulām* and freedmen troops, a large proportion of whom, though not all, were Turks. Supplementing this were the free troops, and here, as with the slave core for an army, the Saldjūḳs were following in the steps of other Middle Eastern imperial powers like the Fāṭimids and Ghaznavids by recruiting from a wide array of races. Niẓām al-Mulk recommended the employment of Daylamīs, Khurāsānīs, Georgians and Shabānkāraʾī Kurds (*Siyāsat-nāma*, § 24). This army was normally stationed in the capital with the sultan himself; and according to Rāwandī, the number of cavalrymen was not allowed to fall below 46,000 (see M.F. Sanaullah, *The decline of the Saljūqid empire*, Calcutta 1938, 18-35; Uzunçarsılı, *op. cit.*, 56-61; Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 80-1; Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, 4-14; GHULĀM. ii; and ḤARB. v).

Complementing the court's role in the running of the state was the central administration, comprising essentially the *dīwān-i aʿlā*, presided over by the sultan's chief executive officer, the vizier. The vizier, and the personnel of his bureaux, were normally representatives of the Perso-Islamic secretarial class. It is possible that, in the Saldjūḳ period, some of these had received an education and training in the *madrasas* (for which, see above, section IV. 1), although this point requires further research. The vizier headed a complex of *dīwāns*, his intermediary and link with the court being the *wakīl-i dār* (cf. al-Bundārī, 93-4). The *dīwān-i aʿlā* was above all responsible for the provision of finance for the sultan and hence for the running of the empire, and had component *dīwāns* such as the chancery, for official and diplomatic correspondence (*inshāʾ*); the finance bureau, for the collection of revenue and its allocation (*istīfāʾ*); the bureau for overseeing accounts and financial transactions (*ishrāf*); and the department of the army (*ʿarḍ*), responsible for the recruitment, payment and fighting calibre of the troops. The heads of these component bureaux were powerful officials in their own right, who not infrequently followed their own policies or had supporters at court who might be at odds with the vizier. Other high-ranking persons in the state, such as the sultans' consorts and the queen-mothers and Saldjūḳ princes

allotted appanages in the provinces, might have their own households with miniature replicas of the central *dīwāns* (see Uzunçarsılı, *op. cit.*, 42-51; Lambton, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 257 ff.).

Nevertheless, the vizier was a very powerful figure throughout the Saldjūḳ period, with his position buttressed by the patronage which he exercised and the opportunities which he had for self-enrichment through confiscations, etc. He normally had his own *iḳṭā*ʿs, and an outstanding figure like Niẓām al-Mulk built up around himself what was in effect a private army of *mamlūk*s and other retainers, the Niẓāmiyya [*q.v.*], who continued to play a significant role in politics well after their master's death.

Justice and equity of an "administrative" or "secular" kind was exercised through the sultan's own *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] jurisdiction, both personally and by delegation to special *maẓālim* courts. At the side of these, the local *ḳāḍī*s dispensed justice according to the *sharīʿa*, and with the restatement of the relationship between caliph and sultan (see above), the judges, theoretically the deputies of the caliph and deriving their spiritual jurisdiction from him, were in practice appointed by the sultan and were salaried servants of the sultanate, as were the *khaṭīb*s [*q.v.*] or preachers of the Friday sermon and the *muḥtasib*s or market inspectors [see ḤISBA]. A chief judge of the empire, the *ḳāḍī-yi djumla-yi mamālīk*, is mentioned under Alp Arslan, with oversight of the religious law, of religious buildings and of *awḳāf* or pious trusts (which spread considerably within the Saldjūḳ empire as a result of benefactions from the great *amīr*s, the atabegs and the women in the ruling classes, see Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, 149-51), but the mass of judges were local officials in the towns of the empire and thus served as a link between the central government and the local urban communities (see eadem, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 269-72).

The cities and towns of Persia, ʿIrāḳ, al-Djazīra and Syria seem in general to have flourished during the 5th/11th century, doubtless benefiting from the general internal peace in the years before Malik Shāh's death and having a resilience and continuity of tradition which enabled them to function and to prosper to a fair extent in the more troubled decades of the 6th/12th century, when the Crusaders and Ismāʿīlīs destabilised Syria, when al-Djazīra and western Persia were affected by the warfare among rival Saldjūḳ princes and the atabegs, and when the ascendancy of anarchic Oghuz tribesmen in Khurāsān and Kirmān led to widespread looting and devastation there, a foretaste of the worse disasters which the arrival of the Mongols was to bring. Whether there was in the 6th/12th century a distinct decline in economic life, a deterioration of the status and richness of the town bourgeoisies, technological stagnation in construction and production methods, and even a decrease of population, as was asserted by E. Ashtor, requires further investigation (see his *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, London 1976, 209-48). It is true that he adduces an array of natural disasters, including earthquakes and epidemics, from the chronicles of the Saldjūḳ period, and it may be true that the alienation of land as *iḳṭā*ʿs, particularly after the weakening of the sultan's power from Berk-yaruḳ's accession onwards, reduced the amount of lands from which taxation could be directly collected and drove the rulers into an increased reliance on non-canonical taxes, *mukūs* [see MAKS]. Yet as a counter to this, one may note that the Saldjūḳ government, for its part, had an enduring interest in fostering, as far as possible, the economic well-being of the cities and towns, with their roles as centres of craft production and of long-distance trading, from which they derived so much of the taxation needed to run the empire. As Bulliet has observed, "given the desire on the part of the rulers to preserve the commercial, urban character of Islamic society, the cities were more important to the ruler than the ruler was to the cities" (*The patricians of Nishapur*, 61).

As in other regions and at other times of the premodern age, the cities and towns of the Saldjūḳ empire had no corporate or autonomous life of their own within the concept of divinely-dispensed authority in Islam. But the local historians of cities and towns like Nīshāpūr, Bayhaḳ, Harāt, Iṣfahān and Shīrāz certainly demonstrate the vitality of urban life at this time and the cohesiveness and common interests of their oligarchies, whether these comprised Ḥanafīs, Shāfiʿīs or Ḥanbalīs (and also, in Khurāsān, Karrāmīs). This class of *ʿulamāʾ*, merchants and other notables largely monopolised such state offices as those of *ḳāḍī*, *khaṭīb*, etc. (see above). Above all, it was from their ranks that there came the *raʾīs* or mayor, the mouthpiece of the town notables vis-à-vis the provincial and central government; and, since the relations between the towns and the ruling authority were essentially financial, it was he who forwarded the taxation due from the town to the local *dīwān*. See, in general, RAʾĪS. 1. and 2.; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 171 ff.; Bulliet, *op. cit.*, 66-8. For the duties of a *raʾīs* in Māzandarān and Gurgān in the second quarter of the 12th century A.D., Lambton, *The administration of Sanjar's empire as illustrated in the* ʿAtabat al-kataba, 383-7. For these institutions in Syria under Saldjūḳ rule, A. Havemann, *Riʾāsa und qaḍāʾ. Institutionen als Ausdruck wechselnde Kräfteverhältnisse in syrischen Städten vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg-im Breisgau 1975, and idem, *The vizier and the raʾīs in Saljuq Syria: the struggle for urban self-representation*, in *IJMES*, xxi (1989), 233-42.

There were, of course, counterforces in the cities and towns and in their agricultural hinterlands working against this urban group solidarity in the face of external attackers or tyrannical government actions. The *ʿaṣabiyyāt* or factional divisions noted by the geographer al-Muḳaddasī in the later 4th/10th century continued unabated throughout the Saldjūḳ period, breaking out into violence when the absence of external threat allowed such a luxury. The chroniclers and the local historians mention the perennial clashes between Sunnīs, above all, Ḥanbalīs, and Shīʿī in Baghdād, and those between Ḥanafīs, Shāfiʿīs and Karrāmīs, in varying combinations, in Nīshāpūr, Bayhaḳ, Harāt and other towns of Khurāsān. The Saldjūḳ sultans themselves, by their enthusiastic adoption of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* and by the efforts of their servants, from the ʿAmīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī [*q.v.*] onwards, to further the cause of Ḥanafism (see above, section IV. 1), probably stimulated rather than stilled such passions, as various items of information in the sources suggest. In the course of Ḥanafī-Shāfiʿī riots at Nīshāpūr during Sandjar's reign, seventy people from the former group were killed. In the reign of sultan Masʿūd b. Muḥammad, a powerful group of the Turkish commanders, fiercely Ḥanafī, persecuted and expelled Shāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ* and other local notables adhering to Shāfiʿism in Baghdād, Rayy and Iṣfahān, to the point that some of these last made politic conversions to Ḥanafism, whilst a purge of the Shāfiʿīs at Iṣfahān in 542/1147-8 caused *fitna* there (al-Ḥusaynī, 125-6; al-Bundārī, 193-4, 220-1). Towards the end of Sandjar's reign and shortly afterwards, it was, accord-

ing to Rāwandī, internal factional feuding, rather than the ravages of the Oghuz, which really consummated the ruin of the city (cited in Bulliet, *The political-religious history of Nishapur in the eleventh century*, 90-1). This last author has put forward the view that, earlier on, Niẓām al-Mulk was endeavouring to restore the balance in Nīshāpūr by favouring the less powerful Shāfiʿīs there against the dominant Ḥanafīs by his founding of *madrasas*, his Niẓāmiyyas, for which he personally retained the right of appointing the professors (*The patricians of Nishapur*, 72-4; and see above, section IV. 1); but not long after this, both of these *madhhabs* were uniting in Nīshāpūr against the Karrāmiyya (see Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, x, 251, year 488/1095).

Another divisive element in certain cities and towns of the Saldjūḳ empire at this time was that of the *ʿayyārs* [*q.v.*] or mobsters. Baghdād, the Syrian towns and those of Khurāsān suffered especially badly, but there is reason to believe that towns elsewhere had similar problems, conceivably evidence of some underlying social-political malaise in them such as the exclusion of sections of the urban populace from participation in higher municipal affairs; but this is conjecture. Outbreaks of *ʿayyār* violence were a matter of concern for the urban authorities, who alone could take steps to curb it; hence when, at Bayhaq, *ʿayyārs* took advantage of the relaxation of central authority in the state after Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092, one of the town's numerous and influential body of Sayyids organised, at his own expense, a police force of citizens and their slaves against unruly elements (Ibn Funduḳ, *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Bahmanyār, 274-5; cf. J. Aubin, *L'aristocratie urbain dans l'Iran seldjukide: l'exemple de Sabzavâr*, in *Mélanges René Crozet*, Poitiers 1966, 328).

As the secular counterparts of the caliphs, the Sunnī Saldjūḳ sultans had an obligation to further Islamic learning within their dominions. The role of them and their servants in the movement for founding *madrasas*, mosque- and shrine-colleges, etc., has been outlined above, in section IV. 1. The sultans of the first two or three generations were probably illiterate, and undoubtedly so in Persian and Arabic; it must be remembered that Malik Shāh was the first monarch not to grow up purely in the Oghuz tribal environment. Barthold (*Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 308) thought that Sandjar remained illiterate all his life, but this requires further investigation. By the 6th/12th century, however, various of the sultans in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ are praised in the sources for their culture and education. Thus Anūshirwān b. Khālid, who is severely condemnatory about Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad's policies, nevertheless praises him for his fine Arabic scholarship, his knowledge of poetry and *adab*, history and *sīra*; and among the Saldjūḳ *amīrs* of Kirmān of this century, Arslan Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh encouraged scholarship by providing bursaries for students, pensions for the *fuḳahāʾ*, etc. (al-Bundārī, 156; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 25-6, 29).

Concerning the non-Muslim population of the empire, mentions of the *dhimmīs*, Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, become sparser in the Saldjūḳ period than for the preceding ones, e.g. the Būyid period. The Christians were still, however, strong in ʿIrāḳ and al-Djazīra and in such western Persian provinces as Khūzistān and Fārs and the city of Iṣfahān, and the ʿAbbāsids and the Saldjūḳ sultans in Baghdād used the services extensively of Jews and Christians for the traditional pursuits of these last, such as administration and the practice of medicine. Despite mention still of a metropolitan for the Christians of Fārs in the early Saldjūḳ period, the western Persian communities of Christians and of Zoroastrians (the latter of whom were an important element in Būyid Fārs), seem to have fallen into decline, the prelude to the eventual disappearance of the Christians, at least, there. The Christians of ʿIrāḳ, on the other hand remained numerous and vigorous, and influential enough in public life to bring down on their heads sporadic Muslim persecution. Thus the caliph's vizier Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī [*q.v.*] in 484/1091 drastically enforced the discriminatory laws against *dhimmīs* [see GHIYĀR], bringing about the conversion to Islam of the Christian head of the caliph's *dīwān al-inshāʾ*, Abū Saʿd Ibn al-Mawṣilāyā and of his nephew, the *ṣāḥib al-khabar* Abū Naṣr Hibat Allāh (al-Bundārī, 78; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 186). In the east, the metropolitan of Marw was still the most important dignitary of the Nestorian Church in Khurāsān, and a bishop of Ṭūs is mentioned as late as 1279; Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr of Mayhana (see above, section IV. 1) is said to have converted large numbers of Christians at Nīshāpūr around the time of the change from Ghaznawid to Saldjūḳ rule in the city (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 200-2).

Jewish communities existed in most of the cities of Saldjūḳ Persia and ʿIrāḳ, often with a special quarter of their own, sometimes specifically called the *yahūdiyya*, and spiritually they were under the headship of the Rēsh Gālūthā. Special areas of concentration were the towns of Fārs and Khūzistān and in Iṣfahān, and towns like Ahwāz and Shushtar had colonies of the Rādhānī merchants [see AL-RĀDHĀNIYYA]. The Spanish Jewish traveller during later Saldjūḳ times, Benjamin of Tudela (1179), mentions as Jewish centres in western Persia Susa, Ḥulwān, Hamadhān, Iṣfahān and Shīrāz, whilst in the east of Persia (which Benjamin did not visit), there were important communities in Marw, Harāt and Balkh (this last having a *yahūdiyya* quarter and being known as a resort of Rādhānī merchants) which sent substantial financial contributions back to Mesopotamia (see W.J. Fischel, *The Jews of Central Asia (Khorasan) in mediaeval Hebrew and Islamic literature*, in *Historia Judaica*, New York, vii [1945], 35-42).

It is hard to find concrete information on trade and economic life within the Saldjūḳ empire. The rich geographical and travel literature in Arabic and then Persian of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries dwindles almost to nothing during the Saldjūḳ period, and there is a general paucity of information in the historical sources. One region about which we know a certain amount is Kirmān and eastern Persia, from items mentioned by the local historians of Kirmān and noted above in section III. 3. They reveal the existence of an important trade route from the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman shores northwards through Kirmān to Ḳuhistān and Khurāsān, a trade which had international ramifications, since Hindus and Greeks are mentioned as amongst the merchants at the trading suburb of Ḳumādīn (the Camadi of Marco Polo, through whose ruined site he passed in the later 7th/13th century, see Yule and Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*[3], London 1903, i, 97-9) outside Djīruft in Kirmān, where there were extensive warehouses for storing goods in transit (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 49). At the northern end of this trade route, Nīshāpūr was the great emporium of Khurāsān at this time, certainly up to the Ghuzz sackings of the second half of the 6th/12th century. It was probably the main centre in the Great Saldjūḳ state for the minting of the Saldjūḳs' gold coinage, judging by the

number of extant dīnārs which were minted there (see further, below, section VIII. 1), and although information is regrettably lacking, it must have continued, as it did in Sāmānid and Ghaznawid times, to have commercial contacts with the Central Asian steppe lands and beyond.

The southern end of the route, running down to the Gulf of Oman and across it, connected the eastern Persian world with the Arabian one. Al-Muḳaddasī, 321, had noted that the name of Ḳā'in, in Ḳuhistān, had a great renown in ʿUmān; at the beginning of the Saldjūḳ period, the traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] found that transactions at Faladj in central Arabia were done in the dīnārs of Nīshāpūr (*Safar-namā*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 106, tr. W.M. Thackston, *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, Albany 1986, 85). The Ḳufṣ or Kūfičī bandits who had been such a menace to commerce and to travellers along the edges of the central Great Desert of Persia in the Būyid period [see ḲUFṢ] seem to have been mastered by Ḳāwurd, who also took measures against another predatory people of the region, the Balūč; and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, again, found that the *amīr* of Ṭabas (al-Tamr) in the eastern part of the Great Desert, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Gīlakī, had established perfect security in a region formerly terrorised by the Ḳufṣ who must, in any case, have been pushed back southwards by the incoming bands of Oghuz (*op. cit.*, 124-5, tr. 99-100). Ḳāwurd further extended his power across the sea into ʿUmān, thereby controlling both sides of the lower Gulf (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 8-10; cf. above, section III. 3). This northwards-southwards-running trade route through eastern Persia was thus of prime importance all through the Saldjūḳ period as the link between the Indian Ocean shores and the Arabian peninsula with Khurāsān and Central Asia, and its significance continued to be recognised by the Khwārazm Shāh ʿAlā' al-Dīn Muḥammad [*q.v.*] when he annexed Kirmān in the early 7th/13th century and in 611/1214-15 proclaimed his authority over the ports of ʿUmān. Only did its importance decline during the Mongol and Il-Khānid periods in favour of a trade route further westwards and nearer the head of the Persian Gulf (see Aubin, *La ruine de Sîrâf et les routes du Golfe Persique*, in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, ii/3 [1959], 300-1).

This last route, on the other hand, had been in eclipse during the Saldjūḳ period. The disappearance of firm Būyid control in Fārs allowed the Shabānkāra'ī Kurds to become a destructive force there as early as Alp Arslan's time, one which the governors deputed to govern the province for the Saldjūḳs, such as the atabeg Čawuli Saḳā'ū, did much to curb without, however, eliminating the problem completely, so that the prosperity of Fārs in Saldjūḳ times had many ups and downs. A further element of disruption within the Gulf was caused by the pirates of the island of Ḳays [*q.v.*]. Hence formerly flourishing ports of Fārs on the northern shore of the Gulf, such as Sīrāf [*q.v.*] and Nadjīram, which had had an international trade, as entrepôts for South and South-East Asian products destined for the central lands of the caliphate, fell into decline in the later 5th/11th century, despite efforts to revive their prosperity by the Saldjūḳ governor of Fārs, the atabeg Rukn al-Dawla Khumārtigin (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 136-7, tr. idem, *Description of the province of Fars in Persia* ..., London 1912, 41-3, also in Sir Arnold Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, London 1928, 94-6). What remained of the once great port of Sīrāf now had only a local commercial role to play, probably as a centre for pearl-fishing. The towns on or near the route going inland from the Gulf shores to western Persia were accordingly affected too, and Shīrāz during the Saldjūḳ period shrank from its peak of size and splendour as the Būyid *amīr* ʿAḍud al-Dawla's [*q.v.*] capital, and now had only a small area enclosed by a wall against the Shabānkāra and the Turkmens, with much of its former area ruinous; another fairly important town of Fārs, Kāzarūn, had suffered similarly (Ibn al-Balkhī, 132-4, 145-6, tr. 36-8, 55-6). It was only in the Il-Khānid and Muẓaffarid periods that Shīrāz revived completely (see Aubin, *op. cit.*, 297-9; SHĪRĀZ; SĪRĀF).

We have virtually no information about trade along the great, historic highway across Persia from ʿIrāḳ either via the more northerly Hamadhān route or the more southerly Iṣfahān one to Rayy and Khurāsān, although this must have continued to be a major commercial artery between the central Islamic lands and the northeastern fringes of the Islamic world, even after the comparative peace within the Saldjūḳ empire up to Malik Shāh's death had been brought to an end by fairly continuous fighting in Djibāl, Kurdistān and Luristān during the ensuing succession disputes. We do know, however, that the great cities along this route continued to thrive. Hamadhān [*q.v.*] was a lively trade centre with a prosperous agricultural hinterland, and in the later decades of the 6th/12th century served as the sultans' capital. Rayy [*q.v.*] was taken over by Ṭoghrïl Beg in 434/1042-3 from the Turkmen leader Ibrāhīm Inal when the former came westwards from Khurāsān, becoming his capital for a while, and the city flourished for the next half-century; fine dīnārs were minted there by Ṭoghrïl, Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh. After 485/1092, however, the internecine warfare had deleterious effects on the city's prosperity; from this date, the Saldjūḳ coins minted there become sparser and almost dry up, being of feeble quality, reflecting the degeneration of the coinage (see G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 196-217. The standard of the coinage is, of course, concrete evidence of the health or otherwise of the economy in general; for a consideration of the Great Saldjūḳs' coins, see below, section VIII. 1). It is Iṣfahān [*q.v.*] that we are best informed about. It finally passed into Ṭoghrïl's possession from the Kākūyids in 443/1051, and the sultan immediately put in hand measures for its revival after the preceeding years of warfare. Hence on his homeward journey in 444/1052, Nāṣir-i Khusraw found it in a highly flourishing state, wih busy markets, including a bazaar for the money-changers with 200 shops and fifty *khāns* in one street alone, whilst the caravan with which he travelled brought 300 assloads of goods (*Safar-nāma*, 123, tr. 98). Ṭoghrïl moved thither his capital from Rayy, and the city continued till the death of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh to be a favoured centre for the sultans, directly administered by them and not granted out to one of their servants or commanders (Māfarrukhī, *K. Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Ṭihrānī, Tehran 1312/1933, 101 ff.; and see, in general, on the cities of Persia at this time, Lambton, *Aspects of Saljūq-Ghuzz settlement in Persia*, 116-20).

One result of the general healthiness of the economies of the cities of Persia and of the countryside during the 5th/11th century at least seems to have been a buoyant revenue accrueing from the lands of the empire, comparing favourably both with the preceding Būyid period and certainly with the succeeding Mongol and Il-Khānid ones. We have no global figures stemming from the Saldjūḳ period itself, but the late Il-Khānid period writer Ḥamd Allāh

Mustawfī states, from a lost *Risāla-yi Malik Shāhī*, that the total revenue of the empire was in that sultan's time 215 million red gold dīnārs, the equivalent of rather more than 500 million of his own time but in fact a much higher figure than that during Il-Khānid times (cited in Lambton, *op. cit.*, 120-1).

Bibliography: Given in the article. There are no full-scale works devoted to Saldjūķ social and economic history, nor any chapters on them in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, but for administration, A.K.S. Lambton's magistral chapter *The internal structure of the Saljuq empire*, in *ibid.*, 203-82, provides a detailed account, to be supplemented now by Carla L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vezirate. A study of civil administration 1055-1194*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, and Bulliet's *The patricians of Nishapur*. Also, Lambton's *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, whilst covering a wider expanse of Persian history than just the Saldjūķ period, nevertheless contains much important material on Saldjūķ administration, land tenure and social conditions. The question of patronage, loyalty, clientship, etc. in the Saldjūķ empire has recently been examined by A. Jurado Aceituno, *La "hidma" selyuqí: la red de relaciones de dependencia mutua, la dinámica del poder y las formas de obtención de los beneficios*, diss. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid 1994, unpubl.

2. In Anatolia

The Saldjūķ administration in Anatolia was probably less developed and certainly less extensive in its sphere of operations than that of the Great Saldjūķs. The rulers depended on secretaries and officials from the Saldjūķ lands further east, essentially of Perso-Islamic culture, for any existing, pre-Saldjūķ Greek or Armenian officials would have been of little practical use, given their ignorance of Arabic and Persian and of the whole Islamic administrative tradition. Hence the administration, like the culture of the Rūm Saldjūķs, became strongly Persian in ethos. In the formative, earlier period, however, the possibility of extraneous influences from the earlier, Byzantine civilisation should be considered, and the question whether the Saldjūķs and, after them, the Ottomans, made use of Byzantine models or worked purely within the Perso-Islamic and/or native Turkish traditions, has been much discussed by scholars.

The sultan's chief executive was the vizier, but viziers never seem to have achieved the great power and influence in the state which several of those of the Great Saldjūķs enjoyed, at least before the mid-7th/13th century, when we then have the dominating figure of the *Parwāna* Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān [*q.v.*] and other officials who had to act as intermediaries between the puppet sultans and their Mongol overlords. The chancery in Konya generally used Persian for correspondence, but Arabic was naturally of great importance e.g. for diplomatic relations with the Muslim powers of Syria, Egypt and ʿIrāķ; Ibn Bībī even mentions *nuṭār* = *notarioi*, who were presumably used for correspondence with Byzantine and other Christian powers and, possibly, for contacts with the indigenous Greek population of Anatolia. Also, Turkish must have been necessary for communicating with the increasing numbers of Turks amongst the Anatolian population, both in the towns and the countryside, and, in particular, with the army, whose payment was the responsibility of the central *dīwān* or one of its offshoots concerned with military affairs. When the Ķaramānid Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad captured Konya in 675/1277, he is said to have ordered that Turkish only should be used in the chancery there [see ĶARAMĀN-OGHULLARĪ, at vol. IV, 620a], but this innovation cannot have lasted very long.

The army, although arising out of the Turkmen bands which had raided across Anatolia from the outset, came to be a much more ethnically-varied force, not only because it contained Greeks and Armenians who had been captured and enslaved (although there is no sign of anything like the later Ottoman *dewshirme* [*q.v.*]), but also because companies of foreign troops, sometimes vaguely characterised as "Franks" (*firang*), were employed. The position is not clear regarding these, but they may have been mercenaries; for the 7th/13th century, Ibn Bībī speaks of hired troops (*djīra-khʷār*), apparently including Khʷārazmians, Armenians from Cilicia and Greeks from Trebizond.

Connected with the idea of continuity or discontinuity of institutions in Saldjūķ Anatolia, and the use of local peoples in the state apparatus, is the topic of the progress of Islamisation on the Anatolian plateau and attendant problems raised by it. Islamisation was clearly a gradual process, but exactly at what speed it progressed, and with what degree of violence and hardship for the indigenous peoples, are questions which have been discussed by historians. Undoubtedly, the Greeks and Armenians suffered from the uncontrolled raiding of barbaric Turkmens, often themselves only imperfectly Islamised, and they were exposed to the enslavement of their male children by the Muslim conquerors. The remaining churches and monasteries, cut off from their previous sources of benefactions and revenues, became impoverished. In general, there was some movement of the Christian population from the central plateau to the maritime fringes and to mountain areas, but of course, substantial Christian elements remained in the towns and countryside of central and inland Anatolia right up to the early 20th century and the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations in an age of sharpened nationalisms. Between these peoples and incoming Turkish groups some degree of intermarriage apparently took place, and contemporary Greek sources speak of a new generation of Anatolians of mixed ancestry, the *mixovarvaroi*, who could be found in the forces of some Turkish chiefs. Such intermarriage, added to the social and legal disadvantages of non-Muslims living under Islamic rule, must have favoured a degree of conversion and must have contributed to some decline in the numbers of Christians in Anatolia. Nevertheless, the situation of Christians under Turkish rule appears to have been more favourable than in the Arabo-Persian heartlands of the *Dār al-Islām*. The Saldjūķ sultans of Rūm retained something of the tolerance towards, or indifference to, other faiths which had characterised the Turks and Mongols in their Inner Asian homelands; they themselves married Greek and Georgian princesses; churches and monasteries remained in their dominions, and the Greek clergy found no difficulty in maintaining links with their Patriarchate in Constantinople. It must always be remembered, too, that the Turks were almost certainly still a minority within the lands they ruled, so that the Greco-Armenian presence within Anatolia remained a substantial one and may have favoured a some degree of religious syncretism with the local forms of Islam, a possibility explored by such scholars as F.W. Hasluck and Fuad Köprülü (see on this, above, section IV. 2).

Economic and commercial life within the core lands of the sultanate seems to have been flourishing, certainly by the early 7th/13th century. It was the frontier regions, where periodic fighting and raiding per-

sisted, which suffered economic and social dislocation, whereas the sultans had an obvious interest in promoting the agricultural prosperity of their dominions. The taxes levied by the Saldjūḳ administration on the Christian populace may conceivably have been lighter than those of the retreating Byzantine fiscal system. With the virtual Mongol takeover of the Saldjūḳ sultanate in the later 7th/13th century, however, taxation on all classes must have increased perceptibly. Anatolia had to pay tribute to support the Mongol army and administration there, and there there were various taxes whose names are known but whose exact nature is unclear (e.g. *balīsh*, *indju* and *dalay*, although *indju* seems to denote domains in Rūm belonging to the Il Khānid state). As part of the great vizier to the Mongols Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb's [*q.v.*] general financial re-ordering of the Il Khānid empire in *ca.* 700/1300, an effort seems to have been made to recover *iḳṭāʿs* [*q.v.*] which had been transformed into *milk* [*q.v.*] or private property under the later Saldjūḳ sultans.

Despite these burdens, the lands of the sultanate continued in general to prosper. As noted above, during the first half of the 7th/13th century the sultans secured access to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea shores, and even made their presence felt as far away as the Crimea (see above, section III. 5). There was consequently a great fillip to internal trade and the transit trade across Anatolia, signalled by a perceptible building programme by the sultans, from Ḳilič Arslan II in the later 6th/12th century onwards, and by great men in the state, along the Anatolian caravan routes, seen in bridges, caravanserails, *ʿimārets* and other facilities for travellers and merchants (see below, section VI. 2). The first tentative trade agreements were made with European powers like the Venetians, specifically in this case concerning access to Mediterranean trade through Antalya (610/1213 and 613/1216). At the same time, urban life within the sultanate revived by the later 6th/12th century from its depressed state under the later Byzantines, and many towns received new or strengthened walls, visible now in the walls of Alanya (those of Konya only having disappeared in recent times). Although the Saldjūḳ towns, almost all of them corresponding to their Byzantine and/or classical forerunners, had no more autonomy than the towns elsewhere in the Islamic world, they had a vigorous life, accentuated by the mélange of peoples and faiths within them. In the 7th/13th century we have mention of such groups of mixed parentage called *ikdīsh* "crossbreeds", and of the *akhīs* [*q.v.*], whose importance in almost all the towns of Anatolia was later to strike the Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

Bibliography: See that for section III. 5 above, and especially Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 143 ff., 314 ff., and Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*. For administrative organisation, see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtina medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 64-107, and for military organisation, *ibid.*, 108-22, and A. Bombaci, *The army of the Saljuqs of Rūm*, in *AIUON*, xxxviii = N.S. xxviii (1978), 343-69. (C.E. Bosworth)

VI. Art and architecture

1. In Persia

This article will confine itself to the output of the Saldjūḳ period in Persia, for that was the centre of Saldjūḳ power; and while some Saldjūḳ rulers extended their authority far to the west, and even to the north-east at times, their hold on this territory was much more tenuous. Moreover, the visual arts in Syria and ʿIrāḳ between *ca.* 1000 and *ca.* 1220 followed their own path, in which local traditions played a major role. For the art of the Saldjūḳs in Anatolia, see section 2. below.

The importance of Saldjūḳ art within the broader context of Islamic art as a whole lies in the way that it established the dominant position of Persia; one may compare the pivotal role of Italy in European art. It also determined the future development of art in the Persian world for centuries. In its own time its impact was felt, either through the agency of the Saldjūḳs themselves or through their successor states, from Syria to Northern India. The period 1000-1220 set benchmarks for all sorts of fields, from pottery and metalwork to the arts of the book and architecture. It is important to note that this time frame begins well before the Saldjūḳ period and ends well after it, a reminder that the chronology of artistic styles is often out of phase with that of political history. A by-product of this is that the overlap between Saldjūḳ art and that of the Būyids, Ghaznawids, Ghūrids, Ḳarakhanids and Khwārazmshāhs—to name only some of the major stylistic groupings of the time—is such that these dynastic labels are often unhelpful if not downright misleading. The basic fact to bear in mind is the existence of an artistic *koiné* in the eastern Islamic world between 1000 and 1220. That *koiné*, moreover, was at its most vigorous in the years of Saldjūḳ decline and after the fall of the dynasty in 1194, and it owed much to the political unity imposed by the Saldjūḳs on eastern and western Persia. It is to this later period that the major technical advances of Saldjūḳ art can be attributed. The period from *ca.* 1150 (the pen case of 542/1148 in the Hermitage provides a convenient point of departure) saw an unprecedented expansion of figural decoration, whether in the form of narrative scenes (taken, for example, from the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī), pictures of courtiers, animals, zodiacal themes, and images from the so-called "princely cycle" featuring hunting, banqueting, music-making and the like. Long benedictory inscriptions in Arabic now become the norm in the portable arts. Sculpture in stucco, ceramic and metal now takes on a new importance.

The sheer productivity of these centuries in the visual arts [see KHAZAF and MAʿDIN] represents, in comparison with the output of earlier centuries, a quantum leap forward. With this increased quantity—which is helped by a standardisation of shapes—comes an expansion in patronage, which now not only operates at court level but also has a new popular dimension, perhaps an expression of widespread urban wealth deriving from a buoyant economy. This art, then, reveals a cross-section of contemporary society and its tastes; luxury and utility Ḳurʾāns, large royal and small provincial mosques, expensive lustre or *mināʾī* [*q.v.*] pottery and coarse glazed ware reminiscent of folk art, elaborately inlaid metalwork and virtually plain cast pieces. One can identify numerous local schools, for example in architecture and ceramics. A natural by-product of this intensive activity was a wide range of technical and stylistic innovations. It must be remembered, however, that the picture is skewed, especially in the fields of pottery and metalwork, by the massive scale of illegal excavations in Persia over the past hundred years, for which there is no parallel in the rest of the Islamic world. In other countries most of the comparable material is still in the ground. And the paucity of detailed monographic studies of key objects and buildings means that much basic information is still either unavailable or inadequately contextualised.

Thus the originality of Saldjūḳ art is apt to be exag-

gerated. In many cases, the artists of the Saldjūḳ period (it is misleading to speak of "the Saldjūḳs" in this connection) consolidated, and indeed at times perfected, forms and ideas that had long been known. In architecture one may cite the 4-*īwān* plan, the dome chamber over the *miḥrāb* in the mosque, and the tomb tower; in Ḳurānic calligraphy, the apotheosis of the "New Style" of Kūfic, now integrated with lavish illumination; in metalwork, the technique of inlay using several metals; and in painting, the development of the frontispiece. Above all, there is surprisingly little for which a source right outside the Persian world can be posited. Although the Saldjūḳs themselves were Turks, it is hard to point to any specifically Turkish elements in the art of Persia and its eastern provinces in the period under review. This seems to point to the dominance of Persian artisans in the visual arts. Parenthetically, one may note that the picture in Anatolia, where people of Turkish extraction formed a larger proportion of the population, is distinctively different; there, references to pagan Turkish religious beliefs, funerary customs and royal ceremonial are frequently encountered (see section 2. below).

What of patronage? Only two pieces of Saldjūḳ pottery made for a person of high rank, one an *amīr*, the other a vizier, are known, and the situation is little better in the case of metalwork. The overwhelmingly rich and varied production in these fields ought presumably, therefore, to be attributed to patronage exercised at a lower level of society, such as merchants, members of the leaned class and professional people. Most of it was presumably made for the market, though this would not exclude its use by those of high rank. Architecture, involving as it did much larger sums of money, is a different story altogether. Inscriptions in mosques and mausolea mention the Saldjūḳ sultans themselves (e.g. Malik Shāh and Muḥammad), viziers (Niẓam al-Mulk, Tādj al-Mulk), Turkish chieftains (the towers of Kharraḳān), army commanders (Urmiya) and numerous *amīrs* (Marāgha, Mihmandust, Ḳazwīn and Abarḳūh).

Problems of provenance have bedevilled the study of the so-called "minor arts" in the Saldjūḳ period. These problems have been exacerbated by the fact that most of the known material has not been scientifically excavated and lacks inscriptions yielding solid information on provenance. Confusing and contradictory information on this topic proliferates. The very few securely provenanced pieces perforce act as a peg on which to hang all manner of other pieces, and their evidential value is simply not enough to justify this practice. It is now generally accepted (thanks to O. Watson) that virtually all lustre and *mīnā'ī* wares—the most expensive ceramics of the period—were made in Kāshān (though the distinctive heavy red body of lustre tiles found in the Kirmān area suggests local production there), and this luxury ware was widely traded, to judge by the sherding carried out by A. Williamson and others. But conversely, many other slightly less luxurious but still fine wares cannot be securely associated with any one city or area, and they might therefore have been produced in several places independently (like the Sāmānid epigraphic ware of the 10th century, which was produced in both Samarḳand and Nīshāpūr, and apparently in Marw too). Similarly, the fact that the celebrated Bobrinski bucket and the Tiflis ewer both bear an inscription stating that they were made in Harāt indicates that fine inlaid metalwork was produced in that city, and the occurrence of craftsmen's *nisbas* indicating Khurāsānī cities—Harāt, Marw, Nīshāpūr—confirms the important role of this province in metalwork. But it is not enough to justify the wholesale attribution to Harāt of wares that merely share some of the features found on Harātī work. This is particularly unlikely for metalwork that is technically simpler than the inlaid pieces, since the demand for such simpler work must have been too widespread to be catered for by a single production centre. But exactly where these other Persian workshops were located must be determined by future research. The astonishing range of forms encountered in Saldjūḳ metalwork (including many derived from architectural forms) also points to numerous centres of production. It seems likely that some of the best craftsmen travelled widely to execute commissions, and that fine pieces (e.g. of Kāshān tilework) were shipped over long distances. There is evidence too of a division of labour in metalwork and lustreware that ensured a higher level of quality overall. But the key question remains; scholarship has not yet established whether the pockets of intense activity in a limited geographical area have a wider significance for pan-Persian production or whether they reflect a well-developed specialisation confined to a given area.

Laboratory examination has yet to be used in a systematic way on Saldjūḳ metalwork; the evidence that it would provide on alloys, for instance, could then be correlated with other factors—shape, technique, decoration—to create a more nuanced picture of the various known types. In the current state of knowledge it is safe to say that wares constructed from sheet metal were made of brass while most others were of quaternary alloy; true bronzes are uncommon.

The very few pieces of Saldjūḳ metalwork in silver point to a serious shortage of that metal which became more critical as the 11th century advanced. It was perhaps in part a result of the practice followed by the Viking traders travelling along the great Russian rivers, who hoarded the Islamic silver coins with which they were paid for slaves, furs and amber and who thus took the coins out of circulation. Indeed, the gradual cessation of the minting of silver coins in Persia and Anatolia in this period, and their replacement by copper dirhams, provides incontrovertible and, as it were, statistical evidence of this trend, anecdotal evidence of the survival or use of individual silver objects notwithstanding. Base metal had perforce to fill the gap, but its value was greatly enhanced by the practice of inlaying it with copper, silver, gold and a bituminous black substance, the whole giving an effect of polychrome splendour. Thus fine craftsmanship did duty for precious metal. This technique with its plethora of detail explains why such metalwork now bore elaborate figural scenes; even inscriptions took on human and animal form. These inlaid objects survive in large quantities, probably because their metal content (unlike that of silver and gold objects) was not sufficiently valuable to be worth melting down, whereas the intrinsic value of their top-quality craftsmanship was obvious.

In ceramics, the earliest dated underglaze-painted, lustre and *mīnā'ī* wares are respectively placed by their inscriptions to the years 562/1166, 575/1179 and 582/1186, and therefore all postdate the death of the last Great Saldjūḳ ruler, Sandjar, in 552/1157. Conversely, in metalwork there are several pieces dated between 455/1063 and 542/1148—i.e., truly in the Saldjūḳ period. The frequency of dated ceramics (and many are signed) argues a higher status for fine pottery than had previously obtained. A new light body known as stone-paste or fritware was devised; it was made largely from ground quartz, with

small quantities of ground glass and fine clay, presumably an attempt by Islamic potters to imitate the body of Chinese porcelain, though the necessary evidence of trade with China is missing. Such pieces were mostly moulded. Others belonged to categories known as silhouette or double-shell wares and in these, as in lakabi and other sgraffiato wares, much of the decoration was incised with a knife or a pointed object. Such incised wares continued a fashion well established before the Saldjūḳ period. Underglaze painting in blue and black was also popular, as was a type of translucent white ware, often pierced for greater effect. Many of the more expensive wares bear hurried cursive inscriptions in Persian love poetry of mostly indifferent quality, and praise the maker of the piece. Scientific analysis of pottery has successfully differentiated between the original ceramic and modern repairs to body and decoration alike, a crucial distinction since virtually no mediaeval pieces have remained intact.

A close connection existed between the most elaborate wares and book painting, including Ḳurʾānic illumination, as shown by figural types, narrative strips and numerous stylistic features, while many details of the shape and decoration of Saldjūḳ ceramics—handles, stepped feet, imitation chains, incising, gilding, fluting—derive from metalwork. Similarly, the ornamental sheen and decorative motifs of Saldjūḳ metalwork reveal close familiarity with manuscript illumination. All this points both to the interdependence of the arts in this period and to the existence of hierarchies within the visual arts.

The recent demonstration (Bloom, Blair and Wardwell, in *Ars Orientalis*, xxii [1992]) that the majority of textiles once thought to be Būyid or Saldjūḳ are in fact of modern manufacture has made it imperative to submit all so-called Saldjūḳ silks to scientific tests, and renders premature any art-historical enquiry into them.

It is not possible to say much about book painting in Saldjūḳ times, for the principal centre of production in this period was ʿIrāḳ, which was then under the control of the newly renascent caliphate [see TAṢWĪR]. Thus ʿIrāḳī painting, for all its stylistic affinities with Saldjūḳ art, cannot be brought into the present discussion. The most likely condidate to represent the largely vanished art of Saldjūḳ book painting is the verse romance *Warḳa wa Gulshāh*, written in Persian by the poet ʿAyyūḳī and signed by the painter ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Khūyī. This suggests a provenance in north-west Persia, but Anatolia is a distinct possibility too. The manuscript (in the Topkapı Sarayı library in Istanbul) has 70 brightly coloured illustrations in strip format against a plain coloured or patterned ground, with figural types of the kind familiar in *mināʾī* pottery, but with an unexpected additional feature: obtrusive animals which have been shown by Daneshvari to have iconographic significance, for example as symbolic and prophetic references to the action. A fragment of al-Ṣūfī's treatise *Fixed stars* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (ms. Or. 133), undated and unprovenanced but probably of the 13th century, might be of Persian origin. But for all the paucity of the surviving material, the clear dependence of both fine ceramics and fine metalwork on manuscript painting and illumination shows clearly enough the high profile which the arts of the book enjoyed in the Saldjūḳ period. And book painting in Mesopotamia after the fall of the Saldjūḳ dynasty often has marked Persian features, a factor which suggests the existence of an earlier pan-Saldjūḳ school of painting in which distinctions between ʿIrāḳ and Persia were perhaps not very significant.

Several fine Saldjūḳ Ḳurʾāns have survived [see KHAṬṬ]. They include dated examples in Mashhad (466/1073), Tehran (485/1092 and 606-8/1209-11), Philadelphia (559/1164; produced in Hamadān) and London (582/1186), as well as examples which slightly pre-date the advent of the Saldjūḳs (London, 427/1036 and Dublin, 428/1037). There are also numerous undated but probably Saldjūḳ examples in Dublin, Paris, Istanbul, Tehran and London, to say nothing of parts of Ḳurʾāns or individual leaves in dozens of collections throughout the world. Saldjūḳ Ḳurʾāns are notable for their magnificent full-page or double-page frontispieces and colophon pages, often of pronounced geometric character, with script in panels taking a prime role. They are known both in *naskhī* and in "New Style", otherwise known as "East Persian", Kūfic. There is a substantial variation in scale—from small one-volume Ḳurʾāns measuring 12 by 10 cm to large ones of 41 by 28 cm and there are some in 30 or 60 parts, large and small, each part with its own frontispiece. The discrepancy in size and layout extends to the number of lines per page, which varies from 2 to 20, and to the scale, quantity and placing of illumination. The task of establishing dates and provenances for this ample material, and devising working categories for it, has only just begun.

In architecture even more than in other fields the dividing line, so far as style is concerned, between what is definably Saldjūḳ and what precedes that period is very hard to draw, though the Mongol invasion and the architectural vacuum that followed it means that there is a distinct break in continuity after *ca.* 1220. A few examples will make this clear. The characteristic minarets of Saldjūḳ type—lofty, cylindrical, set on a polygonal plinth and garnished with inscription bands and geometric brick patterning—are known from at least as early as the 1020s (Dāmghān, Simnān). Of the two standard types of Saldjūḳ mausoleum, the tomb tower perhaps reached its apogee in the Gunbad-i Ḳābūs, dated 397/1006-7 [*q.v.*], while the other type, the domed square, is already brought to a pitch of perfection in the so-called "Tomb of the Sāmānids" in Bukhārā, datable before 943. That building also exhibits a highly developed style of brick and terracotta ornament. Similarly, such standard features of Saldjūḳ architecture as the trilobed squinch and the *pīshṭāḳ* [*q.v.*] are already to be encountered in the 10th century (mausoleum of Arab-Ata, Tim). The same phenomenon can be detected in other art forms, for example in sgraffiato pottery or the continuity of ring and dot decoration from pre-Saldjūḳ to Saldjūḳ metalwork; and while the quantity and range of architectural tilework is indisputably a "Saldjūḳ" phenomenon, its roots in Islamic monuments lie as far back as Sāmarrā.

The distinctive Saldjūḳ contribution lies rather in the final establishment of several of the classical forms of Persia architecture and in the capacity of Saldjūḳ artists to draw out the utmost variety from these types. Mosques with one, two, three or four *īwāns* are known, and the 4-*īwān* plan receives its classic formulation in association with an open courtyard and a monumental domed chamber; a hierarchy of size distinguished major *īwāns* from minor ones [see MASDJID I.H]. The Friday Mosques of Zawāra, Ardistān and above all Iṣfahān, are outstanding examples of this trend. Saldjūḳ domed chambers are characterised by external simplicity, with a frank emphasis on the exterior zone of transition, now reduced to powerful contrasting geometric planes, while the interior is dominated by a highly elaborate transition zone (in the Iṣfahān area this made a leitmotif of the trilobed

arch) whose depth, energy and rhythmical movement has as its foil the austere, low-relief articulation vouchsafed to the lower walls and to the inner dome itself. But other Saldjūḳ mosque types, such as the free-standing domed chamber or the arcaded hall, are also known.

In mausolea [see TURBA], the *pīshṭāḳ* was developed from a simple salient porch to a great screen which conferred a grandiose façade on the building behind it (Ṭūs, Sarakhs). The originally simple formula of the domed square underwent other major changes too, notably in the development of a gallery zone (Sangbast), engaged corner columns (Takistān, Hamadān), and double dome (mausoleum of Sultan Sandjar, Marw). Lofty tomb towers proliferated across northern Persia, many of them built as secular memorials for *amīrs* and others of high rank, though some have *miḥrābs* and therefore served at least in part a religious purpose. Their form varied: some were square, cylindrical or flanged but most had 7, 8, 10 or 12 sides, with inner domes crowned by conical or polyhedral roofs. Their form was well suited to the development of brick ornament, for it ensured a constant change of plane and therefore much variety in the play of shadow. Here, too, some of the earliest uses of glazed tilework are to be found.

The impressive sequence of some 40 Saldjūḳ minarets [see MANĀRA. 1] comprises all manner of structural variations, including single or double staircases with or without a central column, flaring corbelled balconies, three-tier elevations, shafts articulated by flanges and engaged columns, and—an innovation destined to have a long history in Persian architecture—the double minaret flanking a portal, whether this was the entrance to a building or the *ḳibla īwān*. Thus the minaret came to have a symbolic rather than a strictly liturgical role. They also occur as free-standing monuments unrelated to other buildings, and in such cases seem to have functioned as land-locked lighthouses.

No Saldjūḳ palaces survive in good condition, though excavations have revealed the ground plan of the 4-*īwān* palace at Marw and the palatial kiosk of Ḳalʿa-yi Dukhtar in Ādharbaydjān still stands despite its ruined state. But the palaces of Tirmidh, Ghazna and Lashkar-i Bāzār, all yielding abundant decoration, belong to much the same cultural sphere even though they are linked to Sāmānid and Ghaznawid rulers respectively. The same situation applies in the case of the *madrasa*, a particularly serious deficiency given the unambiguous testimony of the literary sources that such buildings were erected throughout the Saldjūḳ empire [see MADRASA. III]. Controversial remains at Khargird, Ṭabas, Rayy, Samarḳand and near Sayot in Tadjkistan (Khʷadja Mashhad) permit no clear statement as to the form of the *madrasa* in Saldjūḳ times. The luxuriously embellished and largely ruined Shāh-i Mashhad of 571/1175-6 in Gharčistān, identified by its inscription as a *madrasa*, is a Ghūrid foundation, while the building at Zūzan, dated 615/1218-19 and also identified epigraphically as a *madrasa*, was erected by a governor of the Khʷārazm Shāhs. Taken together, their awesome scale and magnificence suggest that the *madrasas* of the Persian world in this period far outshone those from other Islamic territories.

Several caravansarais datable to the Saldjūḳ period are known; four of them—Ribāṭ-i Malik, Dāya Khātūn, Ribāṭ-i Māhī and Ribāṭ-i Sharaf—bear lavish decoration. Indeed, Ribāt-i Sharaf [*q.v.*; probably 508/1114-5, repaired 549/1154-5], with its huge double courtyard plan (repeated at Aḳče Ḳalʿa in Turkmenistan) is a museum of contemporary decorative techniques. This splendour, when linked to its location astride the main road from Marw to Nīshāpūr, makes it plausible that this building served as a royal stopover. Most Saldjūḳ caravansarais, however, are built for use rather than display, with rubble masonry, strong fortifications and minimal comfort. In many of these buildings the prescriptive power of the 4-*īwān* plan made itself felt.

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2. In Anatolia

N.B. Buildings and objects with dated inscriptions are indicated thus: *. TIEM = Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi (Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art), Istanbul.

(a) *Architecture and its decoration.*

A general survey of the art and architecture of Anatolia in the Saldjūḳ period necessarily involves both the Sultanate of Konya (*ca.* 1118-1308) and its provincial capitals and the Turcoman amīrates which were subdued and more or less incorporated into it during the reigns of Kaykāwūs I and Kayḳubād I [*q.vv.*], among them the Dānishmendids, the Saltūḳids, the Mengüdjükids, and the Ayyūbid-Artuḳid confederation which Kayḳubād I defeated at the battle of Yassī Čimen (1230). These all had, however, their own traditions which were often locally persistent. This complicates a purely linear treatment of their art and architecture.

Building typology. The architecture of Saldjūḳ Anatolia is typologically very rich. Extant or recorded buildings include not only mosques, *madrasas* and *khānḳāhs* but also hospitals (notably at Kayseri 602*/1205-6, Sivas 614*/1217-8 and Divriği 626*/1228-9) and tomb-towers and other mausolea (*türbe, kümbed*); and secular buildings—palaces, fortifications, dockyards, caravansarays, bridges, baths and even thermal establishments (*ḳaplīdja*), as at Ilgın, from which an inscription of 666/1267-8 in the name of the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī (Ṣāḥib Ata) was recorded.

Mosques and complexes. A persistent plan for Great Mosques, possibly inherited from the Dānishmendids, is basilical, as at Sivas and Kayseri (both later 12th century), sometimes with a flat roof on wooden columns (cf. Otto-Dorn, 1959). The minarets of this early date are brick and tend to be exaggeratedly tall. Later 13th century minarets, such as the Burmalı Minare at Amasya (c. 640/1242-3) and the Ince Minare at Konya (?663/1264-5; Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 78) in its original two-tiered form, also tend to height, though they are mostly in stone.

The evidence for complexes (*külliyes* [*q.v.*]), foundations including buildings of diverse functions, which in Ayyūbid Syria and Egypt had become standard by the early 13th century, is less good in Anatolia, largely because, with exceptions like the Great Mosque and Hospital at Divriği and the foundation of Huant (Khʷānd) Hatun at Kayseri (Shawwāl 635*/May-June 1238; cf. Akok, 1968), mosques, *madrasas* and baths may have been adjacent but were not integrated structures, so that substantial parts could well have disappeared without damage to the rest. Funerary foundations, with the pyramidal or conical roof of a mausoleum clearly visible from the exterior, also appear to have been less common than in Ayyūbid Syria: among the exceptions are the Citadel Mosque at Konya (616-17/1219-21) replacing a mosque of Masʿūd I (d. 550/1155), which contains two mausolea with the tombs of the Sultans of Rūm (Kaykāwūs I is buried, however, in the hospital he founded at Sivas [614*/1217-8]); the hospital at Divriği (626*/1228-9) and the complex of Huant (Khʷānd) Hatun at Kayseri (Shawwāl 635*/May-June 1238). The mosque of the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī (656*/1258; cf. Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 79) was augmented by a *khānḳāh* (668*/1269-70; cf. Meinecke, 1976, ii, nos. 79 and 89) which on his death was partially transformed into a family mausoleum. Many other monuments contain provision for a mausoleum, even if they have no burials, but they are unmarked architecturally and may well have been afterthoughts.

Mausolea. The vast majority of mausolea are isolated tomb-towers. Despite marked local variation in decoration, their construction is basically standard, a pyramidal or conical drum with a pyramidal or conical roof on a raised square podium which houses the crypt. The interior often contains a *miḥrāb*, not necessarily because prayers were to be said there but to orient the burial. These *türbes* or *kümbeds* derive from the brick tomb-towers of later-12th century Djibāl, as at Nakhčiwān [*q.v.*] and Marāgha [*q.v.*], though they are virtually all of cut stone without any tilework. Many are anonymous but those which bear inscriptions are generally of *amīrs* or high-born ladies. In the cemeteries of Ahlat (Gabriel and Sauvaget, 1940; Karamağaralı, 1972) they occur alongside conventional inhumations with a cenotaph and head- and foot-stones. Another monumental tomb-type is the so-called Gömeç Hatun Türbe at Konya (late 13th century; cf. Meinecke, ii, no. 86), an open *īwān* built over a crypt and with traces of tile decoration on the façade. Such tombs remain quite common in the Kayseri area.

Fortifications. The building or restoration of fortifications by the Saldjūḳ sultans of Konya closely follows the unification of their territories, particularly in the reigns of Kaykāwūs I and Kayḳubād I as they subjugated the smaller Turcoman amirates and expanded into Byzantine territory. These include the walls of the city and Citadel of Konya (600*/1203-4, 610*/1213-4 and 618/1221-2); Sinop (Rabīʿ II 612*/July 1215), Antalya (Djumādā I 617*/July 1220, 622*/1225-6, 626*/1228-9 and 642*/1244-5) and the Citadel of Kayseri (621*/1224-5). The walls and Citadel of Sivas were probably restored early in the reign of Kayḳubād I, and after his capture of Erzurum in 1230 its walls also were restored. The latest of his Turcoman rivals to build or restore their walls were the Mengüdjükids at Divriği (inscriptions of 634*/1236-7, 640*/1242-3, 650*/1252-3 and 652*/1254-5), long after they had accepted Saldjūḳ suzerainty, and indeed when they had passed under Mongol overlordship. The most imposing structures were at Konya (Bombaci, 1969), but Sarre (1936; and cf. Laborde, 1836) pointed out that they were the walls not of the city but of Kayḳubād I's palace-citadel, hence for show rather than defence. The most

important fortifications are therefore those of Alanya/ʿAlāʾiyya [*q.v.*] (623-9*/1226-31; cf. Rice and Seton Lloyd, 1958) with a 5-bay naval dockyard (*tersāne*), unique among extant Islamic naval installations. This is attached by a curtain wall to the principal tower, the Kızıl Kule, which bears the signature of an engineer Abu ʾl-ʿAlī b. Abi ʾl-Radjāʾ b. al-Kattānī al-Ḥalabī, whose name also appears on the walls of Sinop, refortified in 1215*.

Palaces. Of the pavilion (*köşk*) on the Citadel at Konya, a brick construction with mud-brick core, nothing survives, but a photograph of 1895 shows its upper floor corbelled out over a projecting rectangular tower of a line of inner walls and with an open arch showing the remains of a tile revetment on the exterior. This bore an inscription in the name of Ḳilīdj Arslan, in Sarre's view (1936) of the fourth ruler of that name (655-63/1257-65 [*q.v.*]). Tile remains from the inner rooms include *mīnāʾī* tiles with human figures. Excavations are still continuing at the palace of Ḳubādābād [*q.v.*] on Lake Beyşehir and have so far revealed a complex plan, with a central four-*īwān* cour d'honneur, a mosque (633*/1235-6), baths, a quay and a small dockyard (*tersāne*), and a game reserve.

Khāns. One of the most striking features of Anatolian Saldjūḳ architecture is the chains of caravansarays roughly 25 km/16 miles, one day's march, apart [see KHĀN], linking the principal cities of the Sultanate of Rum, in particular Antalya, Eğridir and Konya; Konya and Afyon Karahisar; Konya and Denizli; Konya, Āḳ Sarāy and Kayseri; Kayseri and Sivas; Kayseri and Malatya; and Malatya, Sivas, Amasya and Sinop. No urban *khāns* of the Saldjūḳ period are preserved.

Though the earliest caravansarays date to the late 12th century, the capture of Antalya (1207) and the annexation of Sinop (1215) by Kaykāwūs I were essential preliminaries to developing them as chains. Their principal function was evidently to service the north-south overland trade of strategic exports such as timber and Ḳïpčāḳ slaves from the Crimea to Antalya, whence they made their way by sea to the Ayyūbid states of Syria and Egypt, and to levy transit taxes on international trade. The peak period of foundations, 1230-45, follows hard upon the completion of the fortifications of Antalya. The Sultan Han near Āḳ Sarāy (Radjab 626*/June 1229) and the contemporary Sultan Han near Kayseri may well have been purposely built as halts for Kayḳubād I on his progresses from city to city, but these, like the smaller *khāns*, were also convenient for pilgrims on the *ḥadjdj* or for inter-urban trade, and in time of war could be used for garrisons or as refuges. Inexplicably, the east-west trade was much less favoured: despite the increasingly difficult terrain, the density of distribution east of Sivas very markedly decreases. This may explain why the Mkhargrdzeli governors of Ānī (Rogers, 1976) built their own chain of caravansarays to tap the trade along the Araxes.

The founders of these Anatolian caravansarays included the sultans and their ladies, viziers and *amīrs*. Their often well-preserved state suggests, moreover, that the specimen *waḳfiyyas* of Saldjūḳ caravansarays published by Turan (1947-8) are typical and that most of them had *waḳf* endowments. However, the Hekim Han near Malatya (615*/1218; Erdmann, 1961, i, no. 18) founded by an archdeacon and doctor, which bears inscriptions in Arabic, Syriac and Armenian, showing it to have been a family investment, is evidence that not all Saldjūḳ caravansarays need have been pious foundations.

With very few exceptions, for example the Evdir Han near Antalya (datable 1213-19; Erdmann, 1961, i, no. 55) which is built round an open courtyard, the nucleus of these caravansarays was a covered hall. This was the most appropriate to the Anatolian winter climate, though fireplaces and chimneys are generally absent. To the hall, as and when means permitted, a courtyard would be added, often much larger because it was cheaper to build and because the peak season of trade was the summer when shelter was less important. With the courtyard came elaborations. Sixteen out of the surviving courtyard and hall caravansarays include *masdjids* and some of them, like the Sultan Han near Kayseri, have a bath too. In the two Sultan Hans, *masdjids* take the form of richly decorated kiosks raised on a four-bay substructure. The Karatay Han (courtyard 638*/1240-1; Erdmann, 1961, i, no. 32) also includes a spring housed in a *türbe*-like building.

Many of these *khāns* are undecorated but practically all of them, though not built as fortresses, are fortress-like in their appearance, with stout buttresses and corner-towers. Many, however, have grand entrances, both to the courtyard and to the hall; although sometimes the hall porch is the richer, the decoration of the courtyard entrances is directly related to the elaborateness of the plan and the lavishness of the appurtenances. After the Sultan Hans, the richest decoration is that of the Karatay Han, the two porches of which (Erdmann, 1976, ii-ii, Plates 99-113) make use of ornamental bosses, elaborate *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*] systems and angular interlacing strapwork, with animal friezes on the courtyard side of the main entrance and high-relief waterspouts in the form of lions.

It is unclear how the considerable labour force employed at the peak building period of caravansarays (1230-45) was organised. The plans chosen must largely have depended on the terrain, so that variation is not necessarily significant; but the marked dissimilarities in buttresses and corner towers and the apparently random approach to the vaulting of halls and their lighting argue for an absence of centralised direction. The typology of decoration, which has little to do with, for example, tilework, is also difficult to reconstruct, not least because of the large proportion of undated buildings and because, as the work of Muḥammad b. Khawlān al-Dimashḳī on the Sultan Han near Āḳ Sarāy shows, a skilled decorator could vary his repertory to suit his employer. Neighbouring caravansarays tend to have somewhat similar decoration, which argues for the employment of local or provincial gangs of masons. Entrance-profiles were, however, probably largely standardised and analysis of these may well produce significant results.

Bridges. There has been no comprehensive survey of the bridges of Saldjūḳ Anatolia, but Taeschner (i, 182 ff., 236 ff.) observes that for the most part they lie on the major Roman roads and that, for example, most of the Saldjūḳ bridges in the neighbourhood of Sivas either incorporate or replace Roman structures (cf. Gabriel, 1934, 165-7). In the Saldjūḳ period, refortification and the construction of chains of caravansarays made bridge-building particularly important, not least because bridges offered another convenient way of levying transit taxes. Thus many, like the bridge over the Kızıl Irmak near Kayseri on the Kırşehir road (599*/1202-3) built by Rukn al-Din Sulaymān b. Ḳïlïdj Arslān II, are royal foundations.

Structure. With the striking exception of the Great Mosque and Hospital at Divriği (Tükel-Yavuz, 1978), the vaulting systems of which include types of domical vault, as well as groined and elaborately ribbed vaults closely paralleled in the chapter-houses,

libraries and refectories of 12th-13th century Greater Armenian monasteries, as at Hagartsin (1248) and Saghmossavank (1255) (cf. Khal'pakhčian 1953, 1971), most Anatolian Saldjūk architecture is structurally simple. Plans, moreover, are often stereotyped and much use is made of open courtyards with one, two or four *īwāns*: despite the harsh winter climate, only mosques are regularly covered.

Building materials. Brick occupies a minor place in the architecture of Saldjūk Anatolia (Bakırer, i-ii, 1981) and is most characteristic of immigrant or refugee craftsmen from Djibāl or Persia, for example, the work of Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Marandī on the mausoleum of Kaykāwūs I in his Hospital at Sivas (4 Shawwāl 617*/2 December 1220). Though brick continues to be employed for domes, for example the Ince Minare and Büyük Karatay *madrasas* at Konya (latter 649*/1251-2), it generally gives way to stone and the only monument substantially of brick is the Great Mosque (Arık, 1969; Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 96) at Malatya [*q.v.*]. The principal building material employed is volcanic tuff, carefully squared, with a rubble core. This was also widely used in 12th-13th century Greater Armenia, but though a few decorative features and, for example, the domed crossings of some of the larger caravansarays recall Armenian prototypes, the names of clearly Armenian craftsmen rarely occur and there are few or no obviously Armenian masons' marks. On the contrary, it is the influence of Western Georgia (Tao-Klargeti) which is apparent in the 13th century architecture of Erzurum; and where "Saldjūk" parallels with Armenian monuments are closest these are mostly of the late 13th or early 14th century (like the monastic church and its porch at Amaghu-Noravank) when, doubtless, Anatolian craftsmen, faced with the steady contraction of the building industry, were seeking employment elsewhere.

Despite the Anatolian builders' mastery of cut-stone masonry it is evident from Kaykubād I's first restoration of the Citadel mosque at Konya (completed 617*/1220-1) that the sultans' taste ran to bichrome marble or marble veneer. This raised two problems: lack of available marble, which made the re-use of antique material or spolia inevitable; and a lack of craftsman able to work it. These had to be brought from Syria. The marble decoration of the Citadel mosque, notably a conspicuous angular knot in the spandrels of arches, is essentially that of contemporary Ayyūbid Aleppo, though the craftsman responsible, Muḥammad b. Khawlān (who also very probably executed the entrance porch of the Büyük Karatay *madrasa* at the same time), signs himself as al-Dimashkī, not al-Ḥalabī. Reminiscences of the Aleppo knot appear on later stone buildings at Konya, notably the Ince Minare *madrasa* (?663/1264-5; Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 78), but Muḥammad b. Khawlān's earlier work cannot have been entirely to the sultans' taste, for when his signature recurs, on the Sultan Han near Āk Sarāy (Radjab 626*/June 1229), the decoration and profiling are much closer to standard central Anatolian façade compositions. This rapid assimilation shows itself also on the grandest marble façade of all, the porch of the Gök Medrese, Sivas (670*/1271-2), signed by Kālūyān al-Kūnawī (the *nisba* doubtless referring to his specialisation in marble-work). Sarre (1936) and Bombaci (1969) also attribute the collection of marbles outside the Citadel gates of Konya (Laborde, 1836) to Kaykubād I's own personal taste.

In addition to the marble re-used and re-carved in the above monuments, marble fragments were often incorporated unchanged. This is strikingly the case with the walls of the Zazadin Han (courtyard 634*/1236-7), which include a mass of fragments from Byzantine churches, including crosses. However, they could also be treated as part of the decoration, as on the façade of the mosque of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī (Ṣāḥib Ata) at Konya, where to each side of the entrance a classical sarcophagus supports an ornamentally framed fountain and serves as a base for the whole composition.

Decoration. The different traditions of stone-carving, woodwork, stucco and tile-mosaic in Anatolian Saldjūk architecture (Öney, 1978) place its decoration among the richest in Islam. The contrast between this lavish decoration and the relatively simple structural forms implies, moreover, that craftsmen's inscriptions on buildings refer not to their architects but to their decorators, either masons or tile-mosaic specialists.

The decorative repertoire, which, strikingly, makes little use of monumental inscriptions, combines, in varying degrees, elements from the traditions of the Caucasus, Transcaucasia (Armenia and Djibāl), North Syria and the Djazīra: common elements include elaborately profiled entrance porches, and surface ornament of interlaces and foliate arabesques (in Ottoman Turkish appropriately termed *rūmī*) punctuated by carved friezes or high-relief sculpture which very often are figural (Otto-Dorn, 1978-9), including both the traditional Muslim court repertory and animals and monsters—dragons, sphinxes, harpies, gryphons and two-headed eagles, many of them shown as if they were heraldic, as on tiles and woodwork too. The only comparable repertory on carved stone is to be found in 12th-century material from Ghazna [*q.v.*], though its treatment is stylistically unrelated.

In south-west and central Anatolia, at Konya, Kayseri, Niğde and Antalya and the caravansarays between them, these diverse traditions are homogeneously amalgamated, but further east one or other of them tends to be locally dominant. The tombstones of Ahlat and, for example, the dragon-compositions on the façade of the Çifte Minare *madrasa* at Erzurum, are barely islamicised versions of Armenian *khačkars* (commemorative cross-stones). The façade of the Çifte Minare *madrasa* at Sivas (670*/1270-1; Rogers, 1974) and the west porch of the Great Mosque at Divriği (626*/1228-9 or later) are both indebted to the canon-tables of Greater or Cilician Armenian Gospel books. The north porch of the latter is heavily influenced *inter alia* by stucco *miḥrābs* recorded from Djibāl and the Djazīra: the building bears two signatures of an Akhlāṭī craftsman, Khurramshāh (or Khurshāh) b. Mughīth, though neither its vaults nor its interior or its exterior decoration are at all reminiscent of Ahlat work (Karamağaralı, 1972; Rogers, 1988).

The influence of the Divriği mosque and hospital is also apparent, considerably moderated, on both the Çifte Minare *madrasa* and the Gök Medrese at Sivas (both 670*/1271-2). Its extravagance has evoked comparisons with the mid-13th century monuments of Konya signed by a craftsman K. l. w. k. b. ʿAbd Allāh (of obscure origins), whose name appears on the mosque of the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī (656*/1258), on the Ince Minare *madrasa* (?663/1264-5; Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 78) and on a no longer extant mausoleum, the Nalıncı Baba Türbe (*ibid.*, no. 76): the latter two may also have been endowed by the vizier. However, their relation to the Divriği complex is not apparent and the very marked differences be-

tween the three Konya monuments testify rather to an inherent freakishly eclectic or "Baroque" tendency in Anatolian Saldjūk architectural decoration.

Possibly the most remarkable feature of Saldjūk monumental façades is the reproduction of entrance porches. A regrettably unpublished photogrammetric survey of the façades of the Çifte Minare *madrasa* at Erzurum (post-1230; Rogers, *Kunst des Orients*, 1974) and the Gök Medrese at Sivas (670*/1271-2) by Alpay Özdural of Middle East Technical University, Ankara, has demonstrated that the latter was copied to scale. Other copies (Ögel, 1966), smaller in size, include the Eşrefoğlu Camii at Beyşehir (699*/1299-1300) and the Hatuniye Medrese at Karaman (783*/1381-2) [see LĀRANDA. 2. Monuments]. The reasons for the popularity of this façade remain unknown and, apart from the Gök Medrese at Sivas which records, probably, the marble-worker involved, none bears a craftsman's name. Their repeated duplication points, anyway, to the employment of techniques described by Byzantine writers on architecture (Downey, 1948) but ill-attested elsewhere in mediaeval Islam.

Patronage. Although in the light of the foundation inscriptions extant, the overwhelming majority of Saldjūk buildings appears to have been the work of individual *amīrs* (Rogers, 1976), the sultans may well have been indirectly involved in giving grants of land (*tamlīk*) to found the *wakfs*. Among individuals who were notably assiduous builders, the primacy is held by the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī (Ṣāḥib Ata), whose attested foundations include a *khān* at Ishaklı (647*/1249-50); the Taş Medrese and a *masdjid* at Āk Şehir (648*/1250-1), with a *khānkāh* there (659*/1260-1); a mosque at Konya (656*/1258); the Sahabiye Medrese and a *sabīl* at Kayseri (665*-666*/1266-7 and 1267) (Akok, 1967); a thermal establishment and a *khān* at Ilgın (666/1267); the Gök Medrese at Sivas (670*/1271-2); a *khānkāh* at Konya attached to his mosque there (668*/1269-70) and which was later transformed into a family mausoleum (682*/1283-4); and the Tahir or Zühre *masdjid* at Konya (*ca.* 1280). But another high official, the Pervāne Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān [*q.v.*], was almost equally active in the Pontic provinces (Kaymaz, 1970, 187-8). At Sinop he built the Alaüddin Medrese (664*/1265-6, correcting *RCEA* 4505) and a mosque (667*/1268-9), a mosque at Merzifon (663*/1264-5) and the Durak Han near the confluence of the Gök Irmak and the Kızıl Irmak (664*/1265-6). There is also archival evidence that he founded a hospital at Tokat in 674/1275-6. Not surprisingly, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī and Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān were prominent among the high officials of the Anatolian Saldjūk sultans to profit from the decline of the central power and establish hereditary, if short-lived, local dynasties.

Tilework. Polychrome and terracotta tilework is widespread in Saldjūk Anatolia, though it only exceptionally occurs on the façades of buildings. The earliest uses of glazed-brick or cut faience mosaic in Saldjūk architecture (for example, Divriği, Kale Camii 576*/1180-1; Kayseri, Külük Camii, 607*/1210-11, or substantially later (cf. Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 52); Sivas, Hospital of Kaykāwūs, 614*/1217-18) predate the Mongol invasion of Persia and show strong influence from Djibāl, both Marāgha and Marand, and from the Ildeñizid architecture of Nakhčiwān [*q.v.*; and see Jacobsthal, 1899]. The colours mostly used are turquoise and manganese-purple or -black, but by the 1240s, both cobalt blue and white occur. As the signature of the *bannāʾ* Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Ṭūsī on the tile-mosaic of the Sırçalı *madrasa* at Konya (640*/1242-3; Meinecke, 1976, i, 35-45; ii, no. 71) strongly suggests, innovation owed much to refugee craftsmen from Khurāsān or even Ghūrid Harāt. Al-Ṭūsī's workshop at Konya seems to have executed tile revetments from the Citadel Mosque, *ca.* 1235, up to the Büyük Karatay Medrese (649*/1251-2; Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 75). This last houses by far the most elaborate decoration of any Anatolian Saldjūk monument, including large areas of cut faience mosaic and mosaics of relief-carved elements in turquoise and manganese-purple, as well as dadoes of hexagonal turquoise tiles with fired gilt decoration. The last elaborate tile mosaic decoration at Konya is in the funerary *khānkāh*, dated 678*/1279-80 and restored in Muḥarram 682*/April 1283 (Meinecke, ii, no. 79 and 89), which the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī (Ṣāḥib Ata) added to his mosque (656*/1258). The revival of tile-mosaic in late 13th century Īl-Khānid Persia is very probably indebted to Anatolian craftsmen conscripted by Ghāzān Khan for the works he ordered at Tabrīz and elsewhere.

An even more characteristic feature of Anatolian Saldjūk architectural decoration is star and cross-tiles for the dadoes of palaces at Konya, Antalya, Kubādābād, Kaykubādiyya and Diyarbekir [*q.vv.*], for the bath built at Kayseri by Huant (Khʷānd) Hatun, the wife of Kaykubād I in Shawwāl 635*/May-June 1238 and in the Roman theatre at Aspendos. The Kubādābād-Huant Hatun-Aspendos group is technically varied (Öney, 1974; 1978) including underglaze-painted, lustre-painted and sgraffiato tiles, with a rich repertory of human figures, animals, birds, Zodiac and planet figures and monsters, many of them, as on Saldjūk stonework, displayed in quasi- or pseudo-heraldic fashion: it has not been demonstrated that any of them were either personal or dynastic heraldic emblems (Rogers, 1977-8). Stylistically many of the tiles show closer similarities to underglaze-painted wares from Rakka [*q.v.*] and other Euphrates potteries than to 13th century Kāshān tilework. But the lustre-painted tiles from Kubādābād and the tiles from Kaykubādiyya are *sui generis* (cf. Aslanapa, 1965, Plates 5-8).

Stucco. The most elaborate uses of carved and moulded stucco in architectural decoration are the figural reliefs from the Saldjūk palaces. They include a fine frieze with a mounted dragon-slayer and a lion-slayer from Konya, TIEM 2831, and animal friezes and frames for windows, niches or wall-cupboards with phoenixes in the spandrels of their broken arches from Kubādābād, now in the Konya Musuem. In Sarre's view (1909, 22) the stone window hood in the TIEM (Kühnel, 1938, Pl. 7) was mistakenly attributed to Diyarbekir and is actually from Konya (or Kubādābād). Very similar fragments, now in the Historical Museum, Erevan, were discovered at Ānī [*q.v.*; cf. Marr, 1934], and phoenixes also decorate spandrels on the façades of the church of Tigran Honents (1215) there. This should, however, be seen in the context of the evident taste of the Mkhargrdzeli governors of the city for Anatolian Saldjūk decoration (Rogers, 1976).

In religious buildings, stucco was often used as a plain white ground for faience-mosaic inlay. The *miḥrāb* of the Ahi Şerefüddin or Arslanhane Camii at Ankara (*minbar* dated 688*/1289-90), however, brilliantly combines carved stucco inscriptions and pilasters with ceramic mosaic inlay, foreshadowing the elaborate carved stucco of early 14th century Īl-Khānid Persia.

(b) *The minor arts.*

Woodwork. Anatolia has always been rich in

wood, and the wood-carving of the Anatolian Saldjūḳs, often in solid walnut, is among the finest in Islam. It was used not only for *minbars* and other mosque furniture, doors and sets of window-shutters, but also for cenotaphs and folding Ḳurʾān-stands (*raḥle*) ingeniously carved from a single plank (Çulpan, 1968). Techniques included lattices of turned wood (*mashrabiyya* [*q.v.*]) and tongue-and-groove panelling of polygons and stars set in a strapwork skeleton (*kündekārī*), as well as imitations of this worked on solid planks. On *minbars*, the names of scribes or calligraphers frequently appear alongside the craftsman's name: the latter describe themselves variously as *miʿmār*, as on the cenotaph of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Konya (5 Djumādā II 672*/17 December 1273; cf. Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 84: the form of the original building is unknown), *bannāʾ*, and *nadjdjār*. Although on the earliest of the known series of Anatolian Saldjūḳ *minbars*, from the Great Mosque at Āḳ Sarāy, bearing the names of Masʿūd I and Ḳilidj Arslān II and datable therefore pre-550/1155, a certain Khwādja Nūshtekīn al-Djamālī is named as *miʿmār al-masdjid wa 'l-minbar*, this must record not his workmanship but the official installation of the *minbar* which turned the *masdjid* into a Great Mosque.

Other important Saldjūḳ wooden *minbars* (Oral, 1962) include those from the Citadel mosque at Konya (Radjab 550*/September 1155); the Great Mosque at Siirt (611*/1214); the Great Mosque (Muḥarram 621*/January-February 1224 [Arık, 1969] and 638*/1240-1) at Malatya [*q.v.*]; and those from the Arslanhane Camii and the Kızıl Beg Camii at Ankara (689*/1290-1 and 699*/1299-1300, respectively) the work of a *nadjdjār* who also built the *minbar* of the Great Mosque at Çorum. The finest of the series is the *minbar* of the Great Mosque at Divriği (638*/1240-1), the work of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tiflīsī and a scribe Muḥammad, with *mashrabiyya* balustrades, grandly designed inscriptions and heavily undercut foliate arabesques. Wooden window-shutters and remains of a "Royal box" up in the rafters (Tükel-Yavuz, 1978), though in rather different styles, are equally sumptuous. The occurrence of *nisbas* among the woodworkers' names relating to Akhlāṭ and Tiflīs/Tbilisi may or may not be significant. Even the Divriği *minbar* gives way, however, to the *raḥle* for the mausoleum-shrine of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Konya (678*/1279-80) (Konya Museum 352; Riefstahl, 1933) with rich carving on the outside and with painting inside of compositions of two-headed eagles and lions in scrolling arabesques under yellow varnish.

Ceramics and glass. Apart from finds of frit-ware at the Citadel in Konya (Akok, Alaüddin Köşkü, 1968), now in the Konya Museum, possibly made by craftsmen brought in from Raḳḳa or other Euphrates potteries, most Anatolian Saldjūḳ pottery belongs to the large family of polychrome-stained sgraffiato wares manufactured in the Eastern Mediterranean from Cyprus to the Caucasus and Transcaucasia and the Black Sea. The Anatolian material is still undifferentiated and little, if anything, is known of where it was made; but, not surprisingly, figural decoration is conspicuous and close parallels to much of it have been excavated at Örenkale/Baylakan [see ÖRENKALE in Suppl.] in Ādharbaydjān (Yessen, 1959, Pls. I-XII). Heavy unglazed relief-wares, mostly crocks with lively animal-friezes, found at Ānī and other Eastern Anatolian sites (e.g. TIEM 1964) have also been found in quantity at Örenkale (Yessen, 1959, 192-205). Excavations at Ahlat, now in progress (cf. Karamağaralı, 1981), have also brought a wide range of kiln material to light and claims have been made that lustre-wares were made there.

The only recorded piece of fine glass from Saldjūḳ Anatolia must have been a special commission. This is a gilt and enamelled dish found at Ḳubādābād, typically Syrian in manufacture, in the name of Kaykhusraw II (Otto-Dorn *et alii*, 1966; 1969-70).

Metalwork. Although Saldjūḳ objects in precious metal with an Anatolian provenance are so far absent, the rich finds of silver and silver-gilt belt-trappings and drinking cups from 13th-14th century steppe-burials in South Russia, the Crimea and the northern Caucasus are evidence that Saldjūḳ Anatolian silver- and goldsmith's-work was exported northwards (cf. Marshak and Kramarovsky, 1993), creating a tradition which was continued *in situ*, probably by Armenian goldsmiths and jewellers. Brass and steel were also worked, though many categories of object are represented by single specimens. South-eastern Anatolia and the Djazīra are particularly well represented. Significant numbers of mortars with cast and engraved decoration have come from Diyarbekir; and a group of cast candlesticks sparingly inlaid with silver have been attributed to Siirt (Allan, 1978). Two large 12th or 13th century drums engraved with human-headed Kufic and fine scrolls (TIEM 2832-3) were also discovered at Diyarbekir. And although the doors made by al-Djazarī (Hill, 1974, 191-5) for the palace of the Artuḳid ruler at Diyarbekir with cast brass plates inlaid with copper and silver and knockers of confronted dragons and knobs in the form of a lion's head have not survived, they were much imitated. Knockers of this type and brass plaques from the doors of the Ulu Cami, Cizre, bear the remains of an inscription in the name of Sandjar Shāh, Atabak of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar [*q.v.*] in 1208 (*The Anatolian civilisations*, iii, 1983, D. 95). Dragon-knockers, in varying sizes and for other buildings include that in Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst I. 2242.

Other metalwork well represented from finds in Anatolia includes zoomorphic padlocks of well-known mediaeval Persian or Syrian type, brass/bronze mirrors and cast brass dirham ring-weights for steelyards. Types represented by single specimens are an open-work mosque-lamp from the Eşrefoğlu Camii at Beyşehir (Ankara, Etnografya Müzesi 7591) made in 699*/1299-1300 by a craftsman ʿAlī b. Muḥammad from Nuṣaybīn, evidently for the inauguration of the mosque; and an open-work cast brass set-square (Kocabaş, 1963), now in the Sadberk Hanım Museum in Istanbul. Evidence for fine steel-working, moreover, is a mirror inlaid in gold (Topkapı Saray Museum 2/1792; cf. Rice, 1961) with a rider trampling a dragon and with a procession of animals and monsters round the edge.

Manuscript illustration. Too few illustrated manuscripts have survived from mediaeval Anatolia to speak of school of painting there, and the two most important of those that do, the automaton book of al-Djazarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Topkapı Saray Library A. 3472 (Shaʿbān 602/April-May 1205), and the Dioscorides in the Shrine Library, Mashhad (Grube, 1959, 163-4), datable 542-72/1152-76, were executed for Artuḳid, not Saldjūḳ patrons. The *Romance of Warḳa and Gulshāh*, Topkapı Saray Library H. 841, may well have been executed at Konya *ca.* 1240 (Ateş 1961; Melikian-Chirvani, 1970; Özergin, 1970), though by a painter of north-west Persian origin. A magical miscellany presented to Kaykhusraw III, Bibliothèque Nationale pers. 174 (Barrucand, 1990), dated variously Ramaḍān 670/April 1272 and mid-

Shawwāl 671/early May 1273, was, however, written partly at Āḳ Sarāy and partly at Kayseri. Many of its illustrations, of demons, angels and marvels, are of later date and the only original illustrations appear to be line-drawings of talismans.

Figural coinage. As with their neighbours, the Turcoman dynasties of northern Syria and the Djazīra, issues of figural types are common in the coinage of Saldjūḳ Anatolia. The prototypes are similarly varied (cf. Brown, 1974), Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine, but other types bear Zodiac or planet figures, animals and monsters, some perhaps heraldic, and, in particular, the Lion and the Sun (*Shīr ū Khurshīd*). This device is most characteristic of the coinage of Kaykhusraw II, but the claim, following contemporary historians, that he adopted it at the behest of his Georgian wife, Rusudan (Gürcü Hatun), has not been proved. For a fuller discussion of these questions, see below, section VIII. 2.

Textiles. A silk with double-headed eagles and dragon-headed scrolls formerly in the church of St. Servatius, Siegburg (now Berlin, Kunstgewerbe-museum, 81.745) which has been attributed by Sarre to an Anatolian manufactory, and a medallion silk with addorsed lions in the Musée des Tissus, Lyons, bearing an inscription in the name of Kayḳubād b. Kaykhusraw, Kayḳubād I (or Kayḳubād III), is evidence for a silk industry in 13th century Anatolia. There is also copious literary evidence for the widespread manufacture of floor-coverings by nomads, perhaps, however, flat-weaves, not pile carpets. It is difficult to say what they looked like, but varied and undoubtedly ancient fragments from the Citadel Mosque at Konya, the Eşrefoğlu Camii at Beyşehir (Riefstahl, 1931) and the Great Mosque at Divriği are often accepted to be Saldjūḳ in date. Both relative and absolute chronologies are, however, lacking. No evidence, moreover, has been found that carpets were yet being exported to the northern Mediterranean countries.

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(J.M. Rogers)

VII. Literature

1. In Persia and ʿIrāḳ

The Saldjūḳs were important patrons of Persian and, to a lesser extent, also of Arabic belles-lettres. In this article we shall begin by looking at the panegyric poetry directed towards them (it is here that the relationship between patron and client is most immediately obvious) before taking a briefer look at the narrative and didactic poetry and the literary prose that were composed under their patronage.

Generally speaking, the great majority of the *ḳaṣīdas* dedicated to the Saldjūḳ *amīrs* are in Persian, while the contemporary Arabic language poets more commonly direct their panegyrics to the *wazīrs* and other educated members of the bureaucracy; this contrasts with the situation under the Būyids, whose knowledge of Arabic and whose appreciation of Arabic poetry were evidently superior to those of the Saldjūḳ ruling family. The earliest major literary figure in the entourage of the Saldjūḳs was the bilingual writer ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī (died 467/1075 [*q.v.*]). He was closely attached to Ṭoghrïl's minister al-Kundurī and is best known as the author of the *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr*, an anthology of contemporary Arabic poets in the manner of and in continuation of al-Thaʿālibī's celebrated *Yatīmat al-dahr*. His Arabic *dīwān* is extant (see O. Rescher, in *RSO*, iv [1911-12], 726) but unpublished, though some of the poems are known from biographical sources. A few samples of his Persian verse, among them several *rubāʿiyyāt*, are quoted by ʿAwfī (*Lubāb*, i, 68-71).

Lāmiʿī Gurgānī [*q.v.*] is the author of an extant *dīwān* in Persian. He began his career as a panegyrist of the Ziyārid ruler of his native Gurgān, Anūshirwān b. Manūčihr, but then passed into the service of the Saldjūḳs. His *dīwān* contains poems in praise of al-Kundurī and Niẓām al-Mulk, as well as of the *amīr* Alp Arslan.

Azraḳī Harawī [*q.v.*] flourished under two Saldjūḳ princes (the ruler of Harāt Abu 'l-Fawāris Ṭoghānshāh b. Alp Arslan and his cousin Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Amīrānshāh), and has left a Persian *dīwān* consisting largely of poems in praise of these two men. Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī (*Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, London-Leiden 1910, 43-4) singles out Ṭoghānshāh as a particularly generous patron of poetry and lists another half-dozen poets who served at his court, but all their works are now lost apart from stray verses.

During the early part of the reign of Malik Shāh, the young poet Muʿizzī Naysābūrī [*q.v.*] inherited from his father, Burhānī, the position of "prince of the poets" (*amīr al-shuʿarāʾ*); he was, in other words, the head of the bureaucratically organised hierarchy of professional panegyrists (or in any event of those who wrote in Persian) who congregated at the Saldjūḳ court. His extensive *dīwān* contains odes to the *amīrs* from Malik Shāh down to Sandjar, to their ministers and various other persons. He lived perhaps until the middle of the 6th/12th century.

Among the Arabic panegyrists of Niẓām al-Mulk we can mention Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-

Ṭanṭarānī, the author of an elaborate *ḳaṣīda tardjīʿiyya* in praise of the minister. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭughrāʾī al-Iṣbahānī (453-515/1061-1121 [*q.v.*]), was a secretary under Malik Shāh and his son Muḥammad I and then *wazīr* to the latter's son Masʿūd during his ill-fated rebellion against his brother Maḥmūd II. His Arabic *dīwān* contains odes to Muḥammad and Masʿūd, to Niẓām al-Mulk and his son Muʾayyad al-Mulk, and to other high-ranking officials. He has also left a number of books on alchemy. Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān al-Ghazzī (441-524/1049-1130 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), whose *dīwān* still awaits publication, praised Malik Shāh and Sandjar, but especially the *wazīr* of the ruler of Kirmān, Mukarram b. al-ʿAlāʾ. The extensive *dīwān* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Arradjānī [*q.v.*] contains a few poems to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh and his brother Maḥmūd, but the majority are dedicated to the *wazīrs* of the Saldjūḳs, especially to the sons of Niẓām al-Mulk.

During the long reign of Sandjar, a large number of Persian poets frequented his court; we can restrict ourselves to those whose *dīwāns* have actually survived. After the death of the already mentioned Muʿizzī, Sandjar's pre-eminent panegyrist appears to have been Awḥad al-Dīn Anwarī [*q.v.*]. According to Djuwaynī (ii, 8), he accompanied the *amīr* when, in 542/1147, the latter laid siege to the Khʷārazm Shāh Atsïz in Hazārasp and participated in the campaign by writing poems mocking the enemy, which Sandjar's archers shot into the besieged fortress. Atsïz retaliated by doing the same with verses of his court-poet and secretary, Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ [*q.v.*] (who on other occasions also wrote poems in praise of Sandjar). Anwarī survived his master and went on to serve Sulaymān b. Muḥammad and others. Another poet whose services to Sandjar went beyond the purely literary was Adīb Ṣābir [*q.v.*] whom the Saldjūḳ ruler sent as a spy to the court of the just-mentioned Atsïz, where he was apprehended and executed.

The *dīwān* of ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Djabalī [see ʿABD AL-WĀSIʿ] consists largely of panegyrics to Sandjar and to various persons of his entourage, notably his son-in-law, the vassal ruler of Sīstān, the Naṣrid Malik of Nīmrūz Naṣr (II) b. Khalaf, but he also eulogised the Saldjūḳ ruler of Kirmān, Arslan (I) b. Kirmānshāh, and others.

Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī [*q.v.*] began his poetic career as a panegyrist of the Ghaznavid Bahrāmshāh, but later attached himself to the more opulent Saldjūḳ court. He wrote poems for Sandjar, composed an elegy on the death of Masʿūd II and poems celebrating the coronation of Malikshāh III and of Sulaymān b. Muḥammad before finally attaching himself to the Ḳarakhānid Maḥmūd II.

The satirical poet Sūzanī Samarḳandī was attached to the court of the Ḳarakhānids, but on occasion also dedicated laudatory odes to Sandjar. ʿAmʿaḳ Bukhārī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was, according to Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī (*op. cit.*, 46), the *amīr al-shuʿarāʾ* at the court of the Ḳarakhānid Khiḍr b. Ibrāhīm; his extant poems are mostly dedicated to Khiḍr and to his brother and predecessor Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm, but include also one poem to Naṣr's brother-in-law Sandjar, and Dawlatshāh (64-5) says that when Sandjar's daughter Māh-i Mulk Khātūn died (in 524/1130), the *amīr* commisioned the by then elderly ʿAmʿaḳ to write an elegy.

The Persian panegyrists of the Saldjūḳs of Western Persia after the time of Sandjar include Athīr Akhsīkatī, who praised Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl and others. ʿImādī Ghaznawī [*q.v.*], most of whose poems praise the Bāwandid prince Farāmarz b. Rustam, also sent a number of poems to the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl II. Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurwa, besides serving the Atabegs of Ādharbāydjān, also dedicated poems to Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl and to Ṭoghrïl III. Another court poet of the Eldigüzids who on occasion composed odes to the Saldjūḳ *amīr* was Mudjīr al-Dīn Baylaḳānī.

The Saldjūḳs were the dedicatees of several important works of narrative and didactic poetry in Persian rhymed couplets. The romantic epic *Wīs u Rāmīn* of Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī [*q.v.*] contains a dedication to Ṭoghrïl I, to his minister Abū Naṣr b. Manṣūr and his governor in Iṣfahān, Abu 'l-Fatḥ b. Muḥammad, the poet's actual patron. Malik Shāh is the dedicatee of an anthology of verses from Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* compiled in 474/1081-2 by an otherwise unknown ʿAlī b. Aḥmad. Two long heroic epics in the style of Firdawsī's poem, the *Bahman-nāma* and the *Kūsh-nāma*, are the work of a single anonymous author, who dedicated them to Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh.

One important author of Arabic narrative poetry flourished in the same period, namely Ibn al-Habbāriyya [*q.v.*]. His versification of the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* under the title *Natāʾidj al-fitna fī naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna* was dedicated to the minister Madjd al-Mulk. Later, he composed a collection of apparently original stories in verse with the title *al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāghim*. He ended his days as a poet at the court of the Saldjūḳ ruler of Kirmān, Īrānshāh.

The most important Persian narrative poet of the 6th/12th century, Niẓāmī [*q.v.*], had at least a tangential connection with the Saldjūḳs in so far as he dedicated the first of his romantic epics, *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, to the Atabeg of Ādharbāydjān Muḥammad Djahan-Pahlawān b. Eldigüz and included in it a eulogy on his patron's nominal master, Ṭoghrïl III. But all his other works are dedicated to local rulers of Transcaucasia and northern ʿIrāḳ.

The last major poet of the Saldjūḳs was Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Ḳāniʿī, a native of Ṭūs who fled his homeland at the time of the Mongol invasion and made his way (via India, Aden, the Holy Cities and Baghdād) to Anatolia, where he served the Rūm Saldjūḳ Kay Ḳubād I and his successors Kay Khusraw II and Kay Kāwūs II, to whom he dedicated a Persian versification of (once again) *Kalīla wa-Dimna* in 658/1260. He is presumably identical with the *malik al-shuʿarāʾ amīr* Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ḳāniʿī of whom Aflākī (*Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1959-61, 221, 322) says that he visited Mawlāna Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī during his lifetime and, again (*ibid.*, 595), that he was among those who paid their respects at Rūmī's grave after he died in 672/1273. This produces at least an indirect link between the Saldjūḳs of Rūm and Rūmī, the most famous poet who lived in their domain.

The best-known work in Persian prose emanating from the Saldjūḳ courts is doubtless the *Siyāsat-nāma* (alias *Siyar al-mulūk*) of Malik Shāh's minister Niẓām al-Mulk. Apart from this, a number of major Persian historical works were dedicated to the Saldjūḳ rulers; these include the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn al-Balkhī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (dedicated to Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh), the Persian history of Anūshirwān b. Khālid [*q.v.*], who was *wazīr* to Maḥmūd II and Masʿūd (not extant, but its contents are known from the Arabic version by al-Bundarī), the *Saldjūḳ-nāma* of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Naysābūrī [see NĪSHĀPŪRĪ] and its continuation, the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* of Rāwandī [*q.v.*] (dedicated to the Rūm Saldjūḳ Kay Khusraw I). A survey of Saldjūḳ literature would hardly be complete without at least mentioning the celebrated astronomer and amateur poet in Arabic, ʿUmar Khayyām [*q.v.*], who flour-

ished at the court of Malik Shāh, although his claim to a place in the history of Saldjūķ belles-lettres rests on the Persian *rubāʿiyyāt* and the *adab* composition *Nawrūz-nāma* that have been ascribed to him but are both of more than questionable authenticity.

Although the Saldjūķs were not the first Islamic dynasty to use Persian as the language of their court (the Sāmānids, Ziyārids and Ghaznavids had done so before them), they were the first to do so in an empire which encompassed the greater part of the Persian-speaking world. This meant that the Persian of the Saldjūķ writers inevitably played a tremendous role in the standardisation of the classical Persian language and can indeed be said to represent classical Persian par excellence, as opposed to the pre-classical language of the previous period with its many local and dialect features. Similarly, the style of the Saldjūķ poets set the standard for later periods. Although the Saldjūķ *ķaṣīda*, like that of the older Khurāsānian school of Persian poetry, stands very clearly under the influence of Arabic models, the nature of these models had shifted; while the Khurāsānian school had, on the whole, emulated the ancient Arabic poets of the *Djāhilī* and Umayyad periods, the Saldjūķ poets imitated the highly mannered style of the "modern" poets from the time of al-Mutanabbī onwards. It is this style which continued to dominate Persian literature until the dawn of the modern era.

Bibliography: For the individual Arabic and Persian authors discussed in this article, see the relevant entries in Brockelmann and Storey-de Blois respectively. For a detailed survey of the Arabic poets, see also ʿAlī Djawād al-Ṭāhir, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fī 'l-ʿIrāķ wa-bilād al-ʿadjam fī 'l-ʿaṣr al-Saldjūķī*, Baghdād 1958-61, 2nd ed., Beirut 1405/1985. (F.C. de Blois)

2. In Anatolia

As noted above, in sections IV. 2 and V. 2, the high culture and the administration of the Saldjūķ Sultanate was essentially a Persian one, and it was in this language that works in such fields as historiography and, in part, mysticism, tended to be composed. Of contemporary historians, notable is Ibn Bībī's [*q.v.*] history of the Rūm Saldjūķs, *al-Awāmir al-ʿalāʾiyya*, completed in 680/181, covering the history of the preceding ninety years and existing in the original Persian full version and an epitome and in a later Turkish paraphrase. Other important sources on Rūm Saldjūķ history, such as Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aķsarāyī's *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, Ķāḍī Aḥmad's *al-Walad al-shafīķ* and the anonymous *Taʾrīkh-i āl-i Saldjūķ*, actually stem from the 8th/14th century. But we know of the existence of other historical or para-historical works written during the 7th/13th century and now lost, such as the *Shāh-nāmas* extolling the deeds of the Rūm sultans by Aḥmad Ķāniʿī and Khwādja Dahhānī, the latter commissioned by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ķubādh (in Köprülü's view, Kay Ķubādh III, hence almost at the end of the family's life), producing 20,000 couplets on the dynasty's exploits.

Mystical theology and that branch of biographical literature devoted to the lives of Ṣūfī saints (the *manāķib-nāmas*) flourished exceedingly in the strong mystical atmosphere and tradition of the age (see above, section IV. 2). The towering figure of Rūmī produced during his residence at Konya his poetic *dīwān* and his masterpiece, the *Mathnawī*, and he was followed by his son Sulṭān Walad, proficient both in Persian and Turkish (see below). Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī Dāya wrote his *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* in Sivas but dedicated it to Kay Ķubādh I and finally settled at Konya. Several *manāķib-nāmas* were written about the famous saints of Saldjūķ Anatolia, those of the Mawlawīs attracting particular attention, although the outstanding and most informative work in this genre, the *Manāķib al-ʿārifīn* of Shams al-Dīn Aflākī [*q.v.*], dates from the first half of the 8th/14th century, hence after the demise of the Saldjūķs.

Arabic naturally retained supreme prestige as the language of dogmatic theology, law and science, and Anatolia became, in particular, a centre for the production, transmission and copying of Ḥanafī *fiķh* texts. But Arabic was also a language used for mystical theology, as seen in the prolific works of Ibn al-ʿArabī, some of these being composed during his stays in Konya and other Anatolian towns during the early 7th/13th century (see above, IV. 2); thus his mystical poetic work the *Tardjumān al-ashwāķ* was completed at Kayseri, and his disciple Ṣadr al-Dīn Ķūnawī was the author of numerous works in Arabic, including commentaries on the Ķurʾān, *Ḥadīth* and the Ninety-Nine Most Beautiful Names of God, and works in the field of theoretical Ṣūfism.

All of these works emanated from learned or courtly circles in Rūm, but the day-to-day language of the Turkish masses, urban as well as rural, was of course Turkish. Although the Ķaramānids' introduction of Turkish as the official language for the *dīwāns* in Konya (see above, section V. 2) was only a brief interlude, it served to demonstrate the fact that an adoption of Turkish for public purposes was now a practical possibility. However, the literary use of Turkish in the Sultanate was for long at the popular, folk-literature level. Little from this has survived. An anonymous *Sheykh Ṣanʿān ķiṣṣaṣī* of unknown date was handed down by Gülshehri (d. after 717/1317 [*q.v.*]), and a *Ṣalṣāl-nāme* in verse and prose by a poet Sheyyād ʿĪsā describes the caliph ʿAlī's struggle with the giant Ṣalṣāl. Such works reflected the contemporary spirit of *ghazw* evident also in the oldest-preserved work of the class of popular epics, the *Saldjūķ-nāme*, existing in both long and short versions, and the *Dānishmend-nāme* on the heroic deeds of Dānishmend Ghāzī composed by Ibn al-ʿAlāʾ at the command of sultan Kay Kāwūs II.

But when it came to literature of a more elevated, artistic order, Turkish had an uphill fight to establish itself, and for long authors writing in it excused themselves for not using Persian or Arabic, Turkish being still regarded as the tongue of ignorant peasants or nomads, the *Atrāk-i bī-idrāk*. Rūmī included a few Turkish verses in his work, and from his long stay in the Saldjūķ capital must have been fully conversant with the language; but his son Sulṭān Walad can definitely be regarded as a significant Turkish author, for there are at least 367 Turkish verses scattered through this works, couched in a simple style and probably aimed at spreading Mawlawī ideas amongst the people. A contemporary of Rūmī's was the Ṣūfī poet Aḥmed Faķīh of Konya, whose mystical *Čarkh-nāme* was a forerunner of Mawlānā's work; though brief, it constitutes the first complete work in Anatolian Turkish. In addition to a *mathnawī* on the Yūsuf and Zulaykhā theme, Aḥmed Faķīh's pupil Sheyyād Ḥamza left examples of secular, court poetry apparently written for the Turco-Mongol official classes of his time and milieu, whilst the Khwādja Dahhānī mentioned above wrote both Persian and Turkish court poetry at the very end of the Saldjūķ period. Finally, it was at this time, and in the years immediately after the disappearance of the sultans, that the greatest poet in early Turkish, stemming from northwestern Anatolia, Yūnus Emre (*ca.* 648-720/*ca.* 1250-1320 [*q.v.*]) produced his moving Ṣūfī

poetry. With this poet's later career, we enter the age of the *beyliks*, when the formation of several provincial capitals was to provide fresh opportunities for writers in Turkish.

Bibliography: For writers in Persian, see the standard histories of Persian literature e.g. Browne, *LHP*; Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*; Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*. For writers in Turkish, see *EI*[1] art. TURKS. B.III.a (Köprülü Zāde Mehmed Fuʾād); W. Björkman, in *PTF*, ii, 405-12. In general, see Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 248-58; M.F. Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, tr. and ed. Leiser. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

VIII. Numismatics

1. In Persia and ʿIrāḳ

Coins were struck by all branches of the Saldjūḳ dynasty, but in widely varying quality and quantity. They were all Sunnī in character, acknowledging the spiritual leadership of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and inscribing the name of the reigning caliph in a place of honour where it proclaimed the ruler's support of orthodoxy. Despite their great domains, the Saldjūḳs never established an imperial coinage on the pattern of the Umayyads or early ʿAbbāsids, but were content to adapt themselves to coinage patterns previously established by the Buwayhids, Kākūyids or Kākawayhids and Ghaznawids [*q.vv.*]. Their coinage thus tends to be strongly regional in character, reflecting the general economic conditions in each of the major areas under their control. In order to facilitate trade, the alloy of regional coinages tended to be similar to the currencies of neighbouring states, such as the Fāṭimids in the west and the Ḳarakhānids and Ghaznawids in the east. The regional nature of the coinage was further emphasised by princes and governors who struck coins in their own name whenever they were permitted to, or when they felt their power was great enough to seize this privilege.

The origin of the complexity stemmed from the Saldjūḳ family's sudden coming to power fresh from lands beyond the frontiers of the *Dār al-Islām*. Their social organisation was that of central Asian nomads where tribal sense was strong but whose experience of oriental monarchy, imperial bureaucracy, or even coinage itself, was almost non-existent. The Saldjūḳs had very little time to adapt themselves to their sudden good fortune, and their history reveals that behind a façade of Islamic kingship lay a deeply ingrained lack of dynastic discipline, added to which their followers did not easily transform themselves into docile town-dwellers.

The nature of the Saldjūḳ state was fissiparous from the outset. After the battle of Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 431/1040, the Saldjūḳ conquests were divided amongst the family whose principal members all appear to have enjoyed the right of *sikka* [*q.v.*]; see above, II. and III. on the various branches of the family which evolved.

Most of the surviving Saldjūḳ coinage is struck in gold. There are a few fine silver dirhams, some billon coinage and a small number of copper *fulūs*. The gold dīnārs were not struck to a fixed weight standard, but the weight range of most lies between two and five gr. In the mints from Nīshāpur westwards, the flans were manufactured from virtually pure gold, as was the custom elsewhere in the Islamic world of the time. In the east, the Saldjūḳs followed the example of the mint of Ghazna by using base gold in the form of electrum for their dīnārs. The near-absence of silver coinage is one of the chief features of the monetary history of the Middle East between 450 and 570/1058-1175. As the minor coinage metal, silver does not appear to have been replaced by copper until the second quarter of the 6th/11th century, and no glass token currency was in circulation as it was in Fāṭimid Egypt. Thus while the nobility, army and great merchants were obviously paid and dealt in gold, it is far from clear how the daily economy was financed.

The family member who struck the most abundant coinage was Ṭoghrïl Beg, who had the good fortune to acquire the great mint towns of Nīshāpur in 432/1040-1, al-Rayy in 434/1042-3, Iṣfahān in 443/1051-2 and Baghdād (*Madīnat al-Salām*) in 447/1055. These mints, plus a considerable number of lesser ones, issued very large quantities of high-quality gold dīnārs in Ṭoghrïl's name until his death in 455/1063. Ḳara Arslan Ḳawurd also struck a plentiful coinage in Kirmān, principally from the mints of Bardasīr and Djīruft. The coinages of Čaghrï Beg, Mūsā Yabghu and Ibrāhīm Ināl, however, are all very rare, reflecting either the poverty of eastern Khurāsān after the Saldjūḳ conquest or the nomads' inability to form a stable administrative system which could organise and sustain a sophisticated coinage.

Ṭoghrïl was succeeded by his nephew Alp Arslan in 455/1063 who, as governor of Harāt before his accession, struck coins on which he acknowledged his father Čaghrï as overlord. His coinage appears to have been somewhat less abundant than Ṭoghrïl's. Under Alp Arslan's son and successor Malik Shāh (465-85/1072-92), the plentiful coinage of dīnārs continued on the same pattern as before, although the use of electrum dīnārs apparently declined in the eastern mints, as it did with the contemporary Ghaznawids.

The succession struggles among Malik Shāh's sons were reflected in their complex coinages, but the decline in the quality and quantity of the coins themselves also reveals that the economy was gradually being ruined as a result of these conflicts. Nāsir al-Dīn Maḥmūd's coins are rare because of the confusions of his brief reign in Iṣfahān, 485-87/1092-4. After the death of his father, Rukn al-Dīn Berkyaruḳ first issued coinage at Rayy, and quickly established himself in power elsewhere because he was both older and more experienced than his brothers. After a turbulent reign, Berkyaruḳ was succeeded in 498/1105 by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad. The last Great Saldjūḳ was Malik Shāh's youngest son, Muʿizz al-Dīn Sandjar, governor of Khurāsān from 490/1097, who was looked up to as the nominal head of the family until his death in 552/1157. There were also parallel lines of Saldjūḳ rulers in ʿIrāḳ Persia, Kirmān and Syria (see above, III.). The ruling members of these families normally acknowledged the overlordship of the Great Saldjūḳs on their coins.

The conspicuous decline in the quality of the currency during the 6th/12th century was due to structural problems within the Saldjūḳ state, which had no central bureaucracy that could impose uniform standards for the coinage and oversee its production. The ruler did not govern the cities in his realm directly, but through the agency of members of his family, their Atabegs [*q.v.*], *amīr*s of his army or locally powerful semi-independent governors, many of whom included their names on the coins they issued after those of the caliph and their principal overlords. The presence of these names makes the study of the later Saldjūḳ coinage particularly useful to the historian but their elucidation is greatly complicated by the fact that many of the pieces were so carelessly manufactured that their legends are often mis-struck, or the margins are missing from the flan. Thus it is often impossible to read the mint names and dates of striking. The coinage of the later Saldjūḳs leads on to that of their

successors, such as the revived ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdād, the Zangids in Mawṣil, the Artuḳids in Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Mārdīn, the Ildegizids in Ardabīl and the Salghūrids in Fārs.

Because the Saldjūḳs were champions of Sunnism, the legends on their coins reproduce the traditional ʿAbbāsid type, which had survived intact at Nīshāpur, the great mint for gold in Khurāsān under both the Sāmānids and the Ghaznawids. The religious legends, therefore, show little variation in their texts. The obverse field contained the first statement of the *kalima, lā ilāh illā Allāh waḥdahu lā sharīk lahu*. Around this were two marginal legends, the inner containing the mint and date formula and the outer inscribed with parts of vv. 4 and 5 of sūra XXX, *al-Rūm*. The reverse field contained the second statement of the *kalima, Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, and the single marginal legend was an adaptation of v. 33 of sūra IX, *al-Tawba*.

Occasionally, the Saldjūḳs struck dīnārs which were intended to have talismanic qualities, such as an issue of Alp Arslan from Marw dated 461 which inscribed the ninety-nine beautiful names of God in the obverse and reverse fields. A more common practice was to engrave v. 255 of sūra II, *al-Baḳara*, the Throne Verse, in minute letters in the reverse field. This calligraphic *tour de force* is found on occasional issues from Iṣfahān, ʿAskar Mukram and Marw. On rare occasions, the engravers included their own names on their best works in tiny letters in the outer margins.

The secular legends outside the mint and date formula were limited to names and titles. The reigning caliph's name was usually placed below the *kalima* in the obverse field, sometimes, if space permitted, with his title *Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. On his own coinage in Madīnat al-Salām, the caliph was entitled *al-Imām*, and his heir's name also appeared vertically in either the obverse or reverse field. The rest of the space was devoted to the name and titles of the ruler who struck the coin and those of his secular overlords, if he was obliged to acknowledge any. In order of importance these were the *ism*, e.g. Ṭoghrīl Beg; *kunya*, Abū Ṭālib; *laḳab* Muʿizz al-Dīn, Rukn al-Islām, ʿAḍud al-Dawla; and *ʿalāma* and *ʿunwan*, al-Amīr al-Adjall/Shāhanshāh, al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam or Muʿaẓẓam. Unlike the Sāmānids, Ghaznawids and Buwayhids, whose titulature was generally uniform in their various mints, having been based on titles and *laḳabs* actually conferred by the caliph, the Saldjūḳs were often inconsistent in their royal styles. This may have been a result of their decentralised mint system or because of their preference for the grand effect rather than strict accuracy. For example, until 438/1046-7, Ṭoghrīl was entitled *al-Amīr al-Adjall* on the coinage of Nīshāpūr, and *al-Amīr al-Sayyid* in Rayy. A look at any of the catalogues where Saldjūḳ coins appear will reveal many other examples of this practice. It is interesting to note that, in addition to their Turkish names, Ṭoghrīl and Alp Arslan were both given the Muslim *ism* of *Muḥammad*, which occasionally appears on their coinage. Ṭoghrīl was known as *Muḥammad b. Mīkāʾīl* on coins struck in Rayy and Hamadhān between 434 and 438. Alp Arslan was named *Muḥammad* on the coinage of Nīshāpur throughout his reign, but without the inclusion of his *nasab*, while the same mint called his son *Malik Shāh b. Muḥammad*. The later Great Saldjūḳs were commonly named as sons of Malik Shāh, but neither this nor any other Saldjūḳ *nasab* was ever used on coins struck at the caliph's mint in Baghdād. Lastly, the coins of Ṭoghrīl, Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh frequently placed the Saldjūḳ *tamgha*, the bow and arrow, above the obverse or reverse fields, or sometimes both. Other, more traditionally Islamic words were often inscribed in the same position, such as *li'llāh, naṣr, fatḥ, ʿadl* or isolated letters like *ẓ*, which was probably an abbreviation of *ẓafar*.

The coinage of Madīnat al-Salām occupies a special place in the history of the Saldjūḳ coinage because it throws some light on the relationship between the caliph and the ruler. Throughout Ṭoghrīl's rule, the caliph al-Ḳāʾim [*q.v.*] accorded him a full set of titles, *al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam Shāhanshāh Rukn al-Dīn Ṭoghrīl Beg*, but in the brief period of uncertainty after Ṭoghrīl's death in 455/1063, the caliph seized the opportunity to strike coinage in his own name and that of his heir for the first time in nearly a century. Then on the coinage of 456 and 457 the ruler is described as *Shāhanshāh al-Aʿẓam ʿAḍud al-Dawla Abū Shudjāʿ Malik al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam Alb Arslān*, while on the dīnārs of 461 and later he is simply styled *ʿAḍud al-Dawla Alb Arslān*. From then on it became the custom to name the Saldjūḳ ruler on the caliph's coinage with only one *laḳab*, possibly an epithet and his throne name. The caliph al-Muḳtadī [*q.v.*] termed the ruler *Djalāl al-Dawla Malik Shāh*. During the succession struggle after Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092, the caliph once again struck dīnārs in his own name. This was followed by an issue where the ruler was styled *Muʿizz al-Dawla al-Ḳāhira Berkyaruḳ*. In 489/1096 the caliph al-Mustaẓhir [*q.v.*], altered Berkyaruḳ's *laḳab* to *ʿAḍud al-Dawla*, while in 491/1098 and 493/1100 the caliph again struck dīnārs in his own name, under what circumstances is not clear. The caliph entitled his successor *Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muḥammad*, and then when the state was divided after Muḥammad's death in 511/1118, the caliph al-Mustarshid [*q.v.*], named the senior ruler as *Muʿizz al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Sandjar* and the ruler of ʿIrāḳ as *wa-walī ʿahdihi Mughīth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Maḥmūd*. Finally, the caliph al-Muḳtafī [*q.v.*], retained no more than the *laḳabs* of *Muʿizz al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn* and *Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn*, until the inclusion of Saldjūḳ names on the caliph's coinage was dropped altogether after the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd in 547/1152.

A much larger body of numismatic evidence needs to be assembled before a comprehensive and analytical study of the Saldjūḳ coinage can be made. This is particularly true of the post-Malik Shāh period, when the constantly changing political scene is chronicled by the frequent striking of coins in the names of two rulers, rebels and usurpers, local governors and Atabegs.

Bibliography: The most easily accessible works are S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum*, iii, London 1875-90; H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, iv, Paris 1887-96; İ. and C. Artuk, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri teshirdeki Islâmi sikkeler kataloğu*, ii, Istanbul 1971; Ç. Alptekin, *Salçuklu paraları*, in *Salçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, iii (1971); S. Album, *A checklist of popular Islamic coins*, Santa Rosa 1993; C.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 196 ff. See also Sotheby's and Spink's catalogues 1982-93.

2. In Anatolia

The Rūm Saldjūḳ coinage is entirely separate in origin from that of their distant cousins the Great Saldjūḳs (see above, VIII. 1). Their earliest coin is a crudely executed copper *fals* struck by Rukn al-Dīn Masʿūd I b. Ḳilič Arslan (510-51/1116-56), which copies a contemporary Byzantine *folis* with a full-face imperial bust on the obverse, and the ruler's name on the reverse.

The earliest coinage of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḳilič Arslan II (551-88/1156-92) was similar to that of his father Masʿūd I. This was followed by the well-known design of a mounted lancer galloping to the right on the obverse, borrowed from Christian iconography where it portrayed St. George the warrior saint of Cappadocia. In 571/1175-6 Ḳilič Arslan II introduced traditional Islamic gold dīnārs and silver dirhams to Anatolia, at the same time as the Zangids of Aleppo reintroduced silver coinage to Syria. There is a unique gold dinar of 573/1177-8, while the earliest silver is dated 571/1175-6. Both bear conventional legends, with the mint in the obverse margin and the caliph's name in the field, and the date in the reverse margin and the ruler's name in the field. They are known only from the mint of Konya.

The Rūm Saldjūḳ dirham was struck at the traditional Islamic weight standard of 2.90-3.00 grs of virtually pure silver, with the *kalima* and the caliph's name on the obverse, and the sultan's titles, name and patronymic on the reverse. The table which summarises the political information on the coinage shows that some rulers identified themselves with the spiritual leadership of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate by describing themselves as Helper, etc. of the Commander of the Faithful.

When Ḳilič Arslan II abdicated in 588/1192 he divided his realm among his numerous sons and a daughter, and apparently granted them all the right of *sikka* [*q.v.*]. His youngest son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw I, who ruled in Konya, 588-93/1192-6, struck coins modelled on those of his father. The eldest son Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān Shāh placed the mounted lancer on his copper coinage, and, exceptionally, on his rarely found silver and gold. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Malik Shāh issued a rare but conventional dirham, Muʿizz al-Dīn Ḳayṣar Shāh struck a lancer copper, Muḥyī al-Dīn Masʿūd struck coins in Ankara on which he was styled *al-ʿAbd al-Ḍaʿīf*, and Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭoghrīl, ruling in Erzurum, issued a plentiful silver coinage.

After Sulaymān Shāh's death in 600/1203, the western Saldjūḳ realms were reunited under Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw I (second reign 601-7/1204-10). His silver coins are known from Konya, Kayseri and Malatya, and he was the last Saldjūḳ ruler to strike an abundant mounted lancer copper coinage. He was succeeded by ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs, 607-16/1210-19, and al-Manṣūr Kay Ḳubādh who ruled the appanage of Tokat during his brother's lifetime, and struck a beautiful mounted lancer coinage in silver and copper. The coinage of Kay Kāwūs I, purely Islamic in character, adopted the square in circle design favoured by the Ayyūbids on their silver coins of Damascus. It is known only from Konya and Sivas. Kay Kāwūs I was succeeded by his more famous brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubādh I, 616-34/1219-36. Under his rule, Rūm Saldjūḳ dirhams, struck in huge quantities in Sivas and Konya, with a small production from the mints of Kayseri, Erzincan and Erzurum, became an international trade coin throughout the Middle East. Copper is known only from Bilveren and Sivas. Other coins struck in the name of Kay Ḳubādh I were an undated silver dirham of Hetum I, King of Cilician Armenia, and a silver dirham from the mint of Dunaysir dated 625/1228, and a copper *fals* from Mārdīn dated 634/1236-7 struck by Artuḳ Arslan, the Artuḳid ruler of Mārdīn.

Kay Ḳubādh I's successor Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw II (634-44/1236-46), issued conventional epigraphic silver and a few gold coins in Sivas and Konya between 634/1236-7 and 638/1240-1, but from 638/1240-1 to 641/1243-4 he struck large quantities of the most famous Rūm Saldjūḳ coin bearing the device of the lion and sun and the caliph's name on the obverse. The auspicious sign of the sun in Leo was probably used to exemplify the ruler's power. On one rare issue of 640/1242-3 in gold and silver, the sun rests on the backs of two lions rampant with their tails interlaced.

The Mongol Il Khans exercised indirect rule rather than occupying Anatolia after their defeat of Kay Khusraw II at Köse Dagh at the end of 639/1242 (see above, section III. 5). Surprisingly, the Rūm Saldjūḳ coinage did not mention them as overlords until much later. However, the number of dirhams struck in 640 and 641 decreased, and the lion and sun type was abandoned in 641. Kay Khusraw II returned to a purely epigraphic style of coinage, and assumed the grandiloquent title *Ẓill Allāh fi 'l-ʿĀlam*, "The Shadow of God in the World". Before the Mongol victory, King Hetum of Armenia struck silver horseman dirhams bearing Kay Khusraw's name as overlord at the mint of Sis between 637 and 640; the Ayyūbid ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II, struck silver dirhams dated 636 to 638; Artuḳ Arslan, the Artuḳid ruler of Mārdīn struck another dated 636 in Dunaysir, and a copper *fals* of Mārdīn dated 637, while Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, the Luʾluʾid ruler of Mawṣil, issued gold dīnārs from 638 to 641.

On the gold and silver struck in Sivas and Konya, ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs II (644-7/1246-9) followed the square in circle design, and included the title *Ẓill Allāh fi 'l-ʿĀlam*. He introduced the Rūm Saldjūḳ practice of dating coins with *dīwānī* abbreviations of the Arabic names for the numbers, borrowed from accounting conventions, for the units and decades of the year. Al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad II, the Ayyūbid ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn and Āmid, also struck a few undated copper coins naming Kay Kāwūs II as overlord.

In 646 Rukn al-Dīn Ḳilič Arslan IV challenged his brother Kay Kāwūs II, and demonstrated his sole power in Sivas by striking the last Saldjūḳ horseman coinage. Its artistic inspiration was Persian rather than Anatolian, replacing the warrior-saint of the Byzantines with an elaborately-dressed archer, drawing his bow on the back of a prancing horse. The Il Khān Hülegü's anger at the rivalry between Kay Kāwūs II and Ḳilič Arslan IV caused him to establish a triumvirate among the three sons of Kay Khusraw II, and between 647 and 656 a conjoint coinage was issued in the names of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs II, Rukn al-Dīn Ḳilič Arslan IV and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubādh II. Their silver is plentiful and a few gold coins are known, but there appears to be no copper. Most were struck in Sivas and Konya, but there were also minor mints in Kayseri, Malatya and Luʾluʾa. The latter, located in the Taurus mountains, appears to have been the Rūm Saldjūḳs' first mining mint. The one sign of disunity amongst the brothers on their coinage is a dirham of 652 struck in Kayseri which names only Ḳilič Arslan IV and Kay Ḳubādh II.

When conjoint rule ended on the death of Kay Ḳubādh II, ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs II issued coins in his own name between 655 and 658/1257-60 at several western mints, the principal one being Konya and others in Ankara, Develü, Gümüşpazar and Luʾluʾa. After the fall of the Baghdād ʿAbbāsids in 656/1258 Kay Kāwūs continued to use the *kalima* and the caliph's name on his coins until 658/1260, when he replaced them with the laudation *al-ʿIzza li'llāh* "Glory belongs to God!" in the obverse field with the mint and date in the margin. In the east, Ḳilič Arslan

Table. *Summary of names and titles found on the Rūm Saldjūḳ coinage.*

Name	Laḳab	Kunya	Regal style	Caliphal relationship	Laudation
Masʿūd (I)	[1]Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn	-	al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam	-	-
Ḳilič Arslan (II)	ʿIzz	-	al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam	-	-
Kay Khusraw (I)	Ghiyāth	-	al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam	-	-
Sulayman Shāh	Rukn	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	al-Malik al-Ḳahir/ al-Sulṭān al-Ḳāhir	Nāṣir Amīr al-Muʾminīn/ Burhān al-Muʾminīn	-
Malik Shāh	Ḳuṭb	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	-	-	-
Ḳayṣar Shāh	Muʿizz	-	al-Malik al-Muʾayyad	-	-
Masʿūd	Muḥyī	-	al-ʿAbd al-Ḍaʿīf	-	-
Ṭoghril	Mughīth	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	-		
Kay Khusraw (I) (2nd reign)	Ghiyāth	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam	-	al-Minna li'llāh
Kay Kāwūs (I)	ʿIzz	-	al-Sulṭān al-Ghālib	-	-

Kay Ḳubādh (I)	ʿAlāʾ	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	al-Malik al-Manṣūr/ al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam/ al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam	Naṣr Amīr al-Muʾminīn/ - -	-
Kay Khusraw (II)	Ghiyāth	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam/ al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam Ẓill Allāh fi 'l-ʿĀlam	Ḳasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīn	
Kay Kāwūs (II) (1st reign)	ʿIzz	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam Ẓill Allāh fi 'l-ʿĀlam	Ḳasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīn	
Ḳilič Arslan (IV)	Rukn	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam	Ḳasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīn	-
"Three Brothers" Kay Kāwūs (II)/ Ḳilič Arslan (IV)/ Kay Ḳubādh (II)	ʿIzz/ Rukn/ ʿAlāʾ	-	al-Salāṭin al-ʿIẓām	-	-
Kay Kāwūs (II) (2nd reign)	ʿIzz	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam	-	al-ʿIzza li'llāh
Ḳilič Arslan (IV)	Rukn	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam	Burhān Amīr al-Muʾminīn	al-ʿMinna li'llāh
Kay Khusraw (III)	Ghiyāth	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam	Burhān Amīr al-Muʾminīn	al-Mulk li'llāh
Masʿūd (II)	Ghiyāth	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam Ẓill Allāh fi 'l-ʿĀlam	-	al-ʿUẓma li'llāh
Kay Ḳubādh (III)	ʿAlāʾ	Abu 'l-Fatḥ	al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam	-	al-Minna li'llāh

All *laḳabs* include the phrase *al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn*.

IV struck coins during his second period of rule (655-63/1257-64), still in the name of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim until the year 662/1264, but in 663/1265 he issued dirhams in that of a fictive caliph *al-Imām al-Maʿṣūm Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, "the Immaculate Imām, Commander of the Faithful". Elsewhere he replaced the *kalima* and mention of the caliph with the laudation *al-Minna li'llāh*, "Grace be to God!". His principal mint was Sivas, but after the death of Kay Kāwūs II in 658 his coins were struck in Erzincan, ʿAlāʾiyya, Antalya, Bazar, Develü, Kayseri, Gümüşpazar, Luʾluʾa, Maʿdan Shehir, Maʿdan Sarus and Malatya. Ḳilič Arslan IV was succeeded by his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw III (663-81/1264-82), whose coinage from Erzincan, Erzurum, Antalya, Bazar, Sivas, Sarus, Sinop, Kastamunu, Konya, Kayseri, Gümüşpazar, Luʾluʾa and Maʿdan Shehir was distinguished by the laudation *al-Mulk li 'llāh*, "Sovereignty belongs to God!".

Kay Khusraw III was succeeded by his nephew ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubādh III b. Farāmurz in 681/1282, who lost the eastern territories to his cousin Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd II (first reign 681-97/1282-97). The coins of Masʿūd II, from Erzincan, Erzurum, Antalya, Sarı Kavak, Samsun, Sivas, Konya, Gümüşpazar, Ladik, Luʾluʾa, Maʿdan Bayburt, Maʿdan Shehir and Maʿdan Samasur, occasionally used the laudation *al-ʿUẓma li'llāh*, "Power belongs to God!".

The end of the Rūm Saldjūk coinage is obscure. Sovereignty alternated between Kay Ḳubādh III, Masʿūd II and his son Masʿūd III in the last decade of the seventh century and the first years of the eighth, but their crudely struck coins make it difficult to establish an accurate chronology based on numismatic evidence. Kay Ḳubādh III did occasionally place a lion passant or a lion and sun on his coins, some of which, struck in Erzincan, Sivas and Konya in 698, acknowledged the Il Khānid ruler Maḥmūd Ghazan as overlord. Other mints for Kay Ḳubādh III are Antalya, Sulaymān Shehir, Sarı Kavak, and perhaps Borlu.

During the last quarter of the seventh century, most coins were struck in silver, and gold became extremely rare. The internal coherence of the state had collapsed, and local governors often used the names of Masʿūd II and Kay Ḳubādh III to give validity to their own coinages. The coins of Kay Ḳubādh III largely disregarded the weight standard of the Islamic silver dirham, and their weight fell to 2.00-2.50 gr. Thus began the transition to the irregular, low weight Anatolian silver issued by the Beylik successors to the Rūm Saldjūḳs, first in the name of the Il Khānids, and later in their own names, which resulted in the introduction of the small silver *akče* as the unit of account in Anatolia by the second quarter of the 8th/14th century.

Bibliography: Rūm Saldjūḳ coinage has been extensively published, having been a particular favourite of Ottoman and modern Turkish numismatists. The Istanbul Mint Museum, the Yapı ve Kredi Kültür Merkezi, American Numismatic Society and Tübingen University have large collections of Rūm Saldjūḳ coins, as do the museums whose catalogues are listed below: İ. and C. Artuk, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri teshirdeki islami sikkerler kataloğu*, Istanbul 1971; Ismāʿīl Ghālib Edhem, *Taḳwīm-i meskūkāt-i ʿothmāniyye*, Istanbul 1307/1889-90; G. Hennequin, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, iv, Asie pré-mongole. Les Salǧuqs et leurs successeurs*, Paris 1985; S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum*, London 1875-90, iii; Aḥmed Tewḥīd, *Müze-yi Humāyūn meskūkāt-i islāmiyye kataloghlarī*, Istanbul 1321/1903-4. (R.E. Darley-Doran)

SALGHURIDS, a line of Atabegs which ruled in Fārs during the second half of the 6th/12th century and for much of the 7th/13th one (543-681/1148-1282).

They were of Türkmen origin, and Maḥmūd Kāshgharī considered them as a clan of the Oghuz tribe [see GHUZZ], giving their particular *tamgha* (*Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, Tkish. tr. Atalay, i, 56, iii, 141, 414); later sources such as Rashīd al-Dīn, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* and Abu 'l-Ghāzī's *Shadjara-yi Tarākima* were uncertain whether Salghur was a clan or the name of an eponymous ancestor of the Atabegs (cf. also W. Barthold, *A history of the Turkman people*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii, Leiden 1962, 119, who was sceptical about a connection of the Atabegs with the Salghur or Salur [*q.v.*] clan).

The Salghur clan played a role in the Turkmens' overrunning of Anatolia in the late 5th/11th century. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Sonḳur b. Mawdūd took advantage of the weakening power of the Great Saldjūḳ sultans and in 543/1148 established himself in Fārs after the death of the province's ruler Boz-aba (who may himself have been connected with the Salghur clan). After Sonḳur's death in 556/1161, he was succeeded by his brother Muẓaffar al-Dīn Zangī and then in 570/1175 by the latter's son Tekele or Degele, so that the hereditary rule of the Salghurids in Fārs became established, whilst at the same time they acknowledged, until 590/1194, the overlordship of the last Great Saldjūḳs. Tekele had eliminated his rival for power, Sonḳur's son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ṭoghrïl, in 577/1181-2, according to the *Niẓām al-tawārīkh* of al-Bayḍāwī (who was a contemporary in Fārs of the Salghurids of the 7th/13th century; his account is accordingly followed by Merçil, see *Bibl.*, and here), and he probably reigned until 594/1198, when his brother ʿIzz al-Dīn Saʿd (I) b. Zangī [*q.v.*] came to power. (It therefore seems probable that we should eliminate Ṭoghrïl from the list of Salghurids who actually ruled in Fārs, although he thus figures in much of the secondary literature, including in the *EI*[1] art., as being still alive and ruling in Fārs in the later 1190s and first years of the 13th century; there are significant differences in the information of the historians on the events of these years).

Saʿd, like his predecessors, campaigned against the local Shabānkāraʾī Kurdish bandits and intervened in the affairs of the neighbouring province of Kirmān [*q.v.*], and in 600/1203-4 captured Iṣfahān; but he came up against the growing power in Persia of the Khwārazm-Shāhs, was captured by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*] in 614/1217-18 and only released on payment of the tribute formerly paid to the Saldjūḳs and the cession of certain districts in Fārs as *iḳṭāʿ*s or land-grants for Khwārazmian commanders. The triumph of the Mongols released the Salghurids from this dependence on the Khwārazm-Shāhs but substituted another yoke. Saʿd's son Abū Bakr (succeeded on his father's death, more probably in 623/1226 than 628/1231) was the vassal of the Great Khān Ögedey and then of the Il-Khān Hülegü [*q.vv.*], and it was the former ruler who conferred on Abū Bakr the title of Ḳutlugh Khān in return for an annual tribute of 30,000 Ruknī dīnārs and the admission of a Mongol *shiḥna* to his principality.

The years after Abū Bakr's death in 658/1260 were filled with a succession of short-ruled Salghurid Atabegs: Muẓaffar al-Dīn Saʿd (II), ʿAḍud al-Dīn

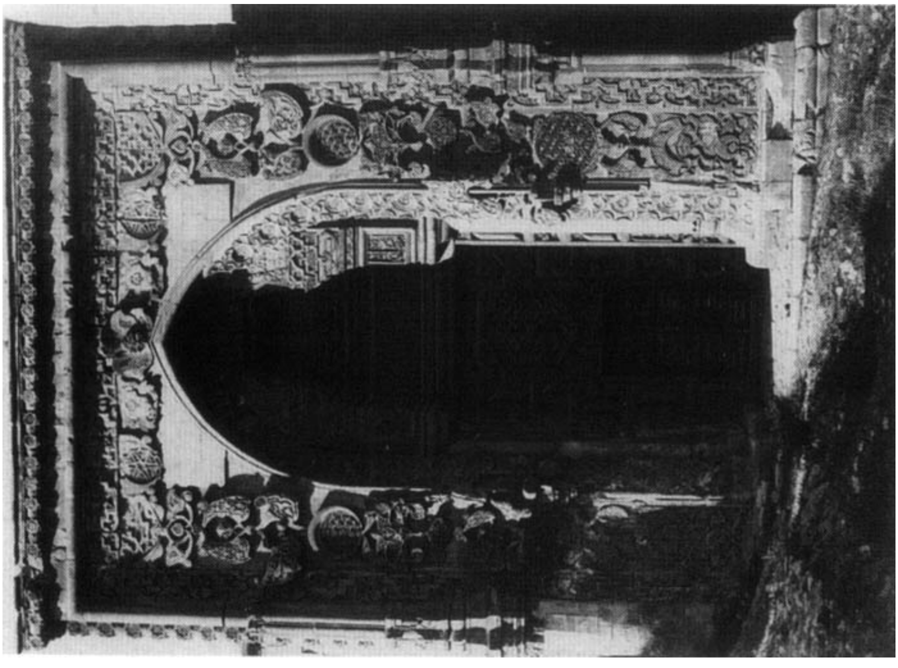

a. Divriği. Ulu Cami, north porch (all photographs courtesy Fondation Max van Berchem, Geneva).

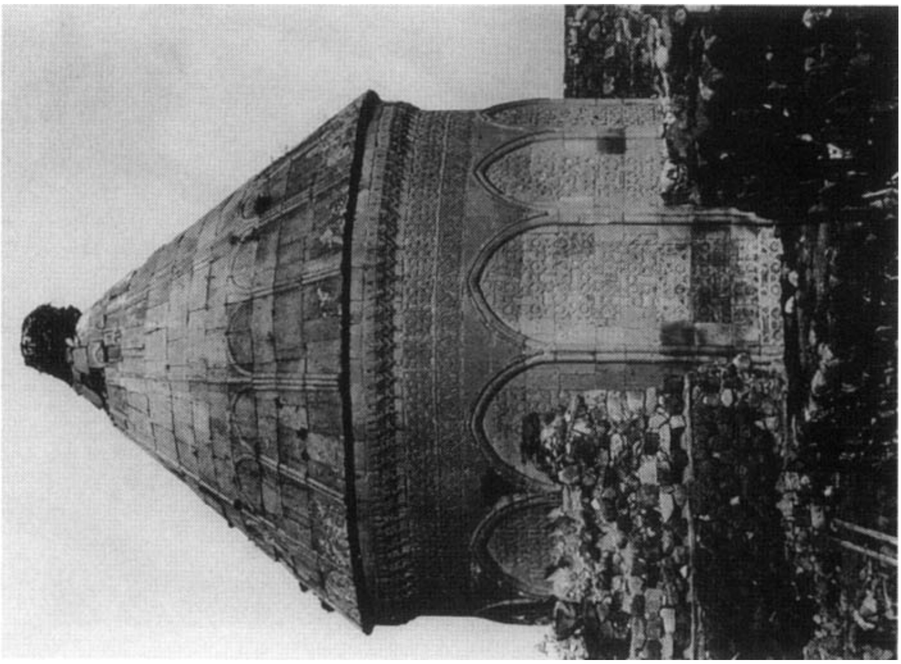

b. Kayseri. Döner Kümbed.

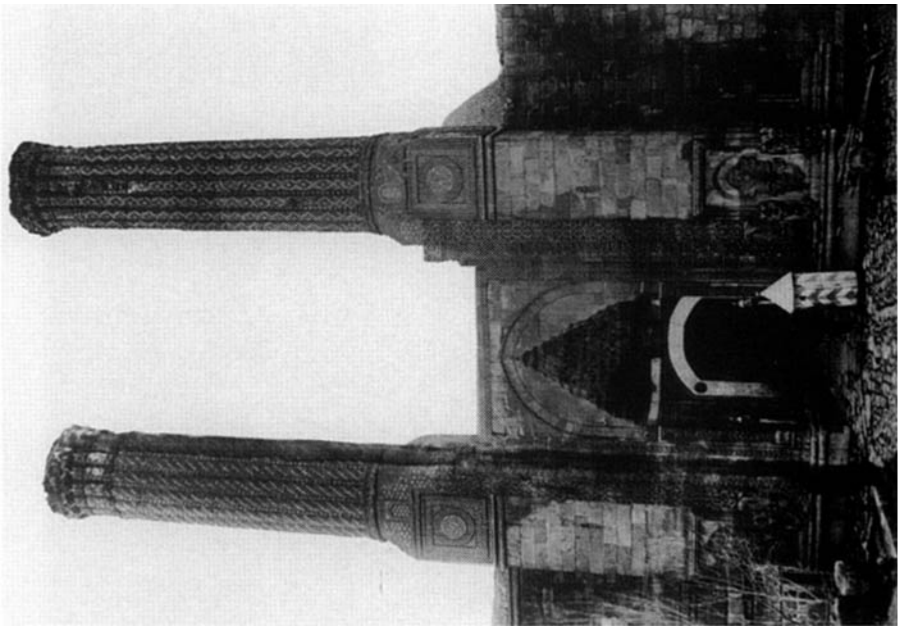

b. Erzurum. Çifte Minare Medrese, façade.

a. Konya. Double-headed eagle from walls.

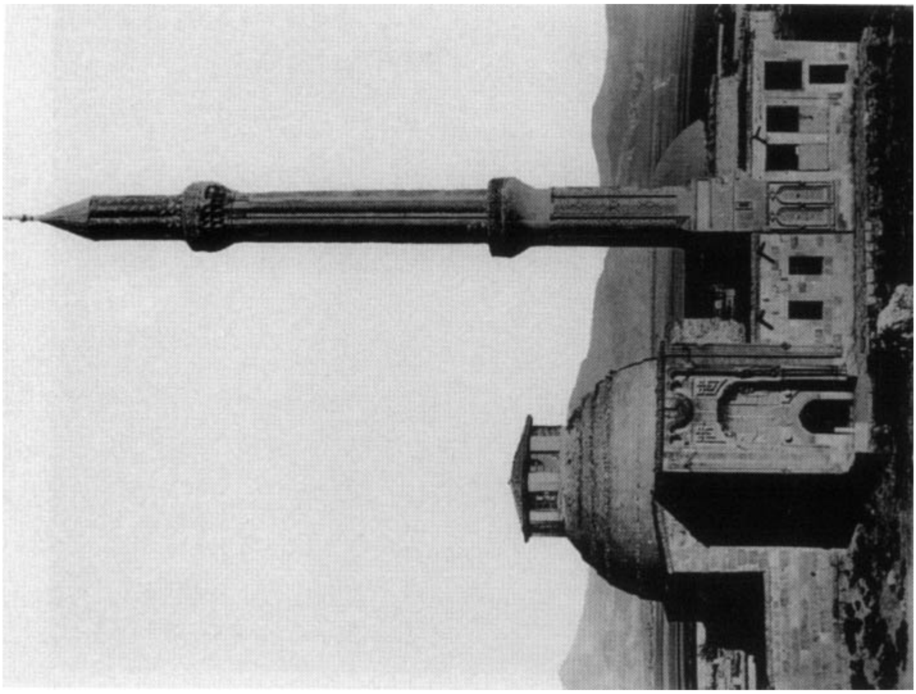

b. Konya. İnce Minare Medrese porch.

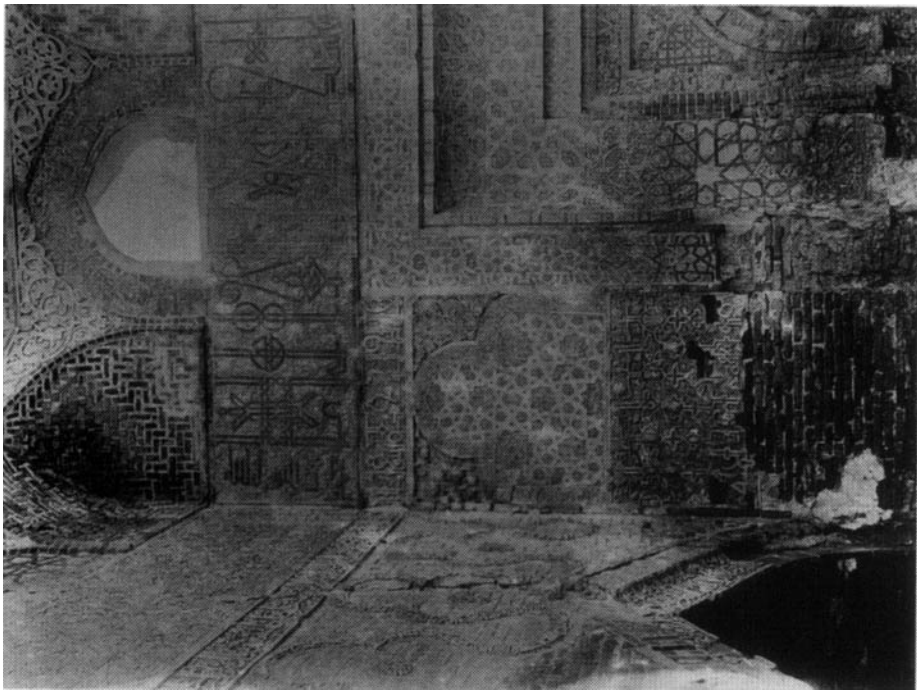

a. Van. Great Mosque, interior.

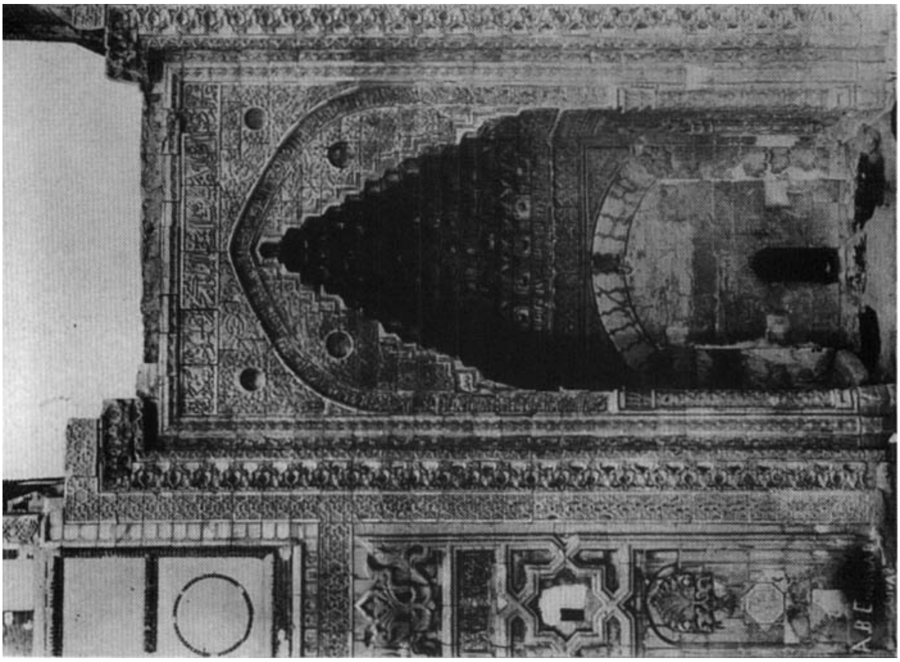

a. Sivas. Gök Medrese, porch.

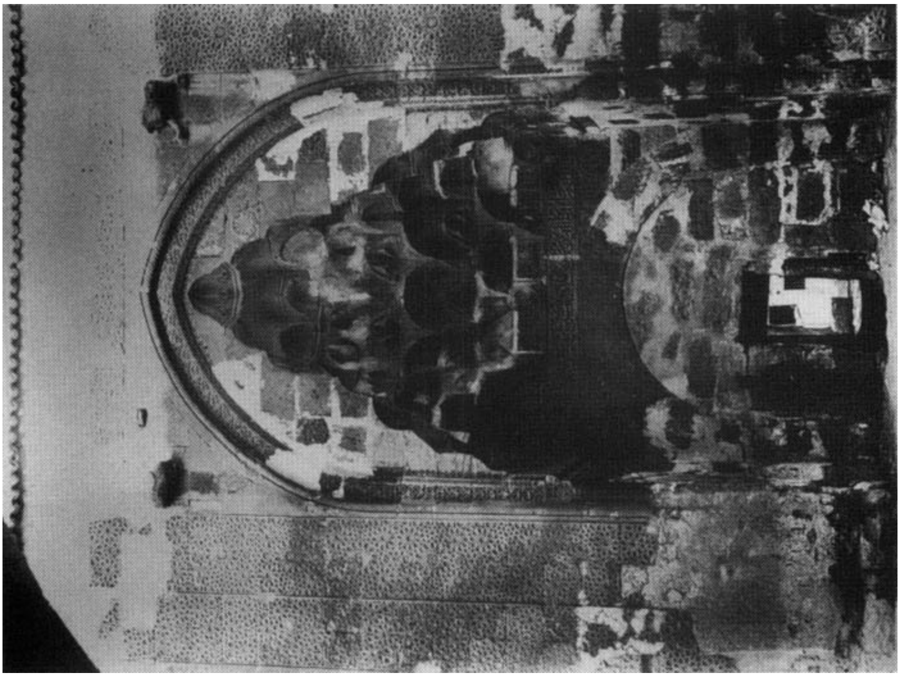

b. Sivas. Hospital of Kay Kāwūs I, porch.

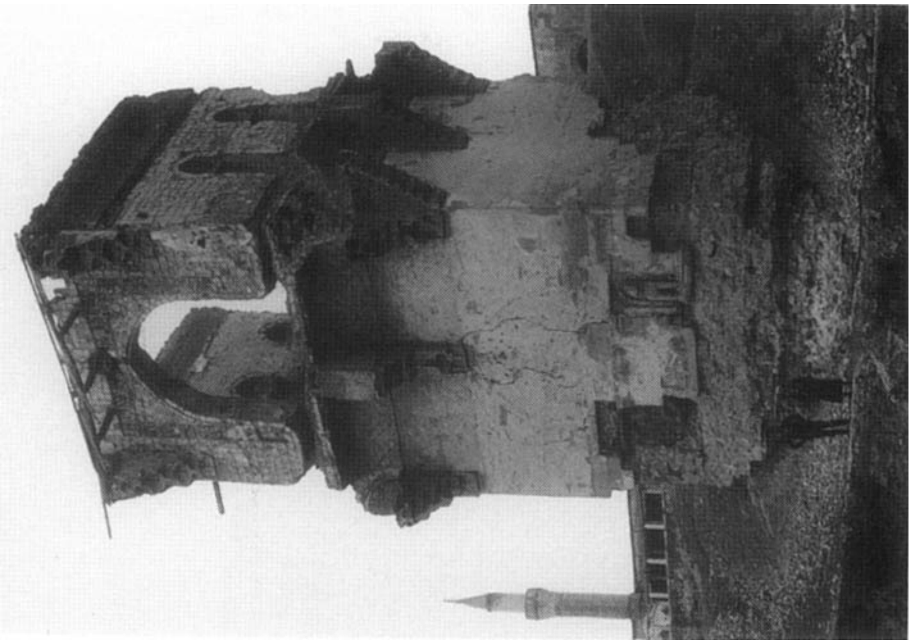

b. Konya. Köşk of Ḳılıdj Arslan II.

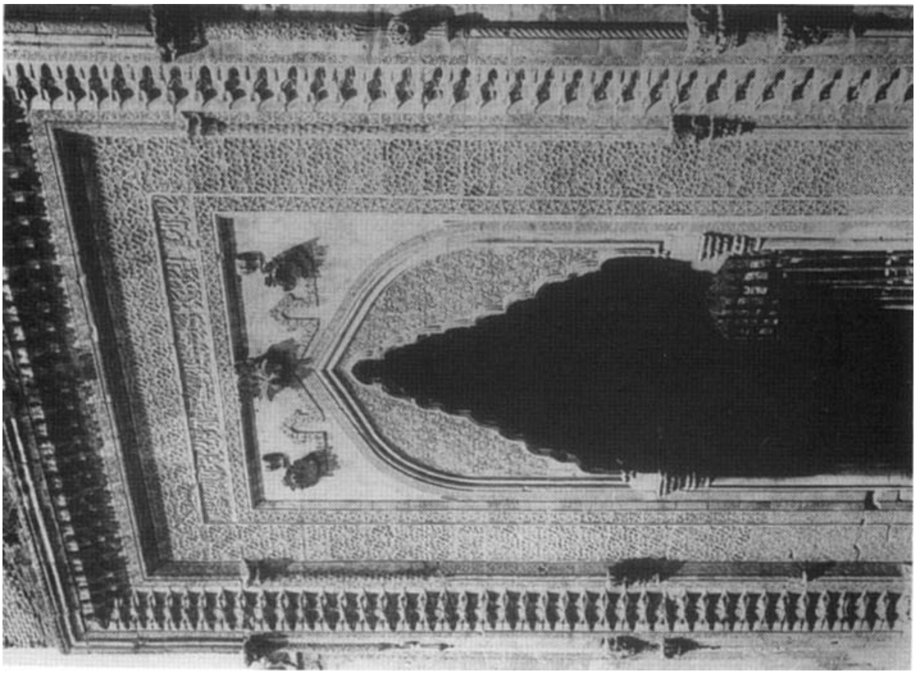

a. Sivas. Çifte Minare Medrese, porch.

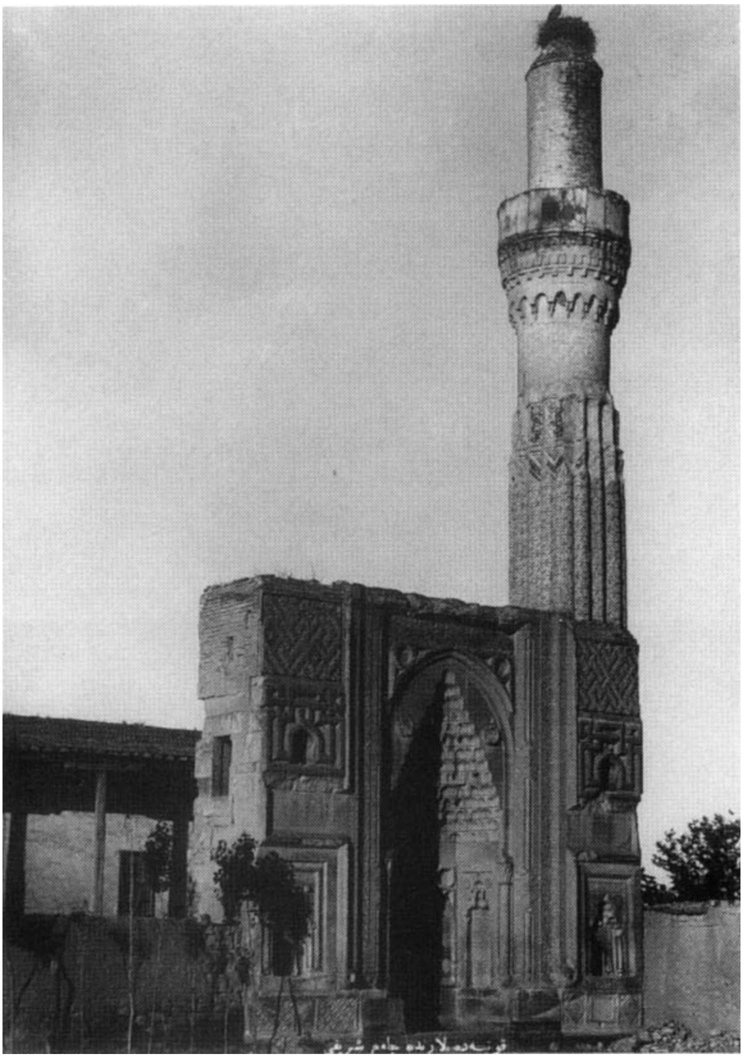

Konya. Sahib Ata Mosque.

Muḥammad, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Saldjūḳ Shāh, closing with Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ābish Khātūn, the daughter of Saᶜd (II), on whom Hülegü bestowed the Atabegate of Fārs. She reigned alone for a year (662-3/1263-4), at the end of which she married Mengü Temür, the eleventh son of Hülegü, who himself assumed *de facto* power in Fārs till his death in 681/1282, with Ābish Khātūn as only nominal Atabeg. The rule of the Salghurids, which had endured for over 130 years, came to an end at this point; Ābish Khātūn herself died in Mongol captivity at Tabrīz in 685/1286.

Fārs especially flourished in the 7th/13th century under the rule of the Salghurids, with a lively cultural and intellectual atmosphere in the capital Shīrāz [*q.v.*], where there lived at this time, *inter alios*, the Ḳāḍī al-Bayḍāwī, the scientist Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and the historian Waṣṣāf [*q.vv.*]. The poet Saᶜdī [*q.v.*] was the panegyrist of the Atabegs, deriving his *takhalluṣ* from Abū Bakr b. Saᶜd (I); it was to this last that he dedicated his *Bustān* and to his son, the short-reigned Saᶜd (II), that he dedicated the *Gulistān* (cf. J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 250). Coins were minted by most of the Atabegs up to and including Ābish Khātūn, with the exception possibly of the ephemeral rulers preceding her.

Genealogical table of the Salghurids

- Mawdūd
  - 1. Sonḳur
    - Ṭoghrïl
  - 2. Zangī
    - 3. Tekele
    - 4. Saᶜd (I)
      - 5. Abū Bakr
        - 6. Saᶜd (II)
          - 7. Muḥammad
          - 10. Ābish Khātūn
      - Salghur Shāh
        - 8. Muḥammad Shāh
        - 9. Saldjūḳ Shāh

Bibliography: Zambaur, *Manuel*, 232; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[1], Leipzig 1939, 144-5 and index; C.E. Bosworth, *The new Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, ch. X, no. 98; Erdoğan Merçil, *Fars Atabegleri Salgurlar*, Ankara 1975, with a good survey of the primary sources (Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī; Nasawī; Ibn al-Athīr; Rashīd al-Dīn; Waṣṣāf; Aḥmad b. Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*; Mustawfī; etc.) at pp. XI-XIX. (C.E. Bosworth)

SALḤĪN, also Silḥīn, the name of the royal palace of the Sabaean kings in their capital Mārib [*q.v.*]. The house of Salḥīn (*byln slḥn*; e.g. *CIH* 373) is the building of ancient South Arabia which is most frequently mentioned in the Sabaic inscriptions of the first three centuries A.D. Its name is also attested in the forms Salḥēn and Σιλεῆ in the title of the Abyssinian king ᶜĒzānā in Ethiopic and Greek inscriptions of the fourth century A.D. from Aksum. Owing to the lack of excavations, the original site of the palace of Salḥīn in the area of the ancient town of Mārib has not yet been discovered.

Arab tradition enumerates Salḥīn in Mārib among the most famous castles of pre-Islamic Yemen, which are praised by the Arabs in their poems and proverbs (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, 203, 11-15). Salḥīn is the foremost of the three castles of ancient Mārib (idem, *Iklīl*, viii, ed. M. al-Akwaᶜ al-Ḥiwālī, Damascus 1979, 99, 10), and it is supposed to have been the palace of Bilḳīs [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, viii, 103, 2). It held the high rank of being the royal residence of the Ḥimyarite kings (Nashwān, *Shams*, 50, 9), and it was an important castle in the country of Yemen, which belonged to the *Tabābiᶜa* or Tubbaᶜs [*q.v.*], the kings of Yemen (Yāḳūt, *Muᶜdjam*, iii, 115, 11). On the authority of Muḥammad b. Khālid, it is reported that the Sabaean kings lived in Mārib and in Ṣanᶜāʾ alternately, and whenever they resided in Mārib they stayed in Salḥīn (al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, 106, 11-13).

It is said that the palace was built by order of Bilḳīs, the Queen of Sheba, the daughter of al-Hadhād, and that in it her throne stood, as mentioned in Ḳurʾān, XXVII, 23 (Nashwān, *Shams*, 50, 9-11); it is said as well that Solomon commanded the *djinn* to build the palace for Bilḳīs (al-Thaᶜlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1889, 201). According to other traditions one of the *Tabābiᶜa* [see TUBBAᶜ] gave orders to construct Salḥīn (Yāḳūt, *Muᶜdjam*, i, 535, 13), or else the demons built it for Dhū Bataᶜ, the king of Hamdān, when he arranged the marriage of Bilḳīs to Solomon (*ibid.*, iii, 115, 12), or when Dhū Bataᶜ himself married Bilḳīs at the behest of Solomon respectively (Ibn al-Athīr, i, 238, 1-2). People say that demons had written in a Ḥimyaritic inscription in Yemen: "We built Salḥīn, working on it continuously for seventy-seven years" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 585, 15-16; al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, 104, 4-5). In other sources, the duration of the building of Salḥīn is supposed to have lasted seventy years (Yāḳūt, *Muᶜdjam*, iii, 115, 18) or eighty years respectively (*ibid.*, i, 535, 13-14; *Tādj al-ᶜarūs*, s.v. Salḥīn). Al-Hamdānī, however, doubts whether the *djinn* could have written this for two reasons. In the first place, they say that the demons built Salḥīn in seventy-seven years, but between the visit of Bilḳīs to Solomon and his death there were at most seven years, and after Solomon's death the *djinn* refused to continue their work. In the second place, there is a saying of ᶜAlḳama b. Dhī Djadan, mentioning that human beings built Salḥīn and not the *djinn*, when he composed: "and will men built houses (henceforth) after Salḥīn (has been destroyed)?" (*Iklīl*, viii, 105, 3-9; for the variant of this verse, as it is rendered here, cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 26, 12; al-Ṭabarī, i, 928, 13; Yāḳūt, iii, 115, 17; *Tādj al-ᶜarūs*, *loc. cit.*).

When the Abyssinians under their commander Aryāṭ conquered Yemen, they destroyed Salḥīn, Ghumdān [*q.v.*] and Baynūn [*q.v.*], castles which

were without equals among men (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 26, 13-14; al-Ṭabarī, i, 928, 9-11); they were considered to be palaces of exceptional beauty and splendour, which people had never seen before (al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 201). It seems that no remains of this castle were left in the Islamic period, since reportedly no traces of Salḥīn can be seen any more (Yāḳūt, iii, 115, 19).

From the no longer existent *dīwān* of the previously-mentioned ʿAlḳama, who was a descendant of the famous Ḥimyarite noble family Dhū Djadan, belonging to the *mathāmina* [*q.v.*], verses are quoted, in which the fate of Salḥīn is deplored, because the castle has been destroyed, so that now foxes bark in it, and because it has become deserted, it is as if it had never been inhabited (al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, 103, 3-13). Yemenite nostalgia for times long passed is expressed by the verse "Inquire about Salḥīn and its days, the days when the kingdom belonged to Ḥimyar" (Nashwān, *Shams*, 50, 12).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naśwān's im Šams al-ʿulūm*, Leiden 1916; N.A. Faris, *The antiquities of South Arabia, being a translation of the eighth book of Al-Hamdānī's al-Iklīl*, Princeton 1938; W.W. Müller, *Ancient castles mentioned in the eighth volume of al-Hamdānī's Iklīl and evidence of them in pre-Islamic inscriptions*, in *Al-Hamdānī, a great Yemeni scholar. Studies on the occasion of his millennial anniversary*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1986, 139-57. (W.W. Müller)

AL-ṢALĪB (A.) pls. *ṣulub, ṣulbān*, a cross, and, particularly, the object of Christian veneration. The term is used for cross-shaped marks e.g. brands on camels and designs woven into cloth, and in legal contexts for the instrument of execution.

The Ḳurʾān refers in six places to the act of crucifying as a punishment. Four of these are set in ancient Egypt: in sūra XII, 41, Yūsuf predicts that one of the men jailed with him will be crucified and birds will eat from his head; in VII, 124, XX, 71, and XXVI, 49, Pharaoh vows to crucify the magicians who have disobeyed him by believing in Mūsā's God, with XX, 71, including the detail that he will use trunks of palm trees in doing this. In fact, according to Ibn ʿAbbās (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr, ad* VII, 124), Pharaoh was the first to employ this means of execution.

The fifth occurrence, in V, 33, refers to crucifixion as the punishment for those who fight against God and the Prophet and spread evil in the land. This verse gave rise to the different views of legal experts concerning the execution of highway robbers: Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa said they should be hung on a cross, tree or poles and torn apart with spears; while Ibn Ḥanbal said their bodies should be exposed on one of these after their execution [see ḤADD; ḲATL. ii; SALB; SARIḲA].

This verse is also the legal basis for the penalty against those guilty of heresy, *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*]; the crucifixion of al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] for his uninhibited ecstatic utterances is a well-documented example (L. Massignon, *La passion de Husayn Ibn Mansūr al-Hallāj*, nouvelle édition, Paris 1975, i, 496 ff., 655 ff.).

The sixth occurrence in IV, 157, the denial that the Jews crucified ʿĪsā [see ʿĪSĀ. xi], agrees well with the attitude implied in these verses, that execution is reserved for the disobedient and criminal. This denial occasioned a long tradition of Muslim exegetical elucidations (see N. Robinson, *Christ in Islam and Christianity*, London 1991, 127-41) and may have contributed towards the lack of interest in the atonement among Muslim polemical authors.

The rejection of the cross as the symbol of Christianity is attested in a number of *Ḥadīths*: on the last day, ʿĪsā will break the cross into pieces (al-Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ, bāb* 49, etc.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 240, 272, etc.); at the final judgement Christians, "the companions of the cross", will be condemned to hell on their confession that they worshipped ʿĪsā (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd, bāb* 24); the cross is the sign of the Rūm [*q.v.*], the enemies of Islam (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 91, v, 372, v, 409); the Prophet had objects bearing cross designs removed from his dwelling (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 15; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vi, 52, 140, 237, etc., all reported on the authority of ʿĀʾisha). Restrictions were imposed upon public display of crosses from early times. According to Abū Yūsuf the Ḥanafī lawyer, Abū ʿUbayda Ibn al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*], acting on the advice of the caliph ʿUmar, permitted Christians in Syria to carry their crosses in procession on one day a year, but only outside towns and away from Muslim habitations and mosques (*Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1397/1976-7, 152, tr. E. Fagnan, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, Paris 1921, 218-19); Khālid b. al-Walīd imposed the same limitation upon the Christians of Ḥīra and neighbouring towns (*ibid.*, 154, 158, tr. Fagnan, 222, 227).

Crosses in public places caused obvious offence. In Palestine, ʿUmar found it necessary to place crosses under protection, stipulating that in Jerusalem, Lydda and other towns they would not be violated (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2405 ff.). ʿAbd al-Malik and other Umayyad caliphs ordered their destruction on the outside of churches (see A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-Musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beirut 1958, 183), and, on their imitations of Byzantine coins, had the symbol of the cross on the reverse subtly altered into a pillar by removing the bar (see W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*, Cambridge 1992, 223-7 and Pls. I-II at 207-8). The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil forbade their display in processions (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1390). Under later caliphs, Christians continued to exercise their restricted rights on feast days except when repression prevented them (Fattal, 207 ff.). It is not surprising that crosses were the immediate targets of religious riots in Muslim cities, or that at the time of the Crusades they were erected on mosques by invading Europeans and removed by Muslims. Curiously, the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim incorporated into his decrees against non-Muslims the requirement that Christians should wear crosses as distinctive signs [see AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH and its bibl.].

Many of these prohibitions against Christians were based on the precedent of the so-called "Covenant of ʿUmar", a formulation of the *dhimmī* status which though of uncertain date reflects the attitudes of early centuries (Fattal, 60 ff. discusses views concerning its origin). According to the earliest version of this document, Christians agree not to display their crosses on streets and markets frequented by Muslims (al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirādj al-mulūk*, Cairo 1289/1872, 135 ff.).

The cross and its significance does not feature prominently in Muslim polemical literature, which focusses rather on the two themes which challenged Muslim sensibilities, the Trinity and divinity of Jesus Christ, with no interest in doctrines of the atonement. In the early 3rd/9th century the Zaydī imām al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī explains the crucifixion briefly as a ransom to God (I. di Matteo, *Confutazione contro i Cristiani dello Zaydito al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm*, in *RSO*, ix [1922] 317) but does not discuss it further; while later in the same century, the independently-minded Muʿtazilī Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ [*q.v.*], whose refutation of Christianity is the most elaborate to survive from the early period, gives a concise description (D.

Thomas, *Anti-Christian polemic in early Islam*, Cambridge 1992, 68-9, 72-7), but only mentions the crucifixion incidentally in the course of demonstrating the inadequacies of explanations of the Incarnation (see E. Platti (ed. and tr.), *Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq, Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī, de l'incarnation,* Louvain 1987 (CSCO, 490-1) e.g. §§ 63 ff.). Later polemicists follow Abū ʿĪsā's example and often refer to the crucifixion only in the course of questioning whether the divine character in Christ could suffer death (e.g. al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar [*q.v.*], in J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut 1971, 83-4; al-Bāḳillānī, *Kitāb al-Tamhīd*, ed. R. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 97-8; Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Djawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ*, Cairo 1905, iii, 42 ff.).

Two exceptions to this indifferent attitude are ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad and Ibn Ḥazm [*q.vv.*], who each attempt to show that the crucifixion need not have involved the person of ʿĪsā, and so could have happened in conformity with the understood teaching of sūra IV, 157-8. Ibn Ḥazm argues that the witnesses to the events of the crucifixion are not necessarily reliable (*K. al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwāʾ wa 'l-niḥal*, Cairo 1317, i, 58 ff.), while ʿAbd al-Djabbār employs a previously unknown account of the Passion, in which the individual crucified is not explicitly identified as Jesus, as the factual basis for his argument that ʿĪsā was not killed on the cross (*K. Tathbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿA.-K. ʿUthmān, Beirut 1966, 137 ff.; see S.M. Stern, *Quotations from apocryphal gospels in ʿAbd al-Jabbār*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. xviii [1967], 34-57).

Attempts were made by Christians who wrote in Arabic to explain the significance of the crucifixion, but with little if any success (see M. Swanson, *The Cross of Christ in the earliest Arabic Melkite apologies*, in *Christian Arabic apologetics during the Abbasid period*, ed. J. Nielsen and K. Samir, Leiden 1994, 115-45, and the bibliography cited there). In more recent times, Christian teaching about the cross has received close attention from some Muslims, notably K. Hussein, *Ḳarya ẓālima*, Cairo 1954, tr. K. Cragg, *City of Wrong*, Amsterdam 1959 [see ʿĪSĀ. xv], and M.M. Ayoub, *Towards an Islamic Christology. II. the death of Jesus, reality or delusion*, in *MW*, lxx (1980), 91-121.

It was popularly thought among Muslims that the cross was actually worshipped by Christians; the caliph al-Mahdī suggests this in the course of his dialogue with the Nestorian patriarch Timothy I, which took place some time after 164/781 (see A. Mingana, *Timothy's apology for Christianity*, in *Woodbrooke Studies*, ii [1928], 39-40); the correspondence attributed to the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the emperor Leo III, though probably late 3rd/9th century, includes a discussion of it (see D. Sourdel, *Un pamphlet musulman anonyme d'époque ʿabbāside contre les Chrétiens*, in *REI*, xxxiv [1966], 29; see more fully, J.M. Gaudeul, *The correspondence between Leo and ʿUmar: ʿUmar's letter re-discovered?*, in *Islamochristiana*, x [1984], 109-57); ʿAbd Allāh al-Hāshimī, the supposed opponent of ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī [*q.v.*] mentions it among the practices he invites the Christian to renounce (*Risālat al-Kindī*, ed. A. Tien, London 1880, 21); it arises in the course of the reported debate between Christians and Muslims before al-Maʾmūn (see A. Guillaume, *A debate between Christian and Moslem doctors, Centenary Supplement to JRAS*, London 1924, 242; Swanson, *art. cit.*, 120-1, discusses dating).

Christians habitually defended the veneration of the cross (see A.-T. Khoury, *Apologétique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIIIᵉ-XIIIᵉ S.)*, Altenberge 1982, 121 ff.). And it is no surprise that the 3rd/9th century Christian apologist Abū Rāʾiṭa found it necessary to insist that the cross was not itself the object of worship but marked the direction of worship (see S. Griffith, *Ḥabīb ibn Ḫidmah Abū Rāʾiṭah, a Christian* mutakallim *of the first Abbāsid century*, in *Oriens Christianus*, lxiv [1980], 200), or that Arab lexicographers came to call the cross the *ḳibla* of the Christians.

Bibliography: A.S. Tritton, *The caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, Oxford 1930 (esp. ch. 7); H. Zayat, *La croix dans l'Islam*, Harissa 1935; C.E. Bosworth, *The concept of dhimma in early Islam*, in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman empire*, New York 1982, i, 37-51; S.H. Griffith, *Chapter ten of the* Scholion: *Theodore bar Kōnī's Apology for Christianity*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, xlvii [1981] 149-88; idem, *Theodore Abū Qurrah's Arabic tract on the Christian practice of venerating images*, in *JAOS*, cv [1985] 53-73; R.S. Humphreys, *Islamic history, a framework for inquiry*, London 1991, ch. 11. (A.J. WENSINCK-[D. THOMAS])

SALĪḤ, an Arab tribe that the genealogists affiliate with the large tribal group, Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*]. Around A.D. 400, it entered the Byzantine political orbit and became the dominant federate ally of Byzantium in the 5th century, its *foederati*.

It is practically certain that Salīḥ penetrated the Byzantine frontier from the region of Wādī Sirḥān. Ptolemy in his *Geography* speaks of a toponym, Ζαγμαΐς, in northern Arabia, identifiable with the Arabic Salīḥid name, Ḍudjʿum/Ḍadjʿum, and one of the affluents of Wādī Sirḥān is called Ḥidridj/Ḥidradj, also identifiable with another Salīḥid figure, al-Ḥidridjān. Precisely where in Byzantine Oriens/Bilād al-Shām they settled as *foederati* is not known, but it was in the southern half of it, mainly in the *provincia* Arabia, and in the two Palestines, Secunda and Tertia.

Within federate tribal Salīḥ, the Ḍadjāʿima (pl. of Ḍadjʿum) were the royal house. The eponym Ḍudjʿum/Dadjʿum is attested in the Greek source, Sozomen, as Ζόκομος, the tribal chief who converted to Christianity after a monk cured his wife of her sterility. Most of the historical figures among the Ḍadjāʿima/Zokomids, mentioned by the genealogists, are shadowy figures with the exception of two: Dāwūd and Ziyād, both with the same patronymic, Ibn al-Habūla. The first was the Salīḥid king whose name is associated with Dayr Dāwūd. Tradition says that his involvement in Christianity and the religious life weakened his warlike spirit and he was finally killed in the Gōlān in an encounter with a tribal coalition that formed against him. The second, Ziyād, is best known as the Salīḥid figure who fought the Kinda under the leadership of their king Ḥudjr, but was vanquished by them at the battle of Yawm al-Baradān (see below).

As the principal *foederati* of Byzantium in the 5th century, their main assignment was the protection of the Roman frontier facing the Arabian Peninsula from the raids of the pastoralists, the Saracens [*q.v.*] of the Greek and Latin sources. Legally, they were not Roman citizens but allies, whose relationship with Rome-Byzantium was governed by the *foedus*, the treaty. In return for their services as watchmen over the frontier, they were granted the privilege of settling on Roman territory and received the usual subsidies, either in money or in kind. Their chiefs were called phylarchs, and the term became technical in the Byzantine military system, meaning Arab chiefs in treaty relationship to Byzantium. In addition to protecting the Roman frontier, they took part in the two Persian Wars of the reign of Theodosius II, in 421-2

and 440-2, and possibly in the Vandal War of the Emperor Leo, who in 468 dispatched an expeditionary force against the Vandals of Africa. The Byzantines lost the battle of Cape Bon against the Vandals, and the Salīḥids probably lost heavily in that battle, which thus must have contributed to their eventual downfall in the Orient. Participation in the Persian and Vandal Wars relieves Salīḥid history of its marginality in fighting only the pastoralists of the Arabian Peninsula.

The conversion of their eponym, Ḍudj^c^um/Zokomos, to Christianity set the tone of their involvement in religion, especially monastic Christianity. The one structure that is definitely associated with them is a monastery, Dayr Dāwūd, in present-day al-Turkumāniyya in northern Syria. It was built by the Salīḥid King Dāwūd, whose name, David, speaks for itself. He was nicknamed al-Lathiḳ "the bedraggled" because he insisted on carrying water and mortar on his own back while building his monastery, as an act of piety.

More is known about their important contribution to poetry in Bilād al-Shām in the 5th century. While Epinician odes were composed in Arabic for the victories of the Arab Queen Mavia over the Byzantine Emperor Valens, the poets of these victory odes have remained anonymous. But in the case of the Salīḥids, their court poet is known by name, ^c^Abd al-^c^Āṣ, of the tribe of Iyād, who became the court poet of the Salīḥid king Dāwūd. The poet-laureateship of ^c^Abd al-^c^Āṣ makes certain that the tradition of court poetry in Bilād al-Shām started some hundred years before it was attested for the Ghassānids, the Arab allies of Byzantium in the 6th century. Attractive is the fact that not only did Dāwūd have a court poet but also that he had a daughter, left anonymous in the sources who, too, was a poetess. Of her poetry, one solitary verse has survived in which she laments the death of her father Dāwūd at the hands of two tribesmen. The verse is redolent of contempt for the two "wolves" who killed the king of Salīḥ and the two regicides are not left anonymous: Ibn ^c^Āmir and Mashdja^c^a, from the tribes of Kalb and al-Namir respectively. The Yawm, the battle day, on which Dāwūd fell apparently occasioned the composition of some poetry, since a triplet has survived composed by one of the two regicides in which he prides himself and his tribe on their dispatch of Dāwūd, while the verse of his daughter, the Salīḥid princess, suggests that it was an answer to the triplet, perhaps belonging to a flyting poem.

Around A.D. 500, the star of the Salīḥids began to set, as more powerful tribal groups were approaching the Roman *limes*, Kinda and Ghassān [*q.vv.*]. They first vanquished the Salīḥids under the leadership of Ziyād b. al-Hābula at Yawm al-Baradān, but it was the latter that finally overturned them and superseded them as the dominant *foederati* of Byzantium in the 6th century, and thereby hangs a tale. The Salīḥid tax-collector, Sabīṭ, refused the sword of the Ghassānid Djidh^c^as pawn, whereupon the Ghassānid unsheathed his sword and cut off Sabīṭ's head, a circumstance that gave rise to the saying "Take from Djidh^c^ what Djidh^c^ chooses to give you", *khudh min Djidh^cin^ mā a^c^ṭāka*.

Throughout this century, the Salīḥids lived in partial eclipse outshone by the Ghassānids, who dominated the scene of Arab-Byzantine relations. But one of their phylarchs, who had the same name as the eponym, Ζώγυμος appears in 586 in the Byzantine army, fighting the Persians at the siege of Mārdīn, after the suspension of the Ghassānid phylarchate for some five years in the eighties of the 6th century. The Salīḥids clearly remained federates of Byzantium, since they appear in the period of the conquest of Bilād al-Shām, fighting the Muslim Arabs with other federate tribes at Dūmat al-Djandal and in Zīzā' in Trans-Jordan. After being worsted in the southern part of Oriens by the Muslim armies, they apparently moved to the north of Syria where ^c^Abu ^c^Ubayda found them with the Tanūkh in the *ḥāḍir* (military encampment) of Ḳinnasrīn. When asked to accept Islam, they refused conversion and remained Christians.

Unlike the Tanūkh and the Ghassānids, these *foederati* of the 5th century did not prosper in Islamic times, presumably because they remained staunchly Christian and, so, isolated within the new Islamic order, with the exception of one Salīḥid, namely, Usāma b. Zayd. This scion of the old tribe served four Umayyad caliphs: al-Walīd and Sulaymān, who put him over the *kharādj* of Egypt, and Yazīd b. ^c^Abd al-Malik and Hishām, whose *kātib* Usāma was.

In addition to political and social obscurity in the Muslim period, the Salīḥids were dispersed physically in various parts of the Fertile Crescent and in Egypt. They are represented in the 20th century best in Trans-Jordan, where traces of them have survived in a village called al-Salīḥī, which lies some 20 km/12 miles to the northwest of ^c^Ammān, in a spring called ^c^Ayn al-Salīḥī, and in a valley called Wādī al-Salīḥī. And not far from these toponyms still live the al-Salīḥāt (Sleiḥat), almost certainly, because of the rarity of the name, the descendants of the ancient Salīḥids.

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(Irfān Shahîd)

ṢĀLIḤ (A.), an adjective generally meaning "righteous", "virtuous", "incorrupt", used in the science of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] criticism as a technical term indicating a transmitter who, although otherwise praised for his upright conduct, is known to have brought into circulation one or more traditions spuriously ascribed to the Prophet Muḥammad. It is the contents of such traditions, as well as their underlying meaning, that characterise their recognised inventor as *ṣāliḥ* rather than as *waḍḍā^c^*, i.e. "forger", or *kadhdhāb*, "liar". Transmitters labelled *ṣāliḥ*, or its presumably slightly denigrating dimin-

utive *ṣuwayliḥ*, are those who are held responsible for certain traditions of an, on the whole, pleasing tenor, as long as they are harmless and do not give rise to confusion, *fitna* [*q.v.*], among the believers. Scores of *ṣāliḥ* transmitters are found in the lexicons of *ridjāl* [*q.v.*] detailing the merits or demerits of *ḥadīth* transmitters. Not unfrequently they are at the same time accused of *kadhib*, i.e. "mendacity", for having fabricated traditions of a weightier substance, such as controversial ones dealing with *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām* [see SHARĪ^cA] or others that are found ludicrous or otherwise objectionable, for example because of gross exaggeration. This accusation results in the qualifier *kadhdhāb*.

In the *ridjāl* dictionaries, numerous transmitters are assessed by means of strings of qualifications that seem at first glance mutually contradictory, such as the one attributed to ^cAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī (d. 198/814) quoted in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Kifāya*, 22, - 6 f., where he describes someone's traditions as: ... *fīhi ḍu^cf wa-huwa radjul ṣadūḳ fa-yaḳūlu radjul ṣāliḥ al-ḥadīth*, or that of the *isnād* critic Ya^cḳūb b. Shayba (d. 262/876) depicting a transmitter as ... *radjul ṣāliḥ ṣadūḳ thiḳa ḍa^cīf djidd^an* (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, 248). Examples of such strings of seemingly contradictory qualifications are legion and make it clear that *ṣāliḥ* and its near-equivalent *ṣadūḳ*, lit. "veracious", can be combined with *ḍu^cf* as well as *thiḳa*. This last-mentioned qualification, lit. "reliable person", is, like *ṣāliḥ* and *ṣadūḳ*, not to be taken at face value, for it is more often than not merely a non-committal term conveying, if anything, the ignorance of the user as to the true merits or demerits of the transmitter scrutinised. This can amply be substantiated in multi-volume *thiḳāt* collections, e.g. the *Kitāb al-Thiḳāt* of Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965 [*q.v.*]), in which countless transmitters thus qualified are at the same time *madjhūl*, i.e. "anonymous".

Transmitters who are labelled *ṣāliḥ* are commonly described as overly pious through the observation of various, mostly supererogatory, ritual practices. Other, quasi-technical, terms for this class of transmitters are: *nāsik*, *^cābid*, *zāhid*, and the like. Their godly behaviour, as well as the generally pleasing and edifying contents of the *ṣāliḥ* material transmitted by them, earns them the qualification *ṣāliḥ*. The contents of traditions deserving the label *ṣāliḥ*, rather than *mawḍū^c*, "fabricated", "forged", can be summarised as falling under the headings of *targhīb wa-tarhīb*, "arousing desire and inspiring awe", *mawā^ciẓ*, "pious harangues", and *riḳāḳ* or *raḳā^ʾiḳ*, "subtle, elegant, ornate sayings". These tradition rubrics are replete with descriptions of the Day of Judgement, Heaven and Hell, the rewards or punishment therein, how to attain the one by performing salutary acts (*ṣāliḥāt*) and how, by eschewing crimes and sins, to avoid being cast into the other, as well as numerous traditions of a general nature, e.g. those listing human actions which are believed to be particularly pleasing to God, the so-called *faḍā^ʾil al-a^cmāl* genre. Among this last genre all those traditions enumerating the rewards for people reciting a particular *sūra* of the Ḳur^ʾān are prominent. *Ṣāliḥ* traditions are moulded either in the form of prophetic dicta or implied in descriptions of the Prophet's alleged behaviour. Before the reputation of the early Islamic storyteller (*ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*]) worsened in the course of the second half of the 2nd/8th century, it was he who was often identified as purveyor of *ṣāliḥ* material. Although *ṣāliḥ* traditions can theoretically be found among those labelled *ṣaḥīḥ* [*q.v.*], the majority fall under the categories of *ḥasan* "fair" (a genuine euphemism for mostly poorly authenticated traditions) or *ḍa^cīf* "weak", traditions without any claim to reliability.

The acceptability of *ṣāliḥ* traditions from transmitters labelled *ṣāliḥ* varies with early *ḥadīth* experts. Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]) professed that he had no use for them (cf. al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya*, 160) and, consequently, his *Muwaṭṭa^ʾ* is relatively free from them, but such collections as the *Musnad* of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/856 [*q.v.*]) and also the Six Books are riddled with *ṣāliḥ* traditions, the latter especially in chapters entitled *zuhd, fitan, riḳāḳ, ṣifat al-djanna, ṣifat al-nār, ādāb*, etc.

Throughout the centuries-long period of *ḥadīth* collecting, the gathering of *ṣāliḥ* traditions was widely encouraged, not, however, in order to distill from them juridical or doctrinal arguments (in Arabic, *li 'l-iḥtidjādj*) but only for the sake of comparison or consideration (in Arabic, *li 'l-i^ctibār*). This is the reason why Muslim tradition literature has preserved such masses of *ṣāliḥ* traditions. *Ṣāliḥ* traditions were even brought together in special collections, the one entitled *al-Targhīb wa 'l-tarhīb* by al-Mundhirī (d. 656/1258) being particularly popular (cf. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 189-90).

To sum up, the statement attributed to the early Muslim *ḥadīth* expert Yaḥyā b. Sa^cīd al-Ḳaṭṭān (d. 198/813) from Baṣra speaks volumes in the present context: "In nothing did we find *al-ṣāliḥūn* more mendacious (*akdhab*) than in (inventing) traditions" (cf. Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjadj's introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, cited in *JSAI*, v [1984], 281). Furthermore, for Medina we have the assessment of the *faḳīh* Abu 'l-Zinād (d. 133/751) who is reported to have said (cf. al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya*, 159): "In Medina I made the acquaintance of some hundred *shaykhs*, all of them *thiḳas*, but their *ḥadīths* should be well left alone." And the Kūfan Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778 [*q.v.*]) is recorded to have said (Ibn Radjab, 103), when confronted with the fact that, although wary, he did transmit traditions from Muḥammad b. al-Sā^ʾib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763 [see AL-KALBĪ, at IV, 495a]): "But I know his *ṣidḳ* from his *kadhib*!" Observations such as these three are indeed numerous in Muslim *ḥadīth* studies.

Bibliography: The most extensive early theoretical survey of different classes of *muḥaddithūn*, whose role in bringing spurious traditions into circulation was generally recognised, is that of Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965), *Kitāb al-Madjrūḥīn*, Ḥaydarābād 1970, i, 48-74. Furthermore, Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Djarḥ wa 'l-ta^cdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1952, i/1, 37 f.; idem, *Taḳdimat al-ma^crifa li-kitāb al-djarḥ wa 'l-ta^cdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1952, 10; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-kifāya fī ^cilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 133-4, 158-61; Ibn Radjab, *Sharḥ ^cilal al-Tirmidhī*, ed. Ṣubḥī Djāsir al-Ḥumayd, Baghdād 1396, 100-3, 113 ff.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Kitāb al-Mawḍū^cāt*, ed. ^cAbd al-Raḥmān M. ^cUthmān, Cairo 1966-8, i, 39-42; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *al-Muḳaddima* [*fī ^cilm al-ḥadīth*], ed. with *Maḥāsin al-iṣṭilāḥ* of Sirādj al-Dīn ^cUmar al-Bulḳīnī, by ^cĀ^ʾisha ^cAbd al-Raḥmān Bint al-Shāṭi^ʾ, Cairo 1974, 104, 212-15; Nawawī, *Taḳrīb*, tr. W. Marçais (using the term "fraudes pieuses" for traditions of *ṣāliḥūn*) in *JA*, 9e série, xvii (1901), 121-5; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ taḳrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. ^cAbd al-Wahhāb ^cAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1966, i, 274-90. For the contemporary Muslim view, see e.g. Nūr al-Dīn ^cItr, *Manhadj al-naḳd fī ^culūm al-ḥadīth*, Damascus 1972, 254, 284-5; idem, *Mu^cdjam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-ḥadīthiyya*, Damascus 1977, 55; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *^cUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 289-90. For a survey of *ṣāliḥ* against the

background of other technical *ḥadīth* terms, see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 184-90. (G.H.A. Juynboll)

ṢĀLIḤ, a prophet who, according to the Ḳurʾān, was sent to the people Thamūd [*q.v.*]. He is mentioned by name nine times in the Ḳurʾān, with the fullest versions of the story being told in VII, 73-9, XI, 61-8, XXVI, 141-59, and XXVII, 45-53; nineteen additional references to Thamūd by name, including extensive passages in LIV, 23-32 and XCI, 11-5, provide parallel accounts and specific details without mentioning the name Ṣāliḥ.

The story of Ṣāliḥ follows the standard Ḳurʾānic pattern of commission, mission, rejection and punishment (see ḲURʾĀN. 6.d; J. Wansbrough, *Quranic studies*, Oxford 1977, 21-5). Sent as a "sign" and a "warning", the prophet demanded that his people turn to him and pray to God alone, from whom they had received blessings. The people rejected Ṣāliḥ abruptly, calling him "bewitched" (*musaḥḥar*), a man like themselves, one whose claim to revelation was false; they would not give up the religion of their fathers and they doubted the idea of a day of judgement.

The focal point and distinctive element of the story of Ṣāliḥ comes in the account of the camel (*nāḳa*) sent as a "sign" (*āya*, VII, 73, XI, 64, XXVI, 154), "test" (*fitna*, LIV, 27) or "proof" (*mubṣira*, XVII, 59) by God. Ṣāliḥ told his people that the camel must be left alone to feed unharmed and drink unhindered. However, the people (or one person according to LIV, 29) hamstrung it and killed it. They then contemptuously asked Ṣāliḥ to bring about the punishment which he had threatened. He told them to stay in their houses for three days; then a storm broke out (LI, 44, LXIX, 5), perhaps an earthquake (VII, 78), and on the following morning they lay dead in their houses.

Thamūd, as a name of a historical people, is known from other sources, and thus the story of Ṣāliḥ is often thought to have a basis in history. The dwellings which the Thamūdic people had hewn out of the rocks according to the Ḳurʾān (VII, 74, XXVI, 149, LXXXIX, 9), the remains of which were still visible (XXIX, 38), are connected in folk-lore with the tombs at al-Ḥidjr [*q.v.*] = Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, but this connection is unclear, these rock tombs are, in fact, essentially Nabataean [see NABAṬ], although the tomb inscription of Raḳāshi bt. ʿAbd al-Manāt is written in Nabataean, with strong Arabic influence, and in Thamudic.

Muslim legend developed the story of Ṣāliḥ in its typical manner, providing stories of miraculous occurrences during his conception and birth, and his being called to prophethood at the age of forty. He was given a genealogy which traced him back to Noah through Shem, probably because of the frequent association of Noah and Thamūd in the Ḳurʾān (e.g. XIV, 9, "Has the story not reached you of those who were before you, the people of Noah, ʿĀd and Thamūd and those after them?"; also IX, 70, XXII, 42, XXV, 37-8, XL, 31, L, 12) who are linked thematically through the total destruction of their respective communities. Likewise, the period in which Ṣāliḥ lived was pictured as preceeding that of Abraham and coming after Hūd, because of the way the stories were structured sequentially in Ḳurʾān, VII, 65-84, for example. Muslims were aware that no Biblical prophet could be identified with Ṣāliḥ, but it was claimed that prophets such as Ṣāliḥ and Hūd were just as famous among the Arabs as were Abraham and his descendants.

The name itself Ṣāliḥ may well be a formation from the time of Muḥammad himself, from the root *ṣ-l-ḥ* with the connotation of "to be pious, upright". Its only appearance in pre-Islamic North Arabian may be in the form *Ṣ.l.ḥ* (vowelling unknown) twice attested in Safaitic [*q.v.*] inscriptions (F.V. Winnett and G. Lankester Harding, *Inscriptions from fifty Safaitic cairns*, Toronto 1978, nos. 2048, 2095; it is also found very occasionally in Sabaic and Ḥaḍramī), and it was clearly a very rare name, not attested in e.g. Nabataean, Palmyrene or Hatran. The story of the camel cannot be conclusively connected with any known past story either, although J.M. Rodwell, in his Ḳurʾān translation, suggested in it a possible reminiscence of the story of the milch-camel of al-Basūs [*q.v.*], the killing of which sparked off the famous pre-Islamic war in Arabia (*The Koran*, London 1909, 300-1).

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(A. Rippin)

ṢĀLIḤ B. ʿABD AL-ḲUDDŪS b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs al-Baṣrī, Abu 'l-Faḍl, a famous poet of the 2nd/8th century, and one of the first victims of the official inquisition inaugurated by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mahdī, died in 167/783. In this year Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*] and Ṣāliḥ were accused of *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*] and executed.

References to Ṣāliḥ's poetry abound in the literature, but little concrete detail is known about his life. He was a *mawlā* of Asad or al-Azd. His father ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs, son of a convert, probably of Persian origin, is supposed to have composed poems. He himself seems to have been a secretary to al-Manṣūr and a colleague of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ. Some traditions make him a *ḳāṣṣ* in Baṣra. He lived to become old, and according to one of his poems, he became blind.

His fame is due above all to the extensive use of gnomic expressions in his poems. He refers to an old book (Persian?) from which he borrowed his *ḥikam* or didactic sentences. A *Kitāb al-Shukūk* is attributed to him, perhaps to enhance the possibility that he was a sceptic. A study of his surviving poems shows that his title *ṣāḥib al-falsafa*—others call him *mutakallim*—is akin to truth, though no trace of *zandaḳa* or dualist thinking is visible in them. They leave no anti-Islamic impression, making his alleged death as a heretic suspicious. He considered poverty as worse than unbelief, and a life without external influence worthless. It is better to die, he says, than being a person for whose help no hope is harboured when something happens and for whose kindness and benefactions one has no hope. He was a moralist and publicised his ideas on religion through the medium of wise sayings, viewing religion as moral teaching, not as a rational or juristic system. Goldziher conjectured this as the reason behind Ṣāliḥ's inclusion among the *zindīḳs*.

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Hinrichtung des Ṣāliḥ b. ᶜAbdalquddūs, in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients. Festschrift für Bertold Spuler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. H.R. Roemer und A. Noth, Leiden 1981, 53-66; idem, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, 6 vols., Berlin and New York 1991-, ii, 15-20; idem, *Theorie und Anekdote*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxv (1984), 22-30. Most of the surviving material on Ṣāliḥ has been collected and uncritically put together by ᶜAbd Allāh Khaṭīb in *Ṣāliḥ b. ᶜAbdalḳuddūs al-Baṣrī*, Baṣra 1967.

(Mohsen Zakeri)

ṢĀLIḤ b. **ᶜALĪ** b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-ᶜAbbās, member of the ᶜAbbāsid family (92-152/711-69) who played an important part in the success of the ᶜAbbāsid revolution in Syria, assisting his brother ᶜAbd Allāh in the assault on Damascus and, with Abū ᶜAwn ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd al-ᶜAtakī leading the pursuit of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muḥammad to Egypt.

He was appointed governor of Egypt on 1 Muḥarram, 133/9 August 750 and remained there for a year, establishing ᶜAbbāsid power. On 1 Shaᶜbān 1, 133/4 March 751 he was moved to Palestine and in the same year sent Saᶜīd b. ᶜAbd Allāh to lead the first *ṣā'ifa* [*q.v.*] or summer raid of ᶜAbbāsid times against the Byzantines. After another short spell as governor of Egypt (5 Rabīᶜ II 136/8 October/753 to 4 Ramaḍān 137/21 February 755), he spent the rest of his career in Syria and Palestine and on the Byzantine frontier. He seems to have enjoyed the confidence of his great-nephews, the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, and, after the rebellion of his brother ᶜAbd Allāh in 137/754, which he shrewdly refused to support, he was the senior ᶜAbbāsid in Syria. He took over most of the Umayyad properties in the area, including the famed Dār al-Ṣabbāghīn at Ramla, at Aleppo and Salamiya, where his family were still living in al-Balādhurī's time. He played an important role in strengthening the defences of the Byzantine frontier with the rebuilding of Malaṭya, Marᶜash and al-Maṣṣīṣa. He died in Syria in 152/769, but his sons al-Faḍl and ᶜAbd al-Malik remained powerful in Syria until the end of al-Rashīd's reign.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii; Yaᶜḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*; Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt*, ed. Guest; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*; Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, ed. Dahhān, Damascus 1951; H. Kennedy, *The early ᶜAbbasid Caliphate*, London 1981.

(A. Grohmann-[H. Kennedy])

ṢĀLIḤ b. **MIRDĀS** [see mirdās, banū].

ṢĀLIḤ b. **ṬARĪF**, a personage mentioned for the first time in the 4th/10th century in the text of Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣurāt al-arḍ*, as having lived 200 years before and having been the alleged prophet of the Barghawāta, a Berber confederation of the Maṣmūda group, installed in the region of Tasmana, between Salé and Azemmour in Morocco.

Ṣāliḥ's father, Ṭarīf b. Shamaᶜūn b. Yaᶜḳūb b. Isḥāḳ, perhaps of Jewish origin, had been a companion of Maysara al-Matgharī, who had led a rising in 122/740 in northern Morocco at the time of the Khāridjite revolt; Ṭarīf was then recognised as the chief of the Tamasna tribe. His son Ṣāliḥ succeeded him *ca.* 131/748-9. According to the narrative of the "Great Prayer Leader", *ṣāḥib ṣalātihim*, Abū Ṣāliḥ Zammūr al-Barghawāṭī, sent as an ambassador to Cordova in 352/963, whom al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, mid-5th/11th century) mentions, Ṣāliḥ had taken part in the wars led by Maysara together with his father, and then is said to have taught his people a religious doctrine revealed to him and to have proclaimed himself a prophet. He is then said to have left for the East, instructing his son al-Yasaᶜ/Ilyasaᶜ, who succeeded in *ca.* 178/794-5, to keep this new religion secret. He himself would return in the time of his seventh successor. According to several sources, Ṣāliḥ allegedly lived, like his son also, as a good Muslim, and it was his grandson, Yūnus, who proclaimed that his grandfather was a prophet, Ṣāliḥ al-Mu'minīn, and to have proclaimed publicly the secret doctrine, with a Ḳur'ān in Berber. There are various obscurities regarding Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf. Did he really leave for the East, or was it just Yūnus who took the road, as Ibn ᶜIdhārī (*Bayān*, i) seems to assert, together with another tradition given by al-Bakrī? Yūnus allegedly invented, for his own purposes, by declaring himself a prophet, this new "Berber" religion suffused with Ṣufrī Khāridjism, by attributing it to his grandfather, who was supposed to have charged him with the task of revealing it; this latter explanation seems more plausible.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers and Wiet; Bakrī, ed. and tr. de Slane; Ibn ᶜIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948-51; M. Talbi, *Hérésie, acculturation et nationalisme des Berbères Bargawāta*, in *Actes du premier congrès d'études des cultures méditerranéennes d'influence arabo-berbère*, Algiers 1973, 217-33; Mbarek Redjala, *Les Barghwāta* (*origine de leur nom*), in *ROMM*, n. 35 (1983), 115-25. See also the *Bibl.* to barghawāta.

(Chantal de La Veronne)

ṢĀLIḤ b. **YAḤYĀ** b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥusayn b. Khaḍir (d. 839/1436), *amīr* of the Druze family of the Banū Buḥtur whose family divided up, amongst brothers and cousins, the coastal region and mountain of the Shūf in present-day Lebanon, the area lying between Beirut and Sidon, with its chef-lieu as the little town of ᶜAbay, from the 5th/11th century to the end of the 9th/15th one.

Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā is above all known for having written a history of his family, published for the first time, from the B.N. unicum (fonds arabe 1670), in the journal *al-Machriq* (1898-9), and then issued in book form at Beirut by the Imprimerie Catholique in 1902 and 1928. A new edition, taking into account the critical remarks of J. Sauvaget (*BEO*, vii-viii [1937-8], 65-81) and respecting better the text's integralness, also preserving its dialectical style, has been published by F. Hours S.J. and Kamal Salibi as *Tārīḫ Bayrūt. Récits des anciens de la famille de Buḥtur b. ᶜAlī, émir du Gharb de Beyrouth*, Beirut 1969 (Coll. Recherches, Dar el-Machreq).

Written in a distinctly unclassical language, it begins with topographical and historico-archaeological aspects of the town of Beirut, and then passes, for the greater part of the work, to the complete chronicle of members of the family, from the ancestor Buḥtur (6th/12th century) up to the author's own time, setting forth its subject in three chronological divisions (*ṭabaḳāt*), the third one revolving round Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn (d. 751/1350), the author's great-grandfather and most remarkable of the *amīrs* of the Gharb.

The work's considerable interest lies in the fact that it is one of the rare documents which allow us to penetrate within the daily life of a small rural fiefdom, administratively attached to Damascus in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times. It gives, by means of personalised accounts and archival documents, a very lively idea of the life of the peoples living to the south of Beirut and their relations with *inter alios* the Mamlūk occupiers.

The Druze historian Ḥamza b. Aḥmad b. ᶜUmar b.

Ṣāliḥ, called Ibn Asbāṭ al-Gharbī (d. 926/1520) made use of Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā's text in his *Taʾrīkh*, and this was in turn made use of by the *amīr* Ḥaydar al-Shihābī (d. 1250/1835) in his *al-Ghurar al-ḥisān fī taʾrīkh ḥawādith al-zamān* (éd. Naʿīm Mughabghab, Cairo 1900).

Bibliography: Given in the article, to which should be added Brockelmann, II, 36 and II², 47, and Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 276, iii, 198.

(L. Pouzet)

al-Malik al-**ṢĀLIḤ**, the regnal title of four Mamlūk sultans:

1. ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl, *regn.* 743-46/1342-45;
2. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, *regn.* 752-55/1351-54;
3. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥādjdjī, *regn.* 783-84/1381-82, 791-92/1389-90; and
4. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar, *regn.* 824-5/1421-2.

1. al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl, son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], was raised to the sultanate by his father's senior *amīrs* on 22 Muḥarram 743/28 June 1342 to succeed his brother al-Malik al-Nāṣir Aḥmad who had absconded, with all the royal treasures, to al-Karak. When, upon al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, none of the *amīrs* proved powerful enough to go it alone, they resorted to factional coalitions enabling two or more of them to rule jointly in the name of the Ḳalāwūnī sultan. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl's rule was upheld first by Arghūn al-ʿAlāʾī, his step-father, and Āḳsunḳur al-Salārī, who held the offices of *raʾs nawba* and *nāʾib al-salṭana* respectively. With Āḳsunḳur's subsequent elimination, Arghūn al-ʿAlāʾī held the reins of power while al-Ḥādjdj Āl Malik became *nāʾib al-salṭana*.

As the Ḳalāwūnī sultans' rule was nominal only, the *amīrs* never cut off, and even encouraged their connections with the harem which al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had left behind. Before long, the influence the harem exerted was enormous. During Ismāʿīl's reign e.g. the involvement in government affairs of harem women and servants increased to such extent that *iḳṭāʿāt* and land allowances could be obtained only through them. Owing to the influence of the chief eunuch, ʿAnbar al-Sakhartī, who had been Ismāʿīl's tutor, servants and eunuchs attained a status of such importance that they freely appropriated Mamlūk ways, while Al-Sakhartī surrounded himself with the ceremonial usually reserved for senior *amīrs*. Servants and eunuchs, moreover, were involved in an abortive attempt in 744/1343 of a group of *amīrs* to re-install Aḥmad in the sultanate. For all his piety and modesty, Ismāʿīl soon indulged himself in the pleasures of the harem and married Ittifāḳ, a slave-girl singer, lavishing on her expensive gifts from the royal treasures. Soon the sultan's household expenditures (*ḥawāʾidj-khāna*) exceeded his father's already extravagant practices. Even when in Muḥarram 745/May 1344 the sultanate was beset by a deep economic crisis (an annual budget deficit standing at 30 million *dirhams* with revenues at only 15 million *dirhams*), mere cosmetic measures were taken to diminish expenditure.

A particularly heavy burden on the treasury during Ismāʿīl's rule were the costly campaigns of the ruling *amīrs* against Aḥmad, still entrenched at al-Karak—after seven abortive campaigns they were forced to borrow money from merchants to finance a final attempt. Even then the city fell only when the Bedouin who had sided with Aḥmad deserted him for the reward of *iḳṭāʿāt* and lands. Aḥmad was subsequently executed (745/1344). Taking advantage of the government's obvious weakness, the Bedouin both in Egypt and Syria revolted. The rivalry between the Āl Muhannā and the Āl Faḍl over the leadership of the Bedouin in Syria on behalf of the government, *imrat al-ʿarab*, erupted into an open conflict. Other tribes in Syria, *al-ʿashīr*, soon took the law into their own hands. Internecine wars between the Bedouin tribes of Lower and Upper Egypt disrupted travel on the roads, damaged the irrigation system and prevented officials from levying taxes in their districts; expeditions despatched to subdue the Bedouin proved inadequate.

To this chaotic situation, the market reacted with increasing inflation and sharp monetary devaluation. Some relief came when in 745/1345 al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl granted the Venetians commercial privileges. Thereafter, Europeans were increasingly offered such commercial concessions as the revenues for the government from taxation on foreign trade offset the dwindling revenues from agriculture and local commerce. That commercial ties between the Mamlūk sultanate and Europe could be renewed stemmed from changes outside the sultanate. The Papal trade embargo against the sultanate which had been in force since the fall of Acre in 690/1291 was revoked because of pressure exerted by the European trading powers, who wanted to shift their trade back to the Levant after political changes hampered trade in the Black Sea region. After only a short reign, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl died in Rabīʿ I 746/July 1345, from illness. Anxious to remain in power, Arghūn al-ʿAlāʾī, through a will Ismāʿīl had made under his guidance, guaranteed the succession of Shaʿbān [*q.v.*], Ismāʿīl's brother.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, i/3, Cairo 1939, 619-80; idem, *K. al-Muḳaffā*, ii, Beirut 1991, 66-9; Shams al-Dīn al-Shudjāʿī, *Taʾrīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, i, Wiesbaden 1977, 230-77; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nudjūm*, x, Cairo 1963, 78-98; idem, *Manhal*, ii, Cairo 1984, 425-27; R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, London 1986, 125-51; D. Ayalon, *The eunuchs in the Mamluk Sultanate*, in idem, *The Mamluk military society*, London 1979.

2. al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ (lived 738-61/1337-60) was the son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] by Ḳutlūmalik, the daughter of the *amīr* Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī, al-Nāṣir's *nāʾib* in Syria. Al-Ṣāliḥ was installed on the throne on 28 Djumādā II 752/2 August 1351 after the senior *amīrs* of his father's Mamlūk household who held power at the time had deposed his brother al-Nāṣir Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. Four days later, an open power struggle broke out between them and a triumvirate, of *Amīrs* Shaykhū (or Shaykhūn), Ṣarghatmush and Ṭāz, came out victorious. Wanting to avoid concentration of power in one hand, the three carefully separated control over the treasury from that over the army. Thus Shaykhū held the sultan's treasury (*al-khāṣṣ*) while Ṣarghatmush was responsible for the distribution of *iḳṭāʿ*s and the Mamlūks' promotion in the army. Suspicions, however, simmered and in Rabīʿ I 753/May-June 1352 Ṭāz accused Ṣarghatmush of attempting to restore al-Nāṣir Ḥasan. Later in Radjab/October, disgruntled erstwhile associates such as Baybughā Urūs, the *nāʾib* of Ḥamāt, his brother Mandjak al-Yūsufī and others, led an abortive coup in Syria. The rebels, together with Turkman and Bedouin tribes, looted Damascus and its suburbs before the Mamlūk army, nominally commanded by al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ, defeated them. When Shaykhū and Ṣarghatmush learned that Ṭāz was plotting against them with al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ, they did away with him, and on 2 Shawwāl 755/20 October 1354, deposed al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ and restored al-Nāṣir Ḥasan to the throne.

With the ruling *amīrs* preoccupied with power

struggles, the Bedouin who had been under the patronage of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and had accumulated power during his rule and after his death, took the law into their own hands. Internecine wars between the Āl Muhannā and Āl Faḍl over the *imrat al-ʿarab* again rendered highways in Syria unsafe, compelling the government in 753/1352 to award the *imra* to both of them jointly. As in 752/1351, Upper Egypt was under the *de facto* control of Muḥammad b. Wāṣil al-Aḥdab, chief of the ʿArak tribe. Attacks on the Bedouin throughout Egypt in 754/1353 ended a period of some fifteen years during which the country's resources had been consistently depleted by the destruction which the Bedouin wrought on commerce and agriculture and by the enormous government expenditure on efforts to contain them.

It was during al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ's reign that the impact on the sultanate's economy of the Black Death, which had ravaged Egypt during 748-50/1347-9, became most obvious. The Mamlūk army was decimated, and *ḥalḳa* soldiers who had survived the epidemic were reduced to such miserable conditions that they resorted to leasing their *iḳṭāʿāt* to civilians, which in turn led to the further decline of the army. Shortage in manpower caused large parts of the cultivated lands in Egypt to lie waste sharply reducing the treasury's revenues from agriculture. The state's deficit now reached such proportions that no one could be found willing to take responsibility for the treasury. Even the vizierate was an office no longer much desired. In order to reduce the deficit, the salaries of almost all officials in the sultan's household and governmental administration were cut down by half or two-thirds. The ruling *amīrs* further increased revenues by compelling the population to purchase products which the government owned or manufactured (*ṭarḥ*) or through the confiscation of property (*muṣādara* [*q.v.*]), notably of rich officials. In 755/1354 new attacks against Coptic scribes erupted throughout Egypt. Yielding to the rioting mob's demands, al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ allowed them to destroy churches, while 25,000 *faddāns* of land belonging to the church as *awḳāf* were confiscated and redistributed mainly as *iḳṭāʿāt* to Mamlūks. Under pressure from the *ʿulamāʾ* and the masses, al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ re-enacted the discriminating laws against the *dhimmīs* [*q.v.*] and decreed that no *dhimmī* could be employed anywhere in Egypt. With their church's source of revenues destroyed and the way for personal advancement blocked, the Copts reacted with massive waves of conversion to Islam, thereby hastening Egypt's religious transformation.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, ii/3, Cairo 1939, 843-930; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nudjūm*, x, Cairo 1963, 254-87; idem, *Manhal*, vi, Cairo 1990, 330-3; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *al-Djawhar al-thamīn*, Beirut 1985, 199-206; R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, London 1986, 125-51; D.P. Little, *Coptic conversion to Islam under the Bahri Mamluks*, in *BSOAS*, xxxix, 567-69.

3. AL-ṢĀLIḤ ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN ḤĀDJDJĪ, son of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān [*q.v.*] and great-grandson of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], was placed on the throne at the age of ten, on 24 Ṣafar 783/21 May 1381, after the death of his brother, al-Manṣūr ʿAlī. Since Rabīʿ I 782/June 1380, the *amīr* Barḳūḳ al-ʿUthmānī al-Yalbughāwī [*q.v.*] had become *atābak al-ʿasākir* [*q.v.*], gaining the title of *amīr kabīr*, and was sultan in all but name. Barḳūḳ used his position to his advantage and bought large numbers of Mamlūks whom he lodged in Cairo's Citadel. Not having to rely on an alliance of *amīrs*, he freely bestowed amīrates upon his own Mamlūks and appointed trusted followers to key positions in government. Barḳūḳ's rule won such wide support that he became the first *amīr kabīr* to mint coins bearing his emblem, *rank* [*q.v.*], as sultans customarily did on their ascent to power. With his supremacy acknowledged, Barḳūḳ moved to bring Ḳalāwūnī rule to an end and, on 19 Ramaḍān 784/27 November 1382, deposed al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥādjdjī, a date conventionally considered as the beginning of the Circassian Mamlūk sultanate.

Symptoms of the decline of the Mamlūk economy, evident as early as the 1340s, were common during al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥādjdjī's brief reign. Decline in revenues pushed the government in 783-4/1381-2 to increase confiscation of office-holders' property and even of *awḳāf*. The outbreak of the plague in 783/1381 and a monetary crisis following Barḳūḳ's attempt to issue copper coins of heavy weight and rate to replace the silver *dirham* further worsened the economy.

Ḥādjdjī was briefly restored to the throne when in 6 Djumādā II 791/2 June 1389 Barḳūḳ's rivals, the *amīrs* Timurbughā al-Afḍalī, called Minṭāsh, and Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, led a revolt against him and succeeded in temporarily exiling him from Egypt. According to one version, Ḥādjdjī was again put on the throne simply because he had been overthrown by Barḳūḳ. Ascending a second time, he took the regnal title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr (Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 94); but as with most Ḳalāwūnī princes, Ḥādjdjī was sultan in name only and his authority was severely restricted.

On 16 Shaʿbān/10 August civil strife broke out between the two partners of the coalition behind Ḥādjdjī's rule. Minṭāsh came out the winner, and as *amīr kabīr* he became the real holder of power. Despite Minṭāsh's claim that with his struggle against Yalbughā he had, among other things, aimed at reintroducing independent sultanic rule, al-Manṣūr Ḥādjdjī was again put under harsh restrictions. His nominal reign came to an end when opposition to Minṭāsh's ruling faction lent its support to Barḳūḳ and thus enabled him to re-enter Cairo triumphantly on 14 Ṣafar 792/1 February 1390. Once again removed to confinement in the Citadel, al-Manṣūr Ḥādjdjī spent the last 22 years of his life in the harem. He died on 19 Shawwāl 814/4 February 1412.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, iii/2, Cairo 1939, 439-75, 620-703; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nudjūm*, xi, Cairo 1963, 206-15, 309-81; idem, *Manhal*, v, Cairo 1988, 48-50; Ibn Hadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, ii, Ḥaydarābād 1968, 45-92; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Furāt*, ix, Beirut 1936, 94-185.

4. AL-ṢĀLIḤ NĀṢIR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ẒĀHIR ṬAṬAR was the ten-year old son and ephemeral successor in 824/1421 of Sayf al-Dīn Ṭaṭar, but was himself replaced by al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbay [*q.v.*] after a five-months' reign.

Bibliography: P.M. Holt, *The age of the Crusades. The Near East from the eleventh century to 1517*, London 1986, 184.

(AMALIA LEVANONI)

AL-MALIK **AL-ṢĀLIḤ ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN** Ismāʿīl b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, an Ayyūbid prince, who was twice sultan of Damascus for short periods.

One of the many sons of al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr [*q.v.*], he was probably born just before *ca.* 600/1203-4, although no precise date has been recorded. His father assigned him Boṣrā and al-Sawād (the area east of Lake Tiberias) as an *iḳṭāʿ*. He continued to hold these lands under his brother al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā [*q.v.*], although in 622/1225 he was brought to Damascus, temporarily under a cloud, because of his possible involvement in a plot by a local magnate, Ibn al-Kaʿkī, to give him control of the city. After al-Muʿaẓẓam's

death in 624/1227 he maintained his position subject to al-Nāṣir Dāwūd [*q.v.*]. When Ismāʿīl's brothers al-Kāmil [*q.v.*] and al-As͟hraf Mūsā, had jointly deprived al-Nāṣir of Damascus, Ismāʿīl was confirmed in his area of control in Rad͟jab 626/May-June 1229. With other Ayyūbid princes, Ismāʿīl was in this same year sent by al-Kāmil to recover Ḥama for al-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd, and he commanded the *ʿaskar* of Damascus which gained Baalbek for al-As͟hraf. Sibṭ Ibn al-D̲jawzī [see IBN AL-D̲JAWZĪ, ... SIBṬ] mentions Ismāʿīl as lieutenant of al-As͟hraf Mūsa in Damascus in Ramaḍān 627/July-August 1231, and he took part in al-Kāmil's campaign against the Sald͟jūks of Rūm in 631/1233-4.

In Muḥarram 635/August 1237 he became ruler of Damascus after the death of al-As͟hraf Mūsā, who had no sons and had designated Ismāʿīl as his successor. He also took over Baalbek, and was recognised as suzerain by al-Mud͟jāhid S͟hīrkūh of Ḥimṣ and by the ruler in Aleppo. In D̲jumāda II 635/February 1238 Ismāʿīl surrendered Damascus to the greater power of al-Kāmil, but was allowed to retain Baalbek and al-Biḳāʿ, Boṣrā and al-Sawād. However, al-Kāmil soon died (Rad͟jab 635/March 1238), and in complicated circumstances Ismāʿīl seized Damascus in Ṣafar 637/September 1239 (for these and subsequent events, see AL-ṢĀLIḤ NAD̲JM AL-DĪN AYYŪB). To attempt to maintain his position against al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, now sultan of Egypt, Ismāʿīl sought many alliances, with Aleppo, with al-Nāṣir Dāwūd in Transjordan, with the Sald͟jūḳ sultan of Rūm (dirhams struck in 640/1242-3 name Kaykhusraw II as overlord), with elements of the K͟hʷārazmiyya, and with the Franks, to whom he was willing to surrender Jerusalem and other conquests of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn such as Sidon and Beaufort, but not without arousing strong religious opposition. An attempted peace settlement with Ayyūb in 641/1243-4 (Damascus dirhams of this year name him as overlord) almost immediately broke down through lack of trust, probably justified.

The next year Ismāʿīl formed a Syrian coalition, including the Franks, which was defeated by the Egyptian army and Ayyūb's K͟hʷārazmian mercenaries between Gaza and Ascalon (D̲jumāda I 642/October 1244). Damascus was besieged and surrendered to Ayyūb's forces in D̲jumada I 643/October 1245. Later in 644/1246 Baalbek and Boṣrā were also taken from Ismāʿīl. He himself fled to Aleppo, whose ruler al-Nāṣir Yūsuf [*q.v.*] gave him protection and refused to hand him over to Ayyūb.

After the murder of al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrāns͟hāh [*q.v.*] and the tentative establishment of the Mamluk régime in Egypt, Ismāʿīl took part in the expedition which planned to restore Ayyūbid control there. Led by al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the Syrian Ayyūbids were defeated at Kurāʿ in D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 648/February 1251. Ismāʿīl was one of many princes captured. After a short confinement in the Citadel at Cairo, on the eve of Sunday 27 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda/19 February he was taken out towards the Ḳarāfa Cemetery, strangled and buried unceremoniously.

Bibliography: For the primary sources, see the article AL-ṢĀLIḤ NAD̲JM AL-DĪN AYYŪB. The fullest account of the period is in R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260*, Albany 1977 (see the bibl. cited therein). For epigraphic references, see *RCEA*, xi, nos. 4054, 4155, 4186, 4197, 4246(?), 4247, and for the numismatic evidence, P. Balog, *The coinage of the Ayyubids*, London 1980, 242-8.

(D.S. RICHARDS)

AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ ISMĀʿĪL B. BADR AL-DĪN LUʾLUʾ, Rukn al-Dīn, ephemeral ruler in Mawṣil [*q.v.*] after his father. Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*] had submitted to the Mongols, and Ismāʿīl, his eldest son, had journeyed to the Great K͟hān's ordo at Ḳaraḳorum in order to give his father's homage. When Luʾluʾ died in 657/1258, Ismāʿīl succeeded him, but now switched sides and opposed the Mongols. He joined forces with the Mamlūk Baybars [*q.v.*], but was killed, together with his young son, when the Mongols captured and sacked Mawṣil, so that the brief line of the Luʾluʾid Atabegs came to an end.

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *Monuments et inscriptions de l'atabek Luʾluʾ de Mossoul*, in *Orientalische Studien ... Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 198, with the sources detailed in n. 3; R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols, the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260*, Albany 1977, 468 nn. 55, 56. See also the *Bibl.* to LUʾLUʾ, BADR AL-DĪN.

(ED.)

AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ NAD̲JM AL-DĪN AYYŪB b. al-Kāmil Muḥammad, the last major sultan of the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*], born in Cairo in 603/1206-7 and died S͟haʿbān 647/November 1249. Much of his life was spent in struggling for the paramount position which his father, al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*], had held, but he achieved it only at the end of his life and without re-establishing the dynasty's cohesion and cooperation. He was the creator of the Baḥriyya *mamlūk* corps which played a leading role in the formation of the succeeding régime.

As the eldest son, he was groomed for the succession and in S͟haʿbān 625/August 1228 was proclaimed joint-sultan with the title al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and left as *nāʾib* in Egypt, with Fak͟hr al-Dīn b. S͟hayk͟h al-S͟huyūk͟h as his adviser. He lost al-Kāmil's favour (aspirations to independence and the purchase of a 1000-strong *mamlūk* following are mentioned) and in 627/1229-30 he was sent to the D̲jazīra with no command or governorship, while his younger brother, al-ʿĀdil II [*q.v.*], replaced him as heir-apparent. In 630/1232-3 al-Kāmil gave him Ḥiṣn Kayfā and its dependencies. After lands lost to the Sald͟jūḳs of Rūm in 631-2/1233-5 were recovered early in 633/1236, Ayyūb was established as "independent sultan" in Āmid, Ḥarrān, Edessa, Nisibis, K͟hābūr, etc. As early as 634/1237 Ayyūb enrolled elements of the K͟hʷārazm-S͟hāh D̲jalāl al-Dīn's [*q.v.*] freebooting army and soon had experience of their unreliability and their mercenariness when in conflict with Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*].

His opportunity to re-enter the mainstream of Ayyūbid politics occurred after the death of al-Kāmil (in Rad͟jab 635/March 1238) when a cousin, al-D̲jawād Yūnus, conscious of the weakness of his position in Damascus, proposed an exchange of lands. Ayyūb arrived to take over Damascus in D̲jumāda II 636/January 1239, leaving his son, Tūrāns͟hāh [*q.v.*], to rule in Ḥiṣn Kayfā. He planned an invasion of Egypt to unseat al-ʿĀdil II, whose counter moves were weakened by desertions of troops and plots in favour of Ayyūb. Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd [*q.v.*] proposed joint action with Ayyūb to win Egypt, but only if he himself were immediately given the former lands of his father al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā [*q.v.*], including Damascus. Unsuccessful in this, al-Nāṣir joined al-ʿĀdil in Egypt, again hoping to gain Damascus. Ayyūb moved to Nābulus (S͟hawwāl 636/May 1239) and there awaited the concentration of his Syrian allies. A peace settlement brokered by the caliph's envoys was all but agreed, when al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] and al-Mud͟jāhid S͟hīrkūh of Ḥimṣ, who had been treacherously delaying their assistance, descended on an undefended Damascus.

They entered the city on 26 Ṣafar 637/27 September 1239 and imprisoned Ayyūb's son, al-Mughīth ʿUmar. Deserted by most of his troops, Ayyūb was taken to al-Karak by al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, already dissatisfied with his alliance with al-ʿĀdil, and held there for six months (from Rabīʿ I to Ramaḍān 637/October 1239-April 1240). Although both al-ʿĀdil and Ismāʿīl demanded the person of Ayyūb, al-Nāṣir released him on the basis of promises that Ayyūb later claimed were forced, and they planned joint action. As both al-ʿĀdil and Ismāʿīl moved to crush Ayyūb between them, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 637/May-June 1240 al-ʿĀdil was deposed at Bilbays by his emirs who then invited Ayyūb to become sultan in Egypt.

Ayyūb entered the Cairo citadel on Sunday 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 637/17 June 1240. Material for the internal affairs of Egypt in this period is exceedingly sparse and little is known about his government. For the next few years, he strengthened his position by purging the Egyptian army, increasing and promoting his own *mamlūks*, and building a fortified residence for himself and the so-called Baḥriyya [*q.v.*] on the island of Rawḍa [*q.v.*] (work began Shaʿbān 638/February 1241).

A general Ayyūbid settlement, again at the expense of al-Nāṣir, was all but concluded in 641/1243. Ismāʿīl in Damascus recognised Ayyūb as suzerain (in Rabīʿ I/September), and was to release al-Mughīth ʿUmar. However, intercepted letters to Ayyūb's Khwārazmian allies and general lack of trust once more brought about a collapse. Al-Mughīth died in prison (Rabīʿ I 642/August 1244) and Ismāʿīl was suspected of his murder. Ayyūb was subsequently faced by an alliance of Syrian princes and Franks, the latter recruited by significant concessions of land. In response Ayyūb's troops, joined by the Khwārazmiyya, inflicted a major defeat on the Syrian coalition at the village of La Forbie or Farbiyā (Yāḳūt, iii, s.v.) between Ascalon and Gaza (12 Djumāda I 642/17 October 1244). Damascus was besieged, and surrendered in Djumāda I 643/October 1245. To Ayyūb's fury in Egypt, the terms made allowed Ismāʿīl his other possessions, but he then joined the Khwārazmiyya, who had changed sides, to attack Damascus. However, the power of the Khwārazmiyya was broken in Muḥarram 644/May 1246 by the armies of Aleppo and Ḥimṣ, part of a new grouping formed to curtail their depredations. Ayyūb's forces then took the rest of Ismāʿīl's lands, and Ayyūb himself, now at the peak of his power, came to Damascus in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 644/March 1247 to organise his new possessions. Ismāʿīl had taken refuge with al-Nāṣir Yūsuf [*q.v.*] at Aleppo.

During 645-6/1247-9 there were gains from the Franks (Ascalon and Tiberias), arrests of former associates of Ismāʿīl, including the lord of Ṣalkhad ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak, and anxieties about Aleppo's intentions. In 646/1248 al-Nāṣir Yūsuf took Ḥimṣ, but caliphal envoys, as ever worried by the Mongol threat, made a peace and both sides retired. Ayyūb's last success was to acquire al-Karak and the remnants of al-Nāṣir Dāwūd's principality in Djumāda II 647/September 1249.

In Muḥarram 647/April 1249 Ayyūb had returned to Egypt, carried in a litter as he was ill, and troubled by news of the crusade of Louis IX. After the early loss of Damietta (Ṣafar/June), a total collapse threatened to follow Ayyūb's death at the age of 49. This took place in camp at al-Manṣūra on the eve of Sunday, 14 Shaʿbān 647/21 November 1249. Shadjar al-Durr [*q.v.*] and the senior *amīrs* tried to conceal his death and managed affairs while summoning Tūrānshāh, for whom Ayyūb had written his political testament (see Cl. Cahen and I. Chabbouh, *Le testament d'al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb*, in *BÉt.Or.*, xxix, 97-114). The nature of Ayyūb's fatal complaint has been discussed by F. Klein-Franke (*What was the fatal disease of Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ* ..., in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon, Jerusalem 1986, 153-7).

Ibn Wāṣil [*q.v.*] gives a penetrating pen-portrait, stressing Ayyūb's mixture of forbidding authority and diffident and introspective solitariness. He was taciturn and clean-living. Unlike his father, he had no special taste for reading and scholarship. Even his hours of relaxation with his few special companions, in his *madjlis al-sharāb*, were sombre and undemonstrative.

Building was a passion. In addition to the residence on Rawḍa Island, he built palaces on the Nile bank at al-Lūḳ, the pavilions known as *Manāẓir al-Kabsh* (see M.G. Salmon, *Études sur la topographie du Caire*, in *MIFAO*, Cairo 1902, vii/2, 77-95), and the new town development, called after him al-Ṣāliḥiyya. Very important was the *madrasa* which he founded in Bayn al-Ḳaṣrayn for the four orthodox *madhāhib*. Site clearing started in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 639/June 1242 and teaching began in 641/1243-4 (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 374). His mausoleum near the *madrasa*, to which his corpse was transferred in Radjab 648/October 1250 (idem, *al-Sulūk*, i/2, 371), was restored in 1993 by the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, which is now (1994) working on the surviving *īwān* of the *madrasa*.

Bibliography: The contemporary narrative sources are Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb fī akhbār dawlat Banī Ayyūb*, ed. H.M. Rabie and S. ʿAshur, iv-v, Cairo 1972-7, and for post-645/1248, Paris, B.N. mss. 1702-3; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, facs. ed. J.R. Jewett, Chicago 1907, and ed. Ḥaydarābād 1952, viii/2; Abū Shāma, *Dhayl ʿalā kitāb al-rawḍatayn*, ed. M. al-Kawthari, Cairo 1947. See also the standard later chronicles. The fullest account of this period is R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260*, Albany 1977 (see the sources and bibl. cited therein). For epigraphic references, see *RCEA*, xi, nos. 4136, 4198, 4217-20 (*madrasa*), 4223, 4278, 4282, 4298-4301 (mausoleum), 4302-3, 4305, and for the numismatic evidence, P. Balog, *The coinage of the Ayyubids*, London 1980, 181-94. For the buildings of Ayyub, see K.A.C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt: II. Ayyubids and early Bahrite Mamluks, A.D. 1171-1326*, Oxford 1959, 84-7 (Rawḍa citadel and palace), 94-100 (*madrasa*), 100-3 (mausoleum). (D.S. RICHARDS)

AL-MALIK AL-**ṢĀLIḤ NŪR** AL-**DĪN** [see NŪR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD B. ZANKĪ].

AL-MALIK AL-**ṢĀLIḤ SHAMS** AL-**DĪN** [see TŪRĀNSHĀH].

AL-**ṢĀLIḤIYYA**, the name of various places in the Middle East. These include:

1. A settlement of Diyār Muḍar in al-Djazīra, placed by Yāḳūt in the district of al-Ruhā [*q.v.*] or Edessa and said to have been laid out by the ʿAbbāsid governor of Syria ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ. He also quotes a (now lost) history of Mawṣil by the Khālidiyyān[i] [*q.v.*] that the caliph al-Mahdī began the work of fortification there.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 389-90.

2. A settlement to the north of the old city of Damascus, on the slopes of Mount Ḳāsiyūn [*q.v.*]. Yāḳūt describes it as a large village with markets and

a Friday mosque, containing many saints' tombs and residences of holy men. Most of the inhabitants were immigrants from Jerusalem and were Ḥanbalī in *madhhab*. From the 6th/12th century, it became one of the strongholds of this school [see ḤANĀBILA, at III, 161]. It is now a well-to-do suburb of the modern conurbation of Damascus.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 390; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 529; Hachette World Guides, *The Middle East*, Paris 1966, 301. See also DIMASHḲ, at II, 283a.

(ED.)

ṢĀLIḤIYYA, a Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] from within the tradition established by the Moroccan Ṣūfī and teacher Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d. 1837 [*q.v.*]). The exact origin and, indeed, the reason for the name of the Ṣāliḥiyya is unclear. It appears to be an offshoot of the Rashīdiyya, the name given to *ṭarīḳa* founded by the Sudanese Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd al-Duwayḥī (d. 1874, [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a student of Ibn Idrīs. After his death in Mecca, Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd's *zāwiya* there was taken over by his nephew Shaykh b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 1919), who moved there from the Sudan. Sometime in about 1887, the Meccan-based branch became known as the Ṣāliḥiyya, while the Sudanese branch continued to be known as the Rashīdiyya. It is, in fact, very difficult to disentangle the various Ṣūfī traditions associated with the Rashīdiyya, Idrīsiyya, Ṣāliḥiyya and Dandarāwiyya [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The Shaykh was succeeded as head of the order by his three sons in turn, al-Rashīd, Aḥmad and Ibrāhīm, the last of whom died in 1976.

The Ṣāliḥiyya was taken to Somalia and other regions of eastern Africa by pilgrims from the region who were initiated by the Shaykh or his sons in the Ḥidjāz. Communities (Somali, *jamaaʿa*), dedicated to prayer and agriculture, were established throughout Somalia; by the 1930s, Cerulli estimated that there were 53 Ṣāliḥiyya *jamaaʿa*s there. These communities attracted ex-slaves or other marginal groups and opened up hitherto unutilised land.

The most famous Ṣāliḥiyya leader in Somalia, and his people's greatest poet, was Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (Somali, Maḥammad ʿAbdille) Ḥassān (1864-1920 [*q.v.*]), who was to lead the resistance to the Ethiopians, British and Italians for over two decades. Muḥammad was initiated by the Shaykh in Mecca in 1894. The following year he returned to Somalia and thereafter worked to spread the order, attacking the use of tobacco and the prevalence of saint-worship among his fellow countrymen. Four years later, in 1899, he began his *djihād* against imperialist encroachment.

Bibliography: E. Cerulli, *Somalia. Scritti vari editi ed inediti*, 3 vols., Rome 1957-64 (various articles); Said S. Samatar, *Oral poetry and Somali nationalism. The case of Sayyid Maḥammad ʿAbdille Ḥasan*, Cambridge 1982. There is a brief manuscript *manāḳib* of Shaykh b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ in the I.M. Lewis Collection of Arabic materials from Somalia, the Library, London School of Economics and Political Science; R.S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic saint. Aḥmad ibn Idrīs and the Idrīsī tradition*, London 1990; Ali Salih Karrar, *The Sufi brotherhoods in the Sudan*, London 1992.

(R.S. O'FAHEY)

AL-**ṢĀLIḤŪN** (A., pl. of *ṣāliḥ*) "the virtuous, upright ones", cited in the Ḳurʾān at VII, 168, XXI, 105 and LXXII, 11, and 30 other times as *ṣāliḥīn*.

The *ṣāliḥ* is associated by Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] with the *ṣiddīḳs*, those asserting the truth, the *shahīds*, martyrs and the *abdāl*, substitutes, as all representing the *firḳa nādjiya*, the sect which alone will be saved out of the 73 into which, according to a *ḥadīth*, the *umma* or community will be divided (see H. Laoust, *La profession de foi de Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 17 n.). This *ḥadīth* is to be set by the side of Ḳurʾān, LXXII, 11, "And that some of us are upright, and some of us not so; we have become [groups following] diverse ways".

Bibliography: Given in the article. (S. ORY)

SĀLIM (A.), intact, sound, i.e. free of damage or blemish, thus "well" as opposed to "ill," and therefore a synonym of *ṣaḥīḥ*. The word is used as a technical term in various fields: 1. Applied to money, *sālim* means unclipped coins of full weight, or a sum of money free from charges and deductions. 2. In grammar, it denotes two things: in *ṣarf* (morphology) a "sound" root, i.e., one in which none of the radicals is a "weak" letter (*ḥarf ʿilla*, see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ), nor a *hamza*, nor a geminate; in *naḥw* (syntax) a word with a "sound" ending, no matter whether the preceding radicals are weak or not. Thus the root *n-ṣ-r* is *sālim*, while the root *r-m-y* is not, both for the *ṣarfiyyūn* and the *naḥwiyyūn*; however, *b-y-ʿ* is *sālim* only for the *naḥwiyyūn*, whereas *islanḳā* is *sālim* only for the *ṣarfiyyūn*, the latter because the root is *s-l-ḳ*, thus sound, and only the ending *-ā*, which is part of the pattern *ifʿanlā* is "weak" (al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī, *al-Taʿrīfāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUmayra, Beirut 1408/1987, 154 [read *islanḳā* for *istalḳā*]).—The term *sālim* is also used to denote the "sound" plural (*al-djamʿ al-sālim*) as opposed to the "broken" plural (*al-djamʿ al-mukassar*) [see DJAMʿ]. 3. In prosody, the term denotes a regular foot, which has not undergone any of the changes called *ziḥāfāt* or *ʿilal* [see ʿARŪḌ], or a line of poetry consisting of such feet. It is, therefore, particularly common in Persian prosody, where *ziḥāfāt* may not change from one line to the next as they do in Arabic. The lines will thus be *sālim* throughout the whole poem.

Bibliography: Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. A. Sprenger *et alii*, Calcutta 1862, i, 695-6; Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 87 (prosody); L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres*, Cambridge 1976, index.

(W. BJÖRKMAN-[W.P. HEINRICHS])

SĀLIM, nom-de-plume (*makhlaṣ*) of Mirzā-zāde Meḥmed Emīn (1099-1156/1688-1743), an Ottoman author of a published biography of poets, a *dīwān*, several texts dealing with war, grammar and mysticism, a dictionary and an Ottoman translation of a Persian history, all of which are in manuscript form. Many of the details concerning his life are to be found in an autobiography included in his *tedhkire-yi shuʿarāʾ* which is the work that qualifies him for inclusion in this encyclopaedia.

The seventh child of Shaykh al-Islām Mirzā Muṣṭafā Efendi, Sālim was born in Istanbul in Djumādā II 1099/June 1688. His father's professional pursuits became his own: he had a career in the *ʿilmiyye* class in which the highest rank he reached was that of *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumeli. There is some disagreement on the date of his death. While all sources that mention it cite the month of Muḥarrem, some give the year as 1152/1739 and others as 1156/1743. The place where it occurred is also debated; it could have been either in Istanbul where he was buried near his father, or in Mafraḳ outside Damascus, (see Rāmiz, *Tedhkire-yi shuʿarāʾ*, ms. Millet Kütüphanesi: Ali Emiri, Tarih, no. 762, fol. 135; Thüreyyā, iii, 3; Müstaḳīmzāde, 454).

In his autobiography (*Tedhkire-yi Sālim*, ms., B.L. Or. 7068, fols. 95a-97a; *ibid.*, ed. Aḥmed Djewdet, 337-44), Sālim provides rather detailed information about his own life, education and career up to the year

1133/1720. He began his studies when he was about seven years old with Yeñi-Bāgh̲čeli Čelebi Efendi who, later, handed him over to tutors whom he personally selected for his young charge. Sālim was also coached by his father in all the accepted studies of his time, but received special training in the *Ḥadīth̲* from a certain Muḥammad b. Salām al-Iskandarānī. Sālim continues to describe his climb up the ladder of the Ottoman learned hierarchy by informing his readers that under the aegis of Pas̲h̲maḳd̲j̲īzāde al-Seyyid ʿAlī Efendi he became *mülāzim* to Abū Saʿīd-zāde Feyḍullāh Efendi in 1104/1692. Two years later he was appointed *mudarris* at the *madrasa* of Siyāwus̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a in Eyyūb, and then served in the same capacity in other *madrasas* until, in the year 1125/1713, he reached the *Dār al-Ḥadīth̲* at the Süleymāniyye. Before the end of that year, he was given his first assignment as *ḳāḍī* of Salonika. He was back in Istanbul in 1126/1714 as *ḳāḍī* of G̲h̲alaṭa. Upon his dismissal from this post he was sent into exile. He and his father, who was then S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām, spent the next few years in Trabzon. When they were pardoned, they took up residence in their sea-side home in Istanbul. In 1134/1721, Sālim completed his *ted̲h̲kire* and presented it to the Grand Vizier of the time, Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a (?1073-1143/1662-1730) in the same year. He was, in fact, emulating a contemporary and rival biographer of poets, Ṣafāʾī (d. 1138/1725), who had done the same thing two years earlier and whose work Sālim evaluated rather negatively (Sālim, 429-30, 250, 262). Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a must have appreciated the *ted̲h̲kire* since he thanked its author by appointing him *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul the following year. A decade after, Sālim became *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Anadolu and two years after that *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumeli, but he never became S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām like his father.

Mirzā-zāde Meḥmed Emīn's principal contribution to the Ottoman literary arts is his *Ted̲h̲kire-yi s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, which contains details, as known to and described by the author, concerning the lives and works of over 400 Ottoman poets who were alive and active sometime between the years 1099/1688 and 1134/1722.

Sālim may be regarded as an innovator in the art of compiling biographies of poets: his type of biography does not seem to be intended to simply praise the poets. He appears to have been very much aware of the uninterrupted flow in the production of this literary genre that had been initiated in Ottoman society in the 10th/16th century. We must assume that he knew that he was operating within a well-established tradition, but this did not stop him from making adjustments in the way in which each poet and poem were treated. This is reflected in the very critical approach he adopted in his appraisal of both the poets and their poems. His attitude could be the result of the changed way of assessing literature that began to develop among some Ottomans in the early decades of the 11th/18th century with Nedīm's (d. 1143/1730 [*q.v.*]) successful efforts to relate his art more closely to local developments and everyday life. There was, at the same time, growing interest in European literatures that must have had some impact on the Ottoman litterateurs. In this respect, one may consider Sālim's *ted̲h̲kire* to be a valuable contribution, not only to the genre but also to Ottoman literature in general. His *ted̲h̲kire* is in two parts. The first is devoted to the usual eulogies which are in this case addressed to the reigning Sultan Aḥmed III (1115-43/1703-30), followed by Sultan Muṣṭafā I (1106-15/1695-1703) who preceded him, the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a and the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām. Then follow the author's introductory remarks in which he reviews previous *ted̲h̲kires* leading up to his own and then expresses his thoughts on the state of literature in his own day. The rest of the work is made up of the biographies of the poets. Each biography ends with samples of the poet's poems, some in their entirety, others in the form of a verse or two. The work finishes with a *temmet* ("It is completed") in which the author asks to be excused for his errors, but does not apologise for the tediously verbose and ornate style he uses. The *ted̲h̲kire* carries a date in the form of a chronogram which adds up to 1134/1722.

Bibliography: *Ted̲h̲kire-yi Sālim*, ed. Ahmed D̲j̲ewdet, Dār-i Saʿādet 1315; *Ted̲h̲kire-yi Sālim*, ms. B.L., Or. 7068; Süleymān Müstaḳīm-zāde, *Tuḥfe-yi k̲h̲aṭṭāṭīn*, Istanbul 1928, 454; Rāmiz, *Ted̲h̲kire-yi s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, ms. Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Efendi, no. 762. fol. 135; Meḥmed T̲h̲üreyyā, *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, Istanbul 1313, iii, 3; Ṣafāʾī, *Ted̲h̲kiret ül-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, ms. Istanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi, no. T. 3215; J. Stewart-Robinson, *The Ottoman biographies of poets*, in *JNES*, xxiv (1965), 57-74; Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Ankara 1973, i, 251-352. (J. Stewart-Robinson)

SĀLIM b. MUḤAMMAD, ʿIzz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Nad̲j̲ā al-Sanhūrī al-Miṣrī, a Mālikī jurisconsult and *ḥadīth̲* expert. He came to head the Mālikī school of Cairo, whither he migrated from Sanhūr at the age of twenty-one (probably around 966/1558-9). He is particularly known for his mastery of *ḥadīth̲*, having dictated the "Six Books", and attracted numerous well-known scholars from Syria and the Hid̲j̲āz. He is said to have written several works. The best known of these are his commentary on the *Muk̲h̲taṣar* of al-K̲h̲alīl on *fiḳh* (extant) and, oddly, an epistle reportedly entitled *Faḍāʾil laylat al-niṣf min s̲h̲aʿbān* (Kaḥḥāla, iv, 204). He died on Tuesday, 3 D̲j̲umādā II 1015/7 October 1606, reportedly at around the age of seventy, which would place his birth date *ca.* 945/1538.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, in *EI*[1], s.v.; Muḥibbī, *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-at̲h̲ar*, ii, 204; Mak̲h̲lūf, *S̲h̲ad̲j̲arat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Beirut 1349/1930, 289; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-muʾallifīn*, iv, 204; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Kas̲h̲f*, Istanbul, ii, 1628; Aḥmad Bābā al-Timbuktī, *Nayl al-ibtihād̲j̲* (on the margin of Ibn Farḥūn), 157. (S.A. Jackson)

SALĪM, MUḤAMMAD ḲULĪ, an Indo-Persian poet of the 11th/17th century, died 1057/1647-8.

He originated from the S̲h̲āmlū tribe of the Turks and was a native of Tehran, but details regarding his life are scanty. In Persia he served under Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh K̲h̲ān, governor of Lāhīd̲j̲ān [*q.v.*] in Gīlān. During this time he married and had a son. Among the eminent personalities to whom he addressed his poems in the beginning were the Ṣafawid rulers S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I (r. 996-1038/1588-1629) and his successor S̲h̲āh Ṣafī I (r. 1038-52/1629-42). Perhaps his failure to find the desired patronage in his country led him to try his fortune in India. He set out by sea, reaching Gud̲j̲arāt around 1041/1631, coinciding with the early period of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān's reign (1037-68/1628-59). It is likely that he sought access to the imperial court but was unsucessful; Wālih Dāg̲h̲istānī, author of the *Riyāḍ al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, reports that the poet-laureate Kalīm [see KALĪM, ABŪ ṬĀLIB], when asked by S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān to give his opinion about the poet, told the emperor that Salīm was poetically ill-provided since one of his *mat̲h̲nawīs*, which he said was written in praise of Kas̲h̲mīr, had been composed by him originally in praise of Gīlān and he had merely changed its title. This accusation supposedly prevented Salīm from

winning royal patronage. Thereupon he attached himself to Mīr ʿAbd al-Salām Mas̲h̲hadī, called Islām K̲h̲ān, a prominent nobleman of the period, who successively held important government positions, ending as governor of the Deccan. Salīm stayed in his service until the latter's death on 14 S̲h̲awwāl 1057/12 November 1647. In the same year the poet also passed away, and his body was laid to rest in Kas̲h̲mīr.

In his character, Salīm has been described as a gross person indulging in improper jokes. He would display his wit indiscriminately without regard for the social status of the individual towards whom it was directed. On a certain occasion, while being entertained by the governor of Fārs, Imām Ḳulī K̲h̲ān (d. 1032/1622-3), the poet came out with an improvised couplet, displeasing to the host, who felt slighted by the allusion in it regarding his fatness.

Salīm's *dīwān* comprises poems representing *ḳaṣīda, g̲h̲azal, ḳiṭʿa, rubāʿī* and *mat̲h̲nawī*. Estimates vary regarding the total number of verses in the *dīwān*, but D̲h̲abīḥ Allāh Ṣafā places the total around 9,000 couplets. Salīm's poetry is praised by writers in general. Though he is accused of borrowing ideas from other poets—a practice in which he was certainly not alone—nevertheless it is accepted that his output contained many unique themes. Probably because he was not well educated in the formal sense of the term, his language sometimes bordered on the popular idiom. He was the author of several *mat̲h̲nawīs*, which occupy a special place in his collection. They include, in addition to his poem on Kas̲h̲mīr mentioned earlier, such pieces as *Ḳaḍā wa ḳadar* ("Fate and destiny"), *Dar taʿrīf-i asp* ("In praise of a horse"), *Dar taʿrīf-i bahār* ("In praise of spring"), *Dar taʿrīf-i sarmā* ("In praise of winter"), *K̲h̲ar-i dallāl* ("The broker's donkey"), and *Dar s̲h̲ikāyat-i rūzgār* ("Complaint against the world"). In his *g̲h̲azals*, Salīm displays an easy communication despite a tendency towards innovative and strange conceits. He is known for his expert use of similes and the figure of speech called *īhām* ("ambiguity").

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

SALĪM B. KHALĪL AL-**NAḲḲĀS̲H̲**, Syrian Maronite journalist, historian, and pioneer of Arab theatre. Born 1850 in Beirut, he died in Alexandria on 25 November 1884. He studied Arabic, French and Italian. He worked on his uncle Nīḳūlā's *al-Miṣbāḥ* newspaper in Beirut and wrote for *al-Nad̲j̲āḥ* and *al-Zahra*. He was employed in the customs in Beirut in 1876. In the family tradition he became involved with the theatre with an adaptation, *Mayy wa-Hūrās* (Beirut 1875 written 1868), of Corneille's tragedy *Horace*, to which he had added poetry and songs. Seeking material support for a theatrical venture, he went to Egypt. The Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] agreed to grant him use of a theatre, scenery, and costumes and financial support. Salīm began rehearsing his troupe in the summer of 1875, writing for it several plays in the literary language in prose and verse. Despite vehement criticism, he included women actresses in his troupe. They rehearsed his version of *ʿĀʾida* (Beirut 1875), to which he had added popular Arab airs. He performed his uncle Mārūn's [*q.v.*] *al-Bak̲h̲īl* and *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mug̲h̲affal aw Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd*, and his own *Mayy wa-Hūrās* in Beirut. Though cholera initially prevented them from travelling, in 1876 he led the first Lebanese troupe to Egypt.

Joined by the Damascene Adīb Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], the troupe, *al-Tiyātrū al-ʿArabī*, performed at the Zizinia theatre in Alexandria Mārūn's *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mug̲h̲affal* and *al-Ḥasūd al-Ṣalīṭ*, and Salīm's *Mayy wa-Hūrās, al-Kad̲h̲ūb* and *al-Ẓalūm*, in a season extending from December 1876 to February 1877. The répertoire is said to have also included *al-Bak̲h̲īl*, an adaptation of Racine's *Phèdre*, and his *Mithridate*, Meyerbeer's opera *L'Africaine*, *ʿĀʾida*, and *G̲h̲arāʾib al-Ṣudaf aw Salīm wa-Asmā* (in versions all attributed to Salīm), Racine's *Andromaque*, *al-Bārīsiyya al-ḥasnāʾ* (*La Belle Parisienne* by the Comtesse Dash), and *Charlemagne* (from the highly successful play of Henri de Bornier) (all adapted by Adīb), and *Zénobie* of l'abbé d'Aubignac. *Al-Kad̲h̲ūb* (Alexandria 1913) was an adaptation of Corneille's comedy *Le Menteur* made by Ḥabīb Musk and revised by Salīm. The tragicomedy *Ḥifẓ al-Wudād aw al-Ẓalūm* (Alexandria 1891), said to be a translation, is about intrigue and romance in an Arab court. Its performance later purportedly led to the expulsion of Yūsuf al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ's troupe in 1879, because the Khedive thought it alluded to him and his government disparagingly. *G̲h̲arāʾib al-Ṣudaf* (Alexandria n.d.) is a story of love and anti-colonial struggles in India. An anthology of Salīm's plays, *al-Masraḥ al-ʿArabī—dirāsāt wa-nuṣūṣ. 5. Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Nad̲j̲m, Beirut 1965, includes *ʿĀʾida, Mayy wa-Hūrās, al-Kad̲h̲ūb, G̲h̲arāʾib al-Ṣudaf* and *al-Ẓalūm*. Though audience response had been very supportive, and Salīm did his utmost to keep his company alive, he eventually ceded control to one of the actors, Yūsuf al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ (1877-95); some of its members were later to form the core of Sulaymān Ḳardāḥī's troupe (1882-1909).

It is claimed that it was D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Afg̲h̲ānī [*q.v.*], who persuaded Salīm and Adīb to leave the theatre for the press; they had become members of his circle in Egypt. When the weekly *Miṣr*, founded in July 1877 in Cairo by Adīb, moved to Alexandria, Salīm helped edit it. The pair of them founded a daily *al-Tid̲j̲āra* in May 1878 in Alexandria; some of the best writers, al-Afg̲h̲ānī, Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm [*q.v.*], Ibrāhīm al-Laḳḳānī and Amīn S̲h̲umayyil, were to write for it. Both papers, strongly

nationalist, were suspended in November 1879 for their criticism of the government of Riyāḍ Pas̲h̲a and of foreign interference in Egyptian affairs. Salīm is said to have been a member of the radical nationalist *Miṣr al-Fatāt*/Jeune Egypte. After Adīb travelled to Paris, Salīm started publishing a daily *al-Maḥrūsa* and a weekly *al-ʿAṣr al-Djadīd* in Alexandria in January 1880; Salīm followed a more moderate line with these papers. When in 1881 Salīm was ill, ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm took over the running of both papers. With the return of Adīb and the reissue by him of *Miṣr* in December 1881, *al-ʿAṣr al-Djadīd* ceased to appear. *Al-Maḥrūsa*, opposing the nationalist policies of Colonel ʿUrābī, was suspended in June 1882 for its loyalty to the Khedive. After the riots of 11 June, Salīm was forced to flee; his press was destroyed. Salīm tried to restart *al-Maḥrūsa* in September 1882, but it was not till the beginning of 1884 that he got compensation for the destruction of his press, and *al-Maḥrūsa* reappeared as a weekly till his death.

The first three volumes of his lengthy *Miṣr li 'l-Miṣriyyīn aw ḥawādit̲h̲ al-fitna al-ʿUrābiyya*, Alexandria 1884-6, describing Egypt from the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī to Ismāʿīl, are said to have been printed, but then destroyed on government orders; volume iv covers Tawfīḳ's early reign; v, ʿUrābī; vi, the British occupation; and vii-ix, the ʿUrābist trials. *Riwāyat al-intiḳām aw al-hud̲j̲ra al-sābiʿa* (Alexandria 1878) is a free translation by him and Adīb of the novel *Le dernier rendez-vouz* by the French writer Pierre Zaccone.

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(P.C. Sadgrove)

al-**SĀLIMĪ**, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd b. Sullūm al-Sālimī, Nūr al-Dīn (*ca.* 1286-1332/*ca.* 1869-1914), generally known in the West as an ʿUmānī historian, but it was as *raʾīs al-nahḍa*, responsible for restoring the Imāmate in interior ʿUmān from 1913 to 1955, that his true role should be judged.

Born at al-Ḥawḳayn near al-Rustāḳ [*q.v.*], he went blind aged 12. His early studies were with the *ʿulamāʾ* of the region who had been active in securing the election of the only 19th-century Imām, ʿAzzān b. Ḳays (1868-71). But after the Sultanate was restored, with G̲h̲āfirī tribal support and British connivance, the centre of Ibāḍī resistance shifted from al-Rustāḳ, the stronghold of the Ḳays branch of the Āl Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*], to the S̲h̲arḳiyya, and in about 1890 al-Sālimī moved to study with its leader, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī al-Ḥārit̲h̲ī (1834-96) [*q.v.*], making a permanent home at al-Ḳābil. However, ʿĪsā b. Ṣāliḥ (1874-1946), who succeeded his father as *tamīma* of the S̲h̲arḳiyya Hināwīs, seems to have developed a personal antipathy to al-Sālimī and failed to support his attempts to reactivate the Imāmate after 1905. So he was forced into a somewhat cynical alliance with Ḥimyar b. Nāṣir al-Nabhānī (1874-1920), then consolidating his position as *tamīma* of the G̲h̲āfirī Banū Riyām confederation of the Djabal al-Ak̲h̲ḍar, to sponsor, as Imām, Sālim b. Rās̲h̲id (1301/1884-1920), a former pupil and one of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s of the Banū K̲h̲arūṣ, a tribe closely allied to the Banū Riyām but also with a long historical association with the Imāmate. Immediately after Sālim's *bayʿa* at Ḥimyar's capital Tanūf (12 Djumādā II 1331/20 May 1913), al-Sālimī returned to the S̲h̲arḳiyya with a delegation to espouse his cause there. After Izkī fell to the Imām, ʿĪsā reluctantly gave his allegiance, thus assuring the Imāmate of the loyalty of the main Hināwī tribes of central ʿUmān.

But al-Sālimī never saw the real success of his mission. To help finance the movement, he ordered the appropriation of all *waḳf* property that had been bequeathed for visiting graves and for reading the Ḳurʾān for the dead. This judgement led him into major dispute with his former teacher, Mād̲j̲id b. K̲h̲amīs al-ʿAbrī (*ca.* 1837-1927), who in ʿAzzān's time had also similarly opposed such dubious financial precedents, and so impassioned did the issue become that early in 1914 al-Sālimī went to see him at al-Ḥamrāʾ. On the way, he was killed when his donkey stumbled; he was buried at Tanūf.

It is against this background that the nature of his history of the Imāmate, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān bi-sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, should be viewed. Finished *ca.* 1910, the story is continued down to the death in 1954 of the Imām Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-K̲h̲alīlī by his son, Muḥammad (S̲h̲ayba), in the *Nahḍat al-aʿyān bi-ḥurriyyat ʿUmān* (Cairo n.d.); this contains a lengthy biography of his father which is the main source for this article. Amongst twenty-two works of his listed in it, attention should be drawn to such studies of major Ibāḍī scholarship as his edition of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb al-Farāhīdī's *ḥadīt̲h̲* with a three-volume *S̲h̲arḥ*, and also to his close cooperation with the great Mzābi scholar and activist, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayyis̲h̲ (1236-1332/1820-1914). It was Muḥammad's son Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyis̲h̲, who edited for publication the *Tuḥfa* (first ed. 2 vols., Cairo 1347 and 1350), as also another remarkable work of his, the *Djawhar al-niẓām fi ʿilmay 'l-adyān wa 'l-aḥkām*, a distillation in an *urd̲j̲ūza* of guidelines and judgements written as a sort of aide-memoire for *ḳāḍīs*. His *Talḳīn al-ṣibyān* became the standard book of instruction for Ibāḍī children.

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(J.C. Wilkinson)

SĀLIMIYYA, the name of a mystical-theological school in Baṣra, based on the teachings of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim (d. 297/909) and his son Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim (d. 356/967). In the sources, father and son are often confused. Both were pupils of the famous mystic Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 282/896 [*q.v.*]), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad for as long as 60 years; he therefore is to be considered as the main pupil of al-Tustarī.

While Muḥammad b. Aḥmad has a separate entry in the Ṣūfī lexica and handbooks (such as those by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*], ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [see al-anṣārī al-harawī] and Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 1021) [*q.v.*]), this is not the case for his son Aḥmad. The latter's most famous pupil was Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996 [*q.v.*]), the author of the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, the main model for the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* of Abū Ḥāmid al-G̲h̲azālī [*q.v.*]. Since no actual works of Muḥammad b. Sālim or of Aḥmad b. Sālim

are known, even by title, the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of al-Makkī must be considered as the main source for the doctrine of the Sālimiyya. The compilation of Sahl al-Tustarī's commentary on the Ḳurʾān does not stem from the Sālimiyya but from other pupils of al-Tustarī.

The existence of a tradition of the Sālimī school and doctrine in the 4th/10th century is attested by the Ṣūfī Ibn Khafīf al-Shīrāzī (d. 371/982 [*q.v.*]), whose work against it, the *al-Radd ʿalā Ibn Sālim* (i.e. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad), has not been preserved. The geographer al-Muḳaddasī [*q.v.*], who finished his description of the Islamic empire in 375/985, associated in Baṣra with adherents of the school. He relates that at that time they were Mālikīs, but that their founder had been a Ḥanafī, that they studied theology (*kalām*), for which they had their own books, and that their main concern was renunciation of the world (*zuhd*). None of the early sources mentions them explicitly as Ṣūfīs. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj (d. 378/989 [*q.v.*]), the author of the Ṣūfī handbook *al-Lumaʿ*, records a discussion with Aḥmad b. Sālim in Baṣra about mystical sayings of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī [*q.v.*], considered as heretical by Aḥmad. Aḥmad b. Sālim is also otherwise often mentioned in the *Lumaʿ*.

It was probably on account of Ibn Khafīf's lost work that a catalogue of alleged heretical views of the Sālimiyya came into being among the Ḥanbalīs. Reference to these views is first found in the works of Ibn al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066 [*q.v.*]); parts of them are repeated by later authors. There is no trace of such doctrines in the proper tradition of the Sālimiyya, i.e. in the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*. The catalogue deals with unfounded misrepresentations by opponents of the school, which should not be taken as authentic doctrines of the Sālimiyya. The real doctrine of the school is to be sought in al-Makkī's work, which is now being studied in a critical way. It shows a thoroughly orthodox and quite ascetic piety.

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(L. Massignon-[B. Radtke])

SĀLIYĀNE (transliterated also sālyāne), a technical term in Ottoman administrative usage derived from the Persian *sāl* (year) meaning "yearly", "yearly allowance" or "stipend".

The term is applied especially to the yearly income allotted to some categories of provincial rulers and governors (16th-19th centuries). These were the members of the Girāy [*q.v.*] dynasty, some governors of maritime districts and other *sandjaḳ-begis* and *beglerbegis* whose income did not derive from *khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] domains but consisted of a yearly allowance fixed at the time of their appointment. Their governments were termed as being "with *sāliyāne*" [see eyālet]. In those *sandjaḳs* and *eyālets* which were lying at great distances from the central seat of government, the *timār* [*q.v.*] régime was not instituted. All revenues there were controlled directly by the office of the *defterdār* [see daftardār] in the capital. The provincial treasuries in this case provided salaries in cash to the governors, the Janissary commanders and other military and administrative personnel, as well as the means for all local expenditure. The remainder of the revenue had to be transferred to the central treasury (see khazīne and irsāliyye]. In the 17th and 18th centuries there were nine *sāliyāne* provinces: Egypt [see miṣr], Baghdād [*q.v.*], Baṣra [*q.v.*], Ḥabesh [*q.v.*], Yemen [see yaman], al-Aḥsā [see al-ḥasā], the *odjaḳs* of the West, Algiers [see djazāʾir-i gharb], Tunis (*Tūnus* [*q.v.*]) and Tripoli [see ṭarābulus-gharb]. In the province of Kefe [*q.v.*], Crete (Ottoman Girid [see iḳrīṭish]), *Djazāʾir-i Baḥr-i Safīd* [*q.v.*], in the *sandjaḳs* of Chios [see saḳīz], Naxos [see naḳshe] and al-Mahdiyya (Tunisia) [*q.v.*], in the Cypriot *sandjaḳs* of Kerynia (Ott. Girne), Paphos (Ott. Bāf) and Famagusta (Ott. Maghōsha [*q.v.*]), and Aleppo [see ḥalab], some governors had *sāliyāne* status. There all tax revenues went to the state treasury. The local *defterdārs* collected the taxes and paid the governor, the Janissaries and other regional officials their appointed yearly salaries and transferred any surplus to Istanbul. Such a surplus (*irsāliyye* [*q.v.*]) came regularly only from the provinces of Egypt, Baghdād and Baṣra. The bureaux of the *defterdār*'s office concerned were the *sāliyāne muḳāṭaʿasī ḳalemi* and the *taʾrīkhči ḳalemi* (see M. Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekalet Arşivi*, Ankara 1955, 66).

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ṢALKHAD or Ṣarkhad, the Biblical Salka, already in Classical Antiquity one of the major settlements of the Auranitis or Ḥawrān [*q.v.*], the basalt region in southern Syria, now a small provincial town (population 1981: 6,476 inhabitants) on the southern flank of the Djabal al-Durūz, near the Jordanian border. In the Islamic era it was of prime importance as the southernmost advance post of Syria towards the desert lands of Arabia and on the junction of important trade routes, connecting the main north-south axis via Damascus with the road from the Mediterranean towards east to Baghdād and beyond. It was strongly fortified by a mighty castle, which formed a defensive line with the citadel of Buṣrā [see boṣrā], about 23 km/14 miles further west.

Today, its historic importance is only shown by the impressive ruins of the castle, built in solid black basalt masonry on the top of a steep volcanic eminence, and the isolated hexagonal Ayyūbid minaret in the city centre. Despite the poor state of preservation, the glorious past can be deduced in some detail from the chronicles or geographic manuals, and especially from a remarkable number of Arabic inscriptions re-used in recent constructions of

the Druze population, who have resettled the completely abandoned ancient site since 1860. With the continuous removal in recent times of most of the traditional fabric, the excavation and clearing of the citadel has been undertaken by the Syrian Antiquities Organisation since 1991.

The history of Ṣalkhad, as a defensive bastion for Damascus, closely mirrors the fate ofʿ the Syrian capital, and its history has been similar to that of the neighbouring town of Buṣrā.

The Fāṭimid, Saldjūḳ, Būrid and Zangid periods. The citadel of Ṣalkhad was evidently founded or enlarged in 466/1073-4 by the chief of the Banū Kalb Bedouins, Ḥassān b. Mismār, as a base for attacks against Damascus, then belonging to the empire of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir. After the expulsion of the Fāṭimids from Syria in 468/1076 and the subsequent foundation of a new Saldjūḳ dynasty by Tādj al-Daula Tutush [see SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 4, and TUTUSH], the new master of Syria invested his sons Fallūs and Takīn as commanders at the castles at Ṣalkhad and Buṣrā. Shortly after, when power in 497/1104 passed to Ẓahīr al-Dīn Ṭughtakīn, the former *atābak* of the Saldjūḳ prince Duḳāḳ b. Tutush and founder of the Būrid dynasty [*q.v.*], he bestowed both cities on the general Gümüshtakīn al-Tādjī in 503/1110, who in turn bequeathed it to his *mamlūk* Altuntāsh (541-2/1146-7). Though the city of Buṣrā was improved greatly in this period, and consequently the same should be assumed for Ṣalkhad, not a single piece of building has been identified so far. This is also the case for the rule of Muʿīn al-Dīn Ūnūr, *atābak* of the last Būrid Mudjīr al-Dīn Abaḳ, who invested Mudjāhid al-Dīn Būzān al-Kurdī (542-55/1147-60) as commander of the citadel, to be succeeded briefly by his son Muḥammad (555/1160). The Zangid ruler Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], master of Damascus since 549/1154, bestowed Ṣalkhad and Buṣrā on Ṣadīḳ b. Djawlī (555-71/1160-76), followed eventually by a nephew. Again, as attested for Buṣrā, Ṣalkhad may also have further expanded, though the contemporary sources give no information.

The Ayyūbid period. Due to the continuous threat from the Crusaders, Ṣalkhad, like many of the Syrian cities and strongholds, attracted the attention of the Ayyūbid rulers. In 583/1187, the founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf, when decisively defeating the Crusaders at the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn [*q.v.*], brought Ṣalkhad and Buṣrā into his possession. When dividing his empire among his family in 588/1186, both towns were bestowed on his son al-Malik al-Afḍal ʿAlī, the acting governor of the Damascus province since 582/1186. It seems that the citadel of Ṣalkhad, strengthened by additional fortifications before 589/1193 and in 591/1194-95, was deemed strategically more important than that of Buṣrā, where the rebuilding programme only started about a decade later in 599/1202-3. Consequently, when deposed as ruler of Damascus, al-Afḍal ʿAlī decided to take up his residence at Ṣalkhad in 592/1196, until five years later he bestowed Ṣalkhad on the *amīr* Zayn al-Dīn Ḳarādjā al-Ṣāliḥī, confirmed in this also by the current ruler of Damascus, al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, as is evident from the construction of an additional tower of the citadel in 601/1204-5 in the name of both personalities. In 604/1208 it was bequeathed to his son Nāṣir al-Dīn Yaʿḳūb, who held Ṣalkhad till 611/1214.

A peak of prosperity was reached under the Ayyūbid prince al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā, who invested his major-domo ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Muʿaẓẓamī with the fief of Ṣalkhad (611-44/1214-47), Aybak sponsored an extensive building programme: besides enlarging the citadel decisively (as attested by inscriptions), two caravanserails were constructed (in 611/1214-5 and 634/1236-7); the congregational mosque was extended by an additional aisle and by the singular hexagonal minaret (630/1233); and simultaneously also an ancient mosque repaired (630/1232-3). After the improvement of Ṣalkhad, Aybak turned his attention to other places of his fief, said to have included up to hundred villages. His activities ranged from the foundation of a caravanserail and a mosque at Sāla (632/1234-5), 17 km/10 miles further to the northeast, a castle (*ḳaṣr*) at the oasis of al-Azrak (634/1236-7), about 70 km/43 miles to the south (now in Jordan), the restoration of a caravanserail at Zurʿa/Ezraʿ (636/1238), *ca.* 60 km/37 miles to the northwest, the reactivation and extension of an open cistern at ʿInāk (636/1238-9 and 637/1239-40), 20 km/12 miles to the southeast, and the building of a mosque at al-ʿAyn (638/1240-1), 6 km/4 miles to the northwest. Except for the epigraphic texts, almost nothing has survived from these building enterprises. But the available data clearly testify to the systematic improvement of the region, evidently resulting in an increase of the rural population.

Following the deposition of Aybak al-Muʿaẓẓamī, the fief of Ṣalkhad henceforth was administered directly by members of the Ayyūbid family: al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb (644-7/1247-9), al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrān Shāh (647-8/1249-50), al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad (648-58/1250-60), and al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (658/1260). Despite a final extension of the citadel in 647/1249, the town had to suffer the military might of the victorious Mongol army in 658/1260.

The Mamlūk period. In the aftermath of the Mongol conquest, al-Ẓāhir Baybars [*q.v.*], who successfully expelled the Mongols from Syria and decisively reduced the Crusader dominions, systematically reorganised the Syrian provinces. The citadel of Ṣalkhad was immediately reactivated and soon extensively repaired and strengthened in 668/1270 and 669/1271 under the supervision of the *amīr* Balabān al-Afram, as testified by several inscriptions and a series of stone carvings with representations of the lion, the blazon [see RANK] of sultan Baybars, now dispersed throughout the region. Shortly thereafter, al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn in 679/1280-1 invested the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Basitī as governor of the city, and a certain ʿIzz al-Dīn as commander of the citadel, ordering the restoration of the fortification (inscription of 669/1271).

The later steady decline in Ṣalkhad's strategic importance, as also that of Buṣrā, is attested by its use as a place for disgraced Mamlūk officials. This first occurred when the former sultan al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā nominally acted as governor of Ṣalkhad after his forced resignation in 696/1297. This also occurred with the dismissed governor of Damascus, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Ḥamawī, as well as for the powerful *amīrs* Aḳḳūsh al-Afram and Ḳarasunḳur al-Manṣūrī (both fleeing to the Mongol court in 711/1312), and finally also for Aḳḳūsh al-Ashrafī. Throughout this period, Ṣalkhad still flourished as regional centre, even maintaining a bath complex (*ḥammām*), registered in the inventory of the viceroy of Syria and governor of Damascus, Tankiz, compiled on the occasion of his dismissal in 740/1340.

Because of its heavily fortified citadel, Ṣalkhad retained some importance in the later Mamlūk period. In 824/1421 it served as retreat of the governor of Damascus Djaḳmaḳ al-Dawādār, after an unsuccessful revolt following the death of the sultan al-

Mu'ayyad Shaykh. The latest historical datum marks the appointment in 842/1438-9 of the low-ranking official Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (who was later in his career to compile the well-known manual of the Mamlūk state, see *Bibl.*) as commander of the citadel. In the wake of the Ottoman conquest of Syria (922/1516), resulting in a shift of importance to the northern provinces, Ṣalkhad was soon depopulated and deserted, only to be again resettled and rebuilt by Druze refugees immigrating from the Lebanon from the later 19th century onwards.

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SALLĀM AL-TARDJUMĀN [see YĀDJŪDJ WA-MĀDJŪDJ].

SALLĀMA AL-ZARḲĀ' (the "blue" Sallāma) was the star among the slave singing-girls (*ḳayna* [*q.v.*]) of Kūfa in the last years of the Umayyads and in the caliphate of al-Saffāḥ.

She belonged to the local "master of singing-girls" (*ṣāḥib ḳiyān*; *muḳayyin*) Ibn Rāmīn, a *mawlā* of the Marwānids, who ran an establishment offering the pleasures of musical entertainment and wine-drinking. His house was frequented mainly by the *ẓurafā'* (sing. *ẓarīf*) of Kūfa. Among them were the poets Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmmār and Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Zuhrī, who eulogised Sallāma in their verses, Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.vv.*], and others. Sallāma had her own servants and acted like the lady of the house in receiving and entertaining the admirers of her art. She received most generous remunerations for her singing and lute-playing, not only from the above litterati and poets, but also from representatives of Kūfan society such as Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī and Maʿn b. Zā'ida [*q.v.*]. Between Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 136 and Djumādā II 137/June-Nov. 754, Sallāma was acquired, for the amount of 80,000 *dirhams*, by Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān, a cousin of the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, who later became governor of Medina (146-50/763-7, 161-6/778-83). Nothing is known about Sallāma's later life, except her honorific *kunya* Umm ʿUthmān. A former guest of her days at Ibn Rāmīn's who had dared to offer her a precious pearl from between his lips in exchange for a pearl-searching kiss from her was lashed to death by Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān.

Sallāma al-Zarḳā' is not to be confused (as in H.G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian Music*, London 1929, 122-4; ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Aʿlām al-nisā'*, ii, 226-8, and other sources) with her famous namesake Sallāmat al-Ḳass, and with the singing-girl al-Zarḳā' (*Aghānī*[3], xv, 67; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Mustaẓraf min akhbār al-djawārī*, Beirut 1963, 67-8).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, iv, 99-100; *Aghānī*[3], xi, 364-8, *passim*, xv, 55-72, *passim*; al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, Damascus 1969, 83-5; Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, Cairo 1935, 102; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923 ff., v, 75-8; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, facs. ed. Frankfurt 1988, x, 110-11; D. Sourdel, *La biographie d'Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, in *Arabica*, i (1954), 307 ff., esp. 311-12; K. al-Bustānī, *al-Nisā' al-ʿarabiyyāt*, Beirut 1964, 122-4. (E. Neubauer)

AL-SALLĀMĪ, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Bayhaḳī, historian of the Sāmānid period, who flourished in the middle decades of the 4th/10th century but whose exact dates of birth and death are unknown.

According to the local historian of Bayhaḳ, Ibn Funduḳ [see AL-BAYHAḲĪ, ẒAHĪR AL-DĪN ... B. FUNDUḲ], he was a pupil of the rather shadowy *nadīm* and *adīb* Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*], author of the *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, and according to al-Thaʿālibī, he was in the service of the Muḥtādjid *amīrs* of Čaghāniyān [see MUḤTĀDJIDS], Abū Bakr Muḥammad and Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī, with whose fortunes in the Sāmānid state his own career was apparently link-

ed. Al-Sallāmī's fame arises from his history of the governors of Khurāsān, the *K. Wulāt Khurāsān*, which is now lost but which was used extensively (and independently of each other) by the Ghaznawid historian Gardīzī [*q.v.*] and then by Ibn al-Athīr for events in Khurāsān and Transoxania up to the death of Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī in 344/955 (this being the last event apparently taken from al-Sallāmī's work and common to the narratives of the two later historians). Al-Sallāmī's work was still known to, and cited by, the historian of the Mongols Djuwaynī [*q.v.*], but thereafter disappears from mention. There are also citations from other works of his in the sources; see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 352.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Zur Geschichte der Saffāriden*, in *Orientalische Studien ... Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 173-5; idem, *Turkestan*³, p. xiii, 10-11; C.E. Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542-3)*, Costa Mesa-New York 1994, 19-20.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SALLĀRIDS [see musāfirids].

SALM b. ʿAmr al-**KHĀSIR**, early ʿAbbāsid poet (d. 186/802), born in Baṣra in a family of *mawālī*.

He was a pupil and *rāwī* of the poet Bashshār [*q.v.*], whose verse he is said to have plundered for motifs, and he befriended Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*q.v.*] until they became estranged. When young, he moved to Baghdād and became a panegyrist of the caliphs al-Mahdī and al-Hādī, the Barmakids and other leading persons. He also excelled in elegies, which he sometimes seems to have prepared in advance. Notorious for his dissoluteness and libertinism (*mudjūn* [*q.v.*]) and even accused of heresy by later writers (probably unjustly), he is said to have become pious for a time but, relapsing, to have reverted to his former behaviour. This is one of the several explanations of his nickname "the Loser", among the other ones being the story that he sold a copy of the Ḳurʾān in exchange for a book of verse, or for a lute; or that he squandered a fortune inherited and earned with his poems (he is said to have left a large sum when he died). He is called a good poet with a natural talent (*maṭbūʿ mudjīd*), skilled in all poetic genres. He seems to have invented the ultra-short *radjaz* [*q.v.*] monometer (four syllables per line), employed in a poem praising al-Hādī. Ibn al-Muʿtazz, writing a century after his death, speaks of "his very numerous poems"; Ibn al-Nadīm mentions his poems as filling *ca.* 150 folios, but the *Dīwān*, still known in the 7th/13th century, is not preserved. Von Grunebaum was able to collect sixty fragments numbering 289 lines of verse, 278 being of unquestioned authenticity; a more recent collection was made by Nadjm. What remains of Salm's verse shows him to be a competent but not very original poet with an easy style.

Bibliography: G.E. von Grunebaum, *Three Arabic poets of the early Abbasid age*, in *Orientalia*, xvii (1948), 160-204, xix (1950), 53-80, xxii (1953), 262-83, repr. in his *Themes in mediaeval Arabic literature*, London 1981 (for Salm, see the second part and the beginning of the first); Muḥammad Yūsuf Nadjm, *Shuʿarāʾ ʿabbāsiyyūn*, Beirut 1959, 91-120. The Arabic sources are given in *GAS*, ii, 511-2, and see ix, 295; the chief ones being Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1968, 99-106, *al-Aghānī*³, xix, 260-87, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 136-40. A monograph is by Nāyif Maḥmūd Maʿrūf, *Salm al-Khāsir, shāʿir al-khulafāʾ wa 'l-umarāʾ fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī*, Beirut n.d. [1985?].

(G.J.H. van Gelder)

SALM b. **ZIYĀD** b. **ABĪHI**, Abū Ḥarb, Umayyad commander and governor, the third of the many sons of Abū Sufyān's bastard son Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], d. 73/692.

The family of Ziyād already had a firm grip on the East in the later years of Muʿāwiya's caliphate, and when Yazīd I came to the throne, he appointed Salm as governor of Khurāsān (61/681), and the latter nominated another of his brothers, Yazid b. Ziyād, as his deputy in Sīstān. Salm proved himself a highly popular governor with the Arab troops in Khurāsān, largely on account of his military successes. He led raids across the Oxus against the Soghdian princes of Transoxania and to Samarḳand, and is said to have been the first Arab governor actually to winter across the river; he also raided Khʷārazm. His lieutenants were, however, less successful in eastern Afghānistān against the Zunbīls, the local rulers of Zamīndāwar and Zābulistān [*q.vv.*], and the Kābul-Shāhs; his brothers Yazīd and Abū ʿUbayda were respectively killed and captured leading expeditions thither.

When Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya died, the Arab army in Khurāsān agreed with Salm to continue giving allegiance to him until the situation in the central lands of the caliphate should be clarified (63/683), but they soon renounced this allegiance; Salm was forced to return to Baṣra, and the East came to be dominated over the next years by the leader of the Ḳays party there [see ḳays and yaman], ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī [*q.v.*], whom Salm had nominated as his successor over Khurāsān. In the prevailing uncertainty, Salm seems to have had the idea of giving allegiance to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], but was arrested in Baṣra by the latter, who had just set himself up as anti-caliph in Arabia and the East. Salm was imprisoned at Mecca and mulcted of four million dirhams which he had gained from his two years' governorship. He subsequently contrived to escape when al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] came to Mecca and the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik appointed him to the East once more, but he died at Baṣra in 73/692 before he could reach Khurāsān.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivB, 75-6; idem, *Futūḥ*, 397-8, 413-14; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkkāsha, 348; Ṭabarī, i, 2706, ii, 391-5, 499-90; Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, 415-16; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, in *MFOB*, vi (1913), 414; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 21-2; Barthold, *Turkestan*³; C.E. Bosworth, *Sistan under the Arabs*, Rome 1968, 44-5, 48-9; M.A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 39-42; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 86-90, 92; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iii, 167-8. (C.E. Bosworth)

SALMĀ [see adjaʾ].

SALMĀN al-**FĀRISĪ** [see Suppl.].

SALMĀN PĀK [see Suppl., *s.v.* salmān al-fārisī].

SALMĀN-i **SĀWADJĪ**, i.e. Djamāl al-Dīn Salmān b. Muḥammad-i Sāwadjī, Persian poet, panegyrist of the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*].

Salmān was born at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, probably in 709/1309 in Sāwa [*q.v.*]. His father held a post in the financial administration of the Ilkhānids [*q.v.*]. Among the first patrons of the young poet was the vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh. It is likely that it was Dilshād Khātūn (d. before 753/1352), the widow of the Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*], who encouraged Salmān to move to Baghdād and join the court of her new husband, Ḥasan-i Buzurg (d. 757/1356), founder of the

Djalāyirid dynasty. From 744/1343 on, Salmān was in the service of the Djalāyirids, and in time he was the teacher of Ḥasan-i Buzurg's son Uways (r. 757-76/1356-74). Most of Salmān's panegyrical *ḳaṣīdas* [*q.v.*] are in praise of the sultans Ḥasan and Uways and, notably, of Dilshād Khātūn. The service of the Djalāyirid house made Salmān a comparatively wealthy man, but frequent travel in the court's entourage seems to have damaged his health, for in a number of poems the poet complains of malaria, ailing feet and sore eyes and expresses his desire to lead a stationary and secluded life away from the court. In the last year of his life, under Uways's successor, Ḥusayn (*r.* 776-84/1374-82), Salmān fell from favour because of his apparent siding with Ḥusayn's rival Shāh Shudjā^c. The most probable date of Salmān's death is Monday, 12 Ṣafar 778/30 June 1376.

Salmān's poetic work comprises about 21,000 *bayts*; it consists of his *dīwān* (*ḳaṣīdas*, *tarkībāt*, *tardjī^cāt*, *ḳiṭ^cas* [*q.v.*], *ghazals* [*q.v.*], and *rubā^cīs* [*q.v.*]), a *Sāḳī-nāma*, a short *mathnawī* [*q.v.*], entitled *Firāḳ-nāma*, and a longer *mathnawī*, *Djamshīd u Kh^warshīd*, the latter being a romantic epic interspersed with lyrical *ghazals*. In his *ḳaṣīdas*, Salmān continues the tradition of the great classical masters such as Anwarī and Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā^cīl [*q.vv.*], and in his *ghazals* he is in some instances on a par with his contemporary Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*]. Like Ḥāfiẓ, Salmān was taken as a model by following generations of Persian and Turkish poets. His *mathnawī Djamshīd u Kh^warshīd* was adapted in an Anatolian Turkish version by Aḥmedī (d. 815/1412 [see AḤMADĪ]). At the moment, there is no truly critical edition of Salmān's *dīwān*, nor has his poetry so far been subjected to a critical study.

Bibliography: Browne, *LHP*, iii, 260-71; Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, iii/2, 1004-22; *Dīwān-i Salmān-i Sāwadjī*, ed. M. Mushfiḳ, Tehran 1336 *Sh*./1957; *Kulliyyāt-i Salmān-i Sāwadjī*, ed. [M.] Āwistā, Tehran 1337 *Sh*./1958; *Djamshīd u Kh^warshīd*, ed. J. Asmussen, Tehran 1348 *Sh*./1969. (M. GLÜNZ)

SALMĀNIYYA, the name applied to a sect of Shī^cī extremists (*ghulāt* [*q.v.*]) who paid special reverence to the *ṣaḥābī* Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] and are said to have regarded him as a prophet or even as a divine emanation superior to Muḥammad and ^cAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The only two references to the sect originate from Rayy and its environs: the Salmāniyya are mentioned by the Ismā^cīlī author Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/933-4) in his book *Kitāb al-Zīna* in the chapter on the Shī^cī sects (not yet printed; cf. Massignon, *Opera minora*, i, 475-6); in about 220/835 a certain ^cAlī b. al-^cAbbās al-Kharādhīnī al-Rāzī (from the village of Kharādhīn near Rayy) is said to have written a refutation of the sect, entitled *K. al-Radd ^calā 'l-Salmāniyya* (al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, lith. Bombay 1899, 180; ed. Muḥ. Djawād al-Nā'īnī, Beirut 1988, ii, 78-9). The Salmāniyya were probably identical with the *aṣḥāb al-Sīn*, criticised by pseudo-Djābir al-Azdī, *K. al-Mādjid* (ms. Paris, B.N. ar. 5909); cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 477-8. As the sect is mentioned neither by Sunnī nor by Twelver Shī^cī heresiographers, it seems not to have played a major role and to have soon disappeared; hence the details of its doctrines are wrapped in obscurity.

Bibliography: L. Massignon, *Salmân Pâk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien*, Soc. d'Et. Iraniennes, cahier vii, 1934, 47-52 (= *Opera minora*, Beirut 1963, i, 475-8). (H. HALM)

SALMĀS, the name of a district, and of its mediaeval urban centre, in the western part of the Persian province of Ādharbāydjān. The district comprises a fertile plain near the northwestern corner of Lake Urmiya, bounded on the west by the Harāwīl mountain range with the pass of Khānasūr (2,408 m/7,900 feet) leading into Turkey, and on the south by the Kūh-i Awghān. The modern town of Salmās, Shābūr or Dīlmān (lat. 38° 13′ N., long. 44° 50′ E.), lies 48 km/30 miles to the south-south-west of Khōy [see KHOI] on the Zala Čay river. The region of Salmās has been inhabited since earliest known times, as shown by the remains there from the Urartian culture onwards. In classical Antiquity it came within the province of Persarmenia, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions Salamas along with Chert (i.e. Khōy).

Salmās seems to have been conquered by Arab troops from Diyār Rabī^ca [*q.v.*], since al-Balādhurī states that the taxation of Salmās had long been transmitted to Mawṣil. In the 4th/10th century it came within the principality of the western branch of the Daylamī Musāfirids [*q.v.*] under Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir. In 332/943-4 Marzubān fought off a Ḥamdānid raid on Salmās, and in 344/955-6 the Kurdish adventurer Daysam attacked it. Al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal describe Salmās as a small town of Ādharbāydjān, with a strong wall, in a fertile region. Al-Muḳaddasī describes it as a Kurdish town (these Kurds would be from the Hadhbānī tribe) and considered it as being administratively part of Armenia. In 456/1064 the inhabitants of Salmās joined the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan's expedition against the Byzantines, Armenians and Georgians. By Yāḳūt's time, however, the town was in ruins; yet in the mid-8th/14th century Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī says that it was once more flourishing, with its wall, 8,000 paces in circumference, rebuilt in the time of the Il-Khān Ghazan by the vizier Kh^wādja Tādj al-Dīn ^cAlī Shāh Tabrīzī; the revenues of Salmās (presumably the whole district) amounted to the substantial sum of 39,000 dīnārs (see Abū Dulaf, *Second Risāla*, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, tr. 37, comm. 76; *Ḥudūd al-^cālam*, tr. Minorsky, § 36.11, tr. 143; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 166; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 962, 1108-11). This mediaeval town of Salmās then gradually declined, and today must be marked by the village in the northwest of the Salmās district called in the early 20th century Kuhna Shahr ("old town") on the road from Albaḳ and Ḳaṭūr.

The modern chef-lieu of the district, in the 20th century known as Shāhpūr and before that as Dīlmān (which latter name seems to indicate a connection with the Daylamīs who at times controlled the region, e.g. the Musāfirids) lies in the centre of the plain (lat. 38° 13′ N., long. 44° 50′ E., alt. 1,430 m/4,690 ft.). In 1930 the town had some 8,000 inhabitants, almost all Shī^cī Muslims, but the surrounding villages included a good number with Christian populations, both Nestorian Assyrians and Catholic Chaldaeans, these last converted in the 18th century and having a bishop at Khosrawa; as early as 1281 there had been a Nestorian bishop of Salmās present at the consecration (*cheirotonia*) of the Patriarch Mar Yaballāhā in Baghdād (Assemani, ii, 456). It was in Urdī-Bihisht 1309/April-May 1930 that the town was largely destroyed by an earthquake, but rebuilt on Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī's orders. The region as a whole had suffered badly from the Russo-Turkish fighting in the First World War, and in the post-War period had occurred massacres of the Christian population by the Muslim Kurds; it was in 1918 that the Nestorian Patriarch Mār Shim^cūn Benjamin was murdered at Kuhna Shahr by the Kurdish bandit chief Ismā^cīl (Simko) b. ^cAlī Khān (see NASṬŪRIYYŪN and J.F. Coakley, *The*

Church of the East and the Church of England. A history of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian mission, Oxford 1992, 339-40). In *ca.* 1950 Shāhpūr and its rural environs had a population of 11,000, which had risen by 1991 to 60,570 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division); administratively, it now falls within the *bakhsh* of the same name in the *shahrastān of* Khōy in the province (*ustān*) of Ādharbāydjān.

Worthy of note in the Salmās region is the Kurdish mountain fortress of Čahrīķ, on a rock in the gorge of the Zala Čay (illustr. in E.G. Browne (ed.), *Kitāb-i Nuqṭatu 'l-Kāf*, Leiden 1910), where in 1264/1848 the Bāb, Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad Shīrāzī, was imprisoned by the governor there, Yaḥyā Khān, brother-in-law of Muḥammad Shāh Ķādjār [see BĀB].

The Salmās district is rich in antiquities from the Urartian period onwards, including an early Sāsānid bas-relief probably depicting Ardashīr I and his son Shāhpūr (I) receiving the homage of the defeated Armenians (see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 169; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia: an archaeological guide*², London 1976, 88-9). At Kuhna Shahr is the brick tower from *ca* 700/1300-1 erected by Mīrī Khātūn, daughter of Arghun Āķā, governor of Khurāsān under the Il-Khānids Hülegü and Abaķa (C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialen zur ältesten Geschichte Armeniens*, in *Abh. GW Göttingen*, N.S., ix, 158-9; illustr. in idem, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, Berlin 1910, 320).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SALOMON [see SULAYMĀN].

SALONIKA [see SELĀNĪK].

SALSABĪL (A.), the name of a fountain in paradise. It is mentioned only once in the Ķurʾān, in LXXVI, 18: the righteous who are in paradise in the hereafter "will be given there a cup to drink in which has been mixed ginger (*zandjabīl*), (from) a fountain therein named Salsabīl".

Exegetes approached the word from two directions: etymology linked to meaning, and grammar. The word was postulated to have been derived from *salla, salisa*, or *salsala* and all these roots were connected with the idea of being "easy to swallow" or "delightful in taste", attributes considered appropriate to liquids consumed in paradise. The presence of the letter *bāʾ* in the word was, according to some, simply to be understood as non-radical (*zāʾida*). More imaginative was the approach which saw the word composed of the imperative of the verb *saʾila* plus *sabīl*: "ask for a way!", according to Ibn Ķutayba, *Tafsīr gharīb al-Ķurʾān*, Cairo 1978, 4, some have said that the word suggests that the fountain is calling, "Ask me for a path to it (the fountain), O Muḥammad!" General opinion (including Ibn Ķutayba's) did not seem to favour this type of interpretation, however.

The grammatical issue, not unrelated to the suggestions regarding etymology and meaning, focused on the presence of the *tanwīn* at the end of the word (the absence of variant readings suggests that it was never read otherwise). If the word was a proper name, then, it was generally argued, it would normally not be fully declined, but rather should take a single *fatḥa* as a termination. If, however, it was understood as a description (*ṣifa*) of the water coming out of the fountain (as some of the meanings of the word suggested also), then a full declension with *tanwīn* was appropriate. Since the Ķurʾān said the fountain was "named" Salsabīl, this then led to a possible conclusion that the fountain had been named for its attribute (and that the verb "to name" here actually meant "to be described as": see al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, Cairo 1905, xxix, 135). On the other hand, it was observed by most grammarians starting with al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī al-Ķurʾān*, Cairo 1972, iii, 217-18, that employing diptotes as triptotes was done in poetry and thus the presence of the phenomenon in the Ķurʾān was not problematic (and was also to be found in other passages, for example, LXVII, 4 and 15). Other grammarians, including al-Zadjdjādj, *Maʿānī al-Ķurʾān*, Beirut 1988, v, 261, simply observed that the *tanwīn* was required for the rhyme in the *sūra*.

In popular thought, Salsabīl was understood to be the name of the fountain and was sometimes taken as the name of one of the four rivers of paradise (see DJANNA, B. 1).

Bibliography: *Tafsīr* tradition on Ķurʾān, LXXVI, 18. (A. RIPPIN)

AL-SALṬ or AL-SALT, a town in modern Jordan, approximately 28 km/17 miles west of ʿAmmān (30° 03′ N, 35° 42′ E.) at an elevation of about 840 m/2,755 feet. It is the seat of the governorate of the Balķāʾ [*q.v.*], and in 1993 its population was estimated at 60,740. It is situated in a rather mountainous, oak-covered area, with several springs that allow cultivation of the valley floors, notably with figs and pomegranates; Arab geographers and 19th-century European travellers mention the export of its grapes, raisins, wheat and lentils to Palestine.

The town was called Gadara during the Greco-Roman period, and the name al-Salṭ likely derives from the Roman administrative designation Regis Saltus, a crown domain within the province of Palaestina Prima that was probably granted by the Emperor Septimius Severus (A.D. 192-211). The tomb complex and adjacent reservoir and olive press discovered in 1978 on the outskirts of the city may have belonged to a family entrusted with this crown domain.

The first reference to the name al-Salṭ occurs in 512/1118, following the death of Baldwin I of Jerusalam, when his successor Baldwin II sent an envoy to the *atabeg* of Damascus Ẓahīr al-Dīn Ṭughtigin [see BŪRIDS] requesting an extension of the truce. Ṭughtigin responded positively on condition that the revenues from Djabal ʿAwf, Ḥannāna, al-Salṭ, al-Ghawr and al-Djawlān should be collected exclusively for the Muslims. Baldwin II refused this stipulation, and it seems that the earlier arrangement was terminated after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's victory at Ḥiṭṭīn in 583/1187, when the Muslims established their control over these lands, and in 588/1192 al-Salṭ was assigned to the sultan's brother and successor al-ʿĀdil. In 617/1220, al-ʿĀdil's son Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā erected a citadel on a mountain known as Raʾs al-Amīr, in response to an attack on a caravan by a group from the Banū Raḥmān from the nearby village of Kafr Yahūda. This citadel later served as a place of banishment, as when in 637/1239 the family of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, his treasury and his horses were sent there.

In 644/1246 some Khwārazmian refugees settled at al-Salṭ, but were forced to flee to Karak when the town was attacked and burned by a certain Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Shaykh. The Mongols reached al-Salṭ in 659/1260, where they were opposed by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Atābekī; he surrendered the town, but the Mongols retained him in authority there.

The Mamluk sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduķdārī (d. 676/1277) repaired and expanded the

citadel at al-Salṭ, and stationed troops there. He also renovated the town's mosque. Mamlūk period sources describe al-Salṭ as being prosperous and noted for its orchards. It came within the *wilāya* of al-Balḳāʾ, the sixth *wilāya* of the southern *ṣafḳa* of Damascus. The administrative status of al-Salṭ varied, but towards the end of the Mamlūk period it had eclipsed both Ḥiṣbān (Esbous) and ʿAmmān. Its residents probably followed the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, for it is known that the town had a Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī*, and that the *amīr* Sayf al-Din Begtimur al-Ḥusāmī (d. 729/1328) founded a Shāfiʿī *madrasa* there. A number of learned men with the name of al-Salṭī are listed in the biographical dictionaries of this time.

The Ottoman *tapu defters* provide significant information about al-Salṭ. In 954/1538 it was the seat of a *nāḥiya* comprising two *maḥallas*: Awāmla east of the citadel and Maḥallat Akrād west of the citadel; between them there were 168 households, ten bachelors, four imāms, ten Christians, and six soldiers who manned the citadel. An order by the sultan of 959/1551 states that al-Salṭ was in a ruinous state, which corroborates the population decline recorded in the *tapu defter* of 1005/1596. Both *defters* detail the sum of 12,000 *akčes* in dues that were collected from al-Salṭ as part of the allowances of the *mīr liwā* of ʿAdjlūn. Christians paid the poll tax at the rate of 80 *akčes* per head. At the time, al-Salṭ was a market place for the district, while Ḥiṣbān is reported as having been derelict.

The citadel at al-Salṭ continued to be well maintained. In 1033/1623, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿnī II visited al-Salṭ and installed a garrison of fifty men there. It is claimed that the citadel was destroyed by Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] during his presence in Syria between 1247/1831 and 1256/1840, and only ruins survive today, including trenches that give the neighbourhood the name of Khandaḳ.

Little data is available about al-Salṭ during the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries, but there is plentiful information from the second half of the 19th century in connection with the measures taken by the Ottomans to rejuvenate the region during the *Tanẓīmāt* period. Al-Salṭ's importance increased, but it remained administratively dependent upon either the Ḥawrān, Karak or Nābulus. Thus in 1313/1895, it was a seat of a *ḳaḍāʾ* within the *liwā* of Karak, that included its own *nāḥiya* and the *nāḥiyas* of ʿAmmān, Djīza and Mādaba. *Sāl-nāmes* and other sources report about 300 villages belonging to this *ḳaḍāʾ*, but it is difficult to accept this figure unless derelict sites are included.

Al-Salṭ had a *ḳāʾimmaḳām*, Islamic and civil courts, and special courts for non-Muslims. In addition, it had departments for education, health, land registry, taxation, postal and telegraph services, and religious endowments. The various villages, quarters, tribes and Christian communities each had its own *mukhtār*. The town attracted people from the regions of Damascus, Ḥamā and Palestine, and particularly from Nābulus, and these new settlers were responsible for the flourishing of business and increased construction of houses, shops, baths, and other buildings; Christians, many from Palestine, also came to settle in the city, and were the pioneers in business; along with others, they came to dominate land ownership in the neighbouring villages. A number of missionary groups came to al-Salṭ, and it had several churches, among them Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Protestant. A Chamber of Commerce was instituted in 1301/1884, and a Municipal Council in 1305/1888. The town enjoyed security, and through its military garrison maintained control over the region, especially the Abad, ʿAdwān, and Banū Ṣakhr tribes. This security attracted the influx of capital, which is reflected in the town's Ottoman-style mansions, many of which survive today.

Al-Salṭ was ahead of the rest of the country in education because of the number of both state and missionary schools that were established there. The first secondary school in Jordan was established there in 1344/1925, and it accordingly had an important early role in building the modern state of Jordan.

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(M.A. AL-BAKHIT)

SALṬANA (A.) "sovereignty, ruling power", from the verb *salṭana* "become ruler, exercise power", with *salāṭa* meaning "force" (*ḳahr*), thence by extension the holder of power. *Sulṭān* is found in the Ḳurʾān; see for a detailed discussion of the Islamic origins of the term and its later developments, SULṬĀN. The Arabic papyri from the first century of Islam have such expressions as *kharādj al-sulṭān* or *bayt māl al-sulṭān*, with the sense of "authority of the government, or of the governor, *wālī* or *ḥākim*". In the standard Arabic dictionaries (Ibn Durayd, *Djamhara*, iii, 27; Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, iii, 133 ff.; Ibn Fāris, *Muʿdjam maḳāyīs al-lugha*, iii, 95; *LʿA*, iii, 2065-6; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Ḳāmūs*, ii, 365-6; *TʿA*, v, 158-60; Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, i, 680), *sulṭān* is invariably connected with the idea of constraint. In popular Arabic usage, *salīṭ* means "oil", in Yemen, "sesame oil", and *sulṭān* is thus connected with *salīṭ* because oil, it is asserted, serves to make things clear, just like political authority. Hence *amīrs* are described as *sulṭāns* because the latter term is the divine proof which is used to put the proof into practice.

The term was employed in the *fiḳh* works and in *adab* ones, whence the title of the first chapter of Ibn Ḳutayba's *ʿUyūn al-akhbār: kitāb al-sulṭān* (in which the author defines the role and attributes of the *sulṭān*). For the subsequent development in practice of *sulṭān* as a personal title, see SULṬĀN, in addition to which it should be noted that al-Ḳalḳashandī, speaking of the evolution of power in Egypt, states that, under the Fāṭimids, authority (*salṭana*) was acquired by the "vizierate of delegation" (*ṣārat salṭanatuhā wizārat al-tafwīḍ* (*Ṣubḥ*, ix, 403).

Salṭana is found in combination with many terms: *dār al-salṭana, dast al-salṭana, takht al-salṭana, sarīr al-salṭana, nimdjat al-salṭana* and *nāʾib al-salṭana*.

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(MOUNIRA CHAPOUTOT-REMADI)

SALTUḲ OGHULLARÎ, a Türkmen dynasty that ruled a principality centred on Erzurum [*q.v.*] from *ca.* 465/1072 to 598/1202.

The information on this dynasty from all sources is rather sparse and somewhat confused. It was apparently founded by one Saltuḳ, who was among the Türkmen *beys* under Alp Arslan whom he sent to conquer Anatolia after the battle of Malāzgird [*q.v.*]. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) says the founder was a certain Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who may have been the same person. The Saltuḳ-oghullarî seem to have established the first Türkmen principality in Anatolia after Malāzgird. In addition to their capital at Erzurum, it included Bāybūrt, Shābīn Ḳarā Ḥiṣār, Terdjān, İspir, Oltu, Midjingerd, and sometimes Ḳars. In 496/1103, the ruler, with the title *malik*, was one ʿAlī, who was allied with the Saldjūḳ sultan Muḥammad Tapar in his struggle against Berk-yaruḳ. In 516/1123, the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustarshid asked the Saltuḳ-oghullarî, among others, for military assistance against Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa, the Mazyadid ruler of Ḥilla [*q.v.*]. The next known Saltuḳid ruler was ʿAlī's brother, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ghāzī (d. 526/1131-2).

Meanwhile, taking advantage of the confusion caused by the Crusades and Saldjūḳ domestic strife, the Georgians began to attack eastern Anatolia. In 514/1120, David the Builder (1089-1125), assisted by the Ḳipčaḳs [*q.v.*], defeated a coalition of Turkish forces, which no doubt included the Saltuḳ-oghullarî, near Tiflīs (Tbilisi). A few years later, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn concluded a marriage alliance with the Artuḳids [*q.v.*]. He was succeeded by ʿAlī's son ʿIzz al-Dīn Saltuḳ (d. 563/1168). In 549/1154, the Georgians under Dimitri I (1125-55) defeated and captured ʿIzz al-Dīn near Ānī. He was ransomed by the Artuḳids and Suḳmān, the Shāh-i Arman [*q.v.*] at Akhlāṭ. The latter was married to one of his daughters. ʿIzz al-Dīn was among the coalition of Turkish forces that besieged the Georgians at Ānī in 556/1161, only to meet defeat again. Shortly thereafter, ʿIzz al-Dīn sent another daughter to marry Ḳilîdj Arslān II [*q.v.*], the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm. She was intercepted en route, however, by the Dānishmendid Yaghî-basan, who married her off to his nephew, the ruler of Ḳayṣariyya (Kayseri). This provoked a war between the Saldjūḳs and Dānishmendids. ʿIzz al-Dīn was succeeded by his son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad. Sometime during his reign, the Georgians attacked Erzurum for the first and last time.

It was presumably after this event that there occurred the curious incident in which Nāṣir al-Dīn's son Muẓaffar al-Dīn offered to convert to Christianity and marry the queen of Georgia, the famed Tʿamar (1184-1213). Muẓaffar al-Dīn went to Tiflīs with much pomp and expensive gifts, but the queen ultimately declined his offer. The subsequent fate of both Nāṣir al-Dīn and his son is unknown. Between at least 587/1191 and 597/1200-1, Nāṣir al-Dīn's sister Māmā Khātūn appeared as *malika* of Erzurum. She was allied with the Ayyūbid ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn against the Shāh-i Arman. In 597/1200-1, she asked the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in Cairo to arrange a husband for her. At that point, she seems to have been overthrown by Muẓaffar al-Dīn's brother Malik Shāh. These events probably disturbed the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rum, Sulaymān II, who was hostile to Ayyūbid ambitions in eastern Anatolia. Consequently, when he marched through Erzurum in 598/1202 on a campaign to Georgia, he imprisoned Malik-Shāh and annexed his territory, putting an end to the Saltuḳid dynasty. Under the Saltuḳ-oghullarî, Erzurum was a flourishing emporium and acquired a number of monumental buildings. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn built the Tepsi Minare and Kale Camii, and Nāṣir al-Dīn built or completed the Ulu Cami. Also noteworthy is the *türbe* of Māmā Khātūn in Terdjān.

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(G. LEISER)

SALTUḲIDS [see SALTUḲ OGHULLARÎ].

SALŪḲĪ, the name given by the Arabs to a member of the gazehound family, so-called because it pursues its quarry by sight and not by scent. The *salūḳī* stands about 25-6 ins. in height at the shoulder. The *salūḳī* has often been mistaken for the greyhound by travellers to the Middle East, but the ears are long and pendulous, while the greyhound's are short and pricked, and the greyhound is wider in the body and more heavily built. Whereas the greyhound is a sprinter, the *salūḳī* is possessed of great stamina.

Abundant evidence exists in Arabic literature that the *salūḳī* hunted oryx in the Djāhiliyya (see the *Muʿallaḳa* of Labīd (ll. 49-52); the *ḳaṣīda* of al-Nābigha (in C.J. Lyall (ed.), *A commentary on ten ancient Arabic poems*, Calcutta 1894, 154 ll. 13-18); and ʿAbda b. al-Ṭabīb (ll. 29-39) and Abū Dhuʾayb (ll. 36-48) both in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*). The huntsman, armed with bow

and arrows, would use a whole pack of *salūḳīs* and the latter would hunt down and exhaust the quarry which, when turned and fighting back with its long, straight horns, would be dispatched by the huntsman's bow, the huntsman being at this time unaffected by the strict prescriptions on the killing of prey which would come in Islamic times. Although such hunting is not mentioned in the extremely stereotyped pre-Islamic poetry, the hunting of the gazelle and the hare by *salūḳīs* must have taken place even before Islam.

The *salūḳī* has been a favourite hunter of the gazelle and the hare right through mediaeval times in the Middle East to the present day in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. The former was hunted until fairly recent times by both *salūḳīs* and saker falcons (see Smith, *A new translation*, 254). The sakers would bind to the head of the gazelle to confuse and delay it, while the *salūḳīs* followed on and dragged the gazelle down for the huntsman to slaughter according to the prescriptions of Islam (see Allen and Smith, *Hunting techniques*, 114-15). The hare has always been, and continues to this day to be, coursed by the *salūḳī*. The latter will probably survive, despite the stronger interest now in birds of prey for hunting, because of the danger presented to the bird of prey when she tries to cope with the swift, jinking desert hare.

The origin of the word *salūḳī* is not easily arrived at. The word must have been used in pre-Islamic times, though its occurrence in the poetry of the period is rare (e.g. *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 61, *banāt salūḳiyyayn* "the offspring of two *salūḳīs*"). The Arab geographers (listed in detail in Allen and Smith, *op. cit.*, 139, n. 25) suggest the name is the *nisba* of a place called Salūḳ in the Yemen near Taʿizz, or alternatively in the area of al-Lān to the west of the Caspian Sea, also called Salūḳ (*ibid.*, map 121). Viré in his article (*REI*, xli/2, 231-40) opts for the latter which he calls the "patrie d'origine de ces lévriers". There is no reason, either, why *salūḳī* should not be the *nisba* of one of the many Salūḳiyyas, towns founded by the ancient Seleucids and called after the dynasty. The most likely answer is that, for some reason, the Arabs regarded their prize hounds as being "Seleucid" (*salūḳī*), in some way connected with the dynasty which had controlled vast areas of the Middle East before Islam (see Smith, *The Arabian hound*, 457-64).

Bibliography: *al-Muʿallaḳāt al-ʿashr*, ed. Aḥmad b. Amīn al-Shinḳīṭī, Cairo 1331; *Dīwān al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. C.J. Lyall, Beirut 1920; F. Viré, *A propos des chiens de chase* salūqī *et* zağārī, in *REI*, xli/2 (1973), 231-40; M.J.S. Allen and G.R. Smith, *Some notes on hunting techniques and practices in the Arabian Peninsula*, in *Arabian Studies*, ii, 111 (photographs), 114-15, 120-8, 130-1; Smith, *The Arabian hound, the* salūqī *- further consideration of the word and other observations on the breed*, in *BSOAS*, xliii/3, 459-64; idem, *A new translation of certain passages of the hunting section of Usāma ibn Munqidh's* Iʿtibar, in *JSS*, xxvi/2 (1981), 235-57, *passim*; idem, *Hunting poetry* (ṭardiyyāt), in Julia Ashtiany *et alii* (eds.), *The Cambridge hist. of Arabic literature. ʿAbbasid belles-lettres*, Cambridge 1990, 167-85, esp. 169, 171, 178. (G.R. Smith)

SALŪL, the name of two tribal groups in northern Arabia: a branch of Khuzāʿa [*q.v.*] and a branch of the so-called Northern Arabian federation Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*], more precisely, the Hawāzin [*q.v.*].

1. The lineage of the Salūl who were a branch of Khuzāʿa was: Salūl b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. Rabīʿa b. Ḥāritha. The genealogists list, beside Salūl himself, the following descendants of his as eponyms of tribal groups (the term employed is *baṭn*): Ḳumayr b. Ḥabshiya (variants: Ḥabshiyya, Ḥabashiyya, Ḥubshiyya), Ḥulayl b. Ḥabshiya, including the descendants of Abū Ghubshān, who were numerous and formed many tribal groups, Ḍāṭir b. Ḥabshiya, Kulayb b. Ḥabshiya, al-Ḥizmir (variants: al-Ḥirmiz, al-Ḥurmuz) b. Salūl, ʿAdī b. Salūl, Ḥabtar b. ʿAdī and Hanīʾa b. ʿAdī (see also Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1378/1958, 468-73; cf. Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, i, 198, 199; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn *et alii*, Cairo 1384/1965; iii, 383; Hanīʾa's mother is said to have been the daughter of Salūl b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿadd wa 'l-Yaman al-kabīr*, ed. Nādjī Ḥasan, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 446), which points to a link between the two tribal groups called Salūl).

There are two indications, both related to blood-revenge, that before Islam the Ḳumayr were the leading group among the Salūl, and possibly among the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr as a whole. First, one of the Ḳumayr, ʿAmr b. Khālid, vowed that he would not let the blood of a Kaʿbī go unavenged (*Nasab Maʿadd*, ii, 441). Second, when al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra of the Ḳurashī Banū Makhzūm [*q.v.*] died of an injury caused by a Khuzāʿī (who was either of the Ḳumayr or of the Hanīʾa), it was again a member of the Ḳumayr, Busr b. Sufyān, who intervened in the ensuing crisis. Busr guaranteed the payment of the blood-money agreed upon—a compromise was struck; Khuzāʿa did not admit responsibility for al-Walīd's death. Busr even brought a son of his to Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] as hostage. But Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], who was the son of the slain man, sent the boy back (*Nasab Maʿadd*, ii, 447; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 293; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ fī akhbār Ḳuraysh*, ed. Khūrshīd Aḥmad Fāriḳ, Beirut 1405/1985, 191-9; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, Beirut 1391/1971, ii, 52-4).

The crisis over al-Walīd's blood-money is illuminating with regard to Mecca's internal politics on the eve of Islam. One assumes that in the dispute, the Banū Hāshim supported Khuzāʿa: the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr of Khuzāʿa, to whom the Salūl belonged, had an alliance with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim (Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, 192-2). In this alliance, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the most important figure on the Ḳurashī side. On the Khuzāʿī side we find, among others, representatives of the following Salūl subdivisions: Ḳumayr, Ḍāṭir and Ḥabtar. As usual in tribal alliances, marriage links were agreed upon: ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib married on that day the daughters of two of the Khuzāʿī leaders who were party to the alliance, i.e. the representatives of Ḍāṭir and Ḥabtar. The former bore him the famous Abū Lahab [*q.v.*] (and see U. Rubin, *Abū Lahab and sūra cxi*, in *BSOAS*, xlii [1979], 16), while the latter bore him al-Ghaydāḳ (M.J. Kister, *On strangers and allies in Mecca*, in *JSAI*, xiii [1990], 140; M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym: a contribution to the study of early Islam*, Jerusalem 1989, 129). In other words, two of the Prophet's paternal uncles were born by Salūlī women (Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. W. ʿArafat, London 1971, ii, 16-7; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, 71-2; art. KHUZĀʿA, at V, 78a-b; Kister, *op. cit.*, 151). The Makhzūmī position in the dispute over al-Walīd's blood-money was supported by the *Aḥābīsh* [see ḤABASH, ḤABASHA, at the end] who at some stage were called upon by the Makhzūm to intervene (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaḳ*, 195-6).

The most important role played by the Salūl before Islam was the one associated with Mecca in general and the Kaʿba in particular. Their eponym Salūl is said to have been a custodian (*ḥādjib*) of the Kaʿba, and the same is said about his son Ḥabshiya b. Salūl and his grandson Ḥulayl b. Ḥabshiya, who was, according to some, the last Khuzāʿī custodian of the Kaʿba. According to others, the last custodian was Ḥulayl's son al-Muḥtarish, better known by his *kunya* Abū Ghubshān.

There are several versions concerning the transference of the authority over the Kaʿba, and over the affairs of Mecca in general, from Khuzāʿa to Ḳuraysh, more specifically to Ḳuṣayy b. Kilāb [*q.v.*] (and see KHUZĀʿA, at V, 77b-78a; Kister, *Mecca and the tribes of Arabia*, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon, Jerusalem and Leiden 1986, 50, repr. in idem, *Society and religion from Djāhiliyya to Islam*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot 1990, no. II). For example, it is reported that Abū Ghubshān sold Ḳuṣayy his rights. The alleged sale is at the background of the popular saying "Incurring more loss than Abū Ghubshān's deal" (*akhsar min ṣafḳat Abī Ghubshān*; see KHUZĀʿA, at V, 78a). This version of the story was promulgated by people fanatically hostile to the so-called Southern tribes (*fa-yaqūlu 'l-mutaʿaṣṣibūna ʿalā 'l-Yamāniya inna Ḳuṣayy*^{an} *shtarā 'l-miftāḥ*, etc.; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *al-Īnās fī ʿilm al-ansāb*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1400/1980, 114; obviously, the Khuzāʿa figure here as a Southern tribe). The Khuzāʿa could not remain indifferent to the way in which this crucial chapter of their pre-Islamic history was recorded: al-Wāḳidī concludes one of the variants of this version with a statement that it was denied by the elders of Khuzāʿa (*ḳāla 'l-Wāḳidī: wa-ḳad raʾaytu mashyakhata Khuzāʿa tunkiru hādhā*; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut 1405/1985, ii, 87). The Khuzāʿīs stated that Ḥulayl b. Ḥabshiya bequeathed to his son-in-law Ḳuṣayy the authority over the Kaʿba and Mecca. Their version is attested, for instance, in an autobiographical report going back to the Companion Khirāsh b. Umayya of the Salūl (*Shifāʾ al-gharām*, ii, 114). Ibn Isḥāḳ quotes the Khuzāʿī claim, adding that he did not hear this from non-Khuzāʿī sources, "and God knows best" (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, i, 124). The dispute over this matter no doubt dates back to the earliest stage of Islamic historiography and could even be pre-Islamic.

A prominent feature of the Salūl, and one concerning which there was continuity from the pre-Islamic period to at least the 2nd century A.H., was the *ḳiyāfa* [*q.v.*], i.e. the science of physiognomancy and the examination of traces on the ground. It was a Salūlī, Kurz b. ʿAlḳama, who allegedly tracked the Prophet and Abū Bakr when they left Mecca for the Hidjra. Upon viewing the Prophet's footprint, Kurz recognised it as being similar to that of Abraham, found at the *maḳām Ibrāhīm*; according to the science of *ḳiyāfa*, this similarity indicated that the Prophet descended from Abraham [see MAḲĀM IBRĀHĪM, at VI, esp. 105b]. Later, at the time of Muʿāwiya, Kurz reinstated the marks indicating the boundaries of the sacred territory of Mecca (*maʿālim al-ḥaram*, or *anṣāb al-ḥaram*; Ibn Saʿd, v, 338; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, v, 583-4; Caskel, ii, 374). The continuity from pre-Islamic times is also reflected in Ibn al-Kalbī's remark that in his own time, Kurz's descendants were still trackers in Mecca (*Nasab Maʿadd*, ii, 444).

Since the Salūl, and the Banū Kaʿb b. ʿAmr in general, inhabited the vicinity of Mecca (the placenames ʿUsfān, al-Ẓahrān, Ḳudayd and Arāk are mentioned), their role in the struggle between the Prophet and Mecca was important. Indeed Muʿattib b. ʿAwf of the Salūl, more precisely of the Kulayb subdivision, participated in the Battle of Badr [*q.v.*], but this does not indicate the beginning of his tribe's involvement in the struggle: he was the client (*ḥalīf*) of the Makhzūm (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 189; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. J.M.B. Jones, London 1966, i, 155, 341; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ii, 339), i.e. of one of the Prophet's Makhzūmī Companions, perhaps Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad.

Khirāsh b. Umayya of the Kulayb subdivision was also a client (*ḥalīf*) of the Makhzūm. He provides a valuable lead with regard to Salūl's role in the expedition of Muraysīʿ which took place more than a year, or, according to others, several months, before the expedition of Ḥudaybiya (cf. Jones, *The chronology of the maghāzī—a textual survey*, in *BSOAS*, xix [1957], 250-1, 254). The story of a small episode during the Muraysīʿ expedition reveals that Khirāsh was there, probably together with other Salūlīs. The party attacked by the Muslims at al-Muraysīʿ was of the Muṣṭaliḳ who were, like the Salūl themselves, a subdivision of the Khuzāʿa (see KHUZĀʿA, at V, 78b; on the territory of the Muṣṭaliḳ, cf. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 101n.). A member of the Muṣṭaliḳ, ʿĀmir b. Abī Ḍirār, who was the brother of their leader al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār, hit one of the Anṣār with an arrow (and probably killed him). Khirāsh threw himself on ʿĀmir in a display of Khuzāʿī solidarity so as to protect him from the Anṣār, who wanted to kill him (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1280 A.H., ii, 108, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 269-70). This episode points to military co-operation between the Salūl and the Prophet some time before Ḥudaybiya. In other words, the Prophet was presumably playing one branch of Khuzāʿa against the other. In order to place this expedition in its correct historical context it has to be borne in mind that the Muṣṭaliḳ (and their brother clan Ḥayā) belonged to the *Aḥābīsh* (*Nasab Maʿadd*, ii, 455; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 246, 267; on the role of ʿAbd Manāf in this alliance see also idem, *Munammaḳ*, 230-1; for more sources see KHUZĀʿA, at V, 78a). This perfectly conforms to the statement that the Muṣṭaliḳ and the Ḥayā were the only groups of Khuzāʿa who did not have an alliance with the Prophet (Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ii, 15-6).

From the expedition of Ḥudaybiya in 6/628 onwards (see AL-ḤUDAYBIYA; and Lecker, *The Ḥudaybiyya-treaty and the expedition against Khaybar*, in *JSAI*, v [1984], 1-11) the Salūl, or in any case many of them, were clearly on the Prophet's side. At Ḥudaybiya the above-mentioned Khirāsh b. Umayya was in the Prophet's camp. He was sent to Mecca as an envoy and was nearly killed by ʿIkrima b. Abī Djahl of the Makhzūm (al-Wāḳidī, ii, 600); then he participated in the expedition of Khaybar and in later expeditions, including the conquest of Mecca (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 270; al-Wāḳidī, ii, 600, 843-5). But a more prominent role at Ḥudaybiya was played by the above-mentioned Busr b. Sufyān. Busr's status as a tribal leader meant that when he threw in his lot with the Prophet some time before Ḥudaybiya, he had the backing of a considerable force.

With regard to the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet in 8/630, it is reported that Busr, who was of the Ḳumayr subdivision, and Budayl b. Umm Aṣram of the Ḥabtar subdivision (whose grandmother was of the Ḳurashī Banū Hāshim) were sent to the Kaʿb in order to summon them to the expedition (Ibn al-

Athīr, *Usd*, i, 169; cf. Yāḳūt, s.v. *al-Watīr*; Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā staʿdjam*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1364-71/1945-51, s.vv. *Fāthūr* and *al-Watīr*; al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nudjūm al-ʿawālī*, Cairo 1380, ii, 173-4). They were presumably sent to the Ḥabtar and Ḳumayr subdivisions, respectively. A large troop of the Kaʿb, divided into three tribal units, joined the Prophet at Ḳudayd, while other Kaʿbīs set out from Medina, where they had arrived some time before the expedition (see KHUZĀʿA, at V, 79a; Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 143-4; al-Wāḳidī, ii, 800-1, 819, 896 [Ḥunayn], 990 [Tabūk]). However, not all of the Salūlīs were on the Prophet's side: while Busr b. Sufyān is said to have embraced Islam in 6/627-8 (i.e. before Ḥudaybiya) and to have spied for the Prophet in Mecca, the above-mentioned Kurz b. ʿAlḳama is said to have embraced Islam "on the day Mecca was conquered", i.e. he was not among the Salūlīs who helped the Prophet conquer Mecca.

Busr b. Sufyān is mentioned as the recipient, or one of the recipients, of a letter from the Prophet (see Ḥamīdullāh, *Madjmūʿat al-wathāʾiḳ al-siyāsiyya li 'l-ʿahd al-nabawī wa 'l-khilāfa al-rāshida*, ⁵Beirut 1405/1985, 275-7; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 292; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 355; cf. Lecker, *On the preservation of the letters of the Prophet Muḥammad*, forthcoming). In 9/630-1 the Prophet appointed Busr as a tax collector and sent him to his own tribal group, the Banū Kaʿb b. ʿAmr (see KHUZĀʿA, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 115; cf. al-Wāḳidī, iii, 973-4).

In the Islamic period, some of the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr settled in Medina (Ibn Shabba, *Taʾrīkh al-Madīna al-munawwara*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, Mecca 1399/1979, i, 268; al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, ii, 765). They included members of the Salūl: Ḳabīṣa b. Dhuʾayb, who was a high-ranking official in the court of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān [*q.v.*] (see e.g. al-Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ wa 'l-kuttāb*, ed. al-Saḳḳā *et al.*, Cairo 1401/1980, 34), was originally from Medina (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk*, facs. ed. ʿAmmān n.d., xiv, 392, l. 13; see also Caskel, ii, 454; his father, who died at the time of Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], still inhabited Ḳudayd; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 422). Ḳabīṣa was of the Ḳumayr subdivision. Another Salūlī whose descendants lived in Medina was Khirāsh b. Umayya of the Kulayb subdivision (*Nasab Maʿadd*, ii, 445; for a well in Mecca dug in the Islamic period by Khirāsh, or by another member of the Kaʿb, see al-Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Duhaysh, Mecca 1407/1987, iv, 115, 116, 221; v, map no. 3; cf. the land near the Kaʿba granted by the Prophet to ʿUtba b. Farḳad al-Sulamī; Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 132).

At the time of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Ḳudayd and ʿUsfān north-west of Mecca were still at the heart of the territory of Khuzāʿa (cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 452; KHUZĀʿA, at V, 79b), and this was probably true for the Salūl as well.

After the conquests, some of the Salūl settled in ʿIrāḳ (*Nasab Maʿadd*, ii, 445, where a member the Ḥizmir subdivision who was a *sharīf* in ʿIrāḳ and a government official is mentioned; *Khuzāʿat al-Ḥidjāz* and *Khuzāʿat al-ʿIrāḳ* are mentioned, with reference to the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, in al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, ed. al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1400/1980, 134). Others settled in Khurāsān: Mālik b. al-Haytham of the Ḳumayr was one of the *nuḳabāʾ* [see NAḲĪB] of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, and two of his sons were in charge of the *shurṭa* in the early ʿAbbāsid period (*Nasab Maʿadd*, ii, 442; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 236; *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī and ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 216; Sharon, *Black banners from the East*, Jerusalem 1983, 192; al-Ṭabarī, index; the prominent role played by Khuzāʿa and their *mawālī* in the *daʿwa* indicates that studying the history of this tribe after the conquests will further our understanding of the *daʿwa*; cf. Caskel, ii, 41). Mālik's brother, ʿAwf, was one of the *ḳuwwād* of the *daʿwa* and a mosque in Cairo (*miṣr*) was called after him (*Nasab Maʿadd*, ii, 442). The above-mentioned Kurz b. ʿAlḳama is said to have inhabited ʿAsḳalān (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, v, 584). However, many Salūlīs probably never left Arabia: al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) reported that Barza near ʿUsfān was inhabited, among others, by the Salūl (see on this place, Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, xiii [map], 148).

2. The Salūl of the Hawāzin was either a man or a woman: Salūl was either the nickname of Murra, son of Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin; or the name of Murra's wife, a slave girl (*umm walad*) after whom her children were called (see e.g. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿadd*, ii, 446; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Taʿrīf fi 'l-ansāb wa 'l-tanwīh li-dhawī 'l-aḥsāb*, ed. Saʿd ʿAbd al-Maḳṣūd Ẓalām, Cairo [1407/1986], 81; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1387-1406/1967-86, iv, 442; cf. Caskel, ii, 509); or the name of a daughter of Dhuhl b. Shaybān b. Thaʿlaba (i.e. the eponym of the Banū Dhuhl of the Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*]); she was married to Murra b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin and bore him all his sons, hence the Banū Murra were called after her Banū Salūl (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Nādjī Ḥasan, Beirut 1407/1986, 379; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 271-2; cf. Caskel, i, 114, ii, 509). According to another version, only some of the Banū Murra were called Banū Salūl: Salūl bint Dhuhl b. Shaybān was the mother of the Banū Djandal b. Murra b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (al-Ḥāzimī, *ʿUdjālat al-mubtadī wa-fuḍālat al-muntahī fi 'l-nasab*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Ḳannūn, Cairo 1384/1965, 74; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Īnās*, 186 n.). In other words, according to this version, the Banū Salūl were the descendants of Djandal b. Murra. The genealogists list the following as eponyms of tribal groups: Djandal b. Murra, ʿAmmāra b. Zābin, Ḥawza b. ʿAmr and Tamīma b. ʿAmr. The Salūl were not among the most prestigious tribes (al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb fi 'l-muḍāf wa 'l-mansūb*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1384/1965, 352; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāwūṭ *et al.*, Beirut 1401-9/1981-8, iv, 411; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1395/1975, iv, 36).

The Salūl still inhabit their old territory south of Ṭāʾif, especially Wādī Bīsha (Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *al-Shāʿir ʿAbd Allāh b. Hammām al-Salūlī*, in *Madjallat al-ʿArab* [Riyāḍ], i [1386-7/1966-7], 37-43; C.J. Lyall, *The Dīwāns of ʿAbīd ibn al-Abraṣ and ʿĀmir ibn aṭ-Ṭufail*, Leiden and London 1913, 113-14; Yāḳūt, s.v. *Bīsha*).

Ḳarada b. Nufātha of the Salūl is said to have come to the Prophet in a delegation together with other Salūlīs. They embraced Islam and the Prophet declared him their leader (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, v, 430-1; for another Salūlī, Nahīk b. Ḳuṣayy, said to have come to the Prophet, see *ibid.*, vi, 477). Abū Maryam Mālik b. Rabīʿa al-Salūlī reportedly gave the Prophet the pledge of allegiance at Ḥudaybiyya (*ibid.*, v, 724-5).

After the conquests, some of the Salūl settled in Kūfa (for Abū Maryam, see Ibn Saʿd, vi, 37; Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, i, 227; see also Yāḳūt, s.v. *Djabbāna*; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 285; ʿAbd Allāh b. Hammām al-Salūlī was in Kūfa at the time of Muʿāwiya;

see e.g. *Aghānī*[1], xiv, 120). Ibn al-Kalbī mentions several Salūlī supporters of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (see also Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Thakafī, *al-Ghārāt*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith, Tehran 1395/1975, index, s.v. ʿĀṣim b. Ḍamra and Hind b. ʿĀṣim; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 13-4, s.v. Ḥubshī b. Djunāda). There were also Salūlīs in Mawṣil (cf. N. Abbott, *A new papyrus and a review of the administration of ʿUbaid Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb*, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 25; ʿUbayd Allāh was the ancestor of the Ḥabāḥiba who lived in Mawṣil, or of some of them; al-Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, Cairo 1387/1967, 27). Other members of the Salūl settled in al-Andalus (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 272).

In the Islamic period, the Salūl, or some of them, were probably incorporated in the famous ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*], possibly as a result of conditions in the garrison cities. This development is reflected in the lineage of one of them, referred to as al-ʿĀmirī al-Salūlī, where ʿĀmir is inserted between Murra and Ṣaʿṣaʿa: ... Murra b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, vi, 477, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 44-5, s.v. Nahīk b. Ḳuṣayy ... b. Murra b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa al-ʿĀmirī al-Salūlī).

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(M. Lecker)

SALUR, one of the Oghuz (Türkmen) tribes. They are first mentioned in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's [*q.v.*] *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (written 464/1072, tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly as *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-5, i, 101) as one of the 22 branches of the Oghuz. They may, in fact, have been the chief branch of that confederation. In the 4th/10th century, the Oghuz were spread across a wide area from the Issïḳ-Kul west to the Caspian Sea (P. Golden, *The migrations of the Oğuz*, in *Archivum ottomanicum*, iv [1972], 45-84). According to Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*], in his semi-legendary "*Oghuz-nāma*," i.e. the *Taʾrīkh-i Turkān wa Oghuz wa ḥikāyat-i djihangīrī-i ū* section of his *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (written *ca.* 710/1310), the name Salur, as derived from the verb *salmak*, meant "ready to attack, warrior." He adds that the Salur tribe traced its descent from Dagh Khān, one of the six sons of Oghuz Khān, and was among a subgroup of tribes known as the *üčok* (an analysis of this source is in F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar'a ait destanı mahiyetde eserler*, in *AÜDTCFD*, xvii [1959], 359-87; see also A.Z.V. Togan, *Oğuz destanı, Reşideddin oğuznamesi, tercüme ve tahlili*, Istanbul 1972, 51, 53-5, 138-42). In the Turkish epic *Dede Korkut* [*q.v.*], the earliest surviving version of which dates from 732/1332 but which appears to reflect certain events of the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, one Salur Kazan, who is the son-in-law and chief *bey* of Bayïndïr Khān, the king of the Oghuz, is the main protagonist. He struggles primarily against the Pečenegs (Sümer, *op. cit.*, 395-451).

By the 5th/11th century, most of the Oghuz had been converted, at least nominally, to Islam, and many of them had moved as far west as Khurāsān. Most of the Salur appear to have participated in this westward migration. They eventually travelled across northern Persia and through Ādharbāydjān, perhaps reaching eastern Anatolia in the late 5th/11th or early 6th/12th century as part of the general Saldjūḳ invasion. They are one of only six Oghuz tribes that can be identified in the Saldjūḳ realm before the Mongol invasion in the 7th/13th century (Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 35). After the founding of the Great Saldjūḳ Empire, some of the Salur established the Salghurid [*q.v.*] dynasty in Fārs (543-668/1148-1270) (M.F. Köprülü, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nun etnik menşei mes'eleleri*, in *Belleten*, vii [1943], 252, n. 1). Others moved into eastern, southern, and central Anatolia and were to be found around Amasya, Tokat, Sīwās, İsparta, Adana, and even Ṭarābulus (Tripoli) in Syria. They no doubt played an important military and political role in the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm and may have been involved in the great uprising of the Türkmen known as the Bābāʾī [*q.v.*] revolt (638/1240). In the late 7th/13th century, one Salur Bey was a leader of "white-hatted" Türkmen who resisted the Mongols and their Saldjūḳ allies (O. Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında türkiye tarihi*, Istanbul 1984, 514-7).

The Salur were definitely an element in the rise of several *beyliks*. Some Salur served in the army of Bahrām Shāh (*ca.* 555-617/1160-1220) of the Mengüčekids [*q.v.*] of Erzindjān. They were with him when he joined a campaign against Georgia in 598/1202 led by the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm, Sulaymān II. In the view of Köprülü, the Ḳaramān-oghullarï [*q.v.*] were descended from the Ḳaramān branch of the Salur (his fundamental *Oghuz etnolozhisine dāʾir notlar*, in *TM*, i [1925], 193, n. 1). They also appeared in the *ulus* of Dhu 'l-Ḳadr [*q.v.*] around Elbistān (8th/14th century). The Salur who lived near Ṭarābulus migrated to the Čukur-Ova plain around Adana (7th/13th century) and became part of the *ulus* of the Ramaḍān-oghullarï [*q.v.*] (Sümer, *Çukur-Ova tarihine dair araştırmalar*, in *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, i [1963], 9, 23, 26-27, 29, 76; idem, *Osmanlı devrinde anadoluda yaşayan bazı üçoklu oğuz boylarına mensup teşekküller*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuasī*, xi [1952], 453-9, 486-92). The writer Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khwādja Ḥasan al-Salghurī al-Diwrīghī (b. 631/1236), who gained fame in both Turkish and Persian letters, was from this tribe (Turan, *Doğu anadolu türk devletleri tarihi*, Istanbul 1980, 69) as were the poet and statesman Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn (d. *ca.* 800/1398 [*q.v.*]), who put an end to the government of Eretna [*q.v.*], and the poet Muṣṭafā b. Yūsuf (Ḳādī Ḍarīr) of Erzurum (d. second half of 8th/14th century) (Togan, *Umumi türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, repr. 1981, 272). A Salur Khān also appears in the genealogy of Uzun Ḥasan (861-82/1457-78) of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu (J.E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, Minneapolis 1976, 187). The Salur were still found around Sīwās and Adana in the early 10th/16th century, according to the Ottoman *defters* for those regions. In the former, they were called the Aḳ-Salur. By the first half of the 11th/17th century, the Salur were all settled and had lost their tribal organisation (Sümer, *Osmanlı devrinde ... teşekküller*, 453-9). There are many villages with the name Salur in Anatolia, even in western Anatolia, but it is difficult to determine when they were so named.

As for the Salur who remained in Khurāsān, mainly around Marw and Sarakhs, some migrated to China in the late 8th/14th century to become the present-day Salars [*q.v.*]. According to Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān's [*q.v.*] semi-legendary *Shadjara-i tarākima* (written 1070/1659), others migrated to Mangïshlaḳ or as far as ʿIrāḳ (Sümer, *Oğuzlar'a ait ... eserler*, 389-95, for analysis), perhaps in the 9th/15th century. Those who went to Mangïshlaḳ were led by the Ersarï [*q.v.* in Suppl.] who were at the head of the "outer Salur" in contrast to the "inner Salur", who included the Salur proper as well as the Tekke, Sarïḳ, and Yomut. These movements significantly reduced the number and power of the Salur in Khurāsān. Nevertheless, between 1525-35, the Salur of Khurāsān clashed with Ṣufyān Khān, the Özbeg ruler

of Gurgāndj or Urgandj. They also joined other Türkmen in the struggle against the Shīʿī Ṣafawids. In 1597, they raided the area of Astarābād, but submitted the next year to Shāh ʿAbbās. This pacification was no doubt temporary. In 1843, the Salur and Tekke captured Marw and around 1838 they rose to support a revolt in Sarakhs led by a former governor of Khurāsān. The Persians crushed this revolt with great difficulty. The Salur subsequently lost their importance. Before the Russians began their occupation of Türkmenistan in 1869, the Salur lived primarily in the region between Sarakhs and the Murghāb River. In the early 20th century, they were still concentrated around Sarakhs and along the Harī Rūd River in Türkmenistan. In the 13th/19th century, travellers estimated their population to be anywhere between 2,000 and 20,000 families divided among three branches of the tribe: Yalawač, Ḳaramān, and Ana-Bölegħi (Kiči-Agha). Since the coming of the Russians, they have maintained their identity under the leadership of the Tekke. They are now completely sedentary and have lost their tribal distinction.

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SALWĀ (a.), a noun with a generic sense (*nomen unitatis, salwāʾ*, pl. *salāwā*, denotes first of all the quail (*Coturnix coturnix*), of the order of Galliformae, family of Phasianidae), from Latin *quaquila*, with the synonym *sumānā, sumānāʾ*, pl. *sumānayāt*. The two Semitic roots *s-l-w* and *s-m-n* evoke the idea of fatness; the same sense is found in the Hebrew *ślāw*, pl. *śalwīm*, and in the Syriac *salwai*.

It is under this name that the quail is mentioned in the Bible (Exod. xvi, 11-13; Num. xi, 31-2; Ps. lxxvii, 27; Ps. civ, 40; Wisdom of Solomon, xvi, 2) with regard to the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt to the Promised Land. Lacking provisions on their journey through the desert of Sin, between Elim and Sinai, they began to complain, and Moses had to call upon the Most High, who sent down to them a "rain" of quails and manna which covered the ground. In the following spring, weary of manna, they demanded more meat, and there came fresh clouds of quails from beyond the sea which came down upon their camp; there were so many that the Israelites were able to dry them, in the fashion of the Egyptians at that time, and thus live off them for over a month. These massive clouds of quails may be explained by the intense annual migrations and comings-and-goings of these birds who, like swallows and many other species, go to spend the winter, after nesting, in warm countries and then return for the summer to more temperate lands.

Having drawn this information from the Biblical texts, the Ḳurʾān evokes these occurrences in three places (II, 54/56; VII, 159/160; and XX, 79/82) without changing the terms of the story.

Some exegetes put forward the idea that *salwā* could possibly designate the grasshopper, the flying-fish, the grouse, the Casarka duck or the crane, etc., but such suggestions can be justified neither linguistically nor etologically, since most of these creatures are inedible and are unknown in the regions in question. It is on the other hand well-known that the quail is one of the most delicate game birds, much sought after by gourmets and assiduously hunted wherever it may pass by. Its nocturnal flights, sometimes in groups of hundreds, regularly reach the peripheries of the Mediterranean. Thus on the island of Capri, in September, the ground is covered by these birds arriving, to such an extent that, according to Tristram, the bishop, who drew a certain amount of revenue from them, bore the name "bishop of the quails".

In addition to the two names *salwā* and *sumānā*, the quail bears other appellations, in various regions and in the different local Arabic dialects. In the Near East there is *murayʿī, murʿat al-barr, summāna/simmāna, firr* and *firrī*, and in the Maghrib, *sammān, summīna, mallāḥa* and *darrādj*. An ancient belief held that the quail would be inevitably struck down by stormy weather, whence its name *ḳatīl al-raʿd* "the victim of thunder". In Berber, the names *tasemmant, tamryoust* and *tiberdfelt* are known for it. Corresponding to *salwā*, the Turkish name *bïldïrdjïn* is from the same root as the Persian *baldarčīn/bildirčīn/buldurčīn*, to which may be added local names like *badbada, būdana, gilča, karak, kardjafūk, karkarak, lārda, lārūda, waladj, wartadj, wartak, watak* and *wushm*.

As well as having succulent meat, the quail, according to al-Damīrī, has several specific qualities. Thus its head, buried in a dovecote, will make all parasites flee away, and, burnt and used to fumigate the wood, will free it from all woodworm. If a person whose eyes are affected by rheum carries one of its eyes on his person, he will be cured of his condition. Mixed with saffron, its gall is an excellent unguent for scurfy skin, and its dried and pounded-up dung placed on ulcers will make them disappear. Finally, in falconry, a sick goshawk can be cured by feeding to it quail's liver.

The partridge and quail have always been for hunters some of the most sought-after game birds. They were constantly the prey of falconry, from the wrist with the sparrow-hawk and merlin [see bayzara]. Other methods of capturing quail were and still are very varied. Since it constantly runs along the ground, only flying when forced and hemmed in, lurking in dense herbage and thickets, it is caught by means of a quail-call (*ṣaffāra*) which imitates the call of the male, reproduced in French by the onomatopoeic "paye-tes-dettes". In the Maghrib, hunters use their flowing burnouses as a net by spreading them over the bushes where quail rest when they arrive after their lengthy migration. They are, at that time, very vulnerable and the episodes related in the Bible set in the time of the exodus of the Israelites through the desert, are easily understandable. At the present time, shooting quail with pointer hounds reduces considerably the numbers of the species each year, but very recently, this has been modified by the commercial rearing of quails.

As well as being the main term for "quail", *salwā* is at the same time used for a land-hugging member of the Rallidae family (*tiflīḳī*), the corncrake or land-rail (*Crex crex, Crex pratensis*), whose mode of life is quite similar to that of the quail, since it frequents similar habitats, keeping to the ground, hiding in thickets, long grass and crops, migrating more or less at the same times and towards the same latitudes; it is everywhere the "companion" of the quail and, moreover, its meat is enjoyed. For all these reasons and, being double the size of the quail, it has acquired the name in French of *roi de cailles*, likewise in German with *Wachtelkönig*, in Italian with *Re di quaglie* and in Spanish with *Guion de codornices* = "quails' guidon".

In the Maghrib, it is the "quails' mule" (*baghl al-sammān*) and the "slow, lazy one" (*abu 'l-rakhwa*) because of its clumsy flight, whilst in Berber it is the "quails' donkey" (*aryūl en-tsekkūrīn*). In al-Damīrī, it is mentioned under *ṣifrid*, being considered as very cowardly, whence the saying *adjban min ṣiffrid* "more cowardly that a corncrake". Finally, it is remarkable that al-Ḳazwīnī mentions neither the *salwā* nor the *ṣifrid*.

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SĀM, a term originally referring to the Biblical personage, in modern times used also with linguistic reference.

1. The Biblical personage.

Here, Sām denotes in Arabic lore and tradition Shem, the son of Noah [see NŪḤ]. The Ḳurʾān does not mention any of the sons of Noah by name but alludes to them in VII, 64, X, 73, XI, 40, XXIII, 27 and XXVI, 119.

The Islamic tradition develops many details regarding Shem. His mother was ʿAmzūrah (cf. Jubilees, iv, 33) and he was born 98 years before the flood. He and his wife Ṣalīb were saved from the Deluge by entering the ark. They had four, five or six sons. After the incident of his father's accidental exposure of his genitals in which Shem (and Japheth [see YĀFITH]) covered them up while Ham [see ḤĀM] laughed, Shem was promised by Noah that God will shield Shem's descendants as Shem shielded Noah's private parts (al-Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. J. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922, 98-9; al-Ṭabarī, i, 212, Eng. tr. W. Brinner, *The history of al-Ṭabarī. Prophets and patriarchs*, Albany 1987, 11-2). Shem was then given "the middle of the earth" as his inheritance (cf. Ḳurʾān, XXXVII, 77), making him the ancestor of the Arabs and the Persians as well as the Byzantines according to some traditions (cf. Genesis, x, 21-31).

Reference to Shem is made on two other occasions in the Islamic tradition. According to al-Kisāʾī, the well into which Joseph [see YŪSUF] was thrown by his brothers was dug by Shem and had a sign on it which read, "This is the Well of Sorrows" (Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 159). More widespread is a story connected to Ḳurʾān, III, 49 (cf. V, 110) which concerns the ability of Jesus [see ʿĪSĀ] to raise the dead. Shem is frequently counted as one of the four persons revived by Jesus. Those who demanded this miracle of Jesus said, "Here is the tomb of Shem: raise him!", and Jesus complied. Shem's hair was white but he explained that it had only just turned that colour as a result of his fear that he was being raised for the final judgement. (Muḳātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1979, i, 277; Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī, *Tafsīr*, Baghdād 1985, ii, 68-9; al-Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 307; al-Ḳurtubī, *al-Djāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut 1967, iv, 94-5). The same story is told by al-Ṭabarī (i, 187; Eng. tr. F. Rosenthal, *The history of al-Ṭabarī. General introduction and From the creation to the flood*, Albany 1989, 357; al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, Cairo 1905, xii, 22), concerning Ḳurʾān, XI, 39, with Ham as the character involved; the difference in identification is probably the result of an understanding that Ham would be the son properly afraid of the final judgement, rather than Shem.

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(A. Rippin)

2. With reference to the Semitic languages.

The relative adjective *sāmī* is used in modern Arabic as a rendition of "Semitic", "sémitique", etc., thus *al-lughāt al-sāmiyya* "the Semitic languages." Important for the introduction of this notion into the Arabic-speaking world was the Christian Arab novelist and historian Djirdjī Zaydān (1861-1914 [*q.v.*]) in his *al-Alfāẓ al-ʿarabiyya wa 'l-falsafa al-lughawiyya* (Beirut 1886, 3-5), where a classification of the Semitic languages is also offered. His source for these matters was his teacher at the American College of Beirut, Cornelis van Dijk (1818-95; see on him Kaḥḥāla viii, 142-3), to whom Zaydān's book is also dedicated. In his later work *Taʾrīkh al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* (1st ed. Cairo 1904; ed. ʿIṣām Nūr al-Dīn, Beirut 1980, 37-8) he speaks of the various *al-lughāt al-sāmiyya*, but he also uses the singular *al-lugha al-sāmiyya* to denote the "mother" of all Semitic languages, as well as the noun *al-sāmiyyūn* for the people who spoke it. This usage seems to be well established at this time, as contemporary dictionaries of the Islamic languages show.

(a) *Precursors in the Islamic world*.

Some Muslim historians, starting with al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956 [*q.v.*]), have a system of seven ancient nations (*umam*). They are defined first and foremost linguistically, but also in terms of once having been a single realm with an advanced state of civilisation. In al-Masʿūdī the Seven Nations include the Persians, the Chaldaeans, the Greeks (and other Europeans), the Libyans (i.e. Africans, including the ancient Egyptians), the Turks, the Indians, and the Chinese (*al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1894, 77 ff.; cf. Tarif Khalidi, *Islamic historiography. The histories of Masʿūdī*, Albany 1975, 81-113). Al-Masʿūdī's "Chaldaeans" (*kaldāniyyūn*) consist of several smaller nations whose common kingdom, in the Fertile Crescent and the Arabian Peninsula, preceded that of the Persians and whose common language was Syriac. They included the Babylonians, Ninivites, Assyrians, Arameans (plus more recent

descendants), the Hebrews, and the ancient Arabs. The author also comments on the close relationship between Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac. I. Yu. Kračkovskii, therefore, did not hesitate to ascribe to al-Masʿūdī the conception of a "Semitic" race (*Taʾrīkh al-adab al-djughrāfī*, Cairo 1963-5, 182-3; Khalidi, *op. cit.*, 93 and n. 2).

Notions about the relatedness of the several Semitic languages are, however, very sparse, as far as Muslim and Christian authors are concerned, although it stands to reason that, e.g., translators from Syriac into Arabic and specialists on the *materia medica*, who had to identify the names of drugs in various languages, would be aware of similarities. One of the few Arab grammarians who was interested in languages other than Arabic, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344 [*q.v.*]) wrote a work on the language of the Abyssinians (*ḥabash*), probably meaning Ethiopic, which has, however, not been preserved (Brockelmann, S II, 136). It is to the credit of the Jewish grammarians in the Islamic realm, who were steeped in all three languages, Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, that the foundation of Semitic studies—though not under that name—has to be placed. The first to propose explicit comparisons, mainly for exegetical purposes, was Yahūdā b. Ḳuraysh (*ca.* 900). For further names and literature, see JUDAEO-ARABIC, here at IV, 305.

(b) *The development of the notion "Semitic" in the West.* The term "Semitic" for a family of related languages was coined by the historian, Biblical scholar, and influential Slavicist August Ludwig (von) Schlözer (1735-1809) who took his inspiration from the Biblical genealogy of *Genesis*, x (see *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur*, viii [1781], 161; note, however, that Johann Christoph Adelung, *Mithridates*, i, 300, says, without reference, that Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752-1827) was the first to use this term). However, the fact that these languages were related had been recognised much earlier in the West (and in the East even before, see above). Guillaume Postel (Guilelmus Postellus) (1510-81), author of the first Western grammar of Classical Arabic (1538 or 1539), wrote comprehensive works on Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaean, and Arabic, including speculations of a rather mystical nature about their common origin (cf. Fück, *Arabische Studien*, 39, 42-3). In the following two-and-a-half centuries, more than three dozen polyglot grammars, dictionaries, and chrestomathies were published, often covering all of the known Semitic languages (cf., e.g., the title of Bonifazio Finetti, *Trattato della lingua Ebraica e sue affine Rabbinica, Caldaica, Syra, Samaritana, Fenice e Punica, Arabica, Aethiopica ed Amharica*, Venice 1756) but not infrequently including also other Oriental languages, such as Armenian and Persian (bibliographies in Eichhorn, 403-4, 409-11, 484-5, and Adelung, 303-6). Important for comparative purposes were the four polyglot Bible editions. While all these collections were no doubt in tune with the polymathic *Zeitgeist* which produced collectanea, encyclopaedias, and other cumulative works in all and sundry fields, the relatedness of the Semitic languages and, in particular, the relationship between Hebrew and Arabic was more and more considered to be important for Biblical exegesis. Typical for this approach is the work of the Leyden Professor Albert Schultens (1686-1750), starting with his *Dissertatio theologico-philologica de utilitate linguae arabicae in interpretanda sacra lingua* (1706). Thanks to its indigenous lexicographers, Arabic had, of course, the richest attested vocabulary and was thus the language of choice in the endeavours of elucidating Biblical cruxes with recourse to cognates in related languages. However, it created a problem for the philologists in the 18th century, who still believed Hebrew to be the First Language, since Arabic with its case and mood inflection seemed to be rather more archaic. This dilemma was solved in 1788 by Johann Gottfried Hasse, who assumed, like others, that originally Arabic did not have the desinential inflections and that the latter were introduced into the language by Arab grammarians on the basis of Greek models (*sic*, see Gruntfest, in *Bibl.*).

Toward the end of the 18th century and ever-increasingly in the 19th century, Arabic and Semitic studies ceased to be *ancillae theologiae*. The great advances made in Indo-European comparative linguistics stimulated comparative Semitics. At the same time, the term "Semitic" was hypostasised to give birth to the term "Semites" which was used to designate not only the Proto-Semites, *Ursemiten*, before they broke up into the various Semitic peoples, but also the totality of the Semitic-speaking tribes and nations. With the growing interest in racial theories, a corollary of the rise of nationalism, the "Semites" became a race with a specific physical, but quite importantly also a mental make-up, most often contrasted with the Indo-European race. The first comparative grammar of the Semitic languages, Ernest Renan's (1833-92) *Histoire général et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (1853) was an embodiment of both tendencies. His negative characterising of the "Semites" (who have a knack for monotheism, but a lack of almost all other cultural achievements) was very influential, but did not go unchallenged. Suffice it to mention two works: Daniel (David) Chwolson, *Die semitischen Völker, Versuch einer Charakteristik* (Berlin 1872), and Theodor Nöldeke, *Zur Charakteristik der Semiten*, in *Orientalische Skizzen* (Berlin 1892). The more scholarly linguistic work was carried out by the founding fathers of modern Semitic studies: Franz Praetorius (1847-1927), Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), Ignazio Guidi (1844-1935) and William Wright (1830-89). Nöldeke and Wright produced comprehensive works on the Semitic languages (see *Bibl.*). The full harvest of all their work was brought in by Carl Brockelmann (1868-1956) in his monumental *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 2 vols., Berlin 1907-13. Though partly dated due to new discoveries and new methodologies, it has not yet been superseded.

Changes in the notion of "Semitic" in recent decades have to do with the clear recognition of the language family as being part of the larger Afroasiatic phylum. See below, section (c).

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(W.P. HEINRICHS)

(c) *The Semitic languages. An overview.* The Semitic family of languages has a longer recorded history than any other linguistic group. The main languages and language groups of the family are

reviewed below in the order of their first appearance. Thereafter, the genetic subgrouping of the family and the interrelationships of the various languages are considered.

The first attested Semitic languages are Akkadian and Eblaite, both of which were usually written on clay tablets in the cuneiform script originally developed for the writing of the non-Semitic Sumerian language in southern ʿIrāḳ. Mesopotamia Akkadian, the language of the Semitic Assyrians and Babylonians of Mesopotamia, is known from tens of thousands of documents in a wide variety of genres, such as myths and epics, letters, royal inscriptions, legal contracts, economic receipts, omens, and mathematical, medical and school texts. Akkadian begins to appear as early as the 26th century B.C., and the scattered documents of the earliest period are collectively referred to simply as Old Akkadian. From the beginning of the second millennium, two principal dialects are recorded: Assyrian, especially in texts from sites along or near the Tigris north of the Little Zāb; and Babylonian, in texts from sites along, near, and between the Euphrates and Tigris, mostly to the south of later Bag͟hdād. Scholars further sub-divide both of these dialects chronologically, at roughly 500-year intervals, into Old (2000-1500), Middle (1500-1000), and Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian (1000-600); Assyrian came to an end with the fall of the Assyrian empire near the end of the 7th century, whereas Babylonian continued to be written until the 1st century A.D. (Late Babylonian; the language had, however, probably ceased to be spoken and been replaced by Aramaic in most of the area long before). For much of the second millennium, Akkadian served as a lingua franca, and Akkadian texts from that period have been recovered from sites across most of the Near East, including Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Egypt. Eblaite is recorded on clay tablets dated to the 24th-23rd centuries B.C. found recently at the site of Tell Mardik͟h in Syria (about 60 km/38 miles south of Aleppo); although the writing system is similar to that used for writing Akkadian, there are enough differences in spelling and sign usage that the language remains poorly understood; it appears, however, to be a close relative, or possibly even a dialect, of Akkadian.

Texts in Ugaritic, the language of the important ancient city of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra near Latakia), date from the 14th-13th centuries B.C. Like Akkadian, Ugaritic was written on clay tablets in cuneiform, but whereas Akkadian cuneiform signs depict whole words (logograms) or syllables (i.e., comprise a syllabary), Ugaritic cuneiform is alphabetic, with one sign for each of the 27 consonants, plus three extras added at the end, two for *aleph* (*hamza*) with the vowels *i* and *u* (the original *aleph*, at the beginning of the alphabet, being used only for /ʾa/ and /ʾā/) and another to write certain words with /s/. The order of the Ugaritic alphabet, which is generally considered to be the original order, from which the Phoenician-Hebrew-Aramaic and, ultimately, the Arabic, are derived, is as follows: *ʾ b g ḫ d h w z ḥ ṭ y k ś l m ḏ n ẓ s ʿ p ṣ q r ṯ ġ t* (*ʾi ʾu s̀*). Some 1300 Ugaritic texts have been published thus far; most are administrative lists, but there are also many myths, rituals, omen texts, and letters.

The Canaanite group of languages, which includes Phoenician, Hebrew, and several poorly-attested dialects, begins to appear with the first identifiably Phoenician texts in about 1000 B.C., although short inscriptions that are less easily classified linguistically, in pictographic precursors to the Phoenician alphabet, are attested for perhaps five or six centuries before that date (in graffiti in Egyptian copper mines in the Sinai and in names on bronze arrowheads). Phoenician texts, especially royal inscriptions, are known from the ancient city-states of Byblos, Tyre and Sidon, as well as other sites. The Phoenician dialect of texts from the North African Tyrian colony of Carthage (Phoenician *qartḥadašt* "new-town"), and from Carthage's own colonies all around the Mediterranean, is referred to as Punic. The 22-letter Phoenician alphabet was borrowed and adapted for the writing of numerous other languages, including Hebrew, Aramaic (and thence for Arabic), and Greek (and thence for Etruscan and Latin). Hebrew is first attested archaeologically in inscriptions of the 10th century B.C., but it is likely that parts of the Hebrew Bible derive from a century or two earlier. Besides the biblical texts and numerous inscriptions from the biblical period, Hebrew was used for a vast literature in the centuries immediately thereafter, including texts such as the Dead Sea Scrolls (partly in Aramaic) and the Mishna, and in the Mediaeval period as well. Having died out as a spoken language, probably at some time around the turn of the era, Hebrew was revived in the last century and is thriving as the national language of modern Israel. Other Canaanite dialects, known only from a few inscriptions dating from the 9th to the 6th centuries B.C., include Moabite, Ammonite, and Edomite (all from sites in modern Jordan and southern Israel).

Aramaic is first attested in inscriptions found in Syria, Iraq, and Israel dating to the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. During the Persian empire, Aramaic served as an official language, a factor that helped both to standardise the language and to spread its common use: texts from this period are found as far afield as Elephantine in Egypt. The Aramaic of the biblical book of Ezra is also representative of this Imperial dialect. After the Achaemenid period the use of Aramaic continued to be very widespread, but dialectal differences became more and more apparent. The period of Middle Aramaic, from the 3rd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D., comprises texts in the Ḥatran, Nabataean, Palmyrene and Old Syriac dialects, as well as the earliest Jewish Aramaic targums (translations) of the Bible and other writings. In Late Aramaic (from the 3rd century A.D.), dialectal distinctions become still more pronounced; in addition to Syriac, with its vast Christian literature, scholars generally recognise Late Eastern Aramaic, consisting of Babylonian Jewish Aramaic (the language of the Babylonian Talmud) and Mandaic, and Late Western Aramaic, consisting of three geographical/religious dialects: Galilean or Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (the language of the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim), Samaritan Aramaic, and Judaean or Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Palestinian Syriac). Although largely displaced by the spread of Arabic, Aramaic has continued to be spoken until the present day, by Muslims and Christians in three small towns northeast of Damascus (Maʿlūlā [*q.v.*], D͟jubbʿadīn, and Bak͟hʿa), and by Jacobite Christians in a dialect cluster in southeastern Turkey (Ṭuroyo), by mostly Nestorian Christians and Jews in the Kurdistan area (Northeastern Neo-Aramaic or "Neo-Syriac"), and by the gnostic Mandaeans in western Iran (Neo-Mandaic); many speakers of Neo-Aramaic dialects have emigrated from the Middle East.

From the 6th century B.C. until the 5th century A.D., there are attested thousands of inscriptions in

several dialects referred to collectively as Old (or, Epigraphic) South Arabian. As the name implies, most of these inscriptions have been discovered in the southern Arabian peninsula. The best-attested dialect is Sabaic; the others are Minaic, Qatabanian and Ḥaḍramitic. The texts are written in an alphabet whose letter shapes and order differ significantly from those of the Phoenician alphabet and its descendants and which served as the basis of the Ethiopian script. The alphabet preserves all of the consonants of Common Semitic, one more than does Arabic (an additional /ś/. Although the Old South Arabian dialects share a number of linguistic features with Arabic, such as the use of broken plurals (and this to an even greater extent than classical Arabic), they also clearly have a number of important traits in common with the Ethiopian Semitic languages.

The closest linguistic relatives of classical Arabic are a group of inscriptional dialects subsumed under the term Old (or, Early) North Arabic, including Thamudic, Dedānite, Liḥyānite, Ḥasaean and Ṣafāʾitic, attested from about the 6th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. Written in scripts derived from the Old South Arabian alphabet, these texts are found especially in central and northern Arabia as well as in southern Syria. It is out of the linguistic milieu of these and related dialects that classical Arabic emerged, although the written medium was no longer the Old South Arabian alphabet but rather a modified version of the Nabataean Aramaic script.

Ethiopian Semitic is first attested in inscriptions from the 4th century A.D. The earliest attested language is Geʿez, originally the language of Aksum, but ultimately the classical language of the Ethiopian Christian church, studied and promulgated as a literary language much like Arabic among Muslims and Latin in mediaeval Christian Europe. Early inscriptions were written in the Old South Arabian alphabet, the letters of which were later modified with the addition of diacritical marks for the vowels, so that a syllabary evolved. Closely related to classical Geʿez are two modern languages: Tigrinya, spoken by some three million people, mostly Christians, in Tigrai province of Eritrea; and Tigre, the language of some hundred thousand individuals, for the most part Muslims, of the northern hills, the plains, and the coastal areas of Eritrea. Geʿez, Tigrinya, and Tigre comprise northern Ethiopic. Southern Ethiopic consists of many modern languages and dialects, the most prominent among them being the following: Amharic (written since the 16th century), with over seven million speakers the second-most prominent modern Semitic language, after Arabic; Harari, the language of the Muslim city of Harar, unlike other Ethiopian Semitic languages usually written in Arabic script rather than the indigenous syllabary; and several varieties of Gurage, a linguistically and religiously mixed group of tribes that includes both Muslims and Christians.

Finally, there is a group of Semitic languages that has no written tradition, namely, the Modern South Arabian languages spoken by Muslims in eastern Yemen and western Oman. The most prominent of these is Mehri (including the dialects of Ḥarsūsi and Baṭḥari); others are Djibbāli (also called Śḥeri or, improperly, Shkhawri), Hōbyōt, and Soḳoṭrī (on the island of Soḳoṭra [*q.v.*]). In sum, these languages probably have fewer than 100,000 speakers. Although proximity to Arabic (and the bilingualism of many of the speakers) has resulted in many Arabic loanwords and expressions in these languages, they are nevertheless quite distinct in their phonology and morphology.

The Semitic languages are generally held to constitute one branch of a larger linguistic entity now usually called Afroasiatic, although the earlier term Hamito-Semitic is still preferred by some scholars. Within Afroasiatic the language groups most closely related to Semitic are Egyptian and Berber. Classical Egyptian, attested from about 3300 B.C. until the 5th century A.D., was written in hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic scripts; it was continued in dialects of Coptic, which were written in a modified form of the Greek alphabet and probably spoken until the 15th century A.D. (and still in use as the liturgical language of the Coptic Christian church). The modern Berber languages, such as Tashelḥit, Tamazight, Kabyle and Tuareg, are spoken by Muslims; they exist as linguistic islands in a sea of Arabic across north Africa from Egypt to Mauritania [see BERBERS. V]. Other branches of the Afroasiatic phylum are the Cushitic languages of Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya, such as Oromo, Somali, Sidamo, Agaw and Beja (the last perhaps a separate branch of Afroasiatic); the Omotic languages of western Ethiopia; and the very large group of Chadic languages of western Africa, the most prominent member of which is Hausa [*q.v.*].

The internal classification of the Semitic languages is much debated. It is generally agreed that there are two main branches, East Semitic and West Semitic. East Semitic comprises only Akkadian (and Eblaite), and differs from the rest of the family in that the primary form of the perfective verb is a prefix-conjugation, as in *taḳbir* "you (ms) buried"; *iṭrudū* (< **yaṭrudū*) "they (m) drove away" (cf. Arabic *lam taḳbir, lam yaṭrudū*). The imperfective form, corresponding to Arabic *yafʿalu*, has a bisyllabic base with a geminated medial radical: *taḳabbir* "you (will) bury", *iṭarradū* "they (will) drive away". There is a suffix conjugation corresponding formally to the Arabic perfect, but it is essentially a predicate adjective, as in *ḳabrāta* <**ḳabir-āta* "you (ms) are/were buried" (*ḳab(i)r* "buried"), *ṭardū* (< **ṭarid-ū*) "they (m) are/were driven away" (*ṭar(i)d* "driven away"), vs. Arabic *ḳabarta* "you buried" and *ṭaradū* "they drove away". It is the innovative development of the suffix-conjugation into an active perfective verb, and the concommitant relegation of the apocopate prefix-conjugation (*yafʿal*) to secondary usage, that set the rest of the languages (West Semitic) apart from Akkadian.

Among the West Semitic languages, it has been traditional to group Arabic, the Old and Modern South Arabian languages, and Ethiopian Semitic together as South Semitic, primarily on the basis of their common usage of pattern replacement for noun plurals. Some examples: Sabaic (Old South Arabian) *ḥrbt* "battle", pl. *ḥryb; ʿr* "mountain", pl. *ʾʿrr*; Mehri (Modern South Arabian) *bədēn* "body", pl. *bədawnət; śəlēṯ* "one-third", pl. *śəlwōṯ*; Geʿez (Ethiopian) *kalb* "dog", pl. *ʾakləbt, ʾaklāb*, or *kalabāt; kokab* "star", pl. *kawākəbt*. In contrast, the Canaanite and Aramaic dialects, as well as Ugaritic, in which external plurals are the norm (as in Hebrew *sûs* "horse", pl. *sûsîm*; Aramaic *yom* "day", pl. *yomin*), are grouped together as Northwest Semitic. Since, however, the Northwest Semitic languages exhibit vestiges of broken plurals (as in Hebrew *mélek* > **malk* "king", pl. *məlāḵîm* < **malakīm*), and since it is possible that the common use of broken plurals in Arabic, South Arabian, and Ethiopic reflects not a shared innovation (in a common intermediate ancestor) but a feature inherited from Common Semitic, some Semitists have more recently looked to the verbal system for evidence of the genetic classification of the languages. It is noted,

for example, that Ethiopic and the Modern South Arabian languages share the bisyllabic base of the imperfective verb with Akkadian, as in Geʿez *təḳabbər* and Mehri *təḳawbər* "you (ms) will bury", whereas Arabic shares with the Northwest Semitic languages the loss of that form and the development of a new form in its place, as in Arabic *taḳbiru* (a form that is obscured in Hebrew and Aramaic by the loss of short final vowels; compare, however, Hebrew *yāḳûm* < *yaḳūmu "he will arise" and *yāḳōm* < *yaḳum "may he arise", *yaʿale* < *yaʿliyu "he ascends" and *yaʿal* < *yaʿli(y) "may he ascend"). By this criterion, one may classify Modern South Arabian and Ethiopic together as South Semitic and Arabic, Aramaic, and Canaanite together as Central Semitic. Thus it is the position of Arabic within the Semitic family that is least certain. (The position of the Old South Arabian languages in the more recent classification is also unclear; a recent study showing that the imperfective verb was probably not bisyllabic suggests that they belong in Central Semitic; see Nebes in *Bibl.*)

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SĀM, legendary ruler of Sīstān [*q.v.*] and vassal of the Kayānids, the epic kings of Īrān, was, according to al-T̲h̲aʿālibī and Firdawsī, the son of Narīmān, the father of Zāl-Dastān and the grandfather of Rustam [*q.v.*]. This pedigree is the outcome of a long development spanning the entire history of the Iranian epic. In the Avesta, Sāma is the name of a clan to which T̲h̲rīta, "the third man who pressed the Haoma", belonged as well as his sons Urvāk̲h̲s̲h̲aya and Kərəsāspa (Yasna 9. 10). Kərəsāspa (Persian Kars̲h̲āsp or Gars̲h̲āsp), a formidable fighter against dragons and other evil powers, armed with a mace, is often described as *nairi.manah* ("of manly spirit"). The name of the clan became interchangeable with his personal name, while the epithet was interpreted as the name of his father (in Persian Narīmān, or Nīram). Traces of this stage can still be found in genealogies mentioned by Islamic writers (see e.g. al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āt̲h̲ār al-bāḳiya*, 104, "*wa-Kars̲h̲āsp wa-huwa Sām b. Narīmān...*"; cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ed. Ch. Pellat, i, 273; "*Kursāf b. Narīmān...*"). However, in Sāsānid times, Kars̲h̲āsp and Sām already began to be taken as the names of separate persons. Together with T̲h̲rīta or At̲h̲rat (Arabicised to At̲h̲raṭ) and Narīmān, they were fitted into a pedigree which is mentioned with many variations in Zoroastrian and Islamic sources (cf. Christensen, *Kayanides*, 130-1).

In the Pahlawi books, notably in *Bundahis̲h̲n* and *Mēnōg ī k̲h̲rad*, the original identity of Kars̲h̲āsp and Sām is still evident. Like the former, Sām plays a part in eschatological events: he is said not to have died but to rest in a hidden place, guarded by 99,999 spirits (*fravās̲h̲īs*), until the day when he will be summoned to fight the demon Az̲h̲i Dahāka (in Persian Ḍaḥḥāk), who near the end of Time will escape from his captivity in the mountain Damāwand [*q.v.*]. Further analogies are the fights against several monsters attributed to Sām (Christensen, *op. cit.* 59-60, 101).

In the historical and epic sources of the Islamic period, Gars̲h̲āsp and Sām (the form Sahm used by al-Ṭabarī is merely an orthographic error due to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script) are usually kept apart, although they mostly belong to the same lineage, viz. the house of the vassal kings of Sīstān and Zābulistān who act as *d̲j̲ihān-pahlawān* ("chief champion") to the kings of Īrān. They are sometimes contemporaries, e.g. when they are named in the *S̲h̲āh-nāma* among the principal warriors of the army of Īrān (i, Farīdūn 692, 792). More often, however, Gars̲h̲āsp is a remote ancestor of Sām's. According to the 6th/12th century chronicle *Mud̲j̲mal al-tawārīk̲h̲*, the career of Sām began during the reign of Farīdūn. After the death of his father Narīmān, he was sent out on expeditions to several parts of the world (cf. Spiegel, 248-50). In the *S̲h̲āh-nāma*, the story of his family completely fills the account of Manūčihr's reign. As the principal warrior of the realm, Sām replies to the speech delivered by this king at his accession to the throne (i, Manūčihr, 30 ff.), and restores order in the empire after the succession of the unjust king Nawd̲h̲ar (i, Nawd̲h̲ar, 22 ff.). On the whole, he is less prominent in Firdawsī's story than his son and grandson, being away most of the time on a campaign against the Gurgsārān (the "wolf-like people", living in a country by the same name) and rebellious warriors (*gurdān*) in Māzandarān. He becomes a full epic character only in the account of the birth of Zāl. Sām is portrayed as a proud nobleman who chooses to sacrifice his son rather than face the scorn of his peers when the child is born with grey hair. However, he equally shows the courage of repentance after he learns of the care bestowed on the abandoned child by the miraculous bird Sīmurg̲h̲ [*q.v.*] (i, Manūčihr, 41 ff.). He supports his son in the matter of Zāl's courtship with Rūdāba, the daughter of the king of Kābul, in spite of his disapproval of a union with a descendant of Ḍaḥḥāk. An echo of the Avestan legend of Kərəsāspa can be heard in a letter written by Sām to the king of Īrān, relating his struggle with a dragon who had emerged from the river Kas̲h̲af (i, Manūčihr, 982 ff.). A parallel story, situated in Māzandarān, is told by Ibn Isfandiyār. Sām was still alive when Rustam was born (i, Manūčihr, 1514). His death, mentioned in the reign of king Nawd̲h̲ar (i, Nawd̲h̲ar, 127), incited the Tūranians to invade Īrān and Sīstān. The famous mace of Sām, with which he won the nickname *yak-zak̲h̲mī* ("with one stroke"), was inherited by Rustam.

In the *Gars̲h̲āsp-nāma*, Asadī Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] tells about the birth of Sām as a descendant of Gars̲h̲āsp, shortly before the latter's death, and the prediction of his future greatness. From a latter, but not precisely definable period, dates a *mat̲h̲nawī* called *Sām-nāma*,

which is preserved in redactions of varying lengths. The poem relates the adventures of Sām, son of Narīmān, in China, where he pretends to the hand of Parīdukht, the daughter of the king Faghfūr. Actually, the poem is a forgery based almost entirely on the romance *Humāy wa Humāyūn* by Khʷādjū [*q.v.*] Kamāl al-Dīn Kirmānī (689-753/1290-1352), for which not only the entire plot of the latter poem was copied but also its lines stolen. The anonymous plagiarist merely changed the names of the protagonists and added some episodes of a fairy-tale nature.

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SĀM MĪRZĀ, Abū Naṣr, Persian poet and biographer of poets, with the poetical name *Sāmī* (923-74/1517-66), known for his *tadhkira* of contemporary poets, the *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*. He was the third son of Shāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*].

1. Biography.

Shāh Ismāʿīl (906-31/1501-24) and his eldest son and successor Ṭahmāsp I (931-84/1524-76) followed the practice of preparing the princes of the ruling family, already at an early age, for the direction of state affairs by appointing them to the post of governor under the guidance of an experienced *amīr* of the Ḳīzīl Bash (*lala*) (see Röhrborn, *Provinzen*, 38-9). Accordingly, Sām Mīrzā passed the greater part of his youth as nominal governor of Khurāsān at Harāt [*q.v.*], first (927-36/1521-30) under Durmīsh Khān, later under Ḥusayn Khān, and then from 939-41/1533-5 under Aghuzīvar Khān, all three of them from the Shamlu tribe.

Thus he was able on the one hand to experience the reverberation of a peak of Persian culture at the court of Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bayḳara (873-911/1469-1506), but on the other hand he became involved in the power struggle of the Ḳīzīl Bash through his *lalas*. It is even said that he was supported as a rival king against Ṭahmāsp by Ḥusayn Khān (Savory, *Studies*, no. V, 70). When Ḥusayn Khān was murdered soon afterwards (940/1534), Sām Mīrzā permitted himself to be seduced to insubordination. Without the king's permission he misused the Ḳīzīl Bash, put under his leadership for protecting Harat against the Özbegs, for a campaign against Ḳandahār, which failed miserably. It cost the life of his *lala* Aghuzīvar and of many other Ḳīzīl Bash, forced Sām Mīrzā to flee to Ṭabas by way of Sīstān, but above all attracted the lurking Özbegs into defenceless Harāt, where they exercised a reign of terror during fourteen months (*Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, 62-5). Ṭahmāsp had to take action in Khurāsān himself in order to restore order in Harāt around 943/1537. On the way, he became reconciled with Sām Mīrzā, who already earlier had shown repentence (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 343, 357-8). But his political career had come to an end.

After then he lived in the shadow of the court, apparently as a presentable and worthy member of the royal family. He acted as such at the state reception of Sultan Ḥumāyūn in 951/1544, at which he excelled, like an ancient Persian knight, in the sportsman's-like *hunar numūdan* (*T.-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, 99). He had nothing to do with the devastating revolt of his elder brother Alḳās Mīrzā (953-5/1547-9 [*q.v.*]). He apparently lived for his literary studies, being occupied with his *Tuḥfa* at least since 957/1550. It was finished at the latest in 968/1560-1 (see Humāyūn-Farrukh, *Introd.* to the *Tuḥfa*, 17 ff.). In 969/1561-2 Sām Mīrzā fell into disgrace for a second time. He apparently came under suspicion of political intrigues, for he was interned with two sons of his brother Alḳās Mīrzā in the fortress of Ḳahḳaha, the place of confinement of political delinquents. He remained there until his death in an earthquake in 974/1566-7 (Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandan*, 173 *bis*; the date is confirmed by the chronogram *dawlat-ī Ṭahmāsp shud bāḳī*).

2. Literary work.

Sām Mīrzā has immortalised himself in literary history with his *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, the summa of his involvement over many years with contemporary Persian poetry and its poets, contained in 714 short biographies of all those who had distinguished themselves in this field since Shāh Ismāʿīl I's coming to power. However, the *curricula vitae* themselves are only dealt with in very rare cases. The biographies rather give information about a series of points, viz.: name - origin - working place - function - education - training - (human and artistic) qualifications - specialisation - works - career - eventually, end of life, and paradigmatic quotation of at least one verse. They are, however, rarely all dealt with; occasionally one or the other is missing. Not even the works or the favourite genres of poetry are noted down regularly, and a qualification is often also left out. Occasionally, a small scene illustrates a point and the author shows a preference for the piquant and the subtle. But two points are never missing, origin (scene of activity) and quotation of verses, the latter being often reduced to one single verse, which then is almost always the *maṭlaʿ* of a *ghazal* [*q.v.*]. This is not by accident, for the author considers poetry as the fruit of love (*Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, 2). In the separate chapters the place of origin often serves for an associative classification (cf. *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, Introd., 19). For Sām Mīrzā does not think in a centralistic way but along lines of political integration; every place in the realm of the Ṣafawids counts, and the real image of Persian poetry emerges only from the totality of all the places where it is practised. In this context, still another point must be observed. It is remarkable how often the author mentions the occupation or profession of a poet or of his father. The more simple trades, such as those of a craftsman or a trader, attract his particular interest. He is apparently concerned with the spread and

embedding of poetry in all social levels, from the craftsmen to the princess (cf. Humāyūn-Farrukh, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, Introd., 6-7).

The arrangement of the work seems to confirm this. It consists of seven chapters (*ṣaḥīfa*), in which the poets with a main occupation and those with an additional function are classified as follows. The first chapter is reserved for the princes of the period. It starts with Shāh Ismāʿīl and his descendants, but place is also devoted to the sworn enemies of the dynasty, even for the Özbeg ʿUbayd Allāh Khān, with whom the author was in hostile contact at Harāt itself. The second chapter deals with the most prominent *sādāt* and *ʿulamāʾ*, the offspring of the Prophet and the predecessors of the Shīʿī clergy. In the third chapter are found the viziers and other dignitaries of the class of scribes. The fourth chapter treats the great men who held court in one town or another and were occasionally active in poetry. Only in the fifth chapter are the real main figures, the poets, allowed to speak, the great among them in the first section, the less important, called "the rest", in the second one. The sixth chapter deals with Turkish-speaking poets who tried their hand at Persian verses too. The seventh and last chapter is devoted to the poetasters; it turns out to be particularly amusing and instructive (Humāyūn-Farrukh, Introd., 22-B).

Sām Mīrzā was prompted to compose his *Tuḥfa* by ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī's *Madjālis al-nafāʾis* [see MĪR ʿALĪ SHĪR NAWĀʾĪ], which he must have come to know at Harāt during the first period of his governorship. At that time his first *lala*, Durmīsh Khān, had the work translated into Persian (*Laṭāʾif-nāma*, 3). Not only the form of the selective and accentuated short biographies may have been inspired by this work, but also the motivation. Like his predecessor, Sām Mīrzā wants to save the many poets of his time from oblivion. However, the distinction from Nawāʾī is that Sām Mīrzā not only equals their delicacy of expression with that of the ancestors—as does Nawāʾī—but appreciates it even more highly (*Tuḥfa*, 3-4). While Nawāʾī exults in the idea according to which Khurāsān, with its capital Harāt, had reached the highest blossoming of Persian culture under its lord Ḥusayn Bayḳara, and concentrates his observation on the Khurāsānian poets, Sām Mīrzā's point is rather the overall picture of Ṣafawid poetry. Besides—and this also in contrast with Nawāʾī—, he only rarely mentions his relations with the subjects of his biographies, though he must have owed the great majority of his informations to personal relations (for the question of his sources, see M.I. Kazi, *Sam Mirza*, 86-7). Ultimately, the high value of his book lies in this point. Without it, we would not even know the names of many of the poets.

About the presentation itself it can be remarked that the length of a biography does not depend only on the number of the points treated and on the eventual inserted stories, or on the quotations of verses, but above all on the linguistic presentation. This goes from a concise, pragmatic turn of phrase to a highly-developed, manneristic one with rhyming prose and metaphorical expressions. Sām Mīrzā likes imaginative turns of phrase in particular when mentioning the end of life. He permits himself sporadically to be carried away by the name of a poet to a *metaphora continuata* in other accounts, as for instance in the case of Badr al-Dīn Hilālī [*q.v.*], who often visited the gifted prince at Harāt (*Tuḥfa*, no. 266). In general, a personal engagement with somebody, or also the latter's high standing incited him to a more intensive use of images.

Numerous statements of a literary-critical character are spread throughout the entire book; their critical clouds gather in the seventh *ṣaḥīfa*. In their totality, they point to the unusually trained and sharpened feeling of the author for stylistic nuances and quality. This is not only expressed in critical remarks on singular verses, which go as far as to suggest corrections (e.g. no. 429), but above all in the choice of the quotations of verses. Sām Mīrzā is less carried away by the refined, poetical play of ingenuity of the Tīmūrid period than by the art of subtly bending known motifs in order to give them a permanent garment in a *sahl-i mumtaniʿ* (inimitably beautiful elegance). In this respect, too, he distinguishes himself from Nawāʾī. Nothing might show this more clearly than the fact that the Tīmūrid high tightrope of exquisite poetical acrobatics of thoughts, the logogriph (*muʿammā*), is substantially less frequent in the *Tuḥfa* than it is in the *Madjālis*. Unfortunately, Sām Mīrzā's terminological palette does not correspond with the fullness and differentiation of his aesthetic formation. Qualifications like *matīn* (firm), *pur zūr* (powerful), *rangīn* (colourful), *āb-dār* (brilliant), *ba-čāshnī* (with good taste), *pur sūz u dard* (passionate), etc. might perhaps be better understood and described if all the verses thus estimated were gathered and those which are equally qualified were compared with one another. This would be all the more a desideratum since Sām Mīrzā, instead of a characterisation, often satisfies himself with a quotation of a verse and leaves it to the reader to formulate a judgement.

It is the more regrettable that Sām Mīrzā's *Dīwān*, of which Tarbiyat says that he once saw a manuscript with *ca.* 6,000 verses without any further indication, however, has not yet been published. Besides a *ghazal*, quoted by Tarbiyat (*Dānishmandān*, 173 *bis* f.) from an historical work (*Takmilat al-akhbār*), we possess only the quotations from his own work by the author himself at the end of the *Tuḥfa* (377-80), a *manḳabat ḳaṣīda* on ʿAlī with an introductory description of spring, a *rubāʿī* and four isolated verses (*maṭāliʿ*). The latter, in particular, correspond, in elegance and pointedness, to the ideal of the *sahl-i mumtaniʿ* to which Sām Mīrzā adhered, while the *ḳaṣīda* in its turn is completely free of any complexity of thoughts.

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Introd. to his edition. (c) Sources of Sām Mīrzā. To those mentioned by Kazi and Humāyūn-Farrukh should be added the ed. of the Persian tr. of Nawāʾī, *Madjālis al-nafāʾis*, the *Laṭāʾif-nāma* by Sulṭān Muḥammad-i Fakhrī-yi Harawī, made by ʿA.A. Ḥikmat, Tehran 1363 *sh*. (B. Reinert)

SAMĀʾ (A.), literally "the upper part of anything, the sky, the heavens".

1. As a cosmological and theological term. According to Arabic lexicography (see Lane, s.v.), the word *samāʾ* is derived from the root *s-m-w* (= being or becoming high, elevated). As a noun, it may be used for anything that is "the higher or the highest" part of any physical or metaphysical reality, but it generally denotes the cosmological and theological entity which in English, with equal vagueness, is described as "heaven" or "sky". Fittingly, *samāʾ* is predominantly masculine, but it can be masculine or feminine; it is used as a singular or as a plural, as in the Ḳurʾān, II, 27, for the seven heavens; however, even then numerical plurality is not necessarily implied since the plural can be understood as a *pluralis amplitudinis* emphasising the overwhelming greatness of heaven. But *samāʾ* can also be expanded into the plural form *samāwāt*.

For the ancient Arabs, as also for the people of the surrounding countries, *samāʾ*, in the most common meaning of "heaven", was not primarily associated with the stars, but it was first the location for the "high-flying clouds". In poetical language it even appears to have been identified with the clouds, the providers of rain, or even rain itself. Thus the Arabs could think of themselves as the Banū māʾ al-samāʾ (= "The sons of the water of heaven"). Hence "heaven" from early on did not only represent a physical and cosmological entity but was linked to the ultimate hopes of mankind for a continued and happy existence on earth as it knew it. Physical highness in the cosmological world view corresponds to the metaphysical loftiness of spiritual aspiration, and the human mind may even be tempted by the identification of heaven with God Almighty. Considering the far-reaching spectrum of aspects which the term "heaven" displays before us, its dictionary meaning alone cannot sufficiently disclose the underlying cosmological and theological conceptions; and for the Arabic dictionary this resigned observation imposes itself especially also in view of the profound changes which these conceptions underwent in the course of Islam's dynamic cultural expansion, when the intellectual heritage of earlier cultures in the Middle East and in North Africa was adopted.

As the foreign vocabulary employed in the Ḳurʾān demonstrates (in our context the word *Firdaws* for the heavenly garden or Paradise may be explicitly mentioned), the exchange of ideas and theories about heaven and earth must have pre-dated the mission of the Prophet. But with the Ḳurʾānic texts a new beginning was made; above all, in place of particularistic and of merely local idolatry, the monotheistic sovereignty of God over the whole universe as the *Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn* (I, 2) became the centre of the new orientation. As in almost all other provinces of the human mind, the cosmological and theological views of heaven and earth proposed by the revealed book became the formative world model for Muslim culture up to our days. This world view no doubt has been modified in the minds of later generations along the lines of their expanding scientific horizons. But with the unceasing recitation of the Ḳurʾānic texts the physical as well as the spiritual notions of heaven and earth were constantly impressed on the minds of the faithful.

It started with the story of revelation itself, the prophetic call experienced in a cosmic vision that filled the whole space between heaven and earth: "This is naught but a revelation revealed, taught him by one terrible power, very strong; he stood poised, being on the higher horizon, then drew near and suspended hung, two bows'-length away, or nearer, then revealed to his servant that he revealed." (LIII, 5). "Higher horizon" is here the translation of *al-ufuḳ al-aʿlā*, which may be understood as a synonym of heaven joining the earth; hence a heaven that does not remain far removed from the world, the abode of mankind, but which approaches man in a divine communication. Such dividing lines between heaven(s) and earth(s) as the horizon may appear to be sharply drawn in the Arabic speech, but they are never absolutes. It is the bi-polar consequence of the Ḳurʾānic theology of creation that the division of heaven and earth is God's work, and thus also their ultimate union: "... the heavens and the earth were a mass all sewn up, and then then We unstitched them and of water fashioned every living thing." (XXI, 31).

Heaven, in the singular as well as in the plural, occurs over 300 times in the Ḳurʾān. But its description is surprisingly meagre; the communication neither of astronomical nor of apocryphal knowledge is intended, although heaven is also associated with the signs of the Zodiac (LXXXV, 1), the stars, the planets, and although the heavenly journey of the Prophet (XVII, 1) could have been the best occasion for a detailed description, as can be observed in later traditions. In most cases, however, heaven merely serves as reference point for God's greatness, which is above all beings in heaven and earth. Thus the central message is that God has created the heavens and the earths (LXV, 12: "It is God who created seven heavens, and of earths their like"), that He knows whatever exists in whatever form, and that all beings in heaven as well as on earth belong to Him—hence absolute monotheism expanded over the whole cosmos. The cosmological models which may have been alluded to in the revealed texts would then be mere figures of speech, in which the prophetic message of God's absolute rule found its adequate expression.

But the theological interpretation of creation did not extinguish human curiosity about the physical nature of the universe. The Ḳurʾānic texts about heaven and earth were not easily understood; they provided only a fragmentary view of the universe. As far as we can gather from the earliest sources preserved, Ḳurʾān readers with much curiosity, and some exposure to pre-Islamic literatures, soon offered explanations of the enigmatic and fragmentary texts on the cosmos. Similarly, the earliest commentators from whom we have at least some fragmentary explanations of Ḳurʾānic texts, often give brief answers to essentially physical questions about the heavens and whatever moves in them. Thus even such questions as the dynamic cause of the star movements in their spheres were discussed, and the answers came surprisingly close to what in later scholasticism was described as the theory of "impetus". But, in spite of such rare elements of primitive astrophysical teachings, heaven for the traditional scholar of Islam remained closely associated with rain, wind, ice, snow, and primarily with vegetation. It is a treasure or storage for such meteorological phenomena (LXIII, 7); it keeps them enclosed behind strong dams and safe doors.

Mudjāhid b. Djabr (d. 104/722) was one of those early commentators. In an unpublished cosmographical manuscript (Heidelberg Cod. Or. 317, fol. 100a-b), two remarkable diagrams of the various

heavens and earths are preserved (which may, however, be only later additions), possibly illustrating his cosmological model of seven earths under a dome-like structure of seven heavens.

In several other sources, a systematic arrangement of these fourteen stages, neatly separated by an equal number of interspaces measuring 500 "years", underscores their physical nature, which otherwise might be too easily transposed into the psychological realm of types and archetypes, if not into that of ancient mythology. For the traditionalists no doubt delved deeply into the heritage of Near Eastern mythology. Thus the most mysterious arrangement of cosmic levels, and precisely for this reason certainly not a mere invention, starts with God's throne being supported by eight huge ibexes (*awʿāl*) of the cosmic dimension of 500 years; they stand on a sea as deep as the distance from earth to heaven; and only below these mysterious cosmic beings the seven heavens are spanned out, one below the other one. Finally, below all those heavens, and sometimes clearly separated from them by a celestial ocean, there follows a structure of seven earths. These are the main features of the traditional cosmology of Islam, which is further modified from one source to the other; the celestial ocean e.g. which is usually located in heavenly regions, may even be placed under the lowest earth. Common to all these models seems to be that the heavens are vaulted over the earths like a dome-structure, while the earths are arranged in horizontal levels, like a block with different storeys, as the above diagrams indicate. Heavens and earths cannot be clearly separated, as C. Houtman already noticed in his thorough investigation on *Der Himmel im Alten Testament* (see *Bibl.*). The theological or mythological roots become evident when we see that the seven earths in the older traditional texts are serving as the gradual stages of hell, in particular the store-houses of the various torture instruments: destructive winds, *d̲j̲inn*, brimstones of hell-fire, scorpions, vipers, and eventually the devils. This rather mythological structure—and that is its unexpected historical function—was in later texts apparently used to illustrate the geographical division of our globe.

Between the heavens and the earths, there is moreover not the clear-cut division that had been axiomatically postulated in pre-Islamic, Hellenistic philosophy, where the supra-lunar world was thought to remain eternally unchanged and having circular movements only. Even the heavens in traditional cosmology are described as being of material nature. Thus most commonly the lowest one is identified with the firmly-enclosed water of the celestial ocean, and the higher ones consist of different substances, such as white marble, iron, copper, silver, gold and ruby, while the space above them is filled with "deserts of light". The traditional authority Salmān al-Fārisī even had names for the seven heavens and associated precious stones and metals with them.

In this form, the cosmology of the seven heavens was especially developed by *The Book of Secrets of Enoch*, which may have originated within an Islamic milieu. In the estimation of R.H. Charles, this book is "the most elaborate account of the seven heavens that exists in any writing or in any language." When he interprets this account as an example of "growing ethical consciousness" within apocryphal literature (p. XXXIX), he gives us the decisive clue for a valid evaluation: not the teaching of any objective cosmological knowledge is intended, but man's ethical and religious concerns are to be extended to the highest and most remote reaches of creation.

Since this whole cosmological system of seven heavens and seven earths had entered such authoritative texts as the Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīt̲h̲*, it could never henceforth be totally discarded. When the Hellenistic models of the cosmos had become known through numerous translations, a synthesis of the traditional and the translated cosmological notions was tried by some authors. As a result "the heavens" often were simply identified with "the spheres" (= *aflāk*) [see FALAK]. But there were important differences. Thus in the world-model of the traditional sources, all the stars were connected with the lowest heaven, while in the later models the fixed stars were invariably distinguished from the planets, for which at least one sphere each was reserved; or the sun, in traditional cosmology, was not linked to its sphere, but was said to pass through all heavens as it completed its (yearly?) course, and finally would reach the foundations of God's throne.

The brief and humble explanations of the Ḳurʾānic text by the early commentators were soon followed by penetrating speculations of the systematic theologians. The often enigmatic references to such cosmological and theological entities as heaven (or the heavens), the stars, meteorological phenomena, and the earth as being blessed by such heavenly gifts as light, clouds, winds and rain, stimulated their highly speculative minds and drove them to remarkable attempts at finding satisfactory answers to such questions as God's place in the universe: Did He really and physically reside in the heavens, or one particular heaven, or was He so far removed from all His creations that He could have no real relationship to His creatures? But if His transcendence was emphatically enunciated beyond all limits, how could this God still have revealed His will and His wisdom to the Prophet and all mankind, how could His creatures still hope to have access to Him and in prayer attract His attention when they were in need? Among the numerous cosmological theories discussed by the *mutakallimūn* and the free-minded intellectuals in the early Muslim community, we may concentrate on the thorny problem of God's physical presence in this universe. Was He sitting on His throne in highest heaven, or keeping infinitely above all heavens and all regions on and below earth, or was His presence in His creation so universal that no real distinction could be affirmed (cf. pantheistic monism)? Well before Aristotle's speculations about the "Unmoved Mover (or Movers)" became known in Arabic philosophical circles, the heretic thinker D̲j̲ahm b. Ṣafwān (executed in 129/746 [*q.v.*]) was accused by traditional scholars of having deviated from the explicit teachings of the Ḳurʾān by denying God's sitting on His throne. D̲j̲ahm and his followers were apparently especially eager to emphasise the infinity and ubiquity of the Eternal, without allowing His image to be tarnished by anthropomorphic conceptions. But the defenders of orthodoxy were concerned that such a rationalist commixture of the Creator with His creatures might eliminate all distinctions and obscure the personal presence of God Almighty in the universe; thus they insisted that the Ḳurʾānic texts should be understood literally, and the physical reality of the throne maintained.

Throne (*al-ʿars̲h̲*) and footstool (*al-kursī*) are closely connected with God's place in the universe, and they are essential conceptions for the "theology of the Ḳurʾān" (as far as there is one); God is emphatically called "the Lord of the Mighty Throne" (IX, 129), and this "Throne comprises the heavens and earth; the preserving of them oppresses Him not; He is the

All-High, the All-Glorious" (II, 255). These texts, certainly in the circles of victorious traditional orthodoxy, were generally understood quite concretely, not merely as metaphorical assertions about God's universal rule. Throne and footstool were placed above the heavens and the earths, but they were, however, of the same concrete reality. Thus they can be measured together with them, and they are conceived as being in physical contact with each other and with the lower, physical parts of the world. As all reality was fashioned out of the four elements water, wind, light, and darkness, the throne was created out of God's own light; or it is said to have been made of a red hyacinth (Saʿīd al-Ṭāʾī), or again of a green emerald (Ḥammād). The footstool is said to be attached to God's throne, or to be standing in front of it. The curious fact that a certain creaking sound, which the Prophet was able to hear (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, on XXI, 21), is ascribed to it as elsewhere to heaven (*al-samāʾ*) indicates that it sometimes was identified with *al-samāʾ*, i.e. that it had an equal extension as heaven. But usually it is distinguished from the heavens, as the whole universe is described as a structure composed of a number of horizontal levels: uppermost, the throne—below it the footstool—then the seven heavens—and the seven earths, one on top of the other. Since the *kursī* is hollow and contains the whole world of heavens and earths in its cavity, the earthly observer—true to his daily experience—finds himself in a dome-like hemisphere. For the Muslim cosmologist and theologian, the Ḳurʾānic text (XXI, 34: "It is He who created the night and the day, the sun and the moon, each swimming in a sky") further emphasised the physical substance of the heavens and imposed on him a critical attitude that made it difficult for him to simply adopt the common Greek notions that the stars or their spheres are living beings, having souls, which are moving by their own will.

It may be said, then, that it was due to throne, footstool, the seven heavens and earths being mentioned in the Ḳurʾān that Muslim scholars of all disciplines continued to be attracted by the various branches of cosmology. When Greek science had been introduced into the Islamic world, throne and footstool were often identified with the ninth and eighth spheres respectively, exemplified in such an influential theological book as al-Īd̲j̲ī's (d. 756/1356 [*q.v.*]) *Mawāḳif*. However, even an open-minded author like al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283 [*q.v.*]) was much more cautious, and explicitly opted for leaving it to God's knowledge whether this identification could be made (*ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-mak̲h̲lūḳāt*, i, 54). Similarly, the seven earths were identified with the Hellenistic scheme of seven climatic zones [see IḲLĪM], although this may have caused some problems since the traditional texts had handed over these earthly parts to the devils in hell and their torture instruments.

The early commentators and traditionists of Islam already adopted ideas and cosmological models from earlier cultures of the neighbouring countries. As this scientific heritage became richer through the numerous translations made between the 2nd and the 4th centuries A.H., the cosmological models were further developed along the lines of such authorities as Ptolemy, Hipparchus, etc. But the earlier theories were not simply forgotten or thrown away into the waste-paper baskets of history, as we might expect in accordance with the experiences of other cultures. Even an al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] remembered them; he naturally criticised them as outdated in his time, but the fact that he bothered about them at all demonstrates the influence—of whatever nature that may have been—which they still must have exerted on some of his contemporaries. Thus his discussion with Ibn Sīnā on the possibility of other worlds than ours may well be inspired by the traditional texts. The same may hold true for al-Bīrūnī's distinction between mathematical hypotheses, equally allowing a heliocentric as well as a geocentric universe, and an eventual decisive proof based on physical reasoning. Or the fact that Muslim scholars showed more extensive interests in the physical configuration of the universe than their Hellenistic masters (which is clearly evidenced not only by the use they made of Ptolemy's *Planetary hypotheses* but also by the numerous treatises with such titles as *Tarkīb al-aflāk*), was most likely the fruit of the Ḳurʾānic and traditional texts on the seven heavens. Similarly, Muslim authors showed a surprising critical spirit when the number of the spheres was discussed; some of them accepted the eight or nine spheres of Greek cosmology only under the condition that the highest were identified with the footstool and the throne respectively which the Ḳurʾān had added to the seven heavens.

Such foreign influences raised much suspicion and fear among the more traditionally-minded scholars. Hence a reaction set in against the almost completely Hellenised world view that had been spread in Muslim literature. Thus already two centuries after al-Bīrūnī, a scholar like Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn ar-Rāzī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]), who proves to be widely read in all sorts of literatures available after the synthesis with the Hellenistic heritage had been achieved, still states categorically that all valid knowledge about the cosmos is to be reaped from the traditional, "inspired" sources of Islam and not from the scientific sources of ancient cultures ("there is no way to the knowledge of the heavens save through a traditional report") (*Mafātīḥ al-g̲h̲ayb*, vi, 149). In other words, the inner scientific value of the works inherited from pre-Islamic scholars was well known, but the knowledge derived from Islamic tradition still carried a functionality for the faithful which, outside the realm of faith, might not be understood.

But the heavens are not solely physical and astronomical entities, which for such speculative reasons as defining God's place in the universe were of interest also to the theologians; they have a special significance also for the simple worshipper and for the mystical experiences of the spiritually-elevated faithful. Thus when we examine such mystical writings as the *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* by Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]), one is surprised to find long passages, expounding esoteric teachings, which seem to follow the cosmological models of the seven heavens and the seven earths. But it soon becomes evident that the cosmological stages have hardly any other function than to serve as "coordinate systems" giving structure to the inner experiences and psychological states of the mystic.

Similarly, in sectarian circles, and principally in the literature of the Ismāʿīlī community, the symbolic significance of the seven heavens was stressed to the point that any physical or metaphysical reality which they had in the writings of the commentators, the *mutakallimūn* or the cosmologists, appears to have been suppressed. The fact that the various strata of interaction within an essentially political hierarchy were described in cosmological terms indicates, however, that the cosmology of the seven heavens had been widely accepted in Islamic literature as common language.

In both cases, mysticism as well as sectarian exchange, the decisive inspiration did not really come from the Ḳurʾānic world view of the seven heaver

but rather from Neoplatonic teachings. A scheme was needed that would allow a graduated classification of spiritual descent from, and elevation to, the highest reality without a transgression beyond all frontiers to be feared. It is not surprising that both the spiritual and the political authorities turned to the cosmology of the seven heavens in search of this scheme; but the numerous ramifications of both these experiential and ideological traditions go far beyond the limits of the present discussion.

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2. As an astronomical term, see MAKKA. 4; MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ.

SAMĀʿ, verbal noun from the root *s-m-ʿ* (like *samʿ* and *simʿ*), signifying "hearing"; by extension, it often denotes "that which is heard", such as music, for example. The same applies to *istimāʿ* "listening" (Lane, *Lexicon*, 1427b, 1429b; *LʿA*, s.v.)

1. In music and mysticism.

The term is not found in the Ḳurʾān, but it exists in ancient Arabic, even in the sense of song or of musical performance (Lane, 1617b, s.v. *mushār*). In lexicology and in grammar, it signifies "that which is founded on authority", as opposed to *ḳiyāsī* "founded on analogy" (de Sacy, *Grammaire*, i, 347, and Lane, 1429b). In theology, it is opposed to *ʿaḳl*, "reason" (Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 136-7, 166). But it presents a specific sense in Ṣūfism, where it generally denote the hearing of music, the concert, and in its particular sense, the Ṣūfī tradition of spiritual concert, in a more or less ritualised form. *Samāʿ* is then considered to be the "nourishment of the soul", in other words, a devotional practice which, according to Ṣūfī authors, can induce intense emotional transports (*tawādjud*), states of grace (*aḥwāl*), of trance or of ecstasy (*wadjd, wudjūd*) and even revelations. These manifestations are often accompanied by movements, physical agitation or dance which are of set form or otherwise, individual or collective, of which Persian miniatures have left numerous testimonies and of which certain forms are still in use.

The very sense of the term *samāʿ*, which has been widely discussed, suggests that it is actually *listening* which is spiritual, since music or poetry do not necessarily have a sacred nature. "Hearing", on the other hand, can be applied to any sound, natural, artificial or artistic, as well as to the "subtle" sounds of the hidden world or of the cosmos.

In its predominant sense, hearing is a synonym of "understanding", in other words, comprehension, acceptance and application of the Revelation, and the practice of *samāʿ*, beyond ecstacy or rapture, can be an unveiling of mysteries, a means of attaining higher knowledge (Rūzbihān, Gīsū Derāz).

Samāʿ does not seem to appear until the mid-3rd/9th century among the Ṣūfīs of Baghdād, but while the association of music with ecstatic rites or practices is attested prior to Islam in the Religions of the Book (Molé), no solution has been found to the question of continuity between the latter and the Ṣūfī practice of *samāʿ*, in spite of numerous similarities. It could take the form of an extension of the hearing of the Ḳurʾān to that of religious *ghazals* and *ḳaṣīdas*, or furthermore, of sacralisation of the secular concert and a sublimation of *ṭarab*, that new custom which spread very quickly to Iṣfahān, Shīrāz and in Khurāsān (Purdjawādī, 18). *Samāʿ* is thus initially an "oriental" phenomenon, promulgated in particular by the Persian disciples of Nūrī and of Djunayd. By the same token, all of the early authors dealing with *samāʿ* were Persians, with the exception of Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad al-Makkī (d. 386/996 [*q.v.*]). Subsequently, *samāʿ* spread to all areas, but found most favour in Persian, Turkish and Indian Islam. The first writings, composed a century after the inauguration of the custom of *samāʿ*, coincided with the first attacks on the part of traditionalists who sought to condemn music (such as Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (208-81/823-94 [*q.v.*]), the author of the *Dhamm al-malāhī*, cf. Robson), and constituted a reply to them. According to Purdjavādī (*ibid.*, 22), these writings may be arranged in three groups and periods:

(1) *4th/10th century*: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/941 [*q.v.*]), whose *K. al-Samāʿ* is the first monograph devoted specifically to *samāʿ*; al-Makkī; al-Sarrādj (d. 378/988 [*q.v.*]); al-Kalābādhī (d. 380/990 [*q.v.*]); and Abū Manṣūr. They base their arguments on *ḥadīths* and on the logia of the ancient mystics (Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī), being concerned above all to defend *samāʿ* from its detractors.

(2) *5th/11th century*: al-Bukhārī; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī (d. 466/1074 [*q.v.*]); al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]). In these authors, too, the defensive aspect is featured, but the Ṣūfīs seem to rely on them more on account of their social and even political status.

(3) *7th-8th/13th-14th centuries*: Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā [*q.v.*], Rūzbihān Baḳlī Shīrāzī (d. 606/1209); Aḥmad-i Djam; Nadjm al-Dīn Baghdādī; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kāshānī; Aḥmad Ṭūsī (8th/14th century); etc. They take into account the social and ritual aspect and argue more rationally. After this period, *samāʿ* was included in its entirety among the customs of the mystics and was no longer the object of judicial debates. Writers confined themselves to extolling its qualities and its symbolic meanings, some going so far as to consider it an obligation for adepts (Aḥmad Ṭūsī, whose *Bawāriḳ* has been erroneously attributed to Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (cf. Mojahed, 1980). After the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries, the question of *samāʿ* seems to have been filed away or exhausted, and setting aside the orders which retained its practice and its theory (Mawlawīs, Čishtīs), did not give rise to any more original literature (Gīsū Derāz).

The function of *samāʿ*, as well as its conditions of performance, have evolved in a sense which al-Hudjwīrī was the first to deplore, and which the aphorisms of the earliest Ṣūfīs (al-Ḥallādj, Dhu 'l-Nūn) had anticipated in their warnings. It became for some a form of delectation or a sensual pleasure, all the more so in that the rite now included dancing and was concluded with a meal. Furthermore, the proletariat indulged in profane *samāʿs*, in other words concerts with a religious pretext (Pouzet), not to mention rites of trance inherited from paganism and superficially Islamised (berated by Ibn Taymiyya). In order to restrain the adepts and counter the criticisms of the jurists, the majority of authors established conditions (al-Ghazālī) and rules of propriety (al-Nasafī), and distinguished between the types of concert (*samāʿ*) in terms of the nature of the hearing: some listen according to their ego (*samāʿ al-nafs*, or their nature, *ṭabʿ*), others according to the heart, others through the

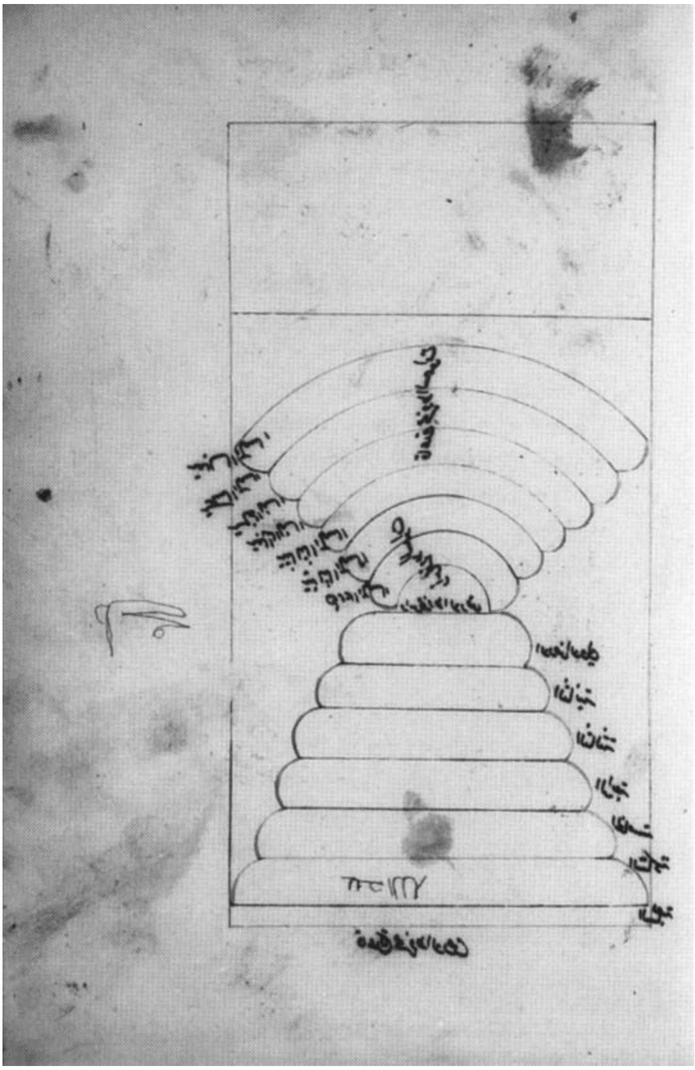

A simple representation of the seven heavens spanning the seven earths. For both zones the shape of a cone is assumed, but the opposition of the two is emphasized by the choice of curved lines for the heavens and horizontal ones for the earths.

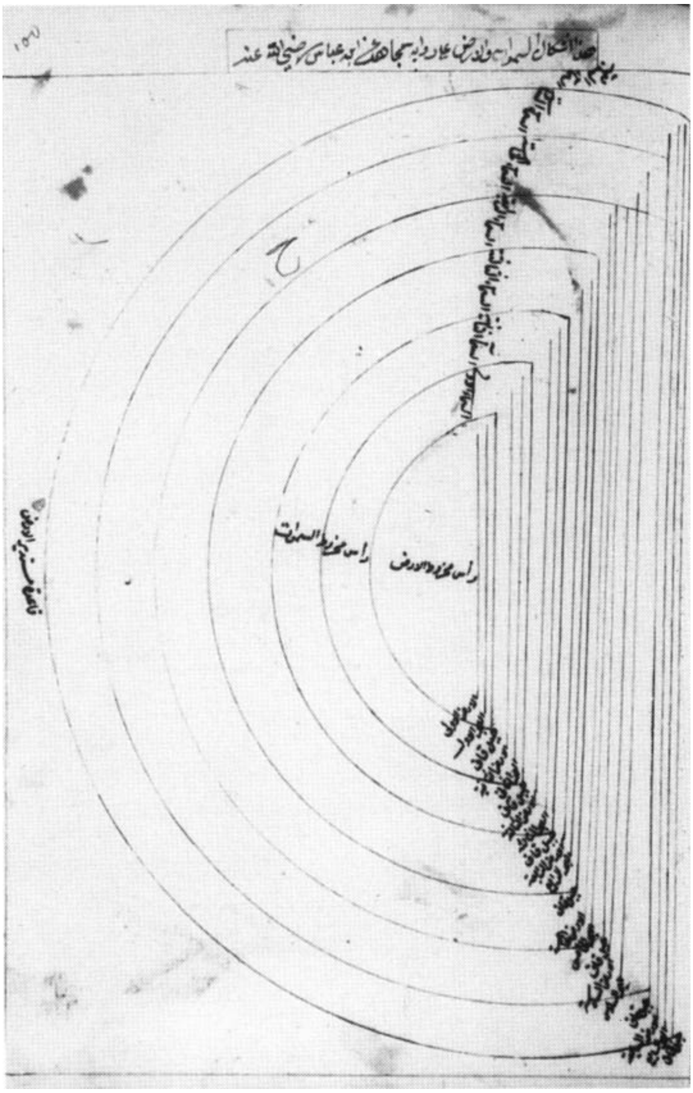

The cosmos described as a cone. Like a seven-fold dome, the seven heavens span the cone of the seven earths. The latter are part of a schematic "geography" based on a seven-fold division consisting of alternating earths, seas, and the Ḳāf mountains.

spirit. While for the first category, music (or *samāʿ*) is not to be permitted, as for the adepts, not all the *shaykhs* were unanimous as to the advantages which could be drawn from *samāʿ*. The contention was that *samāʿ* is dangerous for beginners and useless for the more advanced. Some maintained that it should be limited to the hearing of Ḳurʾānic psalmody (Ibn ʿArabī), others did not approve of it, but none explicitly discouraged it, with the exception of Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*].

It is remarkable that the conditions of admissibility of *samāʿ* have had practically no effect on the musical form itself, except that instruments with profane or dubious connotations are proscribed (al-Ghazālī). This is why certain instruments, such as the tambourine (*daff, bendir, mazhar*) and the *nāy* were more widespread, while certain orders were content with song. Similarly, romantic poems were adopted at a very early stage in Persia, on condition that they were to be interpreted by the adepts in a metaphorical sense—sometimes very subtle—relating to a spiritual object or to the person of the Prophet.

Faced with the diversity of attitudes, *samāʿ* has taken on extremely varied forms, especially in combining with or associating with collective *dhikr*, the ritualisation of an ecstatic technique, which probably appeared a few centuries later. At the present day, it is most often in the context of a ceremony of *dhikr* that *samāʿ* is performed, in the form of chant sometimes accompanied by instruments, whether in the course of one of the phases of the ritual, or in association with the metrical shape of the *dhikr*. Thus the distinction drawn by anthropologists between *samāʿ* and *dhikr*, on the basis of the participation of subjects, "set to music" in one case and "making music" in the other, is not applicable, all the more so in that even silent listening is generally accompanied by interior *dhikr* (*khafī*), as among the Mawlawīs, often being transformed into audible *dhikr* (*djahrī, djalī*). In its primary definition, *samāʿ* as hearing without acoustic participation of the adepts hardly survives except among the Mawlawīs, the Bektāshī-ʿAlawīs, the Indo-Pakistani Ḳawwālīs, and in the rites of marginal groups such as the Yazīdīs, the Ismāʿīlīs, the *māled* shamans of Balūčistān (types *damālī, ḳalandarī*). On the other hand, in many rituals (*ḥaḍra, ḥizb, dhikr*), it survives as the introductory part (Ḳādirīs of Kurdistān) or concluding part (Ṣūfī brotherhoods of the Maghrib). In all these cases, the hymns or the instrumental pieces constitute specific repertoires generally distinguished from the music of the secular environment by means of their rhythms, their structures and their texts. Faced with the diversity of musical techniques put into practice, it is difficult to identify in purely formal terms a notion of "music of *samāʿ*", except at the level of the force of expression, drawn from the *dhikr* as a form and as a mode of concentration. The difficulty in identifying a global specificity is due perhaps to the paradoxes underlined by certain *shaykhs* (al-Suhrawardī), according to which it is not *samāʿ* and dance which induce ecstasy, but ecstasy which arouses the dance, or furthermore, that *samāʿ* is only a revealing instrument and that it only supplies that which is brought to it by the hearer.

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2. As a term in education.

Here, *samāʿ* (pl. *samāʿāt*) means [certificate of] hearing, audition; authorisation, licence.

With the rise of the large *madrasas* [*q.v.*], founded by rulers who were important personalities such as Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092 [*q.v.*]) or Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Zangī (d. 569/1174 [*q.v.*]), habits, followed so far in instruction and teaching, especially those in *ḥadīth*, took on an official character. It was the period in which places of education and training spread towards remote villages and distant provinces. The principles developed and represented by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), the great, critical systematiser of *ḥadīth* methodology, became dominant. The process accelerated when *ex officio* teaching posts and librarianships were established on a large scale, and scholarships were extended in view of the growing influx of students (*ṭullāb*). The result of this spreading praxis was that, beyond the purely idealistic point of view, the question was asked: Who, "under whom",

"when" and "where", had assisted as auditor (*sāmiʿ*) at a lecture on a certain work; who could show a certificate, an *idjāza* [*q.v.*] or, more exactly, an *idjāzat al-samāʿ*, in short a *samāʿ*. It is true that an author, or an adequately authorised *shaykh*, had always read his or another's work with his pupil (*ṭālib*), e.g. in a mosque, and had attested this for the latter with a corresponding *ḳirāʾa* note; but those who had joined the two without being involved and had only listened, had not been able to deduce for themselves any practical privilege from it. A new development grew up among jurists in the second half of the 4th/10th century, sc. of upgrading the auditor (*sāmiʿ*) vis-à-vis the reader (*ḳāriʾ*). When teaching and learning were institutionalised in centres, a link-up was made with this provision.

Samāʿāt can be shown to have existed generally from the 5th/11th century onwards. They reach their prime during the next two centuries, first in ʿIrāḳ and then in Syria. After the Mongol storm, the centre of gravity shifted to Egypt. The *samāʿāt* can be found at the end of manuscripts and/or on their title- and fly leaves and/or between parts and chapters. In these certificates, the composition of a *madjlis* is reflected, in the field of knowlege of tradition, including law, in the first place, and then in the fields of biographies and history, grammar and lexicography, *adab* in the widest sense of the word, but also of medicine, philosophy, etc.

The *samāʿāt* of the lectures are quite variable in their outer form and organisation. The lectures are presided over by a *shaykh* (rarely a *shaykha*) as *musmiʿ* (teacher); the reader (*ḳāriʾ*) sits before him, while a third person, the recorder (*kātib*), keeps the protocol, which, in small gatherings can also be kept by the *musmiʿ* or the *ḳāriʾ*. In an ideal case, the three of them—including the *musmiʿ*—are mentioned one after the other under their full names, titles, etc. in connection with the introductory formula *ḳaraʾa ʿalayya*: the *shaykh* (with *isnād* [*q.v.*] if he is not the author himself) and the title of the work (equally with additions like autograph, *riwāya* [*q.v.*], owner, etc.); then the reader, and finally the recorder with a statement of the place (such as *madrasa, masdjid, dār, zāwiya, bayt, ribāṭ, dayr, khān*, etc.), date and duration of the lecture; a list of auditors (*sāmiʿūn*) is also added: men, young males, women, young females, children (often with an exact indication of their age), and slaves accompanying higher-placed personalities. After an auditor's (*sāmiʿ*) name in the list, there may be a remark that he was only present at certain parts (occasionally confirmed in his own hand in a gloss, but also in the work itself). At the end, the *musmiʿ* usually confirms the entire note of *samāʿ*, as he also may do in other places about the correctness of a statement. In more sizeable works, whose lecture (*ḳirāʾa*) extends over a longer period of time, the *musmiʿ*, as well as the *ḳāriʾ* or the *kātib*, can be replaced by someone else. Not rarely a new *idjāza* is found after separate parts (*adjzāʾ*). The number of auditors amounts in general to between ten and twenty, but they may also be less or more, or even so many that the recorder, who may belong to the group of auditors (*kātib al-ṭabaḳa*, pl. *ṭibāḳ*), does not know all the names. He may be assisted by a *muthbit* (confirmer), taken from among the auditors, who confirms in a gloss certain places in the *idjāzat al-samāʿ*, or from whose hand comes the list of auditors, etc. New *samāʿāt* are often added in following or later sessions or are taken over in transcripts, etc. The *shaykh* may issue a note of *samāʿ* for one single auditor personally, which is then introduced by the term *samiʿa*. Already the great al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1166 [*q.v.*]) made efforts to obtain and collect *samāʿāt/masmūʿāt* either by correspondence or through a third person. They played a role in purchases and estates. *Samāʿāt* are inexhaustibly overflowing sources of a high documentary value for the spread of a work and its manuscripts, for the completion of the extensive biographical literature, for the busy relations of the learned centres between themselves, and for the history and archaeology of individual places.

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(R. SELLHEIM)

ṢAMAD [see ALLĀH; AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ].

SAMAK (A.), substantive with a generic sense (unit. *samaka*, pl. *asmāk, sumūk, simāk*), denoting fish in general, whether of fresh water or of the sea (P. *samak, māhī*, Tkish. *balık*, Tamahaḳḳ *emen*, pl. *imenān, asūlmei*, pl. *isūlmeien*). The term *samak*, which does not figure in the Ḳurʾān, is, in the work of Arab authors, often replaced by one of its two synonyms, *ḥūt* and *nūn* (pl. *nīnān, anwān*) from the Akkadian *nūnu*. However, *ḥūt* (pl. *aḥwāt, ḥītān*, in dialect, *ḥiyūta*) is applied primarily to very large fishes and to cetaceans.

1. Ichthyonomy.

It would be impossible here to list all the species which, in systematic ichthyology (*ismākiyya*), number more than a hundred thousand, and as in almost all other languages, Arabic ichthyonomy is abundant in its scale. Thus, for the Red Sea, the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, the orientalist G. Oman, of Naples, has assembled, in a recent and remarkable study (see *Bibl.*), close on eleven hundred names of fishes. For his part, Prof. A. Salonen, of Helsinki, has contributed about a thousand names drawn from Sumero-Akkadian (see *Bibl.*). The author of this article, for his part, has gathered, for the western Mediterranean basin (Egypt, Libya and the Maghrib), approximately twelve hundred terms. In this rich terminology, numerous appellations are formed from the nouns *samak* or *ḥūt* or *nūn* combined with a qualificative or a nominal complement. Within the range of the latter, this study will be limited to mentioning only those which evoke a Biblical or historical personage, authentic or legendary, in association with fishes or other aquatic creatures. First to be mentioned in this context is Jonah, Yūnus, known as *Ṣāḥib al-Ḥūt* "the man of the fish" (Ḳurʾān, XXXVII, 142; LXVIII, 48) and, with the same meaning, *Dhu 'l-Nūn* (Ḳurʾān, XXI, 87), who is said to have been swallowed by some kind of shark and not by a whale, the latter, with its filters, being capable of absorbing only plankton. Subsequently to be found are the *ḥūt Mūsā* or *samak Mūsā* "the fish of Moses", the *ḥūt Mūsā wa-Yūshaʿ* "the fish of Moses and of

Joshua" and the *ḥūt Sīdnā Sulaymān* "the fish of our master Solomon"; these three names are given to the common sole (*Solea vulgaris*). The *sulṭān Ibrāhīm* "the sultan Abraham" is the name given to the red mullet (*Mullus barbatus*). The *Ibn Yaʿḳūb* "the son of Jacob" is the common sargo (*Diplodus sargus*). The *samakat al-Iskandar* "the fish of Alexander the Great" is the hammer-head shark (*Sphyrna zygaena*). With the *ḥūt Sulaymān*, this is not a reference to the person but a phonetic adaptation of the Latin *salmo* for the common salmon (*Salmo salar*). Among the origins of the formation of Arabic names of fishes, the first to be noted are those which are drawn directly from Greco-Roman nomenclature, such as: *baramis*, the bream, from *Abramis brama; usbūr*, the sparid fish, from *Sparus; uṭrūṭ*, the trout, from *Trutta; bulbīs*, the barbel, from *Barbus; balamīda*, the pelamid, from *Pelamys*, also called *būnīt*, the bonito; *tūn, ṭūn, tunn*, the tunny fish, from *Thynnus; tunḳus*, the tench, from *Tinca; anḳalīs*, the eel, from *Anquilla; arrang, ranga, ranka*, the herring, from *Clupea harengus; rāya, radja*, the ray, from *Raia; surghūs*, the common sargo, from *Sargus vulgaris; sardīn*, the sardine, from *Clupea sardina; isfirnī, safarna, safarnāya*, the spet or barracuda, from *Sphyraena; isḳumrī*, the mackerel, from *Scomber; sillawr*, the sheat fish, from *Silurus; salmūn, ṣumūn*, the salmon, from *Salmo; ghādus*, the cod, from *Gadus; luṭṭ*, the burbot, from *Lota lota; lāṭis, lūṭis*, the Nile perch, from *Lates nilotica; lafūt*, the lophot, from *Lophotes; līmanda*, the dab, from *Limanda*. Numerous appellations are also encountered formed from the name of a terrestrial creature joined to the complement *-al-baḥr* "of the sea", such as: *sabuʿ al-baḥr* "beast of the sea" for the sea wolf (*Anarhichas lupus*); *faras al-baḥr* "horse of the sea" for the bellows fish (*Centriscus*); *ḳunfudhat al-baḥr* "hedgehog of the sea" for the sea-urchin (*Diodon*). Similarly, many terms are composed of *abū* "father of ..." or *umm* "mother of ...", with the complement of a noun marking a characteristic of the fish concerned. The following are examples: *abū ḳarn* "father of the horn" for the unicorn fish (*Naseus unicornis*); *abū miṭraḳa* "father of the hammer" for the hammer-head shark (*Sphyrna zygaena*); *abū sayf* "father of the sword" for the swordfish (*Xiphias gladius*); *abū ṣundūḳ* "father of the chest" for the coffer fish (*Ostracion nasus*); *abū minḳar* "father of the beak" for the half-beak (*Hemiramphus*); *abū minshar* "father of the saw" for the sawfish (*Pristis pristis*); *abū dhaḳan* "father of the beard" for the goat fish or mullet (*Mullus barbatus*); *umm ḳarn* "mother of the horn" for the trigger fish (*Balistes*); *umm al-shabābīṭ* "mother of the barbels" for the barbel (*Barbus sharpeyi*). Some names derive from living foreign languages, and especially from Spanish, such as *anshūyah, andjūyah* (Spanish *anchoa*), the anchovy (*Engraulis boelema*); *arrang, ranga, ranka* (Spanish *arenque*), the herring (*Clupea harengus*); *bakūra* (Spanish *albacora*), the albacore (*Germo alalunga*); *durāda* (Spanish *dorado*), the goldfish (*Sparus aurata*). The influence of English, of French and of Italian should also not be disregarded. To the Persian *parastūg* "swallow" are related *barasūdj, barastūk, ṭarastudj* for the mullet (*Mullus*), and from the Turkish *alabalık* comes the name *alābālghā* for the trout. In a process contrary to these Arabic borrowings of foreign terms, systematic science has sometimes needed recourse to an Arabic term, which is then latinised, to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region. Thus *barda* = the pink sea-bream, is encountered again with *Chrysophrys berda; ḥaffāra* = the wrasse, with *Chrysophrys haffara*; *sarb* = the grey gilthead, with *Chrysophrys sarba*; *bashīr* = polypterus Bichir, with *Polypterus Bechir*; *buhār* = the diacope, with *Diacope bohar*; *bayaḍ, bayyāḍ* = a silurus of the Nile, with *Bagrus bajad*; *ḥarīd* = the parrot fish, with *Scarus harid*; *ḥalāwī* = the guitar fish, with *Rhinobatus halavi*; *durāb* = the chirocentrus, with *Chirocentrus dorab*; *duḳmaḳ* = a silurus of the Nile, the Euphrates and the Niger, with *Bagrus docmac*; *ghubbān* = the green scarus, with *Scarus ghobban*; *safan* = the sephen skate, with *Raia sephen*; *saydjān* = the sidjan scarus, with *Scarus siganus*; *līmī* = umbra limi, with *Umbra limi*; *shalba* = a silurus of the Nile and the Niger, with *Schilbe mystus*; *ṭahmal* = a silurus, with *Pimelopterus tahmel*; *urfī* = the braize orphe, with *Pagrus orphus*; *bunnī al-Nīl* = the Nile barbel, with *Barbus bynni*; *lafūt* = the unicorn fish, with *Lophotes cepedianus*; *limma* = the limma ray, with *Raia lymma*; *abū ṣanṣūn* = the sansun kingfish, with *Caranx sansun*; *djiddāba* = the djeddaba kingfish, with *Caranx djeddaba*; *balam* = the anchovy, with *Engraulis boelema*.

2. Anatomy.

The anatomy of the fish is summarised in few words. The scales are called, according to the regions: *harshaf, fiṣṣ, taflīs, ḳirāt, ḳishra, bashīr al-ḥūt* and *ashkāma* (Spanish: escamosa). For the gills and the bronchiae, organs of respiration, the only words found are: *khayshūm*, pl. *khayāshīm, khanshūsha, nakhshūsh* pl. *nakhāshīsh*. The cetaceans expel water by means of blow-holes or *naysam* pl. *nayāsim*. For the fins the terms are: *djanāḥ al-samak, ziʿnifa, djāniḥa*. The eggs laid by the fishes (*ṭumār*) constitute the spawn, *sarʾ al-samak, sirʾ, sarwa, ṣuʿtur*, deposited in spawning-grounds or *masraʾ al-samak*, habitual sites peculiar to each species; it is there that the fry (*bulʿūṭ*) develop.

3. Halieutics.

It is known that, since prehistoric times, fish has always provided one of the principal alimentary resources for riverside and coastal populations, especially of the Mediterranean, the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. It may thus be stated that fishing (*iṣṭiyād al-samak*) engendered both coastal and oceanic navigation, and this even before the long-range voyages of migration and of commercial traffic. First of all, it is important to distinguish between two very different types of fishing, sea fishing and fresh water fishing, the species of fish belonging to these two aquatic environments not being the same, although some migrate periodically from one to the other. The halieutic vocabulary for these two modes of fishing is quite abundant. In fishing on the high seas, associated with navigation, the principal instrument used is the large pouched net known as seine or drag-net (*djarf, djārūf, djarrāfa, ḳaṭṭāʿa, baṭāna*) supported by floats of cork (*ʿawwām, kurtīdj*) and terminating in a closed end (*khurṭūm*). It is towed by rowing boats and, when reckoned to be full, dragged to the shore. For tunny fishing, especially in Tunisia, the device used is a huge enclosure formed of meshed cloth with which the tunny bed is surrounded; this is the tuna net (*mazraba*). The catch is hoisted aboard the boats by means of gaffs and grapnels (*khaṣm al-ḳāḍī, muḳbulān, miḥdjān, ʿakfā, ʿukkāfa*) or dispatched directly with harpoons (*khaṭūf, khaṭṭāf, ʿaṭūf, kullāb, mudjīr, muʿīn, mughīth, musahhil*). A third method of fishing at sea consists in stretching out a long cable which is held on the surface by floats and fitted, at regular intervals, with fish-hooks (*sannāra, ṣinnāra, shiṣṣ, mikhṭāf, mukhūṭāf*), baited and slightly submerged; this rope with fish-hooks is known as *balāngar, brungalī, shīrīnbak*. Finally, there is fishing by means of dragging a line fitted with gull-feathers; this is *dūzan bi 'l-rīsha* or *shalūsh*. The fishing-line, made from plaited horsehair, is called *sadjīm, shalīf, būlīs*. The bait most often used is the talitrus, a small leaping crustacean, also known as the sand-flea (*Talitrus saltator*) or *kūkra*, in addition

to the arenicol (*trīmūlīn*), a small beach worm (*Arenicola marina*).

Once ashore, the fisherman (*khannāk*, *ʿarakī*) delivers his catch to a fishmonger (*sammāk, ḥawwāt*) who maintains a shop (*khināka*) in the fish-market (*sūk al-khannākīn*).

Fishing in fresh water, practised in stagnant waters as well in the current of any watercourse and large river, employs diverse techniques. Where the depth allows, the fisherman enters the water directly, wherever he can find a foothold, thereby dispensing with the need for a boat. By this means he can deposit an eel-trap (*salla, radfūn, radfūn, wahhār*) with bait, which needs to be raised only once or twice daily. In the absence of such a trap, he contents himself with digging a channel in the water-bed (*kannūra*), in the place which he judges to be the best conduit for the aquatic fauna, and baits it copiously; eels, barbels, breams, carps and many others will soon arrive to feed there. When he sees his channel swarming with fish, he needs only a landing-net (*ghirāfa, ʿabb*) to draw out what he wants; eels are killed by means of a fish-gig (*bāla, fāla, ḥarba*). If the catch is particularly abundant, he may place some of the fish in buckets of water, transferring them, as a reserve, to a fish pond (*maḥkān, djals, ikhādha, fadla, birka*) prepared for this purpose. In the Maghrib and the Near East, a very popular and lucrative form of fishing, practised in fresh water as well as on the sea-shore, consists in the use of a stick fitted with the small bag-shaped net known as a cast net (*ṭarḥa, ṭarrāḥ, bayyāḥa*) with weights attached to its periphery in such a manner that it sinks to the bed of the water. The caster, who may stand up to waist-deep in the water, draws it slowly towards himself, thus imprisoning the creatures caught in it; everywhere, young fishermen are adept at this activity. Also to be mentioned, finally, is the virtually universal sport of angling with a fishing rod (*kaṣba, kannāra, ghawayyiṣ*) formed, usually, of numerous sections fastened together and terminating in a fine and very flexible tip (*dhabāb*) to the end of which the thread of the line is fastened, and this bears a floating bob, above the hook. The fishing rod is usually made of pieces of bamboo (*khayzurān*) or other types of wood; modern techniques use metallic or synthetic materials. This mode of fishing is of two types. The first consists in holding the cane motionless or laying it on the bank, watching for the movement of the float which shows that there has been a "nibble"; it is then necessary to "strike" at once. It is possible to fish with several rods simultaneously, and many amateur anglers come equipped with a bundle (*ṭunn*) of rods. The bait may be an earthworm (*dūda*) or a small fresh water crustacean, the water-beetle *Daphnia pulex* (*burghūth al-māʾ*) or a maggot (*duʿmūṣ*), or a crumb of bread or some boiled grain such as wheat or barley or hempseed (*shahdānidj, kunbuz*) or, finally, a small living fish, i.e. live bait. The second type of rod fishing, very popular with sporting anglers, is "casting" (*rimāya*). The line is wound on a reel (*dūlāb*) fixed to the base of the rod and instead of bait, a small metallic lure (*fitna, khadīʿa*) in the shape of an insect or a small fish is attached to the hook. This practice is not widely used in Arab countries, although it is very popular throughout Europe, and elsewhere.

4. Literature.

In the literary domain, there is scarcely any treatment of the subject on the part of the ancient Arab authors, the exception being Kushādjim who, in the 4th/10th century, devoted a chapter to fishing in his *Kitāb al-Maṣāyid* (see *Bibl.*). This chapter, brief though it is, is nevertheless valuable on account of the poetic extracts which it includes. Thus there are found there 12 verses by Ibn al-Rūmī (metre *kāmil*, rhyme *-aki*); two *urdjūzas* by Kushādjim himself, one of 28 hemistiches (rhyme *-ānī*) and the other of 14 hemistiches (rhyme *-āʾ*); an *urdjūza* of 24 hemistiches (rhyme *-adī*) by al-Ṣanawbarī; and, finally, an *urdjūza* of 23 hemistiches (rhyme *-dā*) of Ibn al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī. It is not until the 8th/14th century that, with Ibn Manglī and his treatise on hunting, *Uns al-malā* (see *Bibl.*), more ample details are obtained regarding fishing with the net, with the harpoon, with chemicals (*dawāʾ*), with the eel-trap, with clay (*ṭīn*), and with the lantern (*fānūs*) and the pit (*ughwiyya*).

5. Licitness.

On account of the predominant place occupied by fish in the diet of Muslim populations, it has been the object of judicial dispositions based on Ḳurʾānic law, in particular the verse (V, 95) "You are permitted the game of the sea (*ṣayd al-baḥr*) and the food which is found there". Any fish of non-cartilaginous skeleton and devoid of blood may therefore be lawfully consumed, without a requirement for ritual slaughter. However, fish found dead may not be consumed. Also forbidden are: (1) fishes of cartilaginous skeleton, in other words the selachians or squalidae (*kirshiyyāt*) including the shark with its various species (*kirsh, awwāl, kawsadj, kanya, kayna, ṭufaylī, kuraysh, lakhm, kalb al-baḥr, bunbuk, liyāʾ, kaṣaf, abū minshar*), most of these names supplied by al-Damīrī; the hammer-head (*bakra, miṭrāk al-baḥr, abū miṭraka, samakat al-Iskandar, naddār*), the spotted dogfish (*gharrāʾ*) and the ray or skate, with its multiplicity of names (*raya, radja, warank, farank, yamāmat al-baḥr, shifnīn al-baḥr, tarsa, samak al-turs, daraka, samak al-limmā, ḥaṣīra, farsh, kubaʿ, ḥalwā, waṭwāṭa, maṣṣūn, maṣṣūla, abū mihmāz*; (2) the marine mammals or cetaceans (*ḥūtiyyāt*) including the whale (*wāla, bāla, ballīna, banīna, būlīna, ḥūt Yūnus*), the humpbacked whale (*kubaʿ, djamal al-baḥr*), the sperm-whale (*ʿanbar*), the porpoise (*khinzīr al-baḥr, bunbuk*), the dolphin (*dulfīn, danfīl, danfīr, darfīl, dukhas*), the narwhal (*karkaddan al-baḥr, ḥarīsh al-baḥr*), the finback (*hirkūl, manāra*), the orc or grampus (*urka, kattal*) and the white whale (*ḥafshrūsī, kalb al-baḥr*); (3) the amphibian mammals (*kawāzib, barmāʾiyyūn*) or pinnipeds (*ziʿnufiyyāt al-akdām*) including the seal (*shaykh al-baḥr, ʿidjl al-baḥr, fukma, fukkama, bū mnīr*), the monk seal (*al-shaykh al-yahūdī, abū marīna*), the walrus (*fīl al-baḥr, fazz*), the sea lion (*dubb al-baḥr, asad al-baḥr, bakrat al-baḥr*) and the elephant seal (*fīl al-baḥr*); and (4) the sirenian mammals or "sea cows" (*khaylāniyyāt, banāt al-māʾ*) including the manatee (*kharūf al-baḥr, umm zubayba*) and the dugong (*aṭūm, maliṣa, nāka al-baḥr, zālikha, ḥanfāʾ*). As for *Rhytina stelleri*, the sea cow (*bakarat al-baḥr*) of the Red Sea, it has been extinct for two centuries. All of these aquatic creatures have nevertheless always been hunted, either for their abundant stocks of fat, useful for many purposes and in particular for the making of soap and the fuelling of wicked lamps, or for their thick and very resistant hide, used in the manufacture of shields and, in particular, of protective shoes for the feet of camels required to traverse stony deserts.

6. As a source of diet.

Fish has been a staple source of nourishment for humanity from the outset. It is consumed in various forms. Firstly, it may be fried immediately after catching. On the other hand, it is the object of four principal modes of preservation. The first, much used in Egypt since the time of the Pharaohs, is dessication by exposure to the sun of large and small fish (*mushammaʿ, ṣaraṣ, bushūṭa, kūridj*) such as the stockfish (*bākālāw, bākālyū, bakala, baklāwa*, from the Spanish

bacallao). The next is salting and smoking (*tamlīḥ* and *tadkhīn*) for small fishes (*ṣayr*) such as the anchovy (*anshūwa, anshūyah, andjūyah, anshūba, shīḥa, shuṭūn, fasīkh, mulūḥa, maṭūṭ*) and the sand-smelt (*kushkush, balam, haff*); the same treatment is used for the salmon (*salāmūn, shalāmūn, ṣūmūn, ḥūt Sulaymān*). Also used is pickling or maceration with spices in brine (*salāmūra, sanamūra*). In Tunis this is the method used to preserve carp (*bunn*). Finally, there remains preservation in oil or vinegar and packing in metal containers; this applies to the sardine (*sardīn, sarda, bisāriya, absāriya, ʿaram*), the cod, the mackerel and the herring. Delicacies such as caviar (*khibyāra*) and botargo (*baṭrakh*), are not widely consumed in Arab countries.

As for culinary preparations of fish, they are most varied and many are similar to those of Europe. Well-known, among others, is the fish stew (*munazzalat al-samak, muḳbulā*) based on eel or carp. The ancient Arabic treatises on culinary art supply five recipes for fresh fish, five for salted, and three with the trigle or gurnard (*ṭirrīkh*) (see M. Rodinson, in *Bibl.*).

7. Fabulous marine creatures.

Arab authors naturalists and geographers, such as al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Damīrī and al-Djāḥiẓ, include in their descriptions of different seas the accounts of seafarers who encountered there enormous marine creatures, unidentifiable and very dangerous. Thus they mention the *fāṭūs* or *ḥūt al-ḥayḍ* which shatters the ships which it encounters, but which is put to flight when the sailors hang from the peripheral points of the vessel rags stained with menstrual blood (*ḥayḍ*). Also mentioned, in the Sea of China (*baḥr al-Ṣīn*), is a fish three hundred cubits in length which the inhabitants of the island of Wāḳwāḳ (Indonesian Archipelago) repel and banish by making the loudest possible noise, beating cauldrons and tomtoms. In the same sea lurks the *aṭam*, which has the head of a pig, is covered with a hairy fleece instead of scales, and shows female sexual organs; it is allegedly edible. In the Indian Ocean (*baḥr al-Hind*) there is a large fish nicknamed *kataba 'l-kitāb* "he has written the book", the juice of which produces an invisible ink legible only at night, and another large green fish with a serpent's head whose flesh, tasted only once, suppresses all appetite for several days.

8. Specific qualities.

These are numerous and for the most part beneficial. The flesh of the fish is of cold and humid texture. The best flesh is that of the sea fish, and more specifically, that of fishes with speckled back and delicate scales; but it causes thirst and may generate catarrh; it is appropriate for those with high temperatures and for young persons. It is necessary, however, to reject black or yellow fish, those of marshes which absorb mud, and in particular the bream (*abrāmīs*) and the grey mullet (*būrī*), which cause gastric disorders sometimes involving serious complications. On the other hand, Avicenna maintains that the flesh of the fish is, with honey, beneficial for the treatment of cataracts and for increasing visual acuity. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, this flesh is supposedly an aphrodisiac when consumed with fresh onions. An intoxicated person, exposed to the smell of fish, soon becomes sober and regains lucidity. The gall of fish in the form of eye-wash is a cure for watering eyes and, mixed with that of the marine turtle, it provides a golden phosphorescent ink.

9. Astronomy.

The substantives *samak* and *ḥūt* occur in astronomy for:

(1) The twelfth zodiacal constellation of *Pisces* (*burdj al-ḥūt*), with *al-samakatān*[i] "the two fishes", the 24th star being called *al-ḥūt al-shimālī* "the northern fish". Also distinguished are the two stars *al-ḥūt al-sharḳī* "the eastern fish", and *al-ḥūt al-gharbī* "the western fish", near the ecliptic, under the Square of Pegasus.

(2) The 28th lunar house, with *baṭn al-ḥūt* "the belly of the fish" in the vicinity of Andromeda, i.e.: β (beta) *Andromedae*, mag. 2, 4 or "Merak" (*marāḳ al-mar'a 'l-musalsala*) "the lower belly of the woman enchained".

(3) The 6th boreal constellation of Andromeda, with its nickname of *al-mar'a al-musalsala wa 'l-samaka* "the woman enchained and the fish" (see above) on account of the "northern fish" which seems intent on biting Andromeda.

(4) The 14th austral constellation of the "southern fish" (*al-ḥūt al-djanūbī*), under the zodiacal *Aquarius*, with the star "Fomalhaut" (*fumm al-ḥūt*) "the mouth of the fish", i.e. α (alpha) *Piscis australis*, mag. 1,3.

Bibliography (in alphabetical order of authors): A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles* (essay on identification), in *AIEO Alger*, ix (1951), 166-7, 191; Dr. Chenu, *Encyclopedie d'histoire naturelle* (vol. *Reptiles et poissons*), Paris 1874, 183-358; Damīrī, *K. Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, ed. Cairo 1937, under *ḥūt*, i, 267-73, *nūn*, ii, 371-4, *samak*, ii, 28-33; Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1947, under *ḥūt, samak* and *passim*; Ibn Manglī, *Uns al-malā*, "*De la chasse*", tr. F. Viré, Paris 1984, 226-35; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-makhlūkāt* (in margins of Damīrī, i, 66, ii, 87, 184-5, *passim*); Kushādjim, *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid*, ms. Istanbul, Fatih 4090 (*Bāb ṣayd al-baḥr*) fols. 153a-156b, ed. M.A. Talas, Baghdād 1954, 229-34 (same chapter, but incomplete); A. Malouf, *Muʿdjam al-ḥayawān, An Arabic zoological dictionary*, Cairo 1932, *passim*; G. Oman, *L'Ichtyonomie dans les pays arabes* (Red Sea, Indian Ocean, Arabian Gulf) (in Italian, English, French), publ. Instituto Universitario Orientale, Naples 1992; M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI* (1949), 103, 107 f., 119 f., 142; A. Salonen, *Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen*, in *Annales Academiae Fennicae*, clxvi, Helsinki 1970; F. Terofal, *Les poissons d'eau douce*, éditions Solar (Guide vert poche), Paris 1987; idem, *Les poissons de mer*, Paris 1988; F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, iv (under *Jourdain, Mer Morte, Nil, Palestine, Poisson*), v (under *Tibériade, lac de*), Paris 1912. (F. VIRÉ)

SAMAKATĀN [see AL-NUDJŪM].

SAMANDAL (var. *sanand, sandal, sabandal*, etc.), from Greek *salamandra* (in Arabic literature derived from Persian *sām* "fire" and *andarūn* "inside"), the salamander, which plays an important part in Arabic and Islamic folklore. According to an idea taken over from Greek literature (Aristotle, V, cap. 17), the animal passes through fire unharmed and even extinguishes it due to its coldness (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 309, vi, 434; al-Damīrī, s.v.; al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjā'ib*, 442; Djābir b. Ḥayyān, *Das Buch der Gifte*, facs. ed. A. Siggel, 85a; in detail, al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 182). Aristotle thought that the salamander proved that animal matter was unburnable. According to al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī, the salamander can cleanse its skin in the fire without burning, and many Arab authors agree that soft towels could be made of its fur, which can be cleaned with fire (in addition to the aforementioned works see al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii, 129). Ibn Khallikān claims to have seen such a piece himself (*Wafayāt*, no. 832; for a verse on the *samandal* by Yaʿḳūb b. Ṣābir al-Manḳanīḳī (b. 626/1288-9), see *ibid.* and in al-Damīrī, s.v. *ʿankabūt*).

In the Arabic sources there are, however, different

theories about the shape of the salamander. Many authors identify it as a bird (al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Khallikān, al-Ibshīhī; *Ḳāmūs* and *Tādj*, s.r.); only al-Damīrī, besides calling it a bird, describes it as a reddish-yellow coloured animal (*dābba*) with red eyes and a long tail. Al-Ḳazwīnī mentions it in the chapter on mice. According to the Arabic Physiologus, the salamander is a stone that extinguishes fire (Land, *Scholia*, 166, cap. 52; cf. *samandal* as a word for asbestos). Moreover, especially in the works of the Arab lexicographers, there are contaminations of the salamander with the phoenix (*Tahdhīb, Lisān, Tādj*), as well as with the bird that eats aconite (*bīsh*; *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.r. *s-d-l*). The salamander is mostly thought to live in India (al-Damīrī) or in China (al-Ibshīhī).

In Arabic literature, one must distinguish the folkloristic statements on the salamander from the concrete descriptions—especially those from a medical point of view (Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Heil- und Nahrungsmittel*, tr. J. von Sontheimer, ii, 3; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, iii, 232; see also ᶜUmarī, *Masālik*, xx, 62; for its being mentioned in Greek literature, see Dioscorides, ii, cap. 67)—to be found under the lexeme *salāmand(a)rā*. There, the salamander is described more correctly as a sort of lizard or snake, its medical effects, including its poisonousness, are stressed, and the idea of its being unburnable is explicitly rejected.

Real varieties of salamanders (family *Salamandridae*, order *Urodela* of the amphibians) are not very common in the Orient. The fire salamander (*Salamandra salamandra*) which is black and has yellow or orange spots, is to be found in Asia Minor, Syria and North Africa. In Asia Minor we also find the Anatolian Salamander (*Mertensiella luschai*), the colour of which ranges from yellow to orange, with additional shiny black spots, and in the Caucasus there is the Caucasian salamander (*Mertensiella caucasica*), which is black with light spots. They both belong to a genus of varieties with slender bodies.

Bibliography: Arabic sources are given in the article. See also al-Ab Anastās al-Karmalī, *al-Samandal*, in *al-Mashriḳ*, vi (1903), 9-15; Amīn al-Maᶜlūf, *Muᶜdjam al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932, 213-15.

(H. Eisenstein)

SAMANDAR [see khazar].

AL-**SAMᶜĀNĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Djabbār (487-23 Shawwāl 534/1094-11 June 1140), author of *Rawḥ al-arwāḥ fī sharḥ asmāʾ al-malik al-fattāḥ* (ed. N. Māyil Harawī, Tehran 1368/1989), a long (600 pp.) Persian commentary on the divine names. His father Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Manṣūr (426-89/1035-96) wrote books in *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, and other subjects. Aḥmad studied with his eldest brother, Abū Bakr Muḥammad, the father of ᶜAbd al-Karīm al-Samᶜānī [*q.v.*], author of *al-Ansāb*, as well as several other teachers. In 529/1135 he travelled with ᶜAbd al-Karīm to Nīshāpūr to study *ḥadīth*. His nephew does not mention his writings but, in praising his virtues, speaks of his "elegant" (*malīḥ*) sermons and good poetry (*al-Ansāb*, ed. ᶜA. al-Bārūdī, iii, Beirut 1988, 299-301). His elegance is clear in *Rawḥ al-arwāḥ*, a work of extraordinary beauty that was certainly meant to be recited aloud. The prose ranks with that of contemporary classics such as Ghazālī's *Kīmiyā-yi saᶜādat*, but its main importance lies in its fresh interpretations of standard Islamic teachings on human salvation. Al-Samᶜānī pays little attention to the divine names themselves; instead, he uses each name as a starting point for a series of meditations on the relationship between human beings and God. The extraordinary emphasis on love prefigures the teachings of Rūmī and reflects the same spiritual ambience as Maybudī's Ḳurʾān commentary *Kashf al-asrār wa-ᶜuddat al-abrār* (begun in 520/1126).

Bibliography: W.C. Chittick, *The myth of Adam's fall in Aḥmad Samᶜānī's* Rawḥ al-arwāḥ, in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *Classical Persian Sufism: from its origins to Rumi*, London 1993, 337-59.

(W.C. Chittick)

AL-**SAMᶜĀNĪ**, Abū Saᶜd (incorrectly Saᶜīd) ᶜAbd al-Karīm b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Muẓaffar (al-)Manṣūr al-Tamīmī al-Marwazī al-Shāfiᶜī, Tādj al-Islām (al-Dīn) Ḳiwām al-Dīn, also known as Ibn al-Samᶜānī (Samᶜān/Simᶜān, in the long, incomplete genealogy, being a branch of the tribe of Tamīm), important Arab biographer.

Born in Marw on Monday, 21 Shaᶜbān 506/10 February 1113, he died there on Monday, 1 Rabīᶜ I 562/26 December 1166. He was born into a learned family (for his father [466-510/1074-1116] see Ziriklī, vii, 112, and for his grandfather [426-89/1036-96] *ibid.*, vii, 303-4). His father, an authority in the fields of Shāfiᶜī law (al-Samᶜānī's grandfather having switched from the Ḥanafiyya to the Shāfiᶜiyya), Traditions, and homiletics, took him already as a two-year-old with him to the sessions on *ḥadīth*. A little later, in 509/1115, he travelled with him and his elder brother (*Taḥbīr*, i, 503-4) to Naysābūr, for additional instruction by the traditionists of that city. Returning to Marw and having a premonition of his imminent death, he entrusted his son to his two learned brothers. Under their guidance al-Samᶜānī received a comprehensive basic education in Ḳurʾān, *fiḳh*, *ᶜarabiyya*, and *adab*. Not quite 20 years old, he embarked on the *ṭalab al-ᶜilm*, first, still under the tutelage of his two uncles, once more to Naysābūr for a special training in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim [*q.v.*], then also to Ṭūs and other places. From his home town he visited the centres of learning of his time on three long journeys: 529-38/1135-43, 540-6/1145-51, and—together with his son ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm—549-52/1154-7. He went via Iṣfahān and Hamadān to Baghdād and its environs, to Mecca and Medina, to Damascus and Jerusalem (which at the time of his visit in 536/1141 had been in the hands of the Crusaders for 42 years), and, in the north and the east, to Khwārazm, Samarḳand, Bukhārā, Balkh and Harāt. A number of these places with their important schools and academies he visited more than once (he also went on the Pilgrimage twice), even if that involved detours, constantly driven, as he was, by his desire for *ṭalab al-ᶜilm*.

This preoccupation of his informed not only his teaching in Marw and elsewhere but also his rich literary production which centred on the Prophetic Traditions and their transmission. With admirable orderliness and fastidiousness, he constantly strove to enlarge and correct his collected materials. Many of his more than 50 works most likely became casualties of the Mongol invasion. Marw was conquered in 618/1221. As late as 615/1218 Yāḳūt [*q.v.*] had participated in a *madjlis* of al-Samᶜānī's son ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm (537-617/1143-1220; al-Ṣafadī, xviii, 331) (see *Muᶜdjam*, i, 6); he had worked in the local libraries, *inter alia* those of the Samᶜānīs (*ibid.*, iv, 509) and had excerpted some of the great scholar's books, thus e.g. his biographical *magnum opus* on the Traditionists, namely:

(1) *al-Ansāb*. Arranged alphabetically according to *nisba* [*q.v.*], it contains 5,348 entries; each starts with an exact indication of the pronunciation of the *nisba*, gives the place, the person, or the group etc. to which the relative adjective refers, followed by the full name of the scholar in question with information on teachers and disciples (*isnād*), places and times of their ac-

tivities, and the date of death; as a rule, other personalities (including women) having the same *nisba* will be joined to the entry, so that the number of the scholars mentioned exceeds by twice or three times the amount of the number of entries, not counting the many additional persons that occur in a *vita* as teachers, colleagues, or disciples of the biographers. In not a few places al-Samʿānī indicates the literature used by him; the small *Kitāb al-Ansāb* by Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī [*q.v.*], quoted by Yāḳūt, was likely also known to him. He finished the clean copy a few years before his death, but constantly added supplements. It was edited in facsimile by D.S. Margoliouth, Leiden-London 1912 (containing an introduction with a list of his works); edited by al-Muʿallimī *et alii*, 13 vols., Ḥaydarābād/Deccan 1382-1402/1952-82 (with a detailed introd.); since 1976 reprints and new editions (in part) in Damascus and Beirut complete in 5 vols., ed. ʿA.ʿU. al-Bārūdī, Beirut 1988. Abridgements with supplements: the best-known is that of the historian ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr [*q.v.*], *al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-Ansāb*, 3 vols., Cairo 1357-69/1938-49 (repr. Beirut 1980); this was abbreviated and added to by al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*], *Lubb al-Lubāb fī taḥrīr al-Ansāb*, ed. and annot. P.J. Veth, 2 vols., Leiden 1841-51 (repr. of vol. i, Baghdād [1963]).

(2) *al-Taḥbīr fī 'l-Muʿdjam al-kabīr*, a work of more than 1,200 biographies of contemporary scholars, men and women, whom al-Samʿānī had either encountered during his *ṭalab al-ḥadīth* at home and abroad, especially in Naysābūr and Iṣfahān, or with whom he had corresponded, or, finally, from whom he had received an *idjāza* [*q.v.*] through intermediaries. The biographies are brief but informative; they reflect diary entries. Al-Samʿānī produced the clean copy in the year before his death, which may actually have overtaken him while doing this work; for the beginning and the end are missing in the ancient *unicum* Ẓāhiriyya, *ḥadīth* 529 (al-ʿIshsh, 181). Ed. Munīra Nādjī Sālim, 2 vols., Baghdād 1395/1975; cf. eadem, in *al-Mawrid*, ii/4 (1973), 245-52 (reply to Muṭāʿ al-Ṭarābīshī, in *MMLʿA*, xlviii [1393/1973], 371-80); iii/3 (1974), 307-16; v/4 (1976), 29-58; eadem, *Tādj al-Islām Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī wa-kitābuhu 'l-Taḥbīr fī 'l-Muʿdjam al-kabīr*, Cairo (1976); for the question whether this work is the original of the *Taḥbīr* or rather a *Tahdhīb al-Taḥbīr*, see lastly Muṭāʿ al-Ṭarābīshī, in *MMLʿA*, lv (1400/1980), 149-63.

(3) *Muntakhab Muʿdjam al-shuyūkh*, another biographical dictionary, covering al-Samʿānī's teachers; unique copy of 647/1250 in Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III, 2953 (Karatay 6270; cf. Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 253, 6); an edition has for a long time been announced by Munīra Nādjī Sālim and Nādjī Maʿrūf. The work is possibly an excerpt from the unabridged version of no. 2.

(4) *Dhayl* to *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], known from quotations; excerpt: Leiden 1023 (de Goeje-Juynboll); for two other (?) excerpts see Munīra, *al-Taḥbīr*, i, 31; cf. Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmilat Ikmāl al-Ikmāl*, Baghdād 1377/1957, 241-2; M.ʿA. Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*[3], Tabrīz 1346/1967, i, 427. — As far as is presently known, the following biographical works have not been preserved, even in excerpts: *Wafayāt al-mutaʾakhkhirīn min al-ruwāt*, *Muʿdjam al-shuyūkh* (a list of the teachers of his son), his early work, *Taʾrīkh Marw*, which Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, i, 751, 15) had read in the autograph, and his *Muʿdjam al-buldān*; the last two are likely to have contained biographies of scholars, as well.

(5) *Adab al-imlāʾ wa 'l-istimlāʾ*, an important handbook on dictation as a method of transmission and instruction; the unique ms., Feyzullah 1557, was copied at Marw in 546/1152 (!). Ed. by Max Weisweiler, *Die Methode des Diktatkollegs*, Leiden 1952, with an extensive German summary of the contents; cf. idem, in *Oriens*, iv (1951), 27-57; A. Spitaler, in *OLZ*, xlix (1954), 529-36; new edition Beirut 1404/1984. Al-Samʿānī mentions at the end that he has treated the topic exhaustively in his book *Ṭirāz al-dhahab fī adab al-ṭalab*. — On a ms. in Medina of his (6) *Adab al-ḳāḍī*, see O. Spies, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 115, on two additional ones in Cairo, Azhar, see Munīra, *al-Taḥbīr*, i, 31. — On a Cairene ms. of his (7) *Faḍāʾil al-Shaʾm*, see Brockelmann, S I, 565 no. 4 (no. 3, *al-Isfār ʿan ḥukm al-asfār* [Mawṣil 34, 53,4] should be deleted because of faulty ascription [Mawṣil[2], v, 330]; on no. 7 "Gebete des Propheten", see E. Kohlberg, *A medieval Muslim scholar at work, Ibn Ṭāwūs and his library*, Leiden 1992, 100, no. 7: *al-Adʿiya al-marwiyya min* (or *ʿan*) *al-ḥaḍra al-nabawiyya*, and 157, no. 133: *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Brockelmann, I[2], 401-2, S I, 564-5; H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xvii (1928), 251; Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], *passim*; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*[2], Leiden 1968, *passim*; R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, i-ii, Wiesbaden-Stuttgart 1976-87, *passim*; G. Makdisi, *The rise of humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West*, Edinburgh 1990, *passim*; H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, *passim*; Kh. al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Beirut 1979, iv, 55; ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1378/1958, vi, 4-5; idem, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Beirut 1406/1985, 407; idem, *Muʿdjam muṣannifī 'l-kutub al-ʿarabiyya fī 'l-taʾrīkh wa 'l-tarādjim wa 'l-riḥalāt*, Beirut 1406/1986, 286; M.ʿA. Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*[2], Tabrīz n.d. [*ca.* 1347/1968], iii, 75-6; Riyāḍ ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *al-Tabādul al-thakāfī bayn bilād al-Shām wa-bilād Fāris*, Damascus 1409/1989, *passim*.

Main sources: Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, facs. ed., Medina 1407/1987, x, 433-4; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, x, 224-5; ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb*, i, Cairo 1357/1938, 9-12; idem, *al-Kāmil*, Beirut 1385/1966, xi, 333; Ibn al-Dubaythī/al-Dhahabī, *al-Mukhtaṣar al-muḥtādj ilayh min [Dhayl] Taʾrīkh [Baghdād]*, Baghdād 1397/1977, iii, 67-8; Ibn al-Nadjdjār/Ibn al-Dimyāṭī, *al-Mustafād min Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Ḥaydarābād/Deccan 1399/1979, 172-3; Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 1316-9; idem, *al-ʿIbar*, Kuwait 1963, iv, 178; idem, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1405/1985, xx, 456-65; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, xix, Wiesbaden-Beirut 1413/1993, 88-92; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, Ḥaydarābād/Deccan 1338/1919, iii, 371-2; Subkī *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1390/1970, vii, 180-5 (with a list of his works); Asnawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Baghdād 1391/1971, ii, 55-6; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, xii, 175, 254; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Ḥaydarābād/Deccan 1399/1979, ii, 11-3; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo 1353/1935, v, 375, 378; Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Cairo n.d. [*ca.* 1388/1968], i, 259-60; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 205-6; Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1951, i, 608-9.

(R. Sellheim)

SĀMĀNIDS, a Persian dynasty which ruled in Transoxania and then in Khurāsān also, at first as subordinate governors of the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] and then later autonomous, virtually independent rulers (204-395/819-1005).

Genealogical table of the Sāmānids

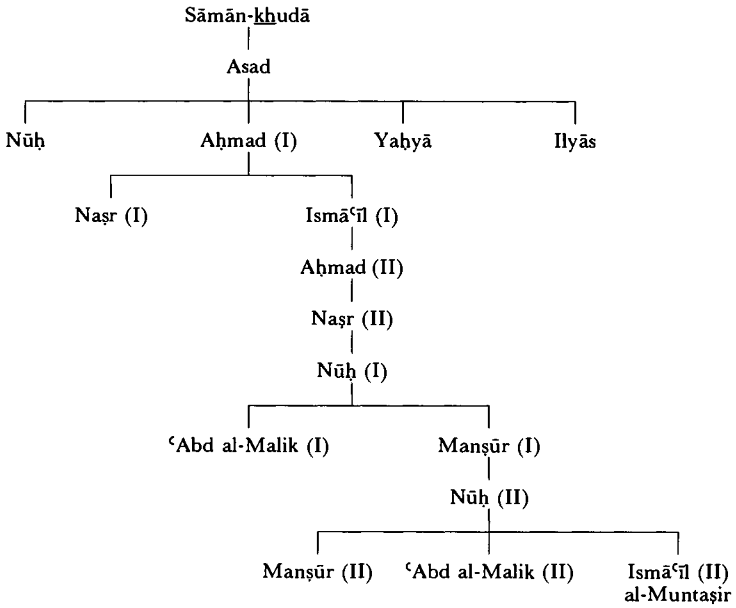

1. History, literary life and economic activity.

The early history of the Sāmānid family is obscure. They may have stemmed either from Soghdia or, perhaps more likely, from Ṭukhāristān south of the Oxus, probably from the petty landowners of the Balkh area. It was not possible to connect the Sāmānids with a noble Arab tribe, as the almost certainly originally Persian Ṭāhirids endeavoured to do, but the tradition later grew up of an aristocratic origin for the Sāmānids through descent from the Sāsānid warrior hero Bahrām Čūbīn [see BAHRĀM]; al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bākiya*, ed. Sachau, 39, states that there was "universal agreement" over this claim (see C.E. Bosworth, *The heritage of rulership in early Islamic Iran and the search for dynastic connections with the past*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xiv [1976], 58-9). All that we really know is that the *dihkān* Sāmān-khudā apparently accepted Islam at the hands of the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kasrī (i.e. at some point during 105-9/723-7 or 117-20/735-8), therefore naming his son after the Arab governor (see Bosworth, *Asad b. Sāmānkodā*, in *EIr*).

However, nothing is heard of the family for several decades, until, at the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn's behest, his governor in Khurāsān, Ghassān b. ʿAbbād, in *ca.* 204/819 rewarded the four sons of Asad b. Sāmān-khudā for their support to the ʿAbbāsids during the rebellion in Transoxania of Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth b. Sayyār [*q.v.*]. Nūḥ was given the governorship of Samarkand; Aḥmad, Farghāna; Yaḥyā, Shāsh; and Ilyās, Harāt. This last branch of the Sāmānids south of the Oxus did not prosper, and Ibrāhīm b. Ilyās was in 253/867 defeated and captured by the Ṣaffārid invader of Bādhghīs, Yaʿkūb b. al-Layth [see ṢAFFĀRIDS]. The ones in Transoxania, on the other hand, had a glorious future ahead of them. After Nūḥ died in 227/841-2, the governor of Khurāsān ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [*q.v.*] appointed the remaining two brothers in Transoxania, Yaḥyā and Aḥmad, over Samarkand and Soghdia. Very soon the line of Aḥmad (I) replaced that of Yaḥyā, and with the Ṣaffārid dispossession of the Ṭāhirids from Nīshāpūr in 259/873 and the lapse of Khurāsān into something like anarchy for the next two decades, Naṣr (I) b. Aḥmad b. Sāmān-khudā found himself in effect autonomous ruler in Transoxania, with his capital at Samarkand. The caliph al-Muʿtamid formally invested him as governor of Transoxania in 261/875, and from the 250s onwards Naṣr began to mint dirhams of a mixed ʿAbbāsid-Sāmānid type, with the regular minting of dirhams and then of dīnārs beginning *ca.* 279/892 with the formal accession of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad; their father Aḥmad (I) had already issued his own copper *fulūs* at Samarkand from 244/858 onwards (see G.C. Miles, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 374).

However, fratricidal strife between Naṣr and Ismāʿīl, whom Naṣr had sent to subdue Bukhārā, ended in the military triumph of Ismāʿīl, although he left Naṣr as *de jure* ruler in Samarkand till the latter's death there in 279/892. Ismāʿīl then assumed sole power, ruling over Transoxania and Farghāna from Bukhārā, whither the Sāmānid capital was now permanently transferred.

Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl (I) (279-95/892-907 [*q.v.*]) may be regarded as the real founder of the Sāmānid amirate, his power sealed by his victory over the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] in 287/900, after which the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid appointed him governor of both Transoxania and Khurāsān. This was in practice the concession of independent rule there, given the distance of the Sāmānid lands from Baghdād and the shrinkage of the direct sphere of ʿAbbāsid political authority to ʿIrāk, Syria and western Persia, although the Sāmānids continued till the end to pay formal respect to the caliphs, placing them in the *khuṭba* of their territories and their names on their coins, and employing for themselves no higher title than that of *amīr*. One role which Ismāʿīl inherited as ruler of Transoxania was the defence of its northern frontiers against pressure from the nomads of Inner Asia, and in 280/893 he led an expedition into the steppes against the Karluk [*q.v.*] Turks, capturing Ṭalas and bringing back a great booty of slaves and beasts.

Sāmānid suzerainty was asserted over various local rulers in the Syr Darya valley and on both sides of the upper Oxus, such as the princes of Ushrūsana [*q.v.*], the Abū Dāwūdids or Bānidjūrids [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of Ṭukhāristān and Khuttal and the Muḥtādjids [*q.v.*] of Čaghāniyān, and over the ancient kingdom of Khwārazm [*q.v.*]. In the west, he extended his authority over the Zaydī Imāms of the Caspian region, and in general, achieved a reputation as a capable and just ruler.

Ismāʿīl's son Abū Naṣr Aḥmad (II) (295-301/907-14) attempted to recover the Caspian provinces which had slipped from Sāmānid control, and sent two expeditions into Sīstān (298/911 and 299-300/912-13), where Ṣaffārid authority had fallen into disarray [see ṢAFFĀRIDS]. But he was murdered at Farabr by his Turkish slaves in Djumādā II 301/January 914, allegedly because of his excessive favour at court to the *ʿulamāʾ* and other members of the religious classes, thus earning for himself the posthumous title of *al-amīr al-shahīd* "the martyred prince". The practice of awarding posthumous *laḳabs* had already begun with Aḥmad's father Ismāʿīl, who became known as *al-amīr al-māḍī* or *al-amīr al-ʿādil* "the late/just prince", and some of the subsequent *amīrs* further assumed regnal titles, such as Nūḥ (I) b. Naṣr's one of *al-malik al-muʾayyad*, appearing on his coins, and Nūḥ (II) b. Manṣūr's *al-malik al-manṣūr*, in addition to the titles given to them after their deaths (see Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Oriens*, xv [1962], 214-15).

His eight-year old son Naṣr (II) [*q.v.*] succeeded for a reign of some 30 years (301-31/914-43). He faced prolonged internal opposition from his ambitious uncle and brothers, who at various times controlled Samarḳand and parts of Khurāsān and who stirred up in the cities popular elements which included the *ʿayyārs* and *ghāzīs*. Sāmānid armies penetrated as far westwards as Rayy in northern Persia, occupied in 314/926, when al-Muḳtadir formally granted its governorship to Naṣr. Sāmānid coins were issued from there till 920/932 and at various times thereafter (see Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 147 ff.), although control here was disputed with local Daylamī commanders and then with the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who secured almost permanent control of the city after Naṣr's death. The later part of Naṣr's reign was noteworthy for the appearance in Transoxania of an extensive Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī *daʿwa*, with converts made up to the highest level at court before an orthodox Sunnī reaction and purge of these heretics set in; this episode was an exception to the normally firm upholding of Sunnī orthodoxy by the *amīrs* (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 242-4).

Naṣr's reign was in many ways the apogee of Sāmānid power and glory, aided to a significant extent by the services to the *amīrs* of capable viziers like Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Djayhānī and his son Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad [see AL-DJAYHĀNĪ in Suppl.] and Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Balʿamī [*q.v.*], who were celebrated as much for their own learning and patronage of scholars as for their statesmanship. Under these and other officials, the Sāmānid administration in Bukhārā reached a high level of specialisation and sophistication as the instrument of the *amīrs*' centralising policies. As with the administration of other provincial dynasties, the model was that of the caliphs in Baghdād. The local historian of Bukhāra, Narshakhī, describes ten *dīwāns*, beginning with those of the *wazīr*, the treasurer and the *ʿamīd al-mulk* or head of the chancery (see for these, Barthold, *op. cit.*, 229-32), and many of the bureaucratic techniques of these departments can be pieced together from the information given by the Sāmānid official Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*] in his encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, dedicated to the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿUtbī (see Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii [1969], 113-64). It was this efficient administrative system which brought in rich amounts of taxation from the agricultural oases of Soghdia, Farghāna and Khurāsān, together with revenues from the slave traffic between Inner Asia and the Islamic lands further west (the *amīrs* levied customs duties at the Transoxanian frontier towns on imported Turkish slaves and at the Oxus crossings for their transit across the Sāmānid dominions), so that the 4th/10th century geographers and travellers like Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī could praise the Sāmānids for their mild rule and moderate taxation and could extol the cheapness of provisions and pleasantness of life in their lands.

The security of the realm rested, of course, on the powerful army which the Sāmānids maintained under the command of the Chief *Ḥādjib*. The first troops of the Sāmānids must have been recruited from the free Iranians of Transoxania, long trained in the martial arts by their position on the northeastern frontiers of Islam facing the pagan steppes; but from at least the time of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad onwards, a Turkish slave guard around the *amīrs* comes into prominence, formed from Turks brought in from Inner Asia (see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 227-8; Bosworth, *An alleged embassy from the Emperor of China to the Amir Naṣr b. Aḥmad: a contribution to Sāmānid military history*, in M. Minovi and I. Afshar (eds.), *Yâd-nâme-ye îrânî-ye Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 1-13; and GHULĀM. ii. Persia). This slave guard early made itself a force in the internal affairs of the state, with its own aims and interests. As noted above, Aḥmad (II) b. Ismāʿīl was killed by his *ghulāms*, and from the mid-4th/10th century onwards, the influence of the generals, and especially of the holders of the coveted post of Commander-in-Chief in Khurāsān, frequently resulted in the making and unmaking of Sāmānid princes, as the personal authority of the *amīrs* waned; symptomatic of the arrogance and independence of the Turkish generals was the fact that in 381/991 Abū ʿAlī Sīmdjūrī appropriated all the state revenues in Khurāsān and assumed for himself the grandiose titles of *amīr al-umarāʾ, al-muʾayyad min al-samāʾ* "the supreme commander with heavenly backing" (see Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, 215).

After Naṣr's death, his son and successor Nūḥ (I) (331-43/943-54 [*q.v.*]) had to devote attention to the ambitions in Khurāsān of the powerful governor there, the Iranian noble Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī, endeavouring to replace him by the Turkish commander Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr and to maintain, in alliance with the Ziyārids [*q.v.*] of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān, the position in northern Persia against the Sāmānids' rivals, the Būyids. A disturbing portent for the remaining years of Sāmānid rule was a financial crisis in the state, caused by the cost of the wars in northern Persia and the expenses of the army in general. During the next reign, that of Abu 'l-Fawāris ʿAbd al-Malik (I) b. Nūḥ (343-50/954-61), the ascendancy of the Turkish slave commander Alptigin [*q.v.*] was notable, although when ʿAbd al-Malik died, he was unable to place on the throne his own candidate, the dead *amīr*'s young son Naṣr—who would have been a puppet in the hands of the military—and was forced to flee to Ghazna, on the far eastern fringes of

the Sāmānid lands. ᶜAbd al-Malik's brother Manṣūr (I) b. Nūḥ now ascended the throne (350-65/961-76 [*q.v.*]). His reign was in general peaceful, although fighting continued in northern Persia, on the whole favourably for the Sāmānids, and after Alptigin's death at Ghazna (352/963), his Turkish successors in eastern Afghānistān once more acknowledged the *amīr*'s overlordship.

The last twenty years or so of Sāmānid rule were ones of increased impotence of the *amīrs* in face of the ambitions of Turkish commanders like the Sīmdjūrīs, Tāsh, Begtuzun and Fā'iḳ Khāṣṣa, and deepening crisis in the state as its tax base shrank. Manṣūr (I)'s vizier, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ᶜAbd Allāh al-ᶜUtbī, appointed in 367/977, did what he could to halt the decline and to stem the successes of the Būyids, who were poised to invade Khurāsān when the death of ᶜAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] fortunately supervened in 372/983; but al-ᶜUtbī was murdered in 371/982 through the machinations of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sīmdjūrī and Fā'iḳ. Nūḥ (II) b. Manṣūr (365-87/976-97 [*q.v.*]) soon no longer had any authority in Khurāsān and was by the end of his reign reduced to controlling Soghdia only. He was forced to call in the assistance of Sebüktigin from Ghazna against Fā'iḳ and Abū ᶜAlī Sīmdjūrī after the latter had encouraged an invasion of the remaining Sāmānid lands from the north in 382/992 by the Turkish Ḳarakhānids under Bughra Khān Hārūn [see ILEK KHĀNS]. Bukhārā and Samarḳand were temporarily occupied by the Turks, but although these were recovered by Nūḥ, the position got steadily worse.

A fresh Ḳarakhānid invasion took place in 386/996, and at this point, Sebüktigin and his son Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], who now controlled Khurāsān, came to an agreement with the Ḳarakhānid Ilig Naṣr b. ᶜAlī whereby Sebüktigin retained Khurāsān and the Ilig occupied the whole valley of the Syr Darya. Nūḥ died the next year, and the reign of the new *amīr*, his son Abu 'l-Ḥārith Manṣūr (II) [*q.v.*] lasted only two years (387-9/997-9) before he was deposed by Fā'iḳ and Begtuzun and replaced by his brother Abu 'l-Fawāris ᶜAbd al-Malik (II). Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin by 398/999 secured for himself all the former Sāmānid lands south of the Oxus, and in this year the Ḳarakhānids under the Ilig Naṣr definitively took over Bukhārā without any serious resistance, thereby ending the dynasty's vestigial rule in Soghdia. A further brother of Manṣūr (II) and ᶜAbd al-Malik, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāᶜīl (II) b. Nūḥ al-Muntaṣir [*q.v.*], attempted a revanche in the following years, but after some initial successes against the Ḳarakhānids was killed in 395/1005, the last hope of the Sāmānids.

The downfall of the Sāmānids meant that the north-eastern part of the Iranian world, first the Trans-Oxus provinces under the Ḳarakhānids and then, four decades later, the steppelands between the northern rim of the mountains of Khurāsān and the middle Oxus under the Saldjūḳs, passed for the first time into Turkish control. It was after this that the gradual process of the almost complete (save for the modern Tadjikistan) Turkicisation of these regions accelerated, a process which must however have begun already in Sāmānid times with the extensive influx of Turkish slave soldiers into the state apparatus and the peaceful settlement of sedentarised and Islamised Turks along the northern fringes of Transoxania. On the documentary evidence, the old Soghdian language disappeared towards the end of the Sāmānid period under pressure from New Persian, which was probably the day-to-day language of much of the Sāmānid bureaucracy's routine business (although it may be noted that the neo-Soghdian language Yaghnōbī has survived to this day in the valley of the Yaghnōb, an affluent of the upper Zarafshān; see ĪRĀN. Languages, in Suppl.), and Turkish. There was, however, some counter-pressure against this trend from the *ᶜulamā'* and religious classes and from the higher bureaucracy, who were trained in the classical Arabic sciences, in favour of the use of Arabic as the language both of scholarship and of diplomacy. According to the 8th/14th century historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, the *amīr* Aḥmad (II) b. Ismāᶜīl changed the language of official business from Persian to Arabic, but the measure was unpopular and had to be rescinded. Thereafter, the two languages doubtless existed side-by-side in administrative usage. Of course, Arabic retained its primacy in the spheres of religion, learning and science. The achievements of the Sāmānid period in Arabic scholarship were very considerable, with Bukhārā and Samarḳand as centres for literary activity under the patronage of the *amīrs* themselves, as the plethora of poets and prose stylists appearing in the fourth *ḳism* of the Khurāsānian author Abū Manṣūr ᶜAbd al-Malik al-Thaᶜālibī's [*q.v.*] literary anthology, the *Yatīmat al-dahr*, that on the Arabic littérateurs of Khurāsān, Transoxania and Khʷārazm, shows (see V. Danner, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 589-93).

But the 4th/10th century is notable for the florescence under the Sāmānids of a lively New Persian literature, one whose roots lay in the preceding century and whose poetic production came to a remarkable stage of maturity and expressiveness with such authors as Rūdakī, Daḳīḳī and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kisā'ī of Marw [*q.vv.*]. This development of New Persian literature both in the Sāmānid dominions and at the other petty courts of the East does not necessarily imply promotion of this by the *amīrs* or princes as a conscious, proto-nationalist Persian policy (although the Sāmānid amīrs were undoubtedly interested in this, see below; one of the last rulers, Manṣūr (II) b. Nūḥ, is included by ᶜAwfī amongst the rulers who composed Persian poetry, examples of which he gives, see his *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Saᶜīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 23-4) but reflects rather the distance of Khurāsān, Transoxania and the upper Oxus principalities from the focus of Arab-Islamic life in the central lands of the caliphate, and also the vigorousness of Persian culture in the East, always strong at the local level. Certainly, it was the *dihḳān* class there which nurtured and cherished the old Persian epic traditions; this is especially clear in the case of the lord of Ṭūs, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ, who in 346/957 commissioned the translation of Pahlavi texts of the national epic into New Persian, and these were utilised by Firdawsī [*q.v.*] for his *Shāh-nāma* and also, it seems, for the earlier, unfinished verse rendering (known from Firdawsī's incorporation of it within his own work) by Daḳīḳī (see V. Minorsky, *The older preface to the* Shāh-nāma, in *Studi in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, Rome 1956, ii, 159-79; G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 36-7). This New Persian literature of the Sāmānid period involved not only poetry but also prose, including prose versions of the national epic such as that of Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad Balkhī, known from fragments (written in the reign of Nūḥ (II) b. Manṣūr); Persian translations and epitomes of al-Ṭabarī's *History* (made for Manṣūr (I) b. Nūḥ by his vizier Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad Balᶜamī [*q.v.*]) and of his *Ḳur'ān commentary* (also done in this reign by a group of scholars); etc. (see Lazard, *op. cit.*, 38 ff.; idem, *Les premiers poètes persans (IXᵉ-Xᵉ siècles)*, Tehran-

Paris 1342/1964; idem, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 606 ff.; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 139-71).

The economic strength of the Sāmānid state lay, as noted above, in the flourishing agriculture of the populous river valleys and oases of the region, and also in the craft industries of the towns and the commercial connections of the Sāmānid lands. These last lay at the southern end of trade routes coming from the Inner Asian steppes and, ultimately, from China, so that the Sāmānids could mediate the products of these distant lands to Baghdād and other great centres of consumption in the central lands of the caliphate. Until the later 4th/10th century, when internal strife amongst the rival Turkish commanders and their strife with the *amīrs* set in, disorders completed by the Ḳarakhānid invasions, the Sāmānid lands generally enjoyed internal peace and freedom from external attack. Local industries and crafts could flourish, such as the *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] workshops of Bukhārā, whose embroidered textiles were used, so Narshakhī says, for payment of annual tribute to the caliphs (? in the earlier period of Ṭāhirid suzerainty over Transoxania), the famous paper production in Samarḳand, started by captured Chinese artisans [see KĀGHAD], arms and weapons from the metal industry of Farghāna, etc. Various of the imports from the steppe and forest lands to the north, i.e. western Siberia and Russia, including furs, hides, honey, wax, cattle on the hoof, etc., exchanged for the textiles, leatherwork, grain and fruits of Transoxania, are listed by al-Muḳaddasī (tr. in Barthold, *Turkestan*, 235-6). Above all, Transoxania benefited from the trade in Turkish and Ṣaḳlabī [see ṢAḲĀLIBA] slaves, brought to the slave markets in frontier towns like Isfīdjāb and Shāsh or captured in raids (see *ibid.*, 234-40).

As a result of this buoyant economic and commercial atmosphere, the revenues of the Sāmānid lands amounted to 45 million dirhams (within this, so Narshakhī records, the land tax of Bukhārā and Karmīna yielded 1,168,566 dirhams). The *amīrs* themselves took over extensive estates from the Bukhār-khudās as personal domains (*khāṣṣa*), and groups like the *sayyids* of the ʿAlids and other *ʿulamāʾ* held much land in *waḳf*. The greatest item of expenditure was on the salaries of the army and the bureaucracy, which were, according to Niẓām al-Mulk (speaking of "former kings", i.e. the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids), paid in cash. However, there are signs of the beginning of the practice of granting out lands as assignments [see IḲṬĀʿ], already known in ʿIrāḳ and western Persia, so that revenues were subtracted from the central treasury; the Čaghānīs held extensive estates on the upper Oxus, and the Sīmdjūrīs in Ḳuhistān (cf. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 238-9). It seems that the old Persian *dihḳān* class began to decline in both Khurāsān and Transoxania during the Sāmānid period, parallel to increased centralisation in the state and a movement of population from the countryside to the towns; the factors at work here were doubtless complex, but it is true that we hear little of the *dihḳāns* as a landowning class in the ensuing Ḳarakhānid and Saldjūḳ periods, and the actual word *dihḳān* [*q.v.*] begins its semantic decline into the modern Persian meaning of "peasant" (cf. Frye, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 152-3).

Consideration of the Sāmānid financial and economic situation is also bound up with that of their coinage. The *amīrs* were fortunate to control some of the best silver-producing veins in the eastern Islamic world, sc. in Badakhshān and Farghāna, and the sheer volume of coinage minted, and especially that in silver, is impressive. G.C. Miles enumerated no fewer than 47 mint places known to have issued coins in the name of the Sāmānids, not only—as one would expect—in Transoxania and Khurāsān—but as far afield as Sīstān, Fārs, Djibāl and the Caspian region, as the result of military campaigns there or of alliances with local potentates (see *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 374). A vast quantity of this coinage found its way outside the Islamic world into Siberia, northern Russia, Scandinavia and the Baltic shores, and even as far as the British Isles and Iceland, apparently as a result of trading operations which seem mysteriously to have been largely discontinued in the opening years of the 5th/11th century. The whole topic of this apparent one-way drain of Sāmānid silver northwards and westwards has been much discussed by both economic historians and numismatists, but remains substantially unexplained. Amongst the extensive literature here, see e.g. J. Duplessy, *La circulation des monnaies arabes en Europe occidentale du VIIIe au XIIIe siècle*, in *Revue Numismatique*, sér. 5, vol. xviii (1956), 101-63; T. Lewicki, *Le commerce des Sāmānides avec l'Europe orientale et centrale à la lumière des trésors de monnaies coufiques*, in D.K. Kouymjian (ed.), *Near Eastern numismatics, iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles*, Beirut 1974, 219-33; A.E. Lieber, *Did a 'silver crisis' in Central Asia affect the flow of Islamic coins into Scandinavia and eastern Europe?*, in *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis*, N.S. 6. *Sigtuna papers*, Stockholm 1990, 207-12.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Art and architecture.

Although history and literature are fairly well documented, no clear picture exists of artistic achievements under the Sāmānids. The fertile oases under their rule are on the fringes of Inner Asia, a north-eastern *limes* for the Iranian world. The early caliphs wrested the eastern part of the area from Chinese suzerainty; over the centuries these lands have remained at the crossroad of trade routes and influences.

(a) *Applied arts. Ceramics.* They are the best testimony of Sāmānid craftsmanship, as in the finds of Afrāsiyāb/Samarḳand and Nīshāpūr. Dating of the material is still not clear; the later rule of the Ḳarakhānids could be responsible for some of it. The pre-Islamic red body earthenware serves as support to white, black or russet slips and their décor under the new transparent lead glaze. When no slip is used, as in Nīshāpūr, the body takes on a buff colour under the glaze. The decoration draws on five sources. First, the new but soon assimilated Arabic calligraphy painted in near black manganese. Second, the possible influence of late T'ang bichrome, copper green with iron brown or yellow, but not the earlier three-coloured

décor; there are no shapes nor designs recalling Chinese originals. Third, strong echoes of textile designs ranging from stripes, triple dots, dotted circles and peacock-eyes to roundels containing birds, gazelles and palmettes. These designs start in pre-Islamic times and are still visible on local wall paintings and caves farther east. Strapwork patterns create original geometric overall decoration. Fourth, alien religions signal their survival by using their own symbols: in Nīshāpūr, a few ceramics are painted with crosses; in Samarkand it is the fish which is used, as in Egyptian lustreware. Communities of Nestorians and Syriacs still existed, as did also Manichaeans and Buddhists, the latter manifest in the overall pattern of a lotus base inside dishes. And fifth, paintings of figures, chiefly in Nīshāpūr: hunters on horseback, seated rulers and dancers, all surrounded by fantastic animals and birds. Would they also be survivors of earlier times in a society becoming more and more Islamicised?

Thus dishes up to 45 cm wide, with a small or large cavetto, are usually covered in a white slip; they recall the new manufacturing of paper; this white ground acts as an ideal support for calligraphy. Ewers, bowls, often with a double recessed base, lamps, inkwells, even toys, all are coloured with a mixture of metal oxide and fine white clay; the mixture prevents the design from running under the transparent glaze. The use of a russet/iron colour points to the red of later Iznik pottery. When colour is required to run, no fine clay is added to the oxide. As for *sgraffito*, it appears to be an original means of decoration and is used as a visual counterpoint for the colour runs, usually green, yellow and purple in a dense patterning for large dishes and bowls. Unglazed wares consist of long-necked ewers, some with filtre, jars, gourds, cooking pots, oven shapes and moulds.

Glass. In the finds of Samarkand, bottles are either freely blown or, when a pattern is required, mould-blown to produce a lattice or twisted pattern. The ewers are not unlike their ceramic counterparts; spoons and inkpots can be added to the list of shapes. Green and turquoise are the usual shades with the occasional blue or amber bottles, bowls, bangles and beads.

Metalwork. Since most metals were available in Khurāsān and Transoxiana, the important metal industry of pre-Islamic times was carried over and adapted to the taste of the new rulers, although precise dating is still hazy. Early Arab governors of Khurāsān sent gifts of silver and gold vessels to the caliph in Baghdād, as well as bowls and jugs of high-tin bronze. The latter, *safīdrūy*, with its appearance of silver, was a good substitute for precious metals. Cast objects of copper such as ewers, buckets and braziers, were of daily use. In archaeological finds, household objects like lamps, jugs, flat-bottom bottles, ewers, incense burners, some in the shape of a stupa, spoons and weights, were made of bronze. Bronze was also used for more personal items like rings, tweezers, mirrors and kohl sticks. Iron was used for sword, dagger and shovel blades, as well as for arrowheads.

Textiles. Already in Sāsānid times, local silk and cotton provided the yarn for goods appreciated well beyond the area. Early after the Islamic conquest, tributes of garments were sent to Baghdād from Khurāsān. The *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] factories of Nīshāpūr and especially Marw produced very soft cotton fabrics as well as *ibrīshim* and *kazz* silk. The only surviving silk from this period is the remarkable compound twill known as the shroud of Saint Josse [see ḤARĪR]. Its inscription reads *ʿizz wa-iḳbāl li 'l ḳāʾid Abū Manṣūr Bakh-takīn aṭāla 'llāh baḳ[āʾahu]* ("Glory and prosperity to the Ḳāʾid Abū Manṣūr Bakh-takīn, may God prolong his existence"). This was not to be the case, since he was put to death by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nūḥ in 350/961.

Only through the eyes of contemporary historians can one appreciate the wealth of textiles produced in Sāmānid lands. The most popular and expensive could have been *zandanīdjī* cloth exported as far as ʿIrāḳ and India. Niẓām al-Mulk noted that the Sāmānids dressed their newly-bought slaves in *zandanīdjī*. Other villages near Bukhārā produced, in particular, cloaks, hats and prayer carpets. Of all the important towns with bazaars, Samarḳand was the best-known emporium of Transoxiana for its silver-coloured and red garments, brocades, *ḳazz* silk and Chinese silks. Near by, at the village of Wadhār, an expensive cloth of cotton woven on cotton, *wadhārī*, was made into a light resistant type of yellow overcoat, very popular in winter. From Shāsh came special capes with neck decoration, prayer carpets and cotton yarn.

Ivory. As dry climate does not lend itself to the preservation of ivory objects, only a few of these, such as chess pieces, have survived; in Samarḳand, spoons have been found with delicately carved handles.

(b) *Architecture*. The dearth of 4th/10th-century surviving monuments underlines the attitude of later Islamic rulers to the buildings of previous dynasties. Mud brick is still the basic building material in the area. Remains of impressive walls with an outward corrugated surface, visible in Marw, suggest the importance of main towns and the need to protect them, though in the capital Bukhārā, the Rīgistān, a large square, lay outside the pre-Islamic town, surrounded by ten *dīwāns* to the west of the well-fortified citadel. Stucco remains from palaces and affluent houses still have traces of painting. Large bazaars sheltered commerce and industry. Towards the end of the Sāmānid period, the town proper, unable to absorb the growing population, had become an unpleasant maze of filthy streets. Traces of early caravanserais survive along the trade routes and by the banks of the Oxus and the Jaxartes.

After the Muslim conquest, baked brick, seemingly a Mesopotamian tradition, was preferred to mud brick for mosques, tombs and important civic buildings. Yet in such buildings as the Nuh Gunbad ("nine domes") mosque in Balkh, while the structural elements including the six massive columns (1.56 m in diameter) were of baked brick, the walls were still made of mud brick. The almost square structure (20 m^2), open on one side opposite the *ḳibla* wall, is entirely plastered and decorated with carved stucco. Spacious grid systems enclose palmettes, leaves, cones and buds not unlike those in Nīshāpūr, Afrāsiyāb or Sayad near Dushanbe, but in a more attractive manner than in the possibly contemporary mosque of Nāʾīn [*q.v.*] in Persia. In the Deggaron mosque of Hazāra near Bukhārā two series of three domes cover the building, the *ḳibla* domes being higher than the three others. Inside, the columns are less squat and the intrados of the arches broadly pleated; the domes sit on pendentives. The great mosque in Khīwa echoes the other older tradition of an hypostile hall with wooden columns and carved capitals, four of which have early inscriptions. More wooden carvings have survived in the shape of a cusped-headed *miḥrāb* from Iskodar, in the Zarafshan valley, now in the Dushanbe Museum, and a capital from the mosque in Obburdan, now in Tashkent.

A small number of single-domed tombs in baked brick illustrate the possible evolution of such construc-

tions: the so-called tomb of the Sāmānids in Bu<u>kh</u>ārā, a domed square with four entrances, patterned brickwork and corner arches, and the ʿArab-Ata mausoleum in Tim, dated 367/977, with only one entrance emphasised by a complex design, with brickwork and corner arches in smoother patterns. If the inscription of the <u>Sh</u>īr Kabīr mausoleum at Ma<u>sh</u>had-i Miṣriyān in Dihistān allows for a late 4th/10th century dating, then part of its zone of transition with its four receeding arches could be later than its carved stucco *miḥrāb* and niche. Finally, with the restored Mīr Sayyid Bahrām mausoleum at Karmīna, between Samarḳand and Bu<u>kh</u>ārā, appears an early suggestion of a *pī<u>sh</u>ṭāḳ* [*q.v.*] or raised portal; it emphasises the doorway with a design of arches and frames. By the end of the period, baked brick with its new building possibilities, has asserted itself.

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(Yolande Crowe)

SAMANNŪD, a town of the Delta in Egypt, in the <u>Gh</u>arbiyya province and on the western bank of the Nile (Dimyāṭ/Damietta branch), 8 km/5 miles east of the town of al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā [*q.v.*]. It is an old town, with the name in ancient Egyptian of Zab nutir, i.e. holy place. Greek documents call it Σεβεννυτος (Sebenytos), whence the Arabic name, and in Coptic it was known as Ⲭⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩϯ (Djemnuti).

Samannūd had a very ancient Christian tradition. Athanasius I states that the town had a Melkite bishop in 352 and that the town's name often figures in the old martyrological literature. We know e.g. that the martyr St. Anub passed through Samannūd when coming from Atrib, where he had found the town's churches destroyed and a temple built in their place. In the 14th century, when the *Synaxarion* had already been put together, the body of Anub was at Samannūd, and there has always been a church in the town dedicated to St. Anub.

Arabic geographers like Ibn <u>Kh</u>urradā<u>dh</u>bih and al-Yaʿḳūbī mention the town in the 3rd/8th century, and in the 6th/12th century al-Idrīsī describes its lively commercial activity. From the Fāṭimid period, and after Badr al-<u>Dj</u>amalī's administrative reorganisation, an independent province called al-Samannūdiyya was set up.

In modern times, an administrative district was set up in 1826 called the *ḳism* of Samannūd, with its chef-lieu in the town, and after 1867 it was styled the *markaz* of Samannūd. In 1882 this last was, however, abolished and the district and its administration transferred to al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā. In 1928 it was re-established, and then, because of struggles between political parties, it was abolished three times in less than 7 years until it was definitively re-established in 1935, with the town of Samannūd as chef-lieu of the district.

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(Ayman F. Sayyid)

SAMARITANS [see al-sāmira].

SAMARḲAND, an ancient city of Transoxania, the Arabic Māʾ warāʾ al-Nahr [*q.v.*], situated on the southern bank of the Zaraf<u>sh</u>ān river or Nahr Ṣu<u>gh</u>d. In early Islamic times it was the first city of the region in extent and populousness, even when, as under the Sāmānids (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries [*q.v.*]), Bu<u>kh</u>ārā [*q.v.*] was the administrative capital. Samarḳand's eminence arose from its position at the intersection of trade routes from India and Af<u>gh</u>ānistān via Bal<u>kh</u> and Tirmi<u>dh</u> [*q.vv.*] and from Persia via Marw [see marw al-<u>sh</u>āhi<u>dj</u>ān] which then led northwards and eastwards into the Turkish steppes and along the Silk Road to eastern Turkistan and China; but above all it flourished because of the great fertility of the surrounding district of Soghdia or Ṣu<u>gh</u>d [*q.v.*], the highly-irrigated basin of the Zaraf<u>sh</u>ān which could support a dense agricultural population (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*,[3] 83 ff.).

1. History.

The city—the second part of the name of which contains the Eastern Iranian word for "town", *kand*, frequent in Eastern Iranian place-names (cf.

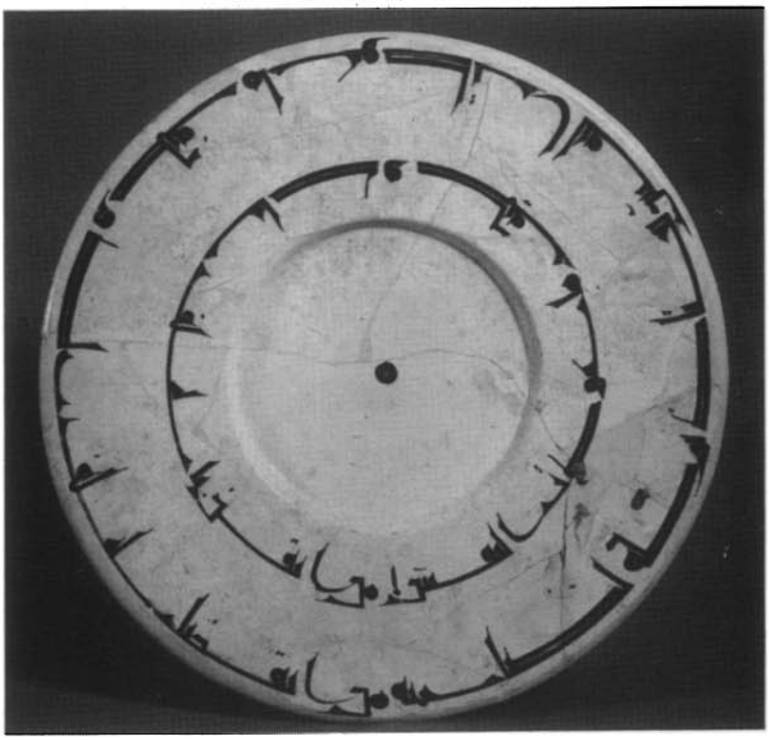

1. Slip-painted dish, W:46.8 cm, H:6 cm. 52.11. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

2. Slip-painted bowl, W:22.5 cm; H: 6.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art Nishapur excavations, 1939. 40. 170.14. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

3. Cast bronze bottle, H: 15 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art Nishapur excavations, 1938. 39. 40. 48. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

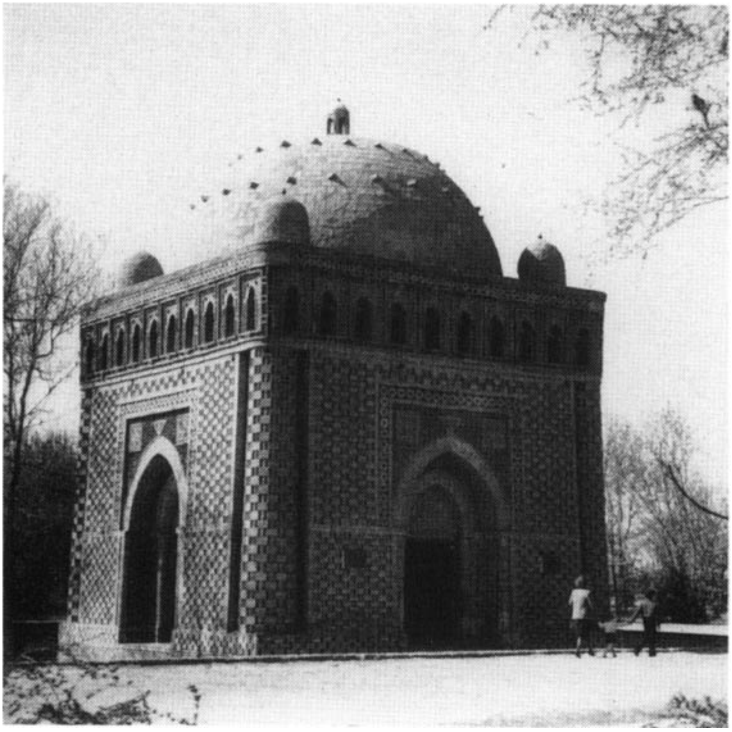

4. Mausoleum of the Sāmānids, Bu<u>kh</u>ārā. Photograph: Yolande Crowe.

Buddhist-Soghdian *knd-*, Christian Soghd. *kath, kanth*), while the first part has not yet been satisfactorily explained (cf. the attempts by Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien*, i, *Sogdiana*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, lxxxvii [1887], 133 ff.)—is first found in the accounts of Alexander's campaigns in the east as Maracanda, Μαρακάνδα, whose site at Tepe Afrāsiyāb has yielded Hellenistic archaeological evidence (see P. Bernard, *Alexandre et l'Asie Centrale*, in *St.Ir.*, xix [1990], 29-32). Arrian (iii, 30) calls it βασίλεια τῆς Σογδιανῶν χώρας. Alexander occupied it several times during the fighting with Spitamenes and, according to Strabo (xi, ii, 4), razed it to the ground (while Arab legend makes him, as well as the Tubbaᶜ [*q.v.*] king Shamir Yurᶜish, founder of the city). Under the Diadochi—after the partition of 323 BC—as the capital of Sogdiana, it belonged to the satrapy of Bactria and was lost to the Seleucids with Bactria when Diodotos declared himself independent and the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom was founded during the reign of Antiochus II Theos; henceforth it was exposed to the attacks of the northern barbarians (cf. *PW*, xiv/2, art. *Marakanda*, cols. 1421-2). From this time up to the Muslim conquest it remained historically and economically separated from Persia, although cultural intercourse with Western lands continued. (On the settlement of Manichaeans in Samarḳand, cf. J. Marquart, *Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften*, in *WZKM*, xii [1898], 163; the attempts made by E. West to refer Čīn and Čīnistān in the *Bundahishn* and *Bahmanyasht* to Samarḳand are very unsatisfactory.) The only positive information is given by Chinese imperial historians and travellers (of which the former are unfortunately for the most part only available in obsolete translations). From the Han period the kingdom of K'ang-Kü is mentioned, whose chief territory, K'ang, is definitely identified in the T'ang Annals with Sa-mo-kian = Samarḳand (cf. the passages in C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, vii,² 657 ff.). According to the Annals of the Wei, compiled in 437 AD (cf. F. Hirth, in Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, 65-6), the Čau-wu dynasty related to the Yüe-či (Kushan) had been reigning here since before the Christian era. Hiüen-tsang visited Sa-mo-kian in 630 AD and briefly describes it (St. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées Occidentales*, i, Paris 1857, 18-19; S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records*, i, 1884, 32-3, with valuable bibliographical note on p. 101).

The Muslim Arabs do not appear for certain in the affairs of Samarḳand until the time of the governor of Khurāsān Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*]; the alleged tomb at Afrāsiyāb of the *Shāh-i Zinda*, the Prophet Muḥammad's cousin Ḳutham b. al-ᶜAbbās [*q.v.*], who was supposed to have been in Samarḳand in 56/676 (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 91-2), must have appeared later as part of a family cult inaugurated by the ᶜAbbāsids after they came to power in 132/750, possibly adapting a pre-Islamic cult on this site. The Iranian ruler of Samarḳand at the time of Ḳutayba was Ṭarkhūn (probably a title rather than a personal name; for this very old title amongst the Turks of Inner Asia, possibly of Chinese origin, see R.N. Frye, *Ṭarxūn-Ṭürxün and Central Asian history*, in *HJAS*, xiv [1951], 110-11; C.E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* [1975], 11-12), called *malik Ṣughd* or *malik Samarḳand* in the Arabic historical sources, and first mentioned in 85/704 in warfare with Ḳutayba at Bukhārā. In 91/710 Ḳutayba sent his brother ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān to Samarḳand in order to collect tribute, which Ṭarkhūn paid; but the anti-Arab party in the city then deposed the latter, who was either killed or committed suicide. There replaced him another Soghdian prince, Ghūrak, who ruled in Samarḳand for some 27 years until his death in 119/737 or 120/738, with an Arab garrison in his city. Gradually, the Arabs consolidated their position in Soghdia, but Ghūrak's policy towards them oscillated between conciliation and attempts to call in aid from the Chinese Emperors as nominal suzerains over Central Asia or from the Turks. In 102/721 the Türgesh appeared in Soghdia under their leader Kūr-ṣul or Köl-čur; and in 110/728 Ghūrak joined in a general rising of the Soghdians, with Turkish help, against the Arabs, so that the Arabs in Transoxania were temporarily reduced to their garrisons at Samarḳand and at Dabūsiyya. Not till the late 730s, with the strong measures of the governor Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*], was Arab authority firmly established again (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 184-93; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 36, 42-8, 55, 60-1, 65 ff., 89-90).

Although Ḳutayba had built a mosque in Samarḳand, the progress of Islamisation there, outside the Arab garrison, must have been slow. There were certainly adherents of many other faiths in the city at this time. In *ca.* 629 AD, the Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang had found only two abandoned Buddhist monasteries there, and Buddhism had almost certainly disappeared a century or so later (Spuler, *Iran*, 218). But there was probably already a Nestorian Christian bishopric in Samarḳand during the 6th century, and in the early 8th century, it was erected into a metropolitan see; at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, Clavijo (see below) still found many Christians in Samarḳand, but the end of the community seems to have come within the reign of Ulugh Beg shortly afterwards, and nothing is thereafter heard of it (see B.R. Colless, *The Nestorian province of Samarqand*, in *Abr Nahrain*, xxiv [1986], 51-7). In the mid-4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawḳal described a Christian community (*ᶜumr*) with monastic cells, on the hill of Shāwdhār to the south of Samarḳand, whose inhabitants included Christians from ᶜIrāḳ (Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolischen Eroberung*, Tübingen-Leipzig 1901, 22 ff., 30-1; Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither*, London 1915-16, i, 103-4, iii, 22-3; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 498, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 477-8). Not long after this time, the *Ḥudūd al-ᶜālam*, tr. 113, § 25.13, comm. 352, mentions a convent of the Manichaeans at Samarḳand (*khānagāh-i Mānawiyān*) with adherents called *nigūshāk* "auditores", doubtless the Manichaeans who had fled from ᶜIrāḳ in fear of persecution during the time of al-Muḳtadir.

In the early ᶜAbbāsid period, the Zarafshān valley was deeply affected during the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) by the Neo-Mazdakite movement of the "wearers of white" led by al-Muḳannaᶜ [*q.v.*], and the governor of Samarḳand Djibrāʾīl b. Yaḥyā, helped to suppress the revolt in his area. Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] is said to have built the outer wall of the city (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 80, tr. J.A. Williams, Albany 1985, 203), and Hārūn al-Rashīd to have restored it after it had fallen into decay (al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Buldān*, 293, tr. Wiet, 110). The rebel against the central government Rāfiᶜ b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] began his outbreak in Samarḳand in 190/806 by killing the governor there and seizing the city, holding it until he surrendered to al-Maʾmūn in 193/809 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 707-8, tr. C.E. Bosworth, Albany 1989, 259-61). It is also from the early ᶜAbbāsid period that we have the first Islamic coins issued from Samarḳand, beginning with issues of 142-4/759-62 (E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 148-9).

At the command of al-Maʾmūn, the governor of

Khurāsān Ghassān b. ʿAbbād in *ca.* 204/819 allotted to the four sons of Asad b. Sāmān-Khudā various cities of Transoxania and eastern Khurāsān as governorships, and Nūḥ received Samarḳand. On his death in 227/842, the city eventually passed under the control of his brother Aḥmad (d. 250/864), whose copper *fulūs* were struck there from 244/858 onwards. With the collapse of Ṭāhirid authority in Khurāsān under Ṣaffārid attacks, Naṣr b. Aḥmad found himself virtually independent ruler of Transoxania with his capital at Samarḳand. However, his brother and eventual vanquisher Ismāʿīl, progenitor of all the future Sāmānid *amīrs*, made Bukhārā the Sāmānid capital, although Samarḳand remained over the following centuries the commercial centre of Transoxania.

It was, for a start, one of the principal markets for Turkish slaves brought from Inner Asia, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, 494, tr. 474, states that slaves trained at Samarḳand were the best of all from Transoxania. But one of its most famous products, exported all over the Islamic world, was paper, introduced thither by the Chinese artisans captured at the battle of Ṭalas in 133/751 (al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. al-Abyārī and al-Ṣayrafī, 218, tr. Bosworth, *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information*, Edinburgh 1968, 140; and see KĀGHAD). It was, moreover, a centre for scholarship. The great Ḥanafī theologian al-Māturīdī (d. *ca.* 333/944 [*q.v.*]) stemmed from the Māturīd quarter of Samarḳand, his tomb in the city being still shown in the 9th/15th century, and another Ḥanafī theologian and Ḳurʾān commentator was Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī (d. towards the end of the 4th/10th century [*q.v.*]). Unfortunately, the local history written in Arabic by the famous theologian Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142-3 [*q.v.*]), the *Kitāb al-Ḳand fī maʿrifat ʿulamāʾ Samarḳand*, which dealt with the shrines and graves of local scholars and also with some of the city's historical events, has come down to us only in an abridgement of a Persian translation (see Storey, i, 371; Storey-Bregel, ii, 1112-15; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 15-16).

It is to the heyday of the Sāmānids, the 4th/10th century, that the descriptions of Samarḳand by the geographers al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī and the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* refer. They show that Samarḳand had the typical tripartite formation of Iranian towns: a citadel (*kuhandiz*, arabicised *ḳuhandiz* or translated *ḳalʿa*), the town proper (*shahristān, shāristān, madīna*) and suburbs (*rabaḍ*). The three parts are here given in their order from south to north. The citadel lay south of the town on an elevated site; it contained the administrative offices (*dār al-imāra*) and the prison (*ḥabs*). The town itself, of which the houses were built of clay and wood (cf. E. Herzfeld, in *Islam*, xi, 162, and E. Diez, *Persien*, i (*Kulturen der Erde*, xx, Hagen-Darmstadt 1923), 20), was also on a hill. A deep ditch (*khandaḳ*) had been dug around it to obtain the material for the surrounding earthen wall. The whole town was supplied with running water, which was brought from the south to the central square of the town called *Raʾs al-Ṭāḳ* by an aqueduct, a lead-covered artificial channel (or system of lead pipes?), running underground. It seems to have dated from the pre-Islamic period as its supervision, as is expressly stated, was in the hands of Zoroastrians, who were exempted from the poll-tax for this duty. This aqueduct made possible the irrigation of the extensive and luxurious gardens in the town. The town had four main gates; to the east, the *Bāb al-Ṣīn*, a memorial of the ancient connection with China due to the silk trade; to the north, the *Bāb Bukhārā*; to the west, the *Bāb al-Nawbahār*, which name, as in Bukhārā and Balkh, points to a (Buddhist) monastery; and to the south, the *Bāb al-Kabīr* or *Bāb Kishsh* (*bāb* stands for the Persian *darwāza*). The lower-lying suburbs adjoin the town, stretching towards the Zarafshān and surrounded by a wall with 8 gates. In them lay the majority of the bazaars, caravanserais and warehouses, which were rare in the city itself. The government offices of the Sāmānids and the Friday mosque were in the city itself. See al-Iṣṭakhrī, 316-23; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 491-501, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 472-9; al-Muḳaddasī, 278-9; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam, loc. cit.*; al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, 217-19, tr. Bosworth, 140-1; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 246-50; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, 395 ff.; Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, 460, 463-6.

Samarḳand was, together with Bukhārā, occupied by the incoming Ḳarakhānids in 382/992, and with the defeat of the last Sāmānid, Ismāʿīl b. Nūḥ al-Muntaṣir [*q.v.*], in 394/1004, passed definitively under Turkish control. In the second quarter of the 5th/11th century it became, under ʿAlī b. Hārūn Boghra Khān, called ʿAlītigin [*q.v.*], and then under the parallel line of the descendants of the Ilig Naṣr, the eventual capital of the western khānate of the Ḳarakhānids, covering Transoxania and western Farghāna [see ILEK KHĀNS]. With such rulers as Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Tamghač Khān Ibrāhīm, Samarḳand became in the later 5th/11th century a splendid cultural and artistic centre. The city also became a regular mint centre for the Ḳarakhānids. But after the battle of the Ḳaṭwān Steppe in 536/1141, when the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*] and his vassal Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Khān were decisively defeated by the pagan Ḳara Khiṭay [*q.v.*], Samarḳand and Bukhārā became the centre of a reduced Ḳarakhānid principality under Ḳara Khiṭay overlordship. It nevertheless continued to flourish commercially, and in *ca.* 1170 the Spanish Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela visited Samarḳand and allegedly found there 50,000 Jews (M.N. Adler, *The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907, 59. The last Ḳarakhānid in Samarḳand, ʿUthmān Khān b. Ibrāhīm, was executed by the Khwārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [*q.v.*] in 608/1212, and the city occupied by the Khwārazmians. But shortly afterwards, the Mongols of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] reached Transoxania, and after conquering Bukhārā in 616/1220, they arrived at Samarḳand, the concentration-point for the Khwārazm-Shāh's forces, in the spring of 617/1220. The city fell after a five days' siege (Rabīʿ I 617/May 1220, or possibly Muḥarram 617/March 1220). After it had been devastated, some of the citizens were allowed by the Mongols to return after payment of a ransom of 200,000 dīnārs (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 115-22; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 411-14).

For the next century-and-a-half, Samarḳand was only a shadow of its former self. The Taoist hermit Ch'ang-ch'un (travelled in Western Asia 1221-4) states that there were 100,000 families in the city before the Mongol sacking, but only a quarter of these remained in *Sie-mi-se-kan* after that (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, i, 76-9; on the form *Sie-mi-se-kan*, cf. the Latin travellers' *Semiscant* and Clavijo's *Cimesquinte*, Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither*, iii, 39). In the mid-8th/4th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the population much reduced, and the city ruinous and without a wall (*Riḥla*, iii, 51-2, tr. Gibb, iii, 567-8).

The revival of the town's prosperity began when Tīmūr [*q.v.*] after about 771/1369 became supreme in

Transoxania and chose Samarkand as the capital of his continually-increasing kingdom, and began to adorn in with all splendour. In 808/1405 the Spanish envoy Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo visited it in its new glory (see the Spanish-Russian edition of his itinerary by I. Sreznevskiy in the *Sbornik otd. Russk. Yaz.*, xxviii [1881], 325 ff.; Eng. tr. Le Strange, *Narrative of the Spanish embassy ... 1403-1406*, London 1928). He gives Cimesquiente as the native name of the town, which he explains as *aldea gruesa* "large (lit. thick) village"; in this we have an echo of a Turkish corruption of the name of the town based on a popular etymology which connects it with *sämiz* "thick". The Bavarian soldier Johann Schiltberger seems also to have been in Samarkand at this time (*Reisebuch*, Stuttgart 1885, 61, Eng. tr. J.B. Telfer, London 1879). Tīmūr's grandson Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449 [*q.v.*]) embellished the city with his palace Čihil Sutūn and built his famous astronomical observatory there; on him, see W. Barthold, *Ulugh-Beg*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958. A very full description of the city in Tīmūr's day, which may be justly described as classical, is given by the memoirs of Bābur (*Bābur-nāma*, ed. Ilminski, 55 ff.; ed. Beveridge, 54b ff.; French tr. Pavet de Courteille, i, 96 ff.; Eng. tr. Beveridge, 74-86; Čaghatay (in translit.) and Persian ed. and tr. W.M. Thackston, Cambridge, Mass. 1993, 90 ff.), who captured Samarkand for the first time in 903/1497 and held it for some months. In 906/1500 it was occupied by his rival, the Özbeg Shībānī Khān. After his death, Bābur, in alliance with the Shībānī Ṣafawid Ismāʿīl Shāh, succeeded in 916/1510 in once more victoriously invading Transoxania and occupying Samarkand, but by the next year he found himself forced to withdraw completely to his Indian kingdom and leave the field to the Özbegs. Under the latter, Samarkand was only the nominal capital and fell completely behind Bukhārā.

During the 18th century, Samarkand fell into severe economic decline and in the middle years of that century was virtually uninhabited. However, when the extension of Russian Imperial power into Central Asia accelerated in the later 19th century, Samarkand was occupied by Russian troops under General K.P. Kaufmann in November 1868 and a treaty of vassalage imposed on the *amīr* of Bukhārā, within whose territories Samarkand had fallen. The city was now detached from Muẓaffar al-Dīn Khān's nominally independent khānate of Bukhārā and became part of the directly-ruled Russian Governorate-General of Turkestan. After 1871 a new Russian town sprang up to the west of the old city, with a station on the Trans-Caspia to Tashkent railway. The great anti-Russian rebellion of Turkestan in 1916, when the Tsarist government attempted to conscript the non-Russian local populations for labour service, began in the Samarkand *oblast*. Under the Soviet régime, the *oblast* became one of those making up the Turkestan Autonomous SSR in 1918, and then in 1924, part of the Uzbek SSR, of which Samarkand was at first the capital but replaced by Tashkent [*q.v.*] in 1930. Since 1990 it has come within the Uzbekistan Republic. The modern city (lat. 39° 40′ N., long. 66° 58′ E., altitude 710 m/2,330 feet), an important centre for the processing of foodstuffs and for industry, had in 1970 a population of 257,000 (see *BSE*², xxii, cols. 1571-7).

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(H.H. Schaeder-[C.E. Bosworth])

2. Architecture.

Archaeologists refer to the ruins of Samarkand as Afrāsiyāb after the destruction of the town by Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] in 617/1220. A museum on the site preserves fragments of stucco ornament and ceramics [see sāmānids. 2]. Thereafter, under Tīmūr and his successors, the earlier southern suburbs of the town became the new Samarkand with its striking ceramic revetment and typical modular architecture. The shrine of Kutham b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] known as the *Shāh-i Zinda* "the living prince", had survived on the southern slopes of Afrāsiyāb. Recent excavations, particularly those directed by N.B. Nemtseva in 1962, have revealed the base of a 5th/11th-century minaret in the north-west corner of the shrine as well as an earlier mausoleum, the underground mosque and a semi-underground chamber, all reflected in the later renovations. The south-eastern corner of a *madrasa*, possibly a funerary construction, was excavated to the west and opposite the shrine, if a *wakf* of the Karakhānid Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr Tamghač Bughra Khān dated Radjab 458/June 1066, relates to it.

The *Shāh-i Zindā* ensemble. Cemeteries develop around shrines of holy men. Here mausolea are like scattered jewels with the shimmering of their blue-turquoise tile glazing enhanced with bichrome bands in white and black or turquoise. A series of tombs, with portal and domed room, lines an ancient north-south alley, while the shrine itself stands at its top northern end. Its lower section, off-centred to the east, overrides the old walls of Afrāsiyāb. The two main 9th/15th century *čahār ṭāk*s emphasise the entrance to the shrine (CT1) and the lower southern monumental entrance (CT2) to the whole alley; a subsidiary one (CT3), late 18th century, stands at the top of steps. Its southern face (CT1) carries remains of ten-pointed star vertical panels in tile mosaic which include hexagonal terra cotta elements around the stars.

1. The shrine, entered through delicately carved wooden doors (806/1403-4), consists of (a) a mausoleum/*gūr-khāna*, (b) a *ziyārāt-khāna* (735/1334-5), (c) a *masdjid* (15th century), (d) a minaret (11th century), (e) an ambulatory/*miyān-khāna*. The original mausoleum with its tiled *mukarnas* and dome in blue and turquoise, was in (b). The *masdjid* stands over the older one, the *miḥrāb* inscription in tile mosaic, quotes surā II, 139.

2. At the southern end of the ensemble, the monumental entrance with *hazārbāf*, "a thousand weave" decoration, is dedicated to Ulugh Beg's son, ʿAbd al-Azīz (838/1434-5), and leads into the *čahār ṭāk* (CT2). On its west side, a doorway opens into a contemporary mosque. The east door leads into a later *madrasa* (1227/1812-13).

3. An excavated anonymous mausoleum, 7th/13th century.

4. The mausoleum of Khʷādja Aḥmad (1350s) remains the only surviving building to recall the older east-west road of the ensemble; it is "The work of Fakr [b.] ʿAlī", and a variety of deep moulded glazed tiles enhance the portal: a band of calligraphy in white against a turquoise scroll, a frame of underglaze black painted star tiles with a turquoise glaze and a *girikh*, a "knot" decoration, in turquoise and unglazed terra cotta in the tympanum.

5. A mausoleum for an anonymous lady, earlier

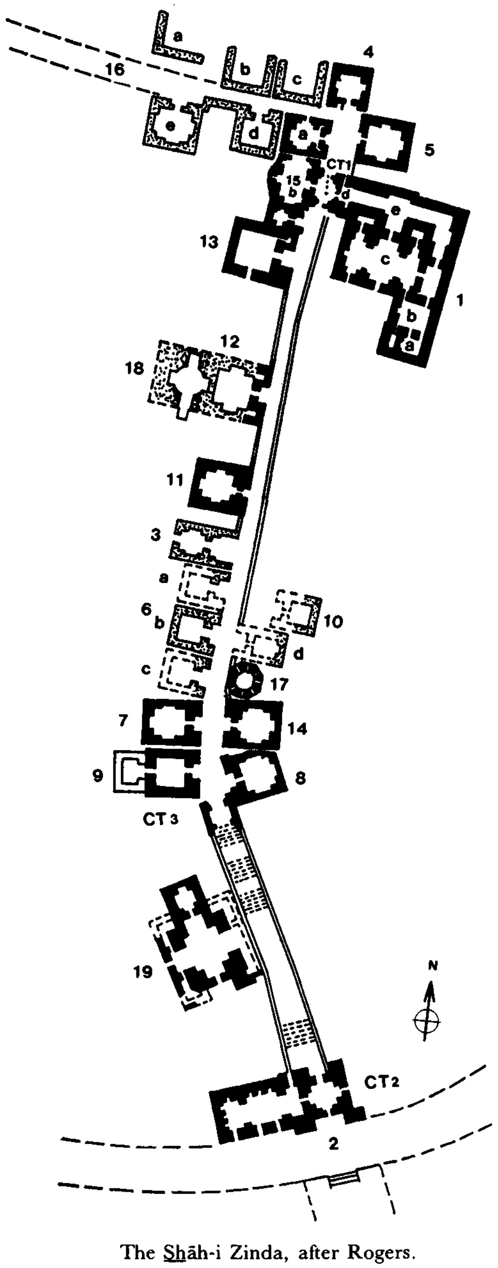

The S̲h̲āh-i Zinda, after Rogers.

known as ʿArab S̲h̲āh, perhaps one of Tīmūr's first wives, Ḳutlūg̲h̲ Āḳā (13 Ṣafar 762/12 December 1361). A restored plinth and two steps under the portal lead into the mausoleum. There are similar colour harmonies and moulded glazed tiles, inside and outside tiled *muḳarnas*, as in 4.

6. a.b.c.d. Excavated mausolea dating to the 1360s.

7. The mausoleum of S̲h̲ād-i Mulk Āḳā (who died on 20 D̲j̲umādā II 773/29 December 1371) was built by her mother Turkān Āḳā (died 785/1383), Tīmūr's elder sister. The calligraphy of the portal in Arabic refers to the building and the daughter, the Persian below the *muḳarnas* praises the building. The Persian around the door frame mentions the "pearl" buried within. Three craftmen have left their signatures, with unclear *nisbas*: Birr al-Dīn, S̲h̲ams al-Dīn and Zayn al-Dīn. Here is to be seen the best-preserved tile decoration of the ensemble. The restored portal over the entrance was originally higher. Eight frames arise from a plinth of three square ornate panels; they are hemmed in on either side by deeply carved turquoise engaged columns. Two of the frames are larger, with calligraphic and star patterns enclosed in a risen border. Underglazed painted tiles of irregular shapes, in delicate turquoise and white on blue, fill the spandrels with leafy lotuses around a raised roundel. These tiles are also used for the large frame inscription and around the four carved and glazed panels of the inner portal containing a lotus-filled *miḥrāb* and an upper roundel. The *muḳarnas* of the portal are echoed in those of the chamber, which measures about 42 m^2 and is all glazed with lotuses and leaves, small *girik̲h̲s* and *miḥrābs*; large roundels almost fill the tiled wall panels, three aside. Eight black and white ribbed panels, each containing a "tear-drop" motif, meet at the apex of the inner dome in an eight-pointed star. A feeling of lightness emanates from the decoration despite its dense patterning.

8. Only the portal remains of the mausoleum of *Amīr* Ḥusayn/Tug̲h̲lūḳ Tekīn, who died in 777/1376; he was one of Tīmūr's generals. The vault goes back to the 6th/12th century.

9. The Amīr-zāde mausoleum, 788/1386, stands east of an earlier crypt and on the south side of 7. In a similar manner, two frames filled with turquoise moulded rosettes and calligraphic *haft rang* [*q.v.*] tiles, are enclosed in risen borders, the lower part being two *haft rang* tile panels. The slightly recessed entrance is three-quarters framed by a band of square tiles with moulded square Kūfic (Muḥammad and ʿAlī) based on minute lozenges of terra cotta, possibly gold originally, with a red dot or glazed in blue with turquoise and blue infill; above it, a tympanum of hexagonal star-filled tiles encompasses two central panels in *haft rang* tiles. A ribbed inner single shell dome over a plain chamber over 38 m^2 was plastered in the 19th century.

10. An excavated mausoleum, late 8th/14th century.

11. The mausoleum is the work of Ustād ʿĀlim-i Nasafī in the 1380s, with turquoise glazed plugs in its south brick wall; there is no trace of the outer dome, only a 16-sided drum of *hazārbāf* panels in black and turquoise. The ceramic programme is a mixture of old and new techniques and designs. The vertical panels of the portal strapwork recall the design on the base of the D̲j̲ām minaret [*q.v.*], sūra CIX, 1; CXII; and CXIV, 2-3. The panels and stars within also contain glazed moulded Kūfic inscriptions, mostly in white on a blue ground. Large floral *haft rang* tiles make up the inner panels and the corner engaged columns; yellow, pale green and light brown for red, now add to the general turquoise impression. A splendid turquoise *girik̲h̲* punctuates the border of the right outer wall. Rectangular panels filled with hexagonal tiles cover the walls of the shrine, and corner arches with *muḳarnas* lead to a dome covered in strapwork *girik̲h̲* filled with the same hexagonal tiles, all of which create a suffused turquoise vision.

12. The mausoleum known as that of Ulug̲h̲ Sulṭān Begum, was built in the 1380s over part of the 5th/11th century *madrasa*. A roofless portal survives with *lād̲j̲ward* (dark blue) tile panels, and framed and moulded turquoise glazed narrow *girik̲h̲* containing small *lād̲j̲ward* tiles. A combination of calligraphic tiles in gold and white against a leafy scroll survives on the front. The red cinnabar, now visible, was originally hidden by the gold leaf décor. The use of dark blue

and gold, recalling Chinese textiles, appears here for the last time.

13. The mausoleum of "*Amīr* Burunduḳ", dated to the end of 8th/14th century, adjoins the Ṭūmān Āḳā complex to the south. Only the right side of the portal remains with its *hazārbāf* panel. Nine burials were found in the crypt, as well as some textiles.

14. "This is the tomb of the great and noble queen, Shīrīn Bika Āḳā, daughter of Ṭaraghay, 787[/1385-6]". Taraghay was the sister of Tīmūr. The mausoleum has the earliest double-shell dome with an outer bold *hazārbāf* pattern and remains of tile mosaic panels on the drum. The higher than usual portal, *ca.* 11 m, is decorated with a dense composition of calligraphic bands, arabesques and stylised flowers. Blue remains the dominant colour, with added turquoise and white, and a touch of light brown. The 36 m² mausoleum rises to a total height of about 18 m. The dado is tiled with hexagonal green tiles with gold cranes in flight inspired by contemporary Chinese textiles. The rest is painted plaster with elongated cartouches at the base of the sixteen-sided drum as in 19. The walls are divided into niche-shaped panels filled with vegetal or stylised leave patterns.

15. The mausoleum with two *hazārbāf* walls and a tiled double dome *ca.* 15 m high, is attributed to Ṭūmān Āḳā (808/1405-6); set next to the undated *masdjid*/*khānaḳāh* of Ṭūmān Āḳā, it contains the tomb of *Amīr* Abū Saʿīd Mahdī b. Ḥaydār dated 733/1332-3 or 833/1429-30. Tile mosaics decorate the three entrances with blue and some black ground. In the north entrance to the mosque, the ten-pointed star pattern meshes with a blue *girikh*. This *girikh* is lined in white, a well-known device of carpet designers when a motif requires enhancing. Other colours are green, light brown, turquoise and plain terra cotta. Intricate plaster *muḳarnas* lead to the painted dome.

16. a.b.c.d.e. These excavated mausolea overlook the east-west road.

17. This octagonal mausoleum, with arch openings on all sides and crude *hazārbāf* décor, is dated to around 1440. It would have had a double dome. Remains of a plaster painted inscription can still be seen on the inside of the octagon (sūra II, 256).

18. A 9th/15th-century excavated burial vault is sited west of 12.

19. The two turquoise tiled double-domed buildings of the so-called Ḳāḍī-zāde Rūmī mausoleum, built in the 1420s, stand out from afar with their larger part rising to 23 m. *Hazārbāf* patterns animate both drums, with a *ḥadīth* inscription on the larger one. More patterning would have covered the south portal. Chambers were excavated to the west and east. The zone of transition and dome of the tomb chamber, almost 10 m², consist of elaborate plaster *muḳarnas*; the crypt contained remains of a female in her mid-thirties. This is the only building in the ensemble with a feeling of space, partly due to unpatterned plain walls or dados of unglazed hexagonal tiles framed by blue glazed strips.

The mosque of Ḥaḍrat Khiḍr. Its name recalls the saint-protector of travellers and master of the water of life, Khiḍr [*q.v.*]. On the south slope of Afrāsiyāb, this summer mosque, with its wooden columns, overlooks the site of the Iron Gate and the road to Tashkent. Built in the 19th century with two small minarets and a squat dome on foundations going back to Soghdian times, it was restored in 1915 by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Bakiev.

Little remains of the citadel in the western part of the town. It contained the usual administrative buildings, the treasury, the armoury, the Čihil Sutūn, the Gök Saray, and the palace with the Gök-Tash, a carved grey marble monolith which was used as a ceremonial throne.

Rūḥābād, "The abode of the soul", in mid-town. The shrine of Burhān al-Dīn Saghardjī was built in the late 8th/14th century over the tomb of the *shaykh*, whose body was brought back from China by his son Abū Saʿīd. The massive plain square tomb chamber is crowned by a dome on an octagonal zone of transition. Its dado consists of unglazed octagonal tiles separated by glazed black strips.

The mausoleum of Saray Mulk Khānum is late 8th/14th century and possibly part of a *madrasa*. Its vanished portal briefly rivalled that of Tīmūr's Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ 200 m away. The inner dome has gone; the semi-basement crypt in brick is cruciform like the main chamber. Despite its ruinous condition, a variety of tiles and paintings have survived.

The vast Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ known as Bībī Khānum (801-8/1398-1405) was started on Tīmūr's return from India; 95 elephants for the carrying of quarried stones were added to an immense task force. Its *ṣaḥn* measures 87 m by 63 m and the four L-shaped halls, with 480 columns, are linked by four portals, one of which, the entrance *pīshṭāḳ* [*q.v.*], rises to 41 m. At the opposite end of the *ṣaḥn* stands the *miḥrāb* domed chamber; in India the two lateral minor domed chambers would have been extra gateways. Built too fast, with a minaret at all four corners, the mosque soon began to deteriorate and was superseded in the 11th/17th century by the Tilla Kārī mosque on the Rigistān (see below). The 1897 earthquake hastened the collapse of the domes, but restoration work on a long-term basis was started in the 1970s.

Parts of the tile programme of the mosque were determined by its large size and recall that of the slightly earlier gateway to the Aḳ Saray in Shahr-i Sabz and the contemporary shrine of Khʷādja Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] in Turkestan. Large-scale *hazārbāf* patterns, with a dominant of turquoise, cover most parts of the surviving monument; six-sided *haft rang* tiles still fill the space of some spandrels, and complex tile shapes including twelve-sided ones, decorate part of the *miḥrāb* dome. The restored portal as well as the plinth and dados of the main entrance are of carved stone. After the earthquake of 1875, the monumental Ḳurʾān stand of carved marble was moved out into the *ṣaḥn*.

The *madrasa* and *khānaḳāh* of Muḥammad Sulṭān and the Gūr-i Mīr. The remains of the *madrasa* and *khānaḳāh*, on either side of a courtyard, were probably completed in 1401/803-4 by Muḥammad Sulṭān, Tīmūr's favourite grandson. After his death in Anatolia in 805/1403, Tīmūr had an octagonal mausoleum built for his remains, on the south side, known as the Gūr-i Mīr, "the World Master". Its turquoise melon-shaped double dome soars to a height of 37 m. A gigantic Kūfic inscription "God is eternal" runs round the drum. Tīmūr was buried here in 807/1405 as well as later Tīmūrids. Ulugh Beg added an eastern gallery to the mausoleum in 827/1424. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Bannāʾ al-Iṣfahānī signed a concluding portal in 837/1434. An unfinished 11th/17th-century *īwān* still stands on the west side. The last standing minaret collapsed in 1903.

The inner room of the mausoleum, about 100 m², with its high cupola, has painted pendentives with gold leaf decoration; its dado, in onyx and further gaudy restoration in blue and gold, contrast with the dark nephrite of Tīmūr's cenotaph. The stone was brought by Ulugh Beg from Inner Asia in 828/1425

and is inscribed with Tīmūr's genealogy. This and other cenotaphs are surrounded by a delicately-carved marble railing. Six cenotaphs are echoed in the cruciform crypt by simpler tombstones similarly inscribed.

The *Rigistān*. In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, six main roads converged towards this sandy area, a crossroad of cultural and commercial life. When Ulugh Beg reshaped the square, he erected a *khānakāh*, a caravanserai and two mosques; only his *madrasa*, 56 m by 81 m, famous for its learned scholars, survives on the west side of the square with its *pīshṭāḳ* rising to 34.7 m. The mosque stands at the opposite end of its square courtyard with four corner domed halls; it is surrounded by a series of lesser *īwāns* each with two levels of cells. Only two of the four corner minarets have survived. Two inscriptions on the *pīshṭāḳ* and one on the portal of the mosque give dates between 820/1417 and 823/1421. Again, the *hazārbāf* decoration in turquoise and black covers the larger wall surfaces with details underlined in tile mosaics with or without unglazed geometric elements. The large patterns of the *pīshṭāḳ* vary from enhanced square Kūfic to bursting star motifs.

On the opposite side of the square, the master-builder ʿAbd al-Djabbār built the Shīr Dōr *madrasa* under Imām Ḳulī of the Djānids from 1028/1619 to 1045/1636. It is a feeble image of the Ulugh Beg *madrasa*, despite the lions in the spandrels of the entrance *pīshṭāḳ*, the melon-shaped domes and minarets on either side, and the lavish use of tile mosaics. The whole building, without a mosque, is slightly smaller than the Ulugh Beg *madrasa* although the imposing courtyard is bigger and allows two levels of blind arcades with rooms around it.

To its north-eastern side stands the hexagonal Čahār Su built with bricks from the Bībī Khānum mosque at the end of the 18th century under Murād Khān of Bukhārā. This bazaar crossroad was famous for its hatmakers.

A short distance to the north-west of it has been resited in the 1880s the grey marble platform of the Shībānīd dynasty with 31 inscribed tombstones.

Between the two *madrasas* of the Rigistān stands the Tilla-kārī "adorned with gold" *madrasa* (1056-70 1646-60). It is also a Djānid construction and combines the functions of a theological college and a *masdjid-i djāmiʿ*. The mosque on its west side replaced the crumbling Bībī Khānum. The recent and lavish restoration has included the rebuilding of a new turquoise dome over the *miḥrāb*.

The observatory of Ulugh Beg. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Samarḳandī records under the year 823/1420 the construction of the circular building 48 m wide, decorated with glazed bricks, and sited to the north-east of the town on the side of a rocky hill. Recent excavations have revealed at the centre of the inner hexagonal shape a deep stepped trench marked in degrees which was part of the gigantic sextant used for recording the movements of the planets and the stars. Contemporary texts mention shallow inner galleries on two floors above the ground floor service area, possibly painted with maps and charts if not decorative subjects. In the central area, and perpendicular to the wall of the sextant, stood a solar clock in the shape of a concave profile wall which would show up the shadow of the sextant.

The shrine of Čupan Ata stands on the same hill as the observatory but farther to the east. It is a rather coarsely-shaped mausoleum with a tombstone in a 16 m^2 chamber without a grave below. The very high drum has chamfered sides with monumental Kūfic inscriptions in tiles. It could have been a place of popular pilgrimage in the 9th/15th century.

The mausoleum of ʿIshrat khāna "The house of happiness" was built by Ḥabība Sulṭān Begum, wife of Sultan Abū Saʿīd, as a mausoleum for a daughter, and is dated by its *waḳf* to 869/1464. There are about 20 tombstones in the crypt. The double dome and high drum collapsed in 1903. The middle of the 28 m-long façade is dominated by a high *pīshṭāḳ* which opens into the 64 m^2 tomb chamber; on both sides of it and beyond its four corners, steps lead to the next floor and its various rooms. The western side of the ground floor contains a mosque. All ten types of vaulting are elaborate systems of arch nets with flat profiles. What survives of the *hazārbāf* decoration on the outer walls shows more restraint than earlier Tīmūrid architecture. A few *haft rang* stars and bands survive near the entrance. Inside, traces of blue and ochre painting of stylised vegetal motifs recall some of the painting in the mausoleum of Gawhar Shād in Harāt. No gold now remains visible. Polychrome glass from the windows was recovered in the excavations.

The ʿAbdī Dārūn "inside" ensemble was built in the 1440s to the south-east of the city near the ʿIshrat khāna. The mausoleum with its conical roof is set on foundations possibly going back to Sultan Sandjar; with its adjacent chambers, it stands behind the *khānaḳāh* by the north side of a large octagonal pool at the top of a long alleyway. On its eastern side was built a later wood-columned mosque as well as a *madrasa* south of it. The drum of the double-domed *khānakāh* has a bold Kūfic inscription; some tile mosaics survive within it. Muʿizz al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAbdī, a descendant of the caliph ʿUthmān, was supposedly a *ḳāḍī* in the Samarḳand of the 3rd/9th century.

The Aḳ Saray mausoleum. This now stands on its own to the south of the Gūr-i Mīr, an unfinished brick structure built in the 1470s, with plain walls and no outer dome. The portal rises to 19 m and leads into a cruciform dome chamber with a dado of polychrome tile mosaics with gold. Some painting with gilding survives in the vaulting. A headless skeleton was excavated in the crypt. Later Tīmūrids could have been buried in this building.

The Khʷādja Aḥrār ensemble. South of the town, the outdoor tomb of the powerful leader of the Naḳshbandiyya order Khʷādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār, known as Khʷādja Aḥrār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who died in 896/1490, lies under a platform of grey and black marble which carries sixteen richly carved tombstones and is surrounded by a wall. A summer mosque looks over the square which lies to the west; on the north side stands the recently restored Nādir Dīwān Begi *madrasa* (1630-5), with its mosque probably built earlier. The decoration on the entrance portal with tiger and gazelle in spandrels, and the *pīshṭāḳ* in front of the domed *miḥrāb* chamber, vaguely echo Tīmūrid tile mosaics and calligraphic tiles.

The Namāz-gāh mosque stands in the north-western part of Samarḳand and was built by Nādir Dīwān Begi around 1040/1630. A *pīshṭāḳ* rises in front of a domed chamber between two groups of three blind arches. The baked brick surface shows no sign of surviving decoration.

Up to the building of the railway, there used to be on the left bank of the Zarafshān two large brick arches set at an angle to each other. One has since collapsed. They are said to have been part of a greater structure built under the Shībānīds to offset the current of the river during the spring high waters.

Although no gardens survive from the Tīmūrid

period or later, many are mentioned in contemporary texts and the *Bābur-nāma*. In his *Ẓafar-nāma*, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī describes the building of the Dilgushā garden in 799/1396, east of the town. The garden of "delights" was walled on four sides with a lofty tiled gateway in the middle of each side. Each corner contained a tiled pigeon tower; at the centre stood a domed pavilion. The main pathways were lined with poplars, and the grounds were divided into triangles and hexagons with borders of specific fruit trees: quince, apple, apricot, peach, pomegranate, pear, plum, pistachio and almond besides a variety of vines. Near-by was the Bagh-i Dulday "perfect" garden. Amongst a number of other gardens, to the west of the town stood the "new", the "paradise" and the "north" gardens; to the north could be found the "plan of the world" and the "four" gardens, the garden "of the square", and to the south, the "plane tree" garden. Most gardens had elaborate pavilions with rich tiling and wall paintings.

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(YOLANDE CROWE)

AL-**SAMARḲANDĪ** [see ABU 'L-LAYTH].

AL-**SAMARḲANDĪ** [see DJAHM B. ṢAFWĀN].

AL-**SAMARḲANDĪ** [see NIẒĀMĪ ʿARŪḌĪ].

AL-**SAMARḲANDĪ, SHAMS** AL-**DĪN**, Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī, an expert in both the ancient and Islamic sciences who composed important works on theology, logic, geometry and astronomy. He is most celebrated for his epistle on the art of disputation, *al-Risāla al-Samarḳandiyya fī ādāb al-baḥth* (in *Madjmūʿa mushtamila ʿalā al-ātī bayānuhū*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Imām al-Manṣūrī, Cairo 1353, 125-32), which was the most famous treatment of disputation and which became the subject of numerous commentaries (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Istanbul 1951-3, i, 39). Unlike prior authors who had limited themselves exclusively to disputation in either theology or law under the rubric of *djadal, khilāf* or *munāẓara* [*q.v.*], al-Samarḳandī presented the first treatise applicable to any subject area—philosophy, law, theology—and thus the first attempt at a universal theory of disputation, referred to by his successors as simply the *ādāb al-baḥth*. The work is divided into three parts. The first gives definitions of technical terms such as *munāẓara, dalīl, amāra* and *naḳḍ*; the second states the procedure of debate (*tartīb al-baḥth*): who starts; what counts as a question; what objections are valid and when; how to determine the end of the debate (there is no judge), etc.; the final part gives examples of debates on questions (*masāʾil*) in theology, law, and philosophy. In his *Sharḥ al-muḳaddima al-burhāniyya* (i.e. of Burhān al-Dīn al-Nasafī, d. 687/1288 [*q.v.*]) (ms. Chester Beatty no 4396, at fol. 5b), which he completed according to I. Baghdatli in the year 690 (*Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1951-3, ii, 106), and in which he implies that he studied with al-Nasafī, al-Samarḳandī mentions (at fol. 4a) that he treated the *ādāb al-baḥth* in his *Muʿtaḳadāt* (ʿĀrif Ḥikmat no. 206, Medina), *Ḳusṭās al-afkār fī taḥḳīḳ al-asrār* and *al-Anwār* (probably his *sharḥ* on the *Ḳusṭās*).

Manuscripts are the best source of information on his biography; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa slipped in stating that al-Samarḳandī died around 600 A.H. (*Kashf*, i, 105). An important Istanbul manuscript apparently in the hand of his student (Laleli no. 2432, fol. 33b) states that he died 22 Shawwāl 702/9 June 1303. He wrote *shurūḥ* on several of his own works, including the *Ḳusṭās* (completed in 683) and his own *sharḥ* thereon (completed in 692 according to Istanbul, Fatih no. 3360), a standard work on Aristotelian logic, which contains, *inter alia*, a solution to the liar paradox (see L. Miller, *A brief history of the liar paradox in Islamic philosophy*, in *Of scholars, savants and their texts* (Munich 1989, 173-82), and a detailed discussion of the *ādāb al-baḥth*. Both his *al-Ṣaḥāʾif al-ilāhiyya* (completed in 680 according to Laleli no. 2432, fol. 33b), ed. Aḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sharīf, Kuwait 1985, and his *sharḥ* thereon, *al-Maʿārif fī al-ṣaḥāʾif*, were important theological works.

Other works include: *ʿAyn al-naẓar fī al-manṭiḳ fī ʿilm al-djadal*, a short treatment of the logic of juristic disputation concerned with, *inter alia*, implication (*talāzum*), (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub no. 197) (*manṭiḳ wa-ādāb al-baḥth*); cf. Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya bi 'l-Djāmiʿ al-Kabīr, ms. s.v. *Ghayb al-naẓar*, obviously a misprint.

Ashkāl al-taʾsīs (ed. M. Suwaysī, Tunis 1984), a treatise on 35 fundamental postulates in the first book of Euclid's *Elements*. See H. Dilgan, *Demonstration du Vᵉ postulate d'Euclide par Schams-ed-Din Samarqandi*, in *Rev. d'Histoire des Sciences*, xiii (1960), 191-6; A.I. Sabra, *Thabit ibn Qurra on Euclid's parallels postulate*, in *J. of the Warburg and Courtauld Inst.*, xxi (1968), 14 n. 19.

Al-Tadhkira fī 'l-hayʾa, a compendium on astronomy; *Aʿmāl-i taḳwīm-i kawākib-i thābita* (Leiden ms. no. 1196, 3 *pers.*), an astronomical chart for the year 1275-6; an anonymous commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *sharḥ* on Ptolemy's *Almagest* is also attributed to al-Samarḳandī (see Sezgin, vi, 94).

Al-R. al islāmiyya (Princeton, Yahuda no. 2367), an interpretation of the *shahāda*, is probably identical with Berlin ms. no. 2458, *Taḥḳīḳ kalimat al-shahāda* according to Mach; cf. *Bayān madhhab ahl al-sunna* and *R. fī kalimat al-tawḥīd* mentioned by Brockelmann.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, i, 468, S I, 840-1;

Sezgin, v, 99, 114-15, vi, 94; *Dict. of Scientific Biogr.*, xii, 91, iv, 155; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900, 157; R. Sellheim, *Arabische Handschriften. Materialen zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1976, 162-3; R. Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts (Yahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library*; L.B. Miller, *Islamic disputation theory. A study of the development of dialectic in Islam from the tenth through fourteenth centuries*, Ph.D. diss. Princeton 1984 unpubl., summarised in idem, *Disputatio(n)*. [*4*]. *Islamische Welt*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, iii, Munich-Zurich 1986, 1119.

(L.B. MILLER)

SĀMARRĀʾ, a town on the east bank of the middle Tigris in ʿIrāḳ, 125 km north of Baghdād, of about 35 ha in 1924, and *ca.* 120 ha in the 1970s. Between 221/836 and 279/892 it was the capital of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, and expanded to an occupied area of 57 km², one of the largest cities of ancient times, whose remains of collapsed pisé and brick walls are still largely visible.

The district was only lightly occupied in Antiquity. Apart from the Chalcolithic Samarran Culture excavated at the rich site of Tell al-Ṣuwwān, the city of *Sur-marrati*, refounded by Sennacherib in 690 BC, according to a stele in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, may somewhat doubtfully be identified with a fortified site of Assyrian date at al-Ḥuwaysh opposite to modern Sāmarrāʾ. The ancient toponyms for Sāmarrāʾ are Gk. *Souma* (Ptolemy, V. c. 19; Zosimus, III, 30), Lat. *Sumere*, a fort mentioned during the retreat of the army of Julian the Apostate in A.D. 364 (Ammianus Marcellinus, XXV, 6, 8), and Syriac *Shūmaʿrā* (Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 188; Michael the Syrian, iii, 88), described as a village.

The region experienced an upturn in its fortunes with the excavation of the Ḳāṭūl al-Kisrawī, the northern extension of the Nahrawān canal which drew water from the Tigris in the region of Sāmarrāʾ, attributed by Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, s.v. *Ḳāṭūl*) to the Sāsānid king Khusraw Anūshirvān (A.D. 531-78). To celebrate this royal project, a commemorative tower (mod. Burdj al-Ḳāʾim) was built at the southern inlet (mod. Nahr al-Ḳāʾim) south of Sāmarrāʾ, and a palace with a walled hunting park at the northern inlet (mod. Nahr al-Raṣāṣī) near to al-Dawr. A supplementary canal, the Ḳāṭūl Abi ʾl-Djund, excavated by the ʿAbbāsid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, was commemorated by a city in the form of a regular octagon (mod. Ḥuṣn al-Ḳādisiyya), called *al-Mubārak* and abandoned unfinished in 180/796. The plan is based upon that of the Round City of Baghdād [*q.v.*].

Probably in 220/834-5, the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim [*q.v.*] left Baghdād in search of a new capital. The sources all report that the reason was conflict between the caliph's regiment of Central Asian Turks and the population of Baghdād. The caliph apparently sought a residence for the court, and a base for the ʿAbbāsid army, outside of Baghdād, and was attracted by a region known for its hunting, but otherwise poor in natural resources.

The caliph's city was formally called Surra Man Raʾā ("he who sees it is delighted"). According to Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, s.v. *Sāmarrā*), this original name was later shortened in popular usage to the present Sāmarrāʾ. It seems more probable, however, that Sāmarrāʾ is the Arabic version of the pre-Islamic toponym, and that Surra Man Raʾā, a verbal form of name unusual in Arabic which recalls earlier Akkadian and Sumerian practices, is a word-play invented at the caliph's court.

Surra Man Raʾā was laid out in 221/836 on the east bank of the Tigris around the pre-Islamic settlement, with the principal palace on the site of a monastery to the north. This palace complex, called in the sources *Dār al-Khilāfa, Dār al-Khalīfa, Dār al-Sulṭān*, and *Dār Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, had two major sub-units, the *Dār al-ʿĀmma*, the public palace where the caliph sat in audience on Monday and Thursday, and *al-Djawsaḳ al-Khāḳānī*, the residence of the caliphs and their families, where four are buried. The site of the palace (125 ha), excavated by Viollet (1910), Herzfeld (1911-3), and recently by the Iraqi Directorate-General of Antiquities, has a square building, identifiable as the *Dār al-ʿĀmma*, opening onto a garden on the Tigris, with a court behind, two basins excavated in the conglomerate for summer occupation, a polo *maydān* [*q.v.*], and a second enclosed palace, probably *al-Djawsaḳ*.

It is not easy to reconstruct the plan of the original Surra Man Raʾā, because of later rebuilding. From the palace an avenue, later referred to by al-Yaʿḳūbī as *Shāriʿ Abī Aḥmad*, extended south 3.5 km to the markets, the mosque of al-Muʿtaṣim (both now under the modern town), and beyond. To the east of this avenue lay the cantonments of the Turk Waṣīf, to the west on the Tigris bank those of the Maghāriba, a military unit apparently of Egyptian origin. The cantonment of Khāḳān ʿUrṭudj was placed north of al-Djawsaḳ, and may be identified with one of two quarters in this area. The two remaining military cantonments were located outside of Surra Man Raʾā, that of the Ushrūsaniyya, under al-Afshīn Khaydar b. Kāwūs al-Ushrūsanī [see AL-AFSHĪN] at al-Maṭīra, the village 4 km south of modern Sāmarrāʾ (mod. al-Djubayriyya), and that of the Turks under Ashnās 10 km north at Karkh Fayrūz (mod. Shaykh Walī). The area east of the city was walled as a hunting park (*al-Ḥayr*).

With the death of al-Muʿtaṣim in 227/842, came a point of decision: would Sāmarrāʾ be abandoned on the death of its founder, as many other princely sites, or would it become a more permanent ʿAbbāsid capital? Al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7 [*q.v.*]) chose to stay, and the population reacted by turning what was called a camp (*ʿAskar al-Muʿtaṣim*) into a real city. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 264-5), al-Wāthiḳ made some changes to the military disposition, but concentrated on the economic development of the city. He built a new palace called al-Hārūnī, which has been identified on the banks of the Tigris at al-Ḳuwayr, an unexcavated site partly flooded since the 1950s by the barrage at Sāmarrāʾ. Al-Hārūnī continued to be the residence of al-Mutawakkil, and was occupied during the 250s/860s by Turkish units.

The reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61 [*q.v.*]) had a great effect on the appearance of the city, for he seems to have been a lover of architecture. In a list of his building projects which appears in several different versions, the new Congregational Mosque and up to 20 palaces are mentioned, totalling between 258 and 294 million dirhams. The new Congregational Mosque, with its spiral minaret, built between 235/849 and 237/851, formed part of an extension of the city to the east, extending into the old hunting park. Two new palaces with hunting parks were built in the south, at al-Iṣṭablāt, identified as al-ʿArūs, and al-Musharraḥāt (not yet securely identified). A further palace, Balkuwārā, excavated by Herzfeld in 1911, was built on the Tigris bank south of al-Maṭīra, surrounded by a military cantonment for a new army corps under al-Mutawakkil's second son, al-Muʿtazz.

Three courses for horse-racing were built east of the

main city. Two have an out-and-back course 80 m wide and 10.42 km long with a spectators pavilion at the start, and the fourth a pattern of four circles around a central pavilion (5.3 km).

Under al-Mutawakkil, the city centre, which developed on the site of ʿAskar al-Muʿtaṣim, seems to have reached its greatest extent, and was described in its heyday by al-Yaʿḳūbī after the death of al-Mutawakkil (*Buldān*, 260-3). There were seven parallel avenues. The avenue adjacent to the Tigris, *Shāriʿ al-Khalīdj*, accommodated the quays for the river transport which was the principal means of supplying the city, and the cantonments of the Maghāriba. Although Herzfeld supposed that the alignment had disappeared, it now seems that the trace of the avenue lay inland from the river-bank, and still survives in part.

The principal avenue of al-Yaʿḳūbī, *al-Shāriʿ al-Aʿẓam* or *al-Sarīdja*, appears to be identical with the alignment of the ancient road from Baghdād to Mawṣil, following an irregular line from al-Maṭīra to beyond the *Dār al-Khilāfa*. Later called *Darb al-Sulṭān*, the alignment can be followed to the north to al-Dawr. Towards the southern end stood the tax registry, the *Dīwān al-Kharādj al-Aʿẓam*, probably outside the limits of the city in the time of al-Muʿtaṣim, and therefore possibly a replacement of an earlier building. To the northwest in succession lay the stables of the caliph, the slave market, the *madjlis* of the police, the great prison, and the main markets around the old congregational mosque of al-Muʿtaṣim. The avenue passed to the west of the *Dār al-Khilāfa*, and terminated with the residences of the great palace servants, which may have stood on the site of the earlier cantonments of Khāḳān ʿUrṭudj.

The second avenue, *Shāriʿ Abī Aḥmad*, was the original avenue of the time of al-Muʿtaṣim, narrowed from 60 to 10 metres, and ended at the south gate of the caliphal palace, called *Bāb al-Bustān* or *Bāb Aytākh*. Outside this gate stood the palace of al-ʿUmarī, and the residences of the leading Turks of Sāmarrāʾ: Aytākh, Barmash, Sīmā al-Dimashḳī, Bughā al-Kabīr, and Bughā al-Ṣaghīr.

The remaining avenues, *Shāriʿ al-Ḥayr al-Awwal*, *Shāriʿ Barghamish al-Turkī*, *Shāriʿ al-ʿAskar*, and *Shāriʿ al-Ḥayr al-Djadīd*, parallelled the *Shāriʿ Abī Aḥmad* to the east. These avenues were the quarters of military units: the Shākiriyya, the Turks, the Farāghina, the Khazar and the Khurāsānīs.

In 245/859 al-Mutawakkil began a new project to replace Surra Man Raʾā with a new caliphal city to the north of al-Karkh, called, according to its coinage, al-Mutawakkiliyya, although written sources call it al-Djaʿfariyya (al-Yaʿḳūbī) or al-Māḥūza (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1438). A canal was dug from a point 62 km north to supply the new city, crossing by an aqueduct over the Ḳāṭūl, and running on both sides of the avenue, but the levelling was badly calculated, and little water flowed. The main palace, al-Djaʿfarī, is located at the inlet to the Ḳāṭūl al-Kisrawī, and is modelled on the Dār al-Khilāfa of Surra Man Raʾā. The city plan is organised around a central avenue leading south past the Abū Dulaf mosque to the cantonments of al-Karkh, thus similar to that of Surra Man Raʾā. The Sāsānid hunting park north of the Ḳāṭūl was reworked with a viewing platform at Tell al-Banāt close to modern al-Dawr. After the assassination of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, the city was abandoned.

The reign of al-Mutawakkil was fundamental to the history of ʿAbbāsid Sāmarrāʾ. The expenditure on architecture, a high but not precisely calculable percentage of the state budget, stimulated the economic development of the city. But the drain on the treasury also played a role in the decade of troubles following al-Mutawakkil's death, which led to the making and unmaking of four caliphs, and military action in Sāmarrāʾ in three phases in 248/862-3, 251-2/865-6 and 256/870. Perhaps more significant was the isolation of the caliph with his army in Sāmarrāʾ, which left him exposed to forceful attempts by the soldiery to ameliorate their lot.

At any rate, during the decade after the accession of al-Muʿtamid in 256/870, the army was removed from Sāmarrāʾ by Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaḳ, although Sāmarrāʾ continued to be the official residence of the caliph until 279/892, when al-Muʿtaḍid reestablished Baghdād as capital. Al-Muʿtamid is not known to have revisited Sāmarrāʾ after 269/884, but he was buried there in 279/892. Between 274/887-8 and 281/894-5 there are several reports of looting the city, after which Sāmarrāʾ ceases to be mentioned frequently in the chronicles; one presumes therefore that a major depopulation occurred at this time.

Nevertheless, the area round the markets continued to be occupied, together with the outlying towns of al-Maṭīra and al-Karkh. Al-Muktafī attempted to resettle Sāmarrāʾ in 290/903, but found al-Djawsaḳ a ruin.

The two Shīʿī Imāms ʿAlī al-Hādī (d. 254/868) and al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874) had a house on the Shāriʿ Abī Aḥmad, probably adjacent to the mosque of al-Muʿtaṣim, and were buried there. The Twelfth Imām disappeared nearby in a cleft commemorated by the Sardāb al-Mahdī in 260/874. The tomb was first developed in 333/944-5 by the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla, and subsequently by the Būyids. According to al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Samāwī, *Washāʾidj al-sarrāʾ fī shaʾn Sāmarrāʾ*, a verse composition of the 13th/19th century on the history of the shrine, the double shrine continued to be rebuilt frequently, notably in 445/1053-4 by Arslān al-Basāsīrī and in 606/1209-10 by the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, whose work is commemorated by an inscription in the Sardāb. The present appearance of the shrine is to be attributed to work by the Persian Ḳādjār ruler Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1285/1868-9 and other more recent work.

From the 4th/10th century onwards, Sāmarrāʾ became a pilgrimage town. In the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, the displacement to the east of the course of the Tigris south of Sāmarrāʾ led to the transfer of the Tigris road from Baghdād to Mawṣil to the west bank of the river, and a consequent loss of trade. Sāmarrāʾ was not apparently walled until 1834, when a wall was built out of ʿAbbāsid bricks, as a result of a charitable donation.

In the 1950s a barrage was constructed on the Tigris, in order to divert the spring flood waters down Wādī Tharthar and to end the disastrous periodic flooding of Baghdād. The lake formed behind the barrage drove the farming communities of the flood plain on to the steppe-land among the ʿAbbāsid ruins, and enlarged the town, which remains the market centre of its district.

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R.McC. Adams, *Land behind Baghdad*, Chicago 1965; J.M. Rogers, *Samarra, a study in medieval town-planning*, in A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern (eds.), *The Islamic city*, Oxford 1970, 119-55; A. Northedge and R. Falkner, *The 1986 survey season at Samarra*, in *Iraq*, xlix (1987), 141-73; Northedge, *Karkh Fairuz at Samarra*, in *Mesopotamia*, xxii (1987), 251-64; idem, *The racecourses at Samarra*, in *BSOAS*, liii (1990), 31-56; idem, *The palace at Istabulat, Samarra*, in *Archéol. islamique*, iii (1992), 61-86; idem, *An interpretation of the Palace of the Caliph at Samarra (Dar al-Khilafa or Jawsaq al-Khaqani)*, in *Ars Orientalis*, xxiii (1993), 143-71. (A. NORTHEDGE)

AL-**SAMĀWA** (A., "the elevated land").

1. Al-Samāwa was the name given, in the definition of al-Bakrī (*Muʿdjam mā staʿdjam*, Cairo 1364-71/1945-51, iii, 754, copied by Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 245), during mediaeval Islamic times to the desert and steppeland lying between al-Kūfa and Syria. Earlier geographers were more specific. Thus Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. Kramers, 22, 34-5, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 21, 34, see also his map of the Arabian peninsula) defines it as the plain stretching from Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*] in northwestern Arabia to ʿAyn al-Tamr [*q.v.*] in the desert on the fringes of the middle Euphrates and to the desert of Khusāf between al-Raḳḳa and Bālis [*q.vv.*], a region in general inhabited by the Banū Kalb and the Banū Fazāra [*q.vv.*]. The Samāwa was crossed by important caravan routes connecting ʿIrāḳ via Palmyra [see TADMUR] with Syria. In the early 4th/10th century, it was the locus of the Carmathian rising of Zikrawayh or Zakarūya [see ḲARMAṬĪ] which seriously affected ʿAbbāsid control over the Syrian districts to its west (see H. Halm, *Das Reich des Mahdi. Der Aufstieg der Fatimiden (875-973)*, Munich 1991, 68-9, 71, 170-1).

2. Al-Samāwa is also the name of a town in southwestern ʿIrak (lat. 31°18′N., long 45°18′E.), on the lower Euphrates, appearing in history from the 11th/17th century onwards. It was attacked by the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*] under ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd b. Suʿūd in 1806, after he had sacked al-Nadjaf, and then again in 1808 it was plundered by Suʿūd b. Suʿūd (see A. Musil, *Northern Neğd, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1928, 263-4). Since the later Ottoman period and then those of the British Mandate and independent ʿIrāḳ, al-Samāwa has been important as a crossing-place over the Euphrates for the Baghdād-Basra road and for the bridge carrying the metre-gauge railway connecting the two cities, hence it was one of the towns besieged by the rebels during the 1920 ʿIrāḳī revolt. During the Mandate and shortly afterwards, al-Samāwa came within the governorate (*liwāʾ*) of Dīwāniyya [*q.v.*], of which al-Samāwa was a component *ḳaḍāʾ*, but in contemporary ʿIrāḳ it is now the chef-lieu of the *liwāʾ* of al-Muthannā, with a population (1985 estimate) of 33,473.

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AL-**SAMAWʾAL** B. **ʿĀDIYĀ**, Jewish-Arab poet, who lived in the middle of the 6th century A.D. His residence was in the famous castle of al-Ablaḳ (cf. Yāḳūt, s.v.) near Taymāʾ. His genealogy is uncertain. Though mostly called al-Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyā (or ʿĀdiyāʾ) al-Yahūdī, other genealogies such as al-Samawʾal b. Gharīḍ b. ʿĀdiyā or al-Samawʾal b. Ḥiyyā b. ʿĀdiyā are also given. Some few poems attributed to a certain Saʿya (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 250-1), who is said to have been al-Samawʾal's brother or, more probably, his grandson and to other members of his family are also handed down.

Even in the Middle Ages, only very few poems attributed to al-Samawʾal were known. His *Dīwān*, which was collected by Nifṭawayh [*q.v.*], contains only nine poems comprising 88 verses. From these poems again only two gained greater fame because they had been included in widely-known poetic anthologies even before Nifṭawayh's comparatively late compilation of the *Dīwān*. The first is a *fakhr* poem (no. 1 in the *Dīwān*), which Abū Tammām incorporated in his *Ḥamāsa* (no. 15) and on which Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (8th/14th century) composed a *takhmīs* (ed. Beirut 1962, 36-41). The poem, however, is attributed with good reason to other poets than al-Samawʾal as well. A second poem (no. 2 of the *Dīwān*) found its way into al-Aṣmaʿī's poetic anthology (*al-Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, no. 23) and parts of it are quoted in different other sources, among them Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī's *Ṭabaḳāt*. The poem contains reflections on birth, death and the Day of Judgment which may be, as Hirschberg proposed, references to Aggadic literature, thus, contrary to poem no. 1, pointing to the Jewish religion of its poet. The authenticity of the poem was defended by Hirschberg against Nöldeke's negative verdict. Levi Della Vida drew up the very probable hypothesis that the poem was in fact created by one of al-Samawʾal's descendants, who had already converted to Islam but still was acquainted with Jewish tradition.

Yet al-Samawʾal owes his fame less to his poetry than to a story, which gave rise to the saying "more loyal than al-Samawʾal". The story is told in different versions. According to Ibn Sallām, the poet and Kinda prince Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] had entrusted his arms to al-Samawʾal. As the Ghassānid phylarch al-Ḥārith b. Djabala [*q.v.*] heard about that, he set out against al-Samawʾal, who entrenched himself in his fortress. Al-Ḥārith, however, took hold of al-Samawʾal's son who happened to be outside the castle and threatened to kill him if al-Samawʾal would not deliver the deposited weapons. Yet al-Samawʾal prefered to witness his son to be killed by al-Ḥārith rather than to betray the trust commited to him. The story is referred to in a poem by al-Aʿshā [*q.v.*]. In discussing this poem, Caskel concluded that the reference to Imruʾ al-Ḳays in the story is a later invention. The poem no. 6 in al-Samawʾal's *Dīwān*, where the poet refers to his loyal keeping of "the coats of mail of the Kindī", is considered as spurious by Caskel.

In western scholarship, interest in al-Samawʾal concentrated on his Jewish religion, because one hoped that his poetry could throw some light on Jewish influence on early Islam. But since there is not a single poem of which al-Samawʾal's authorship has never been questioned, discussion have focused mainly on the problem of authenticity. These discussions were stirred up anew when a hitherto unknown poem, which contains numerous references to biblical history, was discovered in the Geniza. It became clear, however, that its poet was not al-Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyā. Following a hint in one manuscript, some scholars have started to think that its author was an otherwise unknown poet bearing also the name al-Samawʾal, who is said to have been a member of the Jewish tribe of Ḳurayẓa [*q.v.*]. Kowalski attributed poem no. 7 in al-Samawʾal's *Dīwān*, of which he could convincingly show that it was the reply to a poem of Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm [*q.v.*] by an anonymous Jewish poet in the time of the prophet Muḥammad, to this al-Samawʾal al-Ḳuraẓī. Yet it still remains rather unlike-

ly that such a poet really existed. Whatever the case may be, al-Samawʾal's poems, though only partly or even not at all genuine in the narrow sense of the word, are still of interest to the history of Judaism in early Islamic times.

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SAMBAS, a town and river in the Province of Kalimantan Barat (West Kalimantan) in the Republic of Indonesia, lying just south of Sarawak at lat. 1° 20′ N. and long. 109° 15′ E. It is one of a number of Malay/Muslim-dominated estuarine settlements on the Borneo coast whose existence was based on trading relationships with non-Muslim native peoples in the interior and Chinese traders and miners. Local versions of the Islamisation of Borneo's West coast attribute the coming of Islam to Arabs from Palembang who were trading in the area from the mid-16th century.

At this time, Sambas was a tributary of the Peninsula Malay kingdom of Johor, but through a royal marriage in the 17th century came under the authority of Sukadana, another Bornean coastal settlement to the south. Descendants of Sultan Muḥammad Ṣafī al-Dīn, the first Muslim ruler of Sukadana, assumed power in Sambas and may have helped to spread Islam in the kingdom.

Sambas was not as influential as its more powerful neighbours Sukadana, Landak, Pontianak and Mempawa, and was prey to local wars and a haven for pirates. To bolster his authority, the Sultan of Sambas sent a mission to Batavia in 1818 requesting Dutch assistance, as a result of which the first Dutch Resident was installed. During the early 19th century there was an international dimension to local politics as the Dutch sought to extend their influence north of Sambas into Sarawak [*q.v.*], which they claimed was a tributary of Sambas, but to which Brunei also held claims. In 1841 when Malay chiefs rebelled against Brunei, James Brooke quelled the unrest and received the area as his from Brunei. The presence of the English "White Rajah" effectively stopped the northwards extension of Dutch authority on Borneo's West coast past Sambas. From 1846 the Dutch reorganised their Borneo possessions and in 1848 a new Dutch contract was made with Sultan Abū Bakr Tādj al-Dīn of Sambas, defining the boundaries of his kingdom.

During the 19th century, the organisation of Islam in Sambas was closely linked with the Sultan's court. There was an Imam and four Kiais, although after 1831 there were two Imams, Imam Tua and Imam Muda (Senior and Junior), probably an example of a dual appointment to resolve a local conflict. Later in the century, Kātib Djabr studied in Mecca with Shaykh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn (1856-1906) of Patani [*q.v.*], and later returned to Sambas to become Maharaja Imam.

The Imams of Sambas were in touch with events in the wider sphere, and in 1930 Shaykh Muḥammad Bashuni ʿImrān wrote to the editor of the Cairo reformist journal *al-Manār* [*q.v.*], to ask why Muslims were not as advanced as people in Europe, America and Japan.

Sambas shared in the reorganisation of Islam in Borneo carried out by the Netherlands East Indies government in 1937. This established *ḳāḍī* Courts and *ḳāḍī* Appeal Courts on the same lines as for Java and Madura. After 1945, in the independent Republic of Indonesia, the administration of Islam has been through the *Mahkamah Shariah*, under the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

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(VIRGINIA MATHESON HOOKER)

SAMBHAL [see MURĀDĀBĀD].

ṢAMGH, *ṣamagh* (A., pl. *ṣumūgh*) indicates gum resins, the desiccated latexes of several plants and the mixtures of natural resins (*rātīnadj*) with gum-like substances.

To the best-known gum resins belong: ammoniac (*wushshak*), the product of the ammoniac gum tree; the so-called devil's dirt (*ḥiltīt*), the latex of the asafoetida (*andjudhān*) which, when exposed to the air, hardens into a dirty-yellow gum resin; wolfs' milk (*yattūʿ*), in several varieties of the class Euphorbia, with many sub-varieties; galbanum (*ḳinna*), the desiccated latex of *Ferula galbaniflua*, used as spice and medicine; myrrh (*murr*), from the bark of several varieties of thorny shrubs of *Commiphora abyssinica*; the often-described frankincense (*kundur* [see LUBĀN]) from various Boswellia varieties, indigenous in South Arabia and Somalia; sagapenum (*sakbīnadj*), the yellow, translucent resin from *Ferula Scowitziana* which causes irritation of the skin and whose smell resembles that of asafoetida; and camphor (*kāfūr*), the white, transparent mass of the camphor tree *Cinnamonum camphora* [see KĀFŪR], indigenous in East Asia. Most of the gum resins (28 in number) are enumerated and described by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 291-324; ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Ghassānī, *Muʿtamad*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, Beirut 1975, 287-92, has 20 gum resins; al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydana*, has 13 varieties (see the index of the Russian tr. by Karimov, Tashkent 1973); Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, iii, 85,25 - 87,13 (= Leclerc, nos. 1407-16) has 9 varieties; other authors have less.

The word *ṣamgh* is usually used alone for *ṣamgh ʿarabī*, gum arabic, so called because it was exported from Arab ports and spread by the Arabs. It is the viscous secretion gained from the bark of the acacia tree (*al-ḳaraẓ*, in Morocco *al-ṭalḥ*), which represents several varieties of the acacia imported from Africa: *Acacia senegalensis*, from the steppe zones of West- and Central Africa to the right and left of Senegal, *Acacia abyssinica* and *Acacia nilotica*, from Africa and India, and many others.

In medicine, gum arabic is used as a palliative and

as an astringent for drying up putrescent ulcers. It helps the formation of new flesh in ulcers and stems the blood which flows from wounds; it also serves as cough medicine and for the preparation of collyria. The drug consists of roundish, colourless or yellowish pieces, up to a diameter of three cm, which fall easily into small pieces which shine like glass.

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AL-**SAMHŪDĪ**, Nūr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, al-Shāfiʿī, noted Egyptian scholar in history, theology, law, tradition, etc. (844-91/1440-1506).

He was born at Samhūd in Upper Egypt in Ṣafar 844/July 1440, the son of a *ḳāḍī*; in his genealogy, he claimed to be a Ḥasanid *sayyid*. His biography is given in detail by al-Sakhāwī, resumed in Ibn al-ʿImād and other subsequent biographical sources. He studied in Cairo from 853/1449 onwards under its celebrated scholars, and also received the Ṣūfī *khirḳa* or cloak. He made the Pilgrimage in 860/1456 and eventually settled in Medina, where he wrote a treatise urging the rebuilding and correct reconstruction of the Prophet's Mosque there. Whilst away in Mecca on the Lesser Pilgrimage or *ʿUmra* in Ramaḍān 886/November 1481, his valuable personal library was destroyed by a fire in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. Returning to Cairo, he was honoured by the Mamlūk sultan Ḳāʾit Bāy [*q.v.*] and given a stipend. After visiting Jerusalem, he finally settled at Medina in late 890/1485, purchasing the house of the Companion Tamīm al-Dārī [*q.v.*] and acquiring the designation of *Shaykh al-Islām* there. He died on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 911/12 April 1506 and was buried in the Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad [*q.v.*] cemetery.

Al-Samhūdī was a prolific author, and over twenty of his works are extant, some printed but most of them still in manuscript. Their subjects include *fiḳh*, genealogy, *ḥadīth*, *kalām*, the *manāsik* or ceremonies and practices of the Pilgrimage, various commentaries on legal and other works and a collection of *fatwās*. But his main fame stems from his histories of Medina, his adoptive home. He originally composed a history on an extended scale as *Iktifāʾ al-wafā bi-akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā* (thus in Ibn al-ʿImād; in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 450, *al-Wafā bi-mā yadjibu li-ḥaḍrat al-Muṣṭafā*), but this was destroyed in the Medina fire. However, he had made, at the request of a patron, a shorter version, the *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, completed in 886/1481, and fortunately, he had the manuscript of this abridgement with him in Mecca (printed Cairo 1326-7/1908-9, 2 vols., and ed. Muḥ. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, repr. Beirut 1393/1973, 4 parts in 2 vols.). Finally, from this last in turn was made another epitome, the *Khulāṣat al-Wafā* (printed Būlāḳ 1285/1868-9, Cairo 1316/1898-9 and Mecca 1316/1898-9; two Persian translations of this also exist in manuscript, see Storey, i, 426-7). On all these works of al-Samhūdī, see Brockelmann, II², 223-4, S II, 223-4.

The *Wafāʾ al-wafā* is our principal source for the history and topography of the city, with details on its buildings, graves and shrines and on the various festivals and rituals. Al-Samhūdī quotes earlier authorities, including copious ones from what must have been one of the very first histories of Medina, that by the pupil of Mālik b. Anas, Ibn Zabāla al-Makhzūmī, completed in 199/814 (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 190 no. 228, ii, 44 no. 2302; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 343-4; this book was known to al-Sakhāwī but has since disappeared).

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SĀMĪ, Shems ül-Dīn Frāsherī (Mod. Tkish. Şemseddin Sami Fraşeri), Ottoman Turkish author and lexicographer. He was born at Frāsher in Albania on 1 June 1850, of an old Muslim family whose ancestors had been granted this place as a fief by Sultan Meḥemmed II, and was educated in the Greek lycée at Yanina, at the same time receiving private instruction in Turkish, Persian and Arabic. He came to Istanbul in 1871 in order to take up journalism, and in 1874 was sent to Tripoli (North Africa) as the editor of *Wilāyet* newspaper. He returned to Istanbul 9 months later and founded the daily newspaper *Ṣabāḥ* in 1876. It was during these years also that he embarked on literary production, attaching himself to the new school of Ibrāhīm Shināsī and Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.vv.*], and producing a pioneer Turkish novel, *Taʿashshuḳ-i Ṭalʿat we Fitnet*, which criticised the marriage system then prevalent in Turkey. Moreover, in a famous article *Lisān-i Türki-yi ʿOthmānī*, published in *Ṣabāḥ*, he asserted the purist attitude that the language of the Ottoman empire was not the "Ottoman language" but the "Turkish language", and that the over-abundant Arabic and Persian words and phrases should be replaced by old Turkish ones which had fallen into disuse; he thus anticipated the language reform of the 20th century Turkish Republic.

Later, he became the editor of *Terdjümān-i Sharḳ* newspaper and the journals *ʿĀʾile* and *Hafta*. Meanwhile, he wrote a series of pamphlets for the *Djeyb Kütübkhānesi* series. In 1881 he was appointed as the secretary for the *Teftīsh-i ʿAskerī Ḳomisyonu*, or Army Inspection Commission, but, at the same time, began to publish his famous lexicographical works: *Ḳāmūs-i fransewī* (French-Turkish, 1882, and Turkish-French, 1885), the six-volume encyclopedia *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām* and the *Ḳāmūs-i türkī* in two parts. In 1893 he was put under house arrest by ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II. He stayed in his home at Erenköy, Istanbul, and devoted the rest of his life to his works, from 1899 onwards being forbidden to receive guests; he died on 18 June 1904 in Istanbul.

Sāmī's greatest merit lies in the fields of lexicography and philology. As well as working on Turkish and Arabic, he also worked on producing an Albanian grammar, poems in this language and a book on the future of Albania. With his brother Naᶜīm Frāsherī (1846-1900; see on him, F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi [1921], 99), he was among the leaders of the group which produced a Latin-based alphabet for Albanian in the 1880s. His best-known work is his Turkish dictionary, the *Ḳāmūs-i türkī*. In this work, the order of the words is alphabetical and the arrangement of the different meanings of the words is very clear. Sāmī represented a compromise between the different views prevailing in his time on the development of Turkish, and, despite his own far-reaching Turkish purism, his dictionary is a reflection of the educated Turkish of his time. Among his unpublished materials are an unfinished Arabic dictionary, comprehensive studies on the *Ḳutadgu bilig* and the Orkhon inscriptions, as well as works on Persian and Eastern Turki.

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AL-SĀMIRA (more modern form, AL-SAMARIYYŪN), sing., al-Sāmirī (not to be confused with the Ḳurʾānic al-Sāmirī [*q.v.*]), denotes the Samaritans, that part of the people of Israel which does not identify itself with Judaism ("Judaism" being associated with that part of the people of Israel which survived the Babylonian Exile, hence with the destruction of the kingdom of Israel in the north of Palestine).

1. History of the community.

Historically, the Samaritans have been linked with Judaism since several centuries before the coming of Jesus Christ. They are nevertheless different, as also in the dating of the schism regarding the Holy Scriptures connected with the Karaites [*q.v.*], taking place around the appearance of Islam. The Samaritans only believe in the first five books of the Law (the Pentateuch, with variations, whilst the Karaites accept the written Law in its entirety (sc. virtually the Old Testament) but reject the oral one, i.e. the Talmud, what is understood in Judaism as the Mishnah and the Gemarah.

The Samaritan community is still in existence and active. At the beginning of the 20th century (1909) they were considered as almost extinct (in antiquity, they had numbered between one and two millions, and in mediaeval times had several communities, from Thessalonica to Damascus and Cairo), numbering only 173 (97 men and 76 women), but their numbers have now risen to 600. They live mainly at Nābulus [*q.v.*], at the foot of Mount Gerizim, which they set up in opposition to Jerusalem, and at Holon near Jaffa.

Leaving aside the historical notices, both traditional and modern, on their origins—which belong properly to the field of Biblical Studies—we shall turn to the position of the Samaritans at the appearance of Islam. Both the people and their laws, which were well-known in the Talmud (which observes that the Samaritans were more respectful of the Law than the Jews), as also in the Code of Justinian, are further known in the *fiḳh* treatises. Islam considered them as a People of the Book, and al-Māwardī, tr. Fagnan, *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, Algiers 1915, 302, states that "the poll-tax is also leviable on the Ṣabians and Samaritans, since their beliefs are basically identical with those of the Jews and Christians, even though they differ in practices". Arabic very soon replaced the Aramaic which the Samaritans had spoken and written—Hebrew being only a liturgical language since the beginning of the common era—at the time of the advent of Islam.

The Samaritans are important for the history of Islam, and their theories are probably at the root of the problem of *taḥrīf*. Whilst in the Rabbanite Jewish Pentateuch, accepted by the Christian churches, there is mention of the altar which God commanded to be built on Mount Ebal ("... and when you have passed over the Jordan, you shall set up these stones ... on Mount Ebal" (Deut. xxvii, 4) and not on Mount Gerizim, in the Samaritan Pentateuch this is the reverse. There are several reasons for accepting the Samaritan version; it suffices to read v. 12 and the description of Deut. xi, 29, or to think of the arid nature of Mount Ebal and the richness of Mount Gerizim.

According to Muslim historians, the Samaritans in general helped the incoming Arabs in their warfare in Palestine with the Byzantines during the early 7th century A.D. The Samaritans were known to the Arabs in the classical period as physicians, as shown by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa. Many writers, and especially travellers, such as al-Masᶜūdī, al-Idrīsī, Yāḳūt and al-Maḳrīzī, speak of them. Westerners, however, do not seem to have known about them at that time. The Crusader chronicles—unless, as is unlikely, some new source turns up—do not mention them. It was not until the 16th century that they were discovered by the West at the time of a melancholy attempt by a scholar who wrote to them in Samaritan characters telling them that they belonged to the ten lost tribes of Israel and, above all, leading the surviving Samaritans to believe that they stemmed from the communities traditionally said to have been deported by the Crusaders. The first Samaritan Pentateuch was brought into Europe by the Italian traveller Pietro della Valle, who went there in 1616.

But Judaism, including its European communities, knew them perfectly well, and Benjamin of Tudela went to see them in the second half of the 12th century. The Samaritans continued to have some of the institutions no longer existing in Judaism: the High Priest, the Priests and the Levites. In 1624 the last High Priest, a direct descendant of Phinehas b. Eliazar b. Aaron, died, and was replaced by another priestly family, the direct descendants of Itamar b. Aaron called Ha-Kohen Ha-Levi. In the course of time, this subtle distinction was abandoned, and the term Ha-Kohen Ha-Gadol was exclusively used. Another institution of a Biblical order which continued up to the 17th century (which may, however, have possibly stopped in the 16th century) was the use made of the ashes of the red heifer (cf. Ḳurʾān, II). The Samaritans did not use phylacteries, and their calendar was calculated each year by the Priests. It was a completely theocratic community in which there

was never any distinction between Rabbi = teacher and Kohen = priest. These last lived under a régime of nazariate. Likewise, many practices were retained with regard to the field of impurity. Pietro della Valle observed the low wall inside which women remained at the time of their menstrual periods until they became ritually pure again. Comparison with the rules of the Falasha is interesting. The *Kitāb al-Kāfī*, the most extensive of their legal compendiums composed in Arabic in A.D. 1200, states (S. Noja, *Il Kitāb al-Kāfī dei Samaritani*, Naples 1970, 84): "When any of our community touches with his hand someone who is not of our religion and then sits down to food, he must rinse his hand, since anyone touching something with his hand after ablution invalidates that ablution". From this arose the Samaritans' revulsion from physical contact with those not of their community (cf. the Ḳur'ānic *lā misās^a*) and, consequently, the ductus *n-ẓ-r (ibid.*, 34) concerning which Silvestre de Sacy noted: "suspecte d'infection (je lis *nāẓir* et je prend ce mot dans le sens de *nuẓira*, ex. *naẓra, deformitas, color-vitium*)". Another non-Samaritan piece of evidence from the 7th century mentions their custom current at that time of burning by fire any of their land over which a non-Samaritan had passed. This piece of evidence ends with the words *tanta illis est execratio utrisque*. Al-Shahrastānī was well aware of this when he wrote (tr. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, *Le Livre des religions et des sectes*, Louvain 1986, 609), "they are more severe than the rest of the Jews in matters of ritual purity".

Nevertheless, much prudence is required in seeing, as has been done in the past, an imitation of Samaritan customs in many of the Islamic rules such as the positions in worship and the ritual formulae, since it may well be that the contrary is true: it was the Samaritans, with their great capacity for adaptation, who were inspired by the living practice of Islam.

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2. Samaritan literature in Arabic.

When the Samaritans experienced the Islamic invasion, their language was Aramaic or, rather, one of the numerous forms of Aramaic with its own special characteristics. Above all, in phonology, their language was close to Palestinian Aramaic, with the disappearance of the laryngeals, a marked preference for prosthetic vowels, etc., whilst retaining some differences, such as the change *u* > *a* in closed, unstressed sylables. Their writing system was—and still is today—palaeo-Hebraic, i.e. the ancient system of writing, similar to Phoenician, which had been used all through Israel before the Babylonian Exile. On their return, the Jews, in order to distinguish themselves from the Samaritans, adopted the "square Hebrew", which has since then been permanently used by them all, including the Karaites; today, it is the writing system used in the State of Israel. After the time of the Arab conquest, the Samaritans began to speak Arabic without any break at all. In an unsystematic fashion, for writing down Arabic, they began to use the palaeo-Hebraic script equally with the Arabic script. A similar state of affairs is represented by the use or Karshūnī [*q.v.*] for writing Syriac.

The works written in Arabic (in the *Narbonne Chronicle*, there is quoted the first Samaritan who began to speak in Arabic), independent of writing system, cover all the aspects of their interests.

1. Translated works.

Translation of the Pentateuch. Several versions are involved. Five can be identified, given the fact that we still do not possess any critical edition. The Samaritans were interested above all in commentaries, and one can discern that they utilised versions of already-existing commentaries from Judaism and also—at a late date—from Arabic-speaking Christianity, naturally with adaptations.

Translations of various works. No work in this category can be considered as important.

2. Original works.

(a) *Chronicles*. At least seven of these exist. Some are short; others, like that of Abu 'l-Fatḥ, very lengthy.

The *Asāṭīr* ("stories"), very close to the Midrash.

The *Shalshala*, the "chain" of the high priests.

The *Tūlīda*, the "genealogy", also called "the Neubauer chronicle", from its editor.

The *Book of Joshua*. This book, completely in Arabic, has no connection with the relevant first historical book of the Old Testament. It is based on several sources, and was transcribed into Arabic by an anonymous author *ca*. A.D. 1300.

The "Adler-Seligsohn" chronicle, after the names of its editors.

The "Chronicle II" or "Macdonald-Cohen" one, after the names of its editors. Here it is the Arabic text which is the original, and not the Hebrew.

The *K. al-Ta'rīkh*, the Annals of Abu 'l-Fath, the longest and most complete. Dating from the 14th century, it has been brought up to the middle of the 19th century.

(b) *Commentaries on the Pentateuch*. These books, like the treatises on law, are considered by the Samaritans as their most important books, and were written originally in Arabic.

Various partial commentaries:

The *K. fī shurūḥ al-ʿashar kalimāt* "Commentary on the Decalogue" by Abu 'l-Ḥasan of Tyre.

al-Khuṭba al-djamiʿa or *Sharḥ azīnu*, on Deut. xxxii by the same author.

Commentary on Genesis (from i.2 to i.5) by Ṣadaḳa b. Munadjdjā b. Ṣadaḳa, called al-Ḥakīm.

The *Sharḥ al-Fātiḥa*, on the "*Fātiḥa*", i.e. on Deut. xxxii. 3-4, by Ibrāhīm al-Ḳabbāṣī, etc.

The most extensive and most popular is the commentary on the first four books of the Pentateuch written by Muslim b. Murdjān b. Ibrāhīm and his nephew Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb b. Murdjān in the last century.

(c) *Legal treatises*. These were also written in Arabic after the decline in the use of Aramaic. They include amongst others:

The *K. al-Kāfī* "The Sufficient", from A.D. 1042, by Yūsuf b. Salāma of ʿAskar, on "that which is sufficient for living according to the law of God"; in effect, a work of *fiḳh*.

K. Masā'il al-khilāf "Book on questions of conflicting views", from A.D. 1106, by Munadjdjā b. Ṣadaḳa on the points of disagreement between the Samaritans, the Jews and the Karaites.

K. al-Tibakh "Book of the commandments", of A.D. 1030, by Abu 'l-Ḥasan of Tyre, involving polemics with the Jews.

K. al-Mīrāth "Book on inheritances", of A.D. 1170, by Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm, a physician at the court of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), dealing with everything regarding successions.

K. al-Farā'iḍ "Book on the division of inheritances", from the 14th century A.D. by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Kaththār.

K. al-ʿIrba "Book on nudity", by al-Muʿallim

Barakāt, on the basis of the teachings and *fatwās* of Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm.

(d) *Collections of* fatwās *for fixing the calendar:*

K. Ḥisāb al-sinīn "Book of the calculating of the years", of A.D. 1960, by Elazar ʿAbd al-Muʿīn b. Ṣadaḳa, which includes the information of previous astronomical works in order to determine the calendar for the year.

(e) *Works on grammar.*

K. al-Tawṭiʾa "The initiation", the first Samaritan Hebrew grammar, by Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm.

With the arrival *en masse* of Europeans in the Samaritan community in the 19th century and the development of a market for manuscripts, certain of these works, originally in Arabic, were translated and recopied into Hebrew in order to satisfy book-collectors and purchasers who did not know Arabic; the case of the work *Hilluk* is well-known. Translations have sometimes been taken for the originals by European scholars, naïve and excited, and encouraged by information from maleficent and unscrupulous dealers.

Today, still, Arabic is the sole spoken language, but one notes a certain revival of Hebrew, to the detriment of Aramaic, which remains truly a dead language.

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AL-SĀMIRĪ "the Samaritan", is the name in Ḳurʾān, XX, 85, 87 and 95 of the man who tempted the Israelites to the sin of the Golden Calf. The sin itself is mentioned twice in the Ḳurʾān. In the first narrative, VII, 148-57, the story is told of the sin of Israel and Aaron as in Exodus, xxxii, but with the elaboration that the calf cast out of metal was "lowing" (*khuwār*). The second version, XX, 83-98, presents al-Sāmirī as the tempter of Israel in the same situation. At al-Sāmirī's bidding, the Israelites cast their ornaments into the fire and he made out of them the lowing calf which was worshipped by the people although Aaron advised them not to do so. When challenged by Moses, al-Sāmirī justified himself by saying that he saw what the others did not see, the footsteps of the messenger (understood in Muslim tradition to be the tracks of the hooves of Gabriel's horse). Moses then announced his punishment to him: "So long as you live, you shall call out, 'Do not touch me' (*lā misāsᵃ*)" (XX, 97).

The Muslim tradition has had no doubt that al-Sāmirī was a Samaritan as known within the Jewish and Christian traditions. Al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, Cairo 1905, xvi, 152, and al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, Beirut 1967, ii, 549, for example, understand al-Sāmirī to have been a prominent Israelite of the tribe of Sāmira whose name was Mūsā b. Ẓafar; his religion is understood to have differed from that of other Jews.

Scholars have extensively debated the question of how a Samaritan became involved with the Mosaic story of the golden calf. Bernard Heller in *al-Sāmirī* in *EI*[1] and *SEI* agreed with Goldziher (in his article *Lā Misāsa*) that al-Sāmirī was a representative of the Samaritans, a group which kept apart from non-Samaritans because of a special concern over purity. In a segregation of this kind—as in the Jewish laws regarding eating (Ḳurʾān, IV, 160)—Muḥammad saw a divine punishment. What did al-Sāmirī (= the Samaritans) have to atone for, such that he would be punished in this manner? For the sin of the golden calf. What was known as a ritual practice of the Samaritans—that contact with those outside their group created impurity—is put back into earlier times and explained as a punishment of al-Sāmirī for having incited the Israelites to make and worship the calf. But other theories have been put forth. Speyer suggested a reference to the story of Zimrī (and thus al-Sāmirī) ben Sālū from Num. xxv, 14, who was guilty of defying Moses in having relations with a Moabite woman. More recently, Schwartzbaum, developing a suggestion of Yehuda, has suggested that we have a tale in which the story of King Jeroboam's calves (one of which, according to Talmudic tradition, was able to talk, thus being parallel to the Ḳurʾānic idea of the golden calf "lowing") has merged with that of Moses and the golden calf. The conflation stemmed from Jeroboam's statement "Here are your gods, Israel, that brought you up from Egypt" (I Kings, xii, 28) in reference to his two golden calves, a statement which also appears in Exod., xxxii, 4, in the mouth of Aaron. Providing the link to al-Sāmirī is the point that Jeraboam's capital was in Shechem (I Kings, xii, 25), the Samaritan sacred centre. Schwartzbaum also sees remnants of the folkloric motif of the Wandering Jew in the story of al-Sāmirī who roams the world crying, "Do not touch me!" Regardless of how the story came about, the Ḳurʾān appears to present the earliest record of this midrashic development; aspects of it which are found in Jewish sources (e.g. in *Pirḳē de Rabbi Eliezer* and *Tanḥūma*) would seem to date from after the rise of Islam.

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(B. Heller-[A. Rippin])

AL-ṢĀMIT, "the Silent One", as opposed to *al-*

nāṭiḳ "the Speaking One", a term used by several extremist Shīʿī sectarians (*g͟hulāt*) to designate a messenger of God who does not reveal a new Law (*s͟harīʿa*). The pair of terms is found in the notices concerning the doctrines of the Manṣūriyya and K͟haṭṭābiyya [*q.vv.*] sects respectively (Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *K. al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. Mas͟hkūr, 48, 51). According to the doctrine of the K͟haṭṭābiyya, Muḥammad was the *nāṭiḳ* and ʿAlī the *ṣāmit*; in the same sense the two terms are used in the earliest treatises of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*]; e.g. (Pseudo-) Dj̲aʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *K. al-Kas͟hf*, ed. Strothmann, 77, 99-100, 103. Here, "the Silent Imām means that he is the master of the Inner Meaning (*ṣāḥib al-bāṭin*) who does not pronounce an outward revelation (*lā yanṭuḳu bi-s͟harīʿat^{in} ẓāhira*)" (*op. cit.*, 100). The term occurs in many early Ismāʿīlī writings (e.g. Dj̲aʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Asrār al-nuṭaḳā*ʾ, ed. M. G͟hālib, Beirut 1984, 248, 257, 263, quoted by W. Ivanow, *Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1942, 278, 293, 303; idem, *K. al-Fatarāt*, ms. Tübingen, pp. 110-11), but soon has been replaced by the terms *waṣī* (legatee) or *asās* (foundation): according to Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidj̲istānī (d. after 386/996), *It͟hbāt al-nubuwwāt*, ed. ʿĀrif Tāmir, Beirut 1966, 193, "Adam was the first *nāṭiḳ* for the first cycle, whereas Seth was his silent *asās* (*asāsuhū al-ṣāmit*)." In later Ismāʿīlī writings, the term *ṣāmit* falls into disuse.

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(H. HALM)

SAMMĀ, the name of a Rādj̲pūt tribe in Sind. At the time of the Muslim advent into Sind (93/711-12) the Sammās were ostensibly already a well-formed tribe, with distinctive customs and with a recognised habitat, according to the much later *Čač-nāma*, which mentions the Sammā tribal leader as a Buddhist. The same source mentions the Sammās and their allied tribes, the Lākhos and the Suhtas, as living in the territory from Lohāna (modern Sanghar, Ḥaydarābād District) down to the Arabian Sea coast.

The rival tribe of the Sumerās [*q.v.*] first find mention in the account of the G͟haznawid Sultan Maḥmūd's return march from his Sōmnāth expedition (416/1026) [see SŪMANĀT]. Later, the Sumerās emerged as the dominant tribe in Sind, completely eclipsing the Sammās for over three centuries. But already towards the end of the reign of Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ (d. 752/1351) the (Sammā) Dj̲āms were linking up with the rebels (Baranī, 523-5). The first half of the 8th/14th century witnessed a reversal of roles, with the Sammā chiefs emerging as strong, assertive leaders. The circumstances of this change are not fully known. Internecine warfare among the Sumerās, along with certain adverse changes in the course of the river Indus (see the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ṭāhirī*, extracts in Elliot and Dowson, i, 271), and other unclear factors, may have sapped the energy of the Sumerās.

The final stage of the shift of power from the Sumerās to the Sammās is fairly well documented. It appears from the state documents of the Dihlī Sultanate that the Sumerās, in a desperate bid to retain the power that was slipping from their hands, sought the support and the protection of the Sultanate officials in Gudj̲arāt, Multān and lower Sind from the opening years of Fīrūz S͟hāh Tug͟hluḳ's reign (acc. 752/1351) onwards. These officials were keenly interested in keeping intact "the afflicted plant of the life of Hamīr Dodā Sumerā", the last Sumerā chief, for they needed Sumerā support against the rising Sammā tribe, who had already been giving much trouble to the Dihlī government by allying themselves with Mongol marauders, always active on the borders, and with Sindhi malcontents (*Ins͟hāʾ-i Māhrū*, 100-3, 186-9). But Tug͟hluḳ efforts to give the Sumerā a new lease of life proved unavailing.

It is generally agreed that the Sammās were of Rādj̲pūt origin. They were closely related to the Dj̲adedj̲a Dj̲āms of Kāṫhīāwāṙ, with whom they shared the title of *Dj̲ām*, one of uncertain derivation. The presence of Sindhi elements in their names also indicates their indigenous origin. There is little evidence about their conversion to Islām. The first Sammā chief is generally mentioned as Dj̲ām Fīrūz Unnar, who came to power in the early 1350s at Ṭhaṭṭā [*q.v.*]. It is uncertain whether he was the same person who figures in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account as Wunār al-Sāmirī, a high official at Sīwistān under Sultan Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ of Dihlī, who later rebelled and rose to chiefdom as Malik Fīrūz (iii, 105-7, tr. Gibb, iii, 599-600). Most Sindhi scholars are inclined to identify Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's "Wunar al-Sāmirī" with the Sammā chief who became the first ruler of the Sammā dynasty that ruled over Sind, with their capital at Ṭhaṭṭā.

The chronology of the Sammā rulers as given in the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Sind* of Mīr Maʿṣūm Bhakkarī and in later chronicles which have followed him has been proved to be seriously at fault, as shown conclusively by Riazul Islam, *The rise of the Sammas in Sind* (see *Bibl*,), 1-24. The "tentative list" of the Sammā rulers and their chronology worked out by N.A. Baloch "is comparatively more authentic", see his article, in *Bibl.* For a more detailed and descriptive list, see Ḥusām al-Dīn Rās͟hidī's note in his edition of the *Maklī-nāma* (see *Bibl.*), 103-36.

It was during the joint reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Dj̲ām Dj̲ūnā and Ṣadr al-Dīn Bānhbīna that Tug͟hluḳid Dihlī Sultan Fīrūz S͟hāh led a long campaign against Ṭhaṭṭā which began in the last months of 1365 and ended in 1367 with the intercession of the leading Suhrawardī saint of Sind, Sayyid Ḥusayn Dj̲alāl al-Dīn, called Mak͟hdūm-i Dj̲ahāniyan [see DJ̲ALĀL AL-DIN ... AL-BUK͟HARĪ] (for details, see Riazul Islam, *op. cit.*). The two joint rulers made their submission to the sultan, and joined his return march to Dihlī. The sultan assigned the rule of Sind jointly to Dj̲ām ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's son and to Tamāčī, son of Bānhbīna. Later, when Tamāčī showed signs of disaffection, he sent Dj̲ām ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn to take charge of the affairs at Ṭhaṭṭā (ʿAfīf, 190-247). When the Tug͟hluḳ empire rapidly disintegrated after Fīrūz S͟hāh's death in 791/1388, the Sammās assumed complete independence.

The Sammā chiefs were rulers who provided Sind with a century and a half of prosperous and fairly peaceful dynastic rule. Their popularity is well reflected in folk tales and songs pertaining to the various rulers. The best ruler of the dynasty undoubtedly was Dj̲ām Niẓām al-Dīn (II) Ninda (866-914/1461-1508); his tomb is the most prominent monument at Maklī (near Ṭhaṭṭā), the necropolis of mediaeval Sind (see Mīr ʿAlī S͟hīr Ḳāniʿ, *Maklī-nāma*, ed. Rās͟hidī, especially his Note at 88-103). The Dj̲ām was a great patron of art and culture, and enjoyed wide popularity at home and high prestige among the neighbouring kingdoms. The famous scholar Dj̲alāl al-Dīn Dawānī (d. 908/1502-3 [*q.v.*]) wanted to migrate from S͟hīrāz to settle in Sind under the patronage of the great Dj̲ām, but died before he could set out. However, two of his prominent disciples settled permanently at Ṭhaṭṭā (Mīr Maʿṣūm, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Sind*, 74).

Sammā rule came to end with the arrival in Sind of the more powerful Arg͟hūns, who had been displaced from Ḳandahār in Afg͟hānistān by Bābur [*q.v.*] and

their leader Shāh Beg Arghūn founded his own dynasty there after his victory over Fīrūz b. Ninda in 926/1520 [see ARGHŪN]. A branch of the Sammā tribe, known as the Djādedjā Sammās, ruled over Kāthīāwāṛ from the 7th/13th to the 9th/15th century, but never converted to Islam (see Baloch).

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(RIAZUL ISLAM)

AL-**ṢAMMĀN**, in the vernacular pronounced as al-Ṣummān, a large tract of rugged, stony uplands in eastern Arabia, east of the sands of al-Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*]. Its south-eastern part is also called al-Ṣulb. Both *ṣammān* and *ṣulb* mean "hard, stony ground", while *ṣammān* has the additional connotation of "hard ground by the side of sands". In its narrow sense, limited to the north-western part, al-Ṣammān extends from al-Maʿḳalāʾ at its south-eastern extremity towards the gravel plain of al-Dibdiba in the north-east and Wādī al-Bāṭin at its north-western limit i.e. the area which lies between 45° 20′-47° E. and 28°-26° 45′ N. A broader definition of al-Ṣammān is the stretch of land between the road from al-Riyāḍ to al-Aḥsāʾ in the south to the road from al-Ḳaṣīm to al-Baṣra in the north. However, in today's usage al-Ṣammān is often understood as the entire area of hard ground running in parallel to al-Dahnāʾ from Wādī al-Bāṭin in the north towards a point at approximately 22° N., and to the east of al-Aflādj. The southern stretch, which is wedged between al-Dahnāʾ and the north-western sands of the Empty Quarter in the general area of the oasis of Yabrīn, is called Ṣammān Yabrīn. At about 22° N. the great gravel plain of Abū Baḥr protrudes southward from al-Ṣammān towards a point east of al-Sulayyil, where the sands of the Empty Quarter and the ʿUrūḳ al-Rumayla, the southern extension of al-Dahnāʾ, meet.

Philby writes that al-Ṣammān at many points consists of whitish sandy limestone overlying sandstone. Its uplands are intersected by many depressions where the rainwater collects in large pools (*khabārī*) and basins with spring wells (sing. *djaww*). Permanent water is found in numerous reservoirs in subterranean cavities (*duḥūl*). Following rains, al-Ṣammān turns into excellent grazing land, attracting Bedouins of the Muṭayr, al-ʿUdjmān, Banī Khālid, Ḳaḥṭān and Subayʿ tribes. From al-Aṣmaʿī is reported the saying, "Whoever grazes his herds during winter in al-Dahnāʾ, in spring in al-Ṣammān, and in late spring in al-Ḥimā, has completed [the cycle of] pasturing them [on the herbage that shoots up in the wake of rains]." Yāḳūt writes that in ancient times these pastures were the tribal land of the Banū Ḥanẓala. Al-Ṣammān and al-Ṣulb are mentioned by classical poets like al-Farazdaḳ, Djarīr, and especially Dhu 'l-Rumma, who also names many of their watering-places.

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(M. KURPERSHOEK)

SAMMŪR [see FANAK; FARW].

AL-**SAMN** (A.), butter, made from cows', goats' and ewes' milk, heated over the fire to extract its impurities, and hence called clarified butter (as distinct from *zubd* which is butter made from churned milk). Mediaeval dietetic texts state a preference for clarified butter made from cows' milk over goats' milk. Its medicinal benefits were as an antidote against poisons and snake bites, if ingested alone or mixed with honey, and as an ointment for the cure of boils and abscesses, including haemorrhoids. *Samn* was also used in the kitchen and, according to the anonymous *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, its use (at least in the urban milieu reflected by the culinary manuals) was almost exclusively limited to the preparation of egg dishes, such as omelettes, and sweet dishes made with flour; in the latter case, *samn* was often mixed with sesame oil (*shīradj*).

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(J. RUSKA-[D. WAINES])

SAMORI TURE (1830-1900), the founder of an empire in West Africa during the 19th century.

A bloody tyrant and slave-merchant in colonial historiography, and a precursor of resistance for African nationalism, Samori never ranked as an emblematical figure for Islam in the sub-Saharan region. We now discern in him the figure of an imperial leader, with undoubtedly political and military qualities, whose resistance to the French and whose Islamic orientation arose more from the conjuncture of events than from a predetermined plan.

Samori arose from the Mandinka/Mandigo world, which had in particular given birth to the mediaeval empire of Mali [*q.v.*]. His political rise unfolded completely within the upper Niger valley and its right bank affluent the Milo (in modern Mali and Guinea). He was born into an aristocratic family, substantially de-Islamised, but incarnated through his actions the aspirations of a specialised social group, the Jula (Dioula) Muslims and traders, at that time stirred up by the indirect effects of the largely Fulani *djihāds* taking place in adjoining regions (1727, Futa Djalon, in modern Guinea; 1817, Masīna, in Mali; 1852, al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar, in the northern part of Guinea).

Samori's beginnings were those of the leader of a Mandingo band of troops. He first exercised his calling of arms, before 1860, in the service of various clans, notably that of his maternal relatives, the Kamara. In 1878, he personally took control of all Upper Niger, and in 1881 seized Kankan, the main Islamic city of the region.

The capture of Kankan brought into his circle numerous scholars. From now onwards, Samori was assisted by a secretary who wrote his correspondence in Arabic, but, above all, he installed in his immediate entourage, for eight years, Sidiki Sherifu Haidara, a *Sharīf* of Kankan and *shaykh* of the Ḳādiriyya, who became his master. At a time when he was still, at the age of 20, illiterate, Samori acquired in his shadow a taste for Arabic and for Ḳurʾānic recitation.

The people of Kankan were thus the agents of a grafting process of Islam. In 1884, at the end of Ramaḍān, he who was not yet anything more than a *kèlètigi* (war chief), and then a *faama* (political chief by right of conquest), assumed the title of *almami* (*al-imām*), borrowed from the neighbouring Fulani *djihāds*. In correspondence, he was after this time described as *amīr al-muʾminīn*. In December 1886, at the end of a period of study, he proclaimed himself *namutigi* ("master of tradition"), a dignity reserved for scholars of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, and led in person the Friday prayer. He also launched a forcible movement of Islamisation, imposing the *sharīʿa* and the Islamic law of succession, nominating *ḳāḍīs* and making Ḳurʾānic teaching general by means of a network of paid schoolmasters (*karamoko*), forcing non-Muslims to convert. On this occasion he plunged into open conflict with Mandingo tradition and experienced the direct hostility of part of his family and his partisans. The excesses of this Islamic revolution, combined with defeats suffered at the hands of his main enemy in the region, the Senufo kingdom of Kenedugu (Sikasso), forced Samori to relax the system. This episode, which had hardly lasted four years, came to an end in 1889. There nevertheless remained of these attempts a strong Islamising tendency at the head of the empire, which at this time enjoyed its apogee with a population of about a million inhabitants and an area of not less than 200,000 km^2.

The threat from the French played an important role in this return to a more pragmatical attitude. The first clashes with the French, who were now reaching the river Niger (Bamako, 1 February 1883) and who marked out Samori as the enemy who was to be brought low. The history of relations between the French and Samori is one of a long series of treaties swiftly renounced (Kenyeba-Kura, 1886; Bisandugu, 1887; Nyako, 1889) and of frontal attacks which had various outcomes. Samori was forced to evacuate Upper Niger and to transfer his troops and faithful supporters further eastwards, to the north of the Ivory Coast, into lands populated by indifferent or hostile tribes. For several years, Samori's power reached a new peak. But, deprived of access to the ports of Freetown and Monrovia, which had allowed him to import rapid-firing arms, Samori was thrown back on to the defensive. He was abandoned by the Jula of Kong (in the north of the Ivory Coast), and destroyed their town (18 May 1897), whilst his son Sarankènyi-Mori massacred, against his orders, a French column near Bouna (20 August 1897). Deceived in his hopes of conciliating the British, menaced by the French who wished to avenge their dead, Samori had to relinquish territory in face of a combined offensive by the two colonial powers, mounted from the south. He tried at that point to get back, by a southerly movement, to the Upper Niger basin. It was there that he was captured by surprise, with leaves of the Ḳurʾān in his hand, by a reconnaissance party under Capt. Gouraud at Gelemu (western part of the Ivory Coast, 20 September 1898). Transferred to Saint-Louis in Senegal, and then deported with several of his supporters to Gabon, into a human and natural milieu totally different, he died there on 2 June 1900.

Bibliography: The bibl. of the Samorian movement is dominated by the monumental thesis of Yves Person, based on an extensive combing of the archives and far-reaching oral enquiries (861 informants, from 1955 to 1962). Without being basically challenged, Person's work may be criticised on certain points: the very concept of a "Jula revolution", which makes Samori the political expression of the trading minority, thereby underestimating in his approach the truly Mandingo warrior models—the essentially political vision of Samori's undertaking (erection of a sovereign power, defence of an identity), to the detriment of social aspects (notably, the extension of slavery as a result of the incessant warfare)—and a certain fascination for the author of the "genius" (a recurring term) of his hero.

Y. Person, *Samori. Une révolution Dyula*, 3 vols., Dakar 1968-75, pp. 2,377; *Cartes historiques de l'Afrique manding (fin du 19ème siècle)*. *Samori. Une révolution Dyula*, Paris, Centre de Recherches Africaines 1940, 44 maps. See also Person, *Samori, construction et chute d'un empire*, in Ch.-A. Julien *et alii* (eds.), *Les Africains*, Paris 1977, i, 249-85 (résumé of the thesis), and *Samori and Islam*, in J.R. Willis (ed.), *Studies in West African Islamic history*, i, *The cultivators of Islam*, London 1979, 259-77.

Person has clearly shown the crushing weight of the "black legend" in French historiography, polemical and repetitive. Three works are worth mentioning: Commandant Peroz, *Au Soudan Français*, Paris 1889; Capitaine L.-G. Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, Paris 1892, 2 vols.; Colonel Gallieni, *Deux campagnes au Soudan Français*, Paris 1891, which contains in particular the greater part of Peroz's report on his mission to Bisandugu, Samori's capital, in 1886. These three officers were direct participants in the events, and the first two had a long period of contact with Samori.

(J.-L. Triaud)

SAMOS [see sīsām].

SAMRŪ or Sumrū, Bēgam, the originally Muslim Indian wife of the European adventurer Walter Reinhardt Sombre or Samrū, who held the *pargana* [*q.v.*] of Sardhanā [*q.v.*] in northwestern India under the later Mughal Emperor Shāh ʿAlam II [*q.v.*]. On Reinhardt's death in 1778, Bēgam Samrū kept up what was virtually a petty principality of Sardhanā, with an army which included some 300 European and half-breed mercenaries, and in 1792 married a French soldier of fortune Levassault. Toppled from control of Sardhanā in 1793 by a son of

Reinhardt's, Ẓafar-yāb Khān, in whose putsch Levassault died by his own hand, the Bēgam was nevertheless restored by the Irish adventurer George Thomas. After the British conquest of the Doʾāb [*q.v.*] in 1803, she tendered her loyalty to the British, who allowed her to retain her estates and to keep up a reduced army.

In 1781 she had been baptised a Roman Catholic, and at Sardhanā she built churches and schools, including a cathedral for a bishop appointed to the new see, and she also contributed to Hindu and Muslim charities; her foundations are still today an important centre for Christian activity in the Doʾāb. However, she was herself proficient in Persian and Urdu, and had a lively circle of poets in these two languages at her court, who included François Gottlieb Koine (var. Cohen!) "Farāsū", nephew by marriage of Ẓafar-yāb Khān, skilled also in Hindi poetry and described by Sprenger as "the one outstanding name in the annals of Anglo-Indian [Urdu] poetry". Her new palace in Sardhanā later became a Roman Catholic school; her Dihlī palace in the "Oriental Regency" style was used as a powder factory by the insurgents during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8. After the death of this remarkable woman on 27 January 1836, her estates were resumed, but her large private fortune passed to the son of the marriage between Ẓafar-yāb's daughter and the Begam's Eurasian factor Dyce, David Ochterlony Dyce-Sombre, and on his death in London in 1851, her fortune mainly passed, after prolonged litigation, to his wife, daughter of Earl St. Vincent and subsequently Lady Forrester.

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(C.E. Bosworth and S. Digby)

ṢAMṢĀM AL-DAWLA, Abū Kālīdjār Marzubān, Shams al-Milla (353-88/964-98), Buyid *amir* and eldest son of ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*].

On his father's death in Shawwāl 372/March 983, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla succeeded to power as *amīr al-umarāʾ*, but his position was immediately disputed by another brother, Sharaf al-Dawla Shīrzīl, who seized Fārs and Khūzistān. From his base in ʿIrāḳ, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla had also to combat the Kurdish chief Bādh, ancestor of the Marwānid dynasty [see MARWĀNIDS] of Diyār Bakr, who had seized various towns in al-Djazīra and who even for a while held Mawṣil. Despite his repulse of Bādh's attack on Baghdād and the recovery of Mawṣil, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla had to allow him to retain Diyār Bakr and part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.

From 375/985-6 onwards, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla was again involved in disputes with Sharaf al-Dawla, but with a section of the Būyid army also espousing the cause of a further younger brother, Bahāʾ al-Dawla Fīrūz [*q.v.* in Suppl.], then only 15 years old. In the end, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla had to agree to place Sharaf al-Dawla first in the *khuṭba* of ʿIrāḳ, with himself retaining only the governorship of Baghdād; but Sharaf al-Dawla was able in 376/986-7 to seize Ṣamṣām al-Dawla at Shīrāz, partially blind him and imprison him at Sīrāf. He was freed in 379/989 after Sharaf al-Dawla's death, when Bahāʾ al-Dawla had succeeded to the office of supreme *amīr*. At the outset, Bahāʾ al-Dawla recognised Ṣamṣām al-Dawla as an equal ruler controlling Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla now expanded into Khūzistān and seized Baṣra, with his troops led by the capable commander Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Ustādh-Hurmuz, and he successfully resisted the claims of the sons of ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*], cousin of ʿAḍud al-Dawla. In the fighting with Bahāʾ al-Dawla which went on for some eight years, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla was gaining the upper hand when, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 388/November-December 998, he was murdered near Iṣfahān by one of the sons of ʿIzz al-Dawla, Nūr al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Shāh-Fīrūz; Bahāʾ al-Dawla had him buried in state within a mausoleum at Shīrāz.

Of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's education and cultural background we know little, but his vizier ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Saʿdān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (373-4/983-4) was famed for his circle of littérateurs and scholars in Baghdād, including Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*], and according to the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, doubtfully ascribed to Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī, the historian and philosopher Miskawayh [*q.v.*] served Ṣamṣām al-Dawla in Baghdād before going on to the court of Fakhr al-Dawla [*q.v.*] at Rayy.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Miskawayh ends his history in 369/979-80, but much material can be found in Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī's *Dhayl* (in Amedroz and Margoliouth's *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, iii, tr. vi), and this can be filled out with details from the general chroniclers such as Ibn al-Djawzī, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī and Ibn al-Athīr.

2. Studies. See the historical narratives of events constructed by Mafizullah Kabir, in *The Buwaihid dynasty of Baghdad (334/946-447/1055)*, Calcutta 1964, and H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig. Die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, indices; also J.L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam. The cultural revival during the Buyid age*, Leiden 1986, 37, 91, 191-6, 198-9.

(C.E. Bosworth)

ṢAMṢĀM AL-DAWLA SHĀHNAWĀZ [see MAʾĀTHIR AL-UMARĀʾ].

ṢAMṢĀM AL-SALṬANA, Nadjaf Ḳulī Khān, a Bakhtiyārī chief born about 1846. His father was Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān, more commonly known as Īl-khānī, the first Bakhtiyārī leader to be formally designated *Īlkhān* of all the Bakhtiyārī by the imperial government in Tehran, and who was poisoned on the orders of prince Ẓill al-Sulṭān, the famous governor-general of Iṣfahān, who feared his growing power. Ṣamṣām al-Salṭana was *Īlbeg* of the Bakhtiyārī in 1903-5 and later *Īlkhān*. He is remembered principally for the part he played as one of the leaders of the Bakhtiyārī intervention in the constitutional movement in Persia.

The Constitutional Revolution [see DUSTŪR. iv] gave the Bakhtiyārī khāns, particularly Ṣamṣām and his brother, Sardār-i Asʿad, the opportunity to transcend their traditional provincial roles and enter the national arena. Although Sardār-i Asʿad had been at

least partially converted to the constitutionalist cause, Ṣamṣām appears to have been motivated largely by the desire to further his own personal and tribal interests.

During 1908 the Iṣfāhānī constitutionalists attempted to enlist wider support, including that of the Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārī, in their struggle against Iḳbāl al-Dawla, the new governor appointed by the reactionary Muḥammad ʿAlī <u>Sh</u>āh [*q.v.*]. In January 1909 Ṣamṣām, with a Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārī force, occupied Iṣfāhān and assumed the duties of governor. He asked the <u>Sh</u>āh to confirm him in this position but the <u>Sh</u>āh refused. Ṣamṣām convoked the provincial *an<u>dj</u>uman* and, on 3 May, telegraphed jointly with Sardār-i Asʿad to all the foreign legations warning of their intention to march on the capital to force on the Shah the restoration of the constitutional régime. On July 13 Tehran fell to the Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārī marching from the south and revolutionary forces led by Sipahdār-i Aʿẓam advancing from Ra<u>sh</u>t, and the <u>Sh</u>āh was deposed. Ṣamṣām was appointed governor of Iṣfāhān.

When, in the summer of 1911, the news of the return of the ex-<u>Sh</u>āh reached Tehran, Ṣamṣām entered the cabinet of Sipahdār as minister of war. The same day, 19 July, the Ma<u>dj</u>lis declared a state of siege and martial law, placing extraordinary powers in Ṣamṣām's hands. He advocated the Ma<u>dj</u>lis putting a price on the head of the ex-<u>Sh</u>āh and personally offered to assassinate him. On 26 July Ṣamṣām formed a new cabinet, becoming prime minister while retaining the post of minister of war. He mobilised his Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārī tribesmen to fight the forces of the ex-<u>Sh</u>āh but the arrival of the Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārī with their <u>kh</u>āns in Tehran and their exorbitant demands for money led to several resignation threats from Morgan Shuster, the American Treasurer-General. In August and September the Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārī, with the help of the Armenian revolutionary Yifrim <u>Kh</u>ān, defeated the supporters of Muḥammad ʿAlī. The hostility of Ṣamṣām and his cabinet to Shuster's efforts to reform Persia's finances came to a head when the latter attempted to collect taxes from prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla. On 2 November Russia protested at Shuster's confiscation of the property of prince *<u>Sh</u>uʿāʿ* al-Salṭana who, although having engaged in armed rebellion, was under Russian protection. Wu<u>th</u>ūḳ al-Dawla, minister of foreign affairs in Ṣamṣām's cabinet, apologised but Russia presented an ultimatum demanding the dismissal of Shuster. The Ma<u>dj</u>lis was inclined to resist but on 24 December Ṣamṣām and his cabinet, with the regent Nāṣir al-Mulk, forced its dissolution and accepted the Russian demands. Ṣamṣām remained prime minister until January 1913, when he resigned from the cabinet. In July 1913 Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārī domination suffered a further setback when the newly-formed government gendarmerie expelled all armed Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārī from Tehran.

In May 1918 Ṣamṣām again formed a government. As a repercussion of events in Russia, this cabinet, which had a nationalist character, abrogated all treaties with Russia and all concessions granted to Russians. This measure, which affected the interests of foreigners in general, accelerated the fall of Ṣamṣām's cabinet and its replacement by that of Wu<u>th</u>ūḳ al-Dawla, which signed the Anglo-Persian agreement of 9 August 1919. In the summer of 1921 Ṣamṣām was appointed governor-general of <u>Kh</u>urāsān to replace the military governor-general, Colonel Muḥammad Taḳī <u>Kh</u>ān Pasyān, but was prevented from taking up his post by Pasyān's resistance. Ṣamṣām died in 1930 while on a mission to mediate between the central government and rebellious Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārī tribes.

Bibliography: E.G. Browne, *The Persian revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910, 266, 293, 298; W. Morgan Shuster, *The strangling of Persia*, London 1912, 36, 109-18, 158-62, 189; Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Tārī<u>kh</u>-i muʿāṣir yā ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, Tehran 1328-1336/1949-1957, iii, 215-16; G.R. Garthwaite, *The Bakhtiyari Khans: tribal disunity in Iran 1880-1915*, diss. UCLA 1969, unpubl., 226-61.

(V. Minorsky-[Stephanie Cronin])

AL-ṢAMṢĀMA, the sword of the Arab warrior-poet ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib al-Zubaydī [*q.v.*], celebrated for the temper and cutting power of its blade. Like a number of the best Arab swords, its origin was traced back to Southern Arabia and a fabulous antiquity was ascribed to it. ʿAmr himself in a verse often quoted (*ʿIḳd*, ed. 1293, i, 46, ii, 70; Ibn Badrūn, 84; *Tā<u>dj</u> al-ʿarūs*, vi, 229) says that it had once belonged to Ibn <u>Dh</u>ī Kayfān "of the people of ʿĀd" (this member of an actual Ḥimyar clan (cf. M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, 331, 613) is identified with one of the last Ḥimyar kings of the family of <u>Dh</u>ū <u>Dj</u>adan; but very probably the poet only means to allude to the great age of his weapon).

The history and fortunes of al-Ṣamṣāma are rather involved; even in the poet's lifetime it came into the hands of a member of the Umayyad family, <u>Kh</u>ālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, the companion of the Prophet. The way in which he got possession of it is recorded with several variants by Ibn al-Kalbī (in al-Balā<u>dh</u>urī), Abū ʿUbayda (in the *A<u>gh</u>ānī*), al-Zuhrī (in Ibn Ḥubay<u>sh</u>; see *Bibl.*), and Sayf b. ʿUmar (in al-Ṭabarī). According to the last-named, <u>Kh</u>ālid won it in battle after routing ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib who was taking part in the revolt against Islam raised by the false prophet al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī [*q.v.*]; according to the three first, ʿAmr himself gave it to <u>Kh</u>ālid as a ransom for his sister (or wife) Rayḥāna, who was a prisoner of the Muslims. ʿAmr composed a poem on the occasion, of which several verses are frequently quoted in the Arab sources (Ibn Durayd, 49; *Lisān*, xv, 240, etc.). The tradition (al-Tibrīzī, in *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 397, 12-15) which says that ʿAmr gave it to the caliph ʿUmar is quite denied by authority.

After the death of <u>Kh</u>ālid b. Saʿīd at the battle of Mar<u>dj</u> al-Ṣuffar during the conquest of Syria (14/635), al-Ṣamṣāma passed to his nephew Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Saʿīd b. al-Āṣ [*q.v.*], who lost it while defending the caliph ʿU<u>th</u>mān when the latter was besieged in his house at Medina (35/656). It was found by a Bedouin of the tribe of <u>Dj</u>uhayna, with whom it was discovered in the reign of Muʿāwiya. Restored to its former owner, it passed from one member to another of the family of the Banu 'l-ʿĀṣ until one of them, Ayyūb b. Abī Ayyūb, great-grandson of the son of Saʿīd, sold it to the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) for about 80,000 dirhams. Henceforth, al-Ṣamṣāma was kept as a precious relic in the treasury of the ʿAbbāsids and its fame continued to increase; poets like Abu 'l-Hawl al-Ḥimyarī (al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 30) and Salm al-<u>Kh</u>āsir sang its praises.

From different sources we learn of its existence in the caliphates of al-Hādī (169-70/785-6), Hārūn al-Ra<u>sh</u>īd (170-93/786-809), al-Wā<u>th</u>iḳ (227-32/842-7), and al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), after which there is no longer any mention of it. The anecdotes recorded regarding the excellence of the famous sword during the period when it was in the hands of these caliphs have little chance of being authentic; a description which has a certain appearance of reality is the one given in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1348, 4-8, in connection with the story of al-Wā<u>th</u>iḳ's using it to execute with his own hand in 231/845-6 Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-

Khuzāʿī, who was accused of having conspired against the caliph and of having maintained that the Ḳurʾān was not created, contrary to the view laid down by al-Maʾmūn: "It was a blade with a hilt at its end; three nails driven into it attached the blade to the hilt". It is apparent then that the famous al-Ṣamṣāma had nothing of value about it except its great age.

As to the name al-Ṣamṣāma, it is simply an epithet referring to the fine quality of the blade (the "cleaver") like *muṣammim*, which has the same significance. *Ṣamṣāma* is often used as a common noun, e.g. by al-Farazdaḳ (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 385, 4) and by ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib himself (*Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī, 83, ed. Cheikho, no. 237); *Amālī* of al-Ḳālī, iii, 154, 10), as well as by Muslim b. al-Walīd (ed. De Goeje, vi, 18) in a verse which Schwarzlose (see *Bibl.*) wrongly thought to refer to ʿAmr's sword, while the weapon given by Hārūn al-Rashīd to his general Yazīd b. Mazyad referred to in the verse is the sword of the Prophet, Dhu 'l-Faḳār [*q.v.*], as is evident from verse 25 of the same poem and the note by Ibn Khallikān (ed. Ihsān ʿAbbās, v, 329, tr. de Slane, 220).

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(G. Levi Della Vida*)

ṢĀMSŪN (modern Turkish spelling, Samsun), a town of northern Asia Minor, in the classical Pontus. The Byzantine settlement, known as Amisus, attracted the attention of the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*]; as Sāmiya, it is mentioned in the historical epos known as the *Dānishmend-nāme*. The city passed into Turkish hands at the end of the 6th/12th century, but was temporarily retaken by the Byzantines; in 608-9/1212, Samsun formed part of the Comnene principality of Trebizond. When before 585/1189 Sultan Ḳîlîdj Arslan divided up his state among his sons, the town fell to Rukn al-Dīn. A trade route linking the port with Amasya, Çorum and Ankara, and also with eastern Anatolia, apparently was of secondary importance. However, the town was linked by sea routes to Caffa (Kefe, Feodosiya) in the Crimea [see KEFE] and the northern coast of the Black Sea. Genoese sources record the presence of a Turkish *kommerkiarios* (customs collector) about 688/1289. In the 8th/14th century the area was controlled by the Djāndār Oghlu dynasty [see ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU], one of whose members, named Isfendiyār (b.) Bāyezīd, had a coin struck in Samsun, which unfortunately bears no date. From the Ottoman chronicler Neshrī we learn that in 795/1393 the Ottoman sultan Yîldîrîm Bāyezīd I took over Kastamonu and Samsun, leaving a much reduced principality in the hands of Isfendiyār b. Bāyezīd. According to Hans Schiltberger, who was present in Anatolia at this time, Samsun was granted by Sultan Bāyezīd to the son of the former Bulgarian ruler Shishman, who had accepted Islam after the Ottoman conquest of Tîrnovo. Schiltberger also reports an invasion of land and water snakes in the countryside around Samsun; when the land snakes allegedly gained a "victory" over the water snakes, the court of Sultan Bāyezīd seems to have regarded this as a sign that the sultan, who already controlled the land, was also soon to dominate the seas.

In the 8th/14th century, Samsun had a resident Genoese population represented by a consul; after 701-2/1302 the latter was subordinate to the consul resident in Caffa, but, at least in principle, nominated by the authorities in Genoa. The Genoese lived in a separate settlement, a short distance away from the Muslim town, which the 9th/15th century chronicler ʿĀshîḳ-pasha-zāde calls Kāfir Samsun; he records that under Meḥemmed I (r. 805-24/1403-21), the Genoese abandoned their township after a fire, whereupon the inhabitants of the Muslim town, seeing their source of livelihood disappearing, voluntarily submitted to Ottoman domination. On the other hand, a Genoese citizen who had resided in Samsun for seven years claimed an indemnity for property losses suffered when the castle was burned by "the Turks" in 1422. In the following year, the *sübashî* of Samsun also exercised authority over the Genoese settlement. By the middle of the century, Simisso, as Samsun was called by the Genoese, was no longer mentioned among the latter's colonies. The Genoese also occasionally had coins of low silver content struck in the town. At certain times, notaries were present to record the business transactions of their countrymen.

According to Genoese sources, millet, barley, beans and chickpeas were exported from Samsun to the territories north of the Black Sea. From the north, Samsun received hides and edible fats, in addition to slaves. Apparently the commerce of the town was much impeded by Tīmūr's campaign in Anatolia; a Greek merchant who visited Samsun at this time complained that nothing could be bought or sold there. The Spanish envoy to the court of Tīmūr, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, also visited Samsun at approximately this time.

Ottoman documentation begins with a list of taxpayers from the reign of Bāyezīd II; 463 persons were recorded in this *defter* apart from the garrison. Samsun was located in the *sandjak* of Djānik. At this time a minute Frenkpazārî quarter (6 taxpayers) housed the remaining Genoese merchants. The town (511 taxpayers in 984/1574) was heavily fortified, and in the 10th/16th century the hinterland was known for its onions, while a locally grown pear was pickled and sent to Istanbul. But the best-known local product undoubtedly was hemp, from which the ropes required by the Ottoman arsenal were manufactured. Certain lands were set aside for the growing of hemp (*kendir khāṣṣlarî*) and the *ḳāḍī* of Samsun supervised delivery and payment to the growers. *Pendjik* [*q.v.*] accounts demonstrate that slaves from the northern coast of the Black Sea continued to be imported through Samsun.

In the early 11th/17th century the town seems to have lost a good deal of population; a register from the year 1052/1642-3 records only 58 taxpayers. However, Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited the Black Sea coast in 1050/1640, comments on the large number of notables (*aʿyān*) whom he encountered in Samsun; some of them were officers manning the fortress and others *ʿulemā*, although Samsun by this time had lost the *medrese* which it had possessed in the 10th/16th century. Ewliyā thought that the working population of Samsun consisted of seafaring men and hempworkers, who lived in tile-covered houses and struck him by their clean and tidy clothes; he specifically comments on the absence of very poor people (*ʿawāmm*). Thus it would appear that the depredations of the Cossacks, whose small, swift ships made the entire Black Sea coast unsafe during those years, inflicted severe but not lasting damage to the town. Ewliyā does, how-

ever, claim that Samsun was at one point occupied by the Cossacks and the fortifications seriously damaged; but by the time of his visit, the latter had been repaired.

The *Djihān-nümā*, a 11th/17th-century geographical text, contains some information on Samsun, which was probably put together not by the author Kātib Čelebi himself but by one of his collaborators. The geographer comments on the non-nucleated settlements of the Black Sea coast and the rustic character of the inhabitants. In his time, the castle of Samsun had fallen in ruins, but the town possessed one or more shop-lined streets, a mosque and a bath house. In actual fact, late 11th/17th century Samsun possessed at least four mosques: two of them went back to the Ilkhānid period, the *mesdjid* of ʿĪsā Bābā dated from the 9th/15th century, while the Ḥadjdjī Khātūn mosque had been founded in 1105-6/1694. Tournefort, who passed through Samsun in 1112-13/1701, did not observe any signs of commercial activity and paid no particular attention to the town. However, the Trabzon Armenian Minas Bīžīshkiyan, whose travel notes date from 1232-5/1817-19, paints a somewhat different picture; he regarded Samsun as an important trade centre, with a substantial number of resident Armenians. This is all the more remarkable as Samsun had been burnt to the ground in 1221/1806, when a local governor was ousted by a rival of his who enjoyed central governement support. In 1244-5/1829 the town was still recovering from this disaster. The buildings of Samsun apparently made a pleasant impression on the Prussian general Helmuth von Moltke, who in 1253-4/1838 disembarked from a steamer and began his Anatolian travels in Samsun; but although he must have spent some time in the town and even made a map of it, he does not say anything specific about buildings or people. Henry Suter, who visited Samsun in the very same year, thought that the town had a population of 450 Turkish and 150 Greek families. This traveller commented on Samsun's well-stocked bazaars, but believed them to serve the transit trade rather than local consumption. In this period, the port did not possess a quay, and afforded only limited protection in case of storms. Yet Moltke observed that a considerable amount of trade was conducted through the port, and other European travellers of the time agreed with him. Many visitors were Persian and other merchants crossing the Black Sea on Austrian steamers in order to trade in Rumelia and central Europe. A.D. Mordtmann, who visited Samsun in 1266-7/1850, also made some acerbic comments on the lack of port facilities.

In an account of Asia Minor published in 1278-9/1862, Charles Texier adds a few details to this description. By the middle of the 13th/19th century, a governor had built a government house, into which antique columns and other finds from the ruins of the ancient city had been incorporated. The town by mid-century boasted a covered market, a khān, a public bath and four saints' graves. The quarters inhabited by Greeks and Armenians were located some distance away from the Muslim town; they both possessed a church and a school. Yet in terms of population, the town remained quite small; the Ottoman traveller Ferrukhān Bey, who visited Samsun in 1263/1847 and to whom we owe a description of its physical layout, records 500 Turkish, 240 Greek, 60 Armenian and a few European households; he estimated total population at about 6,000. Cuinet records a much lower figure for 1276-7/1860, namely 3,000 persons. A disastrous fire in 1286/1869 constituted another setback. Yet in the 1890s Samsun's population had increased to 16,000. Referring to the period just before 1311/1894 Shems ül-Dīn Sāmī gives the more conservative figure of 11,000 persons; he regarded Samsun as the most active Black Sea port in Ottoman hands.

Early 14th/late 19th century growth was partly due to the spread of tobacco cultivation in the region, which was exported through Samsun; in addition, as Istanbul now depended increasingly on Anatolian grain, the grain trade grew in importance. In the aftermath of World War I, the area saw clashes between armed bands of Pontus Greek separatists and their Laz and Turkish opponents. Under the threat of British intervention, the Porte decided to send Muṣṭafā Kemāl, one of the most successful Ottoman generals of World War I, to restore order. He disembarked in Samsun on 19 May 1919, which became a Turkish national holiday after the proclamation of the Republic, and began to organise political resistance against the foreign occupation of Anatolia and eastern Thrace. However, Samsun was soon superseded as a centre of the Turkish nationalist forces.

During the Republican period, Samsun became the capital of a *wilāyet* and developed into a sizeable city (198,749 inhabitants in 1980). The railway reached Samsun in 1932; the port was modernised in 1960, and the Samsun Trade Fair, established in 1963, proved a boost to the local economy. However, agriculture, particularly tobacco cultivation, continues to be the economic mainstay of the province (involvement of 80.4% of the active population in 1975), which comprises extremely fertile areas such as the Çarşamba and Bafra plains, where two and even three harvests a year are possible. Though Samsun possesses large-scale factories producing copperware, artificial fertiliser and fodder, industry (4.9% of the active population in 1975) and services (6% of the active population in 1975) are of much less importance in the economy of the province. Small enterprises predominate; in 1980, only 20% of the active population consisted of wage and salary earners. From the 1950s onwards, mechanisation of agriculture has resulted in widespread emigration. This situation explains why, even in 1980, the percentage of persons able to read and write (61.7%) was lower than the average for Turkey as a whole. However, from 1981 onward, efforts have been made to bridge the gap, which include the establishment of a local university.

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(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

AL-**SAMT** (A.), azimuth or direction, a term in frequent use in Islamic astronomy. It is usually applied to the direction of a celestial object measured on the horizon, determined by the arc of the horizon between the east- or west-points and the foot of the vertical arc through the celestial object. The Arabic plural *al-sumūt* gave rise to the term azimuth and its equivalents in numerous European languages. But whilst in mediaeval astronomy the azimuth was usually measured from the east- or west-points, in modern astronomy it is measured clockwise from the north point.

The complementary arc measured from the meridian was called *inḥirāf*, and, for example, the term *munḥarifa* was applied to a vertical sundial inclined at a specific angle to the meridian [see MIZWALA]. The direction of Mecca, called *ḳibla* [*q.v.*], was usually measured from the meridian, and so it is the *inḥirāf* (for *inḥirāf al-ḳibla*) that is tabulated in mediaeval tables displaying the *ḳibla* for different geographical localities. Yet sometimes also *samt al-ḳibla* was used when the *ḳibla* is measured from the north point.

The expression *samt al-ra'*s, literally "direction of the head", was used to denote the point of the celestial sphere directly above the observer. This, through various modifications and distortions, produced zenith and its equivalents in European languages.

Muslim astronomers invariably included in their handbooks [see ZĪDJ] a chapter on the determination of the azimuth of the sun or any star from its altitude, realising that this is mathematically equivalent to the problem of determining the time from the altitude. Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*] at the end of the 4th/10th century compiled a table of the solar azimuth for each 1° of solar altitude and each 1° of solar longitude, for the latitude of Cairo; there are about 10,000 entries in the book appropriately entitled *Kitāb al-Samt*. These tables formed part of a corpus of tables for astronomical time-keeping that was used in Cairo until the 13th19th century (see Pl. LXVI). Other tables of the same kind were later compiled for the latitudes of Damascus, Alexandria and Damietta. The universal tables of al-Khalīlī can be used to find the azimuth of the sun or any star from its altitude and declination and the local latitude (based on the complicated accurate formula) without any calculation beyond addition or subtraction and interpolation [see MĪḲĀT. ii].

Muslim astronomers also discussed the problem of determining the *inḥirāf* of the *ḳibla* by various techniques, and compiled tables displaying the *inḥirāf* as a function of the latitude and longitude difference from Mecca [see ḲIBLA. ii]. Of more immediate practical use were lists of coordinates and their *ḳibla* values. Such lists were often included on instruments, sometimes, for example, engraved on the mater of an astrolabe [see ASṬURLĀB]. From the 3rd/9th century onwards Muslim astrolabists marked the azimuth circles (*sammata*) on the plates of astrolabes. With such curves they could, for example, tell at a glance the altitude of the sun when it was in the *ḳibla*. That altitude was also tabulated for all solar longitudes for specific localities such as Cairo, Marāgha and Damascus, or represented graphically on the backs of various Ṣafawid astrolabes (see Pl. LXVII).

Various instruments were devised for demonstrating the azimuth of the *ḳibla* of different localities, usually in the form of charts or maps, mainly representing geographical reality (as defined by mediaeval coordinates) only crudely. In 1979, however, a device from Iṣfahān *ca.* 1122/1710 became available for study. This is a map of the world centred on Mecca, so conceived that for any locality between Spain and China the direction and distance of Mecca are given correctly within the limits of mediaeval geographical coordinates (see Pl. LXVIII). The maker and engraver were—on the grounds of the distinctive calligraphy—most probably ʿAbd al-ʿAlī and his brother Muḥammad Bāḳir, who made for Shāh Ḥusayn in 1124/1712-13 the splendid astrolabe now in the British Museum. The grid serves both functions admirably for places between the Maghrib and Sind, but because the latitude curves are drawn as arcs of circles slight errors occur for localities in al-Andalus in the west and India and China in the east. This remarkable object escaped notice in the articles ḲIBLA. ii and MAKKA. iv. It is a mathematical device or a cartographic projection or a nomogram, depending on how one defines either expression, which enables the user to lay the non-uniform scale of a diametrical rule over a given locality and then simply read off the *ḳibla* on the outer scale and the distance to Mecca (in *farsakhs* [*q.v.*]) on the scale of the rule.

The positions of the *ca.* 150 localities are related to the coordinates in a set of geographical tables derived from a mysterious *Kitāb al-Aṭwāl wa 'l-ʿurūḍ li'l-Furs*, which seems to go back at least to the 5th/11th century, with certain positions modified from later *zīdjs* in the same tradition such as the *Zīdj-i Īlkhānī* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] and the *Zīdj-i Sulṭānī* of Ulugh Begh [*q.v.*].

Now the mathematics underlying the principle of the grid, which is not trivial, was known already in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, and in fact the instrument reflects a genius and innovative spirit such as was typical of those centuries rather than the Ṣafawid period. Yet not a trace of a mention of such a device or such a Mecca-centred map has been found in Islamic literature. However, there is indeed evidence that such maps were available in previous centuries. In *al-Zīdj al-djadīd* of Ibn al-Shāṭir (*fl.* Damascus *ca.* 750/1350 [*q.v.*]) there is a geographical table with longitudes, latitudes and *ḳibla*-values for about 240 localities (ms. Oxford Seld. A30). The *ḳibla*-values, which are given to the nearest 10′, do not correspond to recomputation by any of the known exact or approximate methods used by the Muslim astronomers. The fact that they were read from a Mecca-centred

rectazimuthal map of the same kind as the Iṣfahān piece is confirmed by the *ḳibla*s for localities in the far west and the far east. But it was not Ibn al-Shāṭir who determined the *ḳibla*-values. A similar table with entries for about 245 localities is found in the *Zīdj-i ashrafī* of Sandjar-i Kamālī, also known as Sayf-i Munadjdjim (*fl.* Yazd, *ca.* 710/1310) (ms. Paris B.N. supp. pers. 1488). Both tables stem from a common source, sc. *al-Zīdj al-Sandjarī* of Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Khāzinī (*fl.* in Marw *ca.* 515/1120 [*q.v.*]). In one of the three available mss. of this work (B.L. Or. 6669) there is a substantial fragment of the same table (one complete folio is missing). It appears that al-Khāzinī had access to a Mecca-centred map on which the *ḳibla*-values, estimated from the map, were indicated alongside the place names. He himself estimated the longitudes and latitudes and copied the *ḳibla*-values. Now the coordinates are essentially those of al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*]. The fact that al-Khāzinī obtained his data from a map is proven by the occasional differences in the longitudes and latitudes, particularly in the minutes. If they can be clearly associated with scribal errors resulting from the nature of the *abdjad* [*q.v.*] notation (thus, for example, when *y-h* (= *yā'-hā'*) for 10 + 5 = 15 is confused with *n-h* (= *nūn-hā'*) for 50 + 5 = 55), then we are dealing with transmission in manuscripts. But there are numerous modifications (for example, *l-h* (= *lām-hā'*) for 35 changing to *m* (= *mīm*) for 40) which result from misplacing localities on a map or misreading their positions. On the other hand, an Arabic recension of the *Zīdj-i Īlkhānī* of al-Ṭūsī by the Syrian astronomer Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (ms. Cairo Ṭalʿat *mīḳāt* 226, 1) contains a similar table which appears to have coordinates much closer to al-Bīrūnī's original values (the latter have not yet been critically edited).

It is abundantly clear that the basic idea behind a Mecca-centred map goes back at least as far as al-Bīrūnī. In his treatise on map-projections, *Tasṭīḥ al-ṣuwar wa-tabṭīḥ al-kuwar*, written *ca.* 395/1005, fairly early in his career, the great polymath describes eight different map-projections, one of which is "azimuth equidistant". The description is brief indeed, and it seems likely that al-Bīrūnī might have developed the theory and even presented a Mecca-centred map in another of the several treatises on mathematical geography that he wrote but that have not survived. There is, however, no mention of this projection in either his *zīdj* entitled *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* or his monumental book on the subject entitled *Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin*.

The rediscovery of these Mecca-centred maps raises our understanding of Islamic mathematical geography to a new level. A rectazimuthal map was first used in Europe by the French scholar Guillaume Postell in the 16th century, and the underlying mathematical theory of such azimuth-distance projections centred on Mecca was first investigated by Carl Schoy ca. (see Pl. LXIX).

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tazimuthal projections by cartographers, including Montucla, I. Craig and E. von Hammer, are mentioned by Schoy. (D.A. KING)

SAMUEL [see USHMŪ'ĪL].

SAMŪM (A.), yielding Fr. simoun and Eng. simoom, a hot wind of the desert accompanied by whirlwinds of dust and sand, and set in motion by moving depressions which form within the trade winds or calm zones of the high, subtropical depressions. This wind is especially characteristic of the Sahara, in Egypt, in Arabia and in Mesopotamia. The word occurs in three passages of the Ḳur'ān, where it is, however, not especially applied to the wind. In sūra XV, 27, it is said that the *Djānn* were created from the fire of Samūm. In LII, 27, the punishment of the Samūm is mentioned; and according to I, 41, the "people of the left" were dwelling in *Samūm wa-Ḥamīm*.

The *Ḥadīth* uses the word in the same sense; yet the meaning "hot wind" is here coming to the front. It is said that Hell takes breath two times a year: "its taking breath in summer is Samūm" (al-Tirmidhī, *Djahannam, bāb* 9; cf. Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd, bāb* 38). In al-Bukhārī we find reference to the opinion that the hot air during the day is called *ḥarūr*, whereas it is called *samūm* at night (*Bad' al-khalḳ, bāb* 4).

In nearly every traveller's account the *samūm* is mentioned in the sense of the suffocating wind, often called simoom. From the innumerable references, a few may be picked out. C.M. Doughty mentions it in the neighbourhood of Madā'in Ṣāliḥ as "a dry southern wind" against which the Bedouins "covered their faces up, to the eyes, with a lap of the kerchief". He again mentions it between Medina and Mecca and tells us that, according to the Bedouins, weak camels may be suffocated by it (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, i, 100, 188).

In Mecca, the north, north-east and east winds are called *samūm*. When it blows it makes the impression as if it came from a huge fire through the intermediacy of gigantic bellows (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, no. 76). The season in which the sun enters the constellation of the Virgin (August) has an extremely bad reputation in Mecca, because in this time *ḥōm* and *wamd, samūm* and *azyab*, blow alternately (*loc. cit.*).

Concerning Egypt, Lane says (*Manners and customs*, Introduction): "Egypt is also subject particularly during spring and summer, to the hot wind called the "Samoom", which is still more oppressive than the khamáseen winds, but of much shorter duration, seldom lasting longer than a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes. It generally proceeds from the south-east, and carries with it clouds of dust and sands".

Concerning Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn [*q.v.*], Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 50) says: "Its climate is unwholesome, for in the hot season at most times the (hot) Simum blows".

Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, iii, 320-1 = § 1204 has a legendary report concerning the *djānn* which, according to the verse from the Ḳur'ān mentioned above, were created from the fire of the *samūm* (tr. R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1924, i, 57); see also A. Musil, *Reisen in Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1907-8, iii, 3-4. In other parts of the Islamic world, other words are used for the *samūm*. In Europe, for instance, one finds the term sirocco.

The word is hardly used in North Africa, where the hot wind is called, after its direction of origin, and according to the various regions, *ḳeblī* or *sharḳī*.

(A.J. WENSINCK*)

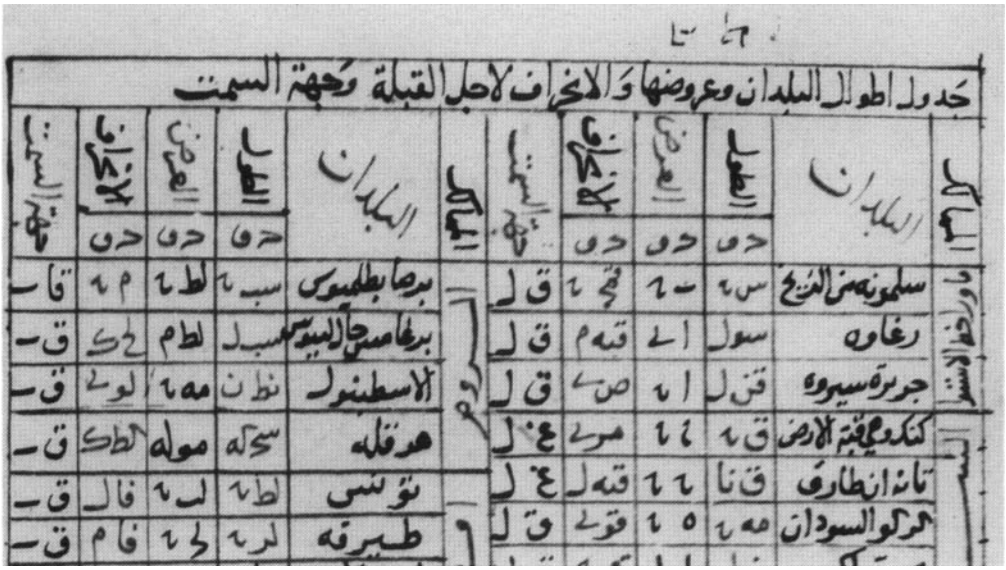

An extract from the geographical table in the Arabic recension of the *Zīdj-i Īlkhānī* by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī. The azimuths of the *ḳibla* are given to the nearest 10′ alongside the longitudes and latitudes of cities. Only in 1994 was it discovered that these *ḳibla*-values were read from a Mecca-centred world map. (From ms. Cairo Ṭalʿat *mīḳāt* 226,1, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library).

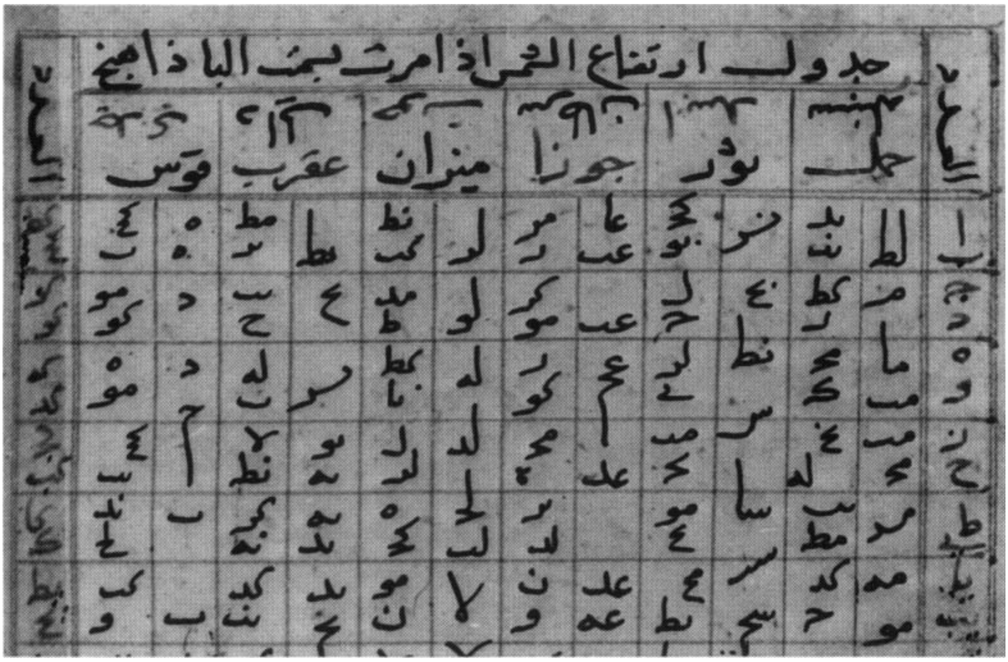

A table from mediaeval Cairo promising the altitude of the sun when it is in the direction of (the closed back of) the ventilator (*bādhahandj* [see BĀDGĪR]). Since the altitude at the winter solstice is zero, this means that the ventilators in Old Cairo were oriented with their openings facing perpendicular to the direction of winter sunrise (or about 27° E. of N.). This table led to the discovery that the entire medieval city is astronomically aligned (see further, *JAOS*, civ [1983], 97-133).

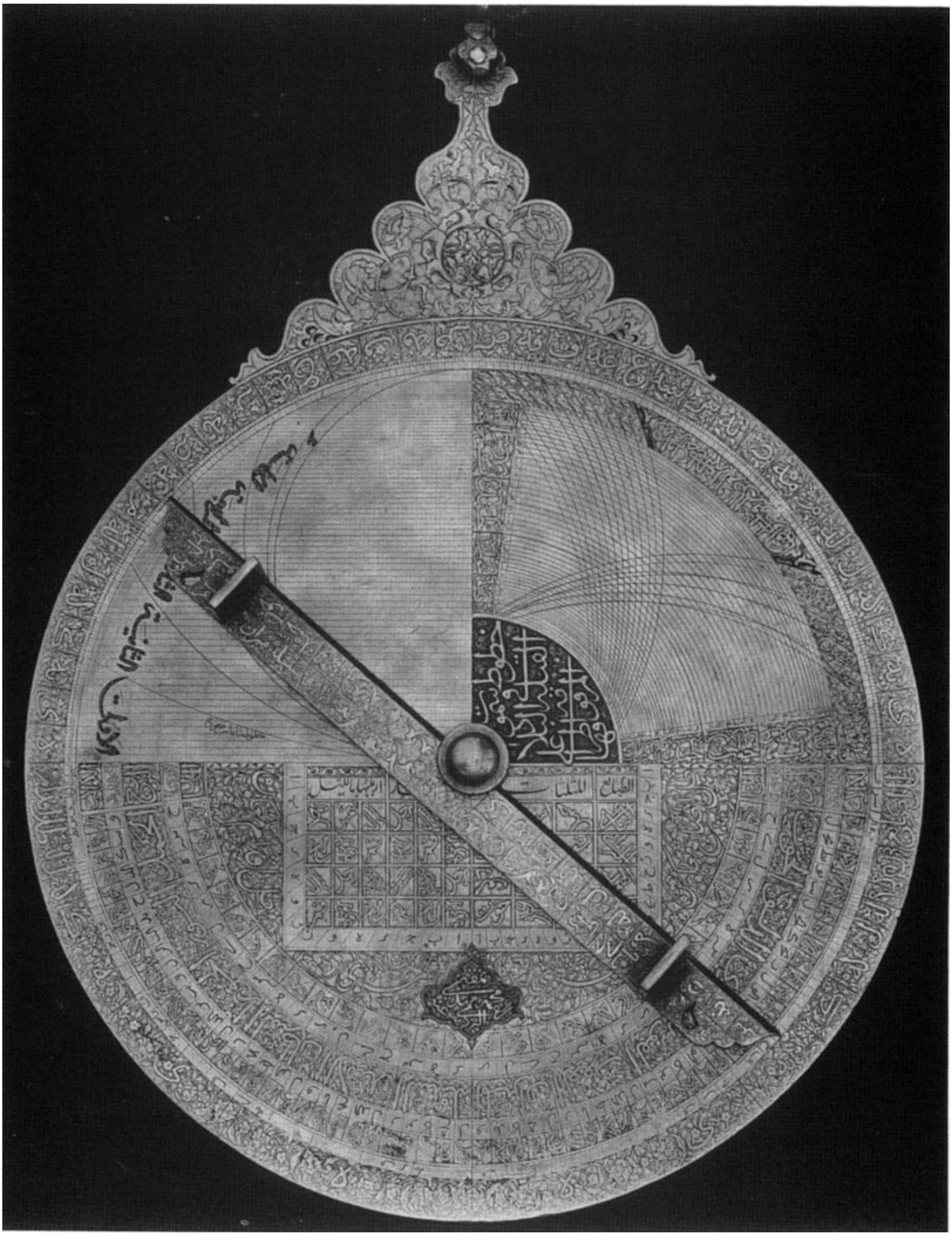

There are two sets of curves in the solar quadrant on the upper right of the back of this astrolabe by Muḥammad Muḳīm al-Yazdī (*ca.* 1060/1650). The set whose curves are not equally spaced enables the user to find, using the horizontal ecliptic scale, the altitude of the sun when it is in the *ḳibla* of various cities in ʿIrāḳ and Persia. For a given day of the year, one finds the solar longitude, moves along the corresponding circular are with the alidade up to the curve in question and reads off the solar altitude on the outer scale. One then observes the sun until it reaches that altitude, and then one is facing the *ḳibla*. The other set of curves, which are equally spaced, enables the user to determine, using the vertical ecliptic scale, the solar altitude at midday for a series of latitudes from 27° to 53° in 2°-steps. Private collection; photograph courtesy of the owner.

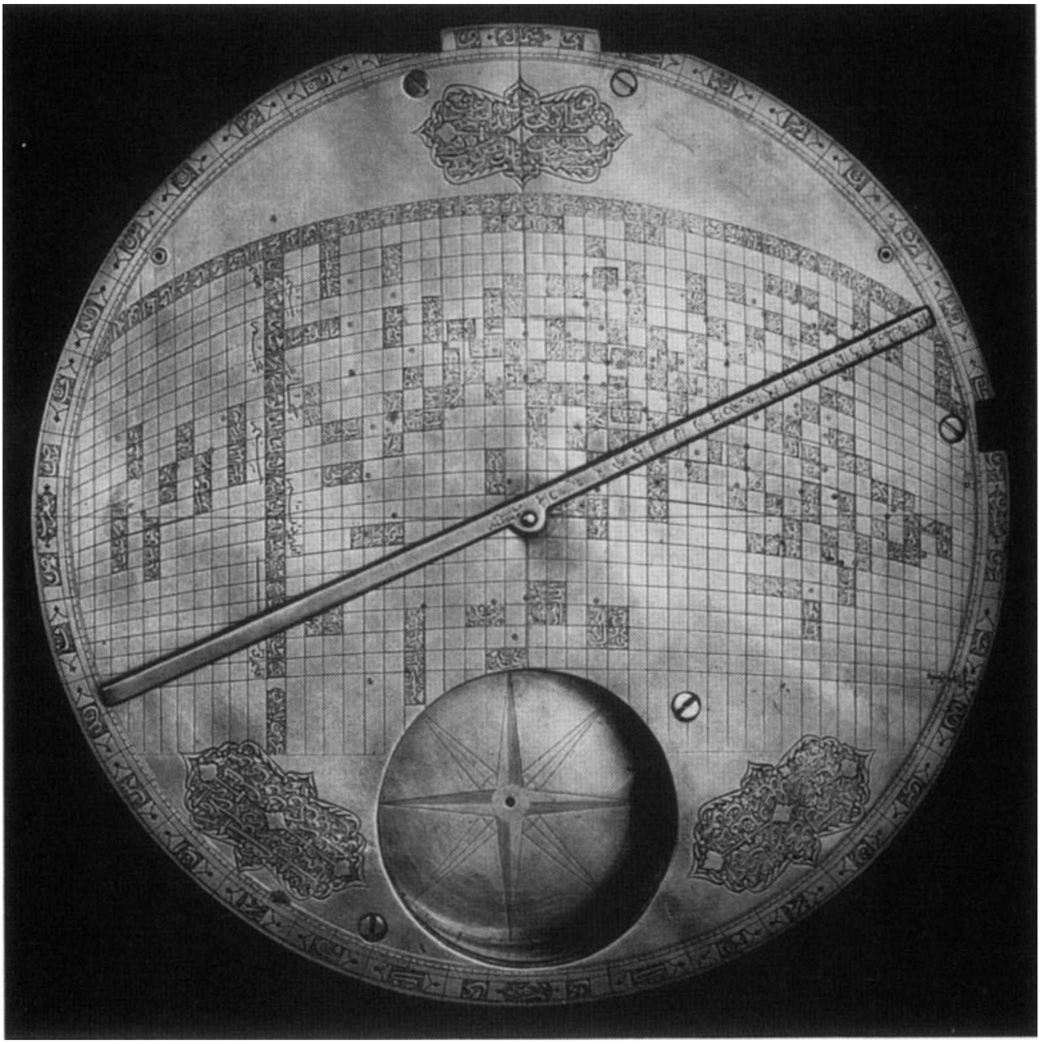

The *ḳibla*-dial from Iṣfahān, *ca.* 1120/1710, bearing a map of the world from which one can read the *ḳibla* and distance of Mecca for any locality in the Islamic world. Private collection, photograph by Margit Matthews, courtesy of the owner.

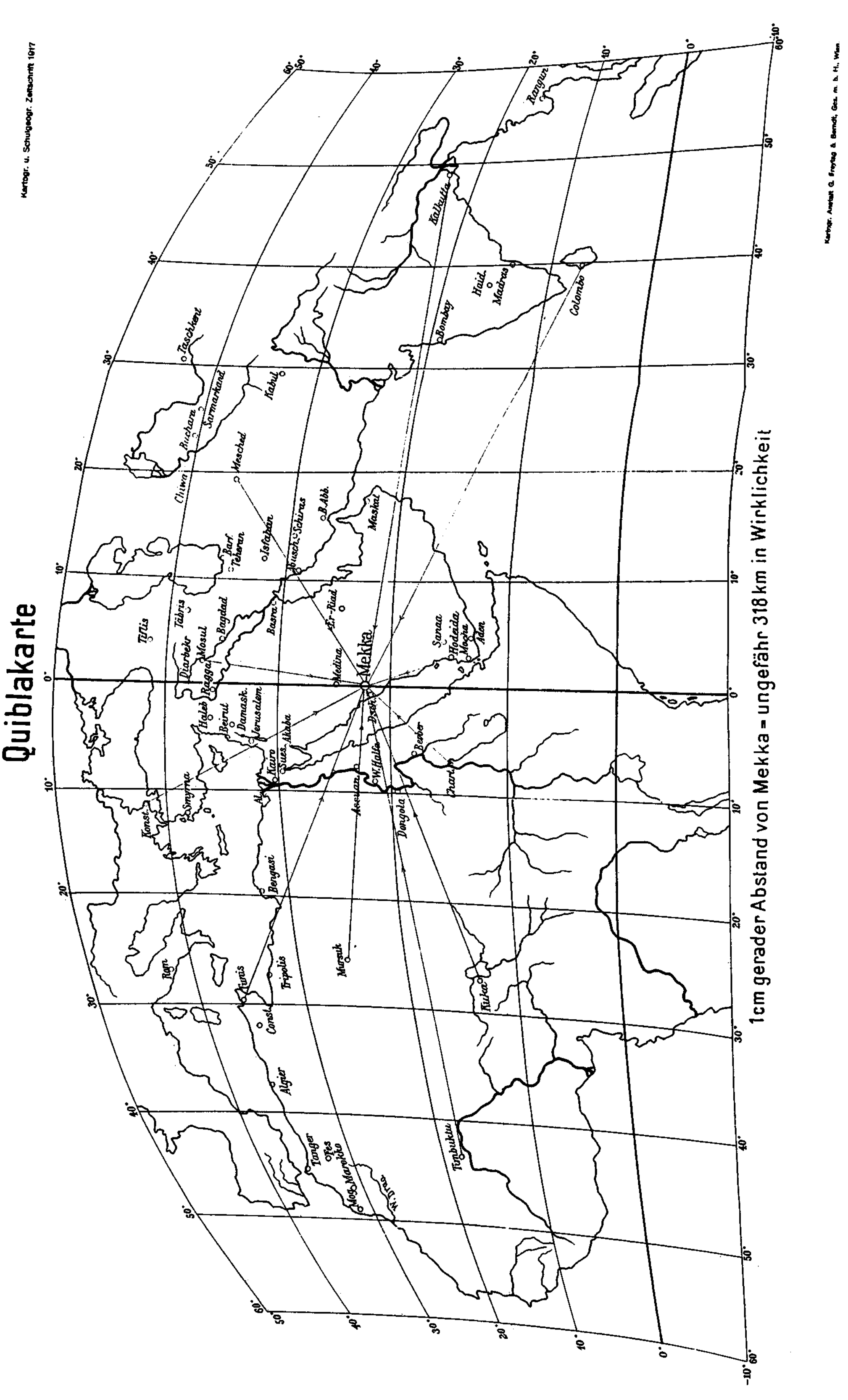

The rectazimuthal Mecca-centred cartographical grid proposed by C. Schoy.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME V

P. 88b, **ĶIBLA**, ii, *add at end*: A second treatise of Ibn al-Haytham on the determination of the *ķibla* by spherical trigonometry is now published in A. Dallal, *Ibn al-Haytham's universal solution for finding the direction of the Qibla by calculation*, in *Arabic Science and Philosophy*, v (1995), 145-93.

Further information on the Persian Mecca-centred world-map discussed in the article AL-SAMT is included in the article AL-ṬĀSA and in the addenda and corrigenda to AL-SAMT.

P. 807a, **LUGHZ**, *add to Bibl*: Shams Anwari-Alhosseyni, *Loġaz und Mo'ammā. Eine Quellenstudie zur Kunstform des persischen Rätsels*, Berlin 1986.

P. 1169b, **MAGHNĀṬĪS**. 2, *add at end*: The treatise in ms. Berlin Ahlwardt 5811 mentioned on p. 1169b is in fact a late copy of the treatise by the Yemeni Sulṭān al-Ashraf—see AL-ṬĀSA for this and several other additional sources. The various publications by J. Klaproth and E. Wiedemann listed in the bibliography, as well as numerous others, have been reprinted in one volume as Fuat Sezgin *et alii* (eds.), *Islamic geography*, xv, *Reprint of studies on nautical instruments*, Frankfurt 1992.

(ED.)

VOLUME VII

P. 1027, **NAṢRIDS**, in genealogical table, *for* the date of Muḥammad XI (*el Chiquito*), *read* (1451-2/1453-5), and p. 1027a, l. 7 from foot, *for* 949/1533-4, *read* 940/1533-4.

VOLUME VIII

P. 245b, **SHAKĀK**, l. 11, *for* Idrīs Bidlīsī, *read* Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī.

P. 447b, **RASHĪD RIḌĀ**, *add to Bibl.*, first para.: *Maķālāt al-Shaykh Rashīd Riḍā*, ed. Yūsuf Ḥusayn Ībish and Yūsuf Ķuzmā Khūrī, 5 vols. Beirut 1994 (with good index).

P. 869a, **SAʿĪDĀ GĪLĀNĪ**, l. 4 from bottom, *delete*: his wife.

P. 1056a, AL-**SAMT**, *add at end*: In May 1995 a second Persian world-map centred on Mecca came to light and is now in a private collection. It is very similar to the first one, which became available for study in 1989, but more crudely executed. However, it still bears the paraphernalia for a European-type universal inclining sundial. (The sundial on the first, not necessarily of the same kind, is missing.) It is clear that both maps were copied from others, the original probably bearing more geographical information than either of these.

The first map is still to be dated *ca.* 1110/1700 (± 20 years); the second is undoubtedly later but bears striking resemblances in calligraphy and appendages (such as screws and feet) to the first, if not in general aspect and finish. Both maps are not necessarily from Iṣfahān, for Khurasānian forms of the Persian ordinal numerals are found on them. However, apart from various astrolabes by Muḥammad Zamān (*ca.* 1075/1665) of Mashhad, no other astronomical instruments survive from northeastern Persia in late-Ṣafawid times.

The geographical data in al-Khāzinī's *Sandjarī Zīdj*, which was thought to have been derived from a world-map of the same kind as the first Persian world-map—this was stated in the article AL-SAMT—was in fact derived by calculation, as research in April 1995 established. The longitude and latitude values were indeed read from a map by or in the tradition of al-Bīrūnī but the *ķibla*-values are inaccurate, not because they were read from a hypothetical Mecca-centred map of al-Bīrūnī but because al-Khāzinī rounded them to the nearest 20' before finding the *ķibla*. To do this he apparently used a *ķibla*-table (with values for each degree of longitude difference from Mecca up to 60° and each degree of latitude difference up to 30°), which he mentions in the *Zīdj* but which is not contained in any of the known manuscripts; it can further be shown that this *ķibla*-table was carelessly computed. In other words, we must look elsewhere for the inspiration for the Persian world-maps.

The geographical data on both of them (*ca.* 150 localities on each, the selection being slightly different on the two maps) was taken from a Tīmūrid geographical table compiled in Kīsh [*q.v.*] *ca.* 850/1450, and the anonymous compiler of that table (extant in ms. London, B.L. Or. 7489, fols. 53a-58b, where, however, the values of the *ķibla* and distance to Mecca for some 250 localities originally given to seconds have been rounded to minutes) is certainly a possible candidate. But the writings of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib [*q.v.*] and al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] particularly with regard to the astrolabe labelled *mubaṭṭakh* (with a melon-shaped rete), indicate that already in the 3rd/9th and 5th/11th centuries Muslim astronomers were concerned with mappings preserving distance and direction to a central point (see E.S. Kennedy, P. Kunitzsch and R.P. Lorch, *The Melon Astrolabe of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib*, in *ZGAIW* [1996]), a subject first broached in Europe in the 16th century and first applied to a Mecca-centred map in the early 20th century. (D.A. KING)

SUPPLEMENT

P. 102a, **ATHŪR**, *add to Bibl.*: S. Heidemann, *al-ʿAqr, das islamische Assur. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Topographie in Nordmesopotamien*, in Karin Bartl and S.R. Hauser (eds.), *Continuity and change in northern Mesopotamia from the Hellenistic to the early Islamic period*, Procs. of a Colloquium held at the Seminar für Vorderasiatische Altertumskunde, Freie Universität Berlin, 6th-9th April, 1994, Berlin 1996, 259-85.

P. 229b, **DJABAL SAYS**, *add at end*: The Arabic inscription of al-Ḥārith b. Djabala from A.D. 521 mentioned here is, in fact, the third one before Islam and the only historical one; in other inscrip-

tions, including several of the early Islamic period, going up to the time of al-Walīd I, the ancient form Usays appears.

add to Bibl.: M. Abū l-Faradj Al-ʿUsh, *Inscriptions arabes inédites à Djabal Usays*, in *Annales archéol. de Syrie*, xiii (1963), 225-39, Ar. version, 281-91; idem, *Les dessins rupestres du Ǧabal 'Usais*, in *Syria*, xli (1964), 291-9; idem, *Kitābāt ghayr manshūrāt fī Djabal Usays*, in *al-Abhāth*, xvii (1964), 227-316; idem, in *ibid.*, xviii (1964), 216-17; A. Grohmann, in *Arabische paläographie. II. Teil, Das Schriftwesen. Die Lapidarschrift*, Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1971, 1-17, Abb. 7 d, Tafel I, 2.

VOLUME IX

P. 370ª, **SHĀ'ŪL**, ANWAR, l. 4 from the foot, *for* the Alliance Française *read* the Collège A-D Sasson and the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

P. 370ᵇ, l. 30, *for Ḳiṣṣat ḥayātī wādī 'l-Rāfidayn read Ḳiṣṣat ḥayātī fī wādī 'l-Rāfidayn.*

P. 509ª, **SHURAYḤ**, l. -23, *for* al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna, *read* al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba.

P. 693ª, **SIYĀḲAT**, *add to Bibl.*: Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı belgelerinin dili (diplomatik)*, Istanbul 1994, *passim*; Said Öztürk, *Osmanlı arşiv belgelerinde siyakat yazısı ve tarihî gelişmi*, Istanbul 1996; cf. also, on Fekete, İsmet Binark (ed.), *Macar asıllı türk tarihcisi ve arşivist Lajos Fekete'nin arşivciliğimizde yeri*, Ankara 1994.

S

CONTINUATION

ṢANʿĀʾ, from ancient times the chief town of the Yemen [*q.v.*] and present capital of the unified Republic of Yemen. Its present population is reckoned to be just over half a million. The town is situated in the centre of the northern highlands of the Yemen at lat. 15° 22′ N. and long. 44° 11′ E., i.e. about 170 km/106 miles as the crow flies from the nearest point on the Red Sea and 300 km/186 miles approximately from the Indian Ocean port of Aden [see ʿADAN]. Ṣanʿāʾ is located at a height above sea level of more than 2,200 m/7,216 feet. It is all but surrounded by mountains, Djabal Nuḳum (2,892 m/9,486 feet) in the east, at the foot of which the town lies spread, Djabal ʿAybān (3,194 m/10,476 feet) in the west, the highest peak in the immediate vicinity, and the twin peaks of al-Nahdayn (2,513 m/8,243 feet) which lie due south. Its climate is a temperate one, generally very dry and mild. Its rainfall pattern is consistent, with maximum falls in March, April, May and July, August, September (see Acres, Lewcock and Wilson, in Serjeant and Lewcock, *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 13-19, in *Bibl.* below).

Pre-Islamic Ṣanʿāʾ

Despite the current claim that the name of Ṣanʿāʾ is derived from the excellence of its trades and crafts (perhaps the feminine form of the Arabic adjective *aṣnaʿ*), it is highly probable that the name is Sabaic and, in keeping with the basic meaning in Sabaic of the root *ṣnʿ*, means "well fortified" (A.F.L. Beeston *et alii*, *Sabaic dictionary*, Louvain and Beirut, 1982, 143). It is certainly as a military centre that the town emerges in the pre-Islamic inscriptions, particularly as the headquarters of the Sabaeans for their military expeditions southwards against Ḥimyar [*q.v.*]. Inscriptions Ja 575, 576, for example, speak of Sabaean campaigns launched from Ṣanʿāʾ (*bn/hgrn/ṣnʿw*) (A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs*, Baltimore 1962, 64 ff.) and Ja 574, 576, 577 (Jamme, 60 ff.) announce a triumphant return to Ṣanʿāʾ (*ʿady/hgrn/ṣnʿw*) from the wars. Apart from being a "town" (*hgr*), Ṣanʿāʾ was also a *maḥram* (*mḥrm*) which Beeston (*Ṣanʿāʾ*, 37) interprets as "a place to which access is prohibited or restricted, no matter whether for religious or for other reasons." The palace of Ghumdān [*q.v.*] is also mentioned in the pre-Islamic inscriptions (e.g. J. Ryckmans, *La Mancie par ḥrb*, in *Festschrift Werner Caskel*, Leiden 1968, 263 (NNAG 12)) and see *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 44. Islamic tradition also reports that the mid-6th century Abyssinian King Abrahah [*q.v.*] built a church in Ṣanʿāʾ (al-Ḳalīs) (al-Ṭabarī, i, 934), for a study of which see *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 44-9.

Unfortunately, the inscriptions do not tell us when the site of Ṣanʿāʾ was first settled, nor do they mention the town's ancient name of Azāl (al-Hamdānī, 55). The above quoted inscriptions and a very large majority of the texts mentioning the name of the town are all to be dated to the 3rd century A.D. The site must, of course, have been settled a very good deal earlier (see Beeston, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 36-9).

Early Islamic and mediaeval Ṣanʿāʾ

For the more than two centuries of the early Islamic history of Ṣanʿāʾ, we have little more than a list of the governors despatched to the Yemen by the Prophet, the Orthodox, Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs. A comprehensive list was attempted in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 53-4, and Tables 1, 4, 6, 8 and 11 of ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Madʿadj M. al-Madʿadj, *The Yemen in early Islam, 9-233/630-847, a political history*, London 1988, should also be consulted. The remainder of the period can be divided into six as follows: the Yuʿfirids, 232-387/847-997 [*q.v.*], the Ṣulayḥids, 439-92/1047-99 [*q.v.*], the sultans of Hamdān, 493-569/1099-1173, the Ayyūbids, 569-628/1173-1230 [*q.v.*], the Rasūlids 628-783/1230-1381 [*q.v.*] and a period in which the Zaydī Imāms controlled Ṣanʿāʾ, 783-953/1381-1546 [see ZAYDIYYA].

A detailed history of this period cannot be given here, and a few notes will suffice. The Yuʿfirids, it might be noted, were the first Yemeni dynasty to take other than a purely local control of any part of the Yemen. Descended from Ḥimyar, they regarded themselves as their legitimate heirs and moved into Ṣanʿāʾ from their original territory in Shibām when they perceived the weakness of the local ʿAbbāsid governors posted there. Their 150 years' rule of Ṣanʿāʾ came to an end in 387/997, leaving the town in anarchy until the arrival of the Fāṭimid Ṣulayḥids in 439/1047.

Our sources are particularly silent about the Ṣulayḥids during their Ṣanʿāʾ period. The zenith of Ṣulayḥid rule came later during the period during which they were centred in Dhū Djibla, which the dynasty settled in about 480/1087. With the death in 492/1098 of the *Dāʿī* Sabaʾ b. Aḥmad, Ṣanʿāʾ was lost to the Ṣulayḥids.

During the period 492-569/1098-1173 Ṣanʿāʾ fell under the rule of three families of Hamdān from Yām, also Ismāʿīlīs like the Ṣulayḥids: Banū Ḥātim (I), Banu 'l-Ḳubayb and Banū Ḥātim (II) (G.R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London 1974-8, 2 vols., ii, 68, 70-5). Depending almost entirely on the forces which could be mustered from Hamdān [*q.v.*], the three families controlled Ṣanʿāʾ and were still there to contest authority with the Ayyūbids after their conquest of Tihāma [*q.v.*] and the southern highlands from Egypt in 569/1173.

It cannot be said that Ṣanʿāʾ was constantly in the hands of the Ayyūbids during their period in the Yemen. Rather, the Ayyūbids fought from time to time against those in control in the town, firstly the

Hamdānid sultans, later the Zaydīs, and always after fairly elaborate military manoeuvres to secure Dhamār to the south of Sanʿāʾ. They took over the town for a period, until ousted, and then the whole process began all over again after an interval of time.

A similar story can be told of the Rasūlid period during the years 628-723/1230-1323. Despite the brilliance of Rasūlid administrative and intellectual achievement in Tihāma and the southern highlands, they too never succeeded in occupying with anything like permanency the chief town of the country. During approximately the last 130 years of the dynasty, 723-858/1323-1454, Ṣanʿāʾ remained in general within the political orbit of the Zaydīs and beyond the grasp of the Rasūlids and indeed of their successors, the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] (see Smith, *Some observations on the Tahirids and their activities in and around Ṣanʿāʾ (858-923/1454-1517)*, in Ihsan Abbas *et alii* (eds.), *Studies in history and literature in honour of Nicola A. Ziadeh* ..., London 1992, 29-37). (See Smith, *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 49-68).

Late mediaeval and modern Ṣanʿāʾ

Again, elaborate details are not possible here and the following is a very brief outline of dates and political events. From about 954/1547, when the Ottoman Özdemir Pasha [*q.v.*] advanced on Ṣanʿāʾ, until 1038/1629 Ṣanʿāʾ was the capital of Ottoman Yemen. Although he did not deal the *coup de grâce*—that was left to the Imām al-Muʾayyad—the real hero of the Turks' expulsion from Ṣanʿāʾ and the Yemen was al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, al-Ḳāsim al-Kabīr. Right through to the mid-13th/19th century, the Zaydī Imāms controlled Ṣanʿāʾ and northern Yemen with more or less authority. Zaydī rule, however, seriously declined, mainly as a result of internal squabbling, allowing a second Ottoman occupation of the Yemen. The Ottomans had already begun to expand in Arabia and in 1289/1872 Aḥmad Mukhtār Pasha entered Ṣanʿāʾ to begin the second Ottoman occupation of the Yemen until about 1337/1918. The post-1337/1918 history of Ṣanʿāʾ and the Yemen is that of the Zaydī Ḥamīd al-Dīn house, under the Imāms Yaḥyā, Aḥmad and, for a few days only in 1382/1962, al-Badr. The house rose to prominence in Zaydī circles in 1307/1890 in the figure of al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn. The Imām Aḥmad (1367-82/1948-62), famed for his bravery and learning as much for his ruthlessness and toughness, died from natural causes in 1382/September 1962. His son, al-Badr, was proclaimed Imām and widely recognised, but was compelled to flee Ṣanʿāʾ after he was attacked by young army officers who had been plotting a military coup. Ḥamīd al-Dīn rule was brought to an end and the newly-appointed chief of staff, ʿAbd Allāh al-Sallāl, was pronounced the new president of the Yemen Arab Republic.

The Republic needed vast numbers of Egyptians troops to prop it up in the face of general royalist opposition. They left the Yemen only in 1967 at the time of the Six-Day War between Egypt and Israel and the Republican government, balanced between the Zaydī and Shāfiʿī religious and tribal interests, the military and a new breed of Western-educated technocrat, continued in power and opened up talks with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen on the question of the formation of a unified Yemen. The Republic of Yemen came into being in 1990 with Ṣanʿāʾ as its capital (see Serjeant, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 68-108).

The buildings of Ṣanʿāʾ

The visitor to the old town of Ṣanʿāʾ (which is still largely intact though surrounded by new development) notices the extremely prominent traditional domestic architecture, the high, multi-storey tower house. It is usually square and at least five, if not eight or nine storeys high. The ground floor is used as stores and for the domestic animals and the top storey, called by the name *mafradj*, is used as a second reception room and for the daily afternoon *ḳāt*-chewing ritual (see Lewcock and Serjeant, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 436-500).

Another extremely prominent architectural feature in Ṣanʿāʾ is naturally the mosque and there are over one hundred in the town. Al-Ḥadjarī (*Masādjid Ṣanʿāʾ*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1361) lists about a hundred of many different periods and is a mine of information regarding their history and general background. Perhaps the most impressive and interesting for the historian is the Great Mosque (*al-Djāmiʿ al-Kabīr*) whose original foundation no doubt has an early Islamic date (al-Madʿadj, *The founding of the Great Mosque ...*, in *New Arabian Studies*, i [1993], 175-88, suggests the first construction was in 11/633, p. 184). For a detailed study of the mosques of Ṣanʿāʾ, see Serjeant, Lewcock, Smith and Costa, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 310-90).

The public baths (*ḥammāmāt*) play an important social role in the daily life of Ṣanʿāʾ and there are seventeen still in operation today, some possibly pre-Islamic in foundation. The fuel burnt is human excrement (*kharā*), which is reputed to burn giving off great heat. The fuel is collected from the "long drop" (*manṭal*) found in every house in the town for this very purpose. Women have their own bath times regulated at each public bath and the baths play a particularly important role at festival times (*aʿyād*) (see Lewcock, Akwaʿ and Serjeant, *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 501-25).

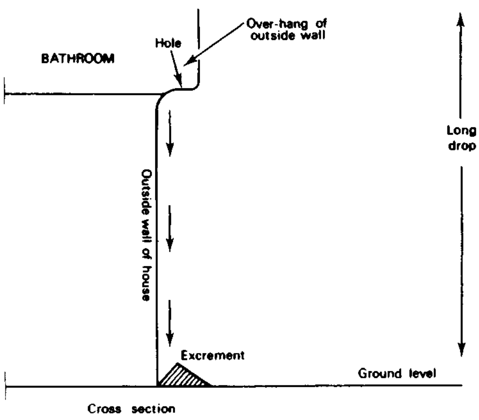

Long drop *(Manṭal)*

The market of Ṣanʿāʾ

The large market in Ṣanʿāʾ has been the subject of some academic studies (see in particular Serjeant, Akwaʿ and Dostal, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 159-302) and the complexities of its administration and organisation are beginning to be understood. A 12th/18th century document entitled *Ḳānūn Ṣanʿāʾ*, which is a collection of market regulations, was published by Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Ṣayāghī in 1964 (*Madjallat al-Makhṭūṭāt*, 273-307) and it has also been the subject of a lengthy study in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 179-240. Today's Ṣanʿāʾ market is dealt with in some detail by Dostal, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 241-75.

The mint of Ṣanʿāʾ

The earliest coins which can be assigned to Ṣanʿāʾ date from 156-8/772-4, and the 3rd/9th century in particular saw a huge output from the mint, "a substantial proportion of all the gold being coined in the territories of the caliph", according to Lowick (in

Ṣanʿāʾ, 303). Umayyad, ʿAbbāsid, Ayyūbid, Rasūlid, Ottoman and, of course, Zaydī coins minted in Ṣanʿāʾ are all attested.

Bibliography: It is difficult to exaggerate the scholarly importance of R.B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock (eds.), *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, London, 1983, written by a whole team of Yemen specialists, for almost any aspect of the history, culture and daily life of the town. Other sources not mentioned in the text are: Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī and Yūsuf Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, art. *Ṣanʿāʾ*, in Aḥmad Djābir ʿAfīf *et alii* (eds.), *al-Mawsūʿa al-Yamaniyya* (*The Encyclopaedia of Yemen*), Ṣanʿāʾ 1992, ii, 583-8. *History*: Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāzī, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Ṣanʿāʾ*, ed. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī and ʿAbd al-Djabbār Zakkār, [2]Damascus 1981; A.S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, Oxford-Madras 1925; J.R. Blackburn, *The collapse of Ottoman authority in Yemen, 968/1560-976/1568*, in *WI*, xix (1979). Buildings: P. Costa, *La Moschea grande di Ṣanʿāʾ*, in *AIUON*, xxxiv (1974). Mint: Ramzi J. Bikhazi, *Coins of al-Yaman, 132-569 AH*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxxiii (1970). (G.R. SMITH)

SANAD [see ISNAD].

SANADJĀT, weights of a balance (in full *sanadjāt al-mīzān*); also applied to balances, steelyards; also the weights of a clock (sing. *sandja*). The forms with *ṣād* also occur (*ṣanadjāt* and *ṣandja*) but the former is the more chaste (see Lane, s.v.). There are two recognised plural forms, *sanadjāt* and *sinadj* (in modern Egyptian Arabic *sinag*, plural of *singa*). The word is Persian in origin, being connected with *sang*, meaning both stone and weight, since in ancient times weights were non-metallic (cf. the Hebrew of Deut. xxv, 13). According to Muslim tradition, it was a Jew named Sumayr, during the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], who first proposed to regulate the new dirhams of the reformed coinage of 75/694 by means of the use of fixed weights (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 337). Previously, the custom apparently had been to weigh one coin of good quality against another. When a large number had thus been weighed, this lot was weighed against a similar number and the surplus, if any, was carried forward. The first coin weights of Islam were made of bronze and are excessively rare. Weights of iron are also recorded but no examples are extant. Under the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (65-86/685-705 [*q.v.*]), weights made of glass were recommended to be used since they did not change by increase or decrease (al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 59). This carried on the practice of Ptolemaic and Byzantine times. These glass weights, however, were confined to Egypt and were in use from Umayyad until Mamlūk times. The old opinion that they were glass coins, *nummi vitrei*, was first exploded by Castiglioni in 1847, and later, after the fact had been overlooked, by E.T. Rogers in 1873. Various collections of these *sanadjāt* have been published. As they generally bear inscriptions with the names of caliphs, or governors, or inspectors of markets, and an indication of weight, they are very valuable, not only for Islamic history and metrology, but also for Arabic epigraphy.

The great physicist al-Khāzinī [*q.v.*] paid particular attention to the weights used in his balances [see MĪZĀN], in which of course he achieved a very high degree of accuracy. In his introduction to his description of the *Balance of wisdom*, he devotes two paragraphs to a discussion of the weights specific to this machine. He does not seem to imply that the *ṣanadjāt*—always with *ṣād* in his work—can be in mixed units in weighing operations, but simply says that they are to be "*dirhams*, *mithkāls* or others". Presumably the units chosen in any particular operation depended upon the mass of the objects to be weighed. For each unit there were nine different weights of *ṣanadjāt*: for unity, 1, 2 and 5; for tens, 10, 20 and 50; for hundreds, 100, 200 and 500. With these values, using different combinations, any required weight could be obtained (*Kitāb Mīzān al-ḥikma*, Ḥaydarābād 1940, 108-9).

The term *sanadjāt* is also occasionally used for other kinds of weights such as counterweights or pellets discharged from the mouths of falcons in water-clocks (see E. Wiedmann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, i, 127). More usual terms for weights where the precise value is unimportant are *mithkāla* and *bayḍa*.

Bibliography: Lane, s.v.; Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.; C.O. Castiglioni, *Dell'uso cui erano i vetri con epigrafi cufiche*, Milan 1847; E.T. Rogers, *Glass as a material for standard coin weights*, in *Num. Chron.* (1873), 60-88; idem, *Unpublished glass weights and measures*, in *JRAS* (1872), 98-112; S. Lane-Poole, *Arabic glass coins*, in *Num. Chron.* (1872), 199-211; idem, *Cat. of Arabic glass weights in the British Museum*, London 1891; P. Casanova, *Étude sur les inscriptions arabes des poids et mesures en verre*, Cairo 1891; idem, *Dénéraux en verre arabes*, in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, Paris 1924, 296-300; idem, *Cat. des pièces de verre des époques byzantine et arabe de la Collection Fouquet*, in *MMAF* (1893), 337-414; J.B. Nies, *Kufic glass weights and bottle stamps*, in *Procs. of American Num. and Arch. Soc.* (New York 1902), 484-55; Sir W.M.F. Petrie, *Glass weights*, in *Num. Chron.* (1918), 111-16; idem, *Glass stamps and weights* (University College of London Collection), London 1926; A. Grohmann, *Arab. Eichungsstempel, Glassgewichte und Amulette aus Wiener Sammlungen*, in *Islamica* (1925), 145-226; R. Vasmer, art. *Sandj* in F. von Schrötter's *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, Berlin 1930; H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes*, Paris 1882, 19 ff.; Lavoix, *Cat. des monnaies musulmanes*, Paris 1887, i, xlv-xlvi; E. von Zambaur, in *Num. Zeitschrift* (1903), 317-19; M. Jungfleisch, *Un Poids fatimite en plomb*, in *BIE* (1926-7), 115-28; idem, *Poids fatimites en verre polychrome*, in *ibid.*, 19-31; idem, *Les ratls discoides en verre*, in *ibid.* (1927-8), 61-71; J. Farrugia de Candia, *Dénéraux en verre arabes*, in *RT* (1935), 165-70; W. Airy, *On the Arabic glass weights*, London 1920; *Rev. Numismatique* (1906), 225; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 80 (the English tr. by Jayakar (i, 128) wrongly translates *sanadjāt* as "scales"); J. Walker, in *Num. Chron.* (1935), 246-8.

(J. WALKER-[D.R. HILL])

SANĀʾĪ, Madjdūd b. Ādam al-Ghaznawī, Persian poet. In early sources already the *kunya* Abu 'l-Madjd is sometimes added to his name. As a pen name he used Sanāʾī, only rarely Madjdūd or Madjdūd Sanāʾī. The former name could have been derived from Sanāʾ al-Milla, one of the *lakabs* of the Ghaznawid sultan Masʿūd III, but the poet's actual relationship to this ruler is unclear, because no panegyrics directly addressed to him by Sanāʾī have been preserved. As a matter of fact, no reliable biographical data outside the poet's own works are available. However, the many references to the historical context to be found in his poetry, including dedications to a great number of patrons, make it possible to reconstruct his life, at least in its main outlines.

The only known dating of his birth, in 437/1045-6, which is recorded in the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, is highly improbable. It may be regarded as certain that he was

born at Ghazna about the beginning of the last quarter of the 5th/11th century. In spite of the reputation of a learned poet, expressed by the epithet *ḥakīm* commonly added to his name, we know nothing about his formal education beyond the fact that in a prose introduction to the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* his father is said to have been a *muʿallim*. According to the picture of his early life sketched in the *Kārnāma-yi Balkhī* and the panegyrics contained in his *Dīwān*, he was during these years a minor poet who maintained connections with patrons from all social groups in the Ghaznawid residence except, as it seems, the court of the sultan itself. We find among them officials of the state bureaucracy, military men, members of the Islamic clergy as well as scholars, scribes and poets. One of his most important protectors was Thiḳat al-Mulk Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī, the head of the department of correspondence, who also patronised the poet Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*]. According to a *ḳiṭʿa* in Sanāʾī's *Dīwān*, he prepared a collection of Masʿūd's poetry. There is also mention of his copying the poems of another prominent poet, ʿUthmān Mukhtārī [*q.v.*].

His relations with a few prominent Islamic scholars, belonging to the Ḥanafī school of law, foreshadowed the future course of his literary career. The celebrated story of Sanāʾī's abandoning professional poetry after a meeting with a "drinker of dregs" (*lāy-khʷār*), first told by Dawlatshāh towards the end of the 9th/15th century, has no historical value, but does reflect an evident break in his career as a poet, more or less coinciding with his departure from Ghazna. First he went to Balkh, and from there to other cities in Khurāsān, which was then under the rule of the Saldjūḳs. As it appears from the *Kārnāma-yi Balkhī*, written shortly after he left Ghazna, this event took place before 508/1114-15, the year of Masʿūd III's death. He probably did not return to his native city before about 520/1126. During this exile, he almost completely abandoned the secular poetry of the court tradition, seeking instead the patronage of people belonging to the religious class. Of crucial importance was his stay at Sarakhs, where he established a close relationship with Sayf al-Ḥaḳḳ Abu 'l-Mafākhir Muḥammad b. Manṣūr. This Ḥanafī scholar was, as his title *aḳḍā 'l-ḳuḍāt* indicates, also a person of some political weight. Besides, he was a renowned preacher (*wāʿiẓ*), who delivered his sermons in a *khānḳāh* of his own. Sanāʾī wrote some of his most remarkable poems for Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, addressing him both as a protector and as a spiritual guide. There are further references to the poet's visits to Nīshāpūr and Harāt. In the latter town, he met with the descendants of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*]. This is in fact the only contact of his with a Ṣūfī community for which there exists reliable evidence. The tradition that Sanāʾī was a pupil of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Hamadhāni, which eventually led to his inclusion in the Ṣūfī affiliations (cf. R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, i, Wiesbaden 1965, 8), is certainly unhistorical.

The reasons for his return to Ghazna are not known to us. However, again a remarkable change in his career can be noticed. While he was still in Khurāsān, Sanāʾī had become a celebrated writer of religious poetry for which there appeared to exist a lively interest among the ruling classes, who hitherto had only patronised secular poetry. For the first time in his career, Sanāʾī drew the attention of a royal patron when the Ghaznawid sultan Bahrāmshāh [*q.v.*] invited him to the court. Although he clearly stated his determination to stay aloof from the affairs of this world, he nevertheless wrote his major *mathnawī* as well as a number of short poems for this sultan. Very different dates are suggested in later sources for the year of his death. The most likely is 11 Shaʿbān 525/9 July 1131, mentioned in a notice on the last day of his life, which became attached as an appendix to a prose introduction to the *Ḥadīḳa*. The same date is mentioned in the *Nafaḥāt al-uns* of Djāmī [*q.v.*].

The works of Sanāʾī encompass the entire range of classical Persian poetry. Though most poems deal with religious subjects, specimens of purely secular poetry are by no means absent. Even the religious poems often contain panegyrical elements showing the poet's dependence on the material support of patrons throughout his career. The *Dīwān* of Sanāʾī is preserved in a number of ancient manuscripts, the oldest dated of which is Velieddin 2627 (Bayezit Library, Istanbul), copied in 684/1285. They show great differences, as far as the order of the poems, variant readings and the number of verses are concerned. It is, therefore, impossible to establish which of them could be taken to represent a genuine textual tradition going back to the time of the poet himself. In one strain of the early tradition, the poems were grouped into a few sections marked by generic indications. The most important genres thus distinguished are the *zuhdiyyāt*, "ascetic poems" (most of them long *ḳaṣīdas*) and the *ḳalandariyyāt*, poems characterised by the use of antinomian motives referring to the debauchery of beggars and drunks. Of considerable interest is also the group of the *ghazaliyyāt* because this is the earliest sizable corpus of this kind of poems known in the history of Persian literature.

As a writer of *mathnawīs*, Sanāʾi is best known for his long didactical poem which is usually entitled *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa wa-sharīʿat al-ṭarīḳa*, "The garden of truth and the law of the right path". The history of this text is even more complicated than that of the *Dīwān*. To all appearances, the poet died before he could give the poem its final form. At least one early version, however, was prepared for Sultan Bahrāmshāh, when the poet was still alive. A copy of this version, under the title *Fakhrī-nāma*, has survived in the manuscript Bağdatlı Vehbi 1672 (Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul), which was copied at Konya on 7 Shawwāl 552/12 November 1157. It contains about 5000 *bayts*, i.e. approximately half the amount of lines found in most later copies. It is not likely, however, that all the lines not contained in the Vehbi manuscript are unauthentic. The textual tradition has preserved a few documents which indicate that intensive editorial work was done on the poem soon after the first version was completed, including a rough copy (*musawwada*) of 10,000 *bayts* prepared by the poet to be sent to Khʷādja Burhān al-Dīn, a scholar from Ghazna who lived at Baghdād, after the poem had come under attack for its alleged pro-ʿAlid tendencies. After Sanāʾī's death, Bahrāmshāh ordered a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Raffāʾ to make yet another redaction. As a result of these initial rearrangements, as well as of subsequent editorial interference, the *Ḥadīḳa* was transmitted in several different forms. As late as the 11th/17th century, the Indian scholar ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-ʿAbbāsī made an attempt to harmonise the various traditions of the text; he also wrote a commentary, entitled *Laṭāʾif al-ḥadāʾiḳ min nafāʾis al-daḳāʾiḳ*. Later a few other commentaries were composed (cf. J. Stephenson, *The enclosed garden of the truth*, repr. Wellingborough 1975, Introd., pp. xxi-xxv). One of the selections made from the poem, which is sometimes entitled *Laṭīfat al-ʿirfān*, has been ascribed to Sanāʾī as well as to Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], but its real author is probably Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī,

a poet of the 9th/15th century also known by the pen name of Dāʿī.

The *Ḥadīḳāt al-ḥaḳīḳa* is the first specimen of a mystical *mat̲h̲nawī* in Persian literature and has had a considerable impact on later writers in the same genre, notably on D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], whose *Mat̲h̲nawī-yi maʿnawī* was composed after the example given by Sanāʾī. The great number of manuscripts known to exist bears witness to an immense popularity lasting throughout the centuries. It is a didactic poem conceived as a continuing discourse on a wide variety of ethical and religious subjects. In the early *Fak̲h̲rī-nāma* version, the vague outline of an allegory, comparable to that of his earlier work *Sayr al-ʿibād ilā ʾl-maʿād*, appears when the poet tells of a meeting with a spiritual guide, who is the personification of the Active Intellect. In later redactions this feature was almost obliterated and replaced by a division of the text into chapters. The text contains numerous references to philosophy and the sciences and has therefore often been called an "encyclopaedia of Ṣūfism". This is a misleading qualification because these elements are always subordinated to the didactic discourse. The same applies to the narratives, which take a far less important part in Sanāʾī's poem than they do in the works of later writers of Persian didactic *mat̲h̲nawīs*.

Sanāʾi left two other *mat̲h̲nawīs*, of a much smaller size. The first, *Kārnāma-yi Balk̲h̲ī*, sometimes also called *Muṭāyaba-nāma* ("Book of jest"), is a completely secular poem of no more than 433 *bayts*. It was written at Balk̲h̲ shortly after Sanāʾī had left G̲h̲azna. In a mixture of praise and satire, this topical poem reviews the people who were the poet's patrons during his early years, arranged according to their social position. The second, the *Sayr al-ʿibād ilā ʾl-maʿād* ("The journey of the devotees to the place of return") is Sanāʾī's most interesting work. Two-thirds of its 800 lines describe the development of the narrator's soul in the allegory of a spiritual journey. From his conception onwards, he climbs the ladder of existence, partly under the guidance of the Active Intellect. He reaches the goal of this quest when he meets with the preacher Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, his actual patron during his stay at the city of Sarak̲h̲s, whose praise fills the remaining part of the poem. The *Sayr al-ʿibād* is written in an enigmatic style with only few explanations provided in the text. Stylistically it shows a resemblance to philosophical allegories in Arabic, such as Ibn Sīnā's *Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān* [*q.v.*] and the *Lug̲h̲z ḳābis* by Miskawayh [*q.v.*]. An anonymous commentary is extant, the oldest version of which is contained in the ms. Nâfiz Paşa 410 (Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul), dated 674/1275.

All genuine *mat̲h̲nawīs* of Sanāʾi were written in the metre *k̲h̲afīf*, which, through his example, became one of the patterns most often used for didactic mystical poetry. In the same metre, a number of other short *mat̲h̲nawīs* occur in manuscripts of his works, which are falsely attributed to him. Some of these were works by other poets which were manipulated in order to pass them off as genuine texts by Sanāʾī, e.g. *ʿIs̲h̲ḳ-nāma*, which actually is a verse commentary on the *Sawāniḥ* of Aḥmad al-G̲h̲azālī [*q.v.*], and *Ṭarīḳ al-taḥḳīḳ*, written in imitation of the *Ḥadīḳa* by Aḥmad al-Nak̲h̲čiwānī who probably lived in the 8th/14th century (on these and other poems of this group, see B. Utas, *Ṭarīq ut-taḥqīq*, Lund 1973, *passim*). Others, like *Taḥrīmat al-ḳalam* and *ʿAḳl-nāma*, both appearing for the first time in the Velieddin manuscript of 684 A.H., were deliberately composed as pseudo-Sanāʾī texts (cf. *Of piety and poetry*, 113-18).

A small collection of letters by Sanāʾi was published by Nad̲h̲īr Aḥmad (*Makātīb-i Sanāʾī*, Aligarh 1962). There are two prose introductions to his works containing his name as the author. One of these, which is in fact the same text as the introduction by al-Raffāʾ, is almost certainly spurious.

Sanāʾī's great impact on Persian mystical poetry has given rise to the view that he was a prominent Ṣūfi himself. There is little historical evidence available to substantiate this view. The most important patrons of his art were Islamic scholars, many of whom were also renowned as preachers. The predominently homiletic style of his religious poetry fits this social environment extremely well. With its characteristic blend of ethics, wisdom, mysticism and praise of the Prophet and other great men of Islam it appealed to the community of the Muslims as a whole rather then to a restricted circle of Ṣūfi adepts only. This also explains the varied use made by later generations of his verse.

Bibliography: An extensive bibliography can be found in J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Of piety and poetry: the interaction of religion and literature in the life and works of Ḥakīm Sanāʾī of Ghazna*, Leiden 1983. To be added are: idem, *The transmission of early Persian ghazals*, in *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, iii (1988), 27-31; idem, *The Qalandariyyāt in Persian mystical poetry*, in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The legacy of mediaeval Persian Sufism*, London-New York 1992, 75-86; idem, *Comparative notes on Sanāʾī and ʿAṭṭār*, in Lewisohn (ed.), *Classical Persian Sufism: from its origins to Rumi*, London-New York 1993, 361-79; idem, *The stories of Sanāʾī's Faxrī-nāme*, in *Mélanges offerts à Charles-Henri de Fouchécour*, ed. by Živa Vesely (forthcoming); Sanāʾī, *Viaggio nel regno del ritorno*, Parma 1993, contains an Italian translation of the *Sayr al-ʿibād ilā ʾl-maʿād*, with an introduction and notes, by Carlo Saccone; M.R.S̲h̲. Kadkānī, *Tāziyānahā-yi sulūk. Naḳd wa taḥlīl-i čand ḳaṣīda az Ḥākim Sanāʾī*, Tehran 1372/1993.

(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

ṢANAM (a.), image, representation and, especially, idol (from the Common Semitic root *ṣ-l-m*, cf. Akk. *ṣalmu*, Aram. *ṣalmā*, Hebr. *ṣelem*, etc., by a shift of *l* into *n*, see Gesenius-Buhl, 684); for Old Testament parallels, see *inter alia*, Num. xxxiii. 52; II Kings xi. 18; Ezek., vii. 20; Amos, v. 26). It is in this sense that it is found in the Ḳurʾān, where the pl. *aṣnām* is cited five times (VI, 74; VII, 138; XIV, 35; XXI, 57; XXVI, 71).

Ṣanam progressively replaces *nuṣub* (pl. *anṣāb*, Hebr. *maṣṣᵉbōt̲*, Gen. xxxv. 14), a term denoting "carved stones over which the blood of victims sacrificed to idols was poured, stones making up tumuli and those delimiting the sacred enclosure (*ḥimā*) of the sanctuary" (T. Fahd. *Panthéon*, 26). From being the rough stone making up the *nuṣub*, the idol became "a carved stone" (Yāḳūt, iv, 622; *fa-naḥatahu ʿalā ṣūrat aṣnām al-Bayt* [i.e. the Kaʿba]). Ibn His̲h̲ām writes (*Sīra*, 54 = al-Azraḳī, *Ak̲h̲bār Makka*, 78) that all the inhabitants had an idol (*ṣanam*) which they worshipped, and whenever one of them left on a journey, the last thing he did before leaving and the first on his return, was to touch the idol (*tamassaḥa bihi*; cf. Gen. xxxi. 14). Hence, Yāḳūt says, the cult of stones amongst the Arabs in their encampments began from their deep attachment to the idols of the *Ḥaram* (*loc. cit.*). This cult reflects a state of affairs well before the reform of ʿAmr b. Luḥayy in the 3rd century A.D., which introduced into central Arabia statues of gods brought in from Hīt (Heliopolis = ʿAmmān), where he had sought medical treatment. "In effect, the *teraphīm* of the Canaanites, the *elōhīm* of the Hebrews and the *ilānī* of the Assyrians long survived up to the time of the coming of monotheism in the shape of betyles in stone, in sand

held together with milk, in flour and in wood, in pagan Arabia" (see refs. in Fahd, *op. cit.*, 28-9). "It was in the mid-3rd century A.D. that Nabataean and Syro-Palestinian influences affected, in the urban centres, the evolution in form of the Arab pantheon, and it was then that the stone betyle became an idol". Wellhausen correctly affirmed this when he wrote that the images were not genuinely Arabic, since *wat̲h̲an* and *ṣanam* were imported words and things. See his *Reste*², 102; D. Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mondreligion und die mosaische Überlieferung*, Strassburg 1904).

According to al-Azraḳī, there was no house in Mecca without its idol. Those carved out of wood seem to have been those of the high-born and rich, as were imported products. Ibn His̲h̲ām states (*Sīra*, 303-4) that "ʿAmr b. D̲j̲amūḥ, who was one of the *sayyids* of the Banū Salama and one of their leaders, had taken into his house a wooden idol (*ṣanam*), called Manāt, according to the practice of notables of that time; he considered it as a god, and worshipped and purified it". ʿIkrima, son of Abū D̲j̲ahl [*q.v.*], the fierce enemy of the Prophet, made idols. Traders went and offered them to the Bedouins, who bought them and placed them within their tents (al-Azraḳī, 77-8).

After the triumph of Christianity in the Orient, the Ḥid̲j̲āz had remained a stronghold of paganism, where idol carvers could still gain a living. It was not surprising that, when the Prophet entered Mecca in triumph, he had 360 idols in the Kaʿba immediately destroyed (*ibid.*, 77; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ii, 192; cf. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 31). According to a leading Jordanian historian, met by the author in Kuwait shortly after the expulsion from the Kaʿba in 1979 by French guards of the rebels who had barricaded themselves there, the ground collapsed as the result of a bomb explosion and revealed a pile of statues buried below ground; the Saudi authorities hastened to dispose of them.

Thus the religions of pagan Arabia, from betyles to carved idols, retained their primitive internal structure, and although social conditions and artistic influences might affect the actual forms of representation, this had no effect on the conceptual development of the cults there. A list of the Arab gods can be found in Fahd's *Panthéon*, with all the known information about some 90 of them, and showing that these Arab cults were static and characteristic of the desert and nomadic life, in which betyles, idols and sacred trees were the dominant features.

Bibliography: This article is based on T. Fahd's *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968; see also idem, in *Mythes et croyances du monde entier*, ii, Paris 1985, section "Le panthéon arabe avant l'Islam". Amongst references used in the above, still of value, are: Wellhausen, *Reste*², Berlin 1897; E. Dhorme, *Religion primitive des Semites*, in *RHR*, cxxviii (1944), 1-27; idem, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, review of G. Ryckmans, in *ibid.*, cxxxiii (1947), 34-48; G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*², Louvain 1953 (= Bibl. du Muséon, xxvi = A. Quillet, *Hist. gén. des religions*, Paris 1960, ii, 199-228); D̲j̲urd̲j̲ī Zaydān, *Ansāb al-ʿArab al-ḳudamāʾ*, Cairo 1906. See also HUBAL; ISĀF WA-NĀʾILA; ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ; AL-LĀT; MANĀF; RABB; SAʿD WA-NAḤS; S̲H̲AMS. (T. FAHD)

ṢANAM ḲĀDIS, see ḲĀDIS, at vol. IV, 583-4, and add to the *Bibl.* there: Abū Ḥāmid al-G̲h̲arnāṭī, ed. Ferrand, the main reference, now tr. Ana Ramos, *Abū Ḥāmid al-Garnāṭī* (*m. 565/1169*), *Tuḥfat al-albāb* (*El Regalo de los espíritus*), Madrid CSIC-ICMA 1990, (*fuentes Arabico-Hispanas 10*), 46-7, for the passage in question (= ed. Ferrand 69-70), with representation here of the plate (= Ferrand, between 200 and 201) showing the "object", i.e. the lighthouse (which Ramos renders by "statue", *estatua*). See also P. Martínez Montávez, *Perfil de Cádiz hispano-árabe*, Cadiz 1974; Saḥar al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ṣāliḥ, *Madīnat Ḳādis wa-dawruhā fi 'l-taʾrīk̲h̲ al-siyāsī wa 'l-ḥaḍarī li 'l-Andalus fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-islāmī*, Alexandria 1990; D. Bramón, *El mundo en el siglo XII. El tratado de al-Zuhrī*, Sabadell 1991 (= Span. tr. of the *K. al-D̲j̲aʿrafiyya*, ed. M. Hadj-Sadok). (J.-P. MOLENAT)

SANANDAD̲J̲ or SINANDAD̲J̲, older form SINNA, the administrative capital of the modern Persian province of Kurdistān and the general name for the district round it.

1. The town. The name Sinna came into historical prominence only from the 9th/15th century onwards, the main urban centre of the district having preciously been Sīsar [*q.v.*], as the seat of the Kurdish *wālīs* or local rulers of Ardalān [*q.v.*]. Under the year 988/1580, the 10th/16th century historian of the Kurds, S̲h̲araf al-Dīn K̲h̲ān Bidlīsī [*q.v.*], speaks in his *S̲h̲araf-nāma* (ed. V. Véliaminof-Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860-2, i, 88) of a land grant held by Tīmūr K̲h̲ān of Ardalān, which included Ḥasanābād, Sīna, etc., but the local historian of Sanandad̲j̲, ʿAlī Akbar Muns̲h̲ī Waḳāyiʿ-nigār (wrote *ca.* 1310/1892-3, see Storey, i, 1300, cf. also 369), in his ms. work on the geography and history of Sanandad̲j̲, the *Ḥadīḳa-yi Nāṣirī* (Fr. résumé by B. Nikitine, in *RMM*, xlix, 70-104), says that Sinna was built by the *wālī* Sulaymān Khān on the ruined site of an earlier settlement; the Persian *taʾrīk̲h̲* or chronogram for this event is given as *g̲h̲amhā* "sorrows" = 1046 in *abd̲j̲ad* [/1636-7].

The *wālīs*, being near the Perso-Turkish frontier, took an active part in the wars between the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other; during this period, Ardalān enjoyed, like ʿArabistān and Luristān, a semi-independent existence. During the Afg̲h̲ān invasion of Persia, in 1132/1720, the Kurdish chief of Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.*] seized Sinna, but the *wālī* of Ardalān Subḥān Werdī K̲h̲ān recovered it in the time of Nādir S̲h̲āh. Amān Allāh "the Great" (1212-40/1797-1825) much improved the town of Sinna, and entertained there Sir John Malcolm and J.C. Rich, but his grandson Amān Allāh b. K̲h̲usraw K̲h̲ān Nā-kām (1265-84/1848-67) was the last hereditary *wālī* of Kurdistān, since the central government in Tehran under Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] now extended its direct control over the western provinces.

The town lies between the right bank of the Ḳis̲h̲laḳ river (which eventually flows down to the Diyālā and then the Tigris) and Mount Āwīdar, which separates Sinna from the old capital Ḥasanābād. The citadel of the *wālīs*, described by such 19th century travellers as Malcolm, Rich and Čirikov, is on a hill some 21 m/70 ft. high in the centre of the town. The town's population at that time was largely Kurdish, but with a substantial Jewish minority and a few Chaldaean Catholic and Armenian Christians, and it was a lively commercial centre, exporting oak-galls, tragacanth, furs and carpets. In modern Persia, Sanandad̲j̲ (lat. 35° 19′ N., long 47° 01′ E.) is the administrative capital of the province (*ustān*) of Kurdistān, with a population in 1991 of 244,249 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). Senna carpets remain a principal product of the town and its hinterland.

2. The district. The older district of Sinna corresponds with the heartland of the modern Kurdistān province, with high, treeless plateaux in the northeast and southeast, whilst its central part is intersected by

numerous valleys, sloping down to deciduous forests in the east. The main mountain massif is the Kūh-i Čihil Čas̲h̲ma (*ca.* 3,658 m/12,000 ft.) to the north of Sanandad̲j̲ and running westwards to the ᶜIrāḳī frontier. For a detailed survey of topography, see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. *Senna*.

Ethnically, the population is mainly Kurdish, Sunnīs of the S̲h̲āfiᶜī *mad̲h̲hab*, amongst whom *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* of the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order have traditionally been influential, although the *wālīs* of Ardalān were S̲h̲īᶜī, possibly as a result of former connections with the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] Gūrān. In addition to the majority of Kurdish speakers, the area to the west of Sanandad̲j̲, going up to and slightly across the frontier with ᶜIrāḳ, contains speakers of the Hawrāmānī or Awromani dialect of the Northwest Iranian tongue Gūrānī [see GŪRĀN; HAWRĀMĀN; and to the references there, add D.N. MacKenzie, *The dialect of Awroman (Hawramānī-ī Luhōn)*, in *Royal Danish Acad. of Sciences*, phil.-hist. series, iv/3 (Copenhagen 1966), pp. 141].

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(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-ṢANᶜĀNĪ, ᶜABD AL-RAZZĀḲ B. HAMMĀM b. Nāfiᶜ, Abū Bakr al-Yamanī al-Ḥimyarī, Yemeni scholar, b. 126/744, d. in the middle of S̲h̲awwāl 211/middle of January 827. The *nisba* al-Ḥimyarī indicates that he was a *mawlā* [*q.v.*] of the Banū Ḥimyar. According to the biographical sources, he was of Persian origin (*min al-abnāʾ* [see ABNĀʾ], ᶜId̲j̲lī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-t̲h̲iḳāt*, Beirut 1984, no. 1000). His father was already a learned man and traditionist (Ibn Saᶜd, v, 399). ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ received his training as a scholar in Ṣanᶜāʾ, where he studied for a period of about eight years with Maᶜmar b. Rās̲h̲id (d. 153/770) (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-ᶜIlal wa-maᶜrifat al-rid̲j̲āl*, Beirut 1988, ii, no. 2599; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-D̲j̲arḥ wa 'l-taᶜdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1952, iii, 38) who was himself of Baṣran origin and who had settled in Ṣanᶜāʾ after studying in Baṣra, Medina and Mecca. Moreover, ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ participated in the lectures of a number of visiting scholars including the Meccans Ibn D̲j̲urayd̲j̲ (d. 150/767), Sufyān b. ᶜUyayna (d. 198/813-4) and the Kūfan Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī (d. 161/778) (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdimat al-maᶜrifa li-kitāb al-d̲j̲arḥ wa-'l-taᶜdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1952, 52-3; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Mīzān al-iᶜtidāl fī naḳd al-rid̲j̲āl*, Cairo 1907, ii, 127). It was during his commercial trips to Syria (al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 364) and during the *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* that ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ came into contact and studied with other eminent scholars of the middle of the 2nd/8th century like al-Awzāᶜī (d. 157/774) and Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) [*q.vv.*].

In the last quarter of the 2nd century A.H., ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ became the leading scholar of the Yemen. His fame attracted students from all parts of the Islamic world, amongst them the ᶜIrāḳīs Yaḥyā b. Maᶜīn (d. 233/848) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), two famous *ḥadīt̲h̲* scholars of the 3rd/9th century. The reputation of ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ was first of all based on his book or books. The oldest information about his works comes from his pupils mentioned above (Ibn Ḥanbal, *ᶜIlal*, iii, no. 3882, iv, no. 3940). There is a difference of opinion as to the titles of his book or books. Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995), for instance, mentions a *Kitāb al-Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh* and a *Kitāb al-Mag̲h̲āzī* (*Fihrist*, Cairo 1929-30, 318), Ibn K̲h̲ayr (d. 575/1179) claims to have known several *riwāyāt* of a work called *Muṣannaf*—which is probably identical with the *Kitāb al-Sunan* quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm—and the *Kitāb al-Mag̲h̲āzī*, which according to him was originally a part of the *Muṣannaf*. He further refers to a book annexed to the *Muṣannaf* called *D̲j̲āmiᶜ* which he describes as a work of Maᶜmar b. Rās̲h̲id merely transmitted by ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ (*Fahrasa*, Saragossa 1894, 127-30). Al-D̲h̲ahabī (d. 748/1347) mentions a *D̲j̲āmiᶜ al-kabīr* (*Mīzān*, ii, 126), al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362-3) a *Tafsīr* (*Nakt al-himyān*, Cairo 1911, 192), and Ibn Kat̲h̲īr (d. 774/1372-3), finally, alongside the *Muṣannaf* names a *Musnad* (*al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, ix, 265).

ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ's reputation as a traditionist is ambivalent. The reasons for reservations against him were: he sometimes transmitted from memory and then made mistakes (al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt*); at the end of his life he became blind and was then not able to personally verify transmissions from him (al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Mīzān*, ii, 127; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb al-tahd̲h̲īb*, Ḥaydarābād 1907-9, vi, 312); and he was allegedly a partisan of the S̲h̲īᶜa (Ibn Ḥanbal, *ᶜIlal*, ii, no. 1545; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-T̲h̲iḳāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1982, viii, 412). Despite these insinuations, leading traditionists such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Buk̲h̲ārī, Muslim, etc., accepted a large part of his transmission as being reliable, and thus ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ became a key figure in the *asānīd* [see ISNĀD] of the most important Sunnī *ḥadīt̲h̲* compilations.

Of ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ's works the following have been preserved: (1) A compilation of traditions from earlier scholars, *Tābiᶜūn*, *Ṣaḥāba* and the Prophet, called *al-Muṣannaf* (ed. in 11 vols. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aᶜẓamī, Dabhel-Beirut 1970-2; ²1983). It contains a *Kitāb al-Mag̲h̲āzī* and at the end a *Kitāb al-D̲j̲āmiᶜ* which are both to a very large extent works of his teacher Maᶜmar b. Rās̲h̲id as transmitted by ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ. (The ms. of a *Kitāb al-Ṣalāh* recorded by F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 99, is a fragment of the *Muṣannaf*.) The edition of the *Muṣannaf* is based on different transmissions of the work which have been put together (see H. Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz*, Stuttgart 1991, 53-6). (2.) The *Ṣaḥīfat Hammām b. Munabbih*, a collection of 137 *aḥādīt̲h̲* of the Prophet from Abū Hurayra transmitted by ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ through Maᶜmar through Hammām b. Munabbih (d. 101/719-20 of 102/720-1) (ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh 1953, rev. ed. Luton 1979). (3.) A *Tafsīr* (ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, no. 242 *tafsīr*), which is largely a *tafsīr* by his teacher Maᶜmar.

The works of ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ are extremely important for the study of early Islamic jurisprudence, *ḥadīt̲h̲* and exegesis of the Ḳurʾān because they contain older sources or materials which have otherwise been lost. ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ had direct access to authors of the first extensive compilations of traditions arranged according to subject (*muṣannafāt* [see MUṢANNAF]) like those by Maᶜmar b. Rās̲h̲id, Ibn D̲j̲urayd̲j̲, Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī and Sufyān b. ᶜUyayna. His own *Muṣannaf* is to a large extent compiled from materials received from these four scholars, and it is very probable that

these materials came for the most part from their books. In general, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's transmission from these teachers of his seems to be reliable (see Motzki, *op. cit.*, 56 ff.). Access to the oldest compilations of legal traditions which are not limited to prophetic *ḥadīth*—as ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's *Muṣannaf* offers—opens new venues for researching both the origins of Islamic jurisprudence as well as the development of *ḥadīth* in general.

Bibliography: Some information on ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ is to be found in almost all of the biographical sources on scholars of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.H. In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see also Bukhārī, *K. al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1941-2, iii/2, 130; ʿUḳaylī, *K. al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-kabīr*, Beirut 1984, iii, 107-11. The most comprehensive collections of traditions about him are in: Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1981 ff., ix, 563-80; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk li-Ibn ʿAsākir*, Beirut 1984 ff., xv, 97-107; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, Beirut 1992, xviii, 52-62. For the edition of the *Muṣannaf* mentioned in the article, two different indices are available: *Fahāris*, Beirut 1987 in 1 vol.; *Fihris aḥādīth wa-āthār*, Beirut 1988 in 4 vols.

(H. MOTZKI)

AL-**ṢANʿĀNĪ**, ḌIYĀʾ AL-DĪN SHAʿBĀN b. Salīm b. ʿUthmān al-Ḥāsikī al-Rūmī, Yemenite poet and physician (1065-1149/1655-1736).

Shaʿbān's father was an Ottoman trooper from the town of Ḥasaka on the river Khābūr [*q.v.*], and his mother was Yemeni by birth. Shaʿbān was held in high esteem by his contemporaries, above all in his capacity as a panegyrist and man of letters but he was also known for his stirring sermons of exhortation. For some time, he lived by trade, but later he devoted himself to medicine and henceforth earned his livelihood out of medical practice (*taṭabbub*). In his fifties, he was struck by hemiplegia (*fālidj*) which increasingly isolated him as he grew older. A poor man, he died in his home town Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] aged 81.

Most of Shaʿbān's œuvre fell into oblivion after his death, including an anthology entitled *Dīwān Badr Shaʿbān*. Except for some fragments of poetry as preserved by his biographers, only two pieces from his pen have come down to us, sc. a dispute about rank between a freeborn woman and a female slave (see *Bibl.*), and an extensive didactic poem on dietetics and hygienics designed for domestic use (see *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: O. Kahl, *al-Mufākhara baina l-ḥurra wal-ama. Ein Beitrag zur jemenitischen Rangstreitliteratur des 17./18. Jahrhunderts*, in *WO*, xvii (1986), 110-49; A. Schopen and O. Kahl, *Die Natāʾiğ al-fikar des Šaʿbān ibn Salīm aṣ-Ṣanʿānī. Eine jemenitische Gesundheitsfibel aus dem frühen 18. Jahrhundert. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Wiesbaden 1993, 3-8 (and the bio-bibliographical sources quoted there).

(O. KAHL)

AL-**ṢANAWBARĪ**, ABŪ BAKR (or Abu 'l-Ḳāsim or Abu 'l-Faḍl) MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD (or Aḥmad b. Muḥammad) b. al-Ḥusayn b. Marrār al-Ḍabbī (the *nisba* al-Ṣīnī, given by Mez, *Renaissance*, 250, Eng. tr. 261, is a scribal error) al-Ḥalabī al-Anṭākī, poet and librarian at the court of Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in Mawṣil and Aleppo.

Born in Antioch before *ca.* 275/888 (if Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Dīwān al-Ṣanawbarī*, Beirut 1970, poem 231, v. 67 is to be taken literally), he died in Aleppo in the year 334/945. Since his chronology is consonant with neither the *Aghānī* nor the *Yatīma*, very little is known about his life. He was a close friend of Kushādjim [*q.v.*], the poet and master-cook to Sayf al-Dawla, and eventually became his son-in-law, exchanging several verse epistles with him, as was the practice of the time (see J.E. Montgomery, *Abū Firās's poetic correspondence with Abū Zuhayr*, in *The Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies*, St. Andrews, ii [1988], 1-45). The tradition that al-Ṣanawbarī was himself a keen gardener may be aetiological, based on his fame and pre-eminence as a nature poet. As Mez, *loc. cit.*, explains, the *laḳab al-ṣanawbarī* presumably means that either he or his father traded in pine nuts (*ṣanawbar*). Al-Ṣanawbarī, however, according to Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, Damascus 1329, i, 456, claimed that the name had been given to his grandfather by the caliph al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], on account of the keenness of his reasoning in disputations (?). His poems in praise of the *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*] point to his Shīʿī affiliations, but as this is not attested by any later authorities it may simply be that these poems were composed to harmonise with, or on behalf of, the Shīʿī Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*]. Among his *rāwīs* were Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Adīb and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Djumayʿ al-Ghassānī.

Al-Ṣanawbarī's *dīwān* was edited (in alphabetical and not generic order) by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*]. According to the *Fihrist*, 168, it amounted to 200 folios. The section containing the rhyme-letters *rāʾ* to *ḳāf* is still extant in a ms. in Calcutta (see ʿAbbās, *op. cit.*, 6), although this is not exhaustive as ʿAbbās, *Takmilat Dīwān al-Ṣanawbarī*, poems 83-98, and L. al-Ṣakkāl and D. al-Khaṭīb, *Tatimmat Dīwān al-Ṣanawbarī*, Aleppo 1971, poems 27-37, indicate. The *dīwān* contains the full panoply of poetic types encountered in the collections of other contemporary poets (panegyrics and vituperations [50 pieces], love poems [especially *mudhakkarāt*, poems composed about boys, 80 pieces], veneric and cynegetic pieces, threnodies and consolations [40 pieces], occasional snippets composed to order, etc.) but is justly famous for its 40 nature poems, both epigrams and *ḳaṣīdas* [*q.v.*]: *rabīʿiyyāt* (vernal poems), *zahriyyāt* (floral poems), *rawḍiyyāt* (meadow poems) and even *thaldjiyyāt* (snow poems). Whilst al-Ṣanawbarī is heavily indebted to his poetic forbears, especially Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], he is acknowledged as the creator of the fully independent nature *ḳaṣīda*, doing as much for horticultural poetry as Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] did for viticultural poetry. His achievement is that he not only liberated nature as a theme of the Arabic poetic répertoire, establishing it as a genre in its own right, but that he also enlarged its scope to encompass other genres, such as the *khamriyya* [*q.v.*]. The key-note of this poetry is the striving after wonderment and effect, being very much the product of the *badīʿ* [*q.v.*] style and being heavily dependent upon "phantastic" (*takhyīlī*) imagery, as later defined by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1087 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), imagery which involves the inversion of the conventional leading to an anthropomorphisation of nature. These effects are directed at the auditor/reader's appreciation of the poet's display of "linguistic ingenuity ... a style in which the probable is made improbable, the familiar enigmatic, the ordinary miraculous" (S. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1989, 156).

In modern scholarship, al-Ṣanawbarī's nature poetry has been studied from the exclusive viewpoint of the imagination, as literary (mannerist) artifice devoid of any connection with reality. This is to overlook the occasional or social nature of much of this poetry; it is not the poetic exercise of the imagination, but was presumably composed for the garden banquet-cum-*madjlis* "when the caliph or a grandee would invite the habitués of his salon to a Sans-souci

in the gardens at the edge of town" (G.E. von Grunebaum, *Aspects of Arabic urban literature*, in *Islamic Studies*, viii [1969], 293). Hence the repeated, witty shifts in register, from the "phantastic" to the ontological, i.e. from the imaginary to the real. His influence on Andalusian poetry was such that Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*] was crowned the Ṣanawbarī of the West.

A commentary on Dhu 'l-Rumma's *Bāʾiyya* was also penned by al-Ṣanawbarī.

Bibliography: Given in the article. For a survey of 20th-century scholarship and an extensive discussion of al-Ṣanawbarī's nature poems, see G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung. Die Zahriyāt, Rabīʿiyāt und Rauḍiyāt von ihren Anfängen bis aṣ-Ṣanaubarī. Eine gattungs-, motiv- und stilgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Beirut 1974, 273-343; and Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 501-2. Other works containing discussions of al-Ṣanawbarī are A. Hamori, *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, Princeton 1974, 78-87; M.M. Badawi, *From primary to secondary Qaṣīdas: thoughts on the development of Classical Arabic poetry*, in *JAL*, xi (1980), 29-31; E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, Darmstadt 1988, ii, 145-50; J. Stetkevych, *The zephyrs of Najd: the poetics of nostalgia in the Classical Arabic Nasīb*, Chicago 1993, 183-7. See also C.E. Bosworth, *Ṣanawbarī's elegy on the pilgrims slain in the Carmathian attack on Mecca (317/930): a literary-historical study*, in *Arabica*, xix (1972), 222-39. (J.E. Montgomery)

SANDĀBIL, a town said to be the capital of the king of China in the account of the Arab traveller and littérateur Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil [*q.v.*] purporting to describe his participation in an embassy of the Chinese king Ḳālīn b. al-Shakhīr returning from the court of the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43 [*q.v.*]) at Bukhārā.

Abū Dulaf describes it as an immense city, one day's journey across, with walls 90 cubits high and an idol temple bigger than the sacred mosque at Jerusalem (*First Risāla*, Fr. tr. G. Ferrand, in *Relations de voyages ... relatifs à l'Extrême Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1913-14, 219-20, 221; Ger. tr. A. von Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abū Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien*, Bonn 1939, 17, 27-30, text originally known in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 440, 444-5, cf. 275, and in al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 30 ff.). It is not, however, mentioned in other early Muslim sources on China (the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Gardīzī, Marwazī), and its existence as such is dubious, given also further doubts about the historicity of this Sino-Sāmānid mission (see C.E. Bosworth, *An alleged embassy from the Emperor of China to the Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad: a contribution to Sāmānid military history*, in Minovi and Afshar (eds.), *Yâdnâme-ye irânî-ye Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 8-9). Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 84-9, cf. von Rohr-Sauer, *op. cit.*, 58-60, sought to identify Sandābil with Kan-chu, in Kan-su province [*q.v.*], which would be geographically feasible. Minorsky pointed out, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 232, that the name of the "large town governed from China" in the anonymous geography, tr. 85, Khāl.b.k, resembles in the Arabic script the S.n.dāb.l of Abū Dulaf, especially in its last three letters, and noted that the place mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*'s chapter on China immediately before Khāl.b.k is Khāmčū = Kan-chu. It seems impossible to take the question any further than this.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

ṢANDAL (A., P. *čandal* from Skr. *čandana*) is the sandal wood, coming from several unrelated trees which are mainly of Indian and Southeast Asian origin.

Both white and yellow sandalwood were, in fact, only different kinds of *Santalum album L., Santalaceae*. It supplies the bright, white sap-wood and the reddish heartwood. Because of its peculiar scent, probably experienced as very pleasant, it was appreciated from time immemorial and used, among other purposes, for perfumeries, and its ethereal oils against inflammations of the urinary passages. The red sandalwood, on the other hand, is the heartwood of *Pterocarpus santalinus L., Leguminosae*. It is totally scentless and of little value, but was popular for its beauty. It is not known how the name *ṣandal* was transferred from the white-yellow to the red wood. The Arabic authors know the same threefold distinction. Sandalwood was unknown to the Greeks. The most comprehensive account about *ṣandal* is found in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihaya*, xii, 39-42, tr. Wiedemann, in *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, 252-4, 263. The yellow, fat (*al-dasim*), heavy wood, which looks as if it were painted over with saffron and is therefore also called *al-zaʿfarānī*, is accounted the best sandalwood. It has a strong fragrance and is designated as *al-maḳāṣīrī* (the meaning of this *nisba* is not clear, cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 358-9). Of the white sandalwood, which is also fragrant, there exist various varieties, which incline partly to yellow, brown and red.

The use of various sandalwoods in medicine, above all of their ethereal oils, is described extensively from several sources by Ibn al-Bayṭār (*Djāmiʿ*, iii, 89, 10-31 = Leclerc, no. 1418). When added to electuaries (*maʿdjūnāt*), they are *inter alia* effective against fever and heating of the bile. If inhaled, its powder is effective against pleurisy (*birsām*) and congestion (? *lahīb*). If the electuary is applied together with rosewater as a poultice, it is effective against erysipelas (*ḥumra*), boils of feverish gout (*al-niḳris al-ḥārr*) and infections of the eyelids (*shatar*).

In the Maghrib, as repeatedly stated by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Bayṭār's teacher (see Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, iii, 31, 38, 93, and Dozy, *Suppl.* i, 846a), *ṣandal* indicates thyme (*nammām*) and the wild and cultivated mint (*Thymus serpyllum L., Labiatae*).

Bibliography: Studies of the sources and further literature in A. Dietrich, *Disocurides triumphans. Ein anonymer arabischer Kommentar*, in *Ende 12. Jahrh. zur Materia medica*, i, 41, n. 2, *Abh. A.W. Gött., Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F.*, no. 173, Göttingen 1988; idem, *Die Ergänzung Ibn Ǧulǧul's zur Materia medica des Dioskurides*, no. 38, in *Abh. A.W. Gött., Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F.*, no. 202, Göttingen 1993.

(A. Dietrich)

ṢANDJ, Ṣindj, pl. *ṣunūdj*, the generic term for any kind of cymbal. Both al-Djawharī and al-Djawālīḳī say that the word is an Arabicised one. Lane thinks that it is derived from the Persian *sandj* or *sindj* and Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. near the opening of the 10th century) avers that the Persians invented it (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 90 = § 3214). However, the instrument was well known to the ancient Semites. We read of the *ṣandj* in early Arabic literature. Al-Ḳuṭāmī refers to the *ṣandj al-djinn* and Ibn Muḥriz [*q.v.*] was called the *ṣannādj al-ʿArab*. The feminine form of the latter, said to express an intensive, is also to be found in the cognomen of al-Aʿshā Maymūn known as the *ṣannādjat al-ʿArab* and in a certain Mustarād *al-ṣannādja*. Yet it is difficult to say whether the actual instrument or mere symbolism is aimed at in these instances. Further confusion is added by the fact that the word *ṣandj* (< Pers. *čang*) was also given by some

Arabic writers to the harp, although the more general name for the latter was *djank* [see MIʿZAF].

The term *ṣandj* or *ṣindj* is generally used for the cymbal in the East, although *zindj* has been more common in the West since the Middle Ages. The instrument is played in pairs and is used to regulate the measure or rhythm in both music and dancing. That it had a definite place as a rhythmic intrument in days of old is stated by Ibn Zaylā (d. 440/1048) in his *Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Z. Yūsuf, Cairo 1964). It is to be found in several shapes and sizes. The finger cymbals used today are generally about 4 or 5 cm in diameter and they are usually attached to the thumb and middle finger. They are depicted by Niebuhr (i, tab. xxvi), Villoteau (pl. cc. 26), Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, ch. xviii), Christianowitsch (no. 36), Lavignac (2794, 2936), and Sachsse (tab. 8, no. 36). Specimens may be found in museums, notably Brussels (no. 293) and New York (no. 383). Other names for the cymbal, according to Villoteau (980), are *zīl* (< Turk. *zill*), *kās* (probably of cup-shape form originally), and *sadjdja* or *sādjdja*, although probably this ought to be written *ṣadjdja*. In Syria we have the term *fuḳaysha*, and in Morocco *nuwayḳsa* (dimin. of *nāḳūs*) in common use, the former being a metathesis of *shuḳayfa* (see below). The term *ṣalāṣil* (sing. *ṣalṣal*) was also applied to all high-sounding clashed metal instruments, of this type. Like *zīl* or *zill*, it is of onomatopoeic origin, the verbal root being *ṣalla* ("to sound"). There are cognates in all the Semitic languages. Saadia (d. 941) equates the Arabic root with the Hebrew *ṣālal*, and we have the Arabic *muṣalṣalāt* standing for the Hebrew *ṣelṣ*ᵉ*līm* (cymbals) of Psalm cl. 5, in the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* (11th century). Small cymbals attached to a frame were also in use. This instrument was known as the *djaghāna* or *ṣaghāna* (see below). It resembled a pair of metal tongs with two or three arms branching from the open ends, a small cymbal being attached to each arm. Nowadays it is called a *zillī māsha* ("jingling tongs"). We see it depicted in Sāsānid art, and it is mentioned by Ibn Khallikān (tr. de Slane, iii, 491) and in the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*. There are two Turkish specimens at New York (nos. 353, 1377).

The hand cymbals are to be found in both the plate and bowl shape. This belongs to martial and processional music. Clement of Alexandria (*Paedagogus*) said that the Arabs used cymbals (κύμβαλα) in war, and this seems to be hinted at in the later Arabic reference to the *ṣannādjat al-djaysh*, although Arabic lexicographers think differently. Al-Djawharī describes a cup-shape instrument called the *ṣaḥn*. It was a small bronze cup (*ṭusayt*) which was struck against another of its kind. This cup or bowl-shape cymbal was favoured in martial music, and it is delineated in several pictures of a military band which are found in the treatise on automata by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Djazarī (*flor.* later 6th/12th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) which have been reproduced (*The legacy of Islam*, 1st ed., fig. 91; Schulz, *Die pers.-islam. Miniaturmalerei*, tab. ii; al-Djazarī, tr. D.R. Hill, *The book of knowledge of ingenious mechanical devices*, Dordrecht 1974). At this period, however, the cymbal was called the *kās*, *kāsa* or *kaʾs*, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 43, 46,47) mentions it among the martial instruments of the Fāṭimids. In the *Alf layla wa-layla* (i, 66,323; ii, 656; iii, 150, 271, 274, 298), these bowl-shaped *kuʾūs* or *kāsāt* are frequently mentioned in company with *ṭubūl* (drums) in the warlike scenes. In modern times, the hand cymbal is plate-shaped and known as the *ṣandj*, *zīl* and *kās* (Villoteau, *loc. cit.*; Russell, *Aleppo*, i, 151). Villoteau gives the diameter of the Egyptian instrument as 24.4 cm. For a Palestinian example, see Sachsse (66, tab. 8). For numbers used in military bands, see ṬABL-KHĀNA. For quite a century and a half, Turkey has been famed for the manufacture of cymbals and in the earlier part of the 20th century several thousands were exported from Istanbul every year. There are two other mediaeval names for the cymbal which are worth recording, viz. *ṣaffāḳatān* and *muṣāfiḳ*. The former occurs in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (v, 75), and Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (Berlin ms. 5517, fol. 19b) likens it to the *ṣandj* (cymbal). *Muṣāfiḳ* and *muṣāfiḳa* equate with *cymbalum* in the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* and the *Vocabulista in Arabico* (12th-13th century).

Clappers. In Arabic, handclapping is called *ṣafḳ*, *safḳ*, *taṣfīḳ*, *tasfīḳ* and *taṣfīḥ*, all of these terms being derived from verbal roots meaning "to clap the hands", and are of the same kin as the Hebrew *ṣāpaḳ* (Ezekiel, xxi. 17). A plate of wood or metal was called a *ṣafīḥa*, and from the same root we get *muṣaffaḥāt*, a word which appears to denote "clappers". Labīd [*q.v.*], the Arabic poet, places *muṣaffaḥāt* in the hands of wailing women (*anwāḥ*). Another word for clappers occurs in the *Vocabulista Aravigo* (1501) where we have *maciquif* (*chapas para tañer*) and *mabiquif* (*tarreñas chapas para tañer*) registered. Doubtless the *b* in the latter is a slip for *c*. Dozy was of the opinion that both these words were metatheses of *muṣāfiḳ*, but it is more likely that the word intended is *mashāḳif* (sing. *mishḳifa*), the Aramaic root corresponding to this being *sheḳaf* ("to clap the hands"). See also *shaḳf* and *shuḳūf* (*testa*) in the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* and the *Vocabulista in Arabico*. In modern times the *shuḳayfāt* were small small cymbals (or *castanets*) used by dancers. For a design of these clappers, see the *Kitāb al-Burhān* in the Bodleian Library (Or. 133, fol. 11b). In Persia and Turkey they are known as the *čārpāra* (lit. "four pieces") or *čālpāra*. See Farmer, *Turkish musical instruments*, in *JRAS* (1936). Castanets are mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Quatremère, ii, 354, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 397) and Villoteau (981) says that they were called *akligh* in Egypt. Outside of Spain, where they may have been known as the *kāsatān* (hence perhaps *castanet*), they have not been favoured.

The Percussion slab known as the *nāḳūs* is dealt with separately; see NĀḲŪS.

Percussion staff. This was the *ḳaḍīb*, an instrument found in the hands of several of the early musicians of Islam. Its identity has long been a puzzle to both musicographers and orientalists. It was a staff which was used for rhythmic purposes either by striking it upon the ground or upon something else. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (d. 972/1565, fol. 19b) has a section entitled "Concerning beating (*ḍarb*) with the *ḳaḍīb* upon cushions (*wasāʾid*)". It recalls an incident in the "Story of the Mock Caliph" in the *Alf layla wa-laylā* where a cushion (*mudawwara*) is struck as a signal for servants to appear. Burton will not allow that a cushion is meant, and substitutes "a circular plate of wood or metal, a gong". We get a slight idea of the sound of the *ḳaḍīb* from the fact that Muḥammad is said to have been averse to the tick-tack (*ṭaḳṭaḳa*) of the *ḳaḍīb*, and the same is said of the imām al-Shāfiʿī (al-Shalāḥī, fol. 79). It is given a place in music by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (i, 91) and Ibn Zaylā, although later it fell into desuetude and was only to be found in the hands of the amateur and the folk. Indeed, the word *muḳtaḍab* came to mean "untrained" or "extemporised".

Bells. Ordinarily, the cup, bowl, or cone shape bell is known in Arabic as the *djaras*, whilst the sphere-shape bell is called the *djuldjul*. On the other hand, *djaras* also stands for a large bell (*campana*) and *djuldjul*

for a small bell (*tintinnabulum*), the probable reason being that the first-mentioned form was generally found in the large instrument whilst the second-mentioned form was generally found in the small instrument. Bells were used on the necks of animals in pre-Islamic days, and there is a tradition that Muḥammad was averse to the sound of the caravan bells so that the fiction arose that "angels will not associate with a company where there is a *dj̲aras*" (e.g. Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 103). A collection of these bells, either on a board or on a chain or rope, is known as a *ṭabla*. The term was probably borrowed from the Hebrew *ṭablā*, which, in turn, had its origin in the Greek τάβλα, because these bells were generally attached to a tablet of wood. There is a specimen of a *ṭabla* at New York (no. 2659), the largest bell being 10 × 5.8 cm. Bells were also used to increase the din of battle so as to affright the enemy, as we are told by Ibn Zaylā, and in the story of G̲h̲arīb and his brother ʿAdj̲īb in the *Alf layla wa-layla* (iii, 294) we read of the camels and mules in battle being furnished with large bells (*adj̲rās*), small bells (*dj̲alādj̲il*), as well as jingles (*ḳalāḳil*). According to Cervantes, the Moors of Spain did not tolerate their use as martial instruments.

The small bell (*dj̲uldj̲ul*), sometimes called a pellet bell, was spherical. Like *ṣalṣal*, *dabdab*, etc., the word is of onomatopoeic origin. Al-K̲h̲alīl (d. probably in 175/791) likened the sound of the small cymbals (*ṣunūdj̲*) hanging in the rim of the tambourine (*duff*) to that of the small bells (*dj̲alādj̲il*; see K̲h̲ʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 236). Indeed, these small bells were sometimes attached to tambourines [see DUFF]. Al-Muzarrid (6th century A.D.) speaks of small (tambourine) bells (*dj̲alādj̲il*) replying to the wind instruments (*mazāmīr*; see the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, i, 165). These *dj̲alādj̲il* were also attached to the necks of smaller animals in the form of a *ṭabla*, and in Mamlūk times they were fastened to the hats of criminals (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/2, 106). They also formed part of the impedimenta of itinerant minstrels, who likewise wore them on their hats (J.S. Buckingham, *Travels*, i, 100), as did the fools in Talmudic Jewry (Jastrow, *Dict. Targ.*, 518). In Persia, the large bell is called a *zang* or *darā* and the small bell a *zangula* or *zangulīča*. In Turkey they are the *čang* and *čingraḳ* respectively.

An elaborate type of chimes was known to the Arabs, who borrowed the idea from the Greeks. It is described in a treatise by one Mūrisṭus [*q.v.*], who, in turn, was indebted to an Egyptian named Sāʿāṭus or Sāṭus, whose writings were known in Arabic as early as the 4th/10th century at least (*Fihrist*, 270). This instrument was called the *dj̲uldj̲ul al-ṣayyāḥ* (clamorous bell) or the *dj̲uldj̲ul al-ṣiyāḥ* (octavo bell). See *Mach.*, ix, 26.

Another jingling instrument was the *dj̲ag̲h̲āna* or *ṣag̲h̲āna* (< Pers. *čag̲h̲āna*). It took several forms. One was a sceptre of wood surmounted by hoops of wire from which were suspended about a hundred small bells. For a design, see Niebuhr (tab. xxviii). Another kind was surmounted by a metal cone pavilion, hence the European name of *Chapeau Chinois* which was given to it. From this, and from three or four horizontal arms, small bells and cymbals were hung. It was borrowed by European military bands in the 18th century from the Turks, and in Britain was known as the "Jingling Johnnie". See Farmer, *Rise and development of military music*, fig. 9. For the Turkish instrument, see Wittman, *Travels in Turkey* (1803). Oriental Christians use a different type known as the *mirwaḥa* (lit. "fan"). It is described and delineated by Bonanni (127, pl. lxxxix), La Borde (i, 282), and Villoteau (1008-10). A fourth type is the *dabbūs* used by the *darwīs̲h̲* fraternities. It is a wooden sceptre, to the head of which is attached a number of chains (*ṣalāṣil*) with jingling pieces of metal fixed loosely in the links. There is a specimen 69 cm long at New York.

Rattle. This is generally known as the *s̲h̲ak̲h̲s̲h̲īk̲h̲a*. In Persia and Turkey, there is the *ḳās̲h̲iḳ*, which is two wooden spoons attached to each other, in the hollow of which are a number of small bells. It is more generally struck with a stick. See Advielle (15) and Lavignac (3076).

Harmonica and glockenspiel. The Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ (i, 90) deal with vessels (*awānī*), pots (*tardj̲ahārāt*), and jars (*dj̲irār*) as idiophones. In Arabic, the general name for the harmonica was *ṭusūt* and Ibn K̲h̲aldūn speaks (*loc. cit.*) of these *ṭusūt* being played with sticks (*ḳuḍbān*). The Persian Ibn G̲h̲aybī describes *sāz-i kāsāt* (lit. musical bowls), which were made of earthenware and the notes of which were determined by the amount of water with which each bowl was filled (*Dj̲āmiʿ al-alḥān*, Bodleian Library, ms. Marsh 282, fols. 78, 81b). An Arabic author of the 9th/15th century refers to the harmonica as the *kīzān* (cups) and *k̲h̲awābīʾ* (jars) and mentions the water content (B.L., Or. 2361, fol. 173). Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī describes (fol. 19b) the beating with reeds (*aḳlām*) upon earthenware (*ṣīnī*). The glockenspiel is mentioned only by Ibn G̲h̲aybī (fol. 81b), and he registers the instrument under *sāz-i alwāḥ-i fūlād* ("instrument of slabs of steel"). It comprised 35 slabs, each giving a particular note.

Bibliography: See that to ṬABL, and add Sachsse, in *ZDPV* (1927); La Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, 1870.

(H.G. FARMER)

SANDJ̲A, the name of a small, right-bank affluent (Grk. Singas, Modern Tkish. Keysun Çayı, a tributary of the Gök Su) of the upper Euphrates and of a small town on it, both coming in mediaeval Islamic times within the northern part of Diyār Muḍar [*q.v.*]. The Sandj̲a river runs into the Euphrates between Sumaysāṭ and Ḳalʿat al-Rūm [*q.vv.*]. It was famed for its bridge, said by the Arabic geographers to have been composed of a single arch of 200 paces' length constructed from dressed stone, and to have been one of the wonders of the world (cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 264-5). It was here and at nearby Baddāyā that the Artuḳid Nadj̲m al-Dīn Il G̲h̲āzī crossed in 513/1119 on his campaign at Tell Bas̲h̲īr against the Franks from the County of Antioch (see Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 283 ff., and MARDJ̲ DĀBIḲ).

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 531; idem, *Lands*, 123-4; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, 127, 295-6; J. Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronymie*, Wiesbaden 1977, 136. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SANDJ̲AḲ (T.), a Turkish term with various significations. (1) flag, standard, banner (Arabic *liwāʾ*), especially of a large size (more important than the *bayraḳ*, Ar. *rāya* or *ʿalam*) and suitable for fixing in the ground or hoisting permanently on a monument or a ship; (2) (nautical term) ensign; pennant (*ikindj̲i sandj̲aḳ*), starboard; (3) formerly a military fief or *k̲h̲āṣṣ* [*q.v.*] of a certain extent in the Ottoman empire; (4) a Turkish administrative and territorial division; (5) (in the expression *sandj̲aḳ tikeni* or *dikeni*, from the Turkish translation of *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, 88, 25) a synonym of *sindj̲an tikeni* (on this plant, see Barbier de Meynard, ii, 101, who gives it as a Persian word).

As al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī pointed out in the 9th/15th century (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, v, 458), *sandj̲-aḳ* comes from the verb *sandj̲-maḳ* (not *sandj̲ī-maḳ*, as in the author already quoted) which means "to sting, prick, plant, stick a

weapon or pointed object in the body of an enemy or in the ground (cf. Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs-i Türkī*). The form *sanča̤ḳ* found in Čaghatāy (Boudagov) and even in an old Serbian loanword (Miklosich, *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost-europäischen Sprachen*, Vienna 1884, ii, 50) corresponds to the verb *sanč-* of the Orkhon inscriptions (see Thomsen, 42; Radloff, 132). Cf. also F.W.K. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 78, 30 and 86, 48. In Kirghiz the form used is *shansh-* (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv, 949), and in Uriankhay *shanïsh-* and *čanïsh-* (Katanov, *Opït izledovaniya*, 429, 779, with the meaning "to prick, stab, erect, fix"). Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (5th/11th century), *Dīwān Lughāt al-Türk*, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bey, ii, 171, 180, 182, iii, 310, also gives (iii, 108) *sandjghan* equivalent to *sandjan* (*sindjan*) already quoted, which is a Turkish participle used as the name of a prickly plant.

The word *sandjaḳ* belongs to a family of derivatives which all contain the idea of "point" and mean (the word itself sometimes): harpoon, fork, piercing pain, colic. Such are *sančïgh, sandjïkh, sandjïḳ, čančkï* (Tobolsk), *shanïshkï* (Kirghiz), *sandjïghï, sandjï* (whence *sandjï-maḳ* in ʿOthmānlï). We may add on the authority of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ and the Turkish-Arabic glossary published by Houtsma, Leiden 1894, 80, and 29 of the Arabic text, the proper name *Sandjar* [*q.v.*], glossed *yaṭʿan*, in preference to the usually accepted etymology from Sindjar, the name of his place of birth (see *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, i, 1872, and index under *Sindjar*).

Sandjaḳ has passed into a certain number of other languages; more recently into the Balkan languages (cf. the work by Miklosich quoted above and Saineanu, *Influenta orientala*), and earlier into Arabic (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, and W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe de Tlemcen*, Paris 1902, 270, 90, 92), and into Persian where, according to the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, it means or meant a "flag, a large metal pin intended to keep on the head a kind of hood worn by women"; "a kind of girdle". In Modern Persian *sandjāḳ* (*sic*) simply means "pin" (in opposition to "needle") (cf. Nicolas, *Dictionnnaire français-persan*, under the word "pin"). Freytag took *sandjaḳ* for a Persian word, and the Turks still keep the orthography which it has in Persian (*s-n-dj-ā-ḳ*), while they write the verb *ṣandj-* with a *ṣād*. We may note that in Persian *dirafsh* "flag" also means "point" (see Vullers), whence the Ottoman Turkish word *direwüsh* (see Hind-oghlu s.v. "pointe" and "poinçon"). The *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ* gives a variant of *sandjāḳ* in the form *sandjūḳ*. If it is not a corruption due to the Persian, we have here another example of a Turkish word preserved through its use in Persian. The word *sandj-ūḳ* is very well explained with the help of the Turkish suffix *-uḳ* (*-iḳ*) which makes a passive participle from transitive verbs. *Sandjūḳ* then would mean "sharpened, fixed". The suffix *-aḳ*, with its tendency to designate place-names (which very well fits a flag "fixed" or "able to be fixed") seems to have been more in use very early.

The etymological details which are given above without excluding the explanation of *sandjaḳ* by "lance with a pennon" (it is that of al-Ḳalḳashandī, who uses the word *rumḥ*) make very probable the explanation as "flag with a staff sharpened at the foot". Independently of this peculiarity it is difficult to say what was the exact form of the primitive Turkish *sandjaḳ*; did they have a horse's tail (or the tail of a yak, of which von Hammer speaks in his definition, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, xvii, 257) or were they always flags? Were they like the *čalïsh* or *shalïsh* mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (for the references see Dozy, *Supplément*, under the word *djālīsh*; it has become *ḥālīsh* by an error in Djewdet Pasha and Aḥmed Rāsim, quoted below in the *Bibliography*)? The meaning of these terms may be more indefinite than we think, and varied a great deal with time and place. The word *tugh* [*q.v.*], which could be taken in the meaning "horse's tail", meant, according to al-Kāshgharī, not only a "flag of silk or orange brocade" but also "drum", another symbol of sovereignty (i, 169, iii, 92). Ibn Khaldūn confuses the flag with the "parasol" of the prince or *djitr*, better *čatr* (Persian) pronounced *čatïr* (al-Kāshgharī, i, 340), then *čadïr* "tent", by the Turks who have preferred these words to their old *čovač* "silk parasol of the Turkish Khaghans" (*ibid.*, ii, 149, 17, iii, 45, 15; cf. the ʿOthmānlï *čoghash* "a place in the sun", and a passage in Rabghuzi in Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv, 59, under *djavač*!).

Whatever its primitive form, the *sandjaḳ* appears among the Saldjūḳs as an insignum of royalty. In the Turkish text of Ibn Bībī (ed. Houtsma, in *Recueil*, iii) the word *sandjaḳ* is always found in connection with the title *Sulṭān* (*Sulṭānïn sandjaghï*). This standard is mentioned (135-6, 144, 169, 170, 289, 357) à propos of different sieges of strong places, on the walls of which it was placed after capitulation. Sometimes (135-6) it is the besieged themselves who, ready to surrender and no doubt seeing in this banner a guarantee of protection against pillaging, asked for a *sandjaḳ* to be sent. It is not, however, necessary that the sultan himself should be present and the historian (357) shows us the *beylerbeyi* setting out on an expedition with the standard of the sovereign.

For a long time the neighbouring princes and vassals of the Saldjūḳs respected their privilege, but the Atabeg of Mawṣil, Sayf al-Dīn al-Ghāzī, son of ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (d. November 1149), was the first of the *aṣḥāb al-aṭrāf* to have a *sandjaḳ* carried unfurled over his head (Ibn al-Athīr, *Hist. des Atabeks de Mossoul*, in *RHC*, *Hist. or.*, ii/2, 167).

The Ayyūbids followed the example of their predecessors. In 594/1198 the sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz, conferred on his nephew al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿIsā, when he became prince of Damascus, "the *sandjaḳ* and the *liwāʾ* to display throughout the world" (*Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, in *RHC*, v, 117). In 648/1250 Aybak the Turkoman, married to an Ayyūbid princess and proclaimed sultan of Egypt, took part in a procession in which the royal banners were unfurled for him (*al-sanādjiḳ al-sulṭāniyya*; cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv, 516 of the Arabic text and 515 of the Latin tr.). Among the Mamlūks, a distinction was made between the *sandjaḳdār* "royal standard-bearer" and the ordinary *ʿalamdār* (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. xcvii); afterwards, in Turkish Algeria this distinction disappeared; see J. Deny, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923-5, ii, 35.

According to one later Ottoman tradition, not to be taken literally but nevertheless attesting to the significance of the *sandjaḳ*/banner as a political symbol, at the end of the Saldjūḳ empire in Asia Minor the *sandjaḳ* became one of the insignia of investiture of new sovereigns, notably of the first ʿOthmānlï sultan. In 679/1280, after the capture of Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār by ʿOthmān, Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn II to celebrate this conquest sent him by the hands of Aḳ Timur, ʿOthmān's nephew, a *sandjaḳ* "with its accessories" (*sandjaḳ yaraghï*), as ʿĀshïḳ Pasha-zāde tells us (ed. Constantinople 1332, 8-9); Neshrī prefers another version (see Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xiii [1859], 207-9). ʿAshïḳ Pasha-zāde mentions in this connection that ʿOthmān thus became *sandjaḳ beyi*, and we know that it was from this time that the *khuṭba* was read in his name (for the first

time at Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār by Dursun Faḳīh). According to the same authority, the *sandjaḳ*s were made of cloth produced in Philadelphia or Ala Shehir (56).

When they became independent in their turn, the Ottoman rulers appointed *sandjaḳ beyi*s in larger and larger numbers and the *sandjaḳ*, somewhat diminished in splendour, became identified with the territory over which it waved, not as a symbol of independence but of political authority deputised by the ruler; it appears henceforth as the term for a political/administrative division. The original patrimony around Bursa remained the Ottoman *bey*'s [*q.v.*] domain; areas added by conquest, such as Ḳarasī [*q.v.*] and Izmid [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Anatolia or on the frontier zone in Thrace were entrusted, as newly created *sandjaḳ*s, to other members of the House of ʿOthmān or to the commanders leading the conquest. In time, each of the smaller Anatolian principalities incorporated into the Ottoman state, and the successive frontier conquests in the Balkans, constituted a separate *sandjaḳ* as a territory of command. At a rough estimate, a *sandjaḳ* encompassed an area of several thousand km^2 and a population of perhaps 100,000 on average. Usually reflecting pre-Ottoman administrative divisions and geographical realities, *sandjaḳ* size and boundaries remained fairly stable through the centuries; provinces in modern Turkey, especially in western and northern Anatolia, are very similar to 15th-century *sandjaḳ* divisions.

At least until the mid-16th century, *sandjaḳ* maintained two distinct but eventually merging senses, military command and a provincial district: in the sense of command of a body of troops there were, in addition to the *sandjaḳ beyi* of a district, *sandjaḳ beyi*s of Anatolian auxiliary troops, *müsellem* (cavalry) and *yaya* (infantry). Even the *sandjaḳ beyi*s proper, i.e. of a district, were sometimes referred to as *atlu sandjaḳ beyi*, i.e. cavalry commander, in their primary role as the commander of all the *dirlik*-holders, i.e. those officers and cavalrymen whose living was maintained by revenue-grants in a particular district. The *sandjaḳ beyi* was required to maintain his own military retinue supported by the official *khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] revenues allocated to him, the number of his retinue being commensurate with the size of his *khāṣṣ*. In time of mobilisation, the *sandjaḳ beyi* led his own household and the troops of his district to join the campaign, sometimes entrusted with discreet military operations such as reconnaissance and advance or rear guard, otherwise marching into battle under the command of the *beylerbeyi* [*q.v.*] of the province. The maritime *sandjaḳ*s, most of them included in the *ḳapudan pasha*'s [*q.v.*] province of *Djazāʾir-i Bahr-i Sefīd* (*q.v.*; literally, Aegean Islands, but also including mainland Anatolian and Grecian districts) supplied ships for naval campaigns instead of (but sometimes as well as) cavalry troops.

Eventually, the sense of district for *sandjaḳ* (also *liwāʾ*, especially in documents) and district-governor for *sandjaḳ beyi* (also *mīr liwāʾ*) came to predominate. *Sandjaḳ* can be considered the main administrative division in the Ottoman empire in various senses. For one thing, in lesser *dirlik*s the area supplying the *dirlik*-holder's income was co-extensive with the limits of his authority. For higher level officers, the *dirlik*, *khāṣṣ*, was normally wholly included within the territory, but the territory governed was much larger than the *khāṣṣ*. A *sandjaḳ beyi* usually derived his *khāṣṣ* income from the main towns of his district, the percentage of urban vs. rural taxes constituting his *khāṣṣ* varying according to the level of town development and commercial taxes in each district; the rest of the *sandjaḳ* might support a dozen or so officers' *dirlik*s (*zeʿāmet*) and a few hundred *timar*s for cavalrymen (*sipāhī* [see SIPĀHĪ. 1]). In other words, it is at the *sandjaḳ* level that the administrative unit was much larger than an officer's revenue source. The governor-general (*beylerbeyi*) was also the *sandjaḳ beyi* of the chief district of his province. The primary administrative role of the *sandjaḳ* is underscored by the fact that provincial area regulations (*ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*]) as well as land and population surveys (*taḥrīr*) were drawn up for each *sandjaḳ*.

In 1527, after the great conquests of Selīm I but before Hungary and eastern Anatolia were fully integrated in the realm, there were 97 *sandjaḳ*s in seven provinces, as well as 17 Kurdish *sandjaḳ*s of special status (Topkapı Palace Archives, D. 5246). Later in the 16th century some larger districts e.g. Bosna [*q.v.*], were reconstituted as provinces; there was also expansion both in the north-west and in the east; the result is that the number of provinces and districts increased to about 35 and more than 300 respectively. Especially in frontier regions, the tendency was to create smaller provinces with just a few districts; the aim seems to have been to concentrate a larger number of higher-ranking officials in sensitive areas.

Identified very closely with the command of his district's troops, the position of the *sandjaḳ beyi* eroded as the military value of provincial cavalry declined in the 17th century. There was a relative centralisation of provincial authority at the province level in the hands of the governor-general, who very often came to depend on local notables for routine administration rather than through *sandjaḳ beyi*s. This process is already discerned at the end of the 16th century by the restyling of provinces as *eyalet*s rather than *beylerbeyilik*. Nevertheless, both the *dirlik*-holding provincial cavalry and the *sandjaḳ beyi* survived a long time after, though in reduced circumstances. When the *dirlik*s were finally abolished in 1837 the *sandjaḳ* became simply an administrative subdivision. The *mutaṣarrif*, the governor of a *sandjaḳ* (or *liwāʾ* or now also *mutaṣarrifliḳ*) was henceforth a civil official, distinct from the *mīr liwāʾ* who now became the modern general of the brigade. The division into *sandjaḳ*s was maintained by the 1864 and 1871 laws of the *wilāyet*s (the former *eyālet*s). The term was finally abolished in provincial administration by the Ankara Grand National Assembly in the 1921 Constitution.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see J. Deny's *EI*[1] art., to which should be added Pakalın, s.v. *Sancak*; for a summary of Ottoman provincial administration, see H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman empire. The classical age, 1300-1600*, London 1973, ch. 13; M. Kunt, *Sancaktan eyalete*, Istanbul 1978, and idem, *The Sultan's servants. Transformation of Ottoman provincial government, 1550-1650*, New York 1983, include discussion of lists of provinces and districts; Anatolian historical geography is treated in T. Baykara, *Anadolu'nun tarihî coğrafyasına giriş: Anadolu'nun idarî taksimatı*, Ankara 1988; for the empire as a whole see A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, and D.E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972; for provincial regulations see *sandjaḳ ḳānūn-nāme*s in Barkan, *Kanunlar*; since M.T. Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, and İnalcık, *Suret-i defter-i sancak-ı Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, numerous studies of individual Anatolian and European *sandjaḳ*s have appeared.

(J. DENY-[M. KUNT])

SANDJAḲ BEYI [see SANDJAḲ].

SANDJAḲ-I SHERĪF, LIWĀʾ-I SHERĪF or ʿALEM-I NEBEWĪ, in Ottoman Turkish usage the sacred standard of the Prophet Muḥammad which is

kept in the palace of Topkapi̊ at Istanbul (see TOPKAPÏ SARAYÏ) together with the other holy relics of Islam (*Emānāt-i Mübāreke* or *Mukaddese*) such as the Holy Mantle (the *Burda*) [see KHIRKA-YI SHERĪF], Holy Footstep and Beard of the Prophet (see KADAM SHARĪF and LIHYA-YI SHARĪF].

According to a tradition recorded by Mouradgea D'Ohsson (*Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1788-1824, ii, 378) and the Ottoman historian Fi̊ndi̊kli̊li̊ Meḥmed Agha (*Silāḥdar Tarʾīkhi*, ed. Aḥmed Refīk [Altınay], Istanbul 1928, i, 14) this is the black banner known as *ʿUḳāb* used among other standards in the battles against Ḳuraysh. It was used as a door curtain by ʿĀʾisha as well. ʿAlī carried it at the conquest of Mecca and handed it to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] during the battle of Ṣiffīn (37/657). During the reigns of the first four caliphs, this battle standard was always planted in front of the troops. It was handed down from the Umayyads to the ʿAbbāsids and was handed to the Ottoman sultan Selīm I [*q.v.*] by Khāʾir Beg [*q.v.*] after the conquest of Cairo in 922/1517. Another tradition has it that it was presented to the Ottoman sultan by Abū Numayy, son (and successor) of the *Sharīf* of Mecca Abu 'l-Barakāt, at the same time, as a symbolic expression of his submission. In this case, the colour is given as green and its size as 0.13 x 113 cm. However, according to the historian Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (948-1008/1541-1600) [see ʿĀLĪ], Sultan Selīm did not carry the sacred standard with him to Istanbul at the time. It appears to have been deposited in the provincial treasury of Damascus. A standard of the Prophet reportedly usually accompanied the yearly Ḥadjdj caravan from there. Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] mentions having seen the sacred standard next to the *Maḥmal* [*q.v.*] at the occasion of the departure of such a caravan in Damascus in 1672 (see S. Faroqhi, *Herrscher über Mekka: die Geschichte der Pilgerfahrt*, Munich-Zürich 1990, 52). The Ottoman historian Selānikī [*q.v.*], confirmed by ʿĀlī, narrates that in 1001/1593 at the outbreak of the so-called "Long War" against the Habsburg Emperor, it was decided to have the sacred standard from Damascus brought to the army in the field in order to raise the morale of the troops. The following years, each campaigning season, the standard travelled up and down under an escort of the Damascus Janissary contingent. In 1003/1595 it was decided to deposit the sacred standard definitively in the palace of Topkapi̊ so that it could be kept together with the other relics of the Prophet. On 23 Shawwāl 1004/20 June 1596, Sultan Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*] took the standard with him leading the army in person. At that occasion it was escorted by 300 *sayyids* led by the so-called *sandjak-i sherīf sheykhi*. During the battle it was planted in front of the tent of the sultan, with *ḥāfiẓs* reciting sūra XLVIII (*al-Fatḥ*). The sacred standard probably stood before the Sultan's person during the Battle of Mezö-Keresztes/Hač Owasi̊ [*q.v.*], 23-6 October 1596, although this is only mentioned by Selānikī and not by a number of eye-witness accounts which do mention the sultan as putting on the Holy Mantle and handling the sword of the caliph ʿAlī, Dhu'l-Faḳār [*q.v.*].

From this time onwards, the sultans, when not joining their armies in the field, appointed the Grand Vizier *serdār-i ekrem*, commander-in-chief (see BAB-Ï SERʿASKERĪ). Upon leaving the capital, the Grand Vizier went in a ceremonial procession to the imperial tent erected in camp at Dāwūd Pasha (in the case of war in Europe) or Ḥaydar Pasha (in the case of war in Asia), there to receive the insignia of office from the hands of the sultan: a sable fur caftan, a *Selīmī* turban with one or more aigrettes (*sorguč*), a gilt sword and the sacred standard. The sultan wished his vizier success and the latter left, carrying the sacred standard on his shoulder. Upon the return of the army, a like ceremonial took place.

When the *Ḳapudān Pasha* put out to sea, he offered a ceremonial salute to the *Sandjak-i Sherīf*, exhibited for the occasion in the arsenal (*Tersāne-yi ʿĀmire* [see TERSĀNE]) in the presence of the Grand Vizier. The sacred standard was also brought forward in times of rebellion. An exceptional occasion was Muṣṭafā Pasha Bayraḳdār's [*q.v.*] planting it in front of his troops entering the capital to depose Sultan Muṣṭafā IV [*q.v.*] on 4 Djumādā II 1223/28 July 1808 (General State Archives The Hague (ARA), Van Dedem Papers 2.21.049-61).

Six Grand Viziers were killed in action while the sacred standard was with them, including Khādim Sinān Pasha on 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 922/1517 while defending the person of the sultan against rebel soldiery, and Shehīd ʿAlī Pasha on 16 Shaʿbān 1128/1715 with the sacred standard in his hands in the Battle of Grosswardein/Nagyvarad, leading the counter attack against the imperial army. Count Marsigli, describing the various banners and standards in use with the Ottoman army, mentions the standard of the Prophet. He never saw it deployed either in camp or on the march. He concludes from the event that the Ottomans were always successful in saving the sacred standard from falling into the hands of the enemy in their many defeats during the war in Hungary (1683-99) because it was always heavily escorted. After the disastrous battle of Salankamen (24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1102/19 August 1691), the escort was richly rewarded for bringing it safely back home. According to the story, a miracle happened which made the banner invisible when passing through the enemy cavalry. (L.F. Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno*, The Hague 1732, repr. Graz 1972, ii, 51-2).

By the end of the 11th/17th century, the sacred standard was badly worn. The original black banner was replaced by three green silk banners, to each of which were attached pieces of the *Sandjak-i Sherīf*, thus transferring its blessed powers to the new standards. One of these was handed to the outgoing commanders-in-chief, one the sultan kept with his own person when travelling outside the capital and one was permanently kept in the treasury of the Topkapi̊ Palace (in the *Khirka-yi Sherīf Dāʾiresi*). The lasting respect in which the sacred standard was held by the Ottomans is exemplified by the traditional view that all men between seven and seventy years of age were obliged to join the *djihād* [*q.v.*] when the standard was brought forward. The place in front of the throne room in the Topkapi̊ Palace where it used to be planted was held to be sacrosanct and not to be trodden by anyone's feet. Till 1908, two soldiers with fixed bayonets stood on guard there.

The handling of the sacred standard was regulated. Texts of such regulations (*ḳānūn-nāme*) of different periods are extant. When Sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] ordered the destruction of the Janissaries (see YEÑI ČERİ) on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1241/15 June 1826, the loyal "people of Muḥammad" were called to gather around the sacred standard, which stood planted upon the *minbar* of the mosque of Sultan Aḥmed I. The last time the *Sandjak-i Sherīf* was deployed was on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1332/14 November 1914 at the proclamation of the so-called "Holy War" (*Djihād-i Ekber*) against the Entente Powers.

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ʿAbdurraḥmān Pas̲h̲a, *Ḳānūnnāme*, in *MTM*, i/3 (1331/1912-13), 497-544; Selānikī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, ed. M. İpşirli, 2 vols., Istanbul 1989, i, 322, 420-1, ii, 493, 534, 608, 611; Mühürdār Ḥasan Ag̲h̲a, *D̲j̲ewāhir ül-tewārīk̲h̲*, tr. E. Prokosch, *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn*, Graz, etc. 1976, 24-5; M. Cezar, M. Sertoğlu *et alii*, *Mufassal Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, Istanbul 1958, 767-8; K. Çiğ, *Islamische Reliquien*, Istanbul 1966; J. Schmidt, *The Egri campaign of 1596. Military history and the problem of sources*, in A. Tietze (ed.), *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen. Ciepo Colloque Wien 1983*, Vienna 1985, 125-44. (A.H. de Groot)

SAND̲J̲AR b. Malik S̲h̲āh, ʿAḍud al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ḥārit̲h̲ Aḥmad, Sald̲j̲ūḳ *malik* in K̲h̲urāsān 490-511/1097-1118 and then supreme sultan of the Great Saldjuḳs, ruling K̲h̲urāsān and northern Persia till his death in 552/1157; he accordingly ruled for some 60 years. The name Sand̲j̲ar, which occurs for other members of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family and elsewhere in the Turkish world, seems to mean in Turkish "he who pierces, thrusts", cf. M.Th. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894, text 29, glossary 78, 80, and the detailed discussion by P. Pelliot, in *Oeuvres posthumes*, ii, Paris 1949, 176-80; a contemporary European rendering is given by Otto of Freising in his chronicle, *sub anno* 1145: *Saniardos/Samiardos fratres*.

He was born in either Rad̲j̲ab 477/November 1084 or Rad̲j̲ab 479/November 1086, his mother being one of Malik S̲h̲āh's concubines. Whilst still a boy, he was in 490/1097 appointed by his half-brother Berk-yaruḳ [*q.v.*] as governor of K̲h̲urāsān after the unsuccessful revolt there and death of Arslan Arg̲h̲un b. Alp Arslan. During the internecine struggles over the supreme sultanate between Berk-yaruḳ and Muḥammad b. Malik S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*], Sand̲j̲ar generally took the side of his full brother Muḥammad, but from the constitutional aspect regarded himself as governor only of the eastern provinces and as subordinate to the supreme sultan in the western lands, calling himself on his coins of this time merely a *malik* and acknowledging Berk-yaruḳ and then Muḥammad as *al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam*.

However, when Muḥammad died in 511/1118, Sand̲j̲ar refused to consider himself subordinate to his nephew in the west, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], and as the senior member of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family, both his *de facto* power and his position under Turkish tribal custom gave him a claim to the supreme sultanate even though this had previously been held, for eighty years, by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ who controlled western Persia and ʿIrāḳ. The squabbling sons of Muḥammad b. Malik S̲h̲āh were too divided and militarily weak to dispute Sand̲j̲ar's position, and they had generally to place Sand̲j̲ar's name plus his title of *al-sulṭān al-muʿaẓẓam* on their coins before their own names and titles. The only serious opposition at the outset to Sand̲j̲ar's claims here came from Maḥmūd, but in 513/1119 Sand̲j̲ar marched westwards with a powerful army, whose commanders included, besides the sultan himself, four vassal kings, defeated Maḥmūd at Sāwa [*q.v.*] in northern D̲j̲ibāl and marched onwards to Baghdad. When peace was made, Maḥmūd agreed to Sand̲j̲ar's supremacy and was made the latter's heir (in the event, he died long before Sand̲j̲ar did), but had to relinquish to Sand̲j̲ar the Caspian provinces of Māzandarān and Ḳūmis and the town of Rayy, the key point for control of northern Persia, and to agree to the re-appointment of Sand̲j̲ar's *s̲h̲iḥna* or military governor in Bag̲h̲dād. It was during these year also that Sand̲j̲ar was again concerned with the Ismāʿīlīs of northern Persia and K̲h̲urāsān; in 497/1104, when he was *malik*, he had sent an expedition against these sectarians in Ṭabas, and now in 520/1126 his vizier Muʿīn al-Dīn Muk̲h̲taṣṣ al-Mulk campaigned in Ḳuhistān (an action which doubtless contributed to his death by assassination in the following year). In the 1140s, however, Sand̲j̲ar and the Ismāʿīlī leaders who had succeeded to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*] came to some sort of *modus vivendi*.

On Maḥmūd's death in 525/1131, his brothers Masʿūd, Ṭog̲h̲rïl (II) and Sald̲j̲ūḳ S̲h̲āh successfully disputed the succession of Maḥmūd's young son Dāwūd, but were unable to agree amongst themselves as to who should be sultan. They laid the question before Sand̲j̲ar, as senior member of the dynasty. Sand̲j̲ar's favoured candidate was Ṭog̲h̲rïl, but his preoccupation with events in Transoxania at this time (see below) prevented him from providing Ṭog̲h̲rïl with much military support, and the latter died anyway in 529/1134, allowing Masʿūd to succeed in the west and to reign there for twenty years. Sand̲j̲ar's last major intervention in the affairs of the family in the west had been his defeat of Masʿūd at Dīnawar in 526/1132, but thereafter, affairs in K̲h̲urāsān and Transoxania increasingly claimed his attention.

Sand̲j̲ar continued to exercise the overlordship over the Ḳarak̲h̲ānids of Transoxania [see ilek-k̲h̲āns] first imposed by his father Malik S̲h̲āh, but had on various occasions to lead expeditions acrosse the Oxus against recalcitrant K̲h̲āns. In 495/1102 he had stemmed at Tirmid̲h̲ the invasion of one Ḳarak̲h̲ānid claimant and had placed on the throne in Samarḳand Arslan K̲h̲ān Muḥammad (II). But towards the end of the latter's long reign, in 524/1130, Sand̲j̲ar had to come with an army to reinforce the K̲h̲ān's faltering authority in Samarḳand. He set up various Ḳarak̲h̲ānid nominees on the throne there, ending with (possibly in 526/1132) Arslan K̲h̲ān Muḥammad's third son Maḥmūd, who was Sand̲j̲ar's nephew, since his mother Terken K̲h̲ātūn was Sand̲j̲ar's sister. The fortunes of Sand̲j̲ar and Maḥmūd were to be closely interwoven over the ensuing year; when Sand̲j̲ar was captured by the Og̲h̲uz in 548/1153 (see below), Maḥmūd was recognised by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ army in K̲h̲urāsān as interim sultan of K̲h̲urāsān and, after Sand̲j̲ar's death, likewise as legitimate ruler there till his own death in 557/1162.

As ruler of K̲h̲urāsān, Sand̲j̲ar was also concerned with the neighbouring great power to his east, the G̲h̲aznawids. Since the peace agreement between Čag̲h̲rï Beg and the G̲h̲aznawid Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd in 451/1059, there had been a considerable Sald̲j̲ūḳ cultural penetration of the G̲h̲aznawid empire, visible for instance in numismatic patterns, titulature and literary trends. A raid early in his reign by Sand̲j̲ar into G̲h̲ūr [*q.v.*], the mountainous central region of Afg̲h̲ānistān, is recorded, but a succession dispute within the G̲h̲aznawid royal house also allowed Sand̲j̲ar to extend direct Sald̲j̲ūḳ sovereignty over the G̲h̲aznawid lands of eastern Afg̲h̲ānistān. When Arslan S̲h̲āh came to the throne of G̲h̲azna in 509/1115, his brother Bahrām S̲h̲āh escaped to K̲h̲urāsān and appealed to Sand̲j̲ar for help. The Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan marched eastwards with a formidable army, defeated Arslan S̲h̲āh, sacked G̲h̲azna and placed Bahrām S̲h̲āh on the throne there (510/1117). The latter agreed to become Sand̲j̲ar's vassal, to place his name first in the *k̲h̲uṭba* and on the coinage and to pay an annual tribute of 250,000 dīnārs. For some thirty years, Bahrām S̲h̲āh acknowledged this subordinate status, only once becoming restive when in 529/1135 Sand̲j̲ar and his other vassal, the K̲h̲ʷārazm

Shāh Atsiz, came with their forces to Ghazna, expelling Bahrām Shāh to India before he returned and agreed to resume his vassalage.

Along the northern fringes of Khurāsān, Sandjar had as vassals, in addition to the Ḳarakhānids, the Khwārazm Shāhs of the line established by his father Malik Shāh, sc. the line of Anūshtigin Gharčaʾī [see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS]. The second ruler of this line, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, was Sandjar's faithful vassal, as was initially his son and successor ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Atsiz, attending Sandjar's court regularly. But relations deteriorated as Atsiz built up his own military strength and began to identify himself with the particular interests of his province, until in 533/1138 he rebelled openly. Sandjar invaded Khwārazm, drove out Atsiz and left there a Saldjūḳ prince and his atabeg; but as on earlier occasions when outside powers had endeavoured to impose their rule over the province, the Khwārazmian people rose up against the occupiers and expelled them, enabling Atsiz to return and take the offensive against Transoxania.

There now appeared a new force in the affairs of Central Asia, the Ḳara Khiṭay [*q.v.*], the Kʾi-tan or Liao of the Chinese sources. Within the western Ḳarakhānid principality, disaffected Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] tribesmen called in the Ḳara Khiṭay; Maḥmūd Khān of Samarḳand in turn appealed to his suzerain and kinsman Sandjar. The latter appeared in Transoxania with a large army, but was in 536/1141 defeated by the Ḳara Khiṭay in a bloody battle on the Ḳaṭwān steppe of Ushrūsana [*q.v.*], on the middle Syr Darya. Sandjar and Maḥmūd Khān fled to Khurāsān, abandoning Transoxania, and the Ḳara Khiṭay went on to make Atsiz their own vassal; accordingly, whilst Sandjar's defeat was clearly opportune for Atsiz, it seems improbable that the Shāh had, as some of the Islamic sources assert, incited the Ḳara Khiṭay to invade as an act of revenge on Sandjar for the sultan's killing of his son Atligh. At this point, Atsiz raided into Khurāsān himself, but was driven back by a Saldjūḳ counter-invasion of Khwārazm which penetrated to the capital Gurgāndj and compelled the Shāh to disgorge the treasuries which he had previously looted from Sandjar's capital of Marw (538/1143-4). Yet once again, Khwārazm proved too hostile for Saldjūḳ troops to be able to remain there.

However, the tragic end to Sandjar's reign and the resultant downfall of Saldjūḳ power in the east came about not from the attacks of external foes like the Ḳara Khiṭay or from those of rebellious vassals like Atsiz, but from an explosion of internal discontent within Khurāsān itself, largely brought about by the policies of Sandjar's aides and officials there. Khurāsān and the steppes to the southeast of the Caspian Sea, in Gurgān and Dihistān, contained extensive pasture grounds which supported numerous groups of tribally-organised Turkmens. These included Turkmens driven southwards into the Khurāsānian fringes by the recent upheavals in the Central Asian steppes, including the pressures from the Khwārazm Shāhs and the Ḳara Khiṭay, and also descendants of the Oghuz tribesmen whose dynamic had brought the Saldjūḳs to power in the Islamic lands a century earlier. The sultans had accordingly always felt certain obligations towards these kinsfolk of theirs, often making special administrative arrangements for them in the regions where they were especially numerous, appointing special officials (*shiḥna, raʾīs* [*q.vv.*]) to act as channels of communication between the nomads and the Saldjūḳ state, whose dominating Perso-Islamic ethos was now largely alien to the Turkmens. These arrangements now came under severe strain because of the financial exigencies arising from Sandjar's military adventures, increasingly expensive after 529/1135; he is said to have disbursed three million dīnārs for the Transoxanian campaign of 536/1141, not counting the cost of presents and robes of honour given to various local potentates. The burden of taxation in order to pay for these fell on sedentaries and nomads alike, but the Oghuz in the upper Oxus regions of Khuttal and Ṭukhāristān [*q.vv.*] finally rebelled against the tax demands and the harsh collecting methods of the *shiḥna* over the Turkmens there, the slave commander ʿImād al-Dīn Ḳumāč of Balkh. Despite placatory approaches from the Oghuz, Sandjar insisted on mounting punitive expeditions against them, but he was twice defeated, forced to evacuate his capital Marw and finally captured by the nomads (548/1153). The Oghuz bands swept through Khurāsān, attacking towns there and showing particular violence and hostility towards members of the Saldjūḳ administration and the religious classes, closely linked with the Saldjūḳ state; a general climate of insecurity was created in both towns and countryside of Khurāsān, in which various other anti-social elements such as the *ʿayyārs* [*q.v.*] took advantage of the breakdown of authority to further their own interests.

The leaderless Saldjūḳ army in Khurāsān offered the throne there to the refugee Ḳarakhānid Maḥmūd Khān who, as the son of Sandjar's sister, had Saldjūḳ blood in his veins, and the Saldjūḳ sultan in the west, Muḥammad (II) b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], agreed to this and sent an investiture diploma. In fact, over the next few years, real power in Khurāsān fell into the hands of Saldjūḳ *amīrs*, such as Muʾayyid al-Dīn Ay Aba at Nīshāpūr and Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Ay Taḳ at Rayy, for Maḥmūd Khān was never able to establish firm control over the whole of Khurāsān, and he died in any case by 559/1164. Sandjar, meanwhile, was carried round by his Oghuz captors for three years, apparently in humiliating circumstances and enduring hunger and deprivation, until he managed in 551/1156 to escape to Tirmidh and Marw. But a year later he died, aged 71, and with him, the authority of the Saldjūḳs in eastern Persia ceased; to contemporaries it seemed like the end of an epoch.

Sandjar's court, when he was not campaigning, was normally based on Marw, where he also had a fully-developed administration, headed by the *dīwān-i aʿlā*, presided over by a series of viziers, of whom eight are known, from Shihāb al-Islam ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (511-16/1117-22) to Niẓām al-Mulk Ḥasan (at some point after 547/1152). These were usually Persians or Arabs, though from 516/1122 to 518/1124 Sandjar had a Turkish vizier, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Kāshgharī Yighan (or Ṭoghan) Beg. We know something also of provincial administration within Sandjar's dominions, *inter alia* from the collection of administrative documents, the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, made by Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ Djuwaynī, who was head of Sandjar's chancery, *dīwān-i inshāʾ*, at Marw. This administration was exercised through centrally appointed officials with designations like *wālī, nāʾib, shiḥna* and *raʾīs*, although this last had an additional role as representative of the urban notables vis-à-vis the sultan [see RAʾĪS. 2], and we possess from Sandjar's reign documents on the nomination of provincial governors for Gurgān and its dependencies, Māzandarān, Rayy, Balkh and its dependencies, Marw, Ṭūs and Dihistān.

The court at Marw was also a centre for Persian literary activity, under the patronage of the sultan and

of his great officials and commanders. Barthold's categorical assertion that Sandjar was illiterate (*Turkestan*, 308) requires further proof before this can be accepted, since we know that some at least of his kinsmen and contemporaries amongst the western Persian Saldjūḳs were highly literate. The Persian poet Muʿizzī (d. *ca.* 519-21/1125-7 [*q.v.*]) was Sandjar's chief eulogist during the earlier part of his reign, and it was to seek Muʿizzī's intermediacy that the anecdotist Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī [*q.v.*] came to Sandjar's court when it was at Ṭūs in 510/1116-17. Also, Adīb Ṣābir [*q.v.*] served both as Sandjar's panegyrist and on official missions, and it was in this latter function that the poet was killed by the Khwārazm Shāh Atsïz (in the mid-1140s). The great theologian al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] sent a letter to, and made a speech before, Sandjar (see *Makātīb-i fārsī-yi Ghazālī bi-nām-i Faḍāʾil al-anām min rasāʾil Ḥudjdjat al-Islām*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1333/1954, 3-5, 6-10 (with interesting introd. by the original compiler), German tr. Dorothea Krawulsky, *Briefe und Reden des Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Gazzālī*, Friburg-im-Br. 1971, 63-76.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṢANF, a geographical term appearing in the accounts of Arab travellers from the mid-8th century and denoting at times an island, and at others a kingdom of the mainland, bordering on the sea, or a sea. Study of these itineraries makes it clear that they refer to Čampā or Champa situated between Cambodia and the delta of the Song Coi in Viêt Nam. The information given by these authors is very laconic, and, curiously, the 13th and 14th century texts are much less well documented than the earliest ones. There is practically nothing on the people there, sometimes described as being brown, nor on the political situation, except that Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*] (end of the 10th century) speaks of a victorious war by the Viêt Nam which ravaged the land. All accounts stress the production there of aloes wood, considered as excellent, except for Yāḳūt in his *Muʿdjam al-buldān* (end of the 12th-opening of the 13th century), who considered this product as the worst possible. Al-Idrīsī (12th century) is the fullest, speaking of stock-rearing (bovines and buffaloes) and agriculture (rice, sugar cane, coconut palms and bananas). He describes Hindu-type customs (respect for cows), whereas Ibn al-Nadīm merely mentions Buddhist temples, which can only have been rare at his time. These texts also contain tall stories, such as that in the *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿadjāʾib* (beginning of the 11th century) on the legend of the island of the White Palace, made of crystal, which Alexander the Great allegedly visited.

Ṣanf seems to have been a stage much frequented by Muslim merchants travelling between the Indian Ocean and the China Seas. Better known under its Sanskrit name of Čampā, the plains around the deltas were inhabited by populations of controversial origin but who belonged to the Austronesian linguistic family. In the mountains, proto-Indo-Chinese tribes (Sedang, Bahnar, Jörai, Rhadé, etc.), speaking Austronesian or Môn-Khmer languages, were more or less in a vassal status.

The ancient Cham seem to have been organised in principalities which were at first independent, stretched along between the Hoanhsoʾn and the Phan-rang region. The first to appear in history was the most northerly one, founded in A.D. 192 and known under the Chinese name of Línyì. Before the beginning of the 7th century, all these principalities must have been brought together. Čampā had a very lively history. The Čam were excellent warriors and remarkable sailors, willingly turning to piracy. The land was torn apart by frequent revolts and succession wars. As an agressive neighbour, it often fought with Cambodia, occupied Angkor 1177-81, but became a Khmer province 1202-20. During 1283-5, it successfully repelled a Mongol invasion. But the main enemy was Viêt Nam. Having the advantage until the 10th century, it then fell behind, alternately suffering defeats and making counter-attacks. The king Bong Nga (1360-90) invaded the delta of the Song Coi three times. After him, decadence set in. In 1471 the Viêtnamese emperor Lê Thanh Tôn crushed the kingdom, which became a vassal state, gradually nibbled away and progressively depopulated. There remained only a few enclaves and a shadow of former royalty. In 1832, the last king and part of the population took refuge in Cambodia.

Inspired by Indian culture, the Cham created a brilliant and varied civilisation whose architectural remains, for long neglected, are now being restored. Society was in origin matrilineally organised, and it adopted the Hindu system of castes and customs. At the present time, there remain few Cham in Viêt Nam, most of them preserving an impoverished form of Brahmanic rites.

The presence of colonies of Muslim merchants is known from the middle of the 10th century, and a Muslim even led two embassies to China in 958 and 960 (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, tr. 86, comm. 240). It is unknown when Islam penetrated Cham society, but this was probably at the end of the 15th century. Yet it has always remained a minority faith, and one varying a great deal from the fundamental norms [see further Čam].

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(P.L. LAMANT)

ṢANHĀDJA, an important group of Berber tribes who played an historical role in North Africa from the 4th/10th century onwards. They lived in the two Maghribs and in Ifrīkyia; some were sedentary, whilst others had moved into the desert and become nomadic. According to the Berber genealogists, the Ṣanhādja were one of the seven great tribes descended from Bernès, son of Berr. On the other hand, for the Arab genealogists, like Ibn al-Kalbī, they had, in common with the Kutāma or Ketāma, a Yemeni origin, and had allegedly been sent to the Maghrib by Ifricos, one of the kings of Yemen.

The whole history of the Ṣanhādja was dominated by their opposition to another great group of Berber tribes, the Zanāta, in particular, to the Miknāsa, Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] and the Banū Ifrān [*q.v.*]. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Ṣanhādja had almost 70 branches, one of the most important being the Talkāta who occupied part of the central Maghrib. The first known chief of the Talkāta was probably Manād b. Mankūs, whose son Zīrī was the ancestor of the Zīrid dynasty [*q.v.*] and the founder of their capital, Ashīr, in the Djabal Titteri (324/935).

As partisans of the Fāṭimids, this branch of the Ṣanhādja had adopted Shīʿism (they were later, however, to return to Sunnism), and when the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz [*q.v.*] left for Egypt (361/972), he entrusted the government of Ifrīkiya to the Zīrids. Since they then became practically independent, the Zīrids ruled in Ifrīkiya and the eastern part of the central Maghrib until the opening of the 12th century A.D. (498/1105). Their break with the Fāṭimids in Cairo provoked the unleashing against Ifrīkiya by the Fāṭimids of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] Arabs, who devastated the land. Another Ṣanhādja kingdom had seen the light in the central Maghrib; a grandson of Zīrī b. Manād, Ḥammād b. Buluggīn, after having built the Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād [*q.v.* and ḤAMMĀDIDS], separated from his Zīrid cousins. In order to get away from the Hilālian pillagers, one of Ḥammād's successors founded Bidjāya [*q.v.*] (Bougie) (before 461/1068-9). But gradually, these Ṣanhādja of the eastern Maghrib became dominated by the Hilāl and other Arab tribes.

At the end of the 4th/beginning of the 11th century, a son of Zīrī b. Manād, Zāwī, departed for Spain, where, after having entered the service of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, the regent for the Umayyad empire, he founded an independent state around Granada. This Ṣanhādja branch, however, abandoned al-Andalus in 416/1025 [see ZĪRIDS of Spain].

Within the Sahara, there nomadised a second group of the Ṣanhādja, the Lamtūna [*q.v.*], wearers of the *lithām* or veil, the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN]. After having conquered Morocco, these last seized Tlemcen, Oran and all the coastal region up to Algiers (475/1082). They clashed with their fellow-tribal brethren of the Banū Ḥammād and then embarked on the conquest of al-Andalus.

The two Ṣanhādja kingdoms, descendants of Zīrī b. Manād, in the Maghrib and in Ifrīkiya, disappeared around the middle of the 6th/12th century when a further wave of Berbers, the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], conquered the whole of Barbary as far as Tunis. As for the Almoravid Ṣanhādja, they were crushed by the Almohads in Spain as well as in the Maghrib. A fraction of them, the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*], ruled in the Balearic Islands in the 6th/12th century. They even managed to seize Bidjāya (581/1185), Algiers, the Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād and Gafsa, invaded the Djerid and reached Tripoli and Tunis in 599/1203; but they ended up being defeated by the Almohads (621/1224), and Ṣanhādja domination of Barbary was ended.

A few tribes of the Ṣanhādja lived in the Maghrib al-Akṣā, in the Sūs and in the Atlas, sc. the Lamṭa [*q.v.*] and the Gazzūla, nomads, and the sedentary Haskūra. Other less important groups lived, and still live, in the Atlantic coastal plains of Morocco, the Shāwiya [*q.v.*] and the Dukkāla, and above all, in the north, near the Rīf [*q.v.*], such as the Boṭṭuya and the Banū Uryāghul; but none of these Ṣanhādja tribes enjoyed any political power.

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(CHANTAL DE LA VERONNE)

AL-**SANHŪRĪ**, ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ, b. 11 August 1895 in Alexandria, Egypt, d. 1971 in Cairo, is the Arab world's most distinguished scholar of modern jurisprudence, with the regeneration of Islamic law figuring prominently in his work. He is renowned for drafting new civil codes for Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Libya which incorporate Islamic legal rules to the extent which he considered appropriate for each country, and for comparative treatises on civil law and the sources of legal right in Islamic jurisprudence.

Al-Sanhūrī obtained a *licence en droit* in 1917 from the Khedival School of Law (Cairo), graduating top in his class. He began his juristic career as *wakīl niyāba* in the Mixed Courts of al-Manṣūra and was a teacher in the school for *Sharīʿa* judges. In 1921 he went to France for doctoral studies at the University of Lyon with E. Lambert. There he wrote two theses, one on English law which won the *prix de thèse*. The other, *Le Califat* (Paris 1926) is a study of doctrine and history of the caliphate which concludes with proposals to revive that institution (abolished by the Turks in 1924) and to reform the legal systems of Arab states.

Returning to Cairo in 1926, al-Sanhūrī was appointed in the Faculty of Law at the National (later Cairo) University, and began to write treatises on the theory of obligations and contracts, notably *ʿAkd al-īdjār* (1930) and *Naẓariyyat al-ʿaḳd* (1934). Drawing from comparative and Islamic law and case material of the Egyptian courts, he sought to make Egyptian and Islamic law part of comparative jurisprudence.

In 1935 he was invited to Baghdād as professor and Dean of the newly-established Law School. He taught comparative (Islamic and Western) law and began work on constructing ʿIrāḳ's modern civil code. The technique he used to compare codifications of Islamic law (*Madjalla* and *Murshid al-ḥayrān*) with legal rules in European codes is explained in *Madjallat al-Ḳaḍāʾ* (Baghdād) (1936/2).

Back in Egypt in 1936, he was briefly Dean of the Law Faculty of Cairo University and began work on revising the Egyptian civil law. His views about revision appear in *al-Ḳānūn wa 'l-iḳtiṣād* (1936/6) and *al-Kitāb al-dhahabī li 'l-maḥākim al-ahliyya* (Cairo 1938). Al-Sanhūrī defended the final version before Parliament in 1948 against critics who wanted a completely Islamic code. He claimed the revised code included all the Islamic law it was then possible to adopt, "having

regard to sound principles of modern legislation."

Al-Sanhūrī was active in Egyptian nationalist politics and became prominent in public life from the 1930s. He was among the founders of the Saʿdist party (1937), Deputy Minister of Justice (1944) and Minister of Education (1945-6 and 1947). The pinnacle of his public career came in 1949 when he was appointed Chief Justice of the *Madjlis al-dawla*. He made it "a towering fortress of the protection of rights and the guardian of liberties" (Mūrsī, 1980).

At first he supported the Revolution of 1952 and the Free Officers. Later came his concern to re-establish constitutional government and civilian rule. During the political turbulence of March 1954, al-Sanhūrī was physically attacked at the *Madjlis* by demonstrators and never again held public office.

Thereafter, he worked on his two major treatises: *Maṣādir al-ḥaḳḳ fi 'l-fiḳh al-Islāmī*, 6 pts. in 2 vols., Cairo 1954-9, and *al-Wasīṭ fī sharḥ al-ḳānūn al-madanī al-djadīd*, 10 pts. in 12 vols., Cairo 1952-70, completed the year before he died. Both are still in print and serve as basic reference works.

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(ENID HILL)

AL-**SANHŪRĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH al-Nuṭūbisī al-Mālikī, Nūr al-Dīn, Egyptian *uṣūlī faḳīh* and grammarian (*ca.* 814-89/*ca.* 1411-84).

He was born at Nuṭūbis, and he lived at Sanhūr near Alexandria, where he learnt the Ḳurʾān, and finally settled at Cairo, in the Azhar. Amongst his masters there were some of the most celebrated religious lawyers of the time, with whom he studied, amongst other works, the *ʿAḳīla* and the *Ḥirz al-maʿānī* of al-Shāṭibī [*q.v.*]. The *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*] and the two *Mukhtaṣars* of Abū ʿAmr Ibn al-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*]. He also followed courses in mathematics and the division of inheritances. He then made the Pilgrimage, and spent some time at Mecca.

He wrote a *sharḥ* on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], an unfinished work; a *taʿlīḳ* to the *Talḳīn* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Baghdādī (d. 422/1031); and two commentaries on the grammatical work, the *Ādjurrūmiyya* of Ibn Ādjurrūm [*q.v.*] (see for the mss. of this, Brockelmann, II², 238 no. 5 and S II, 333 no. 5; he is not to be confused with another commentator on the *Ādjurrūmiyya*, ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Sanhūrī al-Shāfiʿī). He taught at the Barḳūḳiyya and Ashrafiyya *madrasas*, becoming in the end *shaykh al-Mālikiyya*. His pupils included the famous North African *faḳīh* and mystic Aḥmad Zarrūḳ, as well as other outstanding Egyptian scholars (see a story on their numbers in Makhlūf) who studied *fiḳh* and Arabic grammar and philology with him. Concerning one of them, we know that he studied with al-Sanhūrī the *Mukhtaṣar*, part of Saḥnūn's *Mudawwana* and the *Tafrīʿ* of Ibn al-Djallāb, Ibn Abī Zayd's *Risāla*, Ibn ʿAskar's *ʿUmda*, as well as the *Irshād* (see al-Ḳarāfī, *Tawshīḥ*, 184 no. 183).

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(MARIBEL FIERRO)

AL-**SANHŪRĪ, ABU** 'L-**NADJĀ** [see SĀLIM B. MUḤAMMAD].

SANIYA [see NĀʾŪRA].

SANṬŪR, a musical instrument still surviving today in the urban music-making of Turkey (very rare), of ʿIrāḳ (integrated with the *čalghī* quartet accompanying *al-maḳām al-ʿirāḳī* [see MAḲĀM], of Persia and of Kashmīr (played solo). It is a cithara-tympanon-dulcimer made of wood, in the shape of a flat isosceles trapezoid provided with 72 to 96 strings of metal stretched from the string-holders (left-hand side of the trapezoid) to the pegs (right-hand side), grouped into groups of four strings and then resting on from 18 to 24 bridges. It is played with two wooden sticks (*maḍrab*) covered with tow or cotton and held by the musician between thumb and index finger (the techniques differ according to various schools); the strings give out a crystal-like sound prolonged by lengthy reverberation.

The *sanṭūr* of Persia spans four octaves and 33 degrees in heptatonic diatonic scales. Since the bridges are arranged in two groups of nine each, the ninth bridge allows the division of a note (e.g. *fa* natural and *fa* sharp in order to change *gūsha*, melodic model). It is therefore more a question of the soloist's virtuosity than of modulation (*talwīn*).

The *sanṭūr* of ʿIrāḳ spans three octaves and a third, and its two groups of twelve bridges define 48 degrees. The various ways of tuning the strings provides in the same register the possibility of modulating between genres (*djins*) and of passing from a Bayātī (A-B𝄳-C-D ♮) to a Ṣabā (A-B𝄳-CH-D ♮) and a Ḥidjāz (A-B♭-CH-D ♮).* It thus leads more to modulation than to virtuosity.

The origins of the *sanṭūr* are unclear. It has been alleged to be Assyrian(?). It does not appear in classical miniature paintings; it may be evoked in the *K. al-Adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī [*q.v.*] (Baghdād, 7th/13th century); it appears on a fresco of the Čihil Sutūn palace in Iṣfahān (11th/17th century); it is mentioned in the Comte de Gobineau's *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859; and it appears at the end of the 19th century on the "chromolithographs" of Ḳādjār-period Persia. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was very common in the coffee houses of Istanbul, Tehran and Baghdād, and took on a connotation of being connected with amusement and play, before illustrating the type of music called "traditional" by the West. Its present-day most brilliant exponent is the Persian Farāmarz Pāyvar.

* *Musical abbreviations*: 𝄳 = less one or two commas; H = sharpened by a lemma.

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sanṭūr (30 exercises in virtuosity for the *sanṭūr*), Tehran, both publ. after 1960; *The new Grove dictionary of musical instruments*, London 1984, iii, 291-2 (good bibl.). (J.-C. Chabrier)

SANTURIN ADASÎ, the Turkish name for Santorin, Grk. Thera, Lat. Sancta Irini, the volcanic island which is the southernmost of the Aegean Cyclades group, to the north of Crete.

It may already have suffered from Arab raids from Crete in the 3rd/9th century, from the Arabs of Sicily and then from Western corsairs, although it is recorded as inhabited in *ca.* 549/1154 by al-Idrīsī (tr. Jaubert, ii, 127), the first to employ the name Santurin (< the island's patroness St. Irene) (see A. Savvides, *Notes on mediaeval Thera/Santorin until the late 15th century*, in *Pariana*, xv, no. 53 [1994], in Greek). Turkmen raids from Menteshe and Aydîn [*q.vv.*] in 1318-31 and 1345-60 resulted in limited damage (see E.A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the emirates of Menteshe and Aydin, 1300-1415*, Venice 1983, 13, 51, 93-4, 103, 188) and during the 9th/15th century, the Ottoman sultans recognised Venetian suzerainty over the island in a series of treaties (see Pitcher, *Hist. geogr. of the Ottoman empire*, 67 and maps VIII, XIV). Ottoman raids, including one by Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] in 943/1537, led to an agreement (*ʿahd-nāma*) in 972/1575, and in the next year Piyāle Pasha [*q.v.*] took it in a series of operations which ended Latin rule in the Archipelago (see B. Slot, *Archipelagus turbatus ... 1550-1718*, Leiden 1982, 32 ff., 73 ff.). In fact, it was administered on favourable terms by Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos [see NAKSHE] and in the following century was still largely self-governing but suffering from Venetian corsair raids, even though there were no Muslims on the island and at least part of the Christians were Roman Catholics.

A brief Russian capture of the island during the 1768-74 Russo-Turkish War was followed by definitive Ottoman rule until in May 1821 the island rebelled against Turkish rule (see Pegues, *Histoire ... de Santorin*, Paris 1842, 352-3, 619 ff.), though, as was also the case in Naxos, by no means unanimously, given the Catholic population. The island in fact briefly rose against its first Greek governor, Capodistrias, in 1831, but was finally annexed to the newly-founded Kingdom of Greece by the 1832 Treaty of Constantinople.

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SANUA, JAMES [see ABŪ NAḌḌĀRA].

al-**SANŪSĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Maḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar b. Shuʿayb (b. at Tlemcen 838 or 839/1435-6, d. Djumādā II 895/May 1490), North African theologian and mystic.

1. Life and influence.

Despite the decline of the Banū Zayyān or ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*], Tlemcen was still one of the main cultural centres of the Maghrib. In his youth, al-Sanūsī studied the Ḳurʾān with his father, and other teachers for Arabic language and for arithmetic and the law of successions (receiving an *idjāza* from one of the later teachers, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḳalaṣādī, on whom see Brockelmann, II², 343-4, SII, 378-9), for the *Mudawwana* of al-Tanūkhī, for the astrolabe, for the *uṣūl al-dīn* and for the *Djumal* of al-Khūnadjī. In such an environment of scholars, al-Sanūsī stood out as precocious. With his half-brother ʿAlī al-Talūtī, he studied the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*], the *Irshād* of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*] and *tawḥīd*, and received another *idjāza*. During a stay in Algiers, he studied the *ḥadīth* collections under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī, and then at Oran followed the teaching of the great Ṣūfī Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Tāzī.

Being inclined to asceticism, he fasted one day out of two and rarely left his dwelling. He kept vigils for several night on end and then embarked on a period of fasting. He was famed for his practise of *istikhāra* [*q.v.*], one which enabled him to give a reply to a problem obtained during sleep. Because of his gift of knowing how to interpret (lit. "read", *ḳaraʾa*) his dreams and those of others, the public came to him from all over the kingdom to hear his dicta, and he gained an unequalled reputation in the religious, especially mystical, sciences. He continued to teach in the mosque until illness compelled him to slow down and in the end brought his life to an end in 894/1490.

Soon afterwards, a *ḳubba*, rectangular in shape and covered with shiny green fabrics, was erected in his honour in the cemetery of al-ʿUbbād (Sidi Bou-Médine); it contained the catafalques of al-Sanūsī and his half-brother al-Talūtī, who had died shortly after. But he allegedly had another tomb amongst the Awlād Ḥammū, thus gaining him the name of Bū Ḳabrīn (likewise amongst the Banī Bū Saʿīd, etc.). Each winter, when the corn was still green, a great communal meal (*waʿda*) was given by the people of Tlemcen to the poor and to strangers, near al-Sanūsī's tomb, the latter being called *Dhū 'l-Waḳfa* "master of the drought" because of a miracle described by Ibn Maryam in his *Bustān*. At the end of the meal, there was a communal prayer for rain. Sīdī Sanūsī was equally invoked in periods of protracted drought. At Tlemcen, no less than two mosques perpetuate his memory. An apparently older one, at the gate of the Darb al-Masūfa quarter, is said to be that of Ibn al-Bannāʾ and to have been the mosque were al-Sanūsī taught and worshipped. The other is said to have been built on the site of the house where he was born, in the Banū Djumla quarter. Both were richly endowed with *ḥubus*.

Al-Sanūsī had numerous students, such as al-Mallālī, author of his biography and of a commentary on the *Ṣughrā*; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zawāwī; Ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣaghīr, Ibn Abī Madyan; and Ibn Saʿd al-Tilimsānī, one of the sources of Aḥmad Bābā. They contributed to the spread of their master's works in the West Africa, by means of the trading links well established with that region, especially through the milieux of scholars, such as the family of Aḥmad Bābā of Timbuctu, in the 10th/16th century in Mali, and ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*] (Usumanu dan Fodio) in northern Nigeria in the 12th/18th century.

Over the centuries, al-Sanūsī has remained a source of inspiration and study. His three *ʿaḳāʾid* marked the grades of primary, middle and advanced studies, with the *Ṣughrā al-ṣughrā* sometimes replacing the *Ṣughrā* in the first grade. In Algeria, there have been various commentaries from scholars so diverse as al-Warthilānī (d. 1193/1779), Abū Rās (d. 1238/1823), etc. The famous poet Ibn Amsāyib (d. 1190/1768) used the theme of a visit to Sīdī Sanūsī's tomb and was buried near him. At the opening of the 20th century, Ibn Bādīs used al-Sanūsī for his Ḳurʾān commentary. Moroccan scholars studied the three *ʿaḳāʾid* with the commentaries and gloss of al-Dasūḳī. Thus the Fāsī al-Mandjūr studied and commented on al-Sanūsī, as well as the Miknāsī al-Wallālī, the minister al-Zayyānī and the Ṣūfī Ibn ʿAdjība. Till the beginning of the 20th century, the teaching of logic at Fās was

done through the *Mukhtaṣar*; *kalām* with the three creeds and the abridgement of the *Ṣughrā*, with commentaries; and theology with the *Ṣughrā* and the gloss of al-Yūsī on the *Kubrā*. In the 11th/17th century, the *ʿAḳīda al-ṣughrā* spread through West Africa to the Niger under the Fulani name *kabbe*. Thereafter, commentaries and glosses on them began to abound in the Arabic literature of West Africa, especially the lesser, middle and greater commentaries on the *Ṣughrā*, which was most often called *Umm al-barāhīn*.

In Egypt, al-Sanūsī was taught at the Azhar, notably with the commentaries of al-Faḍālī (d. 1821) and his pupil al-Badjūrī (d. 1860), up to the coming of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*] cultural and social reform movement. Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] often cites him, and it was certainly al-Sanūsī who provided him with the three modalities of judgement: necessity (*al-wudjūb*), impossibility (*al-istiḥāla*) and possibility (*al-djawāz*), and his attitude to the Muslim community, in his *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, has reminiscences of that of the scholar of Tlemcen. Finally, in Asia, and especially in Malaysia and Indonesia, it has been the *Umm al-barāhīn*, also called *al-Durra*, which has been the most popular of those works explaining the Ashʿarī doctrine on the divine and prophetal attributes (*ṣifāt*). Copies of it often have interlinear Malay or Javanese translations. In the Pesantrens [*q.v.*], the commentaries and glosses are studied on the old, original texts (*matn*).

2. Works.

As far as is at present known al-Sanūsī's work (apart from the five *ʿaḳāʾid, al-Kubrā, al-Wusṭā, al-Ṣughrā, Ṣughrā al-ṣughrā* and *Muḳaddima*) comprises a large number of commentaries on many varied topics—works of logic, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, algebra, medicine, the Ḳurʾānic *ḳirāʾāt*, Ṣūfī manuals, *tafsīr*, etc. (for details, see Brockelmann, II², 323-6, S II, 352-6, and Moh. Ben Cheneb, *EI*¹ art. *s.v.*). Almost all of these are abridgements or works of vulgarisation.

In his *Ṣughrā*, al-Sanūsī gives an exposition of the essentials of faith according to a methodical form of augment. Knowledge (*ʿilm*) is based on judgement *ḥukm*), which stems from the divine law (*sharīʿa*), custom (*ʿāda*), experience and reason (*ʿaḳl*). Rational judgement (*al-ḥukm al-ʿaḳlī*) comprises the three categories of necessity, impossibility and possibility, Aristotelian modalities adopted by Islamic philosophy and theology. God has twenty attributes: six are divine, seven comprise real ideas (*ṣifāt al-maʿānī*) and seven are ideal ones (*ṣifāt maʿnawiyya*). These are followed by the attributes of the divine messengers. Finally, he concludes that the *shahāda* sums up in its first part all that a believer need know of God, whilst the second part involves belief in all the prophets, angels, revealed books and the Resurrection, affirmed as true by the Prophet.

Al-Sanūsī's doctrine, as it appears from his works, is made up of prudence (*tawaḳḳuf*) and reason, in pursuit of equilibrium and salvation. It was certainly influenced by signs of a shaking-up of values in the society of his time vis-à-vis the state, religion and cultural traditions, with the faith confronted by new problems. It was open to non-Muslim theological influences, as in his interpretation of the Gospel according to St. John, xiv, 16-17, 26, 29, and of the theme of the Paraclete (*baraḳlīṭ*): the saviour of the human race is our Lord Muhammad (*raḥma li 'l-ʿālamīn*). The ideas of the various *madhāhib* are set forth and discussed. It was also inspired by the works of al-Ghazālī's teacher al-Djuwaynī (the former's ideas being spread in the Maghrib by Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*]), notably by the *Irshād* and the *Shāmil*, seen both in its form and in certain concepts, such as al-Ashʿarī's classification of the divine attributes into three subdivisions, as in al-Djuwaynī; and the difference between *nafsiyya* or consubstantial attributes and qualitative, *maʿnawiyya*, ones. Similarly, al-Ghazālī's influence (the *Iḳtiṣād*) appears in the division into seven of the divine attributes of God and the prophets, whilst al-Sanūsī also takes up the Ashʿarī idea of *kasb*.

However, at times he takes up a position differing from such Ashʿarī authorities as these two, al-Ashʿarī himself and al-Bāḳillānī, rejecting that which offends against reason and dogma (*Muḳaddima*, 65-7). His system of ethics is inspired by al-Ghazālī, especially in the *Iḥyāʾ*, where, on all occasions, he seeks out a middle position.

He condemns firmly blind acceptance (*taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]). Merely reading the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīths* is inadequate for understanding the bases of faith (*īmān*); sound reasoning (*al-naẓar al-ṣaḥīḥ*) is preferable to this (*Wusṭā*), and must lead to what is sought. Judgement thus rests on proof, aided by knowledge (*ʿilm*) or intuition (*maʿrifa*). Dogmatic theology is the queen of sciences and involves demonstrable proof (*burhān*) to distinguish between dialectic, rhetoric, poetry and sophism (the divisions of Aristotelian logic). The truths of the Ḳurʾān can thereby be apprehended and anthropomorphic interpretations (*tadjsīm*) avoided. Following a tradition of the Almohad dynasty, al-Sanūsī wanted the people to have a simplified access to God, leaving for an élite (*khāṣṣa*) the possibility of a deep study of the principles of religion, a theme which he often takes up with his pupils and in his works, notably in his division of knowledge into two branches, an external (*ẓāhir*) one and an esoteric (*bāṭin*) one, for him the truest and noblest knowledge.

Finally, by his public and private life, al-Sanūsī became part of the popular Ṣūfism illustrated by Tlemcen's patron saint, Abū Madyan: a moderate Ṣūfism, with simple dogma and intelligible to the believers. From his independence and originality, and his deep, widely-connected thought, he seems clearly to be, in company with the Persian al-Dawānī [*q.v.*], the most important Muslim theologian of the 9th/15th century (Fakhry).

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AL-SANŪSĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, scholar and Ṣūfī of Algerian origin, and founder of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*].

Born on 12 Rabīʿ I 1202/22 December 1787 at al-Wāsiṭa (or douar al-Thorch), some 40 km/25 miles to the east of Mustaghānim, he belonged to the Awlād Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh, Idrīsid *shurafāʾ* of the Madjāhir, a Makhzan tribe of Oran under the Turkish régime. He inherited from his family the *nisba* al-Khaṭṭābī (from ʿAbd Allāh al-Khaṭṭāb, the ancestor of the Awlād Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh, who lived at the beginning of the 10th/16th century), and those of al-Ḥasānī and al-Idrīsī (which refer to the origins of his Sharīfian line). The qualificative of al-Sanūsī would appear to have been borrowed from a local toponym (the name of a mountain) of the region of Tilimsān (Tlemcen), where his family previously lived. This *nisba* implies no link of kinship with Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī, the Tlemceni scholar of the 9th/14th century [*q.v.*].

Muḥammad al-Sanūsī studied initially within his own family and in several intellectual centres of Oran: Mustaghānim, Mazūna and Tilimsān. At eighteen years old, in 1220/1805 (al-Dadjdjānī, following King Idrīs), or at twenty-one, in 1223/1808-1809 (K. Vikør, following al-Lībī), he left to pursue his studies at Fez. He stayed there, according to the authors, seven years (al-Libi/Vikør) or fourteen years (Idrīs/al-Dadjdjānī), associating with major scholars of the period. In Fez, he joined several major Ṣūfī orders, in particular the Shādhiliyya in its Djazūliyya, Nāṣiriyya and Ṭayyibiyya branches, as well as various local *ṭuruḳ*. He appears also to have been affiliated to the Darḳāwiyya and the Ḳādiriyya, but he does not mention them in the list of the forty *ṭuruḳ*, the *wird* of which he was later to claim. He was the pupil of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī, with whom he studied the Ḳurʾān, but whose way he does not seem to have adopted.

He left Fez in 1233/1818 (al-Lībī) or in 1235/1819-20 (al-Dadjdjānī). According to al-Lībī, he apparently made a first pilgrimage to Mecca in 1232-3/1817-18, before his final departure from the Moroccan city. After Fez, his traces are followed with some difficulty: he probably spent some time in his native region, and then he made a leisurely progress along the confines of the Sahara. But the statement of Rinn (1884), according to which al-Sanūsī was crossing the Sahara at the time of the arrival of the French in Algiers, is not to be taken seriously. He had long since left Algeria and was never to return there.

After staying two to three years in Cairo, al-Sanūsī arrived in Mecca *ca.* 1240-1/1825-6. It was there that he encountered the Moroccan scholar and Ṣūfī Aḥmad b. Idrīs, who had been residing in the Holy City some twenty years. A mystical master, Ibn Idrīs claimed a brief lineage which was traced by way of two intermediaries to the mysterious Ḳurʾānic figure of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*], and hence to the Prophet, always present at the origin of these successive transmissions (whence the names of Khaḍiriyya and Muḥammadiya given to the Way). Ibn Idrīs was not the founder of a structured fraternity but the respected master of a circle of disciples in the Holy Cities, and later in the Yemen.

Al-Sanūsī did not remain for more than two or three years under the tutelage of his master. When the latter departed for the Yemen (1243/1827-8), he became his *khalīfa* at Mecca. As a pupil of Ibn Idrīs, al-Sanūsī had acquired specific esoteric knowledge

and had reconsidered certain areas of *ᶜilm*. It was also no doubt under his influence that he consolidated his distinctive positions in judicial matters: the criticism of blind imitation (*taḳlīd*), the combined utilisation of the four *madhāhib*, and the recourse to *idjtihād*, which were to characterise profoundly his later positions, and which would expose him to the criticisms of the scholars of al-Azhar (in particular, of Muḥammad ᶜAlī ᶜIllaysh). The teachings of Ibn Idrīs were clearly distinct from those of the Wahhābīs, with whom a number of restrained polemics were held.

When Ibn Idrīs died at Ṣabyā in 1253/1837, al-Sanūsī became a master in his own right and the *zāwiya* of Ibn Idrīs, situated on the hill of Abū Ḳubays, a neighbourhood of Mecca, became by gradual and barely perceptible stages, at no date which can be specifically assigned, the centre of the new "Sanūsiyya" brotherhood. Distinct derivatives emerged at the same time under the influence of other disciples, such as the Mirghāniyya which found its preferred territory in the Sudan.

Probably hindered in Arabia, by Wahhābī activity and the power of the local religious establishment, the founder of the Sanūsiyya henceforward sought new places for settlement in the African continent. From this time until his death, the chronology of his life is one of alternation between Mecca and the new African *zāwiyas*: 1255/1840: departure from Mecca; 1262/1846: return to Mecca, after founding four *zāwiyas*, including that of al-Bayḍāʾ, in the territory of Barḳa (Cyrenaica); 1270/1854: new departure from Mecca and settlement at al-ᶜIzziyya, then, in 1273/1856, at Djaghbūb, a "new city" created out of nothing in an inhospitable desert location on the western borders of Egypt. It was there that he died, on 9 Ṣafar 1276/2 September 1859.

At the time of his first journey to the West, Muḥammad al-Sanūsī had entered Tunisia and approached the Algerian frontier, but the region was unstable at that time and seemed to him unfavourable for his projects, and the presence of other Ṣūfī orders was also a hindrance. Finally, in Tripoli, he reached an agreement with the local Ottoman power, then barely reinstated in Libya, and he turned, in the course of his wanderings, towards the Djabal al-Akhḍar, to the north of Cyrenaica, approaching the Bedouin of the region, entirely ignorant of the precepts of the Law. Thus the Sanūsiyya, unable to establish itself in the neighbouring countries, became "Libyan", with a strong concentration in the Djabal al-Akhḍar, and a salient extending across the Fezzān as far as the Algerian borders.

Muḥammad al-Sanūsī conceived his work as being primarily a carefully-structured missionary project. He thus laid the foundations of a system which his son and successor Muḥammad al-Mahdī was subsequently to pursue energetically. In this system, the epitome of pious endeavour is the construction of a *zāwiya*, a place of assembly, of teaching and of arbitration, a sedentary and agricultural centre for the diffusion of Sanūsī ideas and policies in a nomadic environment. Thus there was established across Cyrenaica and the Fezzān a network of Sanūsī *zāwiyas*, which guaranteed the diffusion of Islamic models and celebrated the *baraka* of the founder.

On the doctrinal level, al-Sanūsī is seen as a reformist (appeal to *idjtihād*). Tenacious legends notwithstanding, al-Sanūsī was not, no more than was Aḥmad b. Idrīs, an apologist of *djihād* against the Europeans. He maintained an apolitical stance, prepared to deal with the Ottoman authorities and giving priority to a "grass-roots" re-Islamisation among the disinherited populations. In terms of Ṣūfism, he is seen as the reviser, and to a certain extent the unifier, of the forty *ṭuruḳ*, the *asānīd* of which he lists meticulously. Al-Sanūsī left behind him, in the various domains of *ᶜilm*, and more particularly in that of Ṣūfism, a prolific written corpus, quite apart from his numerous letters. Al-Dadjdjānī has listed 44 titles. Among these, eight of the most important have been collected and printed in *al-Madjmūᶜat al-mukhtāra* at the orders of King Idrīs: *al-Durar al-saniyya*, which eulogises the Idrīsī family; *Īḳāẓ al-wasnān* and *Bughyat al-maḳāṣid*, which deal with *taḳlīd* and *idjtihād; K. al-Manhal al-rawī al-rāʾiḳ*, which, in its early sections, recalls his masters and his studies; *Muḳaddimat Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Imām Mālik*, which addresses questions of Mālikī law; *al-Salsabīl al-muᶜīn*, which is devoted to the analysis of forty Ṣūfī brotherhoods; and *Shifāʾ al-ṣadr bi-ārā al-masāʾil al-ᶜashar*, which concerns ten problems of cultic practice (prayer with arms folded, etc.). Some works, destroyed by the Italians, are known only by their titles.

Thus there evolves, across the 72 years of his life, the figure of a teacher versed in multiple disciplines, of a reviver of Islam and of Ṣūfism, of a missionary and an organiser, but also of an eminent individual, endowed with *baraka*, whose charisma was renowned throughout the central and eastern Sahara.

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AL-**SANŪSĪ**, SHAYKH SAYYID AḤMAD (1290-1351/1873-1933), Third Grand Master of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] order of dervishes. His full name was al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Sharīf b. al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Sanūsī al-Khaṭṭābī al-Hasanī al-Idrīsī.

He was born at Djaghbūb, a grandson of the founder of the order, and received a classical education in Islamic learning from his father, uncle, etc., according to the high standards of Sanūsī tradition. He succeeded to the leadership at Ḳūrū (Borku, in Chad), where his uncle resided from 1899 till his death in 1902, being the eldest member of the Sanūsī family. Next to his spiritual leadership, Aḥmad al-Sharīf developed a political and military organisation for the Sanūsī community against French expansion in the Sudan region, but after a defeat, he decided to withdraw from Ḳūrū to the old centre at Kufra [*q.v.*] in 1902. In need of international recognition and support, he agreed to the establishment of direct Ottoman rule in Cyrenaica and Fazzān (1910), and the 7,000 Ottoman troops in the province co-operated now against the enemies of the faith, these being in 1911

the Italians invading Ottoman Libya [see LĪBIYA. 3] until Muḥarram 1331/December 1912. During this period the Sanūsī *shaykh* issued a proclamation of *djihād* against the enemies of Islam. After the conclusion of the Italo-Ottoman peace of Lausanne-Ouchy (15 October 1912), the Sanūsī leader continued resistance against the Italians with the discreet support of the Ottoman (Young Turks') government. The sultan-caliph, Meḥemmed V [*q.v.*] approved of Aḥmad al-Sharīf's installation of a "Sanūsiyya Government" in Cyrenaica and Fazzān. From 1912 till 1915 Aḥmad al-Sharīf was able to defeat Italian forces at times. Apart from regular financial and logistic support, the sultan-caliph awarded the Shaykh honours and decorations. When Italy joined the Entente Powers against, i.a., the Ottoman Empire in 1915, Aḥmad al-Sharif was secretly appointed the sultan's representative (*nā'ib ul-sulṭān*) with the rank of Vizier and the title of Pasha (*irāde* of 6 August 1915). During the same year 1915, from June onwards, a regular communication with Istanbul was ensured by German and Austro-Hungarian submarines carrying arms, munitions and men to the Sanūsī forces, but their guerrilla attack against the British in western Egypt failed (15 Rabīʿ I 1334/22-3 January 1916).

Aḥmad al-Sharīf retreated with 800 followers and was chased back to Djaghbūb, from where he went on to the Sirtica region of Tripolitania. He maintained his relationship with the Ottomans, but the influence of his cousin, Sayyid Muḥammad Idrīs (the later King Idrīs I al-Sanūsī of Libya) was by now increasing. With the permission of Aḥmad al-Sharīf, Idrīs opened up negotiations with the British and the Italians (1917). In 1918 the Sanūsī *shaykh* was made the sultan's representative in all North Africa, but his actual influence on affairs was steadily in decline. On 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1336/21 August 1918 Aḥmad al-Sharīf left Libya, for good as it turned out to be, brought by a German submarine to Istanbul. He relinquished political leadership but remained the spiritual chief of the Sanūsiyya *ṭarīḳa* till his death, and his lasting prestige is evident from the fact that he was chosen to officiate at the ceremonial girding of the sword of the new Ottoman sultan, Meḥemmed VI Waḥīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*], at Eyyūb in 1336/1918. Widely regarded as one of the foremost fighters for Islam, Aḥmad al-Sharīf chose the side of the resistance against the Allies in Anatolia led by Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha [see ATATURK], and became one of his emissaries in the provinces of Anatolia. (Muṣṭafā Kemāl was photographed in an Arab dress presented to him by the Sanūsī *Shaykh* at this time.) In 1922 he journeyed to southeastern Anatolia along the Turco-French front, *inter alia* arbitrating a peace amongst the Arab tribes there, but after the definitive victory of Muṣṭafā Kemāl, Aḥmad al-Sharīf returned to Istanbul and became involved in the question of the Ottoman caliphate [see KHILĀFA], which was not after all offered to him, in spite of the support of his cause by Ibn Suʿūd [see ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ ĀL SAʿŪD], Imām Yaḥyā of Yemen and Saʿd Zaghlūl Pasha [*q.v.*]. In 1924 he left for Damascus. The French did not permit him to stay there, and he went on to the Ḥidjāz, dying at Medina on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1351/10 March 1933.

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(A.H. DE GROOT)

SANŪSIYYA, a Ṣūfī brotherhood or *ṭarīḳa*, founded in the middle of the 19th century by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*]. Denounced by a French "black legend", as tenacious as it is ill-founded, as a centre of anti-western subversion across the Sahara, the Sanūsiyya order was confronted at a very early stage with the game of the European Powers. For this reason, it is better known for its political role, real or supposed, than for its specifically Ṣūfī teaching.

After studying in Fez, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (born in December 1787 near Mustaghānim, in Algeria), had become, at the time of his Pilgrimage during the 1820s, one of the disciples of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, a Moroccan Ṣūfī and Sharīf residing in the Holy Places; when the latter departed for the Yemen in 1827, he remained in Mecca as his *khalīfa*. Aḥmad b. Idrīs belonged to a mystic lineage going back to the Moroccan Ṣūfī and Sharīf ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh, belonging to a Shādhilī spiritual lineage, initiated by the mysterious Ḳur'ānic figure known by the name of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*].

After the death in 1837 of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, who was more the founder of a circle of disciples than of an organised *ṭarīḳa*, the disciples of the Master split into different groups. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī, who was one of the oldest and, perhaps, one of the most advanced in the way, then inaugurated his own structure by gradual stages, and the Idrīsiyya *zāwiya* of Mecca, on the hill of Abū Ḳubays, became the first "Sanūsī" establishment.

Muḥammad al-Sanūsī emerges, in his works, as the inspirer of a Sunnī and moderate Ṣūfism. Summing up the forty ways into which he was initiated, he claims a *ṭarīḳa muḥammadiyya* which is the quintessence of them all and which makes the encounter, in dreams and while awake, with the Prophet, and the appeal for his guidance and imitation of his model, the supreme qualities of the initiate. The *dhikr* of the *ṭarīḳa* is constituted by a distinctive prayer, the *ṣalāt al-ʿaẓīmiyya*, a prayer for the Prophet inherited from Aḥmad b. Idrīs, which takes its title from the repetition of *Allāh al-ʿAẓīm* ("God the Most Great"), and by various *aḥzāb* and *awrād*, including a *haylala* the text of which is prolonged by the formula "in every look and every breath, a number of times which only the knowledge of God can apprehend" (a formula which also features in the *ʿAẓīmiyya*).

But it is not the *dhikr* which constitutes the most original part of the Sanūsī programme. The principal work of Muḥammad al-Sanūsī was directed in fact towards the realisation of a centralised and hierarchical order based on a network of *zāwiyas* established in places judged to be strategic from the point of view of communication routes, of the supply of water or of the local tribal composition. The *zāwiya* is thus the

ultimate act of piety, and the creation of it follows a precise protocol. The appeal for it must be made by the population concerned. The latter sends a delegation to the chief of the brotherhood, before whom it solemnly confirms its wishes, and takes on the obligation of constructing the buildings of the *zāwiya* and of working periodically in its service. Muḥammad al-Sanūsī would then appoint, from among his disciples, a *shaykh*, obliged to marry into the local population. Regular and prolific correspondence maintains the link between the centre and the new local outpost. Each *zāwiya* is simultaneously an educational centre, a staging-post and a hostel for travellers, a place of worship and an agricultural location. It is, in the desert environment, a small urban enclave, representing the sedentary values and models which are those of normative Islam. By virtue of this network, which developed in Libya from the 1840s onward, the *ṭarīḳa* is observed, in the first phase of its existence, to be a missionary order whose vocation is then to disseminate Islam among the disinherited populations of the central Sahara.

The history of the Sanūsiyya may be divided into several sequences. The first, under the leadership of the founder—known as *al-Ustādh* (Master) and as *al-Imām al-akbar* (Great Imam)—saw the expansion of the movement in an east-west direction, following the lines of wells and the routes of the Pilgrimage. Before reaching its furthest point and establishing its niche in Cyrenaica, the brotherhood had, in fact, spent a long time in search of the right territory. The Sanūsiyya often encountered the resistance of the existing local powers and the presence of other Islamic organisations and clientèles. Its extension into Cyrenaica (foundation of the first African *zāwiya*, al-Bayḍāʾ, at Cyrene at the end of 1842) and, to a lesser extent, into the central Sahara, thus represents a last resource: it was only in these regions that the presence of weak and scattered authorities, and the absence of powerful religious institutions, enabled it to acquire suitable space.

During its expansion in the Sahara, the Sanūsiyya came into contact with the world of the nomad. It was there, far from the major centres of power and of scholarship, that it found a loyal following, one which was furthermore more attached to the *baraka* of the Master than to his erudite teaching. Thus there was established between the brotherhood and the Saharan nomads a durable bond of friendship. The Sanūsī made alliance with the Bedouin (Madjābra and Zwāya, in Cyrenaica, and to a lesser extent, Ṭwāreg Ajjer, to the west) one of the pillars of their system.

But the Sanūsī system was not restricted to the nomadic world. The brotherhood exploited to its advantage a new trans-Saharan route, inaugurated at the beginning of the century through the initiative of Ouaddaï (Waddai). This route, still precarious and experimental, which ran from Benghāzī to Abeche by way of Kufra, and which was one of the last trans-Saharan axes still usable (the others having fallen victim to political anarchy or to European interference), became under its protection, from the middle of the century onward (*zāwiya* of Tazar, to the north of Kufra, 1848-9; *zāwiya* of al-Djūf, Kufra, *ca.* 1856), one of the principal foundations of its power. The Sanūsī system was born of this combination of exploitation of a caravan axis with colonisation of the desert. In the course of this process, the *ṭarīḳa* became the manager and controller of a region and the promoter of an economy. But its activity was essentially regulatory. Just as it did not then aspire to political power, the Sanūsiyya had no wish to undertake economic enterprises. The benefits which accrued to it from its protection of commerce were symbolic (alliances and allegiances) or material (gifts, agricultural produce). The activity of the Sanūsī *ikhwān* was one element in a major project, envisaging first a general recognition of the *baraka* of the Master, from which esteem, clientèle and material goods would subsequently flow.

A veritable "Maghribī multi-national" at the outset, bearing in mind the origin of the closest disciples of the Master, the Sanūsiyya then began to "Libyanise" itself. The two sons of the *Imām al-akbar*'s middle age were born in Cyrenaica, respectively in 1262/1844 (Muḥammad al-Mahdī) and 1262/1846 (Muḥammad al-Sharīf). Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī himself left the Ḥidjāz for good in 1854 and established his headquarters at Djaghbūb, a new city in the heart of the desert and near the Egyptian border, in 1856. It was there that he died in 1859.

His son and successor Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who was to preside over the destinies of the movement for more than forty years, emerges as an organiser of talent. It was he who gave to the foundations laid by his father a systematic development. It was also he who oriented the brotherhood towards the south, in the direction of Central Africa. The first sub-Saharan *zāwiya* came into being at Chemidour (currently in eastern Niger) from 1861-2 onwards. Later, faced by increasing interference on the part of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, Muḥammad al-Mahdī who, like his father, had maintained amicable relations with the Ottoman authorities, abruptly transferred his headquarters from Djaghbūb to Kufra (June 1895), then to Gouro, to the north of what is currently Chad, in December 1899, preferring a *hidjra* to confrontation. The attractions of Ouaddaï, rich in ivory, in ostrich feathers and, additionally, in slaves, also played a role in this long march towards the south.

This southward orientation of the movement coincided with the French advance towards Lake Chad. From 1901 onwards the Sanūsiyya improvised, in difficult conditions, resistance to the French assaults, establishing for this purpose a defensive system and then appealing for Turkish protection. Its destiny was henceforward to be inseparably embroiled in the game of the Great Powers. Thus on 9 November 1901, French troops attacked the *zāwiya* of Bīr ʿAlālī situated some 100 km/60 miles from Lake Chad. Initially defeated, the French forces took control of the place on 20 January 1902. This was the beginning of a long Franco-Sanūsī war which ended with the fall of the fortified *zāwiya* of ʿAyn Galakka (to the south of Gouro) on 27 November 1913.

After the death of Muḥammad al-Mahdī at Gouro on 2 June 1902, the latter's nephew, Aḥmad al-Sharīf (1872-1933 [see AL-SANŪSĪ, SHAYKH SAYYID AḤMAD]), became the third Master of the *ṭarīḳa*. He immediately decided to return to Kufra and began to organise the brotherhood on more secular lines, a development which prolonged and reinforced the politicisation and militarisation which had become apparent during the confrontation with the French. When the Italians arrived in Libya (October 1911), he used all his influence to achieve the mobilisation of his followers in a *djihād* against the invader and allied himself with the Ottoman forces. This "djihādist" orientation, alien to the founder of the Way, henceforward made of the Sanūsiyya a politico-military organisation aligned with the Ottoman caliphate. In 1914, Aḥmad al-Sharīf allied himself to the Central Powers. At the latter's insistence, Sanūsī forces fought on all fronts: they attacked the British in Egypt (November 1915),

expelled the Italians from Tripolitania and the Fezzān (September 1914-April 1915), then engaged in a conflict with the French in the Sahara, which culminated in the seizure of the French fortress of Djanet (2 March 1916), the capture of P. de Foucauld, killed accidentally by a Ṭwāreg sentry (1 December 1916), and the siege of the French outpost of Agadès (1 December 1916-3 March 1917). Already split into a number of "fiefs" according to the various branches of the family, deprived progressively of a single direction, the Sanūsiyya were devastated by this war and by the defeats inflicted on it in all theatres of operation after 1916. Muḥammad Idrīs, elder son of Muḥammad al-Mahdī, promoted by the British as a useful intermediary, negotiated with the latter and with the Italians and signed an accord at ᶜAkrama near Tobruk in April 1917. The accord integrated the Sanūsīs into the camp of the Allied Powers in exchange for a partial recognition of the brotherhood. In August 1918 Aḥmad al-Sharīf left Tripolitania aboard a German (or Austrian) submarine and abandoned the supervision of the *ṭarīḳa*.

The subsequent period reflects the political history of Libya. After a long period of ambiguity in the relations between Italians and Sanūsīs, and the signing of accords which were never properly implemented, the final struggle began in the late 1920s: Italian troops entered Djaghbūb in February 1926 and Kufra in January 1931. One of the leaders of the brotherhood, ᶜUmar al-Mukhtār, kept alive the last embers of Sanūsī resistance until he was captured and publicly hanged by the Italians in September 1931.

During the Second World War, a Sanūsī force was raised to fight alongside the British. The liberation of Cyrenaica (1943) and British support for Muḥammad Idrīs cleared the way for the inauguration of the Sanūsī monarchy at the head of an independent Libya (24 December 1951). Like other Maghribī Sharīfian lineages in other periods, the *ṭarīḳa sanūsiyya* thus became, in circumstances of peril for the Muslims, a symbol of political legitimacy, but these new dispositions proved impossible to maintain or to extend. The seizure of power by the "Free Unionist Officers" under the leadership of Colonel Ḳadhdhāfī (1 September 1969) [see LĪBIYĀ. 3] led in Libya to a lasting "excision from history" of the brotherhood, which has come to at least temporary extinction.

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(J.-L. TRIAUD)

SAR-I PUL, "the head of the bridge", called by Arab geographers Raʾs al-Ḳanṭara, is a town of Afghān Turkistān (lat. 36° 13′ N., long. 65° 55′ E., alt. 610 m/2,007 feet), on the Āb-i Safīd, from the bridge over which it takes its name. It is not to be confused with a village near Samarḳand or a quarter of Nīshāpūr, both of the same name, each of which is historically as important as the Afghān town. Between the northern spurs of the Paropamisus and the sands to the south of the Oxus, in a fertile tract well-watered by streams from the mountains, but proverbially unhealthy, lay four Özbeg khānates or petty principalities, Akča, Shibarghān, Maymana and Sar-i pul with Andkhūī (Andkhud), the independence of which was destroyed by the Durrānī and Bārakzāy Amīrs of Afghānistān in the mid-19th century. Of these principalities, Sar-i pul was the last to succumb to the ruler of Kābul. In 1865 the troops stationed there revolted against the Amīr Shīr ᶜAlī, but the mutiny was suppressed by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Khān, who eventually succeeded as Amīr; not long afterwards Sar-i pul lost the last vestiges of its independence, but the former geographical and political divisions of the principalities were preserved and their Uzbeg inhabitants exempt from liability to military service.

The site of Sar-i pul is probably identical with that of the town Anbār or Anbīr, one of the main centres of the mediaeval Islamic principality of Djūzdjān [*q.v.*, and see *EIr* art *Anbār* (C.E. Bosworth)]. The modern town of Sar-i pul comes within the present Djūzdjān province of Afghānistān; in *ca.* 1955 it had an estimated population of 5,000.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 426; *Ḥudūd al-ᶜālam*, tr. Minorsky, comm. 335; J. Humlum, *La géographie d'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 132, 151.

(T.W. HAIG*)

SĀRA, wife of the Biblical patriarch Abraham [see IBRĀHĪM]. Sarah enters the text of the Ḳurʾān only in its rendition of the etiological narrative surrounding the name Isaac (Hebrew *wayyiṣḥaḳ* "and he laughed") from Gen. xvii, 15-22, xviii, 11-15 and xxi, 5-7; thus in Ḳurʾān, XI, 71-3, and LI, 29-30, Sarah laughs at the messengers who bring the news that she will bear a son in her (and Abraham's) old age, but she remains unnamed and is referred to simply as *imraʾatuhu* "his [Abraham's] wife". The issue of Sarah's laughing (and thus doubting God) drew some Muslim exegetical attention as it did in the Jewish tradition (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, *ad* XI, 71); the solution cited by al-Farrāʾ, *Maᶜānī 'l-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1955-72, ii, 22, and Ibn Ḳutayba, *Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. A. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1958, 205-6, and then in many sources after them, avoids the problem by defining the verb *ḍaḥika* as "menstruate" rather than "laugh" (justified by the idea that "rabbits laugh when they menstruate"), reflecting a popular rabbinic gloss of the Hebrew *ᶜednah* in Gen. xviii, 12, as "menstruate" rather than "pleasure" (see M.M. Kasher, in *Encyclopedia of Biblical interpretation*, New York 1953, iii, 26).

In the wider Muslim elaboration of Biblical history, Sarah plays a substantial role. The story of her beauty and her being taken by Pharaoh, leading to the proclamation by Abraham that "She is my sister", created a great deal of discussion (see R. Firestone, *Difficulties in keeping a beautiful wife: the legend of Abraham and Sarah in Jewish and Islamic tradition*, in *Jnal. of Jewish Studies*, xlii [1991], 196-214). The incident became a part of an early tradition concerning the "three lies of Abraham" (e.g. Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Khuṭab wa 'l-mawāʿiẓ*, ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1986, 113) as well as creating extensive discussions concerning the true lineage of Sarah (see Firestone, *The problem of Sarah's identity in Islamic exegetical tradition*, in *MW*, lxxx [1990], 65-71; idem, *Prophethood, marriageable consanguinity, and text: the problem of Abraham and Sarah's kinship relationship and the response of Jewish and Islamic exegesis*, in *JQR*, lxxxiii [1993], 331-47). One tradition also states that her original name was Yasāra, but this was changed to Sāra when she was promised Isaac, and the *yā'* was given to John (the Baptist) whose name was changed, through this addition, from Ḥayā to Yaḥyā (see Abū Rifāʿa al-Fārisī, *Bad' al-khalḳ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, in R.G. Khoury (ed.), *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam*, Wiesbaden 1978, 308). This may be compared with the change from Sarai to Sarah in Gen. xvii, 15, and the rabbinic comments on the status of the *yod* in her name (see Kasher, ii, 248, where reference is made to the change of name from Hoshea to Joshua (Num. xiii, 16) with the addition of a *yod* from Sarah's name is also cited).

The sacrifice of Abraham's son [see ISḤĀḲ; ISMĀʿĪL] also brings Sarah into the accounts, especially as it ties into the understanding of her death. The concern of the son for the fate of his shirt and whether this would cause his mother grief (and lead to her death) is prominent. Also, Sarah is portrayed as a true believer in God alongside Abraham and her son, as within Judaism and Christianity (see Hebr. xi, 11), in the accounts of her resisting Satan's temptation to interfere in the sacrifice after Satan tells her about Abraham's plan (see Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Khuṭab*, 111-12; al-Ṭabarī, i, 293).

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, 114, on the pre-Islamic use of the name; R. Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, Albany, N.Y. 1990. (A. RIPPIN)

SARĀ [see SARĀY].

SARĀB (A.), mirage.

1. As a natural phenomenon. *Sarāb* is specifically the illusion of water (sometimes running water, due to a sense of the verb *saraba*) seen at midday which appears to be on the ground, as compared to *āl*, which is seen early and late in the day and makes things appear to float in mid-air and quiver. The lexicographical tradition attempts several ways of distinguishing these two words, but the emphasis on the time of day of their appearance is the most consistent differentiation. *Sarāb* is used twice in the Ḳur'ān, in XXIV, 39, within a simile for the deeds of the unbelievers, the value of which turns out to be a mirage before God, and in LXXVII, 20, in reference to the last day on which mountains will vanish (into thin air), as in the experience of a mirage.

The image of a "mirage" as reflected in Ḳur'ān, XXIV, 39, gains powerful resonances in Ṣūfī thought, especially Ibn ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt Makkiyya*, Būlāḳ 1329/1911, ii, 105, where the verse is interpreted to suggest that God appears to people in the form of their need; pursuing that form, which is a mirage, reveals the non-being of God and leads to the true vision of the divine.

Bibliography: *EI*[1], s.v. *āl*; Lane, i, 127-8 (s.v. *āl*); *tafsīr* and Ḳur'ān-lexicographical tradition esp. on XXIV, 39; W.C. Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge. Ibn al-ʿArabī's metaphysics of imagination*, Albany, N.Y. 1989, 378-9. (A. RIPPIN)

2. In poetry. The mirage or fata Morgana, in its two forms distinguished by the Arabs (*sarāb* and *āl*, see above), is very often described by pre- and early Islamic Arabic poets in brief passages rarely exceeding two lines, incorporated in their *ḳaṣīda*s containing desert scenes. Often it is said to move, dance or "amble" (*djarā, raḳaṣa, khabba*), to glitter or shimmer (*taraḳraḳa, lamaʿa*) like water, enveloping hills and sand dunes that appear clothed in it, or partly hiding camels that seem to wade or move in it like ships. Its apparent movements make it seem alive, like animals or humans. Later, urban, poets remain fond of the images, the main differences being that the mirage, now become part of the poetic universe rather than an everyday reality, generally changes from a *primum* into a *secundum comparationis*, and that it is increasingly used less as a potential source of strongly visual imagery than as a symbol of deceit, thwarted expectations, illusions and unfulfilled promises, to point a moral rather than adorn a scene. The frequent occurrence of this image is no doubt partly due to the Ḳur'ān, where the *sarāb* already stands for illusion and futility (XXIV, 39) or instability (LXXVIII, 20). For small selections of the vast but scattered material (Dhu 'l-Rumma's *Dīwān* alone offers over thirty passages), see e.g. Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tashbīhāt*, London 1950, 71-4; Abu 'l-Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, Cairo 1352/1933-4, ii, 128-9; Shimshāṭī, *al-Anwār wa-maḥāsin al-ashʿār*, i, Kuwait 1977, 355-9.

(G.J.H. VAN GELDER)

SARACENS, a vague term used in the West for the Arabs and, eventually, other Islamic peoples of the Near East, in both pre-Islamic and mediaeval times.

1. Earlier usage.

Saracens was one of the many terms that Classical authors and ecclesiastical writers, used for the Arabs, the others being Arabes, Skēnitai, Ṭayyāyē, Ismailitai and Hagarēnoi. It became the most common of all these terms, although it was one that the Arabs did not use in referring to themselves. The term was a coinage composed of *Sarak and the Greek suffix *ēnos*, and both its etymology and denotation are controversial.

Many *etyma* have been suggested for this term, such as *sharḳ* (the east), *saraḳa* (steal) and *Sawāriḳ* (a tribe), but all of them have been weighed and found wanting. The most recent effort, one that has received a wide vogue, considers the *etymon* to be *shrkt*, federation, a term to be found in the bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription of Thamūd in Ruwāfa. Many serious objections were advanced against this etymology, even before a close examination of this inscription revealed that the term *shrkt* was a misreading of *shrbt* (tribe), a conclusion supported by the Greek version of the inscription which has *ethnos*, the exact equivalent of *shrbt*.

The failure of all these attempts to explain *Sarakēnos* calls for a return to what the Classical authors said about the term, accepted long ago by Nöldeke as the true etymology. The earliest certain attestations of it go back to the 1st century A.D. when Dioscorides of Anazarbos, a physician-pharmacologist, spoke of the Saracen tree imported through the Nabataeans, and Pliny the Elder, who spoke of the Saracens as the Arcani who lived beyond the Nabataeans. Thus the two authors pinpointed the Saracens as a people in northwestern Arabia and clearly indicated that the term was not a generic but specific one. Ptolemy in his

Geography speaks of a district *Sarakēnē* in Arabia Petraea, and Stephanus of Byzantium in his *Ethnika* speaks of Saraka as a district beyond the Nabataeans whose inhabitants are called the *Sarakenoi*; although a 6th century writer, Stephanus depended on the much earlier works of Ulpianus and Uranios. These writers provide data for the most plausible etymology of the term, that relating to a region, Saraka. This is supported by the fact (unnoted by the etymologists of this term) that the Greek suffix *ēnos* is used to form ethnic adjectives from geographical names.

Surprisingly, however, Saraka seems to have disappeared from Arabian toponymy, although Arab geographers know of two almost homophonous place-names in the Ḥijāz, a valley (Suwāriḳ) and a village (al-Suwāriḳiyya). Serious consideration should, therefore, be given to the possibility that Saraka is none other than Sarā(t), the well-known mountain range in that area. It is either a dialectal version of Sarā(t) or it experienced epenthesis by the intrusion of the *kappa*.

Even more important is the denotation of the term. It clearly was applied originally to a group of Arab pastoralists in northwest Arabia, but soon it became the generic term for all the Arab pastoralists within as well as without the Roman *limes*. And so it was used by the secular and ecclesiastical historians of the 4th century, such as Ammianus Marcellinus and Eusebius respectively. The latter developed an interest in both the term and what the term stood for. For them, the Saracens were the Biblical people, the sons of Ishmael, hence the children of the bondwoman Hagar and thus "outside the promises". As some of the Saracens attacked the inmates of the monastic establishments in the Orient, such as those in Chalcidice and the Desert of Judah near the Jordan, they acquired a bad reputation among these ecclesiastical historians, some of whom indulged in etymologising the term "Saracen" along pejorative lines. Such was Sozomen, who suggested that in order to avoid the opprobrium attaching to their descent from Hagar, the bondwoman, the Arabs started to call themselves by a name that related them to Sarah, the wife of the first patriarch. These perceptions of the Arabs most probably explain the emergence of other Biblical terms for the Arabs, such as Ismailitai and Hagarēnoi, with the same pejorative implications.

Latin authors who came to the East, such as Jerome, also etymologised the term along these Biblical lines and so projected an uncomplimentary image of the Saracens. Jerome's unfortunate experience with some marauding Saracens while he lived in Chalcidice and at Bethlehem, contributed further to the deterioration of that image in his writings. Such was also the experience of the pilgrim, the Anonymous of Placentia, with the Saracens of Sinai in the 6th century. Thus through the writings of such influential figures as Jerome, the term "Saracen" with all its pejorative implications reached Western Europe long before the Muslim Arabs appeared in the Roman Occident in the 2nd/8th century.

Bibliography: Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, Berlin 1958, i, 60; Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, Hildesheim 1966, book V, ch. 17, p. 69; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*, ed. A. Meineke, Berlin 1849, 556; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, Beirut 1957, iii, 275-6; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXII.15.2; XXIII.6.13; Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical history*, ed. J. Bidez, Berlin 1960, book VI, ch. 38; D.F. Graf and M. O'Connor, *The origin of the term Saracen and the Rawwāfa inscriptions*, in *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines*, iv (1977), 52-66; O'Connor, *The etymology of Saracen in Aramaic and pre-Islamic contexts*, in *The defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, *BAR*, International Series, 297, ii (1986), 603-32; I. Shahîd, *Rome and the Arabs*, Washington D.C. 1984, 123-41; idem, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fifth century*, Washington D.C. 1989, 484, 485, 543; B. Moritz's art., *Saraka* in Pauly-Wissowa and J.H. Mordtmann's *Saracens* in the *EI*[1] may be consulted for the old controversies on the etymology of *Saracenus*.

(IRFAN SHAHÎD)

2. In mediaeval European usage.

The term "Saracen" (OFr. *Sar(r)azin, Sar(r)acin*, OEng. *Sarracene*), whatever its origin (see above, 1.) came into both Late Greek and Late Latin usage during late antiquity, and at that time simply meant "Arab". With the rise of Islam, and in subsequent mediaeval European times, European writers used "Saracen" to denote "Arab" or "Muslim" or both, according to context. With the contacts of the Crusaders with the Saldjūḳs of Rūm in the 6th/12th century and the rise of the appellation *Turcia* for Asia Minor, and, above all, with the appearance of the Ottomans, "Saracen" in the sense of "Muslim" gave place to "Turk". As the Christian *reconquista* in the Iberian peninsula progressed, followed by Spanish and Portuguese attacks on the North African mainland, "Saracen" in the sense of "Arab" began to be generally replaced by "Moor", since the Christian peoples of the Iberian peninsula had used *Mauri* and *Moros* for the Arab-Berber invaders of their land [see MOORS]. The increasing numbers of Western travellers in North Africa and the Near East also came to use "Arab" more particularly in a pejorative sense (here following the usage of the indigenous urban populations of those lands) for "Bedouins, brigands". Hence in Western Europe, by the later Middle Ages, "Saracen" had tended to fall out of usage and to be replaced by somewhat more specific terms.

The great literary usage of "Saracen" in the European high Middle Ages was, of course, to designate the Muslim opponents of the Christians in the *Chansons de geste*, mostly set fictiously in the time of Charlemagne or his son Louis I ("The Pious") and written in the various forms of Old French. From these originals, whose genesis in time is uncertain, the views and concepts of the *Chansons* spread to other vernacular literatures, such as Spanish, Provençal and Italian, and also to English and German literature. These *Chansons* provide for us an idea of what was the unofficial, un-clerical, un-academic view of the Muslims (as opposed to the views of monkish and other clerical polemicists) during the Middle Ages. But whether their (largely unknown) poetic creators meant to provide a realistic portrait, as they conceived it, of their Muslim foes in Spain, North Africa, Syria or Egypt, or whether they used "Saracen" in a vague, general sense, is not always clear.

Byzantine usage of the term "Saracens" probably lasted till the end of the empire. Certainly, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was addressed as such (*ḳul li-hādhā 'l-Sarākinū yaʿnī al-Muslim*) by a monk in Constantinople (H.A.R. Gibb pointed out that it was chronologically impossible, however, that this monk could have been the ex-Emperor Andronicus II) when he was there, probably in the autumn of 732-3/1332 (*Riḥla*, ii, 441-2, tr. Gibb, ii, 512-13).

Bibliography: The literature on Christian conceptions of Muslims as shown by the *chansons de geste* is extensive. A useful start can be made from the detailed bibliographical information in N. Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens. An interpretation of the* Chansons de Geste, Edinburgh 1984, 280-1 (studies), 320-7 (texts).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SARAJEVO, principal city of Bosnia (and of

the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina of former Yugoslavia), situated on the banks of a small river known as the Miljacka (western tributary of the river Bosna), at the outlet of a valley opening towards the West, this being the "Plain of the Seraglio"—in Turkish *Saray Ova* or *Saray Ovası* (hence the name of the city), surrounded by tall and precipitous mountains (notably those of Ozren (1,452 m/4,762 feet) and of Trebević (1,629 m/5,343 ft)), at an altitude, according to the various neighbourhoods, of between 537 m/1,761 ft and 700 m/2,296 ft.

Its first mention, under the name of *Vrhbosna* ("the Crete of Bosnia", of which the *župa* (local parochial district) of the same name is mentioned from the 10th century onwards) apparently dates from 1415, but this appellation in fact only applied to the fortress situated on a rocky promontory dominating the city (and the small township in front of the latter), since the city of Sarajevo as such, for a long time called simply *Saray* (meaning the seraglio, i.e. the "palace"), or *Bosna Saray*, was founded *ca.* 1429 according to some authors, but quite certainly at a later date, by the Ottomans (see e.g. B. Djurdjev, art. BOSNA, at vol. I, 1263a).

The fertile region around Sarajevo, with its abundant water sources and forests, was inhabited from the Neolithic period (2400 to 2000 B.C.), as is proved by the excavations of Butmir (one of the principal urban centres of the Balkan peninsula in this period, the ceramics of which are renowned). Other prehistoric dwellings have been brought to light on the slopes of Trebević (as on those of Debelo Brdo), some of which may have possibly existed even before the Roman period. Towards the end of the Bronze Age (900 B.C.), this region experienced an Illyrian influx, of which numerous vestiges have been discovered. In the Roman period, the 8th Augustan Legion was based on the plain of Sarajevo, and the well-known sulphurous bathing establishments of Ilidža, a thermal station situated in the foothills of Mount Igman (today some ten kilometres from the centre of the city) were developed. Other Roman remains have been discovered within Sarajevo itself.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, the Eastern Goths were the first to establish themselves in this territory, then, in 535 A.D. the entire region was conquered by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I. During the 7th century Slavic tribes occupied the region, and from the 10th century onwards there began to be formed, in the depression between the current cities of Sarajevo and of Zenica, the nucleus of the future mediaeval Bosnian state. It is known, on the other hand, according to a document of the king of Hungary Béla IV dating from 1244, that at that time the territory of Sarajevo formed a part of the *župa* (local parochial district) of Vrhbosna, then the site of the cathedral of Saint Peter, centre of the diocese. As early as 1379, the presence was noted at Vrhbosna of traders from Ragusa, who mentioned a locality called Trgovište (meaning "the place of [open] market") situated in the territory of what is now the city of Sarajevo, at the point where the stream known as Koševo (currently the name of a quarter of the city) joins the river Miljacka. It is also known that in 1415 a local dignitary, the voïvode Pavle Radenović, was buried at Vrhbosna.

The first decades of the 15th century were marked by increasingly frequent incursions on the part of the Ottoman cavalry, who took possession in 1416 (or possibly not until 1428) of the fortress of Hodidjed, a strategic position commanding the valley of Miljacka, situated two hours' march from Vrhbosna. Hodidjed was definitively captured by the Ottomans in the summer of 1435 (according to some sources in the previous year), thus some thirty years before the laying of the first foundations of the future city of Sarajevo, intended as a secure base for the conquest of Bosnia, of Herzegovina, of northern Serbia, of Dalmatia and of a part of Croatia, then also, a century later, of a part of Hungary.

The Ottomans recognised at a very early stage the value of its location, and when they conquered Bosnia during the time of Meḥemmed I, in the spring of 867/1463, they made it the principal arsenal of the conquered territory. From 1438-9 onward an Ottoman governor was installed there, with the duty of controlling the indigenous local dynasties (in particular that of the Pavlovićs) who were required to pay tribute. After the definitive conquest of the kingdom of Bosnia, and the execution of its last king, Stjepan Tomašević, the Ottoman governor at first resided at Vrhbosna, the name of which was to be retained for some time (at least until the beginning of the 16th century), as is shown by the travel-writing of Felix Petancius and of Benedict Kuripešić, and exchanges of letters with Ragusa (where the following forms are found: Werchbossen, Verchbossen, Verbosavia, Verbosania, Verchbossania, etc.).

The first significant foundations date from the years 1460-1 (cf. the *wakf-nāme* of 1462 of ʿĪsā Beg, son of Isḥāḳ Beg, who was to become *sandjak beg* of Bosnia in 1464): initially, the governor's palace and a wooden mosque, then a bridge over the Miljacka, a caravanserai, a *bedesten*, a *ḥammām*, residential houses, shops, water-mills, etc. It is said that from 1455 onward the new urban centre (*ḳaṣaba*), was called sometimes *Saray*, sometimes *Saray owasî*, or even *Saray ḳaṣabasî*, the first mention of its current form (which is found in a letter written in Cyrillic characters) dating from 1507. Twenty years after the first constructions, in 1480, the city was taken by assault and burnt, in the course of a raid mounted jointly by the Hungarian garrison of Jajce led by Peter Doczy, and Serbian troops under the command of the despot Vuk Grgurović/Branković ("Zmaj Ognjeni Vuk").

Sarajevo's most illustrious period belongs to the 16th-17th centuries. It corresponds, of course, to the era of the greatest expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans and in South-Eastern Europe, but also to the Ottoman golden age *per se*, a period in which the massive quantities of booty amassed in the course of incessant military campaigns against "the infidels" brought prosperity to commerce and to craftsmanship, and assisted in the development of a large number of towns. Sarajevo was for close on a century the seat of the governors of Bosnia (more precisely, from 1463 to 1533, at which date the latter was transferred to Banja Luka [*q.v.*] before being restored to Sarajevo in 1637-8). Its governors (ʿĪsā Beg, Ayās Beg, Yaḥyā Pasha, Iskender Pasha (whose name is still born by the quarter of "Skenderija"), then the son of the latter, Mustay Beg, and the most illustrious of them, Ghāzī Khosrew Beg, a native of the town of Trebinje in Herzegovina, who lived for seventeen years on the banks of the Miljacka (he was several times *sandjak beg* of Bosnia between 1521 and the year of his death, 1541, and was buried in Sarajevo), embellished it with the construction of a large number of renowned buildings: the mosques of ʿĪsā Beg (926/1520), of Ghāzī Khosrew Beg (937/1530 [see KHOSREW BEG]) with a *medrese* built in 1537, a library, a *tekke*, a public kitchen, a hospice for travellers, a stone-built *khān*, a *bedesten*, a *ḥammām*, etc.), of Ghāzī ʿAlī Pasha (969/1561), of Ferhād Beg (also in

969/1561), not forgetting the Imperial Mosque "Careva džamija" (built in 1566 at the order of Süleymān the Magnificent, to replace the former mosque of the same name, founded in 1457 and destroyed in 1480), and many others; the *tekke*s of the Mewlewīs, of the Khalwetīs, as well as that of the Ḳādirīs (the renowned *tekke* of Ḥādjdjī Sinān Āghā, constructed in 1638-40 and subsequently restored on numerous occasions); the *bedesten*s (in particular the well-known "Bursa bezistān" built by Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1551); the clock tower (built at the end of the 16th century or at the start of the 17th), the *medrese*s, the *türbe*s, the fountains, the baths, the *khān*s, etc.

The number of inhabitants of the city, which had gained the status of *shehir* before the 16th century, grew rapidly as a result of the influx of the Muslim population, which settled at the outset on the left bank of the Miljacka; for a very long time, each religious group lived in separate *maḥalle*s. This population consisted above all of new converts—there had been progressive Islamisation of a significant section of the local Slav population—as well as numerous administrative and religious cadres, Ottoman civilians and soldiers, of diverse origins and belonging to the most varied ethnic groups, as is demonstrated by the genealogies of some of the eminent Muslim families of the city. But the city also expanded as a result of an influx of indigenous Christian populations. It is interesting to note in this context that in 1477 there were in Sarajevo 103 Christian households, 8 households of Ragusans, and only 42 Muslim households (see Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Esnafi*, 1958, 9, quoting an article of Nedim Filipović). The Christian population was composed of the Orthodox—whose Old Church, "Stara Crkva", was built in 1528, then rebuilt on several occasions after numerous fires, in particular in 1616 and in 1658, subsequently reconstructed completely in 1730, then once more renovated in 1793 (the list of popes of Sarajevo from 1516 to 1804 may be found in V. Skarić, *Srpski*..., 140-1)—and of Catholics, some of whom came from Ragusa [*q.v.*] in the course of the second half of the 16th century and settled in a separate quarter, subsequently called "Latinluk". Not to be ignored is the arrival, also around the middle of the 16th century, of a relatively substantial Jewish colony. These were, of course, Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal, who settled in a quarter later known as "Čifuthana". The synagogue was probably built around 1580, then completely renovated in 1821, having been twice damaged by fire, in 1697 and in 1788. The total number of hearths (in Turkish *odjāk*) thus apparently increased from 153 in 1477, to 181 in 1480, subsequently to 1024 in the first half of the 16th century, then to 4270 in the second half of the 16th century. Aided by geographical position and "the industries of war", commerce and craftsmanship developed rapidly, as is clearly shown by the number of warehouses and covered markets, of traders and of types of merchandise which were sold there or which passed through the city. In fact, the city was located "on the caravan-route leading from Istanbul and from Salonica towards the West, at a staging-point where it was necessary to substitute horses and mules for camels" (G. Veinstein, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 92). It was linked to the Adriatic coast on the one hand by the valley of the Neretva, on the other by the route situated further to the north-west, leading from Livno to Split. Furthermore, in the local context, the city, situated at a crossroads, was also an excellent outlet for agricultural markets. In a totally different domain, it may be added that in 1085/1674-5 under Meḥemmed IV and in 1099/1687-8 under Süleymān II [*q.vv.*], copper coinage was struck there (these being the coins known as *mankīr*). This economic prosperity was naturally accompanied by increasingly intense religious and cultural activity, for Sarajevo had very rapidly become an important administrative centre. With reference to the Muslim population, there is abundant testimony (cf. for example the works cited in the *Bibl.* of H. Tahmiščić, of M. Mujezinović and of H. Šabanović); in the literary domain as such, the best known names for the whole of this period remain those of Meḥmed Nergisī (d. 1044/1635 [*q.v.*]) and of Ḥasan Ḳāʾimī (d. *ca.* 1101/1690, cf. J. Šamić, *op. cit.*). It should, however, be noted that the overall development of the city was thwarted on numerous occasions by various scourges: outbreaks of plague (like that of 1526-7) and of cholera (1691), fires (particularly worth mentioning are those of 1644 and 1656) and earthquakes, not to mention famines. In spite of all this, the description of Sarajevo in 1660 provided by Ewliyā Čelebi (even bearing in mind the exaggerations characteristic of this author) is quite impressive: the city reportedly then comprised 400 *maḥalle*s, including ten Christian ones and two Jewish ones (it may be recalled that according to an earlier source at the end of the 16th century, the city allegedly comprised 91 Muslim *maḥalle*s and two Christian *maḥalle*s), 17,000 houses, 77 mosques and 100 *mesdjid*s, a clock tower, numerous *medrese*s and other specialised religious schools, 180 *mekteb*s, 47 *tekke*s, 110 public fountains, 300 *sebīl*s, 700 wells, 76 flour mills, five *ḥammām*s, 670 private bathrooms, three caravanserais, 23 *khān*s, 1,080 shops, a *bedesten*, seven bridges over the Miljacka, an Orthodox church, a Catholic church, a synagogue, seven *ʿimāret*s, etc.

This long period of prosperity was brusquely interrupted four decades later, in September 1697, by a terrible and totally unexpected blow, the sacking and burning of the city by Austrian troops commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy who, taking advantage of his victory over the Ottomans before Zenta, carried out an exceedingly bloodthirsty raid, leaving behind him, after a brief occupation of the city, the ruins of Sarajevo ablaze. The unsuccessful siege of Vienna attempted by the Ottomans in 1683 marked, effectively, the beginning of a totally different period, that of the *reconquista*, and of the definitive withdrawal of Ottoman troops from Hungary and from Slavonia, but also from Voïvodina, from Croatia and from Dalmatia. A new era also began for the city of Sarajevo (the seat of the Ottoman *wezīr*s was furthermore transferred after 1699 to Travnik, where it remained until 1850), a period during which relations between the Muslim and non-Muslim populations of the region deteriorated sharply, as did relations between on the one hand the ruling classes composed of indigenous Muslims, the *agha*s, the *aʿyān*s and the local *beg*s, struggling fiercely to preserve their long-standing privileges, and on the other the Porte, resolutely promoting a whole series of new reforms—for the most part exceedingly unpopular—and its representatives who, appointed for very short periods, sought to enrich themselves with maximum haste at the expense of the indigenous populations, irrespective of religion, although the non-Muslims bore the heaviest burden.

In the 18th century, the economic and financial crisis of the Ottoman Empire, following the crisis of the very structures of the state, considerably weakened the latter's military power. This had immediate repercussions for the whole of the *eyālet* of Bosnia, henceforward a frontier region bordering on Christian Europe, as well as for the city of Sarajevo, where

disorder and corruption became rife. In fact, the arrival in the city of huge numbers of Janissaries forced to leave the vast territories conceded to the "infidels" provided a ready source of troops for rebel governors, who relied upon them on every occasion, also upon a large number of malcontents among the aggrieved local *sipāhīs* and the Muslim masses of the city, whose standard of living had worsened considerably since the beginning of the reconquest, with the constant increase in levies and the creation of new taxes. There ensued a series of revolts and seditious activities, punctuated by full-scale internal wars such as those conducted, on behalf of the central power, after the major revolt against the Porte which erupted in Sarajevo in 1750, by Meḥmed Pasha Kukavica, a native of Foča in Bosnia (from 1752 onwards), or by the *ḳul čāwūš* ʿAlī Agha (from 1772 onwards). These difficult times were accompanied by a whole series of scourges, first plague, which raged on a number of occasions in the course of this century (in 1731-2, 1741, 1762-3 and 1781-2), then numerous fires which devastated Sarajevo on some ten occasions (in 1721, 1724, 1731, 1748, 1766, 1769, 1773, 1776, the most serious occurring in 1788 and 1797), as well as numerous floods. In spite of all this, efforts were made to restore certain ancient buildings, such as the fortress situated in the old town (in 1729-39), the mosque known as "Magribija" (constructed in the 16th century and entirely rebuilt in 1766), the Serbian Orthodox church (rebuilt in 1730 and fully restored in 1793—we are told that in 1720 the city reportedly contained between 3,000 and 5,000 Serbs, cf. V. Skarić, *Srpski*, 54, but this number must also include the Serbs of the surrounding villages gravitating round the Orthodox church in Sarajevo), etc. It may be recalled finally that the history of Sarajevo in the second half of the 18th century is drawn from an exceptional source, the *Chronicle* of Mullā Muṣṭafā Bāšeski (1731-2 to 1809), which covers the years 1746-1804, and which contains a mine of first-hand information.

At the beginning of the 19th century, general discontent and resistance to reforms continued in Sarajevo, just as in other regions of Bosnia and of Herzegovina, to the point where insurrections against the governors sent by the Porte (or even sometimes directly against the central power) were carried out with increasing intensity. This was particularly the case in 1814 and then in 1826 (date of the major revolt which followed the suppression of the corps of Janissaries). But these revolts were invariably brutally suppressed, for example, by Djelāl ul-Dīn Pasha in 1829, and subsequently by ʿAbd ül-Raḥmān Pasha. However, soon afterwards, in 1246/1831, a new major uprising erupted, this time against reforms in the organisation of the Ottoman army and led by the *ḳapudān* Ḥuseyin Beg Gradaščević, nicknamed "Zmaj od Bosne" (i.e. "Dragon of Bosnia"). The movement spread rapidly at first, both in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but when, some time later, other *ḳapudāns* dissociated themselves from it and joined the side of the government forces [see RIḌWĀN BEGOVIĆ], it too was suppressed, with much bloodshed, after a decisive battle which took place at Pale near Sarajevo. (Attention should be drawn in this context to a tendency which has been observed throughout the Balkans: during the Communist period, some historians and pseudo-historians of former Yugoslavia represented these various uprisings against the Porte, led by various local *condottieri*, as "national revolts" of the indigenous Muslim populations against the Ottoman Turks, which is manifestly false.) In spite of these numerous setbacks, some years later (in 1840 and then in 1848), there was a renewal of uprisings against the *wezīrs* of the Porte based in Travnik, which induced the latter to embark on a wide-ranging policy of repression. The task was entrusted, in 1850, to ʿÖmer Pasha (formerly a junior officer in the Austrian army, a native of Lika, in Krajna, a region of Croatia, whose name before his conversion to Islam was Mihailo (Mića) Latas (1806-71)), who, armed with special powers and a substantial military force, definitively crushed all resistance in 1850-1, executing in the process a large proportion of the indigenous Muslim ruling class, just as he had done previously, in actions of a similar type, in Syria, in Albania and in Kurdistan, or was later to do in Montenegro and in Herzegovina, although his efforts in Crete in 1867 were unsuccessful. After these bloody events, the seat of the Ottoman *wezīrs* in Bosnia was definitively transferred from Travnik to Sarajevo. From this time onwards, the city experienced the implementation of a number of reforms aimed at European-style modernisation, as during the vizierate of Ṭopal ʿOthmān Pasha (i.e. between 1861 and 1869), a period which saw a hesitant and belated reform of education, the establishment of the first Ottoman printing-press in these regions (that of the *wilāyet*), and thus the appearance of the very first local Muslim journals (cf. Dj. Pejanović, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*). Two other phenomena affected the city of Sarajevo substantially from the mid-19th century onwards: on the one hand, the gradual and final disappearance of the organisation of the *eṣnāf* (guilds of craftsmen) which had dominated the economic life of the city in preceding centuries; on the other hand, and most importantly (as this was to change enormously the relations existing between the various populations of the city), the gradual but constant enrichment of many of the Serbian families of Sarajevo, who were subsequently to represent a considerable social force in the material and spiritual life of the city. It is, however, worth remembering that, in the words of a significant remark of M. Ekmečić, "around the middle of the last century (i.e. the 19th), Sarajevo contained 100 mosques, and *one* Serbian Orthodox church" (cf. *Srpski narod u Turskoj od sredine XIX veka do 1878*, in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, v/1 [Belgrade 1981], 454). Finally, it may be noted that, as in the past, Sarajevo had to endure in the 19th century a prolonged outbreak of plague (in 1813-16), and a number of major fires (in 1831, 1842, 1852, and the most devastating of all, in 1879).

According to the resolutions of the Congress of Berlin (June-July 1878), Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the mandate of Austria-Hungary, although the latter did not formally annex the two provinces until October 1908. The troops of the Dual Monarchy entered the city of Sarajevo in August 1878, having encountered a desperate resistance, as unexpected as it was murderous, on the part of a section of the Muslim population of the city, which lasted eight hours. It was led by numerous local individuals, including an *imām*, Hadži Lojo (Loyo), although there was no significant involvement on the part of Sarajevo's Muslim ruling class, which remained aloof from this popular movement. The forty years of Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878-1918) transformed the appearance of the city beyond recognition, not only in matters of town-planning and architecture, but also in terms of the religious (corresponding in this particular case to *ethnic*) composition of the population. This is clearly illustrated by the following table, devised by one of the two most knowledgeable historians of the city, Hamdija Kreševljaković (the

other specialist being Vladislav Skarić). What is established is on the one hand a quite spectacular fall in the percentage of the Muslim population, and on the other an extraordinary increase in the percentage of the Catholic population (see Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme*, 38):

year	*total pop.*	*Muslims*	*Orthodox*	*Catholics*	*Jews*
1851	21,102	15,224 (72.23%)	3,575 (16.94%)	239 (1.14%)	1,714 (8.12%)
1879	21,377	14,848 (69.45%)	3,747 (17.52%)	678 (3.26%)	2,077 (9.74%)
1885	26,267	15,787 (60.09%)	4,431 (16.88%)	3,326 (12.66%)	2,618 (9.96%)
1895	38,083	17,787 (45.06%)	5,858 (15.39%)	10,672 (28.02%)	4,054 (10.64%)
1910	51,919	18,460 (35.57%)	8,450 (16.27%)	17,922 (34.51%)	6,397 (12.33%)
1921	60,087	21,465 (35.73%)	12,479 (20.77%)	18,076 (30.08%)	7,427 (12.36%)

Seeing the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a first stage in its colonisation of the Balkans, the Austro-Hungarian government proceeded methodically towards the implementation of numerous projects, especially in Sarajevo, designed to facilitate the attainment of this objective, while at the same time demonstrating to international opinion the civilising nature of its mission: construction of railway, of a central electricity system and of urban canals; improvement of the quays of the Miljacka; construction of the Catholic cathedral (1884-9, replacing the former Catholic church, on which little information is available, as is hardly surprising when the figures in the above table are considered); building of a monumental Town Hall in pseudo-Moorish style (1896), and many other public buildings on the grand scale (such as the magnificent Zemaljski Musej (1888), modelled on the Vienna Museum, the Theatre, the Law Courts, the Bank, the Protestant Church, the Hospital, schools, hotels, etc.; not forgetting the laying-out, in 1886, of the city's first municipal park on the site of a Muslim cemetery). This rapid Europeanisation brought to Sarajevo many soldiers and officials. Among the latter, both in administration and in education, there were to be found a large number of Orthodox (i.e. Serbs) and Catholics (predominantly Croats, who were joined by considerable numbers of new arrivals from elsewhere: Austrians, Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenians, Rumanians, etc.) (see Kreševljaković, *op. cit.*, 37-9). The city was extended rapidly in a westwards direction, i.e. towards the plain, and towards Ilidža, which soon became a kind of "oriental Baden". At the same time, as was to be anticipated, there was a decline in the craftsmanship of the city, an inevitable consequence of the appearance of the first factories.

The shock experienced by the Muslim population of Sarajevo, as a result of Austro-Hungarian occupation and the sudden irruption of all this modernity, was acute, as is shown by many texts of this period, and also by the emigration (although apparently of limited extent) of some of the inhabitants of the city to Turkey, or towards closer regions still controlled by the Ottoman Empire (see A. Popovic, *Isl. balk.*, 272-3). However, gradually the Muslim reacted and organised themselves into a religious community guided by an *Ulema medžlis* and an administration of *wakfs*, at the head of which was the chief of the community bearing the title of *Reʾis al-ulema* (see *EI*², I, 1273b). In matters affecting schools, and education in general, great changes took place, since the Austro-Hungarian authorities completely reformed the organisation of public instruction. In this new system, which had little effect on the various Muslim elementary schools, *medreses*, more or less "reformed", served for the training of religious functionaries of inferior status. The best-known in Sarajevo at this time were the Kuršumlija and Hanika *medreses*, both dating from the time of G͟hāzī K͟hosrew Beg (cf. *Spomenica Gazi*...). Furthermore, in 1887, a special college was inaugurated in Sarajevo with the aim of training judges for the Muslim courts and senior religious functionaries. This was the highly-renowned *Šeriatska Sudačka Škola u Sarajevu*, which was the principal seedbed of the Muslim religious intelligentsia of Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1887 and the Second World War, and where the duration of studies was five years. Many details concerning this institution are to be found in the two volumes compiled on the occasion of its thirty-fifth and fiftieth anniversaries: in *Tridesetpetogodišnji izvještaj Šeriatske Sudačke Škole u Sarajevu*, Sarajevo 1917, and especially in *Spomenica Šeriatske Sudačke Škole u Sarajevu, izdana povodom pedesetgodišnjice ovoga zavoda* (*1887-1937*), Sarajevo 1937. In 1892 an academy was also founded for the training of school-teachers (*Dār al-muʿallimīn*), where the course of study lasted three years. It should be noted that there was at first, among the local Muslims, a period of passivity, of mistrust and of defiance regarding everything emanating from the Austro-Hungarian authorities. In this context, worth citing for example is the fact that in 1887, at the time of the inauguration of the *Šer. Sud. Škola* which has been mentioned above, the new administration encountered obstinate resistance on the part of the Muslims, who refused to send their sons to the school, with the result that the first pupils of this establishment were recruited among orphans (cf. Abduselam Balagija, *Les musulmans yougoslaves*, Algiers 1940, 115). But subsequently, as a result of a gradual transformation of opinions, many Muslim children began to attend secular elementary schools and academies. Some even pursued studies abroad, especially in Vienna and in Budapest, for those to whom Zagreb was not a preferable option, to qualify as doctors, engineers, etc. Others also went abroad, but with the object of pursuing traditional studies, in Istanbul, in Cairo and in Medina, or on

the contrary, to become initiated into Western-style Islamology, in Vienna (as was the case with Šukrija Alagić, Fehim Bajraktarević and Safvet-beg Bašagić) or in Budapest (in the case of Šaćir Sikirić), thus becoming the very first local orientalists.

There is much that should be said regarding the Muslim press of Sarajevo during these four decades. This evidently reflects accurately the principal political, social, cultural and other tendencies which emerged in the Muslim community, a community which found itself from day to day, without really understanding *how*, being carried along in the wake of the other populations of the city, which until recently had only constituted the *re^cāyā*. Details should also be supplied regarding the first Muslim political parties founded in Sarajevo in this period (on these parties, see Popovic, *op. cit.*, 287-9). Finally, it may be recalled that it was in Sarajevo, on 28 June 1914, that the Archduke of Austria Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip, a young local Serb, and that this act served as the pretext for the unleashing of the First World War.

From 1918 to 1941, Sarajevo was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (a state which was initially called, and for a short time, "Kingdom of the Serbs, of the Croats and the Slovenians"). While continuing to play its role as a major regional city, and although it was, from 1929 onwards the centre of the Drinska Banovina, i.e. the Department of Drina, Sarajevo quite rapidly lost its former importance and was relegated to the second rank, suffering unfavourable comparisons (in all respects) in regard to the major centres of the country, such as Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. It retained its picturesque monuments and its pleasing aspect of an ancient Ottoman city, with its "upper town" composed of residential quarters and its "lower town", with its *čaršija*, the streets of which still bore the names of the crafts which had been practised there, its mosques, its quarters of former times, and its cemeteries extending over the neighbouring hills (in particular, one of the most spectacular of all, the Jewish cemetery, dating from the 16th century, situated on the left bank of the Miljacka). Sarajevo nevertheless continued to develop on the economic, industrial, cultural and political levels. Its population, within which the religious barriers were becoming blurred, with the consequence that an increasing number of mixed marriages was observed, grew from 60,087 inhabitants in 1921 ("more than a third of whom are Muslims, who are for the most part craftsmen", F. Babinger, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*) to slightly more than 80,000 in 1941. The city was naturally the principal religious and cultural centre not only for the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also for the Muslim community of the Kingdom as a whole (see BOSNA, and Popovic, *Isl. balk.*, 312 ff. and *passim*). As regards the Muslim scholastic establishments, it should be noted that the *medrese* of G͟hāzī K͟hosrew Beg continued to offer higher secondary education, but also that a new pilot scholarly establishment was opened, known as the "Academy of Islamic Law" (*Šerijatska gimnazija*), which was the only Muslim academy in the Kingdom where Muslim pupils could receive an education comparable to that dispensed in other public academies. As for the *Šeriatska Sudačka Škola*, it was converted in 1937 to the *Viša islamska šerijatsko-teološka škola u Sarajevu* ("Islamic High School of Law and Theology") and gained the status of a Faculty. Furthermore, the Muslim press (of various tendencies) continued to develop, as did the Muslim political parties (which were to disappear in 1941). (On these topics, see Popovic, *op. cit.*, 328-31 and *passim.*)

During the Second World War (1941-5), the city of Sarajevo was part of the Fascist Croat state of Ante Pavelić, then, after the war, it became the capital of the Federal Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina of Titoist Yugoslavia. In the course of this latter period (1945-92), Sarajevo experienced extraordinary growth, expanding from some 100,000 inhabitants in 1946, to 213,092 in 1961, then to about 250,000 in 1968, and passing the figure of 300,000 in 1992, henceforward comprising a large number of modern quarters, most of them extending over the plain. The city continued to be the base for the guidance of the Yugoslav Muslim community and the seat of its chief. (On relations between the latter and the Communist authorities during this period, see Popovic, *Les musulmans yougoslaves.*) As regards the Muslim educational establishments, they experienced several phases, which may be summarised thus. At the very beginning of the taking of power by the Communists, all the Muslim religious schools mentioned above were closed. Thus the *Viša isl. šer.-teol. škola* was definitively closed in April 1946, this coinciding with the abolition of the Muslim courts. Then, gradually, as a result of an extraordinary reversal of the situation, beginning with the Communist government's decision to seek a major role in the organisation—predominantly Muslim—of Non-Aligned States, a new system was put in place. Under this system, the principal institution for the training of religious cadres became once more the renowned Gazi Husrevbeg *medrese*, then some time later, in 1977, there was established (still in Sarajevo) a Faculty of Islamic Theology (*Islamski Teološki Fakultet*). The same period saw a remarkable flourishing of the Muslim press.

The disintegration of Titoist Yugoslavia, following the collapse of the Communist world and the resurgence of various local nationalisms, culminated in the spring of 1992 in a brutal civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the city of Sarajevo has become one of the principal theatres of operations (on these controversial and poorly-understood issues, as well as on the Muslim community, cf. X. Bougarel, *Discours d'un ramadan de guerre civile*, in *L'Autre Europe*, 26-7 [Paris 1993], 171-197; and idem, *Un courant panislamiste en Bosnie-Herzégoviné*, in G. Kepel (ed.), *Exils et royaumes. Les appartenances au monde arabo-musulmans aujourd'hui*, Paris 1994, 275-99). At present, it is impossible to see when, or how, the city of Sarajevo can regain a semblance of normality.

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SARAKHS, a town of northern Khurāsān, lying in the steppe land to the north of the eastern end of the Köpet Dagh mountain chain. It was situated on the right or eastern bank of the Tadjant (modern Tedjen) river, whose uncertain flow received the waters of the Harī Rūd before finally petering out in the Ḳara Ḳum desert [*q.v.*]. According to the mediaeval Islamic geographers, the river bed only contained water at the time of floods, i.e. winter and early spring. Various channels were taken off the river for irrigation, but scantiness of water supply always limited agriculture there. In mediaeval times also the road from Nīshāpūr and Ṭūs to Marw passed through Sarakhs.

The geographers record a tale that the town was founded by the legendary Turkish king Afrāsiyāb, but nothing seems to be known of any pre-Islamic history. The first mention of Sarakhs in Islamic history is in 22/643 when the Arab commander al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] sent one of his officers to it, but this can only have been an exploratory probe since ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] in 31/651-2 led a campaign into Khurāsān, capturing Nīshāpūr and other towns as far as Sarakhs (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2682, 2884, 2887-8). Sarakhs is mentioned during the fighting in Khurāsān between Abū Muslim's partisans and the last Umayyad governor there, Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*], and in 185/801 there took place at Sarakhs and at neighbouring Nasā [*q.v.*] a rebellion against the oppressive ʿAbbāsid governor ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān [*q.v.*] led by the *mawlā* Abu 'l-Khaṣīb Wuhayb b. ʿAbd Allāh (183-6/799-802) (see E.L. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule 747-820*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979, 171). The geographers of the 4th/10th century describe Sarakhs as a considerable town, half the size of Marw, with a Friday mosque, good agriculture, including grain grown for export to Nīshāpūr, and extensive pasture grounds for camels and sheep. Within the population, so al-Muḳaddasī states, there were two factions of the Ḥanafī ʿArūsiyya and the Shāfiʿī Ahliyya (see C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 165-6).

Sarakhs played a significant role in the overrunning of Khurāsān by the Turkmens in the first half of the 5th/11th century. In 425/1025 Maḥmūd of Ghazna allowed 4,000 Oghuz families and their herds to cross the Oxus and settle near Farāwa, Abīward [*q.vv.*] and Sarakhs, but by 428/1036 the Oghuz were demanding a grant of the revenues of Marw, Abīward and Sarakhs. It suffered badly from the devastations of the Turkmens, so that when Masʿūd of Ghazna appeared there with his army in 431/1040, the exasperated inhabitants refused him entry, and Masʿūd had to storm the citadel, killing many of the people; it was thus from Sarakhs that the sultan set forth for his ill-fated battle with the Saldjūḳs and their forces at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the waterless desert between Sarakhs and Marw (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 224, 250-1, 265). In the second half of the 5th/12th century and after the end of Sandjar's sultanate, Sarakhs was held by the Oghuz chief Malik Dīnār, and then by the Khʷārazmian claimant to power, Sulṭān Shāh b. Il Arslan. During the time of the Mongol invasions, Čingiz Khān in 618/1221 sent his son Toluy to occupy the towns of Khurāsān, including Sarakhs; it submitted and received a Mongol *shiḥna*, but rebelled, like other towns in the province, on hearing rumours of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn's successes (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 155-6, 162, 301). The town must nevertheless have slowly revived after the Mongol devastations. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] passed through it without mentioning anything except Sarakhs's connection with the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Luḳmān al-Sarakhsī (whose *gunbad* or tomb still exists in the town) (*Riḥla*, iii, 79, tr. Gibb, iii, 583), but Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (mid-8th/14th century) describes the town as having a strong wall 5,000 paces in circumference and a flourishing agriculture, especially of melons and grapes (*Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 159, tr. 155).

During the period of Ṣafawid-Özbeg warfare, it had an exposed position in the frontier zone between the two rival powers. In 932/1526 ʿUbayd Allāh Khān Shībānī occupied Sarakhs en route for his campaign against Mashhad and Ṭūs (*Bābur-nama*, tr. Beveridge, 534). The raids of the Tekke Turkmens of Marw on Persian territory did not cease until after the Persian government in *ca.* 1850 constructed a strong fort at Sarakhs, on the left or western bank of the Tedjen river, shortly after which a new threat appeared when the Russians moved into Central Asia and built a military post and settlement at Old Sarakhs on the right bank (G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 195-8).

Modern Persian Sarakhs (lat. 36° 32′N., long. 61° 07′ E.) is the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* of the same name in the *shahrastān* of Mashhad in the province (*ustān*) of Khurāsān; in *ca.* 1950 it had a population of 5,000 (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, ix, 212-13), which had increased by 1991 to 22,247 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

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al-**SARAKHSĪ**, Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib b. Marwān, the most prominent disciple of al-Kindī and, like his master, a dedicated advocate of Greek learning at the unsure early stage of its Muslim integration, but with a more pronounced inclination toward *adab*.

He was born around 220/835 and died early in 286/899. A fact attested for his obscure early life is his participation as the delegate of al-Kindī in a multireligious philosophical-theological debate about Christianity and the Trinity (see Moosa and Holmberg). He began his career as an educator of the future caliph al-Muᶜtaḍid. In 271-2/885, he accompanied the prince on an unsuccessful military expedition to al-Ṭawāḥīn in southern Palestine, keeping a journal detailing its itinerary. He became an influential *nadīm* [*q.v.*] of the caliph and, in 282/895, was appointed to the *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] and other offices. This, however, may have contributed to his downfall. Already in the following year, he was incarcerated. He died, or rather was put to death, in prison three years later. The reason for this turn in his fortunes was a mystery that was much debated at the time and continued to intrigue scholars through the centuries. Many explanations were put forward, none of them provable. The unwise betrayal of a high-level secret, a falling-out with the caliph himself, and also rumours of "heresy", might have contributed. He appears indeed to have unwisely expressed objectionable views, including seeming doubts about the credibility of prophets (see also below). His supposed influence on the caliph in religious matters might have become an embarrassment to the latter, once he was given highly visible official positions. And there were no doubt the usual rivalries at court; he himself is described as fiercely protective of his position (see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xii, 17, under al-Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Raᶜd al-Khurāsānī).

His great productivity as a scholar and writer may in part have been as transmitter of al-Kindī, albeit, it seems, a rather creative one; this is particularly likely where identical titles on philosophical subjects are attested for both only in late bibliographical tradition. No copy of a complete work of his has been authenticated so far. The recent discovery of a *Kitāb Ādāb al-mulūk* also remains doubtful for the time being, even though the title appears among his works; the attribution to him is found in only one of the two manuscripts now known, and the work itself is an interesting reworking of the *Akhlāḳ al-mulūk* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Taghlibī/Thaᶜlabī, published earlier as *Kitāb al-Tādj* with a wrong attribution to al-Djāḥiẓ (see G. Schoeler, in *ZDMG*, cxxx [1980], 217-25). On the other hand, we have a cornucopia of quotations from his works or attributed to him as a transmitter; a noteworthy recently published source is Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, ed. Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, Beirut 1408/1988. Geography, in particular, was enriched by his above-mentioned journal; it was discovered in al-Muᶜtaḍid's library under interesting circumstances and acquaints us with a unique document of early Muslims geography. He is credited with other geographical and topographical writings. He and al-Kindī are said to have provided the materials for a world map (see M. Kropp, in *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Leiden 1981, between 160 and 161). He wrote on the full extent of the paideia of the *nadīm*, on cooking and politics, on love and music, among many other subjects. Fragments on the theoretical aspects of music are preserved in al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kātib, *Kamāl adab al-ghināʾ*, ed. Cairo 1975, v. *mūsīḳī*, vii, 683-4; Fr. tr. Amnon Shiloah, *La perfection des connaissances musicales*, Paris 1972). He occurs frequently as a transmitter of anecdotes on singers and wits. His interest in comparative religion is further attested by his report on the Ṣābians on the basis of al-Kindī preserved in the *Fihrist* (another fragment in ᶜAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, v, 152). His hilarious spoof that targeted the anti-Greek religious bias of a narrow-minded member of the Ibn Thawāba family [*q.v.*] as told by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Akhlāḳ al-wazīrayn*, ed. Ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭandjī, Damascus 1385/1965, 235-47, may possibly have been concocted or embellished by al-Tawḥīdī himself; be this as it may, its ascription to him as well as his writing on Ṣābianism could easily have added to impeaching his orthodoxy for later generations. All his works and ideas (among them the invention of a transliteration system for foreign languages, see Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Tanbīh*, ed. M.Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, Baghdād 1968, 35) reveal a lively thinker and (to a degree) free spirit who probably had few equals in his time. He may well be considered as representative of intellectual currents in contemporary Baghdād that were about to change direction.

Bibliography: The main sources for his life and works are the *Fihrist* and, secondarily, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa. Cf. further, for instance, Masᶜūdī; Ḳifṭī; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 158-60; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, Beirut 1412/1992, xiii, 448-9; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii, 5-8; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, i, 198-9; Brockelmann, I², 231-2, S I, 375; Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 259, v, 263, vi, 162-3, vii, 137, ix, 233. Numerous other biographical references are almost exclusively concerned with the circumstances of his death. See F. Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Saraḫsī*, American Oriental Series 26, New Haven 1943; idem, in *JAOS*, lxxi (1951), 135-42, lxxvi (1956), 27-32, lxxxi (1961), 222-4; idem, articles to be published on *Ādāb al-mulūk* and on the *Rangstreit* between lovers of boys and of girls; Matti Moosa, in *al-Madjalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine, Organ of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East*), vii (1969), 189-97, 244-52; idem, in *JAOS*, xcii (1972), 19-24; B. Holmberg, *A treatise on the unity and Trinity of God by Israel of Kashkar*, Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions 3, Lund 1988, 50 ff., 84 ff.; Mudjtabā Mīnuwī, in *Djāwīdan Khirad*, i (1354/1975), 9-18 (no more publ.; reference provided by Said Arjomand). (F. Rosenthal)

al-**SARAKHSĪ**, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Sahl Abū Bakr, Shams al-Aʾimma, a Ḥanafī jurist of the 5th/11th century, who lived and worked in Transoxania, inheriting and developing the juristic tradition of that region. He produced a number of works, the most important being the *Mabsūṭ*, the *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-kabīr*, and the *Uṣūl al-fiḳh*. The first of these is a work of *furūᶜ*, a commentary on the *mukhtaṣar* of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī (d. 334/945). This in turn was an epitome of the works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, the foundational texts of the Ḥanafī tradition. Al-Sarakhsī reintroduced and explored the rules of al-Shaybānī, organising his material around points of dispute (*ikhtilāf*) and incorporating information related to local Ḥanafī tradition and other schools of law, apparently derived from oral transmission and local teaching practice. His organisation, comprehensive coverage, exploration of *ikhtilāf*, and manipulation of hermeneutical argument, all conduce to make this work a remarkable achievement of juristic literature. It remained a point of reference for the developing Ḥanafī *furūᶜ* tradition till the 19th century. The *Sharḥ* is a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Siyar al-kabīr* of al-Shaybānī. In its published form it is not always easy

to distinguish the text and the commentary (also true of the *Mabsūṭ*), but it too demonstrates an overall concern for comprehensive coverage, development of rules and considered hermeneutical argument. Al-Sarakhsī's *Uṣūl* draws on the independent Transoxanian Ḥanafī tradition represented by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī (d. 340/951) and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shāshī (d. 344/955) and on the *uṣūl* works of al-Djaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/980). He also refers to the *Risāla* of al-Shāfiʿī, the opinions and some writings of later Shāfiʿī thinkers (e.g. Ibn al-Suraydj, d. 306/918), and to the major stances of other traditions.

The Ḥanafī biographical tradition has little independent information on al-Sarakhsī's life. It draws on and elaborates clues supplied in the works. The Introduction to the *Mabsūṭ* and the concluding formulae of a number of its sections reveal that the author dictated it from prison. The *Sharḥ* identifies ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad al-Ḥulwānī as a teacher, and the *Uṣūl* begins with the statement that it was dictated in Ūzdjand or Özgend in 479/1086. Biographical notices emerge later e.g. in the *Kitāb al-Djawāhir al-muḍiyya* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Abi 'l-Wafāʾ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳurashī (d. 775/1373) and the *Tādj al-tarādjim* of al-Ḳāsim Ibn Ḳuṭlubughā (d. 879/1474). In addition to conventional and formulaic items, al-Ḳurashī states that al-Sarakhsī died *ca.* 490/1096, and names three students, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaṣīrī, ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī al-Baykandī and ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb, grandfather of al-Marghīnānī, the author of the *Hidāya*. Ibn Ḳuṭlubughā expands the story of the imprisonment, adds that al-Sarakhsī ended his life in Farghāna under the protection of the Amīr Ḥasan, suggests a date of death about 500/1106, and gives an anecdote about a local *amīr* and his *umm walads*. The anecdote is intended to demonstrate the knowledge, skills and integrity of al-Sarakhsī, but Heffening, in *EI*[1], discovered in it a cause for his imprisonment. Abu 'l-Ḥasanat Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī, writing in 1293/1876, summarised the biographical tradition, incorporating a few more details (e.g. he identifies another student, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ūzdjandī, grandfather of Ḳāḍīkhān) and citing an aberrant death date of 438/1046. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 363, gives 483/1090 as date of death and has been followed by Brockelmann, Heffening and Sezgin.

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SARAḲUSṬA, SARAGOSSA, a town situated on the river Ebro in Spain, regional capital of its eponymous province and of the current *Communidad Autónoma de Aragón*. Founded in 24 B.C. by Augustus as a Roman military colony, on the Iberian site of Salduba, it was called in Latin *Caesarea Augusta*, a name corrupted into the form *Cesaragosta*, which was adopted, virtually unchanged, by the Muslims after their conquest of the Iberian Peninsula; it is transcribed into Arabic as *Saraḳusta* (*nisba: Saraḳusṭī*). The correspondences *s* > *z* and *ḳ* > *g* and the current assimilation *-st-* > *-z-* explain its modern form in Spanish, Zaragoza.

Saraḳusṭa was one of the most important cities (*madīna*) of al-Andalus, between 95/714 and its conquest by Alfonso I of Aragon (512/1118), considered the regional capital (*ḥāḍira*) or the "metropolis" of the "Upper March" of al-Andalus (*umm al-thaghr al-aʿlā*), the *thaghr* or northern frontier extending in principle to the north of the Pyrenees, and, after the Christian conquests as far as Pamplona (captured in 183/799) and Barcelona (captured in 185/801). This was fixed, for the duration of the three remaining centuries, in the valley of the Ebro, with the zones (*iḳlīm*) of Saraḳusṭa and of Tudela (Tuṭīla), Huesca (Washḳa), Barbastro (Barbiṭāniya), Lerida (Lārida) and Calatayud (Ḳalʿat Ayyūb), in addition to the eastern zone of Tortosa (Ṭurṭūsha) and the southern zone of Bārūsha, bordering on the "Middle March" (*al-thaghr al-awsaṭ*).

The zone (*iḳlīm*) of Saraḳusṭa included the districts (*nāḥiya*) of the city itself (*al-madīna*), and others such as Belchitá (Balshād), Cazarabet (Ḳaṣr ʿAbbād), Cutanda (Ḳutanda), Fuentes (Fūntish), Gallego (Djalliḳ), Jalon (Shalūn), Pleitas (Balṭash), and Zaydūn. It comprised fortresses (*ḥiṣn*), villages (*balda*) and hamlets (*ḳarya*), denominations applied not always systematically to places in this zone, such as Alcañiz (Ḳannīsh), Almenara (al-Manāra), Caspe (Ḳashb), Calanda (Ḳalanna), Montañana (Munt Anyāt), Ricla (Rikla), Rueda de Jalón (Rūṭa), and Zuera (Ṣukhayra).

The town plan of Saraḳusṭa included a space enclosed within a wall of stone, built by the Romans and preserved throughout the four centuries of Muslim domination; this wall surrounded an irregular rectangle of approximately 600 x 900 m where, according to the calculations of L. Torres Balbás, some 17,000 inhabitants lived. This intramural space was crossed by two perpendicular highways (the former *cardo* and *decumanus*) which connected four gates: the Gate of the Bridge (*Bāb al-Ḳanṭara*), on the river Ebro; to the east, the Gate of *al-Ḳibla*, or of Valencia; to the west the Gate of Toledo, or "of the Jews" (*Bāb al-Yahūd*), and to the south the Gate of the Ṣinhādja, indicating a settlement of these Berbers, a name still evident in the "Cinegio" Arch. In the north-west corner of the enclosed space there was a fortified compound, the seat of authority (*al-Ḳaṣr*), known as *al-Sudda* (like the *Sudda* of Cordova), a name currently born by the "Torreón de la Zuda". Also within the enclosed space stood the Great Mosque (*al-Djāmiʿ*), which according to an improbable tradition is said to have been founded by a number of venerable individuals (*ṣaḥāba* or *tābiʿūn*) who were supposed to have arrived in Saraḳusṭa with the vanguard of the Muslim conquerors: archaeology has proved that this Great Mosque was built over a Roman temple, dating from the time of Tiberius, which became a church with the arrival of Christianity. Some Andalusian sources indicate that the Great Mosque of Saraḳusṭa was enlarged twice, in 242/856-7 and *ca.* 409-12/1018-21. Recent archeological excavations have revealed the rectangular shape (54 x 86 m) of this Mosque, with a pillar-supported hall of nine naves, comparable in dimensions to the greatest mosques of al-Andalus, those of Cordova and Seville. All that remains of it are the lower portions of the minaret, and a few capitals dating from the 5th/11th century and uncovered in excavations carried out in what is now the Seo del Salvador, the church constructed by the Christians on the site of the Great Mosque of Saraḳusṭa.

Outside the wall there were extensive suburbs (*rabaḍ*), such as that known as "the Tannery" (*al-*

Dibāgha, currently the suburb of "Altabás", formerly "Atabahas", on the other side of the river), several named after the Ṣinhādja (outside the eponymous Gate), and other suburbs which encompassed the wall in its entirety, in their turn defended by a wall of clay (*radam*), with its own small gates, five of which are known to us by later names belonging to the Christian period. Outside the Gate of Sancho, to the north-west, stretched the great public esplanade of the *Muṣāra* or *Muṣallā* (a name retained in what is now "Almozara" street.)

Outside this wall of clay is located the most important building of Saraḳusṭa which is still standing: the castle-palace of Aljafería (*al-Dja^cfariyya*), named after Abū Dja^cfar, *kunya* of the king of the *ṭā'ifa* of Saraḳusṭa, al-Muḳtadir (second half of the 5th/11th century), who built the palace alongside a tower dating from the Umayyad period (currently "Torre del Trovador") which possibly has Roman foundations. The builder-king celebrated his palace in his poetry, calling it "house of joy" (*dār al-surūr*); his honorific title of al-Muḳtadir is to be found inscribed on a capital of the Aljafería. preserved in the Museum of Saragossa.

Saraḳusṭa, known as the "White City" (*al-madīna al-bayḍā'*), appeared, according to the Arab geographers, as "a white stain surrounded by the vast emerald green of its countryside". In fact, the sources praise the quality and the abundance of its agriculture, well irrigated by the great river Ebro and its numerous tributaries. Commerce found in Saraḳusṭa "the gateway to all routes", according to a reference in the sources. There were salt mines and a thriving fur trade, producing some renowned furs known as *saraḳusṭiyya*.

In this space, the Muslim life of Saraḳusṭa developed during the four centuries (2nd-8th to 6th-12th) of Islamic political domination, also during the following four centuries (from 1118 to 1614) of the well-documented presence of "Mudéjar" [*q.v.*] and "Moriscos" [*q.v.*], the "Moors", subjected to Christian politieal power. The four centuries of Muslim political domination reflect the general chronology of the history of al-Andalus [*q.v.*]: (a) conquest and rule by *amīrs* dependent on the Orient and Ifrīḳiya; (b) the independent Umayyad dynasty of al-Andalus; (c) the kingdoms of *taifas* (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*); and (d) the Almoravids. Nothing certain is known regarding the Muslim conquest of Saraḳusṭa, possibly in 95/714; Christian sources, such as the *Crónica Mozárabe*, speak of fierce resistance on the part of the town, but two Christian churches remained in use there throughout the Islamic period: the church of Santa Maria (with the pious tradition of the apparition of the "Pillar") and the church of Las Santas Masas, centres of an active Christian presence in the town. There was also a Jewish community, to which sporadic reference is made.

Saraḳusṭa takes a prominent role in the history of al-Andalus from the year 124/742 onwards, becoming embroiled in the struggles of the *baladiyyūn* Arabs against the Shāmiyyūn, and of the "North Arabs" against the "South Arabs", the latter forming the majority in the Upper March. In 132/749-50, the governor of al-Andalus Yūsuf al-Fihrī [*q.v.*] sent to Saraḳusṭa as *wālī* a certain al-Ṣumayl, a "North Arab", in the hope of exercising better control over the "South Arab" majority; the latter rose in revolt four years later, and ultimately supported the candidature of the Umayyad ^cAbd al-Raḥmān I [*q.v.*], but after the latter had become *amīr* of al-Andalus, these "Southern Arabs", dominating the Upper March, rebelled incessantly against the central power of al-Andalus, even seeking the aid of Charlemagne, who came to Saraḳusṭa in 778 but found the gates of the city closed against him; whilst withdrawing, the Frankish army was attacked, this constituting some of the most renowned episodes recorded in the *Chanson de Roland*.

These frontier regions of al-Andalus persisted in their autonomist tendencies, rejecting both dependence on the Christians and dependence on Cordova, which sent its armies there on numerous occasions, commanded in person by successive *amīrs* of al-Andalus, who succeeded, periodically, in controlling the region by installing Cordovan governors, an unsatisfactory measure in terms of internal administration, and especially in terms of the external Christian threat. Collaboration with local families, in principle loyal to the Umayyads, was the major recourse of the central power, from the later years of the 2nd/8th century onwards. The *muladí* (*muwallad* [*q.v.*]) family of the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] were to become periodically the masters of Saraḳusṭa, leading protagonists, probably, in the activities of the Upper March, alternating loyalty and rebellion towards the Umayyad *amīrs*, until the decline of *muladí* power throughout al-Andalus, and its progressive replacement by a new power exercised by certain Arab families, who were relied upon by the Umayyads from the later years of the 3rd/9th century onwards, as happened as Saraḳusṭa with the Banū Tudjīb or Tudjībiyyūn [*q.v.*], in power between 276/890 and 430/1038, such families alternated between submissiveness and an autonomism which was total after the civil war (*fitna*) of the early 5th/11th century, leading to the establishment of the first dynasty of the *taifa* of Saraḳusṭa, which was replaced by the dynasty of the Banū Hūd [*q.v.*], from 430/1038 until the conquest by the Almoravids in 503/1110. The latter were, however, unable to maintain Muslim political domination at Saraḳusṭa for more than eight years, until 512/1118. The Muslim inhabitants remained there after the Christian conquest, subject to the regulations imposed upon "Mudéjars" [*q.v.*] and "Moors" [*q.v.*], until their expulsion in 1614.

Cultural life came into being very early at Saraḳusṭa, given its status as an important urban centre, with the first manifestations in the 3rd/9th century, and with consolidation in the following century, centred on cultured families such as the Banū Fūrtish and the Banū Thābit, among others. During these two centuries, Saraḳusṭa was in a state of some cultural isolation from the rest of al-Andalus but maintained direct relations with the Orient and the Maghrib, especially through the journey of the Pilgrimage. The cultural flowering of the 5th/11th century was, in part, the result of the arrival of major poets and scribes from Codova, making their way to the great *taifa* of the Upper March, under the patronage of the rulers of the Banū Tudjīb and Banū Hūd. In the 6th/12th century, the finest flowering of the culture of Saraḳusṭa was to be seen amongst its citizens in exile, as in the case of Ibn Bādja [*q.v.*], but in the city and its neighbourhood the culture of the Mudejars and the Moors also survived, manifesting itself in *aljamía* (*al-^cadjamiyya*).

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317/1118; Yākūt, *Mu^cdjam*, s.v.; *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, ed.-tr. Saragossa 1980, 70-2; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muktabis*, ii, Beirut 1973, 697; iii, Paris 1937, 1165; v, Madrid 1979, tr. Madrid-Saragossa 1981, 446; vii, tr. Madrid 1967, Beirut 1965, 306; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, tr. E. Terés, in *Al-And.* (1957), 376; Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhira*, Beirut 1979, ii, 998, iv, 890, vi, 942, vii, 423; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla*, Cairo 1961, ii, 417; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib*, Cairo, ii, 557-8; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, tr. E. Fagnan, *Annales*, index; *Dhikr*, ed.-tr. L. Molina, Madrid 1983, ii, 297; Marrākushī, *al-Muʿdjib*, ed. Dozy, 41, 50, 85, 148; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, Paris 1930 and Beirut 1967, *passim*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1983, viii, 659-60; al-Djazzār, *Dīwān*, ed. S. Barbera, thesis, Université Complutense, Madrid 1991, unpubl.; Makkarī, *Nafḥ*, Beirut 1968, viii, index.

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(M.J. Viguera)

AL-**SARAKUSTĪ**, the *nisba* of two Andalusian traditionists, father and son, both connected with the northern Spanish town of Saraḳusṭa [*q.v.*] or Saragossa. These are Abū Muḥammad Ḳāsim b. Thābit b. Ḥazm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muṭarrif b. Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAwfī al-Zuhrī (255-302/869-914) and his father Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Thābit (217-313/832-925 or 314/926). The biographical sources mention variants in their *nasab* that show that their genealogy was manipulated. They were Berbers who had established ties of *walāʾ* (*walāʾ ʿalāḳa*) with the Banū Zuhra, as all the Berbers of the Upper Frontier in al-Andalus had done. Ḳāsim's father Thābit, angry for some unknown cause, decided not to use the *nisba* al-Zuhrī and adopted instead the *nisba* al-ʿAwfī. This way he pretended that his ancestors were clients of a descendant of the Prophet's Companion ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*], who was allegedly in the Iberian Peninsula at the time of the conquest.

Ḳāsim and his father are credited with having introduced into al-Andalus al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, but they are especially famous for their work on *gharīb al-ḥadīth* (before them, the Andalusians ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb and Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Khushanī had already written books on the same genre). Both travelled to the East in the year 288/900, studying in Miṣr (Old Cairo) and Mecca with, among others, the traditionists al-Nasāʾī, al-Bazzār and Ibn al-Djārūd (a complete list of their teachers is given by Ibn Ḥārith al-Khushanī; see also al-Faḥḥām in *RAAD*, li [1976], 512-3). In 294/906 they returned to al-Andalus as experts in *ḥadīth* and *lugha*. Ḳāsim commenced work on his *al-Dalāʾil fī sharḥ mā aghfala Abū ʿUbayd wa-bn Ḳutayba min gharīb al-ḥadīth*, but died before he finished it. The book was completed by his father Thābit. Al-Zubaydī reports that some said they were not the real authors but rather it was the work of an Eastern author. In any case, it was much lauded, all the Andalusian biographers repeating Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī's praise, stressing that it was unparalleled even in the East (we are here at the beginning of the development of an Andalusian sense of local pride well reflected in Ibn Ḥazm's *Risāla fī faḍāʾil al-Andalus* where of course the *K. al-Dalāʾil* has a place of honour). Organised according to the *musnad* system, the *K. al-Dalāʾil* is partially preserved in three mss.: BG Rabat, no. 197 *ḳāf* (microfilm in the Maʿhad al-makhṭūṭāt); Ẓāhiriyya, no. 1579 = no. 41 *lugha* (microfilm in Maktabat al-Awḳāf, Baghdād); Türk Evkaf Müzesi, Istanbul, no. 1682. They have been carefully described by al-Faḥḥām, who is also responsible for a partial edition of the text. Muḥammad b. Aflaḥ, *mawlā* of al-Ḥakam II, wrote a *Taʿlīḳ ʿalā 'l-Dalāʾil* (see M. al-Manūnī, *Thaḳāfat al-ṣaḳāliba bi 'l-Andalus*, in *Awrāḳ*, v-vi [1982-3], 27, no. 33). The well-documented transmission of *al-Dalāʾil* through different chains reaches up to the Andalusī Ibn Sālim al-Kalāʿī (7th/13th century).

Ḳāsim is described as ascetic and pious. Pressed by his father, who had been a judge in Saragossa, to accept the same post, Ḳāsim asked for three days to consider the matter and died in the meantime. On the basis of this anecdote, the historical value of which is open to discussion, he is credited with being a *mudjāb al-daʿwa*, for he would have succesfully asked God to spare him the dangerous office of judge.

There is information about other members of the family who specialised in the transmission of the *K. al-Dalāʾil*, for example Ḳāsim's son Thābit (289-352/902-63), who wrote a copy of the work for al-Ḥakam II. The last known descendant is Thābit b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Thābit b. Saʿīd b. Thābit b. Ḳāsim b. Thābit (d. 514/1120).

Bibliography: For the primary sources, see M. Fierro, *Historia de los autores y transmisores andalusíes (HATA)*, forthcoming. See also Kaḥḥāla, iii, 99-100, viii, 96-7; Ziriklī, ii, 97, v, 174; J. Vernet, *El valle del Ebro como nexo entre Oriente y Occidente*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, xxiii (1950), 249-86, nos. 181, 200, 201 (repr. in J. Vernet, *De ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I a Isabel II*, Barcelona 1989); M.A. Makki, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana*, Madrid 1968, 156, 198-9, 264; Mª J. Hermosilla, *Las obras andalusíes en la* Gunya *del Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ*, in *Anuario de Filología*, v (1979), 192, no. 2; *GAS*, viii, 252; L. Molina and Mª L. Avila, *Sociedad y cultura en la Marca Superior*, in *Historia de Aragón*, iii, Saragossa 1985, 90; M. Marín, *Nómina de sabios de al-Andalus*, in *EOBA*, i (Madrid 1988), nos. 335, 1051; L. Molina, *Familias andalusíes*, in *ibid.*, ii (Granada 1989), 69-70; J.M.F. Vizcaíno, *Familias andalusíes en la* Fahrasa *de Ibn Jayr*, in *ibid.*, v (Madrid 1992), 473, no. 5. On the *K. al-Dalāʾil*, see ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, *Ḳāsim b. Thābit al-Saraḳusṭī wa-kitābuhu fī gharīb al-ḥadīth al-musammā bi* 'l-Dalāʾil, in *RAAD*, xli (1966), 3-20; Sh. al-Faḥḥām, *Kitāb al-Dalāʾil fī gharīb al-ḥadīth* li-Abī Muḥammad Ḳāsim b. Thābit al-ʿAwfī al-Saraḳusṭī, in *ibid.*, l (1975), 75-110, 303-21, 512-27, li (1976), 232-94, 481-517; idem, *Ḥadīth al-Shaʿbī fī ṣifat al-ghayth. Naṣṣ mustakhradj min* Kitāb al-Dalāʾil fī gharīb al-ḥadīth *li-Abī Muḥammad Ḳāsim b. Thābit al-ʿAwfī al-Saraḳusṭī*, in *ibid.*, lviii/1 (1983), 3-69.

(Maribel Fierro)

SARANDĪB, the name given in mediaeval Islamic geographical and historical sources to the island of Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka). The Arabic form renders well the Skr. *Siṃhala* "Ceylon" + *dvīpa* "island"; an intermediate form is found in al-Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. E. Sachau, London 1910, i, 233, as *Sangaladīp*. By the time of Yāḳūt (early 7th/13th century), the form *Sīlān* is found (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 346, art. *Baḥr al-Hind*).

Most of the mediaeval Islamic geographers, from Ibn Khurradādhbih onwards, give some account of Sarandīb, placing it in the Sea of Harkand (= the Bay of Bengal) between India and China and describing it as the last of the Dībadjāt (an Arabised plural form of Skr. *dvīpa*), i.e. the Indian Ocean archipelagos of the Laccadives, Maldives [*q. vv.*], etc. An authority like al-Idrīsī gives an exaggeratedly large size for Sarandīb, an over-estimation going back to Ptolemy and noted by Marco Polo in his section on Seilan (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, ii, 312-30, chs. xiv-xv). For the Arab and Persian writers, the most notable feature was the island's mountain, called *R.hūn* (from Skr.) in the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* (written 236/851), § 5 (a text much used by subsequent writers, e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 167-8 = §§ 175-6, etc.), regarded as the spot to which Adam descended on his expulsion from Paradise, leaving a footprint given as 70 cubits in size. At a later time, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was to note that Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists alike regarded the mountain as holy, with the Buddhists considering the footprint as that of the Buddha (*Riḥla*, iv, 165-85, German tr. H. von Mzik, *Die Reise des Araber Ibn Baṭūṭa durch Indien und China (14. Jahrhundert)*, Hamburg 1911, 353-67).

The *Akhbār* further states (§§ 5, 51) that Sarandīb had two kings and that it was the custom of the island that a dead king was immolated with his wives also throwing themselves on the funeral pyre, if they wished. Sauvaget observed that the detail of the two kings was known from the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th century A.D.), reflecting the frequent division of power between a Singhalese monarch and a Tamil one in the north-east of Ceylon. Also mentioned are the import of wine from ʿIrāḳ and Fārs by Muslim merchants for the king to enjoy personally and to sell to his subjects, and, apparently, the existence in the forests of Ceylon of the aboriginal Vedda people.

Bibliography: See especially, J. Sauvaget, *ʾAḫbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa l-Hind. Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, §§ 5, 51 and comm., and G. Ferrand, *Relations des voyages et textes géographiques ... relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1913, see index s.v. Sirandib, with trs. of the relevant texts, to which may be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 61, § 5.2, comm. 194, and *Marvazī*, tr. idem, 46, 50. For Idrīsī's detailed account of Sarandīb and his map, see S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in ... al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, text 27-30, comm. 122-6 and Map II. For the spread of Islam there and subsequent history of the island, see CEYLON.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SĀRANGPUR, a small town in Central India, before Partition in the Native State of Dewās, now in the Shajapur District of the state of Madhya Pradesh in the Indian Union (lat. 23° 34′ N, long. 76° 24′ E). It is essentially a Muslim town, founded by the sultans of Mālwā [*q.v.*], but on an ancient site. It was reputedly the location of a battle in 840/1437 when Maḥmūd Khaldjī I of Mālwā was defeated by the forces of Mēwāŕ [*q.v.*], and, of more certain historicity, it was captured in 932/1526 from Maḥmūd II of Mālwā by Rāṇā Sāṇgā [*q.v.*] of Čitawr. Then in 968/1561 it was seized by Akbar from the local governor Bāz Bahādur and incorporated into the Mālwā *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire, becoming the chef-lieu of the *sarkār* of Sārangpur. After falling to the Marāthās [*q.v.*] in 1734, it was in 1818 restored to the Dewās State. The town contains several ruinous Islamic buildings, including a mosque with an inscription from 901/1496 by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Shāh Khaldjī.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 95-7; K.A. Nizami and M. Habib (eds.), *A comprehensive history of India. V. The Delhi Sultanate (A.D. 1206-1526)*, Delhi, etc. 1970, 790-1, 936-7.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SARĀPARDA (P., lit. "palace-curtain"), the term applied in the sources for the Great Saldjūḳs and the Rūm Saldjūḳs to the great tent carried round by the sultans, regarded, with the *čatr* or *miẓalla* [*q.v.*], as one of the emblems of sovereignty. It is described in such sources as Rāwandī, Rashīd al-Dīn and Ibn Bībī as being red, the royal colour, and as having internal curtained compartments forming rooms.

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(ED.)

AL-**SARĀT** (A. "the back"), the collective name, not particularly widespread, of the chains of mountains which run from the Gulf of ʿAḳaba down to the Gulf of Aden [see AL-ʿARAB, Djazīrat, ii]. The word *sarāt* occurs quite often in the construct state, as in *sarāt al-azd*, *sarāt al-hān*, etc. In both Saudi Arabia and in Yemen, al-Sarāt separates the lowlands along the Red Sea [see AL-GHAWR; TIHĀMA] from the high plateau. The commonest view in the Arab sources is that al-Sarāt is identical with al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*] "the barrier". As a whole, the chains of mountains are cut up into large and small ranges which intersect in all directions. Al-Sarāt is in general treeless, with black rocky ravines, ridges, peaks and pinnacles. Breakneck paths and bridle paths, often hardly traceable on the rock, lead up to narrow gates which give access to mountain villages found on almost inaccessible heights. There are well-cultivated fields in terraces along the slopes and in the valleys, protected by a wall of large stones. The fields yield coffee, protected from the heat of the sun by shade-giving trees, grapes and sugar-cane.

The heat on the western slopes is tropical, reaching from 23° C. in January-February to daytime shade temperatures of 38° C., and frequently of 49° C., in summer (June-August). In winter some cyclones skirt the Arabian Peninsula moving southwards and providing some precipitation [see MAKKA. 3. The Modern City. Floods]. At night, the temperature drops considerably, and the mountain tops are frequently covered with snow. In March and April some rains fall, normally torrential, while the rainy period lasts from the middle of June to the end of September. A further particularity of the climate of the western slopes are the Tihāma fogs, called *umma* or *sukhaymānī*. The climate of the eastern slopes is extremely dry, but the valleys, because of the rainy seasons, have a perennial water supply and show great wealth in fruit, cereals, plants and trees.

There are only a few gaps in the al-Sarāt chains: from Yanbuʿ al-Baḥr to Yanbuʿ al-Nakhl, and via Badr Ḥunayn to Medina; from Djudda to Mecca; from al-Shuḳayya via al-Darb to Abhā [*q.v.*]; in Yemen, from al-Ḥudayda [*q.v.*] to Ṣanʿāʾ and from al-Mukhā to Taʿizz [*qq.v.*].

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SARAṬĀN (a.), masculine substantive (pl. *sarāṭīn*) denoting crustaceans (*kishriyyāt*) in general and, more specifically, those which are collected for human consumption. The root *s-r-ṭ* evokes, on the one hand, the notion of eating greedily and, on the other, that of running rapidly. The form *saraṭān* serves as a substantive, also as a verbal noun and an adjective; it is only the substantive which is considered in this article. Being applied to edible crustaceans (*maḥāra*), it has undergone considerable distortions according to specific regions; thus the forms encountered include *sarṭaʿān, salṭaʿān, ṣalṭaʿān, salṭaʿūn, salʿaṭān* and *zalʿaṭān*. Alongside this term, each crustacean bears other names which often recur to denote other species.

1. The decapod crustaceans.

(1) The spider crab (*Maia squinado*): *samak ʿankabūt, durūnī, ʿuḳrāysha, midja.*

(2) The squill-fish (*Scyllarus latus*) and the mantis-shrimp (*Squilla mantis*): *zīr al-baḥr, istākūzā al-raml.*

(3) The crab (*Carcinus*): *saraṭān al-baḥr* and all the distortions of *saraṭān* mentioned above, *ʿakrīsha, ḳamarūn, abū ḳamrūn* from the Spanish *camaron, djanīb, bū djnīb, abū djalambū, manʿ.*

(4) The edible crab (*Cancer pagurus* or *Carcinus maenas*): *umm djnība, khumkhum, risī.*

(5) The prawn and the shrimp (*Penaeus caramote, Palemon serratus*): *abayān, irbiyān, urbiyān, rubyān, burghūth al-baḥr, naylūn, ḳumbrī, ḳunbrī, bū ḳūsa, djambarī, djammarī, bū ḳamrūn, ḳazzāzī.*

(6) The crayfish, river lobster (*Astacus fluviatilis*): *saraṭān nahrī* and all the distortions of *saraṭān* mentioned above, *gharan, djarād al-nahr.*

(7) The lobster (*Homarus vulgaris*): *saraṭān al-baḥr, zalʿaṭān baḥrī, irbiyān, urbayān, rubyān, ḥimār, bābās/pāpās, ḳarnīṭ, ḳunbār, karkand, bū maḳḳūsa, djarād al-baḥr.*

(8) The crawfish, spiny lobster (*Palinurus vulgaris*): *angust, ankūsh, istākūzā 'l-shuʿāb al-murdjaniyya* and all the names of the crab, the prawn, the crayfish and the lobster.

(9) The hermit crab, soldier crab (*Pagurus bernhardus*): *ḳaṭā, saraṭān nāsik.*

2. Literature.

Few ancient authors have discussed crustaceans. Aristotle, in his *Historia Animalium* (see *Bibl.*), offers some observations regarding the ethology of these aquatic creatures, observations which later Arab authors were content to reproduce to the letter; these include al-Djāḥiẓ, in the 3rd/9th century and, later, al-Damīrī in the 8th/14th century, in his brief article *saraṭān* (see *Bibl.*) concerning the crayfish and ancient legends relating to it. Thus finding in a village a dead crayfish, lying on its back, is a mark of protection against plagues and natural disasters. If it is attached to a fruit-tree, the latter will bear an abundant crop. In the Sea of China, a marine crustacean which comes ashore and dies of desiccation provides Chinese physicians with an ingredient for medicines designed to combat leprosy. In the same period as that in which al-Damīrī was writing, Ibn Manglī included, in his treatise on hunting (see *Bibl.*), a brief chapter on the crayfish borrowed from his contemporary. It is interesting to note that for all these ancient authors the crustaceans are not decapods, but octopods, the pair of pincers (*minḳash, minḳākh, malḳaṭ*) not being regarded as feet.

3. Permissibility of consumption.

By virtue of the Ḳurʾānic verse (V, 95/96): "You are permitted the game of the sea (*ṣayd al-baḥr*) and the food which is found there", crustaceans taken alive may, once cooked, be lawfully eaten.

4. Specific qualities.

According to al-Damīrī, the flesh of edible crustaceans is beneficial in the treatment of dorsal pains and of phthisis. Bearing on one's person the head of a crayfish prevents sleep when the moon is shining brightly, but induces sleep when there is no moon. If a crayfish is roasted and pulverised, the powder, applied to haemorrhoids, causes them to subside. If the pincer of a crayfish is applied to a fruit-tree bearing a full crop, all the fruits will fall without the slightest cause. If a crayfish is applied to a deep wound enclosing an arrowhead, the latter is easily extracted. Finally, the crayfish serves as a talisman against any bite of a snake or a scorpion.

5. Oneiromancy.

Seeing a crustacean in a dream is the sign of a person of great guile, strongly armed, very preoccupied, going far afield in search of possessions and of unsociable nature. One who dreams of eating the flesh of a crayfish could receive good things from a faraway place.

6. Astronomy.

Al-Saraṭān, "the Crayfish" or "Cancer" is the fourth zodiacal constellation containing the two stars known as "the two Pincers" (*al-zubānayānⁱ*), these being:

(1) α (alpha) *Cancri*, mag. 4,4 (*zubānā 'l-saraṭān al-djanūbiyya*) "the southern Pincer of the Crayfish"; and

(2) ι (iota) *Cancri*, mag. 4,2 (*zubānā 'l-saraṭān al-shamāliyya*) "the northern Pincer of the Crayfish".

7. Medicine.

Al-saraṭān is the medical name currently given to the disease of cancer, with the synonym *ākila*, "the devourer", and the adjective *saraṭānī*, "cancerous".

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(F. Viré)

SARAWAK, a state on the west coast of the island of Borneo and a constituent part of the Federation of Malaysia since 1963. Originally the name referred to a dependency of the sultanate of Brunei consisting of the Sarawak, Samarahan and

Lundu river basins. Through a series of treaties (the first in 1841) with the Sultan of Brunei [*q.v.* in Suppl.], these territories passed to the "White Rajahs", the Brooke dynasty who administered Sarawak between 1841 and 1946. In 1946 the Brookes ceded their territory to the British Crown, and Sarawak, together with Sabah [*q.v.*], became British colonies. The wide variety of indigenous ethnic groups includes Ibans, Bidayuh (Land Dayaks), Melanau, Kayans, Kenyahs, Klemantans, Muruts and Malays. The general term "Dayak" was widely used to describe any non-Muslim peoples.

The Muslim population has generally been held to be about 20% of the total and is made up primarily of Malay-speaking riverine and coastal dwellers.

Brooke policy was to give effect to native laws and customs, and Islam was but one amongst a number of recognised law systems. There was no attempt to administer the strict principles of the *Sharīʿa* until very recently (see below). Instead, it became the practice to note down the main principles of Islam as these were seen to affect public administration, and to enforce them through administrative procedures. Marriage, divorce, inheritance and conversion were all regulated in this way.

From the early years of this century, Muslim matters were governed by the *Undang-Undang Mahkamah Melayu Sarawak* (Laws of the Sarawak Malay Court). This document was a compendium of Malay custom and amended from time to time. It never constituted a "Code of Muslim Law" but instead was directed toward the regulation of a society whose members shared recognisably Muslim values, particularly as to relations between the sexes. No hard and fast line was drawn between custom (*adat*) and the *Sharīʿa*.

It has been noted that the conflict between traditional and modernist Muslims which occurred in the Peninsular Malay states was absent in Sarawak, possibly because the small number of local religious scholars studied in Mecca, not in Cairo, the centre of late 19th century reformist ideas, and because Brooke rule isolated Sarawak Muslims from contact with the international Muslim community. Also, the *pondok* schools [see PESANTREN] which on the Peninsula provided elementary training in the Muslim sciences, were not developed in Sarawak. In 1939 a group of Malays in Kuching established the *Persatuan Melayu Sarawak* (the Sarawak Malay Association), one of whose aims was to protect Islam. The Association was banned under the Japanese Occupation of Sarawak, although there was otherwise little interference by the Japanese in the everyday affairs of Malays (Muslims).

This rather static position has been fundamentally changed from the 1980s. A Department of Religious Affairs has been established, Muslim officials have a defined status in the administrative system of the state, a *Sharīʿa* Court system is in place and *hadjdj* and educational finances are provided. Islam has also a political voice in state affairs as in the other states of Malaysia [*q.v.*]. *Dakwah* activity has been increasingly evident.

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(VIRGINIA MATHESON HOOKER)

SARAY, or SARAI, the name of two successive capitals of the Golden Horde located on the lower Volga. Of Persian origin, *sarāy* "palace" or "court", entered Turkic in the 11th century, where it was often paired with *karshi*, from the Tokharian B *kerciye* "royal palace", to designate the principal camp of a nomadic ruler (Nadelyaev, *et al.*, *Drevnetyurskiy slovar'*, 429, 488 and Clauson, *Etymological dictionary*, 664). In the Mongolian era, 13th-14th centuries, there was a further proliferation of Sarais (see, for example Galstyan, *Armyanskie istočniki*, 28) and this has given rise to considerable uncertainty and debate over the nomenclature, locale and chronology of the Golden Horde capitals.

The first of these capitals, now called Old Sarai for the sake of clarity, is located along the left bank of the Akhtuba, an eastern tributary of the Volga, near the modern village of Selitrennoe, about 125 km/77 miles north of Astrakhan. Founded by Batu, the son of Djoči, Činggis Khān's eldest son, some time after the conquests of Russia and the Ḳīpčaḳ steppe (completed around 1242), Sarai is first mentioned by name in 1254 when the Franciscan William of Rubruck visited the site on his way to Mongolia. He relates only that Sarai was newly-built by Batu and had a palace (*Mongol mission*, ed. Dawson, 207, 210). The character of the new capital is nicely evoked in Djuwaynī's depiction of Sarai as both a "camp" (*mukhayyam*) and as a "city" (*shahr*) (i, 222; Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 267).

According to the archeological evidence, Sarai was a large complex, about four km/12½ miles in length and covering an area of 10 km². The city had a well-developed network of streets (usually defined by drainage ditches), water reservoirs, markets and substantial artisans' quarters which housed jewellers, metalsmiths and glass- and ceramics-makers. The walled villas of the wealthy were generally located on the outskirts of the city (Egorov, *Istoričeskaya geografiya*, 114-117; Fyodorov-Davydov, *Golden Horde cities*, 19-22).

The most informative literary sources on Old Sarai all date to the 1330s, just before the move of the capital upstream to New Sarai (Sarāy al-Djadīd), and consequently there has always been some dispute over which city is described in these accounts. In most cases, however, a careful reading of the source resolves the apparent ambiguity. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, for example, begins his description of "al-Sarā" by stating that it took four days of travel to reach the capital from Ḥādjdj Tarkhān, the modern Astrakhan. Clearly, therefore, he visited Old Sarai, which is 125 km/77 miles from Astrakhan, and not New Sarai, which is a further four days' journey to the north. Moreover, the dimensions of the Sarai he depicts also confirm this conclusion; his city, like Old Sarai, is large, a half-day's ride in length (tr. Gibb, ii, 515-16), while the New Sarai, according to recent topographical studies (see below), was much smaller, barely 2 km² in area. Other contemporaneous accounts, by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ and al-ʿUmarī, also picture a large, populous city and are, in all probability, referring to Old Sarai (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ *Taḳwīm*, tr. ii, i, 322-3; al-ʿUmarī, ed. Lech, Ger. tr. 146, Arabic text 81).

The city described by these authors was full of merchants and markets. European sources, such as the commercial manual of Pegolotti, correctly place Sarai on the main overland trade route leading from the Crimea to China (Yule, *Cathay*, iii, 147; cf. Bratianu, *Recherches*, 239-41). The inhabitants, as was typical of

Mongolian capitals, were diverse: Muslims and Christians and numerous ethnic groups including Alans, Circassians, Russians, Ḳïpčaḳs and Greeks, each of which, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, had its own quarter and bazaar. In its early decades Sarai had a substantial Christian, mainly Orthodox, population. In 1261 a bishop was appointed to Sarai to minister to its Christian residents and visitors. This bishop also played a central role in diplomacy between the Mongols, the Russian principalities and Byzantines (*Nikon chronicle*, tr. Zenkovsky, iii, 37, 45, 63, 132; Meyendorf, *Byzantium*, 45, 46, 78, 132, 150, 185). The Orthodox presence at Sarai is reflected in the numerous finds of metal icons and other religious objects (Poluboyarinova, *Russkie lyudi*, 49-54). Over the course of time, and particularly during the early decades of the 14th century, the city took on a more Muslim character. Özbek, the khān of the Golden Horde (*r.* 1311-41), and a convert to Islam, built a *madrasa* in Sarai and successfully attracted Muslim scholars to his capital (al-ᶜUmarī, ed. Lech, Ger. tr. 136, Arabic text 68). By the late 1330s when the Franciscan Pascal of Vittoria reached "Sarray", he viewed it as "a city of Saracens", and notes further that several years prior to his arrival Christian missionaries were martyred there (Yule, *Cathay*, iii, 82, 83).

The transference of the capital from Old to New Sarai took place, by the best available evidence, at the end of Özbek's reign. The issue is complicated, however, by the existence of contradictory information on the origin and name of the new capital. Muslim writers of the 14th and 15th centuries often refer to a second Sarai founded by Berke (*r.* 1257-66), the first ruler of the Golden Horde to embrace Islam. According to a tradition related by Ibn ᶜArabshāh, the historian of the Tīmūrid period, Berke first constructed and then peopled his Sarai with Muslim divines as a conscious means of spreading Islam in the pagan steppe (tr. Sanders, 77-9; cf. al-ᶜUmarī, ed. Lech, Ger. tr. 146, Arabic text 81). Moreover, Naṭanzī, writing in the early 15th century, refers to both a Sarāy-i Barka and a Sarāy-i Bātū (ed. Aubin, 81, 97, 366). Such terminology, however, is never encountered in earlier sources. Rashīd al-Dīn, for example, speaks of Bātū's death at Sarāy, and more significantly, of Berke's burial at Sarāy-i Bātū (ed. Karīmī, i, 122, ii, 744). Berke's capital, an island of the faith in a sea of paganism, is, in all likelihood, a pious fiction, one that has bedevilled many 19th- and 20th-century scholars who have sought to equate Sarāy-i Barka with Sarāy al-Djadīd. In reality, Sarāy al-Djadīd was built in the 1330s and became the new capital in the early 1340s when Djanibek (*r.* 1342-57) came to power. Several lines of evidence point to this conclusion. First, the earliest literary reference to New Sarai is a report of an anonymous 14th-century Mamlūk author who relates that Özbek died there in 1341 (Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, i, Russian tr. 263, Arabic text 254). Second, and even more helpful, is Ibn ᶜArabshāh's statement that "between the building of Sarāy and its devastation there passed sixty-three years" (tr. Sanders, 79). Since its destruction by Tīmūr occurred in 1395, the city was founded in *ca.* 1332. The numismatic evidence also supports this chronology; minting, which began in Old Sarai around 681/1282-3, is drastically reduced after 740/1339-40, and in the following year, 741/1340-41, silver dirhams appear for the first time in Sarāy al-Djadīd. Thereafter, Sarāy al-Djadīd becomes one of the most active mints in the Golden Horde, while Old Sarai's output is limited and intermittent (Fedorov-Davïdov, *O načale monetnoy čekanki*, 83; Mellinger, *Coins of the Golden Horde*, 170-3). Lastly, extensive archeological investigation of the site shows that it was founded in the 14th century; no evidence has emerged to support an earlier date.

New Sarai, modern Tsarev, was located on the Akhtuba, just below the great bend of the Volga, about 125 km/77 miles north of Old Sarai. The area encompassed by New Sarai is well defined by a defensive ditch that encircled the city. Oval in shape, New Sarai was 1.6 km in length and 1 km wide. Inside are the remains of a modest earthen embankment with strong points guarding the main gates. In the view of the excavators, the ditch and the wall were not part of the original construction but a later addition, probably dating to the 1360s. Within the walls, the New Sarai, like the Old, had a network of streets defined by drainage ditches, along which were located individual homes. In the southeastern quarter of the city, there were a number of fenced-in villas, while the poorer classes and artisans were concentrated in the centre of the city where they often lived in earthen dugouts (*zemlyanka* in Russian). Northwest of the main city was a suburb with its own walls, streets and water supply (Fedorov-Davïdov *et alii, Arkheologičeskie issledovaniya*, 68-71). The living quarters unearthed at New Sarai reveal, not unexpectedly, an admixture of styles. The square and rectangular houses of wood and brick find their prototypes in Khʷārazm, the well-attested use of yurts in the city goes back, of course, to Mongolian-Turkic traditions, while the earthern dugouts show continuity with the local Saltovo-Mayaki culture of the 5th-10th centuries (Egorov, *Zilishča*, 172-93).

The internal history of the new capital is little known. One can infer that it was touched but not devastated by the plague which repeatedly swept through Russia and the Volga region between 1345-54 (*Nikon chronicle*, ed. Zenkovsky, iii, 157). This threat, as Mellinger has suggested, might explain the appearance of new coins in 749/1348-49 bearing the inscription Sarāy al-Maḥrūsa, "Saray the preserved [of God]" (*Coins of the Golden Horde*, 178-80). New Sarai, from the number of metal, stone, and ceramic crosses found there, also had a Christian population, and it seems likely that the "bishops of Sarai" appointed in the latter half of the 14th century, because of the continued importance of their diplomatic functions, were now stationed at New Sarai, near the court of the Golden Horde (Poluboyarinova, *Russkie lyudi*, 54-72; *Nikon chronicle*, ed. Zenkovsky, iii, 242, iv, 14, 135, 139).

New Sarai was buffeted by the growing turmoil within the Golden Horde. Under Mamai, a non-Činggisid general who attempted to control the Horde through puppet rulers, the capital became a major centre of resistance to his rule. In 1361, according to a Russian source, "the Lords of Sarai" rebelled, "fortified Sarai", elevated a khān of their own, and in the following year fought a battle with the forces of Mamai (*Nikon chronicle*, ed. Zenkovsky, iii, 189). Apparently it is these events that produced the ditch and embankment uncovered by Soviet archeologists at New Sarai. Mamai later met defeat at the hands of the Moscovite Principality in 1380 and Toktamïsh, a Činggisid from the eastern wing of the Djočid line, seized control of the Golden Horde with the support of Tīmūr. According to Russian and Turkish sources, he occupied "Sarai" where he was formally enthroned (*Pamyatniki literaturï drevney Rusi*, 191, 192; Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān, *Histoire*, tr. Desmaisons, 171). That New Sarai is probably meant here is supported

by the fact that Toḳtamîs͟h issued considerable coinage at Sarāy al-D̲j̲adīd throughout his reign. But since coins were also minted at Sarai at this time, a measure of ambiguity remains (Muk͟hamadiev, *Monetnaya sistema*, 147, 152). In this connection, however, it is important to consider that for the Mongols the concept of a single and fixed capital had far less significance and meaning than it did for sedentary peoples and that they continued their nomadic lifestyle long after the empire was founded. The elder Polos, for example, met Berke in the vicinity of Oucaca (Ükek), a summer pasturage halfway between Sarai and Bulg͟har, and Russian sources indicate that Özbek had a camp as far west as the Sea of Azov (Marco Polo, ed. Moule and Pelliot, i, 74, 76; *Nikon chronicle*, tr. Zenkovsky, iii, 104). This pattern persisted into the later 14th and 15th centuries, for the extant *yarlîks* (decrees) of the Golden Horde clearly reveal that its rulers were still on the move, making annual rounds (Usmanov, *Žalovannîe aktî*, 264-5). For the Mongols, their successive capitals, Old and New Sarai, were much enlarged winter camps which housed them for only part of the year (see al-ʿUmarī, ed. Lech, Ger. tr. 147, Arabic text 83; cf. also Györffy, *Système des résidences*, 48-53, 135). This is why the Russian chroniclers, who report endless official trips to the K͟hān, always say that their prince went to the *orda*, never to Sarai, for they well understood that the actual "capital" of the Horde was wherever the moving camp (*orda*) of the K͟hān was located at a given point in time.

The rapid decline of the Golden Horde, quite visible by the last decades of the 14th century, had immediate and disastrous repercussions for all the Golden Horde cities of the Volga basin. When Toḳtamîs͟h and his patron Tīmūr fell out, the latter launched a major punitive campaign which culminated in the winter of 1395 with the destruction of Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ Tark͟hān and New Sarai, or Sarai the Great (Saray Velikiy) as the Russian "Story of Temir Aksak" has it (*Pamyatniki literaturî drevney Rusi*, 232, 233). According to Tīmūrid historians, Sarai and its surrounding districts were sacked, levelled and set ablaze (S͟haraf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, ed. ʿAbbāsī, i, 552; Niẓām al-Dīn S͟hāmī, ed. Tauer, i, 164). Yet despite the claims of total devastation, these cities were at least partially rebuilt. In the reign of the K͟hān Muḥammad (1421-45) Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ Tark͟hān, Sarāy al-D̲j̲adīd and Sarai were again issuing a limited number of coins (Muk͟hamadiev, *Monetnaya sistema*, 157).

The final destruction of the Golden Horde capitals can be dated to the last half of the 15th century. Afanasiy Nikitin, a Russian merchant who traversed the entire length of the Volga in 1466, mentions only one Sarai in his detailed itinerary (Nikitin, *K͟hoženie*, 11, 34, 53, 71). By this time, evidently, one of the two capitals had already faded into obscurity. And the survivor, whatever its identity, was soon under attack. In 1471 troops from the Russian town of Vyatka raided down the Volga, temporarily occupied Sarai, seized much booty, and successfully returned home (*Iosafovskaya letopis'*, ed. Zimin, 73). Another Russian raid came in 1480, and in the following year the Siberian and Noghai Tatars joined forces and systematically pillaged all the camps of the Great (Golden) Horde "between the Don and Volga" (*Kazanskaya istoriya*, ed. Moiseeva, 56; *Ustyužskii letopisnîi svod*, ed. Serbina, 93-4). The Golden Horde had been dealt a crippling blow from which it never recovered and Sarai, its long-time capital, departs from the historical stage.

Well-known and important cities in the Islamic world and Eastern Europe, the fame of the Sarais spread much further afield. Chaucer, in *The Squire's Tale* refers to "Sarray in the Land of Tartarye" and Sarai/Sarra appears on European maps in the 1320s with anachronistic references as late as the 17th century. Fra Mauro's world map of 1459 even registers the two Sarais, the "great" and the "small" (Tardy, *Contribution*, 182, 184, 185-6, 189, 190, 206, 212, 217).

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(T.T. Allsen)

SARĀY (p.) (from an Old Persian form **srāda*, root *θrā* "to protect") means in Persian dwelling, habitation or house. The word is frequently compounded with another substantive to indicate a particular kind of building. The best known example is *kārwān sarāy* "caravanserai", a roadside stopping-place for caravans [see khān]. Similarly, the *Djannat-sarāy* added to the northern part of the shrine at Ardabīl by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I *ca.* 947/1540 is a domed octagonal building used for Ṣūfī gatherings and prayer (A.H. Morton, *The Ardabīl shrine in the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I*, in *Iran*, xii [1974], 31-64, and xiii [1975], 39-58, no. C). The word *sarāy* was extended to refer to the seat of government and the residence of a prince. It could refer to a town. Aḳ Sarāy [*q.v.*], for example, is a town in inner Anatolia with a castle built by the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm, Ḳïlïdj Arslan II (r. 551-88/1156-92). Seray Berke [*q.v.*], capital of the Blue Horde in southern Russia, takes its name from its founder Berke (r. 655-65/1257-67). The most common meaning of *sarāy*, however, is palace, and this article is a general review of Islamic palaces. It includes examples known by other names, but concentrates on those in the eastern Islamic lands, where the word *sarāy* is common and on those that are not published elsewhere in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

In early Islamic times [see architecture], palaces were known in Arabic by various terms, including the rare *balāṭ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], derived from the Latin *palatium*. A more common term was *ḳaṣr*, used for Umayyad desert palaces and frontier forts. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.v.*], for example, was an Umayyad castle, and Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī [*q.v.*], an Umayyad agricultural settlement. These fortified residences were square, two-storeyed structures, usually 35 or 70 m per side, with apartments of several rooms opening on to a central court. They are remarkable for their elaborate decoration, including floor mosaics, paintings, and carved stuccoes, and the fancier establishments formed part of larger complexes with mosques, baths, dams and other buildings. The biggest, the palace at Ukhayḍir [*q.v.*] in southern ʿIrāḳ, is generally considered to be somewhat later (late 8th century) and is distinguished not only by its larger size (112 × 82 m) but also by its inventive vaulting and extensive decoration in carved stucco and brick laid in geometric patterns. Many of these residences can be considered to continue the Late Antique tradition of the *villa rustica*, centres of agricultural exploitation and private pleasure away from the prying eyes of the urban establishment. The square forms were repeated extensively in Central Asian palaces of the feudal aristocracy [see dihḳān]. Their residences, known as *kūshk*, were mud-brick buildings with a central court or domed hall surrounded by living quarters.

In contrast to these rural establishments from early Islamic times, many of which are still standing, contemporary urban palaces are known primarily through texts and identified by other names. One was *ḳubbat al-khaḍrā'*. This was the name of the palace erected at Damascus by the first Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya (r. 41-60/661-80), and it reoccurs frequently in early Islamic times, for example at the palace erected by the ʿAbbāsids in their new capital at Baghdād, founded in 156/962. Although often translated as "Green Dome", referring to an oxidised copper coverning over a wooden dome, the term is better translated "Dome of Heaven", referring to the long-standing Mediterranean tradition of a heavenly dome over the ruler's throne.

Another type of urban palace was the Dār al-Imāra ("House of Government"), usually built adjacent to the congregational mosque to allow the governor ready access. The Dār al-Imāra erected by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*] at Kūfa in 17/638 just after the conquest of ʿIrāḳ was excavated between 1935 and 1956 by the Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities. It was a square building (12,100 m square, or 110 m on a side) enclosing a large courtyard with *īwāns* on three sides and a triple-aisled hall and domed room on the south. The Dār al-Imāra erected by Abū Muslim at Marw in 129/747 is known through textual descriptions. It was also a square building, but had a central domed chamber surrounded by four *īwāns* that opened on to four courts.

With the founding of Sāmarrā' [*q.v.*] by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in the 3rd/9th century, Islamic palaces changed dramatically and became significantly broader and lower. The gargantuan 176-ha palace founded by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtaṣim at Sāmarrā' in 221/836 was known as the Dār al-Khilāfa and later as the Djawsaḳ al-Khāḳānī. Excavated by the German Samarra Expedition of 1911-13 and surveyed since 1983 by the Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities, the site included immense gardens and two main palatial units. The southern one, used for public audience, was a square building (180 × 200 m) with a monumental gateway (Bāb al-ʿĀmma), throne halls, rooms and a large courtyard on the east. The northern one, used for private residence, had a smaller square reception hall and residential apartments. The palace built by al-Mutawakkil two decades later was on a similar scale and had a corresponding division between spaces for public audience and private residence. These sprawling palace-cities with *īwāns* connecting closed and open spaces allowed visitors to process in an ascending crescendo towards the ruler, and the magnificent wall decoration, known from contemporary descriptions and fragmentary remains, was intended to underscore the ruler's power and majesty.

ʿAbbāsid palaces set the model throughout the Islamic world in the mediaeval period, and other rulers copied not only the architectural units—two juxtaposed rectangular halls or four *īwāns* around a court—but also the sprawling spaces divided into public and private realms. The palace-city founded in 325/936 by the Umayyads of Spain outside Cordova at Madīnat al-Zahrā' [*q.v.*], which has been excavated and reconstructed by the Spanish since 1911, was laid out on the slopes of the Sierra Morena in a series of cascading terraces that took advantage of the site. From gardens in the lower zone, one ascended to workshops and court buildings in the middle zone and then to the Alcazar in the highest zone, which contain-

ed the *dār al-mulk*, the private quarters of the caliph and his close associates. The large scale (the site measured some 1500 by 750 m or 112 ha) and layout, like the rich decoration, was meant to project the Umayyad caliph's role, as had the ᶜAbbāsid palace at Sāmarrāʾ.

The two palaces built by the Fāṭimid caliphs in their new city of al-Ḳāhira [*q.v.*] were smaller but also splendid establishments. They flanked the main north-south road through the city, which became known as Bayn al-Ḳaṣrayn. The Great Eastern Palace built for the caliph al-Muᶜizz (r. 341-65/953-75 [*q.v.*]) reportedly covered 10 ha and had 12 pavilions; the Small Western Palace built for his successor al-ᶜAzīz (r. 365-86/975-996) was set in front of a vast garden. The Fāṭimid palaces were destroyed and the sites built over after the Ayyūbids transferred the seat of power to the citadel. The palace and state buildings were located in the southern enclosure constructed in the second half of the 7th/13th century. The most impressive unit was the dome chamber of the Dār al-ᶜAdl, built by the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 733/1333-4. It survived until the 19th century, when it was cleared to make way for the Mosque of Muḥammad ᶜAlī. The citadel, with palace and other establishments for the rulers, was a common feature of cities in the Levant during the mediaeval period which can be found in Damascus, Aleppo and elsewhere.

Palaces in the eastern Islamic lands also repeated many of the same ideas established under the ᶜAbbāsids. Three mud-brick palaces were built at La<u>sh</u>karī Bāzār [*q.v.*], a royal suburb that extended six km northwards from Bust along the east bank of the Helmand River. Begun as a garden development in the 4th/10th century and expanded in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, the site was excavated by the French in the 1940s and 1950s (D. Schlumberger *et alii, Lashkari Bazar. Une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoride*, Méms. DAFA, xviii [1978]; see also the important considerations by Terry Allen, *Notes on Bust*, in *Iran*, xxvi-xxviii [1988-90]). The earliest was the small Centre Palace, erected along the river bank with a nearby pavilion and large garden to the east. It may be the *kū<u>sh</u>k* erected by the Ṣaffārid Ṭāhir at the beginning of the 4th/10th century and is unrelated to the larger and better known South Palace, assigned to the reign of the <u>Gh</u>aznawid Maḥmūd (388-421/998-1030). In both plan—a large rectangle enclosing a central courtyard with *īwān*s on the four sides—and decoration—panels of stucco carved in relief—the South Palace at La<u>sh</u>karī Bāzār copies the Mesopotamian prototypes used at the ᶜAbbāsid palaces at Sāmarrāʾ. Its most distinctive feature is a second *īwān*-hall lying beyond the north *īwān* and overlooking the river. The grandest reception room in the palace, it had a dado painted with a frieze of attendants and walls revetted in baked brick and carved stucco in geometric patterns and inscription bands. The third palace at the site, the poorly-known North Palace, was a large rectangular enclosure containing three self-contained buildings, each with a central courtyard.

The plan of *īwān*s grouped around a courtyard, and rich decoration in carved stucco and painting, continued to be hallmarks of palaces erected in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries at other sites in the eastern Islamic lands under later <u>Gh</u>aznawids and their local representatives. For example, the large palace erected by Masᶜūd III (r. 492-508/1099-1115) to the east of <u>Gh</u>azna [*q.v.*] had a rectangular court (50 × 32 m) paved in marble and surrounded by 32 niches and *īwān*s on the four sides, with an additional throne room beyond the south *īwān*. Excavations uncovered an extraordinary inscription in floriated Kūfic that extends for 250 m around the court. The text is a Persian poem extolling the virtues of the sultan and the glories of his palace and was composed specifically for the new construction (A. Bombaci, *The Kūfic inscription in Persian verses in the court of the Royal Palace of Masᶜūd III at Ghazni*, Rome 1966). Similarly, the palace erected by local rulers in the northern suburb of old Tirmi<u>dh</u> [*q.v.*] on the right bank of the Oxus River comprised several buildings grouped around a courtyard. Excavations by the Termez Archaeological Expedition (TAKE; 1936-8) and others have yielded rich decoration in carved stucco, including panels with animals and other zoomorphic motifs. The palace built in the late 3rd/9th or early 4th/10th century at Hulbuk, capital of the mediaeval province of <u>Kh</u>uttalān [*q.v.*] on the Kyzyl (A<u>khsh</u>) River in southern Tajikistan, was rebuilt three times, and each time the carved stucco panels and murals were renewed. The site, excavated since the 1960s, has yielded more than 5,000 panels and fragments of carved stucco, with an exceptionally diverse range of geometric, floral and epigraphic motifs (E. Gulyamova, *Reznoy <u>sh</u>tuk <u>Kh</u>ul'buka, Material'na<u>ya</u> kul'tura Tad<u>zh</u>ikistana*, iii [1978], 186-202).

Nothing has survived of Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ palaces in Persia, but they probably provided the models for the palace parks built by the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs of Rūm in the 7th/13th century in or near Konya, Kayseri and Alanya. They had multi-storey pavilions commanding fine views, often over a nearby lake, and were resplendently revetted in glazed tiles. A riparian view also provided the setting for the contemporary Ḳara Sarāy ("Black Palace"), the palace built by the Atabeg Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ at Mawṣil between 630/1233 and 657/1259 (F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1920, ii, 239-49). Although much of the palace was destroyed in the 1980s, it was a two-storey masonry construction with *īwān*s grouped around a central court and had fine decoration in carved stucco. It is one of the few examples of a *sarāy* in the Arab lands, but in its foundation inscription (*RCEA*, no. 4451) it was simply called *bināʾ* ("building" or "structure"), and the name Ḳara Sarāy is probably modern.

With the advent of the Mongols, the tent, often set in a garden, became a major form of palatial architecture [see KHAYMA]. These portable structures with rigid supports covered with fabric have not survived, but textual descriptions and depictions in later book paintings show that they were large and elaborately decorated ensembles. For example, the tent that Hülegü used when he ascended the throne near Bal<u>kh</u> was made of gold-on-gold material and attached by a thousand gold nails; it included an elevated pavilion and a magnificent audience hall decorated with gold and silver gem-studded vases (Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn, *<u>Dj</u>āmiᶜ al-tawārī<u>kh</u>*, ed. and tr. É. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, repr. Amsterdam 1968, 159-65). The ruler's large tent supported by guy ropes (*bārgāh*) was often combined with a trellis tent (*<u>kh</u>argāh*) which served as a private chamber. These tents made fitting palaces for rulers: a trellis tent that belonged to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan (r. 857-82/1453-78 [*q.v.*]) had a wooden door painted in red and blue with scenes of fighting beasts and was covered with blue cloth and trimmed with red silk.

The tent was not the only type of palace used in the later period, however, and other palaces built of more permanent materials continued forms and decoration used earlier. The large and elaborately decorated

hunting lodge uncovered by German excavations in the early 1960s at Takht-i Sulayman, to the southeast of Lake Urmiya, was begun *ca.* 673/1275 by Abaḳa on the foundations of the Sāsānid sanctuary of Shīz [*q.v.*], the site where the Sāsānid emperors were crowned. The palace had an artificial pond in the centre of a large courtyard (125 × 150 m) surrounded by porticoes and four *īwāns* and lavish decoration in carved marble and lustre and *lādjwārdīna*; and a balcony supported on wooden columns afforded a fine view of the pond (R. Naumann, *Die Ruinen von Tacht-e Suleiman und Zendan-e Suleiman*, Berlin 1977). Textual descriptions and depictions in contemporary paintings show that other Il Khānid palaces also used the *īwān* plan and had elaborate decoration. By the Mongol period, the word *sarāy* was increasing applied to palaces, even those built earlier. The Il Khānid historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī, for example, referred to the palace that the Būyīd ʿAḍud al-Dawla (r. 367-72/978-83) had built in eastern Baghdād as *sarāy-i sulṭān* ("palace of the sultan"; *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Nawāʾī, Tehran 1339, 415). An enlarged and rebuilt version of the one his father Muʿizz al-Dawla had founded, the palace, which is totally destroyed, had a great court surrounded by domed porticoes, halls for audience, residences, and gardens.

The Tīmūrids continued to use both the tent and the structural palace, and the word *sarāy* was also used with a qualifying adjective of colour to refer to a major palace or citadel. The most famous Tīmūrid example is the Aḳ Sarāy ("White Palace"), the palace that Tīmūr built between 781 and 798/1379-96 in his birthplace, Kish [see KĀSH], later known as Shahr-i Sabz ("The Verdant City"). The palace was located in the northeast quadrant of the new walled enclosure, and its façade faced north towards Samarḳand, the chief city of the realm. All that remains is the colossal entrance portal (*pīshṭāḳ*) with a vault 22 m wide, but from the description by the Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, it is possible to reconstruct the plan of a courtyard building with four axial *īwāns*. The name, which was used in contemporary sources, cannot refer to the actual colour of the building, which was resplendent with coloured tiles, but is thought to signify "aristocratic" (L. Golombek and D. Wilber, *The Timurid architecture of Iran and Turan*, Princeton 1988, no. 39). The Gök Sarāy ("Blue Palace") that Tīmūr built at Samarḳand *ca.* 802/1400 was a four-storey palace that has been destroyed. Suburban palaces were often called *bāgh*, meaning a park or estate with buildings and gardens; other terms used in the Tīmūrid period include *takht*, meaning a pavilion with a view, *khāna* and *manzil* ("residence"), and *kūshk* or *ḳaṣr*, some of which were larger than kiosks or pavilions (T. Allen, *A catalogue of the toponyms and monuments of Timurid Herat*, Cambridge, Mass. 1981, nos. 405 and 206)

The palace precinct laid out between 998/1590 and 1020/1611 by the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās I in his new capital at Iṣfahān continues many Tīmūrid traditions, especially the unfortified exterior and the garden setting dotted with pavilions, but most of the structures were built of masonry, and not fabric tents. The precinct, sandwiched between the *Maydān-i Shāh* ("Royal Square") and the *Čahār Bāgh*, the boulevard with trees and water channels that leads south across the Ziyānda River, was divided into two zones. A more public zone near the *maydān* contained workshops and administrative offices, while a more private residential area behind it contained gardens with small open pavilions. These were often known as *hasht bihisht* ("Eight Paradises"), from their plan—an octagon with eight rooms or apartments arranged around a large central hall. The form copies now-vanished Tīmūrid models, known from other buildings such as the *Çinili Köşk* ("Tiled Kiosk") added to the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul in 878/1473 and the Hasht Bihisht, the palace that the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Yaʿḳūb built at Tabrīz in 892/1486. The name was popular in the Ṣafawid period, as in the pavilion built in Iṣfahān by Sulaymān I/Ṣafī II (r. 1077-1105/1666-94), and many smaller examples. Columnar porches were another popular design for Ṣafawid palaces, found in Iṣfahān at the Čihil Sutūn and repeated at Khīva, where the Tash Ḥawli ("Stone Courtyard") palace (1830-8) incorporated several pillared porticoes arranged around courtyards within its 163 rooms.

Many of these Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid forms were copied in the palaces built under the Mughals in the Indian subcontinent, but they were incorporated inside walled palace-fortresses and executed in local materials, particularly red sandstone contrasted with white marble. In general, a main gate led to a long bazaar which gave on to the courtyard and hall for public audience. This public area was separated from a more private one that had courtyards with pavilions, often called *maḥall* (*q.v.* for an extensive discussion of both pavilions and their setting; and see MUGHALS. 7. Architecture, for a discussion of chronological and stylistic developments). Buildings were laid out to take advantage of topography and setting. At Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*], Abkar's fiat city (979-93/1571-85), for example, the tallest building, the five-story pavilion with domed kiosk now known as the Pandj Maḥall ("Palace of Five [Levels]"), demarcates public space from private; in the Red Fort (1048-58/1639-48) built by Shāh Djahān in his suburb of Shāhdjahānābād [see DIHLĪ. ii], the private pavilions overlook the Yamunā or Jumna River. The looser arrangement of earlier sites, such as the Red Fort at Āgra, became increasingly regularised, as at Fatḥpūr Sikrī, and especially at Shāhdjahānābād. This greater attention to symmetry and axiality underscores the increasing role of ceremonial in Mughal life.

Unlike the Ṣafawids and Mughals, who built numerous palaces in several places, the Ottomans maintained their court in a single palace, the *Saray-i humayūn*, founded by the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] after the conquest of Constantinople in 857/1453 and used as the primary residence of the Ottoman sultans until the 19th century. Although commonly known today as the Topkapı Seray after a shore pavilion built near a gate of that name, until the 19th century it was called in Ottoman sources *sarāy-i djedīd-i ʿāmire* ("New Imperial Palace") or *yeñi sarāy* ("New Palace") to contrast it to the *eski sarāy* ("Old Palace"), the first palace that Meḥemmed had built in the centre of city, and to the Tekfūr Sarāy, the Byzantine palace (Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, ceremonial, and power: the Topkapi Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, New York and Cambridge, Mass. 1991, 4). Set on a magnificent promontory on the tip of the peninsula overlooking the Bosphorus and the harbour of the Golden Horn, the palace comprises an outer precinct or park, known as the First Court, and an inner precinct of three courts constituting the palace proper. A line of three great portals leading into the First, Second, and Third Courts provided a major ceremonial axis to the audience hall (T. *ʿarḍ odasî*) set beyond the third portal. Behind were gardens with pavilions, and to the left were several residences with courtyards, including several for the sultan's harem.

The separation of men's and women's quarters was picked up in European languages, where several loan-words from *sarāy*, such as the Italian *seraglio* and the French *sérail* are sometimes found with the meaning "harem".

The palace-city was also developed in the western Islamic lands, as at the Alhambra, built up in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries outside Granada [see GHARNĀṬA. Monuments. B]. One of the best preserved and most popular examples of an Islamic palace, it is actually a series of palaces, including the more public Comares Palace with its audience hall and the more private Palace of the Lions.

The arrangement seen at the Alhambra reappears in palaces built later in the western Islamic lands. The ruined Badīᶜ Palace, built at Marrākush [*q.v.*] by the Saᶜdian ruler Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (r. 986-1012/1578-1603) for official receptions, for example, is an inflated version of the Court of the Lions. The biggest was the palace-city built by the Filālī ruler Ismāᶜīl (r. 1082-1139/1672-1727) at Miknās [*q.v.*], where seven km of thick mud-brick walls with bastions enclose three separate palaces, each comprising several smaller palaces of differing arrangements as well as pavilions, mosques, barracks, prisons, stables, granaries, olive presses and huge pools to water the extensive gardens (M. Barrucand, *Urbanisme princier en Islam: Meknès et les villes royales islamiques post-médiévales*, Paris 1985). The scale is far grander than at the Alhambra, and the site was so large that the palaces were never finished. Pisé, made from the ever-available earth, was the main material of construction, but other materials, such as columns and marbles, were salvaged from other sites or imported.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, palaces in the Islamic lands were often built on European models or incorporated features of Western architecture, such as monumental stairways, tall windows, engaged pilasters, and landscape murals. Dolmabahçe Palace, the Ottoman palace built on the shore of the Bosphorus in 1853-5 to replace Topkapı Palace, had an opulent double staircase with rock crystal balustres, the first ceremonial staircase to survive since the Bāb al-ᶜĀmma at Sāmarrāᵓ. The Ḳādjār dynasty of Persia continued the practice of seasonal migration that the Il Khānids and Tīmūrids had maintained and had palaces throughout the country. Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh (r. 1212-50/1797-1834) enlarged the Gulistān Palace in Tehran, a rambling series of buildings and gardens within a walled enclosure that served as winter residence and administrative centre, by adding the Takht-i Marmar, a columnar audience hall on the form of a traditional *tālār*. To cater for his peripatetic lifestyle, he also established many summer palaces, often terraced structures set in elaborate gardens, including several in hillside villages subsequently incorporated in the northern suburbs of Tehran. His palaces were often decorated with large murals depicting the Shāh and his court. The largest was a mural painted by ᶜAbd Allāh Khān in 1812-13 to decorate the Nigāristān Palace; it showed the ruler enthroned in state with 118 life-size figures. The spate of palace construction continued under Nāṣir al-Dīn (r. 1264-1313/1848-96), but the elegant symmetry typical of Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh's work was abandoned and European elements, such as pilasters and tall windows, were added to traditional features such as coloured tilework, ornately carved stucco, and mirror mosaic.

Bibliography: In addition to the monographs on individual palaces cited in the text, see G.A. Pugačenkova, *Puti razvitiya arkhitekturï yuzhnogo Turkmenistana porï rabovladeniya i feodalizma*, Moscow 1958 (esp. ch. 3 on the *kushk* of the 6th-10th centuries); K.A.C. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture*, Harmondsworth 1958, revised and supplemented by J.W. Allen, Aldershot 1989; O. Grabar, *The formation of Islamic art*, New Haven 1973, revised ed. 1988; idem, *The architecture of power: palaces, citadels and fortifications, in Architecture of the Islamic world*, ed. G. Michell, London 1978, 48-79; R. Hillenbrand, *'La dolce vita' in early Islamic Syria. The evidence of later Umayyad palaces*, in *Art History*, v (1982), 1-35; J. Scarce, *The royal palaces of the Qajar dynasty: a survey*, in *Qajar Iran*, ed. E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand, Edinburgh 1983, 329-51; R. Ettinghausen and Grabar, *The art and architecture of Islam 650-1250*, Harmondsworth 1987 (pictures of many early Islamic sites); *Ars Orientalis*, xxiii (1993) (special issue on pre-modern Islamic palaces, with articles on many of the sites and periods mentioned above); R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic architecture*, Edinburgh 1994 (esp. ch. VII, palace); S.S. Blair and J.M. Bloom, *The art and architecture of Islam 1250-1800*, London and New Haven 1994 (colour plates of many palaces from the later period); Bloom, *Palace, Islamic lands*, in *Dictionary of art*, in press.

(SHEILA S. BLAIR)

SARBADĀRIDS, the name given to the rulers of the Bayhaḳ (Sabzawār [*q.v.*]) region of Khurāsān and a section of their followers, in the half century between the death of Abū Saᶜīd [*q.v.*] and the conquest of Persia by Tīmūr [*q.v.*]. (On the name, often also found as Sarbadāl ("refactory"), see e.g. Nawāᵓī, note in Samarḳandī, 432.) The Sarbadārid régime has been variously viewed as a robber state, a social revolutionary movement animated by a strong Mahdist impulse, and a type of Shīᶜī "republic" (see Roemer, 38-9). It can most usefully be seen as an attempt at self-government among the indigenous population of western Khurāsān, faced with the disintegration of Mongol rule.

The Sarbadārid uprising started in Bāshtīn, in the district of Sabzawār, on 9 Shaᶜbān 737/13 March 1337 (Faryūmadī, 347; cf. Samarḳandī, 147). ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ, son of a respected local notable, murdered a tax official and, in an effort to forestall the consequences, rose in revolt. The readiness of others to follow ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ, who is painted as a rash and abusive character, and later his more sophisticated brother, Wadjīh al-Dīn Masᶜūd, can and has been explained by the financial oppression of the *wazīr* of Khurāsān, ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dīn Muḥammad (Āmulī, 181-2). ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dīn's exactions were driven by the need to finance the aspirations of the Čingizid pretender Ṭughāy Tīmūr, whose vain efforts to impose himself as heir to the Īlkhānate depleted Khurāsān's resources and caused the Mongol leaders to neglect the Sarbadārid uprising until it was too late.

ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ was himself devoid of any great political purpose, but was able to gain control of Sabzawār (12 Ṣafar 738/9 September 1337), where several members of ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dīn's family were killed (Faryūmadī, 347, 326). ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ's immoral behaviour led to his death late in 738/June 1338 at the hands of his brother Masᶜūd, who represented the wider ambitions of the rural landowners of the region, anxious to throw off Mongol rule. The growing band of soldiers, young men and *ᶜayyārs* [*q.v.*] who eagerly joined him were rewarded by an egalitarian distribution of the spoils gained from a series of raids, directed particularly against the Djaᵓun-ī Ḳurbān, which culminated in the capture of Nīshāpūr (Āmulī, 182).

More significantly, Masᶜūd sought to strengthen

the rather flimsy bases of his authority, and also to attract further support, by involving Shaykh Ḥasan-i Djūrī, a disciple of the Māzandarānī Shīʿī *darwīsh*, Shaykh Khalīfa, in his cause. Although there seems little doubt that Djūrī had not become master of a radical underground movement, he recognised that the grievances of his adherents and of the oppressed Muslims of Khurāsān in general could best be represented if he associated himself with the protests being voiced by the outlaws of Sabzawār. Thus began the uneasy alliance between the Sarbadārids and the Shaykhīs that gives the régime its distinctive character (Aubin, in *StIr*, v/2 [1976]).

Ṭughāy Tīmūr, in whose name coins had continued to be minted, even in Sabzawār (Masson Smith, 109, 201), could no longer afford to ignore the Sarbadārids, and after an exchange of messages that reflected the new religious dimension contributed by Ḥasan-i Djūrī (Mīrkhwānd, 614), the two sides met near the Gurgān river. Ṭughāy Tīmūr's army was routed. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, his *wazīr*, was pursued and killed in Kābūd Djāma on 23 Shaʿbān 742/1 February 1342 (Ibn Yamīn, 569). The Sarbadārids now coined in the name of Ṭūghāy Tīmūr's rival Sulaymān, the protégé of the Čūbānids [*q.v.*], and sought to expand their domains further at the expense of the Karts [*q.v.*] of Harāt. This evidently coincided with a crisis in the relationship between Masʿūd and the Shaykhīs, for during a battle near Zāwa on 13 Ṣafar 743/18 July 1342 (Ibn Yamīn, 570), Ḥasan-i Djūrī was killed, allegedly on Masʿūd's orders (Faryūmadī, 348), turning victory into defeat. Undeterred, Masʿūd soon launched an invasion of Rustamdār and Māzandarān, but the campaign ended in disaster, and he was killed in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 743/April 1343 (Āmulī, 183-9; Faryūmadī, 348). The following year, coins in Ṭughāy Tīmūr's name were again minted in Dāmghān, which had previously passed out of his control.

The leadership was now assumed by one of Masʿūd's commanders, Muḥammad Aytīmūr, who was obliged to acknowledge once more the sovereignty of Ṭughāy Tīmūr. Although he had shown himself a competent ruler, he was murdered at the instigation of the *darwīsh*s, in Muḥarram 747/April 1346 (Faryūmadī, 348), who perhaps favoured a more aggressive policy. This inaugurated a period of instability as the Sarbadārs, broadly loyal to the family of Masʿūd Bāshtīnī, and defending the interests of the Sarbadārid troops, vied for power with the *darwīsh*s, whose chief spokesman (though not their spiritual leader), Khwādja Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Shams al-Dīn Čishumī, finally agreed to become ruler (16 Shaʿbān 748/21 November 1347; Faryūmadī, 348). Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī brought a measure of order to Sarbadārid affairs. He issued the first independent Sarbadārid coinage (748/1348), Sunnī in type, and followed a programme of economic and moral reform designed to appeal to the wide range of opinion contained within the Sarbadārid state (Masson Smith, 130-2). In general, he was also able to reach agreements with his various neighbours. In 752/1351, following the incorporation of Harāt into the Čaghatayid sphere of influence, ʿAlī deemed it prudent to mint coins once more in the name of Ṭughāy Tīmūr. This appeasement of the Mongols, in top of his own autocratic methods, led to his murder on 28 Shawwāl 752/18 December 1351 (Ibn Yamīn, 571).

One of the assassins, Yaḥyā Karrābī, a landed proprietor of the district, resumed military hostilities and after several confrontations with Ṭughāy Tīmūr, whose *ordū* was weakened by the Black Death, he feigned a willingness to make peace and treacherously murdered the last of the Čingizids in his camp at Pul-i Ḥadjdjī Khātūn, near Sulṭān Duwīn, on 16 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 754/13 December 1353 (Dawlatshāh, 237-8). Karrābī later came to terms with the Mongol rulers of eastern Khurāsān, in a coalition against the *malik* of Harāt, but was almost immediately murdered, on 10 Muḥarram 759/23 December 1357 (Ibn Yamīn, 568; Aubin, in *Turcica*, viii [1976], 39-41).

Another period of instability followed, again marked by a series of coups and political murders, the precise chronology of which remains elusive; even the most reliable sources are inconsistent and mutually incompatible. This may partly be due to the difficulty (even for contemporaries) of distinguishing the nominal from the actual periods of power enjoyed by the different leaders, the two most prominent of whom, Ḥaydar-i Ḳaṣṣāb and Ḥasan-i Dāmghānī, both installed their own candidates before seizing power. One of these, Luṭf Allāh son of Wadjīh al-Dīn Masʿūd, was the last member of this family to rule. Internal divisions spawned external threats. Amīr Walī, son of the former governor of Astarābād, took advantage of the situation to extend his control in the area, ostensibly on behalf of Ṭughāy Tīmūr's son Luḳmān. He defeated the forces sent by Ḥaydar-i Ḳaṣṣāb and was able to issue coins in his own name in Astarābād in 759/1358 (Morton, 257). A large force led by Ḥasan-i Dāmghānī was also defeated (Faryūmadī, 330). Dāmghānī faced further difficulties. Darwīsh ʿAzīz, a follower of Ḥasan-i Djūrī, installed himself in Mashhad, where his devotions attracted followers. With their support, he rose in revolt and seized Ṭūs. Contrary to some assertions, there is no numismatic evidence that he tried to establish a Mahdist state there (Morton, 257). He was expelled from Khurāsān, but Khwādja ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad, son of a Sabzawārī notable, rose in revolt in Dāmghān, sought Darwīsh ʿAzīz's help and together they captured Sabzawār. Ḥasan-i Dāmghānī was murdered, evidently in 763/1362.

With the accession of Khwādja ʿAlī, the Shīʿism of the Sabzawārīs first found explicit political expression. He announced his rule with a new issue of coins bearing a Shīʿī formula, and instituted the practice of leading a horse out twice daily for the Ṣāḥib-i Zamān's expected arrival. Towards the end of his reign he invited an Imāmī scholar, Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī [*q.v.*], to Sabzawār to preside over the establishment of Twelver Shīʿism in the Sarbadārid realm, anticipating a similar move by the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*] a century and a half later. Ibn Makkī was unable to accept, but he wrote a work on Imāmī *fiḳh* to guide Khwādja ʿAlī (Mazzaoui, 66-7). The earlier measures probably reveal the influence of Darwīsh ʿAzīz and the Shaykhiyya, still hoping for a new dispensation; nevertheless, Khwādja ʿAlī's commitment to this view was lukewarm, and within a year he had engineered the removal of Darwīsh ʿAlī (18 Rabīʿ I 764/5 January 1363; Faṣīḥ, 95-6) and driven out the Shaykhiyya, even going so far as to desecrate the tombs of Shaykh Khalīfa and Ḥasan-i Djūrī (Mīrkhwānd, 624). The flight of Darwīsh ʿAlī's successor, Rukn al-Dīn, to the court of Shah-i Shudjāʿ the Muẓaffarid [*q.v.*] led to an invasion of Sarbadārid territory with Muẓaffarid support, in which Sabzawār was captured in 778/1376. Khwādja ʿAlī was obliged to seek refuge with Amīr Walī, who helped him regain the city on 8 Radjab 781/20 October 1379 (Faryūmadī, 331-3); but Khwādja ʿAlī was left with a greatly reduced realm.

Two years later, in 783/1381, Khwādja ʿAlī took

the opportunity of preserving himself by entering Tīmūr's service. On his death in Ḥuwayza in 788/1386, the Sarbadārid realms were divided amongst several leaders, who also served Tīmūr, particularly in the administration of Lower ʿIrāḳ. In 808/1405, an attempt by a relative of Khʷādja ʿAlī to claim his "hereditary rights" to the former Sarbadārid territories ended in his execution and the sack of Sabzawār. Another member of the family later won fame as the poet Amīr Shāhī.

The Sarbadārid régime channelled a number of currents flowing through Khurāsānian society in the 8th/14th century. Its history reveals something of the aspirations of the rural population and their leaders, the activities of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] organisations, the growing role of Ṣūfī *shaykhs* in political life, and the hesitant emergence of Shīʿism as an expression of local particularism. Many of these themes are apparent in the poetry of the panegyrist Ibn Yamīn [*q.v.*], who also praises the building works of rulers such as Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī and Yaḥyā Karrābī (Ibn Yamīn, 30, 86). The latter's restoration of the *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] in Ṭūs (Dawlatshāh, 282-3) is symptomatic of the Sarbadārids' vain but heroic attempt to counter the negative effects of Mongol rule in Khurāsān.

Bibliography: 1. The main sources (in approximately chronological order) are Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, ed. and tr. Sir Hamilton Gibb, iii, Cambridge 1971, 574-7; Āmulī, *Taʾrīkh-i Rūyān*, ed. M. Sutūda, Tehran 1348/1969; Ibn Yamīn, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥusayn-ʿAlī Bāstānī Rād, Tehran 1344/1965; Faryūmadī, *Dhayl-i madjmaʿ al-ansāb* [by Shabānkāraʾī], ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith, Tehran 1363/1984; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Madjmūʿa*, partial ed. F. Tauer, *Cinq opuscules de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū*, Prague 1959; Faṣīḥ-i Khʷāfī, *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, iii, ed. M. Farrukh, Mashhad 1341/1962; Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1353/1974; Dawlatshāh; Mīrkhʷānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, v, ed. Tehran 1339/1960, esp. 600-25; Khʷāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1362/1984, esp. 356-67.

2. Studies. For the earlier work, see V.F. Büchner, EI[1] SERBEDĀRS. Two full-length monographs have since appeared, namely I.P. Petrushevskiĭ, *Dvizhenie serbedarov v Khorasane*, in *Učenye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSR*, xiv (1956), 91-162, tr. Karīm Kishāwarz, *Nahḍat-i Sarbadārān dar Khurāsān*, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, x (1341/1962), 124-224, and J. Masson Smith Jr., *The history of the Sarbadār dynasty 1336-1381 A.D. and its sources*, The Hague and Paris 1970. The latter attracted useful comments from H. Arroyo, *Complement to the numismatic history of the Sarbadār dynasty*, in *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1975), 302-4, and A.H. Morton, *The history of the Sarbadārs in the light of new numismatic evidence*, in *NC*, 7th ser., xvi (1976), 255-8. Knowledge of the period has been greatly advanced by a number of studies by J. Aubin, notably, *La fin de l'État sarbadâr du Khorassan*, in *JA* (1974), 95-118; idem, *Aux origines d'un movement populaire médiéval: le Cheykhisme du Bayhaq et du Nichâpour*, in *StIr*, v/2 (1976), 213-24; idem, *Le khanat de Čagatai et le Khorassan, 1334-1380*, in *Turcica*, viii (1976), 16-60; idem, art. *ʿAbd-al-Razzāq Bāštīnī*, in *EIr*, i (1985), 153-4; and idem, *Le* quriltai *de Sultân-Maydân (1336)*, in *JA* (1991), 175-97. The most recent survey is by H.R. Roemer, *The Jalayirids, Muzaffarids and Sarbadārs*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi (1986), esp. 24-39, 49-50. ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ Ḥaḳīḳat, *Taʾrīkh-i djanbish-i Sarbadārān wa dīgar djanbish-hā-yi Īrāniyān dar ḳarn-i hashtum-i hidjrī*, [2]Tehran 1363/1984, is unaware of Masson Smith and Aubin's work. See also Rashīd Yāsimī, *Aḥwāl-i Ibn-i Yamīn*, Tehran 1303/1924; M.M. Mazzaoui, *The origins of the Ṣafawids: Šīʿism, Ṣūfism, and the Gulāt*, Wiesbaden 1972. (C.P. MELVILLE)

SARDĀB (P.), literally "cool water", often found in the Arabised form *sirdāb*, an underground chamber used for keeping cool during the extreme heat of e.g. the ʿIrāḳī or Persian summers.

Such building constructions are an ancient feature of Middle Eastern life, being found amongst the Egyptians of Pharaonic times and in Babylonia. Examples of them have been found in the remains of the early ʿAbbāsid palace at al-Ukhayḍir [*q.v.*] and at al-Muʿtaṣim's palace, the Djawsaḳ al-Khāḳānī, at Sāmarrā. At Baghdād until recent times, traditional-type houses had a semi-basement vaulted cellar sunk into the ground some 1.5 m/5 ft. below the surface of the ground. This was ventilated by a shaft on the north side of the chamber running up to the highest point of the house in order to catch the cooler north wind (this shaft being called in mediaeval Arabic *bādahandj* or *bādandj*, Arabised from Persian *bādhandj* [see BĀDGĪR in Suppl.], and also by several small windows just above ground level. People would spend the hottest hours of the day, from mid-morning till sunset, in these rooms. In the equally hot and humid coastlands of Khūzistān, Fārs and Kirmān in southern Persia, such chambers are also found and are called *zīr-i zamīn* ("subterranean"); again, they are usually provided with a ventilating shaft or *bādgīr*. It was more elaborate forms of these which G.N. Curzon encountered at Shushtar on Khūzistān, under the name of *shabedan* or *shevedan*. These were hewn into the bedrock on which the town stood to depth of 18 m/60 ft. or more, reached by steps, and with a ventilating shaft and with light coming from a circular light in the vaulted roof; during July and August, the inhabitants lived almost entirely in these subterranean chambers (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 367).

By extension, the term *sardāb/sirdāb* came to designate any kind of underground room or passage. In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, i, 264-5, tr. Gibb, i, 165-6, *sardāb* is used for the passage constructed by ʿĀʾisha and leading from the Prophet's mosque in Medina to what was the house of Abū Bakr outside the mosque precincts (cf. the *khawkha* or private entrance to the mosque, regarded as a special privilege (*khaṣīṣa*) of Abū Bakr's; see Wensinck, *A handbook of Muhammadan tradition*, 6, and C.E. Bosworth, *Al-Maqrīzī's "Book of contention and strife concerning the relations between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim"*, Manchester n.d. [1981], 86-7, 139).

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SARDĀNIYA, the most usual Arabic transcription of the place name Sardinia, the second largest in size of the island in the western Mediterranean. The author of the *EI*[1] article mentions also the transcription *Sardaniya*.

Amongst the reasons impelling the Arabs, who had just invaded North Africa at the beginning of the 7th century A.D., to conquer Sardinia, was the fact that it was an appendage of the Byzantine Exarchate of

Africa. To this first reason, one might add a desire to acquire the silver mines required for a bimetallic monetary system, one based on both gold and silver, and timber for constructing ships. In Sardinia, there were silver mines in the district of Sulcis, not far from Cagliari, whilst the whole island was practically covered with forests.

The historical information.

At least eleven different Arabic sources describe, in a summary fashion and without details, a series of incursions stretching from the 8th to the 12th century A.D. and taking place at the following dates: 84/703-4; 87/705-6; 89/707-8; 92/710-11; 114/732; 117/735; 119/737; 135/752-3; 201/816-17; 206/821-2; 322/933-4; 323/934-5; 405/1014; 406/1015; and 446/1054. The sources in question are 1. the *K. al-Imāma* of Ps.-Ibn Ḳutayba, attributed to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (d. 367/977); 2. al-Ḍabbī (d. 599/1203); 3. Yāḳūt (d. 626/1233); 4. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233); 5. Abu 'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331); 6. al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332); 7. Ibn ʿIdhārī (d. 750/1349); 8. al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348); 9. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406); 10. al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442); and 11. Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470).

On the Sardinian side, the sources provide no details at all on an Arab presence in the island except for general statements that the Sardinians always fought with great courage against the invaders. One fact only is reported in detail by sources worthy of credence, such as the Venerable Bede and Paul the Deacon, author of the *Historia Langobardorum*. This is the transfer of the body of St. Augustine from Cagliari to Pavia, in northern Italy, at the intervention of the King of the Lombards, Liutprand, who between 721 and 726 purchased the relics of the saint so as not to leave them in the hands of the Saracens.

Surviving traces.

Epigraphy. In the Cagliari Archaeological Museum there are three Kūfic inscriptions. The first is a funerary stele of the prismatic type called *mḳabriyya* in the Maghrib, which comes from Assemini, a small town to the north of Cagliari. On it there is the name of a certain Maryam, daughter of ʿAṭiyya al-Sarrādj, deceased in 470/1077. The second was found at Cagliari, in the neighbourhood of the palace which was formerly that of the Viceroy; it is a fragment, whose date may be identified with the former one. The third stems from Olbia, in the north. It is a large rectangular slab, with the top part and the right-hand side missing. The name which can be partly read is Muṣṭafā Muḥammad al-M ... These inscriptions are carved on a kind of limestone which is found in Sardinia, but the dates fall after the period of an Arab presence, which ended towards 1070.

Coins. Given the small number of pieces of money (19 in all) kept in the Archaeological Museum at Cagliari, one is tempted not to take them into account. But 11 of the coins belong to the period between 700 and 778; moreover, 7 are copper, a metal which was not transported about and which no-one hoarded in a monetary form.

Toponyms. Numerous scholars have categorically stated that Sardinian toponomastic has no Arabic terms at all. There are nevertheless some elements which invite reflection. The etymology of Alghero could be "grotto, cave" in Arabic. There exists in fact in the outskirts of this town the "grotta di Nettuno" to which one descends by means of "la escala del Cabirol" of 600 paces and which has been known since Antiquity for its internal lake and its enormous halls with fantastic rock-shapes. There are at least two other examples of place names involving numerals: Arbatax, which is pronounced locally Arbatash, which in Maghribī Arabic means "14", and also Assemini, which could mean in Arabic "8th", and which is found inserted into a context of place names which begins with Quinto ("the 5th") and ends with Decimo ("the 10th").

In brief, the dates given, with not exactitude, by the Arabic historians point rather to raids, except perhaps for a half-century of occupation in the area around Cagliari, between 700 and 750 A.D. The surviving traces—epigraphic, numismatic and some place names—have dates varying between the 8th and the 11th century, which could suggest the existence of colonies which are not, unfortunately, confirmed by other sources.

Bibliography: G. Oman, *Vestiges arabes en Sardaigne*, in *ROMM* (1970), 175-84; idem, *Iscrizioni arabe di Sardegna*, in *Atti della Settimana di Studi Mediterranei Medioevali e Moderni*, Cagliari 1979, 213-27; idem, *Monete con iscrizioni arabe nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari*, in *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica*, xv (1968), 115-17; Maria Giovanna Stasolla, *Arabi e Sardegna nella storiografia araba del Medioevo*, in *Studi Magrebini*, Naples, xiv (1982), 1-40, Appendice II, see Bibl.; Emanuela Boiardi, *Gli Arabi in Sardegna nel secolo VIII e la traslazione del corpo di S. Agostino*, diss. Bologna 1978-9, unpubl. (G. Oman)

SARDĀR (P.), often Arabised as Sirdār, "supreme military commander", literally "holding or possessing the head", i.e. chief or leader. It was borrowed in the military sense by the Turks, who, however, sometimes derive it in error from *sirr-dār* ("the keeper of a secret"). Through Turkish it has reached Arabic, and in a letter written in 989/1581 by "one of the princes of the Arabs (of Yaman)" occurs the phrase *wa-ʿayyana sardār^{an} ʿala 'l-ʿasākir* ("and he appointed a commander over the troops"), on which Rutgers comments "Vocabulum *sardār*, quod Persicae originis est, *ducem* exercitûs significat". The abstract substantive *sardāriyyat* in the sense of the post or office of commander of an army also occurs; and it was doubtless owing to the familiarity of the Arabic-speaking people of Egypt with the borrowed word that it was selected as the official title of the British commander-in-chief of the Egyptian and Sudanese armies in the periods of the Protectorate and the Condominium. In Persia the word was until the early 20th century much used as a component part of honorific titles, such as *Sardār-i Ẓafar* and *Sardār-i Djang*. In British India it was used generally of the (Indian) commissioned officers of the army as a class. *Sardār log* meant "the (Indian) officers of a corps or regiment". It was formerly applied to the head of a set of palanquin-bearers, and it was still in the early 20th century applied to the valet or body-servant of a European in northern India, as the chief of his household servants. *Sardār Bahādur* was a title of honour attached to the first class of the Order of British India, an order confined to Indian commissioned officers of the army.

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SARDHANĀ, a town, also the centre of a *taḥṣīl*, in the Meerut [see mīraṭh] District of northwestern India, now in the Uttar Pradesh State of the Indian Union. The town is situated in lat. 29° 09′ N., long. 77° 36′ E. and lies some 19 km/12 miles to the northwest of Meerut town.

It achieved fame in the later 18th century, when Walter Reinhardt, called Sombre or Samrū, of Luxemburg origin, after having been a mercenary in both French and British service, received from Mīrzā Nadjaf Khān, general of the Mughal Emperor Shāh ʿĀlam II [*q.v.*], the *pargana* [*q.v.*] of Sardhanā [*q.v.*]. This became, after his death in 1778, the centre of a small, virtually independent principality, kept up by his remarkable Indian wife, the Bēgam Samrū [*q.v.*], surviving within British territory as a distinct entity and family estate until her death in 1836, when it was resumed, eventually being granted to Djān Fishān Khān, formerly leader of the Sayyids of Paghmān in Afghānistān and his family. In 1961, Sardhanā had a population of 16,563, and the *taḥṣīl* (in whose rural areas the Muslims are especially represented) one of 361,063.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 104-7; P. Spear, *Twilight of the Mughuls, studies in late Mughul Delhi*, Cambridge 1951, 115, 143, 152. *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Meerut*, Allahabad 1968, 44 ff., 48-9. See also SAMRŪ, BĒGAM.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SARDJ (A.), a masc. noun (pl. *surūdj*) denoting the horse saddle, and this uniquely; from the same root *s-r-dj*, there is *sarīdja* for a mule or camel saddle. From this root stem also the verbs *saradja*, also forms II and IV, for "to saddle a mount" (also used are *kasā al-sardj* and, for unsaddling, *ramā al-sardj*), and then *sarrādj* and *surūdjī* for the saddle-maker and seller of saddles, and *sirādja* and *surūdjiyya* for the craft of making saddles. A horse which is saddled is *musarradj*. Every town of the Arab lands had its own quarter or market for saddle-makers (*sūḳ al-sarrādjīn*), usually located near the ways out of the urban area in order to facilitate traffic with the countryside.

Amongst the Arabs, the traditional saddle is made up of the saddle-bow (*ʿaẓam al-sardj*), a basic frame made out of two wooden curved pieces connected together by their ends and forming a vaulted shape on the mount's back. The interior of this vaulted shape is padded, and on this base is placed the leather seat (*kursī*) of the saddle. The front of the pommel (*ḳarbūṣ*, pl. *ḳarābīṣ*, and vars. *ḳarbūs, ḳarbūṭ*) is slightly raised and the reins can be fastened.to it. The back pommel (*karbūs muʾakhkhar*) supporting the rider's reins is generally very high. Each lateral facing of leather or quarter, on which the backside of the rider is set down, receives the stirrup-leather (*sayr al-rikāb*) bearing the stirrups and the stirrup-holder (*ribāṭ*, pl. *rubuṭ*). Between the mount's back and the saddle is placed the saddle-cloth (*mirshaḥa*), with wool preferred to cotton, thus avoiding rubbing, callosities and wounds. The whole of the saddle is then fixed on the animal's back by the saddle-girth (*miḥzam, waḍīn, ʿadjala*), and a long chest tether (*labab*) or breast-strap keeps it from moving back. At the opening of the 8th/14th century, the author of a work on hunting, Ibn Manglī (see the tr. of F. Viré, *De la chasse*, Paris 1984, 43-4), categorically forbids use of the high back pommel of the saddle, which the Persians, he alleges, supposedly introduced, because it impedes the drawing of a bow, both in hunting and in combat; he denounces its nine major faults and adjures the Mamlūks to reject this type of saddle.

The saddle could be decorated with gleaming ornaments and pieces of embroidery and copper studding; for ceremonial processions, parades, etc., it could be covered over with a caparison (*ḳarabasūn*) embroidered with gold thread.

The saddle strapped on to the horse's back provides the basis for figurative expressions like *māla sardjuka* "your saddle has slipped off" for "your affairs are going badly"; *rānī fi 'l-sardj* "see me firmly in the saddle", meaning "I have succeeded"; and, the contrary, *rānī warāʾ al-sardj* "see me behind the saddle", meaning "I have failed/lost".

Bibliography: See the exhaustive bibls. to FARAS and FURŪSIYYA.

(F. VIRÉ)

SAREKAT ISLAM, a Muslim movement in the Netherlands East Indies which flourished 1912-27.

The establishment in 1912 of *Sarekat Islam* opened a new era for both Islam and political mobilisation in the Dutch East Indies. It actually grew out of an association with more limited aims, the *Sarekat Dagang Islam* ("Association of Islamic Traders"), set up in 1909 by Raden Mas Tirtoadisoerjo, a Javanese aristocrat and merchant whose trading company was then being liquidated. He and other Javanese merchants set this up as a co-operative trading association to counter Chinese economic dominance; from the late 19th century, the Chinese had begun to take over even those small industries (such as the production of batik cloth and *kretek* cigarettes) which had till then been Javanese-dominated. The association organised successful anti-Chinese boycotts and propaganda, leading to government action against it. One of its members, the batik manufacturer Hadji Samanhoedi, consequently turned to Hadji Omar Said Tjokroaminoto to rebuild the association. Tjokroaminoto, born in 1882, was the son of a relatively minor official in the colonial Javanese bureaucracy, and had himself been trained at the training school for native officials (OSVIA, *Opleidingsschool van Inlandschen Ambtenaren*). However, he spent only three years in the bureaucracy before moving on to other occupations which led him to travel widely across Java. He now established a re-formed organisation, called *Sarekat Islam*, on 10 September 1912. The original commercial orientation and anti-Chinese element remained and are evident in the association's newsletter, *Oetoesan Hindia* ("The Indies Messenger"). But *Sarekat Islam* soon became a mass movement whose membership went far beyond the élite group responsible for its foundation. It grew phenomenally and drew in diverse elements: not only the small group of Muslim entrepreneurs from whom the founders had been drawn, but also Muslims from the world of the mosque school, Islamic reformists, and, increasingly, the peasant masses. Already by 1914 it had over 360,000 members, and by the time of its first national congress in June 1916 it had recruited more than 80,000 members outside Java.

Islam had had a leading role in large-scale political mobilisation for many centuries. Yet this mobilisation had been pre-modern in its organisational form, being led by traditional élites such as the hereditary aristocracies of the Indies or the élites associated with mosque schools and *tarekats*. In Java, mobilisation in the name of Islam had been led by princes, and Islam had been largely subordinated to pre-Islamic Javanese political values. Many Islamic concepts had been redefined to accommodate to a highly monarchocentric policy in which service tö the ruler (*ngawula*) was the supreme moral virtue, and Javanese rulers claimed to be endowed with both *waḥy* [*q.v.*] and the Light of Prophecy. From the foundation of *Sarekat Islam* it is clear that Islam had freed itself from the old royalist ideology and patrimonial forms of mobilisation, and had done much to make possible an indigenous political life based on associational forms, on *Gesellschaft* rather than *Gemeinschaft*. Indonesia's links with the heartland of Islam had also greatly

strengthened since the late 19th century through a large increase in those making the Pilgrimage, who returned with a stronger commitment to Islamic norms and also brought back a better knowledge of political and military developments overseas. At the local level, the modernising aspect of *Sarekat Islam* was less evident, indeed was sometimes replaced by a protest against the cost to the peasantry of economic modernisation under the colonial aegis, or against the Chinese money-lenders to whom indebted or tax-burdened peasants had to turn. The years 1913-14 saw a peak of anti-Chinese violence. To say "I am a Muslim" at this period was a way for those at the bottom of the colonial racial hierarchy (below Dutch, Eurasians, and Chinese) to claim a more positive identity than that allocated to them by the Dutch term *inlander* (native). *Sarekat Islam* by its very name tapped this sense of identity and grievance. In addition, Tjokroaminoto was a charismatic leader who became a focus for the messianic beliefs that had been a prominent feature of traditional movements, whether Islamic or Javanist. By now the organisation, rather ambitiously, claimed a membership of two millions.

The role of Islam in introducing more modern concepts into political mobilisation in the Indies was certainly not uncontested. Socialist ideas first developed a significant presence in the Indies just at the time *Sarekat Islam* was established. The Dutch Socialist Sneevliet founded the ISDV (*Indische Sociaal-Demokratische Vereeniging,* Indies Social Democratic Union) in May 1914 and, after a lack of success with the Eurasian community, turned his attention to *Sarekat Islam.* From 1916, the Semarang branch of *Sarekat Islam* was the centre of the Socialist wing, led by the 17-year-old Semaun. Semarang was then the most progressive and liberal city in the Indies, the centre of an embryonic proletariat (associated with the railways and service industries) and of trade union activity. At the second *Sarekat Islam* conference in 1917, the Semarang group moved to insert into the organisation's programme the combating of "sinful" (i.e. foreign) capitalism, later to be extended to capitalism in general. The position of the Semarang group was strengthened after the October Revolution in Russia (which led to a dramatic rise in membership of *Sarekat Islam*), and they were joined by two central Javanese aristocrats, Darsono and Surjopranoto. An opposing group under Abdul Muis and Hadji Agus Salim (who had originally joined *Sarekat Islam* as a government spy but been converted to its cause) were branded as tools of the colonial government. At the third *Sarekat Islam* conference, Tjokroaminoto succeeded in reconciling the two factions.

1919 was a turbulent year on Java, with sugar plantations set on fire and peasants refusing to perform forced labour. In mid-year there occurred local incidents first in Sulawesi and then in West Java. The latter case ended in the slaughter by government troops of a Garut landowner, Hadji Hasan, and members of his family, after they had shut themselves into their house and refused to hand over the rice tax. It was claimed that there was within *Sarekat Islam* a clandestine "Section B", dedicated to the overthrow of colonial rule. As planters and others in the European community panicked at the spectre of a Muslim conspiracy, the government reacted strongly, leading many of the middle-class Muslims who had founded *Sarekat Islam* to leave the organisation. The relatively liberal attitude to Islam initiated by Snouck Hurgronje's policy advice to the colonial government was under serious challenge.

In May 1920 the ISDV changed its name to Perserikatan Komunis di Inida ("Indies Communist Union", later "Party") and in July 1920 the Comintern passed a resolution that pan-Islamic movements be opposed as strengthening Turkish imperialism, despite Sneevliet's plea that cooperation continue. *Sarekat Islam* had already set up a committee in support of the caliphate and it was becoming clear that the division between the Socialist and pan-Islamic wings of the party was sharpening. Tjokroaminoto, the chief architect of compromise, was arrested on the grounds of supposed involvement in the Garut affair. During his absence, on the occasion of the October 1921 conference, Hadji Agus Salim introduced party discipline in *Sarekat Islam,* leading to a split between the Islamic and Socialist-Marxist movements and to a subsequent battle between them for control of the branches. Despite the organisational break, at the popular level Islamic communist movements continued to exist, as for instance that led by the extremely popular Haji Misbach in Solo, whose peasant following were attracted by the idea of reinstituting a golden age of justice for all. When *Sarekat Islam* imposed party discipline, he opted for the PKI, and was subsequently banished by the government.

In January 1922 a strike of employees in the government-run pawnshops, the first large-scale union-sponsored work stoppage, took place. It was supported by a number of political organisations, and the subsequent government crack-down fell most heavily on *Sarekat Islam* in the arrest and deportation of its leadership. At this juncture the gulf between the aspirations of the Indonesian oppositional movements and the limits set by the colonial government was harshly illuminated. Semaun subsequently resumed leadership of the decapitated PKI, and Tjokroaminoto that of *Sarekat Islam.* The latter now published his book *Islam and Socialism* (*Islam dan Sosialisme*) which represents a hardening of his attitude to Marxism. In it he attempts to demonstrate that Islamic socialism is the most perfect kind, not only by reference to Muhammad's teachings but also by a reconstruction of society under the Orthodox Caliphs. He says that the state owned land, which was the same as ownership by the people; that society was neither autocratic nor bureaucratic; and that the army was a people's army. Among the socialistic regulations in force were prohibition of *ribā*, the institution of *zakāt*, injunctions to charity, and the egalitarianism evident in the communal prayers and during the Pilgrimage. In this book, Tjokroaminoto strongly attacks historical materialism as denying God, and deifying material things. He condemns Bebel's famous dictum to the effect that it is not that God created man, but that man has invented God. Much of the work is organised not around specifically socialist ideas but around the ideals of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, indicating the extent to which Islamic thinkers of the period felt the need to justify Islam in terms of Western political ideals, whether liberal or socialist.

December 1927 saw the first federation of Indonesian political parties (PPPKI: *Permufakatan Perhimpunan Politiek Kebangsaan Indonesia,* "Union of Indonesian Political Associations"), subsequent to the elimination of the Communist Party after an unsuccessful localised uprising in 1926. This began a phase when there was pressure on all political parties to define or re-define themselves in terms of the nationalist focus indicated by the use of the word "Indonesia". *Sarekat Islam* duly changed its name to *Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia* ("The Sarekat Islam Party of Indonesia"). After Tjokroaminoto's death in 1934, PSII lost much of its influence, and from 1937 on-

wards, a number of breakaway movements left to establish separate parties, adding to the plurality of Islamic organisations, which already encompassed the social movement Muhammadiyah (set up in the same year as *Sarekat Islam*) and the *Nahdatul Ulama* ("Association of *Ulama*") set up in 1926. In an evermore repressive colonial situation, it was impossible for any movement to replicate the early success of *Sarekat Islam* in mass mobilisation: in 1939, PSII, though still larger than any other political party, had only 12,000 members left. PSII was dissolved at the beginning of the Japanese Occupation, and in November 1943 the Japanese created the *Madjelis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia* ("Indonesian Muslim Council" or Masjumi) as a single organisational vehicle for Islam. This unity lasted until 1952, when the *Nahdatul Ulama* split off, and Indonesia's first elections in 1955 were contested by a number of Islamic parties which, though they jointly obtained a majority of the votes, were unable to co-operate to form a government based on Islam.

The history of *Sarekat Islam* is thus paradigmatic of that of political Islam in Indonesia, exhibiting a tremendous capacity for mass mobilisation, the necessity to address powerful competing ideologies both traditional and modern, and the effect of continuing internal divisions in preventing the translation of mass appeal into political dominance.

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(ANN KUMAR)

ṢARF (A.), a term of Arabic grammar. Literally meaning "averting", "divergence", this term became in later grammar the current indication for the science of "morphology" as a synonym for *taṣrīf* [*q.v.*]. In the early stages of Arabic grammar the term was used in two completely different senses. In Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, *ṣarf* is almost always connected with the verb *inṣarafa* in the sense of "to be fully declined", said of a noun. In Sībawayhi's theory of grammar the normal situation for a noun is to have three case-endings to indicate the three cases (in Western grammars of Arabic such words are said to be triptotic in contrast to words that have only two endings, which are said to be diptotic). This normal situation obtains when the noun is as near as possible to its lightest, i.e. most flexible form, the triliteral masculine noun. Such a noun is said to be completely *mutamakkin*, i.e. having full freedom of movement (synonym *munṣarif*). When a noun is diverted from this normal pattern it runs the risk of losing its full declension. This at least is the way the later grammarians (as for instance al-Zadjdjādj's *K. mā yanṣarif wa-mā lā yanṣarif*) view the behaviour of these words. But it seems that in the *Kitāb Sībawayhi* matters are somewhat different; here the emphasis is on the absence or presence of nunation. The lightness of a word (i.e. its unmarked use with maximum syntactic freedom) enables it to carry nunation, but when it deviates from its normal pattern, it becomes heavier (i.e. more marked) and as a consequence, loses the nunation and full declinability (*tark al-ṣarf*, e.g. *Kitāb*, i, 163.11; ii, 2.11 and many other examples, cf. Troupeau, 1976, 123, who translates *ṣarf* with "conversion"). It is difficult to explain this use from the lexical meaning of the word, since it is precisely the adherence to a certain pattern that brings nunation and thus *ṣarf*, and only when a word is diverted from its normal pattern (*maḥdūd ʿan al-bināʾ alladhī huwa awlā bihi* as al-Khalīl says, *apud* Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ii, 14.5-11, who himself uses the term *maʿdūl ʿan* in the same passage) it loses the *ṣarf* (for a detailed analysis of the treatment of this issue in the *Kitāb*, see Reuschel, 1959, 41-7).

One explanation for this use of the term *ṣarf* may be the behaviour of a word like *amsi* "yesterday". Normally, this word has no nunation and only two endings, since it is used as a temporal adjunct (*ẓarf*), i.e. in a more restricted construction than the syntactically free words. But when it is diverted from its usual category and used as a proper name it becomes fully declinable with nunation (*maṣrūf*, *Kitāb*, ii. 43.6 *li-anna amsi hāhunā laysa ʿalā 'l-ḥadd*). Perhaps this is the origin of the term: sometimes words are diverted from their own category to another and then they acquire nunation and full declinability. If this explanation is correct, the original meaning of the term has been generalised to all words receiving nunation (and full declinability). In later grammar, the theory of full declinability was expressed in a canonical list of factors that cause words to lose one of their endings (the so-called *mawāniʿ al-ṣarf*): two factors from this list in combination (e.g. when a word is both feminine and used as proper name) cause a word to become diptotic (cf. e.g. in al-Zamakhsharī's *Mufaṣṣal*, 9-10).

The discussions in this part of the *Kitāb* are typically morphological problems, in which the test of the proper names is used as a device to find out what the status of a word is and to which category it belongs (cf. Carter, 1983). These problems have nothing to do with the syntactic relations within the sentence, since diptotic words, even though they have only two endings, are syntactically used in all three cases. This may explain why in later grammar *ṣarf* was used as a synonym for *taṣrīf* and became one of the normal terms for "morphology".

The lexical meaning of *ṣarafa* "to divert, avert" is much clearer in the other sense in which *ṣarf* is used in early grammar, in particular by al-Farrāʾ. Here it means the divergence or non-identity between two constituents of the sentence. In the sentence *lā taʾkul al-samaka wa-tashraba 'l-labana*, for instance, the subjunctive of *tashraba* is explained by al-Farrāʾ by a principle of "divergence" between the two verbs. This construction may be compared to the use of the accusative indicating referential non-identity in a sentence such as *zaydun khalfaka*, as against the sentence *zaydun ṣāḥibuka*, where the nominative indicates the identity of the two nouns. According to Carter, 1973, this is Sībawayhi's theory (he uses the verb *ṣarafa* in connection with this construction, *Kitāb*, i, 418-19), but it became associated with Kūfan grammar under the name of *ṣarf*, which continued to be used in this sense in later explanations of the construction (cf. e.g. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf*, 229-30; Owens, 1990, 157 f.; Baalbaki, 1981, 22). The term is, indeed, fairly frequent in al-Farrāʾ's *Maʿānī* (e.g. i, 33; other instances in Carter, 1973, 298, n. 1).

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(C.H.M. Versteegh)

ṢARF, a term of Islamic law [see Suppl.].

SARḤADD (p.), lit. "upper frontier, boundary", a general geographical term specifically applied in southeastern Persia to the mountain region in the modern Persian province of Balūčistān and Sīstān adjoining the frontier with Pākistānī Balūčistān. Its mountain chains run generally from northwest to southeast, and include the volcanic (still partially active) Kūh-i Taftān (4,042 m/13,262 feet), the highest point, but there are also east-west-running outliers, such as the Kūh-i Bazmān (3,489 m/11,478 feet) which connects the Sarḥadd with the Djabal Bāriz [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The only village/small town of any note is Kh^wāsh or Vasht, in a broad and fertile valley on the western slopes of the main mountain chain and situated on the road linking Zāhidān (Zahedan) with Īrānshahr and Čāhbahār on the Makrān [*q.v.*] coast.

The Sarḥadd's role in history has been mainly as a refuge area e.g. for the Mihrabānid Maliks of Nīmrūz in the later 9th/15th century (see C.E. Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247-861 to 949/1542-3)*, Costa Mesa, Calif. and New York 1994, 463-5). By the later 19th century, the region had become largely depopulated, with irrigation and agriculture abandoned, because of endemic banditry; this last provoked in 1916 a punitive expedition of the Indian Army mounted from British Balūčistān into the Kūh-i Mōrpīsh (see R.E.H. Dyer, *The raiders of the Sarhad, being an account of a campaign of arms and bluff against the brigands of the Persia-Baluchi border during the Great War*, London 1921).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

SARHANG (p.), a term denoting a rank of officer or commander in mediaeval Persian armies and paramilitary groups (cf. Vuller, *Lexicon persico-latinum*, ii, 261-2, 293; *dux exercitus, praefectus*). Thus the *sarhang*s were leaders of bands of *^cayyār*s [*q.v.*] or Sunnī orthodox vigilantes combatting the Khāridjīs in 3rd/9th century Sīstān, and Ya^cḳūb b. al-Layth, founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty [*q.v.*], embarked on his rise to power by becoming a *sarhang* in the *^cayyār* forces of a local leader in Bust, Ṣāliḥ b. al-Naḍr al-Kinānī (*Ta^orīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Bahār, passim; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nazim, 11, ed. Habībī, 139; see the discussion by Bosworth in *BSOAS*, xxxi [1968], 539-40).

In modern Persia, *sarahang* denotes the rank of colonel.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SĀRĪ, Arabic form Sāriya, a town of the Caspian region of Persia, in mediaeval Islamic times within the province of Ṭabaristān, now in the modern province of Māzandarān [*q.v.*] (lat. 36° 33′ N., long. 53° 06′ E.). It lies some 32 km/20 miles from the Caspian Sea on the Tīdjin river (*Ḥudūd al-^cālam*, tr. 77: Tīžin-Rūdh) and in the hot and humid coastal plain; the surrounding region has always been famous for its silk production and its fruits.

Whether Sārī had any pre-Islamic history is unclear, though Islamic lore assigned its foundation to the legendary Pīshdādid [*q.v.*] figure, Ṭahmūrath. Details are lacking of the first appearance of the Arabs there; this may have been in the time of ^cUthmān's governor of Kūfa, Sa^cīd b. al-^cĀṣ [*q.v.*]. Sulayman b. ^cAbd al-Malik's governor Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [see muhallabids] temporarily occupied the town, but was compelled to withdraw by the Dābūyid [see dābūya] Ispahbadh Farrukhān. The first Islamic building erected there was a congregational mosque built by the first ^cAbbāsid governor of Ṭabaristān, Abu 'l-Khuḍayb, in 140/757-8. It remained generally the capital of the indigenous Ispahbadhs, with the Arab governors installed at nearby Āmul [*q.v.*], although in the 3rd/9th century the Ṭāhirid governors and the local ^cAlids moved their capital to Sārī, and the Bāwandids remained there till the 7th/13th century. The town was flourishing in the 4th/10th century, according to the geographers, with a citadel surrounded by a moat and rampart and a flourishing textiles industry.

There is little mention of Sārī in later Islamic times. It suffered on Mongol times and was sacked by Tīmūr's troops in 795/1393, yet recovered and remained the capital of Māzandarān till the Zands, who transferred it to Bārfurūsh. Āghā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār brought it back again to Sārī, but in the 19th century the town declined in favour of Āmul and Bārfurūsh-Bābul and only revived in the 20th century with the advent of the railway and of better road communications during the Pahlavī period. It is now the capital both of a *shahrastān* or canton of the same name and of the province (*ustān*) of Māzandarān; in *ca.* 1950 the population was 25,000, but this has now risen to 185,844 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). See further, māzandarān.

Bibliography: Sam^cānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vii, 128-31; Yāḳūt, *Mu^cdjam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 170-1; G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 379; Le Strange, *Lands*, 370, 374-5; H.L. Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, London 1928, 51-7; Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, iii, 147-9.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SARĪ^c, an Arabic metre with the following three main types, each consisting of six feet to the line and differing in the last foot (*ḍarb*) only:

(a) – – ∪ – | – – ∪ – | – ∪ – ‖ – – ∪ – | – – ∪ – | – =
(b) – – ∪ – | – – ∪ – | – ∪ – ‖ – – ∪ – | – – ∪ – | – ∪ –
(c) – – ∪ – | – – ∪ – | – ∪ – ‖ – – ∪ – | – – ∪ – | – –

(in which = represents an overlong syllable i.e. consonant + long vowel + consonant). The first and fourth foot come in three variants: – – ∪ –, – ∪ ∪ – and ∪ – ∪ –. The second and fifth foot have either – – ∪ – or – ∪ ∪ –. In the work of Ibn al-Rūmī (221-76/836-96 [*q.v.*]), the distribution of these types is: type (a) 6%, (b) 39% and (c) 55%; the three types together are used in almost 7% of the poems in the *dīwān*.

In Khalīlian theory [see ^carūḍ], *sarī^c* is the ninth metre, and the first metre of the fourth circle. The

scansion of the circle metre is *mustafʿilun mustafʿilun mafʿūlātu* (twice). Types (a), (b) and (c) are called *awwal al-sarīʿ*, *thānī 'l-sarīʿ* and *thālith al-sarīʿ*. Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791 [*q.v.*]) distinguishes three other types of *sarīʿ*, whereas some later metricians mention a seventh type. The most important of these are two types of three-foot *sarīʿ*:

(d) – – ⏑ – | – – ⏑ – | ⏓ – =

(e) – – ⏑ – | – – ⏑ – | ⏓ – – .

In practice, however, types (d) and (e) are called *radjaz* [*q.v.*] by many authorities (cf. Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 183; al-Damanhūrī, *Irshād*, 76 ll. 13-17). The division of opinion explains why, for instance, the ten pieces in three-foot *sarīʿ* metres of the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām are placed under the *ardjāz* in the index of the edition of al-Marzūḳī's commentary, whereas al-Tibrīzī's commentary contains an explicit reference to the *sarīʿ* metre in seven of these pieces (see ed. Freytag, i, 308, 332, 675, 798, 801, 802, 808; but note the fact that the metre of the piece which begins on p. 297 is said to be *min mashṭūr al-radjaz*).

A different system is found in al-Djawharī (d. 393/1003 or later [*q.v.*]). He does not recognise the *sarīʿ* as an independent metre, but considers the six-foot types as sub-forms of a *basīṭ* from which the second foot of each hemistich has been left out (*ʿArūḍ al-waraḳa*, 23-4; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 137, ii, 303). The three-foot or *mashṭūr* types, sc. (d) and (e) above, are, according to him, sub-forms of *radjaz* (*ʿArūḍ al-waraḳa*, 46 n. 15).

For further statistics and a discussion of the growing importance of the metre in ʿAbbāsid times, see J. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, 203-40.

Bibliography: G.W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 242-54; idem (ed.), *Hamasae carmina cum Tebrisii scholiis integris*, Bonn 1828-51; Muḥammad al-Damanhūrī, *al-Irshād al-shāfī ʿalā matn al-Kāfī*, Būlāḳ 1285/1865; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marzūḳī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn and ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1371-2/1951-3; Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda fī maḥāsin al-shiʿr wa-ādābihī wa-naḳdih*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols., ²Cairo 1374/1955; Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl al-Djawharī, *ʿArūḍ al-waraḳa*, ed. Muḥammad al-ʿAlamī, Casablanca 1984; J.E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, ²Paris 1989.

(W. Stoetzer)

AL-**SARĪ** B. AL-ḤAKAM B. YŪSUF AL-BALKHĪ, governor and financial controller of Egypt from 1 Ramaḍān 200/3 April 816. On 1 Rabīʿ I 201/27 Sept. 816, the troops openly mutinied against him, and al-Maʾmūn was forced to remove al-Sarī from his post and replace him by Sulaymān b. Ghālib; al-Sarī was put in prison and Sulaymān entered upon his office on Tuesday, 4 Rabīʿ I 201/30 Sept. 816. He was removed from office as early as 1 Shaʿbān 201/22 Feb. 817, as the result of a repeated revolt of the troops, and al-Sarī was again appointed by al-Maʾmūn. The news of his appointment reached Egypt on 12 Shaʿbān 201/4 March 817; al-Sarī was released from prison and entered al-Fusṭāṭ on the same day. He held office till his death on 30 Djumādā I 205/11 Nov. 820. That al-Sarī played a prominent part in Egypt even before his appointment as governor is evident also from his mention in the *ṭirāz* of a *kiswa* intended for the Kaʿba of the year 197/812-13. His name is also found on gold and copper coins of Egypt; see W. Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des Khalifes orientaux*, 188, no. 1700 (Miṣr 200 A.H.), 193, no. 1737 (200 and 202 A.H.); H. Nützel, *Katalog d. orient. Münzen in den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, i, 367, no. 2247; Ismāʿīl Ghālib, *Meskūkāt-i ḳadīme-yi islāmiyye ḳatalogi*, 188, no. 563 (Miṣr 200 A.H.), 387, no. 928 (Miṣr 201 A.H.), no. 929 (Miṣr 204 A.H.).

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AL-**SARĪ** B. **MANṢŪR** [see ABU 'L-SARĀYA].

AL-**SARĪ** B. AḤMAD B. AL-SARĪ AL-**RAFFĀʾ** al-Kindī al-Mawṣilī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan (d. 362/972-3 according to Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 185, and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, ix, 435; other dates are also given), Arab poet and anthologist, particularly famous for his descriptive poetry (*awṣāf*).

He was born in Mawṣil, where his father apprenticed him to the clothes-menders/jobbing tailors (*raffāʾūn*), hence his nickname, which is, however, not yet used by the contemporary source Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 169). In spite of his lowly occupation he tried his hand at poetry, and al-Bākharzī lists him among poets who had to earn their living by hard work, alongside the rice-bread baker al-Khubzaruzzī, the market-crier al-Waʾwāʾ al-Dimashḳī, and the cloth merchant Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī [*q.vv.*] (*Dumyat al-ḳaṣr*, ed. al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1968, i, 528-9). He was apparently not a complete autodidact, since the name of his teacher, the otherwise unknown Abū Manṣūr Ibn Abī Barrāk, is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 169, l. 12), but he is otherwise said to have been uneducated. After achieving a certain fame as a poet, he went to the Ḥamdānid court in Aleppo in 345/956-7 (for the year, see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, ix, 428) and found acceptance among the court poets of Sayf al-Dawla. After the latter's death in 333/945, he moved on to Baghdād and sang the praises of the Būyid vizier al-Muhallabī (d. 352/963 [*q.v.*]). The sources are not in unison about his worldly affairs in this period: some depict him as poor and debt-ridden (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 194), others as wealthy (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 119; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, xi, 185). For the time of al-Muhallabī's successor al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥusayn al-Shīrāzī (appointed vizier in 356/967, d. 362/973 [*q.v.*]) we have an anecdote related by al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 401/1010; see AL-ṢĀBĪ, no. 8), according to which al-Sarī must have been a man of modest means at the time (*apud* Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, ix, 429-30).

The main feature of al-Sarī's life as depicted in the sources is his constant feud with the two Khālidī brothers, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hāshim and Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Hāshim (see AL-KHĀLIDIYYĀN). They too came from Mawṣil and it seems that already early on al-Sarī accused them of stealing his own as well as other poets' poetry. Ibn al-Nadīm, in his paragraph on the Khālidīs, concurs that it was second nature to them to appropriate (*ghaṣabā*) verses they liked (*Fihrist*, 169, l. 21-3). To make the accusation stick, al-Sarī used the devious method of making copies of the *dīwān* of Kushādjim (d. *ca.* 350/961 [*q.v.*]), whom he admired and emulated, and including the best poems of the Khālidīs in them (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 118; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, xi, 183; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 360). The feud between al-Sarī and his adversaries was a long-lasting one; in the account of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, the Khālidīs appear as al-Sarī's ineluctable nemesis, who succeed in poisoning his relationships with Sayf al-Dawla, al-Wazīr al-Muhallabī, and other patrons. Al-Sarī himself was, however, not immune to the accusation of *sariḳa*: Ibn al-Nadīm—amidst a

string of admiring epithets—calls him a man "of many thefts" (*kat̲h̲īr al-sariḳa, Fihrist*, 169, l. 28). It is, however, important here to distinguish between two kinds of plagiarism, (a) wholesale lifting of other people's poems (*muṣālata*, for the term see e.g. *Yatīma*, ii, 119, l. 5), and (b) taking up, and playing with, existing and attributable motifs. Both play a role in al-Sarī's literary life. On the one hand, Ibn al-Nadīm mentions that al-Sarī is said to have appropriated the poetry of his teacher Ibn Abī Barrāk (*Fihrist*, 169, l. 12), and al-T̲h̲aʿālibī writes that he discovered a number of identical poems in the collection of poetry of the two K̲h̲ālidīs in the handwriting of Abū ʿUt̲h̲mān, the younger of the two brothers, and the collection of al-Sarī's poetry in the poet's own handwriting, both belonging to the bibliophile Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (*Yatīma*, ii, 118-19; one of the poems he quotes in this regard is actually also included in Kus̲h̲ād̲j̲im, *Dīwān*, ed. K̲h̲ayriyya M. Maḥfūẓ, Bag̲h̲dād 1390/1970, 230, no. 210, and has even a fourth avatar in an unattributed appearance in al-Sarī's own anthology *K. al-Muḥibb* [see below], iv, 326, no. 717). Al-T̲h̲aʿālibī declares himself unable to decide whether the duplication of poems is due to *tawārud* "two poets having the exact same idea" or *muṣālata* "appropriating another poet's poems" (*Yatīma*, ii, 119, ll. 4-5). If theft is involved, it is still unclear who is the thief and who the victim. In his chapter on the K̲h̲ālidī brothers, al-T̲h̲aʿālibī thus uses the term *tasāruḳ* "two-way theft" to characterise the cases of strong similarity between the K̲h̲ālidīs and al-Sarī which he presents to the reader (*Yatīma*, ii, 184-6 [Abū Bakr], and 199-201 [Abū ʿUt̲h̲mān]). He also makes an important observation concerning the reason that made the free floating, or malicious stealing, of so many poems possible: there is, between al-Sarī and the K̲h̲ālidīs, "an amazing agreement and a close similarity in handling the reins of the rhymes and fashioning the adornment of the motifs" (*Yatīma*, ii, 119, ll. 5-6). The only way of redress that a poet had to combat an infringement of his "copyright" was to complain (*taẓallum*) about this injustice to the authorities, most commonly to the recipients of their panegyrics. A fair amount of al-Sarī's poems contain such complaints against the K̲h̲ālidīs.

The other type of plagiarism is the more regular and—in an age of mannerist poetising—hardly reprehensible type of adopting and, if possible, improving successful motifs of earlier poets. Al-T̲h̲aʿālibī gives a list of 44 such cases and praises al-Sarī for his skilful "plagiarism" (*ḥusn al-sariḳa wa-d̲j̲awdat al-ak̲h̲d̲h̲*, see *Yatīma*, ii, 120, penult.). The "victims" are almost all "modern" poets, led by al-Mutanabbī who serves as a model twelve times.

Al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ has left three works, two of which, the *Dīwān* and *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb wa 'l-mas̲h̲mūm wa 'l-mas̲h̲rūb*, have been preserved. The latter is an anthology of the *maʿānī*-catalogue type, i.e. a topically arranged selection of poetic fragments with descriptions of the various parts of the beloved, of the lover, of spring, and of wine. The majority of the poets are "Moderns", but Umayyad poets have their fair share, while pre-Islamic ones occur very rarely.

The *Dīwān* was, according to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 169, penult.), edited by the poet himself shortly before his death on *ca.* 300 leaves who then added more material to it. It was also edited by an unknown "modern" *adīb* in the alphabetic arrangement according to rhyme letters. This may mean that the poet's edition was not alphabetical. If so, the situation may be reflected in the surviving manuscripts, some of which are alphabetical, while others are not (see the description of the mss. in *Dīwān*, i, 188-208). However, the situation was very likely more complicated: al-T̲h̲aʿālibī enumerates three sources for his knowledge of al-Sarī's poetry: the *Dīwān* as brought to him from Bag̲h̲dād, a number of outstanding poems recited to him and given for copying by the famous poet and epistolographer Abū Bakr al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī (d. 383/993 [*q.v.* under AL-K̲H̲ʷĀRAZMĪ]), and a volume (*mud̲j̲allada*) in al-Sarī's own hand-writing in the possession of Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān and containing many additions to the *Dīwān*. But still, he says, he found in the secondary literature fragments of poems by al-Sarī that he could not trace in his sources. Ibn al-ʿAdīm lists nine people, among them Abū Bakr al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī, who are said to have transmitted al-Sarī's poetry (*Bag̲h̲ya*, ix, 428). The details of the early transmission of al-Sarī's poetry are thus still obscure.

The opinions about al-Sarī's stature as a poet were generally very high. He is even called "next in line" (*radīf*) after al-Mutanabbī and superior to him in tenderness (*riḳḳa*) (on the title-page of the *Dīwān* ms. Laleli 1745, see introd. of ed. in *Dīwān*, i, 189). He is particularly famous for his ecphrastic poetry, "very versatile in similes and descriptions" (*kat̲h̲īr al-iftinān fi 'l-tas̲h̲bīhāt wa 'l-awṣāf*), as Ibn al-Nadīm says (*Fihrist*, 169, 29). The index of poetically described objects in the recent *Dīwān* edition lists 150 items (!). Not all of them yield monothematic poems, many are integrated into larger frameworks. Some of these seem to be unusual polythematic structures, possibly created by al-Sarī. Thus poem no. 353 (*Dīwān*, ii, 464-5) starts with a description of the morning and a rooster, leads on to a wine song, and ends with a panegyric on Sayf al-Dawla. An interesting subgenre with al-Sarī is his descriptions of his own poetry, of which al-T̲h̲aʿālibī gives a small collection of examples (*Yatīma*, ii). A close literary study is still lacking.

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Studies. Yūsuf Amīn Ḳaṣīr, *al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ*, Bag̲h̲dād 1956; Ḥabīb Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī, as an introd. to his ed. of the *Dīwān*, i, 9-182; for comparisons with the ecphrastic poetry of Kus̲h̲ād̲j̲im, see Alma Giese, *Waṣf bei Kušāǧim*, Berlin 1981, 222 (snow), 255 (melon), 263 (candle), 269 (fire), 273 (writing utensils). On *K. al-Muḥibb* see J. Sadan, *Maidens' Hair and Starry Skies. Imagery systems and maʿānī guides; the practical side of Arabic poetics as demonstrated in two manuscripts*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, xi (1991), 57-88, in particular 67-70, 74-84.

Sources. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel; T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 4 vols., ²Cairo 1375-7/1956-8; al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, ix, Cairo 1349/1931; Yāḳūt, *Irs̲h̲ād al-arīb*, ed. A.F. Rifāʿī, xi, Cairo n.d.; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, ii; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bug̲h̲yat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīk̲h̲ Ḥalab*, facs. ed. F. Sezgin, ix, Frankfurt 1409/1989; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-S̲h̲īʿa*, xxxiv, Beirut 1370/1950, 35-147. (W.P. HEINRICHS)

SARĪ AL-SAḲAṬĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Mug̲h̲allis, important Ṣūfī of the second generation of Ṣūfīs in Bag̲h̲dād, 155-253/772-867.

Biography

Born as the son of a pedlar (*saḳaṭī*) who had settled at an early date in the Karkh [*q.v.*] quarter of Baghdād, Sarī rose to be a distinguished wholesale trader, known for his honesty (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (= *TB*) ix, 189). Like other merchants, he devoted himself to *ḥadīth* studies which, as the names of his teachers indicate, must have brought him from Baghdād via Kūfa to Mecca (*Ḥilya*, x, 127).

At the age of *ca.* 35-40 he encountered the saint Maʿrūf al-Karkhī (d. 815 [*q.v.*]), which brought his career as a merchant to a sudden end and initiated the second period of his life. The world had beome indifferent to him; he abandoned his trade and chose the Ṣūfī path. Several journeys opened up new horizons for him. In the convent of ʿAbbādān [*q.v.*] he tried to join the Baṣra school through fasting exercises. On the road he came to know the Syrian anchorite ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī, who exerted a lasting influence upon him (*Ḥilya*, x, 110-11) and directed his eye towards Syria, where he became acquainted with the school of Ibrāhīm b. Adham [*q.v.*], which was to impress him in more than one way. He stayed at Damascus, Ramla, Jerusalem and Tarsus in the north, from where he joined the *djihād*, at already sixty years of age (*Ḥilya*, x, 126). His wandering years ended around 218/833 with his definite return to Baghdād. Probably already before his journeys he had won there Bishr al-Ḥāfī (d. 840 [*q.v.*]) as a paternal friend. For his views he was also indebted to Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ (d. 803 [*q.v.*]), whom he did not, however, come to know personally. He does not seem to have maintained close relations with al-Muḥāsibī (d. 857 [*q.v.*]), who was very closely connected to him as far as Ṣūfī ethics and self-education were concerned (cf. J. van Ess, *Gedankenwelt*, 10).

The third period of Sarī's life, which began immediately after his return to Baghdād, was that of his great role as a teacher. Pupils did not only come flocking in from ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd, Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī, Samnūn, Ibn Masrūḳī and others), but also from Syria (e.g. ʿAlī al-Ghaḍāʾirī and Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shāmī). It was not only professional Ṣūfīs who joined him, but also pious workmen and merchants, unto the *muḥaddith* [see ḤADĪTH] and the *ḳāḍī* (*TB*, ix, 191-2, 189, l. 15). Sarī must have been an outstanding teacher, who knew how to address and stimulate everyone, whether personally or in the course of lectures (e.g. *Ḥilya*, x, 119, ll. 15 ff.), but who also knew what he could demand of the individual person. Only the intimates had insight in his mystical experience. On the other hand, he also composed a rule for novices (*Ḥilya*, x, 117 below).

We do not know how long Sarī was active as an educator. From a certain moment onwards he withdrew completely into his own world of experience and permitted only intimates, above all Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd (d. 910), to approach him. For this fourth period of Sarī's life, too, people in Baghdād had a concrete explanation. Once he was teaching in his circle when the misanthrope Abu Djaʿfar al-Sammāk passed and marred the holding of further sessions by remarking: "Abu 'l-Ḥasan, you have become the resting-place of the idlers" (*TB*, xiv, 411).

Sarī's character

In his statements as well as in the accounts about him, Sarī appears as a noble, unselfish, helpful and dynamic personality who, as a member of the Islamic community, felt himself responsible for the well-being of his fellow men (cf. *TB*, ix, 188). This attitude had already won him the favour of Maʿrūf al-Karkhī and made him later responsive to the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] of Ibrāhīm b. Adham, who did every kind of work for others but would himself never lay claim to their help. The after-effects of his influence also sharpened Sarī's sensitivity to decent good manners (*adab*, cf. *Ḥilya*, x, 120, ll. 20-1, 122, ll. 18-20).

Like Ibn Adham, Sarī was a man of action and not a theoretician. Knowledge (*ʿilm*) interested him only in so far as it could be turned into deed (*ʿamal*). He shared Bishr al-Ḥāfī's scepticism of knowledge of the *ḥadīth*; according to him, it was "no provision for the hereafter" (*ibid.*, x, 127). Consequently, he transmitted only traditions which were illustrated by his own attitude or which would support the latter. He was no less at a loss with theology, even if occasionally he knew how to gain a Ṣūfī aspect from a theologumenon (cf. *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashk* = *MTD*, ix, 227 in the middle). There was only one knowledge for which he had a burning interest, namely, the paths to self-knowledge and self-education; as a protagonist of this field of knowledge, he particularly esteemed al-Muḥāsibī (*Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, ii, 35, ll. 11-12 = Gramlich, *Die Nahrung*, i, 503).

Other main features of Sarī's character were his sincerity and veracity. Bishr al-Ḥāfī had trained him in the freedom not to fool others in anything (*Lumaʿ* 373, ll. 5-8), and Sarī himself demanded that nothing should be done or left out "on behalf of people" but only on behalf of God alone (*Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, ii, 213), in other words, that there should be practised what in ʿIrāḳ was understood as *ikhlāṣ* [*q.v.*] and which Sarī, in association with al-Djurdjānī, still called *taṣḥīḥ al-irāda* "purification of intention" (al-Sulamī, 51; for al-Djurdjānī, see *Ḥilya*, x, 112). In the method of carrying through this attitude against all impulses of hypocrisy (*riyāʾ*), he largely followed al-Muḥāsibī (cf. *ibid.*, x, 125, and van Ess, *Gedankenwelt*, 149 ff.).

Above all, he fought a particular case of hypocrisy, which one might qualify as "business by means of religion". On a lower level he condemns "eating thanks to one's religion" (*Ḥilya*, x, 117, ll. 7-10; see for this, *Lumaʿ*, 201, l. 3; Meier, *Abū Saʿīd*, 304); on a higher one, he censures the claim to social authority of many a Ḳurʾān reader on the ground of his piety and religious knowledge, which he misuses (*MTD*, ix, 226-7). As a general remedy and as preventive medicine, he recommends "anonymity" (*khumūl*), following also in this point Bishr al-Ḥāfī's example.

The end of zuhd

Sarī belongs to the generation of Ṣūfīs in which—not least under the influence of a new mystical experience—the authentic wealth of ideas of *zuhd* is partly commuted, partly refined, but sometimes also hyperbolically brought *ad absurdum*. The theatrical tirades of the ascetics against the world became silent, and the fierce battle against its allurement gave way to indifference (see for this, *MTD*, ix, 219). Sarī indeed abandoned his trade because of lack of interest in wordly affairs, but on the other hand he did not simply throw away all his worldly goods but put them into action for works pleasing to God. *Zuhd* became an inner attitude and signified that "the heart is free from that from which the hands are free" (*Lumaʿ*, 46).

The most important means of commuting *zuhd* was "scrupulousness" (*waraʿ*), i.e. the painful effort to come only in contact with "what is permitted" (*ḥalāl*). The first matter to be dealt with was one's daily bread. The scrupulous person wanted to know where his sustenance came from, and who had dealt with it before it reached his hands. Sarī then extended this method to all implements of daily life (*TB*, ix, 189). He apparently came to know these implements in Syria, in the heritage of Ibn Adham (cf. *Ḥilya*, x, 116,

22-3). The idea of narrowing what is permitted by means of *wara*ᶜ in such a way that *zuhd* practically loses its object goes also back to this heritage. This was in any case the way in which Sarī proceeded (*TB*, ix, 190). When sure of their irreproachable origin, he was by all means open to worldly titbits (*MTD*, ix, 217 below). But he followed Ibn Adham's ideas of *wara*ᶜ also in another aspect; not only did he not want to eat anything which might burden him before God, but neither should food render him indebted to any creature (*Luma*ᶜ 183, ll. 6-7; on Ibn Adham, cf. al-Ḳushayrī, 59, ll. 9-10 = Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 172).

All along there had been a latent conflict between excessive service of God (*ᶜibāda* [*q.v.*]), as practised by the ascetics, and social requirements. Initially, Sarī had clearly decided in favour of the latter. He transmitted to his pupils (al-Sulamī, 165, ll. 9-10) the relevant *ḥadīth*, taken over from Maᶜrūf: "He who fulfills a wish of his Muslim brother is rewarded in the same way as one who has served God during all his life" (*Manāḳib*, 626-7). In the last period of his life, however, he recommends as "the direct path into paradise" that "one should occupy oneself with the service of God, turn only to Him in such a way that there does not remain anything else inside oneself" (*Ḥilya*, x, 119). Ascetic piety expressed in works is certainly not at stake any more here, but it was on the one hand a matter of the delight of being alone with God (cf. *ibid.*, x, 117, l. 14, 125, l. 10) and on the other a matter of avoiding temptations, no less important for Sarī (al-Sulamī, 50, ll. 6-7).

With the conviction of his own depravity, Sarī enters the field of hyperbolism. This conviction may have been furthered by continuous self-criticism and by examination of his conscience, but it also corresponds to an old praxis of exercise in humility (cf. van Ess, *Gedankenwelt*, 158): one forces oneself to the notion that one is worse than everybody else. Fuḍayl b. ᶜIyāḍ [*q.v.*] held the same view (*Ḥilya*, viii, 101). To the alarm of his pupils, Sarī did not even wish to have preference over homosexual boys (al-Sulamī, 49, ll. 10 ff.) and continuously squinted at the tip of his nose in order to investigate whether his face had not already become black because of his depravity (*Ḥilya*, x, 116; this passage became famous, cf. *Taᶜarruf*, 31, l. 8).

Sarī also gives a new turn to another ascetic motive, namely ostentatious and continuous mourning as it was practised by the *bakkāʾūn* and later by Fuḍayl b. ᶜIyāḍ. Sarī still allows for this attitude when he mentions "weeping about one's sins" as the first of the "five most beautiful things" (al-Sulamī, 54). Later, being mournful becomes for him the characteristic of someone who loves God (as in *Ḥilya*, x, 125, l. 24), and when he exclaims before al-Djunayd "I should wish that the mourning of the entire mankind be thrown upon me" (*ibid.*, 118); this may conceivably have an altruistic meaning, but certainly not the former ascetic one.

Finally, a word on the primal ascetic motive of fear of God and His Judgement. It is true that reminiscences of both the absolute and the polarised fear of God are not lacking in Sarī's thinking (e.g. *Ḥilya*, x, 118, ll. 2-4, and al-Sulamī, 53, l. 5), but the starting point of his reflections is a well-considered balance between fear and its counter-force, namely, hopefulness (for this problem see Meier, *Abū Saᶜīd*, 148 ff.), put down in a fragment of a letter of a later period, the only authentic document of Sarī which we possess (*Luma*ᶜ, 238). However, he developed this dichotomy further in a Ṣūfī way. On the one hand, he does this with the help of a surmounting third notion: firstly, it is the shame (*ḥayāʾ*) before God's eye (*Ḥilya*, x, 117), which takes the place of the mere fear of His punishment and hope for His grace (see also ᶜAṭṭār, *Tadhkira*, i, 253, ll. 14-15, 247, ll. 20 ff.); secondly, Sarī introduces here as a fourth binding force, after the example of Shaḳīḳ al-Balkhī (*Adab al ᶜibādāt*, 20-1), the love of God, which outshines the elementary experiences of fear and hope. On the other hand, he refines fear and hope into feelings of reverence (*hayba*) and intimacy (*uns*) (*Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, ii, 215, ll. 7-8). All "new" notions are characterised as personal feelings towards God and therefore indicate that we find ourselves already in the sphere of mysticism. In the "five things next to which nothing else rests in the heart", Sarī gives a summing up, namely "fear of God alone, hope in God alone, love of God alone, shame before God alone, and intimacy with God alone" (*Ḥilya*, x, 124-5).

Sarī's mystical experiences

We are extremely badly informed about what Sarī made public of his mystical experience (cf. al-Sulamī, 48, ll. 3-2; al-Ḳushayrī, 10, l. 2 = Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 41). It is certain that this experience was completely under the imprint of the love of God. The impulse might go back to Maᶜrūf al-Karkhī who, after his death, could only be imagined in paradise as being drunk with the love of God (*Manāḳib*, 675-6) and who is said to have been moved by the love of God to that form of renunciation of the world which he also knew how to provoke in Sarī (*Ḳūt*, iii, 82, ll. 4 ff.). In fact, it is to al-Djunayd exclusively that we owe all information on Sarī's love of God, and so it dates only from the third or fourth periods of his life.

Here, too, in the most authentic field of his mysticism, Sarī is seen as the practical man who is averse from all forms of speculation. He does not want to have anything to do with the Ṣūfī theory of love; on the contrary, he wants to understand love of God as a psychosomatic phenomenon. While speaking about this, he tried to extend the skin of his forearm, and when this proved to be impossible, he said, "If I were to assert that this skin had dried up on this bone out of love for Him, I would speak the truth" (al-Ḳushayrī, ii, l. 11 = Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 41-2). Elsewhere, too, he depicts the love of God as an inner burning (*TB*, ix, 191, ll. 7-10) and does not get tired of quoting corresponding verses on profane love (*Luma*ᶜ, 251, ll. 4-6). It is, therefore, no wonder that he also transmitted the famous-infamous *ḥadīth al-ᶜishḳ* (al-Ḳushayrī, 112, l. 23 = Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 317; for the *ḥadīth* itself, see Massignon, *Essai*, 195-6).

Sarī represents here the well-known conviction that lovers of God would be tested by Him in the hardest possible way, so that the truthfulness of their love might prove itself. In a dream he hears God telling them: "I want to bring down upon you as many proofs as you have breaths, which not even the solid mountains would stand. Will you bear them patiently (*a-taṣbirūna*)?" They answer: "If it is You who tests us, do whatever You wish!" (*Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, ii, 216, ll. 15 ff.). Sarī himself did not advance any further opinion on this, but we possess a vivid description by al-Djunayd of the torments in question, where he depicts the desperate endeavours with which the mystic tries to win back the situation of bliss, caused by the union, after he has awaken from ecstasy (*Kitāb al-Fanāʾ*,34-8 = Gramlich, *Islamische Mystik*, 19-22). Perhaps the linguistic virtuoso that the pupil was, retained here his master's experiences.

Sarī was indeed very well acquainted with the ecstatic heights of mystical experience. Al-Djunayd

reports about a trance of the master, in which his face radiated in such a way that the bystanders could no more stand the sight (*Lumaᶜ*, 307, ll. 13 ff.). Moreover, Sarī confirmed to him that ecstatic experiences (*mawādjīd ḥādda*) and intensive thoughts of God (*adhkār ḳawiyya*) could lead the mystic so far that "his face might be beaten with a sword without him being aware of it" (*ibid.*, 306, ll. 6-12). It may be that what Sarī once indicated as his nightly "experiences" (*fawāʾid*) (*Ḥilya*, x, 121, ll. 20-1) were such states of trance, and that what he called his *awrād* [see WIRD] were corresponding *dhikr* exercises. But since he considered ecstasy as a charisma (*karāma*), he did not of course want to talk about it (cf. his postulate of the *ṣiyānat al-karāmāt*, *Ḥilya*, x, 120, l. 13).

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ṢARÎ ᶜABD ALLĀH EFENDĪ, Ottoman poet, man of letters and bureaucrat (?992-?1071/?1584-?1661).

He was also reported to have been a good calligrapher and an ardent lover and cultivator of flowers, Ibrāhīm I dubbing him *sershükūfedji* (*čičekči bashî*) (see Ömer Faruk Akün, in *İA*, art. *Sarı Abdullah*). In his own works he is referred to as ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Seyyid (or al-Sherīf) Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh (Akün, *loc. cit.*). He seems to have been born in Istanbul, but the sources disagree on the date of birth. His father Sayyid Muḥammad had fled from the Maghrib to Istanbul and settled there; his mother was a daughter of the Beglerbegi Meḥmed Pasha (d. 997/1588-9), brother of the Grand Vizier Khalīl Pasha, by whom he was brought up and given an education under Shaykh Maḥmūd of Scutari and others (see Nihad Sâmi Banarlı, *Resimli Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1976, 700), with early exposure to mysticism, Khalīl Pasha himself having close *ṭarīḳa* connections [see KHALĪL PASHA ḲAYṢARIYYELI].

He served as *tedhkiredji* (private secretary) to Khalīl Pasha when, in his second vizierate, the latter was given command of the troops in the Persian campaign, and in 1037/1627-8 was appointed *reʾīs ül-küttāb* [*q.v.*] in place of Meḥmed Efendi, who had just died, but was soon dismissed at the same time as his patron. After the latter's death in 1038/1629, he remained out of office until 1040/1638 when he was appointed to the imperial *rikāb* [*q.v.*]. He accompanied Murād IV on his Baghdād campaign and then became *reʾīs ül-küttāb* for the second time. He continued in various positions until 1065/1655 when he retired from public life and devoted his remaining years to writing. His tomb is in the cemetery of Maltepe outside the Top Kapı (Gate of St. Romanus) in Istanbul (Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 79).

A member of the Bayrāmiyya *ṭarīḳa*, Ṣarî ᶜAbd Allāh Efendi had a close relationship also with leaders of the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*], and most of his works (in Turkish and Arabic) were connected with mysticism. His five-volume *Djewāhir-i bewāhir-i Methnewī*, written 1035-41/1625-31 and dedicated to Murād IV, is a Turkish translation of and commentary on the first volume of Mawlānā's Persian *Mathnawī*, but has been described as an "encyclopaedia of mysticism" (Akün, *loc. cit.*), containing as it does information about various orders and legends of saints. The interpretation is closely related to Ṣarî ᶜAbd Allah's knowledge of Ibn al-ᶜArabi's [*q.v.*] doctrines. Although stylistically the work is part of the high culture, with sections in rhymed prose, it also contains sentences that are short and simple, and close to the spoken language (Banarlı, *op. cit.*). It was printed at Istanbul in 1288/1871. Among his other works are: *Naṣīhatü ʾl-mülük*, a Mirror for Princes and discussion of death and the hereafter; *Themerātü ʾl-fuʾād*, a discussion on mystical topics with Ismāᶜīl Anḳarawī [*q.v.*], which also refers to various orders and personages; *Djawharatu ʾl-bidāya*, another mystical work but dedicated to Murād IV, with an introduction describing his recent conquest of Baghdād; and *Dustūru ʾl-inshāʾ*, a collection of official correspondence and other documents (some of his own composition), interesting from the aspect of foreign relations. He also wrote poetry and songs of a mystical tenor under the *makhlaṣ* ᶜAbdī.

Bibliography: For further details and bibl., see Akün, *op. cit.*

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ṢARÎ KÜRZ or ṢARÎ GÖREZ (on the pronunciation of the second element in the name, see M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, *Yeni kaynak ve vesikalar ışığı altında Yavuz Sultan Selim'in İran seferi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xvii/22 [1967], 49-78, n. 20), *laḳab* [*q.v.*] of the Ottoman scholar and statesman Nūr al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Yūsuf of Ḳarasi.

The date of his birth is unknown. According to Tashköprü-zāde [*q.v.*] (*al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuᶜmāniyya fī ᶜulamāʾ al-dawlat al-ᶜUthmāniyya*, Beirut 1395/1975, 181), he studied with the "*ᶜulamāʾ* of his age", and successively with Khaṭīb-zāde and Khōdja-zāde [*q.v.*]. He next "entered the service" of Khōdja Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*], Grand Vizier between 881/1476 and 882/1477 (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Hızır Bey oğlu Sinan Paşa'nın vezir-i âzamlığına dâir çok kıymetli bir vesika*, in *Belleten*, xxvii [1963], 37-44), accompanying his patron to exile in Sivrihisar in 882/1477 (Tashköprü-zāde, *op. cit.*, 106-9). On his accession in 886/1481, Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] recalled Sinān Pasha, and appointed him *müderris* at the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Edirne [*q.v.*], whither Ṣarî Kürz accompanied him as his teaching assistant. After the Dār al-Ḥadīth, Ṣarî Kürz became *müderris* "at several *madrasas*", finally at one of the Eight Madrasas attached to the Mosque of Meḥemmed II [see ṢAḤN-I THAMĀN]. He evidently remained on

intimate terms with Bāyezīd II, since the only incident in his career to enter the Ottoman historiographical tradition is his embassy on behalf of this sultan to his son Prince Selīm (Selīm I [*q.v.*]) in 917/1511 (*Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, Breslau 1922, 130; Ahmet Uğur, *The reign of Sultan Selīm I in the light of the Selīm-nāme literature*, Berlin 1985, 160, 171, 177; Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā, *Selīm-nāme*, ed. Ahmet Uğur and Mustafa Çuhadar, Ankara 1990, 258, 295). By the year 917/1511, Bāyezīd had also appointed him *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, a post which he held until 919/1513 or later (for *wakfiyyes* which he validated in these years as *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, see Ö.L. Barkan and E.H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defeteri. 935 (1546) tarihli*, nos. 2107, 906). Selīm I appointed him successively *ḳāḍī ʿasker* [*q.v.*] of Anatolia and *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumelia. It was he who in 920/1514 issued the *fatwā* sanctioning the opening of hostilities against the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*] and the massacre of their adherents in Anatolia (for text and facsimile of the *fatwā*, see Tekindağ, *op. cit.*). Tashköprü-zāde reports that Selīm eventually dismissed him as *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumelia "because of something that happened between them", and re-appointed him to one of the Eight Madrasas. He seems to have ended his career as *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, since he validated *wakfiyyes* in Istanbul in 924/1518 and 927/1521 (Ö.L. Barkan and E.H. Ayverdi, *op. cit.*, nos. 917, 2163). He died, Tashköprü-zāde says, "in 928 or 929"/1521-3, and was buried "next to his mosque in the city of Constantinople". The mosque in question must be the mosque of "Ṣarī Kez", which Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] (*Seyāhat-nāme*, i, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 310) places "in the ʿAlī Pasha market, near [the mosque of Meḥemmed] the Conqueror". The mosque gave its name to a quarter in the Fātiḥ district of Istanbul, known variously as Ṣarī Kez or Ṣarī Güzel (Semavi Eyice, *İstanbul'da yayla camileri*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, x [1954], 34 nn. 8, 9).

Tashköprü-zāde records Ṣarī Kürz as the author of a work of Ḥanafī *furūʿ* entitled *al-Murtaḍā* (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, v, 491), and a book of responsa to the legal conundrums of Sayyidī Ḥamīdī (*ibid.*, vi, 241). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iv, 170) also lists a gloss on al-Iṣfahānī's commentary on the *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* of al-Bayḍāwī.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see R.C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, Oxford 1986, 218-20; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, repr. Farnborough 1971, iv, 581; Ḥafīẓ Ḥüseyn Aywansarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, 133-4. (C. Imber)

ṢARĪ MEḤMED PASHA, Baḳḳāl-zāde, Ḥadjdjī, Shehrī, Defterdār (?-1129/1717), Ottoman statesman, born in Istanbul (hence: *Shehrī*), a son of a Muslim Turkish grocer. He styled himself *El-Ḥādjdj Meḥmed ed-Defterī* in the preface to his chronicle.

He made his career in the financial department of the Porte [see mālīyye]. In 1081/1671 he was employed in the office of the *rūznāmdje-yi ewwel ḳalemi* [*q.v.*]. He won the patronage of the *defterdār* Ḳīlīč ʿAlī Efendi, *bashdefterdār* (in function 1102/1691-2) and was promoted to *mektūbdju* (= *mektūbī*), head of the secretariat of the principal *defterdār*. The Grand Vizier Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] appointed him principal *defterdār* (17 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1114/5 May 1703). This was the first of his seven appointments to this high office. At the time of the Edirne Revolt he was dismissed (13 Radjab 1115/23 August 1703). The new Sultan Aḥmed III [*q.v.*] reinstated him soon at the behest of the rebels, who demanded Ṣarī Meḥmed's financial acumen to produce the necessary funds for their "Accession Fee" (*djulūs bakhshīshi*). Dismissed after this operation, he was relegated to the *rūznāmdje-yi ewwel* office. *Defterdār* again on 23 Shawwāl 1115/29 February 1704, he lost the position after eleven months. Re-appointed 14 months later, he remained in function for one year and 5 months. The next turn of office lasted from 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1119/12 February 1708 till 3 Djumādā II 1121/10 August 1709, when he lost favour with the Grand Vizier Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] and retired into private life at his *konak* in the Ḳumḳapī quarter of the capital. The Grand Vizier removed him from the centre of power by appointing him (titular) *mutaṣarrif* of Salonica, ranking as a pasha of "two tails" [see ṭugh] and sending him as military governor to the frontier fortress town of Bender (Bessarabia) [*q.v.*]. Later, he was given the government of Izmid as well. Ṣarī Meḥmed Pasha became *defterdār* again in 1123-4/1712 for five months. After the conclusion of peace with Russia at Edirne (1125/1713), he was appointed a member of the boundary commission which settled the new border in Podolia. Upon their return to Istanbul, the sultan awarded caftans of honour to *inter alios* Ṣarī Meḥmed, who soon was made *defterdār* again (1126/1714). He appears to have been a client of the *kapudānpasha* Ḥādjdjī Meḥmed Pasha "Djanīm Khodja" [*q.v.*]. Next year he joined the campaign in the Morea led by the Grand Vizier Damād ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*]. His task was the provisioning of the army via Eğriboz [*q.v.*]. After the Grand Vizier's death in the battle of Peterwardein, Ṣarī Meḥmed Pasha received the rank of vizier (4 Ramaḍān 1128/22 August 1716). He had been hoping for the grand vizierate, but he loyally served under the new Grand Vizier, the aged Ḥādjdjī Arnawūd Khalīl Pasha [*q.v.*], fighting Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Imperial army near Belgrade. He seems not to have become member of the faction of the sultan's favourite, Damād Newshehirli İbrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. Ṣarī Meḥmed openly vented his disappointed ambition and lost the confidence of the sultan. In 1129/1717 he was recalled to the Porte, and his new appointment as military governor of Salonica meant his disgrace. He received the order to organise a force of 3,000 to be recruited from the *Ewlād-i Fātiḥān* (originally Anatolian Turks settled in Rumelia) at his own expense and to join the main army at Nish to take up the guarding of the "Iron Gate" of the Danube. He failed to comply, and openly criticised the sultan's policy. His behaviour led to his downfall; he was accused of incitement to revolt and of previous misconduct in the field before Temesvār in 1716, where his force of 1000 *dalkīlīč-serdengečti* volunteers withdrew without fighting. A *kapīdjībashī* sent from the Porte had him executed in the castle of Ḳawāla [*q.v.*]. His possessions in Istanbul, Salonica, Bender and Sīwās were confiscated. At least one son survived him, Meḥmed Emīn, *alaybeyi* at Sīwās in 1179/1767 (see above, vol. I, at 295a).

Bibliography: *Naṣāʾiḥ ul-wüzerāʾ we'l-ümerāʾ weyā Kitāb ül-Güldeste*, ed. and tr. W.L. Wright, *Ottoman statecraft. The book of counsel for vezirs and governors*, Princeton 1935; ed. in mod. Tkish, with an introd. by H.R. Uğural, *Defterdar Sarı Mehmet Paşa, devlet adamlarına öğütler*, Ankara 1987; a chronicle of Ottoman history 1656-1704, pop. ed. in mod. Tkish. A. Özcan, *Zübde-i vekayiat* (*olayların özü*), Istanbul 1977-9, 3 vols. (vol. 4 still to come?), a critical ed. by idem, announced in 1990; idem, *Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa'nın mali bazı görüş ve faaliyetleri*, in *GDAAD*, x-xi (1981-2 [publ. 1983]), 239-48; İ. Parmaksızoğlu (ed.), *Silâhdar Mehmet Ağa. Nusretnâme*, Istanbul 1962-9, 3 vols., in 5, ii, index, s.v. *Mehmed*

Efendi, Bakkaloğlu; A. Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme dönemine girerken osmanlı maliyesi*, Istanbul 1985, 132, 230, 266; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, Ankara 1959, 597-602. (A.H. de Groot)

ṢARĪ ṢALṬŪḲ DEDE, Turkish warrior-saint of the 7th/13th century.

The sources on his life are extremely meagre. The earliest surviving work in which he is mentioned is Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Riḥla*. The author states that when he passed through the town of "Bābā Salṭūḳ" in the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (probably near the lower Dnieper in the Ukraine) in 732/1332, he learned that its namesake was "an ecstatic devotee, although things are told of him which are reproved by Divine Law" (tr. H.A.R. Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, Cambridge 1958-71, ii, 499-500). About the same time, legendary stories related to Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ had entered the Bektās̲h̲ī *wilāyet-nāmes*. By the 9th/15th century, he was considered to be a Bektās̲h̲ī saint (F.M. Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, tr. and ed. G. Leiser, Salt Lake City 1992, 81 n. 82). Next, he appears briefly in the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i āl-i Saldjūḳ*, written by the Ottoman historian Yazïdjï-og̲h̲lu (or Yazïdjï-zāde) ʿAlī during the reign of Murād II (824-55/1421-51). According to this work, which is virtually the only historical source on his life, Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ "of blessed memory" went to Constantinople to join the deposed Ṣaldjūḳ sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II and his army after they had taken refuge in Byzantine territory from Kaykāwūs's brother and his Mongol protectors. These Turks found favour with the Byzantine emperor, who subsequently gave them Dobrudja [*q.v.*] as an abode. Later, the emperor imprisoned Kaykāwūs, but he was freed by Berke K̲h̲ān of the Golden Horde, who gave him and his followers hospitality in the Crimea. Berke K̲h̲ān then transferred the Turks of Dobrudja, among them Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ, into the steppe (*das̲h̲t*). When Kaykāwūs died in the Crimea in 679/1280, one of his sons claimed the throne and asked for permission to return to Rūm. At that point, Berke K̲h̲ān ordered Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ to lead the remaining Turks back to Dobrudja. Meanwhile, another of Kaykāwūs's sons had been held in Constantinople, where he was baptised by the Patriarch. Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ successfully asked for him to be freed. He returned to Islam and became a dervish. Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ then transferred to him the supernatural power that he had received as a shepherd from the holy man Maḥmūd K̲h̲ayrānī (d. 667/1269) of Aḳs̲h̲ehir and sent him to Ṣulṭāniyya. Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ later died in Dobrudja (P. Wittek, *Yazïdjïog̲h̲lu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv [1952], 639-68). While describing Süleymān's Mohács campaign (932/1526), Kemāl Pas̲h̲a-zāde [*q.v.*] (or Ibn Kamāl, d. 940/1534), *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān*, mentions Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ in passing as a wonder-working saint in Dobrudja. Sayyid Luḳmān (d. *ca.* 1010/1601-2 [*q.v.*]), *Idjmāl-i aḥwāl-i āl-i Saldjūḳ*, essentially repeats Yazïdjï-og̲h̲lu's information, but adds that Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ went to Rumelia in 662/1263-4 (relevant passages from these writers in A. Decei, *Le problèm de la colonisation des Turcs seljoukides dans la Dobrugea au XIIIe siècle*, in *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vi [1968], 85-111).

Yazïdjï-og̲h̲lu's report clearly reflects the incident in which Kaykāwūs II [*q.v.*] fled from the Mongols to the court of Michael VIII Palaeologus in 660/1262 and subsequently reached the Crimea. Some of the Turks who followed him later settled permanently in Dobrudja and were thus apparently the first to establish Islam in the Balkans. Nevertheless, most of these Turks eventually became Christians known as the Gagauz [*q.v.*]. We have neither a contemporary Christian (Byzantine) nor Muslim source, however, that mentions a Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ in connection with these events. It is also noteworthy that none of the aforesaid Ottoman historians links Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ with the Bektās̲h̲īs. Yet by the 9th/15th century, Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ appears in Bektās̲h̲ī tradition as a shepherd whom Ḥādjdjī Bektās̲h̲ sends, via Sinope, to Georgia, where he converts the Georgians. Then he goes to Dobrudja, where he kills a dragon which had captured the daughters of a king, at the fortress of Kaliakra (Ḳilg̲h̲ra). Afterwards, he calls the people to Islam and builds a *tekke* (Köprülü, *The Seljuks*, 54-5).

Relying primarily on Bektās̲h̲ī *wilāyet-nāmes* and other legendary or semi-legendary sources, it is generally held today that there actually was a saint named Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ and that he was a disciple of Ḥādjdjī Bektās̲h̲. Moreover, the heterodox dervish Baraḳ Baba [*q.v.*] claims, in turn, that he was a disciple of Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ (Köprülü, *Islam in Anatolia*, tr. and ed. G. Leiser, Salt Lake City 1993, 22-3). Indeed, Köprülü considers Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ to be one of a series of warrior *babas* or *alp-erens* connecting the uprising of Bābā Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] in eastern Anatolia in 638/1240 with the revolt of Badr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] b. Ḳāḍī Samāwnā in Dobrudja in 819/1416 (*op. cit.*, 15, 22, 77 n. 55, 78 n. 57, 90 n. 111, and esp. A.Y. Ocak, *La révolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'hetérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIIIe siècle*, Ankara 1989, 100-5 and *passim*). Still, it is unclear if this Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ and the one who accompanied the Turks to Dobrudja in the 7th/13th century were the same person.

In any case, by the mid 9th/15th century, it was the legendary Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ who, as an heroic figure in the epic *Ṣalṭuḳ-nāme*, supplanted the vague historical personage in the Turkish consciousness. In 878/1473 when Prince Djem [*q.v.*] was in Edirne guarding the Balkan borders while Meḥemmed II was on campaign against Uzun Ḥasan, he heard many stories about Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ from various places in Rumelia and commissioned one Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayr al-Rūmī to compile a book about him. Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayr collected material for seven years, visiting all the places associated with Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ in Anatolia and Rumelia, and then wrote his *Ṣalṭuḳ-nāme*. This work followed, but was superior to, the *Baṭṭāl-nāme* and *Dānis̲h̲mend-nāme* as the last in the cycle of epic romances concerning the conquest of Anatolia and Rumelia. The first two works were centred on Anatolia, while the *Ṣalṭūḳ-nāme* focussed on Rumelia. In this epic, Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ was a great Ṣūfī who had close relations not only with Ḥādjdjī Bektās̲h̲, but also with Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Kāzarūnī and even Naṣr al-Dīn K̲h̲odja [*q.vv.*]. He commanded miraculous powers and defended Muslims and converted unbelievers from China to Andalusia. He first lived in Sinope, then in the Crimea, then along the Danube, and finally in Edirne. (He was often associated, initially, with northern Anatolia. The Bolu *sāl-nāme* of 1334/1915-6, 226, for example, states that the region of Bartïn north of Bolu near the Black Sea had previously been referred to as "Ṣalṭuḳ ili", the province of Ṣalṭuḳ.) His major objective was to Islamise Rumelia, and he predicted the conquest of that region in the time of the sons of ʿOt̲h̲mān. Although the *Ṣalṭūḳ-nāme* is replete with fabulous elements (including stories common to those in the Bektās̲h̲ī *wilāyet-nāmes*), and blends numerous local traditions (he was often identified with such Christian personalities as St. Nicholas) with Muslim or Turkish traditions, it also reflects many historical events that occurred between 1200 and 1400, such as the struggle of the Anatolian Saldjūḳs and *beyliks* against the Mongols, Byzantines and other

Western powers; the relations of the Golden Horde with the West and Byzantium; the struggle of the Aydînid ruler Umur Bey with the Christians of the West; and the establishment of the Ottoman State.

The *Ṣalṭūḳ-nāme* was written, in fact, much like the first anonymous Ottoman chronicles. It is especially important for describing the psychological state of the unbelievers created by the Ottoman invasion of the Balkans (Köprülü, *The Seljuks*, 43-52). It even sheds light on social life in Anatolia under the Ilkhāns and in the Crimea under the Golden Horde.

Ewliyā Čelebi (d. *ca.* 1095/1684 [*q.v.*]) reports the existence of two works, now lost, on the legendary Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ: a *risāla* by Yazîdjî-oghlu Meḥmed Čelebi (d. 855/1451) and a *Ṣalṭūḳ-nāme* by Ken^cān Pasha (d. 1069/1659 [*q.v.*]) (*Seyāhat-nāme*, Istanbul 1896-1935, iii, 366/Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat Köşkü ms. 305, fol. 127b). Ewliyā claims that his real name was Muḥammad Bukhārī, that he was girded with a wooden sword by Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] and sent to the assistance of Ḥādjdji Bektāsh, who then sent him to Dobrudja; that he lived in Arpa Čukuru, Sīwās and Tokat; and that he was the patron saint, *pīr*, of the *boza* makers (*op. cit.*, ii, 134/Bağdat ms. 304, fol. 266a, and i, 659/Bağdat ms. 304, fol. 212b). Ewliyā also relates the story that Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ instructed his disciples to bury him in seven coffins in remote towns in Rumelia (indeed, as far away as Sweden) "so that the ignorance of where the body really was would produce everywhere a pilgrimage of Muslims and from the pilgrimage would result the incorporation of these lands into the kingdom of Islam" (*op. cit.*, ii, 133/Bağdat ms. 304, fol. 266a ff.). This indicates, of course, that the legendary Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ was not only a major symbol of the Islamisation and Turkification of Rumelia, but that he was also probably a composite of many of the warrior dervishes who went to that region after the original Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ's death. Certainly, the fact that most of the followers of the original Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ eventually converted to Christianity is strong evidence that the legendary person was much more important and influential in this respect than the original. In addition to his burial sites in Rumelia, he had resting places as well in Anatolia. The latter are revered even today: Iznik, Bor near Niğde, and Diyarbakır (G. Smith, *Some türbes/maqāms of Sarı Saltuq, an early Anatolian Turkish ġāzī-saint*, in *Turcica*, xiv [1982], 216-25). Nevertheless, his "true" burial place is generally considered to be at Babadaghî [*q.v.*], in Dobrudja just south of the Danube delta. This site was often the centre of Türkmen, *ghāzī* and heretical dervish activity. While on campaign, Bāyezīd II visited Babadaghî in 889/1484 and built there a great mosque and *zāwiye* dedicated to Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ. According to Ewliyā, he also rebuilt the saint's *türbe*, which had become an object of pilgrimage, and endowed a *madrasa* and baths in the town. Later, in 945/1538, Süleymān also showed interest in Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ and spent several days visiting his tomb. In the 12th/18th century, Babadaghî began a long period of decline. But the saint's modest tomb still stands, an often-repaired and humble reminder of a thriving Ottoman past (J. Deny, *Sarı Saltıq et le nom de la ville de Babadaghı*, in *Mélanges offerts à Emile Picot*, Paris 1913, 1-15; M. Kiel, *The türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag-Dobrudja*, in *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vi-vii [1977-8], 205-25).

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(G. Leiser)

SARIḲA (a.), theft, noun of agent Sāriḳ "thief".

Islamic legal theory distinguishes between *al-sariḳa al-ṣughrā* (theft) and *al-sariḳa al-kubrā* (highway robbery or brigandage), each with different *ḥadd* punishments.

(1) Theft (*sariḳa*) is punished by cutting off the hand, according to sūra V, 42. This was an innovation of the Prophet's; but, according to the *Awā'il* literature, this had already been introduced in the days of paganism by al-Walīd b. Mughīra (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, i, 230). This method of punishment may be of Persian origin (cf. *Lettre de Tansar*, ed. J. Darmesteter in *JA*, Series 9, iii [1894], 220-1, 525-6; *Sad Dar*, 64,5 = *Sacred books of the East*, xxiv, 327). In pre-Islamic Arabia, theft from a fellow-tribesman or from a guest was alone considered despicable, but no punishment was prescribed for it; the person had himself to see how he could regain his property (G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*², 217-18; cf. J.L. Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen über die Beduinen*, Weimar 1831, 127 ff. 261 ff.). In the beginning of the 1st/7th century, the right or left hand was cut off; there was no fixed rule. The Ḳur'ān leaves the point obscure, and one tradition says that Abū Bakr ordered the left hand to be cut off (*Muwaṭṭa'*, *Sariḳa*, *bāb* 4; al-Shāfi^cī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, vi, 117). Cf. the variant of sūra V, 42, *aymānahumā*, transmitted by Ibn Mas^cūd.

According to the teaching of the *fuḳahā'*, the thief's right hand is cut off (for a second crime the left foot, then the left hand, then the right foot) and at the wrist; the stump is held in hot oil or fire to stop the bleeding. The Ḥanafīs and Zaydīs, however, put the culprit into prison at his third crime, which the Shāfi^cīs and Mālikīs only do after his fifth. The Shī^cīs inflict imprisonment for the third offence and death for the fourth. The punishment was inflicted in public; the thief was frequently led round the town seated backwards on an ass with the limb cut off hung round his neck (cf. Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 22; O. Rescher, *Studien über den Inhalt von 1001 Nacht*, in *Isl.* [1919], ix, 68 ff.). Punishment could not be inflicted in cases of pregnancy, severe illness or when the weather was very cold or very hot. It is a *ḥadd* punishment, as a right of God (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*) is violated by theft. But as the rights of the owner are also injured (*ḥaḳḳ ādamī*) the thief is bound to make reparation. If the article stolen has disappeared, he is kept under arrest (not so, according to Abū Ḥanīfa). The caliph ^cUmar is said always to have condemned the thief to return double the value (cf. Roman Law: Justinian, *Instit.*, 4, 1, 5).

The jurists define theft for which the *ḥadd* punishment is prescribed as the clandestine removal of legally recognised property (*māl*) in the safe keeping (*ḥirz*) of another of a definite minimum value (*niṣāb*; among the Ḥanafīs and Zaydīs 10 dirhams, among the Mālikīs, Shāfi^cīs and Shī^cīs ¼ dīnār or 3 dirhams) to which the thief has no right of ownership; it is so distinguished from usurpation (*ghaṣb*) and embezzlement (*khiyāna*). By *ḥirz* is meant guarding by a watchman or by the nature of the place (e.g. a private house). Thus theft from a building accessible to the public (e.g. shops of the market, in the open air, baths) is not

liable to the *ḥadd* punishment. This is further only applied to one who (1) has attained his majority (*bāligh* [*q.v.*]), (2) is *compos mentis* (*ʿāḳil*) and (3) has the intention (*niyya*) of stealing, i.e. is not acting under compulsion but freely (*mukhtār*). No distinction is made between freeman or slave, male or female. The punishment is not applied in case of thefts between husband and wife and near relatives nor in the case of a slave robbing his master or a guest his host. Views are divided on the question of the punishment of the *dhimmī* and the protected alien (*mustaʾmin*) with the *ḥadd*, and on the punishment of accomplices and accessories; in any case, the total divided among the latter must reach the *niṣāb* for each of the thieves. It is not theft to take articles of trifling value (wood, water, wild game) and things which quickly go to waste (fresh fruit, meat and milk), or articles in which the *Sharīʿa* does not recognise private ownership or things which are not legitimate articles of commerce (*māl*), like freeborn children, wine, pigs, dogs, chess-sets, musical instruments, golden crosses (the theft of a full-grown slave is considered *ghaṣb*) or articles in which the thief already has a share (booty, state treasure, *waḳf*, something from the common good to the value of the share), also copies of the Ḳurʾān and books (except account books), as it is assumed the thief only desires to obtain the contents. The conception of literary theft is unknown to *fiḳh*.

The charge can be made by the owner and legitimate possessor (or depository) but not by a second thief. The legal inquiry has to be conducted in the presence of the person robbed. For proof two male witnesses are necessary or a confession (*iḳrār* [*q.v.*], which can, however, be withdrawn. It is recommended to plead not guilty if at all possible [see ʿADHĀB]. If the thief, however, has given back the article stolen before the charge is made, he is immune from punishment (sūra V, 43).

(2) Highway robbery or robbery with violence (*muḥāraba, ḳaṭʿ al-ṭarīḳ*) occurs when anyone who can be dangerous to travellers falls upon them and robs them when they are distant from any possible help or when someone enters a house, armed, with the intention of robbing (cf. Roman Law; Justinian, *Novellae*, 134, ch. 13). The Shīʿīs consider any armed attack, even in inhabited places, as highway robbery. The same regulations hold regarding the person and the object as above, especially the *niṣāb*. On the authority of sūra V, 37-8, the culprit is liable to the following *ḥadd* punishments. If a man has committed a robbery which is practically a theft to be punished with *ḥadd*, his right hand and left foot are cut off (the next time, the left hand and the right foot). If, however, he has robbed and killed, he is put to death in keeping with right of reprisal (*ḳiṣāṣ*) and his body publicly exposed for three days on a gibbet or in some other way. The punishment of death is here considered a *ḥaḳḳ Allāh*; the payment of blood-money (*diya*) is therefore out of the question. If the criminal repents, however, before he is taken, the *ḥadd* punishment is omitted; but the claim of the person robbed of the article for compensation and the talio remain. All accomplices are punished in the same way; if one of them cannot be held responsible for his actions, the *ḥadd* punishment cannot be inflicted on any.

All these laws hold only for the *ḥadd* punishment which the judge can only inflict when all conditions are fulfilled. In all other cases the thief is punished with *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*] and condemned to restore the article or to make reparation. It is the same with the thief who comes secretly but goes away openly (*mukhtalis*) or the robber who falls upon someone and robs him at a place where help is available (*muntahib*). Special laws were therefore frequently passed in Islamic states to supplement the *Sharīʿa*, in Turkey, for example, by the Ottoman sultans Meḥemmed II (*Mitteilungen zur Osm. Gesch.*, i [1921], 21, 35), Süleymān II (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 147-8). Meḥemmed IV and ʿAbd al-Medjīd. These laws endeavoured more and more to replace the *ḥadd* punishment by fines and corporal punishment. The Turkish criminal code of 1858 still only recognised fines and imprisonment for theft, although the *Sharīʿa* was not officially abolished thereby [see MEDJELLE].

The punitive prescriptions of the *Sharīʿa* regarding *sariḳa*, which have been either abolished or largely mitigated during the course of the 20th century, except in such countries as Saudi Arabia and the Sudan, seem likely to regain ground at the dawning of the third millennium in several parts of the Islamic world with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism.

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SĀRIYA [see SĀRĪ].

SARKĀR ĀḲĀ (P.), a term used for a number of heterodox religious leaders within the broad Shīʿī tradition. It appears to have originated in the 19th century, possibly in recognition of links between the title's bearers and the Ḳādjār court. The title (meaning something like "lord and chief") was used for the first Āḳā Khān (Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, 1804-81 [*q.v.*] and several of his successors, as heads of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs (sometimes as Sarkār Āḳā Khān); it is, however, not in current use. Leaders of the Shaykhī branch of the Twelver Shīʿa [see SHAYKHIYYA] have been termed "Sarkār Āḳā" since the time of Ḥādjdj Mīrzā Muḥammad Karīm Kirmānī (1809-70 [*q.v.*], as referred to as "Sarkār-i Khān"), a great-nephew of Fatḥ-ʿAlī Shāh and a son-in-law of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The title passed to his Kirmān-based lineal successors within the Ibrāhīmī family until quite recently, and was particularly used of the late Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān (d. 1979). Within the Bahāʾī movement [see BAHĀʾĪS] the title is reserved for ʿAbbās Effendi ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ (1844-1921), the son of Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*], whose

family had a variety of marital links to the Ḳādjārs. In English usage, Bahāʾīs refer to him as "the Master", which is both a partial translation of Sarkār Āḳā and an echo of Christian terminology. (D. MacEoin)

SARKHAD [see salkhad].

SARKHĒDJ, a site 10 km/6 miles to the southeast of Ahmadābād [*q.v.*] in western India, capital of the sultans of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

Its fame arises from the complex of buildings built round an artificial lake, all of them still standing and excellent specimens of 9th/15th century Gudjarāt architecture. They include the tomb of the saint Shaykh Aḥmad Khattū "Gandj Bakhsh" (d. 850/1446) and a mosque of sultan Muḥammad Shāh (846-55/1442-51). It became a favourite retreat of Sultan Fatḥ Khān Mahmūd Shāh Begrā (862-917/1458-1511), who built the large tank, palace buildings and two mausolea for himself and his family.

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ṢĀRLIYYA, the name of a group of Kākāʾīs or Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] living in northern ʿIrāḳ, in a group of six villages, four on the right bank of the Great Zab and two on its left one, not far from its confluence with the Tigris and 45 km/28 miles to the south-southeast of Mawṣil. The principal village, where the chief lives, is called Wardak, and lies on the right bank; the largest village on the left bank is Sufayya.

The Ṣārlīs, like the other sects found in northern ʿIrāḳ (Yazīdīs, Shabaks, Bādjūrān), are very uncommunicative with regard to their belief and religious practices, so that the other inhabitants of the country have in the past attributed abominable rites to them and alleged that they have a kind of secret language of their own. In 1902, Père Anastase gave some notes on the Sarlīs (and also on the sects of Bādjūrān and the Shabaks) which he obtained from an individual in Mawṣil. According to him, their language was a mixture of Kurdish, Persian and Turkish. As to religion, they were monotheists, believing in certain prophets, in paradise and hell. They neither fasted nor prayed. They believed that their chief had the power to sell territory in paradise. For this purpose he visited all the villages at harvest time, and every Ṣārlī was allowed to purchase as many *dhirā*ʿs as he could pay for; the price of a *dhirā*ʿ was never less than a quarter of a *medjīdiyye*. Credit was not granted. The chief gave a receipt which show how many *dhirā*ʿs an individual had acquired. This receipt was put in the pocket of the dead man so that he could present it to Riḍwān, the guardian of Paradise. The Ṣārlīs had also a feast-day once in every lunar year, which consisted in the consumption of a repast at which the chief presided, and to which every one contributed a cock boiled with rice or wheat. After this meal, called *aklat al-maḥabba*, the lights are said to have been extinguished and orgies of promiscuity to have taken place. The head of the community was succeeded at his death by his unmarried son; he was forbidden to shave his beard or his moustache. The Ṣārlīs were polygamous. They were said to have a sacred book written in Persian.

These statements should be taken with considerable reserve. The Ṣārlīs themselves said that they were simply Kurds and belonged originally to the Kāke Kurds who have some villages near Kirkūk. But the Kāke Kurds also had a mysterious reputation. A characteristic feature noticed in one of the Ṣārlī villages (Sufayya) was an ornament with triangular holes in the walls of the principal buildings of the village. Like the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*], the Ṣārlīs used Muslim names, and their chief in the early part of this century was one Ṭāhā Koča or Mullā Ṭāhā.

The present (1994) status, or even the continued existence, of these Ṣārlīs, is unknown, given the present impossibility of western scholars undertaking ethnological field work in the Kurdish areas of northern ʿIrāḳ.

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SARMAD [see muḥammad saʿīd sarmad].

SARPUL-I DHUHĀB ("bridgehead of Zohāb"), a place on the way to the Zagros Mountains on the great Baghdād-Kirmānshāh road, taking its name from the stone bridge of two arches over the river Alwand, a tributary on the left bank of the Diyāla. Sarpul in the early 20th century consisted simply of a little fort (*ḳūr-khāna* = "arsenal") in which the governor of Zohāb lived (the post was regularly filled by the chief of the tribe of Gūrān), a caravanserai, a garden of cypress and about 40 houses. The old town of Zohāb, about 4 hours to the north, is now in ruins. To the east, behind the cliffs of Hazār-Djarīb, lies the little canton of Beshīwe (Kurdish = "below") in a corridor running round the foot of the Zagros giving access to the famous col of Pā-Ṭāḳ, on the slope of which is the Sāsānid edifice called Ṭāḳ-i Girrā. In the west, the heights of Mēl-i Yaʿḳūb separate the verdant plain of Sarpul from that of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn [*q.v.*]. Sarpul is the natural halting place for thousands of Persian pilgrims going to the *ʿatabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (Karbalāʾ and other Shīʿī sanctuaries). When the pilgrimage season is at its height (in autumn and winter), a hundred tents may be seen near the bridge. They belong to the Kurdish gipsy tribe of Sūzmānī (Fiyūdj), the women of which are professional dancers and singers noted for their light morals.

Sarpul corresponds to the site of the ancient Khalmanu of the Assyrians, Ḥulwān [*q.v.*] of the Arabs. The earlier name survived as the Kurdish name of the Alwand, i.e. Ḥalawān. Traces of the old town are found mainly on the left bank (Pāypul) where the land is level and beautiful.

Sarpul is noted for its antiquities: (1) the bas-relief and Pahlavi inscription on the cliff on the right bank of the Alwand; (2) three steles on the cliffs of Hazār-Djarīb (on the left bank) of which two are Sāsānid (Parthian?) and the third represents Anu-Banini, king of the Lulubi; (3) two miles away, to the south of Hazār-Djarīb, is an Achaemenid tomb cut out of the rock and venerated at the present day under the name of Dukkān-i Dāwūd (David's workshop) by the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], who have a cemetery at the foot of the rock.

Modern Sarpul-i Dhuhāb is the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* of the same name in the *shahrastān* of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn in Kirmānshāh province (*ustān*) (lat. 33° 27′N., long. 45° 25′ E., alt. 534 m/1,750 feet). In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of around 2,000, comprising Shīʿīs, Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ and Sunnīs, a number swollen in winter how-

ever by the influx of transhumants from their *yaylaks* or summer pastures in the mountains.

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(V. MINORSKY*)

SARRĀDJ [see SARDJ].

SARRĀDJ, BANŪ 'L [see IBN AL-SARRĀDJ, in Suppl.].

AL-**SARRĀDJ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD DJAʿFAR B. AḤMAD b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḳāriʾ (d. 500/1106), known as Djaʿfar al-Sarrādj, or al-Sarrādj al-Baghdādī, a Ḥanbalī traditionist from Baghdād, noted for his poetry and author of the famous *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ*, was born in Baghdād at the turn of the year 417/February 1027.

He took up the study of Islamic Tradition at a very early age and received an education in the *ḳirāʾāt* [*q.v.*]. He actually taught this for several years, not without cultivating at the same time his good taste in *belles lettres* and his poetic skills. Thus al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 473/1071) edited a collection of his enunciations (*fawāʾid*), and specimens of his poetry are given by all of his biographers. Al-Sarrādj is said to have been proud of the many authorised transmissions (*riwāya* [*q.v.*]) he had gathered, and he continually collected—and transmitted—traditions of various kinds. He travelled to Mecca, Egypt and, a number of times, the coastal towns of Syria, especially Tyre, and to Damascus where, according to Ibn ʿAsākir, his (late) transmission from the famous Ibn Shādhān (d. 426/1034) was appreciated. Among his students figures the well-known Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (576/1180).

Titles of two kinds of his writings are mentioned in the sources, one being the versifications of works on *fiḳh* and religous matters, as e.g. the *K. al-Tanbīh* by Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083), a certain *Manāsik al-ḥadjdj* and a *K. al-Mubtadāʾ*. The *al-Urdjūza fī naẓāʾir al-Ḳurʾān*, mentioned by Brockelmann, seems to belong to this group. Other titles apparently concern works of a moralising *adab* type, such as his *Ḥukm al-ṣibyān* and *Manāḳib al-ḥabash* (*al-sūdān*).

His *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ*, "The places (or: times, occasions) of slaughter of passionate lovers" (or, if *maṣāriʿ* is taken as the exceptional plural form of *ṣarīʿ*, "Lovers who were slain [by love]"), agrees in character with this second type of writings. It is a collection of short narrations, often accompanied by verses, about the calamity of love, which is depicted as a chaste and, mostly, a fatal experience. The author only contributes some verses at the end of each section (*djuzʾ*), and meticulously quotes *isnāds*. They show that these materials circulated among scholars of Islamic Tradition, and that they were taken, to a large extent attributed to the founders of *adab* literature, from earlier collections and, to a lesser degree, from Ṣūfī teachings. His book, which served as a basic source for later works on this topic, was classified even by mediaeval authors as *ʿadjīb* "remarkable", and, in modern studies, has raised questions as to the underlying teaching on love and its connection with the Ḥanbalī school of thought. Neither the origin of the texts, nor their presentation, which is void of any moralising commentary, demonstrates a Ḥanbalī character of the work (Bell), but the edifying effect of memorisation (*dhikr*) and the impersonal perspective prevalent in most of the narrations (Vadet) denote a moralistic attitude. In this vein, the work is comparable to earlier collections of edifying narrations or "reports", which were composed by representatives of the *Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Djamāʿa*, such as Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and others.

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(S. LEDER)

AL-**SARRĀDJ**, ABŪ NAṢR ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿALĪ, Ṣūfī author originally from Ṭūs in Khurāsān, who lived towards the middle of the 4th/10th century and died in his home town in 378/988.

The bio-bibliographical and hagiographic literature (ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkira*, ed. Nicholson, ii, 182-3; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, cited by Nicholson in *The Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, p. III; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iv, 152; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, no. 353; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 91) gives hardly any precise information about his life and upbringing. We do, however, know the names of some of his teachers and sources of information e.g. amongst others, Djaʿfar al-Khuldī (d. in Baghdād 348/960) and Aḥmad b. Muḥamad b. Sālim of Baṣra (d. 356/967), the leading light of the Sālimiyya school. The fact that he frequented the company of this last and that he cites him does not, nevertheless, allow us to count him amongst the partisans of the Sālimiyya [*q.v.*] (see Nicholson, *op. cit.*, pp. XI-XII); the lively discussion which he had with Ibn Sālim on the validity of the *shaṭaḥāt* attributed to Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (*Lumaʿ*, ch. *Tafsīr al-shaṭḥiyyāt*) testifies all the same to his independence of mind. From the text of the *K. al-Lumaʿ* it appears that al-Sarrādj travelled widely, since he cites, on occasion, conversations which he apparently had not only in Persia but also in ʿIrāḳ, Syria and even Egypt. Above all, our sources mention the remarkable consequences of his spiritual elevation. Thus, invited during Ramaḍān to direct the education of the dervishes in the Shūnīziyya mosque at Baghdād, he is said not to have touched for a month the food which was brought to his cell (*Tadhkira*, ii, 182; *Nafaḥāt*, no. 353; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-mahdjūb*, ed. Zhukovski, 417). ʿAṭṭār, and Djāmī following him, further report that

al-Sarrādj, carried off by a moment of ecstasy, plunged his face into a flaming brazier without suffering any pain or leaving any trace on his face; on the contrary, it was completely radiant. But in fact, we know hardly anything further on his life and, in particular, have no information at all on his possible successors on the mystical path. As for his disciples, we know only one name, that of Abu 'l-Faḍl of Sarakhs, the future master of Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*] (Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-tawḥīd*, ed. Dh. Ṣafā, 27; *Nafaḥat*, no. 354). This is a remarkable dearth of information about one who was called "the peacock of the poor" (*ṭāwūs al-fuḳarāʾ*) and whose authority and competence were widely recognised.

In fact, the personality of al-Sarrādj is completely hidden behind the *K. al-Lumaʿ* "Book of shafts of light", his main and probably only work, since, despite an affirmation of existence by Djāmī, no other title attributed to him is known to us. This work involves a treatise of considerable value, both from the richness of its documentary information on the Ṣūfism of the first Islamic centuries and also from the quality of the religious thought which informs it. Al-Sarrādj presents there the bases of knowledge understood in a mystical sense, contrasted with the Islamic religious sciences known at the time. He details in it the main stages and states of the mystical path; underlines the importance of the revealed sacred text and the prophetic example by highlighting the ways of interpretation followed by the Ṣūfīs; describes the customs (*ādāb*) of Ṣūfīs and cites the particularly significant texts of the great masters. The precision of his definitions in the technical lexicon of Ṣūfism is most valuable. He also deals with the tangible and controversial aspects of the Ṣūfī life, such as the status of miracles (*karāmāt*), the nature of ecstasy, the lawfulness of listening to music (*samāʿ* [*q.v.*]), the orthodoxy of the paradoxical utterances (*shaṭaḥāt*) attributed to certain *mashāyikh*; and the doctrinal errors of several currents of thought claiming a connection with Ṣūfism. Each chapter forms a little, autonomous treatise, in which the author cites abundantly *ḥadīth*s and, especially, the dicta of the great masters of Ṣūfism. His own points of view are not concealed at all but are fitted in fairly discreetly behind the teachings of the great figures in the tradition.

The importance of the *Lumaʿ* was appreciated as soon as it appeared. Subsequent authors, like al-Ḳushayrī in his *Risāla*, found in it substantial bases of documentation, as did even Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, who drew upon it for several elements in his writings on the behaviour of Ṣūfīs (see esp. the *Iḥyāʾ*, Book ii, *K. Ādāb al-samāʿ wa 'l-wadjd*). The *Lumaʿ* also contributed to the legitimisation of Ṣūfism as an Islamic science in its own right. Al-Sarrādj showed himself quite firm about the essential point: true Ṣūfīs are not merely in complete conformity with Islamic orthodoxy but they themselves make up its spiritual élite. It is not, then, a question of an apologia, in the strict sense of the term, or of a purely defensive justification of Ṣūfism, but it goes beyond that to an argued and assured statement of the harmonious integration of mysticism within the bosom of Muslim religious life. Being moderate and aiming at a consensus of opinion, al-Sarrādj's language in the *Lumaʿ* thus forms a particularly clear and vivid example of the conception which the Ṣūfīs had of themselves towards the middle of the 4th/10th century.

Bibliography: *The Kitāb al-Lumaʿ...*, ed. with summary and glossary, by R.A. Nicholson, GMS, Leiden-London 1914; A.J. Arberry (ed.), *Pages of the Kitāb al-Lumaʿ of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj*, London 1947 (gathers together the lacunae of the Nicholson ed. on the basis of a Bankipore ms., with a memoir, *preface and notes); Schlaglichter über das Sufitum, the K. al-Lumaʿ*, introd., tr. and comm. by R. Gramlich, Wiesbaden 1990 (a valuable work, including a correction of Nicholson's text from two supplementary mss. as well as exhaustive references throughout the text to the Arabic and Persian, Ṣūfī and non-Ṣūfī, bio-bibliographical sources).

(P. Lory)

ṢARRŪF, Yaʿḳūb, a personage of the revival of Arabic culture and literature or *nahḍa* [*q.v.*] (b. al-Ḥadath, 18 July 1852, d. Cairo, 9 July 1927).

Of Maronite origin, he was part of the first wave of graduates from the Syrian Protestant College in 1870 and taught for two years in American missionary schools. Little is known about his conversion to Protestantism. From 1876 onwards, together with Fāris Nimr [*q.v.*], his name was, for half a century, attached to the journal *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, which published 121 volumes over its life-span of 75 years. In order to avoid official displeasure, he emigrated on March 1885 to Egypt, with his journal. Unceasingly remaining as close as possible to contemporary issues, he translated and popularised the latest scientific discoveries, defended freemasonry, and clashed with the Jesuits of the journal *al-Mashriḳ* and the reformists of the journal *al-Manār* [*q.v.*], since he was only interested in religion (as a Christian within an Islamic society) or politics (thus he did not take up a position against the British occupation of Egypt) from the scientific viewpoint. He championed Darwinian evolution, even though his lack of a specialist scientific training did not allow him fully to understand the philosophical bases of that doctrine. As well as numerous translations, he published three novels as separate volumes, *Fatāt Miṣr, Amīr Lubnān* and *Fatāt al-Fayyūm*), as well as biographical collections and works on natural history (*Fuṣūl fī 'l-taʾrīkh al-tabīʿī min mamlakatay al-ḥayawān wa 'l-nabāt*) and astronomy (*Basāʾiṭ ʿilm al-falak wa-ṣuwar al-samāʾ*). As a journalist pre-occupied with science, he not only invented words to translate new English and French concepts into Arabic but also endeavoured to express himself in his own writings in a clear language. He proposed a theory of his own practice in this regard. His work shows the limitations of a person who acted as a channel of transmission for a modern field of knowledge without taking part in its elaboration.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S III, 215-17; Saʿd Abū Diyya, *al-Afkār al-māsūniyya fī madjallat al-Muḳtaṭaf*, in *al-Madjalla al-Taʾrīkhiyya al-ʿArabiyya li 'l-Dirāsāt al-ʿUthmāniyya*, nos. 1-2 (Jan. 1990), 9-19; Dāghir, *Maṣādir*, ii, 540-8; Nadia Farag, *al-Muqtaṭaf 1876-1900; a study of the influence of Victorian thought on modern Arabic thought*, diss. Oxford Univ. 1969, unpubl.; *Fihris al-Muḳtaṭaf*, Beirut 1967, 3 vols.; Kaḥḥāla, xiii, 353-4; Anīs al-Maḳdisī, *al-Funun al-adabiyya wa-aʿlāmuha fī 'l-nahḍa al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadītha*, Beirut 1963, 239-57; Fuʾād Ṣarrūf, in *Ruwwād Indjīliyyūn*, 103-27; Ph. Ṭarrāzī, *Taʾrīkh al-ṣaḥāfa*, ii, 124-9; ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmar, *al-Madjalla al-thaḳāfiyya wa 'l-taḥwīrāt al-muʿāṣira*, Kuwait 1984, 9-68; Ziriklī, ix, 266.

(J. Fontaine)

SĀRT, a term found in the history and ethnography of the Persian and Central Asian worlds. Originally an old Turkic word for "merchant", it occurs with this meaning in the 11th-century sources, such as Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's encyclopaedic dictionary *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk* (*Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, 3 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1982-5, i, 269), and the

Ḳarak͟hānid mirror for princes, *Ḳutadgu bilig* by Yūsuf K͟hāṣṣ Ḥād͟jib (ed. R.R. Arat, Istanbul 1947, i, 571). For references to other editions of both works, see *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969, 490).

Evidently a loan-word from the Sanskrit for "caravan leader" (*sārthavāha*), it is attested in the Uighur translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra* as *sartbav*, which is explained as "head of the merchants" (*satïg͟hd͟jïlar ulug͟hï*) (*Kuanṣi im pusar*, ed. and tr. Ş. Tekin, 1960, repr. Ankara 1993, 11), and in the Manichaean and Buddhist Uighur texts from Turfan (W. Bang and A. von Gabain, *Türkische Turfan-Texte II* and *Türkische Turfan-Texte V*, in *Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Forschung*, 3 vols., repr. Leipzig 1972-85, ii, 34 and n. 16, 120 and n. B57, the latter in the form *sartavag͟hï*, which was also a designation for the Bodhisattva. See also Bartol'd, ii/1, 162, 196-7, 253). It may have come into Uighur through Sogdian (G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 846), since it was the (eastern Iranian) Sogdians who took over the trade with the Turkic peoples from the Indians (Bartol'd, ii/1, 460).

When the western Iranians secured control of the trade with the nomadic peoples, the Turks and Mongols applied the term *sārt* to them in the same sense as *tād͟jīk* [*q.v.*] (Bartol'd, ii/2, 304). Because Iranians were a sedentary Muslim people, the term also designated all sedentary Muslims, irrespective of language or ethnicity (Fragner, 21). Thus, the Mongols referred to Arslan K͟hān, the prince of the Muslim Turkic Ḳarluḳs, as *sartāḳtāi* (*tāi* being the masculine ending), which Ras͟hīd al-Dīn explained as meaning Tād͟jīk (*D͟jāmiʿ al-tawārīk͟h*, i/1, ed. A.A. Romaskevič *et alii*, Moscow 1965, 351). The *sartāḳtāi* were therefore viewed by the Mongols not just as merchants, but as bearers of Perso-Islamic civilisation. This is confirmed by the fact that the word *sartāul*, which is obviously derived from the same root (e.g. *ibid.*, ii, ed. E. Blochet, Leiden 1911, 541), occurs in Ibn Muhannā's late 14th-century polyglot glossary with the meaning *al-muslimūn* (P. Melioranskiy, *Arab filolog o mongol'skom yazïke*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xv [1904], 75 and 136). It was this term that was applied by the Mongols to the K͟hʷārazms͟hāhs and their subjects (Bartol'd ii/1, 461, ii/2, 310-11).

In the post-Mongol period in Central Asia, the term *sārt* was used synonymously with *tād͟jīk* to designate the Persian-speaking sedentary/urban population in contrast to *türk*, which was used for the Turkic-speaking nomadic or semi-nomadic population. The 15th-century Čag͟hatay Turkish author Mīr ʿAlī-S͟hīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] regularly referred to the Iranian people as *sart ulusï* and to their language as *sart tili*, the latter as a synonym for *fārsī* (Persian). He also stated that in K͟hurāsān the Sārts did not speak Turkish and if they did, it was clearly recognisable that they were Sārts (*Muḥākamat al-lug͟hatayn*, ed. and tr. R. Devereux, Leiden 1966, 6. See also *Abuşka lûgatı veya Čağatay sözlüğü*, ed. B. Atalay, Ankara 1970, 264-5, for other instances of its use by Nawāʾī in the *Mad͟jālis al-nafāʾis*, etc.; also Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turc-oriental*, Paris 1870, 334). In his description of Farg͟hāna, Bābur referred to the population of Andīd͟jān as *türk*, while he said that the inhabitants of Marg͟hīnān and Asfara were *sārts*, adding that the latter were Persian-speaking (*fārsī-gūy*) (*The Bábar-náma*, facs. ed. A.S. Beveridge, 1905, repr. London 1971, fols. 2b, 3b; *Bâburnâma, Chaghatay Turkish text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan's Persian translation*, Turkish transcription, Persian edition and English translation by W.M. Thackston Jr., Pt. 1, [Cambridge, Mass.] 1993, 6-7 (note that K͟hānk͟hānān renders *sārt* as *tād͟jīk*)). Elsewhere, he pointed out that the urban inhabitants of Kābul were *sārts* (fols. 131 a-b; ed. and tr. Thackston, Pt. 2, [Cambridge, Mass.] 1993, 270).

Following their conquest of Central Asia in the 16th century, the nomadic Uzbeks clearly distinguished between themselves and their sedentary subjects whom they called *sārts*, irrespective of linguistic or ethnic considerations. The distinction between Uzbek and Sārt (or Tād͟jīk) was now felt more keenly than the older distinction between Türk and Sārt, probably because some of the pre-Uzbek Turkic (Čag͟hatay) tribes had already made the transition to sedentarism. Abu 'l-G͟hāzī, the 17th-century Čag͟hatay Turkish author of the *S͟had͟jara-yi Turk*, frequently employed the expression "Uzbeks and Sārts" when referring to the entire population of K͟hʷārazm (*Histoire des mongols et des tatares par Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân*, ed. and tr. P.I. Desmaisons, 1871-4, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 231, 256). The same usage survived to the 19th century, as attested in the works of historians of K͟hīwa, such as Muʾnis, Āgahī and T͟hanāʾī, although it also took on political significance (Bregel, 123-5; Bartol'd, v, 223), as well as of K͟hoḳand (see T.K. Beisembiev, "*Taʾrīk͟h-i shak͟hruk͟hī*" *kak istoričeskiy istočnik*, Alma-Ata 1987, 93).

The introduction of a critical mass of Turkic and Turkicised Mongolian nomads into Transoxiana as a consequence of the Uzbek invasions strengthened the general trend toward Turkicisation of the indigenous Iranian population. The degree to which Turkicisation and Uzbek sedentarisation had progressed by the 19th century is vividly indicated by the fact that the name Sārt, which had first been applied to sedentary Iranians and then to both Persian and Turkic-speaking urban dwellers, began to be used chiefly for Turkic-speaking or bilingual town-dwellers, while the term Tād͟jīk, which had earlier been synonymous with Sārt, was reserved for Persian-speakers only (Subtelny, 49-50; Fragner, 22). Moreover, it was now Ḳazaḳs (or Turkmens in the case of K͟hʷārazm) who as nomads were contrasted with the Sārts as urban dwellers and agriculturalists in Buk͟hārā and K͟hoḳand (Bartol'd, ii/1, 462, v, 223; Bregel, 123).

Although 19th- and early 20th-century European and Russian scholars adopted the use of the term Sārt for urban Turkic-speakers, who were regarded as the "native inhabitants" of Central Asia (Subtelny, 50; Bartol'd, ii/1, 462, ii/2, 303-5; L. Budagov, *Sravnitel'niy slovar' turetsko-tatarskik͟h narečiy*, St. Petersburg 1869, i, 612), Bartol'd himself remained sceptical about this use, since he found no direct proof for it in the historical sources (ii/1, 462). No serious attempt was ever made to determine the dialectal differences between Sārts and Uzbeks either in Buk͟hārā or in K͟hīwa, although they certainly existed and probably warranted the treatment of Sārts as a separate ethnic group (Bregel, 148; Bartol'd, ii/2, 303 ff.). However, the close symbiotic relationship that had existed for centuries between the (nomadic) Turkic and (sedentary) Iranian peoples in Central Asia, resulting in mutual linguistic and ethnogenetic influences, made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to sort out the differences between the two (Subtelny, 44 ff.).

During the 1920s, in keeping with Soviet nationalities policies in Central Asia, which aimed at creating separate national republics based primarily on ethnolinguistic criteria, the name Sārt was banished from use and the ethnic designation Uzbek substituted for it on the grounds that Sārt had never been an ethnic term and that it was insulting to the indigenous population on account of its pejorative

popular etymology "yellow dog" (*sarī it*), which reflected the traditionally contemptuous attitude of the nomads toward sedentary peoples (Subtelny, 48, 51; Bartol'd, ii/2, 303; for other popular etymologies see Budagov, 612), although Bartol'd argued that there was nothing pejorative about the term and it had in fact been used by the Sārts as a self-designation (ii/1, 462, ii/2, 314; B. Kh. Karmīsheva, *Očerki ėtničeskoy istorii yužnīkh rayonov Tadžikistana i Uzbekistana*, Moscow 1976, 147). Soviet historiography never dealt adequately with the term or with the Sārts as an ethnico-linguistic group (for an overview, see Bregel, 121-2), although rich ethnographic material exists for its study (see e.g. the bibliography in E.A. Voznesenskaya and A.B. Piotrovskiy, *Materialī dlya bibliografii po antropologii i ėtnografii Kazakstana i sredneaziatskikh respublik. Trudī Komissii po izučeniyu plemennogo sostava naseleniya SSSR i sopredel'nīkh stran*, xiv, Leningrad 1927, 181-99).

Bibliography: V.V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya*, 10 vols., Moscow 1963-77, esp. *O prepodavanii tuzemnīkh narečiy v Samarkande*, ii/2, 303-5; *Eshče o slove "sart"*, ii/2, 310-14; *Sart*, ii/2, 527-9 (tr. of the corrected version of his article in *EI*[1]); Yu. Bregel, *The Sarts in the khanate of Khiva*, in *Journal of Asian history*, xii/2 (1978), 120-51; B.G. Fragner, *Probleme der Nationswerdung der Usbeken und Tadschiken*, in *Die Muslime in der Sowjetunion und in Jugoslawien*, ed. A. Kappeler *et alii.*, Cologne 1989, 19-34; M.E. Subtelny, *The symbiosis of Turk and Tajik*, in *Central Asia in historical perspective*, ed. B.F. Manz, Boulder, Colo. 1994, 44-60.

(W. Barthold-[M.E. Subtelny])

ṢART, the form of the name in Ottoman Turkish of the small village in Lydia in Asia Minor, the ancient Sardes (αἱ Σάρδεις of the classical authors, which makes Sāmī Bey write Sārd), capital of the Lydian kingdom, situated on the eastern bank of the Sart Çay (Paktōlos) a little southward to the spot where this river joins the Gediz Çay (Hermos). Although in the later Byzantine period Sardes had lost much of its former importance (as a metropolitan see) and been outflanked by Magnesia (Turkish Maghnīsa [*q.v.*]) and Philadelphia (Ala Shehir [*q.v.*]), it still was one of the larger towns, when the Saldjūḳ Turks, in the 5th/11th century, made incursions into the Hermus valley. At the time, they were expelled by the Byzantine general Philocales (1118). At the end of the 7th/13th century, Sardes had been for some time under a combined Greek and Turkish domination, until the Greeks were able to drive away the Turks a second time (Pachymeres, ed. Niebuhr, Bonn 1835, ii, 403). In the beginning of the 8th/14th century the citadel was surrendered to one of the Saldjūḳ *amīrs*, and the town probably belonged during the remainder of that century to the territory of the Ṣarūkhān [*q.v.*] dynasty, whose capital was Maghnīsa. So when in 792/1390 the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I, after the conquest of the then Greek town Philadelphia, took possession of the Ṣarūkhān country, Sardes was equally incorporated in his empire (Anonymus Giese, Breslau 1922, 28; ʿĀshīḳ-pasha-zāde, Istanbul 1333, 65). After the battle of Ankara, when Tīmūr marched against Izmir (805/1402), Sardes and its citadel were probably destroyed and never recovered again.

The modern settlement of Sart (lat. 38° 28′ N., long. 28° 03′ E., alt. 102 m/335 ft.) lies between the Sart Çay and the citadel hill. This hill is a long, narrow counterfort, 200 m/656 ft. in height, belonging to Mount Tmolus (now Mahmud Dağ in the south (a topographical sketch of the site in Curtius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.* [1872], Plate V[2]). East of the ridge is a small mill brook called Tabak Çay; north of the town it joins the Sart Çay, which is united with the Gediz Çay about 6 km/9½ miles to the north of the acropolis hill. At the other side of the Gediz Çay is situated the big necropolis of Sardes, a large plain of mounds called *Bin Bir Tepe*. North of this plain is the Mermere Lake, the ancient Lake of Gyges. The railway from Izmir to Alaşehir runs along the southern Gediz Çay bank and has a station at Sart. Administratively, Sart now comes within the *nahiye* of Salıhlı in the *il* or province of Manisa.

Excavations at the classical, Roman and Byzantine site of Sardis have been undertaken, especially by American archaeologists since the early part of the 20th century. In recent decades, these have been associated with G.M.A. Hanfmann. See, in particular, his *Sardis und Lydien*, in *Abh. Ak. Wiss. zu Mainz, geistes- un sozial wiss. Kl.*, Jhg. 1960, 499-536; idem (ed.), *Archaeological exploration of Sardis (1958-1975)*. *Sardis from prehistoric to Roman times*, Cambridge, Mass. 1983. See also *PW*, 1.A.2, cols. 2475-8 s.v. Sardeis, and *Der kleine Pauly*, iv, cols. 1551-2.

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(J.H. Kramers*)

SARŪDJ, a town in Diyār Muḍar [*q.v.*] on the most southerly of the three roads from Bīredjik [*q.v.*] to Urfa [see al-ruhā] in 36° 58′ N. lat. and 38° 27′ E. long. As the name of the town is also that of the district, its relation to the ancient names Anthemusia and Batnae is disputed; see *Bibl.* On account of the fertility of the district in which the town is situated, and its central position between the Euphrates on the one side, and Urfa and Ḥarrān [*q.v.*], from each of which it is about a day's journey distant, on the other, the traffic through it brought it a certain degree of prosperity, especially as it was also important as a post-station between al-Raḳḳa and Sumaysāṭ. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih, it was 20 *farsakh*s from the former town and 13 from the latter. The principal occupation was settled by the natural suitability of the soil or growing fruit and the vine, as all the geographers tell us. Within the town itself Ibn Djubayr (late 6th/12th century) found orchards and running water.

Sarūdj—an ancient centre of Syriac Christianity, and the birthplace of Jacob of Sarūdj (d. 521)—was captured, with the rest of al-Djazīra, by the Arab commander ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm in 18/639. Three centuries later it came within the possessions of the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] of Mawṣil and Aleppo, and then of the resurgent Byzantines. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century, Diyār Muḍar was controlled by the Turkmen family of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*], protégés of the Saldjūḳs, and Suḳmān b. Artuḳ made Sarūdj the centre of his lands there until the Crusaders under Baldwin of Bouillon appeared at nearby Urfa or Edessa in 1098. For nearly fifty years, the town—at this time known as the seat of a Jacobite bishopric—formed part of the Frankish County of Edessa. The Franks held Sarūdj, in the face of attacks by the Artuḳid Il-Ghāzī and the Turkish governor of Mawṣil, Mawdūd, until in Radjab 539/January 1145 it fell to ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī [*q.v.*] and reverted to Muslim control. It was as a native of the town, expelled thence by the Christians, that al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*] made the hero of his *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*], Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī; the *maḳāmāt* contain some details on the town.

By the time of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (8th/14th century),

Sarūdj was already in ruins. Nineteenth-century travellers described it much as did the mediaeval geographers, except that it appeared smaller to them. Sachau (see *Bibl.*) actually spoke of the village of Sarūdj; in late Ottoman times it was the residence of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*.

In modern times, the town was occupied by British and then French troops in 1920 after the First World War, but with the delimitation of the frontier, came within Turkey, so that Sürüc is now just north of the Syrian frontier. Administratively, it lies within the province or *il* of Diyarbakır and is the chef-lieu of a county or *ilce* also called Sürüc; in 1960 it had a population of 6,800.

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(M. Plessner-[C.E. Bosworth])

ṢARŪKHĀN, the name of a Turkish amirate, which appeared after the collapse of the Saldjūḳ state of Rūm [see saldjūḳids. III. 5].

It was probably named after its founder, Ṣarūkhān the son of Alpagï, and it was situated in the region roughly coinciding with the ancient Lydia, a territory yielding a rich agricultural production (grapes, figs and especially cereals). Its capital was the ancient city of Magnesia on the Sipylos, called by the Turks Maghnisa [*q.v.*] or Manisa, which, after having acquired special importance under the emperors of Nicaea, was conquered by Ṣarūkhan Beg *ca.* 1313. In the beginning, the Turks of Ṣarūkhan extended their territory by fighting against the Byzantines and, according to the Ottoman chronicler Enwerī, they joined the Turks of Aydïn [*q.v.*] in naval raids directed against the Christian territories of the Aegean regions. As a result of these military activities, an important slave market was created in Maghnisa. Nevertheless, the dangerous Genoese presence in their vicinity, i.e. in the alum-producing town of Phocaea as well as on the island of Chios [see saḳïz], brought them into a rapprochement with the Byzantines. When the Emperor Andronicus III Palaeologus expelled the Genoese from Chios and compelled those of Phocaea to recognise his suzerainty, he concluded a treaty with Ṣarūkhān (1329). Later, the amīr, deeply vexed by the Genoese of Phocaea since his son Süleymān and twenty-four sons of Turkish notables were being held as hostages by them, offered military aid to the emperor against the Genoese governor of Phocaea, who rebelled and tried to conquer Lesbos; a new treaty was concluded (1335). During the Byzantine civil war (1341-7), Süleymān Ṣarūkhān-oghlu followed Umur Aydïn-oghlu, the notorious ally of the pretender John Cantacuzenus, and fought on his side in Thrace, where he died after an illness (1345). In the light of a Genoese document, Ṣarūkhān also died after 1348 and was succeeded by his son Fakhr al-Dīn Ilyās. Around the same time, the amirate acquired a common frontier with the Ottomans, who annexed the amirate of Ḳarasi [*q.v.*].

An important part of the fleet of Ṣarūkhān was destroyed by the Crusaders near Imbros during one of the usual raids organised in collaboration with Umur Aydïn-oghlu and directed against the Christian territories (1347). The exact year of Ilyās' death is not known. In 1357 the amirate was governed by his son Isḥāḳ Čelebi, who was closely connected with the dervish order of the Mewlesīs or Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*]. It was probably Isḥāḳ Čelebi who established relations with the Byzantine emperor John V Palaeologus when the latter sailed to Phocaea in 1358 in order to liberate the son of the Ottoman sultan Orkhan, Khalīl, who was being held as prisoner by the Genoese. The emperor concluded a new treaty with the Ṣarūkhān-oghlu and, furthermore, he took the amīr's children as hostages to Constantinople. Isḥāḳ Čelebi probably died in 1388 and was succeeded by his son Khïḍïr Shāh, in whose days the amirate was annexed by Bayezid I [*q.v.*] (1390). Khïḍïr Shāh was sent to Bursa where he died.

Immediately after the battle of Ankara between Tīmūr and the Ottomans (804/1402), the amirate was restored by Tīmūr to Orkhan Ṣarūkhān-oghlu, who had followed him in his Anatolian campaign. It was taken by the Ottomans again in 1410 to become one of the important *sandjaḳs* of their state, while Maghnisa became the residence of one of the heirs to the throne. Nomads of Ṣarūkhān were transported by the Ottomans to Rumelia, and several soldiers were granted there *tīmārs* (the Ṣarūkhānlu).

In the territory of Ṣarūkhān and, especially, in Maghnisa, besides the important monuments erected by the Ṣarūkhān-oghullarï, new ones were added by the Ottomans to honour the residence of the Ottoman princes there; among them is the Murādiyye mosque (after Murād III), which was built by the great architect Sinān [*q.v.*].

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(Elizabeth A. Zachariadou)

SARWISTĀN, a small town in the Persian province of Fārs (lat. 29° 16′ N., long 53° 13′ E., alt.

1,597 m/5,238 ft.), some 80 km/50 miles to the southeast of Shīrāz on the road to Nayrīz [*q.v.*]. It seems to be identical with the Khawristān of the early Arab geographers, but first appears under the name Sarwistān ("place of cypresses") in al-Muḳaddasī at the end of the 4th/10th century.

It is notable for the tomb and shrine of a local saint, Shaykh Yūsuf Sarwistānī, dated by its inscription to 682/1283, and for a nearby mysterious building situated on the Shīrāz-Fasā road 12 km/7 miles south of Sarwistān, first noted in 1810 by the English traveller Wm. Ouseley and described some 30 years later by Flandin and Coste. This has traditionally been taken by western scholarship as a Sāsānid palace, building on its vague resemblance to the Emperor Ardashīr's palace at Fīrūzābād [*q.v.*] and on the fact that al-Ṭabarī, i, 870-1, tr. Nöldeke, *Geschichter der Perser und Araber*, 111-12, says that Bahrām V Gūr's minister Mihr Narsē laid out gardens near Fīrūzābād, including one with 12,000 cypresses (*sarw*). Recently, however, a detailed architectural study by Lionel Bier has shown that it is more likely to be post-Islamic and is probably a Zoroastrian fire-temple erected in the last flowering of that faith in Fārs *ca.* A.D. 750-950, though an origin in the Būyid period is not excluded.

The modern town of Sarwistān is the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* in the *shahrastān* of Shīrāz. In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of around 4,000, but this has risen considerably in recent decades.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

SĀSĀN, Banū, the blanket designation in mediaeval Islamic literature for the practitioners of begging, swindling, confidence tricks, the displaying of disfiguring diseases, mutilated limbs, etc., so that *sāsānī* has often become a general term in both Arabic and Persian for "beggar, trickster". Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa uses *sāsānī* in the sense of "pertaining to magic or slight-of-hand", with the *ʿilm al-ḥiyal al-sāsāniyya* denoting "the science of artifices and trickery".

In his treatise warning the general public against trickery in all forms, *al-Mukhtār min kashf al-asrār*, the early 7th/13th Syrian author ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Djawbarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] enumerates the whole gamut of the members of the Banū Sāsān: mountebanks, dervishes, gypsies (Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*]), those exhibiting bodily afflictions and feigning disease, those who teach tricks to animals and birds, and popular tellers of edifying tales and preachers (*wuʿʿāẓ* [see ḲĀṢṢ]), regarded as the highest class amongst the Sāsānīs; to these last, those who prey upon the populace's religious fears and scruples, al-Djawbarī devotes a whole chapter (see Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*, i, 24).

Other material on the Banū Sāsān can be culled from the rather exiguous sources in Arabic literature which deal with low life, including various *adab* works of al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaḳī's *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* and al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, as well as those of the *maḳāma* genre [*q.v.*] and of the shadow plays [see IBN DĀNIYĀL and KHAYĀL AL-ẒILL]. The present writer has studied in detail this material and also two long poems written substantially in the beggars' jargon (*munāghāt, lughat Banī Sāsān*) composed by the 4th/10th century traveller and littérateur Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī and by the 8th/14th century poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [*q.vv.*], in which many of their tricks and scabrous practices are delineated (*The mediaeval Islamic underworld*. i. *The Banū Sāsān in Arabic life and lore*, ii. *The Arabic jargon texts. The* qaṣīda sāsāniyyas *of Abū Dulaf and Ṣafī d-Dīn*, Leiden 1976).

The origin of the name Banū Sāsān is shrouded in mystery. The sources give several explanations, some of them implausible. A mythical Shaykh Sāsān is often mentioned as the founder of the fraternity of crooks and beggars. One oft-repeated story found in the sources, from the time of the Persian author and translator from Pahlavi into Arabic, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], is that Sāsān was the son of the legendary Persian emperor of the Kayānid line, Bahman b. Isfandiyār, but was displaced from the succession to his father, hence took to a wandering live amongst, as some sources state, the nomadic Kurds (a people notorious in mediaeval Islamic times for banditry and violent ways of behaviour). Other stories hold that the Persians as a nation took to mendicancy after the Arab conquest of the 1st/7th century, and aroused pity and commiseration by claiming to be scions of the dispossessed Sāsānid royal house. The process whereby the name of a fallen dynasty is applied ironically or satirically to a later group seems psychologically possible; but some modern authors have further suggested etymologies for *sāsān* from Sanskrit or Persian (see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, i, 22-3).

Bibliography: Given in the article, and see also that to AL-DJAWBARĪ; it should be noted that the critical text of the *Kashf al-asrār* promised by the author of that article has regrettably not yet appeared. (C.E. Bosworth)

SĀSĀNIDS, a pre-Islamic Persian dynasty that ruled a large part of western Asia from A.D. 224 until 651. In Arabic and modern usage, the dynastic name is derived from Sāsān, who is mentioned as a "lord" in the inscription of Shāpūr I [*q.v.*] on the Kaʿba of Zoroaster (SKZ). The inscription of Narseh at Paikuli also refers to the royal clan of Sāsānagān. Theophoric names in the Parthian period suggest that Sāsān may have been a minor deity or perhaps a deified ancestor. According to the late Sāsānid *Kārnāmag*, Sāsān was the son-in-law of Pāpak, who gave him his daughter in marriage because Sāsān was descended from Dārā, the last Achaemenid king. Ardashīr I [*q.v.*] was their child, although he is afterwards regarded as the son of Pāpak. In the account of al-Ṭabarī (i, 814), derived from the late Sāsānid *Xwadāy-nāmag*, Sāsān was custodian of the fire temple of Anāhitā at Iṣṭakhr [*q.v.*], married to a member of the Bazrangid ruling family in Fārs [*q.v.*], and the father of Pāpak.

The rise of this family to power was aided by Parthian (Arsacid) preoccupation with their own civil war and conflict with the Romans. In about 205-6 Pāpak overthrew the last Bazrangid ruler of Fārs and ruled at Iṣṭakhr; he was succeeded by his son, Shāpūr, in about 209. Shāpūr's younger brother, Ardashīr I, succeeded him in about 216, expanded his rule over the rest of Fārs, Khūzistān [*q.v.*] and Kirmān [*q.v.*], and, allied with the rulers of Adiabene and Garmakan, defeated and killed the Arsacid Artabanus V in battle on the plain of Hormizdagān, probably in western Media, in about 224. He commemorated his victory in a rock relief near Gūr (Fīrūzabād [*q.v.*]), where he also built the city of Ardashīr-Xwarrah (the fortune of Ardashīr). In the west, he conquered Maysān [*q.v.*], took Ctesiphon, where he was crowned

in 226, but failed to take Hatra (al-Ḥaḍr [*q.v.*]), conquered Media, and was turned back from Armenia (Armīniya [*q.v.*]) by the sons of Artabanus in about 227. In the east, he occupied the rest of the Parthian empire by force and intimidation, extinguishing the royal fires of local rulers. He also occupied coastal al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] and ʿUmān [*q.v.*] in Arabia. In 230 he invaded Roman Mesopotamia, claiming everything as far as Ionia and Caria by ancestral right from Cyrus to Darius, the last Persian king, whose kingdom Alexander had destroyed. Hatra went over to the Romans, whose counter-invasion of Armenia and Media by the generals of Alexander Severus was beaten back by Ardas͟hīr with heavy losses on both sides. After the death of Alexander Severus in 235, Ardas͟hīr was able to take Nisibis and Carrhae (Ḥarrān [*q.v.*]) in 238. In 240 his son, S͟hāpūr, was crowned as co-ruler, possibly to secure the succession. Hatra fell to them in 240, and they appear to have been victorious in Armenia before Ardas͟hīr died early in 242.

Ardas͟hīr I was the real founder of the Sāsānid monarchy. This was initially based on a cult of divine kingship that continued from the Arsacids, who had been called *theos theopator* ("god, of divine descent") and represented as receiving a diadem from Tyche on their coins, and had a royal, dynastic fire dedicated to them as to the other gods. On his coins Ardas͟hīr's earliest crown resembled that of Mithradates II, he was called "the Mazda-worshipping god, Ardas͟hīr, who is descended from the gods", and the reverse bore the image of a throne mounted on a column with the inscription "the fire of Ardas͟hīr". His royal fire was kindled at the beginning of his reign in 224-5. In rock reliefs, he was shown receiving a ring-like object from Ohrmazd, who was also portrayed as a king, probably to show the divine nature of royal authority, and/or that Ardas͟hīr ruled the world on behalf of Ohrmazd. Later tradition credits Ardas͟hīr with having the Avestan teachings collected and adding the five Gatha days to the Zoroastrian calendar.

The Achaemenid legacy was also important for the early Sāsānid monarchy, beginning with the irredentist claims of Ardas͟hīr (also made by the late Arsacids) reported by the Greek and Latin writers (who called him Artaxerxes). This legacy may be seen in the Sāsānid dynastic roots at Iṣṭak͟hr, the use of architectural motifs from Persepolis in Ardas͟hīr's palace at Fīrūzabād, the choice of the major Achaemenid site of Naks͟h-i Rustām for reliefs, inscriptions, and fire temples, and the later claim of their descent from Dārā. Under S͟hāpūr I this is seen in his use of an Achaemenid building at Naks͟h-i Rustam for his inscription and in the interest of some of his officials in viewing the paintings of Esther and Ahasuerus (Artaxerxes) in the synagogue at Dura.

The structure of the Sāsānid state under Ardas͟hīr was outwardly similar to that of the late Arsacids with sub-kings for Abrēnak͟h (probably K͟hurāsān [*q.v.*]), Marw [*q.v.*], Kirmān, and the Sakas (Sīstān [*q.v.*]). Greater royal centralisation was reflected in his establishment of an elaborate royal court attended by the sub-kings and the heads of Parthian noble families, and his foundation of royal cities in crown territories (*dast(a)gird*) as centres for royal administration.

S͟hāpūr I continued the work of his father, possibly conquering Gīlān [*q.v.*] and K͟hʷārazm [*q.v.*] before being drawn west by a Roman attack in 243 under Gordian III, who took Carrhae and Nisibis, annexed Osrhoene with Edessa (Urfa [*q.v.*]), garrisoned Singara (Sind͟jār [*q.v.*]), creating the province of Mesopotamia, and attacked Babylonia (Asōrestān). S͟hāpūr defeated and killed Gordian at Massice on the middle Euphrates, which he renamed Pērōz-S͟hāpūr ("victorious is S͟hāpūr", also called al-Anbār [*q.v.*]). Philip the Arab made peace with S͟hāpūr for 500,000 *denarii* and possibly a free hand in Armenia, which stabilised the frontier for about ten years.

In 252 S͟hāpūr had the Arsacid king of Armenia, K͟husraw, assassinated. The latter's son, Tiridates, fled to the Romans, while the sons of Tiridates joined S͟hāpūr. One of them, Artavazdes, ruled Armenia from 252 until 262. Claiming Roman harm to Armenia, in 256 S͟hāpūr attacked the Romans on the Euphrates, destroying a Roman army at Barbalissos, taking Dura, occupying Mesopotamia, and invading Syria, where he took Antioch (Anṭākiya [*q.v.*]) with the help of a local senator called Cyriades, who took the imperial title with Persian backing. S͟hāpūr campaigned up the Orontes valley as far as Emesa (Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*]) and returned to Mesopotamia. The Persian garrison in Syria was massacred in 257, Cyriades was murdered by the people of Antioch, and Dura was reoccupied by Roman-Palmyrene forces between 256 and 260, when S͟hāpūr retook it. S͟hāpūr settled his Syrian captives in K͟hūzistān at a new city called Weh Antiok S͟hāpūr ("the Better Antioch of S͟hāpūr"), which became D͟jundays͟hābūr (Gondēs͟hāpūr [*q.v.*]).

Between 258 and 260 S͟hāpūr besieged Edessa and Carrhae and defeated a Roman relief army near Edessa, taking Valerian captive. According to Kirdīr, who was with the army, S͟hāpūr then pillaged, burned, and destroyed Antioch and Syria, Tarsus and Cilicia, Caesarea and Cappadocia, as far as Greece, Armenia, Georgia (al-Kurd͟j [*q.v.*]), Albania, and Balasagan up to the Gates of the Alans. Except for Magians (Mad͟jūs [*q.v.*]), who were not harmed, S͟hāpūr deported tens of thousands of captives to Fārs, Parthia, K͟hūzistān, and Babylonia. He was harrassed on his return by Odainath of Palmyra, who retook Carrhae and Nisibis, besieged Ctesiphon, recovered the booty (although Kirdīr claims the booty was returned), captured S͟hāpūr's concubines, and restored the Roman frontier between 262 and 267. S͟hāpūr's settlement of his captives was part of the economic development of his state through the use of captive labour, and a denial of those labour resources to the Romans in the provinces from which they came. They were used to build dams, bridges, and irrigation works in K͟hūzistān, and to build S͟hāpūr's palace at Bīs͟hāpūr in Fārs. They also introduced eastern Mediterranean cultural influences where they settled.

S͟hāpūr commemorated his achievements in at least seven rock reliefs, and left a major inscription (SKZ) on the eastern wall of the Kaʿba of Zoroaster at Naks͟h-i Rustām in Parthian, Middle Persian, and Greek sometime after 262, when he replaced Artavazdes with his own son, Hormizd-Ardas͟hīr, as great-king of Armenia (262-72). In his inscriptions S͟hāpūr was called "the Mazda-worshipping god, S͟hāpūr, king of kings of Iran and non-Iran, of divine descent." There was a royal fire at Bīs͟hāpūr; S͟hāpūr's coins were the first to have the fire altar flanked by two attendants (in the 3rd century sometimes the king and queen) on the reverse; he founded many Bahrām fires, of the god of victory, in every land; he gave benefices to many Magians; he established name-fires for his own soul and for members of his immediate family and daily sacrifices of sheep, bread, and wine for twenty-nine members of the royal family, living and dead. Several of his sons had the names of deities. Such royal patronage of the Magian cult, with fires possibly beginning to replace cult

images, should be balanced by S̲h̲āpūr's reputation for tolerance, his patronage of both Kirdīr and Mānī (who converted some members of the royal family), and his toleration of Christian and Jews. The latter were left under their exilarch in return for respecting Persian law and paying taxes. According to Elisaeus Vardapet, in the 5th century, S̲h̲āpūr issued an edict that people of every religion should be left undisturbed in their belief. According to the *Dēnkard* (DKM, 412-13) he collected Magian literature which had been dispersed in India, the Byzantine Empire and other lands, that dealt with medicine, astronomy, and philosophical subjects, added them to the Avesta, had a copy put in the royal treasury, and considered bringing all systems into line with the Mazdayasnian religion. There has been modern speculation that S̲h̲āpūr favoured a universalising religious syncretism corresponding to his imperial ambition.

In his inscription (SKZ) S̲h̲āpūr described his empire as consisting of Fārs, Part̲h̲ava, K̲h̲ūzistān, Maysān, Asōrestān (Babylonia), Adiabene, Arabia (Bēth ʿArbāyē), Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, Armenia, Iberia, Maxelonia (Lazica), Albania, Balāsagān up to the Caucasus mountains and the Gates of the Alans, the Elburz mountains, Media, Gurgān [*q.v.*], Marw, Harāt [*q.v.*], Abars̲h̲ahr, Kirmān, Sīstān, Tugrān, Makrān [*q.v.*], Pardān, Hind and the land of the Kus̲h̲āns up to Pas̲h̲kābūr (Pes̲h̲awar ?), to the borders of Kis̲h̲, Sogdia and the mountain of S̲h̲as̲h̲ (Tas̲h̲kent [*q.v.*]), and Mazon (ʿUmān) on the other side of the sea. The only definition of the difference between Iran and non-Iran is given by Kirdīr, according to whom Iran included Maysān, Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, Iṣfahān [*q.v.*], Rayy [*q.v.*], Kirmān, Sīstān, Gurgān, Marw, and as far as Pas̲h̲kābūr in the east. Non-Iran was the territory in the northwest including Armenia, Iberia, Maxelonia and Balāsagān up to the Gates of the Alans.

Centralising tendencies under S̲h̲āpūr were expressed in three ways. Members of the royal family participated in rule from the beginning of the dynasty and their appointment as sub-kings began the process of converting client kingdoms into provinces. By the end of S̲h̲āpūr's reign five of his sons, who did not start local dynasties, ruled Sīstān, Gīlān, Kirmān, Maysān and Armenia as kings. Second, he continued Ardas̲h̲īr's policy by founding at least eleven cities out of the expanding royal domain (*dast(a)gird*), and appointed governors (*s̲h̲ahrābs*), with a staff of scribes, a treasurer, and a judge, for at least eight to ten new and existing cities. None of these cities were in the territory of sub-kings and thus constituted the core of directly administered territory in Asōrestān, K̲h̲ūzistān, Fārs, Media and Abars̲h̲ahr (K̲h̲urāsān). Third, administration was centralised at an increasingly hierarchic and elaborate royal court, attended by members of the Varāz, Sūren and Kāren families, who had Sāsānid dynastic names but no administrative positions. (Two princes called Sāsān were also raised by the Farrīgān and Kidugān families.) Court officials included the *bidaxš* (or *pitiaxš*, viceroy, regent?), *hazārabed* (commander of the royal guard), *framādār* (steward of royal property), chief scribe, chief judge, treasurer, and market inspector (*wāzārbed, agoranomos*). From the third century the Sāsānid ruling classes were organized into a hierarchy in descending order of kings and queens (*s̲h̲ahrdārān*), princes (*waspuhragān*), grandees (*wuzurgān*), including powerful families from the Arsacid period and court officials, and the minor nobility (*āzadān*).

When Hormizd-Ardas̲h̲īr (Hurmuz [*q.v.*], 272-73) succeeded his father, his brother, Narseh, the Sakān-s̲h̲āh, became king of Armenia (272-93). Hormizd-Ardas̲h̲īr was the first to be called "king of kings of Iran and non-Iran" on his coins. He allowed Mānī to preach, but he promoted Kirdīr to Ohrmazd-*mowbed* (*mōbadh*, [*q.v.*]), and put him in charge of ritual and sealing contracts. The third century was a transition period between the Hellenistic tradition of expressing political allegiance through the cults of deified rulers and the emergence of confessional religions with mass memberships that became identified with states. By the mid-third century Manichaeism, Christianity, and an early form of Mazdaean Zoroastrianism were all spreading in Sāsānid territory. The success of the Mazdaean priests in the late 3rd century was related to the career of Kirdīr, the proliferation of Bahrām fires, and the need of the family of Bahrām I [*q.v.*] (273-76) to legitimise their succession against the claims of his brother Narseh. Bahrām I had been king of Gīlān under S̲h̲āpūr; he was shown being invested by Ohrmazd in a rock relief at Bīs̲h̲āpūr; he wore the solar crown of Mithra on his coins; and enjoyed fighting, hunting, and feasting. When Mānī heard of his accession, he set out for Kus̲h̲ān territory, but was forbidden to go and told to present himself to Bahrām I at D̲j̲undays̲h̲ābūr, where Kirdīr accused him to the king of being opposed to hunting and war. Mānī's answer that he had healed many people and driven out demons was fruitless; he was imprisoned at D̲j̲undays̲h̲ābūr, where he died in 276. His successor, Sisinnios, organised the Manichaean ecclesiastical structure.

Bahrām I was succeeded by his son, Bahrām II (276-93), who was married to S̲h̲āpūrduxtak, the daughter of S̲h̲āpūr, king of Maysān. The legitimacy of this branch of the royal family was emphasised by showing Bahrām II with his wife and son, Bahrām, on the coins, some of which showed the king and queen attending the fire altar on the reverse. A close association with the god/*yazad* Varet̲h̲rag̲h̲na (Bahrām) was shown on the coins by the introduction of the wings of Varagn (the eagle), the bird form or symbol of Varet̲h̲rag̲h̲na and of victory, on Bahrām's crown, and by his queen and heir wearing animal forms of Varet̲h̲rag̲h̲na and other *yazads* on their heads, according to Lukonin. Bahrām II was depicted in at least ten rock reliefs engaged in combat, with his family, holding court, receiving the submission of Arabs, killing two lions and attending a fire altar. Bahrām II, his queen, and his heir were also represented on the earliest attested such Sāsānid silver cup.

Kirdīr reached the height of his career under Bahrām II, when he left four inscriptions with similar texts, located strategically near rock reliefs of Ardas̲h̲īr I, S̲h̲āpūr I and Bahrām II. In them he recounted his earlier career and his promotion to *mowbed* and judge of the entire state under Bahrām II, who also made him master of ritual and put him in charge of the fires of Anāhītā-Ardas̲h̲īr and of Lady Anāhītā at Iṣtak̲h̲r, marking the first time the latter position was separated from the person of the monarch. In his time, the Mazdaean religion (*dēn Mazdēsn*) and Magians were in great honour in the state, and there was great service to the *yazads*, water, fire and cattle. He claimed to have destroyed idols and established the place of the *yazads*, increased religious rituals, founded many Bahrām fires, sealed many contracts for the fires and the Magians as well as testaments and documents, and arranged many close-kin marriages. Many of the unfaithful became faithful and abandoned the doctrines of the demons for that of the *yazads*. He also claimed to have suppressed Jews, Buddhists, two kinds of Christians, "baptists", and Zan-

dīks (probably Manichaeans). Manichaeans were persecuted under Bahrām II, their leader, Sisinnios, was killed, but they were protected and patronised by ᶜAmr b. ᶜAdī, the *amīr* of the Lakhm (Lakhmids [*q.v.*]) at al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]. Kirdīr's claims may have been exaggerated, but they mark the first recorded attempt to create a mass constituency for Magianism and an affirmation of the Mazdaean identity by opposition to other religions in the late 3rd century.

These developments also contribute to the thesis that the Sāsānids persecuted non-Mazdaeans when the monarchy was weak and needed support from the Mazdaean priests. In addition to the Bahrāms' problem with legitimacy, Bahrām II had to fight on two fronts. In 283 a Roman army under the emperor Carus reached Ctesiphon, but Carus died and the army withdrew. However in 287 Bahrām II made peace with Diocletian in order to deal with the revolt of his brother Ohrmazd in the east. According to the terms, the Sāsānids ceded their claims to upper Mesopotamia and western Armenia, and an Arsacid prince was enthroned in western Armenia as Tiridates IV, leaving Narses with eastern Armenia. By the end of his reign Bahrām II had defeated Ohrmazd, conquered Sīstān and made his heir Sakānshāh.

The death of Bahrām II in 293 set off a dynastic civil war. One noble faction, led by Wahnām and joined by the king of Maysān, Ādurfarnbāg, supported the succession of the Sakānshāh as Bahrām III. Other nobles rebelled, gathered in Asōrestān, and sent for Narseh, the last son of Shāpūr, who came from Armenia to Iran and met them at Paikuli north of Khānikīn [*q.v.*]. There Narseh was proclaimed king by an assembly of nobles that included Shāpūr the tax collector (*hargubed*), Pāpak the *bidaxš*, Ardashīr the *hazārabed*, Rakhsh the *spāhbed* and the heads of some of the great families. This event was commemorated by a stone monument bearing a major inscription in Middle Persian and Parthian, that includes events later than the meeting in 293. In this inscription Narseh proclaimed his legitimising propaganda that "Shāpūr willed that this one [Narseh] should be lord over Ērān-šahr, because he was the best, the most just, and the most vigorous after Shāpūr." He also recorded his recognition by twenty-seven rulers, who either acknowledged him as king of kings, according to Lukonin and others, or acknowledged his right to the throne, according to Frye. If the first, it would indicate an extensive, loosely-organised state; if the second, it would indicate a significant contraction of the state since the time of Shāpūr, and the revival of local rulers. Narseh then defeated the king of Maysān and rival forces in Khūzistān, captured and executed Wahnām (the fate of Bahrām III is unknown), and replaced the name of Bahrām I on the relief at Bīshāpūr with his own.

He was called "the Mazdaean, divine Narseh, king of kings of Iran and non-Iran, descended from the Gods" on his coins, which had his own face in the flames of the fire-altar on the reverse. In a rock relief at Naksh-i Rustam he was depicted receiving a ring from a female figure, usually identified as Anāhitā, and at Paikuli he claimed to have recovered Armenia for the land of Iran through Ohrmazd, all the *yazads* and the Lady Anāhitā. Beneath the common veneration of Ohrmazd one can see a shift from one *yazad* to another, from Verethraghna to Anāhitā, associated with the new branch of the dynasty. Narseh reversed the policies of the Bahrāms, neglected fire temples, perhaps in favour of his own royal fire (his eldest grandson was called Ādur-Narseh "the fire of Narseh"), and tolerated Manichaeans.

In 296 Narseh conquered Armenia, invaded Mesopotamia, and prepared to invade Syria. Diocletian sent the Caesar Galerius, whose forces were crushed by Narseh. Galerius regrouped at Antioch and invaded Armenia in 297 where he routed Narseh and captured his family, while Diocletian advanced to Nisibis. In 298 Narseh secured the return of his family by ceding several districts on the upper Tigris to the Romans and setting the frontier at the Tigris. Tiridates was restored in Armenia, which was enlarged in the east to the frontier of Media. The king of Iberia was to be invested by the Romans, and Nisibis was to be a place of commercial exchange. The treaty of Nisibis thus marked a change in the balance of power at the end of the 3rd century with the recovery of the late Roman empire under Diocletian.

Narseh was succeeded by his son Hormizd II (302-9), who continued his father's policies and was represented in combat in a rock relief at Naksh-i Rustam. It was during his reign that Armenia became Christian under Tiridates IV, making Christianity a political issue for the Sāsānids, especially after the conversion of Constantine in 311, and dividing Armenia henceforth between pro-Roman Christians and pro-Sāsānid nobles.

Hormizd II had several sons; the eldest, Ādur-Narseh took the throne briefly when his father died in 309, but the officials and priests at court made a posthumous son, Shāpūr II (309-79), king and enthroned him as an infant. Shāpūr II's minority lasted for fifteen years; his reign lasted for seventy years, the longest of any Sāsānid king. The survival of the Sāsānid state during Shāpūr II's minority indicates the strength of ruling institutions by the 4th century and the fact that the monarchy had become more important than the monarch as a focus of loyalty for nobles, officials and priests who had a vested interest in the system. The state was held together by its administrative structure, and a glimpse of local officials going back and forth to court is provided by two inscriptions on a doorpost at Persepolis from 311 and 327. According to post-Sāsānid accounts, the main problem during Shāpūr II's minority was the incursion of Arabs from Eastern Arabia into ᶜIrāḳ [*q.v.*], Khūzistān and the coast of Fārs. At his majority in 324 Shāpūr II drove them out of ᶜIrāḳ, began to build long walls and a trench (*khandaḳ Sābūr*) along the desert frontier in the south-west to keep them out, sailed from Fārs to al-Baḥrayn, defeated the Arabs there, made eastern Arabia a province with garrisons and officials and may have built the Sāsānid fort at Sīrāf [*q.v.*] as a naval base. He resettled Arabs in Khūzistān, Fārs and Kirmān.

The resumption of war with the Romans over Armenia and Mesopotamia from 337-8 to 350 coincided with the first persecution of Christians in the Sāsānid state and support for Shāpūr by anti-Christian, pro-Sāsānid Armenian nobles. In about 350 Shāpūr II had the Armenian king Tiran killed and may have made the latter's son, Arshak (*ca.* 350-67), king. At about the same time, Christians rebelled at Susa; Shāpūr II had the city razed and trampled by elephants and built the new city of Ērān-Xwarrah Shāpūr ("Iran's glory [built by] Shāpūr") nearby. The persecution lasted until the end of his reign, encouraging the thesis that henceforth Christians tended to be persecuted during wars with Rome.

At mid-century Shāpūr was drawn east by the invasion of Central Asia by Chionite Huns. Iranians mixed with Huns were driven south and attacked eastern Iran. In the 350s Shāpūr II campaigned in the east against the Chionites and Kushāns. The Kushāns

were conquered and their territory governed into the early 5th century by a series of nine Sāsānid royal princes with the title of Kushānshāh according to Lukonin and Göbl, although there are good reasons to put this in the 3rd century. Shāpūr II came to terms with the Chionites, concluding a treaty of peace and alliance with them and the people of Gīlān (Gelani) in about 358.

He then returned to the Roman front with Chionite, Gelānī, Albani and Segestānī allies. In a letter to Constantius he revived Achaemenid irredentist claims to territory as far as the river Strymon and the border of Macedonia, as well as saying that it was his duty to recover Armenia and Mesopotamia, which had been taken from his grandfather, Narses, by double-dealing. He took Amid in 359 and Singara in 360, deporting the population to Persia. In 363 Julian marched down the Euphrates and invaded Babylonia, while Armenian forces marched east from Carrhae. Julian's rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem encouraged Jews at Maḥoza (Weh-Ardashīr, across the Tigris from Ctesiphon) to believe the Messiah had come to return them to Palestine; thousands of them marched out of the city and were massacred by Shāpūr's troops. Ammianus Marcellinus, who was with Julian's army has left a first-hand account of his campaign and a description of Babylonia. He described wall-paintings of hunting scenes in a palace near Ctesiphon, an annual fair at Batnae in Fārs at the beginning of September to buy goods brought by Indians and Syrians by land and sea, and cities and villages all along the coast of the Gulf where many ships sailed back and forth. He also described the battle-order of the Sāsānid army at Ctesiphon with mail-clad cavalry in front, infantry behind them and elephants in the rear. The Romans won the battle at Ctesiphon in 363, but Julian was killed, and Jovian secured the retreat by ceding Nisibis, Singara and the trans-Tigris districts that Narseh had lost, and abandoning Armenia. Between 368 and 370 Shāpūr took Armenia by a combination of diplomacy and force, won over some nobles and satraps, invited the king, Arshak, to a banquet, blinded, imprisoned, and killed him, pillaged Armenia, drove the Roman protégé out of Iberia and enthroned his own one. Roman countermeasures left Iberia divided and Armenia under a son of Arshak as a Roman protégé, whom they had killed in about 373.

The reign of Shāpūr II marked the beginning of a shift in royal legitimising ideology from being of divine nature and descent to being human and descended from the Kayānid [*q.v.*] kings mentioned in the *Avesta*. Shāpūr II was the last Sāsānid king to be called "of divine descent" on his coins. In his letter to Constantius, in 358, he called himself "king of kings, partner with the stars, brother of the sun and moon." The transition was symbolised by emphasis on the royal fortune, Hvarnah (*xwarrah, farr*), as a *yazad* the subject of a *Yasht*, represented by a ram with a bow around its neck. At the siege of Amid, in 359, Shāpūr wore a gold ram's head set with gems. The garrison of Maḥoza, in 363, extolled in song the justice and good fortune (*iustitiam felicitatemque*) of their king. He ordered the Christian, Pōsī, to venerate the "fortune (*gad*) of Shāpūr, king of kings, whose nature is from the gods." According to Lukonin, the dynastic myth of Kayānid descent through Dārā was invented in Shāpūr's time by a secretary, Khorkhbud, who wrote a chronicle telling how the Hvarnah of the Kayāns had watched over Ardashīr I in the form of a ram with a bow around its neck, ensuring his victory over the Parthians.

The 4th century also saw a shift from rock reliefs to royal silver objects with hunting scenes. The metal came from a single source and the objects were probably produced in a royal workshop beginning with Shāpūr II, such as that run by Pōsī the *ḳarugbed* at Ērānshahr-Shāpūr (Karkhe dhā Lādhan). Shāpūr II was also associated with royal banqueting customs and court protocol.

This same century was a period of sharpening religious conflict, inter-faith polemic and the consolidation of religious identities. The polemic lines were drawn among Magians, Manichaeans, Christians, Jews and fatalists. Magians and Christians opposed Manichaeans and fatalists; Magians and Jews opposed Christians, probably indicating who felt threatened by whom. According to the Dēnkard (iv, 26-7) Shāpūr II (who may have been Zurvanite) issued an edict defining true belief and condemning false belief, but does not say what they were. Under Shāpūr II the *rad*, Mahraspand, sanctioned the confiscation of the property of Manichaeans for the royal treasury. The latter's son Ādurbed was a major figure in the formulation of Mazdaean doctrine, remembered and quoted in later tradition. He stood for judicial procedure, an ethical reduction of the sphere of life controlled by fate and the embodiment of the spiritual in the material, and he opposed Manichaeans. The spread of popular piety was reflected in the motto "reliance on the *yazdān*" on personal seals, although the meaning of *yazdān* was beginning to shift from the divine beings in general to a term for Ohrmazd.

The organisational structures of Magians, Christians and Jews underwent elaboration in this century. The earliest references to a supreme *mowbed* and to a priestly hierarchy with territorial jurisdictions corresponding to secular administrative divisions belong to the reign of Shāpūr II. As part of the ruling class, Magian priests and the attendants of fire-temples were exempt from paying the poll tax. Christians formed an ecclesiastical structure under the primacy of the bishop of Ctesiphon from the early 4th century, which made it easier for the state to deal with them. Shāpūr II required the bishop of Ctesiphon, Shemʿōn bar Sabbāʿe, to collect a double poll tax and land tax from Christians because they were living in peace. Jews were ruled indirectly through their exilarch in return for taxes, loyalty and defence. Subordinate officials of the exilarch administered justice, collected taxes for the government, supervised markets, preserved order and defended Jewish towns. The 4th-century exilarch, ʿUkba bar Nehemiah, established the principle that the law of the government was to be obeyed just as the Torah. By the end of the 4th century, there was an alliance between the exilarch and the rabbis, who staffed the religious courts, where they applied religious law to the life of the community, acted as local administrators, collected the poll tax and enforced dietary laws as market inspectors. By this century world-affirming doctrines were being used by the representatives of authority in the new order: Mazdaean priests, Jewish rabbis and the Christian clergy, who used ritual and law to exercise social control.

Under the successors of Shāpūr II a three-way power struggle emerged among the monarchy, the *wuzurgān* or nobles, and the Magian priests, while the pressure from steppe peoples increased. The Sāsānids were generally successful in warfare in the east until the mid-5th century. Ardashīr II (379-83) was most probably the brother of Shāpūr II; an investiture relief at Tāḳ-i Bustān near Kirmānshāh [*q.v.*] is usually

ascribed to him, although it could be that of Shāpūr II. He is said to have been killed in a revolt by the *wuzurgān*, and was succeeded by Shāpūr III (383-8), a son of Shāpūr II, who is said to have favoured the *wuzurgān*. Shāpūr III was the first to be called Kayānid on his coins, and was represented as slaying a lion on a silver plate; he left a rock relief of himself and his father at Tāḳ-i Bustān. He is said to have freed Christian prisoners because it was more profitable to the state to have them engage in crafts and pay taxes, which may have led the *wuzurgān* to replace him with his brother Bahrām IV (388-99). Some of the latter's coins have the earliest mint-marks. In 389 Armenia was partitioned with the Romans, at first under two Arsacid client kings, but in the 390s the western part was integrated into the Roman empire and governed by a *comes*, while Bahrām IV made his brother Bahrām-Shāpūr/Vramshapuh king of Perse-Armenia in 394, marking the end of the Arsacid dynasty of Armenia. In 395 Huns from north of the Caucasus reached Mesopotamia and were driven back. Bahrām IV died violently, possibly at the hands of the *wuzurgān*. Frye argues that the strength of local nobles over the central government in the late 4th century was due to Shāpūr II's failure to establish central authority, although it is equally possible that Shāpūr's wars served to strengthen the landed military nobility, officials, and royal princes.

Yazdadjird I (399-420) was most likely a brother of Bahrām IV and was called "delight of the state" on his coins. The incipient outline of a dual secular and religious judicial system existed by the tenth year of his reign (408-9). There was a secular hierarchy of state judge, local *rad* and judges of first instance, while the priests, under the grand Magus, performed judicial and ritual duties. Ādur-Ohrmazd (d. 407) is said to have recited the *Avesta, Yashts* and *drōn* (ceremonial food offerings) night and day as *mowbed* of Belāshfarr. The expansion of the royal domain, or its hierarchic administration, can be seen in the earliest attestation of a grand-*framādār* in 410, who was succeeded by the famous Mihr-Narseh, from the noble clan of Spendiād, who dominated the first half of the 5th century. The latter left an inscription on a bridge he had built at Fīrūzabād, and, according to al-Ṭabarī, developed four villages with orchards nearby, founded a sacred fire for his own soul in one and "named fires" in the other three for each of his sons: Zurwāndad, the Herbed of herbeds, Kardīr, the head of soldiers and Māh-Gushnasp, the head of cultivators/herdsmen. These titles were new in the 5th century; two of them are Avestan; and all three categories are Avestan. Rather than indicating the reorganisation of late Sāsānid society according to Avestan social categories, they probably show the impact of Avestan social theory in the 5th century coordinated with the late Sāsānid system of three major fire temples: Ādur Farnbag, of priests in Fārs; Ādur Gushnasp, of soldiers at Shīz [*q.v.*] (Takht-i Sulaymān) in Ādharbaydjān; and Ādur Burzen Mihr, of farmers in Khurāsān, that probably existed by the 5th century.

The late 4th and early 5th centuries marked the height of the alliance between the Sāsānid state and Jewish exilarchs, who resembled client kings. The wife of Yazdadjird I is said to have been the daughter of an exilarch (*Yahūdān-Shāh*); at her request he settled Jews at Gay (Iṣfahān [*q.v.*]). He is said to have honoured the exilarch, and Rabbi Ashi regarded the Persians as protectors of Jews.

Yazdadjird I also legitimised the position of Christians. After peace with the Romans/Byzantines in 409, Christians were allowed to worship publicly and bury their dead. In 410 the first synod in Sāsānid territory was arranged by the grand-*framādār* at Seleucia/Weh-Ardashīr, where the creed of Nicaea (325) was accepted and a hierarchy of metropolitan bishoprics under the catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was established parallel to the secular administration. The acts of this council were guaranteed by the double sanction of excommunication and of punishment by the King of Kings, and Yazdadjird was called "victorious" and "illustrious". Mazdaeans called him a sinner (*athīm* in the Arabic sourees) and remembered him as an oppressive, cruel tyrant, which probably reflects the opposition of priests to toleration and of the *wuzurgān* to royal authority. Toleration was tested toward the end of his reign when a Christian priest in Khūzistān destroyed a fire temple and refused to rebuild it, and another extinguished a sacred fire and performed the eucharist in its place. Both were executed after trials, but rather than amounting to a "persecution", this served to define the limits of toleration. According to legend, the *wuzurgān* prayed for relief from Yazdadjird's oppression, and God sent an angel in the form of a horse that killed him.

The *wuzurgān* tried to exclude the sons of Yazdadjird from the succession. His eldest son, Shāpūr, who had succeeded Vramshapuh in Armenia in 414, went to Ctesiphon and took the throne, but was killed by the *wuzurgān*, who enthroned a descendent of Ardashīr I called Khusraw. Shāpūr's brother Bahrām, who had been raised at al-Ḥīra by al-Mundhir of Lakhm, marched on Ctesiphon with an Arab army; Khusraw abdicated and Bahrām seized the throne as Bahrām V (420-38). He remitted taxes at festivals, and mint marks became standard on coins. Early in his reign he defeated an invasion of Hephthalites (Hayāṭila [*q.v.*]) in the east, killed their king, dedicated his crown to the Gushnasp fire at Shīz and the queen and her slaves to serve there. In the west, war was waged with the Byzantines from 421 to 422 by Mihr-Narseh over the extradition of Armenian Christian refugees, while, at the instigation of Mihr-Shāpūr, head of the Magians, for five years corpses buried in the time of Yazdadjird I were exhumed and scattered about in the sun. The treaty with the Byzantines in 422 provided for religious freedom to Christians in the Sāsānid state and to Magians in the Byzantine state, and for the Byzantines to help pay for the defence of the pass at Darband [see BĀB AL-ABWĀB] by the Sāsānids. A synod in 424 established the autonomy of the Christian Church in Sāsānid territory from the Byzantine Church.

Artashes, the son of Vramshapuh, had succeeded Shāpūr as king of Armenia, but the pro-Persian *naxarars* asked to have him removed, so Bahrām V replaced him with a Persian *marzbān* (*marzpān* [*q.v.*]), in 428. Following an experiment in the 4th century, the *marzbān* emerged during the 5th century as a new kind of military governor for a frontier region, replacing royal princes as sub-kings. By the end of the 5th century, Nisibis and Asōrestān were governed by *marzbāns*.

Against Christians, who accused Magians of being polytheists and worshipping the elements, Bahrām V answered that he recognised only one deity; the rest were only courtiers of the king. He devoted Mihr-Narseh "as a slave" to the Ardwahisht fire and that of Afson-Ardashīr for several years, and tradition associated him with the Ādur Gushnasp shrine at Shīz. When he married an Indian princess, who brought the port of Daybul [*q.v.*] as her dowry, he entrusted her to the priest of the Ādur Gushnasp shrine

to be purified and converted to Magianism, and he is said to have visited this shrine on the feasts of Sada (the midwinter fire festival) and Nawrūz [*q.v.*].

Tradition also associated Bahrām V with importing Indians (Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*]) with water buffaloes to the Gulf coast of Fārs, and 4,000 Indian musicians, who spread through the provinces as entertainers. He was remembered as Bahrām Gūr ("the onager") for his skill in hunting, and his exploits were extolled in legend and illustrated in art.

For a half-century after Bahrām V there was growing disorder in the Sāsānid state, persecution and forced conversion of Christian and Jews, a seven-year drought and famine in the 460s or 470s, the payment of costly tribute to the Hephthalites and social disorders associated with the Mazdakite movement [see MAZDAK] at the end of the century. The shift from divine to Kayānid kingship was completed by the time of the son of Bahrām V, Yazdadjird II (438-57), the last to be called "divine" on his coins, while the title "Kay" was common on his coins and those of his successors. From the time of Fīrūz (459-84), Kayānid names became popular in the royal family. The significance of this lay in the role of Kayānid kings as patrons of Zoroaster and supporters of his religion in the Avesta and in the development of the myth of the Kayānid descent of the Sāsānid kings included in the Book of Kings (*Xwadāy nāmag*) that contained material from at least the 5th century.

War with the Byzantines was ended peacefully in 442 in order to deal with the steppe people in the north-east. There were repeated campaigns to keep the Kidarite Huns out of Gurgān, and Yazdadjird II is said to have moved his court to north-east Iran for seven years to hold back the Hephthalites. His reign also saw the beginning of serious efforts to spread some form of Magianism and establish a uniform religious identity among Sāsānid subjects similar to contemporary efforts by the Byzantines to deal with the Nestorian and Monophysite controversies. The title of *mowbedān mowbed* (a calque on *Shāhān-shāh*) was first attested for Mihr-Shāpūr in 446. Yazdadjird II is said to have considered it a sin to accept tribute from Christians; in 446 Christians denounced by Manichaeans were executed at Kirkuk [*q.v.*]; and the king of Albania was forced to become a Magian. He tried to convert Armenian Christians and Jews and sent Mihr-Narseh to do it, who presented Magian doctrine to them in its Zurvanite form. These efforts provoked a revolt by Christian Armenians led by Vardan, a Mamikonian prince, which was crushed by the pro-Sāsānid *naxarars* under Vasak, prince of Siunik, at the battle of Avarair in 451. Afterwards Mihr-Narseh was removed from service to the fire temples for sinfulness and assigned to the royal domains for several years. In 455 Yazdadjird II is said to have outlawed the Jewish sabbath.

The death of Yazdadjird II was followed by a dynastic civil war between two of his sons, Hormizd III (457-9) and Fīrūz (459-84), who defeated and killed his brother. During the civil war the Albanian king rebelled and allied with the Huns north of the Caucasus. After war with the Albanians, Fīrūz made peace, permitting Albanians and Armenians to remain Christian, and the Byzantines subsidised the defence of the Caucasus passes. Upon consulting with Martbut, the *mowbedān mowbed*, and other judges, Fīrūz put Mihr-Narseh in the service of the Ohrmazd-Fīrūz fire (i.e. his own royal fire). In the 460s the Hephthalites crossed the Oxus, and in about 469 defeated and captured Fīrūz, who lost Hārāt to them, agreed to pay them tribute, left his son Kubādh as a hostage to guarantee its payment and levied a general poll tax over his entire state to ransom him. The great drought and famine led him to remit taxes, but together with the beginning of persecution under Yazdadjird II, may have encouraged messianic expectations among Jews in 468, four hundred years after the destruction of the Temple. About that time, the Jews of Iṣfahān are said to have flayed two *hērbeds*, and Fīrūz ordered half the Jews of Iṣfahān killed and their children to be turned over to the Sroš Āduran fire temple as slaves. In 470 two rabbis and the son of the exilarch were imprisoned and executed, and in 474 or 477 Babylonian synagogues were closed, schools destroyed, Jews were made subject to Persian law and Jewish children were turned over to Magians to be raised.

When Fīrūz died fighting the Hephthalites in 484, the *wuzurgān* enthroned his brother Balash (484-8), who secured peace with the Hephthalites in return for tribute, gave Armenian Christians religious freedom and made Armenia a royal province. By the late 5th century, Sāsānid coins began to have dates in the regnal year of the king. The desire of Balash to build baths in the cities of his empire is said to have provoked opposition from the Magian priests, who accused him of trying to abolish their laws. In 488 he was deposed by the *wuzurgān* and priests, who enthroned Kubādh I (488-96, 499-531), the son of Fīrūz.

Sectarian fragmentation and conflict among Magians and Christians were typical of the end of Late Antiquity. The 5th century saw the emergence of the egalitarian movement of the Zarādushtagān, that captured the Sāsānid state at the end of the century and survived as a sectarian form of Magianism. Contemporary with the Monophysite movement in the Byzantine empire, this was related to political support for some particular form of the dominant faith, the enforcement of religious conformity for political reasons, the popularisation of Magianism through forced conversion and the impact of the Avesta, which sanctioned the sharing of wealth, women, and wisdom. Drought, famine and the decimation of the *wuzurgān* in the Hephthalite and civil wars may have created an agricultural and demographic crisis in the state, while the *wuzurgān* engaged in local oppression under a weak monarchy. Kubādh I allied with the Zarādushtagān and their leader Mazdak [*q.v.*] as a means of popular support against the *wuzurgān* and the priests. He tried to force the Armenians to convert, permitted or ordered the sharing of women and redistributed land. The sharing of women and property may have been intended to undermine the *wuzurgān*, break down social barriers to marriage between nobles and commoners, repopulate the state and restore agriculture, but people were allowed to help themselves, causing disorders in 494-5. In 496 the *wuzurgān* deposed Kubādh over his policy toward women and held an assembly to decide what to do with him. Procopius reports that it was not legal to enthrone a commoner unless the royal family was extinct and that the majority were unwilling to kill a member of the royal family, so they imprisoned Kubādh and enthroned his brother Djāmāsp (496-99).

Kubādh escaped to the Hephthalites, whose army restored him to the throne in 499. Djāmāsp was blinded and imprisoned because, according to Procopius, no-one with a physical deformity could be king. Kubādh's second reign began with a series of natural disasters: famine and flooding on the lower Tigris, which changed its channels below Kaskar, creating swamps and turning land into desert along its former course. Needing cash to repay the Hephthalites, the

Byzantine refusal to pay for the defence of the Caucasus passes served as a pretext for predatory warfare against them. In 503 Kubā<u>dh</u> took Āmid and carried off the survivors as slaves. The Byzantines made peace in 506 and paid an indemnity to Kubā<u>dh</u>, who returned the conquered territory and the captives from Āmid. The internal situation was stabilised with the Mazdakites in control for thirty years. After his restoration, Kubā<u>dh</u> required the Arab ruler of al-Ḥīra al-Mun<u>dh</u>ir III (*ca.* 505-54) to become a Mazdakite. When the latter refused, Kubā<u>dh</u> got the Arab ruler of the Kinda [*q.v.*], al-Ḥāri<u>th</u> b. ᶜAmr, whose kingdom was at its height in the early 6th century, to impose Mazdakism on the Arabs in Na<u>dj</u>d and the Ḥi<u>dj</u>āz [*q.vv.*]. In 525 al-Ḥāri<u>th</u> defeated al-Mun<u>dh</u>ir and occupied al-Ḥīra until his death in 528.

Apart from the suppression of the *wuzurgān*, who never recovered their power in the state, the Mazdakite period was less of a break with than a continuation of 5th-century developments. The interest in conversion and spreading Magian observance in this period also saw the emergence of *hērbeds* as Magian missionaries, according to Chaumont, who were encouraged to return to their villages to instruct people and establish schools, where they taught children to recite the *Ya<u>sh</u>ts*. Mazdak is said to have persuaded Kubā<u>dh</u> to extinguish all but the three original sacred fires, which were associated with Avestan ideology, and the Mazdakites may have contributed to their elevation in the late Sāsānid period. Kubā<u>dh</u>'s reputation does not seem to have suffered, and he was credited with a reform of the Magian calandar. Kubā<u>dh</u> gave his sons Kayānid names and was called "Kay" on his coins along with increasing astral symbols.

Kubā<u>dh</u> also began the reforms associated with the recovery of the Sāsānid state in the 6th century. He instituted the use of an official seal for *mowbeds* to use on documents, many examples of which are attested from the late Sāsānid period. He began the survey of agricultural land in lower ᶜIrāḳ for tax purposes, and began the creation or reorganisation of administrative districts later called in Arabic *kuwar*, and subdistricts called *tasōg*, which became the basis of late Sāsānid local government.

The same period saw a schism in the Christian Church in Sāsānid territory with the introduction of "western" controversies. This is usually put in terms of the formation of a Nestorian majority and Monophysite minority, but actually involved the adoption of the diophysite christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, favoured by Bar Ṣawmā, bishop of Nisibis, who convinced Fīrūz that, if the Sāsānid Church adopted Theodore's doctrine, there would be less reason to fear Christian collusion with the Byzantines. He was excommunicated in 485 by his own catholicos, Acacius (484-96), who favoured the creed of Chalcedon (451). The doctrine of Theodore was institutionalised at the school of Nisibis, founded under Bar Ṣawmā's patronage in 496, and that year Mūsā, the Christian court astrologer of <u>Dj</u>āmāsp, got royal permission (for the first time) for the election of his relative Babai as catholicos (497-515), who removed Bar Ṣawmā's excommunication at a synod in 499. By the 6th century, Nestorians controlled the Church and spread Theodore's doctrine while those opposed to them tended to become Monophysite. The Armenians rejected the Council of Chalcedon in 491, adopted a christology close to that of the Monophysites and broke completely with the Byzantine Church by 609.

The late Sāsānid state emerged in the 6th century with a centralised bureaucratic administration, hierarchic social order, commercial domination of the overland and Indian Ocean trade, and agricultural reclamation and development. The revival of a strong monarchy, military power, and growing universal claims and ambitions culminated in the wars of <u>Kh</u>usraw II in the early 7th century. This was aided by the decline of the Hephthalites, who split into eastern and western halves in about 515, and were defeated in India in about 528; they survived as small states in the east. Kubā<u>dh</u> secured the trans-Caucasus, drove the pro-Byzantine king out of Georgia and installed a *marzbān* at Mts<u>kh</u>eta in 523. War was renewed with the Byzantines in 527 with Arab forces under al-Mun<u>dh</u>ir III, who had recovered al-Ḥīra for the La<u>kh</u>mids when al-Ḥāri<u>th</u> b. ᶜAmr died in 528, joining the Sāsānid army. In 531 joint Sāsānid-Arab forces defeated the Byzantines at Callinicus, but their own losses were so great that they withdrew.

The Mazdakites favoured the succession of Kāwūs, so his younger brother <u>Kh</u>usraw, allied with the Mazdaean priests, challenged Mazdak's influence over his father, assembled the Mazdakites at Ctesiphon for a religious disputation or to proclaim Kāwūs as successor in 528 or 529, convinced Kubā<u>dh</u> that Mazdak's doctrines were false and had the latter executed with 80,000 followers. When Kubā<u>dh</u> died in 531, Kāwūs claimed to succeed his father but, according to Procopius, the vote of the notables was necessary to assume royal power. They were assembled, a document was read declaring <u>Kh</u>usraw to be Kubā<u>dh</u>'s successor and they declared <u>Kh</u>usraw king. This is the first attested example of such a procedure, which was the basis for theoretical generalisations in the *Testament of Ardashir* and the *Letter of Tansar*, both 6th-century works.

<u>Kh</u>usraw I (531-79) purged his rivals among the royal family and the *wuzurgān*, suppressed the Mazdakites, and ruled fairly unopposed. There are recurring references to assemblies during his reign, where policies were approved. In 532 he made peace with the Byzantines by evacuating fortresses in Lazica, while the Byzantines resumed their subsidy to defend the Caucasus passes. <u>Kh</u>usraw I fortified the pass at Darband and built a long wall to defend the Gurgān plain. He was famous for his justice and support of Mazdaean religion, was remembered as Anū<u>sh</u>irwān [*q.v.*] ("of immortal soul") and became the subject of legend. His coins were the first to have stars between the horns of crescents, and from 535 had the slogan "may he prosper" (*abzōn*). The capital at Ctesiphon-Weh-Arda<u>sh</u>īr grew into a metropolis (al-Madāʾin [*q.v.*]) of several cities, and it was most likely <u>Kh</u>usraw I who built the great audience hall (Īwān or Ṭāḳ-i Kisrā) there.

The distinction between nobles and commoners was restored, the property of Mazdakite leaders was confiscated and given to the poor, and property taken by force was returned to its former owners. *Wuzurgān* kept their status but lost their power to a bureaucratic élite of royal officials who collected taxes directly. A new class of military landlords (*dahigān, dihḳān* [*q.v.*]) was created from the *azadān*, who were given land by the treasury in return for military service and forwarding taxes, as a basis for the army and support for the monarchy.

The state was divided into four quarters, of the South, West, North and East, each under a military governor (*spāhbed*), and divided into districts and sub-districts, with *marzbāns* in frontier districts. An elaborate central administration run by officials (*kārdārān*) was divided into departments with parallel

hierarchies reaching down into the provinces along vertical lines of authority with overlapping checks at the local level and books on the duties of officials and *mowbeds*. Confidential officers were used as internal spies and messengers, and there was a royal post for communication. The heads of departments were members of the royal court along with the grand chamberlain, grand counsellor, head steward, head of servants, royal warden, royal astrologer, head physician, chief of craftsmen and chief of cultivators; these titles were sometimes combined and may have been honorific. There were at least seven departments: the chancellery, the registry department to seal documents, the finance department to collect taxes, the department to administer the royal domain, the judiciary, the priesthood, including the office of religious works (*dīvān-i kardagān*) that registered the endowments and property of fire temples and the army. A tax reform paid for the expanded system. Khusraw I finished the cadastral survey in the Sawād [*q.v.*] of ʿIrāḳ and replaced the agricultural tax as a proportion of the harvest by a tax per unit of area under cultivation according to the type of crop, computed in cash, but paid in cash or kind. He also established a regular, annual poll tax of 4, 6, 8, or 12 dirhams, to be paid in three instalments, on the male population between the ages of 20 and 50. Members of the royal family, *wuzurgān*, soldiers, priests and royal officials were all exempt and agreed to its imposition.

A highly developed legal literature was produced in the late Sāsānid period covering legal procedures and social, economic and criminal activity. The *Dādestān nāmag* was a collection of judicial decisions; the *Mādagān* was a digest containing the opinions of jurists and royal rescripts from the 5th century until the twenty-sixth year of Khusraw II (616). Based on Magian ethical principles and religious requirements, the application of this legal system helped spread a Magian way of life.

The late Sāsānid social ethic emphasised order, stability, legality and harmony among the theoretical four estates of priests, soldiers, officials and workers, so that each would perform its specific duty toward the others. These estates were supposed to be hereditary, but in practice were overlapped by a vertical social hierarchy of the royal family, *wuzurgān*, provincial governors, small military landholders and local officials, freemen and slaves. There are scattered references to organisations of artisans and merchants. The Sāsānids monopolised the transit trade, exchanging goods with the Byzantines at markets along the western frontier at Nisibis and Dubios in Persarmenia. Procopius describes how numerous merchants from all over Persia and some under Byzantine rule came to Dubios and traded for goods from India and Iberia.

Khusraw I was famous for his love of literature and philosophy; works were translated from Greek, Syriac and Sanskrit into Middle Persian, a set of royal astronomical tables (*Zīdj-i Shāhī*) was produced for him and there were philosophical discussions at his court. Paul the Persian, a Nestorian theologian and Aristotelian philosopher, in a Syriac introduction to logic addressed to Khusraw, argued that knowledge was better than belief based on the relativity of religious belief that resulted in a variety of opinions.

War was resumed with the Byzantines from 540 to 561 over the control of Armenia and Lazica, encouraged by Ostrogothic ambassadors, for plunder, and to divert and employ the military aristocracy. In 540 Khusraw I invaded Syria, took Antioch, burned the city and deported the survivors, and seized or extorted huge amounts of gold and silver there and from other cities on his return. He resettled the captives from Antioch in the new city of Weh Antiōk Khusraw in the south-eastern part of al-Madāʾin, which was patterned after Antioch in Syria with public baths and a hippodrome and put under the charge of a chief of artisans (*karugbad*) as a manufacturing centre. In 541 the Lazes offered Khusraw I the prospect of attacking the Byantines by sea through their land, and he invaded Lazica with Huns as allies and established direct rule there. In 542 he invaded Syria up the west bank of the Euphrates as far as Commagene. Finding nothing left to plunder or extort, he deported farmers from Callinicus on his return. He defeated the Byzantines in Armenia in 543 and invaded Mesopotamia in 544; the Byzantines agreed to a five-year truce and paid 2,000 pounds of gold. The truce was broken in its fourth year when the Lazes allied with the Byzantines to expel the Sāsānids. The fall of Petra to the Byzantines in 551 was followed by a second five-year truce, and negotiations for a peace treaty were begun in 556. Khusraw turned to the east, where the Western Turks invaded Central Asia and defeated the Hephthalites. In about 557-8 Khusraw took the Hephthalite territory south of the Oxus. A fifty-year peace was concluded with the Byzantines in 561, by which the Sāsānids evacuated Lazica in return for an annual payment of gold, religious freedom was guaranteed for Christians under the Sāsānids and Magians under the Byzantines, and Nisibis and Dara were confirmed as centres for the silk trade. Khusraw's gold coins of 564 contained universalist slogans: "he who makes the world without fear" and "may he cause the world to prosper". In 564 a member of the Sūren family was made governor of Armenia, who built a fire temple at Dvin (Dwin [*q.v.*]) and killed a leader of the Mamikonian family, provoking an Armenian revolt in 571. The Byzantines withheld their payment and indecisive warfare was renewed over Armenia and Mesopotamia from 572 to 582. There was a war with the Turks in 569-70, and between 575 and 577 a Sāsānid naval expedition conquered al-Yaman [*q.v.*] from the Ethiopians. The Armenian revolt ended with a general amnesty in 578.

The conflict between the crown and the *wuzurgān* resurfaced in the reign of Hurmizd IV (579-90), who had been designated as successor by his father Khusraw I. Hurmizd IV is said to have favoured the common people against the *wuzurgān*, possibly as a basis of support for the crown, killed some 13,000 Persian notables, executed the Jewish exilarch in 581 and closed the schools, and reduced the pay of the army. He also suppressed the priestly order of *mowbeds*; for the rest of the Sāsānid period and into early Islamic times, *hērbeds* are represented as the most important priests, although Hurmizd IV resisted their efforts to persecute Jews and Christians. In 588 Hephthalite subjects of the Western Turks invaded the east, reaching Bādghīs [*q.v.*] and Harāt. Bahrām Čūbīn [see BAHRĀM], of the Mihrān family and *spāhbed* of the North, defeated the Western Turks at Harāt in 589, crossed the Oxus and defeated the Eastern Turks, and was then sent against the Byzantines in Albania, where he was defeated. Jealous of Bahrām's popularity, Hurmizd IV disgraced him on the pretext that he held back booty, provoking Bahrām to rebel in the trans-Caucasus, according to Theophylact, or in the east, according to the Syriac Khūzistān chronicle. Towards the end of 589 Bahrām marched against al-Madāʾin, where the nobles rebelled early in 590, led by Bindoe and Bisṭām, brothers-in-law of Hurmizd,

who released the nobles from prison, deposed, blinded and killed Hurmizd IV, and enthroned his son Khusraw. Bahrām defeated them in Ādharbaydjān, Khusraw fled to the Byzantines in March, Bahrām entered the capital in the summer of 590 and took the throne (Bahrām VI, 590-1) with upper-class support, including the rich Jews there. He struck coins for two years and may have associated his rule with millennial expectatations and Arsacid restoration.

Khusraw sought aid from the Byzantine emperor Maurice, who sent him money and two armies for his promise to return conquered territory and permanent peace. One army marched through Armenia, reinforced by 12,000 Armenians and awaited in Ādharbaydjān by Bindoe with 8,000 Persians. The other went through Mesopotamia and defeated Bahrām in ʿIrāḳ; Bahrām headed for Ādharbaydjān, was defeated by Bindoe near Lake Urmia, and fled across the Oxus to the Turks, where he was assassinated a year later. When Khusraw returned to al-Madāʾin, his general and the Christians killed many of the Jews of Maḥoza for supporting Bahrām.

Khusraw II (591-628) returned Dāra and Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*] to the Byzantines in 591, and ceded Armenia up to Lake Van and Tiflis. He remitted half the land tax, put one uncle, Bindoe, in charge of the administrative bureaux and treasuries, and the other, Bisṭām, over the north-east. Bindoe was soon executed, and Bisṭām rebelled in the north-east, striking his own coins at Rayy from about 592 to 596. In 598 an expedition annexed al-Yaman as a province. Khusraw II established his rule over the entire state by 601.

The reign of Khusraw II was the most extreme expression of late Sāsānid political absolutism and imperial ambition. In a letter to Maurice, he called himself "king of kings, master of those who have power, lord of peoples, prince of peace, saviour of men, good and eternal man among gods, most powerful god among men, most honored, victorious, ascended with the sun and companion of the stars." He was represented as the cosmocrator. His image was observed in 624 on the inside of a dome on a building at Ganzak enthroned in the heavens with the sun, moon and stars around him. He is said to have had a celestial throne with a canopy of gold and lapislazuli on which the stars, signs of the zodiac, planets and the seven climes were represented. He is also said to have been surrounded by over 360 astrologers and magicians, whose advice he sought constantly. He was called Aparwēz (Parwīz [*q.v.*] "the triumphant"), and the slogan "may he make Iran prosper" occured on some of his coins. The rock reliefs in the large grotto at Ṭāḳ-i Bustān are probably his, as are the remains of a palace at Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn [*q.v.*] near Dastagerd (Daskara [*q.v.*]). He amassed a huge royal treasure, accumulated from the time of Fīrūz, reorganised the state into 35 administrative districts and built 353 fire temples, where 12,000 *hērbeds* recited rituals.

He eliminated all rival sources of power, probably in compensation for insecurity at the beginning of his reign. The Jewish exilarchate was suppressed; after 590 there was no exilarch for the rest of the Sāsānid period, Jewish schools were closed and the rabbis became the *de facto* leaders of the community. In 596 he had his own candidate elevated as Nestorian catholicos, but being deceived by a group of physicians, astrologers and Christian courtiers over the elevation of a successor in 604, after the latter died in 609, he refused to allow the election of a catholicos for the rest of his reign. In about 602 the Lakhmids were suppressed and their last king, al-Nuʿmān III b. al-Mundhir [*q.v.*], was executed. After a Sāsānid army was defeated by the Banū Shaybān at Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*] between 604 and 611, al-Ḥīra was put under a *marzbān* and the desert frontier restored.

In 602 Maurice was deposed and killed, giving Khusraw the opportunity to regain territory ceded to the Byzantines by posing as his avenger, starting the last and greatest Sāsānid-Byzantine war. Between 604 and 610 Sāsānid armies under Shahīn, *spāhbed* of the West, and Shahrbarāz conquered Armenia and Mesopotamia, and invaded Syria and Anatolia. Byzantine weakness during this phase of the war was due to their lack of local support and the occupation of their forces putting down local disturbances and revolts, that destroyed their own manpower in Syria. The second phase started with the accession of Heraclius in 610; Khusraw now intended to conquer the entire Byzantine empire. In 611 with Shahīn's army covering in Anatolia, Shahrbarāz invaded Syria, taking Antioch, and Damascus (613). Then marching down the coast taking the towns to prevent Byzantine reinforcements by sea, he turned inland, conquered Galilee and the Jordan valley and besieged Jerusalem in May 614, joined by tens of thousands of messianic Jews. When Jerusalem fell, tens of thousands of Christians were killed, 300 monasteries and churches burned, 35,000 captives, mostly craftsmen, deported to Sāsānid territory along with the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross, and a Bahrām fire established there. The Jewish alliance broke down in 617, their administration of Jerusalem was ended and they were expelled from the city. The treatment of Christians in Palestine was moderated by the influence of Christians at the Sāsānid court; some prisoners were freed, money was sent for relief, and the rebuilding of churches and monasteries was allowed. Chalcedonian bishops were expelled from Mesopotamia and Syria, and their churches turned over to Monophysites. From 616 to 620 Shahrbarāz conquered Egypt as far as Ethiopia in the south and Libya in the west, and installed a Coptic Patriarch in Alexandria. Meanwhile, an Armenian army under Sembat Bagratuni defeated Hepthalites north of Lake Helmand and looted as far as Balkh [*q.v.*]. During this phase of the war, the Sāsānids were inconsistent in responding to local support from Jews and Monophysites, and may have played them off against each other; they also failed to develop a navy, and Khusraw II was unwilling to consider peace while he was winning.

Instead of trying to reconquer lost provinces, the Byzantines took the war to the Sāsānids in its third phase. In 622 and 624 Heraclius invaded Armenia, faced by Khusraw II himself in Ādharbaydjān. Burning towns and villages, Heraclius drove Khusraw II out of Ganzak and Shīz. Khusraw II fled to al-ʿIrāḳ, while Heraclius wintered in Albania. In 625 Heraclius defeated three Sāsānid armies in Ādharbaydjān and Armenia. With the war going badly, Khusraw II turned against the Christians, executed Nestorians in upper ʿIrāḳ, deported Monophysites from Edessa to Sīstān, raised taxes and took treasures from churches to finance the war.

In its fourth phase, the war escalated in 626; the Sāsānids allied with the Avars in eastern Europe, while the Byzantines allied with the Khazars [*q.v.*] north of the Caucasus. The joint Sāsānid-Avar siege of Constantinople failed in 626, as did the Byzantine-Khazar siege of Tiflis. In 627 plague broke out in Palestine, and Heraclius invaded Armenia with Greek, Laz and Iberian troops, and with Khazar

cavalry. Descending to the Tigris valley, he defeated Sāsānid forces at Nineveh, marched down the east bank of the Tigris, took and destroyed the royal palace and animal preserve at Dastagerd, and took the royal treasures. Khusraw II fled to al-Madāʾin and set up a defensive line along the Nahrawān [*q.v.*] canal. Unable to find a ford due to disastrous flooding of the Tigris and Euphrates in the winter of 627-8, Heraclius returned to Ganzak, and waited for political developments in the capital. Khusraw II suspected and feared everyone, arrested all the officers who had fled from the Byzantines and ordered them to be executed, imprisoned thousands of people and executed the workmen who failed to close the Tigris breaches. Furious at his behaviour and rejection of peace proposals, in February 628 a group of generals and high officials entered the capital, opened the prisons, proclaimed his son Kubādh II king, arrested and imprisoned Khusraw II and insisted that Kubādh execute him, because there could not be two kings at once.

Kubādh II reigned for eight months (February to September 628), was called Kubādh Fīrūz ("victorious") on his coins and was popularly called Shīrūya/Shīroe. Persians called him "the unjust", and he was identified as the Antichrist in apocalyptic literature. He was remembered as a parricide and fratricide; he killed all of his adult brothers, leaving only sisters and children, creating the subsequent dynastic problems. During his reign, one-third to one-half of the population of ʿIrāḳ perished from plague, probably brought back from Syria by Sāsānid armies. He also began peace negotiations with the Byzantines based on mutual evacuation and the freeing of prisoners of war and deportees. He reduced taxes and allowed the election of a Nestorian catholicos.

Kubādh II was succeeded by his seven-year-old son, Ardashīr III (September 628 to April 630), with Mah-Ādur-Gushnasp as regent. Shahrbarāz seems to have broken with Khusraw II by the end of 626, and had refused to recognise Kubādh II or evacuate his provinces. In the summer of 629 he negotiated with Heraclius on his own, evacuated Egypt and Syria, returned to al-Madāʾin, purged his enemies and those responsible for the death of Khusraw II, and made himself regent. He returned the True Cross to Heraclius, but was defeated by the Khazars. On 27 April 630, he killed Ardashīr III, made himself king and reigned for 42 days until he was killed by his own guard on June 9.

This was followed by an extreme dynastic crisis, with eleven rulers in two years. Būrān (630-1), daughter of Khusraw II and wife of Kubādh II, struck coins, built bridges, and completed the peace negotiations with the Byzantines before being deposed and killed in the fall of 631. In the latter part of 632, a grandson of Khusraw II, Yazdadjird III [*q.v.*] (632-51), was proclaimed king at Iṣṭakhr at the age of sixteen or twenty-one and brought to al-Madāʾin.

Yazdadjird III was the last Sāsānid monarch. The Sāsānid position in the Arabian peninsula had already been lost; their system of military colonies and tribal alliances in al-Yaman, ʿUmān, and al-Baḥrayn collapsed when defeat by the Byzantines followed by a four-year dynastic crisis (628-32) made them unable to support their garrisons and Arab protégés. The treaty of Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] in 628 enabled the Muslims to form their own alliances, and Sāsānid governors at Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] and Hadjar acknowledged the Prophet Muḥammad and converted to Islam, while Magians in al-Baḥrayn and coastal ʿUmān were allowed to pay tribute. The raid of Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] in 633 destroyed most of the Sāsānid system of fortresses along the desert frontier of ʿIrāḳ, crippled their Arab allies there and provoked a major Sāsānid effort to restore the border. But they were unable to follow up their victory over the Muslims at the Battle of the Bridge in 634 because of factional conflict at al-Madāʾin. The Muslim victory at al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] in 636 resulted in the loss of ʿIrāḳ to the Sāsānids; Yazdadjird fled to Ḥulwān [*q.v.*] and then to Rayy. The fall of ʿIrāḳ affected the subsequent conflict because the Sāsānids had lost the heart of their state: the administrative centre at al-Madāʾin, the tax base, that amounted to one-third of the total revenue, the royal treasure, substantial military forces and the leadership of many nobles. The Muslims now held these resources, assisted by former Sāsānid soldiers and officials who defected to them. The caliph ʿUmar I [*q.v.*] had intended expansion to stop there, but attacks on lower ʿIrāḳ by Sāsānid forces in Khūzistān provoked the Muslim conquest of that province from 639 to 642. Yazdadjird III raised a major army and sent it to Nihāwand [*q.v.*] in order to block any Muslim advance and possibly to retake ʿIrāḳ. The defeat of this army by combined Kūfan and Baṣran forces in 642 was a second military disaster for the Sāsānids; it secured Khuzistan and ʿIrāḳ for the Muslims, ended organised resistance in the Djibāl [*q.v.*] and opened the Iranian plateau to the Muslims. Yazdadjird III fled to Iṣfahān and then to Iṣṭakhr, where he tried to organise the defence of Fārs. But the Baṣran army conquered Fārs in 649-50; Yazdadjird III fled to Kirmān and Sīstān, pursued by Muslim forces, and arrived at Marw. Resenting Yazdadjird III's financial demands, the *marzbān* of Marw allied with Nīzak Ṭarkhān [*q.v.*], the Hephthalite ruler of Bādghīs, to defeat Yazdadjird's followers. Yazdadjird III fled from Marw, and was killed by a miller nearby in 451. His son Fīrūz took refuge in T'ang China, but he and his son Narseh were unsuccessful in getting Chinese help to restore their dynasty. The fall of the Sāsānids did not mean the Muslim conquest of Persia, which took several more decades [see ĪRĀN. v. History]. The Sāsānid Book of Kings (*Xwadāy nāmag*) achieved its final form in the reign of Yazdadjird III, and, because he had no successor, his regnal years continued from 632 as the era of Yazdadjird. Magians took that year as the end of the millennium of Zoroaster and the beginning of the millennium of Oshēdar..

The significance of Sāsānid history lies in providing an example of a late antique state and society that broadens the understanding of that period, in the development of monarchic and religious institutions, and the formation of religious communities, that created precedents for religious groups as political minorities. The Sāsānids left a legacy of royal absolutism and bureaucratic administration, and Sāsānid motifs continued in the art and architecture of the Islamic period and spread to the east and west. Branches of the dynasty survived long afterward as local rulers. The Bāwandids (Bāwand [*q.v.*]) of Ṭabaristān [*q.v.*] claimed descent from Kāwūs, the son of Kubādh I, and ruled until 750/1349. The Dābawayhids (Dābūya [*q.v.*]) claimed descent from Djāmāsp, the son of Fīrūz, and ruled in Ṭabaristān and Gīlān in the 7th and 8th centuries. The Bādusbānids [*q.v.*] claimed descent from them, and branches of this dynasty lasted until 975/1567 and 984/1574.

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(M. MORONY)

SASARĀM [see SAHSARĀM].

SATALIA [see ANTALYA].

SĀTGĀʾON, Saptagrāma in Sanskrit, a famous medieval port city and administrative centre in southwestern Bengal. Located at the junction of the rivers Bhagirathi and Saraswati and adjacent to both Triveni—a holy place to the Hindus—and Čhōta Pānduʾā [see PANḌUʾĀ], the city existed long before its conquest by a famous Muslim army commander Ẓafar Khān Ghāzī during the reign of Sultan Kaykāwūs Shāh (689-700/1290-1301). A thriving port city and commercial place during the Sultanate period, Sātgāʾon also became an important Muslim cultural and educational centre where large number of mosques and *madrasas* (such as the Madrasa Dār al-Khayrāt dated 713/1313) were built. Epigraphic sources provide us with a few names of its celebrated governors such as Tarbiyat Khān in 861/1457, Malik Bārbak Shāh (later Sultan Bārbak Shāh) in 860/1455 and Iḳrār Khān in 860/1455.

Among its Muslim architectural remains is a mosque from the reign of Sultan Nuṣrat Shāh dated

936/1529 built by a saint Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn, an immigrant from the Caspian coast town of Āmul (see Shamsuddin Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal,* v, Rajshahi 1960, 24-7, 28-9, 56-7, 68-70). Sātgāʾon was an important mint town since the beginning of 8th/14th century. The earliest coin discovered so far is dated 729/1328, while the latest is 957/1550.

The first European contacts with Sātgāʾon date from the 1530s when Portuguese ships started using its port. Unfortunately, due to the violence often practised by the Portuguese in the area, the population of this grand city—once called Porto Piqueño or the little Heaven by the early Europeans—started dwindling. The final ruin of Sātgāʾon seems to have been brought about by the silting of the river Saraswati, as the port almost lost its navigability towards the end of the 10th/16th century.

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(Muhammad Yusuf Siddiq)

SAṬĪḤ b. RABĪʿA, a legendary diviner (*kāhin*) of pre-Islamic Arabia, whom tradition connects with the beginnings of Islam; in reality, we are dealing here with a quite mythical personage like the other *kāhin* in whose company he appears in most stories, Shiḳḳ al-Ṣaʿbī, who is simply the humanisation of a demoniacal monster in appearance like a man cut in two (*shiḳḳ al-insān:* cf. van Vloten, in *WZKM*, vii [1893], 180-1, and shiḳḳ). Saṭīḥ, whose name means "flattened on the ground and unable to rise on account of the weakness of his limbs" (*Lisān al-ʿArab*[1], iii, 312), is described as a monster without bones or muscles; he had no head but a human face in the centre of his chest; he lay on the ground, on a bed of leaves and palm branches, and when he had to change his position "they rolled him up like a carpet"; only when he was irritated or inspired did he inflate himself and stand up. His close resemblance to Shiḳḳ is accentuated by legend which makes them both be born without the intervention of a father in the night before the death of the *kāhina* Ṭurayfa (the wife of ʿAmr Muzayḳiyāʾ, ancestor of the tribe of this name, who is said to have foretold the catastrophe of the breaking of the dam of Maʾrib in the Yemen). She is said before dying to have made the two newborn monsters come to her and, after spitting in their months (the classic method of transmitting magic power), declared them her successors in the art of *kihāna.*

In spite of these characteristically mythical features, Arab genealogical tradition has not refused to give Saṭīḥ a place in its system, but gives him a name and a paternity (Rabīʿ b. Rabīʿa b. Masʿūd b. Māzin b. Dhiʾb), which connect him with the Ghassānid branch of the tribe of Azd (just as it connects Shiḳḳ with the Banū Ṣaʿb, a branch of the Banū Badjīla) and more precisely with the Banū Dhiʾb (Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 286; Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen*, 11, 16; according to others, the Banū Dhiʾb belonged to the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, a tribe belonging to the Rabīʿa group); there even seems to have been in historic times an Azd clan claiming descent from Saṭīḥ (Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, 3, in Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, Leiden 1896-9, ii).

Among the legends associated with the name of Saṭīḥ some are connected with the pre-history of the Arabs and represent Saṭīḥ as acting as a diviner and judge (*hakam*) without any regard for history or chronology, being totally fictitious; sometimes we find him dividing among the sons of Nizār (Muḍar, Rabīʿa, Iyād and Anmār) their father's estate (*ʿIḳd*, ii, 46, 4th ed., ii, 39); sometimes we find him consulted with Shiḳḳ by al-Ẓarib al-ʿAdwānī (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tabellen*, D, 13) regarding the real position of Ḳasī, the ancestor of the Thaḳīf, to whom al-Ẓarib had been forced to promise his daughter in marriage (*Aghānī,*[1] ii, 75). In al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Taʾrīkh*, i, 288-90), it is he who decides the difference that arose between ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's grandfather, and the two Ḳaysī tribes al-Kilāb and al-Ribāb, regarding the ownership of the well of Dhu 'l-Harm discovered by the former in the vicinity of al-Ṭāʾif; but the parallel versions of the same story either do not mention the name of the arbitrator or give him that of another *kāhin*, Salama b. Abī Ḥayya al-Ḳuḍāʿī (al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ed. 1284, i, 36 = ed. 1310, i, 30; Yāḳūt, iv, 629; *LʿA*[1], xiii, 283).

Two other legends, on the other hand, have a completely Islamic stamp; according to the first, given by Ibn Isḥāḳ, who does not give his sources, Saṭīḥ consulted—as always, with Shiḳḳ—by the Lakhmid chief Rabīʿa b. Naṣr regarding a dream which had frightened him, reveals to him that South Arabia will be invaded by the Abyssinians and that after the expulsion of the latter and the brief dominion of the Persians it will be conquered by a Prophet (Muḥammad); as a result of the oracle, Rabīʿa b. Naṣr sends his son ʿAmr at the head of the tribe to the king of Persia who settles them at al-Ḥīra; this is the "South Arabian" version of the foundation of the Lakhmid dynasty (cf. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 39).

The second and most widely disseminated legend goes back to a certain Hāniʾ al-Makhzūmī, who is said to have lived to the age of 150 years and about whom Muslim historiographical tradition knows nothing (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, vi, 279, no. 8,929). It forms part of the cycle of the *aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, that is, of the miraculous signs which confirm the truth of the prophetic mission of Muḥammad. In the night when the latter was born, remarkable phenomena occurred throughout the kingdom of Persia. The king (Kisrā Anūshirwān), not being able to get an explanation from his magicians, asked the king of al-Ḥīra, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir (an anachronism!), to send him someone who could explain it. Al-Nuʿmān sent ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Buḳayla al-Ghassānī (on whom see al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, 38; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 935, 12 A.H., § 165, iv, 657, 21 A.H., § 328), who, not being able to explain these marvels himself, went to Saṭīḥ, his maternal uncle, who lived in the desert. He found him at the point of death, and his appeal was unanswered; only after his nephew had addressed him in verse, did the *kāhin* predict to him the coming fall of the Persian Empire and its conquest by the Arabs, etc. Having delivered this oracle, his uncle Saṭīḥ died.

Saṭīḥ claimed to receive his knowledge of the future from a familiar spirit (*raʾī*, see kāhin), who had overheard the conversation of God with Moses on Mount Sinai and had revealed part of it to him. Here we see the influence of the Ḳurʾānic passage (LXXII, 1) about the djinn who overhear God's utterances.

The calculations of the Arab historians on the age reached by Saṭīḥ are naturally completely fanciful; those of them who place his birth at the time of the bursting of the dam at Mārib and his death at Muḥammad's birth, give him a life of 600 years. It should be observed that Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (see above), whose version is markedly different from the others (he does not speak of his monstrosity, puts his home in al-Baḥrayn, etc.), makes him die in the reign

of the Ḥimyaritic king Dhū Nuwās and therefore does not know of his prophecy to Kisrā Anūshirwān.

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(G. Levi Della Vida-[T. Fahd])

SATPANTHĪS, adherents of a group in India that broke away from the main Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the Subcontinent in the 10th/16th century. Also called Mōmnas or Imām Shāhīs, these followers of the *Satpanth* (the true way) gave their allegiance to Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Imām Shāh, a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* and son of one of the major *pīrs* of the tradition, Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn. They continue to preserve their own version of the *ginān*s, literary expressions of devotion and religious teaching common to the *daʿwa* tradition in India, and do not acknowledge the Imāms of the Nizārī line. Their main centres are at Pirana in Gudjārāt and Burhānpūr [*q.v.*] in Khandesh.

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SATYA PĪR, literally "the true saint", the name of a cult which flourished in Bengal and claimed both Hindu and Muslim adherents. Islam's entry into Bengal gave birth to some important socio-religious trends in Hindu society which expressed themselves in cults like the Vaishnavite, the Dharma and the Satya Pīr ones. According to the *Shekh Subhodaya*, many local *sadhus*, who were mostly Tantric Gurus, embraced Islam and adopted devotion to *pīrs*, to whom they attributed supernatural powers. Cults like Satya Pīr, Panč Pīr, Manik Pīr, Ghora Pīr and Madari Pīr centred round *pīrs* and attracted both Hindus and Muslims to their fold.

Tradition ascribes the origin of the Satya Pīr cult to a Brahmin youth of Mymensingh, Kanka by name, who had accepted a Muslim saint as his spiritual preceptor. At the behest of his *pīr* he composed during the reign of the Bengal Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh in *ca.* 907/1502 an epic poem *Vidyasundara kahini* to pronounce the spiritual glories of Satya Pīr. Originating in northern and eastern Bengal, the Satya Pīr cult became popular all over the province. The first Bengali poet to compose verses on Satya Pīr was Shaykh Fayḍ Allāh, whose *Satya Pīr kavya* was composed at some time between 952-83/1545-75. Since Fayḍ Allāh was an expert in music and had written *Ragmala*, the first book on music in Bengali literature, the cult of Satya Pīr spread through music and song also. Later on, considerable literature appeared on Satya Pīr in Bengali. Vidyapati, a Hindu poet of the 18th century, composed his poem *Satya Pīr ančali*, which further popularised the cult in Bengal. In the later part of the 19th century, the cult lost its earlier popularity due to the opposition of Muslim reformist movements. The view that Sultan Ḥusayn Shāh (898-25/1493-1519) was the originator of the Satya Pīr cult lacks contemporary evidence, though the possibility of the sultan encouraging the cult, from mixed motives of superstition and policy, cannot be ruled out.

The followers of the Satya Pīr cult make special offerings on the day of the full moon. They place a wooden plank which they consider to be the seat of the Satya Pīr, and put food and comestibles on it and distribute them as tokens of blessing. The Satya Pīr *Bhita* (dwelling) stands on the site of the famous Buddhist monastery at Paharpur in Rādjshāhī district. Its custodian still enjoys rent-free lands, though, barring a few areas in Bengal, the Satya Pīr cult is non-existent now.

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SAʾUDJ-BULĀḲ [see sāwdj-bulāḳ].

SAUL [see ṭālūt].

SĀWA (older form Sāwadj, cf. the *nisba* Sāwadjī, found at the side of Sāwī), a town of northern Persia some 125 km/80 miles to the southwest of Tehran (lat. 35° 00′ N., long. 50° 22′ E., altitude 960 m/3,149 feet). It was formerly on the Ḳazwīn-Ḳumm road used in mediaeval times but now replaced by the modern paved roads-system centred on Tehran, and on the main caravan and pilgrimage route from southwestern Persia and lower ʿIrāḳ to Rayy and Khurāsān, but this too has been replaced by the modern highway from Khūzistān to Arāk and Ḳumm and then to Tehran, bypassing Sāwa, as does also the railway. The town has thus lost importance in modern times and the agriculture of the surrounding district has been affected by decreasing water supplies and the encroachment of salt desert. Sāwa itself is situated in the northwestern corner of a plain watered by the Ḳara Čay (the mediaeval Gāwmāhā river) which rises in the mountains between Hamadhān and Sāwa and peters out eastwards into the Great Desert.

1. History.

Sāwa is not known before the Muslim period. W. Tomaschek (*Zur historische Topographie von Persien*, in *SB Ak Wien*, cii [1883], 154-7) connects its name with the Avestan word *sava*, Pahlavī *savaka*, "advantage, utility" (?). The Persian dictionaries gives "pieces of gold" for *sāwa*. According to Tomaschek, Sāwa corresponds to the Sevavicina or Sevakina of the *Tabulae Peutingerianae*.

The mediaeval geographers placed Sāwa within the province of Djibāl, but they state that it was attached administratively both to Hamadhān and to Rayy at various times. It was often linked with the town of Āba or Āwa [*q.v.*] to its south on the Gāwmāhā river. The geographers describe Sāwa as prosperous because of the transit traffic, its camels and camel-drivers

being famous, and as having a Friday mosque, baths and fortifications. The people were strongly Sunnī, hence often at odds with their neighbours in Āwa who were fervent Shīʿīs (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 133, § 31.22; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 211-13, 228-9; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 539-42). Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 512, mentions an attack of Kurds on the Pilgrimage caravan near Sawa in 344/955-6. In *ca.* 420/1029 the lord of Sāwa is recored as one Kāmrū al-Daylamī, who allied with the incoming bands of Ghuzz [*q.v.*] to besiege Rayy (*ibid.*, ix, 382). It suffered badly from sacking by Čingiz Khān's Mongols in 617/1220, who burnt down a library there of what Yāḳūt calls unparalleled richness and which also contained, according to al-Ḳazwīnī, scientific and astronomical instruments. By the next century, however, it had revived, and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes it as within a fertile agricultural district and as flourishing. Its walls were 8,200 ells in circumference, having been rebuilt by a local magnate, Khwādja Ẓahīr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Malik Sharaf al-Dīn Sāwadjī. The people of Sāwa were still Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, but the surrounding villages had become largely Shīʿī; the whole district of Sāwa produced revenue of 25,000 dīnārs (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 179-80; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 258; Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 62-3, tr. Le Strange, 67-8).

Among the European travellers, Marco Polo mentions Sāwa ("Saba") as the town from which the three Magi kings set out for Bethlehem and where they are buried in a square sepulchre. This Persian-Christian legend must be based on a local popular interpretation of texts like "Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent" (Psalm lxxii. 10). According to another story given by Marco Polo, the three kings are buried respectively at Sāwa, Āwa and Ḳalʿa-yi Ātashparastān, which Yule located between Sāwa and Abhar, while Tomaschek identified it with Diz-i Gabrān (one stage beyond Ḳum on the road from Kāshān).

Sāwa is mentioned by Giosafa Barbaro (1474), Figueroa (1618), etc. Chardin lamented its sterile soil and heat. In 1849 the English consul K.E. Abbot counted 300-400 houses in Sāwa with 1,000 inhabitants; he says that the soil is excellent everywhere that it is not mixed with the *kawīr*, but that the salt desert is met with at only 6 km/9 miles from the town.

At the present day the population of the district of Sāwa is wholly Shīʿī. It consists of Persians and Turks. The latter belong to the local confederation of Shāh-Sewen, which includes the remnants of the tribe of Khaladj [*q.v.*]. The district of Sāwa is frequently called Khaladjistān. There are Shāhsewen to the north-east and to the south of Sāwa. The Khaladj live more especially to the north of the Ḳum-Sulṭānābād road (Rāhgird, Tadj-Khātūn, Djahrūd, Tafrish). In several of their villages (Kundurūd, Mawdjān, Sift, Fowdjird, Kardedjan), various dialects of Turkish are spoken, making up the distinct Turkish language known as Khaladj, extensively studied by Minorsky and Doerfer; see for this, KHALADJ. 2. Language. In recent times Sāwa has formed part of various administrative combinations. Sometimes it was governed along with the districts to the south (Maḥallāt, Kazzāz), sometimes with Zarand (northeast of Sāwa) and Kharraḳān (*vulgo*: Ḳaraghān). This last mountainous district formed an enclave between the provinces of Ḳazwīn and Hamadhān. It consisted of three *bulūks*: Afshār-i Bakishlu, Afshār-i Ḳutilu and Ḳaragöz; the chief town of Kharraḳān is situated in the latter at the foot of the pass. It is called Āwa, and must not be confused with the place of the same name in the Sāwa district. About 1890 Sāwa was governed by an Austrian officer in the Persian service, von Täufenstein. At the beginning of the 20th century, it formed a kind of fief of the brigade of Persian Cossacks at Tehran. One of the higher officers of this military force acted as governor of Sāwa and controlled the Turkish natives who supplied the principal contingent to the brigade.

The modern town of Sāwa comes within the central province (*ustān*) of Persia and is the chef-lieu of the *shahrastān* of the same name. The ruins of the mediaeval town and its citadel can still be seen. In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of *ca.* 18,000 (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, i, 109), which had risen by 1991 to 93,920 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

Among famous men born in Sāwa, Yāḳūt mentions Abū Ṭāhir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad, one of the principal Shāfiʿī imāms (d. 484/1091). A colleague of the great vizier of the Mongols, Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*], was Saʿd al-Dīn Sāwadjī, executed in 711/1312 after his fall from power. Mustawfī mentions the tomb of Shaykh ʿUthmān Sāwadjī near the town. On the poet Salmān-i Sāwadjī (700-78/1300-76), see E.G. Browne, *LHP*, iii, 260-71 etc., and the article s.v.

2. Antiquities and architecture.

These include: (i) The barrage on the Ḳara-čay (about 12 miles south-south-west of the town), said to owe its origin to Shams al-Dīn Djuwaynī [*q.v.*], vizier of several Il-Khānid rulers of the 7th/13th century (see Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 221). The barrage is said to have been restored under the Ṣafawids; it is known as *band-i Shāh ʿAbbās*. It occupies the passage between two hills and is about 65 feet high, 100 long and 45 thick. Beside it on the left bank, the road rises in a kind of spiral; caravans were thus able to ascend the dam, which was used as a bridge, and descend on the west side by a gradual slope on the right bank.

(ii) The fortress of Ḳīz-ḳalʿa on a rock in the centre of an amphitheatre of hills not far from the dam.

(iii) The mosques and minarets of the town itself. The Friday Mosque on the south side of the town, rebuilt in the Ṣafawid period by Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, may well occupy the site, so Minorsky thought, of the Friday Mosque mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī, 392 n. *a* ("distant from the market"); it incorporates an ancient structure, and Būyid period inscriptions (so far unpublished) have recently been uncovered there. Adjacent to it, but free standing, is a brick minaret, first described by Dieulafoy, with an inscription dated 504/1110-11 in the names of the Saldjūḳ sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh and the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaẓhir [*q.vv.*]. In the town centre is the Masdjid-i Maydān with an early Ṣafawid inscription and with its minaret naming as builder a local Daylamī *amīr*, Abū Dulaf Surkhāb b. ʿImād al-Dawla, and the date 503/1109-10.

Bibliography: W. Tomascheck, *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien*, i, in *SB Ak Wien*, cii (1883), 154-7; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 210 ff., 228-9; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 539-42 (these authors giving references to the Arabic geographers); *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 133; Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 62-3, tr. 67-8; K.E. Abbott, *Geographical notes* ..., in *JRGS* (1855), 4-10; H. Binder, *Au Kurdistan*, Paris 1887, 380 (photograph of the *āb-anbār* at Sāwa); J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, Paris 1887, photographs of the barrage and religious buildings within the town, 165-173; Sir A. Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1903, 129-30; Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco*

Polo[3], London 1903, i, 78-81; F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, ii, 112-23; E. Herzfeld, *Khorasan. Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 170; Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, index; A. Godard, *Les anciennes mosquées de l'Iran*, in *Arts asiatiques*, iii (1956), 48-63, 83-8; G.C. Miles, *Inscriptions on the minaret of Saveh, Iran*, in *Studies in Islamic art and architecture in honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell*, Cairo 1965, 163-78; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*[2], London 1976, 190.

(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

3. The town's role in Muslim legend.

Sāwa plays an important part in the legends of Muḥammad. According to a frequently quoted tradition (for details see A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, i, 134 ff., and Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 253 ff.), a lake (*buḥayra*) in the neighbourhood of Sāwa sank into the ground in the night in which the Prophet was born. The site was still pointed out to al-Ḳazwīnī in the 7th/13th century. As the tradition quoted shows a rather accurate knowledge of Iranian matters, we may safely seek an allusion to a definite Iranian conception in this single feature of the story. Now in Zoroastrian eschatology the lake Kansava (*Kasaoya-*) plays an important part; in the later Avesta it is located in Eastern Iran and is said to correspond to Lake Hāmūn in Sidjistān. In it is preserved the seed of Zarathushtra, from which in the end will arise the saviour Saoshyant. When we find the legend of the drying-up of a lake in Iran connected with the birth of Muḥammad, we may interpret it as an allusion to this mythical lake. The legend symbolises the destruction of the hope of a Zoroastrian saviour, just as the earthquake in the royal palace at Ctesiphon recorded in the same tradition symbolises the end of the Iranian empire and the extinction of the sacred fire the end of Zoroastrian culture. (H.H. Schaeder)

SAWĀD, a name used in early Islamic times for ʿIrāḳ [*q.v.*]. While the name ʿIrāḳ has been proved to be a Pahlavi loanword (from *Ērag*, "low land, south land", occurring in the Turfan fragments, with assimilation to the semantically connected root *ʿrḳ*; cf. A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klass. Arab.*, Göttingen 1919, 69; H.H. Schaeder, in *Isl.*, xiv, 8-9; J.J. Hess, in *ZS*, ii, 219-23) *sawād* "black land" is the oldest Arabic name for the alluvial land on the Euphrates and Tigris given on account of the contrast to the eye between its greenness and the dazzling white Arabian desert (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 174, 14 sqq.). The name has undergone a threefold development of application. (1) It is identified with the political notion of ʿIrāḳ and thus corresponds to the Sāsānid province of Sūristān (*Dil-i Ērānshahr*). With this meaning, the historians of the Arab conquests use the name Sawād for ʿIrāḳ (see e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 241, 1; because the Muhādjirūn acquired such extensive properties there, it became known as "the Garden of Ḳuraysh"), and, especially, the compilers of monographs on taxation or political handbooks (cf. Abū Yūsuf, Yaḥyā b. Ādam, Ḳudāma and al-Māwardī; also Ibn Khaldūn). The reason for this is that in the cadastral and revenue regulations of ʿUmar I, the name Sawād was used officially. (2) It is used as the name of the cultivated area within a district, e.g. *Sawād al-ʿIrāḳ, Sawād Khūzistān, Sawād al-Urdunn.* (3) Before the name of a town, it means the systematically irrigated and intensively cultivated fields in its vicinity, e.g. the *Sawād* of al-Baṣra, Kūfa, Wāsiṭ, Baghdād, Tustar, Bukhārā, etc.

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ṢAWĀFĪ [see ṣafī].

SAWĀKIN, the Arabic form, in English Suakin; Beḍāwyet: u-Sok, an island and port on the west coast of the Red Sea, at 19° 07′ N. and 37° 20′ E. in the present Republic of the Sudan.

A narrow inlet from the sea, about 3 km/2 miles long, widens on the inside to form a natural harbour 11-15 m/35-50 feet deep which can easily accommodate about 20 traditional coastal vessels; growing coral reefs make it dangerous to navigate at night. In this harbour, a coral island (Djazīrat Sawākin), 360-450 m /1,200-1,500 feet in diagonal, rises *ca.* 2 m/6½ feet above high water mark. Another two small and one larger island (Djazīrat al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Djabartī, marked on British maps variously as Condenser-, Hospital-, or Quarantine Island) are connected to the mainland today by silt and salt-pans and no longer recognised as islands. Djazīrat Sawākin is the site of the old town, a typical Arab-Islamic Indian Ocean merchant settlement. Its houses, built mainly of coral, are up to four storeys high; most have tumbled down today. A causeway built in 1878 links the island to the mainland (al-Ḳayf; Beḍāwyet: u-Gēf). There, the dwellings are mostly Bedja [*q.v.*] huts built of reed, palm mats, driftwood, and more recently, scrap metal or sackcloth. Much of al-Ḳayf is surrounded by the remnants of a fortified wall erected 1887-8. Outside the wall a number of suburbs have grown, in particular around the water storage basin al-Fūla and the salty wells at al-Shāṭa. The mainland settlement has been more populous than the island town since at least the early 19th century; in 1814, the number of its inhabitants was estimated at 5,000, compared to 3,000 on the island. The population grew only slightly during the century and fell to *ca.* 5,000 during the Mahdist wars. After a brief recovery (1904: 10,500) it dwindled to around 4,000 during 1937-67, but rose again in the 1970s. The local census of 1979 gave a figure of 13,714 inhabitants (all on the mainland). Sudanese Bedja and refugees (often from Eritrea) each constituted about 40%.

Popular etymology has inspired several legends concerning the origin of Sawākin. The best-known story tells of seven virgin slave girls sent from Ethiopia to a northern king. Upon arrival they were found to be pregnant and explained that during an overnight stay on the island of Sawākin they had been visited by "seven *djinn*" (*sabʿa djinn*), and that "the *Djinn* had done it" (*sawwā djinn* [sic]), for it was "the *djinn*'s dwelling" (*sakan al-djinn*). The king sent them back to the island where their children were born, and from them descended the inhabitants of "Sawādjin" > Sawākin. The lexicographer al-Fīrūzābādī lists the island in his *Ḳāmūs* s.v. *s-k-n.* Roper argued that the name is derived from *sūḳ* "market" (Beḍāwyet *u-suk*, construct form *i-sūkib*, which may be heard as *i-sookim*; *Correspondence*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxii [1939], 293-4).

The port, one of the few sheltered anchorages with a fairly reliable supply of water on an otherwise inhospitable coast, has probably been used since Antiquity. Attempts to identify it with place names collected by Greek and Roman geographers from the heterogeneous information brought back by merchants have, however, remained inconclusive. Most likely candidates are Λιμὴν Εὐαγγελίων "port of good tidings", 'Ασπίς "round shield", and Σαχο λιμὴν (all from Ptolemy; the latter is found on Tabula XV, *Codex Urbinas Graecus* 82, fols. 87 (86)v-88 (87)r), and Sace/Sacae/Suche of Pliny. The name Sawākin is first mentioned in the 4th/10th century as a minor port in the country of the Bedja with trade connections to Djudda and Nubia (al-Hamdānī, 41, 133; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 55; Yāḳūt, iii, 182; Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī, *Akhbār al-Nūba*, in al-Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Mawāʿiẓ*, ed. G. Wiet, Cairo 1922, iii, 257, 272). The export of grain and animal products from its hinterland to the Ḥidjāz was probably the earliest and most stable source of Sawākin's income, but its natural harbour also gave it a certain significance as an anchorage on the trade route between Egypt and the Yemen, even while ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*] was still the largest port on the Sudanese coast. This significance increased in the 6th/12th century after the decline of Bāḍiʿ, and Sawākin subsequently became involved in the struggles for control of the Red Sea trade between Dahlak [*q.v.*], Egypt, and the Meccan Sharīfs. The Fāṭimids established a special fleet to protect the ships of the Kārimī [*q.v.*] merchants threatened by pirates while travelling between ʿAydhāb and Sawākin. On occasion, Sawākin and Dahlak went to war over control of the islands lying between them. Sawākin's local rulers (Muslims since at least the 7th/13th century) collected customs from the ships calling at the port; they had, however, to acknowledge the suzerainty of the rulers of Egypt and to pay them tribute. In case of insubordination they faced punitive expeditions.

By the early 8th/14th century the Sharīfs of Mecca [*q.v.*] gained control over Sawākin (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 161-2, tr. Gibb, ii, 362-3), perhaps driven by a desire to secure a trade route that reduced their dependence on grain imports from Egypt. They were only able to establish a foothold on the African coast by cooperating with the Bedja, whose rulers (the Ḥadārib) maintained direct control of the more important port of ʿAydhāb. Both sides had to acknowledge a measure of Egyptian sovereignty.

Following the decline of ʿAydhāb, Sawākin became the largest northeast African port north of Maṣawwaʿ [*q.v.*], serving as an entrepôt for the upper Nile basin and as the major point of embarkation for pilgrims from the Sudanic belt. Through the commercial networks of the Banyā (Hindu and Jain merchants from India) Sawākin partook in the lucrative (but fluctuating) Indian Ocean trade. Towards the end of the 8th/14th century the Ḥadārib moved their capital to Sawākin. Egyptian pressure continued; Sawākin was sacked in 843/1439-40 and had to submit to the authority of the Mamlūks (who used it as a place of banishment) until the end of their rule.

The 10th/16th century saw two major changes in the geopolitical situation. The Ottomans became the leading military power in the Red Sea after their conquest of Egypt and the defeat of the Portuguese, and they succeeded the Mamlūks as overlords of Sawākin. Their first landing there occurred around 1520, and in 962-4/1555-7 Özdemir Pasha [*q.v.*] established the Eyālet of Ḥabesh [*q.v.*], with Sawākin as its administrative headquarters. The residence of the *beylerbeyi* was transferred several times between Sawākin, Maṣawwaʿ, and Djudda until 1113/1701, when the province was finally united with the *sandjāḳ* of Djudda and the post of *shaykh al-Ḥaram* of Mecca, with Djudda as seat of the administration. The *ḳāʾimmaḳām* of the *sandjāḳ* of Sawākin was appointed by way of annual tax-farming.

Secondly, the Fundj sultanate of Sinnār [*q.vv.*], the new political centre on the Nile, tried to gain control of the port, which led to fighting with the Ottomans. Neither of these outside forces was able to maintain complete authority over Sawākin, however; they had to come to terms with the Bedja *amīr* who resided on the Ḳayf (the families monopolising this office became known as "Artēga"). In theory, the *amīr* shared the revenues of the port (customs and a poll-tax for pilgrims) with the Ottomans; in practice, he only paid if he felt they were strong enough to pose a threat.

The diversion of the trade route from India to Europe around Africa caused a depression of Sawākin's international trade in the 17th-18th centuries. But its function as a trans-shipment centre for African trade with the Arabian peninsula secured it continued importance, and when Ottoman power in the Red Sea declined at the end of the 18th century, the Sharīf of Mecca assumed control of Sawākin. During the first decade of the 19th century, the power struggles between the Sharīf, the Wahhābīs, the Ottomans and the Egyptians gave greater independence to the local leaders in Sawākin. But when Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] defeated the Wahhābīs in 1813, Sawākin became subject to Egyptian domination (though not sovereignty) even before the conquest of the Sudan. In 1830 the Ottoman Sulṭān officially recognised this situation, but when Egypt had to evacuate most of her acquisitions in 1841, the Red Sea territories were nominally returned to the Ottomans. They were unable to exert effective control, however, leaving Sawākin and Maṣawwaʿ practically independent. Late in 1846, the Ottomans leased both ports to Muḥammad ʿAlī for the duration of his lifetime against payment of an annual tribute of 5,000 purses (the amount suggests that Egypt had strategic rather than economic interests). In 1849, they reverted to the Ottomans, though an actual Ottoman presence was not re-established until 1851. Egypt continued her efforts to gain control of Sawākin, which many regarded as an easier outlet for the increasing Sudan trade than the Nile route. In spite of protests by local traders, who feared Egyptian competition, Sawākin and Maṣawwaʿ were transferred to Egyptian administration in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1283/May 1865 (for details, see G. Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, iii/1, Cairo 1936, 268-77, 305-6).

Sawākin's importance grew with the increase in Red Sea trade brought about by the introduction of steam shipping (since 1829), the colonial exploitation of the interior as a source of gum, ivory, and slaves, and the marketing of European industrial goods. After the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), European merchants were able to outdo their Indian and Arab competitors; the latter were increasingly left with smuggling and the slave trade (formally illegal since 1855). Nevertheless, the export of ghee and grain to the Ḥidjāz remained the largest and most stable part of Sawākin's trade.

Political stability and the economic opportunities attracted a cosmopolitan population, and the building boom of the 1870s effaced much of the earlier architecture. The over-ambitious modernisation projects devised by the Egyptian administrators largely failed, however, and the exaction of forced labour, heavy taxation, and increasing "foreign" control did

not help the government's popularity. A significant part of the local population left the town during the Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], and from 1884-91 Sawākin, the only Sudanese town never conquered by the Mahdists, was the chief base for British military operations in the eastern Sudan. Trade was severely disrupted, though it never stopped. The important route to Berber was reopened in 1891, and for a brief time Sawākin flourished again as an import centre for the new Condominium authorities.

Natural deficiencies made it unfit for modern shipping, however, and after 1905 it was replaced by the newly-constructed Port Sudan which, apart from having more room for expansion, gave the British greater control over maritime commerce by limiting the role of Sawākin's indigenous urban population and of the Egyptians. By 1910, the administrative and economic centre of gravity had shifted to the new port, and after most merchants transferred there (1923-5), Sawākin fell into disrepair. In the mid-1940s, over 80% of its houses had collapsed. The customs were finally closed in 1946, and Sawākin was left with only the pilgrimage traffic which was officially restricted to the old port during 1908-52 and lingered on until 1973.

The relocation of the Sudan's official dhow harbour to Sawākin in 1968-72 gave the town a new function as a centre of boatbuilding, dhow trading, and fishing. Its social composition was radically altered by the influx of drought and war refugees during the 1970s; the island town remains deserted, and Sawākin now consists of a collection of villages on the mainland. A new impetus has been given by the large container port opened in 1991 to relieve pressure on Port Sudan.

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(A. Hofheinz)

SAWDA BT. **ZAMʿA** B. ḲAYYIS B. ʿABD SHAMS, Muḥammad's second wife, was one of the early converts to Islam. She was of the noble tribe of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] on her father's side, and her mother al-Shamūs bt. Ḳayyis b. ʿAmr of the Banū ʿAdī, was from the Medinan Anṣār [*q.v.*], supporters of the Prophet. She accompanied her first husband al-Sakrān b. ʿAmr to Abyssiniya, along with her brother and his wife, with the second party of Muslims who emigrated there. The couple returned to Mecca before the *hidjra* [*q.v.*], and al-Sakrān, who had become a Christian in Abyssinia, died there.

Sawda's marriage to Muḥammad was arranged by Khawla bt. Ḥakīm [*q.v.*], who wished to console him for the loss of Khadīdja [*q.v.*], and took place about a month after the latter's death, in Ramaḍān 10/631. There is some disagreement among Muslim scholars whether the Prophet first married Sawda, the mature widow, or the virgin bride ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*]. According to one tradition, he chose Sawda because of her devotion to his mission rather than ʿĀʾisha, daughter of his closest friend. In any case, Sawda lived alone with Muḥammad for some time since ʿĀʾisha was too young for her marriage to be consummated and remained with her parents.

In the first year of the *hidjra*, Sawda and Muḥammad's daughters were brought to join him in Medina; her dwelling was among the first to be built adjacent to the mosque area. Despite her access to the Prophet and proximity to the centre of affairs, only one or two traditions are related from or about her compared to the numerous *ḥadīth*s ascribed to ʿĀʾisha. On two occasions when Sawda asserted herself, Muḥammad reproved her.

The most noteworthy event in Sawda's life with Muḥammad was her success in dissuading him from divorcing her, because it resulted in the revelation of sūra IV, 127: "If a woman feareth ill-treatment from her husband, or desertion ... it is no sin for them twain if they make terms of peace between themselves." Muḥammad favoured ʿĀʾisha and (in 8/629) apparently decided to divorce Sawda, but she stopped him in the street and implored him to take her back. She offered to yield her day to ʿĀʾisha, as "she was old, and cared not for men; her only desire was to rise on the Day of Judgement as one of his wives". The Prophet consented, and after that the verse was revealed to him.

Sawda gained a reputation for being heavy and ungainly because during a pilgrimage, Muḥammad allowed her to reach Minā for the morning prayer before the crowd's arrival, to avoid being jostled, a privilege he denied ʿĀʾisha. Because she was an unusually tall woman, ʿUmar recognised her from afar at night and convinced the Prophet to seclude his wives. Sawda is sometimes confused with Zaynab bt. Djaḥsh [*q.v.*] as the "longest-handed" among the Prophet's wives, i.e. the most charitable, who would be the first to join him in Heaven. She was generous

and humorous. ᶜĀʾis̲h̲a used to say: "There is no woman in whose skin I would rather be than Sawda's, except that she is somewhat envious". Sawda as well as Zaynab bt. D̲j̲aḥs̲h̲ did not take part in the last pilgrimage, implying that God and his Prophet preferred them to remain in their home.

After Muḥammad's death, Sawda received a gift of money from ᶜUmar, which she ordered to be dispersed like her share of the spoils of K̲h̲aybar. She died in Medina, in S̲h̲awwāl 54/September-October 674, during the caliphate of Muᶜāwiya, who bought her house in the Mosque precincts, together with that of Ṣafiyya, for 180,000 dirhams.

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(V. VACCA-[RUTH RODED])

SAWDĀ, MIRZĀ MUḤAMMAD RAFĪᶜ (1125-1195/1713-1781), a highly esteemed Urdu poet, was born in Dihlī. His father came from a military family of Kābul, and he settled in Dihlī, where he became a wealthy merchant. The future poet was a spendthrift in his youth, and after his father's death he soon disposed of his inheritance by riotous living. After a spell of soldiering, he turned to a poetical career, adopting the *tak̲h̲alluṣ* of Sawdā (Ar. "melancholy, madness"), an apt name in an age when poets concentrated on *g̲h̲azal*. Perhaps it was also a pun on Persian *sawda* ("trade"), in allusion to his father's occupation (Saksena, *op. cit.*, 61). His courtly manners, due to his upbrining, enabled him to find patrons easily, and his undoubted poetic talents soon won him recognition. As was the usual custom, he concentrated largely on Persian: but the poet K̲h̲ān-i Ārzū persuaded him to change to Urdu "a momentous decision which had a far-reaching effect on his poetic career and the development of Urdu poetry" (Sadiq, 83). Saksena (*op. cit.*, 66) describes him as the "Shakespeare of Urdu"). And few will deny that he is a pioneer of Urdu poetry, and probably one of the six greatest poets of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Though he composed many *g̲h̲azal* poems—especially in his early years—he is not generally regarded as a master in the genre. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he does not project the accepted portrait of the *g̲h̲azal-gū* as a lover let down by a cruel beloved. Nor, at the other end of the *g̲h̲azal* spectrum, can he be regarded as a mystic poet. He was a S̲h̲īᶜī and exceedingly proud of it. This emerges in his poetry in various forms, but it is not the key to his mastery as a poet. This lies in his command of many different genres, his virtuosity in the techniques, his positive approach to his métier and his apparent pride and joy in it.

The political situation in Dihlī made life there increasingly less congenial, and an exodus of poets gathered momentum. In 1754 Sawdā moved to Farruk̲h̲ābād: then in (?) 1771 to Fayḍābād (Fayẓābād), where the Nawāb S̲h̲ud̲j̲āᶜ al-Dawla became his patron. The succeeding Nawāb Āṣaf al-Dawla founded a new capital at Lucknow in 1774, and took the poet there with him, granting him a substantial salary for the rest of his life.

Though undoubtedly an architect of Urdu poetry, he retained many features of "Persian decadence", as later critics called it, but not, however, the passion for *īhām* (*double entendre*). His vocabulary is rich, but predominantly Persian-Arabic. He revelled in difficult rhymes and metres. His poetry is full of energy, and at time vitriolic. Turning to the forms for which he is famous, he is recognised as a—possibly the—leading *ḳaṣīda-gū* (writer of odes) [see MADĪḤ, MADḤ. 6. in Urdu]. These include religious ones in praise of the Prophet and the S̲h̲īᶜī Imāms, and secular ones in praise of nobles and rulers including Nawāb G̲h̲azī al-Dīn K̲h̲ān on his birthday, and Nawābs S̲h̲ud̲j̲āᶜ al-Dawla and Āṣaf al-Dawla. There are also numerous poems of satire (*had̲j̲ō*/*had̲j̲w*), which ranged from the amusing to the vulgar, and are often exaggerated. He also composed a number of *mat̲h̲nawīs* and *mart̲h̲iyas*. His poems in *murabbaᶜa* and *muk̲h̲ammas* and various other forms should be mentioned. He is also credited with introducing into Urdu verse what is termed *tamt̲h̲īliyya s̲h̲āᶜirī* ("gnomic verse"), in which the thought expressed in the first hemistich of a verse is followed by an illustrative metaphor or simile in the second; this could be used in many verse forms.

Bibliography: Among a number of published collections of his poetry, *Kulliyyāt Sawdā* by Nawal Kis̲h̲ōr, Lucknow 1936, can be recommended. Of critical studies of the poet, K̲h̲āliḳ And̲j̲umān, *Mirzā Muḥammad Rafīᶜ Sawdā*, Aligarh 1966, deserves mention. A useful selection of his poetry is found in Ḳadrat ᶜAlī S̲h̲awḳ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲uᶜarāʾ*, ed. Nad̲h̲īr Aḥmad Fārūḳ, Lahore 1968, 119-71. Unfortunately, the earlier pages, including the biographical notes are missing from the original ms. of this section. Accounts of the poet are found in two general English sources for Urdu literature, namely Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 82-93, with many quotations in Urdu script, often with English translations: also Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Aligarh 1927, 60-80, which contains no quotations.

(J.A. HAYWOOD)

AL-**SAWDĀʾ**, more precisely, AL-K̲H̲ARIBA AL-SAWDĀʾ "the black ruin", the ancient Nas̲h̲s̲h̲ān, an important archaeological site in the D̲j̲awf of Yemen, 102 km/63 miles to the north-east of Ṣanᶜāʾ, still inhabited today, and adjoining the north-east of the modern settlement of al-Maṣlūb, the main centre of the Banū Nawf. It lies on the left bank of the Wādī 'l-K̲h̲ārid (locally called al-Buḥayra), and the tell dominates the surrounding plain by a dozen metres. The ancient enceinte, *ca.* 1,200 m/3,940 feet long, encloses a rectangle 330 m/1,080 feet by 280 m/920 feet. It comprises a thick massif of unfired bricks on to which abut two walls faced with stone, one very carefully constructed facing the outside, and the other less so facing the interior; of these, there remains only a few stone foundations and a pile of sun-dried bricks. As in other sites of the D̲j̲awf, the curtain wall was reinforced at regular intervals with square-plan towers; several of these are still standing in the western part, the best preserved. There were four gates, all now in a very ruinous state, which can be discerned in the middle of each of the sides. Inside the town, the main visible traces are large footings of regularly-cut stone and pillars or architraves belonging to the gateways.

At 720 m/2,360 feet to the east of the town, a fine sanctuary, dedicated to the local god ᶜAt̲h̲tar d̲h̲ū Riṣāf (*ᶜṯtr d̲-Rṣf*) has been almost wholly preserved by

the sand which has covered it. It was partially excavated by the French Archaeological Mission in the Yemen Arab Republic in the winter of 1988-9 (Breton, 1992), and is notable for the quality of its architecture and its decoration, incised on the supports of the lintel of the entrance porch, as well as the monolithic pillars supporting the stone covering. The main figures of this décor are young women on a podium (which the people in the Djawf call "Daughters of ʿĀd", referring to the mythical tribe of that name [see ʿĀD]), ibexes in movement, ostriches, snakes interwined in pairs, bulls' heads and geometric motifs. The very ancient inscriptions carved on the pillars of the entrance porch (SW/BA/I/1-4) and carbon-5 analysis of the wood found in the mortar of the enclosing wall allow us to date the oldest parts of the temple to the 8th century B.C.

The irrigated perimeter of the wall round the tell is now hardly discernible. The traces of a tamarisk thicket (*athl*) which struck the discoverer of the site, Ḥayyim Ḥabshūsh (ed. and summary tr. Goitein, Ar. text 52/7-8; Moscati-Steindler, 1976, 86) nevertheless show that a good site for agriculture and a water supply existed there. Irrigation seems to have been practiced for many centuries, judging by the thickness of the alluvium cut through by the wadis, which exceeds a dozen metres.

The site and the temple of ʿAthtar have yielded 87 inscriptions, in the two epigraphic South Arabian languages Madhābī and Sabaean (see on these, Robin, 1992, 31 ff.; for a complete list of these, see Avanzini, 1995).

Al-Sawdāʾ is the ancient Ns²n, shown by four inscriptions at the site containing this name (al-Sawdāʾ 52 = CIH 440/4; al-Sawdāʾ 75 = RES 2902 = M 126/1; SW-BA/I/5 and 6); the vocalisation of the name was probably Nashshān, if one relies on the sole mention of this toponym in Arabic, a poem of the 12th century A.D. (Madelung, 1992, 37). This last was the capital of a small independent kingdom, equally called Nashshān, in the 8th century B.C. and at the beginning of the 7th one. Only one person with the title of king is known: Sumhuyafaʿ Yasrān, son of Lubaʾān, king of Nashshān (*S¹mhyfʿ Ys¹rn bn Lbʾn mlk Ns²n*, in SW/BA/I/5 and 6; see also RES 3945/14-17 and al-Sawdāʾ 4, where the same person is mentioned without a title). The kingdom's territory included the town of Nashshān, that of Nashkᵘᵐ (*Ns²kᵐ*, modern al-Bayḍāʾ) and a district called Aykᵘᵐ (*ʾykᵐ*), with numerous settlements. At the beginning of the 7th century B.C., the kingdom of Sabaʾ, which already dominated the basin of the Adhanat (*ʾdnt*, modern wādī Dhana) river and the northern sector of the Djawf, undertook to impose its protection over Nashshān, probably fearing that the latter would unify the Djawf and become a threat to Sabaean supremacy in South Arabia. Led by a *mukarrib* (a sovereign superior to the kings, whose name means "unifier") Karibʾīl Watār, son of Dhamarʿalī, Sabaʾ launched two successful campaigns against Nashshān, which emerged from the struggle seriously weakened, losing territory to Sabaʾ (Nashkᵘᵐ and Aykᵘᵐ) and suffering under severe conditions (destruction of the royal palace called ʿAfraw (*ʿfrw*) and the enceinte of the capital, installation of a Sabaean garrison and the building of the temple of Almaḳah (*ʾlmḳh*), the great god of the Sabaeans, in the centre of the town (see on this war, Robin, forthcoming). Its independence was thus compromised, and it was soon annexed by the kingdom of Maʿīn (attested from *ca.* 700 B.C. to 120-100 B.C., with its capital Ḳarnaw, *Ḳrnw*, in the lower Djawf), and then some decades before the disappearance of Maʿīn, by Sabaʾ (see al-Sawdāʾ 52 = CIH 440, the oldest Sabaean language text found at the site). This was the time when the Arabs, notably the tribe of Amīr (*ʾmr* or *ʾmrⁿ*) settled in large numbers in the Djawf (Robin, 1992, 59-60, 158); a Madhābī text from Nashshān, whose ductus dates from around the 2nd century B.C. (al-Sawdāʾ 80 = RES 2917 = M 139), mentions precisely "the war of Amīr" (*ḍr ʾmr*) (l. 2).

At the time of his South Arabian expedition, the Roman Aelius Gallus, who reached Mārib [*q.v.*] in 25 B.C., seems to have taken Nashshān, for amongst the towns of the Djawf which the legions took by storm, Pliny mentions Nestum (vars. Amnestum, Hanescum) (von Wissmann 1976, 317, 401). Around A.D. 80-90, Nashshān was a Sabaean stronghold with a royal garrison when the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt invaded the Djawf during the reign of Karibʾīl Bayān, king of Sabaʾ and Dhū Raydān, son of Dhamarʿalī Dhariḥ (Ja 643/22). A 3rd-century inscription shows that one of the great Sabaean families, the Banū ʿUthkulān ʿAṣiyat, had clients (*ʾdm*) at Nashshān (Fa 76/7). Only one inscription from the site of al-Sawdāʾ goes back to this period, al-Sawdāʾ 51 = IH 604, a decree pronouncing upon, it appears, the inalienability of the crown's landed property, palm groves, vines and fields of various kinds. Nashshān passed under Ḥimyaritic control when Ḥimyar [*q.v.*] annexed Sabaʾ at the end of the 3rd century, and the last mentions of the place date from the 4th century. The site was abandoned between the end of the Ḥimyaritic period (6th century) and the 10th century, for the Yemeni scholar al-Hamdānī [*q.v.*] mentions it as a ruin (*al-khariba al-sawdāʾ bi 'l-shākiriyya*, ed. Müller, 167/12, see also tr. Faris, 1938, 64, 66, Faris, 1940, 104, 108) belonging to the Nashkiyyūn (ed. Khaṭīb, 12).

Our knowledge of the religion of Nashshān is confined to two lists of deities and the names of some temples. The official pantheon of independent Nashshān, given in two texts (al-Sawdāʾ 3 and 5), includes in the protocolary order ʿAthtar Shāriḳān, Wadd, Aranyadaʿ, ʿAthtar dhū Garab and ʿAthtar Nashḳ. The inscriptions further mention other gods, such as ʿAthtar Matab Khamir, ʿAthtar dhū Ḳabd and Rahs³ (al-Sawdāʾ 3 and 5). Four temples are known from the texts: Riṣāf, consecrated to ʿAthtar (this temple, whose name is attested solely in the compound ʿAthtar dhū Riṣāf, may possibly be identifiable with the one excavated by the French Mission outside the town); Saywaḍ, the temple of ʿAthtar Matab Khamir, to be located in the eastern part of the town, according to al-Sawdāʾ 3 which mentions it; Garbᵘᵐ, the temple of ʿAthtar, attested in the expression "the temple of ʿAthtar dhū Garbᵘᵐ", whose building is commemorated by al-Sawdāʾ 5 = CIH 428 but whose exact localisation is unknown; and Naṣab, the temple of Wadd, mentioned in al-Sawdāʾ 4/2, whose localisation is equally unknown. To these temples should be added that of Almaḳah, built "in the centre of the town of Nashshān", after the Sabaean victory (RES 3945/16). Finally, several dedications to ʿAthtar dhū Ḳabd from the Minaean period (al-Sawdāʾ 24-6) lead one to think that there was also a temple dedicated to this deity.

The first description of the site of al-Sawdāʾ is owed to the expedition of Joseph Halévy (a Jew from Adrianople, of Hungarian nationality, who became a naturalised French citizen after the expedition) and his Yemeni Jewish guide Ḥayyim Ḥabshūsh, in the spring of 1870 (Halévy, 1872, 82-5, 200-14, who writes the name as "Es-Soud"; Ḥabshūsh, ed. and tr.

Goitein, 45-6). Finally, the site was visited by the Egyptians Muḥammad Tawfīḳ in 1944-5 (Tawfīḳ, 1951, pl. 1, marking the itinerary followed) and Aḥmad Fakhrī in 1947 (Fakhrī, 1951, i, 147), then by the Russian P.A. Griyaznevič and the Italian Paolo Costa in December 1970 (Griyaznevič, 1978, 220-1), and finally by the French Mission from September 1980 onwards (Robin, 1980, 192-3).

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(CH. ROBIN)

SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ, a Persian corruption of *soghuk bulak* "cold spring", Kurdish Sā-blāgh, the name of a district in southwestern Ādharbāydjān, to the south of Lake Urmiya, and also the former name of its chef-lieu, the modern Mahābād [*q.v.*]. The district comprises essentially Mukrī Kurdistān, inhabited by the sedentary Mukrī and Debokhrī tribes of Kurds, speaking the Kurmāndjī form of the Kurdish language (classically described by O. Mann in his *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden. Kurdisch-persische Forschungen*, 4th ser. vol. iii/1-2, Berlin 1906-9. Cf. Minorsky's bibliography on Kurdish in *EI*[1] art. KURDS. E. Language), and confessionally being Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. There were formerly also Neo-Aramaic-speaking Jews in the town of Mahābād. For a detailed geographical and topographical description of the Sāwdj-bulāḳ district, see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. s.v., on which the present article is based.

The history of the Kurdish tribes of the district is only really known from Ṣafawid times onwards. During the 19th/16th century, the Mukrī chiefs pursued an opportunistic policy between the rival powers of the Ottomans and Ṣafawids. Ṣārim b. Sayf al-Dīn challenged and defeated in battle Shāh Ismāʿīl I in 912/1506-7 and then later sought investiture of his lands and military help from Sultan Selīm I. His successors variously sought the aid of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I and Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent. Towards the end of the century, Ṣārim's great-great-nephew Amīrā Beg (II) adhered to Sultan Murād III, who added to his hereditary lands in Mukrī Kurdistān the *wilāyet* of Shahrizūr and the *sandjak* of Mawṣil. But after the Ottoman conquest of Ādharbaydjān during the Perso-Turkish War of 986-98/1578-90, the Ottomans were in a stronger position, and Amīrā Pasha (as he now was) was made subordinate to the Ottoman governor in Tabrīz, reduced to authority only over his hereditary lands and compelled to pay an annual tribute of 15 *kharwārs* of gold. In the early 11th/17th century, the historian Iskandar Beg Munshī [*q.v.*] was an eye-witness of Shāh ʿAbbās I's expedition against the Mukrī and Brādōst Kurds (see his *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, tr. R.M. Savory, Boulder, Colo. 1978, ii, 1009-19, years 1018-19/1609-10), and the episode of the siege of Dumdum Ḳalʿa (south of Urmiya on the Ḳāsimlu river) became a favourite theme of later Mukrī heroic ballads.

In the early 19th century, the Turkish governor for the Ḳādjārs in Marāgha, Aḥmad Khān Muḳaddam, took strong measures against the Mukrīs by massacring several of their chiefs. In the last decades of the century there was fierce sectarian fighting between the Sunnī Kurds of Sāwdj-bulāḳ and the Shīʿīs of the Marāgha district. After 1905 the Sāwdj-bulāḳ district was gradually taken over by Ottoman forces under Meḥmed Fāḍīl Pasha, until in 1914 the old frontier between Turkey and Persia was restored through its delimination by Russian and British representatives. The region was the scene of fierce Russo-Turkish fighting in the First World War, beginning with the assassination of the Russian Consul at Sāwdj-bulāḳ, Colonel A. Iyas, at nearby Miyāndōāb.

After the War, under Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī [*q.v.*], the name of Sāwdj-bulāḳ town was changed to Mahābād. For the subsequent history of the modern town, and especially its role as capital of the short-lived Kurdish Republic of 1946, see MAHĀBĀD.

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SAWDJĪ, SAWDJĪ, the name of three Ottoman princes.

The name would appear to originate in the Old Turkish (especially, Eastern Turkish) word *saw* "word, piece of discourse, utterance", found as early as the Orkhon inscriptions, then in the Turfan Uyghur texts, in the late 5th/11th century *Ķutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*] and up to the 8th/14th century, after which it is not attested as a separate word (Clauson, *An etymological dict. of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 782-3). Cf. also the name of the slave commander of the Saldjūķ sultan Alp Arslan, Sāwtigin. Sawdjī would accordingly be "purveyor/conveyor of a message > prophet". In the later 8th/14th century it appears in onomastic in Sawdjī Agha, head of a contingent of troops in Murād I's army against the Ķaramānids, and it is about this time that it is attested in the Ottoman royal house itself (see below).

(1) Sawdjī Beg, in the old Ottoman chronicles also called Ṣarī yatī or Ṣarī balī, etc. was one of the younger brothers of ʿOthmān [*q.v.*], the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and a son of Ertoghrul. He supported his brother on his campaigns and fell (684/1285-6 is the date given) in battle against the governor of Angelokome (Ayne Göl) at Egridje south of Ķoladja, behind Olympus at the foot of a pine tree. The tree was still called *Ķandīlī čam* "pine tree of the lamps" in later times presumably from the lights lit there, the glimmer of which was afterwards given a mystic significance. (According to Neshrī, Idrīs Bidlīsī and Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, i, 18,8 ff., a heavenly light, *nuzūl nūr*, illuminated the tree by night.) Sawdjī Beg was buried beside his father in his tomb (*türbe*) at Sögüd [*q.v.*] in northwestern Anatolia, destroyed by the Greeks in 1922.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 54, and following him J. Zinkeisen, *GOR*, i, 70 (from Saʿd al-Dīn, who follows Idrīs Bidlīsī, *Hesht bihisht*, and Neshrī, *Djihān-nümā*).

(2) A son of ʿOthmān was also called Sawdjī. We only know of him that he fell in battle (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 37).

(3) The eldest son of Murād I [*q.v.*] who, when governor of Rumelia, made terms with a son of John V Palaeologus of Byzantium named Andronicus, and rebelled against his father. The Ottoman chroniclers give very scanty information about this conspiracy, while the Byzantine historians Chalcocondyles, Phrantzes and Ducas give very full accounts, differing only in details; cf. Chalcoc., ed. Imm. Bekker, i, 40 ff. (Σαουζῆς); Phrantzes, ed. Bekker, i, 50, where the rebel is wrongly called Μωσῆ Τζελεπῆς, i.e. Mūsā Čelebi through confusion with Bāyezīd I's son; Ducas, ed. Bekker, 22 (Σαβούτζιος), where Sawdjī is mentioned but the rebel is called Κουντούζης, i.e. Gündüz. Murād I acted jointly with John V and took the field against the two princes. After an unsuccessful battle at a place which the Byzantine writers call Ἀπικρίδιον (Chalc., 43,4), Sawdjī fled to Didymotichon, where he was surrounded and forced to surrender to his father. He was blinded and then beheaded. The execution took place in 787/1385-6 and the body was brought to Bursa and buried there. Murād I had apparently made up his mind to get rid of Sawdjī, as he had appointed his son Bāyezīd to watch his movements, cf. Murād I's letter to Bāyezīd in Ferīdūn, *Münsheʾāt-i selāṭīn*, i², 107 (of the beginning of Rabīʿ I 787/1385-6), with Bāyezīd's answer, *op. cit.*, esp. 108 above, according to which the Ķāḍī of Bursa must have passed a death sentence on Sawdjī. The execution of Sawdjī was the first of a long series of similar cases, in which princes dangerous to the Ottoman heir-apparent were put out of the way.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 190, 599; Zinkeisen, in *GOR*, i, 237 ff.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Taķwīm al-tawārīkh*, under the year 787; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, i, 100 (following Idrīs Bidlīsī); A.D. Alderson, *Structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index at 157; *İA* art. *Savcı* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin). (F. Babinger-[C.E. Bosworth])

SAWĪĶ (a.) is a food preparation of some antiquity, and one widely known throughout the mediaeval Middle East. Al-Thaʿālibī attributes its first appearance to Alexander the Great, and it is cited in the physicians' works of both eastern and western Islamic lands. It was recommended for travellers and was used to feed armies in the field. For all its fame, it rarely appears described in the extant culinary manuals, although some recipes are found in the earliest (4th/10th century) work by al-Warrāķ (*K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. K. Öhrnberg and S. Mroueh, Helsinki 1987, 37-8). Preparation was chiefly from wheat and barley, the former preferred among the urban classes which could afford it. The wheat grain was first washed and then soaked in water overnight. Discarding the water, the wheat was next fried thoroughly until browned. When cooled, it was ground, sieved and then stored for use when it could be eaten by adding sugar. An alternative, more complicated method was to husk and dry the grain before frying. This basic preparation could then be used in other types; for example, in *sawīķ rummān* three portions of wheat *sawīķ* to one of pomegranate (*rummān*) seeds were mixed together, cooked, sieved and sugar added. *Sawīķ* was also added to the dough in making the pastry, *kaʿk*. According to al-Rāzī (*K. fī dafʿ muḍārr al-aghdhiya*, Cairo 1888, 7), pomegranate and apple *sawīķ* were intended only for medicinal purposes, while wheat and barley types were for nourishment. Plain *sawīķ* was considered a nourishing substitute for fresh fruit when it was unavailable. Medicinal preparations made from barley are described by Isaac Isrāʾīlī (*K. al-aghdhiya*, facs. ed., Frankfurt 1986, ii, 72-8), and clearly physicians envisaged different ways in which it could be used to achieve different effects within a regimen of health.

Bibliography: In addition to the above references, see *Kanz al-fawāʾid fī tanwīʿ al-mawāʾid*, eds. M. Marín and D. Waines, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993. (D. Waines)

SAWM (a.), a term of Islamic law, denoting the bargaining involving both vendor and purchaser that occurs before a sale. *Sawm* is a classical term which, although pre-contractual, influences the formation of the contract and has a legal effect upon it. Sale is prohibited if a higher bid is offered by a third party during the negotiation leading to the sale agreement. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim record the prohibition of making an offer while another's offer is being considered. What is curious is that they also record the prohibition of sale (*bayʿ*). This has lead to some confusion among scholars. The difference between *sawm* and *bayʿ* is that the former is no more than an offer to

enter into the latter after the manifest approval of the vendor. The prospective purchaser can take the commodity home for examination, even if he proposed a lower price than the vendor requested. If, during this period, the commodity is damaged, then the full price requested by the vendor becomes liable. It is interesting to compare *bayʿ* and *sawm* with *khiṭba* and *nikāḥ* [*q.v.*] since they represent parallel sequences. *Ḥadīth* often refers to the two types of contract together. This indicates the personal aspects of *bayʿ* in Muslim society as well the formal dimension in marriage.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Bayān wa 'l-taḥṣīl*, ed. M.S. Aʿrāb, Beirut, vii, 486-7; *LʿA*, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir n.d., xii, 310; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, iv, 325-53; *TʿA*, Cairo 1306, viii, 350; Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, Beirut 1403/1983, iii, 92; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, ed. Ḥulw and Turkī, Cairo 1408/1988, vi, 305-8.

(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

ṢAWM (A.), with Ṣiyām, *maṣdar* from the root *ṣ-w-m*; the two terms are used indiscriminately. The original meaning of the word in Arabic is "to be at rest" (Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachw.*, Strassburg 1910, 36, n. 3; see previously, S. Fränkel, *De vocab. ... in Corano peregrinis*, Leiden 1880, 20: "*quiescere*"). The meaning "fasting" may have been taken from Judaeo-Aramaic and Syriac usage, when Muḥammad became better acquainted with the institution of fasting in Medina; this is the sense of the word in the Medinan sūras.

Origin of the rite. That fasting was an unknown practice in Mecca before Muḥammad's time cannot be *a priori* assumed. Why should not the *ḥunafā'* [see ḤANĪF] have also used this religious custom? In the Meccan sūras, as above mentioned, there is a reference to *ṣawm* in XIX, 27: a voice commands Mary to say "I have made a vow of *ṣawm* to the Merciful, wherefore I speak to no one this day". Observing silence as a Christian fasting practice (cf. Afrāhāṭ, ed. Parisot, in *Patrol. Syriaca*, i, 97) may have been known to Muḥammad. In the year 2/623-4, according to unanimous reliable Muslim tradition (cf. A.J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, 136-7, *contra* e.g. A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, iii, 53-9), the revelation of sūra II, 179-81, abolished the *ʿĀshūrā'* fast as an obligation by the institution of the fast of Ramaḍān. On the question why Muḥammad chose this particular month, various opinions have been expressed. The most plausible is that of A.J. Wensinck, who has called attention to the particularly sacred character of the month of Ramaḍān even in pre-Islamic times (on account of the *laylat al-ḳadr* in his *Arabic New-Year and the Feast of Tabernacles*, in *Verh. Ak. W. Amst.*, N.S. [1925], xxv/2, 1-13; see also M.Th. Houtsma, *Over de Israëlitische Vastendagen*, in *Versl. en Med. Ak. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterk., Series 4, ii [Amsterdam 1898], 3 ff.).

The first regulations concerning the manner of the Muslim fasting are given in sūra II, 179-81, which probably belong together (Nöldeke-Schwally, 178, *contra* Th.W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, 114, who considers v. 181 a later revelation; al-Bayḍāwī also assumes that it was revealed in separate parts). The fast is also mentioned elsewhere in Ḳur'ān II, 192; IV, 94; V, 91, 96; LVIII, 5. *Ṣā'im* is further used in XXXIII, 35, to describe the devout Muslim, along with other epithets, while in II, 42 and 148, *ṣabr* [*q.v.*] is explained as *ṣawm*.

The ordinances of II, 179-81, 183, form the basis of the detailed regulation by the *fuḳahā'*; further details were taken from Tradition. What follows here is a résumé of the law on fasting according to the Shāfiʿī school, as contained in the treatise by Abū Shudjāʿ al-Iṣfahānī (5th/11th century), *al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiḳh*.

How the fast should be observed and who is bound to fast. Fasting in the legal sense is abstinence (*imsāk*) from things which break the fast (*mufṭirāt*), with a special *niyya* (intention). The *ṣā'im* must be a Muslim, in full possession of his senses (*ʿāḳil*), and, if a woman, free from menstruation and the bleeding of childbed. The fast is valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*) under these conditions; there is an obligation to fast on every one who is full-grown (*bāligh*) if he is able physically to sustain it (*ḳādir*).

One ought to formulate the *niyya* before dawn on each day of fasting (*tabyīt*); by *talfīḳ* [*q.v.*], however, the Shāfiʿī can follow the Mālikī *madhhab*, which allows one to formulate the *niyya* for the whole of the month of Ramaḍān.

The *mufṭirāt* are defined by the entry into the body of material substances, in so far as they are material in substance and can be prevented from entering. In order for there to be *ifṭār*, there must be deliberate action (*taʿammud*), knowledge (*ʿilm*) and free choice (*ikhtiyār*) (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣawm, bāb* 26, *Aymān, bāb* 15; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, tr. 171).

It is recommended for the *ṣā'im* to take the *faṭūr* (meal marking the end of the fast) as soon as he is sure that the sun has set, and the *saḥūr* (meal taken after midnight) as late as possible; to abstain from indecent talk and calumnies; to avoid actions which might stimulate the passions within one or in others; to recite the Ḳur'ān for oneself or for others; and to observe retreat (*iʿtikāf* [*q.v.*]) during the month of Ramaḍān. Al-Ghazālī adds to these the duty of charity towards others.

I. Obligatory (*wādjib*) fasting.

Fasting in the month of Ramaḍān is the fourth pillar of Islam; whoever denies the obligation to fast is a *kāfir*, except for the recent convert or one who has not been in contact with the *ʿulamā'*. Whoever omits to fast without good cause, without, however, denying the compulsion to fast, may be imprisoned. The general obligation to fast (*ʿalā sabīl al-ʿumūm*) begins on 1 Ramaḍān, after 30 Shaʿbān, or after 29 if the *ḥākim* (*ḳāḍī*) has then accepted the evidence of one *ʿadl* (sc. a person worthy of credence) that he has seen the new moon. The beginning of Ramaḍān may be announced to the people in a way settled by the local custom (a cannon, the hanging of lamps on the *manāra*, in Java by beating the *bĕdug*). Days omitted in Ramaḍān have to be made good (*ḳaḍā'*) as soon as possible, but not on one of the forbidden days or on one which is itself a compulsory fast day.

A distinction is made between the major and minor *kaffāra* (compensating). The first is imposed on anyone who (a) breaks the fast in Ramaḍān by sexual intercourse; (b) is guilty of illegal killing [see ḲATL]; (c) has pronounced the *ẓihār* formula but not the *ṭalāḳ* immediately after it; (d) has broken a valid oath (*yamīn*) [see ḲASAM].

The minor *kaffāra* or *fidya* has to be paid when one takes advantage of one of the dispensations which are detailed below; the question of fasting does not arise.

In the case of great drought, the *Imām* may, according to the *sharīʿa*, prescribe extraordinary ceremonies which include fasting; the three days before the *ṣalāt al-istisḳā'* [see ISTISḲĀ', and al-Bādjūri, *Kitāb Aḥkām al-ṣalāt, faṣl fī aḥkām ṣalāt al-istisḳā'*] are spent in fasting.

The law permits relaxations in the following circumstances:

(a) Such as have reached a certain age (men 40; not

exactly defined for women) and sick people for whom there is no hope of recovery, if they are unable to fast, may omit the fast without being bound to the *ḳaḍā*ʾ should their strength or health be restored. In compensation they should give alms at the rate of one *mudd* for each day omitted.

(b) If pregnant or nursing women fear it would be dangerous for them if they should fast, *ifṭār* is *wādjib* or obligatory for them but *ḳaḍā*ʾ is obligatory.

(c) Sick persons who are likely to recover and those who are overcome by hunger and thirst may break the fast on condition that the *ḳaḍā*ʾ is performed. If a man is in danger of death or danger of losing a limb, *ifṭār* is *wādjib*.

(d) Travellers who set out before sunrise may, if necessary, break the fast, but not if they begin their journey during the day. In case of mortal danger, *ifṭār* is *wādjib*. Two days' journey is the minimum. *Ḳaḍā*ʾ is obligatory on them, in this case.

(e) Those who have to perform heavy manual labour should formulate the *niyya* in the night, but may break the fast if need be.

When the justification for relaxing the rules disappears, it is *sunna* to pass the rest of the day fasting.

II. Voluntary or supererogatory fasting (*ṣawm al-taṭawwu*ʿ).

This falls into the category of what is recommended (*mandūb ilayhi*). For a woman, it may only be done with the consent of her husband. It may be broken without any penalty. The *niyya*, which can be formulated any time up till midday, need not be explicitly made, although certain of the *fuḳahā*ʾ consider it desirable in certain cases.

It is recommended for anyone who has to fast (as a substitution) for three days during the *ḥadjdj* and seven days afterwards, to choose as the three days the 7, 8 and 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja.

For the supererogatory fasting of six days in Shawwāl, it is preferable to choose the six consecutive days immediately after the festival, i.e. 2-7 Shawwāl (see Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 132).

The following days are further recommended for voluntary fasting: the day before *ʿāshūrā*ʾ day and the one after; the *yawm al-miʿrādj* (27 Radjab); and the Monday and the Thursday (*sunna muʿakkada*, according to al-Bādjūrī), days when actions are offered to God, and others which are describable as "by way of routine".

III. Fasting is forbidden (*ḥarām*) on the days of the two great festivals, on the *tashrīḳ* days and for a woman during menstruation; also in definite cases when danger threatens, as already mentioned above.

IV. It is blameworthy (*makrūh*) to fast on Friday because it distracts the attention from the Friday worship, and on Sunday or Saturday, at least if one has no particular reason for fasting, because the Christians and Jews observe these as holy days.

The three other *madhāhib* diverge from the Shāfiʿī one on minor questions only which it would be tedious to enumerate (see ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *K. al-Mīzān*, Cairo 1279/1862-3, ii, 20-30).

The Shīʿī prescriptions diverge from the Sunnī ones on some points of detail, of which the following are some examples (see A. Querry, *Recueil de lois concernant les Musulmans Schyites*, Paris 1871-2, i, 182-209, ii, 75-7, 197-9, 203-5, following Nadjm al-Dīn al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām fī masāʾil al-ḥalāl wa 'l-ḥarām*): the *niyya* is not considered as a "pillar"; smoking is not considered as one of the *mufṭirāt*; it is forbidden to blaspheme against the Shīʿī Imāms; the man and woman guilty of sexual relations during the Ramaḍān fast are to be flogged for the first offence, with the death penalty for persistent offences.

Regarding the relaxations, fasting is not required for a sick person unless authorised by the physician; dispensation is only given to pregnant women if they are in final phase of pregnancy; fasting is not generally required of travellers, but compensation must be made.

Voluntary and supererogatory fasting may begin before midday. Shīʿism adds to the days recommended by the Sunnīs the great dates of Shīʿī tradition (*ghadīr Khumm*, *mubāhala*, anniversary of al-Ḥusayn's death on 10 Muḥarram; see Querry, *op. cit.*, 37, notes).

Al-Ghazālī gives, at the beginning of his *Kitāb Asrār al-ṣawm* in the *Iḥyā*ʾ, some considerations on the value of fasting. He points out, referring to some well-known traditions, the high esteem in which fasting stands with God. He gives as a reason for this that fasting is a passive act and no one sees men fast except God; secondly it is a means of defeating the enemy of God, because human passions, which are Satan's means of attaining his ends, are stimulated by eating and drinking. Fasting is therefore "the gateway to the service of God." After having enumerated, in the manner of a *faḳīh*, the regulations regarding fasting, he declares that these do not constitute what is essential. He distinguishes three steps in the fast. The first step is that of the *fiḳh*, the third that of the Prophets, the *ṣiddīḳūn* and those who have been brought into the proximity [of God] (*al-muḳarrabūn*), whose fast separates them from all worldly desires. But the second step suffices for the pious; it consists in keeping one's organs of sense and members free from sin and from all things that detract from God. Subjection of the passions is the real object of fasting, mot mere abstinence.

The ethical conception of the fast which al-Ghazālī gives in this second *faṣl* supplements, he says, the barren law of the *fuḳahā*ʾ. In the *Ḥadīth* we find already various traditions with ethical tendencies and al-Ghazālī does not fail to quote them in support of his view. A mass of traditions on fasting, grouped according to the various aspects of the topic, will be found in Wensinck's *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, 71-6, s.v. *Fast, Fasting*.

It is a very widespread opinion today that fasting, especially during Ramaḍān, forms the most appropriate expiration for offences committed during the year. This is why the law on fasting is still in general strongly observed, in varying degrees of strictness.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the article): A sketch of the legal prescriptions according to the Shāfiʿī law school was given by Th.W. Juynboll in his *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden-Leipzig 1910; see the bibl. to the 1925 ed. The main sources are the chs. on fasting in the collections of *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* and *ikhtilāf*, to which should be added Ghazālī, *Iḥyā*ʾ, ch. on *ṣawm*. For the traditions, see Wensinck, *op. cit.*, and idem, *Concordances et indices de la Tradition musulmane*, Leiden 1936 ff. See also K. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran*, Leiden 1968; K. Lech, *Geschichte des islamischen Kultus. i. Das ramaḍān-Fasten*, Wiesbaden 1979; and, above all, the bibls. to ḤADĪTH, ḤADJDJ, MUTʿA, PUASA in Suppl., RAMAḌĀN and ʿUMRA.

(C.C. BERG-[Ed.])

ṢAWTIYYA (A.), the neologism used for the modern phonetic description of Arabic.

1. *Definition and background.* The sound system of Arabic is described on the basis of its phonetics, *ʿilm al-aṣwāt*, which focuses on the investigation of how

sounds are produced by speakers and perceived by listerners and on its phonology, *ʿilm al-ṣawtiyyāt*. The word *ṣawtiyya* is a relative adjective derived from the verbal noun, *ṣawt* (pl. *aṣwāt*), meaning sound or speech sound. The phonological analysis renders a description of the processes that set sounds into organised and systematic patterns. These are governed by the phonological rules operating in the system that make the distinction between the sounds. The phonemic inventory of Arabic is established, not only on the basis of detailed phonetic information, but also on the patterning of the sounds.

As a result of the impact of the Ḳurʾān on Arabic, the literary language has maintained continuity in its sound system and grammatical structure. The Arabs and Muslims have rendered a meticulous investigation of this system. Their original contributions, in theory and practice, result in precise phonetic descriptions and terminology. Pioneers in this field are such scholars as al-Khalīl and his disciple Sībawayh [*q.vv*]. However, most linguistic changes have occurred within the dialects. The description of *ṣawtiyya* here focuses on the modern *al-fuṣḥā* (literary Arabic) sound system.

2. *Description of the sound system*. There are 29 consonants and six vowel phonemes or distinctive sound units in Arabic. Consonants are produced with either partial or complete obstruction of the airstream in the vocal tract and are described by their manner and points of articulation. The vocal cords and their function also play a definite role in the classification of the phonemes into voiced or voiceless. Sounds produced with the vocal cords vibrating are called voiced while those produced without vibration are voiceless.

The major subgroups of consonants are: (1) *Stops*: These sounds involve a closure of the airstream at some point in the oral cavity. The stops are: /b/ voiced bilabial; /t/ voiceless dental; /ṭ/ emphatic voiceless postdental; /d/ voiced dental; /ḍ/ emphatic voiced postdental; /k/ voiceless velar; /q/ voiceless unaspirated uvular. (2) *Fricatives*: These sounds are produced with a partial closure of the oral cavity, where the airstream passes through a narrow passage, creating friction or a hissing sound. The fricatives are: /f/ voiceless labiodental; /θ/ voiceless interdental; /ð/ voiced interdental; /ð̣/ emphatic voiced interdental; /s/ voiceless dental /ṣ/ emphatic voiceless postdental; /z/ voiced dental; /ʃ/ voiceless palatal; /χ/ voiceless velar; /ɣ/ voiced postvelar. (3) *Affricate*: There is only one affricate /ʒ/. This sound, phonetically, is composed of two phones—a stop [d] immediately followed by a fricative "[ʒ] like" sound. (4) *Nasals*: In the production of the nasals, /m/ and /n/, two cavities, oral and nasal, are involved and it is this unique combination that distinguishes nasals from other sounds. The /m/ is voiced bilabial nasal and the /n/, voiced dental nasal. (5) *Trill*: The sound /r/ is a trill voiced alveolar or post-dental. (6) *Lateral*: The sound /l/ is a lateral voiced dental. The /r/ and /l/, when occurring in the vicinity of the vowels /a/ or /aa/, may be characterised as emphatics. (7) *Semivowels*: /w/ is a bilabial semivowel and /y/ a palatal semivowel. They form two diphthongs: /ay/ and /aw/ as in *bayt* (house) and *thawb* (dress). (8) *Pharyngeals*: The sound ʿayn /ʿ/ is described as a voiced fricative pharyngeal, however, it is also described as a voiceless stop as pronounced in ʿIrāḳ and the Arabian Peninsula. The sound /ḥ/ is a voiceless pharyngeal. (9) *Glottals*: The sound /h/ is a voiceless oral fricative and the hamza /ʾ/, a glottal stop.

3. *Emphatics*. The feature of emphasis is traditionally called *tafkhīm* ("thickness"). There are four emphatic consonants: /ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ð̣/. These sounds, in addition to their primary points of articulation, are characterised by a secondary articulatory feature identified as the retraction of the tongue as well as the contraction of the pharynx. This phonetic phenomenon was recognised by the earliest Arab grammarians and has always been a point of attraction and fascination for Western linguists and Arabists. Emphasis is not limited only to this particular group as there are other consonants, on a marginal basis, which demonstrate emphasis or pharyngealisation. Emphatics are found in modern Arabic dialects, to varying degrees, depending on geographical areas and social levels of speaking. The emphatic consonants condition neighbouring sounds, and often dominate the whole syllable. This conditioning is referred to as "spreading", which can be either progressive or regressive and may even cover a syllable or more. The acoustic effect of the emphatics is to lower the frequency of neighbouring sounds. The dotted line of the shape of the tongue on the diagram below shows the postion of the tongue for the emphatic /ṭ/ as in the syllable /ṭi/ that contrasts with the broken line that represents the non-emphatic /t/ as in /ti/.

The sound /ð̣/ exhibits some changes in its pronunciation. It is predominantly pronounced as /ð̣/ , an interdental emphatic fricative, in ʿIrāḳ and Arabia. However, in the sedentary Levant regions, it is pronounced as /ẓ/. Likewise, the sound /ḍ/ is pronounced either as /ð̣/ in ʿIrāḳ and Arabia, or as /ḍ/ in sedentary regions (see further on this, ḌĀD).

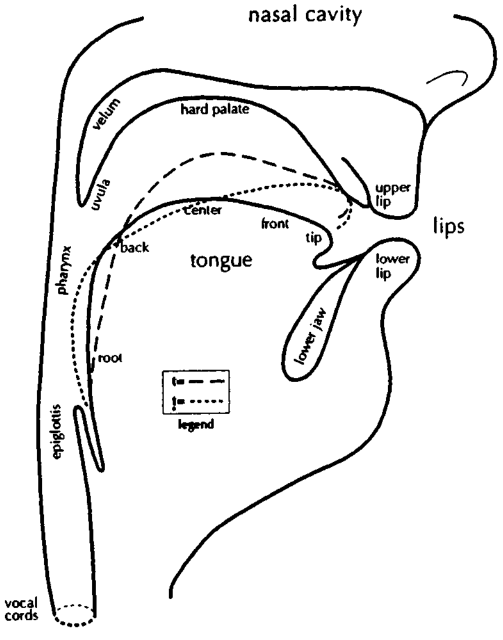

This diagram is a tracing of a frame from an Xray sound film of the author's vocal tract. It is superimposed over a diagram of the vocal tract made by the phonetician Peter Ladefoged.

4. *Vowels*. Vowels are produced with the airstream passing fairly freely through the oral cavity. There are two types of vowels, long and short. The short are: *kasra* /i/, short high front unrounded vowel; *ḍamma* /u/, short high back rounded vowel; and *fatḥa* /a/, low short central unrounded vowel. The long vowels are: /ii/ *kasra* + *yāʾ*, long high front unrounded; /uu/ *ḍam-*

ma + *wāw*, long high back rounded and /aa/ *fatḥa* + *alif*, low long central unrounded. Length is phonemic or functional and may be indicated by writing the vowels twice as in the following minimal pairs: *kataba* ("he wrote") and *kaataba* ("he corresponded with"). The difference between long and short vowels is primarily one of quantity.

5. *The syllable and its structure.* The structure of the syllable is based on the main components of its formation. Every syllable begins with the onset, a single consonant, and may end with a coda, which can be either one or two consonants or none. The nucleus or centre of the syllable is the most prominent element and is always a vowel, short or long. There are six possible syllable types. By postulating a "C" to represent consonants and a "V" to represent vowels the syllable types are: CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC, CVCC and CVVCC. These are divided into short CV; long CVC, CVV; CVVC and heavy CVCC and CVVCC. With respect to the frequency of occurrence the first four syllable types, CV, CVC, CVV and CVVC, are considered the dynamic force behind the formation of all the grammatical phonological patterns of non-pause utterances. The last two types, CVCC and especially CVVCC, have very limited distribution. They occur only in words, phrases and sentences in final pause forms, as does CVVC.

Consonant clusters occur medially and finally. All syllables and words start with a single consonant. In the Arabic writing system whenever a word starts with an *alif*, the *alif*, which is used as a *kursī* ("chair" for the *hamza*), has no phonetic value. Consonants that are produced in the front section of the oral cavity, form bilabial to palato-alveolar, form clusters with the remaining back consonants. Restrictions exist on the formation of consonant clusters, primarily among consonants that have the same manner or adjacent points of articulation. Gemination involves the clustering of identical consonants. Lengthening of the vowels does not create vowel clusters, as it is only a quantity difference that results in phonemic length for the long vowels.

6. *Stress.* Stress placement rules are determined by the loudness or prominence of a specific syllable relative to other syllables within the utterance. Loudness is not the sole feature responsible for stress; length and pitch also contribute. Syllable structure, types and their distribution play a definite role in the placement of stress. The word-stress rule patterns that operate in Arabic are as: (1) when a word consists of a string of CV types the first syllable is stressed as in *dá-ra-sa*, CV́-CV-CV, "he studied", (2) when a word contains only one long syllable that syllable (but not the final one) is stressed as in *mu-dár-ri-su-hu*, CV-CV́C-CV-CV-CV, "his teacher"; (3) when a word contains two or more long syllables the long syllable nearest to the end (but not the final one) receives the stress as in *mu-dar-ri-sáa-tu-kum*, CV-CVC-CV-CV́V-CV-CVC, "your teachers" (fem.); and (4) final heavy syllables are stressed as in *ki-táab*, CV-CV́VC, "book". These stress rules encounter some variation depending on the geographical region that an Arabic-speaking person comes from.

Bibliography: For a description of the Arabic sounds of the classical period, see the *Bibl.* to MAKHĀRIDJ AL-ḤURŪF. P: Ladefoged, *A course in phonetics*, [3]Fort Worth 1993; Salman al-Ani, *Arabic phonology: an acoustical and physiological investigation*, The Hague-Paris 1970; idem (ed.), *Readings in Arabic linguistics*, [2]Bloomington, Ind. 1992; Ibrāhīm Anīs, *al-Aṣwāt al-lughawiyya*, [3]Cairo 1961; Tamām Ḥassān, *al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya maʿnāhā wa-mabnāhā*, Cairo 1973 (esp. chs. 2-3); S. Davis, *On the phonological emphasis in two modern Arabic dialects*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Islamic and Arabic Studies*, viii/2 (1991), 1-20.

(SALMAN H. AL-ANI)

SAʿY (A.), from the root *s-ʿ-y*, used 30 times in the Ḳurʾān in such senses as "to work, apply oneself to, denounce, seek to earn one's living, run after s. th." etc., but in the sense concerning here denoting the pilgrim's running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. These are two hills to the south and north-west of the Kaʿba respectively, linked by a *masʿā*, course, which the pilgrim follows after having made the sevenfold circuit of the Kaʿba, at his or her arrival and his or her departure. This following of the course, the *saʿy*, is likewise sevenfold; it starts in al-Ṣafā, and goes to al-Marwa, *ca.* 300 m away. In the first part of the course is a smaller course of about 80 m, marked out by four green columns, which the men—but not the women—have to make whilst running, the remainder of the course being made at a normal walking pace. From al-Ṣafā four trips are made to al-Marwa, and from this last three trips back are made, the seventh trip ending at al-Marwa, the whole amounting to a little more than two km (see M. Hamidullah, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, in *Sources orientales*, iii, Paris 1960, 109).

Saʿy is the term reserved for this travelling along the course, the other ones (the *ṭawāf* around the Kaʿba and those between ʿArafa-Muzdalifa-Minā) being termed *fayḍ* or *ifāḍa* (course made in an enthusiastic manner). It is obligatory at arrival and superogatory at departure for the pilgrims who perform both the Greater (*ḥadjdj*) and Lesser (*ʿumra*) Pilgrimages [see ḤADJDJ].

The first Muslims, and especially the Anṣār, hesitated to make this sacred course, because of its pagan character. On the two hills were the idols Isāf and Nāʾila [*q.v.*], two sacred stones, on which the victims' blood was poured. They must have had a vaguely human form which, under Syrian influences and because of their proximity to each other, were assimilated to a divine pair, as with a Baʿl and a Baʿla. But an edifying legend developed round them, that they were a man and woman who had fornicated in the Kaʿba and had therefore been transformed into stone (see T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 103-9).

The question of this obligation of the *saʿy* was put to the Prophet, and the reply was revealed that "al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are part of the rituals (*sharāʾiʿ*) of pilgrimage to the House of God. Whoever accomplishes it (*ḥadjdja*) or visits it (*iʿtamara*) will never commit a sin, if he makes the course between the two hills" (Ḳurʾān, II, 158). Some recent constructions have been made to facilitate the *saʿy*, involving two superimposed tracks, one for the outward journey and one for the return (see the monthly journal *al-ʿArabī*, Kuwait, no. 1971).

Bibliography: For further details on the rite, see M.M.I. ʿAbduh, *al-ʿIbādāt fī 'l-Islām*, Cairo 1954, 420-4; Hamidullah, *op. cit.*, 111. For the rites of the Pilgrimage in general, see Fahd, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, in *Etudes d'Histoire des Religions*, i, Paris 1974, 65-94; idem, *Panthéon*, esp. 241-7, but the most complete work is M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923.

(T. FAHD)

SAYĀBIDJA, for Sayābiga, the name given in early Islamic historical sources to a group of non-Arab emigrants, proximately from Sind in India but, most probably, ultimately from South-East Asia and established on the Arab shores of the Persian Gulf and at Baṣra in the first two centuries or so of Islam.

Arabic authors often link them with the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] or Jhāts [see DJĀT] from northwestern India (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 1961, 3125, 3134, 3181), although two distinct ethnic groups are in fact involved here.

De Goeje was the first to discuss the Sayābidja at length, in his *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, Leiden 1903, 18-19, 86-91, in the latter place giving a résumé of an earlier article of his devoted to them. He noted that, already in pre-Islamic times, there are mentioned Sayābidja settled on the Gulf coastlands and Zuṭṭ in lower ʿIrāḳ (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 373), and that in Abū Bakr's time there was a garrison of Sayābidja and Zuṭṭ at al-Khaṭṭ [*q.v.*] along the coasts of al-Ḳaṭīf and Hadjar (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1961). Both these peoples must have been planted there, or induced to settle there, as guards and frontier auxiliaries, by the Sāsānid emperors. At the opening of Islam, both groups followed the example of the Asāwira or cavalrymen of the Sāsānid army (see C.E. Bosworth, *EIr*, art. *Asāwera*) and became Muslims on various favourable conditions; the Zuṭṭ and Sayābidja attached themselves as *mawālī* [see MAWLĀ] to the Arab tribe of Ḥanẓala of Tamīm, and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] then settled them at Baṣra (cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 373-5; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2562 ff.). Other Sayābidja elements seem to have found their way to Kūfa and possibly elsewhere, since the Kūfan forces which joined ʿAlī at Dhū Ḳār in 36/656-7 included a detachment of Zuṭṭ and Sayābidja (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3180-1).

Sayābidja troops fought in Khurāsān under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] against the remnants of Persian resistance there and, in the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], some of them were to be found in the ranks of Ibn al-Ashʿath's [*q.v.*] rebel forces (al-Balādhurī, 374). The caliph Muʿāwiya had further transplanted Zuṭṭ and Sayābidja in the *thughūr* [*q.v.*] of northern Syria and at Antioch (*loc. cit.*). Within the *miṣr* of Baṣra, a corps of 40 or 400 Sayābidja under one Abū Sālima al-Zuṭṭī is mentioned as guarding the state treasury there in 36/656-7 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 375-6; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 307 = § 1629, and cf. Pellat's *Index généraux*, vi, 403), and a verse in a poem of the Baṣran poet Ibn al-Mufarrigh (d. 69/689 [*q.v.*]) mentions "the uncouthly-speaking Sayābidj barbarians who loaded me with fetters in the morning" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 212). It would accordingly appear that the Sayābidja were a rough and tough element who were employed on police and custodial duties. The Sayābidja of Baṣra are mentioned at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr's anti-caliphate, in 64/683-4 (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ivB, 106). In 159/775-6, during al-Mahdī's caliphate, 4,000 of the Asāwira and Sayābidja, together with volunteer troops (*muṭṭawwiʿa* [*q.v.*] from Baṣra, were brought together for a naval expedition against the coasts of northwestern India; in the following year, 760-766-7, this expedition reached Gudjarāt and the "town of [the river] Nārbada", probably Broach near the mouth of this river [see BHAROČ] (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 461). After this time, however, the Sayābidja fade from mention and were no doubt assimilated into the general mixture of population in the high ʿAbbāsid period.

The etymology of the term *Sayābidja*, and the ultimate origin of this group, were discussed in detail by de Goeje, *loc. cit.*, and G. Ferrand in his *EI*[1] art. s.v., and the validity of their conclusions has not subsequently been challenged. Arabic lexicographical and other sources describe the Sayābidja as mercenaries recruited from Sind, and give as the term's singular the form *Saybadjī*. De Goeje and Ferrand therefore connected this with Zābadj/Zābag, going back to a Sanskritised form Djāvaka and a South Indian/Dravidian one Shāvaka, a term used to designate the Indonesian islands of Java and Sumatra [see ZĀBADJ]. The early Islamic Sayābidja would thus be in origin Indonesians who had emigrated to western India and who then, in the late Sāsānid period, found their way to the Persian Gulf shores in company with the Zuṭṭ. The famed seafaring expertise of the Malay-Indonesian peoples would have ensured their usefulness to the Middle Eastern powers in such matters as the policing of the Gulf and the protection of its trade against piracy, etc.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SAYD (A.), a masc. noun and noun of action from the root *ṣ-y-d* which, as in Hebrew, evokes both the idea of the pursuit and capture of wild animals, by earth or sea, which can be eaten as game, and also these animals themselves, i.e. all game, whether caught by hunting or fishing. In all its acceptations, the root *ḳ-n-ṣ* is its exact equivalent.

The ineluctable need for daily sustenance has led mankind, like all other living beings, from the time of appearance on earth, to practise both hunting and fishing together with the gathering of wild fruits and grain, and mankind has accordingly ceaselessly exercised its ingenuity in finding the best methods here for achieving the maximum return for effort. Thus there has been a constant striving towards perfection in methods of hunting and fishing.

For hunting game by land, the methods of capture (*maṣīda, miṣyada, maṣyada*, pl. *maṣāyid*) are numerous. A passive mode costing the least effort is the setting of nets (*shabak*) and snares with draw-nets (*ḥibāla, uhbūla*, pl. *ḥabāyil*); and there is also the covered-over pit-trap (*ḥukna, ughwiyya, mughawwāt, wadjra, dafīna*). Then comes the method of hunting with a bow (*ramy, rimāya*) or, otherwise, with a cross-bow or blow-pipe and, at present, with firearms. But out of the various methods, in the Islamic world and during mediaeval times, one of the most favoured by princes and nobles was the chase (*ṭard, muṭārada, ṭirād*), on foot or on horse-back, with the aid of domesticated or tamed carnivore animals (*ḍārī*, pl. *ḍawārī, ṣayūd*, pl. *ṣuyud*), such as the gazelle-hound or *salūḳī* [*q.v.*], the cheetah [see FAHD] and the caracal lynx (*ʿanāḳ al-arḍ*). These precious hunting auxiliaries were launched against the gazelle [see GHAZĀL], antelope [see MAHĀT], wild ass (*ḥimār al-wahsh*), ibex (*waʿl*) and ostrich [see NAʿĀM]. According to the region, they sometimes served for tracking down wild beasts with furs, such as the panther, leopard [see NAMIR] and even the fennec fox [see FANAK]. Parallel with hunting by the chase, hunting by the air, i.e. with raptors [see BAYZARA], was always a favoured pastime for all social classes in the Muslim lands, whether high-flying with falcons or low-flying with hawks for the capture of small, furry game, such as the hare [see ARNAB] and of that with feathers, such as the partridge (*ḥadjal*), sand-grouse [see ḲAṬĀ], bustard (*ḥubāra*), wild geese (*iwazz*), duck (*baṭṭ*) and teal (*ḥadhaf*). Certain falcons were also trained to tie down and blind antelopes and wild assess, thus facilitating their capture by the hunting hounds. The smallest-sized birds like blackbirds and thrushes were taken by means of snares and nooses (*sharak*, pl. *ashrāk*) placed in line on a taut cord.

For fishing and fish, both in sweet waters and in the seas, see SAMAK.

According to Islamic law, the hunter and fisher

(*ṣayyād, ḳannāṣ*) were subject to rules regarding the ritual slaughter of captured game in order to preserve the lawfulness of their consumption; all these rules are set forth in detail by al-Damīrī in his *K. al-Ḥayawānāt al-kubrā* (ed. Cairo 1356/1937, ii, 70-5, s.v. *ṣayd*). From it, there results that, in order for it to be lawful, game should not be killed on the spot and picked up dead, so that its throat can be ritually cut.

Out of all the Arabic authors, lexicographers and writers on natural history, there is almost only Kushādjim (4th/10th century [*q.v.*]) who has exhaustively treated all the methods of hunting and fishing, in his remarkable *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid* "Trapping and hunting down" (ed. A. Talas, Cairo 1954). Four centuries later, Ibn Manglī took up again and completed the topic in his substantial *K. Uns al-malā᾿ bi waḥsh al-falā* "Relations of the leading men of this world with the wild beasts of the endless deserts" (tr. F. Viré, Paris 1984).

Hunting and fishing have inspired most of the great poets, such as Abū Nuwās, ᶜAntara, al-Buḥturī, Dhu 'l-Rumma, al-Ghassānī, Ibn al-Muᶜtazz, Ibn al-Rūmī, Imru᾿ al-Ḳays, Labīd, al-Nāshi᾿, Ru᾿ba b. al-ᶜAdjdjādj, al-Ṣanawbarī, al-Shammākh and Zuhayr. Kushādjim cited the most noteworthy of these compositions, adding his own ones which had been well-received.

Bibliography: See the bibls. to the articles cited within the text. (F. Viré)

ṢAYDĀ, the Arabic name of Sidon, the ancient commercial city of the Phoenicians. It was captured by the Arabs *ca.* 6/637 by Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. The Arab geographers mention the fact that, when fortified, it was the military port of Damascus. But it was not until the period of the Crusades that the city achieved any kind of prominence. The Crusaders corrupted the Arabic name into the form of Sagitta (Sagette, Sayette); besieged in 501/1107, it was relieved either through the payment of a ransom, or, as the Arab authors maintain, as a result of the intervention of reinforcements from Damascus. But the city was occupied by the Franks in 504/1110 or 505/1111, after a siege lasting 47 days.

After the departure of the Franks, in 583/1187, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) took possession of the city, and had the greater part of its fortifications destroyed. They were rebuilt by the Franks, who returned in 625/1228. Recaptured in 647/1249 by the Muslims, then in 651/1253 by St. Louis, king of France, who fortified it afresh, the city was sacked in 658/1260 by the Mongols. The same year, it passed until 691/1291 into the hands of the Knights Templar. It was then occupied definitively by the Muslims. The Druze *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn (1003-43/1595-1634) did much that was beneficial for the city; the market which he caused to be constructed for European traders, the Khān Fransāwī, still exists today. In 1791, the governor Djazzār Pasha expelled the French merchants. Then, in 1840, Ṣaydā was bombarded by British and Austrian warships.

The city was incorporated into Greater Lebanon under French mandate in 1920, but it was to suffer during this period as a result of the monopoly which the French accorded to Beirut in respect of maritime and commercial traffic. The population, with its Sunnī Muslim majority, vociferously demanded affiliation with Syria, until the negotiations of March 1936 between France and its mandated territories; given renewed confidence by the arrangements then set in place, it participated more actively in national life, under the aegis in particular of Riyāḍ al-Ṣulḥ, the Prime Minister after Independence, who was to be assassinated in 1951. It was at the same time responsive to the calls of Djamāl ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir advocating Arab unity, and it took part in May 1958 in the revolt against President Shamᶜūn.

The population, which had reached a total of 5,000 inhabitants in the 18th century but was little more than 15,000 in 1946, the same number as in 1914, was to experience a veritable explosion in 1948, with the influx of Palestinian refugees. It quadrupled in 15 years, reaching a total of 117,000 in 1980, half of these being Palestinians. With this reinforcement the share of the Sunnī Muslims in the population of the city exceeded 80%.

From 1970 onward, Ṣaydā and its camps were to become a nucleus of Palestinian resistance to Israel. The civilian population paid a very high price, enduring aerial and naval bombardments, even before the Israeli invasion of June 1982, which had the object of destroying the camps and driving the Palestinians towards the north. In February 1985, Israel was obliged to withdraw, but its role was taken over by the Lebanese forces, the militia of the Christian Right, which pounded the camp of ᶜAyn al-Ḥalwa for a whole month. The Christians of Ṣaydā were then forced to abandon the city.

Palestinian organisations administered the camps, and it was not until June 1991 that the Lebanese Army took over control of their access points. But while the Palestinians have lost their capacity for political and military intervention, the Sunnī community of Ṣaydā has found itself in a position of strength on the Lebanese chess-board, with the choice of one of its own, the multi-millionaire Rafīḳ Ḥarīrī, as Prime Minister in 1993.

The current conurbation is composed of numerous very distinct areas:

The old town occupies the site of ancient Sidon, sheltered by a peninsula which encloses the port. Near the entry a small island, linked to land by a stone bridge, bears the castle of St. Louis. To the south of the town, on an artificial hill, stands the Citadel, Ḳalᶜat al-Muᶜizza. Overcrowded and insalubrious, the old town has been in an advanced state of delapidation since the earthquake of 1956; it accommodates 20% of the population, the poorest, Lebanese or Palestinian, and immigrant workers from Syria and Egypt.

A new town, with modern concrete buildings, containing 46% of the population of Ṣaydā, extends beyond the ramparts: the al-Dekerman quarter, where public services are concentrated and which is the centre of cultural life, and the al-Wasṭānī residential quarter, to the north, interspersed with green spaces.

The Palestinian camp of ᶜAyn al-Ḥalwa, opened in 1949 by the Red Cross 3 km to the south of the city, accounts for 34% of the population of the conurbation: more than 40,000 people are crammed in there.

The city has expanded alongside arterial routes, particularly towards the east, and it has obliterated the orange groves which used to surround it. In fact, it has benefited from the fate which dogged Beirut between 1975 and 1990, establishing itself as regional centre of the south.

Ṣaydā's influence extends over the entire region between the rivers of Damūr and of Līṭānī. Its 362,000 inhabitants (in 1980), are divided, besides Ṣaydā, between three small towns and 140 villages.

The coastal plain has been devoted since the 1950s to market gardening and citrus production, irrigated by the al-Ḳasmiyya canal, which serves 3,700 ha from its starting-point at the mouth of the Līṭānī, and by

hundreds of individual wells and bore-holes. Since the 1980s plastic greenhouses have proliferated, as a result of the capital funds invested by citizens of Ṣaydā and of Beirut and by emigrés.

The mountain suffers, however, from lack of water, especially to the south. Various irrigation projects have been examined, such as that of the Awālī, in abeyance since 1987, or that of the Djūn tunnel, which uses a diversion of the Līṭānī for hydro-electric production. A pilot project has already succeeded in irrigating 1,000 ha in the region of Lebaa, above the small Palestinian camp of Miyé wa-Miyé.

Cereals and olives are cultivated everywhere, on the plains and on the mountain. But this agricultural activity has not obviated the need for daily work journeys to Ṣaydā or Beirut, nor has it prevented large-scale emigration. During the 1970s, many inhabitants left for Arabia and the Gulf, following the example of the Palestinians from the camps.

The wholesale market of Ṣaydā takes a third of this agricultural production, but currently it is industry which is the motive force behind the regional economy. Its development has been aided since 1978 by the influx of Palestinian manpower expelled from the south, by the closure of the port of Beirut, which led to the diversion of some traffic to the illegal port of Ṣaydā, and by the investments of emigrés.

The principal units are the oil refinery, which treats Saudi crude, 9 km/5 miles to the south, the power-station of Djiye, 10 km/6 miles to the north, the match factory of Djiye, the cement-works of Siblīn, and the textile factories of ʿAdlūn and of Kfar Djarra.

The construction sector is active, and light industry very diversified: plastics, nylon, cardboard boxes, lavatory paper, oils, soap and leather. The local sculpted marble, worked by Egyptian craftsmen, is renowned.

This economic development depends on a young population, at a rapid rate of growth, and Ṣaydā contained in 1980 some thirty educational establishments, public and private. As a result of the policy of partition which was powerfully advocated during the war, four centres of higher education have been opened in Ṣaydā : a branch of the Lebanese University in 1977, of the University of Saint-Joseph in 1978, a Maḳassad Centre of Advanced Studies in 1979 and the University of Kfar Falūs in 1980. There was a total of 3,400 students in 1981-2.

The city, although no more than 40 km/25 miles from Beirut, is thus well equipped to play the role of a regional centre. But the potential instability resulting from the presence of more than 100,000 Palestinian refugees continues to cast a dark shadow over the future.

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(M. Lavergne)

AL-ṢAYDANA (al-Ṣaydala) (a.) is pharmacology, in the meaning of pharmacognosy. The druggist is called *al-ṣaydalānī* or *al-ṣaydanānī*. Al-Bīrūnī defines him as follows: "He is someone who occupies himself with gathering medicaments according to their most commendable sorts and with selecting their best kinds, both simple ones and those which have been prepared according to the most excellent compositions, which have definitely been determined for that purpose by medical authors". Elsewhere he says "*al-ṣaydana* therefore is the knowledge of simple drugs according to their selected sorts, kinds and forms, as well as the knowledge of the mixture of medicaments composed in conformity with their written prescriptions or on the basis of what the trustworthy and righteous researcher strives for. The highest rank, however, is held by the knowledge of the effects of the simple medicaments and their specific qualities" [see adwiya]. Besides, *ṣaydana* indicates the druggist's actual store of drugs, and also (with or without a preceding *kitāb*) the handbook of drugs, the pharmacopeia. *Al-ṣaydalānī* is practically synonymous with *al-ʿaṭṭār* [*q.v.*; almost everything said there is also valid for *al-ṣaydalānī*]. Since healing powers are ascribed to many perfumes, both terms indicate also the merchant of spices and aromas [see afāwīh, in Suppl.].

The classical definition of pharmacology is found in al-Bīrūnī's [*q.v.*] highly important Preface to his unfinished *K. al-Ṣaydana* [*fi 'l-ṭibb*], written in his old age. He classifies *al-ṣaydana* as a sub-discipline in the field of medicine. According to him, it is the first of the stages of the medical art and for many it counts only as the latter's preliminary stage because it is a tool for practising medicine, not a part of it. As far as the word *ṣaydana* is concerned, al-Bīrūnī first refers to the well-known fact that the Arabic *ṣād* corresponds with Indo-Iranian *čīm*. He approvingly quotes Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*], who is said to have explained *ṣaydanānī* as an Arabisation of *čandanānī* "merchant of sandalwood". Sandalwood is not a medicinal plant *par excellence*, but one may assume—al-Bīrūnī continues—that the Persians, when looking for sandalwood, came in contact with the Indians and called their merchant of perfume *čandanānī*; the Arabs would then have taken over this term, and Arabised it because they did not know a name for it. And since sandalwood was not counted among their perfumes, and since they were hardly able to distinguish between a perfume merchant and a drug merchant, they identified the two words. For the peculiar scent of sandalwood, see ṣandal. There exist, therefore, in this case the same transitions of meaning as those found in the case of *ʿaṭṭār*. The second consonant of *č/ṣandanānī*, the *nūn*, would then have been miswritten or misread into *yāʾ*. The fact that the word *ṣaydala/ṣaydalānī*, as far as is known to the writer of these lines, is completely unknown in the western Muslim world, may be explained from its Indian origin; in the West, the corresponding terms are [*ʿilm*] *al-adwiya al-mufrada* or *al-murakkaba*, in quotations often abbreviated to *al-adwiya* [see adwiya] or [*ʿilm*] *al-ʿuṭūr/al-ʿaṭṭār* (see above).

As an oriental synonym of *al-ṣaydalānī*, al-Bīrūnī also mentions *al-dārī*, with which the Arabs in the old days indicated the perfume merchant, because the ships from India brought their goods to the port of Dārīn, lying in the area of al-Baḥrayn. Al-Bīrūnī substantiates the meaning of the word with examples taken from ancient Arab poetry.

A general theory of pharmacology is given by al-Madjūsī [see ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī] in his *Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, Būlāḳ 1294/1877, ii, 84-100. The section is comprehensively analysed by M. Ullmann, *Islamic medicine*, Edinburgh 1978, 104-6.

Bibliography: The most important study on *ṣaydana* is that by M. Meyerhof, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Bērūnī*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, iii, Berlin 1932, fasc. 3, esp. Arabic text 3-8, tr. 25-37. Meyerhof took the Arabic text from the unique manuscript Bursa, Kurşunluoğlu (composed 678/1278). A Turkish translation of the Preface was made by Şerefeddin Yaltkaya, *Birunlu Eba Reyhan Kitabussaydele fittibb mukaddimesi*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Tib Tarihi Enstitüsü*, x, Istanbul 1937. An edition of the complete Arabic text, with an English tr., has been given by Muḥammad Saʿīd, *Bīrūnī. K. al-ṣaydana fi 'l-ṭibb. Al-Bīrūnī's Book on Pharmacy and Materia medica*, Karachi 1973. There exist a Russian tr. by U.I. Karimov, *Abu Raykhan, Farmakognoziya v medicine (K. al-Ṣaydana fi 'l-ṭibb), issledovaniye, perevod, primečaniya i ukazateli*, and a Persian tr. by ʿAbbās Zaryāb, *Bīrūnī, Kitāb al-Ṣaydana fi 'l-ṭibb*, Tehran 1369/1949. (A. DIETRICH)

AL-**ṢAYDĀWĪ**, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dimashḳī, outstanding musician and writer on music in Syria in the second half of the 9th/15th century. Born in Ṣaydā at an unknown date, he later lived in Damascus where he died on 16 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 911/10 April 1506.

Al-Ṣaydāwī composed an extensive didactic *urdjūza* of nearly 250 verses on the musical modes (*anghām*) of the Syrian tradition, entitled *K. al-Inʿām* (or *Anʿām*) *fī maʿrifat al-anghām*. In addition to the twelve main modes (four labelled *aṣl* and eight *farʿ*) and the six so-called *āwāz* modes he describes another seven secondary modes called *buḥūr* (sing. *baḥr*). To illustrate their melodic development, al-Ṣaydāwī uses stave systems of seven coloured lines representing the degrees of one octave. Within the stave he marks the principal notes, the direction of melodic motion and some other details of performance by using coloured symbols and abbreviations derived from musical terms such as *maʾkhadh* and *rakz* (initial and final note), *ṣuʿūd* and *hubūṭ* (ascending and descending motion), slow motion (*bi 'l-tartīb*; "step by step"), quick motion (*surʿat^an*), sustaining of notes (*madd*), and places of "jumping" towards higher notes (*maṭāfira*, sing. *maṭfara*). The whole range of three octaves is represented by *abdjad* letters in the colours of the basic octave. As far as we know at present, al-Ṣaydāwī's musical notation is unique in Arabic (and also Persian and Turkish) music literature. It has, however, cognates in the stave systems of the Graeco-Latin *Musica enchiriades* (9th century) and in those given by Vincenzo Galilei (1581) and Athanasius Kircher (1650). The "little Arabic book on music" aroused considerable excitement when it reached Paris in 1634. It figures in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (*Planches*, vii, 3-4) and in d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* (ii, 758), and it was partly translated, around 1780, by Pigeon de Saint-Paterne on behalf of de La Borde.

Besides the *K. al-Inʿām*, al-Ṣaydāwī left some religious poetry, mostly *muwashshaḥāt*, including a so-called *nāṭiḳ*, a didactic poem in which each verse is sung to another mode. The *nāṭiḳ* was popular in the 16th and 17th centuries and still appears in the song text collection (ms. Berlin, or.oct. 1027) of the Syrian littérateur Ibn al-Khāl (d. 1117/1705).

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SAYF IBN DHĪ YAZAN, ṢĪRAT, an Arabic popular romance of an epico-fantastical nature, inspired in a very remote fashion by the life of the eponymous individual [*q.v.*]

Known in numerous manuscript versions, of which the earliest dates from the 11th/17th century, the story was probably composed in Mamlūk Egypt between the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries; the identity of the hero's principal antagonist, Sayf (Sayfa) Arʿad, emperor of Ethiopia from 1344 to 1372, rules out an earlier date. As for the attribution of the story to Abu 'l-Maʿālī (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, d. 991/1583-4), mentioned in numerous versions, this should be treated with caution, even though this author may have played a role in the composition of the work. The narrative material seems very composite; contrary to what might be expected, the old Yemenite historico-legendary tradition is in fact not much in evidence. On the other hand, a number of themes are perceptible which belong to the Midrashic tradition centred especially on the figure of Moses (A. Chraibi, *Dialectique de la surdétermination dans le* Sirat Sayf ibn Dī Yazan, in *Arabica*, forthcoming), also themes and motifs relating to international folklore, as well as foundation legends which seem typically Egyptian; also to be observed are convergences with shorter stories belonging to the genre of the *Thousand and One Nights*, in particular the *Tale of Adjīb and Gharīb*. It should be stressed that, until the present time, a meticulous narratological study of the novel in its entirety has yet to be undertaken; the same applies to a systematic comparison of the different manuscript versions, which might give a clearer impression of the process of composition of the story. The present article will be based essentially on the analysis of the printed version, which is characterised by the abundance of fantastic and marvellous themes, often with a parodic intention.

Unlike other major Arabic popular romances, such as the *Sīrat ʿAntara*, the *Sīrat Dhāt al-Himma*, the *Sīrat Baybars*, even up to a point the chronicle of the *Banū Hilāl*, which are all located in a definite and recognisable historical framework in spite of numerous anachronisms, the *Sīrat Sayf* is situated from the outset in the mythical primordial universe, where men and *djinns* associate together on familiar terms, where sorcerers, wizards and enchanters engage in dogged combat, competing for power or for the mastery of natural forces. This universe is steeped in impiety and the worship of false gods; only a few sages and a few anchorites observe and cherish the "Law of Abraham", which it will be the hero's task to propagate among the *djinn* of Mount Ḳāf. From the point of view of structure, the romance consists of two major parts, a "Yemenite cycle" and an "Egyptian cycle", between which are interspersed various adventures following the classical pattern of the "quest". The Yemenite cycle, after a prologue evoking the conquests of Dhū Yazan, the father of the protagonist, and the foundation by his vizier Yathrib of what is to become Medina, destined to be the refuge of the future Prophet, follows a familiar theme. Sayf, abandoned in the desert on the orders of his mother, the sorceress Ḳamariyya, who intends to take power into her own hands, is rescued by the king Afrāḥ. Falling in love with the latter's daughter, the beautiful princess Shāma, he is obliged to undergo various tests, in the course of which he establishes himself as the greatest warrior of his time, discovers the secret of

his birth, converts to monotheism and regains the throne of his fathers, having obtained the hand of his beloved (this marriage being only the first of a long series, the "Law of Abraham" being considered to allow unlimited polygamy). As well as to the courage of the hero, his success is owed to the help which he receives from a small group of loyal companions, among whom there appear numerous female characters, in particular the *dj̲inniyya* ᶜĀḳiṣa, daughter of the White King and foster-sister of the protagonist, as well as the sage and magician ᶜĀḳila. Among the enemies of Sayf, besides Ḳamariyya, who is executed after committing innumerable treacheries, figure the powerful Abyssinian emperor Sayf Arᶜad and the two wizards Saḳardīs and Saḳardiyūn. The latter recognise in Sayf the hero whose destiny it is to implement the curse laid by Noah upon Ham and his descendents, dooming them to fall under the domination of the sons of Shem; however, the conflict seems to be primarily religious, with the Yemenite "Muslims according to the religion of Abraham" opposing the Abyssinian "worshippers of stars" and, more generally, pagans of all allegiances.

The first of the two "quests" serving as a link to the second cycle takes up the familiar folkloric theme of the search for a supernatural spouse who has disappeared (J.E. Bencheikh, Cl. Bremond and A. Miquel, *Mille et un contes de la nuit*, Paris 1991, 193-233). The second is constituted by an amalgam of various adventures, linked by a somewhat tenuous theme: to fulfil a promise made to the *dj̲inn* ᶜAyrūḍ, who has fallen in love with ᶜĀḳiṣa, Sayf sets out in search of the wedding jewellery of the Queen of Sheba, preserved among Solomon's treasure. A secondary "mini-cycle", possibly of Syrian origin and evoking the adventures of Dummar, elder son of Sayf, leads into the second section of the novel: returning from his quest, Sayf finds that his capital has been destroyed by Sayf Arᶜad during his absence. On the advice of ᶜĀḳila, he decides to lead his people into Egypt, which is still a desert and inhospitable land: the Nile, halted by a powerful spell, is blocked at the level of the Cataracts. Thanks to numerous supernatural helpers, Sayf succeeds in "liberating" the waters of the river. The remainder of the story recounts the foundation and the organisation of the new kingdom (numerous foundation legends), then the hero's final revenge on Sayf Arᶜad as well as on Saḳardīs and Saḳardyūn; in the printed version, this is pursued through various episodes which are clearly later additions.

Despite some tedious passages and occasional clumsiness of style, the romance, which is of great interest for the study of Arabic narrative traditions, is not without appeal on account of its unrestrained exploitation, not devoid of irony, of marvellous and fantastic themes, which form the basis of a genuine literary work.

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SAYF B. ᶜUMAR, a compiler of historical narrations on early Islamic history. Virtually nothing is known about Sayf or his life, except that he lived in Kufa and probably belonged to the Usayyid clan, part of the ᶜAmr branch of the tribe of Tamīm. Various sources, however, attach him—probably erroneously—to other tribal groups; accounts stating that he was of the Asad tribe stem from misreading his *nisba* "al-Usayyidī" as "al-Asadī", but he is also said to have belonged to the tribes of Ḍabba and Ḍubayᶜa, or to the Barādjim, a group of five Tamīm clans (not, however, including Usayyid). According to the 8th/14th-century scholar al-D̲h̲ahabī, Sayf died in the time of al-Ras̲h̲īd (r. 170-193/786-809), but this may be merely al-D̲h̲ahabī's guess, deduced from Sayf's position in various *isnāds*.

Sayf's importance rests on the fact that his *Kitāb al-futūḥ al-kabīr wa 'l-ridda* was chosen by the famous historian al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) as his main source for the *ridda* and the early Islamic conquests. Sayf is also one of the few sources of information about the structure of the early Muslim armies, early Muslim government, and settlement in the garrison towns. The reliability of Sayf's narrations has long been contested, however, beginning already with the mediaeval *ḥadīt̲h̲* specialists and their biographers, who noted the suspect character of his *ḥadīt̲h̲s*; some accused him of *zandaḳa*, others simply noted that he put fabricated accounts (*mawḍūᶜāt*) in the mouths of trustworthy transmitters. Many modern scholars, after examination of both the content and the *isnāds* of Sayf's accounts, have expressed similar doubts. Already de Goeje and Wellhausen pointed out the implausible chronology of Sayf's accounts when compared to those of Ibn Isḥāḳ, al-Wāḳidī, etc. The fanciful quality of many of Sayf's narrations, which are frequently fitted out with gratifying but suspect detail, and the tribal chauvinism of many accounts, in which leaders of his tribe of Tamīm engage with suspicious frequency in battlefield heroics, have also provoked critical comment. Sayf's *isnāds* have also been seen as problematic; his informants frequently cannot be traced in the available literature on traditionists. This has led at least one modern scholar, Murtaḍā al-ᶜAskarī, to condemn Sayf as a subversive who invented his accounts and the names of his informants with the intent of spreading confusion and doubt in the bosom of the Muslim community.

On the other hand, Landau-Tasseron has pointed out that Sayf's accounts frequently do not contradict other accounts, but merely provide different information, and has argued that we cannot expect many of Sayf's informants to appear in the traditionist literature since most were not specialists in *ḥadīt̲h̲*. Furthermore, Sayf retails not only pro-Tamīm traditions, but also accounts that highlight other tribes, suggesting that he may have collected various tribal traditions from Kūfa. Many of his accounts display syntactic and lexical peculiarities that may be reflections of archaic tribal dialects. Close inspection of Sayf's accounts conveyed from Abū ᶜUt̲h̲mān Yazīd b. Asīd al-G̲h̲assānī, an informant identifiable in no other source, suggests that they are not fabricated wholesale by Sayf, but represent selections from two different written sources, one compiled by Abū ᶜUt̲h̲mān himself, the other by an intermediary informant who drew on Abū ᶜUt̲h̲mān, each work having a different topical focus.

Comparison of the accounts from Sayf found in al-Ṭabarī with those found in Ibn ᶜAsākir's *Taʾrīk̲h̲ madīnat Dimas̲h̲ḳ* suggests that Sayf's original compilation on the *ridda* and conquests may have consisted of a long, sustained narrative with occasional *isnāds*

(rather than the short pieces, each prefaced by an *isnād*, that are found in al-Ṭabarī's and Ibn ᶜAsākir's selections). Comparison also reveals that the original work of Sayf featured frequent poems, most of which have been edited out of al-Ṭabarī's extracts.

Sayf's information on institutional matters has been virtually indispensable to historians. Yet uncertainty persists about the reliability of his narrations of the *ridda* and conquests, which raises the question why al-Ṭabarī, who is generally praised for his sober historical judgment, favoured Sayf's narrations of these events over others that seem less dubious. Humphreys attributes al-Ṭabarī's choice to the eirenic and moralising qualities of Sayf's interpretation of Islamic history, which smoothed over the conflicts that historically divided the Companions of the Prophet. A definitive study of the historiographical complexities of all Sayf's traditions remains an important desideratum.

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SAYF AL-DAWLA, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ᶜALĪ b. Abi 'l-Haydjāʾ ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn b. al-Ḥārith Sayf al-Dawla al-Taghlibī (17 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 303-24 Ṣafar 356/22 June 916-9 February 967), *amīr* of Aleppo and of northern Syria, also of Mayyāfāriḳīn and of western Djazīra (Diyār Bakr and Diyār Muḍar), from 333/945 until his death. From his time until the present day, he has personified the Arab chivalrous ideal in its most tragic aspect. A peerless warrior, magnanimous vanquisher of rebellious Syrian tribes, he led with audacity, and for a long time with success, the *djihād* against the Byzantine enemy. A prince of great wealth, he spent large sums of money on the ransom of Muslim prisoners. An enlightened poet and philologist, he maintained a literary court more brilliant than that of any other Islamic sovereign. A man of Shīᶜī leanings, he suffered terrible ordeals towards the end of his life, defeat at the hands of the Byzantines, the brutal killing of members of his family, debilitating illness and the treachery of his most trusted lieutenants. This individual has inspired an abundant literature, mythical as well as historical, of which a full account cannot be given here. Al-Dhahabī appends to his name the following qualificatives: *maḳṣad al-wufūd, kaᶜbat al-djūd, fāris al-islām, ḥāmil liwāʾ al-djihād* (*Sīrat aᶜlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Arnaʾūṭ and al-Būshī, Beirut 1983, xvi, 187, henceforward abbreviated to *Sīra;* Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh*, Arabic tr., Cairo 1956, 408, a long eulogy by al-Thaᶜālibī; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aᶜyān*, ed. Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, iii, 401).

The poetic circle

Among the men of letters, the majority of them from ᶜIrāḳ or from Djazīra, whom he invited to his court or who praised him in order to benefit from his generosity, certain names are worth mentioning: the *khaṭīb* of the *djihād* Ibn Nubāta al-Fāriḳī, the philosopher Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Tarkhān al-Fārābī, the poets Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī (various accounts of his captivity, A.-M. Eddé, *Description de la Syrie du nord d'Ibn Shaddād*, Damascus 1984, 288, henceforward abbreviated to *Description*), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī (on the last-named, see Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭālib*, ed. Zakkār, henceforward abbreviated to *Bughya*, 639-86), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Naṣr b. Khālid al-Shayzamī, the *amīr*'s foil, Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nāmī al-Miṣṣīṣī, Abu 'l-Faradj ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid al-Babbaghāʾ, Abu 'l-Faradj Muḥammad al-Waʾwaʾ, Abū Bakr al-Ṣanawbarī, Abu 'l-Nadjīb Sadād b. Ibrāhīm al-Djazarī al-Ẓāhir, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sarī b. Aḥmad b. al-Sarī al-Kindī al-Raffāʾ al-Mawṣilī, the two brothers al-Khālidī Abū Bakr Muḥammad and Abū ᶜUthmān Saᶜīd, sons of Hāshim b. Waᶜula al-ᶜAbdī al-Mawṣilī, al-Ṭarsūsī al-Nadjrānī, Abū Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī, Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ghamr b. Abi 'l-Ghamr al-Khalīᶜal-Shāmī, Ibn Baṭṭa, al-Waṣṣāf, the Kilābī poet al-Aᶜsar b. Muhārish, the *Sharīf* poet Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Afṭasī al-Sakrān, the composer of despatches and poet Abu 'l-Fadl b. Sālim al-ᶜUṭāridī al-Manbidjī, the *kātib* Abū ᶜAlī Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Bāziyār, the astrologer Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī, Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Abū Muḥammad al-Tinnīsī, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Shimshāṭī, Ibn Ṣadaka al-Mawṣilī al-Naḥwī, Abū ᶜAlī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Fasawī al-Fārisī al-Naḥwī al-Lughawī, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid b. ᶜAlī al-Ḥalabī al-Lughawī, Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Lughawī al-Ḥātimī, the Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Marzubān al-Ṣayrafī al-Naḥwī, the *ᶜāmil* of Antioch Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣaḳr al-Maᶜlathāwī al-Mawṣilī, the *kātib* al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī al-Maghribī and his son ᶜAlī, the Ṣūfī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥumaydān al-Rummānī, Ibn al-Khashshab and the Muᶜtazilī *mutakallim* Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ᶜUbayd Allāh Ibn Bint Ḥāmid, who conducted a theological controversy regarding the Ḳurʾān with Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Khālawayh, tutor to the sons of Sayf al-Dawla, in the latter's presence. The accounts concerning them demonstrate that all topics were apparently dealt with, religious—*ḥadīth, kalām*, the Ḳurʾānic readings—as well as linguistic, historical, philosophical, astronomical, astrological or purely literary. Poetical contests were particularly frequent. The index of *Bughya*, 5212, under ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh Sayf al-Dawla, makes it possible to trace the biography of the majority of the individuals who adorned the literary soirées of the *amīr* at Aleppo or at Mayyāfāriḳīn (see also M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hʾamdanides*, henceforward abbr. to *Hʾamd.*, 18, 33; Brockelmann; Sez-

gin; and *EI*[2], under the writers mentioned). The accounts concerning al-Sarī, *Bughya*, 4202-10, 4403, describe in a number of instances the assemblage of poets waiting in the vestibule, *al-dihlīz*, to be received at the court of Sayf al-Dawla, in the hope of being awarded a few hundred dirhams. The influence of this court extended far afield. The poet Sarī, having been obliged to leave Sayf al-Dawla on account of the jealousy of the al-Khalīdī brothers, lived miserably in Baghdād, hounded by their hatred; hence his jubilation, recounted by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, when he received much later from a *wazīr* a gift of 3,000 dirhams. He felt able to show himself in the street, wearing fine clothing and a turban five cubits in length, followed by magnificent slaves, then he died of happiness. In all the Islamic capitals of the time, the parasitism of the courtier-intellectuals was justified by the propaganda which their works disseminated to the advantage of the local prince. The poets, in particular, competed fiercely for the attainment of glory and wealth, bearing witness to the glory and the wealth of the prince. At Aleppo, the major official poets such as al-Mutanabbī maintained in their turn a court of secondary poets around them (*Bughya*, 4514-15), which did not prevent the latter from abandoning Sayf al-Dawla for Kāfūr in 346/957, the year of the great conspiracy.

On the other members of the family, see ḤAMDĀNIDS. The *nisba* al-Taghlibī links this family to an Arab tribe, living in Djazīra in the ʿAbbāsid period. Ibn Ḥazm is the only one who describes the Banū Ḥamdān as *mawālī* of the Banū Asad. The family always maintained very close ties with the Kurdish tribes, and was possibly itself of Kurdish origin (*Hʾamd.*, 287-8, 305-6).

Early military career of the young Ḥamdānid

While in Baghdād, the political authority of the ʿAbbāsid caliph was subordinated to that of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ibn Rāʾiḳ, in Diyār Rabīʿa and at Mawṣil the governor was al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdan, later renowned under the *laḳab* of Nāṣir al-Dawla. In 324/936, the latter promised his brother, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh, the future Sayf al-Dawla, aged 21 lunar years, the gift of Diyār Bakr in exchange for his aid in confronting the Daylamī ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar, governor of Mayyāfāriḳīn, who was in revolt. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh succeeded in preventing ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar from receiving the assistance of the feudal chiefs of Armenia and obtained from his brother the *amān* appointing him governor (*Hʾamd.* 478). Then he intervened at Diyār Muḍar, in the region of Sarūdj, against the Ḳaysī tribes of Numayr and Ḳushayr which were creating disorder, and in 325/937 he took official possession of this province. In 328/939-40, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh summoned the princes of the region, Armenians and Georgians, Christian or Muslim Arabs, to a meeting on the shore of Lake Van. He obtained their submission and their assistance in assuring the security of the Djazīra by means of a network of fortresses, along the routes linking Persia, ʿIrāḳ and Syria with Byzantine Anatolia, the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Caspian.

In 330/942, on behalf of his brother who had acceded in his turn to the post of *amīr al-umarāʾ* and had received the *laḳab* of Nāṣir al-Dawla, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh victoriously confronted Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Barīdī near al-Madāʾin, and received on this occasion the *laḳab* of Sayf al-Dawla. For the first time, *laḳabs* in the form of *-dawla* were awarded to persons who did not occupy the post of *wazīr*, head of the caliphal civil administration, but were soldiers, one of whom exercised no supreme authority (*Hʾamd.*, 426, Hilāl al-Sābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. Mikhāʾīl ʿAwwād, 127-8).

Sayf al-Dawla was then apparently appointed to the post of *walī al-ḥarb wa ʾl-ṣalāt* at Wāsiṭ, which led to his confrontation with Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Kūfī, formerly the *wazīr* in practice of Ibn Rāʾiḳ and fiscal administrator of the same province, in regard to the duty to be levied on a barge. The attitude of the two protagonists reveals the depth of the corruption which was then rife in ʿIrāḳ, involving financiers, private sector traders and the holders of civil or military power. In 331/943, Sayf al-Dawla encountered opposition on the part of Turkish officers and soldiers under his command over the issue of pay; this opposition was led by Tūzūn. Nāṣir al-Dawla was powerless to rescue him, being himself in difficulties in Baghdād, the Sāmānid *amīr* of Transoxiana and the Ikhshīd of Egypt, who coveted Mawṣil (*Hʾamd.*, 445), having refused to help him. Sayf al-Dawla reached Baghdād and then joined his brother, who had taken refuge at Mawṣil after the nomination of Tūzūn as *amīr al-umarāʾ*.

The seizure of Syria

In 328/939-40, Ibn Rāʾiḳ had detached northern Syria from the control which the Ikhshīd of Egypt had exercised there since 324/935-6, but in 329/941 he left Damascus with the aim of regaining supreme power in Baghdād and in Radjab 330/April 942, he was assassinated at Mawṣil. Nāṣir al-Dawla wanted to return to northern Syria, which the Ikhshīd was intent on re-occupying, to the direct control of the ʿIrāḳī caliphate. His troops easily took possession of the valley of the Balīkh, from Ḥarrān to Raḳḳa, but certain of his officers sided with the Ikhshīd, and the Ḥamānids who had remained loyal were confronted, in the region of Khābūr, by the governor of Raḥba, ʿAdl al-Bakdjamī, and by the Banū Numayr. With the surreptitious support of the Ikhshīd, and supplied with Turkish and Daylamī contingents, ʿAdl marched on Naṣībīn, where he took possession of the treasure of Sayf al-Dawla. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān, the brother of the poet Abū Firās, captured ʿAdl, who was executed in Baghdād in Shaʿbān 331/May 943. Nāṣir al-Dawla then entrusted this cousin, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd, with the task of taking control of northern Syria, of Diyār Muḍar and of the frontier posts. Having been obliged to take Raḳḳa by assault, Abū ʿAbd Allāh occupied Aleppo without difficulty in Radjab 332/943-4.

Sayf al-Dawla was quite prepared at this time to take control of Syria himself; it was an idea born of resentment when, having returned to Naṣībīn, he found himself under-employed and badly paid. He campaigned against the Banū Numayr in the region of al-Dāliya but, betrayed by his Arab troops, he was defeated in the winter of 332/943-4 on a number of occasions by Tūzūn, and he joined the caliph al-Muttaḳī at Raḳḳa, hoping to have himself recognised in his turn as *amīr al-umarāʾ*; but he encountered the caliph's hostility in this matter and had his rival, Muḥammad b. Īnāl al-Turdjumān, assassinated (various accounts concerning this topic, *Hʾamd.*, 497). Having agreed to recognise Tūzūn's sovereignty over ʿIrāḳ, from Sinn to Baṣra, his brother Nāṣir al-Dawla had officially renounced his claim to the title *amīr al-umarāʾ* in exchange for recognition of his authority over Djazīra and northern Syria, from Mawṣil to the limits of Syrian territory.

During the summer of 332/944, the Ikhshīd arrived at Aleppo, which was hastily abandoned by al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd. In Muḥarram 333/September 944, the Ikhshīd presented himself in his turn at Raḳḳa before the caliph al-Muttaḳī, to whom he offered his services; obtaining no definite response, he returned to Egypt.

Nāṣir al-Dawla was alleged then to have said to Sayf al-Dawla, with whom he was reconciled: "Syria lies before you, there is no one in this land who can prevent you taking it." His cousin Ḥusayn b. al-Saʿīd having renounced his Syrian ambitions in his favour, Sayf al-Dawla decided to take control of Aleppo and Damascus.

Sayf al-Dawla made his entrance into Aleppo in Rabīʿ I 333/October 944, in the company of Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd al-Kilābī, a tribal chieftain whose brother Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad was then governor of the city and who had himself previously held the post on behalf of the Ikhshīd. Having regained the capital of northern Syria, the Ḥamdānid and the Kilābī toured the region from the crossing of the Euphrates riding in the same *ʿammāriyya*, with the aim of observing at first-hand the condition of the villages.

The Ikhshīd was not readily prepared to accept the loss of northern Syria and of the frontier towns facing the Byzantines. He opposed Sayf al-Dawla when the latter revealed his aspiration to bring Ḥimṣ into his domain. The Ḥamdānid routed an Ikhshīdid army commanded by Kāfūr at Rastan and occupied Ḥimṣ. From ʿAyn al-Djarr, last stage in the Biḳāʿ before the crossing of the Anti-Lebanon, he sent to the inhabitants of Damascus a letter which was read on the *minbar* of the Great Mosque (Th. Bianquis, *Les derniers gouverneurs ikhshidides à Damas*, in *BEO*, xiii [1970], 186). The Ikhshīd left Egypt at the head of an army in Ramaḍān 333/April 945. He proposed to accept Sayf al-Dawla's authority over northern Syria, the *djunds* of Ḥimṣ and of Ḳinnasrīn, and over the frontier sites. Sayf refused, but was obliged to leave Damascus as a result of the hostility of the populace, and joined battle with the Ikhshīd in Shawwāl 333/May-June 945. Defeated by means of a strategic ruse, Sayf al-Dawla withdrew to Raḳḳa. The Ikhshīd army ravaged the neighbourhood of Aleppo and maltreated the population. In Rabīʿ I 334/October 946, a treaty on the basis of the Ikhshīd's former proposals was negotiated by the intermediary of the Ḥusaynid *sharīf* Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir b. Yaḥyā al-Nassāba (*Hʾamd.*, 584, details of the negotiations in *Bughyā*, 2408-12, and Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, Cairo 1953, 194). A partition of Syria was agreed: to the south of the new frontier, Ṭarābulus, Baʿlabakk, Labwa (*Bughya*, 371) and Damascus remained attached to Ikhshīdid Syria; to the north of this line, ʿArḳa, Djūsiya and Ḥimṣ formed part of the principality of Aleppo. The Egyptian leader also committed himself to paying an annual tribute to compensate for the renunciation of claims to Damascus on the part of Sayf al-Dawla, who was obliged to marry the daughter of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭughdj, the Ikhshīd's brother. The signing of the ceremony gave the caliph al-Muṭīʿ the opportunity to ratify the amirate of northern Syria and the *laḳab* of Sayf al-Dawla by means of the sending of ceremonial attire which arrived in Aleppo in the spring of 335/946 (al-ʿAẓīmī, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Zaʿrūr, 291, henceforward abbr. to al-ʿAẓīmī).

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 335/July 947, the Ikhshīd died in Damascus. Sayf al-Dawla immediately marched on this city where he tried in vain to confiscate the minor estates of the Ghūṭa (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Sāmī Dahhān, IFEAD, Damascus 1951, i, 116-17, henceforward abbr. to *Zubda*). He left for Palestine, but defeated by Kāfūr, the black eunuch leading the armies of Unūdjūr b. al-Ikhshīd, in Djumādā I 335/December 946, the Ḥamdānid withdrew to the region of Damascus, where he was unobtusively reunited with his mother, then retreated towards Ḥimṣ, following the eastern route by way of Ḳarā, a difficult route in winter. In the spring of 335/947, having rallied troups among the Arab tribes of ʿUḳayl, Numayr, Kalb and Kilāb, Sayf al-Dawla advanced on Damascus and was once more defeated by the Ikhshīd army which entered Aleppo in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 335/July 947. In the autumn of 336/947, Sayf al-Dawla re-occupied Aleppo, this time definitively.

Pursuing the Ikhshīd's policy of appeasement, Kāfūr negotiated with Sayf al-Dawla. The previous treaty was ratified but the Egyptians retained Damascus definitively and no longer paid tribute to the Hamdānids (topographical details of the Ḥamdānid possessions in northern Syria, *Zubda*, i, 164-5, on the occasion of the signing of the armistice between Ḳarghūya and the Byzantines in 359/968). This frontier between northern Syria, inclined towards ʿIrāḳ, the Djazīra and Anatolia, and southern Syria, closely linked to Egypt and Arabia, was to function in an almost continuous manner until the Mamlūk seizure of the province in 658/1260.

During the remainder of his life, Sayf al-Dawla had no further confrontations with the Ikhshīds. The Egyptian power, threatened at this time by the Fāṭimids installed in Ifrīḳiya, gave up its claims to northern Syria, according to the judicious principle whereby abandoning a peripheral province was less costly than maintaining an army on a war-footing and less dangerous for the authority of the *amīr*. Master of a large territory, the traditional glacis of Egypt, comprising the Mediterranean coast from Ṭarābulus al-Gharb to Ṭarābulus al-Shām, and the Red Sea as far as Yemen, the son of the Ikhshīd retained the greater part of his father's former power and wealth, leaving to the Ḥamdānid the costly defence of the frontier facing resurgent Byzantium.

Sayf al-Dawla was henceforward the master of northern Syria, of the western and eastern frontier posts of the Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Bakr. Mayyāfāriḳīn, at the junction between these two western provinces of the Djazīra, was his second capital. The embellishment of the city and the reinforcement of its defences were to be continued under the Kurdish Marwānid dynasty [*q.v.*] which made it its capital, in the 5th/11th century. Sayf al-Dawla built at Mayyāfāriḳīn municipal and defensive constructions, on a considerably larger scale than his earlier buildings in Aleppo (on the Palace of Ḥalba constructed by Sayf al-Dawla outside Aleppo and traversed by the Ḳuwayḳ, *Bughya*, 349-50, 4489, Canard, *Sayf al Daula, recueil de textes*, henceforward abbr. to *Recueil*, 204-5, *Hʾamd.*, 642-4).

For Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Bakr, Sayf al-Dawla remained theoretically the delegate of his brother, the prince of Djazīra, resident at Mawṣil. For northern Syria and the frontier regions, a less clearly defined chain of vassality existed since the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, despite the sending of an envoy to Sayf al-Dawla in 335/946, seems from 332/943-4 onward to have recognised only one provincial authority, Nāṣir al-Dawla, receiving "in appanage" all the territories to the north and north-west of ʿIrāḳ as far as the Mediterranean and the Byzantine frontier. On the other hand, functioning in a Kurdish and Daylamī environment, the Ḥamdānid family had embraced the rule of primogeniture, and Sayf al-Dawla always showed great respect towards his elder brother, although the latter's real power was much inferior to his own (well known "unbooting" episode, *Zubda*, i, 128-9, *Bughya*, 2433-7, *Hʾamd.*, 621-2). Furthermore, he appointed numerous Ḥamdānids, including sons of

Nāṣir al-Dawla, to posts of authority in his states (*Hʾamd.*, 595-7, supplies the list).

After 336/947 he visited Djazīra on several occasions. The first time, in 338/950 he travelled by way of Raḳḳa to Mayyāfāriḳīn, where in turn his mother, Nuᶜm and his son, Abu ʾl-Haydjāʾ ᶜAbd Allāh had recently died, and returned to Aleppo via Āmid. This expedition, at the head of 7,000 troops, was an opportunity to display his wealth and the power of his army.

Since 332/943, the Kurd Daysam had resided in Aleppo as a guest of Sayf al-Dawla. In 344/955 he left for Adharbāydjān, where he established the *khuṭba* on behalf of the Ḥamdānid but, defeated by Marzūbān and handed over to the latter by the Armenian prince of Vaspurakan, Derenik/Ibn al-Dirānī, he was put to death. Sayf al-Dawla lost his influence in Armenia until 354/965 when, following the revolt of his *ghulām* Nadjā, he inherited the Armenian places which the latter had appropriated from Abu ʾl-Ward/Apelbart II b. Abī Sālim, in the region of Lake Van. The fate of these places when Abū Taghlib, the nephew of Sayf al-Dawla, took possession of Diyār Bakr, is unknown.

Suppression of the tribes

Sayf al-Dawla was obliged to assert his authority in northern Syria by confronting the Arab tribes, whose aggressiveness had been increased by a very positive demographic situation. At the time of his arrival, the region of Ḥimṣ had been controlled since the Umayyad period by the Yemeni tribes of Ṭayyiʾ and Kalb, semi-sedentarised. To the north, the Ḳaysī tribes, ᶜUḳayl, Numayr, Kilāb, Kaᶜb and Ḳushayr, still nomadic, held the plain between the Orontes and the Euphrates and beyond the river, in Diyār Muḍar, threatening longer-established Arab communities. Taghlib had been repulsed to the north and east of the Djazīra (attempt at devising a map of the tribes in Bianquis, *Raḥba et le Diyar Muḍar*, ... in *BEO*, xli-xlii [1989-90, publ. 1993], 23-53). The region of Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān was the fief of the Yemeni Tanūkh, formerly converted to Christianity and entirely sedentary. The coastal positions between Ṭarābulus and al-Lādhiḳiyya were inhabited by the Yemeni Bahrāʾ and by Kurdish groups.

In 336-7/947-8, after a difficult siege, Sayf al-Dawla took possession of the fortress of Barzūya, held by a Kurdish brigand who controlled the lower valley of the Orontes and the route joining Aleppo to al-Lādhiḳiyya. He campaigned throughout the littoral range and on the coast, as well as on the slopes of the valley of the Orontes where his primary objectives were to defend the interests of the Bahrāʾ and to protect the Kalb, who were his allies against the Kilāb. At the end of the winter of 337/949, a Ḳarmaṭī agitator by the name of Ibn Hirrat al-Ramād al-Khāridjī, who had claimed the titles of *al-Hādī* and of *Ṣāḥib al-khāl al-Mubarḳa*ʾ, incited the Kalb and the Ṭayyiʾ of central Syria to revolt, and imprisoned Abū Wāʾil, the governor of Ḥimṣ (*Hʾamd.*, 603). Sayf al-Dawla crushed the rebels, killed the Ḳarmaṭī and freed Abū Wāʾil. The following year, another revolt associated with the Ḳarmaṭīs took place in the region of Damascus; this time, the rebels were ᶜUḳaylids, i.e. Ḳaysīs.

The Ḳaysī tribes regularly caused instability in northern Syria between 338/950 and 343/954, provoking limited campaigns of repression on the part of the Ḥamdānids (*Hʾamd.*, 602-18). The Bedouin refused to return to the arrangement whereby they were kept away from the cultivated zones, where they wanted to pasture their cattle and extort ransoms from the villagers. The revolt of winter and of spring 344/955 erupted to the south-east of Aleppo, in the region of the lake of Djabbūl and of Ḳinnasrīn. This was not a tribal movement but a protest against social conditions since it united Bedouin, Yemenis, Kalb and Ṭayyiʾ, and Ḳaysīs, ᶜĀmir b. Ṣaᶜṣaᶜa, Kaᶜb b. Rabīᶜa, ᶜAdjlān b. ᶜAbd Allāh, Kilāb, Numayr and Ḳushayr, thus prefiguring the great uprisings against the Fāṭimids of the following century. The repression imposed by Sayf al-Dawla in the course of June of the same year is known to the smallest detail, as a result of the analysis by Canard of the poems of al-Mutanabbī and of Abū Firās, as well as of commentaries on their work. This was a desert policing operation perfectly planned and rigorously executed. It could have ended with the total extermination, through warfare and thirst, of all the tribes, women and children included, between Salāmiyya, Tadmur and the Euphrates, if Sayf al-Dawla had not been influenced by his feelings of solidarity and his sense of Arab honour. Later, the heavy armies of the Fāṭimids, composed of Berber horsemen and Turkish *ghulāms*, had neither the same ability to win battles with minimal loss of life nor the same sensitivity in avoiding unnecessary civilian casualties.

Sayf al-Dawla never again had to face Bedouin revolts. The Numayr had been expelled to the north of the Euphrates, to the Diyār Muḍar around Ḥarrān, where they were to form a principality in the following century, the Kalb migrated towards Tadmur and into the plain between Ḥimṣ and Dimashḳ, the Ṭayyiʾ took refuge in the Djawlān and on the plateaux of Transjordania. The small Ḳaysī tribes having been either eliminated or banished to the north of the Euphrates, the Banū Kilāb were left as the only powerful formation of northern Syria. Wisely, they became reconciled to the Ḥamdānid and sent armed contingents to serve under him. They pursued a policy of assistance to the official power and of peaceful penetration of the urban milieu which was to assure the success in the following century of the principality of the Banū Mirdās [*q.v.*]. Once security had been restored, Sayf al-Dawla entrusted to relatives or to close associates the delegation of local powers based on fortified sites (al-ᶜAẓīmī, 192). The central administration at Aleppo and at Mayyāfāriḳin was limited, being confined to fiscal issues and the conduct of war.

The war against Byzantium

Sayf al-Dawla was motivated throughout his life by the desire to be a *ghāzī*, a knight of the *djihād*, who confronted the Byzantines in more than forty battles. Numerous texts, prose or poetry (*Bughya*, 4682; *Recueil, passim*) reveal the extent to which the period was marked by a well-founded fear of a Byzantine offensive against the Muslim lands of Cilicia and of Djazīra and by a militaro-religious brand of piety which induced professional soldiers and young civilians, from all over the Muslim East, to risk their lives on the frontier facing Byzantine troops. The significant role of Tarsus in the ideology of religious asceticism and of the military efficacy of the frontier *djihād* against the Byzantines, is developed in *Bughya*, 180-1, which mentions Sayf al-Dawla (see also C.E. Bosworth, *The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers in early and middle ᶜAbbāsid times*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 268-86).

A detailed description of the frontier military operations of Sayf al-Dawla having no place here, mention of the most important dates will suffice. In fact, Canard has compiled a complete account of combats between Ḥamdānids and Byzantines, based on the detailed analysis of a very large corpus of Arabic, Greek, Syriac and Armenian texts, as well as on his vast erudition regarding historical geography (*Hʾamd.*,

715-862, including for the period of Sayf al-Dawla, 741-828). Few new texts have been published since then, although recent works dealing with the strategy, tactics, arms and military training of the Byzantines deserve mention (G. Dagron, *Guérilla, places-fortes et villages ouverts à la frontière orientale de Byzance vers 950*, in *Castrum*, iii [Madrid-Rome 1984]. In the Arab domain, no comparable recent study exists to this writer's knowledge.

Unlike the Byzantine *basileis* who, supported by the substantial resources of an extensive empire were equipped to pursue, after 314/926, a project of reconquest of eastern Anatolia, of Cilicia and of northern Syria, Sayf al-Dawla, *amīr* of a reduced principality, had no strategy other than a policy of defence of the frontier, reinforcement of the towns which were threatened, and reconstruction and repopulation of the latter after their destruction by the Byzantines. This defensive activity was interspersed with raiding expeditions into the interior of Byzantine territory: "they threw themselves against al-Ṣafṣāf and Wādī Sābūr, they burned the towns, took the children into captivity, they slaughtered the parents, they took fortresses by assault; this was a terrible and glorious expedition" (*Bug̲h̲ya*, 4293; *Recueil*, 87). Such attacks provided booty and facilitated the exchange of prisoners, but no mention is made of a predetermined plan for the methodical conquest of new towns and new territories. However, studies ought to be made concerning tactics, preparation for battle, placing of ambushes, the use of a variegated army made up of diverse ethnic groups, Daylamīs, no doubt the most numerous, Turks, Kurds, Arabs, negroes, and their respective weapons, as well as the cost of recruitment, maintenance and operations of the army, the cost of the damage caused by occupations and revolts, and the relationship between this cost and the various fiscal measures which financed the war. The corpus of sources should make it possible to go even further than Canard went in this domain.

The Byzantines continued with their effort at breaking through on the Armenian front. Even before becoming *amīr* of Aleppo, in 324/936 the future Sayf al-Dawla had led an expedition against the Byzantines and in support of Sumaysāt [*q.v.*], which was to fall soon afterwards. His first victory dates from the autumn of 326/938, confronting the Domesticus John Corcuas, who commanded a large army. In 328/939-40, he conducted operations in Armenia in order to secure the allegiance of the Armeno-Arab *amīrs*, and he acquired on this occasion renown as a champion of the *d̲j̲ihād* in the Muslim world. Once installed in Aleppo, Sayf al-Dawla engaged in limited operations against the Byzantines in the winter of 333/945, followed in autumn 335/946 by an exchange of prisoners, but real hostilities did not begin until 336/947, when the treaty with Kāfūr acknowledged Sayf al-Dawla's domination of northern Syria and responsibility for the frontier with Byzantium.

The triumphant years

In the thirty years which followed, Sayf al-Dawla was frequently at war, and the theatre of operations was situated at this time in the southern sector of the frontier, between Diyār Bakr and the Mediterranean, principally in Cilicia; although master of the coastal region of northern Syria, he never engaged in naval warfare. It was the Egyptian fleet which scored naval victories against the Byzantines at this time (al-ʿAẓīmī, 298-9). The wars conducted after his installation at Aleppo and Mayyāfāriḳīn may be divided into two periods. From 336/947 to 346/957, Sayf al-Dawla enjoyed overall success, then, from 350/961 to his death in 356/967, he faced with fortitude a series of grave defeats and saw even Aleppo briefly occupied by the Byzantines, then threatened again. He had to deal first with the Domesticus Bardas Phocas, already an old man, then with his three sons Nicephorus, Leo and Constantine, formidable strategists.

In 336-8/947-50 the Byzantines had taken Marʿas̲h̲, then Ḳālīḳalā, threatening Tarsus. Sayf al-Dawla organised the response. After some success, his campaign ended in the autumn of 339/950, near Buḥayrat al-Ḥadat̲h̲, with total defeat, the *g̲h̲azwat al-muṣība*, the calamitous expedition, from which he personally escaped by a miracle. To strengthen his base of operations, in 341/952 Sayf al-Dawla rebuilt numerous Cilician strongholds, including Marʿas̲h̲, and was thus able to repulse a Byzantine offensive. Constantine Porphyogenitus sent a delegation to Aleppo with the offer of a treaty, but in vain. During the summer of 342/953, near Ḥadat̲h̲, commanding a reduced cavalry force, Sayf al-Dawla crushed the army of the Domesticus, who was wounded and one of whose sons died in captivity at Aleppo. With the same eloquence with which they had bemoaned his defeat, the poets immortalised the victory of Sayf al-Dawla, who once again refused to negotiate a treaty (on the complex relationship between Byzantium and Aleppo, see *Hʾamd.*, 778-9). Another victory over the ponderous army of the Domesticus in the autumn of 343/954 allowed Sayf al-Dawla to complete the reconstruction of Ḥadat̲h̲, which successfully withstood a Byzantine expedition during the summer of 344/955. The old Domesticus Bardas Phocas, a miser and a poor tactician, was then replaced by his son, the future *basileus* Nicephorus II Phocas, *Patricius* and *Strategus* of the Anatolica, Domesticus of the Schola, assisted by his younger brother Leo and by the Armenian John Tzimisces. In the spring of 345/956, when Tzimisces tried to intercept him on his return, laden with spoils, from an expedition towards Ḥiṣn Ziyād and Tall Biṭrīk, Sayf al-Dawla won another victory, having crossed a stream on material furnished by the engineer corps of the army. In the autumn, he made his way to Cilicia to support Tarsus, threatened by the advancing fleet of the Theme of Cibyrrheotes.

The successful Byzantine response under Nicephorus Phocas

However, his fortunes changed, and Sayf al-Dawla was unable to avenge the capture and destruction by the Domesticus of the fortress of Ḥadat̲h̲ during the summer of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 *g̲h̲ulāms* and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (*Zubda*, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 347/958 saw near Āmid a victory of Tzimisces over Nad̲j̲ā, the Circassian *g̲h̲ulām* who was a favourite of Sayf al-Dawla, and the fall of Sumaysāṭ and of Raʿbān, places defended by Sayf al-Dawla in person. With the reorganisation of the Byzantine army, the Muslim front was entrusted to Leo Phocas, who in the winter of 348/959 inflicted a bloody defeat on Sayf al-Dawla and occupied numerous fortresses between Cilicia and Diyār Bakr. Nicephorus Phocas having commited himself from the summer of 960 to the spring of 961 to the occupation of Crete, Sayf al-Dawla seized the opportunity to launch a raid in company with the inhabitants of Tarsus. On his return, Leo Phocas inflicted on him a terrible defeat in Ramaḍān 349/November 960. The Arab *amīrs* of the frontier regions sided with Byzantium, and Ibn Zayyāt made the *k̲h̲uṭba* at Tarsus in the name of the caliph, not mentioning Sayf al-Dawla, whose power

was challenged even at Aleppo. From the autumn of 350/961 to the spring of 963, Nicephorus Phocas, returning victorious from Crete, led the offensive into Muslim territory. ᶜAyn Zarba and some fifty villages were taken in the winter of 350-1/961-2. Nicephorus massacred part of the civilian population and destroyed the fruit trees, inaugurating the policy of terror which he conducted against the Arabs until his death. During the summer of 351/962, Sayf al-Dawla managed partially to reconstruct ᶜAyn Zarba. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 351/962, Nicephorus Phocas marched on Aleppo; Sayf al-Dawla did not become aware of the Byzantine advance until they were approaching ᶜAzāz. He had few troops with him, his army being far away under the command of Nadjā, hence was defeated under the walls of Aleppo. Nicephorus forced his way into the city, which was pillaged and devastated. He did not succeed in taking the citadel (or rather the height defended by a Daylamī garrison on which the citadel was later to be built), since towards the end of the year 351/962 he was obliged to leave the city and return hastily to Constantinople, where he was proclaimed emperor. He had taken away with him 10,000 young captives, and Sayf al-Dawla, in order to repopulate and rebuild his capital, installed there the inhabitants who had fled Ḳinnasrīn and used the subsidies sent to him by his sister. After a few minor successes during the summer of 352/963, at the end of the same year the Muslims suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the new Domesticus, Tzimisces, at the Hill of Blood near Adana. The year 353/964 saw little military activity. Sayf al-Dawla, a sick man, was confined to his own territory by revolts, and famine raged in Cilicia, making the land unsuitable for large-scale operations. The Byzantine offensive was resumed during the winter of 353-4/964-5 and, again on account of the famine, did not end until the following summer with the fall of Miṣṣīṣa/Mopsuesta and of Tarsus. Despite a rescue attempt by the Egyptian fleet which arrived too late, the latter city experienced in Shaᶜbān 354/August 965 an honourable capitulation; the inhabitants were allowed to leave for Muslim territory with their property. Cilicia was henceforward methodically re-Christianised. An exchange of prisoners was negotiated in 355/966; the Muslims were obliged to ransom a further 3,000 men at a cost of 200,000 gold pieces. Byzantine operations were now directed against Syria, and Nicephorus Phocas marched on Manbidj, and then on Aleppo and on Antioch before returning to Byzantine territory at the end of 355/966. Two months later, Sayf al-Dawla died in Aleppo.

Military reverses, domestic revolts and physical weakness

Since 346/957, Sayf al-Dawla had not had to contend with internal revolt. In 350/961, the rebellion of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Zayyāt, *amīr* of Tarsus, in favour of the Ikhshīdid Unūdjūr, was quickly suppressed (*Bughya*, 1490, 3419-21). In 351/962, the brief occupation of Aleppo by the Byzantines cost him his military prestige, at a time when he had recently been stricken by hemiplegia. From this time onwards, handicapped by the after-effects of this attack, aggravated by increasingly serious intestinal and urinary disorders, Sayf al-Dawla remained bedridden. He was transported on a litter, but he retained his reason and continued to direct the policies of the principality and, when necessary, to conduct warfare. However, his political position was fragile. The leading *ghulāms* were impregnated with the notion dominant in the Muslim East, according to which political power was legitimised solely by success in battle. In 352/963, Hibat Allāh b. Nāṣir al-Dawla, governor of Ḥarrān, whence he had been expelled by a populace resentful of his fiscal greed, killed at Aleppo Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn Danḥā, a Christian secretary of Sayf al-Dawla who had the latter's absolute trust, then attempted to incite his administrative charge to rebel in favour of Nāṣir al-Dawla (Miskawayh and Ibn al-Athīr, cited in *Recueil*, 247-52). At the approach of Nadjā, whom Sayf al-Dawla had sent to oppose him, Hibat Allāh sought refuge with his father. On his own account, Nadjā extorted compensation of a million dirhams from the inhabitants of Ḥarrān and set out, in his turn, to attack Mayyāfāriḳīn with the intention of placing Diyār Bakr under the control of Muᶜizz al-Dawla, the Būyid *amīr* of Baghdād. The wife of Sayf al-Dawla defended the city successfully, Nadjā took possession of towns in Armenia, around Lake Van, and in the autumn of 353/964 he was obliged to abandon a second siege of Mayyāfāriḳīn, a revolt having broken out in his Armenian dominions. Having returned to Mayyāfāriḳīn, Sayf al-Dawla set out for Armenia, where personally and without fighting he obtained the spectacular submission of his favourite lieutenant (moving scene in *Zubda*, i, 145); Nadjā was killed at the end of winter 354/965 in Mayyāfāriḳīn, no doubt at the orders of Sayf al-Dawla's wife whom he had publicly insulted. He was buried in the Ḥamdānid mausoleum.

Sayf al-Dawla had suffered a personal blow in 352/953 with the death of his sister, Khawla Sitt al-Nās, a woman of considerable political skill. She bequeathed to him 500,000 dīnārs which he is said to have devoted to the ransom of prisoners (*Sīra*, 16, 188). In 354/965 his sons Abu 'l-Makārim and Abu 'l-Barakāt died. He was affected then by depression but continued to defend his power. During the last phase of his life, he resided mainly in Mayyāfāriḳīn, entrusting the defence of the western frontier to his senior *ghulāms*. Ḳinnasrīn was abandoned by its inhabitants, and commerce, the principal source of revenue of this cross-roads region, was hampered. The civilian populations of the region of Aleppo accepted their fiscal burdens with increasing reluctance, while the armies of the *amīr* proved themselves incapable of protecting them from the Byzantine enemy. In 354/964, to prevent the acquisition of iron by the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Aḥsā', who intended to re-arm themselves in preparation for eventual action in Syria and Egypt, he did not hesitate to dismantle the gates of the town of Raḳḳa, which were constructed of armour-plated wood. An alliance with the Ḳarmaṭīs, opposed to the Būyid of Baghdād, contributed at the same time to the maintenance of stability on the Syrian plain among the Arab tribes, Yemeni or Ḳaysī, over whom they had retained strong influence. The Ḳarmaṭīs were furthermore hostile to Kāfūr. The latter, based on Fusṭāṭ, continued to take an interest in Syria, intent on protecting Damascus from any Ḥamdānid interference.

In 354/965 there erupted the far more dangerous revolt of the former prefect of the littoral, the Ḳarmaṭī Marwān al-ᶜUḳaylī, who took possession of Ḥimṣ, defeated a Ḥamdānid army commanded by the *ghulām* Badr and reached Aleppo but was wounded and died shortly afterwards (different versions, *H'amd.*, 649, and *Zubda*, i, 148). In the autumn of 354/965 (dated incorrectly in *H'amd.*, 651), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Rashīḳ b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Nasīmī, former governor of Tarsus, a town henceforward in the possession of Nicephorus Phocas, impelled by a tax-farmer, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ahwāzī, took possession of Antioch and assembled an army which enabled him for three months to besiege Aleppo, defended by Ḳarghūya and Bishāra. (On this

revolt, see *Bughya*, 3656-8, 4592-3; *Descr.*, 240-1.) After partially occupying the lower town, Rashīḳ was killed in battle. He was replaced as leader of the rebellion by a Daylamī, Dizbar, who defeated Ḳarghūya and entered Aleppo but then abandoned the town with the intention of taking control of all northern Syria. Sayf al-Dawla was then carrying out an exchange of prisoners with the Byzantines at Sumaysāṭ, and he saw the Muslims, ransomed by him, joining the ranks of the Daylamī rebel. At the beginning of the summer of 355/966, Sayf al-Dawla had himself carried in a litter to Aleppo, where he spent the night and then set out to crush the troops of Dizbar, in which he was helped by the defection to his side of the Banū Kilāb. Reprisals were severe, although the new governor appointed to Antioch by Sayf al-Dawla, Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā, joined the ranks of the Byzantines with the public funds of the city. The attack by Nicephorus Phocas on northern Syria forced Sayf al-Dawla to take refuge at Shayzar, until Ṣafar 356/February 967, the date of his death in Aleppo to which he had just returned (according to al-ᶜAẓīmī, 303, he died at Mayyāfāriḳīn). The *sharīf* Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Aḳsāsī prayed over his body, pronouncing five *takbīrs* in the Shīᶜī fashion (*Bughya*, 4517).

The Shīᶜī sympathies of Sayf al-Dawla are demonstrated by the al-Dakka *mashhad* which he had built on the Djabal Djushān alongside the Christian monastery of Māra Marūthā (*Bughya*, 412, 2726). After the murderous invasion of Aleppo by the Byzantines in 351/962, he invited *sharīfs* from Ḥarrān or from Ḳum to take up residence in Aleppo. The replacement of Sunnism by Twelver Shīᶜism as the official and popular religion of Aleppo may thus be dated from the mid-4th/10th century. Some of their descendants, notably the Banū Ibn Abi 'l-Djinn (*Bughya*, 2415-16; Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, IFEAD, Damascus, index, henceforward abbr. to *Damas et la Syrie*) played an important role in the Fāṭimid period. The delimitation of the judicial *madhhab* applied at Aleppo in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries whether Ḥanafism or Imāmism, seems difficult to identify precisely (oral indication of Anne-Marie Eddé). On the relationship between Sayf al-Dawla and Ismāᶜīlism and the diffusion of Nuṣayrism in Syria in the 4th/10th century, the role of al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān al-Khaṣībī, of Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Djillī and of Surūr al-Ṭabarānī, see Canard, *Hᵓamd.*, 634, Halm, art. NUṢAYRĪ, and Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie*, 375-6.

His embalmed body was transported to Mayyāfāriḳīn to be laid to rest in a mausoleum, beside his mother and his sister. A brick containing the dust removed from his cuirass on his return from operations against the Byzantines was placed under his cheek; this was almost the interment of a *shahīd*. He left only two living offspring: a daughter, Sitt al-Nās, and a son, Abu 'l-Maᶜālī Sharīf, to whom he had had the *bayᶜa* made before his death (*Sīra*, 16, 188) and who as prince of Aleppo bore the *laḳab* of Saᶜd al-Dawla.

Sayf al-Dawla was served in the office of *wazīr* by Abū Isḥāḳ Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Karārīṭī, formerly in the service of the chief *amīr* Ibn Rāᵓiḳ, then of the caliph al-Muttaḳī; subsequently, he dismissed him, appointing in his place Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Fahd. Finally, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maghribī [see AL-MAGHRIBĪ, BANŪ] was an efficient and loyal *wazīr*, no doubt working with his father, al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī. At the time of Sayf al-Dawla's installation at Aleppo, the *ḳāḍī* was Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Māthil. Finding him insufficiently obsequious, Sayf al-Dawla replaced him with a friend of the poet Abū Firās, Abū Ḥusayn ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh (or b. ᶜAbd al-Malik) al-Raḳḳī, whom Sayf al-Dawla later accused of having induced him to commit iniquitous acts. He was killed by the Byzantines in 349/960, and his son Abu 'l-Haytham was to be *wazīr* of a descendant of Sayf al-Dawla. The same year, Sayf al-Dawla awarded the charge to Ibn Māthil. Abū Djaᶜfar Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ al-Ḥanafī was to succeed the latter, and was exercising this function at the time of the death of the *amīr* of Aleppo (*Zubda*, i, 112, 113, 131, 152).

Confiscation of land by the Ḥamdānids

On the basis of the information given by the chroniclers as well as by the geographers, it should be possible to reconsider the balance-sheet of the Ḥamdānid dynasty. The wars between Sayf al-Dawla and the Ikhshīd had led to the destruction of the olive-groves and orchards surrounding Aleppo. The agricultural landscape was permanently altered (*Bughya*, i, 415-16, Bianquis, *Le pouvoir politique à Alep au Vᵉ/XIᵉ siècle*, in *REMMM* [1992], no. 62, 49-59). Furthermore, this prince as well as his brother, Nāṣir al-Dawla and later, his nephew al-Ghaḍanfar, princes of Mawṣil, had a policy of monopolising fertile agricultural lands and appropriating extensive domains, with the aim of devoting them to monoculture, in particular the growing of cereals, a decidedly profitable enterprise in view of the demographic growth of Baghdād. Combining these territorial confiscations with oppressive fiscal policies, they became the wealthiest *amīrs* of the Islamic world (Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 111/12, 177-89/174-86, 200-24/207-30, in particular 211-14/205-8; *Bughya*, 1, 59, 10, 4237, 4593). They thus acquired lasting glory by showering with precious gifts their kinsmen and the poets who eulogised them, but they seriously destabilised agriculture and crafts, commercial exchanges and the equilibrium between towns and countryside, on the plains and plateaux of Djazīra and of northern Syria. Ibn Ḥawḳal, followed by Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, dates from the confiscations of Sayf al-Dawla the ruin of the city and the commerce of Bālis. By destroying orchards and peri-urban market gardens, by enfeebling the once vibrant polyculture and by depopulating the sedentarised steppe terrain of the frontiers, the Ḥamdānids contributed to the erosion of the deforested land and to the seizure by semi-nomadic tribes of the agricultural lands of these regions in the 5th/11th century (*Hᵓamd.*, 397, 436).

Bibliography: Given in the text; for Arab as well as Christian sources, see M. Canard, *Sayf al-dawla, recueil de textes*, Algiers 1934; *Histoire de la dynastie des Hᵓamdânides de Djazîra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers 1951, index; *Arabica*, xviii (1971), 279-319; to be supplemented by the bibliography at the end of ᶜIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aᶜlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāᵓ al-Shām wa l-Djazīra*, *Description de la Syrie du Nord*, tr. Anne-Marie Eddé, IFEAD, Damascus 1984; edited text, in *BEO*, xxxii-xxxiii (1980-1), 265-402. The principal texts which have appeared since 1951 had been used in manuscript form by M. Canard; these are al-ᶜAẓīmī, *Taᵓrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Ibrāhīm Zaᶜrūr (unreliable), Damascus 1984, and especially Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taᵓrīkh Ḥalab*, i, ed. Sāmī Dahhān, IFEAD, Damascus 1951, and *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tāᵓrīkh Ḥalab*, i-x and index, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus 1408/1988. For source material regarding Sayf al-Dawla in the *Bughya*, Ibn al-ᶜAdīm used a great many works, including a *Sīrat Sayf al-Dawla*, or *Akhbār Sayf al-Dawla*, a work of Abu 'l-

Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Daylamī, see *Bughya*, 2531. The sources used by Ibn al-ʿAdīm for the 4th/10th century have not been listed to this writer's knowledge, see Eddé, *Sources arabes des XIIe et XIIIe siècles d'après le dictionnaire biographique d'Ibn al-ʿAdīm*, in *Itinéraires d'Orient. Hommages à Claude Cahen*, Bures-sur-Yvette 1994, 293-307. A few volumes of Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk*, have also appeared, but the rate of publication by the Arabic Academy of Damascus remains regrettably slow. See also Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. Ṭaḥḥān, Cairo. The editions of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, for the years 350-450 and of Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, for the 4th/10th century, have not been available for consultation.

Of modern references, very numerous, see Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord a l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, Paris 1940; J. Sauvaget, *Alep: essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*, Paris 1941; Ulla S. Linder Welin, *Sayf al-dawlah's reign in Syria and Diyârbekr in the light of the numismatic evidence*, in *Sueca Repertis*, i, Lund 1961; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Wiesbaden 1968; and esp. Canard, *Miscellanea orientalia*, Variorum Reprints, London 1973, *L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions*, *ibid.*, London 1974, and art. ḤAMDĀNIDS. These may be supplemented by J. Bacharach, *The career of Muhammad b. Tughj al-Ikhshîd...*, in *Speculum* (1975); P. de Smoor, *Kings and Bedouins in the Palace of Aleppo as reflected in Maʿarrī's works*, Manchester 1985; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London and New York 1986; Th. Bianquis, *Le pouvoir politique à Alep au Ve/XIe siècle*, in *REMMM* (1992), no. 62, 49-59; M. Gil, *A history of Palestine, 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, esp. 320.

(TH. BIANQUIS)

SAYF AL-DĪN, the honorific title of two members of the Shansabānid or Ghūrid [*q.v.*] dynasty which ruled in Afghānistān and adjoining lands during the 6th-early 7th/12th-early 13th centuries:

1. Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, succeeded his father as ruler in Ghūr 540-3/1145-8, killed in battle with the Ghaznavid Bahrām Shāh [see GHŪRIDS. 1. at II, 1100].

2. Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn, ruler in the Ghūrid capital of Fīrūzkūh [*q.v.*] 556-8/1161-3 [see *ibid.*, at II, 1101].

SAYF AL-DĪN BĀKHARZĪ, ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ SAʿĪD b. Muṭahhar b. Saʿīd b. ʿAlī (586-659/1190-1261), known honorifically as Shaykh-i ʿĀlam and, more familiarly, as Khʷādja-yi Fatḥābādī, in reference to the Bukhāran suburb of Fatḥābād where he established a *khānaḳāh*, a leading disciple of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221), eponym of the Kubrawī order [*q.v.*].

After elementary education in his birthplace of Bākharz, a town in the Ḳuhistān region of Khurāsān, Sayf al-Dīn studied jurisprudence and the recitation and exegesis of the Ḳurʾān in Harāt and Nīshāpūr before proceeding to Khʷārazm, the seat of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā. According to Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (cited in Amīr Ḥasan Sidjzī, *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, Bulandshahr 1275/1855, 268-9), Bākharzī was initially hostile to Kubrā, and even to Ṣūfism as such, but this is not confirmed by any early source. Even before going to Khʷārazm, Bākharzī had received at least one Ṣūfī cloak of initiation, from a certain Shaykh Tādj al-Dīn Maḥmūd in Harāt, and there can be no doubt that he went to Khʷārazm expressly to join Kubrā's circle. Thanks to an exemplary degree of devotion, he advanced swiftly in the esteem of the master. In celebration of his bedding a newly-acquired concubine, Kubrā once instructed his disciples to dispense with their usual austerities and select some pleasurable activity instead; the indulgence chosen by Bākharzī was to stand all night outside Kubrā's chamber with a pitcher of water ready for his master's post-connubial ablutions. By way of reward, Kubrā prophesied that one day rulers would run respectfully alongside Bākharzī's horse, a prediction that is said to have come true. Not long after, Kubrā interrupted Bākharzī's second quadragesimal retreat to tell him that his training was complete, and he dispatched him to Bukhārā in order to propagate the Kubrawī path (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Maḥmūd ʿĀbidī, Tehran 1370 *Sh.*/1991, 433-4).

Bākharzī was to spend the rest of his life, amounting to some forty years, in Bukhārā; his only absences were annual visits to Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Baṣīr in Samarḳand, timed to coincide with the ripening of the highly esteemed *khalīlī* grapes of the region (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Djalīl Samarḳandī, *Ḳandiyya*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1367 *Sh.*/1988, 98-9). He soon gained considerable prestige and influence, and his eminence was acknowledged by Ṣūfīs of other lineages, such as Khʷādja Gharīb and Ḥasan Bulgharī of the Khʷādjagān (Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, ed. ʿAlī Asghar Muʿīnīyān, Tehran 2536 imperial/1977, i, 54-5). When Sorḳaḳtani, mother of Möngke, the Mongol Great Khān, donated 100 silver *bālish* for the construction of a *madrasa* in Bukhārā, despite her own allegiance to Christianity, it was to Bākharzī that she entrusted its supervision, as well as the administration of the endowments she settled on it (ʿAṭā Malik Djuwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, iii, 8-9). Sorḳaḳtani further provided for the establishment of Bākharzī's *khānaḳāh* at Fatḥābād; the statement of Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1344/1926) that the *khānaḳāh* was built by Tīmūr in 788/1386 must be taken to refer to a restoration or expansion (*Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Djaʿfar Maḥdjūb, Tehran n.d., ii, 242-3). Bākharzī evidently regarded himself as obliged, by virtue of his prominence, to influence the Mongol rulers in favour of Islam; this is suggested by the versified letter he addressed to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥabash ʿAmīd, vizier to Čaghatay Khān, one line of which reads, "You are entrusted, in this government, with promoting the truth (*nuṣrat-i ḥaḳḳ*); should you fail to do so, what will be your excuse on the Day of Gathering?" (cited in V.V. Bartol'd, *Turkestan v épokhu mongol'skogo nashestviya*, in *Sočineniya*, i, Moscow 1963, 541). Bākharzī was visited in Bukhārā by Berke, the future ruler of the Golden Horde, and either converted him to Islam or strengthened him in the affirmation of the faith (J. Richard, *La conversion de Berke et les débuts de l'islamisation de la Horde d'Or*, in *REI*, xxxv [1967], 173-84). For all his prestige, Bākharzī's zeal for Islam sometimes led him into conflict with the Mongols; thus he was once abducted while praying to the Mongol camp outside Bukhārā and detained for a while (Abū 'l-Mafākhir Yaḥyā Bākharzī, *Awrād al-aḥbāb wa-fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1358 *Sh.*/1979, 270). Similarly, one of his disciples, Burhān al-Dīn Bukharī, sent to Ḳubilay's capital of Khān-Bālīḳ to propagate Islam, found himself expelled to Mačīn, i.e. the realm of the southern Sung, where he soon perished (Khʷāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī, Tehran 1333 *Sh.*/1954, ii, 64).

Bākharzī's influence extended beyond Bukhārā to Kirmān. Ḳutlugh Turkān Khātūn, the Ḳutlugh-

Khānid ruler of Kirmān (r. 658-81/1258-82) requested him to send her one of his sons, and he accordingly dispatched Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 696/1297), his middle son, bearing with him the gift of a tooth allegedly from the Prophet. The *khānaḳāh* she established for him in Kirmān became a centre for the temporary expansion of Bāḵharzī's branch of the Kubrawī order in southern and south-eastern Persia. The prestige Bāḵharzī thus acquired in Kirmān is reflected in the panegyric *ḳaṣīda* addressed to him by Khʷādjū Kirmānī (*Dīwān*, ed. Aḥmad Suhaylī Khʷānsārī, Tehran 1336 *Sh*./1957, 598-600). Bāḵharzī sent his youngest son, Maẓhar al-Dīn Muṭahhar, to Konya, not, however, to spread the Kubrawī path, but to pay homage to Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, samples of whose verse had reached Bāḵharzī from a follower in Shīrāz (Aḥmad Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1959, i, 143-5).

Bāḵharzī's *khānaḳāh* at Fatḥābād flourished for at least a century after his death and burial there in 659/1261. His eldest son, Djalāl al-Dīn Muhammad—the only son to have remained in Bukhārā—cannot have played a significant role in this regard, for he was killed a mere two years after the death of his father, in the course of factional strife among the Mongols. It was rather Abu 'l-Mafāḵhir Yaḥyā (d. 736/1335-6), the son of Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad, who, coming to Bukhārā from Kirmān in 712/1312-3, succeeded in consolidating the affairs of the *khānaḳāh* (Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Muʿīn al-Fuḳarāʾ, *Tārīkh-i Mullā-zāda dar dhikr-i mazārāt-i Bukhārā*, ed. Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, Tehran 1339 *Sh*./1960, 43). Still-extant documents from 726/1326 and 734/1333 record an augmentation of the endowments settled on the *khānaḳāh*; of particular interest is the earmarking of funds for the purchase and manumission of slaves who, converted to Islam, were to work on the lands belonging to the *waḳf* (O.D. Čekhovič, *Bukharskie dokumentî XIV veka*, Tashkent 1965). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the *khānaḳāh* during Abū 'l-Mafāḵhir's tenure; he remarks on the lavish hospitality which he received and on the singing of poems in Persia and Turkish by the assembled dervishes (*Riḥla*, iii, 27-8, tr. Gibb, iii, 554). The esteem in which rulers continued to hold Bāḵharzī is illustrated by the burial in his proximity of the Čaghatayid Buyan (or Bayan) Ḳulī Khān in 760/1359 (E. Knobloch, *Turkestan*, Munich 1973, 212). Indeed, gifts by rulers continued to enrich the *waḳf* as late as the 12th/18th century, but by the time the Persian dervish Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh visited Fatḥābād in 1316/1898-9, the shrine was in an advanced state of dilapidation, many of its tiles having been stolen for sale in the markets of Bukhārā (*Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ii, 242).

Long before this architectural decay set in, the Bāḵharzī line of the Kubrawiyya had vanished from Bukhārā, supplanted—like all other Central Asian branches of the order—by the Naḳshbandiyya. The tomb of Bāḵharzī came to function simply as a site for popular pilgrimage (as happened also with the shrine of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā in Kuhna Ūrgandj). Genealogical descendants of Bāḵharzī can be traced in Bukhārā as late as the 13th/19th century, and in 1255/1839 one of them, ʿAbd al-Ḳayyūm Khōdja, wrote a biography of his great forebear (*Manāḳib-i Sayf al-Dīn Bāḵharzī*, mss. Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek Republic, 6965, 10,802); none of them, however, were practitioners of the Kubrawī path. A similar development took place in Kirmān. Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad's *khānaḳāh* fell into disuse after Abu 'l-Mafāḵhir's departure for Bukhārā, and although other members of the family remained in Kirmān, being honorifically known as *shāhān-i Bukhārā* and occupying positions of importance, none of them perpetuated the Bāḵharzī initiatic lineage.

The only extended prolongation of the Bāḵharzī branch of the Kubrawiyya took place in India. From Badr al-Dīn Samarḳandī (d. 716/1316) went forth a line that crystallised after two generations as the Firdawsiyya of Bihār, a sub-order, of which the most eminent representative was Sharaf al-Dīn Manērī (d. 782/138 [see MAKHDŪM AL-MULK SHARAF AL-DĪN]) (S.A.A. Rizvi, *A history of Sufism in India*, Delhi 1978, i, 226-40; B.B. Lawrence, *Notes from a distant flute: Sufi literature in pre-Mughal India*, Tehran 1978, 72-8).

Bāḵharzī's surviving literary corpus is quite meagre. It consists of *Waḳāʾiʿ al-khalwa*, an Arabic account of visions experienced while in Khʷārazm, only a fragment of which is extant (Brockelmann, S I, 810); a Persian treatise on love (*Risāla-yi ʿIshḳ*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, in *Madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, viii/4 (1340 *Sh*./1961), 11-24); and a number of quatrains, including some of uncertain attribution (S. Khuda Bakhsh, *Saifuddīn Bāḵharzī*, in *ZDMG*, lix (1905), 345-54; Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Rubāʿiyyāt-i Bāḵharzī*, in *MDADT*, ii/4 (1334 *Sh*./1955), 3-15; Dhabīḥullāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1339 *Sh*./1951, ii, 856-8). Bāḵharzī also kept a journal (*rūz-nāma*) in which he recorded such matters as the gifts that were brought to him and the prayers he made on behalf of the donors; the adversaries in Bukhārā for whose redemption and guidance he prayed; and the menstrual cycles of his wives and concubines. The journal is lost but portions of it were included by Abu 'l-Mafāḵhir Yaḥyā in his *Awrād al-aḥbāb wa-fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, an account of the litanies and practices of the Bāḵharzī branch of the Kubrawī order.

Bibliography: Īradj Afshār, *Sayf al-Dīn Bāḵharzī*, in *MDADT*, ix (1341 *Sh*./1962), 28-74; idem, *Saif-al-din Bākharzi*, in W.B. Henning and E. Yarshater (eds.), *A locust's leg: studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 21-7; D. DeWeese, *The eclipse of the Kubraviyah in Central Asia*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxi/1-2 (1988), 47-50; F. Meier, *Die Fawāʾiḥ al-Ǧamāl wa-Fawātiḥ al-Ǧalāl des Naǧm ad-Dīn Kubrā*, Wiesbaden 1957, 42-3; J. Paul, *Scheiche und Herrscher im Khanat Čaǧatay*, in *Isl.*, lxvii (1990), 282-3.

(HAMID ALGAR)

SAYFĪ ʿARŪḌĪ BUKHĀRĪ, a Persian prosodist and minor poet at the Tīmūrid court in Harāt during the second half of the 9th/15th century. He is remembered for his text-book of Persian prosody *ʿArūḍ-i Sayfī*, which he completed in 896/1491; this has been published several times in India, notably with an English translation and extensive commentary in H. Blochmann's *The prosody of the Persians according to Saifi, Jami, and other writers*, Calcutta 1872, a work which played an important role in making Persian poetical theory accessible to European students. But now that older and more detailed works on the same subject are available (especially the early 7th/13th-century *Muʿdjam* of Shams-i Ḳays) Sayfī's largely derivative work is only of limited interest.

"Sayfī" was the pen-name of several other Persian poets, the earliest being ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sayfī al-Naysābūrī, whose poems are quoted by ʿAwfī, Shams-i Ḳays and Djādjarmī and of whom Dawlatshāh says that he flourished under the Khʷārazmshāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tekish (568-96/1172-1200).

Bibliography: Sayfī ʿArūḍī is mentioned in Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī's *Madjālis al-nafāʾis*, Bābur's autobiography, Dawlatshāh and later authorities.

See also Rieu, *Persian cat.*, 525-6; Khayyāmpūr, *Farhang-i sukhanwārān*, 284; Storey, iii/1, 185-7 and (for Sayfī Naysābūrī) Storey-de Blois, v/2, 516-17.

(F.C. de Blois)

SAYFĪ HARAWĪ (Sayf b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb), poet and historian of Harāt in the Mongol period. Born in *ca.* 681/1282, he gained access to the court of Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 706/1307), the third *malik* of the Kart [*q.v.*] dynasty of Harāt, in whose honour he claims to have written 80 *ḳaṣīdas* and 150 *ḳiṭʿas*. In 706/1306, when Harāt was besieged by the Mongol army of the Īl-Khān Öldjeytü, led by Dānishmand Bahādur, Sayfī composed a *mathnawī*, the *Sām-nāma*, in praise of Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Sām, who conducted a vigorous defence on behalf of the absent *malik*. On the city's fall, Sayfī narrowly escaped execution by Dānishmand Bahādur's son Bödjey, whose father had been treacherously killed by Sām; and for a time his fortunes underwent an eclipse. It was some years before he gained the favour of the new *malik*, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 729/1328-9), to whom he had presented a work on ethics, the *Madjmūʿa-yi Ghiyāthī*, and who commissioned him to write a chronicle of Harāt. Sayfī's *Taʾrīkh-i Harāt* (or *Taʾrīkh-i mulūk-i Kart*), his only surviving work, covers the period from the city's capture by Chinggis Khan in 618/1221 down to 722/1322, in all probability the date of composition. It was originally intended to comprise two *daftars* totalling 400 discourses (*dhikrs*); but only the first *daftar*, of 138 *dhikrs*, has come down to us. Although Sayfī's chronology for the first half-century or so must be treated with caution, the *Taʾrīkh*, as the earliest extant history of Harāt, is extremely valuable: Sayfī cites lost sources, notably the *Kart-nāma* of Rabīʿī-yi Būshandjī (*ca.* 702/1302-3), and utilises documents in the Kartid chancery. Both Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, in his historical works and in his geography, and Isfizārī (d. 903/1498), the later chronicler of Harāt, made extensive use of Sayfī's *Taʾrīkh*.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 354-5; Storey-Bregel', ii, 1042-4; Abdul Muktadir, *Notes on a unique history of Herat*, in *JASB*, N.S., xii (1916), 165-84; I.P. Petrushevskiy, *Trud Seyfi, kak istočnik po istorii vostočnogo Khorasana*, in *Trudï Yužno-Turkmenistanskoy arkheologičeskoy kompleksnoy ekspeditsii*, v, Ashkhabad 1955, 130-62; edn. of Sayfī, *The Taʾrīkh-nāma-i Harāt*, by M.Z. aṣ-Ṣiddíqí, Calcutta 1944, repr. Tehran 1352/1973.

(P. Jackson)

SAYḤĀN, the ancient Saros, the western twin river of the Djayḥān [*q.v.*] in the Çukurova (Cilician plain) in eastern Turkey; both were identified with two of the Ḳurʾānic rivers from Paradise (Ḳurʾān XLVII, 15, etc.) by the early Muslim border warriors. Its total length is 560 km/348 miles with the two spring rivers, the western Zamantı Irmağı (325 km/200 miles), originating in the Uzun Yayla, and the eastern Göksu (200 km/125 miles) coming from Binboğa and the Tahtalı mountains. The Zamantı flows through the meadows and gorges of the Taurus, and below Faraşa Köyü (Ariarameia) it unites with the Göksu. The latter, in its upper part preserves the ancient name as Sarız Suyu near the town of Sarız. The main right-bank tributaries of the Sayḥān are the Görgün Suyu and the Çakıt Suyu (Hafız Suyu, flowing down from Ulukışla through the famous Pozantı Deresi) just above Adana [*q.v.*], the original mouths of which are now immersed in the artificial lake of the Seyhan Toprak Barajı (begun in 1956). The riverbed had meandered through the Çukurova, causing enormous inundations and often enough mixing with the Djayḥān. It now flows westwards into a delta, one arm of which is the Tarsus Çayı, and into the sea at Deli Burnu. Avoiding the bad climate of the flood plain, the main harbour of the region, Mersin [*q.v.*], lies 25 km/15 miles to the north. Health and agriculture have been greatly improved by the construction of the dam, though cotton production was known in the Cilician plain from the Middle Ages and, together with orchards, had already been organised on industrial lines under Mïṣïrlï Ibrāhīm Pasha (*mutaṣarrif* in Adana on behalf of Meḥemmed ʿAlī 1833-40) and during the 1860s. The first railway connection of Adana with Mersin was built in 1886.

The only antique monument preserved along the river is the old bridge in Adana with 14 of its originally 21 arches still in use (length 319 m/1,046 feet), erected under Hadrian, with restorations, according to inscriptions and literary sources, in the 4th century, under Justinian (Procopius, *De aedif.*, 5 § 5); under al-Mahdī in 165/781-2; in 225/840; by Meḥemmed IV in 1072/1661-2 (Ewliyā Čelebi, ix, 338); by Aḥmed III; twice in the 19th century; and in 1949. It is wrongly described as having only one arch by Yāḳūt (i, 179). It should probably not be identified with the Djisr al-Walīd [II], constructed between al-Maṣṣīṣa (on the Djayḥān) and Adana in 125/743 (al-Balādhurī, 165), though the latter was situated on the western bank. But the region to the west of the Djayḥān remained a no-man's-land between Arabs and Byzantines until the early ʿAbbāsid period, when under al-Manṣūr in 141 or 142/758-9 Adana was "founded" (rebuilt) and populated by Khurāsānians, and in 165/781-2 a fort was begun next to the bridge by Hārūn al-Rashīd as governor of the *thughūr*; according to another tradition the city was [re]erected only in 194/809-10 (al-Balādhurī, 166-7). The early history is retailed by Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262, *Bughya*, i, 169-71, also quoting several *ḥadīths* for identifying the Sayḥān with that river of Paradise having water (against three others with honey, wine and milk), 381-8, 389-92; cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 145 § 289, ii, 66 § 775; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 209, tr. 201-2, explicitly states that these rivers were intended, and not the parallel Sayḥūn and Djayḥūn of Transoxania). He adds valuable geographical and historical information on this region (Byzantine occupation, from the end of the 9th century until around 1172, with the intrusion of the Lesser Armenian Kingdom of Sis 1080-1375 and the Crusaders), and mentions that the river flowed in Byzantine territory until Ḳalʿat Samandū (recalled in the modern Zamantı, see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 65-6), then in Armenian territory (*bilād al-Arman*) until Adana (i, 379-80).

From Saldjūḳ times onwards Turkish tribes occasionally pushed into the Taurus region, occupying the *yaylas* or summer pastures and valleys; the Ramaḍān-oghullari [*q.v.*] were later prominent here. Remnants of nomadic life have survived down to the recent past, and the *ʿāshiḳs* and popular poets (*ozan*) of the 19th century in this region were famous, including Dadaloghlu and Ḳaradjaoghlan, singing of social tensions and of the natural beauties of the mountains and riverside.

The region and the geography of the river were forgotten in Mamlūk and Ottoman times, in spite of the continuing use of routes via the Cilician pass (Gülek Boğazı) and along parts of the Zamantı and Sayḥān, so that Ewliyā Čelebi confuses the rivers (Adana on the Djayḥān, but not consistently, ix, 333, 336-40, already like the Byzantine sources, see al-Maṣṣīṣa). Foreign travellers like Marco Polo in 1270, Bertrandon de la Broquière 1432, Kātib Čelebi, Paul

Lucas 1706, Kinneir 1813 and Texier 1835, rarely mention more than the route stages and towns.

Bibliography: For Arabic sources, travellers and the main secondary works, see DJAYḤĀN. Also Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1408/1988; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ, Syrie du Nord*, ed. A.M. Eddé, in *BEO*, xxxii/3 (1980-1), 369, tr. Damascus 1984, 91-2; Map: Türkiye 1:800,000, *Harita Umum Müdürlüğü*, 1933; L. Rother, *Gedanken zur Stadtentwicklung in der Çukurova*, Wiesbaden 1972 (= TAVO, Reihe B, 3); *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, i, Istanbul 1981, s.v. *Adana ili*, 10-57; Murat Yüksel, *Çukurova'da Türk-İslam eserleri ve kitabeler*, Ankara 1994. (C.P. HAASE)

ṢĀYIGH, FATḤ ALLĀH (1790-?, still alive in 1847), son of Anthony, a Christian of the Latin rite who was a native of Aleppo and was the clerk, dragoman and biographer of Lascaris de Vintemille, Napoleon Bonaparte's agent. In Lascaris's company, he made a "commercial" tour through different regions of Syria and ʿIrāḳ. This trip concealed what was in reality a plan involving high politics, which Ṣāyigh was unaware of at the beginning of the travels. It was a question of getting to know the desert, its itineraries, resources and watering places, of unifying its tribes, of placing them under a single chief, of organising their rebellion against both the Turkish occupying power and also the Wahhābīs, and of preparing the way for a French military expedition which would block the route to India for British commerce.

Ṣāyigh and Lascaris left Aleppo on 18 February 1810. They succeeded in reaching Palmyra and in placing themselves under the protection of Muhannā Fāḍil, the *shaykh* of the Ḥisana. But the policy of Muhannā's elder brother, Nāṣir, was contrary to Lascaris's aims. The latter therefore set his sights on the *amīr* Durayʿ b. Shaʿlān, the *shaykh* of the Ruwāla [*q.v.*]. It was at that point that he revealed to his companion the journey's real aim, and Ṣāyigh henceforth threw all his energy into realising Lascaris's projects. The exploration of the deserts of the Arab East occupied the two of them for several years. Ṣāyigh made by himself a journey to Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] in 1813, and the Odyssey only came to an end after Napoleon's fall.

After Lascaris's death at Cairo in 1817, the result of being poisoned, the survivor Ṣāyigh went back to his mother at Lattakia, where he found a minor job with a merchant. He spoke with his friends about his numerous adventures and told them of a collection of notes which he had put together, at Lascaris's request, during his life as a Bedouin. At the time of his travels in Syria, Alphonse de Lamartine became interested in Ṣāyigh's memoirs (written in a semi-dialectal Arabic), negotiated their purchase, had them translated into French and published them in vol. iv of his *Voyage en Orient* (1835 ed.). Ṣāyigh made a trip to Paris in 1847, where he was the guest of Lamartine, and thanks to the latter, he was nominated consular agent of France in Aleppo.

Studded with errors as it was, Lamartine's version of Ṣāyigh's memoirs was condemned to oblivion by the Arabists of the 19th century, who accused the Syrian traveller of having put together a romance out of assorted pieces. It is probably true that one can find in Ṣāyigh's account numerous historical and geographical errors. But the *Journal Asiatique*'s severe judgement, which claims to have reduced the historicity of this account to nothingness, is only true in regard to the written parts deformed in translation or completely foreign to the original text, as is shown on the evidence of the new French version.

Bibliography: Arabic ms. of Fatḥ Allāh Ṣāyigh's memoirs, B.N. fonds arabe 2298, ed. as *Riḥlat Fatḥ Allāh Ṣāyigh al-Ḥalabī*, ed. Yūsuf Shulhud, Damascus 1991; Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient. Récit du sejour de Fatalla Sayeghir chez les Arabes errants du grand désert*, new tr. J. Chelhod, *Le désert et la gloire*, Paris 1991; *Lettre de Fresnel à Jules Mohl*, in *JA*, 6th ser., xvii (1871), 165-83; *JA, Rapport annuel*, 6th ser., xx (1872), 36; Auriant, *La vie extraordinaire de Théodore Lascaris*, Paris 1940; J. Chelhod, *Lascaris et Sâyigh, agents de Napoléon, chez les Bédouins*, in *Rev. d'histoire diplomatique*, 102ᵉ année (1988), 5-35. (J. CHELHOD)

ṢĀYIGH, TAWFĪḲ (1923-1971), Christian Palestinian Arab poet, born at Khirbā (southern Syria) as the son of a Presbyterian minister. In 1925, his family moved to Palestine, then, in 1948, to Beirut. Ṣāyigh was educated at the Arab College in Jerusalem and the American University in Beirut (B.A. in English literature in 1945), and studied literature at Harvard, Oxford and Cambridge. He taught Arabic language and literature in Cambridge and London. He was the editor in chief of the new Beirut cultural magazine *Ḥiwār* from 1962 through 1967. From 1968 until his death from a heart attack on 3 January 1971, Ṣāyigh lectured at the University of California at Berkeley.

Ṣāyigh's poetry, which is devoid of rhyme and metre, comprises the following volumes: *Thalāthūn ḳaṣīda* (1954), *al-Ḳaṣīda kāf* (1960) and *Muʿallaḳat Tawfīḳ Ṣāyigh* (1963) (all of them republished in *al-Madjmūʿāt al-shiʿriyya*, London 1990). His poetry, much of which was originally published in the Beirut literary magazines *Shiʿr* and *Ḥiwār*, has been called "a supreme example of an early modernity achieved because of the poet's particular qualities of vision and technique." (Salma Jayyusi, in M.M. Badawi (ed.), *Modern Arabic literature* (= *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*), Cambridge 1992, 152).

His other writings include essays on Arabic and English literature and translations of English verse (e.g. *50 ḳaṣīda min al-shiʿr al-amīrikī al-muʿāṣir*, and T.S. Eliot, *Rubāʿiyyāt arbaʿ* (= *Four Quartets*), both ²London 1990).

Bibliography: Issa J. Boullata, *The beleaguered unicorn: a study of Tawfīq Ṣāyigh*, in *JAL*, iv (1973), 69-93; idem, *The concept of modernity in the poetry of Jabra and Sayigh*, in Boullata (ed.), *Critical perspectives on modern Arabic literature 1945-1980*, Washington D.C. 1980, 263-79, repr. from *Edebiyât*, ii (1978), 173-89; Djabrā Ibrāhīm Djabrā, *Fī djubb al-usūd*, in *Shiʿr*, xv (1960), 105-17, repr. in idem, *al-Ḥurriyya wa 'l-ṭūfān*³, Beirut 1982, 28-42; idem, *Tawfīḳ Ṣāyigh, dughūṭ al-nār wa 'l-djawhar al-ṣulb*, in *al-Nār wa 'l-djawhar*, Beirut 1975; Maḥmūd Shurayḥ, *Tawfīḳ Ṣāyigh, sīrat shāʿir wa-manfā*, London 1989. (W. STOETZER)

ṢAYMARA, a town of mediaeval Persia, in what later became known as Luristān [*q.v.*], and the chef-lieu of the district of Mihradjānkadhaḳ. A tributary of the Karkhā, which flows into the Kārūn river [*q.v.*], is still today known as the Saymareh.

The district passed peacefully into the hands of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī's Arab troops (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 307), and in mediaeval times prospered as a meeting-place of Arab, Persian and Lur ethnic elements, apart from the devastations of a severe earthquake in 258/872 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1872-3). The valley which comprised the district was fertile and could even produce dates, but by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's time (8th/14th century), Ṣaymara was falling into ruins (which can still be seen today). A notable scholar and

humorist from the town was Abu 'l-ᶜAnbas al-Ṣaymarī, d. 275/888 [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 202; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 470-3.

(C.E. Bosworth)

al-ṢAYMARĪ, Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās Yaᶜḳūb b. Aḥmad, scholar and writer, probably a Shīᶜī, of whom we unfortunately know very little.

The Shīᶜī authors of the 5th/11th century, in particular, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, compiler of the *Nahdj al-balāgha* [*q.v.*] (d. 405/1015 [*q.v.*]), and biographers like Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 438/1046), al-Nadjāshī (d. 450/1058) and al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), do not have a single word about al-Ṣaymarī or his work. Moreover, there were occasions for this. As far as is known, the sole piece of information about him which we possess is owed to Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, commentator on the *Nahdj* (d. 656/1258 [*q.v.*]). This leads us to conclude that he lived after al-Sharīf al-Raḍī and al-Ṭūsī but before Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, if indeed he was not the latter's contemporary. If this is the case, he must have lived in the period of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries.

Thanks to Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, we also know of the existence of one of his works, the *Kalām ᶜAlī wa-khuṭabuhu* ("Words and speeches of ᶜAlī"). But this work is completely unknown to the older Arab biographers. Its title, however, enables one easily to deduce its nature, and it was probably a collection of ᶜAlī's discourses and letters. Following other writers who came after al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (cf. Kh. al-Ḥusaynī, *Maṣādir Nahdj al-balāgha*, Baghdād 1966-8, i, 68-92, at 70), al-Ṣaymarī probably wished in his own book to fill in some of the gaps left by the compiler of the *Nahdj*. But the extract from his text given by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd—a correspondence between ᶜAlī and Muᶜāwiya, apparently at the outset of their quarrel, in which the latter invites his opponent to prepare for war (*Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1965-7, xv, 82)—does not appear in the *Nahdj*; in the present state of our knowledge, no more can be said.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(Moktar Djebli)

al-ṢAYMARĪ, Abu 'l-ᶜAnbas [see abu 'l-ᶜanbas al-ṣaymarī, in Suppl.].

al-ṢAYRAFĪ, Muḥammad b. Badr, a prominent judge in Ikhshīdid Egypt. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Badr b. ᶜAbd Allāh (or ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz) al-Ṣayrafī was born in Egypt in 264/877-8. His father was a client of Yaḥyā b. Ḥakīm al-Kinānī and was a prosperous money changer (*ṣarrāf*) for whom Abū ᶜUmar al-Kindī composed his *Kitāb al-Mawālī*. A Ḥanafī by *madhhab* and a reporter of traditions, al-Ṣayrafī studied under Abū Djaᶜfar al-Ṭaḥāwī as a Ḥanafī jurist and heard traditions from ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Baghawī in Mecca and from other Meccan and Egyptian teachers. Ibn ᶜAsākir briefly refers to al-Ṣayrafī in his *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, stating that he stayed in Damascus for a while and transmitted *ḥadīth* there, as well as in Egypt, on the authority of ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Baghawī.

Al-Ṣayrafī held different judicial posts before succeeding to the judgeship of Egypt (*ḳaḍāʾ Miṣr*) under the Ikhshīdids. For a while he was a deputy to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Shawārib, who had been designated as the chief judge of Egypt by the ᶜAbbāsid caliph al-Rāḍī. According to Ibn Ḥadjar al-ᶜAskalānī, al-Ṣayrafī himself held the judgeship of Egypt on three occasions, from Shawwāl 322/October 934 to Shaᶜbān 324/July 936, and secondly from Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 327/October 939 to Ṣafar 329/December 940. Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj al-Ikhshīd appointed al-Ṣayrafī for the third and last time to that office in Shawwāl 329/July 941, a post he held until his death in Shaᶜbān 330/May 942. Abū ᶜUmar al-Kindī reports, on the authority of Ibn Zūlāḳ, that Muḥammad b. Badr al-Ṣayrafī wore fine clothes and had a sumptuous house in Fusṭāṭ.

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(F. Daftary)

SAYRĀM (also Ṣayram, etc.), the name of a town in present-day Kazakhstan, some 7-8 miles east of Čimkent, on the Arīs river, a tributary of the Syr Darya. Kāshgharī (ed. and tr. Dankoff, ii, 241; repeated in the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. Ross, 171), in the earliest reference to it under this name, identifies it as the "White City which is called Isbīdjāb" [see isfīdjāb, in Suppl.]. In Kāshgharī's day (i, 84) its inhabitants spoke "both Soghdian and Turkic." It is to be distinguished from a city of the same name in Eastern Turkistan (located between Kuča and Aḳsu) which, according to local tradition, was founded by captives brought thither by the Kalmyks (Barthold, rev. of *Taʾrīkh-i Amniyya*, in *Sočineniya*, viii, 213); the great Turkish Ṣūfī, Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1166-7 [*q.v.*]) was claimed as a native of this town (Barthold, *Hist. des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 111). Ch'ang Ch'un, who visited "Sai-lan" in the early 1220s, noted that its ruler was a Muslim. Subsequent Chinese travellers of the Yüan and Ming eras describe it as a well-populated Muslim town with extensive agriculture (see Bretschneider, *Researches*, for references). The agricultural productivity, based on irrigation canals, is remarked on by later Muslim authors as well (see Pishčulina, *Pis'mennie*, 167-72). Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmiᶜ*, ed. Romaskevič, i/1, 72-3) places it in a listing of Eurasian toponyms between "Talās" and "Ibīr and Sībīr" and cites it (i/1, 101) as one of the regions conquered by the legendary Oghuz Khān. He also mentions (i/1, 91) it as "Ḳārī Ṣayram" (Turk. "Old Sayram") as an "old and great city", one day's journey in length, with 40 gates, inhabited by Muslim Turks. It is frequently noted in Tīmūrīd (Tīmūr gave it to his grandson, Ulugh Beg, see Yazdī, ii, 449) and Shaybānid sources, with often-shifting overlordship according to the fortunes of war (Barthold, *Hist. of the Semirechyé*).

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viii, 213-19; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945; idem, *History of the Semirechyé*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1962; K.A. Pishčulina, *Pis'mennïe vostočnïe istočniki o prisïrdar'inskikh gorodakh Kazakhstana xiv-xvii vv.* ("Eastern written sources on the Syr Darya towns of Kazakhstan of the XIV-XVII centuries"), in B.A. Tulupbaev (ed.), *Srednevekovaya gorodskaya kul'tura Kazakhstana i Sredney Azii* ("The medieval urban culture of Kazakhstan and Central Asia"), Alma-Ata 1983, 165-77; Č.Č. Valikhanov, *Sobranie sočineniy v pyati tomakh* (= coll. works in 5 volumes), Alma-Ata 1984-5. (P.B. Golden)

SAYʾŪN, a town in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], situated about 16 km/10 miles east of Shibām [*q.v.*] and 24 km/15 miles west of Tarīm [*q.v.*] and approximately 480 km/300 miles north of the port of Ḥaḍramawt, al-Mukallā [*q.v.*] (see H. von Wissmann and R.B. Serjeant, map of Southern Arabia, Royal Geographical Society, 1958). The town was within the boundaries of the Fifth Governorate of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and now in the unified Republic of Yemen. Landberg (*Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, iii, *Datînah*, Leiden 1913, 1820) discusses the spelling of the name, Sayʾūn and Saywūn, etc., concluding that the former is the more ancient spelling and that the *-ūn* ending is Mahri (cf. names like Khudūn, Dammūn, Ḳaydūn etc.).

The area is famed for its fertility and, in particular, for its date growing. Although it has nothing like the renown of Tarīm in this regard, some accounts of Sayʾūn mention the town as a centre of Islamic scholarship (*hidjrat ʿilm*) (Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-Maḳḥafī, *Muʿdjam al-buldān wa 'l-ḳabāʾil al-Yamaniyya*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1988, 335). Landberg, at the turn of the century (*Etudes*, i, *Ḥadramoût*, Leiden 1901, 451), writes of the temporary decline of Tarīm as a centre of scholarship and religion with the closure of its school (*ribāṭ*) and the resultant rise of the discipline in Sayʾūn. Here a rich benefactor of the school, *al-Ḥabīb* (the usual Ḥaḍramī title of a *sayyid*) ʿAlī al-Ḥabshī Bā ʿAlawī, was its rector, providing for all the needs of poor students entirely free.

Sayʾūn, it should be said, is not of great antiquity. The name of the town appears along with the Kathīrī sultans from about the 9th/15th century. They conquered Ḥaḍramawt from the east, from Ẓafār [*q.v.*] from where they originally hailed. The town continued in their hands and was the capital of the Kathīrī sultanate in 1967 when the British left the Aden Protectorates and independence was granted.

Bibliography: All references are given in the text except the historical ones, the main one of which is Sālim b. Muḥammad b. Sālim b. Ḥamīd al-Kindī, *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt, al-ʿUdda al-mufīda al-djāmiʿa li-tawārīkh ḳadīma wa-ḥadītha*, ed. ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī, Ṣanʿāʾ 1991, *passim*. See also Government of Bombay, *An account of the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden*, Bombay 1909, 123 ff.; R.B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast*, Oxford 1963, 25 ff. and *passim*; idem, *Omani naval activities off the Southern Arabian coast in the late 11th/17th century from Yemeni chronicles*, in *Jnal. of Oman Studies*, vi (1983), 77-89. (G.R. Smith)

SAYYID, Saʾid (a., pls. *asyād, sāda, sādāt*, abstract nouns *siyāda, suʾdad*, etc.), originally, chief, e.g. of an Arabian tribe, and then, in Islamic times, a title of honour for descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad, being in this respect in many ways coterminous with the term *sharīf*.

Sayyid was used in ancient South Arabian, where it appears as *sʾwd* "chieftain" (A.F.L. Beeston, etc., *Sabaic dictionary*, Louvain-Beirut 1982, 129), but the root seems to be largely absent from North-Western Semitic, being only dubiously attested in Elephantine Aramaic (J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic inscriptions*, Leiden 1995, ii, 779-80). In early Arabic usage, it could be applied to animals, with the wild ass called the *sayyid* of his female, and to the leaders of the Jinn (Lane, *Lexicon*, 1462-3).

1. In early Arabic tribal usage.

Though *sayyid* is the most common and the most general term, there are many other designations for the tribal chief: *ʿamīd, ʿimād* "pillar, support"; *rābiʿ* or *sayyid al-mirbāʿ* (from the chief's entitlement to a quarter of captured booty); *raʾīs, ḳāʾid* (referring to the chief's leadership in war); *khaṭīb* and *zaʿīm* (referring to his oratorical powers); and *shaykh* and *kabīr* (designating chiefs who were veterans, with long and glorious careers). Less common in ancient times, *shaykh* has become in recent centuries the standard title for the Bedouin tribal chief, since both *sayyid* and *sharīf* (referring to the chief's nobility of lineage) have tended to acquire specialised Islamic religious senses (see below, 2.).

The chief's authority in his tribe was based in the first place on his *nasab* or ancestry, from inheritance (*irthan*) and from a chain of noble (*sharīf*) and free (*ḥurr, ṣarīḥ*) predecessors (*kabīran ʿan kabīrin*) (see Bichr Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 52; and ʿirḍ). He had to possess such qualities and practice such skills as *ḥilm* [*q.v.*], magnanimity; *dahāʾ*, shrewdness and diplomatic finesse; and liberality and hospitality (a chief might be described as *ʿaẓīm al-ḳudūr* "having large cooking pots" or *kathīr al-rimād* "having a large pile of ashes [outside his tent]"). He had to act as spokesman and orator for the tribe, so that many chiefs were famed also as poets, such as Imruʾ al-Ḳays of Kinda and Mālik b. Nuwayra of Yarbūʿ of Tamīm [*q.vv.*, and see for other such poet-chiefs, shāʿir. 1. a]. Such abilities as being able to read and write and being able to swim are recorded as being amongst those possessed by the chief of the Khazradj in Medina, Saʿd b. Ubāda [*q.v.*]. Because of an emphasis on seniority within the leading family, chiefs tended to be men of mature age and experience rather than youths; they might be bald, but could not be beardless. Certain of the chief's functions might on occasion be exercised by others of his kinsmen or by tribal notables, and in early modern times, Jaussen noted the existence at the side of the chief of a specific leader of raids, *ʿaḳīd al-ghazw*, amongst the Jordanian tribes (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1948, 132).

A chief might succeed to the headship by an act of bequest (*waṣiyya*) of his predecessor. Imruʾ al-Ḳays succeeded his father Ḥudjr; Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī's [*q.v.*] son succeeded him; and Durayd b. al-Ṣimma [*q.v.*] succeeded his brother. Although chiefs usually came from what would later be called a shaykhly house, this lineage had to be allied to proven competence if the tribe were to flourish and survive in a harsh and lawless environment. Hence because of the overriding necessity for continuing success, the chief's authority was fragile and could be impaired in times of adversity. That of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl [*q.v.*] was challenged within his tribe of Djaʿfar b. Kilāb of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa after setbacks in battle, but later restored. Unless the chief was one of the minority of outstandingly forceful figures regarded as uncontested in their authority (*muṭāʿ, ghayr mudāfaʿ*), such as Muḥammad's contemporary ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn of Fazāra, his authority rested to a considerable extent on the tacit consent of

his peers within the tribe, underpinned by his unflagging ability to preserve his people's fighting reputation and to secure pasture for its herds. Hence chieftainship could often be more a burden than a source of exploitation, reflected in the popular saying *sayyid al-ḳawm khādimuhum* "the chief is the tribe's servant". Whether, as Chelhod surmised, the chief originally had a sacral role, one effaced by the advent of Islam, is uncertain, but in his function as tribal orator and spokesman one might conjecture an attribution of magical powers similar to those attributed to the ancient poets [see SHĀʿIR. 1. A].

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2. In Islamic socio-religious usage.

See for this, SHARĪF, especially section 3.

SAYYID ḤASAN GHAZNAWĪ, Abu 'l Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ashraf, Persian poet who died presumably in 556/1161. He spent the greater part of his life in Ghazna as a panegyrist of the Ghaznawid Sultan Bahrām Shāh (512-47/1118-52), to whose campaigns into India he dedicated several *ḳaṣīdas*. During the latter's reign he made the *Ḥadjdj*, in all probability prompted by problems with this *mamdūḥ* and intended as a search for a new one. Our oldest source on Ḥasan, the Persian polymath Ẓahīr al-Dīn Abu 'l Ḥasan al-Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*], mentions in his (Arabic) *Lubāb al-ansāb* (written in 555/1160) that he met the poet, who was on his way to Mecca, in Nīshāpūr in 544/1149 (Mudarris-i Raḍawī, introd. to the *Dīwān*, 357). During his journey he associated with members of the Saldjūḳ dynasty: he mourned sultan Masʿūd's death in a *tardjīʿ-band* (in 546/1151) and dedicated a *ḳaṣīda* to the accession to the throne of Malik Shāh III (in 547/1152). After this journey he seems to have resided in Khurāsān at the court of Sandjar. Following Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz in 548/1153, he attached himself to the latter's protégé and nephew, the Ḳarakhānid Maḥmūd Khān, who had become ruler of Khurāsān. It is not completely certain whether *ḳaṣīdas* dedicated to the Khʷārazm Shāh Atsïz (d. 551/1156) and to the Saldjūḳ Sulaymān Shāh on the occasion of his enthronement in 555/1160 were only sent to, respectively, Khʷārazm and Hamadhān or refer to an actual stay at those places. The *ḳaṣīda* for Sulaymān Shāh gives the last date of his life, which came to an end before 557/1162, the date of the deposition of Maḥmūd Khān (see below). A tomb of the poet can be seen in Āzādwār near Djuwayn.

The only work which has survived is a Persian *dīwān* of about 5,000 *bayts*. This *Dīwān* is preceded by an introduction written by a companion who asserts that, in accordance with the author's wish in his testament, he collected it to dedicate it to the Ḳarakhānid Maḥmūd Khān. Although no ms. of the *Dīwān* older than the late 10th/16th century survives, several of Ḥasan Ghaznawī's poems have come down to us in a ms. from 636/1238 from another text, namely, Rāwandī's [*q.v.*] history of the Saldjūḳs *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* (completed in 603/1206-7). In this text he is, after Mudjīr al-Dīn Baylaḳānī [*q.v.*], the *dīwān* author most cited; it contains seven complete poems (*ḳaṣīdas* and *tarkīb-bands*), which, in accordance with the nature of the text, are all intended for Saldjūḳ *mamdūḥs*, and some odd verses as well. Moreover, Rāwandī cites an anecdote wherein Ḥasan advises another poet to learn by heart "modern" poets like Anwarī [*q.v.*] and himself and leave aside the great classics like Sanāʾī [*q.v.*] whose talent would inhibit a poet (57-8).

The *Dīwān* consists of *ḳaṣīdas*, strophic poems, *ghazaliyyāt*, *ḳiṭaʿāt* and *rubāʿiyyāt*. The *ḳaṣīdas* are mostly panegyric, and more than half of them lack a *nasīb* and begin directly with the *madḥ*. A large part of the remaining *ḳaṣīdas* have a *nasīb* devoted to a description of spring and *taghazzul*. Some *ḳaṣīdas*, however, stand out both by subject matter and quality. Memorable are no. 57, a complaint *ḳaṣīda* with the title *ṣafīr al-ḍamīr*; no. 59, which echoes a *ḳaṣīda* by Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*] combining complaint with *fakhr*, and no. 60, an ascetic *ḳaṣīda*. In no. 72, a *sawgand-nāma* ("oath-poem"), the poet tries to repudiate an accusation. Some *ḳaṣīdas* have long passages devoted to *waṣf*. A case in point is the original no. 46, which has a description of fourteen lines of the eyes, which leads to a *gurīzgāh* where the gaze is oriented towards the *mamdūḥ*. Other examples are the description of the night in nos. 62 (as well as of the horse) and 67 (with separate attention to each of the planets).

Already in 1958 Braginski paid attention to the *ghazaliyyāt* of Ḥasan. More than a third of them end with a panegyrical dedication; in this he follows Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān and Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] and prefigures his later contemporary Sanāʾī and ultimately Ḥāfiẓ.

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(ANNA LIVIA BEELAERT)

AL-**SAYYID** AL-**ḤIMYARĪ**, ABŪ HĀSHIM ISMĀʿĪL b. Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Rabīʿa b. Mufarrigh, a Shīʿī poet and a grandson of the poet Ibn Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*]. He was born to Ibāḍī parents about 105/723, grew up in Baṣra, and died in Baghdād or Wāsiṭ between 173/789 and 179/795. At a young age, he adopted with great fervour the doctrine of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] Shīʿa, believing in the imāmate and occultation of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] and his return as the Mahdī [*q.v.*]. Twelver Shīʿī authorities, both mediaeval and modern, claim that he later converted to Imāmism (*tadjaʿfara*), but the proof-stories they cite are anachronistic, contradictory, or legendary, and his *tadjaʿfur* poems have been judged of old as forgeries. Despite his well-known Kaysānī Shīʿī beliefs, though, he maintained good relations with the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Saffāḥ, al-

Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd, whose praises he sang and whose gifts he accepted.

Al-Sayyid is considered a leading and prolific *muḥdath* poet of the class of Bashshār b. Burd and Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*q.vv.*]. Although several known people (including four daughters) transmitted his poems, no one could collect them all, due to their large number—allegedly over 2,300. Of these, only 221 poems and fragments have survived; and, of the many books written about his *akhbār*, only one is extant also. Clearly, his poetry was shunned very early, since it contained vehement invectives against the Companions, the Prophet's wives, and the enemies of the Shīʿīs, notably the Umayyads. Most of his poetry praises the Banū Hāshim and recounts ʿAlī's virtues and extraordinary exploits. Though this poetry is generally lyrical, melodious, easy-flowing, and idiosyncratically narrative in style, al-Sayyid's most tender are perhaps his Kaysānī poems, depicting Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's state and his long-awaited return to earth. These latter poems have been a major source for the heresiographers on the Kaysāniyya and have often been attributed to the earlier Kaysānī poet, Kuthayyir ʿAzza [*q.v.*].

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SAYYID ḲUṬB, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Shādhilī, Egyptian writer, prominent member of the Muslim Brotherhood and main ideologue of modern Muslim Sunnī fundamentalism, born 9 October 1906 in Mūsha near Asyūṭ, executed 29 August 1966 in Cairo.

Life. In 1920 Sayyid Ḳuṭb moved from his native village to Cairo for his secondary education. From 1929 till 1933 he studied at *Dār al-ʿUlūm*. He worked as a teacher for approximately six years, became a functionary in the Ministry of Education (*Wizārat al-Maʿārif*), and was sent on an educational mission to the United States where he spent two years. He returned to Egypt in August 1950.

Sayyid Ḳuṭb joined the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] probably only after his return from the United States. The exact date on which he joined is still disputed. It is usually assumed that he became a Brotherhood member in 1951.

In October 1952 he left the Ministry of Education after nineteen years of service. When the July 1952 revolution took place, he was in close contact with the Free Officers. He served, so we are told by several sources, as the cultural adviser to the leaders of the revolution. Nevertheless Sayyid Ḳuṭb parted with the new leaders because of ideological differences, for he believed that Islam should serve as the basis for the new Egyptian régime.

He became the editor of the newspaper of the Muslim Brotherhood just before he was arrested for the first time, together with the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood, in early 1954, and remained behind bars for three months.

His second arrest took place on 26 October 1954 in the wake of the Manshiyya incident, supposedly an attempt to assassinate the then President, Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], in Alexandria's Manshiyya Square. In 1955 he was sentenced to fifteen years in prison.

Thanks to mediation by the ʿIrāḳī president ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif, Sayyid Ḳuṭb was released from prison in 1964. In November 1964 he published his *Maʿālim fi 'l-ṭarīḳ* "Landmarks". In this book he accuses present Muslim societies of being not Islamic but *djāhilī*. This word originally simply means "pre-Islamic", but in this new context it has no limitations to a period but means first of all "pagan", "barbaric", "anti-Islamic", "vicious" and "wicked". The accusation of being *djāhilī* implies apostasy from Islam, which is punishable by death.

On 9 August 1965, Sayyid Ḳuṭb was arrested again. He was accused of attempting to assassinate Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, of treason, and of planning a coup d'état. His trial was presided over by the notorious military judge Fuʾād al-Didjwī who, in the words of Gilles Kepel, "offered the accused all the guarantees of fairness characteristic of a military court in a dictatorial state trying defendants broken by torture." Sayyid Ḳuṭb was sentenced to death on 21 August 1966 and executed one week later.

Autobiographical writings. Two of Sayyid Ḳuṭb's novels are generally believed to be largely autobiographical: *Ṭifl min al-ḳarya* "A child from the village", 1946, and *Ashwāk* "Thorns", 1947, a moving work which explains why its hero never married.

At the end of the year 1965, in prison, Sayyid Ḳuṭb wrote a detailed statement on his activities within the Muslim Brotherhood. This statement was published under the title *Li-mādhā aʿdamūnī?* "Why did they execute me?". Moreover, several letters, autobiographical articles, and court or police proceedings have been preserved.

Literary works and literary criticism. The first book Sayyid Ḳuṭb published was his *Mahammat al-shāʿir fi 'l-ḥayāt wa-shiʿr al-djīl al-ḥāḍir*, "The task of the poet in life and the poetry of the present generation", 1933.

Sayyid Ḳuṭb's first and last volume of poetry appeared in 1935. It is entitled *al-Shāṭiʾ al-madjhūl*, "The unknown shore". The articles of literary criticism which he published in the periodicals *al-Risāla*, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, *al-Kitāb* and *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* between 1942 and 1946 have been collected in his *Kutub wa-shakhṣiyyāt*, 1946. In the same year his novel *al-Madīna al-mashūra* "The enchanted city", appeared.

Writings on Islam. Ideas. Sayyid Ḳuṭb's most important work is without doubt his commentary on the Ḳurʾān, *Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳurʾān*, literally "In the shadows of the Ḳurʾān", in 30 volumes. When Sayyid Ḳuṭb was arrested in 1954, 16 volumes had appeared. The remaining volumes were written from prison, with Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ghazālī acting as government-appointed censor.

In 1960, a revised edition of this commentary

started to appear. Volume xiii of the revised edition (up to sūra XIV) appeared in 1964. Arrest and execution prevented the revised edition from being completed. It is this revised edition which is often characterised as *tafsīr ḥarakī* "activist exegesis".

In the general introduction to this commentary, the layman Sayyid Ḳuṭb carefully explains that he "had heard God speaking to [him] in this Ḳurʾān", even though his training had been literary, non-theological, and even though he had never been a recognised Azhar-trained "man of religion".

His *al-ʿAdāla al-id̲j̲timāʿiyya fi 'l-Islām*, "Social justice in Islam", April 1949, revised ed. 1964, was originally written as an answer to the leftist ideas with which Egypt was permeated in the late nineteen-forties. It contains much that would come back in more rigidly-argued forms later on. It appears to be the first work in Arabic that employed the phrase "social justice" instead of "socialism".

The *d̲j̲āhiliyya* theory developed in *Maʿālim fi 'l-ṭarīḳ*, 1964, became the ideological nucleus of modern Sunnī fundamentalism. It has the grim consequence of *takfīr*, the act of identifying someone as a *kāfir*, unbeliever, or, even, when born a Muslim, as an apostate who deserves the death penalty.

Sayyid Ḳuṭb's *d̲j̲āhiliyya* theory has roots in traditional Islam and in traditional Islamic law. It appeals to the traditional dislike which the inhabitants of the Middle East feel for their rulers. It reflects the feeling, common in the Middle East, of being overwhelmed by a modernity that penetrated the Muslim world from the West.

There is, however, more to fundamentalism than a mere rejection of modernity. The non-fundamentalist Ṣūfīs, as well as other groups, equally reject modernity, but they do not accept the grave political consequences which the fundamentalists attach to this rejection.

Amongst the collections of articles that appeared as separate books under the name of Sayyid Ḳuṭb, *Maʿrakatunā maʿa 'l-Yahūd*, "Our struggle with the Jews", deserves individual mention. The essay which gave this volume its title was probably written in 1950-1. In its present form, it contains footnotes referring to the spurious document known as *The Protocols of the elders of Zion* that were added in 1970 by a Saudi editor, one Zayn al-Dīn al-Rakkābī. There is an English translation of the essay by Ronald L. Nettler, including an elaborate introduction and commentary, see *Bibl.* below.

A complete list of Sayyid Ḳuṭb's writings can be found in Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-K̲h̲ālidī, 1991, 517-80. This valuable list supplies ample information on the origins, first date of appearance, reprints etc. of Sayyid Ḳuṭb's articles and books.

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(J.J.G. Jansen)

SAYYIDS, a dynasty of Indo-Muslim kings in Dihlī which followed the Tug̲h̲luḳs and preceded the Lodīs [*q.vv.*] and ruled over Dihlī for about 37 years (817-55/1414-51). Four rulers, K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān (817-24/1414-21), Mubārak S̲h̲āh (824-37/1421-34), Muḥammad b. Farīd (837-47/1434-43) and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam S̲h̲āh (847-55/1443-51), belonged to this dynasty. Their claim of Sayyid descent seems to have been shrewdly fabricated in order to buttress their position in the absence of any racial or oligarchic support. The contemporary author of *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Mubārak-S̲h̲āhī*, 182, gives two reasons for this claim: firstly, because Sayyid D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Buk̲h̲ārī, an eminent Suhrawardī saint of Multān, had once referred to K̲h̲iḍr's father, Malik Sulaymān, as a Sayyid; and secondly, because K̲h̲iḍr possessed the moral qualities of a Sayyid. Both are flimsy arguments. Significantly enough, the author of *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i-Muḥammadī* is silent on this point.

K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān, the founder of the dynasty, was the son of Malik Sulaymān, an adopted son of Malik Naṣīr al-Mulk Mardān Dawlat, an influential *amīr* of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh Tug̲h̲luḳ. Under the later Tug̲h̲luḳs, K̲h̲iḍr became the *muḳtaʿ* of Multān, but was removed in 798/1395-6 when he quarrelled with Sarang K̲h̲ān, brother of Mallū Iḳbāl K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*]. Fortune smiled upon him when Tīmūr occupied Dihlī and conferred its government on him. On the eve of his departure, Tīmūr entrusted to him the government of Multān and Dipalpūr also. This gave K̲h̲iḍr an initial leverage over other Tug̲h̲luḳ *malik*s who were struggling for supremacy in the state, but he had to struggle hard to reach the throne. After a number of battles and skirmishes at Ad̲j̲odhan, Sirhind, Rōhtāk, Mēwāt and Dihlī and in the Doʾāb, K̲h̲iḍr entered Sirī on 17 Rabīʿ I 817/6 June 1414 and ascended the throne. His seven years of rule were spent mostly in quelling rebellions and dealing with recalcitrant groups of the nobility. He made determined efforts, though without any lasting success, to reunite under the Sultanate the whole tract of the country from Multān in the west to Ḳannawd̲j̲ in the east and from the foot of the Himalayas in the north to the borders of Mālwā. He was, however, reluctant to assume sovereignty and was content with the title of *Rāyat-i aʿlā*, pretending to rule on behalf of Tīmūr. Abu 'l-Faḍl remarks: "K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān in gratitude (to Tīmūr) did not assume the regal title but styled his court 'the Sublime Standards', and adorned the *k̲h̲uṭba* with the name of that illustrious monarch and afterwards with that of Mīrzā S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲, but it concluded with a prayer for himself" (ii, 312). The text of the *k̲h̲uṭba* is given in the *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ins̲h̲āʾ* and *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Muḥammadī*. K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān died on 17 D̲j̲umādā I 824/20 May 1421 and, according to Firis̲h̲ta, people mourned him by wearing black garments.

Mubārak S̲h̲āh, who succeeded his father, dealt with the rebellions of D̲j̲asrath Khōkar and Tug̲h̲an Raʾīs, garrisoned Lahore and undertook campaigns against Katehr and Kampil. Developments in Etāwa, Multān, Bayana, Gwāliyār and Mēwāt disturbed him throughout his reign. He also had to deal with Sultan Ibrāhīm S̲h̲arḳī of D̲j̲awnpur [*q.v.*], undertake cam-

paigns against the Khōkars and face the revolt of the sons of Sayyid Salīm (Shawwal 833/June-July 1430). In Djumādā II 834/February-March 1431, he had to deal with the incursion of Shaykh ᶜAlī of Kābul.

On 9 Radjab 837/19 February 1434, Sultan Mubārak Shāh was assassinated when he was preparing to go for his Friday prayers. During the 17 years of his reign, he had to undertake ceaseless military operations in Katehr, Mēwāt and the north-eastern region, and had to deal with rebellious *maliks* in and around the capital. Corrupt and treacherous officers added to his problems and pervaded the entire administrative machinery. His administrative shortcomings apart, he was (as Firishta says) a "cultured prince".

Immediately on his father's death, Muḥammad Shāh (son of Farīd b. Khiḍr) ascended the throne "with the assent of the *amīrs*, *maliks*, *imāms*, Sayyids, grandees, people, *ᶜulamāʾ* and the *ḳāḍīs*" (*T.-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, 236). The next day he called the high *amirs* and slaves of Mubārak, who enjoyed the privilege of the *mahī marātib* (fish banner), on the pretext of giving *bayᶜat* (allegiance), and had some of them killed and put others in confinement; he thus brought many of the regicides to book. At a time when anarchical tendencies were getting out of control, some *ᶜulamāʾ* and *amīrs* invited Maḥmūd I Khaldjī [*q.v.*] from Mālwā. In utter distress, Muḥammad Shāh sent for Bahlūl Lodī and his troops from Sāmāna. The stern battle of the first day convinced Maḥmūd that the conquest of Dihlī would not be an easy task. He therefore readily accepted Muḥammad Shāh's proposal for peace and turned back. When he was on his return journey, Bahlūl Lodī plundered some of his equipage. Pleased at this, Muḥammad Shāh addressed Bahlūl officially as his son.

In 845/1441 Muḥammad Shāh handed over Dipalpūr and Lahore to Bahlūl and commissioned him to chastise Djasrath Khōkar. But Bahlūl turned hostile and marched against Dihlī. This undermined the position of Muḥammad Shāh, whose nobles "even within twenty *karohs* of Dihlī" turned against him. On Muḥammad Shāh's death in 847/1443, his son ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn ᶜĀlam Shāh was raised to the throne. According to Abu 'l Faḍl, he "possessed no share of rectitude and abandoned himself to licentious gratifications" (ii, 313). Reports of Sharḳī attacks and the disloyal attitude of the nobles created a difficult situation for him. In 1448 he abandoned Dihlī and settled in Badāʾūn, where earlier he had lived as governor. Bahlūl Lodī took possession of Dihlī but allowed him to rule over Badāʾūn till his death (883/1478). Subsequently, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Sharḳī integrated Badāʾūn into his kingdom of Djawnpūr. Families which traced their origin to him were known in Badāʾūn as *Khiḍr-Khānī Sayyids* (Faḍl Akram Ṣiddīḳī, *Āthār-i Badāʾūn*, Badāʾūn 1915, 70).

Emerging as the principality of Multān, the Sayyid dynasty ended as the principality of Badāʾūn. Looked at in the context of the Dihlī Sultanate, the Sayyid dynasty forms a watershed in the history of mediaeval India, indicating a stage in the dismemberment of centralised monarchy. Its rulers were devoid of any ideal of establishing an empire; their political vision was confined to a radius of some 200 miles round Dihlī. Their writ worked only from "Dihlī to Pālam" (*az Dihlī tā Pālam*), as the saying went. They undertook innumerable punitive campaigns but these were mainly directed against their own *maliks*. There was neither administrative coordination nor uniformity in the areas under their control. Even in the agrarian sphere there was "diversity of practice in assessment and collection" (Moreland, 67). Group assessment seems to have gained ground at the expense of Sharing or Measurement. In reality, the Sayyid kings of Dihlī—with their nebulous title of *rāyat-i aᶜlā*—were nothing more than glorified *iḳṭāᶜ-dārs* and, as Tripathi has remarked, "were never seriously considered as Sovereign rulers". Their political outlook, their theory of kingship, and even their ethnic origin, was born of the exigencies of the situation. The numismatic evidence on which E. Thomas and Nelson Wright based their conclusions about inscriptions on the Sayyid currency is not borne out by information recorded by Bihāmid Khānī and other Persian chroniclers. According to Bihāmid Khānī, the orders of Shāh Rukh were enforced here for about 40 years. Robes of honour and standards were received from Harāt, while the *sikka* (currency) was issued and the *khuṭba* was recited in the name of Tīmūr and his son. It appears from the *Tāʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī* and the *Maṭlaᶜ al-saᶜdayn* that the Sayyid rulers regularly paid tribute to them. Mubārak Shāh's claim to be *Nāʾib-i Amīr al-Muʾminīn* should be interpreted in the context of Shāh Rukh's "ambition of being recognised as *Khalifa* and overlord of other Muslim princes" (Arnold, *The Caliphate*, 12).

Despite all the political turmoil and unstable conditions that prevailed in their shrunken kingdom, the Sayyid rulers displayed a keen interest in the founding of new cities. Khiḍr Khān founded Khiḍrābād and Mubārak Shāh Mubārakābād on the banks of the Djumnā (Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār al-sanādīd*, ed. Khalīḳ Andjum, Delhi 1990, i, 102). No archaeological remains of these cities have survived. ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn is said to have populated Aᶜlāpūr in the Badāʾūn district (Raḍī al-Dīn Bismil, *Kamz al-taʾrīkh*, Badāʾūn 1907, 232). He laid out a pleasure garden also (Manzoor Badaoni, *Āthār awliyā-i shahr-i Badāʾūn*, Āgra 1338/1920, 25). The architecture of the Sayyid period is, however, expressive of dissolution. Only the tombs of the period have survived; it has been rightly designated as the *Maḳbara* architecture. According to Percy Brown, 26, "in the course of time the country around the capital was converted into a vast necropolis". More than fifty tombs of considerable size and importance belonged to nobles. No large congregational mosques were built during this period.

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(K.A. Nizami)

SAZ, Ottoman form *sāz*, the Turkish lute. *Sāz*, with various meanings in Persian, including "musical instrument" in general, may be applied to stringed instruments (the *çöğür* in Adharbaydjān, the viol, *sorud*, in Balūčistān), to wind instruments (the *zurna* in Persia) or to the musical band itself; in effect, in Balūčistān (where the local language often reflects the ancient stages of Persian), this word also means the tuning of instruments.

If in Turkey *saz* still denotes, in a rural environment, any musical instrument, the term is generally applied to the lute with a long neck and a semi-pyriform belly, with three groups of strings comprising two or three strings, and this has become over the course of the 20th century a real symbol of national unity.

1. *History and structure of the instrument.*

There are representations of lutes with long necks on Akkadian cylinder seals of the third millennium B.C. The same type of instrument was spread, in the second millennium B.C., all over western Asia and Egypt. Later, there are Byzantine pictures of long-necked lutes (*pandoura*), attesting the presence of such instruments in Anatolia before the Turkish conquest. The question of the origin of these lutes can be discussed at length, but it is clear that, although such stringed instruments may have existed in Western Asia before the Turks' arrival, it nevertheless seems that the Oghuz brought into Asia Minor their own lute, the ancestor of the present *saz*, with the name of *kopuz*. In descriptions of the 14th-15th centuries A.D. (in Yūnus Emre and the Dede Korkut epic), it seems to have been a lute with three strings, with a long neck and a sound-board of hide. The present form of the *saz* could thus be the result of a synthesis between the autochthonous, Anatolian instrument and the Turkish *kopuz*.

In our time, the *saz* has several names, corresponding to different sizes respectively; thus, in increasing order, *cura* (between 50 and 70 cm), *cura-bağlama* or *tambura* (*ca.* 95 cm), *bağlama* (*ca.* 110 cm), *bozuk* (115-20 cm), *divan sazı* (130 cm) and *meydan sazı* (140 cm or more). The length of the neck compared with the sound-board is such that one can play an octave and a fourth. One should mention a final variant, originally from eastern Turkey and Ādharbaydjān, characterised by a shorter neck (an octave + a tone) and with a total length of about 100 cm; this is called *çöğür*, or *kısa saplı* (*bağlama*). It is not impossible that the most archaic *saz* may be the little *cura* with three strings, called in the western parts *üçtelli bağlama* or *kopuz*, and by the nomads of the Taurus, *bulgarı*.

Each fret is a nylon thread (in former times a piece of gut or a copper thread), wrapped three times round the neck and tied at the back; this may be the origin of another name currently used for the *saz*, sc. *bağlama* (from *bağlamak* "to attach").

The strings, of metal since the 18th century, are in origin two (*ikitelli*, corresponding to the Persian *dotār*) or three (*üçtelli*, *setār*). On the biggest *saz*, the cords are doubled or tripled in unison, in order to increase the dynamic or to create sympathetic resonances (*dörttelli*, *altıtelli*, etc.). At the present time there is added a deep-toned threaded string, tuned to an octave. The strings at the top and at the base are of a similar trim (.18 or .20 mm), and that or those of the middle is/are lower (.30 mm). In our context, we shall speak about the lower, middle or top string in the singular, even though a group of strings may be involved.

2. *Evolution and playing techniques.*

It is important to distinguish instruments of rural origin from those of musical instrument workshops of the towns. The latter, meant for playing in all styles, have 24 frets and can sometimes claim the same perfection as the classical lutes. A *saz* made by a peasant or nomad, with 10 to 18 frets, will be adapted to a particular regional or tribal style.

In the countryside, the *saz* is still played with the fingers, with trimmed finger nails; with one finger, or with *rasgueados*; but a plectrum may also be used, now made of a piece of plastic with an equivalent flexibility.

The different sizes of instruments, the placing of the frets and the numerous strings of the three groups display the main traits of the Anatolian musical system. At the outset, the longer the instrument, the more the left hand is forced to make long movements, played on the first string, with the other strings acting as a drone. The *saz* is in this case essentially a monodic instrument, subordinated to the voice which it accompanies. If it is of small or medium size, it will be played on the three strings; the slenderness of the neck allows in effect the thumb to block the upper string, whilst the other fingers press indifferently the lower or middle string. If the hand grips round the neck, the third finger may even press the upper string at the same time as the thumb. From this there results the possibility of varying the drones and of producing chords of three sounds, so that the art of the rural *saz* is often characterised by a tendency to polyphony, which sustains an invariably monodic melody.

As many as 14 different tunings (*düzen*) of the *saz* are enumerated. The ones most used today are:
(from top to bottom)
G-D-A (*kara düzen* or *bozuk düzen*)
E-D-A (*aşık düzeni* or *bağlama düzeni*)

The first allows all the modes of rural Anatolian music to be played, and leaves the choice between several base notes (A, G, B or D). For this reason, it is considered as the most suitable to represent the logical and systematic coherence put forward by the teachers in the conservatories of traditional music in contemporary Turkey. The second, the tuning of the minstrels (*aşık* [see ʿĀshiḳ]), is more limited since it only allows one base note (E), but is nevertheless very esteemed, and considered as more "hot" (*yanık*). Since the base note is situated on the middle string, the polyphonic tendency mentioned above is displayed there necessarily, in the shape of chords of parallel fifths very characteristic of minstrels' art.

Other tunings are meant for a more limited number of modes, and are practiced either in a special region (e.g. *misket düzeni*, F#-D-A, in the region of Ankara) or by a group (e.g. *abdal düzeni*, G-A-A, characteristic of the Abdal Turkmens).

3. *Ideology and society.*

In present-day Turkey, after the coming of modern ways of transmitting music—radio, tape recorders—

and taking into account the more frequent movements of population and migration to the big towns, several practices of the *saz* exist together.

Despite the change brought about by modern life, for marriage celebrations, *saz* musicians of the village, knowing the traditional and local repertoire, are still resorted to. They often play in small groups e.g. *saz*, viol and a wind instrument. They are gradually being replaced by youths playing the urban repertoire on an electric *saz*.

The *saz*, then, continues to accompany the singing of the *aşıks* or *ozans* [*q.v.*]. These poet-musicians come either from the mainly Sunnī regions of Kars and Erzurum, or from the Alevi-Bektaşi communities of the Sivas and Erzincan regions. In this latter case, internal emigration, to Istanbul or Ankara, or external, to Germany, has perpetuated the tradition of the *aşık*, which owes its popularity in the urban milieu to the political echoes of the texts of the songs, as expressions of a minority often persecuted in Ottoman history, and to a social ideal and art of living. Furthermore, the *saz* is the essential instrument for the ceremony of the Alevi *samāʿ* [*q.v.*]. For all these reasons, it has become the main symbol of Alevi culture, in contemporary Turkey and in the diaspora, in the form of the *çöğür* tuned according to the *bağlama* or *aşık düzeni*.

In addition to these practices, of a local or religious nature, since the first years of the Republic there has come into being a national music, whose diffusion has been assured by the Turkish radio and the state conservatoires. The repertoire is collected from all the provinces of Turkey and interpreted by orchestral groups using traditional instruments. In this framework, the *saz* embodies the national identity in more than one way: at the outset by its suitability for representing all the regional styles; then by the fixedness of its system fretting and the proportions which dertermine its making; and finally, by the inherent system and logic in learning the practice of the *saz* and often underlined by its teachers; these last give pride of place to the *kara düzen*, in fifths, assimilated to the "rational" order. From this point of view, one can say that the two tunings mentioned above are seen today as entailing two distinct ideological contents: the *bağlama düzeni* is associated with the voice of the *aşık*, to what is secret and to the heterodoxy of Bektas͟hism [see BEKTĀS͟HIYYA], or even with social confrontation, in the eyes of official circles, who set up against it the "rational" *kara düzen*, the expression of the logical laws of the national music.

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SEBASṬIYYA [see SABASṬIYYA].

SEBK͟HA [see SABK͟HA].

SEBÜKTIGIN (Tkish. *sevük tégin* "beloved prince"), Abū Manṣūr, Turkish slave commander of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*] and founder of the G͟haznawid dynasty [*q.v.*] in eastern Afg͟hānistān.

What little is known of his early life stems mainly from his alleged *Pand-nāma* or testament of advice to his successor (preserved in a later Persian historian; see S͟HABĀNKĀRAʾĪ) and from D͟jūzd͟jānī's quotations from a lost part of the *Mud͟jalladāt* of Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*] which dealt with Sebüktigin's governorship. He came from the Barsk͟hān district of the Semirečye [see YETI SU], was enslaved and taken to Transoxania, thus beginning a career in the Sāmānid army as a slave of Alptigin [*q.v.*]. After Alptigin withdrew to the far eastern periphery of the Sāmānid dominions at G͟hazna [*q.v.*], a series of his fellow-Turkish commanders succeeded him as governor there, culminating in Sebüktigin's assumption of power in 366/977, beginning a twenty years' reign, nominally as governor for the Sāmānids, in fact as an independent ruler. From his base at G͟hazna, he began the policy of expansion which his son Maḥmūd was to continue, adding Bust and Ḳuṣdār [*q.vv.*] to his kingdom, launching expeditions towards north-western India against the Hindūs͟hāhī [*q.v.*] king D͟jaypāl and annexing the Kābul river valley down to Pes͟hāwar. He gave military aid to the last Sāmānid *amīrs* against their rebellious generals (384-5/994-5), but just before his death in 387/997 himself intervened in Transoxania and established his influence in the capital Buk͟hārā. He was succeeded in G͟hazna, after a brief succession struggle, by his eldest son Maḥmūd [*q.v.*].

After his death, Sebüktigin acquired a reputation amongst the G͟haznawids as the just ruler, *amīr-i ʿādil*, but little of his real personality in fact emerges from the sources.

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SEFĀRETNĀME [see SAFĪR].

SEGBĀN [see Suppl.].

SEGESTĀN [see SĪSTĀN].

SEGOVIA [see S͟HAḲUBIYYA].

SEGU or Segou, a town of the present Mali, situated on the banks of the Niger and the historic capital of the Bambara kingdom of Segu from the 18th century onwards, and then of the empire of al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar.

There exist four villages with the name Segu, all on the river's right bank, at more than 200 km/124 miles to the north-east of Bamako. These are, from upstream to downstream, over a distance of a dozen kilometres, Segu-Koro ("old Segu"), Segu-Bugu (the village of agricultural cultivation), Segu-Kura ("new Segu") and Segu-Sikoro, transformed into a royal residence by Ngolo Jarra (*ca.* 1750-87).

It was around 1710 that Biton Mamari Kulibali asserted his power, as war leader and founder of a new system of authority, over the Bambara peoples, who were sedentaries, animists and users of the Mandingo language, of this part of the Niger valley. Having become the leader of a group of young men, all in the same age band (*ton*), he built up his power through the extensive acquisition of slaves from all origins, who became "slaves of the *ton*" (*ton jon*). In this way, a centralised, military state, based on Segu, developed, which spread out in all directions. Over two centuries, two dynasties succeeded each other at the head of this empire, the Kulibali and the Jarra.

The basic social institution of the Bambara empire of Segu was the *ton jon* or group of subject persons, who made up the army and a good part of the bureaucracy. Through loyal service and acts of bravery, certain *jon* could attain to positions of command. It was these *ton jons* who, in the middle of the 18th century, exterminated the Kulibali family and raised to power one of their own number, Ngolo Jarra, founder of the new dynasty.

The bases of Segu's prosperity rested on the lasting

alliance between an industrious (cotton, indigo, food production) Bambara peasantry, the military régime of the *ton jon*, who accumulated captives and booty, and the Marka, a specialist Muslim merchant group, who lived in certain towns and controlled commercial operations. The Bambara themselves were strongly attached to animist cults (the dynasty protected a whole network of temples and priests), but tolerated the practice of Islam in the quarters of the town-enclaves of the Marka.

At the approach of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar, in the midst of the 19th century, the ruler of the time, Bina ʿAli Djarra, tried in vain to ally with the Dīna of Māsina, the neighbouring Islamic Fulani power. Al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar entered Segu on 26-7 Shaʿbān 1277/9-10 March 1861, and proceeded immediately to the gathering-together of all the idols and their destruction. Designated as *khalīfa* by his father, Aḥmadu (Aḥmad al-Kabīr), ʿUmar's son, took over the succession on his father's death in 1864. It was at this time (1864-6) that the French traveller Mage lived in Segu, of which he has left a lively and well-informed description, estimating the population of Segu-Sikoro at that time at 10,000 persons. Aḥmad al-Kabīr reigned in this town for almost thirty years, at grips with the opposition of some of his brothers and with the conquered population. In this same period, the French advanced progressively from Senegal. On 6 April 1890 Colonel Archinard entered Segu, whilst Aḥmadu fled eastwards. In the course of the ensuing months, Archinard sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris—which has preserved them ever since—the rich library of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar and of Aḥmadu.

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(J.-L. Triaud)

SEHĪ BEY, Ottoman poet and biographer of poets of the 10th/16th century, b. 874/1470-1 and died 955/1548-9.

1. Life.

His original name is unknown, and the historian ʿĀlī dubbed him "ʿAbd Allāh" and considered him as stemming from the Dewshirme [*q.v.*]. He was certainly from Edirne and a close associate of the poet Nedjātī Bey (d. 914/1508-9 [*q.v.*]), also from that town. Already when Bāyezīd's son Maḥmūd (d. 913/1507) was appointed governor of Manisa, Sehī was the companion of Nedjātī and several other poets in the Prince's entourage (see Laṭīfī, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1314, 196, 329; ʿAshıḳ Čelebi, ed. Meredith Owens, London 1971, fols. 130b-131a; *İA* art. s.v. (F. Akün); Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, *Necati Bey Divani'nin tahlili*, Istanbul 1971, 11; Fāʾiḳ Reshād, *Tedhkire-yi Sehi*, ed. Mehmed Shükrī, Istanbul 1325, 76, 41; Günay Kut, *Heşt bihişt, the Tezkire by Sehī Beg. An analysis of the first biographical work on Ottoman poets, with a critical edition based on Ms. Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya O. 3544*, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 5, Cambridge Mass. 1978, pp. 423, at p. 1).

Through a misunderstanding of ʿĀlī's *Künh al-akhbār*, Ewliyā Čelebi wrongly states that Sehī was Nedjātī Bey's son-in-law, and that he married Nedjātī's daughter in order to lay claims to his poems after Nedjātī's death (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 343, 347), a mistake later repeated by F. Babinger in his *EI*¹ art.; it was corrected by Reshād, in *op. cit.*, 316, see also Akün, *op. cit.*, and Kut, *op. cit.*, 2. Also, Babinger, following Leunclavius and *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 115, also wrongly states, according to Akün and Kut, that Sehī was the secretary (*kātib*) of Bāyezīd's youngest sons Meḥmed, and accompanied this last to Kaffa [*q.v.*], where he became for a time *sandjak beg*; most sources, however, connect Sehī with Prince Maḥmūd and Manisa (see above). Sehī's close connection with Nedjātī continued till the latter's death, and on Sehī's own tomb is a chronogram couplet of his mourning Nedjātī's death (see Akün and Kut).

Later, Sehī served as a secretary to the prince Süleymān in Manisa and also with the latter at Edirne when Süleymān was commander there for Rumelia. After Süleymān's accession as sultan, Sehī recalled in his poems former favours no longer vouchsafed, but he seems in fact, from other poems, to have remained in favour with the royal family, and held office in the Morea [see MORA]. Finally, he served as administrator (*mütewellī*) of various *ʿimārets* in Edirne and Ergene, dying at the former place; it was whilst acting as administrator of a *waḳf* there he wrote his *Tedhkire* (see below).

2. Works.

Encouraged by the *Ḳāḍī ʿAsker* Muḥiyy al-Dīn Čelebi Fenārī [see FENĀRĪ-ZĀDE], Sehī put together his poems into a *dīwān*, the unique ms. of which is in Paris, B.N. suppl. turc 360. This contains *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals* and other lesser genres of poetry, but Sehī does not seem to have been considered in his own time as a noteworthy poet. This may explain why he is hardly quoted in the anthologies of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries and why only one ms. of his *dīwān* survives. On the basis of chronograms in some poems, Akün concluded that Sehī completed the collection between 942/1535 and 944/1537. The dedicatees of his poems include the sultans from Bāyezīd II to Süleymān and a large number of Grand Viziers, and there are three poems (*naʿt*) dedicated to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and two to Ṣūfī *dedes*, indicating a possible connection of Sehī with a dervish order.

Sehī's real fame sprang from his *Tedhkire*, finished in 945/1538 and called *Hesht bihisht* "Eight paradises", the first literary biographical work in Ottoman literature (for detailed discussion, see Kut, *op. cit.*, 17-18). Sehī states in his preface that he followed the examples of the collections of biographies by Djāmī, Dawlat Shāh and ʿAlī Shīr Newāʾī, and following their example, divided his own work into eight *ṭabaḳas*. These include (1) the life of Sultan Süleymān; (2) the other sultans and the princes who wrote poetry; (3) high officials like viziers, *nishāndjis*, etc.; (4) poets from the *ʿulemāʾ*; (5) the poets who had died by the time Sehī was writing (for which he seems to have gathered his own research; he has valuable details about early poets such as Aḥmedī [see AḤMADĪ], Aḥmed-i Dāʿī and Sheykhī [*q.v.*]); (6) poets whom Sehī knew personally in his youth, some still alive; (7) his contemporaries and the newcomers (including two poetesses); (8) young and talented poets who had just started on their careers. An epilogue eulogises Sultan Süleymān.

Following his Persian and Čaghatay Turkish

predecessors, Sehī gives concise information about his poets, with full details of names and education, but rarely giving dates of birth or death; he then ends with selections from his subject's poetry. This procedure was adopted as a model by future biographers. His work clearly fulfilled a need as pioneer of the genre, for shortly afterwards came the similar works of Laṭīfī, ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi and several others.

There exist 18 mss. of the *Tedhkire* scattered through the library collections of Turkey and Europe (see Kut, *op. cit.*, 16-37). Ms. Ayasofya 3544 is the basis for Kut's edition; it was probably presented to Sultan Süleymān and was subsequently owned by Prince Meḥmed. An earlier print was issued by Meḥmed Shükrī, Istanbul 1325/1907, with the title *Āthār-i eslāfdan tedhkire-yi Sehī* (but his printed version contains only 218 poets, see Kut, 12-14), to which is appended a study on Sehī by Fāʾiḳ Reshād; this print was based on ms. Millet, Ali Emiri, Tarih 768, copied by ʿAlī Emīrī himself. Finally, the *Tedhkire* was translated into German by Necati Lugal and O. Reşer as *Sehi Bey's Tezkere. Türkische Dichterbiographien aus dem 16. Jahrh.*, Tübingen 1942. Kut's critical edition is based on six mss.; see her *Heşt bihişt* and also her *Heşt Bihişt'in yeni bir nüshası ve bir düzeltme*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, vii (1984), 243-301. In recent years, Dr. Müjgân Cumbur and a group of scholars have been working on a serial edition of all Ottoman biographical works, starting with Sehī's.

Bibliography: Given in the article. For the older bibl., see F. Babinger's *EI*[1] art. (G.A. Tekin)

SELĀMLİḲ (t.), the Ottoman Turkish term for the outer, more public rooms of a traditionally-arranged house, used e.g. for the reception of guests and non-family members; it thus contrasted with the inner rooms which constituted the *ḥaram* or harem for the womenfolk. The term *selāmlïḳ dāʾiresi* is also found. A further use of the word *selāmlïḳ* is in the expression *selāmlïḳ ālāyï* to denote the sultan's ceremonial procession from the palace to the mosque for Friday worship, a practice kept up by the Ottomans up to and including Meḥemmed V Reshād [*q.v.*] in the second decade of the 20th century.

Bibliography: Pakalın, iii, 153-5. (Ed.)

SELĀNĪK, the Ottoman Turkish name for classical and early Byzantine Thessalonike, modern Greek Thessaloniki, conventional form Salonica; the largest city of Macedonia, on the gulf of the same name, to the east of the Vardar river mouth. The city has always possessed a large and secure port, and was located on the Via Egnatia connecting Durazzo (Durrës) with Byzantium. In the 5th/11th century, it is first named Salonikion, from which all variant names derive: Ṣalūnīk or Ṣalūnīḳ in Arabic, Solun in Bulgarian, Selānīk in Turkish and Salonica in English. In the 6th/10th century, the town was an important centre of Mediterranean trade, with ties to the Islamic world; but apart from al-Idrīsī, the mediaeval Arab geographers do not mention it. An attack on the city by a naval force based upon Tripoli in Syria (289/902) supposedly netted the attackers a total of 22,000 captives. In 581/1185 Salonica was taken by the Normans; the textile artisans, for whom the town was famous, were transferred to the royal workshops in Sicily. In the early 7th/13th century, Salonica was ruled as an independent kingdom by the Marquis of Montferrat; but after the reconquest of Constantinople by the Byzantines, the Palaeologi recovered Salonica as well. Serbian conquests in the area resulted in the isolation of the Byzantine exclave of Thessaloniki by the middle of the 8th/14th century, which was then linked to Constantinople only by sea.

Ottoman activity in the area began under Murād I, with nomads from the western Anatolian principality of Ṣarukhān [*q.v.*] settling in the area. Ottoman forces once conquered the city, but returned it to the Emperor Manuel. Sultan Yïldïrïm Bāyezīd reconquered it in 796/1394, but after his defeat and capture in the battle of Ankara (804/1402), his son Süleymān returned it to the Byzantines (805-6/1403). Many details of this sequence remain unclear. However, after the siege of Constantinople by Murād II in 826/1423, the governor of Thessaloniki, Andronikos Palaeologos, sold the city, which then supposedly held about 40,000 inhabitants, to the Venetians. While the sultan recognised this transfer in the capitulations granted to the Venetians in 830-1/1428, in 833/1430 he conquered the city nonetheless. In the meantime, many inhabitants had abandoned the city because of the prevailing insecurity. Johannes Anagnostes, a Byzantine chronicler, has left a detailed account of these events. He claims that 7,000 persons, including himself, were taken prisoner. Yet in some cases, the sultan himself paid the ransoms of the captives and promised that those who had fled the city would have their properties restored in case they returned. Two or three years later, Turkish settlers were brought into Selānīk from Yeñidje-i Vardar, and the church of the Acheiropoietos and the monastery of the Prodromos were turned into mosques.

A tax register (*taḥrīr*) was also prepared at this time, but has not survived. We do, however, possess a tax register dating from 883/1478 and a fragment from the reign of Bāyezīd II (r. 886-918/1481-1512) (Başbakanlık Arşivi Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul Tapu Tahrir 7, and Bibliothèque Nationale Cyrillos and Methodios, Sofia, Oriental section, SN 16/35, publ. in Bistra Cvetkova (ed.), *Fontes turcici historiae bulgaricae*, xvi, Sofia, 1972). There exist two further *mufaṣṣal* registers covering Selānīk; one from about 967-8/1560 and another from 1022/1613 (Tapu Tahrir 403 and 723). The earliest *taḥrīr* enumerates 862 Muslim and 1,275 Christian householders. From their regular distribution among the pre-existing town quarters, it can be assumed that the Muslim inhabitants had been settled in the city by order of the sultan (*sürgün*). By the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Selānīk had about doubled in size, as apart from 1,715 Muslim households, there were now 1,688 Christians and 754 Jews. A high point was reached in 925/1519, when an abbreviated register (*idjmāl*) recorded 1,374 Muslim, 1,387 Christian and 3,143 Jewish households. By about 967-8/1560, a significant drop in population had occurred (773 Muslim, 1,047 Christian and 2,645 Jewish households). This decline was even more pronounced by 1022/1613, when the relevant figures were 1,090, 561, and 2,033, showing a relative increase of the Muslim and a decline of the Christian element. Thus Selānīk seems to have held about 10,000 inhabitants in 883/1487 and to have oscillated between 18,000 and 30,000 thereafter. Ewliyā Čelebi claims 33,000 houses for 11th/17th-century Selānīk, which would give a population of over 150,000. But European travellers indicate that during its years of prosperity in the second half of the 12th/18th century, Selānīk possessed a population of about 60,000 to 70,000, 28,000 to 30,000 of whom were Turks.

Among the revenue sources of Selānīk and other towns of the area which the 9th/15th-century Ottoman state attempted to exploit, were the salt pans, supplemented by a fishing weir in the vicinity of Selānīk itself. Accounts begin in 873/1468-9, but show that the enterprise was in constant difficulties. Several

tax farmers were executed for their failure to pay, while the most prominent of them, a member of the Palaeologi family, managed to escape. The early tax farmers were Christians; but a Muslim *mültezim*, recorded in 881/1476-7, equally owed a major sum. This situation indicates considerable disorganisation among sheepbreeders and fishermen, and possibly a crisis in the Macedonian village economy as a whole.

Among the Ottoman monuments of the city, the most prominent is the White Tower, built probably in 942/1535-6 upon the order of Sultan Süleymān; Miʿmār Sinān may have been responsible for its construction. Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited Selānīk about 1078-9/1668, has left a detailed description of the fortifications, including the castle of Kalamarya; he was greatly impressed by their size, but felt that they had recently been neglected. Among the mosques that were built by Ḥafṣa Khātun, the daughter of Ḥamza Beg, was a new building (872/1467-8, enlarged in 1000-1/1592 and repaired in 1029/1620). This structure had come to be known by the late 10th/16th century as the mosque of Ḥamza Beg. It is one of the very few mosques not founded by a sultan to possess a colonnaded courtyard, albeit of irregular shape. The reconstruction around 1029/1620 is documented by a *waḳf-nāme* penned by the stylist Meḥmed Nergisī, while the donor was a *ḳapudjī* by the name of Meḥmed Beg son of Seyyid Ghāzī. The second mosque constructed at this time is known as the Aladja ʿImāret; it was built by the former Grand Vizier Inegöllü Isḥāḳ Pasha in 892/1486-7. It is of the T-shaped type, and its side chambers originally may have been meant to house dervishes. The mosque was associated with a public kitchen. Next to the building there once stood a minaret ornamented in multi-coloured stone, which gave the whole complex its name. Other major mosques were converted Christian churches; since Selānīk had been taken by assault, the transformation of churches into mosques was legally possible at any time. Many churches were taken over either around 905-6/1500, when refugees from Spain caused a wave of anti-Christian feeling, or in the tense years surrounding the millenium of 1000/1591-2. The church of St Demetrius was converted into a mosque in 898/1492-3 and thenceforth known as the Ḳāsīmiyye, while in 927/1521 local conflicts resulted in the confiscation of the Hagia Sophia, at that time the metropolitan church of Selānīk. The funerary monument of Galerius, converted into a church in Byzantine times, was turned into a mosque on the initiative of the dervish *shaykh* Khortadji, with the support of the Grand Vizier Sinān Pasha (998 or 999/1589-90 or 1590-1).

In 883/1478, the Selānīk tax register had not shown any Jewish inhabitants, probably because the city's Romaniote community had been transferred to Istanbul by Sultan Meḥemmed II (r. 848-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81). This move probably formed a part of the latter's programme of forced settlement (*sürgün*) to repopulate his new capital. But after the Jews had been driven out of Spain in 1492, and out of Spanish possessions in Italy shortly afterwards, Bāyezīd II invited them to settle in the Ottoman Empire. Many of these refugees were established in Selānīk. A summary (*idjmāl*) register of 925/1519 records the presence of about 16,000 individuals; this figure included refugees from Germany and Italy as well.

The Jewish immigrants continued to use Spanish in vernacular communication; when the language was committed to writing, the Hebrew alphabet was employed. A small number of Judaeo-Spanish speakers exists to the present day; but centuries' long isolation from Spain has resulted in many expressions archaic in standard Spanish. A number of Hebrew, Ottoman and Greek loanwords have also been incorporated, and at one time there existed a second more "literary" version of Judaeo-Spanish, often called Ladino, which contained many expressions closely modelled on Hebrew.

The new settlers engaged in the manufacture of woollen cloth, using water-powered fulling mills located outside the city. This manufacture of medium-quality cloth (*čuḳa*) supplied the market as well as the Janissaries. According to samples sent from Istanbul, the cloth was woven, dyed and fulled. Originally this service was paid for; but after the middle of the 10th/16th century, the Salonica Jews were required to pay part of their taxes in the shape of woollen cloth. Their supply of raw wool was ensured by the privilege of purchasing whatever they needed from Balkan producers before any other customers could be supplied. A rabbinical regulation, pronounced around 946-7/1540, threatened all Jews who exported raw wool and the indigo needed for dyeing with excommuniction. However, the cloth manufacture, prosperous in the early 10th/16th century, ran into trouble thereafter. Raw wool prices increased, first because of Venetian demand, and when the Venetian woollen industry steeply declined after 1008/1600, French purchasers prevented a fall in prices. Civilian demand for the finished product also fell away as English cloth appeared on the Ottoman market in large quantities after the 990s/1580s. Due to the need to supply the Janissaries, the manufacturers were not able to change their trades. In consequence, a large number of Salonica Jews emigrated in the 11th/17th century; some went to other Rumelian towns, but the burgeoning Anatolian port of Izmir was a favourite destination.

Nevertheless, at the same time, immigrants continued to arrive, particularly from Livorno and other Italian commercial centres. Due to the contacts which these immigrants (Francos) brought with them, many of the most prosperous Jewish merchants of Selānīk down to the 13th/19th century came from this group. But even though certain traders continued to be successful, on the whole Jewish merchants and financiers were eclipsed by other groups. An increasing orientation of Balkan trade toward Europe facilitated the rise of Christian merchants, and as the Jewish traders of Selānīk found fewer business opportunities, the community in the 12th/18th century increasingly consisted of petty traders and artisans.

In the 10th/16th century, the Jewish community of Selānīk possessed a considerable scholastic activity, as local rabbis grappled with the religious and legal problems ensuing from life in a new environment. In addition, arrangements had to be devised to accommodate those people who had been converted to Christianity in Spain or Portugal but wished to return to Judaism. Responses to legal questions (*responsa*) were at times committed to print, the first printing press in Selānīk being established in 915-16/1510. Yet there were few contacts with either Muslim or Christian scholars, and isolation in the long run resulted in a certain sclerosis of intellectual life.

For the Jewish community of Selānīk, the major event of the 11th/17th century was the movement of Shabbatay Ṣebi (1036-7-1087/1626-76 [*q.v.*]), a rabbi from Izmir who claimed to be the Messiah. He found adherents in Jewish communities all over the eastern Mediterranean and even in eastern Europe, but due to the concentration of Jews and institutions of Jewish learning in Selānīk, his partisans in this city were of strategic significance. Complaints from rabbis unwill-

ing to regard Shabbatay Ṣebi as the Messiah led to the involvement of the Ottoman authorities, and Ṣebi was assigned to forced residence in Gelibolu (1076-7/1666). But after continuing effervescence among Ottoman Jewish communities, Shabbatay Ṣebi was brought to the sultan's court in Edirne and offered the choice between death and conversion to Islam. He chose the latter (1077/1666). While some of his adherents returned to the established communities, others followed his example and were converted; this process continued over a number of years and led to the formation of a group known as the *dönme* [*q.v.*] (converts). *Dönme* used Muslim names and followed Muslim ritual including the pilgrimage to Mecca; but down into the present century, they married only among themselves and had the basic features of rabbinic law taught to their children. Certain well-known rabbis of Selānīk who did not convert also retained sympathies for the movement of Shabbatay.

In the 12th/18th century, Selānīk's trade expanded after a period of relative stagnation, as the port became the centre of a lively import and export trade, particularly with France and various Italian states. Foreign consuls and vice-consuls became more numerous (at the beginning of the century, the French consul had been the only foreign representative), and an increasing number of non-Muslim merchants purchased the "protection" of foreign consuls, often acquiring more or less fictitious positions as translators. In local administration, one of the key personages was the principal customs farmer. Both the wealthy *aghas* of the area and European merchants maintained good relations with him, often lending money to a person of their confidence so that he could acquire the position. Another powerful figure was the commander of the local Janissaries, who controlled a force of about 7,000 men.

Among the goods exported, wheat occupied an important place, even though this was mostly contraband, *aghas* with *čiftliks* in the Macedonian countryside supplying the exporters. Grain speculation was widespread, landholders holding back supplies until prices had increased or else making deals with exporting merchants. Grain riots were not unknown. Raw wool often went to France, while cotton and cotton thread gained in importance with the growing mechanisation of cotton-weaving in England, and also supplied looms in Germany. Tobacco and raisins were also exported. Imports consisted of manufactured goods, particularly French woollen fabrics, but also of Venetian silks, which all but monopolised the local market until, during the last quarter of the 12th/18th century, silks from Lyons became important. With the increasing production of coffee on the Caribbean islands, *le café des îles* began to compete with Arabian coffee, and sugar brought in by European merchants with Egyptian sugar.

For distribution, the pre-existing network of Balkan fairs was available, at which even rural consumers were able to purchase the cheaper imported goods. An active internal trade existed, linking Selānīk with Izmir, Egypt, Crete and the Aegean islands. Soap, linens and citrus fruits were brought to the city from these areas, while luxury goods often came from Istanbul. Greek merchants were particularly active on the overland route linking Selānīk to Vienna and the fair of Leipzig. Greek merchants, often based in Selānīk, were so active in the Hapsburg Empire that Maria Theresa and Joseph II took measures to limit their business, forcing rich Greeks established in the Hapsburg domains to concentrate on banking. But due to the foreign "protection" which many wealthy merchants had acquired and to the resulting tax evasion, the payment of taxes and dues was often a heavy load on the "ordinary" Greeks of Salonica, and the community owed large sums of money to wealthy Ottomans.

The decline of Selānīk as an international port toward the end of the 12th/18th century was due partly to political conflict within the city, but also to international conjunctures, as the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars interrupted established trade routes. The general downturn in the Ottoman economy during the last decades of the 12th/18th century probably constituted a contributing factor. The abolition of the Janissary corps in 1241/June 1826 had political and economic repercussions on the local level; the Jewish accountant of the Janissary *odjak* was even one of the victims of anti-Janissary repression. The disappearance of the Janissaries led to the final eclipse of woollen cloth manufacture by Jewish artisans, and aggravated pauperisation.

In the course of the 13th/19th century, certain notables from the Jewish community developed an interest in the creation of new enterprises, particularly the processing of tobacco and later the manufacture of cigarettes. Due to the overall expansion of trade, the need for commercial employees with training in accounting and foreign languages also made itself felt. In the eyes of the notables it was necessary to train both a literate blue-collar workforce and specialist white-collar employees. This meant a thorough restructuring of the established Talmud-Torah schools, which down to this period had imparted basic literacy to boys only. Reform of the school system became a major bone of contention in the struggle for control of the community between the established rabbinical élite and the lay notables, a struggle not without its parallels in other Ottoman minority communities of the 13th/19th century. After 1276-7/1860, the notables were able to muster the support of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, an association based in France by which mainly francophone Jews supported French-language schooling among Jewish communities of the Mediterranean basin. The Alliance sponsored not only schools for both boys and girls, but also (no more than partially successful) efforts to apprentice children, in addition to a network of social organisations. In the early stages, the Alliance schools also organised the teaching of Turkish to their students, and in the early 20th century, when the annexation of Selānīk by Greece was increasingly viewed as a possibility, began to teach Modern Greek as well. The reports of the Alliance schoolteachers to their employers in Paris constitute a valuable source for the social history of late Ottoman Selānīk.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Selānīk was one of the centres of the Committee for Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*]). The backbone of this group were officers frustrated by the manner in which the war against Macedonian rebels was conducted—in 1903 there had been a series of attacks against public buildings in Salonica itself. Muṣṭafā Kemāl (the later Atatürk), a native of Salonica but at the time stationed in Syria, visited his home town and helped found a branch of the *ʿOthmānlī Ḥürriyyet Djemʿiyyeti*. This organisation, based on small cells, under the leadership of the Salonica telegraph official Ṭalʿat Bey, expanded rapidly among officers and bureaucrats in Macedonia. Contacts were established with the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī* exile group in Paris, but the Salonica group retained its political and organisational independence and played a key role in the events which led to the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908.

Around 1900, Selānīk possessed one of the largest

concentrations of factory labour in the Ottoman Empire. Much of this labour force, particularly in the tobacco industry, was female, and consisted of teenage girls put to work by their families in order to earn their dowries. But among the male labourers, organisations midway between guilds and trade unions began to appear at this time. Particularly among the minority group of Bulgarian labourers, socialist tendencies showed themselves. A local group was recognised by the Second International. In 1909 Abraham Benaroya brought out a socialist paper in Ottoman (Ottoman Turkish title: *ᶜAmele Gh͟azetesi*), Greek, Bulgarian and Judaeo-Spanish. While the Ottoman and Greek versions soon had to be given up due to lack of reader interest, the Bulgarian and Judaeo-Spanish versions did attract readers. Official repression followed, including Benaroya's banishment to Bulgaria (1911).

The Ottoman history of Selānīk ended with the First Balkan War, which began with an occupation of northern Albania by Montenegro, followed by an ultimatum on the part of several Balkan states against the Ottoman Empire (October 1912). While the Bulgarian army advanced as far as Çatalca on the outskirts of Istanbul, the Serbian and Greek armies entered Macedonia, with the Greeks occupying Selānīk on 8 November 1912. The Ottoman government ceded Selānīk in a peace treaty with Greece in March 1914, to the great distress of the city's Jewish population, whose spokesmen had strongly favoured the continuance of Ottoman rule. Salonica was rapidly transformed into a Greek city, particularly through emigration of the Turkish-speaking population, the reconstruction following the great fire of 1917 and the settlement of large numbers of Anatolian Greeks entering the country as a result of the Turco-Greek population exchanges of 1923.

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(Suraiya Faroqhi)

SELĀNĪKĪ, Muṣṭafā Efendi (d. *ca.* 1008?/1600?), Ottoman official and historian.

Almost nothing is known of his early life or family background, or when he was born and died, but he identified himself with Salonica [see selānīk] and called himself *Selānīklü* and apparently reached old age. What is known stems almost entirely from his *History* (see below), in which he details his official appointments, his presence at various military events during the reign of Süleymān Ḳānūnī (e.g. during the Szigetvar campaign in Hungary of 1566) and his suc-

cessors and his own views on affairs. Amongst the many official posts which he held were *muḳāṭaʿadji̲* of the Ḥaramayn (till 988/1580); he was a *dawādār*; he was secretary of the *silaḥdārs* and then of the Sipāhīs [*q.v.*] (till 996/1589); in 999/1591 the Grand Vizier Ferhād Pas̲h̲a appointed him *rūznāmedji̲* [*q.v.*]; he became *muḥāsebedji̲* of Anatolia (1007/1599); and shortly thereafter he disappears from recorded history.

The *Taʾrīkh̲-i Selānīkī* begins with events of 971/1563 and closes with the escape of the Voivode Ḳāsim from custody in S̲h̲awwāl 1008/May 1600, thus touching on four reigns up to that of Meḥemmed III. It is more a diary of events which came to the writer's notice than a formal chronicle, the composition of which he might have intended to do later. It becomes progressively more detailed from the end of Murād III's reign (1003/1595). Rather than consulting other histories, Selānīkī seems to have relied on his contacts with the leading men of state and on official documents from the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn* and elsewhere for his information; as well as mentioning the viziers of the time, he mentions also the poet Bāḳī [*q.v.*] and the *S̲h̲eykh̲ ul-Islām* Ṣunʿ Allāh Efendi. Although the *History* is a prime source for the period, it does not seem to have been widely used or copied (yet over 25 ms. copies of it exist today) until the early 12th/18th century. The treatment of common events in e.g. Pečewī, Kātib Čelebi and Naʿīmā is quite different, but Ṣolaḳ-zāde clearly used it, without making acknowledgement. A feature of Selānīkī's work is that he not only relates events but also includes criticisms of these events and of what he perceived as the general decline of the Ottoman state; the ups-and-downs of his own official career, with its frequent appointments and dismissals, may have affected his attitude here.

The *History* was partially printed at Istanbul in 1281/1864-5, but no complete, critical edition existed till that of Mehmet İpşirli, pp. LXXXV + 1,008, Istanbul 1989.

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(Mehmet İpşirli, shortened by the Editors)

SELČUḲ [see aya soluk].

SELĪM I, in official documents Selīms̲h̲āh, nicknamed Yavuz or the Grim, ninth Ottoman sultan (reigned from 7 Ṣafar 918/24 April 1512 to 8 S̲h̲awwāl 926/21 September 1520), conqueror of eastern Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, and the first Ottoman sultan entitled K̲h̲ādim al-Ḥaramayn al-S̲h̲arīfayn or Servitor of Mecca and Medina.

The struggle for the throne, 1509-13.

To comprehend the circumstances and nature of the fierce struggle for the throne between Bāyezīd's three sons Ḳorḳud, Aḥmed and Selīm, we have to keep in mind that Turco-Mongol peoples firmly believed that sovereignty was granted exclusively by God and no human arrangement could determine who is going to be next on the throne.

In fact, when the throne became vacant, the prince who was able first to reach the capital city and take control of the treasury had the best chance to be recognised as ruler. So each of the sons of the reigning sultan tried to get the governorship nearest to Istanbul. Although respected as an intellectual versed in Islamic law and the fine arts, Ḳorḳud was thought to be less apt for an Ottoman ruler. Described as just and generous in Ottoman sources, Aḥmed was at the beginning the most popular of the princes, and the many of the great men of state, including the Grand Vizier ʿAlī and the *ʿulemāʾ*, wanted him to succeed. The youngest of the three princes, Selīm was born in 875/1470-1 in Amasya from prince Bāyezīd (Bāyezīd II) and ʿAys̲h̲e (ʿĀʾis̲h̲e), the daughter of the D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳadrid ruler ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla. When the rivalry for the throne began in 1509, Aḥmed was governor of Amasya, nearest to Istanbul while Ḳorḳud was the governor of the distant *sandjaḳ* of Antalya and Selīm that of Trebizond, the farthest of all.

In 1509 Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*], an ailing old man, was believed incapable of leading the empire's armies against S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*] of Persia, who had become a serious threat to the Ottomans, not only on the eastern frontiers of the empire but also within Anatolia through the activities there of his Turcoman sympathisers.

In 1507, the S̲h̲āh's invasion of the D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳadr [*q.v.*] principality, during which he passed over the Ottoman lands and enrolled in his army Turcomans who were Ottoman subjects, was considered a daring violation of Ottoman sovereignty. While Bāyezīd avoided any open conflict, Selīm from Trebizond took the initiative and in retaliation raided the S̲h̲āh's territory as far as Bayburd and Erzincan. In Istanbul, this was interpreted as insubordination and caused the first rift between the sultan and his son. While, by his submissive attitude, Prince Aḥmed was favoured by the sultan and the Grand Vizier, Selīm became the symbol of an aggressive policy. Selīm, however, declared that his concern was not to secure the throne but to save the empire from the havoc in which it had fallen. Openly criticising his father's inactivity, he showed himself as a champion of the warfare against heretics as well as Christians. Already from Trebizond he had organised raids into the neighbouring Georgia. His *g̲h̲azā* activities, used as political propaganda, won him the favour of the Janissaries, the timariot Sipāhīs and Akïndjïs [*q.v.*] in Rumeli. It was the military campaigns that gave opportunity to these military classes to get promotion, more valuable *tīmārs* or booty. In reality, for Selīm this was a struggle for survival since his and his son Süleymān's lives would be at stake should one of his brothers become sultan. Since there was little chance for him to reach Istanbul when the throne became vacant, he insisted that his governorship be exchanged for one in Rumeli.

In this strategy, his first success was to secure the governorship of Kefe [*q.v.*] or Caffa for Süleymān (August 1509). When the news reached him that Bāyezīd was ill and was prepared to abdicate in favour of prince Aḥmed, Ḳorḳud and Selīm suddenly left their seats, the former moving from Tekke to Manisa and the latter from Trebizond to Caffa. In fact, Bāyezīd favoured Aḥmed as his successor, and openly expressed this at a meeting. From Caffa, Selīm insisted that he be appointed to a *sandjaḳ* on the Danube, ostensibly to fight against the "unbelievers". When this was denied, he crossed the Danube at the head of about 3,000 men and marched toward Adrianople (March 1511). ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a had the sultan declare Selīm a rebel, and Bāyezīd led an army of 15,000 to Adrianople, ordering at the same time all the Rumelian troops to join him there. At this juncture, one of the *k̲h̲alīfe*s of S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl in Tekke [*q.v.*], taking advantage of the anarchical conditions in the empire, rose up and with his fanatical Ḳïzïlbās̲h̲ [*q.v.*] followers and others, defeated the imperial troops sent against him (early March 1511). Ḳorḳud and Aḥmed were held responsible for this critical situation, which strengthened further Selīm's position. Under these conditions, Bāyezīd eventually yielded and agreed to

give Selīm the governorship of Semendere [q.v.] or Smederovo. The sultan also vowed that "while he was alive he would not allow any of his sons to replace him in the sultanate and said that, at his death, it will be God's decision who would succeed him." Believing that he had pacified Selīm, Bāyezīd returned to Istanbul (24 August 1511). When Aḥmed learned of the agreement between his father and Selīm, he feared that Selīm would become powerful enough to seize the throne, so he himself threatened to rebel in Anatolia. In Rumeli, Selīm, trying to muster under his banner the troops of Rumeli at Eski-Zagra, heard that Bāyezīd and ʿAlī had actually decided to invite Aḥmed to Istanbul and place him on the throne. But the Grand Vizier then had to cross in haste over to Anatolia, with 4,000 Janissaries (May 1511), in order to suppress Shāh-Ḳulu, who was threatening to capture Bursa. Confident in eliminating Shāh-Ḳulu, the Grand Vizier and Aḥmed deliberated how, after victory, they would go to Istanbul and proclaim Aḥmed sultan. Informed of this plan, Selīm suddenly turned and occupied Adrianople (Rabīʿ I 917/June 1511) at the head of the Rumelian army of 30,000, acting there as sultan. This was open rebellion, which could not be tolerated, and at the head of an army of 40,000 men and artillery, Bāyezīd hastened to confront his rebellious son on the battlefield near Çorlu (8 Djumādā I/3 August 1511). Selīm, defeated, joined his son Süleymān at Caffa. Almost at the same time, both ʿAlī Pasha and Shāh-Ḳulu fell in a bloody combat in central Anatolia. With the death of the Grand Vizier, Aḥmed lost his principal supporter for the sultanate. Aḥmed now threatened to occupy Bursa with the Anatolian troops and to confront Selīm. The empire was on the brink of a civil war. Aḥmed's supporters pressed the sultan to invite him as soon as possible to Istanbul. However, the new Grand Vizier Hersek-oghlu Aḥmed [q.v.] did not agree. Angry with Selīm, the old sultan invited Aḥmed to Istanbul, to march at the head of the army against Selīm (26 Djumādā II 917/21 September 1511). But the Janissaries rebelled in favour of Selīm, and the sultan had to yield, ordering Aḥmed to return back to his *sandjak*. Now in open rebellion, Aḥmed occupied the governorship of Ḳaramān, where the anti-Ottoman Turcoman tribes were promising their support. Pro-Ṣafawid Turcomans, now under the commander Nūr-ʿAlī sent by the Shāh (March 1512), rebelled in the Tokat area. Under pressure, Bāyezīd now decided to invite Selīm to Istanbul (March 1512), since he was now considered by all as the only leader to cope with the critical situation. Confident of the support of the Ḳapī Ḳulu [q.v.] element of the troops, and of the Rumelian army, Selīm was already on his way from Caffa to Istanbul. In the meantime, encouraged by Selīm's opponents Ḳorḳud arrived in Istanbul, hoping to ascend the throne with the support of the Janissaries, although the majority of these last were favouring Selīm (early April 1512). In Istanbul, Selīm was greeted by all dignitaries, including Ḳorḳud, on 2 Ṣafar 918/19 April 1512. The old sultan still had no intention to abdicate; but when Selīm arrived at the court with a contingent of Janissaries, Bāyezīd was compelled to relinquish power. The deposed sultan, on his way to Dimetoḳa, died at the village of Abalar near Hafsa (25 Rabīʿ I 918/10 June 1512). The cause of his death was reported as suspicious by Menavino and Djennābī, but there is no hint confirming this in Venetian sources (von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 86).

Now, having received the formal *bayʿa* of the *ʿulemāʾ* and dignitaries and in control of the treasury and the Ḳapī Ḳulu troops, Selīm became the only legitimate ruler of the empire. Aḥmed, recognising the reality of Selīm's power, requested from him the governorship of Anatolia and actually began to appoint governors in his own name, ordering the soldiery to rally under his banner, and turning to the rebellious Turcoman tribes in the Tokat-Sivas area and in the Taurus mountains. Passing over to Anatolia at the head of his army, Selīm expelled Aḥmed's son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn from Bursa (15 Djumāda 918/29 July 1512) and moved to Ankara, from where his forces expelled Aḥmed and his sons, who then fled to Shāh Ismāʿīl for aid.

Now, in order to be able to confront the Shāh in a major campaign in the east, Selīm had to eliminate in his rear all possible rivals for the sultanate. Hence he ordered the execution of all of the five sons of his deceased brothers between the ages of 7 and 21 who had taken refuge in Bursa. Next, at the head of 10,000 men, Selīm surprised his brother Ḳorḳud in his palace in Manisa, finally capturing and killing him. In the meantime, Aḥmed had returned to Amasya, and in the winter of 1512-13, confronted Selīm's army on the plain of Yenişehir (27 Muḥarram 919/15 April 1513). Aḥmed was defeated, captured and strangled. His son ʿOthmān shared the same fate, while his other son Murād was with the Shāh Ismāʿīl in Persia preparing to recover his father's patrimony.

The campaign against Shāh Ismāʿīl.

Before he marched against Ismāʿīl, Selīm had first to deal with the Ḳīzīlbāsh in his territory, who had already risen in the eastern provinces, while Selīm was busy against his brother Aḥmed. Aḥmed's son Murād was ready to invade the area with the Shāh's support. Selīm conducted a purge of suspected Ḳīzīlbāsh, and 40,000 suspects were jailed or executed.

Selīm also took unusual measures for the period to deprive the Shāh of the main cash revenue from the Persian silk trade. In the spring of 1514, he ordered an extensive embargo on all silk traffic from Persia to the Ottoman lands and Europe. Later, he extended the embargo to include the Arab lands, which caused an additional friction with the Mamlūks. He declared that any Persian, Arab or Turk found with Persian silk in his possession was subject to having his cargo seized, and in 1518, the sale of raw silk was altogether banned in Ottoman territory.

On his way against the Shāh, in Erzincan, the Janissaries began to mutter, but Selīm did not hesitate to send to the executioner their mouthpiece, Hemdem Pasha, a governor. Shāh Ismāʿīl was convinced that the Turcoman Ḳīzīlbāsh and the anti-Selīm governors of Anatolia would join him, hence he moved from the pasture lands of Tabriz to confront Selīm at Čāldīrān [q.v.] in mid-August 1514. The two armies met at the plain there (2 Radjab 920/23 August 1514); in a furious assault with his forty thousand heavy cavalry, the Shāh overpowered the *ʿazebs*, Ottoman light infantry in the first line, and routed the Rumelian divisions on the left wing of the Ottoman army, then turning, attacked the centre where Selīm was standing with his Janissaries. The stiff resistance of the Janissaries, decimating the Shāh's cavalry with salvos of fire, and the war chariots tied with chains forming an impregnable stronghold, determined the outcome of the battle. Wounded by a bullet, the Shāh barely escaped capture. His defeat has been attributed to a lack of firearms in his army (the earliest reference to his possession of muskets dates back to the year 1515: TKSA 6320; Tansel 88). After the victory, Selīm's plan was to pass the winter at Ḳarābagh and to resume the campaign against the Shāh next spring (for *fatḥ-nāmes*, see Ferīdūn, i, 386-9; Ibn Ṭūlūn, ii,

47-53). But the insurgent Janissaries forced the sultan to return to Istanbul (for the Shāh's embassies to Selīm after Čāldirān and his attempts to find allies against the Ottomans, see Bacqué-Grammont, 73-145). On 15 Radjab 920/5 September 1515, Selīm entered Tabrīz. After nine days, he left the city, taking with him about one thousand citizens, artists, artisans and rich merchants for Istanbul. On his way back to Amasya, where he spent the winter, Selīm annexed the cities of Bayburd, Erzincan, Karahisar and Canik.

One important consequence of the Ottoman victory was the Turkish conquest of all of the Shāh's possessions in eastern Asia Minor, from Erzincan southwards to Diyārbakr and northern ʿIrāḳ. The Ḳizilbāsh fortress of Kemah [see KEMAKH], a key stronghold on the crossroads of Erzincan and the Euphrates valley was taken by Selīm on 5 Rabīʿ I 921/19 May 1515. The Shāh's Ḳizilbāsh Turcoman governors and garrison commanders put up a stiff resistance to the Ottomans, while most of the Sunnī Kurdish beys, who under the Ḳizilbāsh domination had lost their hereditary patrimonies, submitted. Through the activities of Idrīs Bidlīsī [*q.v.*], a former Aḳ Ḳoyunlu state secretary with close acquaintance of the Kurdish beys, Selīm followed a conciliatory policy to attach these Kurdish lords to his side, recognising with official diplomas their hereditary rights. Idrīs's list of the submitted Kurdish lords included those of Soran, ʿImādiyye and Bukthī, who now began to attack the Persians and their allies. In the same regions, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu princes expelled by Ismāʿīl also co-operated with the Ottomans. The population of Diyārbakr rose against the Shāh, offering submission to Selīm and appealing to him for aid, which he was only able to provide after the campaign against the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids (summer 1515) under the able command of Bïyïḳlï Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], who entered Diyārbakr in Shaʿbān 921/mid-September 1515. Following Bïyïḳlï's unsuccessful siege of Mārdīn [*q.v.*], the Persian forces came back and besieged Diyārbakr; Ottoman control over the Diyārbakr region was only achieved after Bïyïḳlï, reinforced with the army of Anatolia, had won a decisive victory over the Turcomans at Ḳargın-Dede. Thereupon, the fortresses of Ergani, Sindjār, Čermik and Birecik surrendered, whilst Mārdīn, Ḥiṣn Kayfā, Ruhā, Raḳḳa and Mawṣil fell later in 1516.

The conquest of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids.

While advancing against the Shāh in 1514, Selīm's rear was threatened by the Mamlūk sultan, who mustered forces in Aleppo, and by his vassal, the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, on Sultan Ḳānṣūh al-Ghawrī's [*q.v.*] instructions, intercepted food supplies from his territory to the Ottoman army. ʿAlī b. Shāhsuwār, the son of the former ruler of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrid principality, now in Selīm's service, began to invade his father's lands after Čāldirān and with Selīm's support (winter 1514-15). Ḳanṣūh protested against this as an infringement of Mamlūk territory, but after the fall of Kemah, Selīm decided to annex this Turcoman principality to his empire. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla was killed by ʿAlī (29 Rabīʿ II 921/12 June 1515), and Selīm sent his head to the Mamlūk sultan. This strategically important region, inhabited by Turcomans who had joined ʿAlī b. Shāhsuwār during the Ottoman invasion, was left under his control. Ottoman law was only imposed under Süleymān I, when Sipāhīs of Ḳaramān were granted *tīmār*s on the lands of the local Turcoman military élite.

The campaign against the Mamlūks.

During Selīm's campaign against the Persians, Ḳānṣūh had remained neutral, and Selīm was careful on his part not to offend him. But after Čāldirān, the Mamlūk promised the Shāh to attack Selīm from the rear if he attacked the Shāh again. Ottoman activities against the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids made hostilities unavoidable. Before war began, Selīm took a series of measures to win over to his side the Arabs and some of the leading *amīr*s, declaring that the Mamlūks were a foreign caste of Circassians, dominating and oppressing the great mass of Arab population. In fact, the Aleppo citizens promised to welcome the Ottomans in their city. The Syrian cities had become commercially dependent on the Bursa market, whilst it had become evident that the Mamlūks were powerless to protect Arab merchants in their trade with India against the Portuguese, who now were in the Red Sea threatening to capture Mecca and Medina. In 1510 Ḳānṣūh himself had appealed to the sultan for aid to build a fleet at Suez, and Ottoman experts and mercenaries [see RŪMĪ] were already in Suez, Djidda and Yemen. Khāʾir Bey, governor of Aleppo and Djānberdī Ghazālī, governor of Damascus, both established secret relations with the Ottomans, and later, Selīm won over by promises of rewards many other Mamlūks with promises of employment in the future Ottoman administration.

The Mamlūks feared that the Ottomans were going to invade Egypt from the sea. In fact, Ottoman activities for the construction of new warships at arsenals were intensified in 1515. Always declaring that his preparations were aimed at the heretic Shāh, Selīm claimed that by allying himself with Ismāʿīl, Ḳānṣūh was attempting to impede the Ottoman sultan in his efforts to extirpate heresy in Persia. The *fatwā* sought by Selīm to legitimise his campaign against this Sunnī Muslim ruler laid emphasis on Mamlūk oppression and injustices committed against Muslims. Ḳānṣūh countered that the Ottoman sultan was using Christian soldiery in his army against Muslims. Upon Ḳānṣūh's formal demand for the evacuation of Dhu 'l-Ḳadrid territory by the Ottomans, war was declared. Selīm entered Mamlūk territory in Malatya (end of July 1516), and the two armies confronted each other at the plain of Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] 40 km north of Aleppo on 25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516.

Here, too, the Ottoman *wagenburg* tactics with the 300 chained war chariots and their superiority in firearms determined the outcome of the battle. Ḳānṣūh was among the dead. Khāʾir Bey surrendered Aleppo and served the Ottomans faithfully, dying as Ottoman governor of Egypt in 1522. Selīm left Aleppo after eighteen days, and reached Damascus on 1 Ramaḍān 922/28 September 1516, where he spent the winter months. Although his viziers were not in favour of a campaign against Egypt, Selīm was urged on by Khāʾir Bey and other Arab leaders against the newly-elected Mamlūk sultan, Ṭūmānbāy, and he ordered preparations for the invasion of Egypt. An order was sent to Istanbul for the imperial fleet's departure for Egypt. The crucial problem was how to get the Ottoman army through the Sinai desert to Egypt, and to provide a water supply, 30,000 water bags carried by 15,000 camels were prepared. Declaring his decision to take all Muslim lands under his protection, Selīm invited Ṭūmānbāy to recognise him as his suzerain; this was naturally refused. On their drive to Egypt, the Ottomans won their first victory near Ghazza against the Mamlūk forces under Djānberdī (27 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 922/21 December 1516). Leading Bedouin chiefs submitted to Selīm. To confront the Ottoman army, Ṭūnānbāy had prepared a strong line of defence reinforced with artillery and ditches at al-

Raydāniyya. On 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 922/22 January 1517, while his main forces attacked in front, Selīm surprised the Mamlūks by circumventing Ṭūmānbāy's fortified encampment. In the first hours of the combat, the vehement attack of the heavy Mamlūk cavalry shook the Ottoman lines. But here, too, the outcome of the battle was determined by Ottoman superiority in fire-arms, foiling Mamlūk cavalry attacks. The first Ottoman forces entered Cairo on 3 Muḥarram 923/26 January 1517. Ṭūmānbāy and those Circassians who were able to escape resumed fighting in the streets of Cairo, refusing an offer of *amān* [*q.v.*] by Selīm. Ṭūmānbāy mustered his troops on the west bank of the Nile, until Selīm decided to cross the Nile and crush resistance. Ṭūmānbāy was captured and executed (15 April 1517). The Cairenes recognised Selīm as their legitimate ruler, but only when he believed it was safe did he enter the city (23 Muḥarram 923/15 February 1517). In the clashes in Cairo and outside the city, the number of Circassians killed or executed was estimated at 50,000 to 60,000 (see *fatḥ-nāmes* in Ferīdūn, i, 427-49; Ibn Ṭūlūn, ii, 44-7).

Following the fall of the Mamlūk sultanate, the dependent Arab lands, including the Sharīfs of Mecca and the Yemen, recognised Selīm.

Selīm appointed Khāʾir Bey as Ottoman governor of Egypt, who succeeded in reconciling the remaining Mamlūks and Arab *shaykhs* with the Ottoman administration. Before his departure from Cairo on 26 Shaʿbān 923/13 September 1517, Selīm sent by sea to Istanbul 800 Cairenes who were thought "to cause trouble", including the last ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil and many artisans. During long stays in Damascus and in Aleppo, he busied himself with organising Syria as a typical Ottoman province. He appointed governors and surveyors to register the population and revenues. He appointed Djānberdī governor of al-Shām (5 Ṣafar 924/16 February 1518), and Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanash was given a *sandjak* along with various *iḳṭāʿ*s; his control of Lebanon had been confirmed when Selīm was on his way to fight against Ṭūmānbāy, but he later came into conflict with the Ottoman governors, leading to his elimination.

Selīm's claim to pre-eminence in the Islamic world.

The title of *khalīfa* [see KHILĀFAT] was in common use among Muslim rulers when the Ottoman dynasty first emerged. It did not then represent dominion over the *umma* [*q.v.*] of all Muslims in the world, as was the case under the ʿAbbāsids. However, the Mamlūk sultans, taking under their protection Mecca and Medina and also the ʿAbbāsid caliphs after 1258, claimed a primacy among Muslim rulers. Already after his victory at Mardj Dābiḳ, Selīm began to consider himself as the successor of the Mamlūks, and assumed their title of *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*. The historian Ibn Ṭūlūn witnessed this at a Friday *khuṭba* in Damascus. Selīm's name was mentioned with the titles of *al-Imām al-ʿādil* and of *Sulṭān al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*. But no contemporary source has confirmed the alleged account that, in a ceremony, al-Mutawakkil officially transferred his caliphal rights to Selīm. In contemporary Arab sources, al-Mutawakkil is always mentioned as *al-Khalīfa, Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, and Selīm only after him as *Malik al-Rūm* (in 926/1519: Ibn Ṭūlūn, ii, 78, 91). According to the tradition and the interpretation of the *ʿulemāʾ*, the Mamlūk sultan or Selīm himself could not claim to replace al-Mutawakkil because they did not descend from the Prophet's tribe Ḳuraysh. However, as successor to the last Mamlūk sultan, Selīm claimed primacy in the Islamic world; in a letter to the Shīrwānshāh [*q.v.*] he claimed that God had charged him to fight against heresy, to bring order to the true laws of Islam and to protect the Pilgrimage routes for Muslims (Ferīdūn, i, 439-45). At a time when the Portuguese had entered the Red Sea and were threatening possibly to capture Mecca and Medina, the protection of Islam had become a crucial issue for all Muslims and the Arabs in particular. Presenting themselves as the "foremost of *ghāzīs*" Selīm, and his successor Süleymān, claimed to be the protectors of all Muslims in the world. In 1526, the latter used the title *wārith al-khilāfa al-kubrā* "inheritor of the supreme caliphate".

At the time when developments in the east kept him busy, Selīm was careful to maintain peace with Christian nations in the west, in particular with Venice and Hungary. On 17 September 1517 he renewed the Venetian capitulations in Cairo, with the additional stipulation that the Venetian tribute to the Mamlūks of 8,000 gold ducats for Cyprus was to be paid thereafter to the Ottoman sultan. Selīm's diplomacy toward Christian nations was altogether successful; but Pope Leo X's increased efforts to organise a European crusade, and the Shāh's and Ḳānṣūh's diplomatic relations with Western states against the Ottomans, did not in the end result in any hostile activity (K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, ii; Bacqué-Grammont, 135-45, 168).

The outbreak of a new Ḳizilbāsh Turcoman rebellion in the Amasya province in the spring of 1519 under a dervish called Djelāl, declaring himself Shāh Welī and a Mahdī [*q.v.*], showed that Shāh Ismāʿīl was still the principal threat to the empire. The rebellion was suppressed with difficulty (April 1519). At the time of his accession to the throne, Selīm was advised to make the conquest of the islands of Rhodes and Chios one of his most urgent tasks. In 1519 extraordinary naval preparations, the construction of one hundred galleys, were believed in Venice to be the signal of a campaign against Rhodes (von Hammer, iv, 247-9). But the following year, Selīm died on his way from Istanbul to Edirne near Çorlu on 8 Shawwāl 926/21 September 1520. His only son Süleymān [*q.v.*] succeeded him without difficulty.

Well-educated, the author of a collection of poems in Persian, an admirer of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], Selīm was at the same time an uncompromising autocrat, and a quick-tempered, merciless man.

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(Halil İnalcık)

SELĪM II, the eleventh Ottoman sultan (r. 974-82/1566-74), the third son and the fourth of the six children of Ḳānūnī Süleymān I and K̲h̲ürrem Sulṭān [*q.vv.*]. He was born in Istanbul on 26 Rad̲j̲ab 930/30 May 1524, during the festivities accompanying the marriage of Süleymān's Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. Together with his elder half-brother Muṣṭafā and his elder brother Meḥmed, Selīm was one of the three princes in whose honour was held the *sünnet düğünü* (circumcision feast) of 1530, one of the major dynastic spectacles of Süleymān's reign. He remained in Istanbul until appointed in 1542, at the age of 18, to his first provincial post in Ḳonya as *sand̲j̲aḳ begi* of Ḳaramān. In 951/1544, following his brother Meḥmed's death, Selīm was transferred to the latter's more prestigious *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Ṣaruk̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] at Manisa, remaining there until his transfer back to Ḳonya in 1558. In 955/1548 Selīm was temporarily assigned to Edirne to guard the European front, whilst Süleymān was on campaign in the east against Ṣafawid Persia.

Following the deaths in 960/1553 of Muṣṭafā and another brother D̲j̲ihāngīr, Selīm and his younger brother Bāyezīd were the only surviving sons of Süleymān. On the death of their mother K̲h̲ürrem in 965/1558, rivalry between Selīm and Bāyezīd broke out into an open succession struggle. With the aid of troops sent by Süleymān and led by the third vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], Selīm defeated Bāyezīd's provincial forces at the battle of Ḳonya in 966/1559, forcing Bāyezīd to take refuge in Persia. After lengthy negotiations between Süleymān and S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*], Bāyezīd and his sons were assassinated at Süleymān's bidding in 969/1562 (Ş. Turan, *Kanunî'nin oğlu şehzade Bayezid vak'ası*, Ankara 1961, *passim*). Now Süleyman's sole heir, Selīm was transferred to the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Kütahya, where he remained until Süleymān's death at Szigetvar in 974/September 1566 whilst on campaign in Hungary.

The Grand Vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a kept Süleymān's death secret for several weeks, enabling Selīm to be safely enthroned in Istanbul after a hurried, secret journey from Kütahya. Selīm then proceeded to Belgrade to be acclaimed by the army and to escort Süleymān's bier. His reign began in confusion. Initially refusing to pay accession donatives at the level demanded by the Janissaries and household troops, Selīm was forced to do so by rioting on his return from Belgrade to Istanbul. He was also obliged to grant *tīmārs* or other awards to *ca.* 8,000 provincial troops recruited to his side in the 1559 fight against Bāyezīd. Thereafter, he took little part in government, retiring to the *ḥarem* and delegating virtually all responsibility to Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, who remained Grand Vizier throughout his reign.

During Selīm's eight-year sultanate, naval activities took precedence over land campaigns, and ac-

tion in the extreme north and south of the empire replaced the prominence given in Süleymān's reign to east-west, Ṣafawid-Habsburg campaigns. Relations with Persia remained subdued in the wake of the assassination of Bāyezīd, whilst an eight-year treaty was signed in 1568 with the Austrian Habsburgs, stipulating an annual payment by the latter of 30,000 ducats in respect of those parts of north-west Hungary claimed by the Ottomans and still under Habsburg control.

In the eastern Mediterranean, the island of Ṣaḳīz [*q.v.*] (Chios) was captured from the Genoese by the *ḳapudan pas̲h̲a* Piyāle Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in 1566 (technically while Süleymān was still sultan, but notified to Selīm at the time of his accession), and Ḳïbrïs (Cyprus) from the Venetians by Lālā Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in 1570-1, thus increasing the safety of Ottoman sea routes to Egypt. Together with proximate areas on the mainland of Anatolia, Cyprus was formed into a new *beglerbegilik* (province) and received a large influx of Turkish settlers. In the ensuing naval battle off Inebak̲h̲tī (Lepanto) the Ottoman fleet was defeated (979/October 1571) by a Papal-Venetian-Spanish fleet commanded by Don Juan of Austria, but was rebuilt rapidly over the winter of 1571-2 and Ottoman naval supremacy in the area restored. In the western Mediterranean, the fortress at Tunis (K̲h̲alḳu 'l-waᶜad, or Goletta) was lost to Spain in late 1572, but recaptured by Ḳod̲j̲a Sinān Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in 982/1574 and Tunis and its dependencies formally established as a new *beglerbegilik*. Elsewhere, an Ottoman fleet was sent from the Red Sea in 1568 at the request of the Muslim ruler of Sumatra to aid him against the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, but this achieved little.

On land, successful military operations were conducted against Arab tribal revolts in the Baṣra region (1567), and against Zaydī threats to Ottoman control in Yemen, which culminated in the loss of Ṣanᶜāʾ (1567). During 1568-70, under the command first of Özdemir-og̲h̲lu ᶜOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and then of the governor of Egypt, Ḳod̲j̲a Sinān Pas̲h̲a, Yemen was in effect reconquered and set up as a single province, rather than two as previously.

The most ambitious project of Selīm's reign, the building of a canal between the rivers Don and Volga (attempted 1569-70), was unsuccessful. It was promoted by Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a with the three-fold object of protecting the pilgrimage route from Central Asia, of curtailing the southward advance of Muscovy (which had captured Kazan in 1552 and Astrakhan in 1556), and of establishing the potential to attack Persia from the north. It would also have served to extend Ottoman control over the k̲h̲āns of the Crimea. Adverse weather conditions, unrest amongst the troops involved, and over-extended lines of communication led to the abandonment of the project with only a third of the canal excavated (cf. H. İnalcık, *The origin of the Ottoman-Russian rivalry and the Don-Volga canal (1569)*, in *Annales de l'Université d'Ankara*, i [1946-7], 47-110).

Selīm II died aged 50 on 28 S̲h̲aᶜbān 982/13 December 1574 in Istanbul (the first sultan to die there) following a fall in the palace *ḥammām*, and was succeeded by Murād III (982-1003/1574-95 [*q.v.*]), his eldest son by his Venetian *k̲h̲āṣṣekī* Nūr Bānū [*q.v.*]. Five younger sons were executed and buried with him in his tomb in the courtyard of the Aya Sofya mosque. Three daughters were married to prominent viziers in a triple wedding in 1562: İsmik̲h̲ān to Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Gewherk̲h̲ān to Piyāle Pas̲h̲a, and S̲h̲āh to Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a (re-married later to Ḍāl Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a). This network of *dāmād* (son-in-law) connections, and Selīm's reliance upon Nūr Bānū and his sister Mihrimāh, encouraged the growth of the much-maligned "harem politics" (cf. L.P. Peirce, *The imperial harem: women and sovereignty in the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1993, *passim*).

Known to Ottomans as Ṣarï Selīm, "Selīm the Sallow", and to Europeans as "Selīm the Sot" because of his love of wine, Selīm was skilled in archery and particularly fond of hunting, for which he spent much time in Edirne. He was also an accomplished poet, under the *mak̲h̲laṣ* Selīmī (although no *dīwān* of his survives), and a discriminating patron of, amongst others, the historian Muṣṭafā ᶜĀlī, the poet Bāḳī [*q.v.*], and the *s̲h̲āhnāmed̲j̲i* Loḳmān (see e.g. F. Çağman, *Şahname-i Selim Han ve minyatürleri*, in *Sanat tarihi yıllığı*, v [1972-3], 411-43). He was the first Ottoman sultan to honour members of the *ᶜulemāʾ* with accession donatives. Among his major architectural projects were the repair of the Mecca water supply system and the re-roofing of the great mosque, the addition of two minarets and extra buttresses to the Aya Sofya mosque, and the construction of the Selīmiyye complex by the architect Sinān [*q.v.*] in Edirne.

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2. Further Ottoman sources, published documents, and secondary works other than those cited in the text are given in Ş. Turan, *İA*, art. *Selim II*. See also C.H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman empire: the historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)*, Princeton 1986, esp. 33-9; M.T. Gökbilgin, *İA*, art. *Mehmed Paşa, Sokollu*; J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, in R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman*, Paris 1989, 155-8 and also index. For additional bibl., see S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976, i, 318-19. (Christine Woodhead)

SELĪM III, the twenty-eighth sultan of the Ottoman empire (1203-22/1789-1807), first son of Muṣṭafā III and grandson of Aḥmed III [*q.vv.*], was born in Istanbul on 27 D̲j̲umādā I 1175/24 December 1761.

Considered one of the ablest of the 18th century sultans, Selīm III's early upbringing may account for his later perseverance in reforming the empire. His father's more liberal outlook allowed Selīm considerable freedom of action, including the observation of the training of Baron de Tott's new Ottoman rapid-fire artillery corps, which was sent to the Danube battlefield in the last year of the 1768-74 Russo-Turkish war. Selīm's childhood entourage included many individuals such as Abū Bakr Rātib Efendi and Küčük Ḥusayn Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] who would serve him and influence his thinking upon his accession. An abortive coup to replace Sultan ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd I [*q.v.*] with Selīm, reputedly plotted by the Grand Vizier K̲h̲alīl Ḥamīd Pas̲h̲a in 1785, forced the Sultan to restrict the young prince's movements, but that did not prevent Selīm from maintaining contact with the world beyond the palace. His culpability in the events of 1785 has never been effectively demonstrated. The French ambassadors Saint-Priest and Choiseul-

Gouffier encouraged Selīm to correspond with Louis XVI, letters which demonstrate his powerful anti-Russian sentiments and wish for revenge. Choiseul-Gouffier supported the sending of Isḥāḳ Bey, one of Selīm's companions, to France, in an effort to encourage the French link with the Ottoman heir-apparent.

On 11 Radjab 1203/7 April 1789, at the age of 27, Selīm III was proclaimed Sultan, ascending the throne at one of the most difficult moments in the history of the dynasty, succeeding to an empire at war with both Russia and Austria and riven by internal rebellions. The previous autumn, the Austrians had made deep inroads into Ottoman territory, capturing Khotin [*q.v.*] on 9 September and routing the Ottoman army at Slatina later that same month. In spite of the evidence of Ottoman military exhaustion, Selīm vigorously supported the war effort, immediately confirming Khodja Yūsuf Pasha in his position as Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief of the battlefront, glorifying past Ottoman successes, reinstating the accession bonus to the Janissaries [see YEÑI-ČERI], which had lapsed with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, and generally boasting the morale of his people (Enwerī; Shaw, 32).

Khodja Yūsuf, the bellicose initiator of the war, had demonstrated some success in maintaining the Ottoman position on the southern shores of the Danube, and in winning the loyalty of his soldiers, in spite of the Ottoman losses. He was opposed by Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], sole hero of the 1770 Česhme [*q.v.*] naval disaster, reformer, critic of the war, and Grand Admiral of the Navy upon Selīm's accession. Selīm replaced the experienced admiral Ḥasan with his boyhood friend Küčük Ḥusayn Pasha, ordering Ḥasan to command the fortress of Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] in an effort to recapture Özü [see ÖZI], placating the advocates for continuing the war, consolidating his own power base, and managing to maintain the services of a valued commander. The new campaign season proved a disaster, however, culminating in the battle of Martineshti on 22 September 1789 against combined Austrian and Russian forces, a total rout for the Ottomans. Thereafter, the Austrians occupied Belgrade [*q.v.*] and Bucharest [see BÜKRESH], and the Russians Aḳ Kirmān [*q.v.*] and Bender [*q.v.*].

An Ottoman treaty with Sweden to distract Russia, which was concluded on 11 July 1789, resulted in little, but an alliance with Prussia dating from 31 January 1790, and the death of Joseph II of Austria in February, led to the conclusion of an Ottoman-Austrian treaty mediated by Prussia, England and The Netherlands, at Zistowa, on 4 August 1791, but only after Prussia and Austria had settled their differences in the Convention of Reichenbach the previous summer. By the stipulations of the Zistowa treaty, the Ottomans retained the territories in Wallachia [see EFLĀK] and Moldavia [see BOGHDĀN] which had been occupied by Austria, essentially a recapitulation of the 1739 Treaty of Belgrade, ceding only Old Orsowa as part of a new definition of the Austro-Ottoman border.

Hostilities continued with the Russians, with disastrous results for the Ottoman forces, Russia occupying many of the important Danube fortresses, notably Ismāʿīl, the Ottoman base of operations, after a long struggle on 22 December 1790. After the winter hiatus, the Russians resoundingly beat the Ottoman forces south of the Danube at Mačīn in April 1791, the fortress itself capitulating on 9 July. Selīm was ill-served by his commanders, especially after the death of the newly-reappointed Grand Vizier Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha on the battlefield in March of 1790. His successor, Sherīf Ḥasan Pasha, after allowing the Russians to overrun Budjāk [*q.v.*], was executed at Shumla in February, 1791, and replaced once again by Khodja Yūsuf Pasha, who could no longer contain the complete breakdown of Ottoman defences. A truce was arranged by mid-summer, and followed by the treaty of Jassy [see YASH], 9 January 1792, recapitulating most of the articles of the 1774 Küčük Ḳaynardja [*q.v.*] treaty, but establishing the new Ottoman-Russian border at the Dniester and the Ḳuban rivers and ending conclusively Ottoman claims to the Crimea [see ḲIRIM].

Selīm faced a demoralised, practically bankrupt and highly decentralised empire, conditions exacerbated by the costly and fruitless campaigns. Rebellions in Arabia, the Balkans and the Caucasus continued while he undertook to reform his administration, pursuing an energetic programme designed and carried through by his advisors. His intentions were clear from the early days of his succession, when he summoned a council of 200 men of state in May 1789 to discuss the condition of the empire. (Djewdet, ²vi, 6-7; Shaw, 73). During the war, Selīm pursued the re-ordering of the Ottoman military machine as best he could, but with little practical results. Immediately following the peace at Jassy, the Grand Vizier was ordered to solicit a number of written reform proposals. By far the most comprehensive was that of Abū Bakr Rātib Efendi, Ambassador to Vienna following the Zistowa peace treaty, whose analysis of Austrian institutions served as a recipe for the Ottoman reform programme, *Niẓām-i Djedīd* [*q.v.*] or "New Order," the same term used to refer to the new army corps.

Addressing military reform meant facing powerful opposition, as the Janissary privileges in the form of pay and rations (*esāme*) were deeply entrenched in all levels of Ottoman society. Significant reform was undertaken after 1793 in the artillery corps, with the introduction of new troops, new schools and training by foreign officers. Selīm's energy, however, also extended to the traditional Janissary and Sipāhī [*q.v.*] corps, instituting discipline, introducing new weaponry, and undertaking to see that they were regularly paid and comfortable in rebuilt barracks in Istanbul, but to no avail. Establishing the *Niẓām-i Djedīd* army proved more productive, an outgrowth of the irregular Lewend [*q.v.*] organisation, with separate barracks, the Lewend Čiftelik, located outside the centre of Istanbul, and training and discipline styled along western lines. Selīm felt confident enough to issue regulations concerning the new corps only in 1794, a single regiment of 1,602 officers and men, attached to the old imperial Bostāndjī corps [*q.v.*], as its riflemen branch. By 1800, as a result of the threat posed by the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, a second regiment was installed in the new Selīmiyye barracks in Üsküdār, a force drawn largely from the unemployed of the streets of Istanbul, and Turkish peasants from Anatolian villages, whose enlistment was encouraged by high salaries and tax exemptions. By 1801, the force numbered 9,263 men and 27 officers, increasing to three regiments and almost 23,000 by the end of Selīm's reign (Shaw, 131-4). During the 1798-1801 confrontations with France in Egypt and against ʿOthmān Paswan-oghlu [see PASWAN-OGHLU] of Vidin [*q.v.*], the new troops acquitted themselves with some small successes, hampered always by the refusal of the Janissaries to serve with them. Reform in the navy was more successful, under the direction of Grand Admiral Küčük Ḥuseyn Pasha, who saw to the construction of new warships and technical schools during the same period.

To finance his reorganisation of the military and

navy, Selīm established the *Īrād-i Djedīd*, a new attempt at a centralised budget, with revenues from state tax farms set aside for its use. At the same time, vacant, absentee or poorly managed military fiefs of the long disfunctional *tīmār* system were seized and added to the new treasury. While significant revenue was generated, the provincial upheaval such measures induced exacerbated the growing disaffection of local notables, one of the significant causes of Selīm's downfall.

The War of the Triple Alliance (1799-1802) pitted the Ottomans against Napoleon, and forced a reluctant Selīm into agreements with Britain and Russia to counter the French invasion of Egypt. During these confrontations, the sultan was forced to rely on the private armies of local notables such as Aḥmad Djazzār Pasha [*q.v.*] in Acre [see ᶜAKKA] and Sidon [see ṢAYDĀ], ᶜAlī Pasha of Yanina and ᶜOthmān Paswanoghlu, which both extended their power and increased the privations of the countryside, especially in the Balkans. The Treaty of Amiens in 1801, negotiated without an Ottoman presence, so angered the sultan that he signed a separate peace with France on 25 June 1802, restoring that country to all its pre-war privileges and ignoring the question of war indemnities which both Russia and Britain were demanding.

Peace, however, meant the renewal of internal revolt, often encouraged by the empire's erstwhile allies, especially the Russians, who had made tremendous gains in the Treaty of Amiens. A serious revolt in Serbia against Janissary and the auxiliary Yamaḳ abuses broke out in 1802, developing rapidly into a revolution under the leadership of Kara George after 1804, and influencing much of the diplomatic manœuvring of the period. War between France and England broke out again in 1803, and intense diplomatic pressure by the resurrected Anglo-Russian alliance in Istanbul forced Selīm to sever relations with France in 1805. Further French victories over the European allies, however, persuaded Selīm to grant formal recognition to the emperor in 1806, and to declare war on Russia in December after the Tsar ordered the occupation of the Principalities and was continuing to support the Serbian rebellion. Britain sent warships through the Dardanelles [see ČANAḲ-ḲALᶜE BOGHAZĪ] to the capital in February, demanding the expulsion of Sebastiani, French ambassador to the Porte after 1805, and compliance with Russian demands *vis-à-vis* the Principalities. Selīm's refusal to comply, and his orders to fortify the city and the Straits, let to the British withdrawal to Tenedos [see BOZDJA-ADA], a last moment of victory and accord between the sultan and his people. The British fleet occupied Alexandria in 1807, but found that Muḥammad ᶜAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], governor of Egypt since 1805, had subdued the Mamlūks [*q.v.*], forcing the British to withdraw.

Selīm's failure to create a broad coalition of supporters for his reform agenda, however, finally overwhelmed him. A general call to arms for *Niẓām-i Djedīd* troops in March 1805 had precipitated an open revolt among the Yamaḳs in the Balkans, beginning the final series of confrontations between the traditional forces and Selīm's reformers. Quelled temporarily by Selīm's capitulation to the conservatives, the rebellion moved to Istanbul in May 1807, when another attempt to force new uniforms on the unruly Yamaḳs stationed on the Bosphorus incited an overt call for Selīm's removal, a conspiracy spearheaded from the palace itself by the *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* [*q.v.*] Mūsā Pasha and the *Shaykh al-Islām* ᶜAṭāʾ Allāh Efendi. The Janissaries joined in the revolt, forcing Selīm to abandon the *Niẓām-i Djedīd* programme and sacrifice its architects and partisans to their demands, rather than testing the mettle of the new troops, who were confined to their barracks. Selīm was deposed on 22 Rabīᶜ I 1222/29 May 1807 and as he had no children, he was replaced by Muṣṭafā IV [*q.v.*], eldest son of ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd I. Retiring into the palace, he was executed by Muṣṭafā a year later on 4 Djumādā II/28 July 1808 during the attempt by Muṣṭafā Bayraḳdār Pasha [*q.v.*] of Rusčuk and the Grand Vizier Čelebi Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*] to rescue and restore him to the throne. In the confusion, Maḥmūd, brother of Muṣṭafā IV, escaped the same fate as Selīm, and was brought out of hiding by Muṣṭafā Bayraḳdār as Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], proving later to be an apt student of his cousin in the matter of reform.

While it is generally conceded that Selīm faltered in the matter of leadership and continuity, changing Grand Viziers ten times in the course of his reign, he inaugurated a process of reform which could no longer be halted if the Empire was to survive. Other initiatives include his appointment of the first permanent Ottoman ambassadors to Europe, to London in 1793 and Berlin, Vienna and Paris in 1795, an avenue for information on European affairs, although diplomacy of the period continued to be conducted largely by the influential foreign presence in Istanbul (Kuran). A notable poet and musician, many of Selīm's compositions are still performed. He was a frequent visitor to the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*] *tekke* in Galata [see GHALAṬA in Suppl.], and friend and patron of Shaykh Ghālib Dede [*q.v.*], the well-known poet-mystic and partisan of the reform programme of the young sultan. Aside from the new buildings constructed for the *Niẓām-i Djedīd*, Selīm completely restored the mosque of Fātiḥ.

Bibliography: The *Taʾrīkh* of Wāṣīf as well as those of Enwerī and ᶜĀṣim Aḥmed [*q.v.*] form the chief historical sources on Selīm's reign. For general information on the period of Selīm III, see the work of one of his advisors, Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1788-1820. The diary kept by his private secretary, Aḥmed Efendi, from 1791-1807, is a unique source by an individual who accompanied Selīm almost everywhere, *III. Selim'in Sırkâtibi Ahmed Efendi tarafından tutulan ruznâme*, Ankara 1993; Abū Bakr Rātib, *Sefāret-nāme*, ms. Esad Efendi 2235; Baron de Tott, *Memoirs of Baron de Tott*, London 1785; A. Boppe, *La France et "le militaire turc" au XVIIIe siècle*, in *Feuilles d'histoire* (1912), 386-402, 490-501; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Selim III'ün Veliaht iken Fransa Kralı Lüi XVI ile muhabereleri*, in *Belleten*, ii (1938), 191-246; idem, *Sadrâzam Halil Hamit Paşa*, in *TM*, v (1935), 213-67; E.Z. Karal, *Nizam-ı Cedide dâir layihalar*, in *TV*, i (1942), 414-25, ii (1942-43), 104-11, 342-51, 424-32; S.J. Shaw, *Between old and new: the Ottoman Empire under Selim III, 1789-1807*, Cambridge 1971 (extensive bibl.); A.I. Bağış, *Britain and the struggle for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire: Sir Robert Ainslie's embassy to Istanbul 1776-1794*, Istanbul 1984; Kemal Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı-Prusya ittifâkı: meydana gelişi, tahlili, tatbiki*, Istanbul 1981; G. Gawrych, *Şeyh Galib and Selim III: Mevlevism and the Nizam-ı Cedid*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, iv (1987), 91-114; E. Kuran, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı ikamet elçiliklerinin kuruluşu ve ilk elçilerin siyasi faâliyetleri, 1793-1821*, Ankara 1968; *İA*, art. *Selim III* (Cevat Eren).

(VIRGINIA AKSAN)

SELĪM GIRĀY I, son of Bahādur Girāy, four times Khān of the Crimea between 1671 and 1704

(1671-7, 1684-91, 1692-9, 1702-4). In his childhood he lost his father and was committed to the care of Mirzash Agha, of the Ablan family. At the same time, ʿĀdil Girāy tried to kill him, but Selīm sought refuge among the Shīrīn family and escaped being killed. In 1671 he became Khān of the Crimean Tatars. The Tatars living in Poland asked Selīm for protection and help to settle in the Budjak [*q.v.*] region, i.e. southern Bessarabia. Their request was not granted by the Ottoman authorities and sultan Meḥemmed IV called upon Selīm to help in the battle for Ḳamāniča [*q.v.*] (Kamieniec), as a result of which the Polish army was defeated. Soon Selīm was again summoned to war against Poland, and after a siege, Ḳamānića and nearby fortresses were conquered by the Muslims. After the fighting, Selīm became the mediator in peace negotiations between Poland and the sultan; then he fought against Russia and Poland for possession of the fortress of Čihrin, but after his failure here, the sultan accused him of ineffectualness, and he was deprived of power and deported to the island of Rhodes. In 1684 Selīm was again raised to the throne of the Khāns of Crimea in Bāghče Sarāy because of the ineffectiveness of Ḥādjdjī Girāy II, who had reigned after him. During this time, the Russians approached the Crimean territory and surrounded fortresses situated on the shores of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea. Selīm defeated superior Russian forces, preventing the Russians from entering the Crimea. In 1689 Selīm was called upon to help Turkey in the war against Austria, and the Muslim forces won a battle near Skopje. In 1691, after receiving the information that Polish and Russian forces were about to attack, and after being informed of his son's death, Selīm abdicated the throne.

He then went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca and obtained the honorific title of *Ḥādjdjī*. The sultan assigned him estates at Silivri. Due to the efforts of the nobles of the Girāy dynasty, faced with a rebellion of Tatar troops, in 1692 Selīm was appointed to the throne for the third time. At that time, the war against Russia and Austria started. In 1695 Peter I launched an expedition against the Crimea, and in 1696 the Russians conquered the fortress of Azov. Because of that Selīm could not properly help the sultan in his war against Austria. He was a signatory to the 1699 peace treaty of Karlowitz (Karlovci [see KARLOFČA]) on the Danube. By virtue of this treaty, the Crimea obtained a greater independence, and was relieved of paying tribute to the sultans. In the same year, 1699, Selīm, by now very old, abdicated in his son Dewlet Girāy's favour, and the sultan awarded Selīm a pension of 8,000 gold coins per year. Intrigues at the sultan's court and the necessity of pacifying the rebellious Tatars led to Dewlet Girāy's dethronement and Selīm was for the fourth time appointed to the throne of the Crimea in 1702, but, after a short reign, died in December 1704 aged 73. Despite his preoccupations with state affairs, he was interested in literature and the sciences, and left behind a precious library.

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SELMĀN REʾĪS (d. 923/1527), a Turkish mariner and naval commander in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.

Apparently a native of Lesbos [see MIDILLI] and thus a countryman and contemporary of another famous seaman, Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], he became active as a corsair in the Central Mediterranean (J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and Anne Kroell, *Mamlouks, Ottomans et Portugais en Mer Rouge. L'affaire de Djedda en 1517*, Cairo 1988, 76). At an unspecified date (at the latest in 1514) he entered the service of the Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*] who was endeavouring to resist the recently-arrived Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. This may have happened in the framework of Ottoman succour to Egypt, well-documented between 1507 and 1514. This ceased, however, by July 1514, the year in which the Mamlūk sultan launched a major campaign to build up the arsenal and fleet in Suez, with Selmān Reʾīs as its director and commander of 2,000 *lewend*s or marines (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1960, iv, 466-7; Bacqué-Grammont, *op. cit.*, 5). Under what seems to have been a joint command of Selmān Reʾīs and Ḥusayn al-Kurdī, this new fleet sailed late in 921/1515 on a campaign launched partly in response to the appeals of Muẓaffar Shāh II of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*], and which was thus meant to succeed where the first Mamlūk expedition of 914/1508-9 under the same Ḥusayn had failed; instead of combatting the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, however, the expedition concentrated on building a stronghold on the Red Sea island of Ḳamarān [*q.v.*] near the Bāb al-Mandab [*q.v.*] against an expected Portuguese irruption into the Red Sea and on operations in Yemen, culminating in a siege of Aden or ʿAdan [*q.v.*] held by the governor of the ruler of Zabīd (Bacqué-Grammont, 8). The siege failed, and Selmān Reʾīs withdrew to Djudda [*q.v.*] in anticipation of a Portuguese attack on that port. Meanwhile, the Ottoman sultan had conquered Egypt, and immediately after his triumph he summoned Selmān to appear before him in Cairo. In a reply dated 25 Rabīʿ I 923/17 April 1517, the Turkish captain pleaded for a delay on the grounds that he could not in good conscience leave the port just as the infidel was going to attack and while the inhabitants were beseeching him to defend them. A marginal note added one day later states that the attack has occurred, Selmān has repulsed it, but that it might be renewed and he still cannot leave under these circumstances (S. Tekindağ, *Süveys'te Türkler ve Selman Reis'in arızası*, in *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, ix [1968], 77-80; the same document published by M. Yakub Mugul, in *Belgeler*, ii/3-4 [1967], 37-48).

The events of the next several months are of crucial importance not only for our understanding of Selmān's career, but also for our interpretation of the Ottoman sultan's attitude towards the struggle against the Portuguese and towards the more specific place the defence of Islam's sanctuaries received in Selim's mind. Lopo Suares, the Portuguese viceroy of India, withdrew with his fleet by the end of April 1517, but Selmān kissed the sultan's hand only on 10 Shaʿban 923/28 August 1517 (Ferīdūn Beg, *Münsheʾāt*, i, 491). He seems at this point to have suffered arrest and imprisonment in Cairo and Damascus.

Eventually pardoned, Selmān Reʾīs returned from Istanbul to Suez, which now was the base of what would become the "Ottoman Indian Ocean Fleet" and of which he may have been the first commander. The fleet accomplished little in the period of his tenure. In 1525, after an undetermined cruise outside the Bāb al-Mandab strait, a second attempt was made to seize Aden, but a report that a Portuguese fleet was approaching persuaded the Turks to raise the siege and sail back.

These failures may have been due to the low priori-

ty which the Ottoman government attached to the Suez base and fleet. This policy contradicts Selmān's own efforts to alert Istanbul to the challenges from the Portugese and possibilities in the Indian Ocean; his efforts received an eloquent expression in a *lāyiḥa* or memorandum dated 10 Shaʿbān 931/2 June 1525 (Topkapı Palace archive, N.E. 6455; see M. Lesure, *Un document ottoman sur l'Inde portugaise et les pays de la Mer Rouge*, in *Mare luso-indicum*, iii [1976], 137-60). Although anonymous, the report's internal evidence strongly argues for Selmān's authorship. It is an analysis of the strength of the Ottoman fleet in the Red Sea, a description of the main ports in the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, and an assessment of Portuguese strength in those waters and of the chances for an Ottoman fleet to oust them from there.

In the final year of his life, Selmān Reʾīs was charged with the mission to eliminate Muṣṭafā Beg, an insubordinate governor of Yemen; he did so and assumed the administration of the province himself. Shortly afterwards, Khayr al-Dīn Beg, an aide who had assisted him in the assignment, gained the local *lewends* to his side, rebelled in his turn and assassinated Selmān Reʾīs towards the end of 1527.

Selmān Reʾīs's career has received conflicting interpretation. Some historians view him as proof of Ottoman intentions to assume a leading role in the defence of the Indian Ocean and the Muslim world whose trade and pilgrims' routes were under assault by the Portuguese (Palmira Brummett, *Ottoman seapower and Levantine diplomacy in the Age of Discovery*, Albany 1994, 115-21); others draw the opposite conclusion, based on such circumstances as the treatment he received in Cairo despite his merit of saving Djudda—and thus averting a danger to Mecca—from the infidels, and the limited encouragement and means he received after his rehabilitation (Bacqué-Grammont, 19-20).

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(S. Souček)

SELWI, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Bulgarian town of Sevlievo, now in the Gabrovo province of Danubian Bulgaria (population in 1985, 26,440). From the 16th century till 1878 it was the centre of the *nāḥiye*, later *ḳāḍīlīḳ*, of Hutalič/Selwi in the *sandjaḳ* of Nigbolu. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the town and its district were predominantly inhabited by Muslims of Turkish, as well as of Bulgarian, origin. The town is situated in a vast plain 200 m/656 feet above sea level on both sides of the little river Rositsa, a tributary of the Yantra. Most of the 33 villages of the *ḳaḍāʾ* are situated in the hills around the plain. The town is the indirect successor of the mediaeval Bulgarian castle of Hutalič, the ruins of which were discovered in the 1980s, 9 km/5 miles to the south-east of the present town at the edge of the plain, in the formerly wholly Turkish village of Hisar Beyli (later, Serbeglii, since 1934, Javorets). The Hutalič castle is mentioned in a 13th-century inscription.

The *nāḥiye* of Hutalič is first mentioned in the *Icmal Defter* from 884/1479, having 24 villages with Bulgarian names and Christian inhabitants besides two villages with Turkish names and Muslim inhabitants (Čadîrlî and ʿAlī Faḳīhler). Selwi itself is mentioned for the first time in 922/1516, as a newly-founded place "not mentioned in the previous register" and having 18 Muslim Turkish households. In the course of the 16th century, this village, due to its central location, became the centre of the district and in the course of the late 17th century developed into a town. In 922/1516 there were, next to the old villages, eight new Muslim villages with Turkish names and in 1579-80 fourteen. At this time, the number of the Muslim population rose from 214 to 838 households, whereas the Christians largely remained stagnant because an important part of the population of the old villages gradually Islamised. In 1751 Selwi was a small town of 301 households, with two mosques and a weekly market. Through further Islamisation, 71% of the district was now Muslim.

In the course of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the town as well as the district slowly lost its predominantly Muslim character, the Christians having markedly large families. In 1845, 52% of the district was Muslim, in 1873 46%, the town then having 2,345 Muslim inhabitants and 3,864 Christians. Selwi had in 1873 ten mosques, a few *ḥammāms* and dervish convents and a large and monumental church for the Christian community, rebuilt in 1834 on older foundations, with the support of the local Muslim notables and written permission of Sultan Maḥmūd II. After Bulgaria became independent, most of the old Turkish colonists, as well as the bulk of the Muslims of local origin, left the villages of Selwi and migrated to Anatolia. Those remaining in the town more than halved in numbers by 1887. According to the census of 1928, only 811 Muslims were still living in the town. After the Second World War, during which time the town saw a rapid development, almost all Muslims left, and their mosques and other buildings were all demolished. The church from 1834 and the Clock Tower, first erected in 1777, remain standing as officially recognised monuments of culture.

Only in the large village of Aḳîndjîlar (now Petko Slavejkov), until 1878 wholly Turkish, a majority of the population remained Turkish-speaking Muslims, having one small mosque. The same is valid for the village of mixed origin, Rahova (Rahovčite). In Malkoçlar (now Burja) and Adiller (Idilevo), some families remain, partly with ʿAlevī inclinations.

Throughout the Ottoman period, the *nāḥiye/ḳaḍāʾ* was known by both the names of Selwi and Hutaliç.

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SEMĀʿ KHĀNE [see SAMĀʿ].

SEMEDIREK, SEMADIREK, the Ottoman Turkish name for Samothrace, modern Greek Samothraki, a mountainous island of the Thracian Sporades group in the northeastern part of the Aegean Sea, now part of the Greek Republic and at present included in the *nomos* or department of Evros. Its area is 178 km²/69 sq. miles, and in 1981 the declining population stood at 2,871. In mediaeval times it was famous for its honey and its goats, and the Latins called it *Sanctus Mandrachi*.

As part of the Thracian and Macedonian themes, Samothrace suffered from Slavonic and Arab raids in early mediaeval times. After *ca.* 1335 it passed from Byzantine hands to the Genoese Gattilusi house of Lesbos [see MIDILLI]. The Aydîn Turkmen beg Umur had raided it in 1330, and the Ottoman onslaught on it began soon after the capture of Constantinople (see E. Malamut, *Îles de l'empire byzantin, 8^e-12^e s.*, Paris 1988, index; T. Gregory, in *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford 1991; A. Savvides, *Notes on medieval Samothrake until the Turkish conquest*, forthcoming). The first Ottoman attack, by Meḥemmed Fātiḥ's fleet (on 4 June 1456, according to a Byzantine short chronicle), provoked a western counter-attack by a papal fleet under Cardinal Scarampo, but in 1459 the sultan recovered Samothrace, Lemnos (Limni [*q.v.*]) and Thasos (Tashöz [*q.v.*]), and their revenues were amongst those granted by Meḥemmed to his father-in-law, the vanquished Despot of Morea Demetrius Palaeologus [see MORA]. Apart from a brief Venetian occupation, Samothrace and the neighbouring islands passed by the Turco-Venetian treaty of 1479 definitively into Ottoman hands; by 1470, the island had been left with barely 200 inhabitants because of the incessant raiding.

The Ottoman period (1479-1912) is insufficiently documented. A Venetian raid is recorded in 1502. Soon afterwards, Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*] called the island *welīler maḳāmi* "abode of saints", perhaps echoing earlier descriptions of it. In 1698 the Venetian admiral Dolfin forced the Ottoman fleet to retreat to the Dardanelles, so that the Italians could gather taxation from the northeastern Aegean islands. In the early stages of the Greek National Revolt (1821), the island was raided by the fleet of Ḳara ʿAlī, which slaughtered almost all the male Greek population and enslaved the women and children (see Finlay, *History of Greece*, i, 192), and only after 1827 did the survivors begin to resettle the island from neighbouring areas. Archaeological excavations were begun on Samothrace in the 19th century by the French and the Austrians, and in 1863 the French consul Champoiseau was allowed by the Ottoman authorities to transport the statue of the Winged Victory to the Louvre. The island was occupied by the Greek navy on 19 October 1912 in the course of the First Balkan War; during World War II it was under Bulgarian occupation from Western Thrace 1941-4.

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SENEGAL, the name of a former French colony, an independent republic since 1960. Senegal takes its name from the river which rises in Guinea and discharges into the Atlantic Ocean near Saint-Louis after describing a broad curve, a section of which constitutes the frontier with Mauritania [see MŪRITĀNIYĀ].

The origin of the word "Senegal" is disputed. According to some, the term is said to derive from the name of the Ṣanhādja (or Zenaga), a Berber people who occupied the northern bank of the lower reaches of the river. The first forms of these names are to be found in the accounts of travellers of the 16th century. Duarte Pacheco Pereira uses the phrase "rio de Çanagua" to denote the river; Zurara, Valentim Fernandes, Ca da Mosto and Diogo Gomes call the Berber people "Azenegues", "Azanaghes" or "Cenegii". Other interpretations find in the name of Sunghāna, a town in the river valley mentioned by al-Bakrī in the 5th/11th century, another possible origin. According to a popular etymology, which has no historical basis, Senegal would be derived from the Wolof *sunu gaal* ("our canoe"). Whatever the case, the name of Senegal, which had long been applied to the region of Saint-Louis alone, was not extended to the whole country until the 19th century.

1. Geography, population and languages.

Senegal is the most westerly country of the African continent. It is situated between latitudes 12° and 17° N., and between longitudes 11° and 17° W. Its surface area is 196,722 km². The most significant elevation, in the extreme south of the country, is less than 500 m in altitude. Anomalies exist in the drawing of frontiers, a legacy of the colonial division. The valley of the Gambia (approximately 300 km in length by 20 km in breadth), formerly colonised by the British, constitutes an enclave which impedes communications between Casamance and the rest of the country. In terms of climate, Senegal is a region of transition between the Sahel [see SĀḤIL] to the north and the tropical forests to the south, with an Atlantic littoral to the west introducing a maritime dimension. The major part of the centre and the east (Ferlo) is semi-desert.

Three principal ethnic groups share the land of contemporary Senegal: the Wolof, who constitute between 35% and 38% of the total population, and who principally inhabit the north-west of the country, the Sereer, settled to the south of the former (region of Sine-Saloum), who, with 19% of the population, represent the second largest race of Senegal, and the Fuutanke (pl. Fuutankobe) of Fuuta Tooro (called "Toucouleurs" by the French), a sedentary people inhabiting the central section of the river valley (13% of the total), the product of large-scale racial intermingling, which over the course of its history has adopted the language of the Peul or Fulbe nomads (hence their name of *hal-pulaaren*, "those who speak *pulaar*/peul"). Wolof, Sereer and Hal-Pulaaren are related through language and culture. The final third of the Senegalese population is composed of the Soninke, Maninka/Malinke and other kindred groups (8.5%), historically associated with the mediaeval empires of Ghāna and of Mali [*q.vv.*], the Peul or Fulbe (8%), the Joola/Diola of Casamance (7%), the Balantes, Mandjak, Mankagne and Bassari of Casamance and the south-east of the country (2%), and the Lebu of the Cape Verde peninsula (less than 2%).

French, the official language of the Republic, is

known by approximately one-third of the population. Since 1978, the constitution has furthermore recognised six national languages: Joola, Malinke, Pular, Sereer, Soninke and Wolof. Due to its centrality, the number of its speakers, and its historical and political role, Wolof, although little used in the press and in literature, has tended to become, in fact, the principal national language of Senegal. On the other hand, the existence of a public and private network engaged in the teaching of Arabic, and the use of Arabic characters in the transcription of certain national languages, have tended to confer upon Arabic, for religious reasons, the status of a major cultural language, in spite of the relatively small number of those who use it.

The total population of Senegal was 7 million in 1988, representing a density of 35.7 inhabitants per km². The capital, Dakar [*q.v.* in Suppl.], has a population of over a million. The scale of urbanisation is one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa: more than a third of the inhabitants. In 1988 the G.N.P. was $510 per head of population, and the overseas debt, in 1989, was $288.25 per head of population. The vast majority of the population is Muslim. There also exists a Catholic minority (about 5%) in the south of the country ("Little Coast").

2. Economy.

The economy of Senegal, which depends for almost half of its exports on a single agricultural product, the ground-nut, is fragile. Despite efforts towards liberalisation, the Senegalese state remains the principal employer, importer and investor, a fact which increases the risks of corruption and nepotism in the administrative apparatus. The Senegalese economy is, furthermore, deeply dependent on foreign nations for the provision of capital and of technology. For a long time France, the former colonial power, has occupied a dominant position, which is currently shared by the U.S.A.

Since independence, the value of ground-nuts on the international market has declined considerably (in competition with the oils of the soy-bean and the coleseed). The ground-nut, which represented 80% of the value of exports until 1967, represented no more than one-half fifteen years later. This collapse is also accounted for by the development of new products for export: phosphates, fresh and preserved fish, cotton. On the other hand, the state has given priority to the extension of rice-producing land. Besides Casamance, the region traditionally associated with this crop, rice has been introduced into the valley of the Senegal river, as a result of major projects sponsored by the (inter-states) "Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Sénégal" (O.M.V.S.), which, by means of the construction of a dam at Diama (near Saint-Louis), intends to modify the hydraulic disposition of the river and to combat the salination of soils.

Although Senegal does not belong among the least prosperous nations of West Africa, its economy shows few signs of growth. The poor quality of its soil and the scarcity of natural resources, in addition to the effects of the condition of international markets in primary materials, constitute this country's principal handicap. The recent devaluation of the C.F.A. franc (January 1994) has rendered still more perceptible the problems of an economy which has yet to extricate itself from the ties of external dependence.

3. History.

(1) *Earliest historical times.*

The history of the settlement of Senegal dates back at least to the start of the current era: the presence of tumuli in the valley of the Senegal, impressive artificial mounds of sea-shells on the coast, numerous megalithic monuments, dating from the first millennium of this era, between Gambia and Ferlo (in particular the stone circles of Sine-Saloum) and metallurgical sites prove the antiquity of human occupation in these regions.

In the earliest stages of its history, Senegal was a cul-de-sac, backed by an ocean which, until the 15th century, played no part. Essentially, what constitutes its current territory was outside the zone of domination of the kingdom of G͟hāna, the first political formation of any size in the region. It was also situated at the furthest limits of the Muslim world of the time. It is precisely from this zone of contact with Arabo-Muslim trans-Saharan commerce, at the approaches to the valley of the Senegal river, that the first information filters through, beginning in the 9th century A.D.

The history as such of Senegal really begins with the description of sub-Saharan itineraries by the Andalusian geographer al-Bakrī (writing in 460/1068). Proceeding along the course of the river, he describes successively the towns of Sung͟hāna (or Sang͟hāna), of Takrūr and of Sillā (or Sillī). Situated some 200 km from the estuary of the Senegal river ("six days journey between it and the land of the Godala"), Sung͟hāna is composed of two towns, located on either side of the river. Down-stream, between Sung͟hāna and the Atlantic Ocean, "the inhabited places follow on from one another". This zone corresponds to the lower valley of the river, known historically by the name of Waalo. Up-stream, at a distance which is not given precisely, are located Takrūr, then Sillā, itself situated at "twenty stages" (more than 600 km) from G͟hāna. Sillā, too, is composed of two towns, separated by the river.

The middle valley of the Senegal represents the first centre of Islamisation of the entire region. The king of Takrūr, Waar Diaabe (d. 432/1040) was converted, calling on his subjects and on the neighbouring city of Sillā to accept the new religion. His son, Labī, supported Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar in 448/1056 in the first conflicts of the Almoravid movement [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN]. The king of Sillā, for his part, made war on his non-Muslim neighbours, such as those of "Ḳalanbu" (Galam), another city on the river.

From this period onward, the sources of gold, which constituted the principal magnet for Arabo-Berber merchants, were logged by travellers and geographers. The best gold was then obtained from a site known as G͟hiyārū (Gunjuru ?), situated at "eighteen days' journey" (less than 600 km) to the south of G͟hāna. This is in the major auriferous region of Bambuk, which is located on the right bank of the Faleme (a tributary of the Senegal) and is divided today between the modern states of Senegal and Mali. In the following century, according to al-Idrīsī (writing in 549/1154), Takrūr, which seems to have gained by the enfeeblement of G͟hāna, possibly by the Almoravids, exerted its authority as far as the approaches to Bambuk, thus controlling exchanges between the salt of the coast and the gold of the interior.

The kingdom of Takrūr was subsequently supplanted by other regional political formations, but the toponym survived and was to acquire great significance. In all probability it is the origin of the name "Tucurooes" (Duarte Pacheco Pereira, Valentim Fernandes, in the 16th century), then, in French writing, of "Toucouleurs". On the other hand, until the 19th century, the word Takrūr denoted in a loose fashion, throughout the Arab East, the Muslim regions of the extreme west of Western Africa, more

specifically, the lands which are currently Senegal and Mali.

(2) *A Senegalese political matrix: the Grand Jolof.*

Besides the participation of Takrūr in the Almoravid movement, the exploits of the *Murābiṭūn* had few repercussions in the region of Senegal. On the other hand, their memory has been magnified to the point of representing the birth of the Islamic history of the land. This sense of identification with the Almoravid *dj̲ihād* finds its best known expression in the genealogy of the kings of the Jolof, the first great historical Senegalese kingdom. The oral sources, which concentrate on the achievement of the founding hero, claim, in anachronistic fashion, that the first sovereign of the Jolof, Njajaan Njaay, was the son of the Almoravid Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar, or one of his descendents and successors. But this is a late genealogy, no doubt fabricated after the 12th/18th century by Muslim scholars anxious to validate the Islamic legitimacy of the dynasty, in competition with other traditions according to which the founder was, on the contrary, renowned for his animist powers.

The "Grand Jolof" was, between the 13th and 16th centuries, the crucible of new Senegalese political identities, more particular those of the Wolof language. But the reconstruction of the process remains in part conjectural. After the legendary account of the foundation of the kingdom by Njajaan Njaay, the oral sources remain virtually silent regarding the latter's successors, only providing dynastic lists without commentaries. These unclear materials make it impossible to establish a firm chronology. At the most, by means of connections and cross-checking it is legitimate to locate the origins of the kingdom at the earliest towards the end of the 13th century. In the Jolof as in the Waalo, the dynasty claimed descent from Njajaan Njaay: these were in all probability the central territories of the new hegemony. On the other hand, the other dynastic unities, Kajoor (Cayor) and Bawol (Baol) are given distinct, even earlier origins (references to the Soninke of G̲h̲āna) and therefore needed to be attached subsequently to the great totality. Similarly, the "Wolofisation" of these two countries was accomplished, after some delay, under the influence of the Grand Jolof. Later still, there took place the integration of the southern kingdoms of Sereer language, of Siin (Sine) and of Saalum (Saloum).

The process of extension of the political range of the Jolof was overshadowed by the expansion of the empire of Mali [*q.v.*]. At its zenith (first half of the 14th century), this empire gained a foothold in the valleys of the Senegal and the Gambia, defeated the sovereign of the Jolof, if the Malinke tradition, and it alone, is to be believed, and radiated, in a fashion difficult to determine, over the rest of the region. Political titulature bears numerous traces of this period of Malinke control. The titles of *fara* (chief) or of *far-ba* (great chief), which came to be widely used in Wolof hierarchies, are directly borrowed from the Malinke language. Genealogical connections with the dynasty of Mali also appear throughout the Senegambian zone. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, the Jolof was at its zenith, its territory extending as far as Ferlo, to the east, and Gambia, to the south, while Takrūr continued to exert its power further to the east, from the central valley of the Senegal to Bambuk. At the same time, Mali, in a process of decline, nevertheless maintained its pressure, particularly in the Gambian valley.

But the empire of the Jolof was weakly centralised and the subsidiary kingdoms enjoyed considerable autonomy, sometimes engaging in dissidence. The sovereign (*buurba*) directly governed only the province of Jolof as such, an inland region separated from maritime traffic. As a means of surmounting this handicap the Crown Prince (*buumi*) Jelen, ousted in a war of succession, made his way, in 1488, to Lisbon, converted to Catholicism and having regained his throne, played an active part in the control of imports (horses, iron, weapons, fabrics, leather and glass objects, etc.).

The coasts of Senegambia were discovered by the Portuguese around 1445. The Wolof lands represent in this context the first "morsel" of Black Africa explored by the Portuguese. The testimonies of these navigators, superseding the somewhat limited Arab sources, provide considerable new material for the understanding of Senegalese societies in the 15th century.

By combining these elements of information with those assembled later, it is possible to trace the essential character of these societies. They are first of all marked by a very strict hierarchisation of social classes: the *geer* (free men), the *ñeeño* (considered inferior, of low "caste", consisting of members of endogamic groups specialising in the practice of certain artisanal occupations, smiths, millers, etc.) and the *jaam* (slaves and dependents). Power belonged to members of the ruling *geer* families. In the Senegambian zone, kinship is established both in the maternal and the paternal line; matrilineages are called *meen* and patrilineages *geño*. The inheritance of goods and positions exposes, in variable proportions according to dynasties and periods, this double filiation. Thus transmission in the dynasty of the Jolof, from the outset until the end, is predominantly patrilineal. On the other hand, the Waalo, the Kajoor and the Bawol practised a bilineal system from the 16th to the 19th century, and previously, in certain cases, possibly a matrilineal system. In the entourage of these Wolof kings, a lady of the Court (mother, aunt or elder sister), the *lingeer*, exercises a substantial authority which underlines the role of matrilinearity in these complex systems.

The diffusion of Islam in these kingdoms is still very uneven. The Portuguese texts speak of animist practices and evoke the propensity of the Wolof for the abuse of alcohol. They also illustrate the important role played by foreign preachers, the majority of them from neighbouring Zanaga groups (contemporary Mauritania). These are known by the name of *bisserin* or *bixerin* (in contemporary Wolof, *seriñ*, equivalent of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*). From the early 17th century onwards, the term "marabout" comes into general use and is substituted for the latter. As in the rest of western Sudan in the same period, Islam is the faith of élites and of merchants, an Islam of the court, which does not exclude, on the part of the sovereign, at his subjects' behest, recourse to instruments of legitimacy borrowed from ancestral cults (feasts, dancing, sacrifices etc.).

(3) *The turning-point of the 16th century: a new political landscape.*

The years following 1500 saw a significant turning-point in the history of the region: the accession to power of a Peul or Fulbe dynasty in neighbouring Takrūr, and the autonomy of the subordinate kingdoms, destabilised the unity of the Jolof.

The history of the interior of Senegambia is marked, during the second half of the 15th century, by a hostile campaign of great breadth instigated by Peul originating from the border regions of the Sahel, in a double movement, north-south and then south-north. Between 1460 and 1480 the Peul crossed the central

valley of the Senegal in the direction of the Gambia. Soon afterwards, a Peul state was founded by Tengela in the Fuuta Jaaloo (Fouta Djalon, currently in Guinea [see FŪTA DJALLON]), while Peul forces confronted those of Mali. From 1490 onward, Tengela and his son Koli campaigned along the current eastern frontier of Senegal. Tengela was killed in 1512 in a confrontation with troops of the Songhay empire (an empire centred on the loop of the Niger) and Koli (son of) Tengela undertook the occupation of Takrūr, where he founded a new dynasty, that of the Deniyanke (pl. Deniyankoobe). The Peul power exerted pressure on the eastern frontier of the Jolof, in particular through the occupation of the Ferlo.

The same period witnessed the increasing power of the Kajoor, annexing the peninsula of Cape Verde, a strategic commercial area, between 1482 and 1515, then, between 1530 and 1550, defeating the Jolof in battle (the victory of Danki). The Kajoor seceded, followed by all the other tributary kingdoms.

After the dislocation of the Grand Jolof, provisional equilibrium was established between the four Wolof kingdoms (Jolof, Waalo, Kajoor, Bawol) and, more broadly, between the Senegambian states (besides the afore-mentioned, the Fuuta of the Deniyankoobe—formerly Takrūr—to the north, and the Siin and the Saalum, to the south). A new disposition of forces was progressively brought into being, marked by the ambitions of the Fuuta, the power of the Kajoor and the economic growth of the Saalum.

In the second half of the 16th century, the *buurba* of the Jolof passed for some time under the protectorate of the Fuuta. The *brak* of the Waalo followed, after some delay, and in its turn paid tribute to the Fuuta. The Deniyanke dynasty reached its zenith at the beginning of the 17th century under the reign of the *satigi* Samba Lamu. In confrontation with this regional power, a new hegemony was established under the leadership of Amari Ngoone, the architect of the victory over the Jolof, who united the Bawol and the Kajoor under his authority, but this union collapsed at the end of the 16th century. Henceforward, the Wolof found themselves divided on a lasting basis between the four independent political entities, which were to continue in operation, within virtually stable frontiers, until the colonial conquest, although the memory of their lost unity was not to disappear. For all the Senegambian powers, access to the coast or to the two major rivers of the region, represented a vital asset. European commerce, dictated, in fact, to an increasing extent, not only the trade but also the political and social life of the region.

(4) *The period of the slave trade.*

The first Portuguese incursion took place, around 1445, at Arguin, on the coast of what is now Mauritania. From there, the Portuguese proceeded along the courses of the Senegal and the Gambia with the object of reaching the sources of gold, thus diverting the internal commercial routes towards the Atlantic. From this time onwards, the traffic in slaves began to flourish. Senegambia constituted in fact the primary source of slaves embarked directly for Europe by sea and it continued to be the principal exporter throughout the 16th century, until the Gulf of Guinea and Angola took over this role in the following century.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the Portuguese commercial monopoly was shattered by the successive arrival of the Dutch, the British and the French. The new powers divided the coast into rival zones of influence. The Dutch established themselves on the island of Gorea in 1621. After temporary Portuguese re-occupations (in 1629 and 1645), they were obliged to cede the territory to the British (1667), then to the French (1677). In 1659, the French built the fortress of Saint-Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal river, and organised an active network covering the whole of the river valley. For their part, the British established themselves, in 1651, at the mouth of the Gambia.

This European implantation had profound effects on political and social dispositions. The hunt for slaves led to violence and exacerbated the tensions between Senegalese kingdoms and European traders, and within the Senegalese kingdoms themselves. A social revolution was created, under the flag of Islam, as a reaction against the extortions of the ruling aristocracies. It is known in the European texts of the period as the "war of the marabouts" or "Toubenan movement" (from Arabic *tawba* "conversion, repentance").

Initially, a *dj̲ihād* born among Berbers of Mauritania, at the initiative of a religious utopian and reformer named Nāṣir al-Dīn, as a reaction against the double pressure of Arab Ḥassānī warriors moving towards the south and of the Europeans installed at the mouth of the Senegal river, erupted in the river valley, where it acquired aspects of supplementary significance. The desire to convert the populace to Islam was combined here with opposition to the European slave trade. Between 1673 and 1677, the *dj̲ihād* was victorious in the Waalo, in the Fuuta, in the Jolof and in the Kajoor. But this victory was everywhere ephemeral. In Mauritania (where this war was known by the name of *Shar Bubba*), the men of religion (*zwāya*) were forced to recognise the supremacy of the warriors. On the Senegalese side, the local dynasties re-established their authority everywhere, with the military and material aid of the French traders of Saint-Louis. This restoration was accompanied by an anti-Islamic reaction on the part of the warrior aristocracies, who delivered the defeated survivors into slavery. In these circumstances, adherence to Islam took on a different meaning: from being the distinguishing sign of an élite in mediaeval Sudanese societies, it became the symbol of an ideology of dissidence and revolt against pagan tyrannies (in particular the power of the *ceddo* warriors, "slaves of the crown" in the service of the ruling families) and the foreign occupation. "Islam which had hitherto been an Islam of the court, the monopoly of the powerful, was to an increasing extent rejected by this aristocracy, which was to be more or less hostile to it until the time of the colonial conquest" (B. Barry, 1972, 157). In these circumstances of repression, the Muslim communities became pacific and minority enclaves, which periodically attracted to themselves dispossessed and exploited peasants.

The 18th century witnessed the consolidation of these tendencies. The development of the cultivation of sugar-cane, cotton and tobacco in America led to an expansion of slave traffic and its geographical extension beyond Senegambia. European demand was henceforward extended to gum, a resin of acacia which was to be found in the Saharo-Sahelian zone of the region. In the Senegalese kingdoms, the exacerbation of competition for access to European products gave the advantage to militarised groups, in particular to the *ceddo* warlords who imposed their will on the ruling dynasties. In confrontation with the powers of the *ceddo*, Islamic teaching was seen as a possible response to the general crisis.

Within the Senegalese states, the Muslim communities consolidated themselves under the leadership

of influential religious families, who were not averse to invoking occult means to intimidate their adversaries. These Muslim enclaves, linked together by regular contacts and expressions of solidarity, organised themselves, either to snatch an ever more extensive autonomy, or to unleash Islamic revolutions. Their leaders, "graduates" trained in the same schools, in particular the religious centres of Pir and of Kokki in the Kajoor, in direct contact with the Berber *zwāya* masters, shared the same culture and exchanged information and plans.

Since the end of the 17th century, around 1690, the Bundu, a zone situated to the south of the Senegal river in the east of the country, which had attracted numerous Muslims of the Fuuta Tooro fleeing from repression, had been the epicentre of a Muslim revolution led by a Fuutanke scholar by the name of Malik Sii (Sy), who had studied at Pir and was directly inspired by the model of Nāṣir al-Dīn. The Muslim party was thus assured of control of the valley of the Faleme, doubly rich on account of agricultural resources and gold deposits (Bambuk). Like Nāṣir al-Dīn, Malik took the title of *almami* (*al-imām*) and laid the foundations of a régime which was to evolve in dynastic fashion.

The Bundu was a ladder towards the Fuuta Jaaloo, a mountain range recently colonised by the Peul, where other partisans of Nāṣir al-Dīn fleeing repression had also taken refuge. In 1725, a second Islamic revolution erupted in this region of what is now Guinea. In its turn it was to serve as the model for a movement of the same nature which was victorious in 1776 in the Fuuta Tooro and led to the fall of the Deniyanke dynasty. The religious party, known by the name of *toorodo* (from a Peul root which signifies, according to the hypotheses proposed, "to beg" or "to pray") was led by two former pupils of the schools of Pir and of Kokki, Sulaymān Bal and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, the first *almami* and *amīr al-muʾminīn* of the Fuuta. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir opposed the sale of Muslims at Saint-Louis and blocked the communications and the supply-routes of the French fortress.

The *toorodo* party attempted at the same time to extend Islamic power to the neighbouring Wolof kingdoms, but it encountered determined resistance on the part of the sovereign (*damel*) of the Kajoor, Amri Ngoone Ndeela, whose forces crushed the Fuutanke army at Bungoy in 1790. The Islamic revolution was brought to a definitive halt. In the Fuuta, the new aristocracy of the Toorodo appropriated land and dominated the country, while the régime of the *almami*, consumed by internecine rivalry and struggles over succession between families, was in dire need of stability (between 1806 and 1854, 20 candidates came to power on 45 occasions, which, taking account of interregnums, represents an average of less than a year per reign). As in the Bundu and Fuuta Jaaloo, the leaders of the victorious party, trained originally as scholars, progressively yielded power to a new warrior aristocracy which had no direct links with religious studies. However, the Islamic character of the state was reinforced by a network of schools and of *ḳāḍīs*, which had the function of diffusing and promoting the *sharīʿa*.

In the Wolof kingdoms, the Muslim groups maintained their cohesion and, sometimes, emigrated towards more hospitable regions (such as those from the province of Njambur, to the north of the Kajoor, who went into exile in huge numbers in the peninsula of Cape Verde.)

(5) *The rivalry between the three powers: the warriors, the religious, the French of Saint-Louis.*

At the Congress of Vienna (1814), Britain imposed on the European powers the suppression of the slave trade. Although "illicit commerce" continued for some time, the entire balance of Atlantic trading was comprehensively overturned. The Congress of Vienna also restored to French its warehouses in Senegal, which had been occupied by the British.

After lengthy research, the ground-nut was identified by the French as the product providing the best substitute for the slave-trade (the British opting, for their part, for palm-oil). From 1840 onwards, the ground-nut was seen as the miracle crop which could rescue French commerce in Senegal from stagnation. This choice led in its turn to a policy of intervention and more resolute territorial expansion. It was Faidherbe, governor of Senegal between 1854 and 1865, who inaugurated this process of colonial conquest: occupation of the Waalo (1855), construction of new posts in the valley of the Senegal river, political and military interference in the Kajoor, and victorious intervention in the Saalum (1859). These campaigns accentuated the fragility of the Senegalese kingdoms.

There was only one force, originating in the east, which could represent an alternative to the French hegemony. It was embodied by a *toorodo* of the Fuuta, a veteran of the Pilgrimage, endowed with the title of *khalīfa* of the new Tidjāniyya brotherhood, named al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar al-Fūtī. The latter, also inspired by the model of the caliphate of Sokoto (northern Nigeria) where he had lived for several years and taken a wife, sought to revive the *toorodo* tradition of Islamic reform. Establishing himself to the north of the Fuuta Jaaloo, he attracted to his cause thousands of "social juniors" from his native territory, in search of adventure and social advancement, and anxious to escape the crisis of power in the Fuuta Tooro. In 1846, ʿUmar undertook his first tour of preaching and recruitment in eastern Senegambia and in the Fuuta Tooro. He was faced by the opposition both of the existing hierarchies in the Fuuta and of the French, worried by this new source of instability.

ʿUmar proclaimed the *djihād* in 1852. At the end of 1854 he occupied the Bambuk, invaded the Bundu and established himself in the upper valley of the Senegal. In 1857, he instigated a siege of the French fortress of Medine, situated in the upper valley, but was unable to complete it successfully and suffered heavy losses. Henceforward, al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar withdrew from Senegal and directed his efforts against the Bambara animist hegemonies which then dominated the entire western zone of what is now Mali. But he continued to draw the bulk of his forces from the human reservoir of the Fuuta Tooro, thus contributing to the phenomenon of *fergo* (emigration), which had profound effects on the riparian societies.

Taking up the legacy of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar (who died in 1864 and whose empire survived for a further generation on the territory of what is now Mali), some Senegambian leaders, influenced by the ʿUmarī *djihād* or by the *toorodo* model, revived in their turn a militant and radical programme. In Senegambia, the principal figure was a disciple of al-Ḥadjdj ʿUmar by the name of Ma Bā Jaaxu, who dominated the stage in Senegal from 1861 to 1867. He took the title of *almami* and founded a state covering the land between the Saalum and the Gambia and extending, for a brief period, as far as the Senegal river. Ma Bā Jaaxu was killed in 1867 while attempting to subdue the Siin, who remained resolutely animist.

Some of his companions were to persist in the struggle for Islamic reform and against French expan-

sionism. These included Lat Joor (Lat Dyor), *damel* of the Kajoor, and al-Būrī Njay, his nephew, *buurba* of the Jolof. Other lieutenants of Ma Bā maintained positions of power along the entire length of the Gambia. But the most significant figures in the long term were to be non-combattant marabouts. The change in emphasis was embodied in particular, a little later, by Amadu Bamba, founder of Murīdism, whose father, Momar Anta Sali, had been the tutor of Ma Bā's son and an adviser to Lat Joor.

Parallel developments took place in the Fuuta. Confronted by a warlord, Abdul Bokar Kan, who, between 1860 and 1890, attempted to re-establish the unity and the independence of the Fuuta and to oppose the large-scale drain of the human resources of the region in the direction of the post-ᶜUmarī empire, other religious figures called for the restoration of *toorodo* ideals: these were Cerno Brahim, a pupil of the Moorish *Zwāya* of Trārza, in the eastern Fuuta, and Amadu Seexu, son and disciple of an influential religious personage, closely linked to the school of Kokki, who was proclaimed Mahdī in the western Fuuta in 1828 (whence the name of Madiyankoobe "followers of the Mahdī", given to the movement). Cerno Brahim, for his part, was defeated by allies of Abdul Bokar Kan, in the upper valley of the Senegal, in 1869. The same year, at the time of a devastating cholera epidemic, Amadu Seexu followed his father's example in calling for a movement of reform and of purification. The mobilisation of forces, and the tension which ensued, led to a direct confrontation with the French. Amadu Seexu allied himself temporarily with Lat Joor, the former companion of Ma Bā, and pretender to the throne of the Kajoor, and won numerous victories over the French. For his part, Abdul Bokar Kan avoided any direct confrontation with the Madiyankoobe whose leader, powerless to rally the entirety of the Fuuta and being much more respected in Wolof circles, emigrated with all his forces to the Jolof. Having become a threat to the Wolof dynasties, Amadu Seexu found himself progressively isolated. Along with hundreds of his supporters he was killed by a French expeditionary force in a bloody battle in 1875.

A final large-scale religious movement was launched, in the upper valley of the Senegal river, by Mamadu Laamin Daraame, a Soninke of the Gajaaga, from a religious family, who had made the Pilgrimage to Mecca and who, having expressed criticisms with regard to the ᶜUmarī régime, was temporarily imprisoned by Amadu Seexu (Shaykhu), sovereign of Segou, son and successor of al-Ḥādjdj ᶜUmar. In 1885 Mamadu Laamin launched a *djihād* which united the majority of the heterogenous populations of the Upper River, especially those of the Soninke, Jaxanke, Maninka and Xasonke ethnic groups, in what is now the frontier region between Senegal and Mali. He occupied the Bundu and Upper Gambia, threatening the rearguard of the French troops engaged in the conquest of the ᶜUmarī empire. He was finally killed in 1886.

Thus Senegambia was, throughout the 19th century, the scene of complex confrontations involving protagonists of three types: the warriors and monarchs, defenders of the traditional order, the religious zealots who, since the end of the 17th century, had pursued a programme of social and political reform based on the Islamic *sharīᶜa*, and the French who, having started out as ordinary commercial partners paying fees to their African middlemen, were constantly gaining territory and acting like conquerors. On the confrontation between warriors and religious zealots, both groups being themselves wracked by internal divisions, there was superimposed to an ever-increasing extent that between African and French interests. This situation accounts for the instability of alliances and counter-alliances. Caught between two fires—the French of Saint-Louis and the religious reformers—the monarchs, who were also dependent on their *ceddo* entourages, made alliances, according to circumstances, with one party or the other. Following the suppression of religious initiatives, in which they collaborated in numerous cases, they hoped to find some common ground with Saint-Louis, but were in their turn eliminated at the end of the century: Lat Joor was killed in battle in 1886, al-Būrī Njaay was forced into exile in 1890, and Abdul Bokar, powerless to prevent the occupation of the Fuuta, was killed by Moors acting on behalf of the French in 1891.

The last efforts at resistance were those mounted, in the non-Islamised south, by the Joola of Lower-Casamance, to the south of the Gambia. The French administration, reduced to a few coastal warehouses, sought to take possession of maritime Casamance with the aim of developing there the production of rubber. But the Joola took advantage of the inaccessibility of their villages and of the localised nature of their power to impede French penetration. From 1885 onward, organised on a village-based structure, they resisted the French with some success, and their movement was to remain active until the First World War.

(6) *The Colony of Senegal.*

The conquest of Senegal by France responded to a double objective: strategic, providing a base of departure for the advance on the Sudan (Segou, the ᶜUmarī capital on the Niger, fell in 1890), and economic, for the development of the cultivation of the ground-nut, especially in the Kajoor. In 1885, the ground-nut represented 70% of the colony's exports and was poised to become its sole crop.

Beyond the various legal constructs, the true founder of the colony of Senegal, reduced to a few isolated trading posts at the time of the French return in 1817, was the governor Faidherbe (1854-1865, with a brief interruption in 1861). At his own initiative, and with the active support of the commercial community of Bordeaux, Faidherbe, who had been trained in the Arab Bureaux in Algeria, directed his efforts towards the interior of the country and the Senegal river. He was diverted from operations nearer the coast by the separation of Goree into a distinct entity belonging to the "Marine". Protected by the Parisian administration, Faidherbe received the necessary funds and reinforcements. He also knew how to cultivate an image of distinction in influential French circles, showing himself receptive to scholars, publicists and journalists. Like Bonaparte in Egypt, Faidherbe surrounded himself with young officers, graduates of military schools. Combining diplomacy with firmness, he encouraged the signing of treaties of protectorate with African chiefs, but he also organised the Senegalese *Tirailleurs*, an African force in the service of the colonial power, later to enjoy a great fortune. To train an African élite for the role of intermediary between the Senegalese people and the French authorities, he founded for this purpose the "Ecole des Otages" (1855-1871), which was later to become the "Ecole des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes" (1893). With the annexation of the Waalo (1856), a collection of dispersed trading posts was replaced by a single and continuous tract of occupied territory, the first of its kind for the French in West Africa. On 26 February 1859, the island of Goree and

the southern trading posts were placed under the authority of the governor of Senegal. The Kajoor, the major source of ground-nuts, all the outlets for which were controlled by French commerce, was progressively encircled. A display of force in the Kajoor and the replacement of the *damel* (January-May 1861) overcame all resistance. The retreat of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar (Treaty of Medina, August 1860), removed the threat of *djihād* and consolidated the structure. If these impressive achievements are supplemented by the organisational work conducted on the ground (administrative infrastructures, French and Franco-Muslim schools, Muslim tribunals, modernisation of Saint-Louis, foundation of the Bank of Senegal, etc.) it is evident that, without substantial means, Faidherbe had transformed—twenty-five years before the great colonial partition of Africa—a network of trading posts of mediocre importance into a colony of 50,000 km², to which should be added the zone of influence created in the interior by the various treaties of protectorate and by settlements along the river or on the southern coast. Guided by the Algerian experience, Faidherbe conducted a rather Islamophile policy, using Muslim institutions as an arm of the French domination. This period saw the beginnings of a phenomenon which was to persist for several generations, the privileged status enjoyed by representatives of Muslim élites of the region of Saint-Louis and of the river: Shaykh Sidiyya Baba (1862-1926), a Ḳādirī Moorish dignitary of Trārza, Shaykh Saʿad Būh (1850-1917), another Ḳādirī (and Fāḍilī) Moorish figure, the interpreter Būh al-Mogdad, drawn from the same circles, Amadu Mukhtār Sakho, *ḳāḍī* of Boghe (Fuuta) from 1905 to 1934, and a number of prominent citizens and merchants of Saint-Louis (Hamat Njaay/Ndiaye, etc.).

A decree of 16 June 1895 created the "Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française" (A.O.F.), whose titular head, based at Saint-Louis, combined his duties with those of governor of Senegal. A decree of 1902 separated the two functions: the Governor-General took up residence in Dakar, while the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal remained in Saint-Louis. A decree of 18 October 1904 established the definitive organisation of the A.O.F. and presented Senegal as a colony composed of "territories of direct administration" (the four communes of Saint-Louis, Goree, Rufisque and Dakar, with their suburbs, and the coastal zone traversed by the Dakar-Saint-Louis railway) and the "protectorate lands" of the interior.

The "Four Communes" represented an exceptional case in the French colonial system in Africa. A decree of 10 August 1872 had accorded to Saint-Louis and Goree-Dakar the status of fully functional communes. In 1880, this status had been extended to Rufisque, while, in 1887, Goree and Dakar had been separated into two distinct communal entities. Between 1872 and 1887, the Four Communes were endowed with an organisation copied from the French model. The decree of 4 February 1879 created an elected General Council, on the model of the practice followed in the French departments. On the other hand, since 1848 (with an interruption under the Second Empire) the inhabitants of Saint-Louis and of Goree had elected a deputy to the French Chamber of Deputies. This right was extended to nationals of the Four Communes. This example of very close assimilation to the metropolitan régime was not extended further; until the Second World War, it never covered more than 5% of the Senegalese population. The other nationals of the territory were, as in the other colonies, "French subjects", subordinated, by a decree of 20 September 1887, to the local colonial régime, by which they could be regularly requisitioned for works in the public interest, while at the same time their right of movement was limited and they were subject to the discretionary power of the administrators.

The Four Communes, on account of their privileged status, witnessed the emergence of the first black élites, whose claims, throughout the early years of the century, were directed towards total assimilation. The first land-mark event took place in 1914 with the election, on a huge majority (1,900 votes against 671) of a negro customs official, Blaise Diagne, competing with a candidate of mixed parentage supported by the administration. Blaise Diagne had benefited, especially, from the support of the Murīd brotherhood. For the first time a Black African sat in the French Parliament. A law, sponsored by Blaise Diagne and promulgated in 1915, enlarged the constituency of French citizens, stipulating that all the nationals of the Four Communes and their descendants should enjoy citizen status. As a valued representative of the French government, with the title of Commissioner of the Republic and the rank of Governor-General, Blaise Diagne contributed actively to the recruitment of African troops for the battlefields of the First World War. He was convinced at this time that the shedding of blood would accelerate progress towards assimilation. After the war, he became Under-Secretary of State for the colonies, the first African to serve a French government in a ministerial capacity. On his death in 1934, Galandou Diouf was elected deputy and pursued the same programme, of populist oratory and co-operation with France, although with less skill. The founding of the Senegalese Socialist Party in 1935 and its affiliation to the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.) in 1938 marked a new phase. The leader of the new party, Lamine Gueye, was defeated by Galandou Diouf in the elections of 1934 and 1936, but he dominated Senegalese political life after the Second World War.

Senegal was affected in numerous ways by the global conflict. Pierre Boisson, Governor-General of the A.O.F., remained loyal to the government of Vichy and offered military resistance to an attempted landing by General De Gaulle, supported by British naval forces, at Dakar (13-25 September 1940). After the Allied landing in North Africa, Boisson negotiated an accord with Admiral Darlan and with General Eisenhower (7 December 1942) which brought the A.O.F. back into the war, but not into alliance with Free France (this was not to be achieved until June 1943).

(7) *Progress towards Independence.*

After the war, two figures belonging to two different generations, whose rivalry was to dominate the political life of the country over the next ten years, emerged on the public scene: Lamine Gueye, a lawyer of Saint-Louis, a citizen of the Four Communes, and Léopold Sédar Senghor, a Sereer Catholic, a schoolteacher, who had promulgated in 1939, with the Martiniquese Aimé Césaire, the concept of "Négritude". The two men collaborated at first within the S.F.I.O., which established itself as the dominant party in the elections of 1945. Both were elected as deputies to the French National Assembly in 1945 and 1946, Lamine Gueye as representative of the first constituency (the citizens of the Four Communes) and Senghor as representative of the second constituency (that of the "French subjects"). It was a law promoted by Lamine Gueye (7 May 1946) which conferred French

citizenship on all nationals of the overseas colonies. In 1948, Senghor resigned from the S.F.I.O., which he considered too assimilationist, and founded his own party: the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais (B.D.S.). Henceforward, the two organisations were to compete for control of the electorate, actively solliciting the religious leaders (the marabouts), who now enjoyed the status of electoral brokers and were the recipients of all kinds of favours from politicians. In spite of his Catholic allegiance and the attacks levelled at him on account of it, Senghor emerged from this confrontation the victor. Lamine Gueye, as a city-dweller from Saint-Louis, was not at all familiar with rural issues. Intellectual though he was, Senghor paid more attention to the problems of the "bush" and gained the support on this basis of numerous "marabouts" who had a direct interest in agricultural problems. He also manipulated with skill the internal conflicts within the brotherhoods. Thus he supported the head *khalīfa* of the Murīds, Falilou M'Backé, against his nephew and rival Cheikh M'Backé, a friend of Lamine Gueye. Taking equal advantage of the blunders of the militant socialists, he won over to his side one of the great historical figures of the Tidjāniyya, Seydou Nourou Tall, grandson of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar, a man of influence who, from his stronghold in the Fuuta Tooro, had served all the administrations and now put his considerable expertise at Senghor's disposal.

Senghor won the elections of 1951, and continued to consolidate his power at subsequent polls. The frame law of June 1956 (the "Defferre Law") established a régime of internal autonomy and gave rise to an autonomous executive and a "Republic of Senegal". Elections intended to put this autonomy into effect took place on 15 March 1957. The party of Senghor (which had become, through the unification of small parties, the "Bloc Populaire Sénégalais") secured 78.1% of the votes, as against 11.1% for the Socialists (limited essentially to Dakar and Saint-Louis). Senghor's principal assistant, Mamadou Dia, became Vice-President of the Council of Government (the functions of President being reserved for the French representative, the territorial chief), while Senghor continued to sit in the French National Assembly. The Council of Government was to be established in Dakar, promoted to the status of capital of Senegal, to the detriment of Saint-Louis and the old political class of that city. This victory of Senghorian political strategy was consolidated by the fusion of the Socialist Party and the B.P.S., forming the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (U.P.S.) in April 1958.

The year 1958 was dominated by the referendum on the "Communauté", which gave the African electors a choice between independence by stages, within a "Commonwealth" retaining unified defence and foreign policy ("Yes" vote) and immediate independence ("No" vote). The question of the referendum provoked deep internal dissension, within the U.P.S. as well as other organisations. At this time of indecision, the adoption of a public position by the religious establishment, constituted, since the end of 1957, as a "Committee of Islamic Organisation", under the honorary presidency of Seydou Nourou Tall, proved crucial in tipping the balance. These religious dignitaries expressed their support for the action of General De Gaulle on 5 September 1958. This mobilisation of marabouts weighed heavily in the final decision of the policy committee of the U.P.S. which, two weeks later, despite the opposition of a powerful minority, called in its turn for a "Yes" vote. In the end, the "Yes" won by a landslide victory (officially at least) when the referendum took place on 27 September 1958: 870,362 "Yes" votes (97.2% of the votes cast) against 21,904 "No" votes, out of a registered electorate of 1,110,823.

After the referendum, Senghor, who was hostile to the "Balkanisation" of Black Africa, differing in this respect from the ruler of the Ivory Coast Houphouët-Boigny, attempted to found a West African federation, the Federation of Mali, which came into existence in early January 1959, and succeeded in uniting only two countries, the formerly French territory of Sudan and Senegal. The independence of the Federation of Mali was proclaimed on 20 June 1960, but the experiment came to an end two months later when, on 20 August, the Senegalese government withdrew unilaterally and proclaimed Senegalese independence. The two countries were too different, and their political directions incompatible. On 26 August 1960, the Senegalese National Assembly adopted the Constitution of the independent Republic of Senegal, which was composed in the spirit and, often, in the letter, of the French Constitution of 1958. On 5 September 1960, the electoral college appointed by this Constitution unanimously elected Léopold Sédar Senghor as first President of the Republic of Senegal.

In 1962, there was discord between Senghor and his Prime Minister, Mamadou Dia, who favoured an economic policy of a planned and socialist tendency. The trial of strength took place on 17 December and ended with the arrest of Dia the following day, his trial in May 1963 and his sentence to a long period of detention. In the event, the majority of the religious leaders, uneasy at the direction proposed by Dia, expressed public support for Senghor. A new constitution, abolishing the bicephality of the executive and paving the way for the change to a presidential régime, was adopted by referendum on 3 March 1963 (99.4% of the votes cast). The consolidation of power was pursued with the establishment, through the integration of some and the exclusion of others, of the U.P.S. as a "unified", i.e. single party. This aggressive policy of presidentialisation, in a context of economic stagnation, provoked movements of discontent and strikes. On 22 March 1967, supporters of Mamadou Dia attempted to assassinate Senghor as he was leaving the Great Mosque, on the occasion of the feast of Tabaski (*ʿĪd al-Kabīr*). In the face of increasing pressure and tension (labour strikes, 1 May 1968; strikes in schools and universities, 27 May; and call for a general strike by the official trades union leadership, 31 May), a constitutional revision restored in 1970 the functions of Prime Minister and extended the powers of the Assembly. Four days after the referendum which confirmed the revision with 94.9% of the votes cast, on 26 February 1970, Senghor called upon one of the younger senior civil servants, Abdou Diaf, to serve as Prime Minister.

A new constitutional revision took place in 1976, restoring, on a distributive basis, the multi-party principle: three parties were authorised, on condition that one was to espouse "liberal democracy", another Marxism-Leninism, and the third "socialist democracy". The U.P.S., claiming the latter label for itself, was admitted to the Socialist International in November 1976 and adopted the name of Parti Socialiste in December. This "democratic awakening" of 1976 was accompanied by a veritable explosion of new titles in the press. This burgeoning of a press catering for political discussion in the French language, which had no equivalent in the rest of Francophone Africa, was to continue throughout the 1980s.

On 31 December 1980, President Senghor took a decision of a kind hitherto unknown in sub-Saharan Africa, resigning from his functions and withdrawing entirely of his own accord from public life. He thus illustrated once again the extent to which he differed from the leaders of other African régimes, among others President Houphouët-Boigny who, encouraged by the results of the "Ivory Coast economic miracle" of the 1970s, was eager to wrest from Senegal its former role as the leading nation of Francophone West Africa. In conformity with the Constitution, Abdou Diouf, in his capacity as Prime Minister, was elected President of the Republic on 1 January 1981. On 24 April 1981, on the recommendation of the new President, a law was introduced, abolishing the limit on the number of parties. On 27 February 1983, Abdou Diouf was elected President with more than 83% of the votes cast, while the Parti Socialiste obtained some 80% of the votes in the legislative elections. Out of fourteen officially recognised parties, eight participated in the legislative elections and five submitted candidates to the presidential elections: Abdou Diouf (P.S.): 83.5%—one percentage point higher than the vote obtained by Senghor in 1978; Abdoulaye Wade (Parti Démocratique Senegalais—right-wing liberal): 14.79%; Mamadou Dia, the former detainee (Mouvement Démocratique Populaire—internal autonomy): 1.39%; Oumar Wone (Parti Populaire Senegalais—nationalist): 0.20% and Mahjmout Diop (Parti Africain de l'Indépendance—communist): 0.17%. The results were vigorously disputed by all the defeated parties, with allegations of corruption, as had previously happened in 1978. Shortly after his retirement, Léopold Senghor was elected a member of the Académie Française (May 1983).

As regards the most recent period—which has been marked, internally, by a consolidation of socialist power (in spite of recurrent political crises, in particular with the P.D.S. of Abdoulaye Wade), an extension of freedom of opinion, but also an aggravation of economic and social problems, further accentuated by the devaluation of the C.F.A. franc—the principal events to be noted are the failure of the Senegambian confederation (Senegal + Gambia) which had been proclaimed on 1 February 1982 and was dissolved in September 1989, the gravity of the crisis which for several months pitted Senegal against Mauritania (a frontier incident degenerating into pillage and the murders of nationals of both countries, being resolved with massive mutual repatriations in September 1989), and the emergences of an independence movement in the isolated southern region of the country, the Casamance, whose indigenous populations (Joola and others) showed themselves hostile to agricultural colonisation by Wolof migrants (armed confrontations in September 1989 and September 1990, provisional cease-fire in July 1993). In the course of the 35 years which have followed independence, Senegal deserves credit for having been in the vanguard of democratic evolution in Francophone Black Africa, but the paucity of its natural resources and the circumscription of its territory, since it ceased to be the "centre" of French West Africa, render its position fragile. The laboratory of African democracy (it is one of the few countries of sub-Saharan Africa which has not experienced a coup d'état or a military régime) Senegal is also, and even more so, a laboratory for the study of contemporary Islamic trends.

4. Religious and intellectual life.

Islam is both an ancient and a recent phenomenon in Senegal. The first contacts date back to the 11th century, with the conversion of the king of Takrūr (before 1040), then the rise of the Almoravid movement in the second half of this century. But Islamisation was a long-term process which, under the triple influence of Soninke dynasties, inheritors of the empire of Ghāna, pioneers of Sahelian commerce and first transmitters of the faith, of institutions originating in the empire of Mali, and of the education conveyed by learned Moorish *zwāya* hailing from the right bank of the Senegal, henceforward to be the guides of Senegalese Islam, developed very slowly from north to south,.

In the 15th century, the Portuguese noted the general presence of religious Muslims (the "*bixerins*" or "*bisserij*") in the entourages of chieftains. But the same authors also report the existence of altars and of animist sacrifices. Adherence to Islam, when it took place, was therefore superimposed upon more ancient cultural and religious traditions, still very much alive. As in the other Sudano-Sahelian formations of the period, Islam was at first a sign of social distinction, valued by the aristocracy, associated as it was with literacy and with trans-Saharan commerce. Islam was thus a superior knowledge reserved for élites. The lower classes, for their part, adhered to ancestral traditions. European observers thus had difficulty establishing a firm distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims.

This "Islam of the court", complaisant towards princes and wealthy merchants, which did not disappear entirely, was succeeded, following the "war of the Marabouts" (1673-7), by a militant Islam, more aware of itself and taking advantage of major social issues, in particular, the extension of the Atlantic slave trade, to question the legitimacy of the ruling dynasties and to call for an Islamic revolution, presented as the reign of the law and of justice. After the defeat of the "marabouts", Islam tended to be concentrated in enclaves partially exempt from the direct authority of the sovereigns and attracting pupils and students, pilgrims and travellers, as well as refugees anxious to escape from exploitations practised by those in power. The scholastic centres of Pir and Kokki, in the Kajoor, illustrated this new brand of Islam which laid emphasis on the higher education of students drawn from all the neighbouring regions. This "populist" Islam, nourished periodically by Mahdist aspirations, and committed to the triumph of the *sharīʿa*, established a firm tradition, with recurrent manifestations, in the Senegambian regions.

The success of the Islamic revolution in the Fuuta Tooro (1776) and the pioneering role then adopted by Peul and Toucouleur scholars, as a new "chosen people" bearing the divine word ("Arabs of Black Africa" as they called themselves), reinforced the hopes of the Muslims of the region, but the Wolof monarchies resisted all attempts at extension of the movement. Only the colonial conquest was to put an end to the repression exercised by the Wolof aristocracies and their *ceddo* military slaves. It was thus under colonial domination that, through reaction or through accommodation, the Islamic movement was to experience its most rapid progress.

It has been stated above to what an extent, in the wake of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar and under the influence of various local preachers (Ma Bā, Cerno Brahim, Amadu Seexu and Mamadu Laamin Darame), the 19th century was a century of religious effervescence, with competition between different types of claimant to political power: military, religious, and foreign. The French feared, in what they called the "Tidjānī league", a "holy alliance" of all the Muslim forces opposing their penetration. However, not all the

religious actors were necessarily Tidjānī or ʿUmarī.

This "djihādist" 19th century also saw an intensification of Muslim pressure on the southern regions of Senegal (Sereer kingdoms of Siin-Saalum/Sine-Saloum, Joola societies of Casamance), which had remained largely animist. For centuries, the Wolof had been moving towards the south, in search of better irrigated land. In these foreign regions, they willingly united around religious figures. It was in fact in a zone of Wolof colonisation situated to the north of the Gambia (the Badibu, or Rip), that the movement of Ma Bā first flourished. Saloum, caught between French and Islamic threats, fell into a state of total instability and experienced widespread conversion to Islam in the following decades. Finally, it was the other Sereer kingdom, that of Siin, politically stable and far less receptive to Islam, which brought about the downfall of Ma Bā (1867). However, the lieutenants and companions of Ma Bā subsequently continued his policy in their respective districts. Ma Bā had failed to establish a lasting empire, but he had dislocated the existing traditional societies and opened the way for a southern campaign of Islamisation which, on the basis of the occupation of land, has continued into the present day. In the following generation, further to the south, yet another Malinke "marabout" and warrior chieftain, Fode Kaba, appeared on the scene, and between 1877 and 1893 he defeated and forcibly converted the Bainuk and made war against the Joola. When he concluded a peace treaty with the French, in 1893, more than half of the population between Saalum and Casamance, had, as a result of his exploits, embraced the Muslim faith either voluntarily or under duress.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, another phenomenon, much further to the north, is observable in the border regions between Senegal and Mauritania, which, as noted above, had maintained privileged connections between France and a series of Muslim dignitaries, sc. the emergence of a whole galaxy of scholar-personalities, such as Sire Abbas Soh, Yoro Dyao (1847-1919) and shaykh Musa Kamara (1864-1945), a native of Ganguel (Fuuta), a gifted and prolific writer and historian (the author, in particular, of *Zuhūr al-basātīn fī taʾrīkh al-sawādīn*), who contributed in a very active fashion, in French, in Arabic or Peul, to the creation of a Senegalese historiography.

But the most characteristic movement of this period was the emergence of the major Senegalese dervish brotherhoods or Ṣūfī orders, which began to establish themselves at this time. By filling in a very visible fashion the political void created by the defeat of the princes and the collapse of the Senegalese states, the orders presented themselves as structures of substitution and of refuge. They were the catalyst for the promotion of a Muslim élite which had long been obstructed and frustrated by the exactions of political authorities. On the other hand, they gave the signal for a radical change of strategy: frontal attack upon the colonial occupier was superseded by an attitude of prudent restraint, where the emphasis was on the peaceful rallying of the faithful around their charismatic leaders. The formation of these new associations was at first a cause of concern to the French power, but a series of negotiations ensued, progressively transforming the brotherhoods into influential elements of the colonial, and later the post-colonial state.

The *ṭarīḳa* which best illustrates this new trend is the Murīdiyya [*q.v.*] or Murīdism. At the end of the previous century, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb Allāh, better known by the name of Amadu Bamba, whose father Momar Anta Sali, a regular frequenter of the courts of the Wolof princes, was affiliated to the Ḳādiriyya, broke with the warlike methods of the past and proposed to the faithful a different approach, based on peaceful assembly and prayer. Persecuted at first by the French authorites (deportation to Gabon in 1895-1902, house-arrest in Mauritania, then in northern Senegal, in 1902-12) Amadu made the necessary gestures of conciliation, at a time when certain French specialists in Muslim affairs in Dakar, among them Paul Marty, envisaged the emergence of a "Black Islam", in other words, an Islam impregnated with African practices and cut off from the Arab world, which they hoped would prove more malleable. The Murīd system, which became firmly established in the 1920s, with the colonisation of the new territories of the Baol, was partially to fulfil their hopes. Taking on the role of an economic motivator, the Murīd confraternity, which preached "sanctification through toil", committed its adherents on a massive scale to the cultivation of the land and the production of ground-nuts. Its sense of hierarchy and discipline and the decisive support thus given to the administration's policy of agricultural development for the purposes of export, made it an indispensable intermediary. Enjoying favours bestowed by the authorities and a broad delegation of powers, it constituted from this time on a veritable state within a state. At the same time, it gave to the Wolof Muslims, grouped in "*daaras*", a spiritual framework which protected them from the "watch of the Whites". With the independence of the country this position was reinforced, and the electoral power of the Murīds confirmed. When the exodus from the countryside towards the major cities gathered pace in the 1970s, the order was seen to adapt itself to the social changes, creating urban *dahiras* "circles" and investing on a large scale in property, in import-export, and in small business ventures. On his death, in 1927, Amadu Bamba had been buried at Touba, the site of his first divine inspirations. Henceforward, Touba became the headquarters of the brotherhood and the focus of a spectacular annual pilgrimage, the "Grand Magal". The doctrine of Murīdism is orthodox, although the eccentric manifestations of its team of stewards, the "Bay Fall", the populist nature of the movement and the emotional aspects of certain practices (singing, etc.) have contributed to its unconventional image. With its tenacious proselytism, the *ṭarīḳa* has sought, in recent years, to be accepted as the pre-eminent Senegalese order.

However, in spite of its million members, the Murīdiyya is outstripped numerically by the Tidjāniyya, which remains the predominant Senegalese confraternity, but does not represent an organism as centralised as that of Murīdism. It is appropriate in fact to distinguish between a "developed" and modernist Tidjānism in the large cities, and a rural Tidjānism, marked by the ʿUmarī heritage, which holds hegemonic positions in the Fuuta. Distinction should also be drawn between two principal "Houses", each representing a share of the body of adherents. The first of these Houses is that of Tivaouane, founded in 1904 by al-Ḥādjdj Malik Sy (*ca.* 1855-1922), reformer of the brotherhood, whose intellectual energy contributed significantly to the flowering of the Tidjāniyya under French domination. Coming to terms with colonial constraints in the interests of establishing an associative and pedagogic space tolerated by the administration, al-Ḥādjdj Malik Sy devoted his efforts in particular to a "grass-

roots Islamisation". He was especially committed to the struggle against what he considered the deviations of Ṣūfism and adopted the stance of a defender of a "Sunnī *taṣawwuf*" in the tradition of al-Ghazālī. After the First World War, he was joined by Seydou Nourou Tall, grandson of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar, who pledged him his allegiance and proceeded to develop useful contacts with the authorities. After the death of al-Ḥādjdj Malik Sy in 1922, the Sy family retained control of Tivaouane, while an annual pilgrimage (the *gamu*), gave the fraternity an opportunity to advertise the scale of its membership. The Tidjāniyya of Tivaouane has been distinguished, since the colonial period, by the level of its social recruitment: free peasants, senior bureaucrats and officials.

The second "House" is that of the Niasse family, at Kaolack. Although without the local network of the Tivaouane branch, the "Niassene" *zāwiya* of Kaolack has ramifications throughout West Africa and beyond. It was founded by a former disciple of Ma Bā Jaaxu, named Abdoulaye Niasse (*ca.* 1840-1922). Initially a refugee in the Gambia, before coming to terms with the French and establishing himself at Kaolack in 1910, Abdoulaye Niasse had performed the Pilgrimage at an early stage (1887) and he enjoyed close contacts with the "mother-houses" of the Tidjāniyya (ʿAyn Madi in Algeria; Fez in Morocco; and the tribe of the Idāw ʿAlī in Mauritania). In his lifetime, a kind of separation of tasks was operated with al-Ḥādjdj Malik Sy, with whom excellent relations were maintained. Al-Ḥādjdj Abdoulaye Niasse exerted the most influence in the Sine-Saloum, where he encouraged the cultivation of the ground-nut, laying more emphasis than did the Murīds on small-holding and free agricultural enterprise. On his death, his younger son Ibrahima Niasse (b. 1902) who showed himself a better religious "entrepreneur" than the elder, Muhammad, the official heir, gave a new impetus to the Kaolack branch, conferring on it an autonomy and a particularism which both distinguished and detached it from Tivaouane. On account of his close links with the North African centres of the order, the Niassene House henceforward claimed primacy: around 1930, Ibrahima Niasse declared himself *ghawth al-zamān* ("saviour of the age"), a major title which placed him directly in the line of succession of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī, the founder, and of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar al-Fūtī. A spiritual vision, accompanied by an emanation of divine grace (*fayḍa*), consolidated this claim. At the end of 1936, Ibrahima Niasse performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca. This was the opportunity, on his part, for a new leap forward in his quest for primacy and influence. In Fez, he was recognised by the Moroccan dignitaries of the Way as the *khalīfa* of the Tidjāniyya and, in Mecca, he had his first encounter with the *amīr* of Kano, Abdullah Bayero, who was to become his most fervent supporter. Henceforward, limited in its influence over Senegal by the power of Tivaouane, the *zāwiya* of Kaolack was to find its most productive area of activity, especially after the Second World War, at Kano and in northern Nigeria, and on the axes leading to these regions. Al-Ḥādjdj Ibrahima Niasse became a prominent personality, a visitor to heads of state and to international Islamic conferences (he was for a time Vice-President of the World Islamic League), compensating for his relatively limited following in Senegal with a high "media-profile". The death of the master, in 1975, in London, deprived the movement of exceptionally charismatic leadership which has yet to be effectively replaced. The Niassene Tidjāniyya is set apart by a more esoteric doctrine, where notions of *fayḍa* (emanation of grace) and of *tarbiya* (initiation through teaching) correspond to different levels in mystical transmission. It functions in such a way as to appear more "occultic" than that of Tivaouane.

But a group exists which is still more exclusive and sectarian in nature, that founded in 1936 at Madina-Gounass, in the south-east of the country, by a Futanke marabout named Tierno Mamadou Seydou Ba. A kind of "holy enclave" living apart from the world under an austere and rigorous régime, the community of Madina-Gounass, renowned for its absolute probity, in which respect it compared favourably with the lax standards applied by some religious figures, was committed to the agricultural exploitation of the inhospitable valleys of Upper Casamance. But, since the mid-1970s, the "communal ideal" of Madina-Gounass, divided by conflicts between Toucouleur and Peul adherents, has been gradually absorbed by the surrounding Senegalese society.

Other Ṣūfī tendencies exist in Senegal, such as the Ḳādiriyya, but they are of less importance. Mention should be made of a small brotherhood, strongly ethnic in membership and, at the outset, syncretist, that of the Layennes of the Cape Verde peninsula, principally belonging to the Lebu ethnic group. Although it numbers no more than 20,000 to 30,000 adherents, its powerful presence in Dakar ensures its disproportionate visibility. The founder of this order, Limamou Laye (1843-1909) was an illiterate from a fishing village who, unlike the founders of the other groups, left no written legacy. Beginning to preach in 1883, and for a brief time suppressed by the French administration, he claimed to be a Mahdī and a black reincarnation of the Prophet Muḥammad (while his son and successor was that of ʿĪsā/Jesus). In spite of its syncretist aspects (iconography celebrates the legend of alliance with a djinn-fish), the new order marks a departure from Lebu traditions (alcohol, dancing, cults of possession, etc.) and manifests the conversion of the majority of the group, men in particular, to Ḳurʾānic monotheism. The later evolution of the movement in an orthodox direction was to confirm this trend.

Outside the domain of the brotherhoods, the most significant movement is the Union Culturelle Musulmane, of reformist tendency, which was influential in some parts of West Africa. Founded in Dakar in 1953 by Cheikh Touré (b. 1925), on his return from the Ben Bādīs Institute of Constantine where he had been studying for a year, the U.C.M. adopted positions of the *salafī* reformist type [see SALAFIYYA], was discreetly opposed to the brotherhoods, and took a vigorously anti-colonial stance. After independence, the Senegalese branch of the U.C.M. gradually passed under the control of the state, and this resulted in the departure of Cheikh Touré and his colleagues in 1979.

The 1970s saw an acceleration of the trend towards the establishment of Islamic associations. The Fédération des Associations Islamiques du Sénégal (F.A.I.S.), founded in 1977, and the Union pour le Progrès Islamique au Sénégal, created in 1973, itself a member of the F.A.I.S., both of them closely associated with the state, united a number of them. Also to be found are the "Al-Falāḥ" movement (created in 1956), more entrenched among the commercial classes, close to Wahhābī positions, which laid stress upon Arabo-Islamic education; the "Jamaatou Ibadou Arrahman" (founded in 1978 by a companion of Cheikh Touré), composed primarily of intellectuals

and young graduates of the Francophone school; the "Cercle d'Etudes et de Recherches Islam et Développement" (C.E.R.I.D.), representing a western-trained intelligentsia; and the Organisation pour l'Action Islamique, created in 1985 by Cheikh Toure, formerly the reformist leader of the Union Culturelle Musulmane, now expressing more fundamentalist attitudes. Other associations, often called *dahiras* or "circles", unite the adherents of confraternities in terms of professions, age-groups or locality; associations of young people and students are especially active. Significant among the latter is the *dahira* of the Moustarchidines, born at the end of the 1970s in a Tid̲j̲ānī ambience, which later inspired the development of a militant and activist organisation, at one stage accused of conspiring against the security of the state (1994).

These associations have played an important role in the development of the teaching of Arabic, which has proved to be quite popular over the past fifteen or so years. In 1985-6, 16,000 pupils from the public sector attended Arabic classes. During this time, the U.P.I.S. established approximately 1,000 schools, attended by more than 40,000 pupils. In Dakar, the Institut Islamique offers evening courses pursued by members of the intellectual élite, while every year scholarship holders return from the universities of the Near East and contribute to the diffusion of Arabic cultural models: thus between 1978 and 1986, the number of Senegalese teachers of Arabic grew from 32 (for all secondary education) to more than 150 (for the middle level alone). This progress has not since been interrupted.

On account of the influence of the Ṣūfī orders, which have never lost their popular base, political Islam has not made a strong impact in Senegal, despite the existence of militant associations and publications (*Etudes Islamiques*, founded in 1979; *Wal Fadjri* and *Djamra* founded in 1983). A "Ḥizbullāhī" experiment launched by Ahmed Niasse in August 1979 foundered rapidly. But broader Islamising political leanings exist, permeating the brotherhoods and expressing themselves in particular in certain national debates: against the legal reform giving women equal rights in regard to divorce in 1971; against secularism and freemasonry in the 1980s; and in the denunciation of Salman Rushdie in 1989 (with the public support of the head *k̲h̲alīfa* of the Tid̲j̲āniyya al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Abdoul Aziz Sy). In this land tested by the droughts of the 1970s and the disillusionments and economic stagnation of the 1980s, Islamist utopianism has a deep appeal, and this is reflected by the brotherhoods, which sometimes take over the leadership of the movements as the best means of controlling them.

5. Conclusion.

Senegal owes its strong identity to a long past and a singular history. In contact with the French since the 17th century, "headquarters" of French West Africa for two generations, Senegal has retained from these privileged links a substantial Francophone legacy. The ancientness of Islamic culture and the power of the Ṣūfī orders represent another recognisable element, making this country a model for the study of Islamic phenomena to the south of the Sahara. Despite periodic internal crises, Senegal is remarkable both for constitutional stability and for a freedom of discussion and debate which has existed for a longer time than in any other part of Francophone Africa. The prestige and the influence of this country, which has produced numerous men and women of cultural distinction, are thus considerably greater than would be expected, on the basis of its demographic and economic resources alone.

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(J.-L. Triaud)

SENKERE, Sankara, a village of ʿIrāḳ on the lower Euphrates, between al-Samāwa and al-Nāṣiriyya [*q.vv.*] (lat. 31° 12′ N., long. 45° 52′ E.), at present in the *liwāʾ* of al-Mut̲h̲annā.

It is famous as the site of Larsa, one of the most important Sumero-Akkadian cities of ancient times. Then it would have been much closer to the waters of the Euphrates than it is now and would have had Ur (40 km/25 miles to the south) and Uruk (20 km/12 miles to the west) as its equally illustrious neighbours. The archaeological importance of the site was noted by members of the British Euphrates Expedition in the early 1830s and in 1854, on the highest points of the tell, Loftus began to excavate building bricks bearing inscriptions of several now famous New

Sumerian, Old Babylonian and New Babylonian kings. Up to the recent intervention of the United Nations into ʿIrāḳī affairs, the site has been regularly excavated.

The two largest buildings to have been identified are the "White House" which was the temple of the god Shamash, and the royal palace of Nur-Adad, an Amorite ruler of the 19th century B.C. The early chapters of the Bible refer to the site as Ellarsa, and it is clearly an example of a very important ancient city abandoned after Hellenistic control was imposed on the area and never revived.

Bibliography: J.B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, London 1840; W. Loftus, *Travels and researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857; Ch.-F. Jean, *Larsa*, Paris 1931; A. Parrot, *Les fouilles de Tello et de Senkereh-Larsa: campagne 1932-1933*, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxx (1933), 169-82; F. Kraus, *Staatliche Viehhaltung im altbabylonische Lande Larsa*, Leiden 1966; Parrot, *Les fouilles de Larsa: deuxième et troisième campagnes (1967)*, in *Syria*, xlv (1968), 205-37; S.D. Walters, *Warer for Larsa*, New Haven 1970; M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian history*, Leiden 1982.

(M.J.E. Richardson)

SENNA [see sanandadj].

SERʿASKER [see bāb-i serʿaskeri].

SERVET [see ṭāhir bey].

SETH [see shīth].

SEVENERS [see sabʿiyya].

SEYCHELLES, a group of islands in the Indian Ocean to the north of Madagascar and east of Tanzania and Kenya, successively a French and British colony (1756-1976), and an independent republic since then (Republic of Seychelles, République des Seychelles, and Repiblik Sesel in its three languages, English, French and Creole). The population of over 80,000 souls is mainly of African descent (brought there by French and British colonists as slaves), the minority consisting of Indian, Chinese and European elements. The prevailing religion is Roman Catholic, while Muslims form a minute portion of other confessions. The archipelago received its name in 1756 after Moreau de Séchelles, one of Louis XV's ministers.

Unlike the Comoros [see ḳumr] and Maldives [*q.v.*], the closest comparable archipelagos, the Seychelles had received little attention from Muslims, and were uninhabited when the Portuguese began to notice them in the first years of the 16th century. It seems, though, that the islands called Zarīn in the sailing directions by Sulaymān al-Mahrī [*q.v.*], dated 866/1462, were the Seychelles (G. Ferrand, *L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrīvijaya*, Paris 1922, 141-45; see facs. of the ms., B.N. Paris, fonds arabe 2292, published by Ferrand as *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XVe et XVIIe siècles*, Paris 1925, fols. 22b, 73b). This suggests that Muslim mariners did occasionally visit these islands situated not far from their routes between eastern Africa and western India; the etymology of the name of the westernmost island, Aldabra, is believed by some to be a distortion of the Arabic word al-Khaḍrāʾ ("The Green [Island]"), while Zarīn (Pers. *zarrīn* "golden") may go back to the legend of a gold-bearing island in the Indian Ocean ultimately identified with Sumatra (Ferrand, *L'Empire*, 145). The small Muslim cemetery at Anse Lascar on Silhouette Island reported by P. Vine (see *Bibl.*) probably dates from recent centuries, but only a closer examination of the tombstones may answer this question.

Bibliography: G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, 435; P. Vine, *Seychelles*, London 1992, 11; B. Koechlin, *Les Seychelles et l'Océan Indien*, Paris 1984; J.-M. Filliot, *Histoire des Seychelles*, Paris 1982.

(S. Soucek)

SEYFĪ (d. probably after 998/1590), Ottoman historian.

Practically nothing is known about Seyfī aside from the fact that he compiled a unique historio-geographical work on the rulers of Asia and China contemporary with Murād III, and the possibility that he may have been a *defterdār* in the Ottoman bureaucracy. Neither he nor his work is mentioned in the standard Ottoman bio-bibliographical sources.

Seyfī's history has been published by J. Matuz, *L'ouvrage de Seyfī Čelebī: historien ottoman du XVIe siècle; édition critique, traduction et commentaires*, Paris 1966. Its title, added posthumously to the earlier of only two surviving manuscripts, reads: *Kitāb-i tewārīkh-i pādishāhān-i wilāyet-i Hindū we Khitāy we Kishmīr we wilāyet-i ʿAdjem we Kashkār we Kalmak we Čīn we sāʾir pādishāhān-i pīshīn az ewlād-i Čingiz Khān we khāḳān we faghfūr we pādishāhān-i Hindūstān der zamān-i Sulṭān Murād ibn Sulṭān Selīm Khān min teʾlīfāt-i defterdār Seyfī Čelebī el-merḥūm fī sene 990 taʾrīkhinde* ("History of the kings of India, Khitay and Kashmir, of Iran, Kāshgar, the Kalmucks, and China, and of earlier kings descended from Čingiz Khān, and of the Khāḳān [of the Turks], of the Chinese emperor and the rulers of Hindūstān in the time of Sultan Murād b. Sulṭan Selīm Khān, composed by the late *defterdār* Seyfī Čelebi in [or who died in?] the year 990/1582").

This title appears misleading in two respects. First, the date 990/1582 is almost certainly a copyist's error for 998/1590, the date clearly given in the colophon for completion of the work (which contains at least two references to events after 1582), and after which Seyfī must have died (cf. Matuz, *op. cit.*, 13-15, 156-7). Second, the author identifies himself in the text simply as Seyfī, without mention of his profession. The later title gives *defterdār* Seyfī Čelebi", suggesting possible identification with Seyfullāh Seyfī Čelebi (d. after 1006/1597), *defterdār* of Anatolia in the 1580s, and author of a *Szigetvar-nāme* on Ḳānūnī Süleymān's 1566 campaign (cf. *GOW*, 69, n. 1). However, according to ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi (*Meşāʿir uṣ-ṣuʿarā*, ed. G.M. Meredith-Owen, London 1971, fols. 164b-165a) and Ḳınalızāde Ḥasan Čelebi (*Tezkiretü'ş-şuarâ*, ed. İ Kutluk, Ankara 1978, i, 498-500), Seyfullāh Seyfī Čelebi was an accomplished prose writer. By contrast, Seyfī's history is written in an unpretentious, colloquial style. It seems unlikely that the two authors were the same person, and therefore doubtful that Seyfī was a *defterdār*. There are no further clues to his profession, except that the *makhlaṣ* Seyfī would be appropriate for a writer of military origin, and that the linguistic style of the work does not suggest a highly-educated author.

Seyfī's "history" is largely a survey of contemporary rulers, arranged geographically. No major written sources are clearly identifiable. The anecdotal style suggests mainly oral informants, probably merchants and travellers; there is no evidence in the text of Seyfī himself having travelled. The work includes much social, economic and ethnographical information, as well as historical detail to corroborate other sources (Matuz, *op. cit.*, 19-37). It was not a source for later Ottoman writers and remained unknown until used by C. Schefer and W. Barthold in the late 19th century (e.g. Barthold, art. *Kučum Khān*, in *EI*², V, 314, with reference to Schefer).

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(Christine Woodhead)

SEZĀʾĪ, Ḥasan Dede (or Efendi) (1080-1151/1669-1738), also known as Sheykh Ḥasan Efendi or Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Gülshenī, Ottoman poet and founder of the Sezāʾiyya *ṭarīḳa*, an offshoot of the Gulshaniyya [see GULSHANĪ, IBRĀHĪM], a branch of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*]. He was born in Morea [see MORA] where his paternal grandfather Ḳurtbey-zāde Ḥasan was a well-known figure. Tahsin Yazıcı (*İA*, art. *Sezâʾi*) disagrees with Björkman (*EI*¹, art. *Sezāʾī*) that he was of Greek origin. He was brought up in Morea, his later achievements indicating a good education. In 1097/1685, after the Venetians conquered Morea, he migrated to Istanbul, but leaving the capital he moved on to Edirne, from where Meḥemmed IV was attempting to stem Austrian and Venetian attacks on the Ottoman Empire, and entered the Sultan's service in the *muḳābele ḳalemi*.

Many details about his life and thinking, and of his opinions concerning his contemporaries, emerge from a collection of his letters published, with a six-page biography, under the title *Mektūbāt-ı Sezāʾī* (Istanbul 1289/1872). Those to whom they were written include family and followers, as well as statesmen and leading figures of the day.

Sezāʾī's interest in mysticism is shown to have developed from an encounter with a *sheykh* of the Khalwatiyya aboard the ship going to Istanbul and, in Edirne, he was to become a *murīd* first of Meḥmed Ṣirrī at the *khānḳāh* of Sheykh ʿAshiḳ Mūsā (a follower of Ibrāhīm Gülsheni) and on Meḥmed's death, of Meḥmed Laʾlī Fenāʾī (Shemseddīn Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iv, 2562). The latter charged Sezāʾī with the collection of rents from the *khānḳāh*'s *waḳf* properties, gaining him the *laḳab* of Djābī (rent collector) Dede Efendi. He then became *pūst-nishīn* of the Sheykh Welī Dede Efendi *khānḳāh*, but when Meḥmed Laʾlī Fenāʾī died in 1112/1700-1 (and his successor in turn died shortly afterwards), Sezāʾī took his place. The *khānḳāh* became known as the Sezāʾī *tekke*, and on his death he was buried at his own wish close to it in a shop (later converted into a *türbe*) alongside that of his predecessors. His son Meḥmed Ṣādiḳ succeeded him at the Sheykh Welī Dede Efendi *khānḳāh*. Sezāʾī's writing, his letters and poetry in both *dīwān* and folk style (see Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, *Tekke şiiri antolojisi*, Ankara 1968, 400-2), show him as a man of religion first and a poet second. The main tenor of his *dīwān* is mystical, and although he has been labelled the Ottoman "Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz" (Yazıcı, 549) he is not generally considered very highly, lacking the occasional burst of poetic inspiration as regards mystical thinking or style (*loc. cit.*). Kocatürk (*Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Ankara 1970, 554-5) points to a resemblance between him and both Nesīmī and Yūnus Emre [*q.vv.*] in addressing the wider folk masses rather than the upper, intellectual classes, a trait that Sezāʾī shares also with Niyāzi Miṣrī [see *İA*, art. *Niyâzî* (Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı)], by whom he is said to have been given the *makhlaṣ* Sezāʾī, and on one of whose *ghazals* Sezāʾī wrote a short commentary that was included in the edition of his *dīwān* printed at Būlāḳ in 1258/1842.

Bibliography: This article follows closely that of Tahsin Yazıcı in *İA*, where the sources are named.

(KATHLEEN BURRILL)

SEZĀʾĪ, Sāmī Pasha-zāde (modern Turkish Sami Paşazade Sezai), late Ottoman fiction writer and essayist (*ca.* 1859-1936), noted for his synthesis of "art for art's sake" and "art for society's sake" and of romanticism and realism. Son of the statesman-author Sāmī Pasha, Sezāʾī was born in Istanbul, tutored in the family mansion and encouraged by visiting prominent writers. He started publishing journalistic articles when aged 14, learned Arabic, Persian, French and German, and came under the influence of Nāmıḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*]. In 1879 he published *Shīr* ("The lion"), a prose tragedy meant more for reading than staging. From 1880 to 1884 he served as Second Secretary at the Ottoman Embassy in London and later in the Foreign Ministry in Istanbul.

Sezāʾī's principal opus *Sergüdhesht* ("The adventure"), his only novel, came out in 1889. Influenced by Victor Hugo and Alphonse Daudet, it broke new ground with its realism notwithstanding its ornate, maudlin and occasionally poetic style. The tragic story of a slave girl, it is an indictment of slavery and of injustice against women. In 1892 Sezāʾī published *Küčük sheyler* ("Little things"), a collection of eight stories notable for his mastery of the genre and for a new sophistication in psychological analysis. *Rumūz ul-edeb* ("Symbols of literature"), a compilation of his essays, critical pieces, short stories, recollections and travel notes, came out in 1898.

Sezāʾī fled the Ḥamīdian oppression in 1901 and lived in Paris, working for the Committee for Union and Progress and writing for its periodical *Shūrā-yi ümmet* ("Council of the nation") until 1908 when, with Constitutional government proclaimed, he returned to Istanbul. In 1909 he was appointed Ambassador to Madrid, serving until 1921. His last work *Idjlāl*, a threnody for his beloved niece, to which he appended a miscellany of articles, letters, short stories, discourses, etc., appeared in 1923. He died in Istanbul in 1936.

Sezāʾī's literary work is generally viewed as significant in the transition of Turkish fiction into its realist phase.

Bibliography: A. Ferhan Oğuzkan, *Sami Paşazade Sezai hayatı, sanatı, eserleri*, Istanbul 1954; Zeynep Kerman, *Sami Paşazade Sezai*, Istanbul 1986.

(TALAT SAIT HALMAN)

SHAABAN ROBERT (1909-1962) was the foremost Swahili poet of his generation, if not of the past three centuries. He also had a profound influence on contemporary Swahili prose writing. He was born at Machui, a village south of Tanga on the Tanzanian coast, the son of a Yao settler from Malawi and a local Digo mother. His only formal education in the western sense was in Dar es Salaam from 1922 to 1926, which enabled him to gain employment as a government clerk. He had also attended Ḳurʾānic schools, and, as truly an autodidact, classes in traditional Swahili poetry, of which he had an encyclopaedic knowledge. A.C. Gibbe (see *Bibl.*) gives a bibliography of his collected poetry and of his prose works. His preoccupations centre round the Islamic religion and its moral teaching, in a manner that a European critic found comparable to the work of Dante. He is greatly concerned with the teaching of morally upright conduct, of a proper attitude to marriage, of the education of children, and particularly of girls. The Second World War was to him essentially a struggle between the forces of good and evil; he had little or no interest in politics.

Bibliography: A.G. Gibbe, *Shaaban Robert, Mshairi*, Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es Salaam 1980; Kitula G. Kingei, *Mwongozo wa Kusadikika-Shaaban Robert*, Nairobi 1988, with numerous references to other writers.

(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

SHAʿB. 1. In pre-Islamic South Arabia this term (spelt s^2*ʿb* in the *musnad* script) denotes a unit of social organisation for which there has grown up among specialists a convention of using the translation "tribe"; but this can be misleading for non-

specialists. The South Arabian $s^2{}^cb$ was antithetic on one hand to the term $^cs^2r$ (= Arabic *^c^ashā^ir*) applied by the South Arabian sedentary communities to the nomad bedouin of central Arabia; and on the other hand, within the South Arabian sedentary culture itself, to the "house" (*byt*), a family group based on kinship whether real or fictitious. The former of these dichotomies was still current in ^cAbbāsid Arabic usage, when (as exemplified by al-Djāḥiẓ in his *R. al-Atrāk*) *shu^cūb al-^cAdjam* denoted Persian sedentary communities and contrasted with *^cashā^ir al-^cArab*, the Central Arabian nomads. The South Arabian $s^2{}^cb$ was in no way kinship based, but was an artificial functional entity engaged in some common enterprise. The term has a certain fluidity, to the extent that it had no fixed place in an ordered hierarchy of comprehensiveness: in one instance, that of Ma^cīn [*q.v.*] it was co-extensive with the kingdom, its subdivisions there being termed *^hl*. It seems probable too that in some cases it designated a group based on membership of a profession, or on religion (in the 4th century A.D. the Ḥimyarite Jewish community is called $s^2{}^cb$). But by far the commonest application was to a territorially-defined group of agriculturalists, whose functional unity rested on having shared responsibility for the irrigational installations of the specific area. A typical feature of these territorial groups was the possession of a "town" (*hgr*) as centre for local trade, communal business, and a communal cult. In a few cases, such as Ghaymān to the south-east of Ṣan^cā^, town and "tribe" had the same name. Another feature of the $s^2{}^cb$ is that the *nisba* formation, with terminal *-y-n* (pl. always of the pattern *^f^cl-n*, e.g. *Ṣrwḥ-y-n*/*^ṣrḥ-n* "the Ṣirwāḥite(s)") tends to imply "tribal" membership, not membership of a *byt*. But it has been pointed out that in the 5th-6th centuries A.D. the plural *nisba* could denote the vassals of an influential family whose actual members were *adhwā^* [*q.v.*]: thus *^z^n-n* are vassals of the Yazan (*Yz^n*) family [*q.v.*], while a family member was Dhū Yazan.

(A.F.L. Beeston)

2. In modern political parlance.

Sha^cb is one of many Arabic terms which, used in modern social and political contexts, acquired new meanings alongside or instead of the old. On the eve of the modern era, however, the term was still devoid of such novel implications, retaining the old meaning of a tribal confederacy, an ethnic group, or a people. When applied to Muslims, *sha^cb* sometimes carried a slightly negative sense, recalling separatist trends from early Islamic periods [see SHU^cŪBIYYA]. Used with reference to non-Muslims, it was often tinged with the disparagement reserved for unbelievers. A pliant term, comparable to "people" in the broadest sense, *sha^cb* was applicable to groups of different scope and nature, an application it would retain even after assuming more specific connotations.

As so often, it was in references to developments in Europe that the notion of "people" first took on a new political sense. In early Arabic accounts of the French Revolution and Napoleonic era, *sha^cb* was used to denote the ruled—as opposed to the rulers—struggling to attain their deserved political rights. Evidently inspired by foreign sources, these reports referred to the *sha^cb* "rising in total revolt" against Louis XVI, and to the "French people's will" (*irādat sha^cb faransā*) which subsequently brought Napoleon down (Niḳūlā al-Turk, *Mudhakkirāt*, ed. Gaston Wiet, Cairo 1950, 2-5, 11-12, 195-6; Ḥaydar al-Shihābī, *Lubnān fī ^cahd al-umarā^ al-shihābiyyīn*, Beirut 1933, 214-15, 218-19, 320, 430, 602). Such usage became more frequent with the emergence of private Arabic newspapers which, reporting international affairs from the late 1850s on, discussed such ideas as "public opinion" (*ra^y al-sha^cb*), "people's will" (*irādat al-sha^cb*), and the relationship between the government (*hukūma*) and the *sha^cb*. The modern concept of popular sovereignty was also reflected in the compound *wukalā^ al-sha^cb* "people's representatives" (and *madjlis wukalā^ al-sha^cb* "assembly of people's representatives"), in texts discussing parliamentary life in the West (cf. many examples and references in A. Ayalon, *Language and change in the Arab Middle East*, Oxford and New York 1987, 49 and n. 22). In the same vein, the Lebanese-Egyptian journalist Adīb Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] in 1877 defined "republic" as *ḥukūmat al-sha^cb bi 'l-sha^cb* "government of the people by the people", echoing Abraham Lincoln's phrase (*al-Durar*, Alexandria 1886, 49).

Being largely irrelevant to Ottoman political realities for much of the 19th century, the idea of popular sovereignty was at first discussed in foreign contexts only. But as the century drew to a close, it began to appear in association with Ottoman and Egyptian politics as well. Thus in 1896 Salīm Sarkīs, owner of the Egyptian weekly *al-Mushīr*, proudly defined himself as "one of the *sha^cb*", warning the Ottoman sultan, "Woe to him who tries to withstand the *sha^cb* once it unites, makes a decision and sets out to achieve a noble goal" (*al-Mushīr*, Alexandria, 2 May 1896). Muṣṭafā Kāmil [*q.v.*], the eloquent leader of early Egyptian nationalism, stated around the turn of the century that "every *sha^cb* has sacred rights in its homeland, which no one can infringe ... the *sha^cb* is the only true power" (*Muṣṭafā Kāmil fī 34 rabī^can*, ed. ^cAlī Fahmī Kāmil, Cairo 1910, 288-91). Such application of the term, recurring with increasing frequency, gradually turned the word into a battle cry in the community's rightful struggle against those seen as encroaching on it, whether the government at home or a foreign force.

By the end of World War I, *sha^cb* had become a common item in Arabic political vocabulary, particularly that of nationalism, along with (but somewhat less frequent than) *umma* and *waṭan* [*q.vv.*]. Capable of evoking strong popular emotions, it appeared in names of political parties (*ḥizb al-sha^cb*)—in Syria (1925, 1947), Iraq (1925, 1946), Egypt (1930) and Lebanon (1945)—as well as of newspapers throughout the Arab countries, implying a claim for public legitimacy by those leading the struggle for national independence and other political battles. In another part of the former Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey, populism (Turkish *halkçılık*) was adopted as a central principle in the state's official ideology, signifying recognition of the people's sovereignty. Thus it was incorporated in the 1924 Turkish constitution by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk [*q.v.*], who had established the "People's Party" (*Khalk Firkasi*) the previous year as a vehicle of popular mobilisation. The notion's growing public attraction gave birth to another phenomenon: its abuse by autocratic or aristocratic politicians seeking to benefit from alleged popular support. Egypt's rigid Prime Minister Ismā^cīl Ṣidḳī, who in 1930 founded a party and a paper bearing the name *al-Sha^cb*, offers a conspicuous example of this cynical practice, which continued in later years there and elsewhere.

During the first half of the 20th century, reference to "the people" was also made in a different sense, by thinkers advocating socialist and communist ideas. In their teachings, *sha^cb* (and its equivalents) signified the common people, the deprived lower classes, rather than the whole community. This was its sense in the

parlance of such leftist organisations as the ᶜIrāḳī Ahālī group of the early 1930s [see ḤIZB], which labelled its ideology *shaᶜbiyya* (Majid Khadduri, *Independent Iraq*, London 1951, 72-4), and the Egyptian Marxist splinter groups calling themselves *taḥrīr al-shaᶜb* ("people's liberation") and *al-ṭalīᶜa al-shaᶜbiyya li 'l-taḥarrur* ("popular vanguard for liberation"), which formed in the following decade (Rifᶜat al-Saᶜīd, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥaraka al-shuyūᶜiyya al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1987, iii, 196-9, 203 ff.). At that stage, however, the discussion of such notions in Islamic countries was still on the sidelines of public political debate, and the application of "the people" with such meaning was marginal.

By mid-century, with the struggle for national independence in most Arab countries won, the focus of political discourse had begun to shift to other issues, primarily sociopolitical reform. New leaders—in Egypt, Syria, ᶜIrāḳ, Algeria, Yemen, Sudan, Libya—having seized power, claimed to be acting on the people's behalf in their bid to transform the old, corrupt order. In the revolutionary ideologies which they preached, leftist ideas, hitherto marginal, came to play a major rôle, and "the people" were given a prominence unprecedented in their societies' tradition. The *shaᶜb* was now identified as the common masses, primarily workers and peasants (equally often referred to as *djamāhīr* "masses"), those who previously had been outside the circle of power, and were now hailed as the mainstay of reform. Thus in the Egyptian National Pact (*al-mīthāḳ al-waṭanī*) of 1962, the *shaᶜb* was the hero whose wit and resolve accounted for the success of the 1952 revolution and guaranteed its future. Its objectives were social justice, military might and "healthy democratic life"; its enemies were imperialism, tyranny, feudalism and monopolism (al-Djumhūriyya al-ᶜArabiyya al-Muttaḥida, *Mashrūᶜ al-mīthāḳ, 21 māyū 1962*, Cairo n.d., 3-6 *et passim*). Likewise, in Baᶜth ideology, which the régimes in Syria and ᶜIrāḳ adopted in the 1960s (if in different versions), the *shaᶜb* is regarded as the leader of renaissance, combatting domestic and foreign oppression, and striving for socialism and popular democracy (Mīshāl ᶜAflaḳ, *Fī sabīl al-baᶜth*, Beirut 1959, 172-85; Ḥizb al-Baᶜth al-ᶜArabī al-Ishtirākī, *al-Manhadj al-marḥalī li-thawrat al-thāmin min Ādhār fī 'l-ḳuṭr al-ᶜarabī al-Sūrī*, Damascus 1965, esp. 3-9, 21-9). This is also the sense of the notion in the construct *madjlis al-shaᶜb* "People's Assembly", used to designate legislative bodies in the revolutionary régimes of Egypt, Syria, South Yemen and several other places. Two states even incorporated the word, in adjectival form (*shaᶜbiyya*), in their official names: "The People's Republic of South Yemen" (1967, renamed as "The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen" in 1970), reflecting its leftist doctrine and pro-Soviet orientation; and "The Arab Libyan People's Socialist *Djamāhīriyya*" (1976, to which the adjective "the Great" was added in 1986), underscoring the popular nature of its political structure. Leftist ideas also inspired the foundation of many "popular fronts" of political action, fashionable in the late 1960s and the 1970s, namely, groups purporting to advocate social reform along with other, often more important objectives—e.g. "The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine", "The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf", etc.

Shaᶜb has thus come to imply a variety of concepts. In addition to its use in the broad sense of "people" or "nation", it also means the governed people as opposed to the government and, still more narrowly, the lower classes striving to recover their deserved political rights. The distinction between these meanings is often blurred, sometimes intentionally so, as in the rhetoric of revolutionary leaders who, appealing to "the *shaᶜb*", seek at once to speak for the whole nation and to voice concern for the deprived classes' grievances. In the second half of the 20th century, this last phenomenon had become a prominent aspect of the application of *shaᶜb*.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(A. AYALON)

SHABA [see KATANGA].

SHAᶜBADHA, SHAᶜWADHA (also with final *d* for *dh*) (A.), prestidigitation, sleight of hand, and from it, *mushaᶜb/widh*, magician, trickster. The word is paraphrased by the lexicographers, following al-Layth (b. al-Muẓaffar) [*q.v.*], by *khiffat al-yad* and *ukhadh* (pl. of *ukhdha*), see al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, i, 405. *Fihrist*, 312, mentions as "the first to perform *shaᶜbadha* in Islam" a certain ᶜAbīd/ᶜUbayd al-Kayyis who also wrote a *Kitāb al-Shaᶜbadha*, and another *mushaᶜbidh* nicknamed "Mill Shaft" (Ḳuṭb al-raḥā), about both of whom unfortunately nothing further seems to be known.

According to al-Djawbarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], among all the fraudulent practices of the large underclass of crooks and swindlers, the activity of the *mushaᶜbidh* is distinguished by its innocuousness; his tricks are performed as harmless entertainment. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 126 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 158 ff., uses the term in a more general manner and understands it scientifically as characterising one of three kinds of sorcery [see SIḤR]. He explains the underlying process as the transformation, by the power of the imagination, of something imaginary into imagined existence in the world of the senses; for the religious law, it would fall under forbidden sorcery, but since it is not real (and, therefore, presumably incapable of doing actual evil) and something irrelevant that is easily avoided, it was, certainly in the eyes of Ibn Khaldūn, not as bad as the other kinds of sorcery (and not really forbidden).

The term's etymology has interested philologists ancient and modern. The Arabic lexicographers stress that it is not true Arabic (see Lane, 1559a). The suggested derivation from Aramaic/Syriac *shaᶜbedh* "to subdue" is linguistically adequate (both *b*/*w* and *dh*/*d* are not inconsistent with this assumption) and conceptually possible ("subduing [ᶜ-*b*-*d*, form X] devils" is a sorcerer's task, see *Fihrist*, 309, l. 2). An Arabisation of Persian *shabbāz* seems less likely, as does a conflation with the root ᶜ-*w*-*dh*; the lexicographers' derivation from a supposed meaning "quickness" and *shaᶜwadhī* "express courier" if anything reverses the actual process.

Bibliography: Djawbarī, *al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār*, ch. 23, tr. R. Khawam, *Le voile arraché*, Paris 1979-80, ii, 135-142; the promised scholarly edition by S. Wild has apparently not yet appeared. See further, C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*, Leiden 1976, i, 128, ii, 51, 299, 333, with the older literature. (F. ROSENTHAL)

SHABAK, a heterodox religious community living in several dozen villages east of Mawṣil, in a triangle bounded by the Tigris and the Greater Zāb. Their numbers were in 1925 estimated at around 10,000; the 1960 ᶜIrāḳi census enumerated 15,000, living in 35 villages (Vinogradov 1974: 208). Recent estimates tend to be considerably higher.

The Shabak commonly consider themselves as Kurds, but have since the 1970s been subject to concerted efforts at Arabicisation, culminating in the destruction of around 20 Shabak villages in 1988. The

language of their prayers and religious ritual is Turkish. Most Shabak are multilingual, which has given rise to claims that they are really Turcomans or Kurdish speakers or even Arabs; their mother tongue, however, or at least that of most Shabak, is a dialect of the Gūrānī branch of Iranian languages. Their religion is closely related to that of the Anatolian ʿAlewīs (Ḳîzîlbāsh); one of their invocations, as given by al-Ṣarrāf, explicitly refers to Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh and the adepts of Ardabīl (*Erdebīl erenleri*, i.e. the Ṣafawids) as the founders of their spiritual path. Some of the religious poems sung in their ritual meetings are attributed to Shāh Ismāʿīl and to the Anatolian ʿAlewī saint Pīr Sulṭān Abdāl. A basic tenet, expressed in several poems and invocations, is the Shabak's belief that Allāh, Muḥammad and ʿAlī constitute a trinity, in which ʿAlī appears as the dominant manifestation of the divine.

The "sacred book" of the Shabak, known as *Kitāb al-Manāḳib* or *Buyuruḳ* (*Burukh*, in the local pronunciation) and published integrally in al-Ṣarrāf's monograph, consists of two parts. The first part is a question-and-answer dialogue between Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn and his son Ṣadr al-Dīn on the *ādāb* of the *ṭarīḳa*, in which there is no indication of extremist Shīʿī influences; the second part, the *buyuruḳ* proper, resembles in content the texts of the same title found among the Anatolian ʿAlewī communities. It consists of various teachings and instructions associated with the imāms ʿAlī and Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ and discusses the relationship between teacher (*mürebbī*) and disciple (*ṭālib*), and the institution of ritual brotherhood (*muṣāḥiblik*).

Their Ṣafawī-Ḳîzîlbāsh affiliation distinguishes the Shabak from neighbouring heterodox communities, the Yezīdīs [*q.v.*] to their north and the Ṣārlī [see ṢĀRLIYYA] to their southeast. The latter are, like the Kākāʾī, a branch of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*]; they speak a Gūrānī dialect very similar to that of the Shabak. Another neighbouring Gūrānī-speaking community, the Bādjwān or Bādjalān, are often said to be a section of the Shabak or vice-versa. The Bādjwān, however, are tribally organised and led by tribal chieftains, whereas the Shabak are non-tribal peasants, share-cropping on land belonging to urban-based *sayyid* families who have great moral authority over them due to their descent from the Prophet and ʿAlī. The Shabak intermarry freely with Bādjwān, Ṣārlī, Kākāʾī and Shīʿī Turcomans of the region, resulting in the boundaries between these religious communities becoming fuzzy.

The Shabak community is structured by a spiritual hierarchy similar to that of the ʿAlewīs. Each adult person is affiliated with a *pīr*, his spiritual elder. This is a hereditary function, and each family tends to continue its affiliation with a particular *pīr* lineage from generation to generation. All rituals have to be led by a *pīr*. In most of them he has to be assisted by a *rehber* or guide, and in the major annual celebrations, twelve functionaries have to be present: *pīr*, *rehber*, lamp-bearer (*ḥāmil al-djirāgh*), broom-bearer (*ḥāmil al-miknasa*), cup-bearer (*ṣaḳḳā*), butcher, four attendants (*khādim*) and two gate-keepers (*bawwāb*). The ʿAlewī communities of Anatolia also knew these twelve functionaries (*on iki hizmet*), although the names given to each vary. The Shabak *pīrs* are themselves hierarchically ordered, and there is a supreme spiritual authority known as the *bābā*.

The Shabak have regular ritual meetings in the house of the *pīr*. There are three major annual celebrations, one at New Year's Eve (celebrated in December), another in the night of *ʿāshūrā*. The third is the "night of pardon" (*ʿödhür gedjesi*), during which public confessions of guilt are made and conflicts in the community settled. It is these three nightly celebrations, in which both sexes take part, that in the early literature on the Shabak and Ṣārlīs are referred to as the *laylat al-kafsha*, with the usual accusation of unspeakable abominations (the verb *kafasha* meaning, in the local Arabic dialect "to grab"). Minorsky's suggestion to derive the name from more innocent Persian *kafsh* "footwear", has been adopted by several later authors, such as Moosa, who sees the taking off of slippers as the origin of the name. The Shabak themselves do not appear to use the name at all, however.

Pilgrimages are another important part of the ritual calender. Two important local shrines, visited at the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* and *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*, are named ʿAlī Rash ("Black ʿAlī") and ʿAbbās. Shabak identify the former with the Imām ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Ḥusayn, the second with Ḥusayn's younger brother ʿAbbās, who died at Karbalā. A different type of *ziyāra* consists of the stoning of the alleged grave of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, the Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ who was responsible for the drama at Karbalā. This takes place throughout the year.

Bibliography: Père Anastase Marie al-Karmalī's misleading but influential articles in *al-Mashriḳ*, ii (1899) and v (1902) have now been superseded; the only serious work on Shabak beliefs and practices is Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Ṣarrāf, *al-Shabak min firaḳ al-ghulāt fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ*, Baghdād 1373/1954. M. Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: the ghulat sects*, Syracuse 1987, is largely based on al-Ṣarrāf and a few less important ʿIrāḳi authors. A useful anthropological study is A. Vinogradov, *Ethnicity, cultural discontinuity and power brokers in northern Iraq: the case of the Shabak*, in *Amer. Ethnologist*, i (1974), 207-18. Information on recent events, along with some language samples, is given in M. Leezenberg, *The Shabak and the Kakais: dynamics of ethnicity in Iraqi Kurdistan* (technical note, Inst. for Language, Logic and Computation, University of Amsterdam, 1994; also to appear in *Studia Kurdica*, Paris).

(M. VAN BRUINESSEN)

SHABAKHTĀN, the name given in several mediaeval Arabic sources to an area east of present-day Turkish Urfa (Arabic al-Ruhā [*q.v.*], Frankish Edessa), and north of Ḥarrān. We can perhaps identify it with the range of hills known as the Tektek Dağ. Shabakhtān apparently comprised a number of strongholds, each with its dependant fief or *ʿamal*. Fiefs (*aʿmāl*) of Shabakhtān referred to in the sources include Djumlayn, al-Ḳurādī, Tall Mawzan and al-Muwazzar. References to Shabakhtān, or to strongholds within it, begin with the Crusades. Some or all of Shabakhtān formed part of the short-lived Frankish County of Edessa, but by 538/1144 the area was in the hands of ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī. With his death begins a confused story of frequent changes of overlordship, successively the Artuḳids of Āmid (Diyarbakır) and Mārdīn; several different Ayyūbid princes, including al-ʿĀdil, al-Ashraf, al-Afḍal and al-Kāmil; briefly, the Khwārazmians and the Mongols; and then, towards the end of the 7th/13th century, the Artuḳids again, at which point references cease. Of the known *aʿmāl* of Shabakhtān, only Djumlayn, the most frequently mentioned, has so far been located, at the site of Çimdine Kalesi on the eastern side of the Tektek Dağ. It consists of a fortified outcrop ringed by a wall overlooking a rock-hewn fosse, and bears traces of several different mediaeval occupations.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-*

zāhir, Riyāḍ 1976, 358; Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubda*, Damascus 1968, iii, 152, 154, 259; *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, in *JRAS* (1933), 280, 288; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Beirut 1966, xi, 94, xii, 83, 180, 182, 343; *al-Taʾrīkh al-bāhir*, Cairo n.d., 67; Ibn al-ᶜIbrī (Bar Hebraeus), *Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut 1890, 393; Ibn Shaddād, *Aᶜlāḳ*, i/3, Damascus 1978, 68, i/2, Damascus 1991, 196; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, Paris 1858, 280; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, Paris 1905, iii, 216; Ibn Naẓīf, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, Damascus 1981, 18, 19, 39, 159; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, Cairo 1961, 140; D. Morray, *Qalᶜat Jumlayn: a fortress of Šabaḫtān*, in *BEO*, xlv (1993), 161-82; M. von Oppenheim, *Arabische Inschriften, bearbeitet von Max van Berchem*, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, viii/1, Leipzig 1909, 62-3. (D.W. Morray)

SHAᶜBĀN, name of the eighth month of the Islamic lunar year. In classical *ḥadīth* it has already its place after Radjab Muḍar. In Indian Islam it has the name of *Shab-i barāt* (see below), the Atchehnese call it *Kandūri bu* and among the Tigrē tribes of Eritrea it is called *Maddagēn*, i.e. who follows upon Radjab.

In early Arabia, the month of Shaᶜbān (the name may mean "interval") seems to have corresponded, as to its significance, to Ramaḍān. According to the *ḥadīth*, Muhammad practised superogatory fasting by preference in Shaᶜbān (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣawm, bāb* 52; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 176; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm, bāb* 36). ᶜĀʾisha recovered in Shaᶜbān the fast days which were left from the foregoing Ramaḍān (al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm, bāb* 65).

In the early Arabian solar year, Shaᶜbān as well as Ramadān fell in summer. Probably the weeks preceding the summer-solstice and those following it, had a religious significance which gave rise to propitiatory rites such as fasting. This period had its centre in the middle of Shaᶜbān, a day which, up to the present time, has preserved feature of a New Year's day. According to popular belief, in the night preceding the 15th, the tree of life on whose leaves are written the names of the living is shaken. The names written on the leaves which fall down, indicate those who are to die in the coming year. In *ḥadīth* it is said that in this night God descends to the lowest heaven; from there he calls the mortals in order to grant them forgiveness of sins (al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, bāb* 39).

Among a number of peoples, the beginning or the end of the year is devoted to the commemoration of the dead. The connection can also be observed in the Muslim world. For this reason Shaᶜbān bears the epithet of *al-muᶜaẓẓam* "the venerated". In the Indo-Muslim world in the night of the 14th people say prayers for the dead, distribute food among the poor, eat *ḥalwa* (sweetmeats) and indulge in illuminations and firework. This night is called *laylat al-barāʾa*, which is explained by "night of quittancy", i.e. forgiveness of sins.

In Atcheh, this month is likewise devoted to the dead; the tombs are cleansed, religious meals (*kandūri* [*q.v.*]) are given and it is the dead who profit from the merits of these good works. The night of the middle of Shaᶜban bears a particularly sacred character, as is attested by the *kandūri*s and the *ṣalāt*s which are called *ṣalāt al-ḥādja* or, on account of certain eulogies, *ṣalāt al-taṣābīḥ*. During the last days of the month, a market is held in the capital.

At Mecca, Radjab, not Shaᶜban, is devoted to the dead. Here, in the night of 14th Shaᶜbān, religious exercises are held; in the mosque, circles are formed which under the direction of an *imām* recite the prayer peculiar to this night.

In Morocco, on the last day of Shaᶜbān a festival is celebrated called the Shaᶜbāna which resembles a carnival. A description of it is to be found in L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1921, 98-9.

Bibliography: E. Littman, *Die Ehrennamen und Neubenennungen der isl. Monate*, in *Isl.*, viii (1918), 228 ff.; Herklots, *Qanoon-i Islam*; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 221 ff.; idem, *Mekka*, ii, 76, 291; A.J. Wensinck, *The Arabic New Year*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, new ser. xxv, no. 2, 6-7. (A.J. Wensinck)

SHAᶜBĀN, the name of two Mamlūk sultans.

1. al-Malik al-Kāmil, (son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]), who succeeded his full brother, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāᶜīl, on the latter's death on 4 Rabīᶜ II 746/4 August 1345.

His accession was brought about by a faction headed by his stepfather, Arghūn al-ᶜAlāʾī, who had been in effect regent for Ismāᶜīl. A rival faction led by the vicegerent of Egypt, Almalik, supporting his half-brother Ḥādjdjī, rapidly lost power, and Arghūn became the dominant magnate throughout the reign. His sound political advice to the sultan served as a moderating influence, but was frequently disregarded. Shaᶜbān's authority deteriorated rapidly from the beginning of 747/April 1346. Almalik and his colleague, Ḳumārī, were sent to prison in Alexandria, and their property was sequestrated. The death of Yūsuf, another son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in Rabīᶜ II/July-August, gave rise to suspicions that the sultan was implicated. The final crisis of the reign resulted from Shaᶜbān's determination to make a state visit to the Ḥidjāz, which led to heavy demands on the peasantry of Egypt for grain, and on the Arabs of Syria for camels, while it would have involved the Mamlūk military aristocracy in ruinous expenditure. A conspiracy to overthrow the sultan was hatched by the governor of Damascus, Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī. When Shaᶜbān seized two of his remaining brothers, Ḥādjdjī and Ḥusayn, and placed them under guard (29 Djumādā I/18 September), revolt broke out among the Mamlūks of Cairo. The sultan, accompanied by Arghūn al-ᶜAlāʾī, went out to confront them with a small loyal force. His offer to abdicate was rejected, and in the ensuing skirmish Arghūn was wounded and captured. Shaᶜbān fled, but was captured and put to death (3 Djumādā II/21 September), while Ḥādjdjī had been released and proclaimed sultan two days previously.

Bibliography: Notices of some leading personalities of the reign are given by their contemporary al-Ṣafadī; e.g. Shaᶜbān, Arghūn al-ᶜAlāʾī, Almalik (*Wāfī*, xvi, 153-5; viii, 355; ix, 372-3, respectively). There are detailed accounts of the reign by the 9th/15th-century chroniclers, Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii/3, 680-713; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, x, 116-41.

2. al-Malik al-Ashraf, Mamlūk sultan (grandson of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]), who succeeded his cousin, al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, when the latter was deposed on 15 Shaᶜbān 764/30 May 1363.

Owing to Shaᶜbān's youth (he was born in 754/1353-4), a series of high Mamlūk *amīrs* held power in the early years of his reign. Yalbughā al-ᶜUmarī and Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl, originally Mamlūks of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan [*q.v.*], at first shared the regency, until Ṭaybughā was ousted in Djumādā II 767/March 1366, when Yalbughā assumed sole power. In the meantime, a Crusading expedition under King Peter I of Cyprus briefly occupied Alexandria (Muḥarram

767/October 1365), but withdrew as Yalbug͟hā and the sultan advanced to relieve the city. The regent thereupon set on foot the construction of a war-fleet for, he asserted, a counter-offensive. An appeal from the king of Dongola [*q.v.*] for aid against his usurping nephew led to the organisation of an expeditionary force (Rabīᶜ I 767/December 1365), and action against Arab tribesmen who were ravaging the Aswān frontier-region. In Rabīᶜ II 768/December 1366 S͟haᶜbān, resenting Yalbug͟hā's domination, colluded with the regent's mutinous Mamlūks to overthrow him. The sultan did not, however, finally free himself from the control of the Mamlūk magnates until 769/1367-8, when the period of his autocratic rule began. There was an ineffectual attack on Tripoli by Peter I in Muḥarram 769/September 1367, but otherwise the sultanate was in no danger from any foreign power. S͟haᶜbān's quiet reign was disturbed in Muḥarram 775/June 1373 by a dispute with his step-father, the *atābak* Uld͟jāy al-Yūsufī, over the inheritance from the sultan's mother, K͟hawand Baraka, who had died in the previous month. Uld͟jāy was defeated in a brief armed conflict, and drowned as he fled across the Nile. The end of the reign was sudden and disastrous, suggesting long-suppressed covert resentments, perhaps linked with the sultan's greed for wealth and unprecedented grants to his kinsfolk. The hostility had its focus in the Mamlūks of the sultan's household. Disregarding advice, and in spite of his recent recovery from a severe illness, he insisted on making a state pilgrimage to the Ḥid͟jāz. When he was encamped at the pass of Ayla [*q.v.*], his Mamlūks revolted, demanding fodder and pay. The situation got out of hand, and he fled with a few companions towards Cairo (2 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 778/13 March 1377). While they were on their way, Mamlūk rebels gained control of the Citadel, and proclaimed S͟haᶜbān's infant son, ᶜAlī, as sultan. Al-Maḳrīzī and Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī disagree as to whether the two risings were concerted. On reaching Ḳubbat al-Naṣr outside Cairo, S͟haᶜbān's companions were discovered and killed. He himself was found and strangled two days later (4 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaᶜda/15 March). His son succeeded him as al-Malik al-Manṣūr ᶜAlī (778-83/1377-81).

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S͟HAᶜBĀNIYYA, a mystical brotherhood arising out of the K͟halwatiyya [*q.v.*] at Kastamonu in northern Anatolia towards the middle of the 10th/16th century. Its *pīr*, S͟haᶜbān Welī, born at Tāshköprü in this same region, was initiated into the K͟halwatiyya precepts by the *s͟hayk͟h* K͟hayr al-Dīn Tokadī of Bolu on his return from a period of study in Istanbul, and died in 976/1568-9 at Kastamonu, where he directed a group of his disciples after spending twelve years at the side of his spiritual master. The main source on the origins of the S͟haᶜbāniyya is the work of one of S͟haᶜbān Welī's successors, ᶜÖmer Fuʾādī (d. 1046/1636), the *Menāḳib-i s͟herīf-i Pīr-i K͟halwetī ḥaḍret-i S͟haᶜbān Welī*. This work on the life and miracles of the founder was printed at Kastamonu in 1294/1877 in a volume also containing the same author's *Risāle-yi türbe-nāme*, which deals with the building of S͟haᶜbān Welī's tomb at the beginning of the 11th/17th century. ᶜÖmer Fuʾādī is also said to have written an enlarged version of the *Menāḳib-nāme*, unfortunately lost. S͟haᶜbān Welī himself left behind no works.

For almost a century, the new order's network seems to have remained an Anatolian one. However, in the capital, one of the founder's *k͟halīfa*s, S͟hayk͟h S͟hud͟jāᶜ (d. 996/1588) exercised a great influence, much criticised by the sultan's entourage, over Murād III [*q.v.*], who had become his disciple. According to a still extant *kitābe* of 988/1580, this same S͟hud͟jāᶜ had the mosque-*tekke* of S͟haᶜbān Welī at Kastamonu renovated. We know many details about the building of the saint's tomb, completed in 1020/1611, thanks to the work of ᶜÖmer Fuʾādī mentioned above.

The order was at various times given fresh impetus by the great *s͟hayk͟hs* who were regarded as founders of the branches of the S͟haᶜbāniyya, and from the latter half of the 11th/17th century enjoyed a vast expansion throughout the Ottoman empire. At an early date, there was ᶜAlī ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḳarabās͟h Welī (b. ᶜArabgīr, 1020/1611, d. on returning from the Pilgrimage in 1097/1686), founder of the Ḳarabās͟hiyya, called al-Aṭwel "the very tall" on account of his height and Ḳarabās͟h "black head" because of the order's characteristic black cap. Initiated at Kastamonu, he was *s͟hayk͟h* at Çankırı in central Anatolia, and then, from 1079/1669, at Üsküdār (he also spent some time in exile on Lemnos). Ḳarabās͟h Welī left behind numerous works on mysticism. One may note a commentary on Ibn al-ᶜArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (the *Kās͟hif-i esrār al-Fuṣūṣ*); a *ṭarīḳat-nāme*; a treatise on the interpretation of dreams (*taᶜbīr-nāme*); a treatise on the 40 days' retreat (*Risāle-yi uṣūl-i erbaᶜīn*); and one on the *d͟hikr* made by whirling (*R. fī d͟jewāz-i dewrāni 'l-ṣūfiyye*). He is said to have had many *k͟halīfas* who spread the S͟haᶜbāniyya in his new form. This last affected not only Anatolia but also Rumelia and the Arab provinces. The networks issuing from the order which took shape in the Arab provinces from the end of the 12th/18th century under the impetus of the spiritual successors of Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, notably the Kamāliyya, Ḥinfiyya, Dardīriyya and Sammāniyya branches and their ramifications, can be considered as independent of the S͟haᶜbānī networks of Anatolia and Rumelia, even if certain of their members preserved the common mystical tradition (see F. de Jong, *Mustafa Kamal al-Din al-Bakri (1688-1749). Revival and reform of the Khalwatiyya tradition*, in N. Levtzion and J.O. Voll (eds.), *Eighteenth century renewal and reform in Islam*, Syracuse-New York 1987, 117-32).

Four other personalities mark the evolution of the S͟haᶜbāniyya up to the middle of the 19th century. The first was Muḥammad Naṣūḥī (d. 1130/1718), one of Ḳarabās͟h Welī's *k͟halīfas*. He was *s͟hayk͟h* of a *tekke* built for him by the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ḥasan Pas͟ha at Üsküdār in the Dog͟hand͟jīlar quarter, an establishment considered at the close of the Empire as the *āsitāne*, main centre, of the order in Istanbul. He was also the author of several works, including a Ḳurʾān commentary and a *dīwān* of poetry. The second was Muṣṭafā Čerkes͟hī (d. 1229/1814), disciple of a *s͟hayk͟h* of the region of Safranbolu, who exercised his functions at the little town of Čerkes͟h, to the south-west of Kastamonu. More than Muḥammad

Naṣūḥī, he seems to have set his mark on the brotherhood. He lightened the burden of the rules made by Ḳarabāsh Welī, reducing the precepts for members from twenty to three: to be linked with a spiritual master, committing oneself to him totally; to accept from this master pardon (*tawba*) and initiation (*talḳīn*); and to perform *dhikr* unceasingly. Čerkeshī was also the author of an epistle said to have been written at the request of Sultan Maḥmūd II (*R. fī taḥḳīḳ al-taṣawwuf*), and he appears moreover in recent works as the second *pīr* of the Shaʿbāniyya. The third person mentioned as the founder of a branch of the *ṭarīḳa* was a *khalīfa* of the preceding person, one Ḥadjdjī Khalīl Geredelī (d. 1247/1831-2 and buried in the village of Gerede, near Bolu). He is said to have been illiterate (*ummī*) and to have been invited by the sultan to install himself in the capital, where he assumed direction of the *tekke* of the Zeyrek mosque. The fourth and last person considered as founder of a branch of the Shaʿbāniyya was Ibrāhīm Ḳushadalī (d. 1845), *khalīfa* of Beypāzārlī Shaykh ʿAlī, a disciple of Muṣṭafā Čerkeshī. He had numerous disciples (including some provincial governors and some women) and gave a particular imprint to the order, notably by rejecting residence in a *tekke*, a mode of life which he considered to be in a state of degeneration (when the *tekke* which he headed in Istanbul was burnt down in 1833, he refused to rebuild it and settled down in a simple *ḳonaḳ*). He was certainly influenced by *malāmī* doctrine, but equally, he placed the *sharīʿa* in the forefront, insisting on the practice of *rābiṭa* (liaison of the disciple's heart, in imagination, with that of his *shaykh*) and on that of *khalwa*.

Under the impulse of these different persons, the Shaʿbāniyya gradually became that branch of the Khalwatiyya with the most centres in the Ottoman capital. It even exceeded those of the Sunbuliyya [*q.v.*] in the last decades of the 19th century, with 25 *tekkes*, of which about ten were on the Asiatic shore, mainly at Üsküdār. The *ṭarīḳa* likewise spread vigorously in northern Anatolia, in a zone extending from Istanbul to Tokat, above all in the triangles Kastamonu-Bolu-Ankara and Kastamonu-Yozgat-Tokat. In Rumelia, where it had spread strongly since the 11th/17th century (Ewliyā Čelebi mentions its presence in the Bulgarian lands *ca.* 1650), it had a special spurt of growth in the second half of the 19th century, notably in Bulgaria (at Nevrokop/Goce Delčev and Trnovo), at Iskeçe/Xanthi in Thrace, at Bitola in Macedonia, and also in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where *tekkes* were founded from *ca.* 1865 onwards at Sarajevo, Severin, Bijeljina, Donja Tuzla and Višegrad under the stimulus of the *shaykh* Muḥammad Sayf al-Dīn Iblizović. It may be noted that Yaʿḳūb Khān Kāshgharī, who was one of the disciples of Muḥammad Tewfīḳ Bosnewī, *khalīfa* of Ibrāhīm Ḳushadalī (as well as being also affiliated to the Naḳshbandiyya and Ḳādiriyya), is said to have contributed to spreading the order in India; but it does not seem to have put down durable roots there.

Today, the Shaʿbāniyya, which has not survived in the Balkans, is represented uniquely in Turkey, where it is the most active branch of the Khalwatiyya. In Istanbul itself, there are at least fifteen mosques where Shaʿbānī dervishes meet for *dhikr*, generally on Thursday or Sunday evening. For the ceremony, each adept wears a *khirḳa* and a fine-textured white turban falling on to the back. The *dhikr* unfolds in three phases: seated in a circle, in darkness, the dervishes first recite the brotherhood's *wird*, then the *dhikr* properly speaking, characterised by repetition of the three formulae *Lā ilāh illā 'llāh, Allāh* and *Hū*, and then ending by standing up in a *ḥalḳa*. According to recent publications attesting the activities of the Shaʿbāniyya in Turkey (see *Bibl.*), these belong to the Čerkeshiyya branch and consider Muṣṭafā Čerkeshī as their second *pīr*. In Kastamonu there exists a "Şa'ban-i Veli Association of Kastamonu" which looks after the ancient centre of the order. This consist of a much-visited complex, including a mosque which until 1925 served als as a *tekke* and in which one can still see a series of small cells intended for spiritual retreat, a *türbe* enshrining Shaʿbān Welī's tomb and those of his successors, a library, and ablutions fountain, a kitchen, two houses, a cemetery and a spring whose water is sought after for curative purposes.

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(NATHALIE CLAYER)

SHABĀNKĀRA, the name of a Kurdish tribe and of their country in southern Persia during mediaeval Islamic times. Ibn al-Athīr spells the name Shawānkāra, whilst Marco Polo rendered it as Soncara.

According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, the Shabānkāra country was bounded by Fārs, Kirmān and the Persian Gulf. At present, it falls within the *ustān* or province of Fārs, and there are still two villages, in the *shahrastāns* of Djahrum and Bū Shahr respectively, bearing the name Shabānkāra (Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrānzamīn*, vii, 139).

Mustawfī says that the capital was the stronghold of Īg or Īdj; other localities of the province, which was divided into six districts, were: Zarkān (near Īg), Iṣṭabānān (or Iṣṭabānāt), Burk, Tārum, Khayra, Nayrīz [*q.v.*], Kurm, Rūnīz, Lār [*q.v.*] and Darābdjird [*q.v.*]. As for particulars and identifications it suffices to refer to the notes of G. le Strange on his translation of Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 138, tr. 139; see also P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, ii, 92. As for climate, Shabānkāra was reckoned among the warm countries (*garmsīr*); but it enclosed also regions of a moderate temperature (*hawā-i muʿtadil*). The products of Shabānkāra consisted chiefly in corn, cotton, dates, (dry) grapes and other fruits; at Darābdjird, mineral salt was found. Among the most fertile districts were those of Zarkān and of Burk. The revenues (*ḥuḳūḳ-i dīwānī*) during the Saldjūḳ rule amounted to more than 2,000,000 dīnārs, but at the time Mustawfī wrote (740/1340) they only came to 266,100 dīnārs. The country abounded in strong places, e.g. Īg, Iṣṭabānān (destroyed by the Saldjūḳ Atābeg of Fārs Čawulī,

rebuilt later on) and Burk. At the time of Mustawfī, the fortifications of Darābdjird were ruinous, but the mountain-pass of Tang-i Ranba, to the east of the town, had a strong castle. In the chapter on the Muẓaffarid dynasty, intercalated in the manuscript of Mustawfī's *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, facs. ed. Browne, 665-6, there is also mention of the fortifications of Shabānkāra, the fertility of that country ("beautiful and cultivated like the garden of Iram"), its mills, bāzārs, etc.

The Shabānkāra tribe were Kurds; in Ibn al-Balkhī's time (early 6th/12th century) there were five subdivisions of them, viz. the Ismāʿīlī, the Rāmānī, the Karzuwī, the Masʿūdī and the Shakānī. They were herdsmen, but also intrepid warriors, who more than once, in the course of history, became a power to be reckoned with. Their chiefs boasted descent from Ardashīr, the first Sāsānid, or even from the legendary king Manūčihr. Leaving aside the exploits of the Shabānkāra in Sāsānid times (as e.g. the fact that Yazdadjird III is said to have taken refuge among them at the time of the Muslim invasion), the history of the Shabānkāra begins at the epoch of the decline of Būyid power.

The Ismāʿīlīs were regarded as the most noble in descent; their chiefs are said to descend from Manūčihr and to have held in Sāsānid times the function of Ispāhbads. The first time, so far as we know, this tribe came into collision with a great Muslim power was in the days of the Ghaznawid Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (421-32/1030-41 [*q.v.*]), whose general Tāsh Farrāsh drove them from the environs of Iṣfahān, so that they were compelled to remove southward. But now they came within the sphere of Būyid influence. The Būyids not suffering their presence, they had to migrate once more, until they settled in the Darābdjird district. Ibn al-Balkhī gives the history of their ruling family at some length. It may be sufficient to state that in the course of the quarrels which arose among the kinsmen one of them, Salk b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, called to his aid the mighty Faḍlūya of the Rāmānīs [see FAḌLAWAYH]; at the time Ibn Balkhī wrote, Salk's son Ḥusūya was the ruler of the Ismāʿīlīs, but his kinsmen contested his supremacy.

The Karzuwī Shabānkāra, taking advantage of the decline of the power of the Būyids, obtained Kāzarūn [*q.v.*], but were driven out of it by Čāwulī when he made his expedition in Fārs. The Masʿūdīs also came to some power in the days of Faḍlūya; the Karzuwī chief Abū Saʿd had also served under that Rāmānī ruler. For some time, the Masʿūdīs possessed Fīrūzābād and part of Shāpūr Khūra, but they were no match for the Karzuwīs, whose chief, Abū Saʿd, defeated and put to death Amīrūya, the Masʿūdī prince. When, later on, Čāwulī ruled Fārs, he installed Amīrūya's son Vishtāsf as ruler of Fīrūzābād. The Shakānīs, rapacious mountaineers of the coastland, present no historical interest. They also were subdued by Čāwulī.

Historically, the most important tribe was the Rāmānīs, to whom belonged Faḍlūya (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 48, calls him Faḍlūn), the mightiest *amīr* of the Shabānkāra. This man, the son of a certain ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb, who was the chief of his tribe, rose to the rank of *Sipāhsalār* in the service of the Ṣāḥib-i ʿĀdil Muhadhdhib al-Dawla Hibat Allāh, the *wazīr* of the Būyid ruler of Fārs. Even before this time, the Būyids had been troubled by the Shabānkāra. The *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 432, mentions an insurrection of a certain Ismāʿīl of Shabānkāra against ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār Marzubān (415-40/1024-48). This prince was succeeded by his eldest son al-Malik al-Raḥīm Khusraw Fīrūz [*q.v.*], who died in 447/1055 and left the throne to his younger brother Fūlād Sutūn, the royal master of the Ṣāḥib-i ʿĀdil. Fūlād Sutūn put to death this *wazīr*, whereupon Faḍlūya rose in rebellion. He succeeded in capturing the prince himself and his mother, the Sayyida Khurāsūya. Fūlād Sutūn was confined in a stronghold near Shīrāz, where he was murdered in 454/1062; the Sayyida was, by order of Faḍlūya, suffocated in a bath. The Shabānkāra chief, now ruler of Fārs, soon came into collision with the Saldjūḳ power. After fighting without success against Ḳāwurd, the brother of Alp Arslan, he submitted to the latter, from whom he received the governorship of Fārs. Faḍlūya afterwards revolted; the stronghold of Khurshah, to which he had betaken himself, was besieged and taken by the great Niẓām al-Mulk, and Faḍlūya, after many vicissitudes, captured and executed (464/1071). Such is in substance the account of Ibn al-Balkhī, a younger contemporary. Ibn al-Athīr represents these events somewhat differently (x, 48-9; the Kurd Faḍlūn, who, according to Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 289, held part of Ādharbaydjān and raided the Khazars in 421/1030, cannot, of course, be identified with the Shabānkāra chief and was, in fact an *amīr* of the local line of the Shaddādids [*q.v.*]). With the Faḍlūyā affair is connected without any doubt, the expedition of Alp Arslān to Shabānkāra of the year 458/1066, mentioned by al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Iqbāl, 118.

The Shabānkāra were to be for many years a nuisance to the provinces of Kirmān and Fārs. In 492/1099, supported by the Saldjūḳ prince of Kirmān, Īrān-Shāh b. Ḳāwurd, they defeated the Amīr Unar, who was *wālī* of Fārs for Sultan Berk-yaruḳ. About this time, the struggles of the Atabeg Čāwulī with the Shabānkāra begin. This commander, Fakhr al-Dīn Čāwulī, who died in the year 510/1116 (the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* wrongly places his death under the rule of Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh), governed Fārs on behalf of the Saldjūḳ ruler of ʿIrāḳ, Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh. The Shabānkāra Amīr al-Ḥasan b. al-Mubāriz Khusraw refused to pay homage; thereupon, Čāwulī attacked him suddenly. Khusraw had a narrow escape, being saved by the help of his brother Faḍlū. Now Čāwulī subdued Fasā and Djahrum in Fārs; he then besieged for some time the stronghold where Khusraw had taken refuge, but perceiving that the siege would be a long and hard one, he came to terms with the Shabānkāra chief. Later, Khusraw accompanied the Atabeg on his expedition to Kirmān, the ruler of which had sheltered the prince of Darābdjird, Ismāʿīl. In this connection, Ibn al-Athīr mentions the fact that Čāwulī requested the ruler of Kirmān to hand over some Shabānkāra forces who had taken refuge to him.

After these events, the Shabānkāra seem to have kept quiet during the rule of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, but new troubles arose when, under the following sultan, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (511-25/1118-31), the *wazīr* Nāṣir b. ʿAlī al-Dargazīnī began to ill-treat these tribes also. This caused a revolt, during which the Shabānkāra wrought great damage. For the time up to the Kirmān affair, there may be noted the following data. In the service of the Salghurid Atabeg Sunḳur [see SALGHURIDS], the Kurd Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir, who afterwards became the first independent sovereign of the Greater Lūr dynasty (he died in 555/1160 [see LUR-I BUZURG]), made himself meritorious by a victory over the chiefs (*ḥukkām*) of Shabānkāra. In 564/1168 the Shabānkāra sheltered Zangī b. D.klā, who was expelled from Fārs by the ruler of Khūzistān.

We now enter on the most glorious period of

Shabānkāra history, which, however, lasted only a few years. The Shabānkāra chief Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubāriz and his brother Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *amīrs* of Īg, availed themselves of the disturbances which arose in Kirmān after the extinction of the ruling Saldjūḳ dynasty of that country. They responded to the call of the *wazīr* Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn, who solicited their aid against the Ghuzz. Contrary to the intention of the *wazīr*, but assisted by the citizens, they occupied, before giving battle to the Ghuzz, the capital Bardasīr and so secured the dominion of Kirmān (507/1200-1). The two *amīrs* now defeated the Ghuzz, but the strained relations between these rulers of Īg and the Atabeg of Fārs compelled them to return to their realm after having appointed as their *nāʾib* one of the nobles of Kirmān. At this point, the Ghuzz appeared once more to repeat their ravages. One of the Kirmānī *amīrs*, Hurmuz Tādj al-Dīn Shāhānshāh, concluded a treaty with them. Niẓām al-Dīn marched against him from Īg; in the battle which ensued Hurmuz fell and his Turkish allies were routed. Shortly after, Niẓām al-Dīn entered Bardasīr again. He made himself, however, by his debauchery and his rapacity odious to such a degree that a plot was laid against him. In the night, the conspirators took him prisoner with his sons (600/1203-4). They intended thereby to compel the commanders of Mubāriz's garrisons to surrender. These commanders, however, remained in their strongholds and the latter had to be besieged. Meanwhile, a new actor made his appearance on the political stage, viz. ʿAdjam Shāh b. Malik Dīnār, a protégé of the Khʷārazm-shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. ʿAdjam Shāh had concluded an alliance with the Ghuzz, who assisted him in his attempts to secure the realm of Kirmān. In short, the course of events was as follows. The prisoner Niẓām al-Dīn was sent to the Salghurid Atabeg of Fārs, but if ʿAdjam Shāh expected to remain in the quiet possession of Kirmān, he was disillusioned by a polite message from the Atabeg, Saʿd b. Zangī, to the effect that Saʿd was sending his general ʿIzz al-Dīn Faḍlūn to accelerate the reduction of the garrisons mentioned above (600/1203-4). The troops of Fārs duly arrived and delivered Kirmān definitively from the Shabānkāra. An expedition which Mubāriz undertook in revenge had no results except bringing about once more sore devastations.

In 658/1260 the Mongol Hülegü or Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] destroyed Īg and killed the Shabānkāra *amīr* Muẓaffar Muḥammad; afterwards, in the year 694/1295, we find Shabānkāra among the regions which, according to the treaty between Baydū Khān and Ghāzān Khān, fell to the lot of Ghāzān. For the year 712/1312, mention is made of a revolt of the Shabānkāra against the authority of the Il-Khānid Öldjeytü. It was repressed by Sharaf al-Dīn Muẓaffar, who later became the first historically important member of the Muẓaffarid dynasty. It was the princes of that house who definitely put an end to the power of the Shabānkāra. In the year 755 or 756 (1354 or 1355), the last Shabānkāra ruler, the Malik Ardashīr, refused to obey the orders of the Muẓaffarid Mubāriz al-Dīn. The latter sent his son Maḥmūd with an army to chastise the Kurdish prince. Maḥmūd subdued the country and obliged Ardashīr to fly. From this time onwards, Shabānkāra formed a part of the Muẓaffarid lands; incidentally, in the year 765/1363-4, we hear of a *ḥākim* of Shabānkāra on behalf of the Muẓaffarid princes (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 698). In the later 9th/15th century, Shabānkāra is mentioned as one of the fiefs of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu prince Baysonḳor (Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Browne, 351).

The Shabānkāra tribe produced a historian during the 8th/14th century, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Shabānkāraʾī [*q.v.*], author of a general history which brings considerable near-contemporary and contemporary information on Fārs during the Mongol and Il-Khānid periods (*Madjmaʿ al-ansāb*, ed. Mīrzā Hāshim Muḥaddith, Tehran 1363/1984, 220 ff.).

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(V.F. Büchner-[C.E. Bosworth])

SHABĀNKĀRAʾĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Persian poet, littérateur and historian, of Kurdish origin (*ca.* 697-759/*ca.* 1298-1358), who wrote during the last decades of the Īl-Khānid era. His general history, the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb fī 'l-tawārīkh*, exists in a number of versions. The first redaction, dedicated to the Īl-Khānid Abū Saʿīd's vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Dīn, was produced in 733/1332-3 but was lost in the destruction of the vizier's house in 736/1336. Shabānkāraʾī completed a second redaction on 22 Djumādā I 738/17 December 1337; this is found in the best ms., Istanbul, Yeni Cami 909, and in the printed edition. Yet a third version, dedicated to the Čūpānid Pīr Ḥusayn and finished in 743/1343, is represented by the Paris ms. Supp. pers. 1278 and by a ms. in Tabrīz. An abridgement of this third recension, extant in several mss. (e.g. B.L. Add. 16,696), probably originated at a considerably later date, since none of the mss. is earlier than the 10th/16th century.

The *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* is of importance for its original material on the Ghaznawids, being the sole source to supply the alleged *Pand-nāma* of Sebüktegin [*q.v.*]. It is also the first general history to incorporate chapters on the local dynasties of Shabānkāraʾī's native region of southern Persia, with sections *inter alia* on the rulers of the Shabānkāraʾī Kurds [see SHABĀNKĀRA], the atabegs of Fārs, and (most detailed) the princes of Hurmuz [*q.v.*] and the atabegs of Luristān [see LUR-I BUZURG].

After Shabānkāraʾī's death, and not later than 783/1381, a certain Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. ʿAlī Faryūmadī wrote, apparently in Gurgān or Khurāsān, a brief *dhayl* or continuation of the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb*, dealing with the Sarbadārs [*q.v.*] and the local dynasties of Khurāsān during the mid-to-late 8th/14th century: this is extant only in the Istanbul ms.

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(C.E. Bosworth and P. Jackson)

SHĀBĀSHIYYA, the name of a sect of extreme Ḳarmaṭians in the region of Baṣra and al-Aḥsā led by hereditary chiefs, the Banū Shābāsh *shaykhs* (the *rubūbiyya* was handed down from father to son). Their political activity lasted over a century (about 380 to 480/990-1090) in the Persian Gulf region. (The form *Shabbāsiyya* should be dropped.)

Two of them, in spite of their excommunication by orthodox writers, were viziers to the Būyid governor of Baṣra: Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Faḍl (or Ḥasan) Ibn Shābāsh (d. 444/1052) and his son Salīl al-Barakāt (mentioned in 487/1094 by al-Ghazālī). It is remarkable that the Druzes regarded them as followers of their religion, for we have in the Druze canon an epistle of al-Muḳtanā [*q.v.*] of 428/1037 which is dedicated to them. We know also that in the 9th/15th century there were still links between the Druzes and the islands of the Persian Gulf (cf. Poliak, in *REI* [1934], 255).

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AL-**SHĀBB AL-ẒARĪF** [see AL-TILIMSĀNĪ].

SHABBATAY ṢEBĪ, a Jewish mystic, pseudo-Messiah and the inspiration for a Judaeo-Muslim sect.

Born at Izmir in 1035/1626, where his father, originally from the Peloponnese, was a trader, he showed a precocious propensity for the religious sciences, and was dedicated to a rabbinical career. From his adolescence, he devoted his time to the esoteric study of the Ḳabbālāh and led a life of abstinence and solitude. Thanks to his remarkable charisma, he became surrounded by a group of adepts whose extravagant practices ended up by attracting the censure of the rabbinical authorities. He was banished from his native city in *ca.* 1061/1651, and became a wandering ascetic travelling in turn from Salonica to Istanbul and then from Jerusalem to Cairo. There, during 1663-5, he was the protégé of the mystical circle of Raphaël Joseph Čelebi, head of the Egyptian Jewish community and director of the Ottoman treasury (*ṣarrāf bashī*) until the time when, visiting Gaza, he was hailed as the Messiah by Nathan Ashkenazi, who also took himself for the Prophet Elijah. The tireless efforts of this latter person to spread the messianic faith in the form of circular letters and pamphlets provoked a real frenzy in the Jewish world, from Kurdistān to Morocco via Europe. He was denounced to the *ḳāḍī* of the town through the rabbis' opposition in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1075/June 1665. Ṣebī, mounted on a horse and clad in green, despite Muslim prohibition, made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem after having circumambulated it seven times. From there he returned via Aleppo to his natal city, where he was hailed enthusiastically by the populace. In an eschatological atmosphere of penitence and aseticism, the messianic movement, favoured by socio-religious factors, increased in fervour. Whilst certain rumours related the story of the miraculous conquest of Mecca by the ten tribes of Israel, manifestations of "Jewish pride" were cruelly repressed in certain Muslim lands, involving a breaking of the contract of *dhimma*, notably in Yemen.

Henceforward called by the Hebrew acrostic *amīrāh*, evoking Arabic *amīr* "prince", Ṣebī, accompanied by his "ministers", set sail in Djumādā II 1076/December 1665 for Istanbul where, according to Nathan's predictions, he was to seize the crown of the "Grand Turk" without having to strike a blow. Meanwhile, the Ottoman government, perhaps alerted by the Jewish pseudo-Messiah's own Jewish opponents, decided to put an end to this ferment of activity, considered to be seditious. The fate of the agitator, intercepted on the high seas, was decided by the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Köprülü [see KÖPRÜLÜ], who, unwilling to create a martyr, imprisoned him in the fortress of Gallipoli (Shaʿbān 1076/February 1666). With an aura of prestige for having escaped death, Ṣebī continued to receive, in prison, delegates from all over. These included Nehemiah Cohen, a Polish Kabbalist, who feigned conversion to Islam in order to gain access to the Grand Vizier, to whom he denounced Ṣebī as an imposter. Ṣebī was brought to Edirne and to Sultan Meḥemmed IV's *dīwān* on 16 Rabīʿ I 1077/16 September 1666.

Ṣebī escaped capital punishment by "adopting the turban", on the advice of the apostate Muṣṭafā Ḥayātī-zāde, *alias* Gidʿōn, the sultan's physician. On his conversion to Islam, he took the name of ʿAzīz Meḥmed Efendi, saw himself receive the honorific title of *ḳapïdjï bashï* "chief doorkeeper of the palace", and received a royal pension. Had the Turks spared him in order for him to act as a missionary for Islam? If the majority of his followers abandoned him, his apostasy was in fact followed by numerous of his faithful followers, including his wife Sarah, who, after arriving in Gallipoli, took the name of Fāṭima Ḳadïn. Seeking a theological justification for the paradoxical mystery of his defection—it could allegedly be considered as a deliberate act with an esoteric aim—Ṣebī's partisans continued to believe in him, adopting for themselves the Hebrew name of *maʾamīnīm* "believers". Ṣebī kept up secret contacts with them and with Nathan of Gaza during his stays in now Edirne and now Istanbul, during which he led a double life, observing the Muslim religion externally whilst practicing certain Jewish rites. He is described as going now to the mosque and now to the synagogue, holding a Ḳurʾān in one hand and a Tōrāh scroll in the other. The Shabbatayan tradition holds that, despite this duplicity, Ṣebī enjoyed the favour of Meḥmed Wānī Efendi, the sultan's favourite preacher, who is said to have been assigned to him as his teacher of the precepts of Islam. It seems also that during this period Ṣebī had contacts with Muslim sectaries like the Bektāshīs, and perhaps also with the Khalwatī mystic Meḥmed Niyāzī [*q.v.*]. According to certain pieces of evidence, he reportedly frequented in Edirne the Bektāshī *tekke* of Khïḍïrlïḳ and took part in *dhikr* sessions. He was again arrested in Rabīʿ II 1083/August 1672 on charges of licentious conduct, and finally deported in Shawwāl 1083/January 1673 to Ulčindj in the distant province of al-Bassān (Albania). Despite visits from certain of his followers, apparently disguised as Muslims, Ṣebī died in solitude on 9 Radjab 1086/17 September 1676 at Ulčindj, where his unmarked tomb is still venerated by the local Muslim population.

Coming as it did at a time of eschatological expectation in the Muslim environment, where he was seen as the Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*], Ṣebī's death stimulated the appearance of Mahdī claimants.

However, the demise of its founder did not mean the end of his messianic movement. Accepting Nathan's teaching, according to which Ṣebī had gone into a phase of occultation—one thinks of the Shīʿī concept of *ghayba*—and whilst awaiting his return, several hundreds of his followers embraced Islam *en masse* in 1095/1683 at Salonica, which henceforth became an active centre for propaganda. Under the direction of Jacob Querido (ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿkūb), the brother of Jochebed-ʿĀʾisha, Ṣebī's last wife, these apostates assumed the shape of a sect known as the *dönmes* [*q.v.*] (Tk. "convert"). Querido was proclaimed by his sister as Ṣebī's reincarnation; he preached the pious performance of the Islamic obligations and died at Alexandria or at Būlāk in *ca.* 1102/1690 when returning from the Meccan Pilgrimage. The *dönmes* split into various factions, the most radical of them being headed by ʿOthmān Baba (*alias* Berukhyah Russo, d. 1721), who also claimed to be a reincarnation of Ṣebī. They borrowed certain practices and also liturgical chants from the Bektāshī circles whose *tekke* was in the neighbourhood of their cemetery at Salonica. Whilst practising Islam externally, they considered themselves the "true community of Israel". They observed a messianic form of Judaism based on eighteen precepts, whilst continuing to believe in the return of Ṣebī. By marrying amongst themselves, they maintained themselves as an independent community living in a special quarter until 1912. At the time of the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey in 1924, the majority of them, estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000 families, left for Istanbul, where their descendants continue to reside.

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AL-**SHĀBBĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim Ibrāhīm, modern Tunisian poet (1909-34).

There exists no legal registration of his birth, but according to information published in his lifetime (al-Sanūsī, 1927, 202) and confirmed in a posthumous letter (*Complete works*, ii, *Correspondence*, 269), he was born on 3 Ṣafar 1327/24 February 1909 in the village of al-Shābbiyya, near Tozeur in southern Tunisia, whence his *nisba*, the eldest of a numerous family. His father, who had studied at al-Azhar 1901-8 and then at the Zaytūna of Tunis, was appointed in 1910 as *ḳāḍī* at Siliana. The family henceforth had various moves, to Gafsa, Gabès, Thala, Madjāz al-Bāb, Raʾs al-Djabal and Zaghouan; it led a comfortable life from having as its head an official certain of secure employment under the French Protectorate established in 1881.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim did his primary studies entirely in Arabic, after a straightforward entry to the Franco-Arabic school at Gabès, whilst his three younger brothers were to become bilingual; he felt frustration from this lack all his life. In October 1920 he entered the Zaytūna, where he received a traditional education: Arabic language and literature, and Islamic theology. The teaching at the Zaytūna, and his frequenting the nearby libraries, ensured for him a wide literary culture, but one badly assimilated since he lacked direction from a preceptor. It included the classical world, modern Egyptian and Syro-Lebanese literature, as well as European literature through translations, in this latter case given a misleading bias by the dominance of the trio of Goethe, Lamartine and Ossian.

The literary cafés, study circles and cultural societies enabled him to form some firm friendships and to give him a consciousness of the problems posed by modern life: trade unionism, educational reform and the emancipation of women. Already, when he was only 14, al-Shābbī composed his first poem *al-Ghazāl al-fātin* (1923). In 1927 al-Sanūsī published 27 selected poems of his (in *al-Adab al-tūnisī fi 'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar*, 202-54).

In 1928 he obtained his diploma of secondary education (*al-taṭwīʿ*), and enrolled at the Higher Law College. In February 1929 he delivered a resounding lecture on *al-Khayāl al-shiʿrī ʿind al-ʿArab* "Poetic imagination among the Arabs", published the same year and dedicated to his father, who died a few months later in September aged 50. He finished his legal studies in 1930, was married the next year and had two sons (1932, 1934). He himself died on 9 October 1934 at the Italian Hospital in Tunis from heart disease of rheumatic origin.

Al-Shābbī was a born poet. Having a presentiment that his life would not be long, he was seized by an avid desire for reading and writing. In the considerable corpus of his verse and prose works, the reader finds here and there the imperishable message of the young inspired poet. In a musical language, with an assured sense of form, he sings of life and love, and expresses his confusedness and his unsatisfactory way of life. Al-Shābbī shows himself as a young bourgeois disturbed and aroused by modernism. Modernity was, for him, Europe; but he only knew Europe at second-hand. What was ancient, completed and outmoded, was Arabic literature; but he knew that directly. It was thus a question for him of either implanting himself firmly in his own culture and renouncing the call of the new, or else of hurling himself into the quest for modernity, thereby cutting himself off from his roots.

Amongst the 132 pieces in the 1984 edition of his poems, the autograph manuscript has only 83, with him rejecting in his definitive version poems which he considered repetitive, rough sketches which he adjudged poorly-executed and containing shallow lyricism. The longest poems comprise a hundred or so verses, the shortest are mere couplets. Al-Shābbī used a large spread of metres, since he employed ten out of the sixteen, in descending order of frequency, 1. *khafīf*; 2. *kāmil*; 3. *mutaḳārib*; 4. *ramal*; 5. *basīṭ*; 6. *ṭawīl*; 7. *sarīʿ* and 8. *mudjtathth*; 9. *mutadārik*; 10. *munsariḥ*.

Most of his poems are in the classical mode, with a single metre and monorhyme; in this, al-Shābbī remained a conservative. Nevertheless, he moved forward timidly towards innovation, following the Syro-Lebanese and New World poets, with some strophic poems in which he plays on the number of poetic feet and by alternating the rhymes. A varied typology opened up for him, e.g. seven possibilities for a single

ramal. Thus we have a strophic schema for the seven attested combinations:

one foot, rhyme A
one foot, rhyme A
four feet, rhyme B
four feet, rhyme B
two feet, rhyme C.

The young poet's death, at the age of 25, in a Tunisia where poets had been very few, gave him a romantic halo and a popularity verging on the mythic. This infatuation with him has engendered, for over 60 years, erroneous, contradictory or fantastic biographical statements, and peremptory, verbose or extravagant literary judgements. Whilst he was published as a literary critic at the age of 20, his collected poetry had to await publication 21 years' after his death.

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(A. Ghédira)

SHABBĪR ḤASAN KHĀN DJOSH, modern Urdu poet, born 5 December 1898, died 22 February 1982.

He was born in Malīḥābād, a town in present-day Uttar Pradesh (formerly United Provinces) in India. His parents gave him the name of Shabbīr Aḥmad Khān, but subsequently he adopted his existing name of Shabbīr Ḥasan Khān as a token of his Shīᶜī sympathies. He descended from a line of poets reaching back to his great-grandfather, Nawwāb Faḳīr Muḥammad Khān, who composed poetry under the pen-name Goyā. Djosh received his early education at home. About 1914 he went to ᶜAlīgaṛh, where he joined the school attached to the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. He attended various institutions one after the other, but failed in the end to complete his formal education, in part because of his father's death. Among those whom he mentions by name as his teachers was the famous Urdu novelist Mīrzā Muḥammad Hādī Ruswā (d. 1931 [*q.v.*]), who taught him Arabic.

In 1924 Djosh went to Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) and was appointed in the Translation Bureau of Osmania University, his duty being to supervise the translations of literary works from English into Urdu. Through his poetry he won access to higher social circles, and seemingly enjoyed a pleasure-loving life. He stayed in Ḥaydarābād for some ten years, when he was expelled for reasons which are unclear but probably resulted from official disapproval of his dissolute conduct. Whatever the case may be, he was dismissed and made to leave the state summarily.

In January 1936 Djosh started a monthly magazine from Delhi, *Kalīm*. Although the magazine was well received in literary circles, it came up against financial difficulties and ceased in 1939 as an independent publication. Thereupon it became merged with the journal *Nayā adab* ("New literature"), and appeared for some time under the title *Nayā adab awr Kalīm*, with Djosh acting as its chief editor. Soon after the outbreak of World War II it published in its August-September 1939 issue an inflammatory poem by Djosh, entitled *East India Company ke farzandoṅ ke nām* ("To the children of East India Company"), which received wide prominence, but was banned by the government for its strong anti-British content.

From 1943 till the beginning of 1948 Djosh was associated with Indian films as a songwriter, most of this time with Shālīmār Pictures in Pune (Poona). In 1948 he became the editor of *Ādj kal* ("Now"), a literary magazine published from Delhi under the auspices of India's Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, continuing in that capacity until 1955.

Djosh had strongly supported the cause of Indian nationalism. This, together with his outstanding contribution to literature, assured him a privileged place in the new set-up after India became independent in 1947. The Indian government rewarded him with one of its highest honours, the Padam Bhushan. Given all the prestige that he enjoyed in India, it came as a shock when he suddenly migrated to Pākistān towards the end of 1955. From the Indian point of view, his action amounted to a betrayal of trust, the more so because of the strained relations existing between India and Pākistān. According to Djosh's own admission, he made the choice (which he seemed to have regretted afterwards) in anticipation of better economic prospects for himself and his family. In Pākistān he was appointed in 1958 as literary consultant in the *Taraḳḳī-yi Urdū* Board ("Urdu Development Board"), a Karachi-based, government-sponsored body, which was entrusted with the task of preparing a comprehensive dictionary of Urdu on the pattern of the *Oxford English dictionary*. Later, the Board also assumed the work of reissuing standard Urdu writings which had been out of print for a long time. Djosh was connected with the Board until the beginning of 1968, when his contract was not renewed by the military government of President Ayub Khan, supposedly because the poet was reported to have spoken against Pākistān while on a tour to India during the previous year. In 1972 Djosh moved from Karachi to Islamabad where, in 1973, the government of Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto provided him with a job in the Ministry of Education. He continued in this position under President Zia-ul-Haq, but in 1981 his health began to fail and he died in February 1982, being buried in Islamabad.

Djosh remained a controversial figure throughout his life. He was outspoken both in his personal dealings as well as in his poetry. His habits were provocative; thus his taste for drinking shocked orthodox sentiments, and he seemed irreverent where religious matters were concerned, yet, at the same time, he displayed deep feelings for the Prophet Muḥammad and for ᶜAlī and his son Ḥusayn.

Djosh claimed to have begun composing poetry when he was nine years old, eventually using as his pen-name Djosh. He was a prolific writer and has left numerous publications in verse and prose (see *Bibl.*). His first collection, *Rūḥ-i adab* ("The spirit of literature"), which contained his work composed since the age of nine, was published in 1920, and the entire edition quickly sold out. His other poetical works followed in quick succession, and a posthumous volume of his unpublished poems appeared in 1993 under the title *Miḥrāb u miḍrāb* ("The niche and the plectrum"). He was also a prose-writer with a distinctive style, his best-known book here being his

autobiography *Yādoṅ kī barāt* ("The wedding procession of memories"), which is perhaps one of the most interesting works of modern Urdu literature.

Djosh's earliest adventures in poetical composition were represented by the *ghazal*. About 1914 he took up the writing of *naẓm* (thematic poem) at the instance of Mawlawī Waḥīd al-Dīn Salīm (d. 1928), of Pānīpat, a follower of the literary reformer, Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (d. 1915 [*q.v.*]), and one of the architects of modern Urdu literature. The subjects of most of Djosh's early *naẓms* were love and nature. Soon, however, politics also entered his verse, and became ultimately one of his most frequently employed themes. Superficial and devoid of any sustained effect, these inflammatory and topical poems were nevertheless important because they articulated the prevalent political mood of the country, and may be said to have laid the foundation of militant poetry in Urdu. One of the best-known poems reflecting this tendency, *Shikast-i zindāṅ kā khʷāb* ("The dream of the breaking down of the prison"), was composed in the 1920s, and reflected the revolutionary fervour of the period against British domination.

The predominant note of Djosh's verse is its romanticism. His poetic outlook is largely traditional, and he employs set forms for his compositions. One of his favourite verse forms is the *rubāʿī*, in which his mastery is evidenced by the skilful treatment of varied subjects. He has also revived the traditional *marthiya* by using it as a medium for conveying a new social and political sensibility. Another significant aspect of his poetry is his protest against religious hypocrisy, social injustice and political expediency, though his command over language often translates itself in his poems into a mere exercise in words, adding little to the development of the thought and its content.

Djosh undoubtedly ranks among the foremost Urdu poets of modern times. In fact, he is regarded by his admirers as next only to Iḳbāl (d. 1938 [*q.v.*]) in importance. He has left a lasting effect on modern Urdu poetry, and his influence is seen most vividly in the works of such poets as Iḥsān Dānish (1911-82), Asrār al-Ḥaḳḳ Madjāz (1911-55), Makhdūm Muḥyī al-Dīn (1908-69) and ʿAlī Sardār Djaʿfarī (b. 1913).

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2. Prose works include *Ishārāt* (collection of articles published in *Kalīm*), Delhi 1942; *Yādoṅ kī barāt* (autobiography), Lucknow 1972; *Maḳālāt-i Djosh*, ed. Saḥar Anṣārī, Karachi 1982.

3. Studies. These are fairly extensive. Only selected items may be mentioned here: *Afkār* (special issue on Djosh), xvii/122 and 123, Karachi 1962; *ibid.* (special issue on Djosh), xxxviii/148, Karachi 1982; *Sāḳī* (special issue on Djosh), lxviii/4, Karachi 1963; Iḥtishām Ḥusayn, *Djosh Malīḥābādī: insān awr shāʿir*, Lucknow 1983; Iḥtishām Ḥusayn and Masīḥ al-Zamān (eds.), *Intikhāb-i Djosh* (introd.), Allahabad 1967 (?); Sardār Djaʿfarī, *Taraḳḳī pasand adab* (138-63), Aligarh 1951; Naresh Kumār Shād, *Djosh awr us kī shāʿirī*, Delhi n.d.; ʿIṣmat Malīḥābādī, *Djosh kī rūmānī rubāʿiyyāṅ*, Lucknow 1976; idem, *Rūmānī shāʿirī meṅ Djosh kī khidmat*, Lucknow 1984; idem, *Kitāb-i Djosh*, Lucknow 1991; Faḍl-i Imām, *Shāʿir-i ākhir al-zamāṅ Djosh Malīḥābādī*, Delhi 1982; Māʾil Malīḥābādī, *Djosh awr diyār-i Dakan*, Lucknow 1984; Ṣibghat Allāh Baranī (ed.), *Ḥaḍrat Djosh Malīḥābādī: shakhṣiyyat, fann u afkār*, Karachi 1984; Kāẓim ʿAlī Khān (ed.), *Djosh shināsī*, Lucknow 1986; Ẓafar Maḥmūd, *Djosh Malīḥābādī: shakhṣiyyat awr fann*, Delhi 1989; Khalīḳ Andjum (ed.), *Djosh Malīḥābādī: tanḳīdī djāʾiza*, Delhi 1992; ʿAḳīl Aḥmad, *Djosh kī shāʿirī kā tanḳīdī tadjziya*, Delhi 1993; Ḳamar Raʾīs (ed.), *Djosh Malīḥābādī: khuṣūṣī muṭālaʿa*, Delhi 1993; ʿĀliya Imām, *Shāʿir-i inḳilāb (Djosh Malīḥābādī)*, Karachi n.d.

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

AL-**SHAʿBĪ**, ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl b. ʿAbd al-Kūfī, Abū ʿAmr, famous early legal expert and transmitter of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*].

He is said to have been a descendant of a kinglet (Ar. *ḳayl*) of Yemen. He was a member of the Shaʿb clan of the tribe of Hamdān. In *isnāds* [*q.v.*] he is either referred to as al-Shaʿbī or (less often) as ʿĀmir (without patronymic), but there are no other men called ʿĀmir, at least not in that early slot of *isnāds*, immediately preceding a Companion or the Prophet, with whom he could have been confused. As is the case with many other leading figures of the first two centuries of Islam, the year of his birth is shrouded in mystery. He stated himself that he was born in the year of the battle of Djalūlāʾ, but for that battle two years are mentioned: 16/637-8 and 19/640 (cf. F.M. Donner, *Early Islamic conquests*, 212, while al-Ṭabarī, i, 2646, indicates his birth in the year 21/642). His mother is said to have been captured after that battle and to have been allotted to his father as part of the booty. Al-Shaʿbī is said to have died sometime between 103/721 and 110/728. His age at death may be reconstructed on the basis of other data, which seems to suggest that he was born *ca.* 40/660, cf. G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* etc., 20.

Al-Shaʿbī is said to have lived most of his life in Kūfa where, with Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Nakhaʿī [see AL-NAKHAʿĪ, IBRĀHĪM], with whom he often is compared, he was the most influential legal expert of his day. He claims that he met numerous Companions of the Prophet, which entitles him to be classed in the generation of the Successors. Although he is supposed to have spurned the use of *raʾy* (i.e. one's personal judgement which is not based upon *sunna māḍiya* i.e. precedent, cf. Ibn Saʿd, vi, 176), hundreds of his legal opinions (Ar. *ḳawl*, pl. *aḳwāl*) have survived in several pre-canonical tradition collections, cf. especially the indices of the *Muṣannaf* works by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827) and Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849); see also *Concordance*, viii, s.n. It is hard to establish which of these individual *aḳwāl* are historically ascribable to Shaʿbī and which are not. But the mere fact that *aḳwāl* of Successors have survived at all in such numbers, while traditions with more "sophisticated" *isnāds*, the *mawḳūfāt*, *marāsīl* and *marfūʿāt* [see MURSAL and RAFʿ. 2], were already in the process of being put together, thus making these *aḳwāl* redundant, may perhaps be taken as an indication of the overall tenability of their historicity, cf. Juynboll, *Some notes on Islam's first* fuqahāʾ *distilled from early* ḥadīt *literature*, in *Arabica*, xxxix (1992), esp. 299-302. Taken together, they describe him as an all-round *faḳīh* who seemed to have been well-versed in every *fiḳh* chapter. His advice (*fatwā*) on juridical and ritual matters was

allegedly sought by many, and the trends he set in fashion and cosmetics, such as his habit to wear clothes of silk and dye his hair with henna, are extensively dealt with in Ibn Saʿd, vi, 176. Furthermore, al-Shaʿbī's recorded skill in arithmetic, cf. *ibid.*, 173, l. 3, made him especially expert in the solving of inheritance problems, as is attested in Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf* and al-Dārimī's *Sunan*, chs. on *farāʾiḍ*. An explanation for Shaʿbī's supposedly frequent resorting to *raʾy*, as set off against his vehement rejection of it on other occasions, may be sought in plain *jalousie de métier*: we may assume that he barely suffered trespassing on his patch by recently converted *mawālī* who, with the exception of the Ḥidjāz, were everywhere in the majority in the Islamic domain. In their desire to find out what their new religion stood for, and, where necessary, to give it substance, they were presumably also engaged in the giving of *fatwās* and the dissemination of *aḳwāl* and *ḥadīth*. Their mere presence in the mosque where al-Shaʿbī himself held court may have prompted him to call them by highly derogatory appellatives, such as *Ṣaʿāfiḳa* (= "penniless merchants"), cf. *LA*, s.n. On the whole, he seems to have mistrusted *mawālī*, as may be reflected in a remark attributed to him: after the *mawālī* have mastered the rules of Arabic grammar, they are surely the first to corrupt them, cf. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ed. Cairo 1948-53, ii, 478; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 69. *Mawālī* mentioned as the butt of al-Shaʿbī's vitriol were among others Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān, the celebrated teacher of Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba, Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādhām, and the self-styled Ḳurʾān exegete al-Suddī.

Moreover, al-Shaʿbī figures in the *isnād* strands of innumerable historical *akhbār* the majority of which deal with the early conquest history of ʿIrāḳ as recorded by Sayf b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*] and a few other historians. Among these, the disproportionately large number of reports of the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*] genre is particularly striking. Appointed *ḳāḍī* by the governor of ʿIrāḳ Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] (according to al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1347, in the year 100/718), he is said to have refused to combine his judgeship with nocturnal conversation (Ar. *samar*) with his employer. Besides, Shaʿbī is recorded to have composed unusual rhymes (*awābid*), as well as high-class poetry. He allegedly boasted that he could recite poetry for a month without having to resort to repeats. The Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, who had sent his children to al-Shaʿbī to be educated (Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, ii, 421-2; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 251) invited him to Damascus to engage in poetic contests with al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*], and allegedly gave him and twenty members of his household and children each 2,000 dirhams annually; it is recorded that he also sent him to his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the then governor of Egypt (cf. *Aghānī*³, xi, 20-6) as well as to the emperor of Byzantium, who is said to have been greatly impressed by al-Shaʿbī (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 231).

As far as Shaʿbī's use of *isnāds* is concerned, a case could be made for crediting him with an innovative device: in response to the *isnād* requirement instituted in the course of his life, he was the first man who thought of attributing reports which were in need of an *isnād* strand back to the Prophet to particularly long-lived informants, thus giving rise to the widely imitated *muʿammar* [*q.v.*] phenomenon. One of the very few Companions in the technical sense of the term whose age at death "qualified" him as a *muʿammar* and whose name was inserted in *isnād* strands back to Muḥammad was ʿAdī b. Ḥātim [*q.v.*], and more extensively than anybody else, it was al-Shaʿbī who relied heavily on ʿAdī *isnād* strands, as ʿAdī's *musnad* in the *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf* of al-Mizzī [*q.v.*] makes abundantly clear (cf. vii, 274-80). But a final analysis of al-Shaʿbī's role in the proliferation of prophetic *ḥadīth* is something that still needs to be tackled.

All accounts of his life agree that al-Shaʿbī became deeply involved in politics. Al-Ṭabarī, ii, 609-13 has preserved his eyewitness account of how al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*] began his rebellion, which al-Shaʿbī espoused. Later, he took fright and left for al-Madāʾin or Medina, as it says elsewhere. Here he is said to have met ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*], who allegedly praised al-Shaʿbī's knowledge of the *maghāzī* [*q.v.*], which he called greater than his own. His flirtation with Shīʿī ideology is supposed to have come to an end because of the Shīʿīs' *ifrāṭ* or exaggeration in religion, which he abhorred. In Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ii, 409, he is depicted as scathingly inveighing against the Rāfiḍīs. Eventually, having returned to ʿIrāḳ, he is also described as having participated with the *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*] in the insurrection of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] against al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] in 80/699. This governor had reportedly always held al-Shaʿbī in great esteem, so that he had appointed him the *ʿarīf* [*q.v.*] of his clan and the *mankib* (= superintendent) of the Hamdān tribe. After this insurrection was put down, al-Shaʿbī fled from the governor's revenge to the court of Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*], where he enjoyed asylum for a time. Later, he allegedly returned to al-Ḥadjdjādj, apologised for his role in the rebellion and was subsequently pardoned. His confrontation with the governor has given rise to a long range of flowery anecdotes, which receive broad mention in historical as well as *adab* sources.

Bibliography: More or less extensive sections on al-Shaʿbī are given in Ibn Saʿd, vi, 171-8; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, index s.n.; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 227-34; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Arnaʾūṭ, iv, 294-319; idem, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, i, 79-88; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, iii, 12-5; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, xi, 249-63; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, v, 65-9. Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, iv, 310-38, contains a long series of traditions most of which are spuriously ascribed to al-Shaʿbī. He is, furthermore, credited with numerous bon mots and aphorisms which are scattered over early historical and *adab* works, cf. the indices s.n. of such sources as Fasawī, *K. al-Maʿrifa wa 'l-taʾrīkh*; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*; etc. For al-Shaʿbī's *awāʾil* reports, see the indices s.n. of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Awāʾil*, ed. M. al-Miṣrī and Walīd Ḳaṣṣāb, Damascus 1975, and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasāʾil ilā musāmarat al-awāʾil*, ed. Asʿad Talas, Baghdād 1950. For his use of *muʿammarūn* in his *isnāds*, see *WZKM*, lxxxi (1991), 155-75. For his role in *ḥadīth*, see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, index s.n.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

SHABĪB B. SHAYBA, Abū Maʿmar al-Minḳarī al-Tamīmī, orator, narrator of *akhbār* and author of many maxims preserved in various works of *adab* literature, was a man of high lineage of the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt branch of the Banū Tamīm at Basra. Khālid b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], the famous orator of the late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods, also belonged to the same family as Shabīb. According to al-Djāḥiẓ (*al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn, i, 355), they were cousins, but biographers also note a different lineage (e.g. al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix,

274). In any case, they are often mentioned together, and it is noted that their relationship, dictated by the ties of family and profession, was not always friendly (*Bayān*, i, 340; *Aghānī*, xx, 404-5). After serving for a short time as head of the *shurṭa* at Baṣra (Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, ii, 60), Shabīb went to the new capital Baghdād, where he was admitted at court as companion and *littérateur* of the caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. He is said to have had some influence, and he reports himself that he was regularly invited to meetings with al-Mahdī (Thaʿlab, *Madjālis*, ed. Hārūn, 413), who held him in esteem for his wise and witty statements. His acquaintance with the inner circles of power made him an authority for some historical *akhbār*. After about two decades, he returned to Baṣra. Ibn al-ʿImād includes Shabīb among the names of the deceased of the year 162/778-9, but it is more likely that he died some years later, "in the sixties" as al-Dhahabī (*Taʾrīkh al-Islām*) notes.

As a pious man, Shabīb included prophetic *ḥadīth* into his sayings. However, when the specialists of Islamic Tradition developed their criteria of censure, his testimony did not find approval, although his merits in the literary field were aknowledged by Ibn Ḥibbān and others (*K. al-Madjrūḥīn*, ed. Zāyid, i, 363 and Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, xxxiv, 307). These merits are expressed by al-Djāḥiẓ in clear terms: in addition to his competent knowledge of style, Shabīb was distinguished by the dissemination of his sayings among the literati (*Bayān*, i, 317-18). The reason for this was, as it is witnessed by the quotations preserved in our sources, his mastery of the short sententious expression. This art was for him the true perfection of speech (*Bayān*, i, 112). *Adab* literature preserves examples of his eloquence in the oratory genres of admonition (*mawʿiẓa*), condolence (*taʿziya*) and general ethical topics. His repeated recommendations for the quest of *adab* are early references to this literary and social concept (e.g. *Madjālis Thaʿlab*, 257; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Bahdjat al-madjālis*, ed. al-Khūlī, i, 112; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 276). Besides maxims of his own, older examples of aphorisms and speeches appear in literature on his authority. A considerable number of the texts quoted from Shabīb show parallels which testify to a widespread and varied transmission of his sayings. Brockelmann already mentions him as a precursor of *adab* literature (Suppl. I, 105), and in spite of the fact that Shabīb did not compose books—Ibn al-Nadīm only names him among the *khuṭabāʾ* (*Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 139)—this view is confirmed by the materials preserved.

Bibliography (in addition to the literature mentioned): Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, vi (Index), 409-10; W. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, Berlin 1983, 385-7; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, iv, 260; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ed. Tadmurī, 257-9, years 161-70. For quotations from Shabīb, see also al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Akhbār al-Muwaffaḳiyyāt*, ed. al-ʿĀnī; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*; Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ al-abrār*, ed. al-Nuʿaymī; etc. (S. Leder)

SHABĪB b. **YAZĪD** b. Nuʿaym al-Shaybānī, Khāridjite leader of the early Umayyad period. A tribesman of the Banū Hammām b. Murra b. Dhuhl lineage of the Shaybān, Shabīb's father Yazīd b. Nuʿaym emigrated from al-Kūfa to the region of al-Mawṣil, and participated in Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī's raids along the northern frontier; during one of these Nuʿaym is said to have taken a wife, and the union produced Shabīb in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja of year 25 (September/October 646) or 26 (September/October 647). Shabīb seems to have grown up in al-Mawṣil, perhaps in the town of Sātīdamā (on this toponym, see J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 274 ff.). Shabīb also served in the army, since he is said to have received a stipend and fought the Kurds, but at some undetermined time his name was dropped from the *dīwān*; the account preserved in al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb* and credited to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī says this was by reason of his absence from the muster call. In any case, several sources (al-Balādhurī, Ibn Aʿtham and al-Baghdādī) explain Shabīb's rebellion with reference to ʿAbd al-Malik's refusal to grant (or restore) his stipend.

Little specific is said about Shabīb's Khāridjite ideas, but his rebellion was certainly one of the most spectacular of the Umayyad period; it caught the fancy of Muslim and Christian historians alike, who portray Shabīb as a fearless guerrilla leader. His fighting men were drawn largely, but not exclusively, from the Banū Shaybān. According to Abū Mikhnaf, as preserved in al-Ṭabarī, in Djumādā I 76/September 695, Shabīb succeeded the pious and ascetic Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ (less frequently, Musarraḥ), when Ṣāliḥ was killed in battle against al-Ḥārith b. ʿUmayra al-Hamdānī at the village of al-Mudabbadj; Ṣāliḥ had earlier rebelled in the region of Dara, and Shabīb is counted among his men. However, other sources cast some doubt on Abū Mikhnaf's reconstruction of the events, presenting Ṣāliḥ's rebellion as separate from that of Shabīb's. Be this as it may, according to Sayf, Shabīb then led the remnants of Ṣāliḥ's force through al-Mawṣil and central ʿIrāḳ, scoring victories at Khāniḳīn and al-Nahrawān, and even appearing in al-Kūfa with 200 men; he then defeated Zāʾida b. Ḳudāma at Rūdhbār, and ʿUthmān b. Ḳaṭan al-Ḥārithī near the village of al-Batt, which lay on the southern borders of the province of al-Mawṣil, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 76/March 696. After 3 months of manoeuvring in early 77/mid-696, Shabīb eventually took al-Madāʾin, and now with perhaps 600 men, defeated ʿAttāb b. Warḳāʾ al-Riyāḥī, and threatened al-Kūfa. But his luck finally turned when a force of several thousand Syrians under the command of Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī routed him near al-Kūfa; after an indecisive battle at al-Anbār, he marched through Djūkha, Kirmān, and moved into al-Ahwāz. There, crossing the Dudjayl before the Syrians, he was drowned sometime near the end of 77/early 697. Other reports put his death in 78/697-8.

Despite Shabīb's defeat, the Khāridjites of al-Djazīra and al-Mawṣil continued to draw on the region's restive tribesmen, and the sources record a nearly unbroken succession of rebellions against the Umayyads and early ʿAbbāsids; among these later Khāridjites the sources identify Shabīb's son Ṣuḥārī, who rebelled against the governor Khālid al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*] in 119/737.

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Ṭabarī); A.A. Dixon, *The Umayyad caliphate 65-86/684-705*, London 1971, 182-91 (based on Ṭabarī and Balādhurī).

(K.V. Zettersteen-[C.F. Robinson])

SHABISTARĪ [see maḥmūd shabistarī].

SHABṬŪN, an Andalusian *faḳīh* who was the grandson of a Syrian Arab who had entered the Iberian Peninsula either during the conquest or shortly after and who had left descendants in Cártama, Sidonia and Rayya. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zuhayr al-Lakhmī (d. 204/819) was the first member of the family to devote himself to *ʿilm*. He was known as Shabṭūn or Shabaṭūn, a word apparently of Romance origin and a *laḳab* given to other Andalusī scholars.

During his *riḥla* to the East, probably begun in 173/789, he studied with Ibn ʿUyayna and al-Layth b. Saʿd among others, although he is especially remembered as Mālik b. Anas's pupil. He is in fact credited with having been the first to introduce Mālik's *fiḳh* into al-Andalus, as before him Andalusians would have followed al-Awzāʿī's *madhhab*. According to another version, he was the first to introduce material of *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām*. Although he is said to have actually introduced Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, this is clearly a later assumption. What he transmitted was his "audition" of Mālik's teachings, known as *samāʿ Ziyād*. This *samāʿ* was incorporated by al-ʿUtbī in his *Mustakhradja* and can be partially found in Ibn Rushd al-Djadd's commentary on the *Mustakhradja* entitled *K. al-Bayān* (see M. Fierro, in *Al-Qanṭara*, vi [1985], 576-8). It deserves to be studied as one of the earliest surviving legal transmissions in al-Andalus, especially important for the introduction of Medinan *fiḳh* into the Iberian Peninsula.

Once back in al-Andalus, he was offered the post of judge which he refused (possibly a *topos* to stress his asceticism and piety). The same refusal is attributed to Shabṭūn's most famous pupil, Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī, whose transmission of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* originates directly from Mālik (but see now N. Calder, *Studies in early Muslim jurisprudence*, Oxford 1993, 20-38), except for some chapters of the *kitāb al-iʿtikāf* that Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā transmitted from Shabṭūn (Shabṭūn's contribution can be checked in the existing editions of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā's *riwāya* of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*).

Shabṭūn is also credited with having been the first to introduce the practice of wearing his cloak inside out during the prayer for rain (*al-istisḳāʾ*), a practice which was censured as magical. Shabṭūn was connected by marriage with the Andalusī judge and traditionist Muʿāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ḥimṣī. His descendants became one of the *buyūtāt al-ʿilm* of Cordova. As scholars, some of them fulfilled religious offices such as *ṣāḥib al-ṣalāt*, judge and *faḳīh mushāwar*. Another branch of the family was connected with Rayya (Málaga), the most important member being the judge ʿĀmir b. Muʿāwiya. The last-known member of the family died in 430/1038. The Banū Ziyād Shabṭūn in fact disappear, at least from public life, with the end of the Umayyad caliphate. These Banū Ziyād are sometimes confused in the sources with a family of judges also known as the Banū Ziyād who were not of Arab origin (on them see Fierro, *Tres familias*, 115-30).

Bibliography: All references can be found in Mª I. Fierro, *Tres familias andalusíes de época omeya apodadas "Banū Ziyād"*, in *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. V*, ed. M. Marín and J. Zanón, Madrid 1992, 89-102, and 102-15 for the rest of the family (for the statements made at 99, see now M. Fierro in *Al-Qanṭara*, xiii [1992], 473, n. 34).

(Maribel Fierro)

al-**SHĀBUSHTĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, littérateur of the Fāṭimid period, and librarian and boon-companion to the caliph al-ʿAzīz (365-86/975-96 [*q.v.*]), died at Fusṭāṭ in 388/988 or possibly in the succeeding decade. Ibn Khallikān explains the unusual cognomen Shābushtī as being a name of Daylamī origin, and not a *nisba*; an origin in *shāh pushtī* "he who guards the king's back" has been somewhat fancifully suggested.

Al-Shābushī's works included a *K. al-Yusr baʿd al-ʿusr*, a *Marātib al-fuḳahāʾ*, a *K. al-Tawḳīf wa 'l-takhwīf*, a *K. al-Zuhd wa 'l-mawāʿiẓ*, and collections of epistles and poetry. All these are lost, and his fame stems from his *K. al-Diyārāt* "Book of monasteries", extant in a Berlin ms. and now ed., with a good introd., by Gūrgīs ʿAwwād, ²Baghdād 1386/1966. This forms part of a minor genre of writing about monasteries, in which the author had been preceeded by the Khālidiyyān¹ brothers, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī and al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ [*q.vv.*]. It deals with 37 Christian monasteries in ʿIrāḳ, plus a smaller number of those in al-Djazīra, Syria and Egypt, and is of high importance for cultural history, historical geography and literature. There emerges from it that the monasteries were places to which caliphs and other high men of state could retire for recreation, above all, for drinking parties, since the monasteries were leading centres for wine-making [see dayr]. A considerable amount of poetry is cited, including verses otherwise unknown.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

SHABWA, the name of the ancient capital of the South Arabian kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

The name of this town appears in classical sources as Sabata (Strabo, *Geographica*, XVI, 4.2, according to Eratosthenes), Sabatha (Ptolemaios, *Geographia*, VI, 7.38), Sabbatha (*Periplus maris Erythraei*, 27) and Sabota (Pliny, *Natural history*, VI, 155; XII, 52). Ptolemaios calls the town a metropolis, and the *Periplus* additionally calls it the residence of the king, for whom silverware, horses, statues, and clothing of fine quality are imported. Pliny mentions as the chief place of the Atramitae Sabota a walled town containing sixty temples (*ibid.*, VI, 155), built on a high hill and situated a march of eight days away from the incense-producing region (*ibid.*, XII, 52). That the capital was also the religious and cultic centre of the kingdom seems to be confirmed by epigraphic evidence.

Shabwa, the geographical co-ordinates of which are lat. 15° 22′ N. and long. 47° 01′ E., is located about 700 m/2,300 feet above sea-level at the eastern border of the Ramlat al-Sabʾatayn on a hill at the mouth of the Wādī ʿAṭf, the lower course of the Wādī ʿIrma. The area was already inhabited during the Stone Age, and in the middle of the second millenium B.C. a settlement existed at the southern part of the later town. Shabwa was situated at the meeting-point of important caravan routes leading from the port of Ḳanaʾ at the Indian Ocean in the south and from the Djawl and the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt in the east to Timnaʿ, the capital of Ḳatabān [*q.v.*], and Mārib [*q.v.*], the capital of Sabaʾ [*q.v.*], as well as through the Ramlat al-Sabʾatayn and the Yemeni Djawf to

Nadjrān [*q.v.*] in the west and to al-ʿAbr further to the north.

The first epigraphic attestation of Ḥaḍramawt is to be found in the Old Sabaic inscription *RES* 3945, a record of Karibʾil Watar, from the 7th century B.C., in which the Ḥaḍramite king Yadaʿʾil is mentioned as an ally of the Sabaean king.

In the 5th century B.C. the first buildings on stone bases were erected in Shabwa and inscriptions in monumental script were set up. The cultural and political heyday of Shabwa was in the period between the 2nd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. The mention of Shabwa in the epigraphic form *shbwt*, Shabwat, in Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions found outside of the capital (e.g. *Khor Rori* 1, 3, from the ancient town of Samārum at the coast of Ẓafār; *Jamme* 892 from Saʾnūn, the present-day Hānūn in the Ḳarāʾ Mountains of Ẓafār; *RES* 4912 from al-ʿUḳla, a fortress to the west of Shabwa) give evidence to the importance of the town.

The extensive research work carried out by the French Archaeological Mission in the ruins of the ancient town showed that, inside the fortified walls, tower dwellings were the most common architectural type of building in Shabwa. Materials for the construction of the houses were stone slabs, wooden beams and bricks of dry mud. A complex fortress with high foundations, a window-less base, many floors and with a courtyard surrounded by columns, turned out to be the royal castle. Its name *shkr*, Shaḳīr, was already known from Ḥaḍramitic and Sabaic inscriptions and from legends of coins, since the royal castle was also the mint of the Ḥaḍramite kingdom. Later, parts of the town and the royal castle were rebuilt, and the palace was splendidly decorated with sculptures and ornaments manifesting local traditions as well as Hellenistic influences. During the first decades of the fourth century A.D., the Ḥimyarite kings put an end to the independent kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt, and at the beginning of the 5th century the town of Shabwa began to decay.

The Arabic geographers of the Middle Ages knew of the ruins of the former metropolis only an insignificant settlement still called Shabwa, a name which has survived until today. Al-Hamdānī speaks of a province (*mikhlāf*) Shabwa, the inhabitants of which are the Ashbāʾ (the supposed descendants of a certain Shabāʾ, a grandson of Ḥaḍramawt; cf. *Iklīl*, ii, ed. M. al-Akwaʿ, Cairo 1966, 372, l. 5-373, l. 1), the Ayzūn (i.e. the Yazanids), and also Ṣudāʾ and Ruḥāʾ (*Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, 98, 20). According to the same author, Shabwa is situated between Bayḥān and Ḥaḍramawt and is a town belonging to the Ḥimyar. One of the two mountains of salt lies in its neighbourhood. When the Ḥimyar waged war on the Madhḥidj [*q.v.*], the people of Shabwa emigrated from their town and settled in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, where Shibām was allegedly named after them (*Ṣifa*, 87, ll. 23-5). The fact that Shabwa is considered as belonging to the Ḥimyar may reflect the situation of late pre-Islamic times when Ḥaḍramawt had become part of the Ḥimyarite realm. In another passage, al-Hamdānī enumerates Shabwa among the strongholds of Ḥaḍramawt (*Iklīl*, viii, ed. al-Akwaʿ, Damascus 1979, 157, l. 5). Until today, salt of good quality is mined from two mountains to the north of Shabwa, called Milḥ Maḳʿa and Milḥ Khashʿa, and from two mountains to the south-west of it, called Milḥ Kharwa and Ḥayd al-Milḥ near ʿAyāḍ. Yāḳūt writes that Shabwa is a station on the main road from the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt to Mecca (*Muʿdjam*, iii, 257, l. 14), and in another passage he mentions that it is the place where the grave of the prophet Ṣāliḥ is supposed to be (iv, 184, ll. 17-18). The notice that in Shabwa one sells a load of dates for one dirham (Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1975, 347) indicates that the surroundings of the town must still have been fertile in the Islamic Middle Ages.

H. Helfritz was the first European who succeeded in reaching Shabwa during an adventurous journey in 1934. In 1936 H.St.J.B. Philby, coming from the north-west, visited the ancient town, gave a detailed report on the existing ruins and drew a plan of Shabwa. The first small excavation in the ruins of Shabwa was undertaken in 1938 by R.A.B. Hamilton. In December 1974 a French Archaeological Mission under the direction of Jacqueline Pirenne and subsequently of J.-Fr. Breton started excavations at the site of Shabwa which have given a deep insight into the two millennia of the ancient history of this important settlement.

The ruins of Shabwa are so extensive that, within the area of the ancient town, there are the three villages of Hadjar, Mathnā and Maywān, which are inhabited by members of the tribes of the Karab and Āl Burayk. In the former People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and in the present Republic of Yemen, Shabwa has given its name to a governorate (*muḥāfaẓa*) which reaches from the Saudi Arabian border to the Indian Ocean and includes an area of 37,910 km^2. The governorate of Shabwa is divided into four administrative districts (*mudīriyyāt*), and its capital city is ʿAtaḳ. In the recent past, the region around Shabwa has become economically important because of the exploitation of the oilfields which have been discovered there.

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(W.W. Müller, shortened by the Editors)

SHADD (A.) either the act of girding with an initiatic belt or girdle, as practised by the chivalrous sodalities (the exponents of *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]), the trade guilds (*aṣnāf*, see below, 2., and ṢINF), and certain Ṣūfī orders, or the belt or girdle itself. To the Arabic *shadd* in its verbal meaning correspond the Turkish expressions *şedd kuşatmak*, *kuşak kuşatmak*, and *bel bağlamak*, and the Persian *kamar bastan*. The origin of the custom has been attributed to the *kustī*, the sacred girdle of the Zoroastrians, for whom, however, girding on the *kustī* was a rite of passage into manhood, not of initiation into a closed society; moreover, the

symbolism attributed to this girdle—a separation of the noble from the ignoble parts of the body—found no reflection in any of the groups practising *shadd* (J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1962, 114-15). In Islam, the initiatic belt was regarded pimarily as a symbol of steadfastness and submissiveness (Süleyman Uludağ, *Tasavvuf terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1991, 447-8).

1. In futuwwa and in Ṣūfism.

Handbooks of *futuwwa* assert that the first initiatic belt was that which Adam girded on at the behest of Gabriel as a token of fidelity to his terrestrial mission as divine viceregent (Neşet Çağatay, *Bir Türk kurumu olan ahilik*, ²Konya 1981, 181). By way of reaffirming this primordial covenant, Gabriel wound a similar belt around the waist of the Prophet Muḥammad, and he in turn girded it on ʿAlī. Next, those of the Companions who came to be regarded as the patrons of various crafts and trades were invested with a *shadd*, either directly by the Prophet or by ʿAlī acting under his instructions. As an honorary member of the Prophet's household, Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] is also said to have participated in this activity (Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *İA*, art. *Şedd*). No Ḳurʾānic reference could be adduced to vindicate the practice of girding; however, the words of Moses referring to Aaron in XX, 31, *ashdud bihi azrī* ("strengthen my back by means of him") are sometimes cited as alluding to the *shadd* (F. Taeschner, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam*, Zurich and Munich 1979, 162).

Among the *fityān*, the girding on of the *shadd* was accompanied by the recitation of various prayers that always included mention of ʿAlī, who was regarded as the fountain head of the tradition; mention of all Twelve Imāms was also common, particularly from the 8th/14th century onwards. A further echo of the putative ʿAlid origins of *futuwwa* was the practice of associating one end of the belt with Ḥasan and the other with Ḥusayn; the latter was to be kept longer than the former, as an indication of the primacy of the Ḥusaynid over the Ḥasanid line of descent (Çağatay, 45-7). At the time of initiation, the belt would be handed to the candidate for *futuwwa* by a companion (*rafīḳ*), whose duty it was to assist him in his further progress; and the ceremony of girding would be concluded with the drinking of salted water (*shurb*), water signifying wisdom and salt, justice (Taeschner, 139).

The *shadd* was usually knotted, rather than being held together by a buckle, and it would be wound around the waist a varying odd number of times. It was usually made of wool, although other materials such as leather, rope and cloth were also acceptable; the only condition was that the *shadd* should not resemble the *zunnār*, the distinctive girdle *dhimmīs* were required to wear (Murtaḍā Ṣarrāf, *Rasāʾil-i Djawānmardān*, Tehran and Paris 1973, 77). It is worth noting that despite this stipulation, Jews and Christians were permitted to join the *futuwwa* brotherhoods, particularly if there was reason to hope they might come to accept Islam, conversion being, in fact, a condition of their proceeding beyond the stage of girding on the belt (Taeschner, 116).

The novice girded with a belt was known as *mashdūd* ("girded") or, more fully, *mashdūd al-wasṭ* ("girded of waist"), and counted as a probationary member of the brotherhood; full initiation, referred to as *takmīl* ("completion") and symbolised by the putting of ritual trousers (*sirwāl*/*shalwār*) [see SIRWĀL], came later. The ceremony of *shadd* was said to correspond to *nikāḥ*, the conclusion of a marriage contract, and that of *takmīl* to the consummation of marriage (Taeschner, 141; Sarrāf, 77).

Similar procedures accompanied the girding on of the initiatic belt in the craft guilds, except that in the accompanying prayers mention would generally be made of a Companion of the Prophet believed to have practised the craft in question. Although Jews and Christians sometimes organised their own guilds, they were also admitted to those established by Muslims; in 19th-century Syria, they would recite the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer respectively as the *shadd* was bound on (Taeschner, 585). Each guild, especially in Ottoman Turkey, had its own distinctive form of *shadd* and method of folding and knotting it (Çağatay, 156-7; Gölpınarlı, 380).

The fraternities of brigands known as *ʿayyār* [*q.v.*] which may be designated as a degenerate manifestation of *futuwwa* also resorted to the girding on of initiatic belts. This is apparent from the advice given in 532/1138 by Abu 'l-Karam, the governor of Baghdād, to his nephew, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, that as a precautionary measure he should have himself girded with a belt by Ibn Bakrān, an *ʿayyār* chieftain then threatening the city (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 24).

The custom of *shadd* was relatively uncommon among Ṣūfīs, for whom the major initiatic garment was the cloak or *khirḳa* [*q.v.*]; in fact, an explicit parallel was sometimes drawn between the belt and trousers of the *fityān* and the *khirḳa* of the mystics (see e.g. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo 1340/1922, 241). Nonetheless, certain Ṣūfī orders did use the binding on of a girdle as part of their initiatic rites, undoubtedly as a borrowing from the traditions of *futuwwa*. It is tempting to suppose that this borrowing first took place under the auspices of Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [*q.v.*]), for he was simultaneously a Ṣūfī and an initiate of the caliph al-Nāṣir's courtly *futuwwa* (the assumption is made by J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 35). However, al-Suhrawardī's only reference to *shadd* in his celebrated manual of Ṣūfī practice comes in the context of travelling, where he remarks that binding up the waist (*shadd al-wasṭ*) before setting out on a journey forms part of the Prophet's *sunna* (*ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, printed as a supplement to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Beirut n.d., v, 95). The connection between *shadd* and travelling is confirmed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of travelling Ṣūfīs arriving at the *khānaḳāhs* of Cairo as *mashdūd al-wasṭ* and carrying with them other essential appurtenances of a journey: a staff, a jug for ablutions, and a prayer mat (*Riḥla*, ed. Karam al-Bustānī, Beirut 1384/1964, 38, tr. Gibb, i, 45). Another passage in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa confirms that the girdle generally had a utilitarian not a ritual function in Ṣūfism; he recalls meeting in Hurmuz with a certain *shaykh* from Anatolia who gave him a belt—here the Persian word *kamar* is used—that supported the body of the wearer "as if he were leaning against something", and adds that "most Persian dervishes" (*akthar fuḳarāʾ al-ʿadjam*) wore such belts (*Riḥla*, 274).

The principal Ṣūfī orders using belts or girdles for cultic purposes were the Mewlewīs and the Bektāshīs, a circumstance accounted for by the ubiquity of *futuwwa* (or of *akhilik*, its Turkish equivalent) in Anatolia during the period of their genesis in the 8th/14th century. The Mewlewīs wore a woollen girdle known as the *elifi nemed*, so called because with its tapering end when laid out flat it resembled the letter *alif*. A cord long enough to be twisted around the waist twice was attached to the end of the *elifi nemed* (Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî âdâb ve erkânı*, Istanbul 1963, 16-17). A second type of woollen girdle, known as the *tīghbend* (literally, "swordbelt"), was worn only

during the Mewlewī dance, in order to hold in place during its initial stages the ample skirt of the garment known as the *tennūre* (*ibid.*, 44).

The *tīghbend* held a central place in Bektāshī ritual and belief. According to their tradition, the caliph Hishām wished to hang the Imām Muḥammad al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*], but the first time the rope was twisted around his neck he invoked the name of God and was saved, only a knot remaining in the rope. The second and third times the Imām invoked the names of the Prophet and ʿAlī respectively, giving rise to two further knots. When preparations were being made for a renewed attempt to hang the Imām, one of his followers by the name of Muʾmin ʿAyyār suggested that a rope made from the wool of a freshly slaughtered ram would be more effective, as he then demonstrated by hanging himself in front of the Imām's cell. Duly impressed, the caliphal agents went to hang the Imām using the same rope, but the Imām had peacefully breathed his last at precisely the moment Muʾmin ʿAyyār had hung himself. The Bektāshī *tīghbend*, also fashioned from ram's wool, was intended to be a replica of this rope, and it thus served as a symbol of self-sacrifice and commitment. Its girding on was the second element (after the donning of a skullcap) in the Bektāshī ceremony of initiation known as *iḳrār*. The three knots tied into the *tīghbend* symbolised both the names of the Bektāshī trinitarian scheme (God, the Prophet and ʿAlī) and the threefold ethical injunction of Bektāshism (restraining the hand from stealing, the tongue from lying and the loins from sexual transgression) (Aḥmed Rifʿat, *Mirʾāt ul-maḳāṣid fī defʿ il-mefāsid*, Istanbul 1293/1876, 268-70; J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London 1937, 170, 181, 192, 234-5).

Other Ṣūfī orders said to have practised the *shadd* in Ottoman Turkey and—under Turkish influence—the Arab lands, include the Wafāʾiyya, Rifāʿiyya, Saʿdiyya, and Badawiyya (Trimingham, 185, n. 1; Pakalın, iii, 314). In Persia, the girding on of an initiatory belt is recorded for the Khāksār dervishes. The seven folds of the Khāksār girdle (*kamar*) signified the discarding of seven "instinctual fetters" (*band-i nafsānī*), i.e. vices, and the fixing in their place of seven "divine fetters" (*band-i raḥmānī*), i.e. virtues. The fact that the Khāksār, like the Bektāshīs, slaughtered a ram as part of their initiatic ceremonies points to the likelihood of a common source for the practices of both groups (Sayyid Muhammad ʿAlī Khʷādja al-Dīn, *Kashkūl-i khāksārī*, Tabriz 1360 Sh./1981, 69-75; R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Erster Teil, die Affiliationen*, in *AKM*, XXXVI 1, 80, *Dritter Teil, Brauchtum und Riten*, in *AKM*, XLV 2, 95-6).

It should be noted that the Ottoman practice of having a Ṣūfī *shaykh* gird a sword-belt on a newly-installed sultan, first documented for Murād II (824-48/1421-44 and 850-5/1446-51) was a reflection of *shadd* as practised both in *futuwwa* and in Turkish Ṣūfī orders (Çağatay, 45; Mustafa Kara, *Din, hayat, sanat açısından tekkeler ve zaviyeler*, ²Istanbul 1980, 166-8). It may finally be observed that the tradition of *shadd* may have predisposed certain Turkish Ṣūfīs to adopt freemasonry, with its comparable custom of initiatic girdling (Th. Zarcone, *Mystiques, philosophes et francmaçons en Islam*, Paris 1993, 312).

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(Hamid Algar)

2. In the trade guilds.

Under its corporate aspect, the practice of *shadd* is attested from the 16th to the 19th century in the Arab lands of the Near East; the guilds in the Maghrib did not apparently know this initiation rite.

There have been numerous descriptions of the *futuwwa* and the *shadd* ceremony (with divergencies over details) all through the period of the Ottoman empire. The main ones are to be found in the *K. al-Dhakhāʾir* (ms. Gotha 903, studied by Goldziher, Thorning and Baer) and in four mss. of the *K. al-Futuwwa*, all closely related to each other and concerning, like the preceding work, Egypt (Gotha ms. 906, used by Thorning, and three B.N. mss., arabe 1375-7, used by Massignon), whose dates of copying extend between 1653 (Gotha 906) and 1733 (B.N. 1377) and which relate to the situation in the 16th and 17th centuries. These texts give lists of the guilds and their masters (*pīr*), tracing the history of the *shadd*, received by Muḥammad from Djibrīl, handed on to ʿAli, and then handed on by ʿAlī to seventeen masters in the first place, beginning with Salmān al-Fārisī, who then proceeds to the *shadd* of other masters (whose number varies in the texts from 50 to 58). The texts then describe the initiation ceremony. Ewliyā Čelebi gives information on the guilds and the *futuwwa* at Istanbul and Cairo. Al-Djabartī mentions a very similar ritual (without mentioning the term *shadd*). The ceremony itself is described in detail, in an essentially similar form, by Jomard (*Description de l'Egypte*) and Lane (*Modern Egyptians*), and, for Damascus at the end of the 19th century, by Qoudsī.

The ceremony of the *shadd* took place at the point of reaching the status of master of a craft (*muʿallim*). It is unclear whether there was a *shadd* ceremony for the entry of the apprentice into his profession (mentioned by the *K. al-Dhakhāʾir*); it may be that the usage fell into disuse. When the apprentice was considered expert enough in his trade to open a workshop or shop, he was brought to the *shaykh* of the guild, who examined him and, if he found him qualified, summoned a meeting, through the *naḳīb* (his assistant and the master of ceremonies), of the masters of the trade. On a fixed day, those invited gathered together. The *naḳīb* brought forward the petitioner to the *shaykh* who, after reciting the *Fātiha*, proceeded to instal him according to a ritual laid down in minute detail. He tied a girdle round the upper part of the neophyte's body, making in it knots, between three and six or seven in number, in the accounts of the various authors, according to the number of important master craftsmen of the trade who were present. Each knot had a symbolic meaning and was untied by the candidate's master, the *shaykh* and one of his assistants. When the ceremony, punctuated by recitations of the *Fātiḥa*, was over, the young man was considered to be *mashdūd*. The *shaykh* gave him various pieces of advice. Then a feast (*walīma*) was given, at the expense of the petitioner. There may perhaps have been a similar ceremony for the elevation of someone to the office of *shaykh*.

This ceremony (*shadd al-walad*) was the corporate usage which lasted longest, but in a more and more restricted number of trades. Lane, in *ca.* 1830, mentions it for the carpenters, the wood-turners, the barbers, the tailors and the bookbinders. ʿAlī Pasha cites the barbers, the keepers of baths and the shoemakers. It was, in fact, amongst the shoemakers (*ṣarmātiyya*) (Mahmoud Sedky, *La corporation des cordonniers*, in *Revue Egyptienne* [1912]) and the coppersmiths (*naḥḥāsīn*) (Mohamed Cherkess el-Husseine, *Images*, Cairo 1947) that the last echoes of it, well into the 20th century, were to be found. The inevitable decline of the trade guilds, because of the modernisation of the Egyptian economy, explains the progressive disappearance of these traditions. The same thing happened in Syria, where the very detailed picture given by E. Qoudsī in 1885 of these usages (largely similar to

those of Cairo) clearly reflects a situation largely outdated.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Narrative of travels...*, tr. J. von Hammer, London 1850, ii, 90, and *Seyahatnamesi. Mısır, Sudan, Habeş*, Istanbul 1938, 358-86; Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, Būlāḳ 1297/1879, ii, 214-16; E.F. Jomard, *Description ... de la ville ... du Kaire*, in *Description de l'Egypte. Etat moderne*, Paris 1822, ii/2, 698-9; E.W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London 1846, 283-4; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1306/1888, i, 101; Elia Qoudsī, *Notice sur les corporations de Damas*, Leiden 1885; I. Goldziher, *Abh. zur arabischen Philologie*, ii, Leiden 1899; G. Martin, *Les bazars du Caire*, Cairo 1910, 33-4; H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis...*, Berlin 1913; V. Ivanow and L. Massignon, *Etudes sur les corporations musulmanes*, in *REI* (1927), M. Gavrilov, *Les corps de métiers en Asie Centrale*, in *REI* (1928); Massignon, *La Futuwwa*, in *La Nouvelle Clio* (1952); F. Taeschner, *Futuwwa*, in *Schweizerisches Archiv*, lii (1956); G. Baer, *Egyptian guilds in modern times*, Jerusalem 1964; A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire*, Damascus 1974; Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *Craft organization ... in Ottoman Syria*, in *JAOS*, cxi (1991). (A. Raymond)

SHADDĀD b. ʿĀD, a personage associated with the legendary town of Iram Dhāt al-ʿImād, to whom is attributed its foundation. For information on him, see ʿĀD and IRAM. (T. Fahd)

SHADDĀD b. ʿAMR b. Ḥisl b. al-Adjabb ... al-Ḳurashī al-Fihrī, Companion of the Prophet (*ṣaḥābī*), as also his son AL-MUSTAWRID, who transmitted on the authority of his father.

It is unknown when he was born or when he died. But since his son was also a Companion, he must have been of a certain age in the earliest Islamic period. But contrariwise, there is known a tradition of his from the Islamic period, transmitted by his son from Shaddād and going back to the Prophet Muḥammad himself, "I went along to the Prophet's side ... took his hand, and lo, it was softer than silk and colder than snow" (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 141 no. 3855; on the vocalisation of the name Ḥisl (*sic*) and of Fihr, see Caskel-Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 324, 246, and Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam ḳabāʾil al-ʿarab*, 5Beirut 1985, i, 271, iii, 929).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (R.G. Khoury)

SHADDĀDIDS or Banū Shaddād, a minor dynasty of Arrān and eastern Armenia which flourished from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th century (*ca.* 340-570/*ca.* 951-1174), with a main line in Gandja and Dwīn [*q.vv.*] and a junior, subsequent one in Ānī [*q.v.*] which persisted long after the end of the main branch under Saldjūḳ and latterly Ildeñizid suzerainty.

There seems no reason to doubt the information in the history of the later Ottoman historian Münedjdjim Bashī that the Shaddādids were in origin Kurdish. Their ethnicity was complicated by the fact that they adopted typically Daylamī names like Lashkarī and Marzubān and even Armenian ones like Ashot, but such phenomena merely reflect the ethnic diversity of northwestern Persia and eastern Transcaucasia at this time.

Around 340/951 the adventurer Muḥammad b. Shaddād b. Ḳ.r.ṭ.ḳ established himself in Dwīn whilst the Musāfirid Daylamī ruler of Ādharbaydjān Marzubān b. Muḥammad was pre-occupied with various of his enemies, including Kurdish and other Daylamī rivals, the Arab Ḥamdānids, the Rūs [*q.v.*] and the Būyids (who eventually captured and imprisoned Marzubān) [see MUSĀFIRIDS]; but Ibn Shaddād was unable to hold on to Dwīn and had to flee into the Armenian kingdom of Vaspurakan. Muḥammad's eldest son Lashkarī (d. 368/978-9) in 360/971 seized Gandja and made the Shaddādids an independent power, ending Musāfirid influence in Arrān and expanding northwards into Shamkūr in Transcaucasia and eastwards to Bardhaʿa [*q.v.*]. After the short reign of Muḥammad's second son Marzubān, the third son Faḍl (I) began a long reign (375-422/986-1031) and, in general, expanded the Shaddādid territories from his base in Arrān. He combatted neighbouring Armenian princes, recovered Dwīn from them in *ca.* 413/1022, and occupied the territories of the Armenicised Hungarian Sevordikʿ to the west of Shamkūr. His campaigns against the Armenian Bagratids of Tashir, who had styled themselves "kings of [Caucasian] Albania", Ałvankʿ, and the Georgians, met with varying fortunes, but in 421/1030, after a successful foray into Georgia, he was intercepted by the Georgian king Liparit and the Armenian one David Anhołin of Tashir and his forces disastrously defeated. He had in 418/1027 constructed a fine bridge over the Araxes river [see AL-RASS], possibly in anticipation of an incursion into the Rawwādids' [*q.v.*] territory of Ādharbaydjān.

By this time, the whole region was becoming confused and unstable, with strong Byzantine pressure on the Armenian princes and with increasing raids from the Turkmen Oghuz bands, who were eventually to establish Saldjūḳ suzerainty over Ādharbaydjān and Arrān; thus the chroniclers record an attack on Shaddādid Gandja by Ḳutlumush b. Arslan Isrāʾīl [see SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 5] in 437/1045-6 or 438/1046-7. ʿAlī Lashkarī b. Faḍl (I) (425-40/1034-49) had a successful and prosperous reign; he was praised by the Persian poet Ḳaṭrān [*q.v.*], who frequented his court at Gandja, amongst other things for a major victory over the joint forces of the rulers of Armenia and Georgia; but towards the end of his reign, he was besieged in Gandja by the Oghuz, mentioned above, and relief only came from the imminent approach of a Byzantine and Georgian army.

Lashkarī's brother Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwur (I) had ruled in Dwīn as a vassal of the elder members of the Shaddādid family—in effect as an autonomous prince—since 413/1022, in the face of increasing Greek pressure on the region which culminated in Byzantine operations against Dwīn and Ānī. In 441/1049-50 he took over power in Gandja also, and ruled as the last great independent Shaddādid until 459/1067. Although married to a sister of the Armenian king of Tashir David Anhołin (whence, doubtless, the name Ashūṭ given to his second son), Abu 'l-Aswār achieved a great contemporary reputation as a *ghāzī* against the infidels and he restored the Shaddādid principality to much of its former glory in Arrān and Shamkūr. But after the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghril Beg had made the Rawwādids of Ādharbaydjān his tributaries at Tabrīz, the sultan came to Gandja in 446/1054 and Abu 'l-Aswār became his vassal also. In the latter part of his reign, he participated in the Turkmen expansion into Armenian and eastern Anatolia, and he further combatted his kinsmen the Yazīdī Shirwān-Shāhs [*q.v.*] in Shirwān to the north of Arrān and repelled raids by the Alans or Ās [see ALĀN] of the central Caucasus.

But in the end, the Saldjūḳs imposed direct rule over Arrān and brought about the end of Shaddādid power there. Abu 'l-Aswār's son Faḍl (II) was captured by the Georgians, and the Shirwān-Shāh Farīburz b. Sallār invaded Arrān. When sultan Alp

Arslan's eunuch commander Sāwtigin passed through Arrān in 460/1068, the dissensions within the Shaddādid ruling family were apparent to the Saldjūk ruler, and when Sāwtigin appeared for a second time in 468/1075, the rule of Faḍl (III) b. Faḍl (II) was ended and the Shaddādids' territories were annexed to the Great Saldjūk empire.

However, the branch installed by the Saldjūks at Ānī continued for another century or so. Ānī, the capital of the Armenian Bagratids, had been taken over from them by the Byzantines, but in 456/1064 was conquered by Alp Arslan. Certainly by 464/1072, and probably before then, the Shaddādid Abū Shudjāʿ Manūčihr b. Abi 'l-Aswār (I) (d. ca. 512/1118?) was governing the city. The history of the Shaddādids of Ānī is known only sketchily. We no longer have for them an Islamic source comparable to the information on the main line in Gandja found in Münedjdjim Bashî and going up to 468/1075-6. We do know that Manūčihr, with help from his Great Saldjūk suzerains, had to fight off attacks by the Artuḳid Il Ghāzī of Mārdīn [see ARTUḲIDS] and by the latter's vassals such as Ḳîzîl Arslan (sometimes called in the Arabic sources al-Sabuʿ al-Aḥmar "the Red Lion"), of the region to the south of Lake Van; but the Shaddādids seem to have held on to Dwīn till 498/1104-5. In the reign of Manūčihr's son and successor Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwur (II), the Georgian king David the Restorer (1089-1125) recaptured Ānī for the Christians and replaced the Muslim crescent emblem on the Armenian cathedral there by the cross, but it was recovered for the Muslims by Abu 'l-Aswār (II)'s son Faḍl or Faḍlūn (III) (d. 524/1130), who also retook Dwīn and Gandja. Nevertheless, the Shaddādid pricipality of Ānī remained under Georgian overlordship, and few facts are known about the Shaddādid *amīrs* of the middle decades of the century. After internal unrest within Ānī itself the Georgians occupied the city in 556/1161, carrying off Faḍlūn (IV) b. Maḥmūd b. Manūčihr, and shortly afterwards sacked Dwīn and Gandja also. It was Eldigüz or Ildeñiz [*q.v.*] who regained Ānī in 559/1164, and the historian of Mayyāfāriḳīn al-Fāriḳī records that its governorship was given by him to a Shaddādid, Shāhanshāh (b. Maḥmūd) b. Manūčihr; he ruled there until the Georgians once again conquered Ānī in 570/1174-5. Thereafter, the Shaddādids fade from mention, except that a Persian inscription in Ānī of 595/1198-9 was apparently made by "Sulṭān b. Maḥmūd b. Shāwur b. Manūčihr al-Shaddādī", whom Minorsky identified with the brother of Faḍlūn (IV), Shāhanshāh (= Sulṭān in Arabic).

The family thus disappears from history; the Ānī branch, at least, had been notable for its beneficent rule over both Muslims and Christians of this ethnically and religiously very mixed region, echoing the similar, generally just treatment of the Muslims in their own lands by the Georgian kings.

Bibliography: The passages of the anonymous *Taʾrīkh Bāb al-Abwāb* preserved in Münedjdjim Bashî's *Taʾrīkh al-Duwal* (for the main branch of the Shaddādids) and of Fāriḳī's *Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriḳīn* (for the Ānī branch) were translated, with a copious and penetrating commentary, by V. Minorsky in his *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 1-10 (survey of earlier literature at 2-3, genealogical table of the main line at 6 and of the Ānī branch at 106); see also his *A history of Sharvan and Darband*, Cambridge 1958. Of both the earlier and subsequent literature, see E.D. Ross, *On three Muhammadan dynasties*, in *Asia Major*, ii (1925), 215-19; Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān-i gum-nām*, Tehran 1928-30, iii, 264-313; Cl. Cahen, *L'Iran du Nord-Ouest face à l'expansion Seldjukide d'après une source inédite*, in *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1342/1963, 65-71 (information from Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī); Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 73; W. Madelung, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 239-43; Bosworth, in *ibid.*, v, 34-5; and for inscriptions at Gandja and Ānī, Sheila S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxania*, Leiden 1992, index s.v. Shaddad(i).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**SHĀDHILĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*ca.* 593-656/*ca.* 1196-1258), one of the great figures in the Ṣūfism of the brotherhoods. His teachings launched a *ṭarīḳa* which gave birth to numerous, dynamic ramifications. These developed and have constituted a mystical tradition very widespread in North Africa and equally present in the rest of the Islamic world, as far as Indonesia.

Al-Shādhilī's life is known to us through the texts compiled by his disciples, often late and in a clearly hagiographical mould. It is thus hard to distinguish the historic personage from what pious legend or the archetype of the *walī* has brought forward. Yet one can sketch out the course of life of one of the most famous saints of Maghribī Islam. The most important sources here are the *Laṭāʾif al-minan* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 709/1309; ed. ʿA.Ḥ. Maḥmūd, Cairo 1974) and the *Durrat al-asrār* of Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 724/1323; Brockelmann, S II, 147, which places his work *ca.* 751/1350, to be corrected; ed. Tunis 1304/1886). There is also the synthesis of Ibn ʿIyād (sometimes written Ibn ʿAyyād and even Ibn ʿAbbād), the *Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya fi 'l-maʾāthir al-shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1355/1937, much later than the previous two sources since it cites al-Suyūṭī, Zarrūḳ (9th/15th century) and al-Shaʿrānī (10th/16th century).

Al-Shādhilī was born in northern Morocco, in the Ghumāra country between Ceuta and Tangiers in *ca.* 583/1187 or ten years later, according to the sources. He claimed descent from the Prophet via al-Ḥasan. He studied the various religious sciences in Fās, was tempted for some time to follow alchemy, but abandoned it for the mystical way in its proper sense. Seeking instruction from the great masters of his time, and seeking especially to meet the Pole [see ḲUṬB], he left for the East, sc. ʿIrāḳ, in 615/1218, where he continued his education, notably with the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Wāsiṭī (d. 632/1234), disciple and *khalīfa* of Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī [see RIFĀʿIYYA]. One master (*baʿḍ al-awliyāʾ*, according to *Durra*, 4), nevertheless suggested that he should return to the Maghrib to seek out the Pole of the age. Back in his homeland, Morocco, al-Shādhilī recognised the Pole in the person of the hermit of the Rīf, ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh (d. 625/1228 [*q.v.*]). He stayed with the latter for several years, until ʿAbd al-Salām suggested that he should travel to Ifrīḳiya; it is not impossible that al-Shādhilī's departure was motivated by local disturbances, in the course of which ʿAbd al-Salām was murdered. We do not know exactly why he decided to settle precisely in the village of Shādhila, half-way between Tunis and Ḳayrawān, nor why he henceforth began to be called by the *nisba* of al-Shādhilī—which a flash of divine inspiration offered him the interpretation of *al-Shādhdh lī* "the man set apart for My service and My love" (*Durra*, 10). But his teaching and personal influence speedily acquired a great fame in the land. Numerous miraculous happenings were attributed to him; he is said to have been in touch with al-Khaḍir. His influence displeased the *ʿulamāʾ* of Ḳayrawān, who launch-

ed against him a campaign of denigration, accusing him of proclaiming himself a "Fāṭimid"—an allegation which was possibly not entirely alien to al-Shādhilī's conviction (since, as we have seen, he was of Sharīfian origin) that he was the Pole of his age. He finally decided to leave Ifrīḳiya when a Pilgrimage caravan was departing. He settled in Egypt, an attractive and welcoming land for Ṣūfīs, at Alexandria in 1244 or perhaps only as late as 1252. The success of his teaching and his prestige grew unceasingly, including in the eyes of the *ʿulamāʾ*, and numerous pupils came to Alexandria from distant parts of the Islamic world to gain a spiritual and ascetic training from him. As a fervent observer of the duties of Islam, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī made the Pilgrimage as often as he could, and it was in the course of a journey to the Holy Places that in 656/1258 he died at al-Ḥumaythirā in the Upper Egyptian desert.

Al-Shādhilī left behind no writings on doctrinal matters (deliberately thus, according to *Laṭāʾif*, 37-8). The only writings which we have from him are some letters, litanies and prayers. The essential core of his teachings was transmitted by his pupils (see above, and in *Bibl.*) in the form of collections of "sayings", words of wisdom and edifying and miraculous anecdotes. In these he develops the themes of a moderate Ṣūfism, attentive to the material life of his disciples and respectful of social cohesion. Basically, it is a question of a strict and unequivocal Sunnī spirituality. The putting into practice of the *Sharīʿa* is here the indispensable framework of the faith, equally valid for Ṣūfīs and for ordinary believers; by the practice of the virtues, the Ṣūfī purifies the mirror of his soul and becomes fit to undertake the mystical pilgrimage. The *faḳīr* who is a bad practitioner of these requirements is *ipso facto* severely blamed. In a more general way, the mystic should keep a deep humility in face of what has been provided by revelation. "If your mystical unveiling (*kashf*) diverges from the Ḳurʾān and Sunna, hold fast to these last two and take no notice of your unveiling; tell yourself that the truth of the Ḳurʾān and Sunna is guaranteed by God Most High, which is not the case with unveiling inspiration and mystical perceptions" (al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1954, ii, 4; see also *Durra*, 34).

Al-Shādhilī's counsels on spiritual orientation likewise recall traditional Ṣūfism. Recurrent themes of them are the abandonment of earthly concerns, the struggle against the carnal soul and acceptance of the fate which befalls one. These counsels are not directed at ascetics but at pious believers engaged in the social life; "the Way does not involve monastic life (*rahbāniyya*), nor living off barley or flour-siftings; the way involves patience in the accomplishing of the divine commands and the certainty of being well-guided" (al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 6; *Durra*, 86). Numerous of the master's locutions stress the necessity of a detachment essentially internal and without ostentation (see e.g. *Durra*, 138), at times displaying *malāmatī* overtones. Begging (*Laṭāʾif*, 143) and even wearing special clothing are condemned by al-Shādhilī, who moreover himself chose to dress with a certain elegance. He showed himself circumspect in the use of *samāʿ* [*q.v.*] (*Durra*, 104) and did not take part in sessions which induced trances or spectacular phenomena (walking on fire, piercing the flesh), as with the Rifāʿiyya [*q.v.*]. The core of his Ṣūfī practice was the constant remembrance of God by means of jaculatory prayers and litanies, plus spiritual firmness in the face of the material trials and hardships of the individual life.

The mystical experience towards which al-Shādhilī endeavoured to guide his disciples was laid out in a practical way and not an abstractly doctrinal one. Although he himself had been trained in theology, he saw no spiritual value in the speculative and independent exercise of reason (see e.g. *Durra*, 34, 91), and the hagiographical sources show us al-Shādhilī combatting and converting Muʿtazilī disputants (*ibid.*, 23). God is the original source of the conscience, not an object of knowledge; how could He be approached through concrete things, when it is only through Him that these things are known? (*Laṭāʾif*, 92). Al-Shādhilī develops very little the doctrinal consequences of the experience of *fanāʾ*—unity of existence, identification of the devotee with his Lord—but goes back to the actual spiritual experience itself: "The Ṣūfī sees his own existence as being like dust (*habāʾ*) floating in the air—neither as existence nor as annihilation, just as it is in the knowledge of God" (al-Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 8; *Durra*, 90). He recommends to his disciples the greatest possible discretion concerning their spiritual conditions, so as not to become at the same time puffed up with pride in regard to others and uselessly to hurt the susceptibilities of ordinary believers: "If you wish to reach the irreproachable Way, speak like someone who is apart from God, at the same time keeping union with Him present in your secret heart" (al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 7; see also *Durra*, 30).

Another aspect of the spiritual teaching of al-Shādhilī is the number and the important function of prayers (*adʿiya*) and litanies (*aḥzāb*) which he left to his disciples. These prayers often relate to specific situations, e.g. spiritual or material distress (cf. *Durra*, ch. iii; al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 6, 9). The *aḥzāb* most often recited are the very popular *ḥizb al-baḥr* (inspired directly by the Prophet, cf. *Durra*, 51), the *ḥ. al-kabīr* (or *ḥidjāb sharīf*), the *ḥ. al-barr*, the *ḥ. al-nūr*, the *ḥ. al-fatḥ* and the *ḥ. al-Shaykh Abi 'l-Ḥasan*. Their texts are given by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, Ibn ʿIyād and, more recently, ʿA.Ḥ. Maḥmūd, *al-Madrasa al-shādhiliyya al-ḥadītha wa-imāmuhā Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1969). The boundary between the liturgical recitation of a prayer taught by the Pole and the magical usage of these texts is not always easy to trace; certain of these litanies include formulae of a theurgical or talismanic nature, and numerous of the faithful attribute inherent virtues to these texts, independent of whatever understanding of it the one reciting it may have. But al-Shādhilī is in any case guiltless regarding all the forms of superstition surrounding the cult of saints, which he condemned as a form of idolatry (al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 10). If saints' prayers are answered, it is because they are the theophanic locus of the divine mercy, and not because they themselves have any authority for intercession. In his own lifetime, al-Shādhilī already acquired a reputation as a miracle worker; marvellous happenings took place round his tomb and amongst his close disciples, for whom the Master remained, even after his death, the person for whom God answers prayers.

A more esoteric teaching of al-Shādhilī's concerns the concept of sainthood. It revolved round *walāya* as a prophetic inheritance (see e.g. al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 10; or *Durra*, 132-3), here again taking up an earlier Ṣūfī doctrine. The fully-accomplished saint reaches the degree of knowledge of the prophets (*anbiyāʾ*) and the messengers (*rusul*), but he is inferior to them on two counts: on the one hand, his knowledge is, in the great majority of cases, less complete than theirs, and on the other, he is not sent to bring a more correct version of a *sharīʿa* (*Laṭāʾif*, 59-60). Al-Shādhilī's teaching was nevertheless perceived by his followers as an actual, living continuation of Muḥammad's mission (cf.

e.g. *Durra*, 154). The vision of a hierarchy of saints, which is implied here, is fundamental. As we have seen, al-Shādhilī was preoccupied since his youth by the meeting with the Pole of the universe. His disciples considered him fairly soon as being himself this *kuṭb* (*Laṭāʾif*, 139), and he personally openly strengthened them in this conviction (*ibid.*, 141, 146, 165; *Durra*, 13-14, 111). He designated his main disciple Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī as his successor in this function, and Shādhilī tradition confirms that the *kuṭb* would be a member of their brotherhood, until the Judgement Day. This *kuṭbāniyya* is here to be understood in the absolute sense (or even, cosmic, cf. *ibid.*, 9, 105-6) and not relative to a specific community; al-Shādhilī himself enunciated the fifteen remarkable features or charismas which this office of the Pole involves (amongst these are the guarantee of inability to err, and knowledge of the past, present and future; cf. *Laṭāʾif*, 163, and *Durra*, 71). But otherwise, it is a delicate task to isolate the original doctrine of al-Shādhilī regarding the formulations of the Masters of the following generations. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh relates (*Laṭāʾif*, 163-4) that Abu 'l-Ḥasan received a visit from Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī [*q.v.*] at a time when his master Ibn ʿArabī was still alive. "[Ṣadr al-Dīn] expatiated on a multiplicity of sciences. The Shaykh kept his head bowed until Ṣadr al-Dīn had finished talking. Then he raised his head and said to him, Tell me who is at this moment the Pole of our age, who is a veracious successor (*ṣiddīḳ*) and what is his knowledge? Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn was silent and gave no reply". P. Nwiya (*Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie shadhilite*, Beirut 1972, 26) sees in this tale an affirmation of the pre-eminence of the Shādhilī way—proceeding from the direct teaching of and inspired by the Pole—over that represented by Ibn ʿArabī. But this opinion is rejected by M. Chodkiewicz (*Le sceau des saints*, Paris 1986, 173), for whom the function of the Seal, claimed by Ibn ʿArabī, cannot coincide with that of the Pole—whence al-Ḳūnawī's silence.

Even if al-Shādhilī never envisaged the formation of a *ṭarīḳa* in the strict sense of the term, his teaching nevertheless marks the evolution of Ṣūfism towards its manifestation in the brotherhoods and in maraboutism. There are several disciples of far-reaching influence—the Andalusian Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. 686/1287) and the Egyptian Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 709/1309) from amongst his immediate successors—who at the same time continued his teaching, codified the ritual of the *dhikr*, founded *khānaḳāhs* and in turn instructed disciples in the spirit of the school. This moderate form of Ṣūfism corresponded to a profound need in the Muslim society of the age; Shādhilī *khānaḳāhs* spread and flourished in Egypt, Ifrīḳiya, Morocco, as well as in Syria and the Ḥidjāz. Numerous branches and sub-branches more or less attached to the Shādhiliyya saw the light in the course of succeeding centuries [see SHĀDHILIYYA]. As for the master's memory, it is perpetuated by the annual festivals on the very spot of his burial in the eastern desert of Upper Egypt, as well as in Ifrīḳiya, at Sidi Belhassen (in the outskirts of Tunis), Menzel Bouzelfa (Cape Bon) and on the mount Zaghwān.

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SHĀDHILIYYA, one of the most important currents of Ṣūfism, associated with the teaching and spiritual authority of the great Moroccan mystic of the 7th/13th century, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī [*q.v.*].

This last, originating from northern Morocco, where he benefited from the spiritual teaching of ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [see ʿABD AL-SALĀM], lived in Ifrīḳiya and, above all, in Egypt, where his preaching and spiritual precepts enjoyed an immense success [see AL-SHĀDHILĪ]. It does not seem that he himself had the idea of founding a structured Ṣūfī brotherhood. But the fervour of his disciples, who considered him as the Pole (*ḳuṭb*) of the universe for his age, and who therefore saw in his words a direct divine inspiration, was transferred to his successor, the Andalusī Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. 686/1287). The latter's authority and spiritual breadth knew how both to maintain the cohesion of the Shādhilī group and to instill into it a lasting dynamic of expansion. Al-Mursī's work was completed by the enthusiastic work of an Egyptian scholar, Tādj al-Dīn Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309 in Cairo; see IBN ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH).Whereas neither his own master nor Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī left behind any written work, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh wrote, notably, numerous treatises of a doctrinal nature, as well as collections of prayers, which played a decisive role in the constituting of a genuine Shādhilī spirituality (see Brockelmann, II, 143-4, S II, 145-7; A.W. al-Ghunaymī al-Taftazānī, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Sikandarī wa-taṣawwufuhu*, Cairo 1389/1969, i, 3). His *Laṭāʾif al-minan* forms one of the main sources regarding the teachings of the two first masters of the Shādhilī school; as for his collection of dicta, the *Ḥikam*, it had an immense diffusion all over the Islamic world and attracted several commentaries, notably by Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda (8th/14th century), Aḥmad Zarrūḳ (9th/15th) and Ibn ʿAdjība (12th-13th/18th-19th). See the study and Fr. tr. by P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie shadhilite*, Beirut 1972; Eng. tr. V. Danner, *Ibn Ataillah's Sufi aphorisms*, Leiden 1973.

We know only imperfectly the formative period of the brotherhood. During the 8th/14th century it spread through Egypt and the Maghrib, where from the 9th/15th century it enjoyed a considerable success. One should stress that it never assumed the form of a centralised order, but early spread out into a multitude of ramifications with very relaxed links, of sub-branches energised by spiritual masters whose strong personality often raised up a specific strain amidst the generality of the Shādhilī tradition. Certain of these ramifications had a limited implantation within a determined region, whilst others formed much wider groupings. But in all cases, the flexibility of a tradition presenting itself more as a school of spirituality than as a structured organisation allowed its adaptation to very diverse historical and local contexts. It could thus avoid the rigidity and degeneration which often awaited mystical groups which were over-institutionalised. The Shādhiliyya was born in an ur-

ban milieu (Alexandria, Cairo, Tunis), and counted within its ranks a good number of well-known intellectuals, such as the great 9th/15th-century polygraph Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*]. But it also found a ready audience in rural areas, especially in the Maghrib. The affiliation to the order of the ecstatic popular saints of the 10th/16th-century ʿAlī al-Ṣanhādjī and his pupil ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb is characteristic in this regard (see A.L. de Premare, *Sîdî ʿAbd-er-Rahmân el-Mejdûb*, Paris-Rabat 1985, ch. III). In the Maghrib properly speaking, but equally in the Nile valley, the Shādhiliyya accompanied the development of a Ṣūfism which tolerated—and even encouraged—cults around saints' tombs, in which the efficacy of the *baraka* of the master counted for more and more.

We shall not deal here with the Ṣūfī currents which sometimes attached themselves to the Shādhilī spirit in a purely mythical or lateral manner, such as the Badawiyya or Dasūḳiyya; nor with those which, despite being impregnated with the Shādhilī spirit, developed into new and independent orders (the Tidjāniyya and orders derived from the Idrīsiyya). But one should mention, amongst the brotherhoods of the Shādhilī tradition which affirmed their personality during that time, that, in Egypt, the Wafāʾiyya, founded by the Ifrīḳiyan Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Wafāʾ al-Bakri (d. 760/1359) and his son ʿAlī (d. 807/1404; on him, see al-Shaʿrānī's notice, in *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 22-65), enjoyed a solid implantation and an undoubted spiritual and intellectual diffusion. The Ḥanafiyya were founded by Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī (d. 847/1443), a highly charismatic personality who left a strong mark on his age (cf. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Battanūnī, *K. Sirr al-ṣafī fī manāḳib al-sulṭān al-Hanafī*, Cairo 1306/1888). In Syria, the Shādhiliyya spread under the impulse of the Moroccan ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Fāsī (d. 917/1511) and his disciples, affiliates of the Madyaniyya branch.

In the Maghrib, the Shādhilī presence was even more widespread. One may mention, in particular, the Zarrūḳiyya, which arose out of the teaching of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Burnusī, called al-Zarrūḳ (d. 899/1494). This Moroccan scholar had a stay in Egypt, where he became a disciple of the Wafāʾī master Aḥmad al-Ḥaḍramī and probably of another Hanafī one. Then he returned to the Maghrib and travelled in various regions. He left behind an important body of written work (cf., especially, his *Ḳawāʿid al-taṣawwuf*, Damascus 1968) and breathed fresh life into the Shādhilī heritage there, raising up a fresh impulse (see A.F. Khushaim, *Zarrūq the Sufi*, Tripoli 1976). Several Maghribī brotherhoods claimed connections with his teaching: the Darḳāwiyya (see below), the Rashīdiyya and its own branches, the Shaykhiyya, Karzāziyya and Nāṣiriyya (on these groups, see Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1884, 457 ff.; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc*, Paris 1951, 185 ff.). Another dynamic movement of Shādhilī inspiration was stimulated by the figure of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Djazūlī, a Ṣūfī master originally from southern Morocco. This last travelled to Fez, then had a long stay in the East (40 years?) and finally returned to Morocco. After a period of hermit-like seclusion, he spread his teachings, which had such popular repercussions that he was persecuted by the political authorities and died—perhaps from poison—in *ca.* 869/1465, the year of the fall of the Marīnid [*q.v.*] dynasty [see AL-DJAZŪLĪ]. Later, his body was interred at Marrakech, and he became one of the seven patron saints of the city. This thaumaturge *walī* marks the origin of a new form of mass Ṣūfism. Membership was no longer conditional upon personal initiation rites (*ṣuḥba, talḳīn*), and did not necessarily take place within a structured brotherhood, but resulted from a simple act of allegiance to a *shaykh* shown by a rite of transmission of *baraka* and devotional practice centred round reading a collection of litanies, the *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt*. This last became extremely popular, notably because of the miraculous benefits which certain people connected with its recitation. Several later *ṭawāʾif* attached themselves to the movement of al-Djazūlī, including the ʿArūsiyya, widespread in Ifrīḳiya (see Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 341 ff.), the Ḥanṣaliyya (see Depont and Coppolani, 492 ff.; Drague, 163 ff.) or also the ʿĪsāwiyya. The latter, which owed its name to Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Mukhtār (d. 931/1524), added to the Shādhilī-Djazūlī tradition shamanistic practices reminiscent of those of the Rifāʿiyya: initiates were endowed with a totem animal, practised spiritual healings and, in a trance, devoured snakes or pierced their bodies with sword blades (see R. Brunel, *Essai sur la confrérie des Aïssaouas au Maroc*, Paris 1926). Analogous practices are also found in the related Moroccan order of the Ḥamdūshiyya (see V. Crapanzano, *The Hamadsha—a study in Moroccan ethnopsychology*, Berkeley, etc. 1973).

The historic success of the Shādhilī Way probably depended on several factors of a historical nature. Within a North Africa engulfed in a permanent economic and political state of crisis, grouping in the bosom of a community based on initiational solidarity had a certain attraction. The political authorites, such as the Marīnids in Morocco or the Ḥafṣids in Ifrīḳiya, often actively favoured the creating or expansion of the *zawāyā* in their territories, and the integration of moderate Ṣūfism in the teaching of the *madrasas*—or conversely, of *fiḳh* in the *zawāyā*. It is true that these last also at times played the role of centres of dissidence against the central power, as with that of al-Dilāʾ in Morocco, which almost succeeded in seizing the sultanate power towards the middle of the 11th/17th century (see M. Hadjdjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾiyya*, Rabat 1384/1964, and AL-DILĀʾ in Suppl.). Nevertheless, they were more often regarded as centres of social stability by virtue of the allegiance given by complete tribes or villages to the *shaykh*. They were often organised on a "dynastic" manner of functioning, and to some extent regulated local and tribal particularisms. But the especial success of the Shādhiliyya was due to the factors peculiar to itself. Its strictly orthodox Sunnism and the respect for all exoteric tradition which it professed, its social discreetness (absence of distinctive garb or of spectacular public festivals or of begging), all of these aroused confidence and fervour. Finally, the active role played by the brotherhoods in attempting to resist European encroachments in the Muslim lands—as e.g. that of the Shādhiliyya-Djazūliyya in Morocco in the warfare against the Portuguese in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries—accelerated the process of cohesiveness of Ṣūfism and the social fabric in the Maghrib.

More recently, currents of revival attached to the Shādhilī tradition have appeared. This is the case with the Darḳāwiyya [see DARḲĀWA]. It goes back to Abū Ḥāmid al-ʿArabī al-Darḳāwī (d. 1823), who is to be placed in the Zarrūḳī tradition without there being any new elements added, except for a reforming zeal in combatting the material and spiritual corruption of the surrounding maraboutic Ṣūfism. The great moral (and political) influence which he exercised from his

zāwiya in the region of Fez was prolonged after his death; new branches of the order then came into being, with a remarkable vitality extending right through the 19th century. Thus there was the Bū-Zīdiyya, of which Ibn ʿAdjība, prolix author and head of an active *ṭarīḳa* (d. 1809; *q.v.* and J.-L. Michon, *Le Soufi marocain Ahmad ibn ʿAjiba et son miʿraj*, Paris 1973), was a member. One should also mention the Yashruṭiyya branch, founded by the Tunisian ʿAlī al-Yashruṭī (d. 1891), which became especially rooted in Syria, Palestine and Jordan; his history is known to us from the compendious *Riḥla ilā 'l-ḥaḳḳ* written by the master's daughter, Fāṭima al-Yashruṭiyya (see J. van Ess, *Die Yaśruṭīya*, in *WI*, xvi [1975]). Finally, there is the ʿAlāwiyya, founded in 1914 in the Darḳāwiyya-Bū-Zīdiyya tradition by Aḥmad b. ʿAlīwa (d. 1934; see IBN ʿALĪWA). His reforming dynamism and his new presentation of Islamic esotericim—which he spread forth in his journal *al-Balāgh al-djazāʾirī* and in many publications—attracted numerous disciples, including a certain number of Westerners (see M. Lings, *A Moslem saint of the twentieth century*, London 1961, Fr. tr. *Un saint musulman du 20ᵉ siècle, le cheikh Ahmad al-ʿAlawi*, Paris 1967).

It is not easy to trace the contours of such movements as these, since their attachment to the Shādhilī *silsila* is sometimes very loose and blurred. It often happened that a Master would be brought up in several traditions, and multiplicity of affiliations by the simple attributing of a *khirka* became a custom more and more widespread over the lapse of centuries. Nāṣir al-Darʿī, founder of the Nāṣiriyya, had received the double Zarrūḳī and Djazūlī initiation; Muḥammad b. ʿArūs, who had frequented Shādhilī and Ḳādirī masters, did not claim kinship with any well-defined *ṭarīḳa*. At that time, the historic correctness and authenticity of the *silsilas* was visibly less important than the efficacious presence of a master whose charisma authenticated his mission. This rather diffuse character of the brotherhoods' affiliations is illustrated and analysed for the eastern regions by E. Geoffroy in his *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans: orientations spirituelles et enjeux culturels*, Damascus 1995, part 3.

The present position of the Shādhiliyya can be delineated as follows. The order is mainly represented in North Africa, where it forms, with the Ḳādiriyya and the Khalwatiyya the chief living Ṣūfī school. The Shādhilī branches remain equally active in Egypt and also in the Sudan. But it would be erroneous to see in the Shādhiliyya an exclusively North African order. Branches of it have in effect spread throughout almost the whole Muslim world, see A. Popovic and G. Veinstein (eds.), *Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam—Cheminements et situation actuelle*, Paris 1986, index s.n.: most certainly in Syria and the Arab Near East (see F. de Jong, *Les confréries mystiques au Machreq arabe*, in Popovic and Veinstein, *op. cit.*), but also in Turkey and the Balkans, in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, in Indonesia and as far as China.

How, then may one characterise Shādhilī spirituality as it has been formed, propagated and modified in the course of the centuries? First of all, one should note its attachment to orthodoxy and its carefulness not to give any appearance of contravening either the letter or the spirit of the *Sharīʿa*; it is only in confident submission to the Law and total obedience to the *shaykh* that the novice can grasp the nature of his relationship with God. It gives little attention to phenomena of a miraculous appearance (*karāmāt*), and commends a mystical cult of sobriety (*ṣaḥw*) which is circumspect regarding the states of mystical inebriation. In general, it tolerates the practices of music and dancing (*samāʿ* [*q.v.*]), but with a clear display of prudence. The excesses of ceremonies involving conditions of trance amongst the ʿĪsāwiyya and Ḥamdūshiyya are in any case marginal phenomena, and it is likely that the respective founders of these orders did not play any role in them. The Shādhiliyya advocate an attitude of action of continual gratitude (*shukr*), and try to avoid an asceticism involving renunciation which might lead to despising part of God's blessings and beauty; the Ṣūfī who sees nothing else but God is spiritually less perfect than the one who sees God in everything (*Laṭāʾif al-minan*, Cairo 1974, 89-90). In this spirit, al-Shādhilī and other great masters after him (ʿAlī Wafāʾ and Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī) deliberately dressed themselves in an elegant fashion.

It is not an "intellectual" order, in the sense that a greater accent is placed on practice than on doctrine. This does not mean, as some have written, that the Shādhiliyya have no structured doctrine; the Wafāʾiyya branch, in particular, provoked the production of an important corpus of texts which is still poorly explored. The work of Ibn ʿArabī was moreover spread within the Shādhilī milieu as elsewhere within the fabric of Ṣūfism. Indeed, the Shādhiliyya wished to make itself an order accessible to all Muslims, at whatever level of culture they might be, but reading is recommended to those with access to it (see e.g. Ibn ʿIyād or ʿAyyād, *al-Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya fi 'l-maʾāthir al-shādhiliyya*, Tunis 1986, 116). However, by far the most used books are the collections of prayers and litanies. For Shādhilī spirituality is seen mainly through readings made out loud and the cantillation of various texts: *aḥzāb* composed by the founding masters (al-Shādhilī and al-Mursī), collections like al-Djazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt* and poems in honour of the Prophet (al-Būṣīrī, author of the celebrated *Burda* ode, was a Shādhilī). An important part of the popular work *al-Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya* is thus consecrated to *dhikr* texts. These are those prayers and litanies recited congregationally which best represent Shādhilī mysticism, based on deep immersion in the state of service to God (*ʿubūdiyya*) in humility and on the action of grace.

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2. Studies. On the order's origins: ʿA.S. ʿAmmār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1951; ʿA.H. Maḥmūd, *al-Madrasa al-shādhiliyya al-ḥadītha wa-imāmuhā Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1969; A. Mackeen, *The rise of al-Shādhilī*, in *JAOS*, xci (1971); E. Lévi-Provençal, *Shorfa*; A. Mustafā, *al-Bināʾ al-idjtimāʿī li 'l-ṭarīḳa al-shādhiliyya*, Alexandria 1982; P. Nwyia, *Les Lettres de direction spirituelle d'Ibn ʿAbbād de Ronda*, Beirut 1958; idem, *Ibn ʿAbbād de Ronda (1332-1390)*, Beirut 1961. For a general view of the order's development, see J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971. There are older, but still sometimes useful, pieces of information for the historian in L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1884; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Les confréries religieuses au Maroc*, Rabat 1923; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926; E.

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SHĀDĪABĀD [see MĀNDŪ].

SHADIRWĀN, also *shadhirwān*, is an Arabised Persian word which originally meant a precious curtain or drapery suspended on tents of sovereigns and leaders and from balconies of palaces and mansions. But in mediaeval sources it often occurs as an architectural term designating either a wall fountain or its most important element—the inclined and carved marble slab upon which water flows—perhaps in reference to the fabric-like texture of water rippling down the oblique surface (Laila Ibrahim and M.M. Amin, *Architectural terms in Mamluk documents*, Cairo 1990, 66, 68-9; G. Marçais, *Salsabīl et Šadirwān*, in *Études d'Orientalisme dédié à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, ii, 639-48). In this second sense, it usually alternates with *salsabīl*, an Arabic word which appears in the Ḳurʾān (LXXVI, 18) as the name of a particular spring in heaven. In Muslim India, large water chutes, called *ābshārs* and made of inclined and carved marble slabs similar to *shadirwāns* or *salsabīls*, intercepted the flow of water in the long channels that run the entire length of gardens, especially in the Mughal gardens of Kashmīr, and provided the transition from one level to the next below [see on this MĀʾ. 12].

The origin and first appearance of *shadirwān* or *salsabīl* in Islamic architecture are not known. Nor is its place of appearance, although there are some indications that it might have been Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*], the transient and opulent ʿAbbāsid capital (221-79/836-92), where a large number of palaces with gardens, fountains, and pools were constructed. Modern excavations and contemporary panegyric poetry describing these palaces suggest that the monumental water works in Sāmarrāʾ anticipated the later and more intimate *shadirwān* systems (Yasser Tabbaa, *Towards an interpretation of the use of water in Islamic courtyards and courtyard gardens*, in *Journal of Garden History*, vii/2 [July-Sept. 1987], 198-9). The earliest datable remains of a *shadirwān*, a marble slab (1.3 m by .37 m and .14 m thick), carved with a chevron pattern with three fish in low relief at one end, was discovered during the excavation of the Zīrid Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād in Algeria, built in the middle of the 5th/11th century (L. Golvin, *Recherches archéologiques à la Qalʿat des Banī Ḥammād*, Paris 1965, 122-7, and pls. 43-4). Several *shadirwāns* from the 6th/12th century, complete with scalloped or carved *salsabīls*, small basins, and channels emptying in central pools exist in various regions, Palermo in Sicily, al-Fusṭāṭ in Egypt, and a number of sites in Syria and Djazīra, proving the diffusion of the type over the entire Islamic world. The earliest and best preserved among them is the *shadirwān* of the La Ziza (ʿAzīza) Palace at Palermo, built between 1165 and 1175 for William I and William II, Norman kings of Sicily, undoubtedly by Muslim craftsmen. Located in an alcove at the centre of the main hall under a *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*] vault, it consists of a nozzle in a niche in the wall from which water gushes over a multi-coloured marble *salsabīl* with a chevron deep carving to a channel cut in the paving which flows into two aligned shallow square pools before emptying in a large pool outside (G. Caronia, *La Zisa di Palermo: storia e restauro*, Rome 1982, 53-6, 64-7, figs. 71-3, 142-3, 164-5). A painting of a *shadirwān* with a lion head for a spout and a chevron-patterned *salsabīl* emptying in a quadrilobed pool appears among other paintings into the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo built by Roger II in the 1140s (R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, Geneva 1962, 48). This representation and a number of references to the *shadirwān* in contemporary Sicilian Arabic eulogistic poetry, addressed both to Norman and Muslim Ḥammādid patrons, suggest that the type was widespread in palatial architecture all over the Maghrib (Tabbaa, 202).

This is further confirmed by the remains of large houses excavated in al-Fusṭāṭ. The plans of at least two of them (nos. iii and vi), dated to the Fāṭimid period (4th-5th/10th-11th centuries), exhibit arrangements similar to the Ziza *shadirwān*. They each have a big basin in the centre of the courtyard connected with a small basin in the middle of a side hall via a shallow channel. The small basin is set under a wall recess with a spout attached to pipes in the wall from which most probably water ran over a no-longer-extant *salsabīl* (K.A.C. Creswell, *Muslim architecture of Egypt*, Oxford 1952, i, 124-6, figs. 58, 61). Whether the *salsabīl* had any *muḳarnas* hood above it is impossible to know.

The next example of *shadirwān* comes from Damascus. In the Madrasa al-Nuriyya (of Nūr al-Dīn, 567/1172), in the īwān [*q.v.*] facing the entrance and under a *muḳarnas* hood, "water pours from a *shadirwān* into a pool, which opens into a long channel until it falls into a central pool in the courtyard" (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, Beirut 1964, 256). It was recently cut off and its channel paved over, but the 1920s plan made by Herzfeld shows a typical *shadirwān* system (Creswell, ii, 109-10, fig. 56). The appearance of this *shadirwān* can be considered a novelty, since this is the first time we encounter it outside the realm of residential or palatial architecture. A little later in date is a series of Ayyūbid and Artuḳid palaces built in the citadels of Syria and Djazīra with elaborate water systems consisting of fountains, channels, and pools. At least three of them, the early 7th/13th-century Artuḳid palace at Diyārbakir, the Ayyūbid palace in Aleppo (built between 617/1220 and 658/1260) and the Artuḳid al-Firdaws palace in Mārdīn (636-58/1239-60), have *shadirwāns* occupying the centre of an īwān's back wall and flowing via a narrow channel into a large pool in the courtyard (Tabbaa, 208-11, figs. 11-17).

In Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Cairo, *shadirwān* arrangements became a salient feature in reception halls, known as *ḳāʿas*. Several Cairene *shadirwān* slabs with various patterns engraved on their surfaces are on display at the Islamic Art Museum in Cairo and the Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya in Kuwait, while few are still *in situ*. The most notable among them are the two *shadirwāns* in two opposite īwāns of the *bīmāristān* of Sultan Ḳalāwūn (683/1284), which may have belonged to the four-īwān *ḳāʿa* of the Fāṭimid Western Palace, or its Ayyūbid replacement that was appropriated by Ḳalāwūn to build his complex (Creswell, ii, 208-10, pl. 63). *Waḳf* [*q.v.*] documents furnish a number of descriptions of Mamlūk *shadirwāns* which provide information on their various uses, composition, and terminology (Mona Zakarya, *Deux palais du Caire médiéval, waqfs et architecture*, Marseilles 1983, 148). Thus, for example, we learn that the small receptacle in which water falls before flowing over the *shadirwān* had an onomatopoeic name, *ḳarḳal*; the channel was called *silsal* (Ibrahim and Amin, 66). The *bīmāristān* of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (821-3/1418-20) repeated the model of the *bīmāristān* of Ḳalāwūn with two *shadirwāns* in two opposite īwāns (*waḳf* of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, Dār al-Wathāʾiḳ, no. 938 ḳ, 7, l. 24-5). Cairene *sabīls* [*q.v.*] too had *shadirwāns* from which water collected into small basins (*fasāḳī*, pl. of *fisḳiyya*) (*waḳf* of Amīr Khāyir Bek, Dār al-Wathāʾiḳ,

no. 292/244, 5, l. 5-13). Some *shadirwāns* had two flanking colonnettes which supported the *muḳarnas* hood above, an arrangement probably inspired by the development of Mamlūk *miḥrābs* which had two or four flanking colonnettes as well (*waḳf* of Sultan Barsbāy, Dār al-Kutub, no. 3390, 5, l. 5-13).

Because Cairene *ḳāʿas* developed into smaller enclosed units with either two īwāns and a space in the middle called *durḳāʿa*, or one īwān and a *durḳāʿa*, or, in the rarest of cases, four īwāns in a cruciform plan around a *durḳāʿa*, water moving from *shadirwāns* to collecting pools no longer played a role in linking the interior and exterior spaces. Furthermore, the shrinking of the central space precluded the possibility of having a large pool in its centre which could receive a constant flow of water from a *shadirwān*. In fact, it seems that enclosing *ḳāʿas* ultimately sealed the fate of *shadirwāns*. Later Mamlūk and Ottoman *ḳāʿas* had central small fountains but no *shadirwāns* and no connecting channels. Many, however, retain a strong reminder of the missing *shadirwān* in the form of a niche in the centre of their īwān's back wall, called *ṣadr*, with an ornate hood, and sometimes flanking colonnettes but no water flowing.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(Nasser Rabbat)

SHADJAR al-DURR, Wālidat Khalīl al-Ṣāliḥiyya, also called Umm Khalīl, the famous sultana of Egypt (ruled 648/1250).

Shadjar(at) al-Durr (the oldest sources prefer the former, modern Arab authors the latter), a strong-minded Turkish slave, started her career as al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's favourite concubine (hence al-Ṣāliḥiyya). In 637/1239-40, during their imprisonment in al-Karak, she bore him a son, Khalīl (hence Umm/Wālidat al-Khalīl), after which al-Ṣāliḥ freed and married her. The sultan loved his wife, now queen of Egypt, dearly and ranked her next to his commander Fakhr al-Dīn. When in 647/1249 al-Ṣāliḥ, expecting the French Crusaders' advance, died in al-Manṣūra, she formed part of the council of three that mastered the crisis. They agreed to conceal his death and entrust rule to one of them, Fakhr al-Dīn, until al-Ṣāliḥ's son and heir al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh arrived from Ḥiṣn Kayfā three months later. It was only after disgruntled Baḥrī *amīrs*, perhaps with the threatened widow's consent, had killed the new sultan, that Shadjar al-Durr stepped into the centre stage: Al-Ṣāliḥ's *amīrs* and Mamlūks appointed her sultana on 30 Muḥarram 648/4 May 1250 with ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkumānī as commander. Though women had exercised power as royal spouses and regents before, her formal recognition as ruler in her own right was unheard-of in the Muslim Near East, the only precedent being the sultanate of Raḍiyya [*q.v.*] of Dihlī from 634/1236 to 637/1240. Her claim to legitimacy rested on her status as wife of the late sultan and, what is more, mother of their dead son, as seen in her regnal name Wālidat al-Khalīl. Her election by Mamlūks marks the transition from Ayyūbid to Mamlūk rule. Their choice of a woman, unusual as it may seem, was considered. Al-Ṣāliḥ himself had recommended her as chief advisor to his son, and she had proven worthy of his trust after his death. The enthronement of their female compatriot may have been facilitated by a less restrictive view of élite women's roles among tribal Turks and a general propensity to hold women in high esteem. Her coin titulature reads "al-Mustaʿṣimiyya, al-Ṣāliḥiyya, Malikat al-Muslimīn, Wālidat al-Malik al-Manṣūr (i.e. Khalīl)". The loyalty to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim herein declared was never rewarded by his investiture of her. Although late reports about a caliphal letter objecting to a woman's sultanate and a similar pronouncement by a leading jurist are questionable, Shadjar al-Durr's claim to the Ayyūbid throne could be and was repudiated by the Syrian Ayyūbid al-Nāṣir Yūsuf on several counts, including her sex and slave origin. Loath to lose the Syrian provinces the Baḥrī Mamlūks felt compelled to replace her by a man. Shadjar al-Durr therefore ceded the throne to her as yet undistinguished commander Aybak on 28 Rabīʿ II 648/30 July 1250. However, her formal abdication did not put an end to her pre-eminent part in ruling the country, as is attested by all sources; in fact, she still signed royal decrees as late as 653/1255. Aybak married her either the day after his tentative promotion or sometime after he deposed the child al-Ashraf Mūsā, of Yemenite Ayyūbid descent, in 651/1254, who had replaced him as nominal sultan five days after his installation. Having dealt with the Syrian enemy and internal Baḥrī opposition, he thought to challenge his wife's position by contracting a marriage with the Zangid princess of Mawṣil. Shadjar al-Durr heard of his plans and had him killed on 23 Rabīʿ I 655/10 April 1257. But her attempts to retain influence as kingmaker came to nothing. On 11 Rabīʿ II/28 April, her naked corpse was found lying outside the Citadel. She was buried in the tomb she had built for herself. The "*dāhiyat al-dahr* whom no woman rivalled in beauty and no man in determination" (Barhebraeus) had finally lost the struggle for power. Her posthumous career as historical and literary character exemplifies the transformation of fragmentary evidence into ever more readable stories, into history and her story.

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(L. Ammann)

SHADŪNA, the Arabic name of one of the *kūras* or provinces of al-Andalus. It stems from Latin Asido, a Roman and then Visigothic town also called Madīnat Ibn Salīm in Muslim times, the modern Medina Sidonia. It was bounded on the north by the *kūras* of Seville and Morón; on the east by that of Algeciras; and on the south and west by the sea. There is no clear information about the *kūra*'s capital, since the sources mention at times Jerez (Sharīsh), Medina Sidonia, Arcos or a certain Ḥāḍirat Ḳalsāna and Ḳādis or Djazīrat Ḳādis. According to contem-

porary authors, Shadūna was divided into numerous districts, including villages, towns and fortresses (*ḥuṣūn*). Amongst these last are mentioned in the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* Tota, Arcos, Ibn Salīm, Nablab, Sanlúcar, Galyāna, al-Ḳanāṭīr, al-Aḳwās and Ḳalʿat Ward. Concerning the towns, this work distinguished especially Cadiz and Jerez. Algeciras, a major centre of al-Andalus all through its long history, formed part of this *kūra* at an early period but soon became the chef-lieu of an independent province. According to Ibn Ghālib and al-Ḥimyarī, Shadūna was bountifully endowed with the gifts of land and sea, and covered 25 square miles.

Ibn al-Shabbāṭ relates that Ṭāriḳ [*q.v.*] disembarked in al-Andalus and marched on the Wādī Lakko, where he confronted the troops of King Roderic. After defeating the Visigothic ruler, the Muslims besieged Madīnat Shadūna. In 125/743, the *djund* of Filasṭīn (i.e. Palestine) settled in the province; this is the first reference to Shadūna as a *kūra*. Towards 127/745 the Ḳaysī rebels led by al-Sumayl assembled there against the Kalbīs of Abu 'l-Djaṭṭār. The Madjūs [*q.v.*] or Northmen landed on the coast of Shadūna in 229/844 and occupied the port of Cadiz, although the greater part of their fleet sailed up the Guadalquivir towards Seville. Being highly fertile and productive, as noted above, the district paid tribute of 50,600 dīnārs in the time of al-Ḥakam I, and it furthermore furnished almost half the 20,000 cavalry which could be mobilised in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's time.

The sources are sparse about the succeeding period up to the constituting of the taifas. It was at Shadūna that the Banū Djazrūn, Berbers who had come over to reinforce al-Manṣūr's army in the Peninsula, overran a land in the grip of civil warfare. Set apart in the *kūra* of Shadūna, they formed a taifa around the stronghold of Arcos, and their authority was recognised by Jerez and Cadiz. Shadūna had three rulers before being absorbed by the ʿAbbādid of Seville, al-Muʿtaḍid: Muḥammad b. Djazrūn (402-20/1011-29), ʿAbdūn b. Muḥammad (420-45/1029-53) and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳāʾim (445-51/1053-9). It belonged to the taifa of Seville until the Almoravids took over al-Andalus in 483/1090. In the middle of the 6th/13th century, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Maymūn led a rising in Cadiz, as part of the generalised anti-Almoravid movement which split the country into fragments, which are called the "second taifas". From 540/1145 onwards he proclaimed the Almohads, and the territory of the ancient *kūra* remained under the new dynasty's aegis, although soon menaced by the Castilian armies of the Reconquista. Thus *ca.* 572/1176 Ferdinand II attacked Arcos and Jerez. It was there that the tentative movements for expansion of Ibn Hūd were halted, defeated by Castile at Jerez in 627/1230. The Muslims remained in the region, but once Seville fell in 646/1248, they found themselves defenceless. Then Castile seized Cadiz in 660/1262. Two years later came the Mudéjar rebellion against Alfonso X, supported from Granada, as a result of which the Castilians decreed the expulsion of the Mudéjars from this region, thus subduing the populations of Jerez, Medina Sidonia, Vejer, Sanlúcar, Arcos, etc. Shadūna became henceforth the political and military frontier with the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada [see NAṢRIDS].

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(F. ROLDAN-CASTRO)

SHAFĀʿA (A.), intercession, mediation. He who makes the intercession is called *shāfiʿ* and *shafīʿ*. The word is also used in other than theological language, e.g. in laying a petition before a king (*LʿA* s.v.), in interceding for a debtor (al-Bukhārī, *Istiḳrāḍ*, 18). Very little is known of intercession in judicial procedure. In the *Ḥadīth* it is said: "He who by his intercession puts out of operation one of the *ḥudūd Allāh* is putting himself in opposition to God" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 70, 82; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, 54/11; *Ḥudūd*, 12).

1. In official Islam.

The word is usually found in the theological sense, particularly in eschatological descriptions; it already occurs in the Ḳurʾān in this use. Muḥammad became acquainted through Jewish and more particularly Christian influences with the idea of eschatological intercession. In Job xxxiii, 23 ff. (the text is corrupt), the angels are mentioned who intercede for man to release him from death. In Job v, 1, there is reference to the saints (by whom here also angels are probably meant), to whom man turns in his need. Abraham is a mortal saint whom we find interceding in the Old Testament (in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah).

In the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature, we again find the same classes of beings with the same function: the angels (*Test. Adam*, ix, 3) and the saints (2. *Maccab.*, xv, 14; *Assumptio Mosis*, xii, 6). In the early Christian literature the same idea repeatedly occurs, but here we have two further classes of beings: the apostles and the martyrs (cf. Cyril of Jerusalem in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, xxxiii, 1115; patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs; cf. xlvi, 850; lxi, 581).

In the Ḳurʾān, intercession occurs mainly in a negative context. The day of judgment is described as a day on which no *shafāʿa* will be accepted (sūra II, 48, 254). This is directed against Muḥammad's enemies as is evident from X, 18: "they serve not God but what brings them neither ill nor good and they say these are our intercessors with God"; cf. also LXXIV, 48: "the intervention of those who make *shafāʿa* will not avail them".

But the possibility of intercession is not absolutely excluded. XXXIX, 44 says: "Say: the intercession belongs to God, etc.". Passages are fairly numerous in which this statement is defined to mean that *shafāʿa* is only possible with God's permission: "Who should intervene with Him, without His permission?" (II, 255, cf. X, 3). Those who receive God's permission for *shafāʿa* are explained as follows: "The *shafāʿa* is only for those who have an *ʿahd* with the Merciful" (XIX, 87) and XLIII, 86: "They whom they invoke besides God shall not be able to intercede except those who bear witness to the truth". XXI, 26-8 is remarkable where the power of intercession is evidently credited to the angels: "they say the Merciful has begotten offspring. Nay, they are but His honoured servants who ... and they offer not to intercede save on behalf of whom it pleaseth Him". It appears that

the angels are meant by the honoured servants. XL, 7 (cf. XLII, 5) is more definite: "Those who bear the throne and surround it sing the praises of their Lord and believe in Him and implore forgiveness for those who believe (saying), Our Lord; who embracest all things in mercy and knowledge; bestow forgiveness on them that repent and follow Thy path and keep them from the pains of Hell".

Such utterances paved the way for an unrestricted adoption by Islam of the principle of *shafāᶜa*. In the classical Ḥadīth which reflects the development of ideas to about 150 A.H., we already have ample material. *Shafāᶜa* is usually mentioned here in eschatological descriptions. But it should be noted that the Prophet, even in his lifetime, is said to have made intercession. ᶜĀʾisha relates that he often slipped quietly from her side at night to go to the cemetery of Baḳīᶜ al-Gharḳad [*q.v.*] to beseech forgiveness of God for the dead (Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, 102; cf. al-Tirmidhī, *Djanāʾiz*, 59). Similarly, his *istighfār* is mentioned in the *ṣalāt al-djanāʾiz* (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 170) and its efficacy explained (*ibid.*, 388). The prayer for the forgiveness of sins then became or remained an integral part of this *ṣalāt* (e.g. Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. T.J.W. Juynboll, 48) to which a high degree of importance was attributed. Cf. Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, 58: "If a community of Muslims, a hundred strong, perform the *ṣalāt* over a Muslim and all pray for his sins to be forgiven him, this prayer will surely be granted"; and Ibn Ḥanbal, iv, 79, 100, where the number a hundred is reduced to three rows (*ṣufūf*).

Muḥammad's intercession at the day of judgment is described in a tradition which frequently occurs (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 19; Muslim, *Īmān*, 322, 326-9; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra XVII, 19; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 4), the main features of which are as follows. On the day of judgment, God will assemble the believers; in their need they turn to Adam for his intercession. He reminds them, however, that through him sin entered the world and refers them to Nūḥ. But he also mentions his sins and refers them to Ibrāhīm. In this way, they appeal in vain to the great apostles of God until ᶜĪsā finally advises them to appeal to Muḥammad for assistance. The latter will gird himself and with God's permission throw himself before Him. Then he will be told "arise and say, intercession is granted thee". God will thereupon name him a definite number to be released and when he has led these into Paradise, he will again throw himself before his Lord and the same stages will again be repeated several times until finally Muḥammad says, "O Lord, now there are only left in hell those who, according to the Ḳurʾān, are to remain there eternally".

This tradition is in its different forms the locus classicus for the limitation of the power of intercession to Muḥammad to the exclusion of the other apostles. In some traditions it is numbered among the charismata allotted to him (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *ṣalāt*, 56).

Muḥammad's *shafāᶜa* then is recognised by the *idjmāᶜ*; it is based on XVII, 79: "Perhaps the Lord shall call thee to an honourable place"; and on XCIII, 5: "and thy Lord shall give a reward with which thou shalt be pleased" (al-Rāzī's commentary on sūra II, 48, 2nd *masʾala*; cf. earlier, Muslim, *Īmān*, 320). Muḥammad is said to have been offered the privilege of *shafāᶜa* by a message from his Lord as a choice; the alternative was the assurance that half of his community would enter paradise. Muḥammad, however, preferred the right of intercession, doubtless because he thought he would get a considerable result from it (al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-Ḳiyāma*, 13; Ibn Ḥanbal, iv, 404).

The traditions describe very vividly how the "people of hell" (*djahannamiyyūn*) are released from their fearful state. Some have had to suffer comparatively little from the flames; others on the other hand are already in part turned to cinders. They are sprinkled with water from the well of life and they are restored to a healthy condition (e.g. Muslim, *Īmān*, 320).

In another class of traditions it is said that every prophet has a "supplication" (*daᶜwa*) and that Muḥammad keeps his secret in order to intercede with God for his community on the day of judgment (cf. e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 313; Muslim, *Īmān*, 334).

In accordance with the Christian conception mentioned above, Islam was not content to make Muhammad the sole conveyor of intercession. At his side, we find angels, prophets, martyrs and even simple believers (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 24/5; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 94; Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, 26; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* on Ḳurʾān, XIX, 87). But it is Muḥammad who will be the prime intercessor (Muslim, *Īmān*, 330, 332; *Faḍāʾil*, 3; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna*, 13). For the Shīᶜa, naturally, the power of intercession after the Prophet falls above all to the Imāms (see e.g. M.J. McDermott, *The theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, Beirut 1978, 254-5).

Finally, one should examine the question of those for whom intercession will be efficacious. In classical Tradition, the response in principle which is given there is that *shafāᶜa* is valid for all those who do not associate anything with God (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 19; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-ḳiyāma*, 13), even if they have nevertheless been guilty of grave sins (of which they have not repented). A famous *ḥadīth* makes the Prophet say, "My intercession will be for the grave sinners of my community (*li-ahl al-kabāʾir min ummatī*)" (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna*, 21; al-Tirmidhī, *loc. cit.*, 11; Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, 37). Such is the position of the Sunnī theologians (cf. al-Ashᶜarī, *Maḳālāt*, Wiesbaden 1963, 474), including the Ḥanbalīs (cf. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 100 of tr.). For them, the Prophet's intercession will concern all those believers who, because of their sins, would have merited divine punishment, with God either admitting them to His Paradise immediately or else bringing them forth from Hell at the end of a period of time more or less protracted (see al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr* on Ḳurʾān, II, 48, beginning of the second *masʾala*, ed. Tehran n.d., iii, 56). The Muᶜtazila, on the other hand, as well as the Khāridjites, reject this interpretation (see al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 244; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317-21, iv, 63). For the Muᶜtazila, prophetal intercession can only operate in favour of sinners who have already repented (see Mānkdīm = Ps. ᶜAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, Cairo 1965, 688, 691); they consider it to be, on God's part, an extra act of favour (*faḍl*) (see al-Ashᶜarī, *Maḳālāt*, 474; Mānkdīm, *op. cit.*, 691; al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, iii, 56). Against the Sunnī position, the Muᶜtazila invoke certain of the Ḳurʾānic verses cited above, notably XL, 18, and XXI, 28 (cf. Mānkdīm, 689; al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, iii, 56).

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(A.J. Wensinck-[D. Gimaret])

2. In popular piety.

Although the Throne Verse (surā II, 155) asks, "Who could intercede with Him except by His permission?" many Muslims believed that the Prophet was granted this permission, as XVII, 79 speaks of his "special rank". Another Ḳurʾānic verse that seems to allow intercession was XL, 7, where "those who carry the divine throne" are mentioned as constantly asking divine forgiveness. Thus the belief developed that even pious acts could serve as intercessors: the Ḳurʾān will intercede for those who have studied and recited it devoutly, and this hope is often expressed in prayers written at the end of manuscripts of it. Other religious works could be imagined as interceding, such as the profession of faith; even mosques were thought to be transformed into white camels or boats to carry to Paradise those who had regularly performed their prayers in them, just as Friday might appear as a beautiful youth to intercede for people who had honoured him by attending the Friday worship. It was also believed that martyrs could intercede on behalf of family and friends, and that children who had died in infancy would intercede for their parents to have them brought to Paradise, because otherwise they would feel lonely.

But the most important intercessor is Muḥammad, and the numerous people in the Muslim world who are called "Muḥammad Shafīʿ" bear witness to this belief, which is based on the legend that at Doomsday, all prophets (including the sinless Jesus) will call out *nafsī nafsī* "I myself [want to be saved]" while Muḥammad calls out *ummatī ummatī* "my community, my community [should be saved]". Innumerable folk-songs and also high-flown poetical descriptions tell how he will lead his community to Paradise carrying the green "banner of praise" (*liwāʾ al-ḥamd*), for his *shafāʿa* is meant, it is believed, for the grave sinners of his community.

Many prayers contain the request that God may grant His prophet the position of honour in which he can intercede for his community; typical is the prayer in al-Djazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt*, "O God, appoint our lord Muḥammad as the most trusted of speakers and the most prevailing of requesters and the first of intercessors and the most favoured of those whose intercession is acceptable ... etc.". There is barely a poet—"heretic, drug addict (*bhāngī*) or wine-bibber" (as a Sindhi bard sings in the 19th century)—who has not relied upon the Prophet's intercession, and to recite blessings over him was believed to attract his special help. Poetry in which hope for *shafāʿa* is expressed is found abundantly in all the languages of the Islamic world, whether one turns to a scholar like Ibn Khaldūn in North Africa or to a folk poet in the Khowar language in the Karakorum. The Urdu poet Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī Mīr (d. 1223/1810 [*q.v.*]) claims:

"Why do you worry, O Mīr, thinking of your black book?
The person of the Seal of Prophets is a guarantee for your salvation!"

and the Mamlūk Sultan Ḳāyitbāy of Egypt was as convinced of the Prophet's intercession as were poets in Sind, who loved to enumerate dozens of countries over which the Prophet's *shafāʿa* stretches (mostly in alliterating groups of names). All of them claimed that their "hand was on his skirt" to implore his help, and some, like the Urdu poet Muḥsin Kākōrawī (d. 1905) expressed the hope that the poetry written in his praise might be recited at Doomsday to make the Prophet intercede on his behalf (although the *Ḥadīth* expressedly emphasises the *umma*, not an individual, as recipient of intercession.) Even Hindu poets wrote poetry in the hope of the Prophet's intercession, and the believers' fear of the terrible Day of Judgment was more and more tempered by adding the element of hope, represented by the Prophet's loving care for his community.

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(Annemarie Schimmel)

AL-**SHAFAḲ** (a.), morning or evening twilight, the periods between daybreak (*al-fadjr* or *ṭulūʿ al-shafaḳ*) and sunrise (*ṭulūʿ al-shams*) and between sunset (*ghurūb al-shams*) and nightfall (*mughīb al-shafaḳ*). These are of special importance in Islamic ritual because they relate to three of the prayers [see ṢALĀT and MĪḲĀT, i]: the *fadjr* prayer is to be performed as soon as possible after daybreak and must be completed before sunrise, the *maghrib* prayer begins as soon as possible after sunset, and the *ʿishāʾ* prayer as soon as possible after nightfall. Al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] gives an excellent description in *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* (Ḥaydarābād 1954-6, ii, 948-50), here summarised. In the morning a long thin column of light appears first, which is more or less inclined to the horizon according to the latitude of the locality. This is called the "false dawn" (*al-ṣubḥ al-kādhib* or *al-fadjr al-kādhib*) or, because of its shape, "the tail of the wolf" (*dhanab al-sirḥān*). Prayer at this time is forbidden. This is followed by the "true dawn" (*al-ṣubḥ al-ṣādiḳ*), first as a faint white light which gradually extends in the form of a crescent along the horizon; it marks the time for the beginning of the *fadjr* prayer. Next comes the "red dawn" (*al-shafaḳ al-aḥmar*). The same phenomena occur in the evening but in the reverse order, although "the wolf's tail" is not seen so frequently in the evening. The "wolf's tail" in the morning corresponds in fact to the phenomenon known as the zodiacal light, already mentioned in Ḳurʾān, II, 183. Redhouse (1878 and 1880) has gathered numerous references from Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources.

The Shāfiʿīs, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs are in accord that the disappearance of the red glow (*mughīb al-shafaḳ al-aḥmar*) in the evening sky should mark the end of the interval for the *maghrib* prayer and the beginning of that for the *ʿishāʾ* prayer. Abū Ḥanīfa, on the other hand, favoured the time of the disappearance of the white glow, and his pupils Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī followed other schools in this question. The various definitions have been collected by Wiedemann and Frank (1926), and al-Bīrūnī's discussion in his *Ifrād al-maḳāl fī amr al-ẓilāl* has been studied by E.S. Kennedy (1976).

Various Muslim astronomers determined the angle of solar depression below the horizon at the times of daybreak and nightfall, which are not identical to each other. The actual values depend on atmospheric conditions and the influence of moonlight as well as on the sharpness of the eyes of the observer. Ḥabash [*q.v.*], for example, used 18° for both, as did Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*]. Al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] suggested both 18° and 17°, and al-Ḳāyinī (*ca.* 400/1000) based his calculations on 17°. Ibn Muʿādh (see below) mentioned 18° and 19° but used 19° in his calculations. In the corpus of tables for time-keeping used in Cairo from the

7th/13th to the 13th/19th century, some of which go back to Ibn Yūnus, 19° is used for morning and 17° for evening twilight. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] assumed 18° for both phenomena. Al-Marrākus͟hī [*q.v.*] favoured 20° and 16°, but al-K͟halīlī (*ca.* 760/1360), who otherwise relied heavily on him, used 19° and 17° in the corpus of tables that was used in Damascus from the 8th/14th to the 13th/19th century.

The duration of twilight (*ḥiṣṣat al-s͟hafaḳ*) is a function of the solar longitude and terrestrial latitude and hence varies throughout the year as well as from one latitude to another. Its determination is a trivial extension of the general problem of determining time from solar altitude, a problem that was extremely popular amongst Muslim astronomers. The earliest table displaying this interval is due to Ḥabas͟h and is based on an approximate Indian formula for time-keeping (as well as on the parameter 18°); the time is given in seasonal hours and the table serves all latitudes (up to *ca.* 45°). Later tables, based mainly on exact formulae, are found in the various corpuses of tables used for time-keeping in various localities [see MĪḲĀT. ii]. These corpuses sometimes contain in addition a table of the duration of total darkness (*d̲j̲awf al-layl* or *mā bayn al-s͟hafaḳ wa 'l-fad̲j̲r*), simply determined by subtracting morning and evening twilight from the time between sunset and sunrise. The 10th/16th-century Cairene astronomer Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-K͟hayr al-Ḥusnī prepared a set of tables displaying the duration of morning and evening twilight at the equinoxes and solstices for a series of latitudes.

The duration of twilight may also be determined with an astrolabe [see AṢṬURLĀB], whose markings sometimes include a curve representing the solar depression at daybreak/nightfall below the horizon, enabling the user to measure the time taken from that depression to the eastern or western horizon. In the case of the astrolabic quadrant (*rubᶜ al-muḳanṭarāt*) [see RUBᶜ], two curves are often included whose distance from the meridian measures the duration of morning and evening twilight throughout the year (the meridian being cleverly substituted for the horizon).

To explain the varying phenomena at twilight, it is assumed by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-S͟hīrāzī [*q.v.*] and others that the spherical earth is surrounded by a layer of vapour that contains earthy and watery components, thicker in the lower strata than in the upper ones. Around the veil of vapour is a layer of pure air. The sun's rays cast a shadow of the earth into these layers, the parts outside the shadow reflect the light and appear to shine. The earliest attempt to measure the height of the atmosphere was by the late 5th/11th-century Andalusian *ḳāḍī* Ibn Muᶜād͟h. His work, lost in the original, was published as *Liber de crepusculis* in 1542 and, falsely associated with Ibn al-Hayt͟ham [*q.v.*] (the correct authorship was first established in Sabra, 1967), it was influential in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. Ibn Muᶜād͟h "deserves credit for bringing together diverse views in meteorology and astronomy to form a coherent method for determining the height of the atmosphere" (Goldstein, 1977), even though his result, namely, 50 miles, was not satisfactory. More practical considerations of twilight are found in *zīd̲j̲s* [*q.v.*] and in works on time-keeping and on instrumentation.

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(E. WIEDEMANN-[D.A. KING])

S͟HĀFIᶜ B. ᶜALĪ AL-ᶜASḲALĀNĪ, Nāṣir al-Dīn, historian of Mamlūk Egypt (born D͟hu 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 649/February-March 1252, died 24 S͟haᶜbān 730/12 June 1330).

The son of a sister of the chancery clerk Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*], he served as clerk first Baraka K͟hān b. Baybars, then Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]. His official career ended when he was blinded by an arrow at the battle of Ḥimṣ (680/1281) [*q.v.*], although he claimed to have

played a significant part in the abrogation of the truce with the Latin kingdom (689/1290). He spent his long retirement as a *littérateur* and bibliophile. His numerous writings in verse and prose included a biography of Baybars, covertly critical both of the late sultan and of his previous biographer, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (*Kitāb Ḥusn al-manāḳib al-sirriyya al-muntazaʿa min al-sīra al-Ẓāhiriyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976); and also biographies of Ḳalāwūn and his two sons, al-Ashraf Khalīl and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The first is probably *al-Faḍl al-maʾthūr min sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr* (Bodleian, ms. Marsh 424), which appears to be a compilation of pieces finally put together *ca.* 693/1293.

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SHAFĪʿĀ YAZDI, Dānishmand Khān, a high noble in the Mughal Empire. A Persian by birth, he studied both rational and traditional sciences in the country of his birth. He came to India as a merchant and traded at Aḥmadnagar. He entered imperial service in 1060/1650 under Shāh Djahān and was given the rank of 1,000/100. In 1065/1654-5 he was given the title of Dānishmand Khān which suggested the Emperor's high opinion of his intellectual talents (*dānishmand*, lit. "scholar, sage") and in 1068/1657-8 he was appointed Mīr Bakhshī but he resigned the same year. In 1070/1659-60 Awrangzīb, the new Emperor, raised his rank to 4,000/2,000, and in 1076/1665-6 to 5,000/2,500. He was appointed Governor of Dihlī, but soon afterwards, in 1078/1667-8, a central administration minister (Mīr Bakhshī). He died in 1081/1670.

Dānishmand Khān is also known to us from the letters of François Bernier who had taken his service in the 1660s. Dānishmand Khān showed great interest in European sciences, and had Bernier expound to him the discoveries of Harvey and Pacquet and the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes. The Italian traveller Manucci shares Bernier's high opinion of Dānishmand Khān's wisdom and learning.

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al-**SHĀFIʿĪ**, al-Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUthmān b. Shāfiʿ b. al-Sāʾib b. ʿUbayd b. ʿAbd Yazīd b. Hāshim b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Ḳuṣayy al-Ḳurashī, the eponym, rather than the founder, of the Shāfiʿī school (*madhhab*) [*q.v.*].

1. Life.

The biographers are all agreed in dating the birth of al-Shāfiʿī in 150/767, the year of the death of Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], a tradition, related by al-Āburī (d. 363/974) and often disputed, placing the two events on the very same day. According to the most ancient preserved source (Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/939), *Ādāb al-Shāfiʿī wa-manāḳibuhu*, Aleppo n.d., 21-3), al-Shāfiʿī was born either at ʿAsḳalān, a town on the southern coast of Palestine, or in the Yemen, while most biographers incline rather towards Ghazza, likewise in southern Palestine (also mentioned, less frequently, is Minā near Mecca).

His genealogy was one of the most prestigious since, while being a Ḳurashī, he was a Muṭṭalibī on his father's side, thus a distant relative of the Prophet (al-Muṭṭalib was the brother of Hāshim, paternal great-grandfather of Muḥammad). His mother was, according to different sources, either of the Yemeni tribe of Azd [*q.v.*], or a direct descendent from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*], cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. This latter hypothesis, disputed by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī but retained by al-Subkī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., i, 193-5) merits consideration for the extent to which it could partially account for the attitude of al-Shāfiʿī at the time of his *miḥna* (see below).

This genealogy, which has been disputed, is always cited in connection with various *ḥadīths* of the Prophet—"The Imāms are of Ḳuraysh", "Learn from the Ḳurashīs and do not seek to teach them anything", etc.—with the evident intention of stressing the fundamental superiority of al-Shāfiʿī, and thereby of the school which claims him, over the other Imāms. Similarly, it is often considered that al-Shāfiʿī was the renewer (*mudjaddid*) of religion (who, according to another *ḥadīth*, is sent by God "at the beginning of each century") of the 2nd century A.H.

At the age of two (or ten according to the source which places his birth in the Yemen), orphaned of his father, al-Shāfiʿī was taken by his mother, who seems to have been totally without means, to Mecca where they had relatives. Living in humble style in the *Shiʿb al-Khayf*, the young al-Shāfiʿī seems to have become avidly interested in activities appropriate to his status as a member of the tribal aristocracy: poetry and, in particular, archery. His eloquence and his knowledge of the Arabic language—acquired, it is said (Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab*, Cairo n.d., ii, 157), in the course of prolonged wanderings with Hudhayl [*q.v.*], a tribe of northern Arabia renowned for the beauty of its speech—have remained highly respected and are said to have been praised by al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*]; a collection of poems (*dīwān*) attributed to him has also survived (numerous editions in Cairo). Having furthermore become an excellent archer—"hitting the bull's-eye nine (or ten) times out of ten"—he seems to have composed a treatise on archery, an extract from which was to be reproduced in a section of the *Kitāb al-Umm* (ed. Dār al-Shaʿb (photomechanical reprod. of the Būlāḳ edition, 1321-5/1902-6), Cairo n.d., iv, 149-55; a (manuscript) *K. al-Sabḳ wa 'l-ramy* is attributed to al-Shāfiʿī, cf. F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 490).

At a very early age, al-Shāfiʿī was torn between the pursuit of these very mundane activities and the "quest for knowledge" (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*). According to an anecdote related by the biographers, one day, after al-

Shāfiʿī had demonstrated his talents as an archer, one of the spectators, ʿAmr b. Sawwād, told him that he was a better scholar than an archer (*anta fi 'l-ʿilm akbar minka fi 'l-ramy*); a compliment which apparently persuaded him to devote himself entirely to study (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb*, 22-3).

In Mecca, the principal masters of al-Shāfiʿī were Muslim b. Khālid al-Zandjī (d. 179/795 or 180/796), of whom little is known other than that he was the jurisconsult (*muftī*) of the city, and Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198/813) who was also, later, the master of Ibn Ḥanbal. At fifteen (or eighteen) years old, al-Shāfiʿī is said to have received his master's permission to issue judicial decisions (*fatwās*) in his own right. At the same time, the reputation of a master of Medina, the Imām Mālik b. Anas (95-179/715-95 [*q.v.*]) was in the ascendant and it was to him that al-Shāfiʿī resolved to turn in order to complete his legal education.

According to Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, while still in Mecca al-Shāfiʿī obtained a copy of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*—the principal work of Mālik—and learned it by heart before introducing himself to Mālik in *ca.* 170/786, persistently asking his permission to recite it to him. After initial hesitation, Mālik agreed and was very pleasantly surprised by the eloquence of the other, who was to become one of his disciples (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb*, 27-8).

Al-Shāfiʿī remained in Medina as a pupil of Mālik until the latter's death, a period of about ten years (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Manāḳib al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī*, Cairo 1986, 45). Al-Shāfiʿī was always to consider Mālik his supreme master but, being of a resolutely independent spirit, he was later to allow himself an extremely critical *K. Ikhtilāf Mālik wa 'l-Shāfiʿī*, in fact a refutation of Mālik which, in the form in which it has survived, is the work of al-Rabīʿ al-Murādī (d. 270-884), an Egyptian disciple of al-Shāfiʿī, a book for which the Mālikīs, of Egypt especially, were not to forgive him (ed. with the *K. al-Umm*, vii, 177-249; see in this connection R. Brunschvig, *Polémiques médiévales autour du rite de Mālik*, in *Etudes d'Islamologie*, ii, 65-101). In consequence, the Mālikī school was to issue a polemical literature aimed directly at al-Shāfiʿī himself (the *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Shāfiʿī* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Labbād al-Ḳayrawānī, d. 333/944, published Tunis 1986), which definitely deserves to be studied to the same degree as the better-known debates between Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs.

At Medina, al-Shāfiʿī had other masters including in particular, a disturbing fact for his Sunnī biographers, Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā (d. 184/800 or 191/807) of whom the heresiographers maintain that he was a follower of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*]; but according to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Manāḳib*, 44), this master is said to have taught him only Law (*fiḳh*) and Tradition (*ḥadīth*) and nothing in relation to theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*).

On account of the contradictions presented by the biographers, it becomes difficult to trace with precision the life of al-Shāfiʿī after this first Ḥidjāzī episode of his existence. Was he already in ʿIrāḳ between 177/793 and 179/795, and did he compose there the *K. al-Ḥudjdja* (lost), as stated by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī? In which case, how can he also write that al-Shāfiʿī remained as a pupil of Mālik at Medina until the latter's death, i.e. until 179/795? According to al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066), al-Shāfiʿī's first period of residence in ʿIrāḳ dated from 195/811 to 197/813; which seems improbable since he is reckoned when there to have visited al-Shaybānī, who died in 189/805. The following events, widely attested, in the life of al-Shāfiʿī, may however be accepted as genuine, although they cannot be dated with precision (all dates given here, with the exception of that of the death of al-Shāfiʿī, are hypothetical).

It appears certain that it was shortly after having completed his education that al-Shāfiʿī was summoned to perform some official function at Nadjrān (in the north of Yemen) and that it was during this period that he compromised himself by joining the partisans of the Ḥasanid Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh (regarding him and the revolt which he led, see H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1983, 76-7). According to Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995 [*q.v.*]), al-Shāfiʿī was a fervent Shīʿī (*wa-kāna al-Shāfiʿī shadīdan fi 'l-tashayyuʿ*: *Fihrist*, Beirut 1978, 295); if this was genuinely the case, it can only be understood in a strictly political sense. This episode, which the biographers call the "test" (*miḥna*) or the "crisis" (*fitna*) of al-Shāfiʿī, ended, at some point in the decade following 180, with his appearance before the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd at Raḳḳa. It was through the intervention of the eminent jurist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*]—a much favoured courtier and himself a former pupil of Mālik and of Abū Ḥanīfa—that al-Shāfiʿī was pardoned, perhaps after a spell in prison, by the caliph (although the other nine co-defendants were executed). According to the hagiographic version of this *miḥna*, al-Shāfiʿī's salvation was entirely his own achievement, obtained by his re-affirmation of loyalty to al-Rashīd and by "the strength of his argument" (*ḳuwwat ḥudjdjatih*). Al-Shāfiʿī was not subsequently to occupy any official function, refusing the caliph's offer of the post of judge (*ḳāḍī*) of Yemen.

Al-Shāfiʿī took up a first period of residence (of two years?) in ʿIrāḳ (either before, or just after his *miḥna*), during which he furthered his acquaintance with the school of *fiḳh* which had developed there, at the initiative of Abū Ḥanīfa in particular, and which continued to flourish there largely through the efforts of his two disciples Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*] and al-Shaybānī (the text of the *disputatios* (*munāẓarāt*) between the latter and al-Shāfiʿī is preserved in the *Manāḳib* of Fakhr al-Dīn). Al-Shāfiʿī was a regular frequenter of the latter's circle and was later to devote a refutation to him, the *K. al-Radd ʿalā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan* (*K. al-Umm*, vii, 277-303).

After this first period in ʿIrāḳ, al-Shāfiʿī returned to Mecca where, moving gradually from the status of disciple to that of master, he stayed for some nine years. *Ca.* 195/811, he is again found in Baghdād for a period of approximately two years during which he composed the first version of the *Risāla* (lost) and various texts containing what the Shāfiʿīs call "the ancient (doctrine)" (*al-ḳadīm*) of al-Shāfiʿī. In 198/813, probably after another visit to the Ḥidjāz, he is once again in Baghdād, but for only a few months. It was during this period, probably in Mecca, that al-Shāfiʿī met Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]), but despite the abundance in the biographies of anecdotes linking the two, it does not seem that they were well acquainted.

Little is known of the reasons which induced al-Shāfiʿī to emigrate and to settle definitively at Fusṭāṭ in Egypt (according to certain sources he had already spent time there in 188/804). He was probably invited there by the governor al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd Allāh (according to Yāḳūt) but it seems probable that it was in fact the isolation imposed on him, in the Ḥidjāz, by the predominance of the disciples of Mālik and, in Baghdād, by that of the disciples of al-Shaybānī, which persuaded him to attempt the foundation of a school elsewhere.

At Fusṭāṭ, he was initially well received, regarded probably as a disciple of Mālik, by the major Mālikī

family of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. Before writing a refutation of al-Shāfiʿī and returning to the ranks of the Mālikīs, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 268/881) was one of his most fervent disciples. However, al-Shāfiʿī very soon became a target for the criticism of the Egyptian Mālikīs, who sought without success to have him banished by the authorities. The life of al-Shāfiʿī was clearly that of an undesirable.

It was however in Egypt—he lectured in the mosque of ʿAmr—that al-Shāfiʿī's teaching had its greatest impact; his principal disciples were Egyptians and subsequently Shāfiʿism competed successfully with Mālikism for supremacy in Egypt [see SHĀFIʿIYYA]. It was here that al-Shāfiʿī composed the new version of his *Risāla* (the one which has survived) and the majority of the texts collected in the *K. al-Umm*.

The circumstances of his death, at 54 years old, the last day of Radjab 204/20 January 820, remain uncertain: according to some, he died as a result of a violent assault at the hands of a fanatical Mālikī while others speak of sickness. He was buried in the tomb of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ḥakam at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam Hills. The architectural complex, frequently altered and restored, which surrounds his mausoleum, was erected under the Ayyūbids. His tomb is today the object of particular veneration (along with the nearby tombs of the Imām al-Layth and of others, it forms part of a "tour" which takes place on Thursdays), and every year his *mawlid*, one of Cairo's most important dates, is lavishly celebrated (one aspect of the popular devotion surrounding al-Shāfiʿī is studied in S. ʿUways, *Ẓāhirat irsāl al-rasāʾil ilā ḍarīḥ al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī*, Cairo 1978).

Married twice, al-Shāfiʿī had four children: two sons, Abū ʿUthmān (who was *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo) and Abu 'l-Ḥasan, and two daughters, Fāṭima and Zaynab.

Reference may be made to SHĀFIʿIYYA for a list of the principal disciples of al-Shāfiʿī.

2. Doctrine.

a. Theology (*uṣūl al-dīn, ʿilm al-kalām*). Over the years, a considerable quantity of ink has been expended in addressing the question of the theological views of al-Shāfiʿī. In reality, the interest accorded to this question in the post-al-Shāfiʿī period seems to be inversely proportional to the interest in the subject shown by al-Shāfiʿī himself; the few references to the *ahl al-kalām* (an expression which, at the time, denoted the Muʿtazilīs) in his work are always linked to issues of a legal and not of a theological nature (J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 258-9).

It is therefore appropriate to treat with great caution (1) the various professions of faith attributed to al-Shāfiʿī which give the impression that his thinking was in some ways a prefiguration of Ashʿarism (*al-Ashʿariyya* [*q.v.*]), (the *K. al-Fiḳh al-akbar fi 'l-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1324/1906, is clearly apocryphal and the authenticity of the *K. Waṣiyyat al-Shāfiʿī*, ed. Kern in *MSOS*, xiii [1910], 141-5, is doubtful), and at other times a prefiguration of Ḥanbalism (cf. the creed (*ʿaḳīda*) attributed to al-Shāfiʿī in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila* of Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, Beirut n.d., i, 283-4); and (2) the observations related by Ashʿarī Shāfiʿīs, such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī or al-Subkī, depicting al-Shāfiʿī as favouring the exercise of *ʿilm al-kalām* and those, related by traditionalist Shāfiʿīs, which show him hostile to this discipline (e.g. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb*, 182-9). In this context, the literature as a whole derives largely from retrospective projection, and the debates to which it refers were not to become crucial in Islam until after the death of al-Shāfiʿī (more precisely, after the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] revolving round the question of the creation of the Ḳurʾān, which began in 218/833).

A recent interpretation of the work of al-Shāfiʿī, open to objection on the grounds that it, too, borrows from this dubious retrospection on the part of biographers, depicts him as a traditionalist whose primary purpose was to oppose the development of so-called "rationalist" theology (G. Makdisi, in *SI*, lix [1984], 5-47).

b. *Uṣūl al-fiḳh*. It was, allegedly, at the request of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, a traditionist of Baṣra who died in 198/813, that al-Shāfiʿī composed the *Risāla* (numerous editions since 1894, of which the best is that of A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1940 with numerous re-issues; Eng. tr. M. Khadduri, repr. Cambridge 1987; partial Fr. tr. Ph. Rancillac, in *MIDEO*, xi [1972], 127-326) and thus instituted the science of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* which was later to be elevated to a privileged position in the classical canon of Islamic scholarship (statements denying to al-Shāfiʿī the credit for having founded this science should be regarded as strictly polemical). The text which is currently available, in the form of two manuscripts, was very likely composed in Egypt and reflects the final stage in the legal thinking of al-Shāfiʿī, who had composed a substantially different version (*al-risāla al-ḳadīma*) while resident in ʿIrāḳ.

As a result of the works of I. Goldziher, who had no knowledge of the *Risāla* (*Die Ẓahiriten. Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig 1884, Eng. tr. *The Ẓāhiris*, Leiden 1971) and of J. Schacht (*Origins*, and *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, Fr. tr. *Introduction au droit musulmane*, Paris 1983), the contribution of al-Shāfiʿī to Islamic legal thought—which he raised to the status of a science—is customarily regarded as a synthesis between the two major directions hitherto followed in terms of the elaboration of *fiḳh*, with which he was thoroughly familiar: on the one hand, that of his master Mālik and on the other that of Abū Ḥanīfa, as represented by al-Shaybānī. In the depth of its inspiration, the Shāfiʿian synthesis would nevertheless be more faithful to the spirit of the former and could be placed under the rubric of traditionalism.

The fundamental idea around which the entire legal thought of al-Shāfiʿī is developed in the *Risāla* is that, to every act performed by a believer who is subject to the Law (*mukallaf*) there corresponds a statute (*ḥukm*) belonging to the revealed Law (*sharīʿa*). This legal statute is either presented as such in the scriptural sources (the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna), which al-Shāfiʿī calls "the foundation" (*al-aṣl*), or is it possible, by means of analogical reasoning (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]) to infer it from the *aṣl*, the latter being the bearer of a latent "rationally deducible content", the *maʿḳūl al-aṣl*?

All the efforts of al-Shāfiʿī—and herein lies his originality in comparison with his predecessors—were subsequently to be applied to defining with precision, establishing critically and ranking in order of priority these different sources (*aṣl* and *maʿḳūl al-aṣl*) and to determining the modalities of their usage. It is no doubt the critical effort characterising Shāfiʿian legal thought which explains to a large extent the open hostility or the indifference with which the *Risāla* was initially received among *fuḳahāʾ* of all persuasions. Furthermore, the simple fact that al-Shāfiʿī had chosen to write a treatise on this subject entailed a systematisation, a codification and, up to a point, a rationalisation of understanding the Law, the *fiḳh*, which were soon to provoke tensions which would not be resolved until much later.

The principal attainments of the legal thought of al-

Shāfiʿī consist in (1) the definition of the Sunna [*q.v.*], and (2) the systematisation of analogical reasoning. As regards the Sunna, it is appropriate, according to al-Shāfiʿī, to identify it strictly with the sayings (*akwāl*), the acts (*afʿāl*) and the tacit acquiescence (*ikrār*) of the one Prophet as related in solidly established traditions; in other words, it is no longer possible to suppose naïvely that the various existing local traditions faithfully reflect the practice of the Prophet. The argument, reinforced by a radical critique of conformism (*taklīd* [*q.v.*]), was principally directed against Mālik and his disciples, who tended to assimilate the practice (*ʿamal*) of Medina to that of the Prophet for the reason, theoretically indefensible, that the Medinans had directly inherited the tradition of the Prophet because he had lived there.

As for analogical reasoning, identified with *idjtihād* [*q.v.*], the function of which is to fill gaps left by the Kurʾān and the Sunna, al-Shāfiʿī distinguishes between two types: "analogy by cause" (*kiyās al-maʿnā*)—the *kiyās al-ʿilla* of the post-Shāfiʿian theoreticians—and the less authoritative "analogy by resemblance" (*kiyās al-shabah*). Common to both of them is the imperative obligation to rely upon a legal proof (*dalīl sharʿī*), which may sometimes be difficult for the jurist to trace but of which, through postulating, the existence is certain. The argument, this time, is directed rather against Abū Ḥanīfa and his partisans who were reputed to rely on *raʾy* and *istiḥsān* [*q.v.*], i.e. on freer forms of reasoning, less closely tied to the revealed datum. In using such reasoning, al-Shāfiʿī was to claim that man introduces arbitrariness (*taḥakkum*) into the comprehension of the Law and that in so doing he substitutes himself for God and the Prophet (al-Ghazālī attributes to him the maxim *man istaḥsana fa-kad sharaʿa*), the only legitimate legislators of the community.

It is evident that al-Shāfiʿī maintains his distance from Mālik, as from Abū Ḥanīfa and his successor al-Shaybānī, and that in fact he has placed the two parties side-by-side in formally addressing to them the same message "Return to the proof". Considering his work from this perspective, al-Shāfiʿī was anything but a traditionalist, since he profoundly modified the notion, hitherto predominant among jurists, that the community was still in direct and immediate contact with the Revelation. After the passing of al-Shāfiʿī, on the other hand, the jurists would be obliged to interpret the reception of the revealed Law by referring to a legal theory which became ever more complex.

It should be noted that the *Risāla* remained a dead letter for more than a century and that the science of the *uṣūl al-fikh*, inherited from al-Shāfiʿī, was not really developed until after the 4th/10th century. But it is not certain, on the other hand, that this means that the importance traditionally accorded to this work is exaggerated (a thesis recently propounded by W.B. Hallaq in *IJMES*, xxv [1993], 587-605, in reply to N.J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, 53-61, Fr. tr. *Histoire du droit islamique*, Paris 1995, 52-60).

In addition to the *Risāla*, two other texts of al-Shāfiʿī's legal theory have been preserved, and these have yet to receive the attention that they deserve: the *K. Ibṭāl al-istiḥsān* (published with the *K. al-Umm*, vii, 267-77), and the *K. Djimāʿ al-ʿilm* (in *ibid.*, 250-62, another ed. by A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1940).

c. *Fikh*. In the absence of any monograph devoted to the practical law elaborated by al-Shāfiʿī, the present writer is obliged to confine himself to indicating the texts which could serve as a basis for such a study (the later Shāfiʿī texts of *fikh*, some of which have been translated, are the work of the major *mudjtahids* and do not necessarily reflect the *fikh* of al-Shāfiʿī).

Great confusion prevails among the biographers in regard to the works of *fikh* of al-Shāfiʿī (see, in this context, the attempt at clarification of the Shāfiʿian bibliography by Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Shāfiʿī*, Cairo n.d., 134-49). Just as in the field of legal theory, two distinct periods in the activity of al-Shāfiʿī are to be identified here. The first took place in the Ḥidjāz and in ʿIrāk and led to the production of a book intitled *K. al-Ḥudjdja*, probably a compilation, of which the transmitter reputed to be the most reliable was Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Zaʿfarānī (d. 260/874), a Baghdādī disciple of al-Shāfiʿī. This work has not survived.

The "new (doctrine)" (*al-djadīd*) was elaborated in Egypt during the last years of al-Shāfiʿī's life and is to be found recorded in the monumental *K. al-Umm*, the edition of which cited above also contains, in vol. vii, numerous other texts of al-Shāfiʿī, some, according to J. Schacht (cf. *Origins*, 330), dating from the ʿIrākī period. In the current state of knowledge it is impossible to determine with certainty whether the *Mabsūṭ*, mentioned by al-Bayhaḳī in particular as belonging among the works of al-Shāfiʿī, is, as seems probable, the same book as the *K. al-Umm*.

Also available is an *Aḥkām al-Kurʾān* (ed. al-Kawtharī, 2 vols., n.d.), a treatise dealing with the legal statutes present in the Kurʾān which is not the one, now lost, composed by al-Shāfiʿī himself. It is in fact a work of compilation undertaken by the great Shāfiʿī al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066) on the basis of different texts of al-Shāfiʿī.

d. *Ḥadīth*. A promoter of the introduction of the critique of traditions into the legal sciences (J. Schacht, *Introduction*, 36), inasmuch as, for him, prophetic traditions are the only means of access to knowledge of the Sunna, al-Shāfiʿī, as a traditionist (*muḥaddith*), is the author of a *Musnad* and of a *K. Ikhtilāf al-ḥādith* (ed. with the *K. al-Umm*, respectively, vi, in the margins, 2-277, and vii, in the margins, 2-414).

In this domain, al-Shāfiʿī was the object of numerous criticisms both on the part of the Mālikīs and, subsequently, of the disciples of Ibn Ḥanbal. He was reproached in particular for having been an unreliable transmitter (*rāwī*) (neither al-Bukhārī, nor Muslim accepted traditions transmitted by him), for having argued certain points of doctrine on the basis of dubious traditions, while being himself very rigorous on this point, in theory, and for having placed his trust in unacceptable transmitters such as Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā. The *Bayān khaṭaʾ man akhṭaʾa ʿalā ʾl-Shāfiʿī* "Revelation of the error of those who tax al-Shāfiʿī with error" (Beirut 1986) of al-Bayhaḳī seeks to exonerate al-Shāfiʿī from these accusations.

A list, incomplete, of the *ruwāt* on whose authority al-Shāfiʿī transmitted *ḥadīth* and of those who relied upon his authority for transmission in their turn, is supplied by Ibn Farḥūn (*al-Dībādj*, ii, 157).

e. Others. The biographers make frequent mention of al-Shāfiʿī's extensive knowledge in the fields of medicine (*ṭibb*), of physiognomy (*firāsa*), also stating that, before turning away from it, he was interested in astrology (*al-nudjūm*).

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and of al-ʿAsḳalānī (*Tawālī al-taʾsīs bi-maʿālī Ibn Idrīs*, Cairo 1883); 3. Among biographical dictionaries, that of al-Dhahabī (*Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1981-88, x, 5-99) assembles a mass of information, as does the shorter work of al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa 'l-lughāt*, Beirut n.d., i, 44-67; 4. Among modern works, besides that of Muḥ. Abū Zahra (above), ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, *al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī*, Cairo 1945; al-Baghdādī, *Manāḳib al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī*, Mecca 1910; M. Muṣṭafā, *K. al-Djawhar al-nafīs fī taʾrīkh ḥayāt al-Imām Ibn Idrīs*, Cairo 1908. B. In western languages: E.F. Bishop, *Al-Shāfiʿī...*, in *MW*, xix (1929), 156-75; J. Schacht, *On Shāfiʿīs life...*, in *Stud. or. Pedersen*, Copenhagen 1953, 318-26; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām al-Shāfiʿī...*, Göttingen 1890-1. Supplementary references in Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 485-6.

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AL-**SHĀFIʿIYYA**, a legal school (*madhhab*) of Sunnī Islam whose members claim to follow the teachings of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]).

Origins (*first half of the 3rd/9th century*).

The issue of the institution of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* remains poorly understood, and it poses a series of problems, fundamental as well as chronological, which are not confined to this school alone, applying in an identical manner to the emergence of other legal schools within the Islamic legal system.

In reference to the Shāfiʿī school, the fundamental problem is essentially the following: the Imām al-Shāfiʿī is the author of a radical criticism of judicial conformism (*taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]), developed in his celebrated *Risāla* (ed. Shākir, Cairo 1940; numerous re-editions in Cairo and in Beirut), which sought, on the one hand, to discredit the living local traditions as a source of religious Law, and on the other, to insist that the doctrines of the Imāms could no longer be invoked in legal issues without additional proof of the authority attributed to these great masters. Furthermore, the biographers credit al-Shāfiʿī with a series of solemn declarations strictly forbidding others to claim him as a teacher or to make his doctrine, after his death, the object of a new conformism. If reference is to be made to Shāfiʿī thought, the very existence of a school thus appears contradictory from the outset. There can be no doubt that this fundamental anomaly at the very heart of the institution of judicial schools was very soon perceived by Muslim jurists, who sought to resolve it in various manners (ranging from the refusal, rare and soon inadmissible, to belong to any school whatsoever, to the most blind acceptance of the undisputed superiority of the Imāms, with various intermediate solutions seeking to legitimise the existence of the schools while avoiding the danger of *taḳlīd*). Unfortunately, this issue has yet to be examined in depth.

As a general rule, the question of adherence to one *madhhab* or to another should be further sub-divided according to the nature of the adherent: whether the case of a scholar-jurist (*ʿālim*), or of one who is secular in religious matters (*ʿāmmī*). Every secular person is obliged to refer himself to a recognised scholar (recognition depending on a number of criteria, some of them controversial) of his choice when a question relating to the *Sharīʿa* [*q.v.*] is put to him and it behoves him to act in conformity (*ḳallada*) with the opinion which he has sollicited. For him, the only means of access to the knowledge of legal statutes is *taḳlīd*. Theoretically, the adherence of a secular Muslim to a specific judicial school is thus consequent upon the choice to act in conformity with one scholar rather than with another: he will be called a "Shāfiʿī" if he appeals to the authority of a jurist claiming the legacy of Shāfiʿism and the only personal effort which is (sometimes) required of him is to decide upon the relative worth of the Imāms and subsequently to choose, in a logical and sincere manner, the school to which he will belong (hence the existence, in each school, of a literature, yet to be studied, directed towards a broad public which is educated, but insufficiently, or not at all, versed in legal matters, which seeks to prove the superiority of such an Imām over such another; thus there is, among the Shāfiʿīs, the unedited *Mughīth al-khalḳ fī bayān al-aḥaḳḳ* of al-Djuwaynī). However, the adherence of a secular person to a *madhhab* is not necessarily definitive or strict; he may, on the one hand, change his school, and on the other, according to certain authors, he has the right, in a particular matter, to refer in an exceptional fashion to a scholar belonging to a school other than that whose doctrine he normally follows.

The question of the chronology of the emergence of the *madhhabs*, and in particular of the Shāfiʿī one, is likewise imperfectly resolved. According to J. Schacht (*Introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 58), the inception of a school laying claim to al-Shāfiʿī and seeking to propagate his doctrine ("doctrine" is, alongside "way", one of the senses of the word *madhhab*), is to be credited to the very first generation of disciples of al-Shāfiʿī and, more specifically, to al-Muzanī (see below), who, in compiling a "summary" (*mukhtaṣar*) of the doctrines of al-Shāfiʿī (text edited in the margins of the *K. al-Umm* of al-Shāfiʿī, Cairo n.d., i-vi) would allegedly have laid the foundations of the institutionalisation of this doctrine. This hypothesis is confirmed by the history of judicial science (*fiḳh* [*q.v.*]) in the Islamic community presented by a Shāfiʿī author of the very first rank, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (d. 479/1083 [*q.v.*]). In his "list of jurists", the latter classifies the first Muslim jurists according to geographical criteria (jurists of Medina, of Mecca, of Yemen, of Syria, of Egypt, etc.). On the other hand, the geographic criterion is not retained for the immediate disciples of the Imāms al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]), Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/845 [*q.v.*]), Mālik (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]) and Dāwūd b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf

(d. 270/884 [*q.v.*]): "Then, subsequently", writes al-Shīrāzī, "in all the lands where Islam was present, the judicial science (*fikh*) passed into the hands of the disciples of al-Shāfiᶜī, of Abū Ḥanīfa, of Mālik, of Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] and of Dāwūd and was propagated by them in the regions. Imāms claiming allegiance to them—to the five above-mentioned Imāms—were eager to demonstrate the superiority of their *madhhab*s and their doctrines (*akwāl*)" (al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabakāt al-fukahā*ʾ, Beirut n.d., 108). It seems, however, quite probable that Isḥāk al-Shīrāzī was proceeding here towards an *a posteriori* reconstruction and that the birth of the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab* in the sense of a genuine institution is probably later than he indicates (the evolution of the institution of *madhhabs* definitely deserves more attentive study).

It is thus appropriate to locate the birth of these so-called "personal" schools (as opposed to the former schools known as "local") during the first half of the 3rd/9th century. In the current state of knowledge, it is difficult to establish precisely what adherence to a particular school meant to a jurist. Whatever the hypothesis, recent studies (W.M. Watt, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, i, 1974, 675-8, and W.B. Hallaq, in *IJMES*, xvi [1984], 3-41) have shown, in opposition to an opinion which is still widely diffused (expressed in its classic form by J. Schacht, *Introduction*, 69-75), that the birth of the personal schools could not be identified with the "closure of the door of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*]", which, while it never took on the form of an institution, was a much later phenomenon.

Development.

A preliminary remark is required before addressing the question of the development of the Shāfiᶜī school in history; it concerns the modalities of its diffusion in the Muslim world. Two theses are opposed on this point, although in fact it is doubtless more realistic to consider them as complementary. If credence is to be given to the authors of the *Ṭabakāt* and, more generally, to ancient and contemporary Muslim authors (with the exception of a few historians), the diffusion of the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab* is to be laid to the exclusive credit of a certain number of eminent personalities who emerged from its ranks and who, principally on account of their pedagogic ability and powers of persuasion (but also of their morality, their spirituality, etc.) drew to themselves an often considerable number of pupils and disciples sometimes coming from distant places. The latter, on completion of their education, returned to their homes where they pursued an academic career and/or occupied official functions in the judiciary, and it was through diffusion of this sort that the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab* developed in different regions of the *Dār al-Islām*. This thesis has an undoubted tendency towards idealisation of the issue, ignoring the fact that education and, more particularly, the magistrature, were not genuinely independent of political power, nor of its crises. It appears difficult, however, with G. Makdisi (*The rise of colleges*, Edinburgh 1981, 1-9), to subscribe entirely to the theses by C. Snouck Hurgronje and revived by Schacht which tend rather to place the development of the *madhhabs* under the heading of state policy. Numerous works (see, for example, A.K.S. Lambton, *State and government in medieval Islam*, Oxford 1981, ch. *The* Fukahāʾ *and the holders of power*, 242-63) have in fact shown that in Sunnī Islam the relations between the body of scholars, jurists in particular, and the circles of power were not expressed as one voice, so that while it is certain that official policy was capable of influencing the development of judicial schools by favouring sometimes one and sometimes another on the institutional level, this influence remained limited; it was to some extent a process of identification—more or less efficacious according to the times—with the activity of the jurists of a certain school, without, however, conferring secondary status on others (in relation to the interaction between political régime and judicial scholarship, see K.S. Salibi, *The Banū Jamāᶜā. A dynasty of Shāfiᶜite jurists in the Mamluk period*, in *SI*, ix [1958], 97-109 or idem, art. BANŪ DJAMĀᶜĀ in this Encyclopaedia).

The first Shāfiᶜīs.

Although the career of al-Shafiᶜī also included phases in the Ḥidjāz and in Baghdād, it was principally towards the end of his life, at Fusṭāṭ in Egypt, that his teaching was most favourably accepted, and that he had the greatest number of disciples, who played a significant role in the diffusion of his doctrine.

It is furthermore appropriate to recall that there are two distinct bodies of doctrine in the work of al-Shāfiᶜī: the first, known as "the ancient" (*al-kadīm*) having been developed before his arrival in Egypt (in 198/814, according to al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo n.d., ii, 334) and the second, known as "the new" (*al-djadīd*), during his residence at Fusṭāṭ. Now the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab* has definitively retained only the "new" Shāfiᶜī doctrine (with considerable modifications over the course of the centuries), in such a way that its diffusion could only be accomplished by these Egyptian disciples.

The first ᶜIrāki Shāfiᶜī transmitters of the ancient doctrine.

Two direct disciples of al-Shāfiᶜī are renowned for having transmitted his earlier doctrine: Abū ᶜAlī al-Ḥasan al-Zaᶜfarānī (d. 260/874; on him, see al-Subkī, *Ṭabakāt al-shāfiᶜiyya al-kubrā* (= *Ṭ.Sh.K.*), Cairo n.d., ii, 114-17) and Abū ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn al-Karābīsī (d. 245/859 or 248/862), see *ibid.*, ii, 117-26, the former being reckoned the more reliable. A late biographer, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Asnawī (d. 772/1370), claimed that he still had in his possession a copy of the book transmitted by al-Karābīsī after al-Shāfiᶜī (al-Asnawī, *Ṭabakāt al-shāfiᶜiyya*, Beirut 1987, i, 26). According to various authors, including Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) (*Ṭabakāt al-fukahā*ʾ *al-shāfiᶜiyyīn*, Cairo 1994, i, 39), Ibn Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] was also an assiduous disciple of al-Shāfiᶜī during the latter's second period in Baghdād in the years following 195/811. The "new" doctrine of al-Shāfiᶜī was only introduced into ᶜIrāk by Abu 'l-Kāsim ᶜUthmān al-Anmāṭī (d. 288/901) who was the pupil of two Egyptian Shāfiᶜīs, al-Muzanī and al-Rabīᶜ (see below).

The first Egyptian Shāfiᶜī transmitters of the new doctrine.

Three names stand out among the direct disciples of al-Shāfiᶜī in Egypt: Abū Yaᶜkūb Yusūf al-Buwayṭī (d. 231/846), Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāᶜīl al-Muzanī (d. 264/877) and Abū Muḥammad al-Rabīᶜ al-Murādī (d. 270/883). Of the first, al-Shāfiᶜī said that he was "[his] tongue" (*lisānī*), of the second that he was "the one who made [his] doctrine triumph" (*nāṣir madhhabī*) and of the third that he was "the transmitter of [his] books" (*rāwiyat kutubī*).

Al-Buwayṭī, a native of Buwayṭ in Upper Egypt, was, evidently, al-Shāfiᶜī's favourite disciple; it is he whom the latter is said expressly to have appointed his successor. Having contributed significantly to the diffusion of his master's *madhhab*, al-Buwayṭī suffered persecution at the time of the so-called "*miḥna* [*q.v.*] of the Kurʾān", was arrested and imprisoned in Baghdād, where he died in detention. He is the author of a "summary of the books of al-Shāfiᶜī" (*Mukhtaṣar min kutub al-Shāfiᶜī*), praised by the Shāfiᶜī biographers (see al-ᶜAbbadī, *Ṭabakāt al-fukahā*ʾ *al-shāfiᶜiyya*, Leiden 1964, 8; the work is preserved in

manuscript form, see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 491). Historically, the importance of al-Buwayṭī and of his work seems, however, to be of rather secondary importance (unless Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) is correct in his assertion, repeated by al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, that al-Buwayṭī was the real author of the *K. al-Umm*, which is attributed to al-Shāfiʿī).

Al-Muzanī, whose sister also followed the teaching of al-Shāfiʿī, is renowned, and sometimes criticised, for having been al-Shāfiʿī's most independent disciple. His *Mukhtaṣar*, the subject of numerous commentaries (see Sezgin, i, 493), was at the same time considered by some, e.g. al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), as one of the seminal works of reference of the school, and by others, e.g. al-Rāfiʿī (d. 628/1230), as diverging too often from the teachings of al-Shāfiʿī, to such an extent that the "singularities" (*tafarrudāt*) of his *fiḳh* could no longer be counted, according to him, among the doctrines of the school. His "strange points of view and [his] numerous positions which are contrary to the *madhhab*" (*wa-lahu wudjūh gharība wa-ikhtiyārāt kathīra mukhālifa li 'l-madhhab*: Ibn Kathīr, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ al-shāfiʿiyyīn*, i, 123) were often refuted by Abū Isḥāḳ, al-Shīrāzī in the *Muhadhdhab*, another, later, work of reference of the school. As indisputable evidence of the tenuity, or the laxity, which then characterised the links between a disciple and his master, al-Muzanī was also, according to al-Asnawī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, i, 28), the author of a book in which he completely renounced the doctrine of al-Shāfiʿī and expounded a *madhhab* of his own.

Quite unlike al-Muzanī, al-Rabīʿ al-Murādī, the "servant of al-Shāfiʿī" (*khādim al-Shāfiʿī*), owes his reputation to his role as a faithful transmitter of al-Shāfiʿī—it was he whom jurists trusted (see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Beirut n.d., 297)—rather than as a major jurist; in legal matters, he was reputedly "slow of comprehension" (*baṭīʾ al-fahm*). Al-Rabīʿ al-Murādī was in effect the principal transmitter of the "new" doctrine of al-Shāfiʿī and of the books propounding it, i.e. the *K. al-Umm* and the *Risāla* (of which one of the two surviving copies may be his own work). Furthermore, he was himself the author of a summary (*Mukhtaṣar*) of the doctrines of al-Shāfiʿī which did not enjoy the success of that of al-Muzanī (see al-Bayhaḳī, *Manāḳib al-Shāfiʿī*, Cairo n.d., i, 255).

The major Shāfiʿīs and the expansion of the madhhab.

As a result of the zeal of the first Egyptian Shāfiʿīs, Egypt, with the exception of the Ṣaʿīd [*q.v.*] which remained Mālikī, was the cradle of Shāfiʿism and rapidly became its "fief" (*markaz mulk al-shāfiʿiyya*: *Ṭ.Sh.K.*, i, 326). Syria (*al-Shām*), hitherto Awzāʿī, was soon to follow the movement. Until the institution, in 665/1228, of the system of the four judges by Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī, practically all official judicial functions in Egypt and in Syria were exercised by Shāfiʿīs (except, naturally enough, during the Fāṭimid period, from 358-567/969-1171). However, even when the four "orthopraxic" rites were thus officially represented in the institutions, Shāfiʿism retained, in Egypt and in Syria, various prerogatives; it lost them definitively with the Ottoman conquest of 1517, which rapidly imposed Ḥanafism as the legal doctrine of the state (see Schacht, *Introduction*, 89-93; for a history of Shāfiʿism in Egypt, see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 331-44).

To the west of Egypt, Shāfiʿism did not succeed in establishing itself and, from the 4th/10th century onward, only a very few Shāfiʿīs are to be observed in the Maghrib and in Andalusia. In terms of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), Shāfiʿism nevertheless exerted a significant influence on the Mālikism of North Africa and Andalusia, through the intermediary of Mālikī scholars who travelled to the East, and were sometimes taught there by Shāfiʿī masters; such was the case of Abu 'l-Walīd al-Bādjī (d. 474/1081), whose *uṣūl al-fiḳh* are virtually indistinguishable from those of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, his Shāfiʿī teacher in Baghdād.

In the Ḥidjāz, Mecca and Medina included, the Shāfiʿīs were broadly in the majority, while the Yemen was shared between Shāfiʿism and the Zaydiyya; tensions between representatives of the two tendencies have persisted into the present day (for a history of Shāfiʿism in the Yemen, see al-Djaʿdī (d. 586/1190), *Ṭabaḳāt fuḳahāʾ al-Yaman*, Beirut 1981).

In ʿIrāḳ, and more particularly in Baghdād, the role of al-Anmāṭī (see above) seems to have been decisive in the diffusion of the *fiḳh* of al-Shāfiʿī: "It was through his inspiration, and in tribute to his memory, that the people of Baghdād set themselves with such zeal to writing the *fiḳh* of al-Shāfiʿī" (al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ*, 114). In fact, al-Anmāṭī stands at the head of a line of very eminent jurists who were concerned with theorising and codifying Shāfiʿī *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *fiḳh*. His principal disciple was the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ibn Suraydj (d. 306/918 [*q.v.*]), whose activity was probably even more important for the diffusion of the *madhhab*. He had a considerable number of disciples who are still renowned: Abū Isḥāḳ al-Marwazī (d. 340/951), Ibn Abī Hurayra (d. 345/956), al-Ḳaffāl al-Shāshī (d. 336/947), etc. It is also in the line of Ibn Suraydj that it is appropriate to locate the works of other important authors, such as Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 406/1015), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058 [*q.v.*]), Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083 [*q.v.*]), etc. The extraordinary development of Shāfiʿī literature in Baghdād, for as long as this city retained its full importance, should no doubt be attributed to the fact that in the city numerous *madhhabs* remained well represented, thus creating a climate of competition which was a catalyst for, in the best case, the fine intellectual creativity to which Shāfiʿism and the other schools owed some of their major works and, in the worst case, doctrinal fanaticism (*al-taʿaṣṣub al-madhhabī*) from which serious violence sometimes resulted.

In Khurāsān, and more particularly at Nīsābūr and at Marw, the Shāfiʿīs were so numerous that they constituted, according to al-Subkī, "half of the *madhhab*" (*Ṭ.Sh.K.*, i, 326). It is with the Khurāsānian branch of Shāfiʿism, as a general rule more speculative than its ʿIrāḳī branch, that are associated the names of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 418/1027), of Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085) or indeed of the illustrious Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.vv.*]). As a result of serious politico-religious disorders, the 6th/12th century saw the demise of the Shāfiʿī presence in Khurāsān in favour of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, and an exodus of Shāfiʿī scholars towards the west, especially towards Syria, is observable at this time (see J. Sublet, in *Arabica*, xi/2 [1964], 188-95; for more details regarding the diffusion of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* in the rest of the Muslim world, see H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule...*, Wiesbaden 1974; A. Taymūr, *Naẓra tārīkhiyya fī ḥudūth al-madhāhib al-fiḳhiyya al-arbaʿa*, Beirut 1990, 70-80; M. Abū Zahra, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-islāmiyya*, Cairo n.d., 477-82 and *Ṭ.Sh.K.*, i, 324-9; for the geographical distribution of *madhhabs* in the contemporary period, see L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, Paris 1955).

An author of the 8th/14th century, al-Subkī (*Ṭ.Sh.K.*, i, 199-202), gives the following list, which cannot be considered canonical on account of the

theological views of its author, of the Shāfiᶜīs who, according to him, are the most important in the history of the *madhhab*, each of them being the «renewer» (*mudjaddid*) of religion, whose coming each century is prophesied by a statement of the Prophet : al-Shāfiᶜī, Ibn Suraydj, Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) and Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ᶜĪd (d. 702/1302). (Regarding the major Shāfiᶜīs, see also M.H. Hītū, *al-Idjtihād wa-ṭabaḳāt mudjtahidī al-shāfiᶜiyya*, Beirut 1988 and F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām el-Schafiᶜī, seine Schüler und Anhänger bis zum J. 300 d. H.*, Göttingen 1890-1).

The principal works of reference of the madhhab.

1. Legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]). Although Shāfiᶜīs often took pride in the fact that their Imām, al-Shāfiᶜī, was the founder of the science of the *uṣūl-al-fiḳh*, this science was, in fact, hardly practised at all during the first two centuries of the existence of the *madhhab*, even if it was not totally neglected (on this point, see W. B. Hallaḳ in *IJMES*, xxv [1993], 587-605). On the other hand, during the 4th/10th century and, subsequently, throughout the classical period, the science of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* experienced an extraordinary development. It is only in the last few years that a close interest has been taken in this literature and that it has been published. In regard to the Shāfiᶜī *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the paucity of works dealing with them demands a very schematic approach. As a general rule, all the Shāfiᶜī *uṣūlīs* claim their adherence to the *Risāla* of al-Shāfiᶜī, but this claim is often very formal; it impinges upon various currents of legal thought.

The first is characterised by its very strictly legal nature and its representatives were in fact "pure" jurists; most often, they were renowned also for the quality of the treatises on *fiḳh*, as correctly defined, which they composed. This current is principally represented by Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) whose books *al-Lumaᶜ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* (numerous editions since Cairo 1326/1907) and *Sharḥ al-Lumaᶜ* (ed. ᶜA.-M. Turkī, Beirut 1983) served for a long time as models and were the subjects of frequent commentaries (see. M.H. Hītū, *al-Imām al-Shīrāzī*, Damascus 1980, 209).

This current, today once again highly valued, was supplanted by the works of *uṣūlīs* who were definitely Shāfiᶜīs, but who were often not jurists but theologians of generally Ashᶜarī allegiance. The classical texts of this current of theologico-legal thought are: *al-Burhān fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* by Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī (ed. al-Dīb, Cairo 1980) and, by the same, the short and much commentarised *Waraḳāt* (numerous editions; French tr. I. Bercher, Tunis 1930), *al-Mustaṣfā min ᶜilm al-uṣūl* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (Beirut n.d., repr. Būlāḳ 1322-4/1904-6; text partially analysed by H. Laoust, *La Politique de Gazālī*, Paris 1970, 152-82), *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* by Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1234) (ed. al-Djamīlī, Beirut 1984; on him, see B.G. Weiss, *The search for God's law. Islamic jurisprudence in the writings of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī*, Salt Lake City 1992), and in particular *al-Maḥṣūl fī ᶜilm uṣūl al-fiḳh* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (ed. al-ᶜAlwānī, Beirut 1992).

In the post-classical period, these texts were tirelessly commentarised and glossed and they served as the basis for numerous "original" texts which in fact are compilations. The best known of the latter is the *Djamᶜ al-djawāmiᶜ* of Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1369 [*q.v.*]) (Cairo 1316/1898) which, accompanied by various later commentaries, principally that of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459 [*q.v.*]), served as a basis for the teaching of the science of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* among Shāfiᶜīs for centuries. These late texts are mistrusted by contemporary Muslim scholars, who prefer to go directly to the great classical works of a more distant past, reckoned to be more authentic and more prestigious.

2. Law (*fiḳh* [*q.v.*]). In the 7th/13th century, the great Shāfiᶜī al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) compiled a list of the works of *fiḳh* of those of his predecessors who had exerted the greatest influence in the *madhhab*; he mentions the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī, *al-Tanbīh* and *al-Muhadhdhab* of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (respectively: 1. Cairo 1901, Fr. tr. by G.H. Bousquet, *Le Livre de l'Admonition*, Algiers 1949; and 2. Dār-al-Fikr, n.p., n.d.), *al-Wasīṭ* and *al-Wadjīz* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī and the *Sharḥ al-wadjīz* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Rāfiᶜī (d. 623/1226) (cf. al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa 'l-lughāt*, Beirut n.d., i, 3). It will be noted that none of the works of al-Shāfiᶜī himself feature in this list and, judging by the number of commentaries which they engendered, it is doubtless no exaggeration to say that the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī had definitively greater importance than the *K. al-Umm* of al-Shāfiᶜī himself in the development of the Shāfiᶜī doctrine (concerning the divergence between the *fiḳh* of al-Shāfiᶜī himself and classical Shāfiᶜī *fiḳh*, see Schacht, *Sur la transmission de la doctrine...*, in *AIEO Alger*, x [1952], 401-19).

The works of al-Shīrāzī are associated with the ᶜIrāḳī element of the Shāfiᶜī school: *al-Tanbīh* takes its inspiration from the commentary, *al-Taᶜlīḳ*, by Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī, while in *al-Muhadhdhab*, al-Shīrāzī devised his *fiḳh* around another commentary on the same *Mukhtaṣar*, also intitled *al-Taᶜlīḳ* but the work of his master, the *Ḳāḍī* Abū Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058). On the other hand, the work of al-Ghazālī is associated with the Khurāsānian element of the school; *al-Wadjīz* is a summary of *al-Wasīṭ*, which is itself a summary of *al-Basīṭ* by the same al-Ghazālī, in which he derived inspiration from the *Nihāya al-maṭlab* of his master Abu 'l-Maᶜālī al-Djuwaynī. Of a somewhat later date is *al-Taḳrīb* (ed. T. Keijzer, Leiden 1859, Fr. tr. G.H. Bousquet, *Abrégé de la loi...*, in *R.Afr.* [1935]), another summary of the *Nihāya* of al-Djuwaynī, by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan Abū Shudjāᶜ (still living in 500/1106 [*q.v.*]) which was the object of glosses and commentaries until the 13th/19th century.

In the *Fatḥ al-ᶜazīz fī sharḥ al-wadjīz*, a commentary on *al-Wadjīz* of al-Ghazālī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Rāfiᶜī (628/1230) is reputed to have made the connection between the two elements of the school and, after him, there is barely any distinction between the two. Al-Rāfiᶜī is also the author of *al-Muḥarrar*, likewise inspired by *al-Wadjīz*, which was to be critically summarised by Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī in his *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* (much-criticised tr. by L.W.C. van den Berg, *Le Guide des zélés croyants*, Batavia 1882-4), which was in its turn highly regarded in the *madhhab*. The same al-Nawawī composed two important works based on the *Sharḥ al-wadjīz* of al-Rāfiᶜī, the *Rawḍa al-ṭālibīn* and the *Zawāʾid al-rawḍa*.

Two commentaries on the *Minhādj al-ṭālibin* of al-Nawawī, the *Tuḥfat al-muḥtādj* by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (d. 975/1567) and the *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj* by Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī (d. 1006/1596), as well as a commentary on *al-Taḳrib* of Abū Shudjāᶜ, the *Fatḥ al-ḳarīb* by al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1512) (again, a much criticised tr. by L.W.C. van den Berg, *La Révélation de l'Omniprésent*, Leiden 1895), constituted works of reference for the teaching of Shāfiᶜism in later periods. A gloss (*ḥāshiya*) on the last-named text by Ibrāhim al-Bādjūrī (d. 1276/1860) has been partially summarised by E. Sachau (*Muhammedanisches Recht*

nach schafiitischer Lehre, Stuttgart-Berlin 1897; for a more exhaustive bibliography of the school, see al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1014/1605), *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, Beirut 1979, *Bāb fī dhikr kutub al-madhhab*, 245-51).

Shāfiʿism, theology and Ṣūfism.

Throughout its long history, the Shāfiʿī school generally maintained good relations, in terms of theology (*ʿilm al-kalām* [*q.v.*]), with Ashʿarism [*q.v.*] and, in regard to Ṣūfism, with its reputedly "moderate" tendency. Scholars such as Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī (d. 465/1072 [*q.v.*]), renowned Khurāsanian author of the *Risāla fī ʿilm al-taṣawwuf*, who combined the qualities of Shāfiʿī jurist, of Ashʿarī theologian and of Ṣūfī, are plentiful among the Shāfiʿī ranks; Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī remains the most eminent representative of this trend, although he is neither the most original nor the most interesting.

In regard to Ṣūfism, envisaged as an interior struggle (*mudjāhada*) towards the comprehension and realisation of the injunctions of the Law addressed to the consciousness of the believer (*fiḳh bāṭin al-sharīʿa*), Shāfiʿī legal doctrine has strictly speaking nothing to dispute; the contrary is the case, insofar as, on the one hand, Ṣūfism does not eliminate the importance of *fiḳh* as such by seeking to act as a substitute for it, and insofar as, on the other hand, it does not engender practices, "spiritual exercises", which, from the viewpoint of *fiḳh*, could be seen as reprehensible. But, as a more general rule and in a more essential manner, the majority of the spiritual and moral virtues—the spirit of scrupulousness (*al-waraʿ*), asceticism (*al-zuhd*), etc.—which *fiḳh* refuses, on principle, to take into consideration in its work of demonstration and application of legal statutes and which have been codified in the framework of Ṣūfism, are highly valued by, in particular, the majority of biographers who do not hesitate, when the occasion arises, to attribute them to such-and-such a *faḳīh*. Among renowned Ṣūfīs who were Shāfiʿīs (or at least, whom Shāfiʿism claims), the most significant names are: al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857 [*q.v.*]) whose few biographers state that he was a friend of al-Shāfiʿī; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd (d. 297/910 [*q.v.*]), although al-Ḳushayrī asserts that he adhered rather to the *madhhab* of Abū Thawr; the *shaykh* Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Khafīf (d. 391/1001); etc.

The history of relations between Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism [see ASHʿARIYYA] is, however, more problematical and has for a long time been the object of debate in Islamic studies. With regard to theology, it is appropriate first to distinguish between two tendencies among Shāfiʿī jurists. The first—represented by scholars such as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/939), al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066), Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) or indeed Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/939)—was, for various reasons and to differing degrees, hostile to the exercise of this discipline as such. This tendency is often described as "traditionalist", although there is doubt as to whether this adjective is well-chosen.

The second tendency was for its part enthusiastically in favour of the development of the *ʿilm al-kalām* in the Muslim community and it is represented by Shāfiʿīs—Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāyīnī, Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015), al-Djuwaynī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), etc.—who include some of the best Muslim theologians. It is asserted that more than a large majority of the Shāfiʿīs favouring the exercise of speculative theology supported Ashʿarism (with a few exceptions, including, famously, the *Ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1024 [*q.v.*]) who was a Shāfiʿī in legal matters and a Muʿtazilī in theology). It seems to be accepted furthermore, among the majority of Shāfiʿī biographers (see, for example, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, al-Nawawī and al-Mizzī, *Ṭabaḳat al-fuḳahā' al-shāfiʿiyya*, Beirut 1992, ii, 604-6), that the theologian al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935-6 [*q.v.*]) was himself a Shāfiʿī. It is, however, impossible to state this categorically (see D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ashʿari*, Paris 1990, 517-9; on the question of relations between Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism, see, with regard to Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, C. Gilliot in *SI*, lxviii [1988], 170-86, and, in reply to the latter, E. Chaumont in *SI*, lxxiv [1991], 168-77, and with regard to al-Djuwaynī, T. Nagel, *Die Festung des Glaubens*, Munich 1988).

It is not, however, appropriate to speak of a special relationship between Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism since, on the one hand, as has been observed, numerous Shāfiʿīs were opposed to any speculative theology, and on the other hand, not all Ashʿarīs were Shāfiʿīs, indeed, far from it. Furthermore, bearing in mind the fact that, over the centuries, Ashʿarism tended to be regarded as the supreme theological doctrine of Sunnī Islam—at the expense of Muʿtazilism and, to a lesser degree, of creeds of the Ḥanbalī type—the presence of a majority of Ashʿarīs among the Shāfiʿīs is hardly surprising (on this point, see *T.Sh.K.*, iii, 377-8, where al-Subkī draws up a contemporary table of the theological allegiances represented in the *madhhabs* and stresses the fact that, while Ashʿarīs constitute the majority in all the schools, with the exception of Ḥanbalism, it is only the Mālikīs who are exclusively Ashʿarī). It is apparent, therefore, that the question of relations between Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism is subordinate, by comparison with a more general enquiry, not yet undertaken, which would seek to determine the precise nature of the causes capable of explaining why and how Ashʿarism was implanted in the Islamic legal system and its institutions with greater ease than other theological doctrines.

Bibliography: The majority of important references are indicated in the text. For a more extensive bibl., recourse may be had to the exhaustive and thematically classified compilation given by Schacht in his *Introduction to Islamic law*, 215-85. See also ASHʿARIYYA, ḤANĀBILA, ḤANAFIYYA, MĀLIKIYYA, MUʿTAZILA. (E. CHAUMONT)

SHAFSHĀWAN (dialect, Shāwan, usual Fr. rendering Chaouen, Span. Xauen), a town of Morocco in the country of the Ghumāra [*q.v.*]. The term is said to mean "horn or horns" in Tamazight, referring to the mountain peaks (over 2,000 m/6,500 feet) which surround the town. Situated at an altitude of 600 m/2,000 feet, Shafshāwan is rich in springs of water, the best-known being that of Ra's al-Mā'. Equally situated between Oazzane and Tetuan, with which it has always been in close contact, the town occupies a strategic position 40 km/25 miles from the coast, and in the past played the role of a crossroads for the Djbāla region.

It was founded in 876/1471-2 on the right bank of the wadi of the same name by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Rāshid, a descendant of the Idrīsid saint ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh [*q.v.*]. It was moved to the right bank by ʿAlī b. Rāshid. It sheltered waves of Moriscos, Muslims and Jews, expelled from al-Andalus, and still bears the imprint of this history, seen in the utilisation of space and colours, the architecture, as well as the customs and patronymics attesting this Andalusian grafting. The town's history is linked with that of the founding Banū Rāshid, the most famous of whom being Mawlāy Ibrāhīm (895-946/1490-1539). The family cultivated matrimonial alliances with the powerful caïds of the region;

Mawlāy Ibrāhīm's sister, Sayyida al-Ḥurra, married the *ḳā'id* of Tetuan al-Mandrī and, after becoming a widow, became the wife of the Waṭṭāsid sultan Aḥmad. She played a leading role in the politics of the region, and Mawlāy Ibrāhīm himself distinguished himself in warfare against the Portuguese of Aṣīla before succeeding his father as *ḳā'id* of Shafshāwan. As a splendid and faithful warrior, Sīdī Brāhīm/Mawlāy Ibrāhīm compelled the admiration of his enemies, who did not cease to heap praises on his great deeds and generosity (Bernardo Rodrigues, *Anals de Arzila*, ed. D. Lopes, Lisbon 1915-20; R. Ricard, *Moulay Ibrahim, caïd de Chefchaouen*, in *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, Portugal*, Paris 1948, iii, 146-57, and the same article in *al-And.* [1941]). But his family fell victim to the conflicts between the last Waṭṭāsids and the Saʿdids. After Abū Ḥassūn's capture of Fās in 961/1554, Shafshāwan was besieged by the minister Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in the name of the sultan al-Ghālib, and the Banū Rāshid fled in Safar 969/October 1562 and disappeared from the political scene.

Shafshāwan played an essential role in the fight against the Portuguese installed at Ceuta, Tangiers and Aṣīla, and Leo Africanus states that its citizens were "freed from taxes because they serve as cavalrymen and infantrymen in the fight against the Portuguese". The 9th/15th century was its most brilliant one, when it produced several renowned scholars, such as Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Habtī (d. 963/1556) and Ibn ʿAskar, the author of the *Dawḥat al-nāshir*, banished by the Banū Rāshid. Once occupied by the Saʿdids, the town lost its importance and, henceforth, is hardly ever mentioned. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl built a *ḳaṣba* there. It was in turn held by al-Raysūnī, al-Khaḍir Ghaylān and then by the *pasha* Aḥmad al-Rīfī (d. 1146/1743), and in October 1920 was occupied by Spain. During 1922-6 ʿAbd al-Krīm made it a base of operations for the war in the Rīf [*q.v.*].

The surrounding region, despite its steep slopes, is fertile and well-watered and produces cereals and fruit (grapes, figs, pomegranates etc.), but the water-mills and the presses which gave the town its fame survive only vestigially. The activity recorded by G. Colin in the earlier decades of this century (*EI*[1] art. *s.v.*) is only a memory, and Shafshāwan lives essentially off tourism, with many tourists attracted by the climate and the beauty of its site, and with handicrafts: textiles (*drāza*), pottery, leatherwork and copper ware. The fortified town has walls pierced by eleven gates. Its clearly individual quarters, its numerous mosques, its *ḳaṣba* and the shrine of Sīdī ʿAlī Ben Rāshid, bear witness to a past era now completed, for the town now suffers from its cramped site. It remains a modest place, and its eccentric position and the poverty of the region have not encouraged the growth of population which characterises other urban centres of Morocco. It is thought to have had between 3,000 and 7,000 inhabitants before 1918. In 1953 the census counted 11,500 Muslims, 2,500 Spanish and 15 Jews. The population reached 16,850 in 1969, but did not go beyond 24,000 in 1982.

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(Halima Ferhat)

SHĀH "king", and **SHĀHANSHĀH** "king of kings", two royal titles in Persian.

They can be traced back to the Achaemenid kings of ancient Persia, who, from Darius I (521-486 B.C.) onwards, refer to themselves in their inscriptions both as *xšāyaθiya* "king" (from the root *xšay-* "to rule", cognate to Sanskrit *kṣáyati* "possess" and Greek *κτάομαι* "acquire") and as *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām* "king of kings". Even earlier the title "king of kings" had been used by the rulers of Assyria and of Urartu (in the Caucasus) and it is not unlikely that the Persians adopted it from the latter (see O.G. von Wesendonk, *The title "King of Kings"*, in *Oriental studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, London 1933, 488-90). The implication of this title would seem to have been, not that the Achaemenid monarch was the chief king over other sub-kings (there is no evidence that there were any other "kings" within the empire), but rather that he was the king *par excellence*. We have thus to do with a rhetorical figure which might be called the superlative genitive, as also in the Biblical "vanity of vanities" (*hᵃbel hᵃbālīm*).

The same two titles, in their Western Middle Iranian forms *shāh* and *shāhān shāh*, occur in the inscriptions of the Arsacid and Sāsānid kings. In inscriptions in the Parthian language these are represented by the Aramaeograms MLK' and MLKYN MLK' respectively; Middle Persian uses the Aramaeogram MLK' (also MRK' and in books occasionally the "phonetic" spelling šh) for the former and the "semi-phonetic" spelling MLK'-n MLK' (and variants) for the latter (for references, see Ph. Gignoux, *Glossaire des inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes*, London 1972, 28, 57, and add the new Arsacid inscription discussed by E. Lipiński in *Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta*, xlviii [1993], 127-34). The Sāsānid inscriptions refer to the emperor consistently as *shāhān shāh*, and use *shāh* as a title for other members of his family: the emperors appointed their sons as "kings" of the outlying provinces, assigning them the royal titles of the former rulers of those regions (e.g. *Kushān shāh* "king of the Kushāns"), in much the same way that the heir to the English throne bears the title "Prince of Wales". However, in a contemporary Manichaean text (published by W.B. Henning, *Mani's last journey*, in *BSOS*, x/4 [1942], 941-53) the Sāsānid Wahrām I is referred to merely as "the king" (*shāh*). It would thus appear that, although in official protocol the ruler was always *shāhān shāh*, in everyday speech he could be simply *shāh*. The distinction between the "king of kings" and the subordinate "kings/princes" is mirrored by the title "queen of queens" (Middle Persian *bāmbishnān bāmbishn*, written MLKT'-n MLKT'), borne by the monarch's principal wife, to distinguish her from the other queens in the royal household, and similarly further down the hierarchy, with the *mowbed ī mowbedān* "priest of priests", and so forth. It is not unlikely that Islamic titles like *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* continue this Iranian tradition.

Neo-Persian *shāh* (also *shah*) is the usual word for "king" in that language, and is used either by itself or else in conjunction with a personal name. In the latter case it can precede the name (e.g. *shāh Maḥmūd*), follow it in an *iḍāfa*-construction (*Maḥmūd-i shāh*), or be appended directly to the name and form an accen-

tual unit with it (*Maḥmūd-shāh*). The latter usage is the most common and, though found already in early texts (such as Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*), is anomalous in Neo-Persian; it seems likely that it is either an isolated relic from Middle Persian or else an imitation of Turkish constructions with titles such as *khān*. Compounds with *shāh* (as the first or last element) or indeed *shāh* on its own occur quite frequently as proper names of kings, but also of commoners; the given name of the famous Saldjūḳ ruler Malik Shāh, for example, is formed simply by combining the Arabic and Persian words for "king". As a common noun (without a name) *shāh* is widely used in poetry and non-official prose of all periods to designate potentates who, in their official protocol, styled themselves *malik, sulṭān, amīr, pādshāh* or whatever. It is also used with reference to the kings of pre-Islamic Persia and in works of fiction. Sometimes it is applied to princes (as already in Middle Persian; many references in F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, 549, 583). In a number of compounds or set phrases *shāh* means "pre-eminent, principal", e.g. in *masdjid-i shāh* "congregational mosque" (not "king's mosque"), or *shāh-rāh* "principal road, highway". In the Indian subcontinent, *shāh* is appended to the names of persons claiming descent from the Prophet and has today become a surname.

As for the title *shāhān shāh*, this naturally fell into disuse with the collapse of the Sāsānid empire, but it remained in popular memory in its Neo-Persian form *shāhanshāh* (the vowels in the first and last syllables can be shortened when required by the metre; modern Western Persian has also the vulgar form *shāhinshāh*). This is an inseparable compound (from which is derived an adjective *shāhanshāhī*) and in the context of Neo-Persian it can no longer be analysed morphologically, though there has never been any doubt that its meaning is indeed "king of kings". It was adopted as his official title by the Būyid ᶜAḍud al-Dawla (338-72/949-83 [*q.v.*]), and continued to be used by his successors on their coins and in court documents, sometimes in conjunction with its Arabic equivalent *malik al-mulūk*, despite the objections raised by religious authorities (for details, see LAḲAB and the literature cited there), but after the fall of the Būyids it does not seem to have figured in official protocol until the 20th century, when it was adopted by the self-styled "Pahlawī" dynasty in Persia. It has, however, always been used quite freely by poets. Thus the Ghaznavid Masᶜūd I, who would hardly have tolerated such a sacrilegious title in his official documents, had evidently no scruples about his court poet Manūčihrī addressing him as *shahanshāh*, *shāhanshah-i dunyā*, *shāh-i malikān* and the like, and similar expressions are used by the panegyrists of the Saldjūḳs and others after them.

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(F.C. DE BLOIS)

SHĀH ᶜABD AL-ᶜAẒĪM AL-ḤASANĪ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Shīᶜī ascetic and traditionist, well-known under the name of Imām-zāde (Shāh) ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm. He is buried in the principal sanctuary of Rayy [see AL-RAYY].

1. *The holy man.*

Only sparse biographical data are available on ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm, who must have been born in Medina before 200/815 and who was a companion of the ninth and tenth Imāms, Muḥammad al-Djawād al-Taḳī (d. 220/835) and ᶜAlī al-Hādī al-Naḳī (d. 254/868) [see AL-ᶜASKARĪ]. When the latter, at the order of caliph al-Mutawakkil, was forced to go to Sāmarrāʾ in 233/848, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm followed him there. He is said to have been ordered by al-Naḳī, apparently under the caliphate of al-Muᶜtazz, to go to Persia in exile. He stayed in Ṭabaristān, and then in Rayy, where he lived in the *sikkat al-mawālī* in the quarter of Sarbānān, hidden in the house of a Shīᶜī. He passed his time in prayers, ascetic practices, study and teaching, and visited the tomb of an ᶜAlid which was later reputed to be that of Ḥamza b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim (see below). He died perhaps before al-Naḳī (towards 250/864?, see Karīmān, i, 384 ff.) although, according to some Shīᶜī sources (Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī, see Madelung, quoted in the *Bibl.*), he also was a companion of the eleventh Imām, Ḥasan al-ᶜAskarī (d. 260/874 [*q.v.*]).

In the small Imāmī community of Rayy, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm occupied an important position as *sayyid*, companion of the Imāms, traditionist and teacher. His works, now lost, were used and quoted until the 5th/11th century: *Kitāb Yawm wa-layla* (on the daily rituals); *Riwāyāt ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm*; *Kitāb Khuṭāb Amīr al-muʾminīn* (on the sermons of Imām ᶜAlī). His views on the concepts of *ᶜadl* and *tawḥīd* (cf. Karīmān, i, 386 ff.) were praised by Ibn ᶜAbbād, the Būyid vizier in Rayy. The Imāmī traditionist Ibn Bābuya/Bābawayh [*q.v.*], who in part continued ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm's efforts, devoted a now lost biography to him, *Akhbār ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm al-Ḥasanī*.

2. *The sanctuary.*

ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm was buried in a garden under an apple-tree (*shadjara tuffāḥ*), opposite the tomb of Ḥamza b. Mūsā which was situated outside the walls, to the west of al-Rayy, in the partly Sunnī quarter of Bāṭān (see Karīmān, i, 264 ff.). The garden belonged to a certain ᶜAbd al-Djabbār, probably a Sunnī (see Karīmān, i, 388; ii, 316). A Shīᶜi is said to have heard in a dream the Prophet telling him that one of his descendants of the *sikkat al-mawālī* should be buried there. The tomb was venerated by the Shīᶜīs at a very early date. According to the Imām al-Naḳī, pilgrimage to there was as meritorious as the one to the tomb of the Imām al-Ḥusayn (Ibn Kulūya, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, see Madelung; Karīmān, i, 386, ii, 51). The sanctuary, mentioned as a *mashhad* by Ibn ᶜAbbād and known under the name of *Mashhad al-Shadjara*, was restored during the Saldjūḳid period thanks to the patronage of the Shīᶜī vizier Madjd al-Dīn Barāwistānī al-Ḳummī (ᶜAbd al-Djalīl Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ*, in Karīmān, i, 389, ii, 191, 419). Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr (d. 602/1205-6), the Bāwandid ruler of Māzandarān, used to send every year 200 dīnārs to the sanctuary (Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. ᶜA. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1320, i, 120).

The most ancient trace of the mausoleum consists of a coffin of precious wood (aloe, betel, walnut), carrying a Ḳurʾānic inscription, part of which is the *āyat al-kursī* (*sūrat al-baḳara*, II, 256). The coffin is a gift of Nadjm al-Dīn Muḥammad, vizier under the Ilkhān Abū Saᶜīd (d. 737/1335), see Karīmān, i, 392. The sanctuary was visited by famous Tīmūrid and Turkmen pilgrims (Karīmān, ii, 225 ff.) and then by the Ṣafawids. Under the patronage of Ṭahmāsp I (1524-76), it was restored. An *īwān* (*aywān*) was constructed in 944/1537. A robust balustrade (*muḥadjdjar*) of boxwood was erected around the coffin in 950/1543-4 (Karīmān, i, 390 ff., with reference to a *farmān* by Ṭahmāsp I preserved in the sanctuary) in order to protect it against depredations by the pilgrims. When Shāh ᶜAbbās I [*q.v.*], about to attack the Özbegs in 996/1587-8, fell ill, he recovered his health after a pilgrimage to the sanctuary (Karīmān, ii, 239).

Notwithstanding the interest shown to the sanc-

tuary by notables or rulers up to the Ṣafawids, it is quite difficult to form a picture of its importance in former days. Since it was called Mas͟hhad or Masd͟jid al-S͟had͟jara, and its cemetery, according to some sources, Gūristān al-S͟had͟jara (Karīmān, i, 328 ff.), it must have developed in conjunction with the neighbouring Imāmzāda [*q.v.*] dedicated to Ḥamza b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim. The Ṣafawids pretended to descend from this *sayyid ḥusaynī-mūsāwī*, whose supposed burial place is also located at Turs͟hīz or in a village near S͟hīrāz. It is at this last site, and not at Rayy, that they caused a richly endowed mausoleum to be built (*ibid.*, 395 ff.). Until the beginning of the 19th century, the tombs of ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, of Ḥamza and other holy men were situated outside the town of Rayy (*ibid.*, 392 ff.). The sanctuary must have included a rather important garden. On his way to Māzandarān, ʿAbbās II (1643-66) camped there with his suite for nine days in 1070/1659-60 (Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waḥīd Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAbbās-nāma*, ed. Ibrāhīm Dihgān, Arāk 1329, 265 ff.).

The administrator of the sanctuary (*mutawallī*) was designated and appointed by the central government. This practice was continued by Karīm K͟hān Zand (see J.R. Perry, *Karim Khan Zand. A history of Iran, 1747-1779*, Chicago 1979, 220) and after that by the Ḳād͟jārs. Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh [*q.v.*], who was an assiduous pilgrim of the sanctuary, had it embellished (Karīmān, i, 392; Algar, 48). The same was the case with Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh [*q.v.*], who in 1270/1853-4 had the cupola covered with gold and the *īwān* decorated with stalactites consisting of mirrors; the latter initiative was due, at least to a certain extent, to his vizier Mīrzā Āḳā K͟hān Nūrī (1851-8) (Karīmān, i, 391 ff.; Algar, 159).

Like other S͟hīʿī sanctuaries, S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm constitutes a place of asylum reputed to be inviolable for persons (or animals), lawbreakers or others, who are menaced by people in power [see BAST; and J. Calmard, art. *Bast* (*sanctuary, asylum*), in *EIr*]. When the neighbouring town of Tehran was promoted to be the capital by Āg͟hā Muḥammad K͟hān in 1786, the pilgrimage to the sanctuary and its use for politico-religious protests, in particular against foreign influence, developed considerably. The project of constructing a railway line between Tehran and the sanctuary made people fear, erroneously, that the extension of the line to Ḳum would mean the end of this town. The line was indeed constructed and exploited by a Belgian company (8 km between 1888-93) notwithstanding the fact that it was ransacked by a furious crowd in December 1888 (see Algar, 175 ff., 182). Under Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh, the sanctuary formed the most important place of *bast*, criminals or debtors, as well as political opponents. finding there protection in several degrees (see E.G. Browne, *A year among the Persians*, London 1893, 174). The most ominous violation of the right of *bast* occurred in January 1891 when the Muslim reformist D͟jamāl al-Dīn Asābādī "al-Afg͟hānī" [*q.v.*] was brutally expelled from the sanctuary (see Calmard, *loc. cit.*). Nāṣir al-Dīn was murdered in the courtyard of the mausoleum on the eve of his jubilee (fifty lunar years) on 1 May 1896 by Mīrzā Riḍā Kirmānī, a partisan of al-Afg͟hānī. During the events of the Constitutional Revolution (1905-11), about 2,000 *ʿulamāʾ* (*mullas*, *mud͟jtahids*, *ṭullābs*), opposed to the authoritarian measures of the vizier ʿAyn al-Dawla and financially supported by shopkeepers of the bazaar and several notables or dignitaries who had passed to the opposition, captured the *bast* at S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm (mid-December 1905-12 January 1906). The establishment of a *ʿadālat-k͟hāna* ("house of justice") in each province was only one of the seven or eight of their demands which did not entail a demand for a constitution (see Martin, 70-6). In February 1907 Sayyid Akbar S͟hāh, an opponent of the constitution, took refuge in the sanctuary with his partisans. Supported by the governor of Tehran, his initiative had no popular success whatsoever (Martin, 115, 148). On the other hand, the action of the most notorious of the anti-constitutional *ʿulamāʾ*, the *mud͟jtahid* S͟hayk͟h Faḍl Allāh Nūrī [*q.v.*], who, probably supported by Muḥammad ʿAlī S͟hāh [*q.v.*], took the *bast* of the sanctuary with *ca.* 500 partisans (June-September 1907), had a durable success among the numerous Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* (see Martin, 121-38), extending even into the current which assured the triumph of the Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1978-9.

The pilgrimage to the sanctuary, which forms a whole with neighbouring Imāmzādas dedicated to Ḥamza, Ṭahir and his son Muṭahhar (Karīmān, i, 395 ff.), now incorporated with Rayy into the great agglomeration of Tehran, was very much frequented in the 19th century (see H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, ii, 403). Although Nad͟jaf and Karbalā [*q.v.*] have a greater reputation as burial places, many notables, dignitaries, *ʿulamāʾ*, members of the Ḳād͟jār family, etc., are buried at S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm. The most renowned royal tomb is that of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh, situated at the western corner at a place known under the name of Masd͟jid-i Hūlāgū. An imposing mausoleum dedicated to Riḍā S͟hāh Pahlawī [*q.v.*] was erected on the site of the ancient quarter of Bāṭān, south-east of the sanctuary (Karīmān, i, 395). It was destroyed during the events of the Islamic Revolution.

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(J. CALMARD)

S͟HĀH ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ [see ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ AL-DIHLAWĪ].

S͟HĀH ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR [see ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR DIHLAWĪ].

S͟HĀH ʿĀLAM II (1142-1220/1729-1806, r. 1173-1202/1759-88, 1203-21/1788-1806), later Mug͟hal emperor, son of the Mug͟hal Emperor ʿĀlamgīr II.

His original name was Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh, the title ʿAlī Gawhar was conferred in 1168/1754, and that of S͟hāh ʿĀlam in 1170/1756. As a prince, he led an unsuccessful raid into Bihar in D͟jumādā II 1172/February 1759, and claimed the throne in 1173/1759. He was, however, unable to rule from Dihlī. Becoming an ally of S͟hud͟jāʿ al-Dawla and Mīr Ḳāsim [*q.vv.*], he shared in their defeat at Baksar (Buxar) in 1178/1764 at the hands of the British. In 1179/1765 he granted the *dīwānī* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company, receiving in return Allāhābād (as his seat) and an annual pension of 2.6 million rupees. Seeking to return to Dihlī, Shāh ʿĀlam sought an alliance with the Marāthās, and escorted by them rode into his capital Dihlī in Ramaḍān 1185/January 1772. He thereupon lost

both Allāhābād and his annual pension from the British. Mahādji Sindhia, who was now responsible for the safety of the Emperor, was constantly faced by local malcontents. The Rohilla chief Ghulām Ḳādir held Dihlī in 1202/1788 for two-and-a-half months. He blinded Shāh ʿĀlam, but was himself captured and put to death. In 1203/1789 Mahādji Sindhia provided Shāh ʿĀlam with a daily cash pension of 300 rupees; later territories were assigned to him yielding on paper nearly 1.7 million a year. In 1217/1803 Dihlī fell to the British, who refused to make any treaty arrangements with him allowing him maintenance and control of the Dihlī fort along with his titles. Shāh ʿĀlam died there in 1220/1806, his long "reign" merely reflecting the utter ruin of the Mughal Empire.

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SHĀH-I ARMAN, "king of the Armenians", denoted the Turcoman rulers of Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*] from 493/1100 to 604/1207. Their role in eastern Anatolian history is difficult to reconstruct from local sources alone but they are mentioned periodically in the wider context of late Saldjūḳ and Ayyūbid affairs. The first Shāh-i Arman, Sukmān al-Ḳuṭbī, took Akhlāṭ in 493/1100 from the Marwānids [*q.v.*] and seized Mayyāfāriḳīn in 502/1108-9 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 330; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 164; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 249-50). Within Diyār Bakr, his particular rivals were the Artuḳids [*q.v.*]. He participated in *djihād* against the Franks under Mawdūd of Mawṣil and died at Bālis during the campaign in 506/1112-13 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 340-1; *Atābegs*, 18; Michael the Syrian, 216; Matthew of Edessa, 275-6; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 164-5, 169, 174-5). Before his death, Sukmān had extended his territory to include Ardjīsh and Malāzgird.

Little is known of Sukmān's ineffectual successor, his son Ibrāhīm (ruled 506-21/1112-26). He lost Mayyāfāriḳīn to Il-Ghāzī in 512/1118 (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 34). After Ibrāhīm's death, power was soon seized by Inandj Khātūn, Sukmān's widow, on behalf of her six-year old grandson, Sukmān II, whose long reign (522-81/1128-85) represents the high point of Shāh-i Arman power (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, 17). The Georgians, profiting from Muslim disunity, were pursuing an expansionist policy towards eastern Anatolia; in 556/1161, they defeated the forces of Sukmān II and Saltuḳ, the ruler of Erzerum (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 184; Matthew, 361-2). In 558/1163, however, Sukmān joined Eldigüz of Ādharbaydjān in repelling further Georgian aggression (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 188; Ibn al-Azraḳ, fols. 181b, 183b-184b, 185b; *Akhbār*, 158-9). Another Muslim campaign into Georgia was successful in 571/1175 (Ibn al-Azraḳ, fol. 199b). After Sukmān's death in 581/1185 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 338-9) without male issue, the race for Sukmān's lands between Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī and the Eldigüzid ruler, Pahlawān, was won by the latter (*ibid.*; Ibn Shaddād, 84-5; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 383-4, 423; Bar Hebraeus, 318). From 581/1185 the Shāh-i Arman state rapidly declined under a series of *mamlūk* commanders—Bektimur, Aḳ Sunḳur, Muḥammad and Balabān (Bar Hebraeus, 343, 362-4; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 67, 167-9). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī's brother, al-ʿĀdil, maintained Ayyūbid interest in Armenia; Akhlāṭ was taken by his son al-Malik al-Awḥad in 604/1207-8. Thus ended the Shāh-i Arman state (Makīn, 18-19; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, 71; Humphreys, 128-9). Regrettably, little is known of the Shāh-i Arman socio-cultural life, but it must have been an interestingly mixed ethnic and religious milieu.

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(Carole Hillenbrand)

SHĀH BANDAR (p.), literally "harbour, port master". The term was used before the Ottoman period to denote the chief of the merchants, and sometimes the representative of foreign merchant communities, at the Indian Ocean ports of India; the form *Xabandar* is found in the Portuguese chronicles. It appears in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in regard to the Muslim chief of the merchants (*amīr al-tudjdjār*) at Calicut [see kalikat in Suppl.], "Ibrāhīm Shāh Bandar (the king or chief of the port), originally from Baḥrayn" (tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, London 1994, 812). See also Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases*², 816-17 s.v. *Shabunder*.

1. In the Arab world.

Here, he was not known in Mamlūk times, when there is mentioned the *raʾīs* or *kabīr al-tudjdjār*. The frequent use of the term in the *Thousand and one nights* confirms the comparatively late redaction of a certain number of its stories. After the Ottoman conquest, *shāh bandar* is attested in all the Arab countries of the Near East in the sense of provost or overseer of the merchants (notably, at Cairo, Aleppo, Mecca and Baghdād), and likewise at Istanbul, where the expression *bazirgan bashi* was also used, "merchants of the Black Sea and of the Mediterranean" (also found at Cairo and Aleppo). On the other hand, the term was unknown in the Maghrib; at Tunis, the *amīn al-tudjdjār* was an Andalusian, the trade organisation

there, it appears, having been formed by these immigrants.

We are best informed about the *shāh bandar* in the great centres of Cairo and Aleppo, where there existed an important international trade, which enriched powerful communities of merchants. In Cairo, the *shāh bandar* was at the head of a group of around 500-600 merchants who specialised in the large-scale traffic in coffee, spices and textiles. He was a person of considerable status; in official ceremonies, he had precedence over the *muḥtasib*. He was probably appointed by the community, with ultimate control by the authorities. The office was usually for life, and in some cases, was hereditary (cf. the Sharāʾibīs in the 18th century). The *shāh bandar* seems to have been chosen from amongst the richest *tudjdjār*, which is the case for the greater part of the *shāh bandars* whom we know, the best-known being Aḥmad al-Ruwīʿī, Ismāʿīl Abū Ṭākiyya (d. 1624), Djamāl al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (alive in 1630), Dāda (d. 1724) and then Ḳāsim al-Sharāʾibī (d. 1734), Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 1791), Maḥmūd Muḥarram (d. 1793) and Aḥmad al-Maḥrūḳī (d. 1804). The *shāh bandar* arbitrated in disputes between merchants and was their intermediary *vis-à-vis* the authorities. Normally, the community of merchants lay outside the jurisdiction of the *muḥtasib* and even outside that of the Agha of the Janissaries. But the *shāh bandar*'s power resided largely in his own, personal prestige; thus the Sharāʾibīs clearly exercised political influence and had links with the ruling classes. The "house of the chief of the merchants" mentioned on the plan of Cairo in the *Description de l'Egypte* (VIIe arrondissement, 85 I 4) had been the personal residence of ʿAbd al-Salām and then of al-Maḥrūḳī, but does not appear to have played any "administrative" role.

The *maḥkama* or legal tribunal documents which have been studied for Aleppo bring some details on the functions of this dignitary, in all cases analogous to those of his counterpart at Cairo. He apparently had his seat in the *khān* of the customs officials (*gumruk*), according to the information of Thévenot (1664). He regulated disputes between the merchants. He gave expert witness in the courts where legal cases involved commercial matters, and represented the merchants *vis-à-vis* the administration. The position was held by local notables. Two cases are known where the holder of the office was deprived of it by the authorities at the request of the merchants, on grounds of senility (1645) or incapacity (1689). Alexander Russell (*The natural history...*, London 1794, i, 323) gives the specific information that he was a member of the Pasha's council (*dīwān*) *ca.* 1760.

Everything leads us to believe that the importance which the *shāh bandar* Muḥammad al-Maḥrūḳī assumed in Cairo during the decade beginning in 1810 (going as far as jurisdiction over the whole body of artisans and merchants in 1813), and his conflict with an especially energetic *muḥtasib* in 1817, was linked to this person's influence with Muḥammad ʿAlī, rather than to a growth in the powers of the office. However, Lane, enumerating the councils set up by Muḥammad ʿAlī, mentions a "Court of the Merchants" (*dīwān al-tudjdjār*) presided over by the *shāh bandar* (*Manners and customs*, ch. iv). In reality, the deep changes in the economy and in society in both Egypt and Syria, led in the 19th century to a weakening of the traditional corporative structures, and also of the group of great merchants who had dominated international trade. Although the term itself, and the functions of the *shāh bandar*, are still mentioned for a long time after this in Egypt (ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak records a "Muḥammad Bāshā al-Suyūfī who is at present *shāh bandar al-tudjdjār bi-Miṣr*"), the institution had lost all importance and was on its way to disappearing, just like the whole of the corporative organisation.

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2. In South-East Asia.

This term (modern spelling in South-East Asia, *syahbandar*) has a long history in the Islamic lands east of India, and refers primarily to the official who directed trade in the maritime cities of Malaysia and Indonesia [*q.vv.*]. Within this broad definition, three distinct but related uses of the term can be traced.

(1) *As a member of a "Royal Council"*. Taking the royal court of Melaka (*ca.* 14th-15th centuries) [see MALACCA] as a paradigm, we find a number of named officials with specific functions and duties, such as the Bendahara (treasurer), Temenggong (in charge of public order), Laksamana (commander of warships), etc. The Shāh Bandar was intimately involved with trade at the ports (this trade being a royal monopoly), and was part of the inner circle of government, though to what exact extent is not clear. Much depended on his own personality. Some were apparently quite wealthy; it seems that the holder of the office was entitled to a proportion of the duty levied on trade goods, calculated either on place of origin of the goods or on the type of goods concerned.

(2) *Administration of trade*. At the apogee of the Melaka sultanate (late 15th century), the Shāh Bandar's rights and obligations were clearly defined. The laws of Melaka (*Undang-Undang Melaka*, see *Bibl.*) have various specific references. Thus he is described as the "Father and Mother" of foreign merchants. He generally determined weights and measures. He had his own court for settling commercial disputes by applying elements of the *Sharīʿa*, though we have no direct evidence of how this actually functioned. He could order various punishments, up to death, for theft and murder at sea. He was responsible for public order in the ports (hence his title is sometimes translated as "harbourmaster") and for giving succour to and supervising shipwrecked sailors.

(3) *Controller of trade groups*. The entrepôt trade in Malaysa and Indonesia involved many different nationalities, and each had its own Shāh Bandar (thus for the Čam, the Siamese, the Javanese, the Kling (Indians), the Arabs, etc.). The function of each of these officials was to organise trade and finance within his own community, and between its members and the wider port community.

In addition to the above, there are minor references to the office. The term is still used as a general honorific. It appears in Lingga [see RIAU] in the first half of the 19th century. In the Negri Semblan, in Malaysia, it appears as a clan title in the form "Dato Bandar", although there is no trade connection here.

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SHĀH DJAHĀN (1000-76/1592-1666, r. 1037-68/1628-57), Mughal emperor, son of the Emperor Djahāngir [*q.v.*] and his Rādjput wife Manmati; his personal name was Khurram, the title of Shāh Djahān being granted to him by his father in 1025/1616.

His first responsible assignment came with his appointment to the Mēwāṟ campaign in 1022/1614. He was subsequently appointed *ṣūbadār* of the Deccan in 1025/1616 and again in 1030/1621. In 1031/1622 he procured the murder of his elder brother Khusraw and afterwards rebelled in 1032/1623; driven out of the Deccan, he made his way to Bengal, but was defeated there, too, hence returned to the Deccan, where he submitted to his father (1035/1626). On Djahāngir's death in 1036/1627, through the machinations of Āṣaf Khān, he ascended the throne in 1037/1628 and ordered the execution of his nearest kinsmen as potential rivals—the first instance of such massacres in the Indian Mughal dynasty, and an unhappy precedent for the future. Shāh Djahān's approach to nobles who had supported his rivals was, on the other hand, moderate, and he loved to contrast his moderation with the bloodthirstiness of rulers in other Islamic countries.

To support his ambitions, Shāh Djahān increased the income of his treasury by enlarging the *khāliṣa* (imperial reserved lands). The *Djāmadāmī* (net revenue annual income) of the empire during his reign was about 9,03,74,20,000 *dāms* (22,59,35,000 rupees); Shāh Djahān was probably the richest monarch in the world.

Shāh Djahān annexed Aḥmednagar in 1045/1636, allowing to Bidjāpur [*q.v.*] a portion of it, and standing forth as a protector of Golkoṇḍā, which now paid him annual tribute. In 1047/1638 the Ṣafawid governor of Ḳandahar handed it over to the Mughals, but the Persians re-captured it in 1058/1649. In 1055/1646 Shāh Djahān attacked the Uzbek khānate, and temporarily occupied Balkh and Badakhshān, but finally had to withdraw in 1056/1647.

Shāh Djahān was a vigorous administrator, and introduced certain important changes (new pay-schedules, month-ratio system for classification of *djāgīrs*, etc.); and re-inforced the central authority. He also enjoys a deserved reputation as a builder. The classical product of his interest is the Tādj Maḥall [*q.v.*]. On 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1040/6 June 1631 Shāh Djahān ordered the construction of a mausoleum for his wife Mumtāz Maḥall. It was completed in 1053/1643 at the cost of 50 lakhs of rupees. In 1048/1638 he founded the imperial city of Shāhdjahānābād at Dihlī at the cost of 60 lakhs of rupees. Lāhōrī, the official historian, records that the total expenditure on buildings under Shāh Djahān up to the year 1057/1647-8 was rupees 2 crores, 50 lakhs of rupees.

Though Shāh Djahān began to introduce Islamic observances into Mughal court etiquette, he largely continued the tolerant policy of his two predecessors. He promoted Rādjputs to high ranks and patronised Hindī poetry. His eldest son Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*] translated the Upanisads and wrote a tract (the *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn*) comparing Ṣūfism with Vedanta. Under the patronage of Shāh Djahān, an intellectual movement to bridge the gap between Hinduism and Islam was started and an attempt was made to evolve a common language for both religions.

He fell ill in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1067/September 1657, and his four sons Dārā Shukōh, Shāh Shudjāʿ, Awrangzīb and Murād Bakhsh started making preparations to contest the throne. Awrangzīb emerged victorious, and dethroned and imprisoned his father in 1068/1658. In his imprisonment in the Āgra fort, he was looked after by his loyal and talented eldest daughter Djahān Ārā. He died in 1076/1666, and lies buried by the side of his wife Mumtāz Maḥall in the Tādj Maḥall.

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(M. Athar Ali)

SHĀH MALIK b. Alī Yabghu, the Oghuz Turkish [see ghuzz] ruler in the town of Djand [*q.v.* in Suppl.] on the lower Syr Darya in Transoxania during the second quarter of the 11th century A.D.

Shāh Malik, who is given by Ibn Funduḳ the *kunya* of Abu 'l-Fawāris and the *laḳabs* of Ḥusām al-Dawla and Niẓām al-Milla, was the son and successor of the Oghuz Yabghu, head of a section of that Turkish tribe in rivalry with that one led by the Saldjūḳ family of chiefs [see saldjūḳids. ii]. It was this hostility that made Shāh Malik ally with the Ghaznawid Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] against his kinsmen the Saldjūḳs, and in 429/1038 the sultan appointed him as his governor over Khʷārazm [*q.v.*]. Shāh Malik successfully over-ran Khʷārazm, but with the triumph at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Khurāsān of Ṭoghrïl and Čaghrï Begs, was driven out of Khʷārazm by 435/1043-4. He fled southwards through Persia to Makrān and was eventually killed there, his short line being thus extinguished; by the time of his flight from Khʷārazm, Djand had probably already fallen into the hands of the Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.*] Turks.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

SHĀH MANṢŪR SHĪRĀZĪ, finance minister of the Mughal emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605).

Of Indian origin, he held an appointment as *mushrif* (accountant) of the Royal *khūshbū-khāna* (perfume department), but incurred the hostility of powerful

nobles and, dismissed from that post, became *dīwān* (finance superintendent) at Djawnpur. After Khān Zamān's rebellion and death (973/1566) he served as Munᶜim Khān's *dīwān* and then as *bakhshī* (paymaster of troops). After Munᶜim Khān's death (984/1576), he was again in some personal difficulty, but won Akbar's approval and was appointed *wazīr*, sharing the control of finance ministry with Muẓaffar Khān and Ṭōdar Mall. However, the latter two were soon assigned other duties, and Manṣūr was mainly responsible for the new system of land revenue collection and payment of cash salaries to nobles according to their ranks or *manṣabs*. In 986/1578 he prepared a new record of estimated revenues (*djamᶜ*) based on the preceeding ten years' collections. He was himself raised to 1,000 *dhāt*, a high rank at the time. But his rigour made him many enemies; and the rebellion of 988/1580 in Djawnpur, Bihār and Bengal was attributed to this cause. In 988/1580, while Akbar marched north-westwards to meet the danger from his foster-brother, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, ruler of Kābul, Manṣūr was accused of secret correspondence with him. Since none of the nobles would come forward to stand surety for him, he was executed in 989/1581. Later on, the charge was found to be based on a forgery; but since some very high nobles (Mān Singh [*q.v.*] and Shāhbāz Khān) were involved in it, Akbar seems to have decided to close the case.

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(M. Athar Ali)

SHĀH MUḤAMMAD b. ᶜABD AḤMAD, popularly known as Mullā Shāh, a distinguished saint of the Ḳādirī *silsila* in India (992-1072/1584-1661). According to Djahān Ārā, the name of his father was Mawlānā ᶜAbdī, but Mullā Shāh refers to him in his *mathnawī Risāla-yi nisbat* as ᶜAbd Aḥmad. Born in 992/1584, in Arkasa, a village of Badakhshān, he lived there for about 21 years. Later he visited Balkh, Kābul and other places in search of a spiritual teacher. He reached Lahore in 1023/1614-15 and felt attracted towards Miyān Mīr [*q.v.*], remaining in this latter's service for about thirty years. At the direction of his master, he settled in Kashmīr and built there a garden house for himself. Dārā Shukōh and Djahān Ārā also built buildings and fountains there, and the Emperor Shāh Djahān visited him. Mullā Shāh used to spend his summers in Kashmīr and winters in Lahore. He breathed his last in Lahore in 1072/1661, and was buried there in a small mosque at some distance from the mausoleum of Miyān Mīr.

Mullā Shāh's spiritual fame attracted the Mughal prince Dārā Shukōh and his sister Djahān Ārā to his mystic fold, and both of them wrote their accounts of him (see *Bibl.*). Mullā Shāh was a believer in pantheism. His poetic works, for which he used the nom-de-plume of Mullā, particularly his *Mathnawiyyāt* and *Rubāᶜiyyāt*, are known for their spiritual sensitivity, though they lack poetic elegance. Some of his verses, steeped as they were in pantheistic ideas, provoked orthodox criticism, and Awrangzīb summoned him from Kashmīr in order to question him about these verses; Dārā Shukōh's association with him must have also created suspicion in the new Emperor's mind but Mullā Shāh wrote a congratulatory chronogram on Awrangzīb's accession and thus saved his skin. He wanted to write a commentary on the Ḳurʾān in the light of his mystic ideology, but was unable to proceed beyond the first part. His works have not been published. The following 10 *mathnawīs*, interspersed with prose lines, are found in an excellent India Office ms. (dated 1580), with some autographic remarks: (i) *Risāla-yi walwala*, (ii) *Risāla-yi hōsh*, (iii) *Risāla-yi taᶜrīfāt khānahā wa bāghhā wa manāzil-i Kashmīr*, (iv) *Risāla-yi nisbat*, (v) *Risāla-yi murshid*, (vi) *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, (vii) *Risāla-yi dīwānā*, (viii) *Risāla-yi shāhiyā*, (ix) *Risāla-yi ḥamd wa naᶜt*, (x) *Risāla-yi bismillāh*. A copy of his *Kulliyyāt* is found in the Bankipore Library (ms. no. 326).

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(K.A. Nizami)

SHĀH-NAWĀZ KHĀN [see maʾāthir al-umarāʾ].

SHĀH NIᶜMAT ALLĀH [see niᶜmat-allāhiyya].

SHĀH RŪD, a hydronym and toponym of Persia.

1. A river of the Elburz Mountains region of northwestern Persia.

It runs from the south-east northwestwards from a source in the mountains west of Tehran and joins the Ḳizil Üzen [*q.v.*] at Mandjīl, the combined waters then making up the Safīd Rūd [*q.v.*], which flows into the Caspian Sea. The upper reaches of the Shāh Rūd are known as the Shāh Rūd-i Ṭālaḳān, to distinguish it from its right-bank affluent the Shāh Rūd-i Alamūt. This last rises near the Takht-i Sulaymān peak and is hemmed in by high mountains; its flanks are dominated by the ruins of a series of Assassin fortresses from mediaeval Islamic times, the most famous of which is Alamūt [*q.v.*]. In the wider, more fertile parts of the Shāh Rūd valleys rice and corn are grown.

The Shāh Rūd is not navigable and is little noted in mediaeval sources. The first notice seems to be that of the 8th century Armenian geography, which describes it as a river of Daylam rising in the mountains of Ṭālaḳān (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 126). In the 19th century, it became known through the travels of W. Monteith (1832) and H. Rawlinson (1838), the first of whom identified ruins of the Assassins from the time of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*] (see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 147, 155, 217-18).

2. A district, mentioned by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 82, tr. 85, as adjoining the districts

of Ṭālish [*q.v.*] (the *Tawālish*) in the north of Gilan; he states that its people were nominally Shāfiʿīs.

3. A town of western Khurāsān, lying just to the south of Bisṭām [*q.v.*] in lat. 36° 25′ N. and long. 55° 00′ E, altitude 1,360 m/4,460 feet. The town is unmentioned in mediaeval sources, but has become important since the 19th century from its position on the high road from Tehran to Khurāsān and now on the railway; there is also a road from it across the Elburz to Astarābād/Gurgān and the Caspian coastlands, which is normally passable all through winter. After the Iranian Revolution of 1979, the town was renamed Imāmrūd but has now reverted to the old name of Shāhrūd; it comes within the Simnān province. The population in 1991 was 92,195 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

SHĀH RUKH b. Tīmūr, fourth son and successor of Tīmūr (Tamerlane), was born on 14 Rabīʿ II 779/20 August 1377 of one of Tīmūr's concubines, Taghāy Tarkān Āghā. In 794/1392 Tīmūr appointed him to the new fortress of Shāhrukhiyya north of the Jaxartes, and in 799/1397 made him governor of Khurāsān, Sīstān, and Māzandarān. Shāh Rukh was married to two prestigious women, Gawharshād bt. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tarkhān and Malikat Agha, the Činggisid widow of his eldest brother ʿUmar Shaykh.

As governor of Khurāsān, Shāh Rukh was in a strong position in the struggle after Tīmūr's death on 17 Shaʿbān 807/18 February 1405. He gave limited support to Tīmūr's designated successor, Pīr Muḥammad b. Djahāngīr, while allowing other princes to exhaust their resources. In 811/1408, he campaigned against the insubordinate rulers of Sīstān, devastating their irrigation systems. After Pīr Muḥammad died in 809/1407 and dissident *amīrs* deposed his nephew Khalīl Sulṭān in Transoxiana, Shāh Rukh entered Samarḳand in late 811/Spring 1409 and installed his son Ulugh Beg as governor, retaining Harāt as the main capital. In late 815/Spring 1413, his army retook Khʷārazm from the Golden Horde.

Southwestern Persia was held by the sons of ʿUmar Shaykh b. Tīmūr, who gave Shāh Rukh nominal recognition. In 816/1413 Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh took the title Sulṭān and prepared to oppose Shāh Rukh. Shāh Rukh defeated him at Iṣfahān on 3 Djumadā I 817/21 July 1414. ʿUmar Shaykh's other sons continued to be troublesome; in the autumn of 818/1415, Shāh Rukh attacked them and installed his son Ibrāhīm Sulṭān as governor of Fārs. In the next two years he undertook campaigns to Ḳandahār and Kirmān, and dismissed the rebellious governor of Andidjān, Aḥmad b. ʿUmar Shaykh. By 821/1418 Shāh Rukh had removed his nephews from all major provinces.

Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳara Ḳoyunlu had taken Ādharbaydjān, killed Mīrānshāh b. Tīmūr and annexed Sulṭāniyya, Ḳazwīn and Hamadān [see ḳara ḳoyunlu]. On 11 Shaʿbān 823/21 August 1420, Shāh Rukh began a long-projected campaign against him, probably with the encouragement of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (J.E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: clan, confederation, empire*, Chicago 1976, 58; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī (ed.), *Asnād wa mukātabāt-i tārīkhī-yi Īrān*, Tehran 2536/1977, 179-85) Ḳara Yūsuf died before Shāh Rukh arrived. Ādharbaydjān had not been strongly held by Tīmūr, and Shāh Rukh was content with nominal overlordship and the possession of Ḳazwīn and Sulṭāniyya. After a year pacifying the region he installed ʿAlī b. Ḳara ʿUthmān Aḳ Ḳoyunlu as governor, and put an *amīr* with an army in Sulṭāniyya.

The rule of Shāh Rukh

Shāh Rukh was quite willing to use violence; he executed both insubordinate followers and religious figures, and wrought deliberate destruction in Sīstān and Ādharbaydjān. He was at the same time a cautious ruler, who rarely undertook campaigns without provocation and the assurance of military superiority and of local alliances. Most of his reign he spent in Khurāsān, going in spring to hunt in Sarakhs and to visit the Mashhad shrine. Many military expeditions were entrusted to his sons and *amīrs*. Ulugh Beg campaigned aggressively against the Moghuls and the Djočids, and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān campaigned in Khuzistān and southern Persia. The balance of power in the north shifted after 830/1426-7 when the Uzbeks defeated Ulugh Beg and Muḥammad Djūkī b. Shāh Rukh; after this Ulugh Beg stopped campaigning in person. The Moghuls became aggressive and took Kāshghar in 1435, while the Uzbeks under Abu 'l-Khayr Khān raided Transoxiana for the rest of Shāh Rukh's reign. Abu 'l-Khayr invaded Khʷārazm in 834/1430-1 and 839/1435; Shāh Rukh quartered a winter army in Māzandarān to protect the frontier. In the west, Shāh Rukh defended his political claims. On 5 Radjab 832/10 April 1429 he set out against Iskandar b. Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, who had seized Sulṭāniyya. He defeated Iskandar near Salmās on 18 Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 832/18 September 1429, and appointed Iskandar's brother Abū Saʿīd governor. In spring 838/1435 Shāh Rukh set out again against Ādharbaydjān, which had fallen to Iskandar. Iskandar fled and local rulers submitted with little resistance. Shāh Rukh made Djahānshāh b. Ḳara Yūsuf governor of the region; this arrangement lasted until Shāh Rukh's death.

Shāh Rukh exchanged embassies with a large number of powers. He received homage from many neighbouring rulers: the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the Dihlī Sultan, the rulers of Hurmuz and, at least at the beginning of his reign, the Ottoman sultans. Shāh Rukh's attempts to assert superiority over the Mamlūk sultans evoked increasing hostility up to the accession of Čaḳmaḳ in 842/1438, after which relations were cordial though equal. Until the death of the Yung-lo emperor in 1424, Shāh Rukh exchanged frequent embassies with China (a total of 20), and established a rare level of formal equality with the emperor (M. Rossabi, *Two Ming envoys to Inner Asia*, in *T'oung Pao*, lxii/1-3, 1-34).

Shāh Rukh governed by balancing the power of his subordinates, allowing individuals to hold office for long periods. The power of his two most eminent *amīrs*—ʿAlīka Kūkeltāsh and Djalal al-Dīn Fīrūzshāh—was kept in check by overlapping responsibilities and the administrative authority of Shāh Rukh's son Bāysunghur. In his *dīwān* the two preeminent viziers—Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad up to 819/1416-17 and Khʷādja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad thereafter—shared authority with partners, and suffered periodic demotions. Shāh Rukh initiated the fiscal decentralisation of the Tīmūrid realm by distributing numerous *soyurghals*, grants of land with tax immunity. The magnificence of provincial courts suggests that not all revenues were forwarded to the centre. Nonetheless, Shāh Rukh retained sufficient funds to field a large army and to undertake major

restoration works in Balkh, Marw and Harāt. Provincial governors enjoyed considerable autonomy but required permission for important campaigns. Shāh Rukh, moreover, appointed his own *amīrs* to nearby cities, and interfered occasionally in provincial affairs. From 820/1417-18 until near the end of his life, he suffered little insubordination.

Shāh Rukh was presented as a ruler of exceptional piety, even as a renewer of the Islamic order. In the beginning of his reign he apparently proclaimed the restoration of the *Sharī^ca* and abrogation of the *yasa* (Djalāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāyinī, *Naṣā^oiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, ms. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Cod. A.F. 112, fols. 1b-2b; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh-i Bāysunghurī*, ms. Istanbul, Fatih 4371/1, fol. 486b, letter to China). He avoided drinking and twice publicly poured away wine. He was conspicuous in his involvement with religious affairs and his patronage of shrines, but harsh towards *^culamā^o* whose loyalty he questioned and popular religious movements such as the Nūrbakhshiyya [*q.v.*] movement among the Kubrawiyya. On 23 Rabī^c I 830/22 January 1427, a member of the Ḥurūfiyya [*q.v.*] sect tried to assassinate Shāh Rukh. This led to executions and the exile of the Ṣūfī poet Ḳāsim al-Anwār [*q.v.*], whom Shāh Rukh linked to this event.

Shāh Rukh did not fully abandon Mongol tradition. Mongol taxes remained in force, as did the Turco-Mongolian *yarghu* court, and Shāh Rukh claimed to punish infringements against Mongol custom. He presented his dynasty as successor to the Īl-Khāns; his government was styled "Īl-Khānī", and he used Īl-Khānid titles earlier applied to Tīmūr's Činggisid puppet khāns, whom he no longer maintained. (Nawā^oī, 163, 165, 171, etc.) His major act of literary patronage was the copying and continuation of Rashīd al-Dīn's works.

Shāh Rukh's reign initiated an upsurge of Persian and Turkic cultural activity. There was a brief revival of the Uyghur alphabet, and the beginnings of Čaghatay Turkic literature. He reconstructed the city walls and bazar of Harāt and built a magnificent shrine for ^cAbd Allāh Anṣārī [*q.v.*] at Gāzurgāh. Gawharshād built and endowed a shrine mosque at Mashhad, and a large mosque, *madrasa* and mausoleum complex outside Harāt. Numerous other buildings were endowed by Shāh Rukh's *amīrs*. His son Bāysunghur [*q.v.*] was a major patron of book production. Provincial courts also flourished, under Ulugh Beg in Samarḳand and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān in Shīrāz, and under major *amīrs* in Yazd and Kh^wārazm.

Near the end of Shāh Rukh's life, the death of several sons and *amīrs* upset the balance of power in government. After Bāysunghur died in 837/1433, and Amīr ^cAlīka in 844/1440, Fīrūzshāh was without equal in army and administration. His subsequent abuses led to an investigation by Shāh Rukh, during which Fīrūzshāh died. Further financial scandals followed as well as a number of local rebellions, and increasing dissension within the dynasty. When Shāh Rukh became ill in 848/1444-5, disorder broke out, particularly in Khurāsān. Gawharshād tried to engineer the succession of her favourite grandson ^cAlā^o al-Dawla b. Bāysunghur. These events encouraged Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Bāysunghur to rebel; Shāh Rukh went against him, and executed several of his *^culamā^o* supporters, but died during the campaign, on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 850/13 March 1447.

The ensuing succession struggle ravaged Khurāsān and opened western Persia to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu. Within fifteen years, Shāh Rukh's line had largely destroyed itself, and Abū Sa^cīd [*q.v.*], a descendant of Mīrānshāh, succeeded in taking power.

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SHĀH-I SHUDJĀ^c, Djalāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris (d. 786/1384), a prince of the Muẓaffarid [*q.v.*] dynasty in Persia (for the correct form of his name, see J. Aubin, *La fin de l'état sarbadâr du Khorassan*, in *JA*, cclxii [1974], 101-2 n. 32). Born on 22 Djumādā II 733/10 March 1333, he was the son of the dynasty's founder, Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, who gave him Kirmān as his appanage in 754/1353 and recognised him as his heir. In the division of the Muẓaffarid territories following Mubāriz al-Dīn's deposition and blinding by his sons in 760/1359, Shāh-i Shudjā^c received Fārs and the status of paramount ruler, residing at Shīrāz. In his early years Shāh-i Shudjā^c had to check the depredations of the Shūl and of Mongol and Türkmen tribes who sought the restoration of the Īndjūid [*q.v.*] dynasty (*Manāhidj*, fol. 654b). But much of his reign was absorbed in conflict with the rival Djalāyirid [*q.v.*] dynasty in ^cIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān, and with his turbulent relatives, of whom his brothers Shāh Maḥmūd and Sulṭān Aḥmad ruled respectively in Iṣfahān and Kirmān and a nephew Shāh Yaḥyā in Yazd. An attempt to bolster his authority by accepting, as his father had done, a diploma from the puppet ^cAbbāsid Caliph in Cairo and performing homage to his representative (770/1368-9) does not seem to have brought Shāh-i Shudjā^c any advantage.

In 765/1364 he was confronted by a particularly serious threat when Shāh Maḥmūd revolted. Shāh-i Shudjā^c's army was defeated outside Iṣfahān and obliged to retreat, whereupon Shāh Maḥmūd summoned to his aid Shāh Yaḥyā and the Djalāyirid ruler Shaykh Uways, whose daughter he had married, and the allies moved on Shīrāz. Shāh-i Shudjā^c was deserted by his brother Sulṭān Aḥmad and himself besieged in Shīrāz. In Rabī^c II 766/December 1364-January 1365 (*Manāhidj*, fol. 657a) he surrendered Shīrāz to Shāh Maḥmūd and was allowed to leave for

Abarḳūh. Here he built up a power-base, taking Kirmān from a rebel who had seized possession of it. Together with his nephew Shāh Yaḥyā, who had submitted to him once more, and the latter's brother Shāh Manṣūr, he advanced on Shīrāz and routed Shāh Maḥmūd's forces. Sulṭān Aḥmad in turn went over to Shāh-i Shudjāʿ, and Shāh Maḥmūd abandoned the city in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 767/August 1366. The recovery of his capital, however, did not mean that Shāh-i Shudjāʿ enjoyed undisturbed rule. Although in 768/1366-7 Shāh Maḥmūd again acknowledged his overlordship, the two rulers continued to engage in periodic conflict; at one point Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's eldest son Sulṭān Uways rebelled and took refuge with Shāh Maḥmūd. Following the latter's death on 9 Shawwāl 776/13 March 1375, however, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ was able to take over Iṣfahān despite a faction within the city which supported Uways.

Shaykh Uways having also died in 776/1375, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ sought to avenge himself on the Djalāyirids. He invaded Ādharbāydjān, defeated the Djalāyirid army on 6 Djumādā I 777/3 October 1375 (*Manāhidj*, fol. 660a), and occupied Tabrīz, Ḳarabāgh and Nakhčiwān, but was shortly obliged to withdraw. Peace was made with Uways's son and successor, Sulṭān Ḥusayn, and cemented by the marriage of Ḥusayn's sister to Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's son Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, on whom his father now conferred Iṣfahān. A subsequent campaign against Yazd brought to heel Shāh Yaḥyā, who had again rebelled; but the prince's brother Shāh Manṣūr fled to Māzandarān and later to Baghdād. Over the next few years Shāh-i Shudjāʿ intervened once more in the upheavals afflicting the Djalāyirid principality, where the governor of Sulṭāniyya, Sārīḳ ʿĀdil, rebelled and Ḥusayn was embroiled with his brothers. Sārīḳ ʿĀdil was obliged to accept Muẓaffarid overlordship in 781/1379-80; and when in 784/1382 Ḥusayn was overthrown and killed by his brother Aḥmad, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ encouraged another dissident Djalāyirid commander to occupy Shushtar and Baghdād and to strike coins and make the *khuṭba* in his name. Although Aḥmad occupied Baghdād and sent the Muẓaffarid prince Shāh Manṣūr to seize Shushtar, he was soon confronted with a bid by Ṣārīḳ ʿĀdil at Sulṭāniyya to seize the throne on behalf of a third brother, Bāyazīd, and appealed to Shāh-i Shudjāʿ for assistance. In order to attend to Shushtar, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ effected a reconciliation between the Djalāyirid brothers; but he was unable to make any headway against Shāh Manṣūr, with whom he made peace.

Soon after this campaign Shāh-i Shudjāʿ died on 22 Shaʿbān 786/9 October 1384. His son Uways had predeceased him, and he was succeeded at Shīrāz by his son Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, who proved unable to enforce his authority over his kinsmen. One of Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's last actions had been to write a letter interceding with Tīmūr-i Lang on behalf of his family (Kutubī, 104-8), but this did not prevent the conqueror invading the Muẓaffarid territories and eventually destroying the dynasty. The chroniclers praise Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's cultural accomplishments (Kutubī, 63). Although he himself wrote indifferent verse, he studied grammar and is celebrated as the patron and friend of the famous poet Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], who hails his accession as the dawn of a more liberal era. Yet Shāh-i Shudjāʿ was not without his dark side, as attested by his blinding both of his father and, in 785/1383, of his son Sulṭān Shiblī, whom he suspected, groundlessly, of plotting against him (Kutubī, 99-100).

Bibliography: The chief primary source is Maḥmūd Kutubī, *Taʾrīkh-i āl-i Muẓaffar*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1335 *Sh*./1956, 63-108. For the earlier part of his work, covering the period prior to Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's accession, Kutubī abridged Muʿīn al-Dīn Yazdī's *Mawāhib-i ilāhī* (goes down to 767/1365-6), ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1326 *Sh*./1947 (vol. i only, to 754/1353); Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, ms. McLean 198. There is a survey of the reign down to 777/1375-6 in the anonymous *Manāhidj al-ṭālibīn*, India Office ms. 1660 (Ethé, no. 23), fols. 649-660b. See also Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, partial ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1336 *Sh*./1957, 186-93, and Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's history of the Muẓaffarids in his *Madjmūʿa*, B.N. Paris, ms. Supp. pers. 2046 (Blochet, no. 2284), fols. 70a-86b. The principal secondary sources are Ḥusayn-ḳulī Sutūda, *Taʾrīkh-i āl-i Muẓaffar*, i, Tehran 1346 *Sh*./1967; H.R. Roemer, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, 14-16; see also Annemarie Schimmel, in *ibid.*, 934-5.

(P. Jackson)

SHĀH SULṬĀN, a name used for several princesses of the Ottoman dynasty, among others for a daughter of Bāyezīd II (M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların kadınları ve kızları*, Ankara 1980, 29) and for a daughter of Muṣṭafā III (*ibid.*, 10), who endowed a mosque and *zāwiye* complex in Eyüp, Istanbul, still extant today. Here we will deal with two 10th/16th century princesses bearing this name.

1. Shāh Sulṭān, also known as Shāhī Sulṭān or Dewletshāhī, daughter of Selīm I, was married before 929/1523 to Lütfī Pasha, with whom she may have spent some time in Epirus. From this marriage two daughters were born, named Ismikhan and Ṣefākhan. But by Muḥarrem 948/May 1541, Shāh Sulṭān's marriage to Lütfī Pasha had ended in divorce, after Ḳānūnī Süleymān had removed Lütfī Pasha from his post as Grand Vizier. A *ḥüdjdjet* dated 22 Muḥarrem 948/28 May 1541, witnessed among others by the Chief Architect Miʿmār Sinān, states that the princess renounced her rights to *mehr-i müʾedjdjel* and support; in return, Lütfī Pasha handed over to her several of his Istanbul properties.

Shāh Sulṭān did not marry again, devoting herself instead to patronage of the arts and piety. She was a renowned collector of books, nine of which were purchased for the Palace after her death. According to the Khalwetī hagiographer Yūsuf Sinān Efendi (d. 989/1581), Shāh Sulṭān and Lütfī Pasha at the time of their married life had founded a Khalwetī *tekke* in the Istanbul region known as Davutpaşa (935/1528), and Shāh Sulṭān invited the well-known *shaykh* Yaʿkūb Efendi to be its *pūstnishīn* (see Ḥāfıẓ Ḥüseyin Aywansarayī, *Ḥadīḳat ül-djewāmiʿ*, Istanbul, 1281/1864-5, i, 132, who claims that Shāh Sulṭān was buried here). However, when the famous Khalwetī Shaykh Merkez Efendi died in 959/1552, Yaʿḳūb Efendi, to the frustration of Shāh Sulṭān, preferred to succeed the latter at the Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha *zāwiye* in Isṭanbul, whereupon the foundress apparently converted the *tekke* into a school.

In addition, Shāh Sulṭān, who belonged to the circle of Merkez Efendi, founded a mosque along with a Khalwetī *tekke* in the Eyüp area of Bahariye (inscription dated 963/1536-7). This site the foundress chose for her grave, probably due to the proximity of the tomb of Eyüb-i Enṣārī. Several of her descendants subsequently were buried in the same place. This foundation had originally been destined for Merkez Efendi himself; but when the latter declined the position, his *khalīfe* Gömleksiz Meḥmed Efendi (d. 951/1544) was appointed instead.

Both the Eyüp and the Davutpaşa mosques had

originally been established as *mesdjids*. In two *fermāns* dated 962/1555 and 970/1562-3 Ḳānūnī Süleymān accorded Shāh Sulṭān permission to upgrade these two foundations into Friday mosques. The Davutpaşa mosque today is located in the garden of the Djerrāḥ Pasha hospital; when it was restored in 1953, the original dome was supplanted by a tiled roof. The Eyüp foundation remained in the hands of the Khalwetī-Sünbülī dervishes until the *tekke*s were closed in 1925. After the earthquake of 1180/1766, the complex was restored several times, particularly in the reign of Maḥmūd II. Shāh Sulṭān's *türbe* was destroyed in the course of the 1953 restoration.

In addition to these two complexes, Shāh Sulṭān had built a mosque and *zāwiye* near the tomb of her *shaykh* Merkez Efendi, outside the Istanbul gate of Yeñi Ḳapu. Her continuing interest in the family of Merkez Efendi is documented by the pensions she granted in her *wakfiyye* both to his daughter and to his granddaughter.

All these foundations were to be supported by villages in the vicinity of Dimetoḳa [*q.v.*], donated to Shāh Sulṭān by Ḳānūnī Süleymān. As Shāh Sulṭān's former husband Lüṭfī Pasha had retired to the region after his deposition, the couple seems to have had a long-standing connection with Dimetoḳa. In addition, the princess endowed her foundations with extensive urban real estate, partly located in the vicinity of her own palace in the quarter of Hekimçelebi, later known as the Handjerli Sulṭān Sarayî. Some of Shāh Sulṭān's properties, not assigned to pious foundations, were left to her great-grandson Aḥmed Čelebi, and she appointed her niece, Ḳānūnī's daughter Mihr-i māh, as executor. Shāh Sulṭān must have died some time between 983/1575 and 985/1577; for at the earlier date, Murād III, who had recently acceded to the throne, confirmed the grant of Dimetoḳa villages originally assigned to Shāh Sulṭān by his grandfather Ḳānūnī Süleymān. At the latter date, a Palace account mentions her as deceased.

It is difficult to determine whether the Princess Shāh Sulṭān, for whose pilgrimage to Mecca the *Dīwān-i humāyūn* made arrangements in 980/1572-3, is identical with Shāh Sulṭān, the daughter of Selīm I. Pilgrimages by princesses were of political significance, for no Ottoman sultan ever visited Mecca. Shāh Sulṭān's pilgrimage therefore was treated as an occasion to make the presence of the Ottoman dynasty visible. However, it is also possible that these preparations were intended for Shāh Sulṭān, the daughter of Selīm II. But pilgrims often set out for Mecca at an advanced age, and a testament such as the one left by this particular Shāh Sulṭān might be considered a suitable preparation for the pilgrimage. Moreover, as the Shāh Sulṭān discussed here possessed a special reputation for piety, it is probable that she was in fact the prospective pilgrim. Whether she reached Mecca remains unknown.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see Aywansarayī, *Ḥadīḳat*, i, 232, 256-7; H.J. Kißling, *Aus der Geschichte des Chalvetijje-Ordens*, in *ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 265-7; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, art. *Lütfī Pasha*, in *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 91; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası vakıflar-mülkler-mukataalar*, Istanbul 1952, 498-9; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, Table XXIX, mistakenly recorded as "Şahhuban"; Uluçay, *op. cit.*, 32-3; idem, *Harem II*, Ankara 1985, 92; Filiz Çağman and Cemal Kafadar, *Tanzimat'tan önce Selçuk ve Osmanlı toplumunda kadınlar*, in *Çağlarboyu Anadolu'da kadın. Anadolu kadının 9000 yılı*, Istanbul 1993, 208-9, 228-9 (fundamental); Leslie M. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem, women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1993, 66, 67, 201-2; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans. The Hajj under the Ottomans*, London and New York 1994, 129-30; arts. *Şah Sultan Camii* (Esra Güzel Erdoğan) and *Şah Sultan Camii ve tekkesi* (Baha Tanman), in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1994, vii, 124-7.

2. Shāh Sulṭān, daughter of Selīm II and Nūrbānū Sulṭān, was born in Manisa in 951/1544. In 969/1562 Süleymān I married off three of his granddaughters, an event accompanied by major festivities. Shāh Sulṭān was bestowed upon the Čakîrdjîbashî Ḥasan Agha (later Pasha and Vizier). The bridegroom was assigned 15,000 *flori* to spend on the wedding, while the best man (*saghdič*) received 10,000 and the bride 2,000 *flori*. Apart from these grants to the individuals involved, the Palace spent 25,000 *flori* on the festivities.

According to at least one chronicler, the marriage ended in divorce. After the death of her first husband in 981/1574, the princess married Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha, a special favourite of Süleymān; thereafter, she was sometimes known as the Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha Sulṭānî. A daughter and a son, the latter known as Shehīd Köse Khüsraw Pasha, were born of this union.

Donating twelve villages granted to her by her father, Shāh Sulṭān, together with her husband, endowed a mosque, *medrese* and mausoleum in Eyüp, whose architect was Miʿmār Sinān. According to one source, the mosque and *medrese* were Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha's foundations, while Shāh Sulṭān contributed a *zāwiye*. The exact date of construction remains unknown, but since in 987/1579 a *müderris* was appointed to the *medrese*, it must have been complete or else close to completion. While both mosque and mausoleum appear in two lists of Sinān's works, the *medrese* is only mentioned in a single one. During this period, Miʿmār Sinān must have spent most of his energy on Sultan Selīm II's mosque in Edirne. Therefore the *medrese*, built on two levels linked by a staircase, may well be at least partly the work of another architect. Both Shāh Sulṭān and her spouse died in 988/1580 and were buried in their common mausoleum.

Bibliography: Aywansarayī, *Ḥadīḳat*, i, 253 ff.; art. *Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha* in *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 426; Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, 502; Alderson, *op. cit.*, Table XXXI; Uluçay, *op. cit.*, 41; Peirce, *op. cit.*, 67; art. *Zal Mahmud Paşa Külliyesi* (Doğan Kuban) in *Dünden bugüne Istanbul ansiklopedisi*, vii, 542-3.

(Suraiya Faroqhi)

SHĀH ṬĀHIR al-Ḥusaynī al-Dakkanī, son of the Imām Raḍī al-Dīn II, the most famous imām of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line of post-Alamūt [*q.v.*] Nizārī Ismāʿīlism [*q.v.*].

He was a theologian, a poet, a stylist, and an accomplished diplomat who gave valuable services to the Niẓām-Shāhī dynasty of Aḥmadnagar in southern India, hence the surname al-Dakkanī because of this affiliation. He was born and brought up in Khund near Ḳazwīn, where his ancestors had settled after the fall of Alamūt and had acquired a large following. He was a gifted man and attained a high reputation for his learning and piety. Subsequently, he was invited by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*] to join other scholars at his court; however, Shāh Ṭāhir's religious following aroused Shāh Ismāʿīl's suspicious mind, and only after the intercession of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Iṣfahānī (who was an influential dignitary and might have been a secret convert and a follower of the imām)

was Shāh Ṭāhir allowed to settle down in Kāshān, where he became a religious teacher. Soon his influence over the people and his popularity among them aroused the hostility of the local officials and the Twelver Shīʿī scholars, who maliciously reported to the Shāh, accusing Shāh Ṭāhir of heretical teaching. Hence, in 926/1520 the Imām was obliged to flee with his family.

He first went to Fārs and then sailed to India. After landing in Goa he went to the court of Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh in Bīdjāpūr. Disappointed with his reception, he decided to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and to the Shīʿī shrines in ʿIrāḳ before returning to Persia; however, on his way to the seaport he met some high dignitaries of Burhān Niẓām Shāh, the ruler of Aḥmadnagar, and was invited there. In 928/1522 the Imām arrived in the capital of Niẓām-Shāhī state and soon became the most trusted adviser of the Shāh and attained a highly privileged position at his court. The Indian historian Firishta, who has given the most detailed account of his life, relates an interesting story of his miraculous healing of Burhān Niẓām Shāh's young son, which brought about the latter's conversion from Sunnism to Shīʿism. Shortly after his own conversion, Burhān Niẓām Shāh proclaimed Twelver Shīʿism as the official religion of the state. Our sources state that the form of Shīʿism propagated by Shāh Ṭāhir, himself a Nizārī Imām, was Twelver Shīʿism, which may seem strange. However, one must bear in mind that Shāh Ṭāhir and his predecessors were obliged to observe *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], so that they propagated Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in the guise of Twelver Shīʿism and Ṣūfism. This explains why he wrote several commentaries on the theological and jurisprudential works of the well-known Twelver scholars and a commentary on the famous Ṣūfī treatise *Gulshan-i rāz*. Except for some of his poetry and excerpts of his correspondence, nothing seems to have survived. He died at Aḥmadnagar between 952/1545-6, the year mentioned by the contemporary Ṣafawid prince Sām Mīrzā, and 956/1549, the date recorded by Firishta. His remains were later transferred to Karbalāʾ.

Bibliography: For a detailed description of his works and sources, see I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu 1977, 271-5; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 453-4, 471, 487-90. (I. Poonawala)

SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH [see AL-DIHLAWĪ, SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH].

SHAHĀDA (A.), the verbal noun from *shahida*, a verb which means successively (1) to be present (somewhere), as opposed to *ghāba* "be absent"; whence (2) see with one's own eyes, be witness (of an event); whence (3) bear witness (to what one has seen); whence (4), attest, certify s. th. *tout court*. *Shahāda* can thus mean in the first place "that which is there", whence "that which can be seen", as in the Ḳurʾānic formula in which God is described as *ʿālim al-ghayb wa 'l-shahāda* "He who knows what is invisible and visible" (VI, 73; IX, 94, 105; XIII, 9; etc.). Another sense, more commonly used, is that of witnessing, the declaration by means of which the witness to an event testifies to the reality of what he has seen (or claims to have seen); this is the sense in Ḳurʾān, II, 282-3 (in regard to a debt), V, 106-8 (in regard to a bequest), XXIV, 4, 6 (concerning adultery), LXV, 2 (at the time of a divorce), and, from this point of departure, in legal language [see SHĀHID]. A third usage (not directly Ḳurʾānic but implicit in III, 19, VI, 19 and LXIII, 1) is the religious sense, in which *shahāda* denotes the Islamic profession of faith, the act of declaring "There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God". Sometimes, one speaks in this case of al-*shahādatān*ⁱ "the two *shahāda*s" [see TASHAHHUD]. Finally, by extension of this third sense, *shahāda* can refer to the supreme manner of affirming the Islamic faith, that of the martyr in the cause of Islam [see MASHHAD and SHAHĪD].

Bibliography: See the *fiḳh* books and the *Bibl.* to SHĀHID. (D. Gimaret)

SHĀHANSHĀH [see SHĀH].

SHAHĀRA, also commonly Shuhāra, the name of a large mountain, town and fortress in the district (*nāḥiya*) of al-Ahnūm in the Yemen, placed by Werdecker (*Contribution*, 138) at 16° 14′ lat. N. and 43° 40′ long. E., i.e. approximately 90 km due east of the Red Sea coast and 110 km north, slightly west, of Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*]. Al-Ahnūm was originally of Ḥāshid, one of the two divisions of Hamdān. Today, however, the majority of its tribal groups are of Bakīl, the other division, and it is counted as Bakīl territory.

The town itself, known in former times as Miʿattiḳ, is called Shahārat al-Raʾs since it is perched right on the summit of the mountain. The fortress is named Shahārat al-Fīsh and is situated to the east of the town. A famous and often photographed bridge was built on the instructions of Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn in about 1320/1902, and thus the town has spread in an easterly direction since that date. It has three gates through which all traffic entering and leaving the town must pass: Bāb al-Naḥr, Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Saraw. It is said (al-Ḥadjarī, *Madjmūʿ*, i, 95) that its *djāmiʿ* mosque was built in 1029/1620 by Imām al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, who had made the town his capital and died and was buried there in 1054/1644, and that the town has seven other mosques.

Shahāra is firstly linked with the famous pre-Islamic Tubbaʿ, Asʿad al-Kāmil. Amīr Dhu 'l-Sharafayn Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar, son of Imām al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAlī al-ʿAyyānī, who died in 478/1085, made the town his headquarters, after which it was often referred to as Shahārat al-Amīr. Amīr Muḥammad is buried in the town.

The Turks during their two occupations of the Yemen made repeated assaults on Shahāra, but it was only in 995/1587 that their governor, Muṣṭafā ʿĀṣim Pasha, finally succeeded in taking it after a long siege. This proved to be their only conquest of the town, for, although again in 1323/1905 the Turks besieged Shahāra, they were unsuccessful. Of this unsuccessful siege and attack, a Yemeni poet wrote "[The Turks] came by night (*saraw*) against Saraw gate, but in the morning they were slaughtered (*nuḥirū*) at al-Naḥr [gate], when victory (*al-naṣr*, the name of the third gate) was something to be hoped for".

Shahāra was always a centre of learning and produced a number of famous *fuḳahāʾ*, *udabāʾ* and poets. Of the last may be mentioned Zaynab bt. Muḥammad al-Shahāriyya who died in 1114/1702. Although her poetry was never assembled into a *dīwān*, it finds a respected place in Yemeni literature; she also wrote some prose.

Bibliography: J. Werdecker, *A contribution to the geography and cartography of north-west Yemen*, in *Bull. de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte*, xx (1939), 1-160; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥadjarī, *Madjmūʿ buldān al-Yaman wa-ḳabāʾilihā*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1984, i, 95-6; Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-Makḥafī, *Muʿdjam al-buldān wa 'l-ḳabāʾil al-Yamaniyya*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1988, 365-6; Aḥmad ʿAlī al-Wādiʿī, art. *Shahāra* in Aḥmad Djābir ʿAfīf *et alii* (eds.), *al-Mawsūʿa al-Yamaniyya*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1992, 556-7. (G.R. Smith)

SHAHĀRIDJA (much less frequently *shahārīdj*; sing. *shahrīdj*), Arabised form of the Persian *shahrīg*/*shahrīgān*, and the name given to some local notables of ʿIrāḳ who survived the coming of Islam well into the medieval period.

The role of the Shahāridja in the Sāsānid period is vexing, since the evidence is all late and all literary. Al-Masʿūdī states that they were part of the nobility of the Sawād [*q.v.*] and superior in rank to the *dihḳāns*; meanwhile, al-Yaʿḳūbī glosses the *shahrīdj* as the *raʾīs al-kuwar*, and this has often been taken to mean that they were imperial appointees with broad responsibilities in provincial administration. However, the material testimony is conspicuously silent when it comes to the Shahāridja (as opposed to the *shahrabs*), and Gyselen has argued that the Shahāridja of the Sāsānid period were representatives of the *dihḳāns*, rather than administrative officials; insofar as the later evidence from northern Mesopotamia sheds any light on the Sāsānid period, the Shahāridja should certainly be interpreted as local notables, but how they related to the *dihḳāns* is less clear.

The earliest attestation of the Shahāridja in the Islamic sources comes in Abū Mikhnaf's account of the conquest of Takrīt (here put in year 16/637), where they join a Byzantine force and local Arab tribes in defence of the town; al-Balādhurī also mentions the toponym Tall al-Shahāridja in his account of the conquest of Mawṣil, which, if we admit it as authentic, indicates their presence in the north before Islam (for a possible parallel, see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 446, on Theophylactus Simocatta). Local Nestorian sources of the 9th century portray the Shahāridja as local headmen and wealthy notables, who lived in several towns and villages in the province of Mawṣil; according to Thomas of Marga, they levied onerous taxes on the *dihḳāns*. But Thomas also accuses them of holding the aberrant view that "Christ was a mere man" (*barnāshā shḥīmā*), and it is therefore hard to know how much of his information is polemical. Although an *ex eventu* prophecy recorded by Thomas suggests that their role in local taxation began to fade at the end of the 2nd Islamic century, they were known in the north as late as Ibn Ḥawḳal's time. The evidence for their presence in ʿIrāḳ (as opposed to Mawṣil) during the Islamic period is so thin and stereotypical that firm conclusions are impossible.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 332; Ṭabarī, i, 2474-5, tr. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 446-7; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 203; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 662, and Pellat's Index, vi, 417; *Aghānī*, Cairo 1958, xiv, 136; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 217; Thomas of Marga, *The Book of Governors*, ed. and tr. E.A.W. Budge, London 1893, *passim*; S.P. Brock, *A Syriac life of John of Dailam*, in *Parole d'Orient*, x (1981-2), 187/163-4; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 236 ff.; M. Grignaschi, *Quelques spécimens de la littérature Sassanide conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul*, in *JA*, ccliv (1966), 31-4; M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 129, 187-90, 204; R. Gyselen, *La géographie administrative de l'empire sassanide: les témoignages sigillographiques*, Paris 1989, 28.

(C.F. Robinson)

SHAHDĀNADJ (also *shahdānak*, *shāhdānadj*, *shādānak*, *sharānak*) hempseed. In Greek pharmacology and throughout its Arabic counterpart, it was known as a rather minor simple, useful for drying out fluid in the ear by dripping its oil into it, harmful in that it caused headache and sexual dysfunction when eaten in large quantities, and the like. The word was commonly accepted as the Persian equivalent of Greek *cannabis*, Ar. *ḳinnab*, and hence served as another term for *ḥashīsh* [*q.v.*]; this may explain why so many different forms were in use.

Bibliography: A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, ii, 502-3, 598-9. = *Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge (1988), 172 ff., with full references to the pharmacological works. From the older literature, see I. Loew, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna and Leipzig 1928, repr. Hildesheim 1967, i, 255-63, and, for the *ḥashīsh* aspect, F. Rosenthal, *The Herb*, Leiden 1971, index, 201a.

(F. Rosenthal)

SHĀHDJAHĀNĀBĀD [see dihlī].

al-**SHAḤḤĀM**, Abu Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Isḥāḳ, Muʿtazilī theologian of the Baṣran school (3rd/9th century). His exact dates are unknown. His biographers only say that he was the youngest, or among the youngest, of the disciples of Abu 'l-Hudhayl (d. ? 227/841 [*q.v.*]), that he died aged 80 and that his death was after 257/871, when he was for a while prisoner of the Zandj, when these last overran Baṣra.

As his name implies, he was a seller of fat, and under al-Wāthiḳ held administrative posts in the taxation office or *dīwān al-kharādj*. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (cited in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, vi, 325), he is said to have even headed this department. According to other sources, he was reportedly simply charged as a "religious figure", and in the general framework of the suppression of abuses, to oversee in this regard the conduct of al-Faḍl b. Marwān [*q.v.*].

He was a disciple both of Abu 'l-Hudhayl and, it seems, of Muʿammar [*q.v.*] (thus according to al-Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, 45, ll. 15-17), and eventually became head of the Muʿtazilī school in Baṣra. He was the chief master of Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī [*q.v.*]. A trenchant polemicist, he is said to have written numerous refutations, as well as, notably, a Ḳurʾān commentary (for all biographical details, see ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, Tunis 1974, 280-1; al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī, *Sharḥ ʿuyūn al-masāʾil*, ms. Ṣanʿāʾ, Great Mosque, *ʿilm al-kalām*, no. 212, fol. 59a; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-muʿtazila*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1961, 71-2; and on the episode of the Zandj, ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Tathbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, Beirut 1966, 341).

He is characterised by two main theses:

(1) Concerning the science of God, on the question whether God has known things from all eternity (*lam yazal ʿālimᵃⁿ bi 'l-ashyāʾ*)—a question debated at length in al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, Wiesbaden 1963, 158-63—he was amongst those answering affirmatively (see *ibid.*, 162, ll. 8-17). This means that he admitted that, given the fact that the universe is created, "things are things even before they come into existence", in other words, that "what is not yet in existence is a thing" (*al-maʿdūm shayʾ*), a thesis which the majority of later Muʿtazilīs, Baṣrans as well as Baghdādīs, made their own. A relatively late tradition holds that, within the Muʿtazilī school, al-Shaḥḥām was the first to uphold such a principle (see al-Djuwaynī, *Shāmil*, Alexandria 1969, 124, ll. 6-7; al-Shahrastānī, *Nihāya*, Oxford 1934, 151, ll. 2-5). In reality, his contemporary and compatriot ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān [*q.v.*] held the same view (see *Maḳālāt*, 158, ll. 16 ff. and 495, ll. 9 ff.). Al-Shaḥḥām simply went further, saying that bodies even are bodies before they come into existence, a viewpoint which was later taken up by the Baghdādī al-Khayyāṭ [*q.v.*] (in his *Farḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., 179, ll. 15 ff., al-Baghdādī attributes to al-Khayyāṭ the reasoning that, in *Maḳālāt*, 162, ll. 12-16, 504, ll. 16 ff., al-Ashʿarī attributes to al-Shaḥḥām).

(2) Regarding God's power, considered in its

connection with human acts, al-Shaḥḥām upheld, against all the other Muʿtazilīs (thus in *Maḳālāt*, 549, ll. 9-11; but if one believes Ibn Mattawayh, *Madjmūʿ*, Beirut 1965, i, 379, ll. 9-13, Abu 'l-Hudhayl and Muḥammad b. Shabīb are said to have thought the same) that "God has power over what He gives power to mankind" (*yaḳdiru ʿalā mā aḳdara ʿalayhi ʿibādahu*) cf. *Maḳālāt*, 199, l. 7, 549, l. 12), thus admitting the idea of "one object of power for the two wielders of power" (*maḳdūr wāḥid li 'l-ḳādirayn*) (cf. *Farḳ*, 178, ll. 4-6). Although, moreover, like Ḍirār, al-Nadjdjār [*q.vv.*] and, later, the Sunnī theologians, al-Shaḥḥām apparently distinguished between "to create" (*khalaḳa*), which would be proper to God, and "to acquire" (*iktasaba*), which would be proper to man (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 550, ll. 2-3), one should not understand that, for him, as these other theologians thought, it was the very same act at the very same instant which is, at the same time, "created" by God and "acquired" by man. It appears in fact to be a question of an alternative (cf. *Farḳ*, 178, ll. 7-9): this common possibility is, whether it is God who produces it and it is then an act of God alone, or whether it is man, and in this case it is exclusively an act of man (see *Maḳālāt*, 199, ll. 8-9, 549, ll. 13 ff.; *Madjmūʿ*, I, 379, ll. 11-12, 15-16; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1963, viii, 275, ll. 16-18).

Bibliography: Given in the article, to which should be added Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 277, ll. 3-13, 415, ll. 6-8; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl*, 256, ll. 1-10; Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī, *Tabṣira*, Damascus 1993, ii, 548, ll. 8-10, 724, ll 9-11; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1959, i, 7, ll. 6-10; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, iv, § 4.1.3. (D. Gimaret)

SHĀHĪ (P.), lit. "royal, kingly". In numismatics, the name of a silver coinage denomination in Ṣafawid and post-Ṣafawid Persia until inflation gradually drove it out of circulation. The name originated in Persia after Tīmūr introduced his *tanga-yi nuḳra* in 792/1390 at 5.38 gr, half the weight of the Dihlī Sultanate tanga, 10.76 gr. Under Shāh Rukh the *tanga-yi nuḳra*'s weight was reduced to that of the *mithḳāl*, 4.72 gr, and received the popular name *shāhrukhī*. Between Shāh Rukh's death in 853/1449 and the accession of Shāh Ismāʿīl I Ṣafawī in 907/1501 the coinage of Persia underwent a rapid and continuous debasement. Shāh Ismāʿīl then stabilised the coinage and issued three main silver denominations during the period of his first coinage standard, 908-23/1502-17 weighing one, two and four *mithḳāls*. On the basis that the one *mithḳal* coin weighed the same as the *shāhrukhī*, Fragner concluded that this was the *shāhī* valued at 50 dīnārs, but Rabino and Farahbakhsh assigned the same name and dīnār value of the *shāhī* to the two-*mithḳal* weight denomination. There appears to be no contemporary historical evidence to decide this issue, although the Persian numismatic tradition may be favoured. After a series of steep devaluations in 923, 928, 938 and 945 A.H., all authorities are in agreement that the *shāhī* of Ṭahmāsb I now weighed a half-*mithḳāl* (12 *nukhūd*), about 2.30 gr, and continued to be valued at 50 dīnārs, with 200 *shāhīs* being equal to one tūmān.

After periodic devaluations in the reigns preceding that of Karīm Khān Zand (1172-93/1759-79), the *shāhī* came to weigh a quarter-*mithḳāl* (6 *nukhūd*), about 1.15 gr, and ten were valued at one rupee. Under the late Zands its weight was reduced to 5 *nukhūd*, 0.96 gr, with 12 being equal to one rupee. At this point the silver *shāhī* appears to have ceased to circulate as a coin in its own right because of its light weight and low value. After the silver *shāhī* had ceased to be struck, the name was applied to a copper coin weighing roughly one *mithḳāl* which was issued by provincial governors rather than the central government mints.

Until the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1212-50/1797-1834), the double *shāhī* was known as the *muḥammadī* and the four *shāhī* as the *ʿabbāsī*; but the first coinage reform of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1212/1797 introduced a new set of denominations in which one of his new *riyāls* was valued at 25 *shāhīs* or 1,250 dīnārs, 8 *riyāls* were worth one tūmān, while the smallest circulating coin, the *shahī safīd*, the white *shāhī* to distinguish it from the copper, or black *shāhī*, actually had a real value of 3.125 *shāhīs*. When the *ḳirān* standard was introduced in 1241/1825, 10 *ḳirāns* were valued at one tūmān, one *ḳirān* at 20 *shāhīs* or 1,000 dīnārs, while the circulating silver coins were issued at the value of one, half, quarter and eighth-*ḳirān*.

During the rule of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Ḳādjār (1264-1313/1848-96 [*q.v.*]), under the coinage reform law of 1293/1877 all provincial mints were closed and the manufacture of machine-struck coinage was introduced at the central government mint at Tehran. Copper coins were then issued with the value of 200, 100, 50, 25 and 12 dīnārs, but in the year 1305 the 100-dīnār coin was actually named the *dō shāhī* and the 50-dīnār one the *shāhī*. Between 1296/1879 and 1342/1924, the smallest silver coin was the *shāhī safīd* weighing 3.25 *nukhūd* or 0.7 gr. These small coins, while named *shāhī*, had an actual value of three copper *shāhīs*, and were struck for special distribution at the *Nawrūz* [*q.v.*] celebrations. Three varieties are known. One bore the Shāhs' names and titles on the obverse, and the Persian lion and sun emblem and date on the reverse, and was presumably given as presents to and amongst the secular administration. The second carries the rulers' names and titles as before, with the legend "O Master of the Age! To Thee be Greetings!", referring to the Twelfth Imām, and the third bears the same invocation to the Twelfth Imām with the Persian lion and sun and the date on the reverse. These, presumably, were intended for distribution within the religious community. With the coming of the Pahlawīs, the striking of the *shāhī safīd* ceased, and privately struck tokens took its place as *Nawrūz* gifts.

In 1309 A.S.H./1930, Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī [*q.v.*] introduced his own *riyāl* standard, valuing the tūmān at ten *riyāls*, the *riyāl* at 100 dīnārs and the *shāhī* at five dīnārs. The last appearance of the *shāhī* denomination in the Persian coinage was in 1314 A.S.H/1935 when the half-*riyāl* (50 dīnārs) was given the name of 10 *shāhīs*. The final fractional riyāl, a 50-dīnār coin, which was the last vestige of the *shāhī*, appeared only once after the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Iran when it was issued as part of the first republican coinage dated 1358 A.S.H./1979.

Elsewhere, there is evidence that the name *shāhī* as a shortened form of *shāhrukhī* was colloquially applied to those silver coins influenced by the Persian coinage system which circulated in pre- and early Mughal India, weighing around a half-*tanga* or one *mithḳāl*.

Bibliography: H. Farahbakhsh, *Iranian hammered coinage 1500-1879 A.D.*, Berlin 1975; B. Fragner: *Social and internal economic affairs*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, Cambridge 1986, 556-65; C.L. Krause and C. Mishler, *Standard catalog of world coins*, ii, Iola, Wisc. 1991; R.S. Poole, *A catalogue of coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, London 1887; H.L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins, medals and seals of the shahs of Iran*, Hertford 1945; idem, *Album of coins, medals and seals of the Shahs of Iran*, Oxford 1951.
(R.E. Darley-Doran)

SHAHĪD (A., lit. "witness", pl. *shuhadāʾ*), a word

often used in the sense of "martyr". In the Ḳur'ān it is attested in its primary meaning (e.g. II, 282, XXIV, 4) and also occurs as one of the divine names (e.g. V, 117). Muslim scholars maintain that in a number of verses *shuhadā'* means "martyrs", as in III, 140 ("So that God may know those who believe and may take *shuhadā'* from among you"), IV, 69 ("Whoever obeys God and the messenger—they are with those whom God has blessed, prophets, just men, *shuhadā'* and the righteous"), XXXIX, 69 and LVII, 19; and they explain in various ways how this meaning derives from the verb *shahida* (see Lane, s.v.). Goldziher, in contrast, thought that this sense of *shuhadā'* was post-Ḳur'ānic and reflected the use among Christians of the Greek *martys* and Syriac *sāhdā* (*Muslim studies*, ii, 350-1; cf. Wensinck, *The oriental doctrine*, 1, 9; SHAHĪD, in *EI*[1] [W. Björkman]). What is not in doubt is that the Ḳur'ān refers to the reward for those slain in the way of God (*fī sabīl Allāh*) (II, 154, III, 157, 169, IV, 74, IX, 111, XLVII, 4-6).

A large body of traditions describes the bliss awaiting the martyr. All his sins will be forgiven; he will be protected from the torments of the grave; a crown of glory will be placed on his head; he will be married to seventy-two houris and his intercession will be accepted for up to seventy of his relations. When the martyrs behold the delights awaiting them, they will ask to be brought back to life and killed again; but this is one request which even they will be denied. The Ḳur'ānic statement that the *shuhadā'* are alive (*aḥyā'*) is often (but not always) interpreted literally (see D. Gimaret, *Une lecture mu'tazilite du Coran*, Louvain-Paris 1994, 120, 202-3). According to some traditions, the spirits of the martyrs will ascend directly to Paradise, there to reside in the craws of green birds near God's throne. During the Resurrection these spirits will be returned to the martyr's earthly bodies and the martyrs will then be given their abode in Paradise (*dār al-shuhadā'*).

There are two main types of martyr, the difference between them being marked by the fact that martyrs of the first type have special burial rites while those of the second do not. The first type are *shuhadā' al-ma'raka*, "battlefield martyrs". They are referred to as "martyrs both in this world and the next" (*shuhadā' al-dunyā wa 'l-ākhira*), meaning that they are treated as martyrs both in this world (in that they undergo the special burial rites) and in the next.

The burial rites accorded to battlefield martyrs differ from those accorded to other Muslims in the following ways:

(1) *Ghusl* [*q.v.*]. There is widespread agreement among Sunnī and non-Sunnī jurists that the martyr's body should not as a rule be washed. This position is based on the precedent of the Prophet's actions at Uḥud and elsewhere and on the belief that martyrdom removes the impurity which adheres to a person's body at death. A minority view was held by some early authorities, including Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (d. *ca.* 94/713), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*] and the Baṣran 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-'Anbarī (d. 168/785). Their view is that the Prophet acted in extraordinary circumstances and that his actions should therefore not serve as a precedent; in addition, they hold that martyrs are subject to the same laws of impurity as others. A special case is the martyr who dies without having performed the *ghusl* following sexual intercourse. Jurists who hold that his body should be washed include Abū Ḥanīfa, the Ḥanbalīs and the Ibāḍīs. These jurists cite the precedent of the Anṣārī Ḥanẓala b. Abī 'Āmir: he was with his wife when called upon to fight at Uḥud and was killed before he could perform the *ghusl*; the angels washed his body, and he is therefore known as *ghasīl al-malā'ika*. A further point, allegedly made by Abū Ḥanīfa, is that martyrdom does not cancel an impurity which adhered to a person while he was still alive. Those who say that a martyr of this kind should be treated like any other battlefield martyr by not being washed include Abū Yūsuf, al-Shaybānī and some later Ḥanafīs. Conflicting views on this point are also found among Mālikīs, Shāfi'īs, Zaydīs and Imāmīs.

(2) Clothes. The belief that the martyr's blood-stained clothes will constitute proof of his status on the Day of Judgment is the main reason for holding that he should be buried in the garments in which he was killed. But items of clothing which cannot normally serve as shrouds (e.g. headgear, footgear, fur or skin clothes) may not be buried with him; nor should his weapons accompany him to the grave, as this was a Djāhilī custom. The Shāfi'īs, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs maintain that if the martyr's next of kin (*awliyā'*) do not wish to bury him in his garments, they may use shrouds instead.

(3) Prayer. There are conflicting accounts of the Prophet's behaviour at Uḥud: according to some he prayed over the martyrs, according to others he did not. Those who hold that the former should serve as a precedent include the Ḥanafīs, Zaydīs and Imāmīs. Opponents of prayers over the martyrs include the Shāfi'īs and Mālikīs, as well as many of the older Meccan and Medinan authorities. Ibn Ḥazm argues that both accounts are equally reliable and that either practice may therefore be followed, while the Ḥanbalīs are split over the issue, depending on which of two *riwāyas* from Ibn Ḥanbal they choose to follow. One argument (attributed to al-Shāfi'ī) against prayers over the martyrs is that the martyrs are alive, while prayers are held only for the dead. Another argument is based on the notion that the aim of such prayers is to intercede on the dead person's behalf; as the martyr has been cleansed of all sins, he is in no need of such intercession. In contrast, supporters of such prayers claim that no-one can dispense with a request to God for His mercy and forgiveness, and that the martyrs, more than anyone else, deserve to have this request made on their behalf.

There is some difference of opinion as to who is included in the category of battlefield martyrs. While it is agreed that they are those who went into battle in order to further God's religion and in anticipation of His reward (*iḥtisāb*), there are some jurists who add that they must have died in a battle against unbelievers, whereas others maintain that their death in battle should have been caused by an act of injustice (*ẓulm*). Again, some jurists insist that these martyrs must have been killed by an enemy soldier, while others do not make this stipulation. All agree that death must be a direct and immediate result of the wounds received, but the interpretation of this rule varies; it is often taken to mean that the warrior must die before he has had a chance either to eat, drink, sleep, receive medical treatment, be moved away, or dictate his last will and testament. The Shāfi'īs stipulate only that he should not have eaten during the time between his injury and his death, and that his death should have occurred either before or shortly after the battle ended.

Tradition has recorded the names of numerous battlefield martyrs who died during the Prophet's lifetime; they include members of his immediate family, such as his paternal uncle Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (known as *sayyid al-shuhadā'*) and his cousin Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.vv.*]. Far greater numbers fell

during the conquests which followed the Prophet's death. Most died on land, some at sea; the latter are said to receive the reward of two martyrs who die on land. Many fought with extraordinary bravery against heavy odds and their behaviour is cited as an example of the "wish for martyrdom" (*ṭalab al-shahāda*). Such zeal was also common among various Khāridjī groups. The number of martyrs of this kind declined with the end of the first great wave of conquests, although it rose again whenever particular historical circumstances (such as the Crusades) revived calls for *djihād* (cf. E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la croisade*, Paris 1968, 60-2, 110, 134 and *passim*). At the same time, the increasing importance attached to the defence of the border areas led to the elevation of fallen *murābiṭūn* to the rank of martyrs [see RIBĀṬ]. In eschatological times, martyrs will fight on the side of the Mahdī [*q.v.*], just as the early martyrs fought alongside the Prophet.

Battlefield martyrdom has captured the imagination of Muslims throughout the ages. A martyr's death in combat is the apogee of the believer's aspirations; it is the noblest way to depart this life (hence the motif of the old man who rushes forth to battle) and is a guarantee of God's approval and reward. In his willingness to lay down his life for a higher cause the believer overcomes that most basic of instincts, fear of death. Nor is the reaction to his death necessarily one of grief: there are accounts in mediaeval Sunnī sources of mothers who express gratitude at the news of their sons' martyrdom and forbid any mourning over them; and similar reports have appeared in modern times, most spectacularly on the Iranian side during the Iran-ʿIrāḳ war (1980-8). It is the behaviour of these mothers which is so striking, regardless of whether it reflects their true feelings. The significance of the martyr's death transcends the individual; in the eyes of ordinary Muslims, he endows his entire community with purity and grace, and his immediate family are the object of admiration and support.

The second major type of martyr are the "martyrs in the next world only" (*shuhadāʾ al-ākhira*); they are not accorded distinctive burial rites. Among them are the *murtaththūn*, lit. "those who are worn out", i.e. warriors who in other respects qualify as battlefield martyrs, but whose death is not a direct and immediate result of their wounds. The question whether a person is to be regarded as a battlefield martyr or as a martyr only in the next world arose particularly in three cases. The first is that of a warrior accidentally killed by his own weapon; one example is that of ʿĀmir b. al-Akwaʿ (or b. Sinān), whose sword slipped from his hand during the battle of Khaybar [*q.v.*] and fatally wounded him. The Imāmīs and some Ḥanbalīs maintain that such a warrior is a battlefield martyr; others dispute this. The second case concerns those killed by *bughāt* ("rebels"; cf. Kh. Abou El Fadl, *Aḥkām al-bughāt: irregular warfare and the law of rebellion in Islam*, in *Cross, crescent, and sword*, ed. J.T. Johnson and J. Kelsay, New York, Westport and London 1990, 149-76). For the Zaydīs and Imāmīs, the *bughāt* are unbelievers, since they rose against a legitimate ruler; hence those who fall while fighting them (such as ʿAlī's supporters in the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffīn and al-Nahrawān) are considered to be battlefield martyrs. Sunnī scholars generally regard the *bughāt* as erring Muslims and treat those who fall while fighting them as the victims of injustice. For some Ḥanbalīs, Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs, this is sufficient grounds for according them the status of battlefield martyrs; while those who hold that such a martyr must have died in a war against unbelievers maintain that victims of the *bughāt* are *shuhadāʾ al-ākhira*. Finally, there are those who die while defending themselves, their families or their property against brigands (*luṣūṣ*) [see LIṢṢ] or highway robbers (*ḳuṭṭāʿ al-ṭuruḳ*). (The assumption appears to be that these brigands and robbers are Muslims rather than unbelievers.) Theirs is a special case, in that their death does not occur on a battlefield. Jurists none the less draw an analogy between such persons and warriors who were killed on the battlefield. According to al-Awzāʿī [*q.v.*] and some Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, they are to be regarded as battlefield martyrs; most jurists, however, consider the victims of brigands or highway robbers as martyrs in the next world only.

The decrease in the number of battlefield martyrs that followed the early conquests coincided (perhaps not fortuitously) with a large extension of the category of martyrs in the next world only. These further types may conveniently be grouped under three major headings:

(1) Persons who die violently or prematurely. Martyrs of this type include:

(a) *Those murdered while in the service of God.* Foremost among them are the caliphs ʿUmar, ʿUthmān (who is sometimes regarded as a battlefield martyr) and ʿAlī. The Prophet himself was occasionally described as a *shahīd*, since his death was supposedly precipitated by his tasting a piece of poisoned mutton offered him by Zaynab bt. al-Ḥārith at the time of the Khaybar expedition.

(b) *Those killed for their beliefs.* Pre-Islamic figures include various prophets, most prominently Yaḥyā (John the Baptist) (for whom see e.g. Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, *Man ʿāsha baʿd al-mawt*, Cairo 1352/1934, 17-8), and righteous persons such as Ḥabīb al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*]. During the early years of Muḥammad's mission, Sumayya, the mother of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*] (who himself fell at Ṣiffīn), is said in some reports to have been stabbed to death by Abū Djahl after she had openly embraced Islam; some say that she was the very first martyr in Islam. An example from the time of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] is that of Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzāʿī, who refused to acknowledge that the Ḳurʾān was created and was beheaded in 231/846 by order of the caliph al-Wāthiḳ. Those executed by a ruler for enjoining him to do what is proper and forbidding him from what is reprehensible (*al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*) are sometimes described as martyrs. Among Ṣūfīs, the most renowned martyr is al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] (see L. Massignon, *The passion of al-Ḥallāj: mystic and martyr of Islam*, tr. H. Mason, Princeton 1982, i, 560-645). The list of Imāmī Shīʿī martyrs is particularly long, with many names appearing in the *maḳātil* literature; some became posthumously known as "al-Shahīd" (e.g. al-Shahīd al-Thānī [*q.v.*]). The most prominent of these martyrs are the Imāms, with Ḥusayn in particular occupying a unique position. He has traditionally been regarded as having sacrificed himself in order to revive the Prophet's religion and save it from destruction; yet he has also been seen (particularly in recent years) as a battlefield martyr to be emulated for his willingness to fight for justice against all odds. The tombs of Ḥusayn and the other Imāms are the most important shrines in the Shīʿī world; many non-Shīʿī martyrs also generated a cult, and their burial places became centres of pilgrimage [see MASHHAD].

(c) *Those who die through disease or accident.* Early collections of Ḥadīth specifically mention victims of the plague (*ṭāʿūn* [*q.v.*]), of pleurisy or of an abdominal disease (diarrhoea or colic), those who drown, die in a fire or are struck by a falling house or wall, and

women who die in childbirth; other forms of death were added at a later date. According to al-Bādjī [*q.v.*], the elevation of these persons to the rank of martyrs is divine compensation for the painful deaths which they suffer.

(d) *The "martyrs of love"* (shuhadāʾ al-ḥubb) *and the "martyrs who died far from home"* (shuhadāʾ al-ghurba) *may also belong here.* The former are, according to a Prophetic tradition, those who love, remain chaste, conceal their secret and die (Ibn Dāwūd, *K. al-Zahra* [first part], ed. A.R. Nykl in collaboration with I. Ṭūḳān, Chicago 1932, 66; see the discussion in J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 307-16; L.A. Giffen, *Theory of profane love among the Arabs*, New York and London 1971, 99-115). The latter are those who leave their homes (e.g. in order to preserve their faith in times of persecution) and who die in a foreign land.

(2) Persons who die a natural death, either (a) while engaged in a meritorious act such as a pilgrimage, a journey in search of knowledge (*fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*) or a prayer (including a prayer for death on the battlefield); or (b) after leading a virtuous life. In ascetic circles, those who died after spending their lives waging war against their appetitive soul (*nafs*) were regarded as martyrs in the "greater *djihād*" [see DJIHĀD]; and according to some Imāmī traditions, every believer (i.e. every Imāmī Shīʿī), even if he dies in his own bed, is a *shahīd* who will be treated as if he had been killed fighting alongside the Prophet. Other Imāmī traditions declare as martyrs those who in their lifetime practised *mudārāt*, i.e. who treated others in a friendly manner while concealing their true attitude towards them. It has been suggested that the extension of the term *shahīd* to cover cases of non-violent death was a reaction against what was deemed a fanatical enthusiasm for self-sacrifice (Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, ii, 352).

(3) Living martyrs. They include those who, having joined the "greater *djihād*", successfully fight their *nafs*. The Ṣūfī author Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) [*q.v.*] declares that the battlefield martyr is a *shahīd* only externally (*fī 'l-ẓāhir*); the true martyr (*fī 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*) is he whose *nafs* has been slain while he continues to live in accordance with the Ṣūfī rules (*Manāhidj al-ʿārifīn*, ed. E. Kohlberg, in *JSAI*, i [1979], 30).

A number of questions relating to *shahāda* (particularly of the military kind) were debated in theological circles. For example, a majority of Muʿtazilīs are said to have held that "no one is allowed to wish for martyrdom ... A Muslim is only obliged to wish for fortitude (*ṣabr*) to bear the pain of wounds, should he be afflicted with them". The argument put forward was that the Muslim's wish for martyrdom could only be fulfilled by his being killed; and since killing a Muslim is an act of unbelief, it follows that the Muslim would be wishing for such an act to take place. A related question concerns God's attitude to the death of His servants as martyrs. This question was already addressed by the Ibāḍī ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd (*fl.* second half of the 2nd/8th century): he argued that since martyrdom could only come about through death at the hands of a sinner, it followed that God wants (*aḥabba*) the sinner to perform the sin which God knows he will perform. In his refutation of this view, the Zaydī Imam Aḥmad al-Nāṣir (d. 322/934) maintained that God does not want sinners to kill believers, nor does He determine that this should happen; only after a Muslim has been killed does God refer to him as a *shahīd* (al-Nāṣir, *K. al-Nadjāt*, ed. W. Madelung, Wiesbaden 1405/1985, 127-39). For ʿAbd al-Djabbār [*q.v.*], God's wish that martyrdom should occur does not mean that He wishes His servants to die: one may wish for something without wishing for the prerequisites for its attainment. Muʿtazilī exegetes, in line with their belief that God does not command evil, interpret the "permission" (*idhn*) of Ḳurʾān, III, 166 ("And what happened to you on the day on which the two armies clashed happened with God's permission"), as meaning that God allowed the unbelievers freedom of action (*takhliya*) by removing any obstacles from their way; it does not mean that God decreed the death of the believers.

A genuine battlefield martyr is one whose actions proceed from the right intention (*niyya*) [*q.v.*]. But people's intentions are only known to God; in this world people are treated according to their apparent state. This means that even those who went into battle for the wrong reasons (for instance, to show off their prowess or to partake of the spoils) or without true belief in their hearts (as in the case of the *munāfiḳūn*) are nevertheless accorded the burial rites of the battlefield martyr (provided of course that they meet the other necessary conditions). They are known as "martyrs in this world only" (*shuhadāʾ al-dunyā*), and will not enjoy the rewards of martyrs in the next world; indeed, some reports say that they will suffer the torments of hell. The right intention is also required of certain kinds of *shuhadāʾ al-ākhira* (though not, say, of victims of disease or accident); but there is no specific term to designate the pseudomartyrs among them.

Bibliography: [i] *Ḥadīth*: references to the most important traditions are given in A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. "Martyr(s)". Further material may be found e.g. in ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. H. al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1390-2/1970-2, iii, 540-8, v, 253-87; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. ʿA. al-Afghānī *et al.*, Karachi 1406/1986-7, iii, 252-4, xii, 287-92; al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, ed. M.ʿA.-Ḳ. ʿAṭā, Beirut 1414/1994, ix, 274-87; Ibn Shaddād, *Dalāʾil al-aḥkām min aḥādīth al-rasūl ʿalayhi 'l-salām*, ed. M. Shaykhānī and Z. al-Ayyūbī, Damascus and Beirut 1413/1992-3, ii, 469-75; Suyūṭī, *Abwāb al-saʿāda fī asbāb al-shahāda*, ed. N.ʿA.-R. Khalaf, Cairo 1981.

[ii] *Tafsīr*: interpretations of the Ḳurʾānic *shuhadāʾ* as martyrs are to be found in commentaries on the relevant verses, e.g. Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, Cairo 1368/1988, iv, 106-7 (to III, 140).

[iii] Biographical literature: Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaḳr, Beirut n.d.; Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī, *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ*, Tehran 1334 *Sh.*/1955.

[iv] *Fiḳh* (often in the chapters on *djanāʾiz*): Ḥanafīs: Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324-31, ii, 49-56; Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ fī tartīb al-sharāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327/1909, i, 320-5; Ḥalabī, *Multaḳā 'l-abḥur*, ed. W.S. Gh. al-Albānī, Beirut 1409/1989, i, 166-8; Shāfiʿīs: Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, Cairo 1321-6, i, 236-8; Māwardī, *al-Ḥāwī 'l-kabīr*, ed. ʿA.M. Muʿawwaḍ and ʿA.A. ʿAbd al-Mawdjūd, Beirut 1414/1994, iii, 33-8; Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *al-Muhadhdhab fī fiḳh al-imām al-Shāfiʿī*, ed. M. al-Zuḥaylī, Damascus and Beirut 1412/1992, i, 441-2; Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Fatāwā*, ii, Cairo 1355, 339-54; Mālikīs: Bādjī, *K. al-Muntaḳā sharḥ Muwaṭṭaʾ Mālik*, Cairo 1332, ii, 25-7, 31; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid wa-nihāyat al-muḳtaṣid*, ed. M.Ṣ.Ḥ. Ḥallāḳ, Cairo 1994/1415, ii, 10-2, 41-2; Kharashī, *Sharḥ ʿalā 'l-mukhtaṣar li 'l-Khalīl*, Cairo 1316-7, ii, 44-5; Ḥanbalīs: Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Kāfī fī fiḳh al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, ed.

S.M. al-Laḥḥām, Beirut 1412/1992, i, 288-9; Mardāwī, *al-Inṣāf fī maʿrifat al-rādjiḥ fi 'l-khilāf ʿalā madhhab al-imām al-mubadjdjal Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1374-78/1955-58, ii, 498-504, 555; Ẓāhirīs: Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, Cairo 1347-52, v, 115-16, 138; Ibāḍīs: Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayyish, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-nīl wa-shifāʾ al-ʿalīl*, ii, Djudda 1405/1985, 564-9; Zaydīs: al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh, *Sharḥ al-Tadjrīd fī fiḳh al-zaydiyya*, facs. ed., Ṣanʿāʾ 1405/1985, i, 233-5; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, Cairo 1368/1949, iii, 93-7, 122-3; Imāmīs: Ṭūsī, *K. al-Khilāf*, Nadjaf 1376, i, 260-4; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nihāyat al-iḥkām fī maʿrifat al-aḥkām*, ed. M. al-Radjāʾī, Beirut 1406/1986, ii, 235-9; al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *Masālik al-afhām* (or *ifhām*) *fī sharḥ sharāʾiʿ al-islām*, ed. Ḥ.M. Āl Ḳubaysī al-ʿĀmilī, Beirut 1414/1993, i, 172-3. For a succinct summary of the Sunnī positions, see Djazīrī, *K. al-Fiḳh ʿalā 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 527-30; *al-Mawsūʿa al-fiḳhiyya*, xxvi, Kuwait 1412/1992, 272-8.

[v] Kalām: ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Asadābādī, *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ʿadl*, vi/2, ed. G.C. Anawati and I. Madkur, Cairo n.d., 299-302; idem, *Tanzīh al-Ḳurʾān ʿan al-maṭāʿin*, Beirut n.d., 80; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *K. al-Rūḥ*, Beirut 1412/1992, 56-7, 125-38, 145, 153-9, 244-5.

[vi] Modern Imāmī works: Ali Shariati, *Martyrdom: arise and bear witness*, tr. Ali Asghar Ghassemy [= ʿAlī Aṣghar Ḳāsimī], [Tehran] 1981; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Faḍl Allāh, *ʿAlā ṭarīḳ Karbalāʾ*, [Beirut] 1984; M.Ḳ. al-Baghdādī, *al-Shahāda: taʾṣīl lā istiʾṣāl*, Beirut 1413/1993.

[vii] Studies: I. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, ed. and tr. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, ii, London 1971, 350-4; A.J. Wensinck, *The oriental doctrine of the martyrs*, in *Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel 53, Serie A, no. 6, Amsterdam 1921; P. Peeters, *Les traductions orientales du mot Martyr*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxxix (1921), 50-64; R. Eklund, *Life between death and resurrection according to Islam*, Uppsala 1941; A. Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und Heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum*, Bonn 1966, 25-9; A.J. Arberry, *A Sufi martyr. The apologia of ʿAin al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī*, London 1969; M.W. Dols, *The black death in the Middle East*, Princeton 1977, 109, 112-14, 117; M. Ayoub, *Redemptive suffering in Islām: a study of the devotional aspects of ʿĀshūrāʾ in Twelver Shīʿism*, The Hague 1978; Ḥ. Khālid, *al-Shahīd fi 'l-islām*, Beirut 1978; J.I. Smith and Y.Y. Haddad, *The Islamic understanding of death and resurrection*, Albany 1981; M. Abedi and G. Legenhausen (eds.), *Jihād and Shahādat: struggle and martyrdom in Islam*, Houston 1986; A. Ezzati, *The concept of martyrdom in Islam*, in *Al-Ṣirāṭ*, xii (1986), 117-23; Y. Richard, *L'islam chi'ite: croyances et idéologies*, Paris 1991, index, s.v. "martyre"; W.R. Husted, *Karbalāʾ made immediate: the martyr as model in Imāmī Shīʿism*, in *MW*, lxxxiii (1993), 263-78; M.A. Cook, *The voice of honest indignation: al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar in Islamic thought and practice* (forthcoming). (E. Kohlberg)

SHĀHID (a.) "witness".

In Islamic law, testimony (*shahāda*) is the paramount medium of legal evidence (*bayyina* [*q.v.*]), the other means being acknowledgement (*iḳrār* [*q.v.*]) and the oath (*yamīn* [*q.v.*]). Testimony is "a statement in court based on observation, introduced by the words 'I testify (*ashhadu*)', concerning the rights of others." Giving testimony in court on what one has seen or heard is a collective obligation (*farḍ ʿalā 'l-kifāya*), which becomes an individual one in case someone will loose his right if a specific person does not testify to it. This is based on Ḳurʾān, II, 282, "The witnesses must not refuse whenever they are summoned." However, with regard to *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] offences, it is better not to give evidence, since the Prophet said to a man who testified to such an offence: "It would have been better for you if you would have covered [the offence] under your cloak." (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Ḥudūd*, 7; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, V, 217).

In principle, testimony can only be given by a sane, adult, free, male Muslim of good morals (*ʿadl*, pl. *ʿudūl* [*q.v.*]). In exceptional cases, the testimonies of women are accepted e.g. with regard to facts of which in general only women are cognisant, such as menstruation, childbirth, virginity and defects of the female sexual organs, or in combination with a male witness (see below). All schools except the Ḥanbalīs agree that slaves cannot bear witness. Nor can non-Muslims. The Ḥanafīs, however, accept their testimony against other non-Muslims. There is some difference of opinion with regard to the question of whether adherents of Islamic sects are accepted as witnesses. The Ḥanafīs take the most inclusive position and allow the testimonies of practically all *ahl al-ḳibla*. In Twelver Shīʿī law, only the testimony of Twelver Shīʿīs (*muʾminūn*) is admitted.

Being *ʿadl* (of good morals) is defined as not having committed great sins or persevered in small sins and not displaying unbecoming behaviour, such as playing backgammon, walking around bareheaded, or eating or urinating in public. According to the Ḥanafīs, unbecoming behaviour does not affect the status of being *ʿadl* but may cause the *ḳāḍī* to reject someone's testimony. Before a witness is allowed to testify, the *ḳāḍī* has to establish his good morals by secret and public inquiry (*tazkiya, taʿdīl*).

Witnesses must be beyond suspicion of bias. Therefore, one cannot validly testify against one's enemy. Further, testimony in favour of close relatives and, according to most legal schools, one's wife, is not admitted. The various schools differ somewhat as to who must be regarded as close relatives, but all of them include one's ascendants and descendants. Most schools do not admit a witness who would profit from his testimony. For the Twelver Shīʿīs, this is the only criterion and they allow in principle testimonies in favour of relatives.

As a rule, the *ḳāḍī* must find for the plaintiff if the latter can prove his claim by corresponding testimonies given by two male witnesses. In financial matters, the testimony of one man and two women is also admitted as legal evidence. The Ḥanafīs, but not the other schools, allow such evidence also with regard to the status of persons (marriage, divorce, manumission, bequest). All schools except the Ḥanafīs regard the testimony of one male witness corroborated by an oath of the plaintiff also as sufficient evidence in financial matters. In the trial of *ḥadd* offences or of manslaughter or wilful grievous bodily harm where retribution is at stake, only the testimony of male witnesses is admitted. The Mālikīs, however, exclude here wilful grievous bodily harm and allow in these cases the testimony of one man and two women. For proof of illicit sexual relations, four male witnesses are required (cf. Ḳurʾān, IV, 15, and XXIV, 4). The Twelver Shīʿīs allow here also the testimonies of three men and two women or even two men and four women, but only if the punishment at stake is flogging, not if it is lapidation [see further, ḳadhf]. The schools differ with regard to the minimum number of female witnesses testifying to facts usually known only

to women; the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs consider one woman sufficient, the Mālikīs require two and the Shāfiʿīs four.

An interesting development took place in North Africa during the 16th and 17th centuries, when the practice (*ʿamal*) came into existence of admitting as legal evidence the *shahādat al-lafīf*, i.e. the testimony of a group of at least twelve men, who need not be *ʿadl*. This practice was justified by necessity (*ḍarūra*) deriving from the absence of *ʿudūl*, especially in rural communities. If such testimony would not be recognised, it was argued, people would not be able to enforce their rights (Sayyidī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Djaʿīṭ, *al-Ṭarīḳa al-marḍiyya fi 'l-idjrāʾāt ʿalā madhhab al-Mālikiyya*, ²Tunis n.d., 171-8).

One can only testify to what one has heard or seen. However, with regard to certain facts one can give evidence on the strength of public knowledge, without having witnessed the event or the legal act that is at the basis of it (*al-shahāda bi 'l-tasāmuʿ*). Thus one may give evidence concerning e.g. a person's descent, marital status or death, without actually having been present at the time of his birth, his marriage contract or his decease. If a witness has a legal excuse for not attending the court session, his testimony may be transmitted by two other witnesses (*al-shahāda ʿalā 'l-shahāda*), except in cases of *ḥadd* offences or retribution.

Once a testimony has been given, it can be withdrawn only before a *ḳāḍī*. If this occurs before the end of the proceedings, the *ḳāḍī* cannot give judgement. If withdrawal takes place after the verdict has been pronounced, the sentence remains valid but the witness is liable for half of the damage of the party who had lost the case on the strength of the testimony that was later withdrawn. If the defendant was sentenced to death on the strength of a testimony that was later withdrawn, the witness is liable for blood-money (*diya*). According to the Shāfiʿīs, he can even be brought to death if he had wilfully borne false witness.

Already at a very early period, testimonies of legal acts were recorded in deeds in order to preserve the exact wording of the act. However, since under Islamic law documentary evidence is not admitted, the deed itself does not furnish proof, but, in cases of ligitation, the testimonies given in court by the witnesses who have signed the deed. In order to avoid the danger that such testimonies might be rejected because the witnesses were not *ʿadl*, professional witnesses, whose *ʿadāla* had been established by the court, and who were called *shāhid ʿadl* (or, briefly, *shāhid* or *ʿadl*), were employed for recording important transactions. They first appear in Egypt at the beginning of the 8th century A.D. These witnesses, who had a legal training, were appointed and dismissed by the *ḳāḍīs* of the courts where they performed their duties. Their task, however, was more comprehensive than acting as notaries public, for they functioned in general as judicial auxiliaries and occasionally, with the *ḳāḍī*'s authorisation, even as judges, and heard minor cases independently. The office of *shahāda* was often regarded as a training period for future judges.

Strictly speaking, the profession of drafting deeds (*muwaththiḳ, shurūṭī*) and that of testifying to it could be separated. In practice, however, they were not, and the notary would put his signature under the deed as a witness, together with those of the other witnesses. Although the signatures of two witnesses would technically be sufficient, for greater security many more were placed in the document, sometimes up to 48. Often these testimonies were added years after the original drafting.

Nowadays, with regard to those domains of the law where the *Sharīʿa* is applied, most countries have modernised the law of evidence e.g. by admitting documentary evidence. With regard to the testimony of witnesses, however, some of the classical rules are often maintained, such as the rule that the testimony of one witness does not count. In Morocco, the classical system of appointed *ʿudūl* still exists. Some of the countries that have recently expanded the application of the *Sharīʿa* to fields such as criminal law, have also enacted legislation to reintroduce to some extent the classical rules of evidence (cf. the Sudanese *Ḳānūn al-Ithbāt* of 1983 and the Pākistānī *Ḳānūn-e-Shahādat* of 1984).

Bibliography: Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Cairo 1965, ii, 462-6; Shaykh-zāde, *Madjmaʿ al-anhur*, Istanbul 1309, ii, 145-73; Dasūḳī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā 'l-Sharḥ al-Kabīr*, Cairo n.d., iv, 164-237; Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī*, Cairo n.d., ii, 249-59; Khiraḳī, *Mukhtaṣar*, Damascus 1964, 228-31; Ḥillī, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām fī masāʾil al-ḥalāl wa 'l-ḥarām*, Nadjaf 1969, iv, 125-46; E. Tyan, *Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman*, Beirut 1945; R. Brunschvig, *Le système de la preuve en droit musulman*, in *Études d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, ii, 201-19, first publ. in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, xviii (1963), 169-86; M. Grignaschi, *La valeur du témoignage des sujets non-musulmans (dhimmi) dans l'Empire Ottoman*, in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, xviii (1963), 211-323 (contains at 240-323 texts and French tr. of *fatwās* by Abu 'l-Suʿūd [*q.v.*] on testimony); F. Selle, *Prozessrecht des 16. Jahrhunderts im osmanischen Reich*, Wiesbaden 1962, 77-103 (trs. of Ottoman *fatwās* on testimony). (R. Peters)

SHAHĪD (or perhaps better, Shuhayd) b. al-Ḥusayn al-Balkhī al-Warrāḳ al-Mutakallim, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, a philosopher and a poet in Persian and Arabic, died (according to Yāḳūt, followed by al-Ṣafadī) in 315/927.

He was a contemporary and close friend of the polymath Abū Zayd al-Balkhī and of the Muʿtazilī theologian Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī (see AL-BALKHĪ; the three Balkhīs were the subject of a joint biography, used by Yāḳūt) and a bitter rival of the famous philosopher Abū Bakr al-Rāzī [*q.v.*]; the latter wrote a polemic against Shahīd on the subject of pleasure (*al-ladhdha*) and another on eschatology (*al-maʿād*), both now lost. The epitome of al-Sidjistānī's *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* contains a short extract from a work by Shahīd on the "superiority of the pleasures of the soul over those of the body", perhaps the object of al-Rāzī's attack.

Shahīd was a professional scribe and had a reputation as a meticulous copyist. His Arabic poetry, which is quoted by al-Marghīnānī, Yāḳūt and ʿAwfī, includes two *ḳiṭʿas* mocking Aḥmad b. Abī Rabīʿa, who was the *wazīr* of the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] between 278/891 and 287/900. Yāḳūt tells us that he also satirised Aḥmad b. Sahl, the famous governor of Khurāsān, and had to flee his anger, but returned to Balkh after Aḥmad's execution (i.e. in 307/920).

Shahīd is mainly remembered as one of the earliest poets in Persian. His famous contemporary Rūdakī [*q.v.*] wrote an elegy on his death, and he is mentioned with respect by other Persian poets of the 4th/10th to 6th/12th centuries, but afterwards his poems fell into oblivion, apart from the hundred-odd verses preserved by the anthologists and lexicographers. These include an amatory poem of eight lines quoted by Djādjarmī, an extract from a *ḳaṣīda* which ʿAwfī says he dedicated to the Sāmānid Naṣr II (301-31/914-43), a poem with alternating Persian and Arabic verses and some couplets from a narrative poem, apparently

of romantic content. Not surprisingly, several of the stray verses cited in the dictionaries have a philosophic or gnomic flavour.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 299, 301 (= ed. Tadjaddud, 357-8); Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī, *Muntakhab Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, ed. D.M. Dunlop, The Hague 1979, 127; Bīrūnī, *Risāla ... fī fihrist kutub Muḥammad b. Zakariyā' al-Rāzī*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1936, 11, 18; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iv, 21 (where "Sahl b. al-Ḥasan" is an error for "Shahīd b. al-Ḥusayn"); idem, *Laṭā'if 'l-maʿārif*, ed. al-Abyārī and al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1960, 203, tr. Bosworth, 135; al-Marghīnānī, *al-Maḥāsin fī 'l-naẓm wa 'l-nathr*, ed. G.J. van Gelder, Istanbul 1987, 77; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān al-balāgha*, ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949, 63, 83, 107 (and editor's notes, 134-9); Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 143, 149 (and ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1993, 275, 279-80, 1421-2, the last passage containing the entry on Shahīd from a hitherto unpublished *mukhtaṣar*); idem, *Buldān*, ii, 167-8 (read, twice, Abū <'l-Ḥasan> Shahīd); ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 3-5; idem, *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, iii/1, ed. Karīmī, Tehran 1352 *sh.*/1973, 341-2; Shams al-Dīn b. Ḳays al-Rāzī, *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, ed. M.M. Ḳazwīnī, London 1909, 204; Muḥammad b. Badr al-Djādjarmī, *Mu'nis al-aḥrār fī daḳā'iḳ al-ashʿār*, ed. Ṣ. Ṭabībī, Tehran 1337-50 sh./1959-71, ii, 952-3; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, xvi, 197-8 (no. 229); M. Ḳazwīnī's note in his edition of Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī, *Čahār maḳāla*, London-Leiden 1910, 127-8 (and those by M. Muʿīn in his ed. Tehran 1331 *sh.*/1952-3, *taʿlīḳāt*, at 80-3); P. Kraus, in his ed. of al-Rāzī's *Rasā'il falsafiyya*, Cairo 1939, 145-7; G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans (IXᵉ-Xᵉ siècles)*, Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 20-1, 62-9, ii, 23-39 (contains an ed. and tr. of the surviving fragments in Persian).

(F.C. DE BLOIS)

AL-SHAHĪD AL-AWWAL [see MUḤAMMAD B. MAKKĪ].

AL-SHAHĪD AL-THĀNĪ, ZAYN AL-DĪN B. ʿALĪ (in some sources, erroneously, Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī) b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī, known like his father as Ibn al-Ḥudjdja (or al-Ḥādjdja), Twelver Shīʿī author and jurist. He was born in the Lebanese town of Djubaʿ on Tuesday, 13 Shawwāl 911/9 March 1506, and studied with his father until the latter's death in Radjab 925/July 1519. He then embarked on a series of travels *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* which took him to Mays and Karak Nūḥ in his native Djabal ʿĀmil (925-34/1519-28) and also (in 937/1530-1 and 942/1535) to Damascus. In mid-Rabīʿ I 942/September 1535 he left the Syrian capital for an 18-month sojourn in Egypt, where he studied with a number of Sunnī scholars. He returned to Djubaʿ after performing the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, but left it again to visit the shrines of the Imāms in ʿIrāḳ (946/1539-40) and, later, to visit Jerusalem (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 948/March-April 1542).

On 17 Rabīʿ I 952/29 May 1545 the Shahīd arrived in Istanbul, where he stayed for three-and-a-half months. His purpose was to obtain a licence to teach in a *madrasa*. The normal procedure would have been for him to produce a petition (*ʿarḍ*) from his local judge (in the case of the Shahīd, this would have been the *ḳāḍī* Maʿrūf of Ṣaydā), addressed to the Ḳāḍī ʿAskar [*q.v.*] of Anadolu and requesting that the bearer be given the licence in question. But instead, the Shahīd presented an epistle that he himself had composed and that showed his command of ten different branches of knowledge. The Ḳāḍī ʿAskar, Muḥammad b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, known as Mīrim Kösesi (d. 957/1550) (cf. R.C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul: a study in the development of the Ottoman learned hierarchy*, Oxford 1986, 256, n. 177), was so impressed that he offered him a choice of any teaching position in Damascus or Aleppo; the Shahīd opted for the Madrasa Nūriyya in Baʿlabakk. Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent (r. 926-74/1520-66) issued the necessary documents and provided a stipend for him. After a second visit to ʿIrāḳ, the Shahīd took up his new post in 953/1546. He held it for a number of years (five, according to some reports, two according to others). In addition to teaching, he also issued responsa to Shīʿīs and to Sunnīs of the four schools, each responsum being in accordance with the petitioner's legal affiliation. His last years were spent in his home town, where his son, the author Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, was born (17 Ramaḍān 959/6 September 1552; he died at the beginning of Muḥarram 1011/June 1602). This was the first son to survive into adulthood, others having died in their infancy; the Shahīd's *Musakkin al-fu'ād ʿinda/fī faḳd al-aḥibba wa 'l-awlād* was written following the death in Radjab 954/August-September 1547 of one of his infant sons. The Shahīd's disciples included Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Ḥārithī (d. 984/1576), the father of Shaykh Bahā'ī [see AL-ʿĀMILĪ]; Ḥusayn accompanied him to both Cairo and Istanbul.

The Shahīd is said to have often lived in fear, though whether of local enemies or of the Ottoman authorities is not stated; his death, however, is attributed to the latter. According to one version, this followed a complaint by a disgruntled litigant to the *ḳāḍī* Maʿrūf. The latter wrote to Sultan Sulaymān accusing the Shahīd of heresy, whereupon the Sultan ordered that he be brought before him for interrogation (al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, i, 90-1). Elsewhere, it is the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha [*q.v*] who is said to have ordered the Shahīd's arrest after being told that he was actively propagating Shīʿism (Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. and tr. C.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931-4, i, 406). The Shahīd, who had escaped to Mecca, was detained there and was kept in prison for 40 days. One account has it that he was then sent by ship to Istanbul, where he was killed without being brought before the sultan, and his body thrown into the sea. According to a second account, the Shahīd's captor killed him shortly after the two of them had landed in Anadolu. This account adds that the Shahīd was buried at the spot where he had died and that a shrine (*ḳubba*) was erected over his grave. The date of his death is given as 965/1557-8 or 966/1558-9. In Ramaḍān 975/March 1568 he was already being referred to as al-Shahīd al-Thānī (al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, cviii, 181).

The Shahīd is credited with over 70 works. They deal with a variety of topics, including *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, grammar and *kalām*; but his main contribution to Shīʿī literature was in the realm of *fiḳh*. His major legal works are in the form of commentaries, particularly on the writings of the Muḥaḳḳiḳ, the ʿAllāma [see AL-ḤILLĪ] and al-Shahīd al-Awwal [see MUḤAMMAD B. MAKKĪ]. These works are noted for the clarity of their exposition and argument, as well as for their use of *al-sharḥ al-mazdjī*, a method of interweaving the text with its commentary in such a way that the two together form a smooth and coherent whole. This method is employed in some of his best-known works: the early *Rawḍ al-djinān fī sharḥ irshād al-adhhān*, a commentary on a work of the ʿAllāma which the Shahīd did not complete; the *Masālik al-afhām* (or *ifhām*), a 7-volume commentary on the Muḥaḳḳiḳ's *Sharā'iʿ al-islām;* and *al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya* (probably the Shahīd's last work), a commentary on al-Shahīd

al-Awwal's *al-Lum'a al-dimashkiyya.* Among the themes which the Shahīd elaborated was that of the fully qualified jurist (*fakīh*) as a general representative (*nā'ib 'āmm*) of the Hidden Imām and the repository of judicial authority within the Twelver Shī'ī community during the Imām's occultation. In line with this position, he insisted on the jurist's right to conduct Friday prayers and to collect and distribute the Imām's shares of *zakāt* and *khums.* He also argued against blindly following the legal judgments of deceased jurists (*'adam djawāz taklīd al-amwāt/al-mudjtahid al-mayyit*).

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(E. KOHLBERG)

SHĀHĪN, ĀL, a family of Ottoman officials and governors who came to be especially identified with Ghazza [*q.v.*] or Gaza.

1. Ḳara Muṣṭafā Shāhīn Pasha, the patriarch of the line, was an Ottoman official, serving Süleymān the Magnificent as a governor, including in the *sandjak* of Ghazza, part of the province of Damascus. In 963/1555 he went as governor of Yemen, and was then in Egypt, but was dismissed from his post as governor in 973/1565 and died shortly afterwards. His habit of carrying with him a peregrine falcon gave him the name of Shāhīn, by which the family was subsequently known. For further details, see MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, ḲARA SHĀHĪN.

2. His son Riḍwān took charge of Ghazza whilst his father was away from it. In 973/1565 he was appointed governor of Yemen, and combatted there the Zaydī Imām, the Ismā'īlīs and local tribal chiefs. His lack of success in the difficult situation led to his dismissal and imprisonment at Istanbul in 974/1566. He was later pardoned and served as governor at Ghazza, in Ḥabesh, at Baṣra and in Diyār Bakr, taking part in the war against Persia in 987/1579. Three years later he became governor of Anatolia, where he died in 993/1585. Amongst public works of his in the province of Damascus are mentioned his reconstruction of fortresses, especially that at Bayt Djibrīn, for the protection of caravans and travellers.

3. His son Aḥmad (d. 1015/1606) governed Ghazza for thirty years, and through his connections with the court at Istanbul built up a network of official posts for his family, with his son Süleymān becoming governor in the *sandjak* of Jerusalem, and his brother in the *sandjak* of Nābulus. Residing in Damascus, he had a reputation as a maecenas for poets and scholars.

4. On his retirement in 1009/1600, his son Muḥammad succeeded him in Ghazza. In 1022-3/1613-14 Muḥammad took part in an expedition led by the governor of Damascus against the Druze chief Fakhr al-Dīn Ma'n II [*q.v.*].

5. His son Ḥasan (d. 1054/1644) was likewise governor in Ghazza, and was succeeded by

6. His son Ḥusayn (d. 1071/1660), who had previously been governor of Jerusalem. Ewliyā Čelebi visited Ghazza in 1059/1649, and describes Ḥusayn as a generous man, himself a writer of poetry and history, who was tolerant towards Samaritans, Jews and Christians of the various Eastern Churches. These latter attitudes may have cast doubts on his loyalty, for in 1073/1662 he was arrested, jailed at Damascus and executed on charge that he had failed in his duties as *amīr al-ḥadjdj.*

7. His brother Mūsā replaced him, but the sources say little about him, and he appears to have been the last governor of the Āl Shāhīn.

The extant *tapu defters* do not specify the names of the Āl-Shāhīn governors, nor do they register their names amongst the 41 *tīmār* holders in Ghazza; on the other hand, the several palaces, mosques, schools and cemetery that belonged to them (some still in use today) are described at some length.

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(M.A. al-Bakhit)

SHĀHĪN DIZH [see ṢAʾĪN ḲALʿA].

SHĀHĪN, LALA, according to the early Ottoman chronicles, the preceptor or tutor (*lala*) of the Ottoman sultan Murād I [*q.v.*] and the first to occupy the post of the *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*] of Rumelia. Perhaps he can be identified with Shāhīn b. ʿAbd Allāh who signed a *waḳf* document issued by sultan Orkhan [*q.v.*] in 1360; or also with the military leader Ἰσαΐμ, who, according to a Greek contemporary chronicle, supported the Lord of Yanina Thomas Prealimbos against the Albanians in 1380. Shāhīn crossed from Anatolia to Thrace in the 1360s, probably accompanying Murād when he was still a prince, and fought against the Christians successfully, especially in Bulgaria, where he conquered several fortresses and towns. In 1388 he invaded Bosnia and, according to Neshri [*q.v.*], he died shortly afterwards.

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(Elizabeth A. Zachariadou)

SHĀHĪN-I SHĪRĀZĪ, 14th-century Judaeo-Persian epic poet, the most brilliant name in Judaeo-Persian original literature. Mawlānā ("Our Master") Shāhīn ("the Falcon", a name in common use among the Jews of Persia at that time) wrote under one of the Mongol Īlkhāns, Abū Saʿīd Bahādūr (1316-35 [*q.v.*]). The comparatively numerous extant manuscripts with miniature paintings can be taken as a sign of his popularity.

Although influenced by the great epic poets of Persia, Firdawsī and Niẓāmī, Shāhīn was by no means a mere epigone. The metre he used was the *hazadj musaddas makhzūf* (⏑–––/⏑–––/⏑––). Shāhīn himself never gave titles to his epic works, and only not very informative words like *sharḥ* ("explanation"), *tafsīr* ("commentary") or (B.L. Or. 4742, fol. 3a, l. 1) *Kitāb az tafsīr-i Tōrāh* (in other manuscripts *Kitāb-i Shāhīn* and *Dāstān* "Story" occur). The titles chosen by Wilhelm Bacher have been commonly adopted, viz. the *Book of Genesis* (now mostly *Bereshit-nāma*), the *Book of Moses* (now commonly *Mūsā-nāma*), the *Book of Ardashīr*, consisting of two parts, Megillat Esther and the story of Sherō and Mahzād, and the *Book of Ezra*. The brief epic *King Kishwar*, the story of King Kishwar and his seven pieces of advice to his son Bahrām (known in only one manuscript, ENA 396, fols. la-4b, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York) could be by Shāhīn, but it is doubtful. If it were genuine, it would be the only purely Persian work by Shāhīn devoid of any specific biblical influence.

The sources of Shāhīn were the biblical books (as for the Pentateuch, almost exclusively the non-legal parts), non-biblical Jewish material (midrash, folk-traditions), and Islamic elements.

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(J.P. Asmussen)

SHĀHNĀMEDJI (or Shehnāmedji) (T.), the term for an Ottoman writer of literary-historical works in a style inspired by the *Shāh-nāma* of the Persian poet Firdawsī [*q.v.*], i.e. works composed in Persian, in the *mathnawī* form of rhymed couplets in the *mutaḳārib* metre, describing in fulsome terms the military exploits of the reigning sultan. The first Ottoman compositions in the *shehnāme* genre date from the mid-9th/15th century, as occasional works written for presentation to Meḥemmed II (1451-81).

An official, salaried post of *shehnāmedji* "writer of *shehnāmes*", was established by Süleymān II (1520-66) in the 1550s as a form of court historiographer. Of its five incumbents, three produced between them at least fifteen known works, largely chronicles of the military and imperial achievements of contemporary Ottoman sultans, particularly Süleymān, Selīm II (1566-74), and Murād III (1574-95). In line with developing literary taste, many of the later works were composed in Ottoman Turkish prose rather than Persian verse. Most of the manuscripts (few of which have been published) were richly illustrated by palace artists with specially commissioned miniature paintings and were intended as *objets d'art* for the sultan's private collection. The *Süleymān-nāme* of the first *shehnāmedji*, ʿĀrif (or ʿĀrifī, d. 969/1561-2), contains 62 miniatures (Esin Atıl, *Süleymānnāme: the illustrated history of Süleyman the Magnificent*, New York 1986).

Principal among the works composed by the third *shehnāmedji*, Loḳmān (in post *ca.* 1569-96), are: *Zübdetü ʾt-tewārīkh* ("Essence of history") (completed 991/1583), a world history in Ottoman prose; the two-volumed *Hüner-nāme* ("Book of accomplishments") (992/1584 and 996/1588), also in Ottoman prose, on Selīm I (1512-20) and Süleymān II respectively; the three-volumed *Shāhinshāh-nāme* ("Book of the Shāh of Shāhs") (991/1581-2, 1001/1592, and 1004/1596), in Persian verse, on the reign of Murād III; *Ḳiyāfetü ʾl-insāniyye fī shemāʾil ʿOthmāniyye* ("Description of the features of the Ottoman sultans") (987/1579), essentially an album of portraits of the sultans with accompanying text in Ottoman with physiognomical observations (facsimile text in *Kiyâfetü ʾl-insâniyye fi şemâili ʾl-ʿOsmâniyye*, ed. M. Tayşi, Historical Research Foundation, Istanbul 1987).

Loḳmān's successor Taʿlīḳī-zāde (in post *ca.* 1590-1600) composed a *Shemāʾil-nāme* ("Book of descriptions") (1002/1593) in Ottoman prose on the strengths of the Ottoman dynasty (cf. C. Woodhead, *"The present terror of* the *world?" Contemporary views of the Ottoman empire c. 1600*, in *History*, lxxii/234 [1987], 20-37); and narratives of the Hungarian campaigns of 1593-4 and 1596, in Ottoman prose and verse respectively (for the former, see Woodhead (ed.), *Taʿlīḳī-zāde's Şehnāme-i hümāyūn on the Ottoman campaign into Hungary, 1593/94*, Berlin 1983).

The post lapsed soon after 1600 for reasons which are unclear but probably related to the changing role of the sultan, which rendered the *shehnāme* style inap-

propriate. *Ad hoc* commissions of *shehnāmes* were made by ʿOthmān II (1618-22) and Murād IV (1623-40), but the permanent position of *shehnāmedji* was not revived.

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(Christine Woodhead)

SHAHR (p.) "town". The word goes back to Old Persian *xšaça-* (cf. Avestan *xšaθra-*, Sanskrit *kṣatrá-*; all from the same root as New Persian *shāh* [*q.v.*]), "kingship, royal power", thence "kingdom". The latter meaning is still the usual one for Middle Persian *shahr* and it survives in the *Shāh-nāma*, especially in set phrases such as *shahr-i Ērān* (used *metri causa* instead of *Ērān-shahr* "kingdom of the Aryans", the official name of the Sāsānid empire), *shahr-i Tūrān*, *shahr-i Yaman*, etc. But already in the earliest New Persian texts, the usual meaning, and soon the only meaning, is "town". The depreciation of *xšaça-/shahr* from "kingdom" to "town" runs parallel to that of *daheyu/dēh/dih* from "land, country" to "village". But it is also possible that *shahr* in the sense "town" is merely a curtailment of *shahristān* [*q.v.*]

The Persian word was borrowed into Turkish as *shehir/şehir* and figures as the final component of the names of many Turkish towns.

Bibliography: See that in shahristān.

(F.C. de Blois)

SHAHRANGĪZ (p.) or Shahrāshūb ("upsetting the town"), a genre of short love poems on young craftsmen, often related to the bazaars of specific towns.

1. In Persian

In Persian literature, the genre is usually referred to under the latter name. E.J.W. Gibb's contention that the genre was invented by the Turkish poet Mesīḥī [*q.v.*] of Edirne (*HOP*, ii, 232), was challenged already by E.G. Browne who, pointing to Persian specimens mentioned by the Ṣafawid anthologist Sām Mīrzā [*q.v.*], concluded that "though they were probably written later than Masīḥī's Turkish *Shahr-angīz* on Adrianople, there is nothing to suggest that they were regarded as a novelty or innovation in Persia" (*LHP*, iv, 237). Since then, many examples of mediaeval Persian poems on craftsmen have come to light, showing that *shahrāshūb* poems can be attributed to early poets like Rūdakī, Kisāʾī and Labībī [*q.vv.*]. The genre was very popular during the Saldjūḳ period, when it was most often used for quatrains (see the examples mentioned by Meier, *Mahsatī*, 94). The *Dīwān* of the 11th-12th century poet Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*] contains 93 short poems (*muḳaṭṭaʿāt*) on the subject, apparently written as a coherent collection although it is not clear whether or not a particular city was envisaged.

The formula of the genre consists of three main ingredients, each of which has had a separate existence in the Persian tradition. The first element is the motive of the uproar created in the city; it occurs in one of Sanāʾī's poems, in which a beloved produces this effect by suddenly appearing to the waiting lovers from the tavern (*Dīwān*, 89: *shūr dar shahr fikand ān but-i zunnār-parast*). This found an echo in several later *ghazals*, e.g. by Anwarī (*Dīwān*, ii, 864: *bāz dūsh ān ṣanam-i bāda-furūsh/shahrī az walwala āwurda ba-djūsh*) and Ḥāfiẓ (*Dīwān*, i, no. 3,3: *lūliyān-i shīrīn-kār-i shahrāshūb*). Secondly, the beloved is specified as a craftsman, an artist (e.g. ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 318: a *nay-zan*), an ethnic type (e.g. ʿAwfī, *op. cit.*, ii, 344: a *ghuzz bačča*; the beloved is very often referred to as a *turk* in Persian poetry) or a member of a religious community (e.g. Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīwān*, 636/ii, 915: a *tarsā bačča*; cf. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān*, i, no. 119, l. 8). Poems of this kind were used to create hagiographical legends, notably in Kamāl al-Dīn Gāzurgāhī's *Madjālis al-ʿushshāḳ*, e.g. Sanāʾī's quatrain on a butcher (*ḳaṣṣāb*; cf. *Dīwān*, 1146, and J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Of piety and poetry*, Leiden 1983, 6-7). Thirdly, there were the representations, in a panegyric or a satire, of a group of people belonging to a single court or city. Early specimens of this type are Masʿūd-i Saʿd's *mathnawī* on the court of Lahore (*Dīwān*, 562-79/ii, 787-817) and Sanāʾī's *Kār-nāma-yi Balkh* (in *Mathnawīhā-yi Ḥakīm Sanāʾī*, ed. M.T. Mudarris-i Raḍawī, Tehran 1348 *sh.*/1969, 142-78).

As a fully developed genre, the *shahrāshūb* became particularly fashionable in late Tīmūrid and early Ṣafawid literature [*q.v.*]. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] made mention of it for the first time in his *tadhkira*, the *Madjālis al-nafāʾis*, with reference to Sayfī Bukhārī (d. 909/1503), who made a collection of *shahrangīz* poems in *ghazal* form, entitled *Ṣanāʾiʿ al-badāʾiʿ* (Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, 26-8). Lisānī of Shīrāz was particularly renowned for his quatrains in this genre which together form a city-panegyric of Tabrīz, known as *Madjmaʿ al-aṣnāf* or *Shahrāshūb-i khiṭṭa-yi Tabrīz* (ed. and French tr. Bricteux; ed. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *op. cit.*, 96-161). The genre was used for satire by Āgahī of Khurāsān (d. 932/1525-6), against Harāt, and Ḥarfī Iṣfahānī (d. 971/1563-4) against the province of Gīlān (cf. Rypka, 297, 303-4, with further references). In the 11th/17th century Sayyidā Nasafī described the craftsmen of Bukhārā in this manner (cf. A. Mirzoyev, *Sayyido Nasafi i yego mesto v istorii tadzhikskoy-literaturi*, Stalinabad 1955, 143 ff., 161). Various poetical forms, and even prose, were used for writing *shahrāshūb*. It was also a favourite subject in the Indian Subcontinent with poets writing in Persian and Urdu (see section 3., below).

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(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

2. In Turkish

This genre was popular from the early 16th to the early 19th century in *Dīwān* (classical Ottoman Turkish) poetry, serving mainly to praise a major city and its beauties. In modern Turkish, it is rendered as *şehrengiz*. The genre is represented by about fifty major works, of which less than forty are extant. The special place it holds in the Ottoman tradition has led numerous 20th-century Turkish scholars to the erroneous assumption that the *shahrangīz* existed only in Ottoman *Dīwān* literature.

Usually written in the stanzaic form of the *mathnawī* (rhyming couplets) and always in *ʿarūḍ* metres, the *shahrangīz* conforms, on the whole, to a special se-

quence of internal elements, starting with a brief *munādjāt* (doxological supplication) and/or *na't* (encomium of the Prophet), followed by the *sabab-i ta'līf* (reason for writing), descriptions of the city's natural setting and aspects of its life, general or specific citations of the city's beautiful women or men and sometimes its notables, ending with a *khātima* (epilogue) in which the poet offers prayers to God for the protection of the city's beauties and praises his own poetic accomplishments.

Most of the major *shahrangīz* works in Ottoman Turkish take as their subject such principal cities as Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne. Among other cities featured in this genre are Skopje, Belgrade, Yenice, Rize, Yenişehir, Sinop, Manisa, etc. The *shahrangīz* often provides vivid descriptions of urban life as well as information about topographical characteristics of individual cities.

Many works in this genre were commissioned by or dedicated and presented to prominent patrons. Their length ranges from 70-odd couplets (Ḥayretī on Yenice) to more than 1,600 couplets (Ṣāfī on Istanbul, composed in Persian) to 3,600 couplets (Dhātī on Adrianople).

The first *shahrangīz* is by Mesīḥī [*q.v.*], who wrote it *ca.* 918/1512 about Adrianople. E.J.W. Gibb translated the title as "city thriller", pointing out that all such works in later periods bore the same title, whence the name of the genre, and credited Mesīḥī with the invention of the *shahrangīz* as a literary form. The humorous element in Mesīḥī's work, which Gibb singled out for its originality, came to be a recurring feature of most of the subsequent works in this category. Many of them contain either a romantic description of a city's beautiful young men, often cited by name and profession—less frequently, young women were listed—or humorous, sometimes satirical, characterisation. Several *shahrangīz* (principally Fehīm's work on Istanbul in the 17th century) are explicitly pornographic.

Variations of the genre include the *sergüdhesht-nāme* (tale of adventure), where the poet tells the story of an affair with one beautiful person or stories of four people. Some concentrate on a single profession, as in the *Čengī-nāme* ("Book of dancers") by Enderūnī Fāḍil (d. 1810), while others, like his *Zenān-nāme* ("Book of women"), describe women of a wide variety of nations and ethnic groups. A few are essentially versified lists of the names of urban neighbourhoods or musical modes or types of tulips.

The best Ottoman *shahrangīz*, according to von Hammer-Purgstall, was Lāmi'ī's [*q.v.*] work on Bursa written on the occasion of Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent's visit in 928/1522. Although most specimens of the genre are not notable for literary merit, Lāmi'ī's *shahrangīz*, the first substantive part of which provides vivid descriptions of Bursa, displays poetic virtuosity.

Bibliography: Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk edebiyatında şehr-engizler ve şehr-engizlerde İstanbul*, Istanbul 1958; E.J.W. Gibb, *HOP*, London 1904-7, ii-iv.

(Talat Sait Halman)

3. In Urdu

In Urdu literature, the term *shahrangīz* is used only rarely if at all. The most common designation, also employed in Persian and Turkish, and identical in meaning with *shahrangīz*, is *shahr-āshob* (Persian: *shahr-āshūb*). The tradition of the Urdu *shahr-āshob* is markedly different from the one found in Persian and Turkish poetry. The type of verse which goes by that name in the other two languages is generally a poem describing the author's attraction for handsome artisan boys in a city. In Urdu, the number of such poems is exceedingly small. It is limited to stray examples seen in the writings of Mīrzā Dja'far 'Alī Ḥasrat (d. 1206/1791-2) (see *Kulliyyāt-i Ḥasrat*, ed. Nūr al-Ḥasan Hāshimī, Lakhnaw 1966, 382-91), Mīr Ḥasan (d. 1201/1786), Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī Mīr (d. 1225/1810 [*q.v.*]), and a few other poets, all of whom seemed to have based their compositions, by way of imitation, upon similar models in Persian. Unlike these examples, the standard *shahr-āshob* in Urdu is a socially-motivated poem. Its main purpose is the portrayal of a city in disarray. The picture it paints reflects the breakdown of the established order, the dislocation of the social, economic and moral life of the people, and the topsy-turvy nature of things. One of the major conventions of the *shahr-āshob* is to name a series of professions and to describe the state of affairs governing the individuals associated with each of them. The *shahr-āshobs* are determined by the nature of their content, rather than by any separate form, and many of them appear in the works of the poets under titles other than *shahr-āshob*. They could be found in any of the traditional verse forms employed in Urdu poetry, though it is possible that some forms might have been favoured more than others during a particular period. Characteristic of the genre, at least during its pre-1857 phase, is the use of satire and ridicule as weapons of criticism—a feature that makes it difficult sometimes to draw a line between a *shahr-āshob* and a *hadjw* ("insult poem").

The real beginnings of the *shahr-āshob* may be traced to the 18th century, marking the decline of Mughal power. Following the death of Awrangzīb in 1707, the Mughal empire collapsed into anarchy and disintegration. In 1739 the Persian monarch Nādir Shāh (*r.* 1736-47 [*q.v.*]) invaded a weakened Mughal empire, and sacked Dihlī, and it was again sacked in 1756 by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*]. From the time of Shāh 'Ālam II (*r.* 1759-1806 [*q.v.*]), the Mughal ruler was merely a figurehead maintained by one or the other power. The poems in which the effects of these developments found direct interpretation received the name of *shahr-āshob*.

Nothing can be said with certainty regarding the earliest *shahr-āshob* in Urdu. It has been suggested that the first poet who attempted this kind of verse was Mīr Muḥammad Dja'far, better known as Dja'far Zatallī (d. between 1125-28/1713-16). The latter has earned general notoriety as the author of obscene verses, which has distracted attention from the social aspect of some of his writing. His poems *Nawkarī* "Service", and *Dastūr al-'amal dar ikhtilāf-i zamāna-yi nā-handjār* "A guide to the incompatibility of these rough times", which are cited as *shahr-āshobs*, represent satirical statements commenting on the hardships of employment and on the distortion of social and moral values.

With the successful efforts led by Mīrzā Muḥammad Rafī' Sawdā (d. 1195/1781 [*q.v.*]), the *shahr-āshob* acquired increased recognition. His two *shahr-āshobs*, one in the form of a *ḳaṣīda* and the other entitled *Mukhammas dar wīrānī-yi Shāhdjahānābād* "A *mukhammas* on the destruction of Shāhdjahānābād", may be regarded as real masterpieces. Both are comparatively lengthy poems, and constitute a unified theme dealing with the devastation of Dihlī, the economic adversities of the people, and the contemporary social and moral decay.

Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī Mīr, who was a contemporary of Sawdā, composed several poems which resemble the *shahr-āshob*. One of these poems is the *Mukhammas dar ḥāl-i lashkar* "On the condition of the

army", which describes not only the plight of the soldiery but also points out, with bitterness and sorrow, the pitiable state of the court and nobles.

A number of *shahr-āshobs* are significant because of their historical interest. These include poems by Mīrzā Djaʿfar ʿAlī Ḥasrat and Ḳiyām al-Dīn Ḳāʾim (d. 1208/1793-4), referred to respectively as *Mukhammas dar aḥwāl-i Djahānābād* "On the condition of Djahānābād", and *Mukhammas*. The first of these poems describes the destruction of Dihlī and its citizens caused by the invasion of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, and the second contains a denunciation of Shāh ʿĀlam II for his role in connection with the battle of Sakartāl (1772), in which he, with the support of the Marāthās [*q.v.*], attacked and defeated Ḍābiṭa Khān, son of Nadjīb al-Dawla [*q.v.*], and leader of the Rohilla Afghāns.

Other *shahr-āshobs*, which have won critical approval, comprise Ẓuhūr al-Dīn Ḥātim's (d. 1197/1783) *Mukhammas*, Ḳalandar Bakhsh Djurʾat's (d. 1224/1810) *Mukhammas-i tardjīʿ-band*, and Walī Muḥammad Naẓīr Akbarābādī's (d. 1246/1830) work mentioned as *Dunyā-yi dūn ke tamāshe* "Scenes of the contemptible world". Ḥātim's poem, described sometimes as the first *shahr-āshob* composed in Urdu (see Djamīl Djālibī, *Tārīkh-i adab-i Urdū*, ii/1, Lahore 1981, 441), presents an account showing the change of fortune suffered by members of various social groups after Nādir Shāh's invasion. The *shahr-āshobs* of Djurʾat and Naẓīr Akbarābādī are conspicuous for their out-of-the-ordinary imagery with insects, birds and animals serving as metaphors. All three poems share one assumption in common: that those regarded as occupationally "inferior" had risen in status, while those of the upper rank had lost their former position.

Most *shahr-āshobs* composed by Urdu poets have Dihlī as their setting, but some of them describe other cities as well. For instance, Naẓīr Akbarābādī is the author of a *shahr-āshob* having Agra for its locale, and Ghulām ʿAlī Rāsikh (d. 1238/1823) has left a *mathnawī* which is placed in Patna, both poets portraying the destitution of the citizens in their respective towns.

The *shahr-āshobs* discussed so far belong to the period before 1857. The uprising which took place in 1857-8 had a deep impact upon the minds of the poets, whose response to the events found expression in numerous poems dealing mainly with the trials and tribulations suffered by Dihlī during that time. These poems have been called *shahr-āshob* although they do not subscribe entirely to the classical pattern of the genre followed by earlier poems. One important element which is missing in them is the narrative dealing with different professions—an essential feature of previous *shahr-āshobs*. In fact, the *shahr-āshobs* of 1857 are mere elegies mourning the passing away of Mughal Dihlī and the end of an era.

The poems connected with the fortunes of Dihlī at this time are contained in two collections named *Fughān-i Dihlī* "The lament of Dihlī", and *Inkilāb-i Dihlī* "Revolution of Dihlī", also known as *Faryād-i Dihlī* "The cry of Dihlī". The first-named work was edited by Tafaḍḍ al-Ḥusayn Kawkab, and was published in 1280/1863-4; the second, containing poems reproduced from the former work together with some additions, came out in 1932. Included in *Fughān-i Dihlī* is the famous *musaddas* by Nawwāb Mirzā Dāgh (d. 1322/1905 [*q.v.*]) regarding the demise of old Dihlī, a poem full of pathos, which may be regarded as one of the finest pieces composed upon the subject.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): Naʿīm Aḥmad (ed.), *Shahr-āshob*, Delhi 1968 (a comprehensive collection of *shahr-āshobs* in Urdu. For the text of *shahr-āshobs*, cited in the article, reference may be made to this book, except where it is indicated otherwise); idem, *Shahr-āshob kā taḥḳīḳī mutālaʿa*, ʿAlīgaṙh 1979; Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh, *Shahr-āshob kī tārīkh*, in *Mabāḥith*, Lahore 1965; Sayyid Masʿūd Ḥasan Raḍawī Adīb, *Shahr-āshob: ek ṣinf-i sukhan*, in *Nigārishāt-i Adīb*, Lucknow 1969; Iqtida Hasan, *Later Mugals as represented in Urdū poetry. A study in the light of* šahr-āšobs *from Ḥātim, Saudā and Naẓīr*, in *AIUON*, N.S. ix (1959), 131-53; idem, *Later Mugals as represented in Urdū poetry. II. a study of Qāʾim's* šahr-āšob, in *ibid.*, xii (1962-3), 129-52; F. Lehmann, *Urdu literature and Mughal decline*, in *Mahfil*, vi/2-3 (1970), 125-31; art. *Shahr-āshob*, in *Urdū dāʾira-yi maʿārif-i Islāmiyya*, xi, Lahore 1975, 824-6; Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, *Jurʾat's* šahr-āšōb: *an afterword*, in *Annual of Urdu studies*, iii (1983), 11-16; Shamsur Rahman Faruqi and Frances W. Pritchett, *In the presence of the nightingale* (= Eng. tr. of Djurʾat's *shahr-āshob*), in *ibid.*, 1-9; eidem, *A vile world carnival* (= Eng. tr. of Naẓīr Akhbarābādī's *shahr-āshob, Dunyā-yi dūn ke tamāshe*), in *ibid.*, iv (1984), 24-35; Frances W. Pritchett, *The world upside down:* šahr-āšōb *as a genre*, in *ibid.*, 37-41; C.M. Naim, *A note on* šahr-āšōb, in *ibid.*, 42; Carla R. Petievich, *Poetry of the declining Mughals: the* shahr-āshob, in *Jnal. of South Asian literature*, xxv/1 (1990), 99-110.

(Munibur Rahman)

SHAHRĀSHŪB [see shahrangīz].

AL-**SHAHRASTĀNĪ**, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad, Tādj al-Dīn, thinker and historian of religious and philosophical doctrines, who lived in Persia in the first half of the 6th/12th century. He received other honorific titles such as al-Afḍal or al-Imām. Besides a few landmarks, little is known of his life. Al-Shahrastānī (the customary Arabic vocalisation is retained here) was born in the small town of Shahristān, on the northern frontier of Khurāsān, not far from Nasā, at the edge of the desert of Ḳara Ḳum (currently in the Republic of Turkmenistan) [see shahristān (6)]. His contemporary al-Samʿānī is supposed to have written (according to Ibn Khallikān): "I asked him the date of his birth, and he told me: 479/[1086-7]." Other ancient authors give the dates 467 and 469, but the testimony of al-Samʿānī seems authoritative. Nothing is known of his family; however, the attribution by Yāḳūt of a *kunya* to his father (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim) and to his grandfather (Abū Bakr) could indicate a privileged background.

After what was definitely a very substantial traditional education, he was sent to the prestigious metropolis of Nīshāpūr. It was there that he embarked on detailed study of the Islamic sciences. His principal masters are known; most of them were in their turn disciples of al-Djuwaynī. In *tafsīr*, and in Ashʿarī *kalām*, he was the pupil of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Salmān b. Nāṣir al-Anṣārī (d. 412/1118), who exerted great influence over him. *Ḥadīth* was taught him by Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Madīnī (d. 494/1100). In Shāfiʿī *fikh*, he was trained by the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khʷāfī, a friend of al-Ghazālī and a judge at Ṭūs (d. 500/1106) and by Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ḳushayrī (d. 514/1120, son of the eminent mystic). It may be noted that the date of the death of al-Madīnī is a *termnus ad quem* for the arrival of al-Shahrastānī at Nīshāpūr.

Impelled no doubt by religious motives, but also by the desire to consolidate his reputation, in 510/1117 he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca. On the return journey, he visited Baghdād. His friend Abu 'l-Fatḥ Asʿad b. Muḥammad al-Mayhanī (d. 523/1129 ac-

cording to Ibn al-Athīr, x, 660; but 520 according to Djalāl Humā'ī, *Ghazzālī-nāma*, Tehran 1318/1939, 308) was then teaching at the Niẓāmiyya. With Mayhanī's assistance, al-Shahrastānī obtained a post at the Niẓāmiyya. For three years, and with considerable success, he devoted himself to teaching, preaching, disputation. Around 514/1120 he returned to Persia.

The Saldjūḳ ruler of Khurāsān Sandjar had recently taken there, in 511/1118, the full title of sultan. Marw, his capital, was a magnet. Through the good offices of Naṣīr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd b. al-Muẓaffar al-Marwazī, who was *wazīr* from 521 to 526/1127-31 (see Humā'ī, *ibid.*), al-Shahrastānī was appointed *nā'ib* of the chancellery (*dīwān al-rasā'il*). He even became a close friend of Sandjar and "his confidant" (*ṣāhib sirrihi*). However, al-Shahrastānī ultimately returned to his native village. It is not known when, or why. The fact remains that there was a succession of tragic events in the year 548/1153. The sultan was taken prisoner by the Ghuzz [*q.v.*]. Marw fell six months later, and the Ghuzz advanced on Nīshāpūr. It was then, according to the testimony of al-Sam'ānī related by Ibn Khallikān, that al-Shahrastānī died in his native village "towards the end of Sha'bān 548 [November 1153]".

Al-Shahrastānī was responsible for a score of works. See the precise and detailed study by Nā'īnī, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl*..., also Dānish-pazhūh, *Nāma*..., vii, 72-80, viii, 61-5. The twelve most important works, beginning with those which can be dated, are:

1. *al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, which, according to the author, was written in the year 521, i.e. 1127-8 (ed. Badrān, i, 630 (cf. 358) = *Livre*, i, 662 (cf. 503)). There are numerous editions, including two semi-critical ones: W. Cureton, 2 vols., London 1842-6; and Muḥammad Fatḥ Allāh Badrān, 2 vols., Cairo 1370-5/1951-5 (Shaykh Badrān has published, in small format, without critical apparatus but with a thorough introduction, a second edition, 2 vols., Cairo 1375/1956). At least two Persian translations exist: by Turkā-yi Iṣfahānī (in 843/1440), Tehran 1321/1942, 3rd ed. 1350/1972, and by Muṣṭafā b. Khāliḳdād (in 1021/1612), Tehran, 2nd ed. 1358/1979. Turkish translation by Nūḥ b. Muṣṭafā (d. 1070/1660), Cairo 1263/1847, then Istanbul 1279/1862. German translation by Th. Haarbrücker, *Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, 2 vols., Halle 1850-1, repr. Wiesbaden 1969. French translation with introduction and notes by D. Gimaret, J. Jolivet and G. Monnot, *Livre des religions et des sectes*, 2 vols., Louvain 1986-93. There are also partial translations.

This monumental work aspired to present "the doctrinal opinions of all the world's people", i.e. to reveal the entirety of religions and philosophies, past or present. To what extent it succeeded will be seen at a later stage.

2. *Nihāyat al-aḳdām fī 'ilm al-kalām*, later than the *Milal* which it mentions several times (e.g. 5, 1.10; 377, l. 17). The title is given at the end of p. 4. The vocalisation of the second word (and not *al-iḳdām* as Guillaume writes; this has already been noted by P. Kraus) clearly results from the parallellism between *nihāyāt* (note the plural) *aḳdām ahl al-kalām* and *nihāyāt awhām al-ḥukamā' al-ilāhiyyīn* (503-4). English edition and translation by Alfred Guillaume, *The Summa Philosophiae*..., Oxford 1934; Arabic text alone repr. Baghdād n.d. The edition is mediocre; the "translation" is not always worthy of the name.

The book is divided into 20 chapters, each of which examines discussions of one of the "foundations" (*ḳawā'id*) of theological science. This classic work has been understood as reviewing the attainments of Muslim theology. In fact, it sets out to show its limits. "The furthest steps of the people of *kalām*" cannot be exceeded. Should the sum total of theology not be an admission of failure?

3. *Mas'ala fī ithbāt al-djawhar al-fard*. A brief monograph on the concept of the atom (*al-djuz' alladhī lā yatadjazza'*), edited by Guillaume at the end of the *Nihāya* (505-14).

4. *Muṣāra'at al-falāsifa*, ed. Suhayr Muḥammad Mukhtār, Cairo 1396/1976. Explicitly posterior to the *Milal* (14), this little book is dedicated to Madjd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Alī b. Dja'far al-Mūsawī, chief (*naḳīb*) of the Imāmī Shī'ī community of Tirmidh. This is a thorough criticism of Avicennan philosophy. It is supposed to comprise seven "questions", but at the end of the fifth (118), the author bemoans thc serious troubles of the time and comes to an abrupt end. The circumstances evoked could be the defeat of Sandjar by the Ḳara Khiṭāy in 536/1141.

5. *Mafātīḥ al-asrār wa-maṣābīḥ al-abrār*, edited facsimile of the *unicum*, with introduction and index, 2 vols., Tehran 1409 A.H./1368 A.H.S./1989. The text comprises 434 folios, or 868 pages with 25 lines. It is a Ḳur'ānic commentary. After an autobiographical preface come the 12 chapters of an introduction to the study of the Ḳur'ān, then a complete commentary on the first two sūras. The first volume (up to II, 122) of the lost autograph manuscript had been composed between 538 and 540. It is not known whether, as is probable, the author continued beyond *Sūrat al-Baḳara*.

6. *Madjlis* on the Creation and the Order (*al-khalḳ wa 'l-amr*). This remarkable set speech, in Persian (whereas all the other known works of this author are in Arabic) was delivered in Khwārazm; it is not known when. It was edited (in 38 pages) by Nā'īnī at the end of his *Sharḥ-i ḥāl* and then in his *Dū maktūb*, Tehran 1369/1990.

7. *al-Manāhidj wa 'l-āyāt*. Mentioned by Bayhaḳī. Apparently lost.

8. *Ḳiṣṣat Mūsā wa 'l-Khaḍir*. Mentioned by Bayhaḳī. Apparently lost.

9. *Risāla* on the knowledge possessed by the Necessary Being, addressed to Sharaf al-Zamān Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Īlāḳī. The latter, a philosopher and physician of renown, died in 536/1141 at the Battle of Ḳatawān, facs. ed. of the *unicum* in Nā'īnī's *Dū maktūb*.

10. *Risāla* to the *Ḳāḍī* 'Umar b. Sahl (or Sahlān?) against Avicenna. Manuscript.

11. *Risāla* to Muḥammad al-Sahlānī. Manuscript.

12. *Sharḥ sūrat Yūsuf*. Mentioned by Yāḳūt. Manuscript.

The contribution of this vast corpus is twofold. In the first place, this author has transmitted and presented to generations of readers a mass of information on previous opinions and doctrines, in numerous domains. First, the doctrines of sects or persuasions internal to Islam. It is with these that the *Milal* begins, at length, to be completed, in quite another way, by the *Nihāya*. The overall picture is impressive, although containing inaccuracies. "In terms of the scale of the text, they represent little that is of importance. But they encourage circumspection" (D. Gimaret). Now the detailed survey of philosophers occupies the longest section of the *Milal*, and great hopes could be placed in it. In fact, it derives principally from two sources: the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* and the *Ārā' al-falāsifa* of pseudo-Ammonius. Above all, he projects on to the majority of articles the religious vision of the Muslim thinkers. At a deeper level, and despite appearances,

al-Shahrastānī is hostile to philosophy. But the *Milal* has yet another object. Up to and including the present day, this book owes its immense reputation to the treatment of religions external to Islam: Christians and Jews, Mazdaeans and Manichaeans, hermeticist Sabians, disciples of ancient Arab cults and of Hindu sects, etc. Not one of these chapters is of inferior quality. As a carefully crafted whole, they remained, until the 18th century, totally unique. They represent the high point of Muslim histories of religion. Finally, the rediscovery of the *Mafātīḥ al-asrār* should be taken into account. Each verse, before being clarified by the corresponding "mysteries", is initially the object of a commentary which could be described as classical. This *tafsīr* is situated in the very first rank of Ḳur'ānic commentaries, equal and sometimes superior to those of al-Ṭabarī or al-Rāzī in terms of precision, breadth, antiquity and variety of sources quoted; lists of the sūras in pre-ʿUthmānic collections, Saʿīd b. Djubayr, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, al-Kalbī, Abū ʿUbayda, al-Farrā', al-Zadjdjādj and many others.

Al-Shahrastānī does not only expound the thought of others. He has his own, which is immediately apparent in the refutation of Ibn Sīnā; he devotes numerous monographs to this purpose, attacking the philosopher from every angle. But the full expression of al-Shahrastānī's thought is to be sought elsewhere, sc. in the *Mafātīḥ al-asrār*. Usually, in fact, the above-mentioned long classical commentary is followed by the unfolding of "mysteries" (*asrār*). The author insists on presenting them as received from a tradition, but the manner in which they are set forth bears the distinct mark both of his personal genius and of his deep-rooted conviction. These, scattered amongst consistent passages, written in a compact, sometimes vehement style, permit the reconstruction of a vision of the world.

At the summit is God, the One, of Whom we know nothing of the qualities except the ipseity (*huwiyya*). The world of the Divine Order is prior to the world of Creation, and traverses it, in seven cycles, passing from the universe of Laws (domain of the inchoative, *musta'naf*) to that of Resurrection (domain of the concluded, *mafrūgh*). The divine and eternal letters and names, the origin of everything, set out their manifestations (*maẓāhir*) according to two parallel lines: verbal allocutions (*kalimāt ḳawliyya*), meaning the text of the Scriptures, and active allocutions (*kalimāt fiʿliyya*), meaning the corporeal individuality (*ashkhāṣ*) of the prophets, the *imāms* and their heirs. This dynamic vision is dominated by two principles: the hierarchy (*tarattub*) of beings, and the opposition (*taḍādd*) which pits the side of evil against the side of good.

This is evidently a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī doctrine. Al-Khwārazmī and al-Samʿānī, contemporaries of al-Shahrastānī, had already accused him of Ismāʿīlism. But later, he was generally considered to be a spokesman for Ashʿarism. In recent times, Nā'inī has re-opened the debate. Decisive clarification is finally given by the *Mafātīḥ al-asrār*. Al-Shahrastānī fully adheres there to the positions described above, and some more particular points establish beyond doubt that his thought was at that time Ismāʿīlī. He does not confine himself, either to recognising the prerogatives of the *Ahl al-Bayt* with regard to the Ḳur'ān, or to integrating Ismāʿīlī elements into a Sunnī theology. He propounds a global religious view, which he has received and accepted. Since when? A long time ago. It is not only the *Madjlis* and the *Muṣāraʿa* which are impregnated with Ismāʿīlīsm, but the *Milal* and the *Nihāya* also bear subtle hints of it.

Should our author therefore be seen as a secret but licensed member of the Alamūt organisation? Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, in a pro-Ismāʿīlī monograph (*Sayr al-sulūk*, in *Madjmūʿa-yi rasā'il*, Tehran 1335/1956, 38), writes that his great-uncle must have been a pupil of the "*dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* Tādj al-Dīn Shahristāna-ī". But this title does not seem to have been employed by the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia (cf. Daftary, 227, 336, 394). The incidental and belated statement of Ṭūsī is thus to be treated with caution.

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(G. MONNOT)

AL-**SHAHRASTĀNĪ**, SAYYID MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ al-Ḥusaynī, known as HIBAT AL-DĪN al-Shahrastānī, ʿIrāḳī Shīʿī religious scholar and politician. He was born at Sāmarrā' on 20 May 1884. His pedigree, reaching back to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, is given by Khāḳānī (see *Bibl.* below), 65. The *nisba* al-Shahrastānī is that of his mother's family and was adopted by Hibat al-Dīn's father (Ṭihrānī, 1414). Both of his parents descended from families with a long tradition of religious scholarship, with branches in ʿIrāḳ (including the Āl Ḥakīm), Persia and elsewhere. Two works by Hibat al-Dīn concerning the history of his family apparently remained unpublished (Ṭihrānī, 1413; Khāḳānī, 78, nos. 39 and 64).

After the death there, in 1894, of the famous Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Shīrāzī, Hibat al-Dīn's father left Sāmarrā' and returned with the family to his native town, Karbalā'. Hibat al-Dīn began his religious studies there, but left Karbalā' for Nadjaf following the death of his father in 1902. In Nadjaf, he studied with some of the most prominent *mudjtahids* of the time, such as Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim al-Yazdī and Shaykh al-Sharīʿa al-Iṣfahānī, and especially with Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim al-Khurāsānī [*q.v.*], known as Ākhund. In addition to the traditional fields of study, Hibat al-Dīn soon developed a special interest in the modern natural sciences and in the inter-

pretation of its recent findings according to some Muslim modernist writers in India and Egypt. The first and most important fruit of his endeavours in this respect was a book on astronomy [see ʿILM AL-HAYʾA] called *al-Hayʾa wa ʾl-Islām*. It was published in Baghdād in 1910, went into several re-editions and was translated into some other languages (for the genesis of this book see Ḥusaynī, *taḳdīm*, 13-14; for a list of translations, *ibid.*, 7). In March 1910, Hibat al-Dīn started the publication, in Nadjaf, of a monthly periodical called *al-ʿIlm*, the first Arabic journal to appear in that town (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī, *Taʾrīkh al-ṣiḥāfa al-ʿirāḳiyya*, i, ³Sidon 1971, 30). During the short period of its publication (the number of its issues reaching only 21 in total), it became an important platform for the reformist ideas and proposals which were discussed in the circle around Khurāsānī. Among these topics was that of *naḳl al-djanāʾiz*, i.e. the transfer of corpses to the Shīʿī shrine towns and their burial there. This practice was sharply criticised as a *bidʿa* by Hibat al-Dīn in *al-ʿIlm* (on the background of his criticism and on the ensuing controversy over this issue, see Nakash, esp. 192-7). Being ardently in favour of the constitutional movement in Persia [see DUSTŪR. iv], he became involved in the factional strife between its supporters and critics in Nadjaf (see Khāḳānī, 79-90; Luizard, 243 ff.).

Shortly after Khurāsānī's death in December 1911, Hibat al-Dīn stopped publication of his journal and, in 1912, set out on a long journey to Syria and Lebanon, Egypt, the Ḥidjāz (where he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca), Yaman and India. He returned to ʿIrāḳ in 1914. Already before the time when, in November 1914, Turkey entered the First World War, Hibat al-Dīn as well as a number of other Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* had been approached by Ottoman officials in order to find support for the common, pan-Islamic *djihād* [*q.v.*] against the Allies. Hibat al-Dīn responded with enthusiasm (Khāḳānī, 69). It is in this connection that he produced, in 1915, a special *fatwā* [*q.v.*] concerning the friendship between the Muslims and the Germans (German tr. H. Ritter, in *WI*, iv [1916], 217-20; for the background, see W. Ende, *Iraq in World War I*, in R. Peters (ed.), *Proceedings of* the *Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Leiden 1981, 57-71.)

After the British had taken Baghdād in March 1917, Hibat al-Dīn settled again in Karbalāʾ. He soon became involved in the resistance against the British occupation, which culminated in the revolt of 1920 (for his role there, see, e.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī, *al-Thawra al-ʿirāḳiyya al-kubrā*, ³Sidon 1972, index 302; Luizard, 403 ff.).

In September 1921, Hibat al-Dīn became Minister of Education in the second cabinet of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Naḳīb. His term of office was marked by serious tensions between him and the Director-General at the Ministry, Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī (see the latter's *Mudhakkirātī fi ʾl-ʿIrāḳ*, i, Beirut 1967, esp. 147-155, and Heine, 57-65). These tensions, together with a number of other factors, led to his resignation in August 1922 (see ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī, *Taʾrīkh al-wizārāt al-ʿirāḳiyya*, ⁷Baghdād 1988, 74-115). From 1923 to 1934, Hibat al-Dīn served as president of the *Djaʿfarī* Court of Cassation (*maḥkamat al-tamyīz*), in spite of the fact that soon after his taking over this position he had lost his eyesight. In 1934-5 he was a deputy (for Baghdād) in the Parliament of ʿIrāḳ. After its dissolution, he chose to withdraw to Kāẓimiyya, where he established, in the early 1940s, the *Maktabat al-Djawādayn*, a rich scholarly library. On a few occasions, Hibat al-Dīn later on voiced his opinion in political matters. Thus his visit to Persia in 1955, where he was received by many *ʿulamāʾ* and a number of high government officials, was generally seen as an attempt to further strengthen the consolidation process between the Shīʿī clergy and the Shah after the ousting, in 1953, of the Muṣaddiḳ government (see Sh. Akhavi, *Religion and politics in contemporary Iran*, Albany 1980, 75-6). He died in Baghdād on 2 February 1967.

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(W. ENDE)

SHAHRAZĀD, a figure in the *Thousand and One Nights*.

As E. Cosquin has shown, the motif of the wise young woman who tells stories in order to put off, and at length remove a danger, comes from India. The name, confirming Ibn al-Nadīm's statement about the Iranian source of the *Nights* [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA], is Persian, derived from *čihrāzād* "of noble appearance/origin." In Ibn al-Nadīm's report, Shahrazād is of royal blood; in al-Masʿūdī's, she is the daughter of a vizier. Of greater interest are the variations at the end of the frame story. In Ibn al-Nadīm, as in the Būlāḳ and Second Calcutta editions of the *Nights*, Shahrazād becomes a mother, thus securing the goodwill of the king who already admires her mind. In the Breslau edition and in several mss. which date from the period between the 10th/16th and 12th/18th centuries, Shahrazād's last tale is, or includes, a compressed version of the prologue. The king, who sees himself in the story, admits that his deeds of blood had been wicked and sinful.

The first and second parts of the prologue to the *Nights* (the deceived royal husbands, their wanderings and seduction by the *djinnī*'s prisoner) appeared in Europe early. In a novella by Giovanni Sercambi of Lucca (d. 1424), the *djinnī* has turned into a Sienese burgher carrying his young wife in a box. Ariosto uses the first theme (*Orlando Furioso*, xxviii). Shahrazād

herself was only introduced to the Western world by Galland, and remains there, in her appearances in literature (as in Gautier, Poe, and many others) and music (as in the violin solos in Rimsky-Korsakov's symphonic suite) a more or less exotic visitor. Her character is central to a large number of modern Arabic plays and novels.

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SHAHRAZŪR, Shahrizūr (in Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī's *Sharaf-nāma*, Shahra-zūl), a district in western Kurdistān lying to the west of the Awrāmān mountain chain, essentially a fertile plain some 58 x 40 km/36 x 25 miles in area, watered by the tributaries of the Tāndjarō river, which flows into the Sīrwān and eventually to the Diyālā and Tigris. In the wide sense, Shahrazūr denoted in Ottoman times the *eyālet* or province of Kirkūk, a source of considerable confusion in geographical terminology. The district is closely associated with the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], and the initiates of the sect await the Last Judgment which is to take place on the plain of Shahrazūr: "on the threshing floor of Shahrazūr (*Shahrazūlūñ kharmanînda*) all the faithful will receive their due".

History. For the epoch of the Assyrians, Billerbeck places at Shahrazūr the centre of the Zamua country, inhabited at the time of Aššurnāsir-pal by the Lullu people. Streck seems to agree with this localisation of Zamua (*ZA*, xv [1900], 284). The Arabs (Abū Dulaf) associated with Shahrazūr (more precisely Duzdān) the biblical legends concerning Saul (Ṭālūt) and David, which suggests the presence in these districts of strong Jewish colonies.

The numerous tumuli in the plain of Shahrazūr confirm the testimony—of Theophanes as well as of Abū Dulaf—regarding the number of settlements in this region. The most important town bore the name of Nīm-az-rāy (Nīm-rāh), i.e. "half-way" between Ctesiphon and the great fire-altar of Shīz [*q.v.*] (Takht-i Sulaymān in Ādharbāydjān). Čirikov and Herzfeld (on his map) identify Nīmrāh with Gulʿanbar, and this corresponds with the indication of Abū Dulaf regarding the proximity of the town to the mountains of Shaʿrān and Zalm. The most persistent tradition (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 199; Mustawfī, 107) attributes its construction to the Sāsānid Kawādh, the son of Pērōz (488-531). The ruins of a Sāsānid bridge on the Sirwān protected by the fort of Shamīrān indicate the line of communications of Nīm-rāh with Ḳasr-i Shīrīn. At this latter point, the route coming from Ctesiphon forked to run towards Hamadān and towards Shahrazūr (Ibn Rusta, 164; Idrīsī, ed. Jaubert, 156). On the other hand, according to Rawlinson (*JRAS* [1868], 296-300), the monument of Pāy-kūlī on the right bank of the Sīrwān not far from the ford of Bānkhēlān marked a station on the road from Nīm-rāh, which the great explorer thought was to be found at Yāsīn-tapa to the north-west of the plain of Shahrazūr. As the monument dates back to the epoch of the first Sāsānids, the road, before the construction of Nīm-rāh, might well have followed another direction in the plain. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih (120) the Sāsānids, after their accession to the throne, made a pilgrimage on foot to Shīz. The monument of Pāy-kūlī may mark the road. Finally, the Kurds told Rich (i, 269) that "the ancient town of Shahrazūr" was at Ḳizḳalʿa to the south-east of Arbet (cf. Haussknecht's map).

Shahrazūr, forming part of the diocese of Bēth Garmay (Bā-Djarmaḳ) is often mentioned in the history of the Nestorian Church. The *Synodicon Orientale* (ed. Chabot, Paris 1902, 266) gives the names of its bishops between 554 and 605.

During his third Persian campaign, the Emperor Heraclius spent the month of February in 628 in Shahrazūr "laying waste the district and towns by fire" (*Theophanis Chronographa*, ed. de Boor, 325: εἰς τὸν Σιάζουρον; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i, 730: ἕως τοῦ Σιαρσούρων—the two graphies indicate the pronunciation *-zūr* and not *-zōr*).

The Arabs had reached Shahrazūr even in Sāsānid times (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 130). The remote situation of Shahrazūr frequently attracted rebels and schismatics to it (Khāridjīs, Khurramīs). The district is often mentioned along with Dāmaghān and Dārābād (Kudāma, 232), the exact sites of which are unknown. In the time of Abū Dulaf (338/950), there were in Shahrazūr 60,000(?) tents of Kurds: Djalāli (Rich, i, 280, Ghellali?), Bāsyān, Ḥakamī and Sūlī (Shūlī?).

The same author counts Shīz (perhaps a misreading, cf. Hoffmann, 251) among thc towns of Shahrazūr and mentions a little town Duzdān(?) between Nīm-rāh and Shīz. The other names of places in the region of Shahrazūr were Tīrānshāh (Ibn al-Athīr), Ḳinā(?) and Daylamastān (Yāḳūt). Between 400 and 434/1010-43, scions of the Kurdish dynasty of the Ḥasanwayhids ruled at Shahrazūr. In the 6th/12th century the Turkomans and the Zangid Atābegs held the district. In the time of Yāḳūt, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökböri, Atābeg of Irbil, had settled himself there. In 623/1226 an earthquake ruined the district. According to al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1348), Shahrazūr "before its depopulation" was inhabited by Kūsa Kurds (Rich, i, 281 notes a few remnants of them in this region; cf. also place-names like Kosa-madīna, Māmenū-Kosa). After the capture of Baghdād by Hūlāgū, these Kurds migrated to Egypt and Syria and their place was taken by the Ḥwsna(?) who "are not true Kurds". The reference is perhaps to the mountaineers of Awrāmān, who still occupy the western slope of the mountains. On the other hand, a Kūsa whom A. von Le Coq met in 1901 at Damascus spoke the *Zaza* dialect which is not a proper Kurdish one.

Tīmūr crossed Shahrazūr in 803/1411 on his way from Baghdād to Tabrīz (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 370; *az rāh-i Shahrizūr wa Ḳalāghī*(?)).

Shahrazūr played an important part in the Turco-Persian wars. According to the *Sharāf-nāma*, the Ardilān family [see sinna] had been at first settled in Shahrazūr. The local history of Sinna even claims that the fort of Zalm was built by Bābā Ardilān in 564/1158. Sultan Süleymān I about 944/1537 sent the governor of ʿAmādiyya to conquer Shahrazūr but although a fortress was built at Gul-ʿanbar, the Ardilān re-established their authority in the region (*Sharaf-nāma*, 84). Shāh ʿAbbās I dismantled this fortress, but it was restored during the Persian campaign of Khosrew Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1039/1630. The treaty of 1049/1639 allotted to Turkey the western slope of the Awrāmān with the fort of Zalm. Changes, however, must have taken place slowly, for Tavernier on his journey in 1644, seems to place the Turco-Persian frontier much further west. The representative of Sulaymān Khān, *Wālī* of Ardilān, maintained a garrison in a "large town", the situation of which corresponds to that of Gul-ʿanbar. We may note here that Tavernier seems to mention the town of Altun-

köprü(?) under the name "Shehrazul".

Ardilān being finally removed from Shahrazūr, the district was governed by local hereditary chiefs who received their investiture from Istanbul. At the beginning of the 18th century, the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Ḥasan Pasha, was allowed by the Porte to have southern Kurdistān placed under his control. The *eyālet* of Shahrazūr was then formed containing the *sandjaks* of Kirkūk, Arbil, Köy-sandjaḳ, Ḳara-čolān (Shārabāžēr), Rawānduz and Ḥarīr, the *mütesellims* of which were appointed from Baghdād (Khurshīd Efendī, 199-262). But soon the Bābān chiefs [see SULAYMĀNIYYA] attained to power, and Shahrazūr was placed under them. After the administrative reforms of 1867 and the creation of the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, the name of Shahrazūr was given to the *sandjak* of Kirkūk (the *kaḍās* were: Kirkūk, Arbil, Rāniya, Rawānduz, Köy and Ṣalāḥiyya), but to complete the confusion, the plain of Shahrazūr proper was included in the *sandjak* of Sulaymāniyya (see Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 764).

From the 18th century, a branch of the tribe of Djāf [see SINNA] had been established on Turkish territory. The plain of Shahrazūr, as well as many villages in Kifrī, Pandjwīn, etc., belonged before the world war to the powerful Djāf chiefs, ʿOthmān Pasha and Maḥmūd Pasha. This family exercised administrative functions, of which the Porte gradually tried to deprive them. For a considerable time, the effective administration of Shahrazūr was in the hands of the widow of ʿOthmān Pasha, the energetic ʿĀdila Khānum, a native of Sinna. Soane has given an interesting description of her little court at Alabča.

After 1920, the district came within the newly-formed Kingdom (after 1958, Republic) of ʿIrāḳ. Today the district is known as the plain of Ḥalabdja, from its main urban and administrative centre, a town which has grown steadily since its repopulation by Djāf Kurds in the 18th century. The plain now includes an extensive irrigation system formed by damming the Tan and Sīrwān rivers.

Finally, one should add that the plain has extensive archaeological remains, including tells and ruined fortresses guarding the plain from invasion from the east.

Bibliography: Rawlinson, *Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana*, in *JRGS*, x (1841), 41-101; Gerland, *Die persischen Feldzüge d. Kaisers Heraclius*, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, iii, 1894, 330-70; A. Pernice, *L'imperatore Eraclio*, Florence 1905, 165.

For the Arabic sources, see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern caliphate*, 190-1, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 694-705. For Abū Dulaf's important information, see Minorsky, *Abu-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, Cairo 1955, tr. 40-3 (with map), comm. 83-4; and for al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*, see Quatremère's tr. in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, Paris 1838. See also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, Istanbul 1145, 445 (tr. in Charmoy, *Cheref-nameh*, i/1, 127, 423); Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1692, i, 197; Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836, i, 107, 269, 290-391; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*², iii (events of 1630); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 442-7, 459; F. Jones, *Narrative of a journey to the frontier of Turkey and Persia*, in *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, N.S. xliii, Calcutta n.d., 204; Čirikov, *Putevoi zhurnal*, St. Petersburg 1875, 438, and *passim*; Khurshīd Efendī, *Siyāḥat-nāma-yi ḥudūd* (Russ. tr. 1877): *Shahrazūr eyāleti*, 199-262; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 354 and *passim*; E. Soane, *In disguise to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, London 1912, ²1926; Admiralty Handbooks, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944, 262-3, 265, 372, 532-3, 541.

Cartography: Map by F. Jones; Haussknecht-Kiepert, *Routen im Orient*, iii, Kurdistan and Irak; E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli, Monument and inscription of the early history of the Sasanian Empire*, Berlin 1924, map 1: 200,000. (V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-SHAHRAZŪRĪ, the *nisba* of four distinguished dignitaries, great-grandfather, grandfather, father and son, originally from Mawṣil and occupying important offices under the Saldjūḳs, Zangids and Ayyūbids.

The latest in date of the members of this prestigious line of Shāfiʿī *fuḳahāʾ* was Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Kamāl al-Dīn Abi 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shahrazūrī. He was a disciple in *fiḳh* at Baghdād of Abū Manṣūr Ibn al-Razzāz. He entered the service of Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (d. 569/1174 [*q.v.*]) at Damascus, replacing his father as minister in Ṣafar 555/February-March 1160, and was subsequently *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo and then Mawṣil. He achieved fame and influence there, having, like his father, the reputation of being a generous and enlightened maecenas; according to Ibn Khallikān, one day he gave the *fuḳahāʾ*, writers and poets a gift of 10,000 dīnārs. Whilst acting as chief *ḳāḍī* at Mawṣil, it is related, he never imprisoned anyone who had not paid a debt of two dīnārs or less, preferring, if necessary, to pay the debt himself. His biographers attribute to him a certain number of verses judged competent, and among his poetic descriptions is that of a bat and of abundantly-falling snow, whilst other poems treat such varied themes as friendship, fidelity, etc.; on his father's death, in 572/1176-7, he composed an elegy upon him.

The author of *maḳāmāt*, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī al-Ḥanafī (who seems to have lived towards the end of the 6th/12th century), dedicated 30 *maḳāmāt* to the chief judge of Mawṣil, Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī, who died at Mawṣil in Djumādā I 586/June 1190 aged 62 (but al-Ṣafadī places his death in Djumādā II 584/August 1188).

Bibliography: ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, 3rd part, iv-v, Damascus 1955-9; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1367/1948, iii, 379, no. 571; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, i, 210-12, no. 138; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 287. (A. BEN ABDESSELEM)

AL-SHAHRAZŪRĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD, Illuminationist philosopher of the 7th/13th century.

He has suffered by an ironical stroke of fate, in that, although he wrote a substantial work on the biographies of thinkers, sages and scholars of the times preceding his own, his own life is totally unknown. Hence neither his birth nor his death date are known; only a copyist's note indicates that he was still alive in 687/1288 (cf. H. Corbin's introd. to his *Œuvres philosophiques et mystiques d'al-Suhrawardī*, ii, Tehran-Paris 1976, p. lxxi). His own written œuvre was nevertheless considerable. His *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ* (*fī taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ wa 'l-falāsifa*) gives 122 biographies of philosophers of Antiquity and the Islamic period, of which the notice on Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] (ed. S.H. Naṣr in his Persian introd. to *Œuvres philosophiques*, ii, 13-30) remains our main source of information on this principal *shaykh* of the Ishrāḳīs. His *Rasāʾil al-shadjara al-ilāhiyya*, dated 680/1282, are a real encyclopaedia of philosophy and the sciences, in which al-Shahrazūrī's own Illuminationist beliefs do not affect at all his objectivity in setting forth the various doctrines concerned (résumé and analysis by Ḥusayn Ḍiyāʾī, *Muʿarrifī wa barrasī-yi*

nuskha-yi khaṭṭī-yi Shadjara-yi ilāhiyya..., in *Madjalla-yi Īrānshināsī*, ii/1 [1990]). His *K. al-Rumūz wa 'l-amthāl* is a treatise on noetics concerning the modalities of metaphysical knowledge by the Illuminative Way. But paradoxically, al-Shahrazūrī seems to have revealed his most inner personal beliefs in his commentaries on the two basic works of al-Suhrawardī, the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ* and the *Talwīḥāt*, commentaries which have done much to reveal the *shaykh* of the Illuminationists' thought, and which inspired other later commentators such as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] on the first work and Ibn Kammūna [*q.v.*] on the second—at least, in the opinions of Corbin and Ḍiyā'ī. Al-Shahrazūrī seems to have been totally taken up by al-Suhrawardī's Illuminationist philosophy—possibly as the result of a sudden conversion, in Corbin's conjecture, since there are no references to the *shaykh* in the *K. al-Rumūz*, ostensibly the oldest of al-Shahrazūrī's works (cf. *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1971, ii, 347). In his commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ*, he goes so far as to describe himself as the *ḳayyim* "upholder" of the science of that work, thus claiming a hierarchic function in the chain of Illuminationist theosophists which remains somewhat mysterious to us now (*ibid.*, 348).

At all events, one should stress the independence of mind of a scholar who proclaimed loudly the necessity of studying the philosophy of Aristotle (and of the Greek sages in general) at a time when the anti-rationalist Ash'arī reaction was gaining ground everywhere. Nevertheless, al-Shahrazūrī, in his commentaries, stands out as much more than a servile glosser on Aristotle or on al-Suhrawardī; he displays there the work of a true thinker, dialectician and philosopher.

Bibliography: Al-Sharazūrī's works, despite their great interest for the history of Islamic thought, have only been partially edited so far. There is an ed. of his *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* by Khurshīd Aḥmad, Ḥaydarābād Dn. 1976, a Persian tr. by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Durrī, as *K. Kanz al-ḥikma*, Tehran 1937, and, under its original title, by M.'A. Tabrīzī, ed. M.T. Dānish-Pazhūh and M. Sarwar Mawlā'ī, Tehran 1986. His comm. on the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ* also has a critical ed. by Ḍiyā'ī, Tehran 1993, with a Fr. tr. of the Preface by Corbin in his *Le Livre de la Sagesse orientale*, Paris 1986, 75 ff. (P. LORY)

SHAHR-I SABZ [see KISH].

SHAHRĪR [see TA'RĪKH].

SHAHRISTAN (P.) "province", "provincial capital", "[large] town". The word continues Middle Persian *shahrestān*, which has the same meanings, though it is certainly possible that it goes back even further to an unattested Old Persian **xšaça-stāna-*. In any case, it is derived from *shahr* [*q.v.*]—or its ancestor—and *-stāna* "place" (in compounds); a *shahristān* is thus literally a "place of kingship", i.e. the seat of the local representative of royal power (the provincial capital) and then also the region over which that representative exercised his authority (the province itself). The semantic background is similar to that of Aramaic *mdīntā/mdītta* (the source of the Arabic loan-word *madīna*), etymologically "place of judgment", then both "town" (as the seat of a judge) and "province" (the area under the authority of a judge). There is a little Middle Persian text, put together (at least in its extant form) during the 'Abbāsid period, listing the *shahrestāns* of the Sāsānid empire with brief remarks, mostly of mythological content, on each one of them (see the edition, with translation and very extensive notes, by J. Markwart, ed. G. Messinna, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931).

In Islamic Persia, "Shahristān" is frequently used, in effect as a place name, to distinguish the principal town of a given region from the eponymous province, or else to single out that part of the provincial capital in which the seat of government was located. Among the places mentioned in classical texts that were known alternatively, or even exclusively, by this name one can mention:

(1) Sābūr (older: Bīshābuhr) in Fārs is often referred to as Shahristān, whereby al-Muḳaddasī specifies that it is the provincial capital (*ḳaṣaba*) of Sābūr which is known by this name, as opposed to the other towns (*mudun*) in the vicinity, such as Kāzarūn. See al-Muḳaddasī, 30, 424, 432; Yāḳūt, 342.

(2) The city of Iṣfahān (Sipahān) consisted of two parts, Shahristān (also called al-Madīna and Djayy, evidently the seat of the governor) and Djahūdhān (Arabicised: al-Yahūdiyya, i.e. the old Jewish quarter). See *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 131; al-Iṣṭakhrī 198-9; Yāḳūt, 343.

(3) The city of Djurdjān (Gurgān) also consisted (according to the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 133) of two parts, Shahristān and Bakrābād, separated from one another by the river Hirand. See also al-Muḳaddasī, 30, 354, 357; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 330.

(4) Kāth, the new capital of Khwārazm, was, according to al-Muḳaddasī (30, 287), also known as Shahristān.

(5) Al-Muḳaddasī (360) says that Shahristān was the name given to the seat of government in *Brw'n* (Barwān?), the capital (*ḳaṣaba*) of Daylam.

(6) Shahristāna (al-Muḳaddasī, 51), Shāristāna (idem, 300-1 n. 1; 320) or Shahristān (Yāḳūt, 343-4) was the name of a town in Khurāsān, three days' journey from Nasā, the birth-place of the celebrated al-Shahrastānī [*q.v.*]. Yāḳūt says that he was present when it was sacked by the Mongols in 617/1220.

Modern Īrān is divided into 43 *shahristāns*, or sub-provincial administrative districts.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(F.C. DE BLOIS)

SHAHRIYĀR, SAYYID (or MĪR) MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN, a modern Persian poet. He was born about 1905 at Tabrīz as the son of a lawyer, and belonging to a family of *sayyids* in the village of Khushgnāb. In his early work he used the pen name Bahdjat, which he later changed to Shahriyār, a name chosen from the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, who was his great model as a writer of *ghazals*. He read medicine at the Dār al-Funūn in Tehran, but left his studies unfinished to become a government clerk in Khurāsān. After some time he returned to Tehran, where for many years he was employed by the Agricultural Bank, living a sober and secluded life devoted mostly to poetry and mysticism. In the 1950s he married and settled down in Tabrīz. Shahriyār died on 18 September 1988 in a Tehran hospital. His literary success came very early; already in 1931 a volume of collected poems was published with introductions by influential men of letters like M.T. Bahār, Pizhmān Bakhtiyār and S. Nafīsī. His *Dīwān* was repeatedly reprinted in amplified editions.

Shahriyār's work consists of lyrical poetry in various forms as well as a number of larger narrative compositions. Although he was essentially a neo-classical poet, there are frequent references to the modern world both in the choice of subjects and imagery. He was a great master of the traditional literary language, but also wrote in a simple contemporary idiom. Love poetry in the classical *ghazal* was his most important genre, which he revitalised with fresh psychological nuances and realistic settings, without changing much the formal rules and conventions. During a short period in the 1940s he tried his hand,

not without success, on modern poetical forms as they were propagated by his friend Nīmā Yūshīdj [*q.v.*], but soon he returned to classical prosody. In spite of his deep involvement in mysticism, he committed himself from time to time to political and social issues. During the Pahlawī period, he wrote nationalistic poems, like *Takht-i Djamshīd*, an evocation in a *mathnawī* of the ancient glory of Persia as symbolised by the ruins of Persepolis (*Dīwān*, 626-54). In *Kahramānān-i Istālingrād* he sang the praise of the heroes of the Red Army during the Second World War (*Dīwān*, 528-36). In many poems he expressed a great devotion to the Shīʿī imāms, especially during his later years. Shahriyār also gained renown as a poet in Azeri Turkish by the long poem *Ḥeyder Babaya selām* (part I, Tabrīz 1953, part II, Tabrīz 1966; Persian translation of the first part only, in *Dīwān*, 655 ff.), which celebrates the countryside of his youth.

Bibliography: *Kulliyyāt-i Dīwān-i Shahriyār*[6], n.p. n.d.; Sayyid Muḥammad-Bāḳir Burḳaʿī, *Sukhanwarān-i nāmī-yi muʿāṣir*, Tehran 1329 *sh.*/1950, 139-44; Bozorg Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964, 194-6; Ahmet Ateş, *Şehriyâr ve Haydar Babaya Selâm*, Ankara 1964, Nuṣrat Allāh Fatḥī, *Yādī az Shahriyār*, Tehran 1341 *sh.*/1964; F. Machalski, *La littérature de l'Iran contemporain*, ii, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1967, 111-19; Muharrem Ergin, *Azeri Türkçesi*, Istanbul 1971, [2]1981 (with the text of *Ḥeyder Babaya selām* in Azeri Turkish and in the Turkish of Turkey); Sakina Berengian, *Azeri and Persian literary works in twentieth century Iranian Azerbaijan*, Berlin 1988; *Yādbūdnāma-yi Shahriyār*, in *Āyanda*, xv/6-9 (1368 *sh.*/1989), 626-33. (J.T.P. de Bruijn)

SHAHRIYĀR b. al-ḤASAN, an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* in Fārs and Kirmān, who lived during the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*]. Nothing is known about his life except the fact that he went to Yemen during the heyday of the Ṣulayḥid [*q.v.*] dynasty and was subsequently sent by al-Mukarram b. ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī as his envoy to Cairo, where he became acquainted with al-Muʾayyad fi ʾl-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*]. An official letter of al-Mustanṣir (*al-Sidjillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mādjid, Cairo 1954, 202; cf. H. Hamdani, *The letters of al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh*, in *BSOS*, vii (1934), 323-4) to al-Mukarram dated 15 Ramaḍān 461/1069, states: "As for your inquiry about Shahriyār b. Ḥasan, [we have to state that] al-Muʾayyad will deal with the matter as he sees fit." He is the author of the following treatises: refutation of those who deny the existence of the spiritual world; about the meaning of the verse of the Ḳurʾān, XLVIII, 1 (composed in reply to a query by al-Sulṭān ʿĀmir b. Sulaymān al-Zawāḥī, a powerful dignitary at the Ṣulayḥid court of queen Arwā); and understanding [the meaning of] the prophets' sins.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 125-6.

(I. Poonawala)

SHĀHSEWAN (p. and Tkish.), literally, "Friend of the Shāh", a designation of certain groups in Persia since Ṣafawid times. The name originated in appeals by the early Ṣafawid Shāhs to personal loyalty and religious devotion to the dynasty. In the 20th century it is the name of a number of tribal groups located in various parts of north-western Persia, notably in the region of Mūghān [see mūḳān] and Ardabīl [*q.v.*], and in the Kharaḳān and Khamsa districts between Zandjān and Tehran. Most of, if not all the latter groups also came from Mūghān, where ancestors of the present Shāhsewan tribes were located some time between the 16th and the 18th centuries. The tribes of Mūghān and Ardabīl were formed into a confederacy during the 18th century. Their history since then is fairly well-documented, but their origins remain obscure.

The Shāhsewan pursued a pastoral nomadic way of life, wintering near sea-level on the Mūghān steppe and summering 100 miles or so to the south on the high pastures of the Sawalān and neighbouring ranges, in the districts of Ardabīl, Mishkīn and Sarāb. By the late 20th century, most Shāhsewan were settled villagers or townspeople and preserved little of their former tribal organisation or pastoral nomadic culture, but some 5-6,000 households (40,000 people) still lived a nomadic or semi-nomadic life. The Shāhsewan *el* (tribal confederacy) was loosely organised in a series of some 40 *ṭāyfas*, "tribes", containing from as few as fifty to several hundred households. Shāhsewan nomads formed a minority of the population in this region, though like the settled majority, whom they knew as "Tāt" [*q.v.*], they were Shīʿī Muslims, and spoke Ādharbāydjānī Turkish.

(i) *Origins and history.*

Although the ancestors of several component tribes were of Kurdish or other origins, Turkic identity and culture were overwhelmingly dominant among the Shāhsewan. Many features of their culture and way of life were found among other Turkic groups in Persia and elsewhere, and they can often be traced to the Ghuzz [*q.v.*] tribes of Central Asia which invaded south-western Asia in the 11th century A.D.

There are three rather different versions of the origin of the Shāhsewan tribe or confederacy. The most widely known is that recounted by Sir John Malcolm in his *History of Persia* (1815): Shāh ʿAbbās I (1857-1929 [*q.v.*]) formed a special composite tribe of his own under the name of Shāhsewan, in order to counteract the turbulence of the rebellious Ḳizil-Bāsh [*q.v.*], who had helped his ancestor Shāh Ismāʿīl to found the Ṣafawid dynasty a century earlier. Vladimir Minorsky, in his article *Shāh-sewan* for *EI*[1], noted that "the known facts somewhat complicate Malcolm's story" and that the references in contemporary Ṣafawid chronicles did not amount to evidence that "a single regularly constituted tribe was ever founded by Shāh ʿAbbās under the name of Shāh-sewan." In later readings of Malcolm's account, the Shāhsewan appear as a personal corps or militia, a royal guard, and there is some evidence for the existence of a military corps named Shāhsewan in the mid-17th century. Recent research has failed to produce any documentation for Malcolm's story of Shāh ʿAbbās's formation of a tribe, and has shown how it was based on his misreading of the chronicles. Most historians, however, have adopted Malcolm's story, which has thus been assimilated through modern education into Iranian and even current Shāhsewan mythology. Among recent writers on the Ṣafawids, only a few acknowledge the doubts that have been expressed about Malcolm's story; some refrain from comment on Shāhsewan origins, others, while referring to Minorsky's and sometimes the present writer's previous investigations, nevertheless ignore the conclusions and reproduce the old myth as historical fact.

Minorsky drew attention to the writings of a number of Russians who recorded the traditions of the Shāhsewan of Mūghān with whom they were in contact towards the end of the 19th century. These traditions—which differ from but do not contradict Malcolm's story—vary in detail, but agree that Shāhsewan ancestors, led by one Yūnsür Pasha, immigrated from Anatolia; they present the Shāhsewan tribes as

ruled by *khāns* appointed as *el-beys* (paramount chiefs) descended from Yünsür Pasha, and as divided between *bey-zāda* (nobles) and *hāmpā* or *rāyat* (commoners), and they refer to an original royal grant of the pasture lands of Ardabīl and Mūghān, and to the contemporary royal appointment of the chiefs. These legends, presumably originating with the nobles, thus legitimate their authority over the commoners, and their control of the pastures, the most important resource for all their nomad followers. The present author heard similar legends in the 1960s from descendants of former *el-beys*.

A third version of Shāhsewan origins, commonly articulated in the 20th century among ordinary tribespeople and in writings on them, states that the Shāhsewan are "32 tribes" (*otūz īkī ṭāyfā*), all of equal status, and each with its own independent *bey* or chief, and makes no mention of nobles or of *el-beys*. The basis of this story is obscure, but it may refer to the presumed origin of the Shāhsewan from among the 16-17th century Ḳīzīl-Bāsh tribes, which in several sources also numbered 32.

Contemporary sources record groups and individuals bearing the name Shāhsewan, often as a military title in addition to Ḳīzīl-Bāsh tribal names such as Afshār [*q.v.*] and Shāmlū (and Shāmlū components such as Beydili, Īnāllu, Adjirli), in Mūghān and Ardabīl in the late 17th century. Other prominent tribes in the region were the Ḳīzīl-Bāsh Takile/Tekeli, and the Kurdish Shaḳāḳī [*q.v.*] and Mūghānī/Mūghānlu. But there is no evidence of the formation of a unified Shāhsewan tribe or confederacy as such until the following century, in the time of Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*].

In the 1720s, with the rapid fall of the Ṣafawid dynasty to the Afghāns at Iṣfahān, and Ottoman and Russian invasions in north-western Persia, for several crucial years Mūghān and Ardabīl were at the meeting-point of three empires. Records for those years, the first that mention in any detail the activities of the Shāhsewan and other tribes of the region, depict them as loyal frontiersmen, struggling to resist the Ottoman invaders and to defend the Ṣafawid shrine city of Ardabīl, especially in the campaigns of 1726 and 1728. Ottoman armies crushed the Shaḳāḳī in Mishkīn in autumn 1728, and then in early 1729 cornered the other tribes in Mūghān. Leaving the Īnāllu and Afshār to surrender to the Ottomans, the Shāhsewan and Mūghānlu crossed the Kur river to Sālyān to take refuge with the Russians, under the leadership of ʿAlī-Ḳulu Khān Shāhsewan, a local landowner. They returned to Persian sovereignty in 1732, when Nādir Afshār recovered the region. Thereafter, he appears to have formed the Shāhsewan into a unified and centralised confederacy under Badr Khān, one of his generals in the Khurāsān and Turkistān campaigns. Possibly a son of ʿAlī-Ḳulu Khān, Badr Khān is linked by 19th-century legends with Yünsür Pasha, and there is strong evidence that Badr Khān's family, the Sārī-khānbeyli, were from the Afshārs of Urmiya. Former *beyzāda* (noble) tribes such as Ḳodjabeyli, ʿĪsālu, Bālābeyli, Mast-ʿAlībeyli, ʿAlībābālu, Polātlu and Damīrcīlī, traced cousinship with the Sārī-khānbeylī Afshār, whereas many commoner tribes bear names indicating Shāmlū origins.

The Shaḳāḳī, Īnāllu and Afshār from Mūghān who had been defeated by the Ottomans were probably among the numerous tribes whom Nādir exiled to his metropolitan province, Khurāsān. After his death (1747), the Shaḳāḳī returned to settle around Miyāna, Sarāb and Khalkhāl, and the Īnāllu and Afshār (both now bearing the name Shāhsewan too) to the Kharaḳān, Khamsa and Ṭārim regions south and south-west of Ardabīl. One of Nādir's assassins, Mūsā Bey Shāhsewan, was apparently from the Afshār who settled in Ṭārim.

In the turbulent decades after Nādir's death, Badr Khān's son (or brother?) Naẓar ʿAlī Khān Shāhsewan governed the city and district of Ardabīl. Towards the end of the 18th century the Sārī-khānbeylī family split, dividing the Shāhsewan confederacy into two, associated with the districts of Ardabīl and Mishkīn. Shāhsewan *khāns* participated actively in the political rivalries and alliances of the time, with the semi-independent neighbouring *khāns* of Ḳara Dāgh, Ḳara Bāgh, Ḳubba, Sarāb and Gīlān, the Afshār, Afghān, Zand and Ḳādjār tribal rulers of Persia, and agents and forces of the Russian Empire.

Under the early Ḳādjārs, two wars with Russia raged across Shāhsewan territory and resulted in the Russian conquest of the best part of their winter quarters in Mūghān, and considerable movements of tribes southwards. The *khāns* of Ardabīl, notably Nadhr ʿAlī Khān's(?) nephew Faradj Allāh Khān and grandson, also called Nadhr ʿAlī Khān, despite deposition from the governorship in 1808, generally supported the Ḳādjār régime; their cousins and rivals, the *khāns* of Mishkīn, especially ʿAṭāʾ Khān and his brother Shukür Khān, accommodated the Russian invaders.

For some decades after the Treaty of Turkmančāy (1828), Russia permitted Shāhsewan nomads limited access to their former pasturelands in Mūghān; but they failed to observe the limitations. The Russians wished to develop their newly-acquired territories, and for this and other more strategic reasons found Shāhsewan disorder on the frontier a convenient excuse for bringing moral and political pressure to bear on the Persian government, insisting that they restrain or settle the "lawless" nomads. Persian government policy towards the tribes varied from virtual abdication of authority to predatory punitive expeditions, and an attempt in 1860-1 at wholesale settlement.

The mid-19th century is the first period for which there is any detailed information on Shāhsewan tribal society; the main sources are the reports of Russian officials, especially Mūghān Frontier Commissioner (from 1869) I.A. Ogranovič and the Tabrīz Consul-General E. Krebel, though British Consul-General Keith Abbott is also informative. By the time of the Russian conquest of Mūghān, most of the Ardabīl tribes, like their *khāns*, were already settled. Despite the settlement of 1860-1 and the famine and bad winters of 1870-2, most of the Mishkīn tribes remained nomadic and their *el-beys* active, especially ʿAṭāʾ Khān's son Fardī Khān (*el-bey* until 1880) and his son ʿAlī-Ḳulu Khān (until 1903), but they too had settled bases and in their turn lost overall control of the tribes. No longer a unified confederacy with a dynastic central leadership, Shāhsewan tribal structure reformed on new principles. Clusters of dependent tribes formed around the new élite of warrior *beys* of the Ḳodjabeylī (notably Nūr Allāh Bey), ʿĪṣālu, Ḥādj-khodjālu and Geyikli in Mishkīn, and the Polātlu and Yortči in Ardabīl. A shifting pattern of rivalries and alliances extended into neighbouring regions, involving the powerful *beys* of the Alārlu of Udjārūd (who soon came to be counted as Shāhsewan), the Shatrānlu (an offshoot of the Shaḳāḳī) of Khalkhāl, and the Čalabīānlu and Ḥādj-ʿAlīlī of Ḳara Dāgh.

The Russian frontier in Mūghān was finally closed to the Shāhsewan in 1884. Although the winter pasturelands in Persia were redistributed among the tribes, the region of Mūghān and Ardabīl and the nomads confined there underwent a drastic social and eco-

nomic upheaval, whose causes were to be found not simply in the closure but also the behaviour of administrative officials. The Shāhsewan, numbering over 10,000 families, for nearly four decades were virtually independent of central government. Although some, such as Mūghānlu, the largest tribe of all, pursued their pastoral life peacefully as best they could, for most nomads life was dominated by insecurity and the increasing banditry and vendettas by the warriors of the chiefly retinues; the period was known as *khān-khānlīkh* or *ashrārlīkh*, the time of the independent *khāns* or rebels.

Russian officials give a detailed and depressing picture of the upheaval, though without appreciating or admitting the degree to which Russian imperialism and 19th-century rivalry with Britain were largely responsible for both the frontier situation and the abuses of the Persian administration. V. Markov, concerned only to justify Russian actions and their benefits to the inhabitants of Russian Mūghān, having narrated in detail the events leading up to the closure, does not consider its effects on the Persian side. L.N. Artamonov, however, who visited the region to make a military-geographical study in November 1889, a year after Markov, was shocked at the poverty and oppression of the peasantry and the obvious distress and disorder suffered by the nomads as a result of the closure; his observations were mainly of the Mishkīn tribes. In 1903, Col. L.F. Tigranov of the Russian General Staff carried out an investigation of the region and published an informative and perceptive account of the economic and social conditions of the Ardabīl province and of the nomad and settled Shāhsewan. The detailed reports of Artamonov and Tigranov, although clearly to an extent influenced by political bias, are corroborated by other sources, including accounts recorded by the present writer among elderly Shāhsewan in the early 1960s.

The Shāhsewan tribes reached the heydey of their power and influence in the first decades of the 20th century. They were involved in various important events in this critical period of the Constitutional Revolution [see DUSTŪR. iv] and the years leading to the rise of Riḍā Khān. In spring 1908, border incidents involving Shāhsewan tribesmen and Russian frontier guards provided the Russians with a pretext for military intervention in Ādharbāydjān on a scale which hastened the fall of the Constitutionalist government in Tehran. During the winter of 1908-9, a few Shāhsewan joined the Royalist forces besieging Tabrīz. In late 1909, while the new Nationalist government struggled to establish control of the country, most of the Shāhsewan *beys* joined Raḥīm Khān Čalabīānlu of Ḳara Dāgh and Amīr ʿAshāyir Shatrānlu of Khalkhāl in a union of tribes of eastern Adharbāydjān, proclaiming opposition to the Constitution and the intention of marching on Tehran and restoring the deposed Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*]. They plundered Ardabīl, receiving wide coverage in the European press, but were defeated soon after by Nationalist forces from Tehran under Yeprem Khān. Subsequent Shāhsewan harrying of Russian occupying forces at Ardabīl led to a major campaign against them in 1912 by 5,000 troops under General Fidarov, who after many reverses succeeded in rounding up most of the tribes and depriving them of half their property. Despite this catastrophe, remembered in the 1960s as *bölgī īlī*, the year of division, Shāhsewan warriors continued their guerrilla resistance. During World War One, they were wooed in turn by Russian, Turkish and British forces. Until the restoration of central government authority under Riḍā Khān [*q.v.*], the Shāhsewan *beys* usually controlled the region, pursuing their local ambitions and rivalries, focused on the city of Ardabīl and smaller urban centres, and uniting only to oppose Bolshevik incursions in 1920 and 1921. Prominent among the *beys* (those of Ḳara Dāgh, Sarāb and Khalkhāl were now generally talked of as Shāhsewan too) were Bahrām Ḳodjabeyli, Amīr Aslān ʿĪṣālu, Djawād Ḥādj-khodjālu, Ḥādj Faradj Geyikli, Nadjaf-ḳulū Alārlu, Amīr Arshad Ḥādj-ʿAlīli, Naṣr Allāh Yortči, Amīr ʿAshāyir Shatrānlu, and his sister ʿAzamat Khānum, leader of the Polātlu.

During the winter and spring of 1922-3, the Shāhsewan were among the first of the major tribal groups to be pacified and disarmed by Riḍā Khān's army. Under the Pahlavīs, the tribes were at first integrated within the new nation-state as equal units under recognised and loyal *beys*; they then suffered economic and social destitution (though less than some other groups in Persia) as a result of the enforced settlement of the 1930s. In the 1940s they resumed pastoral nomadism and revived a loose, decentralised, tribal confederacy, causing trouble to the Soviet occupation forces and the subsequent Democrat régime of 1946. A disastrous winter in 1949 led to the construction of an irrigation scheme in the Mūghān steppe; settlement of the nomads remained an axiom of government policy. From 1960 on, a series of measures broke down the tribal organisation, while pastoralism suffered a sharp decline: the *beys* were dismissed, and the Shāh's Land Reform not only deprived many *beys* of their power base but nationalised the range-lands and opened them to outsiders. Forced to apply for permits for their traditional pastures, and increasingly using trucks in place of camels for their migrations, the pastoralists were drawn into national and wider economic and political structures. More extensive irrigation networks were constructed in Mūghān, and the promotion of agro-industry there in the 1970s seemed likely to provide settled bases for most if not all the nomads.

The Islamic Revolution of 1978-9 was largely an urban phenomenon, and Shāhsewan nomads themselves played little part. Settled tribespeople did participate in events in towns such as Mishkīn-Shahr and in strikes at the Agro-Industry Company in Mūghān, and there were a number of Shāhsewan "martyrs". A few former *beys* were killed, others went into exile. The Shāhsewan were officially renamed "Elsewan", literally "those who love the people (or tribe)", but they themselves never accepted the new name, and by 1992 it was no longer widely used officially. Pastoral nomadism experienced a modest revival among the Shāhsewan, as elsewhere in Persia, such that in the Socio-Economic Census of Nomads of 1986 the Shāhsewan nomads numbered nearly 6,000 families, as they had around 1960. At the same time, settlement has continued, following the inexorable spread of various government-supported developments, notably the agro-industrial schemes started in Mūghān under the last Shāh. In the mid-1990s, with extensive encroachments on Shāhsewan pasturelands in both Mūghān and the mountains, pastoral nomadism did not seem likely to survive much longer.

(ii) *Economic and social organisation of the Mūghān Shāhsewan.*

Apart from their frontier location and history, the Shāhsewan differ from other nomadic tribal groups in Persia in various aspects of their culture and social and economic organisation. Most distinctive is their dwelling, the hemispherical, felt-covered *ālāčīgh*. In each *ālāčīgh* lives a household of, on average, seven to eight people. In the 1960s, groups of three to five

closely related nomad households co-operated in an *obā*, a herding unit that camped on its own in the mountain pastures between June and early September, but joined with one or two others to form a winter camp of 10 to 15 households during the period November to April. Two or three such winter camps, linked by agnatic ties between the male household heads as a *göbak* "navel" or descent group, would form a *tira*, tribal section. The *göbak/tira* was usually also a *djāmāhāt* (from Ar. *djamā'a*) community, which moved and camped as a unit during the autumn migration in October and the spring migration in May, and performed many religious ceremonies jointly. Every group, from herding unit to community, was led by a recognised *āk sākāl*, "grey-beard" or elder. The *ṭāyfā* or tribe, comprising from two to over 20 *tira* sections, was a larger community, members of which felt themselves different in subtle ways from members of other *ṭāyfās*, and few contacts, and only one in ten marriages, were made between *ṭāyfās*. After the abolition of the *beys*, the government attempted to deal directly with the *tiras* and their *āk sākāls*; as a result, the "grey-beard" was often a younger man from the wealthiest family in the community, with the skills and resources to deal with the authorities. But the *ṭāyfā* continued to be important, and remained the main element in Shāhsewan identity, nomadic or settled.

Perhaps the most important feature distinguishing the Shāhsewan from other nomadic tribal groups in Persia was their system of grazing rights. Where other nomads operated some version of communal access to grazing, the Shāhsewan developed an unusual system whereby individual pastoralists inherited, bought or rented known proportions of the grazing rights to specific pastures, though in practice members of an *obā* would exploit their rights jointly. This system was invalidated by the nationalisation of the pastures in the 1960s, but still operates clandistinely.

Shāhsewan nomads traditionally raised flocks of sheep and goats, the former for milk and milk products, wool, and meat, the latter only in small numbers mainly as flock leaders. Camels, donkeys, and horses were used for transport. Most families raised chickens for eggs and meat, and a few kept cows. Every family had several fierce dogs, for guarding the home and the animals against thieves and predators. Bread was their staple food. Some nomads had relatives in villages, with whom they co-operated in a dual economy, sharing or exchanging pastoral for agricultural produce. Most, however, had to sell milk, wool and surplus animals to tradesmen in order to obtain wheat flour and other supplies. Some worked as hired shepherds, paid 5% of the animals they tended for every six-month contract period. Others went to towns and villages seasonally for casual wage-labour. Every camp was visited most days by itinerant pedlars, but householders went on shopping expeditions to town at least twice a year, for example during the migrations. Most purchases were made on credit, against the next season's pastoral produce. The wealthiest nomads raised flocks of sheep commercially, and owned shares in village lands as absentee landlords.

Women too had their elders, *āk birčak* "grey hairs", comparable to male *āk sākāls* and consulted privately by them; among the women they exercised their influence in public, at feasts attended by guests from a wide range of communities. At feasts, men and women were segregated. While the men enjoyed music and other entertainment, in the women's tent the *āk birčaks* discussed matters of importance to both men and women, such as marriage arrangements, disputes, irregular behaviour among community members or broader subjects bearing on economic and political affairs. Opinions were formed and decisions made, which were then spread as the women returned home and told their menfolk and friends. This unusual information network among the women served a most important function for the society as a whole.

Shāhsewan women produced a variety of colourful and intricate flatwoven rugs, storage bags and blankets, and some knotted pile carpets, but these were all for domestic use, and figured prominently in girls' trousseaux on marriage. After about 1970, however, the international Oriental Carpet trade recognised that a whole category of what had previously been regarded as "Kurdish" or "Caucasian" tribal weavings were in fact the product of Shāhsewan nomads. Meanwhile, hard times and escalating prices forced many nomads to dispose of items never intended for sale. Since the Islamic Revolution, however, Shāhsewan weavers have increasingly produced for the foreign market, adjusting their styles accordingly.

(iii) *The Shāhsewan of Kharakān and Khamsa.*

In the 19th century there were five major Shāhsewan groups in these regions: Īnāllu, Baghdādī, Ḳurtbeyli, Duwayran and Afshār-Duwayran. These descend from groups moved from Mūghān in the 18th century, except for the Baghdādī, who have a separate history: Nādir Shāh Afshār brought them from northern 'Irāḳ (Kirkūk) to Khurāsān, and later they joined Karīm Khān Zand in Shīrāz before being brought to their present location (Sāwa and Kharāḳān by Agha Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār). Most of these tribes were settled by 1900; the Īnāllu and Baghdādī provided important military contingents for the Ḳādjār army (Tapper, *The king's friends*, Appendix 2).

Bibliography: R. Tapper, *Pasture and politics: economics, conflict and ritual among Shahsevan nomads of northwestern Iran*, London 1979 (ethnography based on field study in 1960s); idem, *The king's friends: a social and political history of the Shahsevan*, 1996 (full bibl.); Nancy Tapper, *The women's sub-society among the Shahsevan nomads*, in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (eds.), *Women in the Muslim world*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 374-98; G. Schweizer, *Nordost-Azerbaidschan und Shah Sevan-Nomaden*, in E. Ehlers, F. Scholz and G. Schweizer, *Strukturwandlungen im nomadisch-bäuerlichen Lebensraum des Orients*, Wiesbaden 1970, 83-148 (geography).

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On Shāhsewan dwellings, see P. Andrews, *Alachikh and küme: the felt tents of Azarbaijan*, in R. Graefe and P. Andrews, *Geschichte des Konstruierens*, iii (Konzepte SFB 230, Heft 28), Stuttgart 1987, 49-135.

On Shāhsewan textiles, see Jenny Housego, *Tribal rugs: an introduction to the weaving of the tribes of Iran*, London 1978; Siyawosch Azadi and P. Andrews, *Mafrash*, Berlin 1985; Parviz Tanavoli, *Shahsavan: Iranian rugs and textiles*, New York 1985.

(R. Tapper)

SHAʿĪR (a.), barley (*Hordeum* L., Gramineae family, the Arabic term being applied to several different species), one of the major cereals cultivated throughout the Middle East from earliest times. Mediaeval medical texts classify it among the numerous "grains" (*ḥubūb*, which, naturally, included wheat but also pulses like lentils and beans) which, in bread preparation, formed an essential part of the diet of all but the most well-off of the population. The semantic association between bread (of whatever substance), sustenance, and life itself is found in several Semitic vocabularies. Even if more widely consumed than the scarcer (and hence more expensive) and less hardy wheat cereal, barley was judged less nourishing than wheat. The term occurs in the Traditions, suggesting its use both in the baking of inexpensive bread as well as in other popular dishes like *khaṭīfa, talbīna, tharīd* and *sawīḳ* [see ghidhāʾ].

By nature it was said to be moderately cold and dry (in contrast to wheat, which was hot and moist), which made it suitable for persons of hot complexion in summer, or with a fever. Hence medical opinion held that barley bread was also convenient for young persons but not for the elderly. The medical texts describe the benefits of certain barley preparations: flour, or barley water applied to the skin was said to remove blemishes as well as providing protection against leprosy. A preparation of barley and milk (called *kishk*) was an antidote to fever, and washing the body with it opened the pores, a treatment also for exhaustion and for travellers. Barley water had the properties of a diuretic and emenagogue. Barley *sawīḳ* was good for fever.

These and other preparations are also found in the mediaeval cookbooks as purely food for pleasure. One barley water recipe is designated especially for Ramaḍān. Barley flour was also the chief ingredient in the famous condiment *murrī*. A recipe for the beverage *fuḳḳāʿ* (apparently intended to be alcoholic) employs barley flour, while in another similar preparation it is advised against as being harmful; it was also used in the popular drink *aḳsimāʾ* and in the condiment of pickled garlic. Finally, a recommended means of preventing bunches of grapes from rotting is to bury them in barley.

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(D. Waines)

SHĀʿIR (a.), poet.

1. In the Arab world
   A. Pre-Islamic and Umayyad periods
   B. From the ʿAbbāsid period to the *Nahḍa* [see Suppl.]
   C. From 1850 to the present day
   D. In Muslim Spain
   E. The folk poet in Arab society
2. In Persia
3. In Turkey
4. In Muslim India
5. In the western and central Sudan
6. In Hausaland
7. In Malaysia and Indonesia

1. In the Arab world.

A. Pre-Islamic and Umayyad periods.

Among those endowed with knowledge and with power in ancient Arabia stands the figure of the *shāʿir*, whose role is often confused with that of the *ʿarrāf* (*shaʿara* and *ʿarafa* having the same semantic value: cf. I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, i, 3 ff.) and of the *kāhin* [*q.v.*]. They were credited with the same source of inspiration, the djinns (Goldziher, *Die Ǵinnen der Dichter*, in *ZDMG*, xlv [1891], 685 ff.). However, the *shāʿir* was, originally, the repository of magical rather than divinatory knowledge; his speech and his rhythms were directed towards enchantment. *Hidjāʾ* and *rithāʾ*, satire and elegy respectively, were the primordial expressions of his magical power (T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 117, where, under n. 4, the principal references are to be found).

Like the *kāhin*, the *shāʿir* "guided the tribe on the ways of booty and of war". Both of them "advised, arbitrated, judged, decided, to the extent that, either their roles were blended with that of the tribal chieftain or they became the latter's advisers, flatterers or instigators" (*ibid.*). Their functions often coincided with that of the *khaṭīb* (Goldziher, *Der Chaṭīb bei den altern Arabern*, in *WZKM*, vi [1892], 97-102, summarised in French in *Arabica*, vii [1960], 16-18).

Kāhin and *shāʿir* expressed themselves in *sadjʿ* and in *radjaz* [*q.vv.*], a rhythmic style originally used for the enunciation of the oracle of the *kāhin* and for the chanting of verses of the *shāʿir* at the head of a column of troops setting out for war. The two functions, united at the outset, became progressively differentiated, as their sources of inspiration diversified. Thus *radjaz* was the basis of secular poetry and *sadjʿ* remained the mode of expression of the *kāhin*. This distinction appears clearly in Ḳurʾān, LXIX, 40-3 (cf. LXXXI, 19-25), where the text reads: "This is the word of a respected Prophet and is not that of a poet (*shāʿir*), men of little faith; nor is it that of a soothsayer (*kāhin*), men of little memory. It is a revelation (*tanzīl*) of the Master of the Universe" (cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 156, 64).

The functions of the *kāhin* and the *shāʿir* were frequently assumed by the *sayyid* [*q.v.*]. This resulted from the fact that "in the Central Arabia of the 6th century, a *sayyid* was chosen who, among the members of the tribe, was distinguished by his qualities of elocution, of decision and of persuasion. The desert Arab was determined to defend his liberty and would only be induced to submit to the chief's authority through reasoning and conviction; furthermore, the *sayyid* was entrusted with no powers of coercion and his prerogatives were limited. His prestige depended on his ability to influence his fellow-tribesmen with wisdom, with prudence, with informed advice, on his connections with the chiefs of neighbouring tribes, on his wealth and generosity" (*ibid.*, 118-19).

The first reference to the role of the *shāʿir* in the tribe is found in the *Ecclesiastical history* by Sozomenus (vi, 38, ll. 1-9), who was writing between 443 and 450. This author, born in a small village near Gaza, takes up what had previously been written by Rufinus, a contemporary of St. Jerome, who completed the *Church history* by Eusebius of Caesarea and translated it into Latin after 402, and Socrates, another historian of the Church (*Ecc. hist.*, iv, 36, ll. 1-12). These authors speak of a "queen of the Saracen tribe (Arabs)" (*saracenorum gentis regina*), called Mawia, who led a stub-

born war against the Romans on the borders of Palestine and Arabia (*vehementi bello Palaestini et Arabi limitis*/var. *limites*), defeated them and imposed her conditions on Valens (Emperor 364-78). According to Sozomenus, Mawia, widow of a chieftain killed in battle, played a very important role at the head of her tribe. After repudiating the accords (σπονδαί) concluded between her husband and the Romans, which were followed by excessive taxation demands, she set out to raid villages between Palestine and Egypt. Her victories and her courage were celebrated among the Arab tribes with popular songs (ᾠδαί). These songs were adaptations of poems in *radjaz* (see on this subject F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, iii, Berlin 1966, 101 ff.; Fahd, *Mawia et Ḍudjʿum aw al-ʿArab wa ʾl-Rūmān fī awākhir al-karn al-rābiʿ*, in *Actes du Congrès International sur l'histoire de Bilād al-Shām*, ʿAmmān 1983). The connections which have always linked song and poetry are well known (cf. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 357 ff.). It is also well known that poetic talent was widely distributed among both nomadic and sedentary Arabs (*ibid.*, 331 ff.).

Poets may be divided into two categories: the poet of the tribe and the poet of the court.

i. *The poet of the tribe.*

In a series of concisely written pages (*ibid.*, 238 ff.), R. Blachère has painted a vivid and very detailed portrait of this poet, the heir to a prestigious tradition. He is the quintessence of his tribal group, to which he is viscerally attached, even when he breaks his links with the latter (as in the case of the *ṣaʿālīk* or outlaws); as the spokesman of this group he participates in the essential manifestations of collective life (festivities, battles, delegations, etc.).

His verbal talents sometimes lead him to take on the role of *sayyid* (as in the case of Ibn ʿAdjlān among the Nahd, Zuhayr b. Djanāb among the Kalb, Muhalhil b. ʿAdī, ʿAmr b. Kulthūm and Durayd b. al-Ṣimma among the Djusham, Bisṭām b. Ḳays among the Shaybān, Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra among the Dārim, Mālik b. Nuwayra among the Thaʿlaba, al-Mukhabbal among the Tamīm, ʿAwf b. ʿAṭiyya among the Taym, Ḥātim and Zayd al-Khayl among the Ṭayyiʾ, ʿAbbās b. Mirdās among the Sulaym, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl among the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib and ʿAbd Yaghūth b. Ṣalāʾa among the Madhhidj, Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ among the Aws, Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf among the Naḍīr, etc.). Such talents enhance the prestige of the entire group. "The biographical accounts teem with anecdotes where the poet manifests himself by means of his incomparable renown and the unique power of his speech. Such an image could not be an imaginary invention. It must have corresponded to observed facts" (*ibid.*, 338).

We have here a being passionately devoted to the cause of his clan; he espouses its conflicts, he attacks its enemies, he replies to invectives (*hidjāʾ*) of which it is the object, he praises its past and present glories, he is the repository of its achievements. "Poetry", the caliph ʿUmar was supposedly told, "is the *dīwān* (the register, the memory) of the Arabs". Poets and poetesses often contributed to victory, with their presence at the head of armies, and to the comfort of survivors, with praise of the courage and valour displayed by those who had fallen in the course of the battle.

His public—it is hard to imagine him without a public—consists of his family and of his tribe, a whole world which "places its hopes in him, urges him on in his contests, praises him when he wins, turns to others when his inadequacies endanger the honour of the group" (*ibid.*, 339). His source of inspiration is found in his public, but this does not prevent him withdrawing into himself and expressing his own opinions and his disappointments regarding the human condition (for a selection of verses of this type, cf. Fahd, *L'homme vu par les poètes préislamiques*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, x [Venice 1992], 3-19). A tribe without a poet of renown was considered inferior (as was the case of the Murād and the Khathʿam). It was usually in the context of fairs, generally organised in the vicinity of pilgrimage routes, the most celebrated being ʿUkāẓ and Dhu ʾl-Madjāz near Mecca, that poetic competitions were held between tribes or between poets of the same tribe. "These competitions could exert the same attraction as duels: a day was appointed, the participants arrived in their finest garments, mounted on sumptuously appointed beasts; the audience formed a circle round them and, at the conclusion of the contest, congratulated the winner" (Blachère, *op. cit.*, 341).

The foregoing account constitutes the permanent core of the conception which may be held of the poet of the tribe. This core will be found in a more or less explicit fashion throughout the periods of evolution of the function of the poet in Arab society, as the latter glides imperceptibly from nomadism to sedentarisation, by way of a long period of semi-sedentarisation.

ii. *The poet of the court.*

Attracted by the glamour of urban or semi-urban society, the nomad poet, without leaving his group and without renouncing its defence, attached himself to a patron whose panegyrist he became, at the risk of losing a part of his liberty and sometimes his life. Becoming peripatetic, he had occasion to transfer his allegiance from one patron to another (as in the cases of al-Mutalammis, al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī and Ḥassān b. Thābit). Lakhmids and Ghassānids competed in the collection of poets (as in the case of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, Ṭarafa, al-Aʿshā Maymūn, Abū Zubayd b. Ḥarmala b. al-Mundhir, al-Ḥuṭayʾa, etc.): they demanded of them that they celebrate their achievements and their munificence in long poems. Generous towards those poets whom they considered the best, they could be cruel and despotic towards the others. The poets who frequented their courts brought with them their tribal quarrels; "their fury was fanned there by the game of covetousness, of personal quarrels, of sentimental intrigues, of the vanity peculiar to the *genus irritabile poetarum*" (cf. the quarrel of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī and al-Munakhkhal, *ibid.*, 299, 346).

Poetic circles were formed around Ghassānid and Lakhmid phylarchs at Djillīḳ in the vicinity of Damascus and at Ḥīra (around ʿAdī b. Zayd), by means of which Bedouin poetry began a process of evolution in contact with Syro-Mesopotamian civilisation. "At Ḥīra the personality of the poet was forged in the form in which it was to flourish at Baṣra or at Kūfa when ʿIrāḳ became the intellectual centre of Arabo-Islamic civilisation" (*ibid.*, 347).

iii. *The poet (of the tribe and of the court) after the advent of Islam.*

Following the disappearance of the Lakhmids and the Ghassānids, the poet of the court returned to his role as poet of the tribe, confronted by the hostility of nascent Islam towards poetry, considered decadent and a survival of Arab paganism. Dubbed a "djinn-inspired poet" by his Meccan adversaries (Ḳurʾān, XXI, 5; XXVI, 224-28, XXXVII, 35-36; LII, 29; etc.), Muḥammad denounced poets and poetry. As a result of this, the production of poetry declined. However, on arriving in Medina, he was unable to ignore the effective instrument of propaganda constituted by poetry. In the manner of a *sayyid*, he took

into his service an eminent poet who had been a protégé of the Ghassānids and of the Lakhmids, Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*], who became his accredited panegyrist. Other poets rallied around the founder of Islam, seen as a head of state unlike any other in the Arab world (as in the case of Kaʿb b. Mālik, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, Abū Ḳays b. al-Aṣlat, Bashīr b. Saʿd); others opposed him at the cost of their lives (as in the case of the Jewish poet of Medina Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf and others).

Under the first four caliphs, there was a gradual return to the appreciation of poetry, on condition that it upheld a certain ethic (*makārim al-akhlāḳ*). The poet Suḥaym was put to death, under ʿUmar, on account of his amorous escapades. This was not unaccompanied by a degree of embarrassment, "a sort of bad conscience paving the way for a process of rehabilitation" (*ibid.*, 355). Some went so far as to show the Prophet allowing improvisation and even improvising himself on the *radjaz* metre (al-Bukhārī, ed. Cairo, iv, 51) or reciting a fragment from a pagan poet (*ibid.*, iv, 52).

It was in the Umayyad period that the poet was to regain his place in his tribal group and as client of numerous patrons, caliphs, governors and prosperous merchants enriched by the wealth accruing from the tide of conquests. This was the age of prestigious poets such as al-Akhṭal, Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*]. In accordance with the attachment of the Umayyad princes to Bedouin tradition, the poet returned to his original function as representative of his tribe and champion of its interests. He spoke of its past, of its glories, of its merits, either in eulogistic poems addressed to his patrons, or in contests of *fakhr* (boasting) or *hidjāʾ* (satire) in which he engaged with his rivals. All this was done with the aim of gaining credit for himself or for his tribe in the estimation of the one who was the subject of the eulogy. The poet of the court, in the terms previously described, was superseded by the poet of the tribe, even though his role was essentially played in the court. The vast majority of the poets who achieved eminence in this period were natives of the desert; throughout their careers, they remained in close contact with their tribes, to which they returned after the completion of their tasks in the court and in the presence of their patrons. Al-Akhṭal, a Christian of the great tribal confederation of the Taghlib, began with the celebration of local *sayyid*s in the region of Kūfa. His career as "cantor of the Umayyads" started when Yazīd I, still the heir presumptive, commissioned him to satirise the Anṣār of Medina who claimed to be of "Yemeni" descent; he unleashed a poetical campaign which was to earn him vehement ripostes on the part of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr and al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī. Thus he found himself embroiled in the perpetual dispute between the Arabs of the South (Yemenis) and Arabs of the North (Ḳaysīs), the dispute which was to wreak such damage in all the phases of Arab history.

For his part, Djarīr also began his career with his tribe (the Tamīm); throughout his life, he remained attached to his ancestral desert, the Yamāma, returning to it after brief periods in Baṣra or in Damascus; he, too, was the spokesman of the Ḳaysīs against the Yemenis. Al-Farazdaḳ (also of the Tamīm), born like Djarīr in the Yamāma, began his career as a tribal poet, then served a number of patrons before succeeding in becoming official poet of the court, under the reign of al-Walīd I. It was in Baṣra that he spent the major part of his life; it was also there that he died.

Not one of these three poets resided in the caliphal court at Damascus. While politico-religious controversies (Ḳaysīs and Yemenis, Sunnīs and Shīʿīs) appear in their eulogistic and satirical poems, there is no echo to be found there of the life of the court. The sumptuous palaces of Damascus could not make them forget the desert in which they had been brought up; their poetic art, which is that of the great poets of pre-Islam, bears witness to this.

Hence the poet of the Umayyad period remained in the service of his tribe, like his predecessor in the pre-Islamic era. But his audience had changed. Conquests had fragmented the tribes and caused the proliferation of urban centres, colonised by segments of peninsular tribes; it was in these "colonies" that young poets were accepted and helped to make their way in this evolving society. The poet, usually of modest background, sought to exploit his art as a means of acquiring wealth and distinction. On the way he encountered rivals and competitors, and also risked making deadly enemies. Hence the important role of *hidjāʾ* in this period (in particular between Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ). There would also be instances where he was caught in a vice between his ancestral group and the central or local power; it was then incumbent on him to attempt to serve the interests of both (for example, al-Farazdaḳ reminding the caliph of the support given him by the Tamīm at the time of the suppression of the Yemenis, in revolt at the instigation of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, Blachère, 544 n. 4). There were instances where the poet refused to submit and appealed to his group for assistance; then, following a trivial incident, the issue grew in importance and "fire engulfed the tribe" (for example: a Sulamī poet, insulted by al-Akhṭal in the presence of the caliph, left in fury and incited his people to attack the Taghlib, *ibid.*, 544 n. 6).

Two factors contributed greatly to the popularity of the poets in the Umayyad period. On the one hand, the large number of patrons emerging from the governmental and military aristocracy, enriched by the acquisition of large estates (as in the case of Djunayd, governor of Sind, eulogised by Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ); on the other, the return of the same aristocracy to its desert origins and to the chivalrous values of its ancestors. Also, panegyric (*madḥ*) and glorification (*fakhr*) occupied an important place in the poetry of this period.

From the point of view of the court, the poet was considered to be "an auxiliary of the central power and a link with the peninsular world, the upheavals in which should not be ignored" (*ibid.*, 546); he was "an element, if not permanent then at least influential", of the court. His talent, initially exploited politically under the Marwānids, was ultimately recognised in artistic terms, from the time of al-Walīd I (86-96/705-15 [*q.v.*]), himself a poet. For this caliph, the art of versification was not only a recreation; it was also "the instrument of expression of the 'self' and the source of intense emotions" (*ibid.*, 548).

The governors of provinces (Ziyād, al-Ḥadjdjādj, Khālid al-Ḳasrī, etc.) also employed poets for their propaganda, keeping them in a state of dependence as a means of avoiding conflict. Those opposed to the Umayyad régime themselves had recourse to the talents of poets (al-Aʿshā of the Hamdān paid with his life for his attachment to Ibn al-Ashʿath); numerous poets supported al-Muhallab as a supporter of the régime; others applauded his son Yazīd when he rebelled against the caliphal authority, but abandoned him immediately after his defeat. The same applied to the secessionist Zubayrids.

In this way the Umayyad poet, like the poet of the tribe in the pre-Islamic period, served the cause of his tribe and the politics which it espoused. Among the poets of the time, two themes often appear in their *dīwāns*; the quarrel between Ḳaysīs and Yemenis and the taking of sides in the conflict then in progress between D̲j̲arīr and al-Farazdaḳ. The dominant ideology remained the tribal affiliation which linked the two generations, that of pre-Islam and that of the Umayyad period.

An exception to this dominant current is constituted by the poetical school of the Ḥid̲j̲āz. The very rigid society which had formed in the urban centres of the region (Mecca, Medina and Ṭāʾif) under the first four caliphs, allowed no place for the poet, still regarded as representing the customs of pre-Islamic times and denounced by the Prophet. But as a result of the wealth which abounded in these cities, on account of the conquests and of the isolation in which they had lived for ten years, following the uprising of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, a perceptible evolution of customs and behavior led towards a sophisticated society in which song and poetry, favoured and cultivated by new patrons, underwent a striking development. Thus the poet was once again in service. But, remote from the centre of power and from tribal quarrels, he devoted himself to renewing an almost forgotten ancestral lyricism. So a type of literal "romanticism" was born, the hero being the poet himself, an amorous poet, deprived of his loved one on account of the rigidity of tribal morals (as in the cases of Ḳays b. D̲h̲arīḥ, Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman, Mad̲j̲nūn and D̲j̲amīl). Thus the poet became a character of romance.

A certain degree of female emancipation is evident in this period. Some women enjoyed a social promotion such that they were enabled to maintain literary "salons" and to receive poets (as in the case of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, daughter of Ṭalḥa, grand-daughter of Abū Bakr, the first caliph; Zaynab, daughter of Muʿayḳib; Zaynab, daughter of Mūsā; and most notably, T̲h̲urayyā, daughter of a wealthy family of Ṭāʾif, and Sukayna, granddaughter of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the fourth caliph). These women exerted considerable influence over the poets who entertained them, in particular, over ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, Kut̲h̲ayyir and Nuṣayb.

The greatest poet of this period was undoubtedly ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*], a man of wealth and independence. He made a name for himself with his countless affairs with aristocratic ladies (including Fāṭima, daughter of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, and Umm Muḥammad, daughter of the caliph Marwān). His *dīwān* abounds with poems recounting his tempestuous loves, inspired by "a violent and mutual passion, coupled with estrangements and reconciliations" (*ibid.*, 631). Singers both male and female borrowed his poems, and storytellers made him a legend in his own lifetime, hence his considerable renown, which eclipsed that of the other poets of his time. He opened up a new direction in courtly poetry, a direction denounced by the moralists of the time (in particular by the Shīʿī circles of Medina) but much appreciated by the new poetical movement which came into being at the end of the Umayyad period. ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa is far removed from the poet of the tribe, although retaining a few of the clichés, just as he is far removed from the poet of the court. More than any other poet of the time, he is the poet of the "self".

Bibliography: The principal source of material for this article is R. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XVe siècle de J.-C.* (of which all that has appeared is *La littérature et la poésie archaïque des origines jusque vers 107/725*), Paris 1952, 1964 and 1966, 3 vols. in continuous pagination (865 pp.); Arabic tr. Ibrāhīm al-Kīlānī, Damascus 1973, repr. 1984, 983 pp. In this writer's opinion, this is the only work which provides a comprehensive and accurate survey of the period in question. It is based on a vast bibliography, taking into account *dīwāns*, anthologies, commentaries and recent studies. It would be inappropriate to list all these here, since they have not been directly consulted.

To this magisterial work, which replaces everything that has gone before it, may be added this writer's own *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, repr. Paris 1967, where the poet is observed in his most archaic role. The reader is further referred to the work of Francesco Gabrieli on *La poésie religieuse de l'ancien Islam*, Paris 1974 (= *REI*, special edition, no. 8), since the limitations of this article have made it impossible to dwell for long on this period of transition. (T. Fahd)

B. From the ʿAbbāsid period to the *Nahḍa* [see Suppl.].

C. From 1850 to the present day.

The role of the Arab poet in society during the second half of the 19th century was a natural continuation of the low status of the Arab convivial poet (*al-s̲h̲āʿir al-nadīm*) [see nadīm], who composed panegyric poetry to earn his living by entertaining and celebrating his patron's generosity and "noble" character, and used his versification for celebrating his friends and society on their happy and sad occasions. The poet's role continued to be that of a platform orator celebrating, rejoicing, lamenting, inaugurating private and public buildings, criticising political and economic problems in conventional style and metaphors. Even in their panegyric poetry dedicated to the Prophet Muḥammad (*muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥāt* and *madāʾiḥ nabawiyya*) there was no serious attempt at metaphysical or spiritual expression.

However, an insight and an eyewitness to the condition of the role of the Arab poet in society is given in detail in the biographies written by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-D̲j̲abartī [*q.v.*] in his *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-āt̲h̲ār*. In fact, al-D̲j̲abartī is a rare example of Muslim scholar who classified the status of the poet in society as more important than that of the rulers, and below the religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*), because of the critical and intellectual role which the poet played in the Arab society.

According to al-D̲j̲abartī, the poet's role ranges from composing a verse to be engraved upon a seal in a finger-ring up to elegies. Verses and poems were ordered to be engraved on marble and plated with gold upon the vault of a reception room (*mad̲j̲lis*) or upon the entrance of the mosques, on the walls of the sleeping room and on tomb stones, with blessings for good omen and the last verse denoting the date of the building and the name of the owner.

Al-D̲j̲abartī distinguished between the poor poets who earned their living by composing panegyrical poetry and the high-ranking scholars who wrote poetry to honour their friends as well as for social purposes and entertainment. The poorer poets used to attend ceremonies or to visit their generous patrons in their *mad̲j̲lis* "near lunch hour" in order to get two presents, "a good lunch and a gift" in cash, sometimes of gold money. They used to recite their panegyrics standing before their patron or would hand him a written copy of their poem after kissing his hand or the edge of his attire, a custom which continued to

Aḥmad Shawḳī's time among conventional poets. High-class scholars like Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār (1766-1835), who later on became the Shaykh of al-Azhar, composed elegies to honour his deceased friends, scholars or rulers, and his poems were recited in the funeral by a special reciter (*munshid*) after the prayer. In his old age, he composed poetry to honour influential people, "only when necessary, and in order to show dissimulation towards them (*illā bi-ḳadr al-ḍarūra wa-nifāḳ ahl al-ʿaṣr*). However, a poet endowed with the ability of improvisation on subjects of discussion or in praise of his patron, and who was able to answer his patron or his friends in debate by improvised verses, was admired and considered of greater poetic talent.

During the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century, poets continued to serve as an effective mass medium for the rulers, rich patrons, merchants and religious scholars. Some poets were asked to compose poetry for the purpose of encouraging common people by their praise-poems (*madāʾiḥ*) to visit the shrines of Muslim saints (*walī*, pl. *awliyāʾ*). According to al-Djabartī, when al-Sayyid ʿAlī the dull-witted one (*ablah*), who was believed to be a saint, died on 16 Rabīʿ I 1214/17 September 1799, his brother brought poets and reciters of poetry (*shuʿarāʾ wa-munshidūn*) to sing his praise and enumerate his miracles and blessings in order to encourage people to visit his tomb and thereby to offer their donations and offerings to the saint in order to secure the income of the shrine.

Both patrons and poets were in need of each other: the patrons for the purpose of prestige and esteem and the poets for the purpose of living and for contacts with the ruling class and social connections. The generous Mamlūk *amīr* Murād Bey Muḥammad (d. 1215/1801) used to encourage poets to join his *madjlis* and lavished presents on poets who composed poems in his honour and increased his notability. When he died, poetesses and women singers composed elegies and sang them accompanied by music to lament his death. During revolts against oppressive Ottoman pashas and other officials, poets composed critical poems and versified slogans and taught them to children to chant them in the streets and in front of the rulers' palaces.

These conditions continued as late as the beginning of the 1920s. The Greek Orthodox poet and writer Mīkhāʾīl Nuʿayma (1889-1988 [*q.v.*]), under the influence of his Russian education and Romanticism, criticised in his book *al-Ghirbāl* the role of the poet in the Arab society. He accused contemporary poets of being platform orators and convivial poets who were engaged in the communal and festive life of his society. He unconsciously summarised al-Djabartī's description of the role of the poet in society, saying that they only deal with subjects such as *tahānī* (congratulations), *ikhwāniyyāt* (exchanging friendly poems), *musādjalāt* (debates) which were dedicated to other poets, *madīḥ* (eulogy), *rithāʾ* (elegy) for his patron, *ghazal* (erotic poetry), *waṣf* (description) and celebration of a memorable occasion, an official or religious holiday, a public, political or military event, or the inauguration of public and private buildings. Nuʿayma attacked conventional poets, calling them "versifiers and craftsmen who versified every aspect of communal life, such as birth, death, wine-drinking, greeting friends. Thus everything is versified in Arab cultural life, except feelings and thought" (*al-Ghirbāl*, 122).

With the renaissance of the Arabic language and culture during the 19th century under the reforms of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pāshā [*q.v.*] in Egypt and the Christian missionary activities in Syria and Lebanon, a class of secular officials who were endowed with poetic talents sought to revive the classical Arabic rhetorics, style and themes, and used the method of *muʿāraḍa* [*q.v.*] (imitation of classical poems) for this purpose.

The semi-independent rulers in North Africa and the Middle East, the courts of such rulers as Amīr Bashīr II al-Shihābī (1767-1850) in Lebanon, the Egyptian Khedives from the accession of Ismāʿīl Pasha (1863-79) onwards, the court of King Fayṣal I in ʿIrāḳ (1921-33), and King ʿAbd Allāh (1921-51) in Jordan, looked for an entourage of poets and men of letters to speak their praise and merits as well as for the purpose of entertainment and social activities. In these courts, the status of *al-shāʿir al-nadīm* and/or of the poet laureate (*shāʿir al-balāṭ*) gained great esteem and respect with secured income. The duty of such court poets was to compose a poem to greet the ruler on feasts and holidays, birthdays, write poems of farewell when the ruler departed for a journey abroad and another at the reception on his return, greeting guests as well as on other occasions. The new courts were interested in neo-classical poets for their panegyrics in order to raise the rulers' esteem in the eyes of their people.

With the development of printing and journalism in the Arab world during the 19th century, poetry played an important role. Panegyric poems to the rulers published on the front page opened the gates of the sovereign's courts to these writers. When Fāris al-Shidyāḳ [*q.v.*] heard of the charitable deeds of Aḥmad Pasha, the Bey of Tunis, in Marseilles and Paris, he composed a panegyric poem on the Bey; the latter was so impressed with it that he sent a naval vessel to London to bring him and his wife to Tunis. This generous gesture made a great impression on al-Shidyāḳ, who praised the famed generosity of the Arabs in his book *al-Sāḳ ʿalā ʾl-sāḳ fī-mā huwa al-Fāryāḳ*, Paris 1855. Al-Shidyāḳ compared the role of the Arab poet in his society to that of European poets. He found that the main difference was that the Arab poets were eulogists who praised their patrons in exchange for their generous presents, and cited the old Arab maxim attributed to the Andalusian poet Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Djalīl b. Wahbān that "presents open the mouth of the poets [to praise their patrons] (*al-luhā taftaḥu al-lahā*).

Subsequently, Fāris al-Shidyāḳ converted to Islam, a step influenced also by revenge for the death of his brother who was tortured to death (1829) by the Maronite clergy because of his conversion to Protestantism. Later on, he established his newspaper *al-Djawāʾib* and devoted most of his poems in praise of the Ottoman sultan and his officials.

The founder of *al-Ahrām* newspaper (Alexandria 1875), Salīm Taklā (1849-92), used to publish on the front page congratulatory poems to the Khedives Ismāʿīl and Tawfīḳ on their birthdays and the anniversaries of their ascension to the throne, as did also Yaʿḳūb Ṣannūʿ [*q.v.*] in his newspaper *Abū Naddāra*, in which he published poems in praise of the Sultan and Prince Ḥalīm.

Aḥmad Shawḳī (1868-1932 [*q.v.*]) is considered the most famous poet laureate in the modern Arab world, and he was proud of his office as a court poet of the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II (1892-1914), who bestowed on him the title of Bey (1905). When the British deposed ʿAbbās II, Shawḳī composed a poem in praise of the Sultan Ḥusayn Kāmil (d. 1917) (*al-Shawḳiyyāt*, i, 214-18) and the descendants of the Khedive Ismāʿīl. For this poem, he was exiled by the British to Spain. He became a member of the Senate in the Egyptian Parliament. In 1927 he achieved the

dream of every Arab poet and was honoured by a festival (*mihradjān*) of delegations of poets from all the Arab countries, in which he was declared "prince of poets" (*amīr al-shuʿarāʾ*). Less famous poets in the Arab world such as ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Kāẓimī [*q.v.*] received pensions from the *awḳāf* through the intervention of Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], in compensation for his panegyrics.

In ʿIrāḳ, the poet Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī [*q.v.*], who edited *al-Amal* (1923), published his poems on the front page as his main articles. In consequence of his poems criticising the King and the government, his newspaper was stopped and he was summoned before the court. In order to earn his living, he composed panegyrical odes to the Prime Minister, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Saʿdūn, but after the latter's suicide he lost his patron, and in his old age had to sell cigarettes to earn his living and compose verses to publicise Ghāzī Cigarettes. He also received a monthly salary of forty *dīnār*s from his rich patron Muẓhir al-Shāwī, an ex-member of the ʿIrāḳī Parliament, and in gratitude al-Ruṣāfī would send him a panegyric poem as a receipt.

Muḥammad Mahdī al-Djawāhirī (?1900-) was likewise appointed for a short time (1927-30) as poet laureate at King Fayṣal's court. In his successive newspapers *al-Furāt* (1930), *al-Inḳilāb* (1937), *al-Raʾy al-ʿĀmm* (1937) and *al-Awḳāt al-Baghdādiyya* (1951), al-Djawāhirī used to publish his poems on current political events instead of the main articles. When he joined the leftist movement in ʿIrāḳ, he criticised the government in his poems. As a result, his newspapers were closed down and he was put in jail. His brother Djaʿfar joined the demonstrations against the Portsmouth Treaty between ʿIrāḳ and Great Britain, and ʿIrāḳī poets used to recite poems during the *Wathba* of 1948, i.e. the students' revolt in Baghdād. As was the custom of many other nationalist and leftist poets as early as the ʿIrāḳī revolts against the British in 1920, they used to stand on cars or be carried on peoples' shoulders to recite their poems. Al-Djawāhirī's poems, lamenting the death of his brother who was killed in these demonstrations, were recited with amplifiers from the mosques and attracted a great crowd of mourners. In 1992 al-Djawāhirī recited a panegyric poem in front of King Ḥusayn of Jordan, praising him and the Hāshimite Royal Family; the poem received great attention in the Arab world and was broadcast several times on Jordanian television (S. Djubrān, *Ṣill al-falā*, 32-63).

The Prince, later King, ʿAbd Allāh of Jordan used to admit to his court poets of all ranks, who would recite poems after lunch in his praise written in grammatical Arabic as well as in Bedouin and urban dialects (Khayyāṭ, *al-Takassub*, 95). Even Jewish poets from ʿIrāḳ in Israel continued this Arab tradition, and the poets Salīm Shaʿshūʿ, Abraham Obadya and others greeted their friends and celebrated Israel's Independence Day with poems. They also recited elegies at the graves of the poets Anwar Shāʾūl [*q.v.*] and Dr. Murād Mīkhāʾīl and on the anniversaries of their deaths.

Under the influence of Western thought and poetry, a new generation of Arab poets (from 1850 up to 1920, the year when al-Rābiṭa al-Ḳalamiyya was established, and later with the establishment of the *al-Dīwān* group headed by al-ʿAḳḳād, al-Māzinī and Shukrī [*q.vv.*], and of the *Apollo* magazine by Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī in 1932), began to break completely with the tradition of *al-shāʿir al-nadīm*, seeing poetry as a serious and creative art. They were convinced that poets have a great responsibility towards their nation, country and culture, and can bring a moral, cultural, national, and spiritual revival to their countries. The young secular generation, especially, the Mahdjarī poets of al-Rābiṭa (1920-31) strove to revive the old function of the poet-prophet by claiming that the poet is not a beggar or a convivial companion, but something greater. Indeed, he is a creative artist, a prophet, a philosopher, a painter, musician and priest, who might have to sacrifice his life for his ideals and principles (see Abū Māḍī, *al-Djadāwil*, n.d., 73; Nuʿayma, *al-Ghirbāl*, Cairo 1946, 73-4; Djibrān, Muḥyī al-Dīn Riḍā (ed.), in *Balāghat al-ʿArab*, 55). There are no eulogies or elegies in the anthologies of the new generation of poets. Many poets since the 1920s have specialised in such topics as nationalism (*ḳawmiyya*), patriotism (*waṭaniyya*), social affairs, erotic poetry (*ghazal*), feminine affairs, etc.

All the revolutions and grave events in the Arab world, such as the female liberation movement, the events of World War II, the rise and fall of Nazi Germany, the Palestinian Question and the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Algerian uprising against France, the Civil War in Lebanon, the *Intifāḍa* in the Occupied Territories in Ghazza and the West Bank, all have had their own poets and poetry. Poets such as Ibrāhīm Ṭūḳān of Nābulus and his sister Fadwā Ṭūḳān, who started her poetic activities with elegies on her friends and relatives, have defended the Arab Palestinian question (F. Ṭūḳān, *Riḥla*, 72, 87-113), whilst leftist poets such as Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī and Kāẓim Djawād have recited their poems at demonstrations in defence of their liberal political views.

Although nowadays, due to the spread of printed and electronic mass media, the role of the Arab poet has become limited to a more confined audience, famous poets such as Nizār Ḳabbānī, Maḥmūd Darwīsh, Samīḥ al-Ḳāsim, etc., are still able to attract great Arab audiences during their poetry evenings, when they recite their poems concerning political, national and social subjects in many Arab and European capitals.

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(S. Moreh)

D. In Muslim Spain.

The power of tradition in the Arabo-Muslim world

is such that the typology of the Andalusian *s̲h̲āʿir* seems to have barely undergone any major transformations, in spite of a quite eventful political and military history. It is interesting to note, furthermore, that this typology follows, except in a few details, its eastern model; whatever may be said regarding this point, the fact is that the Orient, cradle of the Arabic language and of Islam, remained, for this distant province, the supreme cultural and spiritual reference. It may be recalled that the conquest of Spain was undertaken by Arabs, in 92/711, during the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd I, who ruled from 86/705 to 98/715, and that al-Andalus was administered, until the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in 132/715, by a score of governors who successively headed this country, on behalf of the caliphs of Damascus [see AL-ANDALUS. vi]. According to the sparse information which is available, poet-soldiers participated more or less directly in this expedition. Others, arriving from Syria or elsewhere, subsequently joined them. All played, to varying degrees, a not insignificant political role. By means of their poetic talents, they contributed to the consolidation of the authority of local governors and to the reinforcement of the prestige of the central power in Damascus. After the arrival of the ʿAbbāsids in the east and the profound political upheavals which ensued, the official Andalusian poets remained faithful to the "Syrian tradition".

In fact, very soon after the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, a Marwānid prince, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, nicknamed al-Dāk̲h̲il (the Immigrant), secretly arrived in Spain and succeeded in reviving the Umayyad dynasty, having himself proclaimed *amīr* of al-Andalus in 138/756. In order to confirm his authority and restore the grandeur of his escutcheon, he enlisted to his cause a number of propagandists and poets who celebrated the glory of his family and his own in return for favours, money or rank. All his successors adopted the same line of conduct.

It is to be noted that the majority of these poets were of Arab origin, in most cases emigrants from Syria who remained closely attached to the traditions of this country. Furthermore, many of them ultimately became absorbed into the Arab aristocracy, the ruling caste of al-Andalus. But, following the start of the amīrate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52), Spain was "ʿIrāḳised" and gradually broke its links with the "Syrian tradition". The principal proponent of this "ʿIrāḳisation" was the eminent ʿIrāḳī poet Ziryāb (173-243/789-857 [*q.v.*]), who arrived in Cordova and introduced into the Iberian Peninsula the fashions of the ʿAbbāsid court (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Civilisation*, 69 ff.). Henceforward, Damascus was also replaced by Bag̲h̲dād as a model.

Another phenomenon, perhaps not unrelated to the afore-mentioned "ʿIrāḳisation", came into existence at about the same period, at any rate during the 3rd/9th century. After what was in fact a long period of mutual ignorance, the two very different ethnic elements populating Muslim Spain began to come closer together, in a process which gradually culminated in a kind of fusion particularly favourable to the birth of an original literature. These two phenomena had major repercussions regarding the typology of the Andalusian poet who, from the 3rd/9th century onward, freed himself to some extent from the hegemony of the "Syrian tradition" on the one hand, and showed greater awareness of what was fashionable in the ʿAbbāsid court of Bag̲h̲dād, or what was developing before his very eyes, in his own country, on the other.

Very little information is available regarding the Hispano-Muslim poets who lived in the first centuries of Arab domination. One of the first anthologies, the *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiḳ* of Ibn Farad̲j̲ al-D̲j̲ayyānī (d. *ca.* 366/976) has not survived. That of Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. *ca.* 440/1048) contains a selection of texts devoted to gardens and to the springtime, and gives information exclusively regarding floral poetry and the bucolic poets.

For the end of the 4th/10th century, and in particular the 5th/11th century, dearth of material is less of a problem, since there is access to a number of valuable documents and, in particular, two anthologies: *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān* and *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus* by Fatḥ Ibn K̲h̲āḳān (d. 529/1134 [*q.v.*]), and especially *al-D̲h̲ak̲h̲īra fī maḥāsin ahl al-D̲j̲azīra* by Ibn Bassām (d. 542/1147 [*q.v.*]) (on the value and the importance of these anthologies, see Afif Ben Abdesselem, *La vie littéraire dans l'Espagne musulmane sous les Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* (*V^e/XIe siècle*), unpubl. thesis, Sorbonne-Paris 1992). The very existence of these Andalusian anthologies proves that during this period, poets were quite numerous.

The latter were highly esteemed by Umayyad sovereigns and ʿĀmirid *ḥād̲j̲ibs*, who engaged their services in exchange for all kinds of favours. But after the collapse of the power of the Banū ʿĀmir (*ca.* 399/1009) and the outbreak of the civil war, the *fitna* which was to bring fire and bloodshed to the land, the poets were dispossessed, enduring these troubled times without the support of patrons. Some were obliged to leave the capital, Cordova, to seek out patrons elsewhere, and to live a peripatetic life similar to that of the troubadours (see Ibn Bassām, *D̲h̲ak̲h̲īra*, i/1, 67). "During this turbulent period," writes Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, "the poets of the ʿĀmirids and the [last of the] Umayyads, on whose mouths and whose meeting-places spiders had spun their webs, lived in acute destitution; their natural dispositions were ruined. They were like lonely and famished falcons, forced by extreme necessity to subsist on a diet of grasshoppers" (see Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 122; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, 80).

But the most favourable period for the Andalusian poets was undoubtedly that of the Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif [*q.v.*], who succeeded in building on the ruins of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova principalities, some of which were particularly dynamic and prosperous. In the interests of propaganda and for reasons of prestige, all these sovereigns made it a point of honour to attract to their courts the best artists, writers, and poets in particular. Thus poetry became a highly esteemed product. This extraordinary fascination with the rhyming game was shared—no doubt for the same reasons—by the most varied classes and levels of the population. At the summit of the social scale, were princes, *wazīrs*, senior dignitaries, etc. Marwān al-Ṭalīḳ, a descendant of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, may be said to have found his true royalty in poetry, after the model of the ʿAbbāsid Ibn al-Muʿtazz, to whom he is often compared (see Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, i, 221). It would be tedious and unnecessary to list here all the Andalusian poet-princes and to analyse their poetical works. Suffice it to say that, in aristocratic circles, the composition of verse was learnt at a very early age. It constituted an essential element of the education of the young aristocrat. Occasional courting of the muses was a popular pastime, practised most often for personal gratification, or in order to conform to a fashion, or to advertise a certain art of living. The poetic themes most often tackled were *fak̲h̲r* [see MUFĀK̲H̲ARA] and descriptions. The most mundane incidents of daily life were recounted in verse. The prince of Seville al-Muʿtamid

Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] whose life was "pure poetry in action" (see E. García Gómez, *Poesía*, 70), addressed himself in verse to his father al-Muʿtaḍid, asking for a bay horse or a shield, requesting his permission to go hunting, or begging his forgiveness in the wake of his unsuccessful attempt to seize Malaga (see *Ḳalāʾid*, 21-2; *Dhakhīra*, ii/1, 47-8; *Bayān*, iii, 275).

The circle of the élite (*khāṣṣa*) was not limited to the prince and to his family; it also included dignitaries of all kinds and members of the middle classes who, having received a similar education, shared the same passion for poetry and the same ideals of culture and refinement as were demonstrated by their masters. Also belonging to this social category were numerous poets who, as scions of prosperous families, were not obliged to market their talent in order to make a living. However, in the interests of maintaining good relations with the prince, such poets would from time to time address verse to him, with the aim of assuring him of their devotion and fidelity. A wealthy aristocrat of Seville, Abū ʿĀmir Ibn Maslama (d. after 441/1049) compiled, for the ʿAbbādid king al-Muʿtaḍid, *Ḥadīḳat al-irtiyāḥ fī waṣf ḥaḳīḳat al-rāḥ*, a collection of choice fragments in praise of wine. This collection includes extracts from Andalusian authors, as well as texts composed by Ibn Maslama himself (see *Maṭmaḥ*, 203-6; *Dhakhīra*, ii/1, 105-12; *Mughrib*, i, 96-7; *Nafḥ*, iii, 544-5).

It is altogether remarkable that, in the time of the Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif, the number of poets belonging to the lower orders (*ʿāmma*) was considerably greater than the number belonging to the upper classes. These multitudinous versifiers were in the majority from the original population of Spain (*muwalladūn*) and of modest extraction. Most were of peasant origin, which would explain their intense love of nature and their passionate attachment to the land. They practiced the most diverse professions, but teaching was the commonest occupation for them. It was also the least well remunerated. Thus their living circumstances were not enviable. At the same time, they knew that generous patrons were not in short supply and that the profession of poetry could shield them from need and provide them with self-respect—and money. Also, the number of professional poets was never so great, and the career never so popular, as in this period. The multiplicity of princely courts and their constantly-growing need for ceremonies, talents and abilities of all kinds, encouraged the proliferation of rhymers for hire. In this period, poetry was subject, in fact, to the law of the market, which was particularly ebullient, since, to quote an expert judge of Andalusian poetry, E. García Gómez, "an improvisation could be worth a vizierate". To varying degrees, all the Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif left behind them a reputation as protectors of literary men and of poets in particular. But in giving aid and protection to the latter, their actions were not altruistic or disinterested. On the contrary, their motivations were very precise. They reckoned that it was in their interest as well as their duty to perpetuate a tradition which appreciated the value of the role of poets in Arabo-Muslim society. Born with Arabic literature, patronage became in effect "a mode to which one must conform or risk falling from high estate" (see R. Blachère, *Aboû ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî*, Paris 1935, 6).

Furthermore, it is said that there was established, between the patron and the hired panegyrist, a relationship in which the former enjoyed a net advantage, imposing on the second the choice of language and of themes. Poetry thus became a domain reserved for the aristocracy, the inspirers and consumers of this culture, in which the role of the creator was considerably reduced (see *Yatīma*, ii, 285).

The objective sought by the above-mentioned prince-patron was probably the political exploitation of the poet, whose role resembled that played today by the press. Following the fall of the Umayyads of Cordova, certain panegyrists attempted to legitimise the claims to the caliphate of the first Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif by inventing an Arab genealogy for them, although it was common knowledge that they were ethnically Berbers.

Political circumstances required that the Andalusian poetry of the 5th/11th century should be principally a poetry of the court and that the vast majority of poets should be panegyrists. Despite their impressive number, living in thrall to princes and other powerful individuals brought them mixed fortunes. But without such patronage, they stood little chance of making themselves known and pursuing a successful career. If Ibn Bassām, the author of the *Dhakhīra*, is to be believed, a literary person must always put his talent to the service of a prince or else his works will be disparaged and he will never acquire renown. In this regard, he mentions the case of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn al-Labbāna (the brother of Abū Bakr al-Dānī Ibn al-Labbāna) who, in spite of his erudition and his talent, having refused to use his poetry as a means of gaining a livelihood, or a device for seeking the protection of a king, fell into total obscurity, his poetry not surviving him (see *Dhakhīra*, iii/2, 667; *Muʿdjib*, 93, tr. Fagnan, 126; Ben Abdesselem, *ibid.*, 356).

If an attempt is made to sketch the *curriculum vitae* of an average Andalusian poet, typically of humble origin, it may be noted that, after more or less thorough studies in his native village and then in a large town, he launches himself upon an errant life, offering compositions in praise of a wealthy bourgeois person, a senior official or a generous prince with the object of obtaining from him gifts in money or in kind. But success is not always assured, and the apprentice-poet must demonstrate modesty and patience if he is to surmount the obstacles liable to be placed in his path. At the outset of his career, Abū Bakr Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], making his way to Silves [see SHILB], addressed some verses to a dignitary of this town, who sent him the princely reward of a small bag of barley (see *Dhakhīra*, ii/1, 369-71; Ben Abdesselem, *ibid.*, 350).

The ideal situation for the poet was to be taken into the service of a prince and included in the list of pensioners (*dīwān*) (see al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 148; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ii, 71). But in order to be placed on this list, it was necessary first to pass successfully a kind of examination. The candidate presented himself at the court, where he was put into the charge of a functionary who had the responsibility of arranging accommodation for the sovereign's guests and for itinerant poets in the precincts of the palace. This accommodation officer, called *ṣāḥib al-inzāl*, did not always have the best of relations with his charges, who tended to be hard to please, even unconventional (see Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 72 ff.). Subsequently, the candidate was obliged to wait his turn to be heard by the prince, who usually set aside one day each week for the reception of poets. This day varied from one prince to another. Under the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville, it was normally a Monday (see *Nafḥ*, iv, 243-4). Historians have supplied detailed accounts of some of these receptions, including that of Ibn Djākh who so impressed al-Muʿtaḍid that, having heard him, he allowed no others to mount the rostrum that day. At this time, patrons were both men of power and men of letters. They applied meticulous commentaries

and criticisms to the compositions of their poets, who were obliged constantly to take account of their literary preferences. Even after his inclusion in the list of pensioners, the official poet was almost always under pressure, since the relationship linking him to his benefactor was in fact that of master and servant. He supplied the echo to the deeds and achievements of the prince, celebrating in particular his political, diplomatic and military exploits. He was at the mercy of the smallest caprice on the part of his patron. At any moment, he might receive the order to compose a piece regarding such-and-such a subject. The poet Abu 'l-Walīd al-Naḥlī was required to be constantly at the disposal of al-Muʿtamid, the king of Seville (see *Nafḥ*, iii, 234). On one occasion, the latter summoned Ibn Ḥamdīs, one of his official poets, in the middle of the night, requiring him to complete some verses which he had begun drafting himself (*Nafḥ*, iii, 616-17). The majority of patrons enjoyed putting their client-poets to the test in such ways.

But the most skilful and the luckiest acolytes found it was to their advantage to show themselves particularly demanding, going so far as to determine in advance the price to be paid for a panegyric. Abū ʿAlī Idrīs Ibn al-Yamanī composed his eulogistic poems to order and at a fee of 100 dīnārs per composition (see *Dhakhīra*, iii/1, 336-7). These professional poets acknowledged without the slightest scruple that it was "presents which loosened tongues" (Pérès, *ibid.*, 36 n. 2, 81). Furthermore, their demands were in their view amply justified, since princes found difficulty in doing without their services. In this regard, ʿAbd al-Djalīl Ibn Wahbūn, addressing al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād, said "O you who hold the glory! This would be as a beast astray were it not upheld by poetry" (see *Dhakhīra*, ii/1, 502). When his abilities permitted, the poet of the court was not content with playing the role of a hired flatterer; he could rise to high office and become an ambassador, governor, minister or even chief minister (*dhu 'l-wizāratayn*). Such was the case with Abu 'l-Walīd and Abū Bakr Ibn Zaydūn, Abū Bakr Ibn ʿAmmār, Abū Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdūn, among others (see Pérès, *ibid.*, 84 ff.). Furthermore the word *wazīr* (vizier), which had the meaning of *kātib* (secretary), became, in the 5th/11th century, a synonym of "poet". A good prose-writer was, most often, a poet as well. "Al-Muʿtamid," says al-Marrākushī, "appointed as viziers only men of letters, poets versed in all kinds of expertise, so that he had around him an assembly of minister-poets such as never had been seen before" (see *Muʿdjib*, 65, tr. Fagnan, 90).

But even if all his hopes were realised, the court poet could not be sure of keeping his acquired privileges indefinitely. Disgrace was just as likely an outcome as was promotion, and the occasions of risk were not lacking. Often, he was the victim of jealousy and treacherous attacks on the part of his colleagues, who baulked at no calumny in their efforts to dislodge him. An example of this would be the intense and prolonged rivalry between the two ʿAbbādid ministers Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*] and Abū Bakr Ibn ʿAmmār (see *Dhakhīra*, ii/1, 429).

The Andalusian poets were not only hired panegyrists or shameless mendicants. The majority of them had occasions at some time or other in their lives to act as the spokesmen of their community and as interpreters of public opinion. Certain disasters which entailed collective grief did not leave them indifferent. Events which had a traumatic effect on their compatriots, such as the capture of Barbastro by the Normans in 456/1064, or that of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 478/1085, inspired them to compose verse suffused with profound emotion. The poem of al-Sharīf al-Rundī (9th/15th century) lamenting the fall of the last Muslim metropolises of al-Andalus into the hands of the Christians, was especially influential (see Mustapha Hassen, *Recherches sur les poèmes inspirés par la perte ou la destruction des villes dans la littérature arabe du IIIᵉ/IXᵉ siècle à la prise de Grenade en 897/1492*, unpubl. thesis, Sorbonne-Paris 1977).

Relatively reticent and few in number until the end of the era of the Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if, the *washshāḥūn* and the *zadjdjālūn* subsequently acquired some eminence in those minor poetic genres, *muwashshaḥ* and *zadjal*, which they practised successfully until the end of the Arab presence in the Peninsula. It may be noted that the compositions of these popular poets were principally addressed to the general public, unlike the "standard" poetry, conforming to the taste of the élite.

Although considerably more numerous than in other countries of the Arabo-Muslim world, Andalusian poetesses were decidedly less numerous in Spain than their male counterparts. In all periods there had been, in the entourage of the prince, educated women who were capable of writing in verse and in prose; but there were never court poetesses playing the role of accredited panegyrists. Women capable of composing verse belonged to several major categories. Some lived in harems, where most existed in servile conditions, bought in exchange for gold, having been instructed by experienced professionals. Others were wives or daughters of princes, such as Iʿtimād, the favourite legitimate wife of the king of Seville, al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād, or Umm al-Kirām, the daughter of al-Muʿtaṣim Ibn Ṣumādiḥ of Almeria. Others displayed great independence and frequented literary societies and salons. Such was the case of Wallāda, the daughter of the caliph al-Mustakfī, who, after the death of her father, maintained a salon which attracted the most renowned of writers. In the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, al-Makkarī supplies biographical notes and quotations concerning twenty-five Andalusian poetesses, whose poetry is generally personal and small in quantity: al-Makkarī quotes only a hundred or so of their verses (see *Nafḥ*, iv, 205-11).

At first sight, it would be tempting to believe that the typology of the Andalusian poet is a carbon copy of that of his Syrian, Egyptian or ʿIrāḳī counterpart. There is an impression that there is a single type of standard poet, unaffected by place or time, so striking is the similarity between these different types of poets. However, on closer inspection it becomes clear that beyond a certain undeniable similarity, it is impossible not to recognise the existence of a local colour and a typically Andalusian flavour, creating an integral element of the world of the Hispano-Arabo-Muslim poet.

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(A. Ben Abdesselem)

E. The folk poet in Arab society.

Arabic folk poetry and song exhibit a far greater formal diversity than the written tradition of Arabic poetry. In contrast to the strict monorhyme structure of the classical ode, *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], the multi-rhyme strophic *muwashshaḥ*, and *zadjal* [*q.vv.*], or even modern free-verse, local genres of folk poetry and song exhibit a multitude of distinct forms. In addition, the composition, transmission, and performance of these forms

varies from genre to genre across different regions and even within particular communities; some genres are entirely pre-composed and are typically preserved, transmitted, and performed with little change, while others are improvised in performance with little or no attempt at preservation, and still others may be the combined work of several individuals, being initially composed by one person, set to music by another, and publicly performed by still another. As the terminology and social characteristics attributed to poets, the act of poetry-making, and the performance of poetry, contrast sharply from one area to the next, regional conceptualisations of the figure of the folk poet and his or her role in society are quite diverse.

The performances of folk poets are a widespread form of expressive art found in rural and urban areas throughout the modern Arab Middle East. The repertory of these performances is primarily oral, composed in traditional forms, often improvised, and produced in colloquial Arabic rather than literary Arabic or *fuṣḥā*. Much of Arabic folk poetry exists as song rather than as declaimed or recited verse. Among some social groups such as the Banī Ḥalba of Sudan, for example, poetry exists only as song, is identified directly with singing, and may be additionally associated with dance and/or other forms of coordinated movement such as Ṣūfī *dhikr* [*q.v.*]. In contrast, among tribesmen of the Khawlān al-Ṭiyāl region of North Yemen, it is considered undignified for a man to raise his voice in song, and men's poetry is instead recited or chanted, unless presented by professional male performers who sing publicly.

Folk poets and poetry have survived in an ambiguous and at times conflicted relationship vis-à-vis the poetic traditions of Arab "high" culture. Part of this ambiguity lies in their intimate association with music, which has held a disputed place in Islamic religious thought since the early centuries of Islam, and part in their connection to colloquial Arabic as a medium of expression, which historically has been denigrated in contrast to literary Arabic. The first known public defence of colloquial poetry as an art form possessing aesthetic merit is that penned by Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*] in the 8th/14th century in the final sections of his *Muḳaddima*. Many of these literary and religious tensions have indirectly affected perceptions of the status and function of the folk poet; despite the negative views espoused by both literary figures and religious scholars over the centuries, Arabic folk poetry has survived as a vibrant and rich force in Arab culture.

In many communities a significant portion of the adult population is expected to display competence as composers and/or participants in various common genres of folk poetry. Such is the case with the *bāla* for men in North Yemen tribal areas, the women's *ghināwa* among the Awlād ʿAlī Bedouin of Northern Egypt, the *sāmir* or *sāmrī* of the Arabian Gulf, and the *ḥawfī* and *zindāna* song forms among women in western Algeria, among other examples. General participation in singing genres such as wedding and work songs, which include the composition of spontaneously improvised verses, is widespread in rural areas of Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Yemen and elsewhere. In many cases, these poetic/song genres are specific to one gender or one social group. These communal forms of poetic composition and performance, however, do not usually confer the title or status of "poet" upon participants, but rather are regarded as basic social activities within the community.

The concept of *shāʿir* as a distinct social category in different traditional communities is delineated by various combinations of social, economic, ethnic, and literary considerations. The term *shāʿir* may refer to an ordinary individual with a particular talent, a specialised but non-professional social function within the community, a professional artisan of either high or low status, an ethnically marginal and even predatory figure, or the paid performer of a single particular genre. Depending upon the genre and the region, *shāʿir* may indicate primarily a transmitter of previously composed poetry, a figure who pre-composes set pieces which are then performed by himself or others, or an extemporising performer whose spontaneous creations are rarely preserved except anecdotally. In addition, in almost all rural areas and in lower-class urban settings of the modern Arab Middle East, the literary concept of "poet" exists alongside the concept of the local, traditional folk poet. To label an illiterate older man a *shāʿir* in village conversation may indicate a proficiency in composing and singing a colloquial, improvised form of folk poetry; to apply the term *shāʿir* to a young college-educated man from the same community may indicate an entirely different ability to compose written poetry in literary Arabic which is recited but not sung.

The distinction drawn between poet (*shāʿir*), reciter (*rāwī*), and singer (*mughannī* or *muṭrib*) in literary histories is often blurred within the domain of folk poetry and song; in many communities, however, this division of labour is maintained in a highly articulated system. Such is the case in North Yemeni tribal poetry of the Khawlān al-Ṭiyāl region. A spectrum of poetic forms exists there ranging from widely-practised genres such as the improvised *bāla* performed at weddings and other celebrations by most adult males, to the *ḳaṣīda* which is pre-composed by an individual poet (*ḳaṣṣād* or *shāʿir*) and then usually passed on to a *dōshān* (town crier) or a *mulaḥḥin* (composer/singer) or *ṣayḥa* (declaimer of tribal poetry) who performs it publicly.

In Lebanese colloquial poetry, a poet of *zadjal* [*q.v.*] verse may be referred to as a *zadjdjāl* (a composer of *zadjal* vernacular poetry), a term which implies a lack of ability to spontaneously or extemporaneously compose when contrasted with a *ḳawwāl* (a performer or "speaker" of *zadjal*) or *shāʿir*. The latter term in modern times has also come to connote a literate composer of written *zadjal*. Amongst the Sinai and Negev Bedouin, a composer adept at spontaneous improvisation is termed a *baddāʿ* rather than a *shāʿir*. Such contrasting sets of terms gloss gradations of ability, social origin, performance roles and even gender in various regions of the Arab Middle East.

In those regions where the function of performer is distinct from that of composer, the public performers of poetry are often accorded far less respect than the original poet and are in many cases from marginal social groups. Alois Musil's brief but now classic description of poets among the Rwala Bedouin in Northern Arabia from the early 20th century presents such a bifurcation in the status of the tribal poet. Musil documents the Rwala's intense love of poetry and poetry-making alongside their belief that a poet cannot be trusted, as expressed in the proverb: *ḳaṣṣād kadhdhāb* "a poet is a liar" (Musil, 283). In addition, he notes the general lack of esteem with which Rwala men regarded itinerant or beggar poets, who are deemed predatory social figures often suspected of lying and stealing. In North Yemen, the performing figures of *dōshān, mulaḥḥin,* or *ṣayḥa* mentioned above, are all granted considerably less status than the composer of a *ḳaṣīda*. This respect for the art of poetry-making coupled with widespread distrust

of those persons who are either paid or seek remuneration for their public performance of that art is found in many communities of the Arab Middle East.

However, the opposite situation is also found, even among neighbouring Bedouin tribes; among these groups it is considered honourable to recite poetry, but not to compose it. Among the Balḳāʾ tribes of Jordan, for example, the term *s̲h̲āʿir* was traditionally applied to men who sang to the accompaniment of the *rabāba* (Arabian one-string spike-fiddle) for pay and who composed praise poetry for men of noble lineage or for political patrons of their clan. All men can recite poetry without having their reputation tainted, but to compose poetry implies socially subservient, even slave, status and a lack of political power. The preferred situation is to have others compose poetry about you and your family, poetry which may then be recited by one and all. To compose poetry means that a man is either not powerful enough or noble enough to be the recipient rather than the producer of poems.

A social function filled by folk poets in many areas is that of oral historian. A large portion of the poetry of a community may be devoted to the preservation of historical knowledge concerning lineages, conflicts, heroic deeds, and other defining elements of the group's present identity. The folk poet may be considered a poet not primarily for his/her ability to compose new poetry, but rather for the ability to memorise and transmit a body of poetry from the past. As communal identies are in constant flux, a folk poet may serve the key function of maintaining and performing one specific view of history, one local identity, in a market place of competing poetic traditions which document other constructs of the same historical events. Where such historical poetry is widespread, it is almost always linked to prose narratives recounting the events touched upon in the poem; indeed, it is common for the main historical information to be embedded in the accompanying narrative while the poem itself may provide only a rather clichéd description of battle or some other common motif. The two parts function as a single discursive unit each lending the other validity. The poem is thus rendered comprehensible and meaningful when performed along with its narrative; the story is given authority and historical substance by the presence of the poem. This view is documented by a statement from the Balḳāʾ Bedouin of Jordan: "A story without a poem is a lie" (*al-guṣṣa illī mā ʿindhā gaṣīda kid̲h̲ib*). The interactive role of poetry and narrative in the functioning of the poet as historian is also documented in the Arabian peninsula and the Sinai and Negev deserts.

In many regions, the division between professional and non-professional poets lies not only in the financial realm but also in the musical aspect of the performance. Those genres of poetry which are performed in full singing voice and/or to the accompaniment of instrumental music are nearly always the domain of professional performers. The term *s̲h̲āʿir* is often applied within a community to either the musical or non-musical performer, but rarely to both.

In areas where genres of poetry, song and/or dance are an integral part of social occasions and celebrations, folk poets at times exist as respected specialised artisans whose status as recognised craftsmen is untainted by the fact that they are professionals who perform for pay. Such is the case with performers of various genres of Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian folk poetry common to weddings and other festivities. Performers of the Palestinian *ḳṣīdih, ḥidā* and *ḳarrādī*, for example, are virtuoso performers of improvised verse who perform as solo singers or in poetic duels pitting one poet's skill against other poets or audience members. Poetic duelling involving two or more poets improvising spontaneous verse is found in many other regions, including Arabia, Lebanon, Palestine and Turkey. Poetry of these genres is thus a discourse which emerges through the figure of poet in competition and contest. These exchanges may take the form of insult matches or be based upon other themes including sharp political and social commentary on local affairs. Non-professional participants at times enter into the competition, but if a regional class of recognised, professional poet-singers exist, they usually dominate the performances.

The term *s̲h̲āʿir* may refer to an ordinary person who happens to compose poetry or it may gloss a whole complex of social marginality and outsider status. In the example of North Yemen, the composing poet is understood to be an ordinary individual with a particular talent or poetic inspiration (*hād̲j̲is*). He plays a role not only in maintaining tribal honour and identity through the composition of praise poetry but may also play a political role in local dispute resolution, which is conducted in poetry, and occasionally even at the level of national politics. Similarly, in the Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian traditions, a poet is a gifted individual. In some communities, however, professional poets may be viewed as possessing different social or even ethnic origins. Such is the case of the professional singers of the oral folk epic *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* in Egypt, the Ṣlubba of the Arabian peninsula, and to a lesser degree, the slave-poets of Jordanian Bedouin tribes.

Egyptian performers of the *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* are hereditary professional performers most often from marginal social groups grouped together under the rubric of Gypsies (*g̲h̲ad̲j̲ar*). The epic singers are perceived as both the source of an appreciated art form, the epic itself, and a source of public praise or blame due to their ability to insert social commentary aimed at individuals, groups, or local political situations into their performances. This power is frequently a source of anxiety and tension in small communities and the poet is therefore often accorded great displays of respect in performances, while often denigrated and shunned outside that context. In the Nile Delta region of northern Egypt, almost all epic singers are ethnically from the Ḥalaba or Wilād Ḥalab groups commonly recognised as Gypsies. Since the terms Ḥalaba and *g̲h̲ad̲j̲ar* are considered derogatory, the epic singers and their families are referred to as *s̲h̲uʿarāʾ* (pl. of *s̲h̲āʿir*) whether or not the individual in question is a performing poet and whatever their current occupation; the term carries an almost ethnic significance. Performers of other genres of folk poetry are referred by other terms such as *muns̲h̲id, maddāḥ* [*q.v.*], *mug̲h̲annī* or simply *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* [*q.v.*] to avoid the locally-stigmatised status of the term *s̲h̲āʿir*, which has come to mean Gypsy poets who perform on the *rabāb* [*q.v.*] (the Egyptian two-string spike-fiddle). The Egyptian *muns̲h̲id* and *maddāḥ*, by contrast, are also folk poets, associated primarily with a religious repertory; neither, however, are commonly referred to as a *s̲h̲āʿir*.

Although most forms of folk poetry are oral in both composition and transmission, in some forms of folk poetry the boundaries between the written and the oral are not distinct. This is the case of the Egyptian *muns̲h̲idīn*, who utilise both fragments of classical poetry and improvised sections in colloquial Arabic, as well as performers of the folk *mawwāl* [*q.v.*] and the religious song-tales, *ḳiṣaṣ dīniyya* or *ḳiṣaṣ al-mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲* ("religious stories" or "stories of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s"), who

often rely upon literate ghost-writers and written forms of transmission for the content of their partially-improvised performances. Whether or not these are to be treated separately as "popular" rather than purely "folk" poetry, this interactive process is not a purely modern innovation but rather has been going on for centuries.

Performers of religious folk poetry transmit a body of traditional lore which greatly shapes the views of many believers in rural and lower-class urban areas about their religion, whether they be Christians or Muslims. Though the repertory itself may at times be referred to as poetry or song, the purveyors of these traditions are rarely if ever referred to as "poets".

The use of the female form *sh̲āʿira* appears to be quite limited. In most folk cultures of the Arab Middle East neither the male nor the female form of the term "poet" are applied to the composition or performance of genres of communal singing or poetry-making but rather only to individual public performance or composition, and within that realm the term is most often used for the composition of pre-composed rather than improvised genres. (The *sh̲āʿir* as performer of Lebanese, Palestinian, and Syrian improvised *zad̲j̲al* and *ʿatāba*, however, is a notable exception to this rule). Since the majority of women's poetic genres are not public performance genres, the term finds little usage. There is still, however, regrettably little documentation of the terminology used among women for performers of women's poetry.

In the classical Arabic literary tradition, *sh̲āʿir* has most commonly been contrasted to the term *rāwī*, indicating respectively a poet who actively composed new poetry versus a reciter who primarily performed the work of other poets, alive or dead. Both, however, were expected to be capable of performing a large repertoire of memorised poems; the additional ability to compose was the feature which distinguished the *sh̲āʿir*. This distinction is still maintained in some communities of the modern Arab world. It is, however, far more common in traditional communities to find *sh̲āʿir* applied to a specific type of performer distinguished by the financial remuneration given to a performer with professional status, the musical dimension of the performance in the form of either the use of instrumental accompaniment or simply by the use of full singing voice (in contrast to recitation or chanting), or to a specific class of performer marked by a different social origin or status. Despite the overall respect accorded literate poets and both literary and oral poetic traditions, *sh̲āʿir* in Arab folk society just as often indicates a suspect or ambiguous social figure as it does a respected artist.

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(D.F. Reynolds)

2. In Persia.

In pre-Islamic Persia, secular poetry was almost exclusively an oral art. This ancient tradition was carried on by minstrels who were called *gōsān* during the Parthian period and later, in Middle Persian, *huniyāgar* (New Persian *k̲h̲unyāgar*). They were performing artists in the first place: storytellers, singers and musicians as well as improvising poets. Their répertoire already included several of the lyrical and epic genres known from Islamic times. However, the virtual absence of a written transmission of poetry, which became the cause of the almost complete loss of pre-Islamic poetry, determined the type of secular poet known in Persia prior to the coming of the Arabs. As M. Boyce has remarked, the Persian language lacks a proper indigenous term for "poet" as the term was understood in the classical tradition: "Presumably Arabic *šāʿir* was adopted for 'poet' when the conception of separate, literary composition came to develop after the conquest" (*The Persian gōsān*, 21).

When in the course of the 3rd/9th century an Islamic literature in Persian emerged in the eastern parts of the caliphate, the model for this new type of poet was already available. The earliest Persian poets were quite familiar with Arabic poetry, by then a well-established literary tradition based on philological principles. Already Ḥanẓala Bād̲h̲g̲h̲īsī, who probably still belonged to the Ṭāhirid period (205-59/821-73), left a *dīwān* of his poetry (mentioned by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, 42), and it cannot be doubted that similar collections were made of the works of other Persian poets living before the 5th/11th century, though none of these have survived.

The minstrels did not disappear altogether from the literary scene. As a performing artist, increasingly referred to by *rāmis̲h̲gar* or the Arabic *muṭrib* rather than by any of the pre-Islamic terms, they retained a position of their own within the framework of convivial entertainment. Scenes from G̲h̲aznawid court life in the early 5th/11th century, as depicted by Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*], show their presence at various occasions including hunting parties and other outings as well as the usual "pleasure-making and drinking" (*nas̲h̲āṭ wa s̲h̲arāb*). However, a specialisation developed within the literary profession between poets on the one hand and minstrels on the other. In the context of the small courts where Persian poetry was first cultivated, this may not have led immediately to a personal division of roles. Our sources show that Rūdakī [*q.v.*], the most prominent poet of the Sāmānid period (4th/10th century), still acted as a minstrel; also Farruk̲h̲ī Sīstānī, who lived in the early 5th/11th century, was an accomplished musician as well as a court poet. A sharp distinction between the two functions was made by Kay Kāwūs [*q.v.*] in his *Ḳābūs-nāma*, written in 475/1082-3, where they are discussed separately. In his advice to would-be poets (ch. xxxv, 189-92; *dar āyīn-u rasm-i s̲h̲āʿirī*) the emphasis is on the technical skills and the knowledge writers of poetry should command. The few remarks added on the proper behaviour in their dealings with a patron of their art picture the poets as participants in social life

on an equal footing with other courtiers. Together with physicians, astrologers and other scholars, one finds poets mentioned among the *nadīms* [*q.v.*], the personal circle of people with whom a royal patron would spend his leisure time. The Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslān even preferred the company of poets (Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, 69). To Kay Kāwūs the profession of the poets was a branch of learning, not a craft like that of the minstrels (*op. cit.*, 157). He strictly limits minstrelsy to the serving role of a performing art and consequently does not allow the performers to mix freely with their audience. The minstrel should also act as the interpreter of the poems written by others and avoid his own compositions in his répertoire (ch. xxxvi, 193-7: *dar āyīn-u rasm-i khunyāgarī*).

Another classic statement of the professional qualities of poets is the second discourse in Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī's *Čahār maḳāla* (42-86: *dar māhiyyat-i ʿilm-i shiʿr wa ṣalāḥiyyat-i shāʿir*). In a terse description of the profession, he stresses the social function of poetry as a means to establish a lasting reputation, not only for the poet himself but also for the patron to whom his panegyrics are addressed. The preparation for the profession consists of getting a good education, not merely in prosody and rhetorics, but also generally, "as every branch of knowledge is useful in poetry". The young poet should also strive to become well acquainted with the literary tradition by learning a large quantity of lines from the works of ancient and modern poets by heart. He should further subject himself to the supervision by an accomplished master (*ustād*) of the art. The ability to improvise poems (*badīha guftan*) was regarded as the poet's greatest asset in social life. Equally interesting are the examples which Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī gives of incidents and situations characteristic of the profession in a series of anecdotes about the lives of famous poets. They exemplify the effects of poetry on the mind and the acts of a patron, the ways to get entrance to a court and the strategies for gaining a handsome reward, but also the mishaps in the careers of poets.

In these early reflections on the ways and conditions of the poet (often referred to by the abstract noun *shāʿirī*), it is always understood that he was primarily a professional encomiast. To the anthologist ʿAwfī [*q.v.*], the literary scene was occupied by only two protagonists: on one side there were the panegyrists (*mādiḥān*) and on the other the patrons, the "praised ones" (*mamdūḥān*), who "with perishable goods bought themselves lasting remembrance" (*Lubāb*, i, 7). At least until the 6th/12th century, the courts of local Persian and Turkish rulers provided the normal environment for poets, who could make a living by providing these courts with poetry, both for ceremonial purposes and entertainment. The relationship between poet and patron was therefore one of mutual advantage. The idea that poetry was an important means to enhance reputations gave it a great political value, not only to rulers but to everyone who held a position of influence near the seat of power. The mechanism by which this kind of publicity could work was specifically the mentioning of a patron's name in a panegyric discourse which was most often written in the form of a *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*]. The effectiveness of this depended on the survival of such poems and their distribution after they had fulfilled their original function. The artistic reputation of the poet was, therefore, also a matter of great advantage to his patron. Through the copying, collecting and transmission of poems in *dīwāns* and anthologies, the products of the poet's art could overcome the barriers of time and space.

To become a court poet one should not only have had the prescribed education and training; it was equally necessary to find the proper way to get introduced. The mediaeval courts, which attracted many aspiring talents, seem to have used the institution of the poet laureate (*malik al-shuʿarāʾ* [*q.v.*]) for the selection of candidates, but this was only one of the possible approaches to the favour of a royal patron (see, e.g. the anecdote about Muʿizzī's entrance to the court of Sandjar as related by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, 65-9). The obligations of the court poet included first of all the presentation of ceremonial poems at a number of fixed occasions like the Persian seasonal festivals Nawrūz and Mihragān [*q.vv.*] and the Islamic *ʿīd al-fiṭr* ending the month of fasting, as well as every other event where formal odes were in order: at birth or death, in war or at hunting parties, at the foundation of buildings and of pleasure gardens. In addition to these occasional poems, he also wrote compositions which were meant to entertain the court. They consisted of short lyrics, from which eventually the classical Persian *ghazal* developed, and narratives in *mathnawīs* [*q.v.*]. The heroic and romantic stories presented in the latter form exemplified codes of behaviour both to rulers and courtiers. Besides, the poet was expected to provide food for thought through wisdom formulated in poetry. In a gibe at a fellow poet the Sāmānid poet Shahīd-i Balkhī [*q.v.*] reproached him for not having the necessary wisdom, pleasure and elegant wit (*čam*) (G. Lazard, *Premiers poètes*, ii, 31). A poet should therefore be able to handle the entire range of forms and genres which the literary tradition put at his disposal. The rewards he could expect were of an incidental nature and depended very much on the whims of the patrons. Lavish remunerations, mentioned in anecdotes, were usually spontaneous reactions to improvisations and show the great appreciation of verbal virtuosity and sharp wit. The gifts requested by poets in their poems consisted not only of money but also of kind, among which pieces of clothing are conspicuous. A *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* [*q.v.*] could hope to receive the more regular income usually attached to an official post (cf. Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, 66). It was not uncommon that poets fulfilled other duties at a court. By doing this they ran the normal risks of an official career, as the example of the disgrace of Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*], caused by his association with a rebellious Ghaznavid prince, showed in a manner which has remained exemplary. Professional rivalry was a common thing in court life. Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī (73-5) gives the example of the struggle between the poets ʿAmʿaḳ [*q.v.*] and Rashīdī for the first position at the court of the Ḳara Khānids or Ilek Khāns [*q.v.*]. Fraternal animosity within the profession gave rise to a huge corpus of satire in Persian literature. The weapon of poetical invective was also effective against patrons who did not fulfill the expectations of poets.

It is too narrow a view to restrict the Persian poet, even of the earliest period, to his role as a court poet. Poetry, which was highly appreciated because of its association with eloquence [see further, SHIʿR], belonged to the erudition of every educated person. Many anthologies have special sections with poems composed by kings, viziers, scholars, *shaykhs* and other dilettante poets (see, e.g. ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, 22 ff.). As is often emphasised in handbooks of poetics, prose writers were also expected to have a critical knowledge of poetical techniques and to be able to use poems in Arabic and Persian in their writings. The value attached to wisdom in poetry, a legacy from pre-Islamic Persia, gave the poet the additional dignity

of a sage whose maxims and epigrams provided spiritual food to patrons and other readers alike. Already Rūdakī, who in the 4th/10th century was the first successful court poet in the history of Persian literature, was also a poet of wisdom, representing the type of poet which the tradition used to honour with the epithet *ḥakīm*. Among his contemporaries were the philosopher-poet Shahīd-i Balkhī and Abū Shakūr, who wrote the earliest didactic poem in Persian known to us. During the 6th/12th century, when a display of learning and knowledge of Arabic vocabulary became fashionable in Persian poetry, the type of the *poeta doctus* appeared more clearly. Anwarī and Khāḳānī [*q.vv.*] were particularly representative of this trend, as was Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] of Gandja who applied it to narrative poetry. Whereas the first two had to resign themselves to the traditional role of a court poet, whether voluntary or not, Niẓāmi seems to have been able to keep a certain distance from the patrons to whom he dedicated his *mathnawī* poems.

The use of Persian poetry for religious purposes is for the first time attested in the Ismā'īlī propaganda, to which the philosopher Abu 'l-Haytham Gurgānī, a contemporary of Rūdakī's, was attached. Kisā'ī [*q.v.*], whose religious denomination remains uncertain, seems to have combined the ways of a court poet with an ascetic orientation of his poetry. In the 5th/11th century the prime example of a poet distancing himself from the conventional framework of the art was Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], another follower of the Ismā'īliyya. In strong terms he scolded the court poets for their venality and insincerity (cf. S.Ḥ. Tāḳīzāde, *Dīwān*, introd., pp. *lw-lz*). These incriminations of the established ways of *shā'irī* are the earliest instances of a *topos* which was further elaborated by many later poets, to begin with, in the early 6th/12th century by Sanā'ī [*q.v.*]. The remarkable turn Sanā'ī made from a probably not very successful career as a court poet to the service of patrons belonging to the religious classes, both preachers and mystics, is the first well-documented case of such a change in practice. Subsequently, dependence on secular patronage was not a matter of course any more in a poet's life, although for centuries to come the courts continued to provide poets with the best opportunities for a professional career. Among the great mystical poets following in Sanā'ī's footsteps there were many who dispensed with secular patronage altogether, like Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār [*q.v.*], whose poems are free from any panegyrical references. In the case of Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*] Rūmī, the community of his pupils took the place of the courtly environment, the expression of a mystical bond with one or the other of his favourite adepts replacing the *mamdūḥ*'s praise in the poems of the secular encomiast. Notwithstanding the considerable impact Ṣūfism had on the further course of Persian poetry, this did not always entail a quite uncompromising attitude with regard to the ways of the world. The local court of Shīrāz in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries gave a clear example of a symbiosis of spirituality and courtly panegyrics both in the works of Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ [*q.vv.*].

In later centuries, the various shapes which the profession of poetry had taken during the Middle Ages continued to exist side-by-side, most often interacting with each other. There were poets both at the courts and outside. In either case, it was possible that they gave expression to mystical and moral ideas, and increasingly devotion to the Shī'ī Imāms, but they could also be mere entertainers and encomiasts. This situation did not change essentially under the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*], even if the best prospects for professional poets came to lie outside Persia, particularly at the Indian courts. In the early 19th century, the Ḳādjār Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh brought to life again the practices of ancient court poetry, as they had existed in the days of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, in his *andjuman-i khāḳānī*, translating thus into forms of social life the neo-classicist style which prevailed in contemporary poetry.

A fundamentally new concept of the poet did not emerge before the outbreak of the Constitutional Revolution in Persia during the first decade of the 20th century. Under the impact of this upheaval, poets who had been raised as traditional panegyrists, like Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār [*q.v.*] and Adīb al-Mamālik Amīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], almost overnight abandoned the ancient ways of a court poet and took a stand in the political struggle of the day. The new role of the poet in Persian society, as an advocate of the people's rights and a critic of social injustice, entailed a change in the economics of the profession. With the ending of the old autocracy, the mediaeval tradition of patronage, to which the Ḳādjārs had clung till the end of the 19th century, also disappeared and for good. Poets had to rely on other sources of income, among which journalism and the editing of publications were the most important. Magazines and even newspapers provided the means for the propagating of their works. In more recent times, the cassette provided another medium which has made it possible to reach a wide and anonymous public.

Even after the rise of the Pahlawī dynasty, when the free expression of political views was curtailed, there was no return to the old ways. Poets found employment in government offices, at the newly-founded universities or in the modern news media. In their art, they took their models from contemporary Western literature rather than from the classical Persian tradition. As lyricists they used poetry as a means for expression of personal emotions and ideas, whether in only slightly modernised classical forms, or in the new poetry which was introduced by Nīmā Yūshīdj [*q.v.*]. In numerous manifestos and essays, reflections on the role of the poet, both as an artist and as member of society, can be found. They show that a commitment to social and political causes has remained a generally accepted part of the modern Persian poet's self-image. Although the democratisation of literature is an avowed aim of all modern poets and prose writers, the modernisation of style and idiom which has dominated Persian poetry since the Second World War, has created a serious problem of communication with readers, to whom sophisticated modernisms are difficult to understand. Together with the negative effects of censorship or the alienation caused by living in exile, this tends to isolate the modern Persian poet from his public. Attempts to organise literary artists professionally, such as the First Congress of Iranian Writers held in 1946 or the short-lived Writer's Union of the 1970s, have not led to permanent institutions.

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3. In Turkey.

Since poetry constituted the principal literary genre in the Turkish experience from its earliest times until the latter part of the 19th century, and still holds a significant place in Turkish culture, the role of the poet in pre-Islamic Central Asia, during the period of nomadic life and migrations into Asia Minor, throughout the Saldjūḳ era and the Ottoman centuries, was a dynamic, interactive, and influential one.

The term *s̲h̲āʿir* (spelt *şair* in modern Turkish) probably came into use no later than the middle of the 11th century. Earlier, Central Asian Turks employed several different terms for "poet", e.g. *ozen, olun, baks̲h̲î* (*bahşı*), and others. Poets who functioned as shamans and performed thaumaturgy were known as *s̲h̲aman* or *ḳam* (the latter among the Uyg̲h̲ur Turks). In Central Asia, a larger and more precise vocabulary emerged in time, corresponding to minstrel, bard, folk poet, singer of epics, etc.

Among the Turks of Asia Minor, *s̲h̲āʿir* became established, and continues to be employed, as the generic term meaning "poet", especially in reference to the educated poets in the urban areas. For folk poets, the Central Asian Turkic word *ozan* still applies; however, the minstrels of the countryside who compose (or often extemporise) their poems as lyrics of songs as they accompany themselves on a simple string instrument are called *saz şairi* or *âşık* [see ʿĀs̲h̲iḲ; Sāz]. The Ottomans, however, called their city poets *s̲h̲āʿir*. The term is still in extensive use, although supporters of the *Öztürkçe* ("pure Turkish") movement, dedicated to the cause of ridding the language of words borrowed from Arabic and Persian, employ *ozan* in lieu of *şair*.

In pre-Islamic settled and nomadic Turkish society, poetry played a focal role in communication and entertainment, and strengthened solidarity and cultural cohesion. Unable to create works of architecture and other genres produced by secure sedentary nations, most Turkic communities concentrated on poetry, music and dance. Given the dominance of the spoken word among them, shamanistic poets enjoyed a special influence. Poetry was an integral part of religious experience and secular ritual; pre-hunt ceremonies (*sigîr*) and post-hunt feasts (*s̲h̲ölen*) as well as weddings and funeral services (*yug*) featured poetry.

The Book of Dede Korkut [*q.v.*], generally recognised as the Turkish national epic, with more than a third of it in poetic form in the transcriptions made several centuries after its gradual evolution in the oral tradition, has as its narrator (as well as a principal character) the sagacious religious leader as well as a poet. He stands at the wellspring of the traditional perception in the Turkish countryside of the poet as a revered figure who combines in himself such functions as moral guidance, conveying of communal values, entertainment and education, and heightened verbal communication. Many bards were close to the leadership of the community, and some leaders were poets themselves.

The first major written poetic work in Turkish (*ca.* 1070), a mirror for princes, is the *Ḳutadg̲h̲u bilig* [*q.v.*] (Eng. tr. R. Dankoff, *Wisdom of royal glory*) by Yūsuf K̲h̲āṣṣ Ḥādjib, a Ḳarak̲h̲ānid chancellor-poet. Emphasising the importance of speech ("Human beings attain happiness through language. But it can also demean man and cause heads to roll. It is on words that man can rise, and acquire power and prestige"), Yūsuf advises the prince to pay attention to "poets, wordsmiths, eulogists, and satirists", because "their tongues are sharper than swords ... When they praise a man, his good name spreads, but when they poke fun at him, his reputation is damaged for good."

In Anatolian Saldjūḳ society (late 11th century-late 13th century), many of the urban and rural poets were engaged in propagating the values and culture of Islam, to which the Turks were newcomers. In the 13th century, the mystical faith of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207-73 [*q.v.*]), who composed the vast majority of his poems in Persian rather than the Turkish more extensively spoken in Anatolia, achieved considerable spiritual authority. His ideas and ideals were to have an enduring impact on a broad spectrum of intellectuals and creative artists in later centuries; and his humanitarian and universalist themes have provided inspiration to an impressive number of poets in the 20th century. Rūmī maintained an ambivalent stance toward poetry. Although he employed it as his principal vehicle of expression and occasionally lauded it, there are passages in his work, especially in *Fīhi mā fīhi* written in prose, which denigrate it ("God knows I detest poetry. Nothing is worse as far as I am concerned").

This ambivalence parallels the paradoxes revealed in the Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīt̲h̲* in regard to poets. Sūras XXVI and XXXVI present poets in a negative light [see S̲h̲iʿr. 1. A], but the Prophet, who also offered his animadversions, said in a *ḥadīt̲h̲* considered *ṣaḥīḥ*, "God has Treasures beneath his Throne, the Keys of which are the Tongues of the Poets." The same ambivalence has been true of the attitudes of the *ʿulamāʾ*, many of whom approved of verse as an effective medium for the dissemination of the faith, but remained wary of its non-religious themes and seductive powers.

The gulf between doxological verse and mystical poetry, which had started in the Turkish tradition with the *Dīwān* of Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] in the 12th century, was to continue through the Saldjūḳ and Ottoman periods.

Combining these two categories, as well as serving as a wellspring of both Anatolian folk poetry and the burgeoning Ottoman élite poetry, the work of Yūnus Emre (*ca.* 1241-*ca.* 1321 [*q.v.*]), echoing some of Rūmī's themes of mystical humanism, established new prospects for poets to serve as critics of society, religion and government. Many of his verses, kept alive in the oral tradition of the countryside, came to constitute the basis for Turkey's secular humanist literature in the second half of the 20th century, with Yūnus Emre hailed as the paragon of the poet dedicated to progressive ideals of social justice and the ecumenical spirit.

As a whole, poetry served through the course of Ottoman history both as a cohesive force for continuity and a vehicle of criticism to stimulate change. Although most of the classical poets, as well as the rural minstrels, produced lyrical verses dealing with such universal themes as love, natural beauty, etc., some of them openly or cryptically challenged the authorities or the political system itself. Through panegyrics or by adhering to themes acceptable within the established canon, numerous classical poets were able to lead a calm and comfortable life. Loyalty to the existing order usually brought rewards—and most panegyrists reaped excellent benefits.

Dīwān poetry, composed by poets close to the court

and by independent authors who stayed within this tradition of the educated élite's classical verse, often enabled its practitioners to enjoy prestige and influence. As E.J.W. Gibb pointed out in his *A history of Ottoman poetry*, two-thirds of the sultans wrote poetry. As patrons, they were favourably disposed to rewarding the poetic works presented to them. Süleyman the Magnificent (d. 1566), whose personal *dīwān* contains nearly 3,000 verses, had a close relationship with numerous poets, especially with Bākī (d. 1600 [*q.v.*]), who held an esteemed position, referred to as *sulṭān al-shuʿarāʾ* ("sultan of poets"), comparable to "poet laureate", although no such title existed in the Ottoman system.

Various prominent poets occupied important positions: Shaykh al-Islām Yaḥyā (d. 1644), one of the greatest lyric poets of the *Dīwān* tradition, served for four decades as *ḳāḍī ʿasker* and *shaykh al-Islām*. It is difficult, however, to determine whether Yaḥyā and others rose to high positions thanks to their poetry, or if they qualified for other reasons but also happened to write verse as well. By the same token, no definite determination can be made about the awarding of the honorific title of *pasha* to such poet-statesmen as Rāghib Pasha (d. 1763) and Ḍiyāʾ Pasha (d. 1880).

Among the Ottoman educated élite, composing verses was virtually a *sine qua non* of being an intellectual. Poetry not only held a privileged place, but often served in ways that are normally in the realm of prose (verse chronicles and histories, internal rhyming in many prose works, even a few dictionaries and text books in verse form, etc.). Occasionally, sultans, princes, grand viziers, commanders and other notables sent or exchanged communications composed in metre and rhyme. Such occasional verse, especially in retrospect, is disqualified as poetry, which, in its proper sense, was written by the *shāʿir*, a professional poet with a firm commitment to the art and with established credentials as a creative artist.

Satire and other types of criticism frequently entailed deprivation and punishment. Poetry could be a matter of life-and-death in many stages of Ottoman history. Because of their unorthodox, heretical or rebellious attitudes expressed in verse, Nesīmī (d. 1404 [*q.v.*]) was flayed alive, and the folk poet Pīr Sulṭān Abdāl was hanged (at some point in the 16th century). For satire directed against high-ranking officials, Nefʿī (d. 1635 [*q.v.*]), the great classical poet, was condemned to death, and was either strangulated or drowned. Due to their poems of protest or criticism, Sheykhī (d. *ca.* 1431) suffered injustice; ʿIzzet Molla, Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.vv.*], and many others, were penalised, imprisoned or sent into exile in the last century of the Ottoman state.

Inasmuch as poetry was a principal means of communication and criticism, many poets were taken very seriously and punished as dissidents or subversives not only for their outright objections, but sometimes even for their allegorical or subtly metaphorical statements. Some classical poets renounced their own credibility: One of the foremost poets of the 16th century, Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*], wrote the famous line "Do not be deceived, the poet's words are surely lies."

In a sense, mystical poetry expressed a continual opposition to mainstream Islam, and often endeavoured to undermine the theocratic establishment. Through a three-level disguise, whereby they extolled the "darling-king-God", the *shāʿirs* complained of the cruelties inflicted by the "beloved". The *ʿāshiḳs* and the *ozans* of the countryside, embodying their regeneration of a pantheistic, Turkic, rural value-system, seemed to maintain a frontal opposition to the Empire's central authority as well as offering a quasi-secular challenge to Islamic culture. *Tekke* or dervish convent poetry, abundantly produced by poets linked with the various Anatolian sects, often functioned as an expression for the heterodoxy.

Consequently, the instance of rewards, high positions and financial gains notwithstanding, Ottoman poets were, on the whole, outside the religio-political system, often opposed to it, and sometimes in rebellion against it. Especially in the Empire's closing decades, some foremost poets, for example, Nāmiḳ Kemāl (d. 1888) and Tewfīḳ Fikret (d. 1915 [*q.v.*]), played a forceful role in mobilising public opinion against the Ottoman régime.

Under the influence of accelerating Europeanisation of Turkish culture, the concept of the poet, held by the Ottoman élite, as virtually divinely-inspired or as possessing spiritual and visionary powers of an extraordinary nature, gave place to the idea that, although an apolitical stance is natural for many lyric poets, it is a respectable mission for politically-conscious poets to give expression to ideological convictions. Tewfīḳ Fikret championed social and governmental reforms, taking a stand against many aspects of Islam, whereas Meḥmed ʿĀkif Ersoy (d. 1936 [*q.v.*]) propagated the Islamic faith as a panacea for the decline of the Ottoman state. Ḍiyāʾ (Ziyā) Gökalp (d. 1924 [*q.v.*]) and Meḥmed Emīn Yurdakul (d. 1944 [*q.v.*]), in their verse written in a simple, colloquial vocabulary, furthered the cause of Turkish nationalism.

The strongest voice for revolution based on Marxist-Leninist ideas came from Nāẓīm Ḥikmet Ran (d. 1963 [*q.v.*]) who also introduced brave new innovations to the formal structure, prosody, and tenor of 20th century Turkish poetry. Proclaiming that he conceived of art as "an active institution in society" and that "the poet is the engineer of the human soul," he assigned to himself and other poets the task of "organising life". As a romantic revolutionary with superlative creative talent, as a result of which he achieved extensive fame not only in Turkey but in scores of other countries as well, Nāẓīm Ḥikmet was probably the most potent Turkish voice for Communism in the 20th century. For his combative ideological poems, he spent about thirteen years of his life in prison and lived in exile for a dozen years.

Following the path opened by Nāẓīm Ḥikmet, hundreds of modern poets in Turkey, including leftists and non-leftists, produced a huge corpus of verse dedicated to political themes, social ills and evils, peace and justice. Some poets virtually functioned as journalists, frequently commenting on socio-economic problems. By the end of the 20th century, the role of the poet was established as a champion of democratic ideals. Non-political verse, however, continues to flourish as well.

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4. In Muslim India.

One of the major cultural contributions resulting from the Muslim conquest of India was the origin and development of Persian poetry in the sub-continent. From the ascendancy of Muslim rule in the 13th century till its decline in the 18th century, there was a continuous flow of poets into India from Persia

and from the neighbouring regions where the Persian language represented the dominant cultural influence. In the beginning, the number of poets who came to India was comparatively small, but it multiplied sharply after the establishment of the Mug̲h̲al rule in the 16th century. The Mug̲h̲al court was famous for its munificence and attracted poets keen to seek their fortune outside their native land. This resulted in the influx of many gifted poets, and the centre of Persian poetry gradually shifted to India.

Persian poetry in India was an object of interest and entertainment for the Muslim upper class. The social and political conditions in which it developed made the royal court a focal point towards which the hopes and energies of most poets tended to gravitate. Gaining access to it signified for the poet the highest recognition of his achievements and talents. Muslim rulers, generally speaking, were men of taste and showed their appreciation for literature by surrounding themselves with poets and writers. Thus the historian Abu 'l-Faḍl gives a list of 51 poets who were in the service of Akbar (r. 963-1014/1556-1605). However, it was not easy to obtain admission to the royal court. The poet Kalīm (d. 1061/1651 [*q.v.*]), for instance, came to India during D̲j̲ahāngīr's reign (1014-37/1605-27), but had to wait for a long time until he secured entry to the court of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān (r. 1037-68/1627-57). Very often the poet needed the help of some influential nobleman for his access to the royal court. It was customary for important noblemen, and even lesser dignitaries, to keep poets and other literary men in their employment. The name of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ānān (d. 1036/1627), Akbar's principal dignitary, stands out in this connection. His generous patronage benefited a large number of poets and has been praised by every writer. Another source of patronage consisted of the provincial courts, some of whose rulers, such as the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhīs [*q.v.*] of Bīd̲j̲āpūr (895-1097/1490-1686) and the Niẓām S̲h̲āhīs [*q.v.*] of Aḥmadnagar (895-1046/1490-1636), were noted for their liberal support of art and letters.

The poets were paid a monthly allowance and could receive a robe of honour and a monetary reward for their performance on special occasions. Some poets became recipients of land grants, and some were made holders of military or civil command (*manṣabdār*). Among the poets who came to India, several returned home after their fortunes were made, while others, such as Naẓīrī (d. 1021/1612-13), Ṭālib Āmulī (d. 1036/1626-7) and Kalīm, stayed on till the end, and found their permanent resting place in the soil of their adopted country. There are several instances where a poet was called upon to perform duties unrelated to his vocation. Ātis̲h̲ī of Ḳandahār (d. 973/1565-6) was a chronicler in Bābur's (r. 932-7/1526-30) service, and later held high offices in the government; S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Gadāʾī of Dihlī (d. 976/1568-9), who was a scholar and poet of Humāyūn's reign (r. 937-47/1530-40 and 962-3/1555-6), occupied the high position of *ṣadr* (director of religious affairs [see ṢADR. 5. In Mug̲h̲al India]), under Akbar; Fayḍī (d. 1004/1595-6 [*q.v.*]) was appointed tutor to Akbar's son Dāniyāl, and led government embassies to the Deccan rulers; and D̲j̲ahāngīr's court poet Ṭālib Āmulī acted initially as the seal-keeper of Iʿtimād al-Dawla (d. 1621), the father-in-law of the emperor and a leading dignitary of the empire.

The court poet was supposed to dedicate his art to the service of his patron. In return for the wages received by him, or in the hope of obtaining further rewards, he composed praise poems eulogising his benefactor. This promoted the development of the *ḳaṣīda*, whose main exponents in India were ʿUrfī (d. 999/1590), Ṭālib Āmulī, Ḳudsī (d. 1056/1646), Kalīm and Muḥammad Ḳulī Salīm (d. 1057/1647-8). Some poets were also assigned the task of writing dynastic histories in verse—a tradition that started already with the Dihlī Sultanate (1206-1526). Amīr K̲h̲usraw (d. 725/1325) composed the *Tug̲h̲luḳ-nāma*, which sheds light on the latter part of the K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī rule (689-720/1290-1320) and the early period of the Tug̲h̲luḳ régime (720-816/1320-1413). Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ's (r. 725-52/1325-51) poet Badr-i Čāč (d. 747/1346) wrote a *S̲h̲āh-nāma* describing the military expeditions of the sulṭān. ʿIṣāmī (b. 711/1311) was the author of a verse account of Muslim India from the G̲h̲aznawids up to the mid-8th/14th century, entitled *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn* "Victories of the sultans", which he completed in 750/1349-50 for ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar (d. 759/1358), the first ruler of the Bahmanī dynasty of Deccan (748-934/1347-1528). Also from the same period came the history of the Bahmanī dynasty named *Bahman-nāma*, which was started by Ād̲h̲arī, the court poet of Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Bahmanī (r. 822-39/1422-36), and subsequently expanded by Naẓīrī and other poets. To the Mug̲h̲al period belongs Kalīm's *S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān-nāma*, which deals with the Mug̲h̲al rulers and their Tīmūrid ancestry down to the reign of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān. Another work dealing with S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān's reign is the *Ẓafar-nāma* "Book of victory", by Ḳudsī, which gives a verse account of the emperor's exploits.

A common practice among the court poets was the composing of poems with a chronogram commemorating an event of special importance. By the time of Humāyūn, the making of chronogram poems became steadily popular. They treated of such events as the births, deaths and weddings of the members of the royal household; imperial coronations; victories in battles; hunting exploits; and launchings of building projects and their completion. An interesting example of this kind of verse is a poem by Saʿīdā Gīlānī [*q.v.*], of which only a fragment has survived. This poem is said to have comprised 134 couplets, of which each hemistich represented a chronogram.

It was the duty of the poet to defend and uphold the dignity of his royal patron as and when the need arose. Illustrative of this tendency are two examples, one by Fayḍī and the other by Kalīm. In the first, Fayḍī is represented as improvising a poem of two couplets, which eulogised Akbar, and was intended to be a rebuttal of a similar poem written in praise of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I of Persia. The second example shows Kalīm defending S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān, who had been reproached by the sultan of Turkey for the audacity of calling himself the "king of the world" when he was only "king of India". "Since Hind (India) and *d̲j̲ahān* (world)," wrote Kalīm in his reply, "are equal in their numerical value, the right of the ruler to be called 'king of the world' is well-established" (*Hind u d̲j̲ahān zi rū-yi ʿadad har dū čūn yakīst s̲h̲ah-rā k̲h̲iṭāb-i s̲h̲āh-i d̲j̲ahānī mubarhan ast*).

The highest rank among court poets was held by the *malik al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, an institution established in the Mug̲h̲al period. The designation of the *malik al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ* was perhaps a title more than anything else, and did not constitute a regular post in the government. However, it involved a number of duties. As a member of the royal train, the *malik al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ* accompanied the ruler wherever he went. He was supposed to attend all the functions, feasts and celebrations at the court, and to present his poem for the occasion. Every new poet sought his favour and good offices

for gaining entry into the court. He chose the poets who were to recite their verse in the royal presence, as well as those to be rewarded and honoured. His appointment was made by the ruler, and implied an official recognition of the poet's superiority over his colleagues. The tradition of appointing the *malik al-shuʿarā'* was started by Akbar and survived until Awrangzīb's time (1656-1707), when it was discontinued by the orders of the emperor. During this period, four poets served thus: Ghazālī Mashhadī (d. 980/1572-3), followed by Fayḍī, under Akbar; Ṭālib Āmulī under Djahāngīr; and Kalīm under Shāh Djahān.

Apart from the court, Ṣūfism was the next most important platform for the poet's activity. After the conquest of northern India by the Muslims, various Ṣūfī orders were established, such as Čishtiyya, Suhrawardiyya, Naḳshbandiyya and Ḳādiriyya [*q.vv.*]. In India, poetry was the chief vehicle through which Ṣūfī ideas were disseminated. The preoccupation of the poet with Ṣūfism went beyond mere intellectual interest; very often poets had a practical involvement with the Ṣūfī way through their affiliation either with a Ṣūfī centre (*khānaḳāh*), or as members of an order, or as disciples of some spiritual director. Amīr Khusraw, the most eminent Persian poet of India, though serving under successive sultans, was the favourite disciple of the Čishtī *shaykh* Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā (d. 723/1323 [*q.v.*]), and so was the poet's contemporary, Ḥasan Sidjzī Dihlawī (d. 736/1336), who compiled his master's utterances (*malfūẓāt*) under the title *Fawā'id al-fu'ād* "Things beneficial to the heart". In the time of Fīrūz Tughluḳ (1351-88) flourished the poet Masʿūd Beg (d. probably in 800/1397), a relative of the ruling family, who gave up wealth and fortune to join the Čishtī order under the guidance of his spiritual mentor Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh-i Dihlī (d. 769/1367). The reign of Sikandar Lodī (1489-1517) saw the poet Ḥāmid b. Faḍl Allāh Djamālī (d. 943/1536), who was also a Ṣūfī hagiologist, and is said to have met Djāmī in his travels to foreign lands. It is reported that Akbar's poet Fayḍī courted the company of dervishes and spiritual leaders, and some of the poems he composed suggest his devotion to the Ṣūfī luminary Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar (or Shakar Gandj, d. 664/1265 [*q.v.*]). In later times, we find Muḥammad Sarmad (d. 1071/1660-1 [*q.v.*]), a writer of mystical quatrains, who was a distinguished Ṣūfī, and suffered execution on the alleged charge of heterodoxy. In brief, it is safe to assume that the interaction of the poets with Ṣūfism was a fairly widespread phenomenon which made poetry increasingly receptive to Ṣūfī influence.

With the decline of the Mughal empire in the 12th/18th century, and the emergence of Urdu as a rival to Persian, the latter lost its place of importance, and was supplanted by Urdu as a medium of literary expression. Already in the 11th/17th century, Urdu (known as Dakanī) had won acceptance at the courts of Golkondā and Bīdjāpūr, whose rulers were generous in their patronage to men of letters. The identification of the poet with the court continued in the 12th/18th century first under the Mughal kings at Dihlī and subsequently in Lakhnaw under the Nawwābs of Awadh. Together with the court, Ṣūfism continued to play a contributory role in the life of Urdu poets. Among those who were practising Ṣūfīs, one may include Walī (d. 1119/1707), Shāh Mubārak Ābrū (d. 1145/1733), Shāh Ḥātim (d. 1197/1783), Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i Djānān (d. 1195/1781), and Mīr Dard (d. 1199/1785 [*q.v.*]). In the 19th century, *marthiyas*, or elegies on the death of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and those who died at Karbalā', became a popular subject for the poets at Lakhnaw. The growth of the *marthiya* in Urdu [see MARTHIYA. 4.] was associated with the influence of Shīʿism, professed by the Nawwābs of Awadh who patronised this kind of composition. Under them, there appeared a host of *marthiya* writers, headed by Anīs (d. 1874) and Dabīr (d. 1875).

The failure of the Indian Revolt of 1857-8 dealt a serious blow to the existing social and political order, and laid the basis for the future emergence of a new Muslim middle class trained in Western thought and motivated by ideas of social justice. It also foreshadowed a change in the direction of Urdu literature, which was to be guided by a fresh alignment of social attitudes. Whereas the poet's material and spiritual concerns were hitherto identified with court patronage and Ṣūfism respectively, he now turned his artistic loyalties to the middle class, which was destined to play a leading part in the evolving situation. This development demanded the involvement of the poet in the affairs of the society at large—a view illustrated vividly in the writings of Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (d. 1915 [*q.v.*]), who sought to define poetry as an instrument of social reform.

The widening scope of the *mushāʿira* (correctly *mushāʿara* [*q.v.*]) also had its impact upon the poet in bringing him closer to a large segment of the society. These poetic assemblies, which were formerly held in the court or at the house of some nobleman, and were restricted to the élite, now acquired a more democratic character with the participation of the general public. Occasionally, they were sponsored by some social or political organisation, which used the appeal of the *mushāʿira* to advance its own cause.

During the early part of the present century, Iḳbāl (d. 1938 [*q.v.*]) became the most prominent figure to symbolise the new role of the poet in Muslim society. Not only did he express in his poems the aspirations and feelings shared by the majority of Indian Muslims, but he also formulated the concept of India's partition on a religious basis, which eventually materialised in the establishment of Pakistan in 1947.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

5. In the western and central Sudan.

The poetry of the societies of the western and central Sudan, both that of religious and that of secular inspiration, may be expressed in Western languages but equally in Arabic and Negro African languages. Whilst the first type is the product of the colonial influence, that in African languages and Arabic is attested over several centuries.

Introduced into the *bilād al-Sūdān* with Islam, Arabic has served since the 13th century as a language of expression for West African poets. Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb al-Kānemī, one of the first known West African poets using Arabic, was received at Marrakesh by the Almohad sultan Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (r. 580-95/1184-99) and improvised in his presence some verses which did not fail to impress the monarch. Kanem-Borno, which was Islamised very early, produced some poets of considerable fame. As well as the al-Kānemī just mentioned above, the Imām Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barnāwī became celebrated by his poem *Sh͟urb al-zulāl*, on the subject of *fiḳh* and of a didactic character, written towards the end of the 17th century and the object of a commentary written in Egypt.

The surrounding Hausaland became the centre for the diffusion of Islam in the central Sudan after the *d͟jihād* of ʿUth͟mān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*] (Usuman dan Fodio), not to mention various previous Arabised poets. One might cite Dan Marina, Arabic name Ibn al-Ṣabbāg͟h (18th century). He was a famous *ʿālim* and the author of numerous works in various disciplines, and acquired the stamp of nobility in poetry with his *mazd͟jarat al-fityān*, a didactic poem exhorting the pursuit of Islamic knowledge and enumerating the essential bases of the sciences taught in his time (philology, metrics, exegesis, *ḥadīth͟*, morphology, syntax, numerology, law, etc.).

Timbuctu (in modern Mali) was from mediaeval times onwards reputed for the teaching of Arabic language and the Islamic sciences, which were to enjoy a relatively important diffusion over the last two centuries.

The *d͟jihād*s of the 18th-19th centuries in Fūta D͟jallon [*q.v.*] and Fūta Toro, in Masina and in Hausaland, to cite only these, contributed at the same time to the spreading of Islam and of the Ṣūfī orders, to the diffusion of centres of teaching in the Islamic sciences and to the considerable increase in the number of scholars, various factors which were to contribute to the development of Arabic poetry of Islamic religious inspiration.

In order to render the Word of God and the Islamic religious precepts accessible to illiterate populations, the Sudanese *ʿulamāʾ* went on to translate and comment upon in their own languages the Ḳurʾān and its exegesis, as well as the Arabo-Islamic classical texts. They produced glosses, but also, like their counterparts in the Arab lands, composed poetry. Without monopolising poetic activity, these *ʿulamāʾ* formed, without any doubt, the greater part of the poets, since it was rare to find a scholar worthy of the name who could not handle the art of producing a *ḳaṣīda*. There were likewise numerous poets engaged in didacticism, exhortation, eulogy, the exchange of civilities, and veneration for the Prophet and the leading figures in the *ṭuruḳ*. Virtually all the great scholar-poets wrote panegyrics (*madḥ*, *madīḥ* [*q.v.*]) on Muḥammad. Ahmadu Bamba (d. 1927), founder of the Murīdiyya [*q.v.*] confraternity, was the author of thousands of poems of this type, many of them in acrostics of Ḳurʾānic verses. There are also many eulogies with opening sections constructed on the model of the *Muʿallaḳāt*, such as the *Badīʿ* of the Senegalese Madior Malick Cissé (d. 1907), which also recalls to mind the *Burda* ode of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

A substantial part of religious poetry is devoted to the veneration of saints, reflecting Ṣūfī inspiration coming from the Mag͟hrib, in which one of the modalities in the very important cult of saints was certainly the composition of poems. Veneration for the founders of the two most popular West African orders, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D͟jīlānī [*q.v.*] for the Ḳādiriyya and Aḥmad al-Tid͟jānī (d. 1815) for the Tid͟jāniyya, but also for more recent Ṣūfī order leaders such as the Senegalese Ibrāhim Niasse (d. 1975), has led to a poetry expressing this veneration, mainly in Arabic but also occasionally in indigenous African languages.

If certain poets respect rigorously the rules of Arabic metre, others sacrifice this rigour for didactic considerations. *Naẓm*, the versifying of an existing prose text, is a current procedure in poetic production. Some poets compose entirely out of their own invention, but many others proceed by extending an earlier, original poem. There are various ways here, the most common being the *tarbīʿ*, the addition of two hemistichs after each pair of hemistichs of the original poem; the *takh͟mīs*, the addition of three hemistichs; and finally, the *tash͟ṭīr*, the intercalation of two hemistichs between the first two of an existing poem. In West Africa, Hausa and Pular or Fulani dominate in writing in African languages, although there is some religious poetry in other languages, such as in Mandingo, Wolof, Songhay, etc.

It is known that even renowned Islamic religious scholars composed secular verse. Hence Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānemī, on his return from a military campaign in Bagirmi [*q.v.*] in 1821, expressed his nostalgia for his favourite wife in details recalling amorous poetry, whilst the Senegalese D͟hu ʾl-Nūn Ly (d. 1927) in his love poetry sang the praises of the gracious charmers of Saint-Louis in Senegal.

With the spread of the Arabic language, a large number of literate herdsmen and peasants are also writing poetry which, unlike that of the scholars, finds its inspiration in the folklore of the land and the pastoral horizons of the Fulbe or Fulani peoples. And if, from the fact of colonisation, more and more African poets are writing in French or English, one still finds in the lands from Senegal to Dārfūr, traversing the Niger bend, Hausaland and Borno, poets who are writing religious verse, in particular, but sometimes also secular verse, in Arabic or in *ʿAd͟jamī*.

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(Ousmane Kane)

6. In Hausaland.

The Hausa Muslim poet (*mai wallafa wakoki* or sometimes *mai waka*) belongs to the wider category of *malamai* (sing. *malam*), that is, "Muslim scholar" or "literate person" (< Ar. *ʿālim*). He, and less frequently she, performs the role of Muslim teacher, moralist and guardian of Islamic social norms. He is likely to specialise in one or more of the categories of Hausa Islamic verse listed in the articles hausa iii. and in shiʿr, which are associated with certain Islamic institutions and festivals.

During the colonial period, the Hausa poets increasingly concerned themselves with the innovations brought in by the Europeans. Thus an anonymous writer of *ca.* 1920 inveighs against such features of Western life and activity as electric torches, shirt buttons, cabin biscuits and an assortment of other items which aroused his ire. More recently, such poets have written against prostitution and the adoption by Hausa women of European dress styles, which they tend to regard as immoral. It seems probable that this tradition of Islamic puritanism has been influenced by a wider anti-modernist trend consequent on the Wahhābī movement beginning in Arabia [see wahhābiyya]. Islamic marriage is also a favourite topic [see nikāḥ. 6].

Since the introduction of modern, Western-style democratic political parties into Nigeria [*q.v.*], the Hausa Muslim poets have taken on the role of political propagandists. Thus a poet will claim the Islamic virtues for his own party e.g. the Northern People's Congress (NPC), whilst attributing the betrayal of Islam to the other main Northern Nigerian party of the pre-independence period, the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). The NEPU poet will riposte with the accusation that the NPC falsifies Islam and that only NEPU deserves the allegiance of Muslims. Such political verse has, however, much diminished in Northern Nigeria since it was banned by the military administration [see nigeria].

One interesting development is the emergence since Nigerian independence of women poets. The composing of verse by Hausa Muslim women has a precedent in the work of the 19th century writer Nanan Asma'u, the grand-daughter of ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*], but it was infrequent in subsequent decades. However, the spread of feminism within Islam [see mar'a] has caused such compositions by women, interpreting women's issues in an Islamic context, to flourish.

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(M. Hiskett)

7. In Malaysia and Indonesia.

In Malay and modern Indonesian the Arabic loan word *syair* refers to an extended verse form, which may run to hundreds of stanzas, each of which consists of four lines with the same end rhyme, with every line carrying four stresses and divided by a caesura. The author or creator of this form of verse is referred to as *penyair*.

In pre-modern Malay society the role of the poet was functional, that is, to provide material in a pleasant form, for instruction or for entertainment, or both. Poets had to have specialised knowledge of their topics, because central to their work was the expression of values or information, not the outpouring of individual emotion for its own sake. The earliest evidence of the use of the form in the Malay world is from the late 16th century, and *syair* were still being composed up until World War II. The form was popular in all Malay-speaking regions and was both oral and written. The traditional mode of delivery was by singing the verses to set tunes in a way which enhanced the verbal message. Verse was considered easier to compose than prose, easier to memorise and recite, and easier for an audience to follow. The language of verse was closer to colloquial Malay in grammar and syntax, and its units brief and predictable.

A comparison of the earliest *syair* with those written during and after the 19th century suggests that the earlier poets were specialists and professionals, but that as literacy became more widespread so too did composing, and *syair* became no longer solely the domain of professionals.

(a) *Pre-19th century*. The first poet whose name is known is (Hamzah) Fanṣūrī [*q.v.*], indicating that he came from Fansur (or Barus, an entrepôt on the northwest coast of Sumatra) and who lived in the second half of the 16th century. The *syair* identified as being composed by Hamzah are poems of worship in the mystical tradition of Ibn al-ʿArabī, which affirm the unity of the Creator and the Created, and yearn for ultimate union with the Godhead through the seven stages of mystical ascent. Great Ṣūfī poets such as the Persian Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], who was undoubtedly read by Hamzah, believed in the doctrine of the Divine Word embodied in the sacred text of Revelation (the Ḳur'ān) and reflected in symbolically conceived and interpreted poetry (see Braginsky, 1993). In the act of creating a poem the poet became a channel through which the energy of the Creator flowed into the poem, and from the poem reached out to and inspired readers or listeners, and through which, in the reverse process, they could ascend the seven stages to unity with Him.

The poems of Hamzah are both acts of worship and instructional texts in the Ṣūfī mode. There are reports that *syair* are still used by members of mystical brotherhoods in Malaysia as chants after the recitation of *zikr* or *dhikr* [*q.v.*] in order to regain a sense of reality after intense meditation. Hamzah's poems may also have been used in this way in earlier times. Examples of written Malay before the 19th century are all too rare. One text which has survived is the long *Syair Perang Mengkasar*, composed in the mid-17th century, by Encik Amin. In 534 verses this *syair* describes the wars between the Dutch and Makassarese for control of the spice trade in Eastern Indonesia, and indicates that poets were not restricted to religious topics. The background of Encik Amin provides further detail about the poet's function in the pre-modern period. Encik Amin was a professional writer, who served as clerk or secretary to the Sultan of Goa in Sulawesi. His duties included the drafting of treaties, official correspondence, copying of manuscripts and the recording of events of significance for his patron. In his *syair* which relates Makassarese resistance to Dutch attacks, Encik Amin quotes verses from Hamzah Fanṣūrī's poems, indicating the regard in which they were held even outside their area of composition. If Hamzah and Encik Amin are in any sense representative of pre-modern poets, their works suggest that poems in written form were the result of specialist training, and that literacy set them apart from their peers and provided the basis of their livelihood.

It is very likely that non-literate Malays used the *syair* form when reciting or singing for a variety of

audiences and purposes. We know, for example, that rhythmical and rhymed verse was sung or chanted by puppetmasters (*dalang*), shamans, curers, diviners, story-tellers and young men and women during courting rituals, as an essential part of traditional social life.

(b) *The 19th century and after.* In contrast to the earlier period, an impressive number of written *syair* have survived. During the 19th century it became the form for popular improvisation, although it could still be used for religious topics. There are surviving examples of religious handbooks on prayer, basic duties and obligations, marriage law, the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the realm of the supernatural, *syair* on divination and the interpretation of dreams.

The greatest number of surviving *syair* texts are lengthy adventure romances, which were primarily for entertainment but were also didactic. Much of the material in these texts was adapted from Persian, Egyptian, Turkish, or Indian stories. The 19th-century Malay-Bugis court at Riau [*q.v.*] provides an example of an active literary centre. Prose and poetry was written by both men and women, only a few of whom, for example Raja Ali Haji, were "professional" writers. Raja Ali Haji, a religious scholar and historian, used the *syair* form only rarely, but his relatives wrote copiously in verse about their travels, local wars, current happenings and romances. These writers were not specialists in the sense of writing for their livelihood, and so did not need patrons. They were literate and leisured, and wrote to entertain as well as to provide material that would bring moral benefit to themselves and their audience.

In urban centres, especially where there were printing presses, *syair* appeared in lithographed and print form, from the late 19th century into the early 20th. There are numerous instances of *syair* versions of popular prose narratives, the verse forms going into more reprintings than the prose originals. However, as the numbers of secular educated Malays and Indonesians grew, western influenced verse forms gradually replaced the *syair* as the preferred form for poetry. Although he did not use the *syair* form, the Sumatran poet Amir Hamzah (1911-46) is one of the few from the early modern period who wrote verse with a religious theme. Inspired both by emotion and religion, his two volumes of verse echo the intensity and depth of the *syair* of Hamzah Fanṣūrī. In the late 20th century, poetry in this spirit is still being composed by the Javanese poet Emha Ainon Nadjib, and being received with acclaim.

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(Virginia Matheson Hooker)

SHAKĀK, a large Kurdish tribe on the Turkish-Iranian border, in the mountainous districts to the west and northwest of Lake Urūmiyya (Somāy [*q.v.*] Brādōst, Čahrīḳ and Ḳuṭūr). In the 1960s it was estimated that the tribe numbered 4,400 households in Iran alone; smaller numbers are based in Turkey. The Shakāk are Sunnī Muslims and speak the northern (Kurmāndjī) dialect of Kurdish. In the literature, the Shakāk are frequently confounded with the Shaḳāḳī [*q.v.*] Shiḳāghī, a Turkish-speaking Shīʿī (Ḳizilbāsh) tribe of Kurdish origins presently living to the east and northeast of Tabrīz. Although presently distinct, the relationship between both tribes appears to consist of more than just the similarity of names. Two sections of the Shakāk, the Fanak/Finik and the Būtān, bear the names of districts in the Djazīra. The *Sharaf-nāma* of Idrīs Bidlīsī [*q.v.*] (late 16th century) does not mention Shakāk, but it describes the Shaḳāḳī as a (Kurdish-speaking) nomadic tribe in the district of Finik in the Djazīra. Ottoman documents of the same period also mention Shaḳāḳī in Mārdīn and Vān provinces. It appears that sections of the Shaḳāḳī, Ḳizilbāsh by religious affiliation, migrated eastward from the Djazīra to Ādharbāydjān, where they became turkicised. On their way east, they passed very close by the districts presently inhabited by the Shakāk; conceivably the latter incorporate sections of the Shaḳāḳi that settled in their midst and lent them their name.

The Shakāk consist of a large number of named sections (*tīra* or *ṭāʾifa*); lists of these sections, compiled at different times, show great variation, indicating considerable flux in the composition of the tribe. Certain sections were at other times listed as separate tribes. The paramount chieftains of the tribe's known history belonged to one of two chiefly lineages (*Pisāḳā*), the ʿAbdovī/ʿAvdōʾī and the Kārdār. Other important sections in Iran include the Māmadī, Hanāre, Aṭmānī, Īwerī, Fanak, Būtān, Mūḳurī, Shapīrān, Gawrik and Nīsānī. On Ottoman soil, Sykes lists the said Mūḳurī and Būtān besides three other sections named Shakiftī, Shavalī and Shakāk. In the late 19th century, the Mūḳurī and Shakiftī, each numbering around 1,200 households, provided the Ottoman government with a Ḥamīdiyye regiment each (Kodaman 1987, 54). So did two other tribes of the same region, the Shamsikī and the Takūrī, which were sometimes also considered as sections of the Shakāk. The semi-nomadic Shakāk of Somāy and Brādōst dominated a non-tribal, Kurdish-speaking peasant population (named *Kirmāndj*) that was three times more numerous than themselves; similar relations probably prevailed on the Ottoman side of the border.

The earliest remembered paramount chieftain of the Shakāk was Ismāʿīl Āghā of the ʿAvdōʾī Pisāḳā, who flourished in the early 19th century. Under Ismāʿīl's son ʿAlī, the Shakāk first established themselves in Somāy, expelling the Turkish lords who had until then controlled the district. Later, the ʿAvdōʾī established their headquarters even further north, at Čahrīḳ. In the first quarter of the 20th century it was Ismāʿīl Āghā's great-grandsons Djaʿfar and especially Ismāʿīl, nicknamed Simkō, who caused the Shakāk to acquire a certain fame or notoriety. Djaʿfar Āghā established his control of the entire tribe by, on the one hand, offering his services to the provincial government and, on the other, carrying out daring raids on the surrounding districts. He was finally captured and publicly hung in Tabrīz in 1905. The career of Ismāʿīl Āghā "Simkō" owed much to the vicissitudes of the First World War and its aftermath. He was in contact with the Ottomans and Russians as well as the local Christian communities and the Persian authorities, and by keeping equal distance from all he maintained wide room for manoeuvre. In the power vacuum resulting from the withdrawal of Russian and Ottoman troops, Simkō brought a large area under his control. In 1918 he murdered the Nestorian patri-

arch, Mār Shimūn, who was perhaps his most serious local rival. (The Nestorians had fled their mountain fastnesses in Ḥakkārī during the war, and settled in the fertile plain of Urūmiyya, with the clear intention to stay there.) During the following years, Simkō gradually extended the area under his control, and by early 1922 he *de facto* governed most of the Kurdish-inhabited parts of Ādharbāydjān as well as the (Turkish-inhabited) Urūmiyya plain. Although begun as a traditional tribal rebellion, Simkō's movement acquired Kurdish nationalist overtones. He was in contact with Kurdish leaders in ʿIrāḳ and Turkey, nationalists from other parts of Kurdistan joined him, and he had a Kurdish newspaper published in Ṣāwūdj-Bulāḳ (Mahābād [*q.vv.*]). In August 1922 a strengthened Iranian army finally defeated Simkō, who fled to ʿIrāḳ. After a final, unsuccessful, bid to establish himself as a local powerholder in 1926, he was ambushed and killed by Iranian government forces in 1929.

Paramount leadership of the Shakāk passed to Simkō's rival ʿAmr Āghā of the Kārdār Pisāḳā, who had acted as Simkō's deputy as long as the latter was in a strong position but had in time transferred his loyalties to the central government. His control of the tribe was less complete than Simkō's had been, and some sections, notably the ʿAvdōʾī under Simkō's son Ṭāhir and the Māmadī under their own leading family, often acted independently. Under ʿAmr Āghā, the Shakāk took a half-hearted part in the short-lived Kurdish republic of Mahābād (1946). ʿAmr Āghā was one of the founding members of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, and both he and Ṭāhir Āghā contributed cavalry regiments to the republican army (800 and 500 men, respectively). However, these tribal regiments never took active part in the military defence of the republic against the Iranian army, and ʿAmr Āghā again in time made diplomatic overtures to the central government. The same cautious relationship with Kurdish nationalist politics has been characteristic of the Shakāk for most of the following half-century. Even in 1979, when following the Islamic revolution central authority was temporarily absent and the Kurdish nationalist cause briefly appeared successful, only a few urban-educated Shakāk became involved in it. Ṭāhir Āghā, who had by then become the paramount chieftain, ruled the Shakāk territories as an independent lord, unwilling to cede authority to the Kurdish political parties. In the following years, the tribe soon again reached an accommodation with the central government.

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(M.M. van Bruinessen)

SHAḲĀḲĪ or shīḳāghī, a tribe of Kurdish origin centred on Ādharbaydjān. According to Yūsuf Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, the word *shiḳāḳī* means in Kurdish a beast which has a particular disease of the foot. According to Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī's *Sharaf-nāma* (i, 148), the Shaḳāḳī were one of the four warrior tribes (*ʿashīrat*) in the *nāḥiya* of Finik of the principality of the Djazīra. According to the Ottoman *sāl-nāmes*, there were Kurdish Shaḳāḳī in the *nāḥiye* of Sheykhler in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ḳillīs in the *wilāyet* of Aleppo (cf. Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumskunde*, i, 744). The *nāḥiya* Shaḳāḳ of the *Djihān-numā* (between Mukus and Djulāmerg) is certainly only a mis-reading for Shatākh. As a result of certain movements, probably in the time of the Turkmen confederation of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*], we find the Shaḳāḳī leading a nomadic life on the Mughān river on the frontier of Transcaucasia [see shāhsewan]. At the beginning of the 19th century, there were 8,000 families on Russian territory. Dupré speaks of 25,000 hearths of Shaḳāḳī among the tribes speaking Kurdish. About 1814, J. Morier numbered them at 50,000 grouped along the Tabrīz-Zandjān road in the districts of Hashtarūd, Garmarūd and Miyāna as well as at Ardabīl. The Ḳādjār prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā drew from this tribe the main cadres of his infantry drilled in European fashion. According to Morier, the Shaḳāḳī spoke Turkish. Shīrwānī puts the summer and winter quarters of the 60,000 families of Shaḳāḳī in the region of Tabrīz-Sarāb (on the road from Ardabīl) and adds that it is a Kurdish tribe whose language is Turkish, which forms part of the Ḳizil-bash (*min tawābiʿ-i ḳizil-bash*), which evidently means that the tribe is Shīʿī, as is also suggested by its association with the Shāhsewan. The importance of the tribe may be judged from the fact that, at the beginning of the 20th century, the Ḳādjār government recruited four regiments from the Shaḳāḳī; we do not know the connections that may exist between the Shaḳāḳī and the Kurdish Shakāk, but all indications point to their being a Turkicised Kurdish tribe (like the Kurds of Gandja). In the toponymy of the region south of Lake Urmiya [see sāwdj-bulāḳ], we find traces of the passage of the Shaḳāḳī (the village of Ḳishlaḳ Shiḳāḳī at Suldūz).

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(V. Minorsky)

SHAKAR GANDJ [see farīd al-dīn masʿūd].

SHAKARKHELDĀ, a village of the pre-modern Indian province of Berār [*q.v.*] situated on an affluent of the Pengangā river. Its main claim to fame is that it was the site of the battle in 1137/1724 when Niẓām al-Mulk Čīn Ḳilič Khān [*q.v.*] defeated the deputy governor of Ḥaydarābād Mubāriz Khān and thereby established the virtual independence of the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād from the Mughal empire. Niẓām al-Mulk changed the village's name to Fatḥkheldā, and this is now a small town in the Buldāna District in Mahārāshtra State of the Indian Union (lat. 20° 13' N., long. 76° 29').

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xii, 86; and see ḥaydarābād, at III, 320a and map at 321.

(Ed.)

SHAḲĀWA (a.) means misfortune or misery; equivalents are *shaḳwa*, *shaḳāʾ* and *shaḳaⁿ*. The concept is the opposite of *saʿāda* [*q.v.*]. According to Ḳurʾān,

XX, 122, he who follows God's "right guidance" (*hudā*) escapes from the situation of unhappiness and "does not become unhappy". Accordingly, in the story of the Fall, Adam's expulsion from Paradise is described as "misfortune", into which he ended up for not having followed God's admonition (XX, 117 ff.). But in the Ḳur'ān the derivations from the root *sh-ḳ-w* (*shaḳāwa* itself is not found) are mainly used eschatologically: the "unhappy one" (*shaḳiyy*) will find himself in the fire of Hell, in contrast to the "blissful" (*sa'īd*), who will stay in Paradise (XI, 105/107 ff.).

In the *ḥadīth*, this eschatological usage is taken up in the doctrine of God's predestination; following a prophetic tradition, "the blissful are placed [by God] in a position in which they are able to act as the blissful do, but the unhappy ones can only act as the unhappy do" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-ḳadar*, no. 6).

The deterministic usage of *shaḳāwa* is also taken up by Islamic theology, where distinction is made between the divine attributes *al-ḳaḍā' wa 'l-ḳadar* [*q.v.*], which determine the contents of the "preserved table" (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ* [*q.v.*]) on the one hand, and "what is written down" (*al-maktūb*) on the "preserved table" on the other; the latter is a human attribute "in the form of bliss or misfortune" (*sa'adat^{an} aw shaḳāwat^{an}*) which can be changed into its opposite by the acts of man (see Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī, *Sharḥ al-fiḳh al-absaṭ li-Abī Ḥanīfa*, ed. H. Daiber, *The Islamic concept of belief in the 4th/10th century*, Tokyo 1994 [= Studia culturae islamicae], Arabic text, ll. 301 ff., 319 ff.).

In his commentary on the Ḳur'ān, the scholar al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 5th/11th century [*q.v.*]) connects the concept of *shaḳāwa* in analogy with *sa'āda* (cf. Daiber, *Griechische Ethik in islamischem Gewande*, in *Historia philosophiae*, ed. B. Mojsisch and O. Pluta, Amsterdam-Philadelphia 1991, 184-5), with the hereafter and with this world, and he divides the "unhappiness of this world" into three kinds: unhappiness of the soul (*nafsiyya*), unhappiness of the body (*badaniyya*) and external (*khāridjiyya*) unhappiness (see *Mu'djam mufradāt alfāẓ al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Nadīm Mar'ashlī, (n.p. 1972, 271, *s.v.*).

To sum up, the term *shaḳāwa* is used both in the meaning of a situation in this world and also of the situation in the hereafter, which is determined by God but for which man is responsible through his behaviour. The term does not therefore play a role in the Islamic discussions on theodicy (see E.L. Ormsby, *Theodicy in Islamic thought*, Princeton 1984).

In astrology, the concept of "misfortune" is described by *naḥs*, pl. *nuḥūs*. The question is discussed whether unlucky stars (such as Saturn and Mars [see AL-MIRRĪKH]) dominate the hour of birth, and whether they are able to exercise their calamitous influence (*nuḥūsa*). See *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, ed. Ziriklī, iii, Cairo 1928, 341, tr. S. Diwald-Wilzer, *Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft in der Enzyklopädie* Kitāb Ihwān aṣ-ṣafā' (*iii*), Wiesbaden 1975, 468. See also Abū Ma'sar, *The Abbreviation of the Introduction to astrology*, ed. and tr. Ch. Burnett, Keji Yamamoto and Michio Yano, Leiden 1994 (= IPTS, XV), index of Arabic terms. s.v. According to Abū Ma'shar, the (evil as well as good) influence of the planets does not exclude chance or freedom (see R. Lemay, *Abu Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the twelfth century*, Beirut 1962, 125 ff.).

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(H. DAIBER)

SHAKHṢ (A.), lit. "bodily form, shape". The noun form does not occur in the Ḳur'ān, although verbal and adjectival forms of its root, here denoting a different range of meaning, that of staring fixedly (of the eyes), do occur (XIV, 43/42, XXI, 97).

1. In philosophy.

Here, *shakhṣ*, pl. *ashkhāṣ*, is equivalent to the Greek ἄτομον meaning an individual, a person. Philosophically, the *ashkhāṣ* are to be distinguished from *adjnāṣ* (genera) and *anwā'* (species), as well as Arabic words which may have connotations of the particular or individual such as *khāṣṣ* and *adjzā'*. Individuation may be rendered in philosophy by the term *tashakhkhuṣ*. The term *shakhṣ* and its plural is used not only in Islamic philosophy (e.g. by al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Rushd) but also in Arabic theological commentary. When Christian theologians like John of Damascus, talking of the Trinity, held that every hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) was an individual (ἄτομον), al-Kindī believed that the Greek word ὑποστάσεις was best rendered by the Arabic *ashkhāṣ* (Wolfson, 321-2). Here then, specifically and theologically, *shakhṣ* bore the sense of Trinitarian "Person". More usually, however, in Islamic philosophy the term was a mainly neutral one simply rendering such terms as "individual" (see Booth, 112). It is worth noting that, while the great Neoplatonist Porphyry of Tyre (A.D. 234-*ca.* 305) in his *Eisagōgē* identified five "voices" or "predicables" (species, genus, difference, property and accident), the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' [*q.v.*] added a sixth term, the individual (*al-shakhṣ*), to the standard list of five. In this they may have followed al-Kindī, who was the only other Islamic philosopher to espouse a sixfold list. Alternatively, and depending of course on when the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* are believed to have been written, it is possible that the Ikhwān were inspired to add and use the term *al-shakhṣ* after becoming familiar with al-Kh^wārazmī's definition of this term (141) as one used "by logicians to designate Zayd and 'Amr and this man and that donkey and horse".

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(I.R. NETTON)

2. In law.

The term *shakhṣ* is employed in modern law in some Muslim countries such as Egypt, Syria, Libya, and 'Irāḳ, where it would appear to have been coined under the influences of western legal systems. It means either the natural person (*shakhṣ ṭabī'ī*) or the assumed person (*shakhṣ i'tibārī*). The life of a natural person starts with the formation of the embryo, providing it is born alive or even assumed to be alive (*taḳdīr^{an}*). The Ḥanafīs, however, give the living status to a "human" once most of it is born alive. They also assume a personality for the embryo even if its life is taken prior to the birth. Accordingly, the baby is

treated as having a legal entity that can inherit and be inherited from. Syrian Law, both the civil code (art. 31) and the law of personal status (art. 236/1, 2360/2) have incorporated an opposing legal view to that of Ḥanafīs. It stipulates that an embryo can only be considered a person if separated from his mother's body. The natural personality normally ends by natural death. Legally, it can be ended by a court injunction that assumes a missing person to be dead by estimating his life in comparison to his age when he disappeared. The legal responsibility (*dhimma*) of a deceased person can remain after his death until all his rights and duties are cleared.

Although the concept of *shakhṣiyya*, legal personality, does not exist in Islamic law, at least historically, its meaning was subsumed under the heading of *ahliyya* or the legal capacity of an individual to be a subject of the law. *Ahliyya* can be either a right-acquiring capacity (*ahliyyat wudjūb*) or execution capacity (*ahliyyat idā'*) which involves the ability to contract, to dispose, and therefore also validly to fulfil one's obligations. In Islamic law, the assumed personality (*shakhṣiyya iʿtibāriyya*) seems to have been synthesised during the discussions by the *fuḳahā'* regarding the capacity of a "person" for obligation (*ahliyyat wudjūb*). Ownership also poses a problem when an endowment or legacy is made to non-living establishments and institutions; does it own that endowment or not? The Ḥanafīs appear to restrict the status of ownership to living persons, although the Shāfiʿīs and the Mālikīs grant the right of ownership to assumed persons.

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SHAKĪB ARSLĀN (1869-1946), a Durūz [*q.v.*] notable from the Shūf region of Lebanon and polemicist. During the first fifty years of his life, he established a reputation as an accomplished Arab poet and journalist and as an Islamic-oriented activist dedicated to the preservation of the Ottoman Empire. In the period between the two World Wars he became an anti-imperial agitator and a relentless spokesman for the cause of Islamic solidarity. His voluminous writings, his well-connected network of associates, and his knack for attracting publicity made him one of the most visible Arab figures of the interwar era.

The Arslāns were a powerful Durūz family whose members had the right to bear the title of *amīr* [*q.v.*]. Educated at Maronite and Ottoman secondary schools, Arslān at first eschewed the family tradition of politics in favour of literature. He published his first volume of poetry at the age of seventeen and continued to engage in literary pursuits for the next several years, earning the honorific title *amīr al-bayān* ("the prince of eloquence") by which he was known for the rest of his life. Eventually, he assumed the role expected of an Arslān *amīr* by serving as *ḳā'immaḳām* of the Shūf [*q.v.*] on two different occasions (1902; 1908-11). He was elected to the Ottoman Parliament in 1914 and devoted the war years to defending the Ottoman cause.

With the Ottoman defeat and the imposition of the mandate system, Arslān became an exile, barred by British and French authorities from entering the states under their control. Instead of becoming marginalised by his changed circumstances, Arslān emerged as an international figure during the interwar period. His residence in Geneva served as a gathering point for Arab and Muslim activists, and his position as the unofficial representative of the Syro-Palestinian delegation to the League of Nations afforded him opportunities to present the Arab case to the European community. His influence was expanded through the journal *La Nation Arabe* (1930-8), that he founded and edited with his Syrian associate, Iḥsān al-Djābirī. *La Nation Arabe* attacked all aspects of European imperialism in the Arab world, but devoted special attention to French policies in North Africa and Zionist activities in Palestine.

Notwithstanding his Durūz origins, Arslān made his reputation as a staunch defender of Sunnī Islam. He contributed regular articles to Islamic-oriented Egyptian journals such as *al-Fatḥ* and wrote several books on Islamic subjects. The purpose of his writings was to awaken among Muslims an awareness of their shared Islamic heritage and to summon them to political action against European imperialism in the name of Islamic unity.

More than any other figure of the era, Arslān endeavoured to bring together the leaders of the North African and Eastern Arab independence movements. He played an especially important role as political strategist and personal mentor to the group of young Moroccans associated with the Free School movement, and his orchestration of their international Islamic propaganda campaign against the French decree known as the Berber *ẓahīr* (1930) was one of the most successful interwar Arab protest movements.

Arslān's final reputation was diminished by his association with the Axis powers. At the peak of his popularity, he endeavoured to coordinate an Italian-German alliance with the Arab world in order to generate leverage against Britain and France. His efforts generated much publicity but few results, and his continued pro-Axis stance during World War II discredited him. His death in Beirut in 1946 attracted little notice.

Bibliography: 1. Works by Arslān. *Dīwān al-amīr Shakīb Arslān*, ed. Rashīd Riḍā, Cairo 1935; *Li-mādhā ta'akhkhar al-muslimūn wa-li-mādhā taḳaddam ghayruhum?*, ³Cairo 1939, tr. M.S. Shakoor as *Our decline and its causes*, repr. Lahore 1962; *al-Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā aw ikhā' arbaʿīn sana*, Damascus 1937; *Shawḳī aw ṣadāḳat arbaʿīn sana*, Cairo 1936; *Sīra dhātiyya*, Beirut 1969.

2. Studies. Aḥmad Sharabāṣī, *Amīr al-bayān Shakīb Arslān*, 2 vols., Cairo 1963; J.P. Halstead, *Rebirth of a nation: the origins and rise of Moroccan nationalism, 1912-1944*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967; Ch.-A. Julien, *L'Afrique du nord en marche: nationalismes musulmans et souveraineté française*, ³Paris 1972; W.L. Cleveland, *Islam against the West: Shakib Arslan and the campaign for Islamic nationalism*, Austin, Texas 1985 (full bibl.) (W.L. CLEVELAND)

SHAḲĪḲAT AL-NUʿMĀN (A.) is the anemone. It flourishes in the lands around the Mediterranean and in Asia Minor. The *Anemone coronoria L.* or the *Anemone hortensis L.*, Ranunculaceae, qualify as mother plants. Both *shaḳīḳat* (*shaḳā'iḳ*) *al-nuʿmān* and the words *shaḳā'iḳ* and *nuʿmān* taken separately are in general synonymous. Other synonyms are *shaḳir*, Persian *lāla*, Berber *ṭīkūk*, in Spanish Arabic *ḥababawar* < Castilian *hamapola* < *papaver*, Greek *arghāmūna* (= ἀργεμώνη, the poppy, instead of ἀνεμώνη). So far a satisfactory explanation of the name has not been given. Many scholars have wished to derive ἀνεμώνη from *al-nuʿmān*, while others prefer the opposite explanation. In ʿIrāḳ the anemone was called *khadd al-ʿadhrā'* "virgin's cheek", which already existed as a by-name of Kūfa. The Lakhmid king al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir (II) (r. towards the end of the 5th century A.D.) is said

to have been so much enraptured by the beauty of the anemone that the flower was called *al-nuʿmān* after him, while *shakīka* is said to have preserved the name of his mother *Shakīka*. The *nuʿmān* is described as being similar to the poppy (*khashkhāsh*); the difference is said to be recognisable from the fact that the edges of the petals of the *nuʿmān* are laciniated (*kathīr al-taktīʿ*), while those of the *khashkhāsh* are only slightly dentated (*kalīl al-tashrīf*). The anemone exists in two kinds: a cultivated one, whose petals are red, white or purple and which spreads out on the ground with long stalks, and a wild one, which is bigger and more solid than the cultivated one, has larger petals and longer tops (*ruʾūs*), and is scarlet-coloured. It opens during the day, turns towards the sun and shuts at night. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Bayṭār's teacher (see Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, ii, 159), rightly recognised that anemones cannot belong to the species of the poppy plants (Papaveraceae), the nearest related family. On superficial inspection, the petals of some species of the Ranunculaceae show similarity with those of the Papaveraceae.

In medicine, the anemone at present seems hardly to be used any more. In the drug bazaar in Cairo, pulverised petals of the anemone are sold as decoctions against ailments of the eye. According to the Arab authors, the anemone is above all useful against skin diseases, and it dissolves ulcers and supports their ripening. Its juice blackens the pupil, cuts off an incipient cataract, strengthens the eye and sharpens the eyesight. Boiled together with their stalks, anemones further the formation of milk. If a woman inserts the anemone with the help of a woollen tampon (*ṣūfa*), she increases the flowing of the menstrual blood (i.e. if an abortive effect is aimed at). Ibn Riḍwān (in Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, iii, 65, 25-7) is even of the opinion that seeds of anemones, if taken during several consecutive days, would cure leprosy.

On the anemone in Arab poetry, see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 281-5, who gives many examples.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djazzār, *K. al-Iʿtimād fi ʾl-adwiya al-mufrada*, 9-10, Frankfurt 1985, Ibn Samadjūn, *Djāmiʿ al-adwiya al-mufrada*, Frankfurt, 1992, iv, 240 ff.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291/1874-5, iii, 64, ll. 24-65, l. 27 (Leclerc no. 1329); Ibn al-Ḳuff, *K. al-ʿUmda fi ʾl-djirāḥa*, Ḥaydarābād 1356/1937-8, i, 244 f.; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud-Colin, Paris 1934, no. 441; M.A.H. Ducros, *Essai sur le droguier populaire arabe*, Cairo 1930, no. 135; A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, ii, 159, iv, 56, with many source references.

(A. Dietrich)

SHĀKIR, AḤMAD MUḤAMMAD (1892-1958), well-known Egyptian scholar and editor of classical Arabic texts dealing with poetry, *adab* [*q.v.*] and especially *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]. He received his religious education at al-Azhar [*q.v.*], whereafter he was appointed *ḳāḍī* in Zagazig. Already during his lifetime Shākir was considered as the foremost *ḥadīth* expert of his generation. He was particularly famous for his alleged expertise in the relationships between transmitters featuring in *isnāds* [*q.v.*]. He died just before a stormy controversy on the value of Muslim tradition broke out which was to upset religious circles in Egypt first and then, in later years, to cause ripples also in other countries of the Middle East. Already in the period leading up to this event, in the course of which a certain *ḥadīth* scholar, Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, had been airing his intention to publish several most unorthodox ideas on various vital *ḥadīth* issues, Shākir had occasionally made his strictly orthodox point of view on the matter very clear. For an analysis of this controversy, see G.H.A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of Muslim tradition literature. Discussions in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1969, 38-46, and idem, *Muslim tradition* etc., Cambridge 1983, 190-1, 204-6.

Shākir's main editorial enterprise comprised a new edition of the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. M. b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]), which he did not complete: only some two-fifths of the work were eventually printed, vols. i-xv, Cairo 1946-56, with a posthumously published vol. xix of 1980. For a survey of other texts which Shākir edited, some of them in cooperation with his brother Maḥmūd or with ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, see *Madjallat maʿhad al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*, iv/2 (1378/1958), 356-8; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, [4]1979, i, 253. Beside these editions he published a number of assorted monographs on subjects dealing with (often Shāfiʿī) *fiḳh* and religio-political issues raised by the Salafiyya reform movement [*q.v.*] and the doctrines of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*], several of which contained polemical treatises in which he grappled with fellow-scholars, e.g. *al-Sharʿ wa ʾl-lugha*, Cairo 1944 (on the undesirability of introducing modern western legislation into Islamic countries and on his disapproval of writing Arabic with the Latin alphabet proposed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fahmī) and *Baynī wa-bayna al-shaykh Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī*, Cairo 1955 (on a putative misconception attributed to Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], the mediaeval scholar who is so revered by the Wahhābiyya). For more polemics between him and al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, see Shākir's edition of Ibn Ḳutayba's *K. al-Shiʿr wa ʾl-shuʿarāʾ*, [2]Cairo 1966, 5-35. He also seems to have fallen out with another Egyptian *ḥadīth* expert, Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, at whose contacts with western scholars he looked askance. In his newly initiated edition of *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* of Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892 [*q.v.*]), Shākir therefore declined to conform with Wensinck's proposed chapter numbering of the canonical collections for the *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, which was then in the process of being printed, this much to the chagrin of ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, who saw the future utility of that work gravely impaired, cf. vol. iii of al-Tirmidhī, 3-4. For more details on Shākir's life, his criticism of mediaeval and contemporary oriental scholars and westerners, as well as an extensive analysis of his work as a 20th century orthodox Muslim *muḥaddith*, see Juynboll, *Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (1892-1958), and his edition of Ibn Ḥanbal's Musnad*, in *Isl.*, xlix (1972), 221-47.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

AL-**SHĀKIRIYYA** (A.), a term denoting private militias fighting under the patronage of princes from the ruling dynasty, or commanders belonging to the class of military nobility, during the reign of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid dynasties. Classical Arabic lexicography does not provide a satisfactory explanation for this term, correctly associating it with the Persian term *Čākir*; for a discussion of possible etymologies, see C.E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiii, 179 and n. 506. The institution of the *shākiriyya*, from the historical standpoint, probably existed in the Iranian lands of Central Asia during the Sāsānid period and into the period after the Islamic conquest. According to Narshakhī, the Shākiriyya in Bukhārā were not a field military unit, but rather, a bodyguard at the court of Khātūn, the queen of Bukhārā in the late 7th century A.D. (*Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. M. Riḍawī, Tehran n.d. [1939], 46, tr. R.N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, 39).

After the Arab invasions of Transoxania, the Arab commanders and governors in the eastern province

followed in the footsteps of the local princes and established their own units of *shākiriyya*, who served as bodyguards, and then combattants.

This was the result of growing pressure on the part of the Türgesh toward the end of the 7th century and the first and second decades of the eighth, when the Arabs in Central Asia were compelled to enlist the aid of the *shākiriyya* which were under the command of the local nobility. Prominent among the latter were two brothers, Thābit and Ḥurayth, sons of Ḳuṭba. The phenomenon did not remain limited to the eastern provinces; it also spread westward to ʿIrāḳ and Syria, where *shākiriyya* units operated as private militias under the command of Arab commanders and princes for the purpose of putting down the insurrections of the Khāridjites [*q.v.*] alongside the semi-regular army of the Arab *muḳātila*. The struggle for power and disputes within the dynasty toward the end of the Umayyad period, encouraged and expedited the existence of such private units.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, the institution of the *shākiriyya* flourished, thanks to the growing tendency of the caliphs to eliminate their dependency upon Arab tribesmen and to rely more heavily upon the *mawālī* element. Decisive steps in this direction were taken by al-Maʾmūn, and also al-Muʿtaṣim, during whose reign the *shākiriyya* became a national military institution which, along with other ethnic groups, replaced the classical structure of the Arab tribal fighters. This was expressed in the establishment of a separate office, the *dīwān al-shākiriyya*, and the *shākiriyya* troops received monthly salaries which were quite high in comparison with those received by their colleagues, the Turkish troops and the *Maghāriba*.

Because they were subordinate to the caliphs, the *shākiriyya* forces were stationed in the capital Baghdād, and later in Sāmarrā. But the establishment of the *dīwān al-shākiriyya* did not change the nature of the *shākiriyya* as a private militia; military commanders, *ḳuwwād*, of both Arab and non-Arab origin, continued to keep *shākiriyya* as their own private militias, as witness the existence of *shākiriyya* militias in such cities as Kūfa, Medina, Raḳḳa and Malaṭya, as well as in such provinces as Ahwāz, Fārs, Ḥidjāz and Egypt.

In contrast to other militias, Arab sources do not indicate the ethnic identity of the *shākiriyya*, a fact which may point to their having belonged to a variety of ethnic groups, seen in traditions which speak of *shākiriyya* of Arab origin as well as *shākiriyya* from various nations and ethnic groups which lived within the borders of the former Sāsānid Persia. Whatever their origin, their loyalty to their patron the caliph was the common denominator which united them; manifestations of this loyalty could be seen after the murder of al-Mutawakkil (247/861) by Turkish commanders, and also in the loyalty toward the deposed caliph al-Mustaʿīn in 252/866 and the *shākiriyya*'s support of al-Muhtadī in his struggle against the Turkish commanders in 256/869.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 180; J. Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*; Djāḥiẓ, *Manāḳib al-Atrāk*, in *Rasāʾil al-Djāḥiẓ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1964, i, 30; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, indices; idem, *Tanbīh*, 361-2; Ṭabarī, index; Fayrūzābādhī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīt*, ²Cairo 1344, ii, 63; *TA*, s.v. *sh-k-r*. (KHALĪL ʿATHĀMINA)

SHAKK (A.) "perplexity", "uncertainty", "doubt" in the philosophical sense (though not the vernacular English sense of "being suspicious, dubious"). In ritual, *shakk* signifies uncertainty over the effective performance of an act. In epistemology, it is part of an epistemic ranking from *yaḳīn* (certainty) to *ghalabat al-ẓann* (likelihood), to *ẓann* (presumption), to *shakk* (uncertainty), to *shubha* (suspicion).

1. In Islamic legal and religious practice.

In the Ḳurʾān there are 15 usages, all in noun form, often in a formulaic combination with *murīb*, e.g. XI, 110; XXXIV, 54. Ḳurʾānic usages taken together suggest that *shakk* is hesitation in response to a summons (*daʿwa*) (XI, 62; XIV, 9-10). *Shakk* occurs despite a clear sign (XL, 34) and as a result of difference (*ikhtilāf*). Chastisement would resolve the uncertainty (VIII, 38), which is a kind of lack of seriousness (*yalʿabūna*) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowing (*ʿilm*), and usage suggests a holding back from commitment (*īmān*) (XXXIV, 21). In the clearest (and perhaps latest) Ḳurʾānic usage (IV, 157), the entire epistemological ranking system is laid out, from errant supposition, to wilful pluralism as a cause of uncertainty: "Those who are errant have no knowledge, no certainty, but at best only supposition; it is said that those who assert that they killed the Messiah Jesus, son of Mary, the Messenger of God, are in error, and those who disagree are uncertain about it (*la-fī shakkⁱⁿ minhu*)".

In ritual, the term refers to uncertainty whether some condition of a ritual has been properly performed, e.g. when performing a specified number of *rakaʿāt*, if one loses track of the number completed, this uncertainty is called *shakk*. For the Shāfiʿīs, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs, the person who has lost track must begin again from whatever point he is confident he completed. For the Ḥanafīs, one is enjoined to try to recall how many had been done. If, upon reflection, one still cannot recall, then, like the other Sunnīs, Ḥanafīs are enjoined to begin at the point of certainty. The Zaydīs generally follow the Sunnī *madhhab* in this (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, ii, 337-9). Imāmī Shīʿīs hold that if the uncertainty occurs either during a *ṣalāt* for which the stipulated number of *rakaʿāt* is only two—as with the prayer of the two festivals—or during the first two of a *ṣalāt* for which four is stipulated, such as the *ʿishāʾ*, then the entire effort is voided and one must begin again from the beginning. If the uncertainty arises in the second pair of the *ʿishāʾ*, only the latter part must be repeated. For all schools, the completion of the ritual renders irrelevant any subsequent doubts about its performance.

In epistemology, *shakk* refers to a state of uncertainty resulting from the equipollence of beliefs or evidence. It is a sub-species of ignorance (al-Tahānawī, 780). In a commonly cited definition, Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015 [*q.v.*]) says that *shakk* is the judgment of possibility (*tadjwīz*) of two matters with no advantage to one over the other (*K. al-Ḥudūd*, 34).

This definition, however, al-Ghazālī criticises, arguing that, "*shakk* refers to contradictory beliefs grounded on two [different] motivations to belief (*sababayn*). Something which has no motivation to belief cannot be affirmed by the soul so that one thereby equipollates the contrary belief and it becomes uncertain. Thus we say: if one is uncertain whether one has prayed three or four [*rakaʿāt*], choose 'three' since the basic principle is 'no additional.' But, if one were asked whether the noon prayer which he performed ten years before was three or four, he cannot verify absolutely that it was four, so he cannot eliminate the possibility that it was three. This judgment of possibility (*tadjwīz*) is not *shakk*, since he has no motivation that would oblige him to believe it was three. Let us therefore understand the precise meaning of *shakk* so that it is not conflated with fancy (*wahm*), or judgment of possibility (*tadjwīz*) without motivation" (*Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 99; see also Jabre, *Lexique de Ghazālī*, 131).

Al-Tahānawī (*Kashshāf*, 780-1) is proof, however, that al-Ghazālī's distinction did not completely find favour, since he says, quoting al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī (*al-Mufradāt*, i, 388) "*shakk* is judging equal two antithetical notions and equipollating them. This may be from the presence of two equivocal signs (*amāratayn*) ... or from the absence of signs." Al-Nawawī (676/1278 [*q.v.*]) confirms this understanding, saying, "*fukahā'* apply the word *shakk* in many books of *fikh* to wavering (*al-taraddud*) between two sides, whether they are equal or one is preferred, as one says 'uncertainty about the *ḥadīth*, or concerning impurity, or one's *ṣalāh* or one's circumambulation, or intention, or divorce'" (*Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, ii, 166-7; Abu 'l-Baḳā', *Kulliyyāt*, iii, 63).

There is some suggestion that *shakk* refers to the objective fact of uncertainty and another word, *rayb*, to the state of perplexity consequent to that fact. Abu 'l-Baḳā' says in his *Kulliyyāt*, iii, 63, that "*shakk* is the cause of *rayb* ... *shakk* is the basis (*mabda'*) of *rayb*, as knowledge is the basis of certainty"; and al-Nawawī (*ibid.*) says that *shakk* is "a wavering of the mind" (*taraddud al-dhihn*).

Bibliography: Ibn Fūrak, in M.A.S. Abdel Haleem, *Early Islamic theological and juristic terminology; Kitāb al-Ḥudūd fī 'l-uṣūl by Ibn Fūrak*, in *BSOAS*, liv (1991), 5-41; Abū Ya'lā al-Farrā' al-Ḥanbalī, *al-'Udda fī uṣūl al-fikh*, ed. Aḥmad b. 'Alī Sayr al-Mubārakī, Beirut 1980/1400, i, 83; Bādjī, *K. al-Ḥudūd fī 'l-uṣūl*, ed. Nazīh Ḥammād, Beirut and Ḥimṣ 1392/1973, 29; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, Beirut n.d.; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa 'l-lughāt*, Cairo 1927; al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī gharīb al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Khalafallāh, Cairo 1970, i, 388-9; Djurdjānī, *K. al-Ta'rīfāt*, Leipzig 1845, 134; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār al-djāmi' li-madhāhib 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, ed. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Djurāfī, Beirut 1394/1975, ii, 337-9; Abu 'l-Baḳā', al-Kaffawī, *al-Kulliyyāt, mu'djam fi 'l-muṣṭalaḥāt wa 'l-furūḳ al-lughawiyya*, ed. 'Adnān Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, Damascus 1974, iii, 62-3; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1854, 780-2; Farid Jabre, *Essai sur le lexique de Ghazālī. Contribution à l'étude de la terminologie de Ghazālī dans ses principaux ouvrages à l'exception du Tahāfut*, Beirut 1970, 131; Muḥammad Djawār Mughniyya, *al-Fikh 'alā 'l-madhāhib al-khamsa*, Beirut n.d., i, 116-19; Sa'dī Abū Djayb, *al-Ḳāmūs al-fiḳhī lughat^an wa-iṣṭilāḥ^an*, Damascus 1402/1982, 200-1.

(A.K. Reinhart)

2. In philosophy.

In one of its senses, *shakk* is an appropriate rendition of the Greek ἀπορία (defined by Liddell and Scott as "want of means or resource, embarrassment, difficulty, hesitation, perplexity"). However, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' in their *Rasā'il* considered "doubt" (*al-shakk*) more starkly as a sickness of the soul while its opposite "certainty" (*al-yaḳīn*) constituted that soul's health. For al-Djurdjānī, *shakk* was a hesitation between two antitheses. It is also useful to go behind such snap definitions and examine what "doubt" meant in terms of the *development* of Islamic philosophy. While no formal school of Islamic sceptics ever established themselves after the manner of a Pyrrho or a Timon, it is clear that monolithic "certainty" was no more to be observed in Islamic philosophy than it was in theology. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, indeed, gained a reputation as a doubter and a critic of both philosophers and theologians. Al-Ghazālī's method has been described as one of doubt or scepticism with antecedents both in the reductionist atomism of the Ash'arīs and the thought of such Mu'tazilīs as al-Naẓẓām and Abu 'l-Hudhayl [*q.vv.*] for whom knowledge began with doubt. As M. Saeed Sheikh puts it, "The most important thing about al-Ghazālī's system of thought is its method which may be described as that of the courage to know and the courage to doubt. The best expression of it is given in his famous autobiographical work, *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*." However, the archetypal paradigm of "doubt" in the whole of Islamic philosophy must surely be the eponymous hero of Ibn Ṭufayl's [*q.v.*] *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*. The philosopher presents his hero intellectually "naked", free from all presuppositions, free to accept or *doubt*. Sami S. Hawi puts it in a nutshell: "By removing Ḥayy from the social situation, Ibn Ṭufayl had done what Descartes, Hume and Husserl did. *He was attempting a hypothetical destruction of and universal doubt in the surrounding world of tradition and early education.*"

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(I.R. Netton)

SHAKKĀZIYYA (A.), the name given to the markings of a universal stereographic projection which underlies a family of astronomical instruments serving all terrestrial latitudes.

The standard astrolabe [see asṭurlāb] contains a series of plates for different latitudes. Originally, on Greek astrolabes and the first Islamic astrolabes, these served the seven climates of Antiquity [see iklīm]. However, already in the 3rd/9th century specific latitudes were selected and sometimes lists of localities served by these would also be engraved on the plates. In al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century two astronomers, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibn al-Zarḳāllu and 'Alī b. Khalaf, developed instruments in which these plates for a series of latitudes were replaced by a single plate (*ṣafīḥa*), essentially an astrolabic plate serving the latitude of the equator, but more precisely a stereographic projection of the celestial sphere from the vernal point on to the plane of the solstitial colure. This had the technical advantage that it could be used for any terrestrial latitude. It also had aesthetic advantages: the markings, which consist of two families of orthogonal circles (for, say, meridians and parallels of declination, or for longitudes and latitudes), are symmetrical with respect to both axes (in other words, they are the same in all four quadrants) and they do not crowd together in any place.

The *ṣafīḥa zarkālliyya* (see below) became known to modern scholarship through the researches of J.M. Millás Vallicrosa. But the meaning and significance of the term *shakkāziyya* was unknown when Willy Hartner published his masterly study of the theory of the astrolabe in Pope's *Survey of Persian art* (1939) and the summary thereof in the article asṭurlāb [*q.v.*]. In the latter he wrote (vol. I, 727a): "Another early variety of al-Zarḳālī's astrolabe is the *ṣafīḥa shakāziyya* (or *shakāriyya*), about which we do not possess any accurate information." We now possess a great deal of information about this, but have still not solved some of the basic problems.

In spite of the research of various scholars over the past two decades, the details of the development of the various universal devices associated with Ibn al-Zarḳāllu and ʿAlī b. Khalaf, the relationship between them, as well as the nature of their respective contributions, remain somewhat unclear. What is clear is that Ibn al-Zarḳāllu wrote treatises on two different universal instruments, both plates, and that ʿAlī b. Khalaf wrote a treatise on a universal astrolabe.

The *ṣafīḥa shakkāziyya* bears a set of *shakkāziyya* markings with a graduated straight line drawn across it at an angle to the equator equal to the obliquity of the ecliptic [see MAYL] to represent the projection of the ecliptic. The circles of longitude for the beginning of each pair of signs are drawn for this second coordinate system. The ensemble can be used, together with a diametral rule attached at the centre, to solve various problems of spherical astronomy, although the solution of the most important of these, the determination of time from celestial altitude, can only be achieved approximately. In other words, the instrument has some limitations. On the back are scales for finding the solar longitude from the day of the solar year and others for finding shadow lengths.

The *ṣafīḥa zarḳālliyya* consists of two sets of *shakkāziyya* markings superposed one upon the other, with their axes inclined at an angle equal to the obliquity. This results in a somewhat cluttered ensemble and these markings have but one use: to convert celestial coordinates from the ecliptic to the equatorial system and *vice versa*. The back of this *ṣafīḥa* was marked with a trigonometric grid bearing an orthogonal meridian projection. This allows exact solutions to be found for all of the standard problems of spherical astronomy. There is also a curious small circle offset from the centre (see below).

The universal astrolabe consists essentially of a plate with *shakkāziyya* markings and a rete with the same; the latter can then rotate over the former. The combination can be used to solve any problem of spherical astronomy, since one can consider the two sets of markings as representing a horizon-based or equatorial or ecliptic coordinate grid. ʿAlī b. Khalaf further restricted the *shakkāziyya* grid on the rete to one-half of the rete, leaving the other free for a celestial mapping of both the northern and southern halves of the ecliptic superposed one upon the other. With this problems relating to the sun and various fixed stars could be solved using the *shakkāziyya* plate below. The universal astrolabe is no longer an analogue computer like the standard astrolabe.

Mainly as a result of the influence of the 13th-century *Libros del saber de astronomía*, in which these three instruments were featured, European astronomers learned of the *shakkāziyya* grid and called it *safea* or *saphea* after the Arabic *ṣafīḥa* (see Poulle, 1969). It is found on several European astrolabes after the 14th century. The universal astrolabe of ʿAlī b. Khalaf, called *lámina universal* in Old Spanish, was "reinvented" in England in the late 16th century by John Blagrave of Reading. For details of the various treatises on them, as well as their rôle in the transmission of astronomical knowledge to Europe, the reader is referred to the secondary literature listed below.

The utility and aesthetic appeal of the *shakkāziyya* markings led to their application on a celestial map, contained in a 15th-century manuscript of the *Libros del saber*. On this the coordinate grid is identical with that of the *shakkāziyya* plate (Madrid 1992 exhibition catalogue, 229, listed under Puig, 1992 below).

On the trigonometric grid on the back of the *ṣafīḥa zarḳālliyya* there is a small circle set below the centre. Only recently has the function of this been understood (Puig, 1989). With remarkable ingenuity of conception the apparently simple device serves to calculate the lunar distance and hence the lunar parallax for any position of the moon on its orbit.

The Aleppo astronomer Ibn al-Sarrādj also reinvented the universal astrolabe of ʿAlī b. Khalaf some 250 years before Blagrave. He was clearly aware of at least the single *shakkāziyya* plate, but he stated that he invented the instrument himself and boldly labelled it *al-Sarrādjiyya*. There is no (other) known direct evidence of the influence of ʿAlī b. Khalaf's astrolabe west of the Maghrib. However, Ibn al-Sarrādj then went several steps further and developed a second variety, fitted with additional plates and astronomical markings. In short, he produced an instrument that can be used universally in five different ways. An example of this remarkable quintuply-universal astrolabe, made by Ibn al-Sarrādj himself in 729/1328-29, is happily preserved in the Benaki Museum, Athens. It is the most sophisticated astrolabe ever made, and astronomers in Renaissance Europe would have been hard put to understand all of its functions. Fortunately a treatise on the use of this instrument survives, written by the Cairene astronomer ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Wafāʾī (*ca.* 850/1450), whose mark of ownership is engraved on the Benaki astrolabe. He complained that Ibn al-Sarrādj failed to provide any instructions on its use, and proceeded to provide these himself, admirably completing the task to the very last detail.

Other Mamlūk astronomers in the 8th/14th century wrote on the simpler variety of universal astrolabe, which they called *al-asṭurlāb al-mughnī* [*ʿan al-ṣafāʾiḥ*], "the astrolabe that does not need any plates". They also developed the single and double *shakkāziyya* quadrant. With the former (see Samsó, 1971 and Samsó and Catalá, 1971) the problem of determining time from celestial altitudes is solvable only approximately. With the latter (see King, 1974) the solution is exact for any latitude. No such Islamic instruments survive; they are known only from texts. A double *shakkāziyya* quadrant from late-16th-century Louvain, now in the Adler Planetarium, Chicago, shows that Renaissance European instrument-makers, if only the most ingenious, were interested in the same kind of device.

Closely related to the *shakkāziyya* and *zarḳālliyya* plates, and certainly inspired by their utility, was the more flexible universal plate (*al-ṣafīḥa al-djāmiʿa li-djamīʿ al-ʿurūḍ*) of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Bāṣo of Granada (*fl. ca.* 675/1275). Only recently has it become known how this plate, a common feature on later Andalusian and Maghribī astrolabes, and occasionally also on Mamlūk Syrian and even on one Mughal Lahore astrolabe, functions (see Calvo, 1992 and 1993). The underlying notions reflect an almost incredible skill with the problems of spherical astronomy. Essentially, the plate is used with different arguments (such as terrestrial latitude, solar or stellar declination, and solar or stellar altitudes) entered on different families of circles, and the appropriate operations yield, for example, the time of day or the azimuth of the sun or a given star. A single plate of a similar kind is found on a 15th-century German astrolabe, now in Columbia University, New York City; it proves that European astronomers later approached the same problem in the same way.

The development of these universal instruments in al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century testifies to the remarkable abilities of astronomers there at that time. The interest of Muslim astronomers in universal instruments in general is part of their fascination with and

mastery of universal solutions to diverse problems of spherical astronomy (see King, 1987 and 1988). These, attested from the 3rd/9th to the 10th/16th century, represent a particularly sophisticated tradition in Islamic astronomy.

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(D.A. King)

SHAKKĪ, a district in Eastern Transcaucasia. In Armenian it is called Shakʿē, in Georgian Shakʿa (and Shakikh?); the Arabs write Shakkay = Shakʿē (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 123, al-Iṣṭakhrī, 183, al-Balādhurī, 206), Shakkī (Yāḳūt, iii, 311), Shakkan (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 293, al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 194), Shakīn (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 68-9 = § 500).

The usual boundaries of Shakkī were: on the east, the Gök-čay which separates it from Shīrwān [*q.v.*] proper; on the west, the Alazan (Turk. Ḳanïḳ?) and its left tributary the Ḳashḳa-čay, which separates Shakkī from Georgia (Kakhetia) and the Georgian cantons later occupied by the Dāghistānīs (Eli-su, now Zakāt ʿAlī); in the north, the southern slopes of the Caucasus (Ṣalawāt Daghï, the passes of which, however, are within the confines of Dāghistān); to the south the Kura (Kur). Shakkī is watered by the tributary of the Alazan, Ägri-čay ("river running diagonally", i.e. from east to west) and the river Aldjigān (Gīlān) and Tūriyān, which run towards the Kura. Shakkī consists of three regions, one of high valleys covered with forests and orchards; a central one, a treeless and desert plateau; lastly, a fertile plain declining to the Kura.

The variety of the factors that have influenced this remote region is responsible for the remarkable character of its local history, in which we see pass before us in succession, the Albanians (Aghowāns), Armenians, Georgians, the people of Dāghistān, Persians, Turks and Russians.

In ancient time it formed part of Caucasian Albania [see ARRĀN], which was a confederation of 26 tribes speaking different languages (Strabo, xi, 4). The remnants of one of these tribes are believed to survive in the Udi, who are still to be found at Shakkī (al-Balādhurī, 203: Ūdh). From their name they must have originally come from the region of Uti (Strabo, xi, 7; Οὐίτιοι; Pliny, vi, 13: Otene) lying on the right bank of the Kura (the modern Gandja, Shamkūr, Ṭāwūs); it at first belonged to Armenia Major but was later occupied by the Albanians (cf. "the Armenian Geography" of the 7th century translated into Russian by Patkanov, 1877, 51). The present language of the Udi is related to the southeastern group of languages of Dāghistān (Khinalugh, Budugh, etc.) and has been subjected to very heterogeneous influences, especially Turkish (Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 49). The Albanians were very early converted by the Armenians and, according to the Armenian legend, the church of Gish (now Kīsh) was built by Elishē, a disciple of the Apostle Thaddeus.

Among the places mentioned in Albania by Ptolemy, Χαβάλα and αἱ Ἀλβάνιαι πύλαι occupying the same position, long. 80°, lat. 47°, must correspond to Ḳabala and to the passes which above it give access to the valley of Samūr (Khačmaz and Kutkashen roads). The ruins of Ḳabala lie near the confluence of the two branches of the Tūrīyān čay. Ὄτικα (long. 77° 30', lat. 44° 45') may correspond to the town of Shakkī which has now disappeared (Yanovski places it to the south-west of Nūkhā, near the village of Shekīlī). The other identification (Νίγα = Nīž) has still to be examined carefully. The present chef-lieu Nūkhā or Nūkhī (on the river Kīsh) is said to have taken its name from a village more to the east (Sulṭān Nūkhā near Nīž); its name is only found from the 18th century

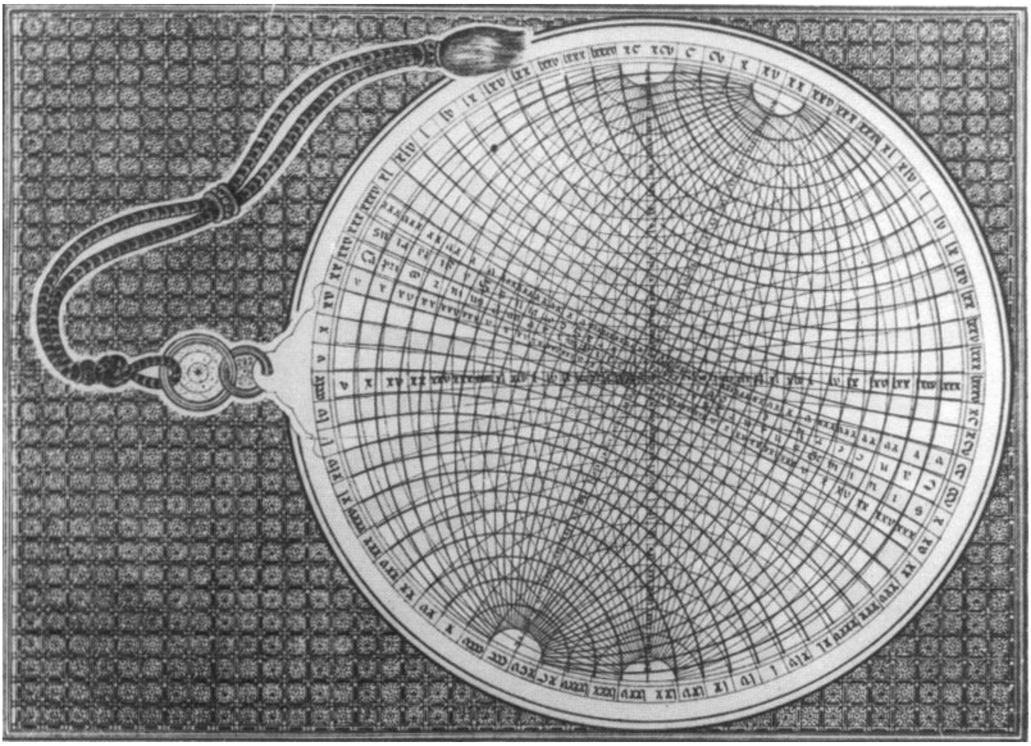

2. The *zarḳālliyya* plate illustrated in the *Libros del saber*.

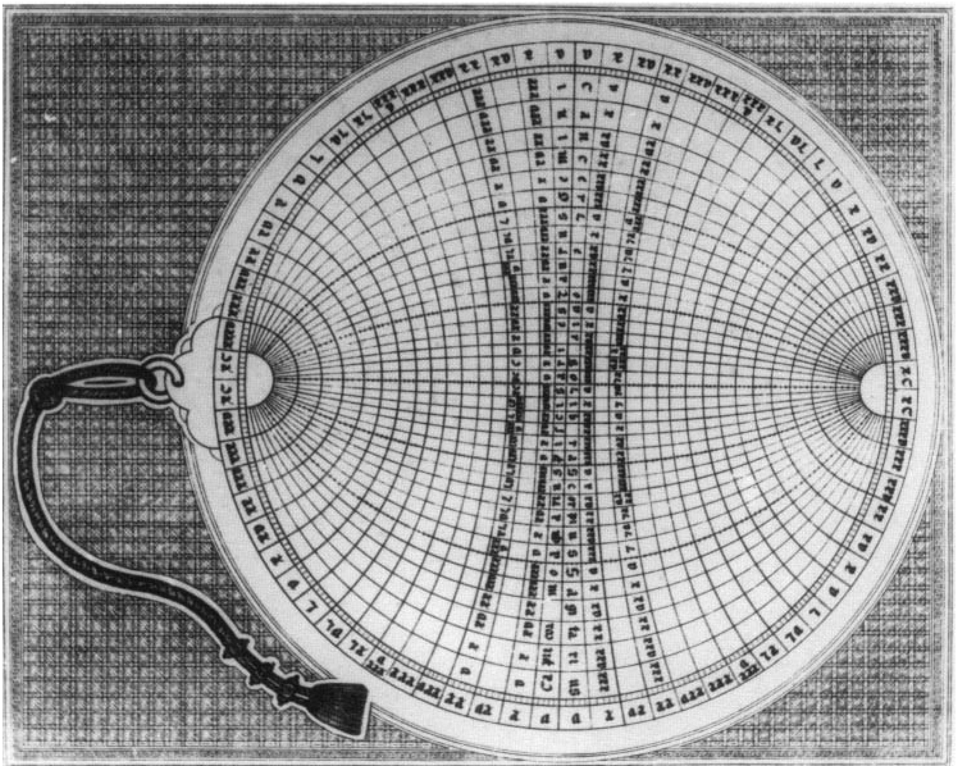

1. The *shakkāziyya* plate illustrated in the *Libros del saber* (ed. D. Manuel Rico y Sinobas, Madrid 1873).

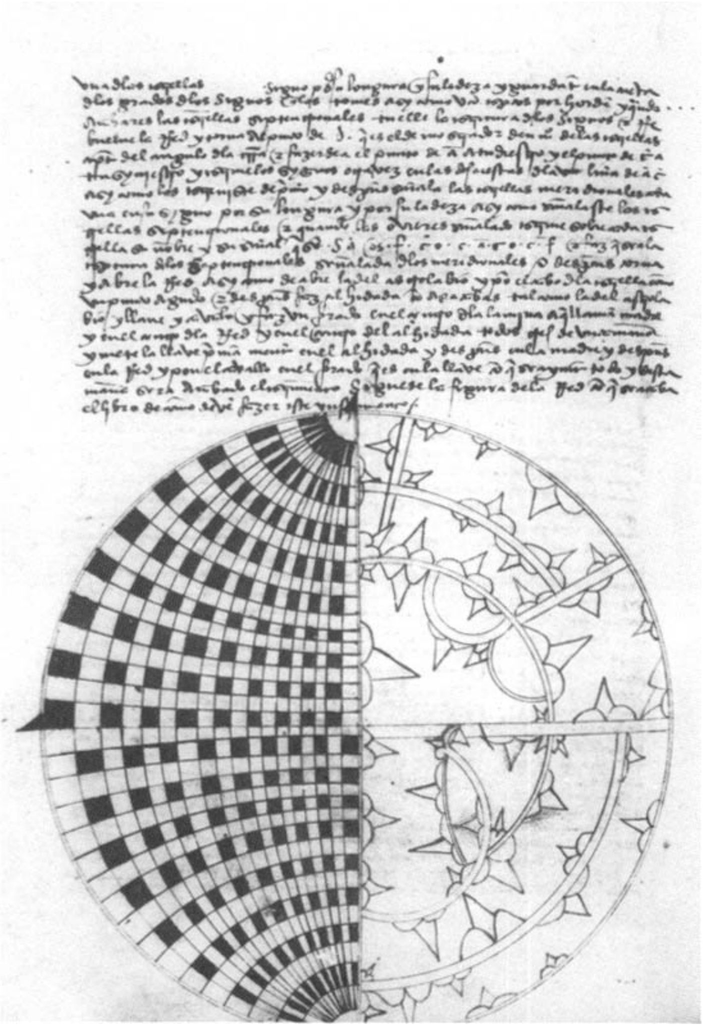

3. The rete of ʿAlī b. Khalaf's universal astrolabe in the *Libros del Saber* (reproduced from ms. Madrid Biblioteca Nacional L97).

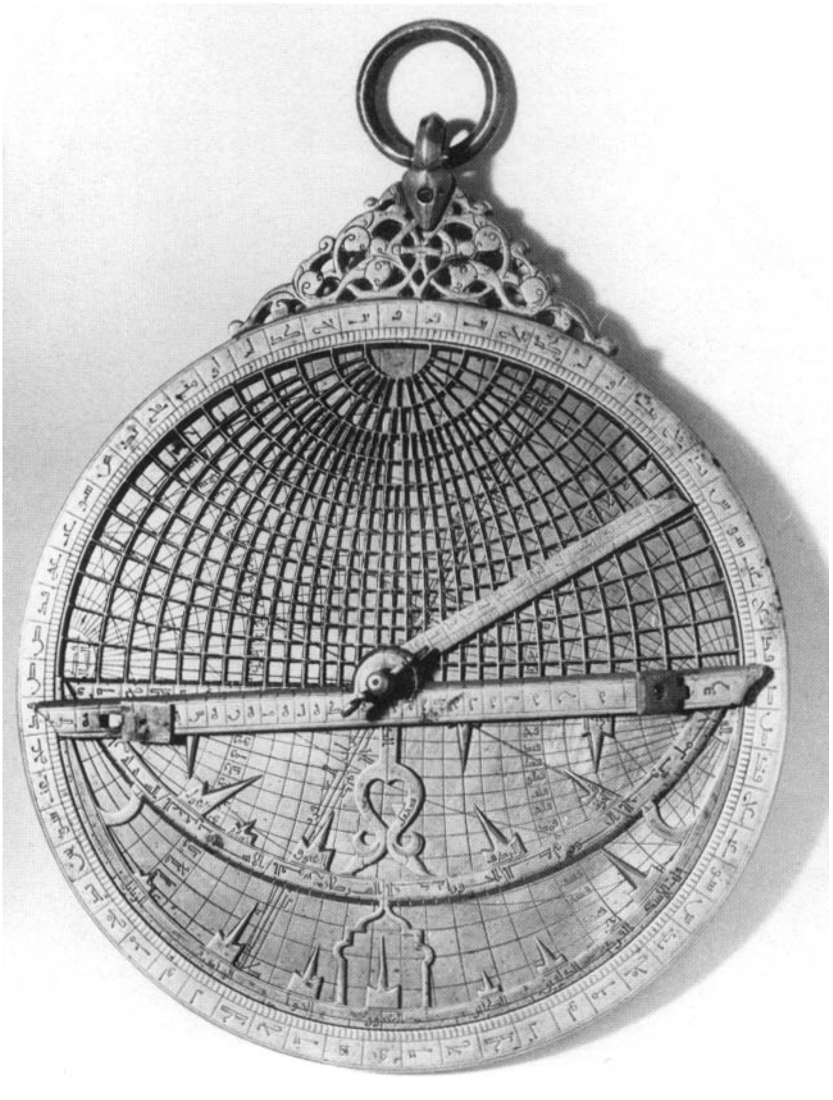

4. The front of the quintuply-universal astrolabe of Ibn al-Sarrādj, showing a semi-circle of *shakkāziyya* markings laid over the *shakkāziyya* plate. (Courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens.)

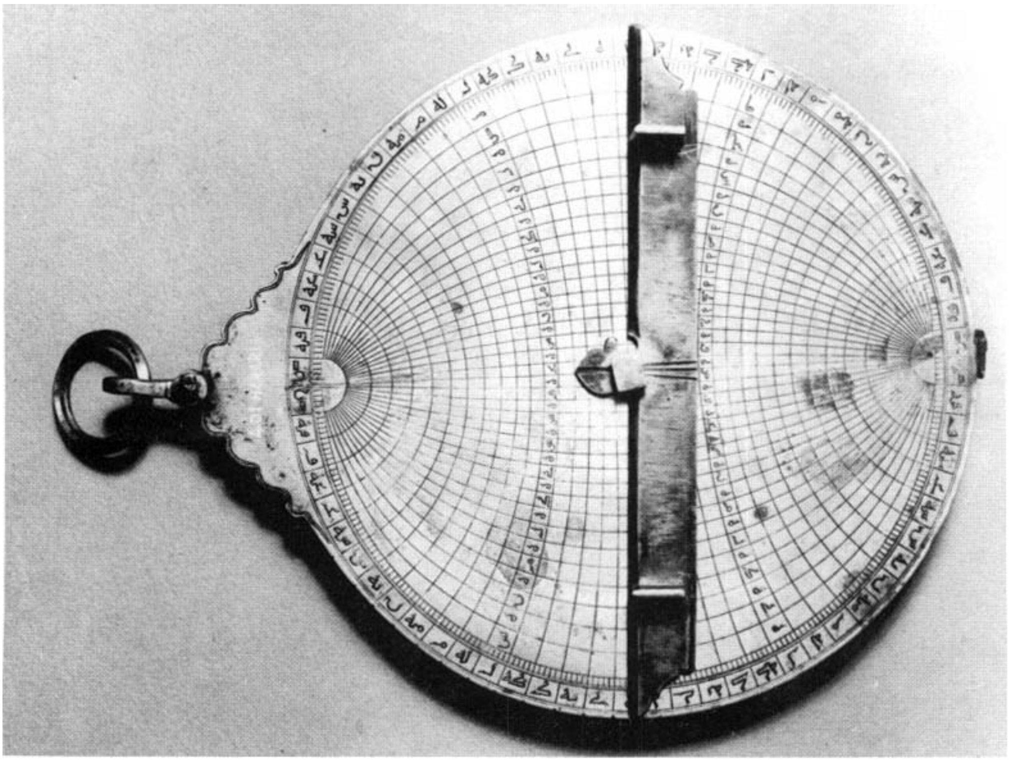

5. The back of an unsigned astrolabe in the tradition of Shams al-Dīn al-Mizzī from 8th/14th-century Damascus. The *shakkāziyya* markings are here without the scale for the ecliptic. (Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, photo from the archives of Alain Brieux, courtesy of Dominique Brieux.)

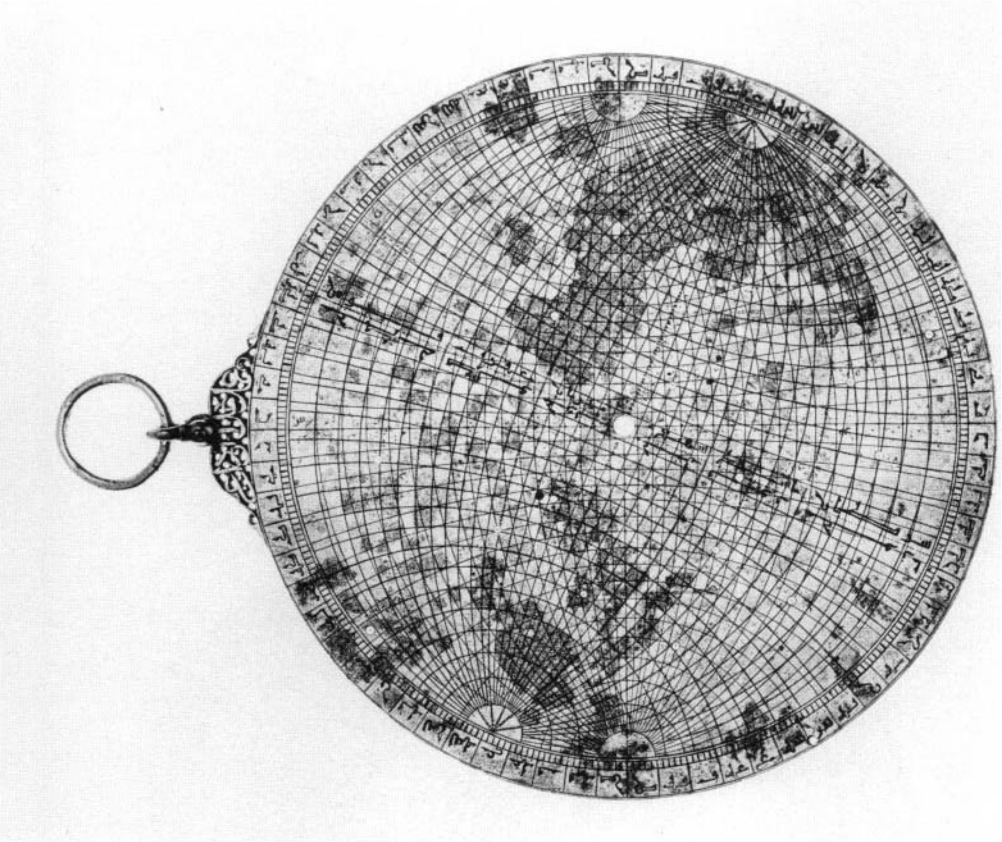

6. The *zarḳālliyya* markings on an astrolabic plate by ʿAlī al-Wadāʿī (Syria, *ca.* 650/1250). (Time Museum, Rockford, Ill., photo courtesy of the late Alain Brieux, Paris.)

onwards, unless it is connected with Ie<u>kh</u>ni (name of an Albanian canton, according to the Armenian geographers).

When the Arabs talk of towns of Arrān built by the Sāsānids, they probably only refer to the rebuilding of ancient sites; thus Ḳubād b. Fīrūz (488-531) is credited with the building of Ḳabala (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 288; Yāḳūt, iv, 32) and his son <u>Kh</u>usraw Anū<u>sh</u>irwān (531-79) with Abwāb-<u>Sh</u>akkan, Ḳambīzān (Καμβυσήνη, K'ambēč'an in Ka<u>kh</u>etia) and Abwāb al-Dūdāniyya (al-Balā<u>dh</u>urī, 194).

Under the caliph 'U<u>th</u>mān, Salmān b. Rabī'a, having crossed the Kura, conquered Ḳabala, but confined himself to concluding a treaty of peace with the chiefs of <u>Sh</u>akkan and Ḳambīzān. Later, al-<u>Dj</u>arrāḥ b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥakamī halted at <u>Sh</u>akkī on his return from the Dā<u>gh</u>istān campaign.

We have a certain amount of information on <u>Sh</u>akkī in mediaeval Islamic times from an anonymous history of Darband, the *Ta'rī<u>kh</u> Bāb al-Abwāb*, known from citations in the late Ottoman historian Müne<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>im Ba<u>sh</u>ī's [*q.v.*] *<u>Dj</u>āmi' al-duwal* (gathered together, with translation and detailed commentary, by Minorsky in his *A history of Sharwān and Darband*). From this, it is clear that Arab control in the first centuries was only light. A revolt in 205/820-1 killed the deputy of al-Ma'mūn's governor. At this time, Arrān and <u>Sh</u>akkī were controlled by the vigorous Armenian prince Sahl b. Sunbāṭ, who surrendered the fugitive Bābak al-<u>Kh</u>urramī [*q.v.*] to al-Mu'taṣim (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1222-6, tr. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. xxxiii. Storm and stress along the northern frontiers of the 'Abbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1991, 76-80; Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, xv [1953], 505-10).

The Christians of <u>Sh</u>akkī remained for a long time in the majority. According to al-Mas'ūdī, *loc. cit.*, the principality of <u>Sh</u>akīn, adjoining that of Ṣanārī (Ptolemy, v, 9; Σάναροι, Dzanar in the valley of the river Samūr), was inhabited by Christians and Muslims, who worked as merchants and artisans. The king was called Adarnarsē b. Humām. The next district on the east was Ḳabala, "a haunt of robbers and bad characters", the town of which had a Muslim population while the environs were inhabited by Christians. The king (*Malik*) of Ḳabala was called 'Anbasa al-A'war (the "one-eyed"). The identity of these is still uncertain. Towards the end of the 7th century, Georgian and Armenian sources mention a mysterious Adarnarsē the Blind (Brosset, i/1, 249); in the 9th century, the name of Atrnarse was fairly common in the family of Mihrakān (Albanian princes of Sāsānid origin, Brosset, i/2, 480). According to al-Muḳaddasī, 51, Ḳabala and <u>Sh</u>akkī were only little towns.

<u>Sh</u>akkī later belonged to the <u>Sh</u>īrwān<u>sh</u>āhs [*q.v.*], with whom, however, the Georgians disputed its possession. In 1117 King David conquered Gi<u>sh</u>i (Kī<u>sh</u> above Nū<u>kh</u>ā on one of the tributaries of the Āgri čay). This little town was the residence of the governor (*erist'aw*) of <u>Ts</u>uk'et' (district to the north-east of Alazan), and of the bishop whose diocese comprised Elisen (Eli-su), <u>Ts</u>uk'et' and <u>Sh</u>aki<u>kh</u>. Brosset, i/1, 250, thought the latter name identical with <u>Sh</u>akkī.

In 622/1225 we again have the <u>Sh</u>īrwān<u>sh</u>āh Farīburz complaining to the <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm<u>sh</u>āh <u>Dj</u>alāl al-Dīn of the loss of <u>Sh</u>akkī and Ḳabala, which had been taken by the Georgians. Towards 626/1229, <u>Dj</u>alāl al-Dīn established his authority over both towns simultaneously (al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, i, 146, 176).

In the time of Tīmūr we find Sīdī 'Alī of the Arlāt tribe acting as *wālī* of the *wilāyet* of <u>Sh</u>akkī. (Arlāt is the name of one of the four chief tribes of the Ulūs of Ča<u>gh</u>atāy.) A punitive expedition sent by Tīmūr (796/1393) drove him from his office. Although a "good Muslim", he joined the Georgians and perished in a skirmish under the walls of the fortress of Alin<u>dj</u>aḳ (near Na<u>kh</u>čiwān). About 801/1398, through the intercession of Amīr <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Ibrāhīm of <u>Sh</u>īrwān (who had originally been a humble landowner in <u>Sh</u>akkī), Sīdī Aḥmad, son of Sīdī 'Alī, was re-established as chief of tribe and governor of <u>Sh</u>akkī. Ibrāhīm and Aḥmad afterwards acted in concert (Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1885-9, i, 731, ii, 204, 218, 222).

To judge from the dates upon tombstones found by Yanovski in the cemetery of Ḳabala (890-901/1474-85), this town must have no longer existed towards the period of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu dynasties.

At the beginning of the Ṣafawid period, <u>Sh</u>akkī was ruled by the hereditary chief Ḥusayn Beg, a scion (according to the *Gulistān-i Iram*) of the <u>Sh</u>īrwān<u>sh</u>āh dynasty. Hard pressed by the Georgians, he appealed for help to <u>Sh</u>āh Ismā'īl, but was killed in a battle against Lewan I, king of Ka<u>kh</u>etia (1520-74). When <u>Sh</u>īrwān was conquered by <u>Sh</u>āh Ṭahmāsp (in 945/1538), Darwī<u>sh</u> Muḥammad, son of Ḥusayn, aided the last <u>Sh</u>īrwān<u>sh</u>āh against the Persians. In 958/1551 <u>Sh</u>āh Ṭahmāsp, with the help of King Lewan, besieged Kī<u>sh</u> and the fort of Gelesin-göresin ("come and see it") near the modern Nū<u>kh</u>ā. <u>Sh</u>akkī was then annexed by Persia.

When in 984/1578 the Ottoman troops under Lālā Muṣṭafā Pa<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*] fought a battle at Ḳanïḳ against the <u>Kh</u>āns of Gan<u>dj</u>a, Erīwān and Na<u>kh</u>čiwān, King Alexander II of Ka<u>kh</u>etia, an ally of the Turks, occupied <u>Sh</u>akkī without striking a blow, and it became an Ottoman *san<u>dj</u>aḳ*. The Turks re-established at <u>Sh</u>akkī the son of the former governor Aḥmad <u>Kh</u>ān (Hammer, *GOR*², ii, 484) but an Ottoman governor (Ḳayṭās Pa<u>sh</u>a) was placed in Āre<u>sh</u>.

When the Ṣafawids again became masters of Transcaucasia, <u>Sh</u>āh 'Abbās appointed the Georgian prince Constantin Mīrzā (son of Alexander II of Ka<u>kh</u>etia) *wālī* of <u>Sh</u>īrwān (in 1014/1606). <u>Sh</u>āhmīr <u>Kh</u>ān of <u>Sh</u>akkī became his faithful vassal. Later, the Ṣafawids removed their protection from the kings of Ka<u>kh</u>etia, who were turning towards Moscow, tried to reduce their possessions and towards 1643, <u>Sh</u>akkī fell into the power of local *maliks* and *sulṭāns*. Under 'Abbās II, Ewliyā Čelebī visited <u>Sh</u>akkī (ii, 286-93). At this time (about 1057/1647), the sultan of <u>Sh</u>akkī was under the <u>Kh</u>ān of Āre<u>sh</u>. The town had 3,000 houses although he puts the stronghold of <u>Sh</u>akkī in the *eyālet* of <u>Sh</u>īrwān. Ewliyā adds that it is considered to belong to Georgia, "because the Georgians had founded it". Ewliyā's notes on the tribe of Ḳaytāḳ whom he met near Maḥmūdābād (Ḳabala?) are very curious; these people talked pure Mongol (ii, 291), which has now completely disappeared from these regions.

Nādir <u>Sh</u>āh [*q.v.*] and his troops several times traversed the territory of <u>Sh</u>akkī and Ḳabala (in 1147, 1154). To be able the better to resist him, the local petty chiefs chose as their leader (*Ā<u>th</u>ār-i Dā<u>gh</u>istān: ba<u>sh</u>či*), the former tax-collector Ḥā<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>ī Čelebī, son of Ḳurbān. In 1157/1744 Nādir <u>Sh</u>āh besieged the fortress of Gelesin-göresin without success. After the death of Nādir (1160/1747), local dynasties arose again throughout the Eastern Caucasus. Ḥā<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>ī Čelebī consolidated his position and only allowed authority to the sultans of Āre<u>sh</u> and Ḳabala. On two occasions he inflicted defeats on King Irakli of Georgia. This energetic man, whose character is not without chivalrous features, played a considerable part in Transcaucasia (Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, ii, 2, 131). Ḥā<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>ī

Čelebī, a grandson, we are assured, of the priest (Ḳara Ḳas̲h̲īs̲h̲) of the former church of Kīs̲h̲, was a zealous Muslim and converted to Islam forcibly a large number of his Christian subjects. He died in 1172/1759. His descendants (Ag̲h̲a Kis̲h̲i, Ḥusayn, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir), relying alternately on their neighbours in Darband (Fatḥ ʿAlī K̲h̲ān) or Ḳarabāg̲h̲ (Ibrāhīm K̲h̲ān), expended their energies in intrigues and internal struggles. Finally, on 21 December, 1783, Muḥammad Ḥasan, son of Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān, established himself at Nūk̲h̲ā after having massacred the whole family of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (who had murdered Muḥammad Ḥasan's father). He proved an able administrator. He annexed to S̲h̲akkī the cantons of Āres̲h̲ and Ḳabala, colonised the open lands and drew up a written canon of laws (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) by which the population were divided into five classes: the begs (3 categories; in all 1,550, of whom 51 were Armenians); the monks; the *maʾaf* (= *muʿāf*), 700 men-at-arms excepted from taxation; the *raʿiyyat* (peasant proprietors); and the *rand̲j̲bar* (peasants).

About 1209/1795 Salīm K̲h̲ān, brother of Muḥammad Ḥasan, seized S̲h̲akkī and transferred the seat of government to Gelesin-göresin. Muḥammad Ḥasan, taking refuge with Ag̲h̲a Muḥammad Ḳād̲j̲ār, was blinded by his orders and ended his days in exile in Russia. In May 1805 Salīm K̲h̲ān submitted to the Russians and promised to pay tribute, but soon rebelled against his new suzerains. On 10 December 1806, the Russians invested D̲j̲aʿfar Ḳulī K̲h̲ān Dumbulī, the former governor of K̲h̲oy [*q.v.*], who had been expelled by the Persians, with the governorship of S̲h̲akkī. By the treaty of 1813 Persia recognised Russian suzerainty over S̲h̲akkī and the other neighbouring k̲h̲ānates. After the death in 1819 of the unpopular Ismāʿīl K̲h̲ān, son of D̲j̲aʿfar Ḳulī, General Yermolov incorporated S̲h̲akkī as a separate province in the Russian empire. At this date (1824), the k̲h̲ānate covered 7,600 square miles, contained 200 villages and had a population of 98,500, of whom 80,000 were Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān Turks, 15,300 Armenians, 1,500 Udi and 1,000 Jews.

After 1846, S̲h̲akkī, divided into two districts (*uyězd*), Nūk̲h̲ā and Āres̲h̲ (capital Aḳ-das̲h̲), was under the Imperial Russian governor of Elizavetpol (Gand̲j̲a). According to the census of 1896, the district of Nūk̲h̲ā (1,600 square miles) had a population of 94,767, of whom 66,000 were Turks, 14,800 Armenians, 7,400 Udi, 4,400 Lezgīs and 1,800 Jews. The town of Nūk̲h̲ā had 25,000 inhabitants (81% Turks and 18% Armenians). Among the villages of Nūk̲h̲ā may be mentioned the two last refuges of the Udi: Wartas̲h̲en (majority Jewish; the Udi half-Armenian-Gregorians and Orthodox), and Nīž or Než (5,000 Udi, Armenian-Gregorians).

After the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the old k̲h̲ānate briefly formed part of the independent Azerbaijan Republic, affiliated to the Transcaucasian Federation, and then, after 1920, came within the Soviet Union and the Azerbaijan S.S.R. Since the break-up of the Soviet Union, it has been part of the independent Azerbaijan Republic.

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(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

S̲H̲AḲŪBIYA, the designation in Arabic of the Spanish town of Segovia, an important and ancient centre, now the capital of the province of the same name, situated in Old Castile, 100 km/60 miles to the north-west of Madrid, 998 m/3,300 feet above sea-level, on an isolated rock near one of the last spurs of the Sierra de Guadarrama. This town is famous for its Roman (aqueduct) and Christian (alcazar) remains, and was only under Muslim rule for a short time. It was recaptured in 140/757 by Alfonso I of Astuvias or his son Fruela I at the same time as Zamora, Salamanca and Avila. It was, like those towns, recaptured, but only for a very brief period, by the *ḥād̲j̲ib* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir in the second half of the 4th/10th century.

After the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 478/1085, S̲h̲aḳūbiya, in a rearguard position facing the Muslims, was "re-peopled" by the Castilians in 1088, although recent Spanish historiography has called into question whether the region had previously been completely depopulated. It then became the seat of a small Muslim community subject to the Christian ruling power as Mudéjares [*q.v.*], shown, in the mid-15th century, by ʿĪsā b. D̲j̲ābir (*Içe de Gebir*), author of the *Suma de los principales mandamientos y devedamientos de la Ley y Çunna*, the first attempt at Muslim literature in the Spanish language.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL-[J.-P. MOLÉNAT])

S̲H̲AḲUNDA, arabicised form of Secunda, name of a little town opposite Cordova on the left bank of the Guadalquivir. According to al-Maḳḳarī and Ibn G̲h̲ālib, it was originally surrounded by a rampart. It was here that a decisive battle was fought in 129/747 between the Maʿaddī clan under Yūsuf al-Fihrī [*q.v.*] and al-Ṣumayl b. Ḥātim [*q.v.*] and the Yamanī clan commanded by Abu 'l-K̲h̲aṭṭār, who was defeated. Later, at the zenith of the Umayyad caliphate, Secunda became one of the richest suburbs of Cordova and was also called the "southern suburb" (*al-rabaḍ al-d̲j̲anūbī*). The celebrated Abu 'l-Walīd Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-S̲h̲aḳundī [*q.v.*], the most famous man of letters in al-Andalus in his day, was born in Secunda; he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Baeza and Lorca by the Almohad sultan Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr and died in 629/1231-2. It was he who wrote the famous epistle (*risāla*) on the merits of his native country as a companion piece to that which the author Abū Yaḥyā b. al-Muʿallim of Tangier had composed on the excellence of North Africa. The text is given almost in full by al-Maḳḳarī in his *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-**SHAḲUNDĪ**, ABU 'L-WALĪD ISMĀ'ĪL b. Muḥammad (d. at Seville, 629/1231-2), scholar of al-Andalus, originally from the village of Shaḳunda, which faced Cordova, on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, and who functioned as *ḳāḍī* of Baeza, Lorca and Ubeda. He was at the court of the Almohad al-Manṣūr, and addressed to him a poem of congratulation on his victory at Alarcos (591/1195). He was a great friend of the father of Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī [*q.v.*], who sought out his company and transmitted the sparse biographical information which we possess on him. He is above all known for his *Risāla* (see below).

His works comprise:

1. *R. fī faḍl al-Andalus*, an epistle on the merits of his land and its superiority over the Maghrib. The text is cited by Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, and by al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, and there are mss. at Tunis (Aḥmadiyya, *madjmū'*, 4551) and the National Library there (Ṣādiḳiyya, 8845, under the title of *R. fī tafḍīl barr al-Andalus 'alā barr al-'idwa*); at Madrid (Acad. de la Historia, 29); and in the Mingana collection, 1379 (same title as the preceding). Ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Faḍā'il al-Andalus wa-ahlihā li-Ibn Ḥazm wa-Ibn Sa'īd wa 'l-Shaḳundī*, Beirut 1967. Partial tr. in P. de Gayangos, *The hist. of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain*, London 1840-3, i, 32-3, 44-5, 48-9, 52-4, 57-9, 66-9, 72-3, 123-5. Tr. with introd. E. García Gómez, Madrid-Granada 1934 (review by I. Guidi in *RSO*, xv [1935], 108), repr. in his *Andalucía contra Berbería*, Barcelona 1976, 44-141. M. al-Ḥabīb, *Ḥaḍārat al-Andalus min khilāl risālatay Ibn Ḥazm wa 'l-Shaḳundī*, in *Le patrimoine hispano-mauresque*, Rabat 1993, 47-88.

2. *K. al-Ṭuraf/Ṭuraf al-ẓurafā'/ẓaraf al-ẓurafā'*, a poetic anthology cited by al-Maḳḳarī and Ibn Sa'īd (in *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*, 19 citations).

3. and 4. *Manāḳil al-durar wa-manābit al-zuhar* and *al-Mu'djam*, according to the very dubious attribution of al-Ziriklī.

5. A few verses from his poems preserved by Ibn Sa'īd.

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(M.J. VIGUERA)

SHAḲŪRA, a Spanish Arabic place-name corresponding to the Spanish Segura. This last name is now only applied to the river which waters Murcia and Orihuela and flows into the Mediterranean near Guardamar. In the Muslim geographers, this river is usually called the "white river" (*al-nahr al-abyaḍ*). It rises, like the Guadalquivir, in the range called Djabal Shaḳūra, but on the eastern slope. The mountains to which this name was given are of considerable extent. They were, according to the Arab geographers, covered with forests and had no fewer than 300 towns and villages and 33 strongholds. They corresponded apparently not only to the Sierra de Segura, still called on the maps Sierra de Segura, but also to those called del Yelmo, de las Cuatro Villas, de Castril and de Cazorla. The highest points are the Yelmo de Seguar (1,809 m/6,000 feet) and the Blanquilla (1,830 m/6,100 feet).

Shaḳūra was also the name in the Arab writers of a fairly important town in the district, clustered round a castle reputed to be almost inaccessible. It was here that Ibn 'Ammār, the vizier of the 'Abbādid al-Mu'tamid, came to seek refuge with Ibn Mubārak, lord of the town, who handed him over to his master. At the end of the Almoravid dynasty, Segura was the usual residence of Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Hemoshko, lieutenant and vassal of the famous king of Murcia, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*].

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHALAMANḲA or SHALAMANTIḲA, the modern Salamanca, provincial capital in the autonomous Commune of Castile and León and the seat of a famous university since the close of the Middle Ages.

We have no information on what happened in the ancient Roman, then Visigothic town and its region at the time of the Muslim conquest of Spain. One may posit the establishment there of Berber groups, as in other parts of the Meseta of the north, who must then have fallen back southwards after 740, leaving the region depopulated, at least substantially so, if not totally. The policy of leaving a desert zone practised by the nucleus of Hispano-Christian resistance in the Asturias must also have contributed to this. Salamantica appears amongst the *civitates* taken and cleared of their population by Alfonso I (739-57); *omnes quoque Arabes gladio interficiens, Xpianos autem secum ad patriam ducens*, according to the chronicle of Alfonso III.

Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn confirm the Christians' conquest of Segovia, Salamanca, Zamora and other towns of the north-west of the peninsula in the course of the 8th century, but attribute this not to Alfonso I but rather to his successor Fruela (757-68), a divergence possibly explicable by mention in the Christian texts of a Fruela, brother of Alfonso I, who is not his successor of the same name; the Arabic texts have doubtless mixed the two up. Then there is total silence about Salamanca for a century and a half; a notice in the text of the *Cronica Abeldense* according to which Ordoño II (850-66) is said to have seized Salamanca probably results from a confusion with Talamanca, in the modern province of Madrid.

Although we have a series of names of the bishops of the town for the 9th and 10th centuries, we cannot assume *a priori* that they effectively occupied their see, as in the case of Dulcidius, captured in 308/920 at the battle of Valdejunquera in Navarre and brought in captivity to Cordova. However, for much of the 10th century, it is clear that the town existed and was in Christian hands, with inhabitants and with a Leonese count. After his victory of 327/939 over 'Abd al-Raḥmān III at Simancas and Alhándega in 327/939, Ramiro II (930-51) led an expedition on the banks of the Tormes, and repopulated its deserted towns: *et civitates desertas ibidem populavit*, amongst which Salamanca figures prominently. In 942 Bermudo Núñez, count of Salamanca, was defeated, with 300 knights, by the Muslims when he attacked the Berber town—whose site remains uncertain—of Saktān, at a

place called Fadjdj al-Masādjid, clearly one of the entries to the Middle Marches. In 953, Ordoño III, king of León, gave to the bishop of his capital the churches of the region of Salamanca built, in Ramiro II's time, by colonists from León: *ecclesias in alhauce de Salamantica quantas hedificaverunt ibidem populatores patris mei qui fuerunt de Legiones.* In 360/971 the envoys of Fernand Flaínez, "son of the count of Salamanca", were received at Cordova. In the time of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr, several expeditions were launched at Salamanca by him. In 367/977, the Muslims entered the town and seized its suburbs (*arbāḍ*), and 373/983 there was a second attack. In 376/986, al-Manṣūr conquered (*fataḥa*) the town, as well as Alba (de Tormes), León and Zamora. However, no more than in other places, does it seem that a garrison remained there to assure its reintegration in the Islamic sector. Although there is a fleeting mention of *Shalamantika* in the 5th/11th century author al-Bakrī, one which does not necessarily relate to the author's own time, it is possible that al-Manṣūr's campaigns led to an abandonment of the town, a "second depopulation", which would explain why the Christians had, at the very end of the 11th century, to undertake a new repopulating of the town, when the capture of Toledo had repelled towards the south the danger of a Muslim counter-offensive. Whilst the authors speaking of this repopulating (Jiménez de Rada, Lucas de Tuy) give no date, the award in 1102 by Count Raymond of Burgundy to the church of Salamanca, for its restoration, which involved also the repopulation of a quarter of the town, *ut populetis ilium*, is a useful reference point. The gift involved mills, fisheries and fields of which the Count held seisin (*aprendiuimus, accepimus*), and has been variously interpreted. Sánchez-Albornoz saw in this *presura* proof of a preceding depopulation; Barvero and Vigil have retorted that already the existence of these installations and agricultural workings proves the existence of a prior population, which is said precisely to have been expropriated, whilst neglecting the fact that the mills and fisheries were to be constructed (*pro facere*) and the fields to be ploughed and sown (*pro arare et pro seminare*).

The *fuero* of Salamanca attests the presence of Mozarabs [*q.v.*] in the town after the begining of the 11th century. But the origin of these "Arabised" Christians cannot be established with certainty, and there are on the question almost as many opinions as scholars: some supposing a local origin, and others an immigration from Andalusia or the adjacent part of Extremadura before the arrival of the Almoravids and then Almohads, or then from the Shark al-Andalus [*q.v.*] at the time of the fall of the Cid's principality at Valencia, or an arrival from the Mozarab centres of the León region, as part of a movement of Christian colonisation. The traces left by the Mozarabs of Salamanca are, moreover, minimal, and not to be compared with their equivalents in León or above all in Toledo, amounting only to a few toponyms, often of dubious interpretation, the clearest apparently being Coreses and Cordovilla, evoking a migration from the south, from the nearby Coria and from the more distant Cordova. One theory sees in the *Serranos*, known as an element in the repopulation of Salamanca, as also of Ávila, not Castilians from the *sierras* around Burgos, Soria and La Rioja, but people from the *sierras* of the Middle March, who had remained in place. This accords ill with the texts' distinction between them and the Mozarabs.

Salamanca was henceforth a town and military base for the Christians, the departure point for expeditions against the remaining part of al-Andalus to the south of the Middle March, until the conquest of the modern Spanish Extremadura and the definitive union of León and Castile in 1230. Thereafter, the development of the university, laboriously established in the 13th century, plus the consolidation of a nobility, gave Salamanca its constitution lasting till the verge of modern times. The subjugated Muslims (Mudéjars [*q.v.*]) do not figure there any more than in all the north-western sector of modern Spain, in contrast to the Castilian lands and the modern Extremadura. But Arabic was taught at the University of Salamanca at the beginning of the 16th century.

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al-SHALAWBĪN, Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī al-Ishbīlī al-Naḥwī (562-645/1166-1247), Andalusī grammarian.

He was known as al-Shalawbīn, a *laḳab* derived by some biographers from Shalawbīniyya, today Salobreña, which would have been his place of origin (so that he is also called al-Shalawbīnī). Others, however, explain that *al-shalawbīn* is a word which in the language of the Christians of al-Andalus means *al-ashkar*

al-azraḳ (another version *al-abyaḍ al-ashkar*), i.e. of a ruddy complexion combined with fairness. He is also known as al-Shalawbīn al-kabīr to distinguish him from another grammarian, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Anṣārī al-Mālaḳī, also called al-Shalawbīn (d. 660/1262). ʿUmar al-Shalawbīn was born in Seville, where his father was a baker, and from childhood devoted himself to the study of grammar. At the age of 22 he had mastered Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*. Al-Marrākushī records a complete list of his teachers, two of whom, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Ḥubaysh and Abū Bakr b. Khayr, gave him the *idjāza*, together with his only non-Andalusian teacher, Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī of Alexandria. Al-Shalawbīn is described as *raʾīs al-nuḥāt* and *imām fī ʿilm al-naḥw* in al-Andalus, and his mastery of the Arabic language was such that it was said none of his contemporaries could rival him. His work and fame reached Syria and ʿIrāḳ in his own lifetime. He started teaching at a very young age, around the year 580/1184, and continued until 640/1242, stopping not only because of his advanced age but, especially, owing to the serious political circumstances of the moment, with the advance of the Christians, who had conquered Cordova, Valencia and Murcia. He died in Seville during the siege of the town, which fell into Christian hands a year later (646/1248). During his life he seems to have won the favour of the Almohad rulers (he visited Marrākush in the times of al-Manṣūr), and also had a close relationship with the Banū Zuhr. His works comprise *al-Ḳawānīn fī ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya*, *Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayhi*, two *Sharḥs* called *al-Muḳaddima al-Djazūliyya* (one large, the other small), *Taʿlīḳ ʿalā Sharḥ Mufaṣṣal al-Zamakhsharī li-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, *al-Tawṭiʾa fī 'l-naḥw*, and a *Mashyakha*. He also wrote poetry, some of a homosexual nature. He was also an important transmitter of grammar works, Ḳurʾānic readings and poetry. Surprisingly, he also held *idjāzāt* from Ibn Rushd and Abū Bakr Ibn Zuhr and may have kindled the philosophical interests of his student, the poet and literary theorist Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī [*q.v.*] (al-Ruʿaynī, 84-5). His contemporary Ibn al-Ḳifṭī believed that al-Shalawbīn's dedication to grammar was just a means of earning a living rather than a genuine vocation, because of a report from Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Mufarridj Ibn al-Rūmiyya al-Ishbīlī (d. 637/1239) that al-Shalawbīn had sold him a rare and valuable work (the *Kitāb al-ʿālam fī 'l-lugha* written by Aḥmad b. Abān al-Ishbīlī in the 4th/10th century) which no real lover of the *ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya* would have sold.

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(Maribel Fierro)

SHALBAṬARRA, the modern Salvatierra, a fortress of mediaeval Spanish al-Andalus, in the Sierra Morena, in the territory of the modern commune of Calzada of Calatrava (Ciudad Real province). It was re-conquered in 1198 by a surprise attack of the Knights of the Order of Calatrava, after the Christian defeat of al-Arak/Alarcos in 591/1195, which had brought the loss of the whole of this sector. However, it was regained by the Almohad caliph al-Nāṣir in 608/1211, the year before the campaign of al-ʿUḳāb/Las Navas de Tolosa, the organising of which ended up, in large degree, on the Christian side, with the fall of Salvatierra. The nearby fortress of Dueñas became, after 1212, Calatrava la Nueva, replacing the earlier seat of the Order, the former Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ, known today as Calatrava la Vieja.

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SHALLA, current form Chella, an ancient town of Morocco, whose ruins are to be found on a height which dominates the Bouragrag river to the north-east of Rabat at some 3 km/2 miles from the sea. The site, its situation, the presence of an abundant and perennial spring, and fertile land, explain the antiquity of habitation there. Archaeological excavations have shown traces of several occupations (Mauretanian, Phoenician, Roman and Islamic), and the site has yielded artifacts going back to the 7th century B.C. Shalla was a Phoenician port between Lixus and Mogador before becoming a Roman town. As the capital of Juba II, the town was given a rampart in the year A.D. 140 and seems to have formed part of the fortified line of the *limes* before being abandoned in the 4th century.

It is difficult to follow its evolution over succeeding centuries. Often confused with Salā [*q.v.*] or Salé, Shalla figures in the succession of Idrīs II; ʿĪsā b. Idrīs inherited it before rebelling against the ruler of Fās. Once the Idrīsids were eliminated, Shalla became the capital of the Maghrāwa Banū Ifran [*q.v.*], but we know nothing of its role in the warfare against the Barghwāṭa [*q.v.*]. After the foundation of Salé,

Shalla was partially abandoned before being destroyed by the Almoravids.

At the end of the 7th/13th century, the Marīnids [*q.v.*] transformed Shalla into a royal necropolis. The princess Umm al-ʿAzīz, wife of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb and mother of Yūsuf, was the first to be buried there in 682/1284, and when he died at Algeciras two years later, Yūsuf was brought back there. The first edifice was confined to a simple mosque with the tombs. It was the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan who undertook vast works there and created the monumental necropolis; the protective wall, with its three gates, was completed in 739/1339. The whole ensemble included funeral chapels, two mosques (one of whose minarets, still surviving, is decorated with polychrome tiles), a *madrasa* and a library; substantial *aḥbās* were allotted for its upkeep. After he died in the mountains of the Hintāta, Abu 'l-Ḥasan was buried at Shalla, where his tomb became an object of a curious popular veneration. He was the last monarch to be buried in the necropolis.

Some Ṣūfīs installed themselves there, and Sīdī al-Ḥādjdj ʿAbd Allāh al-Yabūrī founded "a *zāwiya* inside the necropolis of Shalla to the left, as one enters" (P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAbbād de Ronda*, Beirut 1956, 58). It was there that Ibn ʿAshīr [*q.v.*] settled when he arrived in the region. But economic crisis seems to have preceded a political one, and according to Ibn ʿAbbād, commercial activity at Shalla, which had had two famous fairs each year, was only a memory (*al-Rasāʾil al-kubrā*, lith. Fās 1320). The necropolis was plundered during the anarchy after the end of the Marīnids. Al-Liḥyānī seized some works from the library, which he stripped of their precious ornamentation. Its royal *aḥbās* were the subject of a legal consultation, giving some idea of their importance (al-Wansharīsī, *Miʿyār*, vii, 18-21). In the 17th century, the Sabbāḥ tribe transformed Shalla into a fortress and used it as a base for plundering the region.

It was not till the beginning of the 20th century that excavations were undertaken at Shalla. The Roman town has largely been revealed, and the Marīnid monuments, which partially cover the classical ruins, have been identified. In a remarkable article, H. Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal described the necropolis, brought to light its inscriptions and gathered together the legends and accounts of the cults, of varying degrees of orthodoxy, which have grown up around Shalla (*Chella, une nécropole mérinide*, in *Hespéris* (1922), 1-92, 255-316, 385-425). Despite its age, this study has never been surpassed.

At the present time, Shalla, with its gardens and its ruins inhabited by storks, has become an important tourist spot.

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(Halima Ferhat)

al-**SHALMAGHĀNĪ** [see muḥammad b. ʿalī].

SHALṬĪSH, Saltés, a town of southwestern Spain (lat. 37° 12' N., long, 6° 59' W.), opposite Huelva, in the marshes of the mouths of the Tinto and Odiel rivers. The Island of Saltés is made up of three zones of lands and sands (El Amendral, El Acebuchal and La Cascajera), covered with low vegetation and pine trees, of a quality emphasised by al-Idrīsī. The highest point (15 m) is on El Acebuchal; El Amendral is no higher than 7 m—at the site of the Almohad fortress—despite the man-made accumulations of the Islamic town.

Shalṭīsh is not mentioned by Ibn Ḥayyān, al-Muḳaddasī or Ibn Ḥawḳal, although all three mention the nearby *ḥiṣn* of Gibraleón (Djabal al-ʿUyūn) or the neighbouring town of Niebla (Labla); al-Rāzī no longer mentions the site. However, the place name appears in al-ʿUdhrī in the story of events during the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's reign (3rd/9th century), in regard to the campaign of 219/834, during which the Norsemen, after a raid on Seville (Ishbīliya), "swept down ... as far as the Island of Saltés" (*Fragmentos*, 100, 175). From the end of the 4th/10th century, the position of the island and the site are known from the Arab geographers (J. Vernet, *España en la geografía de Ibn Saʿīd al-Magribī*, in *Hespéris* [1958], 314; al-Idrīsī, *Los caminos de al-Andalus en el siglo XII*, ed. and tr. J. Abid Mizal, Madrid 1989, 139, 141-2, 145). In the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī (see E. Molina López, *Una descripcion anonima de al-Andalus*, ed. and tr. of *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, Madrid 1983, i, 178-216) mentions the island site of the town, but also the existence of a well-used port, a market, a dense urban pattern and an iron-working industry; whereas Yāḳūt and Ibn Saʿīd (early 7th/13th century) mention it only as a small town (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 359) and an important centre for fishing, where fish was salted before being sent to Seville and other towns of al-Andalus (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 104; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 342-3, 346, 357). A little later, al-Ḥimyarī gives us a more detailed picture of the town, its agricultural hinterland and its economic life: the urban area was built up, without any empty space between buildings, but the town, which had an arsenal, lacked any protective wall (*al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, 44, 135-6). Shalṭīsh is still mentioned in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries.

At the opening of the 5th/11th century there was constituted a principality of Saltés-Huelva, which Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Ayyūb (399-402/1008-12) governed, followed by his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (403-43/1012-51). When the latter abdicated, his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bakrī, the great geographer, who was born at Saltés, was 30 years old [see abū ʿubayd al-bakrī]. In the ʿAbbādid kingdom of Seville, Saltés was merely an administrative district (M. Alarcón and C.A. González Palencia, in *Miscelanea arabe*, Madrid 1915, 459-60). It was during the Almoravid period that the town saw its most splendid growth, according to al-Idrīsī and al-Ḥimyarī. From 539/1144-5 onwards, Saltés became part of a new geopolitical complex which embraced, as well as Niebla and Huelva, the *mudun* or *ḥuṣūn* of Silves, Mértola, Évora and Beja, which became in Almohad times the economic bases for the new power. After a period when Saltés was closely linked with the Portuguese Algarve (6th/12th century and the first half of the succeeding one), there followed a phase of about a century (1151-1257) during which Saltés and Huelva were districts of the province of Niebla (A. Huici Miranda, *Historia politica del imperio almohade*, Tetuán 1956, i, 240-2). However, Christian pressure increased. The Portuguese took the town in 1179 and captured numerous prisoners. It was partly destroyed, but again became active and prosperous in Almohad times, before being attached to the principality of Niebla towards 655/1257; at the time of the Christian reconquest, it became rapidly depopulated and was never re-occupied.

From 1945 to 1970, Saltés was the object of excavations aimed at discovering the site of Tartessos. Little has been published; the oldest ceramic fragments are apparently of Punic type, but most are of "Arab" type, mixed up with some Roman *tegulae*, the

latter recalling the fact that, according to Strabo, III. 5. 5, confirmed by al-Ḥimyarī, there was a sanctuary dedicated to Hercules. F. Wattenberg put forward the hypothesis, after several visits there, that Saltés was possibly the mythical Tartessos, and there have been found traces of activity stretching over several hectares. At the northern point of El Almendral, the Islamic town of Shaltīsh shows traces of its last phase of occupation (end of the 6th/12th century and first half of the 7th/13th). A *ḳaṣaba*, of quadrangular plan (70 m by 40 m), with six bastions, including four at the angles, covers 3,500 m^2. Excavations made since 1988 confirm al-Idrīsī and al-Ḥimyarī on the urban structure, with streets and alleys—1.30 m to 1.60 m wide and with a sub-orthagonal orientation—marking out the "islands" of houses; this regular urban pattern gives the lie to the "traditional" view of the anarchic structure of the Hispano-Muslim town.

In the high period, the pottery shows two phases of occupation, one 9th-10th century and the other at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. Then traces of later building, with the Almohad houses built upon foundations of the older levels, silos, rubbish-filled ditches and workings where earth was extracted for *ṭābiyas*, mark the active period of the 11th and 12th centuries. The final stage, Almoravid and Almohad, is well preserved: a symmetrical, almost square plan, 12th and 13th-century houses built round a patio on to which open at least two large rectangular rooms with alcoves, which seem to correspond to an oriental mode of habitation. There is also a tendency towards the specialised use of space (kitchens, storerooms, latrines); brick paving and wells of sweet water and channels for running off surplus, waste dirty water complete the arrangements. Construction materials include, predominantly, earth, used in shuttering on stone bases. The Almohad level shows much re-use of earlier materials and foundations. All over the site there are numerous deposits of metallic slag and ashes showing the existence of metal-working; the workshops were situated slightly to one side (the north-east) of the *madīna*, where the prevailing winds could carry away smoke and sulphurous emissions. The island location of Shaltīsh facilitated the transport of materials and fuel.

The Christian conquest of the mid-13th century meant the disappearance of the Muslim population, and texts are henceforth limited to mentioning the *ḳaṣaba*; as for the town, it was not even used for building material. To explain this abandonment, it has been suggested that there might have been an earthquake (L. Torres-Balbás, *Ciudades yermas de la España musulmana*, in *Bol. de la Real Academia de la Historia*, cxli [1957], 167-8). In the excavations, there has been noted the relative evenness of the terrain which seems, on the contrary, to bear witness to a departure which was neither urgent nor violent. Perhaps one should also take into account, in order to explain this 13th-century decline, the growing and irreversible salinisation of the water in the wells of Shaltīsh .

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(A. Bazzana)

SHALTŪT, MAḤMŪD, Egyptian Sunnī religious scholar, rector (*shaykh*) of al-Azhar [*q.v.*] from October 1958 until his death on 13 December 1963, an influential author of Islamic reform [see iṣlāḥ. 1.] in the tradition of Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] and his school of thought.

He was born on 23 April 1893 in Minyat Banī Manṣūr, a village of Lower Egypt, in the province of Buḥayra [*q.v.*]. In 1906 he was enrolled at the *maʿhad dīnī* of Alexandria, a religious institute founded in 1903 and affiliated to al-Azhar (for details see Lemke, 34-46). He received his diploma (*shahādat al-ʿālimiyya*) in 1918, and early in 1919 started teaching at the *maʿhad dīnī*. In 1927, he was transferred to Cairo in order to lecture at the Higher Division (*al-ḳism al-ʿālī*) of al-Azhar.

Having developed some ideas of a reform of al-Azhar (including steps to achieve greater independence from the state) as early as 1924, Shaltūt fervently supported Shaykh Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī and his reform programme when the latter became rector in 1928. After Marāghī's resignation and the appointment of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī al-Ẓawāhirī as rector in October 1929, Shaltūt was one of those who resisted the new *Shaykh al-Azhar* and his course of action, which he considered to be more or less reactionary. This led to his dismissal in September 1931. Until 1935, when he was reinstated following Marāghī's second appointment as rector (1935-45), Shaltūt worked as a lawyer in the *Sharīʿa* courts. Back at al-Azhar, he became Vice-Dean (*wakīl*) of the *Kulliyyat al-Sharīʿa* and, in 1939, inspector of the religious institutes (*mufattish bi 'l-maʿāhid al-dīniyya*).

In 1937 Shaltūt was one of three scholars representing al-Azhar at the Deuxième Congrès International de Droit Comparé held at The Hague. The lecture he gave there on civil and criminal liability in Islamic law was well received, not only by many participants of the congress but also in Azhar circles. It paved the way for him to become, in 1941, a member of the *Djamāʿat kibār al-ʿulamāʾ* (see Lemke, 116-20, and Aḥmad Fatḥī Bahnasī, *Sharḥ wa-taʿlīḳ ʿalā risālat al-marḥūm al-imām al-shaykh Shaltūt ʿan al-masʾūliyya al-madaniyya wa 'l-djināʾiyya fī 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1407/1987).

In 1946, he was elected to the Arabic Language Academy in Cairo (see the obituaries by ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ and Muḥammad Mahdī ʿAllām in the Academy's journal, *Madj. Madjmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya*, xix [1965], 147-53 and 155-62, respectively). In November 1957, he was appointed by presidential decree to the position of Vice-Rector (*wakīl*), and in October 1958 to that of *Shaykh al-Azhar* (Zebiri, 12). Soon after taking up office, Shaltūt announced his determination to work for a far-reaching reform of al-Azhar. He praised the Reform Law passed by the National Assembly in June 1961 (for an analysis and evaluation of that law, see Lemke, 166-232), but as a result of what he saw as constant interference in Azhar affairs by the government, he became increasingly dissatisfied with its implementation (ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, 202 ff.; Zebiri, 28-31). During the last two years of his life, poor health forced him more and more to withdraw from public life. His funeral on 14 December 1963 was attended by huge crowds of mourners.

To a considerable extent Shaltūt's popularity was due to his outstanding oratorical skills. He is said to have been the first Azhar scholar to use broadcasting regularly for religious sermons and for answering

queries (partly printed as *Aḥādīth al-ṣabāḥ fī 'l-midhyā'*, with Muḥammad Muḥammad al-Madanī, i, Cairo 1947, and *Yas'alūna*, published by the Ministry of National Guidance in its series *Mukhtārāt al-idhā'a*, ²Cairo 1958). From among his works especially two are widely used: (1) *al-Islām, 'aḳīda wa-sharī'a*, ¹Cairo 1959, ¹⁷1991; (2) *al-Fatāwā, dirāsa li-mushkilāt al-muslim al-mu'āṣir fī ḥayātihi al-yawmiyya al-'āmma*, ¹Cairo 1964, ¹⁶1991. In both publications Shaltūt amply discussed problems of contemporary Muslim society such as family law (strongly defending the principle of polygamy), birth control, private property etc. (for a commentary on the first work, see the review article by Y. Linant de Bellefonds, in *Orient*, Paris, no. 19 [1961], 27-42; for details, Zebiri, index). His booklet on *djihād* [*q.v.*], *al-Kitāl fī 'l-islām*, written in 1940 and published in 1948, has been translated into English (R. Peters, *Jihad in mediaeval and modern Islam*, Leiden 1977, 26-79). Shaltūt's Ḳur'ān commentaries, especially his *Tafsīr al-ḳur'ān al-karīm: al-adjzā' al-'ashara al-ūlā*, Cairo 1959, ¹¹1988, and its characteristics, are described by Zebiri, 150-80. For further titles of Shaltūt's books, see Dāghir, 388-9, and Lemke, 261-2, who in addition lists articles which appeared in *Madjallat al-Azhar* or elsewhere (see also Zebiri, 188).

Especially among Shī'īs, Shaltūt is well remembered for his zeal to promote a rapprochement between the Muslim schools of law in general and between Sunnīs and Shī'īs in particular, i.e. to overcome misunderstandings, avoid polemics and establish a basis for discussion and cooperation—without, however, merging all the *madhāhib* into one (Zebiri, 24-6). In this connection, he actively supported the *Djamā'at al-Taḳrīb bayn al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyya*, founded in Cairo in 1947, and its institute there, the *Dār al-Taḳrīb*. He kept up a correspondence with Shī'ī religious leaders such as Āyatullāh Burūdjirdī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In summer 1959 Shaltūt issued a *fatwā* to the effect that worship according to the doctrine of the Twelver Shī'a was valid and that this school was a recognised *madhhab* within Islam (for the Arabic text, see, e.g. 'Abd al-'Aẓīm, 188; for translations into other languages, Ende, 312, n. 13). The *fatwā*—originally an answer cut out from a newspaper interview and distributed by the *Dār al-Taḳrīb*—was greeted with enthusiasm in the Shī'ī world, but also kindled sharp criticism on the part of certain circles of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*]. Its effect at al-Azhar and elsewhere, however, was soon counteracted by both internal and external opposition as well as by international developments, such as the outbreak of a crisis between Persia and Egypt in summer 1960 (Ende, 314 ff.). For all Muslims striving for a rapprochement, however, Shaltūt's *fatwā* remains a source of inspiration [see further, TAḲRĪB].

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(W. ENDE)

AL-SHĀM, AL-SHA'M, Syria, etymologically, "the left-hand region", because in ancient Arab usage the speaker in western or central Arabia was considered to face the rising sun and to have Syria on his left and the Arabian peninsula, with Yaman ("the right-hand region"), on his right (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 140-1 = § 992; al-Muḳaddasī, partial French tr. A. Miquel, *La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces*, Damascus 1963, 155-6, both with other, fanciful explanations). In early Islamic usage, the term *bilād al-Shām* covered what in early 20th-century diplomatic and political usage became known as "Greater Syria", including the modern political entities of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel and the West Bank of Palestine, in the north spreading into the modern Turkish *ils* or provinces of Hatay (the former *sandjak* of Alexandretta [see ISKANDARŪN]), Gaziantep [see 'AYNTĀB] and Diyarbakır [see DIYĀR BAKR]. As often happened in the earliest Islamic times (cf. Miṣr = both Egypt and its capital), al-Shām could also denote the historic administrative capital of the region, Damascus [see DIMASHḲ].

For the modern component countries of this Greater Syria, see FILASṬĪN, LUBNĀN, AL-URDUNN. The modern Syrian Republic is known as Sūriyā or Sūriya. The geographical section 1. below deals with the region of modern Syria. The historical section 2. necessarily deals with the Greater Syrian region as a whole for the earlier Islamic centuries, when the modern political divisions had little distinctive history as such until the approach of modern times. By then, however, such a region as Lebanon, with its own long-standing separate cultural, religious and political traditions, began to pursue a historical role of its own; this is considered in LUBNĀN.

1. Geography.

Modern Syria falls naturally into a western, Levantine section bordering on the Mediterranean, characterised by mountain ranges and hills with valleys and depressions between them, and with a maritime climate; and an eastern one, in which these hills and valleys gradually subside into a table-land, steppes and deserts, naturally bounded by the Taurus Mountains to the north, crossed by low ridges of hills and having a more continental climate. In its north-east, it is crossed by the Euphrates [see AL-FURĀT] and Khābūr [*q.v.*] rivers.

The western section contains rivers running into the Mediterranean like the Orontes or al-'Āṣī [*q.v.*], the Nahr al-Kabīr, the Nahr al-Sinn and the river of Ḥimṣ. Inland from the narrow coastal plain are mountain and hill ranges running roughly north-south. In the far north are the Amanus Mountains or Gavur Dağ and the Djabal al-Akrād or Kurt Dağ, then the Orontes river valley, and then the classical Casius or Djabal al-Aḳra' ("bald mountain", from its white appearance). To the south of the Nahr al-Kabīr valley is the gently-folded limestone plateau of the Djabal al-Anṣāriyya (highest point, Nabī Yūnus, 1,583 m/ 5,194 feet). To the south of the River of Homs the Djabal 'Akkār marks the beginning of the much higher Lebanon Mountains (highest point, al-Ḳarna al-Sawdā', 3,086 m/10,131 feet).

To the east of these ranges lies the northernmost section of the depression of the Great Rift Valley of East Africa, the Red Sea, the Dead Sea and its Syrian continuation: in the north, the 'Amḳ depression [see AL-'AMḲ], with its lake, the classical Islamic Buḥayrat Anṭākiya, modern Amuk Gölü; the long valley of the Orontes, forming the Ghāb, regulated by the Lake of

Homs, and south of Ḥimṣ forming the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*] or Bekaa between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains. Finally, to the east of this series of valleys and depressions lies a further line of hills and mountains: the D̲j̲abal al-Zāwiya to the east of the G̲h̲āb (highest point, D̲j̲abal Ayyūb, 935 m/3,068 feet), and then south of Ḥimṣ, the much higher Anti-Lebanon range, al-D̲j̲abal al-S̲h̲arḳī, culminating at its southernmost tip in Mount Hermon or D̲j̲abal al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ (2,814 m/9,232 feet).

From the eastern slopes of these hills and mountains begin the steppes and deserts, with the great cities of Syria—Aleppo [see ḤALAB], Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ [*q.vv.*] and Damascus—lying in the agricultural zone of the foothills and with cultivable lands in their rain shadow. The steppelands run eastwards to the Euphrates banks and beyond, with a purely artificial frontier separating Syria and ʿIrāḳ. There are various low, broken ridges within the northern part of these plains, such as the series of low hills stretching north-eastwards from Damascus and ending in the D̲j̲abal al-Bis̲h̲rī. Here in this semi-arid steppeland, crops have for long been possible where springs and wells can be found; but extensive dams and irrigations works along the course of the middle Euphrates have made possible a great extension of agriculture there at the present time. South of the ancient desert caravan station of Palmyra [see TADMUR], however, is the true Syrian Desert, the Ḥamad, where springs are almost unknown and the few wells have only a limited supply of water. To the south of the agriculturally rich Damascus basin (the classical Islamic G̲h̲ūṭa [*q.v.*]), there runs from the base of Mount Hermon and the Golan Heights [see AL-D̲J̲AWLĀN] a basaltic, volcanic zone, with such lava-fields as the Lad̲j̲āʾ [*q.v*], classical Trachonitis, to the south of Damascus; the Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*] to its south-east; and then, running southwards beyond Ṣalk̲h̲ad [*q.v.*] into modern Jordanian territory, the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*], classical Auronitis, or D̲j̲abal al-Durūz (highest point, 1,734 m/5,687 feet).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. History.

(a) To 1918.

Syria had become a Roman province in 64-63 B.C., when Pompey annexed it after the decline of the Seleucids. It became one of the most important provinces of the Roman empire, as the key to the defence of the empire's Asiatic territories. Administratively, it was divided by Septimius Severus into the two provinces of Syria Coele in the north and Syria Phoenice in the south, but by the early 5th century, various local, hitherto autonomous principalities had been brought under direct rule, and Syria was subdivided into at least five provinces. The land frontiers of Roman and Byzantine Syria were under continuous pressure from formidable military powers of the east, first the Parthians and then, from the 3rd century onwards, the Sāsānids [*q.v.*]. Hence the importance of the *limes* there, an elaborate system of defences in depth, with strongholds connected by a network of roads across the country, running roughly from Bostra (Boṣrā [*q.v.*]) in the Hawrān northeastwards to the Euphrates, crossing the river at Circesium (the later Islamic Ḳarḳīsiyā [*q.v.*]) and then on to the Singara (D̲j̲abal Sind̲j̲ār [see SIND̲J̲ĀR]).

For the manning of this broad defensive zone, the Romans and Byzantines relied on native auxiliaries as well as their own professional troops. These auxiliaries were in a treaty relationship with the empire, hence called *foederati* or *symmachoi*, and included various Arab tribesmen who figure in the Islamic accounts of the Arab conquests as the *Mustaʿriba*. Tribes represented in their ranks included the Kalb, Balī, D̲j̲ud̲h̲ām, Lak̲h̲m, Tag̲h̲lib, Tanūk̲h̲, Iyād, etc., many of whom became at least superficially Christian. Especially notable here was the Arab kingdom of G̲h̲assān, of South Arabian origin but from *ca.* A.D. 500 enthusiastic Monophysite Christians, who promoted and controlled much of the economic and cultural prosperity of the rural and desert fringes of Syria [see G̲H̲ASSĀNIDS]. Their florescence was bound up with that of Byzantium, and they went down with the Byzantine cause in the Arab-Islamic conquests period, fighting in the Emperor Heraclius's forces at the Battle of the Yarmūk (see below) under their last king D̲j̲abala b. Ayham [*q.v.*], in his last years a fugitive in Byzantium. For the detailed history of the relations between the Arabs of Syria and the Romans and Byzantines, see the works of Irfan Shahid, including his *Rome and the Arabs*, Washington D.C. 1984; *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, Washington D.C. 1984; *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fifth century*, Washington D.C. 1989; *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century*, i, Washington D.C. 1995.

The caravan route up the west coast of Arabia, connecting Mecca with Syria, was familiar to the Prophet Muḥammad and the first Muslims. The youthful Muḥammad's trading trip with his uncle Abū Ṭālib to Boṣrā and his alleged meeting with the Christian monk Baḥīrā, who recognised him as a future prophet, figures in the accounts of the *Sīra* (see, e.g. Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. in W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 36-8, and BAḤĪRĀ). It should also be recalled that Jerusalem [see AL-ḲUDS] was a city of Syria and, as the original *ḳibla* of the new faith and traditionally identified with the *masd̲j̲id al-aḳṣā* of the Ḳurʾānic *isrāʾ* or night journey [see MIʿRĀD̲J̲], was of great religious significance to Muḥammad and the early Muslims. The whole province of Syria was in fact to be famed in subsequent Islamic times for its innumerable *mas̲h̲āhid*, holy sites, tombs and places of pilgrimage, identified above all with the Old Testament prophets and patriarchs, a Holy Land *par excellence* (see the eulogies of al-Muḳaddasī, tr. Miquel, 117-20, 145-52, 228; the minor genre of the *kutub al-ziyārāt*, such as the *K. al-Ziyārāt* of ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī [*q.v.*], French tr. Janine Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1957, 6-78; and the extensive *faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* literature [see AL-ḲUDS. II.11.]).

Hence military probes in the direction of Syria began in the Medinan period of Muḥammad's prophethood, but a large-scale expedition to Muʾta [*q.v.*], to the east of the later Karak, in 8/629, was decisively defeated by Byzantine defence forces. Hence the definitive onslaught on Syria by the Muslims did not begin until the last months of Abū Bakr's caliphate and the beginning of ʿUmar's one, after the safety of the Arabian peninsula for Islam had been assured by the suppression of the Ridda [*q.v.* in Suppl.] outbreaks against the political control of Medina. At the outset, there seem to have been four main Arab leaders operating against Syria, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] in southern Palestine, S̲h̲uraḥbīl b. Ḥasana in Jordan,

Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān in the Balḳā' [*q.v.*] to the east of the Jordan, and Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] in the Dj̲awlān, and from the information in such sources as Ibn Aʿt̲h̲am al-Kūfī, al-Ṭabarī and Ibn ʿAsākir, it seems that the Muslim forces numbered some 24,000, mainly settled Ḥidj̲āzīs, from Mecca and Medina, nomads from the Ḥidj̲āz and tribesmen from Yemen. The real breakthrough came with the arrival of a fifth group, via ʿIrāḳ, under the Meccan general K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*]. The first major battle took place at Adj̲nādayn [*q.v.*] between Ramla and Bayt Dj̲ibrīn in Palestine (Dj̲umādā I 13/July 634 or D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 13/January 635). The defeated forces tried to reform behind the marshes of Baysān. Dislodged, they crossed the Jordan, to be again defeated at Fiḥl or Faḥl [*q.v.*] (Pella). Palestine was definitely lost to the empire.

In Muḥarram 14/March 635, the Arabs took up their position under the walls of Damascus. Abandoned by the Greek garrison, the citizens capitulated in the following Radj̲ab/September. The army collected by Heraclius to raise the siege arrived too late. The Arabs established themselves in Dj̲ābiya [*q.v.*], then retired to entrench themselves behind the Yarmūk, an eastern tributary of the Jordan. Although some of the Armenian troops may have been disaffected, this does not seem to have caused the Emperor problems, and for a long time to come, Armenian troops continued to form an important proportion of the Imperial army. More serious was the flight of some of the Christian Arab troops, as a result of which the imperial forces were completely routed. This battle (Radj̲ab 15/August 636) settled the fate of Syria. The conquest of the north and of the Phoenician coast was simply a route march. Everywhere the towns, abandoned by their garrisons, paid contributions. Nowhere was a serious resistance encountered. This was literally the *fatḥ yasīr*, easy conquest, as al-Balād̲h̲urī tactfully calls it. Nevertheless, Jerusalem did not surrender till the end of 16 or beginning of 17/early 638, and Caesarea or Ḳayṣariyya [*q.v.*] after more or less continuous siege of seven years, in 19/640. After the surrender of the last coast towns of Palestine, the conquest could be regarded as complete.

The reasons for such a speedy collapse of Byzantine authority in Syria, which had seemed to have recovered after the Persian invasion, were complex. It had, as noted above, been part of the Roman east for some seven centuries, but the impact of Graeco-Roman civilisation had been greatest in the coastal zone, where lay the permanent military and naval garrisons and where the cities had a Roman-Byzantine official class; the rural and desert interior of Syria had remained essentially a Semitic, ethnically and linguistically Aramaic and Arab region, where resistance to Hellenism expressed itself in a strong attachment to the Monophysite theology of the Jacobite Church, hence opposed to the theology of the Imperial Orthodox or Melkite official creed. Byzantine policy in the empire's later years seems to have been—at least in retrospect—faulty. The Emperors Tiberius and Maurice had in the later 6th century undermined the position of their G̲h̲assānid allies, whilst the Sāsānid invasion of 613-14, which penetrated as far as Egypt, showed that the Byzantine position in the Levant was far from impregnable. Heraclius may have underestimated the numbers and the bellicosity of the invading Arabs, but the religious fervour of the Muslims—whose faith seemed at the time to be only yet another Christian heresy arising from the east—could not be foreseen. Recently, Walter F. Kaegi has stressed that there was nothing inevitable about the Arab conquests in Syria and the Dj̲azīra. He has suggested that the Byzantine defeat was the result, to some extent, of unwise military decisions and the effects of contingent events, but that, above all, Heraclius had not had enough time to repair the financial situation and the frontier defences devastated by the Persians, so that he had serious problems in paying both his professional troops and the Arab auxiliaries, the *Mustaʿriba*, on which the empire had traditionally relied for the defence of the *limes*. See, amongst an extensive literature on the conquests in general, D.R. Hill, *The termination of hostilities in the early Arab conquests A.D. 634-656*, London 1971; F.McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, ch. 3; I.M. Lapidus, *The Arab conquests and the formation of Islamic society*, in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies on the first century of Islamic society*, Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill. 1982, 49-72; M. Gil, *A history of Palestine, 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, ch. 1; Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*, Cambridge 1992.

Shortly before the capitulation of Jerusalem, the caliph ʿUmar arrived in Syria, to preside over the congress or "Day of Dj̲ābiya" [*q.v.*]. The question of the organisation of Syria was debated. The year 18/639 was marked by the plague of ʿAmwās [*q.v.*]. Abū ʿUbayda died, and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, governor of Damascus, perished in the epidemic and was replaced by his brother, Muʿāwiya. ʿUmar rigorously maintained the political inequality of the conquerors and conquered. The latter, the Ahl al-Kitāb [*q.v.*] or D̲h̲immīs "protected peoples" [see D̲H̲IMMA], formed the majority of the population. The privileged race of Arabs, the *muḳātila* or warriors, was to furnish the framework of a military and salaried aristocracy. Syria was divided into *adj̲nād* or military districts: Damascus, Ḥimṣ, Palestine and al-Urdunn or the province of Jordan. Yazīd I later added the *dj̲und* of Ḳinnasrīn for the north of Syria. From their military cantonments—the chief of which was Dj̲ābiya—the conquerors controlled the country and collected the taxes. Besides the land tax or *k̲h̲arādj̲* [*q.v.*], the *D̲h̲immīs* paid a personal or poll-tax, the *dj̲izya* [*q.v.*]. In Syria, as in the other conquered provinces, "organisation was confined to a military occupation for the exploitation of the natives. The Arab government was confined to finance; their chancellery was an audit office" (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich u. sein Sturz*, 20, Eng. tr., *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, 32).

At the beginning of his administration, which under ʿUt̲h̲mān extended over all Syria, Muʿāwiya realised the necessity of getting the support of the Arab tribes of Syria, politically more developed than the Bedouins of the Arabian peninsula. For his policy and military operations, see MUʿĀWIYA.

ʿAlī, ʿUt̲h̲mān's successor, wanted to dismiss him, but the Syrians took the side of their governor. The encounter between Syrians and ʿIrāḳīs on the battlefield of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] being indecisive, arbitrators were appointed to decide between the two parties. The conference at Ad̲h̲ruḥ [*q.v.*] between Maʿān and Petra did not reach a clear decision, but the outcome was clearly unfavourable for ʿAlī. Profiting by this diplomatic success, Muʿāwiya sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, his lieutenant, to conquer Egypt. On 17 Ramaḍān 40/24 January 661, ʿAlī fell victim to a K̲h̲āridj̲ite dagger, and the field was left clear for his rival.

Umayyad Syria. The field was now clear for Muʿāwiya to found a dynasty, that of the Umayyads [*q.v.*].

He was acclaimed as caliph at Jerusalem by the troops and *amīrs* of Syria. By taking up his residence in Damascus, he made it the capital instead of Medina or Kūfa. Whether deliberate or not, this step dis-

placed the centre of gravity of the caliphate to the advantage of Syria, and the Islamic capital never returned to the Arabian peninsula. Muʿāwiya made the Syrian Arabs, and especially those of the South Arabian or Kalb group, supreme, and under the early Umayyads they held all the principal offices. He twice tried to besiege Constantinople. For a verdict on the policy and character of the sovereign, who was with ʿUmar I the real founder and organiser of the caliphate, see MUʿĀWIYA. He died at Damascus in Radjab 60/April 680, aged 75.

His son and successor, Yazīd I, had to face a rebellion, which the ability of his father had been able to prevent breaking out. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.vv.*], nephew of ʿĀʾisha, the prophet's widow, refused to recognise Yazīd and took refuge in the inviolable territory of Mecca. Al-Ḥusayn renounced allegiance and left the sanctuary, to fall in the massacre of Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*]; in 61/680 Medina quarrelled with Syria, and its inhabitants proclaimed Yazīd deposed. After futile negotiations, recourse was had to arms. Victorious on the day of al-Ḥarra [*q.v.*], the Syrians marched on Mecca, where Ibn al-Zubayr had declared himself independent. His headquarters were in the great mosque. A scaffolding of wood covered with mattresses protected the Kaʿba from the Syrian catapults. The carelessness of a Meccan set it on fire (Rabīʿ I 64/November 683). The news of the death of Yazīd at this point decided the Syrian army to retreat. Yazīd was not a worthless sovereign, still less the tyrant depicted by anti-Umayyad, pro-ʿAbbāsid and Shīʿī annalists. He continued his father's policy. The patron of artists and poets, and himself a poet, he completed the administrative organisation of Syria by creating the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn (see above). He perfected the irrigation of the Ghūṭa of Damascus by digging a canal which was called after him. The *Continuatio Byzantino-Arabica* calls him *jucundissimus et cunctis nationibus regni ejus gratissime habitus ... cum omnibus civiliter vixit.* "No caliph," says Wellhausen, "ever had such praise; it comes from the heart."

His younger son, the valetudinarian Muʿāwiya II [*q.v.*], had but a transitory reign. He was apparently carried off by the plague which was raging in 684. His brothers were all equally very young. The fact that they were minors compelled the Syrian chiefs of the Kalb to give their support to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], first caliph of the Marwānid branch (June 22, 684). The Ḳaysīs of northern Syria and the Djazīra, having refused to recognise him, were defeated at Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*]. His reign was a continual series of battles. A rapid campaign secured him Egypt. Exhausted with his exertions, the septuagenarian caliph returned to Damascus to die in Ramaḍān 65/May 685. His eldest son ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] succeeded him. He had to retake the eastern provinces and Arabia from the anti-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr, and at the same time repel an invasion of the Mardaïtes or Djarādjima [*q.v.*]. In Jerusalem, we owe him the building of the mosque of al-Aḳṣā [see AL-MASDJID AL-AḲṢĀ].

ʿAbd al-Malik's reign sees a shift to a more centralised form of government and uniformity in its execution, after the Second Civil War had shown the fragility of loyalty to the Umayyads even amongst the tribesmen of Syria and the Djazīra, and after there was taking place an acceleration in the numbers of the Syrian population converting to Islam and becoming *mawālī* [see MAWLĀ] or clients of the ruling class of Arabs. For the first time, something like a standing army of loyal Syrian troops appears during the Marwānid period, additional to the older tribal contingents. At the same time, a certain process of Arabisation in the state is observable, with the *naḳl al-dīwān* or change from local languages, Greek in the case of Syria, to Arabic as the chief administrative language, although the process was not completed till some decades later [see DĪWĀN. I]. Similarly, there was the appearance of a specifically Muslim, purely epigraphic form of coinage after earlier reliance, in the case of Syria and Egypt, on the older Byzantine gold coinage pattern [see SIKKA. 2], and a decisive proclamation of the triumph of Islam, seen in the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem [see AL-ḲUDS. I, and ḲUBBAT AL-ṢAKHRA], perhaps as part of the building-up of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage centre at the side of Mecca and Medina. All in all, it now becomes possible to speak of the emergence in Syria of a distinctive Arab-Islamic state rather than what had been, in many respects, a successor-state to Byzantium.

His successor in Shawwāl 86/October 705, al-Walīd I, brought to the throne an autocratic temperament and a display of religious fervour unknown in his predecessors. He was the great builder of the dynasty. According to the earliest evidence, it seems that the Christians of Damascus had been allowed to retain the splendid Basilica of St. John the Baptist. Al-Walīd purchased it from them and turned it into a mosque. In his reign, the Arab empire attained its greatest extent. Al-Walīd was singularly successful in his enterprises. His autocratic mood revealed itself in a diminution in tolerance to the conquered peoples. The great administrative offices were definitely taken from the Christians. By his fondness for magnificence, al-Walīd secured undisputed popularity with the Arabs of Syria. He died in Djumādā II 96/February 715.

His brother, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], founder of al-Ramla [*q.v.*] in Palestine, succeeded him. He perished on the way back from the disastrous siege of Constantinople. He was succeeded by his cousin ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] who was replaced by the incapable Yazīd II. From the time of al-Walīd I, the Umayyads had begun to forsake Damascus and to reside more and more on their rural estates [see BĀDIYA in Suppl.]; although Damascus remained the official capital, it ceased to be the caliph's residence. Hishām, who succeeded Yazīd II, did much to revive the prestige of the Syrian caliphate. The conquests, however, had by now slowed down. In France the Arabs suffered the disastrous defeat of Poitiers in Ramaḍān 114/October 732 [see BALĀṬ AL-SHUHADĀʾ]. Hishām allowed the Melkite patriarchs of Antioch to reside in Syria. He was the last successful Umayyad caliph, and was even praised by the following ʿAbbāsids for his knowledge of statecraft, his industriousness as a ruler and his frugality, though his later years, which he passed largely on his desert estate of al-Ruṣāfa near the Euphrates [see AL-RUṢĀFA. 3], were clouded by succession troubles.

He was succeeded in 125/743 by his nephew, Walīd II, son of Yazīd II. This prince, an artist and poet, lived contentedly in the desert, where he began the building of the splendid palace of Mshattā [*q.v.*]. He died at the hands of an assassin before finishing it (126/744). His successor, Yazīd III, was the first caliph born of a slave. He died five months later, having designated as his successor his insignificant brother, Ibrāhīm, who did not succeed in getting himself acknowledged.

In the midst of the general anarchy, there came on the scene the energetic governor of Mesopotamia, Marwān b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], grandson of the caliph Marwān I. The victory of ʿAyn al-Djarr [*q.v.*] or ʿAndjar in the Biḳāʿ broke the resistance of his adver-

saries, the Syrian Yemenīs. Becoming caliph in 127/744, Marwān II moved his capital to Ḥarrān (Mesopotamia), which brought him nearer to the troubled region of the Djazīra but alienated the Syrians from him. He exhausted himself in putting down such rebellions as those of the Khāridjites. The 'Abbāsids were now secretly conspiring against the Umayyad dynasty. Taking advantage of the disaffection in Syria, Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ [*q.v.*] had himself proclaimed caliph at Kūfa (132/749). After his defeat on the Great Zāb (132/750), Marwān had to evacuate Mesopotamia, and then Syria. Abandoned by the Syrians, he took refuge in Egypt, where he died at Abūṣīr in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 132/June 750. The Umayyads were everywhere pursued and exterminated, their tombs desecrated, and their ashes scattered to the winds. The Syrians tried in vain to regain their lost ground. They raised the "white flag" of the Umayyads in opposition to the "black flag" of the 'Abbāsids. They found too late that by indifference to the fall of the Umayyads they had thrown away the future and supremacy of Syria. They hoped henceforth for speedy, chiliastic coming of al-Sufyānī [*q.v.*], a national hero and champion of Syrian liberty. As his name shows, al-Sufyānī, was to be a descendant of Abū Sufyān and the line of Mu'āwiya. He was to bring back the golden age and the happy days of the dynasty, the memory of which his name perpetuates.

The Umayyad court at Damascus, and the caliphal residences scattered up and down Syria, became lively cultural centres once Arabic literature revived after its period of quiescence during the period of the early Arab conquests [see SHI'R. 1 (a)]. The Monophysite Christian al-Akhṭal (*q.v.*, and Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 466-74; Salma Jayyusi, in *Camb. hist. Arabic lit.*, i. *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, Cambridge 1983, 396-401), of the tribe from the Rabī'a group of Taghlib [*q.v.*], was the eulogist of the caliphs from Mu'āwiya to al-Walīd I; Djarīr (*q.v.*, and *HLA*, iii, 484-95; Jayyusi, 401-9) was the proponent of the Ḳaysī cause at Damascus under 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walīd I: al-Farazdaḳ (*q.v.*, and Jayyusi, *loc. cit.*) was likewise the champion of Ḳays and especially of his own tribe of Tamīm, under several rulers from 'Abd al-Malik to Hishām. Their poetry also reflected the fierce tribal rivalry of South and North Arabs which at times racked the Syrian countryside and was to contribute to the fall of Umayyad power there. The achievements of Umayyad art and architecture, concentrated in Syria, are described in UMAYYADS. Art and architecture.

We also have the first appearance of sectarian currents within the mainstream of the Islam of the time, such as that of the Ḳadariyya [*q.v.*], which had representatives in Syria and which came to attract the wrath of Hishām and subsequent caliphs; and Damascus seems to have been a lively centre of Muslim-Christian debate and polemics, even though the correspondence allegedly between 'Umar II and the Byzantine Emperor Leo III is presumably the work of a Syrian Muslim rather than of the caliph himself.

Agriculture remainded flourishing in spite of the greed of the exchequer. As a result of the war with Byzantium, maritime trade had considerably diminished. On the other hand, the fall of the Persian empire had opened up possibilities in Persia and the east to the Syrians, but they were soon to meet the competition of the commercial cities of 'Irāḳ, notably Baṣra. Syrian commerce, so active in the time of Justinian, became dormant under the Arabs. When maritime relations were resumed, it was the western peoples who secured the advantage from it, at the time of the Crusades. From the time of the Marwānids, the great towns of inland Syria—Damascus, Ḥimṣ, etc.—began to be Islamised as a result of the abolition of the military cantonments. The subject races learned Arabic, without, however, abandoning Aramaic or Greek. Decimated by epidemics, famine, civil strife and foreign wars, the Arab population of Syria grew slowly. If we neglect local outbursts of fanaticism, there is no evidence of systematic persecution or proselytising encouraged by the authorities. The latter only exercised pressure on the Christians of Arab race, the Tanūkh and Taghlib. The Kalb and other Syrian tribes had adopted Islam soon after the conquest.

In spite of their position as second-class citizens, this was a period of marked tranquillity and tolerance for non-Muslims, if we compare it with the troubles that awaited them under the 'Abbāsids. For the Arabs, paid and fed by the state, it was a golden age, a continual feast, and their chiefs, growing rich in exploiting the provinces, acquired enormous fortunes.

The history of Syria at this time is essentially that of the Umayyad dynasty. Hence see UMAYYADS, and meanwhile, 'A.A. 'Abd Dixon, *The Umayyad caliphate 65-86/684-705, a political study*, London 1971; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982; G.R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam. The Umayyad caliphate A.D. 661-750*, London 1986.

'Abbāsid and Fāṭimid Syria. With the fall of the Umayyads, Syria lost its privileged position, and ceased to form the centre of a vast empire. It found itself reduced to the rank of a simple province, and jealously watched on account of its attachment to the old régime. The capital of the caliphate was moved across the Euphrates. Straining under a power, the hostility of which they never ceased to feel, the Syrians found themselves systematically excluded from all share in government affairs, as they continued to be under the Fāṭimid and succeeding rulers. The caliphs of Baghdād only intervened in Syria to make it feel its position of inferiority by inflicting increased taxation on it. Driven to extremes by the exactions of the caliph's agents, the Christians of Lebanon attempted without success to gain their freedom in 759-60. On the occasion of the Pilgrimage or of the war against the Byzantines, the caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn passed through Syria. In the midst of the troubles that preceded the accession of al-Ma'mūn (813-833), the position of the Christians became intolerable and many of them migrated to Cyprus.

In the later 2nd/8th century and the early 3rd/9th one, Syria became the centre of power of the family of Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī [*q.v.*], uncle of the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, who took over the Umayyad estates there and married the widow of Marwān II. He and his descendants were prominent in the frontier warfare with Byzantium in northern Syria, the region of the *'awāṣim* and *thughūr* [*q.vv.* and ṢĀ'IFA. 1]. Ṣāliḥ's son 'Abd al-Malik later brought the support of Syrian troops to the side of al-Amīn in the civil warfare with the latter's brother al-Ma'mūn.

The misfortunes of their country, the loss of its autonomy, could not induce Ḳaysīs and Yamanīs to forget their regrettable differences, which ended by weakening the Syrians and dooming to failure their efforts to shake off the 'Abbāsid yoke. A descendant of Mu'āwiya, 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī, raised the "white standard" which had become the symbol of Syrian independence. But to get the support of the

Kalbīs, he alienated the Ḳaysīs (193-7/809-13). Another rising was no more successful. An Arab of obscure antecedents, named Abū Ḥarb of Yamanī origin, called al-Mubarḳaʿ "the veiled one" [*q.v.*], proclaimed himself the Sufyānī (see above). The indifference of the Ḳaysīs once again brought about his defeat in the reign of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣīm (218-27/833-47). The caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) thought of shifting his capital and living in Damascus. A mutiny in his guard forced him to return to Mesopotamia. His reign was a period of severe trial for the Christians of Syria. From his reign dates, for the most part, the intolerant legislation, which became traditionally but implausibly attributed to ʿUmar I: the wearing of a special dress, the prohibition of riding on horseback, etc. [see G̲H̲IYĀR]. Numerous churches were turned into mosques. At this date, there were no longer any Christians of Arab stock in Syria. Under the Umayyads, the Tanūk̲h̲ had resisted all advances of the government. The caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), however, forced them to convert.

In 293/906 an agitator claiming to be the Sufyānī was arrested. This was the last attempt at an Umayyad restoration; it failed before the apathy of the demoralised Syrians. A Turkish Mamlūk, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], already caliphal governor of Egypt, invaded Syria under pretext of defending it against the Byzantines, and ruled it as an autonomous province. The dynasty which he founded had only an ephemeral existence (254-92/868-905), as had that of the Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īdids (323-58/935-69), who repeated the experience of the Ṭūlūnids. In the interval, the fringes of Syria and Palestine as far as Damascus and Ramla had been devastated by the Carmathians [see ḲARMAṬĪ], who left behind them the germ of Ismāʿīlī doctrines. From the time of the Ṭūlūnids, the country may politically speaking be considered lost to the ʿAbbāsids. Their power was only felt there during a few brief periods of restoration.

In their turn, the Bedouin tribes wished to take their share in plundering an empire in decay. A Tag̲h̲libī clan, the Banū Ḥamdān [see ḤAMDĀNIDS], found themselves entrusted with the reconquest of Syria for the Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īdids and checking the Byzantine advance. They installed themselves as masters of the north of the country, without, however, breaking with the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The most famous of these Ḥamdānid *amīrs* was Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who in his court at Aleppo, showed himself an enlightened patron of arts and letters (333-56/945-67). After the fall of the Ḥamdānids (394/1004), in spite of a brief ʿAbbāsid reaction at Damascus (364-6/975-7). Syria fell into and remained for over a century (366-491/977-1098) in the hands of an ʿAlid, or more accurately, Ismāʿīlī, dynasty, that of the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*].

Having conquered Egypt, the Fāṭimid armies invaded Syria (358/969), and conquered Palestine and then Damascus, without encountering any particular resistance. In the centre and north it is difficult to say what form the Egyptian conquest took. The direct authority of the Fāṭimids was enforced so long as their troops occupied the region. After their departure, the local *amīrs* did as they pleased without openly breaking with the suzerain in Cairo. Fāṭimid rule was only kept up in Syria by continually dismissing the agents to whom it was forced to delegate its authority, thus perpetuating administrative instability. In Palestine it had to reckon with the D̲j̲arrāḥids [*q.v.*]. These *amīrs* of the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ arrogated to themselves for over a century a regular hegemony over the nomad Syrians. In the reign of al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021 [*q.v.*]), the Banu ʾl-D̲j̲arrāḥ amused themselves by appointing an anti-caliph, and then sending him back to Mecca, whence they had brought him. In Tyre a humble boatman succeeded for a time in declaring himself independent (387/997).

Taking advantage of the anarchy, the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963-9) had conquered Northern Syria. His successors, John Tzimisces (969-76) and Basil II (976-1025), easily conquered the valley of the Orontes and the Phoenician coast. Of all these conquests, all that the Byzantines were able to keep for over a century was the "duchy" of Antioch, which included northern Syria, except the amīrate of Aleppo. We have already mentioned the caliph al-Ḥākim with whom is connected the origin of the Druze [see AL-DURŪZ]. This prince quarrelled with the Christians and ordered the Basilica of the Resurrection in Jerusalem to be destroyed. Syria gradually detached itself from Egypt. In the midst of the political disorders, the pernicious influence of the Bedouins increased. In 415-1024, the Banū Mirdās [*q.v.*] of the Ḳaysī tribe of Kilāb established themselves in Aleppo, and held it with interruptions till 472/1079.

By this time the Sald̲j̲ūḳs [*q.v.*] had already gained a footing in Syria. The provinces of Syria fell into their power, Damascus in 467/1075. At Jerusalem a Sald̲j̲ūḳ *amīr*, Artuḳ b. Ekseb, founded a local dynasty (479-80/1086-7). In 477/1084, the Greeks lost Antioch, their last possession in Syria. Syria was now divided into two Sald̲j̲ūḳ principalities, that of Aleppo and that of Damascus. Sald̲j̲ūḳ *amīrs* more or less independent commanded at Aleppo and Ḥimṣ, all at war with one another [see SALD̲J̲ŪḲIDS. III. 4]. At Tripoli, a humble *ḳāḍī* founded the dynasty of the Banū ʿAmmār [*q.v.*]. To the south of this town, the towns on the coast remained in the hands of the Egyptians. Into the midst of this confusion, this piecemeal distribution of territory, came the armies of the Crusaders.

The persistent hostility shown by the ʿAbbāsids to the intellectuals of Syria, the political anarchy, the rule of Turkish adventurers, were all circumstances unfavourable to the progress of literature and learning, but a few poets gathered at the court of the Ḥamdānids and Mirdāsids of Aleppo. The patronage of Sayf al-Dawla encouraged the preparation of the celebrated *Kitāb al-Ag̲h̲ānī* and supported the poet al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*]. Less tolerant than the Umayyads, the authorities began to encourage conversion to Islam. Arabic slowly began to take the place of Aramaic as the spoken and written language of the original inhabitants, who began to speak and write in it. The end of this period coincides with the spread of the *madrasas* [*q.v.*], which appeared under the stimulus of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, especially in Aleppo and Damascus. The lack of respect into which the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had fallen adversely affected orthodox Islam; this backlash favoured the growth in Syria of sects practising initiation and following the S̲h̲īʿa: the Druze, Ismāʿīlīs, Nuṣayrīs and Imāmīs.

The exactions of the ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid agents diminished without, however, destroying the great vitality of the country. In 311/923, a governor of Damascus was sentenced to pay 300,000 dīnārs to the treasury.

The northern fringes of Syria naturally suffered from the effects of the Byzantine-Arab frontier warfare there, and there were additionally the ravages of the Bedouins in northern and central parts of the land, who secured an increased ascendancy in the countryside there after the decline of ʿAbbāsid control and the failure of the Fāṭimids to establish lasting authority there. The ascendancy of the Kilāb in

Aleppo and northern Syria has been mentioned. The exactions and confiscations of the Ḥamdānids in northern Syria and the Djazīra are denounced by the traveller Ibn Ḥawḳal, in particular, those of Nāṣir al-Dawla al-Ḥasan (317-58/929-69) as causes of agricultural decline. There were, however, compensatory economic trends. Al-Muḳaddasī testifies to the vitality of the Syrian cities and their artisanal activities. Sugar cane cultivation was introduced into Syria in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, and became extensive along the Mediterranean coast and in the Jordan valley, with factories or refineries (*maṭābikh*) springing up there [see SUKKAR]. Syria also became one of the most important manufacturing centres of the Middle East for paper, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] described the paper of Tripoli as even better than that of Samarḳand, the original centre of the industry in the Islamic world [see KĀGHAD]. See in general, Muhsin D. Yusuf, *Economic survey of Syria during the tenth and eleventh centuries*, Berlin 1985. A demographic factor in the history of Syria in mediaeval times was the incidence of plague outbreaks there, and *wabāʾ ʿaẓīm* is mentioned at such times as 469/1076-7, 537/1142-3, 558/1163 and 656-7/1258-9, culminating in the notorious Black Death of the 8th/14th century. See M.W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East*, Princeton 1977, 32-5, 143 ff.

Syria under the Franks. On 21 October 1097, the army of the Crusaders appeared before the walls of Antioch. After a very laborious siege, they entered it on 3 June 1098. Then following the valley of the Orontes through the mountains of the Nuṣayrīs and along the coast, the Franks, now reduced to 40,000 men, debouched before Jerusalem. The city, which the Fāṭimids had just retaken from the Artuḳids, was taken by assault on 15 July 1099, and Godfrey of Bouillon elected head of the new Latin state (1099-1100). But the first Frankish king of Jerusalem was really his brother and successor, Baldwin I. He conquered the towns on the coast, Arsūf, Caesarea, Acre, Sidon, Beirut and Tripoli (1109-10). This brave leader, the most remarkable of the crusading sovereigns, died during an expedition against Egypt (1118). His successor, Baldwin II du Bourg, captured Tyre in 1124; he failed before Damascus, but the town had to promise to pay tribute.

It was towards 1130 that the Latin kingdom attained its greatest extent, stretching from Diyārbakr to the borders of Egypt. In Syria its frontier never crossed the valley of the Upper Orontes nor the crest of the Anti-Lebanon. The great cities of the interior, Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ, Baʿlabakk and Damascus, while agreeing to pay tribute, remained independent. The kingdom consisted of a confederation of four feudal states: 1. On the east, the county of Edessa lay along the two banks of the Euphrates. 2. In the north the principality of Antioch included in its protectorate Armenian Cilicia. 3. In the centre the county of Tripoli stretched from the fort of Margat (al-Marḳab [*q.v.*]) to the Nahr al-Kalb. 4. Lastly came the royal domains, or kingdom of Jerusalem, strictly speaking. It included all cis-Jordan Palestine and, in Transjordan, the ancient districts of Moab and Edom, which became the seigneury of Crac (Karak [*q.v.*]) and of Montréal [see SHAWBAK] "in the land of Oultre-Jourdain". For a time it had a dependency, the port of Ayla-ʿAḳaba. To defend these possessions, the Crusaders built strong castles: the Crac des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [*q.v.*]), Chastel-Blanc (Ṣāfītha [*q.v.*]), Maraclea (Maraḳiyya), Margat (al-Marḳab) and, in southern Lebanon, Beaufort (Shaḳīf Arnūn). Lastly, in Transjordan, the two massive fortresses of Crac and Montréal.

After the death of Baldwin II (1131), the decline of the Latin state began; it was hastened by the isolation of the Crusaders and their lack of unity. The Byzantines claimed the rights of a suzerain over the north of the kingdom. The Armenians sought to form a national state for themselves in the region of the Taurus. Instead of coming to an agreement, Franks, Byzantines and Armenians only succeeded in enfeebling one another to the advantage of the Muslims, who were gathered round remarkable leaders like Zangī, Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.vv.*]. Baldwin III (1144-62) resumed the siege of Damascus (23-8 July 1148), without any more success than his predecessors. Already lord of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn installed himself in Damascus. Amaury, king of Jerusalem from 1162, formed the bold project of seizing the heritage of the dying dynasty of the Fāṭimids. He was anticipated by Nūr al-Dīn. The latter sent his lieutenant, the Kurd Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, to Egypt. On the death of the last Fāṭimid caliph, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn proclaimed himself independent in Egypt, and founded the Ayyūbid dynasty [*q.v.*] there, then seized Damascus from the sons of Nūr al-Dīn. On 4 July 1187, at Ḥaṭṭīn or Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*] between Tiberias and Nazareth, the whole Christian army under Guy de Lusignan fell into the hands of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Jerusalem capitulated on 2 October following. Deprived of their defenders, the other cities, except Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre, had to surrender.

The preaching of the Third Crusade brought to the camp before Acre, which the Franks had been besieging for two years, Philip Augustus of France and Richard Cœur-de-Lion of England. The town surrendered on 19 July 1191. A truce between the belligerents ceded the coast from Jaffa to Tyre to the Crusaders. In default of Jerusalem, which they had been unable to reconquer, Acre was henceforth the capital of the kingdom. The death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn produced dissension among his numerous heirs. The Emperor Frederick II took advantage of the discord to negotiate with al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*], Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, for the cession of Jerusalem and other places of no strategic importance. Threatened by the sons of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who had made an alliance with the Franks, their uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil called in the help of the Khwārazmians, who crushed the combined Syrian and Frankish forces near Ghazza (1244) and enabled the Egyptians to occupy Jerusalem, Damascus and Ḥimṣ.

The Seventh Crusade brought St. Louis to Syria after the check to his expedition to Egypt. For four years (1250-4) he was engaged in fortifying the towns of the coast. It was the Mamlūk sultans, Baybars, Ḳalāwūn and al-Malik al-Ashraf, son of the latter, who dealt the last blow to the Latin kingdom. Acre fell (31 May 1291) after a heroic defence. In the course of the next months, Tyre, Ḥayfā, Ṣaydā, Beirut and Ṭarṭūs were taken or evacuated. ʿAthlīth [*q.v.*], the imposing fortress between Ḥayfā and Caesarea, was the last to surrender (14 August 1291). The Frankish colonies in Syria were at an end.

The Crusades introduced into Syria the feudal organisation of contemporary Europe. The elective character of the kingship soon gave place to dynastic succession. The king only ruled directly the Palestinian kingdom of Jerusalem. His authority was limited by the privileges of the three orders: the clergy, nobility and bourgeoisie. "He cannot," notes Usāma b. Munḳidh [*q.v.*], "annul the decisions of the Court of Seigneurs." The authority of the great feudatories within their principalities was circumscribed in the same way. Agricultural serfdom was retained, as had

been the custom in Syria. The name "poulains" (*pullani*) was given to the issue of marriages between Franks and natives; the etymology of this word is still obscure. The army was recruited not only from Franks but also from Armenians and Maronites. The Turcopoloi [*q.v.*] were the Muslim auxiliaries. The position of Muslims and Jews recalled that of the *Dhimmīs* in Muslim lands, with this difference that they were not so heavily taxed. According to Ibn Djubayr, his co-religionists did not conceal their satisfaction with Frankish rule.

Every principality had its own silver coin. There were also gold ducats, "besants sarracenats", or "sarrasins" with Arabic inscriptions. Commerce, more or less dormant since the Arab conquest, again became active as a result of maritime relations with the west, which were never greater. The principal ports were Acre, Tyre and Tripoli. In the principalities of the north, the terminus for continental trade was La Liche (Lādhikiyya [*q.v.*]) or Soudin (Suwaydiyya [*q.v.*]), now called Port St. Simeon. We have to go back to the time of the Phoenicians to find a period of so great economic activity.

The state of war hampered, but did not put a stop to intellectual activity among the Muslims of Syria. In Damascus, Ibn al-Ḳalānisī was busy with his history, and Ibn ʿAsākir finished his monumental encyclopaedia, the *Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, devoted to individuals who had a more or less remote connection with Syria. At the end of his troubled career, the *amīr* of Shayzar, Usāma b. Munḳidh, produced an autobiography which is very valuable for the study of the relations which existed between Franks and Muslims. Barhebraeus, a Syrian and Mesopotamian, wrote Arabic and Syriac with equal elegance. It was in this last language that the Jacobite cleric wrote a voluminous *Chronicle* [see IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ]. Muslims, Christians and Jews studied medicine with success. Never, except in the Roman period, had there been so much building. The fortresses built by the Crusaders are wonderful specimens of mediaeval military architecture. Among the churches which they built, we mention that of Djubayl, the monumental basilica at Ṭarṭūs and the graceful cathedral of John the Baptist, now the great mosque of Beirut, with its walls once covered with pictures. Many Crusading lords had adopted Syrian customs (*tabalgladū*, in the words of Usāma). In the collaboration of Franks and natives was hailed, as by Pope Honorius III, a *Nova Francia*, the dawn of a new civilisation. The destruction of the Latin kingdom destroyed any hopes based on it. The coming of the Turkish slave dynasty of the Mamlūks opened a period of anarchy such as Syria had not yet seen.

Mamlūk Syria. We have already given a resumé of the exploits of the early Mamlūk Sulṭāns against the crusader principalities. Fearing a return of the Franks and the warships of the European navy, which ruled the Mediterranean, the Mamlūks began to lay waste the towns of the coast, not even excepting the most prosperous, Acre, Tyre and Tripoli; they demolished the citadels at Sidon and Beirut, and Tripoli was rebuilt two miles from the coast. See on Mamlūk maritime and naval policy, D. Ayalon, *The Mamluks and naval power. A new phase of the struggle between Islam and Christian Europe*, in *Procs. of the Israel Acad. of Sciences and Humanities*, i (1965), 1-12, also in his *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250-1517)*, Variorum, London 1977, no. VI; BAḤRIYYA. II. The navy of the Mamlūks. From the administrative point of view, they retained the old Ayyūbid appanages and divided Syria into six main districts called *mamlakas* or *niyābas*: Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥamā, Tripoli, Ṣafad and Karak (Transjordania). See for details, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923.

The past history of Damascus assured its *nāʾib*, or viceroy, not only authority over his Syrian colleagues, but a special prestige of his own. This high official had little difficulty in persuading himself that he had the same rights to the throne as his suzerain in Egypt. To guard against the ambition of the Syrian *nāʾibs*, Cairo took care to change them continually (Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, *Taʾrīkh āl Buḥtur*). Never did instability of government and greed of rulers, uncertain of the morrow, attain such proportions. Lebanon continued to enjoy a kind of autonomy. The dissenting Muslims of the Lebanese highlands—Druze and Imāmīs—took advantage of the troubles of the Mamlūks, occupied with the Franks and Mongols, to proclaim their independence. All the forces of Syria had to be mobilised, and a long and bitter war followed (692-704/1293-1305), which ended in the complete destruction of the rebels and the devastation of central Lebanon.

The Mongol Il Khāns of Persia were burning to avenge the military defeats which the Mamlūks had inflicted upon them. The most energetic of these sovereigns, Ghazan (694-703/1295-1304), in 698/1299 secured the support of the Armenians and Georgians as well as of the Franks of Cyprus, and routed the Mamlūks near Ḥimṣ. The troops occupied Damascus, and advanced up to Ghazza. The Egyptians having again invaded Syria, Ghazan recrossed the Euphrates to meet them, but he was defeated in 502/1303 at Mardj al-Ṣuffar [*q.v.*] near Damascus. Syria had nothing to gain by the coming of the Burdjīs, who in 784/1382 replaced the Baḥrī dynasty. They "preserved," Ibn Iyās tells us, "the old laws", that is to say the anarchical rule of their predecessors. Sultan Faradj (801-15/1399-1412 [*q.v.*]) had to begin the reconquest of Syria no less than seven times. The year 1401/803-4 coincided with the invasion of Tīmūr [*q.v.*]. After the capture of Aleppo, which they sacked, his hordes appeared before Damascus. The town having agreed to surrender, the Tīmūrid forces plundered it methodically. The majority of the able-bodied inhabitants were carried off into slavery, especially artists, architects, workers in steel and glass. They were almost all taken to Samarḳand. Fire was then set to the city, to the mosque of the Umayyads and other monuments. Tīmūr led back his army and left Syria a prey to epidemics and bands of brigands. Meanwhile, on the plateaux of Anatolia, the power of the Ottomans was gathering. The capture of Constantinople (857/1453) had increased their ambition. Death alone prevented Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ from invading Syria. His successors did not cease preparations. Ḳāʾitbāy (872-901/1468-96) and Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] signed a treaty of peace, but it was only to be a truce.

The destruction of Baghdād by Hülegü and the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had shifted the centre of the Muslim world to the west of the Euphrates, and the cultural and religious pre-eminence within the Arab world of Cairo and, to a lesser extent, Damascus, was irrevocably established. Arabic literature entered into one of its most active and quantitatively significant phases during the Mamlūk period, although this literary production still needs fuller evaluation (as does that also of Turkish writers within the ethnically Ḳipčaḳ Turkish Baḥrī Mamlūk society). See MAMLŪKS. Bibl., section (i) (b). It is, however, true that it tended to be an age of epitomisers, compilers, authors of handbooks and encyclopaedias. They were interested in collecting knowledge and learning it by heart. Among the encyclopaedists a special place must be given to

the worthy Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, author of the *Masālik al-abṣār*, a voluminous compilation of a historical, geographical and literary character for the use of officials of the Mamlūk chancellery. We may next mention Abu 'l-Fidā' [*q.v.*], historian and geographer, and the geographer Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327), markedly inferior to his predecessor al-Muḳaddasī [*q.v.*]. The versatile al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*] was born in Mesopotamia but lived and died in Damascus (784/1348 or 753/1352). Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 854/1450) was the author of a history of Tīmūr. Al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]) compiled a great biographical dictionary, Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā (d. 839/1436), the author of the *Taʾrīkh Bayrūt*, has left us, in this work on the Amīrs of the Gharb, the best contribution to the history of the Lebanon and a valuable supplement to the annals of the Frankish states. Ibn Taymiyya and his pupil Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.vv.*] were amongst the most original figures of this period. Their writings covered the whole field of Islamic studies. They were eager polemicists and controversialists, concerned with what they viewed as both internal and external threats to Islam; and they are important for transmitting the Ḥanbalī legal and political heritage into later times [see ḤANĀBILA], when it was subsequently picked up by the 12th/18th century Arabian reformer Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [see IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB] and by various traditionalist-inclined elements in North Africa [see SALAFIYYA. 1.], Egypt and Syria [see SALAFIYYA. 2.], and Northern India, loosely but not always entirely accurately called Neo-Wahhābī [see MUDJĀHID. 2.].

The departure of the Crusaders marks the end of a period of astonishing economic prosperity. Syrian commerce fell back into stagnation. Little by little, however, necessity forced the resumption of relations with Europe. The decline of Acre, Tyre and Tripoli, ruined by the Mamlūks, and the fall (748/1347) of the Little Armenian kingdom of Cilicia [see SĪS], to which western merchants had first gone, were to the advantage of Beirut. For over a century this town became the principal port of Syria. Near Damascus and opposite Cyprus—the kingdom of the Lusignans and rendezvous of the European shipping—Beirut was every year visited by ships of the Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, Provençals and Rhodians. These various communities had henceforth consuls as their representatives, officially recognised by the Mamlūks and receiving a grant or *djāmakiyya*. On the other hand, the Cairo government regarded them as "hostages" (*rahīna*) (Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī); it held them responsible not only for those under their jurisdiction, but also for acts of hostility by corsairs. The consuls protected pilgrims and intervened if required on behalf of native Christians. Thus we already have the system of capitulations which was to be developed in succeeding centuries [see IMTIYĀZĀT]. For trade during this period, see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*, ²Leipzig 1923, i, 129-426, ii, 23-64; E. Ashtor, *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, London 1976, 202 ff., 285 ff.; idem, *Levant trade in the later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1983, esp. 64-102. For the specific connections of Mamlūk Egypt and Syria with the Italian trading cities, see J. Wansbrough, *A Mamluk ambassador to Venice in 913/1507*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 503-30, idem, *Venice and Florence in the Mamluk commercial privileges*, in *BSOAS*, xxviii (1965), 483-523; idem, *A Mamlūk commercial treaty concluded with the Republic of Florence 894/1489*, in S.M. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford 1966, 39-79; idem, *The safe-conduct in Muslim chancery practice*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiv (1971), 20-35.

Syria under the Ottomans. With the opening of the 10th/16th century the rule of the Mamlūks had begun to break up. Their exactions had exasperated the populace. The Ottoman sultan, Selīm I [*q.v.*], resolved to take advantage of the occasion to invade Syria. Taking the initiative, the Mamlūk sultan, Ḳānṣūḥ al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*] mobilised his forces, and marched via Damascus and Aleppo towards Anatolia. The two armies met at Dābiḳ, a day's journey north of Aleppo. The Turkish artillery and the Janissary infantry scattered disorder through the Egyptian ranks. Ḳānṣūḥ disappeared in the disaster of Dābiḳ (25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516 [see MARDJ DĀBIḲ]). Aleppo, Damascus and the towns of Syria opened their gates to the conqueror who went on to Egypt and put an end to Mamlūk rule. The Turks retained at first the territorial divisions or *niyāba*. The Mamlūk Ghazālī, *nāʾib* of Damascus, had gone over to the Ottoman camp after Dābiḳ. The renegade was in return given the administration of the country except the *niyāba* of Aleppo, which was reserved for a Turkish Pasha.

On the death of Selīm I (926/1520), Ghazālī had himself proclaimed sultan under the name of al-Malik al-Ashraf. He was defeated and killed at Ḳābūn at the gates of Damascus (927/1521). Before the end of the 10th/16th century, Syria had become divided into three great *pashaliks*: 1. Damascus, comprising ten *sandjaks* or prefectures, the chief of which were Jerusalem, Ghazza, Nābulus, Ṣaydā and Beirut; 2. Tripoli, including the *sandjaks* of Ḥimṣ, Ḥamā, Salamiyya and Djabala; 3. Aleppo, including all North Syria, except ʿAynṭāb, which was included in the *pashalik* of Marʿash. In the century following, the *pashalik* of Ṣaydā was created to include Lebanon. In its main outlines, this administrative division lasted till the middle of the 18th century, when the centre of government of Ṣaydā was moved to Acre.

The Imperial *Dīwān* in Istanbul was only interested in Syria in so far as it enabled it to watch Egypt, and to levy upon its resources contributions to the expenses of the palace and for foreign wars. The taxes, which were put up to auction, went to the highest bidder, who became the *multazim* [see MÜLTEZIM]. According to a Venetian Consular report, the *pashalik* was worth 80,000 to 100,000 ducats (probably the silver ducat, the Venetian *grosso*, whence *ḳirsh* pl. *ḳurūsh*, or piastre = 5 francs). The Pashas only administered directly the important towns and their immediate neighbourhood. The interior of the country was left to the old feudal lords, whose number and influence had increased since the Mamlūks: Bedouin *amīrs*, Turkomans, Mutawālīs, Druze and Nuṣayrīs. The Porte only asked them to pay the tribute, or *mīrī*, without worrying if it saw them fighting with its own representatives. Every year the Turkish Pasha, at the head of his artillery and Janissaries, set out to collect the taxes. The force lived on the country and laid it waste if the inhabitants resisted. It is not therefore remarkable that agriculture, the principal resource of Syria, declined, the population diminished, and the country districts emptied in favour of the Lebanon and mountainous districts, where the harassed people could find asylum.

The instability of their position increased the rapacity of the Turkish functionaries. Damascus saw 133 Pashas in 180 years. This period saw the rise of Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*], the champion of Syrian independence (1583-1635), the Mutawālī *amīrs*, the Banū Ḥarfūsh, lords of Baʿlabakk and the Biḳāʿ, the Banū Manṣūr b. Furaykh, Bedouin *shaykhs*, who carved out for themselves an appanage in Palestine and in the

region of Nābulus. These feudal lords were fairly well-organised in spite of their cupidity, and they were able to defend their gains from the arbitrary Turk. By sending round the Cape the traffic of the Middle East, the Portuguese occupation of India adversely affected Syria. The harbour of Beirut remained empty. Tripoli at first, then—thanks to the initiative of Fakhr al-Dīn—Sidon attracted European ships, which came for cargoes of silk and cotton. Aleppo, thanks to its location between Mesopotamia, the sea, and the Anatolian provinces whose market it was, and the situation there of a factory of the English Levant Company, remained the principal depot on the direct route to the Persian Gulf and was for three centuries the chief commercial centre of Northern Syria.

The decay of the Ottoman administrative system in Syria, with its concomitant rapid turnover of governors in Damascus, had the effect of increasing the power of the Janissary garrison troops of the Ottomans there, and subsequently, by the end of the 17th century, in Aleppo also. The Janissaries came in fact to be divided into two groups, the older-established ones being designated *Yerliyya* (< Tkish. *yerli* "local"), whilst new contingents sent out from Istanbul were known by various local corruptions of the Turkish term *Ḳapî Ḳullarî* "slaves of the Porte".

The governorship of Naṣūḥ Pasha (1708-14) was a turning point in the history of the Ottoman province of Damascus, in that his was the first of a series of longer tenures of office, giving the province a degree of stability which it had previously lacked. A powerful family, the ʿAẓms, then emerged in the 18th century, and extended its quasi-dynastic power from Damascus as far as Tripoli, Sidon and, at times, Aleppo. The rule in Damascus of Asʿad al-ʿAẓm (1743-57) was an unprecedentedly long governorship, later to be remembered by the people as one of justice and peace.

After the fall of Asʿad in 1757, the power of the ʿAẓms had passed its peak, and the centre of political gravity in Syria shifted westwards to the coastlands, seen in the rise of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar al-Zaydānī (Syrian pronunciation of the first name, Ḍāhir). Ḍāhir, a Bedouin *shaykh*, lord of the land of Ṣafad, extended his authority over Galilee, and settled at Acre, which he fortified and raised from its ruins. He resisted the Porte (1750-75) with assistance lent by the Egyptian Mamlūks ʿAlī Bey and Muḥammad Bey Abu ʾl-Dhahab and a Russian squadron cruising in Syrian waters. Besieged in Acre by the Turks, he died there in 1775. This marked the end of the autonomous state which he had created, but his benevolent rule had brought order and security and had favoured the revival of Acre, which now superseded Sidon as administrative centre of the *pashalik* or province of that name. It was here that Aḥmad al-Djazzār Pasha, a much more despotic and tyrannical figure than his predecessor, became governor after 1775, striving likewise to make it the centre of an autonomous power. He sought to diminish the authority of the revived ʿAẓms in Damascus, and intervened in Mount Lebanon to undermine the power there of Yūsuf Shihāb and his youthful successor Bashīr II [*q.v.*]. A new factor supervened, however, with the arrival of Bonaparte in Egypt in 1798, but al-Djazzār, with the aid of a British army under Sir Sidney Smith, withstood a French siege of Acre for three months (March-May 1799). The check proved fatal to French ambitions in the Near East. Al-Djazzār then retained power till his death in 1804 [see AL-DJAZZĀR PASHA, in Suppl.]. For the history of Syria during the 18th century, see P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, Ithaca 1966, 102-33.

The years after 1804 saw a rise in the power of Bashīr II Shihāb, who pursued the aim of making himself an autocratic prince, with a strongly centralised government, like Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha in Egypt and the Ottoman Sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.vv.*] in Turkey. His policies, naturally involving higher taxation, were in 1820 to cause a revolt amongst the common people (the first *ʿāmmiyya*), compelling Bashīr to withdraw temporarily to the Ḥawrān. But in general, Bashīr's influence was felt widely in Syria. Even the great Turkish officials sought his intervention. Yūsuf, Pasha of Damascus (1807-10), implored his help against a threatened invasion of the Wahhābīs. Bashīr presided in Damascus at the installation of Sulaymān, Pasha of Acre and successor-designate of Yūsuf Pasha. In the middle of the general confusion, however, Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt was watching for an opportunity of adding Syria to his governorship of Egypt. ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, who succeeded Sulaymān at Acre (1818), undertook to give it him. He refused to allow the extradition of Egyptian *fellāḥīn* and the repayment of a million piastres. Summoned to contribute towards this sum by the Pasha of Acre, under whom was the Lebanon, the Christians of the Lebanon refused to pay. The rising of the Christians was a new feature in Syrian politics, but it was not to be the only one. Through contact with the Europeans, the Christians were becoming more assertive and enlightened, and they were learning their own strength. Taking as a pretext the refusals of ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, Muḥammad ʿAlī sent his son Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] into Syria at the head of an army trained on European lines. Acre surrendered on 27 May 1832, after a siege of seven months. On 8 July at Ḥimṣ, Ibrāhīm routed the Turks. A little later he forced the pass of Baylān and entered Anatolia. A treaty (May 1833) assured Egypt temporary possession of Syria.

The new rule proved in many ways enlightened and tolerant. It admitted Christians to the communal councils; it favoured the abolition of measures humiliating to non-Muslims. It endeavoured to reform the police and the tribunals. The reclamation of waste and devastated land was encouraged, and agriculture encouraged; a considerable number of trees, especially olive and mulberry, were planted. On the other hand, it provoked discontent by introducing forced labour and conscription, even in the semi-independent regions of the Lebanon. Rebellions broke out among the Druze of the Lebanon and of the Ḥawrān, among the Nuṣayrīs and in the never properly-subjected hill region of Nābulus. Ibrāhīm exhausted himself in suppressing these risings. The Ottomans thought the moment had come for the reconquest of Syria. They were completely defeated (27 June 1839) at Nizib, north of Aleppo. European diplomacy then intervened at the instigation of Great Britain, which was disturbed by the ambitions of Muḥammad ʿAlī. British policy had at this time as its aims the maintenance of the Ottoman empire, the confinement of Muḥammad ʿAlī to Egypt and the extension of its influence in Syria. France had since the 16th century a historic role as protector of the Maronites and Uniate Churches of the Eastern Christians, hence Britain could only try to exert a parallel influence amongst the Druze, a policy which was never, however, very successful. A further element in the Levant was Imperial Russia which, by stretching the provisions of the Russo-Turkish Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardji (1774) [*q.v.*], claimed a protectorate over Greek Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman empire in general, which in Syria meant aid to the Orthodox communities of

the Antioch and Jerusalem Patriarchates.

The European powers banded together. An allied fleet shelled Beirut (September 1840). Acre surrendered in November, and Ibrāhīm Pasha agreed to evacuate Syria, successfully withdrawing his army of 60-80,000 men to Ghazza by January 1841. Ibrāhīm's collaborator Bashīr II Shihāb fell from power at this point, being deposed and sent into exile. A period of some twenty years' internal conflict opened in Lebanon, involving *inter alios* the great Maronite landowners and their increasingly restive peasantry, and a growing tension between the Druze and Maronites who had migrated from Kisrawān in central Lebanon to the Druze areas of southern Lebanon. In 1858-9 there took place the third *ʿāmmiyya*, a Maronite peasant revolt against the landlords in Kisrawān.

From the reign of Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], the Porte had inaugurated a policy of administrative centralisation, and decreed the abolition of local autonomies and feudalities. After the departure of the Egyptians, it moved to Beirut, whose importance was steadily increasing, the administrative centres of the ancient *pashaliks* of Acre and Sidon, in order to prepare for the annexation of Lebanon. With the same object it declared the old line of princes of the Lebanon, the Shihāb Amīrs, deposed. The only result was to perpetuate anarchy there. The Christians who had fought against the Egyptians claimed to be treated on terms of equality to the Druze. In the southern Lebanon, several had acquired the confiscated lands of the Druze chiefs banished by Ibrāhīm Pasha. The latter, coming back from exile, demanded a return to the *status quo* and the restoration of their ancient privileges. In taking their side, Turkey paved the way for new conflicts and sanguinary fighting. The Syrian Muslims showed no less animosity to the Christians, whom Egyptian rule had partly enfranchised. They took no account of the intellectual and material progress made by the Christians, nor of the political equality promised by the rescripts of the sultans as part of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms. The *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*] of Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd [*q.v.*] communicated to the Congress of Paris (1856), and tacitly placed under the guarantee of the Powers, scandalised Muslim opinion, but inspired confidence among the Christians. At Damascus and in the large towns, they took advantage of the occasion to enrich themselves commercially. A secret agitation began to stir up the Druze and Muslims, and waited for the events of 1860 to burst forth.

The Druze of the Lebanon, combining with their co-religionists of the Wādī 'l-Taym and of the Ḥawrān, spread fire and death through the villages of the Maronites, who were at that moment in turmoil in the aftermath of the peasant *ʿāmmiyya* of the previous year (see above). The anti-Christian movement reached Damascus, which the Muslims pillaged and then set fire to the prosperous Christian quarter, after massacring its inhabitants. In this city, in the Lebanon, and in Beirut, the Turkish authorities intervened only to disarm the Christians, and their sympathies were clearly with the Muslim and Druze perpetrators of the massacres. Amongst the Muslims, the only effective protector of the Christians in Damascus was the exiled former leader of resistance to the French in Algeria, the Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī [*q.v.*]. Inevitably, there was a reaction from the European powers. France landed troops at Beirut in September 1860, and the Porte sent its Foreign Minister, Fuʾād Pasha to Damascus with draconian powers to suppress disorder. Soon afterwards, an international commission began work in Beirut and then Istanbul; the aim of British and Ottoman diplomacy was now to prevent a permanent extension of Napoleon III's influence in Syria and Lebanon. The outcome was an Organic Regulation/Règlement organique in 1861, which abolished the dual ḳāʾimmaḳāmate of Christians in northern Lebanon and Druze in the south and established an administration for Lebanon under a Christian *mutaṣarrif* directly responsible to the sultan. The system gave Lebanon peace for over half-a-century; for the subsequent history of the region, see LUBNĀN. In Syria, Fuʾād Pasha shot or hanged a considerable number of guilty soldiers and civilians, and a collective fine of £ 200,000 was levied on Damascus and another £ 160,000 on the province at large. After 1864 Syria was divided into two *wilāyets*: Aleppo and Damascus. In 1888 Beirut, the chief port, the centre of the commercial life of Syria, was made a separate *wilāyet*.

Syria now gradually began to enter the modern age. The ports of Beirut and Jaffa were improved; the main ports and cities were in the 1860s linked by telegraph with Istanbul and Europe; a postal system was introduced; carriage roads were constructed between Alexandretta and Aleppo, Beirut and Damascus, and Jaffa and Jerusalem. The improvement in communications made possible increased centralisation of the Ottoman administration, with curbs on Bedouin brigandage and increased security. Such measures as these, plus the opening in 1869 of the Suez Canal, contributed to an increase of commercial confidence and activity, although trade was temporarily affected by the American Civil War and the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian Wars. Eventually, too, railways appeared; with the exception of the north Syrian section of the Berlin-Baghdād railway and the Pilgrimage line from Damascus to Medina, financed by the Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II and internal Ottoman contributions [see ḤIDJĀZ RAILWAY], these were largely constructed with French capital. Nevertheless, it was in the post-1860 period that emigration—mainly of Christians—above all from Lebanon, and from Syria, grew, a good proportion of it to the New World (for the Arabic literature of this diaspora, see MAHDJAR).

Lebanon and Syria also became the focuses of the Arabic literary revival known as the Nahḍa [*q.v.*]. Since the 17th century, the Christians of Syria had had presses for printing works in Arabic and, for the Eastern Churches, for printing religious and liturgical works in both Arabic and Syriac; a bilingual Psalter appeared in 1610 from the press at the monastery of St. Anthony at Ḳuzḥayya in Lebanon, and a Melkite press started up at Aleppo in 1706 [see MAṬBAʿA. B. 2]. In the 19th century organised Protestant Christian missionary work came to Syria, with American Presbyterians working from Beirut and Anglicans from Jerusalem. The Americans organised their converts into the Syrian Evangelical Church, with an Arabic press at Beirut in 1843, and their activity culminated in the foundation in 1866 of the Syrian Protestant College, after 1923 the American University of Beirut. The Jesuits, for their part, set up the Imprimerie Catholique at Beirut in 1853 and founded the Université de St.-Joseph in 1875. Both Universities were to make distinguished contributions to the revival of Arabic studies and to the training of an Arab intellectual élite throughout the Near East. Towards the end of the century, when Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary efforts amongst the Christians of Syria seemed to be reducing the Orthodox representation there, Russians interested in the Near East and, especially, in Jerusalem, founded in 1882 the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society, which functioned until the Russian Revolution of 1917. Its

work included the running of village and urban elementary schools in Christian areas and some colleges; the *Mahdjar* writer Mikhā'īl Nu'ayma [*q.v.*] received his first education at the Russian school in his Lebanese home village of Biskinta, eventually going to study in Russia itself. See on this Russian religious and cultural interest in the Near East, D. Hopwood, *The Russian presence in Syria and Palestine 1843-1914. Church and politics in the Near East*, Oxford 1969.

Whereas the missions and schools in Syria and Lebanon aimed at making converts from the indigenous Eastern Christian Churches or at educating them, the Anglican Mission at Jerusalem aimed at converting the Jews of Palestine. The Jews of Syria did not, in fact, experience a national, cultural and educational revival as did the Greeks, Armenians and other indigenous Christian Churches of the Ottoman empire during the 19th century, and lost social and economic ground to these last. The emancipation of the Jews in Western and Central Europe did, however, lead to the appearance of protectors for the Oriental Jewish communities. Thus Sir Moses Montefiore visited Palestine several times, and intervened in 1840 to protect the Jews of Damascus after an accusation of ritual murder; and in 1860 the Alliance Israélite Universelle was formed with the aim of promoting Jewish education, primarily in the Islamic lands. Above all, in connection with the Jews, there begin in the last two decades of the century the rise of Zionism and Zionist immigration into Palestine; and even though there were still only about 85,000 Jews in Palestine by 1914, their presence was to make itself felt. See N.A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab lands in modern times*, Philadelphia and New York 1991, 3 ff., 80-91, 231-5.

With the conceding of the first Ottoman constitution in 1876 [see DUSTŪR. ii], Syria acquired representation in the newly-established assembly in Istanbul. In this first *Medjlis-i 'Umūmī* it was represented by nine persons: three Muslim Arabs and one Armenian Christian from the province of Aleppo, two Muslim and two Christian Arabs from the province of Sūriyya (the former province of Damascus), and one Muslim Arab from Jerusalem, all of them from leading families of Syria. Midhat Pasha [*q.v.*] was governor of Syria for some twenty months in 1878-80, and it was at this time that the first faint glimmerings of incipient, proto-nationalist Syrian Arab discontent against Ottoman Turkish rule became discernible, with hopes of some sort of autonomy for the region. A number of anonymous, handwritten placards appeared in the main cities of Syria at the end of Midhat's governorship, asserting some basic Arab rights. Such sentiments can nevertheless only have been those of a tiny minority, but were significant for the beginnings of Arab nationalism there, slow though this was to develop [see ḲAWMIYYA. 1]. Not long afterwards, such views were temporarily submerged by Muslim Syrian enthusiasm for 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's promotion of Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*], a movement in which several Syrians were prominent, such as Shaykh Abu 'l-Hudā from Aleppo, who promoted the sultan's claim to the universal caliphate, and the sultan's second secretary, Aḥmad 'Izzat Pasha al-'Ābid, who became involved in the project of the Ḥidjāz Railway. On the other hand, the Syrians 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī [*q.v.*], from Aleppo, and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*], from Tripoli, voiced from the safety of Cairo opposition to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's religio-political claims. The Ḥamīdian censorship covered all literary output, including even the textbooks used in foreign mission schools, and caused a considerable emigration of writers to Egypt and elsewhere.

Agitation for the restoration of the 1876 constitution was of course primarily associated with the "Young Turks" and the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEM'IYYETI], but the Syrian Arabs hoped for equal rights in the empire with the Turks, some degree of administrative decentralisation which would give Syria a hand in its own affairs, and recognition of the Arabic language at the side of Turkish in education and administration. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 brought about the deposition of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. The reinstated constitution of 1876 and its parliament were greeted in Syria with enthusiasm as the dawn of a new era, and societies were formed there to promote the Arab course within the Ottoman empire, such as the Arab-Ottoman Brotherhood (*al-Ikhā'*).

This illusion was of short duration. The Young Turks, whom the Syrians had trusted, were not long in resuming once more the process of turkicising begun by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. With more method and continuity, they declared war against all who were Arab by race or language. They insisted everywhere in Parliament and in the government offices on the employment of Turks only, and removed the Syrians from high offices and important military commands. This provocative policy brought together for the first time Muslims and Christians in Syria. It awakened amongst all the desire to come to an understanding in regard to a common policy, and to take joint action. Their demands were limited to reforms of a decentralising nature. They asked that, in the allotment of public offices, regard should be had to the progress which had been made by Syria, the most civilised province of the Empire, and that in the imposition and spending of taxes regard should be paid to the needs of their country. They thought the time had come to grant it a certain administrative autonomy. It was the obstinacy of the Young Turks in rejecting these moderate demands which opened the door to separatist ideas, and finally convinced the Syrian nationalists (the Muslims amongst whom for long had had a lingering sympathy for the Ottoman sultan, especially after the disasters to the Ottoman-Muslim cause of the loss of Tripolitania to the Italians in 1911 and the loss of almost all the Ottoman Balkan provinces after the Balkan Wars) that their aspirations were unlikely to be fulfilled within the Empire.

On 29 October 1914 Turkey entered the First World War on the side of the Central Powers. It began by suppressing the administrative autonomy of Lebanon, and imposing on it a Turkish governor. Djemāl Pasha took into his own hands the government of all Syria with discretionary powers. He at once proceeded to hang the principal patriots, whether Syrian Muslim or Christian. Hundreds of others went into exile. Soon afterwards, famine and disease decimated the population, principally of the Lebanon. Energetic but presumptuous, dreaming of the conquest of Egypt, Djemāl proceeded unsuccessfully to attack the Suez Canal (February 1915). He now gave more attention to Arab opposition in Syria, arresting and deporting to Anatolia many notables and publicly hanging eleven Muslim leaders in Beirut, until diplomatic pressure from Turkey's ally Germany brought a relenting in what might well have proved a counter-productive policy. Perhaps as a sop to Arab opinion, Djemāl in 1915 founded the Ṣalāḥiyya College in Jerusalem under the Pan-Islamic enthusiast Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz Shāwīsh. But a second Turkish attack in August 1916 on Egypt failed, and British forces advanced into Ottoman territory as far as Ghazza, but were temporarily checked there. The Ottoman

forces in Palestine were now placed under the command of the German general Von Falkenhayn, but British forces under Allenby broke through at Beersheba.

By November 1917 the British, French and Italian forces of the Allies had become masters of the southern portion of Palestine, and on 11 December, they entered Jerusalem, which the Turks had evacuated. The latter defended themselves for a further nine months on a line extending to the north of Jaffa as far as the Jordan. The decisive action took place on 19 September 1918, on the plain of Sarona near Ṭūlkarm. The forces of Allenby broke the Turkish front. It was a rout. At the end of the month the British forces, without meeting with any resistance, arrived in the neighbourhood of Damascus. The advance was delayed for a few days, in order to allow the Amīr Fayṣal, the son of the S͟harīf Ḥusayn of Mecca, time to hasten from the remote end of Transjordania and to make on 1 October his entry into Damascus at the head of a body of Bedouins. On 31 October, the Turks signed an armistice. A week later, the last of their soldiers had repassed the Taurus.

Bibliography: For the older bibl., see that to Lammens' *EI*[1] art. The more recent references for the pre-1800 period have been given in the text; see also M. Kurd ʿAlī, *K͟hiṭaṭ al-S͟hām*, Damascus 1925-8. For a regional bibliography, see I.J. Seccombe, *Syria*, World Bibliographical Series, Oxford, Santa Barbara and Denver 1987. For the 19th and early 20th centuries, see Lammens, *La Syrie, précis historique*, Beirut 1921, ii; W. Miller, *The Ottoman empire and its successors 1801-1927*, Cambridge 1936; G. Antonius, *The Arab awakening*, London 1938; F. Charles-Roux, *La France et les Chrétiens d'Orient*, Paris 1939; A.H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon, a political essay*, London 1946; idem, *Minorities in the Arab world*, London 1947; P.K. Hitti, *The history of Syria*, London 1951; E. Kedourie, *England and the Middle East*, London 1956; Z.N. Zeine, *Arab-Turkish relations and the emergence of Arab nationalism*, Beirut 1958; Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age 1798-1939*, London 1962; Sylvia G. Haim (ed.), *Arab nationalism, an anthology*, Berkeley, etc. 1962; C. Issawi, *The economic history of the Middle East*, Chicago 1966; A.L. Tibawi, *American interests in Syria 1800-1901*, Oxford 1966; P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, Ithaca 1966; M. Maʿoz, *Ottoman reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861*, Oxford 1968; Tibawi, *A modern history of Syria, including Lebanon and Palestine*, London 1969; M.S. Kalla, *The role of foreign trade in the economic development of Syria 1831-1914*, diss. AUB 1969; R. Owen, *The Middle East in the world economy 1800-1914*, London 1981; Issawi, *An economic history of the Middle East and North Africa 1800-1914*, New York 1982; P.S. Khoury, *Urban notables and Arab nationalism. The politics of Damascus 1860-1920*, Cambridge 1983; Leila T. Fawaz, *Merchants and migrants in nineteenth-century Beirut*, Cambridge, Mass. 1983; M.E. Yapp, *The making of the modern Near East 1792-1923*, London and New York 1987; Y.M. Choueiri, *Arab history and the nation state. A study in modern Arab historiography 1820-1980*, London 1989, 25-54.

(H. LAMMENS-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

(b) From the end of the First World War to the end of the Mandate.

The S͟harīf Ḥusayn's son Fayṣal [see FAYṢAL I] hoped to establish an Arab kingdom in Greater Syria based on Damascus, on the basis of the exchange of correspondence in October 1915 between Ḥusayn and Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, which had defined how far the British were prepared to go in conceding Arab independence. But this had in effect been superseded by the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 16 May 1916, dividing Greater Syria into British and French spheres of influence, with an internationalised Palestine. The publication of the Agreement by the triumphant Bolsheviks in 1917 had not surprisingly caused the S͟harīf and other Arab leaders to doubt the sincerity of the British government's undertakings, and assurances had also to be given to Ḥusayn concerning the significance of the Balfour Declaration of November 1917.

With the end of the War, the whole of Greater Syria was occupied by Allied troops, with British troops throughout the area, a small French force on the Levant coast and the Arab army of the S͟harīf (now King of the Ḥid͟jāz) Ḥusayn in the interior. There were already grounds for conflict between the Arabs and the French government, since the latter regarded the whole of the northern half of Greater Syria as lying within its sphere of influence, as provided for in the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and did not consider itself bound by any British promises to its ally Ḥusayn. It was also influenced by the attitude of the Lebanese Christians, who had no desire to become part of an Arab kingdom under a Muslim monarch from the ruling family in the Ḥid͟jāz. Fayṣal's position in Damascus was affected by the Anglo-French Agreement of September 1919, which provided for the withdrawal of British troops from Greater Syria excluding Palestine. The action of a congress of Syrian notables meeting at Damascus in March 1920 in offering the crown of Syria and Palestine to Fayṣal was repudiated by Britain and France in favour of a mandate [*q.v.*] of Britain over southern Greater Syria (i.e. Palestine) and of France over the northern part (i.e. Syria and Lebanon). French forces under General Gouraud marched on Damascus, defeated the Arabs at Maysalūn [*q.v.*] in the Anti-Lebanon and entered Damascus on 25 July 1920. Fayṣal left for exile and, eventually, a new throne in ʿIrāḳ. The San Remo Conference duly allotted the mandates of Syria and Lebanon to France, confirmed by the League of Nations in July 1922.

In the early years of the French mandate, the frontiers of Syria were gradually delimited: those with ʿIrāḳ, Palestine and Transjordania by two Anglo-French agreements, but the more contentious northern frontier with Turkey, with its mixed population of Arabs, Turks and Kurds, was not finally settled until 1930, and was to have a substantial modification in 1939 when the so-called Sanjak of Alexandretta [see ISKANDARŪN] was ceded to Turkey (see further, below).

Under the *de facto* control of the French High Commissioner Gouraud, Syria was officially proclaimed to be a "federation of Syrian states": the State of Aleppo, with its dependent Sanjak of Alexandretta; the State of Damascus; the "Territory of the ʿAlawīs", sc. Nuṣayrīs [see NUṢAYRIYYA], centred on Latakia [see AL-LĀD͟HIḲIYYA]; and a Druze state in the D͟jabal al-Durūz with its centre at Suwayda (1921-2). But the system never came to life, and from 1 January 1925 there was established a unitary state of Syria, which was, however, to exclude the ʿAlawī and Druze territories and Greater Lebanon. Meanwhile, a preliminary census was instituted as a basis for the voting groups of the first general elections (to be conducted by indirect voting) planned by the new High Commissioner General Weygand in 1923. Excluding Greater Lebanon, the census revealed the following picture. The nomads in the district of Aleppo and of Damascus were not included in it. The state of Aleppo,

including the independent Sanjak of Alexandretta had 604,000 inhabitants. The number was made up as follows: 502,000 Sunnīs, 30,000 ʿAlawīs, 52,000 Christians of diverse denominations, 7,000 Jews and 3,000 foreigners. The state of Damascus contained 595,000 inhabitants, of which 447,000 were Sunnīs, 8,000 Ismāʿīlīs, 5,000 ʿAlawīs, 4,000 Druze, 9,000 Mutawālīs, 67,000 Christians of different denominations, 6,000 Jews and 49,000 foreigners. In the state of the ʿAlawīs, there were 60,000 Sunnīs, 153,000 ʿAlawīs, 3,000 Ismāʿīlīs and 42,000 Christians of different denominations, in all 261,000 inhabitants. The state of the Djabal al-Durūz was remarkable for the homogeneity of its population. There were 43,000 Druze against 700 Sunnīs, and about 7,000 Greek, Catholic or Orthodox Christians.

It is not easy to draw up a balance-sheet of the achievements and failures of the French mandatory power. On the positive side, there was the establishment of law and order; improvements in communications and harbour facilities; order was achieved in the public finances, with the budget generally balanced and, after 1933, the burden of the share of the Ottoman Public Debt which had fallen upon the mandated territories was at last paid off so that no public debt remained; some tentative steps towards land reform were made through the introduction of a modern system of land registration and a land survey, although the pattern of actual land ownership changed little and there was a very clear continuity in the high level of political and economic power of the Syrian landowning élite from late Ottoman times to the post-Second World War years. A system of state schools was created from almost nothing; the University of Damascus expanded and the Arab Academy in Damascus acquired a solid reputation throughout the Arab world. An Antiquities Service did sterling work in preserving both the ancient and the Islamic sites and monuments of Syria. In agriculture, there were moves to improve crops and produce, with substantial increases in cotton production and the export of citrus fruits. Irrigation works were undertaken, such as the completion of the first phase in 1938 of the Lake of Homs barrage, although achievements here lagged behind those of ʿIrāḳ in the same period. The world depression of the 1930s reduced Syria's potential as an exporter; there was a slowing-down of Lebanese and Syrian emigration as overseas countries closed their doors to immigrants, and remittances home by existing emigrants decreased sharply.

On the debit side, in the early years of the Mandate at least, France ran Syria as a colonial possession, with commercial and financial policies which benefited the mandatory power. French companies, banks and individuals were favoured by the grant of industrial concessions and the provision of subsidies, and the League of Nations' mandatory system requirements of free trade and open competition for the provision of goods and services circumvented, annoying France's European and American trade competitors and frustrating the indigenous population which suffered from the lack of competition. Local Syrian industries were not given adequate protection by the High Commissioner, and French customs policy favoured the import of French goods and furthered the decline of local industry and handicrafts, causing, e.g. unemployment in the towns amongst handloom weavers and silk spinners.

The great failure of French rule—one which was probably inevitable, whatever the mandatory power could have done or not done—was to win the approval of the bulk of the Syrian and Lebanese people. The nationalists, backbone of the movement for independence, were naturally intransigent, resenting what they saw as the encouragement of separatism and what they believed to be French financial dominance through the Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban. Thus it was widely believed that the French deliberately drained the country of gold which it had possessed in Ottoman times. In 1925-6 there were local risings in northern Syria (under Ibrāhīm Ḥanānū) and in the Djabal al-Durūz (under Sulṭān al-Aṭrash), the latter spreading to the Druze areas of southern Lebanon and the district of Damascus as far as Ḥimṣ. The mandatory power had to revise the constitutional arrangements for Syria, although martial law, censorship and the special tribunals were not abolished till 1928, when a general amnesty was issued. An indigenous Syrian government, more acceptable to public opinion, after 1928 under the moderate nationalist Shaykh Tādj al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī, was installed, with elections for a constituent assembly. The drafting of a constitution began, one on Western lines and with provision (as in Lebanon also) for the representation of minorities and a unicameral legislative assembly. Because of disagreements between the more moderate majority in the assembly and the more extremist nationalist bloc, *al-Kutla al-Waṭaniyya*, under Ḥanānū, a constitution for the State of Syria was finally refused by the High Commissioner Henri Ponsot.

It was also hoped to institute a Franco-Syrian Treaty, on the lines of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty which had terminated the British mandate over ʿIrāḳ, but the negotiations for this were likewise bedevilled by party disputes in the assembly, until in November 1934 the High Commissioner Comte Damien Charles de Martel adjourned the Chamber of Deputies *sine die*, with provision for rule by decree. As may be inferred from the turbulent politics of the period, there was a proliferation of political parties in Syria in the 1930s; see for these, ḤIZB. i, at III, 522-3. Not until 1936, when there came to power in France a left-wing coalition, the Popular Front, slightly more favourably disposed to Syrian and Lebanese aspirations than the outgoing government, were Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese Treaties achieved, defining what were to be the relations between France and the local Arab powers after the end of the mandate and, in the meantime, handing over certain administrative functions from the High Commissioner to the Syrian government. The National Bloc achieved an overwhelming majority in the 1936 elections. Soon afterwards, the ʿAlawī and Druze regions were annexed to the Syrian State. But difficulties grew as Turkish claims to thc Sanjak of Alexandretta were increasingly pressed; separatist movements grew (in the Djabal al-Durūz, 1937-9; in the ʿAlawī region, 1939; and amongst the Kurds of the Djazīra, sc. in northeastern Syria, in 1937). The accession to power in France in 1938 of a less sympathetic government, which now feared for the long-term safety of the minorities in Syria, above all, of the Christians there, led to the failure of the French Parliament to ratify the 1936 Treaty. Within Syria, confidence in the National Bloc had ebbed, and political instability and insecurity in the country at large made it difficult to find a government acceptable to a broad spectrum of Syrian interests. Hence in July 1939 the High Commissioner Gabriel Puaux suspended the constitution and appointed a council of directors to rule by decree under his own guidance; at the same time, the separate administrations of the Druze and ʿAlawī areas, abolished in 1936, were restored, and a separate

administration created for the restive Djazīra.

The outbreak of the Second World War on 3 September 1939 marks the beginning of the last period in which the French could hope to do more than hold their position in Syria. The fulfilment of any of their aims as the mandatory power had to be abandoned for a policy of survival as a weak outpost of a metropolitan power soon to be largely occupied by the German enemy. The surrender of France in June 1940 found the French Army of the Levant obeying the order from Vichy to cease hostilities. The adroit and circumspect Puaux was recalled from Syria because of his tepid attitude towards Vichy policy, and replaced by the respected but defeatist General Henri Dentz, whose tenure of the High Commissionship was to be uniformly unfortunate. Local Syrian nationalists could not but be affected by contemplation of the French débâcle; some of the more extreme elements, as in ʿIrāḳ, began openly to look for an Axis victory as German propagandists proclaimed in Syria ostensibly pan-Arab and anti-Zionist policies. Economic hardship, involving food shortages and black market, price rises and unemployment contributed to popular discontent, with a general strike in Damascus and Aleppo and similar disorders in Lebanon in February 1941. A leader of the nationalist movement now emerged in the person of Shukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī.

Meanwhile, the attitude of General Dentz, on orders from Vichy, was made clear to the British High Command in Cairo: that France would not regard the appearance of German forces or aeroplanes in Syria, en route as reinforcements for Rashīd ʿAlī al-Gaylānī's [*q.v.*] pro-Axis régime in Baghdād, as a hostile act, whereas any British intervention would be opposed by force. No message could have been clearer. Britain reluctantly—because its Middle Eastern military resources were already highly stretched in opposing the Axis forces in North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean—decided to intervene, once it was clear that the French administration in Syria would not promise, as similar administrations in other parts of France's colonial empire had in fact promised, to remain neutral and to maintain a defensive stance (which would have been in accordance with the terms of the Franco-German Armistice). The Free French movement under General Charles de Gaulle had to be accommodated in any military measures, and forces under General Legentilhomme took part in the invasion of Syria which began on 8 June 1941 and was strenuously opposed by General Dentz's troops. Offers of help from the Germans and Italians were distasteful to Dentz and were refused by the Vichy government. He surrendered on 14 July, most of his troops being repatriated to France.

General Georges Catroux, de Gaulle's Délégué-Général in Cairo, had promised in leaflets dropped by air into Syria on 8 June that the mandate would be terminated and that the peoples there would become free and independent. In fact, it was going to be difficult to say when France's mandate ended; General Catroux did not transfer power to the Syrians till early 1944, and the obligations of the mandate could still be invoked by the French in the protracted negotiations leading to the final withdrawal of French troops in 1945-6 (see below). In these years, there were also to be tensions between the more adaptable Catroux and the intransigent de Gaulle, whose mind was closed to the new political and psychological realities of the Arab world, though both were to remain bitterly critical of what they regarded as British perfidy in encouraging Syrian national aspirations in an area regarded as a purely French responsibility. Britain was regarded by de Gaulle as hopelessly Arabophile, and the French authorities in Syria fought a long-drawn out, but ultimately unsuccessful, battle to concede the minimum towards independence and to retain for France as many rights and privileges there as possible.

Meanwhile, within Syria, there was intense political activity among the parties, in which the Communists (though at this point professedly favourable to the nationalist cause and the war effort) were making their name heard in both Syria and Lebanon. The Druze and ʿAlawī territories were in February 1942 re-transferred to Syrian authority, this time for good. Elections were held in the summer of 1943, entailing the decisive return of the National Bloc to power, and the Assembly elected Shukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī as President of the Republic of Syria (17 August). From December 1943, the French authorities ceased to challenge any constitutional changes which the governments of Syria and Lebanon might make, and in January 1944 the Assembly members took the oath of allegiance to a constitution which ignored all mandatory ties. Even so, disputes between the two sides continued, especially over Catroux's refusal to cede control of the Syrian Legion, the *Troupes spéciales*, recruited largely from the minorities and from rural Sunnī Muslims, and over the continued existence of French regular army garrisons. The despatch of Senegalese troops by de Gaulle to Beirut in May 1945 was regarded as an attempt to reinforce the French military presence, provoking a general strike, and demonstrations and armed clashes as far as Deir al-Zor, and entailing the French shelling and bombing of Damascus with hundreds of casualties. There followed a threat of British military intervention, since Britain was still at war with Japan and the Levant lay across supply lines to the East. Only in the summer did France begin at last to withdraw troops, a process not completed until April 1946. Inevitably, there was now no hope in the foreseeable future of any Franco-Syrian Treaty favourable to France. The Syrian government had announced its adherence to the League of Arab States [see AL-DJĀMIʿA AL-ʿARABIYYA, in Suppl.], formed in March 1945, and nominally declared war on Germany and Japan. But as events were to show in the post-War years, political stability was to elude the new, faction-ridden state.

Bibliography: See many of the works listed in the *Bibl.* to (a) above, and also R. O'Zoux, *Les états du Levant sous Mandat français*, Paris 1931; I. Lipschits, *La politique de la France au Levant, 1939-41*, Paris 1941; S.H. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under French mandate*, London 1958; Ṭūḳān Ḳarḳūṭ, *Taṭawwur al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī Sūriyya, 1920-1939*, Beirut 1975; P.S. Khoury, *Syria and the French mandate. The politics of Arab nationalism 1920-1945*, Princeton 1987; M.E. Yapp, *The Near East since the First World War*, London and New York 1991.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

(c) Independent Syria.

Syria in its contemporary borders, comprising the central parts of the historic *Bilād al-Shām*, was established under the French Mandate [see MANDATES]. It gained formal independence in 1943 and full sovereignty in 1946, when the last French soldiers left the country. According to its constitution, independent Syria was a parliamentary democracy. *De facto*, power was concentrated in the hands of the landlord and merchant class, and, increasingly, of the military establishment. The ruling élite made Syria stumble into the first Arab-Israeli war, and it largely failed to solve the country's domestic political and social problems.

From 1949, the country experienced a series of military takeovers and attempted coups. In the mid-1950s, Syria became the focus of a regional conflict concerning the establishment of a Western-oriented military alliance, the Baghdād Pact. Syria's neutralist stance made it subject to strong Western pressures. While failing to push Syria into the Pact, these pressures destabilised the country and contributed to its hasty and ill-prepared unification with Egypt in 1958. When the leadership of the so-established United Arab Republic (UAR) embarked on an outspokenly socialist course in 1961, launching a wave of nationalisations that included some of the largest Syrian establishments, a group of conservative Syrian officers assumed power in Damascus and terminated this first unification experiment in contemporary Arab history. Syria re-emerged as a sovereign state, with the political élite of the 1950s back in power for another year and a half.

On 8 March 1963, the *ancient régime* was overthrown by a group of young military officers with strong Arab nationalist and, in a large part, socialist convictions. The faction connected to the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party (*ḥizb al-ba'th al-'arabī al-ishtirākī*) soon asserted its power, and the Ba'th party became the ruling party in a quasi-single-party system. The "revolution" of 1963, as it was henceforward called, was followed by an unstable period of army-and-party rule. The régime ventured to put the country on what was understood to be an Arab socialist development path, thereby trying to liquidate the economic basis of the old ruling élite which they had already removed from political power. Land reform, initially introduced under the UAR, was considerably speeded up. In 1964 and 1965, after a series of violent clashes between the régime and conservative oppositional forces, a large number of industrial and commercial establishments was nationalised. The radical social policies of the régime and a no less radical rhetoric confronting both the West and the conservative Arab states left it regionally and internationally largely isolated; only relations with the Soviet Union and the other then socialist countries were expanded.

At the same time, the political leadership was internally divided into different factions, each having their own basis in the army and the party. Internal frictions broke up along both political and sectarian lines. In February 1966, a radical wing of the party, led by officers of mainly middle class, rural and minority, particularly 'Alawī origin, gained the upper hand by military force. Caught in internal struggles, the régime had to face the 1967 war unprepared; Israeli forces were able to occupy the Golan heights [see DJAWLĀN] without major resistance.

In November 1970, after further years of open conflict within the power élite about internal and foreign policy directions, General Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad (born 1930), an 'Alawī Ba'thist who had been Commander of the Air Force since 1964 and Minister of Defence since 1966, assumed power in another coup. In 1971, he was elected President of the Republic in an uncontested popular referendum. By the time of writing, he has been re-elected three times, last in 1991 for another seven-year term of office.

Only after Asad's takeover or "corrective movement" (*al-ḥaraka al-taṣḥīḥiyya* as it had since been called) did stable political structures emerge, enabling Syria to develop into a veritable regional power. Thus a parliament (*madjlis al-sha'b*) was established in 1971; and the Progressive National Front (PNF) (*al-djabha al-waṭaniyya al-takaddumiyya*), an institutionalised coalition of the Ba'th party with a group of tolerated, smaller parties, was set up in 1972. In 1973 a new constitution was promulgated, largely tailored to suit the personal rule of President Asad, who also occupies the positions of Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, President of the PNF, and Secretary-General of the ruling party. The parliament, elected once every four years, has to share its legislative functions with the President. Aside from the PNF parties, only individual candidates are allowed to stand for election; the Ba'th party is guaranteed an absolute majority. Any constitutional amendement needs the approval of the president. The political system is authoritarian; no major policy decision, particularly in the fields of foreign policy and security, can be taken without the President's personal involvement and consent.

Under Asad's rule, the socialist orientation of the first Ba'thist régimes, though maintained as a tenet in the rhetoric of the ruling party, has been gradually abandoned. The state was still supposed to lead economic development, but conditions for the private sector have been considerably improved from the early 1970s onwards. Rapid economic growth rather than social reform has become the main objective of development policies. Both the state economic sector and the bureaucracy, as well as the armed forces, have grown at unprecedented speed. The new régime has also re-arranged the foreign policy orientation of the country. Good relations with the socialist bloc were maintained, but the régime sought to improve its relations with the West and with the conservative Arab states and strengthened its ties with Egypt. In October 1973, Egypt and Syria launched a coordinated military attack against Israel. Though not resulting in a military victory, the October War (*ḥarb Tishrīn*)—proving Arab military capabilities and their ability to coordinate military action with economic pressure, namely the imposition of an oil embargo against Israel's international allies—has generally been viewed as a political victory of the Arab States. Syria was able to regain parts of the occupied Golan heights in the course of the US-sponsored troop disengagement negotiations following the war.

The combination of internal stability, national success, and economic growth made Asad enjoy a high degree of popularity and legitimacy for several years. Only from the second half of the 1970s did the régime have to face veritable domestic threats. General disenchantment with the régime's regional policies, particularly its open military involvement, from 1976, in the Lebanese civil war [see LUBNĀN], the spread of corruption and nepotism, unrestrained behaviour of the security forces, the sectarian composition of the régime's core, and growing social inequalities, all contributed to an increase of tension. Oppositional forces were not able to organise themselves politically and were thus driven into violence. In the years 1979-82 Syria experienced a situation close to civil war. The anti-régime opposition was led by Islamist forces, particularly the Syrian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* [*q.v.*]), who tried and partly succeeded in giving the conflict a sectarian (Sunnī majority against 'Alawī minority) character. The opposition was only crushed after a brutal crescendo in Ḥamāt, where in February 1982 government troops put down a rebellion by military force, destroying large parts of the city. In the summer of the same year, the Syrian army and air force suffered a heavy blow at the hands of Israeli forces in Lebanon. Though not driven out of Lebanon, the Syrian forces were unable to prevent Israel's laying siege on the Lebanese capital Beirut. In late 1983, President Asad suddenly suffered severe

health problems, and the country seemed to face an internal military struggle for his succession.

During the later part of the 1980s, the main threat to the régime and its legitimacy came from a deep economic crisis that revealed the flaws of the country's étatist development orientation. A gradual process of economic policy change began, giving form to a more market-oriented economy and reducing the relative weight of the state sector. A major liberalisation of the political system, as some domestic quarters had expected in the course of economic liberalisation, did not occur. Minor changes included the enhancement of the role of parliament and a relaxation of political repression.

By the mid-1990s (at the time of writing), the economic situation has improved, both as a result of the reform process and of increased oil production (by 1993, Syria's oil production ranged around 550,000 b/d). President Asad's régime no longer faces any domestic opposition worth mentioning. There has been some uneasiness, both domestically and internationally, concerning the eventual succession process and the prospects of a post-Asad Syria, but the régime itself is stable. Internationally, Syria has managed to cope with the loss of its main ally and arms supplier, the Soviet Union. It has considerably improved its relations with the USA both by participating in the US-led coalition against ʿIrāḳ in 1991 and by joining the US-sponsored Middle East peace process. Syria has also asserted its regional position. Its hegemony over Lebanon has been internationally tacitly accepted, and Syria is generally perceived as the key Arab state to a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. By entering into bilateral negotiations with Israel in 1991, Syria clearly stated its preparedness to peace, its main condition for a peace treaty being the full withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Golan heights.

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3. The Arabic dialects of Syria.

The *Bilād al-Shām* does not constitute, from a linguistic point of view, a genuine unity. The history of the population of the region has been such that nomadic and sedentary dialects are adjacent there or are in contact there, as is demonstrated by reciprocal borrowings of lexical and grammatical elements. Thus in zones of close contact, sedentarisation, rural exodus and urbanisation have given rise at all times to a range of dialectal varieties, and it is not always easy to determine whether it is a case of "sedentarised" Bedouin dialects, or of "Bedouinised" sedentary dialects. Contacts with the major neighbouring dialectal groups (Egyptian, Arabian, Mesopotamian) are, at least on the external fringes of the domain, no less tight. Today, tourism and above all, the spectacular diffusion of radio and television, promote contacts of a different type, the effect of which is tangible. Finally, the region has experienced the presence of languages which, while they have not in general directly affected the majority of the population, have nevertheless, to decidedly differing degrees, exerted an influence, on vocabulary at least: Turkish, in particular in the Ottoman period; and European languages, in the era of the Crusades (for a long time also through the specific intermediary of the *lingua franca*, at least on the shores of the Mediterranean) and more recently (French and English) during and after the colonial or mandatory period. Among others, these elements explain the wide dialectal diversity of the region; but its history and the emergence of the linguistic crucibles constituted by nation-states, and the augmented role of certain major metropolises, also confer on many Shāmī dialects, sedentary ones in particular, common elements, an intercomprehensibility which varies from mediocre to excellent, and a specificity in general immediately perceptible to those who speak them, as it is to speakers of dialects belonging to other groups.

Since pre-Christian times, and then stimulated by the Muslim conquests, "Arab" populations, admittedly most often linguistically Aramaicised, had been installed in the Fertile Crescent. It was probably from the 7th century onward that this presence became more significant; soon, apparently rapid Arabisation was definitively to establish Arabic as a majority language. Aramaic was to survive, however, in small enclaves, and is still in use today in three villages of the Anti-Lebanon: Maʿlūlā, Bakhʿa and Djubb ʿAdīn (Western Neo-Aramaic). If the influence of this substratum has sometimes been exaggerated, it is nevertheless real (see e.g. W. Arnold and P. Behnstedt, *Arabisch-Aramäische Sprachbeziehungen im Qalamūn (Syrien)*, Wiesbaden 1993; and see, for present-day Neo-Aramaic in Syria, MAʿLŪLĀ).

The dominant position of Arabic should not obscure the existence of other languages, spoken by diverse communities, in some cases long-established in the region: Kurdish and Armenian in particular, Circassian and Turkish. For the populations concerned (in most cases, when they have preserved their own language, bilingual and even trilingual), the relation between this heteroglossia and the components, religious or ethnic, of their identity, is complex, and its configurations diverse and essentially variable. Finally, the presence of Israeli Hebrew has, over several decades, created an unprecedented situation for the Palestinians "of the interior", many of them being bilingual.

Conversely, Shāmī emigrés have transplanted their dialects, into North and South America in particular, where they have thriven to varying degrees [see AL-MAHDJAR]. A particular case is that, currently moribund, of Kormakiti in Cyprus, the last representative of the dialects imported by Maronite communities of Lebanon, in several waves, the most significant dating back to the end of the 12th century. In Turkey, while the majority of the Arabic dialects still spoken belong to the *ḳəltu* group of Anatolian dialects, some are to be associated with Syrian dialects (Adana, Antioch, Alexandretta).

Documentation concerning the dialects of the *Bilād al-Shām* in their ancient form is largely defective; it is possible to gain an impression of them through their traces, direct or indirect, in texts in "Middle Arabic" (see the studies of J. Blau, in particular, *A grammar of Christian Arabic, based mainly on South Palestinian texts from the first millennium*, Louvain 1966), also by means of documents of various kinds: correspondence, archives, etc., written in the same type of linguistic register, phrase-books, Turkish-Arabic for example, accounts of European travellers, manuals written by missionaries, etc. The ancient texts which have survived most often comprise a poetry of dialectal or dialectalising expression, as such composed in a dialec-

tal *koinè* and in a literary register involving conventions and archaisms. While it is thus difficult to compile a history dialect by dialect, it is nevertheless possible to identify the major trends of their overall evolution (see, for the sedentary dialects, I. Garbell, *Remarks on the historical phonology of an East Mediterranean Arabic dialect*, in *Word*, xiv/2-3 (1958), 303-37).

Possibly in part as a result of the attraction exerted by the Holy Land, the S̲h̲āmī dialects are without doubt those for which documentation is most abundant. However, for the speech of some relatively important cities (Latakia, Homs, Tyre, Baalbek, ʿAkkā, Nablus, etc.) and for the majority of the dialects of rural (and of mountainous) areas, it is practically nonexistent. Among the works which have appeared since the composition of the article of H. Fleisch [see ʿARABIYYA, iii, 2. *The Oriental dialects*], the following should be noted: for Syria, M. Cowell, *A reference grammar of Syrian Arabic based on the dialect of Damascus*, Washington D.C. 1964; H. Grotzfeld, *Syrisch-arabische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1965, A. Ambros, *Damascus Arabic*, Malibu, Calif. 1977; A. Sabuni, *Laut- und Formenlehre des arabischen Dialekts von Aleppo*, Frankfurt a.M. 1980; B. Lewin, *Arabische Texte im Dialekt von Hama*, Beirut 1966; idem, *Notes on Cabali. The Arabic dialect spoken by the Alawis of "Jebel Anṣariyye"*, Göteborg 1969; for Lebanon, H. Fleisch, *Études d'arabe dialectal*, Beirut 1974; F. Abu-Haidar, *A study of the spoken Arabic of Baskinta*, Leiden 1979; M. Jiha, *Der arabische Dialekt von Bis̲h̲mizzīn*, Beirut 1964; for Palestine and Jordan, H. Blanc, *The Arabic dialect of the Negev Bedouins*, in *Procs. of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, iv/7, Jerusalem 1970; J. Rosenhouse, *The Bedouin Arabic dialects. General problems and a close analysis of North Israel Bedouin Dialects*, Wiesbaden 1984; H. Palva, *Lower Galilean Arabic*, Helsinki 1965 (= *Studia Orientalia*, xxxii); idem, *Balgāwi Arabic*, 1-3, in *Studia Orientalia*, xl/1-2 and xliii/1 (1969, 1970-1974); *Studies in the Arabic dialect of the semi-nomadic əl-ʿAd̲j̲ārma tribe (al-Balqāʾ District, Jordan)*, Göteborg 1976; *Narratives and poems from Ḥesbān. Arabic texts recorded among the semi-nomadic əl-ʿAd̲j̲ārma tribe*, Göteborg 1978; see also below, *Bibl.*

The problems of classification of the dialects of the region are far from being resolved. For the speech of sedentary populations, the division proposed by G. Bergsträsser in his *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina*, in *ZDPV*, xxxviii (1915), 169-222, amended and supplemented on a number of points by later works, remains largely valid: three parallel bands from north to south (North Syria; Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon; and Palestine, Transjordan, Ḥawrān), with zones of transition of course (such as that of Galilee between the south of Lebanon and the rest of Palestine). J. Cantineau (*Remarques sur les parlers de sédentaires Syro-Libano-Palestiniens*, in *BSL*, xl [1939], 80-8) also identifies three groups, but different, since he takes as the sole criterion the realisation of the correspondent of *ḳāf*, q, ʾ, or ḳ. He has also made the observation that, on the other hand, the dialects are distinguished thus:

	A	B
1st pers. sing.	bəktob	baktob
3rd pers. masc. sing.	byəktob	bəktob

Type A is encountered essentially in the central zone, type B elsewhere, to the north (Aleppo) but most of all in Palestine and in Jordan, in urban speech (Jerusalem) but also rural and even Bedouin speech (Negev), if only to the extent that they have borrowed the "sedentary" pre-verbal particle *b*(*i*)-. This discriminant has validated to some extent the revived division of Bergsträsser, and the following groupings are generally accepted (*Handbuch*, 28 [see *Bibl.*]): northern Syria, Lebanon/central Syria, Palestine/Jordan.

Finally, J. Cantineau has also proposed a distinction between "differential" and "non-differential" dialects; in the first group, *a* in an unaccented open syllable is better preserved than the correspondents of *i* and *u*: *byiflaḥu* ("they work") v. *byikətbu* ("they write") in the first case, but *byifəlḥu* like *byikətbu* in the second (thus in the majority of Lebanese dialects of the centre-north).

But no typological feature has, any more than those mentioned above, an absolute discriminant value (especially so since, for each one, dialects can almost always be found which present a mixed system). Thus the diphthongs *aw* and *ay* are preserved in numerous Lebanese dialects but also, to the north of the Lebanese border, in a swathe of Syrian territory extending almost as far as Aleppo, or furthermore in a region of Ḳalamūn (Anti-Lebanon); mixed systems are common: diphthongs preserved only in open syllables (for example, *lān* "colour" v. *lawnu* "his colour" in Tripoli, or *ʿanayyi* "my eyes" v. *ʿaynēn* "eyes" in z-Zayni, an ʿAlawī mountain village); or only in slow utterance (*lento* forms v. *allegro* forms: *bayt* v. *bat* (Ez-Zrēriyye, South Lebanon). *Imāla* of *ā* is widespread, its manifestations diverse and sometimes quite complex: the two principal types of conditioning—influence of the consonantic environment, and influence of a neighbouring *i* or *ī* in the word (sometimes present in the past and currently lost)—are not mutually exclusive; only certain morphological categories can be affected (*ṭēleb* "having asked", *ṭāleb* "a student"); the conditioning can also be lexical (leaving borrowings untouched), or prosodic, etc. The two realisations of *ā*, [ä], ([ē], [ī]) and [ạ], ([ō], [ū]), usually in complementary distribution, can apparently in some cases be phonologised (*ʾām* "he has risen", *ʾām* "he has removed"). The short *a* is also often subject to *imāla*, in particular in the "feminine" termination -*a*(*t*) of nouns (according to the phonetic nature of the last radical consonant in the absolute state, but often without conditioning of this type in the construct state) and of the 3rd pers. fem. sing of the verb in thc perfect tense. These two phenomena are very common, the first especially, even in dialects where *imāla* is otherwise unknown. Interdentals are present in all Bedouin dialects, but also in numerous sedentary, rural and mountain dialects (Palestine and Jordan, South Lebanon, Alawite Mountains). The phenomena of pause (known elsewhere, in particular in Yemen) are widespread. H. Fleisch has studied these in the case of Lebanese dialects, but they are found elsewhere, and their diffusion in ancient times was probably wider still. Their manifestations are diverse and their systems varied, since lengthening and shortening of vowels, diphthongisation (Zaḥle: *la ʿind ẓalamē ʿindu x* "someone who owed x" v. *iẓa ẓẓalamey* "the man came") or reductions of diphthongs, changes of timbre, can be combined; the last syllable is not always the only one modified; in numerous dialects, the alternation between these forms "of pause" and "of context" is essentially a product of the rapidity of utterance (Ez-Zrēriyye: *məddīn s̲h̲ars̲h̲if w-ʿa-s̲h̲-s̲h̲ars̲h̲af ṭabaliyye* "they (fem.) have spread out a cloth, on which a small table is placed") and such alternation can therefore be dictated by morphology or by syntax: masculine or feminine form, absolute or construct state, etc. (*ʿəddīm* "before" vs. *ʾəddām bənto* "before his daughter" (same dialect)). Short vocalic systems are of diverse types, depending on whether *a*, *i* and *u* are encountered in all positions (numerous Palestinian dialects, etc.) or /i/ and /u/ are partially or generally coalesced (ə); this partial

coalescence can affect /a/ and /i/ (Kfar ʿAbīda) and many mixed systems are attested. All of this has an effect on the radical vocalisation of verbs. For the perfect, one of the most widespread systems has two types: *katab, n(i)zil,* which can characterise semantico-syntactical categories which are more or less clearly demarcated; but sometimes observed is a tendency towards the generalisation of one of the two types, or towards interchangibility. Examples of a different system are *katab, s̲h̲arib* (El-Karak). In the imperfect, the three vocalisations have relative distribution and frequency varying according to dialects; in some, consonantic environment or vocalic harmony have a determinant role (*yafʿal, yifʿil, yufʿul*). In morphology, the distinction of plural in the 2nd and 3rd persons of the verbal conjugation and of personal pronouns, general in Bedouin speech, is not uncommon in sedentary speech, at least in northern and central zones.

The examples, taken here primarily in the domain of phonology, could easily be multiplied and extended to morphology and to syntax. They would all show that a single discriminant—were it considered typically S̲h̲āmī—is always encountered at different points of the domain (even outside it). It is only by combining typological features (clusters of isoglosses) that it is possible, region by region, to determine relatively coherent, but never absolute classifications. It is thus that Fleisch proposed to classify, on a provisional basis, the Lebanese dialects into four groups (north, centre-north, centre-south, south), on the basis of some twelve features. For Palestine and Jordan, Palva has provided, on the basis of eleven features, the following classification (*A general classification for the Arabic Dialects spoken in Palestine and Transjordan*, in *Studia Orientalia*, lv [1984], 359-76): urban dialects (*biʾūl*); rural dialects: (a) Galilee (*biqūl*), (b) central Palestine (*biḳūl*), (c) South Palestine, (d) north and central Transjordan and (e) south Transjordan (*bigūl*); and Bedouin dialects: (a) Negev (*bigūl*), (b) Arabia Petraea, (c) Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing tribes and (d) North Arabian (*yigūl*). The rural dialects (c), (d) and (e) are distinguished among other ways through the realisation of *ḳāf*, *k* alone (e), *k* and *ts̲h̲* in phonetically conditioned complementary distribution (d: *dīts̲h̲*, pl. *dyūk*, "cock"), generalised *ts̲h̲* (c). This point also differentiates the Bedouin dialects: *k* (a and b); *k/ts̲h̲* (c); (d) has an alternation *k/ts̲*, and in parallel an alternation *g/dz̲* for *ḳāf*.

As regards the Bedouin dialects alone, these being present throughout the region, the situation is also complicated. Schematically, it may be stated that they belong to three groups of dialects: those of the major camel-riding nomads of Arabia (groups A and B in Cantineau's classification, *Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient*, in *AIEO*, ii [1936], 1-116, ii [1937], 3-121); those of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing nomads (Cantineau, group C), related to the *gilit* dialects of the Mesopotamian group (see ʿIRĀḲ, iv (a) Arabic dialects (H. Blanc)); and those of a "North-West-Arabian" (sub-)group (Palva, in *Festgabe für H.R. Singer*, Frankfurt 1991, 151-66), at least some of which show characteristics in common with the Bedouin speech of Egypt and of the Mag̲h̲rib.

If these classifications are so problematical, this is most of all the result, as has been stated above, of the constant contacts between dialects, between Bedouin and sedentary speech (cf. the presence in the Negev e.g. of the pre-verb *b(i)-*, a supremely "sedentary" feature) as within the confines of each of these two groups.

To this phenomenon, which has such important implications, two others should be added, also of a socio-linguistic nature:

– "koinèisation". This appears, in particular, under the influence of the prestigious speech of regional or national metropolises, which explains e.g. the constant expansion of the following realisations: [ʾ] of *ḳāf* and [ž] (or [d̲j̲] according to cases) of *d̲j̲īm*, that of *s̲h̲u* "what?", of *hallaḳ* (and variants) "now", etc.

– "classicisation". The influence of the modern literary language applies to vocabulary and, through more or less modified borrowing, to some syntactical structures. Lexical borrowing, by "grafting" new nominal schemes into the dialects, supplies, through the creation of "doublets", a supplementary means of enriching vocabulary, and could lead to a recasting of the system of nominal derivation. In dialects where interdental spirants have coalesced with the corresponding occlusives, these borrowings have determined the integration of a new phoneme (/ẓ/) as well as the creation of doublets of another type (*dahab* "gold", *zahāb* "going, departure"; *ḍahr* "back", *ẓāhir* "apparent"; *tōr* "bull", *sawra* "revolution", etc.).

It is nevertheless possible to give examples of regional features which can, to a certain extent, be considered as characteristic since they are present on a sufficiently large scale, even if some of them are found episodically in other dialectal groupings, or if their presence is not general in the region. It is also possible to regard as characteristic those features which are not encountered (in the current state of knowledge) in any other dialectal group. *Pronouns.* In the series of personal pronouns, to be noted are forms of the type *hənne(n)* (3rd pl.), *-kon* (2nd pl.) and *-hon* (3rd pl.), explanation of which by means of the Aramaic substratum is not to be ruled out; in that of demonstratives, mention should be made of *hayy* "this one" (fem.) (and sometimes "this one" (masc.) and/or "that (thing or fact)"), and it will be observed that demonstratives deprived of the **ha-* element are very sparsely represented; in that of the interrogatives, (*ʾis̲h̲)s̲h̲u* "what" already mentioned; a current form of the reflexive is *ḥāl-*. *Genitive particle. Tabaʿ* (variable or invariable) seems to be peculiar to the region, but is not alone there (*gīt, s̲h̲īt*, etc.). *Pre-verb.* The pre-verb (durative, progressive, of concomitance) *ʿam(māl)* has numerous variants (probably of different etymologies): *ʿan, man, ma,*... (*ʿam yəktob* "he is writing these days", "he is in the process of writing", etc.). *Active participle.* In certain dialects an embryonic form of conjugation is found in the three persons of the feminine singular (*kams̲h̲īto* "she holds it" [Ḥawrān]; *s̲h̲āyəftīha* "you (fem.) have seen her" [Damascus]; *ʾana mās̲h̲əṭṭīk* "I (fem.) have combed your hair" [Dfūn, Lebanon]). On the other hand, the form *faʿlān* is quite often used, not only for verbs of quality, where it is generally the only one possible, and can in certain cases alternate, either freely or in terms of semantic value, with *fāʿel* (*samʿān-o* "I have heard it"). *Negation.* Alongside the forms *ma, ma* ... *s̲h̲(i)*, also found, although less known elsewhere, are *ʾa* ... *s̲h̲i* and *ø* ... *s̲h̲i*. Among *conjunctions*, worth mentioning is *ta* (<**ḥattā*) and its variant *tann-* + personal pronoun suffix "so that", "in such a way that", "that". *Auxiliaries and pseudo-auxiliaries.* Typical is *ba/idd-* + personal pronoun suffix "to wish" (*widd-* in its Bedouin version), also used for the expression of a type of future. *Ḥisin* "to be capable, in a position to" is an equivalent of *ḳidir*, as is *fī-* + personal pronoun suffix: *ma fīna nrūḥ* "we cannot go there". Alongside *lissa-*, known elsewhere, also found is *baʿd* + personal pronoun suffix, "still, always" and other values (Lebanon). *Adverbs. Hallaḳ* (and numerous variants) "now" is very widespread (it is also found, at the edge of the region, at certain points east of the

Nile Delta), and easily borrowed by Bedouin dialects (from which, conversely, *hassā'* and *hal-ḥīn* (same meaning) are borrowed). Also to be noted are *'ala bukra* and *bakkīr* "early".

Vocabulary. This evidently varies in particular, as is to be expected, with the words which are most used. Thus according to the dialect: *rama, ligaḥ, lakkah, ṭaraḥ, ẓatt, kazwal, hashaṭ, laḥash, shalaḥ, ḥadaf,* "cast, throw". Among the words relatively characteristic of the region, it is possible to distinguish those which derive from the Arabic lexical stock but have become specialised, have phonological or morphological peculiarities, or are even canonical creations: *sammān* "grocer", *mis-wadda/sōdāye* "bottle", *da'īf* "sick", *frāṭa* "small change (money)", *fāt* "to enter", *mākin* "solid", *'idjr* "foot, leg", *təmm* "mouth", *dashshar* "to leave", *fardja* "to show", *maṣāri* "money" (<sing. *maṣriyye*, name of a coinage formerly in use in Egypt), etc., from those which derive, more or less directly, from the Aramaic (Syriac) substratum, or from borrowings from Turkish (and from Persian): *dafash* "to push", *danak* "to die of cold", *zūm* "sauce, juice, soup", *shawb* "heat (of the weather)", *ṣūṣ* (chick), *fāsh* "to float", *lakkīs* "late [adj.]", *narbīsh* (and variants) "pipe", *'andjak* "hardly", *bərdāye* "curtain", *būza* "ice", *sharshaf* "cloth", *'ashshi* "cook", *ġāl* "lock", etc. The evolution of vocabulary often faithfully reflects social and political changes, for example: *kəzlok-* > *'waynāt-* > *naḍḍārāt* "spectacles".

Writing dialects; dialectal literature. There is no doubt that dialects have always been written down, as is confirmed by the dialectising or dialectal literary works which are available for study (in Arabic script or in the Syriac script known as *karshūnī* [*q.v.*] which has long been in use in the Maronite community in particular) and the orthographical norms (still observed today) which have controlled their putting into writing, even though variations are noticed, according to which is the dominant influence: the classical norm and etymology or a closer adherence, deliberate or not, to dialectal linguistic realities.

In parallel with its measured and to some extent ornamental utilisation in the codified genres of dialectising poetry such as the *muwashshaḥāt* (see, e.g. M. Raḥīm, *al-Muwashshaḥāt fī Bilād al-Shām min nash'atihā ḥattā nihāyat al-karn al-thāniya 'ashara*, Beirut 1987), the dialectal language is, today as yesterday, the means of expression of an entire literature, "popular" *and* learned, and, more broadly, of an entire culture, the importance of which is partially disguised by the scant legitimacy accorded to it. Its manifestations are diverse: poetry of various types (*zadjal, mu'annā, mawwāl/mawāliyā* and its divisions: *al-sab'a funūn*, etc.), sometimes (*'atābā*) sung (S. Jargy, *La poésie populaire chantée au Proche-Orient arabe*, Paris-The Hague 1970). The poetry of Bedouin tradition has its own genres, and remains the repository and transmitter of the memory of its society (among recent works reference may be made, besides Palva, *Narratives and poems*, which has already been mentioned, to C. Bailey, *Bedouin poetry from Sinai and the Negev, mirror of a culture*, Oxford 1991). In sedentary circles, to take just one example, the Lebanese *zadjal* has a long and rich history (M.I. Wuhayba, *al-Zadjal—ta'rīkhuhu, adabuhu wa-a'lāmuhu kadīm^an wa-ḥadīth^an*, Ḥarīṣa 1952; J. Abdel-Nour, *Étude sur la poésie dialectale au Liban*, Beirut 1957, ²1966). Since the beginning of this century, freed from ancient forms and from certain traditional themes which are still practiced elsewhere—including on television—this poetry has taken on a new appearance. It is also a dialectal form of expression which is used for the composition and transmission of tales and proverbs, and today the majority of theatrical pieces and the dialogues of films and serials on radio and television. The art of the song, very much alive, carries beyond the Bilād al-Shām the dialects of the region, sometimes in the texts of its best poets. Palestinians are carrying this on with militant songs. Until not long ago, dramas of the shadow-theatre with its hero Karaköz (*Nuṣūṣ min khayāl al-ẓill*, ed. S. Kaṭāya, Damascus 1977; M. Kayyāl, *Mu'djam bābāt masraḥ al-ẓill*, Beirut 1995; see also KHAYĀL AL-ẒILL), and until more recently still the story-tellers (*ḥakawātīs*), transmitters of the marathon tales which are the *sīras* [*q.v.*] of legendary heroes (Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, 'Antar, Banū Hilāl, Baybars, etc.) perpetuated, before a generally exclusively male audience, the tradition of a living patrimony. The language of these legendary tales, some of which were partially in verse, could be dialectal or mixed. All these works were put into writing, at least in the form of *aides-mémoires* for the professionals of popular literature, also probably for the gratification of a public which had a particular liking for this kind of material. Today, the cassette and the video-cassette are the perfectly appropriate supports for this literature which is primarily oral and thus presupposes the presence of an audience. Dialectal poetry is published, however, in newspapers and magazines especially in Lebanon, sometimes in specialised journals. Since the 1960s, however, the press has only exceptionally accepted satirical columns in dialectal language, which were hitherto published in reasonable quantities. Literary prose as such in dialectal language has made little impact, in spite of a few isolated attempts in former times (*Kiṣṣit Finyānus* by Shukrī al-Khūrī, São Paolo 1902, repr. Beirut [1929, etc., and 1952, with transcription and French tr. by E. Lator]; and *Rasā'il Shmūne* by Ḥannā al-Khūrī al-Feghālī, published in book-form by the *al-Dabbūr* review) or more recently (Yūsuf al-Khāl and Mūrīs 'Awwād).

Finally, attention should be drawn to the isolated attempt on the part of the Lebanese poet (in classical and dialectal languages) Sa'īd 'Akl (b. Zaḥle, 1912) to devise a transcription (in Latin characters) of the dialect, in which he published, besides certain of his own *dīwāns*, translations of works of universal literature, including classical Arabic, and a newspaper (see H. Grotzfeld, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxii [1973], 37-51).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also *Handbuch* = W. Fischer and O. Jastrow (eds.), *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, Wiesbaden 1980; M.H. Bakalla, *Arabic linguistics. An introduction and bibliography*, London 1983. Numerous articles in the major orientalist reviews and, since 1978, in the *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* (Wiesbaden). To the works mentioned dealing with one dialect in particular, the following may be added: for Ez-Zrēriyye, J. Aro, in *AO* (Copenhagen), xxxix (1978), 32-125, xl (1979), 27-71; for El-Karak, H. Palva, in *Studia ... H. Blanc dedicata*, ed. P. Wexler, Wiesbaden 1989, 225-51; for Gaza, E. Salonen (I. in *Studia Orientalia*, li/10 (1979) and II. in *Acta Acad. Sc. Fenn.*, B 213, Helsinki 1980); J. Rosenhouse and Y. Katz (eds.), *Texts in the dialects of Bedouins in Israel*, Univ. of Haifa 1980; P. Behnstedt, *Der arabische Dialekt von Soukhne* (Syrien), 3 vols. Wiesbaden 1994; a *Sprachatlas von Syrien* by this same author is forthcoming. For studies of syntax, besides the still useful *Syntaxe des parlers actuels du Liban* by Mgr. M. Feghali, Paris 1928, and the work of M. Cowell already mentioned (for Syrian Arabic), attention may be drawn to J. Blau, *Syntax des palästinenischen Bauerndialekts von Bir Zēt*, Walldorf-Hessen 1960, A. Bloch, *Die Hypotaxe im Damaszenisch-Arabischen*, Wiesbaden 1965, and M. Piamenta, *Studies in the*

syntax of Palestinian Arabic, Jerusalem 1966. The *Dictionnaire arabe-français. Dialectes de Syrie, Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem* of A. Barthélemy, Paris 1935-69, is supplemented by the very useful *Dictionnaire des parlers arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine* compiled by C. Denizeau, Paris 1960. Bedouin type dialects are still awaiting their dictionaries. Dictionaries or catalogues of words and dialectal expressions are regularly published in the countries of the region, where there is often concern to show that this vocabulary is largely based on sound classical origins. Also published there are collections of proverbs, of anecdotes, *dīwāns* of dialectal poetry, encyclopaedias of popular traditions often rich in information and in dialectal texts: the *Mawsūʿat Ḥalab al-muḳārana* of M. Kh. al-Asadī (Univ. of Aleppo 1981-8), the *Mawsūʿat al-fulklūr al-Filasṭīnī* of N. Sirḥān (ʿAmmān 1977-81), the *Maʿlama li 'l-turāth al-urdunī* of R. Ibn Zāʾid al-ʿAzīzī (ʿAmmān 1981-) are excellent examples. For dialectal literature, besides the older works by G. Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwân*, Leipzig 1901, and E. Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*, Berlin 1902, reference may be made to J. Lecerf, *Littérature dialectale et renaissance arabe moderne*, in *BEO*, ii (1932) and iii (1933), 47-175 (with a *Répertoire alphabétique des poètes dialectaux de Syrie* [= Syria and Lebanon]); M. ʿAwwād, *al-Anṭūlūdjiya al-lubnāniyyi 'l-shiʿr* ..., Beirut 1982. A collection of *zadjaliyyāt* of Ibn al-Ḳilāʿī (9th/15th century) has been edited by B. al-Djumayyil, Beirut 1982. (J. Lentin)

SHĀMA (A., pl. *shāmāt*) "naevus, skin blemish, mole".

This term seems originally to have denoted the coloured marks on a horse's body, above all, where they are disapproved of (*TʿA*, viii, 362 ll. 12-13). It is applied to all marks of a colour different from the main body which they mark, and to all black marks on the body or on the ground (*ibid.*, ll. 304). But from what we know at present in our texts, there is no difference between *shāmāt* and *khīlān* (sing. *khāl*) (the two terms are attested in Akkadian: cf. *ḫālu*, Bezold, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, Heidelberg 1926, 120, and *sāmūti*, Labat, *Traité accadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*, Leiden 1951, 200 l. 7). These two terms denote the natural marks on a man's skin, on the face and the rest of the body, and the accidental marks, abcesses (*buthūr*) or freckles caused by an illness and presaging death (see *R. fi 'l-kalām ʿalā 'l-khīlān*, ms. Bursa, Hüseyin Çelebi 882, fols. 61a-62b; *Ḳaḍāyā Buḳrāṭ fi 'l-buthūr*, ms. Köprülü 1601, fols. 245b-248a, used by Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Bāb al-ʿirāfa wa 'l-zadjr wa 'l-firāsa ʿalā madhhab al-Furs*, ed. K. Inostrancev, *Materials in Arabic sources for the history of culture in Sasanid Persia* [in Russian], in *ZVOIRAO*, xviii [1907], text 3-27, Russ. tr. and study 28-120, see 116 ff., in a section called *Min kalām Buḳrāṭ fī dalāʾil al-khīlān wa 'l-shāmāt*).

Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 314), cites a *K. al-Khīlān* and *K. al-Shāmāt*, written by a Byzantine (*Rūmī*) author called Mīn.s (Mīna/os ?). The first title apparently corresponds in Greek to a work called Περὶ σπιλῶν, which is said to have treated the subject of beauty spots, and the second one, to a work called Περὶ ὧν which is said to have dealt with natural marks on the skin. We know nothing of this last, but the first is the title of one of the two chapters surviving of a treatise attributed to Melampos called Περὶ παλμῶν and Περὶ ἐλαιῶν (see the ed. J.G.Fr. Franz, in *Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres*, Altenburg 1780, 501-9). If one concedes—as seems very likely—that Mīn.s is a corruption of Melampos, one of the two titles mentioned in the *Fihrist* must correspond to Περὶ παλμῶν and be translatable as *K. al-Ikhtilādjā(t)* [see ikhtilādj], the exact term for palmomancy.

In the Arabic sources, the information on the *ʿilm al-shāmāt wa 'l-khīlān* which can be found in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (see Y. Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe et le Kitāb al-firāsa de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, diss. Paris 1939, 10) and in Ps.-Djāḥiẓ (*op. cit.*, 7) is Greek in origin. Two texts, however, show that the Arabs knew this method of divination, which comes within the sphere of *firāsa* [*q.v.*]. The first is part of the ensemble of miraculous signs announcing the Prophet Muḥammad's coming (on these signs, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, 81-90). In the course of his first trip to Syria, at the age of 12, the monk Baḥīrā [*q.v.*] is said to have recognised in him the signs of prophethood (see Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 99-100, and also 101, where it is said that, at the time of his second trip, aged 15, another monk named Nestor allegedly recognised in Muḥammad the same signs). These signs were physical ones (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1124) and concerned the eye, the face and above all, the "seal of prophethood" (*khātam al-nubuwwa*) like the impression of a cupper's scarifying instrument (*athar al-miḥdjam*), according to Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 116) or an "apple" (*tuffāḥa*, according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 1125). This legendary feature at least confirms the fact that the Arabs knew that the Byzantines practised drawing omens from skin marks.

The second seems to show that they practised it themselves. Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.v.*] married a woman from the Banū Kalb, and he had her examined by his wife Maysūn, mother of Yazīd. Maysūn discovered a beauty spot below her navel, and she interpreted it as presaging the fact that the head of her husband would fall on to that place. Muʿāwiya divorced her; Ḥabīb b. Maslama married her, then divorced her; finally, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr [*q.v.*], the later governor of Ḥimṣ for Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, married her. When al-Nuʿmān was beheaded for having joined the anti-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr, his head was set down in his wife's lap (*Aghānī*, xiv, 124).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, from which the material for this article has essentially been taken. The art of drawing omens from skin marks (*umṣatu*), black beauty spots or moles (*ḫālu*), red birthmarks (*pēndū*), warts, pimples, marks from jaundice, freckles, scars and even hairs which grew, was well known to the Assyrians and Babylonians (see F.R. Kraus, *Die physiognomischen Omina der Babylonier*, *MVAG* 40/2, Leipzig 1935). For the Byzantines, see *inter alia* the *Book of beauty spots* attributed to Leo the Wise, in J. Nicolaides, *Les livres de divination*, Paris 1889, 87-8. (T. Fahd)

SHAMʿA (A.), candle.

As a literary topos, the candle is poetically described in many "ekphrastic" epigrams in Arabic, especially from the later ʿAbbāsid and post-ʿAbbāsid periods; in pre- and early Arabic poetry the topos appears to be absent. Poems by al-Maʾmūnī, al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ and Kushādjim [*q.vv.*] are among the earliest (see J.C. Bürgel, *Die ekphrastischen Epigramme des Abū Ṭālib al-Maʾmūnī*, Göttingen 1965, 254; Alma Giese, *Waṣf bei Kušāǧim*, Berlin 1981, 156, 263-5). A few other examples are found in al-Sharīshī's *Sharḥ maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* (repr. Beirut 1979, ii, 87-8); many later examples were collected by al-Nawādjī [*q.v.*] in the chapter on candles, lanterns, lamps etc. in his *Ḥalbat al-kumayt* (Cairo 1938, 204-12 on the *shamʿa* only; some passages in prose are included). Often the epigrams take the form of a riddle (see P. Smoor, *The weeping wax candle*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxviii [1988],

292, 299-301). A recurrent topos is the comparison of the candle to a lover, or *vice versa*: both are pale, thin, burning, shedding tears, being consumed, patiently and silently suffering, "awake" at night; occasionally the candle is likened to a slender girl or a bride, which alludes to the role played by candles at weddings. Several poems on the candle were made by Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī [see MĪKĀLĪS], see al-Ḥuṣrī, *Ẓahr al-ādāb*, repr. Beirut 1972, 747-8; he may have influenced his contemporary, the Persian poet Manūčihrī [*q.v.*], who elaborately used the candle topos as the introduction of a well-known panegyric poem (see J.W. Clinton, *The divan of Manūchihrī Dāmghānī: a critical study*, Minneapolis 1972, 31-43; Muḥammad Muḥammad Yūnus, *Adab al-sham'a bayna Manūčihrī al-Dāmghānī wa-Abi 'l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī*, in *Fuṣūl*, iii/3 [1983], 128-38).

Another topos involving the candle is that of the moth (Ar. *farāsha*, P. *parwāna*) seeking its light and immolating itself in its flame: here the lover is not the candle (which stands for the beloved) but the moth. The image, with a mystic interpretation in which the candle, the Beloved, stands for God/Truth/Reality, is found in Arabic already in al-Ḥallādj (*q.v.* see his *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, ed. Massignon, Paris 1913, 16-17, in rhyming prose, with "lamp", *miṣbāḥ*, instead of "candle"). Although this topos of *baḳā'* through *fanā'* [see BAḲĀ' WA-FANĀ'] persisted in Arabic (see Muḥammad Mansour Abahsain, *The supra-symbolic moth in Arabic religious poetry from the late Ottoman period*, in *JAL*, xxiv [1993], 21-7), it proved very popular especially in Persian and Turkish mystical verse (see e.g. Annemarie Schimmel, *As through a veil: mystical poetry in Islam*, New York 1982, index s.v. "moth & candle"; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, index *s.v.* "Falter", "Kerze"). It was through Persian, it seems, that the topos reached Europe, as e.g. in Goethe's poem "Selige Sehnsucht" (*West-östlicher Divan*, ed. H.-J. Weitz, Frankfurt a.M. 1981, 21).

The candle appears in a few literary debates [see MUNĀẒARA] in *maḳāma* [*q.v.*] form; for anonymous texts on wine *vs.* candle, see W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab. Handschr.*, vii, 554 (nos. 8592-3), Aḥmad al-Hāshimī, *Djawāhir al-adab*, Cairo 1319, 183-6. 'Abd al-Bāḳī b. 'Abd al-Madjīd al-Makhzūmī al-Yamānī (d. 743/1342, see Brockelmann, S II, 220, 237) wrote a similar debate between "aristocratic" candelabrum or candlestick (*sham'adān*) and humble lamp (*ḳindīl*); text in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1929-, i, 124-9, and in 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār (ed.), *Munāẓarāt fi 'l-adab*, Cairo 1934, 30-6.

Bibliography: Given in the article. On Persian literature, see J.T.P. de Bruijn, *EIr*, art. "Candle: imagery in poetry", with further references.

(G.J.H. VAN GELDER)

SHAMĀKHA [see SHĪRWĀN].

SHAMAN. In Persian poetry.

In Persian poetry, *shaman* is used as a synonym of *but-parast* "idolator"; quite often it occurs together with the word *ṣanam* "idol" (synonym of *but*) in one of the conventional poetic word pairs, or, less frequently, it is associated with *ātash* "fire". In both cases, there is no specific reference to shamanistic practises; *shaman* denotes rather an unspecific type of non-Muslim religious person. *Shaman* and *ṣanam*, however, may occur as the two poles of a love relationship and then serve as an image of the lover and the beloved or the mystic and God. Instances of the usage of *shaman* can be traced back to the earliest years of New Persian poetry. Although not among the most frequently used poetic words, it does occur in many Persian poetic texts, such as the *Shāh-nāma*, the *dīwāns* of Anwarī [*q.v.*], Ḳaṭrān [*q.v.*], the *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, book 1, 829; *ibid.*, 2407, and *Dīwān-i Shams* of Rūmī [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN], etc.

The following example is taken from Abū Salīk of Gurgān:

In this time there is no idol more beautiful than you, and for you there is no idolator more tenderly loving than your slave.

(G. Lazard. *Les premiers poètes persans*, Tehran-Paris 1964, French text, i, 61, Persian text, ii, 21).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(M. GLÜNZ)

AL-**SHAMARDAL** b. Sharīk al-Yarbū'ī, Arab poet of the middle Umayyad period, important for the history of hunting poetry [see ṬARDIYYA].

His life can be dated only approximately, an elegy on 'Umar b. Yazīd al-Usayyidī (killed 109/727-8) being the sole exact reference known so far (poem no. 2, ed. Seidensticker = no. 3, ed. al-Ḳaysī). His poems show that he was acquainted with several persons who played a minor political role, among them two prefects of police in Baṣra. As reported in the *akhbār*, he also had a personal encounter with the famous poet al-Farazdaḳ (died no later than 112/730 in Baṣra [*q.v.*]). No *dīwān* of his poetry seems to have existed; 41 poems and fragments (about 430 lines) are preserved in various sources. The most important genres are *ḳaṣīdas*, *marāthī* and *ṭardiyyāt*. The *ḳaṣīdas*, five in number, vary in length from 21 to 66 lines. Besides several shorter *marāthī*, an elegy of 43 lines on his brother Wā'il has survived which was held in high esteem by some transmitters of his poetry. The handling of thematic and formulaic conventions in his hunting poems is reminiscent of similar episodes in the *fakhr* of pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīdas* (Imru' al-Ḳays, Zuhayr, al-A'shā), but the *radjaz* metre is a new feature, as is the fact that the poems devote themselves exclusively to the one topic of hunting. The missing link between the pre-Islamic hunting episodes and the *radjaz ṭardiyyāt* of al-Shamardal and others in later times must be sought in *radjaz* poems like those of Abu 'l-Nadjm al-'Idjlī (died before 125/743 [*q.v.*]) in which a conventional *nasīb* is followed by a hunting episode (cf. E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, ii, Darmstadt 1988, 46-55).

Bibliography: T. Seidensticker, *Die Gedichte des Šamardal Ibn Šarīk, Neuedition, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Wiesbaden 1983; N.Ḥ. al-Ḳaysī, *Shi'r al-Shamardal b. Sharīk al-Yarbū'ī*, in *RIMA*, xviii (1972), 263-330, also printed in idem, *Shu'arā' umawiyyūn*, ii, Baghdād 1976, 505-60 (unsatisfactory).

(T. SEIDENSTICKER)

SHAMDĪNĀN, a mountainous district (*ilče*) in the present province of Hakkâri in south-eastern Turkey (previously in the Ottoman *wilāyet* of Vān). The name of the district and the district centre (old name: Nāwshār) is presently Turkicised as Şemdinli. The district is bounded on the north and northwest by the district of Yüksekova of the same province (comprising the previous districts of Gewar and Oramār), on the south and east by the 'Irāḳī and Persian borders. Local tradition derives the name of Shamdīnān from that of a certain Shaykh Shams al-Dīn, the alleged ancestor of the Kurdish dynasty of the 'Abbāsī Begzāde, which exercised power in the district until the mid-19th century. Four major Kurdish tribes inhabit the district: the Khumārū (Humaro) in the north, Zarzā in the east, Herkī in the west, and Gerdī in the south. Other sections of the last three tribes are settled in isolated pockets in Persian and 'Irāḳī Kurdistān. Until the First World War, there

was also a significant minority of Nestorian Christians living scattered among the Kurds here. In the late 19th century, Cuinet's sources estimated the population of Shamdīnān at 13,270 Kurds, 2,000 Ottoman Turks, 3,000 Nestorian Christians and 200 Jews; another source, the 1897 *sālnāme* for Vān, gives the figures of 14,547 Muslims and 2,034 non-Muslims. According to the 1990 census, the present population is just over 30,000.

In the course of the 19th century, the 'Abbāsī Begzāde family lost their paramount authority over the tribes to a family of religious leaders, who had settled in the village of Nehrī (present name: Bağlar) near the district centre. This family, known as the Sādatē Nehrī, claimed descent from 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] through the latter's son, 'Abd al-'Azīz, who lies buried in 'Akra, northeast of Mawṣil. The family was affiliated with the Ḳādiriyya *ṭarīḳa*, until the sayyids 'Abd Allāh and Aḥmad took initiations in the Naḳshbandiyya from Mawlānā Khālid and became his *khalīfa* (ca. 1820). Like other Kurdish Naḳshbandī *shaykhs*, the Sādatē Nehrī increasingly acquired worldly power as well, extending their influence well beyond Shamdīnān to the Kurdish tribes further south and east. Sayyid Aḥmad's grandson, Shaykh 'Ubayd Allāh, in 1880 led a large tribal rebellion, temporarily occupying a vast stretch of Persian territory to the west of Lake Urmiya, and apparently intending to establish an independent Kurdish state. The Ottomans later arrested him and sent him into exile to Mecca. His son, Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ, soon returned to Nehrī and took his father's place as the most influential man of central Kurdistān, successfully outwitting ambitious tribal chieftains as well as rival *shaykhs* (see Dickson; Nikitine and Soane). Another son, Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḳādir, settled in Istanbul after the Young Turk revolution and became the president of the first Kurdish association there as well as the president of the Shūrā-yi Dewlet. In 1925, following Shaykh Sa'īd's rebellion, the Kemālist authorities hanged him and his son Muḥammad. Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ's son, Sayyid Ṭāhā, was more actively involved in Kurdish nationalist and anti-Turkish agitation, at one time cooperating with Simko in Persia and later joining the British in 'Irāḳ.

Relations between the local Muslims and Christians rapidly deteriorated during the First World War, especially following the *djihād* declaration. In 1916 Russian troops occupied Shamdīnān, overcoming Kurdish resistance coordinated by Sayyid Ṭāhā and his cousins 'Abd Allāh and Muḥammad, sons of Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḳādir. Local Nestorians, recruited and armed by the Russians as advance scouts, took part in the Russian offensive. After the October revolution and the withdrawal of Russian troops, the Nestorians were expelled and fled to Urmiya. Here the British enlisted their services against the final Ottoman eastward offensive and later brought them to northern 'Irāḳ. Following the Armistice (1918), a contest between the British and the Kemālists for control of the region continued. Sayyid Ṭāhā was invited to represent the region in the Kemālists' First National Assembly (1920) but declined, and two years later allied himself with the British authorities in 'Irāḳ, who made him governor of Rawāndiz [*q.v.*]. The tribes of Shamdīnān nevertheless remained opposed to the British infidels and deaf to Kurdish nationalist appeals. There was a brief rebellion in June 1925, in response to the execution of Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḳādir; his son 'Abd Allāh, aided by warriors of the Gerdī tribe, briefly occupied the district centre of Nāwshār and killed six Turkish officers. Then he too fled to British-controlled territory. At the final settlement of the border between 'Irāḳ and Turkey in 1926, Shamdīnān came to Turkey, and the neighbouring districts of Bārzān and Brādōst, with which it had always had close relations, to 'Irāḳ.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, ii, 741-5; F.R. Maunsell, *Central Kurdistan*, in *GJ*, xviii (1901), 121-44; B. Dickson, *Travels in Kurdistan*, in *ibid.*, xxxv (1910), 357-79; B. Nikitine and E.B. Soane, *The tale of Suto and Tato*, in *BSOS*, iii (1923), 69-106; J. Joseph, *The Nestorians and their Muslim neighbours*, Princeton 1961; Ṣadilili Vedat, *Türkiye'de kürtçülük hareketleri ve isyanları*, i, Ankara 1980, 113-16; M.İ. Erdost, *Şemdinli röportajı*, Istanbul 1987; M. van Bruinessen, *Agha, shaikh and state. The social structures of Kurdistan*, London 1992, 224-34, 250-1, 321, 329-31; *EI*[1] art. *Shamdīnān* (B. Nikitine).

(M.M. van Bruinessen)

SHĀMĪ, NIẒĀM al-**DĪN** (or Niẓām-i Shāmī), Persian littérateur and chronicler of the late 8th/14th-early 9th/15th centuries.

His *nisba* (Shāmī < Shanbī) suggests that he was born in Shanb-i Ghāzānī, a suburb of Tabrīz. When on 20 Shawwāl 795/29 August 1393 Tīmūr-i Lang arrived before Baghdād, Shāmī tells us, he was the first of its inhabitants to come and submit to him (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 139). On his way to the Ḥidjāz not long before the conqueror's attack on Aleppo in 803/1400, Shāmī was detained by the authorities in Aleppo, who suspected him of spying on Tīmūr's behalf, and was thus an eye-witness of the siege (*ibid.*, i, 227, ii, 160). Brought before Tīmūr a second time following the city's capture, he appears to have remained in his entourage. In 804/1401-2 Tīmūr ordered him to compose a history of his conquests in a clear, unadorned style which would render it intelligible to all readers and not merely to a select few (*ibid.*, i, 10-11). The work was presented to Tīmūr around Shawwāl 806/April 1404. The title *Ẓafar-nāma* is not found in the original recension (Istanbul ms. Nuru Osmaniye 3267) utilised later in the compilations of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū [*q.v.*], but only in a second version dedicated to Tīmūr's grandson 'Umar Bahādur (British Library ms. Add. 23980). Shāmī, who after Tīmūr's death in 807/1405 had probably entered 'Umar's service, was dead, according to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, by 814/1411-12 (*Dhayl*, 430). He enjoyed a high reputation among contemporaries for his literary skills: Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, in his own *Ẓafar-nāma* (ii, 571), calls him one of the most accomplished writers of his age.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 278-9; Storey-Bregel', 787-91; ed. of *Ẓafar-nāma* by Felix Tauer, *Histoire des conquêtes de Tamerlan intitulée Ẓafarnāma par Niẓāmuddin Šāmī avec des additions empruntées au Ẓubdatu-t-tawārīḫ-i Bāysunġurī de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū*, Prague 1937-56 (Monografie Archivu Orientálního 5), ii, introd., pp. XIII-XIX; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Dhayl-i Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Tauer, *Continuation du Ẓafarnāma de Niẓāmuddin Šāmī*, in *ArO*, vi (1934), 429-65; Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. M.M. Ilahdād, Calcutta 1885-8. (P. Jackson)

SHĀMIL (1212-87/1796-1871), Dāghistānī leader of the Muslim resistance to the Russian conquest of the Caucasus from 1250/1834 to 1276/1859.

Shāmil's biography and his ghazawāt

Born in the village (*awul*) of Gimrāh (Gimrī) to a family of an Avār freedman, Shāmil was named 'Alī at birth. A sickly child, who was often ill, his original name, according to a local belief, was changed to Shāmūīl (i.e. Samuel) to "repel" sickness. This was the name Shāmil used in letters and official documents. Contemporary sources, however, styled him Shāmil,

or Shamīl—the name under which he became known in Russia and the West. Already in his youth he overcame his ailments and grew into an exceptionally strong, tall (over six feet) and athletic young man, famed for his fencing skills, bravery, and horsemanship. In addition, he had an acute interest in, and talent for, religious learning. By the age of 20 he had successfully completed an elementary course of Arabic grammar and rhetoric under the guidance of renowned Dāghistānī *'ulamā'*. He then proceeded to study Ḳur'ānic interpretation, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, and *kalām* with his friend and distant relative Ghāzī Muḥammad (Kazi Magoma), who also introduced him to the Ṣūfī teachings of the Naḳshbandiyya-Khālidiyya *ṭarīḳa*, which were propagated in Dāghistān by Muḥammad al-Yarāghī and Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzī Ghumuḳī. Unlike the otherwordly-oriented and quietist Djamāl al-Dīn, Ghāzī Muḥammad and his younger friend were anxious to enforce *sharʿī* norms actively among the mountaineers committed to their tribal customs (*ʿādāt*). Presenting themselves as religious reformers, they attacked such widespread vices as drunkenness, the use of tobacco, "indecent" intermingling of the sexes, merry pastimes with music and dancing, etc. With the Russian forces inexorably closing in on Dāghistān, Ghāzī Muḥammad, against the express wish of his *shaykh* Djamāl al-Dīn, added to this programme the call for *djihād* [*q.v.*] against the infidel Russians. When in late 1829 several Avār communities proclaimed him the first *imām* of Dāghistān, Shāmil became his trusted lieutenant. In 1832, after three years of fierce fighting, Ghāzī Muḥammad and his closest followers, known as *murīdūn* (Russ. *myuridī*), were surrounded and slaughtered in their stronghold at Gimrāh—an episode in which Shāmil was one of only two survivors. Under the second *imām*, Ḥamza(t) Bek, Shāmil continued to wage a pitiless struggle against the local nobility and their Russian backers. Following Ḥamza's assassination in 1834 by the vengeful Avār notables, Shāmil was unanimously recognised as the third *imām* of Dāghistān by Avār *'ulamā'* and dignitaries at 'Ashilṭa. In 1834-6, despite the stiff resistance of the local ruling families and the continuing Russian intervention, he managed to establish firm control over most areas of Dāghistān. His inordinate military talents were recognised by the Russian commanders, who failed to subdue the territories under his sway and on several occasions had to sue for peace. As a result, his reputation as the successful leader of *djihād* spread far and wide, making him "enemy number one" of the Russian military administration of the Caucasus. Apprehensive of Shāmil's growing influence on the warlike tribes of nearby Čečnya, the Russians launched a massive military expedition against his headquarters at Akhulgoḥ. After a series of bloody engagements en route, the Russian expedition finally besieged Shāmil and his men in their mountain fortress. When he refused to surrender after several weeks of fierce fighting, the irate Russians ruthlessly cut his garrison to pieces. Miraculously, Shāmil again made an almost incredible escape down the lofty cliffs under the enemy's very nose. Of the two wives with him during the siege, one was killed alongside his best men. Contrary to the Russians' expectations, the *imām*'s spirit was far from broken. Moreover, he found new powerful allies among the Čečens who were disgusted at the continued Russian encroachment on their independence. In a matter of months, Shāmil recovered and even expanded his power, whereupon he and his lieutenants delivered several shattering blows to the Russian forces in Čečnya and Avāristān in 1840-2. Exasperated by these reversals, Tsar Nicholas I ordered an all-out campaign to crush Shāmil's resistance in 1844. Organised and led by Prince Vorontsov, a 10,000-strong expedition against Shāmil's stronghold at Darghiyya was an almost total disaster. The *imām* had learned well the lessons of Akhulgoḥ and changed his strategy accordingly. With his prestige at its peak, Shāmil endeavoured to extend his rule to Ghabarṭa (Kabarda) and to unify all the mountain tribes of the Caucasus against the Russians. His ambitious plans, however, were frustrated by the brilliant strategy of General Freytag, the ineptitude of his lieutenant Nūr 'Alī, and the resultant failure of the Ghabarṭians to join his army. More importantly, this campaign demonstrated the vast disparity between Shāmil's resources and those of the Russian Empire—a disparity that would eventually lead to his undoing. About the same time, the Russians realised the futility of the "one-blow" strategy they had previously pursued, and resorted to a more methodical, if less offensive strategy, known as "the system of the axe." It consisted in steadily encircling Shāmil with a network of defensive lines and military posts aimed at cutting him off from Čečnya, his major source of food supplies and manpower. From 1846 to 1849, the Russians erected fortifications in, and cut roads through, the impenetrable forests of Greater Čečnya. Simultaneously, they "pacified" the population of the fertile Čečen plains, chasing those who refused to submit into the barren mountains. In the meantime, another Russian expeditionary force attempted to eradicate Shāmil's strongholds in central Dāghistān, a goal for which they paid an enormous price in money, ammunition, and human lives. Their successes, however, proved short-lived. Once the Russian troops had withdrawn, the *imām* quickly rebuilt his fortifications and invaded southern Dāghistān, whose free communities had asked for his assistance against the oppressive Russian rule. In a dramatic reversal of roles, Shāmil invested several Russian fortresses, and was poised to achieve complete success if it had not been for the heroic stand of the small Russian garrison of Akhtī (Akhtī), which allowed the Russians to regroup and to repel Shāmil's levies. On the Čečen front, Shāmil established a line of defence and deployed against the Russian troops his cherished regular infantry units built on the model of the Ottoman *niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*]. The latter were soundly defeated on 11 March 1851 by Colonel Baryatinskiy, forcing Shāmil to revert to guerilla tactics and thereby to relinquish any hope of defeating the Russian army in a pitched battle. Turning his attention to Dāghistān, Shāmil sent his best military commander and lifelong rival Ḥādjdjī Murād to Russian-controlled Ḳayṭāḳ and Ṭabasarān in an attempt to rouse their "pacified" populations. This campaign yielded little result, but instead further aggravated the long-standing distrust between the *imām* and his chief lieutenant. Sentenced to death on Shāmil's instance, Ḥādjdjī Murād defected to the Russians but was soon killed in an attempt to escape back to the mountains, relieving the *imām* of the onerous necessity to execute one of his commanders. In 1851-3, the hostilities, in which Shāmil took part personally, were centred on Čečnya with results generally favourable for the Russians. Throughout 1853, faced with the prospect of war with the Ottomans, the Russians were unable to capitalise on their earlier successes and diverted their attention and main forces to the Ottoman front, giving Shāmil a much-needed respite, which he spent in his fortified headquarters at Vedān (Vedeno). Rumours about an impending Russo-Turkish conflict infused the *imām*

and his followers with determination to continue their struggle under the leadership of, and with help from, the Ottoman sultan. Shāmil sent him several messages assuring him of the mountaineers' support and even promising to effect a junction with the Ottoman troops at Tiflis. Although somewhat offended by the tone of the sultan's replies, who treated the *imām* as his vassal, Shāmil remained committed to the person whom he considered the supreme ruler of all Muslims. Before and during the war, he kept the Russians on their tiptoes by raiding the territories under their control. On 15 July 1854, the *imām*'s forces led by his son Ghāzī Muḥammad swept in on the Alazān valley and Tsinandali, carrying off a rich booty and many prisoners, among whom were the grand-daughters of the last Kart'lo-Kakhet'i Tsar, George XII, the princesses Tchavtchvadze and Orbeliani. This raid, in which Shāmil took no direct part, brought him great notoriety not only in Russia but in the West as well. On the positive side, he was able to exchange the princesses for his elder son Djamāl al-Dīn, surrendered to the Russians as a hostage during the desperate defence of Akhulgoḥ in 1839. In addition, he received a hefty ransom of 40,000 silver roubles. On the other hand, this episode proved to be extremely damaging to his reputation in Europe, where his treatment of the royal captives was perceived by many as an act of "a fanatic and a barbarian with whom it will be difficult for us, and even for the Porte, to entertain any credible or satisfactory relations." Offended by the insulting reprimands he received from the Ottomans and their European allies in the aftermath of this affair, Shāmil relinquished any hope of obtaining their support in his struggle against the Russians. The result of the Crimean War, though by no means favourable to Russia, came as a shock to Shāmil and his following, for they could now expect no Ottoman help and were left face-to-face with their formidable foe. The Russian command, on the other hand, could now focus its undivided attention on the Caucasus. In the spring of 1857, the Russians led by the newly-appointed viceroy of the Caucasus, Prince Baryatinskiy and several talented generals, started methodically to mop up Shāmil's strongholds in Čečnya. As a result, Shāmil's power-base was drastically reduced, and the few Čečen warriors still loyal to him had to seek refuge in the mountains. The majority of the war-weary Čečens and many Dāghistānī communities abandoned him and submitted to Russian rule. Amidst the general despondency which overcame even his most committed followers, his pleas for help to the Ottomans, the British and the French were left without reply. With the rapid collapse of the mountaineers' resistance, the *imām* had no option but to retreat constantly in the face of a relentless Russian advance, abandoning one by one his fortified positions at New Darghiyya and Vedān. He made his last stand on top of Mt. Ghunīb surrounded by his family and 400 loyal *murīdūn*. In the face of inevitable destruction, he surrendered unconditionally to the Russians on 6 September (25 August Old Style) 1859.

In contrast to the earlier leaders of the anti-Russian *djihād* in the Caucasus, e.g., Shaykh Manṣūr Ushurma and Ghāzī Muḥammad, Shāmil received an unusually lenient treatment by the jubilant Tsar Alexander II and his subjects. With his "misdeeds" against the Russians all but forgotten, he was paraded through Moscow, St. Petersburg and many lesser Russian cities, repeatedly honoured by the Tsar, photographed, painted by artists, introduced to "high society", and praised in numerous books and articles. A "cultural hero" of sorts, he was everywhere greeted by admiring crowds and an enthusiastic nobility. For many Russians, still reeling from the Crimean debacle, Shāmil became an emblem for military and colonial victory which reaffirmed Russia's status as an enlightened, powerful and successful nation. Shāmil, genuinely touched by the attention and hospitality ac-corded to him by his former foes, seems to have accepted his role and even volunteered to swear allegiance to the Tsar. He constantly marvelled at, and praised the technological and cultural achievements of Russian civilisation and wrote letters to his former supporters, urging them to stop their resistance and to recognise Russian sovereignty. Upon completing his triumphant tour of Russia, he was assigned to residence in Kaluga—a town about 120 miles south-west of Moscow. He lived there in a luxurious mansion with his two wives, three surviving sons, four daughters and their families. In 1866, he was permitted to move to Kiev and in 1869 his request to make a pilgrimage to Mecca was finally granted. En route, he visited the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Egyptian *khidīw* Ismāʿīl, both of whom gave him a cordial reception and showered him with gifts and money. He died and was buried in Medina in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1287/March 1871. Of his three surviving sons (Djamāl al-Dīn died three years after he had returned to his father from Russian captivity), the eldest, Ghāzī Muḥammad, entered the Ottoman service and fought against the Russians in the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-8. He died in Mecca in 1903. Shāmil's other son, Muḥammad Shāfiʿī, became a major-general in the Russian army and resided in Moscow and later in Kazan. His grandson by his youngest son Muḥammad Kāmil, named Saʿīd Shāmil, took an active part in the struggle for independence of Dāghistān from Soviet Russia in the 1920s.

Shāmil's state, army and administration

The military-theocratic state in which Shāmil was the supreme temporal and religious authority was geared to one overriding goal: uniting the mountaineers in their struggle against the "infidel" Russians and their local cohorts. Based on the institutions and precedents established by the first two *imāms* of Avāristān, Ghāzī Muḥammad and Ḥamza, the mountaineers' state grew much more complex and efficient under Shāmil's able leadership. The dual title *imām* and *amīr al-muʾminīn*, which featured in his letters and decrees, accurately reflected his functions as the principal interpreter and enforcer of the *sharīʿa* on the one hand, and as the political and military leader on the other. In addition, Shāmil was his own legislator. His instructions and ordinances on matters not explicitly covered by the *sharīʿa* formed the so-called *niẓām*, an administrative and military code similar to, and possibly modelled on, the Ottoman *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*]. Finally, Shāmil was also the chief justiciar and administrator of his state. In executing all these political, religious, legislative, administrative and judicial functions, Shāmil was assisted by a privy council, a *dīwān*, established around 1842. Stacked with his closest followers and confidants, the *dīwān* was convened for emergency consultations, but also relieved him of routine decision-making on matters of minor significance. Executive and judicial power in the areas under Shāmil's control rested with his deputies (*nāʾibs*), whose numbers grew from four in 1840 to about thirty in 1856. The *nāʾibs* were nominated personally by Shāmil and were responsible for law and order, tax collection, and enforcement of verdicts passed by local *ḳuḍāt*. During military campaigns, they served as field commanders and were responsible to Shāmil for fielding the required number of warriors and for general readiness for war.

The *nā'ib*'s status varied according to the military importance of the area under his jurisdiction. In the late 1840s, Shāmil introduced the post of *mudīr*, i.e. the senior *nā'ib*, who, apart from running his own domain, supervised and coordinated the activities of lesser *nā'ib*s in neighbouring regions. Normally, the *nā'ib* led up to 500 warriors into battle. Both the *mudīr*s and the ordinary *nā'ib*s were closely watched by the *imām*'s "secret agents" (*muḥtasib*s), who were answerable directly to Shāmil and reported to him on the activities, especially misdeeds, of his lieutenants. The *nā'ib*ships were divided into smaller units administered by the *nā'ib*'s subordinates, the *dibīr*s, or *ma'zūm*s (Russ. *mazun*). These officials, in turn, had under their command village elders, elected by their respective communities. To enforce the *imām*'s orders, each *nā'ib* relied on a standing force of 20 to 50 (or occasionally up to 100) loyal guards called *nā'ib murīd*s as opposed to *ṭarīḳa murīd*s, who were considered "men of God" and normally did not participate in fighting. On the level of the *ma'zūm*, the *nā'ib murīd*s were paralleled by the mounted "retainers" (*murtaziḳa*), supported by their communities.

While the executive and administrative powers were vested in the *nā'ib*s, they were not allowed to interpret the *sharī'a* or dispense *shar'ī* justice. For this they had *muftī*s and *ḳuḍāt* attached to them. In addition, these religious officials, whom the sources generally describe as *'ulamā'*, were responsible for maintaining the mosques, leading the prayers, delivering the Friday sermons, and for implementing the *shar'ī* precepts in their *nā'ib*ships. They also provided religious instruction, usually at the mosques, to the young. Being at least partially independent of their *nā'ib*s, the *'ulamā'* provided a much-needed check on the broad discretionary power given to their temporal counterparts.

The core of Shāmil's army consisted of the *nā'ib murīd*s, the career fighters who had sworn an oath of personal allegiance to the *imām* and his cause and regarded themselves as his personal disciples. Fearless and loyal, the *murīdūn* were, in a sense, "warrior monks" who were always ready for martyrdom "in the path of God" and provided example and leadership for the less organised and often lukewarm local levies. According to different calculations, they numbered 400 to 500 men, of which 120 served as Shāmil's personal bodyguards, while the others were assigned to his *nā'ib*s or sent on special missions. The *murīdūn* were supported directly from the treasury of the *imām* or his deputies. This small élite corps was supplemented by the regular cavalrymen called *murtaziḳa*. Under Shāmil's orders, every ten households in the territory under his control had to furnish one fully-equipped horseman, whose personal needs as well as those of his wife and children were provided for by the other nine families. The *murīdūn* and the *murtaziḳa* constituted the backbone of Shāmil's army. The peasant irregulars who joined them during large-scale campaigns were poorly trained, far less reliable and therefore served primarily as auxiliaries. Finally, in imitation of the Ottoman *niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*], Shāmil attempted to create a modern infantry corps, which, however, proved ineffectual and inferior to its Russian counterpart. In an attempt to achieve logistical independence, Shāmil established three gunpowder factories, which produced not only powder but mines, gunshells, and bombs. Shāmil's army also manufactured its own cannon, albeit of a rather low quality, to supplement the Russian artillery captured on the battlefield. Shāmil's regular troops donned special uniforms and were awarded special marks of distinction for courage. Cowards and deserters, on the other hand, were obliged to wear "marks of disgrace" until they "erased" them by military feats or loyal service.

To sustain this complex administrative and military machinery, Shāmil collected from his subjects a *zakāt* of approximately 5% to 7% in money and kind. In anticipation of a military campaign, an extraordinary tax in kind could be imposed on specific communities to meet the needs of the army on the march. Another source of state income was one-fifth of war booty, sometimes quite substantial, which under the *sharī'a* was set aside for the ruler. All fines, popularly known as *bayt al-māl*, along with escheatable or forfeited property went to Shāmil's treasury. The same holds true for the income derived from *awḳāf*. The lion's share of the income was spent on the military, on the upkeep of *'ulamā'* and mosques as well as on the support of Muslim emigrants who had fled from territories under Russian control (*muhādjirūn*) and settled in Shāmil's *shar'ī* state.

Shāmil and "Myuridism"

The issue of whether or not Shāmil's *ghazawāt* were related to, or motivated by, his Ṣūfī background has not yet found a satisfactory solution. As mentioned, Shāmil, like the other *imām*s of Dāghistān Ghāzī Muḥammad and Ḥamza(t) Bek, sought to establish a theocratic state that would unite the anarchic Caucasian mountaineers against the common enemy, the Russian Empire. Apart from being military leaders and religious reformers, all three *imām*s were also affiliated with the Khālidī branch of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*]. Their initiatic line stretched back to the Kurdish Shaykh Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Khālid al-Shahrazūrī (d. 1243/1827), who, in turn, belonged to the influential Mudjaddidī subdivision of the Naḳshbandiyya *ṭarīḳa*, founded by the Indian Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624 [*q.v.*]). One of Khālid's disciples, Shaykh Ismā'īl al-Kūrdumīrī, propagated his teaching in the Khānate of Shīrwān [*q.v.*] in the late 1810s. His local deputy Shaykh Khāṣṣ Muḥammad al-Shīrwānī introduced the Khālidī *ṭarīḳa* into Dāghistān, where it found an enthusiastic following. Around 1823, his *khalīfa* [*q.v.*, section III] Muḥammad al-Yarāghī (Mulla Magomet) called on Dāghistānī Muslims to observe the *sunna* and the *sharī'a* strictly, to avoid *bid'a* (i.e. the *'ādāt*), to fight against the enemies of Islam, and, if defeated, to emigrate to Islamic lands. All these precepts were in full accord with the central tenets of the Khālidiyya, although it is not clear whether or not Muḥammad al-Yarāghī actually called his audience to *djihād* against the Russians. Plainly, his chief concern was to extirpate the "un-Islamic" customs and beliefs of the mountaineers and to replace them with the *sharī'a*. Paradoxically, it was not the militant Muḥammad al-Yarāghī, but his reclusive disciple, Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn, who initiated Ghāzī Muḥammad and young Shāmil into the Naḳshbandiyya-Khālidiyya (Ḥamza Bek was a disciple of Ghāzī Muḥammad). Shāmil's emphasis on meticulous adherence to the *sharī'a*, his open hostility toward "the cursed Christians and the despicable Persians [i.e. the Shī'a of Iran]," his political activism and unswerving loyalty to the Ottoman sultan, seem to be in line with the Khālidī teaching as expounded by its founder and his Turkish followers. Yet, as Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn's opposition to *ghazawāt* and insistence on inward self-perfection well shows, Shāmil's interpretation of the Khālidī tenets was not the only possible one. In the early stages of his career, Shāmil acted primarily as a religious reformer, first under Ghāzī Muḥammad, then in his own right, intent on making the *sharī'a* the only legal and moral code. His reformist activities inevitably set him on a collision course with the conservative Avār

nobility and, eventually, with the Russians, who, not unlike the contemporary French colonial administrators of Algeria, gave precedence to customary law over the *sharīʿa*, deeming it to be more "manageable." Hence the Russians were suspicious of the Dāghistānī *ʿulamāʾ* and were unwilling to accommodate them, relying instead on the corrupt and discredited nobility. The inflexibility of the Russian colonial officials was further aggravated by the Russian political and economic expansion in the Caucasus, which disrupted the traditional life-style and economy of the region, bringing about dislocation, and concomitant resentment, among the mountaineers. Under these circumstances, the *sharʿī*-oriented, sober tenets of the Naḳshbandiyya-Khālidiyya, combined with the viable institutional structure of *ṭarīḳa* Ṣūfism, provided a compelling solution to the mountaineers' problems. Although formally he was neither head of a *ṭarīḳa* nor even the supreme Ṣūfī master of Dāghistān (both titles were better applicable to Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn, whose ascendancy in Ṣūfī matters the *imām* humbly acknowledged), Shāmil commanded the practically unconditional loyalty of his followers, the most devoted of whom viewed him as their personal *murshid* [*q.v.*]. In a sense, Shāmil's whole state was an extended *ṭarīḳa*, complete with such trappings of a Ṣūfī community as the collective *dhikr* [*q.v.*] chanted by his *murīdūn* on the move and in battle, the periodical *khalwas* [*q.v.*] practiced by the *imām* and his disciples, the miracles (*karāmāt* [*q.v.*]) ascribed to him by the followers, the supererogatory prayers (up to 20 times a day, according to some testimonies) he assigned to the *murīdūn*, the constant spiritual link (*rābiṭa* [*q.v.*]) which Shāmil maintained with his closest disciples, and, finally, his communications with the spirit of the Prophet to solicit the latter's advice. All this, however, is true only of Shāmil's retinue in Darghiyya and Vedān. Outside this immediate circle of followers, and for the overwhelming majority of his subjects, Shāmil was a venerated, and often fearsome, sovereign and military leader who ruled with an iron fist over a host of diverse and recalcitrant tribal communities, traditionally opposed to any state control. It is in his ability to weld the mountaineers together for a common goal, rather than in his activities as a Ṣūfī master (for which he had little time anyway) that one should look for his major achievement. Therefore, the Russian and Western historians who described Shāmil's movement as "*myuridism*" were to some extent justified in setting it apart from ordinary Ṣūfism. In many respects, his *ghazawāt* bear striking resemblance to the other contemporary Ṣūfī-based movements, notably the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] of Algeria and Sudan and the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] of Cyrenaica. For each of these movements, Ṣūfism provided a handy organisational vehicle, rather than their true motivation, which should be sought elsewhere.

Shāmil's legacy

Already in his lifetime, Shāmil became a great media event, which generated a vast corpus of scholarly discourse and Romantic literature. From 1854 to 1859, 38 full-size books (not to mention innumerable articles, poems and news accounts) dealing with Shāmil were published in the West alone. In Russia, the volume of writings on Shāmil and his movement was, of course, much greater. In line with the fashion of the day, this literature depicted Shāmil as a "noble savage" and a typical hero of European Romanticism. As time went on, the public interest in him began to subside, giving way to a more balanced academic evaluation of his personality and of the Caucasian wars as a whole. During the Soviet period, Shāmil once again became an object of intense study and of heated debate over the nature of his movement. In accordance with the Marxian concept of class struggle, the Soviet historians of the 1920s and 1930s portrayed him as a hero of revolutionary struggle, a fearless fighter against the colonisation of the Caucasus by Tsarist Russia. In the 1950s, however, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union launched a campaign against so-called "bourgeois-nationalism", as a result of which Shāmil's role underwent a radical revision. In a remarkable *volte-face*, Soviet historians condemned him as the leader of a "reactionary and nationalistic movement in the service of English capitalism and the Turkish sultan." They argued that by fighting against the Russians, Shāmil became a hindrance to progress, in so far as the incorporation of the "backward" and "feudal" Caucasus into a technologically-advanced Russian Empire was an "objective historical necessity" and the only way to develop its culture and economy. The debate over Shāmil's role reached its peak in 1956-7, whereupon it was forcibly suppressed by the official condemnation of the *imām* as a thoroughgoing reactionary and a religious fanatic. The official viewpoint, however, was not to everyone's liking, and a covert campaign to rehabilitate Shāmil, spearheaded by some Dāghistānī scholars, continued for several decades. With the advent of *perestroika* and *glasnost* in 1986, Shāmil's contribution to the history of the Caucasus was again drastically revised. Today, Shāmil is totally rehabilitated and is celebrated by most of the Dāghistānīs and the Čečens as their greatest national hero. Symbols and slogans associated with the *imām*'s resistance to the Russian domination took on a new life during the Russo-Čečen conflict of 1994-5, when they were appropriated and re-defined by the supporters of President Džohar (Djawhar) Dudaev.

Bibliography: For Shāmil's own view of himself and his movement, see A. Runovskiy, *Zapiski o Shamile*, St. Petersburg 1860, repr. Moscow 1989. His biography, written in Arabic by his son-in-law, was published as *Khronika Mukhammeda Takhira al-Karakhi o dagestanskikh voynakh v period Shamila*, ed. A.M. Barabanov under the general editorship of I.Yu. Kračkovskiy, Moscow and Leningrad 1946 (a Russian translation of this work with the same title was published in Moscow and Leningrad in 1941); cf. Kračkovskiy, *Izbrannie sočineniya*, vi, Moscow and Leningrad 1960, 551-622. Many of Shāmil's letters and rescripts were edited by A. Runovskiy in *Voenniy Sbornik* (St. Petersburg), ii (1862), 327-86, and in *Russkiy Vestnik* (St. Petersburg), xii (1862), 642-85. The most comprehensive collection of historical documents related to Shāmil and his movement is *Dviženie gortsev severo-vostočnogo Kavkaza v 20-50kh gg. XIX veka: Sbornik dokumentov*, Makhačkala 1959; cf. also the editions of Shāmil's letters and his *niẓām* by R. Sharafutdinova in *Pis'mennie pamyatniki Vostoka* (Moscow), iii (1970), iv (1971); v (1972), viii (1975).

A helpful list of studies on Shāmil is M. Gammer, *Shamil and the Murid movement, 1830-1859. An attempt at a comprehensive bibliography*, in *Central Asian Survey* (London), x/1-2 (1991), 189-247; see also idem, *Shamil in Soviet historiography*, in *MEJ*, xxviii/4 (Oct. 1992), 729-77, and *Narodno-osvoboditel'noe dviženie gortsev Dagestana i Čečni v 20-50kh godakh xix v. Vsesoyuznaya naučnaya Konferentsiya*, Makhačkala 1989. For Shāmil's literary image in 19th-century Russia and the West, see T.M. Barret, *The remaking of the Lion of Dagestan*, in *The Russian Review* (Ohio), liii/3 (July 1994), 353-6.

For Shāmil's predecessors at the head of the anti-Russian struggle in the Caucasus, see. A. Bennigsen,

Un mouvement populaire au Caucase au XVIIIe siècle, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* (Paris), v/2 (April-June 1964), 159-205; M. Gammer, *The beginnings of the Naqshbandiyya in Dāghestān and the Russian conquest of the Caucasus*, in *WI*, xxxiv (1994), 204-17.

Of the general histories of Shāmil's movement, J. Baddeley's *The Russian conquest of the Caucasus*, London 1908, and F. Bodenstedt's *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen*, Frankfurt 1848, remain standard works in the field, at least as far as the military operations are concerned. A typical Soviet view of Shāmil's *ghazawāt*, based on 19th-century Russian sources, is given in N.A. Smirnov, *Myuridizm na Kavkaze*, Moscow 1961, cf. A. Yandarov, *Sufizm i ideologiya natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dviženiya*, Alma-Ata 1975. An illuminating, if somewhat idealised account of Shāmil and his movement, which was extensively used in the present article, is M. Gammer, *Muslim resistance to the Tsar. Shamil and the conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan*, London 1994. See also ČEČENS, AL-ḲABḲ, and DĀGHISTĀN. (A. KNYSH)

SHAMMĀʿ (A.), candlemaker (synonymous with *shamʿī*). The usage of the latter term as a *nisba* is illustrated by al-Samʿānī citing names of some candlemakers who were also counted among transmitters of Traditions during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. The early *ḥisba* manuals did not include a chapter on the candlemakers, who were only briefly cited by Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (d. 729/1329 [*q.v.*]). He noted the dishonest practice of the *shammāʿūn*, who mixed beeswax with vegetable oil and other substances, thereby lowering the quality of their product.

While discussing the *shammāʿ*, some Arab writers bring forth two names among the *Ṣaḥāba*, namely, ʿUthmān (b. ʿAffān) and Tamīm al-Dārī, the former in connection with candlemakers and the latter as the pioneer who brought a lamp (*ḳandīl*) from Syria and lighted it in the Prophet's mosque in Medina during the life of Muḥammad. This is cited as the origin of the practice of lighting lamps and candles in mosques since early Islamic history. Legends aside, the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd II (125-6/741-2) was credited with using candle illumination at the Umayyad court of Damascus. The common people of the ʿAbbāsid period used oil lamps (*ḳindīl*), while the rich and powerful could afford expensive candles. Al-Maʾmūn (d. 218/833) spent a lot of money on candle illumination during his marriage with Būrān bt. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, and al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861) spent a fabulous sum of 1.2 million *dirhams* for candles in royal palaces *per annum*. During the ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid periods, candles were made mainly from beeswax, which was sometimes imported from long distances, e.g. from Tunis to Egypt.

There were guilds of candlemakers in the Ṣafawid capital city of Iṣfahān in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. The members of the guild of candlemakers (*shammāʿī* in Persian), were classified as workers of low position in society, comparable to the lowly status of barbers, bath-keepers, fortune-tellers, bricklayers, corpse-washers, porters, muleteers and so forth. Nevertheless, a modern *shammāʿ* of North Africa attained upward social mobility by writing a history of the Ḥafṣid dynasty (cf. Shaykh Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Shammāʿ, *al-Adillat al-bayyina al-nūrāniyya ʿalā mafākhir al-dawla al-Ḥafṣiyya*, Tunis 1327/1909). The candlemakers' work was in high demand in early modern Syria, where it was customary to light candles in marriage ceremonies by all strata of people: a candle used to cost 2 liras in early 20th-century Syria.

Bibliography: Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, viii, 151-2; Ibn Manẓūr, *LʿA*, Beirut 1956, viii, 185-6, Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. and tr. R. Levy, London 1937-8, Ar. text 127; Maḳrīzī, *Naḥl ʿabr al-naḥl*, ed. Dj. al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1946, 78-83; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, Beirut 1971, ii, 684-97; M.S. al-Ḳāsimī and Kh. al-ʿAẓm, *Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-shāmiyya*, Paris-The Hague 1960, ii, 258-9; Mehdi Keyvani, *Artisans and guild life in the later Safavid period*, Berlin 1982, 35-85; S.D. Goitein, *Letters of medieval Jewish traders*, Princeton 1973, 317; R.B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock, *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, London 1983. (M.A.J. BEG)

AL-**SHAMMĀKH** B. **ḌIRĀR**, true name Maʿḳil b. Ḍirār, of the Thaʿlaba b. Saʿd of the Banū Dhubyān (Ghaṭafān), a *mukhaḍram* poet and, according to some sources, a Companion after his conversion in 9/630 (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, i, 324; *Aghānī*, viii, 98; *Iṣāba*, iii, 210). This information is to be treated with caution: according to Ibn Sayyid al-Nās [*q.v.*], the author of a work on the poets of the Prophet, it was his brother al-Muzarrid who met him and composed a poem in his honour (*Minaḥ al-midaḥ*, Damascus 1407/1987, 310-11). Al-Shammākh must have been too young at this time.

Reliable information concerning him is extremely sparse; details relating to him have been inextricably mingled with those relating to his older brother al-Muzarrid b. Ḍirār. He was allegedly ugly, one-eyed (al-Ṣafadī, *al-Shuʿūr bi 'l-ʿūr*, 206; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Hārūn, iv, 257), ruddy and of small stature. Certain traditions have associated his unprepossessing appearance with his misogynistic tendencies (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ms. fols. 1090b-1091a), the traces of which, clearly visible, survive in his poetry (*Dīwān*, 104-8, 219-23, 287-95).

After the death of the Prophet, he took part in the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2232, 2292), in the conquest of Armenia (*ibid.*, i, 2667) and in that of Ādharbaydjān (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 329, idem, *Ansāb*, fol. 1090b). It is today generally accepted that he was martyred in Mūḳān *ca.* 30/650 (al-Hādī, 157). However, al-Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, fol. 1090b) insists that he was not involved in that episode (*wa-lam yaḥdur Mūḳāna*); he mentions a lament which he is said to have composed for the occasion. It is therefore appropriate to place his death at a later date.

Al-Shammākh belonged to a family of poets. His brothers al-Muzarrid and Djazʾ practised the art of the *naẓm*; under the name of the former a *dīwān* has survived in a recension by Ibn al-Sikkīt (publ. Baghdād 1962); as regards Djazʾ, al-Djumaḥī attributes to him a dirge composed after the assassination of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 133; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, i, 453-4). Similarly, the two sons of al-Muzarrid, Ḥasan and Kuthayyir (al-Hādī, 89), and the son of Djazʾ, Djabbār, were poets; the latter composed a lament on the death of al-Shammākh. Our poet owes his cognomen "the Proud", to the superb quality of his poems (Sāmī Makkī al-ʿĀnī, *Muʿdjam alḳāb al-shuʿarāʾ*, Baghdād 1971, 127). Examination of his verses confirms this beyond doubt; first of all, the most eminent transmitters discussed them in their *madjlis*; among those who collected his written poems were Ibn Ḥabīb in the 2nd/8th century (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 116-17) and al-Sukkarī a century later (Yāḳūt, viii, 98; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo n.d., 230). For his part, al-Djumaḥī places him in the third category of the *fuḥūl* alongside al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī and Abū Dhuʾayb (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 123). In more specifically literary terms, numerous critics have expressed admiration for his treatment of poetic themes (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shuʿarāʾ*;

al-Djawālīkī, *Sharḥ adab al-kātib*, 328, 372).

From a thematic point of view, the poetry of al-Shammākh is unconcerned with the tribal aspect; similarly, total silence surrounds his participation in the great conquests of nascent Islam. The poetry of circumstance, the principal concern of pre-Islamic poetry, does not seem to have tempted him unduly. He takes pleasure, on the contrary, in more genuinely artistic composition, in the description of animals, which he pursues to a degree that has seldom been equalled. In the sections relating to camels, whilst comparing his camel to a wild ass, he develops an episode combining description with narration; the wild ass, after a joyous period in which he indulges in amorous frolics, is killed as a result of thirst. He leads his entire herd to the water, where a well-armed hunter waits, accompanied by hunting dogs. Within this context, the poet innovates. According to him, the animal sees himself as endowed with sentiments such as jealousy, the preoccupation of the male responsible for a whole herd and terror in the face of imminent death; the hunter, the dogs and the natural order are presented here in prominent relief (*Dīwān*, i, ii, vi, vii, viii, x, xi, xii, xvi, xviii, *mulḥaḳ*, iv, xxiii, xxiv, xxxiv). In this connection, the *zā'iyya* (*Dīwān*, 173-202) merits special mention; in this poem of 56 verses, the poet relates the episode of the bow. In a broad expanse of 20 verses, he evokes at length the process of its fabrication and the birth of an emotional correspondence between the craftsman and his work; the Bedouin is attached to his creation and refuses to be parted from it. Tempted by a buyer, he sells his bow, but deep regrets beset him. Such human resonances are rarely attested in the poetry of the period. Ancient critics aware of it (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shu'arā'*, 178; al-Shimshāṭī, *al-Anwār wa-maḥāsin al-ash'ār*, Baghdād 1987, 30). Modern scholars speak of it as a masterpiece (Bräu, *Die Bogen-Qasidah von aš-Šammāḫ*, in *WKZM*, xxxi (1926), 174-95; Maḥmūd Shākir, *Ḳaws al-Shammākh* or *al-Ḳaws al-'adhrā'*, in *al-Kitāb*, xi [1952], 151-78; al-Hādī, 195-201; Yaḥyā al-Djubūrī, *al-Furūsiyya fi 'l-shi'r al-djāhilī*, Baghdād 1384, 169, 184-5).

A second aspect of his poetic talent deserves to be stressed. Al-Shammākh seems to have been an excellent composer of *radjaz*; his *Dīwān* contains 9 *urdjūza*s (section on *arādjīz al-dīwān*, 353-422), in some of which he is indebted to Khiyar b. Djaz', Djundub and al-Djulayḥ. The poet submits this poetic form to a new treatment, which recalls that reserved for the *ḳaṣīda*, with an opening *nasīb* based on the memory and the episode of the savage bull (Ullmann, 27).

However, the poetic language of al-Shammākh is discouraging: his language, suffused with archaisms and rare terms was and remains difficult of access (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, iii, 251). As early as the 2nd/8th century, al-Djumaḥī was stressing the stiffness of his style (*kazāza*) and his extremely vigorous language (*shadīd mutūn al-shi'r*), implying that it was complex. It is for this reason that his poetry is considerably more difficult than that of Labīd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 132; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *op. cit.*, 234-5), which is itself extremely complicated. Modern research has been concerned with giving him the status that he deserves; his rehabilitation, instigated by Blachère, seems today to be progressing successfully, and Thomas Bauer considers him one of the best representatives of classical poetry (Bauer, 259, esp. 273).

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, ed. al-Hādī, Cairo 1977; Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, Cairo 1403/1983, index; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1968, i, 281, ii, 251, 277, iii, 68, 73, 80, 93, iv, 34; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ānī*, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ms. Süleymaniyye, fols. 1090a-1091a (very interesting entry with unpublished verses); Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index, esp. 491-4; Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Ṣinā'atayn*, Cairo 1971, index, esp. 134-5, where his art of description is considered a model of the genre; idem, *Dīwān al-ma'ānī*, Cairo 1352, index; Anbārī, *al-Mudhakkar wa 'l-mu'annath*, Beirut 1406/1986, index; Ḳurashī, *Djamharat ash'ār al-'arab*, Damascus 1406/1986, i, 220 (substantial bibliography); Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, 1385/1965, 86, 88, 118-9; Khafādjī, *Rayḥānat al-alibbā*, Cairo 1386/1967, i, 380, ii, 383; al-Muẓaffar al-'Alawī, *Naḍrat al-ighrīḍ*, Damascus 1396/1976, 71, 113, 165, 298; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-udabā'*, Beirut 1993, 238, 538, 856, 1608, 1609, 2483; Ibn Manẓūr, *Nithār al-azhār*, Beirut 1409/1988, 36-7, 55; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvi, Wiesbaden 1402/1982, 177-9; idem, *al-Shu'ūr bi 'l-'ūr*, 'Ammān 1409/1988, 253-4; Nallino, *Littérature*, Paris 1950, 76; Blachère, *HLA*, 271-2; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 239-40; Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Raǧazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 27, 31, 202; T. Bauer, *Altarabische Dichtkunst. Eine Untersuchung ihrer Struktur und Entwicklung am Beispiel der Onagerepisode*, Wiesbaden 1992, i, 225-8, 259, 273, ii, 223-82; M. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Kafrāwī, *Ta'rīkh al-shi'r al-'arabī*, i, *Fī ṣadr al-Islām wa-'aṣr Banī Umayya*, Cairo 1961, 59-63; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Hādī, *al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār al-Dhubyānī ḥayātuhu wa-shi'ruhu*, Cairo 1968 (excellent study in spite of some tedious passages).

(A. ARAZI)

SHAMMĀKHA, Shammākhī, Shammākhiyya, the mediaeval Islamic names for a town in the former region of Shīrwān in eastern Caucasia, from *ca.* the 4th/10th century capital of the local Yazīdī dynasty of Shīrwān Shāhs, by whom it was temporarily re-named Yazīdiyya. For its pre-modern role and then for its post-1917 one, first within the Azerbaijan Republic of the former Soviet Union and now in the independent Republic of Azerbaijan, under its present name of Shemakha, see SHĪRWĀN and SHĪRWĀN SHĀHS. (ED.)

AL-**SHAMMĀKHĪ** AL-**ĪFRANĪ**, the name of two Ibāḍī [see IBĀḌIYYA] scholars and jurisconsults from the Djabal Nafūsa [*q.v.*] in Tripolitania.

1. ABŪ 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. ABĪ 'UTHMĀN SA'ĪD b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid, especially famed as a biographer, died in Djumādā 928/April-May 1522 in one of the villages of the oasis of the Ifren of the Djabal Nafūsa, in Tripolitania. Among his pupils was Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā' b. Ibrāhīm al-Hawwārī.

He was the author of the following works: 1. A commentary on the *'Aḳīda*, a short treatise on theology by Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Djamī' al-Nafūsī; 2. A commentary on his synopsis of the *K. al-'Adl wa 'l-inṣāf* on the sources of law by Abū Ya'ḳūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī; 3. *K. al-Siyar*, a biographical collection, spiced with anecdotes and a few historical events, of the principal Ibāḍī personages. A few extracts translated into French have been published by E. Masqueray in his *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1879, 325 ff.; the Arabic text was lithographed at Cairo in 1301/1884.

Bibliography: A.C. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bull. de Correspond. afric.* (1885), i. ii, 47-70; idem, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1899, 90, n. 1; Shammākhī, *K. al-Siyar*, 562; Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Yūsuf Aṭfiyash al-Djazā'irī, *al-Di'āya ilā sabīl al-mu'minīn*, Cairo 1342/1923, 28, n. 1; T. Lewicki, *Une chronique Ibāḍite "Kitāb as-Sijar" d'Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad aš-Šammāḫī, avec quelques remarques sur l'origine et l'histoire de la famille des Šammāḫīs*, in *REI*, viii (1934),

59-78; Brockelmann; II², 312, S II, 339; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², i, 126.

2. Abū Sākin ʿĀmir b. ʿAlī b. ʿĀmir b. Isfāw, d. at an advanced age in 792/1390 in one of the villages of the Ifren in the Djabal Nafūsa.

After studying with Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā b. ʿĪsā al-Shammākhī, he attached himself to Abū ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā. On the conclusion of his studies he settled at Metiwen, where he devoted himself to teaching for thirteen years. He then settled in the oasis of Ifren in 756/1355. His pupils were his son Abū ʿImrān Mūsā, his grandson Sulaymān, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Barrādī, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Miṣbāḥ, etc.

He composed the following works: 1. a *Dīwān*, which remained unfinished, in four great volumes but which has become the fundamental lawbook of the people of the Djabal Nafūsa; 2. *al-ʿAḳīda*, a theological treatise dedicated to Nūḥ b. Ḥāzim; 3. *al-Ḳaṣīda fi ʾl-azmina*.

Bibliography: Shammākhī, *K. al-Siyar*, 559; Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, i-ii, 45; Brockelmann, S II, 349. (Moh. Ben Cheneb)

SHAMMAR, a nomadic tribal confederation currently found in Saudi Arabia, Syria and ʿIrāḳ. Their oral tradition states that they are Yemenis of Ḳaḥṭānī origin. Their myth of descent links their ancestry to Shimmar Ibn al-ʿAmluḳ, a Yemeni king of ancient times. The date of their migration northward is not clear. Neither historical sources nor their oral tradition provides accurate documentation concerning their migration to Djabal Shammar, previously known as Djabalā Ṭayyiʾ. Their oral narratives claim that they established themselves in Djabal Shammar in the 16th century after pushing away a local leader by the name of Bahidj.

While the majority of the tribe remained in Djabal Shammar, some sections migrated to the area between the Tigris and Euphrates in the 18th century in search of pasture and under pressure from local tribes such as the ʿAnaza and the Suʿūdī dynasty. These sections are referred to as northern Shammar or Shammar of Mesopotamia. They consist of a number of tribal lineages the most known of which are the Djarba, Tokah and Zakarit. In Mesopotamia, the Shammar combined pastoral nomadism with agriculture. Some became Shīʿī under the influence of the Shīʿī communities of the region, especially in ʿIrāḳ. The tribe developed a history distinct from their brothers in the south.

Those who remained in Djabal Shammar are known as southern Shammar. This group attracted the attention of a number of 19th-century European travellers among whom are Wallin, Doughty, Blunt, and Guarmani. In the 20th century, the accounts of Musil and Montagne are prominent. One of the reasons behind their preoccupation with the Shammar stemmed from the fact that this nomadic tribe was at the height of its power, as it succeeded in establishing a centralised authority over most of central Arabia.

Estimates of their number vary in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The *Handbook of Arabia* gives a figure of 4,000 tents and a total of 150,000-200,000 individuals. This excludes those who were settled in the oases of Djabal Shammar, Ḥāʾil, Muḳaḳ, Sabʿan, Mustadjida, Ghazala and Rawḍa, estimated by Montagne at 20,000 individuals.

The southern Shammar are divided into four tribal sections; ʿAbda, Sindjāra, Aslam and Tūmān. In the 19th century, the ʿAbda assumed leadership of the whole tribe. Unlike other nomadic tribes in the area, the Shammar combined their nomadism with control over an oasis settlement, Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*]. From there, their chiefs, the Āl Rashīd [*q.v.*], expanded into al-Ḳasīm and southern Nadjd. Musil claimed that Rashīdī expansion reached the borders of Aleppo, Damascus, Baṣra, ʿUmān and ʿAsīr by the end of the last century. However, their power base remained strongest in Djabal Shammar and the Great Nafūd, the core of their tribal *dīra*.

The Shammar dynasty developed a complex political organisation. The Rashīdī *amīrs*, resident in Ḥāʾil, co-existed with the Shammar *shaykhs* who were drawn from the chiefly families of the tribal sections. The latter participated in the *amīrs*' raids in return for a share of the booty. They attended the *madjlis* in Ḥāʾil where they regularly received gifts and subsidies from the Rashīdī *amīrs*. These subsidies, together with a network of marriages with the oasis *amīrs* ensured interdependence and loyalty at least until the beginning of the 20th century.

The Shammar dynasty rested on a multi-resource economy. The Shammar pastoral economy was supplemented by control over trade and pilgrimage caravans. Their tribal territory included important trade routes which linked Mesopotamia and the Gulf ports to the holy cities of the Ḥidjāz. Wahhābī fanaticism in the 18th and 19th centuries led to the diversion of trade routes in favour of Ḥāʾil, which was then outside their control. Trading and pilgrim caravans were usually accompanied by a caravan leader and a group of armed men who were responsible for its security, and this leader was appointed by the Ḥāʾil *amīr* who expected him to levy a toll from the caravan after keeping a sum for himself. In return for this toll, the Ḥāʾil *amīrs* guaranteed the safety of merchants and pilgrims, especially Shīʿīs from Persia and ʿIrāḳ, regarded as heretics by the Wahhābī Suʿūdī dynasty in southern Nadjd. Taxes levied from these sources ensured a surplus in the hands of the *amīrs*, and Ḥāʾil developed into an important transit station where traders, craftsmen and agriculturalists coexisted and flourished.

Its prosperity was maintained as a result of an extended period of peace and security. The *amīrs* were able to raise a "police force", drawn from among their slaves and the sedentary population, mainly the Banū Tamīm of Ḥāʾil, in charge of keeping order in the oasis. Also an army consisting of a mixture of tribal people, mercenaries, sedentary groups and, above all, slaves was often sent to distant areas to pacify any rebellious Bedouin and enforce Rashīdī hegemony in other oases and towns.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Rashīdī expansion led to the collapse of Suʿūdī domination in al-Riyāḍ, and for a brief period the Rashīdīs under the banner of Muḥammad Ibn Rashīd became the undisputed rulers of central Arabia. The Ottoman empire recognised them there and maintained good relations with them through the *wālī* of Baṣra. They supplied the *amīrs* with irregular subsidies and weapons to cement a fragile alliance which cost the Shammar nothing but a vague recognition of nominal Ottoman suzerainty, manifested in the mentioning of the sultan's name during the Friday prayers in Ḥāʾil. This alliance eventually led to the collapse of their dynasty with the defeat of the Ottoman empire in the First World War.

Rashīdī supremacy in Arabia began to be eroded with the return of Ibn Suʿūd from his exile in Kuwayt in 1902 to recapture his ancestral capital from the Rashīdīs. Having secured the support of Britain during the First World War, he drove them out of Ḥāʾil in

1921, thus putting an end to their leadership and role in Arabian politics. The Rashīdī ruling group was taken hostage to his capital, al-Riyāḍ, where some members of the family are still resident. Ibn Suʿūd confiscated their belongings and prohibited them from returning to their land, and through a series of marriages with Rashīdī and Shammarī women, incorporated them into his wide network of affinities.

After a series of fierce battles, some Shammar sections refused to become subjects of Ibn Suʿūd, but fled to Mesopotamia to join their tribal brothers in the north at a time when Britain was establishing a protectorate in ʿIrāḳ. The latter, being on good terms with Ibn Suʿūd, guaranteed that the Shammar remained there without being able to launch a counter-attack on him. However, the majority of the Shammar were pacified and reluctantly accepted the loss of their supremacy in Arabia, with some of them adopting Wahhābism and accepting settlement among the *hidjar* [*q.v.*] of the *Ikhwān*.

With the establishment of the Suʿūdī state, the Shammar lost their tribal autonomy and, above all, their exclusive rights to pasture and water in their traditional tribal *dīra*. In 1925, Ibn Suʿūd abolished tribal territories, which became the property of the state. Later, in 1968, the Land Redistribution Act allocated special areas to particular tribes and shaykhly lineages within each tribe. These measures widened economic differentiation within groups and altered the nature of available resources. Forced sedentarisation was imposed on the Shammar, with the aim of confining them to special areas where they could be closely controlled and, above all, their independence and *ʿaṣabiyya* eroded. The history of enmity between the Shammar and the Suʿūdīs precludes the former from taking advantage of the new economic opportunities created by the state, such as employment in the National Guard, a para-military organisation consisting mainly of tribal peoples, and endowed with the function of protecting the Suʿūdī royal family.

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(M. Al-Rasheed)

SHAMS (a.), the sun (f.).

1. In Pre-Islamic Arab lore.

This was a divinity worshipped in the Semitic world, especially in Assyria-Babylonia (cf. its attributes in K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Helsinki 1938, 453 ff.) and in South Arabia, where the plurals *shums* (for *shumūs*) given by Yāḳūt (ed. Beirut, iii, 362) for this *ṣanam* or idol, *ʾshms* and the dual *shmsy* (G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sudsémitiques*, Louvain 1934-5, i, 33; A. Jamme, *Le panthéon sud-arabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques*, in *Muséon*, lx [1947], 101 ff.) denote the titulary divinities of a certain individual or ethnic group or clan or territory. For Yāḳūt, it was "an idol of the Banū Tamīm; it had a sanctuary and was worshipped by all the sections of the Banū Udd (sc. the grandfather of Tamīm), sc. Ḍabba, Taym, ʿAdī, Thawr and ʿUkl. Its custodians (*sādins* [*q.v.*]) were the Banū Aws b. Mukhāshin ... It was destroyed by Hind b. Abī Hāla and Sufyān b. Usayyid ...".

But this idol is not mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī's *Book of Idols*, although the *TʿA*, citing the *Ḳāmūs*, states the contrary, saying "It was an ancient idol mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī". It is very likely that this deity did not belong in the pantheon of Central Arabia and that mention of it, rare in the sources, is just a contamination from its cult by the South Arabs. This seems especially likely in that the theophoric name ʿAbd Shams, only known in a section of Ḳuraysh (*TʿA*, iv, 172 ll. 32-3), is found in the Tamīm in the syncopated form ʿAbshams (*ibid.*, 173 l. 1), which is attested in Sabaean (Ryckmans, *op. cit.*, i, 241). The same applies to the theophoric name ʿAbd al-Shāriḳ, known amongst the Djuhayna, which Arab authors render by ʿAbd al-Shams, giving to al-Shāriḳ, recognised as the name of an idol, the sense of *ḳarn al-shams* "the rising sun" (al-Tibrīzī, in *Ḥamāsa*, 218; Ibn Durayd, cited in *TʿA*, vi, 392 ll. 26 ff.).

Moreover, the Ḳurʾān attributes the cult of the Sun to Sabaʾ (XXVII, 24), whilst it attributes the cult of Venus, the Moon and the Sun to Mesopotamia, the homeland of Abraham (VI, 74, cf. XXXVII, 86). The exhortation, only found occasionally (XLVII, 37), not to worship the Sun and Moon, two signs created by God, is certainly an allusion to these two instances. "For nowhere in Ḳurʾānic polemics is there any emphasis on the stellar cult" (Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 151).

Theophoric names including the element Shams are numerous amongst the Greek inscriptions of the Ḥawrān (see D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Ḥaurān à l'époque romaine*, Paris 1952, 53 ff.), showing that the Arabs who had migrated northwards had come under the Hellenistic cult of Helios, which Strabo makes the main deity of the Nabataeans (see his *Geographica*, ed. C. Müller, 784; Wellhausen, *Reste*², 60-1; Sourdel, *op. cit.*, 53 n. 1).

For the interpretation of the term al-Ilāha "the goddess" (applied in certain sources to the Sun), mentioned in an elegy pronounced by Āmina bt. ʿUtayba *ca.* A.D. 621 on her father fallen in battle at the Yawm Khaww, between the Banū Asad and the Yarbūʿ (*TʿA*, ix, 375), cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 152-3.

Bibliography: This article is essentially based on Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 150-3. (T. Fahd)

2. In astronomy.

In the Aristotelian view accepted by most Muslim astronomers, the sun was a ball-shaped solid body (according to early doctrines made of fire), which moved around the earth in the solar sphere. This sphere was made of crystalline or ether and occupied a central position between the spheres of Venus and Mars [see falak].

In the geocentric representation of the heavens, which the Muslim astronomers adopted from Ptolemy [see baṭlamiyūs], the earth is assumed to be fixed in the centre of the universe. The sun moves on the ecliptic in the direction of the zodiacal signs, i.e. from west to east, and its longitude is measured from the vernal point [see minṭaḳat al-burūdj]. The period of return of the sun to the vernal point is the tropical year; the period of return to a fixed star, the sidereal year. The precession of the equinoxes is the difference between the tropical and the sidereal solar motion.

In order to predict the solar position on the ecliptic, most Muslim astronomers used the Ptolemaic eccentre model or the equivalent simple epicycle model. These models were adopted by Ptolemy from his predecessor Hipparchus (Rhodes, 2nd century B.C.) and were based on the observed differences in length between the seasons.

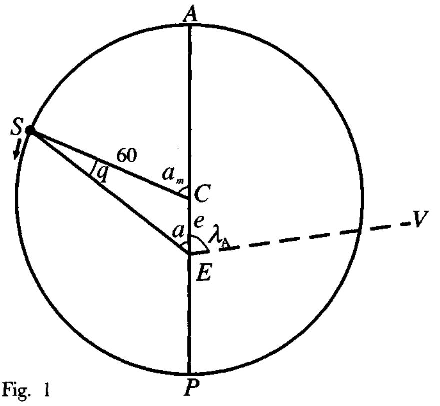

Fig. 1

In the eccentre model (see Fig. 1) the sun S moves at a constant speed on the circle ASP, whose radius is taken equal to 60. The centre C of this circle is removed from the earth E by a distance e, the solar eccentricity (*mā bayn al-markazayn*). The sun reaches its largest distance from the earth at the apogee A (*awdj*), its smallest distance at the perigee P (*ḥaḍīḍ*). The vernal point is indicated by V; the longitude of the apogee, angle VEA, by λ_A.

Since the sun moves uniformly on the eccentric circle, the mean solar anomaly a_m (*khāṣṣat al-shams*), angle ACS, increases linearly as a function of time. In order to determine the non-linear true solar anomaly a, the angle AES between the apogee and the sun as seen from the earth, a correction q, called the solar equation (*taʿdīl al-shams*), must be subtracted from or added to the mean solar anomaly. This correction, equal to angle ESC in Fig. 1, can be calculated as a function of the true anomaly by applying the sine rule to the triangle ESC. In this way we obtain

$$q(a) = \arcsin\left(\frac{e}{60}\sin a\right).$$

In order to determine the solar equation as a function of the mean solar anomaly a_m, we can extend triangle ESC to a right-angled triangle ESX, in which $\angle SXE = 90°$ and hence $EX = e \,.\, \sin a_m$ and $CX = e \,.\, \cos a_m$. From this we find

$$q(a_m) = \arcsin\left(\frac{e \,.\, \sin a_m}{\sqrt{(e.\sin a_m)^2 + (60 + e.\cos a_m)^2}}\right)$$

or the equivalent

$$q(a_m) = \arctan\left(\frac{e \,.\, \sin a_m}{60 + e \,.\, \cos a_m}\right).$$

Using these modern formulae we have $a = a_m - q$ for every value of the mean or true solar anomaly. The true solar longitude λ (*mawḍiʿ al-shams*), angle VES, can be obtained by adding the longitude of the apogee to the true anomaly: $\lambda = a + \lambda_A$. Instead of the mean solar anomaly, ancient and mediaeval astronomers usually based their calculations on another linear function of time, namely the mean solar longitude λ_m (*wasaṭ al-shams*), defined by $\lambda_m = a_m + \lambda_A$. Using the formulae for the solar equation given above (with a replaced by $\lambda - \lambda_A$ and a_m by $\lambda_m - \lambda_A$), we have $\lambda = \lambda_m - q$ for all values of λ and λ_m.

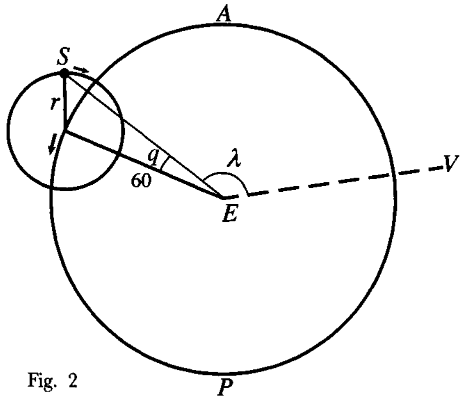

Fig. 2

In the simple epicycle model (see Fig. 2) the sun S moves clockwise on a small circle, called the epicycle (*falak al-tadwīr*), whose radius r is equal to the eccentricity e of the eccentre model. The centre of the epicycle rotates in the direction of the zodiacal signs on a circle around the earth with radius 60, the deferent (*al-falak al-ḥāmil*). If the angular velocities of the sun and the epicycle centre are equal to the angular velocity of the sun in the eccentre model, the two models are equivalent. In that case the sun reaches its largest distance from the earth whenever the epicycle centre passes through A, its smallest distance whenever the epicycle centre passes through P. (For more information about the Ptolemaic solar model, see O. Pedersen, *A survey of the Almagest*, Odense 1974, ch. 5.)

In early Islamic astronomical sources we find non-Ptolemaic planetary equations based on Persian and Indian methods (for the transmission of Persian and Indian astronomy to the Islamic world, see ʿILM AL-HAYʾA). For instance, al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*] calculated the solar equation according to the so-called "method of declinations":

$$q(\lambda_m) = q_{max} \,.\, \frac{\delta(\lambda_m)}{\varepsilon},$$

where q_{max} denotes the maximum solar equation ($q_{max} = \arcsin(e/60)$), δ the solar declination [see MAYL], and ε the obliquity of the ecliptic [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ]. A treatise by al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] describing the method of declinations and many other methods of calculating the solar equation was discussed in E.S. Kennedy and A. Muruwwa, *Bīrūnī on the solar equation*, in *JNES*, xvii (1958), 112-21*.

The Muslim astronomers significantly improved upon the solar parameter values used by both Hipparchus and Ptolemy. The values of the length of the solar year, the solar eccentricity, and the position and motion of the solar apogee were repeatedly updated on the basis of fresh observations [see MARṢAD]. The length of the solar year was generally determined from solar observations at equinoxes or solstices made over periods of many centuries. For this purpose, Muslim astronomers combined the data of Ptolemy

and Hipparchus with their own results. As early as the 3rd/9th century Muslim astronomers improved the method of determining the eccentricity and the longitude of the apogee from the lengths of the seasons by measuring the periods between the midpoints of the seasons (*fuṣūl*).

The motion of the solar apogee, approximately 1° per 70 years in the direction of the zodiacal signs, had not been recognised by Ptolemy. Many Muslim astronomers made it equal to the precession of the equinoxes. The 5th/11th-century Andalusian astronomer al-Zarkālī [*q.v.*] was the first to discover that the two motions are different; he estimated the sidereal motion of the solar apogee to be 1° per 279 Julian years in the direction of the signs (12″54‴ per year; the modern value is 11″46‴) (see G.J. Toomer, *The solar theory of az-Zarqāl*, in *Centaurus*, xiv [1969], 306-36).

Extensive accounts of solar observations can be found, in particular, in al-Bīrūnī's work (see *al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, Ḥaydarābād 1954-6, ii, 636 ff., and J. Ali, *The determination of the coordinates of cities*, Beirut 1967). Parameter values used by Hipparchus/Ptolemy and the authors of various important Islamic astronomical handbooks [see ZĪDJ] are presented in Table 1.

In order to perform practical computations of the solar longitude in a convenient way, practically all *zīdj*s contained the following tables:

- A table for the mean solar motion (*djadwal wasaṭ al-shams*), which gave the mean motion in various periods depending on the calendar used [see TA'RĪKH]: groups of years (*al-sinūn al-madjmū'a*), single years (*al-sinūn al-mabsūṭa*), months, days, and hours. By adding the mean motion to the given mean solar longitude at a certain fixed point in time, the epoch, the mean longitude λ_m at any time could be calculated.
- A similar table for the determination of the longitude of the solar apogee λ_A. This table was usually headed *ḥarakat al-awdj*, or also *ḥarakat al-kawākib al-thābita* (cf. above). The mean anomaly a_m was found by subtracting λ_A from λ_m.
- A table for the solar equation (*ta'dīl al-shams*) as a function of the mean anomaly. Since no negative numbers were used, the values in the solar equation table had to be subtracted from the mean solar longitude in order to obtain the true solar longitude if the anomaly was smaller than 180°; otherwise, they had to be added.

In various Islamic astronomical handbooks the calculation of the solar position using the tables listed above was replaced by tables giving the true solar longitude directly as a function of the date [see TAḲWĪM]. Some of these ephemerides could be used only during one particular year, others included yearly corrections which made them suitable for long-term use. Examples can be found in the almanac of al-Zarkālī (see J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Estudios sobre Azarquiel*, Madrid/Granada 1943-50, 158-65); in a treatise on astronomical instruments by al-Marrākushī [*q.v.*]; (see J.J. Sédillot, *Traité des instruments astronomiques des arabes*, Paris 1834 (reprint Frankfurt 1984), 134-7); and in an 8th/14th-century Damascene corpus of tables for time-keeping by al-Khalīlī (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale ms. arabe 2558, fols. 8^v-9^r).

Only incidental attempts were made by Muslim astronomers to improve or modify the Ptolemaic solar model. Some of these attempts aimed at an explanation of the striking variation in the solar parameters during the centuries, others at a better correspondence with cosmological principles. In the model of al-Zarkālī the centre of the eccentric solar orbit moved slowly on a small circle around the average eccentre. As a result the eccentricity varied between 1;51 and Ptolemy's 2;29,30 (expressed sexagesimally; see 'ILM AL-ḤISĀB). Al-Zarkālī ignored the variation of the longitude of the solar apogee also induced by his modification (see Toomer's article referred to above and J. Samsó and E. Millás, *Ibn al-Bannā', Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn al-Zarqālluh's solar theory*, in Samsó, *Islamic astronomy in medieval Spain*, Aldershot 1994).

In the 6th/12th century various Andalusian

Name	Place	Year	Maximum equation	Longitude of the apogee	Daily motion of the apogee	length of the solar year
Ptolemy	Alexandria	140 A.D.	2;23	65;30	–*	365;14,48
Yaḥyā	Baghdad	214/829	1;59, 0	82;39	9;26,50	365;14,27,12
al-Khʷārazmī	Baghdad	c. 215/830	2;14	77;55≠	–	365;15,30,23≠
al-Battānī	Raqqa	266/880	1;59,10	82;15	8;57,37[1]	365;14,26
Ibn Yūnus	Cairo	393/1003	2; 0,30	86;10	8;25;26[2]	365;14,32,28
al-Bīrūnī	Ghazna	422/1031	1;59, 3	85;10,19	8;34,31	365;14,26,28
al-Zarkālī	Toledo	467/1075	1;52, 4[3]	85;49	2; 7,11*≠[4]	365;15,23,29≠
al-Khāzinī	Marv	514/1120	2;12,23	85;52	8;57,39	365;14,27,21
al-Ṭūsī	Maragha	660/1262	2; 0,30	88;50,34	8;27,14[5]	365;14,32,28
Ibn al-Shāṭir	Damascus	750/1349	2; 2, 6	90;10,10	9;51,47*[6]	365;14,32,31
al-Kāshī	Samarkand	814/1411	2; 0,29	90;59, 9	8;27,14[5]	365;14,32,28
Ulugh Beg	Samarkand	851/1447	1;55,23	90;30, 5	8;27,14[5]	365;14,33, 8

Table 1: Value of the maximum solar equation (in degrees), the longitude of the solar apogee (in degrees), the daily motion of the apogee (in sexagesimal thirds), and the length of the tropical year (in days), as used by Ptolemy and Muslim astronomers in their tables for the solar motion. All values are given in sexagesimal notation.

* Different from the precession of the equinoxes.

≠ Sidereal.

1 Close to 1° in 66 Byzantine years.

2 Equal to 1° in 70¼ Persian years.

3 Al-Zarkālī's maximum equation fluctuates between 1° 46' and 2° 23' with a period of 3343 Julian years.

4 Equal to 1° in 279 Julian years.

5 Equal to 1° in 70 Persian years.

6 Close to 1° in 60 Persian years.

astronomers tried to make the Ptolemaic planetary models conform more closely to the Aristotelian physical principles. In the solar model of al-Biṭrūdjī [*q.v.*], the pole of the solar orbit moved on a small circle around the pole of the equator. Its motion was uniform with respect to a point slightly removed from that pole, thus accounting for the different lengths of the seasons in a way similar to the Ptolemaic eccentre model (see B.R. Goldstein, *Al-Biṭrūjī: On the principles of astronomy*, New Haven 1971).

In his popular *Tadhkira fī ʿilm al-hayʾa*, the 7th/13th-century Persian astronomer Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] attempted to give a physically more realistic representation of the Ptolemaic planetary models and to find solutions for the purported "difficulties" (*ishkālāt*) with these models: non-uniform motion and incomplete rotation. Thus he made his models mathematically equivalent to those of Ptolemy, but used solid spheres bounded by two parallel spherical surfaces instead of circles (see F.J. Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's memoir on astronomy*, New York 1993, esp. i, 46-53, 144-9).

The 8th/14th-century Damascene astronomer Ibn al-Shāṭir [*q.v.*] made some of the most elaborate modifications to Ptolemy's models. He made the sun rotate on an epicycle, whose centre rotated on a larger epicycle moving uniformly around the earth (see V. Roberts, *The solar and lunar theory of Ibn ash-Shāṭir. A pre-Copernican Copernical model*, in *Isis*, xlviii [1957], 428-32).

The sun played a crucial role in many types of observations and astronomical calculations. In particular, the time of the day and the divisions of the (solar) year were defined on the basis of the solar motion. Although the Islamic religious calendar is a lunar one, solar calendars were used intensively for agricultural and administrative purposes [see TAʾRĪKH]. In folk astronomy, simple arithmetical schemes for the length of the shadow cast by a man were used to determine the approximate time of the day and the prayer times (see D.A. King, *A survey of medieval Islamic shadow schemes for simple time-reckoning*, in *Oriens*, xxxii [1990], 191-249); sunrise and sunset at the equinoxes and solstices were used to establish the direction of Mecca [see MAKKA. 4. and MAṬLAʿ]. In mathematical astronomy, extensive tables of spherical astronomical functions were used to determine the time of the day from the solar altitude and to design sophisticated sundials [see MĪKĀT. 2. and MIZWALA].

The equation of time (*taʿdīl al-ayyām bi-layālīhā* or *taʿdīl al-zamān*), a correction required to convert the time found from observations of the sun into mean time, was explained and tabulated in most Islamic astronomical handbooks (see ZAMĀN and E.S. Kennedy, *Two medieval approaches to the equation of time*, in *Centaurus*, xxxi [1988], 1-8). Likewise, we find extensive tables for the prediction for solar and lunar eclipses [see KUSŪF]. In connection with such predictions, Muslim astronomers used Ptolemy's method to find the angular diameter of the sun and the solar distance from the earth from observations of eclipses. Like Ptolemy, they found a solar distance around 1,000 earth radii, more than ten times too small (see N.M. Swerdlow, *Al-Battānī's determination of the solar distance*, in *Centaurus*, xvii [1973], 97-105). Finally, the solar position on the ecliptic was required to predict the first visibility of the lunar crescent after new moon [see RUʾYAT AL-HILĀL].

In astrology [see NUDJŪM (AḤKĀM AL-)], the sun had a large influence on the well-being of humans, animals, political affairs, etc. The characteristics attached to the sun were listed by al-Bīrūnī (see R.R. Wright, *The book of instruction in the elements of the art of astrology*, London 1934, 240-54). The sun was assumed to change the characteristics of the moon and the planets if these were within certain small distances from the sun (*ibid.*, 296-302). The astrological lots [see SAHM] were calculated using the solar position on the ecliptic (*ibid.*, 279-95). Certain astrological periods were defined in terms of the solar year (see D. Pingree, *The Thousands of Abū Maʿshar*, London 1968, 59-64).

Bibliography: Entries with an asterisk were reprinted in E.S. Kennedy *et alii*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983. For all astronomers mentioned, see also the respective articles in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 14 vols. plus 2 suppl. vols., New York 1970-80.

On the solar models used by Muslim astronomers, see also O. Neugebauer, *Thābit ben Qurra* On the solar year *and* On the motion of the eighth sphere, in *Procs. of the American Philosophical Society*, cvi (1962), 264-99; B.R. Goldstein, *On the theory of trepidation*, in *Centaurus*, x (1964), 232-47; K.P. Moesgaard, *Thābit ibn Qurra between Ptolemy and Copernicus*, in *Archive for the History of the Exact Sciences*, xii (1974), 199-216; J. Samsó, *A homocentric solar model by Abū Jaʿfar al-Khāzin*, in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* (= *JHAS*), i (1977), 268-75; and W. Hartner, *Ptolemy and Ibn Yūnus on solar parallax*, in *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, xxx (1980), 5-26.

On the determination of the solar parameters, see W. Hartner and M. Schramm, *al-Bīrūnī and the theory of the solar apogee*, in A.C. Crombie (ed.), *Scientific change*, London 1961, 206-18; V.M. Petersen and O. Schmidt, *The determination of the longitude of the apogee of the orbit of the sun according to Hipparchus and Ptolemy*, in *Centaurus*, xii (1968), 73-96; G.A. Saliba, *Solar observations at the Maraghah observatory before 1275: a new set of parameters*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, xvi (1985), 113-22; idem, *The determination of the solar eccentricity and apogee according to Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī*, in *ZGAIW*, ii (1985), 47-67 (both repr. in Saliba, *A history of Arabic astronomy*, New York 1994).

On the calculation of the solar equation and on tables for the calculation of the solar position, see H. Salam and E.S. Kennedy, *Solar and lunar tables in early Islamic astronomy*, in *JAOS*, lxxxvii (1967), 492-97*; Kennedy, *A set of medieval tables for quick calculation of solar and lunar ephemerides*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1967), 327-34*; idem, *The solar equation in the Zīj of Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr*, in Y. Maeyama and W.G. Saltzer (eds.), *Prismata*, Wiesbaden 1977, 183-6*; G.A. Saliba, *Computational techniques in a set of late medieval astronomical tables*, in *JHAS*, i (1977), 24-32; D.A. King and Kennedy, *Ibn al-Majdī's tables for calculating ephemerides*, in *JHAS*, iv (1980), 48-68 (repr. in King, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*, London 1986); J. Samsó, *Al-Zarqāl, Alfonso X and Peter of Aragon on the solar equation*, in King and Saliba (eds.), *From deferent to equant*, New York 1987, 467-82; B. van Dalen, *A table for the true solar longitude in the Jāmiʿ Zīj*, in A. von Gotstedter (ed.), *Ad Radices*, Stuttgart 1994, 171-90.

On the sun in folk astronomy, see also Ch. Pellat, *Le calendrier de Cordoue*, Leiden 1961, and D.M. Varisco, *Medieval agriculture and Islamic science*, Seattle 1994. (B. VAN DALEN)

3. In art.

In the first centuries of Islam, the sun was mainly depicted in symbolic forms such as the sun wheel, spiral whorl, swastika, rosette and five- or six-point star. The tentative interpretation of these motifs as

solar symbols is based on their traditional meaning in the ancient Near East. At this early stage, the most important were the stylised floral devices called *s̲h̲amsa* in Ḳurʾān illumination, which marked the head of a sūra and the fifth or tenth *āya*. These decorative forms developed from "tree of life" motifs, which in antiquity were closely associated with sun gods and which reached Islam in Sāsānid and Coptic textiles.

Beginning in the 12th century A.D., however, the interest of Turkish dynasties in astrological prognostication introduced astral iconography into architecture, metalwork, ceramics and book illustrations. The sun was depicted as a disk surrounded by rays, often with a human face in the centre, or as an enthroned and haloed ruler. Surrounded by an inner circle of the six planets and an outer circle of the twelve zodiac signs, the sun represents the centre of heavenly motion. Alternatively, as one of the revolving planets, it appears mounted on the back of Leo, the sign of its house, or occasionally on Aries, the sign of its exaltation. From 6th/12th-century stone reliefs of a bridge in D̲j̲azīrat Ibn ʿUmar, the sun-lion combination persisted in innumerable examples of minor arts and paintings up to the S̲h̲īr-Dūr (1020/1611) *madrasa* in Samarḳand and to the flag of Pahlavi Iran.

As a royal symbol, the sun appears adjoining the sultan's name in 7th/13th Sald̲j̲ūḳid coins from Anatolia. It is depicted alone, with a lion, or between two lions. In the same spirit, royal shields of many periods were fashioned with a sun or some solar symbol in the centre, occasionally with the zodiacal signs around, as in a shield of the Mug̲h̲al sultan Akbar. The sun formed a part of a halo in portraits of the Mug̲h̲als and was depicted in the centre of their royal canopies. On the yearly pilgrimage to Mecca, other dynasties sent palanquins (*maḥmal* [*q.v.*]) decorated with solar designs that symbolised their political status. A similar princely iconography underlies the composition of many metal vessels, on which an enthroned ruler replaces the sun in its cosmic setting. In other examples, mainly Mamlūk, only the ruler's name remains, with the long letters forming a rayed disk. In architecture, the artistic evolution resulted in the unusual dome of the congregational mosque of Malatya. In the interior of this dome, a whorl of bricks creates, in the summit, a hexagram made up of the name Muḥammad. This solar symbol denotes a divine context rather than a princely one, the Muslim version of a cosmic dome, which in Christian monuments would have the Pantocrator in the summit.

In religious painting, especially during the 10th/16th century, the sun is sometimes shown reflected in a mirror or in a pool of water, symbolising the reflection of the Divine Light in the heart of the perfect Man—a prophet or a mystic lover. In other paintings, mostly profane, the sun in the upper corner serves mainly as an involved witness to dramatic events. In most instances, however, the image of the sun is confined to cosmological or astrological texts. In its astrological role it figures also in daily objects of talismanic or prophylactic nature, such as amulets, divination bowls, magical shirts and all sorts of jewelry.

Bibliography: W. Hartner, *The pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit in Hindu and Islamic iconography*, in *AI*, v (1938), 113-54; E. Baer, *The ruler in cosmic setting: a note on medieval Islamic iconography*, in *Essays in Islamic art and architecture in honor of K. Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari, Malibu 1981, 13-19; J.W. Allan, *Islamic metalwork. The Nuhad Es-Said Collection*, London 1982; R. Milstein, *Light, fire and the sun in Islamic painting*, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon, Jerusalem-Leiden 1986, 533-52; A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *The Iranian sun shield*, in *BAI*, vi (1992), 1-42.

(RACHEL MILSTEIN)

S̲H̲AMS AL-DAWLA, ABŪ ṬĀHIR b. Fak̲h̲r al-Dawla Ḥasan, Būyid prince and ruler in Hamad̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] 387-412/997-1021. After the death of Fak̲h̲r al-Dawla [*q.v.*], the *amīrs* proclaimed as his successor in Rayy his four-year-old son Mad̲j̲d al-Dawla [*q.v.*] under the guardianship of his mother Sayyida and gave the governorship of Hamad̲h̲ān and Kirmāns̲h̲āhān to S̲h̲ams al-Dawla, who was also a minor. When Mad̲j̲d al-Dawla grew up, he sought to overthrow his mother and with this object made an arrangement with the vizier al-K̲h̲aṭīr Abū ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḳāsim in 397/1006-7. But when they sought assistance from the Kurdish chief Badr b. Ḥasanawayh, the latter set out for Rayy with S̲h̲ams al-Dawla and took Mad̲j̲d al-Dawla prisoner. The government was then given to S̲h̲ams al-Dawla, and a coin of his, minted at Rayy in 397/1006-7, is extant (G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 180). But as he was not so pliant as Mad̲j̲d al-Dawla, the latter was released from his prison after a year and again proclaimed ruler, while S̲h̲ams al-Dawla returned to Hamad̲h̲ān. After Badr had been murdered by the soldiers in 405/1014-15, S̲h̲ams al-Dawla seized a portion of his territory and when the grandson of the dead man, Ṭāhir b. Hilāl b. Badr, wished to dispute the possession of it, he was defeated and thrown into prison. His father Hilāl b. Badr had already been imprisoned by Sulṭān al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; but the latter released him and sent him with an army to regain the lands occupied by S̲h̲ams al-Dawla. In D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 405/April-May 1015, he came upon the enemy but the battle resulted in Hilāl's defeat and death. After this victory, S̲h̲ams al-Dawla seized the town of Rayy; Mad̲j̲d al-Dawla and his mother took to flight, but when S̲h̲ams al-Dawla wished to pursue them, his troops mutinied and forced him to return to Hamad̲h̲ān, whereupon Mad̲j̲d al-Dawla and his mother returned to Rayy. In 411/1020-1, the Turkish troops rose in Hamad̲h̲ān; S̲h̲ams al-Dawla appealed to Abū D̲j̲aʿfar b. Kākawayh, governor of Iṣfahān, and with his help succeeded in driving the mutinous element out of the town. In 412/1021-2, S̲h̲ams al-Dawla died and was succeeded by his son Samāʾ al-Dawla, but within two years (414/1023-4), Hamad̲h̲ān fell into the hands of the Kākūyids [*q.v.*].

One of S̲h̲ams al-Dawla's claims to fame is his connection with the great physician and philosopher Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*], who treated the Amīr medically at Hamad̲h̲ān in *ca.* 406/1015-16 and then became his vizier until S̲h̲ams al-Dawla's death, when he transferred to the service of the Kākūyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla in Iṣfahān.

Bibliography: Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 93, 144, 173-5, 182, 208, 226; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 466, 469-73; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i, 429, 431; Wilken, *Gesch. d. Sultane aus d. Geschl. Bujeh nach Mirchond*, ch. xii; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii, 53, 57; J.G. Covernton, in *NC* (1909), 220-40; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 213.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN*)

S̲H̲AMS AL-DĪN [see AL-DIMAS̲H̲ḲĪ; D̲J̲UWAYNĪ; ILDEÑIZ; AL-ṢAYDĀWĪ; S̲H̲AMS-I TABRĪZ(Ī)].

S̲H̲AMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, the first post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *imām*. Born in the late 640s/1240s, he was the sole surviving son of Rukn al-Dīn K̲h̲urs̲h̲āh [*q.v.*], the last lord of Alamūt. The youthful S̲h̲ams al-Dīn was taken into hiding during the final months of the Nizārī state, shortly before

the surrender of Alamūt to the Mongols in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 654/December 1256. He succeeded to the Nizārī imāmate on the death of his father in the late spring of 655/1257.

Shams al-Dīn reportedly lived his life clandestinely in Ādharbāydjān as an embroiderer, whence his nickname of Zardūz. Certain allusions in the still unpublished versified *Safar-nāma* of Nizārī Ḳuhistānī [*q.v.*], a contemporary Nizārī poet from Bīrdjand, indicate that he evidently saw Shams al-Dīn, named by him as Shams-i Dīn Shāh Nīmrūz ʿAlī and Shāh Shams, in Ādharbāydjān, possibly in Tabrīz, in 679/1280 (see his *Dīwān*, ed. M. Muṣaffā, Tehran 1371 Sh./1992, 105, 109; Ch.G. Baiburdi, *Zhizn' i tvorčestvo Nizārī Persidskogo poeta*, Moscow 1966, 158, 162). In legendary accounts, and in some oral traditions of the Ismāʿīlīs, Shams al-Dīn has been identified with Shams-i Tabrīzī, the spiritual guide of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.vv.*].

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad's long imāmate coincided with a difficult and obscure period in the post-Alamūt history of the Nizārī community. It was during his imāmate that the Persian Nizārīs, especially in Rūdbār, reorganised themselves to some extent and temporarily reoccupied the fortress of Alamūt, while the Syrian Nizārīs became subjugated by the Mamlūks. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad died around 710/1310-11. His succession was disputed by his sons, leading to the Muḥammad Shāhī-Ḳāsim Shāhī schism in the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī imāmate and community.

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(F. Daftary)

SHAMS AL-DĪN AL-SAMAṬRĀNĪ, religious scholar of the court of Atjèh [*q.v.*] in northern Sumatra, now in Indonesia, b. before 1575, d. 12 Radjab 1039/25 February 1630. The *nisba* al-Samaṭrānī indicates that Shams al-Dīn was associated with Samaṭrā < Samudra, a region in north Sumatra. Little is known of his early life, but from the first decade of the 17th century on, he played a prominent role at the court of Sultan Iskandar Muda (Makuta ʿAlam 1607-36), most powerful of the Achehnese sultans, with the title *Shaykh al-Islām*, serving as leading authority in religious matters, as Ṣūfī *murshid* to the sulṭān, whom he inducted into the Naḳshbandiyya *ṭarīḳa*, as his vicegerent on a number of occasions, and as his negotiator with foreign emissaries such as the Englishman Sir James Lancaster in 1602.

On the death of Iskandar Muda in 1636 and the accession of Iskandar II in 1637, al-Rānīrī [*q.v.*], an Indo-Arab religious scholar, gained court patronage. Possibly motivated by his espousal of Sirhindī's (d. 1624 [*q.v.*]) concept of *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, as opposed to Shams al-Dīn's *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, he had the latter's writings burnt, a number of his followers executed, and wrote polemics condemning what he alleged to be the implications of his teaching.

Shams al-Dīn was an outstanding scholar. He was the first Djāwī known to have left significant works written in Arabic alongside a number of prose writings in Malay, among them *Mirʾāt al-muʾminīn*, a treatise on dogmatics—not all of which, thanks to al-Rānīrī, are extant. Of his Arabic works, the most important is *Djawhar al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* edited by van Nieuwenhuijze, whose dissertation (see *Bibl.*) is the basic work for any further study of this author, and includes a representative selection of his work alongside a penetrating analysis of their intellectual structure. The work is in the Ibn ʿArabī tradition. It breathes a spirit of intense religious devotion and presents a wide range of Ṣūfī learning, including what may be the earliest citation of the poetry of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (lines 355-6 from *al-Tāʾiyya al-kubrā*, see van Nieuwenhuijze ed. 265) in Southeast Asian writing. Its structure is based on *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā rūḥ al-nabī* (ed. Johns, see *Bibl.*), an Arabic work by the North Indian author Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī (d. 1590 [*q.v.*]), which summates the complex theosophy of Ibn ʿArabī in a convenient "portfolio" of seven grades of being. Shams al-Dīn played a major role in popularising this "portfolio" in Sumatra, Java and in the Indonesian region generally, one which replaced the more complex theosophical system used by the earlier Achehnese mystic Ḥamza Fanṣūrī [*q.v.*], whose work shows an affiliation to an ʿIrāḳī-Persian transmission of the Ibn ʿArabī tradition as mediated by al-Djīlī.

In the literature, he is frequently referred to as an exponent of a so-called heterodox tradition of pantheistic mysticism, many scholars taking at face-value the partisan denunciation of him and his followers by al-Rānīrī, who accused him of teaching the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* in an absolute sense, without taking into account the concept of the grades of being as understood by adherents of the *waḥdat al-shuhūd* doctrine. In view of a deeper understanding of Ibn ʿArabī's ideas both in themselves and in the wider context of Islamic thought, terms such as "heterodox" and "pantheistic" no longer have a place in an historical assessment of his learning, teachings and spirituality.

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(A.H. Johns)

SHAMS AL-DĪN-I SIRĀDJ ʿAFĪF, historian of the Dihlī Sultanate in mediaeval Muslim India whose exact dates of birth and death are unknown but who may have been born around 751/1350-1; he certainly flourished during the later 8th/14th century.

He stemmed from a family with long traditions of service to the ruling dynasty of sultans. His father and uncle held the office of oversight of the royal *kār-khānas* or stores and workshops during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (752-90/1351-88 [*q.v.*]), and in his youth, Shams al-Dīn accompanied the sultan on hunting trips. His fame arises from his history, the *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, composed at a time when there was quite a florescence of historical writing within the Sultanate, seen in Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī's [*q.v.*] history

of the same name, which covers the first six years of the sultan's reign, whilst Mawlānā ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of Dihlī is reported to have composed a further history with the same name. There is also the anonymous, florid and eulogistic *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, written in 772/1370-1 (see Storey, i, 509), which reads like an official history. The sultan himself had his achievements inscribed on stone and affixed to the walls of the Friday Mosque of his new capital Fīrūzābād.

Shams al-Dīn ʿAfīf undertook the task of writing separate volumes on the Tughluḳids from Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ Shāh to Muḥammad b. Fīrūz Shāh, recounting their virtues or *manāḳib* [*q.v.*]. Only that volume on Fīrūz Shāh is extant, perhaps originally entitled *Manāḳib-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, and must have been written, from an internal reference, after Tīmūr's invasion of the Sultanate in 801/1398, perhaps when the historian had returned to Dihlī after Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, Fīrūz Shāh's last descendant, had re-occupied the capital at the beginning of the 15th century A.D. It has five sections (*ḳism*), each divided into eighteen chapters (*muḳaddima*) of unequal length. The last three chapters of the fifth *ḳism* seem to have been lost, since they do not appear in any extant ms.

Writing as he apparently did when the capital Dihlī had been devastated and the Tughluḳid Sultanate was dissolving, Shams al-Dīn ʿAfīf expresses in his book a clear nostalgia for the glories of the Sultanate. He praises Fīrūz Shāh as the special recipient of divine grace in terms which echo the style of the eulogy of Ṣūfī saints in the *tadhkira* literature. He also provides much useful information on social and economic life of the time. The foundation of new cities, like Fīrūzābād, and the construction of canals, water reservoirs and the encouragement of agriculture are recorded. From his own background, he was especially interested in taxation and financial topics and their interlocking with agricultural policy, and he did not fail to mention abuses which had crept into administration and army affairs. His aim seems, in fact, to have been to portray the sultan as a saintly ruler, conformable to the demands of the literary genre of Ṣūfī hagiography, and his reign as a golden age.

Bibliography: The surviving part of ʿAfīf's history was edited in the Bibl. Indica series, Calcutta 1888-91; tr. of extracts in Elliott and Dowson, *History of India*, iii, 269-373. See also Riazul Islam, *The age of Firuz Shah*, in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, i/1 (1950), 25-41, on Mawlānā ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's work; P. Hardy, *Historians of medieval India, studies in Indo-Muslim historical writing*, London 1960, 40-55; Storey, i, 509-12. (I.H. SIDDIQUI)

SHAMS AL-MAʿĀLĪ [see ḲĀBŪS B. WUSHMAGĪR B. ZIYĀR].

SHAMS-I FAKHRĪ [see FAKHRĪ].

SHAMS-I ḲAYS, the familiar form of the name of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳays Rāzī, author of the oldest Persian work on poetics, *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, which covers the full range of traditional literary scholarship. Facts about his life are only to be found in his own statements, mostly in the introduction to his sole surviving work (*Muʿdjam*, 2-24). His native town was Rayy, where he must have been born around the beginning of the last quarter of the 12th century. For many years he lived in Transoxania, Khwārazm and Khurāsān. He relates an incident situated in Bukhārā and dated 601/1204-5 (*Muʿdjam*, 456). In 614/1217-18 he was living at Marw, where he wrote the first draft of his textbook in Arabic. When in the same year the Khwārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (596-617/1200-20) marched to the west against the caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*], he joined the sultan's retinue. In 617/1220, during a battle with the Mongols near the fortress of Farzīn (between Iṣfahān and Hamadān), he lost all his books, but was able to retrieve some parts of the manuscript of his textbook from the local peasants. About 623/1226, he took refuge in Shīrāz with Saʿd b. Zangī, the Salghurid Atabeg of Fārs (599-628/1202-31), who admitted him to his court as a companion (*muḳarrab*). He retained this position under Saʿd's successor Abū Bakr (628-58/1231-60).

In these secure surroundings, he was able to resume the writing of his work on poetics, which had been frustrated by his constant travels and the turbulent events of the Mongol invasion. The version which he now produced was an extensive Arabic work on Arabic and Persian poetry together. However, the literati (*ẓurafāʾ*) and poets of Shīrāz did not approve of his approach because they considered a critical discussion of Persian poetry in Arabic not very useful. Giving in to this, Shams-i Ḳays then dealt with the two poetical traditions separately, each in its own language. Of these two books, only the Persian one has survived.

The *Muʿdjam* (sometimes erroneously vocalised *Muʿadjdjam*) consists of two parts and a *khātima*. The first part contains the oldest treatment of Persian metrics still extant. The ten fundamental patterns current in Persian poetry are arranged in four circles in accordance with the system of *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] as it had been established by al-Khalīl (89 ff.; cf. Elwell-Sutton, 77-9). Remarkable, moreover, is the discussion of the metre of the *rubāʿī* [*q.v.*], which Shams-i Ḳays regarded as a Persian invention, tentatively attributed to Rūdakī [*q.v.*]; it is treated as a derivative of the *hazadj* pattern. The more miscellaneous contents of the second part include, first, the theory of rhyme (*ʿilm-i ḳāfiyat*), which entails a discussion of Persian grammar as far as it is concerned with the definition of rhyming letters (204 ff., *ḥurūf-i ḳāfiyat*); attention is also given to the use of *radīf* and *wādjib*, respectively the repetition of a word after or before the rhyming letter in each line, which are special features of Persian poetry (258-61). This is followed by a chapter on the embellishment of poetry (328 ff., *maḥāsin-i shiʿr*), a list of rhetorical figures in the tradition of the textbooks of *badīʿ* [*q.v.*]. In this section, the influence of Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] Waṭwāṭ is evident, but a number of Shams's figures do not appear earlier in Persian textbooks; some can be traced back to Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*] (cf. S.A. Bonebakker, *The Kitāb Naqd al-šiʿr*, Leiden 1956, Introd. 59). The treatment of poetical genres (*adjnās-i shiʿr*), which concludes this part, pays only scant attention to specifically Persian features. The *khātima* is devoted to the practice of poetry (*shāʿirī*) and plagiarism (*sariḳāt-i shiʿr*). The prescription for the composition of a poem at the beginning of this appendix is a translation from Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's *ʿIyār al-shiʿr* (ed. Cairo 1956, 4 ff.).

Shams-i Ḳays saw his work in the first place as a tool for literary criticism providing measures (*maʿāyīr*) for the distinction between good and bad poetry (3, *bar naḳd-i nīk va bad-i kalām-i manẓūm*) to prose writers and poets alike. In his view, poetical technique was a creation of the Arabs, and Persian poets were merely following their example (69). Nevertheless, the *Muʿdjam* stands out as the most important contribution to Persian literary theory, both on account of its wide scope and the quality of its discussion of detail. Among the poets dealt with, by far the most often cited is Anwarī [*q.v.*], who flourished in the first half of the 6th/12th century. Although the book never achieved the popularity of Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ's textbook,

its influence can be found with a number of later writers on literary theory, and a few abridgements were made (see the Introd. by Mudarris-i Raḍawī, pp. xviii-xx).

Bibliography: The first critical edition of the *Muʿdjam* was published by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, London 1909 (*GMS*, x), with an English introd. by E.G. Browne; revised ed. Muḥammad Mudarris-i Raḍawī, Tehran 1314 *sh*./1935-6, [2]Tehran 1338 *sh*./1959 (referred to in this article). See further the introd. to the editions; Storey, *Persian literature*, iii/1, 179; L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres*, Cambridge 1976; J.W. Clinton, *Esthetics by implication: what metaphors of craft tell us about the "unity" of the Persian qasida*, in *Edebiyat*, iv (1974), 73-96; idem, *Šams-i Qays on the nature of poetry*, in *Studia Arabica et Islamica. Festschrift for Ihsan ʿAbbas*, ed. W. al-Qadi, Beirut 1981, 75-82 (with a partial tr. of the *khātima*); G.J. van Gelder, *Beyond the line*, Leiden 1982, 142-4; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Naḳd-i adabī*[3], Tehran 1362 *sh*./1983, i, 247-9 and *passim*; W. Smyth, *Early Persian works on poetics and their relationship to similar studies in Arabic*, in *St.Ir.*, xviii (1989), 27-53.

(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

SHAMS-I TABRĪZ(Ī), the name given to a rather enigmatic dervish who deeply influenced and transformed Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], and whose real name was, according to Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Nassau Lees, 535, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Malik-dād-i Tabrīzī.

His prose writings, *Maḳālāt*, as well as the notes by Rūmī's elder son Sulṭān Walad [*q.v.*], reveal him as a man of overwhelming spiritual power. He must have been in his forties or fifties when he reached Konya on 26 Djumādā II 642/23 October 1244, but next to nothing about his spiritual pedigree is known. He writes that he was a disciple of Abū Bakr Sallabāf, a basket maker, which may point to a relation with the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] (thus Gölpınarlı). A Kubrawī *silsila* is sometimes mentioned, and the frequent, very positive use of the term *ḳalandar* in Rūmī's poetry might indicate that Shams was close to the *ḳalandars*. In his search for someone to understand him, Shams wandered through the world, always staying in caravansarays, not in religious establishments. In ʿIrāḳ he met Awḥad al-Dīn-i Kirmānī, whose claim to see the reflection of the moon in a lake when looking at unbearded youths, incited him to the well-known remark, "If you haven't got a boil on your neck, why don't you look at the sky?" For some time, Shams stayed in Syria, where he met Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*], whom he did not like, as he "did not follow the *Sharīʿa*" although he found "something useful" in him. But his later comparison of Ibn ʿArabī with Rūmī reveals his feeling; Ibn ʿArabī was, for him, a "pebble, Djalāl al-Dīn, a pearl". For some time, Shams was a teacher in Erzerum; but nowhere could he find someone who could bear his company, for his sharp tongue did not spare anyone, and he was quick in punishing students (although he never accepted a *murīd*). Finally, he was guided by dreams to Konya, where he met Rūmī, who "understood him". Djalāl al-Dīn left his teaching to spend weeks in solitude with Shams (who did not, however, believe in the necessity of the forty days' seclusion). Sensing the increasing enmity of the people of Konya, Shams left secretly on 21 Shawwāl 643/15 February 1246, and in longing for him Rūmī turned poet, touched like a flute by the friend's breath. Shams was finally found in Damascus, and brought back by Sulṭān Walad, who describes the reunion of his father with Shams, when "nobody knew who was the lover and who the beloved" (1 Muḥarram 645/8 May 1247). For some months he stayed in Rūmī's house, married to a girl from the household, who died a few days before he disappeared (5 Shaʿbān 645/5 December 1247). Most likely he was murdered with the connivance of Rūmī's younger son; his body was thrown into a nearby well besides which the *maḳām-i Shams* was later built. Rūmī probably sensed what had happened, yet did not believe in the death of the "eternally radiant Sun" and went to Syria to search for him until he realised that Shams lived in him; and he signed his poetry with his name. His later friends, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb and Ḥusām al-Dīn Čelebi were nothing but "reflections" of "the Sun". His *naʿt-i sharīf* shows the close connection between Shams and the Prophet, from whom he claimed to have received "the cloak of companionship". His love for the Prophet to the exclusion of all learned books, and his aversion from philosophy, is echoed in Rūmī's poetry.

Shams claimed to have reached the highest possible rank, that of the third degree of the beloved ones, *maʿshūḳ*, or "the *ḳuṭb* of the beloved ones", and Rūmī's descriptions of Shams are sometimes close to his "deification".

Claims have been made that Shams was an Ismāʿīlī, all the more as a mausoleum of Shams-i Tabrīzī is found in Multān. This (Indian) Shams was a contemporary of the Suhrawardī master Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā (d. 1267), and the miracles ascribed to him are as outspoken and as scaring displays of tremendous power as those of Mawlānā Rūmī's Shams; however, it is likely that the Multānī Shams may be identical with an Ismāʿīlī *pīr* (cf. shams al-dīn muḥammad).

But whoever Shams-i Tabrīz may have been (and that he was a real person is proven by his enormous derwish hat in the museum in Konya), the world owes to his inspiration the collection of the most fiery mystical love lyrics, the *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīz* by Rūmī, and without his influence Rūmī's *Mathnawī* would not have been composed either, for he was the inspiring power behind every word that Rūmī wrote.

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2. Studies. Browne, *LHP*, ii, 516-19; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlâna Celaladdin*, Istanbul 1951; Rypka *et alii*, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, 240; F. Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqšbandiyya*, Istanbul-Stuttgart 1994; *EI*[1] art. *Tibrīzī* (R.A. Nicholson).

(Annemarie Schimmel)

SHAMSA, a jewel used by the ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid [*q.vv.*] caliphs as one of the insignia of kingship. According to the description of the Fāṭimid *shamsa*, given by Ibn Zūlāḳ (quoted by al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, i, 140-2), it was not a sunshade, as has been guessed (de Goeje, in al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, p. cccxvi), but a kind of suspended crown, made out of gold or silver, studded with pearls and precious stones, and hoisted up by the aid of a chain. The *shamsa*, therefore, is not to be confounded with the *miẓalla* [*q.v.*] or sunshade which belonged also to the royal insignia. The model of the *shamsa* was probably the crown suspended above the head of the Sāsānid king (al-Ṭabarī, i, 946). It served for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs as a symbol of legitimate rule (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1553-4) and represented the authority of the absent caliph during the Pilgrimage to Mecca, where it was suspended in front of the Kaʿba during the *ḥadjdj*

ceremonies. The ʿAbbāsid *shamsa* was endowed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) and studded with precious stones by al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902); in 311/924 it was taken by force by the Carmathian leader Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī (al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 156; ʿArīb al-Ḳurṭubī, 16-17, 119). The Egyptian one was made by order of the regent Kāfūr for the young Ikhshīdid prince Unūdjūr (334-49/946-61). After the Fāṭimid conquest it was replaced by a greater one on the order of the general Djawhar for the caliph al-Muʿizz; this new *shamsa* was for the first time hoisted above the great hall (*īwān*) of the palace of Cairo at the day of ʿArafa in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja, 362/973 (al-Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*). Djawhar's *shamsa* was carried away during the plunder of the Fāṭimid treasure houses in 461/1068, together with a yet unfinished new one. On this occasion we learn that Djawhar's *shamsa* was made out of 30,000 *mithḳāls* (132.42 kg) of gold, 20,000 dirhams (61.6 kg) of silver and 3,600 precious stones (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 294).

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(H. Halm)

SHAMSIYYA, a mystical brotherhood derived from the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*], which came into existence and developed in the Ottoman Empire from the end of the 10th/16th century.

Its founding saint, Abu ʾl-Thanāʾ Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abi ʾl-Barakāt Muḥammad b. ʿĀrif Ḥasan al-Zīlī al-Sīwāsī—more commonly known as Ḳara Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn Sīwāsī—was born in the small town of Zile, in eastern Anatolia, in 926/1520, and was initiated by two Khalwatī *shaykhs* practising in this region: the *shaykh* Muṣliḥ al-Dīn of Djumʿa Pazarī, and then the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Madjīd Shirwānī (d. 972/1565) of Tokat. At the request of Ḥasan Pasha, *wālī* of Sivas, he undertook the supervision of a *zāwiya*, constructed at the latter's instigation in the precincts of a mosque in the town of Sivas. He taught there until the end of his life, which took place in 1006/1597, and he was buried in the vicinity of his *zāwiya*.

Three elements were influential in the inception of the mystical way on which Ḳara Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn left his distinguishing mark: the significant literary corpus of this individual; the number and the widespread diffusion of his *khalīfas*; and his participation in the campaign of Eger in Hungary. A number of works are in fact attributed to him, in verse and in prose, in Turkish and in Arabic, of which the most important are entitled: *Kitāb al-Ḥiyāḍ min ṣawb al-ghamām al-fayyāḍ*, *Mewlid*, *Menāḳib-i čahār yār-i guzīn*, *Manāzil al-ʿārifīn*, *Gulshan-ābād*, *Zubdat al-asrār fī sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-Manār*, *Süleymān-nāme*, *ʿIbret-nāme*, etc. (a number of these were published in Turkey from the end of the 19th century; cf. A. Gölpınarlı, *IA*, art. *Şemsiye*). Under the *makhlaṣ* of Shamsī, he also left many poems and songs of a mystical inspiration. As for his *khalīfas*, there were some thirty of them, who spread his teachings in eastern and central Anatolia—especially in the towns of Zile, Sivas, Merzifon, Turhal, Samsun, Divriği, Kırşehir, Ankara and Kayseri—but also in Cyprus, in Istanbul and in Cairo. As to his participation in the campaign of Eger in 1596 (in the company of several of his disciples), this marked the establishment of contact between the nucleus of the nascent brotherhood and the Ottoman authorities. In fact, the sultan Meḥemmed III invited Shams al-Dīn to take up residence in the capital, as a reward for his support in the victorious campaign; but the *shaykh* declined the invitation on account of his advanced age. The Ottoman sovereign extended the same offer, some years later, to his nephew and successor ʿAbd al-Madjīd Sīwāsī (d. 1049/1639-40), and the latter accepted it.

The centre of the network of the Shamsiyya was then shifted to Istanbul, where the brotherhood tended partially to supplant other branches of the Khalwatiyya. It was this grouping which henceforward enjoyed the goodwill of the sultan and of senior functionaries of the Empire, and occupied, throughout the first half of the 11th/17th century, the centre of the religious stage. In fact, Khalwatī-Shamsī *shaykhs* were in numerous cases appointed to serve as preachers (*wāʿiẓ*), particularly in the most prestigious mosques. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Sīwāsī and his disciples were the leading protagonists in the struggle against the heterodoxy of the Ḥamzawī *shaykhs*, whom they denounced publicly. They also acted as spokesmen for the Ṣūfīs in the bitter conflict between the latter and the *Ḳāḍīzādelī*, representatives of the conservative and fundamentalist tendency led by Meḥmed Ḳāḍīzāde (d. 1635).

This preponderance of the successors of Ḳara Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn in the Ottoman capital—particularly in the scholarly circles from which the majority of them emerged—favoured the expansion of the network of the Shamsiyya. This was consolidated in Anatolia (on the eastern side, the cradle of the brotherhood, but also on the western side—Alaşehir, Manisa, Mytilene and Chios—as well as in central Anatolia (especially at Konya and Safranbolu), and in the Middle East (Damascus, Cyprus, Jerusalem, Cairo and Mecca). But it also extended into the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia (especially in the eastern region—in particular, in Gelibolu, Gülmücine/Komotine, Havsa, Edirne, Yambol, Filibe/Plovdiv, Lofça/Loveč, Varna, Silistre/Silistra, Dobriç/Tolbuhin and Kefe—as well as in Buda and the Hungarian frontier zones) and as far as the Crimea. In Istanbul itself, the establishments directed by *shaykhs* of the Shamsiyya flourished, in particular during the period of the nephew and successor of ʿAbd al-Madjīd Sīwāsī, ʿAbd al-Aḥad Nūrī Sīwāsī (d. 1061/1651), who contributed so energetically to the progress of this branch of the Khalwatiyya that it became known by the name of Shamsiyya-Sīwāsiyya or simply Sīwāsiyya. At that time, the diffusion of the brotherhood generally proceeded according to the following pattern: arrival in Istanbul of a young student intent on pursuing his studies in the major metropolitan *madrasas*, affiliation to the *ṭarīḳa*, and return to his native land with the object of propagating the latter. Despite its rapid expansion, the network remained relatively centralised, its heart being the *tekke* of Shaykh Yawsī—renamed Sīwāsī Tekkesi—situated close to the Selīmiyye mosque in Istanbul, and administered by the descendants of the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Madjīd.

From the beginning of the 18th century, the brotherhood went into decline, to disappear almost totally in the 19th century, often, it seems, to the advantage of other branches of the Khalwatiyya, such as the Sunbuliyya and the Shaʿbāniyya [*q.vv.*]. In Istanbul, during the final decades of the Ottoman Empire, there were still representatives of the Shamsiyya administering a *tekke* in the Taşkassap quarter. According to Dhākir Shükrī, the *tekke* of Zibin-i sherīf had as its *shaykh* a certain Meḥmed Ḳāsim al-Dāghistānī al-Khalwatī al-Shemsī (d. 1328/1910), who was succeeded by his son, Yūsuf Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn. But S. Vicdanî makes it clear that, although these *shaykhs* possessed a *silsila* linking them to ʿAbd al-Aḥad Nūrī Sīwāsī, the *tekke* in question functioned as an establishment of the Naḳshbandiyya. Today, this branch of the Khalwatiyya seems to have disappeared.

As regards the doctrine and the practices of the Shamsiyya-Sīwāsiyya, they were shared by the majority of the Khalwatīs; the practice of spiritual retreat (*khalwa* [*q.v.*]) and the initiation of the seven names (*al-asmā' al-sab'a*) being two central elements. The Shamsī-Sīwāsī *dhikr* was a *dhikr dewrān,* with a rotating movement in a circle formed by the dervishes. 'Abd al-Aḥad Nūrī is the author of a treatise defending this practice, entitled *Risāle fī djewāzi dewrāni 'l-ṣūfiyye.* As for the adoption of the doctrine of the oneness of being (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*), cf. O. Türer, *Türk mutasavvıf ve şairi Muhammed Nazmi,* which also provides further details regarding the teaching of one *shaykh* of the brotherhood. The characteristic *tādj* of the Shamsī-Sīwāsī *shaykhs*—comprising forty separate pieces, as with the majority of the Khalwatīs—was made of yellow fabric, half of it embroidered with Kufic script, surmounted by a red button and encircled by a green turban.

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SHAMSŪN, the Biblical Samson of Judges, xii-xvi (12th century B.C. according to Biblical chronology), unmentioned in the Ḳur'ān. Al-Ṭabarī, i, 793-5, locates him historically in the Christian era, just before St. George (Djurdjīs); al-Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-madjālis,* Cairo n.d., 392-3, situates him just after St. George and understands him to have been a Christian. The chronology is probably the result of the use of Christian sources for the story. The story of Samson was very popular in Christian circles, with Samson proclaimed an exemplar of victorious faith in Hebr. xi, 32, and, later, an allegorical figure of Christ. Samson's status as a Nazirite (in Aramaic, *nadhīrā* or *n^edhīrā* [see NADHĪR] may also have suggested a Christian connection to some Muslims because of the similarity of the name of Samson's vow (see Num. vi, 2-8) and the name Nazareth (*al-Nāṣira*), the home town of Jesus, and *Naṣārā* [*q.v.*], the Ḳur'ānic term for Christians (the linking of the names was also a tendency in Christian allegorical interpretation of the story).

The individuality of Samson (contrary to the general Biblical picture of judges who lead the community into battle) becomes the focus of the Muslim development of the prophetic model in Samson. According to al-Ṭabarī's information, Samson was born into a community of unbelievers but dedicated his life to God, ever fighting the idolators. He was aided by God, specifically by being given water during battles (see Judges xv, 19). His opponents realised that they would only overcome him through his wife whom they then bribed. She tested his strength twice and subsequently nagged him until he finally revealed that he could only be subdued by his uncut hair. She bound him with his hair while he was sleeping and, when he awoke, his enemies came, mutilated his body and took him away, powerless, to be paraded in front of the local minaret. There, Samson pulled the supports down, killing all the people (including his wife, according to al-Tha'labī, but perhaps not himself).

The purified presentation of Samson is in keeping with the Christian understanding rather than the Biblical story: Samson was a great fighter and man of faith who was betrayed by his wife. There is no lust, no prostitution, and no self-destruction within the story.

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(A. Rippin)

SHAMWĪL (also Ashamwīl/Ashmawīl, Sham'ūn, Sam'ūn), the Samuel of Biblical history (I Sam. i-xxviii), perhaps referred to in Ḳur'ān, II, 246-7, in connection with the appointment of Saul [see ṬĀLŪT] as king over Israel (although some exegetes see the reference to be to Joshua (Yūsha'), the "prophet after Moses"). The form of the name Shamwīl is closer than Sham'ūn to the Hebrew Sh^emu'el; Sham'ūn may be the result of some confusion between the names Simeon (Hebrew Shim'on; see Gen. xxix, 33, etc.) and Samuel, but that is unclear and confused further by attempts to incorporate etymologies of the names into the narratives. Al-Ṭabarī, i, 547-54, interchanges the spelling of the name throughout his account. Abū Rifā'a al-Fārisī, *Bad' al-khalḳ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā',* in R.G. Khoury (ed.), *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam,* Wiesbaden 1978, 80-4, however, recounts separate stories of Sham'ūn and Ashamwīl (with the story of 'Aylūḳ—probably Eli, who is called 'Alī, 'Aylī and 'Aylā in al-Ṭabarī—being placed in between the two; cf. I Sam. i); H. Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and extra-biblical legends in Islamic folk-literature,* Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients, Bd. 30, Walldorf-Hessen 1982, 64, suggests that Sham'ūn here should be understood as Shamsūn [*q.v.*], i.e. Samson, but the story is barely recognisable as speaking of him. Al-Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā',* ed. Eisenberg, Leiden 1923, 250-1, and al-Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-madjālis,* Cairo n.d., 232-9, use the name Shamwīl consistently.

The stories of Samuel transmitted in the Islamic context concentrate on his birth and his selection of Saul; other elements of his nomination and career as a prophet are elaborated so as to fit within the common pattern of Muslim prophet stories, especially in his struggles with the unbelievers. Samuel is remembered today at his tomb at al-Nabī Samwīl near Jerusalem, where there has been a mosque since the 18th century.

Bibliography: Given in the article; also see the *tafsīr* tradition on Ḳur'ān, II, 246-7; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes,* Paris 1933, 109-10; W.M. Brinner (tr.), *The history of al-Ṭabarī. iii. The children of Israel,* Albany, N.Y. 1991, 129-35, esp. the notes.

(A. Rippin)

SHANDĪ, a town in the Republic of the Sudan, on the east bank of the Nile, about 160 km/100 miles north-east of Kharṭūm. Population, in 1956, 11,500; in 1980, 24,000; and in 1995 probably more than 30,000. The origins and early history of Shandī are unknown. It is situated in the central area of the ancient Kingdom of Meroë. Modern Shandī has been one of the main towns of the Dja'aliyyūn [*q.v.*], who since at least the 16th century until 1821 maintained a small kingdom in the area. However, the town of Shandī does not appear in the historical sources before the 18th century, and then as the seat of the king (*makk*) and as an important trading centre.

Major caravan routes have crossed the area of Shandī since ancient times, and trade was an important factor in its foundation. Between 1770 and 1820 the town witnessed a remarkable growth which was only broken by the Egyptian invasion in 1820-1, under the command of Ismāʿīl Pasha [*q.v.*], the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*]. Its population was then estimated at about 5-7,000 people living in 8-900 houses. A revolt against the invaders following the murder in Shandī of Ismāʿīl Pasha in the autumn of 1822, caused the town to be destroyed and a large part of its population to be dispersed. Subsequently, the Egyptians moved the district administration across the Nile to the sister-town of al-Matamma [*q.v.*], and Shandī did not recover its former prosperity before the present century. In the spring of 1884 the people of Shandī joined the Mahdist revolt against the Egyptians [see AL-MAHDIYYA]. By that time, the population numbered about 2,000, a figure which was reduced to about 500 at the turn of the century.

During the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1899-1956) and thereafter, Shandī grew into a prosperous town. Its location in a rich agricultural area, its position on the north-south railway, and its relative proximity to Kharṭūm, are all factors which have stimulated the town's growth. Agricultural expansion in the area based on pump irrigation started early in this century, and local produce like grain, vegetables and fruits is exported through Shandī. Local trades consist of carpentry, tailoring, basketry, and cotton weaving. Today, it is also an administrative and educational centre, and the seat of a military garrison.

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(J. WALKER-[A. BJØRKELO])

AL-**SHANFARĀ** "he who has large lips", is the nickname, perhaps even the name (al-Zamakhsharī, introd., 8; Sharīf, 15), of one of the most famous pre-Islamic *ṣuʿlūk* poets. A great deal of confusion surrounds the man and his work; for this reason it is appropriate to handle the information concerning him with the greatest caution.

1. Life.

Details relating to the life of al-Shanfarā are sparse, contradictory and marked by an anecdotal quality much more pronounced than is the case with all the other pre-Islamic poets. His name is reportedly Thābit (ʿAmr) b. Mālik, of al-Iwās b. al-Ḥadjr (al-Ghawth) b. al-Aws, a clan of the al-Ḥārith b. Rabīʿa, a sub-tribe of the al-Hinw (Azd) (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Asmāʾ al-mughtālīn*, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, ii, 231). This genealogy is problematical, since it renders implausible the biography of the poet as it is currently accepted.

(1) According to a tradition related by al-Muʾarridj al-Sadūsī and retained by Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, al-Shanfarā was allegedly captured at a very early age by the Banū Shabāba b. Fahm b. ʿAmr of the Ḳays b. ʿAylān; he remained in a state of semi-captivity until his liberation following an exchange of prisoners between the Shabāba and the Salāmān b. Mufridj b. Mālik b. Zahrān, a tribe of which the eponym was said to be Naṣr b. al-Azd. He was adopted by a member of the latter tribe; according to some sources, he quarrelled with the daughter of the master of the house; according to another version, he fell in love with the girl, al-Ḳuʿsūs (*Dīwān*, 53), who rejected him as unworthy of her on account of his humble ancestry (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, 195-6; *Ḥamāsa*, Bonn 1828, 244). Offended, al-Shanfarā abandoned his adoptive clan, returned to the Banū Shabāba, his erstwhile captors, and swore to avenge himself on the Salāmān by killing a hundred of them. This account is invalidated by a number of implausibilities: (a) the efforts of the Salāmān in seeking to liberate a man whose blood-links with them were distant and weak, if not non-existent; (b) the genealogical reservations of the young Salāmāniyya woman: al-Hinw b. al-Azd (eponymous ancestor of al-Shanfarā) was in no way inferior in terms of eminence to his brother Naṣr b. al-Azd (eponymous ancestor of the Salāmān); (c) resentment as justification for the return of a captive to his former jailers. However, it is precisely this tradition which was subsequently taken up by the other sources as well as by modern research (F. Gabrieli, *Taʾabbaṭa Sharran, Shanfarā, Khalaf al-Aḥmar*, in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, cccxliii (1946), 1, 41-2; Sharīf, 16; Yūsuf Khalīf, 332; Ṣafadī and Ḥāwī, *Mawsūʿat al-shiʿr al-ʿArabī*, i, al-*Shiʿr al-djāhilī*, Beirut 1974, 61; Brockelmann, S I, 52-3; *GAS*, ii, 133-4; Ḥifnī, 112).

(2) A genealogical text of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) permits the presentation of a biography of the poet which corresponds more closely to reality; it is stated there: "To the Mālik b. Zahrān belong the Banū Salāmān b. Mufridj b. Mālik b. Zahrān, a tribe (*baṭn*) to which the outlaw al-Shanfarā belonged; he attacked his own kinsmen incessantly, because a fellow-tribesman of theirs had murdered his father and they refused to apply in his case the law of retaliation; he allied himself with the Banū [Shabāba b.] Fahm b. ʿAmr b. Ḳays b. ʿAylān b. Muḍar who were his maternal uncles" (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1971, 386).

This text, with its wealth of information, is supported by traditions which circulated in the 2nd/8th century (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 196, § 1; *Aghānī*, xxi, 137-8), and throws new light on them, in particular on another tradition of al-Shaybānīw in this version, the mother of al-Shanfarā returns to her own people, accompanied by her two young sons, after the assassination of her husband and the refusal of the tribe to avenge the blood which has been shed; the younger of the two sons dies soon afterwards. The poet grows up among his maternal uncles, the Shabāba b. Fahm. On coming of age, he exacts vengeance by killing Salāmānīs, including the murderer of his father, Ḥarām b. Djābir al-Salāmānī, although he is in a state of *iḥrām* at Minā (*Aghānī*, xxi, Leiden 1888, 137).

He then becomes a *ṣuʿlūk*, on amicable terms with his maternal uncle, Taʾabbaṭa Sharran and with ʿAmr b. Barrāḳ (Ḥifnī, 112). In dangerous circumstances, he shows great courage; his prowess as a runner is proverbial (Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿArab*, ʿAmmān 1962, i, 434; al-Rāghib af-Iṣfahānī, *Madjmaʿ al-balāgha*, ʿAmmān 1406/

1986, 630; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, iii, 344); on account of his dark skin, he is included in the group of the *aghribat al-ʿArab* (ʿAbduh Badawī, *al-Shuʿarāʾ al-sūd wa-khaṣāʾiṣuhum fi ʾl-shiʿr al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1973, 23-7, denies any negroid element in the poet's ancestry). It is related that he met his death in an ambush set by the Banū Ghāmid in the mountainous region to the south of Mecca, a zone controlled at this time by the Azd (Ibn Ḥabīb, 231-2).

2. His poetry.

The *Dīwān*, such as it has survived, presents enormous problems: the 191 verses which it comprises do not constitute in any way a classic recension; the Cairo manuscript (Dār al-Kutub, 6676, *adab*) is a photocopy of the work in Molla Husrev Paşa 149, used in 1936 by al-Maymanī to establish his edition of the *Dīwān*; it includes three long pieces, the *Lāmiyya*, the *Tāʾiyya* (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, xx, 194-207) and the *Fāʾiyya*, better known by the name *al-Markaba* (*Dīwān*, 32-5), three bravura fragments which derive from a clearly pursued artistic project. They possess, in this respect, a richness of expression, a thematic variety, and a profundity which is totally absent from all the rest, in other words, the brief fragments belonging to the poetry of circumstance (17 fragments comprising 73 verses), collected by the modern editor from various secondary sources.

(a) The *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab*

This poem, the most accomplished specimen of the poetry of the *ṣaʿālīk*, has aroused great interest from the first decades of the 3rd/9th century to the present day, as is shown by the numerous *sharḥs* which have been devoted to it. However, the philologists of the Baṣra school expressed serious doubts as to its authenticity: if Yāḳūt is to be believed, Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825) declared that the poem had been erroneously attributed to al-Shanfarā (*Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, Beirut 1993, 1255). The entirely identical view of Ibn Durayd, relayed by al-Ḳālī, has been mentioned by all those who have studied the poet.

Is it appropriate to see in this attitude a supplementary echo of the rivalry between the schools of Baṣra and of Kūfa? It should not be forgotten that the poetry of al-Shanfarā was collected by Kūfī *rāwiyas* (Blachère, *loc. cit.*). Opinions are divided among modern scholars. In 1864 Nöldeke expressed serious doubts as to its authenticity, noting that the ancient transmitters were unaware of its existence; furthermore, the philologists of the 3rd/9th century make no mention of it whatsoever (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alter Araber*, Hanover 1864, 201). Krenkow (*al-Shanfarā*, in *EI*[1]), F. Gabrieli (*Sull' autenticità della Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab*, in *RSO*, xv [1935], 361), and Blachère (*HLA*, ii, 410) essentially reproduce Nöldeke's arguments, adding others relating especially to poetic style and language. Only G. Jacob, *Schanfarà-Studien*, i, *passim*; and idem, *Aus Schanfaràs Dīwān*, Berlin 1914, introd., and Brockelmann were convinced of its authenticity, basing their conclusions on the results of internal analysis, such as the use of Yemeni terms, the mention of cows, which do not figure at all in archaic poetry, and symbolic description. S. Stetkevych, 125-6, reckons that the poem is marked by a series of signs and symbols which render incontrovertible its attribution to al-Shanfarā: the relations of the poet with his own people, the Azd, constitute an antidote to the normal affiliation of a tribesman to his tribe. In other words, this ode constitutes the typical process of regret for the past, an essential characteristic of the poetry of al-Shanfarā.

The publication of a section of the *K. al-Manthūr wa ʾl-manẓūm* in 1977 has cast a new light on this problem. This work makes it possible to ratify, historically and on the basis of an ancient source, the arguments of the partisans of the authenticity of the *Lāmiyya*. The author of the work, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893), is a chronicler and an anthologist of exemplary integrity. Under the heading of "unique and incomparable *ḳaṣīdas* (*al-ḳaṣāʾid al-mufradāt allatī lā mathīl lahā*)", he quotes in full the *Lāmiyya* of al-Shanfarā (*al-Manthūr wa ʾl-manẓūm*, Beirut 1977, 69; the *Lāmiyya* in its entirety, 69-79) which was recited to him by Abu ʾl-Minhāl ʿUyayna b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muhallabī, a transmitter considered reliable (*Fihrist*, 157; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, 250-1) and a contemporary of Khalaf al-Aḥmar, the presumed author of the poem in the view of those who deny paternity to the Azdī poet. It may thus be affirmed that in the 2nd/8th century, in the lifetime of Khalaf, the transmitters were well acquainted with the *ḳaṣīda* and attributed it to al-Shanfarā.

This ode, which has the rhythm of a beating drum, turns its back on the poetic conventions of the *Djāhiliyya*. It reflects a purely individual register and constitutes, thereby, a negation of tribal values (vv. 1-5). The self stresses its primacy in each verse by means of incessant use of pronouns and verbs in the first person singular (more than 30 instances in the first 50 verses); in parallel, an absolute rejection of the tribe is attested here, accompanied by an affirmation of its superiority over the clan as such. In fact, mutual relations are conceived in a multi-dimensional approach. The disowned tribe (v. 1) reacts; the disruptive element must be removed; the latter, feeling under threat of elimination, engages in conflict which ends in the triumph of the individual. He reigns over the desert dominating the maleficent creatures of the night, defeating the wolf (vv. 27-35) and the sand grouse which he overtakes in the race for water (vv. 36-41). But this is a short-lived triumph; the poet has a very clear vision of this, and knows that in the end *Umm Ḳasṭal* (death) will claim him; and he asks not to be buried at all. Finally, what is observed is a total disintegration of the individual and a re-unification of the tribe. In the context of form, al-Shanfarā also departs from convention; he addresses his themes directly, leaving aside the *nasīb* and the camel-driving section.

(b) The *Tāʾiyya*

The *Tāʾiyya* begins with a *ghazal*, a genuine love poem which has aroused the admiration of scholars (see *Bibl.*, Stetkevych, 136). This love takes on a double aspect: the feminine personality, the departure which is equivalent to a rejection of this love by al-Shanfarā and leads to its loss. These two overlapping aspects are presented simultaneously; they are identified with one another by means of persistent recourse to the third person singular (*istaḳallati*, *tawallati*, *aẓallati*, *wallati*; for the overlapping, see vv. 10-12); the love of which the poet speaks is certainly complete. For the second aspect, it is the female companion who is praised for her moral qualities and not the female lover, as is the more frequent case. However, it is destructive vengeance which triumphs. Total pessimism is the overwhelming sense; in fact, no possibility of reconciliation is envisaged here.

(c) The *Fāʾiyya*

The *Fāʾiyya* describes a night of vigil spent by a warrior preparing himself for a razzia. As a precaution, he has established himself on a *marḳaba* (hill-top). Scrutinising the darkness, with ears wide open, he examines his bow and his arrows and proceeds, in the same vein, to give a quite detailed description of his weapons; clearly revealed are intent interest, pride

and sympathy on the part of the warrior towards his companions. It is appropriate to note, in this connection, that al-Shanfarā exploits a tendency of the poetry of the *ṣuʿlūks* in describing weapons in lavish detail, thus setting himself apart from the poetry of war; in the latter, substantive adjectives are used to denote weapons (Ibn Sallām, *K. al-Silāḥ*, Beirut 1408/1988, where this tendency is clearly visible); according to a regular pattern, and with little variation, the poet confines himself to mentioning arms, rather than describing them. The only descriptions worthy of the name in pre-Islamic poetry are found among the *ṣuʿlūks*; al-Shanfarā stands apart on account of his description of contemporary weapons for shooting.

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SHĀNĪ-ZĀDE Mehmed ʿAṭāʾ Allāh Efendi (1769? or 1771?-1826), Ottoman physician, historian and polymath. Son of the *ḳāḍī* Shānī-zāde Ṣādiḳ Mehmed Efendi, he pursued a religious career together with a medical education. In 1793-4 Shānī-zāde attained the rank of *müderris*, in 1814-15 that of *ḳāḍī* of Eyüp, and in October 1821 that of Mollā of Mecca and inspector of *ewḳāf*. Shānī-zāde suffered from the jealousy of the *ḥekīm-bashi* Behdjet Efendi [see BAHDJAT MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI] and never himself became chief physician. Meanwhile, after the *waḳʿa-nüwīs* ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*] died, Shānī-zāde was appointed official historiographer (November-December 1819). As a leader in the Beshiktash Scientific Society, Shānī-zāde was suspected of Bektāshī connections and, when the Janissaries were suppressed, banished to Tire (Aydin). He died two months later in September 1826, and is buried in Tire.

The encyclopaedic Shānī-zāde was knowledgeable in medicine, mathematics, physics, astronomy, military science and painting. He composed poetry, and was a watchmaker. He was at home in Arabic, Persian, French and, probably, Italian and Latin. His experiments with cows proved that effective smallpox vaccine could be produced, and he advised Maḥmūd II to institute a vaccination campaign in Istanbul. He contributed much to modern Turkish medical terminology, especially to anatomical terms. His five-part series on anatomy, physiology, pathology, surgery, and pharmacology, written in plain Turkish, included translations from western works. The anatomy, *Mirʾātu 'l-ebdān fī teshrīḥ-i aʿḍāʾ-i 'l-insān*, the first medical work printed in Turkish (Istanbul 1820), contained Turkey's first accurate anatomical illustrations, often modelled after those in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. Shānī-zāde's *Taʾrīkh*, running from Maḥmūd II's accession to 1820-1, exhibited cautious westernising leanings, mentioning such topics as parliaments, insurance and quarantine.

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SHANSI (Shan-hsi, Shan-xi), a province of north Central China watered by the Huang ho (Yellow River) and its tributaries. Of the total population of Shansi which numbers 32,882,403, Muslims (*Hui-min*, *Hui-tsu*) number about 130,000 (in 1990). Densely-populated places of Shansi Muslims are: Hsi-an (pop. 53,753), Hsien-yang, Ta-li (Tʿung-chou), Wei-nan, Pao-chi, An-kʿang (Hsing-an), Nan-cheng (Han-chung) and other villages along the Wei River. The Muslim population of Shansi before 1862 is estimated at about 1,500,000-2,000,000, but about 1,000,000 of them were reportedly slaughtered by Han Chinese during the Muslim Rebellion of 1862-78; others fled to neighbouring Kansu [*q.v.*] province for safety.

As to the origin of Shansi Muslims, there were some Muslims in Shansi under the Tʿang dynasty (8th-9th centuries), while many Arab and Persian Muslims emigrated from West Asia to Shansi under the Mongol Yüan dynasty in the 13th-14th centuries. In 1280 Naṣr al-Dīn, son of a Muslim general and governor of Yünnan province, Shams al-Dīn Sayyid-i Adjall ʿUmar (1211-79), came to Shansi as local minister, and Muslims there increased. In the late 13th century, Prince Ananda, Yüan viceroy of Shansi and Tangut, was stationed at Kinjānfū (Hsi-an) with an army of 150,000. He was a believer in Islam from early childhood, and it is reported that a great number of the troops were converted to Islam (Rashīd al-Dīn). Under the Ming dynasty which overthrew the Yüan, Shansi Muslims were naturalised as Chinese Muslims (*Hui-min*). In April 1862, when a group of Taiping rebels invaded southern Shansi from Sichuan, the Chʿing authorities who tried to attack them happened to mishandle local Muslims, between whom and the local Chinese in Shansi there had long been antagonism. At first, Muslims at Hua-chou broke out against local Chinese inhabitants, and Muslim rebellion spread over various places along the Wei River, extending to Kansu province. The Chʿing authorities managed to suppress those Muslim rebels, and even massacred a great mass of Shansi Muslims. Consequently, they were dispersed and their population considerably decreased up to the early 20th century.

Shansi Muslims mostly belong to the Ḥanafī rite like other Chinese Muslims. Originally, they had about 300 mosques in Shansi but they have now 118 mosques, large and small, the most prestigious and

archaic one being *Hsi Ta-ssŭ* (West Large Mosque) at Hsi-an. S̲h̲ansi Muslims have been and are engaged in retail trade, restaurant and inn-keeping, cattle-breeding, fur-trading, farming and transport. Hsi-an has been historically a centre of Chinese Muslim culture and learning in S̲h̲ansi since Ming times. S̲h̲ansi Muslims now co-exist with Han Chinese under the minority peoples' policy of Communist China, as is the case with other provinces.

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(T. Saguchi)

S̲H̲ANT MĀNKAS̲H̲, the modern Simancas, a village of the Spanish province of Valladolid, some 10 km/6 miles from that town, on the Douro, known above all for its castle, in which the state archives of Castile, mainly for the 16th and 17th centuries, are preserved.

The site, situated on a bluff commanding a ford over the Douro, was occupied in Roman and Visigothic times, and "repopulated" by Alfonso III, King of León, together with other towns along the line of that River (Zamora, Toro and Dueñas), probably in the last years of the 9th century, when the Christians were able to profit from the feeble state into which the amirate of Cordova had been plunged. After the accession of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and the "restoration" of the Umayyad caliphate, the state of al-Andalus sought to regain the lost territory to the north of the Meseta.

In 327/939 the caliph personally led an expedition, the *g̲h̲azwat al-ḳudra*, especially aimed at the town of Sammūra/Zamora. But on 11-12 S̲h̲awwāl/8-9 August he suffered a check before Simancas, followed by another defeat, in the course of his withdrawal, that of al-K̲h̲andaḳ/Alhándega. This defeat was apparently to be explained by the treachery of certain officers in the caliphal army, marked by the crucifixion of 300 of them after the return to Cordova. There has been much discussion on how *al-k̲h̲andaḳ* ("the trench", or a place thus named) should be understood and on the place in question, and consequently whether there were two successive battles (Simancas and Alhándega) or just one (Simancas, finishing in the trench). Dozy's theory, on the slender basis of the opinion of Spanish authors of the 16th century (cf. his *Recherches*[3], i, 161), placed al-K̲h̲andaḳ to the west of Simancas, near Salamanca, towards the river Alhándega, an affluent of the Tormés, but this was opposed by M. Gómez Moreno, who placed it in the opposite direction, at Albendiego, in the modern province of Guadalajara, on the Roman road from Osma to Sigüenza, and by Lévi-Provençal who, after having followed Dozy in his *EI*[1] art. *Simancas*, in 1950 thought, relying on the texts of Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb and al-Ḥimyarī which he had published, that the reference was to the trench into which Ramiro II's troops hurled down troops of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir at the end of the battle of Simancas.

But doubts seem to have been raised since the publication of vol. v of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis*, reproducing the narrative of ʿĪsā al-Rāzī, which agrees on this point with the most ancient Christian source, the *Anales Castellanos Primeros*, and since P. Chalmeta's article *Simancas y Alhándega*, in *Hispania*, xxxvi/133 (1976), 359-444. There could well have been two distinct battles, separated by some fifteen days, with the second one to be situated towards the east, in the confused, mountainous zone separating the upper valley of the Douro from that of the Henares, even if a completely satisfying solution of its exact localisation has not yet been found. There is a similar divergence regarding the seriousness, and the long-term significance, of the caliphal defeat. Chalmeta reduces the event's significance, *pace* the Spanish historical tradition. It is nevertheless true that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III led personally no more expeditions into Christian territory after this one, in which he was almost captured, and that the military reforms of al-Manṣūr, with long-term effects in the period of the fall of the caliphate, responded, at least in part, to the lack of confidence which could be accorded to the officers of the *d̲j̲und*, as appeared on the Simancas battlefield.

The abortive attempt of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III towards the Meseta del Norte was taken up later, with greater tenacity, by Ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr. In particular, in his eighteenth campaign (373/983), he captured and destroyed Simancas. But if the *ḥād̲j̲ib* envisaged a policy of reconquest, and not merely one of devastation, in these regions, and had the intention to hold at least the line of the Douro, with a garrison and a governor at Sammūra/Zamora, this policy collapsed with the crisis of the caliphate of Cordova in 399/1009.

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(J.-P. Molénat)

S̲H̲ANT YĀḲUB, the Arabic form of the place name St. James of Compostella, Span. Santiago de Compostela, at the present time in the province

of La Coruña, in Galicia.

The "discovery" in the first half of the 9th century of the grave of the Apostle St. James the Greater, who had allegedly come to evangelise the Iberian Peninsula, and whose remains were said to have been brought, after his death in Jerusalem, to Galicia, was the origin of the town's development and of the pilgrimage thither, its church being described by Ibn ʿIdhārī as the equivalent, for the Christians, of the Kaʿba for the Muslims.

In 387/997 Ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr led against the shrine his 48th campaign, the most famous one, for which Ibn ʿIdhārī has transmitted a fairly detailed account, probably stemming from an official bulletin announcing the victory. The expedition left Cordova, passed through Coria and then through the north of modern Portugal, reaching its destination after crossing difficult mountainous regions. It was supported by a fleet which had left the great arsenal of Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis (Alcacer do Sal), and by the rallying to it of some at least of the military and civil chiefs, the counts, of the lands through which it passed. Having arrived at Santiago on 2 Shaʿbān/10 August, it found the town abandoned by its inhabitants; the army then destroyed it completely in the course of the following week, including the shrine, but not the tomb itself, respected on al-Manṣūr's express orders. Part of the army pushed on northwards to the outskirts of La Coruña, but the mass of troops beat a retreat and returned to Cordova, after having once more devastated the lands of the king of León but not those of the counts allied to the Muslims. According to the Christian sources, the Muslim army is said to have suffered from dysentery on its retreat.

The character of this expedition, more a demonstration of force to impress and humiliate the Christian enemy, but also to show them the possibility of a rally of forces, than a real operation for conquest, is further illustrated by the episode of the gates and bells of the shrine, brought to Cordova on the backs of captured Christians, to be placed in the roof or to serve as lamps in the Great Mosque there, an episode recounted by other sources, Muslim as well as Christian (Ibn Khaldūn, al-Maḳḳarī, Jiménez de Rada and Lucas of Tuy).

It nevertheless seems that the ʿĀmirid sacking only momentarily slowed up the growth of Santiago de Compostela; Bermudo II, king of León (d. 999) immediately began rebuilding it. The building of the Romanesque basilica began in 1075.

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(J.-P. Molénat)

SHANTABARIYYA, a place name of mediaeval al-Andalus (the two component elements *shanta* and *bariyya* may be written separately or as one), the Arabic transcription of Spanish Santaver, ancient Sontebria (Centobriga).

It denoted both the province and its chef-lieu. The *kūra* (*balad*, *bilād*, *ʿamal*, see Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. Makkī, Beirut 1973, 330, ed. Chalmeta *et alii*, Madrid 1979, v, 136, 245) "province" of Shantabariyya lay on high ground not far from the confluence of the Guadiela and the Tagus to the south-east of Guadalajara (Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra) (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 112 n. 3). It was a fertile region famed for its pasture and arable land, and its valleys grew hazel nuts and walnuts (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 366; Lévi-Provençal, *La "Description de l'Espagne d'Aḥmad al-Rāzī"*, in *And.*, xviii [1953], 80). The difficulty of access of much of its mountainous areas, and the disinclination of its inhabitants (largely Berber) to submit to the central authority in Cordova, made Shantabariyya the focus of more than one revolt. The most serious was that launched by the celebrated Fāṭimid *dāʿī* or missionary, the Berber Shaḳyā b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, at the head of his fellow-countrymen in 151/768. Several expeditions, some led by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in person, were needed before it was finally and definitively suppressed in 160/776-7.

The important strategic position of Shantabariyya led the most powerful of the Berber families of al-Andalus, the Banū Mūsā b. Dhi 'l-Nūn (Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. d'Espagne*, Leiden 1932, i, 86; dhu 'l-nūnids), to make it their inaccessible and easily defensible residence (*iḳtaʿadūhā dārᵃ manʿatⁱⁿ*). Al-Fatḥ and Muṭarrif, Mūsā's two sons, brought together their forces, rebelled against the authority of Cordova and became masters of Shantabariyya. They built there fortresses and fortifications, and founded new villages, and under their rule, the population grew and the region enjoyed prosperity and security (Ibn Ḥayyān, ed. Antuña, Paris 1937, iii, 17). In particular, al-Fatḥ constructed the town of Uklīsh (Uclès) at the end of the 9th century, which became the chef-lieu of the region (al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1984, 61). It was not until 312/924 that it abandoned all tendency towards independence. In that year, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, on his return from his victorious expedition to Pamplona, (the *ghazwat Banbalūna*) against the Christians, passed through the district of Shantabariyya, where he

received the submission of two of the Berber Dhu 'l-Nūnids, Yaḥyā b. Mūsā and his nephew Yaḥyā b. al-Fatḥ b. Mūsā.

At the present time, there still exists a fortress some 60 km/35 miles to the east of Guadlaja and *ca.* 70 km/ 40 miles to the north-west of Cuenca, called Castro de Santaver (Ibn Ḥayyān, ed. Makkī, 341 n. 560). However, we have no information which might allow us to acknowledge or to deny any link between this citadel and our Shantabariyya.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see the *EI*[2] arts. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN. 3. and AL-ANDALUS, at vol. I, 490. (OMAR BENCHEIKH)

AL-SHANTAMARĪ, ABU 'L-ḤADJDJĀDJ YŪSUF b. Sulaymān al-Andalusī al-Naḥwī, Spanish Muslim grammarian and philologist, known as al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī (the first epithet from his hare-lip; it became a family name, and his eldest son, *ḳāḍī* at Shantamariyya, became known as Ibn al-Aʿlam), born at Shantamariyyat al-Gharb [*q.v.*] (modern Faro, on the southern coast of Portugal) in 410/1019, died at Seville in 476/1083. In 433/1041 he moved from his home town to Cordova, where he studied, and became, in his turn, a famed master in the fields of grammar, lexicography and classical Arabic poetry, fields which enjoyed a great florescence in the Andalus of his time. In the years before his death, he became blind.

He was a prolific author (see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 315, 388-9, 422, 432, and ʿIyāḍ, *Ghunya*, 178, 229), and part of his output has survived till today. Amongst his grammatical works were his *Djuzʾ fīhi al-farḳ bayn al-mushib wa 'l-mushab wa 'l-masʾala al-zanbūriyya* (given in al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, iv, 77-9); *Djuzʾ fīhi maʿrifat ḥurūf al-muʿdjam; K. al-Masʾala al-rashīd; al-Mukhtār fī 'l-naḥw; K. al-Nukat fī Kitāb Sībawayh* (ed. Z.ʿA. Sulṭān, Kuwayt 1987); and *Sharḥ al-Djumal li 'l-Zadjdjādjī* (*GAS*, ix, 90 no. 10). His most famous work is probably the *Sharḥ dawāwīn al-shuʿarāʾ al-sitta al-djāhiliyyīn* (authors of the *Muʿallaḳāt* except al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza) (*GAS*, ii, 109, 112, 122, ix, 265-6; the most recent editions are those of M. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādja, 1954, and of Beirut 1992; and there are separate editions of each of the six commentaries). Al-Shantamarī wrote other commentaries on the works of Abū Tammām (*Sharḥ K. al-Ḥamāsa li-Abī Tammām*, ed. ʿAlī Mufaḍḍal Ḥammūdān, Beirut-Damascus 1992; and *Sharḥ shiʿr Ḥabīb* = Abū Tammām), as well on verses gathered together in grammatical works (*Sharḥ abyāt al-Djumal li 'l-Zadjdjādjī, GAS*, ix, 90 no. 11; and *K. ʿUyūn al-dhahab fī sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayh, GAS*, ix, 60 no. 43, ed. with Sībawayh's *Kitāb*, Cairo 1316-17/1889-90). He also compiled a *Fahrasa* and an opusculum called *Maʿrifat al-anwāʾ* (résumé in *Djuzʾ fīhi mukhtaṣar al-anwāʾ*). For his transmissions of grammar and poetry, see Ibn Khayr, 305, 321, 324-5, 328-30, 333, 338, 340, 346-7, 389, 392, 398, 402-3.

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(MARIBEL FIERRO and MANUELA MARÍN)

SHANTAMARIYYAT AL-GHARB, a town of mediaeval al-Andalus, the modern Faro, capital of the Algarve province [see GHARB AL-ANDALUS] of southern Portugal.

It passed under Arab control in Shawwāl 94/June 713 after the capture of Seville. Both the town and the region took on the name of Roman antiquity, Ossónoba, in the form Ukhshūnuba or better, Ukshūnuba. Then from the 4th/10th century there appears the name Shantamariyya or Shanta Mārīlat al-Gharb, and, in the next century, Sh. Hārūn, the name of one of the masters of the town at that time. These two qualificatives enable the town to be distinguished from the town Shantamariyyat al-Razīn or Sh. al-Sharḳ [*q.v.*], sc. Albarracín. It was the Christians who, in 1233, corrupted Hārūn into Faaron or Faaram, soon afterwards yielding Faro.

The Arabic sources are hazy about the town and its district until the 4th/10th century, describing it then as relatively prosperous (E. Lévi-Provençal, *La description de l'Espagne d'Aḥmad al-Rāzī*, in *al-And.*, viii [1953], 91; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 115). But these same sources show that towards the end of the 3rd/9th century and the opening of the next one, a dynasty of *muwallad* origin, the Banū Bakr b. Zadlafa, restored the town, which became the capital of a sort of small, autonomous state during the amirate of ʿAbd Allāh and the beginning of that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Dozy, re-ed. G.S. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948-51, ii, 137) until 317/929. Shantamariyya lost its position as the first town of the Algarve to Silves [see SHILB] in the course of the 4th/10th century, though it remained the seat of a *ḳāḍī* (J.D. Domingues, *Ossónoba na epoca árabe*, in *Anais do Município de Faro*, Faro 1972, 37-8). It again became the capital of a petty state in the period of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*] under the rule of Saʿīd b. Hārūn (417-33/1026-42) and then of his son Muḥammad until 443/1052, when Shantamariyya, like all the region, passed under the rule of the ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*] of Seville. It is mentioned under ensuing dynasties, such as the Almoravids and the next period of Taifas—for a brief while under the authority of the Ṣūfī Ibn Ḳasī of Silves—and then the Almohades. It was one of the last towns of the Algarve to fall, in 647/1249, to Alfonso III of Portugal.

The town remained one of the centres of the Yaḥṣubī Arabs who came there at the time of the conquest, but several bloody defeats at the hands of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I and the latter's killing of the chief of the Abu 'l-Ṣabbāḥ al-Yamanī clan in 163/779-80 weakened this group, which fell back on Niebla and Silves. The seizure of power, in the 880s, by the Banū Bakr b. Zadlafa marked the ascendancy, as a local power, of the *muwalladūn*, who "transformed the town into a fortress" (*ḥiṣn*) (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *loc. cit.*). This reconstruction was part of a general movement of expansion and prosperity in the Algarve during ʿAbd Allāh's amirate inspired by local forces (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. 1979, 96). The seizure of power by other *muwalladūn* during the 5th/11th century was based on the growing popularity of the pilgrimage to the Virgin Mary mentioned by al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 394) and al-Ḥimyarī (ed. and tr. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique au Moyen Age d'après le "Kitāb Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār"*, Leiden 1938, text 115, tr. 140), which was to last till the Christian reconquest (Alfonso X, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ed. W. Mettmann, Coimbra 1959, no. 183) and in which both Christians and Muslims, probably *muwalladūn*, took part. Arabic authors like al-Idrīsī evoke the florescence of the Muslim community, shown by at least a congregational mosque, a mosque of the quarter and a sort of assembly

(*djamā'a*). For intellectual life, we know of the names of some well-known poets and writers from there, such as Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Shantamarī in the 7th/13th century, some famous *ḳāḍīs* there and the importance of the town and its district for Ṣūfism. The town also flourished economically through its position as a port, with al-Ḥimyarī (*loc. cit.*) mentioning that the port was frequented by ships and had a dockyard for naval construction (*dār al-ṣinā'a*). Maritime activity increased in the 6th/12th century through the efforts of the Banū Hārūn, who, like other Taifas of the coastlands, had fleets and dockyards supplied by the plantations of pines on the islands and in the hinterland of the town. Its site along a lagoon favoured fishing, an activity stimulated by the pilgrimage, and the cultivation of figs and grapes and production of oil had a commercial orientation towards al-Andalus, the Maghrib and Egypt.

The town itself faced both landwards and seawards, being "built on the shores of the ocean, with its walls bathed by the waves of the high tide" (al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome 1975, text 543, tr. Dozy and de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, repr. Leiden 1968, 217). The mediaeval walls, largely rebuilt by the Christians in the 13th century, have retained, to the north-west of the town, traces of a gate topped by a Norman arch, leading one to think that the internal area of about 9.5 ha corresponds to the Islamic *madīna* (B. Pavon Maldonado, *Ciudades y fortalezas lusomusulmanas. Cronicas de viajes por el sur de Portugal*, in *Cuadernos de Arte y Arqueologia*, v [Madrid 1993], 71-9). The sites of the cathedral, built two years after the reconquest of the town, and the fortress, protecting access to the seashore, correspond respectively to the sites of the Great Mosque and the Muslim *ḳaṣaba*.

In 1252 the town was placed under the protection of Alfonso X of Castile, protector of the Muslim ruler Ibn Maḥfūẓ. Once it returned to Portuguese hands in 1266, endowed with charters, it speedily resumed its maritime role.

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SHANTAMARIYYAT AL-SHARḲ, a name often confused in the sources with Shantabariyya, which corresponds to the depopulated modern place name Santaver in Cuenca province. Sh. al-Sharḳ (thus to distinguish it from Sh. al-Gharb) corresponds to modern Albarracín, a small town 45 km/28 miles from Teruel, in the province of the same name in Aragon. The town derives its present name from the Hawwāra Berber family of the Banū Razīn [*q.v.*], who were established at an unknown date in the Sahla, the fertile district around Albarracín. The supposed ancestor Razīn al-Burnusī is said to have come with the conqueror Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, and was then given land at Cordova. His alleged descendants (since Ibn Ḥazm seems to deny the connection) governed the Sahla with more or less loyalty to the Umayyads. After a revolt of the Sahla in 346/957-8 headed by Marwān b. Hudhayl b. Razīn, the family submitted to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. In 361/972 Yaḥyā b. Hudhayl and his sons, and Marwān's four sons, obtained from al-Ḥakam II a grant, in favour of the latter, of the '*amal* of their father, and three years later, the nine sons of Yaḥyā likewise obtained a grant of their father's heritage.

During the crisis of the caliphate, in 403/1012-13 a member of the family, Abū Muḥammad Hudhayl b. 'Abd al-Malik, called Ibn al-Aṣla', proclaimed his independence as *ḥādjib*, with the titles 'Izz al-Dawla and Dhu 'l-Madjdayn. Sulaymān al-Musta'īn, the "caliph of the Berbers", confirmed him in his lands, but also reproached him, probably for not being able to intervene in his favour. From the next year onwards, Hudhayl built, or rebuilt, his little capital, Shantamariyya, whose name, hitherto unknown, since only Sahla is found, suggests the presence, otherwise imperfectly known, of a Mozarab community. Hudhayl maintained himself, staying apart from the wars of the Taifas, and fending off al-Mundhir of Saragossa, who coveted his territories. The sources praise his good qualities and the prosperity he brought to his principality.

When in 436/1044-5 he died after a reign of over 30 years, his son 'Abd al-Malik, called in his father's life time Ḥusām al-Dawla and then subsequently Djabr al-Dawla, al-Ḥādjib Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn, succeeded him, with an even longer reign of 58 solar years. The sources regard him harshly, but the times were certainly now less propitious. He may possibly early have suffered attacks from Castile, though the notice of Ibn al-Kardabūs that Ferdinand (1037-65) is said to have taken Shantamariyya, *balad Ibn Razīn*, is unconfirmed elsewhere. After the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI (478/1085), he had to accept with a good grace the insults of the Christian king, who sent him a monkey in exchange for his presents. His vacillating policy reveals the feebleness of his miniature principality.

After Zallāḳa (479/1086), he ceased paying tribute to Castile-León, but three years later had to accord it to the Cid. In 1092 he annexed Murviedo (Sagonta), and concluded a treaty of friendly neutrality with the Cid. When the latter besieged Valencia, 'Abd al-Malik tried to ally, early in 1093, with the king of Aragon in order to help him occupy the town. But the Cid, warned by the Aragonese, invaded 'Abd al-Malik's lands, and forced him to help in the siege of Valencia, which fell in June 1094. He then allied with the Almoravids who came to besiege Valencia (487/autumn 1094), and took part in the battle of Cuarte, from which he fled. When 'Abd al-Malik died in 496/1103, his son Ḥusām al-Dawla Yaḥyā succeeded him. But with Valencia now in the hands of the Almoravids, the governor Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn Fāṭima deposed Yaḥyā and annexed his state (497/1104).

Ca. 1170 Albarracín passed into Christian control, either, according to the traditional account, handed over by Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] Lobo or Lope to the lord of Navarre, Pedro Ruiz de Azagra, or, according to J.M. Lacarra, by a Navarrese conquest. In 1172 the bishopric of Albarracín was set up, but—reflecting the lack of knowledge of the old ecclesiastical divisions and the probable disappearance by now of the Mozarabs of the district—the bishop was first given the title of the ancient bishopric of Arcavica (*Arcavicense*), before this was corrected to that of Segobriga (*Segobricense*). Henceforth, the region formed a petty independent state, under Christian lords, the Azagras

and then the Laras, until Pedro III of Aragon's conquest of 1284, though Albarracín was not definitely incorporated under the Aragonese crown till 1370. During this period, the presence of Mudéjars is as hypothetical as that of Mozarabs in the preceding one. It would appear, rather, that the region's Muslim population had been evacuated for strategic reasons, to the proximity of Valencia, under Muslim control until 1238, and that the Mudéjar presence attested at the end of the mediaeval period results, as at Teruel, from the establishment there of Muslims from other Christian zones and former captives, settled for economic reasons.

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SHANTARĪN, Santarém, a town in Portugal and chef-lieu of a district, held by the Muslims until the mid-6th/12th century. It is situated on a plateau with escarpments 100 m/340 feet high, on the shore of the right bank of the Tagus, a little distance before it empties into the Atlantic. It is in the midst of a fertile district, sprinkled with *lezirias* (< Ar. *al-djazīra*) fertilised by the alluvium of the river. It was already well-known to the Arabic geographers under its name, of Latin origin, of al-Balāṭa (> Port. Valada, Alvalade), and had always held a strategic role in the communications between the north and south of the country.

Its main Arabic name stems from the name in Low Latin, connected with a saint, **Santaren* (Costa, *Santa Iria*), which superseded the Roman name Scallabis, being the site of an important *conventus* of the Iberian province of Lusitania. In Islamic times, it kept its status as the capital of a district (*kūra*), whose fate was linked, in different ways, with those of Coimbra (Ḳulumriya [*q.v.*]) to the north and Lisbon (al-Ushbūna [*q.v.*]) to the south.

The town must have been conquered by the Arabs at some time in 95-6/714-15, at the same time as all the far west of the Iberian peninsula. According to the lost chronicle of Ibn Muzayn (Silvès and Seville, 5th/11th century), preserved in a Moroccan source of the 11th/17th century (Dozy, *Recherches*³, i, 73-4 and p. IV of Appx.), Santarém is said to have benefited, together with Coimbra, from a treaty of capitulation which guaranteed a considerable autonomy, probably analogous to the well-known concession to the Visigothic duke Theodomir/Tudmīr for the territories which he controlled at the other side of the peninsula, Murcia/Mursiya. This treaty was a determining factor from the viewpoint of population patterns, given that there were not, to the north of the Tagus, in the territory now within Portugal, Arab colonists established like those in the southern districts of Beja/Bādja [*q.v.*] and Ocsonoba/Ukshūnuba [*q.v.*]. Consequently, Islamisation was on a much reduced scale, and the Arabisation of the indigenous people, who became Mozarabs [*q.v.*], was the result of economic and administrative factors and the influence of the vigorous civilisation of al-Andalus rather than from the presence of Muslim colonists from outside.

At the same time, the politico-military history of all the territory between the Tagus and the Douro was characterised by a constant confrontation between the Muslims in the south and the Christians in the north, and even by alternations of power, whilst the local population remained passive onlookers. The sources mention no participation by this region in the many movements for autonomy and challenge to the central government in Cordova which punctuated the history of the regions to the south of the great river. The definitive conquest of Shantarīn by the Christians in Shawwāl 541/March 1147 was to be decisive for their advance southwards and the stabilisation of the frontier along the line of the Tagus. The last major siege of the town, led by the Almohad caliph Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf [*q.v.*] in 580/1184, cost him his life (Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, 443-80; Huici, *Almohades*).

Despite the feeble Arab and Muslim presence there, Shantarīn produced several littérateurs during the literary and intellectual *belle époque* of the Afṭasids [*q.v.*] of Badajoz and in the wake, probably, of the politico-judicial authority exercised by the celebrated *ḳāḍī* and *adīb* Abū ʿUmar Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr [*q.v.*]. Thus poets included the younger son of the latter, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf b. Kawthar and Ibn Sāra (d. 517/1124). Above all, there was Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (d. 542/1147 [*q.v.*]), the jewel in the crown of the town's literary men. Since the appearance of the article on him in this *Encyclopaedia*, one may mention four large-scale works on him and on his *Dhakhīra*, not counting the excellent complete edition of Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 8 vols., Beirut 1979: Ḥ.Y.Ḥ. Kharyūsh, *Ibn Bassām...*, ʿAmmān 1984; two doctoral theses, by ʿA.A.M. Djamāl al-Dīn, Madrid Univ. 1977 (cf. *Awrāk*, ii [Madrid 1979]), and Kh.L. Bākir,

Glasgow 1993 (cf. *JAL*, xii [1994]); plus a master's dissertation by E. Kapyrina-Koroleva, Moscow 1994. Whilst the first two works concentrate mainly on the abundant historical sources of the *Dhakhīra*, the remaining two deal directly with the intrinsic literary value of the famous anthology.

During the period of Christian domination, the Muslim *Mudéjares* [*q.v.*] were by no means concentrated exclusively within the *mourarias* of Santarém, and they devoted themselves to the general economic activities of the *mouros* of the Kingdom of Portugal.

Combining the Arabic geographical texts and the mediaeval Christian sources, the configuration of the town in Islamic times can be approximately reconstituted. There was a strongly defended fortress (*ḥiṣn*, *ḳalʿa*), with ramparts and towers, perched on an inaccessible rocky spur. The *madīna* was there, as also the congregational mosque (very likely built by al-Ḥakam I, 180-206/796-822), later turned into the church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the heart of the Christian Alcáçova (< *al-ḳaṣaba*). At the foot of the mountain, on the banks of the river, there was a suburb attested at least since the middle of the 4th/10th century; this is the modern Ribeira quarter, formerly also called *Sesserigo* and the location of one of the two Muslim quarters. Certain traces could possibly reveal the existence of another urban nucleus *extra muros*, in the eastern part, around the Marvila quarter, which was the heart of the Christian town and to the north-west of which was located the second and more lasting *mouraria*. The modest suburb called Alfange (< *al-ḥanash* "serpent"), which grew up, like the Ribeira suburb, on the banks of the river but on the other side of the projecting elevation, to the south, does not necessarily date from the Islamic period. As elsewhere in al-Andalus, this place-name could refer to a simple gate giving on to the ravine and the tortuous pathway leading up to it (*Bāb al-ḥanash*). Moreover, the *Ermida da N.S. do Monte*, from its strategic position, its dominating role and its ancientness, could well represent the later evolution of a little *rābiṭa* or *zāwiya*.

Bibliography: J.G. Domingues, *Descrições de Santarém nos historiógrafos e géografos árabes*, in *Letras e Artes*, suppl. to the newspaper *Novidades* of 6 July 1974, Lisbon; idem, *A invasão árabe do extremo Ocidente Peninsular*, in; A.J. da Costa, *Santa Iria e Santarém*, in *Rev. Port. de História*, xiv (Coimbra 1974), 1-63; J.M. Garvia, *Em torno de "Scallabis", in Santarém, a cidade e os homens*, Santarém 1977, 65-77; A. Huici Miranda, *Los Almóhades en Portugal*, in *Anais da Acad. Port. de História*; M.A.V.R. Beirante, *Santarém medieval*, Lisbon 1980; *Dhikr akhbār al-Andalus/Una descripción anónima de al-Andalus*, ed. and tr. L. Molina, Madrid 1983, Ch. Picard, *Les mozarabes dans l'Occident Ibérique*, in *REI*, li (1983), 77-88; A.G.M. Borges, *As "kubbas" alentejanas*, in *I Congresso do Alentejo*, Beja-Évora 1985, i, 199-212; A.B. Coelho, *Portugal na Espanha musulmana*[2], Lisbon 1988; A. Sidarus, *Um texto árabe do século X sobre ... os movimentos muladis e berberes no Sudoeste Peninsular*, in *A cidade de Évora*, xlv-l, nos. 71-6 (1988-93), 7-37; Picard, *Quelques aspects des relations entre Chrétiens et musulmans ...*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire de Saint-Etienne*, Saint-Etienne 1990, 5-26; Sidarus, *Fracção de dinar de Ibn Wazīr de Évora*, in *NVMMVS*, xiv (Oporto 1992); idem, *Novos dados sobre Ibn Qasi de Silves e as "taifas" almorávidas*, in *I Jornadas de Silves*, Silvès 1992, 35-40; idem, *Santarém à l'époque islamique*, forthcoming; Picard, *Histoire de l'Espagne occidentale et du Portugal à l'époque islamique*, in press.

(A. Sidarus)

SHĀPŪR (P.), the NP form of MP Shāhpūr "king's son", usually Arabised as Shābūr, Sābūr, Syriac Shābhōr, Greek Σαπώρης or Σαβουρ (see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 284 ff.), the name of various monarchs of the Sāsānid dynasty in pre-Islamic Persia. For the detailed history of their reigns, see SĀSĀNIDS. Here, only such aspects as impinged on the Arabs will be noted.

Shāpūr I, son of Ardashīr Pāpakān (*r.* 239 or 241 to 270 or 273) is known in Arabic sources as Shāpūr al-Djunūd "Sh. of the armies" (e.g. in al-Ṭabarī, i, 824, tr. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, 28). In the Arabic sources, he is particularly connected with the capture from the Romans and the sack of the Arab city-state of northern ʿIrāḳ, Hatra (Ar. al-Ḥaḍr), which had been under Parthian cultural and political influence. Around this event was woven a romantic story (found in the *Khudāy-i nāma* transmitted by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] and in an Arabic tradition by Ibn al-Kalbī) that the city was betrayed to the Persians by the local ruler's daughter, who had become enamoured of Shāpūr (for details, see AL-ḤAḌR, and C.E. Bosworth, ch. *Iran and the Arabs*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii/1, 595-6). This Shāpūr is also credited by the Arabic geographers and historians with the foundation of various cities and towns of Persia, with compound names which included his own, such as Djundīshāpūr [see GONDĒSHĀPŪR] (these are listed in *EI*[1] art. SHĀPŪR, at IV, 314a).

Shāpūr II, son of Hormizd II (*r.* 309-79), was one of the greatest of the Sāsānid emperors, and had considerable contacts with the Arabs in his endeavours to protect the fringes of his Mesopotamian provinces from desert Arab marauders. According to Arabic authorities (including Ibn Ḳutayba, al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī, al-Thaʿālibī, etc.), he led a punitive expedition into eastern Arabia against such tribes as the ʿAbd al-Ḳays and the Iyād, although the story that he penetrated as far as Medina must be fictitious. Arab captives had their shoulders pierced or dislocated, whence Shāpūr's nickname in the Arabic sources of Dhu 'l-Aktāf "the man of the shoulder-blades". He is likewise described as constructing a line of defensive forts, walls and trenches (the *khandaḳ Sābūr*) in ʿIrāḳ, along the desert borders, and as garrisoning them, in the fashion of the Romans and their *limitanei*, with Arabs against the other Arabs within the desert (cf. also the role there of buffer-states like that of the Lakhmids of Ḥīra [*q.vv.*]). Again, the building of various cities and towns, where Roman captives were settled, is attributed to him (see *EI*[1] art. SHĀPŪR, at IV, 314b-316a).

Shāpūr III, son of Shāpūr II (*r.* 383-8), figures little in the Arabic sources, and what details are ascribed to him are probably due to confusion with the preceding Shāpūrs.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article and in SĀSĀNIDS, see R.N. Frye, ch. *The political history of Iran under the Sasanians*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii/1, 116-80.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SHĀPŪR, the name of a river of Fārs in southern Persia and also of the mediaeval Islamic town of Fārs which was the chef-lieu of the district of Shāpūr Khūra.

1. The river.

This is also called the Bishāwur (in Thévenot, *Suite du Voyage de Levant*, Paris 1674, 295: Bouschavir; 296: Boschavir), and river of Tawwadj. It must be identical with the antique Granis, mentioned by Arrian, *Indica*, 39; Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi, 99. The lower course, the proper river of Tawwadj, is formed by the junction of two streams, the Shāpūr and the Dalakī Rūd, rising both in the southwestern border mountains of the

Persian plateau, which extend along the Persian Gulf. The upper course is called by the Arab geographers Nahr Ratīn: this name is, very likely, found in Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi, 111, where *Dratinus* (with var. *Ratinus*) must, however, mean the river down to its mouth. This statement must be due to another source than Iuba, on whose authority the Granis was mentioned in vi, 99. In his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī seems to indicate that the Ratīn, whose source is, according to him as well as to al-Iṣṭakhrī, in the Upper Humāyidjān (al-Iṣṭakhrī: Khumāyidjān) district, is a tributary of the Shāpūr Rūd (tr. Le Strange, 217: "It is a great stream, and it flows into the Shāpūr river, its length, till it joins the Shāpūr river being 10 leagues". By this way of putting things, he can only mean that the river of Tawwadj originates from two different streams, one of which is the Ratīn. This, then, must be the older name for either the Shāpūr or the Dalakī Rūd. Al-Iṣṭakhrī (120) represents these facts in the same manner; there it is said that the Ratīn flows through the district of al-Zīriyān (with var.) before joining the Shāpūr.

The other rivers of the system are the Djirra (or Djarshīḳ), which joins the Shāpūr on the left, below Khisht, and the Ikhshīn. The name of the latter ("blue") may have originated from the colouring property of its waters, mentioned by the mediaeval geographers. Djarshīḳ is the older name of the Djirra river, although in the *Nuzha* Djarshīḳ and Djirra are erroneously described as two different streams. The account which the latter work gives of the Djirra is for the most part copied from Ibn al-Balkhī's *Fārs-nāma*. This states (ed. Le Strange, 151) that the Nahr Djirra, rising in the Māṣaram district, waters the lands of Musdjān and Djirra, and part of Ghundidjān, after which it joins the Shāpūr. In addition, al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions the bridge of Sabūk, under which the river Djarshīḳ flows before entering the *rustāḳ* of Khurra (Ibn al-Balkhī's Djirra); after Khurra, the stream passes into Dādhīn, where it unites with the Ikhshīn. The *Nuzha* makes the Djirra join the Shāpūr and the Djarshīḳ the Ikhshīn; as its author erroneously splits up the one river Djarshīḳ-Djirra into two, his account is here worthless.

The Ikhshīn, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī and Mustawfī, rises in thc Dādhīn hills, and unites with the Shāpūr at al-Djunkān. The *Nuzha* calls it a great stream; at present, it is identified with a little water course to the south-west of the lake of Kāzarūn. There appears, then, to be a difference as to the question, whether the Djarshīḳ and the Ikhshīn first join each other, and then unite with the river of Tawwadj, or flow into that stream each apart.

Concerning the Shāpūr itself, the *Fārs-nāma* (152) says that it rises in the mountain region (*kuhistān*) of the Bishāpūr district, which it waters, as also Khisht and Dīh Mālik. It flows in the sea (Persian Gulf) between Djanābī and Māndistān. This account is repeated in the *Nuzha*. In *Fārs-nāma*, 142, the Bishāpūr district is said to have its water from "a great river, called Rūd-i Bishāpūr". Owing to rice-plantations being there, its water is unwholesome (*wakhīm u nāguwār*). A short description of the river in modern times is given in J. Morier's *Second Journey through Persia ... between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, 49: "a river which ... having pierced into the plain of the Dashtistan, at length falls into the sea at Robilla. It takes its source near the site of Shapour, and when it begins to flow is fresh. But when it reaches the mountains it passes through a salt soil, and then its waters ... become brackish. A lesser stream of the same river branches off before it reaches the salt soil, and flows pure to the sea".

The mouth of the river is a short distance to the north of Bushīr, near the frontier of the district of Arradjān. Opposite to it lies the island of Khāriḳ, on the shipping route from Baṣra to India. The name Māndistān in the Persian geographers is connected by Tomaschek (*Topographische Erläuterung der Küstenfahrt Nearchs*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxi, 65) with the *Deximontani* in Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi, 99. According to Pliny, the river (Granis) is navigable for small vessels. Nowadays, the principal mouth presents difficulties to navigation because of its shallows; two minor mouths can be navigated up to some distance. On the present conditions, the delta, and the bitumen wells on the left bank of the river, south of Dalakī, see Tomaschek, *op. cit.*

In Antiquity, there was on the Granis a royal residence, Taoke, 200 stadia from the sea. This must be the same as the mediaeval Tawwadj (or Tawwaz), from which place the Shāpūr is named river of Tawwadj. In early Islamic times it was an important trade city, which also had a considerable textile industry; the stuffs named *tawwaziyya* were well-known (see R.B. Sergeant, *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, 52-3). This town belonged to the district of Ardashīr Khurra (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 114). During the 6th/12th century, the place had already declined; in Mustawfī's time (8th/14th century) it was totally ruined. Its site can not exactly be determined; nowadays the coast district of the Shāpūr river is called Tawwadj. Le Strange thought that the site of the town could be identified with the present Dih Kuhna, "the chief town of the (modern) Shabānkāra sub-district of the Dashtistān district".

On another Shāpūr or Shāwūr, a tributary of the Dizfūl Rūd, see KĀRŪN, at IV, 675a.

2. The town.

This was the ancient capital of the district Shāpūr Khurra of Fārs. According to al-Muḳaddasī, it was also called Shahrastān; its older name is Bishāpūr (from Pahlawī *Wēh-Shāhpuhr*). A naive etymology is found in the *Nuzha*, whose author, Mustawfī, says, that the word Bīshāpūr is a contraction of *binā-i Shāpūr* "building of Shāpūr". Ibn al-Balkhī, on the other hand, states that the first syllable of the original Bīshāpūr (with a long *ī*) may disappear by way of *takhfīf*.

Shāpūr Khurra, the area watered by the system of the Shāpūr-Ratīn, the smallest of the five provinces of Fārs, contained besides the town of Shāpūr some other important localities, e.g. Kāzarūn [*q.v.*], which was regarded as its chief town after Shāpūr had fallen into ruins, in addition to Nawbandadjān and Djirra.

The old town of Shāpūr was situated on the Shāpūr Rūd, at the road from Shīrāz to the sea, to the north of Kāzarūn. Mustawfī gives its situation as long. 86° 15', lat. 20°. Its climate belonged to the *garmsīr* or hot region, but its atmosphere was considered not to be healthy because the territory of the city was shut in by the mountains from the northern side. The environs were fruitful; they produced, besides many kinds of fruits and flowers also silk, the mulberry tree being frequent in that region. Honey and wax also came from its territory. The town was founded by the Sāsānid emperor Shāpūr I. It was one of the three cities where he settled his captives of war. It has been supposed, with much reason, that the emperor made use of the skill of these Roman captives in the construction of his buildings and also in the execution of his famous reliefs that have been found in the ruins. These reliefs relate to the campaigns of Shāpūr against the Romans. Three later rulers, Bahrām

II, Narseh and Khusraw II also added each a relief of themselves.

These works of art, already described in detail by Morier, have also been noticed by the mediaeval Islamic geographers; at least, they mention a great statue, standing in a cavern, which European travellers were able to identify.

Local authorities constructed a mythical history of the city from before the times of its Sāsānid founder. It was, according to these traditions, originally built by Tahmūrath, at a time when there existed in Fārs no other town besides Iṣṭakhr. Later on, it was laid waste by Alexander, to be only renovated by Shāpūr I. The name of Tahmūrath's foundation had been *D.y.n D.lā* (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 63, 142).

The Muslims subdued Shāpūr Khurra in 16/637, after the conquest of Tawwadj and the battle of Rīshahr. Bishāpūr is mentioned on the occasion of the disturbances which ensued at the beginning of the caliphate of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān; the insurrection in Fārs (25/645-6) against the Arabs seems to have been directed for some time from Bishāpūr by a brother of Shahrak, the governor of Fārs, who had fallen in the battle of Rīshahr. After the submission of the rebels, the inhabitants of Bishāpūr once more broke the treaty; hence it was reduced by Abu 'l-Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and ʿUthmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ.

In the time of the al-Muḳaddasī (end of the 4th/10th century), the town of Shahrastān or Shāpūr was already decaying, its outskirts being ruined; the environs, however, were well cultivated. He noted the four city gates and the ditch, also the *masdjid al-djāmiʿ* outside the city. Perhaps this may be the *masdjid-i djāmiʿ* mentioned by Ibn al-Balkhī, whose words seem to imply that it still existed when he wrote (beginning of the 6th/12th century). At the end of the Būyid rule, the Shabānkāra chieftain Abū Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Mamā destroyed Shāpūr, but, as Ibn al-Balkhī remarks, in his time the (Saldjūḳ) government tried to restore the damage. These endeavours may have had an effect as regards the district as a whole, but the city of Shāpūr never rose from its ruins. When Morier visited the site (1809), he found only a poor village, Darīs, in the neighbourhood of the remains. The opinion of this traveller, that the town may have existed till the 16th century of the Christian era because its name occurs in a table of latitudes and longitudes in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, carries no weight, for such a table may have been composed from older sources.

On the other foundations of Shāpūr I, which were called after his name, see the article SHĀPŪR, in addition to which it may be remarked that the town of Shāpūr Khʷāst, according to the *Fārs-nāma* (63), was situated in Khūzistān, near al-Ashtar.

Bibliography (in addition to references quoted in the article): The articles Dratinus and Granis in Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1668, vii, 1815; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 259-63, 267; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire ... de la Perse*, 142-3; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 7-8, 30 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 827 ff.; J. Morier, *A journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor... in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, 85 ff., 375 ff.; C.A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, 1845, i, 206 ff.; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1851; eidem, *Relation du Voyage*, ii, 248 ff.; M. Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, v, 119-20, Pls. xviii-xxi; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, 213 ff., Pls. xl-xlvi.

(V.F. Büchner)

SHĀR, a title of rulers in Central Asia and what is now Afghānistān during the early Islamic period and, presumably, in pre-Islamic times also. The form *shār* must be an attempt to render in Arabic orthography the MP and NP form *shēr/shīr* (< OP *khshathriya* "ruler", and not from *shēr* "lion"; see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 79).

The title appears in early Islamic texts on the geography and history of the eastern Iranian fringes. Thus the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky 105, comm. 327-8, gives Shār as the title of the ruler of the district of Gharčistān in northern Afghānistān [see GHARDJISTĀN], and al-Iṣṭakhrī, 271, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 443-4, had already spoken of the district as Ghardj al-Shār "the mountainous region of the Shār"; these rulers were vassals of first the Sāmānids and then of the Ghaznawids (see M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 60-2).

The title was also borne by the local rulers of Bāmiyān in eastern Afghānistān, with the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 109, comm. 341, giving it in the form Shīr [see BĀMIYĀN].

Finally, the rulers of the branch of the petty dynasty of Abū Dāwūdids or Banīdjūrids [*q.v.* in Suppl.] which ruled in Khuttal, to the north of the upper Oxus [see KHUTTALĀN], bore the title Shīr-i Khuttalān, according to Ibn Khurradādhbih, 40, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 301.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

SHAʿR (A.) "hair, pelt".

1. General.

The Arab poets, pre-Islamic as well as post-Islamic, often describe the hair of the women with whom they have fallen in love (al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, ii, 229; al-Raffāʾ, *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb*, i, 16-58; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya, fann* 2, *ḳism* 1, *bāb* 2; J. Sadan, *Maiden's hair and starry skies*, in *IOS*, xi [1991], 57-88). The context in which these descriptions are found shows a fairly clear situation: the hair of the heads of beautiful women is observed by lovers away from the house, in the open air, on the public road, etc. Sometimes the belles let their hair run down to their feet, sometimes they hide their identity and that of their lover by unbraiding and letting flow their hair around their own bodies and those of their lovers. This comes from their fear of being seen with their lovers by passers-by and calumniators. This poetic reality, which reflects a residue of ancient motifs rather than scenes of everyday life, is given real shape by iconography, above all, that of the Fāṭimid period (a woman with long hair flowing down to, or almost to the ground, in four clearly-distinguished tresses; D.S. Rice, *A drawing of the Fāṭimid period*, in *BSOAS*, xxi [1958], 31-9). Moreover, this iconography shows diverse manners of coiffure, like curls of hair in the form of hooks (either the letter *fāʾ* or *wāw*, *grosso modo*, or other letters, or "scorpions", in the language of the poet Abū Nuwās; see J. Bencheikh, *Poésies bacchiques*, in *BEO*, xviii [1963-4], 60-1) over the temples, a style which began at the court of al-Amīn (d. 198/813; see al-Masʿūdī, ed. Pellat, § 3451: *aṣdāgh*). In most of these cases, it is a question of slave girls in interiors.

Nevertheless, one of the duties of a woman faithful to the Islamic law is to cover her hair and the nape of her neck whenever she goes outside [see ḤIDJĀB]. This question has become one of the symbols of the struggles of contemporary Islamic fundamentalist circles for the piety and purity of the family. This symbol is strongly opposed by those circles who do not consider these teachings about female shame as an integral and rigorous part of the authentic religious tradition. Now, the restrictions imposed by Islam, such

as the prohibition for women of adding wigs or hairpieces to their natural covering of hair, are very clear, and can only develop into a fascinating clash between the ancient religious traditions and Western tastes and concepts of beauty care (see Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *w-ṣ-l*; M.ʿA.-ʿA. ʿAmr, *al-Libās wa 'l-zīna fi 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Beirut 1985, 403-7; ʿU.ʿA.M. al-Ṭayyibī, *Ḥukm al-Islām fi 'l-kuwāfir* [= coiffeur] *wa-ḥallāḳ al-nisāʾ*, Cairo 1992; a *fatwā* by al-Ḳarḍāwī against the use of wigs in his collected *Fatāwā*, Cairo 1990, 426-8).

In mediaeval times, the jurists permitted dyeing (*khiḍāb*) of men's hair. The licitness of this usage has become almost unanimous; now, in order to distance the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad from all controversy of this type, one group of jurists stresses the traditions which suggest that virtually all the Prophet's hair remained black up to his death. These traditions attach great importance, not only to the hair of this great personality who serves as a model for all Muslims (the number of his locks, *ḍafāʾir*, *ghadāʾir*, generally given as four, the length of his hair, which fell as far as his ears and his shoulders, the methods of combing, laying out, putting oil on the hair, etc.), but also to the hair on his chest, as far as the beginning of the stomach or *masraba* (al-Tirmidhī, *Awṣāf al-nabī*, Beirut 1989, 37-47; Abu 'l-Shaykh, *Akhlāḳ al-nabī*, Cairo 1993, 184; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Wafāʾ*, Beirut 1988, 398-402; al-Baghawī, *al-Anwār*, Beirut 1989, i, 148-52; see also Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Khalḳ al-nabī wa-khulḳuhu*, ms. Leiden Or. 437).

The Muslims limited the size of their moustaches (*iḥfāʾ*, *djazz*; even a partial tonsure), but they allowed their beards to grow (*iʿfāʾ*), except for certain ephebes who, by depilation (*natf*) of their cheeks, "prolonged" their youth for a few weeks (M. al-Hamīd, *Ḥukm al-liḥya fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo, Dār al-Djihād n.d.; ʿA. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Ḥukm al-dīn fi 'l-liḥya wa 'l-tadkhīn*, Cairo 1984; F. al-Hindāwī (ed.), *Wudjūb iʿfāʾ al-liḥya*, Cairo 1987; ʿUmar al-Ashkar, *Thalāth shaʿāʾir: al-ʿaḳīḳa, al-aḍḥiya, al-liḥya*, ʿAmmān 1991; a *fatwā* by ʿA.-Ḥ. Kishk forbidding the trimming of beards in his collected *Fatāwā*, vi, Cairo 1988, 103-4). However, it is allowable to pluck the hair under the armpits (*natf al-ibṭ*), and the hair on the more intimate parts of the body may be removed by using a razor (*istiḥdād* or *ḥalḳ*) or by applying *nūra*, a depilatory paste (see *Concordance*, s.v. *ḥ-d-d*, *ḥ-l-ḳ*, *n-t-f*; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, i, 388-9; Usāma b. Munḳidh, *al-Iʿtibār*, ed. Hitti, 136-7; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Akhbār al-maʾthūra fi 'l-iṭṭilāʿ bi 'l-nūra* (= epistle on the usage of depilatories), in his *al-Ḥāwī fi 'l-fatāwī*, Cairo 1959, i, 524-31; al-Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-shāmiyya*, i, 37, 103-5, 107-8, ii, 435-6; Lane, *Manners and customs*, end of ch. XVI, since care of the hair and depilation often took place in public baths, and cf. al-ʿAskarī, *op. cit.*, 152-64, describing grey hair and the dyeing of hair; al-Nuwayrī, *loc. cit.* See also the treatises on public baths: al-Munāwī, *al-Nuzha al-zahiyya*, Cairo 1987, 18, 35-8, 78; al-Kawkabānī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-nammām fi 'l-kalām ʿalā mā yataʿallaḳ bi 'l-ḥammām*, Beirut 1986, 48-53, 144-50).

The term *shaʿr* also has the sense of "skin, pelt" (human and animal). The wool of sheep is called *ṣūf* [*q.v.*], whilst the hair of camels and dromedaries is usually called *shaʿr* and occasionally *wabar*, the nomads are called *ahl al-wabar*. This hair or wool can be woven, whence the term *buyūt al-shaʿr* for the nomads' tents. Animal pelts are also used to stuff mattresses and valued cushions (Sadan, *Le mobilier*, Leiden 1976, 102).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Thaʿālibī, *Fiḳh al-lugha*, Beirut 1989, 112-15; Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, i, 62-79; Iskāfī, *Khalḳ al-insān*, Beirut and ʿAmmān 1991, 48-54; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, *Ṭahāra*, Book 3, section 3, category 2; Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, lxxx, 217-32; M. Zand, *What is the tress like? Notes on a group of standard Persian metaphors*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 463-79; P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *Between communalism and secularism. Modern discussions on male head-gear and coiffure*, in *Pluralism and identity*, ed. Platvoet and van der Toorn, 1995, 327-45.

(J. SADAN)

2. Legal aspects regarding human hair.

The dressing of hair is, like many other items of hygiene and ornament, addressed in the works of *sharīʿa*. The discussion of its rules has no fixed location in these works, which may indicate that the topic came only lately to be a concern of the jurists. Discussions of hair and its treatment, in addition to the part it plays in *ʿaḳīḳa*, *ḥadjdj* [*q.vv.*], and gender distinctions (through requirements to cover the hair), can be found in sections on *wuḍūʾ* [*q.v.*], and *albisa*/*libāsāt* [see LIBĀS] *mustaḥsanāt* or *makrūhāt*.

In these works, there is a lingering sense of hair as a sacral substance, an occasion of vulnerability (see Leach, *Magical hair*, Morgenstern, *Rites of birth*). The *locus classicus* for the rules of hair care is the *ḥadīth* specifying the five, or ten, *fiṭra* practices, here understood to mean practices common to all the prophets, or practices that are part of the general *sunna*, or of religion (*dīn*) (see al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ*, iii, 147). These five or ten are practices of elementary hygiene, from cleansing the knuckles and clipping the nails, to circumcision [see KHITĀN]. Men and women are enjoined to pluck, shave, or depilate their pubic regions and armpits. Men are to cut (*ḳaṣṣ*) the moustache and let the beard grow (*iʿfāʾ*), and to cut, not shave, their hair. Women may cut their hair. Grey hairs may be dyed.

Characteristically, the *sharʿī* rules are meticulous, and are also occasions of discussion and controversy. How best to accomplish these aims is discussed in some detail. The pubis (*al-ʿāna*) is best shaved with a razor (a practice called *istiḥdād*), as is a portion of the buttocks (*ḥalḳat al-dubur*). The armpits (*ibṭ*) are best plucked (*natf*), but if that is too painful one may shave, or depilate them (with lime, *nūra*). The beard is to be left full, contrary to the custom of the Persians. It may be dyed, but not black, which would be deceptive. One may dye it black in war, so as to deceive the enemy (Juynboll, *Dying the hair and beard*). It is reprehensible for men to pluck or shave the beard when it first appears, so as to maintain a comely youthful appearance. Women may clip facial hairs, or depilate them, but not pluck them. Preferred dyes for the beard and hair, especially when grey, are yellow or red. Adding to hair by weaving into it other hair (*waṣl*), of whatever kind, is not permitted. Hair for men should be worn between the earlobes and shoulders; it should be dressed and parted. The nape (*al-ḳafā*) of the neck should not be shaved, unless for cupping (*ḥidjāma*). Hair of the head should be cut, depending on its length, though some sources suggest every 40 days (al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ*, iii, 148-9); other hair should be cut when it becomes excessive and disgusting (*Mughnī*, i, 72). Hair removed from the head should be buried (*ibid.*).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, Beirut 1304/1983, i, 70 ff.; Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Mawṣilī, *al-Ikhtiyār li-taʿlīl al-mukhtār*, Cairo n.d. v. 264 ff.; Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Beirut n.d., i, 146 ff.

2. Studies. S.M. Zwemer, *The ʿakika sacrifice*, in *MW*, vi (1916), 236-52; idem, *Hairs of the Prophet*, in *I. Goldziher memorial volume*, i, Budapest 1948, 48-54; E.R. Leach, *Magical hair*, in *Jnal. Royal Anthrop. Inst.*, lxxxviii (1958), 47-64; R. Morgenstern, *Rites of birth, death, marriage, death and kindred occasions amongst the Semites*, Chicago 1966; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Dyeing the hair and beard in early Islam, a ḥadīth-analytical study*, in *Arabica*, xxxiii (1986), 49-75.

(A.K. Reinhart)

3. In Arabic and Persian poetry. The ancient Arab poets were interested in two aspects of human hair, namely, women's black splendour of thick, soft and fragrant hair (*farʿ*) falling over the shoulders in light waves (*dhuʾāba*), plaited or worn up and serving as a symbol of beauty, and men's greying and whitening hair (*shayb*), pointing to old age and death and stimulating contemplative meditations.

Due to later urbanism, the ideal of beauty also deals with other hair styles, such as the seductive love locks (*ṣudgh*), the fore locks (*ṭurra*), the shoulder locks (*limma*) and—mainly under Persian influence—the young man's down.

Originally, comparison between hair styles was rather underdeveloped, probably because most of the terms were of metonymical or metaphorical origin. The Bedouin poets occasionally compared women's exuberant hair (*waḥf*) with bunches of dates (Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. Ḥudjr, *Muʿallaḳa*, 32/35) and al-Aʿshā's description of his beloved as "a garden whose grapes (= hair) dangle down upon me" was seen as a very uncommon verse (according to Bashshār b. Burd, see al-ʿAskarī, *Maʿānī*, i, 244, 6). A more elaborate terminology for hair came into being in the ʿAbbāsid period, again, in particular, for the love locks, which are compared sometimes with links of a chain and with annalids (*zurfīn*), sometimes with curved objects such as a scorpion or a polo-stick or the letters *nūn* and *lām* (al-ʿAskarī, *op. cit.*, i, 245, 247; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Dīwān*, ed. Khayyāṭ, 91, 1).

But the incentive for a poetical description of the hair is usually found in a complementary or contrastive reality. In the case of greying hair, there is the visible distinction between black and white, which refers to the internal one between youth and old age. Antithetic metaphors are day and night, darkness and light and, linguistically speaking, there is the alliteration of *shabāb* (youth) and *shayb* (see al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*], *Dīwān*, ed. Beirut 1983, 148 v. 32, and Kushādjim, in *Nihāya*, ii, 23, 15-16). Abū Tammām speaks of the dazzlingly white exterior and the raven-black interior (*ibid.*, 25, 17), and for Rūdakī, dyeing the hair black is not feigning youth but applying colour of mourning about the loss of youth (Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl u ashʿār-i... Rūdakī*, Tehran 1319/1940, vv. 396-7).

In the field of the beauty of the youth of both sexes, contrasts and mental pyrotechnics are stimulated by the opposition between dark hair and white skin. Al-Aʿshā still compares the black hair which falls over the naked body of his beloved with his *khamīṣa* (black garment with edging) lying on glittering gold, but to a poet of the 4th/10th century the down of a beautiful youth appears "as the black of misfortune, which creeps over the white of happiness" (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1956, i, 420, 3).

And so the field of fantasy is reached. For Ibn al-Muʿtazz, the polo-stick of the lock drives the ball of the birth-mark (*Dīwān*, ed. Lewin, iii, 55, 5), and the scorpion of the lock stops short when he comes too close to the fire of the cheek (*Dīwān*, ed. Khayyāṭ, Beirut 1332/1914, 88, 4); for al-Waʾwāʾ, the "lightning of the teeth", and for Ibn Ḥamdīs the "light of the forehead", become the leader when they go astray in the night of the hair (*Yatīma*, i, 291, 3, and *Dīwān Ibn Ḥamdīs*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1960, 72, 4 from below).

In Persian poetry, hair is completely integrated in the general symmetry of comparison between human and botanical forms of beauty. Lock/down and violet/hyacinth are opposed here, like in Arabic poetry, cheek = rose or eye = narcissus. It may be that this is a heritage of the lyrics of the minstrels (cf. M. Boyce, *The Parthian* gosan and *Iranian minstrel tradition*, in *JRAS* [1957], 36). In any case, a play is made later with the corresponding ambivalence of the indications of flowers, like for instance Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (d. 635/1237) in the first part of the verse (*Dīwān*, ed. Baḥr al-ʿulūmī, 343, v. 5810):

In the rose-garden (the face), the violets grabbed the hem of the jasmine (the fair skin):
Your field of down countered with a most sweet chin (= "over-trumping").

Already in the most ancient material, the love locks (*zulf*) and the down (*ʿidhār*, also *khaṭṭ*) dominate the field of the Persian descriptions of hair. Later, they are supplemented by the combination "the arrows of the eyelashes on the bow of the eyebrows" (Anwarī, *Dīwān*, ed. Raḍawī, Tehran 1959, i, 34, 3). Sometimes the length of the love lock is emphasised, sometimes its untidyness and its tousled nature. It drags on in interminable windings, curves and knots, *ʿayn* in *ʿayn*, as Maʿrūfī says in a comparison with letters (Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, Paris-Tehran 1964, ii, 134, v. 18). It remains the "chain" of Arabic poetry, but becomes also a "trap", a "snare" and a "lasso" (*dām*, *kamand*) and, from the time of Rūdakī (d. 329/1040-1), connected with the image that the hearts of the amorous have to languish in its bonds (Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl*, 1038, v. 469).

The swarthiness of the hair remains, incidentally, an inexhaustible source for the invention of images in Persian poetry. Reference is made to all that is literally or figuratively black: musk, a Hindu, Ahriman, infidelity, etc. Even in the theosophical visions of ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadhānī [*q.v.*], the "black light" of Iblīs appears as a forelock on the luminous head of God (*Tamhīdāt*, ed. ʿUsayran, Tehran 1341/1970, 118, ll. 8-9; cf. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, i, Berlin 1991, 345-6).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Specific chapters devoted to the theme of poetical treatment of hair are found in *Tashbīhāt* works, like that of Kattānī, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1966, 124-31; in collections of motifs, such as that by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, Cairo 1352/1933-4, i, 244-50; and in encyclopaedic *adab* works such as Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923 ff., ii, 16-31. Individual verses on the theme of hair can be met on almost all places where erotic poetry is written, collected or quoted.

(B. Reinert)

SHARĀB [see mashrūbāt].

SHARAF (a.), a verbal noun from the root *sh-r-f* indicating elevation, nobility, pre-eminence in the physical and the moral senses. Hence the *sharīf* [*q.v.*] is a person who is placed above those who surround him on account of his prestigious and noble origin. In pre-Islamic Arabia and in early Islam, *sharaf* and *madjd* both denote "illustriousness on account of birth", while *ḥasab*, "individual quality, merit" (as opposed to *nasab*) and *karam* denote "illustriousness acquired by oneself" (*LA*, s.vv. and see ḥasab wa-nasab).

According to the historians of Islam, those among the Arabs who could claim this innate glory, this

nobility of birth, were the descendants of Ḳuraysh̲ in the Dj̲āhiliyya and in Islam, comprising Hās̲him, Umayya, Nawfal, ʿAbd al-Dār, Asad, Taym, Makh̲zūm, ʿAdī, Dj̲umaḥ and Sahm, in all, ten families (*rahṭ*), the offspring of ten wombs (*baṭn*) (cf. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Ṣādir, Beirut, fasc. xii, 8).

But this list was to be much reduced in the course of the first century of Islam, nobility of birth being concentrated in the family of the Prophet. The Prophet himself was reckoned to embody all the nobility of the Arabs, since it was said of him that he was the best of creatures, being the offspring of the best part (of the world), the best tribe, the best family and the best genealogy (*op. cit.*, fasc. xvii, 9 ff.).

But the Arabs had had other definitions of glory before Islam. In fact, *s̲haraf* and *madj̲d* belonged to the kings of Kinda [*q.v.*], who attempted to unify the nomadic Arab tribes under a single banner, *ca.* A.D. 480. This was an ephemeral glory, since this experiment collapsed in 529, following the victory of al-Mund̲hir III b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ, king of al-Ḥīra, over al-Ḥārit̲h V b. ʿAmr, the last great king of Kinda, who had succeeded in extending his power over al-Ḥīra between 524 and 528, as a result of a misunderstanding between the Sāsānid emperor Kawād̲h I (488-531) and al-Mund̲hir III (512-54). The support of the successor to Kawād̲h I, Kh̲usraw I Anūs̲hirwān (531-79) [*q.v.*], enabled the king of al-Ḥīra to regain his kingdom, to expel al-Ḥārit̲h, to have forty-eight members of his family executed by his loyal retainers, and to have the man himself assassinated by his allies the Banū Kalb. Such was the end of the glory of the Kinda, lamented by a grandson of al-Ḥārit̲h, Imruʾ al-Ḳays, one of the greatest poets of pre-Islamic Arabia.

This glory was retrieved by the Lakh̲mids and the G̲h̲assānids, both originating from Yemen (while the Kinda came from Ḥaḍramawt). But they, too, left no recognised lineage and no acknowledged nobility. All of this was based on a rivalry, the memories of which are not yet extinct, between Ḳaysīs (Arabs of the North) and Yamanīs (Arabs of the South).

There remains prophetic nobility (*s̲haraf bayt al-nabī*). It is immortalised by the *s̲harīfs* of Mecca (whose heir is the King of Jordan) and the S̲horfā [see S̲HURAFĀʾ] of Morocco (Idrīsids, Saʿdids, etc.). The Umayyads tried in vain to revive the glories of Ḳuraysh̲. Only poetry has retained its memory.

Bibliography: The most important sources for the subject are: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh̲*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953; Balād̲hurī, *Ansāb al-as̲h̲rāf*, an immense historical and genealogical encyclopaedia (the Cairo ms. comprises 12 vols.), of which the following vols. have been published:

i. ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh Ḥaydarābādī, Cairo 1938; iii. ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, Wiesbaden 1978 (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, 28c); iv/1. ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Wiesbaden 1979 (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, 28d); iv/1-2. ed. M. Schlössinger, Jerusalem 1938 and 1971; v. ed. S.D.F. Goitein, Jerusalem 1936; xi. ed. W. Ahlwardt, Greifswald 1883.

The third important source is Ibn Ḥazm, *Dj̲amharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948.

For a sociological analysis of the notion of honour (*ʿirḍ*) among the pre-Islamic Arabs, see Edouard (in the thesis) or Bis̲h̲r (in the article) Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes. Etude de sociologie*, Paris 1932, and his art. ʿIRḌ above. (T. FAHD)

AL-**S̲HARAF** (Yemen) [see Suppl.].

S̲HARAF AL-DAWLA, Abu 'l-Fawāris S̲hīrd̲hīl, Būyid ruler (350-79/961-89), the eldest son of ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*].

His mother was, like his paternal grandmother, a Turkish slave woman. In 357/967-8, at the age of six or seven, he was given Kirmān as an appanage by his father, then ruling in Fārs. He accompanied his father on his campaign to conquer Bag̲h̲dād in 366/977, but was sent back to Kirmān to remove him from the court not long before ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death in 372/983. Since the latter had failed to make final arrangements for the succession, a power struggle ensued for the supreme position among the Būyid princes. In Bag̲h̲dād, S̲haraf al-Dawla's younger brother Ṣamṣām al-Dawla [*q.v.*] was recognised by the caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ. S̲haraf al-Dawla responded by seizing the Būyid power base of Fārs. He killed ʿAḍud al-Dawla's vizier there and relied on the backing of commanders who had been imprisoned by his father. He recognised, however, the overlordship of his uncle Muʾayyid al-Dawla ruling in Rayy. The latter died in 373/984 and was succeeded by his brother Fakh̲r al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who backed Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's claim to supremacy among ʿAḍud al-Dawla's sons, while himself assuming the title *S̲hāhāns̲hāh.*

S̲haraf al-Dawla refused to acknowledge his overlordship, and took the offensive against Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. He seized al-Ahwāz and Baṣra, where two further brothers of his had been ruling. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla was forced to sue for peace, and formally agreed to obey S̲haraf al-Dawla as his overlord. The caliph confirmed the agreement by conferring the titles S̲haraf al-Dawla wa-Tādj̲ al-Milla on the elder brother. The latter had, however, decided to proceed with the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, ignoring the agreement. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla surrendered to him in Wāsiṭ and was soon sent to prison in Fārs. S̲haraf al-Dawla entered Bag̲h̲dād in 376/987 and was greeted by the caliph. He now aspired to supremacy over his uncle Fakh̲r al-Dawla, and assumed the title *S̲hāhāns̲hāh*. However, an army which he sent against the Kurd Badr b. Ḥasanūya in western Dj̲ibāl to punish him for his support of Fakh̲r al-Dawla was defeated. Before the conflict for supremacy was settled, S̲haraf al-Dawla died of dropsy in 379/989 aged 28. He was buried at Kūfa next to his father.

S̲haraf al-Dawla was a patron of astronomical research and built an observatory in the garden of his palace in Bag̲h̲dād, where Abū Sahl al-Kūhī and other renowned astronomers carried out observations of planetary movements. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī dedicated to him a treatise on making astrolabes.

Bibliography: Rūd̲hrāwarī, *Ṣila*, ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth, in *The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, iii, 28, 79-149; Ibn al-Athīr, index s.v.; Ibn al-Dj̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, index s.v.; Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, x, 75-80, xiv, 92-6; M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, esp. 69-76; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969, 63-7 and index s.v.; W. Madelung, *The assumption of the title S̲hāhāns̲hāh by the Būyids and the reign of the Daylam*, in *JNES*, xxviii (1969), 168-72.

(W. MADELUNG)

S̲HARAF AL-DĪN [see S̲HUFURWA].

S̲HARAF AL-DĪN, ʿABD AL-ḤUSAYN B. AL-SAYYID YŪSUF, AL-MŪSAWĪ AL-ʿĀMILĪ, famous Imāmī S̲hīʿī *mudj̲tahid* [*q.v.*], one of the promoters of what has been called the "S̲hīʿī awakening" in modern Lebanon [see MUTAWĀLĪ]. According to his autobiography, he was born in 1290/1873 at al-Kāẓimayn [*q.v.*], where his father had emigrated to, for the purpose of studying, from S̲h(u)ḥūr, a village near Tyre in the Dj̲abal ʿĀmil [see ʿĀMILA].

Having received his primary education, mainly in

southern Lebanon, ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn came back to ʿIrāḳ in 1892, and he pursued his studies in Nadjaf until May 1904, when he returned to his home village. About three years later he settled in Tyre to become the spiritual leader of the local Imāmī Shīʿī community. Apart from a period of exile after World War I (see below) and a number of journeys abroad, he lived in Tyre until his death on 30 December, 1957, being then buried in Nadjaf.

Supported, *inter alia*, by Lebanese Shīʿī communities in West Africa, Sharaf al-Dīn was over the years able to establish a number of religious, educational and social institutions in Tyre, such as a *Ḥusayniyya*, a Friday mosque, schools (including one for girls), a charitable society and an orphanage. Moreover, new mosques were erected or old ones rebuilt on his initiative in a number of adjacent villages. As far as his political activities are concerned, he has been praised by many authors for his stand against the French Mandate over Lebanon [see LUBNĀN], and notably for a speech he delivered at a meeting of political and religious leaders at Wādī 'l-Ḥudjayr in April 1920, but he has also been criticised by a few others who have interpreted his attitude at that time and in the following years somewhat differently. However, as a result of his agitation against the mandatory power, he was forced to leave southern Lebanon. First he went to Damascus, after the battle of Maysalūn [*q.v.*] to Egypt, and finally to Palestine, from where he was allowed to return to Tyre in June 1921 (for a book written wholly in defence of Sharaf al-Dīn's political role, see Muḥammad al-Kūrānī, *al-Djudhūr al-taʾrīkhiyya li 'l-muḳāwama al-islāmiyya fī Djabal ʿĀmil*, Beirut 1993).

During the last years of his life, Sharaf al-Dīn himself seems to have paved the way for his relative Sayyid Mūsā al-Ṣadr [*q.v.* in Suppl.] to become his successor as leader of the Shīʿī community in Tyre and its vicinity.

As a religious scholar, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn was known for his erudition in both Shīʿī and Sunnī *Ḥadīth*, for his apologetical fervour as well as for his conservative standpoint on a number of issues raised by Shīʿī modernists, such as the corpse traffic to the *ʿAtabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and its paraphernalia (see Y. Nakash, *The Shiʿis of Iraq*, Princeton 1994, 184-201, esp. 193-7) and certain features of the *taʿziya* processions (see W. Ende, *The flagellations of Muḥarram*, in *Isl.*, lv [1978], 19-36, esp. 31-2).

As far as his works are concerned, a history of his own family as well as of the Āl Ṣadr, who are closely linked to the Āl Sharaf al-Dīn by intermarriage, was published only posthumously by one of his sons, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh, with extensive additions, i.e. *Bughyat al-rāghibīn fī silsilat Āl Sharaf al-Dīn*, Beirut 1991 (with ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn's autobiography in ii, 63-254).

Of special fame in Shīʿī circles is his book *al-Murādjaʿāt*, a work on doctrinal questions purporting to contain his correspondence with an Egyptian Sunnī scholar, Salīm al-Bishrī (d. 1917), who was Shaykh al-Azhar when Sharaf al-Dīn came to Cairo in 1911. The first edition was published only in 1936 in Sidon, while the 10th appeared in 1972 in Beirut; since then there have been several reprints (as well as translations into other languages). Many Shīʿīs consider this work (i.e. Sharaf al-Dīn's answers to al-Bishrī's questions) as one of the most convincing expositions of the Twelver Shīʿī doctrine of the *imāma* [*q.v.*] that has ever been written (for a discussion of its rather uncertain genesis, see Brunner, *Annäherung*).

The last of his books published in his lifetime is *al-Naṣṣ wa 'l-idjtihād*, [1]Nadjaf 1956, [10]Beirut 1988, a work on early Islam and the role of the Companions of the Prophet in the development of the *Sharīʿa*.

For lists of Sharaf al-Dīn's many works, see e.g. Ḳubaysī, 53-69; Ṣadr, 28-32; Āl Yasīn, 20-3; ʿAbbās ʿAlī, 113-14, 146-8; Faḍl Allāh, 55-70; all these authors also mention unpublished writings of his lost when soldiers plundered his houses in Shḥūr and Tyre during the disturbances of 1920. See further K. ʿAwwād, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, ii, Baghdād 1969, 228-9; Y.A. Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabiyya*, iii/1, Beirut 1972, 626-9.

Bibliography: In addition to the titles given in the text, see Murtaḍā Āl Yāsīn, *Ḥayāt al-muʾallif*, dated 1946, in the introduction to *al-Murādjaʿāt* (see above), e.g. [10]Beirut 1972, 9-29; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-shīʿa*, i/3 (*Nuḳabāʾ al-bashar*), Nadjaf 1962, 1080-8; Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ al-Ṣadr, *Ḳabas min ḥayāt al-sayyid al-muʾallif*, in the introd. to *al-Naṣṣ wa 'l-idjtihād* (see above), [3]Nadjaf 1964, 7-44 (as well as in later editions); ʿAbbās ʿAlī, *al-Imām Sharaf al-Dīn, ḥuzmat ḍawʾ ʿalā ṭarīḳ al-fikr al-imāmī*, Nadjaf 1968; Aḥmad Ḳubaysī, *Ḥayāt al-imām Sharaf al-Dīn fī suṭūr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḳubaysī, Beirut 1980; Hādī Faḍl Allāh, *Rāʾid al-fikr al-iṣlāḥī*, Beirut n.d. [1987-8]; Muṣṭafā Ḳulī-zāda, *Sharaf al-Dīn-i ʿĀmilī*, Tehran 1993; *al-Imām al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn muṣliḥ*[an]*, mufakkir*[an] *wa-adīb*[an], Beirut 1993 (= procs. of a commemorative conference organised by the Iranian Cultural Council, Beirut); R. Brunner, *Annäherung und Distanz ...*, diss. Univ. of Freiburg-im-Breisgau (forthcoming). (W. ENDE)

SHARAF AL-DĪN ʿALĪ YAZDĪ, Persian historian and poet of the Tīmūrid period, born at Yazd, died in 858/1454.

He was a favourite of the Tīmūrid ruler Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] and of his son Mīrzā Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, governor of Fārs, and in 832/1429 became tutor to the captured young Čingizid Yūnus Khān, to whom he dedicated many poems. He was then in the service of the Tīmūrid prince Mīrzā Sulṭān Muḥammad in ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī or western Persia, and narrowly escaped death when that prince rebelled in 850/1447. After Shāh Rukh's death he retired to Yazd and settled in the nearby village of Taft, where he died, being buried in the Sharafiyya *madrasa* which he had founded.

Yazdī had a high reputation as a littérateur and poet. In addition to his poetry, written under the *takhallus* of Sharaf, he wrote a commentary on the *Burda* ode of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a work on magic squares and a work on riddles (*muʿammā*); he compiled an anthology of Arabic and Persian poetry; and he left behind a collection of *inshāʾ*. His main fame, however, stems from his *Ẓafar-nāma*, a florid and euphuistic, hence much admired at the time (with the result that a large number of mss. survive), history in Persian of Tīmūr and his grandson Khalīl Sulṭān. This was compiled from other histories of the great conqueror and from eyewitness accounts, and completed in 828/1425; further planned sections on Shāh Rukh and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān were never completed.

Bibliography: Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Browne, 378-81; C. Rieu, *Cat. of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, 173-5; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 362-5; Storey, i, 284-8, 1274; Storey-Bregel, ii, 797-807; Rypka *et alii*, *History of Persian literature*, 434, 444. The most recent eds. of the *Ẓafar-nāma* include that of M. ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1336/1957, and facs. ed. A. Uranbaev, Tashkent 1972.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SHARAF AL-DĪN, ḤASAN RĀMĪ [see RĀMĪ TABRĪZĪ].

AL-**SHAʿRĀNĪ**, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad (897-973/1492-1565), Egyptian Ṣūfī, scholar, historian of Ṣūfism, and a prolific writer about many religious subjects during a period otherwise poor in distinguished figures of learning and piety in the Arab lands.

Sources. The main sources for al-Shaʿrānī's life are his own writings, which must, of course, be used with caution. This is especially true of *Laṭāʾif al-minan*, his lengthy account of the graces bestowed upon him by God, a work that beside recounting miraculous events, also includes many autobiographical elements. Paradoxically, al-Shaʿrānī's voluminous literary output obscures our view of him, because most of his biographers, such as his disciple ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī [*q.v.*], drew heavily on his works, adding little new information. An important biography, *al-Manāḳib al-kubrā*, was written in 1109/1697 by Muḥammad Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn al-Malīdjī, an affiliate of the al-Shaʿrānī order (Cairo 1350/1932).

Origins and life. According to al-Shaʿrānī, his ancestor five generations back was Mūsā Abū ʿImrān, son of the sultan of Tlemcen in North Africa. Mūsā was a follower of Shaykh Abū Madyan Shuʿayb (d. 594/1197), the founder of the Shādhilī Ṣūfī tradition, who sent him to Egypt. Finally, the family settled in the village of Sāḳiyat Abū Shaʿra in the Minūfiyya province, hence the *nisba*. Al-Shaʿrānī came to Cairo at the age of twelve and settled in the Bāb al-Shaʿriyya quarter and was raised in a Ṣūfī milieu. He became a student of Cairo's best-known *ʿulamāʾ* of all the *madhāhib*, not only his own Shāfiʿī one, and a follower of distinguished orthodox Ṣūfīs. Yet his spiritual director was an illiterate palm-leaf plaiter (hence, his *laḳab*), named ʿAlī al-Khawwāṣ al-Burullusī (d. 939/1532-3). Al-Shaʿrānī became a successful and wealthy man and a popular writer thanks to his attractive personality, erudition and readable style. Inevitably, his popularity made him many enemies and rivals, the most prominent of whom was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Karīm al-Dīn (d. 985/1578), the leader of the (then) unorthodox Khalwatī *ṭarīḳa*, but he claimed to have had, personal contacts with members of the ruling class, from the pashas, the Ottoman governors of Egypt, down. He died on 12 Djumādā I 973/5 December 1565, and was buried in the *zāwiya*, which had been built for him. His son ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (d. 1011/1608) succeeded as the head of the *zāwiya* and the *ṭarīḳa*, although he did not have his father's personality and ability. Yet the *ṭarīḳa* survived into the 19th century. Ewliya Čelebi mentions al-Shaʿrānī's *mawlid* in the second half of the 11th/17th century. The *ṭarīḳa* is mentioned by al-Djabartī and by E.W. Lane, but not by ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, whose *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda* is a major source for Egyptian Ṣūfism in the late 19th century, nor by 20th-century sources and authorities on the subject.

His Ṣūfism. Al-Shaʿrānī represents the orthodox, middle-of-the-road, only moderately ascetic, and non-political brand of Egyptian Ṣūfism. He was influenced by Shādhilī ethics and literature, but did not identify with that *ṭarīḳa*, since he considered it too aristocratic. Socially, he was associated with the Aḥmadiyya or Badawiyya, the *ṭarīḳa* of Sīdī Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276) [*q.v.*], whom he venerated, but he fiercely attacked the antinomian and vulgar Aḥmadīs and other similar orders for their "excesses", their disregard of the *Sharīʿa* and lack of respect for the *ʿulamāʾ*. Likewise, al-Shaʿrānī criticises the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*], popular at that time among the Turkish soldiers, attacking its principle of *khalwa*, solitary retreat of the adherents, as causing hallucinations and not true religious experience. He never states his own *ṭarīḳa* affiliation, and identifies generally with the *ṭarīḳ al-ḳawm*, i.e. the orthodox way of al-Djunayd. His initiation into 26 *ṭarīḳas* seems to have been merely ceremonial or for the sake of obtaining *baraka*.

As a historian of Ṣūfism (he compiled collections of *ṭabaḳāt* containing lives and sayings of Ṣūfīs) and an apologist for it, al-Shaʿrānī insists that genuine Ṣūfīs have never contravened the *Sharīʿa* in word or deed, and if it seems otherwise, it is only because of a misunderstanding, misinterpretation, ignorance of the Ṣūfī terminology, or interpolation by enemies. In this way, al-Shaʿrānī chose to defend the orthodoxy of the great mystic Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], whose ideas he epitomises in his *al-Yawāḳīt wa ʾl-djawāhir*, rendering the mystic's complicated theories in a simplified way.

His *fiḳh*. In his *al-Mīzān al-Kubrā*, al-Shaʿrānī expounds a theory based on Ṣūfī assumptions that aims at the unification of the four *madhāhib*, or at least their equality and the need to narrow the gaps between them. He believed that there were no real differences between the founders of the *madhāhib*, in contradistinction to the opinions held by their narrow-minded imitators (*muḳallidūn*). The founders were *awliyāʾ* and thus had access to the Source of the Law (*ʿayn al-Sharīʿa*) whence they derived the precepts of religion. According to him, there is only one *Sharīʿa*, and it has two standards—strict (*ʿazīma*) for those who are resolute in their religion, and lenient (*rukhṣa*) for those who are weak. Generally, al-Shaʿrānī criticised the *fuḳahāʾ* for troubling the common people with the finer points of jurisprudence, of little relevance to the essentials of Islam.

His social ideas. His weaknesses and inconsistencies notwithstanding, al-Shaʿrānī had a feeling for the essentials in religion. He also had a genuine empathy for the weak and underprivileged elements of society, such as fellaheen, labourers, and women. He paid particular attention to the relations of Ṣūfīs with members of the ruling class and wrote a treatise advising *ʿulamāʾ* and *faḳīrs* how to get along with *amīrs*. His criticism of the rulers' injustice in general and the Ottoman rulers of Egypt in particular, is typically circumspect, but he hints at the date 923/1517, the year of the Ottoman conquest, as a turning point for the worse, and elsewhere makes a hostile remark about the *ḳānūn*, the Ottoman administrative law.

Bibliography: *EI*[1], *al-Shaʿrānī* (J. Schacht); A.E. Shmidt, *ʿAbd al-Vakhkhab ash-Shaʿrānī i ego kniga razospannikh zhemčuzhin*, St. Petersburg 1914; T. al-Ṭawīl, *al-Shaʿrānī, imām al-taṣawwuf fī ʿaṣrihi*, Cairo 1945; J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, London 1971, 220-5; J.-C. Garcin, *Index des Ṭabaqāt de Shaʿrānī (pour la fin du IXe et le début du Xe S.H.)*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, vi (1966), 31-94; M. Winter, *Society and religion in early Ottoman Egypt: studies in the writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1982.

(M. WINTER)

SHARARĀT (A.), a camel-herding group of northwestern Arabia.

In Burckhardt's time, the Shararāt were known for their camel herds, which they exchanged in the Ḥawrān and at Gaza for wheat. They regarded Maʿān, Djawf and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ as their former properties; Doughty suggested that they came from the Banī Hilāl and Peake that they came from the Kalb. Unable to protect their property, they paid protection money to the Rwala and the Banī Ṣakhr, at the same time themselves taking *khuwwa* [*q.v.*] from Djawf and, at an earlier date, from the Ḥuwayṭāt and the Banī ʿAṭiyya. The Rwala and Ṣakhr did not intermarry

with them because the Sharārāt paid for protection. The Sharārāt were subject, in Doughty's time, to the *amīr* of the Āl Rashīd [*q.v.*] in Ḥāyil, like most tribes. Both Doughty and Musil emphasised the excellence of Sharārāt-bred camels.

The increasing drawing of northern Arabia into tribal and then state politics probably accounts for the politically-weak Sharārāt's initial impoverishment, accelerated by the declining market for camels, which had virtually disappeared by the 1940s. Many Sharārāt are now in the National Guard, army and police of Saudi Arabia or involved in local government, whilst their camel herds supply an urban market for their milk and flesh.

Bibliography: J.L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouin and Wahabys*, London 1831, 29-30; G.A. Wallin, *Narrative of a journey from Cairo to Mecca and Medina by Suez, Araba, al-Jauf, Jubbe, Hail and Nejd in 1845*, in *JRGS*, xxiv (1854), 126-63; C.M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888; A. Musil, *Arabia Deserta, travels in the northern Hiğāz*, New York 1927; idem, *Manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928; F.G. Peake, *A history of Jordan and its tribes*, repr. Coral Gables, Fla. 1958

(W. and Fidelity Lancaster)

al-**SHĀRĀT**, from the Latin *serra* through the Spanish *sierra*, is the term applied by certain geographers of Muslim Spain to the mountains which stretch from east to west in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula. The best definition is given by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī. According to this author, the mountain range called al-Shārāt stretches from the country behind Madīnat Sālim (Medinaceli) to Coimbra. This term therefore describes the mountains now known under the names of Sierra de Guadarrama (Ar. Wādī 'l-Ramla?), Sierra de Gredos and Sierra de Gata in Spain and Serra de Estrella in Portugal. In the time of al-Idrīsī, however, it was applied only to the Sierra de Guadarrama, to the north of Madrid. The geographer Abu 'l-Fidā', quoting Ibn Saʿīd, described the mountain system of the centre of al-Andalus under the name of Djabal al-Shāra. According to him, it divided the peninsula into two well marked divisions, the north and the south.

Al-Idrīsī, in his description of al-Andalus, gives the name of al-Shārāt to one of the twenty-six "climes" of this country, the twenty-second in his classification; this region, which embraced all the Sierra de Guadarrama, included the towns of Talavera de la Reina, Toledo, Madrid, al-Fahmīn, Guadalajara, Uclès and Huete.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, ed. and tr. Dozy and de Goeje, index; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 66, 167; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, 93 and index s.v. *ach-Chârât*; E. Saavedra, *La geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid 1881, 48; J. Alemany Bolufer, *La geografía de la Península Ibérica en los escritores árabes*, in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, x (Granada 1920), 3-4.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

al-**SHARDJA** [see al-shāriḳa].

SHARḤ (a.), pl. *shurūḥ*, denotes in Arabic a commentary on a text of greater or lesser length, but this term by itself does not cover the entire semantic domain of "commentary". Lexically, it refers to notions of opening, expansion, explanation and finally of commentary.

Sixty-seven *sharḥ*s appear in the *Fihrist*: language (29, of which two have a title; two *Sharḥ abyāt Sībawayh*; a *Sharḥ abyāt al-Īḍāḥ*; two *Sharḥ shawāhid Sībawayh*; *Sharḥ Maḳṣūrat Ibn Durayd* by Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī, commentary on a didactic poem; two *sharḥ al-maʿānī*), philosophy and sciences (16), concerning the Djābirian corpus (4), Ḥanafī *fiḳh* (5), Shāfiʿī (4), Mālikī (3), Ẓāhirī (1), theology (2), *ḥadīth* (2) and miscellaneous (2).

Also found there are ninety-six *tafsīrs*: Ḳur'ān (40), philosophy and sciences, whether these are translated works—they are the majority—or commentaries written directly in Arabic (25; the instances where the expression *fassarahu* is used have not been counted; the same applies to *sharaḥahu*), poetry (8), Old Testament (7), Gospels (1), language (4), language and theology (1), *fiḳh* (1), *ḥadīth* (1) and miscellaneous (8).

In the course of time, the number of commentaries becomes impressive, to the point where this emerges as one of the characteristics of Arabic literary production. Many of them are veritable museums, as if their authors feared the loss of whole sections of the patrimony.

I. Grammar and philology.

Among the works which were the object of commentaries at a very early stage, particular distinction belongs to the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh (d. 180/796 *et alt. an.*; 19 titles in Sezgin, ix; 32 names of commentators or glossators in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1427-8). It is difficult to conclude whether the terminology to denote these works is contemporary; it varies between *taʿlīḳāt*, *tafsīr*, *tafāsīr*, *nukat*, *sharḥ* (or *ikhrādj*) *nukat* and *sharḥ* (Sezgin, ix, 58-63). Besides al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ [*q.v.*], the disciple of Sībawayh, the following works are listed here: Abū ʿUmar al-Djarmī (d. 225/839), *Tafsīr gharīb Sībawayh*; al-Māzinī (d. 248/862), *K. Tafsīr K. Sībawayh*; Abu Yaʿlā b. Zurʿa (d. 257/871), *Nukat ʿalā K. Sībawayh*; al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), *Tafsīr mā aghfala istiḳṣā' al-ḥudjdja fīhi*. Of the various commentaries and glosses on the *Kitāb* which have been edited, worth mentioning are: the *Sharḥ* of Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/979; *MIDEO*, xviii, no. 9, xix, no. 18), that and of al-Rummānī (*MIDEO*, xxi, no. 20), *Taʿlīḳa al-Taʿālīḳ ʿalā K. Sībawayh* by Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] (*MIDEO*, xxi, no. 19).

Sharḥ does not invariably denote a commentary on a work; it also refers to explanations given regarding a subject within a book, especially regarding verses (*abyāt*) or probative quotations (*shawāhid*). The monumental *Khizānat al-adab* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*] constitutes the crowning achievement of this type of literature.

Later treatises on grammar or grammatical didactic poems were also the object of commentary, sometimes to an even greater extent. These include *al-Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144, 24 according to Brockelmann, I², 347, S I, 509-10; 18 in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1774-5), *al-Durra al-alfiyya* of Ibn Muʿṭī (d. 628/1261, *MIDEO*, xxi, no. 24); *al-Kāfiya* of Ibn Ḥādjib (51 entries in Brockelmann, I², 367-70, S I, 531-5; *MIDEO*, xix no. 9: *Sharḥ* of Ibn Djamāʿa: cf. Makram, 61-2); *al-Shāfiya* (23 principal entries in Brockelmann, I², 370-1, S I, 535-7; cf. Makram, 66) of Ibn Ḥādjib (d. 646/1249); and especially *al-Khulāṣa al-Alfiyya* (45 entries in Brockelmann, I², 359-62, S I, 522-6; *MIDEO*, x, no. 2, for the commentary of Ibn ʿAḳīl; *MIDEO*, xix, no. 8: ten; cf. Makram, 176) of Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274). Some of these commentaries were in their turn the object of commentaries or glosses, among others *Awḍaḥ al-masālik* of Ibn Hishām (d. 762/1361; 11 entries in Brockelmann, S I, 523). Numerous unedited commentaries pose a problem on account of the similarity between the titles of the works to which they refer; this applies in the case of those on the *K. al-Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī and that of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (*MIDEO*, xxi, no. 22). There is less ambiguity with regard to that of Ibn al-

Sarrādj (d. 316/928), with commentary by one of his disciples, al-Rummānī (Sezgin, ix, 84).

In lexicography, the *K. al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] has been less the object of commentaries than of *addenda et emendanda* (Sezgin, viii, 54-6). The same applies to the *Gharīb al-muṣannaf* of Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838), except that it was also the object of commentary *strictu sensu*, in particular by Ibn Sīduh (d. 458/1066) and by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. *ca.* 460/1068; twelve diverse entries in Sezgin, viii, 83-4; *MIDEO*, xx, no. 6). His *K. al-Amthāl* received the same treatment (six in Sezgin, viii, 84-5). The same applied to *al-Djamhara fi 'l-lugha* of Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933) (six entries for summaries, additions, etc.; Sezgin, viii, 103). But no work of this period has received as much attention on the part of lexicographers as the *K. al-Faṣīḥ* of the Kūfan Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) (42 entries, including 20 commentaries, in Sezgin, viii, 142-4; *MIDEO*, xix, no. 5). Major lexicographical works or dictionaries have seldom been subjected to commentary. However, the emendations, alterations, additions, elucidations, additions, glosses, corrections and even "summaries" (*tahdhīb, mukhtaṣar, takmila, bayān wa-taḳrīb, ḥawāshī, taṣḥīḥ*) of which they have been the object belong more or less to the domain of "commentary". Furthermore, the more recent of them are in a relationship of "commentaries" to "texts" with regard to the earlier (see Kraemer; Sezgin, viii; introd. by ʿA.S.A. Farādj to *TʿA*, ed. Kuwait; *EI*, art ḲĀMŪS).

II. Poetry, *adab* and stylistics.

It is hardly surprising that Ibn al-Nadīm does not name a single *sharḥ* of collections of poetry, seeing that he mentions only twenty-eight *dīwāns*. Al-Āmidī (d. 371/981) refers to 59 (R. Jacobi, in *GaP*, ii, 11). Moreover, collections of poetry were at first called *shiʿr* or even *khabar* (Sezgin, ii, 36-46). It should, however, be recognised that "commentaries" on poetry are not absent from the *Fihrist*, although this is only through the intermediary of the *sharḥs abyāt/shawāhid* or the *sharḥs maʿānī al-Bāhilī* of Lughda/Lughdha al-Iṣfahānī, contemporary of Ibn Ḳutayba, and of Bundār b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Lurra (first half of 3rd/9th century). On the other hand, Ibn al-Nadīm mentions three *tafsīrs* of poetry by Ibn Durustawayh (d. 347/958; Sezgin, viii, 106-8): of *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (incomplete), of *al-Sabʿ* [*al-Muʿallaḳāt*] and of the *Ḳaṣīda* of Shubayl b. ʿAzra. He also adds here the *Tafsīr al-sabʿ al-djahiliyyāt wa-gharībihā*, of al-ʿUmarī, judge of Takrīt, and the *Tafsīr al-Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām [*q.v.*] by al-Dīmartī (flor. *ca.* 364/975, Sezgin, ii, 68).

Among the commentators on the *Muʿallaḳāt* (29 entries in Sezgin, ii, 50-3; cf. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 143-8), worth mentioning are: Abū Saʿīd al-Ḍarīr (d. 282/895), Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/911), Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/940; in fact a revision of his father's commentary), Ibn al-Naḥḥās [*q.v.*], al-Zawzanī (d. 486/1093), Abū Bakr al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 494/1100) and Abū Zakariyyā' al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109). The *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām was no less the object of commentaries (36 entries in Sezgin, ii, 69-72). The greatest success in these terms belongs, however, to the *Bānat Suʿād* of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] (48 in Sezgin, ii, 231-34).

Some authors distinguished themselves in the elucidation of various collections of poetry. These include Abū Saʿīd al-Sukkarī (d. 275/888); Ibn al-Anbārī, disciple of Thaʿlab: commentaries on *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (Sezgin, ii, 54; Blachère, *HLA*, i, 148-50); Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946): commentaries on the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām (Sezgin, ii, 68); al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*], commentator especially on al-Mutannabī (*MIDEO*, xx, no. 66); Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī (d. 356/967); Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980); Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002); al-Marzūḳī (d. 421/1030); Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075); al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī (d. 476/1083): commentaries on the seven *Muʿallaḳāt*; al-Tibrīzī: commentaries on the *Ḥamāsa* (Sezgin, ii, 71, no. 24), on the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* of Shanfarā (Sezgin, ii, 135); Mawhūb al-Djawālīḳī (d. 540/1145); Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī (d. 761/1360).

Among works of *adab*, the *Adab al-kātib* of Ibn Ḳutayba has drawn the attention of commentators (eleven in G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 104-5).

An interesting case in the domain of stylistics is that of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-Sakkākī (626/1229; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1762-8) which was the object of a comprehensive commentary (*explicit* 742/1341) by Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Khʷārazmī. But it was especially the third part of this work, on stylistics, which was commented on and glossed, then summarised (see A. Arazi and H. Ben Shammai, art. MUKHTAṢAR, at Vol. VII, 537a), the summaries in their turn being commented on and glossed. The ideas of the author were evidently modified by the commentators and glossators (Brockelmann, I², 352-6, S I, 515-19; A. Maṭlūb, *al-Ḳazwīnī wa-shurūḥ al-Talkhīṣ*, Baghdād 1967; R. Sellheim, i, 299-317; W. Heinrichs, in *GaP*, ii, 184).

III. Religious sciences.

It is probable that the first "commentaries" or explanations in this area were applied to the *gharīb* [*q.v.*] of the Ḳur'ān and of *ḥadīth* in the form of oral explanations, of pamphlets, then of books. These were therefore not "commentaries" on a work, but explanations of a term, of a verse, or of a tradition. In fact, they most often bear the title of *Gharīb/Tafsīr al-ḥadīth* or *al-Ḳur'ān*, or even *Sharḥ gharīb al-ḥadīth* (Abū ʿUbayda, d. 207/822, whose *Madjāz al-Ḳur'ān* is also called *al-Madjāz fī gharīb al-Ḳur'ān*). For commentaries on the Ḳur'ān, the accepted term is *tafsīr* [*q.v.*]. However, the Muʿtazilī Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī (d. 322/934) is the author of a commentary sometimes called *Sharḥ ta'wīl al-Ḳur'ān wa-tafsīr maʿānīhi* (E. Kohlberg, *A medieval Muslim scholar at work*, Leiden 1992, 330). For the explanation of isolated passages of the Ḳur'ān, *sharḥ* is sometimes applied to a few pages (*djuz'*), in the form: *Sharḥ ḳawlihi taʿālā* (four in the list of works of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, in Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 317-8) or *Sharḥ āyat* ..., or even *Sharḥ/Tafsīr sūrat* ..., *Sharḥ al-Basmala*, *Sharḥ kalimatay al-shahāda*. *Al-Kashshāf* by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), unusually for a commentary on the Ḳur'ān, was frequently the object of commentaries and glosses (Brockelmann, I², 345-6, S I, 507-9). The "commentaries on the divine names" also contain interpretations of the terms according to various theological orientations. They may bear various titles: *Sharḥ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* (31 in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1031-5), but also *Tafsīr*, *Kitāb*, etc. (D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, Paris 1988, 16-29).

In the context of *ḥadīth*, *sharḥ* is used for the commentary on a single tradition. Some traditions have been subjected to extensive commentary, in particular *Sharḥ ḥadīth Umm Zarʿ*: al-Ṭabarī (Gilliot, *Elt* [see *Bibl.*], 67), al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ (*ibid.*, no. 8); *Sharḥ gharīb ḥadīth Umm Zarʿ* by Ibn al-Anbārī (Sezgin, viii, 154) and Ibn al-Khallāl (flor. *ca.* 1000/1591). The major collections of prophetic traditions, in particular the "six books", have been the object of an impressive number of commentaries, the majority of which are supplied with titles: 27 for *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, all recensions combined (sometimes also *Tafsīr al-Muwaṭṭa'*, M. Muranyi, *Ein altes Fragment medinensischer Jurisprudenz aus Qairawan*, Wiesbaden 1985, 12); 56 for al-Bukhārī, 27 for Muslim (Sezgin, i, 115 ff.), etc. In the genre of the "Forty

Prophetic Traditions", the collection of al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), *al-Arbaʿūn al-nawawiyya*, has been the object of some forty commentaries, including one by the author himself (L. Pouzet, *Une Herméneutique de la tradition islamique* ..., Beirut 1982, 55-7). In the terminology of *ḥadīth*, pride of place probably belongs to the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ [*q.v.*], which was commented on, glossed and summarised (Brockelmann, I², 441-2, S I, 610-12; *MIDEO*, xix, no. 43; xxi, no. 121).

The energy of the commentators in Muslim law is no less impressive (Spies, 238-69; Sezgin, i, 409-524). In Ḥanafī law (Spies, 238-47; Sezgin, i, 409-57), at least fifteen commentaries are known to have been made on one of the oldest Ḥanafī compilations of *furūʿ*, *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* of al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805), including those by al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933) and al-Djaṣṣāṣ [*q.v.*], who also wrote the earliest commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ṭaḥāwī. The judicial epitome of this school, *al-Mabsūṭ fi 'l-furūʿ* by al-Sarakhsī (d. 490/1097 [*q.v.*]), is a commentary on *al-Kāfī* of Muḥammad al-Marwazī (d. 334/945). The *Bidāyat al-mubtadi'*, a compendium by al-Farghānī al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197), was also the object of numerous commentaries; the same applied to the *Manār al-anwār*, a manual of Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310). As for the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ḳudūrī (d. 428/1037 [*q.v.*]), which is called *al-Kitāb* by the Ḥanafīs, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1631-2, lists twelve commentaries on it. The same author also wrote a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Karkhī (d. 340/951; Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1634-5; Brockelmann, S I, 295).

In Mālikī law (Spies, 254-60; Sezgin, i, 457-84; Muranyi, in *GaP*, ii, particularly for the commentaries on the *Mudawwana*), as elsewhere, some of the older manuals were displaced by more recent ones. Such was the case of the *Mukhtaṣars*, *al-kabīr* and *al-ṣaghīr*, of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 214/829); both were subjected to commentary by al-Abharī (d. 375/985); the second by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Djahm (d. 282/895) (*Fihrist*, 200, 201). They were superseded, to some extent, by *al-Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 386/996, 15 entries in Sezgin) and by *al-Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (d. 767/1365; Brockelmann, II², 102-3, S II, 96-9), on which one of the most recent commentaries is that of al-Dardīr (d. 1201/1786; *MIDEO*, xxi, no. 174). The didactic poem of Ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 829/1426), was also the object of frequent commentary.

In Shāfiʿī law (Spies, 284-54, Sezgin, i, 484-502), the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī (d. 264/877) also attracted the interest of commentators (six in Sezgin, i, 493); but the compendium of Abū Shudjāʿ (d. 593/116; Brockelmann, S I, 676-7) was no less the object of explanations and glosses; the same applied to the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* of al-Nawawī [*q.v.*].

In Ḥanbalī law, the basic compendium is *al-Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī (d. 334/945). It was commented on by Abū Yaʿlā Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1065), but especially by Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma (d. 620/1233 [*q.v.*]) under the title *al-Mughnī*. The latter's *al-Muḳniʿ* was the object of commentary by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma (d. 682/1283; *MIDEO*, xxi, no. 180).

Commentators did not always belong to the same school of law; thus the *ʿUmda* of the Ḥanbalī ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maḳdisī (d. 600/1203) was the object of commentary by the Shāfiʿī Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd (d. 625/1128 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) in *Sharḥ ʿUmdat al-aḥkām*, which was glossed by the Zaydī al-ʿĀmir al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 1099/1688) in *al-ʿUdda* (*MIDEO*, xxi, no. 184).

The major compilations of Shīʿī traditions and law were also subjected to commentary, especially "the four books" (Spies, 263-5; Sezgin, i, 540-2, 545-9).

Dialectical and scholastic theology was no less prolific, generating numerous catechisms, creeds, professions of faith and treatises on theology (*uṣūl al-dīn, kalām*). The various treatises and "testaments" of Abū Ḥanīfa were commented on abundantly from the 5th/11th century onward (Sezgin, i, 412-8). *Al-ʿAḳā'id* of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142) was certainly one of the most commented on and glossed texts in Islam (*MIDEO*, xix, no. 48); one of its best known commentaries is that by al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1388). At the present day, the manual of Ashʿarī theology *al-Mawāḳif fī ʿilm al-kalām* of al-Īdjī [*q.v.*] is studied with the commentary of al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī and the glosses of the Indian ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1067/1657) and of Ḥasan Čelebi al-Fanārī (d. 886/1641) (W. Madelung, in *GaP*, ii, 333). As in law, there were occasions when theologians of different trends commented on one another. Thus the *Muḥaṣṣal al-afkār* of the Ashʿarī Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was the object of commentary by a Shīʿī of Muʿtazilī persuasion, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. The latter's *Tadjrīd al-ʿaḳā'id*, with its long introduction dealing with logic and ontology, was commented on by the Shāfiʿī-Ashʿarī Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 749/1349) under the title *Tasdīd al-ḳawāʿid* ("*al-Sharḥ al-ḳadīm*"), then by the Sunnī astronomer and philosopher al-Ḳūshdjī (d. 879/1474 [see ʿALĪ AL-ḲŪSHDJĪ] ("*al-Sharḥ al-djadīd*"). These two commentators were in their turn the object of commentaries and glosses by Shīʿī and Sunnī authors (Brockelmann, I², 670-2, S I, 925-7; W. Madelung, in *GaP*, ii, 333).

In mysticism, numerous texts were the objects of commentary, beginning with the *K. al-Taʿarruf* of al-Kalābādhī (d. 380/990 [*q.v.*]), in particular by ʿAlī al-Ḳūnawī (d. 712/1326; Sezgin, i, 669), the *Risāla* of al-Ḳushayri (d. 465/1072) by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520; Brockelmann, I², 556, S I, 771-2). The same applied to *Manāzil al-sā'irīn* of al-Anṣārī al-Harawī [*q.v.*]; cf. the introduction to the edition and translation of S. Laugier de Beaurecueil, *Les étapes des itinérants vers Dieu*, Cairo 1962, 15-21; idem, in *MIDEO*, xi (1972), 80-91. Numerous writings of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191; Brockelmann, I², 565-6) also received the attentions of commentators. Many works of Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*] were commented on, but pride of place belongs to *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*; see O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Damascus 1964, 241-57.

Certain religious texts, such as the *Burda*, a panegyric of the Prophet by al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1294 [*q.v.* in Suppl.), were the object of particular attention: 74 commentaries in Brockelmann, I², 308-13, S I, 467-70; *MIDEO*, xxi, nos. 45, 96.

Many commentaries are veritable encyclopaedias, the text under discussion often serving as a pretext for recording entire documents or quotations from works of which many have since been lost; such is the case with the commentary on the *Nahdj al-balāgha* [*q.v.*] by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd [*q.v.*] or that on the *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn* by al-Zabīdī [*q.v.*].

IV. Philosophy.

It is in this region that research is most advanced in relation to the terminology of the "commentary". Reference should be made to the art. MUKHTAṢAR, section on philosophy, to be complemented by Endress and Gutas.

The translators of the ancient sources were the first Arab exegetes. In fact, transference into Arabic required an interpretation. This is why they included in their works paraphrases, definitions and glosses

which derived in part from the scholia of their base texts or from the commentaries which were at their disposal. Numerous terms need to be taken into consideration, especially in the domain of logic, even if it is not always easy to tell them apart.

Tafsīr is a generic term which signifies literally "to bring to light, reveal" something which is hidden, and consequently "to interpret, elucidate, explain", and sometimes even to interpret in the sense of translating. This generic sense appears under the rubric of *De interpretatione*, in *Fihrist*, 249, where the authors of writings called "synopses" or "epitomes" (*summaria*, *dj̲awāmiʿ*), "abridgments" (*mukhtaṣars*, *talkhīṣāt*) or "commentaries" (*sharḥs*), are defined as exegetes (*al-mufassirūn*).

Sharḥ is "the commentary on a text which is not an interpretative abridgment, but which may nevertheless be of variable length" (Gutas, 35). This can be a developed commentary, *ad litteram* (*ʿalā ʾl-lafẓ*), or an interpretation according to the sense (*ʿalā ʾl-maʿnā*) in the form of a paraphrase (e.g. *Talkhīṣ Safsaṭa, Exposition or Paraphrase of the Sophistici elenchi* by Ibn Rushd). It can also have the appearance of notes on the text (e.g. *Sharḥ K. Bārīmīniyās ʿalā djihat al-taʿlīḳ* of al-Fārābī); for a full analysis, see Endress, in *GaP*, ii, 461-73, iii, 19-20; Gutas, 31-43.

V. Other elements of the semantic field of "commentary".

It is appropriate to include other terms here e.g. *taḥrīr* (revision of a text, or even "edition"), a term which refers to the elements of a text or a commentary which have been chosen for comment, clarification or correction, such as the *Taḥrīr* of al-Djuwaynī on the lost commentary by al-Bāḳillānī on the *K. al-Lumaʿ* of al-Ashʿarī (Madelung, in *GaP*, ii, 332); or furthermore the commentaries on scientific *compendia* of the ancients such as those of Euclid, of Menelaos, etc., revised by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (Endress, in *GaP*, ii, 463). It is also necessary to take into account works which bear the title *taḳrīr*, a term which refers to remarks on a text.

Other types of work belong to a greater or lesser extent to the genre of "commentary" or contain interpretative elements; for this reason it would be necessary, in a monograph on the subject which is yet to be written, to consider the following genres also: in certain cases, the *addenda* and *corrigenda*, complements and supplements, especially in philology: *Istidrāk* (two in the *Fihrist*, bearing on the *K. al-ʿAyn*), *al-istidrāk limā aghfalahu, mā aghfalahu, fāʾit, ziyādāt, istikhrādj, ikhradj nukat, takmila, ghalaṭ* and *taṣḥīḥ*, sometimes even "refutations": *radd, naḳḍ* and *intiṣār*. Numerous works which bear the title *tahdhīb* belong to the category of "commentary", thus for example *The emendation of traditions* (*Tahdhīb al-āthār* of al-Ṭabarī) (see *Elt*, 58-60; arts. ḤĀSHIYA, MATN, etc.; cf. A.F.L. Beeston, in *CHAL* i. *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad Period*, Cambridge 1983, 24).

Bibliography: Besides the references in the article, see *Elt* = Cl. Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue et théologie*, Paris 1990; G. Endress, *Die wissenschaftliche Literatur*, in *GaP*, ii, 400-506, iii, 3-152; *GaP*, i-iii = W. Fischer and H. Gätje (eds.), *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, Wiesbaden 1982-92; D. Gutas, *Aspects of literary forms and genre in Arabic logical works*, in C. Burnett (ed.), *Glosses and commentaries on Aristotelian logical texts*, London 1993, 29-76; J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 201-38; ʿA.S. Makram, *al-Madrasa al-naḥwiyya fī Miṣr wa ʾl-Shām*, Beirut 1980; M. Muranyi, *Fiqh*, in *GaP*, ii, 299-325; M.S. Mursī, *Shurūḥ al-aʿlām li-Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, Cairo 1987; R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*. i, Wiesbaden 1976; O. Spies, *Klassisches islamisches Recht*, in *Orientalisches Recht*, HdOr, Leiden 1964, 220-343; B.K. Vollmann *et alii*, *Kommentar*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Munich 1987, v, 1279-83; R. Weigand, *Glossatoren*, in *op. cit.*, iv, 1504-7.

(Cl. Gilliot)

SHĀRIʿ (a., pl. *shawāriʿ*), "clearly-defined way, main road, highway"; "situated on a main road, at the side of the road (e.g. a house)".

Compared with other terms having similar urban denotations, such as *darb* and *zuḳāḳ*, the uses of *shāriʿ* as a common noun are not the most numerous in the pre-modern texts. Thus there is no chapter in al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* devoted to this term; the treatise devoted to it at the end of the 9th/15th century, the *K. al-Fawāʾid al nafīsa al-bāhira fī bayān ḥukm shawāriʿ al-Ḳāhira* (ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye 1176) is an exception.

Shāriʿ is often used as an adjective and as an active participle, "giving on to a street" (of a house, see *LʿA*), "opening out on to"; or, preceded by a particle, it forms (like *ṭarīḳ*) a phrase meaning "at the opening out of...", "on the road of..." (see S. Denoix, *Décrire Le Caire. Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr d'après Ibn Duqmāq et Maqrīzī*, Cairo 1993, 143). But it also becomes a genuine toponym. In the geographer Ibn Rusta [*q.v.*], the *shāriʿ* divides Ṣanʿāʾ into two halves (see R.B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock, *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, London 1983, 146). "It is the Street called Straight, the main street of Damascus" in Ibn ʿAsākir (N. Elisséeff, *La description de Damas d'Ibn ʿAsākir*, Damascus 1959, 85 n. 10) (but in Ottoman times, the three main traffic arteries were called *ṭarīḳ sulṭānī*). *Al-shāriʿ al-aʿẓam* denoted the main axis, the central avenue, of ʿAbbāsid Sāmarrāʾ or the *ḳaṣaba* of the Cairo of al-Maḳrīzī.

In the course of their long history, the names for traffic routes did not necessarily express differences in width, length, form or function. Nor, with the exception of *shāriʿ*, did they indicate the open and freely-circulated nature or, on the contrary, the closed nature of what they designated. To define the status of a way, legal language resorted to a single criterion, *nāfidh* or *sālik* "through way" and *ghayr nāfidh/sālik* "closed way, cul-de-sac". A *shāriʿ* was *nāfidh*, "it denotes a road properly open at both ends ... a public road where everyone has the right to circulate" (R. Brunschvig, *Etudes d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, ii, 11), and a road along which clear passage must be maintained.

At the time when cities and towns were being transformed and the vocabulary of urban patterning evolved, *shāriʿ* became a key element in the new terminology, as is seen in the *Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda* of ʿAlī Mubārak Pasha. *Shāriʿ* was henceforth used for any road of some importance, corresponding to a "street" or to Fr. *boulevard* or *avenue*, as in Cairo, in the quarters built up since the end of the 19th century. Or it could be used only for the main arterial roads, whilst for the secondary ones, other terms, which were part of the local tradition, would be used. This was still the case in Cairo, where, in the historic centre, *shāriʿ* co-exists with *sikka, ḥāra, darb, ʿaṭfa* and *zuḳāḳ*, in accordance with a terminology laid down by the city administration at the end of the last century. Similarly in Tunis, where the term co-exists with *nahdj* and *zanḳa*, which are by no means exclusive to the *madīna*.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): D. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959-66; J.M. Rogers, *Sāmarrā, a study in medieval town planning*, in A. Hourani and S.M. Stern (eds.), *The Islamic city*, Oxford 1970; A. Raymond and G. Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire. Traduction annotée du texte de Maqrīzī*, Cairo 1979; A. Abdesselem, *La*

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SHARĪʿA (a.), derived from the root *sharaʿa*, having a primary range of meaning in relation to religion and religious law; also Sharʿ, frequently synonymous. The word *sharīʿa* is common to the Arabic-speaking peoples of the Middle East and designates a prophetic religion in its totality, generating such phrases as *sharīʿat Mūsā, sharīʿat al-Masīḥ* (the law/religion of Moses or the Messiah), *sharīʿat al-Madjūs* (the Zoroastrian religion) or *sharīʿatu-nā* (meaning our religion and referring to any of the monotheist faiths). Within Muslim discourse, *sharīʿa* designates the rules and regulations governing the lives of Muslims, derived in principal from the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*. In this sense, the word is closely associated with *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], which signifies academic discussion of divine law. The root *sharaʿa* has a wide range of secular usage explored and analysed in the Arabic lexicographical tradition (see 5. below).

1. *Sharīʿa* in Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*
2. *Sharīʿa* in Jewish and Christian literature
3. *Sharīʿa* in Muslim literature
4. *Sharīʿa* and *fiḳh*
5. *Sharīʿa* in the lexicographical tradition

1. *Sharīʿa* in Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*.

1.1. *Sharīʿa* occurs once in the Ḳurʾān, at XLV, 18 ("We have set you on a *sharīʿa* of command, so follow it"), where it designates a way or path, divinely appointed. The cognate *shirʿa* is also used once, at V, 48, in parallel to *minhādj*, meaning way or path ("To each we have appointed a *shirʿa* and a *minhādj*"). The verb *sharaʿa* occurs twice, once with God as subject (*sharaʿa la-kum min al-dīn* ..., "He has laid down for you as religion that which he appointed also for Noah", XLII, 13); and once in relation to rebels (*sharaʿū lahum min al-dīn* ..., "Or do they have companions who have laid down for them as religion that which God did not permit?" VII, 163).

1.2. In the corpus of *ḥadīth* surveyed by Wensinck *et al.*, *sharīʿa* occurs once in the singular, in a *ḥadīth* in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal: "the community shall remain on the *sharīʿa* (path/way) as long as there does not occur in it three things ..." The plural form occurs not more than a dozen times, mostly in locutions like *sharāʾiʿ al-islām, sharāʾiʿ al-īmān*, once in a string of terms indicating rules: *inna li-'l-īmān farāʾiḍ wa-sharāʾiʿ wa-ḥudūd wa-sunan*. The word *sharʿ* does not occur with the connotation of religion or law, and the verbal form *sharaʿa* occurs only once with these connotations, in a set of variations of the same *ḥadīth*: "God has laid down for his (var. your) Prophet the rules of guidance" (*sharaʿa li-nabi-hi sunan al-hudā*). The noun *sharʿ*, the verb *sharaʿa* and derivatives occur frequently with secular meanings, corresponding to those discussed in 5. below.

This paucity of usage and connotation make it unlikely that these sources constitute the beginning of the development of this term in Islam or in the other monotheist faiths.

2. *Sharīʿa* in Jewish and Christian literature.

2.1. The Jewish tradition. The translation of the Old Testament into Arabic attributed to Saʿīd b. Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, known as Saʿadya Gaon (d. A.D. 933 [*q.v.*]), demonstrates that *sharīʿa* had become a central component of the religious vocabulary of the Arabic-speaking Jewish community. The most commonly used term for translating Hebrew *torah* is Arabic *sharīʿa* or its plural. When the Hebrew word clearly designates a single rule, or set of rules, the favoured terms are *sharīʿa* and *sharāyiʿ*. The same is true when the Hebrew term designates the law as a totality, the law delivered to Moses. There are many instances, especially in Deuteronomy, where the Hebrew word is retained in an Arabic form, *al-tawrāh*. The use of *sharīʿa* to designate a single rule is most obvious in a group of verses in Leviticus, e.g. Lev. vi, 8, "This is the law of the burnt offering" (*hādhihi sharīʿat*...); cf. vi, 14; vi, 25; vii, 1; vii, 7 etc. The plural form is found at Exod. xviii, 20, "And thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws" (*al-rusūm wa 'l-sharāyiʿ*); cf. xviii, 16. The more general sense, where the word *torah* means the whole of the law, is exemplified at Exod. xiii, 9, "And it shall be a sign unto thee [Moses] ... that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth" (*li-takūn sharīʿat Allāh fī fī-ka*). The plural form is found at Exod. xvi, 4, "That I may prove them whether they will walk in my law or not" (*fī sharāyiʿī am lā*); cf. Exod. xxiv, 12. A majority of references to *torah* in Deuteronomy elicit the Arabic form *al-tawrāt*, perhaps because the referent is understood to be the Pentateuch; but cf. Deut. iv, 44, "And this is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel" (*wa-hādhihi al-sharīʿa allatī* ...).

Sharīʿa is thus the most common word expressing rule and system of rules in Saʿadya's Arabic version of the Hebrew Bible. It is occasionally used to translate Hebrew *misvah*, e.g. Deut. vi, 25; xvii, 20. It functions frequently as one of a cluster of words designating God's commands, often together with *waṣāyā, rusūm, aḥkām*, etc., e.g. Deut. xxvi, 5; xxvi, 17. This translation, even if managed and completed by Saʿadya, should be understood as a reflection of a pre-existing Arabic targum tradition (Blau).

A similar reliance on the nouns *sharīʿa* and *sharʿ*, and the verb *sharaʿa*, for reference to God's law-making activities, is found in Saʿadya's theological (polemical) work, *K. al-Amānāt wa 'l-iʿtiḳādāt*. This book, though it reflects Saʿadaya's participation in the Rabbanite-Karaite [see karaites] struggle, may be accepted as a reflection of the general religious vocabulary used in polemical contexts by those who shared the monotheist traditions of the Middle East. *Sharīʿa* and its plural designate individual laws (141, 175) and also systems of law revealed by God through prophets (113). Rational laws are distinguished from revealed laws (*al-sharāyiʿ al-ʿaḳliyya wa 'l-samʿiyya*, 115-8). *Sharʿ* is used synonymously with *sharīʿa*; and the verb, *sharaʿa* with God as subject, meaning to lay down a law (128-9). A context which generates multiple reference to the law (religious system promulgated by a prophet) is abrogation (*naskh*), the question whether the law of a later can abrogate that of an earlier prophet (131). Arabic *tawrāt* is used to designate the Pentateuch: *sharʿ al-tawrah, sharayiʿ al-tawrah* (139).

2.2. The Christian tradition. A similar use of this vocabulary can be found in Christian writers, discussion of abrogation being particularly likely to generate systematic reference to *sharīʿa*. A characteristic example, from the 4th/10th century, may be found in a polemical tract directed against the Jews, by the Jacobite ʿĪsā b. Isḥāḳ Ibn Zurʿa [*q.v.*]. *Sharīʿa* refers to a system of laws brought by a prophet and subject (perhaps) to abrogation by later prophets. The word *sunna* (pl. *sunan*) [*q.v.*] covers the same semantic field. Both terms are extended to carry distinctions

between natural, rational and revealed laws. The Christian religion, the Law of the Messiah, is referred to as *sunnat al-Masīḥ* (34) and *sharīʿat al-Masīḥ* (35).

The question of when this cluster of Arabic terms emerged as part of the self-expression of Jews and Christians is unclear. But, whatever model is adopted for the emergence and early development of Islam, it is necessary to acknowledge the co-existence or prior existence of Arabic-speaking Jewish and Christian communities. The development of an Arabic vocabulary for the expression of concepts and ideas integral to the prophetic religions of the Middle East is perhaps best understood as the common achievement of several communities engaged in polemical encounter throughout the 7th to the 9th centuries A.D. The most radical and stimulating account of this encounter is that of J. Wansbrough (1977, 1978).

3. *Sharīʿa* in Muslim literature.

Sharīʿa and its cognates appear, in Islamic religious literature, reflecting the same range and type of reference as in Jewish and Christian literature. *Sharīʿa* (pl. *sharāʾiʿ*) designates a rule of law, or a system of laws, or the totality of the message of a particular prophet. In so far as it designates a system of laws it is synonymous with the word *sharʿ*, which is probably the more common word in juristic literature for divine law. The verb *sharaʿa* may appear with God as subject (following Ḳurʾānic usage). More frequently, the process of demonstrating the law is a prophetic activity, and the word *shāriʿ* (law-giver) refers characteristically to Muḥammad in his function as model and exemplar of the law. In a rare extension of meaning, the word *shāriʿ* is transfered to the jurists, thereby highlighting the creative aspect of their interpretative activity (al-Shāṭibī, iv, 245). These patterns of usage may be found in all the major genres of religious literature.

3.1. *Kalām.* Theological literature is likely to generate reference to *sharīʿa* wherever the message bearing activity of a prophet becomes the focus of discussion. Al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]), in a discussion of prophets as bearers of the divine message (*risāla*), raised the question whether they confirm or abrogate the *sharīʿa* of an earlier prophet, *sharīʿat ghayri-hi min al-rusul.* He uses the adjective *sharʿī* to indicate revealed laws (*al-ʿibādāt al-sharʿiyya*) perhaps distinguished them from rational laws (*al-ḳaḍāyā al-ʿaḳliyya*) (38-40). The category of moral rules accessible to the intellect was denied by Sunnīs, but the concept was forced upon them by their Muʿtazilī opponents. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]), in his *K. al-Arbaʿīn*, describes Muḥammad as sent with a message (*risāla*) such that he abrogated with his law earlier laws, *nasakha bi-sharʿi-hi al-sharāʾiʿ*. Here *sharāʾiʿ* functions perhaps as a plural for *sharʿ* (20). In the Muʿtazilī tradition, the words *sharʿ*, *sharīʿa*, etc., kept their general sense, meaning the totality of a prophetic religion, but were also used systematically to distinguish rational from revealed laws. The Shīʿī (Muʿtazilī) scholar al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325 [*q.v.*]) accounts it a benefit of prophecy that the prophet brings rules which are not accessible to the intellect; he refers to these as *sharāʾiʿ* or *ʿibādāt wa-sharāʾiʿ*. He thinks there is no period of time exempt from a prophetic law (*sharʿu nabī*) (271-3, 278). Heresiographical literature continues to use the word *sharīʿa* and its derivatives to refer to Islam and to other religions, including *sharīʿat al-Madjūs* for Zoroastrianism (W. Cantwell Smith).

3.2. *Tafsīr.* Works of Ḳurʾānic commentary draw on the conceptual structures of *kalām* while developing some arguments specific to Ḳurʾānic usage. The word *shirʿa* is usually declared to be synonymous with *sharīʿa*. Comparison of Ḳurʾān, V, 48 ("To each [community] we have appointed a *shirʿa*") and XLII, 13 ("He has laid down—*sharaʿa*—for you as religion—*dīn*—that which he had laid down also for Noah") prompted a systematic distinction between *sharīʿa*, meaning law, and different for different prophets, and *dīn*, implying recognition of the one God, and the same for all prophets. From al-Ṭabarī, citing Ḳatāda, *ad* V, 48: the Torah, the Gospels and the Ḳurʾān have each their own *sharīʿa*... but *dīn* is one, meaning *tawḥīd* and *ikhlāṣ li-llāh*, and brought by all prophets.

3.3. Juristic literature. In so far as juristic literature gives an account of or a statement of rules, it need not generate self-referring locutions. When it does so, there was a considerable number of technical terms meaning rule: *sunna/sunan, ḥukm/aḥkām, farīḍa/farāʾiḍ, ḥadd/ḥudūd, sharīʿa/sharāʾiʿ*. The latter does not dominate in the earliest texts. Even later, general reference to the law is more likely to elicit the word *sharʿ* than *sharīʿa*. Systematic distinction between ordinary linguistic usage and technical juristic usage depends on the contrast *lughat^an:sharʿ^an*. Hermeneutical literature (works of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*) generated an increasing quantity of reference to the law, the law-giver etc., but the earliest work of this kind, the *Risāla* of al-Shāfiʿī, makes little use of the word *sharīʿa* or *sharʿ*. Later works generated numerous references. A characteristic context relates to the question whether Muslims and/or Muḥammad were subject to the laws of earlier prophets. Al-Ghazālī, in his *Mustaṣfā*, phrased the question in relation to *sharʿu-nā* and *sharʿu man ḳabla-nā*, our law and the law of those before us. He asked whether Muḥammad was bound by the law (*sharʿ*) of earlier prophets, and whether he abrogated the *sharīʿa* (*sic*) of Moses and Jesus. The rapid transition from *sharʿ* to *sharīʿa* suggests no distinction between these terms in this context. Espousing one of the views current in juristic circles, al-Ghazālī affirmed that the *Sharīʿa* of our Prophet (*sharīʿat rasūli-nā*) abrogated previous systems; for, if Muḥammad had been bound by any other *sharʿ*, he would not deserve the title of law-giver (*shāriʿ*).

Most of the problems attendant on the word *sharīʿa* were perspicuous to the tradition and capable of being explained. The Ḥanafī jurist Ibn ʿĀbidīn (Muḥammad Amīn b. ʿUmar, d. 1252/1836) explained it as having the meaning of a passive participle of the verb *sharaʿa*, meaning that which is laid down, or decreed. When the Prophet is identified as the law-giver, the *shāriʿ*, this is metaphoric usage (*madjāz^an*); in truth (*ḥaḳīḳat^an*), it is God who is *shāriʿ*. *Sharīʿa* means the same as *milla* and *dīn* (i.e. the totality of religious beliefs), but it may be applied absolutely to the rules (*aḥkām*) governing human actions. Both *sharīʿa* and *dīn* may be ascribed (in a genitive construction) to God, the Prophet and the community: God's law, the Prophet's and the community's law. (Ibn ʿĀbidīn, i, 11)

4. *Sharīʿa* and *fiḳh*.

The academic discipline whereby scholars described and explored the *Sharīʿa* is called *fiḳh*. The word designates a human activity, and cannot be ascribed to God or (usually) the Prophet. It frequently occurs in a genitive construction with the name of a scholar: the *fiḳh* of Mālik, the *fiḳh* of Ibn ʿĀbidīn. The *Sharīʿa*, contained in God's revelation (Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*), is explained and elaborated by the interpretative activity of scholars, masters of *fiḳh*, the *fuḳahāʾ*. Since this is in practice the only access to the law, the two words are sometimes used synonymously, though *sharīʿa* retains the connotation of divine, and *fiḳh* that of

human. Since the late 19th century, the linguistic calque *al-ḳānūn al-islāmī* (Islamic law, borrowed from European usage) has become a part of Muslim discourse and carries with it connotations of legal system, as in modern states [see ḲĀNŪN]. Western studies of *fiḳh* are still dominated by the work of Joseph Schacht, who produced the articles *fiḳh* and *s̲h̲arīʿa* for *EI*[1], the former lightly edited for *EI*[2].

4.1. The origins of Islamic law. The earliest large-scale and systematic expressions of the law are found in a bundle of texts attributed to scholars of the late 2nd/8th and early 3rd/9th centuries, notably Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 204/820), al-S̲h̲aybānī (d. 189/805) and Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798 [*q.vv.*]). The last two are pupils of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]), who, together with Mālik, al-S̲h̲āfiʿī and, later, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]) gave his name to a broad tradition or school (*mad̲h̲hab*) of juristic thinking. These four schools dominated the Sunnī community. The Imāmī S̲h̲īʿa developed an independent tradition of their own (finding literary form only in the 4th/10th century). And there were a number of minor traditions, e.g. those of the Zaydīs and K̲h̲āridjīs (both alleged to be early) and the Ẓāhirīs (or Literalists), followers of Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī (d. 269/882 [*q.v.*]). The emergence of the dominant traditions is presented inside Islam as the result of a process, described in historical terms, but perhaps a narrative expression of a theological conviction. The Prophet, by virtue of his ideal practice or *sunna*, was exemplar and model for his followers, whose duty it was to conform to his *sunna*. To this end, his words and deeds were preserved by his Companions in the form of discrete narratives or *ḥadīt̲h̲* which were passed on from generation to generation, giving rise to discussion, debate and finally to formal juristic thinking, or *fiḳh*. The eponymous founders of the schools, by virtue of their piety and commitment to Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt̲h̲*, together with their learning and capacity for systematic thought, derived from this inheritance structures of rules which were adopted by subsequent generations, and preserved and developed in an ongoing tradition of commitment and loyalty. The actual and historically successful juristic traditions in Islam were thus traced back to the Prophet through the decisive intervention of great jurists.

As an account of history, this sequence of events was challenged already by Ignaz Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, 1888-90). Building on his work, Schacht offered, in his *Origins*, a coherent account of early Muslim jurisprudence. He proposed that the earliest works were reflections of a "living tradition" which had grown up locally in diverse cities (Kūfa, Baṣra, Damascus, Mecca, Medina). The systematic structures that emerged reflected local (and Imperial, Umayyad) practice, and the ongoing thought of local scholars. They were not dependent on Prophetic *ḥadīt̲h̲*, perhaps not even on the legal aspects of the Ḳurʾān. Increasing polemical encounter, in the early ʿAbbāsid period, led to a search for justification of the law and this took the form of appeal to Prophetic practice expressed in the form of *ḥadīt̲h̲*. The first scholar to argue systematically that law was necessarily related to Prophetic *ḥadīt̲h̲* was al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, who emerges, for Schacht, as the master architect of Islamic law. Eventually all the schools succumbed to al-S̲h̲āfiʿī's argumentation and developed a common hermeneutical approach to the law, presenting it as derived, by a systematic act of interpretation, from Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt̲h̲*. According to Schacht, the demand for Prophetic *ḥadīt̲h̲*, even before al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, and certainly after him, ensured that they were produced (created) in numbers appropriate to the need. Schacht derived his theory primarily from the study of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī's *Umm* and *Risāla*, works which not only exemplify (in marked contrast to other early works) the principle of Prophetic authority for the law but systematically criticise the early local schools for their failure to adhere to this principle.

All subsequent scholarship in this field has responded to Schacht, whether to refute, to qualify, or to confirm and extend his findings. Several Muslim scholars (e.g. M.M. Azmi) have denied them. Both Muslim and secular scholars have searched for qualifications and refinements whereby to discover the antiquity and/or authenticity of at least some Prophetic *ḥadīt̲h̲* (G.H.A. Juynboll, D.S. Powers). J. Wansbrough has developed Schacht's methodology, arguing that the Ḳurʾān too must be recognised as the end product of two centuries of community experience (1977). N. Calder argues that the major early works of Islamic law are not authored, but organic, texts, reflecting generations of thinking about the law, expressed through successive redactions of school material (1993). F. Rahman initiated a Muslim theological response to Schacht's ideas (1965).

4.2. The literature of the law. There are a number of genres of juristic literature, of which the two most important are *furūʿ al-fiḳh* (a literature of rules) and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (a literature that identifies the sources of law and the methodology for deriving rules from revelation). It is possible to identify a number of minor genres, but many of these can be classified as monographic developments of topics that are proper to *furūʿ* (e.g. special studies of the rules relating to government, or judicial practice) or *uṣūl* (special studies of analogy or consensus, etc.). Collections of *fatāwā* (sing. *fatwā* [*q.v.*]) and studies on the authority of *muftīs* (section 4.3, below) may be recognised as independent genres, the first having some affiliation to works of *furūʿ*, the second to works of *uṣūl*.

Furūʿ. The genre of *furūʿ* is continuous from the 3rd/9th to the 13th/19th century. All the major works of the genre have the same basic structure. They offer a network of rules roughly grouped into topics. The major topics of the law are, first, purity, prayer, alms, fasting and pilgrimage. These, together, sometimes, with *djihād*, are the major *ʿibādāt* (acts of worship). Their importance is signalled by their being positioned at the beginning of a work of *furūʿ*. More loosely ordered are the remaining topics of the law, the *muʿāmalāt* (interpersonal acts). These include family law (marriage, divorce, inheritance, testamentary bequest, slavery, etc.), mercantile law (contracts of sale, debt, hire, loan, gift, partnership, etc.), laws relating to agency, land ownership, compensation for injury, killing and the usurpation of goods, penalties (restricted to the divinely specified penalties for adultery, false accusation of adultery, theft, wine-drinking and highway robbery), judicial procedure and other topics. Though various attemps were made to devise more analytical approaches to the topics of the law, a sequential approach based on loose groupings, and subject to considerable variation, prevailed. Since the topics of the law cover all the major categories of a pious, and a social, life, and since, further, the tendency of the jurists was to hold on to the concrete and to elaborate precise and distinct "cases" for analysis, a work of *furūʿ*, formally at least, constituted a literary depiction of social reality in normative form. As works of literature, books of this kind were subject to the usual tendencies of literary formalism, sufficiently indicated in the notions of linguistic,

structural and conceptual virtuosity, of imaginative exploration, of realism transformed into artifice, etc. At the same time, in so far as they were intended to control and guide social life, they display also qualities of practical concern and hard-headed realism. The interplay of literary and imaginative qualities with practical and mundane ends was not predictable and varied immensely both within a work and across works and schools. The four major schools of law, and the Shīʿī tradition, show a broadly similar approach to the genre and a broadly similar exploration of its possibilities.

To the casuistic and exploratory aspects of a work of *furūʿ* were added patterns of justificatory argument. These had two major forms. First, the interpretative relationship between school tradition (*madhhab*) and revelation (Ḳurʾān and Sunna) was re-expressed from generation to generation, constituting a major part of the ongoing task of jurists. At the same time, loyalty and commitment to tradition were expressed through demonstration that later articulations of the law were derived from and were justifiable in terms of earlier articulations within the school. Works of *furūʿ* had thus a dual hermeneutical aspect: an interpretative relationship to the school tradition and a further interpretative relationship to Ḳurʾān and Sunna. It is the former which dominates. Jurists did not act as independent interpreters of revelation, they submitted to the authority of the school and the eponymous founder. They were committed, by a prior act of loyalty (usually determined by birth or geography), to a discursive, hermeneutical, engagement with their past. The creative aspect of their work was termed *idjtihād*, the duty of submission *taḳlīd* [*q.vv*]. The original act of *idjtihād* characteristic of the eponymous founders was absolute and independent, that of succeeding jurists qualified and limited.

The various components of a work of *furūʿ* can then be summarised with reference to topics and concepts, rules and "cases", and justificatory argument related to Ḳurʾān and Sunna, and to school tradition, the whole capable of being drawn towards an exploratory and hypothetical pole or towards a pragmatic and practical pole. The literary tradition as a whole suggests possibilities of expansion and exuberance which point (perhaps not accidentally) towards an infinite concern with detail. This tendency naturally engendered the opposite need, namely that of synthesis, control and concision. The play of expansion and concision is reflected in two literary types within the genre, *mukhtaṣars* and *mabsūṭs*. A *mukhtaṣar* or epitome is a concise exposition of the law, often expressed in a self-consciously elegant and syntactically compressed language. One of the most famous, and aesthetically and intellectually challenging, works of this kind is the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (d. 776/1374). A *mabsūṭ* by contrast tends to multiply detail and argument, with only loose structural control. The relationship between *mukhtaṣar* and *mabsūṭ* is repeated in that between *matn* and *sharḥ* (text and commentary), it being a mark of the continuity of a tradition that what was summarised was the tradition to date, and what was expanded was an earlier and briefer expression of the tradition. The processes of summary and commentary, of paraphrase and citation, of preservation and re-use of prior articulations were all symbolic of loyalty and of a mode of hermeneutical development which camouflaged the reality of change. Change, in this context, means not only the accommodation of rules to social reality but also the management of a literary structure to serve the needs (educational, literary, aesthetic, theological, and strictly legal) of a developing community.

Uṣūl. Works of *uṣūl*, like works of *furūʿ*, have a stability of form and content which, marking them as a continuous genre, lasted till the 13th/19th century (and in some areas beyond). These works emerged, in numbers, in the early 5th/11th century, the most sophisticated of the early works emerging only towards the end of that century. Particularly significant was the synthesising and ordering work of a group of Shāfiʿī scholars living under the Saldjūḳs, notably Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Shīrāzī, the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī, and al-Ghazālī. The *Mustaṣfa* of al-Ghazālī was a well-organised work which, capturing and ordering all the topics of the discipline, in a masterpiece of structure and expository detail, decisively influenced the subsequent development of the genre. The *Risāla* of al-Shāfiʿī constitutes an apparently isolated early work which has most of the characteristics and covers many of the topics of a work of *uṣūl*, but it has been judged by contemporary scholars to be either a late school work (Calder, 1993), or a work of limited achievement whose implications took time to discover (Hallaq, 1993).

Works of *uṣūl* usually contain four broad areas of discussion: the categories of the law; the sources of the law; the hermeneutical rules that permit extrapolation of norms from sources; and an elaboration of the theory of *idjtihād*. The categories comprise at least the familiar five *aḥkām* (sing. *ḥukm*), viz. mandatory, preferred, permitted, disliked and forbidden, and the distinctions between valid, defective and null (*ṣaḥīḥ, fāsid, bāṭil*). The sources always include Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* and consensus (*idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*]), and might include intellect (limited for the Sunnīs to a presumption of continuity, *istiṣḥāb al-ḥāl*), the law of earlier prophets, the opinions of the Companions, juristic preference (*istiḥsān* [*q.v.*]), and public welfare (*maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*]). The hermeneutical principles relate first to language and rhetoric (usually presented in a set of antithetical pairs: ambiguous and clarifying, the evident and the inferred, commands and prohibitions, general and particular, etc.) and secondly to the operation of analogy (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]). All of these items were contained in an open-ended and exploratory pattern of discourse.

The body of hermeneutical principles leads to conflicting possibilities (*taʿāruḍ*) and to the exercise of preference (*tardjīḥ*), the methodology of which is explained under the heading *idjtihād*. *Idjtihād* literally means effort. Technically, it means the exertion of the utmost possible effort by a trained jurist, taking into account all the relevant texts and principles of interpretation, to discover, for a particular human situation, a rule of law. Underlying this definition there is an important epistemological message. It concedes that most of the details of the law are not known for certain but are a matter of skilled and pious deduction, leading, however, only to opinion. Final certainty on the details of the law is not accessible, but the duty of searching for and justifying opinion by argument is absolute. Committed in this respect to argument and debate, the jurists (in this context *mudjtahids*, those who undertake *idjtihād*) also acknowledged a need for final decisions in particular cases. This was provided by asserting that the result of an act of *idjtihād* was binding both on the *mudjtahid* and, where relevant, on those who were not trained in the law. The latter (the *ʿāmmīs*) were required to submit to the *mudjtahids*, becoming thereby *muḳallids* (lit. followers or imitators). In so far as a *mudjtahid* responded directly to a particular question, he was acting as a *muftī* and his decision was

a *fatwā*. This network of topics was a part of the hermeneutical thinking of the Sunnī and Shīʿī traditions, and it was capable of varied and sometimes highly individual development.

4.3. *Sharīʿa* and practice. The literature and intellectual structures which were the highest expression of *sharīʿa* had their most important social realisation in the Islamic educational system. With the emergence of *madrasas* [*q.v.*] in the 5th/11th century, *fiḳh* was recognised as the chief end of education, and retained this position until the decline of the traditional system in the 19th and 20th centuries. Common to all Islamic lands, and taught almost exclusively in Arabic, the curriculum provided cultural homogeneity and fostered the emergence of a pan-Islamic cultural élite. The discipline of *fiḳh* became a powerful and flexible intellectual tool, adapted to various social needs, aesthetic, imaginative and theological as well as strictly legal. The training in this discipline was usually found practical in respect of the needs of the mercantile classes and the governing bureaucracies, as well as the religious hierarchy.

The topics and concepts of the law were closely allied to life experience or could be made so by systematic exploratory thought. But a work of *furūʿ* was never a set of rules governing practice in the way that regulations and statutes do. In a given city, at one time, different jurists produced different works, reflecting different concerns; intended to influence certainly, but also to provoke thought and to delight. The actual realisation of the law depended always on personal and local factors: the customs of a family or a quarter, the traditions of a city or a region, the specific rules and practices of a judge, a governor, or a sultan. The pluralist and exploratory aspects of the law had a varied and unpredictable relationship to the necessarily single and pragmatic actuality. This relationship itself became a part of the subject matter of *furūʿ*. The interplay of legal theory and reality has become increasingly an object of scholarly study, exemplified in Heyd (1973) and Johansen (1988).

Some areas of the law were systematically transformed into administrative structures. Central amongst these was the office of judge (*ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*]). His competence covered many aspects of family law (marriage, divorce, inheritance etc.), the administration of charitable endowments (*waḳf*) and the property of orphans, and the adjudication of civil disputes. His appointment and terms of office were controlled by political authority. His efficiency was often thought to be limited by the stringency of *sharʿī* rules and this led to the emergence of parallel judicial structures (called *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] in early ʿAbbāsid times) which had a more pragmatic attitude to the law and were closely related to government. In Ottoman times the integration of the *ḳāḍī* into the structures of government was nearly complete. (Tyan, 1960)

Mediating between the law as theory (object of study and subject of literary endeavour) and law in practice was the *muftī*. The *muftī* was a jurist, preferably highly qualified, who made himself available to give specific answers to specific questions of the law. In many areas and periods, and notably under the Ottomans, the higher ranks of *muftīs* were controlled and salaried by the government (Heyd, 1969). The responsa of *muftīs* were called *fatāwā*, and, in the case of intellectually outstanding, or politically important *muftīs*, might be preserved either as individual items or in collections. These have been recognised as important to our understanding of the law in practice (Masud *et al.*, 1995). Theoretical accounts of the authority and ranks of *muftīs* stimulated some of the most instructive general theories of Islamic law.

4.4. Modern developments. From the mid-19th century, three major factors affected the history of the *Sharīʿa*, all of them, at least in part, a result of Western influence. First, there was the gradual emergence of secular educational systems, aimed initially at the needs of the military, then of the administrative and mercantile classes. This development reduced the numbers of students in the traditional system, deprived them of a career structure, undermined their social alliances, and marginalised the subject matter of the curriculum. In the Shīʿī world, where the jurists had greater access to independent finance, the major centres of juristic education survived better, but even there, there was a decline in provincial centres and some loss of status. Secondly, with the emergence of modern, independent nation states, there was a rapid development of law-codes, constitutions, and statute law. In some respects, these are continuous with the procedures of government by decree that characterised older systems. But the enactment of the *Madjalla* [see MEDJELLE] (a partial codification of Ḥanafī law for practical ends), in 1876, by the Ottoman authorities, initiated a long history of (selective) codification of traditional law that continued through the 20th century. The reformist ideas of theoreticians (like Muḥammad ʿAbduh, d. 1905 [*q.v.*], in Egypt) brought increased flexibility based on a renewal of *idjtihād*, an abandonment (or curtailment) of school loyalties, and a patchwork approach to the juristic tradition as a whole (*talfīḳ* [*q.v.*]). Jurists and the religious-minded found it possible to accommodate themselves to the idea of constitutions. A majority even of the Shīʿī jurists supported the Persian Constitution in 1906. Throughout the 20th century all modern Muslim states have acquired legal systems, suited to modern nation states, in an astonishing act of creative system building, in which the *Sharīʿa* has always been one influence (Western legal systems being another, often a dominant, influence). The actual role of the *Sharīʿa*, meaning the tradition of *fiḳh*, has varied both in terms of its symbolic foregrounding and in terms of its real input (always greatest in the area of family law) (Anderson, Coulson).

A third area of development relates to political opposition. The ideology of political opposition in the Muslim world has been influenced by Western thought (by French revolutionary, or socialist and communist ideologies, etc.), but is nearly always accompanied by appeal to the *Sharīʿa* as an ideal of social justice. In these contexts, the word is characteristically deprived of detail, of complexity, and of association with the intellectual tradition of *fiḳh*. It functions instead as a constitutive element in a demand for loyalty, unity, and commitment; it represents an ideal (unreal) governmental system. With this pattern of connotation, it permeates the ideological statements of the Muslim Brothers and of more recent fundamentalist groups. It is sometimes closely associated with the name of the scholar-hero Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] (exploited for his arguments in favour of a renewed *idjtihād*, based on a return to the earliest generations—the *salaf* [see AL-SALAF WA 'L-KHALAF; SALAFIYYA]): or with selected items of the law which take on the disproportionate ideological burden (e.g. the *ḥadd* penalties for fornication).

Neither the practical aspects of the history of the *Sharīʿa* in the 20th century, nor its ideological aspects, take up or draw on the complex of cultural, philosophical and theological messages that are embedded in the tradition. In so far as these messages can be

recovered and translated into idioms appropriate to the 21st century, it seems likely to be the task of modern universities in the Muslim world, these being now the dominant institutions that preserve the cultural inheritance of traditional Islam.

5. *Sharīʿa* in the lexicographical tradition. The lexicographical tradition recognises two major (and a number of minor) areas of use which are without religious connotation. In a corpus of poetry and of *ḥadīth* evoking a pastoral and Bedouin environment, the verb *sharaʿa* and its derivatives relate to watering animals at a permanent water-hole. The verb implies lapping at, or drinking, water, and has animals as its subject (*sharaʿat al-dawābb*). *Sharīʿa* designates the area round a water-hole, or the point of entry to it, the place at which the animals drink, a place and not a road—*mawḍiʿ*, *mawrid*. *Sharaʿa*, *sharraʿa*, possibly *ashraʿa*, all mean to drive (or lead) animals to water. Adjectival usage indicates animals en route to or lapping at water (*dawābb shurūʿ*). *Sharīʿa* also signifies the seashore, again with special reference to animals which come there. Various aspects of this semantic cluster are claimed to constitute the origin of religious use. The second major semantic field relates to the notions of stretched, extended, and lengthy. A *shirʿa* is a fine string, as stretched on a bow, or a lute. *Ashraʿu 'l-unfi* is long-nosed. A *sharaʿa* (pl. *ashruʿ*) means a projecting, covered area (syn. *saḳīfa*). The *shirāʿ* of a ship is its sail, stretched above it to catch the wind. This word is applied also to the neck of a camel; hence also *shurāʿiyya*, a long-necked camel (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *sharaʿa*; see also Lane, *Lexicon*). This field of use is cognate with Biblical and Talmudic Hebrew *saraʿ* meaning to stretch/be stretched and is likely to be the origin of *shāriʿ* and *sharīʿa* meaning way, path, road, highway. It is from here that the specialist religious use emerged.

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In South-East Asia.

Islam is found primarily in the modern states of Indonesia and Malaysia [*q.vv.*], with a presence also in Burma, Thailand and the Southern Philippines. The language of Islam is primarily Malay and Indonesian and cognate languages. Islam dates from the late 14th century and from that time the *Sharīʿa* has been expressed in a number of different forms. In general, we can distinguish three such forms.

(I) *The pre-modern texts.*

These are in Malay, Javanese and Arabic, and extant mss. date mostly from the 18th and 19th centuries.

The texts in Malay most usually, consist of elements of *fiḳh* as well as localised provisions (*adat*) [see ʿĀDA]. Commonly, these two elements are distinct and separate parts, and may easily be distinguished. However, it is not uncommon in some texts (e.g. Malacca laws, the Undang-undang Minangkabau) for explanations to be given as to different functions for each source of law. One (*adat*), expresses the practice of mankind, the other, *fiḳh*, the will of God. Differences are always reconcilable in the texts. The Java-Muslim texts, on the other hand, are written in an Indian-adapted form (*ubaya*, *pepakem*, *jayasong*) in which the Islamic element is confined to references to promulgation by a Muslim ruler and to *Hukum*, the law of God. There is little or no substantive *fiḳh*. One has Javanese laws administered under the aegis of a Muslim sovereign. Whether this was always the case in Java is uncertain because of the Dutch practice (18th-19th centuries) of revising or improving ("verbeterd") existing mss. for administrative use.

The major Arabic texts of the *Sharīʿa* circulated widely in South-East Asia. The standard works of al-Shāfiʿī, al-Anṣārī, al-Nawawī and al-Haythamī were either imported from the Middle East or were available in locally produced reprints. They were, and still are, the standard works for use by *kathi* and *imam* and in the *pesantren* [*q.v.*]. It was common practice for interlinear translation and/or glosses to be added. There was a considerable industry in the translation of these verses, especially into Malay. In the 18th and 19th centuries, elements of each of these pre-modern laws appeared in European (Dutch and British) rationalisations of Muslim law(s). The practice was to take selected portions of the *Sharīʿa* and incorporate them into administrative manuals for colonial use. There are many examples (see below).

To sum up: there is a vast mss. source which shows the adaptation and incorporation of the *Sharīʿa* into South-East Asian laws. The forms vary widely and, so far as context is concerned, the *Sharīʿa* is reproduced in part, re-defined and re-stated and (in some cases) exactly translated. However, by the mid-19th century, one can say that there was a definite trend toward the more classically-exact Arabic language prescription. This was a consequence of greater access to the Middle East centres of learning, brought about ironically enough by the colonial powers themselves,

but it was a trend interrupted by the imposition of colonial rule.

(II) S̲h̲arīʿa *in the colonial period* (*18th-20th centuries*).

In the pre-European Muslim lands, Islam was central to kingship, rule, sovereignty and morality. With European dominance from the 18th century onwards, Islam lost this function. Its status was reduced to that of a private religion and its political function was reduced to but a pale shadow, if that, of its former position. The *S̲h̲arīʿa*, likewise, was similarly limited in its scope and narrowly limited in its implementation.

(a) The Netherlands East Indies.

Islam was always an ideology of resistance to Dutch rule in the Indies and this intensified in the 19th century when V.O.C. rule was replaced by direct Netherlands State Government (1800). From this time, the N.E.I. Government adopted a consistent long-term policy toward the *S̲h̲arīʿa* in its legal administration.

N.E.I. legal policy was to introduce separate legal régimes for the various population groups. Thus for Europeans or persons assimilated to that status, the law was the law of the Netherlands. For the native population(s) it was *adat* (custom). There were about nineteen named *adat* law areas ("adatrechtskring"). The *S̲h̲arīʿa*, as such, had no place in this system. Islam was a religion only and not one which necessarily had legal consequences. This policy of separate law régimes became ever more complex throughout the 19th-20th centuries and ultimately proved unworkable. For example, special provisions had to be made for Native Christians, provisions had to be made for assimilation, i.e. change from one group to another, there were serious difficulties in inter-racial family law as well as in commercial law, and a complex intra-racial law of conflicts of laws had to be developed.

For the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, it was realised by 1882 that Islam could not be excluded from the legal régime, whatever its status in politics might be. In that year a "Priests' Court" (*Priesterraad*) was instituted for Java and later extended. Its competence was severely limited, mainly to family law but excluding inheritance, and its decisions had to be approved by the secular courts. Substantial revisions were made in 1937 which extended jurisdiction and also extended this competence of the courts (now the "Penghulu Courts") to Borneo. At the same time, the 1937 law withdrew jurisdiction in specified forms of property which were also in dispute in the civil (*Landraad*) courts. In short, the *S̲h̲arīʿa* was subject to very restrictive laws and its pre-colonial trend toward a more exact implementation was halted. On the other hand, it received a new form; now it was expressed in regulations and in bureaucratic practice. These are characteristics which persist into the post-colonial period (below). It is the politics of laws, rather than the *S̲h̲arīʿa* itself which determines the status of *fiḳh*.

(b) The British Territories.

These comprised the following:

(1) British Burma (1826-1947). The Islamic presence in Burma was an accident of imperial expansion. Muslims were immigrants, and the history of *S̲h̲arīʿa* is the history of *S̲h̲arīʿa* in Bengal. The only exception is some precedent on persons of mixed race ("Zerbadi"), one of whom was Muslim (see references).

(2) Second, the Straits Settlements and Malay States (1786-1957). It was British policy to recognise and give effect to the "manners, religions and customs" of the subject peoples. In effect, this meant the legal recognition of religious laws in the areas of family law and land ownership. To this extent, the *S̲h̲arīʿa* had recognition in purely family and religious (e.g. mosque administration, *waḳf*) matters. However, there are some special features which should be noted. First, references were taken from the pre-modern texts, but only in relation to land, and not to religion as such. Second, the *S̲h̲arīʿa* administered in the courts was taken from local experts not from the standard text books. It was only in the 1930s that standard texts from British India were commonly consulted. Third, *S̲h̲arīʿa* was never permitted to influence inheritance where land was involved; this was always a matter governed by *adat*.

From the late 1880s, the *S̲h̲arīʿa* gradually came to be organised in legislation and in the creation of a *S̲h̲arīʿa* court system, together with the necessary bureaucracy. Various "Muslims' Ordinances" or legislation with a similar name were promulgated. The purpose of the legislation was to regulate marriage (by registration), define the duties of the *ḳāḍī*, and regulate property matters as between husband and wife. The legislation was many times amended. The point is that *S̲h̲arīʿa*, while recognised in a limited way, was a "local" law or a "personal" law for a defined group. The *S̲h̲arīʿa* was dependent on recognition by the colonial authority. It had no existence outside of its colonial dependence, and it was never the law of the country.

(3) British Borneo comprised *Sarawak* (1841-1963) and British North Borneo (1888-1963). In both cases, the *S̲h̲arīʿa* was only one of a number of "native laws". There was no attempt to apply it; instead, there was a mélange of custom (*adat*) with some rather eclectic, mostly inaccurate, selections of *fiḳh*. This composite was not imposed by the British authority. Instead, by taking evidence from the local Muslim populations it grew and took on a life of its own. The most striking example is the Undang-undang Mahkamah Melayu Sarawak "Laws of the Sarawak Malay Court" (1915).

(c) French Indo-China and the American Philippines.

These can be dealt with rather shortly. In the Indo-China territories, the minority Cham [see ČAM] of western Vietnam and eastern Cambodia were Muslim. There were historical links to Java. The only reliable information dates from 1941 (see *Bibl.*) and shows a sort of "Customary Islam". For the Philippines [*q.v.*], the main Muslim population is in the southern islands. Here, the *S̲h̲arīʿa* was only one element in an *adat*-Islam complex of prescriptions. While in respect of the Cham the French did manage a classification, that of *asiatique assimilé*, in terms of private international law, the Americans attempted nothing of the sort. Islam was considered only in political terms; the *S̲h̲arīʿa*/*adat* was ignored.

(III) S̲h̲arīʿa *since the Second World War.*

The end of the war saw the effective end of the colonial presence in South-East Asia. For Islam, this had two important consequences. First, Islam could now have an open and legitimate political presence in what became Indonesia and Malaysia. The result was that the *S̲h̲arīʿa* immediately attained a status of something more than a personal law. Indeed, even in the transition periods, new provisions were already being made.

(a) Indonesia.

The Republic Indonesia has had a complex history since 1945, and the history of Islam has been similarly complex. The colonial courts system (now renamed Pengadilan Agama) has been retained and extended to all of Indonesia. In addition, a Department of Religious Affairs has been established for the whole

Republic. The jurisdiction of the courts has been extended somewhat, though not to the extent asked for by Islamic activists. However, the latter have been successful in preserving the position of *Sharīʿa* in the contemporary reforming legislation, such as family law. There is no Muslim or Islamic Code of law as such in Indonesia. Various drafts have been proposed and are still under discussion.

(b) Singapore and Malaysia.

The 1950s saw a considerable activity in the regulation of *Sharīʿa*. Singapore and all the states of Malaysia now have enactments (The Administration of Islamic [or Muslim] Law) in force. Generally speaking, the legislation provides mechanisms for (i) the determination of *Sharīʿa* entrusted to a Council (Majlis) of scholars; (ii) a system of Muslim courts; and (iii) statements of substantive principles of law, including family law, trusts and offences against religion. In Malaysia, though not in Singapore, constitutional amendments in 1988 have re-enforced the *Sharīʿa*. Since the 1980s also, the various states in Malaysia have considerably extended the scope of *Sharīʿa*.

(c) The Philippines.

After many years of neglect under the Spanish, American, and Republic of the Philippines' governments, the *Sharīʿa* received formal recognition in 1977 with the proclamation of the "Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines". It is in five books and covers persons and family relations, succession, disputes, legal opinions penal provisions and transition provisions. In short, the Code recognises the separateness of Islamic principle and provides for its administration in the Philippines for the first time. Data are lacking on its success or otherwise at the moment.

(d) General.

The *Sharīʿa* has been much re-defined in South-East Asia. We can trace adaptations to local form and culture as in the pre-modern texts, and its colonial redefinitions into European form. These have been continued into the post-War years. More recently, however, there has been a consistent trend toward reintroducing the rules of *Sharīʿa* in a more classically accurate formulation. If this progression is even partly implemented, it will result, for the first time, in the application of a "classical" *Sharīʿa* to South-East Asia. The legal history of Islam in the area will thus have come full circle; from its introduction in the Arabic, through its re-definition in Malay, and now back again to the Arabic sources. However, the *Sharīʿa* is dependent on the authority of the State, which is secular. Its existence is unlikely to escape from this constitutionally imposed status.

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(M.B. HOOKER)

SHARĪʿATĪ, ʿALĪ, influential Iranian intellectual (1933-77).

He was born at Mazīnān (Khurāsān), as the son of Muḥammad Taḳī Sharīʿatī, a preacher. His secondary education he received in Mashhad and in 1951 he qualified as teacher. His first publications and translations, as well as his involvement in politics, date from this period. In 1956 he enrolled as a student at the Faculty of Letters in Mashhad. Receiving his bachelor's degree in 1959, he was rewarded with a scholarship. A year later he went to Paris where he studied religious history and sociology, but his thesis, under G. Lazard, was in the field of Persian philology. In his Parisian period he actively supported the Algerian and other liberation movements. His principal sources of inspiration were Louis Massignon, with whom he studied the figure of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima, and Frantz Fanon, whose book *The wretched of the earth* he translated and with whom he corresponded. Upon his return to Iran, in 1964, he was arrested for importing banned books and jailed for several months. After his release he taught, first in a village and then in a high school in Mashhad, and he was employed at the university of Mashhad to teach sociology and history of religion. In 1970 he was dismissed and two years later he went to Tehran, where he soon became the key figure of the Ḥusayniyya-yi Irshād, a centre for the study of Islam, established in 1965. At the end of 1973 the centre, renowned particularly for the well-attended public lectures it organised, was shut down by the government and Sharīʿatī went into hiding, but after some time he gave himself up in order to secure the release of his father, who was held hostage. After 18 months of solitary confinement, he was allowed, in March 1975, to return to Mazīnān where he was kept under constant police surveillance. In the spring of 1977 he managed to go to London, but shortly after his arrival there, he died of a heart attack on June 19.

His ideas centred around the reconstruction of true Islam, which he equated with the original Shīʿī Islam, i.e. the Islam of ʿAlī and his family and their partisans, as opposed to the highly institutionalised and clerical (post-)Ṣafawid Shīʿism. In this original Islam, *tawḥīd* is central not only in its theological, but also in its social and political implications, since it favours a classless society and a revolutionary ethos. Therefore, Abū Dharr [*q.v.*], a "God-worshipping socialist", and Fāṭima [*q.v.*] are presented as role-models for modern Muslim men and women. Sharīʿatī's sometimes revolutionary approach to Islam made him popular with many young Iranians, university students in particular, as well as with some more reform-minded members of the Shīʿī clergy. In the eyes of the traditional segments of this clergy, however, he lacked the necessary qualifications to be an authoritative spokesman on Islamic affairs. Sharīʿatī is often considered to be one of the most important ideologues of the process culminating in the Islamic Revolution in Iran. However, there is no real congruence between his ideas and the theoretical foundations, let alone the policy, of the ensuing Islamic Rcpublic of Iran. Nevertheless, it is not to be denied, that his ideas have played and still play an important part in the discussions on the role and significance of Islam, both in Iran and, through the translation of several of his writings, in many other countries of the Islamic world.

Bibliography: In the absence of a comprehensive and thorough study on Sharīʿatī, information on his life and ideas are to be found in S. Akhavi, *Religion and politics in contemporary Iran. Clergy-state relations in the Pahlavi period*, Albany 1980, 143-50; H. Dabashi, *Theology of discontent. The ideological foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*, New York and London 1992, 102-47; N.R. Keddie, *Roots of revolution. An interpretive history of modern Iran*, New Haven and London 1981, 216-25; M.M.J. Fischer and

M. Abedi, *Debating Muslims: cultural dialogues in post-modernity and tradition*, Madison 1990, 211-20 and *passim*. A (preliminary) list of Sharī'atī's works has been prepared by Y. Richard in *Abstracta Iranica*, i (Tehran-Leiden 1978), 50-5, ii (1979), 69-70.

(J.G.J. TER HAAR)

SHARĪ'ATMADĀRĪ, ĀYATULLĀH SAYYID MUḤAMMAD KĀẒIM, a high-ranking and influential Iranian cleric (d. 1986).

He was born in 1905 in Tabrīz where he started his theological studies. In 1924 he continued his studies in Ḳum, and in 1935 he went to Nadjaf. His return to Tabrīz was the starting-point of a career as a teacher, first in his native city and subsequently in Ḳum, where he had moved toward the end of the forties, at the invitation of Āyatullāh Burūdjirdī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Here he became one of the most respected leaders of the Shī'ī community and in his capacity as *Mardja'-i Taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] he drew his support mainly from the Ādharī-speaking part of the population. In the 1960s he started an institute for Islamic education and propaganda, called Dār al-Tablīgh. From the educational point of view, the programme offered by the institute to boys and later on also, albeit separately, to girls, stood midway between the curriculum of a modern school and the traditional *madrasa* system. The propaganda activities of the institute included the publication of books and journals. Three of the journals were in Persian, *Maktab-i Islām* ("School of Islam"), *Nasl-i Naw* ("New Generation") and *Payām-i Shādī* ("Glad Tidings") for adults, for adolescents and children respectively, and one in Arabic, *al-Hādī*. The Dār al-Tablīgh also provided for the training of preachers, and finally it served as an oracle for many Shī'īs outside Iran, who consulted the institute on religious questions. The only book which Sharī'atmadārī appears to have published, was his version of the thesis that traditionally confirms a cleric's position as *mudjtahid*, *Tawḍīḥ al-masā'il*.

His ideas, which he mainly expressed in interviews, can overall be characterised as the ideas of highly traditional Shī'ī cleric. And so, during the Islamic Revolution, he strongly supported the view that the clergy must not be directly involved in politics. He was one of those who favoured the model incorporated in the Iranian Constitution of 1906-7, that accorded to the clergy, or, to be precise, to a committee of five *mudjtahids*, the right to monitor the legislatory process and to veto any legation that they judged was incompatible with Islamic laws and regulations. His name and ideas were claimed by the predominantly Ādharbāydjānī Muslim Republican People's Party, although he himself carefully avoided direct association with the party, as he equally carefully avoided accepting any official posts. In the discussions concerning the constitution of the Islamic Republic, Sharī'atmadārī protested against the fact that the draft constitution had not been submitted to a constituent assembly. A compromise was reached, to the effect that an Assembly of Experts, consisting of 73 elected members, was given the power to amend the draft. But when the new draft was presented and about to be submitted to a referendum, Sharī'atmadārī expressed his disagreement with the leading principle of the intended constitution, viz. the *wilāyat al-faḳīh*, that was to give the clergy a direct and even ultimate say in politics. He even threatened that he would abstain from voting. Thereupon his house was attacked and there was even an attempt on his life (on 5 December 1979), which provoked a general strike and demonstration in his home town Tabrīz. But Khumaynī and those who shared his view proved too strong for Sharī'atmadārī and his partisans. In a referendum the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people voted in favour of the draft that beared almost exclusively the stamp of Khumaynī's ideas. The Muslim Republican People's Party was forced to dissolve itself, and two years later, Sharī'atmadārī himself was silenced rather drastically. In April 1982, after his son-in-law, accused of being an accomplice of Ṣādiḳ Ḳuṭbzāda (who had been shortly before executed), had been sentenced to prison, an orchestrated effort was made to discredit Sharī'atmadārī. Forged documents circulated that denounced him as a traitor. Members of Parliament and clerics accused him of having made common cause with the enemy of the Islamic Republic. His Dār al-Tablīgh was shut down and he was placed under house arrest. His opponents even managed, through the influential Society of Teachers of Seminaries in Ḳum, to have him demoted and stripped of his title as *Mardja'-i Taḳlīd* or source of emulation. Virtually no protests were heard against this, and four years later, in April 1986, he died.

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(J.G.J. TER HAAR)

SHARĪF (A.; loanword in P. and T.) (pl., *ashrāf*, *shurafā'* [in the Maghrib, *shurfā'*, *q.v.*], *sharaf* [seldom]) "noble", "exalted", "eminent" [in religious or worldly esteem], derives from the root *sh-r-f*, which expresses the idea of exaltedness and prominence. Its pre-Islamic as well as its most basic use in Islamic cultures is to denote a free man who can claim a distinguished rank because of his descent from illustrious ancestors (*LA*, xi, 70-1); that is, a person possessed of nobility (*sharaf*, or, less frequently, *shurfa*; both also used in P.; in T., *şeref*, *şerāfet*), whether conferred by inherited or personally acquired glory and honourable conduct or, preferably, both. Possession of *sharaf* is expressed often by the phrase "*dhu 'l-ḥasab wa 'l-nasab*", "possessing great honour [lit. 'estimation'] and unblemished ancestry" [see ḤASAB WA-NASAB; NASAB]. Early in Islamic times, kinship or even "companionship" [see ṢAḤĀBA] with the Prophet became a new and special form of *sharaf*. To be a *sharīf* meant having a claim to: (i) most commonly, some type of Hāshimid descent—from the family or clan of the Prophet, the Banū Hāshim (after the Prophet's great-grandfather, Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf [*q.v.*]); or, (ii) more specifically, 'Alid—normally Ḥasanid or Ḥusaynid—descent (from Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law 'Alī and his daughter Fāṭima, through either of their two sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, or one of their daughters, or one of 'Alī's children by other wives); or, (iii) still more narrowly, Ḥasanid descent only—the term *sayyid* "lord", being used to denote Ḥusaynid descent. The last two usages reflect the fact that al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were widely regarded as the noblest of the noble by birth (see al-Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong, Leiden 1867, 51 ff., tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 79).

(1) Generic (pre-Islamic and Islamic) meanings of the term.

Traditionally in the Arab, and also in the wider Islamic world, as in most cultures, it has been assumed that the meritorious qualities of forebears are transmitted to their descendants. Thus it is typically the possession of illustrious ancestors, or estimable "house" (*bayt*, pl. *buyūtāt*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 243; cf. Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1854, 174; see also AHL AL-BUYŪTĀT), which is requisite for a *sharaf* (or *ḥasab*) *ḍakhm*, a "substantial/great nobility" (I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 41-2; H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 289-90). Although in Islam there did develop the doctrine of the equality of all Muslims—based on Ḳur'ān, XLIX, 13, *inna akramakum ʿind Allāh atḳākum*, "Truly the noblest among you in God's eyes is he who is most Godfearing" (cf. Goldziher, *op cit.*, i, 50-3, 69-76), it never quite displaced the old Arab reverence for a distinguished genealogy. An oft-reported *ḥadīth* of the Prophet underscores that "the most noble (*akram*) people are the most pious (*atḳāhum*), but adds that "the best (*khiyār*) of them in the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] are the best in Islām, if they have understanding [in religious matters] (*idhā faḳihū*)" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*. ed. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Beirut 1955-6, 43 [*Faḍā'il*], trad. 168; 44 [*Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba*], trad. 199; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Al-Nawāwī, Ibrāhīm and Khafādjī, Cairo 1378/1958, 60 [*Anbiyā'*]. 8.5,14, 19.1; 61 [*Manāḳib*]. 1.5,6).

Among the Arabs before and after the advent of Islam, the *ashrāf* were either persons from noble tribes or specifically the heads of prominent families—those who over time had gained recognised status vis-à-vis others and were entrusted with administering the affairs of the tribe or alliance of tribes or towns: e.g. *min ashrāf al-ḳawm*, Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. al-Saḳḳā', al-Abyārī and Shalabī, Cairo 1355, repr. Beirut 1391/1971, i, 386,17 = ed. Wüstenfeld, 237; the *ashrāf* of Muḥammad's *ḳawm* [i.e. Ḳuraysh], al-Ṭabarī, i, 1191,1; the *ashrāf* of al-Ḥīra, *ibid.*, i, 2017; the *ashrāf al-ḳabā'il*, *ibid.*, ii, 541,17; the *ashrāf* in Kūfa, *ibid.*, ii, 631 ff. *passim*; the *ashrāf* of Khurasān, *ibid.*, iii, 714,1; the *ashrāf al-aʿādjim*, al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 176,8. The *ashrāf* regarded themselves as the aristocrats (*ahl al-faḍl*) in contrast to the rude and untutored masses (*arādhil, sufahā', akhissā'*) and lesser tribes or families (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 631,7; cf. the boast of a Tamīmī leader about his tribe's noble persons, *kirām*, in Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, iv, 308 = ed. Wüstenfeld, 935). In Islamic times as before, *sharīf* also meant a person strong in noble pedigree, character, and importance, in contrast to one who is "weak" (*ḍaʿīf*, also *waḍīʿ*), especially in his or her *nasab* (al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, 1 [*Bad' al-waḥy*], 6; 86 [*Ḥudūd*], 11,12; Muslim, *op. cit.*, 33 [*Imāra*], trad. 16). *Sharīf* and *ḍaʿīf* could also refer specifically to those able to bear arms and those "unarmed", respectively—the right to bear arms being an important social distinction in Islamic as in many other societies (B. Lewis, *The political language of Islam*, Chicago 1988, 67-8).

A *sharīf* as a person of importance, in contrast to one of lower status, has been an enduring social distinction in most of the Islamic world. It occurs frequently in this sense in the older Islamic sources of the 3rd-5th/9th-10th centuries, as in the title of the genealogical work of al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, and in chapter headings such as *Afʿāl min afʿāl al-sāda wa 'l-ashrāf*, in Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1343/1924-5, i, 332; *Marāthi 'l-ashrāf*, *Ashrāf kuttāb al-nabī*, *Nawka 'l-ashrāf*, *Man hudda min al-ashrāf*, in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Būlāḳ 1293/1876, ii, 29, 207, and iii, 311, 406, respectively; and *Ṣināʿāt al-ashrāf*, in al-Thaʿālibī, *op. cit.*, 77, tr. 102. In such examples, the meaning is not always precise: the use of al-ashrāf to indicate something like *al-khāṣṣa* (the élite, notables), or a subgroup within this category (as opposed to *al-ʿāmma*, the common folk, masses), seems to have continued under Islam, even while simultaneously *al-ashrāf* in the stricter genealogical sense (whether designating persons ennobled by prophetic or by other socially exalted blood lines) has been used for persons of noble lineage whatever their social, economic, or political status (see AL-KHĀṢṢA WA 'L-ʿĀMMA and, on the complexity of mediaeval Muslim societal attitudes about rank and status generally, R. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership in an early Islamic society*, Princeton 1980, esp. 97-174).

The possible meanings of *sharīf/ashrāf* have varied both geographically and chronologically. In the Arabian peninsula, alongside prophetic lineage, other standards of *sharaf* not directly linked to Islam have remained remarkably strong: Arab tribal groups have prided themselves on purity of descent from the ancient patriarchs of the southern and northern Arabs, Ḳaḥṭān and ʿAdnān, respectively [*q.v.*], and many clans or families still claim to be *ashrāf* because of their pure and illustrious Arab lineage [see AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT, vi. Ethnography, esp. at I, 546a]. By contrast, in South Asia, *ashrāf* has had a very different meaning. Here it has been used to designate a major social-status group within the overall Muslim community, namely all Muslims of foreign ancestry (as opposed to higher and lower indigenous Indian Muslim lineages, the *aṭrāf*, or *adjlāf*, and the *ardhāl*, respectively). Thus the *ashrāf* comprise *sayyids* (descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭima) and *shaykhs* (descendants of Ḳuraysh or of Muḥammad's Companions), as well as *mughals* and *pathāns* (two ethnic descent groups of "foreign" origin): see I. Ahmad (ed.), *Caste and social stratification among the Muslims*, Delhi 1973, 21-2 (P. Aggarwal, ch. *The Meos of Rajasthan and Haryana*), 92-5 (Z. Bhatty, ch. *Status and power in a Muslim-dominated village of Uttar Pradesh*), 113-19 (Bhattacharya, ch. *Concept and ideology of caste among the Muslims of rural West Bengal*), 159-70 (I. Ahmad, ch. *Endogamy and status mobility among the Siddique Sheikhs of Allahabad*); L. Dumont, *Homo hierarchicus*, Eng. tr. Sainsbury, Chicago 1970, 206-8; J. Sharīf, *Islām in India or the Qānūn-i-Islām*, tr. Herklots, rev. ed. Crooke, London 1921, 9-13 (see also HIND, ii. Ethnography, at III, 411a; and on the use of these categories also in Nepal, M. Gaborieau, *Muslim minorities in Nepal*, in R. Israeli, *The Crescent in the East*, London 1982, esp. 85-90). Similarly, in many other regions today, e.g. Turkey and Persia, *sharīf* is used primarily to designate social or economic "nobility" status without reference to Prophetic descent, which is signalled by the specific use of *sayyid* (see below), not *sharīf*. One should note also the presence in Islamic societies alongside (as well as among) the blooded *ashrāf* and/or *sāda* (pl. of *sayyid* [*q.v.*]) of what has been effectively a "noblesse de la robe", to use Tyan's phrase (*Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* [Paris 1938], ²Leiden 1960, 552, n. 1), namely the religious scholars (*ʿulamā'*).

(2) The Islamic meanings of the term.

The broadest specifically Islamic meaning of *sharīf* has been "descendant of the Prophet". Early on, the ability to show kinship with the Prophet was an important claim to *sharaf* (cf. al-Bayhaḳī [*fl. ca.* 300/912], *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. F. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 95 ff.), and under the influence of Shīʿī views and the increasing veneration of the Prophet generally,

membership in the "house of Muḥammad" became a mark of special distinction in Islamic societies. There was, however, considerable variation in how such membership was defined.

The expression *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*], "People of the House", is from Ḳur'ān, XXXIII, 33b, "God will remove the stains from you, O people of the House, and purify you completely". Although this verse may well have referred to Muslims as people of the Ka'ba (cf. R. Paret, in *Orientalistische Studien Enno Littmann überreicht*, Leiden 1935, 127-30), it was interpreted frequently among Sunnīs, but especially among the Shī'īs (as early as al-Kumayt [*q.v.*], who died in 126/743, 38,11 ff.; cf. 92,9 ff., and R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strasbourg 1912, 19-20), as referring to Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭima, his son-in-law and cousin 'Alī, and his grandsons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. The key proof text for this is the well known "mantle ḥadīth" (*ḥadīth al-kisā'*/*'abā'*, from which these five are also known, above all among Shī'īs, as the "People of the Cloak", *ahl al-kisā'* [*q.v.*; and cf. MUBĀHALA, at VII, 276b], or *ahl al-'abā'*). This ḥadīth recounts how Muḥammad one day brought the other four under his cloak (*kisā'*, *'abā'*[*a*], *mirṭ*, or *thawb*) and called them *ahl al-bayt*, or simply "my family", *ahlī* (Muslim, *op. cit.*, 44 [*Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba*], trad. 61 [cf. trad. 32]; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, ed. Shākir, 'Abd al-Bāḳī, and 'Iwaḍ, Cairo 1319-46/1937-65, 48 [*Tafsīr*], 34.7 and 50 [*Manāḳib*], 32.2, 61.5; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1968, xxii, 6-8 [10 versions]; al-Ṣabbān, 105-6; cf. M. Ayoub, *Redemptive suffering in Islām*, The Hague 1978, 37 n. 49).

More in keeping with the Ḳur'ānic context of XXXIII, 33b (despite the absence of the feminine plural pronoun, *-kunna*, in v. 33: see al-Nabhānī, 15-16, 21-2, 30-1) is the interpretation given the *ahl al-bayt* of XXXIII, 33, in a *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās, Muḳātil, and/or 'Ikrima, namely that it refers to the Prophet's wives, the "women" of his household addressed explicitly in XXXIII, 28-34. Other versions cite Umm Salama as being included specifically by the Prophet, along with the *ahl al-kisā'*, in the *ahl al-bayt* (al-Tirmidhī, 48 [*Tafsīr*], 34,7; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313/1895-6, vi, 292, 296; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxii, 8; al-Maḳrīzī, 26-33; cf. al-Ṣabbān, 106-7).

The survey by al-Nabhānī (10-34) of the various reports and exegetical opinions on who is included in *ahl al-bayt* reinforces the evidence that the scope of the term varied with time and circumstances. The *ḥadīth* that glosses it simply as "the family of the Prophet", *'itrat al-nabī* (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 14, 17; al-Tirmidhī, 50 [*Manāḳib*], 32.1; further references in A.J. Wensinck, *Concordance de la tradition musulmane*, 120a, s.v. "'itra"; cf. Lane, 1946b) left the door open to further interpretation. It appears that, while descent in the direct bloodline of the *ahl al-kisā'*, i.e. from 'Alī and Fāṭima through their two sons [see 'ALIDS], came later to distinguish above all the Shī'ī Imāms [*q.v.*] and their descendants as *ahl al-bayt*, or to define (among Sunnīs or Shī'īs) the true *ashrāf*, initially for Muslims descent from 'Alī specifically as Muḥammad's male cousin or from other agnates of the Prophet was a more important link to the "house" of Muḥammad than direct descent from him via the line of Fāṭima and 'Alī. In general, the use of *ahl al-bayt* has been more rather than less inclusive in the wider tradition (some reports even portray the Prophet as including the Companion Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] among the *ahl al-bayt*: Ibn 'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, ed. Yaḥyā, Cairo 1394/1974, 230-3; al-Maḳrīzī, 43; al-Nabhānī, 23-6). Two common Sunnī views that developed were: (i) the harmonising opinion according to which *ahl al-bayt* include the five key members of Muḥammad's family plus his wives (and hence their descendants), and (ii) the position that the term encompasses both the Ṭālibids and 'Abbāsids, historically the most important families of the Banū Hāshim. This latter view was one that the 'Abbāsid caliphs espoused to bolster their own legitimacy and prestige. Shī'īs also have stressed Ṭālibid as well as 'Alid descent (see AHL AL-BAYT; on the genealogy of the Ṭālibids, see Ibn 'Inaba, *'Umdat al-ṭālib*; cf. Nadjm al-Dīn 'Alī al-'Umarī, Ibn al-Ṣūfī (d. *ca.* 466/1074), *al-Madjdī fī ansāb al-ṭālibīn*, ed. Mahdawī Dāmghānī, Ḳum 1409/1988-9).

The identification of the two main Hāshimī lineages with the *ahl al-bayt* was based chiefly upon one version of the so-called *ḥadīth al-thaḳalayn* (in which *thaḳalānī* refers to the two sources of guidance that Muḥammad says he is leaving behind for the Muslims: Scripture, sc. *al-Kitāb*, and the *ahl al-bayt*). In this version, the *ahl al-bayt* are identified as those to whom, as members of the Prophet's family, the sharing in *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*] is forbidden; specifically mentioned are the Āl 'Alī, the Āl 'Aḳīl, the Āl Dja'far (i.e. descendants of Abū Ṭālib's sons), and the Al al-Abbās (Muslim, *op. cit.*, 44 [*Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba*], trad. 32 [cf. trad. 33]; al-Tirmidhī, 50 [*Manāḳib*], 32.3 Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 409-10, iv, 367; al-Nabhānī, 35-54, 68-74; al-Maḳrīzī, 30-1, 33; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Ṣawā'iḳ*, 147; Lammens, *Fāṭima*, Rome 1912, 95-100 [for references to still other groups counted as *ahl al-bayt*, see esp. 99, n. 4]; C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919, 65 ff.; see also ĀL; on *taḥrīm al-ṣadaḳa*, cf., e.g. al-Ṣabbān, 108, 110, 117, 121).

The tendency to equate the main Hāshimī lineages with the *ashrāf* of the *ahl al-bayt* appeared as early as the 2nd/8th century. The special status of the Banū Hāshim was trumpeted already by al-Kumayt, *op. cit.*; just as he lauds effusively the noble blood of the Prophet (14,5-15,12), he praises the Banū Hāshim as "the highest of creatures" (2,9) and "the peaks of splendid nobility (*ḥasab*)" (5,8), who are granted "a pre-eminence among all humankind" (58,8), and he celebrates them as *ashrāf* and *sāda* (10,4, 56,2). The editors of the Prophet's *Sīra* especially bolstered the prestige of the Banū Hāshim by putting forward the idea that God, after a gradual process of elimination of others, deliberately chose the Hāshimids as the family to produce the Prophet. A tradition which occurs in several versions has the Apostle of God say: "God chose Ismā'īl from the sons of Ibrāhīm, and from the sons of Ismā'īl the Banū Kināna, and from the Banū Kināna the Ḳuraysh, and from the Ḳuraysh the Banū Hāshim" (Ibn Sa'd, i, 2,2; cf. Ibn Hishām, iv, 205 = ed. Wüstenfeld, 933; al-Nabhānī, 76-7, 172; cf. *ibid.*, 78-9; al-Ṣabbān, 120; cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Faḍā'il*, 57-148). One version concludes with the Prophet's words, "consequently I am the best of you as regards family and the best of you as regards genealogy" (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii, 247. Cf. also al-Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659), *Nasīm al-riyāḍ fī sharḥ shifā' al-Ḳāḍī 'Iyāḍ*, Cairo 1325-7/1907-9, i, 429 ff., ch. on the *sharaf* of the Prophet).

According to al-Suyūṭī, *R. al-Sulāla al-zaynabiyya*, fols. 4a-b (cited in al-Ṣabbān, 121; al-Nabhānī, 82), *al-sharīf* designated in the earlier period (*al-ṣadr al-awwal*) anyone who belonged to the *ahl al-bayt*, whether Ḥasanī or Ḥusaynī, 'Alawī (a descendant of any of 'Alī's sons, esp. Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, or Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya), Djafarī or 'Aḳīlī (a descendant of one of 'Alī's brothers), or 'Abbāsī (a descendant of the Prophet's uncle al-'Abbās). He also points out that in the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*], who died in 748/

1348, we often meet with titles like *al-sharīf al-ʿabbāsī, al-sharīf al-ʿaḳīlī, al-sharīf al-djaʿfarī, al-sharīf al-zaynabī* (which, however, proves very little for the older period).

There are indications that in ʿAbbāsid times, no later than the mid-4th/10th century and probably earlier, *al-sharīf*, which is said to have been also a *laḳab* of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, iii, 137,6), was reserved especially for the descendants of al-ʿAbbās and Abū Ṭālib. Al-Saffāḥ's (*r.* 132-6/750-4) naming of the first official ʿAbbāsid administrative capital *al-Hāshimiyya* likely reflected to some degree (even if it also referred to the dynasty's roots in the so-called Hāshimiyya [*q.v.*] movement) the ʿAbbāsids' desire to identify, in contrast to the Umayyad "usurpers" before them, with the Hāshimī legitimacy of the *ahl al-bayt* (J. Lassner, *The shaping of ʿAbbasid rule*, Princeton 1980, 151-2). We know that the Ḥusaynid Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā (d. *ca.* 400/1009-10) and his two famous sons, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016) and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), all served terms as *naḳīb* (see below) of the Ṭālibid *ashrāf* in Baghdād (cf. H. Halm, *Die Schia*, Darmstadt 1988, 64-5; AL-MURTAḌĀ; AL-RĀḌĪ; Brockelmann, S I, 131, 704-6). Muslim historians first used the term *sharīf* for such descendants in the 4th/10th century, as the ʿAbbāsid empire was dissolving, with ʿAlids rebelling everywhere and attaining power in Ṭabaristān and Arabia (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 56-7), but not all references to the *ashrāf* are clear: al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923), writing of an event in 178/794-5 (iii, 635,6), mentions *al-ashrāf* as one group of (Arab? ʿAlid?) notables alongside the Banū Hāshim.

With time, the title *sharīf* came commonly to be restricted to the ʿAlids alone. Al-Suyūṭī (*ibid.*) observes that the Fāṭimids (who had strong reasons to reject ʿAbbāsid claims to legitimacy) restricted the title *al-sharīf* to the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and that this had remained the custom in Egypt down to his own time (end of 9th/15th century). He cites, however, the *Kitāb al-Alḳāb* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī to note that *al-sharīf* was used in Baghdād as a *laḳab* of every ʿAbbāsī and in Egypt of every ʿAlawī. We may assume that at least in the Fāṭimid sphere, the term in the strict sense was applied only to a Ḥasanī or Ḥusaynī, for, as al-Suyūṭī notes in another connection (fol. 6a-b; in al-Ṣabbān, 207-8; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 144), a *waḳf* [*q.v.*] or a testamentary deposition in favour of the *ashrāf* is only awarded to the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, for such depositions are decided by local usage (*ʿurf*), and according to the usage in Egypt, dating from Fāṭimid times, *ashrāf* applied only to Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids (that this usage persisted even in Mamlūk and Ottoman times indicates how firmly established it had become under the Fāṭimids: M. Winter, 17, n. 2). In conclusion, al-Suyūṭī observes that according to the linguistic usage of Egypt, noble blood (*sharaf*) was divided into different classes, namely a grade that included the whole of the *ahl al-bayt*, another that contained only the *Dhurriyya*, i.e. the descendants of ʿAlī, which included the Zaynabīs, the descendants of Zaynab bt. ʿAlī or any other of ʿAlī's daughters, and finally a still smaller class, the *sharaf al-nisba*, which only admitted the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.

(3) *Sayyid* and *Sharīf*.

The case of *sayyid* or "lord" [*q.v.*] was similar to that of *sharīf*. *Sayyid* means the master in contrast to the slave (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, 93 [*aḥkām*], 1.2, etc.), and the husband vis-à-vis the wife (e.g. Ḳurʾān, XII, 25). *Sayyid* was also the usual name for the head of a tribe or clan (cf. Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 67; Ibn Hishām, ii, 83,10-1 = ed. Wüstenfeld, 295,17) whose authority was based mainly on personal qualities like discretion (*ḥilm* [*q.v.*]), liberality, and command of language (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *op. cit.*, i, 223 ff.; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, ²Berlin 1897, 223; Lammens, *Berceau*, 206-10). The Ḳurʾān, III, 39, praises the prophet Yaḥyā or John (the Baptist) as a *sayyid*. Certain physical qualities are also said to mark a person as a *sayyid* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *loc. cit.*; Mez, *Renaissance*, 144). Contemporary Arabic usage has reduced the term to a synonym for "mister" (and *sayyida* to "madam") in much of the Arab world and thus reduced or effaced its association with special socio-religious status.

The term may have come into use particularly as a title for ʿAlids or Ṭālibids at about the same time as *sharīf*. This development was probably aided by traditions that describe al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and their parents as *sayyid(a)*. The Prophet is reported to have said of al-Ḥasan, "this my [grand]son is a *sayyid*, and perhaps God will bring about reconciliation between the two parties of Muslims through him" (al-Bukhārī, 92 [*Fitan*], 20,1; 62 [*Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*], 22,1). Al-Ḥusayn appears in the Ḥadīth as *sayyid shabāb ahl al-Djanna*, "Lord of the young men of the people of Paradise" (al-Nabhānī, 130-1; al-Ṣabbān, 185), just as he and his brother are celebrated as *sayyidā shabāb ahl al-Djanna* "the two lords of the young men [etc.]" (al-Tirmidhī, 50 [*Manāḳib*], 31.1, 14; al-Nasāʾī, 117, 118, 123, 124; al-Ṣabbān, 115; al-Nabhānī, 143; A. Amīn *Ḍuḥā ʾl-Islām*, iii, Cairo 1362/1943, 287), while their mother Fāṭima is lauded by the Prophet as "mistress of the women of this community/my community" or "mistress of the women of the worlds" (*sayyidat nisāʾ hādhihi ʾl-umma/ummatī, sayyidat nisāʾ al-ʿālamīn*) (Ibn Saʿd, viii, 17,17; al-Nasāʾī, 116-20, *passim*), and as "mistress of the women of the people of Paradise (*ahl al-djanna*)" (al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, 61 [*Manāḳib*] 24.44; 62 [*Faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-nabī*], 29; al-Tirmidhī, 50 [*Manāḳib*], 30.15; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 142,18; al-Nasāʾī, 117; Amīn, *op. cit.*, 286). The Prophet is said to have called ʿAlī *sayyid al-ʿArab* and *sayyid al-muslimīn* (Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, iii, 176,9,20, 177, 2-3) and to have once said to him, "You are a *sayyid* in this world and a *sayyid* in the next" (*ibid.*, 177,7). In a verse in al-Bayhaḳī (*Maḥāsin*, 96,10), ʿAlī is described as *sayyid al-nās*, but as a rule such expressions are only applied to the Prophet (*sayyid wuld Ādam*, Ibn Saʿd, i, 1,18, 3,15, and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, iii, 176,9; *sayyid al-bashar*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii, 246,17).

In the beginning, the term *sayyid* may have been first applied to those who possessed some authority in their own sphere. In the genealogical work of the Ḥasanid Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, individual ʿAlids are often described as *sayyid(a)* (e.g. 81,6,9,12, 87,8, 88,12, 91,8, 92,5, 94,20, 163,16,19, 169,5,15). Al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ms. Leiden 1721, fol. 65a, gives this title to the Twelver Imām ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. We also find the combination *al-sayyid al-sharīf* or vice-versa (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1342/1923-4, ii, 277,12; al-Khazradjī, *al-ʿUḳūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, i, Leiden and London 1913, 314,11). The word *sayyid* also came to be applied to Ṣūfī masters, saints and notable theologians, e.g. *al-sāda al-ṣūfiyya, al-sādāt al-awliyāʾ* (al-Shardjī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-khawāṣṣ ahl al-ṣidḳ wa ʾl-ikhlāṣ*, Cairo 1321/1903, 2,9, 3,1, 195,3; cf. M. Winter, 18); *al-sāda al-aʿlām* (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 141,34). Found widely in Arabic as the term used by a slave to address his/her master, the term *sayyidī* or *sīdī* (frequently in al-Shaʿrānī) became very popular in a still more general applica-

tion to persons regarded as holy, especially mystical masters of particular *ṭarīḳas* or *zāwiyas* [*q.v.*] or Ṣūfīs in general. This can be seen in the many Muslim shrines dedicated to saintly persons addressed as *sīdī*, e.g. the tomb of "Sīdī Maḥyi 'l-Dīn" (Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ibn al-Arabī) in Damascus, the *Ḥaram* of "Sidnā 'Alī b. 'Alīl" (a descendant of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb) in Israel/Palestine (L. Mayer and J. Pinkerfeld, *Some principal Muslim religious buildings in Israel*, Jerusalem 1950, 36-9), or the shrine of "Sīdī Muḥammad Sharḳī" (also a descendant of 'Umar and key figure of the Sharḳāwī order) in Būdjad, Morocco (D. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam*, Austin 1976, 183-210).

It is also the case that such Ṣūfīs or other saintly figures have often also claimed Prophetic descent, so that the title "sayyid" is doubly earned. This is above all the case in Morocco, on which, see SHURFĀ'; cf. E. Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas*, Chicago 1969, 70-80. Sayyid Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Muhādjir, the Ḥusaynid forefather of the prestigious Ḥaḍramī *sāda* and the greatest saint of the Ḥaḍramawt, is venerated by pilgrims performing *ziyāra* [*q.v.*] to his tomb in Ḳaydūn (D. van der Meulen, *Aden to the Hadhramaut*, London 1947, 185-6; see also ḤAḌRAMAWT, in Suppl.). Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, whose tomb shrine is in Bahrā'ič, in eastern Uttar Pradesh, India, is said to trace his Ṭālibid pedigree to 'Alī through 'Alī's son by Khawla of the Banū Ḥanīfa, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] (T. Mahmood, in C. Troll (ed.), *Muslim shrines in India*, Delhi 1989, 24-30).

Sayyid is the standard term used (instead of, or in preference to, *sharīf*) for all direct descendants of Muḥammad in many Muslim societies; in these contexts, *sharīf* has typically retained its older, more general sense of simply a person of patrician social status (e.g. Persia, Turkey). *Sayyid*, and even *emīr* (A. *amīr*), or *mīr* [*q.v.*], were and are used in Persia, Turkey, Central Asia, and India as names for a descendant of the Prophet (J. Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, v, 290; H. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, i/2, London 1957, 93, n. 1; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1786-1820, i, 211, cf. 111; J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii, 398-401; Sharīf, *op. cit.*, 9-10, 26-8). In Ḥaḍramawt, the usual title for a Prophetic descendant, whether Ḥasanid or Ḥusaynid, is *sayyid* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iii, 163; van der Meulen, 70, 185-6). According to Amīn al Rayḥānī (*Mulūk al-'Arab*, Beirut 1924, i, 92, n. 1), the same was true in the Yaman in the early part of the present century, although, to judge from al-Khazradjī (e.g. i, 314,11, 315,3, 317,10,13, 318,7,11), who died in 812/1409, *sharīf* was in his day the usual name used there. Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Dimashḳī (d. 953/1546) reports that among the chiefs of the young men's *zu'ar* [*q.v.*] of Damascus, *ḳuraysh* was used alongside *sayyid* and *sharīf* as a name signalling Prophetic descent (cited in I. Lapidus, *Muslim cities in the later middle ages*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967, 155). In the Malay archipelago at the end of the last century, along with the title *sayyid* usual for Prophetic descendants we find also traditional in Acheh the honorific *ḥabīb* (beloved), which was used similarly in Arabia (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Eng. tr. O'Sullivan, Leiden 1906, i, 155).

In other instances, Muslims have distinguished *sharīf* and *sayyid* as referring specifically to Ḥasanī and Ḥusaynī descent, respectively. In the Ḥidjāz, it was for centuries the custom to call *sharīf* only those Ḥasanids whose ancestors had lived in Mecca and to designate as *sayyid* only the Ḥusaynids (cf. Gibb and Bowen, *loc. cit.*). From the beginning of their rule in the late 4th/10th century to its end in 1924, the Ḥasanid *amīrs* of Mecca (who began as Zaydīs, but by the mid-8th/14th century had become Sunnī adherents of the Shāfi'ī school) used the title *sharīf*, as did also, however, the ruling Ḥusaynids of Medina (see the Meccan *amīr* list in al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥidjāziyya*, Cairo 1329/1911, 82-6). At the turn of the last century, the title *sharīf* was reserved for Ḥasanids alone, but the Meccans addressed the Ḥasanid Amīr of Mecca, or so-called "Grand Sharīf" (a European usage), as *sayyidunā*, and he likewise gave his Ḥasanid kin the title *sayyid* (Admiralty War Staff, Intelligence Div., *A handbook of Arabia*, i, London 1916, 109; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 57 n. 1; idem, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iii, 163, v, 31, 40; cf. al-Nabhānī, 82-3).

(4) The *Naḳīb al-Ashrāf* and *Niḳābat al-Ashrāf*.

In the 'Abbāsid period, the *ashrāf*, both 'Abbāsids and Ṭālibids, were usually under the authority of a *naḳīb al-ashrāf* or "marshal of the nobility" (also *naḳīb al-sādāt*, or *ra'īs al-sādāt*) chosen by them. The history of this office remains largely uninvestigated (with the notable exception of M. Winter's study of the Egyptian case; see also the monograph by al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Ithāf*, which is a compendium of *nuḳabā'* in various cities; on both, see *Bibl.* below). That the *niḳāba* already existed under the Umayyads, as von Kremer (*Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna 1875, i, 449, n. 1) supposed (supported by Tyan, *op. cit.*, 552, n. 4), based upon Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, Būlāḳ 1284/1867-8, iii, 134, is very doubtful, as the passage at issue is probably corrupt (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 16, *ult.*-17,1). The two branches of the Banū Hāshim were from the first probably under a marshal, as was the case about 301/913-14 ('Arīb al-Ḳurṭubī, *Ṣilat ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1897, 47,10); yet we find mention in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1516,5, of an administrator of the affairs of the Ṭālibids (*yatawallā amr al-Ṭālibiyyīn*), in the year 250/864, during al-Mutawakkil's reign, one 'Umar b. Faradj (al-Rukhkhadjī), who was apparently not a Hāshimī. The 'Alid 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Ḥimmānī (d. 260/873-4) was *naḳīb* in Kūfa (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 338 = § 3029). By this date there were apparently marshals of the local nobles who answered to a single grand marshal (*naḳīb* or *sayyid al-nuḳabā'*): in the late 3rd/9th century, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Dja'far Ibn al-Riḍā was *sayyid al-nuḳabā'* in Baghdād (al-Marwazī, *al-Fakhrī fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Radjā'ī, Ḳum 1408/1988-9, 9; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Shadjara al-mubāraka*, Ḳum 1409/1989, 79-80), and in Nīshāpūr in the same era, the *sayyid* al-Adjall al-Zabbāra was an influential *naḳīb* of the 'Alids and *ra'īs* of the town, as was his son also after him in the reign of the Sāmānid *amīr* Abu 'l-Ḥasan Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43) (Ibn Funduḳ, *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, Tehran 1317/1938, tr. in C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1963, 196). In Fāṭimid Egypt, there was a *naḳīb al-ṭālibiyyīn* or *al-'alawiyyīn*, who (as under the 'Abbāsids) belonged to the political-military rather than the religious or administrative leadership; in Mamlūk Egypt this figure was known as *naḳīb al-ashrāf* and, not being of the ruling Turkish military élite, was considered a religious functionary, or *'ālim* (Winter, 31; cf. Tyan, 550-4).

In general theory, it was the duty of the *naḳīb*, who had to possess a good knowledge of genealogical matters, to keep a register of nobility, to enter births and deaths in it and to examine the validity of alleged 'Alid genealogies (on which see al-Ḳurṭubī, 49-50, 167). He had to keep a watch on the behaviour of the *ashrāf*, to restrain them from excesses, and

to remind them to do their duty and avoid anything that might injure their prestige. He had also to urge their claims, especially those on the treasury, to endeavour to prevent the women of noble blood from making mésalliances, and to see that the *wakf* trusts on the *ashrāf* were properly administered. He had to participate in, and to be responsible for participation of the *ashrāf* in special religious ceremonies. The chief *naḳīb* had also other special duties, including specific and sometimes important judicial powers, which varied from era to era and region to region. See al-Māwardī, 164-71; Tyan, 550-8; von Kremer, i, 448-49; L. Massignon, *Cadis et naqibs bagdadiens*, in *WZKM*, li (1948). 106-15; Winter, 32-3; H. Bodman, *Political factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826*, Chapel Hill 1963, 79-102; Mez, *op. cit.*, 145; al-Damurdāshī, *Kitāb al-Durra al-muṣāna*, tr. D. Crecelius and ʿA. Bakr as *al-Damurdashi's chronicle of Egypt, 1688-1755*, 43, n. 108; H. Halm, *op. cit.*, 60-1, 64-5; A. Laroui, *Les origines sociales et culturelles du nationalisme marocain*, Paris 1977, 93-4; and NAḲĪB (esp. the *Bibl.*).

If the case of Egypt (Winter, 34-9) is indicative, the social and even the religious importance of the *niḳāba* institution has waned in most areas, especially in the past two centuries, and most sharply in the present one; this goes along with the fact that today the *ashrāf* rarely represent the distinctive and cohesive, often élite social class that they did several centuries ago in most Islamic societies. Nor do they today typically enjoy the special tax status or other special favours they once did.

(5) Marks of *Sharīf* status.

Traditionally, the most common public mark of a *sharīf* has been the green turban that became usual for male *sharīfs* and *sayyids* to wear, especially in Egypt and Persia. Its origin may lie in a 773/1371-2 edict of the Mamlūk sultan al-Ashrāf Shaʿbān b. Ḥasan (764-78/1363-77) that the male *ashrāf* should wear a green badge (*shutfa*) fastened to their turbans to distinguish them from other people and as an honour for their rank (ʿAlī Dadah, *Muḥāḍarat al-awāʾil wa-musāmarat al-awākhir*, Būlāḳ 1300/1883, 85; al-Kattānī, 95, 97; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, Cairo 1311/1893-4, i, 227; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo n.d., xi, 56-7; Dozy, *Dict. des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, Amsterdam 1845, 308; Mez, 59; H. Algar, art. *ʿAmāma*, in *EIr*, i, 920a). According to the Ḥasanid Muḥammad al-Kattānī (d. 1345/1927), in his treatise on the turban (97-8), this Mamlūk edict, which is commemorated by the poets of the time, recalls that of the caliph al-Maʾmūn in Ramaḍān 201/817, which replaced the black colour of the ʿAbbāsid house with green at the time when he designated the Ḥusaynid ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā as his successor (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1012-13). Al-Kattānī opines that the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭima henceforth retained green as their colour, but confined themselves in practice to wearing a piece of green material on the turban. This, he thinks, fell in time into disuse until Sultan Shaʿbān revived it by his edict. According to the *Durar al-aṣdāf*, which al-Kattānī quotes (98), the wearing of an entirely green turban dates from an edict of the late 16th-century Ottoman Pasha governing Egypt, al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Sharīf (cf. Muḥammad al-Isḥāḳī, *Akhbār al-uwal fī-man taṣarrafa fī Miṣr min arbāb al-duwal*, Cairo 1311/1893-4, 164) in 1004/1596; when he had the *kiswa* [*q.v.*] for the Kaʿba exhibited, he ordered the *ashrāf* to come before him, each wearing a green turban.

Al-Suyūṭī observes that the wearing of this badge is a permissible innovation (*bidʿa mubāḥa*) that no one, whether a *sharīf* or not, can be prevented from following, if he or she wishes to do so, and one that cannot be forced upon anyone who wishes to omit it, since it cannot be deduced legally. However, Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī tells of a *sharīf*, Fakhr al-Dīn, who lost his post of *naḳīb* because he was said to take bribes and to have let non-*sharīfs* wear green badges (*Inbāʾ al-ghumr*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1387/1967, 39). At most, it can be said that the badge was introduced as a distinction for the *ashrāf*; it is therefore equally permissible to limit it to the Ḥasanids or Ḥusaynids or to allow it also to the Zaynabiyya and the still wider circles of the remaining ʿAlids or even Ṭālibids. An endeavour is made to connect this custom with Ḳurʾān XXXIII, 59, in which some scholars see a suggestion that learned men should be distinguished by their dress, e.g. by long sleeves or the winding of the *ṭaylasān*, so that they may be readily recognised and honoured for the sake of learning (al-Suyūṭī, fols. 5a-6a; in al-Ṣabbān, 206-7, abbreviated in Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 144,23-4, and al-Nabhānī, 84-5; cf. al-Kattānī, 98-9). With regard to the aforementioned Ḳurʾānic verse, according to al-Ṣabbān it should be taken to imply that wearing the green badge or turban is recommended for the *ashrāf* and blameworthy for others than they, because the latter by wearing it would be claiming a genealogy that is not theirs, which is not permitted (206). On this account, according to al-Kattānī, even the Mālikī authorities considered the wearing of a green turban as forbidden to a non-*sharīf*. With regard to a tradition transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal, according to which, on the Day of Resurrection the Prophet will be clothed by his Lord in a green turban, Shāfiʿī teachers are said to incline to the view that this headgear is desirable for the *ashrāf* (al-Kattānī, 98-9; cf. 95). Other authorities note that green is the colour of the garments of the dwellers in Paradise (idem, 96; cf. Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 30, LXXVI, 21), and that it was the Prophet's favourite colour (idem, 95-6, with references to Ḥadīth).

The green turban has been frequently adopted, but never became the general headgear of the *ashrāf* throughout the Islamic world. Although in Egypt still in the 19th century it was a mark of a *sayyid*/*sharīf*, many entitled to wear it, especially the more learned, often chose to wear instead the white turban of a *shaykh* or *ʿālim* (E.W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* [1836], New York 1973, 31, 132; Winter, 22); in Arabia several decades later (as today), *sayyids* rarely wore other than white turbans (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/i, 63). The green colour was preferred in Morocco at the turn of this century (Westermarck, ii, 21) and, according to J. Chardin (*loc. cit.*) and also in late-18th-century Persia, although in this last country, according to Algar, in *op. cit.*, i, 921a, the black turban (as opposed to white) has long been the standard sign of a *sayyid*. However, Iranian contemporaries report consistently that black is worn instead of green rarely by *sayyids*; normally, black turbans are used only by the most venerable scholars or most elderly *sayyids*; most *sayyids* wear green. In India *sayyids* traditionally have worn green; they were therefore occasionally called *sabzpūsh* "green-robed" (Sharīf, 303). According to al-Nabhānī (d. 1932), 85-6, the green turban was not in his time a mark of noble blood in Istanbul. It was worn there not only by learned men and students but also by artisans and street merchants, especially in winter, as it did not show dirt so quickly. On this account, many *ashrāf* there were even said to avoid the colour green.

(6) Other marks and special treatment of the *Ashrāf*.

Those of the Prophet's blood are also distinguished in other ways according to common Sunnī views. For example, the sharing in the *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*; and see ZAKĀT; cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Faḍā'il*, 208-21] is forbidden them. The Prophet is recorded to have said of the *ṣadaḳa*, "It is the filth of men (cf. Ḳur'ān, IX, 104) and permitted neither to Muḥammad nor to the family (*āl*) of Muḥammad". The legal authorities differ on the question as to whether this rule applies not only to the Banū Hāshim but also to the Banū 'l-Muṭṭalib and the clients of these families, and whether also free-will offerings (*ṣadaḳat al-nafl/al-taṭawwu'*) are included under it (al-Nabhānī, 67 ff.; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Ṣawā'iḳ*, 142-3). Over against this ban, special *waḳfs* were established and state allowances or pensions typically set aside for the *ashrāf*, and until the 19th or even 20th century they were largely exempted from regular taxation (see e.g. Tyan, 556; Winter, 26-7, 33, 35, 38; Laroui, 96; E. Burke, *The Moroccan Ulama, 1860-1912*, in N. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, saints, and Sufis*, Berkeley 1972, 98, 124).

The sons of Fāṭima have the privilege of being called "sons of the Prophet of God" and thus having their lineage traced directly to the Prophet. Such a one is therefore frequently addressed as *Ibn Rasūl Allāh*. Justification of this is found in sayings of the Prophet, such as, "All the sons of one mother trace themselves back to an agnate, except the sons of Fāṭima, for I am their nearest relative and their agnate (*waliyyuhum wa-'aṣabatuhum*)" (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 144,1,10-11; al-Nabhānī, 97).

Because of the belief that the *ahl al-bayt* are the noblest in descent, the female members of the family have no one equal in birth (*kuf'*) to them [see KAFĀ'A]. According to al-Suyūṭī (fols. 3a-b; cf. al-Ṣabbān, 201; see also Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 144,12-3), it is a very old opinion that the son of the marriage of a *sharīfa* (fem. of *sharīf*) with a non-*sharīf* is not a *sharīf*. However, as al-Ṣabbān, 209, points out, there are many authorities who consider him a *sharīf*. In practice marriage of a *sayyid*'s daughter with a man not her equal is extremely rare (Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, i, 158; idem, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/i, 297 ff.; "Mrs. Meer Hassan Alī", *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, London 1832, 8-9; cf. Jacob, 222-3). While a *sharīf* may legally marry a non-*sharīfa* and have their offspring counted as *ashrāf*, marriage of a *sharīfa* to a non-*sharīf* has historically been taboo in most Muslim societies, e.g. among the Arabs (see C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia deserta* [1888], London 1926, ii, 522-3). As late as 1932, a governor of Baghdād was murdered by a man of the Sa'dūn for trying to marry the daughter of the 'Irāḳī Prime Minister, who was of Sharīfian lineage, see H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert* [1949], rev. ed. Wilson and Freeth, London 1983, 22, 99). This prohibition was also traditional in South Asia (J. Oman, *Brahmans, theists and muslims of India*, ²Delhi 1973, 62); and in Indonesia (Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, 158; cf. the sharply-worded refutation of a Singapore jurist's *fatwā* against such marriages by Rashīd Riḍā, see *Fatāwā 'l-Imām Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā*, ed. Khoury, i, Beirut 1970, 385-94, cf. 340-1). One may only enter into matrimony with a *sharīfa* if he knows he is in a position to afford her all that is due her, will obey her pleasure and consider himself her slave. Al-Sha'rānī (according to al-Nabhānī, 185-9) does not consider it seemly to marry the widow or divorced wife of a *sharīf*.

A weak prophetic *ḥadīth* has Muḥammad say: "The stars are a security (*amān*) for those who dwell in the heavens and my *ahl al-bayt* are a security for those who dwell on earth [or: 'for my community']" (al-Ṣabbān, 129-30, al-Nabhānī, 54; cf. 58-9). According to the commentators, by *ahl al-bayt* are here meant the children of Fāṭima. Their existence on the earth is a security for its inhabitants in general and for the community of the Prophet in particular against punishment or "temptations/acts of sedition" (*fitan*). It is not the pious among them that are specially meant here; this distinction is solely based on their descent from the Prophet (*al-'unṣur al-nabawī*), apart from any qualities, meritorious or otherwise, which they happen to possess as individuals. An allusion to this opinion is held to exist in Ḳur'ān, VIII, 33 (al-Nabhānī, 59-60; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Ṣawā'iḳ*, 150-1, *Fatāwā*, 142,20-2). The *baraka* [*q.v.*] of a descendant of the Prophet is widely recognised, especially in the Maghrib (see e.g. V. Crapanzano, *The Ḥamadsha*, Berkeley 1981, 108).

One tradition of the Prophet has been taken as referring particularly to the *ahl al-bayt*: "Every bond of relationship and consanguinity (*sabab wa-nasab*) will be severed on the Day of Resurrection except mine" (al-Ṣabbān, 125-6; al-Nabhānī, 45, 80-1, cf. 54, 61-2, 94). They are therefore the only ones whose relationship can help them at the final Reckoning (al-Nabhānī, 60, 79-82; cf. al-Shubrāwī, 7,20-3). According to traditional wisdom, none of the *ahl al-bayt* will suffer the punishment of Hell (al-Maḳrīzī, 50-2; al-Nabhānī, 44-5, 90), and 'Alī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, with their families, will be the first to enter Paradise along with the Prophet (*ibid.*, 96-7).

The "sons of the Prophet of God" may be certain of divine forgiveness, and any wrong inflicted by them must be accepted like a dispensation of God, if possible with gratitude. Ibn al-'Arabī, who connects the verse of purification (see above) and its reference to the *ahl al-bayt* with Ḳur'ān, XLVIII, 2, in which the Prophet is promised pardon for his sin, observes, *inter alia*: "It behoves every Muslim who has faith in God and in what He has revealed to recognise the truth of the word of God, 'God will remove the stain from you, O people of the House, and purify you completely', so that he may be convinced with respect to everything the *ahl al-bayt* have done for which God has given them pardon. It is therefore not fitting for a Muslim to criticise them, neither for what is not in keeping with the honour of those of whom God has testified that he has purified them and removed the stain from them, nor for pious works or good deeds they have performed, but always to remember God's watchful care for them" (*al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1329/1911, ch. 29, i, 196,17-8,25, esp. 196,31 ff., cf. 197,14 ff.; cited also in al-Maḳrīzī, 44; cf. al-Nabhānī, 23-4, 155-6). In a similar vein, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī notes that a *sharīf* who has received *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] punishment for fornication, taking intoxicants or theft may be compared with an *amīr* or *sulṭān* whose feet have become soiled but are wiped clean by one of his servants. He is also likened to a refractory son who is not, however, deprived of his inheritance (*Fatāwā*, 142,26-9; al-Nabhānī, 92).

The duty of love for the *ahl al-bayt* is based on Ḳur'ān, XLII, 23, "Say, 'I ask of you [all] no reward except love for the kinsfolk (*ḳurbā*)'," where *ḳurbā* is taken as kin of the Prophet (al-Ṣabbān, 104-5; al-Nabhānī, 154 ff.; Ibn Biṭrīḳ al-Ḥillī, *Khaṣā'iṣ*, 51 ff.; idem, *'Umda*, 23 ff.; al-Maḳrīzī, 78; al-Shubrāwī, 4,30-5,8; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Ṣawā'iḳ*, 167-9). It is

further pointed out that the conclusion of the *tas̲h̲ahhud* contains a prayer for the Āl Muḥammad (*ibid.*, 145-6; al-Nabhānī, 155). A saying attributed to al-S̲h̲āfiʿī [*q.v.*] is as follows: "O members of the house of the Prophet, love for you is a duty to God that He has revealed in the Ḳurʾān. It is a great honour for you that anyone who does not say the *taṣliya* over you has not performed the *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*]" (*ibid.*, 184). There are further a large number of traditions that urge this affection, represent it as a proof of faith or a defence against Hellfire, promise in return for it the *s̲h̲afāʿa* of the Prophet on the Day of Resurrection and a reward in the next world, and forbid signs of hatred towards the *ahl al-bayt*, even describing such animosity as infidelity (al-S̲h̲ubrāwī, 3,7-8 ff.; al-Nabhānī. 171 ff.: Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-Haytamī, *Ṣawāʿiḳ*, 153-4; al-Ḥusaynī, *Faḍāʾil*, 230-40).

According to al-S̲h̲ubrāwī, an 18th-century Rector of al-Azhar, reverence and respect ought therefore always to be shown to the *as̲h̲rāf*, especially to the pious and learned among them; this is a natural result of reverence for the Prophet. One should be humble in their presence; the man who injures them should be an object of hatred. Unjust treatment from them should be patiently borne, their evil returned with good; and they should be assisted when necessary. One should refrain from mentioning their faults; on the other hand, their virtues should be lauded abroad. One should try to come nearer to God and His Prophet through the prayers of the devout among them (*Itḥāf*, 7,17 ff.). Such attitudes did not, to be sure, keep all *as̲h̲rāf* from evil deeds, or from punishment for those deeds. In the year 842/1438-9, S̲h̲āhruk̲h̲ b. Tīmūr, for example, had a *sayyid* who had publicly cursed Abū Bakr and ʿUmar scourged and removed from Mas̲h̲had to Harāt (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ed. M. S̲h̲afiʿ, Lahore 1360-8/1941-9, ii/2, 711).

According to al-S̲h̲aʿrānī, one should treat a *s̲h̲arīf* with the same distinction as a governor or *ḳāḍī al-ʿaskar*, one should not take a seat if a *s̲h̲arīf* is without one. Special reverence should be paid to the *s̲h̲arīfa*; one dare hardly look at her. Anyone who really loves the children of the Prophet will present them with anything they wish to buy. Whoever has a daughter or sister to give in marriage with a rich dowry should not refuse her hand to a *s̲h̲arīf*, even if he has no more than the bridal gift for her and can only live from hand to mouth. If one meets a *s̲h̲arīf* or *s̲h̲arīfa* on the street and he or she asks for a gift, one should give him or her what one can (al-Nabhānī, 185-9). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377) presents a good example from East Africa of such an attitude toward the Prophet's progeny in his remarks on the sultan of Kilwa, Abū Muẓaffar Ḥasan: his *kunya* was Abū Mawāhib ("father of gifts") because of his largesse to any *s̲h̲arīf* who approached him, even one from abroad (*Riḥla*, ii, 193-4, Eng. tr. Hamdun and King, *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*, London 1975, 19-20).

One should not refuse marks of respect even to a *s̲h̲arīf* who is a sinner (*fāsiḳ*) in the eyes of the law, because one knows his sin will be forgiven him. This high esteem is his due on account of his pure origin (*al-ʿunṣur al-ṭāhir*) and *fisḳ* does not affect his genealogy (*ibid.*, 91). As Doughty reported on the Ḥid̲j̲āz of the 1880s, "these persons of the seed of Mohammad 'are not to be spoken against', and have a privilege, in the public opinion, above the common lot of mankind" (ii, 487, cf. 533). If it is doubtful whether a man is a *s̲h̲arīf*, but there is nothing to object to in his genealogy from the legal point of view, he should be treated with the proper respect. Even if his pedigree is not legally established, one should not assume he is lying without being absolutely certain on the point (Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 142,33 ff.; al-Nabhānī, 92-3). There are a number of anecdotes in which an individual who has been neglectful of respect to, or who has irritated, a *s̲h̲arīf* has been corrected in a dream by the Prophet or by Fāṭima (al-Maḳrīzī, 81-6; al-Nabhānī, 91).

The *sayyid* who distinguishes himself by a pious life readily becomes revered as a saint. His blessing is expected to bring good fortune, while his wrath brings misfortune. By vows and gifts, it is hoped to secure his auspicious intercession (*s̲h̲afāʿa* [*q.v.*]), and his tomb (*ḳubba, ḳabr, mas̲h̲had* [*q.vv.*]) becomes a place of pilgrimage [see ZIYĀRA]. On the much-visited tombs of *sayyids* and *sayyidas* in Cairo, for example, cf. al-S̲h̲abland̲j̲ī's work cited below, and J.W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941, 31-3. In the Yemen, as in Ḥaḍramawt, the *sayyid*, who is distinguished there from the armed *s̲h̲arīf* carrying a staff and rosary, acts as intermediary between two disputing parties. He also drives away the locusts and his prayer puts an end to infertility, while his curse makes it continue. Many *sayyids* are also visited for their healing powers, and reverence for them is frequently expressed in gifts of land (H. Jacoby, *Parfumes of Araby*, London 1915, 45, 173). On the visitation of *sayyids*' shrines in South Asia, see Troll, *Muslim shrines in India*, esp. 24-43 (on the shrine of Sayyid Sālār Masʿūd G̲h̲āzī). For a fuller description of the *s̲h̲arīfs* and *sayyids* and the reverence paid them in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 32 ff., 7 ff.; for Acheh and the Indonesian Archipelago on the 19th century, see idem, *Achehnese*, i, 153-64; for K̲h̲ūrāsān, see Bosworth, 194, n. 77 (citing al-Muḳaddasī); for Morocco, Westermarck, i, 169-71.

(7) Social and political roles of the *As̲h̲rāf*. *Sayyids* and *s̲h̲arīfs* have been and are represented in large numbers throughout the entire Islamic world. Historically, several dynasties of Prophetic lineage have ruled in various regions for longer or shorter periods, e.g. in Egypt and North Africa [see FĀṬIMIDS]; in Persia in general [see ṢAFAWIDS]; in Ṭabaristān (Māzandarān), Daylam, and Gīlān (see e.g. MARʿAS̲H̲IS; AL-ZAYDIYYA; B. Manz, *The rise and rule of Tamerlane*, Cambridge 1989, 92-5; W. Madelung, art. *Alids*, in *EIr*, i, 881-6, H.R. di Borgomale, *Les dynasties locales du Gīlān et du Daylam*, in *JA*, ccxxxvii [1949], 301-50); in western Arabia (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i; Admiralty War Staff, *Handbook of Arabia*, 107-11; cf. the articles HĀS̲H̲IMIDS at III, 262b; MAKKA, at VI, 148a ff.); in the Yemen [*q.v.*; see also AL-ZAYDIYYA]; in modern Jordan [see HĀS̲H̲IMIDS at III, 263 ff.]; and in Morocco [see S̲H̲URFĀʾ; IDRĪSIDS; ḤASANĪ; SAʿDIDS; ʿALAWĪS; TĀFĪLĀLT; AL-MAG̲H̲RIB at V, 1191-2]. The Mag̲h̲ribī case is especially striking, for religio-political claims have been tied strongly to S̲h̲arīfian blood lineage, and such lineage has been commonly a key qualification for temporal leadership (see M. Kably, *Musāham fī taʾrīk̲h̲ al-tamhīd li-ẓuhūr dawlat al-saʿdiyyīn*, in *Mad̲j̲allat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb* ... (*D̲j̲āmiʿat Muḥammad al-K̲h̲āmis*), xliii [1978], 7-59; M. Combs-Schilling, *Sacred performances*, New York 1989; M. García-Arenal, *Mahdī, murābiṭ, s̲h̲arīf: l'avènement de la dynastie saʿdienne*, in *SI*, lxxi [1990], 84 ff.).

Families of *as̲h̲rāf* have also exercised local influence even without holding overt political power, as evidenced especially in mediaeval sources by frequent, recurring references to *sāda* or *as̲h̲rāf* as one class of the local social, political, or intellectual élite (*aʿyān*

[*q.v.*]) gathered on a given occasion alongside *ʿulamāʾ*, *shuyūkh*, *ḳuḍāt*, *fuḳahāʾ*, *akābir*, *wudjūh al-balad*, etc. (see e.g. al-Damurdāshī, 66-7, 91, 224, 326, 331, 342, 380; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 188-90, tr. Gibb, ii, 377-8; J. Aubin, *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shah Niʿmatullah Wali Kermani*, Paris-Tehran 1956, 174; R. Mottahedeh, *Consultation and the political process*, in C. Mallat (ed.), *Islam and public law*, London 1993, 20 (citing Miskawayh), 23 (citing Bayhaḳī). Thus in many places the *ashrāf* were an influential local or regional élite—"a blood aristocracy without peer" (R.W. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 234)—with considerable political as well as social, power: e.g. Nīshāpūr (see *ibid.*, 234-45; Bosworth, 195, 197-9, 263-4), Harāt (cf. ʿAbd Allāh Wāʿiẓ, *Maḳsad al-iḳbāl-i sulṭāniyya*, ed. M. Harawī, Tehran 1351/1932-3, 18, 73, 87), Bam (cf. Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XVe siècle*, in *Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit., Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl.* [Wiesbaden 1956], no. 2, 86-473), Egypt (see Winter, 22-30; al-Damurdāshī, 66), and Morocco (see SHURFĀʾ; Kably, *Société, pouvoir et religion au Maroc à la fin du "moyen-âge"*, Paris 1986, 291-302 and *passim*; Laroui, 92-7). However, for all their prestige historically, the great majority of *ashrāf*, given their constantly increasing numbers, have probably lived and still live in poor circumstances (see e.g. Snouck Hurgronje, *ibid.*, i, 71; Burke, 98).

The genuineness of an ʿAlid pedigree has historically often been open to question, despite efforts at regulation and authentication such as the institution of the *niḳāba* discussed above. See, e.g. SHURFĀʾ, and Westermarck, i, 37, on the difficulty of distinguishing between genuine and assumed Sharīfian descent in Morocco; M. Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, Minneapolis 1988, 95, for an example of 17th-century fraud in some two thousand false claims to *sayyid* tax exemptions uncovered by Ottoman officials in a single town (citing Naʿīmā, Taʾrīkh, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, vi, 402-5, and Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286/1870, ii, 142-7); Z. Bhatty, 94, concerning false claims of Uttar Pradesh *shaykhs* to be *sayyids*; A. Roy, *Islamic syncretistic tradition in Bengal*, Princeton 1983, 61-9, esp. 61 n. 10 (with bibl.), on Bengali Muslims' striving for *ashrāf* status; Faṣīḥ Khʷāfī, *Mudjmal-i faṣīḥī*, ed. Farrukh, Mashhad 1339/1960-1, 157-8, on the evil deeds of one so-called "Sayyid Kalā Kush" (Ḥasan Khʷārazmī Gūsh Burīda) in Zāwa whose false claim to Prophetic descent and title was uncovered in an investigation in 807/1404-5, under Shāhrukh; and Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, i, 155, on successful but false claims to Prophetic ancestry in Acheh in the late 19th century.

The general trend in the past century seems to have been towards some diminution of *sharīfī* prestige and power in most parts of the Islamic world (see e.g. Winter, 28-30), yet the *ashrāf* still almost everywhere enjoy special social, and often popular religious status. Their prestige remains presumably greatest in Shīʿī communities and in the Maghrib. The genealogical tradition has survived in its greatest purity in western Arabia and Ḥaḍramawt. The family of ʿAlawīs in Ḥaḍramawt, which has produced many notable jurists, theologians, and mystics, regard only the West Arabian *sharīfs* as their equals in birth [see ḤAḌRAMAWT, in Suppl.]. On the *sayyids* of Ḥaḍramawt, who are also strongly represented in the Malay Archipelago, and to whom belong the founders of the sultanates of Siak and Pontianak, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iii, 162 ff., and *Achehnese*, i, 153 ff.; cf. W. Ende, *Schiitische Tendenzen bei sunnitischen Sayyids aus Ḥadramaut: Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl al-ʿAlawī* (1863-1931), in *Isl.*, 1 (1973), 82-97. On the history of the Sharīfian dynasties of Mecca and the Ḥidjāz and on the *sharīfs* of Morocco, see the refs. given above and also the sketch in al-Batanūnī, 73-81. Somewhat dated information on the families of *ashrāf* in Arabia is given in the Admiralty War Staff's *Handbook of Arabia*, see index.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): al-Kumayt b. Zayd, *Hāshimiyyāt*, ed. J. Horovitz, Leiden 1904; Nasāʾī (d. 303/915), *Khaṣāʾiṣ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, ed. Al-Amīnī, Nadjaf 1389/1969; Ibn Biṭrīḳ al-Ḥillī (d. 600/1203), *Khaṣāʾiṣ waḥy al-mubīn fī manāḳib amīr al-muʾminīn*, n.p. 1311/1893-4; idem, *al-ʿUmda fī ʿuyūn al-akhbār fī manāḳib amīr al-muʾminīn*, Bombay 1309/1891-2; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 694/1294), *Manāḳib ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, in *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira fī manāḳib al-ʿashara* (ed. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, Cairo 1391/1971), iii, 132-306; Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī Ibn ʿInaba (d. 828/1424), *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib*, ed. al-Ṭālaḳānī, Nadjaf 1361/1981; Maḳrīzī, *Maʿrifat mā yadjibu li-āl al-bayt al-nabawī*, ed. ʿĀshūr, Beirut 1393/1973; Suyūṭī, *Iḥyāʾ al-mayt fī 'l-aḥādīth al-wārida fī ahl al-bayt*, on the margin of Shubrāwī (see below); idem, *Risālat al-Sulāla al-Zaynabiyya*, ms. Leiden 2326; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1565), *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīthiyya*, Cairo 1356/1937; idem, *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-muḥriḳa fī 'l-radd ʿalā ahl al-bidaʿ wa 'l-zandaḳa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1375/1956; Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565), *Lawāḳiḥ al-anwār fī ṭabaḳāt al-akhyār* (or *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*), Cairo 1315/1897, repr. Cairo 1965; Shubrāwī (d. 1172/1758), *al-Itḥāf bi-ḥubb al-ashrāf*, Cairo 1318/1900; Carsten Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 11 ff.; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣabbān (d. 1206/1792), *Isʿāf al-rāghibīn fī sīrat al-muṣṭafā wa-faḍāʾil ahl baytihi al-ṭāhirīn*, on the margin of Shablandjī, *Nūr al-abṣār fī manāḳib āl bayt al-nabī al-mukhtār*, Cairo 1318/1900; Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī (d. 1345/1927), *al-Diʿāma fī aḥkām sunnat al-ʿimāma*, Damascus 1342/1923-4; Nabhānī (d. 1351-2/1932), *al-Sharaf al-muʿabbad li-āl Muḥammad*, Cairo 1381/1961; Bishr Fāris, *Taʾrīkh lafẓat al-sharaf*, in *Mabāḥith ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1358/1939, 93-116; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kammūna al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf fī nuḳabāʾ al-ashrāf*, Nadjaf 1388/1968; idem, *Faḍāʾil al-ashrāf*, Nadjaf 1390/1970; Hossein Modarressi, *Nekābat-e sādāt*, in *Ayandeh* (Tehran), v (1979), 754-65; M. Winter, *The ashrāf and niqābat al-ashrāf in Egypt in Ottoman and modern times*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xix (1985), 17-41.

(C. VAN ARENDONK-[W.A. GRAHAM])

SHARĪF, the pen-name of several Persian poets of various periods, among them the author of the *Saʿādat-nāma*, a collection of moral precepts in some 300 verses, wrongly ascribed, in mss. and in the printed editions, to the famous 5th/11th-century Ismāʿīlī poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*]. This poem was first published by E. Fagnan, together with a (rather inadequate) French translation, from a Paris manuscript in *ZDMG*, xxxiv (1880), 643-74, reprinted (from Fagnan, with some emendations) in the appendix to the edition of Nāṣir's *Safar-nāma* published in Berlin, Kaviani Press 1341/1922-3, and then (from the Berlin edition, but collated with a manuscript in the editor's possession) in N. Taḳawī's edition of Nāṣir's *dīwān*, Tehran 1307 *Sh.*/1928, 545-61. There is also an annotated English translation by G.M. Wickens in *IQ*, ii (1955), 117-32, 206-21. In Taḳawī's manuscript the text ends with a verse in which the author tells his readers to heed "the words of Sharīf", evidently his poetic signature; there is no mention in this recension of the name Nāṣir. In some other copies "Sharīf" is replaced by "Nāṣir-i Khusraw", while the manuscript

published by Fagnan retains the verse mentioning "Sharīf" (three lines from the end) but adds a final verse giving the author's name as "Nāṣir b. Khusraw". It is quite obvious that (except in the version represented by Taḳawī's ms.) the text has been tampered with. The poem is clearly not by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, whose pen-name was "Ḥudjdjat", not "Sharīf", and whose style is quite unlike that of the *Saʿādat-nāma*; moreover, the latter poem contains no trace of Ismāʿīlī doctrines. Nothing else is known of our Sharīf, except that he must have lived before the middle of the 9th/15th century, the date of the earliest manuscripts, though he could very well have been a good deal earlier.

The modern Persian scholar M.T. Bahār (in his *Sabk-shināsī*, iii, Tehran 1321 *Sh.*/1942, 188) identified the author of the *Saʿādat-nāma* as one Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Khusraw Iṣfahānī, who supposedly died in 735/1334-5, but in fact this person is totally fictitious. Bahār merely misconstrued the entry on the *Saʿādat-nāma* in the *Kashf al-ẓunūn* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, who, following Dawlatshāh (61-4), wrongly makes Nāṣir-i Khusraw a native of Iṣfahān (see ed. Flügel, iii, 598, ed. Yaltkaya/Bilge, ii, 990; the date "735" is evidently a misprint in the oriental edition used by Bahār).

A striking feature of the poem is the vehemence with which the author denounces the "great ones" and his insistence that, after the prophets and saints, the best of mankind are the peasants, and then the artisans.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(F.C. de Blois)

al-**SHARĪF ABŪ MUḤAMMAD IDRĪS** b. ʿAlī, called ʿImād al-Dīn, a Ḥasanī *sharīf* of Yemen. Belonging also to the Zaydī Ḥamzas, he is usually given the *nisba* al-Ḥamzī. He was a Ṣanʿānī, was born in 673/1274 and died in 714/1314. Idrīs had a strict Zaydī background and his early days were spent under the eye of his father, Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī, who played a prominent military part on the side of the Zaydīs in the Zaydī-Rasūlid struggles of the late 7th/13th century. By the time his father died in 699/1299, he had made his peace with the Rasūlids and Idrīs was left in charge of the Ḥamzī *ashrāf* in the Yemen. From 700/1300 onwards relations between Idrīs and the Rasūlid sultan al-Muʾayyad Dāwūd became progressively closer. The Rasūlid granted him as fiefs (*iḳṭāʿāt*) al-Ḳaḥma and Mawzaʿ in Tihāma and the administrative and military experience which he gained during more than fifteen years of service with the Rasūlids was considerable.

Idrīs was also renowned for his learning, particularly in the fields of *fiḳh*, poetry and history, and there is mention of numerous books composed by him. But it was in the latter discipline that he was in particular famous. Alone extant among other historical works is his *Kanz al-akhbār fī maʿrifat al-siyar wa 'l-akhbār*, the Yemenite part of which has recently appeared in print (Kuwait 1992), edited by ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Madʿadj. The work begins as an abridgement (*ikhtiṣār*) of Ibn al-Athīr's [*q.v.*] *Kāmil*, tracing the history of Islam from the time of the Prophet. Additional material is provided, however, on the history of ʿIrāḳ, Egypt and Syria. Of great value is the final section of the third part and the whole of the fourth and final part of the work which concern the history of Yemen down to the year 714/1314, i.e. the date of the author's death.

The Yemenite section also begins with the period of the Prophet. The chief town, Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*], is given fairly detailed treatment, its foundation and early development, its most important early buildings like the Great Mosque and the castle of Ghumdān [*q.v.*]. On the early history, the *Kanz* is an extremely useful source for the governors of the Yemen during the period of the Prophet, the Orthodox caliphs, the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids down to the year 204/819, when the author turns his attention to the earliest dynasty in Islamic times in the Yemen, the Ziyādids [*q.v.*] and thereafter to the various dynasties which ruled over different parts of the Yemen in early Islam. As we might expect, he does not neglect the history of the Zaydī imāms and chronicles too the appearance in the Yemen of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the late 3rd/9th-early 4th/10th century. The work is also of value as an important source of the Rasūlids in the Yemen, and from fol. 191a of the British Library ms. Or. 4581 (ed. Madʿadj, 111), the author speaks as an eyewitness of the events which played out around him. The *Kanz* was itself the subject of a further abridgement, *Nuzhat al-abṣār fī ikhtiṣār Kanz al-akhyār*, composed by the Rasūlid sultan al-Afḍal ʿAbbās (d. 787/1385).

Bibliography: The Kuwait 1992 ed. by al-Madʿadj, entitled *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, is a timely and competent piece of work, edited from the B.L. ms. only, with an excellent editorial introd. (7-22); Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, *Maṣādir taʾrīkh al-Yaman fī al-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1974, 138-9, lists two other mss., one in Lucknow and another in a private library in Ṣanʿāʾ; Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī, *Maṣādir al-turāth al-Yamanī fī al-Mathaf al-Bīrīṭānī*, Damascus 1980, 54-5, gives a comprehensive list of Yemeni primary sources for the author and his work, among which are ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khazradjī, *The Pearl-strings; a history of the Resúliyy dynasty of Yemen*, ed. and tr. J.W. Redhouse, esp. i, Leiden-London 1906, 315-17, 318, 324-6 etc.; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ bi-maḥāsin man baʿd al-karn al-sābiʿ*, ii, Beirut n.d., appendix, 52-3.

(G.R. Smith)

al-**SHARĪF** al-**ʿAḲĪLĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥaydara b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, from the genealogical line of ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]. Since ʿAḳīl was a half-brother of ʿAlī (the Prophet's nephew), al-ʿAḳīlī was seen to belong to the Sharīfian nobility, and therefore was entitled to a regular income. As a poet of independent means, al-ʿAḳīlī lived *ca.* 350-450/960-1060 in the old town of al-Fusṭāṭ, next to the then newly-founded city of al-Ḳāhira (Cairo).

Apart from a short poem in praise of a chancellor who was in the service of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh, and a few poems dedicated to al-Ḥusayn and Djaʿfar, respectively son and grandson of Djawhar, the general who had conquered Egypt on behalf of his Fāṭimid masters, he did not write poems in praise of state officials. Usually, al-ʿAḳīlī composed his poems in order to describe his personal pleasures, together with his intimate friends who used to frequent his literary salon. Thus the poet's quiet lifestyle might have been the reason why details concerning his life came to be neglected by later generations. His poetry, however, was highly valued by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, who in his *Mughrib* (see *Bibl.*) gave extensive quotations.

The poet's *Dīwān* itself, edited on the basis of several manuscripts, shows al-ʿAḳīlī's versatility in various genres: we find *khamriyyāt*, wherein the poet shows himself an admirer of Abū Nuwās's style; his *ghazals* chiefly consist of small poetical pieces, often with a highly rhetorical play on words. In his invective poetry, *hidjāʾ*, he attacks—sometimes with obscene vulgarity—a whole range of individuals, such as fellow poets, a

grammarian and a singer whose performance he did not appreciate, and corrupt officials. Another of his genres consists of *rawḍiyyāt*, i.e. descriptions of gardens, flowers, ponds and fountains. Interesting are his poems describing inanimate objects, such as a painted screen or a curtain. The poet also composed some brief ascetic poems, resembling the *zuhdiyyāt*, a few of which he regularly placed at the end of every one of the alphabetical sections within his *Dīwān* (i.e. sections of the rhyme letters *alif, bāʾ, tāʾ*, ... etc.).

His long poem on "Rejection of wine in the evening and praise of wine in the morning" (*Muzdawid̲j̲a fī d̲h̲amm al-g̲h̲abūḳ wa-madḥ al-ṣabūḥ*, in *Dīwān*, 301-7) was intended both as an imitation and contradiction [see naḳāʾiḍ] of an earlier poem by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, on "Rejection of wine in the morning" (*Urd̲j̲ūza fī d̲h̲amm al-ṣabūḥ*). In general, al-ʿAḳīlī proved himself a late supporter of the new style which Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] had begun to advocate some one hundred years before.

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(P. Smoor)

S̲H̲ARĪF ĀMULĪ, a Mug̲h̲al noble of the 10th/16th century. Persian by birth, he spent some time at Balk̲h̲ in the *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* of the Ṣūfī Muḥammad Zāhid, but allegedly because of his heretic views was driven away from there and forced to go to the Deccan. But there, too, his heresies drew upon him the unfavourable attention of the local rulers, leading to his flight to Mālwa, then in Akbar's empire (984/1576-7). He was acclaimed as a great scholar by the Persian notables, and was granted audience by Akbar, whom he introduced to the doctrines of the Nuḳtawī sect founded by Maḥmūd Pasīk̲h̲ānī [see nuḳṭawiyya]. Henceforth, he became one of Akbar's advisors in religious and legal matters. Official appointments followed: *amīn* and *ṣadr* of Kābul (993/1585), *amīn* and *ṣadr* of Bihār and Bengal (1000/1591-2); and governor of Ad̲j̲mēr with the *pargana* of Mohan near Lucknow in *d̲j̲āgīr* (1007/1598-9). In 1004/1595 he had the rank of 900 *d̲h̲āt*. His status remained high under D̲j̲ahāngīr, who, while recording impressions of nobles immediately after his accession (114/1605-6), praises him highly in his memoirs, and says he raised his *manṣab* from 2000 to 2500 *d̲h̲āt*. The date of his death is not recorded.

S̲h̲arīf Āmulī seems to have been possessed of exceptional learning and eloquence, and is said to have written a book called *Taras̲h̲s̲h̲uḥ-i ẓuhūr*, though neither this nor any other work from his pen has survived. He earned the bitter enmity of theologians like ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī [*q.v.*], the famous historian, who mentions his arrival in India in order to insert a diatribe against him and his heretical views. The author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, however, acclaimed him as "a monotheist (*muwaḥḥid*) of the time, having a true expertise in mysticism".

Bibliography: Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, ed. B. De, Calcutta 1931, ii, 451; Badāʾūnī, *Muntak̲h̲ab al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad and Nassau Lees, Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1864-9, ii, 245-8; D̲j̲ahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, G̲h̲āzīpur and ʿAlīgaṛh 1864, 222; S̲h̲āh Nawāz K̲h̲ān, *Maʾāt̲h̲ir al-umarāʾ*, ed. Mawlwī ʿAbd Raḥīm, iii, 285-90; Abu ʾl-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, revised D.C. Phillott, Calcutta 1927, i, 502-4.

(M. Athar Ali)

al-S̲H̲ARĪF al-D̲J̲URD̲J̲ĀNĪ [see al-d̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī].

al-S̲H̲ARĪF al-G̲H̲ARNĀṬĪ, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ... b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Sabtī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim (697-760/1297-1359), philologist, grammarian and poet of Muslim Spain.

He was born at Sabta (Ceuta) and deeply educated in Arabic language and the law. At an unknown date he went to Granada and worked in the *dīwān al-ins̲h̲āʾ* of the Naṣrid Muḥammad IV (725-37/1325-37), and became friendly with the eminent poet Ibn al-D̲j̲ayyāb [*q.v.*]. He then embarked on a legal career and in 737/1336 became *ḳāḍī* of Malaga and then six years later followed Ibn Burṭāl as *ḳāḍī ʾl-d̲j̲amāʿa* of Granada. He lost his post in 747/1346 because of corruption charges (of which Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb considered him innocent), and took up teaching and study until he returned to his previous job two years later at the command of Yūsuf I. He died in Granada aged 63 after a long illness which inspired the physician Muḥammad al-S̲h̲aḳūrī to write his *Tuḥfat al-mutawaṣṣil wa-rāḥat al-mutaʾammil*.

The sources stress his wide knowledge of language and literature. His poetic *dīwān*, dedicated to his pupil Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, is lost, but fragments have been preserved by the latter and by al-Nubāhī and al-Maḳḳarī. He also made a résumé of the *dīwān* of his friend and successor as *ḳāḍī ʾl-d̲j̲amāʿa*, Abu ʾl-Barakāt al-Balafīḳī called *al-Luʾluʾ wa ʾl-mard̲j̲ān*, and a *S̲h̲arḥ al-Ḳaṣīda al-k̲h̲azrad̲j̲iyya* (see Brokelmann, I[2], 380, and art. al-k̲h̲azrad̲j̲ī). In the field of Arabic grammar, he wrote a *s̲h̲arḥ* and a *taḳyīd* on the *Tashīl al-fawāʾid* of Ibn Mālik. He further made a *taḳyīd* on Ibn al-Abbār's [*q.v.*] *Durar al-simṭ fī k̲h̲abar al-Sibṭ*, and was the author of a legal work, *Ḥaṣr mat̲h̲ārāt al-ḳuḍāt bi ʾl-adilla* (Brockelmann, S II, 346). But al-S̲h̲arīf's most famous work was his *Rafʿ al-ḥud̲j̲ub al-mastūra ʿan maḥāsin al-Maḳṣūra li ʾl-Ḳarṭād̲j̲annī*, considered as a model of the genre, analysing each verse of the poem, with a grammatical commentary, al-Ḳarṭād̲j̲annī's sources, poetic citations on the same subject, analysis of the rhetorical figures used, and historical and biographical details. The work is extant in several mss., and was published, together with the *Maḳṣūra*, at Cairo 1344/1925.

The names of two of al-S̲h̲arīf's sons are known, Aḥmad and Muḥammad. The first followed the career of his father as a *kātib* and a *ḳāḍī*, whilst the second devoted himself to Ṣūfism and frequented numerous *zawāyā* in the region of Granada before becoming likewise *ḳāḍī ʾl-d̲j̲amāʿa* in the Naṣrid capital.

Bibliography: Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ii, 181-7; Nubāhī, *Markaba*, 171-7; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībād̲j̲*, ii, 267; Suyūṭī, *Bug̲h̲ya*, i, 39 no. 64; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, iii, 443 no. 3452; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *D̲j̲ad̲h̲wat al-iḳtibās*, i, 306 no. 314; Brockelmann, II[2], 318, S II 346; Ziriklī, v, 327; Kaḥḥāla, viii, 252, 317. There is a very detailed biography of al-S̲h̲arīf in I. Calero Secall, *Una familia ceutí en la Granada de los siglos XIV y XV: los Banū l-Šarīf al-Ḥasanī*, in *Al-Qanṭara*, vii (1986), 85-105. See also E. García Gómez, *Observaciones sobre la Qaṣīda Maqṣūra d'al-Qarṭāyannī*, in *al-And.*, i (1933), 81-103; M. Benchekroun, *La vie intellectuelle marocaine sous les Mérinides et les Wattasides*, Rabat [1]1974, 424 no. 45; A. Carmona, *Una cuarta version de la capitulacion de Tudmīr*, in *Sharq al-Andalus*, ix (1992), 11-17; al-Dabbāg̲h̲, *Min aʿlām al-fikr wa ʾl-adab fī ʾl-ʿaṣr al-marīnī*, Casablanca 1413/1992, 76-115; M. Fierro,

Historia de los autores y transmisores andalusíes (HATA), forthcoming.

(MARIBEL FIERRO AND MANUELA MARÍN)

AL-**SH̲ARĪF** AL-**IDRĪSĪ** [see AL-IDRĪSĪ].

AL-**SH̲ARĪF** AL-**MURTAḌĀ** [see AL-MURTAḌĀ].

SH̲ARĪF PAS̲H̲A, Muḥammad (1823-87), Egyptian statesman in the reigns of the Khedives Ismāʿīl and Tawfīḳ. He was of Turkish origin and was born in Cairo, where his father was then acting as *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* sent by the sultan. When some ten years later the family was again temporarily in Cairo, Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] had the boy sent to the military school recently founded by him. Henceforth, his whole career was to be spent in the Egyptian service. S̲h̲arīf was a member of the "Egyptian mission" sent to Paris for higher education which included the future Khedives Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a and Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a and the statesman ʿAlī Mubārak Pas̲h̲a. He then took a military course at St. Cyr (1843-5), and served for some time in the French army until the mission was recalled by ʿAbbās I in 1849. For the next four years he acted as secretary to Prince Ḥalīm, then took up military duties again in 1853 and attained the rank of general under Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a. During this period, he was much associated with the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, Sulaymān Pas̲h̲a (de Sèves [see SULAYMĀN PAS̲H̲A, AL-FRANSAWĪ]), whose daughter he married.

In 1857 S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a began his political career as Minister of Foreign Affairs and he acted as deputy for the Khedive Ismāʿīl [see ISMĀʿĪL PAS̲H̲A] when the latter went to Istanbul in 1865. He later filled in succession all the high offices of state. It was he who in 1866 drew up the plans for the new *Mad̲j̲lis al-nuwwāb* [see MAD̲J̲LIS. xvi].

After the inauguration of constitutional government in Egypt in 1878, three cabinets were formed by S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a. When in February 1879 Nūbār Pas̲h̲a's [*q.v.*] cabinet (which included two Europeans) had been overthrown by the nationalist parliament, a constitutionalist movement was begun under Muḥammad S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a, the leader of which in Parliament was ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muwayliḥī. This party drew up a plan of financial reforms, which was laid before the Khedive, who in April 1879 entrusted S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a with the formation of a cabinet composed of purely Egyptian elements. This new cabinet instituted a Conseil d'État and had a new organic law passed by the Chamber (promulgated on 14 June 1879). After the accession of the Khedive Tawfīḳ Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a's cabinet was remodelled, but the new government was not so nationalist in complexion as the preceding. In August of the same year, the new Khedive refused to approve the constitution drawn up by the Prime Minister, hence on 18 August S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a resigned and was succeeded by Muḥammad Riyāḍ Pas̲h̲a. S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a then took part in the formation of the "National Society" or "Party" at Ḥulwān, which published a manifesto against Riyāḍ Pas̲h̲a on 4 November.

During the two years or so of mounting tension between the Khedive and the rising influence in the state of the nationalist elements of the army led by Aḥmad ʿUrābī Bey [*q.v.*], Muḥammad S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a endeavoured to put forward the idea of constitutional reform in order to forestall an attempted putsch by ʿUrābist elements. He became Prime Minister in September 1881, but had to resign in January 1882 in favour of Maḥmūd Sāmī Pas̲h̲a al-Bārūdī [*q.v.*]. Yet in the late summer of that year, when the Khedive had been restored to power in Cairo by British force of arms and the ʿUrābī revolt crushed, Muḥammad S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a again became Prime Minister (August 1882). He held office during the beginning of the British occupation, but in the end came in conflict with the British government and its Consul-General in Egypt, Sir Evelyn Baring (the later Lord Cromer), when the government required the evacuation of Egyptian forces from the Sūdān in face of the rising power there of the Mahdī [see MAHDIYYA], and resigned in January 1884. He then retired from political life, suffered ill health and died at Graz, being buried at Cairo in April 1887.

By birth, Muḥammad S̲h̲arīf Pas̲h̲a stemmed from the Turco-Egyptian ruling class, so that his attitudes were bound to be more Khedivalist than nationalist, but he managed to establish a reputation for sincerity with the nationalists, who recognised his genuine desire to make Egypt a constitutional state under Muḥammad ʿAlī's house.

Bibliography: Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, London 1908, i; D̲j̲. Zaydān, *Mas̲h̲āhīr al-s̲h̲arḳ*, Cairo 1910, i, 240 ff.; M. Sabry, *La genèse de l'esprit national égyptien*, Paris 1913; P.J. Vatikiotis, *The history of Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Sadat*, London 1980; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, *ʿAṣr Ismāʿīl*, Cairo 1982; F.R. Hunter, *Egypt under the Khedives, 1805-1879*, Pittsburgh 1984. See also the Bibls. to ISMĀʿĪL PAS̲H̲A; K̲H̲IDĪW; MIṢR. D. 7: TAWFĪḲ PAS̲H̲A.

(J.H. KRAMERS-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-**SH̲ARĪF** AL-**RAḌĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD b. Abī Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā, was born in Bag̲h̲dād in 359/970, of an illustrious and highly sophisticated ʿAlīd family, and died in 406/1016. His lineage dated back to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, through Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*], the seventh S̲h̲īʿī Imām, whence his *nisbas* al-Mūsawī al-ʿAlawī.

His father Abū Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir (not Abū Ṭāhir, as Krenkow writes in *EI*[1], vol. IV, 329), D̲h̲u 'l-Manāḳib ("the pure man of noble qualities") as the Būyid *amīrs* dubbed him, was born in 304/916-17. He was a distinguished man who was extremely influential, both in the caliphal court and among the populace, on account of his noble ancestry and his cultural eminence. In 354/965 he was appointed *naḳīb* or marshal of the ʿAlīds, and given responsibility for the *maẓālim* and for the Pilgrimage. His career was interrupted in 369/979-80, in which year he was imprisoned by the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], with his brother ʿAbd Allāh and numerous other dignitaries, in a fortress in S̲h̲īrāz. He had been accused—on the basis of falsified documents—of revealing state secrets and of abuse of trust (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 98). The real charge against him seems to have been the mounting prestige which he enjoyed, prestige which exceeded, if Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī is to be believed (*Nud̲j̲ūm*, iv, 223), that of the caliph himself. If to this is added the enormous wealth possessed by Abū Aḥmad and coveted by the Būyids, the true reasons behind his detention are easily deduced. It was not until 376/986 that he was freed, following the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and the accession of his son S̲h̲araf al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. Rehabilitated, he was reinstated in his official functions and all his property was restored to him.

In the political domain, Abū Aḥmad played an important role. He was entrusted with numerous missions of mediation, all of which he accomplished successfully, through his wisdom and his diplomatic skills. Such was the case, for example, when serious conflict erupted between Sunnīs and S̲h̲īʿīs at al-Karkh in 380/990. The consequences could have been very grave had it not been for the intervention of the *naḳīb*, who succeeded in soothing passions and putting

an end to this confrontation (see H.F. Amedroz, *Three years of Buwaihid rule in Baghdad*, in *JRAS* [1901], 619 ff.). Towards the end of his life, Abū Aḥmad suffered poor health and lost his sight. In 400/1009-10 he died, at the age of 97 years (*Dīwān*, ii, 293).

The mother of al-Raḍī, Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn (d. 385/996), was also of ʿAlīd descent, more precisely from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. Her grandfather al-Nāṣir li ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ, poet and man of letters, was the ruler of Daylam. Al-Raḍī apparently had two sisters, Khadīdja and Zaynab, as well as two brothers, al-Athar, mentioned by the poet al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057) in his ode to Abū Aḥmad (*Siḳṭ al-zand*, Beirut 1957, 35), and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (355-493/967-1044 [*q.v.*]), renowned as a writer, poet, theologian, polemicist and leading defender of Imāmism. While the two brothers al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā are often mentioned conjointly, their contemporaries seem to have preferred the former, in particular for his poetic gifts and for his personal qualities (cf. Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj*, 39-40).

As regards al-Raḍī's own immediate family, little is known. He apparently had a son, Aḥmad ʿAdnān, known like his grandfather by the cognomen of al-Ṭāhir Dhu ʾl-Manāḳib. He followed the example of his ancestors in occupying the post of *naḳīb*. Furthermore, after his death, a second son was born, Abū Aḥmad al-Mūsawī (Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmda*, 211).

Intellectual formation.

Al-Raḍī had an education worthy of his rank. While he was still at an early age, and during the absence of his imprisoned father, his mother entrusted him, with his brother al-Murtaḍā, to the eminent Imāmī scholar al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), who taught them Shīʿī theology (*op. cit.*, 41). Al-Raḍī continued his studies under the tutelage of other scholars who were among the most distinguished of the time, such as the grammarian Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987), the writer Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994), the Mālikī Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṭabarī al-Muḳri' (d. 393/995), the Muʿtazilī al-Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1024) and the philologist and grammarian Ibn Djinnī (d. 399/1002), among others. Al-Raḍī was very much attached to the last-named, in particular. It was, in fact, Ibn al-Djinnī who encouraged him to pursue his career as a poet. In token of admiration and friendship, the master contributed, at a very early stage, a commentary to his renowned *rāʾiyya*, an elegy dedicated to the Ḥamdānid Abū Ṭāhir b. Nāṣir al-Dawla (d. 382/992) (*Dīwān*, i, 490-4), and later, to three other poems (cf. *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, v, 87).

Thus our poet obtained a rich, diverse and profound cultural training. His exemplary friendship and loyalty towards the Sabian Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm (d. 384/994), who was his senior by more than forty years, testifies eloquently to his tolerant spirit and his freedom of thought.

Considered precocious, he composed his first poem at the age of ten years. However, he did not study the Ḳurʾān until after the age of thirty (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 131).

The portrait provided by his biographers, corroborated furthermore by his poems, is that of a man of honesty, sensitivity, sincerity and finesse, a staunch and loyal friend. He was also immensely proud and conscious of his dignity; he accepted no gift from anyone. On the contrary, he was generous and well-disposed towards scholarship and scholars. He had founded a school, the *Dār al-ʿilm* ("house of knowledge"), where the students were lodged and provided for (Ibn ʿInaba, *op. cit.*, 209).

A committed Imāmī, but without excess or fanaticism, al-Raḍī was open to all tendencies. He showed some sympathy for Shāfiʿism and for Muʿtazilism (cf. Ibn ʿAbbās, *al-Sharīf*, 46-7). He made his own convictions clear in declaring (*Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, v, 17) that he had been drawn, in early life, towards Murdjiʾism, but that he had later opted for the dogma of the *waʿd* and *waʿīd* (promises and threats in the life beyond), one of the five fundamental principles dear to the Muʿtazilīs (cf. *Dīwān*, ii, 270).

Political activity.

His biographers, led by Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd (*op. cit.*, i, 34), state that, from an early age, he harboured political ambitions and even aspired to the highest authority in the state, the caliphate itself; some of his verses express this unequivocally (*Dīwān*, i, 358, 536, ii, 167, 408-12). It seems that his friend Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī encouraged him and built up his hopes (*Dīwān*, ii, 89-90; cf. Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd, *op. cit.*, 26). This idea, which he cherished throughout his youth, came to nothing, and many of his poems convey a sense of disappointment, of deep dejection and of acute pessimism. He was finally obliged to come to terms with reality and to be content with the honours lavished on him by the Būyids, Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in particular. In fact, in 380/990, at 24 years old, he was entrusted with his father's responsibilities (the *niḳāba* of the ʿAlīds, the *maẓālim* and the Pilgrimage), when the latter's state of health prevented him from performing these duties himself. Sometimes, it was the two brothers together who assumed the responsibility. He was probably not officially appointed *naḳīb* until 403/1013. Furthermore, Bahāʾ al-Dawla persisted in showering him with honorific titles: *al-Sharīf al-Djalīl* ("the venerable noble one") (388/998), *al-Raḍī* ("the well-pleasing") (398/1007), *al-Sharīf al-Adjall* ("the most venerable noble one") (401/1011), *Dhu ʾl-Ḥasabayn* ("of the two nobilities") and *Dhu ʾl-Manḳabatayn* ("of two virtues"). To this writer's knowledge, in the entire history of Islam no one has ever surpassed al-Raḍī in terms of official honours and distinctions.

Poetic activity.

A writer and scholar versed in various disciplines (Ḳurʾān, *Ḥadīth*, language and literature), he was most appreciated in his role as a poet. His contemporary al-Thaʿālibī (*op. cit.*) asserts that he was considered, in terms of quality as well as quantity, the best poet of the Ṭālibīs, indeed of Ḳuraysh in general. Whatever the case, one thing is certain: al-Raḍī was passionate about his poetry. He was proud and jealous where it was concerned. He never permitted himself to utilise it for material ends, nor to obtain presents and benefits, as was the practice of innumerable poets of his time. He sought only honour and prestige as rewards for his poetry. His panegyric poems were devoted mostly to his relatives and friends; the others were addressed to certain public figures, those whom he genuinely trusted. Among the latter, worthy of mention is the caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ (d. 393/1003 [*q.v.*]), to whom he dedicated numerous laudatory poems revealing sincere affection and respect for the man. One of his most moving poems is that in which he recounts the deposition of the caliph in 381/991 by Bahāʾ al-Dawla (*Dīwān*, ii, 444-8). He continued to dedicate poems to him until the former caliph's death twelve years later in 393/1003 (*Dīwān*, 197-201). But his relations with al-Ḳādir (d. 422/1031 [*q.v.*]), successor to al-Ṭāʾiʿ, were not so favourable. Indeed, he wrote some eulogies addressed to him, but without much conviction. On the contrary, he composed a number of audacious, impertinent and provocative poems which sometimes roused the ire of the caliph, such as that

in which he compares himself to the latter, declaring in his presence (*Dīwān*, ii, 42):

"Alas, *Amīr* of the Believers! We are equal, at the summit of glory...
Only the caliphate, of which you hold the reins, separates us."

Bahā' al-Dawla was one of the few *amīrs* to enjoy eulogies on the part of this poet, in the guise of appreciation for all the privileges which he had accorded him (*Dīwān*, i, 13-18, 53-64, 277-8, 413-18 and *passim*). But the poems in which al-Raḍī displays innovation and skill of the highest order are those devoted to praise of his father. There are some forty of these, and no other Arab poet has ever produced anything comparable. He treated his father, whose personality fascinated him, as though he were a caliph. On the occasion of every festival, he presented him with a poem. Furthermore, it was the arrest of his father, in 369/979, which gave the first impetus to his poetic genius. He composed one of his very first poems, of unprecedented power (78 verses), full of grief, melancholy and wisdom, when he was barely ten years old (*Dīwān*, i, 305-10). Other poems were addressed to friends or to men of letters, such as al-Ṣābī, the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, Ibn Djinnī, etc. He lauded their merits and especially—something virtually unique in Arabic literature—their art of the pen and their eloquence (*Dīwān*, i, 280-4, 285-9, ii, 199-68 and *passim*.

Besides panegyric, his *Dīwān* covers all poetic genres: descriptive, satirical, amorous and elegiac. But this poet excelled particularly in the last two (*ghazal* and *rithā'*). His *Ḥidjāziyyāt*, some forty poems in which he sang of love and celebrated the beauty of the fine ladies who were performing the Pilgrimage, made him one of the most renowned Arab poets of all time. Neither his official function as organiser of processions of pilgrims, nor the holy places of Islam, nor his social and religious position, hindered him from expressing tender feelings of love. Admittedly, he was careful not to go too far in this respect and he confined himself to declaring his admiration of feminine beauty in delicate, elegant, restrained and measured terms, in a Bedouin style which recalls Djamīl Buthayna (d. 82/701), ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (d. 93/712) or Kuthayyir ʿAzza (d. 105/723), far from the libertine exhibitionism of an Abū Nuwās (d. 197/812) or of an Ibn Sukkara (d. 385/995). It is quite simply a case of innocent, platonic (*ʿudhrī*) love, as he says himself (*Dīwān*, i, 175):

"I have loved but, as God knows,
I have only needed to see, to enjoy it..."

His elegiac poetry is a model of sincerity and sensibility, full of wisdom, of meditation on man, life and death. Among his most moving elegies, notable are those dedicated to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, to his mother, to his father, to his friend al-Ṣābī and to his master Ibn Djinnī (*Dīwān*, i, 26-30, 44-8, 187-90, 381-6, ii, 63-7, 75-6, 290-6 and *passim*). His last poem of the genre was the elegy addressed to his friend, the writer and poet Aḥmad al-Battī, at the time of his death in Shaʿbān 405/1015 (*Dīwān*, i, 170-1). In this poem, al-Raḍī seems to have a sense of his own impending demise, as he declares (*op. cit.*, 170):

"After you have hurt the one whom you love,
Misfortunes will never spare you!"

In fact, a few months later, his own death supervened. He expired on Sunday, 6 Muḥarram 406/26 June 1016, at 47 years old. He was buried first in his home town, al-Karkh, in the precincts of the mosque of the Anbāriyyīn, in the absence of his brother al-Murtaḍā, who was, it is said, too distressed to attend the ceremony. It was the *wazīr* Fakhr al-Mulk who conducted the funeral prayers. According to Ibn ʿInaba (*op. cit.*, 210-11), the remains of al-Raḍī were said to have been later transferred to Karbalā', to the mausoleum of al-Ḥusayn, near the tomb of his father. Numerous poets paid their respects to him, in particular, his brother al-Murtaḍā, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Maghribī (d. 418/1027) and his disciple Mihyār al-Daylamī (d. 428/1037).

Works.

Despite his relatively early death, and in spite of his weighty official responsibilities, al-Raḍī had the time to compose numerous works, reflecting his extensive and varied culture. His contemporary al-Nadjāshī (*Ridjāl*, 283) has listed some fifty of them. Particularly worthy of mention are the following: (1) His *Dīwān*, of 10,000 verses, the poems in which are often dated (374-405/985-1015), was assembled by several compilers, his son Aḥmad and Abū Ḥakīm al-Khabrī (d. 476/1083) among others (ed. Bombay and Baghdād 1889, Beirut 1890, 1893, and more recently ed. Dār Ṣādir, n.d.). (2) *Khaṣā'iṣ al-Imām ʿAlī* ("Special characteristics of the Imām ʿAlī") (ed. Nadjaf 1949 and Mashhad 1986): written in 383/994, this work was in fact the draft of a more ambitious project. The author intended at the outset to deal with the characteristic virtues of the twelve Shīʿī Imāms (*Khaṣā'iṣ al-A'imma*). He began with ʿAlī: his biography, his qualities and some extracts from his speeches and his wise aphorisms; this gave him the idea of devoting a second work exclusively to the sayings of ʿAlī, with the object of illustrating his oratorical gifts. With the study of the other Imāms still unfinished, he turned immediately to this new enterprise which culminated in the celebrated *Nahdj al-balāgha* (cf. *Nahdj*, 1-3). (3) *Nahdj al-balāgha* ("The way of eloquence") [*q.v.*] (ed. Beirut 1885, Cairo 1905, 1910, 1925 and ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, n.d. and Beirut 1983): this is the anthology of the speeches, homilies and letters traditionally attributed to ʿAlī, which al-Raḍī compiled in 400/1010 (see on this subject M. Djebli, *Encore à propos de l'authenticité du Nahdj al-Balāgha*, in *SI*, lxxii [1992], 36-52). (4) *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-ta'wīl fī mutashābih al-tanzīl* ("Interpretation of Ḳur'ānic images"), sometimes mentioned under the title of *Maʿānī al-Ḳur'ān al-kabīr* ("Obscure meanings in the Ḳur'ān"): this was a monumental work, considered one of the most important exegeses of the Ḳur'ān. Unfortunately, only the 5th volume has survived (ed. Nadjaf 1936). (5) *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī madjāzāt al-Ḳur'ān* ("Summary of metaphors in the Ḳur'ān") (ed. Cairo 1964, Baghdād 1955): begun on Thursday, 20 Shaʿbān 401/1011 and completed on Sunday, 13 Shawwāl of the same year, this book is probably a summary of the preceding work (cf. *Talkhīṣ*, 288). (6) *al-Madjāzāt al-nabawiyya* ("Metaphors in the *Ḥadīth*") (ed. Baghdād 1911, Cairo 1971). As a talented writer and an admirer of literature, the author wanted to seek out eloquence, rhetoric and metaphor in the three principal sources of the Arabic language, these being the Ḳur'ān, the *Ḥadīth* and the sayings of ʿAlī. It was in this spirit that he composed these last four works. (7) *Rasā'il al-Ṣābī wa 'l-Sharīf al-Raḍī* ("Correspondence with al-Ṣābī"). If al-Ṣafadī is to be believed (*Wāfī*, ii, 374), this correspondence, in prose and in poetry, constituted three volumes. But unfortunately, only an infinitesimal part of it has survived, in a ms. belonging to the Tunisian scholar Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (ed. Kuwait 1961).

Other works, apparently no longer in existence, deserve mention, in particular: (1) *Sīrat wālidih Abī*

Aḥmad (biography of his father), composed in his youth, in 379/990. (2) *al-Ḥasan min shiʿr al-Ḥusayn* ("The fine [poetry] of his friend al-Ḥusayn [b. al-Ḥadjdjādj]). (3) *al-Mukhtār min shiʿr Abī Tammām* ("Anthology of the poems of Abū Tammām"). (4) *Mukhtār shiʿr Abī Isḥāḳ* ("Anthology of the poems of al-Ṣābī"). (5) *Akhbār ḳuḍāt Baghdād* ("Biographies of Baghdādī ḳāḍīs"). (6) *Taʿlīḳ fī 'l-Īḍāḥ* ("Glosses on the *Īḍāḥ*", sc. on the grammatical work of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī), etc ...

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(MOKTAR DJEBLI)

AL-SHARĪF AL-TALĪḲ, the name by which the Andalusī poet, active in Cordova, Abū ʿAbd al-Malik Marwān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir (b. 347/958, d. by 395/1005), is known. A great-grandson of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, he was imprisoned in Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ [*q.v.*] when he was 16 for killing his father out of jealousy over a girl. Among his fellow prisoners were several literary figures, including Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd al-Badjdjānī, who wrote at first love poetry and later *hidjāʾ* on the handsome youth. Among these men, at-Ṭalīḳ developed his skill at poetry, most of which was written in prison. Al-Manṣūr ordered his release in or before 379/989-90, either because of a dream-vision of the Prophet or thanks to the intervention of al-Manṣūr's pet ostrich; the supposedly supernatural cause of his release is said to have given rise to his cognomen, which in one source is said to be Ṭalīḳ al-naʿāma, "released by the ostrich".

Although he is reported to have been a prolific poet, little of his work is extant, and that only in fragmentary quotations. His friend, Ibn Ḥazm calls him the greatest Andalusian poet of his time and compares his rank among the poets of the Andalusian Umayyads to that of Ibn al-Muʿtazz among the ʿAbbāsids because of the "gracefulness of his poetry and the beauty of his similes." Particularly appreciated was his *ḳāfʾiyya* beginning:

ghuṣun^{un} *yahtazzu fī diʿṣi naḳā*
yadjtanī minhu fuʾādī ḥuraḳā

("A bough, quivering on a sandy hillock/from which my heart harvests burning!"); but only 41 verses, probably not the entire poem, are extant. The extant fragments deal mostly with wine and flowers.

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(R.P. SCHEINDLIN)

AL-SHARĪF AL-TILIMSĀNĪ, the name given to a dynasty of scholars of Tlemcen.

1. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD, Abū Ṭālib

(a) Life

This scholar (*ʿālim*) of Tlemcen, who was born in 710/1310 and died in 771/1369 or 1370, is the renowned ancestor (*mashhūr*) of a family which has produced several generations of jurisconsults (*fuḳahāʾ*), and more specifically of "philosopher-jurisconsults" (Abū Bakr Ibn Shuʿayb) or philosophers of law, also known as "theoreticians of law" (W.B. Hallaq), particularly distinguished among whom are his two sons. He was nicknamed al-ʿAlawī, being the native of a village situated a day's journey from Tlemcen and called al-ʿAlawiyyīn.

He studied under masters of repute, including Abū Zayd (d. 743/1342) and Abū Mūsā (d. 749/1348), with whom he studied science of law (*fiḳh*), sources of law (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*) and dogmatic theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*). He also studied under the teacher of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ābilī (d. 757/1356), a citizen of Tlemcen of Andalusian origin (from Avila), later a resident of Fās, where he became the disciple of the mathematician Ibn al-Bannāʾ (d. 721/1321). Among his other distinguished teachers were the savant and mystic ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Madjāsī, nicknamed "the Weeper" (*al-Bakkāʾ*, *Bustān*, 121, tr. 132), the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (who was appointed governor of Bidjāya, where he died in 756/1355), Abū Mūsā ʿImrān al-Mashaddālī (a native of the region of Bidjāya, d. 745/

1344-5), the *ḳāḍīs* Ibn ʿAbd al-Nūr (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, d. 748/1337-8), Ibn al-Ḥasan (Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, d. 767/1366), and the astronomer and mathematician Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 749/1348-9).

In 740/1339 he set out for Tunis, where he attended courses given by the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām (675-749-1277-1348), the commentator on Ibn al-Ḥadjib (d. 646/1249), studying in particular the chapter concerning Ṣūfism (*faṣl al-taṣawwuf*) in the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* of Ibn Sīnā, and the shorter and middle-sized commentaries on Aristotle by Ibn Rushd, which correspond to the *Organon* and which illustrate the methods of the Greek thinker (the work always begins with the analysis and detailed criticism of the ideas of his predecessors) and his style of discourse.

Al-Sharīf also engaged in the study of mathematics, of astronomy and of the science of the division of inheritances (*al-farāʾiḍ*). He escaped the "Black Death" of 749/1348, which originated in the Orient and spread throughout the West, decimating the intellectual élite of North Africa. On his return to Tlemcen, and until the capture of this town in 753/1352 by the Marīnid sultan Abū ʿInān, he gave courses which were well attended, among others by students from neighbouring countries.

Abū ʿInān appointed him as a member of his academic council (*al-madjlis al-ʿilmī*) and introduced him to his court in Fās. There he gave instruction to the royal family, to the children of the nobility and to eminent individuals of the court (*awlād al-shurafāʾ wa ʾl-ʿuẓamāʾ*, *Bustān*, 117). Some of his pupils were to become renowned, such as the notary and astronomer (*muwaḳḳit*) attached to the mosque of al-Ḳarawiyyīn Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madyūnī (al-Ḳādirī, b. 777/1375-6) and the traditionist scholar Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā al-Sarrādj (d. 805/1402-3). On the death in 759-1358 of Abū ʿInān and with the consent of the Marīnid *wazīr* ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh, al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī accepted an invitation from the sultan of Tlemcen, Abū Ḥammū II (723-91/1323-89) who appointed him an advisor, being impressed by his superb intellectual qualities (*andjabuhum ʿaḳlan*, *Bustān*, 170, tr. 190), his expertise in the theology and law of the Mālikī *madhhab* and his pre-eminence in the science of divergences (*al-khilāfiyyāt* or comparative law, which analyses the different schools of Muslim law).

Abū Ḥammū II asked for the hand of the scholar's daughter in marriage, then appointed him director of the Yaʿḳūbiyya *madrasa*, specially founded for the scholar and richly endowed with *ḥubus*. Subsequently, it seems that his descendents had the use of a site where the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Wansharīsī, assassinated during a period of instability in Fās, was buried in 957/1550 (al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, v, 280). The precincts of the mosque and the *madrasa* became a royal cemetery; in later times, only the mosque and the *ḳubba* remained, taking the name of the saint Sidi Brāhīm al-Maṣmūdī (d. 804/1401), also buried in the same cemetery.

The life of al-Sharīf is informative on the climate of religious rivalry between the Maghribī powers, in particular the Marīnid and Zayyānid or ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasties. Anxious for legitimacy, both sought to rely on the prestige of the descendants of the Prophet's family, the *Shurafāʾ* [*q.v.*]. In fact, the ʿAbd al-Wādids claimed, as is asserted by Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*), descent from al-Ḳāsim b. Idrīs and had themselves called, in the Berber dialect of the Zanāta, Ayt al-Ḳāsim. Furthermore, the arrival of the scholar at the invitation of the sultan of Tlemcen was indicative not only of a strategy of alliance destined to enhance the intellectual and cultural prestige of the capital of the central Maghrib, but also of a Sharīfian power-policy, of which one of the most visible aspects was the festival surrounding the celebration of the *Mawlid*.

Al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī appears to be a key-individual, an intermediary between the political and the religious, between power and the people, who did not hesitate to defend the *faḳīh*, the marabout or the destitute. Of pleasing physical appearance, he dressed with elegance. He was generous and enjoyed giving advice to people. He was kind-hearted and tolerant towards others, and used his ablutions as a diversion when his irritation was aroused. The prestige which he enjoyed among the dignitaries of the kingdom was supplemented by his popularity and his reputation as a man of piety, capable of producing miracles (*karāmāt*). If he wrote little, this was because when he was not engaged in diplomatic missions (764/1362, 765/1363, 767/1366), most of his efforts were devoted to teaching.

The courses given by al-Sharīf were characterised by his methodical analyses and the clarity of his language which rendered him a proficient orator. His daily routine began with interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, in which he showed himself an incomparable exegete over a period of twenty-five years. He captivated his audience with his favourite reading, the *Mudawwana al-kubrā* of Saḥnūn (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]). His commentary on the *Djumal* of al-Khūnadjī (author of the *Kitāb al-ʿUmda*, d. 649/1249) was also a component of his courses. He was an accomplished philologist, skilled in the knowledge of the proper use of words, their etymology and their grammatical forms—useful arts in the study of the abundant judicial literature of the different Mālikī schools (Ḳayrawān, Cordova, Baghdād, Cairo, etc.), especially in regard to the Ḳurʾān: its grammatical analysis (*naḥw*), its readings (*ḳirāʾāt*) and its variants (*ikhtilāf*). Furthermore, the art of poetry, ancient history of the Arabs ("Days of the Arabs", *ayyām al-ʿArab*, and "Days of God," *ayyām Allāh*) and Ṣūfism were subjects in which he excelled. In addition to his mastery of the rational and traditional sciences (*al-maʿḳūl wa ʾl-manḳūl*), and sound judgment (*salāmat al-ʿaḳl*), he was also endowed with profound mystical knowledge which he sought to share with his pupils, initiating them especially into the rejection of material goods.

What emerges from his personality is the image of a sincere Muslim whom affluence did not deflect from the defence of the spiritual, moral and humanist values contributing to the cohesion and dynamism of the city. Among his pupils, many acquired renown: in the first place his own sons, ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the *imām* al-Shāṭibī, Ibn Zamrak, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Sakkāk (Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad, d. 816/1413), the *faḳīh* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Madyūnī, the saint and preacher Ibrāhīm al-Maṣmūdī (d. 804 or 805/1401 or 1402), and the jurist Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿArafa al-Warghamī (716-803/1316-1400).

Al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī is a representative of that class of Maghribī scholars who were employed by the successors to the Almohads in the training of royal functionaries responsible for the sultan's secretariat and for military, religious or judicial administration, in the context of the official teaching of the *madrasas*. Furthermore, the need for such functionaries was augmented by the prosperity of Tlemcen and the development of the diplomatic and commercial relations of the kingdom.

His work is situated in the movement whereby insti-

tutions were re-adapted to Mālikism after the Almohad period. For Ibn Marzūḳ al-Khaṭīb, he revealed a high degree of expertise in the interpretation of the Mālikī doctrine (*Bustān*, 166, tr. 185). According to Ibn Maryam, "he was the last of the great masters of *idjtihād*" seen by this period (*kāna ākhir al-a'imma al-mudjtahidīn al-rāsikhīn, Bustān*, 167, tr. 185). He was responsible for the revival of orthodoxy (*ibid.*, 169, tr. 185), he resuscitated religious law and dispelled heresy (*ibid.*, 167, tr. 185).

In reaction to the Almohad doctrine, illustrated in particular by the *Mahdī* Ibn Tūmart, the scholar equally versed in the sources (*uṣūl*) of law, permitting the deduction of laws from their principles, and in the applications (*furūʿ*) of law, exerted his critical sense while applying himself to the original texts. Two methods were combined: *idjtihād*, personal interpretation as a means of rectifying or completing passages in the Mālikī treatises, and *taklīd*, using the model of the opinions of Mālikī scholars expressed in the treatises on *furūʿ*, the mystical sense (*bāṭin*) taking on an ever-increasing importance in the interpretation of sources.

With al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī, the development of the judicial sciences is characterised by an attempt at reconciling these *furūʿ* with the *uṣūl*, as well as by the more profound study of theology, these various elements forming part of the education dispensed especially in *madrasas*. As with the Ḥafṣid dynasty, the function of *muftī*, initially private and independent, tends to be given official status, becoming an institution designed to bolster the authority of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. Thus in connection with the school of Bidjāya, and under influences deriving from al-Andalus, from Tunis and from Fās, a judicial practice (*ʿamal*) is constituted, belonging specifically to Tlemcen and its region, which has left its mark in collections of particular cases (*nawāzil*), where the position of the Divine Law is expressed by an authorised religious scholar (*muftī*), in answer to a question put to him by the jurist (*faḳīh, mustaftī*).

The *fatwā* related by Ibn Maryam (*Bustān*, 178-84) is not so much an example of a judicial decision, an opinion on a point of law delivered by an expert, as a concise survey of the principal issues debated in the 8th/14th century at Tlemcen in the field of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. More specifically, this *fatwā* reflects the pedagogical concern of al-Sharīf, revealing his characteristic method of addressing the problem from different angles (*bi-wudjūh al-naẓar, ibid.*, 178). It gives an insight into his way of contemplating the rules of interpretation of the sources of law from which are derived the legal statutes (*aḥkām*) which should govern the judicial problems (*nawāzil*) which are presented.

The doctrine of al-Sharīf is characterised here by:

– Insistence on the authority of the Prophet as representative of the Supreme Legislator, God;

– His concern to reconcile rules which appear to be contradictory, e.g. by linking the particular to the general case;

– The resolution of conflicts through the rule of abrogation (*naskh*), which can concern an explicit text (*naṣṣ*) or a judicial decision or rule (*ḥukm*);

– A technique close to that of such Ashʿarīs as al-Ashʿarī himself, al-Djuwaynī, al-Ghazālī and al-Rāzī and to that of mediaeval Christian scholarship (the technique of division and of classification, reference to religious authority, the hypotheses envisaged being most often expressed in the form of the syllogism, the use of copious evidence in argumentation, refutation of the opponent through his own arguments or through *argumentum ad hominem, al-ilzām*). Directly, the accent is placed on the delimitation of the question, the demarcation of the controversial points, and then the reduction of divergencies by the elimination of faulty interpretations giving approbation (*taṣdīḳ*) to the erroneous, then turning in the direction of probable certainty, of equitable solutions;

– A rigorous exegesis aided by an analytic logic bordering on an apodeictic logic which does not impute to the texts more than they show, proceeding through the observation of singular principles which resemble one another to the deduction and detachment of the universal rule (e.g. the Aristotelian concept revised by Ibn Sīnā). Simple allegation (*ḳawl*) needs to be confirmed (*yuḥaḳḳiḳu, ibid.*, 183). His procedure for validation between the valid and the non-valid is close to that of the philosopher (e.g. Ibn Rushd), between the true and the false: simple notions (*maʿānī mufrada*) are all conceivable, it is their composition (*tarkīb*), which gives the concept (*taṣawwur*) which permits affirmation and negation (*al-īdjāb wa'l-salb*), and especially, truth and falsehood (*al-ṣidḳ wa'l-kadhib*);

– A cautious use of analogy (*al-ḳiyās*). This is a means of avoiding, on the one hand, assimilation by analogy which brings about an interpretation far removed from the basic case (*aṣl*), by stressing the resemblance to the assimilated case (*farʿ*); and on the other, personal opinion (*ra'y*), especially in the absence of a clear expression of legal rules in the texts (*ʿibārāt al-naṣṣ*). The arguments used are non-analogical, arguments *a fortiori* (*faḥwa 'l-khiṭāb*, where the themes are to be found more decisively present in the assimilated case than in the basic case), starting with the implicit meaning of the typical text (*a maiore ad minus* or *a minore ad maius, mafhūm al-khiṭāb* or *dalālat al-naṣṣ*, and *reductio ad absurdum, ḳiyās al-ʿaks*);

– Utilisation of logic, in the general structure, as in the different developments of the reasoning, which adds richness to the text and clarity as well, giving it persuasive force and avoiding ambiguity. However, its presence is diffuse and takes the form in the course of the text, after the manner of Ibn Ḥazm, of stylistic features apparently not designed or intended (for example, the non-categorical syllogism, or, according to Arabic classification, of, e.g. al-Fārābī, disjunctive conditional syllogism);

The predominance of *idjtihād*, here in the sense of judicial effort (Abū Bakr b. Shuʿayb) where faith and knowledge are partners, and which is tied to the notion of action, will, knowledge, truth, while servile imitation (*taḳlīd*) is the symbol of immobilism, of passivity, or ignorance and of falsehood (*al-ghalaṭ*). But the definition of *idjtihād* is fairly broad as applied by al-Sharīf, who acknowledges absolute *idjtihād* in the case of the independent interpreter, who decides without reference to any doctrine, whereas for al-Ghazālī, for example, the independence of this judgment is only valid within the parameters of the school to which the jurisconsult belongs.

It is the concern for just equilibrium (*iʿtidāl*), and the feeling that the certainty obtained is only a probable certainty, which leads the jurist, a devout Muslim, subject to the omnipotence of the Legislator (God), to an attitude of moderation (*hay'at al-tawassuṭ*) and of wisdom (*al-ḥikma*). Thus the judge becomes the arbiter, or finds his role in arbitration (since *ḳaḍā* is to settle a dispute, to arbitrate), as is shown by Aristotle's definition of equity (*aequitas*): "Equity seems to be justice which goes beyond the written law" (*Rhetoric*, i, 1374a).

(b) Works

A book on donations (*al-muʿāṭāt* or *al-muʿāwaḍāt*, exchanges); *Sharḥ Djumal al-Khūnadjī—Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-uṣūl*

(or *K. al-Miftāḥ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* or *Miftāḥ al-wuṣūl fī binā' al-furū' 'alā 'l-uṣūl*), dedicated to the Marīnid sultan Abū 'Inān (749-59/1347-58); a work on predestination and the immutable decrees of God (*Fi 'l-ḳaḍā' wa 'l-ḳadar*); poems (*ḳaṣā'id*) composed at the time of the *Mawlid*; *fatwās* conveyed in the works of al-Maghīlī al-Māzūnī (d. 883/1478) and of al-Wansharīsī, with those of his sons 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, as well as in *al-Bustān*.

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2. 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD, sometimes called Ibn al-Imām, b. 748/1347-8, the elder son of the preceding, who was allegedly informed in a dream that his son would become a scholar. Arriving with his father in Fās, at an early age, he embarked on a multifarious programme of studies which included the Ḳur'ān, as well as the treatise on grammar and logic *al-Djumal* by al-Zadjdjādjī and the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik, under the tutorship of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Zayd, among numerous other classical works. He read the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn with Abū 'Imrān Mūsā al-'Abdūsī. With Abu l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Kabbāb (d. 777/1375) he studied *al-Talḳīn* by 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 422/1030), the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī and the *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. With Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn al-Shammā', he read Ibn al-Ḥādjib (*al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-furū'* or *al-Mukhtaṣar al-far'ī*). With the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, whose courses had been attended by his father, he perfected his knowledge of jurisprudence through reading the *Muwaṭṭa'*, *al-Tahdhīb* by the jurist of Ḳayrawān Abū Sa'īd al-Barādhi'ī, and further works by Ibn al-Ḥādjib.

Then, with his father, he studied philosophy in *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa* by al-Ghazālī, and dogmatic theology in the latter's *al-Iḳtiṣād fi 'l-i'tiḳād*, and in *al-Muḥaṣṣal* by al-Rāzī, the sciences in Ibn Sīnā (*al-Nadjāt*), then, for the principles of law, al-Ghazālī (*Shifā' al-ghalīl*) and Ibn al-Ḥādjib; in rhetoric, the *Talkhīṣ* and *Īḍāḥ* of al-Ḳazwīnī; in dialectic (*djadal*), *al-Muḳtaraḥ* by al-Barawā'ī (517-67/1124-72); in geometry, Euclid; in logic, *al-Djumal* by al-Khūnadjī, previously studied in depth by his father who had written a commentary on it, and for Ṣūfism, al-Ghazālī again. He also studied the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī and was soon perceived to be superior to his father in scholarship. He then taught at the Great Mosque of Tlemcen, giving instruction especially in the Ḳur'ān, in 'Abd al-Haḳḳ (*al-Aḥkām al-ṣughrā*) and in Ibn al-Ḥādjib (*al-Mukhtaṣar al-far'ī*), in the presence of numerous students, the majority of them from Fās. He received a salary from the Mārīnid sultan Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz (767-74/1365-72) until the restoration of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād. On the death of his father, he was appointed his successor as teacher at the Ya'ḳūbiyya *madrasa* by sultan Abū Ḥammū II. One of his more notable pupils was Ibn Marzūḳ al-Ḥalīd (766-842/1364-1438). When Abū 'Abd Allāh fell ill in 784/1382, his place in the classroom was taken by his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Abū 'Abd Allāh lived for some time in Gharnāṭa, where he was one of the tutors of the great *ḳāḍī* Ibn 'Āṣim, author of the *Tuḥfa*. He perished in a shipwreck between Mālaḳa and Tilimsān in 792/1390.

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2. Studies. A. al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldun in modern scholarship*, London 1981, 103; M. Hadj-Sadok, *Ibn Marzūḳ* in *EI*[2]; Ḥafnāwī, *Ta'rīf al-khalaf*, Algiers 1324/1906, ii, 236-9, Algiers 1991, ii, 55-9; M.K. Masud, *A history of Islamic law in Spain: an overview*, in *Islamic Studies*, xxx (1991), 34.

3. ABŪ YAḤYĀ 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD, born in 757/1356, brother of the preceding. His name,

as regards the *ism* and the *kunya*, appears to be a combination of that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn and that of Abū Yaḥyā b. al-Sakkāk (*ḳāḍī* of Fās, d. 816/1413), both present on the night of his birth, in his father's house. After apprenticeship with the Ḳurʾān, he studied in particular, with his father, the fundamentals of law and the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, then with his brother ʿAbd Allāh, nine years his senior, whose diligent disciple he became. He also undertook study of Ibn al-Ḥādjib, of the *Djumal* of al-Khūnadjī and of the *Īḍāḥ* of al-Fārisī, as a pupil of Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd al-ʿUkbānī (*ḳāḍī* of Bidjāya, then of Tilimsān, 720-811/1320-1408). Like his brother, he had Muḥammad b. Ḥayātī al-Gharnāṭī for a tutor in the study of the *Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī and the *Mukarrib* of Ibn ʿUṣfūr. With the Andalusian Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim b. Riḍwān, he studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and the *Shifāʾ* of ʿIyāḍ. During his brother's illness, in 784/1382, he taught in his place, before leaving to give a series of lectures in Fās. Renowned for his skill at exegesis and the analysis of the apparent and hidden (*al-ẓāhir wa ʾl-bāṭin*) meaning of texts, he educated numerous students including the writer and poet Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaghrī, secretary of Abū Ḥammū II, as well as Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ibn Zāghū (782-845/1380-1441), himself an eminent jurist and teacher of the *ḳāḍī* of Māzūnā, al-Maghīlī (d. 883/1478) and of Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Ḳalaṣādī (d. 891-1486), an Andalusian and a resident of Tlemcen who was himself the teacher, in arithmetic and the law of succession of the theologian Muḥammad al-Sanūsī (838 or 839-894/1435-1490). He died in 826/1423.

His works comprise a book on the forgiveness of sins (*Taʾlīf ʿalā ʾl-maghfira*); *Sharḥ al-asrār al-ʿaḳliyya* (of al-Muḳtaraḥ, d. 612/1215-16); and *Sharḥ al-Irshād* (of al-Djuwaynī);

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4. ABU ʾL-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. ABĪ YAḤYĀ b. Muḥammad, sometimes called Abū Djaʿfar, senior *ḳāḍī* (*ḳāḍī ʾl-djamāʿa*) of Granada, grandson of Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Tilimisānī. With his brother Abu ʾl-Faradj, he attended courses given by Marzūḳ al-Ḥafīd at al-ʿUbbād (Sidi Bou-Medein). He died at Tlemcen in 895/1490. He seems to correspond to the *faḳīh*, the *imām* Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Sayyidī Yaḥyā al-Sharīf in the *Miʿyār* of al-Wansharīsī.

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5. ABU ʾL-FARADJ B. ABĪ YAḤYĀ b. Muḥammad, brother of Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās essentially followed courses given by Ibn Marzūḳ al-Ḥafīd at al-ʿUbbād. The details of this education with its different gradations, were typical of Mālikī instruction. On the occasion of the presentation of the *idjāza*, he was dressed by his master in the robe of the Ṣūfīs (*albasahu khirkat al-taṣawwuf*) in which Ibn Marzūḳ had himself been clad by his father and his maternal uncle. He died in Tlemcen in 868/1463.

Bibliography (complementary to preceding sources): Aḥmad Bābā, 294, 297; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, Rabat, ii, 1300, Cairo, iii, 1320; Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustān*, 204-6, 209-10, tr. Provenzali, 234-6, 240.

The al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī family in the cultural life of their time.

The abundant biographical material concerning the al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī family gives a clear impression of the dynamism of intellectual life and of the institutions which formed its environment, in particular the elaborate system of education in Algeria in the 8th/14th century. The instructive evidence conveyed in the biographical notices show a social promotion of scholars, who are above all jurists, which was owed to their personal merit (*ḥasab*) rather than to their genealogy (*nasab*). The traditional sciences play a significant role in the initial training of a jurist in this period, the sources being the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. Judicial logic flourished, as did the theological logic manifested in dogmatic theology (*kalām*), and there seems to have been, in this context, a scholastic tradition at Tlemcen, which is seen, in the following century, in al-Sanūsī, with an original synthesis between theology, logic and Ṣūfism, as well as the jurist, logician and historian al-Ṭanasī (d. 899/1494). As in Christian Europe, the work of Ibn Sīnā is one of the central pillars of education, with the huge encyclopaedia constituted by the *K. al-Shifāʾ* (known and annotated in Latin under the title of *Sufficientia*) as a universal work of reference for the age.

This system of education was developed not only at the instigation and under the control of royal power but also in response to a prodigious appetite for knowledge and to the enthusiasm aroused by new ideas and by the growing social prestige of masters. The attraction of the allowances paid to the students admitted to courses (*al-murattab, Bustān*, 170) and the social utility of studies, success in which brought privileges (*intifāʿ*), honours and the guarantee of public careers in the administration or even in the diplomatic service, or confidential occupations (such as that of notary)—all these factors contributed to an increase in the numbers of students (*ṭalaba*), which created problems of accommodation and catering. The hierarchical ranking of disciplines led to the consolidation of the lucrative scholarship of the time, that of law. However, grammar did not fall into disfavour, as it did in Europe, and the epistolary art (*dictamen* or *ars dictaminis*, corresponding to the art of inditing, *inshāʾ*, which is one of the *ʿulūm al-adab*) in association with the practice of rhetoric, enjoyed a revival on account of the development of commercial and diplomatic relations in the Mediterranean region, which necessitated the composition of more numerous and more complex official documents.

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law and Islam, Second Levi Della Vida Biennial Conference, Wiesbaden 1971; A.L. Tibawi, *Origin and character of al-madrasah*, in *BSOAS*, xxv (1962), 225-38. (H. BENCHENEB)

SHĀRIḤ ÜL-MENĀR-ZĀDE, Aḥmed (?-1067/?-1657), Ottoman historian.

The son of the Ottoman *ʿālim* ʿAbd ül-Ḥalīm (d. 1051/1641-2), he was born probably in Amasya and himself followed an *ʿulemā* career, rising to be a middle-ranking *müderris* in Istanbul. His father being the author of an Ottoman commentary on an Arabic work on jurisprudence, *Manār al-anwār*, the son became generally known by the *laḳab* Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde. He died in Istanbul in Shaʿbān 1067/May-June 1657 (H.J. Kissling (ed.), *ʿUšāqī-zāde's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert* (*Ẕeyl-i Šaqāʾiq*), Wiesbaden 1965, 221-2; Meḥmed Sheykhī Ef., *Weḳāʾ iʿ al-fuḍalāʾ*, ms. Süleymaniye, Beşir Ağa 479, fol. 197a; Babinger, *GOW*, 190-1; L.V. Thomas, *A study of Naima*, New York 1972, 136-8).

Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde compiled a world history from the creation to the year 1065/1655 which remained in draft form at his death (Kissling, *op. cit.*). This draft was subsequently presented to the Grand Vizier ʿAmūdja-zāde Ḥusayn [Köprülü] Pasha [*q.v.*], who commissioned Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] to write a new Ottoman history based upon it. The earliest references by Naʿīmā to Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde's original are to 1018/1609 in the reign of Aḥmed I and the latest to Meḥmed Köprülü Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1065/1655 (Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281/1864, i, 10; Thomas, *op. cit.*, 138). It is thought that for the intervening period Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde's work was incorporated almost entirely into Naʿīmā's history and that the latter's text is therefore heavily dependent upon it (*Taʾrīkh*, i, 10-11, and *passim*; Thomas, 138-9). Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde's history was never published separately; the manuscript is presumed lost.

Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde's own sources appear to have been (i) for the late 16th-early 17th centuries, a written history now thought lost but possibly closely related to the chronicle of Ḥasan Bey-zāde [*q.v.*]; (ii) the history by his contemporary Ḳara Čelebi-zāde [*q.v.*]; (iii) his own notes and information from oral informants. According to ʿUshāḳī-zāde, Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde was an avid participator in social and official gatherings and was thus well-informed; Naʿīmā regarded him as a shrewd and reliable observer of events (Kissling, *ʿUšāqî-zâde*, 221-2; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 10).

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

SHARIKA, SHIRKA (A.), nouns with a basic meaning of "partnership, association" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.) hence from the same root as the theological term *shirk* [*q.v.*] "associating other gods with God", hence polytheism, and *sharīk*, pl. *shurakāʾ* "partner associated in divinity", both frequent in the Ḳurʾān.

As a term of Islamic law, it takes different forms according to the contents and conditions. According to al-Azharī, it signifies the mixing (*khalṭ*) of two or more assets (*māl*) together with the permission of each partner that the other can trade with it. *Sharika* is principally divided into partnership by property (*milk*), and by contract (*ʿaḳd*). The former originates when two "persons" become owners of one property without a contract. This can occur by choice, when they "accept" the subject through someone's gift. Alternatively, it may be brought about without choice; this is the case in inheritance [see MĪRĀTH]. In both cases, it is not lawful for either partner to perform any act with the other partner's share without his permission.

A partnership contract is controlled by the principle of proposal and consent (*īdjāb wa-ḳabūl*). The classification of companies seems to be incompatible between the various schools of *fiḳh*, the incompatibility probably arising from the varying recognition of authentic sources, as well as from the question of what constitutes a valid partnership. The Ḥanafī school, which permits all kinds of partnerships, appears to have the most consistent and logical classification. One can observe that they divided it from a "liability" point of view into:

(1) Partnership in traffic (*sharikat ʿinān*); this is contracted when each party contributes capital. Each partner would accordingly become an agent of the other but not his bail. Equality in capital, responsibility or profit need not result.

(2) The *mufāwaḍa* [*q.v.*] or equal partnership, is contracted between two persons of equivalent property, privilege and religious persuasion.

From a "subject" point of view, partnership for the Ḥanafīs can be divided into:

(1) Partnership in crafts or trades (*sharikat ṣanāʾiʿ*). This is contracted between two craftsmen in a similar trade, such as cobblers or tailors; they agree to work together and share the profit produced. The condition that Mālik makes for *sharikat al-ṣanāʾiʿ* to be valid is that the partners should be in the same or related trades. The Ḥanbalīs permit this kind of partnership, while the Shāfiʿīs and Imāmī Shīʿīs totally reject it on the grounds that it can only take place in regard to capital and not in regard to work.

(2) Partnership of capital *sharikat amwāl*). This is contracted when two partners put their capital in one project and agree on certain conditions for administration, profit and loss.

(3) Partnership of personal credit (*sharikat wudjūh*). This is contracted when two well-known persons (*wudjahāʾ*) ask others to sell to them goods without payment on the basis of their reputation, and then sell the goods for cash. This use of personal credit is rejected by scholars, including al-Shāfiʿī and Mālik, on the basis that it involves work and money that are not actually present, and that it also involves uncertainty and risk (*gharar*) in the traded subject.

The Ḥanbalīs do not seem to identify "liability" as an element of classification when they place both *mufāwaḍa* and *ʿinān* on equal footing with other divisions based on the subject element.

The *muḍāraba* [*q.v.*], also called by the Ḥidjāzīs *ḳirāḍ* [*q.v.*], is another early Islamic form of *sharika* which has been focused upon by modern Muslim writers in Islamic banking. The main difference between the two forms lies in the instruments that each utilises. *Sharika* uses similar "assets", whereas in *muḍāraba* the owner of various "forms" of assets can be partners, in return for a share of the profits, in accordance with their agreement. The risk for the capitalist is his capital, while for the manager, it is his time and effort.

Sharika, together with profit-sharing, *muḍāraba*, are seen by scholars of Islamic banking as the main legal structures for Interest-Free Banking. The idea of IFB has gradually evolved over the last forty years into a fairly comprehensive, though controversial, model of banking. Partnership arrangements (*mushāraka*), according to John Presley, represent a total of 7%-10% of the total financing package of IFB.

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al-**SHĀRIḲA**, a shaykhdom of the Gulf, named after its capital city, since 1971 one of the seven United Arab Emirates, third in importance and wealth after Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy [*q.vv.*]. The capital is located 14 km/8 miles north of the latter city, on the western side of the Musandam Peninsula in the lower Persian Gulf. Commonly rendered in English as Sharjah, reflecting the dialectical pronunciation al-Shārdja, the town is mentioned as early as the 15th century. The 1985 census counted 268,723 inhabitants, 75% of whom lived in the capital. With a total surface of 2,590 km^2, it has the most fragmented territory of any of the seven emirates. The main body stretches inland from the capital on the coast; in addition, there is an area around Khawr Fakkān, and the immediate surroundings of the town of Kalbā—both on the Bāṭina coast along the Gulf of Oman—and three further small enclaves around the Kalbā area. The precise borders are the result of boundary-drawing exercises by British officials in the 1960s, based on surveys of local loyalties to the various rulers. The Emirate also claims the island of Abū Mūsā in the Persian Gulf—jointly administered with Persia since 1971, but forcibly occupied by the latter in 1992.

Since 1972, the Emirate has been ruled by Shaykh Sulṭān b. Muḥammad al-Ḳāsimī, who was agreed upon by the UAE's Federal Supreme Council as the successor to his brother Khālid. The latter was slain in an attempted coup by his predecessor Ṣaḳr b. Sulṭān, who had himself been deposed in 1965 under British pressure for sympathising with Egyptian and Arab nationalist influence. British control over al-Shāriḳa, which was officially ended in 1971, dated back to the 19th century, as part of Britain's determination to control the Gulf region as a whole [see baḥr fāris], in the course of which the sea power of the Ḳāsimī (pl. Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*]) ruling family of al-Shāriḳa and Ra's al-Khayma [*q.v.*] was sharply reduced by military means, and which was formalised under a number of agreements culminating in the "Exclusive Agreement" of 1892. Until the early 20th century, the Emirate officially included all the territory north of a line between al-Shāriḳa town and Kalbā, except for the coastal shaykhdoms of ʿAdjmān and Umm al-Ḳaywayn, and the north-easternmost part of the Musandam peninsula. Effective control always fluctuated along with the strength of central power and shifting alliances, however, and rule was decentralised at best. Ra's al-Khayma, after several periods of virtual independence under rival members of the family, was recognised by Britain as an independent shaykhdom in 1921. Kalbā, recognised by Britain as independent in 1936 (in connection with the establishment of an emergency airstrip) was reincorporated into al-Shāriḳa in 1952. The same year, however, al-Fudjayra was recognised as an independent shaykhdom, under the *shaykh* of the Sharḳiyyīn tribe who had always made up the majority of this area's population. Al-Shāriḳa, once pre-eminent among the Trucial States on the basis of its sea-going power and trade, lost this status to the Banī Yās [*q.v.*] of Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy, as British naval control increased the importance of the latter's land-based power. A revival came with the establishment of the main British airfield in the Gulf (on the route to India) in al-Shāriḳa in 1932. Yet the commercial growth of Dubayy, as al-Shāriḳa's creek began to silt up, had reversed the situation again by the 1950s. A major dispute with Dubayy was solved in 1985, but a number of others (e.g. with al-Fudjayra) remained outstanding in 1995.

Since independence and integration into the UAE, al-Shāriḳa has remained a sovereign emirate, although some powers (including, since 1976, defence) have been transferred to the federal level. The Amīr rules by decree, but informal consultation plays an important role. The Emirate distinguishes itself from the others by its relatively greater achievement in education (the first modern school in any of the emirates was established here in 1953, and the Amīr himself holds a doctorate from Exeter University), by a relatively outspoken press, and by the fact that alcohol was banned in 1985. Development has taken off on the basis of oil revenues, initially mainly through aid from al-Kuwayt and Abū Ẓabī, but since 1974 also from al-Shāriḳa's own small oil and gas exports. Crude oil output since 1988 has totalled some 40,000 b/d. Some light industry has developed, and agriculture and fishing retain a diminishing part of the labour force, yet their contribution to GDP has been small by comparison to hydrocarbons, construction and services. The development boom since the 1970s has also resulted in large-scale labour immigration, as in the other emirates. The foreign population exceeds the number of nationals, although its proportion is probably somewhat lower than the 80-90% which has been estimated for the UAE as a whole since the 1980s.

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SHARĪSH, the Spanish Arabic place name corresponding to the modern Jerez de la Frontera, in the north of the province of Cadiz. The original Islamic core of the town appeared on the site of the ancient Hasta Regia, 2 km/1.2 miles from modern Jerez. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, the population was apparently moved to a new site, where the town became firmly fixed. The anonymous author of the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries) merely states that Sharīsh "was built in Islamic times".

Documentary evidence shows that Sharīsh at an early date fell within the *kūra* or province of Shadūna [*q.v.*], whose chef-lieu it was, according to some Islamic historian (e.g. al-Rāzī and Ibn Ghālib), but it does not seem to have played any notable role in the period of the Umayyad caliphate, and we do not even have a list of governors. In the time of the Taifas, it came under the authority of the Banū Djizrūn, Berbers who rebelled in Kalsāna during the time of *fitna* and who also controlled Arcos and al-Djazīra, the latter probably corresponding to Cadiz, according

to M.J. Viguera. They held power from 402/1011 to 461/1069, when the ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*] of Seville attacked them, toppled them from power and absorbed their territory into his own Taifa. This situation seems to have lasted until the arrival of the Almoravids in al-Andalus. Later, Sharīsh was one of the towns which rose against this North African dynasty; it was there that Abu 'l-Ḳamar Ibn ʿAzzūn, who controlled this region as well as Ronda, proclaimed his independence. With other local rebels, he was one of the original members of the "second wave" of Taifas. Ibn ʿAzzūn remained in charge of the administration of this region until the establishment of the Almohads in al-Andalus, to whom he remained faithful. It was under these last rulers that the defences of the town were strengthened and that its walls were built, described by al-Idrīsī; they contained an area of *ca.* 50 ha and sheltered some 16,000 inhabitants.

Towards 1176, the lands of Sharīsh and Arcos were attacked by Ferdinand II, and reached by Ibn Hūd [see HŪDIDS] in the course of his expansionist plans; it was in fact at Jerez that he was defeated by the Castilians in 1230. The Islamic history of the town gradually recedes after the Castilian conquest of Seville in 1248, and it was in vassalage to Ferdinand III. After the Mudéjar revolt of 1264, the population of Jerez, Arcos, Medina Sidonia, Vejer, Sanlúcar, etc. was subdued by Alfonso X. From this time onwards, this region formed the political frontier with the Nasrid kingdom of Granada [see NAṢRIDS].

Concerning the natural resources of Sharīsh, al-Rāzī (4th/10th century) states that the region was rich in all the products of land and sea, and al-Idrīsī mentions the vines and olive and fig trees of its fertile agriculture, placing the town at two days' good journey along the road from Seville. The author of the *Dhikr* describes its pastures and vales, indicating that it was also good for stock-rearing. A famous son of the town was the famed commentator on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222 [*q.v.*]).

Finally, one should note, to avoid possible confusion, that Sharīsha appears in the Arabic sources as a place-name corresponding to Jerez de los Caballeros, in the modern Spanish province of Badajoz.

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(F. Roldán Castro)

AL-**SHARĪSHĪ**, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Ḳaysī, grammarian, philologist and littérateur of Muslim Spain (557-619/1181-1222), born at Sharīsh [*q.v.*] (modern Jerez de la Frontera) in the province of Cadiz and died in his natal town.

He functioned mainly as a teacher of Arabic language, but like many of his compatriots, went to the East, probably to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca and probably search of knowledge (*fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*). The biographies of him cite a piece of verse which he composed when resident in Egypt in which he expresses his regrets at ever having left Syria and his admiration for the land's beauty (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ii, 116, 392).

Al-Sharīshī wrote a commentary on the *Īḍāḥ* of al-Fārisī and another on the *Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī, as well as treatises on metrics, an anthology of Arabic poetry and a résumé of the *Nawādir* of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*]. But he is above all known as author of a commentary on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*], which soon became known in Spain and, from the opening of the 6th/12th century, formed part of the programme of studies for Andalusian scholars (see al-Ruʿaynī, *Barnāmadj*, Damascus 1962, 32-3, 44, 51, 60, 79). Al-Sharīshī produced three commentaries on the *Maḳāmāt*: a large one, literary; a middle-sized one, philological; and a small one, a résumé. The first was printed at Būlāḳ 1284/1867, 1300/1883, and at Cairo 1306/1889. The second exists in ms. at Leiden, no. 415. Amongst some twenty commentaries produced, al-Sharīshī's is undoubtedly the most complete and the most famous; thus the *Maḳāmāt* found their most productive commentator in Spain. In his *Sharḥ*'s preface, i, 8-9, al-Sharīshī states, in highly respectful terms, that his work is dedicated to the Almohad rulers Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Nāṣir (595-60/1198-1213) and his son and heir presumptive Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Mustanṣir (610-20/1213-23).

The biographer Ibn al-Abbār, i, 136-7 no. 281, mentions having met the author in *ca.* 616/1219 at Valencia, at the house of his master Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Ḥarīḳ, to whom al-Sharīshī then submitted his commentary on al-Ḥarīrī. Al-Ruʿaynī likewise states that he met al-Sharīshī in 615/1218, followed his courses and obtained his authorisation (*idjāza* [*q.v.*]) to transmit the whole of his works (see *Barnāmadj*, 90-1).

In his *Shadharāt*, v, 392, Ibn al-ʿImād confuses Aḥmad with Muḥammad al-Sharīshī (d. 685/12860) and erroneously attributes to this latter person a commentary on al-Ḥarīrī which is the work of the former. Al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, ii, 131-2, in fact draws attention to this confusion.

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(A. Ben Abdesselem)

SHĀRIYA, one of the renowned female singers at the ʿAbbāsid court, was born *ca.* 200/815 in Baṣra as a *muwallada* of an Arab father and a non-Arab mother. She died after 256/870, probably in Sāmarrā.

While still a young girl, she was acquired by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], who refined her musical education and made her a competent transmitter of his own compositions. After the death of her master in 224/839, she first served al-Muʿtaṣim, and she reached the zenith of her career under the caliph and musician al-Wāthiḳ. Under al-Mutawakkil, an open competition broke out between Shāriya as a representative of the "romantic" school of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, and the famous ʿArīb, who stood for the "classical" style of Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] and his school. Their violent rivalry split the public of Sāmarrā into two camps. Shāriya was still active under al-Muʿtazz, who wrote her biography and assembled her song texts in a book entitled *Akhbār Shāriya*. It was handed down by Ḳurayṣ al-Mughannī (d. 324/936) to Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, who used it in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-kabīr*. Al-Muʿtamid was the last caliph to admire her talents, including her skill at cooking. In her songs she showed a predilec-

tion for the "light" (*khafīf*) form of the metre called *ramal* [*q.v.*].

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(E. NEUBAUER)

SHARḲ AL-ANDALUS, an expression which denotes, in the mediaeval Arabic texts and also in contemporary historical usage, the eastern region, adjacent to the Mediterranean, of Muslim Spain. In both cases, the term has a geographical and not an administrative application, and it is difficult to demonstrate *a priori* which regions of the peninsula are being referred to.

The centre of the Sharḳ al-Andalus is the region of Valencia (Balansiya [*q.v.*]), but the expression probably has a wider sense than the modern one of *Levante*. The unfavourable attitude of the Valencians to this last term, which they consider "Castilocentric" and pejorative, seems to have favoured, in contemporary historiography, the use of Sharḳ al-Andalus, which spills over into, in ancient times as now, in a somewhat vague fashion, the surrounding regions.

These last are as follows. To the west, the mountain zones stretching between the region of Valencia and Toledo. They correspond, in their western part (modern province of Cuenca) to the *kūra* or region called that of Shantabariyya [*q.v.*] (Santaver), but the neighbouring regions of Balansiya (Teruel, Albarracin, called Shantamariyat al-Sharḳ [*q.v.*]), and above all Alpuente (al-Būnt) are incontestably part of the Sharḳ. In the north, the zone ventred on the Ebro valley is generally called *al-Thaghr al-aʿlā* "Upper march", but the eastern part (the region of Tortosa) is also called *al-Thaghr al-sharḳī*, and is easily included in the Sharḳ al-Andalus. In the south, the modern region of Murcia traditionally has the name of Tudmīr. This last includes a good part of the province of Alicante, with the town of the same name, Elche and Orihuela, as far as the mountains of the Alcoy massif which separate the *kūras* of Tudmīr and Balansiya. The journal of the Arabists of Alicante, devoted in the first place to the history of eastern al-Andalus, has however been given the name *Sharq al-Andalus*. Finally, the Balearics (al-Djazāʾir al-Sharḳiyya) are more or less part of the Sharḳ, considered in a large sense.

It is, rather, recent historiographical considerations—polemics concerning the history of this region—than historical consistency over a geographical-historical entity, which can justify an article *Sharḳ al-Andalus* in this Encyclopaedia. For, from a historical perspective, it is not very easy to establish the specific nature of the Sharḳ. In the age of the Umayyads of Cordova, the eastern part of al-Andalus, urbanised to only a small degree, is little mentioned in the sources, and it would seem to be, rather, this negative and "backwards" character which ought to be brought out. The break with Antiquity in regard to urban life is very striking. The town of Valencia had very little importance between the 6th and 10th centuries. It was, from a regional point of view, on a level with Játiva (Shāṭiba [*q.v.*]), which is no longer today a considerable centre. The Balearics were only attached politically to Cordova in the first half of the 10th century, and *Madīnat Mayūrḳa* only assumed a certain importance at the end of this period. Tortosa was a frontier town which only slowly came to life. Murcia, founded for military and administrative reasons in 216/831, only became an important centre in the 11th-13th centuries.

This impression of torpor only changes perceptibly with the crisis of the Umayyad caliphate (399-422/1009-31), and very likely marks an evolution already in train: the progressive commercial reawakening of the western Mediterranean in the course of the 10th century probably favoured the development of urban centres along the coasts. Taifas of Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*], sc. military and administrative elements of servile origin, grew up at Tortosa, Valencia and Denia (as also further south at Almeria, which had enjoyed a considerable development in the 4th/10th century) between 400-3/1010-12. It is likely that these elements in the region were reinforced after the beginning of the crisis of the caliphate by the expulsion from Cordova of further Ṣaḳāliba of high rank by the caliph Muḥammad II al-Mahdī, who had been embroiled with them. The most active and long-lasting of these Taifas was that of Mudjāhid [*q.v.*] of Denia [see DĀNIYA], who reigned there from 403/1012-13 till his death in 436/1044-5. He seized control of the Balearics, and tried—without success—to conquer Sardinia. His son ʿAlī reigned for a further thirty years after him. The other Ṣaḳlabī Taifas were less durable, except for the one which took shape in the Balearics after the end of the independent power of Denia, absorbed by the more powerful Taifa kingdom of Saragossa in 468/1075-6. Two successive Ṣaḳlabī *amīrs* retained power in the "eastern islands" until the devastating attack on the islands by a naval expedition of Pisans and Catalans in 507/1114.

At the end of the 11th century, the greater part of the Sharḳ fell under the control of the Cid [see AL-SĪD], who seized power at Valencia in 1087. The Almoravid conquest of the region was put back by a decade or so compared with the rest of al-Andalus, and only took place after the death (in 1099) of the Castilian chief, sc. in 495/1102. During the crisis of the years 540-2/1145-7, which ended Almoravid power in al-Andalus, the eastern region had, like the rest of the country, a disturbed history, with the formation of local, autonomous powers at Valencia and Murcia, both by now amongst the most important economic, political and intellectual centres of Muslim Spain. Whilst Almohad authority was being progressively extended over the rest of al-Andalus, this region became organised into an independent amirate under a military chief formerly of the Almoravid forces, but originally from the north of the region of Valencia, Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Mardanīsh [see IBN MARDANĪSH]. From his capital of Murcia he exercised power over all the Mediterranean side of al-Andalus (apart from Tortosa, conquered by the Christians in 1148). Despite Almohad military pressure, this independent principality, the only Muslim power to have controlled the whole of the Sharḳ (except for the islands), maintained itself all through Ibn Mardanīsh's reign (542-67/1147-72). Strongly anti-Almohad, he recognised in principle the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdād, and welcomed the *fuḳahāʾ* who had fled from the Almohads,

in part probably for ideological reasons. But immediately after his death, his sons submitted to the Almohads. During the same period, and until 1102, the Balearics, ruled by a power carrying on the Almoravid tradition, that of the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*], also escaped Almohad domination.

After the fall of Almohad power in the peninsula in 625/1228, distinct powers arose in Murcia and Valencia, whilst an Almohad governor remained in Majorca. Certain texts, mainly a collection of politico-literary letters called the *K. Zawāhir al-fikar*, studied by E. Molina López (*Murcia y el Levante español en el siglo XIII (1224-1266) a través de la correspondencia oficial, personal y diplomática*, résumé of his Univ. of Granada doctoral thesis, Granada 1978), nevertheless testify to a movement of élites and ideas in the eastern region as a whole during this troubled period which preceded the occupation of the capital cities of the Sharḳ by the Aragonese (Majorca in 1229, Valencia in 1238) and by the Castilians (Murcia in 1243). From the standpoint of intellectual and religious life, there seems to have been a fairly different atmosphere at Valencia, more traditional and marked by the dominance of the study of *ḥadīth*, whereas at Murcia mystical currents were very strong (Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn Sabʿīn were natives of the city).

The historiography of the Sharḳ has been favoured, in relation to other regions of al-Andalus, by certain factors. One should probably note here the relative abundance of Arabic sources and contemporary documents on the Reconquest on the one hand, and on the other, some peculiarities in the history of eastern Muslim Spain (it was the Cid's main theatre of action; it seems especially marked by certain traditions going back to the Islamic period, such as in irrigation; and it continued to have an important Mudéjar community after the Reconquest). The main outlines of regional history began to be traced quite early. For the Balearics, by Alvaro Campaner y Fuertes (*Bosquejo histórico de la dominación islamita en las Islas Baleares*, Palma 1888), and for Murcia by Mariano Gaspar Remiro (*Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905). In the first quarter of the 20th century, Valencia was the subject of several works by the Arabist Julian Ribera y Tarragó (collected together in his *Disertaciones y opúsculos*, Madrid 1928, but it was quite a long time later that another Valencian Arabist, Ambrosio Huici Miranda, wrote a satisfactory general history of the region (*Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región*, Valencia 1970). This latter work is in part a "rounded" rejoinder to the "Castilocentric" nature of the great work by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (*La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929) and its exaltation of the personage of the Cid.

The somewhat polemical character which this historiography of the Sharḳ al-Andalus assumed in regard to Valencia was accentuated in the 1980s. The idea put forward by Pierre Guichard of an early "Berberisation" of the eastern region (*Le peuplement de la région de Valence aux deux premiers siècles de la domination musulmane*, in *Mélanges de la Casa de Valâzquez*, v [1969]), aroused increasingly clear opposition from several Arabists, principally Mikel de Epalza (*Los beréberes y la arabización del País Valenciano*, in *Miscellanea Sanchis Guarner*, Valencia 1984), María Jesús Rubiera (*Toponimia arabigo-valentna: falsos atroprónimos beréberes*, in *ibid.*), Carmen Barceló (*Galgos o podencos? Sobre la supuesta berberización del país valenciano en los siglos VIII y IX*, in *Al-Qantara*, xi [1990]).

The works of Miquel Barceló and his disciples at the Autonomous University of Barcelona—which have tried to emphasise, above all from the abundant place-name evidence with its clan and tribal aspects (see also Guichard, in his *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropóligica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente*, Barcelona 1976), the segmentary aspect of Muslim society in the eastern regions of the peninsula on the eve of the Reconquest—have given rise of refutations of the same kind (Epalza, *Precisiones sobre instituciones musulmans de las Baleares*, in *Les illes orientals d'al-Andalus, V Jornades d'estudis historics locals*, Palma, Majorca 1987). From the archaeological point of view, the "non-feudal" characteristics of Muslim rural fortifications in eastern Spain adduced as evidence by A. Bazzana, P. Cressier and Guichard (*Châteaux ruraux d'al-Andalus. Histoire et archéologie des ḥuṣūn du Sud-est de l'Espagne*, Madrid 1988) have also stimulated polemics. Up to a certain point, these debates, which touch on the nature of society in Muslim Spain, may be considered as marking fresh stages and a prolongation of (whilst fairly well removing them from the centre stage) the controversies between Américo Castro and C. Sánchez Albornoz on the impact of the Arab conquest and the "orientalisation" of the peninsula in mediaeval times.

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SHARḲĀWA or SHERḲĀWA, the common ethnic designation of a Marabout group in central Morocco, belonging to the Shādhilī-Djazūlī brotherhood through the intermediary of the mystic Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tabbāʿ [*q.v.*]. The singular is *Sharḳāwī*, synonym of *sharḳī* (*shargī*, pl. *shrāga*), a geographical ethnic name (cf. on the other hand *Tādilī*, ethnic from Tādlā confined to the *shurafāʾ* of this name, while the geographical ethnic is *Tādlāwī*). The principal *zāwiya* of the Sharḳāwa is in the town

of Abu 'l-Dja'd (modern form, Boujad), in the Tādlā, between the Middle Atlas and the Atlantic coast. It attained importance at the end of the 11th/17th century and henceforth became one of the most frequented sanctuaries in Morocco.

Among the more notable of this Marabout family may be mentioned: 1. the founder of the *zāwiya* of Abu 'l-Dja'd, MAḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-SHARḲĪ AL-SUMAYRĪ AL-ZA'RĪ AL-DJABĪRĪ, d. 1. Muḥarram 1010/2 July 1601; a monograph was devoted to him by one of his descendants, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Khālik b. Muḥammad al-'Arūsī al-Tādilī al-Sharḳāwī, entitled *al-Muraḳḳī fī dhikr ba'd manāḳib al-ḳuṭb sayyidī M. al-Sharḳī*; 2. the latter's son, MUḤAMMAD AL-MU'ṬĀ, d. Rabī' II 1092/April-May 1681; 3. his son MUḤAMMAD AL-ṢĀLIḤ, who was the patron of the historian al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] (or al-Wafrānī): a monograph entitled *al-Rawḍ al-yāni' al-fā'iḥ fī manāḳib al-shaykh Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ*, was devoted to him by a scholar of Fās who was *ḳāḍī* of Meknes (Miknāsat al-Zaytūn) in the reign of the 'Alawid sultan Mawlāy Ismā'īl, sc. by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Raḥḥāl al-Ma'dānī al-Tādilī, d. 1140/1728; 4. the son of the preceding, MUḤAMMAD AL-MU'ṬĀ, who restored the *zāwiya* and wrote a collection of prayers in no fewer than 40 volumes entitled *Dhakhīrat al-ghānī wa 'l-muḥtādj fī ṣāḥib al-liwā wa 'l-tādj* (there is one volume in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, no. 100, cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, i, 36); he died in Muḥarram 1180/June 1766. A monograph was devoted to him by his secretary Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Abdūnī, d. 1189/1775-6, entitled *Yatīmat al-'uḳūd al-wusṭā fī manāḳib al-shaykh al-Mu'ṭā*.

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AL-**SHARḲĀWĪ**, 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN, modern Egyptian poet, story-teller and dramatist, was born in Shibīn al-Kūm, Lower Egypt, on 10 November 1920. He practised law from 1943 to 1945, and was subsequently employed in the Ministry of Education until 1956, but was also active in journalism from 1945, rising to the directorship of the Rūz al-Yūsuf Foundation 1971-7. He was Secretary-General of the Supreme Council for Arts, Literature and Social Sciences 1977-9. He died on 10 November 1987.

Two slim volumes record his extant poetry, which is mostly from the 1940s. It is decidedly romantic on personal themes, ironic and vehement on political ones. His anti-establishment stance in this and in early short stories and sketches brought him into conflict with the censors, and he had a taste of imprisonment in 1946 and 1947. His *al-Arḍ* "The Earth" first published in 1954, portraying villagers rising in revolt against grasping landowners and corrupt authorities, was the first of four novels of the same temper, the social realism aimed at being reduced to a conflict between virtue and villainy. Between 1962 and 1981, he wrote nine plays in verse on resistance to foreign oppressors in modern Algeria and Palestine, and on heroes of the past from al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī to 'Urābī, all represented as champions of social justice. After a book on the Prophet revealingly entitled *Muḥammad Rasūl al-Ḥurriyya* "Muḥammad the Apostle of Freedom" (1962) and another on aspects of Islamic thought (1972), he produced between 1980 and 1987 five books retelling in prose the stories of early Muslim leaders, stressing their humanism and their resistance to social and political pressures that might have compromised their probity.

Bibliography: *Mu'allafāt* (Collected works), Cairo 1978-; *al-Arḍ*, tr. D. Stewart as *Egyptian earth*, London 1954, 1990. (P. CACHIA)

SHARḲĪ (*sharḳī*), (A., T.) literally "oriental, eastern", with the non-technical meanings in Turkish of (a) song; (b) almost any type of song belonging to Turkish art music, especially as opposed to the folk-song, designates as a technical term: (1) in music a certain form of classical Turkish song; (2) in literature a genre of Turkish strophic poem composed on literary lines with the aim or ultimate result of being set to music.

The genre of lyric called *sharḳī* is composed in accordance with the rules of the Arabo-Persian metrical system (*'arūḍ* [*q.v.*]), in contradistinction to the popular lyric as represented by the folk-song, which is composed according to the original Turkic method of versification (*parmaḳ ḥisābi*, wherein the verses are based not on quantity as in *'arūḍ* but on the number and stress of the syllables). Common to both types of lyric is the strophic composition.

These formal characteristics place the *sharḳī* in the group of *musammaṭ* [*q.v.*], the strophic forms of *dīwān* poetry. The majority of the *sharḳī*s have stanzas of four lines. When the *sharḳī* made its appearance in the 17th century, the *murabba'*, a *musammaṭ* with four-line stanzas, had already been in existence for centuries and it was the *murabba'* that was often set to music prior to the emergence of the *sharḳī*. The rhyme schemes of the *sharḳī* and the *murabba'* are not only almost identical but the rhyme schemes considered to be typical for the *sharḳī* were used in the *murabba'* not only after the *sharḳī* acquired a place in literature, but also, albeit very rarely, before. As to the *sharḳī*, it always made use of the typical *murabba'* rhyme schemes, too.

The sole difference between the typical *murabba'* and the typical *sharḳī* rhyme schemes lies in the first stanza; in the *murabba'* it is *aaaa* (followed by *bbba, ccca*, etc.) or *aaaA* (followed by *bbbA, cccA*, etc.; the capital letter stands for a refrain), in the *sharḳī* it is *abab* (followed by *cccb, dddb*, etc.) or *aAaA* (followed by *bbbA, cccA*, etc.) or *aBaB* (followed by *cccB, dddB*, etc.). Other variations in rhyme schemes are negligible in number.

Yet the *sharḳī* is not formally restricted to the fourline stanza, as there are—although much fewer in number and of later provenance—*sharḳī*s with stanzas of five or six lines. These generally have the rhyme schemes of the *mukhammes-i mütekerrir* and the *müseddes-i mütekerrir* (*aaaaA, bbbbA, ccccA* etc.; *aaaAA, bbbAA, cccAA*, etc.; *aaaaaA, bbbbbA, cccccA*, etc.; *aaaaAA, bbbbAA, ccccAA*, etc.; respectively). As in all *dīwān* poetry, the rules of rhyming are strictly observed in the *sharḳī*, in contradistinction to the folk-song where they are not observed as strictly.

The third line of each stanza of the *sharḳî* is called *miyān* or *miyān-khāne* ("the middle" and "mid-house" respectively) and is generally the most effective line of the stanza. If repeated as a refrain, the ultimate line or the ultimate and penultimate lines of each stanza are called *naḳarāt* "refrain", literally "peckings". (Both of these terms are also used for the description of *sharḳî*s set to music.)

The *sharḳî*s are generally rather short, comprising 3-5 stanzas (whereas the other types of *musammaṭ* are often longer). The poet states his *makhlaṣ* (pen-name) in the last stanza (as is the case with the other types of *musammaṭ*), though there are exceptions to this rule.

No restrictions with regard to the metres of *ʿarūḍ* used in composing *sharḳî*s are known; the preferred metres are *remel* and *hezedj*.

The *sharḳî* is generally about the various aspects of love (and to a lesser degree, about the pleasures of life); the tone is light. The *murabbaʿ* shows much more variety with respect to subject matter The language of the *sharḳî* is not too intricate, which makes it convenient to be sung. It is simpler than that of the *ghazel*, and generally, but not always, even simpler than that of the *murabbaʿ*, yet still elevated and free trom dialectal forms. Here, too, it differs from the folk-song, which is quite free from restrictions as regards subject matter, imagery, and phraseology.

These characteristics oblige us to consider the *sharḳî* not as a truly independent structure of versification but as a genre of lyric that is undeniably closely related to the *murabbaʿ*. The emergence of the *sharḳî* can be dated—based on the appearance of examples both bearing the title *sharḳî* and having the rhyme schemes in the first stanza that are considered typical of the *sharḳî*—towards the end of the 11th/17th century. The first known examples are 11 *sharḳî*s by Nāʾilī-yi Ḳadīm (d. 1077/1666-7), followed by 9 *sharḳî*s by Yaḥyā Naẓīm (d. 1139/1727), who himself set his *sharḳî*s to music. It is Nedīm (d. 1143/1730 [*q.v.*]) who is regarded as the greatest master of the *sharḳî* and who had a lasting influence. The 27 *sharḳî*s in his *dīwān* have all been set to music and are considered to be among the outstanding examples of Turkish classical music. After Nedīm, the popularity of the *sharḳî* increased, even the Mewlewī *sheykh* and master of allegorical poetry Sheykh Ghālib (d. 1213/1799) wrote 11 *sharḳî*s, and we find a considerable number of *sharḳî*s by various poets in the 19th century. One of these, Sheref Khanîm (d. 1861), wrote as many as 41. However, the greatest number of *sharḳî*s was composed by Enderūnlu Wāṣif (d. 1240/1824-5); 211 poems are to be found in the *sharḳiyyāt* section of his *dīwān* entitled *Gülshen-i efkār*.

Yaḥyā Kemāl (d. 1958) was the last great master of this type of lyric, though *sharḳî* recitals continue to enjoy considerable popularity in our time.

Bibliography: Gibb, *HOP*, i, 96-7, iii, 319-23, iv, 8-10, 44-7, 280-3, 285-9; Th. Menzel, *EI*[1], s.v.; Y. Öztuna, *Türk musikisi ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1970 ii, s.v. *Şarkı*; H. İpekten, *Eski Türk edebiyatı*, 1. *Nazım şekilleri*, Ankara 1985, 115-26; H.E. Cengiz, *Divan şiirinde musammatlar*, in *Türk Dili*, lii (1986), 313-35; İ. Pala, *Ansiklopedik dîvân şiiri sözlüğü*, Ankara 1989, s.v. *Şarkı* (*şarkî*).

(E.G. AMBROS)

AL-**SHARḲĪ** B. AL-**ḲUṬĀMĪ** (d. *ca.* 150/767, according to Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 115; *ca.* 155/772, according to al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*[3], ix, 139), transmitter of ancient Arabic poetry and *akhbār*, quoted also for lexicographical, genealogical, geographical, and historical data. There is some fluctuation in the sources between al-Sharḳī and Sharḳī as well as between al-Ḳuṭāmī and Ḳuṭāmī; in addition, there is some discussion whether Ḳaṭāmī is the correct reading. The form given here has the best authority. Both names are *laḳab*s, his real name being al-Walīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn, with the *kunya* Abu 'l-Muthannā. In his tribal affiliation he was a Kalbī, and he hailed from Kūfa (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 278).

Like his student Ibn al-Kalbī [*q.v.*], he is best characterised as an antiquarian of the Arab past. Due to his wide knowledge in the Arab "humanities", he was called to Baghdād by al-Manṣūr and entrusted with the instruction of the future caliph al-Mahdī [*q.vv.*] (*ibid.* and Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 22, cf. also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 251-6 = §§ 2458-63).

Being an *akhbārī*, he is frowned upon by the strict traditionists (e.g. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, iii, 142-3); but this is due to the fact that, with early scholars, the two branches of knowledge have not yet been rigorously separated; in other words, he should not have been regarded as a *muḥaddith*, at all (see the pertinent remarks on al-Sharḳī and similar figures in S. Leder, *Korpus*, 309-10). He is credited by Ibn Ḥadjar with only ten *ḥadīth*s anyway, most of them *manākīr*.

No titles of books by al-Sharḳī are given in the sources. Ibn al-Nadīm credits him with a *ḳaṣīda* on *gharīb* "rare words" (*Fihrist*, 90 and 170 [the latter a list of such *ḳaṣāʾid*]). Most of the extant *akhbār* and other text units are found in al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn* and *al-Ḥayawān*, al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, see the respective indices. A field in which his authority is often invoked is the aetiologies of proverbs (Sellheim, *Sprichwörter*, 30-1, 99, 117, 136, 140, 149). In a number of cases his stories, always well told, deviate from other explanations of the same proverb.

This leads us to another aspect of his personality: he is also characterised as a story-teller (*ṣāḥib samar*, in *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 279, and cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, v, 302-3, where one of al-Sharḳī's stories is characterised as "women's talk" [*min aḥādīth al-nisāʾ*]). Fittingly, Ibn al-Nadīm lists him among the compilers of love-stories (*Fihrist*, 306). Some of his transmissions are, therefore, likely to be creative "transmissions". This phenomenon, typical of early *akhbārī*s, has been analysed and evaluated by Leder (*Korpus*, 308-14) with regard to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (d. 207/822 [*q.v.*], one of the scholars who transmitted from al-Sharḳī). It is not meaningful to call al-Sharḳī an impostor (Blachère, *HLA*, i, 126).

Although he is said to have been a transmitter of poetry, he is not mentioned in connection with any specific *dīwān*s, as his absence from the relevant discussions in Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, Blachère, *HLA*, and Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-shiʿr al-djāhilī*[2], Cairo 1962, shows. This might mean that his poetry transmission occurred only within the framework of his *akhbār*.

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2. Studies. S. Leder, *Das Korpus al-Hayṯam b. ʿAdī*, Frankfurt a.M. 1991, index; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague

1954; R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, Paris 1952; Ursula Sezgin, *Abū-Mikhnaf*, Leiden 1971, 221; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 115, cf. also ii, 26. (W.P. Heinrichs)

SHARKĪS, an Indian dynasty established in the closing years of the 8th/14th century with Djawnpur, [*q.v.*] as its capital. It had a life span of about one hundred years (796-901/1394-1495) during which six rulers—Malik Sarwar Khʷādja Djahān (796-802/1394-99), Malik Mubārak Shāh Karanfal (802-4/1399-1401), Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh (804-44/1401-40), Maḥmūd Shāh (844-62/1440-67), Muḥammad Shāh (862-3/1457-8) and Ḥusayn Shāh (863-901/1458-95)—exercised authority.

The founder of the Sharkī kingdom, Malik Sarwar [*q.v.*], was a eunuch in the service of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk [*q.v.*]. He was custodian of the royal jewellery and *shaḥna-yi shahr* (City Superintendent). Sultan Muḥammad Shāh entrusted the eastern districts to him and conferred the title of *Malik al-Shark* (Lord of the East) on him. Disturbed conditions helped him in extending his territory. He brought all the rich districts of Uttar Pradesh under his control, and his authority stretched to Tirhut in north Bihār and touched the boundary of Nepal. In the west, Kannawdj, Bhodjpur and Udjdjayn were under him. Rulers of Djadjnagar and Bengal were his feudatories. Malik Sarwar died suddenly in Rabīʿ I 801/November 1399 after a brief reign of five years and six months, but he had firmly planted his dynasty. His administrative talent and political realism were extraordinary. His patronage of scholars made Djawnpur a veritable centre of culture and learning.

Malik Mubārak Shāh Karanfal, who succeeded Malik Sarwar, was his adopted son. According to Yaḥyā Sirhindī, he was a nephew of Khiḍr Khān, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty [*q.v.*], but some scholars have attributed negroid origin to him. Soon after his accession, he had to face an invasion of Mallū Ikbāl [*q.v.*], but he successfully pushed him back. Sometime later both Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluk and Mallū Ikbāl marched against Djawnpur. Mubārak set out to face the invaders but died suddenly on the way.

Mubārak's younger brother, Ibrāhīm, who succeeded him, had also to face a joint attack of Mallū Ikbāl and Sultan Maḥmūd Shāh. Maḥmūd occupied the city of Kannawdj [*q.v.*]. Ibrāhīm's efforts to retrieve the fort having failed, he made peace with Maḥmūd. The Hindu ruler of Tirhut was a tributary of the Sharkīs. In 1402 Malik Arslan attacked and killed its Rādjā, Ganeśvara. Ibrāhīm installed his son Kirti Singh on the throne. Later, when Kirti's son Shiv Singh turned hostile, Ibrāhīm annexed Tirhut. In Djumādā I 809/October 1406, Ibrāhīm marched against Kannawdj and conquered it, which immensely enhanced his prestige. Next year, in Djumādā I 810/October 1407, Ibrāhīm marched against Dihlī, but when he reached the banks of the Djumnā he heard that Sultan Muẓaffar of Gudjarāt was moving towards Djawnpur. He hastily turned back. In Muḥarram 817/April 1414, he attacked Kalpī [*q.v.*]. After a feigned retreat he reappeared and captured Mahoba and Ruth. Iradj was then conquered. Ibrāhīm next attacked the fort of Shaykhpur with naptha-hurling engines and catapults. The garrison became nervous and appealed for mercy. Kādir Khān was allowed to rule over Kalpī on accepting the suzerainty of Djawnpur, but he later gave up this allegiance and conquered Iradj.

In 817/1414 Ibrāhīm was invited by Shaykh Nūr Kuṭb-i ʿĀlam, a distinguished Čishtī saint of Bengal [see čishtiyya] to march against Rādja Ganesh [*q.v.*] of Dinādjpur, who had established himself in Bengal and was oppressing the Muslims (*Maktūbāt-i Nūr Kuṭb-i ʿĀlam*, ms. author's personal collection). Ibrāhīm set out with a strong army. Ganesh approached Shaykh Nūr Kuṭb-i ʿĀlam with the request to intercede. The saint agreed to his request, provided that his younger son accepted Islam and that Ganesh promised not to harass the Muslims. Ganesh's son Djuda later ascended the throne as Djalāl al-Dīn.

In 840/1437 Ibrāhīm marched against the Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh of Dihlī. The latter sued for peace and arranged a matrimonial alliance, giving his daughter, Bībī Rādjī, in marriage to Ibrāhīm's son Maḥmūd. Ibrāhīm Sharkī ruled for forty years until his son ascended the throne in 844/1440, with the title of Maḥmūd Shāh. He organised an attack on Bengal (ʿAbd al-Razzāk, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ii, 782-3), but when the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] of Harāt sent a message urging him to refrain from this attack, he gave up the idea.

In 847/1443 Maḥmūd Sharkī marched against Naṣīr Khān of Kalpī. The latter abandoned Maḥmūdābād and fled to Čandērī and sought the help of the Khaldjī ruler of Mālwa, who marched (3 Shaʿbān 848/8 January 1444) towards Maḥmūdābād at the head of a huge army. Several indecisive encounters took place between the two armies, but eventually peace was concluded and the Khadjī ruler returned to Mālwa.

Maḥmūd Shāh was deeply interested in the political affairs of Dihlī, as the Sayyid sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh of Dihlī was his wife's brother. Harassed by his nobles, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn invited Bahlūl Lōdī [see lōdīs] from Sirhind. But when Bahlūl himself assumed royal authority, Maḥmūd Sharkī's wife prevailed upon her husband to attack Dihlī and dislodge Bahlūl. In 856/1452 he accordingly marched against Dihlī. But after a fierce battle at Narela, some 17 miles from Dihlī, Maḥmūd had to retreat. In 858/1454, however, he did capture Dawa, the capital of Udjdjayn.

In 859/1455 a non-intervention treaty was reached between the Lōdī and the Sharkī sultans, but hardly a year had passed before hostilities started again. Maḥmūd's sudden death in 862/1458 was a serious setback to Sharkī power. Bībī Rādjī raised his eldest son to the throne under the title of Sultan Muḥammad. Muḥammad endeavoured to patch up differences with Dihlī, but without any lasting effect, and he fell fighting at Dalmaw. His successor Sultan Ḥusayn entered into a four-year truce with Bahlūl. He strengthened his hold over Tirhut, Orissa and Gwāliyār, and in 872/1468 planned an attack on Dihlī. The battle fought at Čandwar being indecisive, Ḥusayn Shāh sought the support of Bayna and Mewāt. In 873/1469 he again marched against Dihlī, but was forced to take to flight, leaving behind even his *ḥarem*. In 875/1471 for the third time he led an army against Dihlī consisting of one lakh of horsemen and a thousand elephants. Through the mediation of Khān-i Djahān Lōdī [*q.v.*], peace was arranged and Ḥusayn returned to Ētāwa. Ignoring his pledged word, he led his armies against Dihlī several more times. In the fifth campaign he was initially successful, but Bahlūl's army made a surprise attack which turned his victory into complete rout. Driven to extremes, Ḥusayn turned round and gave battle to Bahlūl at Rādjhohar, sixteen miles from Farrukhābād. Ultimately, peace was concluded and both sides agreed to keep to their old boundaries. But in 885/1480 he marched against Dihlī

a sixth time. In 888/1483-84 Bahlūl captured Djawnpur, but out of generosity to a fallen enemy, allowed Ḥusayn to retain a small tract in Čunar which had once constituted his family *djāgīr* [*q.v.*]. In 897/1492. Ḥusayn fought against Sikandar Lōdī, at Kathgarh, but was defeated and had to flee to Bihār. In 1494 the forces of Sikandar and Ḥusayn fought a fierce battle at Benares, in which Ḥusayn was completely defeated. He fled to Colgong, a dependency of Lakhnawtī [*q.v.*] in Bengal. The ruler of Lakhnawtī received him cordially and assigned the *pargana* of Colgong to him and permitted him to issue his own currency. Sikandar Lōdī stayed in Djawnpur for six months and destroyed all the Sharkī buildings. Sultan Ḥusayn died in 911/1505, and with him the last vestiges of the Sharkī dynasty disappeared. Though he did not succeed in achieving his objectives, his tenacity of purpose and mobilisation of resources were remarkable. He never took any defeat as final but carried on his struggle against the Lōdīs till the last moment. Popular support and regional loyalties helped him in his prolonged struggle. He was also a cultured prince, interested in the fine arts, poetry and music.

Under the Sharkīs, Djawnpur became a renowned centre of culture and a rendezvous of scholars. Tīmūr's invasion drove many *ʿulamāʾ* and divines to seek shelter in Djawnpur, which came to be looked upon as a *dār al-amān* (Abode of Security). Among the distinguished scholars of Djawnpur were included Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī [*q.v.*], Mawlāna Ilāh Dād, Khʷādja Abu 'l-Fatḥ and others. The Čishti saints of Djawnpur, Mānikpur, Kičawča, Kalpī, Kintur and Iradj played an important role in the cultural life of the region. The Ḳalandariyya, the Madāriyya and the Shaṭṭāriyya *silsilas* also flourished there, and Mahdawī *dāʾiras* [see MAHDAWĪS] came to be established there.

The architectural achievements of the Sharkīs were characterised by a synthesis of Muslim, Djayn and Hindu traditions. Malik Sarwar repaired and redesigned the old palace of Vidjaya Čandra and named it *Badīʿ Manzil* (the Wonderful House). He enlarged the city of Djawnpur and named it *Dār al-Surūr* (the Abode of Bliss). New bazaars were added, old forts were repaired, and bridges, gardens, wells and tanks were laid out by the Sharkī rulers. Bībī Rādjī also took a keen interest in building activity.

Construction of mosques on a large scale as a symbol of Sharkī hegemony and political prestige, was a distinct feature of Sharkī policy. When Sikandar Lōdī thought of destroying these mosques, his real intention must have been to destroy all signs of Sharkī prestige. The *ʿulamāʾ* prevented him from going that far. Percy Brown has rightly observed, "Had not ... Sikandar Lodi shown his implacable enmity towards the last of the Sharqi kings ... by ruthlessly destroying or mutilating the monuments of that dynasty, its buildings would have provided a provincial manifestation of Indo-Islamic architecture ..." (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 42). The most outstanding mosque was the Afala mosque which was built on the site of the temple of Afala Devi, and concerning it Brown remarks, "in the design of its façade the Jaunpur architects have combined artistic skill with remarkable originality" (*ibid.*, 43).

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(K.A. NIZAMI)

AL-SHARKIYYA, a traditional name for the eastern area of the Sultanate of Oman [see ʿUMĀN], now the official Eastern Region of the Sultanate, which lies in the inland region of Eastern Hadjar, north-west of Djaʿlān and north of the Wahība Sands (see Wilkinson, *Water*, 14, Fig. 5). The main towns of the region are Ibrā, the largest, and Samad, al-Muḍaybī, Sināw and al-Ḳābil. The whole area is a sandy plain interspersed with wadis.

Today, the official, extended region of al-Sharkiyya is made up of thirteen provinces (*wilāyāt*), including Ibrā, Bid(d)iyya, al-Ḳābil and al-Muḍaybī and also Djaʿlān Banī Bū Ḥasan, Djaʿlān Banī Bū ʿAlī and the port and centre of ship-building, Ṣūr, plus even the island of al-Maṣīra [*q.v.*].

Ibrā is reckoned to have 23 villages and a population of 30,000. It contains the regional government offices and has a thriving commercial life. Al-Ḳābil has 16 villages and a total population of about 30,000. It is famed for its religious learning and horsemanship. Apart from its ship-building, Ṣūr, with its approximately 70,000 inhabitants, is famed for its woodcarving and the manufacture of doors, as well as daggers, jewellery and woven fabrics. The whole region, as in all regions of northern ʿUmān, is scattered with large and impressive strongholds and fortresses.

Bibliography: For the traditional area of al-Sharkiyya, see J.C. Wilkinson, *Water and tribal settlement in south-east Arabia*, Oxford 1977, 14, Fig. 5. The map also shows the extended region with the additional areas mentioned above. See also idem, *The Imamate tradition of Oman*, Cambridge etc. 1987, especially 262 ff. Useful, too, are Ministry of Information, *Sultanate of Oman throughout 20 years—the promise and the fulfilment*, Oman 1989, and Ministry of Information, *Oman—the modern state*, Oman n.d.

(G.R. SMITH)

AL-SHARKIYYA, the name of a *kūra* and of a province (formerly, *ʿamal*, now *mudīriyya*) in Egypt.

1. The *kūra* of al-Sharkiyya which replaced the Byzantine pagarchy of Aphroditopolis, was one of the few districts which received an Arabic name; the latter is explained by its situation on the eastern bank of the Nile.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of its territory, which lay immediately south of the capital of the country, al-Fusṭāṭ. The first capital of the *kūra*, situated on the right bank of the river, was Anṣinā (Antinöe), but the small number (17) of villages in the *kūra* of al-Sharkiyya allows us to suppose that the next

kūra, Dallāṣ (Nilopolis) or at least al-Ḳays (Kynopolis) lay on both sides of the Nile. The capital of the *kūra* was very probably Aṭfīḥ, since one of the censuses quoted by al-Maḳrīzī gives it in addition the name of Aṭfīḥiyya.

In the Fāṭimid division into provinces, there was a province of al-Aṭfīḥiyya, larger than the old *kūra* (50 villages at the time of Ibn al-Djīʿān).

In the time of the governors of the caliphs, the *kūra* of al-Sharḳiyya enjoyed at times a certain prosperity. On account of an epidemic of plague, ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Marwān transferred the government offices to Ḥulwān; a little later and for the same reason another governor transferred them to Askur (or Sukur) towards the south. To the north of the *kūra* lie the quarries of Ṭurā.

Bibliography: See the art. ATFĪH; Kindī, ed. Guest, index, 643; J. Maspéro and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, in *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 22, 112, 173, 175, 177, 180-2, 184, 185; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. *MIFAO*, iv, 18, v, ch. xi, § 2.

2. The Eastern province of the Delta of Egypt, situated to the east of the province of al-Daḳahliyya and bordered towards its south-west point by that of Ḳalyūbiyya.

The present area of the *mudīriyya* of al-Sharḳiyya corresponds roughly to the following pagarchies of the Byzantine epoch, divisions retained by the Arabs under the name of *kūra*; Bubaste (Basṭa), Arabia (Ṭarābiya) and Pharbaithos (Farbayṭ). The Delta was at this time divided into three large divisions, not administrative in character, which are mentioned by the historians: the Ḥawf al-Gharbī situated to the west of the Rosetta arm, whilst the Baṭn al-Rīf applied to the territory lying between this arm and that of Damietta. All the land which extended to the east of the latter district was called the Ḥawf al-Sharḳī and it is probably this name which gave rise to that of al-Sharḳiyya. The Ḥawf al-Sharḳī included 11 or 12 *kūras* and 529 villages.

At the time of the division into provinces under the Fāṭimids the Ḥawf al-Sharḳī included those of al-Sharḳiyya, of al-Murtāḥiyya, of al-Daḳahliyya and of al-Abwāniyya. Thus delimited, the province of al-Sharḳiyya, which extended farther than at the present time in the direction of Cairo, still included 452 towns and villages (the three other provinces together accounted for 165). It brought annually to the treasury 694,121 dīnārs. The southern part of al-Sharḳiyya was separated from it in 715/1315 at the time of the survey of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and received the name of al-Ḳalyūbiyya. From this time, the province of Sharḳiyya must have shown little variation. Thus reduced it contained, according to Ibn al-Djīʿān, 380 towns and villages and the taxes were valued at 1,411,875 dīnārs. The capital was Bilbays in the Middle Ages, and it was also in this town that the Turkish *Kāshif* resided. It was only during the 19th century that Zaḳāzīk supplanted Bilbays.

Through the province of al-Sharḳiyya passed Trajan's canal (*Traianus potamos*) which connected the Nile with the Red Sea via Lake Timsāḥ and the Bitter Lakes. In order to supply the Holy Cities of the Ḥidjāz with Egyptian cereals, the canal was renovated in 23/643-4 by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ during the reign of the caliph ʿUmar; whence its name of Canal of the Commander of the Faithful (*khalīdj amīr al-muʾminīn*). Having been silted up, the canal was reopened by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim (*al-khalīdj al-ḥākimī*). In al-Maḳrīzī's time it had almost disappeared (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 302 f.).

In Mamlūk times, many of the villages of the Sharḳiyya province were granted as *iḳṭāʿ*s to Bedouin chiefs; the settlement of Bedouins is reflected up to this day by the local dialects (cf. *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*, *TAVO*, maps A, viii, 12, B, vii, 13, and B, viii, 13). The modern province (*mudīriyya*) of al-Sharḳiyya (capital, Zaḳāzīk) covers 4,702 km^2; the number of inhabitants was in 1897, 749,130; in 1960, 1,820,000; and in 1966, 2,125,000.

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(G. WIET-[H. HALM])

AL-**SHARRĀṬ** ("the manufacturer of string from palm-fibre", *sharīṭ*), ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿAYSHŪN, son of a *mudjāhid*, slain in battle which the Spaniards at al-Maʿmūra (al-Mahdiyya = San Miguel de Ultramar) was born at Fās in 1035/1625-6 and died there in 1109/1697 after having adopted Ṣūfism. He is credited with the authorship of a hagiographical collection, but this has sometimes been disputed by his compatriots; this is *al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir al-anfās bi-akhbār al-ṣāliḥīn min ahl Fās*. According to al-Kattānī, it was really the work of Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Ḳādirī. In it among the biographies is a synopsis of the *manāḳib* of 99 saints of Fās dating for the most part from the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. They are all included again in the *Salwat al-anfās*. There is a manuscript of this work dated 1203/1788 in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, no. 389.

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SHARSHAL, conventional French form Cherchell, a town of Algeria, the chef-lieu of an arrondissement in the department of al-Aṣnām (formerly Orléansville). It is situated on the edge of the Miliana massif, 95 km/60 miles to the west of Algiers, in long. 2° 29' E., lat. 36° 37' N. The estimated population in 1994 was 22,000 (in 1930, *ca.* 5,500, including 1,500 Europeans). The town is built on a plateau a kilometre broad lying between the sea on the north and wooded hills, the outer buttresses of the massif of the Banū Manāṣir, in the south. The calcareous rocks of the plateau provide excellent building materials, the fertility of the soil and humidity of the climate are conducive to the growth of all kinds of produce. The surrounding country is covered with gardens and vineyards. The harbour, sheltered from the west winds by a little island and from the east winds by Cape Tizirine is small but safe.

History. The advantages of the site of Sharshal were remarked in very early times. The Phoenicians had a trading station here called Iol, which later passed to the Carthaginians. After the Second Punic War, Iol became the capital of the kings of Mauretania. Placed on the throne of Mauretania in 25 B.C. by Augustus, King Juba II gave the town the name of Caesarea and adorned it with monuments and works of art. When, after the death of Ptolemy, successor of Juba, Mauretania had been annexed to the empire the town was raised to the rank of a Roman colony (Colonia Claudia Caesarea) and was the capital

of the province of Mauretania. It was considerably extended and in the second century A.D. had perhaps 40,000 inhabitants (Leveau and Pellet, 1984). Its walls were about 5 miles round. Having previously lost its importance by the partition of the two Mauretanias in the time of Diocletian, it was burned during the rebellion of Firmus (371) and at the beginning of the next century was sacked by the Vandals.

The Byzantines reoccupied it in 585 but never restored to it its past prosperity; at a date which is not accurately known, but probably in the early years of the 8th century A.D., Caesarea fell into the hands of the Arabs. The harbour still existed in the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. de Slane, in *JA* [1842], 184). In the time of al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, tr. de Slane, Algiers 1913, 165) it was in ruins. According to this author there was nothing left at Sharshal but an "anchorage commanded by an enormous town of ancient buildings and still inhabited". Al-Bakrī, however, mentions the existence of several *ribāṭs* where a large crowd of people assembled every year. Al-Idrīsī describes Sharshal as a town of small extent but well populated (tr. Dozy and de Goeje, 103). The surrounding country was occupied by Bedouin families who devoted themselves to cattle-rearing, to growing vines and figs, and they harvested more wheat and barley than they could consume. These circumstances explain the raid made on the town by the Normans of Sicily in 1144. According to Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, Bk. iv, ed. Schefer, iii, 52, the town was continuously inhabited during the five centuries that followed the Arab conquest.

During this period, Sharshal was held in turn by the various dynasties which disputed the possession of central Maghrib. After the disruption of the Almohad empire, it fell to the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen, was taken from them by the Marīnids in 700/1300, became a part of the ephemeral kingdom founded about 750/1350 by the Awlād Mandīl and ultimately recognised the authority of the Zayyānids in the reign of Abū Thābit. In the 9th/15th century, fugitive Moors from Spain settled here in large numbers and built 2,000 houses (according to Leo Africanus, *loc. cit.*). The newcomers devoted themselves to agriculture and industry, especially to silk growing, and commerce, but also to piracy. In the first years of the 10th/16th century a Turkish corsair named Ḳara Ḥasan settled at Sharshal but was put to death by Arūdj [*q.v.*], who made himself master of the town and placed a garrison in it. Temporarily liberated from the authority of the Turks as a result of the defeat of Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] by the Kabyles, the people of Sharshal had again to recognise the Turkish government and this time, definitively, in 934/1528. An attempt made by the Spanish to seize the town and make it a base of operations against Algiers failed in 1531.

During the Turkish period, Sharshal simply stagnated. The population never exceeded 2,500-3,000 inhabitants, occupying a limited part of the old town. The depredations wrought by the corsairs who sallied out from it led to its bombardment by Duquesnes in 1682. Turkish authority was represented by a *ḳāʾid*, aided in the administration of local affairs by a council of six notables and supported by a garrison established some distance south on the Wādī al-Hashim. The mainstay of Turkish power, however, was the Marabout family of the Ghubrīnī, whose ancestors had come from Morocco at the end of the 10th/16th century and who had acquired considerable influence throughout this region. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Turks quarrelled with them. Al-Ḥādjdj b. ʿAwda al-Ghubrīnī was put to death by order of the Dey, and his relatives had to take refuge in al-Dahra.

The disappearance of Turkish government in 1830 enabled the Ghubrīnīs to return to Sharshal and become masters of the province. But they found their influence assailed by that of another Marabout family, that of the Brākna who lived among the Banū Manāṣir. Finally, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir who had established a *khalīfa* at Milyāna, forced the people of Sharshal to submit to him. He tried to use the harbour for an attempt to revive piracy. An attack by a Sharshal corsair on a French warship decided the Governor-General Valée to occupy the town in 1840 and to establish there a colony of a hundred European families. The new settlement prospered rapidly, and by 1850 had over a thousand inhabitants. They began the development of the countryside around and this has been steadily continued.

Sharshal has lived through difficult times, but not without handing on to posterity authentic traditions and typically urban values. The eclipses of its prosperity have always been aggravated by the distance and the eccentric positions of the successive capitals of the central Maghrib, from Tāhart to Tlemcen, putting up with the ephemeral ʿĀshir [*q.v.*] or the inaccessible Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād [*q.v.*], and even Bidjāya or Bougie. The present capital, Algiers, has not favoured upheavals.

The long-lastingness of the town's traditions, and also the stability of its population, are well-underlined by the role of the Ghubrīnīs and Brākna, out of whom have arisen the present-day élite, such as the two Bélarbi physician brothers, one of whom was in the service of the Bey of Tunis at the end of the 19th century (Sari, 1988, 225). From 1943 to 1945, Sharshal was the seat of the École Spéciale Militaire Française of St. Cyr.

The present wave of urbanisation has given rise to an unprecedented population increase, reaching 22,000 in 1993 as against 2,287 in 1954.

Bibliography: S. Gsell, *Cherchel-Tipaza*, Algiers 1896; Guin, *Notice sur la famille des Ghobrini de Cherchel*, in *Rev. Afr.* (1873); B. de Vermeuil and J. Bugnot, *Esquisses historiques sur la Maurétanie césarienne*, in *Rev. Afr.* (1870); Shaw, *Travels*, ch. vii; M. Bouchenaki, *Cités antiques d'Algérie*, Algiers 1978; Ph. Leveau and J.-C. Pellet, *L'alimentation en eau de Caesarea de Mauritanie et l'aqueduc de Cherchell*, Paris 1984; Dj. Sari, *L'un des premiers et brillants médecins de l'Algérie contemporaine*, in *CT*, xxxvii-xxxviii, 225-3.

(G. Yver-[Dj. Sari])

SHARṬ (pls. *shurūṭ*, *sharāʾiṭ*), literally, "condition".

1. In Islamic law. Here, it has the sense of "condition, term, stipulation". The term has two major connotations. Generally, it denotes that which does not partake in the quiddity of a thing but upon which the existence of that thing hinges. Ritual cleansing (*ṭahāra*), for instance, is not a constitutive part of prayer (*ṣalāt*) but it is a condition for its validity. In legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), *sharṭ* signifies a condition in verifying the *ratio legis*, the *ʿilla*. *Sharṭ* requires the ruling (*ḥukm*) to be non-existent when this condition does not obtain, and it does not necessitate the presence of the ruling when this condition is present; for if there is a relationship of entailment between the condition and the ruling, then the condition is deemed to be its *ratio legis*, which it is not. Since ritual cleansing is a prerequisite (= condition) for the validity of prayer, prayer would be invalid when cleans-

ing does not obtain. Conversely, ritual cleansing may be valid when prayer may not.

The same distinction between the constitutive elements of a thing and that upon which the thing and its validity depend is likewise maintained in the area of substantive law (*furūʿ*). Here, *sharṭ* denotes the general prerequisites for the validity of a legal act, as opposed to its essential elements (*arkān*, sing. *rukn*). Witnessing, for instance, is a condition for concluding matrimonial contracts, but it is not a constitutive part of it, as is offer and acceptance (*īdjāb* and *ḳabūl*).

In contracts, the term has another specialised meaning, namely, term, condition or reservation. The insertion of these in agreements may be necessary for the agreement to be valid, as we have seen. If they contradict the established law, they render the agreement void. A contractual term that nullifies an agreement is any term that runs counter to the otherwise established conditions of the agreement and that intends to benefit one of the parties to the agreement to the exception of the other(s). A well-known option in contracts is *khiyār al-sharṭ*, which is the agreement of the contracting parties to bestow on one or both of them the right to rescind the contract within a certain period of time. The majority opinion allows for three days, whereas the minority one allows four.

In its plural form, the term is normatively used to denote legal formularies. *Shurūṭ* thus refers to a wide variety of prescribed model documents used in legal transactions including sales, securities, agency, partnership, loans, bankruptcy, preemption, rent, agricultural leases, *waḳf*, bequests, inheritance, custody, oaths, aquittances, interdiction, dowry, marriage, divorce, religious conversion, homicide and penal injuries. A specialised genre eventually developed for the purpose of providing jurists with legally-watertight formulae. The authors and compilers of these formularies became known as the *shurūṭiyyūn* (mainly in the Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī schools), *al-muwaththiḳūn* (in the Mālikī school), and *kuttāb*. The Ḥanafī scholars seem to have played a special role in the creation of *shurūṭ* literature in the early period. Later on, the Shāfiʿī and Mālikī contribution to the further development of the genre was no less significant. The Ḥanbalī legists, on the other hand, do not appear to have devoted much energy to this literature.

Although the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna enjoin the writing down of transactions, the Muslim jurists generally did not consider written documents to be necessary for the validity of a transaction. In fact, the written instrument needs only to be duly attested by witnesses in order for it to be valid. Conversely, without a written document, an oral contract attested by witnesses is deemed both sufficient and valid. Nonetheless, in practical terms, the writing down of transactions was highly recommended, for it constituted a safeguard against distortion, misrepresentation and forgetfulness, all of which were causes for litigation.

In the light of the controversy about the correspondence, or lack of it, between doctrine and practice in Islamic law, modern scholarship draws a distinction between model formularies and those which were used in practice. The former appear in the *shurūṭ* manuals, compiled in a more or less formal fashion by the jurists, often with commentaries and annotation. The latter are found in archives and documentary collections. While these contain details of social and economic significance, including specific information about the objects being sold, rented, bequeathed or otherwise, as well as about the individuals who were parties to them, model documents appear as abstracted formulas, dissociated from any specific context and having little more than strictly legal significance. Their seemingly idealistic nature may lead one to think that a gap separated them from the realities of judicial practice. However, ample evidence suggests that the relationship between model documents and documents used in judicial practice was dialectical: the former were ultimately drawn from the latter, no doubt with some alterations and improvements, including the omission of real names and objects involved in the transaction. The purpose behind the changes made in the actual documents was not only to make them legally watertight but also to provide the notary and the public with ready-made formularies to serve in legal transactions. Thus documents in judicial practice were appropriated from model documents, and these in turn were drawn from the world of practice.

Bibliography: For the definition of the term in legal theory and positive law, see Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, 2 vols., Calcutta 1862, i, 752-5; Aḥmadnagarī, *Djāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, 4 vols., Ḥaydarābād 1911-12, ii, 212-13; Bādjī, *al-Ḥudūd fī ʾl-uṣūl*, ed. N. Ḥammād, Beirut 1973, 60; al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī, *al-Taʿrīfāt*, Cairo 1938, 110-11. On *khiyār al-sharṭ*, see Ḥalabī, *Multaḳā al-abḥur*, 2 vols., Beirut 1989, ii, 10. Some of the important works containing model *shurūṭ*: Ṭaḥāwī, *K. al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr*, ed. J. Wakin, Albany 1972; idem, *al-Shurūṭ al-ṣaghīr*, ed. R. Ūzadjān, Baghdād 1974; Ibn al-Munāṣif, *Tanbīh al-ḥukkām*, Tunis 1988; al-Shaykh al-Niẓām *et al.*, *al-Fatāwā al-hindiyya*, 6 vols., Beirut 1980, vi, 160-389; Ibn Abi ʾl-Dam, *K. Adab al-ḳaḍāʾ*, ed. M. ʿAṭāʾ, Beirut 1987, 367-462; Asyūṭī, *Djawāhir al-ʿuḳūd*, ed. M. al-Fiḳḳī, 2 vols., Cairo 1955; Ṭulayṭulī, *al-Muḳniʿ fī ʿilm al-shurūṭ*, ed. F. Sádaba, Madrid 1994. Studies on *shurūṭ* and on the relationship between practice and doctrine are: E. Tyan, *Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman*, in *Annales de l'École Française de Droit de Beyrouth*, ii (1945), 1-99, Wael Hallaq, *Model* Shurūṭ *works and the dialectic of doctrine and practice*, in *Islamic Law and Society*, ii (1995). (WAEL B. HALLAQ)

2. In philosophy. Here, it has the sense of the logical term "hypothesis, condition". In Arabic logic, the term is firmly bound up with propositional thought, and, with *sharīṭa*, constitutes an equivalent to the Aristotelian Greek ὑπόθεσις. Of course, the unique Ḳurʾānic usage of the root has no connotations of formal Greek logic, referring rather to "signs" or "tokens" (*ashrāṭuhā*) of the Last Day (*al-Sāʿa*) (XLVII, 18) in a single verse. Furthermore, Lane (s.v. *sharaṭa*) shows very clearly that one of the earliest secular senses of the Arabic root lay in commerce rather than philosophy or logic. However, by the time of al-Fārābī [*q.v.*], the Arabic term *sharṭ* and its cognates had developed considerably in logical sophistication. The interest which had developed in conditional syllogisms constituted a legacy from Stoic thought. Rescher has stressed the considerable attention paid by the Baghdād School to the syllogism in its commentaries on Aristotle's logical works; noteworthy here were the treatises of Abū Bishr Mattā and al-Fārābī himself. The latter's preferred term for "syllogism" was *ḳiyās*, which came to be the standard rendering of the Aristotelian *syllogismos*. Al-Fārābī made a distinction between the "attributive" or "predicative" syllogism (*ḳiyās ḥamlī*), and the "conditional" or "hypothetical" syllogism (*ḳiyās sharṭī*). The latter was further divided into "conjunctive" and "disjunctive" (*al-ḳiyās al-sharṭī al-muttaṣil* and *al-ḳiyās al-sharṭī al-munfaṣil*). Ibn Sīnā followed al-Fārābī's terminology in distinguishing between *ḥamlī*

and s̲h̲arṭī propositions, and also identified two basic kinds of conditional proposition as "conjunctive" (*muttaṣila*) and "disjunctive" (*munfaṣila*). It is clear that the conditional syllogism was of considerable interest to mediaeval Muslim logicians in the Islamic West as well; as R. Arnaldez reminds us (*EI*[2] art. *Manṭiḳ*), the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm devoted some space to this topic, although the Arabic terminology which he employed to divide up conditional propositions, as adumbrated by Arnaldez, differed somewhat from that of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā outlined above.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the *EI*[1] art. *S̲h̲arṭ* and the *EI*[2] art. *Manṭiḳ*): Soheil M. Afnan, *A philosophical lexicon in Persian and Arabic*, Beirut 1969 (esp. s.v. *ḳiyās*); Fārābī, *Risālat al-Ḳiyās*; J. Lameer, *Al-Fārābī and Aristotelian syllogistics: Greek theory and Islamic practice*, Leiden 1994; N. Rescher, *The development of Arabic logic*, Pittsburgh 1964; idem, *Al-Fārābī's short commentary on Aristotle's "Prior Analytics"*, Pittsburgh 1963; idem, *Studies in the histoy of Arabic logic*, Pittsburgh 1963; F.W. Zimmermann, *Al-Farabi's commentary and short treatise on Aristotle's De Interpretatione*, London 1981. (I.R. Netton)

3. In Arabic grammar. Here, *s̲h̲arṭ* denotes the protasis of a conditional sentence. The apodosis is variously referred to as *d̲j̲awāb* "response", *d̲j̲azā'* or *mud̲j̲āzāt* "requital". Both *d̲j̲azā'* and *mud̲j̲āzāt* may denote the conditional structure as such, for which the merismus *s̲h̲arṭ wa-d̲j̲awāb* is also commonly used, while *d̲j̲awāb* is applied to several other kinds of clause, though never to the whole conditional sentence.

The rules state that the protasis of real (possible) conditions is introduced by the particle *in*, with *law* reserved for unreal (impossible) conditions and *id̲h̲ā* only being conditional to the extent that it indicates the time of occurrence of the apodosis (cf. Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, Būlāḳ, ii, 311/Derenbourg, ii, 338: *id̲h̲ā* denotes "future time with a conditional sense"). Hence *sa-azūruka id̲h̲ā 'ḥmarra al-busru* "I shall visit you when the grapes redden" is correct but not **in iḥmarra 'l-busru* "if the grapes redden". On the other hand *in ṭala'at il-s̲h̲amsu* "if the sun rises" is permitted because the exact time of sunrise may not be known if obscured by cloud. In practice, the three particles are often confused, and likewise the accompanying verb forms, which ought to be the same in each clause, either both perfect, *māḍī* + *māḍī* or both imperfect, *muḍāri'* + *muḍāri'* (apocopated *mad̲j̲zūm* with *in* and independent *marfū'* with *law*). The canonical patterns and their many variations are reviewed by Peled, *Conditional structures*, where the contrast with the simplified prescriptions of pedagogical grammars becomes dramatically visible.

Other elements unanimously accepted as having conditional force are the nouns *mā*, *mahmā* "whatever", *man*, *ayyu*(-*mā*) "whoever", and the particles *aynamā* "wherever", *matā mā* "whenever" (always spelt as two words), *id̲h̲mā* "whenever", *immā* (< *in mā*) and *ḥayt̲h̲umā* "however". The conditional functions of *kayfa*(-*mā*) "however" and *kullamā* "every time" are disputed. On the other hand *ammā*, whose second clause is always introduced by *fa*-, is often interpreted as a true conditional particle, hence paraphrased by Sībawayhi (*Kitāb*, i, 418/i, 469) as *mahmā yakun min s̲h̲ay'in*.

Among the theoretical issues which attracted the attention of the Arab grammarians are the following.

The operator (*'āmil*) on the two clauses is discussed in the same terms as the equational sentence, i.e. either the conditional particle itself operates on both clauses or only on the first and the whole protasis then operates on the apodosis. Other, dissenting views are advanced, however.

Pseudo-conditionals were extensively analysed, both those in which the protasis is not a true condition, e.g. *itinī ukrimka* "come to me [and if you do] I will treat you generously", and those in which the apodosis is not the immediate consequence of the condition, e.g. *in atāka zaydun fa-akrimhu* "if Z. comes to you [then] treat him generously", with an obligatory *fa-* before the apodosis.

The structural relationship between conditionals and interrogatives was recognised (cf. *d̲j̲awāb* for apodosis), which led to a disagreement about the conditional status of *kayfa*.

Whether *law* intrinsically denotes impossibility (*imtinā'*) is much debated in later grammar, though Sībawayhi defines *law* simply as "indicating something which would have happened when [or because] something else happened" (*ḥarf li-mā kāna sa-yaḳa'u li-wuḳū'i g̲h̲ayrihi*, *Kitāb*, ii, 306/ii, 334). The theological implication of being impossible even to God was not overlooked, cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, lvii (1903), 401, *apud* Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 494 n. 1.

Inversion of protasis and apodosis is generally disallowed. Such constructions as *anā ẓālimun in fa'altu* "I would be wrong if I did this" are explained as elliptical, viz. [*in fa'altu fa*]-*anā ẓālimun in fa'altu* "[if I did this] I would be wrong if I did this".

Serial conditions have legal implications, e.g. *in akalti in s̲h̲aribti anti ṭāliḳun* "if you eat, if you drink you are divorced" only effects a divorce if the woman first drinks and then eats, though a converse interpretation is also maintained.

In conclusion it should be noted that the situation in contemporary written Arabic is rather fluid; both *law* and *id̲h̲ā* appear to be encroaching on the functions of *in*, which is becoming correspondingly less frequent in occurrence.

Bibliography: The topic can conveniently be explored in Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, *K. al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. C. Broch, Christianiae 1879, §§ 32, 204, 207, 419-27, 585-94 (same paragraphs in Howell and Ibn Ya'īs̲h̲). For Sībawayhi, see A.S. Hārūn (ed.), *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, Cairo 1968-77, v (Index). The important discussion of the various particles by Ibn His̲h̲ām is easily located in his *Mug̲h̲nī 'l-labīb*, Cairo n.d., and cf. A.J. Gully, *Grammar and semantics in medieval Arabic. A study of Ibn Hisham's Mughni 'l-Labib*, London 1995, 42-3, 157-8, 179-83, 229-30; Yishai Peled, *Conditional structures in Classical Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1992, 166-70, has a bibl. of secondary sources, to which may be added Kinga Dévenyi, *The treatment of Arabic conditional sentences by the medieval Arabic grammarians (stability and change in the history of Arabic grammar)*, in *The Arabist* (= Budapest Studies in Arabic), i (1988), 11-42; C.H.M. [Kees] Versteegh, *Two conceptions of irreality in Arabic grammar: Ibn Hišām and Ibn al-Ḥāǧib on the particle* law, in *BEO*, xliii (1991), 77-92. (M.G. Carter)

S̲H̲ĀS̲H̲ [see tas̲h̲kent].

S̲H̲AS̲H̲MAḲOM ("six modes", the Tadzhik form of a compound of the standard Persian numeral *s̲h̲as̲h̲* and the Arabic term *maḳām* [*q.v.*]), a term designating the modal and formal concept of art music played in the urban centres of Uzbekistan. It developed in Buk̲h̲ārā from elements of the local *maḳām* tradition and the *nawba* [*q.v.*] "suite" of Tīmūrid and S̲h̲aybānid court music. The earliest known song text collections are said to date back to the middle of the 18th century. Up to the beginning of the 20th century, the *s̲h̲as̲h̲maḳom* flourished in the Emirate of Buk̲h̲ārā and the Khanate of K̲h̲īwa. It consequently had to suffer from Socialist cultural policy. Modern

tendencies develop since the middle of the 20th century. Local differences exist between the ("Uzbek-Tadzhik") Bukhārā and the ("Uzbek") Khwārazm versions. The terminology of modes, metres and genres as well as the bulk of the song texts are Persian-Tadzhik; Uzbek song texts are a rather recent novelty.

The six *makom* cycles are called *buzruk, rost, navo, dugokh, segokh* and *irok*. They bear the names of four of the former twelve main modes (*rāst, ʿirāk, buzurg, nawā*), and of two former "derived" (*shuʿba*) modes (*dogāh, segāh*). In contrast to the earlier "*nawba* of the masters" that consisted of four or five vocal pieces composed by individual musicians, the actual *makom* is characterised by separate cycles of basically five instrumental parts and a varying number of vocal pieces that are transmitted anonymously as a part of a canonical repertoire. The performance of a complete *makom* lasts about two hours.

A large part of the Khwārazmian version was written down at the end of the 19th century in tabulatures developed for the *ṭanbūr* [*q.v.*] and the *dutār*. For editions of both versions in staff notation, see A. Jung, *Quellen*.

Bibliography: B. Raḥmānughli and M.Y. Dīvānzāde, *Khārezm mūsīḳī tārīkhčesi*, Moscow 1925; A. Fitrat, *Özbek ḳilāssiḳ mūsīḳāsi va uning taʾrīkhi*, Tashkent 1927; A. Jung, *Quellen der traditionellen Kunstmusik der Usbeken und Tadshiken Mittelasiens. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung des šašmaqām*, Hamburg 1989; O. Matyakubov, *19th century Khorezmian tanbur notation*, in *Yearbook for traditional music*, xxii (1990), 29-35; articles by A. Abdurashidov, J. Elsner, A. Jung, F. Karomatov, O. Matyakubov, S. Matyakubova, and A. Nazarov, in J. Elsner (ed.), *Regionale maqām-Traditionen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Berlin 1992. (E. Neubauer)

SHAṬĀ, a place in Egypt celebrated in the Middle Ages, situated a few miles from Damietta, on the Western shore of the Lake of Tinnīs, now called Lake Manzala.

This town existed before the Arab period, since it is mentioned as the see of a bishop (Σάτα). There is no reason for giving credence to the romantic story of the pseudo-al-Wāḳidī, which gives as the founder of this town a certain Shaṭā b. al-Hāmūk (var. al-Hāmirak), a relative of the famous Muḳawḳis [*q.v.*]. This Shaṭā is presented to us as a deserter from the garrison of Damietta who helped to secure the possession of Burullus, Damīra and Ashmūn Ṭanāḥ for the Muslim army and who was killed at the capture of Tinnīs, on 15 Shaʿbān 21/19 July 642. Every year at this date, it is the custom to celebrate the anniversary of his death, and to this origin the writers attribute the pilgrimage which still took place at Shaṭā in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

To guard against the maritime attacks of the Greeks, the Arabs stationed regiments of troops on certain parts on the coast, and Shaṭā was amongst the number. This port became in the Middle Ages a very active industrial centre, in this region sharing with Damietta, Dabīḳ and Tinnīs, the manufacture of valuable textiles. Each of these towns probably manufactured a special article since the materials which they exported bore a name indicative of their place of origin. Travellers and geographers never tire of praising the goods of Shaṭā called *shaṭawī*. Very probably there was at this place, in addition to the private industry, a government workshop, a *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, analogous to those of Alexandria and Tinnīs. The historian of Mecca, al-Fākihī, has preserved the text of an inscription embroidered on a cover intended for the Kaʿba. It was the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd who ordered it to be made in the year 191/807 at the *ṭirāz* of Shaṭā.

We do not know the part which Shaṭā played in the two occupations of Damietta by the Franks. Certain writers have tried to place at the spot the site of the encampment of Jean de Brienne, but this view has been disputed. Between the two Crusades, Tinnīs had been razed to the ground by order of al-Malik al-Kāmil in the year 624/1227, and as military reasons had probably induced this destruction, Shaṭā perhaps suffered the same fate.

But while the ruins of the former have survived under the name of Tell Tinnīs, a small town now bears the name of Shaykh Shaṭā. In its centre there is the mosque in which the relics of the hero of the Arab conquest, who became the Shaykh Shaṭā, are venerated.

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SHAṬḤ or *shaṭhiyya* (a., pl. *shaṭaḥāt* or *shaṭhiyyāt*), a technical term in Sūfism meaning "ecstatic expression", commonly used for mystical sayings that are frequently outrageous in character.

The root *sh-ṭ-ḥ* has the literal meaning of movement, shaking, or agitation, and carries the sense of overflowing or outpouring caused by agitation; thus *mishṭāḥ* is a place where flour is sifted by shaking. In the first available discussion of the term, Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj (d. 378/988) defines *shaṭḥ* as "a strange-seeming expression describing an ecstasy that overflows because of its power" (*Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, London 1914, 375).

There is no evidence to support the suggestion of Massignon that early ecstatic sayings circulated in the guise of divine sayings reported by the Prophet Muḥammad, or *ḥadīth kudsī* [*q.v.*]; the latter have as good a documentation as any early *ḥadīth* collection and are not separately attributed to Ṣūfīs (W. Graham, *Divine word and prophetic word in early Islam*, The Hague 1977, 70). Nonetheless, the early stratum of *ḥadīth kudsī* contains similar materials, such as the important *ḥadīth al-nawāfil* (Graham, 173), which anticipates *shaṭḥ* by proposing the possibility of a union with God through love that leads to divinely-inspired speech and action. By the 4th/10th century, authors such as al-Sarrādj had applied the term above all to utterances such as Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī's "Glory be to me, how great is my majesty" (*subḥānī mā aʿẓama shānī* [for *shaʾnī*]), and al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallādj's "I am the (divine) truth" (*anā al-ḥakk*); for a general survey, see C. Ernst, *Words of ecstasy in Sufism*, Albany 1985).

Among Ṣūfī authors, the chief responses to *shaṭhiyyāt* (sometimes held simultaneously by the same individual) were (1) to explain them away, either as misquotations, or as the results of immaturity, madness, or intoxication (*sukr*); (2) to regard them as authentic expressions of spiritual states, which should nonetheless be concealed from the unworthy; and (3) to view them as expressions of the profoundest experience of divine realities. Many Ṣūfī authors briefly address the question of *shaṭḥ*, showing a strong ambivalence about apparently blasphemous claims to divinity, mixed with admiration for the spiritual status of their authors, whose words are often quoted anonymously; al-Ghazālī notably belongs to this category. Among those who took these sayings seriously was Djunayd [*q.v.*], who

composed a commentary (*tafsīr*) on the sayings of Abū Yazīd, partially transmitted by al-Sarrādj with his own additions (*Luma'*, 375-408). This may be compared with the collection of Abū Yazīd's sayings transmitted by al-Sahlakī (d. 476/1083) under the title *Kitāb al-Nūr min kalimāt Abī Ṭayfūr* (ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Shaṭaḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1949, tr. Abdelwahab Meddeb, *Les Dits de Bistami: Shatahât*, Paris 1989).

The most extensive exposition of *shaṭḥ* was provided by Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī ([*q.v.*]; see now also Ernst, *Rūzbihān Baqlī: mysticism experience and the rhetoric of sainthood in Persian Sufism*, London 1995). His Arabic *Manṭiḳ al-asrār* (ed. P. Ballanfat and Ernst, forthcoming), translated into Persian by the author in 570/1174 as *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyyāt* (ed. H. Corbin, Tehran 1966), presents nearly 200 commented examples from 45 different authors (with emphasis on Abū Yazīd, al-Wāsiṭī, al-Ḥuṣrī, al-Shiblī, and al-Ḥallādj, including all of the latter's *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*). Rūzbihān's distinctly apologetic commentary typifies the most positive Ṣūfī attitude toward *shaṭḥiyyāt*. Many of the sayings take the form of "I am" sayings, identifying with God or the divine attributes. The principal Ṣūfī interpretation of this variety of sayings rested on the concept of mystical annihilation of the individual ego (*fanā'*), followed by the subsistence of God in its place (*baḳā'*); this made it possible for God to speak through the individual. Other sayings question the ultimate significance of Islamic rituals and the afterlife. Rhetorically, the audacious style of *shaṭḥ* partook of the form of the pre-Islamic Arab boasting contest (*mufākhara* [*q.v.*]); among early Ṣūfīs, many recorded conversations and sayings show the tendency to exceed the claims of others and discredit them by hyperbole.

Because of the lack of any clear legal definition of blasphemy in Islamic law, *shaṭḥiyyāt* were treated inconsistently by legal authorities; some regarded them as beyond the jurisdiction of the *sharī'a*, especially when subjected to interpretation, while others (e.g. Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*]) viewed them as tantamount to the heresies of incarnation, libertinism, and unification (*ḥulūl, ibāḥa, ittiḥād*) and fully deserving of punishment in terms of apostasy. In practice, the reduction of apostasy to the category of *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*], the Zoroastrian concept of heresy as political crime, meant that *shaṭḥiyyāt* were only prosecuted when political authorities found it desirable to do so. The prosecution of Ṣūfīs such as Nūrī, the executions of al-Ḥallādj and 'Ayn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadānī [*q.v.*], or the posthumous trial of the poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*], are explicable in terms of their political context (*Words of ecstasy*, 97-116; Th.E. Homerin, *From Arab poet to Muslim saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, his verse, and his shrine*, Columbia, S.C. 1994, 63).

Non-Ṣūfī intellectuals regarded *shaṭḥiyyāt* with sceptical interest; Ibn Khaldūn regarded them as unintentional products of unconscious ecstasy, which are pardonable except (as in the case of al-Ḥallādj) when they are spoken deliberately (*Muḳaddima*, ed. 'Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfī, Cairo 1379/1960, 1079-80). The philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl [*q.v.*] found the sayings of Abū Yazīd and al-Ḥallādj to lack intellectual rigour (*Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān*, ed. L. Gautier, Beirut 1936, 4), while his Jewish commentator Moses of Narbonne reinterpreted them to harmonise with Hebrew scripture (G. Vajda, *Comment le philosophe Juif Moïse de Narbonne, commentateur d'Ibn Ṭufayl, comprenait-il les paroles extatiques (šaṭaḥāt) des Soufis?*, in *Actas del primer congreso de estudios arabes e islamicos, Cordoba, 1962*, Madrid 1964, 129-35).

Among later Ṣūfīs, Ibn 'Arabī [*q.v.*] continued the ambivalent attitude toward *shaṭḥiyyāt*, regarding them as a sign of lack of mental control together with an egotistical claim (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Beirut ed., ii, 387.8-388.26, tr. W. Chittick, in *Les Illuminations de la Mecque*, ed. M. Chodkiewicz, Paris 1988, 265-74). He only admitted as legitimate sources of doctrine those sayings (like his own) that are spoken by divine command, without any boasting, although his classification of particular *shaṭḥiyyāt* is remarkably elastic, depending on the context of his argument (Ernst, *The man without attributes: Ibn 'Arabī's interpretation of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī*, in *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society*, xiii [1993], 1-18). The most elaborate response to Rūzbihān's collection of *shaṭḥiyyāt* was supplied by Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*] in 1062/1650 in his *Ḥasanāt al-'ārifīn* (ed. M. Rahīn, Tehran 1973), an abridgement of the *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyyāt* with additional excerpts from later Indian Ṣūfīs. The term *shaṭḥ* has been applied to later mystical sayings of Ṣūfīs in Java (Badawī, 148-58), India, Turkey, Egypt, and North Africa until the present day, with the same mixture of responses as in earlier times, while the sayings of Abū Yazīd and al-Ḥallādj still retain the power to shock their readers.

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(C. Ernst)

SHĀṬIBA, the modern Xàtiva or Játiva, a town of the Sharḳ al-Andalus [*q.v.*], to the south of Valencia. The ancient Roman town (Saetabis) was situated on the Via Augusta; the Arab town saw a shift to the slope of the mountain, which was crowned by a powerful fortress. The surrounding region, irrigated by several rivers, was devoted to agriculture. Shāṭiba is described by the Arab geographers as a commercial centre which had trading links with North Africa and with Ghāna; its location in the network of communications of the Sharḳ al-Andalus no doubt favoured this mercantile activity, and also the development of a specialised industry, that of paper. The superior quality of its defences and its strategic position strongly influenced the history of Shāṭiba, a place of refuge and also the bridgehead for attacks on Valencia and other towns of the Sharḳ. It appears that in the early stages the town was included in the district of Tudmīr, but, at least from the 4th/10th century onward, it belonged to the *kūra* of Valencia. In the first half of this century, Shāṭiba sometimes had a governor appointed exclusively for the town, which was also under the general jurisdiction of the authorities in Valencia.

Information regarding Shāṭiba in the period of the Arab conquest and under the Umayyads is very sparse in the historical chronicles. To the local population there should be added, as elsewhere, Arab or Berber elements such as the Banū Mufawwiz (Ma'āfirids) or the Banū 'Amīra (Nafzids). However, the date of these arrivals is unknown, as is the significance of this influx in relation to the indigenous population. Later, in the

5th/11th century, the Banū Milḥān, Nafzids originally from Huelva, moved to Shāṭiba. The Banū Mufawwiz, according to Ibn Ḥazm, settled close to the town, in the hamlet of Yānuba (Énova). At least a part of this clan became urbanised, producing an important sequence of functionaries and scholars which is documented until the very end of the Islamic history of the town.

At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, Shāṭiba and Djazīrat Shuḳar (Alcira) were under the control of ʿĀmir b. Abī Djawshan, who was one of the Hawwāra Berber rulers of Shantamariyya or Santaver. From 312/924 onward, he resisted attacks by the armies of Cordova, sent by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Finally, in 317/929, ʿĀmir surrendered the town under favourable conditions which allowed him to settle his affairs at Santaver before making his way with his family to Cordova.

After the fall of the caliphate, Shāṭiba acquired a new importance in the struggles for power in the eastern region of the Peninsula. ʿĀmirid Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*], expelled from Cordova, appropriated a piece of territory for themselves in which they sought to establish a nucleus of political legitimacy, recognising Umayyad or ʿĀmirid princes. In 408/1018, one of these Ṣaḳāliba, Khayrān, proclaimed in Shāṭiba a descendant of al-Nāṣir, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who took the title of al-Murtaḍā. This attempt at Umayyad restoration was of short duration and the Ṣaḳāliba proclaimed, again in Shāṭiba, a grandson of their former patron (al-Manṣūr), ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muʾtaman, who thus became ruler of Valencia. Furthermore, these Ṣaḳāliba were beset by internal rivalries, fighting among themselves to extend their territories. Mudjāhid of Dāniya (Denia), in particular, sought to dominate the region and supported the rebellion of Shāṭiba and other towns against ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 433/1041. The town was recaptured by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but as a result of this war, he lost a major portion of his territory. Both ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his son and successor ʿAbd al-Malik found themselves confronted by mounting problems and were obliged to appeal to Christians, Aragonese or Castilian, for aid. The latter, led by King Ferdinand I, began an assault on the Sharḳ; the ruler of Toledo al-Maʾmūn intervened, deposed ʿAbd al-Malik and took possession of Shāṭiba and Valencia. After the death of al-Maʾmūn, these territories were taken under the control of the ruler of Saragossa, al-Muḳtadir, and Shāṭiba ultimately became subject to his son Mundhir, King of Lārida (Lérida), Ṭurṭūsha (Tortosa) and Dāniya. The last years of the 5th/11th century saw the Almoravids and the Christians in confrontation around Valencia and Shāṭiba. Power at Shāṭiba was in the hands of a certain Ibn Munḳidh when the Almoravid army, under the command of Ibn ʿĀʾisha, captured the town in 485/1092. Henceforward, the Almoravids resisted the threat posed by the Cid [see al-sīd] to Valencia, but a new army mustered at Shāṭiba, which included many volunteers, was unable to prevent the fall of the capital of the Sharḳ. From Valencia, the Cid led persistent attacks on Shāṭiba and other towns with Almoravid garrisons, and succeeded in routing the Muslim army which was compelled to take refuge in Shāṭiba. A new general, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥādjdj, was appointed to coordinate, from this town, the efforts of the Almoravids against Valencia, efforts which were not to bear fruit for some years. After the conquest of Valencia by the Almoravids, Shāṭiba entered a new phase in its history, perhaps the most splendid. The *amīr* Abū Isḥāk Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn established himself there as governor of the Sharḳ and had the town's defences renovated in 510/1117.

A period of stability began but it was to be disrupted, some thirty years later, by rebellions which threatened the declining Almoravid power. The dignitaries of Valencia offered authority to the *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿAbd al-Malik Marwān b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, while the Almoravid governor, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ghāniya, took refuge with his family in Shāṭiba. Almoravids fleeing Valencia rallied to Ibn Ghāniya. Protected by its imposing fortress, they made forays into the surrounding countryside, destroying houses and abducting women and children. Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was then obliged to besiege them, aided by the armies of Lerida and of Murcia, and succeeded in expelling them from Shāṭiba in 540/1145. The same year, however, the *djund* rebelled against Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and recognised the authority of Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*], the new ruler of the Sharḳ who resisted the progress of the Almohads in the Peninsula for many years. The latter did not take Shāṭiba and towns such as Denia and Valencia until after the death of Ibn Mardanīsh in 567/1171-2.

Again, a period of stability began for the town, the defences of which were repaired; the architectural and artistic remains which have survived date mostly from this period. The Almohads installed tribal contingents (Ṣanhādja and Haskūra) in Shāṭiba, as was the case with other cities of the Sharḳ and of the remainder of al-Andalus. But after the defeat of al-ʿIḳāb (Las Navas de Tolosa) in 609/1212, their power disintegrated. In the dynastic struggles of the Almohads, Shāṭiba took the side of the caliph of Marrākush against al-ʿĀdil, who had himself proclaimed in Murcia. The town was then governed by the *sayyid* Abū Zayd (grandson of the caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin) who also controlled Valencia, Denia and Alcira. Abū Zayd later recognised the authority of the caliph al-Maʾmūn, but he was unable to resist the rebellions of Ibn Hūd and of Zayyān b. Mardanīsh. Ibn Hūd, recognised by the people of Shāṭiba as *amīr*, first appointed as governor of the town Yaḥyā b. Ṭāhir, then Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Khazradjī, from a distinguished family of Denia. Yaḥyā held his position for six years until his death in 634/1237. His son Abū Bakr Muḥammad, who was the *ḳāʾid* of the fortress, succeeded him as governor. During this time, the threat posed by the Aragonese intensified, and in 636/1238 King James I took possession of Valencia. The following year, he besieged Shāṭiba and took Alcira. In the face of the Christian advance, sections of the population began to flee the town, making their way with migrants from Valencia and Alcira to the Maghrib, where the caliph al-Rashīd received them. In 642/1244, James I again attacked Shāṭiba. The siege was concluded with an agreement according to which the Aragonese king took possession of part of the fortifications (the *castell menor*), with a promise on the part of the Muslims to hand over the rest of the fortress after a delay of two years. The conditions also stipulated respect on the part of the Christians for the lives, property, customs and laws of the inhabitants of the town. The Christians, however, seized the castle shortly before the end of the specified interval and the population was finally expelled from the town in 645/1248. The emigration was mainly directed towards the southern regions of the Peninsula and towards North Africa.

The intellectual life of Shāṭiba developed especially from the 5th/11th century onward, a period which saw a significant increase in the number of scholars

originating from the town. At the same time, it was visited by some eminent persons, such as Ibn Ḥazm (who wrote there his *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*) or Ibn al-Barr, who settled in the town and died there. But it was especially in the 6th/12th century that Shāṭiba experienced a golden age for the Islamic sciences (the biographical dictionaries give notices of 121 scholars, originating from or born in the town, who died during the course of this century). In this context, the most illustrious son of Shāṭiba was without doubt al-Ḳāsim b. Firruh al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194 [*q.v.*]), who was born in the town and studied there, but spent most of his life in Egypt. An expert in Ḳur'ānic readings, he is best known for a didactic poem (*al-Shāṭibiyya*), based on the work of ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dānī (*al-Taysīr*) on this subject. The *nisba* al-Shāṭibī continued to be born by scholars long after the Christian conquest, especially at Granada. The best known example is that of Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhim b. Mūsā al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388), the author of the *K. al-Iʿtiṣām*.

In addition to part of the fortifications, still *in situ*, the Museum of Játiva preserves the artistic and architectural relics of its Islamic past: Ḳur'ānic and funerary inscriptions, the arches of a bath-house and the remains of a hall once located in the palace of Pinohermoso. The most interesting item, without doubt, is the famous "wash-basin", which has given rise to various interpretations and which is usually dated from the 5th/11th century.

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(MANUELA MARÍN)

AL-**SHĀṬIBĪ**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. MŪSĀ b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī al-Shāṭibī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 790/1388), a Mālikī *uṣūlī* scholar from al-Andalus.

Although al-Shāṭibī is known by the *nisba* of his family's place of origin, Játiva (conquered by the Christians in 645/1247), he was born and died in Granada. In that town he studied with scholars; of special importance were Abū ʿAlī Manṣūr al-Zawāwī and al-Makkarī al-Djadd (d. 759/1357), both transmitters of Ibn al-Ḥādjib's *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā* (based upon Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Maḥṣūl*), who instilled in al-Shāṭibī an interest for *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *kalām*; the latter seems also to have introduced al-Shāṭibī to *taṣawwuf* through a special *silsila*. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al Sharīf al-Tilimsānī (d. 771/1369), author of *Miftāḥ al-wuṣūl ilā binā' al-furūʿ ʿalā 'l-uṣūl* and an expert on *ʿulūm ʿaḳliyya*, was also al-Shāṭibī's teacher.

Al-Shāṭibī wrote on grammar (*Sharḥ Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, of which there are mss., and *K. Uṣūl al-naḥw*). He also wrote *K. ʿUnwān al-ittifāḳ fī ʿilm al-ishtiḳāḳ*, *K. al-Madjālis* (commentary of the chapter on *buyūʿ* in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*), *al-Ifādāt wa 'l-inshādāt* (*adab* work in which are autobiographical data, ed. M. Abu 'l-Adjfān, Beirut 1983). He also wrote poetry. He corresponded with contemporary scholars, especially *muftīs*, on different issues (on his *murāsalāt*, see al-Raysūnī, 106-22). One of them was whether a teacher (*murshid*) is necessary for the Ṣūfī novice (*murīd*). He received answers on this issue from various scholars, including Ibn Khaldūn in his *Shifā' al-sā'il li-tahdhīb al-masā'il*. Al-Shāṭibī's *fatāwā* are preserved in compilations like *al-Ḥadīḳa al-mustaḳilla* (ms. Escorial, no. 1096) and al-Wansharīsī's *Miʿyār* (see López Ortiz, *Fatwàs granadinas*, 85-6; Masud, *Islamic legal philosophy*, 106-9, 119-43) and have been edited by Abu 'l-Adjfān, Tunis 1984 (2nd revised ed., Tunis 1406/1985). In al-Shāṭibī's *fatāwā* there is adaptation to social change and application of the concept of *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala*, i.e. he accepts not only the *maṣāliḥ* (sg. *maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*]) which have a specific textual basis, but also those which have not (*mursala*). Al-Shāṭibī's doctrine on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* is developed in his *al-Muwāfaḳāt fī uṣūl al-sharīʿa* (Tunis 1302/1884, Cairo 1341/1923). Al-Shāṭibī also wrote a work against innovations (*bidaʿ*), his *K. al-Iʿtiṣām* (ed. M. Rashīd Riḍā, in *al-Manār*, xvii [1333/1913]; several times reprinted). Al-Shāṭibī himself was accused of innovation and heresy, because he opposed certain practices (see Masud, 104-5) deeply rooted in the life of the Andalusī Muslim community. One of them was the mention of the *sulṭān*'s name in the *khuṭba*. His opposition to this attracted refutations and counter-refutations (Masud, 108-9). On al-Shāṭibī's transmissions, see al-Mudjārī's *Barnāmadj* (ed. Abu 'l-Adjfān, Beirut 1982, 116-22).

Al-Shāṭibī is one of the most important scholars of the Mālikī *madhhab* and one of its renewers, especially through the notion of *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala*, central to his doctrine on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and also in his *fatāwā*. For example, he allowed certain taxes not mentioned in the *sharīʿa* but made necessary by the economic difficulties of the Naṣrid kingdom in Granada. Al-Shāṭibī's work has had an important influence in the writings of some modern Muslim thinkers, such as Rashīd Riḍā. Since the pioneering monograph of 1977 by M.Kh. Masud (see *Bibl.*), al-Shāṭibī's life and legal doctrine have in recent years been the object of several studies which show the originality and importance of his contribution to *uṣūl al-fiḳh*.

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AL-SHĀṬIBĪ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Firruh b. Khalaf b. Aḥmad al-Ruʿaynī, eminent Ḳur'ānic scholar who introduced didactic mnemotechniques in the discipline of Ḳur'ān reading (*ḳirā'a*).

He was born in 538/1144 at Játiva (al-Shāṭiba [*q.v.*]) in Muslim Spain. Although blind, he took up studies in *ḳirā'āt* and *ḥadīth* in his home town, where he also acted for one year as a preacher. He studied first with ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nafzī, then with ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Hudhayl at Valencia (Balansiya), concentrating on al-Dānī's *Taysīr*, but taking up as well grammar and *adab*. On his way to perform the Pilgrimage to Mecca, he attended lectures by Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī at Alexandria. Upon his return in 572/1175, he established himself at Cairo, where he soon became a renowned Ḳur'ān reader and was appointed by al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil head instructor in the disciplines of *ḳirā'āt*, grammar and language in his new-founded al-Fāḍiliyya *madrasa*. Upon Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's reconquest of Palestine, al-Shāṭibī payed him a visit at Jerusalem in 589/1193. He died from a painful illness at the age of 52 on 28 Djumādā II 590/19 June 1194, and was buried at the smaller Ḳarāfa cemetery.

Through al-Shāṭibī, leadership in Ḳur'ānic disciplines returned to the East from Andalusia, where it had reigned for over a century with authorities like al-Dānī (d. 444/1053 [*q.v.*]) and Makī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437/1046 [*q.v.*]), who had substantially developed its theoretical framework of combinatory phonetics. Al-Shāṭibī's most important achievement, which has secured him widespread fame until modern times, is, however, chiefly of a mnemonic kind. Although he wrote several prose compilations on *tafsīr* and Ḳur'ān readings (Brockelmann, I², 521-2, SI, 725-6), the subject of later continuous study has been his didactic poems, the *ʿAḳīlat atrāb al-ḳaṣā'id fī asnā 'l-maḳāṣid* (printed in *Madjmūʿa fī 'l-ḳirā'āt*, Cairo 1929), simply called *al-Rā'iyya*, a rhymed version of al-Dānī's handbook on Ḳur'ānic orthography *al-Muḳniʿ*, and a poem in *ṭawīl*, *Nāẓimat al-zuhr*, on the counting of Ḳur'ān verses. By far most prominent, however, is his *Ḥirz al-amānī fī wadjh al-tahānī* (ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ḍabbāʿ, Cairo 1937), a versification of al-Dānī's compendium of the Seven Readings, *al-Taysīr*, known simply as *al-Shāṭibiyya*, which was to constitute the basis of *ḳirā'āt* teaching from al-Shāṭibī's times until our day, and was also one of the sources used for the establishment of the Cairo edition of the Ḳur'ān in 1924. Al-Shāṭibī's poem is appreciated more especially because it answers the particular need of the discipline, sc. to ease the essential task of memorisation. Not only is the Ḳur'ān itself transmitted almost solely through memorising, but likewise is the discourse about *ḳirā'āt* and even Ḳur'ānic orthography. The reason is evident. Since the Ḳur'ān constitutes itself as text only through recitation, i.e. through being performed as a "speech act" addressed to listeners, the modalities of its performance, i.e. orthoepy and intonation, cannot be conveyed except through oral practice. It is, moreover, the personal presence of the instructor in this art that is considered indispensable, since he—occupying the final position within a chain of transmitters which goes back to the Prophet himself—guarantees the integrity of the tradition's flow from the initial and immediate situation of speech unto the contemporary listeners. The particular affinity of the Ḳur'ān-reading discipline to orality is further enhanced by the interdependence of the elements that constitute the performance of Ḳur'ān reading: the particular version of the text (*ḳirā'a*), the orthoepic rules (*tadjwīd* [*q.v.*]) and the melodical shape of the reading, the cantilena. These three parameters are constantly interacting. Any particular text version (*ḳirā'a*) requires not only a rhythm of its own, but also differs in terms of *tadjwīd*, i.e. particular issues of combinatory phonetics and the location of pauses, from any of the other versions. Again, the melodisation is conditioned by the particular *ḳirā'a*'s rhythm, and may serve to enhance the formal structuring of the text or special aspects of its contents. Finally, *tadjwīd*, the rules concerning pausa location and division of verses, determine the grammatical structuring of the phrases and thus the flow of the melody. Thus the substantially oral nature of the *ḳirā'āt* discipline makes it understandable that, already several generations before al-Shāṭibī, teaching material had been put in the form of didactic poetry. Nevertheless, all of these works were superseded by al-Shāṭibī's long *ṭawīl* poem (1,173 verses), the *Ḥirz*, which adds to the *ḳirā'āt* discourse as such a propaedeutic chapter on general phonetics. The early recognition of the work, enhanced undoubtedly by numerous commentaries, some of which were written by the author's own students (Bergsträsser, *GdQ*, iii, 222-4), may be partly due to al-Shāṭibī's personal fame as a saintly man, observant in his ritual duties, upright towards his colleagues and students, God-fearing and even credited with some miraculous powers. Undisputably, however, the poem itself possesses factual efficiency, due to a decisive new mnemonic device: the introduction of sigla into the presentation of the particular variants. These sigla, pointing at particular readers, transmitters or transmitter groups, appear in the written verse simply as initial letters of single words used within the discussion of the particular Ḳur'ānic lemmata. In order to be recognisable in their meta-lingual function, they have to be marked by a particular colour or repeated over the word they appear in. From Nöldeke (*GdQ*, i, 338) to Bergsträsser (*GdQ*, iii, 219-24), both of whom judged the *Ḥirz* from a merely literary point of view, this practice has been denounced as unconvincing. Since, however, the poem is not meant to be read silently but recited aloud, the mnemonic function of the sigla works on the phonetic level rather than on the visual; read as denoting sounds, not letters, they constitute an important contribution to the pre-modern mnemotechnics. It is only through the recent intrusion of the new phonographic medium into the transmission of Ḳur'ān reading, that the system so deeply imprinted by al-Shāṭibī has become outdated.

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SHAṬRANDJ, the game of chess. The derivation of the word from Sanskrit *catur aṅga* "having four ranks" (Nyberg, 54a) is generally accepted. Arab philologists often argued in favour of a vocalisation *shiṭrandj* and offered more or less ill-advised attempts at etymology (Lane 1551c, and see R. Ermers, in *JAOS*, cxiv [1994], 294b). While the form of the word supports the game's Indian provenience as a war game, chess reached the Near East via Persia, as shown by the many Persian terms employed in it. The Muslim Near East, in turn, transmitted it to Europe. The word itself continued in use on the Iberian peninsula, as in Sp. *ajedrez*. The various vernacular European terms appear to go back to the exclamation *shāh* or *shāhak* indicating peril for the king, or perhaps to the word *shāh* with the definite article (pronounced *ashshāh* "the king") as designating the game itself.

The chronology of its westward march into the Arab world, probably in a sequence of separate episodes, cannot be determined with precision. Even if references to chess should be found in authentic pre-Islamic poetry, which does not seem to be the case, it would not mean a wide acquaintance in Arabia with a game that required a certain educational and economic level. While the abundance of remarks about chess attributed to early Muslim authorities, including the Prophet himself, is clearly due to the concerns of later chess advocates or opponents, it does speak for its early adoption in Islam. The seemingly sudden appearance of a full-fledged specialised chess literature in ʿAbbāsid times and the great popularity then acquired by the game would also point to an earlier reception, even if we allow the doubtful proposition that the dynasty's Persian connections might possibly have had a minor supporting role.

The game was played, as it is today, on a board, usually made of soft material, of eight by eight fields (*bayt*). They were, however, not marked by alternating colours, as shown by the diagrams and in miniatures as late as the 9th/15th century (see S.C. Welch, *Persian painting*, New York 1976, 105, pl. 37), although it would seem logical to assume that the European style as exemplified by Alfonso el Sabio's *Libros de acedrex, dados e tablas* (see A. Steiger, in *Romanica Helvetica*, x [1941]) has, in fact, eastern antecedents. The chessmen, distinguished by the colours "black" and "red", were set up in the familiar manner. Many different arrangements, such as "Indian" and "Persian" forms or circular chess, are mentioned, but the historicity of the attributions might, in some instances, be called into question; they certainly did not enjoy widespread, if any, popularity. Chess sets could be very luxurious; at any rate, the men could not as easily be improvised, as was the case with backgammon pieces (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1323-5, v, 115, ed. Hārūn, v, 382). Their names were mostly Persian: *shāh* "king"; *firzān* (*firz*) "adviser (?)", queen; *fīl* "elephant", bishop (Ar. = P.); *baydaḳ* "footman", pawn. The forms *firzān* and *baydaḳ* are explained as retrograde singulars from, respectively, *fracīn* > **farāzīn* (Nyberg, 74a) and *bayādaḳ* (modern Persian *piyāde*), see A. Spitaler, in *Corolla linguistica. Festschrift Ferdinand Sommer*, Wiesbaden 1958, 217. Even more disputed than the original of *firzān* is the derivation of *rukhkh* rook, castle, from Sanskrit *ratha* "chariot" through Pahlavi *rakhw*, although it seems preferable to a combination with the fabulous bird *rukhkh* [*q.v.*]. Only the knight is Arabic, *faras* "horse". Among the few divergences from modern convention in their basic moves, the most important is the severe restriction of the queen to one field at a time. In a tradition attributed to ʿAlī, the chessmen are compared to likenesses of living forms, thus making them religiously suspect; this could be explained away by the assumption that they looked more lifelike in the time of ʿAlī than they did later (*Book on chess*, 13); for abstract shapes supposed to be chessmen, see E. Kühnel, *Die islamischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin 1971, 28 ff., pl. V-VIII.

The numerous problems (*manṣūbāt*, lit. "set-ups") of middle and end games were diagrammed and discussed. Unless a game (P. *dast*) ended in a draw or stalemate, it ended with *shāh māt* "checkmate". No satisfactory Persian etymon for *māt* has as yet been traced. It was apparently understood as Ar. "he died" already in al-Yaʿḳūbī, *History*, i, 103, l. 11, and this remains the preferable explanation; the strange syntax of *shāh māt* is possibly explained as a calque on a corresponding Persian expression. For the extended linguistic usage specific to chess, see the lists in Pareja, ii, pp. ciii-cxxix, and Wieber, 270-344, as well as the brief listing of Persian terms in *EIr*, v, 396, s.v. *Chess*.

It seems quite probable that the earliest written notes on chess were diagrams jotted down by players for their own personal use. Technical monographs were first written in the 3rd/9th century by al-ʿAdlī

and al-Rāzī, who are practically unknown, and in the following century by a certain al-Ladjlādj and the famous littérateur Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī (Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 330-1); this is known from later quotations and *Fihrist*, 155-6, where an unidentified Ibn al-Uḳlīdisī (not a son of the mathematician, see Brockelmann, S I, 387) is added. For the dubious attributions of special essays on chess to al-Djāḥiẓ, see *Fihrist*, tr. B. Dodge, New York 1970, 408; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 78, and to Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī [*q.v.*], see Murray, 169-70.

The popularity and high standing of chess in general education stimulated the literary imagination. The stories on its origins, whose historical core, where there was one, remains obscure, were widely reported. Poets and littérateurs used references to chess in abandon. For instance, the ability of the pawn to transform itself into a queen by traversing the board served to indicate achievement of success from lowly beginnings by travel and other means. Or seriousness could give way to humour: *shaṭrandjiyya* was coined to denote a meat pie containing bones with no meat on them like chessmen, which has the diners move their hands around the bowl (Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, Cairo 1352, 298 ff.). A theological twist was injected into the debate about chess by a Muʿtazilī comparison of the metaphysical meaning of backgammon and chess, to the supposed disadvantage of the latter (see NARD; and Rosenthal, 165 ff., quoting Abū Zayd al-Balkhī's essay).

Chess players were ranked in five (exceptionally, six) classes. The highest, that of grand master (*ʿāliya*, pl. *ʿawālī*), at times became part of a professional description. Handicaps could be given to lesser players. Prowess in the game could bring riches and, above all, admittance to high society. Chess was, after all, the royal game "invented for kings and the rich, not for the poor and mean", as al-Sakhāwī [*q.v.*], in his monograph on chess, expressed the common thought. Skills like playing blindfold with the back to the board, playing a number of opponents simultaneously, special mixed cases such as playing two opponents blindfold (*ghāʾib^{an}*) and a third one open (*ḥāḍir^{an}*), and the like were much admired and no doubt rewarded; but even an ordinary player down on his luck could make a living from chess travelling around in the provinces, presumably by exhibition games and instruction (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 49. ed. Hārūn, iv, 147). A grand master and poet of the 8th/14th century, who was also able to teach Turkish, probably used all three qualifications to provide for his subsistence (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Inbāʾ*, v , 260; idem, *Dhayl al-Durar*, Cairo 1412/1992, 162; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, vi, 151-2). Playing chess forged strong social bonds; it could cement friendships (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 68) or provide constant companionship (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xv, 380; Wieber, 82). It is quite remarkable how often obituaries from the 9th/15th century mention competence in and devotion to playing chess.

Having its fanatical devotees, chess also engendered bitter enemies. An example of choice vituperation by a chess hater is found in al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iv, 18-19 (Wieber, 134-5). Moral objections were raised by religious scholars at an early date and continued to be repeated and refined. They stressed the danger of neglect of prayer and religious imperatives due to absorption in playing and the potentially illegal exchange of money often connected with it, which was probably much more extensive than the sources let on. In sum, they stressed the game's character as "empty and wrong amusement (*lahw bāṭil*)" and thus as something socially undesirable, even if it was recognised as distinguished from other gambling and play activities by its intellectual foundation. Its outright prohibition was attempted by lumping it together with backgammon and other games and amusements such as music, as indicated, for instance, by the title of al-Ādjurrī's work. In the absence of any express reference in the Ḳurʾān and the authoritative *ḥadīth* collections, al-Ādjurrī cited three traditions ascribed to ʿAlī (see above) and a very few others, among them Ibn ʿUmar's dictum that chess was worse than backgammon (cf. also J. Robson, *Tracts on listening to music*, London 1938, 34-5, 56-8, from the related *Kitāb al-Malāhī* of the earlier Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā). A rather detailed survey of legal opinions by the modern editor of al-Ādjurrī seems to suggest to him that they were inconclusive. A grudging classification of *makrūh* was attempted early and continued to be often used. In later times, the defence of chess had to be more forceful. Ibn Abī Ḥadjala, for instance, would claim decisive support by al-Shāfiʿī (see *Kitāb al-Umm*, vi, 213; Wieber, 184) and basic *taḥrīm* by the other schools, with Mālikism often singled out for the negative stance. Under the right social and economic conditions, this was undoubtedly effective to put chess under a cloud, even if an official prohibition such as that supposedly issued by al-Ḥākim (*q.v.*, see above, at vol. III, 79a) was not the rule.

The popularity of the game spilled at times over into other cultural activities. People dreamed about it; thus dream interpreters paid attention to it in their works, for instance, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Taʿṭīr*, s.v. The production of chess sets often required highly skilled labour. Miniature painters created vivid chess scenes to illustrate the game's description in the *Shāhnāma* and other works of Persian literature. A permanent mark on arithmetic was made by the famous story that the legendary inventor of chess asked that he be rewarded by the amount of wheat that would result from placing one grain of wheat (or some other unit) on the first field and then double it by geometrical progression until the sixty-fourth field was reached. This apparently insignificant reward turned out to be more than could be found in all the world. The computation (2^{63} on the last field to a total of 2^{64}-1) proved a challenge to mathematicians calling for a variety of solutions. The story was so impressive that according to Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1963-4, iii, 506), who refers to al-Bīrūnī, the Indians used the procedure to determine the age of the world.

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(F. ROSENTHAL)

SHAṬṬ (A.), lit. "bank, margin of a piece of water", Fr. Form Chott, also in English conventionally Shott, a geographical term used in the high plains of the Maghrib and the northern Sahara for the saline pasturages surrounding a *sabkha* [*q.v.*]. It has often been confused with this latter term, especially in toponomy of the colonial period, hence one must be very careful when one meets the term. Thus there are found on the high plains the Shaṭṭ Tigrīn in Morocco; in Algeria, from west to east, the Shaṭṭ al-Gharbī, the vast Chott ech-Chergui (Shaṭṭ al-Sharḳī) to the south of the town of Saʿīda, the Zahrez al-Gharbī and al-Sharḳī to the north of Djelfa, and finally, the Shaṭṭ al-Hudna, occupying the depression of the same name. These Chotts of the high plateaux may be found at altitudes of more than 1,000 m/3,280 feet.

In the "Lower Sahara" of the eastern part of the Saharan Atlas (in particular, the massifs of the Aurès and the Nementcha), the Chotts are, on the other hand, found at low levels, sometimes at below sea level in the most westerly depressions: 33 m/108 feet below at the Chott Mérouane (Shaṭṭ Marwān) and 26 m/85 feet below at the Chott Melrhir (Shaṭṭ Malghīr) in Algeria. Further to the east, some less important Chotts link this last to the Shaṭṭ al-Gharsa and then to the very extensive Shaṭṭ al-Djarīd in Tunisia, which stretches out into the Shaṭṭ al-Fadjādj as far as a few tens of kilometres from the Mediterranean in the Gulf of Gabès.

The existence of this string of Chotts (in fact, of *sabkhas*), associated with the presence of shells along their banks (especially of cockle shells, *Cerastoderma glaucum*) has fed the myth of the "Saharan Sea". It is held that this part of the Sahara was recently invaded by the sea and that it would be possible, by excavating a canal from the Gulf of Gabès, to divert the Mediterranean's waters into the Chotts. Although it has been demonstrated that this plan is impossible to realise, it was still a major item in the programme of one Algerian politician who was a candidate in the presidential elections at the end of the 1980s.

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(Y. CALLOT)

SHAṬṬ AL-ʿARAB, the name given to the united stream of the lower Euphrates and Tigris rivers in Mesopotamia.

1. Definitions.

Shaṭṭ (A., pls. *shuṭūṭ, shuṭṭān, shuṭʾān*) meant, originally, one side of a camel's hump, and *shaṭṭ al-wādī* meant a canyon's or a valley's or a stream's bank or side, or the rising ground next to the bottom (*LʿA*, Beirut 1956, vii, 334-5; Lane, *Lexicon*, 1548-9). Eventually, *shaṭṭ* became most commonly used in the sense of a stream's bank. Occasionally, this meaning was expanded to depict a plot of land, apparently close to the bank of a stream (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1955-7, iii, 344). The name Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab ("Bank of the Arabs") currently referring to the tidal estuary formed by the united stream of the two rivers [see AL-FURĀT; DIDJLA], is very unusual, as it uses *shaṭṭ* in relation to the stream itself, rather than to its banks. In modern Mesopotamia-ʿIrāḳ, *shaṭṭ* has indeed often been used to describe a stream. This usage is a relatively recent one. Yāḳūt, who traded in the Persian Gulf, mentions Shaṭṭ ʿUthmān in the Baṣra area as being a plot of land, but he does not mention any Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab in that area (*loc. cit.*).

The early mediaeval name used by both Arabs and Persians was "Tigris" (Didjla) (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr., 76; al-Iṣṭakhrī, Cairo 1961, 57; al-Muḳaddasī, tr. B.A. Collins, London 1994, 12-13). Other Arab names were "Euphrates and Tigris" (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa), and "One-Eyed Tigris" (*Didjla al-ʿAwrāʾ*). The reason for the addition seems to be either an island close to the mouth of the river, by the name of ʿUwayr (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 60), or the sand bar at the mouth. A mediaeval Persian (Pahlavi) name for the Tigris (and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab) was Erwand Rūd ("The Sublime River").

The modern Arab name, Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, which was also used by the Ottomans, seems to be the result of extending the name of the Arab (i.e., the western) bank to include the whole river. One of the earliest modern mentions of the united stream as Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab appears in the accounts of the English traveller J.S. Buckingham, who stayed for a few months in Baṣra in 1816-17 (*Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1829, 359-60). The modern Persian name is still Erwand Rūd.

2. Geographical description.

The confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates is just south of al-Ḳurna, and this is regarded as the beginning of the Shaṭṭ, but there is another confluence, some 50 km further south, where another part of the Euphrates flows through the Hawr Ḥammār marshes into the Shaṭṭ just north of Baṣra. The united river flows into the Persian Gulf near the town of Faw. The Shaṭṭ receives also the waters of the Kārūn River [*q.v.*] and its tributaries. The river's width ranges between 400 and 1,200 m, and its length is about 180 km. Its navigable depth is some 36 feet (six fathoms), though there are places where it is twice that depth. It is only 24 feet (four fathoms) deep at the sand bar near the confluence of the Kārūn (Iraqi Port Administration, *Shatt al-Arab survey map*, Baṣra 1964). In the 1920s the sand bar at the mouth of the river was dredged.

The country on both sides is level. Baṣra, where the tide rises and falls some 3 m, is less than 2 m above sea level. The land along the banks is higher than further out, owing to the silt brought down by the stream. Until the mid-1970s, the land was encroaching on the sea at the rate of some 35 km every 1,000 years, but since then this rate has diminished due to much upstream damming. Rich plantations of date palms line the banks for the whole length of the river, sometimes with orange trees underneath the dates. During the Iraq-Iran War (1980-8, see 3. below), these plantations were seriously damaged.

3. Political history.

With the rise of the Ṣafawī dynasty in Persia in the early 10th/16th century [see ṢAFAWIDS], wars between the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans produced frequent boundary shifts. In 1048/1638 Sultan Murād IV finally recaptured Baghdād. The Treaty of Zuhāb of 1049/1639, which drew a frontier zone, included much of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab well within the Ottoman domain. As a result, it was not mentioned explicitly in the agreement. Subsequent Ottoman-Persian confrontations necessitated further treaties, notably those of Kurdān of 1159/1746 and Erzurūm of 1823, which repeatedly returned to the *status quo* of 1639. Those treaties, too, remained silent in regard to the Shaṭṭ (J.C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in world politics, a documentary record*, New Haven and London 1975, i, 25-8, 79-80, 219-21). The Shaṭṭ al-

ʿArab appears explicitly in the May 1847 Second Treaty of Erzurūm, reached largely due to British and Russian mediation and intervention. Except for Ottoman recognition of Persian sovereignty over Khurramshahr and its port, sovereignty over the waterway was not defined specifically, but the text implies that it was regarded as Ottoman. In effect, the border ran along the eastern bank. Continued rivalry and arguments led to renewed British-Russian intervention and to the 1913 Protocol of Constantinople, followed by a demarcation commission that published its proceedings in October 1914. In the Protocol, Ottoman sovereignty was recognised over the whole Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and its islands, save only a few, mentioned by their names (including ʿAbbādān [*q.v.*]). Opposite the port of Muḥammara (Khurramshahr) [*q.vv.*], the border ran in the *thalweg*, some four miles above, and one mile below the confluence of the river Kārūn. As defined in the 1914 demarcation proceedings, except for these places, the border was to follow "the low-water level of the left (sc. eastern) bank". Due to the eruption of the First World War and Ottoman reservations, the agreement was never ratified.

Following the War, the British authorities established the Basra Port Directorate which controlled all matters of maintenance, navigation and policing in the Shaṭṭ. In early 1930, the old conflict erupted again and was even brought, in 1934, before the League of Nations. Persia felt that admission of ʿIrāḳī sovereignty over the waterway leading to the large port of Khurramshahr and to the fast-growing port of ʿAbbādān (where the border still ran on the eastern bank) was humiliating and intolerable. As for ʿIrāḳ, because it had no other meaningful outlet to the open sea (whereas Iran had a number of alternative ports), it insisted on retaining the *status quo*. However, in 1937, the two countries signed a new treaty in Tehran, reaffirming the 1913 Constantinople Treaty and the 1914 Proceedings with two important changes in regard to the Shaṭṭ. Firstly, five miles opposite ʿAbbādān, the border was moved to the *thalweg*, as had been the case in regard to Khurramshahr. Secondly, a convention was to be concluded, to cover all matters of [joint?] conservancy and navigation, but because of disagreements, this was never concluded.

The outbreak of the Second World War and the British military occupation of ʿIrāḳ (May-June 1941) and southern Iran (August 1941) meant that navigation on the Shaṭṭ was managed exclusively by the British-controlled Basra Port Directorate. It collected dues and appointed pilots and navigation aids, almost exclusively ʿIrāḳī nationals. This state of affairs remained unchanged after the War. From the mid-1950s, Iran's main objection to the *status quo* shifted to the economic aspects. It protested against the inequity of choosing the pilots and accused the ʿIraḳī Baṣra port authorites of misuse of the funds accruing from the passage fees. In 1960-1, with the revolutionary régime of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim having withdrawn from the Baghdad Pact and being completely estranged from Iran and the West, Iran demanded the moving of the whole border to the *thalweg*. It also tried to appoint its own pilots, but retreated when ʿIrāḳī counter-measures paralysed the port of ʿAbbādān.

In 1969, Iran, conscious of the international isolation of ʿIrāḳ's new (1968) Baʿth régime, demanded a new agreement which would define the border as the *thalweg* throughout the Shaṭṭ and establish a joint commission to supervise maintenance and navigation, complaining of obstruction of Iranian shipping there. When this was refused, Iran abrogated the 1937 treaty. Between 1969 and 1975 relations of the two powers sank to a new low, with Iranian support for Kurds in ʿIrāḳ and attempts to stir up ʿIrāḳī Shīʿīs and ʿIrāḳī attempts to encourage dissidence amongst the ʿArabistān/Khūzistān Arabs, but in 1975 the Shāh and Ṣaddām Ḥusayn did sign a new agreement in Algiers. Conscious of its military weakness, ʿIrāḳ conceded moving the border to the *thalweg* line throughout the Shaṭṭ and agreed to joint maintenance and navigation control, whilst Iran agreed *inter alia* to cease aiding the Kurds in ʿIrāḳ and inciting the Shīʿīs. This agreement did not survive the Shāh's fall. With the triumph of Āyat Allāh Rūḥ Allāh Khumaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], relations worsened, with the latter aiming to export the Iranian Revolution and to support the Kurds again. In September 1980, Ṣaddām Ḥusayn, now (since 1979), President of ʿIrāḳ, declared the Algiers agreement null and void, and all-out war between the two powers began. ʿIrāḳ aimed at securing both banks of the Shaṭṭ and at pushing the Iranian front line far enough eastwards to keep the waterway beyond artillery fire. The fighting which centred round the Shaṭṭ resulted in enormous casualties for both sides; ʿIrāḳ failed to hold Khurramshahr after 1982, whilst Iran failed to capture Baṣra. The superior Iranian navy and its air power and artillery blocked the Shaṭṭ and put ʿIrāḳī shore facilities out of action, and 62 ships were trapped in the Shaṭṭ ports for the duration of the war.

After the cease-fire, peace negotiations failed, but as part of his preparations for the invasion of Kuwayt, Ṣaddām Ḥusayn indicated willingness to begin talks on the future of the Shaṭṭ; these, however, came to an end with the invasion. In 1993 ʿIrāḳ started unilateral dredging operations, so that by 1994 ships were again able to navigate the river, but the conflict over sovereignty is unresolved, and traffic on the waterway remains (1995) far below its pre-1980 level.

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(Amatzia Baram, shortened by the Editors)

SHAṬṬĀRIYYA, a Ṣūfī order introduced into India by Shāh ʿAbd Allāh (d. 890/1485), a descendant of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī [*q.v.*].

On reaching India, Shāh ʿAbd Allāh undertook a lightning tour of the country. Himself clad in royal dress, the disciples accompanying him wore military garb, carried banners and announced his arrival by the beat of drums. In his *Laṭāʾif-i ghaybiyya* he explained the basic principles of Shaṭṭārī discipline, which he considered to be the quickest way to attain gnosis. Shāh ʿAbd Allah settled at Māndū [*q.v.*] where he set up the first Shaṭṭārī *khānḳāh*. His work was continued by his two disciples, Shaykh Muḥammad Aʿlā, popularity known as Shaykh Ḳāḍī of Bengal, and Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ of Djawnpur. The latter had a very dynamic *khalīfa* in Shaykh Buddhan, who popularised the *silsila* in northern India. Shaykh Rizḳ Allāh, uncle of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith of Dihlī, became his disciple. Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn, a spiritual descendant of Shaykh Buddhan, wrote a *Risala-yi Shaṭṭāriyya* on the principles of the order. Later on, Shaykh

Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwāliyār (d. 970/1562-3 [*q.v.*] reinforced the *silsila* by giving it a compact organisation and an ideological direction. A prolific writer, he wrote *Djawāhir-i khamsa, Kilīd-i makhzan, Ḍamāyir, Baṣāyir* and *Kanz al-tawḥīd,* and translated the *Amrit kund* into Persian as *Baḥr al-ḥayāt.* He established intimate relations with the Hindus, and provided an ideological meeting ground with them in his *Baḥr al-ḥayāt.* His hobby was keeping bulls and cows. His successors (like Shāh Pīr of Mīrath [*q.v.*] or Meerut) also kept cows. Among his distinguished *khalīfas* was Shaykh Wadjīh al-Dīn ʿAlawī, whose seminary at Aḥmadābād attracted students from different parts of the country.

The Shaṭṭārī mystic ideology was based on *daʿwat-i samāʾ* (control of heavenly bodies which influenced human destiny) and an interiorisation of religious rites. Their social relationship was conditioned by their faith in pantheism. Shāh Muḥammad Ghawth stood up to receive every Hindu visitor. The Shaṭṭārīs established close contact with the rulers, and participated in political affairs also. Shāh ʿAbd Allāh dedicated his *Laṭāʾif* to Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khaldjī. Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth helped Bābur in his conquest of Gwāliyār; he and his elder brother Shaykh Bahlūl developed a close association with Humāyūn and instructed him in *daʿwat-i samāʾ*. Shaykh Ghawth migrated to Gudjarāt when Shīr Shāh came to power, and corresponded with Humāyūn when in exile. Strangely enough, his relations with Akbar were not very cordial, but the latter built the Shaykh's tomb at Gwāliyār, and Djahāngīr built domes over the graves of Shāh ʿAbd Allāh at Māndū and Shāh Pīr at Meerut. The *silsila* lost its importance after Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth. Its mystical influence was overshadowed by the Nakshbandī and the Kādirī *silsilas.* However, Shāh Walī Allāh of Dihlī [*q.v.*] and his father had received *idjāzas* for the *Djawāhir-i khamsa.*

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(K.A. Nizami)

SHĀʾŪL, Anwar (1904-84), ʿIrāḳī lawyer, poet, short story writer, journalist, playwright and translator.

He was among the first generation of Jewish writers in literary Arabic language in Arabic characters in ʿIrāḳ, headed by Sālim Isḥāḳ (1877-1948), translator for the German Embassy in Baghdād, Salmān Shīna (1899-1978), the military attaché of the Ottoman army in the German army in ʿIrāḳ, Ezra Ḥaddād (1900-72), educator, and Murād Mīkhāʾīl (1906-86), poet. Shāʾūl was born in Ḥilla and on his mother's side he was the grandson of an Austrian tailor Hermann Rosenfeld, while on his father's side he belonged to the famous Baghdādī Sassoon family. He early lost his mother, and then in Baghdād he studied at the Alliance Française (1918-23), and in 1924 edited Salmān Shīna's literary and social weekly *al-Miṣbāḥ* ("The lamp") (1924-7). He worked as a lawyer and was advisor to the treasury of the ʿIrāḳī Royal Family. At the age of 25 he established and edited his weekly *al-Ḥāṣid* ("The reaper") (1929-38), one of the leading literary, social and political journals during the 1930s, in his main articles criticising the ʿIrāḳī government, its ministers and officials for their greed and shortcomings, as well as the Fascist and Nazi régimes in Italy and Germany and their supporters among the ʿIrāḳī youth. He also composed several poems against Nazi Germany and rejoiced at its fall and defeat, these and his other romantic poems appearing in his anthology *Hamasāt al-zaman* ("The whispers of time") (Baghdād 1956). A second anthology of poetry, most of which was written in Israel after his immigration thither in 1971, was published in Jerusalem 1983.

Shāʾūl was one of the two ʿIrāḳī writers who first wrote short stories; his collection *al-Ḥaṣād al-Awwal* ("The first harvest") contained 31 of these. However, his writings in prose and poetry were much influenced by French literature, and he translated from French, including a collection of stories originally written by American and European writers from various countries, *Kiṣaṣ min al-gharb* ("Western short stories").

His contribution to ʿIrāḳī theatre and cinema was important, and included the writing of film scripts and songs. He compiled an *English-Arabic dictionary of printing terms* (Baghdād 1967), and his Press and Publication Company (1945-62) published several important Arabic books. In both ʿIrāḳ and Israel he took an active part in social and literary circles, and published his autobiography *Kiṣṣat ḥayātī wādī 'l-Rāfidayn.*

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(S. Moreh)

SHAWĀHID (a.), pl. form, of which the sing. *shāhid* (with the following terminology: *istashhada bi-* "call to witness, appeal to the testimony of"; *istadalla bi-* "use proofs drawn from, employ as proof"; *iḥtadjdja bi-*... *li-ithbāt* "draw argument from ... to establish"; *dalīl, ḥudjdja* "argument, proof, probative authority") denotes a probative quotation (*locus probans*), most often testimony in verse, which serves to establish a rule in the "literary sciences" which, according to the Andalusian scholar al-Ruʿaynī (d. 779/1377 [*q.v.*]), "are six in number: lexicography, morphology, syntax, semantics of the phrase (*maʿānī*), the art of figurative expression (*bayān*) and that of the new style (*badīʿ*)" (*Khizāna*, i, 5; Lane, s.v. *sh-h-d*; R. Paret, in *OLZ*, xi [1935], 690-2; Gilliot, *Les citations probantes*, § 2). In these last three domains, the scholars declare that recourse may be had to the testimony of poets of the four leading categories: pre-Islamic poets, poets who lived both before and during Islam (*mukhaḍrams* [*q.v.*]), Muslim poets (*islāmiyyūn*, i.e. of the first century, poets of the new generation (*muwallads* [*q.v.*]) or moderns (*muḥdaths*; see shiʿr).

I. *Criteria for the acceptance of probative quotations*

As regards the three first above-mentioned disciplines which come under the heading of philology, the criteria of acceptance of poetry as a probative source depend on the attitude towards the language held by the Arab scholars. The general consensus is that it is acceptable to draw conclusions from the poetry of the poets of the first two categories. For the majority of philologists, it is also legitimate to quote as linguistic testimony poets of the third category, such as Djarīr or al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*]. Regarding poets of the fourth category, most scholars decline to draw conclusions from their verse. However, some are accepted as probative, under certain conditions; such was the case in particular of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]) and of al-Raḍī al-Astarābādhī (d. 686/1287 [*q.v.*]) (*Khizāna*, i, 6; Gilliot, § 6).

Another problem is that of verses which have not been transmitted in their entirety or of which the "author" is unknown. The prevailing opinion is that, if the quotation is made by an authority considered trustworthy in regard to the Arabic language, they may be legitimately used as a source of linguistic argument: "This is why the verses of Sībawayh are the most reliable verse testimony" (*Khizāna*, i, 16; Gilliot, § 16).

While less used by philologists, quotations in prose have given rise to an interesting debate which also involves theological considerations. Those which are drawn from the Ḳur'ān are recognised, whether the transmission of the *variae lectiones* (*ḳirā'āt*) be "uninterrupted" (*mutawātir*) or "irregular" (*shādhdh*), as declared by Ibn Djinnī (Gilliot, § 8).

Apparently more astonishing, although conforming to the Arabo-Muslim linguistic representation, is the attitude towards *ḥadīth*. The majority of scholars do not accept it as linguistic testimony, because the specialists in *ḥadīth* declare that its transmission according to the meaning (*bi 'l-ma'nā*) is permitted; as a result, it can never be known for certain that the current version represents the actual words of the one regarded as the best exponent of the Arabic language (*afṣaḥ al-khalḳ*), i.e. the Prophet. Some, such as Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344 [*q.v.*]) see an additional reason for non-acceptance: the fact that the ancient grammarians, such as Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', al-Khalīl, Sībawayh, al-Kisā'ī, etc., abstained from the use of prophetic traditions as sources of probative quotations. Here, as often, non-Arabs and those of mixed blood are accused of corrupting the "native purity" of the Arabs; transmitting traditions, "they committed linguistic errors (*laḥn*) without knowing it"! Among grammarians, admittedly the later ones, exceptions in this respect are, among others, Ibn Kharūf (al-Rundī al-Ishbīlī, d. 609/1212) and Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274 [*q.v.*]). The latter especially made extensive use of *ḥadīth*, in particular in his *Sharḥ al-Tashīl*. These two authors were criticised for this, respectively by Ibn al-Ḍā'i' (al-Ishbīlī, d. 680/1281) and by Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (*Khizāna*, i, 10-12; Gilliot, §§ 9-10). Others adopted an intermediate position, believing it possible to distinguish between two categories of *ḥadīth*, one where transmission is according to the meaning, the other where the transmitters claim word-for-word representation of the prophetic declarations, especially those which illustrate the "excellence in language (*faṣāḥa*) of the Prophet". From this latter category "it is appropriate to draw probative quotations (*yaṣiḥḥu 'l-istishhād bi-hi*) in Arabic". This is the position taken by Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388; commentator on the *Alfiyya*), followed by al-Suyūṭī (*Khizāna*, i, 12-13; al-Suyūṭī, *Iḳtirāḥ*, 52; Gilliot, §§ 11-12).

Some later authors, influenced by logic and by commentaries on the third part of the *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* of al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]), in particular the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338 [*q.v.*]), have conducted a theoretical analysis of the difference between example (*mithāl*) and probative quotation (*shāhid*). In general, they place the former in the abstract category and the latter in the concrete category. *Shāhid* is appropriate for establishing the rule (*ithbāt al-ḳā'ida*), *mithāl* for illustrating it (*īḍāḥ al-ḳā'ida*) (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshaf*, ed. A. Sprenger, s.v. *mithāl*, on the basis of *al-Sharḥ al-muṭawwal* by al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389), of the gloss by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. al-Bakr al-Samarḳandi (wrote *ca.* 888/1483), of *al-Aṭwal* by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Arabshāh al-Isfarā'inī (d. 945/1538) and of the gloss by Ḥasan Čelebi al-Fanārī (d. 886/1481)).

II. *The literature of the genre*

1. In language and in literature.

Since works specialising in grammar and in philology contain a vast number of poetical quotations, the commentaries and glosses composed in this domain are innumerable, the majority of them evidently applying to the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh; among the score of relevant titles, six have been edited or are in manuscript-form (Sezgin, ix, 58-63; Gilliot, § 18). *Al-Djumal* by al-Zadjdjādjī (d. 337/949 [*q.v.*]) has also enjoyed favourable treatment: a dozen commentaries on his verse, of which six have been edited or are in manuscript-form. The same applies to *al-Īḍāḥ* by Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987 [*q.v.*]): nine, of which four have survived (respectively, Sezgin, ix, 88-94, 104-7; Gilliot, §§ 22, 23), in particular Ibn Barrī (d. 582/1187 [*q.v.*]), *Sharḥ shawāhid al-Īḍāḥ*, ed. 'Īd Muṣṭafā Darwīsh, Damascus 1985 (see P. Larcher, in *Arabica*, xxxix [1992], 120-1). There have been, however, few commentaries on the verses quoted in the *K. al-Luma'* by Ibn al-Djinnī (d. 392/1002 [*q.v.*]), it being understood that they are themselves hardly numerous. Worth mentioning is that of Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī (d. 761/1360 [*q.v.*]) entitled *Sharḥ al-shawāhid al-ṣughrā*, which has not survived. In fact, the *K. al-Rawḍa al-adabiyya fī shawāhid 'ilm al-'arabiyya* (Ahlwardt 6752; Brockelmann, II², 31, no. 7) which has been identified with this commentary (see *MIDEO*, xx, no. 31) is nothing other than a manuscript of *al-Iḳtirāḥ* by al-Suyūṭī, with an introduction fabricated by a copyist (Sezgin, ix, 174-7; Gilliot, § 24).

The verses quoted in the commentaries on the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik have in their turn attracted the attention of numerous commentators. Examples are Ibn Hishām and his *Takhlīṣ al-shawāhid wa-talkhīṣ al-fawā'id*, incomplete, also called *Sharḥ shawāhid Ibn al-Nāẓim* (i.e. the son of Ibn Mālik, Abū 'Alī Badr al-Dīn, d. 686/1287), ed. S.T. 'Abd al-Sayyid, Cairo 1987 (*MIDEO*, xx, no. 31), or furthermore *al-Maḳāṣid al-naḥwiyya* by al-'Aynī (d. 855/1451 [*q.v.*]), printed in the margins of the *Khizānat al-adab* by al-Baghdādī, Būlāḳ 1299, which comprises commentaries on the verses contained in four commentaries on the *Alfiyya*: (1) *al-Durra al-muḍī'a* by Badr al-Dīn, son of Ibn Mālik, (2) the *Sharḥ* by Ibn Umm Ḳāsim al-Murādī (d. 749/1348), (3) *Awḍaḥ al-masālik* by Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī, and (4) the *Sharḥ* by Ibn 'Aḳīl (d. 769/1367) (Brockelmann, I², 359-62, no. 11 and S I). The verses contained in 3 and 4 have also been the object of numerous independent commentaries (Gilliot, § 27).

The verses quoted by Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 646/1249 [*q.v.*]) and by the commentators on *al-Kāfiya* and *al-Shāfiya* have also been the frequent object of

commentaries: the *Khizānat al-adab* by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682 [*q.v.*]), which is a commentary on the 959 *shawāhid* quoted by al-Raḍī al-Astarābādhī in his *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, is the most esteemed. This work of unique quality is not only a model of the genre, but also a veritable encyclopaedia of grammar, poetics, literature, bio-bibliography and even history. Furthermore, the new Cairo edition, now complete, with its two volumes of indices, makes it an indispensable working tool (Gilliot, §§ 1, 26). The same al-Baghdādī is also the author of *Sharḥ shawāhid* [*shurūḥ*] *al-Shāfiya*, ed. M. Nūr al-Ḥasan, *et alii*, with *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* by al-Astarābādhī (the *Sharḥ* of al-Baghdādī is to be found in vol. iv), Cairo 1358/1939, repr. Beirut 1975, and of *Sharḥ shawāhid sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-wardiyya*, ed. N.M. Khawādja, Faculty of Letters of Istanbul n.d.

The verses of numerous grammatical manuals of Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī have also been subjected to commentary (Gilliot, § 29): 1. *Mughnī 'l-labīb*, by al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Fatḥ al-ḳarīb*. *Sharḥ shawāhid al-Mughnī*, i-ii, ed. A. Ẓāhir Kūdjān, Damascus 1966, and by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Sharḥ abyāt Mughnī 'l-labīb*, i-iv, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Rabāḥ and A. Yūsuf Daḳḳāḳ, Damascus 1973-5; 2. *Ḳaṭr al-nadā*, by ʿUthmān b. Makkī al-Zabīdī in *Maʿālim al-ihtidā'*. *Sharḥ shawāhid ḳaṭr al-nadā*, completed in 1312/1894, printed Cairo 1324/1906; 3. *Ḳawāʿid al-iʿrāb or al-Iʿrāb ʿan ḳawāʿid al-iʿrāb*, by Balḳāsim b. M. al-Bidjā'ī (d. 866/1462) in *Sharḥ shawāhid al-ḳawāʿid*, which includes commentary on only a few verses; 4. *Shudhūr al-dhahab* [*fī maʿrifat kalām al-ʿArab*], by Shams al-Dīn M. ʿAlī al-Fayyūmī (d. ?; see Brockelmann, II², 29-30, S II, 1477) in *Sharḥ shawāhid Shudhūr al-dhahab*, Cairo 1281/1864, 1291/1874, 1304/1886.

The criteria for the acceptance of probative verses in the "literary sciences" not being the same as those used by the grammarians, it is not surprising that other verses should also be found illustrated and elucidated in the commentaries of the genre, especially in those which are devoted to the third part of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-Sakkākī, and in particular those which are applied to the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of al-Ḳazwīnī (Brockelmann, I², 353-6; S I, 516-19; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 473-9; Gilliot, § 28): the best known is *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*. *Sharḥ abyāt al-Talkhīṣ* by al-ʿAbbāsī (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAr., d. 963/1556), i-iv, in 2 vols., ed. M. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1947. Its author not only comments on verses of the *Talkhīṣ*, giving information about the poets, but also adds verses which correspond to the subject under discussion.

2. In the Ḳur'ānic domain (Gilliot, iv/B).

Works comprising commentaries on the poetical quotations contained in the Ḳur'ānic commentaries, or those which explain the rare words (*gharīb*) of the Ḳur'ān are much less numerous.

Neither the *Sharḥ abyāt al-Madjāz* (i.e. *Madjāz al-Ḳur'ān* of Abū ʿUbayda), nor the *Sharḥ abyāt Maʿānī 'l-Zadjdjādj* (i.e. *Maʿānī al-Ḳur'ān*), both by Ibn al-Sīrāfī (d. 385/995), has survived. One which has survived, but has not been edited, is: Abū Muḥ. Ḥusayn b. Muḥ. b. Ṭāhir al-Sharīf al-Waḥīd (17th century), *Sharḥ shawāhid Madjmaʿ al-bayān* (Brockelmann, S I, 708), on the verses contained in the Ḳur'ānic commentary of the Shīʿī al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153).

Others, which have been edited, include: Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī (Muḥibb al-Dīn Afandī, d. 1016/1608), *Tanzīl al-āyāt* [*ʿalā 'l-shawāhid min al-abyāt*], also entitled *Sharḥ abyāt al-Kashshāf*; Khiḍr al-Mawṣilī (d. 1007/1596), *al-Isʿāf bi-Sharḥ shawāhid al-Ḳāḍī wa 'l-Kashshāf*, a commentary on the verses which corroborate *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl* by al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316) and *al-Kashshāf* by al-Zamakhsharī.

3. On the literature of *ḥadīth* (Gilliot, iv/C).

A single example of the genre exists: Ibn Mālik, *Shawāhid al-tawḍīḥ wa-taṣḥīḥ li-mushkilāt al-Djāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1957, ³1983, a grammatical commentary, divided into 71 questions, on 99 passages in al-Bukhārī's compilation. Three authors at least have composed commentaries on the verses cited in the *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* by Abū ʿUbayd, but only one of these seems to have survived.

Bibliography (besides the references in the article): ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab* [*wa lubb lubāb lisān al-ʿArab*], i-xiii, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn, Cairo 1979-86; Suyūṭī, *al-Iḳtirāḥ*, ed. A.M. Ḳāsim, Cairo 1976; al-Bāḳir (M.ʿA. Riḍā al-Sharīf), *Djāmiʿ al-shawāhid*, Tehran 1274/1857, 1319/1901; A. Fischer and E. Bräunlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, Leipzig and Vienna, 1934-45; ʿA.M. Hārūn, *Muʿdjam shawāhid al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1972; A. al-Naffākh, *Fihris shawāhid Sībawayh*, Beirut 1970; Sezgin, ii, 89-91; Cl. Gilliot, *Les citations probantes* (šawāhid) *en langue*, to be published in two parts in *Arabica*, xliii (1996), the second part containing a comprehensive list of works and editions belonging to this genre. (Cl. Gilliot)

SHAWĀNKĀRA [see FAḌLAWAYH, BANŪ; SHABĀNKĀRA]

SHĀWAR, Abū Shujāʿ b. Mudjīr al-Saʿdī, a vizier of the last Fāṭimid caliph, al-ʿĀḍid li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*], and the statesman who involved the forces of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] in the affairs of Egypt.

He belonged to the Banī Saʿd, semi-settled Bedouin of Djudhām [*q.v.*], a tribal grouping both politically and militarily influential in the first half of the 6th/12th century. In Shawwāl 516/December 1122 Shāwar was released from a long period of Frankish captivity, and was established in *al-ṭā'ifa al-Ma'mūniyya*, the regiment of the vizier Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī [*q.v.*]. He was one of the vizier Riḍwān b. Walakhashī's chief supporters in his disputes with the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], and fled with Riḍwān to Syria. After Riḍwān's defeat in Ṣafar 534/October 1139, Shāwar first retired to Upper Egypt with his Bedouin, then was pardoned but detained in the palace at Cairo.

He was appointed governor of Upper Egypt, based at Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*], by the vizier Ṭalā'iʿ b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*] in 555/1160. Having feared him as a possible rival, the vizier urged his son and successor, Ruzzīk [*q.v.*], not to provoke Shāwar by attempting to replace him. The advice was not followed and in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 557/November 1162 Shāwar openly rebelled. After an initial reverse at Daldja, he moved with a small band via the Western Desert oases to Tarūdja in the Delta, gathered supporters and descended on Cairo, which he entered on Sunday 22 Muḥarram 558/30 December 1162. Shāwar was proclaimed vizier with the title *amīr al-djuyūsh*. Ruzzīk had fled, was imprisoned and later, suspected of plotting amid growing factional rivalries, was executed in Ramaḍān 558/August 1163. That same month Shāwar sent *khilaʿ* (robes of honour) to Nūr al-Dīn, who accepted them and also the funds sent with them.

On Friday 28 Ramaḍān 558/30 August 1163, Shāwar was toppled from the vizierate by another *amīr* of Bedouin origin, Ḍirghām [*q.v.*]. By Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 558/October 1163, Shāwar was at the court of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus seeking assistance. An interventionary expedition led to Shāwar's restoration (Radjab 559/May 1064; for text of his diploma, see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, x, 310-8) and to the first

clash with the Franks, whose interests and ambitions were already deeply involved in Egypt. Two other campaigns followed (562/1167 and 564/1168-9). For the details of these events, see SHĪRKŪH.

In the end, Shāwar, attempting to exploit now one and now the other of the rival outsiders, the Syrian forces and the Crusaders, was unable to maintain his independence. He had lost the support of the palace, the local élite and even of his own family, by his high-risk policy. The burning of Fusṭāṭ in Ṣafar 564/November 1168, probably on his orders to deny the attacking Crusaders the city and its resources, cost him much popular goodwill, even if the damage and losses were not so catastrophic as they have been portrayed (see W. Kubiak, *The burning of Miṣr al-Fusṭāṭ in 1168. A reconsideration of historical evidence*, in *Africana Bulletin*, Warsaw [1976], xxv). The new dominant force in Egypt was the Syrian army of Nūr al-Dīn, elements of which plotted the assassination of Shāwar on Saturday 17 Rabīʿ II 564/18 January 1169, and its commander Shīrkūh succeeded as Fāṭimid vizier.

Bibliography: ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarāʾ al-miṣriyya*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1897, i, esp. 66-73, 78-81; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. M. Ḥilmī, Cairo 1973, iii, see index; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 439-48, nos. 285a and b. For the full range of historical sources, see SHĪRKŪH. (D.S. RICHARDS)

AL-**SHAWBAK**, a fortress, originally constructed by the Crusaders, in Transjordania, now also the name of the settlement which grew up round it. It lies in lat. 30° 33' N., long. 35° 36' E. at an altitude of 1,382 m/4,532 feet in the south of modern Jordan, on a strategic position commanding the al-Karak-Tafīla-Maʿān mountain road and the mediaeval Islamic route via the Wādī ʿAraba towards Egypt. The surrounding Djabal al-Sharā enjoys a good rainfall and winter snows, favouring woods and agricultural land; in mediaeval Islamic times, its famed apricots were exported to Egypt, according to Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ. Its strategic position made it a coveted site for both Crusaders and Arabs, and habitation there certainly goes back to the Nabataeans.

It is reported that in 501/1107, the slopes of al-Shawbak formed part of the tributary domain of the Latin king Baldwin I of Jerusalem, under the local authority of a certain al-Aṣfahīd al-Turkumānī. Shortly thereafter, in 509/1115, Baldwin I led a military force which crossed to the site and ordered the establishment of a military fortress adjacent to two small springs, which supplied a well within the fortress that he provided with a cavalry garrison. Baldwin I gave it particular attention when he visited it the following year, and then proceeded to ʿAḳaba, where he constructed a second fortress in order to control the traffic going to the Ḥidjāz and Egypt. Crusader control became firmly established with the construction of the citadel of al-Karak in 537/1142 by Fulk of Anjou, the king of Jerusalem. The land east of the Jordan River constituted a barony, with al-Shawbak (Montréal in the Frankish sources) at its seat, subsequently to be moved to al-Karak. The sources furnish us with the names of the individuals who were in charge of the fortress, such Romanus de Podio/Romain de Puy, etc.

Al-Shawbak was a target of the Fāṭimids in Egypt, who sent a military expedition that pillaged the locality and captured some prisoners in 552/1157. The following year, the Fāṭimids placed the fortress under siege, which lasted over a year, to be lifted only after the king of Jerusalem sent gifts and asked for a truce of friendship (*muwādaʿa*). The Ayyūbids under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn maintained their aggressive policy against the Franks east of the Jordan River. In Ṣafar 567/October 1171, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn laid siege to the fortress, and its garrison surrendered within ten days. However, he departed before its submission when he received news that Nūr al-Dīn Zankī was approaching. The fortress finally surrendered in Rabīʿ I 585/October 1189, two years after the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*]. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave both al-Shawbak and al-Karak as an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] to his brother and successor al-Malik al-ʿĀdil.

There were development schemes at al-Shawbak during the Ayyūbid period. Fruit trees were planted and the area, with its rich water resources, was rejuvenated to the extent that contemporary geographers compared it to the vicinity of Damascus. Inscriptions testify to the care that the Ayyūbids extended to it. The Franks recognised the strategic significance of al-Shawbak, and while besieging Damietta in 615/1218, they offered to lift the siege in return for Jerusalem, al-Shawbak, and al-Karak. This request was declined. This may explain al-Malik al-Kāmil's interest in the place, for in 626/1229, he paid his nephew al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd 16,000 Egyptian *dīnārs* to add al-Shawbak to his possessions, which he visited three years later while *en route* to Syria. It was part of the domains of the last Ayyūbid prince in southern Jordan, al-Malik al-Mughīth ʿUmar, from 648/1250 until 659/1261. It then passed to the new Mamlūk rulers following their victory over the Mongols at ʿAyn Djālūt. However, in 692/1292, Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl ordered the demolition of the fortress on the advice of the local Bedouin chieftain, for whom it had been a major irritant. Later Mamlūk sultans, and in particular Ḥusām al-Dīn Lādjīn, in 697/1297-8, restored the fortress and gave it their continuous attention, as is attested by inscriptions from that period. The great flood (*al-sayl al-aʿẓam*) and earthquake that struck the region in 718/1318 may explain the observation by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī that the fortress was closed at that time.

There is no consensus in the sources regarding the status of al-Shawbak, with some referring to it as a village, others as a town, and others as a city. During the Mamlūk era it constituted an *ʿamal* with a *mutawallī*, and was part of the *niyāba* of al-Karak. Its *mutawallī* was appointed by the sultan in Cairo but reported to the governor of al-Karak. Biographical dictionaries provide the names of some individuals who held this position. A few of them may have been assigned the region as an *iḳṭāʿ*. The citadel, which was one of the postal stations to Cairo, was occasionally the seat of a *ḳāḍī*, under the jurisdiction of the *ḳāḍī* in al- Karak.

The most important Bedouin tribes in the region were the Banū Zuhayr and Banū Suniyyūn. There were also significant numbers of Melkite Christians, who distinguished themselves in trade. Some were rich enough to give financial support to Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ. They formed the majority of the population, which explains why in 700/1300, they and the Christians of al-Karak were exempted from the sultan's edict to change the colour of their turbans from white to blue.

Al-Shawbak during the 10th/16th century was a seat of the *nāḥiya* as part of the *sandjaḳ* of ʿAdjlūn. Two *tapu defters* provide important statistics on the villages:

The revenues according to the first survey was 11,750 *aḳčes*, falling to 14,000 *aḳčes* near the end of the century. Christians paid the *djizya* at the rate of 80 *aḳčes* per head. The decline in population is explained

	Households	Muslims	*Imams*	Christians
Tapu Defter 970 (no date)	145	16	2	11
Tapu Defter 850 (1005/1596)	65			5

by the deterioration in security. Most Christians migrated to the coastal area of Ghazza. The two *tapu defters* provide detailed information about the tribal groups (*ṭā'ifas*), as well as the names of the villages at that time. It is interesting to note that the villagers numbered less households than those of the nomads.

Information about al-Shawbak subsequently decreases, with only occasional references, such as that in 1022/1613, stating that the fortress was inhabited by *fallāḥīn* who provided ʿAlī b. Fakhr al-Dīn with provisions. In 1812, it was visited by J.L. Burckhardt, who mentions that about one hundred *fallāḥīn* families lived there and paid tribute to the Ḥuwayṭat tribe. An uprising took place against the Ottoman garrison there in 1895. The *mutaṣarrif* of al-Karak laid siege to it, and about 200 people and 20 soldiers were killed. During the *Tanẓīmāt* period, it was part of the *mutaṣarrifiyya* of al-Karak. Al-Shawbak was connected by a branch of the Ḥidjāz Railway, no longer extant, which caused the depletion of its forests. Today, al-Shawbak is a *ḳaḍā'* that is part of the province of Maʿān.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 536; *EI*[1] art. s.v. (E. Honigmann), with older *bibl.*; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie a l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 129-34 (information from ʿUmarī and Ḳalḳashandī); *RCEA*, xii; P. Deschamps, *Kerak et les châteaux de La Terre Oultre le Jourdain*, ii, Paris 1939; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 112-13; the standard histories of the Crusades (Grousset; Runciman; Setton and Baldwin, i-ii), see indices; W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter im Heiligen Land*, Munich-Berlin 1966, M.A. Bakhit, *The Ottoman province of Damascus in the sixteenth century*, Beirut 1975; idem, *Mamlakat al-Karak fī 'l-ʿahd al-mamlūkī*, ʿAmmān 1976; A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century*, Princeton 1978; Y.D. Ghawānma, *Imārat al-Karak al-Ayyūbiyya*, ʿAmmān 1980; Ṭ.ʿA. Ḥabaḥba, *al-Shawbak fī 'l-ta'rīkh wa 'l-widjdān al-shaʿbī*, i, ʿAmmān 1984; S.M. Mūminī, *al-Ḳilāʿ al-islāmiyya fī 'l-Urdunn*, ʿAmmān 1988; M.A. Bakhit and Noufan Hmud (eds.). *The Detailed Defter of Liwā' ʿAjlūn (the district of ʿAjlūn), Tapu defteri no. 970, Istanbul*, ʿAmmān 1989, *Tapu defteri no. 185, Ankara*, ʿAmmān 1991.

(M.A. Bakhit)

AL-**SHĀWĪ** (*nisba* from Shāwiya [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Muḥammad, one of the most popular saints (*sayyid*) of Fās, died there on 26 Muḥarram 1014/13 June 1605, and was buried in the *zāwiya* which still bears his name, in the al-Siyādj quarter. Many notices of him are given by the Moroccan hagiographers, and a collection of his *manāḳib* was made by the famous Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḳādirī (1058-1110/1648-98), entitled *Muʿtamad al-rāwī fī manāḳib walī Allāh sayyidī Aḥmad al-Shāwī*.

Bibliography: Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, lith. Fās 36; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, lith. Fās. 1310, i, 96; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316, i, 274; Gaillard, *Une ville de l'Islam*: *Fès*, Paris 1905, 128; R. Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques*, 27, no. 71; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 278.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

SHĀWĪSH [see ČĀ'ŪSH].

SHĀWIYA (A., pl. of *shāwī*) "sheep-breeder or herder", a term applied to groups in various parts of the Arab world.

1. The Maghrib.

Here the term, originally applied in contempt, has become the general designation of several groups, of which the most important are, in Morocco, the Shāwiya of Tāmasnā and in Algeria, the Shāwiya of the Awrās. E. Doutté (*Marrâkech*, 4-5) mentions several other groups of less importance. An endeavour has also been made to connect Shoa, the name of a district in Abyssinia, with Shāwiya.

Wherever it is found, the term is applied to Berbers of the Zanāta and Hawwāra, more or less arabicised, mixed with purely Arab elements; almost always, moreover, these ethnic groups seem to have schismatic tendencies.

The massif of the Awrās, occupied by the Shāwiya of the department of Constantine, was in the 8th century the centre of resistance of the Ibāḍi [see IBĀḌIYYA] Khāridjīs, as the Mzāb still is at the present day. Now among the Shāwiya of Morocco, the successors to the heretical Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] we find a tribe of Mzāb and the memory of "Judaising" ancestors. On the other hand, Ibn Khaldūn tells us that at the beginning of the Marīnid dynasty in eastern Morocco, a group of Shāwiya lived in contact with the Zakkāra, whose heterodox practices have been studied by A. Moulièras.

According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, i, 176-82, tr. i, 271-82) the original home of the Hawwāra (*vulgo* Huwwāra [*q.v.*]) was the province of Tripoli and the adjacent part of the territory of Barḳa; conquered and oppressed by the Arabs, they had scattered through the whole of the Maghrib where, crushed by taxation and having lost that pride and independence which once characterised them, they devoted themselves to sheep-breeding, whence the name ultimately given them. As to the Zanāta, they were nomadic Berbers, like the Arabs, living in tents on the produce of their flocks and spending the summer in the Tell and the winter in the desert from Ghadāmis to the Sūs al-Aḳṣā (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 1, tr. iii, 179-80).

The name of Shāwiya seems to be first found in Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, i, 22, 16, tr. de Slane, i, 256, tr. Rosenthal, i, 251; *Hist. des Berbères*, i, 179, 10, tr. i, 278; ii, 245, 3, tr. iv, 31; the Shāwiya mentioned in this last passage do not seem to correspond to those of Tāmasnā but to some people of Eastern Morocco, neighbours of the tribes of Hawwāra and Zakkāra).

Next, Leo Africanus (i, 83-4), who calls them *Soava*, tells us that they are African (i.e. Berber) tribes who have adopted the Arab way of living. The majority live at the foot of the Atlas or in the mountain range itself, living by cattle- and sheep-breeding. Wherever they dwell they are always subject to the local dynast or to Arabs. This author already knows two main groups: one in Morocco, in Tāmasnā, the other on the borders of the kingdom of Tunis and the "land of dates" (*bilād al-djarīd*).

It will be readily understood that in the Arab world, the term "sheep breeders" would have a contemptuous significance. As W. Marçais observed, "in ancient Arabia a certain disgrace seems to have been attached to the breeding of the smaller domestic stock. North African opinion has retained a prejudice against the rearers of sheep. The great camel-rearing nomads have nothing but contempt for them. In the middle ages the feeling may have been strengthened by racial antagonism, real or imaginary. But in general at this period, to abandon the camel and adopt the sheep was an avowal of a terrible downfall for a tribe. It meant renouncing the long free travels, the secure refuge of the desert and independence, to submit to local rulers, endure their blows and tolerate their fiscal exactions".

a. Sh̲āwiya of Tāmasnā.

They occupy in the north-east the lower course of the Umm al-Rabīʿ, vast fertile plains which extend to the latitude of the little harbour of Feḍāla. They are descended, according to Leo Africanus (ii, 9), from, the Zanāta and Hawwāra whom the Marīnid sovereigns settled there and who mixed with the remnants of the Barg̲h̲awāṭa, the ancient heretical inhabitants of the region, as well as with the Arabs brought from Ifrīḳiya by the Almohad Sultan Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr. These Sh̲āwiya now speak Arabic; the modern tribes which seem to be of Berber origin are the Znāta, Medyūna, Mzāb, Mellīla, Zyāyda and the Ūlād Bū-Zīrī.

b. Sh̲āwiya of the Awrās.

They occupy this mountain massif in modern Algeria, between Batna and Biskra. Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 1, tr. iii, 179-80) already mentions sections of the Zanāta settled in the Awrās alongside of Hilālī Arabs who had conquered them. It is no doubt to their living in a mountainous country that these Sh̲āwiya have preserved a Berber dialect to the present day.

Bibliography: 1. Sh̲āwiya in general: Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, i, 83; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 222, tr. de Slane, i, 256-7, tr. Rosenthal, i, 250-1; E. Carette, *Recherches sur l'origine et les migrations des principales tribus de l'Afrique septentrionale et particulièrement de l'Algérie*, in *Exploration Scientifique de l'Algérie, Sciences Historiques et Géographiques*, Paris 1853, iii, 147-52, 190; W. Marçais and Abderraḥmân Griga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, 257, n. 37, 258, n. 39.

2. Sh̲āwiya of Tāmasnā: Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*, i, 9; Mermol, *L'Afrique*, tr. Perrot d'Ablancourt, Paris 1677, ii, bk. 4, chs. i-xii; Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā*, iii, 135-6; G. Kampffmeyer, *Šāuia in Marokko*, in *MSOS Ar.*, vi (1903); E. Doutté, *Marrâkech*, 2 ff.; *Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Châouïa*, esp. i, 109-16, 131-6.

3. Sh̲āwiya of the Awrās: Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 1, tr. iii, 179-80; E. Masqueray, *Le Djebel Chechar*, in *Revue Africaine*, xxii (1878), 259-81; De Lartigues, *Monographie de l'Aurès*, Constantine 1904, esp. 123-5; and the bibl. given on 477-80. On their Berber dialect, cf. G. Mercier, *Le Cicouia de l'Aurès*, Paris 1896. See also AWRĀS; BARG̲H̲AWĀṬA; BERBERS; MZĀB. (G.S. COLIN*)

2. Syria and the Arabian Peninsula.

Sh̲āwiya is a flexible term, centering on sheep herding for an urban market, especially live animals for meat. This, of itself, does not have derogatory overtones; what does is the buying of protection (in the past) and herding for wages (in the present), which were and are practised by some participants. *Sh̲āwiya* describes groups who herd sheep as their main livelihood, some of whom have a low political status. Because herders needed to use seasonal grazing grounds or to secure access to markets far from their home base on a regular basis, agreements were made between herders and the "owners" of the grazing grounds and wells, or the markets. Such agreements could be contracts between "equals", groups who saw themselves as close in descent or similar in esteem, and the relationship was thus symmetrical. Those who were distant or lacked esteem paid for protection while using these areas, and thus had asymmetrical agreements.

There is a second question concerning the ownership of the sheep. Some owned the sheep they herded, while others herded sheep belonging to urban owners, village owners, or to camel herding owners, and yet others had flocks of mixed ownership. Herding one's own animals or someone else's was honourable in itself. Esteem or its lack depended on the political arrangements within which the herding took place, and on whether or not the owner and herder saw themselves as equal partners in a mutually beneficial enterprise, or as employer and employee.

These views are the current opinion (1994) of Rwala, Sardiyya, ʿUmūr, Benī Ṣak̲h̲r and Ahl al-D̲j̲abal sheep-herding tribesmen, using southeastern Syria, Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia. The confusion between a description of a means of livelihood and a description of low political status is common in casual speech, especially when talking about individuals or groups distant to the interests of the speaker. As the view that "we are all *sh̲āwiya* now" might be thought to have modified thinking on occupation and political esteem, tribesmen were at pains to clarify that there is and was no determinative association.

Similar confusion is seen in the literature on *sh̲āwiya* and sheep-herding in the past. Musil (*Arabia Deserta*, 223), speaking of the Bilād al-Sh̲ām in the early 1900s, says that the *sh̲āwiya* were a low-status political category who bought protection since they herded sheep and goats, but sheep herders like the Wuld ʿAlī and Ḥessene were held in esteem (*ibid.*, 391). Dickson (*The Arab of the desert*, 109-10), from the 1930s and 40s in Kuwait and eastern Arabia, describes them as an occupational category of people who herd sheep and goats for others. Other sources for Syria, Palestine and Lebanon mention tribes herding sheep and/or goats for peasant, urban and tribal owners, but do not mention *sh̲āwiya*; nor is the term *sh̲āwiya* found in the literature on animal herding contracts (Firestone, 201-8).

Dickson names three *sh̲āwiya* (town usage) or *ḥukra* (desert usage) tribes specialising in herding flocks owned by townsmen or tribal leaders: all sections of the Muntafiḳ confederation, except the al-Saʿdūn shaikhly family; two Muṭayr sections; and the Ahl al-G̲h̲anam of the ʿAwāzim. These latter herded sheep belonging to the ʿAwāzim camel herding sections and flocks of Kuwaiti townsmen. The two lower-status Muṭayr groups herded sheep of the other Muṭayr sections. The Muntafiḳ of Banī Mālik, Āl-Bū Ṣalāḥ, and Ad̲j̲wād, with their neighbours the Benī Has̲h̲āyim and some Sh̲ammar, were mostly "of good Arab descent and some married with the best tribes in Iraq" (546). They had agricultural land along the Euphrates, where some members remained all year. From mid-October, herding families moved slowly south for some two hundred miles, until by February they were south and west of Kuwait. Although Shīʿa, they were welcomed since they brought cheap mutton, butter, wool and sheepskins. They returned north at the end

of April with supplies or rice, sugar, coffee and clothes. While south, they paid *zakāt*, accepted in Saudi Arabia but returned in Kuwait.

Burckhardt described share-herding (i, 17-18) between the tribes and the villagers of the Ḥawrān, and it is implicit in the descriptions of livelihood attached to tribal listings in French Mandate records. Low status was associated with the taking of protection rather than sheep-herding as such; some sheep-herding tribes did not take protection and Musil (1927, 215) says the *s̲h̲āwiya* had "eminent chiefs". Share-herding is honourable, since both sides contribute to the success of the enterprise, and the shepherd has real responsibility. Wage-herding is not, as the herder contributes only his labour, the owner making all decisions and being responsible for sheep and shepherd. Since the 1970s, share-herding has become less common because of changes in herding practices with the development of urban markets, increased sheep numbers, decreased pasture areas and greater state control over border crossings. Most wage-earning shepherds, the current *s̲h̲āwiya* in a derogatory use by the Rwala, Sardiyya, and Benī Ṣak̲h̲r, come from tribes of the area of Rakka [*q.v.*] in Syria. The Ahl al-D̲j̲abal and ʿUmūr rarely use employed shepherds, although they sometimes engage in share-herding with urban or tribal partners. The Rwala and others also share-herd, but within the wider domestic groups as an investment strategy rather than as a commercial activity. Métral (1993, 198) mentions the *s̲h̲āwiya* of the Euphrates being among the current seasonal users of the Palmyrene steppes.

S̲h̲āwiya in this region (and it appears to be similar in parts of ʿUmān) is thus a description of sheep-herding as a means of livelihood; the methods of arranging access to the necessary means to achieve this may involve behaviour considered dishonourable.

Bibliography: J.L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahhabis*, London 1831; A. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1927, 215, 223; idem, *Manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouin*, New York 1928, 44-5; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades des etats du Levant placés sous mandat français*, Beirut 1930, 54-6. 193-200, 203-9; H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1949, 109-10, 545-8; Y. Firestone, *Production and trade in an Islamic context*, in *IJMES*, vi (1975), 185-209, esp. 201-8; Françoise Métral. *Elevage et agriculture dans l'oasis de Sukhne* (*Syrie*), in *Steppes d'Arabies*, ed. R. Bocco, R. Jaubert and Françoise Métral, Paris and Geneva 1993.

(W. and Fidelity Lancaster)

3. *The S̲h̲āwi dialects of the Middle Euphrates valley.*

The S̲h̲āwi dialects occupy a large area of Northern Syria on both sides of the Euphrates, beginning east of Aleppo and stretching down to the Syrian-Iraqi border near Al-Bu Kmāl. In this whole area only two or three riverine towns (Dēr iz-Zōr, Al-Bu Kmāl, perhaps Mayādīn) have preserved a sedentary dialect. Typologically, the S̲h̲āwi dialects are Arabic Bedouin dialects of the small cattle herders (*nomades moutonniers*). The data quoted come from the vicinity of Dēr iz-Zōr.

Phonology. The interdentals *ṯ*, *ḏ* and *ḏ̣* (the latter resulting from the merger of O[ld] A[rabic] *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ*) have been preserved over the whole area (*ṯiğīl* "heavy", *iḏin* "ear", *ariḏ̣* "earth", *ḏ̣all* "he remained"). OA *ǧīm* has been preserved as a voiced palato-alveolar affricate. OA *qāf* was shifted to *g* and has been preserved as such in the vicinity of back vowels (*nāga* "female camel", *ṯugul* "weight"). In the vicinity of front vowels, including the front varieties of *a* and *ā*, it has been shifted to *ğ*, thus merging with *ğ* < OA *ǧīm* (*ṯiğīl* "heavy", *ğilīl* "a little"). Similarly, OA *kāf* has been preserved in the vicinity of back vowels but shifted to a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate *č* in the vicinity of front vowels (*kuṯur* "large quantity", *yākul* "he eats" but *čiṯīr* "much", *ačal* "he ate", *čima* "truffles"). This results in a characteristic alternation of *g*/*ğ* and *k*/*č* in morphemes derived from the same root (*ṯugul*/*ṯiğīl*, *kuṯur*/*čiṯīr*, *yākul*/*ačal* etc.). Over most of the area OA *ġayn* has been shifted to *q*, i.e. a voiceless uvular stop, pronounced like the *qāf* of Modern Standard Arabic (*qanam* "sheep", *ziqīr* "small", *qēr* "other"). In addition to the inherited emphatic (velarised) consonants *ṣ*, *ṭ* and *ḏ̣* there is velarised *ḷ*, especially in the vicinity of *g* (< OA *q*), as well as velarised *ṛ*, *ṃ* and *ḅ* (*gāḷ* "he said", *guḷḷ* "small quantity", *kuḅāḅ* "kaboob"); most of these seem to have phonemic status, albeit with a low functional yield.

The OA long vowels *ī*, *ū*, *ā* have been preserved, whilst the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* have been monophthongised to *ē*, *ō* (*bēḏ̣* "eggs", *ğōz* "walnuts"). There are three short vowels *i*, *u*, *a* which, however, in most cases do not reflect the corresponding OA vowels. Whereas *i* and *u* in unstressed open syllables have been elided, *a* in open syllables has been shifted to either *i* or *u*, according to front or back environment, or has been retained in the vicinity of emphatics and pharyngals (*miša* "he walked", *čitab* "he wrote", *kuṃaš* "he seized", *ḏ̣arab* "he beat", *ḥalab* "he milked"). In two subsequent open syllables with short *a*, the vowel of the first syllable has usually been elided (*čtibat* < **katabat* "she wrote", *kṃušat* "she seized", *ḏ̣rubat* "she beat", *ḥlibat* "she milked"). A short vowel *i* or *u* has been inserted between word final *-CC* (*čitábit* < **katabt* "I wrote"). In the sequence **-aXC-* (where *X* stands for one of the back spirants *x*, *ġ*, *ḥ*, *ʿ*, and *C* stands for any consonant) an *a* is inserted between *X* and *C* (the so-called "*ghawa* syndrome": *mxazūn* < **maxazūn* < **maxzūn* "stored", *aḥámar* "red", *ṯḥalib* "she milks", *ghawa* "coffee").

Morphology. The definite article is *al-* (*al-bēt* "the house"). In the pronoun and the verb, gender distinction in the 2. and 3. persons plural has been preserved. The following paradigm shows the independent personal pronoun and the perfect and imperfect conjugation of the verb *ḏ̣arab* "to beat":

3 sg. m.	*huwwa*	*ḏ̣arab*	*yuḏ̣rub*
f.	*hiyya*	*ḏ̣rubat*	*tuḏ̣rub*
pl. m.	*hum(ma)*	*ḏ̣rubaṃ*	*yúḏ̣urbūn*
f.	*hinna*	*ḏ̣ruban*	*yúḏ̣urbin*
2 sg. m.	*inta*	*ḏ̣arábit*	*tuḏ̣rub*
f.	*inti*	*ḏ̣arabti*	*tuḏ̣urbīn*
pl. m.	*intum*	*ḏ̣arabtum*	*tuḏ̣urbūn*
f.	*intin*	*ḏ̣arabtin*	*túḏ̣urbin*
1 sg.	*āni*	*ḏ̣arábit*	*aḏ̣rub*
pl.	*iḥna*	*ḏ̣arabna*	*nuḏ̣rub*

Bibliography: J. Cantineau, *Etudes sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient* (first part), in *AIEO*, ii (1936), 1-118; O. Jastrow, *Text im Šāwi-Dialekt des mittleren Euphrattals*, in W. Fischer and O. Jastrow (eds.), *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, Wiesbaden 1980, 159-64; P. Behnstedt, *Sprachatlas von Syrien*, Wiesbaden 1996. (O. Jastrow)

S̲H̲AWḲ (a.), the verbal noun from *s̲h̲ w ḳ*, meaning "desire, longing, yearning, craving", much used as a technical term in Islamic religious thought and mysticism.

1. *The period before its adoption into Ṣūfism.*

There are various meanings and stages discernible in the development of the term in mysticism:

(a) *In pre-Islamic profane poetry*. Fragments survive attesting a semi-technical usage of *s̲h̲awḳ* as an element of profane love in the ʿUd̲h̲rī tradition (dating from the early 5th century), especially visible in the few extant poems of the two Muraḳḳis̲h̲ [*q.v.*], al-Akbar and al-Aṣg̲h̲ar (see Al-ʿUdhari, *Jāhilī poetry before Imru' al-Qais*, diss., London Univ. 1991, unpubl., 180-92).

(b) *In the Ḳur'ān and in* Ḥadīt̲h̲. The term is not found in the Ḳur'ān, but the idea of yearning figures prominently in the *ak̲h̲bār* ascribed to the Prophet David and in such manifestations of early Muslim piety as collection of prayers or *adʿiya* (sing. *duʿā'*), as in "whosoever yearns for Paradise moves swiftly towards good merit". Its early evolution as a religious term was bound up with scholastic discussions concerning the beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the Hereafter [see RUʾYAT ALLĀH], involving the idea of the justified believer's yearning to gaze on God's countenance and to meet with him, and *s̲h̲awḳ* was especially stressed as a quality of the Prophet, in Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ's words, cited by al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, "Yearning was composed of one hundred parts. Ninety-nine of these the Prophet possessed, and the one remaining part he divided among mankind" (*al-Risāla al-Ḳus̲h̲ayriyya*, ed. Maḥmūd and S̲h̲arīf, Cairo 1966, ii, 626).

(c) *In pre-Islamic* ak̲h̲bār *literature*. Here, *s̲h̲awḳ* is a central motif in anecdotes from the Jewish and Christian traditions related by early Muslim scholars. Thus lengthy citations from *ak̲h̲bār* on the Prophet David are cited by al-G̲h̲azālī to clarify his mystical conception of *s̲h̲awḳ* (see *Iḥyā'*, iv, 324-5). Such traditions with their explicit association of technical terms like *maʿrifa, ḥubb, s̲h̲awḳ* and *d̲h̲ikr* show the common ground between early Islamic ascetical piety and the later development of Ṣūfī theosophical theories based on love, yearning and gnosis.

(d) *In mystical tafsīr*. Al-Sulamī's recension of the text of the Ḳur'ānic commentary ascribed to the Imām D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (ed. P. Nwyia, in *MUSJ*, xliii [1967], 181-230) outlines a highly elaborate hermeneutics of love in early pietistic Islam, based on such terms as *s̲h̲awḳ ḥubb*, etc., indicating a possible provenance for the later development of *s̲h̲awḳ* in the sophisticated love theory of al-Ḥallād̲j̲ and his later followers such as Rūzbihān Baḳlī (d. 606/1209). Also, Abū Sahl al-Tustarī [*q.v.*] in his mystical *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān al-ʿaẓīm* expresses the idea that *s̲h̲awḳ* or yearning is merely a reflection of the more essential love and light of God (see G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam*, Berlin-New York 1980, 165-70).

2. *Its adoption into Ṣūfism.*

S̲h̲awḳ actually appears in the earliest vocabulary of speculative Ṣūfism, even antedating such terms as *maḳām* and *ḥāl* [*q.vv.*] in the literature; it expressed both a longing for the beatific vision in the Hereafter and a psycho-spiritual sentiment of yearning as a part of a complex mystical love theory, this last being concerned with the interiorisation of piety, with a focus on the *bāṭin*, the life of the soul, rather than on the *ẓāhir* of public faith. Thus the complementary nature of the two notions is seen as early as the Persian S̲h̲aḳīḳ al-Balk̲h̲ī (d. 194/810), acclaimed by al-Sulamī as a pioneer in K̲h̲urāsān to expatiate on the "mystical states" (*ʿulūm al-aḥwāl*). Soon after his time, there arose debates amongst the mystics about the relationship of love to yearning, and about which was superior. Thus Sarī al-Saḳaṭī [*q.v.*] held that *s̲h̲awḳ* was the "highest station", whereas ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] considered it as the gnostic's greatest defect. Ḥārit̲h̲ al-Muḥāsibī [*q.v.*] steered a middle course in his *K. al-Maḥabba* (excerpts cited in Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī's *Ḥilya*), that yearning was derived from love, and assisted the lover's pursuit of the divine vision. The imagery of lights and radiance appears in these works, and then in an author like Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907), that of fire—the fires of fear, love and yearning. There was a tendency to re-direct yearning towards the beloved of the heart, seen in al-Sarrād̲j̲'s [*q.v.*] *K. al-Lumaʿ*, with a final stage of yearning, that of ineffablity, the subject having passed away (*fanā'*) in the object of yearning.

In his *Iḥyā'*, al-G̲h̲azālī has a lengthy *K. al-Maḥabba wa 'l-s̲h̲awḳ wa 'l-uns wa 'l-riḍā* (no. XXXVII), a comprehensive monograph on the philosophico-theological premises underlying the mystical understanding of the varieties of human and divine love. For him, all love derives ultimately from the love of God. Likewise, there is a first category of *s̲h̲awḳ* based on contemplation and the heart's vision and a second category based on sacred tradition and God's natural and created manifestations. The gnostic's yearning for the Divine Unknown is endless, an infinite *s̲h̲awḳ* which neither lessens in this world nor the next.

The concept appears extensively in the Persian mystical poets from the 6th/12th century onwards. Thus Sanā'ī [*q.v.*] has sections on *s̲h̲awḳ* in his mystical *mat̲h̲nawī* poems the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* and *Sanā'ī-ābād*. We find a special emphasis on the mystical piety of love, *mad̲h̲hab al-ʿis̲h̲ḳ*, with *s̲h̲awḳ al-ḳalb*, a yearning for contemplation of the Beloved in the mystic's heart in this present world, emphasised over *al-s̲h̲awḳ ilā 'l-d̲j̲anna*, seen, e.g. in Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī. But there is also a very thorough treatment of *s̲h̲awḳ* in the Ḥanbalī mystic Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]) in his *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn* (see. J. Bell, *Love theory in late Hanbalite Islam*, Albany 1979), and this continues in later Ḥanbalī authors, such as Marʿī b. Yūsuf al-Karmī (11th/17th century).

Bibliography: See also Tahānawī, *Dict. of technical terms*, Calcutta 1862, i, 770; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kās̲h̲ānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Muḥ. Ibrāhīm D̲j̲aʿfar, Cairo 1981; J. Nūrbak̲h̲s̲h̲, *Maʿārif al-ṣūfiyya*, London 1987, ch. 4 "S̲h̲awḳ", 45-57.

(L. LEWISOHN, shortened by the Editors)

S̲H̲AWḲ, TAṢADDUḲ ḤUSAYN (Nawwāb Mīrzā), Urdu poet (?-1871).

He came from a family of physicians, and his paternal uncle, Mīrzā ʿAlī K̲h̲ān, was a distinguished medical officer in Lucknow at the court of the Nawwābs of Oudh (Awadh); S̲h̲awḳ himself was well educated, not only in medicine, but also in arts and sciences. He owed his skill in poetry to the guidance of Ātis̲h̲ [*q.v.*]. He achieved for his *mat̲h̲nawīs* considerable fame in his lifetime, especially in Lucknow, and even discerning critics like Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī acknowledge his merits (in his *Muḳaddima-yi s̲h̲iʿr-ō-s̲h̲āʿirī*). S̲h̲awḳ paints vivid pictures of the Lucknow of Nawāb Wād̲j̲id ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, with its colourful customs and society. Saksena (see *Bibl.*), 30, includes S̲h̲awḳ among the [seven] "most notable" *mat̲h̲nawī* writers. Yet elsewhere (150) he appears to denigrate Lucknow poets in the genre, who depict love which is not elevated, but "of a low kind", referring specifically to *Ẓahr-i-ʿis̲h̲ḳ* and other poems by S̲h̲awḳ.

The most famous of S̲h̲awḳ's *mat̲h̲nawiyyāt* is *Ẓahr-i-ʿis̲h̲ḳ* ("The poison of love"), though from some points of view, others such as *Farīb-i-ʿis̲h̲ḳ* ("The allurement of love") are sometimes considered superior. Some argue that S̲h̲awḳ retails local stories, posing as the hero himself; others regard his stories as genuinely autobiographical. It is generally thought that his language was quite witty and acceptable, though Ḥālī

in his *Muḳaddima* suggests that it became somewhat unacceptable (554). The story tells how a rich merchant had a beautiful daughter whom the hero, who lived in the same district, saw by chance when she appeared on the roof or balcony of her house. A love affair develops somewhat in the vein of *Romeo and Juliet*. Both the heroine and the hero successively drink poison, but in the end the effect is nullified. The story is important from several points of view. First, the element of magic, which had become normal in the *mathnawī*, is absent, save in the description of the failure of the poison to prove fatal. Secondly, the characters are not princely or noble, but ordinary, as indeed are the events. Thirdly, the poems are brief. Fourthly, at a time when Lucknow poetry seemed to concentrate on language, Shawḳ stressed meaning. A third *mathnawī*, *Ladhdhat-i-ʿishḳ* ("The Pleasure of Love"), is his longest, and is more evocative of Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. This and his fourth *mathnawī*, *Bahār-i-ʿishḳ* ("The Spring of Love") are said to illustrate his felicitous use of the language of the ladies of Lucknow. Shawḳ's fame seems to have been short-lived. For example, Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, does not even mention his name; nor do his collections of two other genres of Urdu love poetry—*ghazal* and the more passionate *wāsōkht*—seem to have made much impact.

Bibliography: Probably the best account of Shawḳ's *mathnawī* is to be found in Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, *Lakhnāw kā dabistān-ī-shāʿirī*, Lahore 1955, 553-75, which contains substantial extracts from the poems. The sparse information to be found in Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahahbad 1927, has been mentioned. There are various editions of the poetry; interesting comments on it are to be found in Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī's *Muḳaddima*.

(J.A. Haywood)

al-SHAWKĀNĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, writer, teacher and *muftī* in Ṣanʿāʾ (*ca.* 1173-1255/1760-1839). His opinions and his writings are seen as foreshadowing the Islamic modernism of the first half of the 20th century. Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] regarded him as the *mudjaddid* "regenerator", of the 12th century A.H. (*Tafsīr al-Manār*, vii, 144). Many of his books exist in modern (sometimes uncritical) editions. In his *al-Ḳawl al-mufīd fī adillat al-idjtihād wa 'l-taḳlīd* (Cairo, Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī) he argues that it is not necessary to follow one of the established Islamic schools of law or *madhāhib*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 818; Sarkīs, 1160; Ibrāhīm Ibrāhīm Hilāl, *Wilāyat Allāh wa 'l-ṭarīḳ ilayhā. Dirāsa wa-taḥḳīḳ li 'l-kitāb ... li 'l-Imām al-Shawkānī*, Cairo 1969, pp. 552.

(J.J.G. Jansen)

SHAWKAT ʿALĪ (1873-1938), Indian Muslim leader. Elder of the famous "ʿAlī Brothers", Shawkat was born at Rāmpūr on 10 March 1873. He received a "modern", i.e. English, education at the insistence of his widowed mother, Ābādī Begum (who later played a significant role in the Indian freedom and Khilāfat movements) despite the opposition of her male relatives. She pawned her personal jewellery to send Shawkat to a school in Bareilly, from where he went to the M.A.O. College, ʿAlīgaṙh. He did not show brilliance in his studies, but gained fame as a sportsman.

After his graduation in 1895, Shawkat was employed in the Opium Department for the next 17 years. He took premature retirement to tour the country as the Agha Khān's secretary in order to mobilise public opinion and to collect funds to convert the M.A.O. College into a full-fledged university.

Unlike his younger brother, Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], an erudite writer and speaker, Shawkat was a practical man who fully supported his younger brother in his activities. Shawkat founded Andjuman-i Khuddām-i Kaʿba ("Association of the Servants of the Kaʿba") in 1913 to protect the sacred monument in Mecca and to facilitate pilgrimage from India. At about the same time, he assumed the managerial responsibilities of the newspapers published by Muḥammad ʿAlī, (the Urdu daily) *Hamdard* and (the English weekly) *Comrade*, due to the latter's ill-health.

The ʿAlī Brothers were arrested in May 1915 on charges of arousing the Muslims against the British. They remained in prison until December 1919. Shawkat's pension from the Department of Opium was confiscated at the time of his arrest.

During the next decade the ʿAlī Brothers dominated the Indian Muslim scene and took an active part in the freedom movement. They associated themselves with the Indian National Congress and played a crucial role in bringing it, especially its leader M.K. Gandhi, closer to the Muslims in the country. They played a key role in the Non-Cooperation (*Tark-i Muwālāt*) Movement of the early 1920s, and led the Khilāfat Movement [*q.v.*] aimed at protecting the Ottoman Caliphate.

The ʿAlī Brothers were again arrested in 1921 for passing a resolution in the All-India Khilafat Conference at Karachi on 9 July 1921 calling upon Muslim soldiers in the Indian British army to desert from it. They were tried, along with five others, in the famous Karachi Trial of the same year (details in Rafique Akhtar, *Historic trial*, Karachi 1971).

Shawkat presided over the All-India Khilafat Committee's annual conference in 1923 at Cocanada. This conference formed a socio-political group, Hindustani Sewa Dal ("Indian service corps"), to improve the social conditions of the Indian people. Shawkat presided over the first session of this organisation at Belgaum in 1924.

At this time, a belligerent Hindu nationalism, including the movement of *Śuddhi* ("purification", i.e. reconversion of Muslims to Hinduism), was raising its head. Muslims demanded assurances of a fair deal in an independent India where Hindus were going to be the majority. (The Lucknow Pact of 1916 had given some weighting to Muslim demands.) The Indian National Congress refused to give any special assurance to Muslims in the Nehru Report and the All Party Conference at Calcutta in 1928, and this caused most Muslim leaders to drift away from the Congress and demand a separate state for Muslims.

Shawkat resigned from the Congress and settled in Bombay, where he dedicated himself to the advocacy of Muslim causes through the Urdu daily *Khilāfat* and the Urdu weekly *Khilāfat-e ʿUthmāniyya*. Towards the end of his life, Shawkat was elected to the Central Legislative Council. He died in Dihlī on 26 November 1938.

Bibliography: Unlike his younger brother, Shawkat does not seem to have been the subject of any independent work. See for a detailed account and some primary sources about his life: Mushirul Haq, *Shawkat Ali*, in S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of national biography*, Calcutta 1974, 176-8.

(Zafarul-Islam Khan)

SHAWKAT BUKHĀRĪ, Muḥammad Isḥāḳ, 17th-century Persian poet, died 1107/1695-6.

He spent the early part of his life in Bukhārā, where his father worked as a moneychanger. Shawkat also took up the same profession, but then set out

for Khurāsān. In 1088/1677-8 he arrived in Harāt and entered the service of the governor Ṣafī Ḳulī Khān Shāmlū. Shawkat was also associated for a considerable time with Mīrzā Saʿd al-Dīn, vizier of Khurāsān, who treated him with great affection and kindness, but eventually he decided to sever all connection from worldly affairs and lead a life of seclusion. Ultimately, he took up residence in Iṣfahān, where he died under conditions of self-imposed poverty. He was laid to rest in Iṣfahān at the cemetery dedicated to the spiritual leader Shaykh ʿAlī b. Suhayl b. Azhar Iṣfahānī.

According to some writers, the poet initially employed Nāzuk as his pen-name. His *dīwān* contains *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *ḳiṭʿas* and *rubāʿīs*. Most of his *ḳaṣīdas* are in praise of the Imām Riḍā and the poet's chief patron Saʿd al-Dīn. Shawkat is especially noted for his *ghazals*, which are distinguished by an inventiveness in meaning and expression. He is regarded among those poets whose influence was chiefly instrumental in the popularisation of the "Indian style" (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]). Though his work failed to gain recognition from early Persian writers, he was held in high esteem in Turkey where, according to E.J.W. Gibb, "he continued for more than half a century to be the guiding star for the majority of Ottoman poets".

Bibliography: *Dīwān-i Shawkat*, B.L. ms. Add. 7810; *Tadhkira-yi Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn*, Tehran 1334/1955; Shahnawāz Khān Khʷāfī, *Bahāristān-i sukhan*, Madras 1958; Muḥammad Ṭāhir. Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1352/1973; Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Shamʿ-i andjuman*, Bhopal 1292/1875-6; Kishan Čand Ikhlāṣ, *Hamīsha bahār*, Karachi 1967-8; Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Hāshimī Sandīlawī, *Makhzan al-gharāʾib*, ii, ed. Muḥammad Bāḳir, Lahore 1970; Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Natāʾidj al-afkār*, Bombay 1336/1958; Gibb, *Ottoman poetry*, i; Browne, *LHP*, iv; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/2, Tehran 1367/1988.

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

SHAWḲĪ, AḤMAD, Egyptian poet and dramatist. Born in Cairo in 1868 into an affluent family whose genealogy shows a multifarious ancestry, mingling Turkish, Kurdish, Greek and Arab strains, he died in Cairo on 14 October 1932.

It is both convenient and realistic to distinguish between three periods in the biography of the poet. Until 1914, Shawḳī was the poet of the court (*shāʿir al-umarāʾ*); from 1914 to 1917 he was the poet in exile; and from 1919 to 1932 he enjoyed popular and critical acclaim, bearing the prestigious title of *Amīr al-shuʿarāʾ*.

On leaving the School of Law of Sūḳ al-Zalaṭ in 1887, Shawḳī was awarded a grant to pursue his legal studies at Montpellier. He was resident in France until 1891. Although he considered al-Mutanabbī his principal mentor, influences on him henceforward included Victor Hugo and de Musset, his favourite French poets. Until the outbreak of the First World War, as an official of the Palace, Shawḳī was the poet of the Prince, to whom he addressed eulogies whenever the occasion arose, attempting to some extent to imitate the conduct of al-Mutanabbī with regard to Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*].

When war broke out in 1914, the Khedive ʿAbbās was visiting Turkey. The British announced their Protectorate over Egypt, opposed the return of ʿAbbās and appointed in his place the Sultan Ḥusayn Kāmil. Shawḳī sought to please both the British and Ḥusayn; however, his marked hostility towards Britain's Egyptian policy (especially at the time of the resignation of Lord Cromer) resulted in a limited form of exile; accompanied by his two sons ʿAlī and Ḥusayn, he boarded a ship bound for Barcelona and was not to leave Spain until 1919.

Essentially a period of transition, these few years are marked by a relatively small volume of work, lacking any great originality (principally two plays in which he attempts to imitate two celebrated ancient models: al-Buḥturī and Ibn Zaydūn [*q.vv.*]).

On his return to Egypt in 1919, it was the contemporary Egyptian scene which claimed the poet's attention: eulogies and funeral tributes addresed to renowned Egyptians, the Milner Report, reforms at al-Azhar, creation of the Bank of Egypt, Congress of Egyptian political parties, the fiftieth anniversary of the Dār al-ʿUlūm—all kinds of events were extolled by the poet, in a style far removed from the panegyrics of the court or from the nostalgic effusions of exile in Spain. The talented singer ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who was his constant companion, was to popularise sung versions of these historical *ḳaṣīdas*.

Despite sometimes acerbic criticism, the laurels awarded to Shawḳī have not withered; the fiftieth anniversary of his death was marked by spectacular commemorative ceremonies which took place in Cairo between 16 and 22 October 1982 and brought together, at the highest level, Egyptian authorities and literary figures from the Arab countries and from Europe, coming to pay their respects to the "Prince of poets".

The sources of inspiration of Shawḳī are essentially the following:

(a) The *Firʿawniyyāt*, chronicles of the centuries in the epic style of Victor Hugo.

(b) The *Islāmiyyāt*, the most celebrated of which was to be popularised by the renowned Egyptian singer Umm Kulthūm (*al-Hamziyya al-nabawiyya*).

(c) The *Turkiyyāt*, celebrating the role of the Turks as defenders of Islam, especially in the Greco-Turkish war of 1921-2.

(d) Egypt: compositions illustrating numerous and very diversified themes, reflecting the current scene and constituting in total a veritable poetical history of contemporary Egypt.

(e) Occasional pieces: panegyrics, funeral odes, *nasībs*.

(f) Theatre: although Shawḳī owes his renown to his lyrical compositions, it should not be forgotten that it was by means of drama that he made his entrance into the literary world, writing, while still resident in France, his first tragedy *ʿAlī Bāy al-Kabīr*. Much later, he returned to the genre with *Madjnūn Layla* (1916), then with *Maṣraʿ Kilyubātrā* (1917), *Ḳambīz* (performed at the Ramesses Theatre in 1931), *Amīrat al-Andalus* and *ʿAntara*, his last work.

Bibliography: 1. Works of Shawḳī. *al-Shawḳiyyāt*, 4th ed., i, *al-Siyāsa wa ʾl-taʾrīkh wa ʾl-idjtimāʿ*, Cairo n.d. (1964?), 302 pp.; ii, *al-Waṣf*, Cairo n.d. (1964?), 198 pp.; iii, *al-Marāthī*, Cairo 1384/1964, 192 pp.; iv, *Mutafarriḳāt fī ʾl-siyāsa wa ʾl-taʾrīkh wa ʾl-idjtimāʿ*, Cairo 1384/1964, 216 pp.; *Maṣraʿ Kilyubātrā*, Cairo 1964, 167 pp.; *Ḳambīz*, Cairo 1946, 159 pp.; *Madjnūn Layla*, Cairo 1965, 160 pp.; *Aswāḳ al-dhahab*, Cairo 1932, 134 pp.; *Amīrat al-Andalus*, Cairo 1932, 157 pp.; *ʿAlī Bāy al-Kabīr aw dawlat al-Mamālīk*, Cairo n.d. (1932?), 174 pp.; *al-Sitt Hudā*, in *al-Nidāʾ*, 23 June 1952, p. 8; *ʿAntara*, Cairo 1948, 139 pp.; *al-Shawḳiyyāt al-madjhūla*, Cairo 1961-2, 2 vols., 319, 336 pp.; *Shawḳiyyāt* in dialectal Arabic: see A. Boudot-Lamotte, in *Arabica*, xx (1973), 225-45.

2. Studies. Faradj al-Sayyid, *Shawkī wa 'l-Mutanabbī, Naẓarāt fi 'l-djundiyya wa 'l-ḥarb*, Cairo 1969; 'Abbās Ḥasan, *al-Mutanabbī wa-Shawkī, Dirāsa wa-nakd wa-muwāzana*, Cairo 1964; Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Ḥāfiẓ wa-Shawkī* = collection of articles published in the following reviews: *al-Siyāsa, al-Djadīd, al-Muktaṭaf, al-Hilāl*; Ḥasan Sandūbī, *al-Shu'arā' al-thalātha: Shawkī, Muṭrān, Ḥāfiẓ*, Cairo 1922; Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, *Shawkī wa-Ḥāfiẓ wa-Muṭrān*, in *al Hilāl*, xi (Nov. 1968), 88-102; idem, *Ḥāfiẓ wa-Shawkī*, Cairo 1948; Aḥmad 'Ubayd, *Dhikrā al-shā'irayn, Shā'ir al-Nīl wa-Amīr al-shu'arā'*, 2 vols., Damascus 1932.

On account of its extent, an exhaustive bibliography of the work of Shawkī cannot be accommodated here. For fuller information two doctoral theses may be consulted: A. Boudot-Lamotte, *Aḥmad Shawkī, l'homme et l'œuvre*, Damascus 1977; and Muḥammad al-Hādī al-Ṭarābulusī, *Khaṣā'iṣ al-uslūb fi 'l-Shawkiyyāt*, Tunis 1981, plus, more recently, 'Irfān Shahīd, *al-'Awda ilā Shawkī aw ba'd khamsīn 'ām^{an}*, Beirut 1986; P. Cachia, *An overview of modern Arabic literature*, Edinburgh 1990, 110-11, 181-2, 204-5; *The Cambridge hist. of Arabic literature. Modern Arabic literature*, ed. M.M. Badawi, Cambridge 1992, 47-8, 67-71, 358-60. (A. Boudot-Lamotte)

SHAWKĪ EFENDI RABBĀNĪ, conventional form Shoghi Effendi (b. 1 March 1897, d. 4 November 1957), head or Guardian of the Bahā'ī religion 1921-57.

The great-grandson of Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Nūrī Bahā' Allāh [*q.v.*], the sect's founder, Shoghi was born in Haifa, Palestine, for some time the home of his grandfather, 'Abbās Efendi 'Abd al-Bahā' [*q.v.*] and later the international centre for the movement. Shoghi was educated in Haifa and at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, after which he spent about a year at Balliol College, Oxford. In November 1921, he was recalled to Palestine on the death of 'Abbās Efendi.

In his will, 'Abbās had appointed his grandson first in a projected line of "Guardians of the Cause of God" (*walī-yi amr Allāh*), modelled on the Shī'ī Imāms, whose role was to interpret Bahā'ī scripture and provide infallible guidance on religious matters. Shoghi used his Western-type education and his organisational skills to create a complex international organisation for the Bahā'ī movement. He also had a marked ability to systematise, and, through the medium of several books and innumerable encyclical letters, he fashioned a coherent, schematised picture of Bahā'ī history and doctrine which has subsequently come to be the authoritative version as understood by all modern adherents. His writings, most of which are in English, include an important history of the first Bahā'ī century, *God passes by* (1944), a translation of an early Bahā'ī chronicle of the Bābī movement, *Nabīl's narrative* (1932), and interpretative translations of several important works of Bahā' Allāh (including the *Kitāb-i Īkān*). He also supervised several volumes of the yearbook, *The Bahā'ī world*, in which a normative presentation of the faith's history, doctrines, and administrative system was developed. He remained in Haifa, creating there the nucleus of the Bahā'ī World Centre, involving extensive buildings and landscaping work.

According to official accounts, on his death in London in 1957, he left no will or verbal instructions as to the future direction of the movement. Being childless, he was expected, according to the terms of 'Abd al-Bahā''s will, to have appointed another male member of the Bahā'ī sacred lineage to succeed him; but he had by then excommunicated all his living relatives. The line of guardians thus ended with him, and in current Bahā'ī estimation he is now "the Guardian of the Cause" *par excellence*. Overall religious authority within the movement now rests with a nine-man council, the *Bayt al-'Adl al-A'ẓam* (Universal House of Justice), elected every five years. An attempt to continue the guardianship was made by the former president of Shoghi's International Bahā'ī Council, Charles Mason Remey (1874-1974), whose followers form the Orthodox Bahā'ī Faith and its sub-groups, each with its own line of guardians. Given the overwhelming influence of the Universal House of Justice, however, it seems most unlikely that a *wilāyat* system will reappear in mainstream Bahā'ism.

Bibliography: Ruhiyyih Rabbani, *The priceless pearl*, London 1969 (hagiography by Shoghi's Canadian widow); Ugo Giachery, *Shoghi Effendi: recollections*, Oxford 1973 (jejune); 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ishrāḳ Khāwarī *Sukhanrānī-yi Djanāb-i Ishrāḳ Khāwarī*, [Tehran] 1973-74 (uninformative); Dhikr Allāh Khādim, *Bi-yād-i maḥbūb*, [Tehran] 1974-5; Shoghi Effendi, *God passes by*, Wilmette, Ill. 1944, idem, *The advent of divine justice*, New York 1939; idem, *The dispensation of Bahá'u'lláh*, New York 1934; idem, *The Promised Day is come*, Wilmette 1941; idem (tr. and ed.), Nabīl-i-A'ẓam, *The dawn-breakers: Nabīl's narrative of the early days of the Bahá'í revelation*, New York 1932. For a full bibliography of Shoghi Effendi's English writings, see W.P. Collins, *Bibliography of English-language works on the Bábí and Bahá'í faiths 1844-1985*, Oxford 1990, section V. Several volumes of Persian letters have been published. (D. MacEoin)

SHAWWĀL, the name of the tenth month of the Muslim lunar year. In the Ḳur'ān (sūra X, 2), four months are mentioned during which, in the year 9/630-1, the Arabs could move in their country without exposing themselves to attacks (cf. "the sacred months" in v. 5). These four months were, according to the commentaries, Shawwāl, Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da, Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and Muḥarram. In *Ḥadīth*, Shawwāl is therefore among "the months of pilgrimage mentioned in Allāh's Book" (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 33, 37).

In pre-Islamic times, Shawwāl was considered ill-omened for the conclusion of marriages (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v.). In order to prove this opinion baseless, 'Ā'isha emphasised the fact that Muḥammad had married her in this month (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 10). In the modern Muslim world, there is difference of opinion concerning this point. Among the Muslim Tigré tribes of Ethiopia and Eritrea, Shawwāl is one of the months suitable for celebrating marriages; in 'Umān, on the other hand, it is considered ill-omened in this respect.

The law recommends fasting during six days following the *'īd al-fiṭr* ([*q.v.*]; cf. al-Tirmidhī, *ṣawm*, *bāb* 52, "Whosoever fasts the month of Ramaḍān as well as six days of Shawwāl, has reached the *ṣawm al-dahr*"; cf. also Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 203). Nevertheless, these days usually partake of the solemn character of the "lesser festival". For the same reason Shawwāl bears not only the epithet of *al-mukarram* ("the venerated"), but also such names as *faṭer ḳadām* (Tigré), *bayram* (Turkey), *faṭri 'l-awli* ('Umān), *uröë raya* (Acheh).

Bibliography: E. Littmann, *Die Ehrennamen und Neubenennungen der islamischen Monate*, in *Isl.*, viii. 228 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 97 ff.; idem, *The Achehnese*, i, 237. (A.J. Wensinck)

SHĀY [see Čay].

SHAY' (a.) "thing, entity".

The philosophical term *shay'* first of all has a generally accepted meaning: it designates that which is perceived concretely by the senses (*mudrak*) and at which a finger may be pointed (*al-mushār ilayhi*), although it

cannot yet be positively defined. However, in this perception, a thing is only a thing to the extent that, in the perception, it is distinct from another. In the plural, *ashya'* are objects given purely and simply as existing externally. They are to be distinguished from *a'yān* which signify the same objects, but in the sense that they are thought of in their individualised essence. Zayd and 'Amr are *a'yān*. It could be said that all people, philosophers and theologians included, employ the word *shay'* in this vague and general sense; it is a very frequent usage. Thus the Mu'tazilīs speculate as to whether the shadow of a thing (*ẓill al-shay'*) is the thing itself or is other than it. Some consider that it is other. Al-Djubbā'ī claims that the shadow is not a notion which has meaning in itself (*ma'nā*); the meaning of the shadow is that the thing casts a covering veil, not that it has a meaning in itself (*Maḳālāt*, ii, 96).

An interesting text of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Mabāḥith*, i, 43-4) sets out the relationship between *a'yān* and *shay'*, where it is shown that existence is not that by which the thing is constituted in being (*thābit*) but that it is the very fact of being constituted in being (*nafs kawn al-shay' thābit*[an]). "We mean by existence only the fact that the thing supervenes (*ḥuṣūl al-shay'*), is realised and established in being.... If it is said that existence is an attribute (*ṣifa*) which demands that the thing is actualised in individual essences (*ḥuṣūl al-shay' fi 'l-a'yān*), we shall say in this regard that it is not possible that the production of the thing in the *a'yān* should be caused by an attribute which is present in it". The demonstration which follows depends essentially on the consequence of such a conception, this being the infinite sequence of causes. The conclusion is that the existence [of things] "is only the fact of being constituted in the *a'yān*".

But the philosophical reflection of the Arab thinkers has led them to state that every person who speaks of a thing will *understand* what is meant by the word which he uses. He has a *mafhūm*. The Arab thinkers underlined the importance of the *mafhūm*, and they showed that it is indefinable, for the good reason that it is by means of it that a definition is possible; it is because it is understood through the word that expresses it that a concept can be defined. Ibn Sīnā (*K. al-Shifā'*) has in this sense assimilated the being in the capacity of the being (*ens qua ens*) to the thing, that is to the *mafhūm* of the word "thing". The thing is for him the equivalent of *mā* or of *alladhī*: "that which" (in Latin *quod*). It will be said in effect: the being is that which ..., or: the being is something which ...; in other words, the being is defined through the being, or through the *mafhūm* of the word, as the thing is defined through the thing or its *mafhūm*: a thing is some thing which .... Now when "that which" or "something which" is thus said, it is understood what is said, without need of definition. And if nothing were understood, there would be no definition. The thing is therefore the being in terms of being, in other words the fundamental *mafhūm* without which there would be no thought; it is, consequently, the foundation of all thought. Thus everything which is, everything which exists, whether an object (a house, a horse, etc.) or an abstraction (a feeling, a thought, etc.) can be called a "thing", and here there is constant use of the word which may be disconcerting to the Western reader but which is one of the most typical features of Arabic philosophical and theological language.

A question which then arises is: can the non-being be called a thing? Is there a "thingness" (*shay'iyya*) of the non-being, of nothingness (*'adam*)? Theologians and philosophers have upheld opposing theses on this topic. At first sight, it is certain that if the thing is the *ens qua ens*, it would be contradictory to say that the non-being is a thing. This problem, which has tormented Arab thinkers, has a parallel in the theme of Plato's *Sophist*.

The Mu'tazilīs reckon that the non-being is cognisable and that it is consequently a thing. Al-Djuwaynī made a survey of their opinions with the responses of the Ash'arīs (*al-Shāmil*, 131-8): "If you maintain, they say, that the non-being is cognisable and is not a thing, it would be legitimate to say that there is an object perceived [by the senses] (*mudrak*) which is not a thing, which would be false". And the response is that it would be necessary to prove that there is equivalence between cognisance and sensible perception (*idrāk*). If so, any thing not perceived by the senses would be unkown, which is evidently false. Another Mu'tazilī argument is that we are aware of the negation of the impossible and the nothingness of the non-being. Here there are two negations: nothingness and non-being; impossibility and impossible. But how are we to distinguish between two negations, since negation does not contain within itself any discernment? It is necessary, however, to distinguish between, on the one hand, cognisance of the nothingness of the non-being, and on the other, the non-being itself. Cognisance of the nothingness of the non-being is thus not a non-being, as cognisance of impossibility is not impossible. It follows that the nothingness of the non-being, insofar as it is known, is *something*, since it is essential clearly to distinguish from the non-being the nothingness of the non-being which, itself, is known. And the response is that if that is the case, to distinguish the impossible from the possible, the impossibility of the impossible which cannot exist would need to be an entity (*dhāt*), in other words, a thing which exists.

This being so, al-Djuwaynī (134) critises the notion of the "thingness of the non-being" (*shay'iyyat al-ma'dūm*) and he castigates the Mu'tazilī of Baṣra al-Naṣībī, for whom the non-being, although it is neither an essence (*dhāt*) nor other than an essence, can be called "thing" in a general manner (*iṭlāḳ*[an]) and according to the language (*lughat*[an]). But this recourse to language is based either on reason or on current usage. However, languages are not created by reason but by convention (*iṣṭilāḥ*) or by divine institution (*tawḳīf*). Conventional institution cannot be used for purposes of argument here; as for divine institution, it demands that appeal is made to it only on the basis of Ḳur'ānic usage. Specifically, al-Djuwaynī's adversaries reckon that they can rely on Sūra XXII, 1: "Yes, the earthquake of the Hour [shall be] a tremendous thing (*shay' 'aẓīm*)". God thus calls it a "thing" before it has taken place, which would prove that He is using the word "thing" to denote that which does not yet exist. If it is said that there is no earthquake until the time that it exists, it can equally be said that there is no thing until the time that it exists. Furthermore, the words of the language are taken either in a literal sense or in a figurative sense. Languages, and hence the literal meaning of words, being variable, it is difficult to define in terms of a rational argument the literal meaning of the word "thing". Consequently, it must be acknowledged that this word is, in the majority of cases, used figuratively. It is thus not possible, according to al-Naṣībī's perspective, to justify the thingness of the non-being by a linguistic reference to the literal meaning of the word "thing".

Reflection on the "thing" also involves, on the one hand, the cognisance which God has of creatures, and

on the other, the divine attributes. The first question was of particular interest to the Mu'tazilīs. Hishām b. 'Amr al-Fuwaṭī did not say that God is aware of things from all eternity; God knows that He is unique, and if it were to be said that He is aware of things from all eternity, this would be to assert that they exist eternally with Him. When he was asked if God has known from all eternity the things that would exist, he answered that this implies that the finger can be pointed at things (*ishāra ilayhā*); only that which exists can be indicated. He did not call "things" that which God has not created and which is not, but he gave this name to that which He has created and to that which He has eliminated and which has become a non-being (*ma'dūm*). Al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] stated that God knows things eternally "in their time" (*fī awḳātihā*), i.e. in relation to the moment when He wills their creation. This leads to the notion that God knows things, not in themselves, but by means of His power and His will to create them. An analogous theory is found in the writings of 'Abbād b. Sulaymān: God does not cease to know things, substances and accidents. But He does not eternally know corporeal things, nor beings that are made (*al-maf'ūlāt*) and created (*al-makhlūḳāt*). This idea seems close to that of *falāsifa* of the school of Avicenna, according to whom God does not know particulars as such but only their principles and causes. As for Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Djubbā'ī [*q.v.*], he considered that God does not cease to know things, since things are things before being. Finally, others claimed that God does not cease to know things which have not existed and shall not exist. In fact, He knows all things which He can produce through one of His attributes: He knows them in this attribute (*Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, i, 219-23).

A further question is: can it be said that God is "before things", or should it simply be said that He is "before", with nothing added? The disciples of 'Abbād b. Sulaymān say that He is "before", but not that He is "before things", no more than He is after things or the first among things (*awwal al-ashyā'*). The disciples of al-Naẓẓām say that the Creator has not ceased to be "the anterior of things" (*ḳablu* [in the nominative case] *al-ashyā'*), but not before things (*ḳabla* [in the accusative case] *al-ashyā'*). It seems that here it is the case of the absolute anteriority of God, which the *falāsifa* call *taḳaddum* when commenting on Ḳur'ān, LVII, 3, "He is the First"; this is the sense in which the neo-Platonists hold that the One is not a number, i.e. the first of numbers, but transcends the numerical succession; on the contrary, the expression "before things" implies a relationship to the thing which is inappropriate for God. However, the majority of Mu'tazilīs teach that God is "before things" (*ḳabla 'l-ashyā'*) (*Maḳālāt*, i, 249).

As for the attributes of God, are they things or are they not? Some accept it, others deny it, since a thing has attributes, and when the attribute is defined as a thing with its attributes, no progress has been made. Similarly, when it is asserted that the attributes are not things because they are eternal, there is conflict with those who refuse to say whether the attributes are eternal or not; this touches on the problem faced by the Mu'tazilīs when distinguishing between attributes of the essence and attributes of action. If they are taken to be eternal, it is permissible to say that they are not things; but this is the crux of the question. In a general sense, before knowing whether the attributes are things or are not things, it would be necessary to know what they are in relation to God. But if the Ash'arīs are correct in saying that they are not God and that they are not other than God, then how is it to be determined that they are or are not things? It could, of course, be said that when a particular attribute, such as knowledge or power, is considered, it is a thing by virtue of being an object of thought. But it does not follow that the attributes of God as such are things. The problem of the "thingness" of the divine attributes thus remains unresolved.

Bibliography: Ibn Sīnā, *K. al-Shifā'* (*al-Ilāhiyyāt*), ed. G.C. Anawati and Sa'īd Zayed, Cairo 1960, i, 30-1; Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols., Cairo 1950; al-Djuwaynī, *al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. 'Alī Sāmī al-Nashshār, Fayṣal Budayr 'Awn and Suhayr Muḥammad Mukhtār, Alexandria n.d.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *K. al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya*, 2 vols., Tehran 1966. (R. Arnaldez)

SHAY' AL-ḲAWM, the name of a Safaitic deity, unknown however in the pantheon of Central and South Arabia. In Safaitic inscriptions he appears as *šy'hḳwm*, i.e. Shay' ha-Ḳawm, and it is only in the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions (see G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*[2], Louvain 1953 = Quillet, *Hist. gen. des religions*[2], Paris 1960, ii, 199-228) that we have the form with the regular Arabic definite article, Shay' al-Ḳawm.

The name may refer to a tribal deity in the form of a lion or lion cub, so that Shay' Allāh (this theophoric name, probably a depaganisation of the god's name, is found in the lexica, e.g. *T'A*, v, 398 1. 29) could be parallel to the Biblical Hebrew name Ari-El (cf. Gesenius-Bahl, 65-6); according to Damascius, the ancestral god of Baalbek was worshipped in the form of a lion (W. Robertson Smith, *The religion of the Semites*, Cambridge 1894, [3]London 1927, 444-5). Recent Semitic scholarship has, however, suggested that *shay'* means here "comrade, companion", so that good sense may be made of the god's name as "escort, protector of the tribe" or "the fighting men of the tribe". An interesting feature, mentioned in a Palmyrene inscription by a Nabataean soldier, is the description of him as "the god that never drinks wine", a prohibition that may have extended to his devotees.

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris 1987, 153-4 (on the first interpretation); E.A. Knauf, *Dushara and Shai' al-Qaum*, in *Aram*, ii (1990), 175-83, (on the second one), and bibls. cited in both.

(T. Fahd)

SHA'YĀ (also Asha'yā'), Isaiah, son of Amos, a prophet sent to Israel, unmentioned by name in the Ḳur'ān (although *tafsīr* works mention him in connection with Ḳur'ān, XVII, 4), but well known in *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* literature, notably for his predictions of the coming of Jesus ('Īsā [*q.v.*]) and Muḥammad. The story of Isaiah falls into three periods of prophecy. The account provided by al-Ṭabarī is typical. First, Isaiah is named as a prophet during the reign of Zedekiah (or Hezekiah, as in the Bible) and prophesies the king's death. The second period of prophecy occurs in the time of the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib (Sanḥārīb). After Isaiah announces that the king's death has been postponed for 15 years (because God has heard the king's prayer), God destroys all of the enemy forces except Sennacherib and five scribes. After parading them around Jerusalem for 66 days, Zedekiah follows the command of God and allows Sennacherib to return to Babylon. So the events become a "warning and admonition" of the strength of God. In the third period of prophecy,

the people are leaving the ways of God in the wake of the death of the king, and Isaiah warns them of doom. This leads to his martyrdom at the hands of his fellow Israelites. Isaiah flees when threatened and takes refuge inside a tree. Satan, however, shows his enemies the fringes of his clothes and they cut down the tree, killing him in the process (see M. Gaster and B. Heller, *Der Prophet Jesajah und der Baum*, in *MGWJ*, lxxx [1936], 35-52, 127-8).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 638-45, tr. M. Perlmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, iv, *The ancient kingdoms*, Albany 1987, 36-42; Abū Rifāʿa al-Fārisī, *Badʾ al-khalk wa-kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, in R.G. Khoury (ed.), *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam*, Wiesbaden 1978, 237-50; W. Hoenerbach, *Isaias bei Ṭabarī*, in H. Junker and J. Botterweck (eds.), *Alttestamentliche Studien. Friedrich Nötscher zum 60. Geburtstage gewidmet*, Bonn 1950, 98-119. (A. Rippin)

AL-**SHAYB** WA 'L-**SHABĀB** (A.), old age, senescence (lit. "white hair") and youth. This poetic theme of the Arabs has known a long and prolific history and has played, in urban post-Djāhilī poetry, a role analogous to that of the *nasīb* in the moulding of the *kaṣīda* [*q.vv.*].

According to its etymology, *shabāb* apparently denotes the beginnings of anything. The term, together with *shabība* and *shabābiyya*, signifies not only youth and the beginnings of adulthood, but also the vigour of this age. The synonyms *fatāʾ* and *ḥadātha* are less often used: *ṣibā* is recorded as having the same meaning (*Lieder der Hudhailiten*, Berlin 1884 [= *Hudhaliyyīn*], 96, l.8; al-Buḥturī, *al-Ḥamāsa*, Beirut 1387/1967, [= al-Buḥturī] 194, ll.18, 19); this period extends from puberty to the end of the thirties, or from 15 to 32 years of age; it is followed by the *kuhūla* (Lane, s.v. *shabāb*).

The root *sh-y-b* features in Safaitic inscriptions in the forms *sh-y-b-t* and *'sh-y-b* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, i, iv; G. Lankester Harding, *An index of Pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971, 363). *Sh-m-ṭ*, given as an equivalent of *sh-y-b*, seems to have been of more limited use (al-Nābigha, ed. Ahlwardt, *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn*, London 1870, vii, v. 26; *LA*, xiii, 45, l.5; al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938-45, i, 347, l.10; Abū Dhu'ayb, *Dīwān*, Hanover 1926, 33, l.6; *TA*, v, 170, l.25: al-Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1891, 69, l.6; Abū Zayd, *Nawādir*, Beirut 1894, 144, 9; *al-Sulayk b. al-Sulaka, akhbāruhu wa-shiʿruhu*, Baghdād 1404/1984, 75). The lexicographers assert in this context that only *shamṭāʾ* can be used for feminine old age. However, in the *Lisān*, a verse is cited which mentions *musbilāt shaybuhunna wābiṭu* ("women despised for letting down their white hair", *LA*, ix, 303, l.4). *Gh-th-m* (in the form *aghtham*, "grey which is white rather than black") is also used as a synonym (Abū Zayd, *Nawādir*, 52, l.4: *LA*, xv, 329, l.22). Finally, it is appropriate to mention *dh-r-ʾ*, which is given as an equivalent of *shamiṭa* (*LA*, i, 74, l.10, vi, 113, l.24, viii, 165, 6; Abū ʿUbayda, *Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1347, i, 288, l.1; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿānī*, 1223; al-Buḥturī, 201, l.5; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo, ed. Shākir, xv, 296, l.2; al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, Cairo 1354/1936, i, 480, l.13, ii, 967, l.3).

From the outset, semantics provides a hint of the dread engendered by the departure of youth and the appearance of the first signs of old age; thus *rāʿiyat al-shayb*, denoting the first white hair which appears on the head, derives from the root *r-w-ʿ* which expresses fright and terror (Kuthayyir ʿAzza, i, 162; al-Buḥturī, 197, l.17; al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, Cairo 1300, ii, 222; cf. *rayʿān al-shabāb*).

It is very unusual for a poetic theme to link the real and the imaginary to the extent that *shabāb* and *shayb* have done. Initially, the entire theme appears inexplicable, since the Bedouin did not tend to live long. Al-Djāḥiẓ makes the comment in this regard: "There are among the Bedouin those who enjoy great longevity; however, accounts of them, in this respect, are tainted by numerous untruths" (*al-Ḥayawān*, i, 157). It was a society of the young; thus old people and their white hair were all the more visible and their situation all the more problematical.

1. The themes of youth and old age

a) *The real*

It is hard to comprehend the terror expressed in poems on this theme, in the light of the very widespread practice among men of dyeing the hair (*khiḍāb*), so extensive as to serve as a point of reference in the most diverse poetical texts (Imruʾ al-Ḳays, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1984, 176, where the blood of the slaughtered beast is compared with diluted henna as a dressing for the greying hair of an aged person; al-Buḥturī, 188, l.7; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, Oxford 1918-21, 234, l.6, 288, l.20; *LA*, 462, l.25; *TA*, vii, 337, l.30; Djarīr, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1354/1935, 18, l.1). It is related in this context, that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the first Meccan to introduce this practice to his fellow-tribespeople; he had discovered the benefits of dyeing during a visit to Yemen, where its use was very widespread (Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Munammaḳ*, Beirut 1405/1985, 112-13; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *al-Awāʾil*, Beirut 1407/1987, 17). Men who resisted this practice must have been few; among the poets, for example, only two, al-Muraḳḳish al-Akbar and ʿAntara, seem to have rejected dyeing. In this context, a certain adage is especially revealing: *al-khiḍābu aḥad al-shabābayn* ("the dyeing of hair constitutes one of the two youths" [al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Tamthīl wa 'l-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1961, 388]). Finally, opinions are divided as to its efficacy: while Maḥmūd al-Warrāḳ seems to favour it (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1359-72/1940-53, iii, 50), Mālik b. Asmāʾ sees it as an imperfect solution which is incapable of deceiving female partners (*al-Ḥamāsa al-baṣriyya*, Ḥaydarābād 1383, 188).

Within Islam, this practice receives the endorsement of the law. In *ḥadīth*, the Muslim is instructed to dye his white hair. As early as the 2nd/8th century the following tradition was in circulation: "The Jews and the Christians do not dye [their hair]; you must do otherwise" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Būlāḳ 1313, ii, 240, 309, 401). Another tradition praises henna and *katm* (a black dye which masks the red of the henna (Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 147, 154, 156, 169). The sources contain copious information regarding the Companions, the Successors or *tābiʿūn* and the masters of later generations, who used the same products for the dyeing of their hair (Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, no. 3, ll.9-13; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār wa-musāmarat al-akhyār*, Beirut 1388/1968, 349-50). Currently, in Salafī circles, this method of rejuvenation is recommended for men (Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *al-Fatāwā*, Cairo 1966, *ṣabgh al-shaʿr*, 390-1; see also al-Māwardī, *al-Amthāl wa 'l-ḥikam*, Alexandria 1402, 152). In concurrence with the *Midrash* (*Pirkei Rabbī Eliʿezer ha-gadol*, Jerusalem 1973, § 51, § 52, 209), Muslim scholars declare that the Patriarch Abraham was the first man to see his hair turn white (*wa-huwa awwalu man raʾā al-shayba fī 'l-dunyā*). Astonished, Abraham asked God what this signified. He was heard to say that it was a warning which urges the attentive man to prepare himself for future life and keep himself from sin. Another tradition, still in conformity with the *Midrash*, relates that Abraham and Isaac were so alike that

people were unable to distinguish one from the other. God smote the father with *shayb* as a means of setting them apart. Others, still speaking of Abraham, assert that *shayb* is a light and a tangible sign of majesty (*waḳār*; this is an accurate translation of the Midrashic term *hādār*; Rabbi Levitas used a formula which was to find lasting favour among the Arab poets, a crown of majesty, *keter hadūr be-rosho, in Pirkei Rabbī Eli'ezer, loc. cit.*). Understanding this, the Patriarch is supposed to have asked God to give him more; his hair then became all white (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, Beirut 1405/1985, i, 281). All of this gives the impression of a very favourable attitude towards this age, which is further confirmed by numerous other *ḥadīths*, (Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, no. 2, ll.14-5, 33).

All things considered, the fear of old age can be explained by the extent to which, in pre-Islamic society, the warrior was promoted to a rank of the highest prestige. Youth, indispensable for the practice of this occupation, was considered an inestimable advantage; its loss with the coming of *shayb* must have been regarded as an irreparable misfortune. On the other hand, it seems that the status of the war veteran and that of the old man were among the most precarious. The complaints of Sā'ida b. Dju'ayya on being relegated by his kinsmen to the remotest corners of the camp, in spite of his heroic record, are confirmed by the poetry of the *mu'ammarūn*. All insist on the tribal degradation of the aged hero: his leadership is utterly revoked; the tribe carries him as a dead weight. His kinsmen are ashamed of him, he is frequently scolded, he is relegated to the remotest corners of the tent for fear of his eccentricities and, henceforward, his advice is disregarded.

All lay the blame for their misfortunes on *shayb*; all evoke with nostalgia their glorious youth (al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, Cairo 1384/1965, iii, 1122-5; al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Mu'ammarīn*, Leiden 1889, 39, 40, 45, 47). It may be noted that the commentators on the Ḳur'ān, in their interpretation of *ardhal al-'umr* ("the worst period of life", XVI, 79; XXII, 16) have given an image identical to that sketched by the *mu'ammarūn* (utterances attributed to Ibn 'Abbās in al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmi' li-aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo n.d., 3756-7).

Islam, by means of the Ḳur'ān, *ḥadīth* and edifying texts, elevated the respect due to aged persons to the level of an essential moral principle. In parallel, there are traditions attacking youth; this impetuous stage is considered a branch (*shu'ba*) of folly (*al-shabāb shu'bat^un min al-djunūn* al-Māwardī, *op. cit.*, 131, 151). This attitude explains the advice given to young people to attempt to resemble the old (*ibid.*, 85). Finally, a man whose beard was not tinged with white was not regarded as fit to transmit *ḥadīth* (Wakī', *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, ii, 54).

The very significant indications which have just been revealed provide a hint of a situation which is different from, and even opposed to, that described by the poetry of old age; furthermore, the persistence of pre-Islamic themes and their consolidation over the centuries following the disappearance of the *Djāhiliyya* clearly show that this vast corpus of work is dependent on the imaginary. Convention is the utterly dominant factor in this context.

(b) *The imaginary*

Poets dealing with this theme adopted a resolute and monolithic attitude. The two entities are absolutely antithetical, youth being considered the Good and old age representing Evil; such an approach tends to accentuate the conventional nature of this poetry.

1. *Youth*

Youth is a precious possession and is dearly loved (semantic field jointly expressing the beautiful and the good; *ḥasan* = beautiful, al-Buḥturī, 181, l.14; *ḥamīd* and *maḥmūd* = "worthy of praise", *The Naḳā'iḍ of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ*, Leiden 1905-12, 963, l.10; *al-Aghānī*,[3] xii, 296, l.9; *Le dīwān de Salāma b. Djandal*, Beirut 1910, 7, l.11; *fakhir* = precious, *LA*, xvi, 61, 6; *TA*, ix, 78, 34; *li-llāhi durr 'l-shabābi* = "how excellent is youth", al-Buḥturī, 180, l.8, 186, l.7; Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 20). It is the age of vigour (semantic field expressing force, *ḳawī* = "robust", *al-Ḥamāsa*, 144, l.10; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Leipzig 1864-92, 766, l.16; *al-Ḥayawān*, ii, 201, l.2), of great ambitions (see below), of the good life (semantic field expressing recreation and debauchery, *lahawnā* = "we enjoyed ourselves", 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ, *Dīwān*, Leiden 1913, 75, l.5; Aws b. Ḥadjar, *Dīwān*, Vienna 1892, 4, l.7; *makhfūḍ al-'aysh* = "living in tranquility", *al-Ḥamāsa*, 576, l.1; *ladhdha* = "pleasures", *al-Naḳā'iḍ*, 457, l.3) and of love affairs (*Hudhaliyyīn*, ed. Wellhausen, 76, l.8, Abū Ṣakhr al-Hudhalī; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 773, v. 9; Salāma b. Djandal, 7, v. 13; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shi'r wa 'l-shu'arā'*, Leiden 1904, 147, l.13; 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, *Dīwān*, Vienna 1902, 201, l.3).

2. *The loss of youth*

One is forcibly robbed of this fortunate age ('Amr b. Ḳamī'a, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1385/1965, 48-51; al-Buḥturī, 180, ll.18-21); furthermore, if al-Marzubānī is to be believed, 'Amr was the first poet to mourn over lost youth (*Mu'djam al-shu'arā'*, Cairo 1379/1960, 4). However, Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (*K. al-Ṣinā'atayn*, Cairo 1352, ii, 155) proposes that primacy in this case belongs to 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ. The formulas belong to the semantic field of weeping and lamentation (*'urrītu min al-shabāb* = "I have been robbed [of the attire] of youth") of Abu 'l-'Atāhiya (*al-Anwār al-zāhiya fī dīwān Abi 'l-'Atāhiya*, Beirut 1889, 32; al-Sarī al-Raffā', *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb*, Damascus 1407/1987, iv, 378; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1342, ii, 26); those based on *bakā* ("he wept", 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī, 177; al-Buḥturī, 181, l.7-8; Di'bil, clviii, 235), on *djazi'a* ("to show grief", al-Buḥturī, 280, l.16); on *fa-ndub* ("lament!" [imper.], al-Buḥturī, 181, l.8). In other contexts, these are exclamations of overwhelming grief which try to convey the sorrow caused by the irrevocable loss of a precious possession (*yā lahfa nafsī* "what a misfortune", al-Buḥturī, 180, l.18). Furthermore, all the formulae which evoke the departure of youth stress that what is involved here is a loan which must be repaid: *al-shabāb al-musta'ār* ("the youth which has been lent to us", 'Umar b. Rabī'a, *Dīwān*, Leipzig 1901-9, 15, l.3); numerous words and combinations are borrowed from the language of death: *awdā* ("he has perished, death has claimed him", al-Namir b. Tawlab, in *LA*, i, 351, l.17, and ii, 180, l.16; other cases, al-Musāwir b. Hind, *Ḥamāsa*, 225, l.23; al-Aḥwaṣ, in al-Buḥturī, 190, l.6; al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, Cairo 1384, ii, 382; etc.) *fanā* ("he has passed into annihilation", *al-Aghānī*[3], xii, 292, l.6), *wa-kullu shabāb^in ilā ... bilan* (all of youth is a journey towards decay, Laylā al-Akhyaliyya, in Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 273, l.11; al-Buḥturī, 279, l.12; *Aghānī*[3], xi, 241, l.10); at other times, the language used serves to evoke the absolute impossibility of a hypothetical return of *shabāb*: *hayhāti minka shabāb^un kunta ta'haduhu* ("how far from you is [a state of] youth that you used to know so well" Thumāma b. 'Āmir al-Badjalī, in al-Buḥturī, 185, l.14) and the well-known *ayā layta [l-]shabāba ya'ūdu yawm^an* of Abu 'l-'Atāhiya ("is it possible that youth may return one day?" *Dīwān*, 23).

Some ancient poets were acutely aware of the ephemeral nature of this joyous period, issuing an urgent appeal to enjoy the entertainments, pleasures and delights afforded by this age. For ʿAlḳama, only *s̲h̲abāb* excuses licentiousness (*Dīwān, al-ʿIḳd al-t̲h̲amīn*, London 1870, 137). ʿAdī b. Zayd al-ʿIbādī justifies the antics of the young man (*lad̲h̲d̲h̲at al-fatā*) by reference to death, tirelessly lying in wait. Since pleasures are regarded as exclusively physical, the age which permits their procurement takes on, in their eyes, an unequalled importance. On the other hand, every hindrance is considered a misfortune: old age is thus an enemy as formidable as *manāyā* (death) and *zamān* (infinite time).

The libertine poets and the great lovers of Damascus and Medina under the Umayyads, and those of the ʿIrāḳī metropolises under the ʿAbbāsids, did not differ in their conception of these two antithetical enties. They expressed in convincing fashion the following idea. With old age, the conquest of women becomes impossible, but desire remains as vivid as ever; the problem is how to slake it (*S̲h̲iʿr al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. K̲h̲ālid al-Mak̲h̲zūmī*, Bag̲h̲dād 1972, 85; *S̲h̲iʿr al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī*, Cairo 1970, 175; *al-Muk̲h̲tār min s̲h̲iʿr Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār*, Cairo 1353/1934, 277, al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *K̲h̲arīdat al-ḳaṣr, ḳism s̲h̲uʿarāʾ al-S̲h̲ām*, Damascus 1955-64, ii, 121, Ibn al-Buwayn; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr, *Dīwān*, 73). This is not solely a matter of literature; a few poetical fragments have survived, where spouses mocked their aged partners and their inability to satisfy them (al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *K̲h̲izānat al-adab*, Cairo 1409/1989, vi, 427-8; B. Yamūt, *S̲h̲āʿirāt al-ʿArab fi 'l-D̲j̲āhiliyya wa 'l-Islām*, Beirut 1934, 179).

In poetry, the appearance of this tangible sign of old age plunges the victim into a state of despair, the intensity of which may astonish at first sight. Whether it is a case of profane poetry, libertine poetry or that of the *zuhd*, the same tragedies described in the same terms arouse certain suspicions; furthermore, the classification of the poetical material reinforces the impression that what is presented here is in fact a literary fiction. Indeed, some works of *adab* have distributed these quotations according to the well-known pattern of the *maḥāsin* (virtues) and the *masāwiʾ* (antitheses), in turn praising and deprecating *s̲h̲ayb* and *s̲h̲abāb*; this process is attested in the work of al-Buḥturī, prior to the 3rd/9th century (al-Buḥturī, §§ 117, 118, 120, 121, contradictory pairs, the first evoking the negative and positive aspects of old age, the second those of youth). The structure of the chapters concerning old age in the work of pseudo-T̲h̲aʿālibī is constructed entirely according to this antitheses: paragraphs eulogising *s̲h̲abāb* and *s̲h̲ayb* are matched by others which denigrate them (fols. 118 a-b, 118 b-119 b). The author surpasses himself in the last paragraph, where the negative and positive aspects of hair-dyeing are compared (*faṣl fī d̲h̲amm al-k̲h̲iḍāb wa-madḥihi*, fols. 119 b-120 b).

3. *Old age*

This is an unwanted and spurned guest (*ḍayf bag̲h̲īḍ*, ʿAdī b. Zayd al-ʿIbādī, 176; see also al-Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān*, Paris 1870, 107, l.9; al-Ak̲h̲ṭal, *Dīwān*, 168, l.9; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, *Dīwān*, 139, l.6), It arouses the fear of the person affected (common semantic field expressing fright, *rāʿaka 'l-mas̲h̲ību* "old age has plunged you into despair", ʿAbīd, *Dīwān*, 6, l.20; see also *Naḳāʾiḍ*, 890, l.4; *d̲j̲azaʿ* "panic", *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xiii, 151, l.9, Manṣūr b. Bud̲j̲ra; *al-Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, 44, l.6, *s̲h̲ayb faẓīʿ* "dreadful old age"). This guest never comes alone, but is accompanied by a retinue of evils. Those most frequently evoked are worries, solitude and physical decrepitude (Ibn Muḳbil, *Dīwān*, Damascus 1381/1962, 184, speaks of feebleness, *ḍaʿaf*; Ṭurayḥ b. Ismāʿīl al-T̲h̲aḳafī of his infirm, *mutaḍaʿḍiʿ*, body, al-Buḥturī, 194, l.20; more specifically, Abu 'l-Nad̲j̲m mentions the bent back, Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 385, l.2) and mental decay, decline and imminent death. It is in other contexts considered an evil (*s̲h̲arr*, al-Farazdaḳ, 107, l.9; *al-Ḥamāsa*, 572, l.15).

As soon as it is manifest, and can no longer be concealed, old age provokes the disgust of beautiful women (Abū Ṣak̲h̲r al-Hud̲h̲alī, *Hud̲h̲aliyyīn*, ed. Wellhausen, 76, l.8; ʿAlḳama, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 773, l.9; al-Aswad b. Yaʿfur, *ibid.*, 348, l.8; al-Aʿs̲h̲ā, *Dīwān*, London 1928, xxxiv, v. 3; Ibn G̲h̲alaka(?) al-Tamīmī, in Abū Zayd, *al-Nawādir*, 255, l.9; al-Buḥturī, § 120, devoted to the notion; D̲j̲arīr, *al-Naḳāʾiḍ*, 844, l.2; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, *Dīwān*, 201, l.3; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 330, l.11; Diʿbil, vii, v. 44; xii, v. 52-3; xcvii, v. 3; clviii, the entire chapter, ccx, v. 1-5; Abu 'l-S̲h̲īṣ, 76, 99, 105-6, 108-9; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 75-6). This notion is attested in the majority of poems which have dealt with this theme, and it inspired one of the most esteemed verses on old age of the ʿAbbāsid period:

Lā taʿd̲j̲abī yā Salma min rad̲j̲ulin
ḍaḥika 'l-mas̲h̲ību bi-raʾsihī fa-baka

("Do not be astonished, O Salmā, at a man on whose head the white hair laughs, although he weeps") (Diʿbil, 204)

The poets who are affected by this condition speak of nubile women, insisting that they show restraint. In sprightly and elevated dialogues, and in defiance of his astonishment and indignation, they refer to the loss of potency which accompanies old age and to the dignity of deportment which is required in response to the first appearance of this sign; if he continues to cavort like a callow youth, he will offend social taboos. There is no excuse for excess at this age; dissipation is only to be excused among the young (Ibn Nubāta, *Dīwān*, ii, 407; al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, *Rabīʿ al-abrār*, ii, 424-5; *LA*, i, 324, l.9, and *TA*, i, 223, l.28, the maxim *lā s̲h̲ayʾa ak̲h̲zā min zināʾi 'l-as̲h̲yabi*, "nothing is more demeaning than fornication by one who is smitten with white hair"). This collection of motifs is called *taṣābī 'l-s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*. In secular poetry, this *taṣābī* constitutes the basis of the share of the dialogue allotted to the female interlocutor; it is attested, furthermore, throughout the whole gamut of Arabic poetry until the *nahḍa* (ʿAbda b. al-Ṭabīb, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 270, l.7; Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, London 1970, 116, v. 11-12; Abū Ḥayya, 43, 63, 167, 168; see also Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān al-Ḳaynī, *Dīwān*, Bag̲h̲dād 1968, 23; Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, *al-Ag̲h̲ānī*, x, 16, l.1; Aws b. Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Dīwān*, 7, 11; D̲j̲arīr, in Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 307, l.16; al-Farazdaḳ, *al-Naḳāʾiḍ*, 869, v. 19; al-Kumayt, *al-Hās̲h̲imiyyāt*, Leiden 1904, 27, l.1; al-Namarī, 84; Abu 'l-S̲h̲īṣ, 76). As regards this last motif, the majority of poets seem to imply that the lady has the right on her side. However, others are determined to refute these accusations. Their vigour, their youth of spirit and their force of personality have not been impaired; they implore the loved one to see *s̲h̲ayb* for what it really is, just a colour. The poet Kut̲h̲ayyir appeals to ʿAzza to continue loving an old man who remains, and always will remain, young (*yā ʿAzza hal laki fī s̲h̲ayk̲h̲in fatan abadan*); he is careful to add that, for men of his stamp, biological age has no physiological or psychological influence (for other instances of this type, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, 209; Diʿbil, cliii, 197-8; al-ʿUkbarī, *al-Tibyān*, Cairo 1308, i, 170). Sometimes, in his reply, the poet insistently declares to his partner that his white hair

is not due to age but to fearful ordeals that have been valiantly surmounted (al-Nābigha al-Dja'dī, in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 842, l.15, *wa-lāḳītu raw'āt^{in} tushību 'l-nawāṣiyā* "I have faced terrible [battles] and the hair fringing my forehead has turned white;" see also 'Urwa b. al-Ward, *Dīwān*, Göttingen 1863, 21, l.3; Ibn Muḳbil, *Dīwān*, 368; *al-Aṣma'iyyāt*, 19, l.6). In this context, the same formula is attributed to the libertine al-Uḳayshir and to the *ghazal* poet Kuthayyir: *bihī shayb^{un} wa-mā faḳada 'l-shabāba* ("his hair has turned white although he has not lost his youth", *LA*, ix, 99, l.12; *TA*, v, 85, l.33; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, iii, 60, l.9; al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī* ii, 729, l.1). On the other hand, in a motif related to that of the *taṣābī*, friends act in the same fashion as the lovely lady and no longer invite the unfortunate man to convivial meetings (Abū Ḥayya, 183; al-Namarī, 69; Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 36, 60, 75; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 77). This forced abstinence culminates in their assertion that happiness has disappeared with the ending of youth, *wallat ni'matu 'l-'ayshī* ("the joy of life is ended", al-Buḥturī, 180, l.6; 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī, 176-7; Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 20).

Also, *shayb* indicates the death of close friends. In the context of the onset of white hair, Ibn Abī Du'ād evokes his weariness at having to make constant visit to cemeteries to pay his respects to deceased friends. In fact, this fearful guest portends the imminence of one's own death (Wakī', *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo, iii, 299; Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, 58; al-Shāfi'ī, *Dīwān*, 13; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, Cairo 1936-8, v, 324; al-Bākharzī, *Dīwān*, i, 159. One *ḥadīth* asserts in this context that white hair is *iḥdā 'l-mītatayn* ("one of the two deaths", *Rabī' al-abrār*, ii, 421); it is thus a sign that the end is near.

While this theme is essentially concerned with physical and social degradation and with sexual abstinence, it is a fact nonetheless that this poetry evokes certain changes in behaviour which are on the whole quite avoidable. Di'bil b. 'Alī al-Khuzā'ī comments that with the onset of old age, he has been transformed from a cheerful hedonist and *bon viveur* into a carping critic (Di'bil, 44, v. 1: *kāna yunhā fa-nahā ḥīna 'ntahā* "he was criticised; he became a critic when nothing else was left for him;" see also Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 108). The poetry of the *mu'ammarūn* stressed this transformation of the personality. Abu 'l-Sammāl al-Asadī declares that grief has become an inseparable companion (*Mu'ammarūn*, 65); al-Namir b. Tawlab comments that he is content with the minimum (*ibid.*, 80); al-Rabī' b. Ḍabu' al-Fazārī admits that, with the whiteness of his hair, he has become timorous (*ibid.*, 9); Labīd laments his own tendency to recount his memories ('Abd al-Salām Hārūn, *Madjmū'at al-ma'ānī*, Beirut 1412/1992, 571). A single positive variation in this catalogue of gloom is that al-Ubayrid al-Riyāḥī takes pride in the wealth of his experience (*ibid.*, 75).

All of this may be true, and may reflect profound distress among people who have nothing to wait for but death. However, it may equally well be a part of the poetic game; in fact, in the same poetic space, the same poet is to be found taking pride in his *shayb*. Abū Kabīr al-Hudhalī observes that white hair affects people of distinction (*LA*, vii, 127, l.6; *TA*, iii, 622, l.15; the same assertion figures in the work of Ibn Faswa, in Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 143, l.2; al-Marrār al-Faḳ'asī, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 143, l.5; 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a goes so far as to assimilate with *dhū shayba* the clichés typical of eulogistic poetry or of boastfulness, *wa-dhī shaybat^{in} ka 'l-badri arwa'a azharā*, a man affected by venerable old age and shining white hair, *Dīwān*, 159, l.8; see also al-Buḥturī, 181, l.13; 182, l.12; 195, l.6; al-Khansā', *Dīwān*, Beirut 1889, 135, l.13). It is appropriate to note that this notion differs from that which declares that *shayb* has not impaired one's former abilities; here, old age is eulogised in its own right. This could, indeed, be seen as a reaction of a compensatory type, but the reality is otherwise; what is involved is a literary theme. Anthologies and works of *adab* attest to this to a point beyond all expectation. In the writings of al-Tha'ālibī, for example, the section dealing with this theme belongs, according to the author's own classification, to the category of *taḥsīn al-ḳabīḥ* ("beautification of the ugly", see *Bibl.*); this includes a collection of adages which celebrate the benefits of old age *min bāb taḥsīn al-ḳabīḥ*, such as *al-shayb nūrī* ("white hair is my light" [67]). Even the greatest of fools (*al-ghāfil*) "can find here a guide on the way to rectitude thanks to the lights of his senescence" (*idhā shāba 'l-ghāfilu sāra fī ṭarīḳi 'l-rushdi bi-maṣābīḥi 'l-shaybi, loc. cit.*). For his part, al-Mubarrad considers this poetical corpus as belonging exclusively to a convention of composition (*K. al-Fāḍil*, 72).

In the same scheme of ideas, the white hair of courageous young men who have experienced traumatic events is likewise something to be boasted of (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Leiden 1918, i/2, 80, l.10; *al-Naḳā'iḍ*, 442, v. 43); it is attested in martial poems in eulogies conferred upon heroes ('Āmir b. al-Walīd, *al-Aghānī*, xi, 102, l.3; Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, *Dīwān*, Leipzig 1911, 55, v. 22; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳ'at Ṣiffīn*, Beirut 1340/1921, 300, l.14; Ibn Ẓāhir al-Asadī, in al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 666, l.4; A'shā Ḥamdān, in *al-Aghānī*, vi, 41, l.9; Surāḳa al-Bāriḳī, in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 879, l.14).

In general, the *fakhr* genre accounts for a large proportion of Djāhilī and Umayyad poetry of old age. The pattern is fairly predictable. It is admitted that it is true, my hair has changed colour; that is unimportant, since I have led an exemplary life filled with acts of generosity and heroism in war (Imru' al-Ḳays, *Dīwān*, 230-1, 335; Abū Kabīr, *Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, 1069-70; Ḥumayd b. Thawr, *Dīwān*, 1384/1965, 94-5; Ibn Muḳbil, *Dīwān*, 72-4, 133, 184; 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, in al-Buḥturī, 309). Clearly, these are conventional notions which have long been a part of the genre; sexual prowess and the qualities of *murū'a* are combined to enhance the image of a man and to make of him a perfect model.

4. *Edifying poetry*

The appearance of *shayb* is variously interpreted. On the one hand it is supposed to favour the enhancement of moral qualities and behaviour, assiduous application to religious practices and a total adherence to precepts of prudery (al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1953, ii. 95; al-Zamakhsharī, *op. cit.*, 417-20). From another perspective, the poetry of *zuhd* is intended to frighten; this is why Maḥmūd al-Warrāḳ and Abu 'l-'Atāhiya consider this sign as a portent (*nadhīr*) of death which sets in motion the process of *ḥiṣād* (harvesting) which gathers up people who are already of advanced age. God sends this advance warning to allow men to prepare themselves on the eve of imminent decease (Maḥmūd al-Warrāḳ, *Dīwān*, 39, 42, 78, 87, 107, 109, 114; Abu 'l-'Atāhiya, 39, v. 3-4, 44-5, v. 3-6 and 13-14, 51-2, starting from v. 4, 67-8, 71-2, 109-10, v. 13-6 and 21-4).

II. Poetical treatment

1. *Evolution of the theme*

At the time of the Djāhiliyya, this theme took on the form of a concise evocation in the framework of *nasīb*. More substantial and of greater thematic impor-

tance are the verses which appear in poems attributed to the *muʿammarūn*, where the contrast *shabāb/shayb* constitutes the central axis on which the multiple motifs are brought into play, and the conceptual principle on the basis of which all the evocations can take shape.

With the development of urban civilisation and the appearance of a subsequent culture, poets subject this theme to original forms of literary treatment. In addition to long works, where *shayb* appears in an incidental fashion, fragments dealing exclusively with the theme begin to appear in ever increasing numbers; the latter, much closer to hastily conceived and executed improvisation than to mature and elaborate poetry, adopted this subject with a uniformisation of compounds, of poetic language and of the whole range of comparative tropes. These facile and ephemeral little pieces constitute a large proportion of this corpus. To this category belong the literary games between scholars (the *ikhwāniyyāt*). Protestations of friendship are found integrated there with the theme of youth and of old age, the poet delights in evoking his old age, the disappearance of beautiful women and of the *nudamāʾ* and the melancholy of a man in the twilight of his life (al-Namarī, 68-9); quite often poems of *ḥanīn ilā 'l-awṭān* ("nostalgia for the homeland") opt for the same treatment, linking the *ḥanīn ilā 'l-awṭān* to the *ḥanīn ilā 'l-shabāb* (al-Namarī, 116); al-Masʿūdī, in a subsidiary text of *al-Tanbīh*, at a time of self-assessment, writes with the same feeling of *al-ṣibā* and Baghdād (al-Masʿūdī, *Le livre de l'avertissement*, Paris 1846, 66-7).

The *Ẓurafāʾ al-Kūfa* ("the elegant persons of Kūfa) provide this theme with its finest artistic manifestation. Five long fragments by Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī (al-Buḥturī, 188-90, nos. 1,000-4) place alongside the habitual lamentations a novelty: *shayb* and *shabāb* are treated in tandem, with both considered equally good. Yaḥyā's companion, Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, composed one of the best surviving specimens; indeed, this poem of 17 verses begins and ends with lamentations. Between the two, the poet evokes his youth, seen as a personal friend, with good-natured nostalgia (plethora of terms in this register: *khalīl, ṣafī, uns, akhū thiḳa*); reliving his youth, Muṭīʿ adopts a rapid and petulant rhythm, using the *munsariḥ*, one of the most musical metres of Arabic poetry. The spirit which dominates here is decidedly original. This roué is careful not to represent youth as the time of unbridled dissipation, according to the customary scheme. Like any true friend, he is attentive and encouraging; he offers loyal support, but will countenance no complacency; fighting our natural laziness, he urges us to realise our most noble aspirations; and finally, he is an always available confidant (Von Grunebaum, *Shuʿarāʾ ʿabbāsiyyūn*, Beirut 1959, 33-4). Von Grunebaum appreciated this poem, which is reminiscent in tone of Theognis of Megara.

In the 3rd/9th century, Ibn al-Rūmī is reckoned to have carried the theme to its highest point. In the prelude to a set-piece, he reflets on his past and completes the balance-sheet of his life, from callow youth to maturity. The structure of this very simple passage, beginning with *shayb* (vv. 1-31) and ending with *shabāb* (vv. 32-70), gives it the appearance of an introspection, accentuated by the repetition of *yudhakkirunī 'l-shabāba* ("my youth returns to my memory through ..."). It is important, however, to avoid overestimating the significance of these conclusions; the issue here is of individual arrangements or, if preferred, of happy accidental finds in the framework of a traditional theme (*Dīwān*, i, 255-9). Al-Mubarrad, who was also an excellent judge of poetry, comments in this regard *annahum ḳālū fī bābi taṣarrufi 'l-zamāni wa-taṣarrumi 'l-ādjāli aḳāwīla maʿnāhā wāḥidᵘⁿ* ("they (sc. the poets) have spoken, concerning the chapter on the passing of time and the ending of life, verses of which the sense is identical", Von Grunebaum, *Al-Mubarrad's epistle on poetry and prose*, in *Orientalia*, x [1941], 377-8).

A similar theme, already clearly visible in the various evocations of this theme before Ibn al-Rūmī, is accentuated in later poets: from the 4th to the 9th/10th-15th centuries, poets paraphrase Ibn al-Rūmī in longer pieces and in fragments. The two Sharīfs, al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā (*al-Shihāb*, 28-52; *Dīwān al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā*, Cairo 1958, i, 199; *al-Shihāb*, 54-84), Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr (*Dīwān*, 73), Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (*Dīwān*, 17, 52, 70, 72, 74, 459, 517, 576, 597-8), al-Fityān al-Shāghūri (*Dīwān*, Damascus 1966, 51), Ẓāfir al-Ḥaddād (*Dīwān*, 257-8) and many others mourn for lost youth and lament the consequences of their *shayb*, using the same poetic language, the same combinations and the same *maʿānī*.

2. Shayb *and the transformation of the prelude of the* ḳaṣīda

Under the Umayyads, the *nasīb* genre had more and more recourse to the theme of lamented youth; the refinement of tastes renders it indispensable to the *ḥusn al-takhallus*. It is considered an essential intermediate link between love/memory and the quest for a patron. From another perspective, the circumstances of libertine poetry impel the poets, especially in pieces where a certain tension is expressed, to resort to a prelude redolent with an atmosphere of contrast, introducing the pairings of old age/youth and the desired woman/the woman who rejects. This procedure breathes new life into the romantic prelude, since what is observed is a very vivid exchange of opinions, a duel between the beloved woman and the lover poet, all on account of the latter's advanced age and the loss of his hair. This technique of composition also permits the setting-down of accumulations of semantic opposites and thereby arrival at a more dense poetical text (see below).

At the end of the Umayyad age, and especially under the ʿAbbāsids, despite the persistence of the former frameworks (Abū Ḥayya al-Numayrī, 34; Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 36-7), the prelude underwent a veritable revolution on account of the theme of old age. Numerous patterns are attested: (i) the poet retains from the amorous prelude the evocation of the *diyār* ("encampments") and the recollection of his past loves (when he was loved and his hair was black), and two new motifs are introduced, the mention of youth and the appearance of senescence (Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 34, 36-7); (ii) the appearance of overtures devoted exclusively to *shayb*, without regard to the subject of the poem. In the work of Abū Ḥayya al-Numayrī, a *mukhaḍram al-dawlatayn* poet (d. *ca*. 158/762), the opposition of these two antithetical, integrated elements constitutes the sole texture of the openings of poems. Eleven verses on *shayb* are attested there, a clear sign that the theme has attained full maturity, since it is only by means of it that the introduction of a long, set-piece poem is to be properly furnished (*ḳaṣīda* iii, 42-5, dedicated to al-Ḥakam b. Ṣakhr al-Thaḳafī; see also number iv of the *Dīwān*; ʿAbd Allāh al-Khaṭīb, *Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs*, Baghdād 1968; 123; Bashshār, *Dīwān*, 1369/1950, i, 362, ii, 326; al-Ḥusayn b. Muṭayr, *Dīwān*, in *RIMA*, i [1969], 226; Ibrāhīm b. Harma, *Shiʿr*, Cairo 1389/1969, 226; Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa, *Shiʿr*, Cairo

1973, 73, 77, 94; Diʿbil, ccx, 254-5, the well-known poem in *-īnā*, where he replies to al-Kumayt b. Zayd, pronounces a eulogy on the men of Yemen and recalls the base deeds of Maʿadd; see also xix, 59-60, the opening of an *urdjūza* dedicated to al-Maʾmūn). The variety of motifs attested in pattern (ii), despite their conventional nature, breathes new life into the prelude, an essential and indispensable component of every poem of this type. Notable here are nostalgia for past youth; the first signs of old age; the appearance of white hair; the mockeries of the beautiful woman; the retort of the elderly poet, his pride wounded, recalling his former vigour and his profligacies; finally, some poets place at the outset of an urban *ḳaṣīda* an introduction in which *nasīb*, *shabāb-shayb* antithesis and Bacchic poetry are combined (Abū 'l-Shīṣ, 60, 75-6, 105-6).

This transformation of the prelude should come as no surprise; the patrons, the sole recipients of poems of eulogy and occasional verses, had no wish to hear more about, or see themselves associated with, the destruction, disappearance and desolation which rule the theme of *bukāʾ ʿalā 'l-aṭlāl*.

A different elegiac opening was required, and *al-shabāb wa 'l-shayb* was eminently suitable. With the sophisticated play of oppositions and the high literary tone of comparisons and metaphors, it was possible to dabble in sentimentality without dwelling on the theme of the death which was feared, with justification, by members of the aristocracy only too aware of the precariousness of their situation. An old age of high quality offered an excellent alternative. The poet took great care to avoid mention of anything which could be disconcerting to his readers, such as physical decay or death; old age here is ahead of its time, putting forward the image of a man in the prime of life, conversing with a beautiful girl. Perfectly suited to the new mentality, the new introduction silenced the existential anguish of its pre-Islamic predecessor.

3. *Poetic techniques*

For youth, the tendency is to use combinations and metaphors where black is predominant; for old age, working on the assumption of symmetrical opposition, the preferred option is a semantic field based on white. Examples of the former are as follows: *al-raʾs al-aḥwā* ("the black head"), *ḥālik al-lawn* ("of a very dark black colour"), *ghurāb kāna aswada ḥālikī* ("a raven which was black as jet", Abū Ḥayya, 121), *ghurāb ghudāf* ("crow with black [feathers] supplied", *ibid.*, 42). Such are the emblems of *shabāb*. Examples from the opposing side are: *ʿalā waḍaḥ^un ka-lawni hilāli* ("white hair has appeared, the colour of which is equal to that of the crescent moon", Abū Ḥayya, 63), *raʾs istanāra* ("a head which is illumined", Abū Ḥayya, 43), *ʿaḳārib bīḍ* ... *lahunna dabīb* ("white scorpions ... which crawl", Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 20), *raʾs ishtaʿal* (ʿAdī b. al-Riḳāʿ, 108, v. 1; cf. Ḳurʾān, XIX, 4).

In fact, this language was destined to establish a whole range of oppositions which have given the theme its characteristic appearance:

Youth	*Age*
shining black	dirty white
bodily vigour	enfeeblement
upright carriage	decrepitude of body
contentment with life	peevish resentment
inexperience and haste	wisdom and equilibrium
decisiveness	irresolution
time of pleasures	time of enforced abstinence
the admired hero	the despised dead-weight

The first column has the overall advantage. Only the fifth item accords superiority to the old, although poets repeatedly insist that they would willingly forgo this asset. On the other hand, comparisons enabled the poets to add a new series of oppositions to the poem and thus to confer on these passages a fairly pronounced air of preciosity. Thus, for example, in the analogy of the jet-black raven applied to the hair of the young man (*ghurāb aswad ghudāf*, see above). The poet opposes to it the shining whiteness of the *ṣabāḥ* ("morning"); this uniting of opposites entails a chain-reaction of a paradoxical, hence quite unexpected nature. This black crow, contrary to what is normally accepted (*ghurāb al-bayn* "the crow of separation") is appreciated and symbolises joy, good fortune and freedom from care, not the sinister desolation of wastelands. Thus all the symbolism associated with black is rejected by this poetry. On the contrary, the *ṣabāḥ* ("luminous morning") of the hair is detested; its light, once it appears, plunges a man into despair, misfortune and sorrow. The poets accumulated such paradoxes in verses and fragments on this theme, contravening ancestral patterns of expression and thought. The end-result, with urban culture, was the emergence of a poetry of *shayb* redolent of "verbal fantasy", in the words of Von Grunebaum.

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SHAYBA, BANŪ, the name of the keepers of the Kaʿba (sadana, ḥadjaba [see SĀDIN; ḤĀDJIB]), whose authority does not extend over the whole of the sanctuary (masdjid al-ḥarām), nor even as far as the well of Zamzam and its annexes. They are the Banū Shayba or Shaybiyyūn and have as their head a zaʿīm or shaykh.

Modern works only give brief references to them. Snouck Hurgronje gave the days on which they opened the door of the Kaʿba. He noted that they only admitted the faithful on payment of a fee and quoted the witty Meccan saying: "The Banū Shayba are wreathed in smiles; this must be a day for opening the Kaʿba". They found a further source of revenue in the sale of scraps of the covering of the holy house, which was replaced every year by their care [see KISWA]. The embroidered parts reserved in theory for the Ottoman sovereign were given more or less gratuitously to the great personages who represented him at Mecca and on the ḥadjdj. The remainder, in accordance with custom (Wüstenfeld, Chroniken d. Stadt Mekka, iii, 72), was the perquisite of the Shaybiyyūn, who sold it in the little booths at the Bāb al-Salām (al-Batanūnī, al-Riḥla al-ḥidjāziyya, Cairo 1329/1911, 139), the ancient Bāb Banī Shayba, the principal gate of the mosque. They also sold there the little brooms made of palm leaves, which were all alleged to have been used for cleaning the floor of the Kaʿba, a solemn ceremony in which the greatest personages gloried in participating (Ibn Djubayr, Riḥla, ed. Wright, 138; al-Batanūnī, 109). They also had the charge and care of the offerings made by the faithful, which adorn the interior of the holy house. This treasure comprised the most diverse objects, articles of gold and of silver, precious stones, lamps richly adorned, foreign idols, the offerings of converts in distant lands. This treasure was regularly plundered by the Amirs of Mecca, by the governors, by its guardians and even by the Shaybiyyūn themselves (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke, Paris 1923, 57) although according to tradition, the grand master Shayba is said to have defended it against the attempts of the caliph ʿUmar (Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al-ghāba, iii, 8). They had charge of the interior curtains of the Kaʿba. They had at one time the care of the Maḳām Ibrāhīm [q.v.] which was considered a dependence of the holy house.

The possession of these diverse functions by the Shaybiyyūn became latterly so generally recognised that it attracted no attention. They evoked a more lively interest from earlier authors, and especially from the pilgrims. The principal narratives are those of Ibn Djubayr in 579/1183 and of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in 437/1046. The visit to the Kaʿba accompanied by a ṣalāt of two rakʿas, made if possible, at the very spot where the Prophet performed them on the day of the taking of Mecca, is a pious act, which is not a part of the rites of the Pilgrimage, but one from which the pilgrims themselves hope to acquire further merit, although the people of Mecca seem to attach but slight importance to it. The dates of the public opening seem to have varied a little (Le Pèlerinage, 60 ff.) but the ceremony has remained unchanged. The zaʿīm alone has the key of the Holy House, the history of which is given below. When the gangway (daradj), which gives access to the door which is above ground

level, has been put into position by the Shaybiyyūn, their chief advances and, while he is inserting the key, one of his acolytes hides it from the gaze of the faithful. In the 6th/12th century (Ibn Djubayr, 93; *Le Pèlerinage*, 59), he held a black cloth (the ʿAbbāsid colour) in his extended hands. A century earlier (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 209), there was a curtain on the door which a Shaybī lifted to allow the *zaʿīm* to pass and which he let fall again behind him. The Prophet had veiled (*satarahu*) the door on opening it (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 61). In imitation of the Prophet, the *zaʿīm* enters alone or with 2 or 3 acolytes, prays the two ritual *rakʿas*, then opens the door to the public, whose admission he regulates. The Persian pilgrim as well as the Spanish one made a visit to the Kaʿba and they both noted the miracle, which allowed this very small building to hold at one time such a large number of the faithful. Nāṣir-i Khusraw counted 720 in it at the same time as himself. Ibn Djubayr was particularly interested in the Kaʿba and its *ḥadjaba*. He was present at the reception of Sayf al-Islām Ṭughtigin, the brother of the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (146-7), on whose left hand the *zaʿīm* of the Shaybiyyūn solemnly entered the mosque; the *zaʿīm* Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was his chief informant (81). He tells us that during his sojourn, the Amīr of Mecca, Mukthir, arrested the *zaʿīm* Muḥammad and, accusing him of such baseness of conduct as was "unworthy of the guardian of the Holy House", confiscated his goods and set up in his place one of his cousins, whom popular report accused of the same vices. Then some time after, he saw the *zaʿīm* Muḥammad, after paying 500 dīnārs to the Amīr, re-established in his office, strutting proudly before the gate of the Kaʿba (163, 164, 166, 179). This act of dispossession does not prove that there was any exact custom which regulated the relations of the Amīr with the Banū Shayba. Under al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), they sent delegates to the caliph at Baghdād to assert, in opposition to the proposals of the governor of Mecca, their right to decide what works were necessary to undertake at the Kaʿba; the master of works sent by the caliph was to apply only to them. When he came to make his first enquiry, the master Isḥāḳ was, however, accompanied by the *ḥadjaba shaybiyyūn*, and also by the governor, by pious individuals and by the *ṣāḥib al-barīd* "the postmaster", in reality the redoubtable intelligence officer of the sovereign (*Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, i, 210, 11).

The privilege of the Banū Shayba is very old; the historians of the 3rd/9th century Ibn Hishām, Ibn Saʿd, al-Yaʿḳūbī and the compilers of collections of *ḥadīths* confirm this; but they pile up proofs of its legitimacy in a way that makes one think it was recent and disputed.

According to tradition, Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], the ancestor of Ḳuraysh, had reserved the guardianship of the Kaʿba (*ḥidjāba*) for ʿAbd al-Dār and his descendants. At the time of the conquest of Mecca, it was in the hands of ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Dār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2378; *Usd al-ghāba*, iii, 7, 372, etc.). Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 331) has a variant story which casts doubts upon the near relationship of ʿUthmān and Shayba, while the genealogy given by the *zaʿīm* to Ibn Djubayr (81) intercalates an ancestor Shayba unknown to the other authors. ʿUthmān by a happy foresight was converted at al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] with other notable personages of Mecca, although several members of his family had perished at Uḥud in the ranks of Ḳuraysh (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1604; *Aghānī*[1], xv, 11; Ibn Saʿd, v, 331, etc.). On the day of the taking of Mecca, he accompanied the Prophet to the Kaʿba and the latter demanded the key from him; in general, the authorities say that he gave it up, but according to one tradition (Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, iv, 609; *Chroniken*, i, 187), ʿUthmān, a new convert, had to get it from his mother, an infidel, who had charge of it and who refused to give it up. ʿUthmān had to threaten to kill himself before her eyes. According to another authority (*Chroniken*, i, 185), she heard in the courtyard of the house the threatening voices of Abū Bakr and of ʿUmar before she decided to give it up (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, 44). But another tradition which does not assume the conversion of ʿUthmān in 8/629-30, shows him on the terrace of the Kaʿba holding the key in his hand and shouting to the Prophet: "If I were sure that he is the Messenger of God, I would not refuse it to him". ʿAlī climbed up, held his hand out, took the key and himself opened the door; here ʿAlid bias is evident (al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, ii, 460; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iv, 264). The general tradition is that the Prophet, in possession of the key, opened the door and entered with ʿUthmān, Bilāl and Usāma, prayed two *rakʿas* in a spot which is to-day held sacred and went out holding the key in his hand. At this point, the traditions differ once more in detail, but end in the restoration of the key to ʿUthmān; according to one account, the Prophet either on his own motion or because of the appeals of al-ʿAbbās or of ʿAlī, leant on the posts of the door of the Kaʿba and made a speech which ended: "Everything is under my feet except the *sidāna* and the *siḳāya* of the pilgrims, which are going to be restored to those to whom they belong". He gave the *siḳāya* to al-ʿAbbās and returned the key to ʿUthmān; according to the other tradition, the Prophet came out of the Kaʿba uttering verse 61 of sūra IV, which according to an opinion which al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, v, 86) accepts as only of secondary value, was revealed at this moment and applies to the *sidāna* and the *siḳāya* (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 625; al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ*, ii, 460; *Chroniken*, i, 186).

But ʿUthmān, master of the *sidāna* and of the key, did not exercise his rights; he followed the Prophet to Medīna and died there in 42/662-3 or he was killed at Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] in 13/634. No-one mentions him further, and authors take the precaution of making the Prophet say that he returned the *sidāna* to ʿUthmān and to Shayba, and to the Banū Ṭalḥa (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, i, 138; al-Nawawī, *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn*, 407; *Usd*, iii, 372; *Chroniken*, i, 184).

This attempt to make the first cousin of ʿUthmān, Shayba b. ʿUthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥa, be present at the taking of Mecca is unfortunate. Shayba was not yet a Muslim, although some late authors tentatively tried to convert him at the taking of Mecca. They were not able to escape the legend, which grew up round the conversion of Shayba a month later. Shayba sought out the Prophet in the middle of the combat in order to take vengeance for the death of his father, who had been killed at Uḥud by Ḥamza, but from the Prophet a light emanated causing him to lose heart. Muḥammad put his hand upon his heart and caused the demon to depart from him. Shayba was converted (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 64; Ibn Hishām, 845; Ibn Saʿd, v, 331; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1661, 3; *Usd*, iii, 7; *Chroniken*, ii, 46; etc.) and without the writers knowing why, Shayba became the keeper of the Kaʿba; all his family hastened to come to his assistance; his brother Wahb b. ʿUthmān, the sons of ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa, those of Musāfiʿ b. Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa who was killed at Uḥud: "It is

then", concludes al-Azraḳī (*Chroniken*, i, 67), "all the descendants of Abū Ṭalḥa who in general exercise the *ḥidjāba* (*Chroniken*, i, 67)". But according to all the traditionists, it was Shayba who was their chief. It was he who had the power to demolish houses dominating the Kaʿba (*Chroniken*, iii, 15). It was he who came into conflict with Muʿāwiya about the sale of a house and who at the time of the second pilgrimage of the Caliph, not wishing to be disturbed, sent his grandson Shayba b. Djābir to open the door of the sanctuary (*Chroniken*, i, 89). It was he who arbitrated between the two *ḥādjdj* chiefs, the partisans of ʿAlī and those of Muʿāwiya (al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 3448, iii, 2352; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 56-7 = § 3632); one of his sons ʿAbd Allāh or Ṭalḥa was a victim of the "abominable" al-Ḳasrī (*Chroniken*, ii, 37, 38, 175). It was he who appears in one of the versions of the *ḥadīth* where ʿĀʾisha wished to have the Kaʿba opened (*Chroniken*, i, 220, 222, 223). There were discussions with ʿĀʾisha which settled that it was lawful for the Shaybiyyūn to sell parts of the covering (*kiswa*) but only for the maintenance of the poor (*Chroniken*, i, 180, 182, iii, 70-2; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 283); in spite of the efforts of the makers of *ḥadīths*, the question was discussed by jurists and in 621/1224, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil, the nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, purchased from the Shaybiyyūn, for an annual fixed sum, the revenues that they drew from the opening of the Kaʿba and forced them to open it free of charge (*Chroniken*, i, 266). Shayba died in 57/676-7 or under Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2378; Ibn Saʿd, v, 331; *Usd*, iii, 8).

The tradition which gave to the Shaybiyyūn the *ḥidjāba* of the Holy House is an ancient one. It is still perpetuated in the name of the archway, which, beside Zamzam, marks the ancient boundary of the wall of the *masdjid al-ḥarām*. When the former had been enlarged, the new gate, called at the present time Bāb al-Salām, which was in a line with the Kaʿba and the ancient arcade, was called in its turn Bāb Banī Shayba (*Le Pèlerinage*, 132-3). But for this institution, as for many others, the period when it was established and merged in a pre-Islamic institution, remains obscure.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also G. de Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, London 1951, 75.

(M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes)

SHAYBA b. **ʿUTHMĀN** [see shayba, banū].

SHAYBĀN, an Arab tribe, one of the most important *buṭūn* of Bakr b. Wāʾil.

Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, v, 244, attributes to it, following Ibn al-Kalbī's *Djamharat al-nasab*, the following *nasab*: Shaybān b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba b. Saʿb b. ʿAlī b. Bakr b. Wāʾil b. Kāsit b. Hinb b. Afṣā b. Duʿmī b. Djadīla (or Djudhayla) b. Asad b. Rabīʿa b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān, as well as an identical *nasab* for the other ancestor, nephew of the first, Shaybān b. Dhuhl b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba or ʿUkūba. But there are several other *nasabs* corresponding to other branches (detailed in Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1982, and al-Dhahabī, *al-Mushtabih fi 'l-ridjāl*, ed. al-Badjāwī, Cairo n.d.), as well as Shaybān b. Djābir b. Murra b. ʿĀʾis or ʿĀʾish (al-Mawlā Bek, al-Badjāwī and Ibrāhīm, *Ayyām al-ʿArab fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo 1942, 23), which should be connected with tribal groups arising from Shaybān, such as Murra b. Dhuhl, ʿĀʾish b. Rufāʿa b. al-Hārith and ʿAmr b. Ḳays. They form part of the imprecise network of Bakr b. Wāʾil with Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, Dhuhl b. Taym Allāh and ʿIdjl. Al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 163, mentions the presence in Egypt of several *nasabs* for the B. Ṣabra, including the Shaybānī one of Ṣabra b. ʿAwf b. Muḥakkim b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba, with a continuation identical with the one at the head of this article.

During the *Djāhiliyya*, this tribe wintered in Nadjd at Djadiyya, in an area which it shared with the B. Djusham, and moved in summer either to the upper Euphrates, the Djazīra, or eastwards to the middle and lower Euphrates, between al-Ḥīra and al-Ubulla, or even to the southwest of ʿIrāḳ, sharing pastures with Kinda, and around the Gulf. This tribe was celebrated at that time, as in the early Islamic centuries, for the remarkable quality of its poets, its use of a very pure form of Arabic language and its fighting ardour. It was frequently opposed in battle to the Yarbūʿ and Salīṭ b. Yarbūʿ, Taghlib and Tamīm (for these, see the ch. *Ayyām Rabīʿa* in al-Mawlā Bek, etc., *op. cit.*, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 554, ii, 369, 690, iii, 686, iv, 102, 443, 487, with other mentions in the index of places inhabited or frequented by the Shaybān).

The capacity of the Shaybān for risking their lives to satisfy an amorous passion is splendidly illustrated in a story given by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, ed. Zakkār, iii, 1420, also vii, 3116, a vainglorious dispute between a Shaybānī and a Dhuhlī within the clan of Bakr b. Wāʾil, settled by the arbitaration of a man from the tribe of Hamadhān, and vividly recounted.

At the time of Muhammad, the Shaybān behaved as faithful allies of the B. Hāshim, and then more particularly of the sons of ʿAlī and the ʿAbbāsids. Linked personally to the caliph rather than as a member of the *umma* as a whole, the Shaybānī al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha played an important role in the conquest of ʿIrāḳ in the reigns of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, and art. s.v.). After the conquests, the main sphere of action of the tribe remained around the western fringes of Mesopotamia, the Gulf and the Djazīra, and extended northwards to Diyār Rabīʿa and Mudar, as well as to Armenia and Ādharbāydjān. Outside these regions, there were groups of Shaybān also in Khurāsān and northern Syria. After the early Islamic period, Shaybān is less often mentioned than various of the groups descending from it. However, some members, or *mawlā* of the tribe, are mentioned as poets, grammarians and philologists in southern ʿIrāḳ. Abū ʿAmr Isḥāḳ b. Mirār al-Shaybānī (d. *ca.* 210/825 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), one of their *mawālī*, was a leading figure in the school of Kūfan philologists (others cited in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, index).

Under the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, the strength of the Shaybān was still considerable, since one of the first great Khāridjites, Shabīb b. Yazīd b. Nuʿaym al-Shaybānī, was able to raise the Arabs of Diyār Bakr and Rabīʿa, assemble troops of cavalry and march on Kūfa. He was drowned in 77/697 whilst trying to escape from al-Ḥadjdjādj. Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm al-Dhuhlī al-Shaybānī was one of Abū Muslim's close retainers. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī led a Khāridjite movement in 127/745 in the Kūfa area; this was sternly repressed, and al-Ḍaḥḥāk killed in 128/746 (see above, vol. VI, 624). On the other hand, it was by combatting the Rāwandiyya rebels that Maʿn b. Zāʾida al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*], former servant of the Umayyads, was able to secure pardon from al-Manṣūr; he was subsequently killed fighting the Khāridjites. ʿĪsā, a *mawlā* of Shaybān, rebelled with fifty followers, against al-Manṣūr, who sent against him Ziyād b. Mushkān, a *mawlā* of the B. Māzin, who killed him and his partisans (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, ed. al-Dūrī, 251). In his civil

warfare with al-Ma'mūn, al-Amīn had as one of his generals the chief of the Rabī'a of al-Djazīra, Aḥmad b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, who brought with him 20,000 Arabs. His brother Yazīd (d. 185/801), governor of Ādharbāydjān, fought the Neo-Mazdakite Khurramiyya in Armenia. Under Hārūn al-Rashīd, he fought and in 179/795 killed his Khāridjite fellow-tribesman al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf al-Shārī, and he combatted Khazar incursions into Armenia. He took part at al-Hādī's side in the warfare against the Iranian ruler in Ṭabaristān, Wandād-Hurmuzd. In 207/812-13, al-Ma'mūn sent a son of Yazīd's, Mukhālid or Khālid, at the head of a troop of Rabī'a against 'Ubayd Allāh b. Sarī. In 216/831-2, Yazīd's brother 'Abd Allāh led an expedition into the Gharbiyya of Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 173, 178-9). The greater part of such Shaybānī commanders as these were great lovers of poetry and patrons of poets.

'Īsā b. Shaykh b. al-Salīl al-Dhuhlī al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] appears in al-Mutawakkil's reign, was governor of Ramla in Palestine *ca.* 251/866, then in Damascus, then governor of Armenia, probably up to his death in 269/882-3. His son Aḥmad was governor of Diyār Bakr, Taro and Arzene. He probably had to combat his Khāridjite fellow-tribesmen in the Djazīra and at Mawṣil on behalf of al-Mu'taḍid, dying in 285/898 and having as his successor his son Muḥammad, from whom al-Mu'taḍid seized by force his last possession of Āmid in 286/899. Muḥammad was assigned a house in Baghdād but then imprisoned. In the accounts of these episodes, the quality of poetic composition for both men and women of his family is stressed. At the beginning of the Carmathian propaganda, in the Sawād of Kūfa, together with several tribes of Rabī'a, from Bakr b. Wā'il or Yashkur, Shaybān are mentioned at the side of 'Ā'ish, 'Ābbās, Dhuhl, 'Anaz(a), Taym Allāh, Tha'l (Tha'laba?) and Ḍubay'a b. 'Idjl (al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-ḥunafā'*, ed. Shayyāl, Cairo 1967, i, 156; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ed. al-Munadjdjid, Cairo 1961, 6, 46-8). Individuals with the tribal *nisba* are mentioned in northern Syria and in Persia. Thus under the walls of Aleppo, the great commander Ibn Rashīḳ was attacked with a lance and killed by Ibn Yazīd al-Shaybānī (Canard, *Sayf al-Daula. Recueil*, Algiers 1934, 400). The tribe is mentioned with other Ḳaysī ones with whom it acted in common. Thus Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, the 'Uḳaylid *amīr* of Mawṣil and Aleppo, wishing to attack the Saldjūḳ Tutush at Damascus, gathered around him the tribes of Numayr, 'Uḳayl and Shaybān, as well as the Kurds and *Mawālida* (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl ta'rīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Amedroz, 114; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, ed. al-Dahhān, Damascus 1954, ii, 80).

After the 5th/11th century, the tribe of Shaybān as such is less often mentioned, and it is difficult to follow the subsequent fortunes of this highly-fragmented group. The last mention of it in the index to Ibn al-Athīr stems from 501/1107-8, when 85 warriors from Shaybān were killed at the side of Ṣadaḳa b. Mazyad al-Asadī in lower 'Irāḳ (*Kāmil*, x, 448).

The Arab Banū Shaybān should not, of course, be confused with the Shībānids [*q.v.*] or Shaybānids of Central Asia, descendants of the Mongol prince Shībān b. Djoči b. Čingiz Khān.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also the various arts, in this Encyclopaedia on the various al-Shaybānīs. No diachronic study of the history of the tribe seems to have been attempted, one going beyond the simple listing of a restricted number of pieces of information concerning the Shaybān; such a work would be valuable for our knowledge of the acculturation, and then integration, of the nomadic Arabs within the conquered lands. (TH. BIANQUIS)

AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN b. Farḳad, jurist of the Ḥanafī school [see AL-ḤANAFIYYA] of the very highest eminence, immediate disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa and of Abū Yūsuf [*q.vv.*].

I. *Biography*

Usually called "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan", or simply "Muḥammad", in classical judicial literature, al-Shaybānī was the scion of a prosperous family, *mawlās* of the Banū Shaybān, originally from Ḥarastā in the vicinity of Damascus. It was at the end of the Umayyad dynasty that the father of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, a soldier, emigrated to 'Irāḳ and settled in Wāsiṭ, where Muḥammad was born in 132/750; it was in Kūfa, the home town of Abū Ḥanīfa, that the latter grew up.

Attracted at a very early age to the "quest for knowledge" rather than to a military career, according to the biographers (see, e.g., al-Dhahabī [d. 748/1347], *Manāḳib al-imām Abī Ḥanīfa wa-ṣāḥibayhi Abī Yūsuf wa-Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan*, Cairo n.d. 49-60), al-Shaybānī studied in Kūfa as a pupil of Abū Ḥanīfa himself for a period of time which must have been short (two years according to al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahā'*, Beirut n.d. 142), since the latter died in 150/767 when al-Shaybānī was barely eighteen years old. In fact, it was mostly as a result of study with his senior, Abū Yūsuf, the leading disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa, that al-Shaybānī became, at a very early age, a jurist whose increasing renown was soon to arouse the resentment of his master. In Kūfa, al-Shaybānī had other teachers as well, including Sufyān al-Thawrī and al-Awzā'ī [*q.vv.*], with whom he trained as a traditionist (*muḥaddith*). At an unknown date, he also visited Medina, staying there two or three years (al-Ḳāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik*, Rabat 1983, i, 171), in order to study with Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*]; he transmitted a version of the latter's *Muwaṭṭa'*, with the addition of his own annotations and commentary (last dated edition, Beirut 1984).

At twenty years old, al-Shaybānī was already teaching in one of the mosques of Kūfa where his prowess as an orator (he was reckoned a particularly fine exponent of the Arabic language), as a traditionist and as an expert in religious law "proved by the method of *ra'y* [*q.v.*]" attracted numerous students to him.

While a resident in Baghdād, al-Shaybānī was appointed judge (*ḳāḍī*) of al-Raḳḳa by Hārūn al-Rashīd with whom, in the light of various episodes recounted by the biographers, his relations were not always amicable (al-Shaybānī had an exalted opinion of his position and also, it seems, of himself), although he remained an influential member of his entourage until he was relieved of his duties, probably *ca.* 187/803, and returned to Baghdād, where he resumed his educational activities. It was during this period that his teaching exerted the widest influence, over, in particular, the most prestigious of his pupils, Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī [*q.v.*], who was later to compose a refutation addressed to him (the *K. al-Radd 'alā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan*, in *K. al-Umm*, Cairo 1906, vii, 277-303) while retaining immense admiration for him. Another of his leading pupils was 'Īsā b. Abān (d. 221/836). Among his other, lesser-known disciples were Ibrāhīm b. Rustam al-Marwazī (d. 211/826), Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr (d. 217/832), Khalaf b. Ayyūb al-Balkhī (d. 205/820, 215 or 220), Mūsā b. Naṣr al-Rāzī (d. ?), etc. (for a list of scholars who transmitted traditions (*ḥadīth*) according to al-Shaybānī, see al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, 50).

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī died, either in 187/803 or, which is more likely, in 189/805, according to the biographers, in Khurāsān (at Ranbuwayh or at Rayy), where Hārūn al-Rashīd had taken him as part of his entourage, having reinstated him in his judicial position. He died on the same day and in the same place as the eminent grammarian and philologist al-Kisāʾī, leading Hārūn al-Rashīd to remark that he had buried *fikh* and grammar side by side.

II. *His work and thought*

(a) The body of work, almost all of it preserved and published, which is attributed to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, enormous. But, as has recently been shown by N. Calder (*Studies in early Muslim jurisprudence*, Oxford 1993, 39-66), extreme caution is required, concerning not so much the authenticity of this attribution but rather the precise nature of the latter. At that time, there can be no doubt that the very notion of a "book", having a single and identified author, did not exist in erudite circles: a certain disciple would collect the teachings of one or another scholar which he eventually committed to writing, accompanied by his own embellishments or commentary; this compilation would then be handed down from disciple to disciple, each in turn adding his own commentary, until a final version came into being, and was attributed to an ancient authority.

Since in the Ḥanafī school, as it developed during the classical period, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan was seen to be accorded the role of the one who set down in writing the *fikh* of the first Ḥanafīs, (principally Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and himself), it is particularly difficult to make sense of his bibliography. There is no doubt, for example, that the treatise on *fikh* currently published under the title of *Kitāb al-Aṣl* (ed. al-Afghānī, Ḥaydarābād 1966-72, and Beirut 1990; partial Ger. tr. Wiendensohler, *Mängel beim Kauf nach islamischem Recht*, Walldorf-Hessen 1960; separate edition of the *K. al-Buyūʿ wa l-salam* by Ch. Chehata, Cairo 1954), which is also known by the name of *al-Mabsūṭ*, and which is attributed to al-Shaybānī, is in fact a compilation of forty-seven short texts on *fikh*, considerably adapted over the years, which Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995), an early bibliographer, attributed to him in his renowned *Fihrist* (Beirut 1978, 287-8). The *K. al-Aṣl* played a vital role in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, to such an extent that, according to some of its leading scholars, for a Ḥanafī jurist it was sufficient to memorise it for being considered a *mudjtahid* (al-Imām ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Sharḥ Adab al-kāḍī li ʾl-Imām Abī Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Khaṣṣaf*, Beirut 1994, 19).

Besides this collection of opuscula, dealing with different aspects of practical law and assembled into a single whole, al-Shaybānī is also the author, again according to Ibn al-Nadīm and later biographers, of various works, including the *K. al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* (Ḥaydarābād 1936), *K. al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (publ. in the margins of the *K. al-Kharādj* of Abū Yūsuf, Būlāḳ 1884, Lahore 1909; partial Ger. tr. by I. Dimitroff in *MSOS*, xi/2 [1908], 60-206), the *K. al-Siyar al-kabīr* (publ. with the commentary of al-Sarakhsī, Ḥaydarābād 1916-17 and Cairo 1957) and the *K. al-Siyar al-ṣaghīr*, tr. M. Khadduri, *The Islamic law of nations*, Baltimore 1966. The *K. al-Aṣl*, the four works mentioned above and *al-Ziyādāt* belong, according to a classification established by the Ḥanafī biographers, to the *ẓāhir al-riwāya* of the school, in the sense that their transmission, from the origin, was supposed to be faultless, uninterrupted and substantially attested.

According to the same biographers, other texts attributed to al-Shaybānī did not enjoy the same status in terms of the quality of their transmission, with the result that their current content was considered dubious (a remark in fact applicable, from a viewpoint of contemporary criticism, as has been observed above, to the entire corpus of al-Shaybānī). Among the published works attributed to al-Shaybānī and also worth mentioning, besides the revision of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik already noted, are the *K. al-Āthār* (Lahore 1910 and ed. al-Afghānī, Beirut 1993 with an excellent introd.), the *K. al-Ḥudjdja ʿalā ahl al-Madīna* (Ḥaydarābād 1965-71), the *K. al-Makhāridj fi ʾl-ḥiyal* (ed. Schacht, Leipzig 1930, repr. Hildesheim 1968) and *al-Amālī* (Ḥaydarābād 1941). For more details regarding the work of al-Shaybānī, editions and the innumerable commentaries which it generated, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 421-33.

Since Abū Ḥanīfa himself wrote nothing on the subject of *fikh*, and since Abū Yūsuf apparently left behind only a very few texts, it is essentially through the intermediary of the work attributed to al-Shaybānī (and, to a lesser extent, that of al-Shāfiʿī) that the judicial opinions developed by and around Abū Ḥanīfa (and more generally, in the legal circles of Kūfa) can, with a reasonable degree of certainty, be known. This explains why E. Sachau, and other orientalists who shared his assessment, considered that al-Shaybānī had played a decisive role, more important even than those of Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf, in formulating the doctrines of the Hanafī school and, more generally, of Islamic law (Sachau in *SBWAW*, *phil-hist. CL.*, lxv, 723). This appraisal is, however, perhaps excessive, for two reasons. On the one hand, as explained above, al-Shaybānī cannot really be considered in anything other than a remote sense the real author of the corpus attributed to him; on the other, the vocation of *fikh* was originally supposed to be, and to remain, an orally transmitted discipline. It was probably only at the time when *fikh* definitively lost this quality, and its preferred mode of transmission became the written form, that al-Shaybānī was to have this monumental and systematic corpus, originally fragmentary and definitely far less voluminous, attributed to him by the later Ḥanafīs (the same thing occurred within the confines of the Shāfiʿī school in respect of the *K. al-Umm* attributed to al-Shāfiʿī) and in this regard, the role of the great Ḥanafī al-Sarakhsī (d. 490/1097 [*q.v.*], i.e. three centuries after al-Shaybānī) seems to have been definitive. Furthermore, so far as the Ḥanafī biographers are concerned, al-Shaybānī invariably occupies only the third rank, after Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf, in the hierarchy of authorities of the school.

(b) The thought of al-Shaybānī, as has been shown by J. Schacht (*The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1979, 306-10, and *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 45) represents considerable progress in relation to that of his two masters in Kūfa, Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf, and in many respects it prefigures the rift between the schools, dominant at that time, known as "local", and the "personal" schools which were to succeed them, as reflected in the work of his pupil al-Shāfiʿī. In this regard, it is relevant to note that, in addition to texts of practical law, al-Shaybānī seems also to be the author of a small number of writings on topics of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fikh* [*q.v.*]: a *K. Idjtihād al-raʾy*, a *K. al-Istiḥsān* and a *K. Uṣūl al-fikh* are attributed to him in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (Fakhr al-Islām al-Bazdawī also attributes to him a *K. Adab al-kāḍī*, to which he refers in *Uṣūl al-Bazdawī*, ed. with al-Bukhārī's commentary *Kashf al-asrār*, Beirut 1991, i, 59-60). Study of the classical

literature of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, which often draws attention to opinions of al-S̲h̲aybānī, tends to confirm the impression that he was also a theorist of *fiḳh* (see, e.g. al-Lāmis̲h̲ī, *Kitāb fī Uṣūl al-fiḳh*, Beirut 1995, index).

As recounted by a classic of Ḥanafī literature of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (*Uṣūl al-Bazdawī*, 59-61), the doctrine of al-S̲h̲aybānī relating to the respective roles of "reasoning" (*ra'y*) and of tradition (*ḥadīt̲h̲*) in the elaboration of *fiḳh*, a doctrine which firmly insists on their necessary complementarity (*lā yastaḳīmu al-ḥadīt̲h̲ illā bi 'l-ra'y wa-lā yastaḳīmu al-ra'y illā bi 'l-ḥadīt̲h̲*), seems to be in perfect harmony with the *fiḳh* which he effectively formulated and which Schacht has successfully analysed, comparing it with that of his predecessors. On the one hand, al-S̲h̲aybānī takes care to justify his legal doctrine on the basis of traditions traced back either to the Prophet, or to other authorities (where necessary, he feels free to quarrel with the latter); thus "he fills his books with *ḥadīt̲h̲*" (al-Bazdawī, 61). He appears in this context to stand apart from other jurists of Kūfa, and from Abū Yūsuf in particular, in according, in a non-systematic manner, priority to traditions attributed to the Prophet over those of the Companions (*al-Ṣaḥāba* [*q.v.*]). It is known that al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, for his part, was to accord probative worth to Prophetic traditions exclusively; on this point also, al-S̲h̲aybānī gives the appearance of being the initiator of S̲h̲āfiʿī-like theses (Schacht, *Origins*, 27-34). On the other hand, the judicial reasoning, the *ra'y* of al-S̲h̲aybānī, is considerably more rigorous and systematic than was that of Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf or Mālik. In a word, he tends to associate himself with the strict "analogical reasoning" (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]), of which al-S̲h̲āfiʿī was to give, in the *Risāla*, the first formal theorisation available to modern scholarship. It is not impossible that, in his *K. Id̲j̲tihād al-ra'y*, which is unfortunately lost, al-S̲h̲aybānī had preceded him in this project.

In theological matters, al-S̲h̲ahrastānī (d. 548/1163 [*q.v.*]) and other heresiographers assert that, following the example of Abū Ḥanīfa Abū Yūsuf, al-S̲h̲aybānī adhered to the Murd̲j̲i'ī doctrine [*q.v.*] (*Livre des religions et des sectes*, tr. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, Louvain 1986, i, 433; on the very close relations between Ḥanafism and Murd̲j̲i'ism, in which al-S̲h̲aybānī is just one of the participating players, see W. Madelung in *Isl.*, lix [1982], 32-39). A *Credo* (*ʿAḳīda*), preserved in manuscript form, is attributed to him, but not one of his biographers mentions its existence.

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(E. Chaumont)

AL-S̲H̲AYBĀNĪ, Abū ʿAmr Isḥāḳ b. Mirār, lexicographer belonging to the Kūfan school, who is often quoted under his *kunya* Abū ʿAmr. He was probably born somewhere around 120/738 in Kūfa and lived to a very great age. The biographies mention several years as his date of death, but the most probable date of death is 213/828 (Diem, *Das Kitāb al-ǧīm*, 10). According to a report in Ibn al-Anbārī (*Nuzha*, 58, l. 11), his mother was a Nabaṭī and he knew some of her language. His foreign descent is confirmed by a remark in Ibn K̲h̲allikān (i, 201, l. 6) who says that he was a *mawlā*. It is not certain whence his *nisba* as̲h̲-S̲h̲aybānī was derived; according to most sources, he received this *nisba* because he educated the sons of some members of the Banū S̲h̲aybān.

Al-S̲h̲aybānī was trained in grammar and lexicography, as well as *ḥadīt̲h̲*; his teacher in poetry was al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī [*q.v.*]. In his theological opinions he may have been a Muʿtazilī; in a report in Yāḳūt (*Muʿd̲j̲am*, vi, 84) he is said to have maintained that the Ḳur'ān was created. Among his pupils were the lexicographers Ibn al-Sikkīt and Abū ʿUbayd [*q.vv.*] and the traditionist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who quotes him as a source in his *Musnad*. His fame rests mainly on his qualities as a collector of poetry. He is reported to have collected the *dīwāns* of more than eighty tribes, which have not been preserved. Both his son ʿAmr and his grandson Muḥammad b. ʿAmr transmitted lexical explanations to poems from him. In the Kūfan line, the transmission through his grandson to Abū Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Marwazī (d. 298/910) was preserved in the *Mad̲j̲ālis T̲h̲aʿlab* (e.g., i, 137; ii, 479, 485) as a later addition to the manuscript.

Abū ʿAmr was the author of several lexicographical treatises, most of them dealing with specialised semantic domains, such as the terminology of human anatomy (*k̲h̲alḳ al-insān*) and that of camels and horses. He is also said to have written a book called *al-Nawādir* and a collection of rare expressions from the *ḥadīt̲h̲* (*g̲h̲arīb al-ḥadīt̲h̲*) (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 121-3). The only work that has been preserved is his *K. al-D̲j̲īm* (in some sources called *K. al-Lug̲h̲āt* or *K. al-Ḥurūf*; according to others these are independent books). This book was transmitted mainly by two lexicographers, al-Sukkarī [*q.v.*] and Abū Mūsā al-Ḥāmiḍ (d. 305/918), a pupil of the Kūfan grammarian T̲h̲aʿlab. Both recensions seem to have been used in the unique Escorial manuscript (no. 572; for a description of this manuscript see Diem, 12-14).

In the *K. al-D̲j̲īm*, each chapter contains words beginning with the same radical, without further criteria of division. There is a large amount of association within each chapter, so that even words beginning with different radicals are quoted when the context leads him to do so. Unlike his contemporary al-K̲h̲alīl [*q.v.*], he followed the usual alphabetical order of the Arabic alphabet rather than a phonetic order. Earlier investigators, who did not have the possibility of study-

ing the entire treatise, believed that the reason for its name is that the dictionary stops with the letter *djīm*, but Diem's analysis has shown that this is not the case, since the Escorial manuscript contains the entire alphabet. The reason for its being called thus cannot be that the book started with the letter *djīm*, either, since the Escorial manuscript starts with the letter *hamza*. The reason for the name must have been unclear from an early date onwards, since the biographers were puzzled by this question, too. Al-Suyūṭī, for instance, mentions that he believed for some time that the book was called thus because it started with the letter *djīm*, but then he saw a manuscript in which the first letter was the *hamza*. According to the explanation in the *Ḳāmūs*, the word *djīm* was a substantive with the alleged meaning of *dībādj* "brocade".

It is not unlikely that the treatise as we have it is an unfinished version. From the biographical literature we know that Abū ʿAmr did not transmit the book to any of his pupils, possibly because he intended to revise it thoroughly, but never got around to doing so. In its present form the classification and analysis of the words is rather confused. Not only is there no apparent order in each chapter, but within each lemma the information is given haphazardly.

The main corpus for his collection of words was probably his own collection of Djāhilī poetry. Within each lemma he quotes systematically and in a fixed order from 17 different *dīwāns*. The total number of poetic lines quoted is about 4,300 as against only two verses from the Ḳurʾān (Diem, 60). Krenkow's evaluation of the book as a prime source for our knowledge of pre-Islamic dialects is not confirmed by the later analysis made by Diem (74-7), since his only contribution to the study of the *lughāt* is a small number of lexical items. In general, al-Shaybānī does not elaborate on the meaning of the words, and he discusses only rare words that apparently occurred in his collection.

Although quotations from the *K. al-Djīm* are found in all the major dictionaries, including the *Ḳāmūs* and the *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, most later lexicographers did not know the work first hand, but quoted it through Ibn al-Sikkīt's *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (Diem, 118-9). In the *Lisān al-ʿArab* he is not one of the most frequently quoted authorities, but still the index to the *Lisān* mentions him 92 times. For some of the *shawāhid*, the *K. al-Djīm* remains the only available source.

Al-Shaybānī is almost never quoted on grammatical doctrine, but Abū Ḥayyān has a quotation from his *K. al-Faraḥ*, which is not mentioned anywhere else, in which he discusses the priority of the agent over the object in syntactic terms (*Tadhkira*, 305, cf. 538, 668, about morphology). Elsewhere (*Manhadj*, 405, l. 32), the same author reports a syntactic opinion from al-Shaybānī which had been transmitted from him by the grammarian al-Akhfash.

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(K. Versteegh)

SHAYBĀNĪ, Abū Naṣr Fatḥ Allāh Khān, 19th century Persian poet, born around 1241/1825 in Kāshān, died 20 Radjab 1308/1 March 1891.

He came from a noble family claiming descent from the Shaybānī tribe, from which he took his pen name. His grandfather held the governorship of Naṭanz, Kāshān, Djawshaḳān and Ḳum during Āghā Muḥammad Khān's reign (1193-1212/1779-97), whilst his father, Muḥammad Kāẓim Khān, was employed under Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1250-64/1779-97) and later served as financial agent of the governor-general of Kāshān and Hamadān. In accordance with the family tradition, Shaybānī also was identified with the court and government, early having access to the court of Muḥammad Shāh and acting as companion in attendance to the heir-apparent (afterwards Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, r. 1264-1313/1848-96). In later years he was involved from time to time in important official assignments. However, despite his official preoccupations, he was essentially a private individual seeking a life of seclusion. Consequently, he resigned from public affairs and went to live on his estates. He finally decided to settle down in Tehran and died there.

Shaybānī's attachment to Ṣūfism, and the influence it had on his poetic outlook, may be discerned in the introspective trend often depicted in his verse. As a writer, he was competent in both prose and poetry. Included among his representative writings are his prose and verse *Durdj-i durar* "A casket of pearls", and collection of odes *Fatḥ u ẓafar* "Victory and triumph". His major prose work is the *Maḳālāt-i Shaybānī*, which is autobiographical in nature, and was composed in 1273/1856-7.

Shaybānī's poetic career spanned over a period of some fifty years, from the last part of Muḥammad Shāh's reign to about the end of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's time. His output comprises *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *rubāʿīs*, *ḳiṭʿas* and *dū-baytīs*. A selection of his verse, probably prepared by the poet, was published in Istanbul in 1308-9/1890-1. His style of writing follows the trend of the old masters, such as Rūdakī and Farrukhī [*q.vv.*], and may be identified with the Khurāsānī school of Persian poetry. He is among the leading poets of the Ḳādjār period who revolted successfully against the predominance of the "Indian style" (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]), and strove for a "return" (*bāzgasht*) to early indigenous forms. However, the real contribution of Shaybānī's verse must be sought in the choice of his subject and the mood of his poetry. He was perhaps the first poet to criticise openly in several of his poems the decadent state of contemporary society and politics—a theme that was to become the stock-in-trade of the Persian poets in the post-Constitutional period. Moreover, his verse often reflected a subjective element that was new to native literary tradition, and evoked certain parallels with the pessimism and ultra-realism in the European literature produced during the second half of the nineteenth century (see R. Levy, *Persian literature*, London 1948, 99).

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Dja'far Mahdjūb, Tehran (?) n.d.; Mīrzā Muhammad ʿAlī (Muʿallim Habībābādī), *Makārim al-āthār*, iv, Isfahān 1352/1973; *Fihrist-i kutub-i khattī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Madjlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, iii, Tehran 1318-21/1939-42, 518-20; Kāsim Ghanī, *Fath Allāh Khān Shaybānī*, in *Yāddāsht-hā-yi Duktar Kāsim Ghanī*, x, London 1983, 152-7 (publ. originally in *Āyanda*, iii/1 [1323/1944], 30-4); Muhammad Kazwīnī, *Wafayāt-i muʿāsirīn*, in *Yādgār*, v/3 (December 1948), 96-8; Muhammad Muʿīn, *Farhang-i Fārsī*, i, Tehran 1371/1992; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Yahyā Āryanpūr, *Az Sabā tā Nīmā*, i, Tehran 1350/1971.

(Munibur Rahman)

al-**SHAYBĀNĪ**, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad, Abu ʾl-Yusr al-Kayrawānī al-Riyādī "the mathematician" (223-298/838-911), *adīb* and author of *rasāʾil*.

He was born in Baghdād, where he pursued his studies before making his way to Ifrīkiya in 261/874 during the reign of the Aghlabid *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad al-Aghlab (261-90/874-902). Unfortunately, little is known concerning the life in Baghdād of this prolific letter writer and poet. Besides the valuable information regarding him supplied by Ibn al-Abbār in his *Takmila* (i, article 454, p. 174), stating that al-Shaybānī was the disciple and friend of writers such as al-Djāhiz, al-Mubarrad and Ibn Kutayba, and of the poets Diʿbil, Abū Tammām and al-Buhturī, substantial evidence concerning his life in the East is lacking. The same cannot be said of his life in Ifrīkiya, which began in 261/874 when he was 38 years old. Al-Shaybānī settled in Aghlabid Ifrīkiya after wanderings which took him as far as Spain. He was received at Kayrawān by the three last Aghlabid *amīrs*, including Ziyādat Allāh III (290-6/902-9), who treated him with lavish generosity and entrusted to him the post of director of the Bayt al-Hikma. It is again Ibn al-Abbār who states that this epistolary writer was at the head of the Bayt al-Hikma during the reign of Ziyādat Allāh (*op. cit.*, 174). Al-Shaybānī was opportunist enough to turn away from his Aghlabid patrons just before their deposition, in a bloodless coup, by the Fātimids (296-362/909-73), and what is more, he composed panegyrics in honour of the caliph al-Mahdī (297-322/910-34); as a reward, he retained his post at the head of the above-mentioned establishment until 298/911, the date of his death at Kayrawān.

Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī was a talented writer and a first-rate scholar, seeking to combine the pertinence of ideas and flexibility and elegance of expression with the rigour of the language. In fact, he established himself as a master of the epistolary genre on account of his flowing style, his pure language and his zest. The few biographical sources which mention him attribute to him the titles of numerous works including *Sirādj al-hudā fī ʾl-Kurʾān wa-iʿrābih wa-maʿānīh*, *Musnad fī ʾl-hadīth*, *Lakīt al-mardjān* (after the model of the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of Ibn Kutayba), *Kutb al-adab*, *al-Murassaʿa wa ʾl-mudabbadja*. As for *al-Risāla al-ʿadhrāʾ*, composed without any doubt by al-Shaybānī and addressed to his friend and correspondent Ibn al-Mudabbir (d. 279/892), as is proved by the unique manuscript which contains it (Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Taymur no. 80), it is "one of the most ancient treatises on administration and public life" (Gottschalk, in *EI²*, iii, 880a). This letter achieved immediate and considerable success and was rapidly transmitted throughout the Muslim world; it has been continually studied, annotated and used as an educational text. However, Kurd ʿAlī, who was the first to have the opportunity of establishing the unique text of the *Risāla* of al-Shaybānī (see M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1331/1913, 176-93) and who cannot have known everything about this Aghlabid letter writer, inadvertently attributed it to Ibn al-Mudabbir, this leading into error Zakī Mubārak in his *Étude critique sur la Lettre Vierge d'Ibn al-Mudabber* (*sic*), Cairo 1931, and Gottschalk in his art. ibn al-mudabbir (*loc. cit.*).

In this context, the following points should be noted:

(1) The *kunya* of Ibn al-Mudabbir is Abū Ishāk and not Abu ʾl-Yusr, as claimed by Kurd ʿAlī, Zakī Mubārak and Gottschalk (see on this topic, *Aghānī*, Beirut 1380/1960, xxii, 151; Yākūt, *Muʿdjam al-ʾudabāʾ*, Beirut, i, 226; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, 56).

(2) The Title of the *Risāla* as it is found in the Cairo manuscript is the following: "The virgin letter, concerning the criteria of rhetoric and of the instruments of writing, sent by Abu ʾl-Yusr Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad al-Shaybānī to Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad b. al-Mudabbir (*al-Risāla al-ʿadhrāʾ fī mawāzīn al-balāgha wa-adawāt al-kitāba, kataba-hā Abu ʾl-Yusr Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad al-Shaybānī ilā Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad b. al-Mudabbir*).

(3) Several paragraphs of the *Risāla al-ʿadhrāʾ* have been reproduced in the *ʿIkd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi and attributed without any hesitation to al-Shaybānī, although Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi gives no title to this letter (see al-*ʿIkd*, Cairo 1365/1944, iv, 155-205).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): *al-Risālat al-ʿadhrāʾ*, ms. Cairo Taymur coll., no. 80; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, Cairo 1375/1955, i, 173-4; idem, *Iʿtāb al-kuttāb*, Damascus 1380/1961, 78; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, Beirut 1983, i, 162-3; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Cairo 1349, 68; Khushanī, *Tabakāt*, Baghdād 1372, iii, 288; Makkarī, *Nafh al-tīb*, Beirut 1388/1968, iii, 134; Fayrūzābādī, *al-Bulgha fī taʾrīkh aʾimmat al-lugha*, Damascus 1392/1972, 3-4; H.H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Warakāt*, Tunis 1965, i, 243-4; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, Beirut 1389/1969, i, 57; M.M. Labidi, *La vie littéraire en Ifriqiya sous les Aghlabides*, diss. Tunis 1414/1994.

(Mohamed Mokhtar Labidi)

SHAYBĀNĪ KHĀN [see shībānī khān].

SHAYBĀNIDS [see shībānids].

SHAYDĀ, MULLĀ, 17th century Persian poet of India, commonly known as Mullā Shaydā, born in Fathpūr Sīkrī, near Āgra, d. in 1080/1669-70.

His father was a native of Mashhad, from where he migrated to India during the reign of Emperor Akbar. It is reported that Shaydā was attached initially to a nobleman who spotted his poetic talents, and eventually introduced him to the Emperor Djahāngīr so that he became enrolled among the *ahadīs* or "gentlemen troopers", a class of servants employed mostly for household duties. Later, he decided to seek employment with ʿAbd al-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān (d. 1036/1627 [*q.v.*]), writing a *kasīda* in praise of the latter and sent it to him at Mandū, and after some time, was released from the royal staff and joined Khān-i Khānān's service in Burhānpūr.

Another patron whom Shaydā served was Prince Shahriyār (d. 1037/1628), the ill-fated youngest son of Emperor Djahāngīr, who was blinded and subsequently executed. Thereafter the poet entered the service of the Emperor Shāh Djahān among the *ahadīs*. In course of time, he retired from his job, living comfortably on the government pension granted to him, and settled in Kashmīr where he died.

Shaydā has been described as an irascible person provoked easily on mere suspicion, and he composed satirical verses attacking several of his contemporaries, so that his behaviour made him many enemies,

and he was often a target of their hostility.

Evidence is lacking about the actual extent of Shaydā's poetical output. Estimates in this connection vary from 50,000 to 100,000 couplets. The poet is also said to have composed a *mathnawī*, entitled *Dawlat-i bīdār*, "The awakened fortune", modelled after Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār*. It seems that Shaydā was negligent in the preservation of his works. The *Khizāna-yi ʿāmira* gives a description of a copy of Shaydā's works used by Āzād for his account of the poet. The contents of this manuscript included 14 lengthy *ḳaṣīdas* and a *ḳiṭʿa* dealing with some of the ornaments of rhetoric. A manuscript of Shaydā's *ghazals* is in the British Library; it contains a total of some 1,200 couplets.

Shaydā has won critical approval for his poetic achievements, being represented as a follower of the old school. In the *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī* he is depicted as one of the talented poets of his time who had a probing imagination, and could conceive novel subjects, but showed mental apathy in their arrangement. He wielded a facile pen which enabled him to compose lengthy *ḳaṣīdas* within the smallest amount of time. His knowledge of prosody was excellent, and is seen in his frequent use of difficult metres and rhyme.

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, B.L. ms. Or. 2849; ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Nihāwandī, *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī*, iii, ed. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, Calcutta 1931; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, i, ed. Kabīr al-Dīn and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Calcutta 1867; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, *Shāh Djahān-nāma* (*ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*), iii, ed. Ghulām Yazdānī and Waḥīd Ḳurayshī, Lahore 1972; Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1352/1973-4; Shāhnawāz Khān Khʷāfī, *Bahāristān-i sukhan*, Madras 1958; Muḥammad Afḍal Sarkhush, *Kalimāt al-shuʿarā* (*Tadhkira-yi Sarkhush*), ed. Ṣādiḳ ʿAlī Dilāwarī, Lahore 1942; Shēr Khān Lodī, *Mirʾāt al-khayāl*, Bombay 1324/1906-7; Sirādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Khān Arzū, *Madjmaʿ al-nafāʾis*, Bankipore ms., Catalogue, viii; ʿAlī Ḳulī Khan Wālih Dāghistānī, *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ*, B.L. ms. Add. 16729; Mīr Ḥusayn Dūst Sanbhalī, *Tadhkira-yi Ḥusaynī*, Lakhnaw 1875; Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khizāna-yi ʿāmira*, Kānpūr 1871; idem, *Sarw-i Āzād*, Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) 1913; Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Natāʾidj al-afkār*, Bombay 1336/1958; Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Hāshimī Sandīlawī, *Makhzan al-gharāʾib*, ii, ed. Muḥammad Bāḳir, Lahore 1970; Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/2, Tehran 1367/1988; Ḥusām al-Dīn Rāshidī (ed.), *Tadhkira-yi shuʿarā-yi Kashmīr*, i, Karachi 1967; Amīr Ḥasan ʿĀbidī, *Mulla Shayda*, in *Indo-Iranica*, xx/1 (1967), Persian section, 1-14; M.L. Rahman, *Persian literature during the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan*, Baroda 1970; Punjab University, *Urdū dāʾira-yi maʿārif-i Islāmiyya*, xi, Lahore 1975.

(Munibur Rahman)

SHAYKH (a.), pl. *shuyūkh*, denotes etymologically "someone whose age appears advanced and whose hair has gone white", used for a man over fifty years old (*LʿA*, Beirut 1988, vii, 254; *TʿA*, Cairo 1869-89, ii, 267-8). The Ḳurʾānic usage of *shuyūkh*, in XL, 67, is in this sense. From pre-Islamic times onwards, the idea of authority and prestige has accordingly been attached to the term, so that *shaykh* is used for the chief of any human group, whether the family (al-Zabīdī states that a woman's *shaykh* is her husband, *TʿA*, ii, 268), a tribe, a trade guild, etc. In the early Islamic context, *al-shaykhānⁱ* denotes either the two caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Beirut n.d., 357) or the two best-known traditionists, al-Bukhārī and Muslim (*ibid.*, 346). The term *shaykh* may be applied to the head of a religious establishment (*madrasa*, *dār al-ḥadīth*, *ribāt*, etc.), and to any Muslim scholar of a certain level of attainment (in the biographical collections, the term is generally linked with others, such as *imām*). In the peripheral regions of the Islamic world, *shaykh* may have various meanings. In India, it denotes a category of the descendants of the Prophet or *ashrāf* [see hind. ii, at vol. III, 410a], whilst in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time, the inhabitants of Mogadishu applied it to their sultan (*Riḥla*, ii, 182, tr. Gibb, ii, 374-5).

The term *shaykh* is often found with a complement. The *sh. al-balad* can be the equivalent of the mayor of a town, or more simply, an employee looking after the good management of the town (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 809). Amongst the Ḥafṣids of Tunis, the grand vizier had the title *sh. al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, in reference to the Almohads, whose heirs the Ḥafṣids claimed to be (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, 266). On the purely religious level, the honorific title *Sh. al-Islam* [*q.v.*] is found, also the function of *sh. al-iḳrāʾ* (master in instruction of the Ḳurʾān readings), and the designation *sh. al-Sunna* for traditionists or other persons scrupulously observing the *Sunna*.

In Ṣūfī mysticism, the *shaykh* is the spiritual master (pls. *shuyūkh*, *mashāyikh*). Having himself traversed the mystical path (*ṭarīḳ*(a) [*q.v.*]), he knows its traps and dangers, and is therefore essential for the aspiring novice or *murīd* [*q.v.*], who must place himself totally under his guidance (termed *iḳtidāʾ*; see esp. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Beirut, iii, 75-6; al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, Beirut 1983, 83). He thus becomes the novice's spiritual father and "educator", *al-shaykh al-murabbī* (see e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil li-tahdhīb al-masāʾil*, Tunis 1991, 224, 226) or *sh. al-tarbiya*. His closeness to God makes him a *walī* or saint, and provides a firm basis for his authority; the Ṣūfīs interpret in this sense the *ḥadīth* "the *shaykh* has the same position amongst his followers as the Prophet in his community" (see e.g. the *K. Khatm al-awliyāʾ* of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Beirut 1965, 489, and on this tradition, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, no. 4969). A wider circle than his spiritual disciples seek out the Ṣūfī master not for *tarbiya* but for the spiritual influence, *baraka* [*q.v.*] emanating from him; in this case, he is envisaged as the *sh. al-tabarruk*. The *shaykh* usually officiates in a *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] founded on his personal initiative (most of the *shaykhs* whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met in the course of his travels were heads of this kind of institution). In Persia, the *shaykh* of a *khānḳāh* [*q.v.*] had a similar spiritual charisma, but in the Ayyūbid and the Mamlūk Near East the *khānḳāh* became a public institution, and its *shaykh*, nominated by the ruling power, belonged more to the class of *ʿulamāʾ* or administrators than to the Ṣūfīs. At Cairo and Damascus there was a supreme *sh. al-shuyūkh*, charged with the office of controlling the practice of *taṣawwuf* and whose role was often more political and diplomatic than spiritual (whence al-Subkī's severe judgement on this pompous title, see his *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, Beirut 1986, 96). At a later period, the Ottomans introduced a *sh. al-ṭuruḳ* ("head of the mystical paths" rather than "of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods") in each major city of the empire, with the same function as the *sh. al-shuyūkh*. At the beginning of the 19th century, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] set up a *sh. mashāyikh al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya*, with authority over the whole range of Egyptian brotherhoods.

One should also note that titles like *shaykh*, *sh. al-shuyūkh* or *sh. al-mashāyikh* are equally used for the heads of trade and professional guilds (see, e.g. above,

vol. II, 967b, and III, 206a), evoking the affinities which existed between *taṣawwuf* and *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. In later Ṣūfism, the *sh. al-sadjdjāda* denoted the successor—corporeal or spiritual—of the eponymous head of the order; the prayer carpet, *sadjdjāda* [*q.v.*], considered as stemming from the master, symbolises the transmission of spiritual authority to his "heir". Finally, a woman in whom is recognised the quality of a spiritual master (above all, *vis-à-vis* other women) is still today called *shaykha*.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): See the art. *shaykh* in ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥifnī, *Muʿdjam muṣṭalaḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Beirut 1987. On the *sh. al-shuyūkh*, see L. Fernandes, *The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt: the* Khanqah, Berlin 1988, 47-54. On the *sh. al-mashāyikh* in Egypt, see M.T. al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Ṣiddīḳ*, Cairo 1323, 379-80, and esp. P.J. Luizard, *Le soufisme égyptien contemporain*, in *Egypte/Monde arabe*, ii (1990), 44. For a parallel between the *shaykh* of Ṣūfism and that of *futuwwa*, see J.-C. Vadet, *La Futuwwa, morale professionelle ou morale mystique*, in *REI*, xlvi (1978), 57-90.

(E. Geoffroy)

SHAYKH ʿADĪ [see ʿADĪ].

SHAYKH ĀDAM, Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Ṭayyib Shāh b. Malik b. Ismāʿīl, the successor to Dāwūd Burhān al-Dīn b. Ḳuṭb Shāh in 1021/1612 as the twenty-eight *dāʿī* of the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs in India known as the Dāwūdī Bohras.

According to Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Madjdūʿ (*Fahrasa*, ed. ʿAlīnaḳī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 118; the text is corrupt and not clear), Shaykh Ādam was a descendant of either Siddharāja Jayasimha (or Jayasingha), the Rādjput ruler of Gudjarāt (1094-1143), who was converted to the Ismāʿīlī faith by Mawlāya ʿAbd Allāh, or a descendant of the latter missionary who had come from Yemen. He lived in Aḥmadābād and died there on 7 Radjab 1030/28 May 1621. The year of his birth is unknown, but Muḥammad ʿAlī, the author of *Mawsim-i bahār* (Bombay 1301/1884, iii, 259-64) states that while he was still a young boy he studied with Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, the first Indian to be appointed as the head of the *daʿwa* in 946/1539. The latter lived in his native place Sidhpur [*q.v.*] for five years after becoming the head of the *daʿwa* and then went back to Yemen, where he died in 974/1567. If Shaykh Ādam studied with Yūsuf b. Sulaymān while he was still in Sidhpur, he must have been at least ten years of age or older, which implies that he was born before 940/1533. According to the same author, he then served Djalāl b. Ḥasan, the twenty-fifth *dāʿī*, who succeeded Yūsuf b. Sulaymān and attained prominence during the time of the succeeding *dāʿī*, Dāwūd b. ʿAdjab. In 998/1590 he was delegated by the *dāʿī* to preach and propagate the *daʿwa* in the Deccan (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ al-akhbār*, ms. collection of Zāhid ʿAlī, 541 ff., 625-8). After the death of this *dāʿī*, the Bohra community was divided over the succession dispute; a great majority upheld the succession of Dāwūd Burhān al-Dīn and came to be known as the Dāwūdīs, whereas a minority accepted the claims of Sulaymān b. Ḥasan, the grandson of Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, and became known as the Sulaymānīs. During this time of crisis Shaykh Ādam firmly stood by the *dāʿī* Dāwūd Burhān al-Dīn, defending his succession before the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar.

His *Kitāb palī mīdū* deals with the beginning of the Mustaʿlian *daʿwa* in India, the arrival of Mawlāya ʿAbd Allāh (sent from Yemen by Lamak b. Mālik) in Cambay, and the legend about the conversion of Siddharāja Jayasimha, and the subsequent history of the *daʿwa* until the author's time (al-Madjdūʿ, *Fahrasa*, 118). It is an important source for the history of that early period: manuscript copies of it are, however, very rare.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 190.

(I. Poonawala)

SHAYKH AL-BALAD "the Chief of the City", the title given in Ottoman Egypt during the greater part of the 18th century to the most powerful bey in Cairo.

By the early 18th century real political power in Egypt no longer rested with the pashas, the official representatives of the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul, but with the military grandees—at first Janissary regimental commanders and then exclusively with the Mamlūk beys, who accepted the nominal Ottoman sovereignty, and whose supremacy was decided by fierce power struggles among military factions and households. The strongest bey was called by various appellations, such as *Amīr Miṣr* ("the commander of Cairo"), *Kabīr al-Ḳawm* ("the senior of the people", i.e. the Mamluks), *Kabīr al-Balad* ("the senior of the city"), until these titles were superseded by *Shaykh al-Balad*, a title which expresses not only his supremacy but also the limitation of his power to Cairo; he could not extend his rule to all of Egypt, owing to the weakness and fragmentation of Egyptian government, notably in Upper Egypt where the Arab tribes were virtually autonomous.

Shaykh al-Balad was not an official Ottoman title, and the Ottomans strongly objected to it, as it expressed the *de facto* rule of the beys and the mere symbolic position of the Ottoman pashas in Cairo. In several official decrees issued in the years 1138/1726 and 1143/1730, the Ottoman government calls this title "a devilish innovation", the source of all the trouble in Egypt, and threatens with death whoever uses it. With their accustomed flexibility, however, the Ottomans eventually put up with this show of Egyptian semi-independence, and an edict issued by the sultan in 1159/1746 names ʿUthmān Bey, a former *Amīr al-Ḥādjdj*, as *Shaykh al-Balad*.

The first bey who is called *Shaykh al-Balad* in the sources was Muḥammad Bey Čarkas in the third decade of the 18th century. During the second half of that century, the ascendancy belonged to the Ḳāzdughli Mamlūk faction and the *Shuyūkh al-Balad* came from them. By far the most famous and powerful one was ʿAlī Bey *Bulut Ḳapan* ("the cloud catcher", known as "the Great") whose incumbency (1173-87/1760-73) marked the first attempt since the early 16th century of a rebellion in Egypt against the central Ottoman government. He was succeeded by Muḥammad Abu 'l-Dhahab [*q.v.*], ʿAlī Bey's Mamlūk, who finally turned against him and demonstrated loyalty to the Ottomans.

The title survived as long as the beys held effective power in Cairo, until the French invasion of Egypt in 1798.

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(M. Winter)

SHAYKH ḤUSAYN, a saint (*walī*) of Ethiopia, whose *ḳubba*, in the Bale or Bali region of Oromo province, is the goal of an important popular pilgrimage. There are various orthographies of his name: Scec Hussèn, Schech Ussen (Italian), Shaykh Ḥusayn (Arabic), Shék Husén (Oromo, Amharic), Sheekh Xuseen (Somali), etc.

Sh. Nūr Ḥusayn is said to have lived *ca.* A.D. 1200. Coming from Merca, on the Somaliland coast, or possibly from Harar, he was reputedly the first great preacher of Islam in the region. He was a thaumaturge, who also had the gift of ubiquitousness. In the 16th century, the Oromo, then followers of traditional religions, came from the south or from the east, gained control of the region and took over the cult passed on to them by the Hadiya-Sidama peoples. Later, the cult became strengthened through a confusion with the one centred around Abba Muda (son [?] of the eponymous ancestor of the Oromo). Today, a syncretistic character of the cult of Sh. Ḥusayn is discernible, but it is only with great prudence that one can set up the equations Abba Muda = Shék Husén and Waaqa (the Oromo supreme deity, identified with the Heavens) = Allāh, God.

The place where his tomb is situated, Annajina (or Dire Shék Husén) is 250 km/155 miles as the crow flies to the south-east of Addis Ababa, to the east of Gobba, on the right bank of the upper course of the (*webi*) Shebelle [*q.v.*], at an altitude of 1,489 m/4,884 feet. The region is one of Arsi (Amhar. Arusi) Oromo farmers and herdsmen. The sanctuary's fame is such that it extends to the whole of the Oromo and Somali lands of the Horn of Africa, and each year attracts tens of thousands of devotees. A main pilgrimage takes place on the anniversary of the saint's death and a second one during the *ḥadjdj* month, both at the full moon. The ritual is inspired by that of the Meccan Pilgrimage and by practices dating from the time before the Oromo embraced Islam. But these last probably borrowed from the syncretism already reached by the Sidama.

The pilgrims (*djila*) arrive in groups, on foot or on riding beasts. They all carry a long, forked stick (*ulee*), which has a practical use but is, above all, a sign of their status as pilgrims, which opens to them doors of hospitality. They begin their devotions as soon as they gain sight of the sanctuary.

Within the sacred area properly so-called, bounded by an enclosure, even if it is forbidden to cut down trees, out of respect for their spirit (*ayyaana*), it is nevertheless recommended that shreds of cloth or skin should be hung from their branches as offerings. Near to the pool of Dinkiro, which is fed by a miraculous spring, there stands the mosque of Shaykh Ḥusayn. The tomb is in a crypt reached through a low door. The faithful crowd into there, praying, crying, singing and covering themselves with the white dust of the soil or of the walls kneaded with saliva. Outside the grills of the mausoleum, the crowd sings hymns with alternate verses (*baro*) and dances.

The pilgrim then visits sites in the valley of Kachamsaré: the Serpent Grotto, where can be seen the snake which the saint petrified by his single glance; the Grotto of Sins, where the pilgrim sets apart some of the miraculous earth and white stones which he then throws into the Valley of Sins in order to be purified from his faults; the Grotto of Grass, where he makes a vow whilst pulling a sprig of grass; etc. Strange rock formations which abound in the region are everywhere attributed to the saint's actions. The rites to be fulfilled also include fumigations with plants and incense, and the drinking of coffee and chewing of *ḳāt* [*q.v.*] (Oromo *chaatii*). Divination, and cults of possession and exorcism, are likewise practiced.

The whole of the sacred site is in the hereditary custody of one family, the Wau of the Gamuoro tribe, adherents of the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīḳa*. The mosque, built at Annajina by ʿAbd al-Shakūr, *amīr* of Harar [*q.v.*] 1197-1209/1783-94, and dedicated by him to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (the maternal uncle of Sh. Ḥusayn, according to local tradition!), is the sole rallying-point for members of the Ḳādiriyya brotherhood. In the minds of many of the faithful, pilgrimage to Sh. Ḥusayn replaces the Pilgrimage to Mecca and allows the poor to fulfil the obligation of *ḥadjdj*.

The cults of Shaykh Ḥusayn, of his kindred and that of his disciples, are very strongly alive in the region. His father's *ḳubba* is situated at Annajina near to the Imaro pool, one of his sons is honoured at Harar, another in the neighbourhood of that same town, etc. The most important of these accessory sanctuaries, arising only in the second half of the last century, is that of Sof Omar (Ar. Ṣūfī ʿUmar). This is made up of a group of grottoes along the course of the Web (Amhar. Wäyb) river, some 60 km/37 miles to the south of Annajina, grottoes in which the homonymous personage is said to have lived. This mystic—one of the 6,666 disciples of Sh. Ḥusayn, according to popular enthusiasm—may have come from the Tegray/Tigré region in the north of Ethiopia in the 18th century. Sh. Ḥusayn's devotees (*garïiba*, pl. *garïibatta*), frequenters of these sacred places, wander around the region, and well beyond it, living off alms.

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(A. ROUAUD)

SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM (A.), an honorific title in use in the Islamic world up to the early 20th century, applied essentially to religious dignitaries.

1. Early history of the term.

The title first appears in Khurāsān towards the end of the 4th/10th century. While honorific titles compounded with *Islām* (like ʿIzz-, Djalāl-, and Sayf al-Islām) were borne by persons exercising secular power (notably the viziers of the Fatimids, cf. M. van Berchem, in *ZDPV*, xvi [1893], 101), the title of Shaykh al-Islām has always been reserved for *ʿulamāʾ* and mystics, like other titles of honour whose first part is *Shaykh* (e.g. *Shaykh al-Dīn*; the surname of *Shaykh al-Futyā* is given by Ibn Khaldūn to the jurist Asad b. al-Furāt, cf. *Muḳaddima*, tr. de Slane, i, p. lxxviii). Of all these titles only that of Shaykh al-Islām has been extensively used. Though apparently used in some instances purely as an honorific, the consistency with which the title appears in the major cities of Khurāsān,

and the fact that no two persons bear the title in the same place at the same time, suggests a functional connotation. Some *Shuyūkh al-Islām* were Ṣūfīs and others scholars of *ḥadīth*. There is no evidence that they were generally known as *fuḳahā'* or that they delivered *fatwā*s. Rather, they seem to have been among the most admired or influential *'ulamā'* in their milieux, and there are indications that their function was to authorise the initial convening of a class for a new teacher in a city during the period before the *madrasa* took over this function. The biographer of one Shaykh al-Islām, the Ḥanbalī Ṣūfī Abū Ismā'īl 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] of Harāt, praises him for "the ordering of *madrasas*, teachers (*aṣḥāb*), and convents and the holding (*nuwab*) of classes", see R.N. Frye (ed.), *The histories of Nishapur*, The Hague 1965, first ms. of al-Fārisī, fol. 33b; second ms. of al-Fārisī, fol. 82b). Further indications of an educational function for the Shaykh al-Islām are given by R.W. Bulliet, *The Shaikh al-Islam and the evolution of Islamic society*, in *SI*, xxxv, 53-67.

While the office is attested in a number of Persian cities in the 5th/11th century, it seems not to have spread in its functional form to the west. In Syria and Egypt, Shaykh al-Islām became a title of honour but not an official title. It was bestowed on jurists whose *fatwā*s attained a degree of fame and acceptance, such as Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], who was called Shaykh al-Islām by his supporters but denied the title by his adversaries. Later uses of the title under the Il Khāns, the Dihlī Sultanate and Tīmūrids indicate an *'ālim* of high rank performing various functions in the religious and educational arena. These figures were not generally *muftī*s. To the west, however, by 700/1300 the title had gradually become associated with the deliverance of *fatwā*s. This was the case in Syria and Egypt, but opinions differ as to whether Shaykh al-Islām was purely title or designation of the local *muftī* in Anatolia during Saldjūḳ and early Ottoman times. Insofar as it designated an office of any kind, however, it was a local rather than a state one, contrary to the practice in contemporary régimes to the east of Persia, where it was more often, though not invariably, a state post conferred by the ruler.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J.H. KRAMERS-[R.W. BULLIET])

2. In the Ottoman empire.

The title *shaykh al-islām* is most famously associated with the Ottoman office of the *Muftī* of the Capital, which is to say, for by far the greater proportion of its existence, the *Muftī* of Istanbul. While several early, not altogether trustworthy uses of the title *shaykh al-islām* occur in documents around the turn of the 14th century (M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî ve ictimaî tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1971, 62, n. 1), these perhaps reflecting a continuance of Saldjūḳ usage, its earliest use as a title of the *Muftī* of the Capital—with which office it became exclusively associated amongst the Ottomans—is found in the so-called *ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*] of Meḥemmed II relating to state organisation (*TOEM*, supplement to parts 13-15, 10), traditionally dated to *ca.* 1480. Whatever the truth in general in the debate over the authenticity of this important document, it is certainly the case that the extant manuscripts, which date from the early 17th century, are shot through with anachronisms, of which this may well be one. It nevertheless appears that the Ottomans used the term "*Muftī*" and "*Shaykh al-Islām*" interchangeably and often together (as indeed in the passage referred to), the former being by far the more common designation in earlier centuries, the latter gaining the greater currency with the passage of time, and particularly from the 18th century (cf. İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 174).

The origins of the office of *Shaykh al-Islām*, or *Muftī*, are obscure from the point of view both of the identity of the first few holders of the post and of the reasons for its creation. On the former point, two separate Ottoman traditions exist in the form of lists of the holders of the office, one found at least as early as the *Dewḥa-yi meshā'ikh-i kibār* of the 18th-century writer Müstaḳīm-zāde (Müstaḳīm-zāde Sulaymān Sa'd al-Dīn Efendi: d. 1202/1787-8 [*q.v.*]), the other, rather earlier, in the *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh* by Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*]. Müstaḳīm-zāde's list begins with Mollā Shems al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad al-Fenārī (Mollā Fenārī, d. 834/1431 [see FENĀRĪ-ZĀDE]), *Muftī* in Bursa, that of Kātib Čelebi with Khiḍr Beg (d. 863/1459 [*q.v.*]), the first *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, to whom, Kātib Čelebi says, the office of *Muftī* of Istanbul was also given at the time of the conquest (1453). Though Kātib Čelebi's account has found favour with certain later authors (e.g. Ḥusayn Hezārfenn [*q.v.*], d'Ohsson, Hammer-Purgstall), that of Müstaḳīm-zāde—which depends ultimately on the statement in Tashköprü-zāde (*al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'māniyya*, Arabic text in margin of Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 87) that Mollā Fenārī was "*muftī* in the Ottoman lands" (*muftī fi 'l-mamlaka al-'Uthmāniyya*), this being the first occurrence of such a title in his work—has generally, and rightly, been preferred. (On the considerable problems posed by both lists with respect to the *Muftī*s of the 15th century, see R.C. Repp, *The Müftī of Istanbul*, London 1986, 137 ff.)

If the uncertainties about the facts of the lives of the 15th-century *Muftī*s make it difficult to fix a reliable line of succession, the exiguous nature of the evidence about their activities renders it equally difficult to define their functions and rôle. Several certainly, and perhaps all, taught at important *madrasas* while holding the office of *Muftī*. Fakhr al-Dīn al-'Adjamī (d. 873/1468 ?), the second (or third ?) *Muftī*, is remembered for having prevented the young Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] from coming under the influence of the Ḥurūfiyya [*q.v.*], a fact which suggests that he (like some later *Muftī*s) may have been regarded as a personal religious adviser to the sultan: it is also noteworthy that he, unlike his one, possibly two predecessors, but like all his successors, did not hold the office of *ḳāḍī* simultaneously with that of *Muftī*. Mollā Gūrānī (d. 893/1488 [see GŪRĀNĪ]), while *Muftī*, conducted an investigation into the suspect conduct of a highly-regarded scholar, while Mollā 'Arab (d. 901/1495-6) was likewise involved in several investigations of suspected heresy and was also active in persuading Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] to make peace with the Mamlūks in 896/1491. No function can be shown to be exclusive to the 15th-century *Muftī*s, however, and none common to all of them (apart, possibly, from teaching), except, importantly, the issuing of *fatwā*s [*q.v.*], which they and all their successors, at least until the time of Abu 'l-Su'ūd (d. 982/1574 [*q.v.*]), did personally. Their pay was low, certainly compared with that of the *ḳāḍī 'askers* and *ḳāḍī*s [*q.vv.*], and there is no evidence that they were at this stage regularly consulted on affairs of state (the *Muftī* was not in the 15th century, or ever, a member of the imperial council, the *dīwān-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*]).

Despite the apparent lack of definable duties, however, several bits of evidence suggest that the office of *Muftī* was one of considerable importance from its inception. Early testimony to this effect is found in

the account of the Burgundian courtier Bertrandon de la Broquière, who was granted an audience with Murād II [*q.v.*] in Edirne in Radjab 836/March 1433. In describing Murād's entry into Edirne, he notes that he was preceded by "the grand caliph, who is amongst [the Ottomans] as the Pope is amongst us"; the editor of the work appears certain to be correct in identifying "the grand caliph" as the *Shaykh al-Islām* Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿAdjamī (*Le voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed. Ch. Schefer, *Recueil de voyages et de documents*, xii, Paris 1892, 181: cf. Repp, *op. cit.*, 115-16, 120). This same Fakhr al-Dīn is likewise found in the place of honour, on the sultan's right hand, at a learned discussion during the circumcision feast of two of the sons of Meḥemmed II in 861/1457. As further evidence of the importance of the office one should note that several outstanding scholars of the time such as Mollā Fenārī, Mollā Khosrew (d. 885/1480-1 [see KHOSREW MOLLĀ]) and Mollā Gūrānī held it as the culmination of distinguished careers. And finally in this connection, for all the doubts about the authenticity of the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II alluded to above, the passage therein concerning the *Muftī* cannot be ignored: "The *Shaykh al-Islām* is the chief of the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *Muʿallim-i Sulṭān* [*Khʷādja/Hoca*] is similarly the head of the *ʿulamāʾ*. It is fitting for the Grand Vizier to place them above himself out of respect. But the *Muftī* and the *Khʷādja* are many ranks higher than the other viziers and also take precedence over them." (On the questions of precedence thus raised, see further Repp, *op. cit.*, 192-6.)

The contrast between, on the one hand, the ill-defined and apparently relatively modest duties performed by the early *Muftī*s and, on the other, the considerable prestige which the office of *Muftī* seems to have enjoyed from its very beginnings, is illuminating in several respects. The lack of evidence concerning any significant administrative duties consistently and exclusively performed by the 15th-century *Muftī*s makes it difficult to accept that an administrative purpose can have lain behind the founding of the office. Thus R.W. Bulliet's thesis that the explanation of its creation lies in an attempt by the sultans to control the Muslim religious establishment by the control of the educational system through the *Shaykh al-Islām* appears untenable (*The Shaikh al-Islām and the evolution of Islamic society*, in *SI*, xxxv [1972], 53-67). (The view that the Ottoman sultans attempted to control the religious establishment is entirely tenable, but this process was accomplished through the creation of a highly elaborated hierarchy of learned offices which began in the time of Meḥemmed II (d. 886/1481), long before the *Muftī* came to head it.) Similarly, Walsh's assertion that the right to issue *fatwā*s was confined to the *Shaykh al-Islām* from the inception of the office (implicitly as a means of developing a more unified system of law) is unsustainable [see FATWĀ. ii. Ottoman Empire, and further, Repp, *op. cit.*, 299-300].

Walsh's recognition of the peculiarly non-secular character of the office is noteworthy, however, a point reflected also in the most plausible of the explanations offered by Kramers for the foundation of the office, namely that it represents "a survival of the ancient mystical religious tradition in the Ottoman state, a tradition which demanded alongside of the secular power, a religious authority having no judicial powers but representing, so to speak, the religious conscience of the people" (art. *Shaikh al-Islām*, in *EI*[1]). To regard the creation of the office of *Muftī* as meeting a need for a distinctively religious figure in the state, one who would stand apart from the secular government, who would embody the authority of the *Sharīʿa* and who would perhaps even provide a religious sanction for the régime, offers the basis for an explanation of the creation of the office which is consistent with such few facts as are known and which at the same time throws a different light on some apparent peculiarities connected with it. It is in this sense that the separation of the office of *Muftī* from a simultaneously-held post of *ḳāḍī*—an office held in deep suspicion by the more devout *ʿulamāʾ*—which occurred with the appointment of Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿAdjamī is important. The *Muftī*'s relatively low salary and his not being a member of the *dīwān-i humāyūn*, moreover, far from being signs of the relative unimportance of the office in the 15th century, as they have usually been regarded, should rather be seen as a conscious effort to protect the office from the taint of secularism. Why the need for such an office was felt—whether in some way it was a response to the defeat at the hands of Tīmūr (804/1402), which had been widely seen as divine retribution for the godlessness of the reign of Bāyezīd I (1389-1402: see H. İnalcık, *The rise of Ottoman historiography*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 155) and/or possibly to heterodox movements in the first quarter of the 15th century—cannot be known on the basis of the evidence currently available.

Notable amongst the 16th-century *Muftī*s were Mollā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Djamālī [see DJAMĀLĪ], Kemāl Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*], and Abu ʾl-Suʿūd [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī al-Djamālī's long period as *Muftī* (908-32/1503 to 1525-6) saw the office acquire significant additional duties in the form of the responsibility for the teaching at Bāyezīd II's newly-built *madrasa* in Istanbul (in later times assumed by a deputy, the *ders wakīli*) and for the supervision (*naẓāra*) of his *awḳāf*, this latter responsibility being one not infrequently assigned by the sultans to the Grand Vizier. He is likewise credited with having restrained Selīm I [*q.v.*] on several occasions from harsh acts on the grounds of a proper concern for that sultan's welfare in the after-life; though angered, Selīm attempted to reward him with appointment to the offices of the two *ḳāḍī ʿasker*s combined, an offer which ʿAlī Djamālī refused.

Kemāl Pasha-zāde (d. 940/1534), with Abu ʾl-Suʿūd perhaps the most noted of Ottoman scholars of the classical period, is also associated with him in a famous assessment of their respective accomplishments as *Muftī*: "Truly the effect of their *idjtihād* [individual reasoning] was the harmonising of the Ottoman *ḳānūn*s [*q.v.*] with the noble *Sharīʿa* and the ordering of religious and state affairs on the best possible basis" (Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭāʾī [see ʿAṬĀʾĪ], *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī takmilat al-Shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1268, 185).

It was in Abu ʾl-Suʿūd's tenure of the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* (952-82/1545-74) that it was to become the head of the already well-established learned hierarchy and to take on definitively the form it was to have until the 19th century. Greatly valued by Süleymān I [*q.v.*], Abu ʾl-Suʿūd strove, as the passage just quoted suggests, to bring together the requirements of the *Sharīʿa* and those of the administration of the state into a workable legal framework. He was active in the issuing of private *fatwā*s as well as *fatwā*s on matters of public policy. In the latter category, his *fatwā* authorising the taking of Cyprus from Venice (see Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1281-3, i, 486-7) may represent the first time a *muftī*'s *fatwā* was regarded as sufficient religious sanction for an important matter of state policy (in later centuries, the *Muftī* appears

to have become at the least the spokesman for the *ʿulamāʾ*, though he continued to consult widely before delivering his opinion: cf. I. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, 7 vols., Paris 1788-1824, iv, 511-13, 528. On the difficult question of the status of the *Muftīs' fatwās*, see Repp, *op. cit.*, 113-15, 212-21, 279-90). If not actually instituted before his death, the *Muftīs'* close involvement in appointments to the higher offices in the learned profession, a function which they took over from the *ḳāḍī ʿaskers*, was certainly mooted in Abu 'l-Suʿūd's time, with the intent that he should take on this fundamentally important duty (Repp, *op. cit.*, 293-5). Abu 'l-Suʿūd's achievements were recognised by substantial rewards, notably a greatly enhanced salary which, at least from 973/1566, came to surpass that of the *ḳāḍī ʿaskers*.

Further systematic work needs to be done on the nature of the office in the 17th and 18th centuries, during which time (and indeed until the end of the empire) the *Muftī* was recognisably a state official, having gradually been absorbed into the hierarchy, at its head, from the previous position of having stood entirely outside it. He was now frequently, if not invariably, drawn into the decision-making process, in which he played an important part, on matters of state policy such as the making of war and peace or the deposition of a sultan, not in the forum of the *dīwān-i humāyūn*, of which, as mentioned earlier, he was not a member, but through the medium of "consultations" (*müs̲h̲āwere, mes̲h̲were*). The very much greater involvement in affairs of state and the consequent demands on his time meant that the function of the preparation of *fatwās*, and particularly "private" *fatwās*, a function of such importance in the early years of the office, passed largely into the hands of a deputy, the *fatwā emīni*, who became with the passage of time a highly influential figure in his own right (on this post, and the organisation of the *Muftī*'s deputies generally, see Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 195 ff.; U. Heyd, *Some aspects of the Ottoman fetwā*, in *BSOAS*, xxxii [1969], 35-56). It might be speculated that this absorption into the learned hierarchy, at its head, of an office which had originally stood outside it, and much of whose *raison d'être* lay in its independence from the secular government, had its cost. Certainly in purely material terms, though the *Muftīs* gained greatly in terms of salary, perquisites and defined powers, they lost the tenure of the office for life which the early *Muftīs* had almost without exception enjoyed; removal from the office was by now a common occurrence.

In 1241/1826, following the destruction of the Janissaries, Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] gave the residence of the Ag̲h̲a of the Janissaries near the Süleymaniye mosque to provide an office for the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* and his department. The *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* now for the first time had a permanent location for their work, having previously carried out their functions in their own residences or in rented accommodation [see BĀB-I MES̲H̲ĪK̲H̲AT]. The diminution of the powers and influence of the *ʿulamāʾ* generally in the 19th century affected the position of the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islāms* as well: they gradually lost their influence, more particularly after the revolution of 1908. The last holder of the office, the 131st, resigned on 4 November 1922 in the wake of the abolition of the sultanate a few days earlier. The office came formally to an end following the abolition of the caliphate on 3 March 1924.

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(R.C. REPP)

S̲H̲AYK̲H̲ MŪSĀ NAT̲H̲RĪ, modern Persian writer dealing in historical novels. The details concerning his life are at the best sketchy. By profession, he was involved in educational activities, serving as principal of the government college *Nuṣrat* in Hamadān and as Director of Education in Kirmāns̲h̲āhān (for his latter designation, see *Armag̲h̲ān* [March-April 1930], 73). He edited the periodical *Ittiḥād* which was published from Hamadān in 1293/1914 (Ṣadr Hās̲h̲imī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i d̲j̲arāyid u mad̲j̲allāt-i Īrān*, i, Iṣfahān 1343/1964-5, 46). An article from him, entitled *S̲h̲āʿir kīst* "Who is a poet?", appeared after his death in the July-August 1968 issue of *Armag̲h̲ān*, suggesting that he died not later than that year.

S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Mūsā Nat̲h̲rī was among the pioneers of the modern historical novel in Persian. His first work in that genre, entitled *ʿIs̲h̲ḳ u salṭanat* "Love and kingship", was published at Hamadān in 1337/1919 (repr. Bombay 1342/1924), and deals with the exploits of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Achaemenid dynasty. The material for the narrative was borrowed by the author from the French translation of Herodotus's account and historical works in French, as well as from the Avesta. The author claimed that his work was the first historical novel in Persian composed after Western literary models, but Buzurg Alavi has pointed out that Muḥammad Bāḳir Mīrzā K̲h̲usrawī's *Shams u ṭughrā* is earlier (1328/1910). However, as a piece of fiction, it hardly stands up to artistic scrutiny. According to the criticism of E.G. Browne (*LHP*, iv, 465), the book "is overloaded with dates, archaeological and mythological notes and prolix historical dissertations." It was the first of a trilogy; the others, which appeared later, are *Sitāra-yi Līdī* "The Lydian star" (Bombay 1344/1925-6) and *Sargud̲h̲as̲h̲t-i s̲h̲ahzāda k̲h̲ānum-i Bābilī* "The story of a Babylonian princess" (Kirmāns̲h̲āhān 1311/1932). These show only a slight advance upon their predecessor, and not surprisingly have received little attention from Persian critics. The only aspect of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Mūsā Nat̲h̲rī's literary exercises finding approval concerns his language, which tends towards a simplified form. His works, therefore, must be judged not so much for their artistic merit as for their place in the overall historical evolution of modern Persian fiction.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

S̲H̲AYK̲H̲ ṢAFĪ [see ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN ARDABĪLĪ].

AL-S̲H̲AYK̲H̲ SAʿĪD, a monsoon harbour on the straits of Bāb al-Mandab [*q.v.*], lying just north of the so-called Small Strait on a cape whose high cliffs dominate the island of Mayyūn [*q.v.*]. This Strait is also called Bāb Iskandar because Alexander the Great is said to have built a town here. The harbour, named after S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Saʿīd whose tomb is found on the northern side of the cape, has been identified by Sprenger and Glaser with ancient Ocelis or Acila, which is mentioned by Pliny, Ptolemy and in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, and conceals perhaps some

name like ʿUkayl. The harbour is said to have belonged to the pre-Islamic Ḳatabān [*q.v.*], then to the so-called Gebanites and finally to the Ḥimyarites. Its name is also connected with Mahra b. Ḥaydān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥāf, the ancestor of the Mahra [*q.v.*].

The cape was acquired from the local sultan by the French admiral Mahé La Bourdonnais in 1734. Napoleon Bonaparte wished to garrison the cape, a proposal which was also suggested by the French government to Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*]. When the latter was preparing to put the plan into force in 1838, he encountered the resolute opposition of the British, who occupied Aden in 1839 and established a coaling station on Mayyūn (Perīm) in 1857. The cape was bought from the local sultan ʿAlī Tabat by a Marseilles firm, and turned over to the Société de Bāb al-Mandab in 1871. In 1884 the harbour was occupied by the Turks, who fortified the cape, notwithstanding continuous but fruitless attempts by the French to enforce their claims. Al-Shaykh Saʿīd was bombarded by the British in 1914, but the Turks held out, being supported in 1915 by troops sent by the Zaydī Imām Yaḥyā b. al-Manṣūr. The Turks even bombarded Mayyūn and temporarily closed the Straits of Bāb al-Mandab.

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(A. Grohmann-[E. van Donzel])

SHAYKH AL-ṬĀʾIFA (see AL-ṬŪSĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN).

AL-SHAYKH AL-YŪNĀNĪ, the disguise of one of the participants in the transmission of authoritative Neoplatonic thought to Islam based upon a translation of large portions of books IV-VI of the *Enneads* of Plotinus. Fragments with this designation have been recovered without, however, allowing a reconstruction of the form and extent of his work. It is also debatable whether al-Shaykh al-Yūnānī was substituting for the name of a given philosopher and even might have belonged to the entire lost Arabic Plotinus source. The wide range of meaning of *shaykh* [*q.v.*] permits a choice between "Greek Teacher" and "Greek Old Man"; occasional Greek references to some Neoplatonists as *gerōn*, among them Porphyry (see Kutsch), might perhaps tip the scales in favour of "Old Man", whether Porphyry's role in the Arabic Plotinus reflects historical links [see FURFŪRIYŪS] or not (see Zimmermann). In addition to the fragments from the *Enneads*, al-Shaykh al-Yūnānī is credited with a brief treatise on topics of Neoplatonic philosophy. In this case, as well as in other references, there can hardly be any doubt that he was understood to be one and same person, even where he is brought into contact with ancient philosophers or, rather mysteriously, is described as a pupil of Diogenes (see *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. D.M. Dunlop, 56-7, 58-61). The manifold problems connected with this figure cannot be separated from the entire complicated and fateful history of the Arabic Plotinus, for which see UTHŪLŪDJIYĀ.

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(F. Rosenthal)

SHAYKHIYYA, an important school of speculative theology within Twelver Shīʿism, influential mainly in Persia and ʿIrāḳ since the early 19th century. Although at times its leaders have been excommunicated and its doctrines condemned as heretical, Shaykhism (also known as the Kashfiyya) has accommodated itself fairly successfully with the majority Uṣūlī establishment and is generally regarded as a school (*madhhab*) rather than a sect (*firḳa*). Bābism [see BĀB, BĀBĪS] began in the 1840s as a radical development of Shaykhī heterodoxy.

1. Early history.

The origins of Shaykhism are to be found in a highly original attempt to effect a synthesis between (1) the theosophical Shīʿism of Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] and the School of Iṣfahān, (2) the waning Akhbārī tendency, and (3) what Amanat calls a "diffuse gnosticism", influenced by crypto-Ismāʿīlī and related ideas. Later Shaykhī doctrine owes much to a wish to play down the school's own distinctiveness and effect a compromise with the Uṣūlī establishment.

The school's originator, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī (1166-1241/1753-1826 [*q.v.*]), is still reckoned one of the leading Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* of the early Ḳādjār period, and a thinker of considerable force. His early life in al-Aḥsāʾ, a backwater with few provisions for religious learning, was unpropitious for one with ambitions to scholarship; but by the time of his arrival in the Shīʿī shrine colleges of ʿIrāḳ in the early 1790s, he already possessed a prodigious knowledge, not only of *fiḳh* and *kalām*, but of the theosophical texts that were to form the basis of a wide-ranging critique in later years.

More importantly, he had experienced numerous dreams and visions, chiefly of the Imāms, allowing him to claim privileged understanding of the Ḳurʾān and Traditions. This claim to intuitive knowledge sets al-Aḥsāʾī apart from the representatives of the two main currents of Shīʿī thinking then contending for dominance: the Uṣūlīs, with their emphasis on *idjtihād* through reasoning, and the Akhbārīs [see AKHBĀRIYYA in Suppl.], who stressed a literal adherence to the texts themselves, without recourse to *idjtihād*.

Having acquired licences from several eminent *mudjtahids*, in 1221/1806 al-Aḥsāʾī travelled to Persia. Here he remained for almost twenty years, patronised by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] and a succession of Ḳādjār notables. He lived mainly in Yazd (1806-14) and Kirmānshāh (1814-21), where he enjoyed the patronage of Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā and wrote some of his most important books, including the *Sharḥ al-ziyāra al-djāmiʿa al-kabīra* (his *magnum opus*) and commentaries on the *Risāla al-ʿilmiyya* of Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī and the *ʿArshiyya* and *Mashāʿir* of Mullā Ṣadrā.

In 1822 in Ḳazwīn, al-Aḥsāʾī first encountered a

charge of apostasy, and in the last four years of his life, spent largely in Karbalā', he became the object of a campaign of vilification. He died on his way to Mecca on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1241/27 June 1826, aged seventy-three.

Al-Aḥsā'ī was succeeded in Karbalā' by a younger Persian disciple, Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī (d. 1259/1844; birth dates range from 1198/1784 to 1214/1799-1800 [*q.v.*]), like his mentor the product of a non-clerical family. Rashtī remained in Karbalā' until his death and, despite repeated denials that he had established a new *madhhab* within Islam and insistence that he was no more than an expounder and defender of the views of al-Aḥsā'ī, became an effective focus for the allegiance of a small but influential grouping of *'ulamā'* and laymen. A school had effectively been created: on Rashtī's death, his followers split into radically different factions. This division, which has recently been studied in some detail by Amanat, Bayat, and MacEoin, is of wide significance, since it encapsulates some of the most important tensions in Ḳādjār Shī'ism.

The two most extreme divisions to emerge after 1844 were Bābism, which rapidly outgrew its Shaykhī origins to proclaim a new revelation and a new *Sharī'a*, and a conservative branch based in Tabrīz. This latter group included leading *'ulamā'*, merchants, government officials, and notables; after a period of wholesale separation from the religious mainstream, it merged with it and lost its character as a distinct school.

The successive claims of Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad Shīrāzī, the Bāb [*q.v.*], were a logical development of several strains in Shaykhī thinking, most importantly the emphasis on intuitive knowledge and the concept of a single individual, the Perfect Shī'ī or *bāb*, who could act as an infallible guide to the Imām. Both al-Aḥsā'ī and Rashtī seem to have been regarded (and to have regarded themselves) in this light; the latter divided the dispensation of Islam into two distinct periods: a cycle of outward observances (which came to an end after twelve centuries) and one of inner truth (which began with the appearance of al-Aḥsā'ī).

2. Kirmānī Shaykhism.

The Bāb's chief rival for the allegiance of the school was Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī (1225-88/1810-70), the eldest son of Ibrāhīm Khān Ẓahīr al-Dawla, the governor of Kirmān and Balūčistān (1803-24) and one of al-Aḥsā'ī's leading patrons in Persia. A member of the ruling Ḳādjār family by birth and marriage, Karīm Khān's role as a religious leader in the Kirmān region was both strengthened and complicated by his position as the senior member of the powerful Ibrāhīmī clan and his control of its financial resources. The history of Kirmānī Shaykhism is closely linked both to the fortunes of the Ibrāhīmī family and wider political developments.

A prolific writer and would-be polymath, Karīm Khān sought to reconcile Shaykhī teaching with Uṣūlī orthodoxy, insisting that the school agreed in all its main principles (*uṣūl*) with traditional Shī'ī doctrine, while differing only in practice (*furū'*). The clear heterodoxy of the Bāb and his followers was both an impetus to this policy and an aid in furthering it. Hence his ambivalence over the doctrine of the Fourth Support (*al-rukn al-rābi'*), with which he became particularly associated. In a novel reworking of the traditional five bases of religion (divine unity, prophethood, resurrection, divine justice, and the imamate), Kirmānī reduced them to three (knowledge of God, prophethood, and *imāma*) and added a fourth pillar, knowledge of the friends and enemies of the Imams. In its original formulation, this doctrine leaned towards recognition of a single, divinely-appointed mediator between the Imām and the faithful (identified with al-Aḥsā'ī, Rashtī, and, it would seem, Kirmānī himself). Later, however, almost certainly as a reaction to the Bāb's advancement of similar claims, this was modified to a more general advocacy of the *'ulamā'* and other holy figures as representatives of the Imām. In many respects, this debate prefigures that around Khumaynī's concept of *wilāyat al-faḳīh* and whether its application should be to a single individual or a collective body of *mudjtahids*.

Kirmānī's most significant break with the doctrine of an inspired guide came, however, with his appointment of his own son, Muḥammad Khān (1263-1324/1846-1906) and the creation of a spiritual dynasty similar to those found in Ṣūfism. Leadership of the school was passed down through a series of Ibrāhīmī khāns (generally known by the title Sarkār Āḳā): Ḥādjdj Zayn al-'Ābidīn Khān (1276-1360/1859-1942), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān (1314-89/1896-1969), and 'Abd al-Riḍā Khān (d. 1979). This period saw mounting conservatism, particularly with regard to social reform and acceptance of Western ideas. Bayat speaks of intellectual stagnation in a situation where original Shaykhī doctrine was taught privately while public profession was made of orthodoxy (Bayat, 181).

During the leadership of Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Khān, tension between Shaykhīs and their opponents, known as Bālāsarīs, erupted into violence on several occasions, culminating in virtual civil war in 1905 (MacEoin, *Bālāsarī*). Identification of the Shaykhīs with Ḳādjār interests, and Muḥammad Khān's own hard-line royalist stance, encouraged a widening of the issues to a point where the original dispute was eclipsed by growing agitation for a constitution.

Following the assassination of 'Abd al-Riḍā Khān in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution of 1979, the headquarters of the school was moved to Baṣra in 'Irāḳ, where leadership passed to Ḥādjdj Sayyid 'Alī Mūsawī.

At its height in the last century, Shaykhism was an influential school with converts in all the main Persian cities, 'Irāḳ, India, and eastern Arabia. In Persia, the membership included high-ranking government officials and even Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*]: in this respect, it appears to have been an acceptable alternative to Ṣūfism, following the collapse of the Ni'matullāhī revival of the early 19th century.

3. Doctrine.

In broad terms, Shaykhī doctrine differs very little from that of orthodox Twelver Shī'ism, and is generally little further from it than the views of the theosophical thinkers: if anything, al-Aḥsā'ī and Rashtī made greater efforts than Ṣadrā and his followers to remain part of the official religious system. Despite an obvious debt to Ibn al-'Arabī and the Shī'ī theosophers, al-Aḥsā'ī disagreed with them on several important issues, in particular the doctrine of the oneness of existence (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*). Since God remains ontologically separate from and inaccessible to creation, al-Aḥsā'ī emphasised the role of the prophets and imāms as intermediaries between the divine and human worlds. Within this context, he regarded the imāms as the four causes of creation: active (they are the locations of the divine will); material (all things have been created from the rays of their lights); formal (God created the forms of all creatures from the lights of their forms); and final (God created all things for their sake).

It was this view that led to one of the earliest arguments against al-Aḥsā'ī, namely, that he held the

imāms to be creators instead of God. Although he denied this criticism in its extreme form, and argued that his views were based on well-known traditions, there is no doubt that the imāms and their role as manifestations of the divinity played a central role in his theology. Belief in the necessity for the continuing presence of an imām combined with al-Aḥsā'ī's own conviction of the possibility of visionary contact and inspiration to produce a central doctrinal focus on intermediacy in each generation.

This itself led to the view that religious truth has developed through the ages, mankind being likened to a growing child in need of progressively stronger diets. Alongside the idea of an age of inner truth succeeding one of outward observance, Shaykhī teaching proposed that humanity had either come of age or was about to do so—a doctrine which had its strongest impact on Bābism and its successor, Bahā'ism [*q.v.*].

Rashtī's belief that a new age of spirituality had started with al-Aḥsā'ī seems to have given rise to speculation within the school as to the possibility of the advent of the Twelfth Imām's imminent advent, but how extensive such chiliastic expectation really was it is very hard to establish. The Kirmānī Shaykhīs naturally play down all suggestions of messianism, while modern Bahā'īs exaggerate its role on the basis of oral statements. In their writings, both al-Aḥsā'ī and Rashtī adopt a conventional attitude to the question of the Imām's return. Nevertheless, the fact that Rashtī's death was immediately followed by a frantic outburst of millenarianism suggests that, at the very least, talk of living gates to the Imām had excited speculation that the Mahdī himself might soon make his appearance.

In their lifetimes, however, orthodox criticism of al-Aḥsā'ī and Rashtī found a particular focus in the former's teaching on the eschatology of the individual. In several works—notably the *Sharḥ al-ziyāra*—he developed an original doctrine of resurrection based on a complex system of physical and spiritual bodies (for details, see MacEoin, *Cosmology*, Corbin, *Terre céleste*, 146-74). According to this scheme, man possesses four bodies: two *djasad* and two *djism*. For the orthodox, the crucial problem with this system, which involves resurrection in an interworld known as Hūrḳalyā, was its denial of a return for the first *djasad*, the fleshly body of terrestrial elements. Although the Shaykhī doctrine does not entirely spiritualise the process of resurrection, it tended to be interpreted in that way by the school's opponents.

4. Literature.

The corpus of written materials produced by the school's leadership is enormous, although very little has been penned by adherents. A great deal still exists only in manuscript form, although the Shaykhī community of Kirmān has made microfilm copies of all the originals in its own library. Their Sa'ādat Press has published reliable editions of works by all the shaykhs, amounting to several hundred volumes, and plans to issue more. A full bibliography of Shaykhī writing from al-Aḥsā'ī to Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān may be found in the latter's *Fihrist*, to which Momen's *The works of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī* is useful addition.

Bibliography: Shaykh Aḥmad b. Zayn al-Dīn al-Aḥsā'ī, *Djawāmi' al-kalim*, 2 vols., Tabriz 1273/1856-7, 1276/1860 (94 treatises); idem, *Sharḥ al-ziyāra al-djāmi'a al-kabīra*, new ed., 4 vols., Kirmān 1355-6 Sh./1976-7; Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī, *Dalīl al-mutaḥayyirīn*, n.p. 1276/1859-60; Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Aḥsā'ī, *Sharḥ-i ḥālāt-i Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī*, Bombay 1309/1892-3 (the main biographical source); H.'A. Maḥfūẓ (ed.), *Sīrat Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī*, Baghdād 1376/1957 (autobiographical accounts); H. Corbin, *Terre céleste et corps de résurrection de l'Iran Mazdéen à l'Iran Shī'ite*, Paris 1960, Eng. tr. *Spiritual body and celestial earth: from Mazdean Iran to Shī'ite Iran*, Princeton 1977 (contains translations from works by several Shaykhī leaders); idem, *L'école shaykhie en théologie shī'ite*, in *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Religieuses* (1960-1); Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī, *Irshād al-'awāmm*; G. Scarcia, *Kerman 1905: La "guerra tra Šeiḫi e Bālāsarī"*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xiii (1963), 195-238; M. Mudarrisī Čahārdihī, *Shaykhīgarī, Bābīgarī*, ²Tehran 1352 Sh./1972; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn Khān Kirmānī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsā'ī wa sā'ir mashāyikh-i 'iẓām*, ³Kirmān 1977 (comprehensive bio-bibliographical information); D. MacEoin, *From Shaykhism to Babism: a study in charismatic renewal in Shī'ī Islam*, Ph.D. diss. Cambridge University 1979; idem, *EIr*, art. *Aḥsā'ī, Shaikh Aḥmad b. Ẓayn-al-Dīn*; idem, *EIr*, art. *Bālāsarī*; idem, *EIr*, art. *Cosmology in Shaikhism*; V. Rafati, *The development of Shaykhi thought in Shī'ī Islam*, Ph.D. diss. UCLA 1979; Mangol Bayat, *Mysticism and dissent: socioreligious thought in Qajar Iran*, Syracuse 1982, chs. 2, 3 and *passim*; Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and renewal: the making of the Babi movement in Iran, 1844-1850*, Ithaca & London 1989, chs. 1, 6; M. Momen, *The works of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī: a bibliography*, Baha'i Studies Bulletin Monograph no. 1 [1992]. (D. MacEoin)

SHAYKHŪ, LUWĪS, conventionally L. Cheikho, with the correct name Rizḳ Allāh b. Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. Ya'ḳūb (1859-1927), Jesuit scholar and polygraph. He was the author of many works on Arabic language and literature, especially, Christian Arabic, and founder of the journal *al-Mashriḳ*. Originally from upper Mesopotamia, he spent most of his life in Beirut.

Born at Mārdīn [*q.v.*], now in Turkey, he came to Beirut at the age of nine for secondary education. He entered the Jesuit order in 1874, studied for four years in France, and on his return to Lebanon, taught in the Jesuit secondary school in Beirut where he began publication of his *Madjānī al-adab*. After further studies at the Université de Saint-Joseph, in England, Austria and Paris, where he became familiar with libraries there and with current orientalist scholarship, he returned in 1894 to Beirut and stayed there substantially until his death, devoting himself to work on Arabic language and literature and to editing *al-Mashriḳ*, founded by him in 1898.

A catalogue of his impressive literary output, virtually exhaustive, has been given by C. Hechaïmé, his successor as editor of *al-Mashriḳ*, in his *Bibliographie analytique du Père Louis Cheikho, avec introd. et index*, Beirut 1979, which also includes (161-78) everything which had until then appeared on Shaykhū, during his lifetime and afterwards, and in both the Arab world and that of Orientalist scholarship.

Of his 2,750 writings, the greater part of which—though not the most important—appeared in *al-Mashriḳ*, some 979 titles are devoted to Christianity and its writings, not directly concerned with Arabic studies. But his major works included his anthology of Arabic literature, the *Madjānī al-adab fī ḥadā'iḳ al-'Arab*, Beirut 1882-3, 6 vols.; his *Sharḥ* on it, 3 vols.; and its *Fahāris*. The whole work had a great success, with many editions. He edited, from manuscript, the Arabic version of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] (1905), the *dīwāns* of Abu 'l-'Atāhiyya (1886, 1887), of al-Khansā', and above all, of the *Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī (1910). In the

field of philology, he edited Ibn al-Sikkīt's *K. Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* and *K. al-Alfāẓ*; two general works on the Arab literature of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century respectively; and his *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibl. Or. de Beyrouth* (191-3-26), a library of which he was in effect the founder and the donor of a large part of its mss.

A lifelong concern of Shaykhū was to highlight the contribution of Arab Christians to the Arabic language and literature, a topic little noticed until his time. It was this fact, plus criticisms from some Western and Arab scholars, which led him to write, from 1910 onwards, one of his most important and controversial works, *al-Naṣrāniyya wa-ādābuhā bayna ʿArab al-Djāhiliyya/Le christianisme et la littérature chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam*. He had already written on the topic earlier in his career, but this work excited, when gathered together in three vols. 1912-23, lively polemics, well studied in Hechaïmé, *Louis Cheikho et son livre: Le christianisme et la littérature chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam*, Beirut 1967. Shaykhū was criticised for including as Christians poets whose religious allegiance was doubtful or unclear, but Hechaïmé points out that he had the over-enthusiasm of a pioneer but was breaking new ground in bringing the topic forward for critical assessment and examination.

Yet undoubtedly his major achievement was *al-Mashriḳ*, founded in 1898 and having appeared, with interruptions from the two World Wars, continuously ever since; it is thus, with Zaydān's *al-Hilāl*, the sole journal of the late 19th century to have survived till the present time. His declared aim for it was "strenuously to support the cause of the Christian religion, and to promote seriously the disciplines of oriental scholarship and the diffusion of the sciences". Like many other founders of journals of the *Nahḍa*, he threw himself totally into it, writing numerous articles, almost all its reviews of works appearing at the time: a total of 2,700 writings, making up *ca.* 7,000 pages. If some of his apologetic concerns are now less prominent, the journal remains highly valuable for reconstituting the intellectual milieu of the late 19th century in the East, and is an immensely valuable source on the Arabic language and literature of its time.

Shaykhū, disregarded by some, strongly criticised by others, at times not always himself showing a sense of discernment, could never be ignored, given the stature of his personality, his immense literary output and his restless character. He remains, with others of his colleagues at Beirut, such as L. Maʿlūf, A. Ṣalḥānī, H. Lammens and J.B. Belot, a major figure in Arabic letters of the *Nahḍa*.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Brockelmann's notice, S III, 428, is very short and has errors. Those of Y.A. Dāghir, Beirut 1956, ii, 515-24, of Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, viii, 161-2, and Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* [5]Beirut 1980, iii, 246-7, are equally succinct.

(L. Pouzet)

SHĀYḲIYYA (*sic*; the name comes from the eponym, Shāyḳ; there is no medial *hamza*), a tribe of the northern Nilotic Sudan, first mentioned in 1529 (R.S. O'Fahey and J.L. Spaulding, *Kingdoms of the Sudan*, London 1974, 28). The approximate historical boundaries of their territory stretched from al-Dabba, at the southern end of the great bend of the Nile, upstream to just above the Fourth Cataract.

Despite claims to ʿAbbāsid descent, the Shāyḳiyya are undoubtedly Arabised and Islamised Nubians (J.L. Spaulding, *The Old Shaiqi language in historical perspective*, in *History in Africa*, xvii [1990], 283-92). In the 16th century, they were subjects of the Fundj Sultanate [*q.v.*] under the latter's northern governors, the ʿAbdallāb. At the end of the 17th century the Shāyḳiyya revolted against ʿAbdallāb rule; thereafter, they were *de facto* independent until the Turco-Egyptian conquest of 1820, which they fiercely resisted.

On the eve of the 1820 conquest, the Shāyḳiyya were divided into four kingdoms—Ḥannikāb, Kadjabī, ʿAdlānāb and ʿUmarāb. Under Turco-Egyptian rule (1820-85), many Shāyḳiyya horsemen served the régime as irregular soldiers (*bāshībūzuḳ*), while others took service with the Khartoum traders in the southern Sudan. During the time of the Mahdist rebellion and state (1882-98 [see MAHDIYYA]), many Shāyḳiyya went over to the Mahdī, while others resisted. During the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1898-1956), many Shāyḳiyya joined the Sudan Defence Force; upon independence in 1956, a significant proportion of the officer class were Shāyḳī.

Bibliography: W. Nicholls, *The Shaikia. An account of the Shaikia tribes and of the history of Dongola Province from the XIVth to the XIXth century*, Dublin 1913 (expanded Ar. tr. ʿAbd al-Majīd ʿAbdīn, Khartoum n.d.); Hayder Ibrahim, *The Shaiqiya. The cultural and social change of a Northern Sudanese riverain people*, Wiesbaden 1979; Ali Salih Karrar, *The Sufi brotherhoods in the Sudan*, London 1992 (main focus on the Shāyḳiyya region).

(R.S. O'Fahey)

SHAYṬĀN (A.), evil spirit, demon, devil.

1. In pre-Islamic Arabia.

According to the lexicographers, *shayṭān* is derived from the verb *shaṭana* "to detain somebody in order to divert him from his intention and his destination", *shaṭan* being "a cord" and *shāṭin* "an evil man". The verbs *shayṭana* and *tashayṭana* signify "to behave like the *shayṭan*".

The *shayṭān* is an evil, rebellious spirit, inhabiting Hell-Fire; he cannot be seen, but he is imagined as a being of great ugliness (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 213). Proverbs underline his wickedness, his cunning and his malice. He is called by this name for having turned aside from the righteous path and for rebellion; hence the name is applied to any impertinent rebel among humans, *djinn* and animals (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, Beirut 1957, iii, 384). Defining the *djinn* [*q.v.*], al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 291) states: "If he is faithless, dishonest, hostile, wicked, he is a *shayṭān* (demon); if he succeeds in supporting an edifice, lifting a heavy weight and listening at the doors of Heaven (*istirāḳ al-samʿ*) he is a *mārid* (rebel); if he is more than this, he is an *ʿifrīt* (powerful demon); more still, he is an *ʿabḳarī* (genie of great intelligence)". Prior to this (vi, 191) he has declared: "If he is pure, clean, untouched by any defilement, being entirely good, he is a *malak* (angel)".

This definition corresponds closely to the notions of the pre-Islamic Arabs, for whom the *shayṭān* is a rebellious *djinnī*. This emerges from Ḳurʾānic statements, which on numerous occasions evoke a degree of identity between *shayṭān* and *djinn* or *djānn*. This applies in particular to the passages relating to the story of Solomon (II, 102; XXI, 82; XXXVIII, 377), to the Revelation (XXVI, 210, 221; VI, 112, 121), to the guarding of the doors of Heaven (XV, 17; XXXVII, 7; LXVII, 5) and to the kidnapping of humans by spirits (VI, 71). There are numerous passages where *shayāṭīn* denotes the deities of paganism (II, 14; IV, 76, 117, 119-120; V, 90-1; XIX, 44-5; etc.). The same sense is also given to *djinn* in VI, 100, and XXXIV, 41.

In the most ancient Arab traditions, reflected in the lexica, in the Ḳurʾān and in the *Ḥadīth* and the

Akhbār, the *shayṭān* is seen as a "genie", sometimes good and sometimes evil. He accompanies man in all his activities. The Prophet is reported to have said: "There is not one of you who does not have a *ḳarīn* derived from the *djinn*" and "There is no descendant of Adam who does not have a *shayṭān* attached to him (see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 242, 246, quoting Muslim, see *Concordance de la Tradition Musulmane*, s.v. *shayṭān*). This "inseparable companion" appears in Ḳur'ān L, 24, 27, as a second witness on the Day of Judgment, in parallel with the *sā'iḳ* and *shahīd* (v. 21) who is the man's guardian angel. The angel being a foreign importation, the composer of the text has judged it appropriate to mention his rival, more familiar to those for whom the Revelation is intended.

A man's activity seems to be conditioned by the presence of this *ḳarīn* beside him or within him. Through his superhuman intelligence, the latter seems to be at the origin of all progress. In fact, in the Ḳur'ānic story of Solomon, it is said that the latter received from God, among other favours, *shayāṭīn* builders (*bannā'*) and divers (*ghawwāṣ*), functions which were imposed upon them (XXXVIII, 37). Al-Djāḥiẓ, speaking of the intelligence of the *shayṭān*, writes: "The *shayāṭīn* are, by comparison with us, more subtle, less harmful, more intelligent, less curious, of lighter body, of more extensive knowledge and of more profound wisdom. For proof of this, all that is needed is general agreement that there is nothing on the earth that is of marvellous innovation, subtle, majestic, nor any secret or manifest transgression, emanating from passion and desire, which is not the consequence of a solicitation by the *shayṭān* and a seduction exerted by him" (*Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1323/1905-6, vi, 83-4). In fact, in the folklore of pre-Islamic Arabia, every work "of genius" is attributed to the *shayṭān* (e.g. the construction of Iram Dhāt al-ʿImād).

One of the well-known roles of this *ḳarīn*, called *tābiʿ* "follower" or *ṣāḥib* "companion", is to act as inspirer to soothsayers and prophets (see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 91 ff.). The Angel Gabriel, inspirer of the Prophet, is called *shayṭān* by a woman of Ḳuraysh (*abṭa'a ʿalayhi shayṭānuhu* "his *shayṭān* has been late in coming"). It was after this delay on the part of the Angel that sūra XCIII was revealed (see al-Bukhārī, ed. Būlāḳ 1289/1872, i, 146).

Still better known is the *shayṭān* of the poet. Al-Djāḥiẓ relates that the Arabs "claimed that every great poet (*faḥl*) had a *shayṭān* of whom he was merely the mouthpiece" (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 225-9). This *shayṭān* could have its own name: that of al-Farazdaḳ was called ʿAmr (see I. Goldziher, *Die Ginnen der Dichter*, in *DZMG*, xlv [1891], 685 ff.; Tor Andrae, *Mahomet, sa vie et sa doctrine*, Paris 1938, 28, compares this *shayṭān* to the "muse" of the poet). It was reckoned to be either male or female: Abu 'l-Nadjm boasted that the *shayāṭīn* of all the other poets were female, whereas his was male (quoted in *La divination arabe*, 74, no. 1); another claimed that, despite his youthful age, "his *shayṭān* was the greatest among the *djinn*" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, *loc. cit.*). The poet was in a relationship of absolute dependence with regard to his *shayṭān* (see e.g. *Aghānī*, vii, 67, quoted in *La divination arabe*, *loc. cit.*). This dependence and the loyalty which it supposedly entailed earned poets the nickname of *kilāb al-djinn* "the dogs of the *djinn*" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, *loc. cit.*).

The Ḳur'ān abhors the poet on account of the mystical and magical nature conferred upon him, both through the mystery of the secret knowledge which he possesses and through the fact that he is the habitation of a spirit at whose behest he speaks and composes his verses; all of this makes him a dangerous member of society. Ḥudjr, the last king of Kinda, is supposed to have expelled his son Imru' al-Ḳays and to have "sworn not to dwell in his presence in order to avoid the shame [which would have attached to him], resulting from the fact that his son spoke in verses" (*Aghānī*, ix, 44; *La divination arabe*, 74). Accused by his enemies of being a poet, Muḥammad vehemently refutes the charge. Numerous sūras stress the absence of any similarity between his message and that of the poet: "We have not taught him poetry" (XXXVI, 69); "This is not the speech of a poet" (LXIX, 4). The basis of this reaction was definitely the belief deeply ingrained among Arabs that poetic inspiration was demonic in origin. The spirit which inspired Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*], Muḥammad's own poet, was, at the outset of his career, a female *djinnī*. A text of al-Djāḥiẓ exposes an attempt at the depaganisation of poetic inspiration in Islam. In effect, the Prophet would have replaced this *shayṭān* with "the holy spirit" (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*). "Speak, he was told, and Djibrīl shall be with you; 'holy spirit' being one of the names given to Djibrīl" (*Ḥayawān*, *loc. cit.*; *La divination arabe*, 72-3). The *djinnī* of ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ made him swallow a hair-roller in his sleep and caused him to rise; he rose speaking in verse, something that he had never done before, and he became the poet of the Banū Asad (*Aghānī*, xix, 84; *La divination arabe*, 73).

The angelology and demonology of primitive Islam remained rudimentary and anthropomorphic. "The conception of inspiration and revelation from these sources is deeply felt. The *ḥadīths* assembled by Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 131 f.) regarding the various attitudes of the Prophet at the time when he was under the influence of inspiration, illustrate such a conception" (*La divination arabe*, 75 ff.). For more substantial information, see Fahd, in *Sources orientales*, viii [1971], 155-214, section *Angels, demons and djinns in Islam*.

Bibliography: Besides the references made in the text, ample documentation is to be found in the article mentioned above (212-14) and in the voluminous notes. See also Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987. For the pagan deities (Nuhum, Ḳuzaḥ, Ṭāghūt, etc.) considered to be *shayāṭīn*, see idem, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, index s.v. *shayṭān*. The notions of al-Djāḥiẓ, al-Damīrī, al-Ḳazwīnī, etc. have been assembled by G. van Vloten in *Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern*, in WZKM, vii [1893], 169-87, 233-47, viii (1894), 59-73, 290-2. In this article, the emphasis is laid on lexicographical material. See also: A.S. Tritton, *Spirits and demons in Arabia*, in *JRAS* (1934), 715-27; A. Eichler, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran*, Leipzig 1928; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i, Leiden 1896, where *djinn*, *shayṭān*, *hidjā'*, *laʿna*, etc. are examined.

Among the Arabic sources, the following should be cited: Ṭabarī, i, 79 ff. (where there is a compilation of traditional notions on the origin and organisation of angels, demons and *djinn*); Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, i, 55-63 (Ger. tr. with commentary by S.J. Ansbacher, *Die Abschnitte über die Geister und die wunderbaren Geschöpfe aus Kazwini's Kosmographie*, Kiel 1905; F. Taeschner, *Die Psychologie Ḳazwīnī's*, Kiel-Tübingen 1912). Considering the importance of the material contained in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of Djāḥiẓ (the references of van Vloten being based on manuscript sources), the passages concerned are the following (ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Beirut 1388/1969): i, 153, 300: *shayṭān al-ḥamāṭa*; i, 153, 300;

iv, 133; vi, 192: *ḥayya* - *shayṭān*; i, 153; vi, 193: the pride of the *shayṭān*; i, 291; vi, 190-1: definition of the *djinn*; vi, 194-5: the *djinn*, the ascetics and the traditionists; iv, 39-40; vi, 211: *ru'ūs al-shayāṭīn*; vi, 220-2: images of *djinn*, *ghūls*, angels and humans; vi, 22: *ḥadīths* on the existence of the *shayāṭīn*; vi, 225-9: the *shayāṭīn* of the poets; vi, 230, 265-81: *istirāḳ al-sam'*; vi, 231-3: *shayāṭīn* of Shām and of India; i, 299, 300; vi, 213, 214, 218: *varia*.

(T. Fahd)

2. In the Ḳur'ān and Islamic lore.

The word is used 70 times in the Ḳur'ān in the singular form, including six times in the indefinite (IV, 117, XV, 17, XXII, 3, XXXVII, 7, XLIII, 36, LXXXI, 25), plus 18 times in the plural *shayāṭīn*, always definite. Etymologically, the word is related to the Hebrew *sāṭān*; the route of its passage into Arabic is not evident, although it is generally thought to have passed into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic).

In the singular usage, al-Shayṭān is a personal name equivalent to Iblīs [*q.v.*] and its employment is parallel to the Jewish and Christian use of the name. The relationship between the names Iblīs (used only 11 times in the Ḳur'ān) and al-Shayṭān is noteworthy. The name Iblīs figures mainly in the stories of the creation of Adam and the subsequent fall of the devil (the context of 9 passages is "bowing" before Adam). Al-Shayṭān, on the other hand, is the one who tempts Adam and Eve, but his role in scripture extends well beyond this one myth. Iblīs, then, is the one who is proud and disobedient, while al-Shayṭān is the tempter and it is in that role that the emphasis falls within the Ḳur'ān in speaking of him in other contexts as well. The two names are used within the same narrative (II, 30-9) in such a manner that it does not seem possible to suggest that there has been a blending of separate myths related to these two names. The implication (most likely derived from Christian sources) may be that, within the telling of the myth which is reflected in the Ḳur'ān, Iblīs gained the name al-Shayṭān after his disobedience (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 80).

According to the Ḳur'ānic picture, among Satan's attributes are his ability to cause fear (III, 175), cause people to slip (II, 36, III, 155), lead astray (IV, 60), precipitate enmity and hatred (V, 91), make people forget (VI, 68, XVIII, 63), tempt (VII, 27, XLVII, 25), cause to forget (XII, 42), and provoke strife (XVII, 53). He is described as a comrade to unbelievers (IV, 38), a manifest foe (VII, 22), an enemy (XII, 5). Guile (IV, 76), defilement (VIII, 11) and abomination (V, 90) are associated with him. The image of evil as a "path", like that of righteousness, is conveyed: Satan takes steps and his followers take steps towards him (II, 168, 208, VI, 142, XXIV, 21; see also IV, 83). Satan is thus seen as an influence towards a number of specific as well as more general sins, actions which take people away from God. Among his tools to do this are a number of vocal attributes: he calls (XXXI, 21), simply speaks (XIV, 22, LIX, 16), promises (II, 268), and whispers (VII, 20, XX, 120; see also L, 16, CXIV, 4-5). The subtlety of the evil influence is especially suggested by the onomatopoeic *waswasa* ("whisper") in its root repetition, in its insistence that Satan does not just call or speak but comes over and over again.

The proper name al-Shayṭān may be distinguished from the Ḳur'ānic plural usage *shayāṭīn*, which is often thought to reflect Arabian notions of devils, although it is used in a sense which is not unknown within the Biblical tradition also (e.g. "adversaries" in 1 Samuel, XXIX, 4). These "devils" can be humans or *djinn* [*q.v.*; see Ḳur'ān, VI, 112] and come in varying ranks [see e.g. 'IFRĪT]. The references suggest that the word is used to refer to the hosts of evil (e.g. Ḳur'ān, II, 102, VI, 121), the evil leaders among humans (e.g. II, 14, VI, 112) and mischievous spirits very similar to *djinn* (e.g. VI, 71, XXI, 82). They are the friends of the unbelievers (VII, 27), they make evil suggestions (XXIII, 97) and they were believed by Muḥammad's opponents to be the source of his inspiration (XXVI, 210, 221) (see A.T. Welch, *Allah and other supernatural beings: the emergence of the Qur'anic doctrine of* tawḥīd, in *Jnal. of the American Academy of Religion*, thematic issue, XLVII [1979], 744-5).

The phrase *al-shayṭān al-radjīm* in XVI, 98 (see also III, 36), which has led to widespread practices for protection from the evil influence of Satan, especially in Ḳur'ānic recitation (*isti'ādha* [see TA'AWWUDH and TADJWĪD]), presents its own particular problems. While the word *radjīm* [see RADJM] literally means "stoned" and is sometimes taken as a reference to the stoning of the pillars of Satan in the ḤADJDJ [*q.v.*] and related to the stories of Abraham and the sacrifice of his son, it has been suggested that the word is an Ethiopic loan word from meaning "accursed" (see A. Jeffrey, *Foreign vocabulary of the Quran*, Baroda 1938, 139-40). The indefinite usage in the phrase *kull shayṭān radjīm*, "every accursed satan", in XV, 17, and LXXXI, 25, suggests a plurality of such satans. This may be understood as parallel to the construction *kull shayṭān marīd*, "every rebel Satan", in XXII, 3, and XXXVII, 7 (see also IV, 117). The linking of these to a literal notion of stoning Satan is probably derived from LXVII, 5 (see also XXXVII, 6-7), which speaks of "lamps" (*maṣābīḥ*) in the heavens (i.e. stars) being objects to throw at the satans.

In *Ḥadīth*, the name Satan continues its Ḳur'ānic prominence, with Iblīs not mentioned often (8 lines of references to Iblīs, versus about 120 lines to al-Shayṭān, in A.J. Wensinck, *Concordance*, viii, Indices, *ad loc.*). Satan is spoken of as the cunning force of evil who interferes with human activity. He is especially prevalent at prayer: "'Ā'isha asked Muḥammad about those who glance about in prayer. He said, 'That is the portion which Satan steals from the prayer of anyone.'" (al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb bad' al-khalḳ, bāb ṣifat Iblīs wa-djunūdihi*). God provides assistance to the believer against Satan, although each person has a satan resting on his shoulder as a constant tempter who is spoken of as "my satan". From here, the popular image of satans, their appearance and their influence develops.

In exegetical material and other literature reflecting more popular images, the Ḳur'ānic predominance of the evil influence of al-Shayṭān on humans becomes overtaken by the personality of Iblīs, ultimately reaching the point of Ṣūfī meditation on the "disobedience of Iblīs" because of his ascetic, worshipping nature and because of his personality which reflects human ambiguity and complexity [see IBLĪS]. This is by no means to the total neglect of the word *al-shayṭān*, however. Rūmī, for example, suggests in his *Mathnawī* (ed. and tr. R.A. Nicholson, London 1925-40, iii, 3196), "The ego and Satan were also one from the beginning and were enemies and enviers of Adam" in common with a motif which identifies the "lower" self with Satan in the Ṣūfī struggle against the *nafs* (see e.g. Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1975, 113).

In theological thinking, the existence of al-Shayṭān

as a force of evil has been accepted without a great deal of speculation as to its implications. The emphasis in Islamic thinking has always been that individuals are responsible for their own "fall", as in the case of Adam, and while the role of Satan as a tempter is real (and satisfies a human psychological need, as F. Rahman points out), he provides no excuse for evil behaviour on the part of the individual. Al-Ash'arī's statement in his credal summary (*Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30, 296) "And that God bestows His sustenance upon His servants, be it lawful or prohibited; and that Satan whispers to men, and makes them doubt, and tramples upon them" reflects the acceptance of the reality of Satan but affirms his lack of real power to effect evil.

Bibliography (in addition to sources mentioned in article): *Tafsīr* tradition, esp. on the *isti'ādha*, e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1955, i, 111-13; E. Beck, *Iblis und Mensch, Satan und Adam. Der Werdegang einer koranischen Erzählung*, in *Le Muséon*, LXXXIX (1976), 195-244; Fazlur Rahman, *Major themes of the Qur'ān*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1980, 121-31; P.J. Awn, *Satan's tragedy and redemption. Iblīs in Sufi psychology*, Leiden 1983. (A. Rippin)

SHAYṬĀN al-ṬĀḲ "the demon of the arcade", the name by which non-Shī'ī Muslim authors usually referred to the Imāmī Shī'ī theologian of the 2nd/8th century Abū Dja'far Muḥammad (b. 'Alī) b. al-Nu'mān b. Abī Ṭarīfa al-Badjalī al-Kūfī (also called al-Aḥwal "the squinter"). No precise dates for him are known; it is only known that he died after 183/799, if it is true (as al-Baghdādī and then al-Ṣafadī state) that he was one of those who "categorically affirmed" (*ḳaṭa'a*) the death of Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

At the outset, his by-name of Shayṭān does not seem to have been felt as derogatory. Ibn al-Nu'mān functioned in Kūfa as a money-changer (*ṣayrafī*), at the spot called *Ṭāḳ al-maḥāmil* "Arcade of the litters"; it was his skill in detecting spurious coins which is said to have earned him the by-name. This does not affect the fact that, in general, Imāmī authors themselves prefer to call him Mu'min al-Ṭāḳ, Shāh al-Ṭāḳ or, more simply, Ṣāḥib al-Ṭāḳ. In Sunnī heresiography, his followers are habitually called the Shayṭāniyya, the sole exception being al-Shahrastānī, who uses the term Nu'māniyya.

Shayṭān al-Ṭāḳ was a skilful controversialist, and had discussions notably with his compatriot Abū Ḥanīfa. Amongst his works (all lost) there appear amongst others several pro-Shī'ī works of propaganda (*K. al-Imāma*, *K. al-Radd 'alā 'l-Mu'tazila fī imāmat al-mafḍūl*, *K. al-Djamal fī amr Ṭalḥa wa 'l-Zubayr wa-'A'isha*, etc.), as well as a *K. al-Ma'rifa*, and also what was probably a treatise on *fiḳh* called *If'al lā taf'al* "Do, don't do!". He was also a poet in his spare time, and al-Marzubānī cites him in his anthology of poets of the Shī'a.

In *kalām*, his theses cannot be differentiated from those of the Imāmī theologians of his time, except on points of detail. Like the great majority of them, he thought that, basically, God only has knowledge of things at the moment when He created them; that our own personal "items of knowledge" (i.e. those concerning God) cannot be the result of an act of reasoning, but it is God who creates them within ourselves by "constraint" (*al-ma'ārif kulluhā iḍṭirār*); that ability to act (*istiṭā'a*) is simply health (*ṣiḥḥa*) and is necessarily, arising from this fact, anterior to the act. Going further, in this respect, than Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], he held, like the other Hishām (sc. b. Sālim al-Djawālīḳī), that all that exists in this present world is body, including our movements and all our other acts. It thus seems also that, whilst not allowing himself to apply formally this term to God (cf. al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 216 ll. 14-15; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 404 ll. 8-9), he represented Him as likewise being a body; according to al-Kulaynī (*al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, Tehran 1375/1955, i, 101 ll. 1-2), he pictured God, like Hishām b. Sālim and others, "with a hollow body as far as the navel, and the rest full and solid (*ṣamad*)".

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Tehran 1391/1971, 224; Kashshī, *Ma'rifat akhbār al-ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 122-6; Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 228; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, Nadjaf 1356/1937, 161-2; idem, *Ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1961, 302, 359; Marzubānī, *Akhbār shu'arā' al-shī'a*, Nadjaf 1388/1968, 83-92; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iv, 104-5; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, v, 108-9, 300-1; Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt*, Wiesbaden 1963, index; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., 69, 71; idem. *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 260; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Badrān, Cairo 1947-55, 403-6, tr. Gimaret and Monnot, *Livre des religions et des sectes*, Paris 1986, i, 539-41; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin-New York 1991-3, i, 336-42, v, 66-8. (D. Gimaret)

SHAYYĀD, a term that meant primarily "speaker" or "one who recited or sang stories or poems in a loud voice", as used in Persian and Turkish between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries. Although probably the emphatic form of the Arabic root *sh-y-d*, meaning "one who highly praised someone or something", it was never used in Arabic. Indeed, Arabic commentators and writers sought its meaning in the Persian word *shayd* ("deceit") and equated it with *kādhib* ("liar"). Thus some saw it as the Arabic emphatic form of *shayd*, i.e. as an Arabised Persian term. *Shayyād* was not included, however, in the great Persian dictionaries of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. It was first listed in the *Ghiyāth al-lughāt* published in 1242/1826-7, but not all subsequent Persian dictionaries included it. All this has contributed to much confusion about its true meaning.

Shayyād seems to have first appeared in Sa'dī's *Gulistān* (656/1258) and later in such works as Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī's *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda* (730/1330) and Aflākī's *Manāḳib al-'ārifīn* (754/1353-4). Disagreement over its meaning began with the earliest translations of, and commentaries on, the *Gulistān*. Some writers generally equated it with "liar" or "trickster", but others, almost all the 10th/16th-century Turkish writers, defined it as a person who elegantly addressed assemblies or told tales and, in the course of doing so, raised his voice; and they used it interchangeably with the Persian *ḳiṣṣakhʷān* (Turkicised as *ḳiṣṣakhān*). Sometimes they added to this the connotation of "conjurer" or "masquerader", making it synonymous with the Persian *ma'rakagīr*.

Some 19th-century European writers, based on Sylvestre de Sacy, also added to *shayyād* the meaning of "dervish". In *EI*¹, s.v. *Shaiyād*, F. Köprülü categorically made this word synonymous with *ḳalender* or vagabond dervish, as well as *'ayyār* [*q.vv.*]. He also provided his own subjective definition to link *shayyād* to "dervish". He did not, however, provide any historical evidence to show that *shayyāds* were a special Bāṭinī dervish group in Anatolia between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries, as he believed. Because some dervishes, including poets like Shayyād Ḥamza [*q.v.*], had the byname *shayyād*, he assumed that this was a term for another kind of dervish. In his *Risāla-yi ta'rīfāt*,

the 10th/16th-century Turkish poet Faḳīrī, whom Köprülü cited in this regard, provides no proof that *shayyāds* had any relationship to Bāṭinism or being dervishes as such. He only says that, shouting at the top of his voice, a *shayyād* would describe the battles of ʿAlī and Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib in an exaggerated manner. A *shayyād* could be a dervish, but Faḳīrī does not mention this word in his discussion of dervish groups. Moreover, neither Wāḥidī (*fl.* beg. of 10th/16th century) in his *Menāḳib-i Ḥādjdja-yi Djihān*, nor Ḳaraḳash-zāde ʿÖmer Efendi (*fl.* end of 10th/16th century) in his *Nūr al-hudā li-man ihtadā*, in their accounts of contemporary dervish groups, mention this term. Aflākī, in his *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, mentions *shayyāds* in the circle of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī and his first *khalīfas* [*q.v.*]. But again, this does not mean that *shayyāds* were by definition any group of dervishes. From much of the contextual evidence, F.N. Uzluk has, in fact, concluded that *shayyāds* were minstrels or *saz* [*q.v.*] players who were often found at Mawlawī gatherings (*Şeyyad sözü hakkında araştırma*, in *DTCFD*, viii [1949], 587-92).

It is especially worthy of note that the great Ottoman historian Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (d. 1008/1600), in his *Mawāʾid al-nafāʾis fī ḳawāʾid al-madjālis*, never discusses *shayyāds* in the context of dervish groups, although he had a thorough knowledge of such groups and included them in this work. Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī characterises *shayyāds* and *ḳiṣṣakhāns* as people who told lies without reason and swore oaths in order to convince their listeners of what they were saying. This resulted from their attempts to explain unbelievable events in an exaggerated manner. Altogether, the *shayyāds* appear to have been a class of people who had the profession of speaking as narrators or storytellers in a loud voice before large groups. In the early 11th/17th century, the term *shayyād* began to disappear from use and was replaced by such words as *ḳiṣṣakhān*.

Bibliography: For a thorough discussion, see *İA*, art. *Şeyyād* (Ö.F. Akun). (G. Leiser)

SHAYZAR, a town of northern Syria, on the right bank of the Orontes (*nahr al-ʿĀṣī* [see al-ʿĀṣī]) some 20 km/12 miles to the north-west of Ḥamā, ancient *Sizara*, Byzantine Greek *To Sezer*. It is mentioned from earliest recorded times in Egyptian texts, notably the Amarna tablets. The town was refounded by the Seleucids at the end of the 4th century B.C. under the name of Larissa, but resumed its original name in the Roman period. The name Shayzar is attested in the pre-Islamic Arabic literature, e.g. in Imruʾ al-Ḳays. According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 131, the town was conquered by the Arabs under Abū ʿUbayda in 17/638; under the Umayyads, it became an *iḳlīm* or district of the *djund* of Ḥimṣ.

All through the mediaeval period, Shayzar, which controlled one of the Orontes crossings, held a strategic position of the first order. At the end of the 4th/10th century, it was a pawn in the struggles amongst the different masters of Syria: Byzantines, Fāṭimids and Ḥamdānids. Thus the Greeks occupied it 968-70 and again in 994-8, it having passed in the interim into the hands of the Ḥamdānids and then the Fāṭimids. After 999, for nearly 80 years, the town reverted to the Byzantine emperors.

The real apogee of the town came at the end of the 5th/11th century with the installation of the Banū Munḳidh [*q.v.*] at Shayzar in 474/1081. Five princes of this family governed it until 552/1157: Sadīd al-Mulk ʿAlī (474-5/1081-2), then his son Abu ʾl-Murhaf Naṣr (475-91/1082-98), and another of his sons, Abū Salāma Murshid (491/1098), who renounced power in favour of one of his brothers, Abu ʾl-ʿAsākir Sulṭān (491-?549/1098-?1154). The last Munḳidh prince, Tādj al-Dawla Muḥammad, son of the preceeding, died in 552/1157. The Banū Munḳidh, from the Arab tribe of Kināna, had settled in northern Syria at the opening of the 11th century when they entered the service of the Mirdāsids [see mirdās, banū] of Aleppo. The latter ceded to them, in the first place, *ca.* 1025, the territories at around Shayzar which they were controlling at that time. In 474/1081 Sadīd al-Mulk ʿAlī purchased from the Byzantine bishop of al-Bāra the town of Shayzar, and from this time onwards, the Banū Munḳidh resided in the citadel of Shayzar. We know of the town's history under them especially well from the autobiography, the *K. al-Iʿtibār*, of a member of the family, Usāma Ibn Munḳidh. For three-quarters of a century the family succeeded in forming their territories into an autonomous, petty principality. But it was the object of many covetous rivals, given its position at the centre of the ambitions of the princes of Antioch, Aleppo and Damascus. The Munḳidh *amīrs* nevertheless succeeded in preserving their autonomy autonomy by diverse means. The payment of tribute to a nearby prince assured them of protection, as in the 1080s with the prince of Aleppo Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, and also enabled them to obtain the evacuation of hostile armies from their territories. Thus in 1110 and 1121, there was secured the departure of the Franks of Antioch, who had established themselves on the fringes of Shayzar. The same means were used in July 1133 regarding the prince of Damascus, Shams al-Mulūk, who was besieging the fortress. The Munḳidh princes conducted a skilful policy of alliances and of playing off one power against the other. Thus in the 1080s, the *amīr* married one of the daughters of the Saldjūḳ of Damascus Tutush, who was at that time envisaging the conquest of the whole of Syria. In the 1120s, at the time when the Crusaders were at their most dangerous, Abu ʾl-ʿAsākir Sulṭān succeeded in establishing friendly relations with King Baldwin II of Jerusalem. After the end of that decade, the decisive alliance was that with the new ruler of Aleppo, Zangī, which allowed Shayzar to resist the implicit alliance between the Börids or Būrids of Damascus and the Crusaders. Even so, the principality was in real danger on two occasions during the first half of the 6th/12th century. First, the Assassins or Ismāʿīlīs succeeded within a few hours in seizing the fortress of Shayzar, left temporarily deserted by the Banū Munḳidh. Then in 1138, the citadel was besieged by a coalition organised by the Byzantine emperor John Comnenus and including the Crusaders and the Damascenes. The town was saved by a lifting of the siege before it could succeed, probably to be connected with dissensions in the besiegers' camp.

The Munḳidh period of Shayzar's history was also one of a relatively significant cultural development of the principality, due first of all to members of the ruling family such as the prince-poet Abū Salāma Murshid, or his famous son Usāma, both famed in the realm of letters. There were also a number of refugees from the Crusaders, fugitives from places like Tripoli, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān or Kafarṭāb at the court of Shayzar. These included political refugees, such as the *amīr* of Tripoli Fakhr al-Mulk Ibn ʿAmmār in 502/1109, but above all, scholars and teachers of Usāma like the poet Ibn al-Munīra and the Andalusian grammarian Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who had worked at the *dār al-ʿilm* in Tripoli.

The violent earthquake of 552/1157 brought about the death of the greater part of the Munḳidh fam-

ily, who were present at an entertainment in one of the rooms of the citadel at the time of the quake. Nūr al-Dīn profited from the opportunity to seize Shayzar in face of the Franks and the Assassins who were coveting it. The town was given to a family who were probably of Kurdish origin, the Banu 'l-Dāya, who, apart from a brief period of disgrace 570-2/1174-6, administered it for Nūr al-Dīn, for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and then for the Ayyūbids of Aleppo until 630/1233. The first governor of this family, Madjd al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn al-Dāya, was the foster-brother of Nūr al-Dīn. His successors were his brother Sābiḳ al-Dīn 'Uthmān and then the latter's son and grandson 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd and Shihāb al-Dīn Yūsuf. Yūsuf was dismissed by the ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik al-'Azīz, probably because he had for a certain time given allegiance to al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam of Damascus. Shayzar then lost its relative autonomy and was given to a Kurdish *amīr* called Ibn al-Dunyār, who was directly responsible to the Ayyūbid ruler of Aleppo. The fortress, whose garrison had been reduced after the end of the Banu 'l-Dāya, was dismantled some years later in face of the Mongols.

The town of Shayzar was divided into a lower town or *madīna* (in European sources, *suburbium, pars inferior civitatis*), occupied today by a hamlet, and an upper town dominated by the citadel (*kal'a*) (the *praesidium, oppidum, pars superior civitatis*). The lower town, to the north of the fortress, between it and the bridge used as a crossing over the Orontes, was several times occupied by besiegers, although it was probably protected by a wall. The fortress, however, was sited on rocky outcrop oriented north-southwards and called by al-Dimashḳī, 205, "the cock's crest". On the southern side, to strengthen the site's defences, a deep ditch had been dug by cutting into the rock for several metres. Of the fortress of the Banū Munḳidh, nothing remains for certain, everything having been destroyed by the earthquakes between 552/1157 and 565/1170. The oldest remains now visible are ostensibly, according to Max Van Berchem, those of the southern keep, said to date from the time of Nūr al-Dīn. The inscriptions still *in situ* speak of works undertaken by the Ayyūbid sultan of Aleppo al-Malik al-'Azīz in 630/1233, and then, after the devastating appearance of the Mongols, by the Mamlūk sultans Baybars (659/1260) and Ḳalāwūn (689/1290). From the 14th century onwards, mentions of Shayzar become rare. The fortress never recovered the importance which it has had in the 12th and 13th centuries, and was probably definitively abandoned under the Ottomans.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see Honigmann's *EI*[1] art. See also M. Van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, i, Cairo 1914; *RCEA*, nos. 3998, 4057, 4931; H. Derenbourg, *Ousâma Ibn Mounkidh, un émir syrien au premier siècle des Croisades* i. *Vie d'Ousâma*, Paris 1889; Usāma, *K al-I'tibār*, ed. P.K. Hitti, Princeton 1930, Eng. tr. idem, *An Arab-Syrian gentleman and warrior in the period of the Crusades. Memoirs of Usâma Ibn Munqidh*, New York 1929, Fr. tr. A. Miquel, *Souvenirs d'un gentilhomme syrien du temps des Croisades*, Paris 1983; Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, Damascus 1967; Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide (359-468/969-1076)*, Damascus 1989-9; J.-M. Mouton, *Damas et sa principauté sous les Saljoukides et les Bourides 468-549/1076-1154*, Cairo 1994; A.-M. Eddé, *La principauté ayyaoubide d'Alep (579/1183-658/1260)*, diss. Univ. de Paris IV 1995, publ. forthcoming. (J.-M. MOUTON)

AL-**SHAYZARĪ**, AMĪN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-GHANĀ'IM MUSLIM b. Abi 'l-Thanā' Maḥmūd b. Sanad al-Dawla Djamāl al-Mulk Abi 'l-Faḍā'il Ni'ma b. Sanad al-Dawla Abi 'l-'Aṭā' Arslān (Raslān) b. Yaḥyā, *adīb*, poet and astronomer.

His grandfather and great-grandfather belonged to the *mamālīk*, in the rank of an *amīr*, of Usāma b. Munḳidh (d. 584/1188 [see MUNḲIDH], lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Shayzar [*q.v.*] on the Orontes. His father (d. after 565/1169) was an *adīb* and poet at the court of Usāma, but acquired also a reputation as grammarian (*naḥwī*) in the Great Mosque at Damascus ('Imād al-Dīn, *Kharīda* [al-Shām], Damascus 1375/1955, i, 575-9); Ibn al-Ḳiftī, *Inbāh*, Cairo 1374/1955, iii, 273; Ibn Khallikān, Beirut 1389/1969, ii, 524-5, in no. 310). Al Shayzarī was born in Damascus where he also grew up; later he went to Yemen at the court of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Mu'izz Ismā'īl b. Ṭughtigīn (r. 593-8/1197-1201). To the latter he dedicated his anthology *'Adjā'ib al-ash'ār wa-gharā'ib al-akhbār*, consisting of 25 chapters. The unique manuscript, dated 690/1291, is in the Maktabat Dār al-'Ulūm al-Islāmiyya in Peshawar; a modern copy of this manuscript is at Leiden (R. Weipert, in *ZGAIW*, ii [1985], 241, in addition to Brockelmann, S I, 460 and to Sezgin, ii, 80). Al-Shayzarī composed a second anthology soon after 622/1225, called *Djamharat al-Islām dhāt al-nathr wa 'l-niẓām*. It comprises 16 books, which start with *madḥ* and end with *djawāb/khiṭāb*, and each has 10 chapters, the first 5 of which—according to the author—always deal with poetry (*naẓm*) and the other 5 with prose (*nathr*; with very many verses!) of poets and literary people of the Islamic period, i.e. from the 1st to the 7th centuries A.H., occasionally with exact dates. The work was composed for the last Ayyūbid in Yemen, al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad (r. 612-26/1215-29) and contains at the end of each of the 16 books—additionally also, in other places—a poem in his honour composed by the author, who sporadically designates himself as *mamlūk*, and a second one by his son Aḥmad. This *adab* work is an interesting and informative source, for it gives not infrequently *abyāt* (with explanations), *ḥikāyāt, rasā'il* and excerpts or accounts of all sorts from texts, from traditions of the period and of families, and from his own life, preserved otherwise only covertly or not at all (cf. Brockelmann, I^2, 302, S I, 374, xi, 5; see for this *Arabica*, i [1954], 237; Kh. Mardam Bak, in *MM'IA*, xxxiii [1377/1958], 3-20). The unique manuscript of Leiden of 697/1298 is available in a facsimile edition by F. Sezgin, Frankfurt/Main 1986 (with reference to the Ph.D. thesis by M.D. Ahmad, *An introduction to and analysis of the Leiden ms. ... with a critical edition of some ... passages*, Oxford [1954?]). Another work by al-Shayzarī which has been preserved (al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*[4], Beirut 1979, vii, 223) and which was also composed on behalf of al-Malik al-Mas'ūd, is *'Ādāt al-nudjūm*, an almanac "which closely resembles the celebrated *Calendar of Cordova*. The astronomical information contained in al-Shayzarī's almanac, such as the solar meridian altitude (52½° at the equinoxes) and midday shadow lengths for each month, indicates that the work was *not* compiled for use in the Yemen" (D.A. King, *Mathematical astronomy in medieval Yemen. A biobibliographical survey*, Malibu 1983, 22; idem, *A survey of the scientific manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library*, Winona Lake, Indiana 1986 [= American Research Center in Egypt, Catalogs, vol. v], 66). When and where al-Shayzarī died cannot be ascertained.

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(R. SELLHEIM)

SHEBEK [see SHABAK].

SHEBELLE, a river of the south of Ethiopia and of Somalia, the Shabeelle or Webi Shabeelle, perhaps thus named because it was pointed out to the first travellers as the river (Som. *webi*) [of the land of] leopards (Som. *shabeel*, sc. *Felis pardus nanopardus*), an animal which abounds in these regions. But the dwellers along the river simply call it "the river" (Som. *webi-ga*). The name of the Shebele, an ethnic group settled before the Somali, may have played a role.

It is the longest stretch of water in the Horn of Africa, both in regard to its length (2,488 km/1,546 miles) and in regard to the extent of its catchment area (200,000 km^2). It rises in Ethiopia on the fringes of Bale, Arsi and Sidamo, at Hogiso, at an altitude of 2,680 m/8,790 feet, 225 km/140 miles south of Addis Abeba, to the north of Mount Guramba and not far from the sources of another important river, the Ganale, which combines its waters with other rivers to form, in Somalia, the Juba. After the explorations of Christopher (1843), Sacconi (1883) and Baudi di Vesme (1888, 1891, etc.), its course was explored and its sources pinned down by an Italian expedition under the Duca degli Abruzzi, Luigi Amedeo di Savoia (1928-9).

After an origin in rugged country, it flows in a vast bend towards the north-east, rapidly losing height, and then turns southwards. In its upper course it receives numerous affluents from the Harärgé and Arsi mountains before forming the southwestern border of the Ogādēn [*q.v.*]. When approaching Mogadishu [see MAḲDISHŪ], at Bal'ad it runs parallel to the coast for 1,200 km and ends its course in a marshland between Jilib (Gelib) and the sea, not far from the mouth of the Juba, with which, when very swollen with flood waters, it may sometimes join up.

The Shebelle is, with the Juba, the only permanent river in Somalia. Both of them traverse arid regions, in such a way that they have been compared to the Tigris and Euphrates and the region which they encompass in Mesopotamia. The river has made possible sedentary and agricultural life along its banks, which contrasts with the nomadism dominant on the plateaux through which it flows. The first attempts at modern agricultural activity were made by the Italians. Carletti, governor of Somalia 1906-10, reserved several million hectares for colonists, and an experimental agricultural station was opened in 1912; but it was only after the First World War, under the Fascist governor De Vecchi (1923-8), that new efforts led to a transformation of the economy of Somalia. The main protagonist here was the Duca degli Abruzzi, who set up the Società Agricola Italo-Somala (1920) and was able to involve the population there (the Bantu Shidle, etc.) in projects for producing cotton, sugar, bananas, rice, oil-yielding seeds, etc. The economic value of the valley has continued up to our own time, and has called for numerous hydraulic works in damming the waters and dividing them up into channels, thereby compensating for the river's irregularity of flow. An important barrage is planned in Ethiopia.

The populations of the lands traversed by the river are in overwhelming majority Cushitic and Muslim, Oromo on the Ethiopian side and Somali in the Somalia Republic.

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(A. ROUAUD)

SHEBĪN ḲARĀḤIṢĀR [see ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR].

SHEBṢEFĀ (SHEBIṢEFĀ, SHEBṢAFĀ) **ḲADĪN**, Ottoman princess (d. 1220/1805), probably the sixth in rank among the *ḳadîns* of Sultan 'Abdülḥamīd I. She was the mother of a prince who died young and of Princess Hibetullāh Sulṭān (b. 1202/1788). In 1212/1798 she acquired the *čiftlik* of Djihān-zāde Ḥüseyin Beg, and also owned agricultural land in the vicinity of Salonica or Selānik [*q.v.*], apart from a pension out of the funds of the Istanbul customs. Shebṣefā Ḳadîn is noted for the foundation bearing her name in the Istanbul area of Zeyrek, established in 1202/1787 according to the inscription over the entrance to the mosque. Originally built on different levels, the foundation consists of mosque, primary school and *česhme*, along with the grave of the foundress. A *wakfiyye*, dated 1220/1805, specifies that the school was also to be open to girls, a provision which has earned Shebṣefā Ḳadîn the reputation of a pioneer in Ottoman female education.

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(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

SHEFĪḲ MEḤMED EFENDI, called Muṣarrifzāde, Ottoman imperial chronicler, poet and prose stylist, d. 1127/1715, best known for his *Shefīḳ-nāme*, a history of the events of the year 1115/1703.

Little is known of his family and early years. He was born in Istanbul, and later adopted the pen-name Shefīḳ. His father is thought to have been employed in the accounts office of the imperial kitchens (*maṭbakh-i 'āmire*). Meḥmed himself entered the bureaucratic service as a clerk (*kātib*) *in the dīwān-i hümāyūn*, where he later rose to become head of one of its scribal bureaux. In the 1690s he served as a clerk in the Ottoman military campaigns against Venice, Austria and Russia. Around the beginning of the 18th century, his fortunes took a distinct turn for the better when he became a confidant of Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], the incumbent *Re'īs ül-Küttāb* [*q.v.*], an office which was even then evolving into the Ottomans' Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After Rāmī Meḥmed became *Wezīr-i A'ẓam* in 1115/1703, Shefīḳ Meḥmed was named an official chronicler of the realm, although apparently without the title of *waḳ'a-nüwīs*.

Shefīḳ Meḥmed's principal work, the *Shefīḳ-nāme*, records in heavy, allegorical style the so-called *Edirne Waḳ'asî*, the events surrounding the deposition of Sultan Muṣṭafā II [*q.v.*] in 1115/1703, and the role of Muṣṭafā's imperial *Imām* and *Sheykh al-Islām* Sayyid Feyḍ Allāh Efendi [*q.v.*]. The same "Edirne Episode" was also responsible for the fall of Shefīḳ Meḥmed's patron Rāmī Meḥmed, and consequently for his own eclipse. Although the same events are discussed in another of his works, entitled *Muwaḍḍaḥ-i Shefīḳ-nāme*, this version has been all but overlooked because of the *Shefīḳ-nāme*'s fuller, if opaque, treatment. F. Babinger in *EI*[1] refers to yet another manuscript on the same subject, called *Ta'rīkh-i 'Abd Allāh*, which he attributes to Shefīḳ

Meḥmed as well. A copy of the work, bearing this title, is apparently held by the Vienna National Library, but its relationship to the other manuscripts remains in question. Manuscript copies of the *Sheftḳ-nāme* and *Muwaḍḍaḥ* can be found in numerous libraries in Turkey and Europe. Of the variously titled versions (if they are all, indeed, Shefīḳ Meḥmed's), only the *Sheftḳ-nāme* has been printed. Although probably written around 1118/1706, that is, about three years after the events described, it was first published in 1866. Later editions appeared in the 1870s, sometimes including either the commentary of Maḥmūd Djelāl al-Dīn Pasha (entitled *Rawḍat al-kāmilīn*, printed Istanbul 1289/1872-3) or that of Shefīḳ Meḥmed's contemporary, ʿAbd Allāh Meḥmed b. Aḥmed Efendi. Manuscript copies of both commentaries are also available in many of Istanbul's libraries, including Istanbul University, Topkapı Sarayı and Süleymaniye. Although Shefīḳ Meḥmed remained active through his historical writings and poetry in the years after the 1115/1703 revolution, he did not achieve wide public notice until 1125/1713, when his friendship with the new *Wezīr-i Aʿẓam*, Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], secured him a place in the *Wezīr*'s circle of intimates and he was rewarded with the chief post in the small accounts bureau (*küčük muḥāsebedjilik*) of the *ewḳāf*. He died in Istanbul in 1127/1715. Like many Ottoman littérateurs, he was proficient in Persian and Arabic, and was a member of the Mawlawī Ṣūfī order [see MAWLAWIYYA].

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(MADELINE C. ZILFI)

SHEHIR EMĀNETI (T.), a term used for two successive institutions of the Ottoman empire.

The first of these appears in the person of the *shehir emīni* mentioned in the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II as ranked below the *defterdār* and *defter emīni* but above the *reʾīs ül-küttāb*, without his function being defined. His appearance just after the conquest of Constantinople led Byzantine scholars of the 19th century, perhaps inspired by a passage of Count Andreossy, who translated this function as "prefect of the town" and followed by some Turkish authors (ʿOthmān Nūrī, in *Medjelle-yi Umūr-i Belediyye*, i [Istanbul 1922], 1358-9), to put forward the hypothesis that this official was the successor of the Byzantine *eparchos*, himself the heir of the Roman *praefectus urbis*. However, later Turkish scholars, starting with Fuat Köprülü (*Bizans'in osmanlı müesseelerine te'siri*, Istanbul 1931, 266-7), have rejected this idea, noting, quite rightly, the dissimilarity between the two offices. In effect, the eparch, the leading administrator of the capital, responsible for its provisioning, judge and police chief and deputy for the emperor during his absence (L. Brehier, *Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 1949, 186-92), seems rather to have fulfilled the urban functions of the Grand Vizier, or at least those of his lieutenant, the *ḳāʾimmaḳām*, than the much more modest ones of the *shehir emīni*, who appears to have functioned more like intendant of the royal buildings in pre-Revolutionary France.

The *shehir emīni*'s functions, so far as they can be deduced from the various documents in which he is mentioned, involved the construction, repair, provisioning and payment of salaries of the personnel of the imperial palaces in Istanbul, sc. the New one (Ṭopḳapî) and the Ancient one, as well as those of Ghalaṭa Saray and of Ibrāhīm Pasha, serving as barracks for the *ʿAdjemī oghlans*. Together with the *maṭbakh-i ʿāmire emīni* (head of the imperial kitchens), the *ḍarbkhāne emīni* (head of the imperial mints) and the *arpa emīni* (head of the imperial stables), he was one of the four great civilian dignitaries (*khʷādjegān*) of the outside administration (*bīrūn*) of the palace. He was thus the superior in rank of the head architect and his services, and supervised the building of the imperial buildings, apart perhaps from the greatest building operations, such as complexes of religous buildings, etc., for which an *ad hoc* supervisor was appointed.

He seems to have been a more important personage in the 16th century, and often to have been assimilated to the military class, since we see a *müteferriḳa* becoming *shehir emīni* and a *shehir emīni* becoming a *čāwūsh bashî*, than he was in the 18th century, when the office was held by persons previously in the rank of *ketkhüdā*. This decline in status entailed a conflict of authority with that of the chief architect, and in 1831 the two functions were suppressed and replaced by that of the director of imperial buildings (*ebniye-yi khāṣṣe, müdīri*), but the appointment to this latter office of the last chief architect, ʿAbd ül-Ḥalīm Bey, shows that it was really the second which absorbed the first.

The second *shehir emīni* appears 24 years after the disappearance of the first when, in a report of 13 June 1855, the High Assembly of the *Tanẓīmāt* proposed suppressing the Ministry of *Iḥtisāb*, which had in 1826 succeeded to the functions of the traditional *muḥtesib* with the same functions of urban policing, and its replacement by a *shehir emīni* flanked by a municipal council made up of "the members of the trade corporation with the highest profile" (ʿOthmān Nūrī, *op. cit.*, 1371-2). If this new office of *shehir emāneti*, translated in texts of the time as "Préfecture de la ville", seems directly inspired by the French prefectorial system, whilst taking into account the assimilation of the term *shehir emīni* to that of town prefect, proposed by Andreossy, the duties for which he became responsible, of cleansing and keeping tidy the city, as well as the new *shehir emīni*'s responsibility to tour the markets and bazaars, merely perpetuated the functions of the old *muḥtesib*.

The date of the creation of this new office corresponds to that of the Crimean War, when the presence of a large number of foreigners in the Ottoman capital brought a demand for municipal services like paved streets and street lighting. Since neither the ancient services of the *iḥtisāb* nor those of the *shehir emīni* were capable of responding to the new needs of a municipality, the *intiẓām-i shehir ḳomisyonu*, translated into French as "Commission municipale" was set up on 6 May 1856 with the participation of several members of the city's European colony. It made up the nucleus of the "sixth circle", *altîndjî dāʾire*, the first municipality of the Ottoman empire, limited to the quarters of Pera (Beyoğlu) and Ghalaṭa, largely occupied by Europeans and the non-Muslims subjects of the Porte. Founded in December 1857, it was merged after 1869 in the Istanbul municipality with the creation of a municipal council responsible to the *shehir emīni*, who thus became mayor of the city.

After the foundation of the Republic, a *shehir emāneti* was also created for Ankara on 16 February 1924. Finally, by the law of 3 April 1930, a uniform system of municipalities (*belediye*) was created for the whole country.

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(St. Yerasimos)

SHEHIR EMĪNI [see SHEHIR EMĀNETI].

SHEHIR KETKHÜDÂSÎ (T.), an official of the pre-modern Ottoman empire, who had financial and administrative duties. His prime function was to collect the specified taxation from a town or its quarters (a function thus corresponding to that of the *shaykh al-balad* in Egypt), whereas the *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] acquired tax-farming rights in the rural areas of the provinces. As with the *aʿyān*, the office of *shehir ketkhüdâsî* tended to become hereditary; and there was, obviously, much scope in it for oppression of the taxpayers. Having lasted from the time of Süleymān the Magnificent, the office was abolished in the early 19th century as part of Maḥmūd II's [*q.v.*] reforms.

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SHEHR [see SHAHR].

SHEHR-I SEBZ [see KASH].

SHEHZĀDE (P., T.), a title of Ottoman princes.

The term *shehzāde* (or *shāhzāde*, from Pers. *shāh* "king" + *zāda* "born of"), "prince", was one of the titles used for the male children born to a reigning Ottoman sultan. It is said to have been introduced by Meḥemmed I (816-24/1413-21) for his own sons, and over subsequent decades gradually superseded the earlier term *čelebi*. *Shehzāde* came into use around the same time as the title *pādishāh* [*q.v.*], as part of the general elevation of Ottoman political and cultural pretensions following Meḥemmed I's reunification of the state, and continued in use until the reign of ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd I (1187-1203/1774-89), when *efendi* became the preferred princely title.

As a title (particularly from the mid-10th/16th century onwards), *shehzāde* was regularly used in conjunction with the basic title *sulṭān* [*q.v.*], by which all adult sons of the reigning sultan were also known: i.e. "Shehzāde Sulṭān X" (and even "Shehzāde Sulṭān X Khān [*sic*]", the designation applied by Pečewī to all six sons of Aḥmed I, see *Taʾrīkh-i Pečewī*, Istanbul 1281/1864, ii, 347-9). A clear distinction was thus made between the ruler and his sons. *Shehzāde* was also widely used in a purely descriptive sense, synonymous with *oghul*, "son": e.g. *shehzādeleri Sulṭān Bāyezīd... we Sulṭān Muṣṭafāʾ* "his [Meḥemmed II's] sons Sultan Bāyezīd... and Sultan Muṣṭafā" (Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü 'l-Feth*, ed. M. Tulum, Istanbul 1977, 84).

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SHEKER BAYRAMI [see ʿĪD AL-FIṬR].

SHEMʿDĀNĪ-ZĀDE Süleymān Efendi, also known as Fîndîḳlîlî Süleymān Efendi, 18th century member of the Ottoman *ʿulemāʾ*, provincial judge (*ḳāḍī*), and author of the *Mürʾī 'l-tewārīkh*, was born in Fîndîḳlî, Istanbul, at an unknown date. He was the son of a Tokat merchant, Shemʿdānī Meḥmed Agha, who reputedly stood up to rebels who were attempting to raid the Istanbul Customs Office during the events of the Patrona Khalīl [*q.v.*] rebellion in 1143/1730. He was later recognised for his bravery by the Grand Vizier Yegen Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], who had been the Customs Officer in Istanbul at the time of the events in question (Aktepe, p. xvii). Süleymān Efendi, then, was a member of a prominent Istanbul family, which had settled in Istanbul at least by 1143/1730, if not earlier. He apparently preferred the religious profession over commerce, and chose to be a judge (Aktepe, p. xviii). Information on his career is scant, but a few details are scattered throughout his history. He is known to have been appointed judge at Ismāʿīl in Rumeli in 1178/1765, where he served as a guide and host for the passage of Selīm Giray Khan into Ottoman territory. Of other Balkan towns, he was appointed to Beypazarı and Pravişte at dates unknown. In 1183/1769, he was appointed to Ankara; in 1185/1771, to Tokat and in 1190/1776, to al-Fayyūm [*q.v.*] in Egypt. He died in Istanbul in 1193/1779, and was buried in Eyyūb (Aktepe, pp. xvii, xviii).

Süleymān Efendi wrote his *Mürʾī 'l-tewārīkh* as a supplement to Kātib Čelebi's [*q.v.*] *Taḳwīm al-tewārīkh*, written in 1058/1648, and extended by Meḥmed Sheykhī and Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.*] to 1145/1733. Süleymān Efendi had intended to end his work with 1188/1774, presenting it to the new sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd I [*q.v.*], but he extended it to 1191/1777 to include some of the post-war events and appointments (Aktepe, pp. xxi-xxii). He acknowledged his debt to the official historians Ṣubḥī and ʿIzzī Süleymān, whose works he consulted and incorporated until the year 1165/1752. The value of the work lies in Süleymān Efendi's original contribution for the period from 1165-91/1752-77, especially for the 1768-74 Russo-Turkish War, when, as *ḳāḍī* of Tokat, for example, he was responsible for enrolling a regiment of Janissaries for the battlefront (Aktepe, ii/b, 61). His description offers historians one of the few realistic pictures of the difficulties of 18th-century Ottoman mobilisation, and his work supplements the other chronicles of the same period, those of Enwerī and Wāṣıf [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii, 86; *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, iii, 144; Babinger, 306-7; *Mürʾī 'l-tewārīkh*, Beyazit ms. 5144, published in Istanbul in 1919, with foreword by Aḥmed Tewḥīd; additional biographical data and an analytical bibliography of manuscript copies in M.M. Aktepe's edition, *Şemʾdânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi târihi Mürʾi't-tevârih*, Istanbul 1976-81. (Virginia Aksan)

SHEMʿĪ, the *takhalluṣ* or pen-name of a Turkish translator and commentator of Persian literary works who flourished in the second half of the 10th/16th century. In his own works and in most of the biographical sources only this name is mentioned. B. Dorn, referring to "two manuscripts" of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, asserted that he was properly called Muṣṭafā Darwīsh. Even more uncertain is the name Shemʿ-Allāh Perzerīnī which Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir attributed to him; this was based perhaps on the confusion with another Shemʿī, a Ṣūfī poet from the town of Prizren [*q.v.*], or Perzerīn, who belonged to the mystical tradition of Sheykh Wefā (d. 896/1490-1) and died in 936/1529-30 (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iii, 287, and Laṭīfī, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7,

210-2, tr. O. Rescher, Tübingen 1950, i, 164-5). The dates mentioned in the sources for the death of the commentator Shemʿī, sc. about 1000/1591-2 (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 53) and 1005/1596-7 (Thüreyyā), cannot be correct because his commentary on Djāmī's *Subḥat al-abrār* was completed in 1009/1600-1, and as late as 1012/1603-4 a verse translation of *arbaʿīn* traditions, entitled *Miftāḥ-i futūḥāt*, was dedicated by Shemʿī to Sultan Meḥemmed III (see Blochet, ii, 169). Also, very little is known about his life. He is described as a man of mystical inclination who made a living as a private teacher of "the sons of the people and the servants of the great and the exalted" (Naʿīmā). The numerous commentaries on Persian classics which he wrote are obviously related to this profession. Several of these works were dedicated to officials of the Ottoman court during the reigns of Murād III (982-1003/1574-95) and Meḥemmed III (1003-12/1595-1603).

Shemʿī wrote commentaries on: (1) Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's *Pand-nāma*, with the title *Saʿādat-nāma*, and a dedication to Zīrek Agha, a courtier of Murād III (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 68; Dorn, 333-5; Dozy, ii, 115; Rieu, *Turkish mss.*, 154-5; Blochet, i, 319; H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, xiii-xvi [1961], 232-3). (2) *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* by the same (1005/1596-7), at the request of Ḥasan Agha, the *agha* of the Janissaries (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 190; H. Ritter, in Oriens, xi [1958], 55). (3) Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār*, dedicated to Ghaḍanfer Agha, the *ḍābiṭ-i Bāb al-saʿādet* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 975). (4) Saʿdī's *Gulistān* (977/1569 or 979/1571), at the request of Meḥmed Čelebī, the intendant of the sultan's gardens (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 231; Pertsch, 93-4; Rieu, *Persian mss.*, ii, 607; idem, *Turkish mss.*, 156-7; Blochet, i, 350, 384; Ateş, 193). (5) *Būstān* by the same (about 1000/1591-2) (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 53; Rieu,*Turkish mss.*, 156; Ateş, 198; Leiden, ms. Or. 12448). (6) Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmi's *Mathnawī-yi maʿnawī* (*ca.* 999/1590-1) in six books, by order of sultan Murād III (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 375; Rieu, *Persian mss.*, ii, 589; idem, *Turkish mss.*, 155). (7) Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān* (981/1574), for his patron Aḥmed Ferīdūn (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 273; Rieu, *Persian mss.*, ii, 631; idem, *Turkish mss.*, 158). (8) Djāmī's *Bahāristān* (between 982-7/1574-9), dedicated to the Grand Vizier Ṣoḳollī [*q.v.*] Meḥmed Pasha (cf. e.g. Dozy, ii, 357; Rieu, *Persian mss.*, 755). (9) *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār* by the same (1006/1597), for Meḥemmed III's *Khādim* Ḥasan Pasa (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 219; Pertsch, 105; Dozy ii, 120; Ateş, 443). (10) *Subḥat al-abrār* by the same (1009/1600), dedicated to Ghaḍanfer Agha (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 575; Blochet, ii, 331; Ateş, 439). (11) Shāhī, *Dīwān*, for his patron Aḥmed b. Meḥmed (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 286; Dozy, ii, 119-20; Blochet 341).

Shemʿī used a fairly simple method. Invariably, the main element of his comment was a full Turkish paraphrase of the Persian text, to which very short explanatory remarks were added. Not inappropriately the term "translation" (*terdjüme*) is sometimes applied to his commentaries. His work, as well as that of his confrère Surūrī [*q.v.*], is often criticised in Sūdī's [*q.v.*] commentary on the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ.

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(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

SHEMS al-DĪN GÜNALTAY, in modern Turkish, Şemseddin Günaltay, 20th-century Turkish statesman and historian. A prolific historian and a professor, Shems al-Dīn Günaltay (1883-1961) served as the Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic during its decisive transition to a multi-party system in the mid-century.

After obtaining a degree in science at a teachers' college, he graduated from the University of Lausanne, where he studied natural sciences. Privately, he mastered Arabic and Persian. After teaching and serving as principal at various high schools, he was in 1914 appointed *müderris* or professor of Turkish history and the history of Islamic nations at the University of Istanbul. He also taught the history of religion and Islamic philosophy at the Süleymāniyye Madrasa. In 1915 he became a member of the Ottoman Parliament, where he served until its dissolution. During the national liberation struggle (1919-22), he was a member and Deputy Chairman of the Istanbul Municipal Council.

A staunch supporter of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (Atatürk [*q.v.*]) and his successor, President Ismet Inönü [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Günaltay served more than 30 years as a parliamentary deputy (first for Sivas, then for Erzincan). From January 1949 to May 1950 he was Prime Minister. As such, he introduced legislation for direct parliamentary elections and enabled Turkey to have its first free national elections, as a result of which his party fell from power. From May 1950 to his death in October 1961, Günaltay was successively parliamentary deputy, Chairman of his party (the Republican People's Party) for Istanbul and Member of the Council of Deputies and Senator.

During much of his political life, Günaltay continued to teach history at the University of Istanbul. He also served as President of the Turkish Historical Society from 1941 onwards.

Bibliography: Günaltay's major scholarly works include *Taʾrīkh-i edyān* ("History of religions", 1922), *Islām taʾrīkhi* ("History of Islam", 1925), *Islāmda taʾrīkh we müwerrikhler* ("History and historians in Islam", 1923-1925), *Islām dīnī taʾrīkhi* ("History of the Islamic religion", 1924), the 5-volume *Mufaṣṣal Türk taʾrīkhi* ("Comprehensive history of the Turks", 1928-1933), the 4-volume *Yakın şark tarihi* ("History of the Near East", 1937-51, and *Türk tarihinin ilk devirleri* ("Early periods of Turkish history", 1937).

(Talat Sait Halman)

SHEN-SI, Shaanxi, a province in the north-west of China, bounded in the north by the province of Suiyüan, in the south by the provinces of Ssu-ch'uan and Hu-pei, in the west by the provinces of Kan-su and Ning-hsia, and in the east by the provinces of Shan-si and Hê-nan. Shen-si has been of geographical and political importance, as many dynasties (from the Cho in the 12th century B.C. to the Tang in the 10th century A.D.) established their régimes in this area, previously called Kuan-chung. The capital of Shen-si is Hsi-an (previously called Ch'ang-an), which was a cosmopolitan city in the past.

It was a centre of Muslims during the Tang (A.D. 618-907), Sung (A.D. 960-1279) and Mongol-Yüan (A.D. 1206-1368) periods. Muslims were assigned an autonomous district in the city during the Tang period, and one of the oldest Chinese mosques, named Hua-chüeh-hsian Ta-shi (also called Tang-ta Shi), originally built around A.D. 742, is located here.

After the Mongol conquest of China, a mass Muslim migration from Central Asia into China took place. In 1289, when the Mongol prince Ananda (who succeeded his father Prince Mangala) was appointed as Prince An-hsi to govern Shen-si, more Muslims were brought into this province. Ananda and his son Ürlüg Temür had close contact with Central Asian Muslims. It is said, according to the author of the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, that they were converted to Islam and gave strong support to it. Muslim communities in Shen-si, especially in the north, thus increased and gradually developed into one of the biggest Muslim population concentrations. (By the mid-19th century, before the great rebellions, the Muslim population in Shen-si was probably around 4,000,000; but after the suppression of the rebellions, the population was reduced to around 500,000.)

Chinese Islamic *madrasa* education has been regarded as starting from Shen-si, and from there spread all over China. Hu Têng-chou (1522-97), a Shen-si native of Hsien-yang, with the Islamic name Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ilyās, was the founder of the so-called Shen-si school of Chinese *madrasa*-mosque education (another one is the Shan-tung school). Hu's teaching was said to emphasise interpretation of the doctrine of *Tawḥīd* and Islamic philosophy. He adopted a great number of Arabic works as textbooks, and invented a so-called Ching-t'ang Yü (*madrasa* language) in his *ḥalḳa* teaching. Ching-t'ang Yü is, in fact, a hybrid of Chinese and Islamic (Arabic and Persian) languages. This language is still employed in Islamic college teaching at the present time. Hu's inclination to an Arabic form of Islam, since he spent quite a long period studying in Arabia, distinguished the Shen-si school from the Shan-tung school, which was more inclined to Persian Islam.

Shen-si has always been rather a poor province in natural resources, while its people were notorious for being truculent and violent in nature. Likewise, Shensi Muslims were also known for their militant characteristics. Throughout modern Chinese history, Muslims from this region played a significant role in local rebellions; however, it was not until the mid-19th century that Shen-si Muslims fought for their own lives and religion. Shen-si Muslim insurrections in 1860s and 1870s resulted from social, economic and religious conflicts between the Han and the Muslims, and political oppression from corrupt local Manchu bureaucrats. It has also been suggested that the Muslim insurrections echoed the Taiping Revolt. Muslim rebellions in Shen-si, were certainly influenced by the Djahriyya Ṣūfī (a sub-order of the Naḳshbandiyya) reform movement led by Ma Minghsin [*q.v.*] early in the 19th century. Ma's movement stimulated the Muslims' consciousness and strengthened their Islamic identity. The best known Shen-si Muslim rebel leader was Pai Yen-hu [*q.v.*], who later, together with his followers, fled to Sinkiang to join Yaʿḳūb Beg's [*q.v.*] movement, then fled to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia and eventually settled there; they were the forefathers of the present Dungans.

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(Chang-Kuan Lin)

SHENLIK (t.), an Ottoman term for public festivities which marked special occasions and, unlike ceremonies limited to certain groups, involved the participation of the entire populace.

The main festivities of the empire included religious ones such as the commemoration of the death of Ḥusayn on 10 Muḥarram, the eve of the Prophet's birthday and the end of Ramaḍān, marked and celebrated by holidays. The Pilgrimage provided other opportunities for public festivities: the departure of the royal caravan and pilgrims for Mecca on 12 Radjab and their return on the third month of the year were publicly honoured. On the return of the Pilgrimage caravan, for instance, houses were decorated, the pilgrim's door was painted green, and everyone sought the pilgrim's blessing and intercession. Another religious celebration of non-Muslim origin occurred on 23 April when all celebrated St. George's Day, on which the Muslims commemorated Khiḍr, as a festival for spring when many went on picnics.

Non-religious public festivities included the girding of the sultan which marked the formal acknowledgement of his succession, as well as the birth or circumcision of his children, the sons' initiation into formal education, the wedding of a member of the sultan's family or some noted dignitary, and the reception of certain ambassadors. Another major occasion was the departure of the Ottoman army on campaign, often accompanied by the firing of cannon, beating of drums, and performances by military bands; major victories and the homecoming of the army were also extensively observed, with mock battle scenes and illuminations. Fireworks, including small rockets (*fishek*), were often the most significant feature here. In many instances, the sultans also promoted spectacular pageants, mock battles between Muslims and Christians, water triumphs, illuminations and fireworks in order to keep up the morale of the populace in times of defeat and other calamities. There were also parades of trade guilds before the sultan, lasting for as long as three days or more, in which they displayed their professional techniques on large floats. The mingling of religious with secular events often enhanced its splendour. Many Ottoman works, such as the *Sūrnāme-yi hümāyūn* (Topkapı Palace Archives doc. no. R. 283) and *Sūrnāme-yi Wehbī*, (Topkapı, Palace Archives doc. no. A. 3539), contain depictions of such public festivities.

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(Fatma Müge Göçek)

SHERBET (Ar. Pers. Tk.), a fruit-based drink; the term is derived from the Arabic *sharba*, meaning a drink or beverage. Sherbet was first recorded in English in the early 17th century, and there are many other European cognate forms, viz. *sorbet* (Fr.), *sorbetto* (It.), *sorbete* (Sp.), etc. According to Turkish and European sources, in Istanbul sherbet was made from a variety of ingredients, of which the most common was lemon juice, mixed with sugar, honey and water, and sometimes with musk and ambergris, often cooled with ice or snow in summer, and served warm by itinerant vendors in the winter time. Other ingredients might include violets, *nīlūfer* (water-lily flowers), rhubarb, roses, lotus, tamarind and grapes. Richard Knolles, *The general history of the Turkes*, London 1621, describes a dinner given for foreign ambassadors in Istanbul in 1603, when "the table ... thus furnished, the guests without any cerimonie of washing sat downe on the ground ... and fell on their victuall, and dranke out of great earthen dishes, water prepared with sugar, which drink they call Zerbet"; elsewhere he mentions that it is made of "the juice of lymons, water and sugar". George Sandys, *A relation of a journey begun An.Dom.1610*, London 1615; an anonymous manuscript in the British Museum of 1027/1618 (Add. 23880); and J.-B. Tavernier, *a new relation of the Inner-Part of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio*, London 1677, all describe the composition and serving of sherbet in detail.

The Turkish historian Ewliyā Čelebi, *Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, tr. J. von Hammer, London 1834-50, lists the ingredients of a variety of sherbets, and another fruit-based drink, *khō shāb* (possibly with an alcoholic content) which was equally popular in the 17th century. He names the various districts where the sherbet-makers lived, such as Top Hane, Fındıklı and Scutari, and their special products. He also describes a procession in 1042/1633, when the merchants of musk sherbets (*eshribe-yi mümesseke*) "pass exposing to public view in china vases and tankards every kind of sherbet made of rhubarb, ambergris, roses, lemons, tamarinds, etc., of different colours and scents, which they distribute among the spectators".

The lemon juice which was so important a component of sherbet, came from lemons (*līmūn*), almost exclusively imported from the island of Chios; see Sandys, Du Loir, *Les Voyages*, Paris 1654, and R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1962, for the Turkish sources. Sherbet was served in pottery or glass covered bowls; a Turkish painting of a *sherbetdji* shows the sherbet seller at his stall, working a hand-pump in order to activate a sherbet fountain (Warsaw University Library, Teka 171, no. 536). A by-product of the sherbet industry was the ingenious invention, at Kütahya in the early 12th/18th century, of pottery lemon-squeezers with a concealed trap; see J. Carswell, *The lemon-squeezer: an unique form of Turkish pottery*, in *IVème Congrès International d'Art Turc*, Univ. de Provence, Etudes historiques 3, Aix 1976.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also J.W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English lexicon*, Constantinople 1890, s.vv. *sharāb*, *sherbet*, *sherbetdji*.

(J. Carswell)

SHEREF, ʿABD al-RAḤMĀN (1853-1925), late Ottoman historian and statesman.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref was born in Istanbul, the son of a chief clerk at the Imperial Arsenal (*Topkhāne-yi ʿāmire*), whose family hailed from Safranbolu in northwestern Anatolia. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref graduated from the famous Galatasaray Lycée in 1873. After this he taught at several different establishments, from the *Makhredj-i Aklām* (a college for civil servants which existed between 1864 and 1876) to the *Dār al-Fünūn* (University), which was re-opened in 1900, having been closed since 1880. All through the long reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909 [*q.v.*]) he was a central figure in the educational establishment, serving for sixteen years as director of the Civil Service Academy (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) and for fourteen as director of the Galatasaray Lycée.

After the Constitutional Revolution in 1908, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref gained even more prominence. He was appointed to the Senate (remaining a member until the end of the Empire) and was made Minister for the *Defter-i Khāḳānī* (Revenue Register). He also served as Minister of Education for three short spells and as Minister of Pious Foundations (*Ewḳāf*) and President of the Council of State. As Minister of Education, he took the initiative in founding bilingual (French-Turkish) "model" (*nümūne*) secondary schools.

From 1909 until the end of the empire in 1922 he was the last offical chronicler (*waḳʿa-nüwīs*) of the Ottoman Empire. In this capacity, he finished the eighth and last volume of the history of his predecessor Luṭfī Efendi. His own chronicle of the years 1908-18 has remained unpublished. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref's importance for the study of Ottoman history lies not so much in any great originality or depth but in his work as an organiser and populariser. He published fourteen books and numerous articles. Some of the former, such as the *Taʾrīkh-i dewlet-i ʿothmāniyye* (1883) and the *Fedhleke-yi taʾrīkh-i dewlet-i ʿāliye-yi ʿothmāniyye* (1884) were widely used as textbooks in schools. He also wrote a regular historical column for the newspaper *Waḳit* ("Time"). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref was instrumental in establishing history as a modern discipline in Turkey. The most important step in this direction was the establishing in 1910 of the *Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni*, (Society for Ottoman History). This society, of which he became permanent president, concentrated on translating European works on Ottoman and Turkish history and on text editions. Its main aim, the publication of a large-scale Turkish history of the Ottoman Empire, was not realised during his lifetime, but the institute's journal, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni Medjmūʿasī* (*TOEM*), published from 1910 to 1924 and continued under the title of *Türk Taʾrīkhi Endjümeni Medjmūʿasī* until 1928, was the first of its kind in the Empire.

In 1923, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref was elected to the National Assembly in Ankara as one of the representatives for Istanbul. He also headed the Turkish Red Crescent Society. In 1925 he fell ill; he died at Istanbul at the age of 72 and was buried in his native Eyüp.

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(E.J. Zürcher)

SHEWḲĪ BEG (Şevki Bey in present-day Turkish orthography), Turkish composer of great popularity, was born the son of a comb-maker in 1277/1860 in the Fātiḥ quarter of Istanbul. The exceptionally gifted young man was accepted at the Sultan's music school (*Mūzīḳa-i hümāyūn mektebi*) under the aegis of Callisto Guatelli (1868-99), and studied there under

the celebrated composer Ḥādjdjī ʿĀrif Beg (Hacı Ârif Bey, d. 1302/1885). Strongly addicted to alcohol and unable to pursue a normal existence, he lived a dervish-like (*rindī*) variant of a Romantic artist's life. At the age of 31, he died on 2 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1307/19 July 1890 and was buried at Beylerbeyi on the Bosphorus.

Shewkī Beg, sometimes called the "Turkish Schubert", is known for his songs in the form of *sharkī* (*şarkı*), the "Lied" form of Turkish art music that had gained a new quality and popularity by the compositions of his famous teacher. In his own lyric-melancholic style, Shewkī Beg composed several hundred *sharkī* songs. In contrast to Ḥādjdjī ʿĀrif Beg, he contented himself with a relatively small selection of modes (*maḳām* [*q.v.*]/*makam*) and metres (*uṣūl*/*usûl*). About one-third of the pieces attributed to him are composed in one and the same *maḳām*, called "lovers" (*ʿushshāḳ*/*uşşak*)—a remarkable correspondence to the main subject of his song texts. The most popular of these texts were recorded, together with indications of mode and metre, in contemporaneous and later song text collections.

Some of his melodies have survived in musical notation. Suphi Ezgi (1870-1962), who knew Shewkī Beg personally, is said to have written down 120 of his songs. He published fifteen of them in his voluminous book on Turkish music (see below). A few more are included in other printed and handwritten song collections.

Bibliography: Suphi Ezgi, *Nazarî ve ameli türk musikisi*, i-v, Istanbul 1933-53, *passim*; İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Hoş sadâ*, Istanbul 1958, 276-8; Y. Öztuna, *Şevki Bey*, Ankara 1988 (lists 234 works, presents 140 song texts; full bibl.); idem, *Büyük türk mûsikîsi ansiklopedisi*, Ankara 1990, ii, 355-9. (E. Neubauer)

SHEYKH-OGHLU, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muṣṭafā (modern Turkish: Şeyhoğlu, Sadrüddin Mustafa) (b. 741/1340-1), sometimes referred to as Sheykh-zāde, under which name he was dealt with in *EI*[1]. He should not be confused with the translator of *Ḳïrḳ wezīrler ḥikāyeleri* [see sheykh-zāde. 3].

Poet, translator and court dignitary, Sheykh oghlu was an important figure in the development of Ottoman *dīwān* poetry, especially the *methnewī* genre, in the 8th/14th century. He extended the focus of the *methnewī* to romance and human love rather than just religion and mystic love, an approach seen also in the *Djemshīd we-Khurshīd* written in 805/1403 by his rival Aḥmedī [see aḥmadī]. Outstripped as a lyricist by the latter, Sheykh-oghlu also drew less attention than later writers of such *methnewī*s as *Leylā and Medjnūn*, *Yūsuf and Zelīkhā* and *Khusrew and Shīrīn*. He is, however, a figure about whom many contradictory and erroneous statements have been made in the sources both old and recent, Turkish and European. Most common of the errors, which we find in the earliest of Ottoman literary biographies, the *Hesht bihisht* of Sehī (d. 994/1586 [*q.v.*]), is to identify him with Djemālī the nephew of Sheykhī [*q.v.*], who completed his uncle's *Khusrew ü Shīrīn*, used the *laḳab* of Sheykh-zāde or Sheykh-oghlu, and was still alive in the last decade of the 15th century (see Hüseyin Ayan, *Şeyhoğlu Mustafa* Ḫurşîd-nâme (Hurşîd ü Ferahşâd), *inceleme-metinsözlük-konu dizini*, Erzurum 1979, 8; and Ömer Faruk Akün in *İA*, art. *Şeyhoğlu*).

Sheykh-oghlu's birthdate is given as 741 or 742 (1340-1), but it is not known where he was born, nor when and where he died. A statement at the end of his *Kenzü 'l-küberā* indicates that he completed that work in 789/1401, but he must have died after 804/1401 and before 812/1409.

The name Muṣṭafā, by which he has been known over the centuries, was one acknowledged by Sheykh-oghlu himself and recorded also by Aḥmedi, but it has now been shown that be also used the name Ṣadr al-Dīn. As a result, two translations (see below), previously credited to an unknown Ṣadr al-Dīn have been credited to Sheykh-oghlu (Zeynep Korkmaz, *"Ḳābūs-nāme" ve "Marzubān-nāme" çevirleri kimindir?*, in *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı* [1966], 267-78; Kemal Yazuv, *Şeyhoğlu* Kenzü'l Küberâ ve Mehekkü'l-Ulemâ (*inceleme-metin-indeks*) Ankara 1991).

Statements in Sheykh-oghlu's works show that his forebears included high officials and scholars, and that his family was an influential one at the court of the Germiyān *amīr*s of Kütahya [see germiyān-oghullarï]. It seems that he was brought up there during the reign of Meḥmed b. Yaʿḳūb I and given a *medrese* education. As an adult, he acted as chief of chancery and treasurer to Meḥmed b. Yaʿḳūb's successor Süleymān Shāh (d. 789/1387). Süleymān was a ruler well-known as a patron to men of letters, encouraging them to execute translations from Arabic and Persian and to produce original works in Turkish. On the death of Süleymān, Sheykh-oghlu served the Ottoman Yïldïrïm Bāyezīd until that ruler was defeated by Tīmūr at Ankara in 805/1402, after which he transferred his allegiance to Bāyezīd's son, Prince Süleymān supporting him in the struggle for the throne.

There is still uncertainty about Sheykh-oghlu's total literary output. Poems by him appear in some old collections and he is said to have written an *ʿAshḳ-nāme*, but no manuscript has been discovered. Well-known are his *Khurshīd-nāme* and a *Kenz ül-küberā*. The former, a *methnawī* romance completed in 789/1387, comprises close to 8,000 *bayt*s (see Ayan, 24 ff.). In his preface, Sheykh-oghlu refers to it also as *Shehristān-i ʿushshāḳ*, and sources have labelled it variously as *Khurshīd ü Ferahshād* (or *Ferakhshād*), *Khurshīd ü Ferrukhshād*, or simply *Ferrukh-nāme*. The text indicates that, although Sheykh-oghlu began the work for Süleymān Shāh of Germiyān, after the death of that patron in 789/1387 he presented it to Bāyezīd. As for the origin of the work, Sheykh-oghlu's statement that it came from "a pleasant Arab story" (A. Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 295), has to be weighed against the fact that it draws heavily on the *Shāh-nāmā* and the general literary tradition of Iran for themes and motifs, but also includes strong personal views as well as elements from the history and traditions of the Turks (see Ayan, 31 ff.). Most of the characters in the work have Persian names, exceptions being Bogha Khān the Tatar ruler, and Turumtay his vizier (which, Akün suggests, indicates a memory of Īlkhānid days in Anatolia). The introductory sections cover the usual topics required of a *methnewī*, and the main story is structured on the motif of falling in love "sight unseen", one frequently encountered in both Persian and Turkish literature, the protagonists being Khurshīd, daughter of the Khān of Īrān, and Ferahshād, son of the ruler of the Maghrib. The *Kenz ül-küberā*, a prose work liberally interspersed with verse, was completed in 803 Radjab/March 1401 and is believed to have been Sheykh-oghlu's last work. Categorised by Kemal Yavuz as the second example (after the *Kutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*]) of a "Mirror for Princes" in a Turkic language, the work resembles in format, but is not a translation (as has been suggested) of Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī's *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* (Yavuz, *op. cit.* 10-11). It opens with appropriate

introductory material. Then in four chapters Sheykh-oghlu discusses the status and responsibilities of rulers, state officials, legislative, scholarly and religious functionaries, supporting his views with anecdotal material that shows him to be well-versed in scholarship and literature, and makes the work an important source of information on 9th/15th-century society.

As for the two translations now credited to Sheykh-oghlu, and undertaken at the command of Süleymān Shāh, these are: (1) *Marzubān-nāme* (believed to be the earlier), based on the Warāwīnī version of the original 4th/10th-century work, was itself later translated into Arabic [see MARZBĀN-NĀMA]. With its didactic nature, typical of Persian *andarz* literature, the use of animal fables as in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and motifs in its frame story reminiscent of *Ḳutadghu bilig*, the work must have been especially attractive to Sheykh-oghlu, and presumably influenced the writing of his own last work, *Kenz ül-küberā* (see Yavuz, 11). (2) *Ḳābūs-nāme*, written by the Ziyārid ruler of Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, Kay Kāwūs b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] for his son Gīlān Shāh in 475/1082-3, a work also in the *andarz* and "Mirror for Princes" tradition.

In addition to Sheykh-oghlu's importance for the literary, intellectual and social aspects of Anatolia, he has a place in the development of the Turkish language as a literary vehicle in the 8th/14th century. Said to have complained (fashionably) about the unsuitability of Turkish as a vehicle for poetry, he nevertheless stressed the importance of producing works in that language and is praised for the style that he accomplished (see Akün, 483, and Ayan, 11, 15; the Zeynep Korkmaz study of the *Marzubān-nāme* supplies a detailed analysis of his language).

Bibliography: The main sources are given in the article. For further titles and details of mss., see the bibls. in Akün, Korkmaz and Yavuz.

(KATHLEEN BURRILL)

SHEYKH-ZĀDE, the name of various figures in Ottoman Turkish literature.

1. A name sometimes used in reference to SHEYKH-OGHLU, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muṣṭafa [*q.v.*].

2. The *laḳab* of Djemālī, nephew of Sheykhī [*q.v.*].

3. An unidentified Ottoman writer referred to by sources also as Sheykh-zāde Aḥmed or Aḥmed-i Mıṣrī and said to have presented to Murād II a collection of stories, *Ḥikāyet-i erbaʿīn-i, ṣubḥ u mesā*, translated from Arabic. The Arabic original is considered no longer extant and, contrary to earlier studies, a recent work in Turkey (Mübeccel Kızıltan, *Kırk vezirler hikâyeleri. Metin-dizin-kaynakça*, doktora tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi 1991) posits that two writers are involved, an Aḥmed-i Mıṣrī who translated the work from Arabic and presented it to Murād II (1421-51), and a Sheykh-zāde who took up the text later, presenting it to both Murād II and Meḥemmed II (1451-81). The collection of stories, related in a frame-style format and centred on the motif of a chaste youth and lustful stepmother, is well-known in English through E.J.W. Gibb, *The history of the forty Vezirs*, London 1886.

(KATHLEEN BURRILL)

SHEYTĀNLİḲ (Grk. Gyaros, vernacular Gioúra), the Tkish. name (lit. "devilry, craftiness") for an island of the Aegean Cyclades group, lying to the northwest of Syros or Shire [*q.v.*]. From Roman times onwards, up to the period 1936-74, it has served as a place of exile and imprisonment for political prisoners, but may also have acquired its name from its great vulnerability to pirate attacks. In Byzantine times, as in Antiquity, shells for purple dye were fished for there (see K.R. Setton, in *Speculum*, xix [1944], 196). From 1206 to 1566 it was part of the Archipelago Duchy of Naxos (see NAKSHE and map XIV in Pitcher, *Hist. geogr. of the Ottoman empire*), but was seized temporarily by Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1537; it then became part of a petty Italian maritime state with strong Roman Catholic influence until the Ottomans took it over in 1617 (see K.R. Setton, in *Camb. med. hist.*, iv/1², 426). Greek pirates used it as a base during the War of Independence (1821 onwards), preying on European shipping, as attested by the contemporary Jourdain (*Mém. hist. et militaires sur les événements de la Grèce*, Paris 1828, ii, 225). At present, the island is uninhabited.

Bibliography: See also the bibls. NAKSHE, PARA, SANTURIN ADASÎ and SHIRE. (A. SAVVIDES)

SHEYYĀD ḤAMZA, modern Turkish Şeyyad Hamza, a 7th/13th-century Turkish mystical poet mentioned in 10th/16th-century biographies but about whose life details are elusive.

He probably lived mainly in the Akşehir-Sivrihisar area, and a tombstone in Akşehir [see AKSHEHIR] is reported to be that of a daughter Aṣlī Khātūn (Rıfkı Melûl Meriç, *Akşehir türbe ve mezarları kitabeleri* in *TM*, v, 179). Mehmed Fuad Köprülü was the first to note him in this century, publishing a 15-*beyt* remnant of a *methnewī* of his contained in Egerdirli Ḥādjdjī Kemāl's *Djāmiʿ al-neẓā'ir* (on this genre see Nihat Sami Banarlı, *Resimli Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1971, 617-8) and characterising him and his *laḳab* as typical of the Bāṭinī trends [see BĀṬINIYYA] current in Anatolia during the period of the Mongol invasion (see Köprülü's *EI*¹ art. SHAIYĀD ḤAMZA). Subsequent research has uncovered more of Ḥamza's works, produced other theories on his *laḳab* (see Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, *Tekke şiiri antolojisi*, Ankara 1968, 13-15, and *İA* art. *Şeyyad* by Ömer Faruk Akün, cf. also SHAYYĀD), and questions about his Bāṭinī connection, pointing to his importance as a predecessor of Yūnus Emre [*q.v.*] and his place in the early experimental period of Ottoman literature. Ḥamza was familiar with both the folk and *dīwān* poetic tradition. Some of his folk poems contain coarse elements and reflect the turmoil of 7th/13th-century Anatolia. In general, however, they express with simple lyricism his moral and religious views. His *dīwān* works include *naʿts* (in praise of Muḥammad), a *naẓīre* on a *ghazel* of Rūmī, amatory verse and admonitions concerning the vanity of the world and inexorable death. Important is his 1529-*beyt methnewī* entitled *Destān-ı Yūsuf* ("Epic [or Tale] of Joseph"), a work based on the Ḳur'ānic version of the Joseph story [see YŪSUF U ZALĪKHĀ], uniting popular Islamic tradition with mystic concepts. The format, while adhering in general to the Persian *mathnawī* tradition, replaces interspersed *ghazels* with five *nükte* or moral commentaries. The poem's general tone is strongly reminiscent of folk narrative. The Turkish (largely free of Arab- or Persianisms) requires frequent prosodic licence to achieve the chosen (*remel*) metre, and the rhyme structure lacks polish. The M.A. thesis (1992) of Stephanie B. Thomas at Columbia University comprises a study of the work in the context of the Joseph tradition, with an annotated translation of a 952/1545 manuscript as published by Dehri Dilçin (*Şeyyad Hamza: Yusuf ve Zeliha*, Istanbul 1945). Another 76-*beyt methnewī* is entitled *Hādhā dāsitān-i Sulṭān Maḥmūd* ("This is the tale of Sultan Maḥmūd [of Ghazna]"). Its topic (found earlier in Persian) is an encounter between Maḥmūd and a poor dervish. A dialogue between the two debates the worth of worldly values, establishing that control of the lower self (*nefs*), not rank and riches, ensures a place in Paradise (Sadettin

Buluç, *Şeyyad Hamza'nın bilinmeyen bir mesnevisi*, in *TM*, lxxv [1968], 247-57).

Bibliography: For additional sources, see the work of Banarlı cited above; *IA* art. *Şeyyad Hamza* (Sadettin Buluç); and Metin Akar, *Şeyyad Hamza hakkında yeni bilgiler*, in *Türklük Araştırmaları*, ii (1986), 1-16. (Kathleen Burrill)

SHIHAWRĪ [see shihrī].

SHĪʿA, in the broad sense, refers to the movement upholding a privileged position of the Family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*]) in the political and religious leadership of the Muslim Community. The name is derived from *shīʿat ʿAlī*, i.e. the party or partisans of ʿAlī, which was first used in the inter-Muslim war during ʿAlī's caliphate distinguishing them from the *shīʿat ʿUthmān*, the partisans of the murdered caliph ʿUthmān opposed to ʿAlī. The present article will deal with the origins and early development of the Shīʿa until the emergence of the major sectarian branches. For these, see the individual articles on Ithnā ʿashariyya, Ismāʿīliyya, Zaydiyya, etc.

In the lifetime of Muḥammad, his close kin enjoyed a raised religious status of purity recognised by the Ḳurʾān. As his kin (*dhawu 'l-ḳurbā*), there were counted the descendants of his great-grandfather Hāshim and, to some extent, the descendants of Hāshim's brother al-Muṭṭalib. They were, like the Prophet himself, not allowed to receive or to handle alms (*zakāt*) as these were considered unclean. In compensation for this exclusion they were entitled to receive a portion of the *khums*, the fifth of war booty reserved to the Prophet, and of the *fayʾ* [*q.v.*], property which fell to the Muslims without war effort. After Muḥammad's death, the establishment of the caliphate by Abū Bakr on the basis of a privileged position for the tribe of Ḳuraysh as a whole, and the confiscation of Muḥammad's property, deprived the Prophet's Family of the special status, as they were disinherited and lost their title to their Ḳurʾānic share of the *khums* and *fayʾ*. The Banū Hāshim vainly protested against these developments by refusing to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr for six months. The disestablishment of the Family of the Prophet after his death was the ultimate motive for the rise of the Shīʿa.

As leader of the Banū Hāshim was first generally recognised Muḥammad's cousin ʿAlī because of his close association with the Prophet, his marriage to Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima and his early merits in Islam. Early Shīʿī support, however, was not restricted to him and his descendants. Throughout the Umayyad age there was broad awareness that the Prophet's Family comprised all of the Banū Hāshim, as is evident, for instance, in the poetry of al-Kumayt entitled *Hāshimiyyāt*. There were, however, preferences, partly on a local basis, for some particular branch of the Family. In Baṣra, descendants of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim occasionally enjoyed support as kin of the Prophet since they were settled there. In Kūfa, where ʿAlī resided during his reign, his descendants were most often preferred to others. Support of descendants of al-ʿAbbās and of ʿAlī's brother Djaʿfar should not be seen as an illegitimate deviation from early Shīʿī backing of the ʿAlīds.

A popular movement in favour of ʿAlī first emerged in Kūfa under the governorship of al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba during the first half of ʿUthmān's caliphate. Its spokesmen, many of them Ḳurʾān readers (*ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*]), later appear as leaders of the *shīʿat ʿAlī* under the latter's caliphate and, if they survived, after his assassination. They were calling for the removal of ʿUthmān from the leadership and for allegiance to ʿAlī. One of them, Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar [*q.v.*], became the leader of the Kūfan revolt which overthrew ʿUthmān's governor Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] and installed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] in his place. He also led the Kūfan rebel group which joined the groups from Egypt and Baṣra converging on Medina to press for the resignation of ʿUthmān. Although he and the Kūfans did not join in the siege of the caliph's palace carried out by the Egyptians, he played a major part in securing the succession of ʿAlī to power against the rival candidacy of Ṭalḥa [*q.v.*] and subsequently in rousing Kūfan support for ʿAlī against ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa, and al-Zubayr in the Battle of the Camel, in spite of the neutralist stand of the governor Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

ʿAlī's reign bore from the outset the character of a counter-caliphate. He was heralded by his supporters and officials as the most excellent of Muslims after the Prophet, and was acclaimed in poetry and eulogies as the *waṣī*, the legatee, of Muḥammad. Such claims, which put the legitimacy of the caliphate of his predecessors in question, lent the conflict between him and his opponents a religious dimension apart from the political one. Already in the Battle of the Camel, ʿAlī's opponents spoke of a "religion of ʿAlī (*dīn ʿAlī*)", a notion deeply resented by the Prophet's cousin, who insisted that he represented the religion of Muḥammad.

ʿAlī's own attitude to the legitimacy of his predecessors' reign, as expressed in his speeches and letters, was complex. He praised Abū Bakr's and ʿUmar's conduct in office highly and reprimanded any of his followers who depreciated them. He severely criticised ʿUthmān for misgovernment and arbitrary innovations. Holding that ʿUthmān had provoked the rebellion against himself, he refused to condemn the rebels, while not expressly condoning the murder of the caliph and distancing himself from any personal involvement in the rebellion. He asserted that he personally had a better right to the succession of Muḥammad than any other Companion, on the basis of his close kinship and association with him as well as his outstanding merits in the cause of Islam. The Community of the Faithful as a whole deserved blame for having turned away from him after the death of Muḥammad. It was ʿAlī who first gave the *ḥadīth* of Ghadīr Khumm [*q.v.*] publicity by inviting those Companions who had heard the Prophet's statements there to testify on the square in front of the mosque of Kūfa. These statements have traditionally been understood by the Shīʿa as an implicit appointment of ʿAlī to the succession in the leadership of the Community. ʿAlī made plain that he considered the Family of the Prophet to be entitled to the leadership of the Community as long as there remained a single one of them who recited the Ḳurʾān, knew the *sunna* and adhered to the true faith.

The most basic distinguishing beliefs of the Shīʿa thus go back to ʿAlī, who must to this extent be considered its founder and first teacher. This fact has been largely unpalatable to Sunnī historiography, which therefore created and propagated as the founder of the Shīʿa the figure of ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*], the malicious Yemenite Jew who first stirred up the rebellion against ʿUthmān and invented the doctrine of ʿAlī being the legatee of Muḥammad, ending up with extremist fiction denying the death of ʿAlī and deifying him. Only this latter aspect may well have had a historical foundation. Ibn Sabaʾ appears to have been active in al-Madāʾin after ʿAlī's death and to have propagated belief in his return (*radjʿa*) and ultimate victory over his enemies.

When ʿAlī was assassinated in 40/661, his parti-

sans in Kūfa were evidently convinced that only a member of the Prophet's Family could legitimately succeed him. Although ʿAlī, probably following the Prophet's precedent, refused to appoint a successor after having been mortally struck, his eldest son al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*], grandson of Muḥammad, was immediately recognised without dissent. A few months later, al-Ḥasan abdicated in favour of the Umayyad Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] on the basis of a treaty which stipulated a full amnesty and safety of life and property for the *shīʿat ʿAlī* and which denied Muʿāwiya the right to appoint a successor. According to some accounts, it provided for al-Ḥasan to succeed him, according to others for election by a council (*shūrā*), evidently on the model of the electoral council appointed by ʿUmar. Although the abdication aroused general disappointment and some protest among the Shīʿa, it was not regarded as a renunciation by al-Ḥasan of his ultimate title to the leadership, and he continued to be recognised as the legitimate Imām. Al-Ḥasan died in 49/669 or 51/671, poisoned, it was widely suspected, by one of his wives at the instigation of Muʿāwiya. The Shīʿa now turned to his younger brother al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] and, disaffected by what they regarded as the oppressive and vindictive nature of Muʿāwiya's rule, urged him to rise to restore the legitimate reign of the Prophet's Family. Although by character more inclined to pursue the leadership actively than his brother, al-Ḥusayn declined to act as long as Muʿāwiya was reigning, evidently recognising the continued validity of al-Ḥasan's agreement.

The Shīʿī riot in Kūfa in 51/671, for which Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] and other leaders were executed, was not an attempted revolution but an incident intentionally provoked by Muʿāwiya and his governor Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] with the aim of crushing latent opposition to the Umayyad rule. Muʿāwiya had, in breach of the spirit, if not the letter, of his treaty with al-Ḥasan, ordered his governor of Kūfa, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*], to curse ʿAlī from the pulpit in the Friday prayers and to insist on the presence of several Shīʿī leaders, among them Ḥudjr. Al-Mughīra had done so, but failed, evidently against Muʿāwiya's intentions, to discipline those who protested against the cursing. Al-Mughīra's successor Ziyād took the occasion of pebbles being thrown at his deputy in protest against the cursing to intervene, ordering the rounding-up of Ḥudjr and other Shīʿī leaders. There was some fighting between police and rioters in which no-one was killed. Ḥudjr eluded Ziyād for a time, finding refuge in the quarters of various tribes. Eventually, he surrendered voluntarily on the promise of being sent to Muʿāwiya. Ziyād drew up an accusation of armed rebellion against the Shīʿī leaders and had it signed by representatives of the Kūfan nobility. Muʿāwiya offered them pardon if they would renounce their loyalty to ʿAlī and curse him. As they refused, he ordered the execution of Ḥudjr and five others. The law of Islam and practice so far prevalent allowed only imprisonment and exile for insurrection. These executions amounted to murder. The incident, rather than crushing the opposition, inflamed the sense of outrage of the Kūfan Shīʿa.

After the death of Muʿāwiya and the succession of his son Yazīd [*q.v.*], the Kūfan Shīʿa and many of the tribal leaders wrote letters to al-Ḥusayn inviting him and offering him their backing. Al-Ḥusayn had, together with other members of the Islamic aristocracy, declined to pledge allegiance to Yazīd during Muʿāwiya's lifetime and, after his death, fled from Medina to the Sanctuary in Mecca in order to avoid being forced to do so. He sent his cousin Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*] ahead of him to test the ground in Kūfa. On receiving at first a favourable report from Muslim, al-Ḥusayn set out for Kūfa. Determined action by the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, however, induced the Kūfan tribal leaders to abandon their backing of the revolt. Muslim b. ʿAḳīl was killed, and al-Ḥusayn soon faced a Kūfan army preventing him from proceeding or returning. He and over twenty members of the Prophet's *ahl al-bayt*, brothers and sons of al-Ḥusayn, sons of al-Ḥasan, and descendants of ʿAlī's brothers ʿAḳīl and Djaʿfar, were massacred at Karbalāʾ on 10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680.

The violent death of the Prophet's grandson at the hands of a Kūfan army, after the Kūfans had first invited him and then failed to stand up for him, had a profound effect on the Shīʿa. The passion motive, the call for repentance and martyrdom, became permanent aspects of Shīʿī spirituality. In immediate reaction, a movement of penitents (*tawwābūn*), calling for self-sacrifice and revenge for al-Ḥusayn, sprang up among the old partisans of ʿAlī led by Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāʿī. It gathered strength after the death of the caliph Yazīd as Kūfa came nominally under Zubayrid rule. In 65/684-5 some 4,000 volunteers left Kūfa, visited Karbalāʾ to weep and make vows on the grave of al-Ḥusayn, and moved against an Umayyad army near ʿAyn al-Warda. They were defeated, and the majority, including Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, were killed.

As the old guard leaders of the Shīʿa were killed off, new forces came to the fore. After the death of the caliph Yazīd, al-Mukhtār b. ʿUbayd al-Thakafī [*q.v.*], nephew of ʿAlī's governor of al-Madāʾin Saʿd b. Masʿūd, sought the leadership of the Shīʿa in Kūfa, promising to take revenge for the blood of al-Ḥusayn more effectively than his rival Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. When the latter was killed, most of the Shīʿa turned to him, although some of the conservatives remained aloof from his movement. Al-Mukhtār claimed to be acting on behalf of ʿAlī's non-Fāṭimid son Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], whom he proclaimed the Imām and the Mahdī [*q.v.*], who would restore justice on earth. This choice was natural after the death of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, since Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was the only surviving son of ʿAlī closely associated with him during his reign. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya gave limited encouragement to al-Mukhtār, especially to his aim to seek revenge for al-Ḥusayn, but declined to assume personal leadership of the movement and to come to Kūfa. Al-Mukhtār took possession of Kūfa by revolt in 66/685. Although he attempted to reconcile the defeated tribal chiefs, initially restraining his followers from taking revenge on those involved in the killing of al-Ḥusayn, conflict soon arose as he accepted substantial numbers of non-Arab clients (*mawālī*) into the ranks of his movement. The tribal chiefs staged a revolt but were defeated. Now fully in control, the radical Shīʿīs took revenge for al-Ḥusayn, seeking out and killing those most guilty in his death. Shortly afterwards, the Kūfans defeated a Syrian army on the river Khāzir, killing ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. Many of the tribal chiefs and their supporters had found refuge in Baṣra, governed by Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], and agitated for action against al-Mukhtār. The latter was killed as the Baṣrans took Kūfa in 67/687. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr allowed the Kūfan nobles to massacre their opponents, and 6,000 to 8,000 of al-Mukhtār's followers are said to have been killed.

The movement founded by al-Mukhtār survived,

however, and spread, chiefly among the lower classes, outside Kūfa also. It was commonly called that of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*], after the chief of al-Mukhtār's body-guard Abū ʿAmra Kaysān [*q.v.*], and espoused a distinctly messianic Shīʿism. The name Sabaʾiyya also applied to it by early contemporaries evidently connects it with the earlier messianic teaching of ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ concerning ʿAlī in al-Madāʾin. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya continued to be recognised as the Imām and Mahdī until his death in 81/700. After his death, which was denied by many, he was generally expected to return and to reign in glory. Other beliefs and practices of the followers of al-Mukhtār also aroused hostility and scorn among conservative Shīʿīs as well as Sunnīs. Al-Mukhtār had made predictions in rhymed prose like the pre-Islamic soothsayers, and was widely called by his opponents a magician or false prophet although he did not claim prophethood. He instituted or allowed the public veneration of an empty chair, practiced especially by some Yemenite tribes. The chair was said to be a relic from ʿAlī and was compared to the Ark of the Covenant of the Jews. The failure of some of al-Mukhtār's predictions to be realised is said to have given rise to the doctrine of *badāʾ* [*q.v.*], the possibility of a change of God's will. Upholding a radical interpretation of ʿAlī's attitude towards the caliphs preceding him, the Kaysāniyya definitely rejected their legitimacy.

The usurpation of the rights of the Family of the Prophet by the early caliphs was also at the core of the Shīʿī teaching of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 68/687-8) in Mecca. Ibn al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], cousin of Muḥammad and ʿAlī, had been drawn by the caliph ʿUmar close to himself and became initially ʿAlī's most trusted associate during his reign, though there arose later disagreement between them. After ʿAlī's death he backed al-Ḥasan's caliphate, urging him to resume his father's war against Muʿāwiya. After al-Ḥasan's resignation he became the main spokesman for the rights of the *ahl al-bayt*. He consistently countered the reports of Abū Bakr's daughter ʿĀʾisha which described her father as the closest intimate of Muḥammad, chosen as his successor by his appointment to lead the communal prayers during Muḥammad's final illness. Contrary to her claim, the Prophet had not insisted on Abū Bakr leading the prayers when she pleaded for him to be excused. Rather, he had suggested that ʿUmar should lead them. The latter declined, however, to take precedence before Abū Bakr. ʿUmar had thwarted the mortally ill Muḥammad's intention to dictate a testament as guidance for the faithful, insisting that the Prophet was delirious and the Ḳurʾān was sufficient guidance for them. Muḥammad had not died in ʿĀʾisha's arms, as she claimed, but leaning on ʿAlī's chest. Although critical of some aspects of ʿAlī's conduct, Ibn al-ʿAbbās made clear that the Banū Hāshim, and he himself, were convinced of ʿAlī's legitimate right to the succession to Muḥammad, of which he was deprived by Abū Bakr with the backing of the majority of Ḳuraysh. Muḥammad's kin had protested against Abū Bakr's usurpation, first by burying the Prophet privately in his house, thus denying the caliph the occasion to do the last honours for his predecessor. The election of Abū Bakr in the Hall of the Banū Sāʿida, which took place at the time of the preparation of Muḥammad's burial, had later been described by ʿUmar in public as a *falta*, a precipitate, arbitrary act, excusable only because God had bestowed success on it. Abū Bakr had illegitimately denied the Banū Hāshim their inheritance from the Prophet and their Ḳurʾānic share of war booty and *fayʾ*. ʿUmar had attempted to satisfy their just claim by offering them partial restitution, but they had declined his overtures as being insufficient.

Ibn al-ʿAbbās warned al-Ḥusayn of the danger of his rising and did not back it. Jointly with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, however, he resisted the demands of the anti-ʿAlid counter-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr that they should pledge allegiance to him. Ibn al-Zubayr imprisoned them together, and they were freed by a Kūfan Shīʿī cavalry troop sent by al-Mukhtār. Ibn al-Zubayr accused ʿAbd Allāh b. al ʿAbbās and his brother ʿUbayd Allāh of trying to "raise the banner of Abū Turāb (sc. ʿAlī) which God had lowered and of gathering the muddleheads from ʿIrāḳ around themselves."

The descendants of Fāṭima were, after the massacre of Karbalāʾ, for a generation eclipsed in the leadership of the Shīʿa. Al-Ḥusayn's only surviving son ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn [*q.v.*] kept aloof from Shīʿī activity and attracted no substantial following. Al-Ḥasan's senior son al-Ḥasan also avoided involvement with the Shīʿa. Only al-Ḥusayn's grandson Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known as al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*], after his father's death in 94/713-14 actively engaged in Shīʿī teaching, while refusing to be drawn into revolutionary activity, and became the founder of systematic Shiʿī religious law. His teaching in particular raised the religious rank and spiritual authority of the Imāms who were endowed with a divinely inspired knowledge. The Imām was described by him as *muḥaddath*, "spoken to" by the angel of revelation. The term was taken from a variant reading of Ḳurʾān, XXII, 52, "We have not sent before you any Messenger of Prophet" adding "or *muḥaddath*", which was contained in the codex of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās and was interpreted as a form of revelation ranking below that reserved for prophets. The Imām was not expected, however, to add in any way to the message and the law revealed by the Prophet, but rather to preserve it in its integrity through his divinely-granted authority. The world was in permanent need of such an Imām and could, in the absence of a prophet, never exist for a moment without him. In a hostile environment, the Imām was protected by his and his followers' license and obligation to practice *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], the precautionary concealment of their religious beliefs and practice.

Al-Bāḳir's legal and ritual teaching comprised most of the features which were later seen as distinctive of Shīʿī law, such as the *ḥayʿala* in the call to prayer [see ADHĀN], the prohibition of the *masḥ ʿalaʾl-khuffayn* [*q.v.*] in the ritual ablution, and the permission of *mutʿa* [*q.v.*], temporary marriage. The latter permission (which was not upheld by Zaydī and Ismāʿīlī law) also reflects influence of the doctrine of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, who taught that *mutʿa* had been practised in the time of Muḥammad and Abū Bakr and had been prohibited only by ʿUmar. Al-Bāḳir's quietist conduct aroused little suspicion among the authorities, and he was widely respected as a traditionist among Sunnī scholars. Among the Shīʿa in Kūfa, his prestige was widely recognised.

The activist Shīʿa who had backed al-Mukhtār went underground after his death. The leadership in Kūfa fell to Salama b. Budjayr of the Banū Musliya Madhhidj. His father Budjayr b. ʿAbd Allāh had been a close associate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and al-Mukhtār, and was executed by Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. Salama became intimately attached to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya's son Abū Hāshim, who took a more active part than his father in the organisation of a

tightly-knit secret movement spreading Shīʿī revolutionary propaganda. After his father's death, Abū Hāshim was recognised by the movement as their Imām. After Abū Hāshim's death in 98/718 there were rival claims among his followers, that he had appointed as his successor either the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās or the Djaʿfarid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbd Allāh. Salama b. Budjayr is said to have recognised the ʿAbbāsid, but he died shortly afterwards. Decisive was the arbitration of the dispute by Abū Riyāḥ Maysara al-Nabbāl, a *mawlā* of the Azd, in favour of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. The Banū Musliya and their clients now backed the ʿAbbāsid and, after him, his son Ibrāhīm. The movement had, still under Abū Hāshim, begun to spread to Khurāsān, mainly through the missionary activity of Bukayr b. Māhān, son of a client of the Banū Musliya. While in Kūfa its appeal remained limited, it attracted a broad following among Arab and Persian Muslims during the last decades of the Umayyad caliphate.

A few years after al-Bāḳir's death, his brother Zayd b. ʿAlī came to visit Kūfa in a dispute about a debt. He was immediately surrounded by Shīʿīs who persuaded him to lead a rising. Initially, he enjoyed broad backing, but his refusal to denounce Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as apostates and to condemn their conduct, even though he upheld the prior title of ʿAlī to the succession to Muḥammad, was taken by many of the former supporters of al-Bāḳir and other radicals as a motive to withdraw. They now generally recognised al-Bāḳir's son Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] as the legitimate Imām. Zayd's revolt failed and he was killed in 122/740.

The schism during Zayd's revolt was decisive for the further development of the Shīʿa, giving rise to its Imāmī and Zaydī branches. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, who may be considered the founder of the Imāmiyya, closely followed and elaborated the teaching of his father. The teaching authority of the Imāms was further strengthened by the doctrine of their immunity from error and sin (*ʿiṣma* [*q.v.*]). The imāmate was based on a divinely-guaranteed explicit designation (*naṣṣ* [*q.v.*]) of the Imām, and, after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, was handed down from father to son among the descendants of the latter. Knowledge of and obedience to the rightful Imām were incumbent upon every believer. By ignoring the explicit *naṣṣ* of the Prophet for ʿAlī and by backing the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, the mass of the Community had fallen into apostasy. The radical tendencies of the following of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ were strengthened by their gradual absorption of the remnants of the Kaysāniyya and adoption of some of their controversial doctrines like *badāʾ* and *radjʿa* and their messianic expectation of the Mahdī. This expectation was blunted, however, by al-Ṣādiḳ's strict prohibition of his followers engaging in revolutionary activity and his insistence that the rising of the legitimate Imām as the Ḳāʾim or Mahdī would occur only in the distant future. The nascent Imāmiyya thus combined radical Shīʿī religious dogma with political quietism.

The sectarian movement arising out of the supporters of Zayd's revolt, later known as the Zaydiyya, was, by contrast, moderate in its Shīʿī doctrine and deviation from the religious views of Sunnism, but politically militant. The imāmate could be claimed only by someone prepared to rise with the sword actively seeking the leadership, in addition to being qualified by religious knowledge. The first Imām after al-Ḥusayn was thus Zayd b. ʿAlī. Neither his more learned brother al-Bāḳir nor his father were Imāms. There was no need for an Imām at all times and, after ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, no designation of a successor, though recognition and support of a legitimate claimant was a religious obligation. The Imām was not immune from error and sin and had no superior teaching competence; rather, a collective religious authority of the Family of the Prophet was generally acknowledged. Since the designation of ʿAlī as Muḥammad's successor had been obscure (*naṣṣ khafī*), the Community, in recognising Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as caliphs, had not fallen into a state of apostasy but at most into a state of sin. Others held that their caliphate was justified since ʿAlī had recognised it. Messianic tendencies were generally weak among the Zaydiyya.

Zayd's son Yaḥyā, who escaped to Khurāsān after the collapse of his father's revolt, was tracked down by the Umayyad authorities there and killed in 125/743. His murder strengthened the hand of the Shīʿa in Khurāsān, and revenge for Zayd and Yaḥyā became one of the slogans of the rapidly-expanding revolutionary movement. The leader of the movement was now, after the death of the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, his son Ibrāhīm. Its propaganda, however, was in favour of the reign of "the one agreed upon of the Family of Muḥammad (*al-riḍā min Āl Muḥammad*), suggesting a broad choice among the Banū Hāshim.

As the imminent overthrow of the Umayyad caliphate became predictable, leading representatives of the Banū Hāshim met in a secret gathering at al-Abwāʾ, on the road to Mecca, to discuss the choice of a common candidate for the reign. Present were especially Ḥasanids and ʿAbbāsids, including Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. The senior Ḥasanid, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, promoted the candidacy of his son Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, a namesake of the Prophet, whom he had been grooming for the role of the Expected Mahdī. He gained the support of the ʿAbbāsid Abū Djaʿfar, the later caliph al-Manṣūr, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*], received the pledge of allegiance of those present. However, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, who arrived later, refused to recognise him as the Mahdī and maintained that he would not pledge allegiance to him in the presence of his father ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, the senior among the descendants of ʿAlī. Given the large following of Djaʿfar in the Shīʿa, his opposition was a severe setback for the efforts to unite the Prophet's Family behind a common leader, and this encouraged the ʿAbbāsids to seek the caliphate for their own candidate.

The rivalry between ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids erupted into open conflict as soon as the Family of the Prophet achieved their victory over the Umayyads. As the ʿAbbasid Imām Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was discovered, imprisoned, and killed by the last Umayyad caliph Marwān, the ʿAbbāsids fled to Kūfa. The local leader of the revolutionary movement there, Abū Salama al-Khallāl [*q.v.*], sheltered them but hesitated to pledge allegiance to Ibrāhīm's chosen successor Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ. In accord with the general sentiment in Kūfa, he was inclined to back an ʿAlid candidate. His hand was forced, however, by the Khurāsānian army commanders who pledged allegiance to Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās. A few months later he was murdered for his display of disloyalty by an emissary of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī [*q.v.*]. The inaugural address of al-Saffāḥ, partly delivered by his uncle Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, stressed the right of the ʿAbbāsids to rule as members of the Prophet's Family and denounced those Shīʿīs who asserted a superior title of the ʿAlids.

The Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh remained,

together with his brother Ibrāhīm, in hiding after the establishment of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and his supporters spread propaganda for him as the Mahdī. The second ʿAbbāsid caliph, Abū Dja'far al-Manṣūr, was seriously worried and made vain efforts to find him, imprisoning his father and at least nine others of his Ḥasanid kin as they refused to reveal his whereabouts. When Muḥammad revolted in Medina in 145/762-3, al-Manṣūr murdered his imprisoned kinsmen. In spite of widespread popular backing, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm were defeated and killed. Al-Manṣūr now gave his own son and heir-apparent Muḥammad the title *al-Mahdī* in an attempt to attract popular messianic sentiments to the ʿAbbāsid house. His bloody repression of the Ḥasanids, however, rather strengthened the pro-ʿAlid sympathies in the Shīʿa. The Zaydiyya first restricted their backing to the Ṭālibids, the descendants of ʿAlī's father Abū Ṭālib, and then the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.

The Khurāsānian Shīʿa, who had initially recognised the imāmate of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, were at the same time substantially reduced, first by the defection of the supporters of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī after he was killed by al-Manṣūr, then by al-Manṣūr's suppression of those extremists deifying him, and finally, by the defection of the supporters of his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who had been appointed by al-Saffāḥ to succeed al-Manṣūr but was replaced by the latter's appointment of his own son Muḥammad al-Mahdī. Al-Mahdī tried during his reign to tie the ʿAbbāsid Shīʿa more closely to the ruling house by denying the imāmate of ʿAlī and his offspring and by asserting the sole right of al-ʿAbbās and his descendants to the Prophet's succession. His son Hārūn al-Rashīd saw no interest in maintaining a Shīʿī following and preferred to identify fully with orthodox Sunnism. The ʿAbbāsid Shīʿa disintegrated under his reign. The attempt of his son al-Ma'mūn to recover broad Shīʿī support for a caliphate of the Banū Hāshim, including ʿAlids as well as ʿAbbāsids, by appointing Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ's grandson ʿAlī al-Riḍā as his successor, ended in failure. There was stubborn opposition from the ʿAbbāsids and little appreciation among the Shīʿa, who were now upholding the sole right of the descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima. When ʿAlī al-Riḍā died, al-Ma'mūn did not seriously renew his efforts. The ʿAbbāsid caliphate had become virtually Sunnī and the Shīʿa strictly ʿAlid.

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SHIʿĀR (a.), a term having various significations. The root *sh-ʿ-r* involves, *inter alia*, the ideas of knowing something; being aware of something; being a poet; being hairy; notifying, making aware of something; marking something; etc.

Shiʿār stems from the latter semantic field. It denotes:

1. The rallying signal for war or for a travel expedition, war cry, standard, mark indicating the place of standing (*wuḳūf*) of soldiers in battle or pilgrims in the Pilgrimage (ʿArafa: the idea of "recognising" this mark). The war-cry of the Prophet's Companions was "*Amit, amit*! O victorious ones, go forward, go forward!", thus presaging victory (*TʿA*, s.v.). The ancient Arabs departed for the Pilgrimage as for war, round their chief and their banner, with each tribe having its own fixed place at ʿArafa and Minā [*q.vv.*] around the standard or the decorated tent of the chief. They had their own cry, imitating that of the totem animal or bird of the tribe, and also the distinctive ritual formula of the *talbiya* [*q.v.*], indicating readiness to serve the chief and also uttered before the completion of the separate rites of the Pilgrimage. See on this, T. Fahd, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, in *Le pèlerinage. Etude d'histoire des religions*, i, Paris 1974, 65-94.

2. The idea of a mark is extended to the *budna*, victim intended to be slaughtered in sacrifice (*hady*) at the time of the Pilgrimage (see refs. in Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, 136, 143), marked by a knife-cut on the two sides of the back (*sinām*). Whence *shiʿār* is synonymous with *idmā'* "to draw blood". *Ushʿira* can be said of a slain ruler instead of *ḳutila*, and it was said of ʿUmar when a man wounded him on the forehead at the time of the throwing of stones at Minā, *ushʿira amīr al-mu'minīn*; he was murdered on his return from the Pilgrimage. The blood-money for the *mushʿar* was 1,000 camels (*TʿA*, s.v.).

Shāʿira, denoting the *budna*, is extended, in the plural *shaʿā'ir* (Ḳur'ān, II, 158, XXII, 32, 36) to all the rites of the Pilgrimage: standing places, journeyings, runnings, throwing of stones at Minā, sacrifices, the *talbiya*, etc. *Al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām* (II, 198) is the journey between ʿArafa and Minā and that between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

3. The places where these rites were performed were also called *mashāʿir*. A *mashʿar* was any place or thing which puts one in the presence or gives a feeling of the sacred or of a divinity: symbols of the divine, such as animals, trees, hills and standing stones. According to H. Lammens, *ishʿār* denoted the place where victims meant for sacrifice were marked; similarly, *manāsik* (Ḳur'ān, II, 128, 200, XXII, 34, 67) originally denoted the places where sacrifices to the gods were offered, places along roads and on the Pilgrimage route, marked by the presence of some source of coolness (water, a tree or a rock), eventually denoting those cult places frequented by the pious (cf. *TʿA*, vii, 87). On those places marked out as sacred (*mashāʿir, anṣāb, mawāḳif, manāsik, djamarāt, masādjid*, etc.), see Lammens, *Les sanctuaires préislamites das l'Arabie Occidentale*, in *MUSJ*, xi (1926), 39-169, at 78 ff.; Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 238 ff.

4. *Shiʿār* also denotes the distinctive clothing, etc., which the Dhimmīs [see dhimma] were required to wear in ʿAbbāsid and later times; see for this, ghiyār.

Bibliography: Given in the article. On the *manāsik*, see the refs. in Brockelmann, S III, index, 962. (T. Fahd)

SHIʿB DJABALA, one of the three most famous *ayyām* [*q.v.*], battle-days of the Arabs in pre-Islamic times, the other two being the First Day of al-Kulāb and Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*]. The *yawm* is variously dated to around A.D. 550 or 570. The two main contestants in this *yawm* were the tribes of Tamīm and ʿĀmir, in which ʿĀmir emerged victorious over Tamīm.

The chief instigator of the *yawm* was the Tamīmī chief Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra, who wanted to avenge the

death of his brother Maʿbad at the hand of ʿĀmir after he had been captured at the *yawm* of Raḥraḥān during the preceding year. Laḳīṭ was able to muster against ʿĀmir a large tribal host, consisting of almost the whole of Tamīm, Asad, Dhubyān and al-Ribāb. In addition to these tribes that belonged to Muḍar, the large tribal group, Laḳīṭ invoked and received the assistance of the Lakhmid king of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʿmān, who sent to him his brother Ḥassān, and of the Kindī king in Hadjar (Yamāma), al-Djawn, who sent to him two of his sons, according to one account Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr. The confederate tribal host advanced against ʿĀmir, ʿAbs and other tribal contingents, which had fortified themselves in the ravine or *shiʿb* in the mountain called Djabala in Nadjd; hence the name of the *yawm* as Shiʿb Djabala. A stratagem, conceived by the ʿAbsī chief Ḳays b. Zuhayr that sent the ferociously thirsty camels out of the ravine, followed by the infantry, and then the cavalry of ʿĀmir and ʿAbs, carried the day. Laḳīṭ fought heroically but was killed, as was one of the two Kindī chiefs, while the other was captured.

The *yawm* was remarkable for the participation of the prestigious Kinda [*q.v.*]; the battle is sometimes referred to as Yawm al-Djawnayn after the two Kindī chiefs; and one of them, Muʿāwiya, assigned the banners to the various tribal detachments before the battle was joined. But the *yawm* also contributed to the further decline of Kinda's power among the Northern Arabs and to its ultimate departure to Ḥaḍramawt, whence it had originally emigrated to central and northern Arabia.

Bibliography: Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, Beirut 1957, xi, 125-52; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Beirut 1982, v, 141-6; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut 1965, i, 583-7. Better than Yāḳūt and Bakrī on the topography of Shiʿb Djabala is the Saudi traveller M. b. Bulayhid al Nadjdī, in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-akhbār*, 1972, iii, 216. The best discussion of Yawm Shiʿb Djabala remains the one by G. Olinder, who analysed the sources and the various accounts in *Āl al-Ǧaun of the family of Ākil Al-Murār*, in *MO* xxv (1931), 208-29.

(Irfan Shahîd)

SHIBĀM, the name of three fortified places, whose first mentions go back to Antiquity, and of a mountain, all in Southwest Arabia. They have been distinguished, from the times of Hamdānī and Yāḳūt onwards, by suffixing the name of a neighbouring settlement or the local region.

1. Shibām Ḥaḍramawt, in lower Ḥaḍramawt, in the wadi of the same name, famed for its lofty houses in sun-dried brick, warranting its designation as a UNESCO site of world significance.

In South Arabian inscriptions, it appears as S^2bm from the end of the 3rd century A.D. and in the 4th century, the time of the conquest of Ḥaḍramawt by Ḥimyar. Islamic Shibām was known above all as a centre for the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] after their defeats in the 120s/740s, and for three centuries it seems to have been part of an Ibāḍī principality. According to Hamdānī, the western part of the region belonged to Kinda; it was an important town at this time, with 30 mosques (*Ṣifa*, 86). Its history then merges into that of the dynasties of western Yemen (Ṣulayḥids, Ayyūbids, Rasūlids, etc.), until a local power of Ḥaḍramawt established its authority in the 9th/15th century, that of the Kathīrid sultan ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, consolidated by his great-grandson Abū Ṭuwayriḳ Badr (d. 977/1570). After him, Ḥaḍramawt became again fragmented, but the main Kathīrid line persisted till the end of the 18th century, until another Kathīrid came from Indonesia and divided power there with the Yafiʿīs. Then the whole area passed to the Ḳaʿātīs in 1858 until their removal in 1967.

Shibām is a fortress town, with walls and towers which made it impregnable. The houses rise to eight storeys, utilising the cramped defensive site, a height unusual in Ḥaḍramawt. Water is gained by a sophisticated system for storing up rainwater and by wells. Shibām has enjoyed a prosperity not easily explicable by the modest agricultural resources of the surrounding territory, but stemming from commercial revenues drawn by its people, situated as it has been on the caravan route from the ports of al-Shiḥr and al-Mukallā towards the direction of Ṣanʿāʾ. Before the decline of caravan traffic in the 1930s, each month the town received 400 to 1,000 camels. There were also, until after the Second World War, important remittances from male members of the population who had emigrated to India, Singapore and Indonesia. The village of al-Saḥīl has grown up *extra muros*, and today, with 15,000 inhabitants, is more populous than Shibām itself with 8,000.

(A. Rouaud and Ch. Robin)

2. Shibām Kawkabān (also Sh. Aḳyān or Sh. Ḥimyar in ms. sources), a large settlement, with 2,000 inhabitants at the time of the 1975 census, 37 km/20 miles to the northwest of Ṣanʿāʾ and on the plain of Ṣanʿāʾ, dominated by the vertical wall of the Djabal al-Ḍulāʿ (3,140 m/10,300 feet).

It is mentioned in inscriptions from the 3rd century A.D. onwards (S^2bm or S^2bm^m) as centre of the Dhu Hagarān Shibām tribe. The name Sh. Aḳyān preserves the name of the *ḳayls* or lords of the local principality, the Banū Dhū Kabīr Aḳyān. In early Islamic times, Sh. Kawkabān was the birthplace of the local Yuʿfirid dynasty (232-387/847-998), founded in High Yemen, and contributing to the disappearance of ʿAbbāsid caliphal authority in Yemen. The Great Mosque of the town may date from the Yuʿfirids or earlier. At this time, according to al-Hamdānī, the local population were still considered "Ḥimyarite", including in language; this presumably implied a claim to continuity with the old South Arabian culture and a local language close to Arabic but with some unusual features. From the 10th/16th century, Sh. Kawkabān was a bastion of the ʿAlid Sharaf al-Dīn family, who provided two Zaydī Imāms of Yemen; today, it comes within the area of the tribe of Hamdān. At all times it has played a notable role in Yemeni affairs, as frequent references in the chronicles attest, arising from the agricultural richness of the region around it, the strength of the fortress of Kawkabān and its proximity to Ṣanʿāʾ.

3. Shibām al-Ghirās (also Sh. Sukhaym in ms. sources), a small village and archaeological site 24 km/15 miles northeast of Ṣanʿāʾ, and near the western slope of the Djabal Dhū Marmar. In old inscriptions, it appears as S^2bm^m (1st-2nd century A.D.), and was the chief centre of the tribe of Yursam (*Yrs¹m*). The name of the village of Ghirās (population 500 in 1975) serves to distinguish it from the other Shibāms. Its main claim to fame is its vast mosque containing the tomb of the Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 1092/1681), whose reign was marked by the expulsion of the Jews of Ṣanʿāʾ and their exile to the region of al-Mawzāʿ in 1090/1679 in the aftermath of the messianic movement of Shabbatay Ṣwī [*q.v.*]. At present, there are alabaster quarries in the neighbourhood of the village.

4. Shibām Ḥarāz, a peak of 2,940m/9,643 feet in the Ḥarāz massif west-south-west of Ṣanʿāʾ, with a

fort on its summit of the same name. In 429/1037-8, according to the Sunnī sources, the founder of the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, raised his standard near here and launched the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in Yemen. The fort and the nearby town of Manākha formed one of the main strong points of the Ottoman occupation of Yemen 1871-1918.

Other minor Shibāms exist in Yemen. Hence toponyms of this root, unknown elsewhere in the Arab world, have been especially popular here. The root itself seems to have two main semantic spheres: "band, gag" and "coldness", neither explaining these place-names. However, Landberg, *Glossaire datînois*, s.v., gives the meanings for *shabama* "to be high", *shibām* "height", which fits better; the toponyms in question are all at the foot of slopes and cliffs or refer to a peak.

(Ch. Robin)

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(Ch. Robin and A. Rouaud)

SHĪBĀNĪ KHĀN (also known as Shāhī Beg, Shāh Bakht, and Shībak/Shībak) Muḥammad b. Shāh Budāḳ (gh) b. Abi 'l-Khayr, conqueror of most of western Central Asia between 1500 and 1509 and reviver of the Činggisid khānate. His genealogical claim to the Činggisid legacy rested on his lineal descent from Shībān, the fifth son of Djoči b. Činggis Khān. His royal clan is therefore called the Shībānid one, although it should more properly be known as the Abu 'l-Khayrid/Shībānid one (to distinguish it from, among others, the Yādgārid or ʿArabshāhid Shībānid clan who gained control of Khʷārazm at about the time of his death.)

Muḥammad Shībānī was born in 855/1451 and died at the age of 61 (lunar years) at the end of Shaʿbān 916/late November or early December 1510. After the death of his father (Shādī/S.K. Ibragimov, 50, gives the obituary date 864/1459-60), his grandfather, Abu 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*] took custody of the two sons, placing him and his brother, lifelong companion and fellow adventurer, Maḥmūd (858-907/1454-1501), first in the care of a "Uyghūr Bāy Shaykh" and then in the hands of an *amīr*, Ḳaračīn Beg. The former was probably responsible for Shībānī's early book learning and the latter for his hunting and military skills. Shībānī's childhood and adolescence were spent in and around Sīghnāḳ [*q.v.*] on the lower Syr Darya (Jaxartes), his grandfather's headquarters.

Muḥammad Shībānī's career did not start very promisingly. When he was in his late teens his grandfather died (872/1468) and the confederation which he had created along the Syr Darya, already in the process of disintegration, collapsed. Ḳaračīn Beg, who still exercised some control over the two teenagers, took them to Astrakhān, presumably seeking the protection and patronage of the Djočid khāns there. But problems in Astrakhān soon forced the three to leave.

The chronology of the period before 905/1500 is uncertain. The information on Shībānī Khān's career comes from the pens of men writing after he had established himself in Samarḳand in 1500 who view the preceding period as prelude (Kamāl al-Dīn Bannāʾī, the anonymous author of *Tawārīkh-i guzīda—Nuṣrat-nāma*, Mullā Shādī, Muḥammad Sāliḥ, Bābur and Khʷāndamīr.) His fluctuating fortunes during the quarter-century or so after his grandfather's death may be inferred from what is known of his peregrinations during this time.

After leaving Astrakhān, he and his brother returned to Sīghnāḳ and the Syr Darya plain. His apparently unsuccessful attempt to establish himself in the region prompted his taking refuge at Bukhārā far to the south of his homeland. There the Arghūn *amīr*, ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Ṭarkhan (d. *ca.* 1494), hired him, presumably as a mercenary, and there he stayed for two years. He eventually gravitated back to the middle Syr Darya, where the commander of the fortress of Arḳūḳ offered his allegiance. (The commercial importance of Arḳūḳ at this time is evident from Khundjī, 85, who calls it "an entrepôt (*bandargāh*) for merchants coming from Samarḳand and Bukhārā.") Shībānī then continued down-river and seems to have taken or been given Sīghnāḳ, his grandfather's old capital. But the entire Syr Darya watershed remained an object of contest between the "Ḳāzāḳ" Djočids who had split with Abu 'l-Khayr in the mid-1460s, the Mīrānshāhī Tīmūrids who held Samarḳand and Bukhārā and whose *amīrs* (like Muḥammad Mazīd Tarkhān) were active in the middle and upper Syr Darya basin, and the Čaghatāy Činggisids (Yūnus Khān, d. 892/1487, and his sons, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, d. 914/1509, and Sulṭān Aḥmad d. 909/1504) whose centre was Tashkent. In this fluid situation, Shībānī seems to have enjoyed only occasional military success, usually in service to others.

Muḥammad Shībānī does not seem to have come into his own as a significant force until the early 890s/mid-1480s when he carried out successful raids in Khʷārazm (then subject to the ʿUmar-Shaykhī Tīmūrids of Harāt). In the course of these forays, he briefly captured Adāḳ (or Awāḳ) and Tīrsāḳ (Dirsak), important fortresses on the main north-south route east of the Caspian (see V.V. Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, repr. in *Sočineniya*, iii, 95-233, Moscow 1965, 68-9, who dates this episode to 891/1486). The booty taken in these raids was considered noteworthy by at least one source. (*Tawārīkh-i guzīda-Nuṣrat-nāma*, fols. 122b-123a). Another story (Khʷāndamīr, *Ḥabīb*, 274) indicating his growing influence has to do with his participation in the 893/1488 campaign of the Mīrānshāhī Tīmūrid ruler of Samarḳand, Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā (r. in Samarḳand 873-99/1469-94) to take Tashkent from the Čaghatāy Činggisids. At Tashkent, Khʷāndamīr reports his defection to the Čaghatāy side, the consequent defeat of the Samarḳand expeditionary force and his being re-

warded by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān of Tashkent with the town of Arḳūḳ. Bābur in discussing the battle (17, 25) makes no mention of Shībānī Khān's role in the defeat of Sulṭān Aḥmad.

The next decade or so is a particularly obscure one and Muḥammad Shībānī and his family do not clearly re-appear in the narratives until his spring 905/1500 campaign to take Samarḳand, ostensibly on behalf of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān who had already tried unsuccessfully to capture the city after the death of Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā in 899/1494.

From this point onwards, his career is easier to follow. In 905-6/1500 he captured Samarḳand, symbolic site of Tīmūrid authority. Although the Mīrānshāhid Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur took it and held it over the winter of 1500-1, Muḥammad Shībānī re-captured it after a long siege the next spring. The second taking of Samarḳand began a busy period of territorial conquest for the fifty-one year old warrior. His success there prompted increasing defections to his side of the Turko-Mongol tribes supporting the Tīmūrids and the Čaghatay Čingisids and gave him the means now to conduct campaigns of conquest and expansion.

Shībānī Khān was a relentless campaigner, rarely spending more than a month or two (usually during the winter) in any one place. In addition, he could rely on his brother's son ʿUbayd Allāh and his own son Muḥammad Tīmūr to conduct independent campaigns in his name. Between 906/1501 and the end of 912/spring 1507, he added most of the region of Transoxania, Khʷārazm and Balkh to his domains. In mid-Muḥarram 913/late June 1507 he took the capital of Khurāsān, Harāt, and followed that with an attempt the same year on Ḳandahār. The campaign season of 914/1508 was mainly spent in the west taking brief control as far west as Astarābād and south to Bisṭām. After spending the summer near Bisṭām, the khān returned to Bukhārā where he spent the winter, celebrating the *ʿĪd al-fiṭr* (23 January 1509) in the city. Shībānī Khān then led a lightning campaign (detailed by Khūndjī Iṣfahānī, 199-263) against the Ḳāzāḳs in the Dasht-i Ḳipčāḳ. His itinerary in these last two years of his life indicate a frenetic pace of travel and fighting which took him across the Ḳizīl Ḳum desert to Sīghnāḳ, then north deep into the Dasht-i Ḳipčāḳ, back along the Syr Darya to Ṣawrān, Yasī and Arḳūḳ and thence to Samarḳand. From there he went briefly to Bukhārā, returned to Samarḳand, rode south to Ḳarshī, then headed west for Marw and Mashhad, where he performed *ziyārat* at the shrine of the Imām Riḍā. From there he rode directly to Harāt, reportedly led a long raid to Kirmān, returned to Harāt and led a punitive expedition against the Hazāras and Nīkūdārīs of the Hazāradjāt. He was still in Harāt in October 1510 when news of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī's march on Khurāsān reached him. He moved immediately to Marw, and near Marw in a battle with the Ṣafavid Ḳizilbāsh army he was killed, on or about 27 Shaʿbān 916/29 November 1510 (see Bartol'd, *Otčet o komandirovke v Turkestan*, in *ZVOIRAO*, v [St. Petersburg 1904], 15, [repr. in *Sočineniya*, viii, Moscow 1973, [119-210], at 144). In all, Muḥammad Shībānī may have travelled as many as 4,000 miles in the last two years of his life in an attempt to hold together the territories he had succeeded in conquering.

Muḥammad Shībānī's main political achievements were the elimination of Tīmūrid authority in Transoxania and Khurāsān; expulsion of the Čaghatay Čingisid line from Tashkent and the Farghāna Valley, and forging a confederation of Turko-Mongol tribal groups (Djalāyir, Dūrmān, Ḳunghrāt, Manghit, etc.) under the acknowledged khānate of the Abu 'l-Khayrid/Shībānid clan, thus laying the foundation for the political structure that would govern the oases of Transoxania and Balkh for most of the 16th century.

Like his Tīmūrid predecessors, Muḥammad Shībānī was a patron of scholarship and the arts. Khūndjī and the anonymous author of *Tawārīkh-i guzīda-Nuṣrat-nāma* detail the discussions of social and religious issues over which he presided and the scholars who attended his convocations. His patronage and his own production of literature in Persian and Turkish have been studied (Hofman, 226-8).

Among his architectural projects was the Madrasayi Khāniyya in Samarḳand, a bridge over the Zarafshān, a pleasure palace at Kān-i Gil (*čahār bāgh* with *ʿimārat* and *īwān*) and another at Ḳarshī (on these latter two, see Khūndjī, 291, 318-19).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The major sources for Muḥammad Shībānī's life are: (1) Kamāl al-Dīn Bannāʾī (or Bināʾī), *Shaybānī-nāma* (for bibliographic information, see Bregel-Storey, ii, 1117-18; listing of chapter headings and partial text—fols. 34b-38b of 42 fols. Leningrad ms., in A. Samoilovich, *Sheibani-name, Persidskii unicum biblioteki Khiwinskago khana*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xix [1909], 0164-0176; selected translations of fols. 1b-36b in S.K. Ibragimov *et al.*, *Materiali po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstve XV-XVIII vekov*, Alma-Ata 1969, 96-127) (Bināʾī was in Shībānī Khān's entourage 907-13/1501-7); (2) Mullā Shādī, *Fatḥ-nāma* (composed *ca.* 1501-2; Bregel-Storey, 1120-1, a partial tr. in Ibragimov *et al.*, 53-90 (fols. 56a-77b, 111b-122b of Leningrad University ms. no. 962) (on Shādī, see Ibragimov, 44-8); (3) Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Shaybānī-nāma* (Čaghatay text), ed. P.M. Melioransky and A.N. Samoilovich, St. Petersburg 1908, German tr. A. Vámbéry, *Die Scheibaniade*, Stuttgart 1872 (Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ joined Shībānī Khān's entourage in 1500 at Samarḳand, see Ibragimov, 11); (4) anon., *Tawārīkh-i guzīda-Nuṣrat-nāma*, ed. A.M. Akramov, Tashkent 1967 (Akramov proposed (14) that the author was the above Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, but see Ibragimov *et al.*, 10-11; excerpts tr. in *ibid.*, 16-43); (5) Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān-i Khūndjī, *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, ed. M. Sutūda, Tehran 1341/1963 (Khundjī fled from the Imāmī Ḳizilbāsh régime of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī and in 910/1504 was granted asylum by Shībānī Khān. His work was finished in September 1509); (6) ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Naṣrallāhī Balkhī, *Zubdat al-āthār* (see D. Deweese, *A note on manuscripts of the* Zubdat al-āthār, *a Chaghatay Turkic history from sixteenth-century Mawarannahr*, in *MME*, vi [1992], 96-100; Ibragimov, 128-34) (Balkhī, an employee of the Tīmūrids, joined Shībānī Khān after the conquest of Harāt in 913/1507).

The preceding authors were all very favourably disposed towards Shībānī Khān. Contemporary authors hostile to him include Khʷāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran, Ābān 1333/1954, iv, and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur, *The Bābur-nāma in English* (*Memoirs of Babur*) tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1922, repr. Delhi 1979, and *Baburnama*, 3 vols. Turkish transcription, Persian ed. and English tr. W.M. Thackston, Cambridge, Mass. 1994. A mid-16th-century Central Asian work very hostile to Shībānī Khān is Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia, being the Tarikh-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlát*, ed. N. Elias and tr. E. Denison Ross, London 1895.

For information on Shībānī Khān's connections with literary figures of his time see, besides Khūndjī,

Zayn al-Dīn Wāṣifī, *Badā'i' al-waḳā'i'*, ed. A.N. Boldîrev, 2 vols., Moscow 1961, and Khwādja Bahā' al-Dīn Ḥasan Nithārī, *Mudhakkir al-aḥbāb*, ed. Syed Muhammad Fazlullah, New Delhi 1969, esp. 13-16 of introd., 15-22 of text. This latter work emphasises, perhaps apocryphally, Shībānī Khān's close ties with the Naḳshbandīs of Bukhārā.

Other useful, though retrospective, sources are: (late 16th century) Ḥāfiẓ-i Tanīsh, *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī* (*'Abd Allāh-nāma*), facs. ed. of St. Petersburg (Leningrad) IVAN ms. no. D88, ed. and tr. M.A. Salakhetdinova, Moscow 1983 (vol. i of four projected vols.) and (mid-17th century) Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, *Baḥr al-asrār fi manāḳib al-akhyār*, vi/3, Tashkent IVAN, inv. no. 1375. Ṣafawid sources (e.g. Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. C.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, *passim* to p. 123) should also be consulted for Shībānī Khān's Khurāsān campaigns.

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(R.D. McChesney)

SHĪBĀNIDS, a Turco-Mongol dynasty of Central Asia, the agnatic descendants of Shībān, the fifth son of Djoči son of Činggis Khān, more especially two distinct branches of those descendants, the Abu 'l-Khayrids and the 'Arabshāhids-Yādgārids who, in the early 10th/16th century, seized control of the urban oases of Transoxania or Mā warā' al-nahr and Khwārazm [*q.vv.*] from the Tīmūrids [*q.v.*].

I. History and politics

For nearly the entire 10th/16th century the Abu 'l-Khayrids ruled most of what is now southern Kazakhstan, eastern and southern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and northern Afghanistan. The 'Arabshāhid-Yādgārid branch held what is now Turkmenistan and western Uzbekistan, i.e. the lands of the lower Amū Daryā and its extensive delta and the oases along the northern slopes of the Kopet Dagh for much of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. During the 10th/16th century, the Shībānids of Khwārazm were dominated by the Shībānids of Transoxania, whose centres were Bukhārā, Samarḳand, Tāshkent and Balkh.

The proximate origin of Shībānid sovereignty in Transoxania and Khwārazm was the khānate of Abu 'l-Khayr Khān [*q.v.*] in the Ḳîpčaḳ Steppe (the prairie north and east of the Aral Sea) the traditional homeland (*yūrtgāh*) of the house of Shībān b. Djoči. The Turkish and Mongol groups (Kerait, Djalayir, Ḳunghrat, Durman, Önggut, Manghît, Saray, Nayman, etc.) which provided the military manpower for these Shībānids came to be generically known, for reasons no longer clear, as Özbegs [*q.v.*], a term eventually adopted by outsiders to signify the entire political organization including both the non-Činggisids, the Özbegs proper, and the Činggisid royal clan.

In a political environment which gave precedence to descendants of Činggis Khān, the Abu 'l-Khayrid/Shībānid clan under a skilled tactician, Muḥammad Shībānī [*q.v.*] (grandson of Abu 'l-Khayr) emerged as the sovereign clan, when it ousted the then-dominant sovereign family, the Tīmūrids [*q.v.*], from Transoxania at the beginning of the 10th/16th century. By 913/1507, eastern Khurāsān (including Harāt, Marw and Mashhad), Transoxania (Bukhārā, Samarḳand, Kash, Ḳarshi, Tashkent), Khwārazm (Khīwa, Urgandj and Wazīr), Turkistān, and the Farghāna Valley had been conquered and claimed by Muḥammad Shībānī, and many of the military supporters of the Tīmūrids had joined forces with the Shībānids. But in 916/1510, when Muḥammad Shībānī was killed at Marw in battle with the newly-emergent Ṣafawid state of Persia, his cousins and their Özbeg backers temporarily lost those urban centres. Two years later, however, led by 'Ubayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], a nephew of Muḥammad Shībānī; Djānī Beg b. Khwādja Muḥammad, a cousin and Suyūndj Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Khayr, an uncle, the Abu 'l-Khayrids regained control of Bukhārā, Samarḳand and Tashkent. They and their descendants held those regions until 1006/1598, adding Balkh and the land between the Hindū Kush and the Amū Daryā in 1526. The Murghāb basin generally proved to be the westward limit of Abu 'l-Khayrid authority, although the Shībānid clan contested with the Ṣafawids for Harāt [*q.v.*] and eastern Khurāsān throughout the century; Harāt was captured briefly in the 1530s and then taken and held for a decade at the end of the century (1588-98). To the east and south, the T'ien-shan, Pamir and Hindū Kush ranges and the polities which lay beyond them, the remnants of the Čaghatay [*q.v.*] khānate in Eastern Turkistan and the Mughal state in India created by the Tīmūrids expelled from Transoxania, contained Shībānid expansion. To the north, the Syr Darya basin tended to mark the northern limits of the clan's jurisdiction.

Both neo-Shībānid states preserved a tradition of corporate or clan rule. According to this tradition, described by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī, the eldest member of the royal clan held the nominally supreme, but largely ceremonial, position of *khān* (see *Table*). At an assembly (*ḳuriltay, kangesh*) of the eligible clan members, the khān presided over the distribution (*taḳsīm*) of territory in the form of appanages. Each family (or cousin clan, see Dickson) within the royal clan received a territory or territories as an appanage over which it exercised independent authority. As generations matured and increasing numbers of princes (*sulṭāns*) demanded a share of the corporate legacy, appanages had to expand either by annexing non-Shībānid territory or through the elimination or subordination of cousin-clans.

The four major sub-clans in the Abu 'l-Khayrid khānate (and their appanage holdings after the restoration in 918/1512) were the Suyūndjuḳids (Tāshkent

Table. The Abu 'l-Khayrid or Shībānid Khāns

Khān	*Regnal dates*	*Clan*	*Relation to predecessor*
Muḥammad Shībānī b. Shāh Budak	907-16/1501-10	Shāh Budakid	Grandson (of Abu 'l-Khayr)
Kūčkūndji Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Khayr	918-37/1512-30	Kūčkūndjid	Uncle
Abū Saʿīd b. Kūčkūndji	937-40/1530-3	Kūčkūndjid	Son
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd	940-6/1533-40	Shāh Budakid	First cousin once-removed
ʿAbd Allāh b. Kūčkūndji	946-7/1540	Kūčkūndjid	First cousin once-removed
ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Kūčkūndji	947-59/1540-52	Kūčkūndjid	Brother
Nawrūz Aḥmad (Barak) b. Suyūndjuk	959-63/1552-6	Suyūndjukid	First cousin
Pīr Muḥammad b. Djānī Begi	963-8/1556-61	Djānī-Begid	First cousin once-removed
Iskandar b. Djānī Beg	968-91/1561-83	Djānī-Begid	Brother
ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar	991-1006/1583-98	Djānī-Begid	Son
ʿAbd al-Mu'min b. ʿAbd Allāh	1006/1598	Djānī-Begid	Son
Pīr Muḥammad b. Sulaymān	1006-7/1598-9	Djānī-Begid	First cousin once-removed

and the Farghana Valley), the Kūčkūndjids (Samarkand), the Shāh Budakids (Bukhārā) and the Djānī Begids (Karmīna, Miyānkāl and, after 1526, Balkh). From approximately 1512 to 1550, these four Abu 'l-Khayrid sub-clans consolidated their holdings, carried out campaigns of expansion in Khurāsān and Khʷārazm and also occasionally collided with each other's territorial ambitions. But, generally speaking, until the middle of the century, succession of the eldest Abu 'l-Khayrid was preserved and the integrity of cousin clan appanage rights respected.

The third quarter of the century was a period of inter- and intra-clan struggle. Individual clans sought to expand at each other's expense and succession within appanages also became subject to contest. The first cousin clan to disappear was the Shāh Budakid, Muḥammad Shībānī's own clan and holder of the Bukhāran appanage. Disagreement among Shāh Budakids over succession to the Bukhāran appanage led to intervention by the Djānī-Begid clan and its eventual capture of the Bukhāran oasis in 964/1557. The Kūčkūndjid sub-clan at Samarkand, whose head was recognised, on the basis of seniority, as reigning Abu 'l-Khayrid-Shībānid khān from 1512-52 (except for the years 1533-40) was the next to be ousted from its appanage. Long-standing internal tensions invited the interference of the Suyundjukids in Tāshkent and the Djānī-Begids of Bukhārā. In 986/1578, the Kūčkūndjids finally lost their home appanage of Samarkand. Over the next four years, continual contests between the Suyūndjukids and the Djānī-Begids resulted in the ascension of the latter as the dominant cousin-clan.

The Djānī-Begids themselves endured intra-clan struggles, particularly between the Balkh and Bukhāran branches. The single-minded efforts of one of the Djānī-Begid *sulṭāns*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] first to unify the Djānī-Begid appanage under his father and then to expand Djānī-Begid control at the expense of the Kūčkūndjids and then the Suyūndjukids, temporarily at least transformed the Abu 'l-Khayrid state from one of more or less equally powerful appanages centred on Bukhārā, Samarkand, Tāshkent and Balkh to one more closely resembling an imperial entity with a single powerful dynastic family (the Djānī-Begid) intent on limiting succession to the khānate to its own lineage. Although ʿAbd Allāh enjoyed some success in the short term, especially because he was able to create a military force able to make major advances against the Ṣafawids in the west, the Mughals in Badakhshān, and the Shībānids of Khʷārazm, his struggle to create an imperium eventually ran counter to the interests of the non-Čingisids, the Özbegs *amīrs*, whose interest lay in preserving Činggisid traditions, especially the system of appanages with their amirid sub-infeudations which gave the *amīrs* the resources needed to maintain their tribal identities.

After eliminating the Kūčkūndjid and Suyūndjukid clans, ʿAbd Allāh embarked on a series of external campaigns which covered the period 992-1004/1584-96. In 992/1584, Badakhshān fell to the Djānī-Begid. Three years later he turned his attention to Khurāsān. Harāt surrendered in 996/1588, Mashhad in the following year and Sabzawār and Nīshāpūr soon thereafter. Sīstān, too, was eventually conquered, and even the Ṣafawids in Kandahār acknowledged Bukhāran hegemony. Two campaigns against Khʷārazm in 1002/1593 and 1004/1595-6 put that region firmly if briefly under the control of Bukhārā. He also led a campaign force as far as Kāshghar in 1003/1594-5. But establishing Bukhāran control here proved impossible.

But any dynastic ambitions ʿAbd Allāh Khān may have had perished with him in 1006/1598. His son, ʿAbd al-Mu'min, antagonised important Özbeg *amīrs* and was assassinated six months after his father's death. Another Djānī-Begid, Pīr Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, was recognised very briefly by the *amīrs* at Bukhārā. But by the spring of 1007/1599, a new Činggisid line, descendants of the thirteenth son of Djoči, Toḳā (Tughā) Tīmūr (and known as Ashtarkhānids or Djānids [*q.v.*]), was installed in Samarkand and Bukhārā with the backing of most of the Özbegs *amīrs*.

In Khʷārazm, the ʿArabshāhid/Yādgārid Shībānid clan underwent a similar process of succession, clan contests and eliminations in the name of the Činggisid tradition.

II. Society, economy, culture

Most of Shībānid society was engaged in agrarian pursuits typical of an early modern pre-industrial society. The written record identifies three élite groups, understood as having distinctive characteristics: the royals (those of Činggisid descent), the *amīrs* (ranking members of Özbeg tribes), and the intellectuals—the religious scholars, heads of saintly orders, administrators of shrines, poets, artists and a range of others acknowledged by society as distinctive and worthy because of some innately spiritual or intellectual capacity. The (male) royals were distinguished by the titles *khān* (the sovereign) and *sulṭān* (an individual eligible to succeed to the khānate). A range of military and administrative offices was reserved for *amīrs* (*atalīk, dīwānbegi, ḥākim, parwānadjī*, etc.). Similarly, specific administrative offices, and at least one military office were reserved for the intellectuals (*shaykh al-islām, ḳāḍī, muftī, mudarris* and *naḳīb* [*q.vv.*]). Court protocol, including the seating arrangements and thus hierarchy of office, was ascribed to the *yasa* of Činggis Khān. The evolution of offices and office-holding from Tīmūrid times has yet to be studied.

Intellectual families such as the Djūybārīs of Bukhārā, the Aḥrārīs of Samarḳand and the Pārsāʾīs [*q.v.*] of Balkh enjoyed great local authority under the Shībānids. They were the hereditary recipients of the local offices of *shaykh al-islām* and *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*, and as administrators (*mutawallīs*) of shrines, they disposed of great wealth in endowments. The rise of these great shrine families is a significant feature of Shībānid history. Based on surviving records, after the middle of the 10th/16th century, at the latest, the wealth of these families seems to have surpassed that of any of the royals or *amīrs* from their own regions. These families played a leading role as patrons of art and architecture.

Judging by the recorded activities of the rich, wealth was produced first by land and only secondarily by import-export exchange. Land under private ownership (*milk*) prevailed through the Shībānid era. State land (*mamlaka*) seems to have been generally of minor importance, while endowment (*waḳf*) land seems to have steadily increased in importance under the Shībānids.

Historically, the Shībānid territory produced and exported fresh and dried fruits, fibres, some precious metals and livestock, notably horses. Although there are no meaningful trade figures for the Shībānid period, the main trading partner appears to have been Mughal India. Certainly, the establishment of a Central Asian dynasty (the Tīmūrids of India) in northern India early in the 10th/16th century encouraged the expansion of all contacts between the two regions including economic ones. Bābur records many of the Central Asian products and goods desired in northern India and describes the large trade in horses through Kābul. An apparent boom in commercial construction in Bukhārā in the late 10th/16th century suggests generally flourishing if not expanding inter-regional trade under the Shībānids.

With the emergence of the Ṣafawid state as the Shībānids' main political rival, Shībānid patronage of sectarian activities concentrated on sponsorship of Ḥanafī Sunnī scholarship. Khundjī's *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā* reflects the early convergence of Shībānid political interests and sponsorship of Ḥanafī Sunnī scholarship in the detailed record of debates (*mabāḥith*) on theological issues conducted under the aegis of Muḥammad Shībānī Khān. The sectarian ambiguity manifested by the late Tīmūrid political authorities, at a time when their rivals did not use a distinctive theology for self-definition, was superseded by a careful clarification of the Ḥanafī Sunnī foundations of the new state, clearly meant to contrast with the Imāmī Shīʿī symbols displayed by the Ṣafawids. Bukhārā and Samarḳand became refuges for prominent Ḥanafī scholars and the building and endowment of *madrasas*, a favoured use of any capital accumulated by the Shībānid and Özbeg leaders.

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(R.D. McChesney)

SHIBARGHĀN, a town situated in Djūzdjān [*q.v.*] province of northern Afghānistān, in lat. 36° 35' N. and long. 65° 45' E. Arab geographers referred to it as Shaburḳān or Sabūrḳān. Excavations of graves at Ṭila Tepe, in 1978, 5 km/3 miles north of the town, have revealed the area was an important trade and cultural centre from as early as the Iron Age. Kushan-Sāsānid ceramics dating from 1st to 7th century A.D. have also been found in the area (V. Sarianidi, *Raskopki Tillya-Tepe v severnom Afganistane*, Moscow 1972; W. Ball, *Archaeological gazetteer of Afghanistan*, Paris 1982, i, 1079, 1192).

In the 4th/10th century Ibn Ḥawḳal states that Shibarghān, along with Yahūdiyya or Yahūdhān (now Maymana [*q.v.*]), Andkhūd (now Andkhuy [*q.v.*]) and Anbār (now Sar-i Pul [*q.v.*]) and other places was located in the district of Djūzdjān. In the early Islamic era, the main trade route between Harāt and Balkh [*q.vv.*] appears to have passed through Shibarghān. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, a native of the area, remarks that "Ushbūrḳān" was "situated on a steppe (*ṣaḥrā*) on the high road. It abounds in amenities and has running waters" (tr. Minorsky, 107, comm. 335). Mustawfī states that the town's climate was temperate and grain was cheap (*Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 155, tr. 153). Indeed, throughout history, Shibarghān has had a reputation for the fertility of its loess dunes (*čūl*) and soil which produces an abundance of fruit (grapes and melons in particular) and wheat.

Shibarghān seems to have experienced an economic and political decline following the demise of the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] in the mid-6th/12th century. This was probably due to the rise of Ghūrid empire to the south and the increasing importance of the easier, Maymana-Andkhūy road for caravan trade. By the time of the Mongol conquest of the region (619/1221-2), the fortress towns of Fāryāb [*q.v.*] (near modern Dawlatābād), Ṭālaḳān and Yahūdiyya, had eclipsed the settlements which lay further east. Shibarghān, however, appears to have been spared by the Mongols and doubtless profited by the almost total destruction of its economic rivals, Fāryāb and Ṭālaḳān. Some fifty years after the Mongol invasion (1275), Marco Polo records that Shibarghān was a thriving market town and an important staging post on the caravan route. The famous melons of the town were dried and exported to India and China, where the fruit was considered a delicacy. It was also renowned for its wild fowl and game.

Under the Tuḳāy-Timūrid ruler of Balkh, Nadhr Muḥammad Khān (1000-60/1591-1650 [*q.v.*]), Shibarghān and Andkhūy were regarded as a single *iḳṭāʿ* and its revenue assigned to his sixth son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Following the Moghul occupation of Balkh (1056-7/1646-7), Nadhr Muḥammad withdrew to Shibarghān before fleeing to Persia. The latter half of the 11th/17th century saw the decline of the appanage system and the rise of amīrid power. The Mīng *amīrs* of Shibarghān and Maymana engaged in a long and bitter struggle with the eastern *amīrs* of Ḳaṭaghān for control of Balkh. In 1164/1751, following the evacuation of Balkh by Nādir Shāh Afshār's [*q.v.*] garrisons, Ḥādjī Bī Mīng, *ḥākim* of Maymana, enlisted the support of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] and thus subjugated his Ḳataghānid rivals. Ḥādjī Bī's unpopular alliance with the Afghāns and his despotic rule, however, led Īzbāsir, *ḥākim* of Shibarghān, to rebel. Though this uprising was suppressed, the dynasty Īzbāsir founded (?) survived until the third quarter of the 19th century. During this era, the *ḥākims* of Shibarghān played an important part in resisting Afghān encroachment and annexation. Shibarghān's last independent ruler, Ḥakīm Khān, was deposed by Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān in 1875. In 1865 the town was totally destroyed by a violent earthquake in which an estimated 3,000 people perished.

By 1934 Shibarghān was "a ruined place" (R. Byron, *The road to Oxiana*, London 1934). From 1960 onwards, however, it experienced an economic renaissance following the discovery of vast gas reserves in the vicinity. Shibarghān is presently (1995) the headquarters, and home town, of the *amīr* of the northern provinces (*Wilāyat-i Shamāl-i Afghānistan*), General Dūstam.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the article): Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, 426; Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, i, 149-50; Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusayn, *Taʾrīkh-i Aḥmad Shāhī*, ed. Muradov, 2 vols., Moscow 1974; Afghan Boundary Commission, *Records of the intelligence party*, Simla 1888-91 (see esp. vol. v, "Miscellaneous reports"); *Historical and political gazetteer of Afghanistan*. ii. *Mazar-i Sharif and N. Central Afghanistan*, ed. L. Adamec, Gratz 1979 (repr. of Afghan Boundary Commission gazetteers of 1888-1909); O. von Niedermeyer, *Afganistan*, Leipzig 1924 (photographs); R. Stuckert, *Erinnerungen an Afghanistan, 1940-1946*, Liestal 1994 (sketches of *arg*, bazaar); J.L. Lee, *The 'ancient supremacy', Bukhara, Afghanistan and the battle for Balkh, 1731-1901*, Leiden 1996 (dynastic list of *ḥākims*, genealogy).

(J.L. Lee)

SHIBITHTH (a., in popular parlance *shibitt*, *shabath*) is dill (*Anethum graveolens L., Umbelliferae*).

Like Akkadian *šibittu*, the name goes back to Aramaic *šəbittā* (W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Hand-wörterbuch*, iii, 1227b). The Greek name ἄνηθον (*anīthūn*), which lives on in Mozarabic *anīṭū*, was taken from the *Materia medica* of Dioscurides; the Berber synonym *aslīlī* circulated also. When blossoming, dill resembles the

fennel (*basbās* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], *Foeniculum vulgare, L.*); like the latter, dill is an ancient plant and is used in kitchen and medicine in the same way as the fennel. The main areas of origin of the cultivated dill are middle and southeastern Europe; wild dill is found in the Mediterranean area and in the Near East. Roots, seed and herb of the dill contain an aromatic, ethereal oil. From old times, the young sprouts have been used as spices for cucumbers and salads.

The main significance of dill, however, was already in ancient Egyptian times in the field of medicine. It was used as a stomachic, carminative, diuretic and vermifuge drug. Its peculiarity consists in the fact that it dispels colic originating from flatulence, heavy gases, and mucus coming from stomach and intestines; it also puts one to sleep. Its seeds, pulverised and cooked in water, cause heavy vomiting and purify the stomach from dyscratic juice (*ruṭūbāt*). A hip bath in an extract from dill is good for pains of the womb. Applied as a poultice, dill divides the swellings originating from flatulence. Its ashes are good for soft (*mutarahhil*), heavily festering ulcers, and its decoction for pains of kidneys and bladder, caused by constipations or flatulence. Pulverised and boiled with honey until concentration, and then applied on the backside, dill has a strongly laxative effect. Taken in soup or broth, its seeds strengthen the flowing of milk. The freshly blossoming dill in particular is good for colic, haemorrhoids and sticky vomit from the stomach.

Bibliography: The most important sources are Rāzā, *Ḥāwī*, xi, 121-3 (no. 507), Ḥaydarābād 1388/1968; Bīrūnī, *al-Ṣaydana fī 'l-ṭibb*, Karachi 1973, 391-3, Eng. tr. 348-9, Russian tr. no. 598; Maimonides, *S̲h̲arḥ asmā' al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 363; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *D̲j̲āmiʿ*, iii, 50 s. (Leclerc no. 1275); *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, no. 453. Further references in A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans* (Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 3. Folge, 172 and 173), Göttingen 1988, no. 56; idem, *Die Dioskurides-Erklärung des Ibn al-Bayṭār* (Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 3. Folge, no. 191), Göttingen 1991, no. 55.

(A. Dietrich)

SHIBL AL-DAWLA [see MIRDĀS, BANŪ].

AL-SHIBLĪ, ABU BAKR DULAF B. D̲J̲AḤDAR, a Sunnī mystic. Born in Sāmarrā' or Bag̲h̲dād (of a family which came from Transoxania) in 247/861, he died there in 334/945. Before his conversion to Ṣūfism he was an official at the ʿAbbāsid court in Sāmarrā', apparently a chamberlain or *ḥād̲j̲ib* of the caliph's brother Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*] as well as, or subsequently, a *wālī* or deputy-governor of Damāwand. He was a reputed scholar in Mālikī law and an assiduous student of *ḥadīt̲h̲*.

At the age of about 40 he converted to the mystical life, under the influence of the Ṣūfī K̲h̲ayr al-Nassād̲j̲ of Sāmarrā' (d. 322/934). Soon after, K̲h̲ayr sent al-S̲h̲iblī on to al-D̲j̲unayd [*q.v.*], in Bag̲h̲dād, for further spiritual training. He remained a novice of al-D̲j̲unayd until the latter's death in 297/910. The intense relationship between master and novice became the object of countless stories based on the twin motif of al-S̲h̲iblī being rebuked by al-D̲j̲unayd for 1. his restlessness, "drunkenness", theopathic language and pretension (*daʿwa*) as well as for 2. his public preaching. For some time, al-S̲h̲iblī associated with al-Ḥallād̲j̲ [*q.v.*], but he denied him before the vizier and went, it is said, to accuse him at the foot of the scaffold (309/922). Al-S̲h̲iblī affected a bizarre mode of life, cultivating "eccentricities" of speech and action which caused his repeated internment in the lunatic asylum in Bag̲h̲dād. He was criticised, in particular, by the Ḥanbalī scholars Ibn ʿAḳīl and Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī [*q.vv.*], for the pretentiousness in his speech (some Ṣūfīs pointed out that he discoursed on "states", and "stations", not on unity, *tawḥīd*), for his claim of being empowered with universal intercession, for a lack of respect for the data of revelation (angels, hellfire, prophets), for his wastefulness and concomitant neglect of his family, as well as for his painful and humiliating penances.

He has left no works, but his sayings (or "allusions", *is̲h̲ārāt*) figure in the Ṣūfī manuals and collections on *s̲h̲aṭḥ* [*q.v.*], as do his deliberate eccentricities, ecstatic states and penances. His *is̲h̲ārāt* were counted by contemporary Ṣūfīs to be one of the "three miracles of Bag̲h̲dād/of the world". A considerable number of mystical poems have been recorded from him, many of which are quotations of bacchic poets like Ibn al-Muʿtazz or amatory poets such as Abū Nuwās, Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār b. Burd, and most importantly, Ḳays, the *mad̲j̲nūn* [see MAD̲J̲NŪN LAYLĀ], whose example of excessive love al-S̲h̲iblī adopted as a model for loving God.

As a master of novices he trained numerous disciples, often in rough, sometimes violent ways (visitors flee from him; al-D̲j̲unayd warns his pupils to speak to al-S̲h̲iblī "from behind the throne; for his swords drip with blood"). Al-S̲h̲iblī demands of his pupils to see nothing in him but the traces of divine power and instructs them through "eccentric" behaviour: he throws stones at them to teach them about true love; he cuts his beard off to indicate that one should not mourn over the dead but make the Living God one's sole concern; he burns his clothes as they distract from worship. He had servants or *k̲h̲uddām*, attending to his and his family's needs, as well as pupils, who received an initiatory garment, like Naṣrābād̲h̲ī, Abū ʿAmr al-Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ī and Ibn K̲h̲afīf al-S̲h̲īrāzī [*q.v.*]. In the classical transmission of the *k̲h̲irḳa* [*q.v.*] al-S̲h̲iblī figures as a link in the chain, between al-D̲j̲unayd and al-Naṣrābād̲h̲ī. Ibn K̲h̲afīf is said to have received "the white garment of al-D̲j̲unayd" (*d̲j̲āma-yi safīd*) out of al-S̲h̲iblī's hands, which was passed thereafter on to al-Kāzarūnī [*q.v.*]. The anonymous author of the Ṣūfī manual *Adab al-mulūk*, possibly identical with ʿAlī b. D̲j̲aʿfar al-Sīrawānī, a pupil of al-S̲h̲iblī based in Mecca, presents him as the most important authority in Ṣūfism after al-D̲j̲unayd. He had disciples in K̲h̲urāsān, such as Muḥammad al-Farrā' (d. 370/980-1), a student of the Sunnī *kalām* theologian and Ṣūfī Abū ʿAlī al-T̲h̲aḳafī (d. 328/939-40), who was spied upon by order of al-S̲h̲iblī; Abū Sahl al-Ṣuʿlūkī (d. 369/980), a student of al-As̲h̲ʿarī; and the governor (*malik*) of Harāt. Ibn Abī D̲h̲uhl (d. 378/988-9), who "spent a fortune on al-S̲h̲iblī". His closest disciple, however, was Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī of Bag̲h̲dād (d. 371/982), "the true inheritor of al-S̲h̲iblī" (Anṣārī). By contrast, everyone else was but a "hearer of his word". Al-S̲h̲iblī's claim that the eastern side of the Tigris was safeguarded against the S̲h̲īʿī Būyids only through his presence, coupled with the fact that shortly after his death the Daylamīs completed their conquest of Bag̲h̲dād, indicates that al-S̲h̲iblī's influence at the end of his life extended even to the highest ranks of government. His tomb in Bag̲h̲dād was still visibly intact in 1982.

Bibliography: *Dīwān Abī Bakr al-S̲h̲iblī*, ed. K.M. al-S̲h̲aybī, Bag̲h̲dād 1386/1967 (includes valuable introd.); Sarrād̲j̲, *Lumaʿ*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1914, 395-406 and index; Baḳlī, *S̲h̲arḥ-i s̲h̲aṭḥiyyāt*, ed. H. Corbin, Tehran-Paris 1966, 234-79; *Ādab al-mulūk*, ed. B. Radtke, Beirut 1991, index;

Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, Beirut 1387/1967, x, 366-75; Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sharība, Cairo 1372/1953, 337-48; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1359-1940, 27-8, tr. R. Gramlich, Wiesbaden 1989, index; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Mawlāʾī, Tehran 1362/1983, 448 ff. and index; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf*, tr. Nicholson, London 1976, 155-6 and index; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 389-97; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, Beirut 1409/1989, 486-9 and index; ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkira*, ed. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1905-7, ii, 160-82; Maḥmūd b. ʿUthmān, *Firdaws*, ed. F. Meier, Leipzig 1948, 112; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, Beirut 1401-5/1981-5, xv, 367 ff.; Ibn al-Mulaḳḳin, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1393/1973, 204-17, 499, 506, 509; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, ed. Tawḥīdīpūr, Tehran 1336/1957, 180-83; L. Massignon, *La passion d'Al-Ḥallāj*, Paris 1975, 123-9 and index; E. Dermenghem, *Abou Bakr Chiblî*, in *AIEO*, viii (1949-50), 235-69. (F. SOBIEROJ)

AL-SHIBLĪ, ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR B. ISḤĀḲ b. Aḥmad al-Ghaznawī al-Dawlatābādī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī Sirādj al-Dīn, celebrated *faḳīh*, more commonly known by the *nisba* al-Hindī.

Born in India *ca.* 704/1304-5, he studied *fiḳh* in Dihlī with Wadjīh al-Dīn al-Dihlawī al-Rāzī, Shams al-Dīn al-Dūlī al-Khaṭīb, Sirādj al-Dīn al-Thaḳafī al-Dihlawī, Rukn al-Dīn al-Badāʾūnī, pupils of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Tanūkhī (d. 670/1271-2), and *ḥadīth* in Cairo with Aḥmad b. Manṣūr al-Djawharī and others. Having made the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he also studied, he came to Egypt in *ca.* 740/1339-40 where he continued his studies, related traditions and held several religious posts. He cultivated relations with both *ʿulamāʾ* and *umarāʾ* and gained favour with Sultan al-Nāṣir b. Ḳalāwūn (748-52/1347-51, 755-62/1354-61). With the help of the *amīr* Ṣarghitmish, Sirādj al-Dīn obtained the office of *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿaskar* in 758/1357. Previously, the Ḥanafī chief judge (*ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*) of Egypt Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Turkumānī had appointed him as his deputy. Upon the death of the latter in Shaʿbān 769/March-April 1368, al-Shiblī replaced him as Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* and held that office until his death on 7 Radjab 773/14 January 1372. As Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*, he used his influence with the Mamlūk élite to promote the status of the Ḥanafī judgeship, seeking privileges previously attached only to the Shāfiʿī chief judgeship. Despite good relations with members of this élite, al-Shiblī did not hesitate to oppose their attempts to abase religious functionaries, as, for example, when he berated Aldjāy al-Yūsufī, *nāẓir al-awḳāf* at the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque, who begrudged them an increase in their salaries. He had also Ṣūfī tendencies; in Mecca he associated with the *shaykh* Khiḍr, and was later a follower of Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*] (cf. below), associating with those Ṣūfīs inclined toward ideas of monism (*al-ṣūfiyya al-ittiḥādiyya*).

His best known works are: 1. *al-Tawshīḥ*, a commentary on the *Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 466, no. 24); 2. a second commentary on the *Hidāya* in syllogistic form; 3. *al-Shāmil fī 'l-fiḳh*, dealing with *furūʿ*; 4. *Zubdat al-aḥkām fī 'khtilāf al-aʾimma al-aʿlām*; 5. a commentary on the *Badīʿ al-niẓām fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* of al-Sāʿātī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 477, no. 49, 2); 6. a commentary on *al-Mughnī fī 'l-uṣūl* of al-Khabbāzī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 476-7, no. 48); 7. *al-Ghurra al-munīfa fī tardjīḥ madhhab Abī Ḥanīfa*; 8. *Kitāb fī fiḳh al-khilāf*; 9. a commentary on *al-Ziyādāt* of al-Shaybānī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 178, no. II); 10. an unfinished commentary on *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* (identical with the *Mukhtaṣar al-talkhīs*, *ibid.*, no. III, preserved in his autograph; the work is said to have originally included also *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*); 11. a commentary on *al-Tāʾiyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (cf. Brockelmann, I², 305-6); 12. a work on *taṣawwuf*; 13. a commentary on *al-Manār fī 'l-uṣūl* of al-Nasafī (cf. Brockelmann, II², 250, no. I, 1); 14. a commentary on *al-Mukhtār fī 'l-fatāwā* of al-Buldadjī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 476, no. 47, 1); 15. *Lawāʾiḥ al-anwār fī 'l-radd ʿalā man ankara ʿalā 'l-ʿārifīn laṭāʾif al-asrār*, 16. *ʿUddat al-nāsik fī 'l-manāsik*; 17. a commentary on the *ʿAḳīda* of al-Ṭaḥāwī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 181, no. 7, 7; where a ms. is quoted); 18. *al-Lawāmiʿ fī sharḥ Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ* (of al-Subkī; cf. Brockelmann, II², 109, no. 1); 19. Brockelmann finally gives a collection of his *fatwās*. On manuscripts of the surviving works cf. Brockelmann, II², 96, no. 9.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, where further references are given; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya fī tarādjim al-ḥanafiyya*, 1324, 148-9; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-anbāʾ al-ʿumr*, Cairo 1969, i, 29-30, and *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina*, Cairo, iii, 230; J.H. Escovitz, *The office of qāḍī al-quḍāt in Cairo under the Baḥrī Mamlūks*, Berlin 1984, passim. On other individuals called al-Shiblī, including the famous mystic [*q.v.*], cf. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. 329a, 9 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 256; Brockelmann, I², 216, no. 6; Massignon, *al-Hallâdj*, passim; *Isl.*, xv, 121.

(J. SCHACHT-[LINDA S. NORTHRUP])

SHIBLĪ NUʿMĀNĪ (1857-1914), leading Urdu writer of the ʿAlīgaṙh Movement, was born into a well-to-do family at Bindūl, in the Aʿẓamgaṙh [*q.v.*] District of the then United Provinces.

Early in life he became preoccupied with the Ḥanafī law school, and acquired expertise in the languages and literatures of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Islamic history and biography, and literary criticism in Persian and in general, became his métiers, and he composed poetry in both Persian and Urdu, but though superficially he seems to challenge comparison with that other ʿAlīgaṙh polygraph, Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī [*q.v.*], he does not equal him as a poet. The turning point in his career came in 1882 when he first visited ʿAlīgaṙh, where his brother was a student. The two influences there were Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*] and his liberalism, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literary criticism. Sir Sayyid appointed him lecturer in Persian and Arabic. After the latter's death in 1898, Shiblī broke his relationship with ʿAlīgaṙh, having founded a rival National English School in Aʿẓamgaṙh. He became a sort of free-lance scholar and author, spending his time in various places, such as Kashmīr and Ḥaydarābād, and wrote an account of his travels in Egypt and Turkey, *Safar-nāma-i Miṣr-ō-Rūm-ō-Shām*; his Urdu prose style is simple and clear, and not overladen with English vocabulary, as that of Sir Sayyid and Ḥālī. He died in Aʿẓamgaṙh.

Shiblī is described by Saksena (287) as "one of the most striking personalities of his age, a versatile genius with a remarkable career", listing a dozen aspects of his activities. Elsewhere (292), he names about two dozen of his literary works in a rather confused manner, both incomplete and inaccurate. Shiblī was ambitious, and felt an urge to produce large-scale works; thus Muhammad Sadiq tells us (275) that he planned an encyclopaedia of Islamic history, combining Western and Oriental methods, but had to restrict himself to a number of monographs, including *al-Fārūḳ* (1899), a study of the second caliph ʿUmar; *al-Ghazālī* (1902); *Sawāniḥ-i Rūmī*; and *Sīrat al-Nabī* (published posthumously, completed by Sulaymān Nadwī, 1916). His second major project, which he almost, but not quite, completed, was his critical history of Persian poetry,

Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam, of which vol. i was published in 1908, ii in 1909, iii in 1910, and iv in 1912; vol. v was published posthumously in 1918. It is a brilliant account of Persian poetry, which had played so important a role in the emergence of Urdu poetry.

Finally, reference must be made to his Urdu poetry, which he composed all through his life; he also took part in *mushāʿaras* [*q.v.*] (poetical contests and celebrations). Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī and a number of collaborators divided his poetry into four stages in an Urdu anthology, *Urdū niṣāb* (see *Bibl.*). They stress that, as a poet, he was original, not basing his poetical techniques on any teacher. The outstanding stage was the fourth (1908-14), which was a period of turmoil in the Islamic world. In this period he wrote both political and ethical poetry, and some Islamic historical poetry. Among the most famous was *Shuhadāʾ-i ḳawm* ("The martyrs of the nation"), which commemorates the death of Muslims killed by British troops in the "Cawnpore incident" of 1912 [see KĀNPUR].

Bibliography: Shiblī's prose works will be found in various editions. For a reliable assessment of his achievements and ideas, see Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 274-85, and see 161-3 for Shiblī's *Muwāzana-yi Dabīr-ō-Anīs* (dated 1907), his major critical work on Urdu literature, which is important for the study of Urdu *marthiya* [*q.v.*]. His poetry has already been mentioned; see Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī *et alii*, *Urdū niṣāb*, Lahore 1969, 144-6, which includes the text of *Shuhadāʾ-i-ḳawm*. Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 287-94, also contains useful information on it. (J.A. HAYWOOD)

SHIFĀʾĪ IṢFAHĀNĪ, Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥasan, Persian physician and poet of the Ṣafawid period. He was born in 956/1549 (Gulčīn-i Maʿānī) or 966/1558-9 (Ṣafā) at Iṣfahān. His *nom-de-plume* refers to the medical profession, which was a tradition of his family. He was also a student of speculative mysticism, but he achieved his greatest fame as a poet. His literary work consists of *ghazals* and *ḳaṣīdas*, written respectively in the style of Bābā Fighānī and Khāḳānī (cf. Rypka, 300), as well as poems in several other forms, including a series of *mathnawīs*. His best known poem is the didactic *mathnawī Namakdān-i ḥaḳīḳat*, written in imitation of the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa*, which has sometimes been mistaken for a work by Sanāʾī [*q.v.*] himself (Munzawī, iv, 3286). Other works in the same form are *Dīda-yi bīdār* or *Dīdār-i bīdār*, after the model of Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār* (cf. Munzawī, iv, 2820; Ethé, 836; Bertel's, 210), *Mihr u maḥabbat*, on the theory of love, completed in 1021/1612-3 (cf. Munzawī, iv, 3252; Ateş, 510), and a poem, called either *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* or *Maṭlaʿ al-anwār*, based on Khāḳānī's *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn* (cf. Ethé, 835; Rypka, 300). Shifāʾī also left a *sāḳī-nāma* (published by Gulčīn-i Maʿānī in *Tadhkira-yi may-khāna*, 532-4).

Shāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] held him in high esteem and gave him the honorary titles *malik al-shuʿarāʾ wa mumtāz-i Īrān*. Contemporary critics acknowledged him as one of the best poets of his time, but at the same time feared his sharp and often scurrilous wit. Apologising to the Shāh in a short poem, he mentioned satire as an element indelible from his identity (*māhiyyat*), "just as one cannot wash away from amber the attraction of straw" (Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1083). According to most sources, Shifāʾī died on 5 Ramaḍān 1037/9 May 1628 at Iṣfahān and was buried at Karbalāʾ.

Already during his lifetime, a selection from his poems, to the amount of 5,000 *bayts*, was brought to India (Fakhr al-Zamānī, 523). In 1040/1630-1 a comprehensive collection of 20,000 *bayts* was assembled by Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī Dawlatābādī (cf. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Shahrāshūb*, 54).

Bibliography: Amīn-i Aḥmad-i Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, Tehran 1340 *Sh.*/1961, ii, 429-30; M. Ṭāhir-i Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, Tehran 1317 *Sh.*/1938, 211-14; ʿAbd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī, *Tadhkira-yi maykhāna*, Tehran 1340 *Sh.*/1961, 523-34 (with a biographical notice by Gulčīn-i Maʿānī quoting Shifāʾī's contemporaries Taḳī al-Dīn Kāshī and Taḳī al-Dīn Awḥadī); Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārāy-i ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1334 *Sh.*/1955, ii, 1082-3; Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, Tehran 1295/1878, ii, 21-3; idem, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, Tehran 1305/1888, 213-18, H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Indian Office Library*, i, Oxford 1903, 834-6; Browne, *LHP*, iv, Cambridge 1924, 256 (with a portrait); E.È. Bertel's, *Izbrannïye trudï. Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962; A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Shahrāshūb dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1346 *Sh.*/1967, 54-7; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; A. Ateş, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde farsza manzum eserler*, Istanbul 1968, 509-11, 544; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, Tehran 1350-1 *Sh.*/1971-3, iii, 1875, 2381, iv, 2820, 3252, 3286; Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/2, Tehran 1364 *Sh.*/1985, 1075-82 (with a list of sources). (J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

SHIGHNĀN [see SHUGHNĀN].

SHĪḤ (A., from Aramaic *sīḥā*) is the plant species Artemisia, *Compositae*.

The word was probably used by the Arabs as a collective noun for the some 200 types of this species, spread in the Mediterranean area and the temperate latitudes. These types occur as herbs and shrubs, many of them being aromatic. In medicine, the herb and its ethereal oil as well as the blossoming buds and their ethereal oil are used mainly as aromaticum amarum, as a stomachic, digestive, carminative, choleretic drug, and the blossoming buds also as an anthelminthic. It was further used as spice in the kitchen and as a stimulus of appetite. The Arab authors note mainly the following types of Artemisia: 1. *Shīḥ* in the specific meaning of *Artemisia iudaica L.*; 2. *Sārīfūn* (σέριφον), probably *A. maritima*; 3. *Ṭarkhūn*, *A. dracunculus*, tarragon; 4. *Ḳayṣūm*, *A. abrotanum*, southernwood or "Old man"; 5. *Birindjāsaf*, *A. vulgaris*, mugwort, often identified with *ḳayṣūm*; 6. *Afsantīn* or *abū shinthiyā*, the wormwood (absinth), *A. absinthium*; 7. (?) *A. arborescens*.

It should, however, be realised that the descriptions of plants hardly suffice for determining the types, because nomenclature and synonymy are so vague. The most accurate, yet inadequate, botanical description may be presented here by way of example. It is found in *Dioscurides triumphans* (see *Bibl.*) iii, 107, under the entry *arṭāmāsiyā* (ἀρτεμισία), where five types of *ḳayṣūm* are described: "One of its types has many twigs, which come forth from a single root, about one yard long. Its leaves are attached to the twigs at some distance from one another, resemble those of the small type of the anemone (*al-nuʿmān* [see SHAḲĪḲAT AL-NUʿMĀN], are denticulated (*musharraf*) on both sides and grow smaller and smaller the more they are found near the upper end. At the end of each twig there are yellow-coloured blossoms, round and closely connected like a bunch (*djamāʿa*) of heads of absinth (*ruʾūs al-afsantīn*). They vary in smell from pleasantly to repulsively, and their taste is bitter. This type has roots like those of the white hellebore (*al-kharbaḳ al-abyaḍ*). A second type ramifies already at the soil from a single root and rises about one yard ... A third type

buds three or four twigs from one single root, just one yard long, to which leaves are attached in the same way as they are to the blue stock (*al-khīri al-azraḳ*) ... A fourth type grows in riverbeds and ponds ... The fifth type has many twigs, ramifying from one single root, just about two yards long. Its leaves resemble those of the olive tree (*al-zaytūn*), white on the side turned towards the ground and green on the side turned upwards, but smaller than those of the olive tree ... [At the end:] The first type is the common sage (*arṭāmāsiyā*), called in Spain *fasāṭāyun* (= *afsantīn*). The second is called *al-ʿabaytharān*, also named "the fox's basilicum" (*rayḥān al-thaʿālib*), the third is "the golden one" (*al-mudhahhab*), the fourth is called in Romance *yundja* (*juncia*). The fifth and last one is called *furubina* (Romance *flor de pena*), also "olive of the castles" (*zaytūnat al-ḥuṣūn*) and *abrūshiyā* (ἀμβροσία), of which *al-mudhahhab* is a type". For the complete text and the explanation of the terms, see *Dioscurides triumphans, loc. cit.* The first type, with many twigs and a pungent odour, is probably *A. arborescens L.* The fourth type, with one twig, which grows in inland water, could be *A. campestris*. For one of the other types the widespread *A. vulgaris* is probably to be taken into account. As one can see, the description of the types mentioned follows a rather fixed scheme: outward appearance, twigs, roots, leaves, blossoms, then taste and odour.

The Arab authors give many details about the medicinal use of *shīḥ*. It resembles absinth, but does not have the latter's astringent power. Taken with rice and honey, it kills intestinal worms. The Artemisia from the mountains (*al-shīḥ al-djabalī*) is bitter, divides and dissolves flatulence and is less astringent than absinth. Its ashes, taken with almond oil, are good for loss of hair (*dāʾ al-thaʿlab*). It makes the itch disappear (*al-ukla*), is good for laboured breathing and aids urination and menstruation.

Bibliography: I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 1928, 381-7; H.A. Hoppe, *Drogenkunde*[8], i, 1975, 119-26. Numerous source references in A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, iii, 24, 25, 26, 107; idem, *Die Dioscurides-Erklärung des Ibn al-Bayṭār*, Göttingen 1991, iii, 23, 24, 25, 108.

(A. Dietrich)

SHIHĀB, Banū, a dynasty of *amīrs* who held the tax-farm or *iltizām* [*q.v.*] of the Lebanon mountain districts of the *sandjak* of Sidon-Beirut, and later also those of the *wilāyat* of Tripoli, from 1697 until 1841.

The Banū Shihāb were already the recognised chieftains (*muḳaddamūn*) of Wādī al-Taym, a valley of the Anti-Lebanon, at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Syria (922/1516). Their involvement in the affairs of the Lebanon resulted from their alliance and intermarriage with the Banū Maʿn [*q.v.*], the paramount Druze chiefs of the Shūf [*q.v.*] region, who held the *iltizām* of the mountain districts of Beirut-Sidon almost continuously from *ca.* 998/1590 until 1108/1697. When the Maʿnid line died out, this *iltizām* was transferred by the Ottomans to their Banū Shihāb relatives, allegedly with local consent (1108/1697). Subsequently (1124/1712), the Banū Shihāb fixed the organisation of the territory assigned to them in fiscal units called *muḳāṭaʿāt*, assigning the administration of each unit to the strongest family of *mashāyikh* among the local Druzes or Maronites.

As newcomers to the Lebanon, the Banū Shihāb, who were Sunnī Muslims, faced strong opposition among the Druzes of the country from the very start. But the Druzes were further alienated by the consistent Shihābī support for the Christian Maronites. This alienation worsened as leading Shihābī *amīrs* began to convert to Christianity and become Maronites, a process starting in the latter decades of the 18th century. The subsequent alliance of the Banū Shihāb with Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], and their collaboration with the Egyptian occupation of Syria (1832-40), set them on the collision course with the Ottomans which was the direct cause of their downfall.

The Banū Shihāb survive today in two branches, one Maronite, the other Sunnī Muslim. A member of the Maronite branch, General Fuʾād Shihāb, was elected president of the Lebanese Republic for the period 1958-64.

Bibliography: See that to bashīr shihāb ii; also Adel Ismail, *Histoire du Liban du XVII*e *siècle à nos jours*, i, Paris 1955, iv, Beirut 1958; K.S. Salibi, *The modern history of Lebanon*, London 1965, chs. I-III.

(K.S. Salibi)

SHIHĀB al-**DAWLA** [see mawdūd b. masʿūd].

SHIHĀB al-**DĪN** [see muḥammad b. sām].

SHIHĀB al-**DĪN AḤMAD B. MĀDJID** [see ibn mādjid].

SHIHĀB al-**DĪN DAWLATĀBĀDĪ** [see al-dawlatābādī].

SHIHĀB al-**DĪN** al-**ḤUSAYNĪ**, Shāh, a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī dignitary and author of the 13th/19th century. Shihāb al-Dīn, also called Khalīl Allāh, was born around 1268/1851-2, probably in ʿIrāḳ; he was the eldest son of Āḳā ʿAlī Shāh, Āghā Khān II (d. 1302/1885), the forty-seventh *imām* of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, and the elder half-brother of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Āghā Khān III (1294-1376/1877-1957), the forty-eighth Nizārī *imām*. Shihāb al-Dīn spent the greater part of his life in Bombay and Poona, where he died in Ṣafar 1302/December 1884, being eventually buried in the family mausoleum at Nadjaf.

Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh was a learned member of the Āghā Khāns' family; he was also regarded as one of the *pīrs* or *ḥudjdjas* of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, particularly by the Nizārī Khōdjas (see Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Fidāʾī Khurāsānī, *Kitāb-i Hidāyat al-muʾminīn al-ṭālibīn*, ed. A.A. Semenov, Moscow 1959, 178-9; W. Ivanow, *Ismailitica*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, viii [1922], 66-7). Shihāb al-Dīn composed a few treatises in Persian dealing particularly with the ethical and mystical aspects of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī doctrines. His works, preserved in India and Central Asia, in fact represent the earliest examples of a literary revival, initiated in the second half of the 13th/19th century and utilising the Persian language, in the life of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community. His writings include the *Khiṭābāt-i ʿāliya* (ed. H. Udjāḳī, Ismaili Society series A, no. 14, Bombay 1963) and the unfinished *Risāla dar ḥaḳīḳat-i dīn* (ed. and tr. W. Ivanow, Islamic Research Assocation series, no. 3, Bombay 1933). Later editions and English translations, by W. Ivanow, of his *Risāla* were published in 1947, 1955 and 1956 in the series of publications of the Ismaili Society of Bombay; this work has also been translated into Arabic, Urdū and Gudjarātī (see Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī, *True meaning of religion*, tr. W. Ivanow, Bombay 1956, Preface).

Bibliography (in addition to the works cited in the article): Ivanow, *Ismaili literature. A bibliographical survey*, Tehran 1963, 149-50; A. Berthels and M. Baqoev, *Alphabetic catalogue of manuscripts found by 1959-1963 expedition in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region*, Moscow 1967, 51, 59-60; I.K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 283-4; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 439, 518. (F. Daftary)

SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AL-ḲARĀFĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ Idrīs b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yallīn (626-84/1228-85), Mālikī jurist and legal theoretician from the North African Berber tribe of the Ṣanhādja. He apparently grew up in al-Ḳarāfa in Old Cairo, whence his sobriquet of al-Ḳarāfī. Later, he came to head the Mālikī school of Cairo and to occupy the Mālikī professorship at the famous Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa*. He also held a professorship at the Mālikī-Shāfiʿī Ṭaybarsiyya college and presided over a *ḥalḳa* at the Cairo Friday mosque. He was probably the greatest Mālikī legal theoretician of 7th/13th-century Egypt. As such, many scholars, Mālikī and non-Mālikī alike, travelled from Syria and North Africa to study *uṣūl al-fiḳh* with him. His six-volume opus on Mālikī law, *al-Dhakhīra*, testifies to his mastery of the positive branches (*furūʿ*) as well. None of this would be enough, however, to induce him into accepting a position as judge.

In addition to his legal activities, al-Ḳarāfī also had a hand in several other disciplines. His *al-Istibṣār fīmā tudrikuhu al-abṣār*, for example, was a response to some questions on ophthamology and astronomy from Frederick II of Sicily. His *al-Adjwiba al-fākhira ʿan al-asʾila al-fādjira* (cited by Brockelmann as *al-Ghurba al-fākhira radd^an^ ʿalā al-milla al-kāfira* and hailed as "the greatest apologetic achievement in Islam", S I, 665) includes actual citations from the Hebrew Bible (in Arabic script). In theology he followed the school of al-Ashʿarī. Though a committed rationalist, however, he was far from extreme in his judgments of non-Ashʿarīs, including Ḥanbalīs and other traditionalists, even so-called *ḥashwīs*. As for Ṣūfism, he appears to have had little interest in it.

Among al-Ḳarāfī's most important teachers was the redoubtable Shāfiʿī jurist ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (better known as ʿIzz al-Dīn) b. ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 660/1262), who deeply influenced him but whose effective endorsement (in Shāfiʿī-dominated Cairo) of the notion that might made right would ultimately become al-Ḳarāfī's *bête noire*. In attempting to come to terms with this problem, al-Ḳarāfī introduces a rather sophisticated doctrine of *taḳlīd* and looks to the *madhhab* as the chief means of protecting minority views from being overridden by *ʿulamāʾ* associated with state power. This is most clearly reflected in one of his most important works, the *Kitāb al-Iḥkām fī tamyīz al-fatāwā ʿan al-aḥkām wa-taṣarrufāt al-ḳāḍī wa 'l-imām*, which also includes an important discussion on the limits of law. Of the many other works he composed, mention should be made of *K. al-Furūḳ* (also known as *Anwār al-burūḳ fī anwāʾ al-furūḳ*), on *ḳawāʿid* or legal precepts, *Nafāʾis al-uṣūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*, a commentary on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Maḥṣūl*, on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, of which he also composed an abridgment, *Sharḥ tanḳīḥ al-fuṣūl*.

Bibliography: Ḳarāfī, *al-Adjwiba al-fākhira*, Cairo 1407/1987, 236, 139; *al-Furūḳ*, 4 vols., Beirut n.d.; *al-ʿIḳd al-manẓūm fi 'l-khuṣūṣ wa 'l-ʿumūm*, ms. Cairo no. 16724; *K. al-Iḥkām*, Aleppo 1387/1967; *Sharḥ tanḳīḥ al-fuṣūl*, Cairo 1393/1973; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj*, 62-6; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vi, 233-4; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, 188-9; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 316; Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā al-kabīr*, i, 608, iii, 763, v, 571-2; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Istanbul, ii, 135, 1615-16; Brockelmann, S I, 665.

(S.A. JACKSON)

SHIHĀB IṢFAHĀNĪ, the pen-name of Mīrzā Naṣr Allāh, a prominent Persian poet of the Ḳādjār period, *flor.* in the 19th century.

According to a reference in *Gandj-i shāygān* by Mīrzā Ṭāhir Iṣfahānī Shiʿrī, it may be assumed that Shihāb was born during the twenties of the 19th century. His birthplace was Simīrum, a small town in the Iṣfahān district. His family had a long history of supplying military judges to the government from among its members. Shihāb, however, devoted himself from the beginning to the study of Arabic and had an inclination towards writing poetry. In 1254/1838-9 he went to Tehran, where he was engaged in literary activity for several years before attracting the attention of Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1250-64/1834-48). The latter admired Shihāb's work, and honoured him eventually with the title of Tādj al-Shuʿarāʾ. Shihāb's closest patron was Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, prime minister of Muḥammad Shāh, from whom he received many favours. The poet's fortunes continued to prosper during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh's successor, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1264-1313/1848-96). Besides writing poems, which brought him financial rewards, he was officially assigned the task of organising mourning assemblies commemorating the death of Ḥusayn. Towards the later part of his life he retired to Iṣfahān, where he died in 1291/1874-5.

Shihāb's chief field of poetic exercise seems to have been the panegyric, in which he reportedly wielded a fluent pen and could compose lengthy *ḳaṣīdas* within a short time. A critical remark by Dīwān Begī (ii, 889) regarding his poetic style confirms the view that he was fond of grandiloquence, allusions and metaphors. The Sipahsālār Library in Tehran owns a manuscript copy of his *dīwān* containing a collection of *ḳaṣīdas* and comprising some 8,000 couplets.

Bibliography: *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-yi Sipahsālār*, ii, Tehran 1316-18/1937-9, 619-20; Sayyid Aḥmad Dīwān Begī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadīḳat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1365/1986, ii (also contains an extract from *Gandj-i shāygān*, supplied by the editor); Riḍā-ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ed. Maẓāhir Muṣaffā, Tehran 1339/1960, ii/1; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī (Mudarris), *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz (?) 1328/1949, ii; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v. *Tādj al-Shuʿarāʾ*; Yaḥyā Āryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, Tehran 1350/1971, i; Wizārat-i Farhang u Irshad-i Islāmī, *Nām-āwarān-i farhang-i Īrān*, Tehran 1988 (?).

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

SHIHĀB TURSHĪZĪ, the pen-name of the Persian poet Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Khān, b. probably *ca.* 1167/1753 (Bahār, *Armaghān*, xiii/1, 37), d. 1215/1800-1.

He started his poetic career in his home town of Turshīz in Khurāsān, but left it in 1189/1775-6 for Shīrāz, the capital of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*]. His ambition took him from place to place in search of suitable patronage. Finally, in 1203/1788-9, he entered the service of Shāhzāda Maḥmūd Durrānī b. Tīmūr Shāh, the Afghān governor of Harāt (who subsequently became ruler of Afghānistān); Shāhzāda Maḥmūd had employed the poet's father, Ḥabīb Allāh Turshīzī, for thirty years (see Shihāb's verses quoted in Buzurg-niyā's article published in *Armaghān*, vi/9, 557). Shihāb remained with his patron for some nine years, becoming his poet-laureate and chief astronomer as well as attaining the rank of Khān. Their association came to an end with Shāhzāda Maḥmūd losing the governorship of Harāt in 1212/1797-8 in an internal power struggle. Thereupon, Shihāb retired to Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya [*q.v.*], where he died not long afterwards.

Apart from poetry, Shihāb was also skilled in other fields such as astronomy, painting, the art of making pen-boxes and calligraphy. He was the author of several poetical works which included *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*

(*Durrat al-tādj*), *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, *Bahrām-nāma* and *ʿIḳd-i gawhar*, a piece dealing with astronomy. Some of his writings which remained incomplete were a *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* and a *Murād-nāma*, the last-named being an account of the events and affairs during the reign of ʿAlī Murād Khān Zand, who ruled Iṣfahān 1193-9/1779-85. In 1206/1791-2 Shihāb, according to his own statement, compiled a *dīwān* of his verse, at the instance of his patron. His total output has been estimated at 20,000 verses (*Nigāristān-i Dārā*, 213), but the copies of his collected poems found in Persia are said to contain between 3,000 and 10,000 verses only (*Tārīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi Fārsī*, 303).

Shihāb was a prominent poet of the period of literary "return" (*bāzgasht*), which marked the end of the influence of the Indian style (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]) in Persian poetry, and the revival of earlier indigenous models. His speciality was the *ḳaṣīda*, in which he imitated the examples of early masters like Anwarī and Khāḳānī. The main figures in whose praise he composed his poems were Karīm Khān and ʿAlī Murād Khān Zand; Shāhzāda Maḥmūd Durrānī, who was his chief patron; and Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Ḳādjār.

Another distinguishing feature of Shihāb's literary activity was his satirical verse, directed against fellow-poets, certain tribes and clans, as well as against such places as Shīrāz, Yazd, Tehran, Sīstān and Kāshān. In the *ghazal*, his individuality of style found expression in the choice of rhymes which differed from those employed by such established *ghazal* writers as Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catalogue* (Supplement), nos. 352, 353; *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Madjlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, Tehran 1318-21/1939-42, iii, 322-3, 704-6; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Dunbalī "Maftūn", *Nigāristān-i Dārā*, ed. Khayyāmpūr, Tabrīz 1342/1963, i; Riḍā-ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ed. Maẓāhir Muṣaffā, Tehran 1340/1961, ii/2; idem, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, Tehran 1344/1965; Sayyid Aḥmad Dīwān Begī, *Ḥadīḳat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1365/1986, ii; Muḥammad ʿAlī Muʿallim Ḥabībābādī, *Makārim al-āthār*, Iṣfahān 1362/1983, i-ii; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī (Mudarris), *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz (?) 1328/1949, ii; Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghdādī *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1951; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Aḥmad Gulčīn Maʿānī, *Tārīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi Fārsī*, Tehran 1363/1984, i; ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ Ḥaḳīḳat (Rafīʿ), *Farhang-i shāʿirān-i zabān-i Pārsī*, Tehran 1368/1989; ʿAlī Buzurg-niyā (Ṣadr al-Tudjdjār Khurāsānī), in *Armaghān*, vi/9; Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār (Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ), in *ibid.*, xiii/1-3; Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabāʾī, in *ibid.*, xiii/4-6; Muḥammad Ḳahramān, in *Āyanda*, ix/6.

(Munibur Rahman)

SHIḤNA (A.), an administrative-military term in the mediaeval eastern Islamic world. From the end of the 3rd/9th century, the term, which in a general sense meant a body of armed men, sufficing for the guarding and control of a town or district on the part of the sultan, is occasionally found in the specific sense of the *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] (Tyan, *L'organisation judicaire en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1938-43, ii, 366, n. 5). As the designation for a military governor of a town or province, the term *shiḥna* belongs primarily to the period of the Great Saldjūḳs, though Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī (writing in 450-1/1058-9) uses the term in the sense of the commander of a body of armed men in charge of a town or district on behalf of the sultan (*Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad 1350/1971, 22, 23, 24) and his office as *shiḥnagī* (*ibid.*, 9, 10, 25, 26, cf. also Doerfer, iii, 320-1). The term is found throughout the Il-Khānate and survives into the period of the Turkoman dynasties of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.vv.*]. Thereafter, it disappears except in a debased sense in some provincial districts, being superseded by the term *dārūgha* [*q.v.*]. The *shiḥna* belonged to the military classes and officials of the *ʿurf* jurisdiction. The authority which he held was, like that of other officials, essentially delegated authority.

Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] appears to have regarded the terms *muḳtaʿ*, *wālī* and *shiḥna* as broadly synonymous (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 28). There are cases of the same individual being referred to variously as *shiḥna*, *wālī* and *muḳtaʿ*. The *amīr* ʿAbbās (d. 541/1146-7) is called *shiḥna* of Ray by Ibn al-Djawzī (*Muntaẓam*, x, 102) and *wālī* of Ray by Awliyāʾ Allāh Āmulī (*Tārīkh-i Rūyān*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran 1348/1969, 126). ʿImād al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn Ḳumādj (d. 548/1153-4), who succeeded his father ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ḳumādj and his grandfather ʿImād al-Dīn Ḳumādj in the governorate (*ayālat*) and office of *shiḥna* of Balkh (Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ al-Kātib al-Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1329/1951, 76, 77), is called *muḳtaʿ* of Balkh by Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 116), whereas Rāwandī states that he was *wālī* of Balkh and then made *shiḥna* of the Ghuzz (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, Leiden-London 1921, 177-8; see also Lambton, *The administration of Sanjar's empire as illustrated in the* ʿAtabat al-kataba, in *BSOAS*, xx [1957], 380-3, repr. in eadem, *Theory and practice in medieval Persian government*, Variorum, London 1980, and eadem, ch. "The internal structure of the Saljuq empire", in *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 244-5, repr. in *Theory and practice in medieval Persian government*).

Generally speaking, the *shiḥna* was the military governor of the town, or the town and district, to which he was appointed. His functions were the preservation of public order, security on the roads and the suppression of bandits and robbers (cf. the document in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 61, for Sayf al-Dīn Yurunḳush as *shiḥna* of Djuwayn, a document in the *Mukhtārāt min al-rasāʾil*, ed. Īradj Afshār, 1355/1976-7, 264, and a draft diploma for the office of *shiḥna* in the *Dastūr-i dabīrī* of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Mayhanī, ed. Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1962, 113-14; and see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselğūqen und Ḫorazmšāhs*, Wiesbaden 1964, 93-6). He presided over a *dīwān* to which, presumably, cases concerning public order were referred, and he apparently had at his disposal a body of men to enable him to apprehend evil-doers and to execute such orders as might issue from his *dīwān*. He may also in some cases have executed the decrees of the *ḳāḍī*'s office. He did not have power to appoint officials other than those in his own *dīwān* (which differentiated him from a *wālī* or governor). He was paid by dues (*rusūm*, *marsūm*) collected from the local population and levied according to custom (the rate is not stated in the sources).

As well as *shiḥnas* of towns, there were also *shiḥnas* of tribal groups. In the case of Balkh, the two offices were held by the same person, but this was not always so (cf. the document in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 80-3, for the appointment of Inanč Bilge Ulugh Djāndār as *shiḥna* of the Turkomans of Gurgān, and an undated document in the *Mukhtārāt min al-rasāʾil*, 263-4, for the appointment of a *shiḥna* of the Atash (?) Turks of ʿIrāḳ and Kurdistān).

The *shiḥna* of Baghdād in the Saldjūḳ period held a special position, in that he was not only the military governor of the town, but also the representative,

as it were, of the sultan vis-à-vis the caliph.

Under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, the *shiḥna* appears to have been the military governor of a town or the head of the garrison of a town (Cl. Cahen, *La Turquie pré-Ottomane*, Istanbul-Paris 1988, 198).

In the sources for the Mongol invasions and the Il-Khānate, there is a lack of precision in the use of the term *shiḥna*. It is used at times synonymously with *basḳāḳ*, *dārūgha* (*dārūghačī*) and *nā'ib* (D.O. Morgan, *Who ran the Mongol empire?*, in *JRAS* [1982], 129, and see Lambton, *Mongol fiscal administration in Persia*, in *SI*, lxiv [1986], 80 n. 2). By the reign of Ghazan (694-703/1295-1304 [*q.v.*]) the *shiḥna* and *basḳāḳ* were distinguished from each other and from the commander of the citadel of a town (see below). However, in a document for the appointment of a *shiḥna* in the *Dastūr al-kātib* of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī, ed. A.A. Ali-zade, ii, Moscow 1976, 36, *shiḥnagī* and *basḳāḳī* appear to be used synonymously.

The importance of the *shiḥna* varied; some, like *sulṭāns* and *maliks*, received large *payzas* when their appointment was registered; others, who were of lesser rank, and medium *maliks* (*malikān-i mutawassiṭ*) smaller *payzas* (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 295).

According to Djuwaynī (i, 96, tr. Boyle, i, 122), Čingiz Khān appointed a group of persons to the office of *shiḥna* in Samarḳand after its conquest. Yeme and Subetey, as they pursued Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmī through Khurāsān, left *shiḥnas* in the towns through which they passed with an *al-tamgha* as a sign of the surrender of the population (*ibid.*, i, 177; also 113, 115, 120, 121, 136-7). When Abū Bakr Sa'd b. Zangī, the ruler of Fārs, sent his brother Tahamtam to Ögedey with his submission, tribute was laid on the province and a Mongol *shiḥna* appointed (Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, ed. M.M. Iṣfahānī, lith. Bombay 1269/1852-3, B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[4], Leiden 1985, 117-18). In 650/1252-3 Mengü-Ḳa'an appointed governors (*ḥākimān*), *shiḥnas* and scribes to assess the taxes and to number the population (Djuwaynī, iii, 72-3, tr. ii, 596). As the conquests proceeded and the Mongols established an administration, *shiḥnas* were appointed over towns and districts (Spuler, *op. cit.*, 284-5).

As in the Saldjūḳ period, the *shiḥna* was concerned with the administration of customary law. There is, however, a *yarligh* for the appointment of *ḳāḍīs* issued by Ghazan, in which it is stated that *shiḥnas*, *maliks*, *bitikčiyān*, *ḳāḍīs*, 'Alawīs and *'ulamā'* were to assemble in the Friday mosque in the *dīwān al-muṭāla'a* to hear cases between Mongols, or between Mongols and Muslims, and other cases which were difficult to decide, and to settle them according to the *sharī'a* (Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 219), but this probably merely reflects Ghazan's policy to convert the Il-Khānate into an Islamic state. Clearly, the *shiḥna*'s activities were conducted mainly according to customary law. A document for a certain Shaykh Dorsun as *shiḥna* of such-and-such a province (*wilāyat*), which instructs him to investigate thoroughly *yarghu'ī* affairs and to decide them according to justice and the *yasaḳ* (*Dastūr al-kātib*, ii, 37), most probably reflects general practice. Another document in the same collection, concerning the complaint of the people of Salmās [*q.v.*] against the extortion of their *shiḥna*, states that the latter had been dismissed and his successor ordered to settle affairs justly according to the rule of the *yasaḳ*. The people were to refer *yarghu'ī* matters to him (*ibid.*, 38-9). It would seem from the document that cases were submitted by the *shiḥna* to the *yarghu* (*ibid.*, 39). A letter to a *ḳāḍī* in the *Dastūr al-kātib* forbids *yarghučiyān*, *shiḥnagān* and others from interfering in *shar'ī* affairs (i/2, Moscow 1971, 455). Ghazan's *yarligh* on the unification of weights and measures was addressed to *shiḥnagān*, *maliks*, *bitikčiyān* and others (Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 257); this implies that these matters were within the purview of the *shiḥna*. Under Ghazan, the *shiḥna* also appears to have been concerned with the general provincial administration. When he decided that grain should be stored in the provinces for the use of the army, the *shiḥna* of the province was ordered to take delivery of the grain and to pay cash for it (*ibid.*, 301). Together with provincial governors (*ḥākimān*), the *shiḥnas* were in charge of the billeting of *ilčis* and others in the provinces, a practice which Ghazan forbade (*ibid.*, 356-7).

The payment of the *shiḥna*, as in former times, was by dues. In the *Sa'ādat-nāma* of 'Alā-yi Tabrīzī, an item is included in the provincial expenses of Tabrīz of 1,000 dīnārs for the office of *shiḥna* (*shaḥāniyya*), 5,000 dīnārs for the garrison of the citadel (*al-isfahsālāriyya bi-ḳal'a muḳaddamuhum fulān*) and 15,000 dīnārs for the officials of the *tamgha* (*'ummāliyyat al-tamgha*); the sum for the *basḳāḳ* was 10,000 dīnārs (Mirkamal Nabipour, *Die beiden persischen Leitfäden des Falak 'Alā-ye Tabrīzī über das staatliche Rechnungswesen im 14. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1973, Persian text, 134). A document in the *Dastūr al-kātib*, ii, 29, states that the *wazīr* was to get from the *shiḥna* a bond (*malčakā*) that he would not take more from the province and its population than was laid down in the *dīwān* as the due of the *shiḥna*. From other documents in the collection (cf. ii, 36, 38-9, 305-6, 323-4) it would seem that extortion by *shiḥnas* was not unknown (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 244).

Under the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the *shiḥna* is found as a local official concerned with the maintenance of public order, ranking among the *dārūghas*, *maliks* and *kadkhudās* (cf. a *farmān* of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djahānshāh dated 853/1449, in A.D. Papazyan, *Persidskie dokumenti matenadarana i ukazi, vïpusk perviy* (*xv-xvi vv.*), Erivan 1956, 245). Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī Iṣfahānī mentions *shiḥnas* and *kotwāls* [*q.v.*] (fortress commanders) of various towns and fortresses belonging to Diyār Bakr in 882/1478 (*Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, ed. J.E. Woods, London 1992, 126). Under the Ṣafawids, the term *shiḥna* was no longer in general use.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

AL-**SHIḤR** a town and region on the South Arabian Indian Ocean coast approximately 330 miles east of Aden [see 'ADAN], the main port of Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] until the 19th century, when al-Mukallā rose to prominence. The port is particularly well known as a fishing and trading centre, but is throughout the centuries associated with the incense trade: Ibn Khurradādhbih (147-8) calls the area the Land of Incense (*bilād al-kundur*) and quotes the following line of poetry:

Go to al-Shiḥr; don't go to Oman (*'Umānā*); if you don't find dates, you will find incense (*lubānā*)!

Niebuhr, writing in the 18th century (*Description de l'Arabie...*, Amsterdam and Utrecht 1774, iii, 244), reports that incense was still exported through the port of al-Shiḥr, and Serjeant (*The ports of Aden & Shihr (mediaeval period)*, in *Les grandes escales I. Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, xxxii [1974], 221) informs us that it was still handled in the port. The town itself is walled and is situated along a long sandy beach, access to ships in the anchorage being by boat. It is divided into two by the wadi bed, al-Misyāl, the west-

ern quarter bearing the name Madjraf and the eastern one al-Ramla. The quarter system within the town is still strong and there are several markets: Sūḳ al-Lakham (shark), Sūḳ al-Hunūd (despite the fact that there can be few Indians left in the town), Sūḳ Shibām, named after the inland town [*q.v.*], etc. Fishing is still an important local industry and the major port commodity apart from incense is fish-oil. Ambergris (*'anbar Shiḥrī*) was also a well-known product of the coast, at least in earlier times. The incense comes from the upper reaches of the mountains in the Shiḥr region. There are graves along the shore said to be those of the victims of the Portuguese attacks on the town from the 10th/16th century onwards (see below). It was from al-Shiḥr that many Ḥaḍramīs migrated to East Africa and they were thus called Shihiris (Serjeant, *Ports*, 221). The region is now in the governorate of Ḥaḍramawt in the Yemen Arabic Republic and comprises the following settlements: al-Days, al-Ḥāmī, al-Rayda and Ḳaṣīr/Ḳuṣayr (*al-Mawsū'a al-Yamaniyya*, eds. Aḥmad Djābir 'Afīf *et alii*, Ṣan'ā' 1992, 549).

Having a much more limited hinterland than Aden, the port was always of less importance. Its early history is far from clear, but it appears to have been controlled by the Ziyādids (*ca.* 203-371/818-981), a Tihāma-based Yemeni dynasty (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Ta'rīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1951-4, 67). The Banū Ma'n (5th/11th century vassals of the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] in Aden) also held al-Shiḥr (Abū Makhrama, in Löfgren, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, Uppsala etc. 86). The town is mentioned on occasions during the Rasūlid period (626-858/1228-1454), but figures much more prominently in the history of the Portuguese off the South Arabian coast. The town, which they called Xaer/Xael, was always vulnerable from the sea and they attacked it on more than one occasion and plundered the port (e.g. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast*, Oxford 1963, 67). In 867/1462, the Kathīrī sultan Badr b. Ṭuwayriḳ captured al-Shiḥr from the Ṭāhirids (858-923/1454-1517), the successors in the south of the Yemen to the Rasūlids. However, it later came under the control of the Ḳu'ayṭī sultanate of al-Mukallā (Serjeant, 25).

Al-Hamdānī (51) says the name of al-Shiḥr is derived from *shaḥar al-arḍ*, which, he adds, is the salinity (*sabakh*) of the soil where bitter plants grow. Perhaps more plausible is Abū Makhrama's suggestion (66) that its inhabitants were the Shaḥrā' of Mahra and that the *alif* and *hamza* have been dropped and the *shīn* vocalised with a *kasra* instead of the original *fatḥa*. The latter, al-Shaḥr, is in any case an alternative pronunciation. Other sources (e.g. al-Hamdānī, 134, and al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples and Rome, i-ii, 1970-1, 52, 154-5) state that the inhabitants do not speak good Arabic, and this may be rather a reference to their speaking a language other than Arabic (Mahri?). The latter source says specifically that the Arabs do not understand the language of al-Shiḥr at all and he calls it "old Ḥimyarī". Yāḳūt (*Mu'djam*, Beirut 1979, iii, 327) prefers to associate the name with *shiḥra*, a narrow tract of land.

Bibliography: Apart from the references given in the text above, the rare Government of Bombay, *An account of the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden*, Bombay 1909, contains an interesting and informative chapter, pp. 125-48, entitled *Historical résumé of Mokalla, Shehr and Hadthramût*. (G.R. SMITH)

SHIḤRĪ or SHAḤRĪ, the common term by Arabs and Arabists for the Modern South Arabian language Śḥeri (in older literature also called Šḥauri/Shahari), spoken in the mountains of Ẓufār ('Umān) by about 50,000 speakers. As the word Śḥero (pl.) designates only the underprivileged, non-tribal part of the population, Johnstone (*Jibbāli lexicon*, p. XI) established the term "Jibbāli", a translation into Arabic (Śhehr = mountains), in order to avoid old social distinction. Together with the other non-Arabic languages of southern Arabia (Mehri [see MAHRĪ], Soḳoṭri [see SOḲOṬRA], Ḥarsūsi [see ḤARĀSĪS], Baṭḥari [see BAṬĀḤIRA] and Hóbyót), Śḥeri belongs to a group of closely connected languages called "Modern South Arabian". A special trait of Śḥeri, not found in any other of the Modern South Arabian languages, is the existence of nasal vowels, a result of the disappearance of "m" in intervocalic position. According to Johnstone (*Jibbāli lexicon*), three main dialects can be distinguished, of which the western one is hardly known. A distinctive mark of the central dialect is the existence of the two phonemes *ś* and *ś̃* (spoken like *ś* but without touching the alveoles with the tip of the tongue) instead of *ś* in the eastern dialect. The origin of Śḥeri and the other Modern South Arabian languages is controversial. Even though they are not direct descendants of Epigraphic South Arabian, they have so many common features with them (perfect 1st and 2nd persons with *k*, three sibilants *s*, *š*, *ś*) and with the languages of Ethiopia (ejectives), that they should be incorporated in the group of South Semitic to the exclusion of Arabic.

Bibliography: See that to MAHRĪ. The most important work is T.M. Johnstone, *Jibbāli lexicon*, Oxford 1981. Recent publications include: J. Rodgers, *The subgrouping of the South Semitic languages*, in *Semitic studies in honor of Wolf Leslau on the occasion of his 85th birthday*, ed. A.S. Kaye, Wiesbaden 1991; A. Lonnet, *La découverte du sudarabique moderne. Le Ehkili de Fresnel (1838)*, in *Materiaux Arabes et Sudarabiques*, iii (1991); M.-C. Simeone-Senelle, *L'expression du "futur" dans les langes sudarabiques modernes*, in *Materiaux Arabes et Sudarabiques*, v (1993).

(W. ARNOLD)

SHIKĀRĪ (P.), a form current in Muslim India, passing into Urdu and Hindi and derived from Pers. *shikār* "game, prey; the chase, hunting", with the senses of "a native hunter or stalker, who accompanied European hunters and sportsmen", and then of these last sportsmen themselves (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, ²London 1903, 827-8, s.v. *Shikaree, Shekarry*).

The native hunters stemmed from the many castes in India whose occupation was the snaring, trapping, tracking, or pursuit of birds and beasts, but the caste which adopted or received the word Shikārī as its tribal name was found chiefly in Sind by the early 20th century. A writer in 1822 said: "Shecarries are generally Hindoos of low caste, who gain their livelihood entirely by catching birds, hares, and all sorts of animals", but the Shikārīs of Sind seem to have abandoned the occupation from which they take their name. They are described as outcast immigrants from Rādjputāna, found from Bengal to the Pandjāb, the origin of whose honourable appellation was unexplained, though they probably possessed, like other aboriginal races, a knowledge of wild animals and skill in tracking and were employed by the Muslim nobility in quest of sport. They were subsequently engaged in making baskets, and as sweepers and scavengers, and appear to have corresponded in most points, to the Bhangīs of Bengal and Hindūstān. They ate carrion, and, even when professing Islam, were considered unclean, and not allowed to enter a mosque,

unless they underwent a ceremony of purification by fire, after which they were classed as Māččhīs. Those whose occupation was the taking of life were naturally held in small esteem in a land which has been permeated by the principles of Buddhism, Djainism, and Brahmanism, but the purification ceremony demanded by Muslims before admitting Shikārīs to their worship was an example of the extent to which Islam in India had been affected by the attitudes of Hinduism.

Bibliography: E.H. Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, Karachi 1907; *Census reports of the Government of India*. (T.W. Haig-[C.E. Bosworth])

SHIKĀRPŪR, the name of two places in Sind.

1. That in upper Sind, situated in lat. 27° 57′ N. and long. 68° 40' E., was founded in 1667 by the Dā'ūdpūtras, a warrior/weaver tribe, on the *Shikārgāh* or hunting ground [see SHIKĀRĪ] of the Mahars, hence the name. In 1701 they were defeated by the first Kalhōra chief, Yār Muḥammad (1701-18); his son Nūr Muḥammad (1718-54) drove them eastward where they founded Bahāwalpūr [*q.v.*].

In 1739 the Mughal Emperor, Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*], had to cede all the region west of the Indus to Nādir Shāh, who in 1740 invaded Sind to punish Nūr Muḥammad and annexed Bhakkar, Sībī and Shikārpūr. He restored Shikārpūr to the Dā'ūdpūtras, but in 1754 the Kalhōras recovered it when Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] made Murād Yār governor over the whole of Sind.

During the period of vassalage to Kandahār (1746-1825), the region, now known as the *Mughūlī Pargana*, saw a great influx of Paṭhān settlers who received lands on reduced rents (*Paṭṭadārī*). At the same time, Shikārpūr became an entrepot for trade with the regions of eastern Persia, Afghānistān and Central Asia, a trade monopolised by the Hindus, and its merchants and covered market were famous throughout Asia.

Sind's vassalage to Afghānistān was broken by the Tālpūrs in 1789, who recovered Shikārpūr also in 1825.

The period of British rule (1843-1947) saw a gradual decline in Shikārpūr's importance, since their control of the Frontier region and Balūčistān, and the opening up of the Khyber pass route and the railway link to Quetta, ended its strategic and economic role.

Reduced to the position of a country town on the eve of Pākistān's creation (1947), it gradually began to develop as a centre of agriculturally-based industries. It became a District headquarters (1977) and now possesses a municipality. Its population, estimated at 20,000 to 25,000 by the middle of the 19th century, is now 88,000.

Its most celebrated literary and spiritual figure was Shāh Faḳīr 'Alwī (d. 1780), an Afghān migrant, and founder there of the Ḳādirī *khānḳāh* and a *madrasa*; venerated by rulers like Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, he wrote books in Arabic, Persian and Pashto, and his letters and books like *Futūḥāt al-ghaybiyya* won general recognition. Also, Munshī 'Aṭā Muḥammad (d. 1855) wrote the *Tāza nawā'i ma'ārik*, a contemporary account of the Tālpūrs and their relations with the rulers of Kābul (ed. H. Rashīdī, Karachi 1959).

2. That in Lower Sind was founded by the Phanwars seven miles away from Dādū town, and was also captured by Nūr Muḥammad in 1701. It was renamed (old) Khudābād and remained the Kalhōra capital till Ghulām Shāh (1757-72) transferred it to nearby Ḥaydarābād. Devastated by the Tālpūrs in 1781, it is now in ruins.

3. There exist other Shikārpūrs in the subcontinent, including in the Bulandshahr District of U.P. and in Mysore (Karnataka). See *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 277-8.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 275-7; E.H. Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind. A.*, Karachi 1907; H.T. Sorley, *Gazetteer of West Pakistan. The former Province of Sind*, Lahore; S.A.S.A. Ansari, *A short sketch, historical and traditional, of the Musulman races found in Sind, Baluchistan and Afghanistan*, Karachi 1901, repr. 1954; Khudādād Khān, *Lubb-i tārīkh-i Sind* (in Persian), ed. N.A. Baloch, Ḥaydarābād, Sind 1959; M.H. Panhwar, *Source material on Sindh*, Jamshore, Sind 1977; *Sindh annual 1978*, Govt. of Sind Publ., Karachi 1979; Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and culture of Sindh*, Karachi 1980; G.R. Meher, *Tārīkh-i Sindh* (in Urdu), vi, Lahore 1985; *Pakistan statistical year book*, Govt. of Pakistan Publ., Karachi 1990. (Ansar Zahid Khan)

SHIKASTA [see KHAṬṬ].

SHIḲḲ 1. Shiḳḳ is the name of two diviners or *kāhins* who allegedly lived shortly before the rise of Islam. According to the *Abrégé des merveilles*, Shiḳḳ the Elder was the first diviner among the 'Arab al-'Āriba. He is a completely fabulous personage. Like the Cyclops, he had only one eye in the middle of his forehead or a fire which split his forehead into two (*shaḳḳa* "to split"). He is also confused with al-Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*], Antichrist, or at least Dadjdjāl is of his family. He is said to have lived chained to a rock on an island where volcanic phenomena occurred. The second Shiḳḳ, called al-Yashkurī, was the most famous of his time, along with Saṭīḥ [*q.v.*]; he expounded a vision of Rabī'a, son of Naṣr the Lakhmid prince of Yeman, foretelling the conquest of Yemen by the Abyssinians, its liberation by Sayf b. Dhī Yazan and the coming of the Prophet.

2. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, the Shiḳḳ are a kind of Shayṭān, forming part of the group of *mutashayyaṭīn*; they are in the shape of a half-man, with one arm and one leg. The Nasnās, other halves of men, are produced from Shiḳḳs and whole men. These Shayṭāns appear to travellers. It is said that 'Alḳama b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya met one of them one night near Ḥawmān and after an exchange of high words, the man and the djinnī killed one another.

Bibliography: *L'Abrégé des merveilles*, tr. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1898, 145, 152; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 364, 395 = §§ 1249, 1280; Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848-9, i, 371. On the *kāhin* in general, see Bal'amī, *Chronique de Tabari*, tr. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1867, ii, 169, and KĀHIN. A new analysis of the documentation used in this article, with some additions, has been made by T. Fahd in his *La divination arabe*, ²Paris 1987, see esp. 44, 66, 83, 101, 125, 186-9, 250. (B. Carra de Vaux-[T. Fahd])

SHIḲḲA BANĀRIYA [see AL-KĀF].

AL-**SHĪLĀ** or AL-**SĪLĀ**, the term for Korea in Arabic geographers of the 3rd/8th century.

Ibn Khurradādhbih describes in his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, 68-70, cf. 170, the sea route from West Asia to China, describing the provinces, routes and products encountered. According to him, starting from Sanfu (Champa) [see ṢANF] and travelling eastward along the coasts, there were Chinese ports, such as al-Wāḳīn (or Lūḳīn, to be identified with Chia-chou at Hanoi), Khānfū [*q.v.*] (Kuang-chou or Kuang-tung), Djāndjū (Chüan-chou) and Ḳāntū (Yang-chou); and beyond China, there were regions called Wāḳ-wāḳ (perhaps Japan) and al-Shīlā, with high mountains and rich gold mines. Judging from the geographical situation in the T'ang period, Sīlā would appear to

be a region of Korea or Japan. Shīlā or Sīlā is presumably a word derived from Si-ra (> Sila). Sira was originally called Sin-ra, which was one of the ancient Korean Kingdoms (*ca.* B.C. 57-A.D. 935). It thus appears likely that the ancient name of the Korean Kingdom of Sin-ra (> Shīlā, Sīlā) was transmitted, by way of Chinese merchants or other informants, to Arabic geographers of the 3rd/8th century.

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(T. SAGUCHI)

SHILB, modern Silves in southern Portugal, a town of medieval al-Andalus in the *kūra* of Ukshūnuba.

Arabic geographers describe it as being in a fertile region, with many trees, especially pines, orchards and watercourses. The town itself is on a slight hill at the side of a river (the *nahr Shilb*, modern Arade), which supplied the town with water. It was linked to the roads of the south-west of the Peninsula, and its nearness to the sea (15 km/9 miles) gave access to maritime produce and trade. Roman remains have been found on the site; the exact date of the Arabic conquest is unknown, but Islamic pottery from the 2nd/8th century has been found. There was a Yemeni element in the Arab population, and local scholars with *nisbas* such as al-Awdī, al-Lakhmī, al-Ḥimyarī, etc., are mentioned but there were also local lineages, such as that of the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥabīb.

In Umayyad times, Shilb took part in the decentralisation movement notable throughout al-Andalus in the later 3rd/9th century. A lord of *muwallad* origin, Bakr b. Yaḥyā, dominated the Ukshūnuba region, and the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad I had to confirm his son Yahyā as governor of Shilb. In 317/929, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, in his endeavours to restore unity in the kingdom, attacked Bakr's grandson Khalaf, who nevertheless managed to retain his position as caliphal governor in return for paying taxes and promising not to aid rebels. When the Umayyad caliphate fell, local notables seized power at Shilb, as at other places. The chronology here is obscure, and it is uncertain whether one or two separate families are involved, but the sources agree that a *ḳāḍī* of Shilb, ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad from the Banū Muzayn, assumed power and founded a petty dynasty, which was soon attacked by al-Muʿtaḍid b. ʿAbbād of Seville, who conquered the town in 455/1063, nominating his son al-Muʿtamid as governor there. The prince-governor was accompanied by his friend and *wazīr*, Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], himself a native of Shilb, and it was there that al-Muʿtamid met his future favourite wife, Iʿtimād. When al-Muʿtamid succeeded to power in Seville, he left the town to his son ʿUbayd Allāh al-Muʿtadd, but like the rest of the ʿAbbādid lands, Shilb soon fell to the Almoravids.

A new stage in the history of the south-west of the Peninsula was the revolt of Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*], who was supported by the people of Shilb and Yābura (Evora), who gave their allegiance in 539/1144, with Ibn al-Mundhir becoming Ibn Ḳasī's governor at Shilb. Attacks by the forces of Shilb and the *kūra* on Seville and Cordova failed, but Ibn Ḳasī ended up as governor of Shilb for the incoming Almohads. However, he and the notables of Shilb did not give their allegiance, amongst representatives of al-Andalus, to the caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin at Salé, and he began negotiations with the Portuguese. His death, at the hands of a plot of the Shilb citizens, is attributed to this attempted rapprochement with the Christians. The Almohads then attached the whole *kūra* to Seville, nominated Almohad governors and settled troops (*munadjdjadūn*) and their families in the region. The fortifications of the fortresses of Shilb and Bādja (Beja) were repaired, but in 585/1189 the Portuguese captured Shilb after a fierce siege, and the inhabitants had to abandon it, leaving behind all their possessions. The Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr recovered it in Djumādā II 587/June 1191, and the last years of Muslim control there saw Shilb under the dominion of the lord of Labla (Niebla), Shuʿayb b. Muḥammad b. Maḥfūẓ, who rose against the Almohads in 631/1234. The town finally passed into Portuguese hands in 1240, and it is Christian sources which describe this conquest, led by Santiago Paio Peres Correia.

A good number of poets stemmed from Shilb, with Ibn ʿAmmār probably the most famous, but one should also note two poetesses, Maryam bt. Abī Yaʿḳūb al-Shilbī (5th/11th century) and al-Shilbiyya (6th/12th century). Today, the fortress is the most important relic in the town of the Islamic period; there has been preserved an inscription on the base of a tower of the enceinte dated 624/1227, together with epigraphic and ceramic fragments and coins.

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(MANUELA MARÍN)

AL-**SHILLĪ**, Abū ʿAlawī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, biographer and historian from Tarīm [*q.v.*]. Born in 1030/1621-2, he died at Mecca in 1093/1682. He studied theology, sciences and, above all, mysticism in his native town, in Ẓufār, in India and in Mecca and Medina. After the death of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. al-Djamāl in 1072/1661-2, he began to lecture at the Great Mosque in Mecca, but had to renounce his teaching activities after four years because of ill health. On the basis of a number of works on Ḥaḍramī *sayyids* and Ṣūfīs [see BĀ ʿALAWĪ],

he brought together more than 280 biographies in his *al-Mashraʿ al-rawī fī manāḳib al-sāda al-kirām Āl Abī ʿAlawī*, published Cairo 1319/1901-2. His *al-Sanāʾ al-bāhir bi-takmīl al-Nūr al-sāfir ʿan akhbār al-ḳarn al-ʿāshir* is a supplement to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Shaykh al-ʿAydarūs al-Hindī [see ʿAYDARŪS, 4], *al-Nūr al-sāfir...*, ed. Baghdād 1353/1934. He also wrote *ʿIḳd al-djawāhir wa 'l-durar fī akhbār ahl al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*.

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SHIMSHĀṬ, a mediaeval Islamic town in eastern Anatolia/western Armenia. It lay, at a site whose definite location is unknown, on the left bank of the southern headwater of the upper Euphrates, the classical Arsanias, modern Murad Su. Its location was, according to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 362-3, between Bālūya (modern Palu) and Ḥiṣn Ziyād or Khartpirt [*q.v.*] (modern Harput), and it is not to be confused with Sumaysāṭ [*q.v.*] on the Euphrates further south. It was in the borderland between the Arabs and the Greeks, and possession of it must have oscillated between the two peoples. It was the place of origin of a 4th/10th century poet of a certain distinction, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Shimshāṭī [*q.v.*], and we know that in 326/938 it was still in Arab hands, for in that year, the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] fell back on it before the Byzantine Domesticus after besieging Ḥiṣn Ziyād (E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, 76). By Yāḳūt's time, however (early 7th/13th century), Shimshāṭ was in ruins, with only a tiny population.

Bibliography: See also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 116-17; J. Marquart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 242-4. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**SHIMSHĀṬĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD b. al-Muṭahhar al-ʿAdawī, Arab philologist, minor poet and anthologist. As poetic occurrences of his *nisba* and the town to which it refers show (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1376/1957, iii, 363a, l. 4; and *Irshād*, Cairo n.d., xvii, 241, l. 5), the name-form "al-Sumaysāṭī", given in Flügel's ed. of the *Fihrist* and, as an option, by Brockelmann, *GAL* S I, 251, should be discarded. Sumaysāṭ and Shimshāṭ refer to two different places (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.vv., and cf. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 116-17 (Shimshāṭ), 108 (Sumaysāṭ), and cf. map iii). According to Ibn al-Nadīm, who used to know al-Shimshāṭī, the latter was still alive when he was writing, i.e. in 377/987 (*Fihrist*, 154, ll. 24-5; the year is given by Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, *loc. cit.*, 240, ll. 12-13). No other precise dates of his life are known.

He was attached to the court of the Ḥamdānids in Mawṣil, where he served as a teacher to Abū Taghlib b. Nāṣir al-Dawla and his brother. For this reason he was also known by the nickname "the teacher" (al-Muʿallim), e.g. in a mocking poem that Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] himself wrote about al-Shimshāṭī (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, *loc. cit.* at l. 5, and cf. *Fihrist*, 235, l. 1).

He was of Shīʿī convictions, and thus has an entry in al-Nadjāshī (who was his disciple, *Ridjāl*, 186 ff.), which also contains the longest list of his works.

He is known, first and foremost, for the only extant work of his, the *K. al-Anwār wa-maḥāsin al-ashʿār*. This is an anthology of poetry, roughly of the *K. al-Maʿānī* type, usually with longish chunks of poetry and combined here and there with prose accounts. The chapters deal with the following topics: 1. Weapons; 2. Battle-days of the ancient Arabs (explicitly devoted to the lesser-known ones, of which he includes thirty); 3. Horses; 4. Land and camels, sea and ships; 5. Former encampments and mirages; 6. Houses and castles; and 7. Hunting.

From his *adab* work *al-Nuzah wa 'l-ibtihādj*, a fragment dealing with a dispute between the two grammarians al-Zadjdjādj (Baṣran) and Thaʿlab (Kūfan) [*qq.v.*], of whom the former is the first-person narrator, is preserved in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 137-43; in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, Ḥaydarābād 1359-61, iv, 123-6; and presumably also in a small independent work by Ibn Ṭūlūn (see Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 99; and for Ibn Ṭūlūn, Brockelmann, II², 481-3).

Bibliography: Apart from the sources given in the article, see the eds. of *al-Anwār wa-maḥāsin al-ashʿār*, by al-Sayyid Muḥammad Yūsuf, i (all publ.?), Kuwait 1397/1977, and by Ṣāliḥ Mahdī al-ʿAzzāwī, Baghdād 1976; also al-Sayyid Muḥammad Yūsuf, *al-Shimshāṭī wa-kitābuhū al-Anwār wa-maḥāsin al-ashʿār*, in *RAAD*, xlviii (1973), 359-70. (W.P. HEINRICHS)

SHĪN [see SĪN].

SHĪNĀ, SALMĀN (1898-1978), ʿIrāḳī Jewish journalist, lawyer and a member of the ʿIrāḳī Parliament. Born in the Jewish quarter of Baghdād, he received a conventional religious Jewish education in a Ḥeder (equivalent to the Muslim *kuttāb*), and then continued his primary and secondary studies at the secular Jewish school of the Alliance Française Israëlite in Baghdād, and excelled in languages. Later, he joined the Ottoman Secondary School in Baghdād and was recruited to the Ottoman Army as a reserve officer during the First World War, as an adjutant and interpreter to the German General von Becker at the Turkish Headquarters.

After the defeat of the Ottoman army in ʿIrāḳ, he was taken prisoner, but refused to join the British forces on the grounds that the Ottomans had always helped the Jews, especially after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. He became a prisoner of war in India, but was repatriated to ʿIrāḳ in February 1919.

In 1920 he joined the Law College in Baghdād where many ʿIrāḳī politicians such as Ṣāliḥ Djabr, later on Prime Minister (1947-8) studied. On 10 April 1924 his weekly magazine *al-Miṣbāḥ* was first issued, subtitled in Hebrew letters *Ha-Menorah* ("The Candelabrum"), with its Jewish emblem. This was the first Jewish literary and cultural weekly magazine published in literary Arabic in Arab script in ʿIrāḳ. Shīnā edited his magazine, writing its main articles and translated many news items and articles from European and American magazines concerning Jewish and Zionist activities and achievements, in the Holy Land and abroad. The young poet and writer, Anwar Shāʾūl [*q.v.*] joined him in editing the literary part of the weekly, and many other young Jewish poets and writers became contributors. Their works were among the first romantic poems and short stories published in ʿIrāḳ, being influenced both by European literature and by the Arabic Mahdjar [*q.v.*] school in the USA. Shīnā and Anwar Shāʾūl also encouraged theatrical activities among the Jewish community in ʿIrāḳ, and among the plays performed was an Arabic translation of Corneille's *Le Cid* (1925). He also established, with other Zionist activists, The Hebrew Literary Association (*al-Djamʿiyya al-ʿIbriyya al-Adabiyya*) as a club and library, where Jewish journals in Hebrew, English and French were received.

In 1925 Shīnā started practising as a lawyer, serving the Jewish community and defending its interests after the rise of the Nazi and Palestinian national activities in ʿIrāḳ, where there were many Palestinians headed by the Muftī al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who were later, in October 1939, joined by their leader. Their activities culminated in the *coup d'état* of Rashīd ʿAlī al-Gīlānī, defeated in May 1941 by the British Army, followed by the Pogrom against the Jews of Baghdād on 1-2 June 1941.

In 1947 Shīnā was elected a member of the ʿIrāḳī Parliament and served until 1951, the most critical years in the history of the Jews of ʿIrāḳ, which ended with their mass immigration to Israel. Shīnā himself resigned from the Parliament and emigrated to Israel, where he worked as a lawyer, serving his community and protesting against what he termed "discrimination against the Jews of ʿIrāḳ", whose properties were frozen in ʿIrāḳ and who were without community leaders in the new Israeli society. In 1956 he unsuccessfully stood as a candidate for the Knesset. He continued as a lawyer and activist until his death at Ramat-Gan in 1978.

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(S. Moreh)

SHINĀSĪ, Ibrāhīm Efendi (1826-71), Ottoman poet, journalist, playwright. A pioneer in the Westernisation of Ottoman Turkish literature, Ibrāhīm Shināsī Efendi (in modern Turkish: İbrahim Şinasi) is credited with many firsts—the first play for the legitimate stage, the first translations of French poetry, the first privately-owned Turkish newspaper and some of the earliest journalistic articles, the use of punctuation, incipient modern literary criticism in prose, as well as the introduction of the norms and concepts of French political theories, culture and literature.

Shināsī was born in Istanbul in 1826, the son of an artillery officer. After his early education at a neighbourhood school, he became an apprentice clerk at the Bureau of the Tophane Imperial Arsenal, where he was trained by several senior staff members in Arabic, Persian and French.

In 1849, through the good offices of the Grand Vizier Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*], he was sent to France where, in addition to literature, he studied public finance. Gaining fluency in French, he reportedly made the acquaintance of Renan, Lamartine, and the family of the prominent orientalist Sylvestre de Sacy; according to some sources, he became associated with the Société Asiatique.

During his studies in Paris, Shināsī prepared a compilation entitled *Ḍurūb-i emthāl-i ʿothmāniyye* ("Ottoman proverbs"), published in 1863. The first edition contained about 1,500 proverbs and some 300 aphorisms, couplets, and expressions. (In 1870 he published an enlarged second edition which featured more than 2,000 proverbs and over 400 maxims.) This work, with its substantive introduction on paremiology and folk wisdom, stimulated among the Ottoman educated élite an interest in popular culture.

Upon his return to Istanbul in 1852 or early 1853, he worked briefly at the Arsenal again, following which the sultan appointed him to the Council of Public Education. Although some literary histories claim that he also served as a member of the *Endjümen-i Dānish*, this has never been documented. Shināsī's official status wavered, depending on the political vicissitudes of his protector, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha.

In 1859, Shināsī published *Terdjüme-yi manẓūme* ("Translation of verses"), a small selection of poems by Racine, Lamartine, Gilbert, La Fontaine, and Fénélon, rendered into Turkish verse. E.J.W. Gibb attributes considerable seminal influence to this volume, claiming that the translations "mark the turning-point in the history of Ottoman poetry". Shināsī's renditions are quite smooth in style and faithful to the originals. They served as the first Ottoman taste of the poetry of the Western world in Turkish.

In October 1860, Shināsī started to publish, together with Āgāh Efendi (1832-85), a weekly newspaper named *Terdjümān-ı Aḥwāl* ("Interpreter of events"), the first unofficial, privately-owned Turkish newspaper. Here, Shināsī articulated his commitment to enlighten the public "in an easily comprehensible language".

Shāʿir ewlenmesi (Eng. tr., *The wedding of a poet*, by E. Allworth, New York 1981), a one-act comedy, written by Shināsī in 1859, was serialised in *Terdjümān-ı aḥwāl* in 1860 and published in book form the same year. Designed as a play of social criticism, mainly of the hazards of the traditional custom of arranged marriages, it interfuses some of the techniques of European comedy with devices and personae from the *Orta oyunu* [*q.v.*] (the Ottoman *Commedia dell'arte*). *Shāʿir ewlenmesi* stands as the first Turkish play written for the express purpose of being produced on the legitimate stage. Its first production, however, did not take place until 1908 (in Salonica).

Because of disagreements with Āgāh Efendi, Shināsī left *Terdjümān* in the spring of 1861, and launched, in June 1862, his own journal *Taṣwīr-i afkār* ("Chronicle of opinions"), which became a platform for innovative ideas based on European-type rationalism and technological reform for the salvation of the Ottoman state. Shināsī wrote many articles dealing with urban problems, agriculture, industry, and governmental corruption, and advocated the rule of law based on the rights of the people, political rationalism, secularisation, and a system of governance sustained by national sovereignty, freedom, and citizenship rights.

Shināsī was joined in 1863 by the young Nāmıḳ Kemāl (1840-88 [*q.v.*]), in spreading the vision not only of a progressive civil society but also of a modern literature for the Ottomans. Together in *Taṣwīr-i afkār* they endeavoured to promote a new *Weltanschauung* derived from Western civilisation. Many of their themes and recommendations came to play a prominent role during the last half-century of the Ottoman state.

Significantly, it was Shināsī who introduced to the Ottoman political and intellectual circles such concepts as "republic", "popular sovereignty", "art for society's sake", "political economy", "secularism", etc. In both *Terdjümān* and *Taṣwīr*, he pursued his goal of not only "informing the people about events and new ideas" but also "communicating to the government the will of the nation". In this two-way process, he revitalised the vernacular through his use of a simplified vocabulary and streamlined journalistic style. Shināsī's *Taṣwīr* printing house constituted a meeting place for young Ottoman men of letters and intellectuals and a breeding-ground for ideas seeking to create a new Ottoman society and literature.

In 1865 Shināsī departed for Paris, leaving *Taṣwīr-i afkār* in Nāmıḳ Kemāl's hands. His departure was probably prompted by his fear of becoming implicated in a plot to assassinate the Grand Vizier ʿĀlī

Pas̲h̲a. In Paris he was supported by Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pas̲h̲a, but had little or no contact with the Young Ottomans, choosing to stay out of politics. During his four years there, interrupted by a short visit to Istanbul, he concentrated on a dictionary of the Turkish language. This ambitious enterprise, as reported by Ebüzziyā Tewfīḳ (1848-1913), was left unfinished, with 19 of the 31 letters of the Ottoman alphabet completed and 14,000 pages produced—a claim disputed by numerous scholars. No part of this dictionary—which S̲h̲ināsī had discussed with the linguist Emile Littré and the orientalist Pavet de Courteille—has survived. (Reportedly, S̲h̲ināsī had also produced, possibly around 1855, a grammar for schools entitled *Mebādī-yi ʿilm-i ṣarf*, but no copy of it has ever been found, if it was published at all.) Following his return to Istanbul in the fall of 1869, S̲h̲ināsī rented a small house, where he also set up a printing press to republish some of his books. He died on 13 September 1871.

S̲h̲ināsī's poetry, most of it written in the early period of his life, is hardly distinguished by high literary merit. He published *Muntak̲h̲abāt-i as̲h̲ʿār* ("Selected poems") in 1862, and his complete *Dīwān* came out posthumously in 1885. His output consists of an *ilāhī* (hymn), a *münād̲j̲āt* (supplication), a small number of *g̲h̲azal*s, a few chronograms and encomiastic verses, a handful of "parallel" or "imitative" poems and didactic verses, and independent (often aphoristic) couplets. Among his most appealing poems are several La Fontainesque fables. His major poems include four *ḳaṣīda*s composed for his benefactor Muṣṭafā Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a. These are of interest for several reasons, aside from the fact that S̲h̲ināsī wrote full-scale panegyrics exclusively for this Grand Vizier. He introduced formal revisions (principally the elimination of the *nesīb* or exordium section), used the *ḳaṣīda* as a vehicle for his positivist ideas, and praised his subject in such terms as "the president of the nation of virtue", "the apostle of civilisation", even courageously asserting that "your legislation puts the Sultan in his place".

S̲h̲ināsī employed conventional Ottoman stanzaic forms and adhered to the aesthetic values of *Dīwān* (classical, élite) poetry. His innovations were of a limited nature: they indicated, however, the possibility of taking certain liberties with tradition. He composed one whole poem in what he called "pure Turkish" in which he kept out words borrowed from Arabic and Persian. In some of his critical writings and in a polemical exchange, he helped to introduce a new and strong sense of the integrity of the Turkish language.

S̲h̲ināsī was also the first Ottoman poet to translate some of his own lines of poetry into French. (Samples of his renditions appear in his *Muntak̲h̲abāt* and *Dīwān*.) His universalist ideal is contained in one of his most frequently quoted lines: "My nation is mankind, my country is the face of the earth".

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(Talat Sait Halman)

S̲H̲ĪNĪ, S̲H̲ĪNIYYA, S̲H̲ĀNĪ (a.), a type of mediaeval Arabic warship used in the Mediterranean. The *s̲h̲īnī* is mentioned briefly in safīna. 1 (b) as a type of galley, but its importance in naval history of the time merits separate notice.

Ancient and mediaeval Mediterranean shipbuilding is poorly documented, and, while the study of cargo-carriers has been somewhat enhanced by an increasing number of discovered wrecks, the only ancient wreck of a war vessel we possess is the Punic ship of Marsala (A. Guillerm, *Archaeologic excavations and experimental archaeology. The Punic ship of Marsala and Trireme Olympias*, in *Tropis*, iii [1995], 193-6). We are left mainly with the literary evidence and a few schematic designs of ships in both the Arab and Byzantine sources, the comparative study of which is necessary before any conclusions are drawn.

The type of the Byzantine *dromon*, which was used as a model for the Arab *s̲h̲īnī*, followed the classical Mediterranean tradition, i.e. the "shell technique" of shipbuilding, the ribs being added after the planks had been joined together (M. Daeffler, *Late 17th century conception of French galleys, in Septième Colloque International d'Archéologie Navale*, Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue 1994, 15). Nevertheless, the Byzantine *dromon* of the middle 7th century, and consequently the first Arab warships, were very different from the earlier *dromons* of the 5th and 6th centuries, which had been swift, small, 30-oared vessels (the word *dromon* comes from δραμεῖν "to run, to move quickly").

Though the Arab *s̲h̲īnī* followed in general the type of the Byzantine *dromon*, there was at first a substantial difference in that the fighting crew engaged were better-paid Muslims, while the sailing crew were lesser-paid Christian Egyptians. Eventually, of course, Muslim sailors with nautical experience entered the ranks of the sailing crew.

The 7th-century Byzantine *dromon* and the Arab *s̲h̲īnī* sacrificed speed and manoeuvrability for heavy machine equipment, mainly stone-throwing catapults, hence the main weapon of earlier times, the ram, was abandoned by both types of ship: thus in the famous naval battle of D̲h̲āt al-Ṣawārī (34/655-6 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) no use of the ram is reported (see V. Christides, *The naval engagement of D̲h̲āt aṣ-Ṣawāri A.H. 34/A.D. 655-56*, in *Byzantina*, xiii [1985], 1331-45).

Arab and Byzantine naval technology reached their peaks in the 9th and 10th centuries, when, in addition to the heavy stone-throwing machinery, Greek Fire began to be used by Arabs and Byzantines on their warships, and then in Mamlūk times, gunpowder and cannons (see naft, 2, and bārūd. iii, and the chapter on incendiary weapons in A.Y. al-Hassan and D.R. Hill, *Islamic technology*, Cambridge 1986, 106 ff.).

The Arabic sources provide us with many details concerning the function of the Arab warships which do not appear in other sources. Thus the *s̲h̲īnī* was two-banked, with a separate leader in each bank, and in the lower level, a sick bay was placed with the proper medical personnel (Christides, *Naval warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th centuries). An Arabic translation of Leo VI's Naumachica*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], 143). Like its counterpart the *dromon*, it had lateen sails, originally two and later three. Arab warships were usually painted black and their sails were white (idem, *Byzantine dromon and Arab s̲h̲īnī*, in *Tropis*, iii [1995], 118). The *s̲h̲īnī* was propelled by sails and oars. Ibn al-Mammātī states that it sailed with 140 oars, leaving open the question of the number of oarsmen as well as that of the fighting men who were placed above them (*K. Ḳawānīn al-dawānīn*, ed. A.S. Atiya, Cairo 1934, 340). It seems that in the Arab warships, as in the Byzantine *dromons*, one person manned one oar; we can assume, therefore, that in every war vessel there were about 150 to 165 sailors, if we

add the supplementary crew (Arabic iconography attests the use of one man to each oar in each ship; see D. Nicolle, *Shipping in Islamic art: seventh through sixteenth century A.D.*, in *The American Neptune*, xlix/3 [1989], 168-97). Nevertheless, the number of the oarsmen in the average *s̲h̲īnī* appears different in the Arabic sources and cannot be defined precisely; likewise, the number of the warriors, which probably varied in each warship, is unknown.

The average *s̲h̲īnī* had a castle placed next to the main sail or just under it (for the position of this castle in both Arab and Byzantine warships, see Christides, *Ibn al-Manqalī (Manglī) and Leo VI. New evidence on Arabo-Byzantine ship construction and naval warfare*, in *Byzantinoslavica* [1995]).

In addition to the average *s̲h̲īnī*, there were bigger warships with the same name but with a crew of 200 (Ibn al-Manglī, *al-Adilla al-rasmiyya fi 'l-taʿābī al-ḥarbiyya*, ed. M.S. K̲h̲aṭṭāb, Bag̲h̲dād 1988, 243).

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(V. Christides)

S̲H̲INĶĪṬ, a town of the mediaeval Islamic Sahara.

Various hypotheses have been put forward regarding the name S̲h̲inķīṭ/S̲h̲ind̲j̲īṭ, of which the following two merit discussion. The first gives to it the meaning "source of horses", with *sen* = "sources" and *gīti* = "horses". According to the various proponents of this etymology, the word's origin could be either from Azayr or Azer (a Soninké tongue, now extinct, formerly spoken in the Western Sahara) or else Zenāga Berber. The second hypothesis derives the name from *s̲h̲in*, said to be a deformation of *sen* or *sin*, which in the Adrar and the Tangant conveys the idea of height in relation to the rest of the countryside and *giti*, the name of a hill near the town of S̲h̲inķīṭ.

Although S̲h̲inķīṭ was to become famous to the point that it was used to denote the whole Moorish territory from Sāķiyāt al-Ḥamrā' to the Senegal River, it was never mentioned by the mediaeval Arabic geographers. Is this because the town did not at that time exist, or because it was relatively little known, compared to the great urban centres of the Sahara? The question remains open, but it is nevertheless true that Valentim Fernandès, a Moravian author living in Lisbon, was the first, in his *Description of the African coast from Ceuta to the Senegal* (1506-7), to draw the attention of the Western world to the existence of S̲h̲inķīṭ. However, this does not tell us anything about the origin of the town: at the earliest, in the 14th century, according to H.T. Norris, in his art. MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ, at VII, 624a, whilst al-K̲h̲alīl al-Naḥwī, *Bilād al-S̲h̲inķīṭ, al-manāra wa 'l-ribāṭ*, Tunis 1987, 72, claims that S̲h̲inķīṭ was actually founded in 660/1262 on the ruins of an ancient S̲h̲inķīṭ (the mythical Abbwayr) founded in 160/772.

From the 17th century onwards, the Banū Ḥassān, a branch of the Arab Maʿķil tribe, came into the western Sahara with permanent effects there, imposing their dialect (Ḥassāniyya) and gradually establishing amirates, including that of the Adrar, in which S̲h̲inķīṭ was situated. Nevertheless, out of respect for its scholars and saints, the *amīrs* of the Adrar never levied tribute on S̲h̲inķīṭ, which, despite its fame, never became a political capital, although it became more renowned than any other town of Mauritania in the central lands of the Muslim world. The men of scholarship and piety of S̲h̲inķīṭ were, in this regard, respected everywhere, and attracted students, all the Islamic sciences being taught in their mosques or in the homes of these *ʿulamā'*. When they completed their studies and left S̲h̲inķīṭ, most of these former students would style themselves S̲h̲anāķiṭa (pl. of S̲h̲inķīṭī).

The Pilgrimage to Mecca also contributed to the fame of S̲h̲inķīṭ, whose permanent population can never have exceeded more than a few thousand persons at most. However, according to Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Brāhīm (d. 1233/1878), author of the sole treatise on the history of S̲h̲inķīṭ (the *Ṣaḥīḥat al-naķl fī ʿAlawiyyat Idaw ʿAlī wa-Bakriyyat Muḥammad G̲h̲ūl*), "numerous pilgrims from different parts of the Moorish lands used to join the Pilgrimage caravan of S̲h̲inķīṭ when leaving on this quest. All the pilgrims of the Muslim West used to pass as S̲h̲anāķiṭa". Hence these persons formed a bridge between S̲h̲inķīṭ and the Orient, with several of them settling in this last region, retaining their S̲h̲inķīṭī genealogy and decisively contributing to the cultural influence of this small town. In the course of their travels, they would bring back books and treatises procured in Arabia or elsewhere in the Orient or Muslim West and containing the conventional learning of the Islamic sciences, which they would then spread amongst the peoples of the Southern Sahara, still in course of being Islamised.

As intermediaries between the Arab world and the black peoples, the S̲h̲anāķiṭa, notably the Idaw ʿAlī of S̲h̲inķīṭ, contributed considerably both to the spread of Islam, in the shape of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods, and to the spread of Arabic language and culture into the south of the Sahara, a region which they visited also for commercial purposes.

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(Ousmane Kane)

AL-**S̲H̲INĶĪṬĪ** (Sīd) Aḥmad b. al-Amīn (b. 1280/1863 or 1289/1872, d. 1331/1913), Mauritanian scholar and author, whose reputation in the Muslim World principally rests upon his written description of Mauritania and the Western Sahara and his appreciation of the poetic masterpieces of the Moors in Classical Arabic and in their colloquial dialect, *Ḥassāniyya*. He was born into a scholarly family of the Īdaw ʿAlī Zwāya who were resident in al-Mad̲h̲ard̲h̲ra in the Trārza [see MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ]. His mother, a pious and well-educated lady, stemmed from the Ag̲h̲lāl of S̲h̲inķīṭ. His early years were spent in the study of Arabic language and literature and the Islamic sciences in the nomadic schools. Later, he

undertook extensive journeys inside Mauritania and he stayed for some time at the *zāwiya* of Shaykh Mā' al-'Aynayn [*q.v.*] at Smāra.

He undertook the *hadjdj* in 1317/1899 and he met scholars in Mecca and Medina. He returned to Egypt, though he made *détours* into Syria, to Izmir, Istanbul and into Russia. Why he chose to visit the latter is unknown, nor is it known where he stayed, though a visit to Kazan seems likely. He arrived in Cairo in 1320/1902. He lived there for the remainder of his bachelor life, writing and publishing books and mixing socially with the scholars of al-Azhar.

His masterpiece, *al-Wasīṭ*, a compendium of Mauritanian verse accompanied by a concise survey of the geography, history, folklore and proverbs of the Moors, made the Arabs of the *Mashrik* aware, for the first time, of the profound scholarship which was then a living tradition in the furthest Saharan regions. He was the first scholar to write extensively on the prosody and the oral and sung poetry (*leghna*) amongst the Shanāḳiṭa. *Ḥassāniyya* is extensively vocalised in his book. Few of the Mauritanian classical poets whom he quotes have biographies. An exception is Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. al-Talāmīd al-Turkuzī, a Mauritanian scholar who was highly regarded in Egypt and with whom he had sharp exchanges on religious and literary matters (*al-Wasīṭ*, Cairo 1378/1958, 381-97).

Aḥmad b. al-Amīn was devoted to Ṣūfism. He, together with Shaykh Abū Bakr Muḥammad Luṭfī, wrote a commentary upon *Ṣahārīdj al-lu'lu'* (Maṭba'at al-Hilāl, Cairo 1324/1906) by al-Sayyid Tawfīḳ al-Bakrī (see F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth-century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, 182-8). In the foreword to this commentary, Aḥmad b. al-Amīn remarks (in eloquent *sadj'*) that, having left Shinḳīṭ and having travelled extensively in the Middle East, he was honourably received by al-Sayyid Tawfīḳ "chief of the *Sharīfs* of Egypt and *Shaykh* of the Ṣūfī orders". He wrote a spirited defence of the Tidjāniyya *ṭarīḳa*, of which he was a member, against attacks made against it by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Nabhānī.

Works. Ahmed-Baba Miske (1970, 35-6), lists fourteen works by the author. Some of them were original compositions, others were works edited by him. Most of the latter are commentaries upon pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. A *Dīwān* of al-Ḥuṭay'a's verse is also attributed to him. It is unlikely that the list, which Miske provides, is complete. In view of the fact that these works (including *al-Wasīṭ*) were printed between 1302/1902 and 1331/1912, the author was astonishingly productive during the years when he was resident in Cairo. He was helped by Aḥmad Taymūr Bāshā, the keeper of the Taymiyya library and he was given every assistance in his literary activities. Two works (*Ṭahārat al-'Arab*, 1326/1908 and *Dīwān Ṭarafa b. al-'Abd*, 1327/1909) were printed in Kazan. It is perhaps significant that, following his Russian visit, Cairo was to be the forum for the Universal Islamic Congress, advocated by Ismā'īl Gasparli [see GASPRINSKY], held in 1907 [see *RMM*, iv [1908], 103 ff.).

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(H.T. NORRIS)

SHINTARA (or Shantara), Arabic name of the modern Cintra, a little town in Portugal, at a height of 207 m/700 feet above sea-level, 28 km/16 miles to the north-west of Lisbon. It was quite prosperous under Muslim rule, and the Arab geographers remark on the fertility of the country round; its apples were universally famous. Cintra always shared the destinies of its great neighbour Lisbon as long as it was in the hands of the Muslims; it was reconquered in 1147 by Alfonso Henriquez, king of Portugal. After it had become Christian again, it was the favourite residence of the Portuguese kings; it was in the palace of Cintra that Dom Sebastian decided in 1578 upon the expedition against Morocco which ended disastrously on the banks of the Wādī 'l-Makhāzin near al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr.

The modern Cintra is dominated by the ruins of an old stronghold of the Muslim period. Of this fortress, now called *Castello dos Mouros*, built at a height of 429 m/1430 feet, there only remain two masses of masonry with the remains of a chapel and baths.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHĪR [see ASAD].

SHĪR WA KHŪRSHĪD [see NISHĀN. 1].

SHĪR 'ALĪ (*ca.* 1823-79), Amīr of Afghānistān 1863-79.

He was the fifth son and successor of Amīr Dūst Muḥammad (d. 9 June 1863). His mother, Khadīdja, was both Dūst Muḥammad's favourite wife and a Bārakzay (daughter of Raḥmat Allāh Khān Popalzay) and probably for these reasons he was nominated heir following the death of his full brother, Ghulām Ḥaydar, on 2 July 1858, having previously served as governor of Ghaznī. In 1863 Shīr 'Alī's claims were opposed by his elder half-brothers, Muḥammad Afḍal (1811-67) and Muḥammad A'ẓam (1818-69), other brothers joined the conflict and a civil war ensued which lasted until 1869. Shīr 'Alī's forces were alternately victorious and defeated, and in 1867 he was reduced to the possession of Harāt only, with Afḍal and then A'ẓam ruling in Kābul. In 1868 he recovered Ḳandahār and then Kābul, although it was not until the beginning of 1869 that he finally defeated A'ẓam and his nephew, the future Amīr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān (*ca.* 1844-1901, the only son of Afḍal) and re-established full control of Afghānistān.

As Amīr after 1868, Shīr 'Alī continued and extended the policy of his father in attempting to build a stronger, more centralised state in Afghānistān. He suppressed rebellions by his sons, Muḥammad Ya'ḳūb (*ca.* 1849-1923) and Muḥammad Ayyūb (*ca.* 1856-1914), and extended his authority over northern Afghānistān. He centralised the administration, established a rudimentary system of ministries, developed communications including roads, bridges and a postal system (the first Afghan postage stamps appeared in 1870), attempted to reform the currency with the introduction of the *afghānī* in place of the former rupee,

and founded a periodical, *Shams al-Nahār* (*1875-9*) and the first state school. He restricted the political influence of the *ʿulamāʾ*, and exalted the status of the ruler, seeking but not adopting the title of Shāh. In 1874 he established a short-lived consultative council. Revenues were increased three-fold between 1863 and 1878. Over 40% of the revenue was spent on the army, which was the central feature of Shīr ʿAlī's reforms. He reduced the size of the tribal militia and the feudal army and strengthened the standing army, which was trained and equipped in European style, modelled on the British-Indian forces and often led by British-trained officers. By 1878 the standing army numbered 56,000, including 58 infantry and 12 cavalry regiments. In addition, Shīr ʿAlī developed the artillery, creating workshops to manufacture modern iron weapons. By 1878 he had 370 guns. The workshops also manufactured small arms including Sniders and Martini Henrys. The army was deployed through Afghānistān mainly with a view to the needs of internal security. In developing the state institutions, Shīr ʿAlī relied especially on Ghilzays and Wardaks, who provided 80% of the standing army. These tribes, together with Persians, Harātīs and Parsiwāns, dominated the administration. The Durrānī tribes were largely excluded from power.

Shīr ʿAlī's foreign affairs were dominated by his dealings with Russia and, especially, with British India. During the civil war, the Government of India had followed a policy of non-interference, known as "masterly inactivity". The various contenders for power had been given *de facto* recognition in accordance with their holdings, but material assistance claimed under the 1857 treaty made with Dūst Muḥammad was refused until November 1868. In March 1869 Shīr ʿAlī met the new Governor-General, Lord Mayo, at Ambāla, and asked for an offensive-defensive treaty, a regular subsidy and recognition of his son, ʿAbd Allāh Djān (1862-78), as heir. Mayo offered only general assurances, money and arms, including artillery. Shīr ʿAlī was seemingly satisfied, although in subsequent years he renewed his demands. British interest in Afghānistān derived from border problems, commercial hopes and, especially, concerns about the expansion of Russia in Turkistān towards the northern Afghān border. Without consulting the Amīr, Britain sought agreement with Russia on the northern boundaries of Afghānistān, which were roughly defined in 1873. The Amīr was obliged to abandon his hopes of extending his territories beyond the Oxus. Britain also assumed responsibility for defining part of the western frontier with Persia; by the Goldsmid arbitration of 1873, Sīstān was divided between Persia and Afghānistān. Shīr ʿAlī's unhappiness was further increased by the British occupation of Quetta [see KWAṬṬA] on 8 December 1876.

The occupation of Quetta was one element in a new British policy (the so-called "forward policy") inaugurated by the Conservative Government in 1875 and carried on by the Governor-General, Lord Lytton, from 1876. A major background factor in his new policy was the development of the Eastern Crisis of 1875-8, which led to war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1877 and threatened the possibility of war between Britain and Russia. Such a war could have extended to Central Asia, and the attitude of Afghānistān became of major importance. Lytton was prepared to offer Shīr ʿAlī a new alliance, stronger guarantees of protection, an annual subsidy and recognition of ʿAbd Allāh Djān, in return for the acceptance of British agents in Afghānistān and effectual British control of Afghānistān's foreign relations. Negotiations were carried on in 1876 and 1877, but no agreement had been reached when Lytton broke off negotiations in March 1877. Lytton now applied pressure on Shīr ʿAlī either to force him to agree to British demands or to overthrow him. An Ottoman embassy was sent to Kābul in an effort to persuade the Amīr to renounce contacts with Russia. The reception of a Russian envoy in Kābul in July 1878 gave Lytton the excuse to demand the reception of a British mission and a promise by the Amīr to sever all relations with Russia. In September 1878, Shīr ʿAlī refused to admit the British mission and in November, Lytton's forces invaded Afghānistān. Shīr ʿAlī's army proved incapable of effective resistance and in December Shīr ʿAlī fled north, resigning authority to his oldest and former rebel son, Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb (ʿAbd Allāh Djān had died in August 1878). It is uncertain whether Shīr ʿAlī formally abdicated in December. On 21 February 1879 Shīr ʿAlī died at Mazār-i Sharīf and was succeeded briefly by his son Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb Khān.

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(M.E. Yapp)

SHĪR SHĀH SŪR, Farīd al-Dīn, son of Miyān Ḥasan Sūr, the founder of a line of Dihlī Sultans, the Sūrīs [*q.v.*], which ruled during the interval between the first and second reigns of the Mughal Humāyūn [*q.v.*], sc. 947-62/1540-55, Shīr Shāh's own reign spanning 947-52/1540-5. The Sūrs were a small Afghān tribe from Rōh [*q.v.*], the north-west frontier region of India.

His father Miyān Ḥasan seems to have been in the service of one of the leading nobles of the Lōdī Sultans of Dihlī, the Khān-i Aʿẓam ʿUmar Sarwānī and then from 901/1496 was in Djawnpur [*q.v.*], where he received the *pargana* of Sahsarām [*q.v.*] as his *iḳṭāʿ* for maintaining 500 *suwārs* or cavalrymen. Farīd al-Dīn himself entered the service of Ibrāhīm Khān Sarwānī till the latter's death in battle in 926/1520 against the Rādjput Rānā Sāngā of Mēwāŕ [*q.vv.*], and then entered that of Sultan Ibrāhīm Lōdī till the latter's death at the first battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*] (932/1526). It was shortly after this that Farīd al-Dīn was awarded the honorific of Shīr Khān, in token of his bravery in the field, by Bahār Khān Nūhanī, rebel against the Lōdīs in Bihār, where he had assumed the title of Sultan Muḥammad Shāh and had become the rallying-point for Afghān opposition to the incomer Bābur [*q.v.*]. Shīr Khān nevertheless gave his support to Bābur in 933-4/1527-8, whilst still retaining the confidence of the Afghān chiefs in Bihār who supported Maḥmūd Lōdī, proclaimed sultan there against Bābur.

With Humāyūn's victory of 937/1531 over the Afghāns, Shīr Khān made his peace with the Mughal, retaining his base in Bihār as Humāyūn's vassal and warding off invasions from Bengal in 938/1532 and 940/1534. In 941/1535 he assumed the title of Shīr Shāh and struck his own coins, a declaration of independence, whilst Humāyūn was pre-occupied in Gudjarāt. He defeated the sultan of Bengal Maḥmūd Shāh and made him his tributary, with a further expedition against the latter's capital Gawr or Lakhnawatī [*q.v.*] in 944/1537. Humāyūn invaded Shīr Shāh's territories from Agra, but was repulsed and twice defeated in 946/1539 and 947/1540, on the second occasion being compelled to retreat hurriedly to the Pandjāb and then Sind and eventually to Persia.

Shīr Shāh was now master of northern India, and began his five years' sultanate in Dihlī and Agra. He eliminated various rival chiefs and nobles and, in anticipation of extending his empire southwards, attacked Mālwa [*q.v.*] and drove out its ruler Mallū Khān Ḳādir Shāh, after which he entrusted the governorship of Mālwa to Shadjāʿat Khān Sūr; and in 949/1542-3 he attacked the Rādjā of Djodhpur [*q.v.*] in his principality of Mārwāŕ, in Rādjputānā. Shīr Shāh's death came about accidentally during the siege of Kālindjar in 952/1545. He was succeded by his son Islām Shāh.

Shīr Shāh was one of India's great rulers, whose achievements might well have equalled or surpassed those of Akbar, had his reign not been cut short by death. In military affairs, he employed artillery and musketeers extensively in his armies. He is praised by historians like Badāʾūnī for the peace and order of his kingdom, and for his caravanserais and other provision for travellers and merchants, Muslim and Hindu alike, along the roads. He broadened the base of his originally Afghān support by awarding positions and estates to Rādjput chiefs also, here foreshadowing Akbar's policy. He placed the governance of his empire on a firm footing by retaining the *sarkār*, composed of a number of *parganas*, as the optimum fiscal and administrative unit.

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(I.H. Siddiqi)

SHIʿR (a.), poetry.

1. In Arabic.

(a) The pre-modern period.

It is the supreme ornament of Arab culture and its most authentically representative form of discourse. The ideas articulated by poetry and the emotional resonances which it conveys earn it, even in the present day, where numerous new literary forms are in competition with it, the approval of scholars and the populace alike.

Despite the phonetic resemblance, *shiʿr* is totally unconnected with the Hebrew *shīr*; the *ʿayn* is a "hard" consonant which persists in the roots common to the two languages. The term is attested in ancient Arabic (G. Lankester Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971, 350-1) and very often used in pre-Islamic poetry.

I. *Shiʿr and its synonyms.*

The equivalents here are not simple synonyms; they stress one aspect or another of the poetics of *shiʿr*. (i) It is appropriate to cite in the first instance the terms, the content of which suggests the notion of quality and of major artistic merit; thus *ḳaṣīd* would denote artistic poetry as opposed to *radjaz* (Lane, root *ḳ-ṣ-d*, 2531b-2532a; ʿAlī al-Djundī, *al-Shuʿarāʾ wa-inshād al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1969, 13). The same is true of *ḳawāfī*: *ḳafā*, in the first form, signifies the honouring of some person with a mark of distinction (Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa ʾl-shuʿarāʾ*, 61; al-Nahshalī, 27, quoting Abū Tammām; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, i, 3, 14-15; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 60); the same is true of *durr* (poetry) or *durar* (sing. *durra* "pearl", *Sīra*, Göttingen 1858-60, 862, l. 10; *LA*, xvi, 56, l. 19, the poet al-Zafayān; Ibn Ḳutayba, *op. cit.*, 508, l. 15; Labīd, *Dīwān*, Leiden 1891, 22, l. 15; *Aghānī*[3], x, 285, l. 20) and *al-muḥabbar* (fabric of high quality manufactured in the Yemen, Ruʾba, *Dīwān*, Berlin 1903, 61, xxxvi, v. 22; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, 385, quoting ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim al-ʿAnbarī, Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i, 129-31);

(ii) terms which express perfect order and symmetry are also attested. *Naẓm* "the arrangement of pearls in a necklace" is said to express better than anything else this necessity, raised to the status of a guiding principle (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, Oxford 1918, 717, l. 14; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, Cairo 1343, 14, l. 14; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, *Dīwān*, Vienna 1902, 238, l. 1; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḳiyān*, in *Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1979, ii, 159, l. 12; Muḥammad al-Ḳalāʿī, *Aḥkām ṣanʿat al-kalām*, Beirut 1985, 40; Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, i, 37). Another necklace of pearls, *simṭ*, denoted an entire poem; thus the *Muʿallaḳāt* were called *sumūṭ*; in the same range of ideas, the poem of ʿAlḳama was considered the best necklace of all time, and each of its verses, a pearl. *Nasadja*, sometimes associated with *ḥāka*, *nasīdj* and *nasdj* "to weave, weaving" (see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima*, iii, 332) belong to the same category (Wellhausen, *Lieder der Hudailiten*, Berlin 1884, 116, l. 17; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿānī al-kabīr*, Haydarābād 1369/1946, 633, l. 19; 814, l. 9; *Abū Dahbal*, in *JRAS*, [1910], 1051, l. 2; al-Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 318, relates an opinion of Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa, *innī ḳad ḥuktu ḳāfiyatan tuwāzinu hādhā ʾl-shiʿra* "I have already woven [= composed] verses which constitute the equivalent of this poetry"; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i, 132-3); (iii) the profession *ṣināʿa* in the sense of poetry is also attested (see below, *The poetics of effort*), and *adab* in the sense of rhymed speech, very frequent, is said to have insisted on a period of apprenticeship for the acquisition of culture by the novice-poet before full acceptance into the world of poetry. This equivalence seems to have been something ancient: in a tradition related by al-Nahshalī (*al-Mumtiʿ*, 24) the poet ʿAbd Allāh b. Ahtam (*fl.* in the reign of the caliph ʿUthmān) takes pride in belonging to a family of *udabāʾ*. Textually, it is established from the last decades of the Umayyad period onward with Muḥammad b. Kunāsa (d. 161/778) (*Aghānī*[3], xiii, 344, l. 4; see also Ruʾba, *Dīwān*, 16, vi, 40; S.A. Bonebakker, *Early Arabic literature and the term Adab*, in *JSAI*, v, 1984, 399, Bashshār b. Burd; al-Mutanabbī: *anā ʾl-ladhī naẓara ʾl-aʿmā ilā adabī* "I am he whose poetry the blind man has seen", (see *al-ʿArf al-ṭayyib fī sharḥ dīwān Abi ʾl-Ṭayyib*, Beirut 1887, 343, l. 11; Ibn Nubāta (d. 405/1015) who describes poets as *udabāʾ*, al-ʿAlawī, *Naḍrat al-ighrīḍ*, 347; see also al-Nahshalī, 18, 24). The term *ḳarīḍ* would add the idea of cutting into the living flesh of words, a material which resists and does not let itself be easily manipulated (al-ʿAlawī, *op. cit.*, 8; Von Grunebaum, *Growth and structure*, 127; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ibid*, 222, l. 14, ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa; al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1374, 140, l. 6, Ḥumayd b. al-Arḳaṭ; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 180 l. 1; al-Aʿshā, *Dīwān*, London 1928, clv, v. 8; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, *Dīwān*, Leipzig 1901-9, 43, l. 3; Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Djamharat nasab Ḳuraysh*, i, 42, l. 8; *al-Aghānī*[3], x, 285, l. 2; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i, 120-1).

Finally, it is appropriate to note that, for the archaic period and under the Umayyads, *shiʿr* also signified *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*]. Among numerous examples, worth mentioning is *fa-hādhā awānu ʾl-shiʿri sullat sihāmuhu* "this is the moment of [injurious] poetry, the darts of which have been drawn from the quiver" (*al-Ḥamāsa*, Bonn 1828, 646, l. 11, anonymous poet). Al-Farazdaḳ expresses grief on account of the false attribution to him of versified insults, a *shiʿr* which he is supposed to have addressed to Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (*wa-rawwū ʿalayya ʾl-shiʿra wa-mā anā ḳultuhu* "they have recounted [injurious] poetry under my name, that which I have never said", *Dīwān*, Paris 1870, 222, l. 2; see also *al-Ḥamāsa*, 54, l. 28; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1829, l. 2; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿānī*, 708, l. 15; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, Jerusalem 1936, 318; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa ʾl-Farazdaḳ*, Leiden 1905-12, 126, l. 17). Finally, al-Mutawakkil al-Laythī (d. *ca.* 72/691) claims that he has never aimed the darts of *shiʿr* against a Muslim (*al-Aghānī*[3] xii, 165, l. 2).

II. *Periodisation.*

At a very early stage, as early in fact as the 2nd/8th century, the familiar distinction between three periods in the development of poetry is already evident in the writings of al-Djumaḥī (d. 231/845): pre-Islamic, the poetry known as *mukhaḍram* straddling the Djāhiliyya and Islam, and Muslim poetry written by poets born after the Revelation (Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, 1394/1974, 23-4). With Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), this periodisation becomes more precise, since he mentions the verse of the ancient poets (*ḳudamāʾ*), of the *mukhaḍramūn*, of the *awāʾil al-islāmiyyīn* (the former Islamic poets), i.e. the Umayyad poets, and of the *muḥdathūn* (modern poets), i.e. the poets of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, 201). Currently, in spite of certain criticism which will be revealed shortly, the periodisation of Ibn al-Muʿtazz is followed unanimously, although some contemporary scholars would have preferred a less political and more genuinely literary division. Gibb, Blachère, Bencheikh and Heinrichs propose a more strictly cultural periodisation, distinguishing between four periods. Gibb identifies the heroic age, the age of expansion, the golden age (750-1055), the silver age (1055-1258), concluding with the age of the Mamlūks (1258-1800). The problems of such a classification are obvious: it is based on value judgment and assumes uninterrupted decadence during the period extending from 750 to 1800. Blachère (*Moments tournants dans la littérature arabe*, in *SI*, xxvi [1966], 5-18) and Bencheikh (*Poétique*, 11-18) identify the four following divisions: archaic period, a century of transition, the golden age and decline. Filshtinsky opposes the notion of cultural decline and asks how this conception is to be reconciled with the intense poetical activity attested in Egypt over three centuries (Filshtinsky, *La périodisation dans la littérature arabe médiévale*, in *Narodī Azii i Afriki*, 1962/4, 144-56).

To avoid the pitfalls of a historical division, W. Heinrichs proposes distinguishing three movements in the development of Arabic poetry, each of which has produced a type of poetry. The first, that of the Ḥidjāzī school, produced *ca.* 650 a form of love poetry characterised by a narrative theme describing the actions and reactions of persons drawn from life who address the audience directly (Heinrichs, 24). The second, that of *badīʿ*, opted for a poetry resolutely based on rhetorical embellishments, which have gradually been transformed into an artistic principle (25). "Fantastic" poetry constitutes the third movement: here the poet's attention is turned away from reality and towards imagery. The poets of this movement offer their public images which could have no real existence. In later times, poems overloaded with ornamentation constitute in fact a combination of all the known genres; the end result is an increase in affectedness (52). This original conception, if recognised as valid, could prove extremely fruitful; however, Sperl denounces it as tainted with historicity and recommends that it should be avoided (*Mannerism*, 3-4).

III. *Poetic discourse and its original meaning.*

(1) *Origins.* From the second half of the 3rd century A.D. onward, *shiʿr*, in its contemporary form, seems to be associated with song (see below, the tradition mentioned by Sozomen; Djawād ʿAlī, ix, 85-8; Adonis,

Poétique, 19-20; Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, London 1970, 420: "Sing in each poem that you speak, song is surely the favoured place of poetry"; Thuwaynī and 'Awwād, *al-Sulayk b. al-Sulka akhbāruhu wa-shi'ruhu*, Baghdād 1984, 32-3, 50-1; Ibn Sa'īd, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, 'Ammān 1982, i, 436 and bibl., where the poet offers to sing (*ughannīkum*) a poem to the keepers of the flocks; *al-Aghānī*[3] xviii, 78, where Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, at the time of the recitation of a poem, is said to be in the process of singing (*taghannā*); 'Alī al-Djundī, *op. cit.*, 6, 22, 24-5; Sh. Ḍayf, 51; Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, i, 36). The poetry/song association should not be regarded as a peculiar phenomenon; among the Greeks, the poet is primarily called the bard, the singer. This *shi'r mughannā* contradicts the generally accepted hypothesis on the beginnings of this form. Originally, it is said, it was linked with *sadj'* and had taken its definitive form 150 years before Islam (al-Djumaḥī, *op. cit.*, 112-13; al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo, i, 74; resumed by al-Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 74; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, Cairo n.d., ii, 477; according to al-Nahshalī, *al-Mumti'*, 22, poetry allegedly took on its definitive form in the period of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf or his father, in other words the great-grandfather or grandfather of the Prophet). Modern scholars do not disagree (Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 187-93; Adonis, *Poétique*, 22-3).

Vestiges of spontaneously-spoken poetry shed some light on the question. Al-Suyūṭī, quoting al-Aṣma'ī, relates that the most ancient poetry of the Bedouin of the Djāhiliyya, that of the *awā'il al-'Arab*, amounted to a small number of verses spoken by men and women in response to a pressing emotional need (*al-Muzhir*, ii, 477). The poems of the wells (a case of ancestral usage among the Semitic peoples, cf. the Biblical *shīrat habe'er*, Num. xxi. 18-20), with striking structural, thematic and stylistic resemblances between the Bible and the verse of the Bedouin of the Djāhiliyya (Djawād 'Alī, ix, 410-12, has assembled a large number of specimens of this poetry), lullabies and other fragments associated with infancy (Sa'īd al-Daywadjī, *Ash'ar al-tarḳīṣ*, Baghdād 1970, *passim*), funereal dirges (Goldziher, *Bemerkungen zur arabischen Trauerpoesie*, in *WZKM*, xvi [1902], 308) and verses evoking skirmishes—all of these, rather than rhymed prose, supplied the first foundations.

Chronologically, it seems that *al-shi'r al-ḳadīm*, as it is known to us, is considerably older, if credence is to given to a tradition cited by the Greek historian Sozomen. This historian writing at the turn of the 4th-5th centuries, relates that the Arabs of the desert celebrated their victory over Queen Mavia and the Roman emperor Valens (i.e. between 364 and 378) with the singing of ballads (*odai*). This plural suggests that there was a cycle of poems; this cycle preceded the fragments of a similar cycle, that of the War of Basūs [*q.v.*], the specimen generally regarded as the oldest verse chronicle of the Arabs. It would therefore seem reasonable to move the appearance of this material back in time to the last quarter of the 3rd century, by virtue of the poetical tradition associated with Ḥīra and, more specifically, with 'Amr b. 'Adī, the first Lakhmid king of Ḥīra whose maternal uncle Djadhīma lived in the 3rd century; 'Amr, a historical figure, was allegedly the author of poetic fragments in classical Arabic aimed at 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Djinn ('Irfān Shahīd, *The composition of Arabic poetry in the fourth century*, in *Studies in the history of Arabia*, ii, *Pre-Islamic Arabia*, Riyāḍ 1404/1984, 87-91).

(2) *The poetic ritual.* Arabic poetry is rooted in the oral; it was a voice before it acquired an alphabet, and what results from this is a concurrence between speech and its affective and emotional connotations. This aspect guides discourse towards the following stable procedures: (i) a poetic style overladen with a multiplicity of synonyms and comparisons; (ii) a predilection for allusive expression; (iii) recourse to a specialised language very different from daily speech; (iv) the use of stable poetic hybrids; and (v) the obligation to be predictable and to abstain from upsetting the audience (M. Zwettler, *The oral tradition of Classical Arabic poetry, its character and implications*, Columbus, Ohio 1978, 98-102, 109-20, 170-2; McDonald, *Orally transmitted poetry in pre-Islamic poetry, Arabia and other pre-literate societies*, in *JAL*, ix [1978], 26-30; J.T. Monroe, *Oral composition in pre-Islamic poetry*, in *ibid.*, iii [1972], 36-8).

The poet knew that if he wanted to be heard and not to risk disappearance into obscurity, he was obliged to construct his discourse on the basis of an auditory aesthetic. This demanded the exclusion from his discourse of distant allusions and of hermetic or ambiguous statements; otherwise, he was in danger of breaking the continuity of the contact which linked him to the public. Thus in the pre-Islamic period, poetry declared that which the audience already knew, and poetic individualism consisted not in what was said but in the manner of its saying. Oral recitation was to leave on Arabic poetry a mark that would last for centuries; it would be, in Bencheikh's words, an art of expression and not an art of creation. The recitation of pre-Islamic poetry was strangely reminiscent of a ritual; the officiating poet, who did not create poetry for himself, but for others, encouraged active participation on the part of his public as a means of appealing to the hearts of his hearers. Poetic engagement derived in this case from the limpidity of the verse and the familiarity of experienced listeners with the wording and with the thematic sequence of the *ḳaṣīda* (A. Hamori, *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, New York 1974, 21-2, 24; Adonis, *Poétique*, 34-5).

This ritualistic aspect of poetry was consolidated by the concept of divine inspiration, already current in the earliest periods. If traditions are to be believed, the great bards of the Djāhiliyya considered that the poem was the speech of a god or of a djinnī (demon). It is alleged in this context that 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ (*fl.* in the Djāhiliyya) saw in a dream a messenger who touched him with a ball of hair (*kubba min sha'r*, cf. the graphical resemblance between *sha'r* and *shi'r*); he commanded him to awake; he rose and began reciting *radjaz* (*al-Aghānī*[1], xix, 84) and became a poet. He is no different from the prophet Isaiah, who was touched by the angel with a burning coal, in a dream, and began prophesying immediately afterwards (Isa. vi. 5-8). More often, the djinn are evoked both before and after Islam (Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, i, 34-5; *CHAL*, i, 41). Von Grunebaum has emphasised, rightly, their resemblance to the Muses: Hesiod, describing his encounter with the Muses, records an experience which is comparable, structurally, to that of Ḥassān with the djinn at the time of his first steps in poetry (*Aesthetic*, 333).

This discourse, communicated to the poets by supernatural creatures, possesses a magical force on account of its provenance and also on account of the perfect arrangement of the verbal veneer; this is true not only for curses, as has been proved magisterially by Goldziher (see HIDJĀ'; Von Grunebaum, *Growth*, 123), but also for the *madīḥ* who enjoys lasting renown. A Bedouin declares, after receiving a reward from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, "the eulogy keeps perpetually alive the name of the one who practises it" (Ibn Rashīḳ, i, 29; see also Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. xviii).

This concept, albeit somewhat modified, persists after Islam (al-Djundī, *op. cit.*, 19-20, quoting Ru'ba). Abān al-Lāḥiḳī (d. *ca.* 200/816) falsely accused by Abū Nuwās of being homosexual, finds himself deprived of his role as lector to the Barāmika. His patrons know it well, but even tendentious poetry is irreversible; they tell him, quoting a pre-Islamic verse:

[*basīt*]

Ḳad ḳīla mā ḳīla in ṣidḳ^an wa-in kadhib^an
fa-mā i'tidhāruka min ḳawl^in idhā ḳīlā
"What has been said has been said, be it true or false,
How can you be excused against words already spoken?"
(Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 204).

(3) *Artistic poetry.* In order to be effective, poetic discourse needed to be distinguished by its high aesthetic tone and to express the values of ambient society.

The role allotted to poetry seems to have been that of giving to the generality a unique image in a unique language. Throughout the period, this discourse is seen as definitely and definitively evolving. The diverse dialects and various approaches are blended in a literary language which develops to encompass metre and other disciplines; new types of comparisons come into being (Von Grunebaum, *Growth*, 123). In the pagan era, spontaneous poetry coexists with fashioned creations which are extremely demanding in their pursuit of a more developed aesthetic. This pursuit reflects the effort of generations of poets who have broadened their range of enquiry and their vision; from the spontaneous glimpse of nomadic life and of the mundane, there is progress towards more profound reflection and interpretation of life. The best and most successful example of this seems to be the exceedingly elaborate treatment of human time. Beyond the existential anguish deriving from the confrontation between human duration and objective time, the majority of poets have considered time to be a cyclical process wherein tension arises from the opposition between the eternal renewal of temporal units and the limited nature of the units of existence allotted to man. Poetry of sterling quality can triumph over time. Consequently, the poet raises the praxis to a very high artistic level. This is primarily an exercise in recollection; the poet evokes memories of love and acts of valour. Verbs in the perfect tense predominate, perhaps to emphasise the fixed and intangible, hence unalterable nature of the *murū'a* of the poet's family, of himself and of his patron. Other favourite themes sung by the poets, such as nostalgia for past loves or lamentations for the dead (*rithā'*) take on, sometimes, a poignant tone. Only descriptions of animals are in the imperfect tense, with the scene unrolling before our eyes. This is no longer a function of memory, rather of events-in-progress.

In the thematic patterns of eulogy, of lamentations and evocations of tribal glory, the poet expressed the group more than he expressed himself. First person singular became subsumed by first person plural, but the poet's role as spokesman remained distinct. He was the witness and the singer. In all other classes of poetry, the poet plays the leading role: he sings of his individual success, and his personal determination to confront the desert and its perils in the camel-related sections. The human, through individual effort, triumphs over the void and the negation symbolised by the desert (A. Miquel, *al-Ṣaḥrā' fī mu'allaḳat Labīd*, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-Djāmi'a al-Tūnisiyya*, xii [1975], 63-88). It is not at all coincidental that this section concludes with the release of the hunted animal and its coupling which presages a new life (the *plerosis*, cf. Hamori's analysis, *op. cit.*, 21-5).

One of the paradoxes of pre-Islamic poetry is touched upon here. It is individual, emotional and passionate on the one hand; on the other hand, the self, frequently transcended by the tribe, appears to reflect a collective consciousness (Adonis, *Poétique*, 19).

Accordingly, rhymed speech adopts a dual course with the existence, alongside tribal poetry, of another which is urban or semi-urban. Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī notes a definite contrast between *shi'r ahl al-bādiya*, the poetry of the Bedouin of the desert, and that of the Meccans, characterised by softness (*līn*) and facility; he adds to them the poetry of 'Adī b. Zayd, of al-A'shā and of Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt. All of these and many others among the tribal poets are tied to patrons who provide for their upkeep in exchange for bombastic eulogies. *Takassub*, earning one's living, dates back to the Djāhiliyya and does not constitute, by any means, a stylistic vice associated with post-Djāhilī urban civilisation. In the archaic period, the phenomenon was anything but limited; very few poets of the 6th century escaped its attractions.

While tied to patronage, this body of poets maintained its links with the tribal group through the intercessory role which it played in its contacts with patrons. On several occasions Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā and the two Nābighas, al-Dhubyānī and al-Dja'dī, intervened in defence of the interests of their fellow-tribesmen. However, a development of the very highest importance took place when a poetry devoid of any tribal association came to the forefront. This poetry ceased to play a tribal role; hencefoward it was obliged to appeal to an audience more refined than tribesmen and itinerants, to more demanding connoisseurs; in this, poetry was the winner. This amounted in fact to progress.

An unmistakable sign of this ascent towards more constraining artistic demands is supplied by conventions at the level of expression which underline the inclusion of this form of discourse among the highest strata of speech (Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 386; Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 8).

On the level of expression, it is appropriate to note not only the use of the dual, the apostrophising of two companions, but also clichés such as the comparison of the traces of an encampment in the sand with tattoos or with letters drawn by a scribe, the various tropes in the descriptions of animals, the description of weapons of war and of the beloved woman. From the archaic period onward, the codification of the poetic text is an established feature. The poet, far from feeling trapped in a straitjacket of constraining and dominating elements, settles comfortably into a protective tradition; or, more accurately, convention constitutes an instrument which he fashions as he pleases, but which he cannot change on pain of derogation. Conventions constitute a code to which conformity is obligatory; otherwise, damage is done to the harmony and to the perfect arrangement supplied by poetic discourse.

A great modern Arab poet and original thinker, Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr, has stressed the utility of the conventions. While it is true that the greatest talents are capable of dispensing with them, the majority of poets find in these constraining rules a stock of tropes, of hybrids and poetical expressions sanctified by usage and by the sanction of ambient society, a stock which they are only too eager to plunder (*Ḳirā'a djadīda*, 13).

(4) *New horizons.* It was to be a few decades before

the new religion changed the poets' vision of the universe; the great conquests suddenly immersed the victors in an urban environment and contributed to the fragmentation of the various clans, already weakened by war and the crises of the time. Although paganism disappeared, an Islamic verbal art was yet to emerge. The majority of poets seem to have considered Islam a social and political movement rather than a profound spiritual experience. All of this contributed to the straining of relations between the tribe and poetry. The poets were to follow the course previously traced by the incense-bearing poets of pre-Islam, notably the poets of Ḥīra. The domestication of poetry was now complete: caliphs and governors encouraged these artists to compose eulogies for them with the aim of consolidating their régimes and bolstering their personal prestige. Henceforward, *shi'r* was transformed into a privilege reserved for the prince and his courtiers. Committed and personal poetry was now of secondary, even marginal importance, as the poets harnessed their best artistic resources to the requirement of official compositions.

As a result of this process, lasting and very fruitful mutations transformed the world of poetry. A new artistic liberty was born, freed from the modes dictated by genres of secular life, and a poetry of conflicts and contradictions came into being. In 'Irāḳ, and specifically in Kūfa, a poetry of libertinism and pleasure prefigured the most successful examples of *mudjūn* [*q.v.*] composed by the *ẓurafā'* of Kūfa and the innovatory poets of the 2nd/8th century. Poems celebrating the variegated humanity of taverns by al-Uḳayshir al-Asadī (d. 80/699, most fragments in *al-Aghānī*[3], xi, 251-76), the cruel and acidly humorous portraits by 'Abd Allāh b. Zabīr al-Asadī (d. *ca.* 80/699, fragments in *ibid.*, xiv, 216-62) and the gallant exploits of Ismā'īl b. 'Ammār al-Asadī (d. towards the end of the Umayyad dynasty, in *ibid.*, xi, 364-79; Ibrāhīm al-Nadjdjār, *Madjma' al-dhākira*, Tunis 1989, 221-33)—all of these introduce an original tone, with previously unknown metaphors and themes coexisting with the content of the *mādjin* concept. Such poems as these are apt to flourish among poets when restrictions are removed and all constraints relaxed. These poems, as well as the amorous works of the poets of the Ḥidjāz, demonstrate that poetic discourse served for them as a catharsis; by means of it, they could escape from dispossession, from tensions, from oppression and from massacres (*CHAL*, i, 394).

The *ḳaṣīda*, quintessence of the pre-Islamic artistic traditions, underwent certain modifications, although the descriptive passages are remarkable for their fidelity to the archaic model. The urban poems composed according to traditional models do not have the coherence which is characteristic of the most successful poems of pre-Islam. The great poets of the period, with the exception of al-Akhṭal (d. 92/710) and Dhu 'l-Rumma (d. 117/735) [*q.vv.*], succeeded only with rather disjointed and pluri-thematic poems; numerous poems by Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ included several topics which were not linked conceptually. Only the artifice known as *ḥusn al-takhalluṣ* "good transition" made it possible at a later stage to effect a formal fusion of heterogeneous motifs. At the same time, there developed in the Ḥidjāz a poetic movement of constantly increasing influence; this was the Ḥidjāzi school, mentioned above. Numerous poets of this school created a narrative poetry in the full sense of the term. This original approach furnished well-crafted compositions and discourse with a degree of continuity, since the omnipresent concept of the verse as an independent unit is seriously challenged here (Von Grunebaum, *Growth*, 132-3; Heinrichs, 47).

(5) *The poetical profession according to the testimony of the poets.* Poetical texts, which are supposedly texts of the period, are unanimous in presenting poetry as a recalcitrant material, which is only to be tamed by dint of painful and prolonged effort. This testimony is highly significant since it is attested in a neutral context. In his testament, al-Ḥuṭay'a (d. *ca.* 50/652-3 [*q.v.*]) takes stock of the whole of his career and gives his own perspective on patterns of composition. The dominant theme which emerges is as follows. The difficulty of composing, since the tortuous paths of *shi'r* are strewn with perils, means that the poet needs to confront this constantly; only a solid training (*'ilm*) enables him to control the material which he seeks to fashion (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1987, 291).

Ka'b b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] (d. in the reign of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān) does not disagree. The outstanding poem is a fabric of superb quality; it is the result of prolonged effort and commitment on the part of the poet-artisan. In a quatrain composed in response to an explicit request from al-Ḥuṭay'a, one of his father's pupils, he describes in lavish detail the process of polishing by which the poem is turned into a smooth piece of woven material, free of knots and of the same density throughout. In other words, in order to attain a harmonious and symmetrical discourse of outstanding quality, it is necessary to control the verbal core and to fashion it by means of incessant arrangement and rearrangement. Recourse to the term *thaḳḳafa* dispenses with the need for any commentary. In its original sense, it signifies to rectify, straighten; it was used in the making of spears, at the stage of straightening wood which is naturally curved; it is thus a process of rectification of an inert material (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 59, bibl. n. 60).

Tamīm b. Muḳbil, himself a *mukhaḍram* poet (d. *ca.* 70/690), expresses similar concepts. Verse is by nature rebellious (root *m-r-d*); as a superb poet, he has succeeded in overcoming the stubborn mountains of poetry (*ḥuzūn djibal al-shi'r*) and reducing them to amenable plains; once controlled, verse reveals all its hidden beauty and attracts the admiration of the public (*Dīwān*, Damascus 1962, 136). At no time is the poet found boasting of his facility at composition, or developing a poetry of improvisation or of immanent inspiration. Only Imru' al-Ḳays boasts of the abundance of his inspiration; verses come rushing to him in such numbers that they risk becoming congested; he repels them energetically (*adhūdu 'l-ḳawāfiya 'annī*) before proceeding to a choice, retaining only the most perfect and discarding the minor pearls (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 60).

The craft and the polishing were indispensable for the acquisition by poets of two cardinal qualities, *nafas* (breath) and *djazāla* (robustness and purity of poetic language), necessary for the composition of set pieces. However, it would be a mistake to exaggerate the importance of the notion of apprenticeship and its defining role; it amounted to nothing more than an idealised approach conceived at a late stage, in the 3rd/9th century, in order to justify a certain conception of *fuḥūla* and of archaic poetry. In fact, poetry was considered a natural gift (*ṭab'*), an innate predisposition. If natural talent did not exist in a person, no apprenticeship could make him a poet.

The Umayyad poets expressed views similar to those of their Djāhilī forbears regarding the nature of poetry and the criteria of composition. *Shi'r* is conceived as a challenge between two equally-determined adver-

saries, the poet and the poetry. There is insistence on hard work and effort. At no time is there any reference to a poet in a state of grace, cut off from the rest of the world as he composes, with a seething mass of ideas and images bubbling in his breast and seeking release by way of his mouth.

In the framework of a *ḳaṣīda* of threats, Suwayd b. Kurāʿ (born at the beginning of Islam, he reportedly reached the era of D̲j̲arīr and al-Farazdaḳ), devotes eight verses to describing, in bombastic tone, his manner of composing superior verses. The ideas developed are as follows: poetry, like a disobedient young camel (cf. ʿARŪḌ; one of its meanings is a camel very difficult to control), allows itself to be tamed only by the best riders. The verses (*ḳawāfī*) are described as *ʿawāṣī* (disobedient) and as a band of recalcitrant wild animals (*sarb*^an^ *min al-wuḥūs̲h̲i nuzzāʿ*); it must be treated with a great deal of patience; humbly, the poet needs to display tact and to devise strategems during sleepless nights (*abītu bi-abwābi 'l-ḳawāfī ... ukāliʾuhā ḥattā uʿarrisa* "I spend nights at the gates of rhymes ... until I possess them"). This is the price at which it allows itself to be possessed; the term *ʿarras* shows that the possession is carnal. The poet-possessor must show great vigilance, for with poetry everything is problematical: once mastered, it must be carefully confined in the depths of one's heart (v. 10); otherwise, the verses will flee faraway; they can only be recaptured by means of prodigious efforts which leave indelible traces in the body of the poet (Ibn Ḳutayba, *op. cit.*, 17). ʿAdī b. al-Riḳāʿ, a contemporary of Suwayd, considers his role as that of a craftsman, planning terms and verses in order to smooth the rough areas and promote harmony among the verses, thus succeeding in composing a *ḳaṣīda* of the highest quality. D̲h̲u 'l-Rumma employs the same images in his attempt to characterise the composition of the poem as closely resembling the training (*riyāḍa*) of a weaned animal (*Dīwān*, Cambridge 1919, 329-30, vv. 26-9; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, 94; partially translated by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 60).

The approach expressed by these poets, all of them from the first century of the Hid̲j̲ra, suggests a stable profession and a perfect mastery of the tools of the trade. For a poet, to compose means enhancing the fruits of his inspiration by means of the memorisation which mobilises, every time that the artist creates his poem with the memory which utilises the finest realisations of his linguistic and poetic heritage, retained since the period of his training. Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr considers this strenuous poetic technique an act of homage on the part of the poet towards an immeasurable legacy: in some sense, he writes, the poet presents his poem to this stock which constitutes the quintessence of sensibility and its perfect expression as realised in the ancient poetry (*Ḳirāʾa d̲j̲adīda*, 15).

IV. *The effervescence of urban poetry.*

Cultural prosperity, the practice of translation which was institutionalised from the end of the 2nd/8th century onward, the development of written translation according to rigorous criteria in the various disciplines, major conflicts of ideas and the constitution of an Arabic prose capable of expressing the most complex thoughts—all of these factors exerted influence on both poetry and poetics.

(1) *The evolution of discourse.* Under the earlier ʿAbbāsids, Arabic poetry remained an essentially lyrical text, descriptive in character. This lyricism reflected the unwillingness of the poet, unless commanded to do so, to deal with exterior phenomena or social relations. In this framework, poems denouncing the vanities of the world (*zuhdiyyāt*, according to Heinrichs, 25), the poetry of sexual perversion (*mud̲j̲ūniyyāt*, according to *ibid.*) and Bacchic poetry (*k̲h̲amriyyāt*) were treated with special favour. Complaints about life and its misfortunes are liberally scattered in numerous poems of this period. This is not, strictly speaking, a poetry of asceticism but rather an absolute denunciation of life; it could be said that the texts delight in demonstrating the campaign of systematic annihilation conducted by life against the human being. Evoked here are the deterioration and subsequent death which accompany the process of life; also stressed is the absence of any metaphysical dimension and the desire merely to detach the man from the world below, a hunting-ground reserved for villains and sensualists. The *s̲h̲akwā 'l-zamān* is a poetry of setback and of impotence. More than is the case with *zuhd*, it constitutes at the most a decidedly superficial poetry of edification. As for sexual perversion, the distinction is drawn between poems dedicated to the ephebe with the *ẓurafāʾ* of Kūfa, Abū Nuwās, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāḳ and Dīk al-D̲j̲inn, versus phallic poems with Abū Ḥakīma, Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ad̲j̲ and Ibn Sukkara, or the poems in praise of onanism by Abu 'l-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī. These poems, in which exacerbated emotional states are to be detected, seem to have expressed, at least initially, a rebellion against society and a refusal to subscribe to its values. Later, this poetry was to enjoy social indulgence, at least with the poetry dedicated to ephebes, and its usages became generalised even in the work of poets who did not practise perversions.

At the same time, a clear demarcation further widens the gulf between longer pieces and fragments, or if preferred, between set-piece and impromptu poetry. This distinction facilitates a more profound understanding of the evolution of poetry in the 2nd/8th century. Much is owed here to the specific contribution of Jamel Bencheikh. The impromptu, as Bencheikh rightly declares, comprises several rhymed phrases, of great simplicity and with a single theme (Heinrichs, 36, describes these very short poems as spontaneous poetry; they address a single theme). What matters here is the rapidity of the response and its spiritual quality. It is therefore the nimbly-elevated impromptus which most delight the literary coteries. The themes of this elegant discourse are well known and were worn threadbare by long service; they are confined to love-sickness, invitations to trysts, excuses, reproaches, compliments or wise aphorisms. The ʿAbbāsid coteries preferred this supposedly "natural" poetry to the *ḳaṣīda* with its immutable conventions. In fact, poets did not have a choice; in the *mad̲j̲lis*, they were under instructions to improvise forthwith or to reply in the course of a contest. This poetry, of rather lofty formal elegance, expressed stereotypes briskly in a minor tone, sometimes in fairly exaggerated style. In fact, this amounts to an exercise in re-use of the acquired skills of set-piece poetry rather than a creation at the level of composition (Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 68-79). On the other hand, the long piece is a product of reflective creation and demands prolonged and laborious preparation, essential if the poet is to invent original hybrids, thus expressing new *maʿānī* and a large number of motifs (*ibid.*, 80; 113; Muṣṭafā Haddāra, *Ittid̲j̲āhat al-s̲h̲iʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ḳarn al-t̲h̲ānī al-hid̲j̲rī*, Cairo 1963, 148-9, 162).

This situation leads furthermore to the depreciation of poetry; it is considered an amusement or, at best, little more than pleasing discourse.

(2) *Poetics.* These centuries are the golden age of theoretical writing. Most striking is the profusion of these works and their diversity; alongside the poets, there is a proliferation of transmitters, essayists, *mutakallimūn*, philologists, critics and philosophers. The result does not fail to impress, in spite of the absence of systematic thought, the constitution of clearly-defined poetics and the tendency of poetical treatises to be pragmatic rather than theoretical; it is appropriate to mention here one substantial exception, the writings of the philosophers. The contribution of Von Grunebaum in this domain has been decisive.

A. The poets

Generally, but not always, they maintain their conception of the poetics of effort. In the works of Abu 'l-ʿAmaythal (d. in the 3rd/9th century) the same clichés are found, referring to the rectification of material which is naturally misshapen (ʿAlī al-Djundī, *op. cit.*, 115); to the weaver bent over his work in the writing of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. *ca.* 179/795, term *aḥūk*, *ibid.*, 114); Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896) adds to the analogies of his two predecessors the well-known one of the wild camel, but he also insists on the efforts that he invests in embellishment and refinement (*arhaftuhā* and *rakkaktuhā*, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1993, 359-60, vv. 2-9). It is not until the second half of the 3rd/9th century that the term *ṣanʿa* in its poetic sense is attested in a poem among the works of al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar (d. 293/906), in a verse praising his expertise and the harmony (*taʾlīf*) of his verses (Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *Min turāth al-nakd al-ʿarabī, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar wa-kitābuhu fi 'l-shiʿr*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb, Djāmiʿat al-Riyāḍ*, v [1977-8], 179, v. 1). Furthermore, as a result of titivation and corrective work (*tahdhīb*), his poem acquires an inimitable quality and, thereby, provokes embarrassment and surprise (*yataḥayyaru 'l-shuʿarāʾu*): in fact, the form (*al-lafẓ*) and the content (*al-maʿnā*) are integrated in absolute fashion (*alfayta maʿnāhu yuṭābiku lafẓahu*) and its apparent facility conceals the inability of other poets to compose a comparable text. It is only at this price that the durability of poems can be assured (v. 7).

In the second long section of 18 verses devoted to poetic genres, the four opening verses provide a detailed survey of the content of this concept among poets and the various tasks which it entails. *Ṣanʿa* implies a rectification of the distortion of material (*zaygh*), the consolidation of the texture of the poem (*shadd al-mutūn bi 'l-tahdhīb*); the poet should plug the gaps in his discourse by means of prolixity, assert his finest qualities by means of concision, impose harmony through the conciliation of opposites and clarity through the juxtaposition of analogous or similar *maʿānī* (*ibid.*, 192). The poets of this period evince vigorous opposition to the poetics of facility; such a conception is quite rare in poetical compositions (see e.g. *Shiʿr Abī Ḥayya al-Numayrī*, Damascus 1975, 160, vv. 1-3). *Ṣināʿa* and *shiʿr* were so closely linked that they have been used as synonyms in two instances in the writings of Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (*wa-radjaʿnā ilā 'l-ṣināʿati lammā * kāna sukhtu 'l-imāmi tarka 'l-ṣināʿah*, "I returned to poetry when the Imām was seized by wrath following [my] abandonment of poetry"; the poet refers to his decision to relinquish poetry on account of his religious convictions, and to al-Rashīd's decision to imprison him in order to compel him to return to composition, *al-Aghānī*[1], iii, 160, l. 20; see also 149, l. 20).

B. The critics

(a) Ṣanʿa *as opposed to* ṭabʿ.

Numerous tendencies are in collision here, dictated by literary attitudes, but determined also by controversies unrelated to poetry. At a very early stage, from the 2nd/8th century onward, the poetics of effort are called into question as critics extol the virtues of natural talent, *maṭbūʿ*. The factor giving rise to this attitude seems to have been the revival, after a temporary eclipse caused by the hostility of the new religion, of the theory of inspiration, deriving from occult and supernatural forces. Discourse placed in the mouth of the poet, which is a receptacle and nothing more, by its very nature requires no improvement. From another perspective, it seems that the Muʿtazilī circles of Baṣra, including al-Djāḥiẓ, considered true eloquence to be that which is uttered spontaneously without the least effort; ideal poetry would not differ at all from improvised discourse; this quality belongs naturally to the Bedouin of the Djāhiliyya and their poets. The profession objected to this postulate, it being, according to the Baṣran thinker, the contrary of eloquence. Other scholars of the same city, in particular Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, al-Aṣmaʿī and his school, responsible for the constitution of the classical corpus, were of the same opinion. All of them must have been profoundly influenced by the improvised contests held in the Mirbad [*q.v.*].

One of the most ancient texts on poetics is the *ṣaḥīfa* of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir. Here the author develops, in Heinrich's words, a rudimentary theory of *ṭabʿ* (talent) and of *nashāṭ* (creative force) (*Arabische Dichtung*, 286). The primary condition for being in a position to compose is, he asserts, the creative force; all depends on this and on its favourable disposition (*idjāba*). Once this has been acquired and beyond the obligation to adopt *al-lafẓ al-sharīf* (a noble poetic language) and *al-maʿnā al-badīʿ* (the most original modalities of expression), Bishr advises the artist to avoid unduly laborious efforts which could result in affectedness. On the contrary, he should opt for discourse which is fluent in terms of pronunciation, for easy and direct *maʿānī*. In parallel, he should set aside hermetic figures and complicated hybrids, since there is a risk that these will undermine the themes and neutralise the impact of the words. In common with the other classical critics, he takes great care to separate *al-lafẓ* from *al-maʿnā*. Four qualities are required for the language: softness, elegance, majesty and fluency. As for modalities (*maʿānī*), those chosen should be clear and immediately comprehensible (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 135-6, 137).

Al-Djāḥiẓ, too wise a connoisseur to fail to understand the importance of the *ṣanʿa* element, confines himself to recording his distate for these over-finical poets whom he calls *ʿabīd al-shiʿr* ("the slaves of poetry") and his objection to excessively polished poems, *al-shiʿr al-ḥawlī* ("poems taking a year to compose"). However, it should be stressed that over-worked, i.e. excessively re-worked poetry was not considered bad poetry. The reverse was the case. Ibn Ḳutayba considers the poetry resulting from study an excellent discourse, solidly constructed (*djayyid muḥkam*). But the experts have no difficulty identifying the patterns, the prolonged reflection and the strained thought of the author; furthermore, the latter does not refrain from recourse to poetic licences (*ḍarūrāt*); connoisseurs can tell that he has omitted the modalities of expression which were necessary; on the other hand, he praises the facility of composition of the *maṭbūʿ* and his total mastery of the material; immediately obvious are the splendour of his talent (*rawnaḳ al-ṭabʿ*) and the wealth of his temperament; finally, he does not fail to admire the transparency of the *maʿānī* since, he says, the first hemistich prefigures the end of the verse and the beginning gives a clear impression of rhyming style

(Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 24-6). The deliberations of Ibn Ḳutayba reveal the veritable point at issue. Beyond spontaneity and the gift of improvisation, there is a certain conception of poetry which is considered legitimate: the facile and transparent text is alone held to conform to the genius of a poetic sensibility and its modes of expression.

In post-Djāḥiẓian poetics, these concepts take on a rather different meaning. *Ṣināʿa* in the sense of "titivation" was never denounced by the ancient theoreticians, on the contrary (Shawḳī Ḍayf, 19-37). The rapidity of inspiration, and the talent, coming quickly once summoned, are followed by a phase of labour and refinement aimed at eliminating the dross; the poet casts and recasts and purifies his material through a process of quite intensive alteration (fine passages recorded by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, pp. xxix-xxxi). With the first successes of the school of *badīʿ* (the *taṣnīʿ* of Shawḳī Ḍayf, 219-39) and the extension of *ṣanʿa* to all phases of composition, the critics established a distinction between the craft of the Ancients which derives from a *sadjiyya* (natural tendency) and that of the Moderns. Among the latter, it signifies "artificial and acquired", since their poetic language is the fruit of study and of reflection (*al-taḥṣīl wa 'l-riwāya*); it is incompatible with *ṭabʿ* (natural disposition), being *mutaṣanniʿ*, *mutakallif* or artificial, M. Ajami, 53-4. Curiously, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī reports the champion of *ṭabʿ*, al-Buḥturī, as a conscientious craftsman, rejecting after the first draft everything which he found unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the representative of the meticulous poetical approach is presented as an unconditional partisan of the free-and-easy attitude, delivering the fruit of his inspiration without embellishing it; his phrase is thus tainted with numerous defects (Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 87). Most curiously, *ṭabʿ* seems to accompany intensive work in the phase which follows natural composition; *takalluf* appears to characterise the poetry of inspiration. The paradox is rather more apparent than real. In the process of creation, the *maṭbūʿūn* poets proceed after the composition of the verse to the embellishment of expression. Among the poets of *badīʿ*, gestation must have been very painful at the time of the translation of the poetical idea into images; having suffered so much, the poet refused to relinquish even the most preposterous image. Among the poets of this school, imagery reigns supreme. The poetical conception of Abu Tammām integrates creativity and craft in the process of the material translation of the image.

The *ṭabʿ* of the Ancients, confronting the affectedness of the Moderns, received its most systematic interpretation through the theory of *ʿamūd al-shiʿr*, and later through that of the *tarākīb al-ʿArab* or that of the *uslūb al-ʿArab* of Ibn Khaldūn which legitimises a certain tradition of composition, that of the Bedouin of the Djāhiliyya, to the exclusion of all others (M.J. Ajami, *ʿAmūd al-shiʿr: legitimation of tradition*, in *JAL*, xii [1981], 30-48; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima*, iii, 329-33; Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Naḳd*, 41-2, 627-30; Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 56-8).

This approach dominates for several centuries and has seldom been challenged. ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), a very original critic, declines to separate the diverse elements of a poem, which is considered as the fruit of an alchemy; combined in it are creative acuity, *iḥsān* (faculty of perfection), *ibdāʿ* (spirit of invention) and above all, *ṣanʿa*. According to him, it amounts to a spiritual force of creativity which sets in motion the imagination of the poet and enables him to illuminate the meagre or prosaic reality in a discourse which describes an unequalled splendour (*Asrār al-balāgha*, 241-2, 244, 250, 315-16).

The poet-theoretician Ibn Shuhayd (d. 426/1053 [*q.v.*]) anticipates in certain respects post-Djāḥiẓian criticism and the approach which considers *ṭabʿ* a spiritual force (*mawādd rūḥiyya*). On the basis of this principle, he reaches the conclusion that poetry is the fruit of imagination. His theory of beauty, a divine emanation, possesses strong neo-Platonian resonances, which are quite rare in classical poetry among the Arabs (Monroe, 140-2).

(b) *Poetry as an ʿilm*.

According to a tradition attributed to Ibn Sīrīn, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is supposed to have stated that poetry was the most authentic *ʿilm* of the Bedouin of the Djāhiliyya (Ibn Sallām, i, 24, § 32; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 473); similar opinions are attributed to ʿĀʾisha, to Ibn ʿAbbās, and to other major figures of Islam (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, v, 247; Ibn Sallām, i, 10; Ibn Rashīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, 30; al-Muẓaffar al-ʿAlawī, *Naḍrat al-ighrīḍ*, 356-7; al-Zamakhsharī, v, 218-19, § 132). From the 3rd/9th century onward, works of criticism follow the same line. Ibn Ḳutayba asserts in this context that poetry is the mine of sciences of the ancient Arabs, the book of their wisdom, the archives of their history, the treasury of their great days (sc. battles) and the rampart which defends their glory (*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1925, ii, 185). Military, cultural, linguistic, literary and social history are found condensed in this discourse.

On the other hand, empirical observations of zoology, meteorology and botany accumulated in the same texts. Like any science, to be in a position to serve, it is essential that this poetry be authentic; otherwise, it has no utility. In effect, poetry of high quality is the proper means of inculcating the values of the Ancients, who were models of human behaviour. By means of the exalted *maʿānī* which it puts at the disposal of the cultivated man, it enables him to compose verses, adages and sentences which are so well cast that they appeal to the sympathies of audiences in all periods. ʿAbbāsid critics considered pre-Islamic poetry as a great reservoir of quotations of considerable utility for talented folk of all periods. The purpose of every poem is to dispense wisdom; in this, they are removed from our current conceptions which are alone responsible for the aesthetic finality.

In fact, these precious materials are in a sorry state on account of the considerable number of falsifications which have intruded (Ibn Sallām, 4, § 3, *wa-fi 'l-shiʿri mufiaʿal^un mawḍūʿ^un kathīr^un* "in poetry, a considerable portion is false, forged and counterfeit"). This defect results from the written *tadāwul* (mode of transmission). In poetry, Ibn Sallām declares, it is necessary to set aside the gleanings of scriptory transmission (*wa-laysa li-aḥad^in an yaḳbala ʿan ṣaḥīfat^in wa-lā yarwī ʿan ṣuḥufī* "all persons should refuse to accept a poem deriving from a register; they should decline to repeat the transmission of a connoisseur [trained] in the registers", Ps.-al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, *K. al-ʿAyn*, Baghdād 1967, iii, 120). Furthermore the term *taṣḥīf* [*q.v.*] (forgery) was allegedly derived from *ṣaḥīfa* (al-Djawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, Beirut 1979, vi, 1384, b., 1.1).

Beyond the willingness to create a new branch of poetics, that of *taṣḥīf*, an attempt is observed on the part of Ibn Sallām to determine the identity of those entitled to transmit the classical heritage. It is from this perspective that it is appropriate to consider the charges against Ḥammād and members of his school. Was it his wish to entrust these tasks to scholars who worked according to the methods of the School of

Baṣra and to shun the disciples of the School of Kūfa? The stakes were high; if this principle were followed, Baṣran scholars would become the sole guardians of pre-Islamic poetry or, in other words, the sole guarantors of the Arabic poetical corpus.

This attempt seems to have been long-lasting since the works of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī on *taṣḥīf* contain an impressive list of Baṣran *ʿulamāʾ*. There is nothing Saussurian about this hostility towards the scriptory which emanates from conceptual intransigence. Writing, being by nature defective, did not permit an accurate and faithful transmission of texts. Works of poetics, of *adab* and of grammar teem with anecdotes concerning the errors and changes introduced by transmitters, errors attributable to graphical mistakes and to defective readings (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 20-1, 71 [nn. 82, 84]; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīf*, Baghdād 1967, 55; al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, ii, 355).

The *shiʿr*—*ʿilm* parity could derive, as Heinrichs maintains, from the care taken by theoreticians to exclude any trace of fiction from poetry. Whatever the case, this parity has made it possible to express in new terms the relations between the latter and religion.

Poetry and Islam

In Islam, the religious disciplines represent the ultimate *ʿilm*. The afore-mentioned equivalence legitimised poetry and conferred on it a status immediately below the sciences of religion in terms of the rigour and of the demands of authenticity. The noisy conflicts of the early stages soon gave way to a degree of tolerance, itself replaced in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries by a honeymoon: *shiʿr* is accepted in the most orthodox circles as a privileged discipline of Islamic culture when it fulfils certain conditions; the very orthodox Ibn Ḳutayba writes in this context, *wa-kullu ʿilm^in muḥtādj^un ilā ʾl-samāʿi wa-aḥwadju ilā dhālika ʿilmu ʾl-dīni thumma ʾl-shiʿru* "every science must be transmitted orally; and this requirement is nowhere so great as in the religious sciences, and after these in poetry" (*op. cit.*, 20, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes; see also 70-1, nn. 79-81, much valuable information provided by this eminent scholar). This mutation of *shaʿara* (to feel) to *shaʿara* (to know) in religious circles takes on in the opinion of the poet-theoretician Adonis the significance of a veritable revolution. Henceforward, poetry ceases to depend on simple sensation, i.e. the primary degree of cognition, and belongs to the universe of the most exalted truth (*Poétique*, 77).

Poetry also figures prominently in the classification of sciences established by leading scholars.

Examination of such a list would seem to be considerably more informative than recourse to always unreliable traditions, regarding a favourable attitude on the part of the Prophet, of ʿĀʾisha, of one or other Companion or Successor (traditions compiled and annotated by Muṣṭafā ʿUlayyān, *Naḥw nahdj islāmī fī riwāyat al-shiʿr wa-nakdihi*, ʿAmmān 1944; al-Nahshalī, 22; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. xxvi) (*HAL*, i, 391; Cantarino, 28-34, emphasise the negative attitude of these same figures with regard to poetry). In the course of time, the problem posed by these relationships ultimately loses all cultural or religious significance; it then recurs in *adjzāʾ*, pl. of *djuzʾ*, formally arranged in antithetical sections (ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. ʿAlī al-Muḳaddasī, *Djuzʾ aḥādīth al-shiʿr*, ʿAmmān 1989, 37-80, favourable traditions, 81-98, unfavourable point of view.

Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]) places the *ʿilm al-shiʿr* immediately after the sciences of the Ḳurʾān, of grammar and of lexicography. Like his predecessors, he assigns to this *ʿilm* a double aim, moral and utilitarian, and distinguishes three branches: one which is illicit in the case where a man devotes himself to it entirely; a second which is licit but subject to numerous reservations, since here the man devotes to it the most lucid part of his time; a third is strongly recommended, being the case in which the believer devotes to it a part of his time. Thus conceived, this science of poetry is of undoubted utility; it inculcates in the one who practises it wisdom (*ḥikma*) and a more profound understanding of Arabic grammar and language (*Risālat al-talkhīṣ li-wudjūh al-takhlīṣ*, in *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī*, Beirut 1981, iii, 163-4).

It should be clearly stated that at no time was there objection to poetry as such. Furthermore, only the believer who composes *hidjāʾ* or eulogies to someone who does not deserve this, or who composes frivolous poems evoking the fineries of women, is judged impious (*fāsiḳ*).

(c) *The school of* badīʿ *or poetics according to Abū Tammām.*

The ʿAbbāsid critics associate the appearance of *badīʿ* with modernity: the poets of their era opted for this poetic language because of their late arrival. For Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, the Ancients said everything because they preceded all others. Their verses encapsulated original *maʿānī* in the most elegant and the purest language. Modern poets could not compete with them in this domain. They thus exerted all their ingenuity to composing extremely reflective poems, their superiority residing in the subtlety of exceedingly elaborate thought. Their poems are the fruit of a sustained effort, they are *mutakallifs* in comparison with the natural fluidity of their predecessors (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, 15). And then *badīʿ* appeared. The facts seem to confirm this analysis beyond all expectation. In fact, the first fruits are associated with Muslim b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] *alias* Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī (d. 208/823). It is said that he attempted in his poems to convey the message in terms of its finest image. He is the first, according to Ibn Ḳutayba, to have softened verse and rendered the sense subtle; he was also the source of inspiration of Abū Tammām (*Shiʿr*, 528). Ibn Ḳutayba's remarks clearly show that Abū Tammām is considered the undisputed champion of this school.

Von Grunebaum sees in the appearance of this poetic school a reaction against the platitudes engendered by the conceptions of modernist poets, who expressed their thoughts in excessively limpid language in short verses. The poetry of Abū Tammām constitutes an attempt to halt these modernists (*Growth*, 132-3).

The poetics of *badīʿ* comprise the following elements: (i) the poetics of Djāhilī orality, based on a logical and apparent line between the signified and the signifier, is definitively rejected; images are dismantled, as are the hybrids and the inherited expressions which constituted the reservoir exploited by the poets of subsequent generations. The new imagery disconcerted critics and scholars with its original character; they saw it as eccentric poetry, bordering on anti-poetry, to borrow an expression of Ibn al-Aʿrābī. (ii) Rhetorical embellishment is consciously pursued; sometimes this is taken to absurd lengths, as was the case with Abū Tammām (Heinrichs, 25). Flourishes are raised to the status of essential principle of composition; they no longer constitute a device for enhancing the beauty of the discourse. (iii) Henceforward, the image constitutes an end in itself. The poets of *badīʿ* were prodigious builders of images: swords, in a poem of al-Mutanabbī, are dejected and emaciated by love-sickness (*al-ʿArf al-ṭayyib*, 147, v. 1, *ka-annamā*

yubdīna min 'ishki 'l-rikābi nuhūlā). (iv) An extensive and profound knowledge of the treasures of the language is required for the unfettered composition of hybrids and metaphors, without which the language could constitute an obstacle. (v) The faculty of inventing *ma'ānī* or that of forming new ones by means of derivation (*tawlīd al-ma'ānī*) is considered a necessity. In fact, what is involved is the thorough exploitation of one *ma'nā* before moving on to another; this contributes to the cohesion and organic unity of the poem. By this procedure, the *badī'* school is clearly distinguished from previous methods of poetry, content to put forward the *ma'nā* or to deal with it very briefly. (vi) Poetic creativity is turned further towards original discovery. (vii) *Badī'* locates poetry in writing, all the more so since certain flourishes depend on a visual and graphical effect (cf. the very informative analysis by Adonis, *Poétique*, 50-5, 65-7).

This more reflective, more intellectualised poetry first astonished, then aroused strong reservations; theoreticians considered it a text dependent on reason rather than on sensation or song. In comparisons between Abū Tammām and al-Buhturī, it is conventional to see in the former a thinker who speaks to the intellect and in the latter a singer who addresses the emotions. Furthermore, it perhaps facilitated the appearance of the theory of poetic obscurity.

(d) *Limpidity as opposed to obscurity in poetry.*

In the 2nd/8th century, writing had not succeeded in suppressing the orality of poetry; writing served as an instrument of memory for poets, and their discourse did not experience notable changes, particularly the separation of poetry from thought. On the basis of this principle, al-Djāhiz proceeded to promote a poetry which would be beyond any interpretation and understood without exertion of thought. For this, easy and supple speech was an essential condition; to this end, recourse to *gharīb* (rare terms) is denounced; on the other hand, the poet is encouraged to use words which are conventional, agreeable and easily heard, and thereby immediately grasped. In short, clarity is the supreme quality in poetry. More than any other, al-Djāhiz advocated the poetics of *wudūh* or limpidity (*Bayān*, i, 106; Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 84-6). This conception enjoyed lasting success, in the opinion of critics from Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (Arazi, 485-7), by way of Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī (*Sirr al-fasāha*, Cairo 1932, 290-1; Arazi, 482) to Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, ii, 415-7; Arazi, 483). It is interesting in this context to note the high esteem in which *tashīm* is held (= the quality of a poem where the hearer, having heard the first hemistich is in a position to foresee the remainder of the verse and to anticipate with the recitation of the second). This procedure requires a poetic language of crystal transparency and a stability of relations between poet and public, such as existed at the time of the Djāhiliyya (D. Semah, *Poetry and its audience according to medieval Arab poeticians*, in *IOS*, xi [1991], 91-105).

On the other hand, a decidedly less important trend opts for the mysterious in poetry. For Abū Hilāl al-Sābī, the best poem is that in which the basis is wrapped in obscurity. This poetical obscurity constitutes the very essence of this form of discourse (*wa-afkharu 'l-shi'ri mā ghamuda fa-lam yu'tika gharadahu illā ba'da mumātalat^in wa-'ard^in minka 'alayhi* "the best poetry is poetry surrounded by mystery, which yields up its intentions only after numerous tergiversations and a request that you address yourself to it" [Arazi, 498, § 2]). Prose, to be effective, needs to be immediately understood; this is why it depends on limpidity. As regards *shi'r* the obscure constitutes, according to al-Sābī, a necessity on the level of creative activity. Being confined within tightly-drawn limits, i.e. the verse, this discourse is constrained, as a result of fragmentation at the level of the line, to move within extremely narrow limits and to express brief thoughts which are considerably more superficial than those of letters (the critics of the period were satisified with the concept of the independent verse as a unit of composition conveying one meaning, Ibn Sallām, *op. cit.*, i, 360-1; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 44). The *kātib* has at his disposal unlimited space and is not subject to any yoke hampering his freedom of expression; he can thus give to ideas an almost absolute priority. On the other hand, the poet, confined within a narrow space, that of the verse, is obliged, to avoid falling into platitude, to veer towards an excess of *ma'ānī* (*fadl fi 'l-ma'nā*) and the ideas expressed err on the side of exaggerated concision. The inevitable result is a certain affectedness, an expression remote from the natural and an elliptical style (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, ii, 415; Ibn Abi 'l-Hadīd, 303, 305; 'Īd Radjā', *Dirāsāt*, 1979, 34; Arazi, 478). It is appropriate to stress that al-Sābī introduces to us a constitutive element of poetry, which characterises the most successful examples. In developing this notion of poetics, al-Sābī was probably thinking of the poetry of his time, that of *badī'*, which responds partially, it is true, to this aesthetic of obscurity.

Abū Hāzim al-Kartādjannī [*q.v.*], in the 7th/13th century, was perhaps the theoretician who best systematised this concept. Through a game of contrasts cleverly set in motion, he sets out to integrate limpidity of language with obscurity of modalities and of thoughts (al-Kartādjannī, 172). Numerous cases were foreseen by this theoretician (they are revealed in Arazi, 480-1). His conclusion does not fail to astonish with its modern resonance: the *ma'nā* must be delicate and subtle by definition; the more that thoughts err on the side of subtlety, the more the poetic phrase will need to mobilise an excess of clarity; thus is achieved a fine equilibrium where the two entities are opposed and integrated (al-Kartādjannī, 177-8). Von Grunebaum correctly observes in this context that poetic obscurity existed in poetry in mediaeval Europe and that it consisted of an extension of Aristotelianism (*Aesthetic*, 328-9).

Unfortunately for Arabic poetry, the ideas of al-Sābī were generally misunderstood by classical critics as well as by certain modern researchers, who have seen here a call for obscurantism in poetic language (Arazi, 483-5, § 1.3.1.). Accorded a hostile reception, they seem to have played only a marginal role in poetics.

(e) Al-lafz wa 'l-ma'nā.

The critics were fascinated by the concrete formulation of the poetical idea. Much less clear was the question, should this formulation be considered as dependent on the treatment of the words or on the conceptual content? Since the objective of poetry is not the thing stated but the manner in which it is stated, it was in the natural order of things to establish a distinction between the two entities and to prefer *lafz* over *ma'nā*. Furthermore, the confinement of the *ma'ānī* within a limited space, which was not to be overstepped, persuaded poets to concentrate all their efforts on finding the formal garment best suited to the allotted space, and it induced them to adopt the same attitude as that held by the critics. The poet exercises the highest degree of control over his material, which is language. An intangible sign of this

control is the concision which is strongly recommended. Al-Djāḥiẓ played an essential role in the constitution of this conception; he was followed enthusiastically by later scholars of poetry (*al-Ḥayawān*, iii. 131-2; al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 58; Von Grunebaum, *Aesthetic*, 327; Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung*, 286-7).

In the 5th/11th century, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī was concerned to stress the negative nature of the Djāḥiẓian concept of *maʿānī*. First of all, the separation of *lafẓ* and of *maʿnā* seemed to him an aberration; it was hardly conceivable to separate the objective which is sought, i.e. the modalities of expression, from their projection into words. On the other hand, he challenges the notion that the literary merit of a poem emanates solely from the beauty of the terms used, conceived as preponderant units. A term cannot be *faṣīḥ* in itself, but only through its concurrence with the *maʿānī* and the harmony which it establishes between the different elements of expression. If al-Djāḥiẓ is to be followed, thoughts and their modalities will come to be excluded from the domain of eloquence and poetry will be reduced to verbal juggling, banishing the beauty of the composition (*al-naẓm*) and the quality of the texture of the poem (*al-taʾlīf*) (Djamīl Saʿd, 175-90).

It is, however, appropriate to mention the existence, at a very early stage, of an approach opposed to the supremacy of formalism. According to a work of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893 [*q.v.*], thus a contemporary of al-Djāḥiẓ), *al-Manthūr wa 'l-manẓūm*, it is possible to state that it was the *maʿānī* which conferred on pre-Islamic poetry its undisputed primacy. It needs to be recalled that *maʿnā* is a mixed entity dependent simultaneously on style and on thought, on form and on essence and on the treatment of words and the content. This integration of *lafẓ* and of *maʿnā* is a very healthy element in poetry, since it establishes no distinction between essence and form. The Seven long [poems] (*al-sabʿ al-ṭiwāl*) possess in common a profusion of *maʿānī* of unrivalled beauty: *fa-mina 'l-shiʿri 'l-ladhī lā mathīla lahu al-ḳaṣāʾidu 'l-sabʿu 'l-ṭiwālu 'l-latī ḳaddamthā 'l-ʿulamāʾu ʿalā sāʾiri 'l-ashʿāri fa-inna 'l-wāḥidata minhā tashmilu ʿalā maʿānin lā mathīla lahā* "in this poetry which has no equal, the Seven long [poems] which the scholars placed above all other poems; each in fact includes numerous *maʿānī*, unique in their genre" (Beirut 1977, 21-2). If the poems of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, of Zuhayr, of ʿAntara, of Labīd, of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza and of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī are counted among the pearls of Arabic poetry, it is because of the beauty of their motifs. The superiority of every poet depends on the range of the *maʿānī* which he has enunciated, and the grading of poets according to categories (*ṭabaḳāt*) is done in accordance with these criteria. This conception developed by al-Ḥirmāzī (*flor.* in the time of al-Rashīd, 170-93/786-809, preceding al-Djāḥiẓ by a generation) was adopted by Ibn Ṭayfūr, Ibn Djinnī and al-Djurdjānī, but remained a minority and somewhat marginal view.

C. The philosophers

The influence of Aristotelian ideas on the evolution of Arabic poetics has been decisive; these have been the ideas most systematically explored by the Muslim philosophers. Unlike the theoreticians, the philosophers were concerned to clarify a complete poetic art; they conceived poetry as a universal cultural phenomenon. Their speculations possess a hitherto unknown scientific rigour, since they considered poetic discourse as a subdivision of logic. They thus deny any role in poetry to the imagination and establish incompatibility between reason and poetry (Von Grunebaum, *Aesthetic*, 323).

These poetics of the philosophers do not derive from a more or less accurate paraphrase of the *Poetics* of Aristotle. It is rather a question of commentaries expressing the personal opinions of those philosophers who took inspiration from the notions expressed in *al-Muʿallim al-awwal*. Three essential principles dominate the poetic art as viewed by the philosophers: truth (and falsehood), imitation and evocation.

(i) Aristotelian theory makes of poetical beauty an ornament and a generalisation of the truth. According to the philosophers, and more specifically Ibn Rushd, the poet should evoke, with eloquence and plausibility, a chosen and average nature which is true for all times and for the greatest public, thus detaching the permanent from the ephemeral; this is called *al-ḥaḳīḳa*, the truth (Cantarino, 37). However, poetry is accorded the right to turn away from obligatory truth; this is the well-known poetic *kadhib* which differs from its homonym as employed by the critics. The latter understood it as meaning falsehood in the literal sense. On several occasions, traditions recount very flattering anecdotes regarding the veracity of certain poets, in particular, Zuhayr; the qualities attributed to patrons in his eulogistic poems are genuine qualities. In this context, the maxim *aʿdhabu 'l-shiʿri aṣdaḳuhu* "the finest of poems is the most truthful" makes its appearance. Beyond this ethical aspect (Von Grunebaum, *Spirit*, 46-7; Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Naḳd*, 34-6) critics have questioned the exactitude of *maʿānī*, as in the work of al-Āmidī. In consequence, everything dependent on the impossible is bad. This attitude does not lack positive results, such as the necessity for the urban poet to employ a poetic language which accords with the milieu in which he lives and with clarity (*ibāna*) of expression (Von Grunebaum, *Critic*, 104).

Among the philosophers, this concept rather signifies the right accorded to poetry to turn away from objective truth. In fact, from this perspective, recognition is given to the legitimacy of poetical subjectivity, or to that of the imagination which is the cause of *muḥākāt* (see below). For the poet, this faculty prevails over thought, as is affirmed by al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd (al-Rūbī, 114-15, with abundant bibl.). As the imagination conceives and expresses a mimesis and a resemblance and not reality, it is a case of a *kadhib*, and the best poem is that which succeeds more than others in giving the illusion of reality, in inducing belief in the veracity of this *muḥākāt*.

(ii) *Takhayyul* denotes the power of creating images; it is stimulated, according to Ibn Sīnā, by an emotion which arouses the poet, by respect or admiration, by sadness or gaiety (*Fann al-shiʿr min kitāb al-Shifāʾ*; *Djawāmiʿ al-shiʿr*, 67-80). This power derives from a faculty called *al-mutakhayyila* (according to al-Kindī, *al-muṣawwira*, for al-Fārābī, *al-ḳalb*) responsible for the re-actualisation of images which have been perceived in the past. At the time of inspiration, the *mutakhayyila* does not confine itself to reviving these images, it restructures them, initiates new combinations of images which did not exist in this form in reality (al-Fārābī, *Ārāʾ ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, 70-2). The poet is therefore obliged to keep in mind those images stored in his memory, perhaps also the *maʿānī* inherent in these images and to remodel them in a new, or even divergent fashion. Ibn Sīnā adds to this the entire stylistic apparatus, such as poetic language, technical procedures, rhyme, metre and even *maʿānī* (*Fann al-shiʿr min kitāb al-Shifāʾ*, 163). Thus conceived, *takhayyul* ultimately encompasses the whole process of creation.

The Islamic philosophers ranked it above the *ḳuwwa nāṭiḳa* or logical force, but made it subservient to the intellect (*al-ʿaḳl*) on which it depends totally. The process of *al-ta<u>kh</u>ayyul al-<u>sh</u>iʿrī* appears to be a kind of emanation (*fayḍ*) or of vague and imprecise inspiration (*ilhām <u>gh</u>āmiḍ*). Such a conception confers on poetry a status resembling that of prophecy or something close to it; both are phenomena of conscious inspiration involving subjects endowed with natural dispositions. If poetry is part of logic, the fact remains that it lies in the eighth and last position according to the classification adopted by al-Kindī and, later, by al-Fārābī (al-Rūbī, 54-6).

All visions of *ta<u>kh</u>yīl*, translated into language, are transformed into *muḥākāt* or *aḳwāl muḥākiya*, i.e. symbols, mimeses and enigmas. Were it not for *muḥākāt*, the human *mu<u>kh</u>ayyila* would be incapable of operating and would remain at the stage of virtuality.

(iii) Arts such as drawing and painting are based on *muḥākāt* or imitation. Only poetry, among all the other arts, is a *muḥākāt* in the form of words. This faculty reconstructs the real into a better or worse form through the allocation of excess of beauty or of ugliness. Poetic discourse thus surpasses and transcends the real. In fact, this discourse, which is itself the fruit of *muḥākāt*, constitutes a subjective apprehension, since it depends on the vision which exists in the *mu<u>kh</u>ayyala* of the poet. In these terms, al-Fārābī stresses, a poem does not constitute a totally identical imitation of reality, but there is a relation of resemblance.

Ibn Sīnā gives valuable particulars regarding the nature and functioning of this force; it does not operate in the case of fables and of stories set to metre and rhyme. Neither of these belongs to the category of poetry. In the versified *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] and in stories or tales, all is fictitious. They cannot be classed as *<u>sh</u>iʿr*, which is concerned with things that exist or could exist. The Islamic philosophers followed the Aristotelian concept of the poet's role as transmitter of an event which is real or which could be so. Poetry, from this point of view, is closely akin to philosophy; both aspire to express global verities.

As regards the objectives which poetry sets out to retain, beyond aesthetic pleasure which is the primary aim, it is considered a school for the improvement of the soul. It is thus essentially a didactic discourse, being more easily digested by the "common people". It is the only means by which the latter can assimilate wisdom. Thus the ethical aspect, so highly esteemed by the puritans, is brought into play. The discourse which inflames the instincts and induces men to commit evil acts is thus denounced, and for this reason al-Fārābī reviles Arabic poetry as a school "of cupidity and mendacity". Ibn Miskawayhi advises that young people should not be instructed in the poetry of the *nasīb*, since it encourages fornication; on the other hand he sees educational merit in poems which celebrate courage and manliness.

D. The first grammarians

The first grammarians showed great interest in archaic poetry. Modern scholars have insisted on stressing the primal role played by versified texts in the researches of Arab grammarians and in the development of *ʿArabiyya*, the classical Arabic language. *Al-<u>sh</u>iʿr al-ḳadīm* took the role of *<u>sh</u>āhid*, proof text, and thus guardian of validity, of legitimacy of usage and of quality (Blachère, *HLA*, i, 89-96, 111-12). H. Fleisch asserts that treatises of grammar from the 2nd/8th century to the period of the *Nahḍa*, in fact present the grammar of <u>Dj</u>āhilī poetry. Classical Arabic grammar allegedly revealed, studied and codified a stage of the language, that represented by ancient poetry (*Traité de philologie arabe*, i, 1961, 9-10; see also, J. Fück, *ʿArabiyya*, Paris 1955, 5; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-<u>Sh</u>ilkānī, *al-Aʿrāb al-ruwāt*, Tripoli (Libya) 1391/1982, introd., 7, 29; Ibrāhīm Anīs, *Min asrār al-lu<u>gh</u>a*, Cairo 1958, 321).

Careful study of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* reveals the dominant role of the speech of Bedouin heard directly from their own mouths. Furthermore, discernible in the approach of the great grammarian is a certain reluctance to use *<u>sh</u>iʿr* to legitimise a linguistic facet (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, Paris 1881-5, 7). In § 7 of the *Kitāb*, he declares that the rules governing *kalām* differ from those governing *<u>sh</u>iʿr*; in other words, as grammar seeks to codify the rules of the language, it cannot rely on poetry. Furthermore, having quoted a verse and studied the form of expression which it initiates on the level of morphology and syntax, Sībawayhi adds *wa-hā<u>dh</u>ā lā ya<u>dj</u>ūzu illā fi 'l-<u>sh</u>iʿri wa-fī ḍaʿf^un^ mina 'l-kalām* "this is only permissible in poetry and in approximative speech" (*ibid.*, 18, l. 3). This equivalence of poetry = approximative discourse dispenses with any commentary. This manner of regarding the poetic language derives from a broader conception of this form. This disciple of al-<u>Kh</u>alīl b. Aḥmad seems to have had little appreciation for the very artificial figures and expressions adopted by the poetic language. When he introduces poets, he criticises them "for being ready to accept aberrant forms and figures to such a point that they use words improperly, because they are [metrically] convenient and are not vitiated by any deficiency as regards the measure" *wa-yaḥtamilūna ḳabḥa 'l-kalāmi ḥattā yaḍaʿūhu fī <u>gh</u>ayri mawḍiʿihi li-annahu mustaḳīm^un^ laysa fīhi naḳṣu* (*ibid.*, 9). For his part, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (4th/10th century [*q.v.*]) also fulminates against aberrant figures and the violence done to the language by poets (*ʿasf al-lu<u>gh</u>a*) on account of the tyrannies of form to which they are subject (*al-Tanbīh ʿalā ḥudū<u>th</u> al-taṣḥīf*, Beirut 1992 [= Damascus 1968], 97-101). Later, the linguistic quest changes on account of the closure of the doors of *i<u>dj</u>tihād* in grammar, and visiting the desert is seen as futile on account of the degradation of Bedouin speech. Consequently, ancient poetry is endowed with incomparable prestige in the eyes of grammarians: it is the perfect expression of good usage. In relatively late grammatical works, only the poetical *<u>sh</u>awāhid* are retained for purposes of testimony.

V. *Unregulated poetry.*

Unregulated is used here in the sense of unrestrained, excessive (*Grand Robert*, s.v.). This is in fact the period of the fantastic, to borrow the expression of Heinrichs, in the long evolution of Arabic poetry. By means of an intensive and original usage of tropes, the poets break all logical links between the elements in a comparison; they opt for an imagery totally divorced from nature and proceed towards constructions dependent on the imaginary, in other words a fantastic creation. The later ʿAbbāsid poets show themselves consummate masters of this art. An example given by Heinrichs is the image whereby al-Ṣanawbarī compares red anemones tossed by the wind with banners made of rubies set on a background of chrysolites (Heinrichs, 26).

In order to understand the full significance of this approach, it needs to be linked to the role of the image in the poetics of al-<u>Dj</u>ur<u>dj</u>ānī. Metaphorical language, he asserts, is magic (*Asrār*, 40). The image reconciles the irreconcilable, unites incompatible opposites and introduces us to a world of the bizarre, in which images are not immediately comprehended by the imagination (*ibid.*, 140, 144, 150, 188). Evidently,

what is involved here is an artificial creation, even a discourse full of affectation. There is nothing pejorative in this concept. Modern conceptions of aesthetics consider it on the contrary as an art form tending towards irrealism, refined and sophisticated, drawn to fantasy and paradox and transcending affectation and oddity; the subjects here are unashamedly fantastic, even esoteric. This important process of evolution proceeded for several centuries. Beginning in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, it reached its zenith in the 6th-12th century. The centuries of affectation are characterised by an intense poetic activity directed entirely towards a single objective: what matters in poetry is literature, i.e. recourse to a formed and formalised language.

(1) *The revival of established genres.*

The poets of these centuries are outstanding painters. In the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, descriptive poetry demonstrates an intense love of nature; the poets of Spain, of Syria and of Egypt celebrate it with enthusiasm. The countryside is transformed here into a cornucopia of colours and scents bathed in abundant water (Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulusī, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1986, 149-50, 178, the perfumes of Damascus); human arrangements, *ṣihrīdjs*, places of libation (*madjlis*), wells, etc., are shown in the forefront of the scene (Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulusī, 133, § 40, 134, § 42; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1967, 358-63). Similarly, rivers and lakes are very often celebrated (Umayya b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1990, 81, 85, 133, 145; Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *al-Adab fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-mamlūkī*, Cairo 1971, 115-16).

This attachment to nature remains a powerful influence under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans, and the tendency to sing the praises of its more enchanting aspects becomes a regular feature among the poets of the two periods: Ibn Ẓāfir al-Ḥaddād, Ibn Ḳasīm al-Ḥamwī (d. 542/1156), al-Shihāb al-Shāghurī (d. 615/1218), and for the Ottomans, Ibn al-Naḳīb (d. 1081/1670, Ibn al-Naḥḥās al-Ḥalabī (d. 1052/1642) and Abū Maʿtūḳ al-Mūsawī (1087/1676) have evoked in numerous instances the beauties of Syria and, in the case of Egypt, the Nile and its verdant banks. At the same time, this taste for nature is revived by love of the soil, by literary reminiscences and the introduction of a new poetical form which wallows in nature, the *muwashshah* [*q.v.*] of Andalusian origin. Also encountered in the texts is a sustained interest in the climate and in meteorological phenomena, rains, wintry weather (al-Suyūṭī, ii, 398), snowflakes and the cheerful nature of the spring (*ibid.*). Furthermore, conventional or scientific objects such as the astrolabe (Umayya b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 90-1, § 111), censers (*ibid.*, 93, § 118), candles, tooth-picks (*Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vi, 59), etc., which could seem prosaic at first sight, are frequently evoked.

Description adopted a poetic language which was sometimes elliptical, most often enigmatic, and *maʿānī* which, far from revealing the object, screened it in a subtle and pleasurable manner through the adoption of procedures of affectation and fantasy. Very often, the poet gave to his description an enigmatic form by recourse to the interrogative pronoun "what-is-it-that?" (*mā*), and an allegorical language. Fityān al-Shāghūrī, describing the cupola of the Umayyad Mosque, transforms it into a young woman (*ghāda*) of great beauty born by a vulture (al-Shihāb al-Shāghūrī, *Dīwān*, Damascus 1967, 245). Nothing in the poem helps the reader to penetrate the secret of this fantastic image. In these conditions, it can be understood how works of poetics under the Mamlūks insisted on *tawriya* [*q.v.*] or double-meaning, the less common interpretation being envisaged. No fewer than three works are attested by al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Ḥidjdja and Ibn Khātima (Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *Taʾrīkh al-naḳd*, ii, 332, 366, 369) which clearly illustrate the tendencies of this poetry.

(2) *The vigour of religious poetry.*

Ṣūfī poetry experienced the most ostentatious period of its history. The works of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1231) and of Muhyī 'l-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) gave the impetus to a trend which was to be maintained until the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*]. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣārī (d. 662/1264), al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf (d. 688/1293), ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (690/1291), al-Ẓahīr al-Irbilī (d. 697/1302), Ibn al-Naḥḥās al-Ḥalabī (d. 1052/1642) and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1142/1731) are the loyal heirs of their illustrious predecessors. In the best examples, the discourse aspires to escape from the rational. The language is allegorical and the words take on a symbolic meaning which can be penetrated only by initiates. This essentially subjective poetry transcends semantics to express that which transcends words. Here, there is no self-modelling according to the exigencies of a well-defined dogma. In a sense, the involvement here is with open texts, bearing multiple suggestions. Furthermore, the Ṣūfī poems of the period renew acquaintance with an ancestral tradition closely associated with the use of song among mystics (al-Ahwānī, *Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk wa-mushkilat al-ʿukm wa 'l-ibtikār*, Cairo 1962, 197). Furthermore, no doubt influenced by the mystical poems of the Persian *sāḳī-nāma*, the Ṣūfī *khamriyya* [*q.v.*] enjoys a certain vogue; numerous poems based on this pattern are attested from the 7th/13th to the 12th/18th century. Finally, it should not be forgotten that it is this period which sees the emergence and proliferation of the poems called *al-madāʾiḥ al-nabawiyya* or eulogies of the Prophet: generally long pieces, constructed on a binary base, the opening being reserved for the *nasīb nabawī* (a love-song addressed to the Prophet) which is combined with the *naʿt al-nabī* (portrait of the Prophet), praises and accounts of his miracles, his virtues and his fine deeds (Zakī Mubārak, *al-Madāʾiḥ al-nabawiyya fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1967, index). A woman, ʿĀʾisha al-Baʿūniyya (d. 922/1516), seems to have been particularly distinguished in this field: she devoted a special *dīwān* (*dīwān mustaḳill*) to this type of poem. Certain researchers see in this renewal of religious poetry an attempt to find a refuge from an unbearable reality and a reaction to the decline in status of the professional poet. Henceforward, their numbers were to contract and they were replaced by scholars, in particular, by *ḳāḍīs* possessing profound affinities with religious motifs (Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *Adab*, 109).

Imitation and decline

During the five centuries from the 5th-10th/11th-16th, Arabic poetry ceases to be regarded exclusively as entertainment and regains a part of its ancient primacy. Circumstances favoured this development. Various campaigns and victories over the Crusaders stirred up among contemporaries, poets in particular, a great wave of enthusiasm and optimism. The victories of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and those of al-Ẓāhir Baybars inspired numerous poems on the part of the *ḳāḍī* al-Fāḍil, al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, Abu 'l-Faḍl and al-Djilyānī, who were not lacking in epic spirit (Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1956-62, ii, 102-18; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, Cairo 1953-60, 234 ff.; for the Baybars cycle, Ibn Taghrī-birdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1929-56, xii, 322; Bāshā, i, 530-3).

This poetry is produced by epigones; the poets of

this period made imitation of the ancients and slavish adherence to established models into an institution.

New forms, the *muʿāraḍa* [*q.v.*], the *takhmīs* [*q.v.*] and the *tasmīṭ* [see MUSAMMAT], impose on the poet the need to introduce whole poetical phrases, ranging from the hemistich and the verse to the totality of the *ḳaṣīda*. The later poet becomes, at best, a commentator and his poem a continuation and elucidation of that of the model. The case of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī seems typical in this respect: a considerable proportion of his poems are *muʿāraḍa*s of poems of al-Mutanabbī, or *tasmīṭ*s of the *ḳaṣīda* of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa, of the *lāmiyya* of al-Samawʾal and of the *nūniyya* of Ibn Zaydūn; another poem includes the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* of al-Shanfarā: verses by the *ṣuʿlūk* poet are cited textually (*taḍmīn*), separated one from another by those of the Mamlūk poet. The same procedure is attested with the *maḳṣūra* of Ibn Durayd, two integral poems of al-Mutanabbī and of al-Ṭughrāʾi and the second hemistiches of the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām. Originally, it is quite possible that the later poets were induced to follow these procedures through their admiration for a valued heritage, or as a means of protecting and conserving it. In this regard, under the Ottomans, the poets Ibn al-Naḳīb and Amīn al-Djundī (d. 1257/1841) proceeded in an absolutely identical fashion. Furthermore, the former, no doubt considering himself a memorialist, and still with the aim of conveying a culture, composed a poem of 119 verses entitled *Djamharat al-mughannīn* and dedicated to musicians, singers, favourites and drinking companions (*nudamāʾ*) from the Umayyads to al-Rāḍī; he also evokes here the sweetness of life among the Barmakids and the enjoyable parties given by al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād and al-Muhallabī. All these evocations were strewn with quotations from verses composed in earlier periods (al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, Cairo 1384, ii, 396-7). On reading Mamlūk and Ottoman compositions, there is no justification for speaking of decadence or of lexicographical poetry. Admittedly, since the time of the Ayyūbids there is a marked tendency among poets to engage in extravagant rhetorical games: the verses known as *al-abyāt al-mushadjdjara*, which can be read from beginning to end, but also from end to beginning, constitute, at best, a verbal prank and a tangible sign, perhaps the only one, of undeniable mastery of the language. Finally, poets were much fewer in number, as the culture itself had contracted and was upheld only in small and isolated enclaves. Looking to a past which it sought to safeguard and deprived of any regenerative element, it perpetuated a patently outdated discourse. At this time, poetry had lost its momentum and was evidently awaiting a change—which came with the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*].

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(b) The modern period.

The science of literature (*ʿilm al-adab*) among the Arabs is defined as "the systematic science of literature that deals with language in the form of poetry and prose from the point of view of purity of language and rhetoric" (Cheikho, *ʿIlm al-adab*). The Arabic language is considered by the Arabs as the most "poetic language" (*al-lugha al-shāʿira*) created by God, a language whose characteristics distinguish it from other languages. As the language of the Holy Ḳurʾān, Arabic acquired an aura of sanctity, stability and eternity. Thus the poetics of Arabic language should conform to the language of the Ḳurʾān and address itself to serious subjects. As such, a fundamental difference exists between Arabic and European poetics. The European understanding of poetics as a systematic science of literature, as art, as communication, as an expression of culture in history and as a personal creation, was a concept which was not rediscovered by Arab poets until the 20th century.

In fact, throughout the history of Arabic literature there are clear-cut definitions of poetry and prose, distinguishing one from the other, so as not to allow prose to be confused with poetry, though the former may have rhyme, rhythm, metaphor or any other poetical technique except metre and the intention to write poetry. The revolt against conventional Arabic metres reflected a problem with a long-disputed course of development. Although poetry has in the recent years lost its prominence, nevertheless the problem of the rigid rules of Arabic metre which started at the beginning of the 20th century is still going on.

Poetry written in literary Arabic is considered among the Arabs as the most venerated and most sublime literary trend of Arabic literature. Hence colloquial poetry was excluded as a literary genre. During the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, under the impact of the West, some Arab poets tried to introduce new poetic diction, metaphors, themes and to find new forms and music which suited them, in order to be able to avoid what they considered the enslaving style, monometre and monorhyme, and the sonorous and declamatory tone of the classical Arab poetry.

Arab poets noticed that the most distinctive features in European poetry when compared with Arabic are the dramatic, narrative and epic poetry, which use stanzaic form and blank verse, while the most prominent trend in Arabic poetry is confined to the lyrical monorhymed ode (*ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*]). However, most of the Arab poets, mainly the neo-classicists of the second half of the 19th century, who were convinced of the richness of their language, agreed that rhyme is essential in Arabic poetry. It provides a musical effect and adds melody through the harmony of sound; it proves the ability of the poet and attracts attention; it adds dignity and helps in memorising the sequence of lines; it divides the poem into equal and parallel verses; it raises and satisfies the expectation of the listener; and it helps to make the verse more memorable and binds the lines together with one common bond.

The neo-classical trend emerged in an epoch when poets were still using the diction, style and poetic forms of the stagnation period in which the dominant social trend of poetry recorded happy and sad occasions, was composed with emphasis upon form and verbal play on words, spurious embellishment, paronomasia (*tadjnīs*), plagiarism, alliterations, antithesis and different types of parallelism (synonymous, antithetical and climactic). Various types of pun were also used, with an emphasis upon form, such as verses in which all the words are without diacritical marks. Alternately, one word may bear the diacritical marks while the other words remain unmarked. It was also prevalent to use *tashṭīr*, i.e. to add to each verse of

a well-known poem a second hemistich to its first hemistich and a first hemistich to the second one, padding its meaning and extending it. Many such poems end with a verse denoting the year of the event according to the numerical value (*ḥisāb al-d̲j̲ummal* [*q.v.*]) of the alphabetic letters of the last hemistich or verse. These forms in which the poet tries to show his wit and his ability to draw on the supply of classical methods stored in his memory, inventing new puns or tricks, transformed Arabic poetry into pseudo-classical poetry, into an intellectual game and an intelligent form of frivolous entertainment admired by the élite.

During the second half of the 19th century, a new generation of poets influenced by European poetry, strove to revive the classical *ḳaṣīda*, its form, diction, metaphors and themes, after its decline to low levels of weak and pseudo-classical verse mentioned above. The revival of the conventional Arab ode by neo-classical poets began in Egypt and the Arab world when the revival of the Arab-Islamic heritage was considered the best response to the foreign, hostile and invading Christian European culture. The neo-classical trend began with Arab poets such as Nāṣīf al-Yāzid̲j̲ī (d. 1871 [*q.v.*]) in Lebanon and Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī (d. 1914 [*q.v.*]) in Egypt. The form of the *ḳaṣīda* ideally suited the poets who served the ruling courts, high government officials, influential families, the Arab national and social movements and the religious revival.

Although European literary critic theories began to show their initial influence, yet the conventional definition of poetry was the dominant one among Arab scholars and prosodists. Conservative poets and writers still dealt with the usual themes such as *madīḥ* (panegyric), *rit̲h̲āʾ* (elegy), *g̲h̲azal* (erotic poetry), *waṣf* (description), *tahānī* (congratulation) and served rulers and influential personalities. In this neo-classical Arabic literature, Arab poets revived the rhetoric and declamatory style and the religious and fatalistic spirit of classical poetry. The new poetics sought to emulate the conventions and the basic canons of poetics through *muʿāraḍa* [*q.v.*] (imitation of an excellent classical poem using the same metre, rhyme and theme with the intention of surpassing it). This trend of platform poetry developed not only to serve rulers, religious and national revivals but also to emphasise national ideas by recalling the glorious and profound classical heritage.

When the Ottoman consul-general in Bordeaux, Rūḥī al-K̲h̲ālidī [*q.v.*] compared the *ʿilm al-adab* among the Arabs and the Europeans, he said in his monumental *Taʾrīk̲h̲ ʿilm al-adab* that European writers claim that Arab poets were interested in word-juggling and artificial embellishment with and without diacritical dots and in rhetorical devices, yet with no thought or fictional imagery. Moreover, these European writers say that the *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*] deal with deception, with erotic subjects directed towards males and with perverted love. To these accusations, they add that when great Arab poets and writers deal with deep thoughts, they express them in an artificial and difficult language (2nd ed., 71-2).

Yet the neo-classical poets were proud to achieve the purity of diction, strength of texture, polished language, aristocratic tone, rhetorical devices considered as making up the only perfect and sublime poetry, expressive of the collective conscience and aesthetics of their religion and culture. Any other form or style was considered inferior or unsuitable for the "serious" subjects of traditional poetry. The neo-classical poets' identity and confidence in their culture were not shaken. They saw their achievement as a step toward the restoration of the magnificent Arabic heritage and its glorious past, and precisely for this reason, any attack upon neo-classical poetry by modernist Arab critics and poets was considered as an attack on Islam.

Modernist critics and poets sought to formulate new poetic theories by combining Arabic conventional poetics with modern European theories. Even in 1949, after the rise of three romantic schools in Arabic poetry, *al-Rābiṭa* (1920-31) in the USA, *al-Dīwān* (1921), and *Apollo* (1932-4) in Egypt and their new theories of poetics, the Egyptian critic al-K̲h̲afad̲j̲ī in his *Fann al-s̲h̲iʿr* ("The poetic art") defined Arabic poetry as "speech versified according to the Arabic metres, with the intention of using metre, expressing sense and using rhyme". Earlier, numerous definitions were attempted, which the Lebanese-American romantic poet, writer and critic Mīk̲h̲āʾīl Nuʿayma [*q.v.*] considered to be dull and inaccurate. Influenced by Russian poetics, especially by the critic V.G. Belinski (1811-48), he cautioned that, in addition to metre, rhyme, emotion and imagination, poetry should communicate pantheistic and metaphysical sensitivity. Such critics maintained that poetry, as established in classical Arabic literature, is the most artistic of all literary genres. Poetry employs language in a particular manner: it makes use of alliteration and onomatopoeia, and it is far more tolerant of metaphors and symbols than prose.

The new vision of the modernists rebelled against the neo-classical platform orator poet, in short, the elegant poet whose ambition was to become a poet-laureate on the pay-roll of the ruler or of the Muslim religious endowments (*awḳāf*). Modernists, in contrast, demanded from the poet independence in the humanist European tradition. The poet was now freed to depict his own life, emotions and thoughts as the subjects of his compositions. Unfortunately these poets and critics derived their deals haphazardly from heterogenous European critical, scientific and philosophical theories, showing an indiscriminate fascination with all Western products in the context of their desperate quest for a theory of contemporary poetics that would explain the dichotomy between word and meaning, form and content.

The pioneer modernists calculated that, by adopting the forms and themes of Western poetry, a revolution in Arabic literature and a general change in the spirit of Arabic culture and poetry would ensue. Their objective was to attack the major neo-classical poets and establish their own new poetic movement. This struggle came to be known as the struggle between the old and the new (*al-ṣirāʿ bayn al-ḳadīm wa 'l-d̲j̲adīd*). This resulted in the romantic trend in modern Arabic poetry, involving a vehement struggle on the part of the poet for freedom to express his own ideas and emotions and his own personal experience. In effect, the modernists denounced the neo-classical blind imitation of classical themes, such as the yearning for the place of the beloved, or the lamenting over the ruins of encampments, experiences which they had never themselves known.

Only during the second half of the 20th century, after the split in Arabic poetry into two distinct trends, have Arab poets and critics succeeded in formulating a completely new conception of Arabic poetics. Poetry is no longer defined in terms of its form, i.e. as speech in metre and rhyme. Rather, the evaluation is based on the poem's expressive value and its organic unity. The following themes have come to assume paramount

importance: humanistic trends, optimistic, psychological and rational undercurrents, and universal experience. The emphasis is now on thematic content; poetry becomes a vehicle for narrative, dramatic, epic and lyrical trends, and form is secondary. Form was liberated, into free verse (*shiʿr ḥurr*) in the sense of *vers irrégulier* or the Cowleyan ode; blank verse (*shiʿr mursal*), employing conventional Arabic feet in unrhymed verses, or rhymeless verses of irregular number of feet; in poetic prose (*shiʿr manthūr*), using the music of thought based upon repetition and parallelism; and even the prose poem (*kaṣīdat al-nathr*) advocated by Adonis (ʿAlī Aḥmad Saʿīd) in accordance with the French *poème en prose.*

For the Romantic Arab poets and critics, contrary to the classical view, the first criterion of poetic excellence is that poetry should contain human values and not only embellished language.

After the Second World War, the social-realistic trend in modern Arabic literature replaced the romantic trend. The poets of this trend acquired a common ideology and employed similar artistic techniques and diction, forming a literary school in the proper sense of the word. This school insisted on utilitarian values and practiced engaged or purposive literature. They formed an ideology consisting of a blend of socialism and existentialism, describing their new brand of literature as "realistic, optimistic and constructive literature". Committed literature was viewed by its practitioners as a revolt against romantic poetics, which they dismissed as emotional, metaphorical, pessimistic and destructive.

With the gradual decline of social, political, patriotic, national and descriptive trends in Arabic poetry during the mid-20th century and the success of the Romantic Arab poets in achieving harmony between form and content, a new trend arose. This was led by the *Shiʿr* ("Poetry") magazine, established in Beirut in 1957 by Yūsuf al-Khāl and its theoretician the Syro-Lebanese poet Adonis. The group of poets who edited and supported the magazine dealt with the question of the dichotomy between the literary and colloquial Arabic, and gave it precedence over the question of words and meaning. They believed that language in poetry is not a means of expression but of creation. For the *Shiʿr* group, words were expected to suggest and inspire rather than express. In addition, the new poetry was to have a dominant metaphysical tendency; it should strive to go beneath the surface level to the deeper reality of the universe.

The argument of the new trend of post-modern poets is that political events cannot be the object of poetic inspiration but only of prosaic forms of literature. To love beauty teaches people to rebel against oppression; as such, didactic and socio-political poetry are superfluous. Poetry should reflect the personality, mentality and psychological mood of the poet, a particular self-image and a unique inner life. On the other hand, those who defend the obligation of the poet to his society are the proponents of a national literature which expresses itself in the social-realistic trend.

The post-modern poets maintain that their new poetry has outgrown the conventional themes and rules, just as the modern age has superseded preceding ages. Poetry, they argue, is an expression of a poetic experience which should not be confined to the personal emotions. Conventional poetry recorded events and emotions, but did not go beyond them. Modern poetry is less limited, since it attempts to reveal the essence of life and not merely to be moved by it. It assumes a more positive stand. The essence of modern poetry is creative and evolutionary thought, not precise description. It is a comprehensive realisation of the Arab existence, a call to give expression to life's deepest meaning. It stems from a metaphysical sensitivity, which does not feel things according to their essence, but is a quality which only the imagination can reach. This quality allows modern poetry to break the chains of time, events, reality and predetermined ideas. It is not a reflection of something, but a conquest revelation of a new world. The search in a poem is not for images, but for a poetic universe and for connections with the human being and his situation.

With the flexible form of Arabic free verse and *poème en prose* of the new trends of Arabic poetry, the modernisation of Arabic poetics was completed. This new poetry was influenced by classical Arabic poetry as well as by Western thinkers and critics from Plato and Aristotle to Rousseau, Darwin, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Renan, Sainte-Beuve, Auguste Comte, Bergson, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Sartre and Camus, as well as European and American poets from Shakespeare, Baudelaire, Eluard, Poe, Eliot, Blake, Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth and Whitman to Pasternak.

The influence of these thinkers and poets has gone beyond changing the form and content of modern Arabic poetry; they have also enabled Arabs to understand better their classical heritage. This point has been discussed by the defender of the poetics of Arab modernity, Adonis, who has admitted that "I did not discover this modernity in Arabic poetry from within the prevailing Arab cultural order and its systems of knowledge. It was reading Baudelaire which changed my understanding of Abū Nuwās and revealed his particular poetical quality and modernity, and [it was] Mallarmé's work which explained to me the mysteries of Abū Tammām's poetic language and the modern dimension in it. My reading of Rimbaud, Nerval and Breton led me to discover the poetry of the mystical writers in all its uniqueness and splendour, and the new French criticism gave me an indication of the newness of al-Jurjānī's critical vision. I find no paradox in declaring that it was recent Western modernity which led me to discover our own, older, modernity outside our 'modern' politico-cultural system established on a Western model" (Adonis, *An introduction to Arab poetics*, 81).

As in the case with Western literature, modern Arabic poets use mythology, religious symbols, Greek and Eastern legends as well as Christian, Muslim and Hebraic symbols to communicate their new poetic vision. These symbols are employed even by practising Muslim poets and by formerly active Communists, who in this respect follow Boris Pasternak and other Russian poets. Eastern, and especially Syro-Phoenician, Babylonian and ancient Egyptian mythology and gods, have returned to the East through Western poetry.

These religious and mythological symbols are used in modern Arabic poetry not as expressions of religious experience, but in order to convey mental and physical states. Their main purpose is to communicate the psychological mood of the poet, who feels persecuted and alienated from his politically suppressive society. His efforts to reform his society and country are futile because of the military or semi-military régimes dominant in Arab countries. In this pessimistic context, most of the symbols used are tragic ones. Christ is the favourite symbol of the poet who sacrifices himself for his country and people. Other symbols connected with the Crucifixion are also used, such as Christ bearing the Cross, an image denoting

the long path of suffering through which the poet has to pass.

Already in 1965, these symbols provoked tremendous objections by official and the growing conservative circles in the Arab world who announced that their duty was to guard the sacred and stable values of Muslim society. They argued that the destruction started by the new trends has encroached upon the Arabic language itself. Poetry, the art and glory of choice language, have a strong connection with the national spirit. Moreover, they have accused modern poetics of allowing corrupting foreign elements to penetrate the Arab existence. Among these alien elements, they have warned, is the practice of incorporating ideas and symbols derived from non-Muslim religions. Some of these ideas had already been rejected by Islam, such as Original Sin, the Crucifixion and Redemption. Moreover, the poets have used the word *ilāh* "deity" in its original pagan sense. These attacks by official circles in the Arab world represent a serious blow and a severe setback to Arabic thought. These conservative arguments preceded the assassination of the Egyptian thinker Dr. Faradj Fūda, the attempt by Muslim fundamentalists in Egypt on the life of the Nobel Prize laureate of literature, Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ in 1994, and the threat to assassinate the writer, thinker and philosopher Anīs Manṣūr. On the other hand, poets such as Nizār Ḳabbānī and Maḥmūd Darwīsh remained rather conservative in their political attitudes and in their use of metaphor and religious symbols.

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(S. Moreh)

2. In Persian.

In the introduction to *Miʿyār al-ashʿār*, a Persian textbook of prosody written in 649/1251-2, and ascribed to Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], *shiʿr* is said to be "imitative and measured speech" (*kalām-i mukhayyal-i mawzūn*), according to the logicians, or speech "with measure and rhyme" (*mawzūn-i mukaffā*) in popular usage. These definitions, which refer to the Aristotelian *mimesis* as well as to the basic prosodical features, express a conformity to a concept of poetry commonly held in traditional Islamic civilisation. This is rooted in the paradigmatic role assigned since early Islam to Arabic poetry and the formal rules governing that poetry. Persian classical poetry, the beginnings of which can be traced back to the 3rd/9th century, is the oldest example of the adaptation of an indigenous poetic tradition to the Arabic standards. Although several fragments of Persian poems, dating back as far as the 1st century A.H., are on record, until the 3rd century all lack the characteristics of metre and rhyme marking classical poems. They are remnants from the pre-Islamic poetry of Persia, which was almost exclusively an oral art. The prosody of that tradition is still imperfectly understood, but it was undoubtedly very different from the classical standards, especially because of the absence of quantitative metres and regular rhyme. Persian critics of the Middle Ages refused to recognise anything as poetry that was not written according to these standards. Shams-i Ḳays [*q.v.*] went as far as to state that prosody was in all its aspects an invention of the Arabs to which the Persians had added nothing new (*Muʿdjam*, 68).

In modern times, the Indian scholar U.M. Daudpota still put much emphasis on the virtual identity of the two traditions. However, Hellmut Ritter, examining the aesthetic function of imagery in the poetry of Niẓāmī, found a fundamental difference in the prevalence of explicit poetic comparisons in Arabic poetry on the one hand, and a Persian preference for metaphorical expression on the other (*Bildersprache*, 13-21; see also *Geheimnisse*, 1*f.) This immediate and flexible use of imagery provided Persian poetry with a manneristic idiom which for centuries dominated the literary language, both in poetry and in prose. Benedikt Reinert has clarified the complex relationship between Arabic and Persian poetry by pointing out that there was in fact an interplay of literary influences from both sides. The ʿIrāḳī phase in the history of Arabic poetry, when the *muḥdathūn* [*q.v.*] poets introduced rhetorical innovations and new genres into the tradition inherited from the Djāhiliyya, was the immediate ancestor of Persian poetry, but was itself influenced by Middle Persian forms of poetry. Features favoured in particular by the Persian poets were, among others, the use of the *radīf* rhyme, a strict application of the quantitative principle in Persian metrics, a different structure of poetical comparisons, an excessive use of hyperbole, the introduction of the heroic and didactic genres and the description of nature as a theme for the *nasīb* (*Probleme*, see esp. 72-82).

Writers on various aspects of literature have left statements about the values attached to poetry in Persian culture. Kay Kāwūs [*q.v.*], the author of the oldest Persian Mirror for Princes, classified poetry among the intellectual pursuits, warning at the same time against difficult poetry which would be in need of a commentary and could therefore fail to speak directly to those for whom it was written (*Ḳābūs-nāma*, 187). Being concerned in particular with the usefulness of poetry to a ruler, Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī [*q.v.*] pointed to the catharsis which could be effected by poetry, for instance in politics, as well as to the publicity value which provided one of the most important justifications for traditional court poetry. In rhetorical textbooks, the practical advantage of a critical knowledge of poetry was emphasised for any one who was concerned with composition, including especially official scribes, because the stylistic convention prescribed the embellishment of prose by means of poetic insertions.

More fundamental are the attempts to establish the metaphysical status of poetry by emphasising its connection with human speech and logic. Such considerations are to be found as more or less obligatory introductions to anthologies, e.g. of ʿAwfī's *Lubāb al-albāb* and Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*. Speech (*sukhan*) constitutes God's special gift to mankind, by which the human species is distinguished from all other living beings. On account of its privileged relationship to the capacity of speech, the writing of poetry belongs to the highest pursuits of the soul. Poets also frequently express their views on this particular aspect of their art. Passages on the relationship between speech, or logic, and poetry have found their place among the subjects treated in the introductions of *mathnawī* poems. A remarkable specimen is the long and intricate introduction which Niẓāmī Gandjawī [*q.v.*] added to the dedication of his didactic poem *Makhzan al-asrār*. Defending the originality of his work, he makes use of the allegory of a spiritual journey in search of the inspiration which only the poet's own heart can provide. Poetry is related to the *logos* but also to the Divine word of revelation; the latter association gives the poet a spiritual status close to that of the prophets. Niẓāmī also points out that poetry is an immaterial art, in spite of the fact that it uses all the elements of the cosmos as the raw material for its imagery (*Makhzan al-asrār*, ed. A.A. Alizade, Baku 1960, sections xii-xviii).

Such a high opinion of poetry could not fail to lead to a discussion about the permissibility of the "mercenary" panegyrics of the court poets. This question became particularly acute since the 6th/12th century, when Persian poetry came to be used more and more for religious purposes. Sanāʾī [*q.v.*] reduced the conflict between his calling as a homiletic poet and the practices of professional court poetry to a choice between "the Law" (*sharʿ*) and "poetry" (*shiʿr*). Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], claiming the rightful use of poetry by the mystics, harmonised the opposition implied in Sanāʾī's word play by adding a third term, viz. "the (heavenly) throne" (*ʿarsh*), symbolising the goal of the mystical search, which in his view sprang from the same source as literary art and the obedience to the Law of Islam, just as the three words shared the same letters (*Muṣībat-nāma*, 46-7).

By then, poetry was firmly established as a medium for the expression of mystical experience and religious and ethical instruction. Remarkable for this development were the greater importance of the *ghazal* [*q.v.*], and of the didactical *mathnawī* [*q.v.*], which became enriched by the often intricate use of narrative elements. The scope for secular epics became restricted, except on the level of popular literature. The panegyrical *ḳaṣīda*, as well as the stanzaic poems, were used for other purposes more suitable to religious interests such as didacticism, religious hymns and elegies on the Shīʿī martyrs. The dichotomy between court and religion is only a simplified model of the actual situation. There was an exchange of motives and themes, going into both directions, which gave Persian poetry the ambiguity which became one of its most fascinating features.

According to many modern critics, Persian poetry reached its culmination point in the 8th/14th century, especially with Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], and then ceased to develop any further. During the Tīmūrid period, a decline already began, marked by the mere imitation of earlier poets and an empty display of rhetorical virtuosity. Under the Ṣafawids [see ṢAFAWIDS. III. Literature], there was a brief and limited revival of creativity, exemplified especially in the 16th century by the stylistic fashion of *wuḳūʿ-gūʾī*, and subsequently by the rise of the *sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]. In Persia, the Indian style was not long accepted as an avenue to escape from the impasse, though it produced at least one generally recognized master in the poet Ṣāʾib [*q.v.*]. About the middle of the 18th century, a reaction to the Indian style, afterwards styled the "literary return" (*bāzgasht-i adabī*), took the form of a neoclassicism which continued to dominate poetry until the 20th century. This revival was founded on the early court poetry, which was admired for its harmony, natural grace and simplicity. Nearly all poetry written in the Ḳādjār period is at best a clever imitation of poetry produced at the courts of the Sāmānids, Ghaznawids and Saldjūḳs.

In the first decade of this century, the Constitutional Revolution (*inḳilāb-i mashrūṭa*) again challenged the inventiveness of Persian poets. The novelty of the *mashrūṭa* poetry consisted mainly in the introduction of new subjects, derived from current events, and in an attitude of *engagement* towards society, both of which had been virtually unknown to the classical tradition. Formal innovation was still only incidental to the main concern with contents, but a few experiments with prosody can be noticed, e.g. the choice of new rhyme schemes by Dihkhudā (1879-1956) and Bahār's [*q.v.*] use of uncommon variations of the stanzaic poems, like the *mustazād*, an extension of the classical *mathnawī*. More interesting was the turn towards forms hitherto restricted to oral poetry: both ʿĀrif [*q.v.*, in Suppl.] and Bahār recognised the effectiveness of the *taṣnīf*, a ballad already in use for popular comments on political events, to reach mass audiences during public performances of poetry and music. The strength of the tradition showed itself not only in the overall tendency to stick to the timeworn vocabulary and imagery, but also in attempts to provide individual poems from the past with a topical meaning. A striking example is the treatment of Khāḳānī's famous *ḳaṣīda* on the ruins of the Sāsānid palace at Ctesiphon as a symbol of the modern longing for the rebirth of vanished greatness. Muḥammad Riḍā ʿIshḳī (1893-1924 [*q.v.*, in Suppl.] chose Ctesiphon as the setting for his poems *Rastākhīz-i salāṭīn-i Īrān* and *Kafan-i siyāh*, written in the novel form of musical drama. In an ode on the Communist Revolution, Lahūtī (1887-1957 [*q.v.*]) transferred this theme to the Kremlin. The form of the strife poem (*munāẓara*), used by Asadī (11th century), was transformed into a medium for modern social and moral criticism by Parwīn Iʿtiṣāmī (1906-41 [*q.v.*]).

The impact of Western poetry, which has been

instrumental in the process of literary modernisation in all non-Western cultures, made itself felt comparatively late in Persia. Debates between the proponents of change and the defenders of traditional poetry (*s̲h̲iʿr-i sunnatī*) went on until after the Second World War, although the first signs of Western influence can already be noticed in the early 1920s. Among the first to turn to Western models were ʿIs̲h̲ḳī, with his musical dramas, and Īrad̲j̲ Mīrzā (1874-1924), whose *Zuhrā u Manūčihr* was an imitation of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. The allegorical narrative *Afsāna* (1922) is in retrospect seen as a landmark in the development of modern poetry, although the poet Nīmā Yūs̲h̲īd [*q.v.*] did not yet depart much from traditional prosody. More important are the atmosphere, which reminds one of French romantic poetry of the 19th century, the realistic descriptions of nature and the reflections on the future of Persian poetry in the discussions of the poet and his muse. In the following decades, Nīmā began to question the principles of classical Persian verse. He rejected its isometric lines and tight rhyme schemes as unsuitable for contemporary poetry, because they forced the poet to use superfluous words in order to fill empty spaces in prescribed patterns and thereby limited his creative freedom. Instead, metre and rhyme should be subservient to poetic expression. In his "broken metrics" (*ʿarūḍ-i s̲h̲ikasta*), the ancient metrical feet can still be recognised, but their number in each line varies according to the expressive needs of the poet. Rhyme also was freed from its formal rigidity; this opened the possibility for various kinds of irregular rhymes as well as for blank verse. Even more radical were Nīmā's experiments with a new poetic imagery which equally were inspired by modern literary trends in the West, notably by surrealism.

For a long time, Nīmā remained a more or less isolated and controversial pioneer. Only *ca.* 1950 did a number of young poets accept his ideas as the basis of a modern Persian poetry. Starting from the nucleus of his fundamental rules, they developed themselves into various directions. The most radical innovator among them was Aḥmad S̲h̲āmlū, who also broke through the barrier which had always divided the language of written poetry from spoken Persian. The debate between the modernists and the defenders of the tradition gradually lost most of its heat. Although prominent poets like S̲h̲ahriyār [*q.v.*] could still make a meaningful use of the ancient forms, by the 1960s the new poetry had become generally accepted.

The political events in Persia after 1941 affected poetry as much as the Constitutional Revolution had done this. Political and social *engagement* (*taʿahhud*) became again an avowed task of poetry, although political oppression and censureship did not leave a very large scope for the expression thereof. External conditions often forced poets into opaque symbolism. However, the desire to be in line with international trends of modern poetry also gave much modern Persian poetry an obscurity which made it difficult to understand for readers who were still attached to the poetic idiom of the past.

The process of poetic modernisation fostered the rise of literary criticism on a scale which Persia had not known before. Nīmā's own theories were expounded in private letters and scattered articles which were only recently collected and published by Sīrūs Ṭāhbāz. To most critics, they constitute the basics of their own evaluation of modern poetry.

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(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

3. In Turkish.

A. The pre-Ottoman period [see ʿOT̲H̲MĀNLĪ. III. (a) 1; TURKS. Literature].

B. The Ottoman period [see ʿOT̲H̲MĀNLĪ. III. (a), (b), (c)].

C. The Republican period.

When the Ottoman Empire dissolved, the overornate *Dīwān* poetry of the élite, written in *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] using Ottoman Turkish, lost its frame of reference. Republican values envisaged that the literature should go to the people and reflect their lives and values using their language, i.e. spoken Turkish. Although the roots of a search for new forms and expressions for a wider audience go back to the *Tanẓīmāt* period (mid-19th century), it was during the War of Independence and after the declaration of the Republic (1923) that Turkish intellectuals moved outside Istanbul to acquire a first-hand experience of Turkey and its people. For the poets, the Anatolian villager, the folk poetry in spirit and form (its traditional syllabic metre and various poetic forms) and the wealth of folk traditions which had been so far neglected, now became major sources of inspiration as well as providing vast amount of subject-matter. *Dīwān* poetry and *ʿarūḍ* did not vanish immediately after the Republic; in fact, its influence can be traced even in contemporary poets in a synthesised form. Ahmet Haşim (1885-1933), Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873-1936) and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (1884-1958) continued to write in *ʿarūḍ* after the 1920s. Atilla İlhan (1925-), Edip Cansever (1928-85), and Behçet Necatigil (1916-79) make use of the *Dīwān* style, but without *ʿarūḍ*, in their works. Beginning with the *Tanẓīmāt* period, and during the early years of the Republic, it was the French poetic tradition which inspired the Turkish poets; e.g. Beyatlı was

under the influence of the Parnassians, and Ahmet Haşim (1884-1933) of Symbolism. One way of looking at modern Turkish poetry is by decades, although the time span is short and the same poets will have continued to write in the next decade, possibly with a change in style.

a. 1923-38. This was the decade when excitement about the new state and the newly-discovered populism and nationalism was deeply felt. The poets of the old school, such as Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan (1852-1937), Ahmet Haşim, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Celal Sahir Erozan (1883-1935), and Mehmet Akif Ersoy [see MEḤMED ʿĀKIF] continued to write, usually with *ʿarūḍ* but using a purer Turkish than before. Beyatlı lauded the magnificence of the Ottoman Empire and the pain of losing it, as expressed in "The Open Sea":

> While my childhood passed in Balkan cities./ There burned in me a longing like a flame./In my heart the melancholy that Byron knew./

Haşim, the Symbolist, talked of spiritual exile, and declared "We ignore the generation which has no sense of melancholy"; these two poets were to influence the coming generations more than any of the other poets of the era. Ersoy, writer of the lyrics of the Turkish national anthem, adapted *ʿarūḍ* to spoken Turkish masterfully and his use of the style of the Islamic *khuṭba* created a most original effect. His poetry was heroic, didactic, idealistic, preaching purity of the soul, and his elegy "For the Fallen at Gallipoli" is one of the most famous poems of the period:

> Soldier, you who have fallen for this earth/Your fathers may well lean down from heaven to kiss your brow./You are great, for your blood saves the True Faith./Only the heroes of Badr are your equals in glory./

For the populist/nationalist poets of the period, inspired by folk poetry, Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) [see GÖKALP, ZIYA], and Mehmet Emin Yurdakul (1869-1944) [see MEḤMED EMĪN] are the best examples, didactic in tone and close to folk poetry in form. Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel (1898-1973) [see ČAMLĪBEL, in Suppl.] wrote about Anatolia and its people with the eyes of an urban intellectual observing the rural scene for the first time. Halit Fahri Ozansoy (1891-1971), Orhan Seyfi Orhon (1890-1972) [see ORKHAN SEYFĪ], Yusuf Ziya Ortaç (1913-1975) [see ORTAČ, YŪSUF ḌIYĀ], Enis Behiç Koryürek (1891-1949) [see ḲORYÜREK], Cahit Külebi (1917-) and Ceyhan Atuf Kansu (1919-78) began to write also during this period. Most of these poets were teacher-poets. Through the Halkevi or "People's Houses" [see KHALḲEVI] organisation and its publication, they were able to disseminate their ideas and poems, and an interest in folk culture became popular among the masses through them. A painter and a poet, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu (1913-75) [see EYYŪBOGHLU, in Suppl.], not only used the folk poetry tradition but also depicted the colours and the art of Anatolia using words. Some of these poets were more didactic than others; e.g. Behçet Kemal Çağlar (1908-69) dedicated his poetry to the love of Atatürk and the Republican ideals. The poets painfully observed the wretched economic and social condition of Anatolia, and some perceived the Russian Revolution as a new source of hope. This brings Nazım Hikmet (1902-63) [see NĀẒIM ḤIKMET] to mind. Under the influence of Mayakovski in his earlier poems, he launched his free verse and, although he also wrote sensitive and tender love poetry, he is better known by his poems of revolution. In the "Epic of Şeyh Bedrettin"; using modern verse, he united, with great skill, the traditions of *Dīwān* poetry and folk literature:

> It was hot/very hot./The heat was a knife with a bloody handle/and a dull blade,//It was hot./The clouds were loaded,/ready to burst/to burst right away.//Without moving, he looked down/from the rocks/his eyes, like two eagles, descended on the plain./There/the softest and the hardest/the stingiest and the most generous/the most loving/the greatest and loveliest woman/the EARTH/was about to give birth/to give birth right away.//

The era was not dominated only by Nazım Hikmet; there was also much diversity. While Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1905-83) used religious and mystical themes, a group of young poets believing in art for art's sake gathered their poems into a book called *Yedi meşale* "The Seven Torches" (1928). These were Muammer Lütfi (1903-47), Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil (1907-68), Yaşar Nabir Nayır (1908-81), Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk (1907-61), Cevdet Kudret Solok (1907-) and Ziya Osman Saba (1910-57). They asserted that they were tired of the current state of poetry and sought new ways, but on close reading, their poetry is clearly under the influence of Parnassianism, and the movement was in any case short-lived. Their contemporaries were Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901-62), Ahmet Muhip Dranas (1909-80), both students of Yahya Kemal, who wrote under the influence of Haşim and Valéry, whilst Ahmet Kutsi Tecer (1901-67) wrote in traditional syllabic metre in stanzaic form expressing genteel sensibilities and Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı (1910-56) achieved popularity with his sincere love of humanity and celebration of life.

b. 1940-60. Politically, the early part of the period was marked by the move from a single-party system to pluralistic democracy and liberalisation, whereas the second part is marked by the crises of democracy and military intervention. In poetry, the 1940s bring to mind firstly the *Garip* "Strange" or *Birinci Yeni* "First New" movement. Orhan Veli Kanık (1914-50) [*q.v.*], Oktay Rifat Horozcu (1914-88) [see OKTAY, RİFAT] and Melih Cevdet Anday (1915-) caused a literary upheaval when they published their poems in a book called *Garip* in 1941. In this they called for abandoning everything that Turkish literature had so far been teaching, including conventional rigid forms and metres. They asked for less rhyme and for a language reduced to a bare minimum, and an avoidance of metaphors and word plays; instead, their theme would be to celebrate the common man and their aim to write for him. Kanık's poem "Epitaph", which talks about the corns of Süleyman Efendi, is a good example. There was little room for sentimentality, but the love and joy of life were always there, mixed with a sinister sense of humour and poetic reality; his "For the Homeland", often recited even today, is one such poem:

> All the things we did for our country/Some of us died/Some of us gave speeches./

Oktay Rifat caught the underlying political desperation of his contemporaries in his "Underdeveloped".

> To fall behind; in science, in art, leafless/ Unflowering in the spring; an aching star/ Imprinted on the forehead.

But Kanık died young, and the other members of the group were to leave it in the 1950s. This latter decade in Turkey saw the liberalisation of political life. There was a growing middle class which did not care too much for poetry; the beginnings of industrialisation (with all its pain) and emigration to the

big cities caused complex socio-economic changes. The *Garip* movement in poetry had outlived its time, and its followers had by now turned to other more personal styles: Rifat took up Neo-Surrealism, and Anday began to write in an epic style, intellectually complex poetry. Some of the poets of the period grew tired of the "poetic realism" which had become fashionable with the *Garip* movement. Salah Birsel (1919-) wrote:

> Take "Love for Mankind" as your topic/And free verse as your prosody./Relevant or not,/ Whenever it occurs to you,/Insert the word "Hunger"/At a convenient spot./Near the end of the poem/Rhyme "Strife" with "the Right to Good life."//There, that's the way to become A Great Poet.

More organised reaction to the *Garip* came in the form of the *İkinci Yeniler* "Second New" movement (1955-65), which advocated "art for innovation's sake". In the 1960s, a monthly review called *Papirüs* edited by Cemal Süreyya (1931-90) brought the proponents of this together; İlhan Berk (1916-), Cemal Süreyya, Turgut Uyar (1927-85) and Edip Cansever (1928-86) are the better-known poets of this movement. They tried their hands at new rhythms and more modern imagery, with distortion of language to the degree of meaninglessness as their mark. They tried to recover the poetic qualities banished by the *Garip* poets, but they were neither élitist nor anti-populist; on the contrary, they tried to depict the experiences of the individual in the city. They were esoteric, individualistic and metaphysical. Thus Cemal Süreyya is witty, subtle and full of clever imagery, with love, understanding, warmth and irony as the major features in his works:

> The clock chimed like a Chinese jar./Bending my brim hat over my misery,/Out of my white insomnia, I,/Exiled to your face,/You woman,/ You were in every secret corner,/Your shadow nettled on the dark street,/(from "Country")

Edip Cansever, influenced by T.S. Eliot, told of the alienated man in an urban setting; Ece Ayhan (1931-) was obscure in his prose poems about history and the underworld; Sezai Karakoç (1933-) was inspired by Islam; whilst Kemal Özer (1936-) was politically committed.

During the 1950s, the proponents of classical Turkish poetry formed a circle around the journal *Hisar* (ran until the 1980s), with such prominent names involved in it as Munis Faik Ozansoy (1911-75), Orhan Seyfi Orhon and Mehmet Çınarlı (1925-).

c. 1960-. The striking feature of the 1960s was the politicisation of the young poets after the military take-over, which advocated a firm return to populism and the teachings of Atatürk. The young poets of the 1960s were a sober group, critical of anyone who did not write for a political purpose, so that Nazım Hikmet and Ahmet Arif (1926-91) became their heroes. Ataol Behramoğlu (1942-), Süreyya Berfe (1943-), İsmail Özel (1944-) started a joint action against what they called the bourgeois writers under the name of "Revolutionary Young Poets". But after the military intervention of 1971, Behramoğlu abandoned crude propaganda and his didactic attitude; Berfe identified with the underprivileged and wrote with a folk style and popular language and İsmet Özel turned to Islam.

Amongst the other poets of the period may be mentioned Hasan Hüseyin (1927-84), Özdemir İnce (1936-), Arif Damar (1925-), Refik Durbaş (1944-), Özkan Mert (1944-), Kemal Özer (1935-), Turgut Uyar (1927-85), Metin Eloğlu (1927-85) and Edip Cansever (1928-85), whilst Atilla İlhan (1925-) and Can Yücel (1926-) became influential also. Atilla İlhan combined the elements of classical with folk poetry, and his exotic and romantic imagery made him popular among the young generation in the 1960s. Yücel is subtle in his irony, combined with lyricism and sensitivity; he tackles politics and sex with the same ease, and his mastery of both Ottoman and folk expressions and puns have contributed to his popularity:

> We can show you two kinds of people/who've learned a thing or two about political finesse:/ politicians and convicts./The reason is there for all to see:/for politicians, politics is the art of staying/out of jail,/for convicts it is the prospect of freedom. (Poem no. 26).

General characteristics of modern Turkish poetry are thus the discovery of Turkish, as used by the folk, in its various forms and its wealth of expressions; and a synthesis of centuries of oral tradition, folk literature, *Dīwān* poetry and universal literary traditions. Halman (1982, 21) lists some of the themes and concerns of Turkish poetry as "nationalism, social justice, search for modernity, Westernization, revival of folk culture, economic and technological progress, human dignity, mysticism, pluralistic society, human rights and freedoms, democratic ideals, hero-cult, populism, Atatürkism, proletarianism, Turanism, Marxist-Leninist ideology, revival of Islam, humanism—in fact, all aspects and components of contemporary culture".

Bibliography: Nermin Menemencioğlu and Fahir İz (eds.), *The Penguin book of Turkish verse*, London 1978; Talat Sait Halman (ed.), *Contemporary Turkish literature*, London 1982; Mehmet Kaplan, *Cumhuriyet devri Türk şiiri*, Ankara 1990; Mahir Ünlü, *20. Yüzyıl Türk edebiyati 1940-1960*, Istanbul 1990; Cevat Çapan, section *Turkey*, in *Modern literature in the Near and Middle East 1850-1970*, London 1991; Feyyaz Karacan Fergar (ed.), *Modern Turkish poetry*, Ware 1992; *Türk şiiri özel sayısı* (*Çağdaş Türk şiiri*) in Türk Dili, nos. 481-2 (Ankara 1992); Ataol Behramoğlu (ed.), *Son yüzyıl büyük Türk şiiri antolojisi, i-ii*, Istanbul 1993.

(Çiğdem Balım)

4. In Urdu.

The word has two common meanings in Urdu. Firstly, it means poetry in general, as an art form. It has a synonym, *s͟hāʿirī*, and the two words are sometimes combined in the expression *s͟hiʿr-ō-s͟hāʿirī*. Another Arabic word, *naẓm*, is also used. The second meaning of *s͟hiʿr* is a verse or couplet, pl. *as͟hʿār*. There was comparatively little interest in Urdu prose in India until the end of the 18th century. But poetry, following Persian models, thrived in the South—the Deccan—under the patronage of local Muslim rulers, such as those of Golkonḍa and Bid͟jāpūr, from the early 17th century onwards. Whether the language used is better described as a dialect of Urdu, or as a distinct Dakhani language, is for linguisticians to decide. What cannot be denied is that poetry in the Urdu *lingua franca* of northern India owed much to a few years' stay in Dihlī by a poet of the Deccan, Walī; it is not entirely fanciful to suggest that he is to Urdu poetry what Chaucer is to English.

The forms and techniques of the poetry were based on those of Persian, which in their turn were based on Arabic. The favourite theme was love, embodied in *g͟hazal* [*q.v.*] poetry. The poet complained of his beloved's neglect of him, each poem consisting of between ten and twenty verses. The verse consisted of two hemistiches (*miṣraʿ*), each second one having the same rhyme. The rhyme was also established in the first hemistich of the first verse. In some *g͟hazals*, the beloved might be God, whilst when this

beloved was human, it might be masculine rather than feminine.

There were other forms of monorhyme poetry, the most important being *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] or eulogy, and satire or *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*]. There were various types of stanzaic poetry, the simplest, used for longer narrative poems, being *mathnawī* [*q.v.*] in rhymed couplets. Elegy (*marthiya* [*q.v.*]) was at first in verses of four, then later six, hemistiches. In addition, mention should be made of short poems (*ḳiṭʿa*, pl. *ḳiṭaʿ*), consisting of as few a one or two verses. These might, for example, serve as chronograms, giving birth or death dates of famous men in Arabic letters instead of numbers.

Authoritative critical and analytical books about poetry in Urdu did not appear until the 19th century. By this time, the so-called Dihlī school of Urdu poetry, which owed its origin to Walī, was on the decline. Political instability, due to Afghan and Marāthī incursions, had made the capital of the Mughal Empire a difficult place of residence, and poets gravitated to Lucknow. India fell increasingly under the control of the British, through their East India Company. This control was strengthened by the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. Education followed British criteria. This affected the ʿAlīgarh Movement led by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*]. Among the major influences on Urdu poetry were loosening of the stranglehold of *ghazal* and of Persian influence, and the rise of literary criticism. As Muhammad Sadiq says (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 269 ff.), the *Muḳaddama-yi-shiʿr-ō-shāʿirī* by Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī "Marks the dawn of historical and scientific criticism in Urdu ... it is the first formal treatise on poetry in Urdu." Ḥālī saw poetry as a civilising instrument instilling morality. Its degeneration in the East was due largely to political reasons. Despotism killed sincerity and encouraged exaggeration. To end this decadence, poetry should not only be subordinate to morality but should also eschew the supernatural and follow reality. Ḥālī refers to English, Persian and Arabic as well as to Urdu poetry. He aimed to commend poetry to the puritanical Indian middle classes who were highly suspicious of it. He was himself a poet; he did not always live up to his own standards, but in his *Musaddas* (a long poem subtitled "The flow and ebb of Islam", in stanzas of six hemistiches) he found a theme worthy of his genius.

A second major study of Urdu poetry is *Āb-i-ḥayāt*, by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād (1830-1910) (see Sadiq, 288 ff.). But much of our information about Urdu poets comes from a literary form called *tadhkira* [*q.v.*]: that is, short notes on a number of poets illustrated by short quotations. In the earlier examples, the biographical information tended to be in Persian.

The popularity of poetry was both illustrated and stimulated by the social institution of the *mushāʿara* [*q.v.*]. This took the form of a meeting of poets who would recite their poems in rivalry—not unlike that of the mediaeval German Minnesingers. These played a major role in the emergence in Lucknow in the mid-19th century of the *marthīyas* of Anīs and Dabīr [*q.vv.*] as rivals to *ghazals* in popularity.

This article is not intended to be a history of Urdu poetry. For this, reference should be made to the two general works by Muhammad Sadiq, and Ram Babu Saksena in the *Bibl.*, and to the individual articles on poetical forms and individual poets in this *Encyclopaedia*. As with modern Arabic poetry, one sees classical traditions modified by Western notions. Those notions in Urdu came largely from English, though occasionally from Russian and (in the case of Iḳbāl) German. Until the present century, it was quite common for poets to produce Persian *dīwāns* as well as Urdu ones—not infrequently as copious as or even more copious than their Urdu *dīwāns*. This applied to Ghālib (1797-1869 [*q.v.*]), considered by many as the last of the great classical Urdu poets, but it also applies to Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1873-1938 [*q.v.*]), the "national poet of Pakistan."

Bibliography: Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, is a mine of information on the subject, often unrivalled in the analysis and discussion of important aspects. Examples are his accounts of Walī, Ḥālī and Āzād. Particularly helpful are the numerous Urdu quotations, with English translations. Unfortunately, these are lacking in the other major study, Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927. For a general account in Urdu, see ʿIbādat Brēlwī, *Shāʿirī awr shāʿirī kī tanḳīd*. For the *tadhkira*, see Farmān Fatḥpūrī, *Urdū shuʿarāʾ kē tadhkirē awr tadhkira nigārī*, Lahore 1972. Among the many editions of Ḥālī's *Muḳaddama-yi-shiʿr-ō-shāʿirī*, one may mention that edited by Waḥīd Ḳurēshī, Lahore 1953. Āzād's *Āb-i-ḥayāt* was first published in 1881, but made no mention of the important poet Muʾmin [*q.v.*]; consequently, a later edition should be used.

(J.A. Haywood)

5. In Malay and in Indonesia [see Suppl.].

6. In Swahili [see swahili. 2. Literature].

7. In Hausa.

Hausa *waka* includes all forms of song, including a number of categories borrowed from Classical Arabic literature. The most important of these are: *madahu* (< *madḥ, madīḥ*), or sometimes *begen annabi*, basically "pleading with the Prophet"; *wa'azi* (< *waʿẓ* "warning, admonition"), which dwells on the torments of Hell Fire for the wicked and the joys of Paradise for the believer; *wakokin tausari* or *wakokin najumi*, astrological verse, dealing with the Zodiac and other astronomical and astrological matters; *wakokin tauhidi* (< *tawḥīd*), which sets out the essentials of Islamic theology; and *wakokin fikih*, dealing with Islamic law. These categories are, however, only approximate, and there is much overlapping; thus *wa'azi* verse may include material pertaining to *tauhidi* or even *madahu*.

For a fuller treatment, and for bibliography, see hausa. iii. Literature. (M. Hiskett)

SHIRĀʾ (a.), verbal noun of the root *sh-r-y*, a technical term of early Islamic religion and, more generally, of Islamic commercial practice and law. The word appears to be one of the *aḍdād* [*q.v.*], words with opposing meanings, in this case, buying and selling; the basic meaning must be to exchange or barter goods.

Early theological usage was based on such Ḳurʾānic texts as II, 203/207, "Amongst the people is the one who sells (*yashrī*) himself, desiring God's approval (or: to satisfy God)"; II, 15/16, "These are those who have purchased (*ishtaraw*) error for right guidance/bartered guidance for error"; and XII, 20, "They sold him (*sharawhu*, sc. Joseph) for a low price". The *sabab* of II, 203/207, is said by Ibn Kathīr (*Tafsīr*, Beirut 1987, i, 254), from Ibn ʿAbbās, to have been when the Companion Ṣuhayb al-Rūmī lost his wealth by making the *hidjra* to Medina, and the Prophet told him that he had in fact gained a profit. Al-Ashʿarī (*Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929, i, 102) reports that the leader of the Ḥafṣiyya sub-sect of the Ibāḍiyya sect of the Khāridjites, Ḥafṣ b. Abī Miḳdām [see ibāḍiyya, at vol. III, 660a], interpreted the verse as referring to the assassin of ʿAlī, Ibn Muldjam [*q.v.*].

Thus this concept became especially associated with the Khāridjites [*q.v.*], who interpreted the Ḳurʾānic references as applying to Khāridjite believers who sacrificed their lives in opposing an unjust ruler and thereby "purchased" Paradise. Accordingly, the active participle *shārī*, pl. *shurāt*, becomes a name for the Khāridjites in general (see al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, viii, 13).

Hence in legal practice, *shirāʾ* has the predominant meaning of buying rather than selling. The importance of *shirāʾ* as a legal term can be found in its nature as a positive action that formulates the purchasing element of the contract of sale. However, the legal literature on *shirāʾ* seems to treat it as a subsidiary component of *bayʿ* [*q.v.*] and is therefore dealt with as part of that contract. The contract subject (*maḥall al-ʿaḳd*) of both *bayʿ* and *shirāʾ*, is covered by the maxim that applies to all contracts of exchanges, i.e. what is prohibited to take is prohibited to give.

Shirāʾ appears to be discussed, as an identified issue, when it can lead to a prohibited transaction. To avoid the possibility of interest (*ribā* [*q.v.*]) the buyer is prohibited from reselling a commodity before purchasing it unless it is in the form of *murābaḥa* (see below). In the civil laws of Islamic countries like Egypt, Syria, Libya and ʿIrāḳ, the sale contract creates three fundamental obligations upon the purchaser (*al-mushtarī*): payment of the price, payment of the contract's expenses, and collecting the goods. The *Madjalla* [see MEDJELLE] agrees with the principle of these three obligations, giving a definition of the *mushtarī* as "he who buys" (art. 161). This definition could be understood to include "any person" who buys, whether for the purpose of consuming the goods or reselling them. The inclusion of the two types of buyer in one definition, without distinguishing their contracts on the base of their intention, can be significant in the case of the *murābaḥa* contract when the intention of the buyer to resell is clearly declared. *Murābaḥa* is a permissible form of sale that allows a purchaser to buy with the intention of subsequently reselling to a designated buyer with a fixed profit rate. The payment of the sale price, inclusive of the agreed profit margin, may be immediate or deferred. *Murābaḥa* also serves to protect the innocent general consumer who is inexperienced in trade. According to Udovitch, by basing the sale price on the original price, the customer was provided with a modicum of protection against unfair exploitation by merchants. Today, *murābaḥa* is considered as the most popular mode of financing used by Interest-Free Banking. The views on the legitimacy of *murābaḥa* banking are divided regarding the nature of the guarantee that some Interest-Free Banks "expect" from the client/consumer for whom they purchased the commodity. If the customer is given total freedom to purchase the commodity or not, it is a legitimate practice; otherwise it is treated with doubt, as it could mask interest (*ribā*) in the guise of a legitimate form of sale. The above definition in the *Madjalla* appears to open the gate to include both kinds of *murābaḥa*, whether with a designated buyer or without, since "any" buyer can fit the category.

The rights of the *mushtarī* appear to be well taken care of in Islamic law under the institution of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] However, he seems to be more protected by *ḥisba* before the contract than after it. If the item is purchased and then appears to be fraudulent, then the dispute can only be settled in court on the ground of *gharar* or *ghishsh* in the same way as any other contract.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Bakīr bin Saʿīd Aʿwasht, *Dirāsāt Islāmiyya fī al-uṣūl al-ibāḍiyya*, 2nd ed., Algiers n.d., 112; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī, *al-Wasīṭ fī sharḥ al-ḳānūn al-madanī*, Beirut 1968, iv, 769; A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in Medieval Islam*, Princeton 1970, 220; Ismaʿīl al-Djawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, Beirut 1979, vi, 2391; Salīm Rustum Bāz al-Lubnānī, *Sharḥ al-Madjalla*, Beirut 1304/1886-7 repr. 1986, iii, 74; Aḥmad Muḥammad Djalī, *Dirāsa ʿan al-firaḳ fī taʾrīkh al-muslimīn*, Riyāḍ 1988, 51, 97-100.

(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

AL-**SHIʿRĀ** (fem., with *alif maḳṣūra*), the old Arabic name for Sirius (α Canis Maioris), the brightest fixed star in the sky (apparent magnitude -1.46).

The origin and meaning of the name are debated; while some scholars, less probably, assume a derivation of *al-shiʿrā* from the star's Greek name Σείριος (on this, cf. Scherer, 111 ff.), others, with more probability, maintain a genuine Arabic origin (see the discussion and references in Kunitzsch [1], 117-18, nos. 1 and 3; Eilers, 124). In the dual, *al-shiʿrayān* designated the two stars Sirius, α Canis Maioris, and Procyon, α Canis Minoris, together. Both of them were also given specifying adjectives, Sirius as *al-shiʿrā al-ʿabūr* ("*al-sh.* which has crossed [the Milky Way]") and *al-shiʿrā al-yamāniya* ("the southern *shiʿrā*") and Procyon as *al-shiʿrā al-ghumayṣāʾ* ("*al-sh.* with eyes filthy from weeping") and *al-shiʿrā al-shaʾāmiya* ("the northern *shiʿrā*"), and each of them could be named by one of the adjectives alone (cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 289a/b, 290a/b). In *anwāʾ* books and other texts it is often mentioned that *al-shiʿrā* is "in *al-djawzāʾ*" which refers to its position, in ecliptical longitude, in the zodiacal sign of *al-djawzāʾ* = Gemini, the Twins. In Greek-based "scientific" astronomy, following Ptolemy, Sirius is located on the mouth of the Greater Dog. In the star catalogue of his *Almagest*, Ptolemy gives the proper name of the star as ὁ Κύων ("the Dog", a name identical with the name of the whole constellation, Canis Maior, the Greater Dog; the classical name, Σείριος, is not mentioned here), which was rendered in the Arabic versions as *al-kalb* ("the Dog"), for which elsewhere *kalb al-djabbār* ("Orion's Dog") is also found (cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 139-40). In modern times, Sirius is reported as being called *el-Mirzem* in Central Arabia (Hess, 221, and others; in classical tradition *al-mirzam* designated β Canis Maioris, β Canis Minoris and γ Orionis; cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 164a/b/c, 165a/b, 166a/b) and, perhaps, *ʿalib* in some places in the Yemen (cf. Gingrich, 161-2, and others). *Al-shiʿrā* is frequently mentioned in classical Arabic poetry. Some Arabs counted *al-shiʿrā* among the *anwāʾ* asterisms, though not as one of the 28 lunar mansions [see ANWĀʾ; MANĀZIL], and they had *radjaz* verses on its heliacal rising (around 27 June; see Pellat, 23, nos. 13-14). There are traditions saying that *al-shiʿrā* was one of the stars worshipped in pre-Islamic times by certain tribes, this star being indicated for the Ḳays (Henninger, 66 ff.). Ibn Ḳutayba specifically tells that Abū Kabsha was the first to worship *al-shiʿrā* (*K. al-Anwāʾ*, Ḥaydarābād 1956, 46). It is obviously with regard to this pagan superstition that the Ḳurʾān asserts "He [i.e. God] is the Lord of *al-shiʿrā*" (LIII, 49). In the *tafsīr* literature (*ad locum*) this item was afterwards discussed extensively. In another context it is well known that Sirius ("Sothis") was of special importance in ancient Egypt; its heliacal rising indicated the rise of the Nile and determined the beginning of the new year (cf. van der Waerden, 11 ff.). In Hellenistic times there developed a genre of

astrological and astrometeorological literature describing weather prediction and other prophecies related to the heliacal rising of Sirius, partly in connection with observations of the Moon (cf. Gundel, index s.vv. Sirius, Sothis). In the course of the transmission of the ancient sciences to the Arabs, texts of this kind also reached the Islamic world and are now found in numerous manuscripts, often ascribed to such pseudo-authors as Hermes or Ptolemy; one such treatise was also written by the famous Egyptian astronomer Ibn Yūnus, d. 399/1009 (see Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 54, 67, 173, 199, 312, 317; Fahd, 488-9, 494; Ullmann, 284, 291). A reflex of these traditions is also found in the *anwā'* book of Ibn Māsawayh, d. 243/857 (*K. al-Azmina*, ed. P. Sbath, in *BIE*, xv (1933), 235 ff., esp. 254, ll. 3-8 = tr. G. Troupeau, in *Arabica*, xv (1968), 113 ff., esp. 132, on 19 July).

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(P. Kunitzsch)

SHĪRAWAYH, Abū Shudjā' b. Shīrawayh b. Shahradār b. Shīrawayh b. Fannākhusrū al-Daylamī al-Hamadhānī (b. Hamadhān 445/1053, d. 509/1115), traditionist and historian. His father, his son Shahradār and his grandson Abu 'l-Ghanā'im Shīrawayh were all scholars and traditionists of great erudition (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, 193). Abū Shudjā' pursued his studies as a pupil of the greatest masters of the period, in particular: Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Kūmasānī, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Mustamlī and Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Dīnawarī.

Having acquired a sound and thorough education, especially in jurisprudence (*fiḳh*), in tradition (*ḥadīth*) and in history, he devoted himself to teaching in the *madrasa* of Hamadhān. He was then tutor to numerous pupils, including his son Shahradār, Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Isfarā'īnī and Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī who, in their turn, became eminent traditionists (Subkī, *op. cit.*). Shīrawayh died on 9 Radjab 509/29 November 1115 (*op. cit.*) at 64 years of age.

He composed numerous monographs, most of which no longer exist, such as his *Ta'rīkh Hamadhān* ("History of Hamadhān") to which he owed his reputation among his contemporaries. Unfortunately, no information is currently available regarding this book. Fortunately, however, three other works of his, of *ḥadīth* and of history, have been preserved; numerous manuscripts, as yet unedited, are kept in various libraries (see Brockelmann, I[2], 419-20, S I, 586):

(1) The *Firdaws al-akhbār bi ma'thūr al-khiṭāb al-mukharradj 'alā K. al-Shihāb* ("The Paradise of stories"). This is a collection of traditions, drawn from the *Shihāb al-akhbār* of Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Kuḍā'ī (d. 454/1062). Like its author, this work was evidently much appreciated by the specialists of the period. It contains some ten thousand *ḥadīth*s, accompanied by complete chains of transmitters (*isnād*s) and divided into chapters arranged in alphabetical order (*Bāb al-alif, Bāb al-bā', Bāb al-tā'*, to *Bāb al-yā'*). Later traditionists followed his example; al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), among others, adopted the same method of classification in his *Djāmi' al-ṣaghīr* (cf. Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ii, 1254). In numerous instances, the *Firdaws* of Abū Shudjā' has been annotated, supplemented or summarised. His son Shahradār (d. 558/1162) enriched it with a supplement, the *Musnad al-Firdaws*, in four volumes, where he assembled 558 chains of transmitters (*isnāds*) used by his father (ms. Rāmpūr, no. 359). A certain 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim b. 'Alī composed a summary of it entitled *Bustān al-mustakhradj min al-Firdaws* ("The Garden", extract from the *Firdaws*), contenting himself with only 1,140 traditions. An abbreviated manuscript of this book is to be found in the Algiers Library (no. 496). Numerous manuscripts of the *Firdaws* of Shīrawayh are still preserved in several libraries, especially in Cairo, Rāmpūr, Berlin etc. (cf. Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*).

(2) *Riyāḍ al-uns li-'uḳalā' al-ins* ("Garden of amusement for the sages of mankind"). In this work, the author traces, in great detail, the history of Islam from the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad to the time of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mustaẓhir bi-llāh (487-512/1094-1118), his contemporary. Apparently, a single manuscript of this work, which comprises 86 leaves, has survived. It is kept in the National Library of Cairo (no. 48 *ma*). The copyist, Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan, claims to have copied it in 585/1190 from an autograph manuscript.

(3) *Nuzhat al-aḥdāḳ fī makārim al-akhlāḳ* ("Survey of ethics"). This also constitutes a small collection of traditions. Like the *Firdaws*, it is subdivided into chapters arranged in alphabetical order; it seems that only one manuscript is still in existence.

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(Moktar Djebli)

SHĪRĀZ, which has the title *dār al-'ilm*, the capital of the province of Fārs, is an Islamic foundation, on a continually inhabited site, which may go back to Sāsānid, or possibly earlier, times. It was probably founded, or restored, by Muḥammad the brother of Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, or by his cousin Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, in 74/693 (A.J. Arberry, *Shiraz, Persian city of saints and poets*, Norman, Okla. 1960, 31). It is situated at 5,000 ft. above sea level in 29° 36' N. and 52° 32' E. at the western

end of a large basin some 80 miles long and up to 15 miles wide, though less in the vicinity of Shīrāz. A river bed, which is dry for most of the year, bounds the northern part of the city and runs southeastwards towards Lake Māhalū (J.I. Clarke, *The Iranian city of Shiraz*, University of Durham, Department of Geography Research Papers series no. 7, 1963, 8).

According to Mustawfī, there were eighteen villages, irrigated by *ḳanāts*, in the surrounding district (*ḥawma*) of Shīrāz, which belonged to the city (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. and tr. Le Strange, text, 116). A network of roads radiates from Shīrāz (see Le Strange, *Lands*, 195-8). It is approached on the south from the Persian Gulf through high mountain passes, and on the north through a series of hills which separate it from the plain of Marwdasht. Its water supply comes mainly from *ḳanāts*, of which the most famous is that of Ruknābād [*q.v.*], made by Rukn al-Dawla b. Būya (Mustawfī, *Nuzhat*, 115). July is the hottest month with a mean temperature of 85°, February the coldest with 47°. The annual rainfall is 384.6 mm (*Camb. hist. of Iran*, i, *The land of Iran*, ed. W.B. Fisher, Cambridge 1968, 249). There have been several major earthquakes; those of 1824 and 1853 caused heavy loss of life and destruction of property (Clarke, 11). Over the centuries, the city has also suffered from floods, famines epidemics and sieges.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Shīrāz was a centre of learning, where Islamic theology, mysticism and poetry flourished. Ibn Khafīf (d. 371/982 [*q.v.*]), who founded a *ribāṭ* there, is buried in the city. *Ḳāḍīs*, *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfīs and, to some extent, the rulers of the city as well as the people generally, shared in the vigorous religious life which prevailed (see Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, London 1921, 117-18, on the *ḳāḍīs* of Shīrāz; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Shihāb al-Dīn Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Ismāʿīl Wāʿiẓ Djawādī, Tehran AHS 1350/1971-2, on the *ʿulamāʾ*; and Djunayd, *Shadd al-izār*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran AHS 1327/1948-9 on the Ṣūfīs). Mustawfī mentions that the people of Shīrāz were much addicted to holy poverty and were of strict orthodoxy (*Nuzhat*, 115, Fr. 113). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also states that they were distinguished by piety, source religion and purity of manners, especially the women (*The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325-1354*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962, 300). The Dhahabiyya order, established in the early 11th/17th century had, and has, its centre in Shīrāz (see R. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. xxxvi, 1, 1965, Bd. i, 2-4, 1976, Bd. xlv, 2, 1981; and see TARĪḲA). The poet Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], who lived in Shīrāz under Shāh Shudjāʿ b. Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad (759-86/1357-84 [*q.v.*]), is buried outside the city, as also is Saʿdī [*q.v.*], who flourished at the court of the Atabeg Abū Bakr b. Saʿd (623-59/1226-61).

In the early centuries, Shīrāz was under caliphal governors. Al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions the tax rates prevailing in Shīrāz (157). He states that the land in the bazaars belonged to the government (*sulṭān*) and private persons paid ground rents (158). In the middle of the 3rd/9th century, Yaʿḳūb b. Layth, the Ṣaffārid [*q.v.*], having seized Fārs, made Shīrāz his capital. His brother ʿAmr b. Layth [*q.v.*], who succeeded him, built a cathedral mosque on the site of which the present *masdjid-i djāmiʿ* stands [see FĀRS]. ʿAlī b. Būya ʿImād al-Dawla [*q.v.*] took Fārs in 321/933. He was succeeded by his nephew ʿAḍud al-Dawla b. Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who ruled Fārs from 338/949 to 366/977 and ʿIrāḳ and Fārs from 366/977 to 372/983. Under his rule, Shīrāz became an important economic and cultural centre. The anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (written in 372/982-3) states that Shīrāz was a large and flourishing town with two fire-temples (tr. Minorsky, 126; see also Spuler, *Iran*, 191-2). ʿAḍud al-Dawla built there a large library, a hospital, mosques, gardens, palaces, bazaars and caravanserais and a cantonment for his troops called Kard Fanā Khusraw. This became a small town in which business flourished. It provided an annual revenue of 16,000 *dīnārs*. According to Ibn al-Balkhī, Shīrāz and Kard Fanā Khusraw together accounted for 316,000 *dīnārs* out of the total revenue of Fārs of over 2,150,000 *dīnārs* (*Fārs-nāma*, 132, 172). After the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, Kard Fanā Khusraw fell into decay and was nothing but a hamlet when Ibn al-Balkhī was writing in the first decade of the 6th/12th century, and its estimated revenue (*ʿibrat*) was 250 *dīnārs*, though the sum collected was not more than 120 *dīnārs* (*Fārs-nāma*, 132-3). The hospital by this time was also in decay, but the library, which had been cared for by the family of the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Fārs, was still in good condition (*ibid.*, 133-4).

Towards the end of the Būyid period, there was much disorder in the neighbourhood of Shīrāz. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Bā Kālīdjār, fearing attacks, built a strong wall round the city (Ibn al-Balkhī, 133). According to al-Muḳaddasī, the city had eight gates (430), though some authorities mention eleven. The accounts of Fārs during the early years of Saldjūḳ rule are somewhat confused. In 439/1047-8 Abū Kālīdjār b. Sulṭān al-Dawla made peace with Ṭoghrïl Beg (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 536) and governed Shīrāz on his behalf. He was succeeded by his son Fulād Sulṭān, who was overthrown in 454/1062 by Faḍlūya, the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*] leader, who was, in turn, defeated in the following year by an army from Kirmān under Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*]. Shīrāz was repeatedly plundered during these years (Ibn al-Balkhī, 133). After the death of Malik Shāh (485/1092), Saldjūḳ control over Fārs weakened, but various of the Saldjūḳ governors, in spite of frequent struggles between rival *amīrs* for control of the province, appear to have established a degree of security and good government in Shīrāz. Among them were Čawlī Saḳaw, Ḳarača, Mengü-Bars, and Boz-Aba [see BŪZ-ĀBEH]. The first-named was assigned Fārs by Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] in 502/1108-9 or 503/1109-10, and he went there with Čaghrī, Muḥammad's infant son, to whom he was atabeg (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 517, Ibn al-Balkhī, 141, 146-7). Ḳarača, who was atabeg to Saldjūḳ Shāh b. Muḥammad, built and endowed a *madrasa* in Shīrāz, which was still one of the great *madrasa*s of the city in the 8th/14th century (Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*, 64-5).

Mengü-Bars also built a *madrasa* in Shīrāz, and during his government Abū Naṣr Lāla founded a *madrasa* near the Iṣṭakhr Gate, which was in excellent condition when Zarkūb was writing (*Shīrāz-nāma*, 65). After the death of Mengü-Bars, Boz-Aba took possession of Fārs in 532/1137-8. He was turned out by Ḳara Sunḳur, but retook the province in 534/1139-40. He died in 542/1147. His wife Zāhida Khātūn is reputed by Zarkūb to have governed Shīrāz for twenty-one years (this must have been both during Boz-Aba's lifetime, when he was presumably often absent from the city on campaigns, and thereafter). She built a magnificent *madrasa* in the city and constituted numerous *awḳāf* for it. Sixty *fuḳahāʾ* received allowances daily and many pious and learned men dwelt there. It had

a high minaret but this, Zarkūb states, was in ruins when he was writing (*Shīrāz-nāma*, 66-7).

The Salghurids [*q.v.*] established themselves in possession of Fārs by the middle of the 6th/12th century. Under their rule, Shīrāz flourished. They and their ministers made many charitable foundations in the city. Sunkur b. Mawdūd (d. 558/1162-3), the founder of the dynasty, built the Sunkuriyya *madrasa* and a mosque, and a minaret near the latter and a *sikāya* near the former (*ibid.*, 72-3). His tomb was in the Sunkuriyya mosque, and 208 years after his death the people of Shīrāz were still seeking fulfilment of their vows at it and the *shar'ī* judge accepted oaths invoking the name of his tomb (*ibid.*, 73). Zangī b. Mawdūd (d. 570 or 571/1175-6) constituted several large villages and pieces of land into *wakf* for the shrine of Ibn Khafīf (*ibid.*; Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, Tehran AHS 1336-9/1958-61, 504). He also built a *ribāṭ* in Shīrāz (Zarkūb, 73). Amīn al-Dīn Kāzirūnī (d. 567/1171-2), the *wazīr* of Tekele b. Zangī, who succeeded Zangī b. Mawdūd, built a *madrasa* close to the 'Atīḳ mosque and a *ribāṭ* (*ibid.*, 72). After a period of internecine strife during which agriculture was ruined and famine and pestilence broke out (Mustawfī, *Guzīda*, 504-5), Sa'd b. Zangī (591-623/1195-1226) established his supremacy, and prosperity was restored in the early years of the 7th/13th century. According to Waṣṣāf, Sa'd's tax administration was lenient (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, ed. M.M. Iṣfahānī, Bombay 1269/1852-3, 161). He built a wall round the city, a splendid new *djāmi'* and the Atābakī Bazaar (Waṣṣāf, 155; Zarkūb, 77). His *wazīr* 'Amīd al-Dīn Abū Naṣr As'ad also built a *madrasa* in the quarter of the Iṣṭakhr Gate (*ibid.*, 79). Sa'd, who had extended his rule to include Kirmān, made an expedition into 'Irāḳ in 613/1216-17 but was defeated by the Khʷārazmshāh Muḥammad. On his return to Shīrāz, his son Abū Bakr, displeased with the terms he had made with the Khʷārazmshāh, refused him entry into the city. In the fighting which ensued, Sa'd was wounded, but the people of Shīrāz let him into the city by night. He seized and imprisoned Abū Bakr. However, on Sa'd's death in 628/1230-1, Abū Bakr succeeded him (Mustawfī, *Guzīda*, 505).

The Mongols were meanwhile advancing on Persia, and so Abū Bakr sent his nephew Tahamtam to Ögedey offering submission and agreeing to pay tribute (Waṣṣāf, 156). Shīrāz was thus spared devastation by the Mongols, though Mongol *shiḥnas* came to Shīrāz and lived outside the city (*ibid.*, 157). However, the favourable tax situation which had prevailed under Sa'd b. Zangī did not continue. The demands of the Mongol commanders, and the establishments of the Mongol princesses, together with the needs of Abū Bakr's army and administration, increased. A new settlement, the *mīrāthī* settlement, was drawn up by 'Imād al-Dīn Mīrāthī, the head of Abū Bakr's *dīwān al-inshā'*. Under it, new and higher taxes were imposed on Shīrāz, including house taxes (*dārāt*), *ṭayyārāt* (the meaning of this term is uncertain; it may have meant in this context water taxes), imposts upon the import of cloth, taxes on horses, mules, camels, cattle and sheep, and *tamgha* taxes on foodstuffs apart from wheat and barley (Waṣṣāf, 161-2; Zarkūb, 82). Despite higher taxation, Abū Bakr is well spoken of by the sources. He made many charitable bequests (Mustawfī, *Guzīda*, 506). He built a hospital in Shīrāz and a *sikāya* at the 'Atīḳ mosque and constituted many *awḳāf* for them (Zarkūb, 85). Two of his ministers, Amīr Muḳarrab al-Dīn (d. 665/1266-7) and Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Bakr, emulated him; the former built a *madrasa* in the Shīrāz bazaar and a *ribāṭ* adjoining the 'Atīḳ mosque, a *dār al-ḥadīth* and hospital and a *sikāya* by the 'Atīḳ mosque and constituted many *awḳāf* for them, while the latter built a *djāmi'*, *dār al-ḥadīth*, hospital and *sikāya*. The *djāmi'* was in good repair when Zarkūb was writing and the Friday prayers were held in it (*Shīrāz-nāma*, 84).

On Abū Bakr's death in 659/1261, Fārs fell into a state of disorder (Waṣṣāf, 180). Finally, Hülegü sent an army to Shīrāz to avenge the murder by Saldjūḳ Shāh b. Salghur Shāh of two *baskaks* whom Hülegü had sent to Shīrāz. He was defeated and killed in 662/1263-4 (*ibid.*, 183-9). The last of the Salghurids was Abish bt. Sa'd (d. 685/1286-7). She was married to Tash Möngke, Hülegü's son, and was given estates in Shīrāz and a grant on the taxes of the city as her marriage portion (*mahr wa shīr bahā*) (Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, 272). At the beginning of 665/1266, two Mongol officials were sent to Shīrāz to take what was in the provincial treasury and to collect the annual taxes, a task which they were unable to carry out. The next few years were troubled by much disorder (Waṣṣāf, 190-3). In 680/1281 Abaḳa died. Tegüder appointed Tash Möngke as governor of Shīrāz with orders to dismiss Bulughan, Abaḳa's *baskak*. Bulughan fled, and Fārs submitted to Tash Möngke. When Tash Möngke returned to the *urdu* in 682/1283-4, his wife Abish was made governor of Shīrāz by Tegüder. Her appointment coincided with the outbreak of three years of drought and famine in 683-5/1284-7, during which, Waṣṣāf alleges, over 100,000 persons died (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 209; Lambton, *op. cit.*, 272 ff.). After the death of Abish in 685/1286-7, disorders broke out in Shīrāz. Djočī, who was sent by Arghun to restore order, made heavy exactions on the people (Waṣṣāf, 225).

During the Ilkhanate, repeated demands for alleged arrears of taxation by *ilčis* [see ELČĪ] and others were made on the province of Fārs and there is no reason to suppose that Shīrāz was exempt from these demands (Lambton, *Mongol fiscal administration in Persia, II*, in *SI*, lxv [1987], 104-15). The situation was further worsened by natural disasters. Spring rains failed again in 698/1299; pestilence broke out and an epidemic of measles (*surkhadja*), from which, Waṣṣāf alleges, 50,000 people died in Shīrāz and the surrounding districts (*Tārīkh*, 359). Under Ghazan [*q.v.*] various steps were taken to reform the administration of the province, but according to Waṣṣāf these measures were not successful (*ibid.*, 115-22). Mustawfī mentions the absence of justice in Shīrāz in his time (*Nuzha*, 115). He states that the taxes of Shīrāz were levied as *tamgha* and farmed for 450,000 *dīnārs* (*ibid.*, 116). There were 500 charitable foundations (*buḳ'a*) in Shīrāz, which had been made by wealthy people in the past and which had innumerable *awḳāf*, but, he continues, "few of these reach their proper purpose: for the most part they are in the hands of those who devour them" (*ibid.*, 115). He states that the city had 9 gates and 17 quarters (114). Ghazan made a *dār al-siyāda* in Shīrāz (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 204) and in 702/1302-3 a *yarligh* was issued for a high wall and deep moat to be made round the city. Five *tumans zar* from the taxes, presumably of Shīrāz, for that year were allocated to this purpose, and when this proved insufficient, the order was given for the revenue for the whole year to be allocated (Waṣṣāf, 385). Whether the work was ever completed is not stated.

Küdüdjin, the daughter of Abish Khātūn and the eldest of Tash Möngke's many daughters, was given

a permanent contract (*muḳāṭa'a-i abadī*) on the taxes of Fārs by Abū Sa'īd, the last of the Il-Khans, in 719/1319-20. Waṣṣāf praises her care for the people. He records that she paid particular attention to the upkeep of the buildings made by her forbears, including the 'Aḍudī *madrasa* in Shīrāz (*Tārīkh*, 625). This *madrasa* was built by Terken Khātūn, the wife of Sa'd b. Abī Bakr, and possibly named after her son Muḥammad, who had the *laḳab* 'Aḍud al-Dīn. Waṣṣāf states that the revenues of the *awḳāf* of the *madrasa* amounted to over 200,000 *dīnār*s when he was writing (i.e. in 727/1326) and that Kürdüdjin expended them on their proper purposes and increased them (*ibid.*, 624-5; Lambton, *Continuity and change*, 275-6).

During the reign of Abū Sa'īd, Maḥmūd Shāh, the son of Muḥammad Shāh Indjū, who had been sent to Fārs by Öldjeytü to administer the royal estates, succeeded in making himself practically independent in Shīrāz and Fārs [see INDJŪ]. He was succeeded by his son Mas'ūd, who surrendered Shīrāz to Pīr Ḥusayn, grandson of Čoban [see ČŪBĀNIDS], in 740/1339. He was driven out two years later by his nephew Malik Ashraf. On the latter's withdrawal in 744/1342-3, Abū Isḥāḳ, the youngest son of Maḥmūd Shāh, established his rule. It was during his reign that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Shīrāz for the second time in July 1347. In spite of the extortion and financial disorders in Shīrāz under the Ilkhanate described by Mustawfī and Waṣṣāf, there seems to have been a revival under the Indjūids. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa states that the revenue yield was high (*Travels*, tr. Gibb, ii, 1962, 307). He speaks highly of the bazaars of Shīrāz (*ibid.*, 299). He describes how Abū Isḥāḳ conceived the ambition to build a vaulted palace like the Aywān Kisrā at Ctesiphon and ordered the inhabitants of Shīrāz to dig its foundations. When he saw this edifice, it had reached about 30 cubits from the ground (*ibid.*, 310). Among the sanctuaries of Shīrāz, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions especially that of Aḥmad b. Mūsā, which was highly venerated by the Shīrāzīs. Tash Khātūn, the mother of Abū Isḥāḳ, built at his tomb a large college and hospice, in which food was supplied to all comers and Ḳur'ān readers continually recited the Ḳur'ān over the tomb. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa states that the Khātūn made a practice of going to the sanctuary on the eve of every Monday, and on that night the *ḳāḍī*s, the doctors of the law and *sharīf*s would assemble there. He was told by trustworthy persons that over 1,400 *sharīf*s (children and adults) were in receipt of stipends (313). The tomb-mosque of Aḥmad b. Mūsā was known locally as Shāh Čirāgh. It was rebuilt in 1506 and again later, but by then the *madrasa* and hospice no longer existed (313, 135 n.). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also mentions the mausoleum of Rūzbihān Baḳlī (316) and the tomb of Zarkūb (317).

In 754/1353 Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad the Muẓaffarid [*q.v.*] captured Shīrāz. Abū Isḥāḳ fled, but was captured and executed in 758/1357. Tīmūr invaded southern Persia in 789/1387 and placed the Muẓaffarid Shāh Yaḥyā in control of Shīrāz, but after Tīmūr's withdrawal Shāh Manṣūr wrested Shīrāz from him. In 795/1393 Shāh Manṣūr was killed in an encounter with Tīmūrid forces outside Shīrāz. There appears to have been a cultural revival under the Tīmūrids. Iskandar b. 'Umar Shaykh (r. 812-17/1409-14), made a number of new buildings (J. Aubin, *Le mécénat timouride à Chiraz*, in *SI*, viii [1957] 75-6), and during his government and that of Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh [*q.v.*], who was appointed governor of Fārs in 817/1414, a new style of painting flourished in Shīrāz (H.R. Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in der Neuzeit*, Beirut 1989, 172; B. Gray, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vi, *Timurid and Safavid periods*, ed. P. Jackson and L. Lockhart, Cambridge 1986, 849).

The later Tīmūrids disputed possession of Fārs with the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]. During the reign of Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*], who eventually defeated Djahānshāh, the last of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu in 872/1467, and the Tīmūrid Abū Sa'īd in the following year, Shīrāz once more became a thriving city. Josafa Barbaro, the Venetian, whose travels spanned the years 1436-51, states that Shīrāz was a great city, full of people and merchants, with a population of 200,000, and that it had a prosperous transit trade. Large quanties of jewels, silks and spices were to be found there. The city had high mud walls, deep ditches and a number of excellent mosques and good houses. Security prevailed in the city (*Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, London 1873, 74). Ludovico di Varthema (who set out for the east in 1502) also states that large quantities of jewels were be found in Shīrāz (*Travels ... A.D. 1503-1508*, tr. J.W. Jones and ed. G.P. Badger, London 1863, p. iii).

In 909/1503 Shīrāz fell to the Ṣafawids (K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens in 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 10). Under the early Ṣafawids, Shīrāz was ruled by Dhu 'l-Ḳadr governors. However, 'Abbās I appointed the *ḳullar aḳasi* Allāhwirdī Khān (d. 1022/1613) governor in 1004/1595-6. He was succeeded by his son Imām Ḳulī Khān. Under their rule Fārs enjoyed a considerable degree of independence, and Shīrāz prospered. Allāhwirdī Khān built the Khān Madrasa for Mullā Ṣadrā [*q.v.*], who returned to Shīrāz and taught there during the last thirty years or so of his life (Iskandar Beg and Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Dhayl-i Tārīkh-i 'Ālamārā-yi 'abbāsī*, ed. Suhayl Khwānsārī, Tehran AHS 1317/1938, 299). Imām Ḳulī Khān built a palace in the *maydān* and walls round the city and planted cypress trees on both sides of the Iṣfahān road in imitation of the Čahār Bāgh of Iṣfahān (Lockhart, *Persian cities*, London 1960, 46). He entertained the English envoy Sir Dodmore Cotton at Shīrāz in 1628. He was suspected by Shāh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42) of harbouring rebellious intentions, and was murdered on the latter's orders in 1042/1632. The administration of Shīrāz was then placed under the control of the central *dīwān* under a *wazīr*, Mu'īn al-Dīn Muḥammad (Iskandar Beg and Muḥammad Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, 295; Röhrborn 37, 55).

Many European travellers passed through Shīrāz, which was on the direct line of communications from the Persian Gulf to Iṣfahān, the Ṣafawid capital, and recorded their impressions of the city. Among them were Della Valle (1612-21), Thomas Herbert (1628), Tavernier (1632-68), Thévenot (1663), Chardin (1666-9, 1672-7), Fryer (1676-8), Kaempfer (1683), and Cornelius de Bruin (1702-4). When Herbert passed through the city, part of the old walls were still standing, but they had disappeared by the time Tavernier and Chardin visited the city. In 1617 the English East India Company set up a factory in Shīrāz, but by the middle of the century trade had been much reduced as a result of the rivalry of the Dutch East India Company. A Carmelite house was established in Shīrāz in 1623. It was temporarily closed in 1631 and reopened in 1634 (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 322, ii, 1056-7).

In 1630 and 1668 the city was partially destroyed by floods, which on the latter occasion were followed by pestilence, but when Fryer visited Shīrāz in 1676 the town had largely recovered (Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 47). Several European visitors to Shīrāz mention ceramic

manufactures in the 11th/17th century. Some wine was exported to Portugal. It was made mainly by Jews, of whom there were some 600 families in Shīrāz according to Tavernier (*Voyages en Perse*, repr. Geneva 1970, 309-10).

After the fall of the Ṣafawids in 1722, Shīrāz suffered in the fighting between the Ghalzay Afghāns [see GHALZAY] and Nādir Ḳulī (later Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]). In 1723 an Afghān force marched on Shīrāz. The governor refused to yield. The city held out for nine months before famine compelled its defenders to surrender in 1136/1723. Nearly 100,000 persons are said to have perished during the siege (Muḥammad Shīrāzī, *Rūz-nāma*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran AHS 1325/1946, 3; Ḥasan b. Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi nāṣirī*, lith. Tehran 1313/1895-6, i, 161. See also Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 203). In 1729 Nādir, who had driven the Afghāns out of Iṣfahān, defeated an Afghān force near Shīrāz, which then fell into his hands. He gave orders for the city to be restored, part of the city and practically all of the gardens having been destroyed in the course of the final struggle with the Afghāns. He contributed 1,500 *tūmāns* for the restoration of the Shāh Čirāgh mosque (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 46). In 1733-4 Muḥammad Khān Balūč rebelled in Fārs, declaring in favour of the Ṣafawid pretender Ṭahmāsp. He was defeated by Nādir and escaped to Shīrāz and thence to Ḳays Island (*ibid.*, 72-8). Nādir reoccupied Shīrāz and appointed Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Shīrāzī b. Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad, *mustawfī* of Shīrāz, as deputy governor of Fārs. His family had held in their possession from generation to generation the office of *mīrāb* of Ḳumisha and Shīrāz (*ibid.*, 80, and see Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-i nāṣirī*, ii, 74-5). In January 1744 Taḳī Khān rebelled. A force sent by Nādir laid siege to Shīrāz, which fell after four months. The city was then sacked and many of the population put to the sword. Two towers of human heads were erected and the gardens round the town devastated. Plague broke out after the siege and allegedly carried off 1400 people (Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 241-2).

Nādir Shāh died in 1747. Between his death and the rise of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*], Shīrāz was repeatedly plundered by the contending parties. By 1179/1765 Karīm Khān had emerged as the undisputed ruler of Persia apart from Khurāsān (see J.R. Perry, *Karim Khan Zand*, Chicago 1979; and ḲĀDJĀR). In 1180/1766-7 he made Shīrāz his capital, which thus became the capital not simply of a province but of the kingdom, a position which it had not held since the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla. Under Karīm Khān's rule, security, by all accounts, prevailed in Shīrāz. The city was repopulated and prosperity returned. Commerce and foreign trade were encouraged (*A chronicle of the Carmelites*, i, 665). Customs dues were paid on all goods coming into the city (Francklin, *Observations made on a tour from Bengal to Persia in the years 1786-7*, London 1790, 148-9). Provisions were cheap and their price regulated by the *dārūgha* [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, 146). Glass was made in Shīrāz and great quantities exported to other parts of Persia (*ibid.*, 147-8). Wine was also made, chiefly by Jews and Armenians, and exported to the Persian Gulf for the Indian market (*ibid.*, 143).

Prosperity was temporarily interrupted by famine which affected southern Persia in 1775 (Perry, *op. cit.*, 241), and after Karīm Khān's death decay set in (Francklin, 147). According to Muḥammad Hāshim Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, the price of wheat bread in Shīrāz rose during the famine to 250 *dīnārs* per Tabrīz *man*. The state granaries were not opened in Shīrāz because it was thought wise to keep the stores for the army, but grain was brought to Shīrāz from *dīwānī* granaries elsewhere. Although the cost of this is alleged by Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ to have worked out at 1,400 *dīnārs* per Tabrīz *man*, Karīm ordered the wheat to be sold for 200 *dīnārs* per Tabrīz *man* and barley for 100 *dīnārs*. All livestock were sent to Ray, Ḳazwīn and Ādharbāydjān because of lack of fodder (*Rustam al-tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī, Tehran AHS 1348/1969, 421-2).

Karīm Khān undertook a massive building programme in his capital, to take part in which craftsmen and workmen came from all over Persia (*ibid.*, 414). He built a new wall and a dry ditch round the city. William Francklin, who was in Shīrāz in 1786-7, shortly after Karīm Khān's death, states that the wall was 25 ft. high and 10 ft. thick with round towers at a distance of 80 paces from each other and that there were six gates (*op. cit.*, 52-3). According to Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, 12,000 labourers were employed in digging the ditch (*op. cit.*, 420). Karīm Khān also built, or repaired, the fortress (*ḳalʿa*) of the city and built a citadel (*arg*), in which his successor Djaʿfar Khān resided (Francklin, 54-5; Fasāʾī, i, 216), a *dīwān-khāna*, artillery park (*tūp-khāna*) and a magnificent brick-built covered bazaar, known as the Wakīl Bazaar, the shops of which were rented to merchants by the Khān at a monthly rent (Francklin, 56-9). The foundations for a splendid mosque and associated buildings were laid but not finished before Karīm Khān died (*ibid.*, 64-4). Karīm Khān also built several thousand houses for the Lurs and Laks who belonged to his army (Fasāʾī, i, 216). The city had eleven quarters, five of which were Ḥaydarī quarters and five Niʿmatī (*ibid.*, ii, 47). The eleventh quarter was inhabited by the Jews, who had grown in number. The Armenians, who were mainly engaged in the wine trade, had also increased in number (Perry, 240).

On the death of Karīm Khān, Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār [*q.v.*], who had been held hostage in Shīrāz, escaped. In 1204/1789-90 he made an expedition to the south. Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Zand [*q.v.*], who had succeeded Djaʿfar Khān in 1203/1789, fled to Shīrāz, where he was besieged. After three months, Āḳā Muḥammad Khān raised the siege, his attention being required to deal with disorders by the Yamut and Goklan Turkmens. In 1205/1791 Luṭf ʿAlī Khān made an abortive attempt to recover Iṣfahān, leaving Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, the *kalāntar*, in charge of Shīrāz. During Luṭf ʿAlī Khān's absence, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm seized the city and entered into negotiations with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān to surrender the city to him.

The government of Fārs under the Ḳādjārs, as that of other major provinces, was for much of the time in the hands of Ḳādjār princes. Shīrāz remained the provincial capital, but the governors were frequently absent on military expeditions or visits to the court. The administration was largely in the hands of the *wazīrs* of Fārs (see appendix in H. Busse, *History of Persia under Qajar rule translated from the Persian of Ḥasan-e Fasāʾī's Fārsnāma-ye Nāṣerī*, New York 1972, 422-5 for a list of governors and *wazīrs* of the province of Fārs under the Ḳādjārs). The distance from Tehran made control by the central government precarious and intermittent. In Djumādā II 1209/December 1794-January 1795, Fatḥ ʿAlī Mīrzā (Bābā Khān) [see FATḤ ʿALĪ SHĀH] was appointed governor of Fārs, Kirmān and Yazd by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān. He proceeded to Shīrāz. On the murder of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān in 1797, he returned to Tehran. Having established himself as shāh, he appointed his brother Ḥusayn

Ḳulī Mīrzā governor of Fārs. The latter arrived in Shīrāz in Rabīʿ I 1212/September 1797. In the following year he rebelled, but submitted almost immediately. The governorship of Fārs was then conferred upon Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Ḳādjār Ḳoyunlu. He was succeeded in 1214/1709 by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's son Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā Farmān-Farmā, who was accompanied to Fārs by 800 riflemen (*tufangčīs*) from Nūr in Māzandarān. They were joined two years later by their families and took up residence in the Murdistān district of Shīrāz (which had been inhabited by Laks in the time of Karīm Khān and then destroyed by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān). They were unpopular and committed many disorders, and in 1244/1828-9 were ordered to return to Tehran (Fasāʾī, ii, 55).

Scott Waring, who was in Shīrāz in 1802, states that at least a fourth part of the city was in ruins (*A tour to Sheeraz by the route of Kazroon and Feerozabad*, London 1807, 33); Sir William Gore Ouseley, who passed through the city in 1811 on his way to Tehran, also notes its apparent decay (*Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia*, etc., London 1819, ii, 17). James Morier estimated, with reservation, the population of Shīrāz in 1810 to have been not more than 19,000 (*A second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, 110-11).

Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā's governorship of Fārs, and the 19th century in general, were marked by natural disasters, the spread of family and tribal rivalries and financial maladministration. Pestilence (*wabā*) broke out in 1237/1822, and Fasāʾī alleges that, in the space of five or six days, 6,000 people died in Shīrāz (i, 368). Outbreaks of cholera were frequent. In 1247/1830-1 Shīrāz suffered famine as a result of locusts, which ravaged southern Persia, and plague (*ṭāʿūn*) (Ahmad Seyf, *Iran and the great plague of 1830-1*, in *SI*, lxix [1989], 151-65). Severe famine again set in 1860 and continued until 1871-2 (see C.J. Wills, *In the land of the Lion and the Sun, or Modern Persia*, London 1893, 251-5). On this occasion, Muḥammad Ḳāsim Khān, who was appointed governor of Fārs in 1288/1871, prepared a number of workhouses (*gadākhāna*) in Shīrāz, each with a capacity of 50-60 persons. He undertook responsibility for six of these himself and made several others the responsibility of the great men of Shīrāz (Fasāʾī, i, 331).

Farhād Mīrzā Muʿtamid al-Dawla, who was appointed governor of Fārs for the second time in 1293/1876, made an attempt to regulate the building trade in Shīrāz. At the beginning of the year the brickmakers, stucco workers and cement workers were assembled, and the number of bricks, their cost and the amount of cement needed, and the due of the master bricklayer (*ustād*), were fixed (Fasāʾī, i, 33). In 1299/1881-2, on the orders of Fatḥ ʿAlī Ṣāḥib Dīwān, *wazīr* of Fārs, the streets of the city were stone-paved, and on the orders of Ḳawām al-Mulk a brick roof was made for the coppersmiths' bazaar and the shops from the Iṣfahān gate to the Wakīl Bazaar.

By the beginning of the Ḳādjār period, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm had become the leading man of Shīrāz. He became Āḳā Muḥammad Khān's first minister. When he was seized and put to death with many of his family by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1215/1801, the family suffered a temporary setback. However, in 1226/1811-12, his son Mīrzā ʿAlī Akbar was made *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] of Fārs and in 1245/1829-30 given the *laḳab* Ḳawām al-Mulk. He and his descendants, who became the leaders of the Khamsa tribal federation, played a major role in provincial and city politics. Their main rivals were the *ilbegis* and chiefs of the Ḳashḳāʾī tribe [see ḳashḳāy]. The *ʿulamāʾ* also played an important part in city politics.

Morier mentions that there was great discontent in Shīrāz in *ca.* 1811 over the price of bread, which had risen because of the cornering of grain by an official believed to have been acting together with the prince governor's mother. The populous had recourse to the Shaykh al-Islām and expressed their grievances in a tumultuous way. The price of bread was lowered for a few days and the bakers were publicly bastinadoed (*Second journey*, 102-3).

A variety of tolls and dues was levied in the city by different officials. Scott Waring states that the commander of the citadel (*kutwāl*) levied a toll on every beast of burden which entered the city carrying a load (*op. cit.*, 80). Binning, who was in Shīrāz in the middle of the century, states that each craft and trade paid a lump sum in taxation to the government, which sum was apportioned among the members of the craft by mutual agreement (*A journal of two years' travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.*, London 1857, i, 278-9). He also gives a list of prices of commodities in Shīrāz *ca.* 1857 (*ibid.*, 328-9). Consul Abbott, writing in the middle of the 19th century, states that the bazaars of Shīrāz contained about 1,200 shops. A few articles of hardware and cutlery guns, swords, daggers and knives, and *khātam* work were produced (*Cities and trade. Consul Abbott on the economy and society of Iran, 1847-1866*, ed. A. Amanat, London 1983, 88).

Irregularity in the collection of the provincial taxes gave rise to frequent disputes with the central government. In 1244/1828-9 Fatḥ ʿAlī came to Shīrāz to look into the question of arrears. He accepted 200,000 *tūmāns* from Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā in settlement. In 1247/1831-2 a remission of taxes was given on account of ravages by locusts and plague. Failure to remit the provincial taxes, however, continued and in 1834 Fatḥ ʿAlī again set out for Shīrāz to collect arrears. He fell ill in Iṣfahān and died there on 23 October 1834. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā thereupon read the *khuṭba* in his own name in Shīrāz and marched on Iṣfahān. His forces were defeated near Ḳumisha. Rioting broke out in Shīrāz. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā surrendered and later died. Muḥammad Shāh meanwhile appointed his brother Fīrūz Mīrzā governor of Fārs.

During the 19th century, there were frequent outbreaks of disorder in Shīrāz. An insurrection, provoked in part by the conduct of the Ādharbāydjānī Turkish soldiers in Shīrāz and fomented by Shaykh Abū Ṭurāb, took place in 1254-5/1839 and led to the dismissal of Firaydūn Mīrzā Farmān-Farmā, who had been appointed governor in 1252/1836 (Fasāʾī, i, 296. See also Great Britain. Public Record Office. F.O. 60: 74. Sheil to Palmerson, no. 42. Erzerum, 24 August 1840 and enclosures). In 1261/1845 Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad declared himself to be the Bāb. He was arrested and expelled from the city [see bāb]. Consul Abbott remarks on the unruly nature of the population of Shīrāz, and states that during the government of Bahrām Mīrzā (1264-6/1848-9) the city was often the scene of riot and bloodshed. He also notes that the Ḥaydarīs and Niʿmatīs indulged in frequent factional strife (*Cities and trade: Consul Abbot on the economy and society of Iran 1847-1866*, 88, 175-6; see also Binning, *op. cit.*, i, 273 ff.). In 1853 there were reports that the venality and oppression of the local authorities were alienating the sympathy of the people from the shāh and his government (F.O. 60: 180. Thompson to Clarendon, no. 63. Camp nr. Tehran, 13 July 1853). Communications with the capital were

improved when the Indo-European telegraph line from Tehran to Bushire, which passed through Shīrāz, became operational in March 1865 (W.K. Dickson, *The life of Major-General Sir Robert Murdoch Smith*, London 1901, 225).

Ẓill al-Sultan, who had been made governor of Iṣfahān in 1874, was given the government of Fārs in 1881 also, and until he was deprived of all his governments except Iṣfahān in 1887, most of southern Persia, including Fārs, was virtually independent of the central government. He continued to have his seat in Iṣfahān and governed Fārs and Shīrāz through subordinate officials. According to the census made in 1301/1883-4, there were 6,327 houses in Shīrāz, and the population of the eleven quarters numbered 25,284 men and boys and 28,323 women and girls (Fasā'ī, ii, 22-3). In 1891, at the time of the Tobacco Régie, there was violent opposition to the Régie in Shīrāz (see Lambton, *The Tobacco Régie, a prelude to revolution*, in *SI*, xxii [1965], 127, 131-2, also in eadem, *Qājār Persia*, London 1987, 230-1, 234).

The movement for constitutional reform at the beginning of the 20th century spread to Shīrāz as to many other cities, though Shīrāz did not become one of the major centres of the movement. There were disturbances there in 1906 and riots in March 1907. Much of Fārs was in a state of turmoil, and during the First World War disorders continued. The officers of the Swedish gendarmerie were favourably disposed towards the Central Powers; and in the autumn of 1915 the Ḳashḳā'ī and mutinous gendarmerie seized the British consulate, the offices of the Imperial Bank of Persia (which had been opened in May 1891) and the Indo-European Telegraph Company in Shīrāz, and took members of the British community prisoner (Sykes, *A history of Persia*[3], London 1969, ii, 445-7, C. Skrine, *World War in Iran*, London 1962, pp. xx-xxi). In 1916 and 1917 order was to some extent restored in Fārs, and the Southern Persian Rifles were formed and officially recognised by the Persian Government in March 1917 (Sykes, ii, 476). By May 1918 the situation had again deteriorated, and in the summer of that year the Ḳashḳā'īs invested Shīrāz but were defeated in October (*ibid.*, ii, 499 ff.). In the influenza epidemic of 1918 10,000 persons in Shīrāz lost their lives (*ibid.*, ii, 515). In the 1920s the tribal areas in Fārs were in a state of turmoil until Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] reduced them. During his reign Shīrāz did not have a major share in the industrial developments which took place in some parts of Iran, but in the years after the Second World War there was considerable development. By 1961-2 the population of the city of Shīrāz had risen to 129,023 (*Farhang-i djughrāfiyā'ī-i Īrān*, ed. Ḥusayn 'Alī Razmārā, Tehran AHS 1330/1961-2, vii, 148) and to *ca.* 325,000 by 1972.

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SHĪRĀZĪ, the *nisba* of the Sultans of Kilwa [*q.v.*], in frequent use by Africans and Europeans to perpetuate a myth of a "Shīrāzī" period of history and of "migration" into East Africa.

The *nisba* is first recorded in Barros' translation of a dynastic history of Kilwa of *ca.* 1506, and in the independent Arabic *Kitāb al-Sulwa fī akhbār Kulwa* (*ca.* 1550; B.L. Or. ms. 2666); and on two seals, in a treaty between the Sultan of Kilwa and a French slave-trader, 4 November 1776. Various Swahili histories collected in the 19th century and after, on the coast and as far as the Comoro Islands, repeat it. These all claim that the Kilwa dynasty originated from Shīrāz in Persia, albeit they situate Shīrāz on the coast. Members of the family were still using the *nisba* in 1958.

A "Shīrāzī" colonisation of East Africa has been postulated by European archaeologists and historians, by Justus Strandes (1899), A.C. Hollis (1900), Pearce (*ca.* 1920), and elaborated by W.H. Ingrams (1931). It was popularised by L. Hollingsworth's *Short history of the East African Coast* (1935), an official school textbook translated into Swahili. They claimed that "Shīrāzīs" introduced stone buildings, Shīʿism (albeit the people are Sūnnis), manufacture of lime and cement, woodcarving and weaving cotton. Krumm (1940) went further to claim that Swahili contains numerous Persian words; nevertheless, such borrowings can be shown to have been transmitted through Arabic. One might expect Persian inscriptions: only two mention Persians in Mogadishu among numerous Arabic inscriptions; a Persian inscription, a fragment only of a tile, was recorded by Burton on a tomb at Tongoni, Tanzania, but is now lost. It has also been claimed, in Zanzibar [*q.v.*], in Pemba [*q.v.*], and on the mainland coast, that the celebration of Nau Ruzi [see nawrūz. 2.] proves Persian origin, whereas the Naw Rūz calendar was used by seamen throughout the Indian Ocean. At Manda [*q.v.*] H.N. Chittick claimed to have excavated what was originally a colony of the 9th century from Sīrāf [*q.v.*]. Subsequent excavations nearby and in Zanzibar and Pemba by M.C. Horton, while showing Sīrāfī influences in architecture, have produced no evidence for any connection with Shīrāz.

In addition, certain institutions connected with the royal houses of Pate, Malindi, Mombasa, Vumba and Kilwa have been attributed to the Shīrāzī. They include royal drums and trumpets, and ceremonial chairs. There is nothing identifiable in these with Shīrāz more than a possibly-connected *nisba*.

The popular legend of a "Shīrāzī" period was widely believed by one and all in colonial times. It was used in contradistinction to "African" to demonstrate a civilised historical past. This usage has since largely disappeared. In Zanzibar, in the 1950s, and in Pemba, "Afro-Shīrāzī" became the name of a political party opposed to the ʿUmānī sultanate and to colonial rule. It was successful in the revolution of 1964 which ended the ʿUmānī dynasty [see āl bū saʿīd]. There were then numerous persons who claimed "Shīrāzī" descent, whereas in the time of Ingrams (1931) the number had been negligible. On the coast between Fundi Island, Kenya, and Tanga, in Tanzania, a distinct tribe on fishermen and mangrove cutters emerged at an unknown time. Among recent historians, Trimingham used the term for the 13th to 17th centuries, and Pouwels for the tenth to 16th centuries. Other than legitimately as a *nisba*, it may be doubted whether the term has any value at all or ever did.

Bibliography: See those to the arts. malindi, maḳdishū, mombasa, kilwa and nawrūz. 2. J. de V. Allen, *The "Shirazi" problem in East African coastal history*, in *Paideuma*, xxviii (1982), has an exhaustive bibl. (G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

SHĪRĀZĪ, the *nisba* of a family of prominent Shīʿī *ʿulama'* active in Persia and ʿIrāḳ over the last century and a half.

1. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd, called Mīrzā-yi Shīrāzī-yi buzurg and al-Mudjaddid (1230-1312/1815-95).

Born in Shīrāz, he studied in Iṣfahān and Nadjaf, and after Murtaḍā Anṣārī's [*q.v.* in Suppl.] death in 1281/1864, became the leading Shīʿī scholar and sole *mardjaʿ al-taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]. He is best known for his opposition to the Tobacco Régie in Persia (1891) [see nāṣir al-dīn shāh], and it seems that his famous *fatwā* was in part provoked by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's [*q.v.*] letters to him against the Persian government's policy over concessions. Mīrzā Ḥasan's intervention began with a telegram to the Shāh in July 1891 protesting against disrespect shown to another scholar, Sayyid ʿAlī Akbar, expelled to Nadjaf after voicing opposition to the Régie. Shīrāzī tried to prove that the concession of any monopoly to foreigners was against God's command. In December, a nation-wide protest culminated in a boycott of tobacco, with a *fatwā* attributed to Shīrāzī against the use of tobacco in any form. He had already shown hostility to the Ḳādjārs, having refused to receive the Shāh when he visited the Holy Shrines in ʿIrāḳ in 1870. Only in January 1892, when the concession had perforce to be abandoned, was the ban on tobacco lifted by Shīrāzī.

He was also important for having organised the teaching of *fiḳh* on lines which have continued till today, founding his own school at Sāmarrāʾ and making it a major centre of Shīʿī learning. He was also active there in social and charitable activities, acting as a mediator in sectarian conflicts and appealing for Islamic unity under the banner of the Ottomans, despite religious differences. He wrote no book of note, but was the teacher of the most prominent scholars of the next generation, such as Ākhund Khurāsānī (d. 1911), fervent supporter of the Constitutional Movement of 1905-11, and several others. He died at Sāmarrāʾ.

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Iran, 1785-1906, Berkeley 1969, index, esp. 210 ff.; ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Damascus-Beirut 1935-63, xxiii, 264-89 = Beirut 1986, v, 304-10; Muḥammad Hādī al-Amīnī, *Muʿdjam ridjāl al-fikr wa ʾl-adab fi ʾl-Nadjaf*, Nadjaf 1384/1964, 262-3; Muḥammad Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ridjāl fī tarādjim al-ʿulamāʾ wa ʾl-udabāʾ*. Nadjaf 1384/1964; Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, I/1, 436-41; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, iii, 292-3; N.R. Keddie, *The Tobacco Protest of 1891-92*, London 1966; eadem, *The origins of the religious-radical alliance in Iran*, in eadem, *Iran. Religion, politics and society*, London 1980, 53-65; A.K.S. Lambton, *The Tobacco Régie: prelude to revolution*, in *SI*, xxii (1965), 119-57, xxiii (1965), 71-90; P.-J. Luizard, *La formation de l'Irak contemporain*, Paris 1991, index, esp. 225 ff.; M. Momen, *An introduction to Shiʿi Islam*, New Haven-London 1985, index; Muḥammad Sharīf Rāzī, *Gandjīna-yi dānishmandān*, Tehran 1352-4 *Sh*/1974-6, v, 427-9; *al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba. Usrat al-Shīrāzī. Taʾrīkh, fikr wa-djihād*, Beirut n.d. [*ca.* 1983], 14 ff.

2. Mīrzā al-Sayyid Ismāʿīl b. Sayyid Raḍī (1258-1305/1842-88).

Born in Shīrāz, he studied under no. 1 above, his cousin and brother-in-law, and worked with him in establishing the new centre at Sāmarrāʾ; he was considered to be the successor of Mīrzā Ḥasan, but died before his teacher. He wrote in Arabic and Persian, including poetry.

Bibliography: Amīnī, 262; Ṭihrānī, i/1, 156-6; Ḥirz al-Dīn, i, 109; Rāzī, i, 277 ff., v, 424-5; *al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba*, 53.

3. Mīrzā ʿAlī Āghā (1287-1355/1870-1936).

Son of no. 1, went, about 25 years after his father's death, to Kāẓimayn and finally, to Nadjaf. After the death of Muḥammad Taḳī (no. 6), he became *mardjaʿ*. His son Muḥammad Ḥasan is one of the contemporary *ʿulamāʾ* of Nadjaf.

Bibliography: Amīnī, 264; Ḥirz al-Dīn, ii, 138-40; Rāzī, v, 434; *al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba*, 54.

4. Mahdī b. al-Sayyid Ḥabīb Allāh al-Ḥusaynī (1304-80/1887-1960).

Related by birth and by marriage to several other members of the Shīrāzī family, he was born and died in Karbalāʾ, and was educated there and at Sāmarrāʾ and Kāẓimayn. His elder sons Muḥammad (see below) and Ḥasan (no. 7) played a leading role in the Shīʿī opposition to Ṣaddām Ḥusayn's régime, and his two younger sons Ṣādiḳ and Mudjtabā are active today as religious scholars in Persia. After the First World War, he took part in the rebellion against the British, and later, during ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim's [*q.v.*] régime, he was one of the *ʿulamāʾ* who attacked the Communist Party in a barrage of *fatwā*s, declaring that the prayers and fasting of Muslims who had embraced Communism were unacceptable to God, that Muslims could not buy meat from a Communist butcher and that a Communist son could not inherit from a Muslim father (cf. Hanna Batatu, *The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq*, Princeton 1978, 954).

His son, Āyatullāh al-Sayyid Muḥammad (b. 1347/1928-9, still living), has been active in ʿIrāḳ as spiritual leader of an opposition group there, the Islamic Task Organisation (*Munaẓẓamat al-ʿAmal al-Islāmī*); expelled from ʿIrāḳ in 1979, now teaching in Ḳum, he is a prolific writer, see Kūrkīs ʿAwwād, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn al-ʿirāḳiyyīn*, Baghdād 1969, iii, 247-50.

Bibliography: Amīnī, 265; Ḥirz al-Dīn, iii, 166; Rāzī, v, 451; *al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba*, 66 ff., 143; J.N. Wiley, *The Islamic movement of Iraqi Shiʿas*, Boulder, Col.-London 1992, 36-7, 53, 78.

5. Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Hādī (1305-82/1888-1962).

Son of no. 2, he was brought up by nos. 1 and 3 after his father had died shortly after his birth, and studied at Nadjaf and Sāmarrāʾ. He took part, with Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī (no. 6) in Karbalāʾ, in the Shīʿī anti-British movement, and after its failure, devoted himself to *fiḳh* and eventually announced his readiness to be considered as *mardjaʿ al-taḳlīd*. He was prominent in the Shīʿī campaign against Ḳāsim and the ʿIrāḳī Communist Party, and visits to Persia multiplied his following there. After the death of Burūdjirdī in 1961, he inherited a considerable number of his followers and was already seen as his successor, but died shortly afterwards. His three sons, as well as sons-in-law, are all religious scholars in Nadjaf, Tehran or Ḳum. His writings include several *fiḳh* treatises as well as some poems in both Arabic and Persian.

Bibliography: Amīnī, 265; Ṭihrānī, i/3, 1250-5; *EIr*, art. s.v. (H. Algar); Ḥirz al-Dīn, ii, 77-81; Kaḥḥāla, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Beirut 1985, 444; Momen, 248; Rāzī, i, 276, v, 432-3, vii, 271; *al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba*, 58.

6. Muḥammad Taḳī b. Muḥibb ʿAlī Ḥāʾirī, called Mīrzā-yi Shīrāzī-yi kūčik and Zaʿīm al-thawra al-ʿirāḳiyya (1269-1338/1853-1920).

Distantly related to nos. 1 and 4, he was born in Shīrāz and studied at Karbalāʾ and Sāmarrāʾ, where he became *mardjaʿ*. He is particularly associated with the struggle against the British occupation of ʿIrāḳ [see ʿIRĀḲ, at vol. III, 1258a]. In 1914 he had issued a *fatwā* calling for *djihād* against the British, and in 1918 moved to Karbalāʾ and became involved in setting up an anti-British secret society, the *Djamʿiyya waṭaniyya islāmiyya*. His *fatwā*s of 1919 and 1920 certainly precipitated the 1920 revolt against the British Mandate. One in 1919 proclaimed that "no Muslim should elect or choose any non-Muslim as his ruler", and its wide circulation made it difficult for the occupying power to use a plebiscite for installing a British governor in ʿIrāḳ. It enhanced Shīrāzī's prestige and led to his official recognition as *mardjaʿ al-taḳlīd* after Yazdī's death in 1919. In 1919 he endeavoured to mediate between and unite the tribes and to appeal for foreign backing, writing to the Sharīf Ḥusayn in Mecca and the latter's son Amīr Fayṣal in Damascus. President Wilson of the U.S.A., whose "Fourteen Points" had impressed the Shīʿī religious leaders, was even contacted (see Luizard, 377 ff.). In late 1919, resistance to the British was still peaceful, but the situation deteriorated after the arrest and temporary exile of six scholars and prominent citizens. In spring 1920 Shīrāzī tried to unify *ʿulamāʾ*, *sayyid*s, *sharīf*s and tribal chiefs for a general insurrection, and appealed also to Sunnīs; military conflict broke out in June, continuing till the movement was crushed in January 1921. Karbalāʾ was the centre for the organising of the revolt during Shīrāzī's lifetime until he died in August 1920, after which Nadjaf became the rebellions's centre.

Amongst Muḥammad Taḳī's writings is a famous treatise on *fiḳh*, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā ʾl-makāsib* (Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, vi, 218), and he was the teacher of many famous scholars.

Bibliography: ʿĀmilī, xliv (1960), 121-2 = (1986) ix, 192; Amīnī, 263-4; Tiḥrānī, i/1, 261-4; Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shiʿism and constitutionalism in Iran*, Leiden 1977, 122 ff.; Ḥirz al-Dīn, ii, 215-18; Kaḥḥāla, ix, 133; Luizard, index, esp. 374 ff.; Djaʿfar al-Shaykh Bāḳir Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī ʾl-Nadjaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, Nadjaf 1955-8, i, 358-62; Momen, index; Wiley, 16-7, 122.

7. (Āyatullāh) Ḥasan b. al-Mahdī al-Ḥusaynī (1354-1400/1935-80).

As the younger brother of Muḥammad b. al-Mahdī (see no. 4, at end), he was also an opponent of the Ba'th régime in 'Irāḳ, and was imprisoned in 1969 and exiled to Lebanon in the next year. He was especially active in setting up mosques and institutions for religious education, welfare and social affairs, and at three of the *ḥawzas* for religious education, in Damascus, Beirut and Sierra Leone, he taught personally for a while. He likewise founded an Islamic publishing house, Dār al-Ṣādiḳ, to propagate *da'wa*, and wrote numerous books on religion and ethics before he was assassinated in Beirut in May 1980, just after he had denounced the execution in 'Irāḳ of Āyatullāh Bāḳir al-Ṣadr and his sister.

Bibliography: al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba, 157 ff.; Wiley, 46, 53, 55, 78, 80.

(Roswitha Badry, shortened by the editors)

al-SHĪRĀZĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, mathematician, who flourished about the middle of the 6th/12th century. He studied Greek mathematics and astronomy. In his time, there was already available a good Arabic version of the *Conic sections* (χωνιχά) of Apollonius of Perga by Hilāl b. Abī al-Ḥimṣī (d. 270/883-4) and Thābit b. Ḳurra al-Ḥarrānī (211-88/826-901 [*q.v.*]). With the help of this he prepared a synopsis of the contents of the χωνιχά, the Arabic version of which is in Oxford (Bodl. 913, 987, 988); it was translated into Latin by Ravius (publ. Kiel 1669). There is also attributed to him a compendious version (*Mukhtaṣar*) of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, from which Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (633-711/1236-1311 [*q.v.*]) prepared a Persian translation of the *Madjisṭī*. The Arabic versions of the *Conic sections* of Apollonius are of great value for the history of mathematics because the three last of the seven books of this important work only survive in Arabic, while the eighth book of the χωνιχά (Ar. *Makhrūṭiyyāt*) had already disappeared from knowledge by the time of the Arab translator.

Bibliography: H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900, 126, 158; Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 141: P. Ver Eecke, *Les Coniques d'Apollonius de Perge*, Paris 1959, p. xlviii; G.J. Toomer, *Apollonius' Conics, Books V to VII, the Arabic translation of the lost Greek original in the version of the Banū Mūsā*, New York 1990, i, pp. xviii, xxiii-xxiv.

(C. Schoy-[J.P. Hogendijk])

al-SHĪRĀZĪ, al-Shaykh al-Imām Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Fīrūzābādī, eminent jurist whose work constitutes one of the major reference sources of the Shāfi'ī school [see al-shāfi'iyya].

1. *Biography*

Of decidedly humble origins, Abu Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī ("al-Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ" in classical Islamic literature) was born in Persia, at Fīrūzābād in the vicinity of Shīrāz, in 393/1003. Regarding the early years of his life, the biographers have nothing to say. From 410/1019 to 415/1024 he pursued a legal education—which he had begun at Fīrūzābād—at Shīrāz and at Baṣra as pupil of various Shāfi'ī masters (an article is devoted to each one of them by al-Shīrāzī himself in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahā'*, Beirut n.d., 133 and 140-1). In 415/1024 he was in Baghdād, where he attended classes given by al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 440/1048, cf. *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahā'*, 137), the jurist and proponent of the legal thinking developed by al-Bāḳillānī [*q.v.*], and where, more significantly, he became the leading disciple of the *Ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (died at one hundred years of age in 450/1058 [*q.v.*]) and his accredited assistant (*mu'īd*).

In 428/1036, al-Shīrāzī's long career in teaching began: first in various *masdjids* of Baghdād and subsequently, from 459/1066 onward, in the prestigious Niẓāmiyya *madrasa*, constructed in his honour by the Saldjūḳid minister Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092 [*q.v.*]) (an honour which initially al-Shīrāzī had refused to accept, possibly for political reasons, although this is by no means certain).

The biographers depict al-Shīrāzī as endowed with a gentle, refined and affable personality and leading a life of asceticism, a personality which did not prevent him, in 469/1077, from demonstrating great firmness of character, doubtless with the aid of his political supporters, against the Ḥanbalīs under the leadership of the *Sharīf* Abū Dja'far (d. 470/1078), a cousin of the caliph, at the time of the episode involving Abū Naṣr al-Ḳushayrī (the son of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*], the renowned author of *al-Risāla al-ḳushayriyya*). The Ḥanbalīs of Baghdād attempted forcibly to prevent al-Ḳushayrī, passing through Baghdād and a guest of al-Shīrāzī at the Niẓāmiyya, from publicly manifesting the Ash'arī doctrines, and violent riots ensued. At the end of the affair, al-Shīrāzī gained the upper hand by means of the restrained support of Niẓām al-Mulk to whom he had complained, with other scholars of Baghdād, about the fanaticism of the Ḥanbalīs.

The political role played by al-Shīrāzī is further illustrated by a remark of al-Subkī, stating that his intervention was decisive in the accession to the caliphate of al-Muḳtadī bi-Amr Allāh (r. 467-87/1075-94) (*wa-kāna al-shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ sabab*[an] *fī djaʿlihi khalīfat*[an]: al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfi'iyya al-kubra*, Cairo n.d. iv, 223). As a general rule, the Shāfi'ī biographers firmly insist on the legitimism of al-Shīrāzī (*wa-huwa khādim min khuddām al-khalīfa*, al-Subkī writes, iv, 219), doubtless because this legitimism could seem to be compromised (Ḥanbalī authors openly allege this) on account of al-Shīrāzī's favourable relations with the Saldjūḳs, the real holders of political power at the expense of the 'Abbāsids.

Although principally of sedentary habits (according to the biographers, he lacked the means to make the Pilgrimage), towards the end of his life al-Shīrāzī undertook a highly successful journey to Khurāsān, negotiating on the caliph's behalf with the Saldjūḳ authorities. This was an opportunity for Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ to assess his popularity among the common people and in Ṣūfī circles, and his influence with the intellectual élite. At Nīshāpūr, he was to encounter his colleague Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085 [*q.v.*]), the other great Shāfi'ī jurist of the period, and likewise the director of a *madrasa* constructed in his honour by Niẓām al-Mulk, with whom he conducted several sessions of judicial controversy (the text of these *disputatios* is preserved in al-Subkī, iv, 252-6).

In Baghdād, al-Shīrāzī maintained cordial links with numerous scholars of enduring renown, such as the Ḥanbalī jurist Abu 'l-Wafā' Ibn 'Aḳīl (d. 513/1119 [*q.v.*]) and the Shāfi'ī historian al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]). The number of his disciples and pupils was immense (the most important are listed in M.Ḥ. Hītū, *al-Imām al-Shīrāzī*, Damascus 1980, 136-57). Al-Shīrāzī died on Wednesday, 24 Djumādā II 476/November 1083.

2. *His work and his thought*

Mostly extant and published, the work of al-Shīrāzī extends to all the legal disciplines cultivated in the 5th/11th century, the golden age, in part as a result of his efforts, for these sciences. Al-Shīrāzī's youthful

works all belong to the realm of judicial controversy envisaged from a point of view which is either practical (*al-ikhtilāf*), or theoretical (*al-djadal* and *ikhtilāf* in matters relating to *uṣūl al-fikh*). One should not be too surprised at the extent to which the pedagogy of the time accorded an essential role to controversy in the training of tyro jurists and, according to the biographers, al-Shīrāzī showed particular brilliance in this field (al-Subkī relates that he was "a lion of the *disputatio*": *ghaḍanfar fi 'l-munāẓara*). These youthful texts, composed between *ca.* 425/1034 and *ca.* 450/1058 are: (1) The *K. fī Masā'il al-khilāf fi 'l-furū'* (ms. copied during the author's lifetime, in 466/1073, preserved in Istanbul under the title *Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā'*; the section of this text devoted to transactions (*al-mu'āmalāt* [*q.v.*]) has been the subject of an unpublished thesis by al-Miṣrī); (2) *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi 'l-djadal* (ms., apparently edited by Niyāzī but not published, dated 590/1194, Istanbul); (3) The *K. al-Ma'ūna fi 'l-djadal* (ed. 'A.-M. Turki, Beirut 1988) is a summary of the preceding, possibly composed after 450/1058; (4) The *K. al-Ḳiyās* (lost) is not mentioned by the biographers, but al-Shīrāzī refers to it several times in *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*; and (5) *al-Tabṣira fi 'l-khilāf* (ed. under the title *al-Tabṣira fi 'l-uṣūl* by M.Ḥ. Hītū, Damascus 1982) is the first work of *uṣūl al-fikh* composed by al-Shīrāzī. It approaches only the controversial aspects of this science.

The works of al-Shīrāzī's mature period testify to a change in direction: the brilliant controversialist is replaced by a genuine *mudjtahid* anxious to establish his own doctrine. It was principally the works of this phase, and more specifically his two treatises on practical law (*fikh*) which were to confer upon him the prestigious status within the Shāfi'ī school which he still enjoys today. These two treatises on *fikh* are: (1) The *K. al-Tanbīh fi 'l-fikh* (Cairo 1929; French tr. G.-H. Bousquet, *Le Livre de l'Admonition*, i-iv, Algiers n.d.), a summary composed between 452/1060 and 453/1061 which has been the object of more than seventy commentaries (see Hītū, *op. cit.*, 169-77); and (2) *al-Muhadhdhab* (2 vols. Beirut n.d.), written between 455/1053 and 469/1076, which may be considered as al-Shīrāzī's crowning achievement and which has, like the aforementioned, been the object of a vast amount of critical apparatus (including the *Madjmū' fī sharḥ al-muhadhdhab* of al-Nawawī, 18 vols. Cairo n.d.). These two texts belong to a group of five key works of reference of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* (al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277 [*q.v.*]), *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa 'l-lughāt*, Beirut n.d., i, 3).

In terms of legal theory *uṣūl al-fikh*, the influence of Shīrāzī was no less important, principally on account of his summary *al-Luma' fī uṣūl al-fikh* composed *ca.* 450/1058 (numerous editions since Cairo 1908; critical ed. and French tr. E. Chaumont forthcoming) and his own commentary on it (ed. by 'A.-M. Turki, partially under the title *al-Wuṣūl ilā masā'il al-uṣūl*, Algiers 1979, and in entirety, *Sharḥ al-luma'*, 2 vols. Beirut 1988).

The *Index of jurists* (*Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahā'*), composed *ca.* 452/1060, is one of the oldest examples of its genre which has been preserved. It is interesting in that it is also the last which fulfils the original function of this literature: recording the *totality* of jurist-*mudjtahids*, irrespective of schools, whose advice should be sought for the purpose of constituting a unanimous agreement (*idjmā'* [*q.v.*], the third source of *fikh*) (see *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahā'*, 13). Subsequently, the literature of *Ṭabaḳāt*, within each *madhhab*, would be confined to the evocation of jurists of one and the same allegiance (a sure sign of serious malfunction, predictable and long foreseen by Mu'tazilī scholars, in the exercise of *idjmā'* as theoretically defined).

Furthermore, al-Shīrāzī is also the presumed author (the mss. attribute them to him formally) of two small texts of *uṣūl al-dīn*: the *K. al-Ishāra ilā madhhab ahl al-ḥaḳḳ* and the *'Aḳīdat al-salaf* (ed. M. Bernand, *La Profession de foi d'Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī*, IFAO, Cairo 1987; ed. 'A.-M. Turki in respectively *Sharḥ al-luma'*, *op. cit.*, 91-116 (incomplete text) and *K. al-Ma'ūna*, *op. cit.*, 91-102). The question of al-Shīrāzī's theological opinions has always posed problems—was he an Ash'arī or closer to the creed of the Ḥanbalīs?—among mediaeval Muslim writers as well as his modern interpreters; the question seems to be resolved, and his Ash'arism confirmed, with the appearance of these two texts, if they are authentic (not one of the biographers mentions them, not even Ibn 'Asākir (d. 511/1175) who was determined to prove the Ash'arism of al-Shīrāzī, see *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*, Beirut 1979; on this question, see Cl. Gilliot, *Deux professions de foi ...*, in *SI*, lxviii [1988], 170-86, and, in response to the latter, Chaumont, *Encore au sujet ...*, in *SI*, lxxiv [1991], 168-77).

Other minor texts are attributed to al-Shīrāzī, including an *Epistle on ethics* (*Risālat al-Shīrāzī fī 'ilm al-akhlāḳ*, Cairo 1901; possibly the *Advice to the scholars* (*Nuṣḥ ahl al-'ilm*) which is attributed to him by al-Subkī, *op. cit.*, 215, and Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*), *al-Nukat*, a list of 555 points of divergence between Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfi'ī (probably a summary of the *K. fī masā'il al-khilāf fi 'l-furū'* (see above), the *Book of Definitions* (*K. al-Ḥudūd*, lost) and the *Mulakhkhaṣ fi 'l-ḥadīth* (ms. B.N., Paris) which is of very dubious authenticity.

Fundamentally, the legal thinking of al-Shīrāzī expresses a radical insistence on the autonomy of the sphere of the legal sciences in relation to theology. In his treatises on *uṣūl al-fikh* (and it has to be assumed *a priori* that his writings on *fikh* represent the practical interpretation of its principles), al-Shīrāzī demonstrates unusual rigour in recognising the precise nature of the revelation of the Law as legal *discourse* (the Ḳur'ān, ultimate expression of the *Sharī'a*, is in fact a text). Furthermore, this discourse needs to be envisaged, according to the Ḳur'ān itself (logically, al-Shīrāzī invokes verses XII, 2, and XLI, 44), as a *common* discourse, in other words one that was immediately comprehensible to Arabic speakers at the time of the revelation (who, according to al-Shīrāzī, had perfect knowledge of their language and its nuances but were not born to be theologians). Thus the science of the basic comprehension of the Law borrows in his writing the form of a strict "grammar" of legal discourse, always attentive to the modes of the "speech of the Arabs" and consciously indifferent to the "thinking of the theologians" who, according to all indications, were at this time only too eager to intervene in debates belonging to the domain of the legal sciences (on this point, see G. Makdisi, *The juridical theology ...*, *SI*, [1984], 5-47 and, in a different perspective, Chaumont, *Bāqillānī ...*, in *SI*, lxxix [1994], 79-102).

Bibliography: The long article devoted to al-Shīrāzī by al-Subkī in his *Ṭabaḳāt* constitutes the principal source of information regarding his life and work. The book by M.Ḥ. Hītū (*al-Imām al-Shīrāzī ...*, *op. cit.*), is a compilation of everything which ancient literature has to say about al-Shīrāzī, and a study of the evolution of his legal doctrine. Al-Shīrāzī's milieu is studied by Makdisi in *Ibn 'Aqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963, but too much credence is given

here to Ḥanbalī sources. Al-Shīrāzī's theory of *idjtihād* is tackled in Chaumont, *La théorie classique...*, in *SI*, lxxv [1992], 105-39. (E. CHAUMONT)

SHĪRĀZĪ, RAFĪʿ AL-DĪN (*ca.* 947-1030/1540-1620), historian of the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty of Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*]. A native of Shīrāz, he travelled to India as a merchant, and from the age of twenty served Sultan ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh, and later Sultan Ibrāhīm, in various capacities, including as ambassador to Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*], the capital of the Niẓām Shāhīs [*q.v.*], governor of the Bīdjāpūr fort, and treasurer. While he wrote abridgements of Mīr Khʷānd's *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, Khʷānd Amīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, and a *Farhang-nāma*, he is best known for his *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, history of the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty and contemporary Indian and Persian régimes, begun in 1017/1608-9 and completed three years later (for mss., see Storey, i, 743, to which add Sālār Djang, i, 406, no. 362 [Hist. 142] and Āṣafiyya, handlist 5280). The *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* is divided into an introduction and ten *faṣls* (expanded to twelve in some mss.), with a supplement on Indian temples, jewel mines, rivers, and wonders of the region. Rafīʿ al-Dīn Shīrāzī has been neglected as an historian, partly due to the canonisation of Firishta [*q.v.*] by the British, but the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* remains an important, independent source of Indo-Persian history.

Bibliography: *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, partial ed. H.S.S. Qādirī, *Tārīkh* [Hyderabad] iii/9, Suppl. (Jan.-Mar. 1931), 2-41, complete ed. A.N.M. Khālidī, rev. C. Ernst, forthcoming; partial tr. J.S. King, *The history of the Bahmanî Dynasty, founded on the Burhân-i Maʾâsir* [and the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*], London 1900. See also V.R. Natu, *A history of Bijapur by Rafiuddin Shirazi*, in *JBBRAS*, xxii (1905-8), 17-29; N.B. Roy, *Some interesting anecdotes of Sher Shah from the rare Persian Ms. of Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, in *JASB, Letters*, xx/2 (1954), 219-26; I.A. Khan, *The Tazkirat al-Muluk by Rafiuddin Ibrahim Shirazi as a source on the history of Akbar's reign*, in *Studies in History*, ii (1980), 41-56. (C. ERNST)

AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, ṢADR AL-DĪN [see MULLĀ ṢADRĀ SHĪRĀZĪ].

AL-SHIRBĪNĪ, YŪSUF B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿAbd al-Djawād b. Khiḍr, an 11th/17th-century Egyptian author best known for a work with the punning title of *Hazz al-kuḥūf bi-sharḥ ḳaṣīd Abī Shādūf*, "The shaking of skull-caps (or: the stirring of yokels) in commenting the poem of Abū Shādūf." It mentions that he went on Pilgrimage in 1075/1664-5, that the work was undertaken at the behest of the Imām Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Sandūbī, and that among his teachers was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Salāma al-Ḳalyūbī (d. 1069/1659).

The work is in two parts. The first abounds in anecdotes, often more scatological than witty, on the grossness of manners and tastes of the peasants (*fallāḥīn*) of the Nile valley and their teachers' misunderstandings of the Law. It also pokes fun at spurious examples of folk poetry and at pretentious poets of the past. It ends with a 193-line *urdjuza* in literary Arabic in which he summarises the customs and ways of the peasants whom he has just depicted. Part II is devoted almost entirely to a fictitious peasant poet, Abū Shādūf, and his monorhyme poem of 47 lines in colloquial Arabic. It parodies with verve classical commentaries, and is studded with precious social and linguistic information.

Throughout, the peasant is depicted as irredeemably brutish. To read this—as do Shawḳī Ḍayf and al-Baḳlī (see below)—as a disguised condemnation of his oppressors is far-fetched.

There are lithographed editions (Cairo n.d. and Alexandria 1289), and printed ones (Būlāḳ 1274 and 1308, and Cairo 1322). A bowdlerised version was published by Muḥammad Ḳandīl al-Baḳlī (Cairo 1963).

The author mentions another work of his on peasant weddings. Manuscripts attributed to him (Brockelmann, S II, 987) appear to be of a single moralistic text.

Bibliography: K. Vollers, in *ZDMG* (1887), xli, 370 ff.; C.A. Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto*, Milan 1913, 482; Brockelmann, S II, 387; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², ix, 333; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, xiii, 329. (M. BEN CHENEB-[P. CACHIA])

SHIRE, the Turkish name of the Aegean Greek island of Syros, vernacular Syra, Ar. Shira, an important island of the Cyclades lying south of Andros/Andire and northwest of Para.

Mentioned by al-Idrīsī (tr. Jaubert, ii, 127) when it was under Byzantine control, it was captured by the Venetians after the Fourth Crusade and became part of the Archipelago Duchy after 1207. Renamed Lasudha (la Souda), it experienced a long Latin period, and over the centuries, the majority of the population became Latin Catholics (see G. Hoffmann, *Vescovadi catolici della Grecia. III. Syros*, Rome 1937; A. Sigalas, *I nomi e cognomi veneto-italiani nel' isola di Sira*, in *Studi Bizant. e Neoellen.*, viii/3 [1921], 194-200). Throughout the Latin and Turkish period, it retained the densest westernised population of the area, the *Frankosyrianoi* or "Frankish Syriots", becoming a bastion of Catholicism in the Aegean.

Sultan Meḥemmed I in 1419 recognised it as a Venetian possession, but in the 16th century, Shire suffered both Ottoman Turkish and Italian corsair raids, including those in 1515 by Ḳurtoghlu and in 1537 by Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] (cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii⁵, 375, 479, iii/2⁴ 101-2). These caused depopulation and famine, and only under Joseph Nasi's rule (1566-79) [see NAKSHE; PARA] was there relative prosperity. In 1566 the island received a favourable *ʿahd-nāme* or treaty of dependence from the Ottoman government, renewed in 1580 and 1648, giving the local Greek authorities self-government; these last maintained representatives in Istanbul, the Syriot *ḳapukahyas*, 31 of whose letters are extant, giving valuable information on contemporary administrative and economic issues. On Nasi's death, Shire, with Andros, Naḳshe, Para, Santorin and Melos were leased by the Porte to Süleymān Beg (1579-82) and later, to the Greek Comnenus-Choniates (1598-1601). But corsair raids continued, and in 1617 the *ḳapudan pasha* ʿAlī Čelebi hanged the Latin bishop and abducted 300 captives. After then, the Syriots and Meliots paid *kharādj* to Istanbul. Roman Catholicism grew in importance after the 1630s, with the arrival of Jesuit missionaries, and in 1700 the French traveller Tournefort mentions a Latin bishop and forty priests, but only a few Turks with their *ḳāḍī*. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-74, Shire was occupied by the Russian fleet, but in 1774 sultan ʿAbd ul-Ḥamīd I had the local Beg beheaded and granted the island as a *tīmār* to Selīm III's sister Shāh Sulṭāna. By the end of the 18th century, the island's population had reached 5,000, with a commerce based on its cotton, figs and wine.

Because of the dominance of Roman Catholicism, neither Shire nor Naḳshe were fervent participators in the 1821-9 Greek War of Independence, but the modern capital of Syros, Ermoupolis, was founded by refugees from Saḳiz/Chios and Psara at this time, becoming subsequently a major trading centre. In the Cretan outbreak of 1866-9, Syros sheltered Cretan refugees, and a naval engagement was fought off its

port between the Greek battleship *Enosis* and a Turkish squadron under the English admiral Hobart Pasha; it was in Ermoupolis harbour, too, that the Turkish cruiser *Hamīdiyye* sank the Greek battleship *Macedonia* during the First Balkan War of 1912. The population of Syros in 1981 was 19,794.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see the *Bibls.* to NAKSHE, PARA and SANTORIN; also Pitcher, *Hist. geogr. of the Ottoman empire*, map XIV. On the Turkish and Latin corsairs, see A. Krantonelle, *History of piracy*, i-ii, Athens 1985-91, index. (A. SAVVIDES)

SHĪRĪN [see FARHĀD WA-SHĪRĪN].

SHĪRĪN MAGHRIBĪ, MUḤAMMAD, celebrated Persian Ṣūfī poet. His full name is given by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāʾī Tabrīzī (*Rawḍāt al-djinān wa djannāt al-djanān*, ed. Djaʿfar Sulṭān al-Ḳurrāʾī, Tehran 1344/1965, i, 367, 566), as Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿIzz al-Dīn b. ʿĀdil b. Yūsuf Tabrīzī. In literary and Ṣūfī circles, however, he is better known as Mullā Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī.

According to Djāmī (*Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. M. Tawḥīdīpūr, Tehran 1336/1957, 613), he was born in the village of Ammand near Lake Urūmiya and died aged 60 in 809/1406-7. But a chronogram composed by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khalwatī (d. 859/1454; "Mashriḳī"), which Ibn Karbalāʾī cites (*Rawḍāt*, i, 73-5), commemorates Maghribī's death as 810/1407-8, and this is probably more correct.

Maghribī should be accounted as the most important Persian Ṣūfī poet—after ʿIrāḳī (d. 688/1289), Ḳāsim-i Anwār (d. 837/1433 [*q.v.*]) and Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. *ca.* 740/1339-40 [*q.v.*])—of Ibn ʿArabī's school in the late 13th/early 14th century. The primary theme of his poetry (see *Dīwān-i Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī*, ed. L. Lewisohn; Tehran-London 1993, containing 1223 lines of Arabic poetry, 199 Persian *ghazals*, two *tardjīʿbands*, and 35 *rubāʿiyyāt*) is the "Unity of Being" (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*). Although the imagery of romantic Persian poets such as Salmān Sāwadjī (d. 778/1376) and Humām Tabrīzī (d. 714/1314) also fills his verse, lending it a particular brillance and graceful beauty, it is as an exponent and exegete of the theomonistic doctrine of Ibn ʿArabī that his poems achieved their principal fame. In his own introduction to the *Dīwān* (*ibid.*, iv, 15-16) the poet admits that "the composer of this type of poetry in accordance with true visionaries and visionary men of Truth says the same thing which the author of the *Tardjumān al-ashwāḳ* [= Ibn ʿArabī] says." Since both Djāmī (*Nafaḥāt*, 613) and M. Nūrbakhsh (*Silsilat al-awliyāʾ*, ed. M.T. Dānish-Pazhūh, in S.H. Nasr (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Henri Corbin*, Tehran 1977, no. 60) customarily referred to Ibn ʿArabī as "Ibn al-Maghribī", it is apparent that the poet adopted "Maghribī" as his *takhalluṣ* in honour of the Shaykh al-Akbar. Thus, when Ibn Karbalāʾī (*Rawḍāt*, i, 367)—citing a certain ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Bizzāzī, one of the poet's disciples—speaks of him as *al-Maghribī madhhab*[an] ("Maghribī in religion"), it is obvious that he is alluding to the poet's Akbarian persuasion; and it is to this same connotation that Riḍā Ḳulī-Khān Hidāyat in the *Madjmaʿ-i fuṣaḥā* (Tehran 1339/1965, iv, 57-8) alludes in stating that "Maghribī's creed is the Unity of Being and his particular mystical sensibility is the enjoyment of contemplative vision (*madhhabish waḥdat al-wudjūd-ast wa mashrabish ladhdhat al-shuhūd*)".

After his celebrated *Dīwān*, Maghribī's other works listed by Ibn Karbalāʾī include: (1) *Asrār-i fātiḥa* (not extant); (2) *Risāla-yi djām-i djahān-namā* (consisting mainly of selections from Farghānī's commentary on Ibn Fāriḍ's *Tāʾiyya* entitled *Mashāriḳ al-darārī*, ed. Dj. Āshtiyānī, Tehran 1979; this *Risāla* has been published by Mīr-ʿĀbidīnī in his edition of Maghribī's *Dīwān*, Tehran 1979); (3) *Durr al-farīd fī maʿrifat al-tawḥīd* (a work still extant, see *Fihrist-i Kitāb-khāna-yi Sipahsalār*, ii, 682, wherein it is said to be in Persian, treating in 3 chapters the divine Unity, Actions and Qualities); (4) *Nuzhat al-sāsāniyya* (evidently not extant and not listed in Munzawī's *Fihrist-i nakhahā-yi fārsī*, Tehran 1979). Other works ascribed elsewhere to Maghribī include a *Naṣīḥāt-nāma* (mentioned in Munzawī's *Fihrist*, ii, 1706) and *Irāʾat al-daḳāʾiḳ fī sharḥ-i Miʾrāt al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, on which see H. Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library*, i, no. 2914, fols. 94b-113b).

Maghribī had five *silsila* affiliations according to Ibn Karbalāʾī (*Rawḍāt* i, 67-9) as follows: (1) Bahāʾ al-Dīn Hamadhānī; (2) Ibn ʿArabī; (3) Saʿd al-Dīn; (4) Ismāʿīl Sīsī and (5) ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Sarāwī, although his principal master was Sīsī (for a detailed study of the other masters, see Lewisohn, *A critical edition of the Divan of Maghrebi: with an introduction into his life, literary school and mystical poetry*, diss., London 1988, i, 60-83), who counted among his protégés and disciples three of the greatest Ṣūfī poets of the 8th/14th century, sc. Kamāl Khudjandī (d. 803/1400), Ḳāsim-i Anwār, and Muḥammad ʿAṣṣār Tabrīzī (d. 792-3/1390-1). Sīsī was a Kubrāwī *shaykh*, having been a disciple, either directly or indirectly, of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (d. 736/1336). Maghribī was said to have experienced an illumination during an *arbaʿīn* held under Sīsī's direction, and recorded his enlightenment in a *ghazal* (on which, see Lewisohn, *Mohammad Shirin Maghrebi*, in *Sufi*, i, [1988], 33). Sīsī's other important disciples include Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī (d. 838/1435), whose connection with Maghribī is discussed by H.T. Norris, *The Mirʾāt al-ṭālibīn of Ẓain al-Dīn Khawāfī of Khurāsān and Herat*, in *BSOAS*, liii (1990), 57-63; and Lewisohn, *A critical edition*, 75-9.

As a poet of the Akbarian school, Maghribī follows very closely the imagery and thought of Shabistarī and Saʿd al-Dīn Farghānī. Maghribī's poetic style was imitated by Shāh Niʿmat Allāh (d. 834/1431) and Muḥammad Lāhīdjī ("Asīrī", d. 912/1506-7 [see LĀHĪDJĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN]), the latter author quoting extensively from Maghribī's *Dīwān* throughout his famous *Mafātīḥ al-iʿdjāz fī sharḥ-i Gulshan-i rāz* in order to illustrate Shabistarī's symbolism and doctrine (see Lewisohn, *Beyond faith and infidelity: the Sufi poetry and teachings of Maḥmūd Shabistarī*, London 1995, ch. 7). Many of the images and expressions of Maghribī's poetry have become proverbs in Persian (cf. ʿA.A. Dihkhudā, *Amthāl wa ḥikam*, Tehran 1984, iii, 1242, 1319, 1343, 1347), and his influence can be seen in the writings of many of the Persian *Ishrāḳī* philosophers up to the present day. Quotations from his poetry, for instance, can be found scattered throughout the writings of the 19th-century *ḥakīm* Mullā Hādī Sabzawārī (d. 1289/1873).

Bibliography (in addition to references already given): M.Dj. Mashkūr, *Tārīkh-i Tabrīz tā payān-i ḳarn-i nuhum-i hidjrī*, Tehran 1352/1973, 766 ff.; ʿAzīz Dawlatābādī, *Sukhanwarān-i Ādharbāydjān*, Tabriz 1357/1978, ii, 217-19; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 330-44. For fuller details, and a fuller discussion of the problems involved, including analysis of the historical and literary evidence, see L. Lewisohn, *A critical edition* ... (L. LEWISOHN)

SHIRK, a term from the religious vocabulary, of Ḳurʾānic origin, which signifies the act of "associating" with God, in other words, accepting the

presence at His side of other divinities; it may be translated either literally, by *associationism* or, in more explicit fashion, by *polytheism*. In numerous instances in the Ḳur'ān there is criticism of the "associators" (*al-mus̲h̲rikūn*, 42 occurrences; also encountered nine times is the phrase *allad̲h̲īna as̲h̲rakū*), defined as those who invoke (*yad'ūna*), adopt (*yattak̲h̲id̲h̲ūna*) and worship (*ya'budūna*), besides God (*min dūni 'llāh*), other gods (*āliha*), give Him "associates" (*d̲j̲a'alū li 'llāhi s̲h̲urakā'*) and equals (*andād*).

It may be noted that the actual word *s̲h̲irk* features seldom in the Ḳur'ān (five occurrences in all), and that in fact it is used only twice in this sense of "associationism" (XXXI, 13, XXXV, 14). Originally, *s̲h̲irk* signifies "association" in the passive, not the factitive sense of the term. It is this sense which it has in XXXIV, 22; XXXV, 40; XLVI, 4, where it is denied that false gods would have been associated [with the true God] (*lahum s̲h̲irk^un^*) in the creation of the heavens and of the earth. The proper term for "associationism" would normally be *is̲h̲rāk*, corresponding to the diverse forms of the verb *as̲h̲raka* which are extensively used, in this sense, in the Ḳur'ānic text. Clearly, it is *ḥadīt̲h̲* which has imposed the usage of *s̲h̲irk* in the factitive (and religious) sense of the term: certain practices (for example sorcery, ornithomancy) are denounced here as *s̲h̲irk*; there is reference to the *ahl al-s̲h̲irk* (as opposed to the *ahl al-islām*), to the *arḍ al-s̲h̲irk*, etc. (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, 114-16). Furthermore, in *ḥadīt̲h̲* itself, certain uses of the word in its primary signification, i.e. as an equivalent of *s̲h̲irka* or *s̲h̲arika*, "association", appear occasionally: with reference to the common ownership of land (cf. Muslim, *musāḳāt* 135), of a slave (Buk̲h̲ārī, *s̲h̲arika* 14; Muslim, *'itḳ* 47-48), or even to participation in a sacrifice (*s̲h̲irk fī dam*, al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* 102).

To return to the Ḳur'ān, it is quite dangerous to claim to determine, even approximatively—as was attempted by Björkman in his article for *EI*[1]—at what point in time words from the root *s̲h̲-r-k* first entered the text. If Björkman is to be believed, they do not appear in "the most ancient sūras". But which are the most ancient sūras? In verse LXVIII, 41, the text reads: "Do they have associates (*s̲h̲urakā'*)? Then let them come with their associates, if they are truthful!" Now, according to the chronology traditionally accepted in Islam, sūra LXVIII would be the second in the order of revelation (and v. 41 would not be among the Medinan additions). Without going so far as this, Weil and Nöldeke likewise dated this sūra in the "early Meccan period". It is true that, in the verse in question, the identity of the said "associates" is controversial (cf. al-Rāzī's commentary). But there is also LII, 43, which is considerably more explicit and where it is said, in conformity with numerous other passages in the Ḳur'ān, *subḥāna 'llāhi 'ammā yus̲h̲rikūn* "how God is above that which they associate [with Him]!" Now, while the traditional chronology places this other sūra among the last revealed at Mecca, Blachère, Weil and Nöldeke agree in locating it on the contrary in the "early Meccan period"! All that can be said with certainty in this context is that in fact, in those sūras *unanimously* accepted as the earliest, the terms in question do not feature, and that those where they appear most often are, in descending order, VI (28 instances), IX (12) and XVI (11).

Who precisely are these "associators" of whom the Ḳur'ān speaks? It would normally be anticipated that they would include all those who, in one way or another, accept the existence of gods other than the one God. It would therefore be logical to expect to find the Christians described as such, seeing that, according to the Ḳur'ān, the Christians make of God "the third of three" (V, 73), they deify Christ (V, 72), and "take for two gods beside God (*ilāhayn^i^ min dūni 'llāh*)" Jesus and his mother (V, 116). However, this is not the case. The Christians belong to the "People of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*), and the Ḳur'ān takes care to distinguish—even if they are considered comparable to disbelievers (*kuffār*)—between "associators" and the people of the Book (or "those to whom the Book has been given"), cf. in particular, II, 105; III, 186; V, 82; XXII, 17 (with reference not only to Jews and Christians, but also "Sabeans" and Mazdaeans); XCVIII, 1, 6. The same distinction, as al-Rāzī points out (on Ḳur'ān, IX, 29), is drawn implicitly in the first quarter of sūra IX: God first prescribes the treatment to be applied to "associators" (IX, 5), then that to be applied to "those to whom the Book has been given" (IX, 29). In other words, the Ḳur'ānic term *mus̲h̲rikūn* does not in fact denote all those who, in some manner, practise a form of associationism, but only a minority among them—those among whom this associationism is most flagrant—i.e. the worshippers of idols (*'abadat al-awt̲h̲ān*). Admittedly, in the eyes of the commentators this distinction between "associators" and "people of the Book" is not always valid. With regard to IX, 30, where it is said that Jews and Christians proclaim 'Uzayr/Esdras and Jesus respectively the sons of God, al-Rāzī comments that God thus shows that Jews and Christians are also "associators", since, he says, "there is no difference between him who worships an idol and him who worships Christ or any other; the word *s̲h̲irk* signifies nothing other than the man giving himself someone to worship in addition to God (*an yattak̲h̲id̲h̲a 'l-insānu ma'a 'llah ma'būd^an^*); therefore, wherever anything of this sort is practised, there is associationism" (*Tafsīr*, ed. Tehran n.d., xvi, 33). And on XCVIII, 1, al-Ṭabarī mentions an exegesis according to which "associators" and "People of the Book" are indistinguishable (cf. moreover, al-Ṭabarī himself on XCVIII, 5).

For the Ḳur'ān, in any case, it is evident, in view of the clear distinction indicated above, that the "associators" represent a category of disbelievers other than that of the "People of the Book", i.e. the category of committed polytheists, these polytheists being identified at the time with idolators. Of the pseudo-divinities which they worship, it is said in fact, in numerous instances, that they do not hear, that they do not answer (VII, 194; XIII, 14; XXXV, 14; etc.), that they are incapable of inflicting harm or of being useful (V, 76; VI, 71; X, 18; etc.). In the time of the Prophet, the "associators" are those who, at Mecca or elsewhere, worship al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt (in sūra IX, which is historically dated, the *mus̲h̲rikūn* evidently denote the Meccan polytheists, recently vanquished). In the past, they were predominantly the idol worshippers of the time of Abraham (the words *aṣnām*, *awt̲h̲ān*, or even *tamāt̲h̲īl* being designedly used, cf. VI, 74; XIV, 35; XXI, 52, 57; XXIX, 17, 25), Abraham of whom it is said that he was not, for his part, counted among the associators (*mā kāna min al-mus̲h̲rikīn*, cf. II, 135; III, 67, 95; VI, 79, 161; etc.).

S̲h̲irk is the worst form of disbelief. The treatment to be applied in this world to the "associator" is that prescribed in IX, 5 (the "verse of the sword", *āyat al-sayf*): death, at least if they do not become Muslims (whereas the "People of the Book" are, for their part, allowed to maintain their religion, so long as they pay the *d̲j̲izya*, IX, 29). In the next world, they will be assuredly consigned to damnation; the Ḳur'ān

states in fact, twice, that God can pardon all sins save one, that of associationism (*inna 'llāha lā yaghfiru an yushraka bihi wa-yaghfiru mā dūnā dhālika li-man yashā'*, IV, 48, 116). The Ḳur'ān relates furthermore how, in the next world, these alleged "associates" of God who are worshippped by the *mushrikūn* will then disown their worshippers (VI, 94; X, 28-9; XVIII, 52; XXVIII, 62-3; etc.).

Shirk, by definition, is contrary to Islam, since the first article of faith of the Muslim is precisely the denial of all associationism, the affirmation of the single God: *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*. In the formula of the *talbiya* [*q.v.*] recited particularly during the Pilgrimage, it is said and repeated, *lā sharīka laka* "You have no associate".

In theological polemic, accusations of *shirk* are rife. With regard in particular to the status of the voluntary human act, the Sunnī theologians charge their Mu'tazilī adversaries with associationism, on the grounds that the latter attribute to man a creative power comparable to that of God (cf. al-Bāḳillānī, *Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, §§ 523, 540; D. Gimaret, *Théories de l'acte humain en théologie musulmane*, Paris 1980, 297-8); the Mu'tazilīs, for their part, level the same accusation at the Sunnīs, on the grounds that, for the latter, the voluntary human act would result from an association between God, who creates it, and man, who "acquires" it (cf. Gimaret, *op. cit.*, 292).

Bibliography: M.I. Surty, *The Qur'anic concept of* Al-Shirk (*polytheism*), London 1982, ²1990.

(D. Gimaret)

SHĪRKŪH, Abu 'l-Ḥārith b. Shādī, Asad al-Dīn al-Malik al-Manṣūr, one of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd's [*q.v.*] generals and statesmen, and the penultimate vizier of Fāṭimid Egypt.

His family was Kurdish (of the Rawādiyya clan) from Dvin in Armenia, where Shādī, his father, had served the Shaddādid dynasty [*q.v.*]. Later "noble" genealogies are fanciful. Ibn Abī Ṭayyi' says, "None of the Ayyūbid family knows any ancestor beyond Shādī" (quoted in *Rawḍ*, ii, 534-5). Shīrkūh served in the Saldjūḳ state, where his elder brother Ayyūb was governor of Takrīt. Because of assistance given to Zangī [*q.v.*] in 526/1132, and perhaps also because Shīrkūh had killed a Christian in the service of Bihrūz, the *shiḥna* of 'Irāḳ, the brothers fled to Mawṣil, where Zangī gave them *iḳṭā'*s in his Mesopotamian lands, and Shīrkūh fought in Zangī's Syrian campaigns.

After Zangī's death, Shīrkūh and his brother served Nūr al-Dīn. Shīrkūh became commander of his armies and held Ḥimṣ and Raḥba as *iḳṭā'*s. Ibn al-Ḳalānisī documents Shīrkūh's military activities in Syria on behalf of Nūr al-Dīn in the years 549-54/1154-9. In 556/1161 Shīrkūh performed the *ḥadjdj* in great magnificence.

In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 558/October 1163 the ousted Fāṭimid vizier Shāwar [*q.v.*] came to Damascus seeking aid towards his restoration and promising a third of the resources of Egypt to help the *djihād* in Syria. Shīrkūh was appointed commander of the Syrian force by Nūr al-Dīn (in various accounts each had doubts about the undertaking), and he set out in Djumādā I 559/April 1164 on the first of three expeditions. Shāwar was restored as vizier (Radjab/May) but refused to fulfil his promises and turned for support to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which was already receiving annual tribute from Cairo, and now embarked on a period of direct intervention in Egyptian affairs. Shīrkūh chose Bilbays as a defensive base and after a siege of several months he agreed on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/3 November to a settlement and the withdrawal of both external parties, being ignorant of Frankish anxiety at Nūr al-Dīn's successes in Syria.

Now convinced of the opportunities offered in Egypt, Shīrkūh persuaded Nūr al-Dīn to sanction a second expedition, which set out in Rabī' I 562/January 1167. Shāwar again sought aid from the Franks. Shīrkūh crossed the Nile at Aṭfīḥ and spent 50 days or so at Gīza, facing the combined enemy, before they effected a river crossing and pursued Shīrkūh south as far as Ashmūnayn. At a place called al-Bābayn, Shīrkūh won a hard-fought victory on 25 Djumādā I/18 March. He returned north and left his nephew Saladin [see ṣalāḥ al-dīn] and part of the army in Alexandria, with the Sunnī notables of which he had already made contact. Shīrkūh kept his mobility and ranged widely in Upper Egypt, while Saladin sustained a siege of four months. Eventually a new settlement was reached in Shawwāl/August, which allowed for an indemnity of 50,000 dīnārs for the Syrian force and, in principle, the withdrawal of both armies. By Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da/September Shīrkūh was back in Damascus.

About a year later, the Franks made another attack on Egypt, prompted by exiled enemies of Shāwar and hoping to exploit Nūr al-Dīn's absence in northern Syria. Besieged in Cairo, Shāwar appealed again to Nūr al-Dīn for assistance. Unwilling to abandon Egypt to the Franks, Nūr al-Dīn and Shīrkūh responded energetically. By Ṣafar 564/December 1168 a force of 5,000 had been enlisted and reviewed near Damascus. Nūr al-Dīn added 2,000 of his own troops with several of his *amīrs*. By Rabī' II/January 1169 Shīrkūh was at Cairo and the Frankish invaders had fled back to Palestine without a battle.

According to some versions, Shīrkūh established good relations with Shāwar, but on the other hand there are hints of secret negotiations with the caliph al-'Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*] to remove Shāwar, who had certainly shown himself unreliable enough in the past. Shīrkūh, however, is even said to have warned Shāwar of plots against him by the Syrian officers. 'Izz al-Dīn Djurdīk, one of Nūr al-Dīn's *mamlūks*, played a leading part in the coup, although later ideas of what was fitting also assigned a major role to Saladin. At all events, Shāwar was led into a trap and assassinated on Saturday 17 Rabī' II 564/18 January 1169. The caliph "by the custom of the Egyptians" demanded his head and issued a document appointing Shīrkūh as vizier with the title *al-malik al-manṣūr amīr al-djuyūsh* (for text, see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, x, 80-90). Shīrkūh possibly entrusted the management of affairs generally to Saladin (but for a decree dated Djumādā II 564/March 1169 said to be issued by Shīrkūh, see S.M. Stern, *Fatimid decrees*, London 1964, 80-4). However, he did not long enjoy this new responsibility. He died suddenly on Sunday 22 Djumādā II 564/23 March 1169. He was buried first in Cairo, but after several years his body was transferred to the *ribāṭ* in Medina, which according to a mutual pact he had built as a last resting-place for himself and his friend, already deceased, the Mawṣilī vizier al-Djawād al-Isfahānī [*q.v.*].

Shīrkūh's personal *mamlūks*, the Asadiyya, played a significant role in subsequent Ayyūbid history. His son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad established a princely line in Ḥimṣ. Foundations attributed to Shīrkūh include a *djāmi'* and a *madrasa* at Aleppo, a *madrasa* at Raḥba, a *madrasa* for the Shāfi'īs and Ḥanafīs outside Damascus and a *ribāṭ*, two *masdjids*, a Ṣūfī *khanḳāh* and possibly a *ḥammām* within the city.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl ta'rīkh Dimashk*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, see index; ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarāʾ al-miṣriyya*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1897-1902, see index; Bundārī, *Sanā' al-barḳ al-shāmī*, ed. R. Şeşen, Beirut 1971, i, 60-81; Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, ed. al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1964, 36-40; Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, ed. A. Ḥilmī, Cairo 1962, i/2, 329-405, 415-38 (quoting Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ), 533-9; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. M. Ḥilmī, Cairo 1973, iii, 265-307; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 286, 338-9, 358, ii, 12-3, 251; ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra* (Aleppo and Damascus), ed. D. Sourdel and S. Dahan, Damascus 1953-6, see indices; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 479-81; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Beirut, xi, 298-342; idem, *al-Ta'rīkh al-bāhir fi 'l-dawla al-atābākiyya*, ed. A. Tolaymat, Cairo 1963, 119 ff. (D.S. Richards)

SHĪRWĀN, Shirwān or Sharwān, a region of eastern Caucasia, known by this name in both mediaeval Islamic and modern times.

Shīrwān proper comprised the easternmost spurs of the Caucasus range and the lands which sloped down from these mountains to the banks of the Kur river [*q.v.*]. But its rulers strove continuously to control also the western shores of the Caspian Sea from Ḳuba (the modern town of Kuba) in the district of Maskat (< *Maskut, Mashkut, to be connected with the ancient Eurasian steppe people of the Massagetes) in the north, to Bākū [*q.v.*] (modern Baku) in the south. To the north of all these lands lay Bāb al-Abwāb or Derbend [*q.vv.*], and to the west, beyond the modern Gök Čay, the region of Shakkī [*q.v.*]. In mediaeval Islamic times, and apparently in pre-Islamic Sāsānid ones also, Shīrwān included the district of Layzān, which probably corresponds to modern Lāhīdj (the two names must be etymologically connected), often ruled as a separate fief by a collateral branch of the Yazīdī Shīrwān Shāhs [*q.v.*]. These boundaries of Shīrwān were substantially the same in Il Khānid times, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 92-3, tr. 93-4. The plains and lowlands of Shīrwān were exposed to attack, and the Shāhs had to face aggressive neighbours: the Alans and the Hāshimid rulers of Bāb al-Abwāb from the north, the Rūs [*q.v.*] from the Caspian Sea, and rival Muslim powers like the Daylamī Musāfirids and Kurdish Shaddādids [*q.vv.*] from the south.

Among the mediaeval towns of Shīrwān are mentioned Bākū; Shāwarān Shābarān, the ancient capital, in the southern part of the Ḳuba district; and Shammākhī or Shammākhiyya (modern Russian Shemakha), said to have been named after a ruler of Shīrwān, al-Shammākh b. Shudjāʿ, contemporary with Hārūn al-Rashīd's governor of Arrān, Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, Saʿīd b. Salm b. Ḳutayba (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 210; cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 517 ff., and al-Ṭabarī, iii, 648). When Shammākhī became the capital of the Yazīdī Shāhs, it was probably this same town which was temporarily re-named Yazīdiyya (306/918), but it is the old name which has survived till today, with Shemakha an administrative and manufacturing centre of some importance (see below).

After the ending of the Shirwan Shāhs by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I [see shīrwān shāh], Shīrwān formed a province of Persia and was usually governed by a Khān, who is often called Beylerbey or Amīr al-Umarāʾ. The inhabitants several times rebelled against the Shīʿī dynasty, and as Sunnīs appealed for help to the Ottoman sultan of Turkey. With other Caucasian lands, Shīrwān was taken by the Turks in 1578, held after a series of battles with varying results, and finally ceded to the Ottoman sultan by the peace of 1590. Under rule, Shīrwān was divided into fourteen *sandjaks*; it included Shakkī in the north-west and Bākū in the south-east, i.e. practically the whole of mediaeval Shīrwān. Derbend, which had long been separated from Shīrwān, formed a separate governorship. Persian rule was not definitively restored till 1607. In the 17th century, Ḳuba and Sālyān were given as a separate principality to the Ḳaytaḳ, who had migrated southwards. In 1722 the Khān of Ḳuba, Ḥusayn ʿAlī, submitted to Peter the Great and was confirmed in his dignity. By the treaty between Russia and Turkey of the year 1724, the coast territory with Bākū, now occupied by the Russians, was for the first time politically separated from the rest of Shīrwān, which was left to the Turks with Shemākha as capital. This division was retained as regards administration even after both parts were reunited to Persia. By the treaties of 1732, the coast lands north of Kura still remained to the Russians and the other parts of Shīrwān and Dāghistān to the Turks; it was only after Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] had taken their conquests from the Turks by force of arms (capture of Shemākha, 22 October 1734) that the coast lands were ceded to him voluntarily by the Russians (treaty of Gandja, 10/21 March 1735). After the death of Nādir Shāh, Persian rule could no longer be enforced in these regions; several independent principalities arose; the name Shīrwān was now limited to the territory of the Khān of Shemākha, which was later under Russian rule divided into three administrative districts (Shemākha, Gökčay and Djawād). Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān of Ḳuba (1758-89) succeeded in bringing Derbend as well as Shemākha under his sway, so that, as Dorn observed, "a true Shīrwān Shāh arose in him". During the last years of his reign, Fatḥ ʿAlī flattered himself with the idea of bringing Persia itself under his sway and ascending the throne of the rulers of Persia. When the Ḳādjārs had succeeded in restoring the unity of Persia, the sons of the Khān were no more able to maintain their independence than the other Caucasian chiefs and had to choose between Russia and Persia. General Zubov, who had been despatched by Catherine II, had already reached the Kura below Djawād (1796) when he and his army were recalled by the Emperor Paul. The Khān of Shīrwān (Shemākha), Muṣṭafā, who had already entered into negotiations with Zubov, submitted to the Russians in 1805, who occupied Derbend and Bākū next year (1806), but soon afterwards he made overtures to the Persians and sought help from them. By the peace of Gulistān (12/24 October 1813), Persia gave up all claim to Derbend, Ḳuba, Shīrwān and Bākū. Nevertheless, Muṣṭafā continued to have secret dealings with Persia. It was not till 1820 that his territory was occupied by Russian troops; the Khān fled to Persia and Shemākha was incorporated in Russian territory. The outbreak of hostilities again in 1826 was taken advantage of by Muṣṭafā and by an earlier Khān of Bākū, Ḥusayn, for an attempt to stir up their subjects against Russia, but without success. After 1840 the former territory of the Khān of Shīrwān was united with Ḳuba and Bākū to form one administrative area (at first the "Caspian territory"; from 1846 the "government of Shemākha"; from 1859, after the destruction of Shemākha by one of the earthquakes frequent there, the "government of Bākū"). The old capital of Shīrwān, as late as the middle of the 19th century, had a larger population than Bākū; according to Ritter's *Geografisch-*

statistisches Lexicon[5], 1864-5, Shemākha had 21,550 and Bākū 10,600 inhabitants. In the 1880s, the relationship was reversed (E. Weidenbaum, *Putevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888, 342-396: Bākū 45,679, Shemākha 28,545).

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the consequent upheavals in the Caucasus region, the old Shīrwān and Shemākha fell within the Azerbaijan S.S.R., and Shemakha (lat. 40° 38' N., long. 48° 37' E.) became the chef-lieu of a *rayon* or district. It is now (1994) within the independent Azerbaijan Republic. It is also a significant processing centre for local fruit and agricultural produce, including the making of wine. Numerous Islamic buildings, including mosques and mausolea, remain, though damaged by the earthquakes endemic to the region. In 1970 Shemakha had an estimated population of 17,900, still well below the 19th century level.

The older name of the district gives its name to the locally-woven Shīrwān woollen rugs, similar to the Dāghistān ones produced to the north of the Caucasus but slightly coarser in texture and with a longer pile.

Bibliography: See especially B. Dorn, *Geschichte Shirwans unter den Statthaltern und Chanen von 1538-1820* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaukasischen Länder und Völker*, ii = *Mém. de l'Acad.*, etc., er. 6, *Sciences politiques*, etc., v, 317-433); Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 179-81; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 144, comm. 403-11; Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband* (= text, tr. and comm. on the anonymous *T. Bāb al-Abwāb* preserved in the latter Ottoman historian Müneddjim Bashî), Cambridge 1958, esp. 75-85. (W. Barthold-[C.E. Bosworth])

SHĪRWĀN SHĀH, Sharwān Shāh, the title in mediaeval Islamic times of the rulers of Shīrwān [*q.v.*] in eastern Transcaucasia.

The title very probably dates back to pre-Islamic times. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 17-18, mentions the Shīrwān Shāh as one of the local rulers who received his title from the Sāsānid emperor Ardashīr. Al-Balādhurī mentions the Shīrwān Shāh, together with an adjacent potentate, the Layzān Shāh, as amongst those encountered by the first Arab raiders into the region; he further records that Shīrwān and other principalities of the eastern Caucasus submitted during ʿUthmān's caliphate to the commander Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī (*Futūḥ*, 196, 203-4).

Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī, governor of the northwestern Persian lands of the caliphate for al-Manṣūr, took possession of the naphtha wells (*naffāṭa*) and salt workings (*mallāḥāt*) of Shīrwān; the eastern part of the land was therefore at that date of greater importance than the western part, as the situation of the ancient capital, Shābarān, in the eastern part and north of the southeastern-most spur of the Caucasus, implies (cf. what is said concerning this in shīrwān). From the end of the 2nd/8th century, Shīrwān was ruled by members of the Arab family of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī (d. 185/801) as part of his vast governorship of Ādharbaydjān, Arrān, Armenia and the eastern Caucasus region. His great-grandson Haytham b. Muḥammad is said to have assumed, during the troubled times in ʿIrāḳ consequent on the murder of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, the ancient title of Shīrwān Shāh, beginning a line of Yazīdī or Mazyadī Shāhs which lasted up to Tīmūrid times.

For the earlier history of this dynasty, we have the anonymous *Taʾrīkh Bāb al-Abwāb*, preserved in the later Ottoman historian Müneddjim Bashî [*q.v.*], the last date of which concerning the Shāhs is 468/1075. We know from this that the history of the Shāhs was closely bound up with that of the Hāshimids in Bāb al-Abwāb or Derbend [*q.vv.*], with intermarriage between the two Arab families and with Yazīdīs often ruling for various periods in the latter town. By the time of the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372-982), the Shīrwān Shāhs, from their capital of Yazīdiyya (very probably the later Shamākha), had absorbed neighbouring petty principalities north of the Kur river and thus acquired the additional titles of Layzān Shāh and Khursān Shāh (tr. Minorsky, 144, comm. 403 ff.). We can also discern the progressive Persianisation of this originally Arab family (a process parallel to and contemporary with that of the Kurdicisation of the Rawwādids [*q.v.*] in Ādharbaydjān). After the Shāh Yazīd b. Aḥmad (381-418/991-1028), Arab names give way to Persian ones like Manūčihr, Ḳubādh, Farīdūn, etc., very likely as a reflection of marriage links with local families, and possibly with that of the ancient rulers in Shābarān, the former capital, and the Yazīdids now began to claim a *nasab* going back to Bahrām Gūr or to Khusraw Anūshirwān.

These Shāhs buttressed their power, like other Eastern Islamic dynasties of the time, with professional slave troops (*ghulāms* [*q.v.*]), for it was necessary for them, *inter alia*, to maintain an army to ward off incursions by non-Muslim peoples like the Alans and Georgians. Fear of the Oghuz [see ghuzz] led the Shāh Ḳubādh b. Yazīd in 437/1045 to build a stone wall with iron gates round Yazīdiyya and to fortify other towns; by 458/1066, Farīburz b. Sallār (455-*ca.* 487/1063-*ca.* 1094) had to pay an indemnity to deter the Turkmens under Ḳaratigin, who devasted the regions of Masḳaṭ and Bākū. In 459/1067 Farīburz submitted to the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan, undertaking to pay an annual tribute of 70,000 dīnārs, eventually reduced to 40,000; coins later issued by Farīburz acknowledge Malik Shāh as well as the ʿAbbāsid caliph.

Farīburz's diplomatic and military abilities enabled the Yazīdīs to survive in Shīrwān. Under sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (511-25/1118-31 [*q.v.*]), Shīrwān was occupied by Saldjūḳ troops. The sultan was invited by local leaders to come there himself; after his arrival, the Shāh (probably Manūčihr III b. Farīdūn) went to him to obtain justice, but was imprisoned. The people of Shīrwān, with whom the prince was very popular, tried to procure his release, but without success. This state of affairs encouraged the Georgians to invade Shīrwān, but they were driven out by Maḥmūd. The population suffered very much from the occupation of their country and these events became known as the "devastation" (*takhrīb*) of Shīrwān. The campaign took place in the first and last years of office of the vizier Shams al-Mulk, who was put to death by the sultan's orders in Rabīʿ I 517/May 1123 in Baylaḳān (probably on the way back to Persia from Shīrwān).

The same campaign appears in quite another light in Ibn al-Athīr, x, 433-4. The campaign is said to have been caused by the invasions of the Georgians and the complaints of the people, especially of the town of Derbend. Soon after the arrival of the sultan in Shamākha, a large Georgian army appeared before the town, which terrified the sultan; soon afterwards, however, a quarrel broke out between the Georgians and their allies the Ḳipčaḳ Turks, as a result of which the enemy had to retire "as if defeated" (*shibh al-munhazimīn*; they had therefore not actually been defeated). The sultan remained for some time in Shīrwān and returned in Djumādā II 517/August 1123 to Hamadān.

The middle years of the 6th/12th century were flourishing ones for the Yazīdids, although the succession and genealogy of the Shāhs from this time onwards becomes somewhat confused and uncertain. Münedjdjim Bashî, for instance, gives only a skeletal list from Manūčihr III b. Farīdūn I (whom he calls Manūčihr b. Kasrān; the name of Kasrānids now appears in some sources for the subsequent Shāhs) onwards (translated by Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, 129-38, including a commentary which brings in the information from recent numismatic work). Manūčihr III not only used the title of Shīrwān Shāh but also assumed that of Khāḳān-i Kabīr ("Great Khāḳān"), from which was taken the *takhalluṣ* or pen-name of the Persian poet Khāḳānī [*q.v.*], a native of Shīrwān and the Shāh's eulogist in the earlier part of his life. During these decades, the Shāhs appear on their coins simply as vassals of the Great Saldjūḳs, and only after the death of the last of that dynasty, Ṭoghrïl III b. Arslan (590/1194) does the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph as overlord re-appear on their coins.

Shīrwān at that time was actually completely dependent on the Georgian kings, who took the title Shīrwān Shāh themselves. Matrimonial alliances were several times concluded between the Kasrānids and the Georgian royal house. The son and successor of Manūčihr III, Akhsitān I (*ca.* 544-*ca.* 575/*ca.* 1149-*ca.* 1179), no doubt owed to his powerful relative, ally and suzerain, king George III, his victory over a Russian fleet at Bākū and the reconquest of Shīrwān and Derbend. On the other hand, the lands of Shakkī, Ḳabala and Mūḳān were later taken from the Shīrwān Shāh by the Georgians (al-Nasawī, *Sīrat Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, 146, 174). Political conditions in the first half of the 7th/13th century are not quite clear; neither the Shīrwān Shāh Rashīd mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr under the year 619 (xii, 264-5) nor the Shīrwān Shāh Farīdūn b. Farīburz mentioned by al-Nasawī (175) under 622 A.H. are known from coins; in place of these we find on coins as contemporary of the caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225) Farīburz II b. Farīdūn II b. Manūčihr, and following him under the same caliph, Farrukhzād b. Manūčihr II and Garshasp I b. Farrukhzād I. In contradiction to the above accounts, al-Nasawī says that the Shīrwān Shāh had paid sultan Malik Shāh a tribute of 100,000 dīnārs; the Khʷārazm Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn therefore demanded the same sum from the Shīrwān Shāh when he appeared in Ādharbaydjān. According to al-Nasawī, the reply given him was that conditions were no longer the same as before, as a large part of the country was now in the possession of the Georgians. It was agreed to pay 50,000 dīnārs, but even of this 20,000 were remitted. Shortly before this time, the Khʷārazm Shāh had driven the officers of the Shīrwān Shāh out of the land of Gushtāspī at the junction of the Kura and Aras and farmed out this territory for 200,000 dīnārs; on the other hand, he restored to prince Sulṭān Shāh, Mūḳān [*q.v.*], which had been ceded by his father to the Georgians (on the occasion of the marriage of the prince with a Georgian princess, daughter of Queen Rusudan, 1223-47). After the subjection of Shīrwān by the Mongols, coins were struck in the name of the Mongol Great Khān; the name of the Shīrwān Shāh also appears, but without a title. Under the rule of the Īlkhānids, no coins were struck in Shīrwān; the country belonged sometimes to their empire and sometimes to that of the Golden Horde. As a province in the empire of the Īlkhānids Shīrwān brought the state treasury 11 *tūmāns* (the *tūmān* was 10,000 dīnārs) and 3,000 dīnārs (the dīnār was not now a gold coin, but a silver coin of 3, later 2 *mithḳāls*; cf. W. Barthold, *Persidskaya nadpiś na styenye Aniyskoi mečeti Manuče*, St. Petersburg 1911, 18-19, repr. in *Sočinenya*, iv, Moscow 1966, 313-38). Gushtāspī had remained separate and paid 118,500 dīnārs. The Kasrānid dynasty remained in existence; under the successors of the Īlkhānids, the Shīrwān Shāh Kay Kubādh and his son Kāwūs were again able to play the part of independent rulers (their coins were anonymous, like the coins of several dynasties of this period); but soon afterwards, Kāwūs had to submit to the Djalāyrids [*q.v.*] and strike coins in their name. Kāwūs is said to have died, according to Faṣīḥ (in Dorn, 560) in 774/1372-3); his son Hūshang was murdered by his subjects after reigning ten years, and with his death the dynasty of the Yazīdids/Kasrānids came to its end.

Control of Shīrwān passed to a remote connection of the Yazīdids/Kasrānids, Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Derbend (784-820/1382-1417), at first ruling as a vassal of Tīmūr and then, after the latter's death in 807/1404, as an independent prince. The long reigns of his successors Khalīl Allāh I (820-66/1417-62) and Farrukh Yasār (866-900/1462-1501) were decades of peace and prosperity for Shīrwān, with many fine buildings erected in Shamākha and Bākū. The history of the last Shīrwān Shāhs now becomes entwined with that of the Shaykhs and then Shāhs of the Ṣafawid family. The head of the Ṣafawiyya order Djunayd b. Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] was killed in 864/1460 during a raid on Shīrwān from Ādharbaydjān. His son Ḥaydar [*q.v.*] was likewise killed in 893/1488 at Ṭabarsān to the southwest of Derbend by a coalition of Farrukh Yasār and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu sultan Yaʿḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan, who was apprehensive at the growing power of the Ṣafawids. After his seizure of power over Persia, Shāh Ismāʿīl I Ṣafawī avenged these killings by an invasion of Shīrwān in 906/1500-1, when he killed Farrukh Yasār and made Shīrwān a Ṣafawid dependency (see *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vi, 209-9, 211-12). Further Shāhs, descendants of Farrukh Yasār, continued in Shīrwān for nearly 40 years until the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I in 945/1538 incorporated Shīrwān fully into the Ṣafawid kingdom, reducing it to a governorship. A son of one of the last Shīrwān Shāhs, Burhān ʿAlī Sulṭān b. Khalīl Allāh II, and his son Abū Bakr attempted with Ottoman help to regain their former kingdom, but without lasting success.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see B. Dorn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaukasischen Länder und Völker aus morgenländischen Quellen. i. Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwanschahe*, in *Mėms. de l'Acad. des Sciences, St. Petersburg*, ser. VI, Section de sciences politiques, etc., iv, 523-602; V. Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries*, Cambridge 1958; Sheila S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana*, Leiden 1992, 155-7; C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 67 (for the chronology and genealogy of the Yazīdids/Kasrānids). See also AL-ḲABḲ.

(W. BARTHOLD-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SHĪTH (Hebr. Shēth), Seth the third son of Adam and Eve (Gen. IV, 25-6, V, 3-8), regarded in Islamic lore as one of the first prophets and, like his father, the recipient of a revealed scripture. He is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, but plays a considerable role in the subsequent *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*] literature (see below). He is said to have been born when his father was 130 years of age, five years after the murder

of Abel. When Adam died, he made him his heir and executor of his will. He taught him the hours of the day and of the night, told him of the Flood to come and taught him to worship the divinity in retirement at each hour of the day.

It is to him that we trace the genealogy of mankind, since Abel did not leave any heirs and Cain's heirs were lost in the Flood. It is said that he lived at Mecca, performing the rites of pilgrimage until his death; that he collected the leaves revealed to Adam and to himself (numbering fifty) and regulated his conduct by them; and that he built the Kaʿba of stone and clay. On his death, he left as his successor his son Anūsh (Enoch); he was buried beside his parents in the cavern of Mount Abū Ḳubays; he had attained the age of 912 years. According to Ibn Isḥāḳ, he married his sister Ḥazūra.

Later traditions. Adam having fallen ill, desired to have olives and oil from Paradise; he sent Shīth to Mount Sinai to ask God for them, and God told him to hold out his wooden bowl; it was filled in a moment, with what his father had asked for, and he rubbed his body with the oil, ate a few olives and was cured. Adam was beardless; Shīth was the first to have a beard. He is also called the first *ūriyā* (a Syriac word signifying "teacher", cf. Hebr. *ōr* "light, teaching"). He was exactly like his father physically as well as morally. He was the favourite child. He spent the greater part of his life in Syria, where one tradition says that he was born. From his time, man was divided into two categories; those who obeyed him and the others who followed the children of Cain. As a result of his counsels, a few of the latter entered into the right path, but the others persisted in their rebellion. Maxims said to have been left behind by him are quoted (Mīrkhʷānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, lith. Bombay 1272, i, 12 ff.).

Above all, Shīth is described as the one who fought his brother Cain, as the murderer of Abel [see HĀBĪL WA-ḲĀBĪL]. He defeated Cain in battle, delivered him in fetters to the avenging angels and enslaved all his progeny. He then built over 1,000 cities and filled the earth with peace and justice.

Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, writes Shath and Shāth (i, 153), and says that Shīth is a Syriac form (*sūryānī*). The name signifies "in place of, gift (of God)" because he was given in place of Abel (Gen. IV. 26).

Al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*] held that the spirit of God was transferred from Adam to Seth (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *Livre de la Création*, vi, 96). This idea comes from a Gnostic sect, the Sethites, who were found in Egypt from the 4th century, and who possessed a *Paraphrase of Seth*, to be more precise, seven books by this patriarch and seven others by his children, whom they called the "Strangers" (Epiphanes, *Haer.*, xxxix, 5). The Gnostics possessed the books of Jaldabaoth, the Demiurge, attributed to Seth (Epiphanes, *op. cit.*, xxvi, 8). The Ṣābiʾūn of Ḥarrān [see ṢĀBIʾA] had several writings attributed to Seth, and the latter was associated with Adam by the Manichaeans (P. Alfaric, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, Paris 1918, 6, 9, 10). Seth is always associated with Adam by the Druzes (P. Wolff, *Die Drusen*, Leipzig 1845, 151, 193, 372).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 152-68, 1122, 1123; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 35, 39; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, lith. 1277, 42; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisaʾi*, Boston 1978, 75 ff., 82-7 and index, and n. 69 at p. 347; Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, 569; *Encyl. Judaica*, new ed., xiv, 1191.

(CL. HUART-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SHIVĀDJĪ [see MARĀṬHĀS].

SHĪZ, the name of a very old Persian fire-temple, a place or district to the south-east of Lake Urmiya in Ādharbāydjān, said to be the native place of Zoroaster. According to A.V.W. Jackson, the name is said to be derived from the Avestan name of Lake Urmiya, Čaēčasta; according to Yāḳūt, it is an Arabic corruption of *Djazn* or *Gazn*, i.e. *Kanzaka* or *Gazaca* of the classical writers or *Gandjak* of the Pahlavi texts.

The older geographers correctly consider the two places and names to be distinct. The Arab traveller Abū Dulaf [*q.v.*] visited Shīz en route for Daylam and then Ādharbāydjān and Arrān in the mid-4th/10th century. According to him, the town lay among hills in which gold, quick-silver, lead, silver, arsenic and amethyst were found. Within the walled town was a pond of unfathomable depth, the water of which turned everything to stone. There was also a large ancient fire-temple there, which was held in great honour and from which all the sacred fires in Persia were lit. The fire had already burned 700 years without leaving ashes. The Persian kings used to bestow gifts on the temple, so that it collected vast treasures. Abū Dulaf went there specially to find hidden treasure. Sir Henry Rawlinson's photographs of Takht-i Sulaymān show the pond in the centre of the walls and the ruins of the temple.

Takht-i Sulaymān lies some 140 km/80 miles from the southeastern corner of Lake Urmiya, whereas the great Greek city of Ganzaka, where the fire temple originally stood, is only about 14 km/8 miles from this corner of the lake. What seems to have occurred is that the Sāsānid emperor Khusraw Anūshirwān (531-79 [*q.v.*]) transferred the sacred fire and the temple treasures from Ganzaka near Lake Urmiya to a more inaccessible place in the mountains of southern Ādharbāydjān in order to protect it from Byzantine attack (Ganzaka was in fact twice occupied by Heraclius, on the second occasion in 628; see the detailed discussion in V. Minorsky, *Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene*, in *BSOAS*, xi [1944], 248-53, 256-60).

The fire temple at Shīz continued to be important for the local Zoroastrians during early Islamic times. According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 326, the caliph ʿUmar agreed with the *marzbān* of Ādharbāydjān to leave the fire temple undisturbed and to allow the people of Shīz to continue their dancing and other festivities. It seems doubtful, however, whether it was still functioning in Abū Dulaf's time, three centuries later, for his account did not convince his contemporaries.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 286; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 74; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 383-4; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, et. Wüstenfeld, ii, 267; Nöldeke-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 102; Sir Henry Rawlinson, *Notes on a journey from Tabriz ...*, in *JRGS*, x (184), 1-158; A.V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 195 ff.; idem, *Persia past and present*, 126-43; G.H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIème et au IIIème siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris 1938, 77; A. Godard, *Les monuments du feu*, in *Āthār-è Īrān*, iii (1938), 45-9 and figs. 25-7, 71; B.M. Tirmidhi, *Zoroastrians and their fire temples in Iran and adjoining countries ...*, in *IC*, xxiv (1950), 272-3, 275, 278.

(J. RUSKA-[C.E BOSWORTH])

SHKODRA [see ISHKODRA, in Suppl.].

SHLUḤ [see TASHELḤĪT].

SHOGHI EFFENDI [see SHAWḲĪ EFENDI RABBĀNĪ].

SHŌLĀPUR, the name of a District and of

its administrative centre, in the western Deccan of India. In British Indian times, these fell within the Bombay Presidency; within the Indian Union, they are now on the southeastern fringe of Mahārashtra State.

The town (lat. 17° 43', long. 75° 56' E.) was an early centre of the Marāthās [*q.v.*]. In 718/1318 it came finally under the control of the Dihlī Sultans, being governed from Deogīrī or Dawlatābād [*q.v.*], then under the Bahmanīs, then oscillating between the ʿĀdil Shāhīs of Bīdjāpur and the Niẓām Shāhīs of Ahmadnagar before being incorporated by Awrangzīb into the Mughal Empire in 1078/1668. After possession by the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād, it passed towards the end of the 18th century to the Marāthās, but was conquered from the Pēshwā [*q.v.*] by General Munro in May 1818. The town still has some of its walls, which had eight gates, and still has an impressive fortress within their perimeter, begun in the late 8th/14th century by the Bahmanīs, but now dilapidated. In the early 20th century, the population of Shōlāpur town was roughly one-third Muslim and two-thirds Hindu; according to the 1971 census, the total population of the town was 398,361, but it is unclear what proportion of these were Muslims.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 295-307; J.N. Kamalpur, *The Deccan forts. A study in the art of fortification in mediaeval India*, Bombay 1961, 88-91; *Maharashtra State gazetteers. Sholapur District*, revised ed. Bombay 1977, 967-96. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SHUʿAYB, a prophet mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, who, on the basis of XI, 91, was understood to have come after Hūd, Ṣāliḥ and Lot (Lūṭ) [*q.vv.*]. According to XXVI, 176-91, Shuʿayb was sent to the "People of the Thicket", *aṣḥāb al-ayka*, a group which is also mentioned in XV, 78, XXXVIII, 13, and L, 14. Furthermore, Shuʿayb is spoken of as sent to Madyan in VII, 85, XI, 84, 94-5, and XXIX, 36. This location is also mentioned in IX, 70, XX, 40, XXII, 44, and XXVIII, 22-3, 45. On the historical and geographic identity of these people and places, see MADYAN SHUʿAYB. As a result of the mention of Madyan in the context of Moses in Ḳurʾān, XX, 40, and esp. XXVIII, 22-8, the explanation arose in Islamic narratives (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 365, and most later exegetes) that Shuʿayb should be identified with (or be seen as the uncle of) Jethro (Yithrūn, Yathrā), the father-in-law of Moses mentioned in the Bible (Exod. iii, 1, iv, 18, xviii, 1-12) and referred to, but unnamed, in the Ḳurʾān.

The story of Shuʿayb, especially as told in Ḳurʾān, VII, 85-93, XI, 84-95, and XXVI, 176-91, follows the standard Ḳurʾānic narrative outline of prophetic history (see the analysis of the three versions in J. Wansbrough, *Quranic studies: sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, Oxford 1977, 21-5). After his call by God, Shuʿayb preached monotheism, honesty in commerce and the necessity for order in the world and not hindering those who believe in God. The leaders of the community rejected him and threatened to expel him and his followers; they also considered stoning him, restrained only because he was one of them. An earthquake (so *radjfa* is commonly glossed; *ṣayḥa*, "shout" and *ẓulla*, "overshadowing" are also mentioned) destroyed their homes and the community, but Shuʿayb and his followers survived.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 365-71, tr. W.M. Brinner, *The history of al-Ṭabarī*, ii, *Prophets and patriarchs*, Albany 1987, 143-7 (mainly exegetical expansion of the Ḳurʾānic elements of the story), and i, 458-63, tr. Brinner, *ibid.*, iii, *The children of Israel*, Albany 1991, 43-8; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Leipzig 1926, 93-4, 119-20, 138, for references to pre-Islamic sources; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Gräfenhainichen 1931, 249-54; S. Sycz, *Ursprung und Wiedergabe der biblischen Eigennamen im Koran*, Frankfurt 1903, 38-40; further bibl. cited in the article MADYAN SHUʿAYB, to which may be added C.E. Bosworth, *Madyan Shuʿayb in pre-Islamic and early Islamic lore and history*, in *JSS*, xxix (1984), 53-64. (A. RIPPIN)

SHUʿBA B. AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ b. al-Ward, Abū Bisṭām al-ʿAtakī, a *mawlā* from Baṣra with the honorific *shaykh al-islām*, was an eminent scholar and collector of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]. Born during the years 82-6/702-7, his death from the plague is generally taken to have occurred in 160/776. Originally from Wāsiṭ, he came to live in Baṣra, where he sought out al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*]. Shuʿba is recorded to have studied *masāʾil* (= juridical problems) with him, so if that is historical he may be assumed to have arrived there in or before 110/728, the year in which Ḥasan died. About Shuʿba's personal circumstances very little is recorded. He is said to have had a speech defect. He wore dirty, dust-covered clothes, and his ascetic lifestyle was highly praised; his generosity towards the poor is lauded in many reports.

Early in life Shuʿba was allegedly fond of poetry and he associated with the poet al-Ṭirimmāḥ (d. *ca.* 120/738 (?) [*q.v.*]), but the story goes that when he once heard the well-known *faḳīh* and *ḥadīth* collector al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba (d. 112-15/730-3) transmit traditions from various masters, he was supposedly so struck with this that he henceforth began to gather *ḥadīth* himself. In due course he developed into Baṣra's most outstanding *ḥadīth* collector, seen in the honorary title *amīr al-muʾminīn fi 'l-ḥadīth* awarded him by a colleague ten years his junior, Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] is said to have referred to Shuʿba, probably pejoratively, as the *ḥashw al-miṣr* "the stuffing of the town".

Shuʿba is supposed to have heard traditions with large numbers of masters of whom al-Mizzī (*Tahdhīb*, xii, 480-6) records the names of more than 300, some 130 of whom are said to have hailed from Kūfa. The figure of 300 cannot be considered complete, for Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/856 [*q.v.*]), *K. al-ʿilal wa-maʿrifat al-ridjāl*, ed. Ankara 1963, i, 126, 128, 160-3) mentions many others who are not even included in al-Mizzī's list. Upon inspection, more than half of these 300 turn out to be mere names of otherwise totally nondescript people, in other words, they may be thought of as *madjhūlūn*.

Alongside his reputation as a great *ḥadīth* transmitter, Shuʿba's fame lies also in his expertise in *djarḥ wa-taʿdīl* [*q.v.*], the science of disparaging and declaring trustworthy *ḥadīth* transmitters, a science of which he is generally considered to have been the first exponent and which earned him the honorific *ḳabbān al-muḥaddithīn*, the steelyard of transmitters. There are numerous anecdotes in the sources describing him as particularly wary of *kadhib*, mendacity, sc. in *ḥadīth*. Thus he reproached the *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, the story-tellers [see ḲĀṢṢ], for having "added" to traditions. He is even recorded as having expressed the desire to drag a notorious *ḥadīth* forger, one Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh (d. 138/755), to the court of the local *ḳāḍī*.

It is a curious paradox that arguably the most famous tradition, which according to Muslim mediaeval scholarship deserves the qualification *mutawātir* [*q.v.*] (i.e. broadly authenticated), is in all likelihood due to Shuʿba: *man kadhaba ʿalayya mutaʿammidan fal-*

yatabawwaʾ makʿadahu min al-nār (i.e. "he who deliberately puts false statements into my mouth must occupy a place in Hell"). In the few *isnād* bundles which support (versions of) this allegedly prophetic saying (see *Bibl.*), it is Shuʿba who is the oldest and at the same time best-attested common link. He is in fact what *ḥadīth* scholars have come to define as a *ṣāliḥ* [*q.v.*] transmitter. His saying reflects eloquently a general perception among 2nd/8th-century traditionists, namely that proliferating traditions whose moral or legal contents and/or underlying messages gain acceptance or popularity as from the time they emerge, as was the case with the *man kadhaba* saying, is *not* to be seen as *kadhib*, but rather seen as a practice fully condoned by Islam to codify its indispensable, extra-Ḳurʾānic foundations. The list of traditions in whose *isnād* bundles he is the undeniable common link, and thus responsible for (part of) the (wording of the) texts, is huge; in many chapters of the Six Books there are sayings attributed to the Prophet that are definitely his. Among these there are several crucial ones such as the statement which may be considered as a cornerstone in the early theorising of the *ahl al-sunna: man sanna fi ʾl-islām sunnat^an ḥasanat^an fa-lahu adjruhā wa-adjru man ʿamila bihā baʿdahu* (i.e. "he who introduces into Islam a good custom/norm will be given the ensuing merit and the merit accruing to all those who practice/adopt it after him").

Apart from all this, his fondness of poetry is alluded to on many occasions. As al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828 [*q.v.*]) stated: "We have never seen anyone more expert in poetry than he". Also concerning poetry and its position in society, he brought traditions into circulation in which he is observed trying his hand himself at making verses, some of which he then ascribed to the Prophet, cf. G.H.A. Juynboll, *On the origins of the poetry in Muslim tradition literature*, in W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeler (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1994, ii, 182-207.

Among his *ca.* 300 alleged *ḥadīth* masters there is one for whose traditions Shuʿba was generally criticised, sc. Djābir b. Yazīd al-Djuʿfī (d. 128-32/746-50 [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, i, 294-8), whose name is usually associated with extreme Shīʿī doctrines. Initially, Shuʿba was himself not free from Shīʿa-related allegations: one source (al-Khaṭīb, ix, 260, 10) identifies him with *taraffuḍ* (= harbouring moderate (?) Rāfiḍī ideas) which one of his pupils, Yazīd b. Zurayʿ (d. 182/798), imputed to him. Eventually Shuʿba seems to have abandoned these.

Among Shuʿba's many alleged students two stand out as particularly important in that their transmission from their master is directly available in printed collections: ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), *Kitāb al-Zuhd wa ʾl-rakāʾik*, Malagaon 1966, and Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. 204/819 [q.v.]), *Musnad*, Ḥaydarābād 1321. To these two may be added seven more pupils of Shuʿba, equally prolific, whose numerous traditions were allegedly personally recorded by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal in his *Musnad*: Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar Ghundar (d. *ca.* 193/809), Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Ḳaṭṭān (d. 198/814), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī (d. 198/814), al-Naḍr b. Shumayl (d. 204/819), Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206/821), Muʿādh b. Muʿādh (d. 196/812) and Wakīʿ b. al-Djarrāḥ, while Bukhārī (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]) has noted down in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* from his master Ādam b. Abī Iyās (d. 220/835) much material on the direct authority of Shuʿba.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdimat al-maʿrifa li-kitāb al-djarḥ wa ʾl-taʿdīl*, 132-57, contains a list of transmitters about whom Shuʿba is recorded to have uttered criticisms; for further information on Shuʿba, see Fasawī, *Kitāb al-maʿrifa wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, ii, 283-5; Baḥshal, *Taʾrīkh Wāsiṭ*, ed. Kūrkīs ʿAwwād, 120-1; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*[3], i, 193-7; idem, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*[2], vii, 202-28; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, ii, 469-70 f.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 255-66; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-ridjāl*, [3]Beirut 1988, i, 67-80; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, iv, 338-46; Ibn Radjab, *Sharḥ ʿilal al-Tirmidhī*, ed. S.Ṣ. Dj. al-Ḥumaydī, 159 ff. For a wide range of legal opinions which Shuʿba obtained from al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba and/or Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān, cf. Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, indices vol. iv, 2208; the *isnād* bundles supporting the *man kadhaba* saying with Shuʿba as common link are detailed in Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, iii, no. 3623, iv, no. 4627, vii, no. 10087, viii, no. 11531. For more on the technical *ḥadīth* terms used in this article, such as *isnād* bundle and common link, see *al-Ḳanṭara*, x (1989), 343-83; *Arabica*, xxxix (1992), 287-314; *Le Muséon*, cvii (1994), 151-94; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, Cambridge 1983, index s.vv., and idem, *Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776) and his role in* ḥadīth *proliferation in Baṣra*, forthcoming in *Le Muséon*.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

SHUBĀṬ [see TAʾRĪKH].

SHUBHA (A., pl. *shubah*, *shubuhāt*), literally, "resemblance", a term that developed two distinct technical meanings.

In theology and philosophy, a *shubha* is a false or specious argument which "resembles" a valid one. In later scholastic treatises, positive arguments for a given view are often followed by a series of *shubah*, counter-arguments by opponents, and their refutations (see e.g. al-Āmidī, *Ghāyat al-marām fī ʿilm al-kalām*, ed. Ḥ.M. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1971, 265-74, and for a logical controversy over *shubah*, see J. van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī*, Wiesbaden 1966, 353).

In law, a *shubha* is an illicit act which nevertheless "resembles" a licit one, and is relevant primarily to the *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] offences, those specifically forbidden in the Ḳurʾān and having fixed penalties, and especially to fornication (*zinā*). In attempting to avoid as much as possible imposition of the severe *ḥadd* penalties (stoning, amputation, and flogging), the jurists appealed to a prophetic *ḥadīth* instructing the believers to "avert the *ḥadd* penalties by means of ambiguous cases" (*idraʾū ʾl-ḥudūd bi ʾl-shubuhāt*). Thus, in contradistinction to other areas of the law, commission of a *ḥadd* offence through ignorance is considered grounds for suspension of the prescribed penalty.

This principle is recognised by all schools of law, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, although with varying terminology and scope. The most elaborate discussions are those of the Ḥanafīs, who recognise three categories: 1. *Shubha fi ʾl-maḥall* (also known as *shubhat mulk* or *shubha ḥukmiyya*), in which the act's status as forbidden is contravened by some outside indicator; the standard example is that of sexual intercourse with one's son's slavegirl, the indicator being the *ḥadīth* which states that "You and your property belong to your father". In such cases, the penalty is suspended even if the offender is aware that the act is forbidden. 2. *Shubha fi ʾl-fiʿl* (also known as *shubhat ishtibāh* or *shubhat mushābaha*), in which the offender claims to have believed, mistakenly but plausibly, that the act was licit; examples include sexual intercourse during her waiting period (*ʿidda*) with a wife thrice divorced. In these cases, the offender's explicit claim of igno-

rance of the law is essential for suspension of the penalty. 3. *Shubhat al-ʿaḳd*, resulting from an invalid marriage contract, such as one without witnesses, or an incestuous one. Abū Ḥanīfa claimed that such a *shubha* obtains even when the offender admits to awareness of the invalidity of the contract (thus he refused to apply the *ḥadd* penalty for prostitution), but was opposed on this point by his pupils al-Shaybānī and Abū Yūsuf.

The Shāfiʿīs also recognise three categories of *shubha*, but define them rather differently: 1. *Shubha fi 'l-maḥall*, such as intercourse with a foster relative. 2. *Shubhat al-fāʿil*, as when another woman is substituted for the bride on the wedding night. 3. *Shubhat al-ṭarīḳ* or *al-djiha*, in cases where the schools disagree, such as Shīʿī *mutʿa* [*q.v.*] marriage or Ḥanafī marriage by an adult woman without a guardian (*walī*). With less systemisation, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs, as well as Imāmī Shīʿīs, generally accord *shubha* status to the same situations as the Shāfiʿīs. Some other cases of illicit intercourse not subject to the *ḥadd* penalty, such as intercourse with one's wife during her menses and intercourse under coercion, are sometimes also labelled *shubha*.

Bibliography: Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, 790-1; Ibn al-Humām, *Fatḥ al-ḳadīr*, Cairo 1315, v, 30 ff., Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥtādj*, Cairo 1282, 130 ff.; al-Ḥaṭṭāb, *Mawāhib al-djalīl*, Tripoli 1969, vi, 290 ff.; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1986, xii, 340 ff.; al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Nadjaf 1969, iv, 149 ff.; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 176-80; J.N.D. Anderson, *Invalid and void marriages in Hanafi law*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 357-66. (E.K. Rowson)

SHUBRĀ [see DAMANHŪR].

SHUDJĀʿ AL-DAWLA, Mīrza Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Ṣafdār Djang (1732-75), was the third *Nawwāb*, or ruler, of the North Indian, post-Mughal successor state of Awadh [*q.v.*] (Oudh) from 1754 until his death. One of the most capable statesmen of 18th-century India, he made his realm into the major indigenous power in North India, fighting the British almost to a standstill at the Battle of Baksar in 1764. Realising his value as an ally, the East India Company reinstated him in 1765, and for the next decade a process of mutual testing and political experimentation occurred. Under the subsidiary alliance system, in which he paid for the internal use of British-officered Indian troops, the way was opened for increasing Company intervention during subsequent reigns. Shudjāʿ al-Dawla nonetheless modernised his army during this period, closed Awadh to the disruptive effects of European trade, secured the treasury in the custody of his main consort Bahū Begam, and made large annexations, including Itāwā and Rāmpūr [*q.vv.*]. The Governor-General, Warren Hastings, treated him formally as an equal, but after Shudjāʿ al-Dawla's death, the realm was further undermined by expansive British military, commercial, and diplomatic ambitions. See further AWADH.

Bibliography: Harnām Singh "Nāmī", *Taʾrīkh-i saʿādat-i djāwīd* (1806); Ghulām ʿAlī Khān Naḳawī, *ʿImād al-saʿādat*, Lucknow 1864; Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Siyar al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, tr. M. Raymond, Calcutta 1902; Mustadjāb Khān Bahādūr, *Gulistān-i raḥmat*, tr. C. Elliott, 1831; A.L. Srivastava, *Shuja-ud-daulah*, i, *1754-1765*, Calcutta 1939, and *Shuja-ud-daulah*, ii, *1765-1775*, Calcutta 1945; R.B. Barnett, *North India between empires*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1980. (R.B. Barnett)

AL-SHUDJĀʿĪ, Shams al-Dīn, Mamlūk historian and contemporary of the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] and his successors.

In the only surviving fragment of his chronicle *Taʾrīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-awlādihi* (ed. and tr. Barbara Schäfer, *Die Chronik aš-Šuǧāʿīs*, Wiesbaden 1977; *Šams ad-Dīn aš-Šuǧāʿī, Tārīḫ al-Malik an-Nāṣir ... wa-aulādihi*, Wiesbaden 1985), the author's name appears both in the text and on the title page as Shams b. al-Shudjāʿī; however, in *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, ii, 153, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa refers to the author as Shams al-Dīn al-Shudjāʿī al-Miṣrī. Although the editor and translator of the text correctly points out that "Shams" would not have occurred independently as an *ism* at this time and that the rendering "Shams al-Dīn" must therefore be correct, there is no explanation for her decision to follow Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa in dropping the "ibn" but to ignore his "al-Miṣrī". The *nisba* is, of course, important in establishing the author's identity as is, moreover, the *nasab*, since P.M. Holt has recently tried to find a *mamlūk* in the biographical literature who would combine the *laḳab* "Shams al-Dīn" with the *nisba* "al-Shudjāʿī", derived from the uncommon Mamlūk *laḳab* of Shudjāʿ al-Dīn (see *Shams al-Shujāʿī: a chronicler identified?*, in *BSOAS*, forthcoming). On the basis of Mamlūk naming patterns, Holt assumes that the author was a *mamlūk* with the *ism* of Sunḳur or Aḳsunḳur in the service of an *amīr* Shudjāʿ al-Dīn known to have lived during the period 745-56/1345-56, dates for which there are personal references to the author in the text. The only suitable candidate is one Shams al-Dīn Aḳsunḳur, Amīr Djāndār, of the household of Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Ghurlū. Although the date of Aḳsunḳur's death is unknown, he is known to have been exiled to Tripoli in 748/1348 and thus could have been alive in 756/1356. But as ingenious as this identification may be, it loses some credibility by the suppression of "ibn", for if it is retained, there is the distinct possibility that Ibn al-Shudjāʿī was not a *mamlūk* at all but the son of one, and that his *ism* as a second-generation Muslim was probably Muḥammad, invariably associated with the *laḳab* Shams al-Dīn. Furthermore, since no references are to be found in any of the copious biographical dictionaries to a historian bearing any of these names, it is probably prudent to refer to him by the name cited in the text and on the title page of the manuscript, sc. Shams b. al-Shudjāʿī, or, following Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba's citations in his own history, simply al-Shudjāʿī (see Schäfer, 1985, 5). Besides the *terminus post quem* (756), we know only that the author made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 745/1344-5 and that he was in the service of Shaʿbān, presumably the sultan al-Kāmil Shaʿbān (746-7/1345-6 [*q.v.*]). Furthermore, if Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa is correct, al-Shudjāʿī was associated in some way with Miṣr, either the town of that name or the country Egypt.

The question of the significance of al-Shudjāʿī's *Taʾrīkh* is also fraught with difficulties. Although only a fragment for 737-45/1337-45 exists, it has been proved to be heavily indebted to al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fi taʾrīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, for which there is only a fragment for mid-733 to mid-738 (ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ, Beirut 1986). Comparison of the two texts for the one year, 737, which the two fragments have in common indicates that al-Shudjāʿī paraphrased al-Yūsufī's text with only a few additions, mainly precise dates (D.P. Little, *An analysis of the relationship between four Mamlūk Chronicles for 737-45*, in *JSS*, xix [1974], 252-68). Collation of al-Shudjāʿī's passages from other

years with those attributable to al-Yūsufī in al-Maḳrīzī's and al-ʿAynī's histories shows that the pattern of al-Shudjāʿī's indebtedness to al-Yūsufī (d. 759/1358) is compellingly consistent up to the annal for 741, when the evidence is not as forthcoming as for the previous years. However, even then and thereafter, the textual evidence suggests that al-Shudjāʿī was heavily indebted to another source, probably al-Yūsufī. Unfortunately, references in the *Taʾrīkh* of Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, the only historian to cite al-Shudjāʿī by name, are not helpful in this regard. But whether or not al-Shudjāʿī continued to borrow from al-Yūsufī consistently is not so important as the undisputed fact that the *Taʾrīkh* contains many details, especially for the years 741-5, which cannot be found in other extant sources and is therefore of considerable importance for this period.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(D.P. LITTLE)

AL-**SHŪF**, a district of Mount Lebanon, generally denoting the current districts of it south of the Beirut-Damascus road. However, names of geographical areas often follow political, demographical or administrative changes. From the early Islamic period until the end of the Crusades, "Mount Lebanon" (*Djabal Lubnān*) was applied only to the northern districts of Djubbat Bsharrī, Batrūn and Djubayl, the original homeland of the Maronites, while the southern districts were known as Djabal al-Shūf, which at times also included Djabal Kisrawān. The Mamlūks [*q.v.*], who ruled Syria from 659/1261 till 921/1516, divided the entire region according to three administrative units: Tripoli—Djabal Lubnān; Damascus—Djabal Kisrawān, al-Matn, and al-Gharb; and Sidon—al-Shūf. However, in local usage, al-Shūf denoted, as it does today, al-Shūf proper, Iḳlīm al-Shūf (a restricted area around Dayr al-Ḳamar) and, surrounding it, the Greater Shūf, the homeland of the Druzes [see AL-DURŪZ] from at least the 7th/13th century.

During the latter part of the Mamlūk era and at the beginning of the Ottoman period, Iḳlīm al-Shūf was ruled by Druze *amīrs* of the Maʿn family—chroniclers of the 10th/16th century accordingly called it al-Shūf al-Maʿnī. The Druze chronicler Ḥamza b. Sibāṭ (d. 926/1520) speaks of al-Ashwāf (pl. of al-Shūf), referring probably to the internal subdivision of Iḳlīm al-Shūf as known to the locals: al-Shūf al-Suydjānī, al-Shūf al-Ḥaytī, and al-Shūf al-Bayāḍī.

In their efforts to bring the Druzes under their control the Ottomans launched a number of expeditions against al-Shūf al-Maʿnī, where Druze resistance was strongest. When these proved too expensive, they arrived in 1001/1593 at a compromise with the local chief, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿnī [*q.v.*] II, whom they appointed *amīr al-liwāʾ* of the Ṣaydā [*q.v.*] *sandjak*. Soon Fakhr al-Dīn controlled not only the Greater Shūf, now often called Djabal al-Durūz, but also the Biḳāʿ valley, the coastal area between Sidon and Tripoli, northern Palestine and areas in Transjordan. When, inspired by Druze-Maronite unity and a period of economic prosperity, Fakhr al-Dīn tried to establish political autonomy, the Ottomans put an end to his rule in 1042/1633, and his successors controlled only a small part of al-Shūf.

In 1108/1697 the only candidate of the Maʿnī family for the *imāra* of al-Shūf preferred to serve in the Porte's bureaucracy, upon which, in order to maintain the political regime of the *imāra*, the Druze chiefs invited the Sunnī Shihāb family to rule as *amīrs*. Though the area continued to be called Djabal al-Durūz until the beginning of the 19th century, successive waves of immigrants from the north since the time of Fakhr al-Dīn II transformed the demography of al-Shūf, so that by 1800 Christians made up the majority of the population. The conversion in the 1750s to Christianity of part of the Shihābīs and the Abu 'l-Lamʿīs, the Druze rulers of al-Matn and al-Shūf al-Bayāḍī, meant the end of Druze supremacy and the rise of the star of the Maronites.

When, at the beginning of the 19th century *amīr* Bashīr Shihāb [*q.v.*] expanded his rule to Kisrawān, Djubayl, Batrūn and Djbbat Bsharrī, the *amīr* of al-Shūf came to be called *amīr Djabal Lubnān*, i.e. *amīr* of the whole of Mount Lebanon. No longer the *primus inter pares* of the *muḳāṭaʿdjīs* [see MUḲĀṬAʿA] of al-Shūf, Bashīr took advantage of their factionalism in order to consolidate his own power. Demographic changes, Druze factionalism, increasing European trade with Mount Lebanon, a strengthening of the political position of the Maronite Church, and Djazzār's and Ibrāhīm Pasha's [*q.vv.*] support for Bashīr are all factors which introduced a shift in al-Shūf's balance of power. In 1841, following the Egyptian withdrawal, sectarian strife broke out between the two communities—the Druze bent on regaining their former position of power, the Maronites seeking to maintain and even reinforce their new-found prosperity. In an effort to solve the conflict, the European Powers and the Ottomans imposed on Mount Lebanon a settlement based on the double *ḳāʾimmaḳāmiyya* [see ḲĀʾIM-MAḲĀM], whereby the districts north of the Beirut-Damascus road came under Christian, and those to the south, i.e. al-Shūf, under Druze administration. However, this settlement proved too fragile and recurring incidents set off a civil war in 1860. Though at first victorious, the Druzes were ultimately defeated because of French intervention—the Druzes left al-Shūf in large numbers to settle as immigrants in Djabal Ḥawrān, soon called Djabal al-Durūz. No longer a centre of political power, al-Shūf soon became integrated into the *mutaṣarrifiyya* [see MUTAṢARRIF] (1861-1918) and, subsequently, the state of Lebanon.

As a result of the civil war which broke out in 1975, by 1983 virtually the entire Christian population had fled from al-Shūf. Again a predominantly Druze area, al-Shūf has become a focal point in the efforts to resettle the refugees from the different regions and thus to find an overall solution for the Lebanese conflicts.

Bibliography: Abdul-Rahim Abu Husayn, *Provincial leaderships in Syria, 1575-1650*, Beirut 1985; Kamal Salibi, *A house of many mansions. The history of Lebanon reconsidered*, London 1988; Kais M. Firro, *A history of the Druzes*, Leiden 1992; Engin Akarli, *The long peace. The Ottoman Lebanon 1861-1920*, London 1993; Ḥamza b. Sibāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, Tripoli, Lebanon 1993.

(KAIS M. FIRRO)

SHUFʿA (A.), lit. "pre-emption", the right of the co-owner to buy out his partner's share which is for sale. Should the property be sold without his approval to a third party, the partner has the privilege to purchase the property, even against the will of the new owner, who should be reimbursed with the price paid. Both Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth* are cited by books of *fiḳh* in support of the concept, though the former seems to provide only indirect reference. The Ḥanafīs grant this privilege to the owners of adjacent properties and make it valid not only to non-fungible properties but also to appendages of the property, such as access and water rights. The *Madjalla* definition (art. 950) gives the term the power of "pos-

session" (*tamalluk*). *Shufʿa*, according to the four schools, is restricted to non-fungible property. The Ẓāhirīs extend *shufʿa* to fungible property, including animals, on the basis of the prophetic tradition that *shufʿa* is in "everything". Ibn Ḳudāma interpreted "everything" to mean only what cannot be divided, and he deprived both the *dhimmīs* and the Rafiḍī Shīʿa from the right to *shufʿa*, unlike al-Shāfiʿī and some other scholars, who see the right as general and not affected by faith.

Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Aṣamm (d. 957/347) completely rejected *shufʿa* on the grounds that it clashes with the individual's freedom to sell. This could result in the landowner's loss, since no-one would buy knowing that he might lose what he had purchased. Although al-Aṣamm's view is refuted in the *Mughnī*, his view would be better understood if the term were properly defined, for *shufʿa* is not a right but a reason that creates a right.

Shufʿa was retained in many secular laws introduced to Muslim countries, such as the Egyptian, French-based law of 1883. There has been a long-standing legal controversy over whether *shufʿa* is a personal (*ḥaḳḳ shakhṣī*) or real right (*ḥaḳḳ ʿaynī*). Al-Sanhūrī in seeking to resolve the controversy maintained that it is not a right at all, but a cause (*sabab*). He placed *shufʿa*, as a right-making "cause", on a parallel with other causes that create rights, like contracts and inheritance. Although al-Sanhūrī conveyed no opinion as to whether this cause creates a personal or real right, it is evident that Islamic law views *shufʿa* as both a personal and real right, if inheritance is used as a guide. Al-Zuḥaylī, referring to the Ḥanafī school, maintained that the cause (*sabab*) for *shufʿa* "right" is the "adjacency" of the two properties. This adjacency would appear to be only a cause leading to *shufʿa*, which is the actual legal designation (*sabab*) for the right of ownership.

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 106, 142; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī, *al-Wasīṭ fī sharḥ al-ḳānūn al-madanī*, Beirut 1968, ix, 446; Shāfiʿī, *al-Umm*, Beirut 1983, iv, 3-4; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, Beirut 1984, v, 459-553; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī wa-addillatuh*, Beirut 1985, v, 509, 792; Salīm Rustum Bāz al-Lubnānī, *Sharḥ al-Madjalla*, Beirut, 304/1886-7, repr. 1986, 563; Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, Beirut 1986, xiv, 90; Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ṣanʿānī, *Subul al-salām*, ed. F. Zimarlī, Beirut 1987, iii, 154-9; S.E. Ryner, *The theory of contracts in Islamic law*, London 1991, 201. (M.Y. Izzi Dien)

SHUFURWA or Shawarwa, banū, conventional readings for the name of a family of Ḥanafī clerics and men of letters in Iṣfahān during the 6th/12th century. The name has not been explained and should perhaps be read rather as (Persian) Shaβ-rō "black-face". Although several members of the family are listed in biographical works, the only one about whom we have precise knowledge is Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Ḥamza *al-maʿrūf bi-Shawarwa*, a religious scholar who spent time in Damascus and Cairo (where he met Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) before returning, in 570/1175, to his native Iṣfahān. Al-Ṣafadī quotes a few of his Arabic verses. His name appears as that of the author in at least some of the manuscripts of *Aṭbāḳ al-dhahab*, a little moralising tract in Arabic, a poor imitation of al-Zamakhsharī's *Aṭwāḳ al-dhahab* (printed Būlāḳ 1864 and often; tr. O. Rescher, in his *Beiträge zur Maqâmen-Litteratur*, vii, 1914).

This Arabic writer is perhaps identical with Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurwa, the author of an extant, but unpublished, poetical *dīwān* in Persian, consisting largely of panegyrics to the *atabeg* Djahān-Pahlawān Muḥammad b. Eldügüz, the *de facto* ruler of the Saldjūḳ empire 571-82/1175-86 [see ildeñizids]; he also praises the Saldjūḳid Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl (556-71/1161-76). The Persian anthologists from the time of Djādjarmī onwards give his personal name as ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, evidently identifying him with the above-mentioned cleric, but our earliest authority, Muḥammad ʿAwfī, calls him Sharaf al-Dawla wa ʾl-Dīn Muḥammad Shufurwa, implying that he was in fact a different member of the same family. The same author quotes a few poems by his cousin Ẓahīr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Shufurwa. The 7th/13th-century anthology compiled by Djamāl al-Dīn Sharwānī quotes a number of *rubāʿīs* by Sharaf al-Dīn, Ẓahīr al-Dīn and ʿIzz al-Dīn Shufurwa; the last is mentioned also by al-Ḳazwīnī.

Bibliography: ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, 268-74 (with M. Ḳazwīnī's notes and those in S. Nafīsī's ed., 639-47); Djamāl al-Dīn Khalīl Sharwānī, *Nuzhat al-madjālis*, ed. M.A. Riḥānī, Tehran 1366 *Sh.*/1987, see index; Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 197; Muḥammad b. Badr al-Djādjarmī, *Muʾnis al-aḥrār fī daḳāʾiḳ al-ashʿār*, ed. Ṭabībī, Tehran 1337-50 *Sh.*/1959-71, ii, 1079-81, 1117; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xix, no. 217; Ibn Abi ʾl-Wafāʾ, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*, Ḥaydarābād 1332/1914, i, 332, ii, 205, 375; Dawlatshāh, 154-5; Brockelmann, I², 349, S I, 512 (for the *Aṭbāḳ al-dhahab*); ʿA. Iḳbāl, *Khānadān-i Shufurwa*, in *Yādgār*, v/6-7 (1327 *Sh.*/1949), 108-17; Storey-de Blois, v/2, 539-43, 561-2 (with further literature). (F.C. de Blois)

SHUGHNĀN, Shighnān, a district on the upper Oxus, there known as the Pandj River, extending over both banks from where the river leaves the district of Wakhān [*q.v.*] and turns directly northwards before flowing westwards again. The left bank part of Shughnān now falls within the Afghān province of Badakhshān [*q.v.*] and the right bank one within the Pamir region of the former USSR, a division likewise reflected in the districts of Ghārān immediately to the north of Shughnān and Rawshān to its south. The whole district is extremely mountainous, with the lowest parts, the valley bottoms, at an altitude of 1,828 m/6,000 feet, and with the pass over the Shughnān range of mountains in the Pamir, which separates the Ghund (Russ. Gunt) valley on its northern edges from the Shakh-dara (Russ. Shakh-darinskiy) range (which rises to 6,726 m/22,060 feet) being at 4,267 m/14,000 feet. The Tādjīk population is very sparse and confined to the valley bottoms.

The name of the region has various spellings in the medieval Islamic geographers, including Shiḳ(i)nān, Shik(i)nān, Shiḳīna, Shikīna. The form سكلنه "a large village" of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 112, perhaps points to Shaḳīna, which the translator thought was probably the later Ishkāshim (see below). In the travel account of the Buddhist monk Hiuen-tsang (early 7th century A.D.) and in the T'ang dynastic annals, Shughnān appears as Shi-k'i ni (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kioue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 152); in 646, envoys from Shughnān visited the Imperial court. In the period shortly afterwards of the Arab conquest of Central Asia, its ruler was a vassal of the Yabghu who ruled the whole upper Oxus region. The Arab geographers attach it administratively to Badakhshān or Ṭukhāristān [*q.v.*], and al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 292, tr. Wiet, 109, speaks of the local ruler as (?) Kh.mār Beg (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 65; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 223,

225). In the late 13th century, Marco Polo mentions the mining of "Balas" rubies in the mountains of Syghinan, although it is actually in the adjacent district of Ghārān that the abandoned mines can be seen (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*³, London 1902, i, 157).

Al-Yaʿkūbī also mentions, 304, tr. 133, that the Barmakī al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā conquered Shughnān in the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, but it is dubious whether Islam was permanently introduced there at this time. This seems more likely to have been the work of Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs* or propagandists, sent to Badakhshān by the Grand Masters in Alamūt, amongst whom is mentioned a Sayyid Shāh Malang Khurāsānī and, in the 7th/13th century, the Ḥusaynid Sayyid Shāh Khāmūsh Shīrāzī. This brought about the permanent presence of Khōdja Ismāʿīlism in the upper Oxus region, and in Shughnān, Ismāʿīlī *pīrs* and *mīrs* ruled hereditarily till the 19th century (see Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambrige 1990, 27, 441, 486-7, noting also the preservation there of Ismāʿīlī works in manuscript, some of them brought back to Dushanbe by the Soviet research expedition to the region in 1959-63). The Amīrs of Kābul Shīr ʿAlī Khān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān endeavoured to bring Shughnān under their sway, so that towards the end of the 19th century the local people appealed to the Amīr of Bukhārā and to the Russian Governor-General of Turkestan. In March 1895, after diplomatic negotiations in London involving Russia and Great Britain, the Afghāns agreed to evacuate the right bank of the Pandj river, whilst the Amīr of Bukhārā relinquished his possessions in Darwāz on the left bank to the north of Shughnān.

Russian authority in the district was exercised from 1895 onwards from Khārāgh (Russ. Khorog) where the Ghund and Shakh-dara rivers join the Pandj, but the shock waves of the Bolshevik Revolution were felt even in Shughnān, and Bolshevik forces took over the Pamir region in November 1920. Right-bank Shughnān eventually became part of the Gorno-Badakhshaya Autonomous Oblast in the eastern part of the Tadzhikistan SSR (now the Tadjikistan Republic), whilst left-bank Shughnān remained part of the Afghān *wilāyat* or province of Badakhshān. Afghān Shughnān contains the settlement of Ishkāshim, on the left bank of the Pandj and commanding the only winter route between Badakhshān and the trans-Oxus districts of Shughnān and Wakhān; it was here that the English traveller John Wood crossed the Oxus ice in 1837 (*A journey to the source of the River Oxus*², London 1872, 204-6; see also C.E. Bosworth, *EIr* art. *Eškāš(e)m*).

Finally, one should note the presence in Shughnān of speakers of the Modern East Iranian Pamir language, Shughni, with its component dialects of Shughni, Bajui, Khufi, Roshani, Bartangi, Oroshori and Sarikoli (see G. Morgenstierne, *Etymological vocabulary of the Shughni group*, Wiesbaden 1976; J.R. Payne, *Pamir languages*, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, 417-44; ĪRĀN. iii. Languages, in Suppl.).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see especially *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 71, 112 comm. 349-51; A.A. Semenov, *Istorya Shugnana*, Tashkent 1916; W. Holzwarth, *Segmentation und Staatsbildung in Afghanistan. Traditionale sozio-politische Organisation in Badakhshan, Wakhan und Sheghnan*, in K. Greussing and J.-H. Grevemeyer (eds.), *Revolution in Iran und Afghanistan*, Frankfurt 1980, 177-235. For older bibl., see Minorsky's *EI* art. See also ĀMŪ DARYĀ; BADAKHSHĀN; PAMIRS; WAKHĀN. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SHUKĀʿĀ or SHUKĀʿ (A.) is the thistle.

The word is a collective term used to indicate various more or less spiny plants, comprising mainly species and types of the *Compositae*, but also of other families. Mention should be made above all of *Carduus* and *Cirsium*, each with numerous types, further *Sonchus, Onopordon, Centaurea, Cnicus, Carthamus* and others. The whitethorn of Dioscurides (ἄκανθα λευκή, *al-shawka al-bayḍāʾ*) is defined by Ibn Djuldjul [*q.v.*] with *shukāʿā* (*Dioscurides triumphans*, iii, 13, see *Bibl.*), but this is hardly justifiable because the latter term simply indicates the thistle. The white acanthus therefore is mostly rendered with *bādhāward*, which in *Dioscurides triumphans*, iii, 14, should be the Arabic acanthus (ἄκανθα Ἀραβική, *al-shawka al-ʿarabiyya*), which in its turn appears just as often as *shukāʿā*. *Shukāʿā* and *bādhāward* are often "compared" with one another, not identified. Only tentatively may it be assumed that with the white acanthus *Onopordum acanthium L., Compositae*, is perhaps also meant *Cirsium ferox L.* and variants. This type spreads its leaves rosette-like, which fits the botanical description (*op. cit.*). As synonyms are also found Romance *ṭūb(a)* (from latin *tubus*), so-called because of its high stalk, with which fire is fanned (*op. cit.*, iii, 71), further *ibrat al-rāʿī* ("shepherd's needle") or *ibrat al-rāhib* ("monk's needle") because of the pointed thorns, and the Berber words *ayfd* and *tāfrūt*. It cannot be determined whether these and other words indicate synonyms or other types of the thistle; cf. Renaud's explanations on *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb* no. 457, and those by Meyerhof on Maimonides' *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿukkār*, no. 362.

As for *shukāʿā* as a medicine, if put on children's pillows, the thistle stills the saliva which flows from their mouths. If applied as a compress, the thistle is good for hemiplegia (*fālidj*), and if pulverised, it helps against swellings which occur at the backside, and it cicatrises putrefying ulcers. Ashes of the thistle slow down chronic dyscratic moistures (*al-ruṭūbāt al-muzmina*), which flow from the womb.

Bibliography: Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿukkār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 362; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 457; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*, ³Berlin 1891, 680-2; H.A. Hoppe, *Drogenkunde*, ⁸Berlin-New York 1975-7, i, 292-3, 765-6. Numerous source references in A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans* (Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 3. Folge, nos. 172 and 173, Göttingen 1988), iii, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20; iv, 107; idem *Die Dioskurides-Erklärung des Ibn al-Baiṭār* (Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 3. Folge, no. 191, Göttingen 1991), iii, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19. (A. DIETRICH)

SHUKR (A.), thankfulness, gratitude; acknowledgment (pl. *shukūr*); it also has the meaning of praise, which is gratefulness with the tongue.

1. As a religious and mystical concept.

As a Ṣūfī term for an internal state and its external expression, *shukr* is a station (*maḳām*) of the wayfarer (*sālik*) and has all the above meanings when referring to human beings.

However, *shukr* on the part of God signifies the "requiting and commending [a person]" or the "forgiving" a man: or the "regarding" him "with content, satisfaction, good will", or "favour": and hence, necessarily, the "recompensing", or "rewarding, him". The saying *shakara 'llāhu saʿyahu* signifies "May God recompense, or reward, his work or labour" (Lane).

In the Ḳurʾān, God is *al-Shākir* (II, 158; IV, 147) and *al-Shakūr* (XXXV, 29-30; XXXV, 34; XLII, 23; LXIV, 17) the latter also being one of His Most

Beautiful Names, meaning "He who approves, or rewards, or forgives, much, or largely; He who gives large reward for small, or few works; He in whose estimation small, or few, works performed by His servants increase, and who multiplies His rewards to them" (Lane). God is *al-Shakūr* "in the sense of widely extending His favours, not (thankful) in a literal sense", giving thankfulness for thankfulness, "just as He has stated, 'The recompense for an offense is one equal thereto' (XLII, 40)" (al-Ḳushayrī, 384, tr. Von Schlegell, 132). "Only God ... is absolutely grateful, because His multiplication of the reward is unrestricted and unlimited, for there is no end to the happiness of paradise" (see LXIX, 24) (al-Ghazālī, tr. of *al-Maḳṣad*, 101) "The one who rewards a good deed manifold is said to be grateful for that deed, while whoever commends the one who does a good deed is also said to be grateful" (*ibid.*). So God's reward, His praise for a good deed is praise for His own work, "for their works are His creation" (*ibid.*).

As for human beings, whose qualities are derived from the divine qualities "the thankful one (*al-shākir*) is he who is thankful for what is, and the very thankful one (*al-shakūr*) is he who is thankful for what is not" (al-Ḳushayrī, 385, tr. Von Schlegell, 134).

The importance of *shukr* is clearly expressed in XIV, 7: *And when your Lord proclaimed: "If you are thankful, surely I will increase you, but if you are thankless, my chastisement is surely terrible".* It is called the key to Paradise on the basis of XXXIX, 74: *And they shall say: "Praise belongs to God, who has been true in His promise unto us, and has bequeathed upon us the earth, for us to make our dwelling wheresoever we will in Paradise! How excellent is the wage of those that labour!"*

Al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyā'* has a comprehensive chapter on *ṣabr* [*q.v.*] and *shukr*, which are characterised as the two parts of *īmān* (which equals *yaḳīn*, see al-Makkī, 421) which support and complement each other, *ṣabr* being the precondition for *shukr*. Since these are divine qualities and yield two of God's Most Beautiful Names (*al-Ṣabūr, al-Shakūr*), ignoring them means ignoring not only *īmān* but also the qualities of God.

Since al-Ghazālī uses the material of the important Ṣūfī compendiums (mainly al-Ḳushayrī and al-Makkī; see Gramlich, *Stufen zur Gottesliebe*, 4 ff.), structuring it in a clear, logical order with many additions and clarifying similes of his own, this comprehensive chapter will be used here as a basis.

Although mentioned in different ways before, it was one of al-Ghazālī's most important original ideas to give a clear exposition of the three parts of *shukr*: (1) *ʿilm*, "knowledge", (2) *ḥāl*, "(the right) state" and (3) *ʿamal* "acting", and their interrelation with each other.

(1) Knowledge is the real understanding that nothing except God has existence in itself, that the whole universe exists through Him and that everything that happens to a person (including afflictions) is a benefaction from Him. This leads to knowledge of God and His acts, *tawḥīd* [*q.v.*], and the ability to thank Him which also is a divine benefaction requiring gratitude. Constant awareness of this connects the term with invocation (*dhikr*), and those who have gratitude in every situation are those who give praise (*ḥāmidūn*). *Shukr* as knowledge of the impossibility of really thanking God is expressed in the words of Moses: "O Lord, how can I thank you while being unable to thank you except with a second benefaction from you?" God's answer is: "If you know this, you have already thanked me" (*Iḥyā'*, iv, 83, l. 16) Whoever has this knowledge in its absoluteness is a pure *shākir*.

(2) Deriving from this knowledge is the second part of *shukr*, the state of joy in the benefactor (not in the benefaction or the act of grace), with the attitude of *khuḍūʿ* "humility" and *tawāḍuʿ* "modesty". Joy in the benefactor, not for Himself but for the caring that prompted Him to give is the state of the *ṣāliḥūn* [*q.v.*] who are grateful for fear of punishment and hope for reward. The highest degree of the state of joy lies in using the benefaction as a means to reach God's presence and gaze at His face eternally (al-Shiblī: "*Shukr* means vision (*ru'ya*) of the benefactor, not vision of the benefaction" [*Iḥyā'*, iv, 81, l. 23]). Thus *shukr* is connected to *dhikr*, the only healthy state of the heart (sūra II, 152: *Therefore remember Me, I will remember you, give thanks to Me and reject Me not*).

(3) The action in accordance with the state of joy deriving from complete knowledge of the benefactor has three aspects: the (hidden) action of the heart which is intending the good; the (manifest) action of the tongue which is praise of God; and the action of the members of the body, which is using them in obedience for Him and as a means against disobedience as expressed in *shakwā* "complaint", which is thereby diametrically opposed to *shukr*.

Ignorance of the real meaning of *shukr* as explained above, and thus neglect and misuse of God's benefactions, is *kufr*. The increasing proximity to God through *shukr* and the increasing distance from God through *kufr* is expressed in sūra XCV, 4-6: *We indeed created man of the fairest stature. Then We restored him to the lowest of the low—save those who believe, and do righteous deeds; they shall have a wage unfailing.*

Understanding of the difference between *shukr* and *kufr*, which, ultimately, has to be an understanding with the heart, is based on knowledge of all the principles of the religious law brought about by hearing the verses/signs of God and relying on them, which cannot be done without the prophets sent by God. Through this, God's wisdom in all existing things and the true meaning of His benefaction and its different kinds can be understood, which leads to seeing with the eye of certainty.

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(Alma Giese)

2. As a factor in public life and in the principles of law.

In earliest Arabic the term seems to refer to a public proclamation of gratitude or debt. In later Arabic, the term refers also to the affective state of feeling grateful, and is usually tied to the concepts of *niʿma* (benefaction) and *riḍā'* (contentment/satisfaction).

In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the poet Ḥuṭay'a [*q.v.*] is spared by Zayd al-Khayl and "when al-Ḥuṭay'a returned to his people he began praising Zayd,

proclaiming (*shākir*[an]) his benefaction (*li-niʿmatihi*...) (Cairo 1389/1970, xvii, 266 ll. 4 ff.)". Here and elsewhere (e.g. *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa ʾl-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, 671-2, 740, 1063) this complex of ideas suggests that sparing life, particularly, evoked a public declaration of gratitude to the benefactor; the relationship thus acquired required some sort of acknowledgment or repayment so that the benefactor was contented. Refusing to acknowledge this benefaction, ingratitude, in this context, was called *kufr*.

In the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), the concept of thanking the benefactor (*shukr al-munʿim*) was an occasion for controversy: those who believed that the intellect (*ʿaḳl*) contains certain sorts of natural moral knowledge considered "thanking the benefactor" one of the indubitable items of *ʿaḳlī* knowledge—like the value of equity (*al-inṣāf*) or the reprehensibility of falsehood. Thanking is thus one of the items of moral knowledge known "before the arrival of the *sharʿ*" in the view of the Muʿtazila, some early Shāfiʿīs, Ḥanbalīs, and, even, later Ḥanafīs. Ashʿarīs and later Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs denied that such natural knowledge was possible, and al-Ghazālī, in his *Mustaṣfā* argues that God might have ordained indifference to benefactions, or might have seen feeble efforts to thank Him as impertinent (i, 61). Despite the disparagement of *shukr* as a piece of natural knowledge, all conceded that it was, after the arrival of the *sharʿ* or revelation, an important element of piety (see al-Kharāʾiṭī, *Kitāb Faḍīlat al-shukr, passim*). It was also an important concept in the construction of artificial social relations, particularly of commander and soldiery (see Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership*, index, s.v. "thanking the benefactor").

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2. Studies. M.M. Bravmann, *The spiritual background of early Islam; studies in ancient Arab concepts*, Leiden 1972 (excellent discussion of *shukr al-munʿim* in pre-Islamic literature in the article on "*jizya ʿan yad*", and *passim*); R. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership in early Islamic society*, Princeton 1980; A.K. Reinhart, *Before revelation*, Albany 1995 (in slightly earlier form, with slightly different emphasis, in idem, *Thanking the benefactor*, in *Spoken and unspoken thanks: some comparative soundings*, ed. J. Carman and F.J. Streng, Cambridge and Dallas 1989, 115-33); Geneviève Gobillot, *Patience (ṣabr) et rétribution des mérites. Gratitude (shukr) et aptitude au bonheur selon al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī*, in *SI*, lxxix (1984), 51-78.

(A.K. Reinhart)

SHUKRĪ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1886-1958), Egyptian poet, writer, educator and critic of North African origin whose grandfather settled in Egypt. Shukrī was born in Port Said and graduated from secondary school in Alexandria in 1904. His grandfather as well as his father were nationalists active in Egyptian political life. Shukrī befriended his father's friend ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm [*q.v.*] and backed Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*]. He defended the Egyptian revolution with an anti-British poem which caused his expulsion from the Law College (1906). On the advice of Muṣṭafā Kāmil [*q.v.*], he joined the High School for Teachers, where he studied Arabic and English literatures. There he met the poet Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Māzinī [*q.v.*], who reviewed in *al-Dustūr* Shukrī's first romantic *dīwān*, *Ḍawʾ al-fadjr* ("The light of dawn") (1909). This *Dīwān* contained narrative, romantic and meditative poems dealing with life, love and soul; one of its poems was written in blank verse (*shiʿr mursal*).

As a successful student, Shukrī was sent to study English Literature at Sheffield University, where he got his B.A. degree in literature and history, a period (1909-12) which left a great impression upon his personality and poetry. There he learnt to admire the English Romantics, whose influence upon Shukrī equalled that of the great poets of the ʿAbbāsid period. After his return from England he published his second *dīwān*, *Laʾāliʾ al-afkār* (1912), which reflected the same tendencies as his first one. In the introduction to his third *dīwān*, *al-Khaṭarāt* ("Notions") (1916), he expressed his new understanding of poetry as a humanistic, spiritual and intellectual experience, and criticised the conventional judgement of poetry that it should resort to falsehood and fancy (*tawahhum*) as opposed to imagination (*takhayyul*).

Shukrī now worked as a teacher of English and Arabic literature. It was during that period that he, together with his friends al-ʿAḳḳād [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and al-Māzinī, formed a group of poets and critics who defended the English Romantic trend of poetry and its critical views and was known as *Madrasat al-Dīwān*. This group opposed what they considered as the bad influence of French literature because of its sentimentality, rhetorical tendencies and lack of organic unity. The group denounced composing poetry in conventional genres such as elegy, eulogy, panegyric and defamation, and strove against the *ḳaṣīda*'s embellished style and stereotyped themes as revived by the neo-classical poets such as Aḥmad Shawḳī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm [*q.vv.*].

In 1916 the solidarity of this school was shaken when Shukrī accused al-Māzinī of plagiarism from English Romantic poetry in the introduction to *al-Khaṭarāt*. In 1921 al-Māzinī retaliated by charging Shukrī with plagiarism of ideas and metaphors from English poetry and by accusing him of tendencies to madness, as reflected in his *al-Iʿtirāfāt* ("Confessions") (1916).

Between 1909-19 Shukrī published seven *dīwān*s and five books, but after 1919 there was a long interval of silence. It was only in 1936 that he started writing some articles on education, psychology and literature in periodicals such as *al-Risāla*, *al-Thaḳāfa*, *al-Hilāl* and *al-Muḳtaṭaf*. During 1934-8 Shukrī worked as a principal in a secondary school and an Inspector at the Ministry of Education, retiring in 1938 to Port Said and dying in 1958.

Shukrī experimented widely with the new forms of poetry, and composed unrhymed verses, using monometre and monorhyme, but did not notice the importance of using enjambement. The deviation of Shukrī's poetry from the neo-classical trend was in his narrative, romantic and meditative poems, in which he avoided using conventional images of classical Arabic poetry. His approach can be seen in his collected eight volumes of poetry published posthumously in Alexandria in 1960 in 666 pages.

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(S. Moreh)

SHÜKRÜ (i.e. **SHÜKRĪ**) **BEY**, Aḥmed (1875-1926), son of Ibrāhīm, Young Turk politician, was born in Kastamonu, near the Black Sea, into a poor family.

Shükrü graduated from the teachers' training college in Istanbul and started out on a career in education, serving both as a teacher himself and as director of education. He joined the underground opposition movement of the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djem'iyyeti* [*q.v.*]) before the constitutional revolution of July 1908. After the revolution, he served as the district governor of Siroz [*q.v.*] and spent some time at the home office, but he came to the fore as Minister of Education from 1913 to 1918. During this time he was very successful in raising the number of schools (including those for girls) and enlarging and improving the University and the teachers' training establishments (from 1915 onwards, with the help of German specialists). He also devoted much attention to the publishing of teaching materials. He came into conflict with the Sheykh al-Islām Khayrī Efendi when he tried to unify all education under the jurisdiction of his ministry and put an end to the independent status of the *Awḳāf* schools, but gradually got his way. Some enlightened Ottoman educators such as Khālide Edīb (Adıvar) accused him of being interested in quantity, i.e. in raising the number of pupils, rather than in quality.

After the First World War, he was among the first prominent Young Turks to be deported by the British, first to Lemnos (May-September 1919) and thence to Malta, for internment there. Together with fifteen others, he escaped in September 1921 and made his way back to Turkey. After his return, he first served on the provincial council in Izmit and was then appointed governor of Trabzon province by the nationalist leadership in Ankara. In April 1923 he played a prominent role in the attempts of a group of former Unionists led by Ḳara Kemāl, the former party boss in Istanbul, to revive the C.U.P., which had been disbanded in 1918. Nevertheless, in August 1923 he was elected to the second Grand National Assembly as representative of Izmit in the interest of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha's People's Party (*Ḥalḳ Fïrḳasï*).

In November 1924 he resigned from this party to be among the founders of the opposition Progressive Republican Party (*Teraḳḳīperwer Djumhuriyyet Fïrḳasï*), which was closed down by the Kemālist government in June 1925. In 1926 he was among those accused of planning to assassinate the President of the republic. He was tried and convicted by the Independence Tribunal and hanged in Izmir on 13 July 1926.

Bibliography: Halide Edib [Adıvar], *The memoirs of Halidé Edib*, London 1926; İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları 1920-1973*, Ankara 1973; Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Malta sürgünleri*, Istanbul 1976; Hakkı Devrim *et alii* (eds.), *Türkiye 1923-1973 ansiklopedisi*, iii, Istanbul 1973; Ergün Aybars, *İstiklâl mahkemeleri*, Izmir 1988.

(E.J. Zürcher)

SHŪL. 1. The name of a land and a city in China mentioned in the mediaeval Arabic geographer Ḳudāma b. Dja'far [*q.v.*], 264, here borrowing material from the lost part of his predecessor Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*]. According to Ḳudāma, Alexander the Great, in company with the Emperor of China, went northwards from China and conquered the land of Shūl, founding there two cities, Kh.mdān and Shūl, and ordering the Chinese ruler to place a garrison (*rābiṭa*) of his troops in the latter place.

Khumdān is well-attested in other Islamic sources (e.g. Gardīzī; Marwazī, tr. Minorsky, 25-6, comm. 71, 84), and usually identified with the capital of the T'ang dynasty, Č'ang-an-fu, later Hsi-an-fu, lying on the Weiho, a right-bank affluent of the Huang-ho and already mentioned in a 6th century Byzantine source as Χουμαδάν or Χουβδάν, cf. *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 84, comm. 229, 231. Shūl, however, has not been satisfactorily identified. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 90, and *Ērānšahr*, 316, saw in it Turkish *čöl* "steppe, plain, desert", a translation of Chinese *sa-ču* "sandy settlement", the Sachiu in Tangut of Marco Polo (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*[3], i, 203, 206). But according to Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 420, *čöl* is a loanword from Mongolian not traceable in Turkish before the Čaghatay period. One might conceivably identify Shūl with the Čülig of the Orkhon [*q.v.*] inscriptions, a country listed as one which sent representatives to the Kaghan Ishtemi's funeral, and, if the list is in geographical order, Čülig lay between Korea and China (Clauson, *loc. cit.*). Finally, one may remark that the suggestion at the end of the *EI*[1] art. shūl that the Shūl of the Arab geographers may refer to a colony of Soghdians is dubious; one might more pertinently mention that the town of Kāshghar [*q.v.*] in eastern Turkestan appears as Shu-lê in Chinese and Shulig in Tibetan (cf. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, comm. 280, who also notes at 225 various emendations that have been made of the reading *sh.w.l*). It seems impossible to reach any certainty regarding the whole question.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

2. A Lur tribe of southern Persia [see shūlistān].

SHŪLISTĀN, literally, "land of the Shūl" [see shūl. 1. above], a district, formerly a *bulūk*, in the southern Persian province of Fārs.

Three epochs must be distinguished in the history of the district: one before the arrival of the Shūl, the period of their rule (from the 7th/13th centuries), and the period of its occupation by the Mamassanī Lurs about the beginning of the 12th/18th century.

During the Sāsānid period, the district was included in the *kūra* of Shāpūr-khūra. The founding of its capital Nawbandagan (Nawbandjān) is attributed to Shāpūr I. This important town situated on the road from Fārs to Khūzistān was taken by 'Uthmān b. Abi 'l-'Āṣ in 23/643 (Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 31); it is often mentioned by Arabic historians and geographers [see further, nawbandadjān]. The district is watered by the river system which finally forms the river Zohra, which flows through Zaydūn and Hindiyān. In the old *Fārs-nāma* (151) the river of Nawbandjān bears the name Khwābdān. The river system is described in detail in *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 326; the principal water-course comes from the direction of Ardakān and is now called Āb-i Fahliyān or Āb-i shūr.

The description of Fārs (*Fārs-nāma*) composed in the life-time of the Atabeg Čawulī (early 6th/12th century) does not yet know the expression *Shūlistān*, that is to say, "the country of the Shūl". This last tribe at first inhabited Luristān [*q.v.*], of which the half was under its rule about 300/912. The great chief (*pīshwā*) of the Shūl was Sayf al-Dīn Mākān Rūzbihānī, whose ancestors had governed the district from the time of the Sāsānids. We may here mention that the Rūzbihānī figure among the Lur tribes. At the same time as this *pīshwā*, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions a governor (*ḥākim*) of the *wilāyat* of the Shūl, who was called Nadjm al-Dīn. From the year 500/1106, the Kurd tribes and others from Djabal

al-Summāḳ (in Syria) began to move into Luristān. From these Kurds the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Great Lur [see LUR-I BUZURG] is sprung. Under the Atābeg Hazārasp (600-50/1203-52) the newcomers drove the Shūl back into Fārs.

Towards the end of the 13th century, Marco Polo (Yule-Cordier, i, 83-5) mentions amongst the eight "kingdoms" of Persia, *Suolestan*, which may refer to the new territory around Nawbandjān occupied by the Shūl. The old Chinese map studied by Bretschneider (*Mediaeval researches*, ii, 127) marks a *She-la-tsz'* between Shīrāz and Kāzarūn, which must correspond to Shūlistān. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shūl dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawfī had hereditary governors, the descendants (*nawādakān*) of Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaced Nawbandjān: during the campaign of 795/1393 Tīmūr halted at Mālāmīr-i Shūl ("the estates" of the Amīr of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālāmīr = Īdhadj [*q.v.*]); the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fahliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The Shūl must form an ethnically distinct unit. The history of the Kurds by Sharaf al-Dīn only mentions them incidentally perhaps bccause the author excluded them from his category of "Kurds". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 88), who in 748/1347 met Shūl at Shīrāz and on his first stage on the road from Shīrāz to Kāzrūn (Dasht-i Ardjan?), calls them "a Persian tribe (*min al-aʿādjim*) inhabiting the desert and including devout people". The Persian dictionaries mention a peculiar dialect *Shūlī* (Vullers, ii, 481: "a kind of *Rāmandī* and *Shahrī* which is spoken in Fārs"). Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (who died in 749/1348) states that the Shūl have very considerable affinities with the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*] and asserts their generosity and hospitality. Their warlike character is evident from the remark of Rashīd al-Dīn, who in speaking of the Tātārs, capable of killing one another "for a few words", compares them to the Kurds, the Shūl, and the Franks (ed. Bérezine, vii, 62). In 617/1220 the Atābeg of Luristān Hazārasp advised Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh to entrench himself behind the chain of Tang-i Talū (Balū? "oak") and to mobilise there against the Mongols, 100,000 Lurs, Shūl, the people of Fārs and Shabānkāra" (Djuwaynī, 114, tr. Boyle, ii, 383). Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, 380) mentions amongst the valiant defenders of Mawṣil in 659/1260 "the Kurds, the Turkomans and the Shūl".

Established on the great road, the Shūl nomads were themselves exposed to invasions; the Atābeg of Luristān Yūsuf Shāh (673-87/1274-88) attacked them and killed the brother of their chief Nadjm al-Dīn (*Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 343); in 755/1354 the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ chastised them severely when they attacked Shīrāz (*ibid.*, 660); in 796/1394 ʿUmar Shaykh marching in the rear-guard of his father Tīmūr pillaged on his way all the unsubdued "Lurs, Kurds and Shūl" (*Ẓafar-nāma*, 615).

The nomad (or semi-nomad) state and the warlike character of the Shūl, the similarity of their speech to Persian, the inroads of their neighbours, all these factors must have contributed on the one hand to the dispersion of the Shūl and on the other to their assimilation and final absorption.

In modern Persia, the only traces of the Shūl are to be found in the toponomy of Fārs, where there exist in the *shahrāstāns* of Shīrāz and Būshahr several villages with Shūl as an element of their names (see Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, vii, 142-3).

At the time of the last Ṣafawids (*Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 302) or after the rise of Nādir (Bode, i, 266) Shūlistān was occupied by new invaders, the Mamassanī Lurs, after whom the district became called *bulūk-i Mamassanī*. Its extent was then about 100 by 60 miles, between the following boundaries: to the east Kāmfīrūz and Ardakān; to the north and to the west Razgird and the country of the Kūh-Gālūʾī (Kūh-Gīlūya) Lurs; to the south Kāzrūn and the mountain of Marra-Shigift (the northern slopes of the Marwak in Dasht-i Ardjan). Of the six cantons of the district four (*čarbunīča*) bore the names of Mamassanī clans: Bakesh, Djāwīdī, Dushmanziyārī and Rustam. In these cantons there were 58 villages and 5,000 families. The clans were governed by their hereditary *kalāntars*. The Mamassanī claimed to possess the annals of their tribe and said that they came from Sīstān (J. Morier, in *JRGS* [1837], 232-42); this legend must have attached itself to the name of Rustam, the name of one of the four clans. The language of the Mamassanī is a Lurī dialect.

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2. Studies. Macdonald Kinneir, *Geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 73; de Bode, *Travels in Luristan*, London 1845, i, 210-51, 262-75: Kāzarūn-Bahrām-Nawbandjān-Fahliyān-Bāsht; Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, S. Petersburg 1881, p. xxi; H.L. Wells, *Surveying tours in Southern Persia*, in *Procs. RGS*, v (1883), 138-63: Bihbahān-Bāsht-Telespīd-Pul-i Mūrt-Shūl-Shīrāz; Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 318-20; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 264-7; E. Herzfeld, *Eine Reise durch Luristān*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, liii (1907), 72-90: Bāsht-Pul-i Mūrt-ʿAlī-ābād-Shūl-Shīrāz; O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, part ii, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910, pp. xv, xvi, 1-59 (Mamassanī texts); G. Demorgny, *Les tribus du Fars*, in *RMM*, xxii (1913), 85-150. Cartography: the works of de Bode, Wells and Herzfeld, the map by Haussknecht-Kiepert, Berlin 1882. See also the *Bibls.* to LUR and LURISTĀN. (V. MINORSKY*)

SHŪMĀN, a district of the upper Oxus region mentioned at the time of the Arab invasions. It lay near the head waters of the Kāfirnihān and Surkhān rivers, hence in the upper mountainous parts of Čaghāniyān and Khuttalān [*q.vv.*]. In Chinese sources such as Hiuen-Tsang, it appears as Su-man. In al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1179, 1181, where the conquests of the governor Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] in upper Khurāsān during 86/705 are being described, Shūmān is linked with Akharūn or Kharūn as being under a local prince, whose name seems to be the Iranian one *Gushtāspān. By 91/710, however, he was in revolt against Ḳutayba (*ibid.*, ii, 1227-8, 1230), necessitating a punitive expedition by the Arabs.

It appears in the 4th/10th century geographers as

a town with a strong citadel and as supplied with well-endowed *ribāṭs* (presumably against the pagan Turks to the north and east) (see e.g. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 455, 477, tr. 439, 459; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 115, 120). It seems to be Shūmān which is mentioned in Tīmūrid sources, e.g. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, as Ḥiṣār Shādmān, which Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 439-40, took to be the later town Ḥiṣār.

Bibliography: See also Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 226, 236-7, 299; Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 74, 185.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SHUMAYM, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAntar al-Ḥillī, best known under his Sibylline surname of Shumaym, usually without the definite article, littérateur of mediaeval ʿIrāḳ (511-601/1117-1204).

Originally from the Mazyadid centre of al-Ḥilla [*q.vv.*], he later moved to Baghdād where he studied and tried to earn his living, but we know very little of this period of his life. In any case, he did not stay there long but preferred to move to Syria and Diyār Bakr, where he found generous patrons whom he eulogised in return for substantial presents; finally, he settled at Mawṣil, where he died.

He had a certain talent, seen in both poetry and artistic prose, leaving behind an abundant and rather interesting œuvre. On the pattern of Abū Tammām, he composed a *Ḥamāsa* or poetical anthology, but this was largely made up of his own verses, with little regard for the great mass of poets and prose writers, including the best of these, apart from a few exceptions. He tried to rival Abū Nuwās, whose highly-appreciated wine poetry could not, he affirmed, stand comparison with his own; and Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, for example, was nothing but a "blind dog" (see *Shadharāt*, v, 5). The only authors to find grace in his eyes were al-Mutanabbī, above all in regard to his eulogies, Ibn Nubāta for his sermons (*khuṭab*) and al-Ḥarīrī for his *Maḳāmāt*. Moreover, Shumaym al-Ḥillī, "who made out that he had surpassed all other literary works, conceded that, despite various attempts, he could not compose *maḳāmāt* better than those of al-Ḥarīrī, which stimulated him to write a commentary on them" called *K. al-Nukat al-muʿdjamāt fī sharḥ al-maḳāmāt*. Amongst numerous works attributed to him may be mentioned an *Anīs al-djalīs fi 'l-tadjnīs*, *Manāḳib al-ḥikam wa-mathālib al-umam*, *al-Mukhtāra fī sharḥ al-Lumaʿ* (of Ibn Djinnī), *al-Amānī wa 'l-tahānī*, *al-Taʿāzī wa 'l-marāzī* and *al-Manāʾiḥ wa 'l-madāʾiḥ*.

Apart from his boastful self-satisfaction, most of the biographers agree upon stressing his extravagant character. Yāḳūt went to see him in 594/1198 at Āmid [*q.v.*], the main city of Diyār Bakr; in the course of this meeting, he asked him to recite some of his own verses, which triggered off great praise on the part of Yāḳūt. But the latter was then scolded by Shumaym, who said to him, "Shame on you! Do you not know anything better than praise?". "What more then should I do?", replied Yāḳūt, which brought forth the reply, "Well, you should do this" (and he began to dance and clap his hands until he was exhausted).

Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, v, 129-39, ed. Cairo 1928, xiii, 50-72) gives in his section on the poet a somewhat unsavoury explanation of the poet's *laḳab* or nickname deriving it from *shamma* "to smell [something]".

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(A. Ben Abdesselem)

SHUMAYṬIYYA or Sumayṭiyya (also Shumaṭiyya or Sumaṭiyya), a Shīʿī sect whose name is derived from that of one of its heads, a certain Yaḥyā b. Abi 'l-Shumayṭ. The sect recognised as *imām* and successor of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] his youngest son Muḥammad, who not only bore the name of the Prophet but also is said to have resembled him physically. After the failure in 200/815 of the Shīʿī rebellion of Abu 'l-Sarāyā [*q.v.*] in Kūfa against the caliph al-Maʾmūn (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 976 ff.), Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar, who then lived in Mecca as an old man, was urged by his followers to proclaim himself imām and caliph and was rendered homage in front of the Kaʿba on 6 Rabīʿ I 201/2 October 816. But when he was defeated by ʿAbbāsid troops near Mecca and again near Medina, he surrendered and ceremonially abdicated in Mecca, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 201/July 817; he was then deported to al-Maʾmūn's court at Marw (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 989-95). The Shumayṭiyya sect seems to have owed its existence to these events; it recognised the descendants of Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar as imāms. The sect soon disappeared, however, according to the Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), who confirms that in his time it had ceased to exist.

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(H. Halm)

SHUMAYYIL, SHIBLĪ b. Ibrāhīm (1850-1917), controversial Lebanese physician and social reformer. He began his studies of medicine in the Syrian Protestant College, completing them in Paris and Istanbul; he was to practise in Ṭanṭā and Cairo. He published *al-Shifāʾ* magazine (1886-91) to spread the new medical ideas, and, with Salāma Mūsā [*q.v.*], *al-Mustaḳbal* (1914), in order to build a society based upon modern scientific reasoning. His articles in the Arab press were published in *Madjmūʿat Maḳālāt al-Duktūr Shiblī Shumayyil* (Cairo 1910). The foremost populariser of Darwin's theory of evolution in the Arab world, his commentary and translation of the German Ludwig Büchner's lectures on Darwin, *Taʿrīb li-sharḥ Bukhnir ʿalā madhhab Dārawīn* (Alexandria 1884), caused an uproar. He published *al-Ḥaḳīḳa* (Cairo 1885), refuting Ibrāhīm al-Ḥawrānī's criticisms of Darwin's theory, and further set forth Darwin's ideas in the second edition of his two books, *Falsafat al-nushūʾ wa 'l-irtiḳāʾ* (Cairo 1910). He was also one of the first proponents of socialist and secularist thought in Arabic.

Amongst his other works, he translated Hippocrates, wrote a commentary on Ibn Sīnā and published several medical works. His *Shakwā wa-āmāl marfūʿa ilā Djalālat al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Khān* (Cairo 1895) and his *Les Méfaits de la domination turque et la responsabilité de l'Europe* (Cairo 1913) reveal what he felt was wrong with the Ottoman Empire, whilst his *Sūriyā wa-mustaḳbaluhā* (Cairo 1915) suggests how Syria should

respond to Ottoman tyranny. His literary works include a novel *al-Ḥubb ʿalā ʾl-fatra, aw ḳiṣṣat Wanīs wa-Halwā* (Cairo 1914), a play on the First World War *al-Maʾsāt al-kubrā* (Cairo 1915), a translation of Racine's *Iphigénie* and a philosophical poem, *al-Rudjḥān* (Cairo n.d.).

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SHUMEN [see shumnu].

SHUMNU, the most frequently-found Ottoman form (see below), Bulgarian Shumen, a town in northeastern Bulgaria, at the foot of the steep slopes of the Shumen plateau, a situation which makes Shumen as beautiful from an artistic point of view as it is from a military one (Moltke). It is a crossroads for ways towards the Stara Planina passes, the Danube and the Black Sea. The small but turbulent river of Bokludža (Porojna), a major factor in the shaping of the town, originates from the karst springs. In the past, the spring water was conducted by pipes to mosques and by *waḳf* and *maḥalle* pipes to the numerous fountains and baths in the city. The climate is moderate, even mild.

The classical name was Myssionys, Myssiunus. The first occurence of the name of Shumen is in the so-called Šišman inscription of the 14th century, written in Bulgarian. In the Ottoman period we find Shumî, Shumnu, Shumna, Shumena, Shumlar, Shumla and Shumni; after 1878, Shumen; and 1950-65, Kolarovgrad.

There have been settlements on the site for five thousand years, since Thracian times; there are numerous and considerable remnants of fortresses, settlements, churches, and monasteries in the region. Shumen came into being up on the plateau (today Hisarlăka), where five fortresses have existed successively: a Roman one (4th century A.D.), a Byzantine (5th-6th centuries), two Bulgarian (9th-10th and 12th-14th centuries) and an Ottoman (15th century). During the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, a town outside the fortress walls emerged.

The fortress was conquered by the Ottomans in 1388, during the campaigns of Čandarlî ʿAlī Pasha, Sultan Murād I's Grand Vizier, against Tsar Ivan Šišman. The fortified mediaeval town of Shumen was destroyed by the Crusaders during the Varna campaign of 1444 and was later abandoned. It was probably in the 15th-16th centuries that part of the population first settled down below the plateau, in the plain, founding a new settlement. This settlement (*ḳaṣaba*), with a predominantly Turkish Muslim population, became Shumen in the second half of the 15th century.

The town acquired strategic importance during the Russian Turkish wars of 1768-74, 1806-12, 1828-9 and 1877-8, when it was part of the fortified quadrangle of Ruse-Varna-Silistra-Shumen. The Russians never succeeded in seizing it, while the Turks considered it impregnable. After the Congress of Berlin (1878), Shumen became part of the Bulgarian Principality.

Beginning from the 9th/15th century, Shumen was administratively dependent, as a *nāḥiye* and a *ḳaḍāʾ*, on the Nikopolis (sometimes the Silistra) *sandjaḳ*, and from the 11th/17th century—on the *eyālet* of Özi; it was a *khāṣṣ* of the Sultan, part of the *waḳf* of Yîldîrîm Bāyezīd I (791-805/1389-1403). According to Ewliyāʾ Čelebi and Ottoman records from the 11th/17th century, there resided in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Shumen two *ḳāḍīs* (with daily salaries of 300 *akčes*) a *nāʾib*, a *naḳīb ül-eshrāf*, a *subashî*, a *ketkhüdā*, a *sipāhī ketkhüdāsî*, a *serdār* of the Janissaries, a *muḥtesib*, and a *bādjdār*.

According to the Ottoman chronicler Wāṣil Efendi, at the time of the Ottoman conquest the population of Shumen amounted to 700-800 houses. Colonisation from Asia Minor and the Islamisation of the local population turned northeastern Bulgaria into a region with numerous Turkish population. The first Turkish colonisation comprised soldiers, Islamic religious functionaries and dervishes from Anatolia. *Yürüks* from the Tañrîda (Karagöz), Naldöken, and Ḳodjadjîḳ groups were settled in the *nāḥiye* of Shumen. In 1483-5 *Yürüks* were registered in Shumen proper; there are also data related to colonisation from the Arab territories of the Empire. In 1856 and 1864 Tatar colonists were settled in the town; by 1878 they numbered up to 150-200 houses, and had their own mosque with a religious school attached to it, a donation by Rifʿat Pasha. There were also Gypsies in the town.

The Orthodox Christian Bulgarians lived in the eastern part of Shumen, in the *maḥalle* of Kilise, and beginning in the 17th century, in the *warosh* around the small church of the Holy Ascension (in the mid-17th century, Petăr Bogdan spoke of a wooden church) and the large church of St. Elias built in the 19th century. During the Russo-Turkish wars of 1768-74 and 1806-12, and the Kărdžali conflict at the end of the 18th century, many villages around Shumen were ruined and new Bulgarian *maḥalles* emerged. Shumen has been from the 19th century till now an important cultural and educational centre. After the liberation of Bulgaria, its Orthodox Christian population increased, while the Turkish one stagnated or declined through emigration (see below). One of the important Armenian colonies in Bulgaria, with its own church, was established in the town in the 17th century. The Armenian community in the town expanded following the settlement of immigrants from Turkey in 1896 and after World War I. In the 16th-17th centuries there were permanently living in the town Ragusans (according to Petăr Bogdan, 20 people). In the 19th century, a Jewish community and a synagogue were established. In 1849, for a short while, there settled in Shumen a group of Hungarian ex-revolutionaries led by L. Kossuth. Many Turks left Shumen immediately after the liberation of Bulgaria and the period up to the Balkan War in 1912, in 1928-9; in 1949-51 and in 1989. After World War II, the majority of the local Jews moved to Israel, and some Armenians to the Soviet Union.

The population registrations and censuses from 888-90/1483-5 onwards show an increase, fairly regular, in all the communities. In 1963, the town had 60,758 inhabitants (50,616 Bulgars, 4,545 Turks, 648 Armenians, 277 Gypsies). By 1972 the population had reached 79,134.

The centre of the town evolved around the religious complex of the Eski Djāmiʿ (constructed in 1480-90 by the *ḳāḍī* Sinān Čelebi and incorporated by Yaḥyā Pasha in his foundation in Skopje of 1506; at the same time, a *medrese* was attached to it and repaired on the orders of Maḥmūd II in 1837-8, according to an inscription written by the court poet Seyyid Muṣṭafā Ṭālib Efendi) and the Eski Ḥammām in the Eski

Maḥalle. Gradually, the town evolved as a trading centre towards the east. Its shopping centre consisted of a Bitpazārî situated around the Čarshî Djāmiʿ and Sāḥat Djāmiʿ (built 1580) and the Eski Čarshî, Sheyṭān Čarshî and Yuḳarî Pazār, around the mosque preceding the Tombul Djāmiʿ, where the two main lines of communication in the town crossed. Nearby is the *bezistān*, dating from the 16th century, which changed its functions many times and has been preserved until today. Shumen's importance as an urban centre increased, especially in the 18th century, when it grew north- and eastwards.

The growth of a large number of non-producing Muslims considerably contributed to the economic prosperity of the town. The *waḳifs*, some 50 to 60 of them, owning not only agricultural estates but shops and workshops as well, also had a clear rôle here. The *waḳif* of Ḥādjdjī Redjeb founded in 1671 to support the Ṣolaḳ Djāmiʿ, drew its income from 41 shops. In the 18th century the town turned into a "distribution centre", supplying the whole region with goods; leather production was widely spread there; the town was famous for its coppersmiths, too. During the Crimean War, the main Turkish forces and a large English and French contingent resided in the fortress of Shumen. This fact, together with the growth of the town population, brought about the development of the network of markets. Shumen has preserved its position as an industrial, trading and railway centre until today.

The town had been systematically fortified in the 18th century by the Grand Viziers Muḥsin-zāde Pasha and Djezāʾirli Ḥasan Pasha. During the Crimean War (1854-6) and the War of 1877-8, Shumen evolved into an Ottoman fortress of the first rank, with a large garrison, well-kept fortifications, barracks, military depots, sanitary premises, etc.

Shumen was recognised as a leading Islamic city in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, with significant monuments religious and military construction. The former are enumerated in detail by Ewliyāʾ Čelebi and in the registers of various periods. With a peak of 63 up to 1872, there were in 1884, 47 Muslim religious centres (Jireček) and in 1965, some fifteen.

The most significant monument of Ottoman architecture in Shumen is the Yeñi Djāmiʿ or Tombul Djāmiʿ, the largest Ottoman religious building in Bulgaria and a unique example of a well-preserved Ottoman *külliyye* (a *medrese*, a library, a *mekteb*, a *sebīl*, and a fountain) dating from 1744-5 and belonging to Sherīf Khalīl Pasha's foundation. It was built by an unknown architect of limestone and marble, and was inspired by the art of the Tulip Period [see LĀLE DEWRI] in the capital, notwithstanding the fact that it was built a decade after the period. The exterior is still very Ottoman-looking, but on the interior, the decoration shows Baroque influence. It is included in a complex with a rectangular court on the west and a two-storeyed building on the north serving as a library. The minaret is 40 m/130 feet high. The inscription was composed by the poet Niʿmet, himself born at Shumen in 1186/1772. During the campaign of destruction of Turkish buildings 1984-5, this complex was the sole one to be spared, and it still functions as a mosque.

Sherīf Khalīl Pasha (d. 1752) was born either in the village of Madara or in Shumen proper. He had a brilliant career as a statesman: a *ketkhüdā* of the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha [see DĀMĀD], to whom he dedicated several *ḳaṣīdes*; *wālī* in Aydîn, Trebizond, Inebakhtî, Belgrade, Ağriboz, and Bosnia; and an educated person who wrote poetry and translated from Arabic and Persian. One of the outstanding representatives of the Ottoman ruling élite during the *Lāle Dewri*, he was also a member of the so-called learned society organised around Sultan Aḥmed III's (1703-30) court, which translated and compiled commentaries on Arabic, Persian, Latin, ancient Greek, and other works.

Khalīl Pasha's *waḳif-nāme* (preserved in Shumen) deals *inter alia* with the library at the *medrese*. Part of this book collection, together with other books from the town and the surroundings, and from other places in Bulgaria, has been preserved and is in the History Museum at Shumen; it contains 650 manuscripts and 1,400 old printed books.

The desire to modernise Shumen has led to the destruction of the architecture from the pre-industrial period, both Islamic and non-Islamic. Not a single place in the old town of Shumen was spared, apart from a few examples of Ottoman culture. The town Museum houses a collection of monumental and funerary inscriptions.

The Khalwetī Seyyid ʿOthmān Atpazārî, author of works on religion and dogmatics (second half of the 11th/17th century; Fenalî Muṣṭafā, a Bektāshī and a poet (end of 17th-early 18th century); Meḥmed b. ʿOthmān, author of a mathematics treatise (second half of the 12th/18th century); Yūsuf Naḳshibendī (19th century); the calligraphers Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, Hüseyn Waṣṣāf, Seyyid Aḥmed Nāzifī, and the calligraphers of the Izārī family (18th-19th centuries) were all born in Shumen.

Towards the end of the 19th and in the 20th century, Shumen became one of the centres of Turkish education and of the Turkish intelligentsia in Bulgaria. K. Jireček noted in his *Pătuvanija po Bălgarija* that "one is impressed by the vitality of the Turkish population, a rare phenomenon in Bulgaria; the Turks in this town have built a new school and private houses". The famous *Nüwwāb* (under its statute of 1922, within the jurisdiction of the Grand *Müftülük* and of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) began to function as a private school, where teachers for the primary Turkish schools were trained; a higher department was attached to it, where a three-year course for religious functionaries and teachers for Turkish junior secondary schools was taught; in 1948 it was transformed into a Turkish comprehensive school. Both before and after the World War II, a considerable part of the Turkish teachers were its graduates. It was closed down in mid-1950s. Today it is a secondary Islamic religious school, again called *Nuvvab*. After World War I and until the late 1950s, the specialised educational institutions in Shumen trained teachers for Turkish language education. After World War II, a Turkish National Theatre and a Turkish public library called after the Turkish Communist poet Nazım Hikmet [*q.v.*] functioned in the town. There were twelve Turkish newspapers, three with an Islamic trend, published there before the end of World War II, and four afterwards. Before World War II, the Turkish Publishing House *Teraki* had its seat in Shumen. At present, there are three mosques functioning in the town, and the regional *Müftülük* is also there.

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SHUNGWAYA, the name of a harbour up a creek, Mcho [Mto] wa Hori, in Somalia, in 1° 15' S. and 41° 50' E., 260 miles north of Mombasa. The anonymous *Kitāb al-Zunūdj*, a 19th-century compilation from other local works, claims it as the epicentre for the dispersal of ten Bantu tribes in Kenya and Tanzania. Whereas a tradition of kingship and of Islam is alleged for Shungwaya, one would expect these to be reflected among those tribes. Only the Shambaa among them formed a kingdom 200 years after the alleged 16th-century dispersal and adopted Islam under Zanzibari influence in the 19th century.

Apart from the modern village known as Bur Gao, there are three ancient settlements. The central site is surrounded by a masonry wall, enclosing about seven ha. It contains a pillar tomb [see MANĀRA] and a rectangular building with no *miḥrāb*. The local people allege that it is where a Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn used to pray. It is domed, the northern wall being on the side of Mecca, which suggests an Ibāḍī origin. The northern site has a number of tombs, and a large building, so encumbered with overgrowth that H.N. Chittick was unable to determine whether it was a mosque or a house. The third site, down the creek, is on a hill (Somali *bur*) with a defensive wall round the summit; presumably it is this to which the modern name refers.

In 1912 Captain C.W. Hayward "caused his native servants to dig over the topsoil in places". In 1931 only he reported his finds to H. Mattingly as comprising coins of the Ptolemies: 1; Rome 1st to 2nd century: 5; uncertain: 1; Byzantium, 4th century: 79; Mamlūks of Egypt: 6; Egypt under the Turks: 7. The ensemble has been regarded with some scepticism, but, as Sir Mortimer Wheeler remarked, there is no reason why there should not have been a series of deposits over so long a period. Nevertheless, others, including Wheeler and Gervase Mathew (1955), Grotanelli (1955), and Chittick (1969), have reported no further coins. If genuine, the finds of so haphazard a nature can hardly be regarded as a hoard, but possibly as evidence of trade connections at different times. Hayward did not specify the find sites, nor has there been any excavation.

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

SHUNḲUB (A.) (and variants *shukkub, shinkāb*) pl. *shanāḳib*, masc. substantive denoting the common snipe (*Capella gallinago gallinago*). In the Maghrib and Egypt, it is known as *kannis, dadjādjat al-mā'* and *bikāsīn* (< Fr. *bécassine*), while in 'Irāḳ it is called *djuhlūl*, the same term as for the sandpiper (*Tringa*). In addition to the common snipe, the great or solitary snipe, *shunḳub kabīr* (*Capella major* or *media*), the Jack snipe, *shunḳub ṣaghīr* (*Limnocryptes minimus*) and the painted snipe, *shunḳub muzawwaḳ* (*khawlī* in Egypt) (*Rostratula benghalensis*) are also found. Arabic naturalists do not make any mention of this bird and only al-Damīrī mentions it in passing.

Along with this very aloof, nocturnal marsh wader, *shunḳub* is, with *shunḳub al-baḥr*, also used for the trumpet fish (*Centriscus*).

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SHŪRĀ (A.), together with *mashwara, mashūra*, a nominal form connected with the form IV verb *ashāra* "to point out, indicate; advise, counsel" (see Lane, *s.v.*), with the meaning "consultation".

1. In early Islamic history.

Here, *shūrā* is especially used of the small consultative and advisory body of prominent Ḳurashīs which eventually chose 'Uthmān b. 'Affān as the third caliph over the Muslim community after the assassination of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*] in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 23/November 644. The practice of consultation by the *sayyid* or *shaykh* of a tribe with his leading men was known in pre-Islamic Arabia, as is set forth in MASHWARA; the *shūrā* on 'Umar's death was thus no innovation but in many ways a continuation of tribal practice.

The main accounts of the *shūrā* are in such sources as Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii/1, 245, 247-50, etc., al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, 15-25, and al-Ṭabarī, i, 2722-6, 2776-88; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, v, 79-110. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, preserves excerpts from a *Kitāb al-Shūrā wa-maḳtal Ḥusayn* by al-Sha'bī [*q.v.*] and from a *K. al-Shūrā* by al-Wāḳidī [*q.v.*], see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 277, 297. The traditional account of the sources is that 'Umar on his death-bed wished in the first place to designate as his successor 'Abd al-Raḥmān b 'Awf (the original intended successor, Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*], having died in 18/639), but 'Abd al-Raḥmān refused the burden of office, as did 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, so that 'Umar then nominated a *shūrā* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awāmm, Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.vv.*], and the absent Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh [*q.v.*] if he returned to Medina within three days. All these were of course Meccans, and no Anṣār were included. They were, moreover, all prominent persons

Tombul Djāmiʿ, built by Sherīf Khalīl Pasha in 1157/1744, the largest Ottoman religious building in modern Bulgaria and a unique example of a well-preserved Ottoman *külliyye*, still functioning as a place of worship. Photograph taken in 1934.

in their respective clans; all were early converts to Islam, hence could claim *sābiḳa*, with all except ʿUth-mān having fought at Badr; all were either connected by kinship (*ḳarāba*) and/or marriage (*ṣihr*) with the Prophet and/or each other; and, together with the first caliph Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's brother-in-law Saʿīd b. Zayd [*q.v.*], were counted amongst the ten to whom Paradise was assured (*al-ʿas͟hara al-mubas͟hs͟hara* [*q.v.*]).

G. Rotter has discussed at length the difficulties and inconsistencies of the traditional accounts, noting at the outset the anti-Umayyad prejudice and pro-ʿAlid tendentiousness put into the mouth of ʿUmar in the accounts of the nomination of the *aṣḥāb al-s͟hūrā* (very clearly seen in the papyrus fragment of Ibn Isḥāḳ published by Nabia Abbott, as pointed out by M.J. Kister, *Notes on an account of the Shura appointed by ʿUmar b. al-Khattab*, in *JSS*, ix [1964], 320-6). The number of *Muhād͟jirūn* who had the requisite *sābiḳa* as participants at Badr and who were of potential caliphal status was by the year 23/644 quite restricted. Exactly when ʿUmar nominated the members of the *s͟hūrā*, before or after receiving his death-blow, is uncertain. It is also unclear who precisely were the *aṣḥāb al-s͟hūrā*; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 75-6, includes Saʿīd b. Zayd amongst them, whilst al-Wāḳidī and al-Zuhrī (in *Ansab al-as͟hrāf*, v, 21) state that Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ did not take part in the *s͟hūrā*. Rotter therefore surmised that the story of ʿUmar's setting-up of the *s͟hūrā* could be a fabrication and could in fact have been shaped by partisans of various interest groups in later struggles over the caliphate; the *s͟hūrā* seems to him more like a continuation of the pre-Islamic *malaʾ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of the Meccan clan chiefs (*Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 7-16).

The final choice seems to have fallen on ʿUthmān because of his status of being twice the son-in-law of the Prophet, his age and experience, and his *s͟haraf* or nobility of lineage from ʿAbd S͟hams b. ʿAbd Manāf. ʿAlī shared this *s͟haraf* as a Manāfī also, and had both *ṣihr* as Fāṭima's husband and *ḳarāba* as Muḥammad's paternal cousin, but was (with the exception of Saʿd, whose membership of the *s͟hūrā* is not altogether certain, see above) the youngest of the potential candidates amongst the *aṣḥāb al-s͟hūrā*, being in his mid-forties. It seems to have been ʿUthmān's superiority on the grounds of his early closeness to the Prophet, his *sinn* and his *s͟haraf*, rather than any choice of him as a safe, conservative, compromise candidate who would continue the heritage of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, that led to his being offered the caliphate (*pace* the view of e.g. M.A. Shaban in his *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132), a new interpretation*, Cambridge 1971, 61-3).

The idea of *s͟hūrā* as a means of selecting caliphs and other great men in the state, i.e. the principle of election, seems to have been especially attractive during the Umayyad period for zealots, rebels and dissidents. Hence ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz may have contemplated its use for his own successor; the rebel in the East al-Ḥārit͟h b. Surayd͟j [*q.v.*] issued a manifesto urging that the governor of K͟hurāsān should be chosen by a *s͟hūrā*; and the ephemeral Umayyad caliph Yazīd III b. al-Walīd in 126/744 endeavoured to rally support for his claim to the throne by appealing to the Book of God, the *sunna* of the Prophet and succession to rule by a *s͟hūrā* (see P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's caliph, religious authority in the first centuries of Islam*, Cambridge 1986, 63, 65, 68, 76, 127-8). Also, the concept must obviously have appealed to a sectarian group with egalitarian ideas such as the K͟hārid͟jites (see E.A. Salem, *Political theory and institutions of the K͟hawārij*, Johns Hopkins Studies on History and Political Science, Ser. LXXIV, no. 2, Baltimore 1956, 58-9).

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2. In al-Andalus.

Practised in other Islamic lands, the *s͟hūrā* of the *ḳāḍī* especially flourished in al-Andalus, where it was exercised by *mus͟hāwarūn* from the first half of the 3rd/9th century. The first "advisers" of judges were celebrated *fuḳahāʾ*, like Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (d. 234/848), Saʿīd b. Ḥassān (d. 235/849) or ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/852), who had travelled to the East and studied with the great jurists of the age. At first the number of these *mus͟hāwarūn* was very limited, but from the first half of the 4th/10th century they grew considerably and it became one of the career stages for *ʿulamāʾ*, who exercised this function before becoming judges. This reflects the change within the *s͟hūrā*, which was not considered, at the outset, as a *k͟huṭṭa*, as the terminology for designating the first *mus͟hāwarūn* shows: biographical sources uses such expressions as *kāna mus͟hāwar*^{an}, *s͟hūwira fī ʾl-aḥkām*, etc., or more rarely, *wulliya ʾl-s͟hūrā*, *taḳallada ʾl-s͟hūrā*. Only in the Almoravid period does one find the phrase *k͟huṭṭat al-s͟hūrā*.

In the first stage of the *s͟hūrā*'s evolution, the *ḳāḍī* consulted the *mus͟hāwarūn* in his own *mad͟jlis*, which often provoked lively discussions when opinions differed amongst the counsellors. But it seems that, in the course of time, the *mus͟hāwarūn* assumed the habit of giving their responses to judges from their own homes, which Ibn ʿAbdūn, in his *ḥisba* treatise written at the end of the 5th/11th century or the opening of the next one, considered as an abuse which ought to be suppressed. The opinions of the *mus͟hāwarūn* could be given in writing; Ibn Sahl's (d. 486/1093) *Aḥkām* give numerous examples. The topics about which they were consulted covered all the possibilities of the law and dogma of Islam, from questions of legal procedure to accusations of heresy. Regarding this last point, there is a good example in the legal proceedings against Abū ʿUmar al-Ṭalamankī (d. 428 or 429/1036-7) in Saragossa. The town's *ḳāḍī* asked for an opinion on the case from six *mus͟hāwarūn*, who rejected the accusation against Abū ʿUmar. The functions of the *mus͟hāwar* clearly approximated closely to those of the *muftī*, but were exercised exclusively for the *ḳāḍī*, who had to follow the opinions of his advisers. In this wise, one can say that the *ḳāḍī*'s sphere of responsibility was diminished by the existence of these counsellors, especially as it was the *amīr* (later, the caliph) who nominated the *mus͟hāwarūn*. But the judge also had the possibility of dismissing certain of his counsellors if he found himself strongly at variance with them (thus the caliph al-Nāṣir dismissed from office Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar b. Lubāba (d. 330/941) at the request of the *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, forbidding him moreover to give out *fatwā*s) or of seeking the inclusion in the *s͟hūrā* of a celebrated *faḳīh* whom he wanted. After the end of the Umayyad caliphate, the nomination of *mus͟hāwarūn* remained a prerogative of the holder of political power, but in periods when this was enfeebled, judges appointed their own counsellors. At Labla

(Niebla) the people nominated Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Djadd (d. 515/1121) for the town's *khuṭṭat al-shūrā*, whilst at Murcia, the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khushanī Ibn Abī Djaʿfar, who assumed power in 539/1145, nominated the very young Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Abī Djamra (d. 599/1202); Ibn al-Abbār has preserved, in his *Takmila*, the nomination decree of Ibn Abī Djamra, who belonged to one of the leading families of Murcia and who went on to become, a year later, *ḳāḍī* of Valencia.

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3. In the modern Arab world.

The idea and practice of consultation in government had an intermittent history in Islam prior to the 19th century [see above, 1 and 2, and mashwara]. In that century, as the Ottoman empire's encounter with Europe accelerated, the old principle was revived in a series of institutions established in the empire's centre and its Arab provinces, as part of the effort to modernise the political order (for the Ottoman practice of consultation prior to and during the *Tanẓīmāt*, see madjlis al-shūrā). Bodies with deliberative and advisory authority bearing the name *shūrā* (or *mashwara*, its interchangeable derivative) were set up by Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt, in the 1820s; by his son Ibrāhīm in Egyptian-occupied Syria and Palestine, in the 1830s; and by his grandson, the Khedive Ismāʿīl, in Egypt again. The latter assembled a "Consultative Council of Delegates" (*Madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*) in 1866, featuring the novel quality of being elective, though indirectly, which operated until the 1882 British occupation. These councils represented a dual phenomenon: an embodiment of the Islamic ideal of consultation in government, and an attempted emulation of European-type parliaments.

The use of the term *shūrā* reflected this dual import. From the early 19th century, the word was applied to every type of Western governmental body, including elective and representative parliaments. Thus Muḥammad ʿAlī's official bulletin, *al-Waḳāʾi al-Miṣriyya*, applied the name in the 1830s to the British Parliament and the French *Chambre des députés*. The Egyptian *shaykh* Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*], well acquainted with European politics, likewise used it for institutions such as the Swiss Federal Assembly and the United States Congress, as did other Arabic-speaking observers of Western politics throughout the century. At the same time, applied in a local context, *shūrā* connoted the newly-revived traditional idea of a ruler consulting with his chosen group of advisers. Such a twofold application of the word was a source of ambiguity, typical of the rapidly changing political concepts at the time. It made it possible, and convenient, for thinkers such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā [*q.vv.*] to justify the borrowing of parliaments—an alien idea—by associating them with the Islamic notion of consultation. This and similar attempts, during the formative phase of political modernisation, to equate modern and traditional ideas facilitated the introduction of new concepts into the region but undoubtedly also contributed to their modification.

In the 20th century, parliamentary institutions were formed in the Arabic-speaking lands under different titles, often in response to public demand inspired by foreign example [see madjlis. 4. A.]. The political roles which they played differed with time and place, but on the whole they were more limited than those of their Western counterparts. Among these, bodies entitled *madjlis shūrā* (or *madjlis istishārī*) were particularly traditional in nature and had a markedly limited say in decision making. Such bodies appeared mostly in the Arabian Peninsula, where European influence was small and the tribal custom of consultation remained a vivid attribute of local government. In the Saudi state, an Organic Law establishing a *Madjlis shūrā* was announced in 1926, but the institution remained on paper for many decades despite repeated royal pledges to set it up. A Consultative Council Statute was promulgated by Saudi Arabia's King Fahd in 1992, again providing for establishment of an appointed *Madjlis shūrā* with advisory authority. In Ḳaṭar, the Amīr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Āl Thānī in 1970 enacted a constitution under whose provisions a *Madjlis shūrā* was established two years later, partly elected and partly nominated by him (but in practice consisting of the Amīr's disciples). In Yemen, a *Madjlis shūrā* was founded in 1971, as prescribed by the constitution of the previous year. Unlike other peninsular states, Yemen was at that point not a monarchy but a republic, and the *shūrā* was to offer advice to a three-man Presidential Council which actually ruled the country; both bodies were abolished following the 1974 coup. In ʿUmān, a State Consultative Council (*al-Madjlis al-istishārī li 'l-dawla*) was established in 1981 by Sultan Ḳābūs as a first experiment in limited public participation. It was replaced in 1991 by a *Madjlis al-shūrā*, whose formation and political prerogatives were similarly limited.

Elsewhere, the term *shūrā* and its derivatives appeared occasionally in titles of governmental institutions, reflecting the essentially restricted role prescribed for them. Such, e.g., was Morocco's Consultative National Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī al-istishārī*), appointed by King Muḥammad V in 1956 as an advisory forum to the monarch. A somewhat different role was assigned to the Consultative Council which President Anwar al-Sādāt set up in 1980 in republican Egypt to supplement the People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-shaʿb*), the popularly-elected legislature. The Council, partly elected and partly nominated by the president, was to debate and express views on public matters as part of the country's pluralistic political order. Its definition as a *shūrā*, then, properly mirrored its merely deliberative and advisory power.

Bibliography: For the 19th century: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, *ʿAṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī*, Cairo 1982, 257 ff., 516 ff.; idem, *ʿAṣr Ismāʿīl*, Cairo 1982, ii, 89 ff.; A. Ayalon, *Language and change in the Arab Middle East*, New York 1987, esp. 119-22; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age*, Oxford 1970, 144-5, 234; N. Safran, *Egypt in search of political community*, Harvard 1961, 47, 80-3. For the 20th century: J.E. Peterson, *The Arab Gulf states, steps toward political participation*, New York 1988; D.E. Ashford, *Political change in Morocco*, Princeton 1961, 347-55; *Middle East contemporary survey*, xv (1991), 600-1, 625-6; *ibid.*, xvi (1992), 668-72. See also the bibls. to madjlis; madjlis al-shūra; mashwara.

(A. Ayalon)

SHURAFĀʾ (A.), in Moroccan dialect, SHORFĀ, pl. of *sharīf* [*q.v.*] "noble".

This term denoted the persons belonging to the "house of the Prophet", *Ahl al-Bayt* [*q.v.*] and then became essentially reserved for the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad by his daughter Fāṭima [*q.v.*], the wife of his cousin ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]. Several children were born of the couple, of whom al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were the ancestors of all the so-called Ḥasanid and Ḥusaynid *shurafāʾ*, both in the Middle East and in the Maghrib. These persons have always enjoyed great consideration as well as certain privileges granted by the rulers and the peoples of the lands where they lived. But one should note that, at the side of the authentic line of the Prophet, certain descendants of famous *murābiṭūn* have, improperly, claimed the title of *sharīf*.

1. History.

ʿAlī had numerous sons by other wives than Fāṭima, forming an important line of descendants, these being the ʿAlids [*q.v.*] in general, of whom the Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids are part, but only these last can claim Sharīfian descent. Whether from one or other of the two branches, they exist in several of the Islamic lands.

I. All the Ḥasanid *shurafāʾ* of the Middle East stem from the second son of al-Ḥasan, Ḥasan II: (a) From the latter's son ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil there descend through Mūsā al-Djawn the Banū ʾl-Ukhayḍir of Mecca and Yemen (251-350/865-961), the Mūsawīs and the Hawāshim, then the Banū Ḳatāda, *amīrs* of Mecca (these last from 598/1201-2 onwards), the Banū Fulayta, and finally the Banū Ṣāliḥ of Ghāna, as well as the so-called Sulaymānid *shurafāʾ*. (b) From Dāwūd, another son of Ḥasan II's, stem the Sulaymānids of Yemen and Mecca. (c) From Ibrāhīm, another of Ḥasan II's sons, stem the Rassid Imāms [*q.v.*] of Yemen, through al-Ḳāsim al-Rassī.

II. The Ḥusaynid *shurafāʾ* of the Middle East have as their ancestor Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] b. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, al-Ḥusayn's grandson by ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. From these, the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*] or ʿUbaydids of Ifrīḳiya and Egypt claimed descent, as also the Banū Muhannā [*q.v.*], *amīrs* of Medina before 601/1204, and above all, the series of the Twelver Shīʿī Imāms which stops with the twelfth, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, son of Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874).

The descendants of a brother of Ḥasan II, Zayd, from whom stemmed the Zaydids of Ṭabaristān (247-87/861-900), may be considered as *shurafāʾ*.

III. The Shurafāʾ (Shorfā) of the Maghrib. It is in the farthest extremity of North Africa, the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, that the Shurafāʾ are most numerous. A century or so after the appearance of Islam in Morocco, this group had an extremely important political and religious role, since it was an ʿAlid, the great-grandson of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, hence a *sharīf*, sc. Idrīs I [*q.v.*], son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil and brother of the Mūsā al-Djawn mentioned above, who founded the first Sharīfian dynasty in Morocco.

The vast majority of the Shurafāʾ of the Maghrib are of Ḥasanid descent, since they descend from the above-mentioned Idrīs I and his son Idrīs II. This last had seven sons, five of whom had issue: (a) ʿUmar, whose descendants reigned in the Djabal al-ʿAlam and then in the region of Tlemcen; these are the Ḥammūdid [*q.v.*] Shurafāʾ, whom one finds again in Spain, where for a few years (407-14/1016-23) they occupied the caliphate in Cordova, and were subsequently rulers in Malaga. (b) al-Ḳāsim, whose son Yaḥyā installed himself at Djūṭa, in the Gharb of Morocco, on the Wādī Sabū (Sebou) and was the progenitor of all the Djūṭid Shurafāʾ (the Djūṭiyyūn) at Fās (see genealogical table). One should especially mention the ʿImrānids (ʿImrāniyyūn) who functioned as *naḳībs* and were the opponents of the Marīnids (second half of the 9th/15th century). (c) ʿĪsā, founder of the Dabbāghiyyūn Shurafāʾ who emigrated in the 4th/10th century near to Cordova with Ḥasan b. Gannūn, and then returned to Salé and Fās after the Christian reconquest. (d) ʿAbd Allāh, from whom stemmed the Amghāriyyūn established in the north of Morocco, then to the south of Azemmour. (e) Muḥammad, who had two sons, Yaḥyā, ancestor of the Kattāniyyūn Shurafāʾ in Meknès and then in Fās (second half of the 10th/16th century) and ʿAlī, from whom several Sharīfian branches descend (see WAZZĀN and the genealogical table).

ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil, Idrīs I's father, had had two other sons whose progeny came to Morocco later: (a) Djaʿfar, ancestor of the Shurafāʾ of Sūs. (b) Mūsā al-Djawn, from whom stem the Ḳādirid Shurafāʾ (Ḳādiriyyūn) through ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], founder of the Ḳādirī Ṣūfī order; these Shurafāʾ settled at Fās at the end of the 9th/15th century. Finally, Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*], ancestor of the two Sharīfian dynasties which took power in Morocco after the fall of the last Berber dynasty, the Banū Waṭṭās [*q.v.*] (10th/16th century), sc. the Saʿdid Shurafāʾ [*q.v.*]—whose Sharīfian descent was controversial—and their replacements in the following century, the ʿAlawī Shurafāʾ from Sidjilmāsa in the Tafilalt [see ʿALAWĪS].

Certain members of the mystical *silsila* of the Shādhiliyya mystical order [*q.v.*] are Shurafāʾ: ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh al-Ḥasanī (d. 625/1228), an Idrīsid *sharīf* of the Banū Muḥammad b. Idrīs, was their head towards the end of the Almohad dynasty. His successor, who gave his name to the order, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shādhilī [*q.v.*], was likewise said to be an Idrīsī *sharīf*, like the majority of the Shurafāʾ of the Djabal ʿAlam.

IV. At the side of all these Ḥasanid Shurafāʾ, there existed equally in Morocco, especially at Fās, two groups of Ḥusaynid Shurafāʾ, through Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] b. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, son of Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, grandson of al-Ḥusayn. These are the Ṣiḳilliyyūn Shurafāʾ, the offspring of ʿAlī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā, and the ʿIrāḳiyyūn Shurafāʾ, descendants of a brother of ʿAlī al-Riḍā, Ibrāhīm al-Murtaḍā.

2. Literature of the Shurafāʾ.

Given the special importance of the Shurafāʾ in the Maghrib, it is not surprising that this has resulted in the florescence of a special literature dealing with genealogy and biography. The first notable works on these subjects were undertaken by a Ḳādirid Sharīf of Fās, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ḳādirī, born in 1058/1648 and died in 1110/1698 (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens des Chorfa*, 276-399). In addition to three monographs on hagiology, he wrote several works dealing with the Sharīfī groups of Morocco: first a general study of Sharīfism in the Moroccan capital, *al-Durr al-sanī fī baʿḍ man bi-Fās min ahl al-nasab al-ḥasanī*, which, in spite of its title, also includes the Ḥusaynid branches; on account of the period in which he was writing, he deliberately left out the Saʿdians, who in any case were to disappear very quickly for lack of descendants. This work was lithographed at Fās in 1303 and 1308 A.H. Al-Ḳādirī's other treatises deal with (a) the Ḳādirī Shurafāʾ (*al-ʿUrf al-ʿāṭir fī man bi-Fās min abnāʾ al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir*), and (b) the Shurafāʾ ʿIrāḳiyyūn (*Maṭlaʿ al-ishrāḳ fī ʾl-ashrāf al-wāridīn min al-ʿIrāḳ*).

At the end of the 11th/17th century and beginning of the 12th/18th century, two other treatises on Sharīfī genealogy were compiled in Morocco; one devoted to the ʿAlawid Shurafāʾ of Sidjilmāsa was written by Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Sharīf al-Sidjilmāsī, and entitled *al-Anwār al-saniyya fī nisbat man bi-Sidjilmāsa min al-sharāf al-muḥammadiyya*; the other, entitled *Shudhūr al-dhahab fī khayr nasab*, was the work of a *sharīf* of the Djabal al-ʿAlam, al-Tihāmī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Raḥmūn, who composed it in 1105/1603-4.

In 1127/1715 a descendant of the marabout family of the *zāwiya* of Dilāʾ [see AL-DILĀʾ in Suppl.], Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Masnāwī b. Aḥmad al-Dilāʾī (d. 1136/1721), composed a new treatise on the Sharīfism of the Ḳādirids, *Natīdjat al-taḥḳīḳ fī baʿd ahl al-sharaf al-wathīḳ* (publ. Tunis 1296 and Fās 1309, partially tr. T.H. Weir, *The first part of the Natījatu ʾl-Taḥqiq*, Edinburgh 1903).

A monograph was a little later devoted to the Shurafāʾ Ṣiḳilliyyūn of Fās by a Ḳādirid, grandson of the author of *al-Durr al-sanī*, Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ḳādirī, d. 1187/1773: this is the *Lamḥat al-bahdjat al-ʿāliya fī baʿd furūʿ al-shaʿba al-ḥusayniyya al-ṣikilliyya*. The Shurafāʾ of Wāzzān had also several historians in the 12th/18th century; we may mention the *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān bi-baʿd manāḳib shurafāʾ Wāzzān*, by Ḥamdūn al-Ṭāhirī al-Djūṭī (d. 1191/1777), lithographed at Fās in 1324 A.H.

The composition of the *Kitāb al-Taḥḳīḳ fi ʾl-nasab al-wathīḳ*, which the genealogists of Fās consider apocryphal and attribute to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAshmāwī al-Makkī, also dates from the end of the 12th/18th century: this work, which deals only with the Sharīfī branches that settled in Algeria, was translated in 1906 by Père Giacobetti.

A specialist in Sharīfī genealogy was Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Shafshāwanī al-Ḥawwāt, born 1160/1747, d. at Fās 1231/1816. He left among other works a monograph on the Shurafāʾ Dabbāghiyyūn, called also from their quarter in Fās Shurafāʾ al-ʿUyūn: *Ḳurrat al-ʿuyūn fi ʾl-shurafāʾ al-ḳāṭinīn bi ʾl-ʿUyūn*, and a monograph on the Ḳādirid Shurafāʾ, *al-Sirr al-ẓāhir*.

The Shurafāʾ ʿIrāḳiyyūn had their historiographer, ʿAbd Allāh al-Walīd b. al-ʿArabī al-ʿIrāḳī, d. 1263/1849; this work, published in Fās, is called *al-Durr al-nafīs fī man bi-Fās min banī Muḥammad b. Nafīs*.

Finally, one may mention amongst more recent works, in addition to the information collected in the valuable *Salwat al-anfās* of Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī [see AL-KATTĀNĪ], two works relating to the Sharīfī branches of Morocco. The first is the work of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādjdj al-Madanī Gannūn, d. 1302/1885, *al-Durar al-maknūna fi ʾl-nisba al-sharīfa al-maṣūna*; the other, more important, is entitled *al-Durar al-bahiyya wa ʾl-djawāhir al-nabawiyya fi ʾl-furūʿ al-ḥasaniyya wa ʾl-ḥusayniyya*, lithographed at Fās in 1314. This book, by Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ Idrīs b. Aḥmad al-Fuḍaylī, d. 1316/1898-9, is an excellent repertory with much unpublished information, clearly presented.

Bibliography: Besides the Arabic works mentioned in the article, see G. Salmon, *Les Chorfa Idrisites de Fès*, in *Archives marocaines*, i, 1904, 424-59; idem, *Les Chorfa Filâla et Djilâla de Fès*, in *ibid.*, iii, 1905, 97-118; idem, *Ibn Rahmoûn*, in *ibid.*, 159-265; E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1907, *passim*; A. Cour, *L'Etablissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc*, Paris 1904, 17 ff.; R.P. Giacobetti, *Kitab en-Nasab, Généalogie des Chorfa*, in *R. Afr.* (1906); E. Michaux-Bellaire, *La maison d'Ouezzan*, in *RMM*, iv (1908), 23-89; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1923, repr. 1991; idem, *Le Maroc en face de l'étranger á l'époque moderne*, Paris 1925; K. Öhrnberg, *The offspring of Fāṭima, dispersal and ramification*, Studia Orientalia Societatis Fennicae, 54, Helsinki 1983; H. Beck, *L'image d'Idrīs II, ses descendants de Fas et la politique sharifienne des Sultans Marinides*, Leiden 1984.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL-[CH. DE LA VÉRONNE])

SHURAḤBĪL B. **ḤASANA**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, early Meccan convert to Islam, prominent Companion of the Prophet and leading commander in the Arab invasions of Syria, d. 18/639.

Apparently of Kindī origin, he was known by his mother's name Ḥasana, but his patrilineal *nasab* was ... b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muṭāḥ b. ʿAmr. He is described as a *ḥalīf* or confederate [see ḤILF] of the Meccan clan of Zuhra but as also being connected, through another marriage of his mother, with Djumaḥ. As an early convert, he took part in the second *hidjra* or migration to Ethiopia (see Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 94, vii, 118; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 390-1). He became prominent in the Prophet's *ghazawāt* or raids, and in Abū Bakr's caliphate fought in the Ridda Wars under Khālid b. al-Walīd. After the Muslim victory at ʿAḳrabāʾ or Yamāma, he was sent as one of the four commanders heading armies into Syria, in his case, into Jordan or Palestinia Secunda, according to al-Madāʾinī in al-Ṭabarī, i, 2107-8, with 7,000 warriors. He was probably at such places as Djarash, al-Faḥl, Ḳadar, the Golan region, etc. (late 12-early 13/late 634-early 635), and also in northern Palestine, although firm information is lacking for most of these campaigns. He died, as did his fellow-commander Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, in the Plague of ʿAmwās (Emmaus) in 18/639, aged 67 (Ibn al-Athīr) or 69 (al-Balādhurī).

Bibliography: The primary sources for Shuraḥbīl's military career (Ibn Aʿtham, Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, etc.) are well exploited in F.McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 114-16, 118-19, 129 ff., 152-3, 359, 361-2. See also M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, Leiden 1900, 70 ff.; M. Gil, *A history of Palestine 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, 33-4, 41, 44, 74. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SHURĀT [see KHĀRIDJITES].

SHURAYḤ B. AL-ḤĀRITH (or B. SHURAḤBĪL) B. ḲAYS, Abū Umayya al-Kindī, an early *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa. He was reportedly born in the Yemen to a family belonging to the Persian *abnāʾ* [*q.v.*]; his *nisba* is said to refer to his status as a *mawlā* of Kinda. There is disagreement as to whether he met the Prophet. According to a number of accounts (rejected by al-Shāfiʿī and others), he was first appointed judge of Kūfa by ʿUmar (in 18/639 or 22/643); his appointment was allegedly confirmed by ʿUthmān, ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya. ʿAlī called him "the best judge among the Arabs" (*aḳḍā ʾl-ʿarab*) and provided him with a monthly stipend of 100 (or 500) dirhams. Their relationship appears, however, to have been uneasy: ʿAlī upbraided him for handing down a wrong decision and even dismissed him, though he reinstated him a few months later.

Shurayḥ is said to have served as *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa for between 53 and 75 years, with two significant interruptions. The first occurred during the governorship of Ziyād b. Abīhi, who sent him as a judge to Baṣra, where he spent one year (or seven years); during that time Masrūḳ b. al-Adjdaʿ (d. 63/682-3) replaced him in Kūfa (or acted as his deputy there). The other largely coincided with the period during which Kūfa

Genealogical Table of the Ḥasanid Shurafā' in Morocco

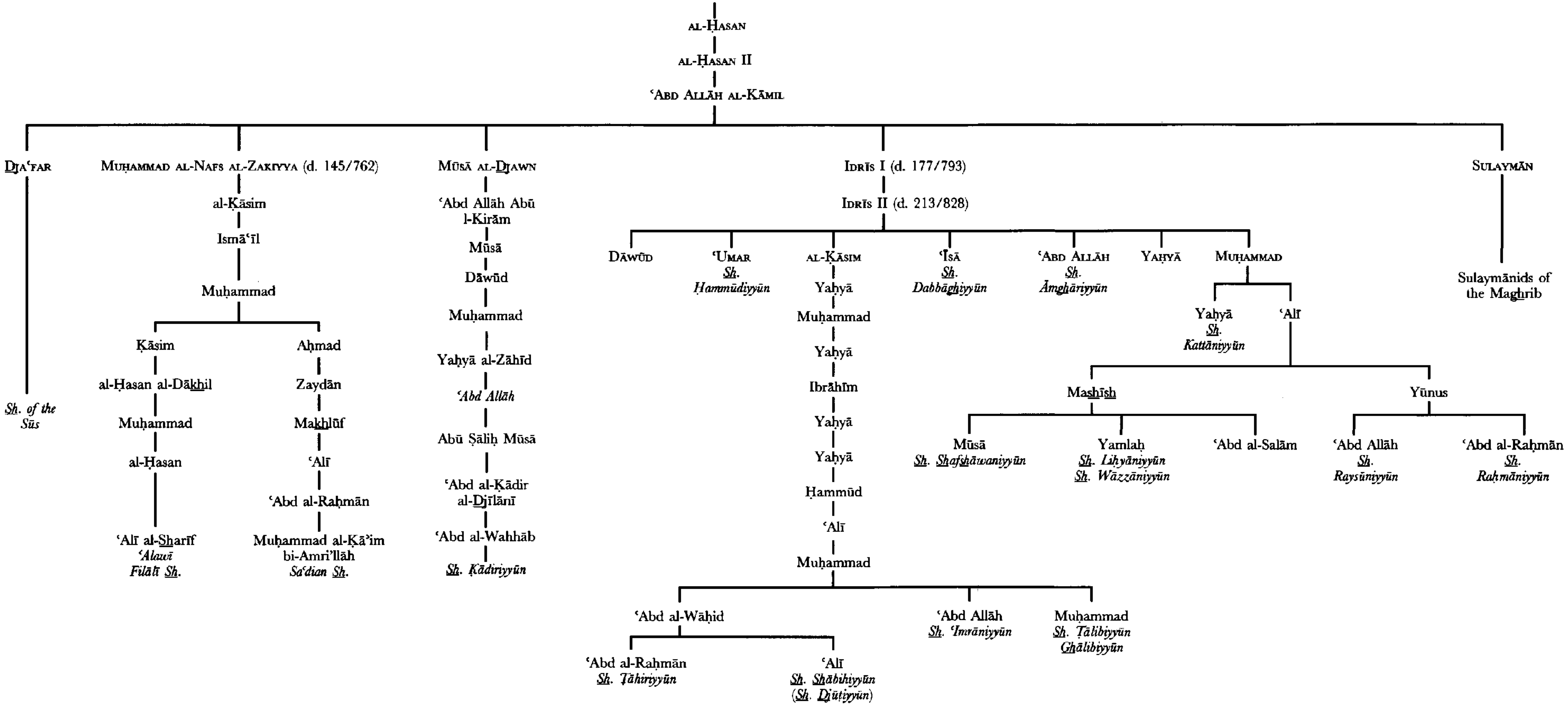

was successively in the hands of al-Mukhtār and Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr (66-72/685-91) [*q.vv.*], when Shurayḥ reportedly withdrew in order to avoid involvement in the *fitna*; others have it that he was forced to resign. He was reinstated by ʿAbd al-Malik, who gave him 10,000 dirhams and some property in al-Fallūdja [*q.v.*]. According to a report in al-Ṭabarī, al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] in 79/698-9 acceded to the *ḳāḍī*'s request to be relieved of his duties and accepted his recommendation that Abū Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] be appointed as his successor. The most usual dates given for Shurayḥ's death are between 76/695-6 (a date which does not tally with al-Ṭabarī's report) and 80/699-700, though dates as early as 72/691-2 and as late as 99/717-8 are also recorded. Reports of his age at death range between 100 and 127 years; the statement that he was 180 years old is probably the result of a corruption of the number 108. These reports may reflect a wish to show that Shurayḥ was born sufficiently early to have met the Prophet (cf. Lammens, 79).

There are conflicting accounts of Shurayḥ's relations with the Umayyads. On the one hand he is portrayed as doing their bidding, as in the case of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa [*q.v.*], when he obeyed ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād by telling Hāniʾ's supporters that their leader was still alive; and he was an adviser and confidant of Ziyād b. Abīhi. Yet he is also alleged to have privately made extremely unflattering remarks about some of his Umayyad superiors, and to have only followed their orders for fear of his own safety. The Kūfan Shīʿīs accused him of having been among the signatories of a document charging Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] with agitation against the authorities; yet Shurayḥ denied this, claiming that he had in fact testified to Ḥudjr's piety.

Shurayḥ is often described as the ideal judge. He held court in the mosque beside the *minbar*; on rainy days he would sit in judgment at home. His probity was such that he even found against his own son (or brother), who was then imprisoned. He is said to have followed earlier authorities in his legal pronouncements and to have refrained from issuing independent legal opinions (*fatwās*); others, however, claim that he applied *idjtihād* when no answers to a particular problem were available. The pronouncements ascribed to him generally conform to the position of the old schools. They were transmitted mostly by Kūfan scholars, including al-Shaʿbī, al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sabīʿī, and some are cited by the Ḥanafīs as precedents. Shurayḥ is also remembered as a traditionist and a poet.

The inconsistencies and implausible details in Shurayḥ's biography and the contradictory pronouncements attributed to him (e.g. on the exercise of pre-emption by non-Muslims; see Ibn Māza, 467) have led some scholars (notably Lammens, Tyan, Schacht and Pellat) to regard elements of his biography as legendary. Schacht in particular maintained that Shurayḥ was "merely a *ḥakam* of the old style" and that opinions and traditions ascribed to him were "spurious throughout" and "the outcome of the general tendency to project the opinions current in the schools of law back to early authorities". This view has since been challenged (see Sezgin, i, 402, Motzki, 152-3).

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SHŪRĪDA, MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ, Persian poet, b. Shīrāz, according to most accounts, in 1274/1858, d. 6 Rabīʿ II 1345/14 October 1926.

His father ʿAbbās was an artisan by trade. Shūrīda's ancestry, from what is known, reached back to the poet Ahlī Shīrāzī (d. 942/1535-6), author of the *mathnawī Siḥr-i ḥalāl* "Legal magic". When he was seven years old he was struck blind by small-pox. Some two years later his father died, after which he came under the care of his maternal uncle. In 1288/1871-2 he accompanied his uncle in the pilgrimage to Mecca. On returning, he resumed his earlier studies, achieving a high standard in literary studies and Arabic. In 1311/1893-4 he travelled to Tehran, where he came into contact with Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣghar Khān Amīn al-Sulṭān (d. 1907), prime minister of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. He was introduced to the monarch, who was impressed by his poetry, gave him his favour and eventually bestowed upon him the title of Faṣīḥ al-Mulk. He stayed in the capital till the accession of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh (1313/1896) after which he moved to Shīrāz permanently. He was treated as an important figure in official circles, and granted the revenues of a village. Towards the later part of his life, he held the custodianship of Saʿdī's resting place

in Shīrāz. He died at the age of sixty-eight, and was buried by the side of Saʿdī's tomb.

Shūrīda is credited with an astonishing memory which enabled him to know by heart many lengthy *ḳaṣīdas* of the old masters. He has left a number of works, most of them unfinished. His *dīwān*, which comprises an estimated total of some 15,000 couplets, was published at Tehran in 1325/1946 by his son, Ḥasan Iḥsān Faṣīḥī. It contains poems in conventional verse forms such as *ḳaṣīda, ghazal, musammaṭ* and *ḳiṭʿa*. In his style of writing, Shūrīda was essentially a poet in the classical mould following the trends initiated by early masters from Khurāsān and Fārs. He wrote many panegyrics, the most notable being those in praise of the Ḳādjār rulers. His themes, taken as a whole, are largely traditional.

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SHURṬA (A.), a military-administrative term most conveniently translated as police. The basic meaning of the root *sh-r-ṭ* is "to separate or to distinguish something out of a larger entity", thus an élite force within an army or, according to some sources, criminals who separate themselves from the social order, and thence those whose function it is to bring them to book. An individual in such a unit is a *shurṭī*, plural *shuraṭ* or more popularly *shurṭiyya*.

1. In the central lands of the caliphate.

The term *shurṭa* is among the earliest of the Arabic sources of the Muslim state applied to the élite units of the armed forces whose function was to impose law and order and to uphold the authority of the newly-established state. Its establishment is variously attributed to the caliphs ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and Muʿāwiya, and there are several reports of units being involved in putting down revolts in the early Umayyad period. Into the early ʿAbbāsid period, the *shurṭa* and its commander, *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*, are reported as having played a significant role, firstly in enforcing the authority of the caliphs, and later in the course of the series of armed palace revolts which took advantage of a weakened caliphate.

The *shurṭa* remained primarily a pragmatic institution with no authority in the developing theoretical systems of the *Sharīʿa*, and with only a limited foundation in documents of appointment, such as those recorded by al-Ḳalḳashandī, and in the writings of al-Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn. The institution combined the preventive and repressive functions of a police and security force with the judicial functions of a magistracy and summary court. In accounts of government processes, it is often associated with the implementation of *siyāsa* [*q.v.*]. The historical records show that the *shurṭa* was in fact empowered with a wide and varying jurisdiction in different times and places. In Spain and during the later ʿAbbāsid period, its powers in the cities were not only territorially defined but also often specific to different classes of society. When the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* was powerful he could trespass extensively on to the jurisdiction of both *ḥisba* and that of the *ḳāḍī*, taking charge of enforcing proper conduct in public places, dispensing criminal justice and supervising the implementation of retaliation or *ḳiṣāṣ* [*q.v.*]. Among the duties often attributed to the *shurṭa* were riot control in the cities, protection of villages against brigandage, checking the quality of the work of artisans and support for tax enforcement. The *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* appears often in the early centuries as the head of the ruler's personal bodyguard, a function whose title and role is confused with that of the *ḥaras*. Among the earliest functions of the institution was also that of night watch (*al-ṭawāf bi 'l-layl*, and this was the one which it retained most consistently and for the longest time; in the Muslim West, its commander was often entitled *ṣāḥib al-layl* in later centuries.

In the early centuries, the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* was among the highest officials in both central and provincial government, but an indication of his gradually sinking rank is the change from his fourth placing under the ʿAbbāsids to the twenty-fifth one under the Mamlūks (according to al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, Cairo 1913-19, iv, 23, v, 450. This decline in rank is associated with the decline of the authority of central governments and the gradual redistribution of power between, on the one hand, foreign military castes (Mamlūks) which had control of repressive powers, and, on the other, with local urban quarters developing their local forms of collective defence and social discipline. By the late Mamlūk period, the term *shurṭa* is increasingly rare in the sources, as the *mamlūk* military units took over the functions of repression and imposition of public order. Many of the more local functions became vested in the local quarters, and the officials sank in status to become among the lowest in the community. The roles of night watch and rubbish collection tended to overlap, while officials responsible for crime prevention developed an ambiguous relationship with the petty criminal element.

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2. In Muslim Spain.

The *shurṭa* in al-Andalus has always posed the problem of identification of its three categories: *ʿulyā, wusṭā* and *ṣughrā*. In his history of Muslim Spain, E. Lévi-Provençal followed the interpretation of E. Tyan, who relied for his part on a text of Ibn Khaldūn. The *shurṭa ʿulyā* would be, according to the great North African historian, that concerned with misdemeanours committed by people belonging to the *khāṣṣa*, while the jurisdiction of the *shurṭa ṣughrā* was applied to the *ʿāmma* (*Muḳaddima*, Beirut 1981, 312). However, Ibn Khaldūn does not mention the *shurṭa wusṭā*, established by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir in 317/929-30. For their part, the historical sources are not clear regarding the competence of this "medium" *shurṭa*, just as they are not entirely clear about the two others,

and the subject remains shrouded in a degree of obscurity.

The earliest information regarding the *s̲h̲urṭa* in al-Andalus dates from the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (d. 172/788), who awarded this responsibility to al-Ḥusayn b. al-Dad̲j̲n al-ʿUḳaylī, commander of his cavalry at the battle of Muṣāra (this connection between the *s̲h̲urṭa* and military activity is not always evident, but it becomes a stronger element under the Umayyad caliphate). During this early period, the function of the *s̲h̲urṭa* could be exercised simultaneously with the *wilāyat al-sūḳ*, the *ḳaḍāʾ* or the prayer. It was al-Ḥakam I (180-206/796-827) who inaugurated the *s̲h̲urṭa ṣug̲h̲rā*, also ordering the construction of an enclosure in the gallery of the Great Mosque of Cordova, beside the position occupied by the *ḳāḍī*, for the submission of affairs subject to the jurisdiction of the *s̲h̲urṭa*. Al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Abī Saʿd, son of a slave affranchised by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, was the first to perform this function, initially under al-Ḥakam and then during the reign of his successor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52) who, after the death of al-Ḥārit̲h̲, appointed his son Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārit̲h̲ to take his place. It is interesting to note that under this last-named *amīr*, another descendent of slaves affranchised by the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Muḥammad b. K̲h̲ālid Ibn Martanīl, was also appointed to the *s̲h̲urṭa* (and to the inspection of markets). It could be said that, while retaining functionaries of Arab origin for this post, the *amīr*s were at pains to consolidate links of personal dependence (a cousin of Ibn Martanīl was responsible for the *s̲h̲urṭa* under the *amīr* Muḥammad (238-73/852-86). As for the competence of the *s̲h̲urṭa*, the intervention of al-Ḥakam I could be considered a deliberate effort to mark the existence of a jurisdiction separate from that of the judges, an effort which should perhaps be seen in the context of the *amīr*'s troubled relationship with the *ʿulamāʾ* of Cordova, which was to lead ultimately to the revolt of the *Rabaḍ*. A new development in this evolution came about under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, who decreed the separation of the *wilāyat al-sūḳ* from the *aḥkām al-s̲h̲urṭa*, known as *wilāyat al-madīna*. The text of Ibn Ḥazm (quoted by Ibn Saʿīd in *Mug̲h̲rib*, i, 46) on this question seems to associate the jurisdiction of the *s̲h̲urṭa* with the *wilāyat al-madīna*. In his description of administrative systems in al-Andalus, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (and Ibn Saʿīd quoted by al-Maḳḳarī) confirms this possibility and, in fact, during the Umayyad caliphate references are found to the *s̲h̲urṭat al-madīna*. But in other instances, it is clear that it was a case of two different functions, responsibility for which was incumbent on separate functionaries. The separation between *s̲h̲urṭa* and *aḥkām al-sūḳ*, introduced by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, poses similar problems, since it was not always respected, and under the *amīr* Muḥammad, successor to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, examples are already found of combination of the two functions, examples which are repeated throughout the Umayyad caliphate and the period of the Taifas. Cases are also known where appointment to the *s̲h̲urṭa* was combined with that to the judgment of appeals (*radd*), this beginning under the reign of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh (275-300/888-912). The *aṣḥāb al-s̲h̲urṭa wa ʾl-radd* are classed, in the ceremonial of the Umayyad caliphate, with the senior judge of Cordova, judges of provinces and families of noble origin. They are considered equivalent to the *ḥukkām*, and they do not belong to the world of high-ranking officials (*ahl al-k̲h̲idma*).

The first *aṣḥāb al-s̲h̲urṭa al-ʿulyā* are recorded under the reign of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh. One of them, Ḳāsim b. Walīd al-Kalbī, was confirmed in his function by al-Nāṣir, and played an important military role in the pacification of the rebellions of Seville and of Carmona. In the early years of his reign (well documented in vol. v of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis*), al-Nāṣir appointed to this post members of families such as the Banū Abī ʿAbda, the Banū Ḥudayr (who also fulfilled the role of the *s̲h̲urṭa wusṭā*) and the Banū S̲h̲uhayd, as well as one of his maternal uncles and his *mawālī*, including Durrī. At the same time, the caliph entrusted to him the command of numerous military expeditions. This link between the *s̲h̲urṭa ʿulyā* and military responsibilities was maintained in the case of ʿUbayd b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿlā (appointed *ḳāʾid al-aʿinna* in 343/954) and later, the admiral of the fleet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rumāḥis. Descriptions of Umayyad ceremonial under al-Ḥakam II contained in vol. vii of the *Muḳtabis* show the privileged status of the *aṣḥāb al-s̲h̲urṭa al-ʿulyā wa ʾl-wusṭā*, among the highest-ranking functionaries. This is not a question of a responsibility entrusted to a single person, and it is offered to people in conjunction with their appointment to the command of an army unit or the governance of a province. This evolution seems to indicate that the *s̲h̲urṭa ʿulyā* (and the other categories) has become a kind of official rank or grade in the hierarchy of the caliphal administration, in close association with the army. Special missions are entrusted to holders of this title, such as the preparation of expeditions against Christian kingdoms and the reception of North African princes who are vassals of the caliph of Cordova. For their part, the biographical sources show us the continuity of the *ḥukkām* entrusted with the *s̲h̲urṭa* (and frequently also with the *sūḳ*). Among these, the activity of Aḥmad b. Naṣr under al-Ḥakam II is well described by the historical sources: he was concerned with the market as well as with the public distribution of the caliph's alms and with complaints against the governors (*ʿummāl*) of provinces, Aḥmad b. Naṣr is ranked, in palace ceremonies, among the *aʿyān al-k̲h̲āṣṣa*, not among the senior functionaries.

With al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿAmr (who had himself been *ṣāḥib al-s̲h̲urṭa al-wusṭā* before exerting total control of caliphal power) references to the *aṣḥāb al-s̲h̲urṭa al-ʿulyā wa ʾl-wusṭā* disappear from the sources (mention of the role of the *s̲h̲urṭa ʿulyā* is not found until later, under the Zīrids of Granada, and then only once), while the *ḥukkām* continue to fulfil their functions, in this period as after the fall of the caliphate and in Cordova as in other cities. Al-Manṣūr had in addition a personal *s̲h̲urṭa*, under the supervision of a *wālī*, and established in the palatine city which he had founded, al-Madīna al-Zāhira [*q.v.*]. In the period of disorder which saw the disappearance of the Umayyad caliphate, Ibn Wadaʿa, who was responsible for the *s̲h̲urṭat al-madīna*, played an important political role, addressing the power vacuum which came into being. If Ibn Ḥayyān (quoted by Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb in *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*) is to be believed, the *aṣḥāb al-s̲h̲urṭa* exercised despotic power during these years, and it was not until the seizure of power by the Banū D̲j̲ahwar that justice and order were to be established once more in Cordova.

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(Manuela Marín)

SHUSHTAR, Shūshtar, Arabic form Tustar, a town of southwestern Persia in the mediaeval Islamic province of Ahwāz [*q.v.*] and the modern one (*ustān*) of Khūzistān (lat. 32° 03' N., long. 48° 51' E.). It stands on a cliff to the west of which runs the river Kārūn [*q.v.*], the middle course of which begins a few miles north of the town. This position gives the town considerable commercial and strategic importance and has made possible the construction of various waterworks for which the town has long been famous. The main features of these constructions are: (1) the canal called Āb-i Gargar (in the Middle Ages, Masrūḳān) which is led from the left bank of the river about 600 yards north of the town; it runs southwards along the east side of the cliffs of Shushtar and rejoins the Kārūn at Band-i Ḳīr, the site of the ancient ʿAskar Mukram; (2) the great barrage called Band-i Ḳayṣar, which is thrown across the principal arm of the river (here called Shuṭayṭ or Nahr-i Shushtar) east of the town and is about 440 yards long; this barrage supports a bridge intended to connect the town with the west bank, but now a considerable gap is broken in it; (3) the canal called Mīnāw (from Miyānāb) which begins above the barrage in the form of a tunnel cut out of the rock on the western side of the town; the citadel is above this part; the Mīnāw turns southwards and is intended to irrigate the land south of the town.

Shushtar, along with these canals, was already in existence in pre-Islamic times. Pliny knows a town called Sostra (xii, 78) and it appears as Shōshtar in the *Liste géographique des villes d'Iran*, publ. by Blochet (*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et l'archéologie égyptienne et assyriennes*, xvii [1895], no. 46); it is found in Syriac literature as a Nestorian bishopric (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 27). Persian tradition also regards Shushtar as a very old town (e.g. Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, 315). This tradition is found in the Arab historians and geographers and most fully in the *Ta'rīkh-i Shūshtar* of ʿAbd Allāh Shūshtarī (see *Bibl.*). The story goes that the town was founded by the mythical king Hūshang after the foundation of Shūsh (Susa). Shushtar is said to be a comparative from Shūsh meaning "more beautiful", in reference to the site of the town (Marquart, *loc. cit.* also regards it as a derivative from Shūsh with the suffix-*tar* indicating direction). The Arabic form Tustar is generally explained as an Arabicisation of Shūshtar (e.g. by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and Yāḳūt, i, 848). Several sources record that the town was built in the form of a horse. Tradition also says that the Mīnāw canal, formerly called Nahr-i Dāriyān, was built by Darius the Great and that it was the Sāsānid Ardashīr I who began to construct the barrage in the river below the mouth of the canal, after the latter had dried up because the bed of the river had sunk through erosion by the force of the current. The work was only completed, however, under Shāpūr II by his Roman prisoners under Valerian II (cf. also Ṭabarī, i, 827 and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 184 - § 606). The Āb-i Gargar was first dug simply to divert the volume of water. The Band-i Ḳayṣar was next constructed and called after the emperor, and the bed of the river above the barrage was paved with huge slabs of stone bound with iron so as to prevent any further erosion. This paving was called Shādirwān, a term which was also applied to the barrage itself. Ultimately, a new barrage is said to have been built across the Gargar. From the 8th/14th century, the Āb-i Gargar was called Dū-Dānig and the Nahr-i Shushtar Čahār-Dānig, because they contained respectively two- and four-sixths of the quantity of water in the Kārūn. Muslim authors number these great hydraulic constructions among the wonders of the world (e.g. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). Although the authenticity of the tradition quoted could be for the most part disputed, it is not improbable that Roman prisoners of war took part in the construction of the barrage (cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 37); local tradition further attributes to Roman colonists thc introduction of a number of industries, e.g. the manufacture of brocade (*dībādj*) and certain popular customs.

In the caliphate of ʿUmar, the town was conquered by al-Barā' b. Mālik, whose tomb used to be pointed out in the centuries following. Tradition also says that the coffin of the prophet Dāniyāl was found there, which later on was brought to Shūsh. In the Umayyad period, the town became one of the strongholds of the Khāridjīs; the Khāridjī Shabīb made it his capital, but after his death al-Ḥadjdjādj seized it; it was then that the great bridge over the barrage was destroyed. Under the caliphs, Shushtar was the capital of one of the seven provinces (sometimes a larger number is given, see al-Muḳaddasī, 404), into which Khūzistān was divided. When Baghdād became the centre of the empire, Shushtar gradually became influenced by its proximity to the capital. One quarter of Baghdād, for example, in the 4th/10th century was called Maḥallat al-Tustariyyīn; it was the residence of the merchants and notables from Khūzistān. The oldest mosque was built under the ʿAbbāsids; begun in the reign of al-Muʿtazz (252-5/866-9), it was only finished under the caliph al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-35). There was, however, a fire-altar at Shushtar in the time of al-Ḥallādj (Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallāj*, i, 92).

Shushtar, along with Ahwāz, has always been the chief town in Khūzistān; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī calls it the capital of this province. It was conquered by Tīmūr, and remained in the hands of the Tīmūrids till the year 820/1514, when it fell to a Shīʿī dynasty of Sayyids under the suzerainty of the Ṣafawids and became a centre of Shīʿa propaganda. Several governors have founded little dynasties there. The town enjoyed most prosperity in the reign of Wākhishtū Khān (1041-78/1632-67), whose descendants kept the governorship till the end of the Ṣafawids. At the beginning of the 19th century it was among the provinces governed by Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, who restored, for example, the barrage and the bridge. At this period, it is said to have had a population of 45,000, but the number has certainly diminished a great deal since, for Rawlinson in 1836 puts it at 15,000 and Curzon in 1890 at 8,000. The area covered by the town is out of all proportion to the population. Sykes also calls Shushtar the most ruined town in Persia; this description applies also to the irrigation works. The houses are built of stone and brick; they contain cellars [see sardāb], here called *shewādān*, in which the inhabitants shelter in the excessive heat of summer (Shushtar has the dubious distinction of having the highest mean maximum temperature for July in the whole country, 47.3° C.).

As to the inhabitants themselves, they are a mixture of Arab and Iranian or proto-Iranian elements. In the middle of the 19th century there were still a considerable number of Mandaeans here; Layard counted 300-400 families of them in 1840 (cf. also the description of them given by ʿAbd Allāh al-

Shushtarī, 24). They have probably now disappeared. Travellers at the end of the 19th century (Curzon and Sykes) described the character of the present inhabitants as disagreeable and fanatical. Among the Persians, the devoutness of the inhabitants has earned the town the honorific title of *Dār al-Muʾminīn*. On the other hand, we find Shushtar included among the Persian towns celebrated for the stupidity of its inhabitants (Christensen, in *AO*, iii, 31).

In the early 20th century, the town was rent by feuding between the two factions of the Niʿmatīs, supporters of the Bakhtiyārīs and Constitutionalists, and the Ḥaydarīs, pro-Arab and pro-monarchy. From the later 19th century, Shushtar had benefited commercially from being the farthest point on the Kārūn reached by the steamship service inaugurated in 1887 by Messrs Lynch [see KĀRŪN], for goods had to be landed there and sent forward by caravan. It grew to be the major retail centre of southwestern Persia, with a population reaching 28,000 in 1938 before the completion of the Trans-Persian Railway then. But since that line crossed the Kārūn at Ahwāz, on its way from Bandar Shāpūr on the Gulf to the interior plateau, Shushtar was bypassed; Ahwāz [*q.v.*] became a major city, eclipsing Shushtar, so that the latter's population began to decline. In 1971 it was still only 27,532, but has recently increased to 70,294 (1991 census figure).

Bibliography: A local history is the *Taʾrīkh/Tadhkira-yi Shushtariyya* of Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Shushtarī "Faḳīr" (d. 1173/1759-60, see Storey, i, 365, 1298), Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1914-24. The information of the classical Islamic geographers is in Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 234-6; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 313, 315-8; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 88-90. See also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1840, ix, 178 ff.; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887; Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 363 ff.; P.M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, 252 ff.; E. Herzfeld, in *Petermann's Geographische Mitteilungen*, liii, Gotha 1907; Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 84-6, 297, 426-8, 431; Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, vi, 239-40; L. Lockhart, *Persian cities*, London 1960, 142-51; *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, 232, 553, 558.

(J.H. KRAMERS-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-**SHUSHTARĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Numayrī, Ṣūfī of Muslim Spain and resident of Malaga and Grenada (b. *ca.* 610/1212, d. at Ṭīna 668/1269 and buried at Damietta; his *nisba* derives from Shushtar, here a *ḳarya* or village of the Guadix district).

His masters included Ibn Surāḳa al-Shāṭibī and other disciples of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [*q.v.*]), and he was in contact with the Ṣūfī poet al-Nadjm b. Isrāʾīl al-Dimashḳī, whom he met in 650/1252. But most influential for al-Shushtarī was the philosopher and mystic Ibn Sabʿīn [*q.v.*], whom he met at Bidjāya in 646/1248 and five years later in Egypt and at Mecca.

His prose works include *al-Maḳālīd al-wudjūdiyya fī asrār al-ṣūfiyya* (ms. Cairo, Taymūr, *taṣawwuf*, 149, fols. 413-43); *al-Marātib al-īmāniyya wa 'l-islāmiyya wa 'l-iḥsāniyya*; *al-Risāla al-ʿalamiyya* (résumé by Ibn Luyūn); *al-Risāla al-baghdādiyya* (ea. M.-Th. Urvoy, in *BEtOr*, xxviii [1975], 259-61); *al-Risāla al-ḳudsiyya fī tawḥīd al-ʿāmma wa 'l-khāṣṣa* (mss. Taymūr, *taṣawwuf* 149, see Urvoy, 259 n. 3, and Istanbul, Şehit Ali 1389/6); and *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā fī bayān al-sunan wa-iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*.... But al-Shushtarī was best known for his poetry, with a *dīwān* of odes, *muwashshaḥāt*, etc., commented on by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (author of a *Radd al-muftarī fī 'l-ṭaʿān ʿalā 'l-Shushtarī*), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdjība al-Ḥasanī and Zarrūḳ (mss. of the *dīwān* listed in Massignon, *Investigaciones sobre Šuštarī*, 54). It has been edited by ʿA.S. al-Nashshār, Alexandria 1960, and by F. Corriente, *Poesía estrófica (cejeles y/o muwaššahāt) atribuida al místico granadino Aš-Šuštarī (s. XIII d.c.)*, Madrid 1988. In his *muwashshaḥāt* and *azdjāl* in dialectical Arabic, set to melodies, he followed the way traced by Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, who had made the *zadjal* a vehicle for mysticism (see Corriente, *La poesía estrófica de Ibn ʿArabī de Murcia*, in *Sharq al-Andalus*, iii [1986], 19-24).

Certain charismatic acts were attributed to him, and were gathered together by al-Ghubrīnī and reproduced by later biographers. As a disciple of Ibn Sabʿīn, al-Shushtarī was considered to be of suspect orthodoxy and was allegedly an exponent of the doctrine of *ḥulūl*, although the reserves concerning him are less than those for his master.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ghubrīnī (d. 714/1315), *ʿUnwān al-dirāya*, ed. ʿA. Nuwayhiḍ, Beirut 1369, 239-42 no. 68; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ed. ʿInān, Cairo 1973-7, iv, 205-16; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, Beirut 1971, iv, 240 no. 643; Ḳarāfī, *Tawshīḥ al-dībādj*, ed. A. al-Shatyawī, Beirut 1983, 166-7 no. 164; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadwat al-iḳtibās*, Rabat 1973-4, ii, 487-8 no. 552; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, Beirut n.d., 202; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 185-7 no. 114; Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1951, i, 711-12; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr*, Cairo 1950-2, i, 196 no. 664.

2. Studies. Ziriklī, iv, 305; Kaḥḥāla, vii, 135-6; Brockelmann, I², 323, S I, 483-4; Massignon, in *EI*¹ s.v.; idem, *Investigaciones sobre Šuštarī, poeta andaluz, enterrado en Damieta*, in *Annales Archéol.*, xiv (1949), 29-58 (Fr. version in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, Algiers 1950, 251-76, repr. in Massignon's *Opera minora*, Beirut 1963, ii, 406-27; but see the reserves of S.M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, Oxford 1974, 89 n. 11); A.S. El Nashar, *Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī, místico andaluz y autor de zéjeles y su influencia en el mundo musulmán*, in *RIEEI*, i, (1953), 122-55. On his poetry, see F. Corriente. *Observaciones sobre la métrica de aš-Šuštarī* (*Materiales para un estudio diacrónico del zéjel y el* muwaššah), in *Awrāq*, v-vi (1982-3), 39-87; Omaima Mostafa Abou-Bakr, *A study of the poetry of Al-Shushtarī*, diss., Univ. of California 19?, unpubl.

(MARIBEL FIERRO)

AL-**SHUSHTARĪ, SAYYID NŪR ALLĀH** [see NŪR ALLĀH].

AL-**SHUʿŪBIYYA** (A.), a movement within the early Muslim society which denied any privileged position of the Arabs. The term Shuʿūbiyya goes back to Ḳurʾān, XLIX, 13, where it is stated: "O Men, We have created you of a male and a female and have made you into peoples (*shuʿūb*) and tribes (*ḳabāʾil*), that ye might know one another. Verily the noblest of you in the sight of God are they that do most fear Him."

The derivation of the term Shuʿūbiyya from the word *shuʿūb* occured before the movement of the same name appeared (Gibb, 66-7). The original Shuʿūbiyya was the concept of extending the equality between the *shuʿūb* and the *ḳabāʾil* to include equality among all Muslims, and was adhered to by the Khāridjites [*q.v.*] in the early period of Islam. This idea countered the Ḳuraysh's [*q.v.*] claim to leadership. The Shuʿūbiyya movement, which appeared in the 2nd/8th century and reached its peak in the 3rd/9th century,

had other, more diverse goals. These ranged from a call for equality between non-Arabs (ʿADJAM [*q.v.*]) and Arabs (ʿARAB [*q.v.*]), whose advocates were also known as *Ahl al-taswiya* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 5), to the claim of non-Arab supremacy which denied any significance, past or present, of the Arabs.

Most of the Shuʿūbīs were Persians, although references to Aramaeans, Copts and Berbers, among others, are also found in the literature. (A unique example of non-Persian Shuʿūbiyya is Ibn Waḥshiyya's [*q.v.*] *Nabataean agriculture.*) It seems that the term Shuʿūbiyya was used by the Shuʿūbīs themselves, and was not a discriminatory term used by their opponents. In contrast to the classical Arabian interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, where *shuʿūb* and *ḳabāʾil* were both based on the principle of genealogy, several Persian interpreters assigned different meanings to *shuʿūb* and *ḳabāʾil*, whereby *shuʿūb* stood for a people whose identity was determined by territory, and *ḳabāʾil* stood for a people whose identity was determined by genealogy (Mottahedeh, 167-70).

I. Goldziher was the first to study the Shuʿūbiyya in depth; he identified two main forces behind the anti-Arab movement. First, he stated that the ʿAbbāsids had been exercising strong discrimination against the Arabs. Second, the Persians, only superficially Islamicised to begin with, re-discovered a national consciousness. This nationalism was further spurred on by autonomy movements taking place in the eastern part of the empire at the time (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 147-55). But Goldziher's supposition that the Shuʿūbiyya was in contact with nationalistic separatist movements was contested by H.A.R. Gibb. He came to the conclusion that the Shuʿūbiyya had not been a threat to the continued existence of the empire but rather to its future direction. "Their aim was not to destroy the Islamic empire, but to remold its political and social institutions and values, which represented in their eyes the highest political wisdom." (Gibb, 66.) In fact, it is difficult to find evidence of any sympathy on the part of the Shuʿūbīs for revolts that took place against the central power. Furthermore, the Shuʿūbīs primarily consisted of the educated, poets, and, above all, secretaries, who could only benefit from a strong and centralised state.

Over the course of their conquests, the Arabs adopted both the Sāsānid administration in place as well as its personnel, a group of highly professional civil servants with a strong sense of their status in society. Although the patron-client-relationship (*walāʾ* [*q.v.*]) bound the secretaries to their Arab conquerors, it also served their unique privileges. The secretaries remained faithful to the Sāsānid tradition; they translated literature such as the biographies of the kings of Persia, wrote epistles in the Sāsānid official style and produced works on practical knowledge about government. There is no evidence of any conflict between the civil servants and the Arabs well into the early ʿAbbāsid era. Even in the writings of a high secretary as Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], expressing his disgust for people of lower origins at the caliph's court, one detects no anti-Arab resentment between the lines (Goitein, 236).

The clash came after the former garrisons of Kūfa and Baṣra developed into urban and prosperous societies made up of Arabs and non-Arabs, merchants and artisans, scholars and educated. The foundations of Arab-Islamic scholarship were laid, and a new Arab style of poetry and prose began to circulate. As the literary production of the secretaries came under serious competitive pressure towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, the initial indifference of the secretaries towards their Arab conquerers changed to hate, and the Shuʿūbiyya movement came about (Gibb, 62-6).

Gibb's description of events is convincing, but it is also incomplete. It was not simply a question of the triumph of one cultural tradition over another; rather, it was a matter of status. At risk was not just the reputation of the Persian court literature but the social privileges of the secretaries who followed its tradition. Meanwhile, the Arab and Islamic literature was not simply a product of isolated philologists and jurists but reflected the world-view of the new citizens.

This development took place in an era of demilitarisation, expansion of trade relations and a general flourishing of the cities, whereby social status differences between Arabs, as well as between Arabs and non-Arabs, began to lose importance. These things added together made up the foundation of a society that offered its members an opportunity to raise their social position above the level assigned at birth.

At the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid era, the position of the secretaries in the state administration remained largely unchallenged, but soon thereafter members of the urban middle class began to appear in the highest positions of government. Two epistles by al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], namely "Reproach of the character of the state secretaries" (*Dhamm akhlāḳ al-kuttāb*) and "Praise of the merchants and reproach of the public offices" (*Fī madḥ al-tudjdjār wa-dhamm ʿamal al-sulṭān*) are perhaps a good illustration of relations at the time, even though they may include anti-Shuʿūbī exaggerations. According to these epistles, the secretary distributed pompous Persian maxims and criticised the Arab-Islamic tradition, while in truth he was completely dependent upon his masters and under an obligation to show utmost loyalty to them. The merchant, on the other hand, shared his knowledge of the Djāhiliyya and of Islam with others willingly and with composure, because his living was not dependent upon his erudition (*Dhamm*, 42-3; *Madḥ*, 157-8).

Some authors interpret the Shuʿūbiyya less under its specific conditions but rather compare it with other movements of the same sort within the larger framework of Muslim history and society. The most recent publication on the topic, for instance, has largely removed the social and ideological context from the study of this movement and has instead portrayed it as a form of regional and ethnic antagonism. There it is seen in a line with its antecedents, the conflict of the Northern and Southern Arabs (Norris, 32).

Not only the meaning but also the importance of the Shuʿūbiyya is open to various interpretations. On the one hand, there are preserved in mediaeval Arabic anthologies, literary works and historiographies a number of remarks by poets such as Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*] which seem to demonstrate that the making of pro-Persian or anti-Arab comments was a harmless literary fashion (Norris, 35). On the other hand, a passage by al-Djāḥiẓ reveals deep concern that the Shuʿūbiyya could grow to become a real threat to Islam. Hate breeds hate, according to his line of thinking, and it is only a short step from hating the Arabs to hating Islam. "The bulk of those who are sceptics in regard to Islam, at the outset, were inspired by the ideas of the Shuʿūbiyya. Protracted argument leads to fighting. If a man hates a thing, then he hates him who possesses it, or is associated with it. If he hates [the Arabic] language then he hates the [Arabian] peninsula, and if he hates that peninsula then he loves those who hate it. Thus matters go from bad to worse with him until he forsakes Islam itself, because it is

the Arabs who brought it; it is they who provided the venerable forebears and the example worthy of imitation" (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 220).

The study of the Shu'ūbiyya is made even more difficult by the fact that not one original tract has survived. One is forced to use the accounts of anti-Shu'ūbī polemics in order to reconstruct the movement's arguments. The most complete examples of such a polemic are found in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, and Ibn Ḳutayba's [*q.v.*] *K. al-'Arab* and a passage in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih. They are built upon the pattern of "virtues and vices" (*manāḳib, mathālib* [*q.vv.*] of the respective nations and recount the attacks of the Shu'ūbiyya against the Arabs as well as their refutation. Arab warfare, described by the Shu'ūbīs in detail, was a technical, tactical and strategic disgrace in comparison to the warfare skills of the Sāsānids and Byzantines. The Arabian habit of gesticulating with a stick in hand while speaking, and other linguistic and non-linguistic habits of speech, served only to expose the emptiness of the Arabian claim to eloquence. Their rough language revealed the Arabs for what they really were, a people of camel-drivers. The Persians alone were capable of eloquence, delicacy and good conduct, and the arts and sciences were products of the Greek and Indian cultures, not the Arabian. Furthermore, the Arabs could rightfully claim just four prophets as their own, namely Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Ismā'īl and Muḥammad [*q.vv.*], and were said to be descendants of Ismā'īl, the son of Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] by his slave Hagar, and not of Isḥāḳ, the son of Ibrāhīm by his legal wife Sarah.

But this crude form of anti-Arabism was not what made the Shu'ūbiyya dangerous. The danger of the Shu'ūbiyya lay in the scepticism it provoked among the educated. The seeds of the concept of free-thinking (*zandaḳa* [*q.v.*]), sown in the pre-Islamic culture in 'Irāḳ, showed not only Manichaean tendencies but began to manifest itself as an anti-moral, frivolous and cynical attitude (*mudjūn* [*q.v.*]).

The reaction was both Arabian and Islamic. Three developments laid the foundation for a final victory of the Arabian humanities in the period following al-Djāḥiẓ. These developments were the concept of *adab* [*q.v.*], which joined pre-Islamic and Arabian traditions with religious tradition, the rise of the Mu'tazila [*q.v.*] with its strict monotheistic outlook, and the founding of the *Bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] which produced translations of Greek logic and philosophy that were effective instruments in the fight against dualistic heresies. In this context, Ibn Ḳutayba was able to compose a binding compendium that recognised Sāsānid tradition while at the same time reconciled it with the Arabian and Islamic scholarship (Gibb, 69-72).

About two hundred years after the Shu'ūbiyya died out in the East, a new Shu'ūbiyya appeared in the 5th/11th century in al-Andalus. This time it was not the Persians but the Berbers and the "Slavs" [see AL-ṢAḲĀLIBA. 3], understood to mean Galicians, Franks, Germans, Langobards and Calabrians, who made use of anti-Arab polemic. The epistle by Abū 'Āmir Ibn Gharsiya [*q.v.*], which earned no less than five rebuttals in the century following its writing, is considered to be the masterpiece of the Andalusian Shu'ūbiyya. Ibn Gharsiya was a renowned poet and secretary with Christian and Basque origins, but his epistle does not differ substantially from those of his eastern predecessors. As with the earlier works, the epistle makes references to the pre-Islamic Arabs' low degree of civilisation and praises the Persian and Byzantines, without losing a word over the non-Arabs of al-Andalus. Furthermore, as with the earlier writings of the Shu'ūbiyya, the descent of the Arabs from Ismā'īl is held up as a blemish upon the people. The epistle demonstrates Ibn Gharsiya's excellent command of the Arabic language and his familiarity with Eastern culture, two things that were also characteristic of his predecessors. In contrast to them, however, Ibn Gharsiya was not rooted in an old-established tradition whose preservation was his main task. "He was not a Christian Spaniard attacking the conquerors of his homeland but rather a neo-Muslim attempting to extend the benefits of Islamic civilization to those non-Arab peoples who formed a large segment of the Andalusian community" (Monroe, 12-13).

In the light of the resurgence of a new kind of Shu'ūbiyya in al-Andalus, the question arises whether it should be viewed not only in its specific historical situation but also as a general phenomenon in Arab-Islamic history. Hanna-Gardner pursued this question; and they discovered not two or three, but many Shu'ūbiyyas, beginning with the Shu'ūbiyya of the Middle Ages, through Ottomanism and Westernisation in the 19th century to Internationalism, Regionalism and Socialism in the 20th century. According to the authors, these movements have one thing in common that permits grouping them together under the same heading. They appeared in the name of universalism in order to undermine Arab communal consciousness, and thereby automatically called forth an Arab particularism. In this sense, all of them were true to the original meaning of the term Shu'ūbiyya "belonging to the people", while the Arabs continued to identify themselves with *ḳawmiyya* [*q.v.*] "belonging to a particular people", i.e. the Arabs (337).

The temptation is great to view the regular ebb and flow of Shu'ūbiyya and Arabism in terms of century-to-century swings between universalism and particularism. Yet such a view would overlook two important facts. First, the term Shu'ūbiyya fell out of use in the Middle Ages and did not become popular again until the time of Arab nationalism, where its use became inflated. The term then became a common denunciation of one's political opponents and was even projected back into history. Second, while the universalism-particularism-scheme may be true for the 20th century, it does not fit the Shu'ūbiyya of the Middle Ages. For it was in the name of an Islamic universalism, and not of an Arab particularism, that writers like al-Djāḥiẓ attacked the movement at that time.

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(S. Enderwitz)

SHUWA (etymology of this name obscure), a group of Arabs, of nomadic origin, found by early modern times (the 19th century) in the central Sudan belt of Africa, now coming within the countries bordering on Lake Chad, sc. western Chad, north-eastern Nigeria, northern Cameroons and the south-eastern tip of Niger.

1. History.

Their origin was in Dārfūr and Wādāy [*q.vv.*], and they migrated westwards at an unknown date, perhaps as early as the 14th century; in the 17th century they were present in Bagirmi [*q.v.*] to the southeast of Lake Chad as that nation took shape. The earliest arrivals adopted the Kanuri language, but in the main they preserved their Arabic dialect, distinct from the Arabic of North Africa and the Western Sudan [see below, 2.]. A further impetus to their westwards migration was when, in the early 19th century, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Kānemī [*q.v.*] used them as aides against the eastwards advance of the Fulani. The Shuwa do not seem to have passed beyond Borno or Bornu [*q.v.*] in northeastern Nigeria, and only small numbers went southwards to the Mardawa and Adamawa regions. Some of the Shuwa remained pure camel nomads (the *abbāla*), but others converted to cattle nomadism (the *baḳḳāra*) and some became agriculturists around the southern shores of Lake Chad, where there arose Shuwa villages, cultivation being done by Negro serfs or clients. They do not, however, seem ever to have formed towns or to have had a permanent home centre. Hence they were often in a dependent relationship with local potentates, such as the Kanembu *Mais* of Kanem. In 19th century Borno, many Shuwa held high court and administrative posts and the Shehu rulers took their womenfolk as wives.

The Shuwa were a significant factor in the Islamisation of the region. Two of the most important and influential nomad groups in Bornu, the Awlād Sāra and the Awlād Muḥārib, claimed Sharīf [*q.v.*] status, and traditions of eastern Hausaland include the chiefs of the Shuwa amongst those allegedly receiving copies of the Ḳurʾān from the Prophet Muḥammad's own hands. According to Trimingham, the Shuwa, unusually for the Muslims in this region, are Ḥanafī in *madhhab*.

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2. Dialect.

The term Shuwa (شوا) refers to the spoken Arabic dialect and its approximately 2 million speakers who currently inhabit the former territories of Bagirmi [*q.v.*] and Kanem [*q.v.*]-Borno, today's Borno State [see BORNŪ], Northeast Nigeria, and parts of Cameroon and Chad. The largest concentration of Shuwa Arabs presently lives in and around Maiduguri. There is no consensus on the etymology of thc word *Shuwa*. The people themselves favour a Kanuri [*q.v.*] (Nilo-Saharan) etymon *šəwa* "beautiful"; however, much more probable is an Arabic source *šiwāh* "sheep" (sing. *šāh*), demonstrating that the Shuwas are part of Baggāra Arab culture.

Shuwa Arabic is but one micro-dialect of a distinct Sudanic macro-dialect spoken between Lake Chad and the Red Sea. A major characteristic of Shuwa Arabic is the preservation of Old Arabic (OA) short vowels, especially *a*, in unaccented open syllables (*kabīr* "big"), which have elided in the Maghrib and the Levant. Another is that it has no diglossia with Modern Standard Arabic.

Some principal features of the Shuwa dialect are:

(1) the OA pharyngeals have become laryngeals or zero (OA *qaʿad* > *gaat* "he stayed"; OA *ʾaḥmar* > *áhamar* "red")

(2) OA *ġ* > *q* (*qanam* "sheep")

(3) OA *m* > *b* in a few lexemes containing nasals (*bakān* "place")

(4) OA *dj* > *d* in a few lexemes containing sibilants (*šadar* "trees")

(5) the development of an inchoative-intransitivising prefix *al-* (*fákkar* "remind", *alfákkar* "remember")

(6) verbal reduplication (*lámma* "gather", *lámlam* "gather a lot")

(7) final stress in *-í* "my", *afʿál* elatives, and singulative *-á* (*bētí* "my house", *akbár* "bigger", *qanamá* "1 sheep")

(8) front and back vowel harmony (*bišīl* "he takes", *bugūl* "he says")

(9) syllable and word-final position devoicing (*tač* "you m.s. come", *makʾat* "place where one stays")

(10) many loanwords (including idioms) from non-Semitic African languages, such as Kanuri, Hausa (*rās alkalām* "topic", lit. "head of the talk", *dugó* "then, afterwards" < Kanuri *dugó* "first, before")

Two major groups of Shuwa dialects can be distinguished, Eastern (E) and Western (W). The major E isoglosses are:

(1) OA *θ* > *s* (E *sōr* "bull", W *tōr*)

(2) 1. plural imperfect subject suffix is *-u* (E *nimšu* "we go", W *nimši*)

(3) active participle with object suffix *-in* (E *kātbínha* "has written it, f.", W *kātíbha*)

(4) imperfect preformative vowel is *i* (E *tiji* "she comes", W *tiji* ~ *tāji*)

(5) Some lexical items (E with *h*, W with *x*; e.g., *hadda* "he put")

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SHUYŪʿIYYA (a.), Communism.

1. In the Arab world.

1. *Terminology*

This substantive and the noun-adjective *Shuyūʿī* were established after the First World War to denote the ideological positions and political organisations associated with the Third International, described as "communist", as distinct from the "socialist" Second International and the positions and organisations associated with it. References to socialism (*Ishtirākiyya*), as a theoretical basis, remain in current usage, although it tends to be qualified by "scientific".

While *Ishtirākiyya* has prevailed over the borrowed form *Sūsyālism* to denote socialism since the 1870s, terminology relating to "communist" tendencies of thought and action was fluctuating until the beginning of the 1920s. Derivations from the borrowed form *Kumūn/Kūmūn* came into existence after the Paris Commune, but in 1883 Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] opted for the following definition of "naturalist" materialist trends in his Arabic translation of the *Risāla* of Djamal al-Dīn al-Afghānī, entitled *al-Radd ʿalā al-dahriyyīn: al-Sūsyālist "al-Idjtimāʿiyyūn" wa ʾl-Nihīlist "al-ʿAdamiyyūn" wa ʾl-Kumūnist "al-Ishtirākiyyūn"*. In 1908, Djirdjī Zaydān [*q.v.*] repeated this distinction, but in the same year Shiblī Shumayyil [*q.v.*] preferred, while noting the equivalence with *Idjtimāʿiyya*, the global term *Ishtirākiyya* to denote European socialism in all its diverse forms; and it is this term which predominates in the more authoritative works of Salāma Mūsā (1913) [*q.v.*] and Muṣṭafā al-Manṣūrī (1915). After the adoption in 1918-19 of the distinctive qualificative "communist" (change in the name of the Bolshevik party, then foundation of the Third International), two pairs of terms are in competition: *Ibāḥiyya/Ibāḥī*, used especially, on account of its multiplicity of senses, by polemicists, although not exclusively so, since it denotes the common, collective appropriation of property, and in Palestine an early Arabic tract on the eve of 1 May 1921 is signed *al-Ḥizb al-Ibāḥi fī Filasṭīn*; the pairing *Shuyūʿiyya/Shuyūʿī*, derived from a root which expresses the same idea, and all the more so in that the Mushāʿ [*q.v.*] pattern is applied to a still-practised form of indivision, was to gain ascendancy. Since 1921, Tunisian communists have used these terms to describe themselves.

2. *The inter-war period: foundation of the first communist parties*

In the immediate post-war period, the Russian Revolution was viewed with particular interest in the Arab Orient, since it appeared to accord with the nationalist aspirations which motivated the revolutions of 1919 in Egypt, of 1920 in ʿIrāḳ, with movements of opposition to mandatory division in the Levant and in Palestine, and with the still embryonic, proto-nationalist, constitutional reformist movements of Tunisia and Algeria. The denunciation, after November 1917, of secret agreements for the sharing of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Sykes-Picot-Sazonov), entailing renunciation of the Russian claim, the echo of the Congress of Baku (September 1920), calling the Muslim peoples to *djihād* and, for the Pan-Islamists at least, support for Kemalist Turkey—all these contributed to this "anti-imperialist" alliance. The link with social aspirations was not absent, but it was interpreted according to different scales of priorities. The objective of the Bolsheviks was to establish a society based on the collective appropriation of social goods. A *fatwā* of the *muftī* of Egypt, in response to a question in *The Times*, having declared this contrary to religion, *al-Manār*, the periodical of Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] (August 1919), taking up an idea of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (*Ṭabāʾiʿ al-istibdād, 1902* [*q.v.*]) asserted that there was, neither in the ideas nor in the actions of Bolshevism, any contradiction with the principles of Islam. But this was a marginal opinion. Nationalist leaders were more aware of the dialectics of power; the weight of popular demonstrations and strikes consolidated the national cause, but needed to be kept under control. On the other hand, intellectuals, versed in socialism and its various forms, as well as trade unionist or pre-trade unionist workers, were more aware of the dialectics of society; to give an anti-capitalist class content to anti-imperialist national conflicts, thus paving the way for the acquisition of power by the workers, on the model of the Soviet "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Between 1920 and 1925, the first parties inspired by the Communist International made their appearance, although the modes of formation were diverse. In two cases, it was a matter of the evolution of European socialist formations which attracted few if any adherents in the countries concerned. In North Africa, under French domination, the decision was the result of the majority decision of the Congress of Tours (December 1920) of the Socialist Party (S.F.I.O., *Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière*) to accept the conditions of membership of the Communist International, and thereby to become the Communist Party (S.F.I.C., *Section Française de l'Internationale Communiste*). The federation of Tunisia and those of Algeria belonged to this majority. In Palestine, now under British mandate, the socialist movement in the pre-war period was concerned only with Zionist immigration: a slow crystallisation of the extreme left of the Palestinian branch of *Poʿalei Tsion* led to the formation of the *Mifleget Poʿalim Sotsialistim* (October 1919) which in April 1921 declared itself a communist party (P.C.P.). Its membership of the International, conditional upon the abandonment of any reference to proletarian Zionism and the obligation to become a party of the Arab masses, was finalised in March 1924. In two other cases, emergence was more complex. In Egypt, Coptic and Sunnī intellectuals, followers of Salāma Mūsā in Cairo, small socialist groups of foreign or Ottoman origin based in Alexandria under the leadership of a naturalised Egyptian, Joseph Rosenthal, and in particular, a syndicalist revolutionary component constituting a Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T., February 1921), founded *al-Ḥizb al-Ishtirākī al-Miṣrī* in August 1921. The majority decision to join the International was taken in July 1922, this leading to the secession of the Salāma Mūsā group. The party was admitted to membership in January 1923, having undertaken an obligation to convoke a congress which formalised the acceptance of the 21 conditions, purged the party and changed its name. In Lebanon, under French mandate, the process was

more gradual: Fuʾād Shimālī, a communist trade unionist expelled from Egypt in August 1923 for disseminating Bolshevik propaganda, made contact with Yūsuf Ibrāhīm Yazbek and the populist intellectuals who, since the end of 1922, had, in writing, romantically claimed association with the Communist International; priority was given to the creation of a trade union base. The visit of an envoy from the Communist Party of Palestine in October 1924 accelerated the formation of a party, known as the Lebanese People's Party (P.P.L.), the legal frame for a communist cell in liaison with the International. The celebrations of May Day 1925 revealed the existence of an Armenian group (Spartakus) which was rapidly absorbed into the L.P.P., henceforward organised in accordance with communist structures. It was independent of the French Communist Party.

The minimal base of consensus with the conditions of membership of the International was a matter of the link between class struggle and national struggle, the common denominator being opposition to capitalism in its imperialist phase, experienced in the form of colonialism. But this was part of the conception of a worldwide proletarian revolution, of which the International, dominated by the Party State of the Soviet mother country of the worldwide proletariat, determined the strategy and the tactics, these decisions being obligatory for affiliated parties. Leading members were trained at the University of Toilers of the East in the "Marxist-Leninist", in fact "Stalinist", ideological activism [see MĀRK(I)SIYYA]. For the next ten years, it was not so much the requirement for an organic link between Party and trade union which caused problems but rather it was the attitude towards the national bourgeoisie. The contribution of local communist parties to the dynamism of the trade union movement can be traced from this period [see NIḲĀBA]. However, after Egypt's accession to formal independence, the Wafd, given power by the electorate in 1924, suppressed strikes by the workers and dissolved the Communist Party and the C.G.T. which was associated with it. Arrests and a succession of trials forced the surviving militants into hiding, in a process of dispersion tantamount to the annihilation of the party.

In Algeria, the obligation imposed by the eighth condition of membership, requiring support for the actions of every movement of colonial emancipation, was regarded with reservations by communist federations affiliated to the French Communist Party, at least until their combination in a single "region" in 1925. Calls from the Communist International demanding the independence of Algeria (and of Tunisia) met no response in a movement which was still protonationalist, other than acquiescence in communal actions aimed at reform. Activity (1924-6) against the war of the Rīf [*q.v.*] was to illustrate the difficulty of generalising the revolution in the Maghribī environment. The constitution of the North African Star (Paris, 1926) was supposed to fill this gap: the independence of the three countries of the Maghrib featured in its programme. But, until its proscription in 1929, it was active only in immigrant circles in France.

In the Near East, the national movement was a reality, although in the Levant it was Syrian rather than Lebanese, excluding the Jewish national nucleus in Palestine. The Syrian revolution (1925-7), beginning in the Djabal al-Durūz, while supported by the P.P.L./P.C.L. and the P.C.P., was relatively widespread only within the confines of Lebanon. From December 1925 onward, the P.P.L. was disbanded, and its leaders interned until 1928. Extended to cover the whole of the Levant, it henceforward dubbed itself the Syrian Communist Party, under the leadership (1933) of Khālid Bakdāsh. But its programme, bearing the imprint of the "class vs. class" policy adopted in 1928 by the sixth Congress of the International, contributed, here as elsewhere, to its isolation from the national movement.

Directives on "arabisation" [see TAʿRĪB] chiefly concerned Palestine, Algeria and Tunisia, being confined to the objective of a gradual homogenisation, to be maintained at the level of leadership when the two federations should accede, in 1936, to the status of autonomous communist parties independent of the P.C.F. Realisation of this requirement was rendered more problematical by the irresolution which characterised the interpretation of the events of August 1929 in Jerusalem: revolutionary movement or pogrom? A central committee with an Arab majority was constituted on the instructions of the International at the end of 1930. The detention of these leaders in 1931 contributed to changing the image of the P.C.P. in Arab circles, but Jewish militants, while supporting the claims of the Palestinian national movement, remained unconvinced in regard to the forms taken by the latter.

The return to a frontist line of action, undertaken at the seventh Congress of the Communist International (July-August 1935), took better account of the diversity of local conditions: to the European antifascist front corresponded an anti-colonialist front, the colonised territories of the Maghrib participating in both. In Syria, this approach had already been inaugurated in the form of periodicals aimed at revolutionary intellectuals (*al-Duhūr*, 1934, then *al-Ṭalīʿa*, 1935-9). The coincidence of the national struggles with the accession to power in France of the Popular Front, which in 1936 favoured the conclusion of agreements envisaging, after a period of transition, a form of independence for Syria and Lebanon, contributed to the success of the Communist Party, now divided (theoretically) into two national branches. The same applied in the Maghrib, despite the ambiguity of the co-existence of the two types of front. The demands of the Muslim Congress of Algeria (June 1936), co-signed by the communists, were of democratic and assimilationist direction. The North African Star, reconstituted in 1933 on a nationalist base, renamed the Algerian People's Party after its dissolution (1937), soon dissociated itself from this compromise. The divergence with the P.C.A. was not so much over the objective of independence as over questions of timing and priorities. In Palestine, the great strike of 1936 and the Arab nationalist movement of the ensuing years, led to secession on the part of the "Jewish section". Here too, the P.C.P. participated locally in guerrilla actions, and gained influence in intellectual circles.

A new Communist Party appeared in ʿIrāḳ. It crystallised around groups and circles, in contact but without organic links (1929-34), active in a frontist cadre, within the Waṭanī Party, then the al-Ahālī movement, as well as in the syndicates. It supported the *coup d'état* of Bakr Ṣidḳī (October 1936), which pushed ʿIrāḳ into the fore of popular anti-colonialism. Two ministers belonged to the frontist organisation of the Left which was created at his instigation. But long before the counter-coup of August 1937, the political and trade union dynamism of this left-wing "front" had subjected its members to stern repression.

But these were also the years of the Spanish Civil War, launched from Spanish Morocco (July 1936),

with the active support of the "Fascist" powers (Germany, Italy, Portugal). The Communist International encouraged the formation of the International Brigades, in support of the Republic of the popular front. Some volunteers drawn from Arab communist parties participated. But for the first time, there was the prospect of inciting an insurrectional movement in the Franco-ist rearguard sector, in Morocco. Kh̲ālid Bakdās̲h̲, on a mission for this purpose, taking advantage of the Moroccan contacts of a communist Jewish merchant of Oran, was obliged to familiarise himself with Mag̲h̲ribī "specifications".

On the eve of the Second World War, repression by the colonial authorities, direct or indirect, was applied both to radical nationalists and communists, the latter suffering to an even greater extent following the signing of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact (August 1939).

3. *From the expansion of the 1940s to the "Cold War" period*

Besides criticising the hopes reposed in the victory of the Axis Powers by the majority of the nationalist leaders, the Arab communist parties, until the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 1941), declared themselves neutral in a war hitherto defined as inter-imperialist. Being pro-independence, the ʿIrāḳī coup instigated by Ras̲h̲īd ʿAlī al-Kaylānī (April-May 1941) [*q.v.*], recognised by the U.S.S.R., was supported. From the summer of 1941 (Near East) and the autumn of 1942 (Mag̲h̲rib), the region passed under Allied control. Communist parties now declared in favour of participation in the war effort, victory of the democratic camp being presented as the guarantee of a concerted emancipation of the Arab peoples; this expectation was corroborated by the war aims announced at this time by the Allies, and by the relative freedom of action already conceded to the labour and trade union movement, as to the national movement. The limitations were illustrated by the Franco-Levantine crisis of November-December 1943, when the newly-elected parliaments in Lebanon and Syria decided to suppress all references to the French mandate, with the unanimous agreement of the political constituents. However, under pressure from the Allies, a compromise favourable to the national movement was implemented. The credibility of the Communist Parties "of Syria and of Lebanon" (separated into two national parties in January 1944) was thereby enhanced. Elsewhere, manifestos or programmes revealed the claims that were supposed to be satisfied in the aftermath of the war. A new Communist Party was constituted in Morocco (1943), composed of pre-war study groups and trade unionists. The question of membership of the International, dissolved the same year, did not arise. A heterogeneous party, it co-ordinated its action, in the same manner as that followed by the Parties of Algeria and Tunisia, with the P.C.F., which participated in General de Gaulle's provisional government in Algiers, seeing liberation of the French mainland as the overriding priority.

But with the end of the war, determination to maintain imperial control, even with the concession of certain reforms, dashed these hopes. In the case of France, this was shown, in May-June 1945, by the suppression of the insurrection in the Algerian region of Constantine, the significance of which escaped the P.C.A., and then the bombardment of Damascus [see AL-S̲H̲ĀM. 2 (b)], the paradoxical effect of which was to be international recognition of the independence of Syria and of Lebanon. In the case of Britain, this was shown by pressure for the re-negotiation of treaties limiting the sovereignty of Egypt and ʿIrāḳ, and by the delays applied to the emancipation of her other possessions in the Near East. To this may be added the conditions in which the question of Palestine was to be resolved.

In Palestine, the Arab communists, bolstered by the recruitment of intellectuals and of workers, had in 1943 constituted their own organisation influential amongst trade unionists (*ʿUṣbat al-Taḥarrur al-Waṭanī*). In common with the Jewish-dominated P.C.P., and not without debate, they accepted, in opposition to other elements of the Palestinian national movement and to the Arab League, the principle of the solution of Partition, agreed by the United Nations in November 1947. But what remained of the territory devolved to Arab Palestine was annexed by Jordan and by Egypt in the aftermath of the disastrous war launched by the Arab League in 1948. The majority of communists henceforward belonged to the Communist Party of Israel, while the minority who remained in Cis-Jordan contributed to the creation (1951) of the Jordanian Communist Party.

In ʿIrāḳ, the Communist Party consolidated its organisation and its links with the national movement. The strikes and nationalist demonstrations of May 1946, then of 1948, directed against the British military presence and the conclusion of a new treaty, provoked a campaign of repression in the course of which the militants were treated with particular severity: three leading figures, including the secretary-general, were hanged in 1949. But martial law, in force until 1954, could not prevent the periodic recurrence of demonstrations and strikes.

In Egypt, Marxist groups professing communism were re-established from 1942 onwards. But this was a result of the dispersion, the rivalry, most of all for the initiative and the control of the trade union movement. The principal poles were the HAMETHO (*al-Ḥaraka al-Miṣriyya li ʾl-Taḥarrur al-Waṭanī*) of Henri Curiel and the group called *al-Fad̲j̲r al-D̲j̲adīd*. Their unanimity of action, together with the Left of the Wafd, in the context of the National and Student Committee (February 1946) involved opposition to the re-negotiation of treaties with Britain. From the summer of 1946, repression was renewed. The state of emergency imposed by the Palestine war (1948-9) shackled a movement which, though still in existence, showed few signs of united purpose, with the single exception of projects concerning the trade unions. But the Free Officers, in power since July 1952, prohibited the holding of a congress which was supposed to address this issue.

Principally through the influence of students educated in Cairo and in Beirut, new workers' groups or parties appeared in the Near East. Setting aside the case of Saudi Arabia (National Reform Front, 1953, becoming the National Liberation Front in 1958, then the Communist Party in 1975), this involved the British colonial region: Baḥrayn (*D̲j̲abhat al-Taḥrīr al-Waṭanī*, 1955), Aden (*al-Ittiḥād al-S̲h̲aʿbī al-Dīmuḳrāṭī*, 1961), as well as Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Here there was a direct filiation with the Egyptian HAMETHO, the title of which was borrowed at first (1946), with the qualification of "Sudanese"; it was from the outset in liaison with the nascent trade union movement, and was later to find support among the cotton farmers of the D̲j̲azīra; soon dubbed the Communist Party, its frontist orientations favoured effective independence (achieved in 1956) over the union of Sudan and Egypt which had once been envisaged. At a later stage, simultaneously with the reconstitution of the

Egyptian Communist Party (1975), an *Ittiḥād al-Shaʿb* appeared in Kuwait.

4. *The test of practical application*

The trajectory of these parties since the 1950s was influenced as much by common traits as by differences caused by the variability of national conditions, themselves related to the variability of regional and international contexts.

Following the dissolution of the Communist International, there was no longer a centre for international co-ordination. The Information Bureau (*Kominform*), created in 1947 in response to the Truman Doctrine, was concerned, until its abolition in 1956, with the European communist parties. In the context of the Cold War, it nevertheless had an indirect influence outside Europe, in that it substituted for the theory of world revolution that of the campaign for peace, inseparable from the right of peoples to claim self-determination, to demand the removal of military bases installed in their territory and to denounce the military pacts binding their governments. While the extension of the "socialist system" in the world enlarged the field of reference, the Soviet Communist Party remained for Arab "communist and labour parties" the arbiter of "orthodoxies", to the point where the Stalinist "deviations", where they were acknowledged, were most often explained by the need to guard against the "intrigues" of the "imperialist camp". It was by this logic that in the "post-Stalinist" period the interventions in Hungary (1956), then in Czechoslovakia (1968) and in Afghānistān (1979) were to be supported and presented as a counter-balance to the interventions, rife at that time, of the other "camp" in the three "developing" continents. Finally, according to a tradition established from 1921 onwards, it was established that the diplomatic relations of the Soviet State, even when maintained with repressive Arab states, did not compromise the "proletarian internationalism" of the Soviet Communist Party, though it was a "Party-State". Among the conferences uniting elements of the "international labour movement" from 1957 onwards, that of 1960 had some significance for the region: it defined the "State of national democracy" as a form of progress towards socialism applicable to some of those countries which professed non-alignment and opted for a programme of economic and social development controlled by the public sector.

Arab communist parties definitely participated in national struggles for liberation, sometimes armed (Algeria, South Arabian Federation), in movements of democratic opposition, sometimes in the form of civil war (Lebanon), paved the way for coups d'état on the part of Free Officers claiming to represent national populism, while appealing to the ideology of Arab unity, or supported them once established. But, with the exception of ʿIrāḳ (1958) and Sudan (1969), the alliance fronts were *de facto*. Trade union affiliations to the C.I.S.L. permitted pro-western régimes of the Near East, as well as nationalist movements and régimes, to control the type of organisation of the masses which, being pluralist, constituted the principal power-base of communist parties. In certain cases of frontist experience (Sudan, 1969-71; ʿIrāḳ, 1958-63 and 1968-78), initial rivalry in the context of various forms of mass-organisation was followed by a seizure of political control by the dominant national party, corresponding to a renewal of repression, latent or violent, of the communist partners. In fact, phases of legality or semi-legality were to be brief. Only the experience of South Yemen (1967-90) avoided this pattern: after a period of co-operation (1970 onwards), Arab nationalists in power, communists and Baʿthists, constituted a unified organisation (1975), preparatory to the creation of an "avant-garde" party (Yemeni Socialist Party, 1978), defined as an instrument of "national democracy with a socialist perspective".

Internal debates mainly concerned questions of the definition of the nature of régimes and the characterisation of the strata of the bourgeoisie which controlled the dominant parties, and thus addressed the tactics of alliance, in partnership or opposition. Disagreements sometimes led to schisms and/or exclusions, according to a conception of "democratic centralism" asserted by old and new communist parties and justified by the imperatives of self-preservation during phases of repression and secrecy. These schisms were of only limited significance, except in Syria. Under the leadership of Kh. Bakdāsh, an Arab prototype of the Stalinist ruler in his methods and his personal cult, the P.C.S., declaring the primacy of Syrian over Lebanese land, considered the P.C.L. a subsidiary force, with the result that the latter decided in 1968 unilaterally to assert its independence. The following year, in the context of the Israeli-Arab conflict, disagreements over tactics and the role of the party emerged within the P.C.S. itself. Despite phases of compromise, the result of this was the existence at the start of the 1980s of five competing organisations, if one includes the faction of Riyāḍ al-Turk, the leaders of which were imprisoned by the Baʿth. Agreement on a programme of reunification, initiated in 1986, between the four other elements, was put into effect the following year by only three of them; the supporters of Bakdāsh dissociated themselves.

Responses to the problem of relations with nationalist parties in power were different. Integration was sometimes envisaged, as a means of contributing towards the formulation and application of national charters. The Algerian Communist Party merged with the F.L.N. in 1964 and was subjected, with the Left of this party, to repression after the *coup d'état* of Hawwārī Būmadyan (1965); it was relaunched in 1966 under the title of P.A.G.S. (*Ḥizb al-Ṭalīʿa al -Ishtirākī*) and in the 1970s its militants were once more associated with the dynamisation of the mass movement, resulting from the more radical evolutions of the F.L.N. The same development took place in Egypt, in 1965; freed from detention camps, the militants of the Communist Party (unified in 1957) merged with the Arab Socialist Union. But in Sudan, the attempt to impose this model on the Communist Party, and its counter-proposal of a democratic front based on parity, led from 1970 onward to a split which was further aggravated when the C.P. supported the coup by Free Officers of July 1971, more sympathetic to its views, but crushed within a few days; the execution of its secretary-general and other leaders forced it to go underground. In Syria, then in ʿIrāḳ, it was the form of a progressive nationalist front under the hegemony of the dominant Baʿth parties which was adopted. While it persisted in Syria, it remained a formal framework, whereas in ʿIrāḳ it was shattered when Baʿthist control of the country was established; the repression which ensued, remarkable for its duration as well as the brutality of its measures, proved effective. Other types of front involved countries classed as pro-Western. In Morocco, the Communist Party, dissolved by judicial decree in 1960, twice changed its title (Party of Progress and Socialism since 1974); it shared, after 1975, in the consensus over the annexation of the formerly Spanish Sahara, opposed, pend-

ing public consultations, by the United Nations; it was included among the frontist structures of the legal democratic opposition. Other forms related to the continuation of the Israeli-Arab conflict of 1967. In Lebanon, a national and progressive front, inspired by the Progressive Socialist Party (P.S.P.) and the P.C.L., constituted as the central Political Council of the National Movement at the height of the civil war, united all parties and organisations opposed to the Christian Phalangists and favouring alliance with the P.L.O. In the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, the communists of the West Bank, independent of the Jordanian C.P. from 1970 onward, then united with those of Gaza to form the P.C.P. (February 1982) and contributed, in partnership with the P.L.O., to the organisation of the internal political resistance which produced the *Intifāḍa*, fighting to promote the preferred solution, that of a Palestinian state alongside that of Israel. But in both cases, this failed to be translated into concrete representation when legislative elections became possible.

Arab unitary ideology has caused fewer problems, other than to prefer, rather than the organic form typified by the Syro-Egyptian union (1958-61), federal models which would preserve the democratic achievements of each participant. Since 1967, inter-Arab fronts, of varying durability, or conferences, have rallied parties and organisations, in power or not, around common Arab causes. Nasserite, Baʿthist, and "Arab nationalist" tendencies have competed all the more with the communists, whether during phases of opposition or of alliance, in that their structures, pyramidal and centralised, and their networks of mass-organisation are modelled on those of the Communist Party, with the difference that the first two of the above-mentioned tendencies constitute most often the party in power. The same applies to debate, populist in tone but borrowing from Marxist dialectic, in varying proportions, much of its vocabulary. Trotskyite elements are marginal, the Maoists ephemeral. "New left" tendencies are represented rather by "Arab nationalist" organisations, open to united action on specific objectives with the communist parties.

Compared with the pre-war period, when membership of Arab communist parties varied between a few hundred and a few thousand, recruitment over the last few decades has changed the position radically. Although figures for the Gulf Emirates are hard to acquire, elsewhere the total ranges from several thousand to several tens of thousands. In pre-war conditions, with the exception of brief texts, such as the *Communist manifesto* of Marx and Engels, translated in 1933 by Kh. Bakdāsh, few "classical" texts of Marxism were available in Arabic. From the 1940s onward, a sustained effort was begun in Egypt, giving precedence to the works of Stalin; this was later transferred to Lebanon and pursued in parallel with translations carried out in Moscow. The press was more regular, in its various forms of periodicity; in phases of illegality, cultural publications or the exploitation of more favourable conditions in neighbouring countries permitted the dissemination of journals, bulletins or reviews. Publishing houses, whether dependent on the communist parties or not, produced a growing number of works composed by Arab Marxists: memoirs of political or trade union leaders, but also works of economy, philosophy, history. It was around the theme of "patrimony" (*turāth*) that questions relating to religion were addressed. While the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] was the object of polemic, the Sudanese Communist Party used references to the values of the past to encourage, against conservative prejudices, a militant and progressive Islam. In the same perspective, and especially after the Iranian Islamic revolution, forms of dialogue have been explored by the communist parties of the Near East with the object of establishing eventual convergences. These efforts have born little fruit. Political Islam, constituted on the basis of humanitarian associationism, encouraged in the 1980s by states as diverse as Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, Yemen and even Israel (in the case of Gaza) to compensate for suppressed democratic expectations, has become an implacable foe, not only of the communists, ostensibly those most affected, but of states themselves.

5. *The implosion of the socialist system and since: revisions and redeployments*

During the second half of the 1980s, the evolutions of the socialist system, in particular of its Soviet "centre", were to demand reassessments of former theoretical and practical frameworks. In all parties the debate was vigorous, all the more so in that after a period of relative prosperity, the Arab world was experiencing an accumulation of crises: Egypt had abandoned the cause of confrontation with Israel; a new conflict had erupted between ʿIrāḳ and Iran; the abrupt decline in the price of oil neutralised to some extent the developmental benefits which nationalisations of this asset had been supposed to provide, initiating or exacerbating cycles of debt; and the crisis of democracy made itself felt in all states professing "national democracy" as an ideal or pragmatic solution. The Yemeni Socialist Party was itself torn by fratricidal struggles (January 1986). Soviet *perestroika* and "new political thought" were approached primarily in terms of their consequences for the Arab world. The equation between socialism and humanism was interesting, but disturbing in the extent to which the connection with the "class" perspective seemed to be abandoned, more particularly in terms of international relations. The end of the Cold War, for some, presented the possibility of a resolution of the Israeli-Arab conflict. Others were especially attentive to the setbacks of "real socialism" in central Europe, to the internal problems of the Soviet Union. The inability of the latter to establish a diplomatic solution of the ʿIrāḳ-Kuwait conflict and the scale of the resources mobilised by the military coalition in 1991, prefigured its implosion the same year. The new context, that of a new world order, unipolar and liberal, demanded that consideration of these issues, already embarked upon, should be made more systematical. The responses which emerged from the congresses held at this time, the products of open and contradictory debates, were to be diverse.

In South Yemen, the ruling P.S.Y. had begun its own *perestroika* in 1988. Unification with North Yemen (1990) was thereby facilitated, in the context of progress towards a market economy and a multi-party system, agreed upon by the two single parties. The second political force in the country following the elections of 1993, the P.S.P., in partnership with minor parties, succeeded in enforcing a democratic and decentralised conception of constitutional reform (February 1994). But conflict over the application of these measures, the postponement of the merging of the armies of the two former states, led to confrontations which ultimately resulted in civil war. In this context, even recourse to a secession by the South could not save the P.S.Y. from destruction.

In the majority of cases the "communist" label has been retained, the aspiration towards a society freed

from the exploitation of man by man maintaining, for these parties, the motivating force of a "realist" utopia. The long experience of "real socialism" and its downfall is a laboratory for the consideration of questions of strategy and tactics. These parties have, to varying degrees, democratised their structures and introduced new programmes more consistent with national, regional and international conditions. The principal objective is democracy, the target is "uninhibited liberalism", the instrument is frontist alliance. In the more repressive countries, alliances constituted in former times have been enlarged: within ʿIrāḳ and in conjunction with ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān as regards the P.C.I. and the P.C.K.I. which has derived from it (1993); and in the Sudan, in the context of a national democratic alliance which embraces the southern resistance, as regards the P.C.S.

Others have changed their titles and orientations. The decision of the Palestinian Communist Party to tranform itself into a People's Party (P.P.P.) was rather premature (October 1991); it defined the realisation of a Palestinian state, the objective of an entire people and not of a class, as the central task. In Algeria, the P.A.G.S. became in January 1993 the *al-Taḥaddī* Party (of "challenge": an acronym of *Taḳaddum, Taḥdīth and Dīmuḳrāṭiyya*). In Tunisia, a party "of the Left", *al-Tadjdīd*, replaced the P.C.T. in April 1993. In these two countries, minorities dissociated themselves from these options, described by them as "social democratic".

A further indication of these redeployments and revisions, the significance of which (in 1996) remains to be determined: the *al-Nahdj*, a periodical for the exchange of views among Arab communist parties (1983-91), then sub-titled *Review of Marxism-Leninism in the Arab world*, has appeared since 1994 under the subtitle *Contribution to the clarification and implantation of rationalism*. It is currently activated by an autonomous team of Near Eastern Marxists, some of them members of communist parties, others not.

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2. Persia.

The introduction of communist ideas in Persia was influenced by two events: the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 in Persia and the October 1917 Revolution in Russia. The first political party based on communist ideas was the Justice Party (*Firḳa-yi ʿAdālat*), created in 1917 in Baku by a group of Persian workers. The Justice Party changed to the Communist Party of Iran (*Firḳa-yi Komunist-i Īrān*) in its first Congress in 1920.

Communist activities were subdued during Riḍā Shāh's consolidation of power in the 1920s. The Party held its Second Congress only in 1927. Having moved closer to Moscow, the Congress described the 1921 coup as a British plot, denouncing Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] as their appointee. In confronting the communists, however, Riḍā Shāh passed a law in June 1931 banning all political organisations threatening the constitutional monarchy or advocating collectivist ideas using the Arabic term *ishtirākiyya* "socialism".

The next communist phase was in the 1930s-1940s. Dr. Taḳī Ārānī's Marxist group and the Tudeh (Tūda) Party were its most prominent features. The strategies of the first and second communist phases indicated some differences. The latter put greater emphasis on the spread of Marxist and communist ideology among the intellectuals, while the former focused on workers. Similarly, party activists of the second phase were predominantly Persian-speaking intelligentsia of Tehran in contrast to the first phase dominated by Persian immigrants in the Soviet Union. Open political activity came to a halt once again in 1937 with the arrest of the "fifty-three", including Ārānī. They were found guilty of forming a clandestine *ishtirākī* organisation outlawed by the 1931 law.

World War II and Riḍā Shāh's abdication in 1941 helped create a more open political atmosphere. On their release in September 1941, a group of younger members of the "fifty-three" launched the *Ḥizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān* ("Party of the Iranian Masses"), which became one of the most significant political forces in Iran after its inception. The Party refrained from using "communist" in its title for several reasons, one of which was the 1931 law. Another reason was Soviet war-time interests, which discouraged the Party's open identification with communism. Furthermore, communism as an ideology was unknown to the masses whose support the party aimed for. In its manifesto, the Tudeh accordingly stood for democracy, independence from foreign imperialism and loyalty to the Constitution.

The Party produced its first provisional programme in February 1942. Unlike other secular movements, the Tudeh adopted a broad programme to attract a wider spectrum of supporters and avoid antagonising the clergy (*ʿulamāʾ*). It rapidly established itself as the largest political party, with a structure, policy, and countrywide organisation. In 1943 it succeeded in having nine of its fifteen candidates elected to the fourteenth *Madjlis*. Another Tudeh achievement was organising labour groups in industrial cities, including Ābādān, especially among its oil workers, Iṣfahān, Ahwāz and Rasht. In 1944-5, the party continued to grow, enabling it to gather crowds estimated as large as those of pro-constitution rallies in 1906. With these successes, the Tudeh held its First Party Congress in August 1944 to approve the party programme. The growth of the Party continued, reaching its peak in August 1946 when three of its members were given ministerial posts in the Prime Minister Ḳawām al-Salṭana's cabinet. The Party's successes, at least in the northern regions, was at least in part due to the support of the occupying Red Army.

The Tudeh's fortunes began to change from the autumn of 1946 onwards, when Ḳawām al-Salṭana's government limited party activities. This helped party dissidents to force changes, including a debate on the sensitive issue of relations with the Soviet Union. One of their criticisms was over the party's pro-Moscow policy (the Tudeh had organised a mass meeting in October 1944 against the government's refusal to grant an oil agreement to Moscow). Internal divisions, however, led to the moderate faction, including Khalīl ʿAlikī and other intellectuals, to leave the party in 1947. Although free from dissidents, the Tudeh was soon banned under the 1931 law after the declaration of martial law in 1948. This forced the party underground, only to re-emerge in 1951 at the height of the Prime Minister Mossadeq's campaign for oil nationalisation [see MUṢADDIḲ]. This phase also came to an end with the August 1953 coup against Mossadeq's government (the Tudeh's refusal to intervene has since been blamed as a factor helping the success of the coup).

Between 1953 to 1958, the re-installed Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] began dismantling the Tudeh by arresting and executing party members. By the mid-1960s, the Shāh completed the process of controlling the political arena to such an extent that no independent organisation survived. This, along with the experiences of China, Vietnam, Cuba and Algeria, encouraged the emergence of underground socialist and revolutionary movements. A distinct feature of these movements was their general support for armed struggle. Most prominent among these groups were the Marxist Fidāʾiyyīn, the Islamic Mudjāhidīn, the Kurdish Democratic Party Paykar (separated from Mudjāhidīn and adopting Maoist views), The Workers' Road, and the Kurdish Komoleh guerrillas. These organisations, rather than the traditional leftist or centrist opposition, represented the anti-régime opposition in the 1960s and 1970s.

The most effective organisations in influencing youth in the 1970s and in breaking the back of the state during the 1977-8 revolutionary process were the Marxist Fidāʾiyyīn or the Iranian Peoples' Guerrilla Freedom Fighters, and the Islamic Mudjāhidīn or the Organisation of the Iranian Peoples' Freedom Fighters. The latter presented a revolutionary interpretation of Islam sometimes inaccurately referred to as "Islamic Marxism". The year 1978-9 was a watershed, since for the first time after the 1950s the left, including the Tudeh party, could organise and act openly.

Nonetheless, the era of revolutionary solidarity and political openness, or perhaps anarchy, was short lived. The first test came in March 1979 when the provisional government called a referendum on future political systems, limiting the choice between the monarchy and the "Islamic Republic". Having declared support for the clergy's leadership, the Tudeh participated in the referendum in favour of the Islamic Republic. The Mudjāhidīn also supported the referendum, but the Fidāʾiyyīn boycotted it.

Despite the support from it, the régime targeted Tudeh activists in 1983, putting its leaders on public trial, where they confessed to the party's "betrayal" of the "Iranian masses". The other major revolutionary force, the Mudjāhidīn, went into open confrontation with the Islamic Republic from 1981 onwards, in collusion with the then president Banī Ṣadr. The régime succeeded in overcoming this threat, driving the organisation into exile in Paris. The régime's brutal confrontation and the Mudjāhidīn's decision to move its headquarters to ʿIrāḳ in the midst of the Iran-ʿIrāḳ war in the 1980s have helped discredit the organisation.

The Marxist Fidāʾiyyīn went through a serious internal crisis after the revolution, leading to a split in 1981. One section, known as the Majority, adopted similar policies to the Tudeh and joined it. The other, known as the Minority, rejected dictatorship of the proletariat, insisting on nationalism and supporting coalitions within the framework of bourgeois pluralism.

The last prominent organisation to note is the Kurdish Democratic Party led by Dr. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḳāsimlū. With its socialist orientation and support for Kurdish nationalist rights, the Party remains the most important political organisation among Iranian Kurds. From the late 1980s, the government began discussions with Ḳāsimlū. They were halted in 1989 with Ḳāsimlū's assassination in Geneva during their last round of negotiations.

The 1990s thus witnessed a general decline in the activities of the communist, socialist or Marxist groups. The absence of an open political arena and the diminished contemporary state of international socialism, have both contributed to this decline.

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Riḍā Shāh, Tehran 1370/1991; Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Alamūtī, *Fuṣūlī az tārīkh-i mubārazat-i siyāsī wa idjtimāʿī-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1370/1991, 277-80, 343-441; *EIr* art. *Communism. i-iii*, with exhaustive bibls.

(Ziba Moshaver)

3. In Turkey.

Communism has been a far weaker force in Turkey than in several other Muslim countries. This may partly be explained by the Turks' attachment to Islam, but more particularly by their hostility to Russia (especially during the Cold War) and the constant infighting between rival leftist groups. Between 1918 and 1920 no less than three parties of Marxist orientation were set up in the nascent Turkish state. These were linked to an underground Communist Party, allied to Moscow, and led by Dr. Şefik Hüsnü [Değmer]. To add to the confusion, an official Communist Party was set up on the initiative of Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] in October 1920, in which several of the leading members of his government were enrolled. However, all these groups were closed down in 1925, following the suppression of the Kurdish rebellion led by Şeyh Sait. The Communist Party continued an underground existence, mainly abroad, under Değmer's leadership, until 1946, when two legal socialist parties were established, only to be officially dissolved at the end of the year. Leadership of the Turkish Communist Party was then taken over by Zeki Baştimar, who was succeeded by İsmail Bilen. During the Cold War, the party served as the orthodox voice of Soviet communism: it was based in eastern Europe and had virtually no support base in Turkey itself.

Within Turkey, leftist groups came out into the open again after the coup of 27 May 1960. Several more or less Marxist parties were established during the 1960s, of which the most successful was the Turkish Workers' Party (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*), led by Mehmet Ali Aybar. However, this split apart in 1968, and was suppressed by the military-dominated régime of 1971-3. During the 1970s a plethora of revolutionary Marxist parties and terrorist organisations emerged, but these were all suppressed by the military government of 1980-3. Since then, Turkish communism has effectively withered away, except for sporadic terrorist attacks by small ultra-leftist organisations. With the collapse of the communist régimes of eastern Europe, the Turkish Communist Party has also ceased to exist.

Bibliography: G.S. Harris, *The origins of Communism in Turkey*, Stanford 1967; Aclan Sayılgan, *Solun 94 yılı, 1871-1965*, Ankara 1968; I.P. Lipovsky, *The socialist movement in Turkey, 1960-1980*, Leiden 1992.

(W. Hale)

SIAK SRI INDRAPURA [see sumatra].

SIALKOT [see siyālkūt].

SIBĀḲ [see faras].

SĪBAWAYHI, pioneer Arabic grammarian, the author of a single, untitled work, known only as *Kitāb Sībawayhi* and acknowledged as the founding text of Arabic grammatical science. All else, his name, origins, dates and originality, is uncertain, Sībawayhi having died too young and too far away from the cultural centres of ʿIrāḳ to establish himself in the scholarly biographical tradition.

1. Life and teachers.

(a) *Life*. Sībawayhi's name is usually given as Abū Bishr ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. Ḳanbar, *mawlā* of Banū Ḥārith b. Kaʿb Sībawayhi. Humbert (1995, 3-8) discusses the many variants and argues persuasively that the full name arose from the need to fill the vacuum in the "onomastic chain". In practice, he is never called anything but Sībawayhi, explained by folk etymology as Persian for "Apple fragrance" or even "30 scents", though actually a nickname, Sēbōe "Little Apple" (Nöldeke, *apud* Brockelmann, I, 100). He is said to have been born in al-Bayḍā', Shīrāz, of Persian parents, and to have died aged between 32 and "40-odd" years old, probably in Fārs. An approximate death date of 180/796 can be inferred: Sībawayhi died before Yūnus (182/798), and al-Khalīl died between 160/776-7 and 175/791, before the *Kitāb* was written down.

At some time, he came to Baṣra to study *āthār*, i.e. the *Ḥadīth*, or more explicitly jurisprudence (*fiḳh*). This is important for the early history of grammar, and supplies the topos in which Sībawayhi is humiliated into studying grammar by his linguistic ineptitude in the presence of Ḥammād b. Salama [*q.v.*]. The other notorious incident in Sībawayhi's career also involves his humiliation, this time by al-Kisā'ī [*q.v.*], in a debate called *al-Mas'alat al-zunbūriyya* after its theme, the syntax of *kuntu aẓunnu anna 'l-ʿaḳraba ashaddu lasʿatan min al-zunbūri fa-idhā huwa hiya* or *idhā huwa iyyāhā*. Al-Kisā'ī wins by bribing some Bedouin to support his position, and Sībawayhi goes off and dies of grief, consoled, some say, by a payment of 10,000 dirhams solicited for him by al-Kisā'ī.

(b) *Teachers*. Nineteen names are mentioned: (i) seven traditionally identified by the biographers as teachers of Sībawayhi, and (ii) twelve connected with him in other ways. (i) (1) ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*, also Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 36-7], d. 117/735 or 127/745, cited 7 times (see Troupeau, *Lex.-index*). (2) ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, ix, 37-9], d. 149/766, 20 times. (3) Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā', d. 154/771 (*GAS*, ix, 40-2), 57 times. (4) Hārūn al-Ḳāri' (*GAS*, ix, 43-4), d. 170/786, 5 times. (5) Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Akhfash [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, ix, 48-9], d. 157/773-4, 58 times. (6) Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (*GAS*, viii, 57-8; ix, 49-50) d. 183/799-800, 217 times. (7) al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, viii, 51-6, ix, 44-8], d. at the latest 175/791-2, cited by name 608 times.

(ii) Other names appearing in the *Kitāb* but not considered as teachers in the biographies (cf. Humbert, 1995, 9-14): (8) Abū Murhib, untraced, cited once. (9) Ibn Masʿūd, the Companion [*q.v.*], d. 32/652-3, 3 times. (10) Mudjāhid [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, viii, 22], d. 104/722, once. (11) al-Aʿradj (*GAS*, ix, 34-5), d. 117/735, 3 times. (12) al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, ix, 44], d. 110/728, twice. (13) Abū Rabīʿa (*GAS*, viii, 29), d. *ca.* 170/786, once. (14) Ibn Marwān, cf. Carter, in *REI*, xliv, 75, n. 2 (Troupeau has Ibn Marwān once as a grammarian and a Marwān al-Naḥwī separately as a poet). (15) al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, viii, 71-6, ix, 66-7], d. 213/828, twice. (16) al-Akhfash [al-Awsaṭ] [*q.v.* and see below], once. The preface of a *Kitāb* manuscript recopied by Ibn Kharūf (d. 605-10/1206-13) lists twelve masters, the seven traditional names and five more, two already known, Ibn Marwān and al-Aṣmaʿī, and three new names. (17) Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, viii, 76-80, ix, 67-8], d. 215/830. (18) Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, viii, 67-71, ix, 65-6], d. 207/822 or 213/828. (19) al-Liḥyānī, who may be the one mentioned by Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 89-90 (Humbert, 12).

All but three can be eliminated on technical or historical grounds as possible influences on Sībawayhi (cf. Humbert, 10-12, Versteegh, 1993, 161-3). Only ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar, Yūnus and al-Khalīl were close enough chronologically and intellectually to play a role in the creation of Sībawayhi's grammatical system. Of two works credited to ʿĪsā, nothing survives but a flat-

tering reference by al-Mubarrad (Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*[2], 46; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. Amer, 15, says he has never seen a copy nor heard of anyone who has). ʿĪsā died well before Sībawayhi and is only a shadowy presence in the *Kitāb*, usually quoted indirectly; he may have furnished information in a similar way to Yūnus and al-Khalīl but on a much smaller scale. We return to Yūnus and al-Khalīl below.

2. Grammatical background and origins. The only reliable source of information about primitive grammar or what we might call "proto-grammarians" is the *Kitāb* itself. Versteegh's invaluable survey of early *Tafsīr* (1993) demonstrates that no matter what was said about language in this period (and the subject could hardly fail to arise!), it did not reach the level of a mature theory of language with an appropriate scientific vocabulary and methodology.

(a) *Foreign origins*. There have been attempts to trace the origins of Arabic grammar to external influences, principally Greek, via Syriac [see NAḤW]. The Greek hypothesis achieves a major restatement about every hundred years, beginning with the not very-widely consulted Hasse (1788), after which the baton passes to Merx (1889), then Rundgren (1976) and Versteegh (1977). All these assume that Arabic grammar could not have evolved out of the resources of Arab-Islamic culture and that various systematic and terminological features of Arabic grammar point to Greek models. There are no texts or circumstantial evidence for exchanges between Syriac scholars and early Arab grammarians, and the Greek case is essentially *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. The most important testimony, a logical work attributed to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], bears the taint of inauthenticity (it might be by his son), and contains almost nothing of relevance. The main weakness of the Greek hypothesis, however, is that it explains so little of the grammar in the *Kitāb*. An Indian origin has been proposed for phonological theory, argued confidently by Danecki and equally firmly refuted by Law. Lack of documents and circumstantial evidence again undermine the case, coupled with insufficient symmetry between the systems.

(b) *Indigenous origins*. The traditional narrative ascribing the invention of grammar to Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī [*q.v.*], thence through generations of scholars up to and beyond Sībawayhi, has an inner coherence which corresponds well to the likely stages in the growth of linguistic consciousness, responding to the increasing volatility of Arabic and the need for a definitive form of the text upon which the new Islamic civilisation now depended. But this neither caused, nor can it explain, Sībawayhi's grammatical system. Extensive similarities between legal reasoning and the grammar of the *Kitāb* (cf. Carter, in *REI*, xliv, 86-91) encourage the hypothesis that Sībawayhi found his inspiration in law. We are not told how he got his legal training, but after the incident with Ḥammād b. Salama he "went off and attached himself to the *madjlis* of al-Akhfash with Yaʿḳūb al-Ḥaḍramī and al-Khalīl and the rest of the *naḥwiyyūn*" (al-Zadjdjādjī, *Madjālis*, 155): in other words, of the leading authority on Arabic, a major Reader, sundry "grammarians" (if such they were, see below), and the older man who would later preserve his work. He thus remained within the philological tradition implied by the conventional histories: Ḳur'ān, secular language and early systematisation, with the future disciple al-Akhfash having the seniority to act as host for this astonishingly fertile gathering of minds.

(c) *Grammar before Sībawayhi*. The *Kitāb* reflects contemporary grammatical thinking very clearly though not always precisely. Three themes are important here: (i) the *Kitāb* as evidence for early "Schools" of grammar, (ii) the "*naḥwiyyūn*" and (iii) the debt to specific masters named in the *Kitāb*.

(i) Schools. If you believe that grammar only reached its scientific perfection through Sībawayhi, then the existence of "Schools" before him is inconceivable. Darwinism is not found before Darwin. Baalbaki (*Stud. Ar. et Isl.*, 24) detects the roots of the famous "Baṣran" and "Kūfan" dichotomy already in the *Kitāb*, and Talmon (in *BSOAS*, xlviii) identifies a "Medīnan School" on the basis of three references in the *Kitāb* and other later evidence, adding for good measure the names of two Meccan "grammarians" prior to Sībawayhi. Nothing is known about their grammatical opinions, however, except for Ibn Marwān, whose dispute with Abū ʿAmr is reported in the *Kitāb* (Talmon, in *JAOS*, civ), and no significant interpretative benefits arise from reducing the inevitable conflicts of opinion among these early figures to a system of "Schools".

(ii) The *naḥwiyyūn*. This word (always plural) occurs 20 times in the *Kitāb* referring to an anonymous group of participants in the grammatical debate. Their anonymity is disputed by Talmon (in *ZAL*, viii), who also argues that the *naḥwiyyūn* were highly sophisticated thinkers. From the way Sībawayhi cites them, however, one must conclude that he regarded their grammatical reasoning as inferior; in most of the exchanges he either rejects or severely criticises them, e.g. [**aʿṭāhūnī*] is incorrect, not said by the Arabs, but the *naḥwiyyūn* have created it "by analogy (*ḳāsūhu*)" (i, 383/i, 335). It seems unlikely that Sībawayhi saw himself as one of the *naḥwiyyūn*, which raises a delicate question: who, then, were the real "grammarians"? Sībawayhi had no name for "grammar" as such, which was eventually called *naḥw* on the assumption that this was what the *naḥwiyyūn* were doing in the *Kitāb*.

(iii) Specific masters. Sībawayhi drew directly and indirectly upon the knowledge of several informants and scholars, but only Yūnus and al-Khalīl were intimately involved with the creation of the *Kitāb* (see below on al-Akhfash).

Yūnus is mentioned 217 times, and although his exact role is difficult to pin down, Sībawayhi disagrees with him more often and more conspicuously than with al-Khalīl. For example, he is particularly severe on Yūnus's claim that *min ḳuddām*[in] should be vocalised *min ḳuddām*[a]: "that is one way of speaking, although no Arab actually ever says it" *hādhā madhhab*[un] *illā annahu laysa yaḳūluhu aḥad*[un] *min al-ʿArab* (ii, 47/ii, 43). Even though Sībawayhi occasionally sides with Yūnus against al-Khalīl (e.g. on the truncated vocative *yā ḳādi* against al-Khalīl's *yā ḳāḍī*, ii, 289/ii, 315), Yūnus tends to hold views which do not fit into Sībawayhi's scheme.

Al-Khalīl is quoted by name or by implication (*sa'altuhu*, etc.) on almost every page of the *Kitāb* and was clearly an inexhaustible source of data and theoretical inspiration for Sībawayhi. Reuschel confines Sībawayhi's role to merely organising what al-Khalīl taught him, a position which it is as difficult to refute as to accept. Fischer is at the other pole; having examined the discarded phonological terminology of al-Khalīl preserved by al-Khwārazmī, he concludes that al-Khalīl was mainly a "morphophonologist" and may well have been unaware of the basic principles of Sībawayhi's grammar. Danecki even argues that al-Khalīl's phonological ideas were primitive in comparison with those of Sībawayhi. All this accords with

the biographical constant that al-Khalīl is usually titled "the Prosodist" (*Ṣāḥib al-ʿarūḍ*) and also recognised as the founder of lexicography, while Sībawayhi's association with the creation of grammar is not seriously challenged. What stands out is al-Khalīl's interest in the following: (i) compound syntactic units functioning as single words (the terms *muntahā ʾl-ism* and *tamām al-ism* are associated with al-Khalīl, e.g. i, 350/i, 306), (ii) the principle that a speaker who begins an equational sentence is obliged to finish it with a predicate (e.g. i, 394/i, 346), (iii) the role of the listener's knowledge (i, 453/i, 403), (iv) the relationship between frequency and elision (e.g. i, 143/i, 120). But Sībawayhi does not always agree with al-Khalīl, e.g. i, 181/i, 151, where *hādhā radjul*^{un} *akhū zayd*^{in} intended to mean "this is a man [like] Zayd's brother" is labelled "incorrect and weak" (*ḳabīḥ wa ḍaʿīf*). A genius is known by the questions he asks, as has been said already of al-Khalīl (Bräunlich, in *Islamica*, ii, 61), and Sībawayhi's questions, no matter how much he depended on his teachers for the answers, were inspired by a concept of language that was at best only latent in al-Khalīl's intuitive and unsystematic perception.

3. The contents of the *Kitāb*.

The following is a summary of the repertoire of ideas which all subsequent grammar exploited and still exploits.

(a) *Arrangement*. Although a large work (printed editions are more than 900 pages), the order of the material and the internal cross-references reveal an unmistakable plan. The *Kitāb* begins with seven introductory chapters (probably the same as a *Risāla* attributed to Sībawayhi which forms the core of al-Zadjdjādjī's *al-Īḍāḥ*), after which Sībawayhi deals with Arabic grammar in the order syntax, morphology, and phonology.

The "*Risāla*" is as close as we come to an orderly statement of Sībawayhi's linguistic presuppositions (or postulates, as Suleiman, in *JSS*, xxxv, 258 would have it). It is perhaps an exaggeration to say that "Sībawayhi never explicitly states the basic theoretical principles on which he works" (Bohas/Guill./Koul., 33), but he is certainly casual about it. Nevertheless it is from these introductory sections that we learn there are three parts of speech, two discrete sets of vowels and inflections, a number of internal hierarchies (see below), a fundamental subject-predicate structure, an assortment of lexical, semantic and phonological accidents such as synonymy, polysemy, elision and substitution, a group of formal and semantic criteria and a range of non-standard phenomena permitted only in poetry.

(b) *Data*. The object of study is *kalām* "speech", i.e. every speech act (including Ḳurʾān and poetry) which fulfils the criteria of structural and semantic adequacy. *Kalām* does not imply any particular length or number of constituents (cf. Talmon, in *ZDMG*, cxxxviii, 80-8), still less anything as specific as "sentence" (only later termed *djumla*), and may also denote "prose" in contrast with "poetry" but not exclusively (Iványi, *Proceedings*, 210-12). Data are of three kinds, the Ḳurʾān, poetry and the usage of the "Arabs", i.e. the Bedouin, and are adduced in one of these three forms or in the familiar symbolic representations of the type *zayd*^{un} *ḍarabtuhu*. Iványi has tabulated the introductory formulae indicating Sībawayhi's estimate of the data's authenticity. Although the Ḳurʾān is stated to have been sent down "in the speech of the faithful" (*ʿalā kalām al-ʿibād*, i, 167/i, 139) Sībawayhi did not give linguistic priority to Ḳurʾānic usage, nor is there any hint of a doctrine of *iʿdjaz* [*q.v.*] at this stage. He is aware of the various *ḳirāʾāt* and not always in favour of certain Readings (Baalbaki, in *ZAL*, xv; Brockett), but avoids embroiling himself in doctrinal implications.

Poetry (1,056 lines, Djumʿa, 116, from 231 poets in 26 tribes, *ibid.*, 14) was originally quoted without attribution. Traditionally, it was al-Djarmī who counted 1,050 verses and added the names except for 50 he could not identify (but see Djumʿa, 214). Only three contemporary poets, Abān al-Lāḥiḳī, Bashshār b. Burd and Khalaf al-Aḥmar are quoted, and all three citations are suspect. As with the Ḳurʾān, poetic data have no priority over the Bedouin Arabic, but Sībawayhi acknowledges that poetic usage may differ from prose, usually dialect features which were not adopted into standard Arabic.

Proverbial expressions (*mathal*) are recognised as non-productive (e.g. i, 24/i, 18). Surprisingly little *Ḥadīth* material is quoted in the *Kitāb*: there are a few fragments identifiable as *Ḥadīth*s, and the famous *kullu mawlūd*^{in} *yūladu ʿalā ʾl-fiṭri*, etc. is found in i, 396/i, 348. But the Prophet Muḥammad is nowhere mentioned in the *Kitāb*, and even *Ḥadīth*s are introduced as if they were part of ordinary speech, e.g. by *ḳawluhum* (cf. ʿUḍayma, 762; Ḥadīthī 1980, 59).

The ideal language is what Sībawayhi calls "good old Arabic" *al-lugha ʾl-ʿarabiyya ʾl-ḳadīma ʾl-djayyida* (ii, 424/ii, 474), i.e. Ḥidjāzī (*al-ḥidjāziyya hiya ʾl-lugha ʾl-ūlā ʾl-ḳudmā* (ii, 41/ii, 37). Levin (in *JSAI*, xvii) shows that Sībawayhi made his own enquiries of the Bedouin as well as relying on second-hand evidence. It is also significant (*ibid.*, 235) that Sībawayhi contrasts the artificial constructs of the *naḥwiyyūn* with the natural usage of Bedouin informants and urges speakers to follow only the "Arab" way. His dismissal of some Bedouin usages as "incorrect" (*ibid.*, 236) has important theoretical implications, likewise the idea that the reasons for a usage can be lost, e.g. why some proper names have *alif-lām* (i, 268/i, 228, perhaps from al-Khalīl).

These three kinds of data and their representations in model utterances are the evidence for the "way" correct Arabic is spoken (writing is marginal, though the *Kitāb* does mention the formula for beginning letters, *ammā baʿdu*, i, 470/i, 418). Sībawayhi's word for "way" is usually *naḥw*, e.g. *sa-tarā hādhā ʾl-naḥwa fī kalāmihim* "you will see this way [of speaking] in their speech" (i, 243/i, 207), but he also uses the synonyms *sabīl, ṭarīḳa, madhhab, wadjh, madjrā*, occasionally even *sunna* and *sharʿ*. He therefore treats *kalām* as a set of acts judged pragmatically by motive, structure and communicative effectiveness, not as a set of logical propositions judged by semantic content and falsifiability. Truth and falsehood are irrelevant: *kalām* is evaluated (i, 7/i, 7) in terms of its structural correctness, as (ethically) "good" *ḥasan* or "bad" *ḳabīḥ*, i.e. well-formed or ill-formed (with synonyms *djamīl, radīʾ*, etc.), and by its communicative effectiveness, as (ethically) "right" *mustaḳīm* (compare *naḥw* with *ṣirāṭ, sunna*). Incomprehensible speech is "wrong" *muḥāl*, i.e. perverted. Communicative success or failure are absolute, but structural correctness may be graded, *aḥsan, adjwad* etc. Speech may even be *mustaḳīm ḳabīḥ*, i.e. making sense though structurally incorrect (especially in poetry), but is normally only "permissible", *djāʾiz*, if it is structurally complete, *yaḥsun al-sukūt ʿalayhi*, and semantically self-sufficient, *mustaghnī*.

(c) *General principles*. *Kalām* itself is segmented in two ways, into word classes and word positions. There are only three formal categories, *ism, fiʿl* and *ḥarf djāʾa li-maʿnā* [*q.vv.*]. Not too much distortion results from equating *ism* with "noun" and *fiʿl* with "verb", although "verb" is far closer to the Greek *rhema* with its implications of "predicate" than the Arabic *fiʿl*, which

means simply "[word denoting] an act". But the definition of *ḥarf djā'a li-ma'nā* assumes a knowledge of Sībawayhi's concept of word position or *mawḍi'*.

Mawḍi' "place", more fully *mawḍi' fī 'l-kalām* "place in speech" is Sībawayhi's term for the position in which a speech element is used (cf. the notion of "function" in Western linguistics). In this sense, *mawḍi'* is simply taken over from ethical terminology, where it commonly denotes the "place" of an act as determining its goodness or badness (cf. Ibn al-Muḳaffa' and the early jurists). Each *mawḍi'* represents a specific linguistic act, thus *mawḍi' al-nidā'* is "the place for calling", realised by the word *yā* expressing the meaning *ma'nā* [*q.v.*] of that act, viz. *ma'nā 'l-nidā'* "the meaning of calling". This brings us back to *ḥarf*, which, unlike the noun or verb, is formally and semantically unclassifiable and can only be defined by what the speaker does with it, hence *yā* is *ḥarf nidā'* "a particle of calling", i.e. used to perform an act whose meaning is "calling". The general definition of *ḥarf* is implicitly *ḥarf djā'a li-ma'nā* "x", where "x" is one of the seventy or so linguistic acts identified by Sībawayhi as a *mawḍi'/ma'nā*, all denoted by verbal nouns exactly as in *fiḳh*. Every particle is defined in this way: *lā* = *ḥarf [djā'a li-ma'nā] 'l-nafy*, *in* = *ḥarf [djā'a li-ma'nā] 'l-shart* and so on. It follows that Sībawayhi has little time for lexical meaning, since merely explaining one word by another leads to infinite regression (ii, 312/ii, 339).

The correlative of *mawḍi'* is *manzila*, and just as *mawḍi'* connotes function and syntagmatic features, so *manzila* represents status on the paradigmatic axis. Thus two elements from different form classes, if they have the same status, *manzila*, may occur in the same function, *mawḍi'*, e.g. the particle *mā* in Ḥidjāzī usage has the status of the verb *laysa* (i, 27/i, 22). A third term in this set, *mawḳi'*, denotes simply the occurrence of an element in the string without regard to its function: compare *li-kāna mawḍi' ākhar* "*kāna* has another place" (i, 21/i, 16), i.e. "there is another way to use *kāna*", with *lam lā yaḳa'u ba'dahā fa'ala* "*fa'ala* never occurs after *lam*" (i, 457/i, 407, and cf. Versteegh, in *Arabica*, xxv).

Consequent on all this is the principle, often raised by al-Khalīl and fully exploited by Sībawayhi, that compound units may have the status of a simple element and so be substitutable for it. The *Kitāb* identifies a number of units with the *manzila* of a "single noun" (*ism wāḥid*), such as noun + adjective, annexed nouns, demonstrative + noun, categorical *lā* + noun, *anna* + noun, relative clause and antecedent, *ayy* + relative clause, *an* + subordinate verb, *idhan* + verb, verb + agent pronoun suffix, and verb + preposition. Levin's suggestion (*Studies in Isl. hist.*) that *kalima* in the *Kitāb* is (with Levin's own reservations) partially equivalent to "morpheme" is illuminating, but the relationship between *kalima* and *ism wāḥid* needs further exploration.

Manzila also implies a hierarchy, since the range of an element's forms and functions depends on its status. For instance, the verbal status of the "five particles" *inna*, *anna* etc., allows them to operate on nouns and give them dependent (*naṣb*) form in the same way as *'ishrūna* has verbal status and effect, but none of them have the paradigmatic freedom (*taṣarruf*) of verbs (i, 279/i, 241). The system accommodates several hierarchies, most of which are set out in the introductory paragraphs of the *Kitāb* and have been collected by Baalbaki (in *ZAL*, ii). They include the priority of nouns over verbs, singular over dual and plural, masculine over feminine, indefinite over definite, simpler word patterns over more complex, "lighter" vowels over "heavier", *mahmūsa* consonants over *madjhūra*. Sībawayhi also regards time as closer to verbs and place to nouns (i, 16/i, 12). None of this violates the linearity of *naḥw*: a speech element can only occur in the "chaîne parlée" (Martinet), and its status determines its place(s) in the chain just as civil rank determines the place(s) of an individual in society.

The symmetry and coherence of Sībawayhi's grammar are assured by *ḳiyās* "analogy" [*q.v.*], which unifies linguistic practice through structural similarities and enables the generation of new utterances. Sībawayhi's use of *ḳiyās* has been compared with early juridical arguments and Baalbaki (*Misc.*) shows how the mechanisms of analogical reasoning are all there, even if the formal terminology is lacking. Gwynne has examined *a fortiori* arguments in the *Kitāb* and concluded that this kind of reasoning passed from law to grammar, then directly to theology. For Sībawayhi, it was the speakers who made analogies: "they sometimes liken one thing to another, even if they are not alike in all respects" (i, 93/i, 77, using *shabbaha*). His readers are told to do the same: *fa-'alā hādhā fa-ḳis hādhā 'l-naḥwa* "so make analogies on this for this way [of speaking]" (ii, 163/ii, 167, note *ḳāsa* in the context of *naḥw*), but he also warns against analogical extension of non-standard forms: *lā yanbaghī laka an taḳīsa 'alā al-shādhdh* "you should not base analogies on anomalies", i, 398/i, 351.

There is a conspicuous pragmatism in Sībawayhi, no doubt inspired by al-Khalīl. As well as a speaker, *mutakallim*, there is always a listener, *mukhāṭab*, who determines whether an utterance is "right", *mustaḳīm*, or "wrong", *muḥāl*, though not its structural correctness. The listener's knowledge is a decisive factor in elision, and can also affect other choices of the speaker: as well as *marartu bi-rajulayni muslim^{in} wa-kāfir^{in}* a speaker may say *muslim^{un} wa-kāfir^{un}* "as if answering the question 'who were they?' ... even if the listener does not say anything, for the speaker's words will go according to what you might have asked him" (i, 214/i, 182). Psychological and contextual explanations are frequently offered (cf. Buburuzan) and there is even a hint at the concept of body-language (i, 279/i, 240).

(d) *Syntax*. The primary purpose of speech is the making of statements, and the grammarian's task is to account for "the actions performed by the speaker in order to construct a linguistic sequence appropriate to his specific intended meaning" (Guillaume, in *Hist. Ep. Lang.*, viii, 53). For Sībawayhi, each act is normally realised as a binary unit, with one active element, the *'āmil* [*q.v.*] "operator" and one passive, the *ma'mūl fīhi* "operated on", and the effects of that *'amal* "operation" appear as an explicit or implicit variation in the word-ending *i'rāb* [*q.v.*]. Thus the act of *nidā'* is realised through an active operator, the *ḥarf nidā'* and a passive *munādā*. Ultimately, the speaker is the operator (i, 166/i, 139), which is why in some units, e.g. *iḍāfa*, *badal* and *ibtidā'*), both parts are passive (*muḍāf/muḍāf ilayhi*, *mubdal/mubdal minhu*, *mubtada' [bihi]/mabnī 'alayhi*). *Ibtidā'* is a special case, as the speaker's act of predicating has no morphological consequences (subject and predicate remain independent, *marfū'*) unless the statement is modalised by verbs such as *kāna*, *ẓanna* etc. (Guillaume, 60-1).

The division into only three word classes, nouns, verbs and particles, is not the whole story. Several subclasses of nouns and verbs are distinguished (like the *ḥurūf*) by their function, e.g. adjectival qualifier, *ṣifa* or *na't*, space/time qualifier, *ẓarf*, circumstantial qualifier, *ḥāl*, personal pronoun, *ḍamīr* or *muḍmar*, demonstrative noun, *ism al-ishāra* or *al-ism al-mubham*,

relative noun, *ism mawṣūl*, verbal noun, *maṣdar*, various verbal complements, *maf'ūl*, nominal verb, *ism al-fi'l* (including interjections), dependent phrase *ṣila* and verb of surprise, *fi'l al-ta'adjdjub*. Transitivity is described in detail, confirming that any similarity between the Arabic *muta'addī* and the Graeco-Latin *transitivus* is coincidence, the nearest term in Sībawayhi to our sense of "transitive" being *waḳa'a/awḳa'a* (Levin, *Stud. or.*). A corollary of the substitution principle mentioned above is the separation principle embodied in the expression *'ishrūna dirham^an*, which stands for all those units whose first element has obligatory *tanwīn* or the equivalent and whose second element is structurally and semantically detachable (Carter, in *BSOAS*, xxxv). Finally, Sībawayhi's treatment of *ḳāla*, *ẓanna*, etc., and their effect on predicative utterances, displays a degree of refinement we are only just beginning to appreciate.

(e) *Morphology*. The morphological section of the *Kitāb* occupies about half the work in sheer bulk. As well as enumerating all the known patterns for nouns, verbs and particles, Sībawayhi categorises them by number of radicals (minimum two, maximum five), carefully distinguishing these from augments. The relation between declinability, gender and word-pattern, and the connection between pattern and function, are investigated, including the unusual behaviour of proper nouns and foreign names. Derivation, *ishtiḳāḳ* [*q.v.*], is discussed in detail (Leemhuis shows that Sībawayhi analyses Stems II and IV much more delicately than later grammarians). Varieties of *tanwīn* are treated, and long chapters are devoted to the diminutive, the dual and sound and broken plurals. Pause, rhyme, exclamation and phonetic reduction (*tarkhīm*) are described, the last two in the syntax section, where they rightly belong as a feature of the vocative. In short, very little is left out, though al-Zubaydī proudly published a list of more than eighty forms Sībawayhi missed (*Kitāb al-Istidrāk*, see below).

(f) *Phonology*. This occupies the seven dense and laconic final chapters of the *Kitāb*. Although Sībawayhi refers to sounds by their graphic form, it is clear that (following al-Khalīl) he knew the difference between the name of a letter, the grapheme and the phoneme. He also knew that the set of Arabic sounds (our "phoneme inventory") was limited and distinctive, and he gives precise descriptions of their place and manner of articulation [see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀ']. Dialectal and conditioned variants (allophones) are reviewed, also the Arabisation of foreign sounds, and the role of ease of articulation, proximity and frequency fully acknowledged; this includes vocalic allophones arising from *imāla*, *rawm* and *ishmām*, processes not unlike umlaut. Assimilation is recognised as occurring not only within but between words. Phonological constraints on syllabic structure and the morphological results are treated, as are sound changes arising from metathesis, elision, substitution and conversion. Totally lacking is any mention of *tadjwīd*, though there are frequent references to the way individual Ḳur'ānic sounds or words are "read", i.e. textually rather than liturgically.

Sībawayhi's terminology applies uniformly at all levels; every syntactic, morphological and phonological unit has a *naḥw* or way of use according to its status *manzila* and function *mawḍi'*, by which it is judged to be structurally correct, *ḥasan*, or incorrect, *ḳabīḥ*, with analogy, *ḳiyās*, as the controlling principle. For obvious reasons, there is no call for *muḥāl*, "incomprehensible", outside syntax, but we sometimes find "right", *mustaḳīm*, in a morphological context where the choice of a certain form affects communication (ii, 60/ii, 55). Sībawayhi also understood the nature of metalanguage; with al-Khalīl he often tests the linguistic status of elements by artificially converting them into proper names, and he is alert to the problems of purely theoretical examples (Ayoub).

4. The text and editions of the *Kitāb*.

(a) *Composition*. The *Kitāb* survives because of al-Akhfash, a service for which he has not been given due credit. Sībawayhi died before he could bring his work into publishable form, and it was al-Akhfash who helped him write the first draft, so to speak, and he alone who gathered it up and later used it for his own teaching. Through this epistemological bottleneck passed a work of transcendent genius. After Sībawayhi's death, Yūnus was shown a book of some thousand pages which had emerged from this collaboration, and he certified it as an authentic digest of al-Khalīl's and Sībawayhi's knowledge, thus retrospectively defining the academic pedigree of the *Kitāb* and confirming its large size *ab initio*. There is something rather convincing about a story which so innocently avoids the pitfall of fabricating an *idjāza* when such mechanisms patently did not exist. The lack of precedent accounts better than Sībawayhi's premature death for the *Kitāb*'s unusual form (no title, no preface, no conclusion); if he had time for a thousand pages, the absence of literary formalities can only have been because there were no models. The *Kitāb* shows no trace of the well-established epistolary manner (still less of any dipping into translations from Greek or Syriac), and the originality of the work lies as much in its style as its content; it is one of the earliest "books" in Arabic at all, hence its default title *Kitāb Sībawayhi*.

(b) *Manuscripts*. Humbert 1995 lists 77 extant manuscripts, and a 78th has recently been found (Humbert, *Dévelop.*, 133). The oldest is a fragment from 351/962 (chs. 184-277, 288-312), and the earliest complete copy is dated 588/1192-3. Al-Mubarrad, who studied the *Kitāb* with al-Djarmī and al-Māzinī, two pupils of al-Akhfash, is responsible for the creation of a "vulgate", which included his own glosses, but there were alternative transmissions, notably of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987), who showed an outstanding interest in collecting *Kitāb* manuscripts. He represents a stage in the history of the *Kitāb* when scholars eagerly sought and collated manuscripts, culminating in the emergence of two "standard editions", an Eastern version associated with al-Zamakhsharī and an Andalusian version associated with al-Rabāḥī. The Zamakhsharī recension is easily recognised by the addition of *al-ḥā'iṭ* in the very first line and a haplology in the last folio.

Completely outside these two dominant traditions is the Milan fragment, containing chs. 327 to 435, i.e. about one-sixth of the *Kitāb*. This manuscript, tentatively dated by Humbert to the 5th/11th century, exhibits enough textual and marginal divergences from the mainstream versions to point to a totally independent line of transmission. There is evidence, slight and tantalising, to connect this version directly with Tha'lab, the chief "Kūfan" grammarian and bitter rival of al-Mubarrad, and its forthcoming publication will greatly improve our knowledge of the *Kitāb*.

(c) *Editions*. (1) *Le livre de Sîbawaihi*, ed. Hartwig Derenbourg, Paris 1881-9, repr. Hildesheim 1970. (2) *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ed. Kabir-Uddin Ahmed Khan Bahadur, Calcutta 1887. (3) *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, Būlāḳ 1898-1900, repr. Baghdād [1965]. (4) *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 5 vols., Cairo 1968-77, 2nd ed. 1977. (5) Beirut, 1967. German

translation, Gustav Jahn, *Sîbawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik, übersetzt und erklärt*, Berlin 1895-1900, repr. Hildesheim 1969. See further Humbert, *Studies*, 179-82, 1995, 27-40.

(d) *Commentaries*. Of more than 80 ancillary titles listed in Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 58-63, 242, only 21 are extant. Five have been published, viz no. 20, Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Sharḥ abyāt Sībawayhi*, ed. Z.Gh. Zahīd, Beirut 1986; no. 29, al-Zubaydī (*GAS*, ix, 222), no. 37, Ibn al-Sīrāfī, *Sharḥ abyāt Sībawayhi*, ed. M.ʿA. Sulṭan, n.p. 1979, no. 39, Hārūn b. Mūsā, *Sharḥ ʿuyūn Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ʿA.R.ʿA.L. ʿAbd Rabbih, Cairo 1984; no. 48, al-Djawāliḳī (*GAS*, ix, 242). Add al-Zadjdjādjī, *Īḍāḥ* (*GAS*, ix, 94), translated by C.H.M. [Kees] Versteegh, *The explanation of linguistic causes. Az-Zaǧǧāǧī's theory of grammar. Introduction, translation, commentary*, Amsterdam 1995. Partial editions: no. 25, al-Sīrāfī, *Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ed. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1986 (2 vols.), no. 28, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, *al-Taʿlīḳa*, ed. ʿA. b. Ḥ. al-Ḳūzī, Cairo 1990 (1 vol.), no. 31, al-Rummānī (*GAS*, ix, 112). Extracts from al-Sīrāfī in Jahn and Būlāḳ, where also extracts from no. 43, al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī's *Taḥṣīl ʿayn al-dhahab*.

(e) *Reference works*. Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 51-63, 241-2, incorporating W. Diem, *Bibliographie/Bibliography, Sekundärliteratur zur einheimischen arabischen Grammatikschreibung*, in C.H.M. Versteegh, K. Koerner, H.-J. Niederehe (eds.), *The history of linguistics in the Middle East*, Amsterdam 1983, 195-250 (= *Historiographia linguistica*, viii (1981), 431-86), with supplements in *ZAL*, x, xi, xii, xiv. Indispensable resources are: G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitab de Sibawayhi*, Paris 1976; ʿA.Kh. ʿUḍayma, *Fahāris Kitāb Sībawayhi wa-dirāsa lahu*, Cairo 1975; A.R. Naffākh, *Fihris shawāhid Sībawayhi*, Beirut 1970; G. ʿAwwād, *Sībawayhi imām al-nuḥāt fī āthār al-dārisīn khilāl ithnay ʿashar ḳarn^an^*, Baghdād 1978; Kh. ʿA.R. al-Ḥadīthī, *Abniyat al-ṣarf fī Kitāb Sībawayhi*, Baghdād 1965; the index of Hārūn's *Kitāb* edition, also Schaade and Mosel.

5. Sībawayhi's pupils and the legacy of the *Kitāb*.

(a) *Pupils*. Sībawayhi only had two pupils that we know anything about, al-Akhfash and Ḳuṭrub [*q.vv.*]. Three others are merely names: al-Nāshī, much admired by al-Mubarrad, al-Ziyādī, who apparently read the *Kitāb* with Sībawayhi and al-Māzinī (see Humbert 1995, 15, n. 35 on both) and one ʿUtba al-Naḥwī, described as *min aṣḥāb Sībawayhi*, *Aghānī*[1], xvii, 16, perhaps the same as al-ʿUtbī in al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 44.

Of the two recognised pupils, al-Akhfash is remarkable for his role in the composition and transmission of the *Kitāb*, and Ḳuṭrub is perhaps more remarkable for having had nothing to do with either, as he simply "studied the *Kitāb* with Sībawayhi". This is a problem, of course, since there was strictly speaking no *Kitāb* for him to study. He was about the same age as Sībawayhi and thus more of a fellow-student than a pupil; his reputation as a "dissenting grammarian", in Versteegh's phrase, makes it difficult to imagine him as a student of Sībawayhi and impossible to consider him a disciple. Since none of his works survive (nor any of al-Akhfash) there is no way to know the full technical basis for his unique grammatical position. For al-Akhfaṣ, at least, we can hope to reconstruct his views from his numerous glosses on the *Kitāb*.

(b) *Grammar after Sībawayhi*. In the years after Sībawayhi's death, the *Kitāb* went into occultation. Bernards has explored this phase and shown how the *Kitāb* began to acquire prestige only with al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898 [*q.v.*]), which fits nicely with Humbert's independent conclusion that it was al-Mubarrad who laid the foundations for a standard *Kitāb* text. Thus al-Yazīdī (d. 202/818, studied with al-Khalīl but not with Sībawayhi) can praise the "Baṣran" grammarians without even mentioning Sībawayhi. Al-Akhfash taught the *Kitāb* to only three disciples, al-Djarmī, al-Māzinī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Hānī, though it was also known to al-Kisāʾī and al-Farrāʾ who play, however, no part in its transmission. Al-Djarmī and al-Māzinī both energetically promoted the *Kitāb*, and the latter admonished: "anyone who thinks they can do better than the *Kitāb* should show some humility!". When al-Djāḥiẓ presented a copy as a gift to a *wazīr*, the work's fame was assured; by al-Mubarrad's time, the difficulty of the *Kitāb* was compared with riding on water and eventually it was crowned with the title "the Ḳurʾān of grammar". The growing prominence of the *Kitāb* is linked also with the emergent "Baṣran" and "Kūfan" schools, with Thaʿlab declaring that the *Kitāb* was the work of 42 scholars and he could very well do without it! But the *Kitāb* itself (*pace* Baalbaki, *Stud. ar. et isl.*) gives little support to the polemicists; Sībawayhi is so careful to balance systematic regularity *ḳiyās* against observed data, *samāʿ*, that he can hardly be claimed as a representative of either school.

Arabic grammar is not static, and although the *Kitāb* remained the reference point for all subsequent developments, the science itself moved on. Prescriptive needs were fulfilled, methodological theory elaborated, curricular requirements accomodated, and the relatively junior science of rhetoric was established.

Comparison of Sībawayhi's vocabulary with later grammar (Troupeau, *Lex.-index*, 18-25) makes the qualitative and quantitative changes plain. Absent from the *Kitāb* are, amongst others, *madjāz/ḥaḳīḳa, nathr/naẓm, fāʾida/ifāda, djumla, madjhūl, ḥukm, ḍābiṭa, iḳtaḍā, maḥall, rābiṭ, salb, nāsikh, basīṭ/murakkab, shamsī/ḳamarī* and all abstract nouns of the type *ismiyya, fiʿliyya*. Terms were created for many items Sībawayhi left unnamed, e.g. *tamyīz, kāna 'l-nāḳiṣa/'l-tāmma, lā li-nafy al-djins, mā al-nāsikha, mā al-daymūma, afʿāl al-ḳulūb, alfʿāl al-muḳāraba*, etc.

Troupeau's index also exposes the extreme rarity of many terms in the *Kitāb*. Abstractions such as *ʿaraḍ, djawhar, ḥudjdja, ṣūra, djins, ṣinf*, occur in single figures, *nawʿ* only 11 times, with *mādda* and *hayūlā* completely absent, suggesting that Sībawayhi was not greatly interested in categories, or rather that the expression of class membership was already catered for by the indigenous metaphor of *umma* (23 times) and its cognate notions "tribe", *ḳabīl*, "mother", "sister" and "daughter". Two rare terms, *ʿilla* and *taḳdīr*, have been overinterpreted. Sībawayhi associated *ʿilla* principally with phonological "weakness", and on the few occasions when it seems to mean "cause" it also involves weak radicals or similar morphophonological factors; in short, there is not much evidence that Sībawayhi subscribed to any explicit theory of grammatical causality other than *ʿamal*. With *taḳdīr* the position is equally inconclusive; again, the term has primarily morphophonological import and occurs only once in a purely syntactic context. In i, 287/i, 247, *a-laysa hādhā zayd^an^ munṭaliḳ^an^* is said to be "like *ḍaraba ʿabd Allāhi zayd^an^ ḳāʾim^an^* in *taḳdīr* but not in meaning", and the suspicion that this may be an interpolation is irresistible. The original sense of *taḳdīr* is seen in an incident where Sībawayhi is challenged to make up words with certain patterns and radicals (al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 72). Sībawayhi *ḳaddara wa-akhṭaʾa* "tried to fit the radicals into the patterns and got it wrong", where *ḳaddara*

still has the same morphological connotation as in the *Kitāb*.

As grammatical science evolved, elements of Sībawayhi's system were dropped or marginalised. Prescriptive grammar was not so concerned with the moral aspect of communication implied by *istaḳāma*, which became less common as the normative verb *d̲j̲āza/ yad̲j̲ūzu* increased in frequency. The concept of *sabab* [*q.v.*], which accounted for a wide range of syntactic phenomena, was restricted to the *naʿt sababī* construction, e.g. *marartu bi-rad̲j̲ul^in ḥasan^in abūhu*. The scope of *muḍāraʿa* was drastically reduced. For Sībawayhi, it was part of a general theory of analogical pressure inseparable from *ḳiyās* and related (in ways not yet examined) to the analogies performed by speakers, but all that survives now is the name of the imperfect verb, still called *muḍāriʿ* to this day. Sībawayhi's analysis of appositional and coordinated qualifiers was tidied up; on structural grounds he called them both simply *ʿatf*, but his successors in their formalistic way subdivided them into *ʿatf bayān* and *ʿatf nasaḳ* respectively. Sībawayhi's terms for predication, where *musnad* = first part, *musnad ilayhi* = second part of any predicative structure whether nominal or verbal, were inverted by the 4th/10th century (Levin, in *JAOS*, ci) to *musnad* = predicate, *musnad ilayhi* = subject irrespective of word order.

(c) *The Kitāb in the West.* The interpretation of Sībawayhi's grammar in the West has always been implicitly or explicitly a comparative exercise, and has never resolved the dilemma that literal translations of the *Kitāb* are technically unconvincing and technical translations are historically misleading. Jahn opened up the work to a wider audience (de Saussure *could* have read it, though we will never know), but his vital warning that the German version is only for those who can compare it with the Arabic is mostly ignored. All too often the secondary literature fails to find a compromise between the type of translation represented by Jahn's "Über die Verben, von deren 1. Form das Passivum vorkommt, ohne daß das Aktivum gebraüchlich ist" and what Sībawayhi actually said, *bāb mā d̲j̲āʾa fuʿila minhu ʿalā g̲h̲ayri faʿaltuhu* (ch. 447). It is only useful to recast Sībawayhi's thought in some modern theoretical framework if the undertaking has real explanatory value. One may regret, now, the speculation that Sībawayhi belonged "somewhere between de Saussure and Bloomfield" (Carter, in *JAOS*, xciii, 157), lending new irony to the word Procrustean which has been applied to Arab linguistics.

Sībawayhi's vocabulary lacks many terms, among them "number", "gender", "tense", "person", "case", "mood", "syllable", "accent", "diphthong", but to focus on these perceived shortcomings diverts attention from the realities of the *Kitāb*. Even more damaging is the inaccurate rendering of the terms that Sībawayhi does use. No-one would be impressed by a writer on *fiḳh* who consistently translated *fatwā* as "death sentence", yet similar distortions are common in works on Arabic grammar. The most unfortunate is the equation of *ʿamal* with "governing", but the imposition of Latin case and mood names runs a close second. We also find "copula" for *ḍamīr al-faṣl*, turning that which keeps apart into that which joins together, *fāʿil* becomes "subject" despite the Arabs' careful terminological distinction between *fāʿil* and *mubtadaʾ*, *mabnī li ʾl-mafʿūl* (in later grammar *mad̲j̲hūl*) are reproduced by "passive", obliterating the Arab theory of this form of verb, phonetic terms are squeezed into Western categories, and so on.

Yet Sībawayhi continues to inspire. Like all works of genius, the *Kitāb* bears infinite re-reading, and all research into Arabic grammar must still begin with Sībawayhi, even if the science which he founded outgrew him and evolved into the scholastic grammar of the *madrasa*. The high intellectual calibre of the late grammarians is undeniable, but it seems less than perfect justice that as grammar sublimated itself into a dialogue with the Ḳurʾān, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn could say without incongruity that Ibn His̲h̲ām (d. 761/1360 [*q.v.*]) was "more of a grammarian than Sībawayhi" *anḥā min Sībawayhi*.

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SĪBĪ (also spelt Sīwī in mediaeval Islamic sources, e.g. the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*) a town and district of northeastern Balūčistān, lying on the plain below the entrance to the Bolān Pass and the route to Quetta [see kwaṭṭa], which is some 140 km/88 miles beyond Sībī town. The town is situated in lat. 29° 31' N. and long. 67° 54' E. Because of its strategic position between the mouths of the Bolān and Harnaī Passes, and on the way down to the Indus valley, it has always played a part in history.

In early Islamic times, Sībī was one of the towns of the district of Bālis(h) or Wāli<u>sh</u>ān, although the residence of the *amīr* was at al-Ḳaṣr/Kū<u>sh</u>k near another of the district's towns, Ispin<u>dj</u>āy (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 111, comm. 346). The district is mentioned in the *Bundahi<u>sh</u>n* as Bālist, presumably meaning in Persian "highland". The Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Lay<u>th</u> [*q.v.*] brought Bālis(h) under his control in 253/867 (C.E. Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz*, Costa Mesa and New York 1994, 99). In <u>Gh</u>aznawid times, it formed part of the sultans' empire, and on their expeditions to India, they frequently marched from Bust and al-Ru<u>kh</u><u>kh</u>a<u>dj</u> [*q.vv.*] via Sībī to Multān and the Indus valley (see M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of <u>Gh</u>azna*, Cambridge 1931, 199; Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, 7-8). The district of Sībī was held *ca.* A.D. 1500 by Ar<u>gh</u>un from Ḳandahār; then by the Mu<u>gh</u>als (in Akbar's time, it was a *maḥall* of the Bhakkar *sarkār* in the Multān *sūba*); in 1714 by the Kalhōras of Sind; and later in that century, by the Durrānī Af<u>gh</u>āns. In the 19th century, Sībī and Pi<u>sh</u>īn formed the so-called "assigned districts" (any surplus revenue from which was to be refunded to the *amīrs* of Af<u>gh</u>ānistān) handed over to Britain by Yaʿḳūb <u>Kh</u>ān b. <u>Sh</u>īr ʿAlī under the Treaty of Gandamak in 1879.

In British India, only some two-fifths of Sībī District were directly administered, the rest being the Marī and Bugṭī tribal areas and a part of Kalāt state [*q.v.*]. The strategic value of Sībī town was increased when the standard-gauge railway to Pi<u>sh</u>īn was constructed through it, with its also becoming subsequently the junction for the Quetta line. The ethnic composition of the District included 43% Balūč and 20% Pathāns. Sībī is now in the Balūčistān Province of Pākistān.

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SIBĪR, the designation of Western Siberia first used in sources for the Čingizid era of the 13th and 14th centuries. From this the modern Russ. Сибирь (and thence "Siberia" in European and other languages) derives. The origins of this toponym are unclear. A connection with the Sabirs, a Turkic nomadic grouping which formed part of the <u>Kh</u>azar state (cf. the Suwār in Volga Bul<u>gh</u>aria) and who may have occupied some parts of this region before moving to the Volga zone in the early 6th century A.D., has been suggested (Patkanov, *Über das Volk der Sabiren*, 258-77). *Sabir* (*Säbir*), in turn, has been derived from the name Hsien-pi (**siem-bi*), a Proto-Mongolian tribal confederation of Inner Asia which overcame the Hsiung-nu for control of Mongolia in the 2nd century A.D. and from which the Jou-jan/Avars, among others, appear to have originated. The later toponym *Ibir-Sibīr* (see below) has been conjectured as stemming from **Abar-Säbir* (Quatremère, *Histoire*, 413 ff., Pritsak, *The origin*, 278-80). The evidence is conjectural at best. The Kimek Ḳa<u>gh</u>anate, known to the mediaeval Islamic geographers (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, ed. Sotoodeh, 85-6, tr. Minorsky, 99-100, and kimäk), from which the Ḳïpčaḳ confederation developed, was located in much the same territory.

The earliest reference to this name is found in the (*ca.* 1240) *Yüan-chao-pi-shih* (*Secret History of the Mongols*, tr. Cleaves, 173), in the form *<u>Sh</u>ibir*, where it is listed in a group of peoples extending from Central Siberia to the Urals. A Franciscan letter of 1320 records the form *Sibur* (Pelliot, *Notes sur le 'Turkestan'*, 51-2). This is similar to the forms noted in the Pizzigani brothers' map of 1367 and a Catalan map of 1375: *Sebur*, located to the north of the *Pascherti* (Ba<u>sh</u>kurts, see

Egorov, *Ist. geograf.*, 130-1; Yule, *Cathay*, i, 307). A number of authors, beginning with Rashīd al-Dīn in the early 8th/14th century (*Djāmi'*, ed. Alizade *et al.*, i/1, 72-3, and ed. Karīmī, i, 513), note a region termed "Ibīr Sibīr". Al-'Umarī (ed. Lech, 77), writing *ca.* 741-9/1341-9, in his section on Khwārazm and Ķībčaķ, makes reference to the *bilād Sibir wa-Ibir* which is adjacent to "Bāshķird" and is a region in which "the ice does not depart from them for a period of six months". A contemporary of his, the anonymous Spanish Franciscan author of the *Libro del conosçimiento* (van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, i, 572), mentions the largely uninhabited "lands of Albizibi" which encompass "Tartaria" from the north. The form "Ibir-Sibir" may also be seen in I-pi-rh Shi-pi-rh of the *Yüan-shih* (and a somewhat later Chinese map, see Bretschneider, *Med. researches*, i, 37; Pelliot, *Notes critiques*, 59). In the early 15th century, Johannes Schiltberger (*Bondage and travels*, ed. Telfer, 34-6, 49) took part in a campaign against *Ibissibur* while the region was still largely under Ostyak control. By that time, the "land of Sibir" appears in Russian sources (cf. *PSRL*, xi, 198; *Ustiuzskiy*, 70, recording the death *ca.* 1406 or 1407 of Toķtamïsh there). Later Islamic sources (e.g. the 10th/16th century *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. Ross, 282) continued to call the region "Ibīr-Sibīr". As the name appears to be known only from the Čingizid era, it may derive from Mong. *siber/sibir* "dense forest, thicket" (Lessing, 695), but since the Mongols tended to use the existing ethnonyms and toponyms of the regions they conquered, this seems unlikely.

Sibir, never clearly defined in the sources, formed the north-eastern border zone of the Djočid *ulus*, extending, probably, to the Irtïsh and Čulïman rivers, the Baraba and Kulunda steppes and southward toward the Altay and Lake Balkhash (Egorov, *Ist. geograf.*, 45, 54-5). The earliest Čingizid-era polity to emerge in this region (last half of the 8th/14th century?) was that of the Tümen khānate on the middle Tobol and Tura-Tavda mesopotamia with its centre at Čimgi-Tura. It comprised a number of Ķipčaķ-Turkic-speaking Turko-Mongolian tribal groupings, stemming from the same milieu as the Noghay Horde, and was frequently fought over by opposing Djočid factions. It was to here that Toķtamïsh fled following his defeat by Tīmūr in the late 8th/14th century, after which it was controlled by the Noghay *amīr* Edigü through Čingizid underlings. Although local Tatar traditions (preserved in oral form and in the Russian chronicles) present a welter of confusing accounts, the ruling house appears to have derived from (a probably Noghay chieftain) Taybugha (Miller, i, 189-3; Frank, *Siberian chronicles*, 8-10). Sometime before 1481, the Shïbānid Ibaķ Khān, who together with the Noghays inflicted fatal blows on the "Great Horde", took control of the region from the Taybughids. Mamat (Muḥammad), a Taybughid, killed Ibaķ in 1493 or 1495, regained control of the khānate and moved its capital to Sibir/Isker/Ķashlïķ (*PSRL*, xxxvi, 47; Armstrong, 66-7 [Yesipov chronicle]). This now became the Khānate of Sibir, which soon subsumed the remaining Shïbānid holdings in Tümen and expanded into Bashkir and Ob Ugrian (Ostyak) lands. The Taybughid princes Yediger and Bekbulat, troubled by internal problems (their father, Kasïy/Kāẓïm, had been assassinated by members of his own entourage) and Moscow's conquest of Kazan [see ĶĀZĀN] (1552), submitted to Ivan IV in 1555. This did not prevent their defeat and death at the hands of Küčüm [*q.v.*], a descendant of Ibaķ (1563). Seydäk (Сейдякъ < Arab. *sayyid*), Bekbulat's son, fled to Bukhārā and from there continued periodic resistance. Although Islam was clearly the religion of the Taybughids (who, in the absence of Čingizid credentials, stressed their Islamic legitimacy, Frank, *Siberian chronicles*, 23) and of the ruling strata of the khānate of Sibir, local tradition credits Küčüm with a concerted effort (occasionally forcible) to proselytise the local population. Naķshbandī *shaykhs* also appear to have played some role in the propagation of Islam on this northern frontier. Küčüm's successes were short-lived. In 1581, the Russians, under the Cossack Ermak Timofeev, began the conquest of Siberia, taking the city of Sibir in October 1582. Ermak perished in a Tatar ambush in 1585 and Küčüm continued to struggle against the Russians, their Tatar allies and Seydäk (who in 1587 was made prisoner by the Russians and taken off to Moscow, *Ist. Sibiri*, ii, 32; Armstrong, *Yermak*, 81-2), but without success. Following a defeat at Russian hands in 1598 (*Ist. Sibiri*, ii, 30-6), old and now blind, Küčüm fled to the Noghay Horde, where he died: *Manghït khalkïning ičige bardï. Ḥaķķ-ï raḥmanatige kitdi* (according to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 177, this occurred in 1003/1594-5; the Yesipov and Remezov Chronicles, Armstrong, *Yermak*, 82, 237-43, report that the Noghays killed him). The Russians established their forts and urban settlements on or near the khānate's earlier towns. Tobol'sk (1587) was built near Tatar Sibir.

Sibir was an important link in trans-Siberian commerce, connecting the Volga-Ural region and Central Asia with the forests of the north so important to the fur trade. Little is known about the internal structure of the khānate. As non-Čingizids, the Taybughids appear, like the Noghays, to have used the titles *biy* (bey, beg) and *sulṭān*. The Tatar tribes were organised into *uluses*, headed by *mīrzā*s, as were the subject peoples, often incorporated into one or another *ulus*, who paid the *yasaķ* (tribute collected in furs).

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(P.B. Golden)

SIBṬ [see ibn al-djawzī, ibn al-taʿāwīdhī, al-mārdīnī. 3.].

al-**SĪD**, Spanish el-Cid, the Cid, the name by which the most celebrated and the most popular of the heroes of Castilian chivalry is known; he played a preponderating political part in Muslim Spain of the second half of the 11th century, and we can now gain an idea of his real personality by removing all the legendary matter that has grown up around his life and his exploits. It was to the Dutch scholar R. Dozy that the honour was due of having established, as a result of his examination in 1844 of the manuscript of the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām preserved in Gotha, that the story of the *Crónica General* of Alfonso the Wise relating to the Cid, which up till then had been considered a pure invention, was really translated from the Arabic, and probably from a work of the Valencian Muḥammad b. Khalaf Ibn ʿAlḳama (428-509/1037-1116 [*q.v.*]) called *al-Bayān al-wāḍiḥ fi 'l-milamm al-fādiḥ* (cf. also F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, 176-7, no. 140) and that it is contemporary with the Cid.

This knight, who was called Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, was descended from a noble Castilian family and was born at Burgos during the first half of the 11th century. It is known that in 1064 he distinguished himself, on the side of Sancho II of Castile in a war which this sovereign waged against Sancho of Navarre. He defeated at this time a knight of Navarre in single combat, and the success stood him in good stead in the Castilian army, whose commander-in-chief he became (or the "Standard-bearer of the King") with the title of Campeador (Latin *campeator*, written by the Arabs الكنبيطور *al-kanbiyaṭūr*, the equivalent of the Spanish Arabic *mubāriz* or *barrāz*, "the champion who comes out of the ranks, when two armies are ranged against one another, to challenge an enemy to single combat"). A short time afterwards thanks to the counsels of Rodrigo Díaz, Sancho II made himself master of the Kingdom of León by taking his own brother Alfonso prisoner at Burgos. The latter was able to flee to the Muslim king of Toledo al-Ma'mūn, of the dynasty of the Banū Dhu 'l-Nūn. In Muḥarram 465/7 October 1072, Sancho of Castile was killed before Zamora which he was besieging. The new king of Castile always secretly felt a grudge against Rodrigo Díaz for the humiliation of this oath, but in order to conciliate the knight, then very influential, and to attach him to him, he gave him his cousin Jimena (Chimène) Díaz, the daughter of the Count of Oviedo, in marriage (1074). Some years later, Alfonso VI sent him to the ʿAbbāsid dynast of Seville, al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*], in order to collect the tribute, which this Muslim prince paid in return for a nominal alliance with Castile. The Cid himself returned to Castile after successfully attaining the real aim of his mission. Alfonso VI, probably at the instigation of García Ordóñez, then accused the Cid of having appropriated a part of the presents which had been given to him at Seville to bring to the king, and he took advantage of the first opportunity—the expedition against the Muslims of Toledo undertaken without his consent—to disgrace him and to banish him from his dominions (1081).

It is from this time that the life of a "condottiere" led by the Castilian knight dates, and that he began to fight, as occasion arose, the Muslims or his own co-religionists, on behalf of a third person or on his own behalf.

After an unsuccessful attempt to enter the service of the Count of Barcelona, Rodrigo Díaz offered his services to the Hūdid ruler of Saragossa [see saraḳusṭa], Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Muḳtadir. The latter agreed to take him into his army with his mercenaries. He died in the same year and his son Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin succeeded him at Saragossa, while his other son al-Mundhir received Denia, Tortosa and Lérida. The two brothers lost no time in going to war with one another. Rodrigo Díaz continued in the service of al-Mu'tamin, while al-Mundhir made an alliance with the King of Aragon, Sancho Ramírez, and with the Count of Barcelona, Ramón Berenguer II. The Cid soon won a great victory over the enemies of his master, took rich plunder and made prisoner the Count of Barcelona, whose liberty he restored soon after. He made a triumphal entry into Saragossa, where the Hūdid ruler overwhelmed him with presents and with honours. He had acquired at one stroke prestige and an ascendancy without parallel among his Muslim soldiers who from this time began to call him "my master", *sayyidī*, vulg. Sp. Ar. *sīdī*, which was translated into Spanish in the form of "*mio Cid*" (the famous *Poem of the Cid* was originally called "*El Cantar de mio Cid*"); and soon this name prevailed (with or without the employment of the possessive). Rodrigo Díaz, thanks to his military talents, had become in the eyes of the Muslims of Spain a champion and an irresistible leader in war, el-Cid Campeador.

In 1084, after an ephemeral reconciliation with Alfonso VI, the Cid covered himself with glory once more in Aragon in the service of al-Mu'tamin. When this prince died in the following year, he passed into the services of his son and successor Aḥmad al-Mustaʿīn II.

When the Almoravid Sulṭān Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn landed in Spain to fight against the Christians and put them to rout at Zallāḳa (12 Radjab 479/23 October 1086), the Dhu 'l-Nūnid Yaḥyā b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḳādir had to appeal for help to the King of Castile and to al-Mustaʿīn of Saragossa. The latter saw in this a good opportunity to deprive al-Ḳādir of his kingdom, and secretly entered into an agreement with the Cid to seize the town, all the booty to go to the condottiere. But the latter, mindful of the gifts which al-Ḳādir had bestowed upon him, refused to touch the town and sent a new token of his vassalage to Alfonso. Thereafter, with his army he made incursions into the whole district of Valencia, and in the year 1089, returned to Castile, where he was received with honour by his sovereign. Then he regained the Sharḳ al-Andalus [*q.v.*] with his army numbering 7,000 men.

Profiting by the absence of the Cid, al-Mustaʿīn of Saragossa had made an alliance with Berenguer of Barcelona, who was besieging Valencia. The Count of Barcelona retreated before the Cid, who promised

al-Ḳādir, in return for a payment of 10,000 dīnārs a month, to defend his capital against all enemy attempts. A short time afterwards, Alfonso quarrelled with him once more. Then the Cid, like a regular independent bandit chief, ravaged with fire and sword the whole eastern country from Orihuela to Játiva, marched against Tortosa, defeated the Count of Barcelona, and concluded a treaty with him. At this time, besides the sums which he received from the Count of Barcelona and the Muslim princes of Tortosa and Valencia, the Cid had also amongst his tributaries the Arab lords of Albarracín (al-Sahla), of Alpuente (al-Būnt), of Murviedro (Murbayṭar, today called Sagunto), of Segorba (S̲h̲ubrub), of Jérica (S̲h̲ārika) and of Almenara.

The King of Castile, in order to put an end to the growing influence of his too powerful vassal, decided to deprive him of Valencia. Strong in his alliance with the Pisans and the Genoese, he came to besiege the town by land and by sea, while the Cid was engaged in helping the Muslim king of Saragossa against the Christian King of Aragon. Informed of what was taking place, the Cid left Saragossa with his army and laid waste the county of Nájera and of Calahorra, the particular fief of his sworn enemy García Ordóñez. The town of Logroño in the Rioja was completely destroyed by him, and Alfonso VI had to raise the siege of Valencia without attaining any success.

During his absence, the Cid left at Valencia a Muslim lieutenant, Ibn al-Farad̲j̲, at the court of al-Ḳādir. The latter, in S̲h̲awwāl 485/November 1092, was killed after a rising of the population incited by the *ḳāḍī* Ibn D̲j̲aḥḥāf, who placed himself at the head of the city as president of the Valencian republic (*d̲j̲amā'a*), with a purely nominal representative of the Almoravid government at his side. Some months later, in D̲j̲umādā II 486/July 1093, the Cid marched on the capital with the whole of his army, seized without difficulty the suburbs of Villanueva and of al-Kudya and agreed to make terms with Ibn D̲j̲aḥḥāf, while maintaining a strict blockade of the town. The chief of the Valencian republic was forced to surrender the town to the Cid on 28 D̲j̲umādā I 487/15 June 1094. The Campeador did no harm to the population, but did not hesitate to burn alive a short time afterwards the former president, Ibn D̲j̲aḥḥāt, as a punishment.

From this time the Cid was absolute master of Valencia. He had turned into a church the great mosque of Valencia and restored the bishopric of the town, which he gave to Jerome of Perigord. In the end, he was quite reconciled to his suzerain Alfonso of Castile, and he was allied to two royal houses of the Peninsula through the marriages of his daughters, María with Ramón Berenguer III, and Christina with the Infante of Navarre Ramiro. He then tried to take Játiva (S̲h̲āṭiba [*q.v.*]) from the Almoravids but his army was routed. The Cid, full of wrath and broken-hearted by this disaster, succumbed not long after in the middle of 1099.

After the death of the Cid, his widow Jimena resisted, for about two years, the incessant attacks of the Almoravids. Valencia was besieged at the beginning of 495/1101 by the Lamtūnī general al-Mazdalī. It sustained the siege for seven months but on the advice of Alfonso VI, who had come to relieve it, Jimena decided to evacuate Valencia, which she ordered to be burned on her departure. When the Almoravid troops entered it, on 15 Rad̲j̲ab 495/5 May 1102, they found nothing but ruins. Jimena transported the body of the Cid to Castile; it was buried near Burgos, in the convent of San Pedro of Cardeña. Jimena was herself buried there when she died five years later in the year 1104.

Bibliography: As noted above, a still valuable work on the life and historical career of the Cid is R. Dozy, *Le Cid d'après de nouveaux documents*, Leiden 1860, repr. in his *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-Âge*, ³Paris-Leiden 1881, ii, 1-233. Of Arabic sources, see Ibn Bassām, *D̲h̲aḵh̲īra*, text and tr. in Dozy, *op. cit.*, 11, 8-28 and pp. iii-xviii; Ibn al-Kardabūs, *K. al-Iktifā'*, in *ibid.*, pp. xxiii-xxviii, ed. F. Maíllo, in *Historia de al-Andalus*, Madrid 1986, 121-8; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hulla al-siyarā'*, in Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. xxvii-xxxi; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. Dozy *et alii*, *Analectes*, ii, 754, and in Dozy. *op. cit.*, ii, pp. xxxi-xxxiii; *Fragment anonyme inédit*, in Ibn al-'Id̲h̲ārī, ii, ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal, Appx. I (ch. on Ibn D̲j̲aḥḥāf). Cf. also Dozy, in *Revue hispanique*, xx (1909), 316-428, xxiii (1910), 424-76, and in *Bull. hispanique*, xvi (1914), 80-6. A complete bibl. of European sources to the date of publication is in B. Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes de la historia española*, Madrid 1919. See also A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, 75-7, and BALANSIYA.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

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(R. HITCHCOCK)

AL-ṢIDDĪḲ (A.), a name applied to the first caliph Abū Bakr meaning "the eminently veracious" and "he who always confirms the truth". The lexicographical tradition understands the form of the word to be an intensive adjective (W. Wright, *Grammar*, i, 137-8) indicating the extremes of *ṣidḳ* [*q.v.*], truth.

The word appears in the Ḳur'ān six times and has

a technical sense suggesting an etymology derived from the Aramaic-Hebrew *ṣaddīḳ*, which has the meaning "pious" in Rabbinic literature. Those who believe are *ṣiddīḳūn* in Ḳurʾān IV, 69 and LVII, 19 (both times in conjunction with being *shuhadāʾ*, "witnesses" or "martyrs"), Abraham and Idrīs are called prophets as well as *ṣiddīḳ* in XIX, 41 and 56 respectively, while Mary is called *ṣiddīḳa* in V, 75, and Joseph's prison guard addresses him *ayyuhā ʾl-ṣiddīḳu* in XII, 46.

The association of the word with Abū Bakr is explained in a number of anecdotes in classical sources. Abū Bakr, when faced with the sceptics of his community, said of Muḥammad and his night journey, "If he says it is so, then it is true (*ṣadaḳa*)". Abū Bakr then requested that Muḥammad describe Jerusalem to prove the veracity of his account. In order that he could see the city, Abū Bakr was lifted up and he was then able to confirm for everyone the truth of Muḥammad's description. Each time an element was described, he said, "You are telling the truth (*ṣadaḳta*). I testify that you are the messenger of God" and at the conclusion the Prophet said to him "And you, Abū Bakr, are *al-ṣiddīḳ*", and from that time on he was called by this name (Ibn Hishām, 265).

Al-Ṭabarī does not provide the same post-*miʿrādj* narrative, but does follow up on his ascension story with an account of the first male to accept Islam, which according to some reports (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1165-7) was Abū Bakr who, according to the poem of Ḥassān b. Thābit (*Dīwān*, ed. Arafat, London 1971, i, 125) quoted by al-Ṭabarī, was the first to "declare the truth" (*ṣaddaḳa*) of the prophet. Once again, the attempt is made to explain Abū Bakr's name in terms of his devotion to Muḥammad.

The naming of Abū Bakr is also associated with Ḳurʾān, XXXIX, 33, *alladhī djāʾa bi ʾl-ṣidḳ wa-ṣaddaḳa bihi, ūlāʾika hum al-muttaḳūna*, "he who comes with the truth and he who confirms it; they are the God-fearing", which is sometimes understood to refer to Muḥammad and Abū Bakr respectively (see e.g. Abū ʾl-Layth al-Samarḳandī (d. 375/985), *Baḥr al-ʿulūm*, Beirut 1993, iii, 151 and n. 1 for further references). Those claiming descent from Abū Bakr are frequently called al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīḳī or al-Ṣiddīḳī for short.

The Ṣūfī ideal of sincerity (*ṣidḳ*) which can raise individuals to the level of the Prophet is demonstrated most fully by Abū Bakr, about whom Muḥammad is reported to have said: "Abū Bakr and I are like two race horses; if he had run faster than me, I would have believed in him; but I was the faster, so he believed in me." (al-Ḳāshānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1981, 139).

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(A. RIPPIN)

ṢIDDĪḲ ḤASAN KHĀN AL-ḲANNAWDJĪ [see NAWWĀB SAYYID ṢIDDĪḲ ḤASAN KHĀN].

AL-ṢIDDĪḲĪ, a *nisba* borne by members of the famed Egyptian family of *shaykh*s of the Bakriyya Ṣūfī order [see AL-BAKRĪ B. ABI ʾL-SURŪR and BAKRIYYA]; it related to their claimed descent from the first caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ [*q.v.*].

(ED.)

SIDHPŪR, a place in the northeastern part of the mediaeval Indian province of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*], lying to the east of modern Paṭan. It is mentioned in the history of the Muslim sultans of Gudjarāt as a pilgrimage centre much revered by the local Hindus but sacked in *ca.* 816/1414 by Sultan Aḥmad I b. Tātār Khān, who destroyed the temples there and imposed the *djizya* or poll-tax on the inhabitants.

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(ED.)

SIDI, the name of a servile African group in India, first reported by Sir Richard Burton. The term is used also for their language, which is related to Swahili. Burton locates them in Sindh, but reports small numbers in all parts of Gudjarāt. Their women are called *sidiyani*. They were originally slaves imported into India "from Muscat and other harbours on the eastern coast of Arabia", where pockets of Swahili speakers still exist. Burton says that their importation "originated under the Ameers" of Sindh: the first such was recognised by the Mughal Emperor in 1738. Whitely found them distributed throughout Kathiawar State.

Burton distinguishes them from Habashī [see ḤABASH, ḤABASHĪ], slaves imported from Ethiopia, a commerce that certainly existed in the 13th century. For their ethnic origin he lists twenty-two African tribes. Nineteen of these can be identified with tribes in the present Tanzania. The remaining three have not been identified, but have Bantu names which cannot be connected with Ethiopia. He also mentions Lamu [*q.v.*] as a port of origin.

While he says that the Sidi used Sindhi words when they fail to recall words in their own tongue, his word-list of some 200 words, in an orthography that he admits to be faulty, corresponds sufficiently well as to be recognisable in terms of the dialects described by Sacleux in 1909.

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

SĪDĪ ʿALĪ REʾĪS (Seydi Ali Reis) (b. Istanbul, beg. 16th century, d. there Djumādā I 970/December-January 1562-3), Ottoman mariner, administrator, author and poet, also known by his *takhalluṣ* Kātibī or Kātib-i Rūm. He participated in Ottoman naval operations that included the conquest of Rhodes (1522), the battle of Preveza (1538), the sailings of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha Barbarossa [*q.v.*], and the conquest of Libyan Tripoli (1551); he also rose to the rank of *ketkhudā* [*q.v.*] of the imperial arsenal (*tersāne-yi ʿāmire*) in Istanbul, following the careers of his father and grandfather.

Sīdī ʿAlī's historical importance, however, rests on his activities and events to the east of Suez. In 1553, while he was in Aleppo with the imperial army during Süleymān II's [*q.v.*] campaign against the Ṣafawids, he received an order to bring the Ottoman ships which Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*], the ill-starred commander of the Ottoman "Suez fleet", had left in Baṣra, to Suez. Sailing out on 1 Shaʿbān 961/2 July 1554, he failed to reach the Red Sea because of both Portuguese attacks and also storms; the latter deflected the course of the Turkish ships toward India. Fearing Portuguese warships patrolling the coast, and giving up hope of returning by sea, Sīdī ʿAlī disembarked at the port of Surat on 1 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 961/28 September 1554. He was welcomed by its Muslim governor, and was asked by Aḥmad III, the Sultan of Gudjarāt, to assist him in the siege of Broach [see GUDJARĀT; BHAROČ]. Some 200 men from what had remained of the

Ottoman fleet joined Aḥmad, but Sīdī ʿAlī, with 53 companions, set out on an overland trip to Turkey (beg. Muḥarram 962/end November 1554). They passed through Aḥmadabad, Dihlī, Lahore, Kābul, Samarḳand, Bukhārā, Mashhad, Rayy and Ḳazwīn, before reaching Ottoman-held Baghdād at the end of February 1557. Sīdī ʿAlī then set out for Istanbul, and learning that Süleymān was at Edirne, he hurried there, arriving in May. His possible worries that a fate similar to that of Pīrī Reʾīs was awaiting him proved unfounded, for the sultan received him kindly, and was the first to appreciate the seaman's story; moreover, Sīdī ʿAlī's journey had also been a diplomatic feat, for he brought back 18 letters from various sovereigns addressed to the Ottoman sultan, including messages from the newly-enthroned Mughal Akbar I and from Shāh Ṭahmāsp I.

Sīdī ʿAlī narrated his epic anabasis in an account known as *Mirʾāt al-mamālik*. His other works, also in Turkish, are chiefly translations from Persian or Arabic and deal with mathematics, astronomy and navigation in the Indian Ocean: (1) *Mirʾāt-i kāʾināt* (Istanbul University library, T. 1824), a treatise on astronomical measurements and instruments chiefly applicable to the art of celestial navigation; (2) *Khulāṣat al-hayʾa* (mss. Ayasofya 2951 and Nuruosmaniye 2911), a treatise on geometry and mathematics containing a translation of ʿAlī Ḳushdjī's [*q.v.*] *Fatḥiyya*, enriched with excerpts from Čaghmīnī and Ḳāḍī-zāde-i Rūmī; and (3) *Kitāb ül-muḥīṭ fī ʿilm il-eflāk we-abḥur*, better known as *Muḥīṭ*, still unpublished in its entirety; two mss. exist in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1643—possibly the autograph—and Nuruosmaniye 2948), one in Vienna (Flügel 1277), and one in Naples (Museo Borbonico). It is, after his travelogue, Sīdī ʿAlī's most famous work, and is based on Arabic works dealing with navigation in the Indian Ocean, chiefly those by Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī [*q.vv.*]. The *Muḥīṭ* consists of 10 sections; the fourth includes an account of "Yeñi Dunyā", the New World, and of Portuguese voyages of discovery, including Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe.

Sīdī ʿAlī's account reveals the prestige of the Ottoman sultan among his coreligionists in India and Central Asia, the universality of the Turkic element there (in India, for example, he learned enough Čaghatay to write poetry also in that language), and the effectiveness of Ottoman Turkish soldiers who were in demand at every court. His scientific and navigational works, however, failed to stimulate the Turks toward a more aggressive policy in the Indian Ocean; the sailing of the fleet under his command was the last major Ottoman undertaking east of the Red Sea.

Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs spent his final years mostly in Istanbul (his appointment as *defterdār* of *tīmār*s of Diyārbakir at 80 *aḳče*s per day may have been chiefly a financial arrangement), where his house became a centre of gathering for the intellectual élite. He became a minor legend among his compatriots, and the story of his adventures gave rise to a new Turkish proverb, *bashına Seydī ʿAlī ḥālleri geldi* "You [or "He"] have been beset by adversities like those of Seydī ʿAlī". His poetical talent, recorded only through examples found in the *Mirʾāt al-mamālik*, stood him in good stead on at least two occasions, when he was arrested on suspicion of spying but was released after having sent poems to the local governor at Mashhad and to Shāh Ṭahmāsp at Ḳazwīn.

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The *Mirʾāt al-mamālik* was published in Ottoman Turkish (1313/1895-6) and in a recent modernised version in *yeni yazi* (*Mirʾat ül-memalik*, n.d.), as well as in several trs.: German (H.F. von Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, Berlin 1815, ii, 133-267), English (A. Vambery, *The travels and adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis*, London 1899), Uzbek (Sh. Zumnunab, *Memleketler küzgüsi*, Tashkent 1963), and Persian. None of his other works has been published, but sections from the *Muḥīṭ* have appeared in English, Italian and German trs. (see Turan's and Adıvar's works). (S. Soucek)

SIDI BEL-ABBÈS [see sīdī bu ʾl-ʿabbās].

SĪDĪ BU ʾL-ʿABBĀS, conventional form Sidi Bel-Abbès, a town of Algeria created in 1849 and deriving its name from the tomb of the saint Sīdī Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās, whose *ḳubba* is on the left bank of the Mekerra river, the town itself being on its right bank (lat. 35° 15' N., long. 0° 39' W.). It lies in the centre of the Tell of Oran equidistant from Mascar and Tlemcen. The plain of the Mekerra (altitude 470 m/ 1,540 feet) is separated from maritime climatic influence by the Tessala mountain chain, giving Sidi Bel-Abbès a continental climate parallel to that of the High central plateau, semi-arid, sudden rains often causing floods, and with frequently harsh winters. But the climate is healthy and water is available everywhere for irrigation by norias at only 3 or 4 m depth.

Antiquity. The Romans noted the fertility of the Tessala region, from which they dominated the course of the Mekerra (apparently from a Berber root *m-k-r* "great", according to A. Pellegrini), called by them Tasaccura (apparently "river of the partridge", Berber *tasekkurt*, because this bird favoured cereal fields), and the plain of Sīdī Bu ʾl-ʿAbbās.

The Islamic period. The great Ṣufrī Khāridjite Berber revolt of 122-4/740-2 [see ṣufriyya. 2.] freed the region from Arab domination through the battles of the *Ghazwat al-Ashrāf* (122/740) and that of the Wadi Sebu (123/741). At the end of the 4th/10th century, it was dominated by the Berber Azdādja tribe, who exported foodstuffs, especially corn, via Oran (Wahrān, founded in 290/903 by the Andalusians and the Banū Mesgen, a branch of the Azdādja) to Murcia and Granada, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, and then in the next century by the Banū Rāshid, Zanāta Berber nomads of the Maghrāwa confederation. In Almohad times, the ruler of Tlemcen Yaghmurāsan b. Zayyān, founder of the ʿAbd al-Wādids (*r.* 633-81/1236-83), developed irrigation and agriculture in the valley of the Mekerra, the Sīg (this name, < Berber *sik* with the idea of a group of primitive dwellings, having replaced the classical one of Tasaccura). He is also said to have brought in nomadic Arabs of the Banū ʿĀmir, especially those of the Maʿḳil [*q.v.*], to the southern frontier of his realm in order to close access to the Tell. The whole region played a notable role in the struggles between the ʿAbd al-Wādids and the Marīnids; according to Marmol, the Marīnid sultan Abu ʾl-Ḥasan in 732/1331-2 ravaged Tessala.

The Mekerra plain continued to supply grain to Tlemcen and elsewhere *ca.* 1500, and cattle- and camel-raising were also practised there, with the products exported from Oran (cereals, including to Italy; textiles, including the coverings called by the Por-

tuguese "hambels" (< *ḥanbal*). The Crusade which led to the occupation of Oran in 915/1509 neutralised a port useful for aiding the persecuted Muslims of al-Andalus and was also impelled by a desire to gain control of the riches of the region. It was the Banū ʿĀmir who furnished most of the cavalry defending Tlemcen against Spanish attacks, though some groups of them were in a treaty relationship with the Spanish, *Moroz de la Paz*, paying a tribute called *rūmiyya* and furnishing noble hostages. Over the next three centuries, there was an equilibrium of tribes in the region, of whom the more exposed ones to Spanish attacks negotiated at times with the bey of Mascara, at others with the chief of the garrison in Oran.

Economic development in the plain of Sīdī Bu 'l-ʿAbbās at this period continued to be an extensive agricultural-pastoral one practised by a largely nomadic population living in tents and dominated by the Maghrāwa. It was connected with towns such as Mustaghānim to the north-east (quarter called al-Maṭmar, "of the grain silos") and Tlemcen to the south-west (also a quarter al-Maṭmar, traversed by a "way of silos", *Ṭrīg al-Maṭmar*).

According to the local legend concerning Sīdī Bu 'l-ʿAbbās, he was the grandson of Sīdī Bū Zīdī, who had come from Mecca to Aflu in southern Algeria, probably in the 17th century, and the latter's *ḳubba* is extant in the village of Ḳṣar Sīdī Bū Zīd to the north-east of Aflu. His grandson died *ca.* 1780 and is buried on the hill of Sīdī ʿAmmār, which dominates Sīdī Bu 'l-ʿAbbās, in a rectangular *ḳubba* with a cupola of glazed tiles. However, the hypothesis of a saint of Moroccan origin is possible through the spread in the central Maghrib of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī [*q.v.*] and Almohad moves towards unity of the Maghrib, and this may have been favoured in the 17th century by anti-Spanish resistance and the economic and political leadership of the Banū ʿĀmir favouring the substitution of a Moroccan for a local saint.

After the abandonment of Oran by the Spanish in 1206/1792, the port developed its exports of grain, meat and beasts to the British Mediterranean garrisons (Mahon, the Balearics, Gibraltar) and to Spain, and Arzew (al-Marsā) became one of the main markets for supplying British troops in the Peninsular War 1808-14. The Banū ʿĀmir continued to be dominant, and joined ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. al-Sharīf in his revolt of 1220/1805 or 1221/1806 against the Bey of Oran, and after its suppression, the plain of Sīdī Bu 'l-ʿAbbās suffered devastating reprisals; although balanced between the Turkish Regency and the Spanish, the population there managed to preserve its independence.

The colonial period. On the French occupation of Oran on 4 January 1831, the Banū ʿĀmir joined other local tribes in recognising as sultan ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-Ḥasanī (1808-83 [*q.v.*]). The plain was strenuously attacked and occupied by French forces and reduced to submission, with the sweeping-away of traditional chiefs and considerable depopulation. The encampment of Sidi Bel-Abbès was founded in 1841, with a redoubt on the right bank of the Mekerra facing the *ḳubba* of the saint on the opposite bank. The town was created by decree on 5 January 1849 as centre of the future *arrondissement* of Sidi Bel-Abbès. The cereal and livestock resources of the region were soon exploited, with an all-season carriage road built to Oran for exporting to France and flour mills established along the Mekerra. Orania, less populous than the other two provinces of the north of the Regency, lent itself to colonisation and exploitation at modest expense, and the military occupation forces in Orania rose from 10,000 men in 1840 to 35,000 in 1845. The Muslim population tended to be forced up to the hill slopes, with the farms of colonists in the plain. After the revolt in Orania of 1864-6 by the Ulād Sīdī Shaykh and the Flīta, this process accelerated. Cereals, especially of the soft variety of wheat (*fārīna*), as opposed to the indigenous hard variety (*gemḥ*, triticum durum), and tobacco culture grew. By 1900, the Spanish colonists from Andalusia brought in from 1845 as workmen had become two-thirds of the colonist population of the *arrondissement.* After 1920, viticulture increased, as cereal production dropped owing to soil exhaustion. In 1939, Sidi Bel-Abbès exported 15,000 sheep annually to France plus a tenth of the cereal production of Algeria. This period of agricultural expansion was accompanied by, until *ca.* 1940, sedentarisation of the remaining nomads, with the abandonment of tents for fixed dwellings (often the *gourbi* or shack); pushed into the mountain zones, they exploited the forests for charcoal production, and a rural as well as an urban proletariat grew up. Outside the town of Sidi Bel-Abbès, a week-long regional festival took place annually in honour of the saint, on an area called "the Plateau" (*el-Blāto*), with tents erected there.

During the war of independence in the 1950s, the problems of employment and rural exodus were accentuated by bombardments and the depopulation of rural zones through the policy of regroupment of populations aimed at depriving the nationalist forces of material and moral support from the indigenous population (on the lines of the "cantonment" policy of the 19th century). The problems persisted after 1962, with economic regression of the plain of Sidi Bel-Abbès due above all to the unequal distribution of resources in the colonial period, sc. by a minority of the European population.

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London 1977; A. Azza, *Mestfa ben Brahim, barde de l'Oranais et chantre des Beni 'Amer*, Algiers 1979. See also AL-SABTĪ.

(H. BENCHENEB, shortened by the Editors)

SIDJDJĪL (A.), one of the mysterious words of the Ḳur'ān, appearing in XI, 84/82; XV, 74; and CV, 4. The derivation in the Arabic sources from Persian *sang* "stone" and *gil* "mud" did not satisfy Horovitz. It seems to designate stones resembling lumps of clay, fired or sun-dried, since this is corroborated by LI, 33-4, "... That we may loose on them stones of clay, marked by your Lord for the prodigal". Some commentators add that these stones had been baked in the fire of Hell, and the expression "marked by your Lord" (XI, 84/82; LI, 34) would mean, so they assert, that the stones were marked with the names of those at whom they were destined.

There exist other interpretations, not unanimously admitted: what has been written or decreed (clearly derived from the term's likeness to *sidjill* [*q.v.*]; Hell or the lowest Heaven (the word being considered in this case as another form of *sidjdjīn* [*q.v.*]). It has also been associated with adjectives derived from the root *s-dj-l*. But a convincing account of the term and its background has now been given by F. Leemhuis in his *Qur'anic* siǧǧīl *and Aramaic* sgyl, in *JSS*, xxvii (1982), 47-56: that it is in origin a non-Semitic, apparently Sumerian word, appearing in Akkadian as *sikillu* or *shigillu*, denoting a smooth kind of stone, now attested in the Aramaic of Hatra [see AL-ḤAḌR] as *sgyl* or *sgl* (probably for **sigil*) with a specialised meaning of "altar stone" > "altar, sacrarium". From Mesopotamia, it must early have entered the Arabic dialects of adjacent parts of the Syrian Desert, becoming known in Central Arabia by the time of the Prophet with the meaning of "hard, flint-like stone".

Bibliography: See also Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1328, xii, 57; Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, Cairo 1318, i, 139; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 73; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, 11. For the hypothesis according to which the stones mentioned in sūra CV, 4, refer to a smallpox epidemic, see Caetani, *Annali*, i, introd., 147, and Fernandez y Gonzalez, *La aparición de la viruela en Arabia*, in *Revista de ciencias históricas*, v (1887), 201-16. See also A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 164-5; R. Blachère (tr.), *Le Coran*, Paris 1956, 254; R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart, etc. 1971, 240. (V. VACCA-[ED.])

SIDJDJĪN (A.), one of the mysterious words of the Ḳur'ān, appearing in LXXXIII, 7-9: "Nay, but the book of the libertines is in *sidjdjīn*! And what shall teach you what is *sidjdjīn*? [It is] a book inscribed." The majority of commentators take this as a proper name. The word has attracted a dozen interpretations, which are grouped around two central concepts: (1) *Sidjdjīn* is the seventh and lowest earth, or a rock or well in Hell, or even the home of Iblīs; (2) It is the name of the record in which all human acts are set down. Without the definite article, *sidjdjīn* designates Hell Fire, or again, something painful, violent, hard, durable or eternal. These interpretations are influenced by the term's resemblance to *sidjdjīl* [*q.v.*], associated erroneously with the root *s-dj-l*.

Although al-Suyūṭī's *Itḳān* classes it amongst the non-Arabic words, no generally-accepted etymology has been put forward. R. Dvořák, *contra* Jeffery, did not consider it as one of the *Fremdwörter*. The lexicographers, on the other hand, make it a synonym of *sidjn* "prison", which has influenced the most widespread interpretation of the commentators, who see it as the place where the record of the evildoers is kept rather than the record itself. The Ḳur'ān's text admits of both interpretations.

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SIDJILL (A.).

1. Ḳur'ānic and early Arabic usage.

Sidjill is an Arabic word for various types of documents, especially of an official or juridical nature. It has long been recognised (first, it seems, by Fraenkel) that it goes back ultimately to Latin *sigillum*, which in the classical language means "seal" (i.e. both "seal-matrix" and "seal-impression"), but which in Mediaeval Latin is used also for the document to which a seal has been affixed; it was borrowed into Byzantine Greek as σιγίλλ(ι)ον, "seal, treaty, imperial edict", and then, via Aramaic (e.g. Syriac *sygylywn*) into Arabic. It should, however, be noted that in Arabic *sidjill* never means "seal" (*khātam*), but always refers either to a document (*kitāb*) or to a scroll (*ṭūmār*, also a loanword from Greek) on which documents are written. The latter provides the most plausible explanation for the much-debated Ḳur'ānic verse XXI, 104, where God is represented as saying "We shall roll up the sky like the rolling-up of the scroll for the documents" (*ka-ṭayyi 'l-sidjilli li 'l-kutub*); the other explanations offered by the commentators (*sidjill* means "man" in Ethiopian, or it is the name of the Prophet's scribe, etc.) have nothing to recommend themselves. There is also a *ḥadīth* according to which, on the Day of Judgement, God will show the Muslim 99 scrolls (*sidjill*), each one extending as far as the eye can see, on which his sins are registered (see Wensinck's *Concordance*, ii, 431, where *al-ṣabr* is a misprint for *al-baṣar*).

In classical Arabic, *sidjill* is frequently used for a document containing the judgments of a *ḳāḍī*, and in various other technical senses. Al-Khwārazmī (*Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 57) says that it designates a credit-note given to official messengers exempting them from the costs of their journey. From the Fāṭimid empire we have the *sidjillāt Mustanṣiriyya*, the official correspondence of the court of the caliph al-Mustanṣir with the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*], vassal rulers of the Yemen.

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2. In Mamlūk usage.

It is evident from Ibn Khaldūn's *Muḳaddima* that during the Mamlūk period the term *sidjill* (pl. *sidjillāt*) must have been used for the judicial court registers kept by official witnesses (*'adala*) "which record the rights, possessions, and debts of people and other (legal) transactions." But the term is infrequently encountered with this general meaning in Mamlūk chancery (*inshā'*) and notarial (*shurūṭ*) manuals, which, after all, were designed for the use of professionals.

In his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, for example, al-Ḳalaḳashandī used the term in reference to documents issued by Fāṭimid caliphs, either conferring *iḳṭāʿāt* on their subjects or appointing them to public office (*wilāyāt*). Otherwise, he used *sidjill* once to designate a document issued by a judge to certify (*isdjāl*) the legal integrity (*ʿadāla*) of his son. In *shurūṭ* works, designed to provide models to notaries for drafting legal documents, *sidjill* was also used with technical denotations and was defined in contrast to two other types of documents or records: *nuskha* (pl. *nusakh*) and *maḥḍar* (pl. *maḥāḍir*). According to two authors of Mamlūk notarial manuals—the Syrian Ḥanafī Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 748/1348) and the Egyptian Shāfiʿī Shams al-Dīn al-Asyūṭī (b. 813/1410-11)—a *maḥḍar* was simply an official record of the minutes of a case or transaction conducted before a *ḳāḍī*; a *sidjill* was an official record of the case, based on and including the *maḥḍar*, plus the judge's decision or verdict. This notarial distinction did not originate with the Mamlūks, as J. Wakin's research demonstrates. Presumably, individual *sidjills* were compiled and kept in a *kitāb al-sidjillāt* or *dīwān al-ḥukm* and constituted the offical record of a *ḳāḍī*'s judgements, but no such compilation has been found earlier than the *sidjillāt* of al-Maḥkama al-Ṣāliḥiyya, which date to the second decade after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. The closest approximation to a Mamlūk judicial archive is the Ḥaram collection, which consists of copies of documents associated with the court of a late 8th/14th-century Shāfiʿī judge in Jerusalem. But these documents contain no references to *sidjillāt*. Both al-Ṭarsūsī and al-Suyūṭī also distinguish between a *sidjill* and a *nuskha*. The latter is simply a certified verbatim copy of an original document, while the former contains an enumeration of attestations (*isdjālāt*) to the validity of the document and its contents, along with a copy of the document itself. It should be noted that the term *sidjillāt* was used in perhaps still another sense in the Mamlūk decrees issued to the monks of St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai, namely as documents which, along with *marāsīm*, *tawāḳīʿ*, *murabbaʿāt*, *ʿuhdāt*, and *mustanadāt*, attested to the Mamlūks' recognition of the legal status of the monks and their monastery. In two instances, *sidjillāt* is modified by the word *khalīfatiyya*, which indicates that these may have been caliphal edicts. But the precise denotation of *sidjillāt* in this context of various kinds of decrees, contracts, and records is not yet clear; moreover, it should be recalled that *sidjill* was also a general term for "document" [see DIPLOMATIC], especially during the Fāṭimid period.

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3. In Ottoman administrative usage.

The Ottomans used this general term for "register" in a variety of contexts; thus Meḥmed Thüreyyā's biographical encyclopaedia is known as the *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī* (Istanbul 1308-11/1890-4). In the late Ottoman Empire, the personnel files of civil servants were known as the *sidjill-i aḥwāl*. By the term *ḳāḍī sidjilleri* or *sherʿiyye sidjilleri* are meant the registers kept in the courts of Ottoman *ḳāḍīs*. Documents were often, but not always, entered in chronological order, and every register normally covered one or two years. The oldest extant records date from the late 9th/15th century. We do not know when the practice of keeping these registers was first instituted, and can only speculate from which Muslim state the practice was copied. For while inheritance inventories have survived for Mamlūk Jerusalem, the bulk of Ottoman registers was not made up of such inventories, even though these latter items are found frequently enough. Pre-Ottoman *ḳāḍī* registers are extremely rare; but cf. R.S. Humphreys, *Islamic history, a framework for inquiry*, London and New York 1995, 219.

While registers dating from the 9th/15th century seem to have only been preserved for Bursa and Kayseri, *ḳāḍī sidjilleri* were instituted in the Arab provinces shortly after the Ottoman conquest. This indicates that at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the compilation of such registers already formed part of established routine at least in the larger cities. From the second half of this century onwards, more and more towns and cities preserve at least minor collections of *sidjills*. While older registers are more likely to have been lost than more recent ones, the general lack of *sidjills* for rural settlements which we know to have possessed a *ḳāḍī* before the middle of the 13th/19th century, may indicate that in such places, the compilation and preservation of *ḳāḍī* registers was not the rule in older periods.

The organisation of registers

Ḳāḍī registers of the larger cities consist of two parts; one section begins where books written in the Arabic script normally begin. Here we find records of transactions in the local court, such as sales, loans, agreements concerning divorces or manumissions of slaves. These transactions were not contentious, and the parties in question had them recorded so that proof of the sale, divorce or manumission would be easily available; this aim explains why we normally find the names of three, four or five people under the relevant text (*shhhūd ül-ḥāl*). Proof provided by entry into the register was especially important to non-Muslims, who could not legally testify against Muslims; this fact may explain why non-Muslims frequently turned to the court. Some capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT] even contained the clause that all contracts involving merchants of the relevant nation had to be registered by the *ḳāḍī*, or else later complaints against the foreign trader would be regarded as irreceivable (Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Venetian presence in the Ottoman Empire*, in Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and the world economy*, Cambridge and Paris 1987, 340). Thus while in ordinary transactions recourse to the court was not obligatory, the sultan might legislate such an obligation in specific instances. The *ḳāḍī* registers also document cases of litigation, which might concern the division of an inheritance, but equally a complaint against a neighbour who had added a room to his house overlooking the plaintiff's court, thereby invading the privacy of the latter's family.

More serious matters such as rape, robbery and murder also occur in the *sidjill*, but not very frequently. Since the *sherīʿat* regarded murder without robbery as something which mainly concerned the

family of the victim, while on the other hand, the state demanded a share of the blood money (*ʿös̲h̲r-i diyet*), there was some incentive to settle out of court. Many documents concerning cases which by present-day categories would be regarded as penal simply contain the "facts of the case" as established by the plaintiff's, defendant's and witnesses' depositions. Presumably the matter was then referred to the sultan's Council in Istanbul. But the Council, after having been apprised of such an affair, according to the evidence of the Registers of Important Affairs (*Mühimme Defterleri*) and the Complaint Registers (*S̲h̲ikāyet defterleri*) often merely issued an order to the relevant *ḳāḍī* to judge the matter according to the *s̲h̲erīʿat*. Thus in most cases, neither one nor the other type of register informs us of the judgements issued and the manner of their execution.

A second section of the register begins at what the scribes regarded as the last page of the volume in question. This second half is taken up with orders issued by the sultan's Council; some of these, similar to modern circulars, were issued to all governors and *ḳāḍīs* of a given region. Others are concerned with matters specifically assigned to the particular *ḳāḍī* and/or governor. These may include responses to complaints by local inhabitants, such as creditors unable to recover loans. Occasionally a rescript may occur both in the Registers of Important Affairs and in the local *ḳāḍī* registers. But that is fairly rare, as neither the registers of the *ḳāḍīs* nor those prepared in Istanbul have survived in their totality. In addition, we cannot be sure how great was the percentage of documents which, for one reason or another, escaped registration at either the central or the local end. In large cities such as Aleppo, there were separate registers for the orders emanating from the central administration (*awāmir sulṭāniyya*).

In the largest cities, such as Bursa or Cairo, separate registers for inheritance inventories were instituted. By this term we mean a list of the goods left by the deceased, including both movable property and real estate, but not state-owned agricultural land (*mīrī*). Debts and money owed to the deceased were also included, as well as clauses constituting the testament of the deceased, especially if there were slaves to be liberated. In Edirne and Istanbul, special inheritance registers existed covering the *ʿaskerīs*, that is the servitors of the sultans (and sometimes their spouses) whose inheritances were liable to confiscation. However these registers were not the responsibility of the *ḳāḍī*, but were kept by a special official known as the *ʿaskerī ḳassām* [see ḲASSĀM].

In cases where no children or absent people were involved, the heirs could divide up the inheritance without recourse to the *ḳāḍī* and, consequently, without the compilation of an inheritance inventory. Thus only a relatively small share of all inheritance cases was recorded. Merchants are probably over-represented in the *sid̲j̲ill*, as they often died while away from home, or, if older and sedentary, had sons who were away when their fathers died. Moreover, their goods and chattels were important enough to be worth recording, and given the existence of both creditors and debtors of the deceased, it was often imperative to make an official record of the manner in which the inheritance had been divided. By the same token, the inheritances of women and the poor are under-represented; when the inheritance was small, it was to the advantage of all heirs to avoid reducing it further through the fees charged by the court. The frequency of inheritance disputes shows that manipulations to disinherit minors and women were common. It therefore makes sense to assume that some inheritances were not documented in order to deprive an heir of his/her fair share. Inheritances were also recorded when the temporary absence or non-existence of heirs resulted in the *beyt ül-māl emīni*'s taking possession, temporarily or permanently, of the estate in question. Cases where only a few heirs were involved also were more likely to be included than others, for it was then necessary to demonstrate that the *beyt ül-māl emīni* was not entitled to confiscate. When the inventory does not explicitly state that the inheritance was sold by public auction, the prices assigned to the individual goods in the register should be regarded with a degree of caution.

The *ḳāḍī*'s registers must have been kept in the court building of the district centre; there is no evidence that copies were ever sent to Istanbul. In the Aegean region, however, it is probable that the *ḳāḍī* registers were collected in one of the major towns already in the 13th/19th century, and then were lost when this provincial archive was destroyed, in all likelihood before the 1260s-70s/1850s. For, otherwise, it is hard to explain why to the south of Balıkesir and Edremit and to the north of Antalya, no *ḳāḍī* registers survive except for Manisa, apart from a number of Izmir volumes from the second half of the 13th/19th century.

It was the responsibility of the outgoing *ḳāḍī* to hand these registers over to his successor. Occasionally, we hear of *ḳāḍīs* who did not do this, presumably because of accidents or because they had something to hide. No Ottoman court buildings from before the mid-13th/19th century have survived, but casual references in the documents, as well as the traveller Ewliyā Čelebi's descriptions of 11th/16th century Ottoman towns, prove that they existed at least in the larger cities. Without such a building, it is difficult to imagine how the often substantial series could have survived frequent changes of officiating *ḳāḍīs*. On the other hand, the all but complete absence of *ḳāḍī* registers relevant to the numerous small *ḳāḍī*'s seats of the 10th/16th century can probably be explained by the lack of a building to house these institutions. Presumably the court building resembled the residence of a well-to-do family, with structures surrounding two courtyards. In the first, corresponding to the men's part of a house (*selāmlïk* [*q.v.*]), the business of the court must have been transacted, while the family dwelt in the second courtyard, the *ḥarem* section. Outgoing *ḳāḍīs* must have moved out to make room for their successors.

Not all the cases recorded in the *sid̲j̲ill* were dealt with by the *ḳāḍī* in person. Disputes concerning landholding were often resolved by delegating a (presumably junior) member of the legal establishment to the site in question; where houses needed to be divided up among several heirs, in the 11th/17th century the *ḳāḍīs* of larger towns could rely on the advice of the *mimʿār-bas̲h̲ï*, a local master builder (not to be confused with the sultan's Chief Architect officiating in Istanbul). By contrast, the decisions of the *nāʾibs*, adjunct *ḳāḍīs* who officiated in rural districts, have very rarely found their way into the *sid̲j̲ills*. In the late 12th/18th century, at least in the Bursa area, there also existed *sid̲j̲ills* which were not compiled for the local *ḳāḍī* but for an official in charge of sultanic *waḳfs* answerable to the *dār al-seʿādet ag̲h̲asï*. In terms of content, these *sid̲j̲ills* resemble those compiled for *ḳāḍīs*.

In the more important courts, the *ḳāḍīs* had a num-

ber of scribes at their disposal. Recruitment and training in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries appear to have been less systematic than in later periods, for where these earlier centuries are concerned, we find evidence of scribes who evidently had difficulty handling the mechanics of registration. Thus in late 9th/15th century Bursa, a scribe who had produced a particularly garbled account of a succession explained the reason for the confusion in the margin, asking his readers to pardon him. Spelling errors and clumsy handwriting also are not rare in early registers. By contrast, from the 11th/17th century onward, scribes in the larger courts wrote in a relatively uniform hand. Presumably the senior scribes also put the claims of plaintiff, defendant and witnesses into the appropriate legal formulas. It is tempting to assume that the fragments of everyday speech which are often found among the formulaic language of the documents constitute residual traces of what the participants in the case actually said; but whether this is really true is not at all certain.

Archives containing sidjills

Registers kept by Ottoman *ḳāḍīs* and preserved in Turkey are now located in the National Library (Milli Kütüphane) in Ankara, having been transferred to this place from the provincial museums in which they were previously housed. Registers prepared by the various courts of the city of Istanbul can be consulted in the office of the Chief Islamic Jurisconsult (Müftülük) in the Süleymaniye quarter of that city. A published guide is available, the newest version of which allows the prospective user to determine the years covered by each register in addition to the call number (Akgündüz *et alii*, 1988). Moreover, this guide contains a broad selection of reproduced documents. *Ḳāḍī* registers in the Ankara National Library deal with localities inside the borders of present-day Turkey. A few extant registers are, however, not covered by this catalogue: thus some museums failed to inform the catalogue compilers of their holdings, and a Çorum register (1004-5/1595-7), located in the Çorum Library, should be added as well.

Outside of modern Turkey, *ḳāḍī* registers, in larger or smaller numbers, are to be found in numerous successor states of the Ottoman Empire. Hungary has only a single *sidjill*, concerning the district of Karánsebes-Lugos, dating from the late 11th/17th century (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könivtára, Keleti Osztály, Török Kéziratok, Qu. 62). In Bosnia, the Oriental Institute, the Ghāzī Khosrew Beg Library and the Historical Archive, all located in Sarajevo, have separate collections of registers: in the Historical Archive we find six volumes concerning Livno, Visoko and Temeshwar, while the Ghazī Khusrew Library holds 68 *sidjills* of Sarajevo itself, spanning the period from the 10th/16th to the 13th/19th century. In the Oriental Institute, 66 registers existed at least until recently, concerning the region surrounding the city and covering the 11th/16th century. At present, we do not know for certain which of these registers have perished in the war accompanying the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

In Macedonia, the state archive in Skopje houses the *ḳāḍī* registers of Bitola (Monastir); the series consists of 185 volumes, beginning in 1015-16/1607 and ending in 1912. Certain volumes have been made available in print. As to present-day Albania, the oldest surviving *sidjill* known to date is found in the Vatican Library: it covers Avlonya (974-6/1567-8). No other registers concerning this port seem to exist anywhere else. In Albania, there survive series of registers covering Berat (beginning in 1010-11/1602) and Elbasan (beginning in 988/1580, in copy only). All other Albanian towns, including Tirana, have at most a few *sidjills* going back to the 13th/19th century.

Ḳāḍī registers located in present-day Bulgaria concern Sofia, Rusčuḳ (Ruse) and Vidin; the oldest known register (Sofia, 949/1542 to 957/1550) was lost during World War II. However, an edition containing the summaries of every individual document had been prepared just before the disappearance of the original, and was published in 1960. The extant *sidjills* have been deposited in the National Library in Sofia. There is some coverage of the 11th/17th century, but the registers become much fuller and more informative for the 12th/18th one, when expanding commercial opportunities allowed an increasing number of townsmen to prosper. On Greek territory, a similar situation prevails, as the oldest known register in the Macedonian State Archive (Salonica) dates from 1107-8/1696. This institution contains the largest number of *sidjills* in all of Greece: over 300 volumes covering the city of Salonica and the surrounding countryside, including the judicial districts of ʿAwret-ḥiṣār, Pazārgāh, Volos and Ḳaterin. From the 1240s and 1250s/1830s there survive a number of inheritance inventories covering the Muslim population of Salonica itself. *Ḳāḍī* registers preserved in Veroia begin in 1011/1602; they number about 130, while two volumes consisting of different fragments of Veroia *sidjills* are owned by the Nahost Institute of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich. In the Municipal Library of Heraclion, Crete, there is a collection of 166 *sidjills* beginning in the 1070s/1660s; the Ottoman history of this town is documented right from the time of its conquest.

In the Turkish part of Cyprus, the *ḳāḍī* registers of Lefkoşe go back to the late 10th/16th century, they are mostly located in the Evkaf Dairesi in Lefkoşe. Those *ḳāḍī* registers extant in Syria are for the most part concentrated in Damascus, where they can be consulted in the General Directorate of Historical Documents. Registers relating to the Arab provinces are for the most part in Arabic, although documents in Ottoman Turkish are not unknown. Damascus is covered for the period from 991/1583 to 1920 (1,658 volumes), while the extant documents for Aleppo (731 volumes) reach from 962-3/1555 to 1925. This archive also contains about thirty registers of sultans' commands directed at the authorities in Aleppo, in addition to some registers consisting exclusively of inheritance inventories. From the court of Ḥamā, 64 registers have been preserved, which begin in 942-3/1536 and reach to the year 1296-7/1879; some *ḳāḍī* registers also cover Ḥimṣ. In the Sunnī *sheriʿat* court of Ṣaydā, the existence of eighteen registers, dating from the 13th/19th century, was noted in 1975 by Antoine Abdel Nour; these have probably been destroyed by fire in 1975-6. In the Old City of Jerusalem, the *maḥkama sharʿiyya* contains the *ḳāḍī* records of both Nablus and Jerusalem; while the former only cover the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries, the Jerusalem *sidjill* go back to 937/1530-1, and thereby constitute one of the oldest series known. By contrast, the Haifa registers begin in 1286-7/1870 reflecting the relatively short history of this town. Some registers from the mid-13th/19th century are also available for Gaza.

A collection of 1851 *maḥkama sharʿiyya* registers has been preserved in Cairo; these volumes have been for the most part compiled in the numerous courts which existed in the second-largest city of the Ottoman

Empire. Registers are extant from the 11th/17th century onwards. The largest section (559 volumes) concerns the court known as the Bāb al-ʿĀlī, while the sections al-Ḳisma al-ʿarabiyya and al-Ḳisma al-ʿaskariyya encompass probate inventories concerning the property of Ottoman subjects and members of the ruling élite respectively. However, from the later 11th/18th century onwards, Muslim merchants and artisans increasingly joined the military corps, which thus took on the composition of militias. As a result, the al-Ḳisma al-ʿaskariyya section is relatively large (418 al-Ḳisma al-ʿarabiyya registers, versus 157 volumes belonging to al-Ḳisma al-ʿaskariyya).

Waḳf *in the* ḳāḍī sidjilleri

As *waḳf* administrators were subject to supervision by the *ḳāḍī*, the *sidjills* also contain many documents concerning repairs to existing *waḳf* buildings. The rental of *khāns* and shops, and in the case of *waḳfs* lending money at interest, the settling of accounts, are also covered in some detail. Many *waḳfs* turned over major pieces of real estate to a tenant-in-chief, who was in turn responsible for finding occupants for individual shops or workshops; the relevant contracts were at times entered into the *sidjill*. Other records document "double rent" (*idjāreteyn*) agreements; here, a relatively high entry fine was paid, in exchange for which the tenant was allowed a lease which his heirs might inherit. Other documents record the special type of lease by which 12th/18th and 13th/19th century artisans often held their shops (*gedik*); *gediks* could only be passed on to other members of the same craft guild. Foundations without the resources to rebuild after fires or earthquakes received the *ḳāḍī*'s authorisation to turn over the land at a low rent to whoever would build on it. A *waḳf* in need of capital might contract a loan, and then permit the lender long-term occupation of a piece of profitable real estate at low rent until the loan was repaid. There are also cases of *istibdāl* on record, in which the *waḳf* administrator was authorised to divest the foundation of properties which were no longer useful and to acquire others in their stead.

In 12th/18th century Bursa, lists of all foundations lending out money at interest were regularly compiled in separate registers classed among the *sidjill*. These registers also contained the names of the debtors and responsible *waḳf* administrators. Since the amount of the debts and the sum of money remaining in the *waḳf* chest were equally recorded, the financial status of each *waḳf* could be read off at a glance. While this information was not collected as systematically in other cities, money *waḳfs* are still quite frequently documented throughout the Turkish-speaking parts of the Ottoman Empire.

Workshops belonging to *waḳfs* were also in evidence in the *sidjills*. This information is particularly valuable, since we know very little about the functioning of non-*waḳf* shops. Most frequent is information on dye houses, workshops where a large number of individual masters exercised their trade. Particularly well documented, in the *sidjills* of both Istanbul and Bursa, is the dye house associated with the library of Sultan Aḥmed III in Istanbul; numerous disputes which occurred throughout the 12th/18th century provide information on the relationship between masters and administrators, and on intra-guild competition as well. As the *bedestāns* of many towns and cities also produced revenue for major *waḳfs*, the *sidjills* record information on their operation as well; after damages due to fire, detailed protocols were compiled, determining the expenses involved in repairing the *bedestān* in question. Such documents, known as *keshif* (which exist for other *waḳf*-owned buildings as well) are of special value to historians of architecture.

The ḳāḍī *registers as an historical source*

During the last twenty-five years, social and economic historians of the Ottoman lands have examined the *sidjills* with particular attention. Scholars have come to appreciate the capacity of this source to provide a record of historical change, and have therefore tended to prefer the *sidjills* to the tax registers (*ṭāpū taḥrīr*) which in earlier decades had provided the backbone of most socio-economic analyses. Moreover, given the scarcity of private archives in many provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the *sidjills* often constitute the main (or even the only) source which relates to local as opposed to central government concerns.

As a first step, the functioning of the courts and the *ḳāḍīs*' correspondence with the authorities in the capital have been studied, as well as the complex interplay between *sherīʿat* and *ḳānūn* as applied by the *ḳāḍīs*. Here the source criticism long practiced by historians has been joined to the discourse analysis initiated by students of literature. But principally, the standardised character of many documents contained in the *sidjills* permits statistical analysis, which has been undertaken with respect to probate inventories as well as to sales documents.

When houses were sold in larger Ottoman cities, such as Istanbul, Bursa and Aleppo, but even in Ankara or Kayseri, the record of the relevant agreement included not only the price, but also an enumeration of the neighbouring property-holders and the rooms contained in the dwelling in question. Administratively determined prices (*narkh* [*q.v.*]) are also found frequently enough in the registers of some localities to permit the construction of series. Conversion rates concerning the different coins which circulated in different parts of the empire can be derived from sales records and inheritance inventories. These series show up the degree to which a given town was economically integrated into a larger entity. Given the linkage between monetary inflation and social unrest, accurate indices of currency devaluation are of great importance to the social historian as well.

Qualitative information in the *sidjills* has equally come to interest researchers. With respect to women not part of the Ottoman élite, the *ḳāḍī sidjilleri* constitute almost the only source of information; as women often turned to the courts in order to defend their property rights, historical research has focussed on the relationship of women to property. Ample information is also available on divorce, and occasionally we find texts which show how marriage negotiations were begun or broken off. The probate inventories contained in the *sidjills* also provide some evidence on polygyny and family structure. These data are, however, less usable than one might wish for, as children who predeceased their parents are not recorded, and moreover, the sample of probate inventories included represents only a very specific sector of the urban population. The *sidjills* also contain a fair amount of information on women who founded and administered *waḳf*.

Slaves belonging to private persons also have left few traces anywhere but in the *sidjills*. Records of sales and manumissions can be supplemented by promises of future manumission in exchange for specific services; documents allowing a slave to use capital belonging to a master have also been found, as well as records of the personal and household goods which female owners sometimes gave their slave women when

the latter were manumitted and married off. Since the *sidjills* often mention the slave's place of origin, it has been possible to relate major campaigns to the affluence of slaves from a given region at a large slave market such as Bursa.

Relationships between inhabitants of town quarters are reflected in complaints concerning wilful damage to buildings, nuisances in and around shops, or accusations of drunkenness and loose living. There is some documentation on the life of the poorest townsmen, often immigrants without families, as they died in a *khān* or on the street. Attempts to limit immigration into the towns are also on record, namely when *tīmār*-holders or administrators of crown lands demanded the return of peasants who had migrated to town without the consent of the proper authorities. But the same records document the interest of the townsmen in retaining their solvent neighbours, whether former villagers or not, by appropriate testimony to the court. Reactions on the part of artisans to the special demands made upon them in wartime are documented in the disputes among craftsmen as to which guild was the adjunct (*yamak*) of which other, as *yamaks* were obliged to contribute to the taxes demanded from the "superior" guild. No systematic evaluation has as yet been attempted for the numerous protocols concerning accidents and sudden deaths, which were included in the registers in order to safeguard the neighbours against later claims. These protocols provide a vivid reflection of the risks inherent in living in an urban community.

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(Suraiya Faroqhi)

SIDJILMĀSA, a town of pre-modern Islamic Morocco.

The ruined site of the ancient capital of the Tāfīlālt is as poorly known as it is famous. The town, situated on the Wadi Zīz some 300 km/190 miles from Fās, on the southeastern fringes of mediaeval Morocco, occupies a key position as gateway to the desert. Moreover, it has had the good fortune of being the foremost urban centre of the region which provided the land with its present-day dynasty of rulers, the ʿAlawīs. Thus history and legendary prestige have become mingled in order to preserve for this site, very eccentrically situated in regard to the great events of Moroccan history, an unaccustomed fame. Leo Africanus, who did much for the fame of a town where he stayed for some time in the 16th century, contributed to the spread of this legend; he makes Sidjilmāsa a foundation of Alexander the Great "for the sick and wounded of his army". The town was for long to have this image of a base and a refuge on the margins of the main track of history.

The *madīna* was actually founded, as al-Bakrī states, in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, in 141/758. It became the centre of an independent emirate connected with the Miknāsa, founders of Miknās and Tāza, that of the Banū Midrār or Midrārids [*q.v.*] who, following the examples of Tāhart and Tilimsān, rallied to the Khāridjite heresy [see ṣufriyya. 2]. In the 4th/10th century, the land took part in the struggles between the Fāṭimids and the upholders of the Sunna, as protected by both the Aghlabids and the Spanish Umayyads; the town, without much pressure, welcomed the Mahdī. But orthodoxy soon came back; the dynasty was deposed by a Zanāta who had rallied to the Andalusians, Khazrūn al-Maghrāwī (365/976), and the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] thus became masters of the independent amirate until the mid-5th/11th century.

The advance of the Almoravids [see al-murābiṭūn] had some links with the region since their religious head, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, had been chosen by his master, who had a school in a settlement on the banks of the Zīz and within the amirate. Above all, the Ṣanhādja [*q.v.*], from this point onwards adherents of the Almoravids, had been impeded in both their commerce and their transhumance by the domination of the Zanāta based in Sidjilmāsa. Their richness—a figure of 50,000 camels belonging to the *amīr* passing into the Draa is mentioned—and this local quarrel were caught up in the *djihād* to explain the end of the Banū Khazrūn and, with their line, the amirate of Sidjilmāsa.

It will be seen later how this annexation did not affect at all the region's prosperity. There is little mention of Sidjilmāsa, pillaged at the beginning of the 7th/13th century or adopted as a refuge by the Almohad ruler al-Rashīd towards the end of that dynasty. The Marīnid period gives us more information on the real life of the town and on that long band of territories which, lying between the Sahara and the Mediterranean, were the grazing lands of the Zanāta Banū Marīn, from Figuig towards the south, along the course of the Mulūya, and the region which they reached in summer, towards the north. Possession of the town oscillated between the Almohads and Marīnids, who made themselves masters of the town in 653/1255 and then took definitive possession of it twenty years later. The place was also the locus of a clash between the Marīnids of Fās and the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tilimsān, who had to seek shelter under the walls of Sidjilmāsa. A further danger took shape in the 7th/13th century with the Maʿḳil [*q.v.*] Arabs' seizure of the Moroccan oases. Abu 'l-Ḥasan was probably able to repel them towards Sāḳiyat al-Ḥamrāʾ in the 8th/14th century, but the intrusion of these Bedouin tribesmen was irreversible.

At the same time, the town welcomed rebels and fugitives. Thus a son of Abū Saʿīd, Abū ʿAlī, made Sidjilmāsa the centre of a dissident amirate which he tried to extend towards Tuwāt (Touat) and towards Marrākush. His brother Abu 'l-Ḥasan confirmed him in this power, perhaps with the aim of neutralising him whilst Abu 'l-Ḥasan himself went to campaign against Tilimsān with the help of the Ḥafṣids. Abū ʿAlī nevertheless ended up a prisoner at Fās, where he died. But Abu 'l-Ḥasan himself, on his return from his disastrous Ifrīḳiyan expedition and threatened by his son Abū ʿInān, took refuge at Sidjilmāsa, which welcomed him but very soon preferred to him the future *amīr*. These episodes show that the Marīnids were not really able to control the outer fringes of Morocco from which they had actually themselves come. The end of the mediaeval period marks the end of the role, at times paradoxical, which the town had retained during the period of the Berber empires.

Under the Saʿdians, history seemed to follow a similar model. Al-Maʾmūn, in rebellion against his father al-Manṣūr, set himself up at Sidjilmāsa and in the Draa. The town was in Mawlāy Zīdān's hands in 1012/1603, and it was there that he received an Ottoman embassy from sultan Murād IV, whose ambitions had contributed towards breaking up the regional unity of Mediterranean Africa. But above all, this century saw the rise of the Abū Matalli marabouts who threatened the power of Mawlāy Zīdān (1020-2/1611-13) before another marabout, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, replaced his, to be in turn chased out of the Tāfīlālt in 1070/1660 by the ʿAlawid Mawlāy Rashīd.

The locus for this latest Moroccan dynasty ended up by enclosing if not the town, at least its region in the role of a sanctuary both venerated but also marginal. At the time when Mawlāy Sharīf, at the age of 52, became master of the Tāfīlālt, the district certainly served as a base for the expansion of the Sharīfs. Later, this place of famous name served to distance from the court powerful trouble-makers; in connection with the reign of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, Henri Terrasse wrote that this ruler, richly endowed with numerous children, made it a kind of "dynastic depot" for them. In 1142/1729, it was at Sidjilmāsa that Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh was to be found when people wanted to make him his father's successor. In 1206/1792, when Mawlāy Slīmān came to power, he was very familiar with Sidjilmāsa, where he had lived for a long time. In this way, the town and the Tāfīlālt became merged together in people's memories, and despite their decadence, the outer fringes of Morocco, of which the town was an integral part, showed itself nevertheless as the origin of four Moroccan dynasties: the Almoravids, the Marīnids, the Saʿdians and the ʿAlawīs.

However, in regard to Sidjilmāsa, one should tone down the severe judgment of the Saʿdian period historian al-Ifrānī, "Sidjilmāsa has no greater merit except that it had the Sharīfs, and but for this fact, its name would have neither the popularity which it enjoys nor

the least prestige." In fact, the town was in mediaeval times in the front rank as an economic centre. The route to the Orient which joined the southern Sahara to Egypt and the East was both uncomfortable—sandstorms are mentioned—and dangerous. An itinerary which described a long curve accordingly led caravans to skirt the Sahara by the west. The caravan staging-point of Sidjilmāsa could thus serve both Ifrīkiya (al-Bakrī describes the route here) and Fās, or, by travelling northwards by the Mulūya, the Mediterranean. Numerous foreign merchants were known at Sidjilmāsa in the High Midde Ages. With the Almoravids, who united under one rule not only the two sides of the Sahara but also those of the Western Mediterranean, the town enjoyed an exceptional situation. The reconquest of the Mediterranean basin by the Europeans impeded this prosperity, whilst the opening-up of the way to the New World, and also the re-opening of the route across the Sudan, finally ruined it.

The texts abound in references to this trade, in which gold from the Sudan figures, as in also African slaves, which appear as items of merchandise in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. Various products of Moroccan agriculture are also cited: Sidjilmāsa received the pistachios of Tunisia, but above all, it exported dates, henna, spices (carraway and cumin), indigo, cotton and sugar. Alum was valued, but also galls used for the tanning of leather. These rapid indications confirm that Sidjilmāsa, an entrepôt as well as the centre of a prosperous regional hinterland, was a rich town. One can readily understand how it survived the end of its political independence, so long as the political geography of the lands surrounding the Mediterranean did not separate it from its customers. All this seems to make al-Idrīsī's description plausible: "It is a great and populous town, surrounded by orchards and gardens, fine both within and outside. It has no citadel, but consists of a series of palaces and cultivated fields along the banks of a river; the rise and swelling of this river during the summer resembles that of the Nile, and its waters are used for agriculture in the same fashion as those of the Nile by the Egyptians."

Descriptions exist from al-Bakrī to Leo Africanus and up to the present day. H. Terrasse has described the site, whose surrounding wall of brick on a stone base, attested in the 5th/11th century, no longer exists. But the site can easily be located by aerial photography and detection: a vegetation-less surface is bordered by an enceinte which has a fore-wall, but this strong but also fragile (because of its eroded material) wall appeared after the time of the amirate of Sidjilmāsa. The position is the same for the remains which it encloses; these may be a sign of a rebuilding of the *madīna* in recent times. For the mediaeval period, only a few Marīnid survivals can be detected in a site badly affected by floodings. But only the track towards the Maghrib and Spain has been explored; it would be useful to compare certain remains with those recently uncovered in Ifrīkiya.

As the cradle of the ʿAlawī dynasty, the Tāfīlālt has readily attracted archaeologists, without Sidjilmāsa having experienced the extensive scientific project which it deserves and which will, it is hoped, eventually take place. Explorations are in the course of being made, and a mosque has been uncovered, but the texts nevertheless remain today as the most eloquent testimonies to an age when the countryside of Sidjilmāsa was not far from evoking a dream land. Half a millennium after its fall, Sidjilmāsa remains present in the memories of our contemporaries; it is the witness of a time when the lands of the south, by their economies as well as by the technologies mastered by their peoples, were in advance of those of Western Europe.

Bibliography: One may consult the excellent art. s.v. in *EI*[1] by G.S. Colin, with his list of the Arabic sources, to which can be added Leo Africanus, tr. Epaulard, Paris 1956. See further H. Terrasse, *Notes sur les ruines de Sijilmasa*, Algiers 1936; idem, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1948-50; D. Jacques-Meunié, *Le Maroc Saharien des origines à 1670*, Paris 1982; and TĀFĪLĀLT.

(M. TERRASSE)

AL-SIDJILMĀSĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḲĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Anṣārī, Arab literary theorist, known for his highly original work *al-Manzaʿ al-badīʿ fī tadjnīs asālīb al-badīʿ* (ed. ʿAllāl al-Ghāzī, Rabat 1401/1980).

In the colophon of the Tetuan ms., the author states that he finished his work on 21 Ṣafar 704/23 November 1304. No other bio-bibliographical details are known. His *nisba* and the provenance of the two extant mss. of his work show him to be a Maghribī scholar. More particularly, as the approach of his book clearly shows, he belongs to the Maghribī "school" of the likes of Ibn ʿAmīra (d. 656/1258 or 658/1260 [*q.v.*]) in his *al-Tanbīhāt ʿalā mā fī ʾl-Tibyān* [of Ibn al-Zamlakānī] *min al-tamwīhāt* (ed. M. Ibn Sharīfa, Casablanca 1412/1991), Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī (d. 684/1285 [*q.v.*]) in his *Minhādj al-bulaghāʾ wa-sirādj al-udabāʾ* (ed. M. al-Ḥ. Ibn al-Khudja, Tunis 1966), and Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-Marrākushī (d. 721/1321 [*q.v.*]), in his *al-Rawḍ al-marīʿ fī ṣināʿat al-badīʿ* (ed. R. Binshakrūn, Casablanca 1985), who, each in his own way, made use of the—otherwise spurned—Aristotelian Arabic tradition of poetics and rhetoric.

His book is a sustained effort at a logically strict classification of the various schemes of rhetoric and stylistics. His ten topmost genera are the following (the translations are tentative; "|" indicates unusual terms, "sic" marks unusual meanings): *īdjāz* (brevity), *takhyīl* (imagery [sic]), *ishāra* (allusion), *mubālagha* (emphasis), *raṣf* (patterning [!]), *muẓāhara* (doubling [!]), *tawḍīḥ* (clarification), *ittisāʿ* (ambiguity [sic]), *inthināʾ* (digression [!]), and *takrīr* (repetition).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see, for analyses of his thought, ʿAllāl al-Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur muṣṭalaḥ "al-takhyīl" fī naẓariyyat al-naḳd al-adabī ʿinda ʾl-Sidjilmāsī*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb wa ʾl-ʿUlūm al-Insāniyya* (Fās) 1409/1988, *ʿadad khāṣṣ* 4, 285-334; Muḥammad Miftāḥ, *al-Talaḳḳī wa ʾl-taʾwīl*, Casablanca and Beirut 1994, 61-80.

(W.P. HEINRICHS)

SIDJISTĀN [see SĪSTĀN].

AL-SIDJISTĀNĪ, ʿABD ALLĀH B. SULAYMĀN b. al-Ashʿath, Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Dāwūd, early Islamic traditionist, born 230/844 in Sidjistān, died 316/929 in Baghdād. He was the author of *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, a work on uncanonical readings of the Ḳurʾān [see ḲIRĀʾA] organised by "codex" and apparently the only book of its type still in existence. Famed as a memoriser of *ḥadīth*, he wrote books mainly on Ḳurʾānic topics, including a book of *tafsīr* and work on *naskh* (perhaps used as a source by Ibn al-Djawzī in his *Nawāsikh al-Ḳurʾān*). While he is reputed to have composed several *ḥadīth* collections (among which are mentioned a *Musnad* and a *Kitāb al-Sunan*), his reputation as a transmitter varies. He is generally considered trustworthy and it may be that his work on the text of the Ḳurʾān cast him in an unfavourable light for some later generations. His fame primarily rests on

his work on the codices which was, for example, quoted extensively by al-Suyūṭī in his *al-Itḳān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*.

Al-Sidjistānī was a contemporary of Muḥammad b. Djarīr al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*], and is pictured as his rival in writing a *tafsīr* and the one who lost the competition according to the judgement of history. A dispute arose between the two of them regarding al-Ṭabarī's alleged Shīʿī and Djahmī tendencies, as exposed by al-Sidjistānī with his Ḥanbalī point of view.

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AL-SIDJISTĀNĪ, ABŪ ḤĀTIM [see abū ḥātim al-sidjistānī].

AL-SIDJISTĀNĪ, ABŪ YAʿḲŪB [see abū yaʿḳūb al-sidjzī].

SIDJN (a.) "prison". In the Ḳurʾān it is mentioned only in connection with the story of Joseph (sūra XII and XXVI, 29). The etymology of the term is controversial, but it seems to be derived from the Latin *signum* via the Greek variant *signon*, which meant prison in Greek colloquial speech in Late Antiquity (see J. Niehoff, *Romanica Graeco-Arabica: lat, signum > gr. signon > arab. sigṉ*, in *Romanica Graeco-Arabica, Festschrift R. Kontzi*, Tübingen 1995). *Ḥabs* in the Ḳurʾān means "detention", but is used in later literature to denote a prison too (*Aghānī*[3], iv, 92; al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda*, ed. ʿA. al-Shāldjī, Beirut 1978, ii, 116; Ibn al-ʿAdjamī (17th century), *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Gotha, Arab 1631, fols. 75a, 82a, 122b, 130a, 157b, 173a, 176a; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270/1853, ii, 187). *Ḥubisa ʿinda fulān* in the sense of being imprisoned in the custody of a person could mean anything, from being kept in someone's house to rotting in a dungeon. *Tarsīm* as described by al-Maḳrīzī (and perhaps as used predominantly in Mamlūk sources, see *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 187) means detaining a person in one place or putting him under guard.

House arrest as a punishment (with the root *m-s-k*) in the case of illicit fornication was imposed on the women in the Ḳurʾān (IV, 15-16), but was later abrogated and replaced by flogging (XXIV, 2). All Ḳurʾānic punishments, the *ḥudūd*, are thus corporal punishments.

The question of prisons and imprisonment in Islam has hardly been dealt with so far. Prisons seem to have been unknown in Bedouin society, but probably existed in cities like Mecca and Medina. Undoubtedly, Islam became acquainted with imprisonment as an institution through its conquests. Information concerning prisons and imprisonment is scarce in the Islamic *fiḳh* literature in the pre-classical and classical time (2nd-6th/8th-13th centuries). The first prison building is attributed to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who is said to have bought a house in Mecca and turned it into a prison. ʿAlī allegedly did the same in Baṣra; however, prisoners could easily escape from ʿAlī's prison because it was not solid enough. So ʿAlī is said to have built another one like a fortress. Besides imprisonment in special prison buildings, house arrest existed, which allowed the detainees a great deal of freedom compared to normal prisoners. Bakkār b. Ḳutayba (d. 270/883) was, for example, held as a prisoner in his own home. However, this did not prevent him from sitting at his window and lecturing on *ḥadīth* to the people who had gathered in front of his house (al-Kindī, *K. al-Ḳuḍāt*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden-London 1912, 513). Special prison buildings are known to have existed in different cities, and very often the citadel was used as a prison (see e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 187 ff.).

Although different forms of imprisonment existed, the only form of imprisonment which the jurists dealt with in more detail is imprisonment for debt. It was imposed if the creditor thought that the debtor still had assets. The sole objective of this kind of imprisonment was to compel a debtor to satisfy his creditors. Thus he was released if it became clear that he was impecunious. Imprisonment was, according to the *fiḳh* literature, also used in cases of contempt of court and for apostates. Male apostates could be imprisoned for three days in an effort to revive their faith in Islam. If they were unwilling to reaffirm their faith within this period, they were to be executed. The same is true for female apostates, but according to some jurists, they were only to be imprisoned.

The jurists mention pre-trial detention, i.e. to detain a suspect until his trial commences. This was based on an alleged utterance of the prophet who is said to have had people arrested on suspicion (*fī tuhma*).

In all these cases, the prisons were subject to the control of the judges. According to the Ḥanafī Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*], the maintenance of prisoners should be financed from state funds so that prisoners would not roam about the streets in shackles begging (*K. al-Kharādj*, ed. ʿU. Bashīr[2], Cairo 1933, 149). It seems, however, that occasionally prisoners had to pay rent to live in prison if they had assets. In the *adab al-ḳāḍī* literature, the prisoners' rights were strictly defined and it was emphasised that under no circumstances should anyone be kept in prison wrongfully. If there was no plaintiff, the judge had to release the prisoner. If he was sick, the prisoner could be looked after by his servant or he could be discharged from prison. Furthermore, he could receive guests in prison, especially members of his family and sometimes he was even allowed to have sex in prison if an appropriate place for it was available. A prisoner should not be beaten, chained, paraded through the streets or forced to work. Nevertheless, prisoners were prohibited from attending gatherings, festivals, the pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj*) and funerals (al-Khaṣṣāf, *K. Adab al-ḳāḍī*, ed. F. Ziyadeh, Cairo 1978, 264-5; al-Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Beirut 1986, xx, 90.) However, evidence from historical and biographical sources suggests that in practice not all the requirements of the *fuḳahāʾ* were met.

Imprisonment not as a means of compulsion (like imprisonment for debt) or in the sense of pre-trial detention, but as a punishment, is only rarely mentioned in the *fiḳh* literature, and if so, mostly in addition to the *ḥudūd*, i.e. in addition to corporal punishment. For example, according to the Mālikīs, in the case of murder, if the *walī ʾl-dam* (the next of kin who has the right to demand retaliation) waives his right of retaliation, the murderer is imprisoned for a year. The imprisonment takes place only after he has been whipped a hundred times (Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *riwāya* Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī, ed. S.M. al-Laḥḥām and M. Ḳaṣṣāṣ, Beirut 1988, 671, *k. al-ʿuḳūl, bāb al-ʿafw fī ḳatl al-ʿamd*, 627).

In the field of *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*], imprisonment is generally accepted as a punishment and is listed next to admonishment, flogging and banishment. It could

be for one day or for an indefinite period.

Taʿzīr is left to the discretion of the jurists, and the *fiḳh* literature does not lay down special punishments for particular offences. Al-Kāsānī (d. 587/1189) divides society into four classes and mentions imprisonment as a punishment for the two lower classes, in addition to admonishments and beatings. It is possible that such prisoners were kept in the so-called "robbers' prison" (*sid̲j̲n al-luṣūṣ*) which is only rarely mentioned in the legal literature. The question in which cases and how often imprisonment was imposed in legal practice as a punishment, and whether it was used as often as corporal punishment, can only be answered by the study of historical or biographical literature. Here also, not much research has been done. It seems, however, that in practice imprisonment was used mainly as a compulsory measure for debtors and in cases of pre-trial detention, and only in very rare cases as a punishment, e.g. for a breach of official duty by an unreliable court secretary (al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taḳrīb al-masālik*, ed. A.B. Maḥmūd, Beirut 1967-8, iii-iv, 217), or in the case of refusal to pray (al-Wakīʿ, *Ak̲h̲bār al-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo 1947-50, iii, 260). However, imprisonment seems not to have been a main punishment (cf. Schneider, *Imprisonment*, 166). This situation prevailed through the Ottoman era (U. Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973, 301 ff.).

In modern Islamic states, punitive detention is now one of the officially recognised and widespread forms of punishment, in addition to fines and—where they still exist—corporal punishment (see e.g. *The Gazette of Pakistan*, 25 October 1994, 796: it comprises imprisonment for life, rigorous imprisonment with hard labour and simple imprisonment). As in classical times, imprisonment is administered through the penal law, e.g. in the case of *ḳatl al-ʿamd* (homicide with deliberate intent), when the *walī 'l-dam* voluntarily waives his right of retaliation, cf. above, Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 671, *k. al-ʿuḳūl*, etc., cited above). In many modern Islamic legal codes, e.g. those of Saudi Arabia, Kuwayt and the UAE, imprisonment because of debt still exists (see *al-ʿAdāla, Mad̲j̲alla Ḳānūniyya*, Abū Ẓaby, lxxii [Rabīʿ II 1412/October 1992], 8 ff.).

Historically, the legal aspects of imprisonment have to be distinguished from the political ones. As the ruler had the right to exercise judicial power in most cases concerning public order and safety, he also had the right to imprison people at will. Thus the government could send to prison proven or alleged heretics, religious fanatics, charlatans and all those guilty of violating public order. Officials who failed to carry out their order were imprisoned. Judges who were not willing to serve could be put in jail.

The same is true for political enemies, who were considered to be hostile to the ruler, and also for prisoners of war (for the 17th century, see e.g. Herberer von Bretten, *Aegyptiaca servitus. Warhafte Beschreibung einer Dreyjährigen Dienstbarkeit*, Heidelberg 1610, new ed. Graz 1967, 125 ff.). The living conditions for prisoners of the ruler are often described in historical sources as appalling. In what al-Maḳrīzī calls "prisons of the governors" (*sud̲j̲ūn al-wulāt*), prisoners in chains were forced to do hard labour. Their cries of "hunger" were heard in the streets while the warders took the alms originally meant for them (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 187).

The sources, especially historical works, attest many cases of political imprisonment, often from the ruler's arbitrariness and without any trial; thus scholars like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Ibn Taymiyya [*q.vv.*] and many others, were put behind bars.

Bibliography: O. Rescher, *Studien über den Inhalt von 1001 Nacht*, in *Isl.*, ix (1919) 1 ff., see 65 ff.; M.M. Ziyāda, *al-Sud̲j̲ūn fī Miṣr fi 'l-ḳurūn al-wusṭā*, in *al-T̲h̲aḳāfa*, cclxii (1944), 15 ff., 20 ff., cclxxix (1944), 16 ff.; F. Rosenthal, *The Muslim concept of freedom prior to the nineteenth century*, Leiden 1960; F. Ziyadeh, Adab al-Qāḍī *and the protection of rights at court*, in *Studies in Islamic and Judaic traditions*, ed. W.M. Brinner and S.D. Ricks, Atlanta 1987, 143 ff., A. al-Wāʾilī, *Aḥkām al-sud̲j̲ūn bayn al-s̲h̲arīʿa wa 'l-ḳānūn* (Persian tr. with comm. M.Ḥ. Bukāʾī, *Aḥkām-i zindān dar Islām*), ³Tehran 1367/1988; I. Schneider, *Imprisonment in pre-classical and classical Islamic law*, in *Islamic law and society*, ii (1995), 157 ff.

(Irene Schneider)

ṢIDḲ (A.), a term in mysticism.

Here, the importance of *ṣidḳ* ("truthfulness, sincerity") and its derivatives, *ṣādiḳ* and *ṣiddīḳ* ("true, truthful, sincere") is determined by their frequent use in the Ḳurʾān, e.g., iv, 69, v, 119, vi, 115, ix, 119, x, 2, xix, 41, 54, 56, xxvi, 84, xxxiii, 8, xlvi, 16, liv, 55, etc. (see also H. Kassis, *A concordance of the Qurʾān*, Berkeley 1983, 1174-7) and in *ḥadīt̲h̲* (Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, 277-84). *Ṣidḳ* was treated as a cornerstone of mystical self-discipline by early Ṣūfī masters such as al-Ḥārit̲h̲ al-Muḥāsibī, al-D̲j̲unayd, al-Ḥallād̲j̲ and the anonymous author of the *Adab al-mulūk* (late 4th/10th century). The purity of *ṣidḳ* was routinely contrasted with the foulness of lying (*kid̲h̲b*), this "menstruation of the souls" (*ḥayḍ al-nufūs*), as it was called by some Ṣūfī authorities. Abū Saʿīd al-K̲h̲arrāz (d. 286/899 [*q.v.*]) wrote a special tract, the *K. al-Ṣidḳ*, in which *ṣidḳ* was discussed in the context of other Ṣūfī notions, notably *ik̲h̲lāṣ* and *ṣabr* [*q.vv.*]. It received further elaboration in the works of the systematisers of the classical Ṣūfī tradition al-Sarrād̲j̲, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī and al-Hud̲j̲wīrī. Later, it figured prominently in the theoretical writings of al-G̲h̲azālī, al-Suhrawardī, Ibn ʿArabī and other later Ṣūfīs.

From the outset, *ṣidḳ*, defined as the complete agreement of one's inner convictions and outward acts, was held to be an indispensable condition of the true worship of God and a hallmark of the genuine Ṣūfī. Mystics emphasised that any good work is futile unless it springs from a sincere and disinterested desire to please God. The same goes for all the "stations" of the mystical path, *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*], which cannot be mastered without *ṣidḳ*. The early Ṣūfī master Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]) named *ṣidḳ* among the five pillars of Ṣūfism alongside generosity, resoluteness, fearing God, modesty and scrupulousness in food. In Ṣūfī manuals, *ṣidḳ* was often paired with *ik̲h̲lāṣ*, the two words sometimes being treated as synonyms. The elevated rank accorded to these notions by the Ṣūfīs is attested by al-Sarrād̲j̲, who considered them to be part of the *uṣūl al-dīn* together with *tawḥīd*, *maʿrifa*, *īmān* and *yaḳīn*. In a similar vein, the author of the *Adab al-mulūk* counted *ṣidḳ* and *ik̲h̲lāṣ* among the five principal ways of achieving the mystical goal, the other being *zuhd* [*q.v.*], the desire to obtain God's pleasure, and the taming of one's lower self (*mud̲j̲āhadat al-nufūs*). Likewise, Ibn ʿArabī included *ṣidḳ* in his list of the nine principal conditions of the mystical path together with hunger, vigil, silence, retreat, trust in God, patience, determination and certainty, which he called "the Mothers of Virtue". *Ṣidḳ* was often also associated with sturdiness (*s̲h̲idda*) and firmness (*ṣalāba*), the qualities which, according to Ṣūfī writers, rendered it both an effective offensive weapon in attaining self-perfection and a reliable shield against devil's temp-

tations. As time went on, Ṣūfī psychology provided increasingly detailed descriptions of it. A typical example is al-Ghazālī's treatment of this concept in a special chapter of his *Iḥyā'*, in which six different types of truthfulness are distinguished, i.e. in word, in intention and volition, in determination, in faithfulness to one's determination, in deed, and finally, in fulfilling the requirements of the mystical path (*ṭarīḳ*).

Despite its importance, adherence to *ṣidḳ* was not considered absolute. According to al-Ghazālī and Ibn ʿArabī, it is always contingent on concrete circumstances. Thus telling the truth about someone in his/her absence can amount to backbiting and will be judged accordingly in the hereafter. The same goes for those who speak publicly of their sexual life, although their accounts may be true. On the other hand, a pious lie that helps to save the life of a Muslim or to protect a state secret may, in God's eyes, be a meritorious deed.

Basing themselves on Ḳur'ān v, 108-20, and iii, 81, some Ṣūfī exegetes elaborated on the "question of sincerity" (*su'āl al-ṣidḳ*) which God posed to ʿĪsā on the eve of the Judgment Day. In response, ʿĪsā squarely disowned his misguided worshippers who took him and his mother for deities and thereby successfully passed the test, showing both a "pure sincerity" and "saintly humility".

Although man shares the attribute of *ṣidḳ* with God, who is sometimes described as "the Sincere One" (*al-ṣādiḳ*), human sincerity is of an imperfect, inferior nature, unless, in accordance with the famous *ḥadīth ḳudsī* [*q.v.*], he has reached the exalted spiritual state in which God "becomes his hearing ..., his sight ... his hand ... and his foot", i.e. his sole *raison d'être* and mover. This is, in the view of Ibn ʿArabī and some other Ṣūfīs, the utmost degree of *ṣidḳ*, which signifies the attainment of perfect servanthood (*al-ʿubūdiyya*) and thus the consummation of the mystical path.

Bibliography: Muḥāsibī, *K. al-Riʿāya*, ed. Margaret Smith, London 1949, 172, 184 et passim; *The Book of Truthfulness (Kitāb al-ṣidq) by Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz*, ed. and tr. A.J. Arberry, London 1937; Sarrādj, *K. al-Lumaʿ*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1914, 48, 49, 216-17, 357; *Adab al-mulūk. Ein Handbuch zur islamischen Mystik aus 4-/10- Jahrhundert*, ed. B. Radtke, Stuttgart-Beirut 1991, 12, 22, 35, 43-4 etc.; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, tr. Nicholson, Leiden 1911, 101; *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj*, ed. and tr. L. Massignon, Paris 1957, nos. 5, 47, 53; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1937, v, pt. 14, 195-206; Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, ed. ʿUthmān Yaḥyā, Cairo 1972-, i, 155, 206-7, 326, ii, 390, iv, 104, 253-4, 383, v, 391, 396, ix, 68, 189, xiv, 333-43; Massignon, *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj*, tr. H. Mason, Princeton 1982, iii, 161-3.

(A. Knysh)

SIDR (A.), n. of unity, Sidra, a shrub or tree of the various Rhamnaceae belonging to the genus *Ziziphus* which has a number of representatives in N. Africa and the Middle East. Various species were, and are, cultivated for their fruits, timber, and as hedging plants. *Ziziphus* are trees or shrubs of varied heights with tangled branches that usually grow in arid regions. The tallest is *Z. spina-christi*; heights given in modern floras vary between 5 and 12 m. Most species are spiky, although some varieties are thornless. They bear jujube-like fruits (*dūm*) highly valued for food, especially the cherry-sized bright yellow fruit of *Z. spina-christi* and the smaller, pea-sized, dark orange of *Z. leucodermis*. The fruit have a single dark pip, which was ground up and eaten with the flesh. Fruits were gathered and stored; they were crushed between stones and eaten raw or cooked to a paste in water, milk or buttermilk (Miller-Morris, 1988, 240-2).

Z. spina-christi derives its name from its being a possible candidate for the tree from which Christ's crown of thorns was made; since it does not grow in the region of Jerusalem, however, it has been suggested that *Sarcopoterium spinosum* (Rosaceae) is a more likely option (Miller-Morris, 1988, 242). There are a large number of synonyms for *sidr* in classical and modern Arabic. The current Latin name of the genus is also attested in mediaeval Arabic sources; the Syriac name for the *ʿunnāb*, the jujube tree (*Z. jujuba*), is *zīzūfī*, according to al-Bīrūnī, 1991, 438; cf. Greek σιζυφα.

For medical usage, the soothing and purifying qualities of *sidr* are applied in various ways. Ibn al-Bayṭār (Cairo 1291/1874, ii, 5), states that it is good for the stomach; beneficient if eaten before meals; laxative (but in some cases the fruit (*nabḳ*) is constipating); it frees the stomach and bowels from yellow bile; and it suppresses heat. Current uses in Dhofar (Miller-Morris, 1988, 240, 242, 329) include: a paste of crushed leaves (preferably of *leucodermis*), used for cleansing the scalp, hair or body in general; it is applied to swellings, sores or inflammations, or against headaches; water boiled with its crushed leaves is given to women in prolonged labour or with a retained placenta. The hard wood is used for making utensils (ladles, spoons, fire-tongs) (Miller-Morris, 1988, 242), also for carpentry in former days (cf. a *ḥadīth* in ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣanʿānī's *Muṣannaf*, no. 19756).

In magic, popular modern treatises advise the use of *sidr* leaves as a means against sorcery. *Sidr* leaves are considered just as lawful in this respect as *kitāba*, the use of written Ḳur'ānic or other religious formulae. See e.g. al-Ḥanbalī 1409/1989, 41; al-Bālī, 1412/1992, 122; al-Ḳaḥṭānī, 1412/1992, ch. 88.

The *sidr* occurs several times in the Ḳur'ān: XXXIV, 16 (description of a poor area); LIII, 14, 16 (the "*sidra* of the ultimate boundary"); LVI, 28 (thornless *sidra* in Paradise). All the evidence suggests that the *sidr* was a tree of considerable importance in pre-Islamic Arabia. This is confirmed by a *ḥadīth* which describes a *sidra* to which the pagan Arabs used to withdraw and on which they used to hang their weapons. The tree was called *dhāt al-anwāṭ* "that of the suspended things". Upon passing a green *sidra*, the Muslims asked the Prophet to give them also a *dhāt al-anwāṭ*, and were rebuked with a reference to the Israelites asking Moses for "a god such as those people have" (Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 218).

The *sidr* is mentioned in various *ḥadīth*s, e.g. for washing the hair, corpses or clothes stained with menstrual blood. Cutting down *sidr* trees, especially those that offered shadow to man and beast, was forbidden by the Prophet, often in very strong terms (Abū Dāwūd, *Adab* 109, *bāb fī ḳaṭʿ al-sidr*, nos. 5239, 5241; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣanʿānī, *Muṣannaf*, nos. 19756-8). References in the *ḥadīth* and elsewhere indicate that *sidr* trees were popular landmarks; the Ḳur'ānic *sidrat al-muntahā* fits in with this.

The most likely species of *Ziziphus* to be associated with the Ḳur'ānic and *ḥadīth* references to *sidr* is probably *Z. spina-christi*, because its characteristics, size and height make its connotation as a fruit-bearing (see al-Bayḍāwī, *Tafsīr*, on sūra XXXIV, 16), shade-offering and landscape-marking tree plausible, as opposed to *Z. lotus* which is a shrub less than two metres high. The Ḳur'ānic ref. to the "thornless *sidr* trees" in Paradise (LVI, 28) also points in this direction

(there exists a thornless variety of *spina-christi*).

The Ḳurʾānic *sidrat al-muntahā*, where Muḥammad saw Gabriel for the second time "when the tree became covered by what covered it", figures conspicuously in the story of the Prophet's celestial ascent [see MIʿRĀDJ]. See further on this, SIDRAT AL-MUNTAHĀ.

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(REMKE KRUK)

SIDRAT AL-MUNTAHĀ (A.), "the lote tree on the boundary" as described in Ḳurʾān, LIII, 14: "Indeed, he [Muḥammad] saw him [Djibrīl] another time [other than that referred to in Ḳurʾān, LIII, 1-12] by the lote tree of the boundary nigh which is the garden of the refuge ... Indeed, he saw one of the greatest signs of his Lord." The full exegesis of this passage arises in a prominent *ḥadīth* report (repeated, for example, in al-Bukhārī, *K. manāḳib al-anṣār* and *K. badʾ al-khalḳ*; Muslim, *K. al-īmān*; also see al-Ṭabarī, i, 1158-9) which speaks at length of the *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*]. After Muḥammad (who was accompanied by Djibrīl) met with Ibrāhīm in the seventh heaven, he went on as far as *sidrat al-muntahā* (also *al-sidra ʾl-muntahā* in *ḥadīth*) beyond which no one can pass, and there he gazed upon God (this being "one of the greatest signs of his Lord"). This lote tree is described as having fruits the size of earthenware jars, leaves as big as the ears of elephants and composed of many indescribable and unknown colours. The four rivers of Paradise flow from under it. The idea of a tree being at the apex of the pyramid-shaped mountain of created worlds goes back to ancient Sumerian mythology, and the motifs of receiving food (as in the drinks from which Muḥammad may choose in some versions of the story) and having a vision of the divine are all integral parts of the same mythic structure.

In the Ṣūfī description of the quest for the experience of the divine as patterned on the story of the *miʿrādj*, the "lote tree on the boundary" symbolises the point to which knowledge can take the mystic (and up to which point one needs a guide) but beyond which the true experience lies. Other speculations about the tree include the idea that Adam saw Muḥammad's name written on the tree and that the tree is actually composed of the "light of Muḥammad" (*nūr Muḥammadī* [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart 1977, *ad loc.* and references; G. Widengren, *Muhammad, the Apostle of God and his Ascension* (*King and Saviour* V), in *Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift* (1955), no. 1, 103-4, 208-9, 212-13, and references; G. Vitestam, As-sidra(-t?) al-muntahā. *Quelques commentaires linguistiques sur des textes existants*, in A. Caquot and D. Cohen (eds.), *Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique, Paris, 16-19 juillet 1969*, The Hague and Paris 1974, 305-8, on the grammar of the expression. For Ṣūfī use, see for example, W.C. Chittick, *The Sufi path of love. The spiritual teachings of Rumi*, Albany 1983, 220-3.

(A. RIPPIN)

SIERRA LEONE, a country of coastal West Africa, in 1961 an independent republic, is in the forest belt of West Africa, separated geographically by inland mountain ranges from the West African Islamic heartland and so protected in the past from Muslim invasion. But individual Muslims, traders and holy men, visited it regularly from at least the 15th century, and settled there increasingly after the *djihād* of the early 18th century in Fūta Djallon [*q.v.*]. The indigenous peoples were not attracted to Islam and retained their own religions, which suited their own ways of life.

A British settlement was founded on the coast in 1787. In 1807 it became a British colony where slaves who had been captured by the British navy from slave-ships crossing the Atlantic were liberated and settled. Muslim traders, chiefly Fula and Mandingo, were attracted to Freetown, the capital, and by at least 1830 they had built a small mosque. Also, some of the liberated people, chiefly Yoruba (from modern Nigeria), known locally as "Aku", were Muslims, and formed their own Muslim community in East Freetown. Eventually the Aku split into two factions, worshipping in rival mosques, a division that has survived into the 1990s.

Though individual governors were occasionally hostile to Islam, official British policy tolerated Muslims, and they became recognised as part of the Freetown community. Some left Freetown and settled in neighbouring villages. Fearful of sending their children to Christian schools, they organised their own Ḳurʾānic schools, and a few went to study in the notable West African Islamic centres. From 1890 the government gave a small grant for Muslim education.

In 1896 a British Protectorate was established over the area of the present Sierra Leone (measuring 73,326 km^2), with an artificial frontier separating it from the neighbouring French Guinea and Liberia. When railways and roads were built the population became more mobile. People who left their villages were often ready to adopt a new religion, and, as a result, Islam spread, particularly in the northern part of the country where Christian missionary influence was weak. Many Muslims, however, remained (and many today still remain) members of the ancient and deeply-rooted secret societies, like the male *poro* and female *sande* societies.

From 1911 the government made explicit provision for educating Muslims. Government secondary schools were open to them, thus letting them into the higher ranges of employment. Though politics in the pre-independence years were dominated by non-Muslims, a leading Freetown Muslim, M.S. Mustapha, played a prominent part and became a cabinet minister after independence. Subsequently, though no Muslim has been head of state, Muslims have held senior cabinet posts in successive governments. The main Muslim festivals are recognised as public holidays and there is normally no open animosity between the members of the different religious faiths.

When, from the 1950s onwards, illegal diamond mining suddenly spread wealth through the country, much of it was diverted into mosque-building. Sub-

stantial new mosques were built in Freetown by members of the Temne, Limba and other ethnic communities who tend to worship apart from one another. Except for a small Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*] presence, and a few Shīʿī Muslims in the Lebanese commercial community, the Muslims belong to Sunnī Islam. There are no influential religious fraternities. In 1990 Muslims were estimated to constitute 30% of a total population of about four million.

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ṢIFA (a), lit "description".

1. In grammar. Here, the meaning is "attribute", syn. *naʿt*. Its syntactic sense overshadows that of a quasi-part of speech "adjective" (cf. *al-ṣifa al-mushabbaha* for such forms as *faʿīl* and *faʿl*) already in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*. The fact that Kūfan grammarians employ the term to denote "locative" (roughly, Baṣran *ẓarf*; see below) may explain why *naʿt* is considered Kūfan although both terms appear in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* and in al-Farrāʾ's *Maʿānī*. Their recurring definition as indications of praise or blame may well hark back to Dionysius Thrax's characterisation of "adjective" (επίθετον). Early occurrences of both *ṣifa* and *naʿt* are documented in several 2nd/8th-century exegetical works in which they are non-technical. The earliest modifications in the Graeco-Syriac origin of this grammatical category may be reconstructed according to Ibn Muḳaffaʿ's *K. al-Manṭiḳ*, where the term *ṣifa* signifies *inter alia* both ποιὸν ("quality", the third of the ten categories) and the whole group of nine categories (also *naʿt*; "substance" [*ʿayn, djawhar*; Gr. οὐσια] excluded). In his elaborate epitome of *De Interpretatione*, he employs the terminological expression *al-kalām al-wāṣif* and the term *ṣifa* to signify such syntactic entities as the locative (in predicate position), the material modes ("possible, impossible, necessary") and a semi-adverbial qualifier *mudjīd* in *fulān al-ṭawīl kātib mudjīd*. *Naʿt* translates the Syr. *kunnāyā* (Gr. κατηγορία) of early treatises whereas *ṣifa* renders the early *znā* with its two significations mentioned above. The Kūfan grammarians, who were more faithful than Sībawayhi and al-Khalīl to the teaching of the earliest ʿIrāḳī grammarians, maintained a double role for *ṣifa*: the locative and, with *naʿt* as synonym, the adjective/attribute. By extension, the locative came to denote not only nouns expressing time and place and prepositional phrases but prepositions as well. Later works attribute to the earlier al-Kisāʾī and al-Farrāʾ the terms *ṣifa tāmma* and *ṣifa nāḳiṣa* (loc. in predicate position and as adjunct, respectively). On the use of *mawṣūf-ṣifa* as "subject-predicate" in logical and theological writings see, e.g. Versteegh, 1977 (index, s.v.) and in translations of philosophical writings, Zimmermann 1972, 534. Possible vestiges in Sībawayhi's book of a similar conception among grammarians include the contrast *yūṣafu bihi* and *djawhar yuḍāfu ilayhi mā kāna minhu* (i, 235,5; similarly, al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī*, iii, 215: *ṣifa min al-ṣifāt* vs. *ism thābit*). On the basis of the data in *K. al-ʿAyn* (e.g. ii, 43, 52, 246) we may conclude that Baṣran grammarians previous to Sībawayhi had adopted the two denotations of *ṣifa*. However, Sībawayhi neglected the locative denotation. He introduced two significant modifications in a prevalent conception of the adjectival/attributive category which have become part of all the later syntactic formulations in Arab grammatical writings: (a) Such nominals which may qualify pronouns (*kull-, nafs-*) are rejected from this category and become an independent category of *tawkīd*; (b) The copular pronoun is isolated from this category and is identified as *faṣl*.

Bibliography: Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Paris, i; G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du* Kitāb *de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976; C.H.M. Versteegh, *Greek elements in Arabic linguistic thinking*, Leiden 1977; idem, *Arabic grammar and Qurʾānic exegesis in early Islam*, Leiden 1993; J. Owens, *Early Arabic grammatical theory*, Amsterdam 1991; R. Talmon, *Appositival ʿaṭf*, in *Arabica*, xxviii (1981), 278-93; idem, *The term Qalb*, in *ZGAIW*, viii (1993), 71-113; F.W. Zimmermann, *Some observations on al-Farabi*, in S.M. Stern *et al.* (eds.), *Islamic philosophy and the classical tradition*, Oxford 1972; Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, *K. al-Manṭiḳ*, ed. Dānish-Pazhūh, Tehran 1978. (R. Talmon)

2. In theology. This originally grammatical term was subsequently borrowed by the theologians (*mutakallimūn*), who made it one of their key-words. In its "theological" usage, the word is generally translated by "attribute"—the reference being above all to the "divine attributes" (*ṣifāt Allāh*)—although in certain contexts, translation by "quality" seems preferable. As for the precise meaning to be given to this term, the issue is the cause of fundamental disagreement between theologians, essentially between Sunnī and Muʿtazilī theologians.

In grammar, as seen in 1. above, *ṣifa* represents a word of a certain kind, more precisely a certain type of the "noun" (*ism* [*q.v.*]), what we would call a qualifying adjective. Al-Zamakhsharī gives the following definition of it: "The *ṣifa* is a noun which indicates a certain state of an essence (*baʿḍ aḥwāl al-dhāt*), e.g. long, short, intelligent, stupid, standing erect, seated, ill, in a good state of health, poor, rich, noble, of low degree, honoured, despised" (*Mufaṣṣal*, Cairo 1323, repr. Beirut n.d., 114 ll. 4-7).

It would normally be expected that, when a theologian speaks of the *ṣifāt Allāh*, he means by these all the qualificatives capable of application to God, such as *ḳādir, ʿālim, ḥayy, karīm, laṭīf, khāliḳ, rāziḳ*, etc. And such indeed is the interpretation favoured by the Muʿtazilī theologians, in particular al-Djubbāʾī [*q.v.*]. For the latter, the "attributes" of God—which could also, in most cases, be called His "names"—are nothing other than the words (*aḳwāl*) by which we describe Him, words such as "knowing", "powerful", "living" (cf. al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 2nd ed. Ritter, 172, ll. 14-15, and 198, ll. 10-11). These "attributes" are definitely not all of the same sort: there are those which God merits from all eternity, on account of His essence (*ṣifāt al-dhāt* or *al-nafs*), and others which He merits on account of His acts (*ṣifāt al-fiʿl*). But it is always a matter of words. Thus al-Djubbāʾī is concerned to know whether the "word" *karīm*, the "word" *ḥakīm* and the "word" *ṣamad*, constitute part of the "attributes of the essence" or of the "attributes of the act" (cf. *ibid.*, 528, ll. 9-14; cf. also 506, ll. 8-9). It comes as no surprise to find that, henceforward, just like the grammarians, the Muʿtazilīs distinguish no difference between *ṣifa* and *waṣf* (cf. al-Bāḳillānī, *Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, § 367). In numerous instances in the *Maḳālāt*, they are observed to be wondering, still, whether a certain *waṣf* applied to God belongs to the *ṣifāt al-dhāt* or to the *ṣifāt al-fiʿl* (cf. 492, ll. 11-12; 506, l. 10; 507, ll. 10-11; 512, l. 16; 532. ll. 4-5). That *waṣf* and *ṣifa* are synonyms, expressing qualificatives in parallel, was a principle expressly sustained by al-Djubbāʾī (cf. *ibid.*, 529, ll. 14-15). Such would

also be the position of later Djubbā'īs: thus 'Abd al-Djabbār, in *al-Mughnī*, vii, 117, ll. 10-12.

Sunnī theologians see things quite differently. For them, on the one hand, the *ṣifāt Allāh* represent not qualificatives—such as *ḳādir, 'ālim, 'ādil*—but the corresponding substantives *ḳudra, 'ilm, 'adl*; on the other hand, and in the same vein, these *ṣifāt* are not only words, they are real existents. They are "things" which exist in God (attributes of the essence), or are produced by Him (attributes of the act), and by means of which He is worthy to be described by the corresponding qualificatives. Al-Bāḳillānī expresses this in the form of a universal principle (i.e. one which is appropriate to every "qualified thing", whatever it may be): "The quality (*ṣifa*) is that which exists in the qualified (*yūdjadu bi 'l-mawṣūf*), or which belongs to it [in some manner] (*yakūnu lahu*) and which makes it acquire the qualificative (*yuksibuhu 'l-waṣfa*), that is, the epithet (*na't*) which derives (*yaṣduru*) from the quality" (*Tamhīd*, § 359). Here, the distinction between *ṣifa* and *waṣf* is clear: that which is a "word", exclusively, is the qualificative. "As for *waṣf*", al-Bāḳillānī continues, "it is a word (*ḳawl*) of one who qualifies God, or someone other than God, saying of Him that he is knowing, living, powerful, beneficent, benevolent. This qualificative (*waṣf*), which is a saying that is heard, or an expression of this saying, is other than the quality (*ṣifa*) residing in God, the existence of which in Him causes Him to be wise, powerful, purposeful. Similarly, when we say "Zayd is living, wise", what we have is a qualificative (*waṣf*) of Zayd ... Whereas the wisdom and the power of Zayd are, for their part, two qualities (*ṣifatānⁱ*) belonging to him, existing in him, and from which the qualificative and the noun are derived" (*ibid.*, § 362).

This use of *ṣifa* in the sense of a substantive is typical of Sunnī theology: before al-Ash'arī it is already found, systematically, in the work of Ibn Kullāb [*q.v.* in Suppl.], cf. al-Ash'arī, *Maḳālat*, 169-70, 546. It seems, however, that the first to have practised it was the Imāmī theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], cf. *ibid.*, 37, ll. 10-12; 222, ll. 1-5; 494, ll. 1-3. Whatever the case, it has a curious consequence. It is known that one of the major disagreements between Mu'tazilīs and Sunnīs, in their conceptions of God, concerns the status of the attributes of the essence. For the Sunnīs, the principle (accepted furthermore by the Mu'tazilīs), according to which every qualificative has for its cause the corresponding substantive, cannot allow for any exception; since God is powerful, wise, etc., from all eternity, this necessarily implies the existence in Him, from all eternity, of a power, of a knowledge, etc. In the name of *tawḥīd*—such a conception apparently leading to the admission of a plurality of eternals—the Mu'tazilīs, reject this view; for them, God is powerful, wise, etc., by His very essence [see MU'TAZILA, *Theses*, i, 1]. Now, as a result of their habit of calling the substantives in question *ṣifāt*—substantives the existence of which, in this instance, the Mu'tazilīs deny—and although the latter deal at length with the *ṣifāt Allāh*, the Sunnīs are found accusing their adversaries of "denying the *ṣifāt*" (cf. *Maḳālat*, 583, ll. 3-7; Abu 'l-Yusr al-Bazdawī, *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*, Cairo 1963, 35, ll. 7-8) and presenting themselves by contrast as "those who affirm the *ṣifāt*" and the "adepts of the *ṣifāt*" (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 170, l. 12; 171, ll. 12, 16).

For a more detailed analysis, see ḤĀL in Suppl., also D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ash'arī*, Paris 1990, 235-45. On the divine attributes, see ALLĀH, ii, A, 2.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(D. GIMARET)

SĪFAWAYH AL-ḲĀṢṢ, a humorist of the 2nd/8th century. *Ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] "storyteller" is employed here, as was quite common, in the same sense as other less ambiguous terms for jester; he was also described as the prototypical *mughaffal* "irresponsible wit". No decision is possible as to whether his nickname should be vocalised Sīfawayh or Sayfawayh, and the identification with another *ḳāṣṣ* called 'Abd al-'Azīz, suggested on the basis of one shared remark by the recent editor of Ibn al-Djawzī, *Ḳuṣṣāṣ*, is probably unwarranted. Sīfawayh was credited with jokes and social comment, including irreverent remarks poking mild fun at Ḳur'ānic verses and the foibles of *ḥadīth* scholars. To our present knowledge, he is first attested in a work by al-Djāḥiẓ. Eventually, he caught the attention of Ibn Khaldūn and found a biographer in Ibn Ḥadjar, but the few data connecting him with supposed contemporaries are confused. His actual existence may well be doubted. The *Fihrist* speaks of an anonymous collection of his remarks. It is not preserved, and we have to be satisfied with comparatively few quotations in *adab* works.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 239; *Fihrist*, 313, see F. Rosenthal, *Humor in early Islam*, Leiden 1956, 11, 116; Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, ed. Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, Beirut 1408/1988, iv, 44, 48-9, 74, ix, 121; idem, *Imtā'*, iii, 22; Ābī, *Nathr al-durr*, Cairo 1981-91, iv, 273, 276, 279-80, 282, 285-6; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Būlāḳ 1286-87, i, 81, 93; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Akhbār al-ḥamḳā wa 'l-mughaffalīn*, ch. 20; idem, *Ḳuṣṣāṣ*, ed. M. b. Luṭfī al-Ṣabbāgh, Beirut 1403/1983, 322-3; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 18, tr. Rosenthal, i, 27, n. 76; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, Ḥaydarābād 1329-31/1911-13, iii, 132-3.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

ṢIFFĪN, a famous battle (37/657), or rather a series of duels and skirmishes between the 'Irāḳīs under the caliph 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] and the Syrians under the governor of Syria Mu'āwiya [*q.v.*]. The battle was a major factor in shaping the regional and political identity of both the 'Irāḳī Shī'īs and the Syrian Umayyads (cf. *Mukhtaṣar Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ li-Ibn 'Asākir*, ed. al-Naḥḥās *et alii*, Damascus 1404/1984 ff., xxiii, 46: *naḥnu ahlu 'l-Shām, naḥnu aṣḥāb Ṣiffīn*; cf. P. Crone, *Slaves on horses. The evolution of the Islamic polity*, Cambridge 1980, 203, n. 30). The political and theological debates about the battle, and about the conflict between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya in general, form the backdrop to many contradictory claims throughout Islamic historiography, in particular those regarding the biography of some of the Prophet's Companions (or alleged Companions) which have their roots in the dispute about the number of Companions on each side. In addition, Shī'ī apologetics account for some of the reports about Muḥammad's leniency at al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*].

The site of the battle, Ṣiffīn, was a ruined Byzantine village not far from al-Raḳḳa, located a few hundred yards from the right bank of the Euphrates (al-Dīnawarī, 178, l. 18). It is now identified with the village Abū Hurayra near al-Raḳḳa (al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-islām. 'Ahd al-khulafā' al-rāshidīn*, ed. Tadmurī, Beirut 1407/1987, 537n.).

The armies stayed on the battlefield for a long time before the outbreak of hostilities (they are said to have faced each other for 77 days; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Beirut 1974, vii, 275, l. 14; cf. al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1376/1957 ff., xxxii, 434, 572-3). This reflects the troops' aversion to the shedding of the blood of other Muslims. After all, units on both sides belonged to the same tribes. Moreover, there

were cases in which two cousins, or a father and his son, faced each other (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1401/1981 [= henceforth: *WṢ*], 334-5, 443; two sons of the famous Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] fought on opposite sides: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Nādjī Ḥasan, Beirut 1407/1986, 88; cf. Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, ed. al-Yamānī, Ḥaydarābād 1381/1962, i, 36-7). The battle ended in Ṣafar 37/July 657 with an arbitration agreement that led to a split between ʿAlī and the Khāridjites [*q.v.*], who demanded that the fight go on until one side was victorious.

It is extremely difficult to establish the course of the battle and the precise chronology of its stages. The reason is by no means a lack of source material, since a huge literary output exists on Ṣiffīn, much of which is still unexplored. The reports on the battle include the description of short episodes whose arrangement often creates an illusion of successive events; Islamic historiography typically sacrifices the overview for a plethora of atomistic detail (cf. Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, Eng. tr. 80: "The description [of the battle] is a mass of one-sided traditions dealing with episodes, and the attempt of the editor to make a mosaic unity of it is a failure. There is a lack of inward connection; you cannot see the wood for the trees"). The compilers of the 2nd Islamic century were certainly not uninterested in reconstructing the course of events, but they were limited by the nature of the atomistic source material at their disposal.

We stand on relatively firm ground when we deal with evidence about the identity of the tribal units on both sides, the names of the leading warriors (as opposed to the battle order at any given stage of the fighting) and the weapons and military tactics employed. Significantly, although Shīʿī and pro-Shīʿī compilers are responsible for most of the literary output on this battle available to us now, Muʿāwiya's army is described in no less detail than ʿAlī's. The equal attention paid to the formation of both armies can be demonstrated by the following example which takes us back to the earliest days of Islamic historiography. We have a detailed description of the rival armies going back to Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit al-Kūfī who died in *ca.* 120/738 and whose Shīʿī sympathies cannot be doubted (Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, Damascus 1968, i, 221-2; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, ed. Maʿrūf, Beirut 1405/1985 ff., v, 358-63; *WṢ*, 324; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, 174, no. 420; cf. A. Noth, *The early Arabic historical tradition. A source-critical study*, 2nd ed., in collaboration with L.I. Conrad, tr. M. Bonner, Princeton 1994, 111-14).

Since the forces were made up of tribal units (M. Hinds, *The banners and battle cries of the Arabs at Ṣiffīn (657 A.D.)*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv [1971], 3-42), the tribal politics of ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya played a crucial role. However, the ideological factor should not be underestimated since the élites on both sides included people motivated by religious considerations.

Some ʿIrāḳīs who doubted the legitimacy of the fighting kept away altogether, preferring to be stationed for the time being in border garrisons (*WṢ*, 97, 115-16). The *ʿUthmāniyya* or pro-ʿUthmān tribesmen from Kūfa and Baṣra shifted to the part of the Djazīra [*q.v.*] which was under Muʿāwiya's control (*WṢ*, 12), as did the Tamīmī Ḥanẓala b. al-Rabīʿ, a Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*, section 2] veteran who at the time of ʿUthmān was the governor's deputy in Kūfa (*kāna ʾl-khalīfata mina ʾl-amīr*; Sayf b. ʿUmar, *K. al-Ridda*..., ed. al-Samarrai, Leiden 1995, 19).

Kindīs who disliked ʿAlī left Kūfa when he came there, and went to Ruhā in the Djazīra. Reportedly, they could not bear to abide in a place where ʿUthmān was being cursed. At Ṣiffīn, they fought with Muʿāwiya (M. Lecker, *Kinda on the eve of Islam and during the ridda*, in *JRAS* [1994], 333-56, at 345-7; Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 295). The people of al-Raḳḳa were then ʿUthmāniyya, including a tribal leader of the Asad, Simāk b. Makhrama, who defected from ʿAlī with one hundred fellow-tribesmen and then convinced six hundred more to join him (*WṢ*, 146). But even among those who chose to remain in Kūfa, there was no unanimous support for ʿAlī's policies. When he left for Ṣiffīn, people in Kūfa who had little respect for him became outspoken (*istakhaffū ʿAliyy^{an} fa-lammā kharadja ẓaharū*). Moreover, the man whom ʿAlī left in charge of Kūfa, Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣārī, was foolish enough to express indifference regarding the outcome of the battle and was dismissed immediately after ʿAlī's return from the battlefield (al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿdjam al-kabīr*², ed. al-Salafī, Cairo 1400/1980 ff., xvii, 195).

Some of ʿAlī's troops returned while on the way to the battlefield (*WṢ*, 156). This was the outcome of fierce and at times cynical propaganda tactics in which Muʿāwiya was on the whole more successful than ʿAlī (on how the former won the support of Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ al-Kindī and turned him into a propagandist, see al-Dīnawarī, 169-70; E.L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in early Arabic tradition*, Copenhagen 1964, 31-2). Muʿāwiya performed better than his rival with regard to material benefits promised to tribal leaders in return for their loyalty. Muʿāwiya appears to have been less scrupulous, possibly because his standing was more precarious than his rival's (see, for example, *WṢ*, 306; Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, Beirut 1406/1986, iii-iv, 50-1; cf. *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, vii, 397). ʿAlī, on the other hand, perhaps due to self-confidence and the better prospects for which he hoped in the conflict, applied strict measures to governors who embezzled state money, and this led to their defection.

Among the tribal leaders alienated by ʿAlī mention should be made of Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī, ʿUthmān's governor in Hamadhān, who was dismissed by ʿAlī after the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] (*WṢ*, 15). He moved to Ḳarḳīsiyā [*q.v.*] together with men of his tribal group, the Ḳasr of the Badjīla, and later joined Muʿāwiya. As a result, few of the Ḳasr fought at Ṣiffīn on ʿAlī's side (*WṢ*, 60-1). On the whole, Muʿāwiya's *ḥilm* or "well-considered opportunism" (E.L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya. The rise of the Umayyad caliphate, 656-661*, in *AO*, xxiii [1959], 157-96, at 180; also idem, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in early Arabic tradition*, 12, 118-19) was more fruitful than ʿAlī's strictness. The latter reacted to the defection of Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī by destroying his court in Kūfa (*WṢ*, 61).

Far more influential than Djarīr was another tribal leader, al-Ashʿath b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] of Kinda, who, unlike Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, fought at Ṣiffīn on ʿAlī's side (*WṢ*, 140; cf. Lecker, *Kinda*, 355; for Ashʿath's position among his fellow-tribesmen see idem, *Judaism among Kinda and the* ridda *of Kinda*, in *JAOS*, cxv/4 [1995], section 2). ʿUthmān safeguarded al-Ashʿath's loyalty by appointing him governor of Ādharbaydjān [*q.v.*]. He was still its governor for some time under ʿAlī (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 329, l. 7; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 294, l. 2; Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 110), but after the Battle of the Camel he was dismissed (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3254). ʿAlī also dismissed al-Ashʿath from the *riʾāsa* of Kinda

and Rabīʿa (*WṢ*, 137; Ibn Aʿt͟ham, *Futūḥ*, iii-iv, 64-5, 194; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd, *S͟harḥ Nahḏj al-balāg͟ha*², ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1378/1959 ff., iv, 74-5). At the most crucial stage in the fighting, al-As͟hʿat͟h supported the arbitration which was to cost ʿAlī both his title, that of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, and then his life. With regard to the defection of these leaders of the Yemen, it should be borne in mind that most of Muʿāwiya's troops at Ṣiffīn belonged to Yemen while most of ʿAlī's troops were of the Nizār b. Maʿadd [*q.v.*], i.e. Rabīʿa and Muḍar [*q.v.*] (Ch. Pellat, *Une risāla inédite de Ǧāḥiẓ sur l'arbitrage entre ʿAlī et Muʿāwiya* (*Risāla fī ʾl-ḥakamayni*...), in *al-Mas͟hriq*, lii [1958], 417-91, at 426-7).

In addition to these tribal leaders ʿAlī lost the support of ʿUbayd Allāh, son of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb, who fled to Muʿāwiya for fear that ʿAlī might execute him for having avenged his father's assassination by murdering innocent Persians. ʿUbayd Allāh was killed at Ṣiffīn, where he commanded Muʿāwiya's cavalry (*Muk͟htaṣar Taʾrīk͟h Dimas͟hk*, xv, 345, 346-51).

While with regard to the formation of the two camps we stand on relatively firm ground, this is not the case with regard to the figures given for warriors and casualties. For example, the two armies were supposed to have been of about the same size, each including 150,000 warriors (*WṢ*, 156). Another report mentions that in ʿAlī's camp there were 100,000 men or more, while on Muʿāwiya's side there were 130,000 (*WṢ*, 157; but cf. *WṢ*, 226; K͟halīfa b. K͟hayyāṭ, *Taʾrīk͟h*, i, 218-19). However, far more important for the study of early Islamic historiography are the conflicting statistics and contradictory claims made by the two camps about the Islamic credentials of their respective supporters.

No sooner was the battle over than polemics began. The terrible bloodshed during ʿAlī's rule, at Ṣiffīn and elsewhere, had to be accounted for and justified and the positions of both sides had to be fortified. Eschatology was employed, the most widespread theme being the claim made by ʿAlī's camp that the Prophet foretold the killing of ʿAlī's aged supporter, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*], by "the rebel band" (*al-fiʾa al-bāg͟hiya*). Interestingly, Muʿāwiya's alleged response to this is recorded: "The one who killed him was the one who sent him out (to the battlefield)"; with these words, our pro-S͟hīʿī informant continues, Muʿāwiya was deceiving the fools among the people of Syria (*WṢ*, 343; cf. E. Kohlberg, *The development of the Imāmī Shīʿī doctrine of jihād*, in *ZDMG*, cxxvi [1976], 64-86, at 69-70, 73-6). Kaʿb al-Aḥbār foretold the battle of Ṣiffīn; the Banū Isrāʾīl fought nine times at that very place until they destroyed one another. The Arabs, Kaʿb added, would fight there the tenth battle until they slaughtered one another and hurled at each other the same stones hurled by the Banū Isrāʾīl (Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *K. al-Fitan*, ed. Zakkār, Beirut 1414/1993, 31). This is an attempt to explain the disastrous event which was hard to account for. The scale of the slaughter was unimaginable in terms of traditional Arab warfare. Also, a report putting the total number of dead from both camps at 70,000 has its origin in an eschatological tradition of Kaʿb (Ibn Abi ʾl-Dunyā, *al-Is͟hrāf fī manāzil al-as͟hrāf*, ed. K͟halaf, Riyāḍ 1411/1990, 271). Beside establishing that ʿAlī's supporters were in the right, eschatology was to teach the Muslims that Ṣiffīn was part of a scheme of world history, the understanding of which was beyond human grasp.

Some of the polemics surrounding Ṣiffīn are associated with ʿAlī's conduct during the negotiations which led to the arbitration agreement. The truce itself, the arbitration and ʿAlī's relinquishing in the agreement of the title *amīr al-muʾminīn* all belong to the crucial theological debate which accompanied the emergence of the K͟hāriḏjites. The S͟hīʿī apologists justified ʿAlī's conduct by referring to the Prophet's agreement with the Ḳurays͟h [*q.v.*] at al-Ḥudaybiya, which was met with opposition from many of the Prophet's Companions who were reportedly willing to fight the Ḳurays͟h. Moreover, the Prophet relinquished his title *rasūl allāh* (see esp. al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. Ḳalʿaḏjī, Beirut 1405/1985, iv, 147, where the scribe of the Ḥudaybiya agreement is ʿAlī himself; the Prophet informs him that he will live through the same experience; *WṢ*, 508). The analogy with al-Ḥudaybiya is even more explicit in a version of this report, according to which it was Muʿāwiya's father, Abū Sufyān, who demanded that the Prophet remove from the agreement his prophetic title (Ibn Aʿt͟ham, *Futūḥ*, iii-iv, 197). It seems that the apologetic need to justify ʿAlī's attitude at Ṣiffīn influenced the shape, if not the contents, of the Ḥudaybiya story (cf. Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīk͟h madīnat Dimas͟hk*, from ʿUbāda b. Awfā to ʿAbd Allāh b. T͟huwab, 396; al-Balāḏhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, ed. al-Dūrī, Wiesbaden 1398/1978, 44).

But there was more to the link between the story of Ṣiffīn and the Prophet's biography. S͟hīʿī historical tradition sought to establish that the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, ʿAlī, continued the former's fight against the infidels who were now led by the son of the Prophet's arch-enemy, Muʿāwiya son of Abū Sufyān (for the presentation of ʿAlī's *ḏjihād* as an extension of Muḥammad's *ḏjihād* see Kohlberg, *The development*, 70-1). ʿAlī rode on the Prophet's mare and she-mule and wore the Prophet's black turban (*WṢ*, 403; H. Eisenstein, *Die Maultiere und Esel des Propheten*, in *Isl.*, lxi [1985], 98-107, at 106). ʿAmmār b. Yāsir allegedly said that he had fought Muʿāwiya's chief counsellor, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] three times (i.e. at the time of the Prophet), and that the battle of Ṣiffīn was the fourth (al-Balāḏhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 171). The Umayyad army is referred to as the *aḥzāb* or combined forces, with reference to the battle of the moat (*k͟handaḳ*) between the Prophet and Ḳurays͟h led by Abū Sufyān. Finally, Muʿāwiya's brother, ʿUtba, is supposed to have mentioned at Ṣiffīn the Umayyads killed by ʿAlī in the battle of Badr [*q.v.*] (al-Balāḏhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/a, ed. M. Schloessinger, rev. M.J. Kister, 99).

The other party answered with reference to the Islamic prestige of its own men which similarly went back to the Prophet. A black piece of garment raised by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ on the tip of a spear was a banner (*liwāʾ*) tied for him by the Prophet (i.e. giving him command over an expedition force; *WṢ*, 215). Another case in point was that of Ziml b. ʿAmr of the ʿUḏhra [*q.v.*], who fought on Muʿāwiya's side. One of the two reports included in the section of Ibn Saʿd (i/2, 66-7) which deals with ʿUḏhra's delegation to Muḥammad (*wafd ʿUḏhra*) is in fact the story of Ziml's conversion to Islam. The Prophet reportedly tied for him a banner which was carried by Ziml at Ṣiffīn (Ibn Ḥaḏjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 567-8). Al-Balāḏhurī (*Ansāb*, ms. Reisülküttap Mustafa Efendi 597, fol. 188a) significantly includes a report on Ziml's visit to the Prophet and the banner given to him in the section of the *Ansāb* dealing with Ṣiffīn. Al-Balāḏhurī adduces the report from Ibn al-Kalbī (< his father) and he probably took it from Ibn al-Kalbī's monograph on Ṣiffīn. The report on Ziml's banner, which seeks to establish that the Prophet gave his blessing to Ziml's support of Muʿāwiya, is precisely the kind of report one expects Umayyad propaganda to have used.

The competition over Islamic prestige is also reflected in various statistics. In ʿAlī's camp there were 2,800 Companions, 25 of whom were killed (al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nudjūm al-ʿawālī*, Cairo 1380, ii, 454). Those killed in ʿAlī's camp included 25 Badr veterans (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, s.v. *Ṣiffīn*). One scholar claimed that 70 Badr veterans fought at Ṣiffīn (i.e. on ʿAlī's side). However, this was rejected by others: in ʿAlī's camp there was only one Badr veteran, Khuzayma b. Thābit (Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-ridjāl*, Beirut 1404/1984, i, 239). One claim puts the number of Badr veterans in ʿAlī's camp at 130, and Saʿīd b. Djubayr reportedly stated that among ʿAlī's troops there were 900 Anṣār and 800 Muhādjirūn (*Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxii, 572). It is recorded that 800 of the Companions who pledged their allegiance to the Prophet at al-Ḥudaybiya fought with ʿAlī and 63 of them were killed, including ʿAmmār b. Yāsir (al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām. ʿAhd al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidīn*, 545; R. Veselý, *Die Anṣār im ersten Bürgerkriege (36-40 d. H.)*, in *ArO*, xxvi [1958], 36-58, at 51-2, is not fully aware of the polemical value attached to these statistics). Beside confirming that ʿAlī was in the right, the Prophet's Companions, and in particular the Badr veterans among them, testify to the truthfulness of the Prophet's statements on which ʿAlī based his bid for power (*Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxiii, 147-51 = *Kitāb Sulaym b. Ḳays al-Kūfī*, Nadjaf n.d., 149 ff.). Unlike ʿAlī's companions, the two Anṣār who fought with Muʿāwiya could not boast of having participated in the ʿAḳaba meeting, or the battle of Badr, or the battle of Uḥud (*WṢ*, 445, 448-9; for a list of the Companions who fought with ʿAlī in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn, see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 289-93; it is followed by a list of the Companions who fought with Muʿāwiya at Ṣiffīn, 293-6; cf. al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, 547).

The effect of the ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya conflict on early Islamic historiography can be illustrated by the conflicting biographical details given for a central figure in Muʿāwiya's camp, the Ḳurashī Busr b. Abī Arṭaʾa al-ʿĀmirī. Busr's Companion status was disputed; the Syrians claimed that he heard the Prophet when he was a small boy (i.e. that he could transmit *ḥadīth* on the Prophet's authority). The counterclaim was that Busr was born two years before the Prophet's death and did not transmit any *ḥadīth* from him (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 289-90; *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, v, 182-3).

The battle of Ṣiffīn was a popular topic among compilers of historical monographs. We find among them Shīʿīs, scholars of Shīʿī sympathies and Sunnīs. The same compilers often compiled monographs about related topics such as *maḳātil* (cf. S. Günther, *Maqâtil literature in medieval Islam*, in *JAL*, xxv [1994], 192-212, at 200-1; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie der umaiyadischen Zeit*, Leiden 1971, 103 n. 15; note that in the reports on Ṣiffīn some of the episodes are entitled "*maḳtal* so-and-so"; al-Dīnawarī, 188, 190, 191, 195, 198). The following list (which does not claim to be exhaustive) contains scholars known to have compiled monographs dealing with Ṣiffīn during the first three and a half centuries of the Islamic era. Obviously, their monographs overlap, probably considerably so; some of those listed were not compilers in the real sense of the word but merely transmitters of monographs compiled by others. It is the differences between the monographs, not their similarities, which define the particular features of each of them. For example, the name and tribal affiliation of the Syrian warrior who killed ʿAmmār b. Yāsir were disputed. Al-Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, ms., fols. 188a-9a) cites various claims made by al-Wāḳidī, Abū Mikhnaf, Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Madāʾinī and which are probably taken from these authors' monographs on Ṣiffīn.

1. Djābir b. Yazīd al-Djuʿfī (d. 128/746; [see DJĀBIR AL-DJUʿFĪ in Suppl.]; *GAS*, i, 307; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 103 n. 15, 133-4; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, Berlin and New York 1991 ff., i, 294-8).
2. Yaḥyā al-Djuʿfī's *Kitāb Ṣiffīn* is known through a quotation (al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, 539).
3. Abān b. Taghlib al-Bakrī (d. 141/758-9; al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1355/1936 ff., xv, 52, no. 333; E. Kohlberg, *al-Uṣūl al-arbaʿumiʾa*, in *JSAI*, x [1987], 128-66, at 143; al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, ed. al-Nāʾīnī, Beirut 1408/1988, i, 76).
4. Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā (d. 157/774; his *Kitāb Ṣiffīn* = ms. Ankara, Saib 5418; *GAS*, i, 309, no. 4; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 103-6, 123-45; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1993, v, 2253; al-Nadjāshī, ii, 192). His great-grandfather, Mikhnaf b. Sulaym, was at one time ʿAlī's governor in Iṣfahān and was killed at Ṣiffīn (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿadd*, ed. Ḥasan, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 482; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, vi, 55; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 219, 225; it is noteworthy that one of his monographs was entitled *Kitāb Akhbār āl Mikhnaf b. Sulaym*; al-Nadjāshī, ii, 192; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 3266).
5. ʿUmar b. Saʿd al-Asadī (d. perhaps *ca.* 180/796; *GAS*, i, 311; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 104 n., 137-45, Hinds, *The banners*, 5).
6. Hishām b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Kalbī [see AL-KALBĪ, section 2] (d. 204/819; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, i, 301; *Dharīʿa*, xv, 53, no. 345; *GAS*, i, 271; it is probably quoted in Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 261, l. 11). Both Hishām's great-grandfather and his grandfather reportedly fought at Ṣiffīn on ʿAlī's side (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿadd*, ii, 628).
7. Abū Hudhayfa Isḥāḳ b. Bishr (d. 206/821; *GAS*, i, 294; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], ii, 623, l. 5; al-Nadjāshī, i, 194-5).
8. Abū Isḥāḳ Ismāʿīl b. ʿĪsā al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 232/847; *GAS*, i, 294; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 103 n.).
9. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/823; *GAS*, i, 297, no. 7; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], vi, 2598, l. 12). A passage from this book (see *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*[2], ii, 267-8; *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxiii, 340) indicates that al-Wāḳidī's book went beyond the battle of Ṣiffīn to include ʿAlī's war against the Khāridjites (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 3384, l. 2).
10. Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā (d. *ca.* 210/825) compiled *Kitāb al-Djamal wa-Ṣiffīn* (*Fihrist*, 54, l. 5; it is probably quoted in al-Dāraḳuṭnī, *al-Muʾtalif wa 'l-mukhtalif*, ed. Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAbd Allāh, Beirut 1406/1986, ii, 561).
11. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Tamīmī al-Kūfī al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 212/827) compiled the famous *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], vi, 2750; *GAS*, i, 313).
12. Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Shayba/Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān [see IBN ABĪ SHAYBA] (d. 235/849; *Fihrist*, 229, l. 11; *GAS*, i, 108; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xvi, 34-42). His monograph probably corresponds, at least partially, to the chapter entitled *Bāb mā dhukira fī Ṣiffīn* (and possibly also *Mā dhukira fī 'l-Khawāridj* which immediately follows it), in Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* (ed. al-Afghānī,

Bombay 1399/1979 ff., xv, 288-333; cf. Noth-Conrad, *The early Arabic historical tradition*, 34).

13. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī (d. 235/850; *GAS*, i, 315, no. 16; cf. G. Rotter, *Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madāʾinīs in Ṭabarīs Annalen*, in *Oriens*, xxiii-xxiv [1974], 103-33, at 115-19; *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*², xxi, 264; *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxiii, 298). The book (which is probably quoted in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., fols. 183b-184a, 188a) goes beyond the battle of Ṣiffīn to include ʿAlī's war against the Khāridjites (cf. *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*², vi, 134-5; *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxiii, 340).
14. Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Kisāʾī al-Hamdānī, better known as Ibn Dīzīl (d. 281/894; *GAS*, i, 321; *Dharīʿa*, xv, 52, no. 335; Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in early Arabic tradition*, 159; *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*², xxi, 264; *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxii, 491; xxxiii, 300-2, 303). The overlapping of Ṣiffīn monographs can here be demonstrated by reference to several quotations from this monograph (the fragment from Ibn Dīzīl <... Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, in Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 255, l. 5, is found—with differences—in *WṢ*, 147-8; see also *Bidāya*, 259-60, = *WṢ*, 188-91; *Bidāya*, 269, l. 18 = *WṢ*, 324; other passages from Ibn Dīzīl in *Bidāya*, vii, 261, ll. 9,-4, 264, l. 14, go back to Djābir al-Djuʿfī). Ibn Dīzīl's book goes on to describe ʿAlī's fighting against the Khāridjites (*Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*², ii, 269-71, 276, 310-11; *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxiii, 345-7).
15. Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Thaḳafī, one of whose ancestors was ʿAlī's governor in Madāʾin (d. 283/896; *GAS*, i, 321; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*², i, 105, l. 8; *Dharīʿa*, xv, 52, no. 334).
16. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā b. Dīnār al-Baṣrī, a *mawlā* of the Banū Ghalāb, compiled a monograph entitled *Ṣiffīn al-kabīr* (d. 291/904; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 104 n.; *Dharīʿa*, xv, 52, no. 340; *Fihrist*, 108, l. 14; al-Nadjāshī, ii, 240-1), and another entitled:
17. *Ṣiffīn al-ṣaghīr* or *al-mukhtaṣar*. Note, however, that he also transmitted some of Djābir al-Djuʿfī's monographs, including *Kitāb Ṣiffīn* (Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1356/1938 ff., xv, 200). In addition, he transmitted at least some of Abū Mikhnaf's monographs which were transmitted, several decades earlier, by Ibn al-Kalbī (al-Nadjāshī, ii, 192-3).
18. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Kalbī (*GAS*, i, 314; Hinds, *The banners*, 6-7). Instead of "al-Kalbī", read perhaps: "al-ʿAbsī": Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Shayba al-ʿAbsī (d. 297/910; *GAS*, i, 164) was the nephew of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Shayba mentioned above at no. 12 (cf. S. Leder, *Das Korpus al-Haiṯam ibn ʿAdī (st. 207/822). Herkunft, Überlieferung, Gestalt früher Texte der Aḫbār Literatur*, Frankfurt a. M. 1991, 258-9).
19. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Thaḳafī, nicknamed *ḥimār al-ʿuzayr* (d. 314/926; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*², i, 364, 367, l. -2).
20. Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī compiled *Ibtidāʾ khabar waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (presumably d. in 314/926; *GAS*, i, 329).
21. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad al-Ḳābūsī (d. at the beginning of the 4th century; *GAS*, i, 323; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 104 n.).
22. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yaḥyā al-Djalūdī al-Azdī al-Baṣrī (d. 332/944; E. Kohlberg, *A medieval Muslim scholar at work. Ibn Ṭāwūs and his library*, Leiden 1992, 333, no. 547; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 104 n.; al-Nadjāshī, ii, 54).

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AL-ṢIFR (A.), a term which appears in Arabic dictionaries with the meaning of "void" and, by extension, of "zero". But it should be borne in mind that its doublet *s-f-r* signifies the opposite (Kazimirski, i, 1098b). Carra de Vaux (in *JA* [1917], ii, 459-460, and *Penseurs de l'Islam*, ii, Paris 1921, 102-10) drew attention to the conceptual opposition between the two roots "empty place" as against "written place". In the latter sense, the Hebrew *sefer* and Persian *sifr*, etc. "book", are encountered. Hence derive the mediaeval Latin *tzifra*, *ziffrae*, the Castilian *cifra* (1495), the French *chiffre*, the German *Ziffer*, all of which denote forms of numbers, unlike the English *cipher* which signifies "zero".

The sense of "empty place" was applied to a space left empty in the writing of numbers, for lack of a graphical and conceptual element facilitating the preservation of the order of units, tens, hundreds, etc. in a system of numeration by position such as the decimal system. The two meanings were known in the High Mediaeval period: primes have an absolute value, as also applies to *rūmī* figures and the *abūdjād* system generally employed in astronomical tables. In one case (based on the numerical values of Arabic letters), the written signs used are more than ten in number (Irani, *Arabic numeral forms*, in *Centaurus*, iv [1955], 1-12, repr. in *St. Isl. exact sciences*, by E.S. Kennedy, Beirut 1983, 710-20); in the other, the number of signs (figures) used can only be nine, if the zero is not acknowledged, or ten, if it is introduced. The latter system is that known as *guarismos* or *algorismos*.

The importance of the usage of the figures which are now called Arabic does not reside in the form of the numbers, which can be multiple, but in the fact that one individual, or a determined social group, uses them in a *positional system*, as is currently the case with motor vehicle registrations. In so far as these use only numbers, they are understood, as ideographical notations, throughout the world, although each language uses, in speech, very different words. In countries where motor vehicles exist in abundance, it is often the practice to introduce an alphabetic element which is less comprehensible to readers of all languages. This element could be "identified" with *rūmī*, Coptic figures, etc. (see Sánchez Pérez, in *al-Andalus*, iii [1935], 97-125; Ritter, in *RSO*, xvi [1936], 212-13; Levi Della Vida, in *RSO*, xiv [1933], 281-3, and xvi (1936), 213-14; Bartina, in *Studia papyrologica*, vii [1968], 99-110). It differs from the former.

The only grounds for confusion in Arabic numeration (just as was the case 4,000 years ago in the Sumero-Babylonian sexagesimal positional system) may be found in the absence of the 0 (*zero*) to mark the lack of units in a determined order. When, during the 2nd or 3rd century B.C., Greek astrologers adopted the Babylonian system of numeration (with *zero* included) for sexagesimal fractions (minutes ['], seconds [''] ...) they filled the temporary void of which Carra de Vaux was conscious. The latter, to account for the connection between Babylonia and Greece on the one hand, representing Antiquity, and the Arab Middle Ages on the other, propounded the hypothesis that numeration by position must have been confined to marginal groups, neo-Platonists and neo-Pythagorians who, taking refuge in Persia from the religious persecutions of the Byzantines, could have re-introduced to Mesopotamia the knowledge forgotten there. This hypothesis seems to be corroborated by a reference by Severos Sabojt, Bishop of Ḳinnasrīn (*ca.* 662) to the arithmetic of the Indians with its nine symbols (F. Nau, *La plus ancienne mention orientale des chiffres indiens*, in *JA* [1910], ii, 225-7). Numeric notation with nine symbols may be ambiguous, and recalls the uncertainty (Neugebauer, *Ancient mathematics and astronomy*, in *HT*, i (Oxford 1965) which must have afflicted the Babylonians. In the decimal system, 2 4 could signify 24, 204, 2040, etc., until the introduction of the zero made it possible to establish the exact reading. The difficulty could be similar to that faced today by a person of limited expertise confronted by the screen of a computer which moves automatically, to show large or small numbers, from ordinary to technical or scientific notation. In the mid-9th century, the zero was known in the Orient and the decimal system well-established. On the other hand, in the West, Leonardo Pisano still spoke, in his *Liber abbaci* of the "nine Indian figures".

However, the figures, fairly similar to those of today, which appear in the *ovetense* manuscript of the Escorial (R. ii. 18), are not decimal, as is the case in most of folio 55. These are *rūmī* figures, as has been proved by Ana Labarta and Carmen Barceló (*Numeros y cifras en los documentos arábigohispanos*, Cordova 1988). It may be concluded from their study that, while the decimal system was known in scientific and mercantile circles through the medium of Latin translations or adaptations of the *Kitāb al-Djamʿ wa-'l-tafrīḳ* of al-Khʷārazmī, the same did not apply among Spanish Christians before the 15th century.

Attempts have been made to explain the form of the figures which are used today in terms of a linear evolution or a polygenesis. Woepcke considered that the primitive form corresponded to the first letter of the Sanskrit word denoting the number. Carra de Vaux, seeing that the numeric value of the letter depends upon its position within the corresponding alphabet, stated that the primitive figures were formed by interlinked rods as far as 6, and that the others were obtained by the rotation of the former from left to right (7, 8) (cf. G. Beaujouan, *Etude paléographique sur la "rotation" des chiffres ...*, in *RHS*, i [1948] = *Par raison des nombres*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, CS 344 [1991] no. IX; A. Allard, *L'époque d'Adélard et les chiffres arabes dans les manuscrits latins d'arithmétique*, in the series of articles concerning Adélard edited by Ch. Burnett, London 1987, 37-43; G. Menéndez-Pidal, *Los llamados numerales árabes en Occidente*, in *BRAH*, cxliv [1959], 179-208). See also art. AL-KHʷĀRAZMĪ, above, vol. IV, 1070b, and J. Vernet, *Ce que la culture doit aux Arabes d'Espagne*, Paris 1985, 70-77, to be amended in accordance with the content of this article.

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(J. VERNET)

SIGETWĀR, the Ottoman orthography for SZIGETVÁR, a town and centre of a *sandjaḳ*, temporarily of a *beglerbegilik*, in Transdanubian Hungary. The originally not very important town and castle, situated in the morasses of the rivulet Almás, became a significant military centre of Habsburg Hungary after the fall of Székesfehérvár and Pécs, the main royal and episcopal towns in Transdanubia. An unsuccessful Ottoman attack was directed against it in 963/1556. Ten years later, Süleymān the Magnificent [*q.v.*] led his last campaign against Szigetvár, which put up a strong resistance. The sultan died two days before the final assault on 8 September 1566, during which Count Miklós Zrínyi ran out of the castle with his retinue and died after an heroic fight. Süleymān's internal organs were buried in the vicinity of the town, and a *türbe* was later erected above his tomb.

Szigetvár immediately became the centre of a *sandjaḳ*, first governed by the former *alaybegi* of Pécs, Iskender (Pečewī, *Tārīkh*, i, 420, confirmed by archival evidence: Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Kepeci 74, p. 102, and Maliye defteri 563, p. 54). The territory of the *liwā* consisted of ten *nāḥiyes*, including former districts of the *sandjaḳ* of Pécs-Mohács and new acquisitions, side-by-side with places which, it was hoped, would be controlled in the future. In Ramaḍān-Shawwāl 1002/June 1594, Tiryākī Ḥasan, who had been governor here on five occasions, was nominated *beglerbegi* of Szigetvár, and the *sandjaḳs* of Pozsega (Pozhegha) and Pécs (Pečūy) were subordinated to his province (*BOA*, Mühime defteri 73, p. 104, no. 236; Kepeci 344, pp. 362-3). Two years later, the *pashalïḳ* was abolished and the *sandjaḳ* of Szigetvár became part of the *wilāyet* of Kanizsa (Ḳanizhe) in 1600.

The town had been abandoned by its Hungarian inhabitants by 1579, from which year the only *mufaṣṣal defteri* of the *liwā* survives (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Turc. 138). The registered civil population consisted of 5 converted gipsy households. The castle gave shelter to a modest, and in the 16th century decreasing, number of Ottoman soldiers.

Szigetvár surrendered to the Habsburg forces on 13 February 1689. Today, the *djāmiʿ*s of Sultan Süleymān and ʿAlī Pasha, together with a building of unknown purpose, keep in remembrance the Ottoman period.

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(G. DÁVID)

SİGHNĀḲ, SUGHNĀḲ (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 119, Sūnākh), a mediaeval Islamic town on the middle Sīr Daryā, in the district known as Fārāb, between Isfīdjāb and Djand [*q.vv.* in Suppl.]. It seems to have been, together with the "new settlement" Yengikent, Sawrān and others, one of the settlements there of the Turks, explicitly defined by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī as "a town of the Oghuz" (Tkish. tr. Atalay, i, 471; Eng. tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 352). Al-Muḳaddasī, 323 n. *k*, links it with Utrār [*q.v.*], 24 *farsakh*s further up the Sīr Daryā. In Turkish, *sïghnaḳ* means "place of refuge" (see Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 813b), and the same name is found for several other places in Transcaucasia.

In the 4th/10th century, Sịghnāḳ was probably a frontier town where semi-sedentarised or sedentarised Oghuz exchanged products with the Islamic lands to the south; the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, *loc. cit.* and cf. comm., 358, mentions the manufacture there of bows for export. The region long remained *dār al-kufr*. In the 6th/12th century it was the centre of a khānate of the pagan Ḳîpčaḳ [*q.v.*], and *ghazawāt* against them by the Khwārazm Shāhs are mentioned for 547/1152, and specifically against Sịghnāḳ and its then ruler Ḳayîr Toḳu Khān in 591/1195, until in the early 7th/13th century ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad incorporated it within his empire (see Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 328, 342-3, 369; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 91). The Shāh's control of it was, however, brief, for in 617/1220 a Mongol army besieged Sịghnāḳ and eventually captured it, massacring its population. (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 86-7; Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 414-15).

Sịghnāḳ continues to be mentioned sporadically in the next three centuries or so. In the 9th/15th century it was a centre of the Čingizid Shībānī clan, and was held towards the end of that century by Muḥammad Shībānī Khān before he began his career of expansion in Central Asia [see SHĪBĀNĪ KHĀN]. Thereafter, Sịghnāḳ fades from mention. Its ruins now lie at Sunak kurgan, a few miles north-west of the post-station Tiumen Arîk on the Orenburg-Tashkent road and railway (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 358).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṢIḤĀFA or ṢAḤĀFA (A.), the written press, journalism, the profession of the journalist (*ṣaḥāfī*).

The nineteen-fifties witnessed the attainment of national independencies and major political upheavals, such as the Egyptian revolution of 23 July 1952. The Arabic press which, paradoxically, enjoyed great success during the colonial period [see DJARĪDA. i], despite the somewhat repressive nature of judicial regulation of the press (since what was seen was the proliferation of a press of information, of ideas and even of warfare), developed in conjunction with the emergence of national independences. It needed to confront three major problems: the repressive nature of the new ruling powers, reflected in legislation designed to control the press; the spread of illiteracy, resulting from rapid population growth, in spite of the untiring efforts invested in education; competition from radio, and especially from television, and the indifference of most of the public regarding the written press. The fact remains, however, that the press, despite the inclination of governments to tame it, has constituted an important factor in the struggle for public liberties and democracy. The creation of national news agencies and schools for the training of journalists bear witness, moreover, to the interest taken by government departments in this vital sector.

1. The Arab Middle East

(i) *Egypt*

After the *coup d'état* of 23 July 1952, the Free Officers' Movement decreed the dissolution of parties (16 January 1953), established a provisional constitution and created its own weekly review, *al-Taḥrīr* (17 September 1952) and its first daily, the mouthpiece of the revolution, *al-Djumhūriyya* (7 December 1953). From 1952 onwards, most party journals ceased publication. The major titles of the Cairo press continued to appear, however: *al-Ahrām*, *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, *Akhbār al-Yawm* and *al-Hilāl al-Miṣrī*. But the new government was not slow to engage in conflict with the press. Two days after the unleashing of the revolution, the brothers Muṣṭafā and ʿAlī Amīn, founders of *Akhbār al-Yawm*, were arrested on the basis of mere suspicion; but the authorities relented and released them a few days later.

The crisis of March 1954

Two years after the *coup d'état*, the Free Officers' Movement split into two factions: the liberal faction, which advocated return to the barracks, and which was led by General Nagīb [see MUḤAMMAD NADJĪB] and Khālid Muḥyī 'l-Dīn, and the militant faction under the leadership of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The latter emerged victorious and imposed his own point of view: on 15 April 1954 the professional Union of Journalists (founded in March 1941) was dissolved. Leading journalists were imprisoned, including Maḥmūd Abu 'l-Fatḥ, proprietor of *al-Miṣrī*, and Iḥsān ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs, editor-in-chief of *Rūz al-Yūsuf*. Censorship was rapidly restored, and even strengthened.

Some new titles appeared: in 1954, a literary and artistic review, *al-Risāla al-Djadīda*, with Yūsuf al-Sibāʿī as its editor-in-chief, joined by a second review, *al-Thawra*, and a magazine for women, *Hawwāʾ al-Djadīda* in 1956. The first news agency (M.E.N.A.) was founded in February 1956.

The Nasserite era (1956-70)

In July 1956 ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was proclaimed President of the Republic. The provisional constitution had been promulgated a few months previously, in January 1956. The Revolutionary Council was dissolved. Censorship, abolished in July 1956, was soon restored, at the time of the tripartite aggression in October 1956. Private ownership of journals still being the norm, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir organised the production of the following titles: *al-Shaʿb*, an important daily (June 1956); *al-Masāʾ*, editor-in-chief Khālid Muḥyī 'l-Dīn, of the Revolutionary Council; and *Madjallat Bināʾ al-Waṭan*, a propaganda monthly (1958).

The year 1959 was marked by the detention of numerous journalists suspected of opposition to the régime, including in particular Luwīs ʿAwaḍ, Luṭfī al-Khūlī, ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Anīs and Maḥmūd al-Saʿdāwī.

The year 1960 marked a turning point in the life of the Egyptian press. The law imposing the organisation (*tanẓīm*) of the press came into being on 24 May 1960. This *tanẓīm*, a disguised form of *taʾmīm* (nationalisation), effectively confiscated the leading publishing houses involved in the production of journals (i.e. those belonging to private persons), to the advantage of the National Unity Party, *al-Ittiḥād al-Ḳawmī*, created in January 1956 and renamed *al-Ittiḥād al-Ishtirākī al-ʿArabī*. This law was the first in a series of nationalisation laws applying to banks, factories, etc. Henceforward, it was the National Unity Party which would issue the authorisation necessary for the publication of any journal, would nominate boards of directors and would appoint editors-in-chief.

Thereafter, and until ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's death, the world of the press was destabilised, with arbitrary changes, dismissals and imprisonments. Fikrī Abāẓa, President and Director General of the Dār al-Hilāl, was barred from publication and dismissed. Muṣṭafā Amīn, of *Akhbār al-Yawm*, was sentenced in 1966 to hard labour for life, and did not obtain a conditional release until 1973.

It should, however, be acknowledged that the Dār al-Ahrām, moving into its new premises in 1968 and equipped with all the latest technology, became, through the leadership of the distinguished journalist Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal, a respected press institution. The weekly editorial of Haykal, who had

bi-ṣarāḥa the ear of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, was reprinted in all the world's major newspapers.

The defeat of June 1967

This was preceded by a campaign orchestrated by the régime and tending to extol the Egyptian armed forces, capable of annihilating the Israeli enemy within a few hours. It was not until 9 June 1967 that ʿAbd al-Nāṣir announced the *naksa* and his own withdrawal from office. Large public demonstrations persuaded him to stay.

The next development to affect the press was the publication on 30 March 1968 of the Manifesto (*bayān*), proclaiming the establishment of a permanent constitution; the régime, by taking certain liberal measures, seemed to be relaxing its grip. Cultural reviews of superior quality came into being, all edited by the Ministry of Culture: *al-Madjalla*, monthly; *Turāth al-Insāniyya*, quarterly; *al-Fikr al-Muʿāṣir*, monthly; *al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī*, quarterly; *al-Kitāb*, monthly; *al-Funūn al-Shaʿbiyya; al-Masraḥ*; and *al-Sīnimā*.

On 17 September 1970, a few days before his death, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir issued a new decree regulating the Union of Egyptian Journalists. The decree stipulated that no member of the Union could be arrested or detained, nor interrogated except in the presence of a member of the board of the Union, and then after judicial enquiry.

The Sādāt era (1970-81)

This was marked by a series of measures of "de-Nasserisation", generally known as measures of openness (*infitāḥ*): elimination of the "pressure centres" (*marākiz al-ḳuwā*) which had been all-powerful in ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's time; promulgation in 1971 of the permanent constitution; military success in the war of October 1973; in 1974, laws relating to *infitāḥ al-iḳtiṣādī* (economic openness); creation in 1975 of tribunes within the Arab Socialist Union (A.S.U.); expulsion of Soviet advisers in 1976, and the creation of three parties independent of the A.S.U.; visit to Jerusalem on 19 November 1977; and permission given to the Wafd Party to resume its activities under the name al-Wafd al-Djadīd.

On the other hand, Sādāt was also responsible for anti-democratic measures: a law of 1978 aimed at the protection of the social fabric and social peace (dismissal of all persons who had held public office before 1952); a law of 1979 modifying the law on parties; a law of 15 November 1980 on the protection of values against dishonour (*ḳānūn al-ʿayb*), consisting in depriving the offender of his political and union rights; a law of 20 May 1980 instituting tribunals of state security (*maḥākim amn al-dawla*) on a continual and permanent basis, whereas previously they had been constituted only in times of emergency; a law of 20 November 1980 creating the Consultative Assembly (*al-Shūrā*) alongside the National Assembly.

In matters specifically affecting the press, Sādāt used dilatory manœuvres. Although at the end of 1971 his Minister of Culture, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Ḥātim, suppressed with the stroke of a pen all the reviews edited by this ministry, Sādāt took measures to the benefit of journalists: re-assignment and regularisation of the situation of journalists arbitrarily silenced in the time of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir; abolition of censorship after the war of October 1973; liberation of the brothers ʿAlī and Muṣṭafā Amīn; dismissal of Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal; creation on 11 March 1975 of the first Higher Press Council (*al-Madjlis al-Aʿlā li ʾl-Ṣaḥāfa*). Presiding over this council was the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the A.S.U., and it comprised notably the following persons: the Minister of Information; the President of the Journalists' Union; the President-Director General of the M.N.E.A.; the Dean of the Faculty of Journalism; and three editors-in-chief of newspapers. Its functions were the promulgation of codes of conduct, and the issuing of authorisations for the publication of newspapers.

Sādāt's institution of a multi-party system led to the appearance of partisan journals (*ḥizbiyya*) alongside national titles (*ḳawmiyya*): *Miṣr*, weekly paper of the *Ḥizb Miṣr al-ʿArabī al-Ishtirākī*, which in 1978 became the party of Sādāt, *al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī al-Dīmūḳrāṭī*, which appeared on 2 March 1981; *Māyū; Uktūbir*, October 1976, editor-in-chief Anīs Manṣūr; *al-Aḥrār*, weekly of the *Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Ishtirākiyyīn* (liberals of the right), appearing 14 November 1977; *al-Ahālī*, weekly of the *Ḥizb al-Tadjammuʿ al-Waṭanī al-Taḳaddumī al-Waḥdawī*, appearing on 1 November 1978; and *al-Shaʿb*, weekly of the *Ḥizb al-ʿAmal al-Ishtirākī*, appearing 1 May 1979.

The opposition press showed great hostility towards the dictatorial laws of Sādāt, in particular, the law of 1978 regarding the protection of the social fabric, the law of 1980 concerning the protection of values against dishonour, and the law of 1980 on the authority of the press (*ḳānūn sulṭat al-ṣaḥāfa*), which made no changes in relation to the law of *tanẓīm* of 1970, since the ownership of national papers (*ḳawmiyya*) reverted to the Consultative Assembly (art. 22) and the president of this assembly was the President of the Higher Press Council (art. 32).

The opposition parties, the Journalists' Union, the Lawyers' Union, as well as independents, joined to form a united front against the dictatorship of Sādāt. Under the pretext of combatting *fitna ṭāʾifiyya* (sectarian sedition), the latter responded with the following draconian measures, brought into effect in September 1981: confiscations and imprisonments, the blacklisting of 1500 journalists and intellectuals, the arbitrary transfer of 60 university academics to non-university institutions, and restrictions imposed on correspondents of *Le Monde* newspaper and of the American television station ABC.

A month later, 6 October 1981, Sādāt was assassinated by an Islamic fundamentalist.

The Mubārak era (1981-)

During the fifteen years following his accession to the highest office, President Mubārak has practised and is still practising a liberal policy. Beginning in 1982, he attempted to lower the temperature by allowing the reinstatement of formerly blacklisted journalists. Between 1982 and 1984 he permitted certain titles, which had been prohibited in the latter years of the Sādāt régime, to re-appear: *al-Shaʿb*, of the *Ḥizb al-ʿAmal al-Ishtirākī; al-Ṭalīʿa*, progressive, editor-in-chief Luṭfī al-Khūlī; *al-Iʿtiṣām*, Islamist; *Waṭanī*, weekly; and *al-Ahālī*, of the *Ḥizb al-Tadjammuʿ*. Also, during the same period (1982-4), new titles appeared: *al-Liwāʾ al-Islāmī*, Islamist weekly; *Shabāb Bilādī*, of the *Ḥizb al-Waṭanī al-Dīmūḳrāṭī; al-Wafd*, of the *Wafd al-Djadīd; al-Umma*, of the *Ḥizb al-Umma; and al-Ahrām al-Duwalī* (London).

The legislative elections of May 1984 established the hegemony of the *Ḥizb al-Waṭanī al-Dīmūḳrāṭī* (390 seats) and the success of the Wafd (58 seats). Between 1984 and 1986, there appeared for the first time: *Wādī al-Nīl*, cultural monthly, editor-in-chief Anīs Manṣūr; *al-Ḳāhira*, monthly; and *Awrāḳ ʿArabiyya*, monthly, editor-in-chief Maḥmūd al-Marāghī.

Journalists barred from publication have resumed their writing, including Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal. Administrative bodies such as the Higher Council of

Information have maintained stable and amicable relations with the Journalists' Union. Ibrāhīm Nāfiʿ, president of the Union since 1985, still leads this influential institution. New titles appeared in 1990: *Akhbār al-Riyāḍa*, a weekly supplement to *Akhbar al-Yawm; al-Ahrām al-Riyāḍī*, a journal edited by the Dār al-Ahrām; *Niṣf al-Dunya*, a women's magazine edited by the Dār al-Ahrām; *al-Yasār* (The Left), edited by the *Ḥizb al-Tadjammuʿ al-Waṭanī al-Taḳaddumi al-Waḥdawī.*

On 12 January 1990, President Mubārak dismissed his Minister of the Interior, Zakī Badr, following a press campaign objecting to the minister's hostile attitude towards journalists. There is only one blot on the landscape, Law no. 93 of 1995, which provides for the imprisonment of a journalist as a preventive measure: a hundred journalists risk falling foul of this "unjust law". The Journalists' Union is poised for further conflict in the future.

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(ii) *Sudan*

This country enjoys a long-standing journalistic tradition on account of its proximity to Egypt. It has known a daily press since 1935, when *al-Nīl* was published for the first time. October 1940 saw the appearance of *Ṣawt al-Sūdān* and *al-Sūdān al-djadīd*. In 1945 the bi-weekly *Kordofān* appeared. But with independence in 1955, the press was soon to find itself muzzled, especially after the military *coup d'état* of 1958.

The dictatorship of General Ibrāhīm ʿAbbūd (1958-64) was marked by the taming of the press. Only the daily *al-Thawra*, official organ of the military junta, was able to survive until 1964, alongside the two dailies *al-Ayyām* and *al-Ṣaḥāfa*, which laboured under severe restrictions.

After the fall of ʿAbbūd's régime and the revolution of October 1964, the press enjoyed a period of relative prosperity, especially following the introduction of multi-party politics: eleven dailies and seven weeklies came into being. But on 29 May 1969, the army regained power under the leadership of General Djaʿfar al-Numayrī. The dictatorship of the latter lasted fifteen years (1969-85). It was characterised by outright nationalisation of the press in the interests of the Single Socialist Unity, *al-Ittiḥād al-Ishtirākī*, the Nasserite model having proved its worth in the régime's eyes. The two dailies *al-Ayyām* and *al-Ṣaḥāfa* continued to appear, although nationalised. One new title came into being: *al-Ḳuwwāt al-Musallaḥa* (The Armed Forces).

The fall of Numayrī took place on 6 April 1985, and General Siwār al-Dhahab took power. Unlike his predecessors, he allowed a resurgence of the press and political pluralism. It was thus that the following titles, belonging to parties, came into existence: *al-Ittiḥādī*, *al-Nidā*, *Ṣawt al-Umma*, *al-Maydān* (parties of the Left); *Ṣawt al-Djamāhīr* (Islamist front); *al-Munāḍil* (the Syrian Baʿth); and *al-Badīl* (pro-Nasserite). All these papers opted for the tabloid format and were obliged to restrict their circulation, on account of the high cost of newspaper production.

On 30 June 1990, a fourth *coup d'état* took place, that of General ʿUmar al-Bashīr, with the support of Islamists led by Ḥasan al-Turābī. Once again, political parties were abolished and the press was muzzled.

It is interesting to note that five English titles have come into being in recent years, produced by southern Sudanese: *Forward; Guiding Star; Heritage; Nile Mirror*; and *Sudan Times*.

Sudan experienced the first legislation on the press in 1930; a second law in 1973 nationalising the industry in the interests of the Socialist Union; and a third in 1985 placing the Press and Printing Council under the authority of the Council of Ministers. This last-mentioned law abolished the Socialist Union's ownership of newspapers, but maintained the previous system of authorisation.

(iii) *Lebanon*

In the opinion of observers and of the public at large, Lebanon is a paradise for the press, both in terms of freedom and of superior technology. However, despite the liberal régime and the influx of foreign finance, economic precariousness remains the Achilles' heel of the Lebanese press.

After the end of the French mandate in 1946, and during the presidency of Bishāra al-Khūrī, then that of Camille Shamʿūn, the press was subject to the promulgation of two codes, both of a liberal nature. Two trends divided public opinion: pro-American and anti-American. The presence of numerous Palestinian refugees on Lebanese territory after 1948 had traumatic repercussions on public life. One phenomenon which appeared at this time was as unforeseen as it was alarming: terrorism (abductions and assassinations), of which journalists were the victims.

As early as the inter-World War period, daily newspapers existed in profusion: *al-Shark*, from the al-Kaʿkī dynasty of Lebanese journalists, since 1926; *al-Nahār*, of Djubran Ṭuwaynī, since 1933; *al-ʿAmal*, of the Phalangist party, since 1939; *al-Diyār*, since 1945; *al-Ḥayāt*, of Kāmil Muruwwa, since 1946; *Bayrūt al-Masāʾ*, since 1946; *al-Safīr*, of Ilyās al-Huwayk, since 1951; and *al-Anwār*, since 1950. In the 1950s, a further fifty dailies were circulating in Beirut. Others were added: the *Ḥizb al-Ḳawmī al-Sūrī* launched a daily paper in Beirut in 1955, *al-Bināʾ*. *Al-Ḥawādith*, a political weekly, became the property of Salīm al-Lūzī and appeared in Beirut from 1955, having previously been published in Tripoli.

The period of General Fuʾād Shihāb (1958-64) saw the appearance of some important newspapers: *al-Usbūʿ al-ʿArabī*, a weekly, and likewise *al-Ḥurriyya*, but did not escape the wave of attacks and abductions which has since then characterised the life of the press in Lebanon. The period of the President Charles Ḥalū (1964-70), himself a journalist, was marked by the granting of increased freedom to the sector and the promulgation of a "code of conduct for journalists", which unfortunately was never put into effect. The defeat of June 1967 had the most calamitous effects on the Lebanese press, especially in terms of finance, the collapse in advertising revenue forcing certain papers to cease publication.

The time of the President Sulaymān Farandjiyya (1970-7) saw the birth in 1970 of the daily *L'Orient-Le Jour*, in French, following the fusion of two titles which had appeared separately. The foreign financing of Lebanese journals assumed tragic dimensions: in 1974, the Council of Ministers imposed control of advertising expenditure in the press sector.

The presidency of Ilyās Sarkīs (1976-83) saw the intensification of the civil war between nationalists (Phalangists) and Palestinians and Islamist progressives.

Two courses of action were then open to the Lebanese press: emigration or extinction. President Sarkīs promulgated a new law on the press (1977), instituting censorship and curbing the excessive freedom which the press had previously enjoyed. Despite instability, the dailies continue to appear: *al-Anwār, al-Nahār, al-ʿAmal, al-Safīr, al-Barḳ* and *L'Orient-Le Jour.*

The presidency of Ilyās al-Harāwī has experienced some easing of tension, especially since Michel ʿAwn has applied for political asylum in France.

(iv) *Syria*

After the French mandate and the evacuation of British and French troops, the first daily newspaper of the Syrian Baʿth Party, *al-Baʿth*, was established in 1947.

The first military *coup* led by Ḥusnī al-Zaʿīm took place on 30 March 1949, followed a few months later by that of Sāmī al-Ḥinnāwī, on 14 August 1949. The latter was deposed the same year by Adīb al-Shīshaklī, who maintained his grip on power until 1954.

During this "black series" of *coups d'état*, the press was muzzled; with the accession of Shukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī to the leadership of the Republic in 1954, a much more tolerant atmosphere prevailed in the land. In 1958, union between Egypt and Syria was proclaimed (the United Arab Republic) and in 1959 the model of the Egyptian press was applied to Syria: the press was confiscated by the Nationalist Union, *al-Ittiḥād al-Ḳawmī*, single party of the Province (*iḳlīm*) of the North (i.e. Syria). A law dating from 1958 allowed proprietors of newspapers to waive their rights in exchange for compensation; 47 titles waived their rights, and 19 continued to appear.

The U.A.R. was dissolved on 28 September 1961. In 1969 Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad came to power, and on 12 March 1971 he was proclaimed President of the Republic. In 1974 the General Union of Syrian Journalists was founded, followed in 1975 by the Syrian Arab Foundation for the Distribution of Printed Matter. In 1973 a new daily paper was launched, *Tashrīn*, published by the eponymous press institution.

Currently, the following dailies appear in Syria: *al-Baʿth*, founded 1946 in Damascus; *al-Thawra*, founded 1963 in Damascus; *Tashrīn*, founded 1973 in Damascus; *al-Djamāhīr*, founded 1973 in Aleppo; *al-Fidāʾ*, founded 1973 in Hama; *al-ʿUrūba*, founded 1973 in Ḥimṣ; and the *Syria Times*, in English, founded 1973 in Damascus. In addition, there are literary reviews of high quality, such as *al-Masīra*, founded 1974, and *al-Maʿrifa*, founded 1963.

(v) *Palestine*

The situation of the Palestinian press is complex in that it is possible to speak of an internal press (Israel and the territories occupied since 1967) and an external press published in Arab and western capitals.

After the defeat (*naksa*) of 1967 and the annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan, one group of Palestinian journalists established itself in Jordan, while the other emigrated to other Arab states, Lebanon in particular. The Arabs of Palestine were unable to express themselves except in the press of the Communist Party, *Rakaḥ*. With the inception of the armed struggle and the creation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (P.L.O.), the Union of Palestinian Journalists came into existence in 1972. It held its first congress in Beirut, its second in Tunis (1977), its third in Beirut (1981) and its fourth in Algiers (1987). The press of Palestinian resistance became active after 1959: *Filasṭīnunā*, a monthly, appeared in Beirut in 1959, and *al-ʿĀṣifa*, also a monthly, in Beirut in 1965. In 1964, Ghassān Kanafānī began to include in *al-Muḥarrir* (Beirut) a supplement entitled *Filasṭīn*.

After the defeat of 1967, organs of Palestinian resistance proliferated: *al-Hadaf* (1967) of the P.F.L.P., editor-in-chief Ghassān Kanafānī, then Bassām Abū Sharīf; *al-Ḥurriyya* (1967) of the D.F.L.P.; and *al-Fatḥ* (1967) of the P.L.O. Currently, several daily newspapers are published in Jerusalem: *al-Ittiḥād, al-Shaʿb, al-Ṭalīʿa, al-Fadjr, al-Nahār* and *al-Ayyām*. Weeklies and monthlies are published either in Damascus or Beirut, or in Nicosia.

(vi) *Jordan*

The declaration of the State of Israel in 1948 and the Arab defeat of 1967 had a considerable impact on the Jordanian Press. Four dailies were already appearing: *al-Difāʿ* (suspended in 1971), *al-Dustūr, al-Urdunn*, and *al-Raʾy*.

In 1973 a Press Code was promulgated, imposing draconian conditions on the publication of newspapers (caution-money, the need to subscribe to foreign agencies of information, etc.). In 1975 the English language daily newspaper *Jordan Times* appeared; in 1976, a new daily *Ṣawt al-Shaʿb*; in 1982, the English language weekly *Jerusalem Star*; and in 1989, another daily from the publishers of *Ṣawt al-Shaʿb*.

It is important to note that in 1966 a law was promulgated replacing private ownership of newspapers with publicly-quoted companies in which private proprietors could hold shares amounting to a maximum of 30% of the overall capital. It is also worth noting the emergence of a juvenile press: since 1980, *Rīmā wa-Mamdūḥ* (becoming *Sāmir* in 1983) and *Fāris*.

(vii) *ʿIrāḳ*

After the abolition of the monarchy and the success of the conspiracy of the military junta on 14 July 1958, several newspapers continued to appear, including the daily *al-Bilād*. The new régime launched a number of titles: *al-Djumhūriyya* in Baghdād, from 17 July 1958; *al-Bashīr* in Kirkūk; and *al-Aḥrār* in Baghdād. After the assassination of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim in 1968, the new ruler of Baghdād, ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif, inaugurated the following dailies: *al-Djamāhīr, al-Thawra, al-Ṭalīʿa* and *al-Taʾākhī* (pro-Kurdish). In 1967, the régime issued a law nationalising the press and placing it under the direct authority of the Presidency of the Republic. On 17 July 1968, the military wing of the Baʿth seized power and installed Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Bakr as head of state. In 1976, *al-Taʾākhī* changed its title and became *al-ʿIrāḳ*. In 1979, Ṣaddām Ḥusayn seized power and displaced Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Bakr; he embarked on two wars, commonly known as the "Gulf Wars", the first against Iran (1980-8), the second against Kuwait (1990). Two other dailies appeared: *al-Ḳādisiyya* from 1981 and *al-Riyāḍī* from 1984. Two titles belonging to the category of juvenile press came into existence during the 1980s: *Madjallatī* and *al-Mizmār*. After the crippling defeat of Ṣaddām's régime in the Gulf, ʿIrāḳ was subjected to an economic blockade. The grip of the dictatorship of Ṣaddām becomes ever tighter; the press has been the first victim of this dictatorial régime.

(viii) *Saudi Arabia*

Early times

The Ḥidjāz, within the Ottoman sphere of influence, was the first region of Arabia to adopt printing in 1902, with the publication of the first official paper, *al-Ḥidjāz*. In 1916, during the First World War, Sharīf Ḥusayn published *al-Ḳibla*, the mouthpiece of the Arab movement, which ceased to appear in 1924. In 1916, the Ottomans published *al-Ḥidjāz* in Medina; this ceased publication in 1918. In September 1920 *al-Falāḥ* was launched in Mecca, to

be followed in December 1924 by the bi-weekly *al-Barīd al-Ḥidjāzī*, printed under the auspices of the *Ḥizb al-Waṭanī al-Ḥidjāzī*.

The Saudi dynasty

In December 1924 King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd launched *Umm al-Ḳurā* in Mecca; a literary weekly, *Ṣawt al-Ḥidjāz*, appeared in 1932. With the development of the oil industry, titles proliferated, and in 1953 the monthly *al-Yamāma* appeared. In 1962 a Ministry of Information was created, and a code of press institutions promulgated. The al-Yamāma house published several titles, including the daily *al-Riyāḍ*. The Saudi Press Agency (W.A.S.) came into existence in 1971. In 1973, two faculties of journalism were created, in King Suʿūd University of Riyāḍ, and in King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz University of Djudda. In 1976, a third faculty was established at the Imām Muḥammad b. Suʿūd University.

Currently, the landscape of the written press is composed as follows:

(a) Dailies: *al-Bilād* (since 1932 in Djudda); *al-Madīna al-Munawwara* (since 1937 in Medina); *al-Nadwa* (since 1958 in Mecca); *al-Riyāḍ* (since 1959 in Riyāḍ); *ʿUkāẓ* (since 1960 in Djudda); *al-Yawm* (since 1963 in Dammām); *al-Djazīra* (since 1964 in Riyāḍ); *al-Sharḳ al-Awsaṭ* (since 1978 in London, then distributed in Dahrān, Riyāḍ and Djudda); *Saudi Review* (since 1966 in Djudda); *Saudi Gazette* (since 1976 in Djudda); and *Arab News* (since 1976 in Djudda)—a total of eight Arabic language dailies and three in English.

(b) The principal weeklies are: *Akhbār al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī* (Mecca); *al-Tawʿiya al-Islāmiyya* (Mecca); *al-Muslimūn* (Djudda); *al-Daʿwa* (Riyāḍ); *Madjallat al-Madjallāt* (London and Djudda); *al-Ṭifl* (Djudda); *Ḥasan* (Djudda); *Saudi Business* (since 1977), besides major monthlies and numerous scientific and academic journals.

(ix) *Kuwait*

Under the rule of the prince Shaykh Aḥmad al-Djābir Āl Ṣabāḥ (1921-50), the press made a hesitant debut in 1928 with the appearance of the first literary review, *Madjallat al-Kuwayt*, printed in Cairo and founded by Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Rashīd, a disciple of Rashīd Riḍā and the true pioneer of the press in Kuwait. He was later to publish *Madjallat al-Kuwayt wa 'l-ʿIrāḳ*. The monthly review *al-Biʿtha*, printed in Cairo, and widely distributed in Kuwait, came into existence in 1946. It was created by a group of Kuwaiti students pursuing their higher education in Cairo, and the editor-in-chief was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ḥusayn. It continued until 1954. The monthly *Kaẓīma* was the first review printed in Kuwait; it was founded in 1948 by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṣāniʿ and Aḥmad al-Saḳḳāf (1948-9).

It was during the reign of the prince Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Sālim Āl Ṣabāḥ (1950-65) and with the arrival of oil revenues that the press burgeoned in Kuwait. In 1954, the first official newspaper of Kuwait came into being, *al-Kuwayt al-Yawm*. In 1958, the Ministry of Guidance published the first major literary magazine of the Arab world, *al-ʿArabī*. This prestigious review has had three editors-in-chief: the Egyptian Aḥmad Zakī (1958-76); the Egyptian Aḥmad Bahāʾ al-Dīn (1976-82); and the Kuwaiti Muḥammad Rumayḥī (1982-).

In 1961, the year of the declaration of independence and promulgation of the constitution, the daily and periodical press acquired its own street in Kuwait City, and the Shāriʿ al-Ṣaḥāfa currently accommodates the major dailies and weeklies of Kuwait (more than 130 titles). The leading Kuwaiti daily is *al-Raʾy al-ʿĀmm*, founded in 1961 by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Masāʿid. Publication was suspended, briefly, in 1995; it was sold and published by a new proprietor. To this may be added *al-Siyāsa* (1963, proprietor and editor-in-chief Aḥmad Djār Allāh); *Kuwayt Times* (proprietor and editor-in-chief Yūsuf al-ʿĀliyān); *al-Ḳabas* (1972, proprietor and editor-in-chief Muḥammad Djāsim al-Ṣaḳr); *al-Waṭan* (weekly from 1962 and daily since 1974, editor-in-chief Djāsim al-Mutawwaʿ); *al-Anbāʾ* (1976, proprietor and editor-in-chief Bībī Khālid al-Marzūḳ); and *Arab Times* (1977, proprietor and editor-in-chief Aḥmad Djār Allāh).

Besides these dailies, scores of weeklies and monthlies have come into being. The Ministry of Information edits the bi-monthlies *al-ʿArabī*, *ʿĀlam al-Fikr*, *Thaḳāfa ʿĀlamiyya*, and the monthly *Madjallat al-Kuwayt*. For its part, the University of Kuwait publishes more than ten reviews of a high academic standard. Ministries, faculties and government departments all have their own review or liaison bulletin.

The major political and cultural weeklies are: *al-Ṭalīʿa* (1967, editor-in-chief Sāmī al-Munayyis); *al-Mudjtamaʿ* (1970, editor-in-chief Ismāʿīl Shaṭṭī); *al-Madjālis* (1970, proprietor and editor-in-chief Hidāya Sulṭān); *al-Mukhtalif* (editor-in-chief Nāṣir al-Sabīʿī); and *Samra* (1993, women's magazine, editor-in-chief Fāṭima Ḥusayn).

Newspapers belong to individuals or to mercantile families. The circulation of dailies varies between 70,000 and 100,000.

The Kuwaiti Association of Journalists, created in 1964, comprises both Kuwaiti journalists and residents belonging to various expatriate communities (Arab and Indian). Laws and decrees concerning the press, promulgated since 1961, revolve around the problem of the suspension of newspapers (duration and legal competence) (articles 35 and 35A). The state subsidises the press: 45,000 K.D. (= U.S. $135,000) are contributed annually to the dailies, 30,000 K.D. (= U.S. $90,000) to periodicals. At the time of the ʿIrāḳī aggression of 2 August 1990, the daily press had to choose between internal, or external resistance. During the seven months of occupation, a press of resistance continued to circulate and was successfully disseminated: *Nashrat al-Ṣumūd al-Shaʿbī; al-Ṣabāḥ; Ṣawt al-Ḥaḳḳ*; *Mūs* (a thorn in the flesh of the ʿIrāḳī enemy); and *Abnāʾ Djābir*. Externally, there was *Ṣawt al-Kuwayt al-Duwalī*, a daily launched in London (12 August 1990-31 December 1992), editor-in-chief M. Rumayḥī. Immediately after liberation, a new daily paper appeared in Kuwait, *al-Fadjr al-Djadīd* (21 April 1991-31 December 1991), editor-in-chief Yāsīn Ṭāhā Āl Yāsīn. On 12 December 1992, censorship of newspapers was abolished.

(x) *United Arab Emirates*

The union of these seven principalities (Abū Ẓabī, Dubayy, al-Shāriḳa, Raʾs al-Khayma, Umm al-Ḳaywayn, ʿAdjmān and al-Fudjayra) was declared on 2 December 1971. Before this date and since 1966 *Akhbār Dubayy* had been in circulation, as well as the official journal of the government of Dubayy. Abū Ẓabī also had its own press: a government official journal, and *Abu Ẓabi News*. After unification, a major daily came into existence, *al-Ittiḥād*, followed by an English language daily, *Emirate News*.

It is interesting to note that the proliferation of titles in the U.A.E. is due to the concern of governmental organisations and private institutions to issue their own journals or liaison bulletins, such as the following titles: *al-Djundī* (since 1974); *al-ʿAdāla* (since 1974); *al-Amn* (since 1976); and *al-Diblūmāsī* (since 1971).

Currently appearing are five dailies in Arabic, and three in English: *al-Ittiḥād; al-Khalīdj; al-Bayān; al-Fadjr; al-Waḥda; Gulf News; Khalidj Times*; and *Emirate Times*.

Circulation varies between 45,000 and 50,000 for each daily. A press code was published in 1971.

(xi) *Ḳaṭar*

In 1969, the Ministry of Information launched the monthly *al-Dawḥa*. The same year, the Dār al-ʿUrūba of ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn Niʿma created a weekly, *al-ʿUrūba*, also announcing the intention to launch a daily entitled *al-ʿArab*. In 1976 the review *Akhbār al-Khalīdj* appeared. Currently, four dailies appear regularly: *al-Rāya, al-ʿArab, al-Shark* and *Daily Gulf Times*, as well as five weeklies: *al-Dawrī* (sports), *al-ʿUrūba, al-ʿAhd, al-Fadjr* and *Weekly Gulf Times*, in addition to the official journal of Ḳaṭar, a monthly.

(xii) *Baḥrayn*

In 1939, ʿAbd Allāh Zāyid created the first newspaper for Baḥrayn, *al-Baḥrayn; Ṣawt al-Baḥrayn* came into existence ten years later. From 1957 the government's official journal appeared on a weekly basis, and from 1970 *Ḥumr al-Baḥrayn*, edited by the Ministry of Information. In 1976 a major daily, *Akhbār al-Khalīdj*, appeared, with an English version following in 1978, and 1989 saw the creation of a new daily, *al-Ayyām*, the editor-in-chief being Nabīl al-Ḥumr, formerly Director-General of the National Information Agency.

Sport and cultural weeklies, in Arabic as well as in English, enjoy wide circulation.

(xiii) *Sultanate of ʿUmān*

Before the accession of Sultan Ḳābūs on 25 July 1970, the majority of ʿUmānī periodicals were printed outside the sultanate. The first official journal, *Akhbār ʿUmān*, came into being in 1970, changing its title to *Djarīda Rasmiyya* in 1971. The first weekly, *al-Waṭan* (a tabloid), appeared at Masḳaṭ on 28 January 1971. It became a daily in 1974. The first government-controlled daily, published initially as weekly from 1972, as a bi-weekly from 1975, appeared in 1980. In 1975 and 1981 appeared respectively the *Observer* and the *Times of Oman*. As is the case in all the Gulf States, the periodical press emanating from both public and private sectors has flourished.

Currently, there are two dailies in Arabic, *al-Waṭan* and *ʿUmān*, and one in English, *Oman Daily Observer*, alongside a very active weekly and monthly press. The weeklies are *al-Nahḍa* (since 1973), *al-Adwāʾ* (since 1974), *al-Usra* (since 1974); and the monthlies *Djund ʿUmān* (1974), *al-ʿUmāniyya* (women's magazine, 1980), *al-Tidjārī* (1980), *al-Shurṭa* (1976), *al-Ghurfa* (Chamber of Commerce, 1980) and *Risālat al-Masdjid* (1980).

(xiv) *Yemen*

On 29 May 1990 the Republic of Yemen was declared, following the fusion of the two formerly separate states.

In 1877, during the period of Ottoman occupation, the first Yemeni weekly appeared, *Ṣanʿāʾ*, in Arabic and in Turkish. In 1926, with the independence of Yemen, a monthly appeared, *al-Īmām*. The revolution of 26 September 1962 swept away the rule of the Imāms. Three days later a new daily appeared, *al-Thawra*, published in 1963 at Taʿizz and then at Ṣanʿāʾ, followed by a second in 1968, *al-Djumhuriyya*. These two dailies continued to appear in North Yemen until unification.

In South Yemen, the Democratic and Popular Republic of Yemen (P.D.R.S.Y.) came into existence in 1968, with a single daily; *14 Uktūbir*, alongside numerous weeklies and monthlies. Before reunification in 1990, the P.D.R.S.Y. was considerably more liberal, in terms of press legislation, than the Yemenite Arab Republic (i.e. of the North). In anticipation of fusion, it had tolerated the presence of the foreign press since 1959.

(xv) *Somalia*

The Republic of Democratic Somalia came into being in 1960 after a long struggle against the British, the Italians and the French. Djibouti gained its independence in 1977; its press is Francophone.

The Somali government inaugurated two dailies, one in Arabic, *Ṣawt al-Sūmāl*, and the other in English, *Somalia News*. The opposition parties published weeklies and monthlies.

After the revolution (1969-89), the revolutionary government launched three dailies. *Nadjmat Uktūbir* (in Arabic), *Stella di Octobre* (in Italian) and *October Star* (in English). From 1973 onward there appeared an edition in the Somali language of the daily *Nadjmat Uktūbir* with the Somali name *Xiddigta Oktober*.

Bibliography: *al-Mawsūʿa al-ṣaḥāfiyya al-ʿarabiyya*, i (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan), Alecso, i, Tunis 1990, *passim*; *ibid.*, ii (Egypt, Sudan, Somalia), Tunis 1991, *passim*; Khalīl Sabat, *op. cit.*, *passim; Dalīl al-ṣaḥāfa al-ʿarabiyya, op. cit.*, *passim*; Muḥammad al-Fīlī, *La liberté de la presse au Koweit*, unpubl. thesis, Caen 1981, *passim*. See also DJARĪDA, i. A.

2. North Africa

(i) *Algeria*

At the time of the revolution (1954-61), *al-Mudjāhid*, a clandestine weekly in the French language, printed in Tunis, was in circulation. In 1962, the new régime brought to power by the revolution created two dailies, Arabic and French editions of the same title (*al-Shaʿb*). In 1963, a new daily newspaper in Arabic, *al-Djumhūriyya*, appeared in Oran, and the same year in Constantine *al-Naṣr*, a French language daily. The first evening daily newspaper, *Alger-Soir*, came into existence in Algiers in 1967. The same year, the three veteran daily newspapers of the colonial period were nationalised, these being *La Dépêche d'Algérie, L'Echo d'Oran* and *La Dépêche de Constantine. Al-Mudjāhid* resumed publication in 1965, as a French language daily.

The riots of 1988 constituted a turning-point in Algerian political life. A new press code was promulgated in 1990; it abolished censorship and introduced the private ownership of newspapers. The Ministry of Information was abolished, and the Higher Council of Information created, this consisting of twelve members: three appointed by the President of the Republic, three by the President of the National Assembly, and six elected from among professional journalists.

It is interesting to note that, despite tireless efforts aimed at literacy and arabisation, the circulation of newspapers in the Arabic language remains very meagre: 80,000 for each of the two Arabic dailies, compared with 350,000 for each of the French language dailies.

(ii) *Morocco*

After gaining its independence in 1956, Morocco, under the leadership of Muḥammad V and of his son Ḥasan II, instituted a multi-party system, promulgated a law covering civil liberties in 1958, established a centre for the training and exchange of journalists in collaboration with the German-based Friedrich Naumann Foundation, and in 1959 created the press agency Maghreb Arab Press (M.A.P.). In 1963, the Union of Moroccan Journalists came into being. In 1987, Ḥasan II instituted an annual subsidy to the press of the order of 20 million dirhams (10 million to cover the costs of paper and of telephones, 10 million

to compensate for the cost of subscriptions to the M.A.P.); free transport on Moroccan railways, 50% discount on airline tickets and on accomodation in the kingdom's hotels.

Five periods may be distinguished in the evolution of the Moroccan press:

(a) *From independence (1956) to the proclamation of the state of emergency (1965).*

First to be noted is the maintenance on a temporary basis of titles inherited from the colonial press. Censorship and the payment of caution-money were suppressed. Newspapers such as *al-ʿAlam*, of the Istiḳlāl, *al-Raʾy al-ʿĀmm*, of the Ḥizb al-Shūrā, and *Ḥayāt al-Shaʿb*, of the Moroccan Communist Party, resumed publication. The government launched a new daily newspaper, *al-ʿAhd al-Djadīd* (1957-60). The Istiḳlāl Party inaugurated a French language daily, *L'Opinion*, in 1965.

(b) *From 1965 to 1970.*

Following incidents in Casablanca in 1965, a state of emergency was decreed, but did not affect the freedom of the press; the parties continued to publish their newspapers. Furthermore, two new parties came into being in 1967: the party of Dr. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khaṭīb, *Ḥizb al-Ḥaraka al-Shaʿbiyya al-Dīmūḳrāṭiyya*, and the party of ʿAlī Yāṭa, *Ḥizb al-Taḥrīr wa 'l-Ishtirākiyya*. Thirteen or more titles appeared during this period, besides those already in place. Only four were subjected to enforced suspension: *Maroc Information, Libération, al-Ahdāf* and *al-Kifāḥ al-Waṭanī.*

(c) *From 1970 to the "Green March" (1975).*

This period saw the creation of three new parties: *al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr al-Taḳaddumī, Ḥizb al-ʿAmal* and *Ḥizb al-Ittiḥād al-Ishtirākī li 'l-Ḳuwā al-Shaʿbiyya* and two major independent dailies, *Le Matin* and *Maroc Soir*, both in French.

(d) *From 1975 to 1983.*

Five new parties emerged, each with its own newspaper.

(e) *From 1983 to 1992.*

This period saw the creation of the Consultative Council for Human Rights (April 1990), press clubs after 1988 and the granting of the royal subsidy to the press. The same year, fifty new titles appeared to enrich the already burgeoning repertoire of the Moroccan press.

(iii) *Mauritania*

Mauritania obtained its independence in 1960. Four parties united to form the single ruling party headed by Mukhtar Wuld Daddāh and known as *Ḥizb al-Shaʿb al-Mūrītānī.*

Initially a weekly, *al-Shaʿb* became Mauritania's first daily newspaper in 1975. It was edited by the Ministry of Information and published in two versions, Arabic and French. The French edition, *Le Peuple*, changed its title to *Horizons* in 1991.

This change of title corresponds to the change experienced by the press in Mauritania since 1991, the date of the promulgation of the first constitution and the inauguration of the multi-party era. Besides this daily newspaper, there exist an independent press and an underground press, with very limited resources.

(iv) *Libya*

On the independence of Libya in 1951, the Sanūsī kingdom was divided into three departments, each having its own daily newspaper: in Tripoli, *Ṣaḥīfat Ṭarābulus al-Gharb*; in Benghāzī, *Ṣaḥīfat Barḳa al-djadīda*; and in Sebha, *Ṣaḥīfat Fezzān*. A year before the abolition of the monarchy, the Ministry of Information changed the titles of the three dailies. Independent dailies also existed, in Tripoli, *al-Rāʾid* and *al-Ḥurriyya*, and in Benghāzī, *al-Ḥaḳīḳa*, in addition to two foreign language dailies, the *Giornale di Tripoli* and the *Libyan Times.*

With the accession to power of Colonel Ḳadhdhāfī in September 1969, a new daily came into being, *al-Thawra* (1969).

Two periods may henceforth be distinguished in the evolution of the Libyan press.

(a) *Between 1969 and 1977*, promulgation of the law of the press (1972), and creation of the General Foundation of the Press, which published from 1 September 1972 a second daily in Tripoli, *al-Fadjr al-djadīd*, a third, *al-Djihād* in Benghāzī, and in Tripoli in 1977, an evening daily paper, *al-Raʾy.*

(b) *After 1977.* On 2 March 1977, Ḳadhdhāfī proclaimed the institution of popular congresses and committees, and the implementation of the theories of the *Green book* (*al-Kitāb al-akhḍar*). According to the "Brother-Colonel, Supreme Guide of the Revolution", the press is at the service of society and cannot be subject to private ownership. Daily newspapers ceased to appear, and since 1977 a specialist press has been created, covering particular sectors. Among these are *al-Ẓaḥf al-akhḍar*, a weekly since 1980, edited by the office of revolutionary committees; *al-Djamāhīriyya*, bi-annual, edited by the same Bureau; and *al-Fuṣūl al-arbaʿa*, edited by the League of Libyan Writers.

(v) *Tunisia*

With Tunisia's accession to independence in 1956, the Neo-Destour Party led by Ḥabīb Būrgība seized power and proclaimed the Republic in July 1957. From 1956 to 1964, titles from the colonial period co-existed with those of the new era. Alongside the independent daily newspaper *al-Ṣabāḥ*, founded in 1952, there appeared from 1956 onward *al-Amal*, an Arabic language daily, and *L'Action*, a French language daily; *Presse de Tunisie, Dépêche tunisienne* and *Petit matin* continued to appear until 1968. *La Presse de Tunisie*, nationalised, resumed publication and continues to appear today, as a governmental daily managed by the Ministry of Information.

In 1961, at the time of the war over evacuation of the military base of Bizerta, and especially from 1964 onward, the single ruling party, which had become the Parti Socialiste Destourien (P.S.D.), imposed severe curbs on the press, both the independent and oppositional sectors. The newspapers of the Tunisian Communist Party, *al-Ṭalīʿa* and *Tribune du progrès* disappeared, as did *al-Irāda*, mouthpiece of the Old Destour.

Bashīr Ben Yaḥmed, first Secretary of State for Information in the first post-independence government, opted for exile and founded the weekly *Jeune Afrique* in Paris. The student movement, suppressed in 1967, founded a review which was produced in Paris and widely distributed, surreptitiously, in Tunisia, *Perspectives Tunisiennes.*

With the failure of the collectivisation of agricultural land and the collapse of the co-operative movement, Būrgība decided on a change of course and opted for a degree of openness. Supporting the government were two weeklies, *Dialogue* (1974) and *Bilādī* (1974). In 1974, the independent newspaper *al-Ṣabāḥ* launched a new French language daily, *Le Temps*. In 1975 a new press code was promulgated, amending that of 1956. The League for Human Rights was created in 1977, and three weeklies came into existence: *al-Raʾy* (in Arabic), *Démocratie* (in French) and *al-Shaʿb*, organ of the General Union of Tunisian Workers. The former two belonged to the Movement of Democratic Socialists (M.D.S.) and the third to the

U.G.T.T. of Ḥabīb ʿĀs̲h̲ūr, which had never collaborated with the régime.

Two crises occurred in rapid succession, in January 1978 with the conflict between the ruling party and the U.G.T.T., and in January 1980 with the invasion of Gaisa, a city of southern Tunisia.

In 1980, Būrgība appointed a new Prime Minister, thereby inaugurating a change of policy. Multi-partyism was to be tolerated, as well as relative freedom of the press. Three opposition parties were recognised, and the Islamist Party barely tolerated. At the same time, the media landscape changed, and new weekly titles came into existence: *al-Mustaḳbal-L'Avenir*, of the Movement of Democratic Socialists (M.D.S.), *al-Waḥda*, of the Popular Unity Movement (M.U.P.), *al-Ṭarīḳ al-d̲j̲adīd*, of the Tunisian Communist Party (P.C.T.) and *al-Maʿrifa*, of the Islamic Tendency Movement (M.T.I.).

Independent journalists have also launched weekly titles: *Mag̲h̲reb Arabe*, bilingual, of ʿUmar S̲h̲abū, and *Réalités*, also bilingual, of Munṣif Ben Mrād. Another independent, Ṣalāḥ al- Dīn ʿAmrī, produced *al-Anwār* (1981) and *al-S̲h̲urūḳ* (1984). *Al-Ṣabāḥ*, an independent newspaper, has launched three new weeklies: *al-Ṣadā* (in Arabic), *al-Ṣabāḥ al-Usbūʿī* (in Arabic) and *Le Temps-Hebdo* (in French).

The "bread revolution", following the decision to increase the price of bread, put an end to this liberal euphoria. The régime returned to its repressive ways, and in 1987, it was on the point of extinguishing the Islamist movement when the constitutional change of 7 November 1987, inaugurated by Prime Minister Zayn al-ʿAbīdīn Ben ʿAlī, came into effect. The latter, according to the terms of the constitution and in view of Būrgība's inability for health reasons to continue in office, became President of the Republic. On 2 August 1988 he instituted a new press code, requiring economic transparency of press institutions, and reckoned fairly liberal by the profession.

Since then, the Tunisian press has regained a limited degree of its former prosperity.

Bibliography: *al-Mawsūʿa*, *op. cit.*, iv (Tunisia, Algeria, D̲j̲amāhīriyya, Morocco, Mauritania), Tunis 1995, *passim*; K̲h̲alīl Sābāt, *op. cit.*, *passim*; *Dalīl al-ṣaḥāfa*, *op. cit.* See also D̲J̲ARĪDA. i. B.

3. The Arab Diaspora

Three factors account for the emigration of the Arab press to foreign capitals (London, Paris and Nicosia): the Lebanese civil war, the expulsion of the Palestinians from Lebanon in 1982, and the suppression of freedom in the majority of Arab states. The financial resources of this press remain difficult to elucidate; it may be wondered to what extent it is dependent upon various régimes and their financial support. On the other hand, despite the popularity of this press, it does seem to ignore its primary, most directly accessible public, i.e. the Arabo-Muslim communities of Europe (France and Britain in particular).

(i) *Paris*

Jeune Afrique, weekly, founded by the Tunisian Bas̲h̲īr Ben Yaḥmed, is considered the doyen of the expatriate Arab press in France, having first appeared in 1962.

Al-Mustaḳbal, weekly, edited by Nabīl K̲h̲ūrī, appeared in 1977 and ceased publication in 1989 (pro-Gulf States).

Al-Waṭan al-ʿArabī, founded by Walid Abū Zahr in 1977, ceased publication after the Gulf War; it was pro-ʿIrāḳī.

Al-Nahār al-ʿArabī al-Duwalī, founded in 1977 by G̲h̲assān Ṭuwaynī.

Kull al-ʿArab, weekly, managed by Yāsir Harāwī (pro-ʿIrāḳī), ceased publication in 1991.

Al-Ṭalīʿa al-ʿArabiyya (pro-ʿIrāḳī), managed by Nāṣīf ʿAwwād.

Al-Yawm al-Sābiʿ, founded in 1984 by Bilāl al-Ḥasan, mouthpiece of the P.L.O.

Only one newspaper, the monthly *Arabies*, in French, seems to have risen to the challenge: founded in 1985 by Yāsir Harāwī, it has succeeded in serving both publics, that of the Arab community in France, and that of the Arab world.

(ii) *London*

(a) Dailies.

A major daily newspaper was launched in 1978, based in London, this being the pro-Saudi *al-S̲h̲arḳ al-Awsaṭ*. Also appearing in London since 1989 is the daily *al-Ḥayāt*, editor-in-chief D̲j̲ihād al-K̲h̲azīn, very close to the Arab states of the Gulf.

In 1989, *al-Ḳuds*, Palestinian.

In 1990, *Ṣawt al-Kuwayt al-Duwalī*, daily of the Kuwaiti resistance. After the liberation of Kuwait, it returned there, and ceased publication in November 1992.

In 1995, the Kuwaiti daily *al-Waṭan* launched a London-based international edition, *al-Waṭan al-Duwalī*.

(b) Weeklies.

Al-Dustūr (1977); *al-Ḥawādit̲h̲* (founded by Salīm al-Lūzī in 1978, purchased in 1980 by Milhim Karam); *al-Taḳaddum*, founded by Fu'ād Maḥār; and *al-Ṣayyād* (since 1984).

(iii) *Nicosia*

Given its proximity, the island of Cyprus has become a haven for press agencies and journalists having difficulty operating in Beirut: *al-D̲j̲īl* (1980); *Ufuḳ* (1981); *S̲h̲u'ūn Filasṭīniyya* (1983); *al-Karmal*, mouthpiece of the Union of Palestinian Writers, since 1987; and *al-Bilād* (1984).

Bibliography: *Mawsūʿa ...*, *op. cit.*, iii (*al-Ṣaḥāfa al-ʿarabiyya fī buldān al-Mahd̲j̲ar*), Tunis 1991, *passim*; Elias Hanna Elias, *La presse arabe, Orient*, Paris 1993, *passim*. See also D̲J̲ARĪDA. i. C.

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4. Persia [see Suppl.].

5. Turkey [see Suppl.].

SIḤĀḲ, like *musāḥaḳa*, verbal noun of stem III of a verb meaning "to rub" (compare the Greek τρίβειν, Eng. "tribadism"), commonly used to indicate lesbianism. Other derivatives of this root indicating the same are the stem I verbal nouns *saḥḳ* and *siḥāḳa*. Occasionally, stem VI *tasāḥaḳa* is found. Women engaging in lesbian love-making are referred to as *sāḥiḳāt*, *saḥḥāḳāt* or *musāḥiḳāt*. The *Lisān al-ʿarab* calls the term *musāḥaḳat al-nisā'* a *lafẓ muwallad*, an expression of post-classical origin. The earliest recorded, probably legendary, instance of lesbian love among the Arabs is a report of the *awā'il* genre [*q.v.*], cf. Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-Iṣfahānī, *Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], ii, 132, in which it is alleged that, forty years before the emergence of male homosexuality (= *liwāṭ* [*q.v.*]), the first woman who loved another woman was Hind, the daughter of the last Lak̲h̲mid king of Ḥīra, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mund̲h̲ir [*q.v.*], who fell in love with Zarḳā' bt. al-Ḥasan from Yamāma. The story is told in some detail in ch. 9 of *Rus̲h̲d al-labīb ilā muʿās̲h̲arat al-ḥabīb* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Falīta (d. 764/1363), ed. Mohamed Zouher Djabri, diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1968, 1-2 (see also *Bibl.*).

On the whole, *siḥāḳ* is frowned upon in Islam. There are no unambiguous references to it in the Ḳur'ān, but there is one remark traced to Mud̲j̲āhid b. D̲j̲abr (d. 100-4/718-22 [*q.v.*]) who, according to the Muʿtazilī exegete Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. Baḥr al-Iṣfahānī (d. 322/934, cf. *GAS*, i, 42-3), is

reported to have identified the word *fāḥis̲h̲a*, "abomination", from Ḳur'ān, IV, 15, with *musāḥaḳa* and not with *zinā* "fornication", "adultery", as all the other exegetes did, cf. his *Multaḳaṭ d̲j̲āmiʿ al-taʾwīl li-muḥkam al-tanzīl*, ed. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, Calcutta 1340, 44, and also Abū Ḥayyān, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1328, iii, 194-5. The punishment for *saḥḳ* laid down in this verse is house arrest until death. In al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, Mud̲j̲āhid's interpretation cannot be traced, but in those of al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī and al-Bayḍāwī there is a vague reference (without indication of the source) that *saḥḥāḳāt* may have been meant in IV, 15, and fornicators in v. 16 (cf. also M.R. Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-manār*, Cairo 1346-54, iv, 435-40). While describing the powers or faculties that determine a person's body, the exegete Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-g̲h̲ayb*, cf. ed. Cairo 1278/1862, ii, 383, ll. 23-5, also mentions the power of sensuality (*ḳuwwa s̲h̲ahwāniyya*) and the corrupting influences that emanate from it: *zinā*, *liwāṭ* and *saḥḳ*.

The S̲h̲īʿa trace *siḥāḳ* indirectly to the Ḳur'ān too. While dealing with it in his *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faḳīh*, 5th impr., Tehran 1390, iv, 31, the Shīʿī jurist Ibn Bābawayhi (d. 381/991 [*q.v.*]) records a statement ascribed to the *imām* D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] that the *aṣḥāb al-rass* [*q.v.*] were responsible for the spread of this perversion. These were a community of pre-Islamic unbelievers, cf. Ḳur'ān, XXV, 38 and L, 12. Their story and the spread of lesbianism among them on the instigation of a daughter of Iblīs, al-Dalhān, is recorded in al-T̲h̲aʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, ed. Cairo 1297, 144, 1 ff. Cf. also al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-G̲h̲ifārī, Tehran 1954-61, v, 551-2, where we find a euphemism for *siḥāḳ*: *hunna allawātī bi-* (or *maʿa*) *allawātī*, who will be tormented in Hell in a spectacular manner. Another daughter of Iblīs, Lāḳīs, is mentioned here as having had a hand in its spread.

As for *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature, there are a few pre-canonical traditions, probably hailing from the time of the great 1st/7th-century *fuḳahā'*, which explicitly forbid lesbian love, the active as well as the passive party, and which prescribe a punishment as that for fornication, cf. Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba, *Muṣannaf*, Ḥaydarābād 1966-83, x, 146, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *Muṣannaf*, Beirut 1983, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, vii, 334-5. The term *saḥḳ* emerges here occasionally indicating masturbation, cf. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, vii, 391-2 (read *al-saḥḳ* for *al-s.k*), as indeed do some forms of stem III in several *adab* works. The best-known pre-canonical tradition is *siḥāḳ al-nisā' zinan baynahunna* with slight variants; it may conceivably be ascribed to the *mawlā* Makḥūl, a well-known Syrian *faḳīh* who died sometime between 112 and 118/730-6. The punishment for *liwaṭ* being the same as for *zinā* appeared eventually not to be a suitable one, for Abū Ḥanīfa, Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī, Mālik b. Anas and Ibn Ḥanbal, as recorded in al-Rāzī, iv, 619, rejected this punishment in favour of judicial discretion (= *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*]); thus we find, beside *liwāṭ*, also *siḥāḳ*, *ityān al-mayta* (= necrophilia) and *istimnā'* (= masturbation) punishable by *taʿzīr*. The arguments adduced for reducing the punishment from flogging/stoning to judicial discretion was women's fear of pregnancy in the case of *siḥāḳ* = tribadism and their fear of the temptation to fornicate in the case of *siḥāḳ* = masturbation. See Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *al-Muḥallā*, ed. Muḥammad Munīr al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, Cairo 1352, xi, 390 ff.; Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-S̲h̲īrāzī, *al-Tanbīh fi 'l-fiḳh ʿalā 'l-mad̲h̲hab al-imām al-S̲h̲āfiʿī*, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, Leiden 1879, 301, 17-18, and, furthermore, J.P.M. Mensing, *De bepaalde straffen in het Ḥanbalietische recht*, Leiden 1936, 21.

There are two canonical *ḥadīt̲h̲*s in which contact among women when they are naked or scantily dressed (= *muʿākama*) is discouraged. The one amounts to saying that a woman is not to touch another woman or describe the body of the other to her husband, for which the Kūfan *mawlā* al-Aʿmash (d. 147/764 [*q.v.*]) may be held responsible, cf. al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-as̲h̲rāf*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad S̲h̲araf al-Dīn, Bombay 1965-82, vii, no. 9252, and the other forbids women to look at each other when naked or to enter in the presence of one another when dressed only in a shift; the *isnād* strands of this tradition seem to centre in al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿUt̲h̲mān (d. 153/770), cf. idem, iii, no. 4115. For the texts of these traditions, see al-Tirmid̲h̲ī, *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. A.M. S̲h̲ākir *et alii*, Cairo 1937-65, v, 109, al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, ed. ʿA.S. al-Bundārī and S.K. Ḥasan, Beirut 1991, v, 390, and for a commentary, see Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, Cairo 1959, xi, 252-3. The term *muʿākama* has the variant *mukāʿama*, cf. Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba, *Muṣannaf*, iv, 398, which is also interpreted as the pressing of one's lips on the lips of a person of the same sex, a meaning which makes good sense in the present context. Both traditions are reflected in a passage from a text by a North African jurist published in M.J. Viguera Molins, *La censura de costumbres en el* Tanbīh al-ḥukkām *de Ibn al-Munāṣif* (1168-1223), in *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura Arabe e Islámica*, Madrid 1985, 591-611, which says on 602, 6 ff., that women should be discouraged from showing one another their finery and their naked bodies during gatherings in places of rejoicing as well as bath houses.

One other canonical tradition does not allude to lesbianism as such, but commentators think it does. The Prophet is supposed to have cursed certain women, the so-called *mutarad̲j̲d̲j̲ilāt*, who tried to resemble men in clothing habits and ornaments. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Fatḥ*, xii, 452, elaborates on this. He mentions those persons who have an innate tendency towards opposite gender behaviour and quotes the otherwise unidentifiable Ibn al-Tīn, who is said to have specified to what women the Prophet's curse was ultimately especially applicable: those who go so far as to practice lesbian love. The Baṣran traditionist S̲h̲uʿba b. al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (d. 160/777 [*q.v.*]) is probably the originator of the wording, if not also of the gist, of this tradition, cf. al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-as̲h̲rāf*, v, no. 6188.

In Shīʿī tradition there is the story of a woman who, just after her husband has left the marital bed, rubs her husband's sperm into her slave girl by means of a lesbian love act, which results in the slave girl becoming pregnant, cf. al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vii, 203. In *ibid.*, v, 552, the *mutarad̲j̲d̲j̲ilāt* are thought to tend to lesbianism, too.

In Arabic literature, *siḥāḳ* is mentioned not infrequently, but much less often than *liwāṭ*, and mostly in a denigrating context, only occasionally in glowing terms, the term indicating at times masturbation rather than lesbian love. For a case of two slave girls caught in the act of lovemaking at the ʿAbbāsid court and quickly put to death, see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 590. In several *adab* works, some of which are of a decidedly scientific nature, more or less elaborate chapters are devoted to it, sometimes interlarded with verse. Perhaps the longest and most extensive treatment of *siḥāḳ* with a graphic description of its techniques is found in ch. XI of Aḥmad al-Tīfās̲h̲ī (d. 651/1253), *Les délices des cœurs ou ce que l'on ne trouve en aucun livre*, tr. by René R. Khawam, Paris (Phébus) 1981. There are, furthermore, special sections devoted to it in al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]), *Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿA.M. Hārūn, Cairo

1323-5, vii, 29, 7; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī (d. 482/1089), *al-Muntakhab min kināyāt al-udabā' wa-ishārāt al-bulaghā'*, ed. M.Sh. Shamsī, Ḥaydarābād 1983, 107 ff., 142; al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī (d. 502/1108), *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, Cairo 1287, ii, 163-4; ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghuzūlī (d. 815/1412), *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr*, Cairo 1299-1300, i, 272-5, containing an ode to the practice. A medical work, al-Samaw'al b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbās (d. 576/1180), *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī muʿāsharat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Taher Haddad, diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1976, 13-17, attempts to give an explanation for the emergence of lesbianism. In a modern novel by Ḥanān al-Shaykh (b. 1945), *Women of sand and myrrh*, tr. Catherine Cobham, London-New York 1989, ch. I deals with a lesbian relationship in present-day Saudi Arabia.

Bibliography: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *al-Ḥayāt al-djinsiyya ʿinda 'l-ʿArab min al-Djāhiliyya ilā awākhir al-ḳarn al-rābiʿ al-hidjrī*, ²Beirut 1975, 20, 60, 89 ff., 92, enumerating various techniques. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tadjaddud, n.p., n.d., 169, 376, lists two books entitled *K. al-Saḥḥāḳāt* and one book (116) by al-Madā'inī [*q.v.*] entitled *K. man tashabbaha bi 'l-ridjāl min al-nisā'*, all three of which do not seem to be extant. In the following sources *siḥāḳ* or *saḥḳ*, etc., is on the whole only briefly referred to: *Aghānī*³, xvii, 79-80, xxi, 72; Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *K. al-Baṣā'ir wa 'l-dhakhā'ir*, ed. Ibr. al-Kaylānī, Damascus 1964, i, 380 (4-6), ii, 245 (5-7), iv, 156 (penult); Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī, *Nathr al-durr*, ed. M.ʿA. Ḳurna, Cairo 1985, iv, 257, 260; Ibn Rashīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *K. Unmūdhadj al-zamān*, ed. M. al-ʿArūsī and Bashīr al-Bakkūs, Tunis-Algiers 1986, 98; Ibn al-Nafīs, *al-Risāla al-kāmiliyya fī 'l-sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Schacht-Meyerhof, Oxford 1968, 34, 52; ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Taʿṭīr al-anām fī taʿbīr al-manām*, Beirut 1991, 582; Ṣafadī, *al-Ghayth al-musadjdjam fī sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿadjam*, Beirut 1975, ii, 405; Tīfāshī, *K. Rudjūʿ al-shaykh ilā ṣibāh fī ḳuwwa ʿalā 'l-bāh*, n.p., n.d., 57; Ibn Falīta, *Rushd al-labīb, al-bāb al-rābiʿ*, ed. Adnan Husni-Pascha, diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1975, 13; Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, *K. al-Bidaʿ*, Madrid CSIC 1988, ed. M. Fierro, 116 (introd.), 213 (text), 340 (tr.): *siḥāḳ* mentioned as an anomaly unique of the community which the author described in his book. In the *Thousand and one nights*, allusions to lesbianism are relatively rare and are either wholly non-committal (ed. MacNaghten, Calcutta 1839-42, i, 885, night 211, and ii, 256-7, night 329) or denigrating (i, 501, night 93, and iv, 133, night 824). Additional references to one or a few verses are the following: *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, iv, 233, s.v. *s-ḥ-ḳ*; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 822, 2; Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, ed. Wagner, Wiesbaden 1958-, ii, 75 (1), 88-9 (2 ff.); Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Wiesbaden 1931-, xix, 190 (19); Diʿbil, *Dīwān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ṣāḥib ʿImrān al-Dudjaylī, ²Beirut 1972, 94; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, *K. al-Awrāḳ, ḳism akhbār al-shuʿarā'*, ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne, Cairo 1934, 55-6; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1342-, ii, 219-20, iv, 23; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ādjurrī, *Dhamm al-liwāṭ*, ed. Madjdī al-Sayyid, Cairo 1990, 54-5; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, ix, 30; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafā' al-ridjāl*, ³Beirut 1988, v, 174; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1329, ii, nos. 101, 107; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī*, ed. A. Mez, Heidelberg 1902, 75 (2); Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *al-Adjwiba al-muskita*, ed. May A. Yousef, Berlin 1988, nos. 1026-7 (in which the two connotations of *siḥāḳ* are juxtaposed) and 1034; Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāzī, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Ṣanʿā'*, ed. Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī, ²Ṣanʿā' 1981, 291; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Dhamm al-hawā*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Salām ʿAṭā, Beirut 1987, 161; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, i, 410, 20; R. Burton's tr. of *The perfumed garden* by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Nafzāwī (fl. 15th century), ed. A.H. Walton, London 1963, 104, 3; idem, *The perfumed garden; the missing flowers*, tr. by H.E.J.(?), London 1975, ch. I, which is, apart from a few additions, identical to the chapter of Ibn Falīta mentioned in the article; Ibn Taymiyya, *Ikhtiyārāt*, in the arrangement of ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbbās al-Baʿlī (= vol. v of his *Fatāwā*, Cairo 1329), 124; idem, *Tafsīr sūrat al-nūr*, ed. Muḥammad Munīr ʿAbduh al-Dimashḳī, Cairo 1343/1924, *ad* V, 3, 29 (penult); Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, i, 217; A. Querry, *Droit musulman. Recueil de lois concernant les Musulmans Schyites*, Paris 1872, 499 ff.; G.-H. Bousquet, *L'éthique sexuelle de l'Islam*, Paris 1966, 69; Abdelwahab Bouhdiba, *Islam et sexualité*, Lille 1973, ch. IV, 95-9; Basim Musallam, *Sex and society in Islam. Birth control before the nineteenth century*, Cambridge 1983, 154; U. Marzolph, *Arabia ridens*, Frankfurt am Main, ii, 174, no. 737; E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās. Eine Studie zur arabischen Literatur der frühen ʿAbbāsidenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1965, 39, 108, 179-80, 397; R. Kruk, *Warrior women in Arabic popular romance. Qannāsa bint Muzāḥim and other valiant ladies*, I, in *JAL*, xxiv (1993), 222-6; eadem, *Clipped wings: medieval Arabic adaptations of the Amazon myth*, in *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, i (1994), 142 ff.; E. Heller and H. Mosbahi, *Hinter den Schleiern des Islam*, Munich 1993, 142, 165, 208; Maribel Fierro, *The treatises against innovations*, in *Isl.*, lxix (1992), 236; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Lesbianism in Arabic literature*, forthcoming.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

SIḤR (A.), magic.

This term is applied (1) to that which entrances the eye and acts on the psyche of the individual, making him believe that what he sees is real when it is not so. This is called *al-ukhdha*, "charm, incantation" [see RUḲYA], "artifice, stratagem" [see NĪRANDJ, SĪMIYĀ]; in short, everything that is known as "white" or "natural magic".

It also refers (2) to things, the apprehension (*ma'khadh*) of which is fine and subtle; this applies, for example, to certain poetry and certain eloquence, that of the Ḳur'ān in particular. The Prophet was allegedly told, *inna min al-bayāni la-siḥran* "there is a form of eloquent expression which has the effect of magic". The false prophet al-Aswad, who sought to restore the tribes of the Madhhidj [*q.v.*] to paganism, "made them see wondrous things and enchanted the hearts of those who heard him speak" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1796).

Thus *siḥr* consists essentially in a falsification of the reality of things and of actions. As such it is reprehensible, being allied to falsehood (*ifk*), to trickery (*khidāʿ*) and to astrology (*ʿilm al-nudjūm*; see NUDJŪM [AḤKĀM AL-]).

Finally, (3) it is applied to any action effected through recourse to a demon [see SHAYṬĀN] and with his assistance [see ISTINZĀL]. This is what is known as "black magic".

This definition, drawn from the entry *siḥr* in *LA*, does not cover all the aspects embraced by the term in Islamic literature, as detailed by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf*, i, 35). In fact, this last group, under the vocable *siḥr*, includes a number of concepts and techniques, totalling 14, which confer on this term a considerably broader sense.

In fact, for the aforementioned author, *siḥr* is included among the physical sciences and covers, thereby, divination [see KIHĀNA], natural magic [see NĪRANDJ], properties φυσικα [see KHAWĀṢṢ] of the Most Beautiful Names (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* [*q.v.*]), of numbers [see DJAFR, ḤURŪF] and of certain invocations [see ISTINZĀL], sympathetic magic [see RUḲYA], demoniacal conjuration, incantations (*'azā'im*), the evocation of spirits of corporeal beings (*istiḥḍār*), the invocation of the spirits of planets (*da'wat al-kawākib al-sayyāra*), phylacteries (amulets, talismans, philtres), the faculty of instantaneous disappearance from sight (*khafā'*), artifices and fraud (*al-ḥiyal al-sāsāniyya*), the art of disclosing frauds (*kashf al-dakk*), spells (*ta'alluḳ al-ḳalb*) and recourse to the properties of medicinal plants (*al-isti'āna bi-khawāṣṣ al-adwiya*).

This classification of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa is presented as a development of that given by Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ed. and tr. De Slane, iii, 124 ff., tr. 171 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 156 ff.). For the latter, "the souls of magicians possess the ability to exert influences in the universe and to tap into the spirituality (*rūḥāniyya*) of the planets, in order to use it in the exercise of their influence, by means of a psychic or satanic force" (126). These souls are classified in three categories:

(1) Those which act exclusively through the force of the will (*himma*), without instrument or aid. This is what the philosophers denote by the term *siḥr*.

(2) Those which act through the intermediary of the temperament (*mizādj*) of the celestial spheres and of the elements, or with the aid of the occult properties of numbers. It is this which is known as theurgy [see ṬILASM]. It is of inferior rank in relation to magic.

(3) Those which act on the imaginative faculties [of spectators], using them, in a certain sense, and introducing various kinds of phantoms, images and forms, in connection with that which they mean to realise. Subsequently, they cause these elements to descend to the level of the sensory perception of spectators, this by means of the specific force which characterises them and which puts them into a position of exerting influence on the senses of the latter. Spectators imagine that they see these forms outside themselves, whereas in reality there is nothing there. The philosophers call these practices prestidigitation or phantasmagoria (*sha'badha* or *sha'wadha* [*q.v.*]).

Such a diversification in the definition of the concept is encountered, considerably earlier, in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, who devotes to this question the second section or *fann* (308-13) of the eighth *maḳāla* of his work, a section intitled "Exorcists, jugglers, magicians, practitioners of white magic, conjurors and makers of talismans" (ed. Flügel, 304 ff.; Eng. tr. B. Dodge, New York 1970, ii, 725-33; section summarised by R. Lemay in *Sciences occultes et Islam*, in *BEO*, xliv [1992], 24-5).

Similarly, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' deal with magic (*siḥr*), incantations (*'azā'im*), the evil eye (*'ayn*) in their fifty-second and last *risāla*, where all the aspects of magic, as later classified by Ibn Khaldūn and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa are already involved. They go even further in basing the existence of magic, in its multiple and diversified forms, on the writings of the philosophers (Plato, Ptolemy, Abū Ma'shar), on astrology, on the sacred books (Bible and Ḳur'ān), with particular reference to the stories of Nimrod, Moses and Aaron, Jacob, Esau, Saul and Goliath, Solomon, on texts from India and the customs of the Sabians (ed. Beirut, iv, 283 ff.).

As for the proofs to be applied to each of the topics addressed, "the writings of the ancients and of the philosophers are full of them; it is impossible to exhaust the subject in a single book or in a single *risāla*" (306). The definition given by these authors to *siḥr* illustrates this difficulty. "*Siḥr*", they write, "denotes, in Arabic, clear expression (*bayān*), elucidation (*kashf*) of the true meaning of things and the exploitation of this, rapidly and with precision. It also signifies the announcement of an event before it takes place, induction on the basis of astrological data, divination, *zadjr* and *fa'l* [*q.vv.*]. All of this is obtained by means of astrology ..." Also involved here are transmutations of substances (*ḳalb al-'ayn*), miracles, prestidigitation, vile smells, etc. (312-13). On "Magic among the Ikhwān al-Safā'", see Pierre Lory, in *Sciences occultes et Islam*, 147-59.

Having shown the vast extent occupied by magic in the occult sciences, the Ikhwān al-Safā' give the following definition of it. "It is everything which entrances the intellect and everything which bewitches the soul, word or action, in the sense of amazement, attachment, inclination, submission, appreciation, obedience, acceptance" (314). The example which they give is quite illustrative of their manner of conceiving *siḥr*: "The people of the Djāhiliyya said of those who followed the Messenger of God and adhered to Islam: Such a person has been converted to the religion of Muḥammad; the magic (*siḥr*) of the latter has had this effect on him (*ibid.*; cf. al-Tirmidhī on sūra LIV; Ibn Ḥanbal, iv, 57, 82; Abū Dāwūd, *Adab*, 87). This is licit *siḥr*, whereas that exercised by enemies of the prophets and sages, with the aim of abusing the credulity of simple people, is illicit *siḥr*" (314/15).

On the basis of these classifications and these generalising definitions, it is possible to tabulate the numerous manifestations of *siḥr* under three headings: black magic, theurgy and white or natural magic. Theurgy will be addressed under ṬILASM, while white magic has been dealt with under NĪRANDJ, RUḲYA, SĪMIYĀ. This article will focus on black magic.

The essence of this magic, as stated by the author of *Lisān al-'Arab*, quoted above, is the recourse to demoniacal forces and the solicitation of their aid in the performance of the magical act. These forces are actually represented by the gods of paganism. In fact, *siḥr* is the equivalent, in the Ḳur'ān, of *kufr*, infidelity (VI, 7; XI, 7; XXIV, 43; etc.). The message of Muḥammad is described as *siḥr* by his Meccan adversaries, as had previously happened to the message of Moses (VII, 132; V, 110; X, 67; XXVII, 13; XXVIII, 36; XX, 57; etc.). *Siḥr* itself is of demoniacal origin: Hārūt and Mārūt, two fallen angels, taught *siḥr* to men: "They instructed nobody in their art without saying to him, 'We are a temptation! Beware lest you become an infidel!' People learned from them the means of sowing discord between man and woman—but they could not injure anyone without God's permission. Thus men learned that which was harmful to them and not that which could be advantageous to them; they knew that any person who had acquired this art was disinherited from any share in the future life. Such people had sold their souls cheaply!" (II, 102).

'Ilm al-siḥr is often seen as equivalent to *'ilm al-nudjūm*. This results from the notion that the planets exert beneficial and baneful influences over the three domains of the created being. The author of *Ghāyat al-ḥākim*, Abū Maslama Muḥammad (*not* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad) al-Madjrīṭī, who wrote between 443/1052 and 448/1056 (Sezgin, *GAS*, iv, 294-8), taking inspiration from the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' which Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Madjrīṭī (d. *ca.* 398/1007) had made known in

Andalusia, and from the *Nabataean agriculture*, apparently the work of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī (d. *ca.* 400/1009), author of a *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Filāḥa* (ms. Paris, 5774, fols. 152-86; Algiers, 1550, 2, fols. 154-80), writes: "Magic essentially comprises two parts, one theoretical and the other practical. The first consists in knowledge of the positions of the immobile heavenly bodies (which is where, in fact, the forms are located), the modalities of their radiation on the planets and, finally, aspects of conjunctions of the celestial spheres at the precise moment that the successful outcome of a project is desired. Under this heading, the ancients placed everything having to do with discernment of the beneficial and of the baneful [see IKHTIYĀRĀT] and with theurgy [see ṬILASM]. As for practical magic, it consists in the knowledge of the three domains of the created being (*al-muwalladāt al-thalāth*) and of the qualities of the planets which would be disseminated there. This is what is expressed by the term *khawāṣṣ*" [*q.v.*].

Ibn Khaldūn, who knew well the *Ghāya* and the *Nabataean agriculture*, underlines the astral connections of magic and its claims to inflect "the celestial spheres, the planets, the worlds above and the demons, by various types of veneration, adoration, submission and self-abasement" (iii, 127, tr. de Slane, iii, 176, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 159). On the concept of *siḥr* in *Ghāyat al-ḥākim*, see Fahd, in vol. i of *Ciencias de la Naturaleza en Al-Andalus*, Granada 1990, 11-21, entitled *Sciences naturelles et magie dans Ghāyat al-ḥākim du Psuedo-Maǧrīṭī*.

Considering the hostility of the Ḳur'ān and of *Ḥadīth* with regard to *siḥr*, one can only be astonished at the development experienced by the Hellenistic conception of magic in the lands of Islam.

While *siḥr* (mentioned 23 times in the Ḳur'ān) is not explicitly denounced there, being seen rather as an enchantment exerted over spirits, as a falsehood, as possession by a djinni, it is clearly abjured in *Ḥadīth*, where it is mentioned more than 29 times (see *Concordance*). The following *ḥadīths* may serve as examples: "Kill every *sāḥir* ... and *sāḥira*" (Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 190, 191); "The punishment (*ḥadd*) of the *sāḥir* [is decapitation] by the sword" (al-Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, 27); "Among the seven sins which merit death" (*al-mūbikāt*) are "the attribution of a partner to God (*shirk*) and *siḥr*" (Muslim, *Īmān*, 144; al-Bukhārī, *Waṣiyya*, 23, *Ṭibb*, 48, *Ḥudūd*, 44).

The attitude of the Ḳur'ān is explained by its angelology and its demonology: the angels, charged with guiding men towards God, make use of physical beings belonging to the three domains, capable of acting on the spirit of men. Such is the case with the staff of Moses which becomes a serpent before Pharaoh (Ḳur'ān, XX, 18-24); it is also the case with the demons in the service of King Solomon (II, 96). Having refused to bow down before Adam (XXV, 26-34) Iblīs was expelled from Paradise with those who had followed him. Then the angels divided into two groups, the loyal and the rebellious. The former guide men towards God; the latter, opponents of men, seek to estrange them from Him by means of seduction (*siḥr*). The procedures of this seduction constitute the bulk of magical practices (on this subject, see Fahd, in vol. viii of *Sources orientales*, entitled *Anges, démons et djinns en Islam*, Paris 1971, 155-214, Ital. tr. Rome 1994, 131-78).

It follows from this principle that magic represents the débris of a celestial knowledge, transmitted to mankind by fallen angels such as Hārūt and Mārūt in Babylon (Ḳur'ān, II, 96). The djinn, inferior spirits, acquire their knowledge by eavesdropping at the portals of Heaven, whence the custodians of these portals chase them away, pelting them with shooting stars (XXXVII, 6-10). The fallen angels married the daughters of men and begat children with them; they taught them "sorcery, enchantments and the properties of roots and of trees" (cf. *Book of Enoch*, VII, 1 ff., inspired by Gen. vi. 4). Others taught men "the art of resolving spells", "signs" (*āyāt*), "the art of observing the stars" and "the movements of the Moon" (Ḳur'ān, VIII, 3-8). Against men and their informants, "the Lord has decided in his justice that all the inhabitants of the earth shall perish [in the Flood], because they have in their hands the hostile power of the demons, the power of magic" (LXVI, 6) and furthermore: "They have discovered secrets which they had no right to know; this is why they shall be judged" (LXIV, 10). See Fahd, in *Sciences occultes et Islam*, 37-8, whence this summary is taken.

It is on this angelological and demonological conception that the approach to *siḥr* in Islam is based. On the one hand, there are the miracles (*āyāt*) performed by the prophets and associated by the unbelievers and the feeble-minded with magic (the staff of Moses, mentioned above, the four birds cut into pieces and placed on the mountains by Abraham and returning to him (Ḳur'ān, II, 262), the wind and the demons obeying the orders of Solomon (XXI, 81-2: XXXIV, 11-13), the birth of Yaḥyā (John the Baptist) to a very old father and a sterile woman (III, 33-6), and the bird which 'Īsā (Jesus) formed out of mud, breathing life into it (V, 109-110).

On the other hand, there is sorcery (*siḥr*) which, in the eyes of the Prophet, is one of the greatest sins of mankind (al-Bukhārī, lv, 23, lxxvi, 47). He himself had been bewitched by a Jew (idem, *Ṭibb*, 47, *Bad' al-khalḳ*, 11, *Djizya*, 14; al-Nasā'ī, *Taḥrīm*, 20). This took place at the end of the year 6/628 and lasted forty days. He learned of what had happened from two beings in human form who were conversing by his bed. He went to the well where a lock of his hair, taken from a comb, had been deposited, retrieved it and was cured (Muslim, ii, 275).

Thus *Ḥadīth*, supplementing the Ḳur'ān, condemns the *sāḥir* to death, whereas what emanates from Ḳur'ānic verses is rather a denunciation of those who allow themselves to be bewitched by the *saḥara*, agents of fallen angels, who are reckoned to put men to the test, as in the case of Satan with Job (see in this connection the term *fitna* in the Ḳur'ān, in particular XXII, 52-3).

Reflection on the part of the *fuḳahā'* resulted in the separation of permitted from prohibited magic. What is permitted is natural magic, known as "white", including, among other elements, charms [see RUḲYA; NĪRANDJ; SĪMIYĀ]; imaginary phenomena produced by natural means, on the basis of properties [see KHAWĀṢṢ], having no connection with religion; psychic phenomena materialised by the use of philtres and amulets (*tamā'im*), activated by means of absorption or fumigation of heteroclitic powders and fats; etc. (see the classifications set out above).

The practice of this magic is tolerated insofar as it causes no harm to others. But when the magician influences nature with the object of doing harm, he is exercising prohibited magic. This, as was stated at the outset, implies recourse to demoniacal inspiration (black magic) and to the invocation of the planets (theurgy).

It is by awareness of the causal mechanism which rules nature and by penetrating the affinities which bind mankind and the cosmos closely together that

the magician attempts to influence the course of natural events, harnessing the forces emanating from the causality and relativity which he establishes between beings. This is why the magician's art is no business for amateurs; an innate predisposition, rich and multifarious knowledge, and consummate skill in handling composition, conjunction, mixture and combinations, are indispensable.

To attain his objective, the magician sets in motion two procedures aimed at constraining higher forces to place their efficacy at his disposal:

1. *Demoniacal conjuration*, known as *ʿilm al-ʿazāʾim*, "the science of the formulas of conjuration", which is, according to Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 2057, an imperative, stern and insistent language, by which djinn and demons are commanded to put a scheme into effect. Each time that the magician pronounces the formula "I adjure you" (*ʿazamtu ʿalaykum*) he claims "to oblige them to obey, to respond to the summons without delay, to submit and to humble themselves before him". And the author adds, "This is possible and permissible, according to reason and to the Law ..., since subjugating the spirits, humbling them before God and rendering them subordinate to men, is one of the marvels of Creation". This conjuration becomes illicit when it consists in directing the spirit towards an object which is not God, and consequently, in being disloyal to Him. Such an attitude is aggravated by the depraved conduct of the magician and the harm caused by it to other beings. Hence the question which was the object of controversy between jurists, "Is the death penalty, inflicted on a magician, the consequence of the disloyalty which precedes the act, or is it rather the consequence of the depraved conduct in which he has indulged and the harm caused by it to other beings?" (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 127 tr. de Slane, iii, 176, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 159).

The opinion which has prevailed in Islam, after centuries of theological and judicial cogitation, is that of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who gave Islamic theology its definitive formulation. For him, magic is based on the combined knowledge of the properties of certain terrestrial elements and of propitious astral dispositions. This knowledge is not culpable in itself, but its only practical application is to harm others and make mischief (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* i, 49-50).

Another question demanded clarification. What is the difference between magic and miracle, meaning those *karāmāt* attributed to the Ṣūfīs which border on black magic, such as, e.g., making the words of the dead heard, walking on water, transforming substances, practising ubiquity, making inanimate objects talk, altering the passage of time, having prayers answered, binding and releasing tongues, winning support in a hostile assembly, communicating certain secret knowledge and unwrapping mysteries, disposing of things which one does not possess, distant vision, intimidating people by looks alone, being spared an evil contrived by another and turning it into something good, immunity from poison, epidemics, fire, etc. (cf. al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1224/1906, i, 2, 59-77; I. Goldziher, *Le culte des saints chez les musulmans*, in *RHR*, ii [1880], 336-7)?

Ibn Khaldūn replies to this question as follows: "The difference between miracle and magic resides in the fact that the miracle is [the effect of] a divine force which confers upon the soul [the power to exert] influence [over beings]. Thus [the thaumaturge] is supported, in his action, by the Spirit of God, while the magician realises his project through his own resources, through his own psychic force and sometimes with the assistance of demons. Therefore, the difference which separates them is simultaneously an issue of concept, reality and essence" (iii, 133-4, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 166-7).

2. *The evocation of spirits*, whether those of the dead (necromancy), those of less demons or those of planets.

(a) Necromancy belongs rather to the realm of divination (cf. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, 174 ff.) but in terms of technique, it is allied to black magic, to the same degree as are the other two types of evocation. It consists of two phases. The first, of a material nature, comprises the preparation of a mixture of various products drawn from a special pharmacopoeia, and all kinds of fumigations; the second, of an intellectual nature, consists of the composition, in the form of an invocation, of a prayer mentioning all the qualities and all the attributes of the spirit invoked, and formulating all the pleas with which compliance is requested.

(b) The evocation of demons is accomplished with the aid of incantations (cf. above, no. 1). Three terms denote three procedures of spiritism: *istikhdām* (making a spirit do a certain thing), *istinzāl* (making a spirit descend in the form of a phantom) and *istiḥḍār* (making a spirit descend into a body).

(c) The invocation of the spirits of planets is described at length by al-Madjrīṭī (*Ghāya*, 182-6). It consists in drawing to oneself the spirituality (*rūḥāniyya*) of the planets. For this to be done, the nature of each one of them must be known: its colour, its taste, its odour; then it is necessary to observe the moment when this planet reaches the point corresponding to it in the zodiacal sphere, in a straight line which does not cross a line from another planet of different nature. If this is so, the line starting from this planet and terminating on the earth will be straight and unbroken. Subsequently, a cross is made from the same mineral as that associated with the planet invoked, and placed on an image representing the request that is to made of the spirit invoked (see the detailed description of the manner in which this image is used, according to the result which is sought, in Fahd, in *Sources orientales*, vii, 170-1).

Al-Madjrīṭī concludes (*ibid.*, 85) that it is a perfect nature which fulfils in man the condition of his accession to the world of the spirits; his progressive assimilation to the forces which he conjures, evokes or invokes, contributes to the efficacity of his action and to the success of his enterprise. Spiritual beings (*al-rūḥāniyya*) appear to him then as personalities, speak to him and give him all kinds of information.

From the simple bewitchment of the Prophet, using a lock of his hair, to the invocation of the spirits of planets, a long road has been travelled. Along the way Islam, the heir to the ancient civilisations, whether they be Semitic, Iranian or Hellenistic, has incorporated in its rich patrimony ideas, customs and practices which developed and intermingled throughout the vast area of the Near and the Middle East.

From pre-Islamic Arabia, the inheritance is scanty: incantations against "the evil (arising) from those who breathe on the knots" (*al-naffāthāt fī ʾl-ʿuḳad*), a practice analogous to that known as "tying the aglet", designed to keep husbands and wives apart (Ḳurʾān, CXIII, 4). According to the commentators, this usage was the inspiration for the revelation of the three earliest sūras of the Ḳurʾān (CXII, CXIII, CXIV), the last two being called *al-muʿawwidhatānⁱ* [*q.v.*].

In writings intitled *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* and *al-Ṭibb fī ʾl-Ḳurʾān*, numerous examples illustrate the use of incantations and charms by the Prophet and his

contemporaries (see *Sources orientales*, iv, 195-6, notes 63 ff.). Al-Bukhārī, *Ṭibb*, 53, devotes a *bāb* entitled *al-dawā' bi 'l-'adjwa li 'l-siḥr* to the use of date-pulp as a remedy against enchantment (see H. Reinfried, *Braüche bei Zauber und Wunder bei Bukhārī*, diss. Freiburg i. Br., Karlsruhe 1915; cf. also Goldziher, *Chatm al-Bukhārī*, in *Isl.*, vi [1916], 214).

Originating in this popular witchcraft, which serves, furthermore, as a motif in the poetry of the court, magic takes a new turn with the translation of Greek magical works. Michael of Syria, ed. Chabot, 478b, 30, relates that the Byzantine emperor Leo (IV, the Khazar, 775-80) sent as a gift to the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) the book by Ianis and Iambris dealing with the secrets of Egyptian magic. From this period onward there is a proliferation of magical works attributed to Indians, Copts, Nabataeans, Sabians, etc. A work of Hellenistic magic produced a synthesis of the concepts linking magic with astrology, namely *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* by al-Madjrīṭī, utilised previously and translated into Latin under the title of *Picatrix*. It played an important role in the development of magic in the West (ed. H. Ritter, in *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 13*, Leipzig 1933; Ger. tr. H. Ritter and M. Plessner, in *Studies of the Warburg Institute 27*, London 1962; see also Ritter, *Picatrix, ein arabisches Handbuch hellenistischer Magie*, in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1921-22*).

From the *K. al-Sirr al-Maktūm fī 'ilm al-ṭalāsim wa 'l-siḥr wa 'l-nīrandjāt wa 'l-nudjūm* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209-10) to *Shams al-ma'ārif* by al-Būnī (d. 622/1225) and to Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), magic in Islam has experienced prodigious development. A very substantial magical library has been constituted, to which a competent scholar has yet to devote the study which it deserves.

Bibliography: See the numerous references in the text. It may be noted that, in this article, use has been made of two of the present writer's previous works devoted to this subject: *Le monde du sorcier en Islam*, in *Sources orientales*, vii, Paris 1966, 157-204 (numerous refs. in the notes and bibl.), and *La connaissance de l'inconnaissable et l'obtention de l'impossible dans la pensée mantique et magique de l'Islam*, in *Sciences occultes et Islam*, in *BEO*, xliv (1992), 33-44; see also idem, *Magic (Islam)* in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, repr. in *Hidden truths. Magic, alchemy and the occult*, ed. L.E. Sullivan, New York-London 1989, 122-30, and *Sciences naturelles et magie dans Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm (d'Abū Maslama l-Madjrīṭī)*, in *Ciencias de la Naturaleza en Al-Andalus*, ed. E. Garcia Sanchez, i, Granada 1990, 11-21. For Ibn al-Nadīm, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' and al-Madjrīṭī, see refs. in the text. Particular attention should be given to *Shams al-ma'ārif* by al-Būnī, a synthesis of magical lore in Islam, which has appeared in three editions: lengthy, medium and short. The first was edited in Cairo in 4 vols. in 1905; many lithographs and a vast number of manuscripts exist. It may be noted that Pierre Lory has taken an interest in this; see his *La magie des lettres dans le Shams al-Ma'ārif d'al-Būnī*, in *BEO*, xxxix-xl (1987-8). Another equally important text for this subject is the *K. al-Sirr al-Maktūm fī 'ilm al-ṭalāsim wa 'l-siḥr wa 'l-nīrandjāt wa 'l-nudjūm*, also known by the title *al-Sirr al-Maktūm fī mukhāṭabat al-nudjūm* and lithographed in Cairo; numerous mss. of it exist, the one consulted here being Nuruosmaniye 2792 (220 fols., 28 × 19 cm, fine *naskhī*, where the illustrations are lacking, their place having been left blank); the ms. Köprülü 925 (100 fols., *naskhī*, 25 × 17 cm) specifies that the work is by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī and not by Fakhr al-Dīn.

Among the studies, worthy of mention are E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; E. Mauchamp, *La sorcellerie au Maroc*, posthumously published work preceded by a documentary study of the author and the work by J. Bois, Paris n.d.; M. Gray, *Magie et sorcellerie en Afrique du Nord*, in *Bull. de l'Enseignement public marocain*, ccxxx (January-March 1954), 45-72; G. Bousquet, *Fiqh et sorcellerie*, in *AIEO Alger*, viii (1949-50), 230-4; A. Guillaume, *Prophétie et divination*, French tr. Paris 1941 (cf. ch. vi, "Magic and sorcery", 280-344, and note C: *Magie et religion*, 454-59); R. Kriss, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, ii. *Amulette und Beschwörungen*, Wiesbaden 1961 (with 104 plates); A. Kovalenko, *Magie et Islam. Les concepts de magie (siḥr) et de sciences occultes ('ilm al-ghayb) en Islam*, diss. Univ. of Strasbourg 1979, publ. Geneva 1991, 721 pp. (see 424-37, where the sources for *'ilm al-siḥr* in Islam are to be found listed, and 566-619, where there is a general bibliography on the occult sciences).

On the Hellenistic legacy in Islam, see M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, H der O, i. Abt., Erganz, vi, 2. Absch., Leiden-Cologne 1972, 359-426. For magic in the mediaeval West and its oriental sources, see L. Thorndike, *History of magic and experimental science*, i, New York 1947, 641-71, and R.H. Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, New York 1959.

(T. Fahd)

ṢIHYAWN, the Arabic name of Biblical *Ṣiyyôn*. The etymology of the Hebrew word ציון (*Ṣiyyôn*) is uncertain. It may be related to a Semitic root "to be dry", "to suffer from thirst". But it is not entirely impossible that the root may be related to the Arabic root *ṣ-w-n*, also appearing in Ge'ez, meaning "to guard", "to preserve". In the works of the Arab lexicographers, the word has the nominal pattern of *Ṣihyawn* meaning Jerusalem or Byzantium. The word possibly appears in this sense already in a verse of al-A'shā Maymūn (d. after 625). This form, *ṣihyawn*, is most probably derived from an Aramaic dialect which pronounced the word as in Syriac *ṣehyūn*.

Ṣiyyôn, David's Citadel and his traditional burial place, extended over southeastern Jerusalem, below the Temple Mount. By Josephus' time it was identified with the upper city, the southwestern hill of Jerusalem, including the sites presently identified with Mount Zion. The early Christians located the Biblical Mount Zion in the southwestern hill of Jerusalem not only following Josephus's mistaken identification, but also because early scenes and events of the Christian church sanctified this hill.

1. The Church of Zion.

The existence of a modest church on Mount Zion is first noted by Cyril of Jerusalem, around the year A.D. 348. In the days of Bishop John II (386-417), the Zion church was rebuilt becoming one of the largest and important churches in Jerusalem. Also, the tradition of Zion as the site of the Last Supper, the place where Mary fell asleep and where the Holy Spirit descended upon the disciples on the Pentecost, became established from the end of the 4th to the middle of the 5th century. During the Persian conquest (A.D. 614), the church was burned down, probably leaving its interior looted and despoiled. Modestus, Acting Patriarch of Jerusalem, rebuilt the church from its ruins.

Mount Zion and the Zion church are noted in

early Arabic texts from the beginning of the Arab conquest and onward. Prior to the 10th century, the word Ṣihyawn (Ṣahyūn?) is rare and refers to Jerusalem as a whole or an area in Jerusalem. Noteworthy is a rare tradition identifying Ṣihyawn as Mecca, possibly an attempt of an early tendency to enhance the holiness of Mecca by attributing to it holy merits of Biblical places and persons (*al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, i, 296; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Wafā'*, i, 69).

The Muslim conquest of Jerusalem (638) did not result in the immediate destruction of churches and monasteries, but many fell into abandonment and ruin. The wave of destruction against the churches in Palestine at the beginning of the 10th century bypassed Jerusalem. However, in 966 the Church of Zion was burned and pillaged with the direct encouragement of the Ikhshīdid governor of Jerusalem, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Ṣanādjī. At the beginning of the 11th century, Mount Zion and the Church of Zion were evidently outside the city walls. In the framework of the wall-building activity, by order of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāhir in 424/1033, the workers used stones of the many churches outside the city, including those of the Church of Zion, which was apparently destroyed.

2. The Crusader and Ayyūbid period.

On the Frankish capture of Jerusalem, the church and most of the sites on Mount Zion were handed over to the Latin Church. Presumably it was reconstructed a short time after the conquest on the site where the Holy Church of Zion previously stood. It was already noted by Christian pilgrims in the first decade of the 12th century; the building was evidently completed in 1141. The church was built in the cellular vaulted Latin fashion; it included the Cenacle, in the southwestern corner of the central hall, and under it, the room in which David's Tomb was identified.

David died in the City of David, which extended southeastward to the Temple Mount. Despite this, the ancient Christians located David's Tomb in Bethlehem or its close vicinity, an identification that prevailed for the entire Byzantine period, up to the 7th century. An early Muslim tradition locates David and Solomon's tombs in the Church of Gethsemane (*Kanīsat al-Djismāniyya*; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1985, i, 492, 523; Mudjīr al-Dīn, ed. Nadjaf, i, 116, from Wahb b. al-Munabbih; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 111).

The first Christian source that mentions explicitly David's Tomb on Mount Zion is dated slightly before the 11th century. The source of this tradition is apparently in memorial services for David and James, Jesus's brother, found in the liturgies conducted in this church on the 25th of December and later, on the 26th, already in the Byzantine period, and not in the later Muslim tradition that was influenced by Jewish sources. The ancient structure that has been identified as David's Tomb from the Crusader period to the present day was not a part of the Byzantine Church of Zion. Muslim writers and geographers of the 10th century, indeed, connect David with Mount Zion; however, they do not locate his grave on the mountain and certainly not in the church on it. The testimony of al-Muḳaddasī, 46 (most probably from the mid-10th century), that "people of the book say that David's Tomb is in Ṣihyawn" is not unequivocal evidence that the tomb is located on Mount Zion and certainly not in its church; this may possibly refer to the Biblical identification of Zion.

Nonetheless, it is apparent that the tradition claiming that David's Tomb is in the Church of Zion was already established at the beginning of the 11th century (Ibn al-Muradjdjā, 247, no. 368; but cf. al-Tha'labī, Būlāḳ 1320, i, 240, who locates it on Mount Zion, and not in the Church). In spite of its dubious origin, it was accepted by all three religions. The tradition claiming that David's tomb is in the Church of Zion also appears from the beginning of Crusader rule, and was noted often by the Christian pilgrims who visited Jerusalem in later centuries. Al-Harawī (1174) notes the tradition of David's tomb on Mount Zion, but is also familiar with other traditions regarding the site of the tomb.

When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn approached Jerusalem (1187), the Christian churches outside Jerusalem, including the church of St. Maria of Mount Sion, were destroyed or seized. During the time of his stay in Jerusalem, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother, al-Malik al-'Ādil, lived in the Zion church, while his soldiers set up their tents in front of the church. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built up and renovated the walls of Jerusalem (1192), which were extended to include Mount Zion and the church on it. Al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsā began restoration in Jerusalem and on its walls in 1202-3, yet in 1219 he ordered the walls to be destroyed. The targeted area also included Mount Zion and apparently also the church on it. It does not seem that, prior to leaving Jerusalem in 1229, Frederick II took on the task of building and fortifying the walls of the city and its bastions. Mount Zion was never walled again. On Crusader maps of the 12th to 14th centuries, it appears outside the wall.

The church suffered destruction by the Khwārazmian troops that reached Jerusalem in 1244, and at the end of the 13th century it was described as desolate and in ruins.

3. The Mamlūk period.

In 1333 King Robert of Naples and his wife bought the place and gave it to the Franciscans, who restored the Cenacle and built a small monastery around the room to the south of it.

In decrees and documents from the Mamlūk period, the church is termed Kanīsat Ṣahyūn, Kanīsat 'Ulliyyat Ṣahyūn or Kanīsat Dayr Ṣahyūn, and the monastery: Dayr Kanīsat Ṣahyūn or Dayr Ṣahyūn. At the beginning of the reign of each new sultan, the Franciscan monks requested a royal decree confirming their rights on Mount Zion to the church, the monastery and its other sacred constructions. The last decree in hand is Ḳā'itbāy's, from 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 876/17 April 1472, in which he renews the decrees of the preceding rulers. Among the 28 documents from the Mamlūk period that Risciani published, eight are royal decrees, extending from the rule of al-Ashraf Sha'bān up to the 14th year of Ḳā'itbāy's rule. Often these decrees respond to letters of complaint from Jerusalem Christians in general, and from monks from Mount Zion, on the violation of rights and requests to repair parts of the holy constructions that were ruinous.

In the 15th century several attempts were made by the Muslim rulers to take control of David's tomb and to expropriate it from the Franciscans. The Jewish community in Jerusalem took an active part in these efforts. In 1428 the Muslims took control of the place and took it out of the hands of the Christians. In 1430 the Franciscans were allowed to enter the place, but the arrangements for prayer services depended on the good will of the régime and of the guards at the place. In 1448 David's Tomb and the Upper Room were evidently returned to the Christians; but in 1452 the place was taken out of their hands permanently, a *ḳibla* was built in it and a supervisor was appointed

to oversee the hall of David's Tomb. From this time on, Christians were forbidden to enter the premises. In 1436 the upper room was renovated and renewed by Duke Phillip the Good of Burgundy, but, as learned from one of the documents (11 Djumādā II 841/10 November 1437, Barsbāy's reign), ten years later the Upper Room, which is called ʿUlliyyat Ṣahyūn, is found on the roof of the monastery, most of whose vaulted roof and walls was destroyed. The chapel remained desolate until 1452, when it was completely destroyed by the Muslims. The Ottomans returned David's Tomb and the church of the Cenacle to the monks in 1519. In 1523 an order was given to banish the monks from the monastery and the Cenacle church and to turn the place into a mosque. In 1524 the hall was destroyed, the Cenacle church became a mosque and a *miḥrāb* was erected in it. The inscription on the eastern wall of the Cenacle commemorates this transformation to a mosque, which since then, together with David's Tomb, is known as Masdjid Nabī Dawūd.

4. The Ottoman period.

In the course of 25 years, step by step the Franciscans were pushed out of the buildings they held on Mount Zion, all the while suffering confiscation of property, fines and imprisonment from the hard hand of the Ottoman régime. Already in 1549 the sultan endowed the Zion monastery and adjacent gardens to the Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dadjdjānī, his offspring and his dervish followers. They were permanently removed from the monastery between 1551 and 1552. From that time, the monks were not permitted to enter the Cenacle or the place identified as David's Tomb.

The Franciscans were first allowed to pray again in the Cenacle during the period of Egyptian rule (1831-40), but only twice a year. At the end of the 19th century, the guards permitted the Christians to enter against payment. During the British Mandate, the Jews were allowed to pray at David's tomb once a year.

At the end of World War I, within the framework of its endeavours to gain a sphere of influence in Palestine, the Italian government attempted to lay claim to the Cenacle on Mount Zion and to transfer it to its authority, on the basis that the Italian king was the heir of the Neapolitan kings who purchased it. These efforts, accompanied by the intervention of the Vatican, continued until 1933, but came to naught. In 1936 the Franciscans returned to Mount Zion and settled in a small monastery north of David's tomb.

Today the Cenacle is identified in the second floor of the ancient structure that was part of the Crusader church. It is a long room built in the Gothic style of the 12th century. A cenotaph in honour of David is found on the ground floor of the structure, part of which is very ancient, from the end of the Roman or the Byzantine period.

5. The Church of the Dormition.

The Church of the Dormition was built between 1900 and 1910 on part of the grounds over which the ancient Church of Zion extended. The grounds were given to Kaiser Wilhelm II by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. The Benedictine monks were given charge of the sanctuary of the Dormition in 1906. In 1926 the Benedictine priory was elevated to the status of an abbey by the Apostolic See, and in March 1951, the abbey was placed directly under the Pope.

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4. The Church of Zion, the Coenaculum, David's Tomb, the Franciscans on Mount Zion. An extensive bibl. (excluding items in the Arabic language) is to be found in K. Bieberstein and H. Bloedhorn (eds.), *Jerusalem, Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft* (*Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Reihe B. 100/1-3*), Wiesbaden 1994, ii, 118-27, 163-5. (A. Elad)

SIʿIRD, Siʿirt, Isʿird, the orthography in medieval Arabic texts for a town of southeastern Anatolia, 150 km/95 miles to the east of modern Diyarbakir and 65 km/44 miles to the south-west of Lake Van (lat. 37° 56' N., long. 41° 56' E.). It lies on the Bohtan tributary of the upper Tigris in the foothills of the eastern end of the Taurus Mts. It is the modern

Turkish town of Siirt, now the chef-lieu of an *il* or province of the same name.

1. History.

(a) The pre-Ottoman period. Siʿird is mentioned very little in early Islamic sources; the absence of fortifications apparently made it of little strategic or military value. Some authorities accounted it as administratively within Armenia, others as within al-Djazīra. Siʿird (Syriac, Seʿerd) was, however, a notable centre for Eastern Christianity, and al-Shābushtī (3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]) mentions there the monastery of Aḥwīshā (Syr. "anchorite" = Ar. *ḥabīs*) which had 400 monks in their cells (*K. al-Diyārāt*, ed. ʿAwwād, 198). At some point after 1036, an unknown Nestorian author composed in Arabic the so-called *Chronicle of Seʿert*, a universal history based on Syriac sources (see Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 195-6).

In mediaeval times, Siʿird tended to share in the history of Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Diyār Bakr. Thus in the 5th/11th century it came within the dominions of the Marwānids [*q.v.*], and in the next one, of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*] of Ḥiṣn Kayfā. In 538/1143-4 it was taken by Zangī b. Aḳ Sunḳur. It was sacked by the Mongols after the defeat of the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn, but seems to have revived, since Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 105, tr. 104, describes it as a rich town, famed for the manufacture of brass utensils. Under the suzerainty of the Il Khānids and their successors the Djalāyirids, Siʿird was ruled by the local Ayyūbid line of Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Āmid until in *ca.* 866/1462 the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] ended this petty dynasty.

There do not seem to have been any *ʿulamāʾ* of note from Siʿird, but it did produce a poet in Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Isʿirdī (d. 656/1258 [*q.v.* in Suppl.], author of poems in praise of hashish-eating and wine-drinking (see F. Rosenthal, *The herb, hashish versus medieval Muslim society*, Leiden 1971, 6, 163-6 and index).

Bibliography: See also Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 114; Marquart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen*, Vienna 1930, 341; Canard, *Hʿamdanides*, 85-6; *EI*[1] art. *Seʿerd* (J.H. Kramers). (C.E. Bosworth)

(b) The Ottoman and modern periods. For a short time, the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I held Siirt; but after the latter's defeat at Čāldirān, a surviving descendant of the Ayyūbid lords, by the name of Malik Khalīl, submitted to the Ottomans. Under the overlordship of the Diyārbekir *beglerbegi* Bïyïḳlï Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], Malik Khalīl governed the town along with nearby Ḥiṣn Kayfā. In a *taḥrīr* dated 932/1526, Siirt is recorded as a *ḳaḍā* forming part of the *beglerbeglik* of Diyārbekir. At this time, Siirt consisted of 406 Muslim families along with 58 unmarried men, while the Christian communities numbered 448 households and 152 unmarried men. With the addition of a castle garrison and a small Jewish colony, the town should have held between 4,500 and 5,000 inhabitants. Among the notable buildings of the town, the *taḥrīr* records the Ulu Djāmiʿ and the Djemāliyye *medrese*, while Malik Khalīl had built a number of shoemakers' shops to provide income for one of his pious foundations. According to the same source, the rural area forming the district of Siirt was inhabited by 654 families and 151 unmarried men, all Muslims. A document dated 967/1560 describes Siirt as merely a *nāḥiye* in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥiṣn Kayfā; but we cannot be sure that this really represented an administrative downgrading, as in this period, *taḥrīrs* often use the terms *ḳaḍā* and *nāḥiye* interchangeably.

In the 11th/17th century, Ewliyā Čelebi enumerated Siirt as an "Ottoman" *sandjaḳ* of Diyārbekir; by this term he meant that the *sandjaḳ* was not governed by a local Kurdish family of hereditary governors but formed part of the regular administrative structure. The *khāṣṣ* of the governor of Siirt supposedly produced 223,772 *aḳčes* a year. In 1080-1/1670-1, the accounts of the Diyārbekir governor Wezīr Silāḥdār Ḥādjdjī ʿÖmer Pasha showed Siirt once again as a *ḳaḍā*. The *pasha* collected a small sum as *ordu pazār akčesi*, dues presumably in connection with the obligation of the local craftsmen to furnish services to the army. Probably the campaign referred to here was directed against Bedouins; for a few lines later in the text, the *mütesellim* of Siirt was excused from participation in just this campaign. Moreover, the *ḳaḍā* of Siirt owed 350 *ghurush* as dues from vineyards, fabrics and firewood. These dues make it appear likely that Siirt, famous for its vineyards in the early 13th/19th century, and to some extent, down to the present day, already possessed them in the later 11th/17th century. As to the fabrics, they may correspond to the cotton, both white and striped, which Macdonald Kinneir observed in the area in the early 19th century, or to the calico from Bitlis which the Christians of early 19th century Siirt used to dye. This same traveller estimated the population of Siirt as numbering about 3,000; in addition to the Muslims, there were some Armenian, Chaldaean and Nestorian Christians. At that time, Siirt was ruled by a personage which the traveller describes as a "chief", but does not name; he controlled the harvested crops of the area, which he then passed out to his followers.

Many houses in the town, built of a locally manufactured gypsum, known as *djaṣṣ*, possessed some arrangements for defence. Houses of this type, with domes and vaults to minimise the need for wood, are still to be found in the older quarters of the 20th-century town; however, due to the fragility of the material, the buildings must be reconstructed about once in twenty-five years. At the time of Macdonald Kinneir's visit, there were three mosques and a *medrese*. This total should have included the Ulu Djāmiʿ, probably a Saldjūḳ structure whose wooden *minbar* has been preserved in the Ankara Museum of Ethnography, and the Čarshï Djāmiʿi, going back to Artuḳid times.

In the summer of 1838, von Moltke reported that three years before his visit, Siirt had been conquered by Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*]. At that time, the authorities counted 600 Muslim and 200 Christian households; but due to excessive and constantly renewed demands for recruits, the Muslim population had subsequently been reduced to 400 households. When von Moltke visited Siirt, only boys and old men were visible on the streets.

When Cuinet collected his information in *ca.* 1890, Siirt had been transferred from the *wilāyet* of Diyārbekir to that of Bitlis. He thought that the town contained about 3,000 houses inhabited by 15,000 people. Among these, almost two-thirds were Muslims, while apart from the Christian churches which had been present in the town at the beginning of the 13th/19th century, there were now Protestant Armenians and Catholic Chaldaeans, whose schools were run by American missionaries and French Dominicans respectively. The number of mosques had now increased to five, one of which possessed two minarets which Cuinet considered to be of great antiquity. He also refers to an ancient fortress, complete with towers, crenellations and moat, where in the past Kurdish *aghas* had resided. These must have been the personages whom

Macdonald Kinneir had compared to mediaeval Scottish earls, but who had probably disappeared as a result of the repressive campaigns of Sultan Mahmud II.

Under the Republic, Siirt remained a remote little town, although the railway did by 1932 reach Kurtalan, 32 km/20 miles away, and Siirt was promoted to be a regional centre. According to the 1927 census, it had 14,380 inhabitants; increase was slow up to the 1970s, but in 1980 there were over 42,000 people. The building of local roads in the 1950s added the cultivation of pistachio nuts to the traditional vineyards, and oil was found in the Kurtalan region, with a refinery at nearby Batman, the only major industrial enterprise in the province. Further progress may be possible with the completion of new dams on the upper Tigris, but in the rural areas, poverty and isolation are the norm; the level of literacy in the province is one of the lowest in Turkey, electrification is sparse and medical facilities few.

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2. Arabic dialect.

The Arabic dialect of Siʿird and the closely-related dialects of six neighbouring villages constitute a subgroup of the Anatolian branch of the Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialects [see ʿIRĀḲ. iv. Languages (a) Arabic dialects]; they form a linguistic island in the Kurdish language area.

A unique feature of the Siʿird subgroup is the regular shift of the interdental fricatives *t̠*, *d̠* and *ḏ̣* (the latter resulting from the merger of O[ld] A[rabic] *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ*) to the labio-dental fricatives *f*, *v* and *ṿ* (*baʿaf* "he sent", *əven* "ear", *ṿarab* "he beat", *ṿəhor* "noon"). OA *q* has been preserved as a voiceless uvular stop but alternates under undefined conditions with a glottal stop ʾ or even zero, thus *qāl* ~ *ʾāl* ~ *āl* "he said"; in a few lexical items OA ʾ can appear as *q* (*qaṛṿ* "earth"). The voiced pharyngal fricative ʿ is devoiced to *ḥ* word finally (*ytalloḥ* < *ytalloʿ* "he looks", cf. *ytalʿū* "they look"); word final *ḥ* in turn is pronounced rather weak and can be dropped altogether (*ytallo* "he looks", *yrō* "he goes" but *yrōḥū* "they go"). Initial *h* has been elided in the demonstratives: *āva* "this (m.)", *āvi* "this (f.)", *awle* "these". The vowel system comprises five long vowels (*ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō*, *ā*), all while preserving OA diphthongs *ay* and *aw*. As in all Anatolian *qəltu* dialects, OA *i* and *u* have been merged into *ə* (*bənt* "daughter", *əxt* "sister"); in unstressed word final *-əC* the vowel has the allophones *e* and *o* depending on front or back consonant environment (*yxalloṣ* "he frees", *yənseğ* "he weaves").

Arabic verb stems II, III, V, VI and X have a single inflectional base for perfect and imperfect showing *ə* (*e*/*o*) in the last syllable (*xalloṣ*/*yxalloṣ* "to free", *ʿallem*/*yʿallem* "to teach", *tʿallem*/*yətʿallem* "to learn", *stanṿor*/*yəstanṿor* "to wait"). The 1. person sing. perfect ends in *-tu*, a hallmark of the *qəltu* dialects (*tʿalləmtu* "I learned", *stanṿərtu* "I waited"). In the imperfect, final *-n* has been dropped in the 2. f. sing. and 2. and 3. pers. pl., but stress has been retained on the final vowel (*yrōḥū* "they go", cf. Mārdīn *yrōḥūn*). The characteristic copula of Anatolian *qəltu* dialects is found also in Siʿird Arabic but precedes the predicate rather than following it (*ūwe malī* "he is good", cf. Mārdīn *maléh-we*).

Bibliography: The only treatment so far is to be found in O. Jastrow, *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen qəltu-Dialekte*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1978-81, esp. ii, 217-307. (O. Jastrow)

SIKANDAR [see ISKANDAR].

SIKANDAR b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Hindāl, called **BUT-SHIKAN**, sultan of Kashmīr (*r.* 791-813/1389-1410), who derived his name of "idol breaker" from his rigorist Muslim policies and draconian measures against the local Hindus.

As a minor, he had his mother as regent until 795/1393 when, with the support of the Bayhaḳī Sayyids [*q.v.* in Suppl.], refugees who had fled before Tīmūr [*q.v.*], he threw off this tutelage and became the effective ruler, now having the *khuṭba* read in his own name and minting coins. The campaigns of Tīmūr brought a considerable number of immigrants into India, and the most distinguished of these to reach Kashmīr in Sikandar's reign was Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Hamadānī, who remained in Kashmīr for twelve years. The sultan lavished land-grants on him and on others, and built *khānaḳāhs* for Ṣūfīs. He also embarked on a strongly Muslim policy of enforcing the *sharīʿa*, imposing the *djizya* on non-Muslims and destroying Hindu temples. It was only after his death and the succession of his son ʿAlī Shāh that there was a reversion to more pacific and tolerant ways in Kashmīr.

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SIKANDAR LŌDĪ [see LŌDĪS].

SIKANDAR SHĀH, Sultan of Bengal, son of Ilyās Shāh, the founder of the independent Sultanate in Bengal that lasted nearly two centuries. During his long rule (759-92/1358-90), Bengal enjoyed a steady growth and prosperity. Soon after his enthronement, Bengal was invaded by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, the mighty Dihlī Sultan. In order to avoid direct confrontation, Sikandar Shāh retreated to Ekdala fort near his capital Panduʾā [*q.v.*] and finally reached a peaceful settlement with Fīrūz Shāh. Except for two years of exile in Sonārgāʾon, the famous Čishtī Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ lived mostly in Panduʾā during his reign.

A great patron of architecture, Sikandar Shāh is mostly remembered for Adīna Djāmiʿ Masdjid in Panduʾā—a very imposing architectural expression of its time in the Muslim world (see for it, Yolande Crowe, *Reflections on the Adina Mosque at Pandua*, in G. Michell (ed.), *The Islamic heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO, Paris 1984, 155-64). Epigraphic evidence suggests that his rule once extended up to the present district of Čampanagar (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 107-8). Sikandar Shāh died in a power struggle with his son and heir-apparent Ghiyāth al-Dīn Aʿẓam Shāh.

Bibliography: Ghulām Ḥusayn Salīm, *Riyāḍ al-salāṭīn*, tr. Abdus Salam, Calcutta 1904; Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Dirāsāt fī 'l-ḥaḍāra wa 'l-thakāfa al-islāmiyya fī bilād al-Bangāl*, Kushtia, Bangladesh 1992.

(Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq)

SIKANDARĀBĀD, SECUNDERABAD [see ḤAYDARĀBĀD. a. City].

SIKBĀDJ (A.), a vinegar- and flour-based meat stew or broth cooked with vegetables, fruits, spices and date-juice. It was apparently a popular ʿAbbāsid dish but very likely considered simple folk's food, as borne out by the many anecdotes that make satirical mention of it. Its origins, however, seem to have been royal, namely the Sāsānid court: Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ (d. second half 4th/10th century) mentions, in his *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. K. Öhrnberg and S. Mroueh, Helsinki 1987, 132, that Khusraw Anūshirwān [*q.v.*] once asked several cooks to prepare the finest dish they knew and all independently cooked *sikbādj*. (This perhaps explains the interest of certain ʿAbbāsid caliphs in the dish.) It merits inclusion here for its interesting appearances in: (1) numerous 3rd/9th- and 4th/10th-century collections (e.g. al-Shābushtī, *al-Diyārāt*, ed. ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1386/1966, 92; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bukhalāʾ*, ed. al-Ḥādjirī, Cairo 1971, 24, 122, 288, 335; al-Azdī, *al-Risāla al-Baghdādiyya*, ed. al-Shāldjī, Beirut 1400-1980, 159, 167; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 2905; (2) important *adab* collections of later centuries (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, Cairo 1400/1980, xiii, 102; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Beirut 1988, i, 261); (3) two cookbooks, Ibn Sayyār, *op. cit.*, 132-7, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī (d. 637/1239), *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. al-Bārūdī, Beirut 1964, 13-14; (4) ʿAbbāsid proverbs (al-Ṭālaḳānī, *Risālat al-Amthāl al-Baghdādiyya allatī tadjrī bayn al-ʿāmma* (*djamaʿahā fī sanat 421*), ed. Massignon, Cairo n.d.); and (5) poetry—in one of Ibn al-Rūmī's satires, for instance (*Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, Cairo 1973, 1062), and also in some verses by al-Ḳisāfī the younger, who, according to an anecdote reported by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir [*q.v.*], was present one day when a certain Abū Ayyūd presented a pot of *sikbādj* to Ibn Mukarram (Mukram?) (Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *al-Waraḳa*, ed. ʿAzzām and Farrādj, Cairo 1953, 9).

Sikbādj is an Arabicised word deriving from the Persian *sik*, meaning "vinegar", and *bāhā* (or *bādj*) meaning "type", i.e. of meat; *TA* also suggests a derivation from *sirka* (vinegar) and *bāča* (trotters) (Lane, i, 1389). In al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Taṭfīl wa-ḥikāyāt al-tufayliyyīn*, Damascus 1346/1927, 86-7, *sikbādj* is described as most delicious with eggplant (*al-badhindjān*). But, in keeping with the sarcasm that often accompanies the mention of *sikbādj*, the gloss to the epithetic proverb *surmat baḳrā*, used to describe an arrogant man, reads "the cow's anus is the best thing in *sikbādj*" (al-Ṭālaḳānī, *op. cit.*, 18, no. 264). It is likely, therefore, that the opening line in a letter from Ibn Mukarram to the wit Abu 'l-ʿAynā [*q.v.*], which reads "I have a *sikbādj* stew that is the envy of its connoisseurs ..." (al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, ed. al-Djundī, Damascus n.d., 352), is tongue-in-cheek.

The preparation of *sikbādj* has generated the verb *sakbadja* and prompted the writing of at least two works, both lost, praising its virtues: the *K. Faḍāʾil al-sikbādj* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir [*q.v.*] (*Fihrist*, 147) and that of the great wit, Djaḥẓa [*q.v.*] (*Fihrist*, 145, 317).

The proverbs *ilā kam al-sikbādj*! "What! *Sikbādj* again!", and *Yā bārid kam sikbādj*! loosely, "You blockhead! How much more *sikbādj* (al-Ṭālaḳānī, *op. cit.*, 8, no. 123, and 36, no. 597), are explained by al-Ṭālaḳānī as proverbs to be used when one has had enough of something. Indeed, it seems from the anecdotal literature that, satirically or otherwise, people either had enough, or could not get enough, of *sikbādj*.

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(Shawkat M. Toorawa)

SIKHS (< Skr. *shishya* "disciple, learner"), a religious group of northern India whose beliefs and practices combine Islamic and Hindu elements and which was founded in the later 15th century by Nānak, the first Guru or teacher.

1. General.

The authoritative *rahit-nāma* or manual of Sikhism of 1950, the *Sikh Rahit Maryada*, defines a Sikh as one who believes in *Akāl Purakh* ("the Eternal One"); in the ten Gurus ("preceptors", identified with the inner voice of God) and their teachings; in the *Ādi Granth* ("the Ancient Book", the chief Sikh scripture, and the initiation (*amrit*) instituted by the tenth Guru; and in no other religion. In practice, this rigorous definition is widened to include persons who are not *amrit-dhārī*, i.e. those who have received the Khālṣa initiation, but are also recognised as Sikhs, such as the Keshdhārī Sikhs, who do not receive initiation yet keep their hair uncut. An act of the Indian Union legislature has defined a Sikh as "one who believes in the ten Gurus and the *Granth Ṣāḥib* ("Revered Book", sc. the *Ādi Granth*).

The centre of Sikhism has always been the eastern Pandjāb [*q.v.*], where the Sikhs by *ca.* 1980 numbered some ten millions. But there was always a movement of Sikh traders to other parts of India, and after the mid-19th century this movement was enlarged beyond the subcontinent by the substantial numbers of Sikhs who served in the British Indian Army in such outposts as Hong Kong and Singapore, so that a limited migration began to Australia, New Zealand and Fiji, mostly of Jat (Djāt) Sikhs (Jats being the dominant caste today in the rural parts of the Pandjāb and Haryana states of the modern Indian Union, and a particularly prominent social element—over 60%—in the Sikh community), initially of unskilled labourers. Others moved to the west coast of North America and to East Africa, engaged, e.g. in railway construction. Early in the 20th century, these doors to emigration were closed, but after the Second World War there was extensive emigration from both India and Pakistan, mainly to Britain but also to North America. By the early 1990s, there were approaching half-a-million Sikhs in Britain plus communities of over 200,000 each in Canada and USA.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. Doctrines.

Sikhism aimed at purifying the religious beliefs of the Hindus. The teachings of its founder were therefore mainly negative. He strongly protested against caste restrictions and superstitious beliefs. He preached absolute equality of mankind; he taught that mechanical worship and pilgrimages do not elevate the human soul; that spirit and not the form of devotion was the real thing. No salvation is possible without a true love

of God and good deeds in this world. Sikhism, like Islam, condemns idolatry and teaches strict monotheism. Its God is the God of all mankind and of all religions, "whose name is true, the Creator, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and beneficent" (*Djāpdjī of Guru Nānak*).

Reverence for the Guru is much emphasised, for although "God is with man, but can only be seen by means of the Guru" (Macauliffe, *The Sikh religion*, ii, 347). Sikhism also believes in the doctrine of Karma and metempsychosis.

The theology of Nānak was not formal; his sole object was to bring about a social and moral reform. Sikhism remained a pacific and tolerant cult until the social tyranny of the Hindus and political friction with Muslims transformed it into a militant creed. Govind Singh made Sikh theology more formal and prescribed rules for guidance in private and social affairs. He forbade the use of tobacco and wine, though the latter is now more freely indulged in by the Sikhs.

The sacred book of the Sikhs is the *Granth*, which is held by them in great reverence. The first portion of it, called the *Ādi Granth* was compiled, as mentioned below, section 3, by the fifth Guru Ardjan. It includes the hymns of the first five Gurus together with selections from the compositions of saints and reformers anterior to Nānak, notably Kabīr, Nāmdev, Djay Dev, Rāmānand and Shaykh Farīd. The *Granth* is composed wholly in verse with different metres. The bulk of it is in archaic Hindi written in Gurmukhi characters; other portions are in various other Indian dialects and languages including Sanskrit, together with a few verses and tales in Persian (written in Gurmukhi script).

The cosmopolitan views of Nānak were acceptable to both Hindus and Muslims; moreover, he did not prescribe any particular forms of worship, hence it is not surprising that he gained converts from both religions. But it was undoubtedly Hinduism—the faith of his own parents—whose social system he wanted to reform, therefore naturally his teachings were addressed to the Hindus rather than the Muslims. The majority of his disciples was derived from the Djāt, Arora and Khatri castes; to the last of them belonged all the Gurus, including Nānak himself. To the Brahmans and Rādjputs, whose social status was very high, the democratic tenets of Sikhism were less acceptable.

The sects and sub-sects of the Sikhs are numerous, but the main divisions are two: (1) the *Keshdhārīs*, otherwise called "Singhs", and (2) the *Sahjdhārīs*. The former represent the baptised and therefore more orthodox followers of Guru Govind Singh, while the latter were originally those who refused to accept his baptism and join the militant *Khālṣa*. There are several other sects of Sikhism, including the Akālīs (worshippers of Akāl, the Immortal, Timeless God), a militant organisation founded by Govind Singh, which still retains a characteristic martial ardour. The Sikh shrines are scattered over the greater part of the Pandjāb, but the better known among them are to be found in the Districts of Amritsar, Gurdāspur and Fīrūzpur, the holiest of them being the Golden Temple of Amritsar and Nankāna Ṣāhib (near Lahore) the birthplace of Nānak, where annual fairs, attended by a very large number of Sikhs, are held.

3. History to 1849.

Sikhism was founded, like Buddhism, as a protest against the spiritual despotism of the Brahmans and as a revolt against the restrictions of the caste system and the exaggeration of Hindu ritual. It aimed at teaching social equality and universal brotherhood, abolishing sectarianism and denouncing superstition. Nānak, the founder of the creed, was born of Khatri parentage in 1469 at Talwandī (now called after him Nankāna), a small town not far from Lahore. He did not receive much school education, yet he was from his early youth given to meditation and original thinking, and was, like the Arabian prophet, gifted by nature with strong common sense. He showed an aversion from all sorts of worldly pursuits and it was with some difficulty that he was persuaded by his father to go to Sulṭānpur (at present in the Kapūrthala District to the south-east of Amritsar) to enter the private service of Nawāb Dawlat Khān Lodi, the governor of the province. The Nawāb appointed him storekeeper to his household, and he performed his official duties for several years to the satisfaction of his employer. In his leisure hours he retired to the jungle for meditation, and tradition says that in one of these devotional excursions he was taken in a vision to the Divine Presence and there received his mission to preach to the world that "there is but one God whose name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and bountiful". Nānak now left the service of the Nawāb and became (at the age of 30) a public preacher. He began a series of tours in the course of which he visited all parts of India, particularly the sacred places of the Hindus and shrines of Muslim saints. Wherever he went he held controversies with priests and *shaykhs*, demonstrated the futility of their belief in dogmas and rituals, and taught the necessity of self-denial, morality and truth. He is also said to have travelled through Persia and to have visited Mecca and Baghdād. In Persia and Afghānistān he gained converts and even established dioceses (*mandjīs*), notably at Būshahr and Kābul (Sewaram Singh Thapar, *Life of Guru Nanak*, Rawalpindi 1904, 73). It is not stated, however, whether he knew enough Persian or Arabic to be able to preach to the people of these Islamic countries. The statement of the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* that Nānak studied Persian and Muslim theology with one Sayyid Ḥasan has been rejected by the modern Hindu and Sikh critics. "This", says one of them, "seems to be an effort on the part of a Muslim writer to give the credit of Nānak's subsequent greatness to the teachings of Islām" (G.C. Narang, *The transformation of Sikhism*, Lahore 1912, 9). Macauliffe, however, was inclined to accept that Nānak was "a fair Persian scholar" (*The Sikh Religion*, i, 15), but did not mention the source whence he received his instruction in that language.

For the last ten years of his life, Nānak settled at Kartārpur, a village founded in his honour by a very rich sympathiser on the bank of the Rāwi, where he continued to preach his new religion to the numerous visitors whom his piety attracted from far and wide. He died at the age of 70 in 1539, leaving behind him a fairly large number of disciples (*sikhs*) and two sons, one of whom named Sri Čand founded the Udāsi sect (see above, section 2).

Shortly before his death, Nānak nominated one of his devoted followers named Angad (a Khatri like himself) to succeed him as *guru* (apostle) of the Sikhs. After performing the ceremony of nomination, he declared that Angad was as himself and that his own spirit would dwell in him. Nānak had already preached the doctrine of metempsychosis, but this particular declaration gave rise to the belief among the Sikhs that the spirit of Nānak was transmitted to each succeeding *guru* in turn, and this is why all of them adopted *Nānak* as their *nom-de-plume* in their compositions. Guru Angad occupied the office of apostle for

13 years until his death in 1552. Tradition ascribes to him the invention of the Gurmukhi characters in which the sacred writings of the Sikhs have been preserved, but it has been pointed out, notably by Grierson and Rose, that the Gurmukhi script is of a different and earlier origin (*JRAS* [1916], 677; H.A. Rose, *A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab*, Lahore 1911-19, i, 677). The tradition may have arisen from the fact that Guru Angad *adopted* the script in recording the life and compositions of Nānak.

Amar Dās, the third *guru* of the Sikhs, was nominated by Angad himself. His ministry lasted 22 years (1552-74), and was marked by his taking the first steps towards a religious and social organisation of the Sikhs. Missionary work was undertaken by him in a systematic manner; over twenty dioceses (*mandjīs*) were established in various parts of the country, where some of his zealous disciples preached the gospel of Sikhism. In order to promote feelings of equality and brotherhood among the increasing number of Sikhs, he maintained a public refectory (*langar*) where all ate together without distinction of caste or creed. Amar Dās cultivated friendly relations with the Mughal Emperor Akbar, who visited him at his own residence in Goindwāl (on the Beās) and granted him a large estate. This very much enhanced his prestige and helped to increase the number of fresh converts. He kept up the spirit of Nānak in his own ethical teachings, denounced the superstitious customs of the Hindus, particularly the practice of widow-burning (*satī*), and enjoined re-marriage of widows.

Amar Dās was succeeded by his favourite disciple and son-in-law Rām Dās, who propagated the tenets of Sikhism with a still larger measure of success. He had the good fortune to find in Akbar a warm admirer who was ever keen to do him favour. The Emperor granted him (in 1577) a large plot of land in which he began the excavation of the sacred tank (meant for the devotional ablutions of the Sikhs) which was afterwards named *amrit sar* "the pool of nectar". Around the tank the Guru founded a small town, which he called after himself Rāmdāspur and which subsequently grew into the now-flourishing city of Amritsar. The construction of the tank was completed by his son Ardjan the fifth *guru*, who, in the midst of it, founded the *Har Mandar*—the temple dedicated to God—as a common place of worship for the Sikhs. To Europeans it is now known as "the Golden Temple of Amritsar". The Guru declared that "by bathing in the tank of Rām Dās, all the sins that man committeth shall be done away, and he shall become pure by his ablutions" (Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, iii, 13). Thus was created a Mecca for the Sikhs, a centre for their national life.

Ardjan succeeded his father in 1581, and henceforward the office of Guru became hereditary. Ardjan took further steps to organise the Sikhs as a community. The greatest service that he rendered to the cause of Sikhism was the compilation of the *Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs. Guru Angad had already committed to writing the life and compositions of Nānak; Ardjan carried the work further and added thereto the hymns of the next three Gurus, which he carefully collected. To these he added his own numerous compositions along with considerable extracts from the writings of several Hindu and Muslim saints anterior to Nānak. "It was one of the Guru's objects to show the world that there was no superstition in the Sikh religion, and that every good man, no matter of what caste or creed, was worthy of honour and reverence" (Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, iii, 61). The volume thus compiled by Guru Ardjan (completed in 1604 after some years of labour) is called the *Ādi Granth* as distinguished from the *Dasam Granth* or the Granth of the tenth Guru (see below).

Ardjan was an ambitious and enterprising leader. He combined business with spiritual guidance and deputed *Masands* (collectors or agents) to various districts of the country to realise the Guru's dues, which so far were only voluntarily offered by the disciples. This brought him wealth and with it pomp and show. He styled himself *sačā pādshāh* "the true King", which clearly marks his ambition for political power. He encouraged commercial enterprise among his disciples, and sent them not only to various parts of India but also to Afghānistān and Central Asia for purposes of trade and propagation of the Sikh faith. In 1606, Ardjan financially helped Prince Khusraw who had rebelled against his father, the Emperor Djahāngīr. After the defeat of the Prince, the Guru was imprisoned, by the Emperor's command, at Lahore, where he shortly afterwards died.

During the Guruship of Ardjan's son and successor Hargovind (1606-45), Sikhism made a great advance. The first four Gurus were peaceful teachers of quietism and self-denial, but Ardjan initiated the policy of secular aggrandisement, while Hargovind openly adopted active resistance, which marks the beginning of the military career of the Sikhs. He was by nature a soldier, passionately devoted to the chase and manly games. Systematic collection of tithes and offerings had made him extremely rich, and he was not slow to assume kingly authority. He cherished a hatred of Djahāngīr, to whom he ascribed the death of his father; a desire for revenge was certainly one of the causes of his resorting to arms. He enlisted in his service a number of outlaws, malcontents and freebooters, "built the stronghold of Hargovindpur on the Beās and thence harried the plains. He had a stable of 800 horses; three hundred mounted followers were constantly in attendance upon him, and a guard of sixty matchlock-men secured the safety of his person" (J.D. Cunningham, *A history of the Sikhs*, ed. H.L.O. Garrett, Oxford 1918, 56). The alarming reports of the Guru's military organisation reached the Emperor, who summoned him to his court and ordered his internment in the fort of Gwāliyār. He was released after some time, but the imprisonment gave him a further cause of resentment. Soon after the death of Djahāngīr and the accession to the throne of the Emperor Shāhdjahān, Hargovind assumed a defiant attitude and took up arms against the government. In the course of six years, he thrice defeated the troops sent against him by the governor of Lahore. But he feared vengeance on the part of Shāhdjahān and retired to the hills, where he lived unmolested until his death in 1645.

Under Hargovind, the Sikh faith was greatly transformed. They ceased to be mere recluses, and their Guru was no longer a mere spiritual guide, but a military leader as well. They felt their strength and saw the possibility of future political power.

Hargovind was succeeded by his grandson Har Ray, who was, unlike his grandfather, of a retiring nature. He had intimate friendly relations with Dārā Shikōh [*q.v.*], the eldest son of Shāhdjahān, and in 1658, when Dārā wandered in exile pursued by the hostile troops of his younger brother Awrangzīb, Har Ray assisted him in crossing the Beās and reaching a comparatively safe locality. Of course, he incurred the displeasure of Awrangzīb, who summoned him to Dihlī to answer for this affront. He sent on his own behalf his son

Rām Ray who was detained at the imperial court as a hostage to insure the peaceful conduct of his father. Har Ray died in 1661 and his younger son Har Kis̲h̲an (a child of six) succeeded him. His right to the Guruship was disputed by Rām Ray who laid his own case before Awrangzīb. The infant apostle was invited to Dihlī to settle the dispute with his brother. There he was attacked by smallpox and died (1664).

There followed a struggle for succession after the death of Har Kis̲h̲an, and it was after much opposition that Tegh Bahādur, son of Hargovind, was acknowledged as Guru from among a score of candidates for the pontifical throne. His opponents continued to assert their claims, and some of them were even set up as rival Gurus. Tegh Bahādur retired, in some bitterness, to the Siwālik Hills and there founded Anandpur, a town which played a part of some importance in the subsequent annals of the Sikhs. Further, he set out on an extensive tour in India, visiting the Deccan and the Eastern Bengal, where Sikh centres already existed. In the course of his travels, he resided for some time at Patna, the seat of one of the main centres (*tak̲h̲ts*), where his son Govind Ray, the future Guru and the real founder of the political power of the Sikhs, was born (1666). Tegh Bahādur's influence as Guru extended as far as Ceylon in the south and Assam in the east. After a time, he returned to the Pand̲j̲āb, where he "maintained himself and his disciples by plunder". He "gave a ready asylum to all fugitives and his power interfered with the prosperity of the country" (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 64). The imperial troops marched against him, and he was made prisoner and brought to Dihlī, where he was put to death by the order of Awrangzīb (1675). The popular story is related in the Gurmukhi chronicles that, while in the presence of the Emperor, the Guru prophesied the coming of the English and destruction of Mug̲h̲al power at their hands. The words uttered by him on this occasion "became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on Dihli in 1857 under General John Nicholson and thus the prophecy of the ninth Guru was gloriously fulfilled" (Macauliffe, iv, 381).

The figure of Tegh Bahādur's son Govind Ray, who was saluted as Guru after the execution of his father in 1675, is perhaps the most prominent in the history of the Sikhs. He succeeded to the apostleship as a mere boy, but ended his career by completely transforming a community of mere devotees into a nation of warriors who were destined to rule the Pand̲j̲āb for nearly a century. The violent death of his father seems to have left a lasting impression on his young mind, and he cherished a bitter hatred towards Awrangzīb. But the power of the latter was too great to allow the possibility of revenge. He was therefore compelled to retire to the hills in order to be left in peace and receive the training necessary to befit him for the task of leadership. For twenty years he lived there, occupying himself in hunting and acquiring a knowledge of the sacred languages of the Muslims and Hindus and their religions. He nurtured his feeling of vengeance and formed his plans for the future with a view to destroying the power of the Mug̲h̲als. He set about the task of uniting the Sikhs into a nation by promoting amongst them feelings of democratic equality. He admitted both high and low into his fold and conducted a vigorous war against the caste system. In order to create uniformity in spirit as well as in form, he instituted the ceremony of initiation or baptism called *pahul*. The suffix "Singh" was to be added to the name of every baptised Sikh, the Guru himself to be called in future Govind Singh. He denominated his initiated disciples the *K̲h̲ālṣa* (the pure, elect, liberated) or *K̲h̲āliṣa* (in the past, considered to stem directly from Arabic *k̲h̲alaṣa* "to be pure", but now thought to come from *k̲h̲āliṣa* "land belonging directly to the ruler").

By his prolonged residence in the hills, Govind Singh wanted, besides carrying on his proselytising activities uninterrupted, to secure the assistance of the numerous hill chiefs against what he called the tyranny of Muslim rule. But in these objects he entirely failed, for the hill Rād̲j̲ās whose dynasties had ruled independently since time immemorial generally resented democratising principles being taught to their subjects and they unanimously resisted the religious propaganda of Govind. Failing to secure their alliance by friendly means, he tried the experiment of force. From his retreat at Anandpur he led marauding expeditions into their territories carrying away all that he could lay his hands on. The Rād̲j̲pūt chiefs of Bilāspur, Katōč, Handūr, D̲j̲asrota and Nālagaṙh united to attack the Guru with an army of 10,000. He opposed them at the head of 2,000 of his followers, including 500 Paṫhāns whom he kept in his service, and won his victory at Bhangāni chiefly through the help of Sayyid Budhū S̲h̲āh, chief of Sādhora. Govind's power now increased; he had a number of retreats in the hills and his depredations in the adjoining territories grew more frequent and violent. The Rād̲j̲ās jointly appealed for help to Awrangzīb, who despatched orders to the governor of Sirhind to effect an alliance with them and attack the Guru. In the battle that ensued, he was defeated and took refuge in the fortress of Anandpur (1701). Here he was besieged by the imperial forces and the siege was prolonged. Provisions ran short and his followers deserted him. His family, including his mother, wives and young boys, effected their escape to Sirhind, where they were betrayed and the two children were put to death. Govind himself escaped in disguise, and with a few faithful followers fled to the fortress of Čamkawr (in the present district of Amballa) hotly pursued by the enemy. He was forced to leave Čamkawr and again fly for his life. He wandered in disguise from place to place until he reached the wastes of Bhatinda, halfway between Fīrūzpur and Dihlī. "His disciples again rallied round him and he succeeded in repulsing his pursuers at a place since called 'Muktsar' or the Pool of Salvation", constructed in commemoration of the Sikhs who fell in the action. For some time he settled at a place called Damdama halfway between Hānsī and Fīrūzpur, where he occupied himself in preaching and composing the *Dasam Granth* (see below), which is regarded by the Sikhs as supplement to the *Ādi Granth* compiled by Guru Ard̲j̲an. Meanwhile, Awrangzīb died and was succeeded by his son Bahādur S̲h̲āh I [*q.v.*], who, contrary to the policy of his father, sought to conciliate the Guru. He conferred upon him the military command of the Deccan whither he proceeded to assume his charge. But shortly after his arrival there, he was stabbed by one of his Afg̲h̲ān servants for some private grievance, and he died at Nānder on the banks of the Godāwari (October 1708). On his deathbed, he refused to nominate anyone to succeed him, but enjoined upon his disciples to look upon the *Granth* as their future Guru, and upon God as their sole protector, thus putting an end to the apostolic succession. Govind's end came before his object had been achieved, "but his spirit survived to animate the Sikhs with courage".

Govind Singh was succeeded, not as a Guru but as a military leader of the Sikhs, by Banda, a Rād̲j̲pūt

of Kashmīr belonging to the Bayrāgi order. Meeting Govind in the Deccan, he was converted to Sikhism and styled himself *Banda* or "slave" (of the Guru). Banda was charged by Govind to return to the Pandjāb and urge the Sikhs to avenge the murder of his children and unite to destroy Muslim despotism. The Sikhs "flocked to him, ready to fight and die under his banner". At heart, Banda was ambitious, and under the pretext of carrying out the orders of the Guru he sought to attain to political power. He began his operations in the Pandjāb by committing highway robberies, freely distributing the spoils among his adherents. This attracted many criminals—"scavengers, leather-dressers and such like persons who were very numerous among the Sikhs"—to his person. The Mughal power, after the death of Awrangzīb, was fast declining; constant struggle among his sons and grandsons for the throne left the Sikhs free to increase their power, and the criminal activities of Banda went unchecked. He proceeded, with an army of lawless freebooters, from town to town in the very neighbourhood of Dihlī, plundering and mercilessly slaughtering the Muslims in thousands. Prospects of plunder and the sacred duty of avenging the death of the Guru's children swelled the number of Banda's followers. The accursed town of Sirhind, where the children were done to death, was stormed by them in May 1710 and freely given to plunder. The Sikhs perpetrated horrible atrocities on the Muslim inhabitants of the town, whom they butchered without distinction of age or sex. They extended their destructive activities to the very walls of Dihlī. The Emperor Bahādur Shāh, who was away in the Deccan, was alarmed on hearing the reports of these outrages and forthwith hastened to the Pandjāb to make redress. The imperial troops defeated Banda, but he escaped to the adjoining hills. The death of Bahādur Shāh in 1712 was followed by a war of succession between his sons, from which Djahāndār Shāh came out successful. He was, however, murdered, after a short reign of eleven months, by his nephew Farrukhsiyar [*q.v.*], who now ascended the degraded throne of Dihlī. These commotions were favourable to the Sikhs, who once more began to ravage the country under the notorious Banda. Farrukhsiyar charged ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Khān, governor of the Pandjāb, to put a stop to the atrocities of the Sikhs. With a large army he pursued Banda, who was at last besieged in the fortress of Gurdāspur on the Rāwi. Finally, he was seized, made prisoner and brought to Dihlī where he was tortured to death (1716).

The defeat and death of Banda was followed by a period of reaction and a severe persecution of the Sikhs in the reign of Farrukhsiyar. They were declared outlaws; many of them abandoned their faith, but the more loyal among them were forced to take shelter in the hills and forests. Successive governors of the Pandjāb, notably Muʿīn al-Mulk, better known as Mīr Mannū, carried out the repressive policy of Farrukhsiyar, and for a time it seemed that the Sikh community would become extinct. But the Mughal power was rapidly decaying, and in the Pandjāb it was more notably weakened by the frequent invasions of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī or Durrānī [*q.v.*]. The distracted state of the province was favourable to the Sikhs, who began gradually to reappear and reorganise themselves. They built several fortresses and acquired wealth by freely plundering the defenceless towns. The centre of their national activities was Amritsar, which they greatly enriched and fortified. Prince Tīmūr, who governed the Pandjāb in the name of his father Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, was hostile to the Sikhs. In 1756 he attacked Amritsar, demolished the Har Mandar and filled the sacred tank with the debris. The Sikhs mobilised in large numbers to avenge this outrage, and succeeded in driving the Prince out of Lahore, which they temporarily occupied. Their military leader Djassā Singh Kalāl ("the brewer") struck coins in his own name with a Persian inscription. But the advent of the Marāthās under Raghoba (in 1758) made them retire from Lahore, and brought the ferocious Aḥmad Shāh for the fifth time to the Pandjāb. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Marāthās in the memorable battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*] (1761). The Sikhs became active as soon as he left the Pandjāb and regained their lost power. He therefore came back with the definite object of breaking their power and recover his territories. In a desperate battle fought near Ludhiāna (1762), he totally defeated them with heavy carnage, but he had soon to leave the Pandjāb in order to suppress a rebellion at Ḳandahār. The Sikhs recovered soon, and in 1763 they defeated Zayn Khān, the Afghān governor of Sirhind, which they sacked and destroyed. Once more they took possession of Lahore, and this time their hold was more permanent. They assembled at Amritsar and proclaimed the regime of the Khālṣa as supreme in the Pandjāb (1764). The sovereign authority was vested in a national council called the *Gurumatta*. The coins of the Sikh commonwealth bore the Persian inscription:

Dīg u tīgh u fatḥ u nuṣrat bī dirang
Yāft az Nānak Gurū Govind Singh
"Guru Govind Singh received from Nānak
The sword, the bowl and victory unfailing"
(Khazan Singh, *The history and philosophy of the Sikh religion*, Lahore 1914, 264).

Now that the common danger which confronted the Sikhs was removed, they became disunited and divided into a number of states or confederacies called *Misals*. These *Misals* were twelve in number, governed independently of each other by their respective chiefs (*Sardār* [*q.v.*]), who were under no supreme authority and had nothing in common with one another except their religion. "They were almost constantly engaged in civil war, grouping and regrouping in the struggle for pre-eminence". They were "loosely organised and varied from time to time in power and even in designation". After thirty years of this variable rule in the Pandjāb, there appeared on the scene a strong man who united these jarring confederacies into a compact sovereignty. This was Randjīt Singh.

Randjīt Singh's father Mahā Singh was the chief of the Sukerchakia *Misal* with its headquarters at Gudjrānwala, 40 miles to the north of Lahore. At the age of 12 (in 1792), he succeeded to his father. He gradually rose to power through his personal character and genius with which he was gifted by nature. In 1799 he acquired possession of Lahore through a royal investiture granted to him by Zamān Shāh (grandson of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī), who was still looked upon as virtual ruler of the Pandjāb. Amritsar was reduced by Randjīt Singh in 1802. The possession of Lahore and Amritsar, the two most important towns of the Pandjāb, made his personality conspicuous and enlarged his prestige. He assumed the title of Mahārādja and continued to extend his possessions until gradually he annexed all the *Misals* to his dominions. With the English, whose territories now extended to the Sutlej, Randjīt Singh had friendly relations. A treaty of alliance was concluded between the two powers in 1809, which Randjīt Singh very faithfully observed. He organised a powerful military force

trained by some of the European generals, notably French ones, who had previously served under Napoleon, and who after Waterloo came to the Pandjāb to enter the service of the Mahārādja. With this force, he was able to reduce the whole of the Pandjāb, annex Kashmīr (in 1819) and Peshāwar (in 1834). He died in 1839, leaving behind him a consolidated kingdom extending from the Sutlej to the Hindu Kush, but no one among his heirs was capable enough to manage it. Three of his sons ascended the throne in rapid succession; conspiracies were rife and led to assassinations, civil war and enormous bloodshed. The army had become uncontrollable and spread terror throughout the country. The court at last found an outlet for its activities by inciting the army leaders to cross the Sutlej and invade the British territory. This led to the first Sikh War (December 1845), in the course of which the Sikhs were defeated by the British general Sir Hugh (afterwards Lord) Gough in four successive battles fought at Fīrūzshāh and Mudkī (in the present district of Fīrūzpur) and 'Aliwāl and Sobrāon near Ludhiāna (January-February 1846). "The victory opened the way to Lahore, which was promptly occupied by the Governor-General" (sc. Sir Henry Hardinge). The Sikh Durbār accepted the British resident (Sir Henry Lawrence) to act as President of the Council of Regency to the minor Mahārādja Dalīp Singh, son of Randjīt Singh. The revolt of Diwān Mūbrādj, governor of Multān, against the government at Lahore (in 1848) tempted the Sikhs again to take up arms against the British. War was consequently declared, and Lord Gough inflicted two heavy defeats on the Sikh army, first at Čiliānwāla and then at Gujrāt (early 1849). The Pandjāb was declared annexed to the British dominions and Sikh rule came to an end.

The dethroned Dalīp (Duleep) Singh was given a Government of India pension, and later retired to England and the life of a country gentleman, becoming a Christian and dying in 1893.

(Muhammad Iqbal*)

4. History after 1849.

Having experienced the fighting qualities of the Sikhs, the Chief Commissioner of the Pandjāb after 1852, Sir John Lawrence, recruited Sikhs in considerable numbers into the British Indian Army. These Sikh troops, as also the Sikh *djāgīrdār*s or landowners who had retained part at least of their holdings or had received compensatory pensions, remained firmly loyal to the crown during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, with the Khālṣas forming nearly one-third of the 60,000 troops raised by the British at that time. After this, the proportion of Sikhs in the Army increased. New regulations requiring Sikh soldiers to observe the external symbols of the Khālṣa order, such as letting beards and hair grow long, played a notable role in the Sikhs' retention of their separate identity at a time when some European observers thought Sikhism likely to decline and disappear.

In the second half of the 19th century, there was a perceptible ferment among the Sikhs, with various movements aiming at religious, social and political revival. Thus the Nāmdhārīs or Kūkās, followers of Baba Ram Singh, formed a millenarian and iconoclastic movement in the central Pandjāb, objecting *inter alia* to Muslim butchers killing cattle for beef, and their activities culminated in British military action in the Ludhiana District against the Kūkās in 1872 and the exiling of Baba Ram Singh to Burma. The Singh Sabha movement which began towards the end of the century was largely concerned with religious and educational reform. It reflected a certain feeling of threat from conversions to Christianity and, to a lesser extent, to Islam, but much more from the militant Hindu Arya Samaj movement. The Singh Sabha reformers welcomed English education, and the Indian government founded several Sikh schools and colleges in different parts of the Pandjāb. A reflection of a new interest by European scholars in Sikhism as a religious phenomenon was M.A. Macauliffe's 6-volume study, *The Sikh religion, its Gurus, sacred writings and authors* (Oxford 1909, repr. Delhi 1963, 1986). The reformers also advocated the use of Pandjābī [*q.v.*] in Gurmukhi script rather than of Urdu or of Hindi in Devanagiri script.

During the First World War, recruitment for military service was higher amongst the Sikhs than amongst any other group in India, and Sikhs fought courageously in France, East Africa and the Middle East. There was, however, unrest among some sections of the Sikh community back in the Pandjāb, initially fanned by a new organisation, which had originated within the Sikh diaspora on the west coast of North America, the so-called Ghadarī ("Mutiny") movement; acts of terrorism led to police and military repression in 1915. Between 1918 and 1947 the Sikhs were involved in intense political activity. Initially, there were clashes with the Government of India over control of the *gurdawaras* or Sikh temples, and there ensued from 1921 onwards the so-called "Third Sikh War", a mainly, but not wholly, non-violent struggle, led by the radical Akālīs ("immortals"), basically a movement of the masses rather than of the professional and landed classes. Their demands were not assuaged by the 1925 Sikh Gurdawaras Act which handed over the historic shrines to a 160-man elected body. Politically articulate Sikhs now became concerned with the question of adequate representation of the community within the Pandjābī membership of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

During the Second World War, Sikhs again cooperated with the Indian government, but with less enthusiasm than previously. The Akālīs in general favoured the unity and integrity of the subcontinent, as did the Indian National Congress, but if there was to be a separate Pākistān, they wanted a separate Sikh "Khālistān" also. A substantial number of Sikh prisoners-of-war joined the Japanese puppet organisation, the Indian National Army.

The Partition of August 1947 divided the Sikhs geographically, but with the greater part of them in India. Most of the Sikhs now within Pākistān, some 2 ½ millions, emigrated to India, displacing Muslims fleeing from East Pandjāb. In 1951 Sikhs formed about 35% of the Indian Pandjāb State, with Hindus over 62%. The scale of Indian government compensation for refuges was low and created much hardship. The central government refused to give any statutory weighting for a religious minority like the Sikhs, and also refused to extend to the Sikh scheduled (i.e. lowest) castes the concessions and reservations given to the Hindu scheduled castes (subsequently granted in 1956). A general sense of grievance increased Sikh demands for an autonomous Sikh state. In 1966 it was agreed to make a separate Sikh majority state in the Indian Union, Pandjābī-speaking and some 56% Sikh. But this proved inadequate to still discontent, and in 1973 the Akālī Dal party passed the so-called Anandpur Resolution demanding greater autonomy. Relations with New Delhi continued to deteriorate, and in June 1984 the Indian Army assaulted a group of radical Sikhs entrenched within

the Golden Temple complex of Amritsar, with estimated total casualties of 5-6,000. It was a Sikh who, in retaliation, murdered the Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi in October 1984. The movement for an autonomous Khālistān continues.

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ṢIḲILLIYA or Ṣiḳilliyya, Arabic adaptation of the Greek Σικελία (with the variants noted by Yāḳūt, iii, 406), as a name of the island of Sicily (but sometimes used to indicate the city of Palermo alone). Al-Bakrī (482, § 812), following the classical sources, gives the mythic etymology evoking the eponymous Sīkūl(os), brother of Īṭāl(os), while also supplying, in what is actually a considerably distorted form, the ancient Greek name Τριναкρία. Al-Ḥimyarī, who follows him in these data, retains for his part, implicit in a verse of Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), the false etymology, owed to the philologist Ibn al-Birr [*q.v.*], which explains the name as derived from συκῆ and ἐλαία, respectively "fig-tree" and "olive-tree".

1. History and culture.

(a) *The image of Sicily among the Arabs*

Geographical information concerning Muslim Sicily, as supplied by the sources (about a score of them), varies perceptibly, from a formal point of view, according to the character of the sources themselves: works of cosmography or of descriptive geography, toponomastic catalogues or accounts of journeys. In dimension it varies from a few lines giving information in an almost casual manner, to the "medium" account, typical of the general treatises but also sometimes specialised glossaries, and finally to the wide pictures which we owe to Ibn Ḥawḳal and Ibn Djubayr [*q.v.*]. A special place should be reserved for the work of al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*], who excels over all the other writers in the systematic nature of his survey, the only example of a genuine description, accompanied by all the available detail, of Sicily in the mid-6th/12th century. Furthermore, the case of al-Idrīsī, the accredited geographer at the Norman court of Roger II, as well as those of Ibn Ḥawḳal and Ibn Djubayr, who visited the island in 362/972-3 and 578/1184-5 respectively, serve to underline the fact that the greater, and often the best part of the available information concerning the Sicilian environment of the time, derives principally from writers who had the opportunity of experiencing it personally (it is for this reason that the journey through Sicily of Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī in 511/1117, and al-Harawī's visit to Etna after 568-9/1173, have left no trace other than the disappointment, expressed by the latter, of not having seen a single *samandal* dive into the crater, a spectacle which had been described to him). For the rest, from al-Muḳaddasī to the authors of the 8th/14th century, it should be stressed that their testimony, essentially indirect, is of interest only in its capacity to surprise us with unexpected notions (such as the recollection of the Cyclops in the work of al-Bakrī, already mentioned for his familiarity with classical culture), or in that it conveys, according to the convention of word-for-word transmission, texts that have disappeared, as is done by Yāḳūt who often draws upon sources as specific as the *Taʾrīkh Ṣiḳilliya* by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ [*q.v.*] and Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥaṣan b. Yaḥyā (6th/11th century), while al-Ḥimyarī, for example, is largely dependent either on al-Idrīsī or on Ibn Djubayr.

Of general geographical observations concerning Sicily, the essential points are to be found among almost all the writers, who are aware of its triangular shape as well as its location, in relation either to Africa or to the Italian peninsula and to the smaller islands, who indicate, each in his own fashion, its dimensions and sometimes even the astronomical co-ordinates, who finally give details, and this is especially true of al-Idrīsī, of the distances from one locality to another. But the theme which takes precedence over all others, in the same context of physical geography, is without doubt that of Etna, the "mountain of fire" as the Arab authors call it, which with its imposing height, its perpetual snows, the chasm at its summit, the winds which reverberated there, the smoke and lava which it spewed out, could not but excite their curiosity and their imagination. It is for this reason that they stress the marvellous and mysterious aspects of these phenomena, which both astonish and enchant them, although they are concerned less with explaining them than with describing them, in varying degrees of detail.

Moreover the description of the landscape, brief though it is, clearly reveals admiration for everything which this island seems to possess in exceptional measure; it tends to evoke the notion of a land distinguished by pleasant localities and fertile soil, unbelievable abundance of water and richness of crops, in a word the prosperity of its numerous inhabitants, grouped according to al-Idrīsī in 130 major urban centres, without counting the villages and fortresses, of which al-ʿUmarī has meticulously compiled a list of 34 sites. As if in a refrain, the authors incessantly repeat their praise of a vegetation which spreads its richness in urban gardens as well as in mountain forests, reserves of wood for boat-building, or in the innumerable kitchen-gardens and orchards, supplying all kinds of vegetables and fruits. In this picture, supplemented by the mention of flourishing crops, wheat in particular, as well as pastures sufficient for the raising of substantial herds of cattle, the most striking feature is the presence, almost everywhere at this time, of hydraulic resources such that Sicily was never to enjoy in later times. This was rightly considered by the Arab authors themselves a considerable boon, and it is this which stands out in particular, to mention only two illuminating examples, from the scrupulous care which Ibn Ḥawḳal devotes to information concerning the water-supply of Palermo, and in parallel from the concern for meticulous precision with which al-Idrīsī, alone, sets out to describe the course of the rivers: Nahr al-Sulla, al-Ḳārib (= Belice), al-Wādī al-Malīḥ (= Salso), Wādī Mūsā (= Simeto), etc. With the single exception of Yāḳūt, however, the same authors seemed to be unaware of the fact that the origin of the prosperity owed to the development of agriculture, besides the favourable natural conditions, had

been the division into small plots of landed property which had been set in motion by the Muslim conquest, and finally, the work of the conquerors themselves, especially those of Berber origin, who were known for their agricultural skills. It is they who were responsible, among other things, for the introduction into this environment, where the crocus and the violet, according to al-Idrīsī, grew spontaneously, of "exotic" plants such as citrus fruits, cotton and dates, sugar-cane and the mulberry. This enrichment of the already varied vegetal repertoire of a land blessed with extraordinary fertility seemed to be symbolically illustrated by the silhouettes of thousands of windmills standing out against the sky, alternating with the battlements of numerous impressive castles.

If to this is added information regarding mineral products—the jasper and the sal ammoniac of Etna, the sulphur and the pumice-stone and, it is said, the gold of the same mountain, the iron in the neighbourhood of Messina and the oilwells near Syracuse—and finally regarding the fruits of the sea, the tunny and the coral in the Sea of Trapani for example, a glimpse of the economy of Arabo-Norman Sicily is genuinely seductive. It is a picture which is both established and brought to life wherever the authors uncover the traces of prolific activity on the part of craftsmen, and of an almost feverish circulation of merchandise, to the interior and with the exterior; where they indicate the existence of markets, work-shops and emporia, of warehouses and shops; where they evoke the coming and going of ships, Sicilian and foreign, in the ports, favoured sites of commerce. And while on this subject, too, it is al-Idrīsī who, in his methodical fashion, provides the most exhaustive information, mention should also be made in this context of the two texts, as brief as they are eloquent, in which Ibn Ḥawḳal, on the one hand, shows his concern for precision as he lists all the small businesses of the *sūḳ* of Palermo, and Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, on the other hand, having just escaped from a terrifying shipwreck, turns to contemplate the spectacle of the port of Messina with "boats aligned along the quay, like a row of horses tethered in the stables".

Furthermore, these two travellers deserve credit for having left unique testimony regarding the social, and to an extent political reality of the island, without which the human geography of Sicily at that time would be almost unknown, and its image in the minds of the Arabs deprived of some essential traits.

It is known that they visited the place in totally different circumstances, Ibn Ḥawḳal at the finest hour of Kalbī domination, Ibn D̲j̲ubayr at the zenith of the prosperity of Arabo-Norman civilisation. But it is also known that what gives their accounts a decidedly original and partially conflicting tone is the role played by personal temperament: rather cold and detached in the case of Ibn Ḥawḳal, endowed with an acute spirit of observation, but also sceptical and prejudiced, always ready to offer criticism, if not mockery and denunciation; enthusiastic and dreamy in the case of Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, a man who believed absolutely in God and also in men, with an essentially optimistic and sociable disposition, with eyes always open to all things which could elicit either amazement or sympathy. This well explains, in the work of Ibn Ḥawḳal, the attention directed towards the urban reality of Palermo, the description of which is not only the most ancient but also the most detailed, such that nothing of importance could be added to it, with the exception of the names of the gates of the K̲h̲āliṣa [*q.v.*], by al-Muḳaddasī. But this also accounts for a series of remarks which he made regarding the people, which were so harsh that they gave rise to the suspicion that this traveller in the domain of the Kalbīs was nothing other than a spy acting on behalf of the Fāṭimids. It is, however, as a result of these passages that the document, which is both historical and literary, attains the highest quality: through mockery, applied to the incredible number of mosques (500!), and to the frivolous pride allied with hypocritical pietism of the Muslims of the city; through the disgust aroused in him by the military convents [see RIBĀṬ] on the seashores, which had become places of perversion and depravity, the haunts of ruffians and scoundrels; through denunciation of the ignorance and stupidity of school teachers; through the depiction, finally, of the absurdity of everyone, owed—he says—to the abuse of the onion, responsible for boundless material decadence, which had led to destitution, as well as to a return to barbaric customs.

Such an attitude, essentially hostile, is parallelled, although with naive traits of admiration, by that of the pious Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, capable of perceiving anywhere the signs of the providence and the greatness of God, spontaneously disposed to appreciate the good deeds of men, to treat them with indulgence and even benevolence. The inevitable aversion to "worshippers of the cross", which is expressed from time to time in incantations, which are in fact rather lukewarm, does not prevent him from painting without prejudice a memorable picture of the Sicilian scene in the golden age that was the period of the Norman sovereigns. His experience in the island begins with his enchantment by the beauty of the surroundings of Messina, almost a terrestrial paradise with fruit-trees covering the slopes of the hills, but also with the surprise caused him by the liberality of King William II, paying on his behalf the tax demanded from shipwrecked Muslims. But it is in Palermo that Ibn D̲j̲ubayr is impressed most of all, when he discovers the paradox of an Islamo-Christian community, living in harmony under the auspices of a régime of quite extraordinary tolerance. This spirit, which seems to permeate the relationships of social life, to such an extent that the foreign traveller perceives it in the amicable attitude of those who greet him, emanates from the court, or rather from King William himself. The portrait of this enlightened and refined monarch, a connoisseur of the pleasures of life, but also an Arabic scholar, a cultivated patron of philosophy and literature, simultaneously wordly and pious, guaranteeing freedom of religious observance to all, this portrait by the pen of Ibn D̲j̲ubayr is surely the most striking eulogy ever made by a Muslim of a Christian historical individual. Nothing could better supplement it than the dazzling fresco which he paints of the monuments of the town, which he compares to Cordova, with noble buildings and the sumptuous royal palace, the elegance of gardens and stairways, the breadth of squares and streets, in short an architectural décor in the middle of which, on the night of Christmas 1184, he was able to see shining, like a jewel, with its flashing mosaics and stained glass windows of irridescent colours, the Antiochene Church (known as the Martorana). This vision came at an opportune time, to seal the representation, both charmed and charming, which Ibn D̲j̲ubayr was to provide, towards the end of the 6th/12th century, of this "daughter of Andalusia", the affectionate epithet which he applied to Sicily.

(b) *The Arab conquest and domination*

The landing at Mazara, on 19 Rabīʿ I 212/18

June 827, of an army from Ifrīḳiya, did not only mark the beginning of the struggle which, over the course of the next seventy years, was to secure possession of Sicily by the Arabs, but also the culmination of a historical process which, since the middle of the first Islamic century, had affected the island to an ever increasing extent, in the context of the expansion of Islam throughout the Mediterranean region. The interest of the Arabs in Sicily may be traced back as far as their very first maritime experiments, when Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, at that time governor of Syria, conceived the idea of constructing a fleet. The first Arab incursion on the Sicilian coasts dates in fact from the year 31-32/652. Others followed over the course of a century, under the Umayyads, especially after the building of the naval dockyard of Tunis (79/698), but always with the sole objective of carrying off prisoners and booty, with the exception perhaps of the expedition planned by the governor of Ifrīḳiya ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḥabḥāb, and put into effect in 122/739-40 by Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda, who succeeded in laying siege to Syracuse but was obliged to abandon any notion of invasion. On the other hand, no raids are recorded during the second half of the 2nd/8th century, and this is to be explained, among other factors, by the defensive dispositions adopted in Sicily at this time by Byzantium. Furthermore the same policy was implemented in Ifrīḳiya by its new masters, the Aghlabids [*q.v.*], who, following their accession to power in 184/800, took all appropriate measures to establish, in their turn, a fortified coastal defensive system and simultaneously, at the initiative of the second *amīr*, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh, to equip a fleet. Reciprocal concern for safeguarding respective commercial interests, which favoured this attitude of restraint and caution, ultimately had the effect of establishing cordial relations between Byzantines and Arabs, which persisted into the first quarter of the 3rd/9th century and were given formal expression in the treaty signed, apparently, by the founder of the dynasty, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, and renewed by his son.

The fatal rupture of this equilibrium took place in 212/827, following the outbreak of disturbances in Syracuse and their repercussions at Ḳayrawān. In fact, paradoxically it was the Byzantines who supplied the Aghlabids with the pretext for engaging in hostilities, and, as is not unusual in history, it was a somewhat banal incident which provoked them. The spark which ignited the gun-powder was the revolt, in Syracuse, of the Byzantine *turmarchos* or army commander Euphemius, who approached Ziyādat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm, the third Aghlabid *amīr* (201-23/817-38) to appeal for his intervention in Sicily. The decision in his favour was not unopposed, but the authority of Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] overrode all judicial scruples. The die was cast for an enterprise, the advance against Sicily, which was to be the last example of the *futūḥ* of Islam, where the spirit of conquest and the zeal of *djihād* played the same role. The achievement of Asad, appointed to lead an army of 10,000 men, transported by a fleet of some hundred vessels, was as brief as it was extraordinary. A respected jurist, without any military experience whatsoever, he succeeded brilliantly in his task, in spite of his advanced age. One month after the landing at Mazara, he scored a decisive victory over the Byzantine Balāṭa near Corleone, after which he traversed the island to unleash an attack on the capital, Syracuse; the siege had been in process for more than a year when Asad died in an epidemic. The Muslims disengaged from the project and withdrew towards the interior, where they took possession of Mineo and of Agrigento [see DJIRDJENT], then, after an unsuccessful attempt at besieging Ḳaṣryānnih [*q.v.*] (the modern Enna), they fell back as far as Mazara. Exposed to the attacks of the enemy, they were extricated from their predicament by reinforcements sent from Ifrīḳiya in 215/830, who were joined by a Berber adventurer, Aṣbagh b. Wakīl, known as Farghalūs, leading a band of Spanish mercenaries. It was as a result of these events that the Muslims were in a position to lay siege to Palermo, which surrendered on 30 Radjab 216/12 September 831.

In operations pursued with the object of conquering territory, which continued until the opening of the 4th/10th century, the Muslims had many difficulties to contend with, owing to the uneven physical terrain and to the strong defensive dispositions of the enemy, but most of all to the disturbances which broke out from time to time between Arabs and Berbers or between the different social classes. On the other hand, they often benefited from the leadership of able chieftains, such as the two Aghlabid princes Abū Fihr Muḥammad (217-20/832-5) and Abu 'l-Aghlab Ibrāhīm (220-37/835-51), of whom the latter in particular achieved some remarkable successes. It was he who, *ca.* 227/842, secured possession of the valley of Mazara, and thus of the western sector of the island, and immediately undertook the occupation of the eastern sector of Sicily, which culminated in the taking of Messina (228-9/843) and soon afterwards, between 231/845 and 234/848, in the surrender of Modica, Lentini and Ragusa. An experienced politician, who had succceded in the meantime in concluding an alliance with Naples and had taken the precaution of equipping a fleet, he had the good sense to entrust the conduct of the campaigns to professional soldiers, such as al-Faḍl b. Djaʿfar, the conqueror of Messina, and Abu 'l-Aghlab al-ʿAbbās, who at the same time, at Butera, on the southern coast of the island, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Byzantines. It is to this last-named, who replaced him, on his death in 237/851, as third *wālī*, that credit belongs for the capture, on 26 Shawwāl 244/26 January 859, of Ḳaṣryānnih, for thirty years the pivot of the Byzantine defensive system. With his successors, Khafādja b. Sufyān (247-55/862-9) and his son Muḥammad (killed in 257/871), the advance of the Muslims towards eastern Sicily, in spite of mutinies on the part of the troops, which cost the lives of both generals, became increasingly menacing, and led to the surrender of Noto (250/864) and of Troina (251/865), in addition to a number of incursions against Taormina, Catania and Syracuse. The privilege of capturing the capital itself was to fall much later to Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, who on 15 Ramaḍān 264/21 May 878, after a siege of nine months, succeeded in taking Syracuse, the objective of Muslim attacks for the past fifty years. During the last quarter of the century the situation became somewhat chaotic, as a result of mutinies and civil wars, most of them centred on Agrigento and Palermo, but this did not prevent the Muslim forces from pursuing the occupation of the Demona Valley (at the north-eastern corner of the island), as well as launching raids against Catania and Taormina. It was the fall of this city, on 22 Shaʿbān 289/1 August 902, which finally crowned the Muslim conquest. The protagonist of this last act was the ninth Aghlabid prince himself, Ibrāhīm II (in power since 261/875), who decided to abdicate in favour of his son ʿAbd Allāh, in order to take charge, in his place, of military operations in Sicily.

Reduced henceforward to the status of a province of Ifrīḳiya, Sicily followed the same historical path as the colonial power, even when, in 296/909, the Fāṭimid movement dealt a death-blow to the Aghlabid dynasty. However, the reception accorded to the Shīʿī propaganda of the new masters, which was manifested in the support offered to the Berber element (concentrated in Agrigento) at the expense of the Arab element (localised in Palermo), was anything but favourable, with the result that the first lieutenant of the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh, Ibn Abi 'l-Khinzīr, soon had to be recalled. The refusal to compromise with heterodoxy led to the formation of an overt opposition, symbolised by a remarkable individual, a certain Aḥmad b. Ḳurhub, who, between 300/913 and 304/916, was the spokesman of the Sunnī restoration and of loyalism to the caliphate of Baghdād. The repression which ensued was soon succeeded by a period of stability, owed to the discretion of the governor Sālim b. Rashīd (304-25/917-37) and to an improved administration, until a fresh outbreak of disorder required his replacement by the energetic soldier Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (325-30/937-41). The latter took the decision to build within Palermo the citadel of al-Khāliṣa, which did not suffice, apparently, to discourage all aspirations towards revolt, in view of the fact that the Fāṭimid caliph found it necessary, in 337/948, to transfer the administration of Sicily to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Kalbī.

Thus began the amīrate of the Kalbids, which was to become hereditary, in response to the actions of the Fāṭimids who, after their transfer to Egypt (362/973), turned their attention away from Sicily. In the first half of the century, during which power was in the hands of the new masters, Sicily experienced the golden age of the Arab domination, both on the level of political prestige and military success, and of cultural prosperity (despite certain negative traits in the account, mentioned above, by Ibn Ḥawḳal, present on the scene in 362/972-3). It is to the two sons of the founder of the dynasty, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan (342-58/953-69) and ʿAlī b. Ḥasan (359-72/970-82), that the régime owes its attainment of the high point of its power: the former, who finally put an end to the disorder of eastern Sicily, where he suppressed, in 351/962, the revolt of Taormina, renamed al-Muʿizziyya in honour of the caliph of Cairo, regained control of Rametta and ravaged Messina, after the memorable naval engagement known as "the battle of the Strait"; the latter, who was responsible for the last great victory of the Muslims of Sicily over the Christians, near Rossano in Calabria, where he could boast of having been invited by the Byzantines themselves to join an alliance against Otto II, before dying in battle. Although peace and prosperity, subsequently assured and almost personified by Abu 'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf (379-88/989-98), continued even after the forced retirement of the *amīr*, who was paralysed by a stroke, the seduction of worldly pleasures proved fatal to his son and successor Djaʿfar (in power until 410/1019), to the extent that it even provoked a fratricidal war. With him and after him, nothing could halt the decline of the Kalbid dynasty, reduced under Aḥmad al-Akḥal (410-29/1019-38), to begging for the aid of the old Byzantine enemy, and to submitting, on the other hand, to the depredations of the Zīrids, lieutenants of the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya since 362/973. With the last scion of the line of Abu 'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf, al-Ḥasan, known as al-Ṣamṣām (431-45/1040-53), Sicily underwent a period of anarchy in which political unity disintegrated and the amīrate collapsed, to the benefit of lesser principalities, by a process similar to that which affected the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*] in Spain at the same time. Individuals bearing the title of *ḳāʾid*, appearing on the scene during this final act of the drama of the Kalbid dynasty, took control of a situation which was soon to be subject to the arbitration of the Normans.

(c) *The Norman and Swabian period*

In the conflict which erupted between these minor warlords, those who gained the upper hand were the *ḳāʾid* of Syracuse Ibn al-Thumna [*q.v.*], and his adversary Ibn al-Ḥawwāṣ [*q.v.*], based at Ḳaṣryānnih, from where he controlled the centre of the island. It was in fact the hostility between them which provoked the intervention of the count Roger d'Hauteville, who in February 1061 landed near Messina, coming to the aid of Ibn al-Thumna. Taking advantage of battles in which the Muslims expended their last remaining resources, and of which even the two rivals were soon to be the victims, Roger and his brother Robert le Guiscard, returning to the island in force in 1071, set about occupying the territory, starting with Palermo, which capitulated in January 1072. They were confronted however by stubborn resistance on the part of Benavert [*q.v.*], the last champion of Islam in Sicily, who succeeded in holding them in check for a quarter of a century, and fell in the naval battle of Syracuse in 1086. The conquest was completed in 1091, with the surrender of Noto, which marked the end of the period of Arab domination.

Having first encamped in the south of the peninsula, and now also established in Sicily, the Normans pursued the struggle against the Muslims at sea, with the imperialist aim of controlling the central Mediterranean. Especially under the long reign of Roger II (1111-54), who became in 1130 king of Sicily, of Calabria and of Apulia, with the aid of powerful fleets, led by such prestigious admirals as George of Antioch and Christodoulos, they succeeded in occupying, between 1135 and 1153, the entire coast of Ifrīḳiya, from Tripoli to Bone. And even after the advance of the Almohads had put an end to this adventure in North Africa, they renewed their attacks, under the last sovereign William II, this time against the Egypt of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (1169 and 1174).

As for the Arabs who became their subjects in Sicily, now that their effort as warriors for the *djihād*, after more than two-and-a-half centuries, was finally exhausted, their lot was to serve in the ranks of the conquerors, who furthermore appreciated their valour, to the extent of discouraging their conversion to Christianity. This integration of Muslims into the army was nothing other than an aspect of the singular symbiosis which the Norman sovereigns, engaged as they were as knights of Christianity, sought to establish among the various cultures present in their state, in a spirit of tolerance based on both enlightened and pragmatic considerations. It is certain that the Arabs who, instead of emigrating, chose to live under the conquest, were guaranteed rights of citizenship in the framework of a feudal system established by the new régime, with a status which varied according to the different conditions imposed at the time of the conquest. It is this which emerges from the information supplied by the documents known as *djarāʾid* (sing. *djarīda*), also called *plataea*, which set out the different legal and social levels, defining the status, on the one hand, of the people of the countryside, having limited rights, if not reduced to outright slavery, and on the other that of the urban classes, who enjoyed equal, or almost equal treatment to that of the other subjects. In addition,

there was an élite of senior officials, in the entourage of the prince himself, where their presence bestowed a living and distinctive stamp of Arabism upon numerous persistent aspects of Arab civilisation, such as the ceremonial of the court, the chancellery, the system of land taxation, and currency, with the technical language applied to them. The favour accorded to Arabism and to Islam by the sovereign, already made explicit in the writings of al-Idrīsī with regard to Roger II, is also a theme, this time in reference to William II, in the text, mentioned above, of Ibn Djubayr, the richest Arabic literary source available, with its somewhat contradictory testimony, for the Arabo-Norman century, a period during which the Arabo-Muslim community of Sicily, neutralised from a political point of view, succeeded against all expectation, and albeit precariously, in maintaining its religious, economic and cultural vitality.

The bloody riots of which the Muslims were victims in 1161 under William I, and especially in 1189-90, with the severing of the lineage of Hauteville, were only the prelude to the end. Embroiled in the struggles between Tancred of Lecce and Henry VI of Hohenstaufen, respectively bastard son and son-in-law of Roger II, who were rivals in the succession to William II, the Muslims, persecuted by the princes and harassed by the Christian feudal system, took to the countryside and formed a resistance movement, or even resorted to brigandage. Anarchy persisted even after the accession of Frederick II, who as late as 1219-22 was obliged to crush a revolt of Muslims occupying the citadels of Jato and Entella. The heroes of this episode were the character whom western sources call Mirabetto, and his daughter whose proud spirit lives on in a text recently discovered, with the account, both tragic and romantic, of her death. Since even after this the resistance of the Muslims persisted, being all the more dangerous in that its points of resistance were hidden in the mountains, Frederick II, determined to assert his authority over all opposition, did not hesitate to resort to the extreme measure of mass deportation. In stages and over a period of several decades, tens of thousands of Muslims were uprooted, to be resettled in Apulia. Detached from any kind of political or cultural life, Sicilian Arabism which had enjoyed such prosperity in the 11th and 12th centuries, lived out its final phase confined within the colony of Lucera, until its annihilation, in 1300, by the Angevins. In this regard, history can only draw attention to the sad paradox according to which the political and human presence of Arab Islam in Sicily was sacrificed in the interests of the state by a sovereign, none other shall Frederick II who, nourished by Arabic culture since his youth, never ceased throughout his life to express his sympathy for it and his interest in it.

(d) *Cultural life*

While it is quite natural to compare, from a cultural point of view, in the context of western Islam, Sicily with Spain, it should not be too surprising to find that the literary and scientific output of the Sicilian Muslims is not comparable in its entirety to that of the scholars and erudite writers of al-Andalus. It is not unreasonable to add that, while the loss of many of its products is certainly regrettable, the cultural gulf between Sicily and Spain is an established fact, which no new discovery, an improbable event in any case, is likely to modify significantly. In terms of an objective judgment of what has survived, it is impossible to avoid gaining the impression that this Sicilian Arabism, in the literary sphere, with a few exceptions, was as modest as it was rather impersonal. In other words, there is no likelihood of finding productions exceeding the limits of a literature which is quite traditional, in both Arabic and Islamic terms: technical works of *ḳirāʾāt*, of *ḥadīth* or of *fiḳh*, treatises of grammar and of philology, and finally a poetry fixed in conventional moulds. This observation serves moreover to stress the absence, from the works of the Arabic authors of Sicily, of specific traits, to the intense regret of those who would like to find here references to the society and environment of the time, considerably more concrete than the nostalgic echoes, as sentimental as they are vague, preserved in the verses of Ibn Ḥamdīs [*q.v.*] and of other exiled poets.

All this said, it is probably fair to acknowledge that, if Arab culture in Sicily did not have the same opportunity to develop as elsewhere, the blame for this belongs to a considerable extent to the eventful history of the Arabs in the island. It must therefore be admitted that the vicissitudes and instabilities of the Arab domination, in addition to its brevity (two-and-a-half centuries, compared with seven centuries of Andalusian Arabism), strongly affected any cultural prowess. So matters stood during the Aghlabid and Fāṭimid periods, until the turn of the 4th/10th century when, for the first time, the Kalbid amīrate succeeded in creating conditions favourable to the arts and the sciences, a state of affairs also achieved by the Rogers and Williams in the 12th century and, after them, in the first half of the following century, by Frederick II. The fact remains that it was the precariousness of the political situation, as exemplified by the Christian reconquest on the part of the Normans, which was responsible for the singular phenomenon of a mass emigration of scholars to the Maghrib, al-Andalus and Egypt, in a process contrary to that which formerly had often seen the arrival on the Sicilian scene of some itinerant scholar or another. The devastating effect which this diaspora of the Arab intelligentsia of Sicily was to have on its cultural patrimony was hardly to be compensated for by the attribute of al-Ṣiḳillī which these people continued to attach to their names. But if in fact it only survives as an exterior brand, making no contribution to the intellectual life of Sicily, it has proved sufficient, in modern times, to arouse the patriotic ardour of M. Amari, restoring the memory of these individuals, effaced as it had been, to the annals of the cultural exploits of Sicilian Arabism.

A survey of the latter, which would seek to do more than amassing purely onomastic information, must, however, be confined to generalities, otherwise preserving only the memory of persons and of works which have left an appreciable trace. Given the cultural conformism of Sicilian society in relation to the international Islamic community, it is important to stress specifically the primacy of *fiḳh* and the total ascendancy of Mālikism, emanating from Ḳayrawān, over the Sicilian centres of judicial training. This fact seems almost personified by the figure of Asad b. al-Furāt, the pioneer of the conquest and, at the same time, the first promulgator of the Mālikī system, in alternation with the more authentic version of Saḥnūn [*q.v.*], imported by his disciples with their commentaries on his celebrated *Mudawwana*: Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar (d. 291/903), Maymūn b. ʿAmr (d. 316/928) and Luḳmān b. Yūsuf (d. 318/930). With the latter, also worthy of mention is the eminent jurist Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūnus (d. 451/1059), but it was in the following century that judicial theory attained its high-

est point with the *imām* al-Māzarī (d. 595/1141 [*q.v.*]), the author among other works of a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, and also renowned as a traditionist on account of his *al-Muʿlim bi-fawāʾid Kitāb Muslim*. The fact that this last-named work has been preserved, fortunately, in a number of manuscripts, does justice to some extent to the genre of traditionist studies, represented by a host of specialists, whose writings have, however, not survived. A somewhat better fate seems to have been reserved for the other canonical branch of religious studies, that concentrating on the text of the Ḳurʾān, judging by the contributions of Ismāʿīl b. Khalaf (d. 455/1063), with his *ʿUnwān fī 'l-ḳirāʾāt*, and especially of Ibn al-Faḥḥām (d. 516/1122 [*q.v.*]), with an analogous treatise, the *Tadjrīd fī bughyat al-murīd*. The interest also taken in grammar by this scholar, as a disciple in Egypt of Bābashādh [*q.v.*], whose glosses to his famous *Muḳaddima* he transmitted, serves as a reminder of the favour constantly enjoyed in Sicily by philology, in the broadest sense of the term: from the pure grammatical science, inaugurated by Ibn al-Birr (see above) and cultivated subsequently by, among others, al-Kattānī (d. 512/1118), to lexicography, represented especially by the *Tathḳīf al-lisān* of the purist Ibn Makkī [*q.v.*], a precious document for the study of the dialect of Sicily in relation to Maghribī Arabic; and in addition, the art of poetry, imported from Ifrīḳiya, with its masterpiece *al-ʿUmda* by Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 462/1070 [*q.v.*]), and finally literary history, dominated by the figure of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ (d. 515/1121 [*q.v.*]), probably the most erudite of Sicilian critics. Although like many others, he left Sicily when it fell under Christian domination, he remained loyal to the values of his own culture, seeking out its language and its texts, and following the particular objective of collecting its poetic remnants in the anthology *al-Durra al-khaṭīra*, which comprised accounts of 170 authors with 20,000 verses (!). It is, however, most regrettable that of such a rich repertoire all that is known is the minimal portion preserved by two abridgments and by al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] in a special section of his *Kharīda*; the loss is made worse by the fact that the gap is not filled at all by other sources, such as the *Mukhtār*, composed a little later by Ibn Bashrūn (d. 561/1166).

Partial and fragmentary though it is, the available documentation leads to the conclusion that Sicily, in terms of the production of verse, which first became known in the period of the Kalbids, generally remained within the parameters of the Arab tradition, whether through the number and the fecundity of poets, or rather of rhymers, or through the predilection, shared with the poetic language of other countries, for the themes of courtly panegyric or of affected description. Paradoxically, if any new upsurge in poetic activity took place, however limited, it was as a result of the upheaval caused by the Norman invasion, and this last rekindling of *djihād* followed by the epilogue, painful for many, of exile. Memory of and nostalgia for the homeland are consequently the inspiration for the most personal verses of certain poets, primarily Ibn Ḥamdīs (see above), the only one whose *Dīwān*, of 6,000 verses in total, has survived in its entirety, along with the other, considerably more modest, of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Billanūbī (5th/11th century). But this was not an absolute rule, since there were writers who gladly adjusted to the new situation, not hesitating to exploit their talent to describe, in verses as precious as they are sincerely emotional, the favoured haunts of the princes: these include ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Butīrī (= of Butera), writing a poem devoted to the royal palace of Palermo, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-ʿAbbās al-Iṭrābanishī (= of Trapani), celebrating the former charm of al-Fawwāra, the splendid villa of Roger II. A little later, under William II, is located the somewhat enigmatic figure of Ibn Ḳalāḳis (d. 567/1172 [*q.v.*]), a native of Egypt, whose verses, especially those contained in *al-Ẓahr al-bāsim*, dealing with his visit to the island in 564/1168-9, should be considered the last poetic echo in the Arabic language produced by Sicily.

Bearing in mind this quite considerable corpus of poetry, it is all the more surprising to note the almost total absence of prose, whether in the context of historiography or of parenesis or, more especially, of *adab*. Setting aside the anonymous *Chronicle*, known as the *Cambridge chronicle*, composed also in Greek, the only two attempts at a history of Arab Sicily, as already mentioned at the outset, have disappeared; all that remains is to mention the remarkable polygraph Ibn Ẓafar (d. 565/1170 [*q.v.*]), associated particularly with the pleasing treatise on good government, the *Sulwān al-muṭāʿ*, made famous by the translation of Amari under the title of *Conforti politici*. But it was outside the sphere of literary prose that Sicilian Arabism, enjoying the patronage of the Normans, achieved the exceptional, even unique success, represented by the often-mentioned work of al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fī ikhtirāḳ al-āfāḳ*, otherwise known as *Kitāb Rūdjār*, from the name of the sovereign who inspired it, Roger II, whose deeply-felt admiration of the civilisation and, in particular, the science of the Arabs is well reflected in this compendium of geographical information. The extent to which Arab science, as well as the Arabic language, was a welcome guest in his court, is illustrated among other things by the (partial) translation into Latin, from an Arabic version, of Ptolemy's *Optics*, made by the *amīr* Eugenius, as well as the singular novelty of the installation at the royal palace of a hydraulic clock by the Andalusian sage Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayya [*q.v.*].

This privileged situation did not remain isolated, but was fortunately revived under Frederick II who, with his spirit of universal tolerance, made of Palermo an incomparable crucible of civilisations, and of his court a cosmopolitan meeting-place of scholars, Latins and Greeks, Jews and Arabs. Among these at least two should be mentioned: Michel Scotus, already renowned as a translator at Toledo, who spent his last years, between 1227 and 1235, in the service of Frederick II, translating the zoological section of Avicenna's *Shifāʾ* (*Abbreviatio Avicennae de animalibus*), and composing two books on astrology and one on physiognomy; then Theodore of Antioch, who in 1236 replaced Michel Scotus in the office of royal astrologer, was entrusted with the composition of official letters in Arabic, and translated, under the title *De scientia venandi per aves*, an Arabic treatise by a certain Moamin on hunting with falcons, which Frederick II used for his own *De arte venandi cum avibus*.

The sympathy for Arabo-Islamic civilisation felt by Frederick II was not at all an episodic attitude nor was it circumscribed, as might be suggested by this somewhat eccentric treatise on falconry, but arose from his intellectual moulding and was nourished by his versatile scientific curiosity. The latter was applied equally to mathematics and astrology, optics and alchemy, physics and medicine, branches of knowledge all dating back, as is well known, to a Greek origin, but conveyed to the West through the intermediacy of the Arabs and of their language, blessed as it was with remarkable flexibility. Also striking is

the singular role which this sympathy played at the level of personal relations maintained, on the one hand, with the Muslim princes, starting with al-Malik al-Kāmil [see AL-KĀMIL], the Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, and on the other, with the scholars, whom he habitually consulted with lists of questions. Thus, just as he had previously inquired of Michel Scotus regarding many cosmological subjects, he did not hesitate to seek the advice of Muslim scholars everywhere concerning a series of metaphysical questions, the *Masāʾil Ṣiḳilliya*, according to the title of the Oxford *unicum*, which conveys the responses of Ibn Sabʿīn [*q.v.*]; this evocation of the philosopher of Murcia puts the finishing touches to the eclecticism of a proto-Renaissance, personified by Frederick II. After him, his son Manfred remained loyal, although on a considerably reduced scale, to this tradition of respect for Arab culture, evidenced by the reception accorded in 1261 to the ambassador of the Mamlūk sultan Baybars [*q.v.*], the famous historian Ibn Wāṣil [*q.v.*], by the foundation at Lucera, according to the latter, of a "House of Science", and finally by the patronage extended to Hermann the German (Hermanus Teutonicus), in his capacity as translator of the Middle Commentary of Ibn Rus̲h̲d [*q.v.*] on Aristotle's *Ethics*. A little later, when Charles of Anjou had eliminated the line of the Hohenstaufens in 1268, it was in the realm of medical science that Sicilian Arabism spoke its last word, even though in the voice of two Jewish scholars: Moses of Palermo, who in 1277 translated into Latin, under the title *De curationibus infirmitatum equorum*, the Arabic version (no longer in existence) of a text of Pseudo-Hippocrates; and Farad̲j̲ b. Sālim of Agrigento (*alias* Moses Farachi, Faragut), translator, in 1280, of the *Taḳwīm al-abdān* (= *Tacuinus aegritudinum*) of Ibn D̲j̲azla [*q.v.*], but especially, in 1279, of the major treatise by al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], *al-Ḥāwī* (in Latin, *Continens*). A finer tribute on the part of Sicily to Arab science cannot be imagined.

(e) *Arab survivals in Sicily*

Exhausted now even in its cultural vitality, and with its political presence long since effaced, Sicilian Arabism was not reduced to silence. It continues, even in the present day, to speak through the medium of the products of its artistic talent, as well as through the innumerable echoes of its language, incessantly repeated in Sicilian demotic speech. Of this permanence, the most striking feature is the Islamic influence retained in the structure of habitat, urban and rural, best preserved in the minor centres, where later arrangements have overturned to a lesser extent the original urban plan. If it is not always easy to recognise in Sicilian towns the structure of a Muslim urban ambience, where a fortified space was separated from the residential quarters, and the latter in turn divided between the *madīna* and the suburbs (in Sicilian *rabati*), what is perceptible everywhere, whether in the case of towns or villages, is the typically Arab road network, with its hierarchy of principal and secondary routes, down to lanes and dead-ends, often blocked by small courtyards, denoted by the customary technical terms (*s̲h̲āriʿ*, *darb*, *zuḳāḳ*), sometimes bizarrely altered.

But nowhere are the traces of Muslim civilisation in Sicily as visible as in the edifices of that architecture which is correctly described as Arabo-Norman, represented mostly in the West and concentrated especially at Palermo. And while it seems appropriate, in regard to this cultural revenge, to repeat the ancient dictum, that Arabia, defeated by arms, subjugated its conquerors with its genius, the Norman princes also deserve credit for not having imposed Gothic traits on the face of their capital, in place of the Oriental character given it by the Muslims. At the most, they were content to add to the Oriental stylistic elements, including those introduced by the Byzantines, such European features as could reasonably co-exist with them. The result of this eclecticism, the artistic equivalent of their tolerance in politics and religion, was the realisation of an original scheme without parallel in Europe and also distinct from anything to be found in the Orient.

Examples of this combination, where arabesques are mingled with mosaics and where the geometric marquetries of Muslim art alternate with the curvilinear polychromes of the Byzantine tradition, are evidently to be found principally in religious monuments, even if churches such as St. Jean of the Eremites (1132), St. Mary of the Amiral (1143), *alias* Martorana, and St. Cataldo (*ca.* 1160) and the Dome of Monreale (1174), display architectural and decorative forms which are clearly of Arab inspiration. These features include the compact frame of the building and the arrangement of spaces, the decoration of the exterior by means of blind interlaced arches, use of the so-called Moorish arch in all its varied forms, hemispherical cupolas covered in red plaster and crenellations of Arab type, friezes with engraved inscriptions, systems of niches (*muḳarnas* [*q.v.*]), culminating in the unique phenomenon, in the pavilion of the cloister of Monreale, of a jet of water gushing from a marble fountain modelled in the form of the trunk of a stylised palm-tree. These are the elements which are to be found in their purest state in secular buildings, freed from all religious constraints, such as those which the Norman princes built in the western and southern outskirts of Palermo, conceived as magical residences, surrounded by gardens and ornamental lakes, places of ease and recreation, "disposed around the town"—according to the image coined by Ibn D̲j̲ubayr—"like a necklace on the bosom of a girl". Of these pearls, those which survive in a state which permits appreciation of the structure at least, are the Zisa (= *al-ʿAzīza* "the glorious" or "the precious"), begun by William I and completed by his son, the Cuba (= *al-Ḳubba*, "the cupola"), a pavilion of festivities, built in 1180 by William II, and near it the little Cuba, finally the castle of Maredolce or Favara (= *al-Fawwāra* "the bubbling", a term applied to a spring), which Roger II built on the foundations of the *Ḳaṣr D̲j̲aʿfar*, named after this Kalbid *amīr* (998-1019), but which is now no more than a ruin.

The splendour, which one would have to seek in vain among these remains, is to be found elsewhere, in the Palatine Chapel, constructed in the interior of the royal palace by Roger II, between 1132 and 1143. Here, the sumptuous ceiling in carved wood of the central nave, joined to the supporting walls by an ornate structure of corbels with *muḳarnas*, unfolds within twenty caissons a cycle of paintings which constitutes one of the most remarkable productions of Islamic art in this domain. They develop the theme of the apotheosis of the sovereign, represented in the context of his recreations: at the hunt, surrounded by knights and falconers, or seated at a banquet, amid a throng of cup-bearers and revellers, dancers and tumblers, chess-players and musicians. Around him it is the entire universe which seems to turn. Such is the meaning of this gorgeous fresco, animated with living scenes, populated by animals, real or mythical, realistic in the details of an evolved material culture and enigmatic in the evocation of symbols and of myths. It is the homage paid to the magnanimous

king by the imagination of art, matched by the tribute which scientific rationalism, through the talent of al-Idrīsī, was to offer him soon afterwards. While on the subject of artistic creation, this brief glimpse at "posthumous" Sicilian Arabism should not be concluded without mention of the superb cloak (now in Vienna), which was woven for the coronation of Roger II, an incomparable masterpiece of the royal workshop known as the *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*].

But the survival of Arab culture in Sicily has an aspect which is, if possible, even more durable: it is the extent to which, grafted onto the language of its people, it remains an inherent part of its life, in spite of the ravages of time. It is obvious that the provision of isolated examples would not be adequate to reproduce the real dimensions of a global process, which has penetrated the lexicon with words of general usage, such as verbs, adjectives or even phrases, but especially with a number of technical terms concerning either the natural environment, or the human universe, its activities and institutions. Leaving this task to the specialised works mentioned below, it will suffice to recall how many Sicilian family names are of Arab origin, and how many toponyms have left, in geography and in history, in short, in the culture of Sicily, an ineradicable Arab stamp (see 2. below).

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(R. Traini)

2. The Arabic toponomy.

Scientifically-based research on the toponomy of Sicily in the period of the Arab conquest begins with Michele Amari. In his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, with its two Appendices of 1875 and 1887, he endeavoured to collect together, in effect, all the Arabic texts relating to the history, geography and literature of the island. In the final *Index* in Arabic characters and including all types of names, he gave an outline list of the Arabic and Arabised place names of Sicily. Then, in 1901, on the occasion of the centenary of Amari's birthday, two other volumes of texts appeared (*Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari. Scritti di filologia e storia araba*, Palermo 1910, 2 vols.). Finally, a century after the publication of the *Biblioteca*, Umberto Rizzitano published a final collection of texts (*Nuove fonti per la storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, in *RSO*, xxxii [1957], 531-55). Yet curious though it may seem, no-one has as yet compiled a complete list of the Arabic place names of Sicily.

According to historical information, these names should date from the period between 256/870 and 462/1070, that of the Arab occupation of the island. One should nevertheless note that the Arabic toponomy did not change immediately on the Norman invasion, well illustrated by the description of Sicily (occupying forty large-format pages: *Opus geographicum*, fasc. 5, Naples-Rome 1975, sectio secunda, 583-626, Ital. tr. in Rizzitano, *Il libro di Ruggero*, Palermo n.d. [1966], 153) of the complete edition of the *K. Rudjār* or *K. Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* of al-Idrīsī written towards the middle of the 6th/12th century, hence almost a century after the end of Arab domination.

From a linguistic point of view, the Sicilian place names of this period can be divided into two groups: a first one made up of names in origin Greek, Latin or otherwise but then Arabised, and a second one of Arabic names. With the end of Arab domination, part of these place names disappeared, whilst others underwent phonetic adaptations before assuming their recent form. In the first group, one may cite: *Ḳarīnish* (Ital. Carini), *al-Ḳārūniyya* (Ital. Caronia), *Ḳaṭāniya* (Ital. Catania), *Djulfūdh* (Ital. Cefalù), *Djafala* (Ital. Cefalà (Diana)), *Ḳurliyūn* (Ital. Corleone), *Balarm* (Ital. Palermo), *Fīkūda* (Ital. Filicudi), *Lanbadūsha* (Ital. Lampedusa) and *Lībar* (Ital. Lipari).

The second group contains two types. (1) Where Arabic terms have had their Italian equivalents, with no connection in sense, substituted e.g. *al-Aṣnām* >

Selinunte, *al-Karīb* > the river Bilici, *Namūsa* > the island of Linosa, and *Ḳūṣira* [see ḲAWṢARA] > Pantellaria. (2) Where Arabic terms have been Italianised, e.g. *Wādī 'l-Tīn* > Dittano, *Marsā ʿAlī* > Marsala, *al-Khāliṣa* > Kalsa and *Shakka* > Sciacca.

Even so, there remain some names difficult to classify, because they are made up of two elements, one of which is translated whilst the other is Italian. This is the case with ʿUyūn ʿAbbās "the Fountains of ʿAbbās", which has become Tre Fontane, or Tirsat Abī Thawr, the modern Porto Palo.

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3. Numismatics.

It should be emphasised that the minting of Arab coins of Sicily is here considered only in regard to the actual period of Arab occupation, in its Aghlabid, Fāṭimid, Kalbid and Zīrid phases, up to 462/1070. The Norman coins with Arabic inscriptions are not considered here at all.

Arab minting in Sicily seems to have begun with the military conquest of the island. The first known money is a silver dirham, diameter 24 mm and weight 2.90 gr and bearing the date 214/829-30. On it can be read the name of Muḥammad al-Djawharī, on the order of the *amīr* Ziyādat Allāh, son of Ibrāhīm Ziyādat Allāh, the Khurāsānian commander to whom Hārūn al-Rashīd had offered the province of Ifrīḳiya. The actual mint involved is uncertain, since the term *Siḳilliya*, which can be read on the coin and which was later attributed to Palermo, cannot thus be considered in any way, since the town in question had not yet been captured. One must also take into account the fact that the Arab conquest spread over almost a century; Palermo was conquered in 216/831, Messina in 228/843, Noto in 257/865, Syracuse in 266/878 and finally, Taormina in 289/902. In the areas conquered by the Arabs, the monetary system changed, whilst the Byzantine authorities kept in circulation the totally different Byzantine system based on the gold *solidus*, with its fraction of one-third (*tremissis*) and the copper *follis* and its multiples.

The Arab system, on the contrary, was always based on bimetallism but seems to have been characterised by the issue of gold coins in a small format, in practice reduced to one-quarter in comparison with the coins issued in the Islamic East. As for silver, after the minting of a sole dirham and half-dirham, one reached the quarter-dirham in 250/864. Later, between 273/886 and 277/890, there comes into being a new silver coinage with the appearance of a miniature dirham with a weight varying between 0.17 and 0.55 gr and with a diameter of 9-11 mm, bearing the date but no indication of the place of minting.

One type particularly introduced by the Fāṭimids was the stellate *kharrūba*, whose weight was, theoretically, according to P. Balog, 0.195 gr but which in practice varied between 0.65 and 1.25 gr. This small-sized type of coin naturally raises numerous problems regarding its daily use. The term stellate or étoilé used by the numismatics who have described it, probably stems from the division of the obverse and reverse into diametric segments which divide the surface up into a series of little spaces vaguely reminiscent of the appearance of a star.

One can only conjecture at the reasons why the Arab governors in Sicily adopted this bimetallic system, but one in miniature.

The historical sources show that, in Fāṭimid Egypt and in its Sicilian dependency, there was no copper coinage. Nevertheless, there existed at that time a certain number of glass monetary weights, on the Byzantine model, used in daily life to control the correct weight of the coins. Given that there was a total absence of copper in Fāṭimid Egypt, to the extent that it had to be imported, these weights, issued in large quantities could very likely be used as pieces of subsidiary coinage instead of a copper coinage. Numismatists are not agreed on this interpretation, in favour of which one might add that these tokens have been largely found in hoards, where one would certainly not put glass weights which had no monetary value, and that at least 20% of these tokens are contemporary imitations.

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4. Epigraphy.

At present in Sicily there are 82 Arabic inscriptions found either on buildings or on tombstones, to which another 18 texts can be added, according to literary sources. They are scattered throughout Agrigento, Cefalà Diana, Cefalù, Messina, Palermo, Syracuse, Termini Imerese and Trapani.

According to the historical events that attest the Arab presence on the island, these inscriptions can be divided into the following groups: 1. inscriptions belonging to the period of Arab occupation of Sicily (827-1061); 2. inscriptions belonging to the Norman period (1061-1194); 3. inscriptions with dates corresponding to the Swabian period onwards; 4. inscriptions imported from Egypt and Tunisia.

Only three inscriptions belong to the period of the Arab occupation. The oldest is a graffito on a baked brick found in a cave of Monte Bandiera on the island of Linosa. The text, dated 364/974, commemorates the landing of Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Yuḥannis (Yuḥannas, according to Lagumina's transcription) al-Ṣiḳillī. The second was inscribed on one of the gates of Palermo, known as Porta dei Patitelli and called in Arabic *Bāb al-baḥr* (Gate of the Sea), which was built in 942 and destroyed in the 16th century. The third inscription, attributed to 34(3-9)/954-61, was

once in the castle of Termini Imerese. It is a text that commemorates the erection of a building, probably the castle itself. The sandstone blocks containing the inscription are at present broken down into eleven fragments.

To these inscriptions perhaps could be added a burial text, dated x7x or x9x A.H., that M. Amari dates back to the years 883-92 or 980-90 on the grounds of the only figure extant. Nowadays, this tombstone is preserved in the Galleria Regionale di Palazzo Bellomo in Syracuse.

We may presume that the Arabic inscriptions belonging to the Norman period, like those belonging to the period of the Arab occupation, are of local origin even if Islamic burial grounds have not yet been discovered on the island. We know that during the Norman period, permanent Muslim colonies existed in Sicily, and Arabic was one of the languages spoken in the Court or used for official texts. Therefore Muslims must have enjoyed tolerance and welfare to enable them to afford paying such craftsmen as the lapicides, who besides the skill of cutting stone, must also have possessed a good knowledge of Islamic texts.

A similar presumption cannot, however, be made regarding Arabic inscriptions found in sites where the Arab presence was neither stable nor lasting or for those dated from the Swabian period onwards, since those Muslims who were still on the island enjoyed no longer social and economic privileges.

As to the inscriptions bearing dates belonging to the Norman period, it is possible to distinguish some, inscribed mainly on buildings, that could be called Norman inscriptions in Arabic characters because they were made in the Court workshop according to the taste of the Norman dynasty. The texts consist of single words that are expressions of good wishes, with frequent repetition (first half of the twelfth century). They seem to have a unique model, as they use the same phrases or words derived from the identical Arabic root, and most of them can be found woven in the inscription of the coronation mantle of Roger II, now preserved in Vienna.

Furthermore, there is a group of metrical inscriptions, in praise of the rulers, placed on the palaces of Roger II (1105-54), William I (1154-66) and William II (1166-89). The white marble slabs that decorate the Royal Palaces of Roger II in Palermo and Messina are really unique, as the inscriptions have been made with the technique of inlaid marble, with writing in serpentine and background fillers in porphyry, unknown to the Arabic epigraphy.

The use of the languages of the four different ethnic and religious groups living in Sicily, i.e. Latin, Greek and Arabic, which was in one of the texts also written in Hebrew characters, is attested on two tombstones belonging to the parents of King Roger's chaplain, dated respectively 1141-2 and 1153, and on a marble slab which commemorates the installation of a waterclock in 1142.

These "Norman inscriptions in Arabic characters" often contain terms belonging to the Oriental Christian vocabulary, as well as Christian symbols and a unique chronology which refers to the months of the Latin calendar and to the year of the Muslim era. The Arabic words also assumed new meanings related to the social customs and religious habits of the European courts.

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(VINCENZA GRASSI)

SIKKA (A.), literally, an iron ploughshare, and an iron stamp or die used for stamping coins

(see Lane, *Lexicon*, 1937). From the latter meaning, it came to denote the result of the stamping, i.e. the legends on the coins, and then, the whole operation of minting coins.

1. Legal and constitutional aspects.

As in the Byzantine and Sāsānid empires to which the Arab caliphate was heir, the right of issuing gold and silver coinage was a royal prerogative. Hence in the caliphate, the operation of *sikka*, the right of the ruler to place his name on the coinage, eventually became one of the insignia of royal power, linked with that of the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*], the placing of the ruler's name in the bidding prayer during the Friday congregational worship.

This right of placing the ruler's name on the coinage did not appear immediately in the Islamic state. As is well known, up to the caliphate of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] at least, the former Byzantine and Sāsānid money continued to circulate; and when the new holders of power within the conquered lands finally placed their own names on newly-minted coins or counterstamped them on older coins, this was not a sign of a prerogative reserved to the caliphs. Provincial governors like Ziyād b. Abīhi, al-Ḥadjdjādj, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], etc., minted coins bearing their own names only. Even when the use of the caliphs' names on coins spread, certain provincial governors continued to follow their own local minting practices; thus at the end of the 1st century A.H., the governor of North Africa Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] still minted coins of his own, with legends in Latin. Also notable, during the period from Muʿāwiya to ʿAbd al-Malik, was the appearance of effigies of the caliphs on coins, and when the rulers' names appeared, these were often followed by the titles of *khalīfa* or *amīr al-muʾminīn*. Some ʿAbbāsid coins did not always have the caliph's name on them, but might be minted by the designated heir to the throne or *walī ʾl-ʿahd* or by a caliphal minister. But it became more and more general for the caliph's name to take precedence, usually with their honorifics or *laḳabs* [*q.v.*] also.

With the break-up of caliphal unity, provincial governors began to mint their own coins, placing their own names on them but usually continuing to place first the name of the reigning caliph as a witness to their theoretical subordination to the universal caliphate. Of course, when dynasties arose in deliberate defiance of or emnity to the ʿAbbāsids, as was the case with the Spanish Umayyads and the Fāṭimids of North Africa and Egypt, their coinage was a completely independent one, with their own names only inscribed on the coins.

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2. Coinage practice.

In Lane's *Arabic-English lexicon*, the origin of the word *sikka* is given as *sakk*, originally a ploughshare, or a nail, pin or peg of iron, thus *sikka*, an engraved piece of iron, a die for striking coins, hence *maskūk*, plural *maskukāt*, coined money. In its literal meaning, *sikka* refers to coinage dies in a mint, in early days made of bronze rather than iron, which tended to shatter under the repeated blows of the hammering process that was used to transfer the inscriptions on the die to the metal blank or planchet. For the purposes of this section of the article, however, *sikka* is discussed in its figurative sense, the right of a Muslim ruler to have his name inscribed on the coinage (see above, 1).

From its origins in classical antiquity until today, manufacture of money, and the standards controlling it have been under governmental supervision. The manufacture of coin was an important source of revenue for the government which derived from the fees, or seignorage, charged by the mint for converting unrefined metal into coin. The government stamp on the metal served as a guarantee of its purity, and as a permit for it to become legal tender within the area of authority where it was issued. In the city states of antiquity, the coinage was first identified by images of local gods and other symbols, and was often guaranteed by the names of moneyers. Under the Roman and Parthian Empires, and later the Byzantines and Sāsānids, local coinages were swept away, and replaced by those whose principal feature was the ruler's bust, often with his name and titles, and thus monarchial coinage became the rule throughout the Mediterranean and Iranian world.

In the time of the Prophet Muḥammad the Ḥidjāz had no indigenous coinage of its own, and its monetary stock was composed of whatever coins were earned through trade or pilgrimage receipts. These were Byzantine gold and copper coins, Sāsānid silver, and a miscellany of older coins which had remained in circulation long after the states which issued them had passed into history. The rapid spread of Islam, however, resulted in the acquisition of large quantities of Byzantine and Sāsānid coins which fuelled the economy of the newly-conquered territories. The Byzantine money came mostly from outside the territories conquered by the Arabs, although there was a long-established Byzantine mint in Alexandria, and another in Jerusalem operational *ca.* A.D. 609-15. In the Sāsānid lands in the east, however, the Arabs acquired control of many local mints. The silver coinage struck in them bore the name and bust of the ruler, the mint mark and the regnal year of striking.

Because the Arabs had no coinage of their own, and the populations of the lands they conquered belonged to two empires with very different monetary systems, they took the pragmatic step of adopting both systems to avoid disrupting the local economy and antagonising their new subjects. The earliest dateable Islamic coins are silver drachms, or dirhams, bearing the name and bust of the last Sāsānid ruler Yazdigird III (11-31/632-51) with the legend *bism Allāh* in the obverse margin and on the reverse the mintmark and the date 20, his last regnal year, which corresponded to the year 31 A.H. Yazdigird's name and bust were then replaced by those of Khusraw II (590-628), which became the model for the remainder of the Arab Sāsānid series. It soon became the custom for local Muslim governors to replace the name *Khusraw* with their own names in Pahlawī script. The dates on these coins, however, are often difficult to elucidate because in many instances it is uncertain whether those above the year 31 were continuations of Yazdigird's regnal years or the actual Hidjra years of striking.

Outside of the former Sāsānid territories, the picture is far less clear. It is not known when Islamic coinage began in the former Byzantine lands, because none of the coins in circulation there were dated. Some authorities have argued that it started soon after the Arab conquest, while others have dated its inception to the early years of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/684-705). In either case it is clear

that the Arabs began to strike copper *fulūs* in long-dormant Syrian and Palestinian mints, with designs based on Byzantine prototypes, often giving the names of the towns in both Latin and Arabic. Occasionally, they bear the phrase *bism Allāh* to give them a specifically Islamic character. Mints did not usually share the same designs, which emphasised the local nature of each issue. None bore the name of a caliph or local governor. It can thus be said with some certainty that the idea of *sikka* as a prerogative of caliphal sovereignty had not yet developed in the early years of the Islamic community.

The situation changed significantly after ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān defeated the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in 73/692. This victory enabled him to direct his attention to the creation of institutions which would serve the needs of the Islamic community and strengthen centralised Umayyad rule over the empire. Several experiments were made to reform the coinage, which are dealt with in some detail in the articles DĪNĀR, DIRHAM and FALS. It should be noted that ʿAbd al-Malik introduced a series of copper *fulūs* showing a standing figure of the caliph drawing a sword in defence of the Muslim community with the legend *li-ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Malik Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, "For the Servant of God ʿAbd al-Malik Commander of the Faithful". This is the only instance where an Islamic ruler adopted the style of the imperial Byzantine coinage for use among the Muslims. Although these *fulūs* are undated, they may be attributed to the years 74-7, because they are linked stylistically to "standing caliph" dīnārs which bore these years of striking in their legends.

ʿAbd al-Malik's coinage reform of 77/696-7 removed all images, names and titles from the dīnār in favour of legends drawn from the Ḳurʾān, and this model was applied to dirhams in 79/698-9. The only human name to appear in the legends was that of Muḥammad, which implies that, as in the frequently used laudation *al-Mulk li'llāh*, "Sovereignty belongs to God", the right of *sikka* was vested in the hands of God and of His Messenger. While gold and silver were given this distinction, it was not always the case for the copper coinage where the names of a caliph or governor were occasionally used to indicate the name of the local issuing authority. This usage should not be confused with the right of *sikka per se*, but only as a means of holding a local governor responsible for coinage issued within the area of his jurisdiction. Despite their differing characters, none of the succeeding Umayyad caliphs altered the legends on the precious metal coinage, which suggests that it satisfied both the spiritual and economic needs of the Muslim community.

The revolutionaries in the late Umayyad period made a few alterations to the standard Umayyad dirham (no dīnārs are known from this time). Those of both ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya and Abū Muslim [*q.vv.*] and their lieutenants bore an additional legend: *Ḳul lā asʾala-kum ʿalay-hi ad̲j̲r^an^ illā 'l-mawaddata fī 'l-ḳurbā* "Say: 'I ask of you no recompense for this other than the love of kin'" (Ḳurʾān, XLII, 23). This was obviously intended to provide divine sanction for D̲j̲aʿfarid and ʿAbbāsid claims to the caliphate. There were also K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ite issues which bore their rallying cry *lā ḥukma illā li'llāh* "authority belongs to God alone". There is a third type of revolutionary issue, which was the only known post-reform dirham struck in the Umayyad period to bear the name of someone other than the Prophet Muḥammad. This was issued in the name of D̲j̲udayʿ b. ʿAlī al-Kirmānī, and carries the additional legend: *mim-mā amara bi-hi al-Amīr al-Kirmānī b. ʿAlī* "authorised by the Amīr al-Kirmānī b. ʿAlī".

Because the ʿAbbāsids based their claim to the caliphate on their close relationship to the Prophet, they replaced the *Sūrat al-Ik̲h̲lāṣ*, which was used by the Umayyads basically as an irritant to the Christians, with *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*. Thus it could be argued that the original ʿAbbāsid *sikka* was in the name of the Prophet. They did, however, change the way in which the caliph was named. The Umayyad caliphs were known by their proper names and those of their father, e.g. ʿUmar (II) b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz or His̲h̲ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, followed by the caliphal title *Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. The early ʿAbbāsid caliphs became known by their *kunya*, *ʿalam* and *laḳab*, e.g. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh al-Saffāḥ and Abū D̲j̲aʿfar ʿAbd Allāh al-Manṣūr, but neither of these names is known to appear on their coins. In 145/762, however, al-Manṣūr granted his son al-Mahdī the right of responsibility for the silver dirham coinage of K̲h̲urasān and Armenia. The wording of this privilege copied the style of legend used on some of the copper coinage: *amara bi-hi al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. The name of a local governor, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳaḥtaba, was also found on a dirham of Armenia dated 154/771.

In the reign of al-Mahdī, 158-69/775-85, the ruler's style regularly appeared on dirhams in the form *li 'l-K̲h̲alīfa al-Mahdī* and rarely with his name *Muḥammad*. Two of his sons were occasionally granted responsibility for dirhams in the form *mim-mā amara bi-hi Mūsā walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn* for his heir, and *mim-mā amara bi-hi Hārūn b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn* for the future al-Ras̲h̲īd. The names of governors also appeared on the dirhams more frequently. During his brief rule (169-70/785-6) al-Hādī was referred to either as *li 'l-K̲h̲alīfa al-Hādī* or *li 'l-K̲h̲alīfa Mūsā*. Al-Ras̲h̲īd's earliest dirham coinage from al-Hārūniyya in 170 and 171 called him by his first throne name, *al-Marḍī* "The Approved One": *li 'l-K̲h̲alīfa al-Marḍī mim-mā amara bi-hi Hārūn Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. The caliph's name then made its first brief appearance on a few rare dīnārs of 170 and 171 in the form *mim-mā amara bi-hi ʿAbd Allāh Hārūn Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, where *ʿAbd Allāh* was used in its titular form as it had been on the coins of ʿAbd al-Malik.

Between 170 and 187/786-803, while al-Ras̲h̲īd was under the tutelage of Abu 'l-Faḍl D̲j̲aʿfar al-Barmakī [see AL-BARĀMIKA], an extraordinary variety of coinage was issued. The gold dīnārs of Egypt carried the names of its governors ʿAlī, Mūsā, ʿUmar, Muḥammad, Dāwūd and Ibrāhīm, then that of its honorary governor D̲j̲aʿfar (al-Barmakī) and finally K̲h̲ālid. Dīnārs issued in ʿIrāḳ between 177 and 187 bore the legend *mim-mā amara bi-hi al-Amīn Muḥammad b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. The silver coinage was far more complex, sometimes naming the caliph as either *Hārūn* or *al-Ras̲h̲īd*, but often not mentioning him at all. Al-Amīn was usually called *walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn*, and his younger brother al-Maʾmūn the second heir, *walī walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn*. D̲j̲aʿfar's name appeared either alone after that of the caliph and his heir, or with the names of local governors. This coinage is particularly valuable for historians because the governors' names provide a chronology for the period which would otherwise have escaped posterity. Presumably they were granted the privilege of placing their names on the coins when they received their commissions from the ʿAbbāsid chancellory headed by D̲j̲aʿfar al-Barmakī.

After the latter's execution in 187/803, al-Ras̲h̲īd curbed this practice, and most of the coinage recovered its former anonymity, particularly in mints such as Madīnat al-Salām, al-Rāfiḳa and al-Muḥammadiyya

which were under direct caliphal control. The conflict that erupted between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn after al-Rashīd's death in 193/809 was reflected in the coins they each struck. No specialised, systematic study has been made of the coinage of these two rulers, which is the most complex in the history of the Islamic world, because by this time responsibility for the *sikka* had become highly decentralised, and indeed fragmented. For example, after the year 145/762 the Umayyad rulers of Spain were striking conventional, anonymous Umayyad dirhams. In the Maghrib the Idrīsids and other local rulers placed their own names on the coinage without any titles. During al-Rashīd's rule, the province of Ifrīḳiya had fallen into the hands of the Aghlabids, who became its hereditary governors. They retained the design of the early 'Abbāsid dīnār, but differentiated it by adding the governor's name and the dynastic symbol *ghālib* to its legends.

The province of Egypt, which al-Ma'mūn acquired in 196/812, now became the western boundary of the 'Abbāsid caliphate. From then until 213/829 the names of provincial governors appeared on the Egyptian coinage, usually with that of the caliph. Between 198 and 211 Syria was controlled by Muḥammad b. Bayhas, who placed the caliph's name above his on the dirhams which he struck. Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdād) was held by al-Amīn until 198/813, when it fell to the forces of al-Faḍl b. Sahl Dhu 'l-Ri'āsatayn [*q.v.*]. His conquest marked a turning point for the currency, because in 198 al-Faḍl struck the first 'Abbāsid dīnār to bear a mint name, sc. Madīnat al-Salām. More importantly for the purposes of this article, he added the word *li'llāh* "For God", above *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh* to the legends found on both dīnārs and dirhams. This dedication made it clear that the right of *sikka* was vested in the hands of God, passing through those of His messenger Muḥammad to the individual named as the issuing agent. This chain of authority can be seen in its most highly developed form on the dirhams struck by al-Ma'mūn after he chose the eighth Shī'ī Imām as his heir in 201/816. The reverse reads: *li'llāh; Muḥammad rasūl Allāh; al-Ma'mūn Khalīfat Allāh; mim-mā amara bi-hi al-Amīr al-Riḍā walī 'ahd al-Muslimīn, 'Alī b. Mūsā b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; Dhu 'l-Ri'āsatayn.*

The appointment of 'Alī al-Riḍā as *walī 'ahd* sparked off a Sunnī revolt in Baghdād, which was nominally led by al-Ma'mūn's uncle, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (202-3/817-19 [*q.v.*]). He refrained from placing his name in full on the few dīnārs attributed to him, but abbreviated it to its first and last letters, *alif/mīm*.

Al-Ma'mūn celebrated his triumph over al-Amīn in 198/813 by adding a Ḳur'ānic passage to the dirhams he struck in Marw, the seat of his government: "With God is the Decision in the past and in the future; on that day the Faithful shall rejoice in the help of God" (XXX, 4-5). While this passage was almost certainly chosen by al-Ma'mūn to give immediate divine sanction to his seizure of the caliphate, with time and continuous usage it became the 'Abbāsid motto, and was found on all dīnārs and most dirhams issued by the dynasty until its downfall in 656/1258. At first its use spread gradually, coming to the dirhams of Madīnat al-Salām with al-Ma'mūn's arrival in the city in 204/819, but it achieved greater prominence in 206/821 when the capital mint issued new dīnārs and dirhams inscribed in a new monumental and highly legible Kūfic script. On this reform coinage, which had come into general use by 215/831, al-Ma'mūn harked back to the past by allowing neither his name nor that of any governor to appear in its legends. Thus the *sikka* was once again issued only in the name of God and His Messenger.

When Abū Isḥāḳ Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim succeeded to the caliphate on the death of his brother al-Ma'mūn in Radjab 218/833, he continued to strike the same anonymous coinage, but distinguished it slightly by altering the former leftward slant of the word *li'llāh* to make it fully vertical. In 219/834, however, he introduced a new style of throne name, a participial phrase describing the caliph by his relationship to God rather than by the manner of his leadership of the Muslim community. From al-Saffāḥ until al-Ma'mūn, the *laḳab* is understood to have modified the title *al-Khalīfa*, e.g. "the Victorious Caliph", "the Orthodox Caliph" or "the Trusted Caliph", but the new *sikka* read *li'llāh; Muḥammad rasūl Allāh al-Mu'taṣim bi'llāh* "For God, Muḥammad is God's Messenger, the One Who Relies on God". This new style was probably chosen because it conformed to the theory that the *sikka* originated in and descended from God's sovereign power.

This form was used by all but one of al-Mu'taṣim's successors until the end of the dynasty, and was only modified for political purposes when the name of the heir was added to the legends. The practice began under al-Mutawakkil, whose son was first named *Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, and then received his later throne name *al-Mu'tazz bi'llāh b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn* on his father's dīnārs and dirhams. It was taken further when the feeble caliph al-Mu'tamid divided jurisdiction between his son and heir Dja'far in the West and his powerful brother Abū Aḥmad Ṭalḥa in the East. The heir was first named *Dja'far* on his coinage, and later *al-Mufawwiḍ ilā 'llāh*, while Ṭalḥa was always known as *al-Muwaffaḳ bi'llāh*. After al-Muwaffaḳ defeated the Zandj rebels he added another title to the coinage struck under his jurisdiction: *al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, al-Muwaffaḳ bi'llāh*. He subsequently included the name of his heir, *Aḥmad b. al-Muwaffaḳ bi'llāh*, who became known as al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh after his father's death, in the year before he succeeded Mu'tamid as caliph.

Throughout the latter part of the 3rd/9th-10th century the unity of the 'Abbāsid state was breaking down because of the rise of powerful, virtually independent local rulers who emphasised their status by adding their names to both the coinage and the *khuṭba*. Even the caliphs had occasionally honoured individual *wazīrs* on their own coinage, but never in their own names. For example, al-Mu'tamid included the title *Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn* to honour Ṣā'id b. Makhlad in 270/883; al-Muktafī *Walī al-Dawla* to honour Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ḳāsim b. 'Ubayd Allāh in the year of his death, 291/903-4; and al-Muḳtadir *'Amīd al-Dawla* to honour al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim, the son of the caliph's *wazīr*, on some of his coinage dated 320/932. The local rulers, however, used only their own *'alam* without any titles on the coins which, in theory, they struck on behalf of the caliph. This practice started in Egypt and Syria in 265/879 when Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn placed his name below that of the caliph in the reverse field. In the East, it began somewhat earlier when the first Ṣaffārid ruler added his own name Ya'ḳūb to the coinage (*ca.* 259-65). Before long the practice became universal, and whether by usurpation or grant from the caliph, the presence of names on the coinage came to be seen as a right that could be exercised by any serious rebel, semi-autonomous local governor or faithful ally of the 'Abbāsid caliphate. This adds an extra dimension of interest to the study of the series for the historian and numismatist, because new

coins fill in gaps in our knowledge which existing textual sources may be unable to do. In the words of Stanley Lane-Poole in his *Fasti Arabici*: "The coins of the Muslim East do not so much recall history as make it ... If the complete series of coins issued by every Muslim state was preserved, we should be able to tabulate with the utmost nicety the entire line of kings and their principal vassals that have ruled in every part of the [Muslim Community] ... to draw with tolerable accuracy the boundaries of their territories at every period".

While in theory the right of *sikka* flowed downwards from God, through the Prophet, to his vicegerent the caliph, and from him to his vassal/ally, and ultimately perhaps to the latter's heir or an important governor, in practice it now moved in the opposite direction. The local strong man who controlled the mint defined his political and even religious position by acknowledging only those overlords who were valuable to his status, or by choosing Ḳur'ānic and other legends that defined his allegiance in the Sunnī-Shī'ī divide. No detailed account of the *sikka* in such cases can be given here, but for illustrative purposes examples are drawn from the principal Islamic dynasties which are not discussed elsewhere in this *Encyclopaedia*.

Until 297/909 there was only one caliphate in the Islamic community, but in that year 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī proclaimed the Fāṭimid claimant 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī bi'llāh *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* at Ḳayrawān in Tunisia. The statement on his *sikka*: *al-Imām al-Mahdī bi'llāh 'Abd Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn* prompted the Umayyads of Spain to revive their claim to the Sunnī caliphate. After 316/928, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III issued a redesigned coinage placing his name in the reverse field, *al-Imām al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, which paralleled that of his Fāṭimid rival. In later reigns this order was reversed, e.g. *al-Imām Hishām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh*. Still later, the Spanish coinage often incorporated the title and name of the chief minister as well as that of the caliph, e.g. *al-Ḥādjib 'Abd al-Malik*. Other names also appeared, often those of *wazīrs* or masters of the mint. In such instances, however, these men should not be considered as the holders of the *sikka*, unlike in the East where it was usually the lowest-ranking name who actually controlled the currency.

This is well illustrated by the coinage issued during the crisis in the 'Abbāsid caliphate, when its erstwhile vassals brought about its prolonged eclipse. In 329/940 the *Amīr al-Umarā'*, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Badjkam was able to have his name included on al-Rāḍī's dīnārs and dirhams beneath that of the caliph, where he was described simply as *mawlā* "client". On the accession of al-Muttaḳī, his name appeared in full: *Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Badjkam Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. The *sikka* then reverted to the caliph and his heir al-Manṣūr. In 330/942 Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, the Ḥamdānid ruler of Mawṣil, was appointed *Amīr al-Umarā'* with the title Nāṣir al-Dawla. The following year, his brother's name was added to the legends below that of the caliph's heir: *Sayf al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ḥasan*, and that of the senior *amīr* below the caliph's: *Nāṣir al-Dawla Abū Muḥammad*. In 333-4/945 the name of the *Amīr al-Umarā' al-Muẓaffar Abū Wafā'* (Tūzūn) appeared on coins of al-Mustakfī, who very exceptionally called himself *Imām al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Mustakfī bi'llāh*. Shortly after this, he was forced to cede Baghdād to Buwayhid control, which ended both 'Abbāsid independence and his life, but not before he had transformed the three sons of Buwayh from Aḥmad, 'Alī and Ḥasan into Mu'izz, 'Imād and Rukn al-Dawla. For a time, this style of *laḳab* was the highest form of title attained by a secular ruler in the East. The Buwayhid *sikka* can be difficult to determine, but the general principle to follow is to go from one side of the coin to the other starting with the name of the caliph, usually found in the reverse field below *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh* and then to work downwards from the highest-ranking *amīr* to the lowest, and thus arrive at the individual who actually exercised the right of *sikka*.

The next round of inflation in coinage titulature was set off when the caliph al-Ṭā'i' li'llāh invested 'Aḍud al-Dawla as supreme secular ruler in 367/977. He now styled himself *al-Malik al-'Ādil 'Aḍud al-Dawla wa-Tādj al-Milla Abū Shudjā'*. On other coins struck immediately before his coronation he was described as *al-Amīr al-'Ādil* and *al-Malik al-Sayyid*. Before long all the ruling Buwayhid *amīrs* had royal titles and *laḳabs* in both the *al-Dawla* and *al-Milla* forms, and often in an *al-Umma* form as well. Bahā' al-Dawla then assumed a superior *laḳab* in the *al-Dīn* form calling himself "The Just King of Kings and Shāh of Shāhs". His *sikka* thus read *Malik al-Mulūk, Shāhanshāh, Ḳiwām al-Dīn, Abu 'l-Nāṣir, Bahā' al-Dawla wa-Ḍiyā' al-Milla wa-Ghiyāth al-Umma.*

Titular excess reached its highest point under the Buwayhid ruler of Fārs, Abū Kālīdjār (415-40/1024-49), who was one of the greatest coiners in Islamic history. Following his investiture as *Amīr al-Umarā'* in 435/1044, his *sikka* read *Shāhanshāh al-Mu'azzam, Malik al-Mulūk, Muḥyī Dīn Allāh wa-Ghiyāth 'Ibād Allāh wa-Ḳasīm Khalīfat Allāh Abū Kālīdjār*. After his death, *laḳabs* in the *-Allāh, al-Milla* and *al-Umma* forms went out of fashion, and those remaining were usually shortened to the *al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn* form.

Between 449 and 541/1057-1146 the Almoravids or al-Murābiṭūn [*q.v.*] in the Maghrib struck a plentiful gold and silver coinage acknowledging the 'Abbāsid caliphate, but never naming the caliph individually. He was referred to as *al-Imām, 'Abd Allāh, Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, and in later years the epithet *al-'Abbāsī* was sometimes added. The rulers, who were known simply as *al-Amīr Abū Bakr b. 'Umar, al-Amīr Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn*, etc., later adopted the sub-caliphal title *Amīr al-Muslimīn*. 'Alī b. Yūsuf named two successive *walī 'ahds*, Sīr b. 'Alī between 522 and 533/1128-39 and Tāshufīn b. 'Alī (533-7/1139-43). The same style of titulature was used by the remaining Almoravid rulers, Tāshufīn, Ibrāhīm and Isḥāḳ.

When the Almohads or al-Muwaḥḥidūn [*q.v.*] dynasty seized power in Morocco in 540/1146, they altered their *sikka* radically. It was based on the belief that the sect's founder, Muḥammad b. Tūmart [*q.v.*], whose followers called him al-Mahdī, could purify Islam of its corruptions. After Ibn Tūmart's death the sect was led by his most capable disciple 'Abd al-Mu'min [*q.v.*] who, after his defeat of the Almoravids, introduced a new style of coinage unlike any found elsewhere in the Islamic community. Although nominally Sunnī in allegiance, the Almohads made no reference to the 'Abbāsid caliphate, and removed the traditional mint and date formula from the legends, which were inscribed within a new square in circle design. They did, however, take great delight in titulature and genealogy, which somewhat makes up for the lack of mints and dates. A sample *sikka* on a dīnār of Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar (646-65/1248-66) illustrates this: in reverse square, *al-Mahdī Imām al-umma, al-Ḳā'im bi-Amr Allāh, al-Khalīfa al-Imām, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn 'Alī Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, in reverse segments, *Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Abū Ya'ḳūb Yūsuf ibn al-*

Khalīfa, and in obverse segments, *Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Murtaḍā li-Amr, Allāh Abū Ḥafṣ b. al-Amīr, al-Ṭāhir Abī Ibrāhīm, ibn al-Khalīfatayn.* The same square in circle design, with similarly convoluted legends, was used by the Ḥafṣids, Marīnids and Ziyānids. Before leaving this type, there is the *sikka* found on a dīnār of the last Naṣrid ruler in Spain, Muḥammad XII, Boabdil, who lost Granada to the Christians in 897/1492. It reads: *ʿAbd Allāh, al-Ghālib bi'llāh, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Saʿd b. ʿAlī, b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr, ayyadahu Allāh wa-naṣara-hu* with the Naṣrid motto *lā-ghālib illā Allāh* repeated four times in the margin.

Turning to the coinage of the Fāṭimid caliphs [see FĀṬIMIDS], it should be recalled that the first ruler's coins bore the legends of a first period ʿAbbāsid dīnār, with no more than his name to distinguish them from the previous Aghlabid dīnārs. His successor, however, changed the design and calligraphy on the coinage and used as his *sikka Muḥammad Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Mahdī bi'llāh al-Ḳā'im bi-Amr Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn.* The coins of the third caliph still showed no overt signs of the Fāṭimid leadership of the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs: *Abd Allāh Ismāʿīl al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi'llāh, Amīr al-Mu'minīn.*

Their real religious feelings burst forth with the first coinage of the fourth caliph al-Muʿizz. On the obverse, the *Kalima* was augmented by the sentence *wa-ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib waṣiyy rasūl nā'ib al-faḍūl wa-zawdj al-zahrā' al-batūl* "And ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is the Nominee of the Prophet, Most Excellent Representative, and Husband of the Radiant Chaste One". On the reverse the caliph styled himself *ʿAbd Allāh Maʿadd Abū-Tamīm, al-Imām al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh, Amīr al-Mu'minīn, muḥyī sunnat Muḥammad, sayyid al-mursalīn, wa-wārith madjd al-a'imma al-mahdiyyīn* "Revivifier of the Sunna of Muḥammad, Lord of the Transmitters and Heir to the Splendour of the Rightly-Guided Imāms". This coinage is said to have caused serious problems for the government because most of their subjects were Sunnī by persuasion, and a less inflammatory legend was quickly substituted in its place, "The Imām Maʿadd summons (to belief in) the Unity of God, the Everlasting".

When al-ʿAzīz succeeded al-Muʿizz, he introduced the phrase *ʿAbd Allāh wa-waliyyuhu* "The Servant of God and His Companion" to the Fāṭimid *sikka*, preceding the *kunya* and *ʿalam* which were followed by the caliphal title and *Amīr al-Mu'minīn.* Only al-Ḥākim regularly placed the name of an heir on his coinage. Breaking all dynastic conventions, he disregarded the claim of his eldest son al-Ẓāhir and chose a distant cousin and nonentity for the position, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, who appears on the *sikka* as *wa-ʿAbd al-Raḥīm walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn.* In Ismāʿīlī thinking the use of *al-Mu'minīn* was limited to those who held Ismāʿīlī beliefs, while the general community were *al-Muslimīn.* Through his actions it would appear that al-Ḥākim saw himself as the last Imām. It is said that he secretly appointed a great religious scholar to lead the Ismāʿīlī community as *walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn*, while ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was to have exercised overt political leadership of the Muslim community.

Other Fāṭimid coins highlight the problems in the disputed succession after al-Āmir's death in 524/1130. He left no direct male heir, but one of his consorts was said to be pregnant by him. The *wazīr* al-Faḍl Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad, who seized control of the government, first struck dīnārs in the name of the expected Imām, *al-Imām Muḥammad Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Muntaẓar li-Amr Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, but when the heir failed to materialise he is said to have discarded his allegiance to the "Sevener" Fāṭimids and revealed himself as a "Twelver" Shīʿī. He then proclaimed his beliefs by striking coins in the name of the Twelfth and last Imām, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, with himself as his lieutenant and viceroy, *al-Imām al-Mahdī, al-Ḳā'im bi-Amr Allāh Hudjdjat Allāh ʿalā 'l-ʿālimīn, nā'ibuhu wa-khalīfatahu al-Faḍl Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad.* After al-Faḍl's overthrow the new ruler first proclaimed himself *walī ʿahd*, because of his collateral claim to the caliphate, *ʿAbd Allāh wa-waliyyuhu, Abu 'l-Maymūn ʿAbd al-Madjīd walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn*, and then, casting aside his scruples, as caliph, *al-Imām ʿAbd al-Madjīd Abu 'l-Maymūn al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn.*

Following Saladin's accession to power after the last Fāṭimid caliph in 567/1171, he took the cautious first step of striking his *sikka* in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph: *al-Imām al-Ḥasan, al-Mustaḍī' bi-Amr Allāh, Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, and his overlord Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī, the ruler of Aleppo, then, after the latter's death, in his own name: *al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb.* This style of *sikka* became the standard form for subsequent Ayyūbid rulers.

After the death of the last Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb in 648/1250, power was briefly held by one of the rare female rulers in the Muslim world, Shadjar al-Durr [*q.v.*]. Her *sikka* read: *al-Mustaʿṣimiyya, al-Ṣāliḥiyya, Malikat al-Muslimīn, Wālidat al-Malik al-Manṣūr, Khalīl Amīr al-Mu'minīn.* Lane-Poole deduced from this legend that she was formerly in the harem of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim, who presented her to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, that she became Queen of the Muslims and mothered a prince, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, whom she termed "Friend of the Commander of the Faithful". The second Mamlūk ruler, Aybak, concealed himself behind two fictive rulers, first al-Ashraf Mūsā, *al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Fatḥ Mūsā b. al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb*, and then the last powerful Ayyūbid: *al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb b. al-Malik al-Kāmil, Aybak.* The succeeding rulers maintained the Ayyūbid style of *sikka* until Baybars gave refuge to an ʿAbbāsid prince who fled the Mongol sack of Baghdād. In return for his name on the *sikka, al-Imām al-Mustanṣir bi'llah Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. al-Imām al-Ẓāhir Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, the newly-recognised caliph granted Baybars the style *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Baybars Ḳāsim Amīr al-Mu'minīn.* For the remainder of Mamlūk rule, the conjoint title *al-Sulṭān al-Malik* remained as the royal protocol. Those rulers who were not themselves of royal descent were often identified by an epithet which indicated their original royal master; Baybars I and Ḳalāwūn called themselves *al-Ṣāliḥī* after al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, while Kitbughā, Lācīn and Baybars II were known as *al-Manṣūrī* after al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn. All the later Baḥrī Mamlūk rulers were descendants of Ḳalāwūn, and carefully recorded their genealogy in their *sikka.*

The Burdjī Mamlūk rulers continued the same form of royal protocol as the Baḥrīs, but space limitations and, usually, a lack of royal descent kept it relatively brief. Two typical examples are *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Naṣr Ḳā'it Bāy, ʿAzza naṣruhu* and *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Abū Saʿīd Ḳānṣawh, ʿazza naṣruhu.* The coinage does, however, hold one curiosity. In 815/1412 one of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Egypt was elected to the sultanate as a political expedient. He styled himself either as *al-Imām al-Aʿẓam* or *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Mustaʿīn bi'llāh Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās Amīr al-Mu'minīn.*

Elsewhere, the founder of the Rasūlid dynasty of Yemen, al-Manṣūr ʿUmar, initially struck his coins in the name of his nominal Ayyūbid overloads, who had previously ruled the country. In 634/1236-7 he began to coin in his own name: *al-Malik al-Manṣūr*

Abu 'l-Fatḥ 'Umar b. 'Alī. He followed the Ayyūbid convention of acknowledging the spiritual overlordship of the 'Abbāsid caliphate, and further emphasised his Sunnī allegiance by becoming the first ruler to incorporate the names of the first four Orthodox Caliphs into the coin legends. This innovation was followed by a second when his son al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf became the first to style himself *al-Sulṭān al-Malik* as early as 648/1250, well before Baybars received the conjoint title in 659/1261.

For Saldjūḳ titulature on the *sikka*, see SALDJŪḲIDS, VIII. Among their successors, the Atabegs of Eastern Anatolia and Western Persia usually acknowledged the 'Abbāsid caliph as head of the Islamic community. As a reflection of the general insecurity of the age, each ruler was faced with the problem of how to express on his coinage the network of feudal allegiances and alliances which would maintain his security, and the coins provide a useful record of the many twists and turns in the political and military history of the time. A few examples will illustrate this. On a typical dīnār of the Zangids of Mawṣil dated 616/1219-20, the *sikka* read *Nāṣir al-Dīn Atabak b. 'Izz al-Dīn b. Arslān Shāh* (Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, son of Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh), on the obverse *al-Malik al-Kāmil* referred to al-Kāmil Muḥammad, the Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt, and on the reverse *al-Malik al-Ashraf* referred to al-Ashraf Mūsā, the Ayyūbid ruler of the Djazīra and immediate neighbour of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. On a dīnār of Mawṣil, struck after the Mongol conquest of Baghdād, Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' [*q.v.*] was quick to recognise the new order in 'Irāḳ: *Möngke Ḳā'ān al-a'ẓam Khudābanda-yi 'ālam, Pādishāh rū-i zamīn, ziyādat 'aẓmatahu*, and on the reverse *al-Malik al-Raḥīm Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'*. After Lu'lu''s death in 657/1258, his son first struck coinage in the name of Möngke as above, naming himself *al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Ismā'īl*. Then in 659, just before his downfall, he miscalculated by repudiating Mongol overlordship and struck dīnārs in the name of Baybars and the 'Abbāsid caliph in Cairo: *al-Imām al-Mustanṣir bi'llah Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Sulṭān al-A'ẓam al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Ḳāsim Amīr al-Mu'minīn.*

The early Mongol Il Khāns of Persia inscribed their *sikka* in Uyghur script: "The coinage of (name) the Great Khān's Viceroy", and under Ghāzān Maḥmūd "By God's Power, Ghāzān's coinage". His successor Öldjeytü (Ūldjaytū) introduced an important innovation to his first coinage. To satisfy what was probably a felt need to define his stance on the Sunnī-Shī'ī divide, he incorporated the names of the first four Orthodox caliphs in the legends: *Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī*, around the Sunnī *kalima*. Öldjeytü then proclaimed his conversion to Shī'ism by adopting the Shī'ī *kalima* with the names of the Twelve Imāms surrounding it. His new *sikka* may have been intended to quell any controversy over this move: "Struck in the Days of Prosperity of our Master the Grand Sultan, Ruler of the Necks of the Community Ūldjaytū Sulṭān. Defender of the World and Faith, the Servant of God, Muḥammad, May God Preserve his Sovereignty". The later Il Khānid rulers returned to Sunnī beliefs, and placed the name of the Orthodox Caliphs on all their coinages. No other names appeared besides that of the ruler, even in the cases of the last Il Khāns, who exercised no actual power in the state whatever apart from being named in the *khuṭba* and *sikka*.

One extraordinary exception to this practice is found on the coinage of Tīmūr Gūrkhān, or Tīmūr Lang. When he seized control of Transoxiana in 771/1369-70 he did not depose the Čaghatay Khāns from their position as its nominal rulers. Between 771 and 790/1369-88, the name of Suyūrghatmish appeared above that of Tīmūr, and between 790 and 800/1388-98 that of Maḥmūd. Tīmūr called himself *Amīr Tīmūr Gūrkhān*, but his successor Shāh Rūkh employed the usual Persian style: *al-Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Shāhrūkh Bahādūr khallada Allāh mulkahu wa-sulṭānahu.*

For the Ottomans' and Ṣafawids' *sikka*, see 'OTHMĀNLĪ. IX, and ṢAFAWIDS. 6. After the fall of the Ṣafawids in the part of Persia which came under the rule of the Hōtakī Afghāns, the Shī'ī *kalima* was replaced by the Sunnī one on the coinage struck by Shāh Maḥmūd (1135-7/1722-4) and Ashraf (1137-42/1724-9). The *sikka* was now often expressed through the use of Persian couplets which bore the name of the ruler in elaborate and often playful wording. Because of the many puns and multiple layers of meaning which can be read into these distichs, they lose most of their sense in translation. They were obviously intended for the "happy few" who had the necessary education and means to appreciate them.

On some of his coins the Afsharid Nādir Shāh (1148-60/1735-47) gave himself the title *Sulṭān Nādir khallada Allāh mulkahu*, on others he used distichs. Karīm Khān Zand struck no coinage in his own name, but employed the invocation *Ya Karīm!* in its place. R.S. Poole explains the background in *Coinage of the Shahs of Persia*: "The Zand and Ḳādjār Khāns before Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh did not assume full rights of sovereignty. Their money shows the position they took." The founder of each line first struck money in the name of Shāh Ismā'īl III; then Karīm Khān Zand, as *wakīl*, struck in the name of Imām Muḥammad al-Mahdī, also using the invocation *yā Karīm!* alluding to his own name. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār similarly coined in the name of Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā. Evidently, they had no official *djulūs*. The later Zand Khāns, at least in some cases, had a *djulūs*. But on their money they assume no regal titles; there was still a Ṣafawid heir. The principle of Karīm Khān is not deviated from except in the appearance of the names without titles of his first successor Abu 'l-Fatḥ and his last one Luṭf 'Alī; 'Alī Murād and Dja'far used allusive invocations (*Yā 'Alī!* and *Yā Imām Dja'far Ṣādiḳ!*), while Ṣādiḳ repeated that of Karīm Khān. Similarly, Āghā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār struck in the name of both Imāms and was content with an allusive invocation (*Ya Muḥammad!*) even after he had conquered his rivals, and as sole prince had a *djulūs*. Probably this was because a Ṣafawid prince, Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, had been proclaimed by him in Tehran in 1200/1786 and was still living, although not in Persia.

Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh made an extraordinary innovation. Before his *djulūs*, he issued royal money under his name Baba Khān with the title of *sulṭān*. On his later coinage he styled himself as *al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Ḳādjār, sikka Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Khusraw Ṣāḥibḳirān* or *sikka Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Khusraw Kashwarsitan.* Muḥammad Shāh used the title *Shāhanshāh Anbiyā Muḥammad.* Nāṣir al-Din Shāh usually placed *al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Ḳādjār* on his hammered coinage, while on some of his high denomination, machine-struck coins there was room to inscribe *al-Sulṭān al-A'ẓam al-Khāḳān al-Fakhīm Ṣāḥibḳirān Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Ḳādjār.* Similar styles were used by the last three Ḳādjār rulers, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, Muḥammad 'Alī and Aḥmad Shāh.

The *sikka* of the Dihlī Sultans [*q.v.*] varies considerably, but the usual style followed the pattern of a coin of Maḥmūd Shāh (644-64/1246-66): *al-Sulṭān al-*

Aʿzam Nāṣir al-Dunya wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd ibn al-Sulṭān. One of the many *sikkas* of Mūbarak Shāh (716-20/1316-20), who regarded himself as both a religious and secular ruler, read *al-Imām al-Aʿẓam Khalīfa Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn Ḳuṭb al-Dunya wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Mūbarakshāh al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān al-Wāthiḳ bi 'llah Amīr al-Mu'minīn.* The most complex coins in the series were struck by Muḥammad Shāh II (725-52/1325-51), with over fifty varieties recorded. One group was struck in the name of his father, whom he very likely murdered: *al-Sulṭān al-Shāhid al-Shāhid al-Ghāzī Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Tughluḳ Shāh al-Sulṭān.* On others he described himself as *al-Mudjāhid fī Sabīl Allāh Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ Shāh; al-Wāthiḳ bi-Ta'yīd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad Shāh al-Sulṭān; al-ʿAbd al-Rādjī Raḥmat Allāh Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ* ... Still others he struck exclusively in the names of two ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Cairo, al-Mustakfī and al-Ḥākim.

The titles used by the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, Bābur (932-7/1525-30), were strongly influenced by his neighbours the Shibānids of Transoxania. They were Sunnī in character, and usually included the names of the four Orthodox Caliphs with their epithets. He often styled himself *al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam al-Khāḳān al-Mukarram Ẓāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādishāh-i Ghāzī*; his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn (937-63/1530-56) used a similar style. The third ruler, Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605), employed three different styles for his *sikka.* The first, *al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādishāh-i Ghāzī* appeared in the early years of his reign. The next issue was anonymous in the strict sense of the word, but the legend *Allāh Akbar Djalla Djalāluhu* "God is Most Great, May His Greatness be Glorified" has caused many Westerners to assume that Akbar confused himself with God. It is more likely, however, that he placed this invocation on the coinage to draw attention to his newly established *Tawḥīd-i ilāhī Akbar Shāhī* "Akbar Shāh's Doctrine of the Unity of the Divine Being". The third type was an early instance of the use of Persian couplets in the coin legends. This may have been adopted in order to avoid placing the *kalima* on the coinage of a ruler who was not devoted to the practices of traditional Islam. One such example read "The sun-shaped die of Akbar is the honour of this gold, while the light of the sun remains an ornament to the earth and sky".

The coinage of Akbar's son Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-28) was certainly among the most artistic of any Muslim ruler. Elegant distichs, superb calligraphy and figural designs, combined with careful striking, have made his name famous as the master coiner of the age. Each issue seems to have been an occasion for fresh legends and designs, but on many his *sikka* read *Nūr al-Dīn Djahāngīr Shāh [b.] Akbar Shāh.* His successor Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-58) reverted to a more traditional style of coinage, where the *kalima* and the four Orthodox Caliphs returned to the place of honour, and the ruler was styled *Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥibḳirān al-Thānī Shāh Djahān Pādishāh-i Ghāzī.*

The accession of the austerely religious Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1658-1707) brought about the near permanent banishment of the *kalima* from the Mughal coinage. Like the Ottomans and the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl II (984-5/1576-7), he believed that the profession of faith would be profaned if it fell into the hands of the unbelievers. This was quite opposite to the early Muslims' view that coins carrying texts from the Ḳur'ān acted as missionaries of the Faith. Most of Awrangzīb's coins bore the couplet "Struck coin in the world like the shining sun (for gold) or moon (for silver) Shāh Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr". The reverse inscription referred to the ruler's regnal year and became virtually invariable: "The year of accession associated with prosperity". The coins of the later Mughals either bore titles, as on the coinage of Shāh Djahān, or couplets in the style of Awrangzīb. They retained their pride and claims to greatness until the end of the dynasty. The *sikka* of the last Mughal ruler Bahādur Shāh II (1253-74/1837-58) read *Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Sirādj al-Dīn Muḥammad Bahādur Shāh Pādishāh-i Ghāzī.*

Today the use of the traditional *sikka* has virtually come to an end. The last ruler to place the *kalima* on his coinage was the Imām Aḥmad (1367-82/1948-62), ruler of Yaman, who styled himself *Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn.* His successor the Imām Badr struck a token coinage in exile which did not circulate in the Yaman. Now the only countries which use a royal style on their coins are: Morocco—*al-Ḥasan al-Thānī al-Malik al-Maghribī*; Suʿūdī Arabia—*al-Malik Fahd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Suʿūd Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*; ʿUmān—*Ḳābūs b. Saʿīd Sulṭān ʿUmān* and Brunei—(in Latin characters) *Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah.* Elsewhere in the Muslim world, the coinage is issued in the name of the state or central bank. It has been entirely secularised and shorn of all its past associations, and is no more than a bland reflection of today's political realities.

Bibliography: There is no work *per se* that deals with the Islamic *sikka,* but in every catalogue where a coin is described the names and titles of the ruler are recorded. The material for further study is contained in the great museum catalogues, and in more specialised works which deal with a particular dynasty. There are also hundreds of articles on individual subjects.

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(R.E. Darley-Doran)

3. The Maria Theresa *thaler*.

From the mid-18th century and even amongst Bedouin and in remote parts of Ethiopia at the present time, these *thalers* have been used as a conventional, albeit unofficial, means of exchange, throughout the Arabian peninsula and in the Sudanic belt, and as far eastwards as the Maldives and Indonesia. Since the Empress Maria Theresa's death in 1780 restrikes bearing that date have been issued at different times from official mints because of continued demand for one reason or another: Rome (1935-7), London (1936-61), Bombay (1941-2), Birmingham (1949-55), Brussels (1935-7), and Paris (1937-59), and still continuously from Vienna since 1961. In addition, counter-marked official and unofficial issues have been made in the Azores, Lourenço Marques, Pemba, Djibuti, Bab al-Mandab, the Ḳuʿayṭī State of Shihr and Mukalla, Nadjd (Ibn Suʿūd, *ante* 1916 until 1923), Ḥidjāz (under Ḥusayn, Sharīf and then King of Mecca, 1916-20), the Maldives and Madura in Indonesia. In Western Africa, issues have crossed the Sahara from the Sudanic belt as far as Timbuktu, Nigeria and Dahomey. In these regions both the British and French authorities demonetised them in 1930. They have been used not only as a means of exchange but also for feminine decoration, and especially for bridal costumes; they have also served as a convenient source of bullion for manufacturing silver jewellery. Dubious restrikes have also been attributed to Florence, Leningrad, Marseilles, Utrecht and Venice.

The first German crowns were the silver *guldiners* issued by Archduke Sigismund of the Tyrol in 1486, whose coinage was imitated by a number of German princes. The first *thalers* properly so-called originate from the discovery in 1518 of a silver mine by a Count von Schlick at Joachimsthal, on the border of Bohemia and Upper Austria. He obtained a licence to coin in silver, and made his first issues in 1525, denominating them *thalers*, an abbreviation of the toponym of origin. Variant spellings of this term occur in a number of European languages and in Amharic; in the Netherlands it became *daalder*, contorted into the American dollar. In Arabic, however, they are called *ḳirsh*, pl. *ḳurūsh*.

F.W. Hasluck has described in detail "the extreme remissness of the [Ottoman] Turkish Government in the matter of coinage". The quality of metal was notoriously bad, and fluctuated in quality, and neither the actual quantity of money circulated nor the denominations provided were sufficient for trade. Not only the treasury but also provincial Pashas debased the currency by the ancient double-weights trick, taking in good money at a premium and then reissuing it heavily alloyed.

Thus foreign merchants trading within the Ottoman Empire imported their own currencies for sound business reasons. These were principally from Venice, Spain, the Austrian Empire, Germany, Poland and the Netherlands. England was exceptional in forbidding the export of bullion, and generally employed Netherlands currency. An attraction for Ottoman subjects was the consistency and unvarying fineness of the coin. It was impossible to clip it because of a collar, or an inscribed, milled or patterned edge. There was also a constancy of decoration and imagery. Within the Austrian Empire, archdukes, archbishops and others issued crowns of a fixed type, and for Ottoman subjects, the imagery itself was a guarantee of genuineness. Few of them, indeed, could read the Latin inscriptions.

Spanish "pieces of eight" were first struck in 1497, and immediately entered into competition with the preceding currencies. In 1518, following its conquest, Mexico issued silver coinage, and then Peru after the conquest of 1524. Silver coinage of Spanish origins became even more plentiful after the discovery of the rich mines of Potosi in 1545. This was the situation for something like a century, until, in the mid-17th century, the Spanish royal ordinances attest "a scandalous falsification of the silver moneys coined in our Peruvian mints". It led to the total demonetisation of Spanish currency in the British colonies in the latter half of the century. In 1728 the millesimal fineness had been lowered from 930.5 to 916.6, and the weight reduced; in 1772, when a massive recoinage was carried out, the fineness was further reduced to 902.7.

The first Maria Theresa *thaler* was issued in 1751, the year of her accession. Ever since it has been consistently of 833.3 millesimal fineness, 1.553 ins in diameter, and weighing 433.14 gr. The legend is abbreviated, shown here by capital letters: obverse: Maria THERESIA Dei Gratia Romanorum IMPeratrix HUngariae et BOhemiae REGina; and, reverse: her coat-of-arms borne by a double-headed eagle, a decoration that could have appealed since it first occurs in Islamic numismatics in Artuḳid coinage, from an emblem depicted on a Byzantine tower restored by the Artuḳids at Āmid, Turkey, with their inscription dated 605/1208-9. The quarters display the arms of 1. Hungary; 2. Burgundy; 3. Bohemia; and 4. originally Upper Austria, but of Burgau in the restrike issues. The arms of Austria display a single-headed eagle only. The inscription reads: ARCHIDux AUSTriae DUX BURGundiae COmes TYRoli 1780. In the centre of the field is a shield of pretence bearing the arms of her husband, Francis, initially Duke of Lorraine, and after 1751 Duke of Milan and Holy Roman Emperor. On the edge of the flan is the inscription: JUSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA, with various decorative symbols, being the motto of her reign, making clipping impossible.

In 1764 the Günzburg mint was opened specifically to mint *thalers* for the use of bankers from Augsburg engaged in the Ottoman trade. Already in 1751 those destined for Turkey were controlled by a monopoly. The 583,250 pieces coined in 1751 had increased to 1,360,597 by 1757, and to more than 2 million by 1764. Such was the demand that issues were also authorised from Kremnitz and Karlsburg, and, later, Milan, Venice and Prague. By 1767 the traveller Carsten Niebuhr found them in Yemen. By the time that Maria Theresa died in 1780 it had become plain that coins bearing her bust were valued above all others in Arabia and Yemen. Thus in 1781 a bank-

ing firm sent a consignment of bullion to the Günzburg mint requesting *thalers* with the date 1780. Permission was given, but after 1866 Vienna held a monopoly. In the first years of the present century some 46 million pieces were minted.

It was the loss of her Italian territories in 1866 that caused Austria to reserve to herself the sole right to mint *thalers*. It was at this moment that Sir Robert Napier (later Lord Napier of Magdala) was preparing an expedition to Ethiopia to rescue beleaguered British diplomats and missionaries held by the Negus. The Vienna mint provided five million *thalers*; the British were well aware that no other currency could be acceptable in Ethiopia. It was a presage, but not foreseeable.

In 1935 Mussolini determined to conquer Ethiopia, and, on 9 July 1935 succeeded in wresting the right to mint *thalers* from Vienna. It was an intolerable position for Britain. Not only was Britain pledged to Ethiopian independence; she also had commitments to Aden and the Arabian peninsula, as well as the Persian Gulf. The matter was resolved by an international commission of jurists, who ruled that the effigy on the *thaler* was of a person already dead for 150 years, who had been sovereign of a state that had disappeared in 1918. The successor state had twice introduced new currencies, finally the *schilling*, in 1924.

It was in this way that the Tower Mint, in London, was enabled to mint more than 16 million pieces in 1941 when Britain invaded Ethiopia in order to restore the Emperor to his throne. Dies were also sent to Bombay, 8 million pieces being minted in 1940-1, and 10 million in the following year. Supplies were also needed for the Arab lands, and Birmingham also minted further supplies, some of which inexplicably reached Hong Kong. Small numbers were also manufactured in Brussels and Paris.

There were also unofficial mints. In the Ḥaḍramawt the present writer was able to pick up some fractions of *thalers* which had been manufactured locally as small change, and which were known as al-Kāf coins from a well-known family of *Sayyids*. This accords with a remark made by Sir Richard Burton in 1872, of the situation at Zanzibar in 1857, that there "are no mints, of which some sixteen exist at Maskat—private shops to which any man may carry his silver, see it broken up, and pay for the coinage whatever the workmen may charge". He says that a clutch of currencies was to be found there: "German crowns or Maria Theresa—coined in Milan, known as *Girsh Aswad*—as opposed to the Spanish or Pillar dollar *Girsh Abyaz*, or *Abu Madfa'*—'Father of Cannon' from the columns, and *Girsh Maghrabi*. Also Mexican dollars..." In 1811 Captain Smee R.N. had reported that Spanish dollars were commonly current. So far no work has been done to identify the purely local manufactures.

Regoudy is able to report a veritable curiosity, of a *trouvaille* of 672 Maria Theresa *thalers* confiscated by the French authorities from smugglers who were operating for the Front de Libération Nationale in Tunisia on 30 May 1959. They were chiefly restrikes from Rome, London, Bombay, Paris, Brussels, Vienna, Prague and Venice. Some 60% came from Rome and Bombay, suggesting that the *trouvaille* may have been formed in the 1940s in the Horn of Africa, only eventually to find its way into the hands of FLN arms dealers.

The late Francesco Carbone, when he served in the Italian legation in Yemen from 1931 until 1961, first in Ṣanʿāʾ, then in Taʿizz, assembled a remarkable collection of *thalers*. Apart from 1780 restrikes, eight pieces of Maria Theresa antedated 1780, and two of her husband, Francis III Stephen; there were a further forty-eight pieces in the name of Francis I, dating between 1810 and 1830, together with one only of Francis Joseph I, of 1853. The collection was wholly random. During the whole period of Carbone's residence, the 1780 Maria Theresa *thaler* was in normal circulation, brought up from Aden in conveniently packed boxes. The *ḳurūsh* minted in the name of the Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad never sufficed for local needs. Carbone thus abstracted the pieces not bearing the date 1780, replacing them in the Legation account with conventionally-accepted restrikes. The earlier group helps to illustrate the early popularity of the *thaler* and to show that pieces minted after 1780 not bearing Maria Theresa's name were none the less acceptable. H.G. Stride's statement that "Maria Theresa died in 1780 and that all *thalers* issued subsequently bore this date" would appear to be incorrect. In 1961 the Yemeni Government enquired of the British Legation in Taʿizz what the cost of purchasing one million Maria Theresa *thalers* would be. A quotation was passed to them: the cost of the silver was about five shillings, and the charge of the Royal Mint for manufacture at £16 per thousand pieces, the insurance and freight to be borne by the purchasers. The Yemeni Government did not proceed with the purchase. Ordinarily supplies of fresh *thalers* were introduced into circulation by Aden banks and merchants, whenever the cost of the silver, the minting charge, and insurance and freight were sufficiently below the exchange rate of the *thaler* to allow the bank a profit on the transaction.

It remains to mention what best may be described as a medal in the Carbone collection. It is a copy in gold about 1 m thick of a *thaler* issued by Francis Joseph I from the Vienna mint in 1898. It was specially minted in Ṣanʿāʾ at the mint there [see RIYĀL] by command of the Imām Yaḥyā on the occasions of his visit to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd and his pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few were minted, for the Imām to give as presents to his friends, of whom Signor Carbone was one.

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

SIKKAT AL-ḤADĪD (A.), lit. "iron line", in Persian *rāh-i āhan*, in Turkish *demiryolu* (like the Persian term, meaning "iron way") and *şimendifer* (< Fr. *chemin de fer*), railway.

1. *Railway policy in Egypt and India.*

The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830 marked the start of the railway era. Shortly after, plans were being laid for building railways in Egypt and India. The first Egyptian railway, between Alexandria and Cairo, was opened in 1855. George Stephenson had originally proposed it in conjunction with the direct line between Cairo and Suez, now disused, as an alternative to the Maritime Canal across the Isthmus of Suez. The main Egyptian line up the Nile from Cairo to Luxor and Aswan was added later.

In India, the first railways were evidently built for purposes other than the purely commercial. In 1846 Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, remarked of the proposed railways that "the facility of rapid concentration of infantry, artillery and stores may be the chief prevention of an insurrection". Sadly, his advice was not heeded in time to forestall the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8. Three short lines, from Bombay to Kalyan (30 miles), from Calcutta to the coalfield at Raneegunge (120 miles), and from Madras to Arcot (63 miles) were opened between 1854 and 1856, but, when trouble broke out at Meerut in the next year, the extension of the Calcutta line to Delhi was only under construction, and its engineers suffered in the unrest. Not surprisingly, in subsequent years railway stations in North India were often constructed with an eye to defence: the station at Lahore, in particular, resembled a large frontier fort.

The line from Calcutta to Delhi was completed in 1864, and extended to Multan the following year. By 1869 the engineers had surmounted the obstacles of the Western Ghats behind Bombay (by risking gradients steeper than the maximum considered safe in Britain), and the main sections of the lines connecting the great ports were in place. Until then, Lord Dalhousie's policy of using a uniform broad gauge of 5 ft. 6 ins. had been strictly enforced; but under Lord Mayo's viceroyalty (1869-72) other gauges were permitted, to the regret of later operators.

These early Indian railways were essentially intended to open up the interior to international trade, especially in cotton and jute, and in this they succeeded. However, it stands to the credit of the enlightened policy of Lord Ripon that, after a sequence of disastrous famines in the late 1870s, he followed the recommendations of the Famine Commissioners that railways be constructed with an eye to the rapid movement of surplus food to regions liable to suffer shortage. A further, and perhaps unforeseen, general effect of the railways was to facilitate pilgrimage among both the Hindu and Muslim communities.

The last of the great ports of the sub-continent to be constructed and connected by railway with its hinterland (Sind and the Punjab) was Karachi. The railway from Lahore, completed to Karachi in 1872, was built primarily to serve the newly irrigated "canal colonies". In addition, however, it operated as a baseline for the narrow-gauge mountain railways which led westwards to the advance frontier posts near the border with Afghanistan—Landi Kotal, Thal, Bannu, Tank, Fort Sandeman and Chaman.

At that time, India's frontier defences were mainly in the North-West; the North-Eastern frontier with Burma was of much less concern. During the Second World War, however, the reverse was the case. During the re-conquest of Burma from the Japanese in 1943-5, the lines of communication by rail through the predominantly Muslim territory of East Bengal (later Bangladesh) were few and difficult. The line to Chittagong, which served the Arakan Front, involved a long ferry crossing of the Ganges from Goalando Ghat to Chandpur; and the track, managed by the American Army, to Manipur Road, the railhead for the Chindwin Front, could only be reached by the rail-ferry over the Brahmaputra at Amingaon.

In retrospect, the sub-continent has been well served by its railways, which aided commerce and helped to banish famine; China, by contrast, languished economically through lack of a wide network of railways.

2. *The strategic lines.*

In 1880 the Russian General Annenkov began the conquest of the Turkman steppes to the east of the Caspian Sea. A new railway was built from the harbour of Krasnovodsk to keep pace with the advance and to bring forward supplies and reinforcements. When the "Turksib" railway, coming from the north, was linked with the Trans-Caspian line in 1905 near Tashkent, the encirclement of the Muslim emirates of Central Asia [see BUKHĀRĀ, KHĪWA, KHOḲAND] was complete.

From the Trans-Caspian railway, a branch line was built in 1898 southwards from Merv to Kushka on the Afghan frontier, as a manifest threat to Herat; just as, on the opposite side of Afghanistan, the Indian line from Sukkur to Quetta and Chaman would be construed as a menace to Kandahar. In the event, neither Russia on the one side nor India (and later Pakistan) on the other had the temerity to advance a railway over the Afghan border, and, when the U.S.S.R. did eventually invade Afghanistan in 1979, the days of the strategic railway were over, and it was much easier and more efficient to use the road through the Salang Tunnel under the Hindu Kush.

In 1898 Kitchener launched his campaign of reconquest of the Sudan [see AL-MAHDIYYA] by building a supply rail-line southwards from Wadi Halfa. Atbara was reached in July 1898 and Halfaya (Khartoum North) by the end of 1899. Atbara was linked by rail to Port Sudan on the Red Sea by 1906, and Khartoum to El Obeid by way of Sennar by 1912. In the 1920s, the cotton-growing districts by the Blue Nile were served by a new loop through Kassala and Gedaref to Sennar, and in 1955 branch lines were extended into the Western Sudan as far as Darfur and El Roseires.

More ambitious than either the Russian or the Sudanese military lines was the "Berlin-Baghdād" Railway, planned by the German Empire from about 1880, to gain access to the commerce of the Black Sea, the minerals of the Middle East, and even the shipping of the Indian Ocean. The Turkish railway from Istanbul to Eskişehir, begun in 1871, fell in 1899 into German financial control as the "Ottoman Railway". It was extended to Konya, where ambitious irrigation works were also established, and a branch line across the north of the plateau reached Ankara in 1892. Concessions were also obtained for the port of Alexandretta, and for a rail link from Baghdād to Baṣra. However, at the outbreak of the First World War, there were still uncompleted sections of the Berlin-Baghdād project in Northern ʿIrāḳ and in the Taurus Mountains.

At the turn of the century, Lord Curzon in India was also planning an overland raid link from Karachi to the Mediterranean, through Baluchistan and across Central Persia by way of Kirmān to Baghdād, and thence over Syria. Only the section through Baluchistan to Duzdap (Zahidan) on the Persian frontier was ever laid, in 1917, to supply the Expeditionary Force to Persia.

Another railway line designed as an arm of empire

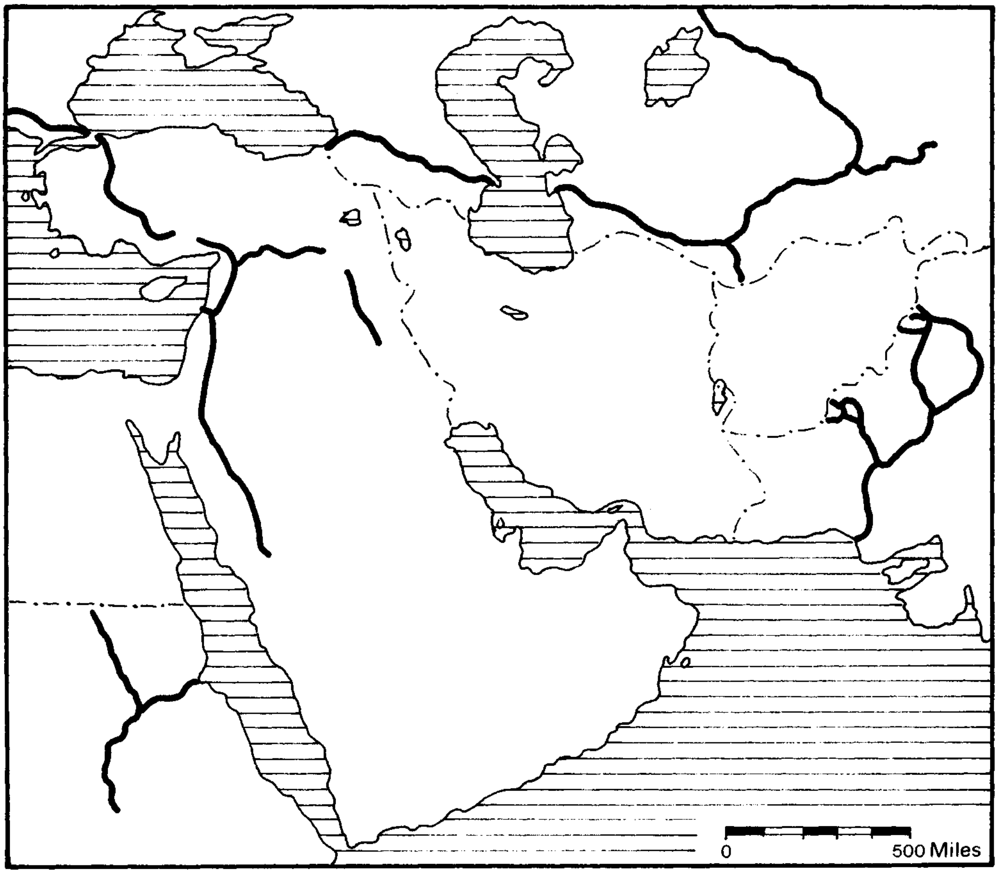

The Middle East—Frontiers and strategic railways, 1880-1910

was that from Aleppo to Medina, completed in 1906 to the orders of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [q.v.] to stimulate pilgrimage traffic and to keep his Arab garrisons reinforced. The northern section, as far as Rayak, was laid on standard gauge, the southern (the Hijaz Railway) on a gauge of 1.05 metres. The controlled interruption of this line during the First World War by T.E. Lawrence and his Arab irregulars made it more a burden than a facility for the Turks.

The last of the "strategic" railways were laid during the First World War to support particular campaigns of the Allies, sc. the Quetta-Duzdap line just mentioned; Allenby's line from Egypt along the Palestine coast to Haifa (extended to Tripoli in the Second World War, but now abandoned to the west of El Arish near the Egyptian frontier); and the line in Mesopotamia (ʿIrāḳ) from Baṣra through Baghdād to Baiji and Table Mountain.

3. *The national networks.*

After the First World War, no more strategic railways seem to have been built, doubtless partly because they had been shown in the War to be vulnerable to sabotage and air-attack, but mainly because the old empires were disintegrating into smaller national states.

The "Berlin-Baghdād" line was completed, and carried the Orient Express, but its main value was as a component part of the rail networks of the several countries through which it passed. One of its sections formed part of the frontier between Turkey and Syria.

Each of the new states of the Middle East regarded the fragments of line which it inherited as part of a national network of railways centring on the capital city. The modest coastal lines built in the late 19th century by French and British companies by the shores of the Levant, in Western Asia Minor, Lebanon and Palestine, were incorporated in the new plans. Turkey added major lines to link the new capital at Ankara to the Black Sea (at Samsun, and at Ereğli by the "Coal Line"), to the southern plateau, and to the eastern Frontier (by the "Copper Line" through Diyarbekir, and along the Upper Euphrates).

Afghanistan has remained free of railways, but Iran, with the aid of oil royalties, constructed a bold framework of lines, beginning with the technically superb "Trans-Iranian" Railway of 1936, linking the Gulf with the Caspian. Eastern and Western arms join Mashhad to Tabriz through the capital, and there is also a central branch to Yazd.

In Saudi Arabia, Ibn Suʿūd in 1947-51 had a new line laid to link Riyadh with Damman on the Gulf coast. Although Saudi Arabia has surveyed the Hijaz Railway, abandoned since the end of the First World War, with an eye to reconstruction, it has so far only been re-laid within Jordan, over some 60 miles to the south of Maʿan as far as Mudawwara. Early in the Second World War a short extension of the Hijaz Line towards Aqaba was laid from Maʿan as far as Naqb Ishtar, with rails salvaged from the abandoned section. Subsequently, Aqaba has been connected by

a more southerly route with the rebuilt section of the Hijaz Railway [see further, ḤIDJĀZ RAILWAY].

Syria, too, has constructed a new railway to link the oilfields near its eastern frontier with the coast at Latakia. However, in the Middle East generally, as in Europe, roads have, since the Second World War, superseded railways as the principal means of communication.

In North Africa, the French, in the late 19th century, constructed a main rail line through Algeria from Morocco to Tunis, with branches over the Atlas Mountains to Bechar, Djelfa and Touggourt. Morocco, since gaining independence in 1965, has extended and improved its rail network, and has plans for new lines to the mining districts of the former Spanish Sahara south of Marrakesh. Libya has plans for a line along the coast, but so far has only one short line between Benghazi and Al Marj. The Tunisian line ends at Gabès, and the line along the Egyptian coast, so celebrated in the Second World War, terminates at al-Muʿarrid on the Libyan frontier, just short of Tobruk.

In Java, the Dutch completed in 1873 a short line from Samarang on the north coast to Jogjakarta on the south. This was supplemented in 1906 by a long east-west line from Batavia to Surabaya.

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(W.C. BRICE)

ṢILA (A.), lit. "connection", "what is connected".

1. In grammar.

Here the meaning is lit. "adjunct". It is a syntactical term which denotes in the grammatical literature following Sībawayhi the clause which complements such word classes termed *mawṣūl* as the relative pronouns *alladhī, man, mā, ayy-* and the subordinative *an, anna*. Its early development may be reconstructed as follows. Elements of two different Greek systems of parts of speech were imported synchronously into Arabic by the earliest Arab grammarians: an Aristotelian tripartite division of noun and verb as meaningful elements and another "meaningless" (ἄσημος) part whose function is "conjunction" (Gr. σύνδεσμος, Syr. *esarā*; and Dionysius Thrax's eight-part division, which is also dichotomised into the two major parts and the other "adjunct" parts (Syr. *nekpā*, documented in Elias of Ṭirhān). A significant Syriac modification of this division concerns the status of the article (4th part, ἄρθρον), whose absence in this language forced the native grammarians to either ignore it or annex it to the class of prepositions. In this class, *d-* is the closest to the relative function of the article ὅ and *B,D,L* represent the "oblique" accusative, genitive and dative cases respectively. In the early Arabic grammatical treatises *ṣila* and its synonyms *ḥashw, zāʾid, faḍl* and *laghw* reflect earlier formulations of the categories borrowed from the two systems of their Greek and Syriac predecessors. On the one hand, *ṣila* is a "meaningless" unit which functions as a conjunction and fills up gaps, just like σύνδεσμος in the Dionysian system or even as its sub-group, termed παραπληρωματικὸς (Syr. *memalyānā* = *ḥashw*), exemplified by a stock of redundant words. On the other, this category known mainly as *zāʾid* denotes the class of prepositions. It reflects the above-mentioned Syriac conception of noun cases. Sībawayhi's employment of *ṣila* as relative clause seems to have originated from identification of *alladhī* with the relative sense of ἄρθρον or its rendition in Syriac as *sharīthā/artherōn*. Al-Farrāʾ still preserved such a broader application of the term *ṣila* for relative clauses.

On the morpho-phonetic plane, *ṣila/waṣl* "conjoins" words and parts of the same word. Genetic relation with מַקֵּף was offered by Guidi. Its relation to ὑφὲν (Syr. *mḥayydānā*) is not clear.

In non-grammatical literature, *ṣila* appears in its various denotations mentioned above. In two early exegetical works of the 2nd century A.H. it takes the sense and function of "redundant" words and word segments. In the Djābirian corpus *ṣilāt* and *ḥurūf al-ṣila* are both the prepositions and the prosthetic *alif*. Al-Fārābī's account of classes of particles includes *wāṣilāt* which reflects Dionysius' ἄρθρον class with the article, *alladhī*, the vocative particle and a few additions. The metrical term *ṣila* is closely related to the redundant, "gap filling" function. It appears in *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* as *ṣila* (iv, 158) and in al-Akhfash's *al-Ḳawāfī* as *waṣl* (10, 32, 81).

Bibliography: W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic language*; I. Guidi, *Sull'origine delle masore semitiche*, in *BISO*, i (1876-7), 430-4; F. Rundgren, *Über den griechischen Einfluß auf die arabische Nationalgrammatik*, in *AUU*, N.S. ii/5 (1976), 119-44; al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī 'l-Ḳurʾān*, i-iii, Cairo 1955-72; al-Akhfash, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, Cairo 1970; G. Goldenberg, *Alladī al-maṣdariyya*, in *ZAL*, xxviii (1994), 7-35; J.B. Segal, *The diacritical point and the accents in Syriac*, London 1953; A. Moberg, *Buch der Strahlen*, Leipzig 1907, ii, *Zur Terminologie*; C.H.M. Versteegh, *Arabic grammar and Qurʾānic exegesis in early Islam*, Leiden 1993; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, Paris 1986; H. Gätje, *Die Gliederung der sprachlichen Zeichen nach al-Fārābī*, in *Isl.*, xlvii (1971), 1-24; Fārābī, *K. al-Alfāẓ al-mustaʿmala fī 'l-manṭiḳ*, ed. M. Mahdi, Beirut 1968.

(R. TALMON)

2. In literature.

Here, it denotes the continuation, the complement of a work (Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 813). Thus it is said of the *Ṣila* of al-Farghānī (see below): "it is a book which is a continuation of the *Annales* of Ibn Djarīr" (*waṣala bihi taʾrīkh Ibn Djarīr*) (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 426/xviii, 44).

I. *The genre of complements in Arabic*

The generic term which denotes them is *mutammima* (pl. *mutammimāt*), "supplement/complement": not only *ṣila* but also *dhayl* (pl. *dhuyūl*, less frequently *adhyāl*), *fāʾit/fawāt, ikmāl, mustadrak/istidrāk, takmīl, takmila, tālī, tamām, tatimma, zawāʾid, ziyādāt*, etc. The semantic

field may be arranged in terms of the relative continuity (root *w-ṣ-l*) or discontinuity (root *f-w-t* "pass by, escape") which the work denoted by either of these titles manifests in relation to the work which it is reckoned to "complete".

Ṣila is located, in principle, in the quasi-absolute continuity of the work which it supplements. On the other hand, *fā'it* or *fawāt* connotes discontinuity in relation to the original work; furthermore, numerous books of this type are relatively ancient, dating from a period when it was still possible to produce something "new". They belong to the genre of "complement" or of *addendum* to a work, which is supposed to repair its "omissions" or errors, especially in philology.

Dhayl, like "tail", is simultaneously attached to the work of which it is the "appendix" and detached from it ("at the bottom of the work" denoted, Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 493). Thus "Ibn al-Zubayr wrote an appendix to (*dhayyala ʿalā*) the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl" (al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1982, i, 454). The work in question being called *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, it may be concluded from this that there is no essential difference between *ṣila* and *dhayl*, although it seems that, in certain cases, at least in historiography, a *ṣila* can be both a kind of summary or partial rewriting, with additions, of the original work and a continuation of the latter.

Mustadrak (*addendum et emendandum*) is characterised by both continuity and discontinuity: it follows the line of the original work, but amends it by means of reflection (*adraka*) on the basis of the constitutive principles of the latter. The omissions of the author of the book are corrected, especially in *ḥadīth*. *Istidrāk*, featuring particularly in philology, connotes to a greater degree the idea of "correction of errors" (see *Fihrist*, 43, ll. 20-2, on the *K. al-ʿAyn: wa-ḳad istadraka ʿalā 'l-Khalīl djamāʿa ... wa-huwa muhmal*).

Takmila expresses the idea of completion with a moral connotation; furthermore, with one exception, the works bearing this title are fairly late. In principle, it should be less the continuation of an original work than its complement, its perfection; but it is not always so, and this can also be a continuation (Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 489). *Takmilat al-Ṣila* and *Ṣilat al-Takmila* are both encountered. Sometimes the notions of "continuation/appendix" and of "complement" are combined in the same title in the form; *al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila li-Kitābay al-Mawṣūl wa 'l-Ṣila*. The same work may be described by *dhayl*, *istidrāk*, *mustadrak*, *takmila*, or *ikmāl* (see below, the *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl*. It may be noted that with the passage of time, the precise sense of these terms is lost, and nuances tend to vanish.

Ziyāda/ziyādāt refers to the quantitative rather than to the qualitative; it is no accident that this title is encountered especially in the *furūʿ* of law and in lexicography: all that can be added here are cases; otherwise, the rules are being broken. It seems that with *zawā'id* it is once again an issue of discontinuity, but without taking a stand (eight titles in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Yaltkaya, ii, 906-7: eight, without counting those which feature under the entry of a work or of a genre; Brockelmann, S III, 1164: five; three in Sezgin, i, 922), especially for compilations of *ḥadīth* and in law.

Not all the works intitled *ṣila* belong to the category of "continuation". Thus *Ṣilat al-khalaf bi-mawṣūl al-salaf* by al-Rūdānī (d. 1094/1683; Brockelmann, II, 459), ed. M. Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1988, is an index of the works which he has received permission to transmit. Other examples: Sezgin, viii, 84_{11}; Brockelmann, I, 360_6, S I, 612; *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, ii, 70).

In historiography, it is probable that *ṣila*s first appeared in the earlier half of the 4th/10th century; see below, II. But it seems that in philology the date can be pushed back in time considerably as regards the other titles (*fā'it*, *istidrāk*, *ziyādāt*); see below, III.

II. *Historiography, bio-bibliography and onomastics*

It is in this literature that the genre of "continuations"/"complements" (*ṣila*, *dhayl*, *takmila*) is the most abundant.

(a) *"Universal" or dynastic chronicles*. Al-Farghānī (Abū Muḥammad) continued the *Annales* of al-Ṭabarī: Sezgin, i, 337 (two fragments surviving). Abū Manṣūr al-Farghānī (d. 398/1007) continued his father's *Ṣila* (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, ed. Rifāʿī, iii, 106; *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, i, 70: "The Continuation of the Appendix to the *Annales* of al-Ṭabarī"). Other complements to the *Annales* have come to light, such as that of ʿArīb al-Ḳurṭubī [*q.v.*], ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1897/*Ṣilat Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, in *Dhuyūl Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 10-184, years 291-320/903-32, which combines a partial re-working for the years 291 to 302 with the continuation proper for the remaining years to 320. The same was done, in an identical way, by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī (d. 521/1127) in his *Takmilat Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī* (years 295-367/907-77) which he wrote on the instructions of the caliph al-Mustaẓhir (*Dhuyūl Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 185-489). The complement of Thābit b. Sinān (d. 363/974) carried on until 360/970; that of Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (Brockelmann, I, 324; S I, 556), until 447/1055; that of his son, Ghars al-Niʿma al-Ṣābi' (d. 480/1087), intitled *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, until 479/1086. To be noted finally is that of al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn b. al-Kāmil al-Ayyūbī (d. 647/1249?). Many of these texts do not seem to have survived in manuscript form; others have, but are incomplete: Brockelmann, S I, 217; Sezgin, i, 327; Rosenthal, 81-3.

The universal history, from the Creation to the beginning of 654/1256, intitled *Mir'āt al-zamān* by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*] has also been the object of several "continuations" (*dhayls*: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1647-8; Brockelmann, I; 347; S I, 589), including that of al-Yūnīnī (see *Bibl.*).

The book by Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349 [*q.v.*], *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar*, also known as *Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Wardī*, is a summary and a continuation for the years 729-49/1329-49 of *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār* [*ta'rīkh*] *al-bashar* by Abu 'l-Fidā' [*q.v.*]: besides the ancient editions, Nadjaf 1969²; A.R. al-Badrāwī, Beirut 1970.

As for Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1448 [*q.v.*], Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa attributes to him a *Dhayl Tawārīkh al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dhahabī wa 'l-Birzālī wa-Ibn Kathīr* (Brockelmann, II, 51, S II, 50). Darwīsh, ii, 27, distinguishes between: (i) *K. al-Iʿlām bi-ta'rīkh al-islām*, extract from the *History* of al-Dhahabī, with complements drawn from the *Histories* of Ibn Kathīr and of al-Kutubī (years 300-792/912-1390; (ii) *al-Dhayl al-mutawwal*, from 741/1340, where al-Dhahabī comes to a halt in the *ʿIbar*, a complement and a rectification to that which has been omitted by al-Birzālī, Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Rāfiʿ, etc., with a supplement up until 810/1408; (iii) *Ta'rīkh Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba*, a summary of the above-mentioned *Dhayl*, which concludes in 808/1406 (see *Bibl.*); and (iv) *Mukhtaṣar Mukhtaṣar al-Dhayl*.

Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268 [*q.v.*] continued *al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, in his *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1947, Beirut 1974.

(b) *Local chronicles*. The *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was continued by al-Samʿāni (d. 562/1167) in *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, which comprised fifteen volumes (surviving extracts, Brockelmann, I, 330, S I, 565; Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, i, 288). It was expanded by Ibn al-Dubaythī (d. 637/1239; Brockelmann and Ḥādjdjī

Khalīfa, *ibid.*), in *Dhayl Madīnat al-salām*, ed. B. ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, Baghdād 1974. The *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād* by Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 643/1245 [*q.v.*], Brockelmann, I, 360, S I, 613; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 288) has survived only in part: i-iv, ed. C.E. Farah *et alii*, Ḥaydarābād 1978-86; M.M. Khalaf, 31-46. As for *al-Mustafād min Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (see *Bibl.*) by Ibn al-Dimyāṭī (Shihāb al-Dīn, d. 749/1348), this is a summary of the preceding.

Similarly, the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk* of Ibn ʿAsākir [*q.v.*] was furnished with an incomplete *dhayl* by his son al-Ḳāsim (d. 600/1203). Also worthy of mention are the *dhayls* of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Bakrī (d. 656/1258) and of ʿUmar b. al-Ḥādjib (d. 630/1233). Abū Shāma made a summary of this chronicle: *Taʾrīkh Abī Shāmā* prolonged (*fi ʾl-dhayl ʿalayhi*) until the year of his death (Brockelmann, I, 331). Al-Birzālī (ʿAlam al-Dīn, d. 739/1338) completed it in *al-Muktafā li-Taʾrīkh Abī Shāma*, or *Wafayāt al-Birzālī* (Brockelmann, S II, 35). As for Ibn Rāfiʿ (d. 774/1372), he composed a *dhayl*, years 737-74/1336-73, to the work of al-Birzālī: *Wafayāt Ibn Rāfiʿ* (Brockelmann, II, 33, S II, 30; S.M. ʿAbbās, 47) which has been edited (see *Bibl.*). The *Taʾrīkh* of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (d. 555/1160 [*q.v.*] or *Dhayl al-Taʾrīkh al-Dimashkī*, sometimes considered on account of this title a continuation of the *History* of Ibn ʿAsākir, or that of the lost *History* of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, is in fact neither one nor the other (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 294).

Other local histories have also been continued: the *History* of Aleppo by Ibn al-ʿAdīm [*q.v.*] (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 291-2), *Taʾrīkh Bukhārā* by Ghundjār (Sezgin, i, 353), the histories of Medina (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 302-3), *Taʾrīkh Naysābūr* by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, d. 404/1014 [*q.v.*] (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 308), *Taʾrīkh Samarkand* by al-Mustaghfirī (Sezgin, i, 353), etc.

(c) *Biography and onomastics.* While the preceding works also contain biographical notices, others exist in which the biographical aspect is dominant. Many of them have had a substantial lineage. The obituary register compiled by Ibn Zabr al-Rabaʿī (d. 379/989), *Wafayāt al-nakala/Taʾrīkh mawālid al-ʿulamāʾ wa-wafayātihim* (Brockelmann, S I, 280), covering the period from the Hidjra to the year 338/949, was continued with an appendix contributed by his pupil, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kattānī (d. 466/1073), as far as the year of the latter's death, in turn supplemented by the contribution of his pupil al-Akfānī (d. 524/1130): *Djāmiʿ al-wafayāt*, as far as the year 485/1092, supplemented by that of ʿAlī b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Makdisī (d. 611/1214; Brockelmann, I, 366), who completed the work of his predecessor as far as 581/1185. All these works bear the title of *Wafayāt*; although their titles make no mention of *ṣila* or any equivalent term, they are nevertheless "continuations". The *Takmilat Wafayāt al-nakala*, 4 vols. ed. B. ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, Beirut 1984[3] (Baghdād, 1967[1]), by al-Mundhirī (ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, d. 656/1256) continues the last-mentioned appendix, from 581/1185 to 642/1244. Ibn al-Ḥalabī (ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī; d. 695/1295) continued (*dhayl*) the work of his master al-Mundhirī until 674/1275 and perhaps even until the year of his death: *Ṣilat al-Takmila li-wafayāt al-nakala* (autograph ms.): R. Sellheim, *ʿIzzaddīn al-Ḥusainīs Autograph seiner Ṣilat al-Takmila*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii (1992), 156-80. Ibn al-Dimyāṭī composed an appendix to the preceding, and Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 806/1404) supplied one to that of Ibn al-Dimyāṭī. The son of al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿIrāḳī, Walī al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳi (d. 826/1243), continued in his turn his father's work. For the overall scheme, see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 2019-20; S.M. ʿAbbās, i, 58-60.

The *Obituary of famous men* by Ibn Khallikān [*q.v.*] has also experienced a pedigree, although less extensive. It was continued for the years 658/1259 to 725/1325 by the Christian Ibn al-Suḳāʿī (d. 726/1326) in his *Tālī K. Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. and tr. J. Sublet, Damascus 1974, then by al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392) in his *Dhayl al-Wafayāt*.; Brockelmann, S I, 561; Sublet, *op. cit.*, p. xi, n. 1. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363) wrote a supplement to it: *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* [*wa ʾl-dhayl ʿalayhā*], 5 vols. ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4. One of the latest of these complements is the *Durrat al-hidjāl* of Ibn al-Ḳāḍī [*q.v.*].

Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī (d. 852/1449) wrote an appendix to his *al-Durar al-kāmina* (alphabetical order, 8th/14th century), *Dhayl al-Durar*, ed. ʿA. Darwīsh, Cairo 1992 (obituary years 801-32/1408-29); Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xxii, no. 190.

As for al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), his *K. al-ʿIbar* was supplied with a *Dhayl* composed by himself for the years 701-40/1301-39 (ed. M. Rashād ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Kuwait 1970, with the *Dhayl* following). His disciple, Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī (d. 765/1354) pursued this work in his *Dhayl al-ʿIbar* (years 741-64/1340-62). (The whole, *al-ʿIbar* with the two *Dhayls*, ed. Abū Hādjir Muḥammad al-Saʿīd b. Basyūnī Zaghlūl, 4 vols. Beirut 1985.) His son Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (d. 791/1389) continued this work until 785/1383. Ibn Sanad al-Lakhmī (d. 792/1390) in his turn completed the *Dhayl* of Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī from 763 to *ca.* 780. Then Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳi wrote his *Dhayl*, following on directly from that of al-Dhahabī (years 741-63/1340-62); his son Walī al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī completed his father's work (years 762-86/1361-84) in his *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, 3 vols., ed. S.M. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1989. As for Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, he wrote a *Dhayl* on that of Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī. For an overall view, see Brockelmann, II, 47, S II, 46; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1123-4; Introd. by S.M. ʿAbbās to the ed. of al-ʿIraki's *Dhayl*. The *Tadhkirat* (or *Ṭabakāt*) *al-huffāẓ* has also been the object of appendices: *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-huffāẓ* by Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī; *Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ bi-Dhayl Ṭabakāt al-huffāẓ* by Ibn Fahd (Taḳī al-Dīn, d. 871/1466); *Dhayl Ṭabakāt al-huffāẓ* by al-Suyūṭī; all three ed. Rafīʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, Damascus 1347/1928, repr. Baghdād 1968, and Beirut n.d. Brockelmann, S II, 46; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1097.

Among the books on the classes of scholars, Ibn Radjab (d. 795/1392) wrote *al-Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabakāt al-Ḥanabila*, ed. H. Laoust and Sāmī al-Dahhān, i, Damascus 1951, i-ii, Cairo 1952-3, a continuation of the work of Ibn al-Farrāʾ (Ibn Abī Yaʿla, d. 526/1133). Al-Maṭarī al-ʿAbbādī (d. 765/1364: al-Subkī, *Ṭabakāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, no. 1355; Kaḥḥāla, vi, 108-9) wrote *Dhayl Ṭabakāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, ed. Hāshim and ʿAzab, Cairo 1993; Gilliot in *MIDEO*, xxii (1995), and corrs. in *MIDEO*, xxiii (1996).

The *Dhayl Rafʿ al-iṣr* or *Bughyat al-ʿulamāʾ wa ʾl-ruwāt* by al-Sakhāwī, ed. Djawdat Hilāl and M. Maḥmūd Ṣubḥ, Cairo 1966, is an *addendum* to what was omitted by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī in his *Rafʿ al-iṣr ʿan kuḍāt Miṣr*. The *Dhayl al-takyīd li-maʿrifat ruwāt al-sunan wa ʾl-masānīd* by Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāsī al-Makkī (d. 832/1428), ms. DK 198, *muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīth*, is a supplement to the *Takyīd* of Ibn Nukta (d. 629/1231).

Muslim Spain has also produced a series in the genre. Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183 [*q.v.*]) wrote a "sequel" to the *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Faraḍī which he intitled *al-Ṣila fī Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*. Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260 [*q.v.*]) continued this work in *al-Takmila li-K. al-Ṣila*. Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 708/1308 [*q.v.*]) composed a sequel to the *Takmila* which he intitled *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*. Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-

Marrākus̲h̲ī [*q.v.*] wrote a complement/supplement to the works of Ibn al-Faraḍī and of Ibn Bas̲h̲kuwāl: see *Bibl.*; M. Meouak, *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe* (1985-7) [1989], 61-96.

The onomastic literature which specialises in the identification and correct writing of the proper names of traditionists and scholars likewise shows no lack of supplements. Thus the *Tālī al-Talk̲h̲īṣ*, sometimes called *Bāḳī al-Talk̲h̲īṣ* (2 mss.; al-S̲h̲ihābī, 42) of al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, is an appendix to his *Talk̲h̲īṣ al-Mutas̲h̲ābih*, 2 vols. ed. S. al-S̲h̲ihābī, Damascus 1985, on the correct orthography of the names of traditionists. The same author wrote a complement to *al-Mu'talif wa 'l-muk̲h̲talif* of al-Dāraḳuṭnī which he intitled *al-Mu'tanif fī takmilat al-Mu'talif wa 'l-muk̲h̲talif*; Brockelmann, I, 329, S I, 564; Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAl. b. ʿAḳ., 73_{17}. Ibn Mākūlā (d. 487/1094 [*q.v.*]) added considerably to the materials collected by al-Dāraḳuṭnī, and this in *al-Ikmāl*. Ibn Nuḳta composed a *d̲h̲ayl* to this work: *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl* (*al-Istidrāk/al-Mustadrak ʿalā/Takmilat al-Ikmāl*) ed. ʿAbd al-Ḳayyūm ʿAbd Rabb al-Nabī, Mecca, Umm al-Ḳurā Univ. (date?). Ibn al-Ṣābūnī (D̲j̲amal al-Dīn, d. 680/1281) completed this last work in *Takmilat Ikmāl al-Ikmāl*, ed. M. D̲j̲awād, Bag̲h̲dād 1957, Beirut 1986 (Brockelmann, I, 355, S I, 602; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, ii, 1637; Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAl. b. ʿAḳ., 73-8). Also worth mentioning is *al-Ziyādāt fī K. al-Mu'talif wa 'l-muk̲h̲talif li-ʿAbd al-G̲h̲anī* [al-Azdī, d. 409/1018] by al-Mustag̲h̲fīrī (d. 432/1040); Sezgin, i, 353; Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAl. b. ʿAḳ., 72_{11}. In the same context, Ibn Rāfiʿ is the author of an appendix to *al-Mus̲h̲tabih fi 'l-rid̲j̲āl* of al-D̲h̲ahabī: *D̲h̲ayl Mus̲h̲tabih al-nisba*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id, Beirut 1974.

III. *Language and literature*

In lexicography, the *K. al-ʿAyn* of al-K̲h̲alīl was completed and amended by its author in the *K. Fā'it al-ʿAyn*; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 43, l. 26; Sezgin, viii, 54. Numerous *al-Istidrak ʿalā K. al-ʿAyn* are attested by al-Naḍr b. S̲h̲umayl (d. 203/818; Sezgin, viii, 54_3), al-Mu'arrid̲j̲ al-Sadūsī (d. after 204/819; Sezgin,viii, 60), Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933; Sezgin, viii, 103), al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989); Sezgin, viii, 255: *Istidrāk al-g̲h̲alaṭ al-wāḳiʿ fī K. al-ʿAyn*, also *al-Mustadrak min al-ziyāda fī K. al-Bāriʿ li-Abī ʿAlī al-Bag̲h̲dādī* [i.e. al-Ḳālī] *ʿalā K. al-ʿAyn*, according to Ibn K̲h̲ayr, *Fahrasa*, 350. Abū ʿUmar al-Zāhid also wrote a *K. Fā'it al-ʿAyn*; Sezgin, viii, 55_{10}. Abū Ḥāmid al-K̲h̲ārzand̲j̲ī (d. 348/959) composed the *Takmilat K. al-ʿAyn*; Sezgin, viii, 195-6.

The *G̲h̲arīb al-muṣannaf* of Abū ʿUbayd has been the object of *addenda*: *Ziyādāt fī G̲h̲arīb al-muṣannaf* by S̲h̲amir d. Ḥamdawayh (d. 255/869; Sezgin, viii, 83); *K. Ziyādat al-G̲h̲arīb al-muṣannaf* or *Ziyādāt K. al-Mu'allaf li-Abī ʿUbayd* by al-Mund̲h̲irī (d. 329/941; Sezgin, viii, 195). The same was the author of the *K. Ziyādāt G̲h̲arīb al-ḥadīt̲h̲ li-Abī ʿUbayd* and of the *K. Ziyādāt Maʿānī 'l-Ḳur'ān li 'l-Farrā'* (*ibid.*).

The *K. al-Faṣīḥ* of T̲h̲aʿlab (d. 291/904) was also the object of complements and of *emendanda*: *Ziyādāt al-Faṣīḥ* by al-D̲j̲aʿd al-S̲h̲aybānī (d. *ca.* 320/922; ms. Princeton; Sezgin, viii, 142, 175). *Fā'it al-Faṣīḥ* by Abū ʿUmar al-Zāhid (d. 345/957), ed. Aḥmad, Cairo 1986^2; Sezgin, viii, 156; Gilliot in *MIDEO*, xix, no. 5. *Tamām Faṣīḥ al-kalām* by Ibn Fāris (395/1005), ed. I. al-Samarrā'ī, in *MMʿIʿI*, xxi (1971), 160-95; Sezgin, viii, 212_6. *D̲h̲ayl Faṣīḥ al-kalām* by al-G̲h̲aznawī (Abu 'l-Fawā'id, wrote 442/1050); Sezgin, viii, 143_{19}. *D̲h̲ayl al-Faṣīḥ* by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Bag̲h̲dādī (d. 629/1231), ed. al-K̲h̲afād̲j̲ī, in *Faṣīḥ T̲h̲aʿlab wa 'l-s̲h̲urūḥ allatī ʿalayhi*, Cairo 1949; Sezgin, viii, 143-4.

The *Tād̲j̲ al-lug̲h̲a wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya* by al-D̲j̲awharī [*q.v.*] has engaged the attention of numerous authors (Sezgin, viii, 215-24), and two works at least are relevant to this study: that of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ṣāg̲h̲ānī (d. 647/1249 or 651), *al-Takmila wa 'l-d̲h̲ayl wa 'l-ṣila* (Sezgin, vii, 219_{15}), 7 vols. ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm al-Ṭaḥāwī *et alii*, Cairo 1970-9: Anawati, in *MIDEO*, xiii (1977), no. 5, and that of al-Baṣṭī (wrote 622/1225), *Takmilat Ḥās̲h̲iyat Ibn Barrī* which is lost: Sezgin, viii, 218_{9c}. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), for his part, is the author of *al-Takmila wa 'l-d̲h̲ayl wa 'l-ṣila* [*limā fāta ṣāḥib al-Ḳāmūs min al-lug̲h̲a*], 7 vols. ed. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥid̲j̲āzi *et alii*, Cairo 1986-90, which includes many additions not found in the *Tād̲j̲ al-ʿarūs*, especially regarding proper names, names of tribes and of places, and, remarkably, Egyptian dialectal forms indicated as such: Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xx (1991), no. 2; for an overall assessment, in lexicography, see J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexicographie*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 201-38.

In grammar, the *K. al-Mut̲h̲allat̲h̲* on the forms *faʿl, fiʿl and fuʿl* by Ḳutrub (d. 206/821) was completed by Abū Ḥabīb Tammām b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Lak̲h̲mī (?) in his *Takmila* (ed. Ḥ.S̲h̲. Farhūd, Cairo 1969; Riyāḍ 1981; Kāẓim Baḥr al-Mard̲j̲ān, Cairo, Faculty of Letters, 1972); Sezgin, viii, 65_{10}. Abū ʿAli al-Fārisī (377/987) wrote a complement to his own *K. al-Īḍāḥ* called *al-Takmila*. While the first of these deals with syntax, the subject of the second is morphology (*ṣarf/taṣrīf*): P. Larcher, in *Arabica*, xl (1993), 250.

Al-D̲j̲awālīḳī [*q.v.*] composed a book concerning incorrect locutions called *al-Takmila fīma yalḥan fīhi al-ʿāmma*, also known as *Tatimmat Durrat al-g̲h̲awwāṣ*, *The book of solecisms* (Brockelmann, I, 280, for the Derenbourg and Tanūk̲h̲ī editions). It is often presented as an appendix to *Durrat al-g̲h̲awwāṣ* by al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*] but is in fact a complement to works of the genre. He is also the author of *Takmilat Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (Sezgin, viii, 132) which is lost. Al-Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ī (d. 337/949) had already written *al-Istidrāk ʿalā Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ*: Sezgin, viii, 105.

In *adab*, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī (d. 356/967 [*q.v.*]) wrote an appendix to his *Amālī*, the *D̲h̲ayl al-Amālī*, Cairo 1344/1926. To Abū Manṣūr al-T̲h̲aʿālibī (d. 429/1038 [*q.v.*]) is owed a complement to his own *Yatīma*, *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* (or *al-Yatīma al-t̲h̲āniya*; Brockelmann, S I, 499), ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1353/1934; ed. Mufīd M. Ḳumayḥa, Beirut 1983.

The author declares (p. 8) that he composed it and gave it this title because many things had escaped him in the two versions of the *Yatīma* [*al-dahr*]. Al-Bāk̲h̲arzī (d. 467/1975 [*q.v.*]) in his turn continued the *Yatīma* for the poets of the 5th/11th century, until 450/1058, in *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* [*wa-ʿuṣrat ahl as-ʿaṣr*]. Al-Ak̲h̲sīkat̲h̲ī (d. 528/1134) composed a commentary on the *Saḳt al-zand* of al-Maʿarrī: *al-Zawā'id* [*fī s̲h̲arḥ Saḳt al-zand*]; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, ii, 906, 993, ll. 1-3.

Al-Sakallī al-Mag̲h̲ribī is the author of *al-Takmila wa-s̲h̲arḥ al-abyāt al-mus̲h̲kila min Dīwān Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutannabī*, ed. Anwar Abū Suwaylam, ʿAmmān 1935: Sezgin, ii, 595.

Ḥadīt̲h̲ and law

In this domain, there are no *ṣilas* as such, but there are complements and corrections (*mustadrak*), and *addenda* (*ziyādāt, zawā'id*). Thus al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī wrote *al-Mustadrak ʿalā 'l-Ṣaḥīḥayn* ("Complement to the two authentic collections") with the object of including prophetic traditions omitted by al-Buk̲h̲ārī and Muslim which, according to him, conform to the conditions of acceptance (*s̲h̲urūṭ*) determined by them; al-D̲h̲ahabī checked, completed and amended this work in *al-Mustadrak ʿalā 'l-Mustadrak*: Sezgin, i, 221. Abū D̲h̲arr al-Harawī (Ibn al-Sammāk, d. 435/1042) is also the

author of a *Mustadrak ʿalā ʾl-Ṣaḥīḥayn*: al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xvii, 559. Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038) also completed Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in *al-Mustadrak ʿala Saḥīḥ Muslim*: *op. cit.*, xvii, 462.

Still in the context of *ḥadīth*, Nūr al-Dīn al-Haytamī (d. 807/1405; Brockelmann, II, 76; not to be confused with Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1567 [*q.v.*]) wrote his *Zawāʾid Ibn Mādja ʿalā ʾl-kutub al-khamsa*: Brockelmann, S II, 82; Sezgin, i, 148: *Zawāʾid ʿalā ʾl-kutub al-khamsa*. But he also wrote *Zawāʾid* on the *Musnads* of Ibn Ḥanbal, of Abū Bakr al-Bazzār (d. 292/905; Sezgin, i, 162), of Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī (d. 307/919; Sezgin, i, 170-1) and on the *Dictionaries of traditions* (the three *Muʿdjams*; Sezgin, i, 196: *Ziyādāt Muʿdjama al-Ṭabarānī*, i.e. *al-Awsaṭ* and *al-Ṣaghīr* together, according to the author in his introd., i, 11) of al-Tabarānī (d. 360/971). He combines them and makes them into a single work, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid wa-manbaʿ al-fawāʾid*, numerous eds. or reprs., including 9 vols. Beirut 1986; Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xxiii (1996), no. 71.

The son of Ibn Ḥanbal, ʿAbd Allāh, made additions to his father's *Musnad*, known as *Ziyādāt* [*Zawāʾid*] *al-Musnad*; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xi, 75; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1680, l. 9. He is also the author of a supplement to his father's *K. al-Zuhd*, *Zawāʾid al-Zuhd*, mentioned in al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 256, l. 6, *ubi leg.* ʿAbd Allāh, *not* Aḥmad; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 957. Al-Haytamī wrote *Ghāyat al-maḳṣad fī zawāʾid al-Musnad*: Brockelmann, I, 182.

In Ḥanafī law, al-Shaybānī (d. 189/80) is the author of *al-Ziyādāt* and *Ziyādāt al-Ziyādāt* which are *addenda* to his *Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* [*fi ʾl-furūʿ*]: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 962-4, with the list of other *ziyādāt* and *addenda* of *addenda*; Spies, 240-1; Sezgin, i, 422-3. In Shāfiʿī law, *al-Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī (264/877) was completed by Ibn al-Mundhir al-Naysābūrī (d. 318/930) in his *Ziyādāt*: Sezgin, i, 493. Ibn Ziyād al-Naysābūrī (d. 324/936) wrote *Ziyādāt, K. al-Muzanī*: al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1981, 113. Al-ʿAbbādī [*q.v.*] is the author of *al-Ziyādāt* [*fi ʾl-furūʿ al-shāfiʿiyya*], of *al-Ziyāda ʿalā ʾl-Ziyādāt* and of *al-Ziyāda ʿalā Ziyādat al-Ziyādāt*: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 964; G. Vitestam, Introd. to al-ʿAbbādī, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ al-shāfiʿiyya*, Leiden 1964, 6. In Zaydī law, al-Murādī (d. 290/903) transmitted and completed the *Amālī* of Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd (d. 247/861) in *Ziyādāt al-Amālī*: Sezgin, i, 563.

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(CL. GILLIOT)

3. In the sense of a gift.

Here it is often found in the more restricted sense of reward and remuneration; it is thus ubiquitous in stories in which payment of a panegyrist for his poem is mentioned. For the contexts of gift-giving in general, see the various sections of HIBA. The word *ṣila* is the *maṣdar* of the doubly transitive verb *waṣalahu ṣilat^an*, "he gave him a present/reward". The underlying notion of using the root *w-ṣ-l* "to connect" to express the idea of "gift" is said to be either "that by which the giver establishes a connection with the recipient" or "that by which the recipient's livelihood is continued" (*LʿA*, xi, 728a-b). A synonym of *ṣila* is *djāʾiza*, with the concomitant verb *adjāza*. For an *awāʾil* story about the origin of the term *djāʾiza*, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 392. (ED.)

AL-SILAFĪ, AL-ḤĀFIẒ ABŪ ṬĀHIR, *shuhra* of the Shāfiʿī traditionist al-Ḥāfiẓ Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (Silafa) al-Iṣfahānī al-Djarwānī (from Djarwān, a quarter of Iṣfahān) al-Iskandarānī. He was born in Iṣfahān in 472/1078-9 (or 474, 475, 478), and died on 5 Rabīʿ II 576/28 August 1180, in Alexandria (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xxi, 5-7). Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, s.v., gives an abridged genealogy of his name, making Silafa the agnomen of his grandfather Muḥammad. It should be noted that he signed himself sometimes Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Silafa, sometimes Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (Zaman, *Silafī's biography*, 3). According to different versions, he died at 98, or 106 years of age; whatever the case, he is classed among the excessively long-lived (al-Dhahabī, *Ahl al-miʾa*, 134) but also as one of the "cyclical renovators" (*mudjaddids* [*q.v.*], in partnership with al-Ghazālī (E. Landau-Tasseron, in *St. Isl.*, lxx [1989], 95). The origin of his attributive name poses a problem.

According to some, Silafa was the agnomen of his great-great-grandfather Ibrāhīm, the expression signifying in Persian "the man with three lips" (*silabi*, from *si* "three", and *lab* "lip"), since he had a cleft lip, according to Abū Ṭāhir. For others, and again according to Abū Ṭāhir himself, his grandparents allegedly belonged to a clan of the Ḥimyarī tribe, the Banū Silafa. There is little support for a third hypothesis, according to which this name would have derived from a quarter of Iṣfahān known as Silafa (Ibn Khallikān, i, 107, who was in contact with a number of his disciples in Egypt and in Syria; Ibn Mākūlā, iv, no. 1, 468-70; al-Zabīdī, *Takmila*, v, 78-9; Zaman, *art. cit.*, 1-3). Also called al-Silafī is his grandson, the traditionist Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥāsib Makkī al-Ṭarābulusī al-Iskandarānī (al-Sibṭ, i.e. *sibṭ* al-Ḥāfiẓ Abī Ṭāhir, d. 651/1253; *Siyar*, xxiii, 278-9). It is said that the traditionist Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṣaydalānī (d. 568/1173; *Siyar*, xx, 530-1) was also described as al-Silafī because the name (nickname?) of his grandfather was Silafa (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tabṣīr*, ii, 738).

Abū Ṭāhir's grandfather was a Ṣūfī, a disciple of al-Sayyid al-Zāhid Abū Hāshim al-ʿAlawī; his father, for his part, was a traditionist of some renown, a disciple of Ibn al-Ṭuyūrī (al-Mubārak b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, d. 500/11-7; *Siyar*, xix, 213-16, and also one of Abū Ṭāhir's teachers in Baghdād. The fact that Iṣfahān was his birthplace was not to prove inconsequential in the intellectual destiny of the great traditionist that Abū Ṭāhir became, if it is true that "No city has produced so many scholars and masters in all disciplines, especially having regard to the high quality of chains of authority (*ʿuluww al-isnād*, i.e. the least possible number of transmitters in a chain), for people there live long; furthermore, they have a pronounced

interest in the audition (*samāʿ*) of *ḥadīth*, and the great masters of *ḥadīth* (*ḥuffāẓ*) are innumerable there" (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1955, i, 209a). It was the favoured residence of the great Saldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] during the infancy of the subject of this article; the ruler even founded a *madrasa* there and was buried in its precincts.

His first experience of audition of *ḥadīth* in the city of his birth was owed to Rizḳ Allāh al-Tamīmī al-Baghdādī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 488/1095). He also attended the classes of other scholars of Iṣfahān, including al-Ḳāsim b. al-Faḍl al-Thaḳafī (*al-raʾīs, al-musnid*, d. 489/1096). It was also there that he received instruction in reading the Ḳurʾān. He was indebted for his education to his father (d. 498/1104-5) with whom he performed the Pilgrimage in 497. The number of teachers whose courses he attended in Iṣfahān is said to have exceeded six hundred. He also composed a dictionary of his authorities in this city entitled *Muʿdjam Iṣfahān/al-Safīna al-iṣfahāniyya* (al-Biḳāʿī, no. 1); al-Dhahabī quotes this (lost) work on numerous occasions, as well as borrowing from it without acknowledgement.

The Pilgrimage was an opportunity for him to profit by acquaintance with the masters of Mecca and Medina; he pursued the same objective in Kūfa and in Baghdād, where he stayed until 500/1106-7. It was there that he attended courses in *fiḳh* given by the leading Shāfiʿīs of the Niẓāmiyya; Ilkiyā al-Ṭabarī (d. 505/1111), Abū Bakr al-Shāshī (d. 507/1114), the classes of Abū Zakariyyā al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109 [*q.v.*]) and of ʿAlī al-Faṣīḥī (d. 516/1123) at the same school, as well as those of Ibn Fākhir (Abu 'l-Karam al-Mubārak, d. 505/1112) in language and in *adab*. The same year, he made his way to Baṣra and then to Wāsiṭ. In 509/1115-16 he was in Damascus, where he stayed for some time (Ibn ʿAsākir, vii, 179-80; al-Biḳāʿī, 7-8). It was there that he encountered Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 524/1130), and also there that he composed a summary of the *K. Makārim al-akhlāḳ* of al-Kharāʾiṭī on the basis of the original, then verified his text with a recitation before ʿAlī b. Muslim al-Sulamī (Djamāl al-Islām, d. 533/1138-9), al-Ghazālī's master, in 511 (below, no. 7; Ḥāfiẓ, 13-14, on the two modes of *intiḳāʾ*). The list given by al-Dhahabī of the masters from whom he received his education, including women, is vast. That of his disciples, especially in Alexandria, is no less impressive.

The same year (511/1117-18), he embarked at Tyre for Alexandria, where he settled and remained until his death, a period of sixty-five years, and this not only at the solicitation of the scholars of this town but also because he married a wealthy local lady who placed her fortune at his disposal (Ibn ʿAsākir, *ibid.*; *Siyar*, xxi, 25). Furthermore, Ibn Sallār al-ʿĀdil had a school and a religious institution constructed on his behalf. The choice of Alexandria was quasi-strategic, since there he could meet Muslim intellectuals of East and West (for example, al-Tudjībī of Tlemcen (d. 610/1212-13), who, according to his prediction, was to be the principal traditionist of the Maghrib; al-Kattānī, 264) without leaving his domicile, and this purpose was duly achieved (I. ʿAbbās, 8; al-Biḳāʿī, 10). He left Alexandria only once, for a journey to Cairo in 517/1123-4 (although according to one source he was in residence there from 515 to 517: Ṭarābīshī, 13 no. 1). His library was impressive, since he invested all his property in the acquisition of literature, but it was discovered after his death that these volumes had been seriously damaged by the humidity of Alexandria.

His eminence as a great traditionist (*ḥāfiẓ*) is demonstrated, in particular, by the countless fascicles (*djuzʾ*), collections of traditions, which he left behind in the form of audition, reading or of dictation (below, no. 15); they are sometimes called *al-Adjzāʾ al-Silafiyyāt* or *al-Silafiyyāt* which exceeded, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, nos. 4093, 7216/ed. Yaltkaya, i, 587, ii, 996, a hundred. They were established on the basis of source-texts (*uṣūl*) of Baghdādīs such as al-Anmāṭī (d. 538/1143) or al-Ṭuyūrī (above, below no. 13) and others. In common with numerous other scholars, he devoted a collection to the "Tradition of Mercy" (*ḥadīth al-raḥma*), "Those who are merciful, the Merciful One shows them mercy; show mercy to those who are on the earth, and those who are in the Heavens will show you mercy" (al-Kattānī, 94).

His renown extended far beyond that of a traditionist and a writer, since it is impossible to count the number of times that he appears in certificates of audition (*samāʿāt*) or of reading, or in licences of transmission (*idjāzāt*) (see G. Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture*..., Paris 1957, 70, index; al-Rūdānī, *Ṣilat al-khalaf bi-mawṣūl al-salaf*, ed. M. Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1988, 516, index). This is particularly evident in his *Wadjīz* (below, no. 14). "Brief account of the master who delivers the certificate of transmission and the one who receives it", in which he sets himself the objective of presenting a list of scholars with whom he has been in correspondence, in most cases without having met them. He awarded to many of them a "general licence" (*idjāza ʿāmma*), i.e. the right to transmit all his works, among others to al-Ḥātimī (d. 638/1239-40; al-Kattānī, 317-18), al-Randī (d. 616/1219; al-Kattānī, 340, dating from 560/1165), al-Ghāfiḳī (d. 619/1121-2; al-Kattānī, 884). For others, in particular the scholars of the Maghrib, it is known that he sent to them licences in writing from Alexandria (al-Kattānī, 995, gives six names), in particular to the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149): *kataba ilayya yudjīzunī djamīʿ riwāyātihi wa-madjmūʿātihi* (*al-Ghunya, fahrasat shuyūkh al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ*, ed. M.Z. Djarrār, Beirut 1982, 102). His longevity was such that four generations of traditionists were enabled to transmit traditions from him: his last eastern disciple, his grandson (see above), died in 651 (*corr. Tadrīb*, which gives the date 605), and the last western one in 662, while the first to die, Abū ʿAlī al-Bardānī (*Siyar*, xix, 219-22), was deceased in 498/1105, thus an interval of more than one hundred and fifty years! In the science of *ḥadīth*, this is considered a unique case in terms of anteriority and posterity in relation to the demise of a master (*al-sābiḳ wa 'l-lāḥiḳ*) (al-Kattānī, 996; al-Tahānawī, 677; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, ch. 46; W. Marçais, in *JA* [July-August 1901], 131-2). The advantage in this is the production of "high quality" chains of authority.

His *Muʿdjam al-safar* (below, no. 5) testifies to the same interest. Here he assembled articles regarding scholars whom he had met "in other places" (i.e. outside Iṣfahān and Baghdād) and more specifically those with whom he was acquainted in Alexandria (Egyptians, Maghribīs, etc.). He wrote a lengthy biography of one of his masters, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar al-Abīwardī (d. 507/1113 [*q.v.*]) (*Siyar*, xix, 289, l. 3; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 2911/1, 398: *Tardjamat al-Silafī*; Zaman, *Sources of Silafī's biography*, 493-5).

Among hundreds of other examples of works for which he features in certificates of authenticity is al-Djūzdjānī (d. 259), *Aḥwāl al-ridjāl*, ed. S. al-Samarrāʾī, Beirut 1985, 20, no. 6 (*corr.* al-Biḳāʿī, no. 37, who attributes *al-Niṣf al-thānī min K. al-Shadjara fī aḥwāl*... to al-Silafī; see Sāmarrāʾī, 17-8). Similarly, he is in the list of authorities of certain ms. of the

K. Gharīb al-Kur'ān attributed to Ibn 'Abbās (Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xxii [1995], no. 47, 37, l. 2 of the edited work), to the point where the elucidation of certain Kur'ānic expressions is, probably erroneously, attributed to him (in the case of Brockelmann, I², 450 no. 4, ms. Berlin 427, more developed and critically evaluated in al-Biķā'ī, no. 6). Such details apart, he played a fundamental role in the transmission of knowledge in Islam, and represents one type of the great traditionists of the *madrasa* era.

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Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh Dimashk*, vii, ed. 'A. al-Daķar, Damascus 1984, 179-82; Yāķūt, *Udabā'*, which quotes al-Silafī extensively, but has no article regarding him; Ibn Nuķta, *al-Taķyīd* [*li-ma'rifat al-ruwāt wa 'l-sunan wa 'l-masānīd*], Ḥaydarābād 1983, i, 203-10, no. 198; Ibn Khallikān, ed. I. 'Abbās, i, 105-7, no. 44; Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, xxi, ed. B. 'Awwād Ma'rūf and M.H. al-Sarḥān, Beirut 1984, 5-39 (with parallel places, 5 n.*); idem, *Ahl al-mi'a fa-ṣā'idan*, ed. B. 'Awwād Ma'rūf, *al-Mawrid* (Baghdād), ii/4 (1973), 134; Maķrīzī, *al-Muķaffā*, ed. M. al-Ya'lāwī, Beirut 1991, i, no. 660; Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asķalānī, *Tabṣīr al-muntabih*, ed. 'A.M. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1964-8, ii, 738; Zabīdī, *al-Takmila wa 'l-dhayl wa 'l-ṣila li-mā fāta ṣāḥib al-Ķāmūs min al-lugha*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ḥidjāzī, v, Cairo 1988, 78-9; Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, iv, no. 1, 468-70; Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1982, no. 565.

2. Studies. Ḥ. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *al-Iskandariyya fī 'l-'aṣr al-islāmī*, in *al-Kitāb*, iii/3 (1947), 383-5 [379-93]; Biķā'ī (below, no. 14), 5-46; Brockelmann, I², 450, S I, 624; Ḥasanī (below, no. 5), 7-104; Dj. al-Shayyāl, *A'lām al-Iskandariyya*, Cairo 1965, 130-59: Ṭarābīshī (below, no. 10), 11-33, to be supplemented by Biķā'ī; G. Vajda, *Un opuscule inédit d'as-Silafi* [since edited, see below no. 14), in *Bull... de l'Inst. de Rech. et d'Hist. des Textes*, xiv (1966), 85-92 (= embellished translation of material by M.Kh. al-Biķā'ī, *Kutayyib makhṭūṭ li 'l-Silafī*, in *MML'AU* ('Ammān), xxxix [1990], 281-318); "study" by Ḥ. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ, Damascus or Beirut (?) 1977, mentioned by Biķā'ī, 45, without title (n. *c.*); S.M. Zaman, *Sources for Silafī's biography*, in *Isl. Stud.*, xxiv (1985), 493-502; idem, *Silafī's biography: his birth and family background*; idem, *Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (d. 576/1180), acquisition of Ḥadīth and Qirā'āt in Isfahan*, in *Isl. Stud.*, xxv (1986), 1-10, 151-9; Maḥmūd Zaytūn, *al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī*, Alexandria 1972; Ziriklī, i, 216a, mentions a biography, ms. Rabat 1046d.

3. Edited or preserved works. (1) *K. al-Arba'īn al-buldāniyya/al-Arba'īn al-mustaghnī bi-ta'yīn mā fīhi 'an al-mu'īn* [ms. Paris BN, Algiers, DK, 3 Ẓāh.; Brockelmann, I², 450 no. 3; Biķā'ī, no. 5; Şehid 540/1; Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xx (1991), no. 130, following Kh. Alavi: *Forty traditions of forty shaykhs living in forty places*; Kattānī, 111]. (2) *Arba'ūn ḥadīthan fī ḥaķķ al-fuķarā'*, collected by his disciple, probably his grandson, 'Īsā b. Ḥ. al-Silafī; ms. Alex., Brockelmann, I², 450 no. 11; Biķā'ī, no. 29). (3) *al-Faḍā'il al-bāhira fī maḥāsin Miṣr wa 'l-Ķāhira* (ms. Cambridge, Brockelmann, S I, 624 no. 8, erroneously attributed to Sulamī; Biķā'ī, no. 9; Ziriklī, i, 216a; ms. Istanbul Hamid 363 *ta'rīkh*). (4) *Mu'djam Baghdād/al-Mashyakha al-baghdādiyya* (ms. Esc., Ẓāh., Feyz.; Brockelmann, I², 450, S I, 624; Biķā'ī, no. 1; Ḥasanī, 76-82); according to Brockelmann, a summary of it exists, *al-Safīna al-baghdādiyya*, by A. al-Labbādī (?). (5) *Mu'djam al-safar*, ed. S.M. Zaman, Islamabad 1988 (794 entries) [*corr.* Brockelmann, S I, 624 no. 9: *Mu'djam al-shu'arā'*; Biķā'ī, no. 7, seems to show that its title was *al-Mu'djam al-mu'akhkhar*]; partial editions: Bahīdja Bāķir al-Ḥasanī, i, Baghdād 1978 (145 entries), and I. 'Abbās, *Akhbār wa-tarādjim andalusiyya mustakhradja min Mu'djam al-safar*, Beirut 1963. (6) *al-Muntakhab* [*al-Tadjzi'a*] *min K. al-Irshād fī ma'rifat 'ulamā' al-ḥadīth* of al-Khalīlī (d. 446/1055; *Siyar*, xvii, 666-8), ed. Sa'd, Beirut 1986/ed. Idrīs, Riyāḍ 1989. (7) *al-Muntaķā min K. Makārim al-akhlāķ wa-ma'ālīhā wa-maḥmūd ṭarā'iķihā*, summary of the celebrated work by al-Kharā'iṭī [*q.v.*], ed. M. Muṭī' al-Ḥāfiẓ and Ghazwa Burayd, Damascus 1986. (8) *Murāsalāt al-Silafī ma'a 'l-Zamakhsharī*, ed. B. al-Ḥasanī, in *MM'I'I*, xxiii. (9) *al-Salamāsiyyāt* [five sessions of dictation to the scholars of Salamās, in Ādharbaydjān, in 506/1112-13; 2 ms. Ẓāh.] (10) *Su'ālāt* [al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī] *li-Khamīs al-Ḥawazī 'an djamā'a min ahl Wāsiṭ*, ed. al-Ṭarābīshī, Damascus 1976 (Brockelmann, I², 450 no. 12). (11) *Ķaṣīda*, Brockelmann, S I, 624 no. 5; Biķā'ī, no. 33; Ḥasanī, 64-75, has reproduced some of his poetry. (12) *al-Sudāsiyyāt* [*allatī akhradjahā al-Ḥāfiẓ* ...] (traditions with a chain of six authorities which he had received in 512/1118-19, by means of audition, from Ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Rāzī al-Shurūṭī, d. 524/1130; *Siyar*, xix, 583-5; Kattānī, no. 525; besides the ms. in Brockelmann, S I, 624 no. 6, ms. Ẓāh.; Biķā'ī, no. 10). (13) *al-Ṭuyūrāt*, choice and *emendatio* of traditions drawn from collections (*adjzā'*) of Ibn al-Ṭuyūrī (ms. Ẓāh.; Biķā'ī, no. 12). (14) *al-Wadjīz fī dhikr al-mudjāz wa 'l-mudjīz*, ed. M. Khayr al-Biķā'ī, Beirut 1990: rev. by Gilliot, in *Stud. Isl.*, xli (1994), 143-5. (15) Seventeen collections or fragments of collections of traditions (*aḥādīth, aḥādīth muntakhaba, amālī, djuz', djuz' fīhi fawā'id, fawā'id, ķiṭ'a*, etc.) drawn from those of other authors, as well as certificates of audition (*samā'āt*), preserved in ms., Biķā'ī, nos. 13-30. See Kattani's index, iii, 85a.

4. Works no longer extant (*addenda* to the 38 entries of Biķā'ī): *Djuz' Kulunbā*, fascicle of traditions dictated by al-Silafi to the traditionist Ibn Ķulunbā in 511 in Alexandria (*bi 'l-thaghr*), according to Zabīdī, *Takmila*, i, 328b; *corr.* Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 4092: *Djuz' ķalbinā*, tr. as *Cor nostrum*/i, 587: *Ķalanbā. Man ismuhu Dhu 'l-Nūn* (Kattānī, 421). *Manāķib al-'Abbās*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 13040/ii, 1843. *Mashyakha Ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb* (or *al-Rāzī*), *takhrīdj al-Silafī*; Kattānī, nos. 252, 276; cf. above, no. 12.

(Cl. Gilliot)

SILĀḤ [see Suppl.].

SILĀḤDĀR (A., P.) ("arms-bearer"). This military-administrative title and function have a long history in the Islamic world, going back to the days of the Great Saldjūķ sultans, whose state organisation followed early Persian and 'Abbāsid models. Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, describing the organisation of the Saldjūķ state, lists the *silāḥdār* as one of the most trusted personnel in the sultan's palace, who was directly responsible to the person of the sultan. As chief of the army's arsenal (*zarad-khāna*), where the armour and weapons were stored, the *silāḥdār* had a military unit under his command and the responsibility of carrying the sultan's weapon (Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1891, 94-95, 109; Ibn al-Bībī, *El-Evāmirü 'l-'alā'iyye fī 'l-umūri 'l-'alā'iyye*, ed. Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1956, 216).

The Mamlūks retained the same title in its Arabic form *amīr silāḥ*, who was one of the nine most important office holders in the Mamlūk state and ranked among the Amīrs of a Thousand (*amīr alf*), the highest

rank in the military echelon. In this capacity, he was in command of a Royal Mamlūks' unit (*ṭulb*), called *silāḥdāriyya*, with a number of horsemen ranging from 110 to 120. He was also in charge of the arsenal (*silāḥ-khāna*) and over the amīrs of the arsenal, who were called *zaradkāshiyya* and whose duty was to guard the arsenal. He was therefore sometimes called *al-zaradkāsh al-kabīr*. During public appearances, the *amīr silāḥ*'s duty was to bear the sultan's arms. The role of *amīr silāḥ* reached its highest importance in the 9th/15th century and involved the participation in military campaigns (Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 386-7; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iv, 14 ff.; Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *K. Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, ed. P. Ravaisse, Paris 1894, 111-16).

The Ottomans, who used the title in its Persian form *silāḥdār*, continued Saldjūḳ and Mamlūk traditions and even elevated its role to a higher level in the Imperial Palace (*saray*). During Meḥemmed II's reign (1451-81), the Inside Service (*enderūn*) in the palace, under the direction of the *ḳapî aghasî*, was made up of four Chambers, of which the Privy Chamber (*khāṣṣ-oda*) was the highest-ranking. Immediately beneath the chief of the Privy Chamber, the *khāṣṣ-oda bashî*, was the *silāḥdār agha*, along with other principal officials who performed the general service of the sultan and therefore were the nearest to him. Being the second-in-command in the Privy Chamber, the *silāḥdār agha* handled all communications to and from the sultan and accompanied him with his sword in public ceremonies, travels and campaigns. He also commanded his own unit, the *silāḥdār bölüghü* (sometimes called *sarî bayraḳ bölüghü* because of its yellow flag). During public ceremonies, such as the Friday procession (*selamlîk*), the *silāḥdār bölük* took position on the left side of the sultan. In the battlefield, as part of the *ḳapîḳulu* cavalry, they served as the sultan's personal guards protecting his flanks. Over the years, as the *silāḥdār aghas* gained greater power and expanded their functions, the number of their *bölüks* increased, comprising 2,000 *silāḥdārs* during Meḥemmed II's time, 2,780 in 1568, 2,930 in 1588, 5,000 in 1597, 6,244 in 1660, 7,683 in 1699, 10,821 in 1713, reaching the staggering number of 12,000 during the reign of Maḥmūd II (1808-39). Since the sultans appointed their favourite men to high offices in the administration, the ranks of the *silāḥdār agha* provided countless viziers and dignitaries. Two such *silāḥdār aghas* were Silāḥdār Yūsuf Pasha who, during Sultan Ibrāhīm's reign, conspired successfully to bring about the fall and execution in 1644 of the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], and Silāḥdār ʿAlī Pasha, Aḥmed III's son-in-law, who engineered the overthrow of Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] and in 1713 became Grand Vizier himself. With the death of Silāḥdār Giritli ʿAlī Agha in 1831, Maḥmūd II eliminated the office of the *silāḥdār agha*, and incorporated it into the office of the Treasury under the control of the *khazīne ketkhüdāsî* (*Ḳānūn-nāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. M. ʿĀrif, in *TOEM*, supplement, 23-4; Luṭfī Pasha, *Âsafnâme: devlet adamlarına öğütler*, Ankara 1977; Ottaviano Bon[-Robert Withers], *A description of the Grand Signiour's Seraglio*, ed. John Greaves, London 1653, 78-9).

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(Shai Har-El)

SILĀḤDĀR, FÎNDÎḲLÎLÎ MEḤMED AGHA, (1068-1139/1658-1726-7), Ottoman historian.

The palace official Silāḥdār Meḥmed Agha was born on 12 Rabīʿ I 1068/8 December 1658 in the Fîndîḳlî district of Istanbul. A protégé of the *bash muṣāḥib* Shāhīn Agha, he was educated in the *sarāy* and entered the palace *bostāndjî* [*q.v.*] corps in 1084/1674. In 1089/1678 he became a *zülflü baltadjî* [*q.v.*] and in 1090/1679, was promoted to the *seferli odasî*. In this capacity he took part in the 1683 Vienna campaign led by Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*]. In 1099/1688 he entered the *khāṣṣ oda* [*q.v.*] and was promoted successively to *dülbend ghulāmî*, *čuḳhādār* (in the reign of Muṣṭafā II), and, finally, *silāḥdār* [*q.v.*], in Rabīʿ II 1115/August 1703 immediately upon the accession of Aḥmed III (1703-30), this despite his closeness to the deposed Muṣṭafā II. He subsequently played an important role in quelling *bostāndjî* unrest and in overseeing arrangements for the funeral of Muṣṭafā II in Shaʿbān 1115/December 1703. However, in Shawwāl 1115/February 1704, when a protégé of one of Aḥmed III's favourites was appointed *silāḥdār* in his place, Meḥmed Agha chose to retire from palace service, refusing the offer of a provincial governorship with the rank of vizier and accepting instead a daily pension of 300 *aḳčes*. He settled in the Demirkapî district of Istanbul and on his death in 1139/1726-7 was buried at Ayāzpasha.

He compiled a detailed chronicle of Ottoman history during the years 1065-1133/1655-1721, written in a matter-of-fact prose style. This is generally considered as two separate works: (i) *Dheyl-i Fedhleke* ("Supplement to the *Fedhleke*") (sc. of Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*]), detailing events of the years 1065-1106/1655-95 (published as *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1928, introd. by Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altınay]); (ii) *Nuṣret-nāme*, comprising initially a day-to-day account of the reign of Muṣṭafā II (1106-15/1695-1703), then continuing with a less detailed account for 1115-33/1703-21 (*Nusretnâme*, modern Turkish tr. İ. Parmaksızoğlu, 2 vols., Istanbul 1962-9). Meḥmed Agha's history is a particularly valuable first-hand account for the period *ca.* 1683-1703, when he was in close attendance upon the sultans. The *Nuṣret-nāme* was probably a major source for the *waḳʿa-nüwīs* Rāshid [*q.v.*] (O. Köprülü, *Râşid'in kaynaklarından biri Silahdâr'ın Nusretnâmesi*, in *Belleten*, xi [1947], 473-87).

Bibliography: Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altinay], *ʿĀlimler ve ṣanʿatkārlar*, Istanbul 1924, 228-55 (and introd. to *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, i, pp. iii-xii); *GOW*, 253-4; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, esp. 342-53; İ. Artuk, *Silâhdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa*, in *Tarih dergisi*, xxvii (1973), 123-32.

(Christine Woodhead)

SILHET, conventional form Sylhet, a famous city, a district and a division at the easternmost part of Bangladesh. The present Division of Sylhet (a District prior to 1 August 1995) covers approximately 4,785 square miles (lat 23° 58'-25° 12' N., long. 91°-92° 38' E.) and comprises the districts of Sylhet, Sunamganj, Maulvi Bazar and Habibganj. Before the advent of Islam, Sylhet formed part of Samatata region (Djūzdjānī mentions it as Suknāt; see *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī, i, 426, tr. Raverty, i, 557-8) and was divided into small kingdoms (i.e. Laor, Jayantia, Gauḍa) ruled by Hindu dynasties. Some parts of Sylhet were also ruled by

the neighbouring kingdom of Kamrup. An economically prosperous land where cowrie-shells were used for currency, Arab traders sometimes visited Sylhet on their overland route to China. Muslim conquest of the area began in early 14th century during the reign of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh (d. 1322) of Lakhnawati. The celebrated Suhrawardī *shaykh*, Shāh Djalāl Mudjarrad Ḳūnyā'ī (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 158), and his disciples played an important role in consolidation of Islam in this region. Mughal rule was extended up to Sylhet in the early 17th century. In 1874, during British colonial rule, the District of Sylhet was made part of the newly-formed Assam State. In 1947, the Muslim majority of this area opted for Pakistan, and Sylhet became a District of East Bengal Province (now Bangladesh).

Sylhet is quite rich in its natural resources such as natural gas and limestone. Huge cement, fertiliser and tea factories have provided it with an industrial base. The tea plantations of Sylhet are famous. A sizeable number of people from Sylhet have emigrated to the U.K., and their remittances enrich the country with much-needed foreign exchange.

Bibliography: Sayyid Murtaḍā ʿAlī, *Haḍrat Shāh Djalāl o Sileter itihās*, Ḍhākā 1988; Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *al-Nuḳūsh al-Islāmiyya fi 'l-Bangāl wa-athāruhā al-ḥaḍārī*, Beirut 1995.

(Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq)

SILIFKE (Greek Seleucia; Armenian Selefkia, Selewkia; Frankish Le Selef, Salef, Saleph; Arabic Salūḳiya), important rural centre in the (present-day) Turkish province of Adana, 87 km/48 miles east of the port of Mersin [*q.v.*], on the river Göksu (ancient Calycadnus), about 14 km/9 miles from the Mediterranean Sea. In a strategic position where the coastal road and the route inland over the Taurus Mountains meet, it was founded before 300 B.C. by Seleucus I Nicator. Extant monuments in Silifke include a 2nd century A.D. temple to Zeus, a large Byzantine rock-hewn cistern and, most importantly, a mediaeval castle. In spite of being exposed to Arab incursions, the castle remained in Byzantine hands until the end of the 6th/12th century. Thereafter it was, at different times, under Armenian, Hospitaller and seignurial Frankish control, until at least the second half of the 7th/13th century, when the record is lost. The castle occupies the long, narrow platform of an outcrop overlooking the town. While little remains of the structures within the castle save at the western end, the outer gateway and some of the outer wall are still in place, as well as most of the inner wall and salients. Although the Byzantine Emperor Alexius 1 ordered his secretary Eustathius to rebuild the castle at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the work visible today is probably largely Frankish, with perhaps some Armenian contribution, reflecting the occupancies of the 7th/13th century.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 126-7; R.W. Edwards, *The fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, Dumbarton Oaks 1987, 221-9 (description and plan); H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Tabula imperii Byzantini*, v/1 (*Kilikien und Isaurien*), Vienna 1990, 402-6 (extensive bibl., including Islamic source references).

(D.W. Morray)

SILSILA (A.), literally "chain", a term used in the terminology of Ṣūfism and the Ṣūfī orders (*ṭuruḳ*) for a continuous chain of spiritual descent, a kind of mystical *isnād* [*q.v.*]. This connected the head of an order, the *shaykh* or *pīr*, with a person regarded as the order's founder and back to the Prophet. These persons might stem from early Islam, such as the Yemeni contemporary of the Prophet, Uways al-Ḳaranī (actually, not initiated directly but after the Prophet's death, in a dream), and the Patriarchal Caliphs, especially Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿAlī. That such claims to descent were fictitious, given the obviously intensely practical and unmystical bent of the first caliphs, was early recognised by some authorities, such as Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*] (who suspected here Shīʿī influence; see his *Muḳaddima*, iii, 73-4, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 93-4). Somewhat more plausible were *silsila*s traced back to early undoubted Ṣūfīs like Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/875 or 264/878 [see abū yazīd]) and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd (d. 298/910-11 [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, refs. in the Glossary, at 311; and see ṭarīḳa. (Ed.)

SILVES [see shilb].

al-SĪM, Lughat, a secret vocabulary or argot employed by criminals, beggars, gypsies, and other groups for communication among themselves without the risk of being understood by outsiders. The word *sīm* (variant *sīn*) is well attested in Arabic from the 19th century to the present, but its earlier history and etymology are obscure; M.J. de Goeje's proposal of a Gypsy and ultimately Indian origin for the term, and his citation of an isolated 7th/13th century instance of its use by an Arabic author (*Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, Leiden, 1903, 71), require further investigation. For the mediaeval Islamic world, our sources mainly associate such an argot with the Banū Sāsān [see sāsān, banū] a loose confraternity of beggars and other marginal types; this group's esoteric vocabulary is known to us primarily from two remarkable jargon poems, by Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī (*fl.* fourth/tenth century [*q.v.*]) and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 750/1349 [*q.v.*]), which have been thoroughly analysed by C.E. Bosworth (*The medieval Islamic underworld: the Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, 2 vols. Leiden, 1976). A degree of continuity in this argot is traceable into modern times, notably in the vocabulary of the Ḥalab, a pseudo-Gypsy group in Egypt, which is shared as well by traditional Egyptian musicians and entertainers in general, who call it *sīm al-fannānīn* or "artistes' argot." Scholars have also documented a number of other secret vocabularies in the contemporary Arabic world, of which the most elaborate appears to be the *sīm al-ṣāgha*, or argot of gold- and silversmiths, based largely on Hebrew, distinctive forms of which have thus far been recorded in Cairo and Damascus. Some forms of contemporary argot in Persian and Turkish are also known. In addition to argot in the strict sense of secret vocabularies, the phenomenon of encrypting one's language by means of phonetic and morphological distortion, as in English "pig Latin," is known in all three languages, and in Arabic is also sometimes called *sīm*.

Bibliography: In addition to earlier literature, treated comprehensively in Bosworth, *Underworld*, see M. Barbot, *Notes lexicographiques sur les orfèvres et bijoutiers de Damas*, in *Arabica*, xxi (1974), 72-83; E.K. Rowson, *Cant and argot in Cairo Colloquial Arabic*, in *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter*, 122 (Summer 1983), 13-24; ʿA. ʿĪsā, *al-Lughāt al-sirriyya*, Alexandria 1988; R.L. Djumʿa, *al-Lugha al-sirriyya li-baʿḍ al-ṭawā'if wa 'l-mihan al-shaʿbiyya fī Miṣr*, in *al-Ma'thūrāt al-shaʿbiyya*, xxxvii (January 1995), 43-57; K. van Nieuwkerk, "*A trade like any other*". *Female singers and dancers in Egypt*, Austin, Texas 1995, 96-102.

(E.K. Rowson)

SIMANCAS [see SHANT MĀNKASH].

SIMAW, modern Turkish Simav, a town of northwestern Anatolia, lying on the river of the same name and just to the south-east of the Simav Gölü, 90 km/58 miles as the crow flies to the south-west of Kütahya [*q.v.*] and on the road connecting Balıkesir with Usak (lat. 39° 05' N., long. 28° 59' E., altitude 823 m/2,700 feet). In later Ottoman times, it was the chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the same name, and is now the centre of the *ilçe* or district of Simav in the *il* or province of Kütahya. One should not confuse it, as did Babinger in his *EI*[1] art., with Simāwnā in eastern Thrace, the birthplace of the early Ottoman rebel, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn b. Ḳāḍī Simāwnā [*q.v.*].

In Antiquity, it was the Synaos of western Phrygia, and vestiges of the town's classical past remain. In Byzantine times it was the seat of a bishop, and there are relics of the Byzantine citadel. In the 8th/14th century it came within the *beylik* or principality of the Germiyān Oghullarï [*q.v.*], but was ceded to the Ottoman sultan Murād I in 783/1381 (see N. Vatin, in R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, 43). Simaw was the birthplace of several well-known Ottoman scholars, such as Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī (d. 896/1491) and Ḳara Shams al-Dīn (see Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 377). It was visited by several 19th-century scholars, including Wm. Hamilton, A.D. Mordtmann Senr., K. Buresch and Th. Wiegand.

Modern Simaw was rebuilt after a fire of 1911. After the First World War, it was occupied by the Greek army from July 1921 to September 1922. Carpet-weaving has been one of its industries. In 1965 the population was 7,877.

Bibliography: *PW*, 2nd ser., iv. A.2, cols. 1326-7 (Ruge); Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, Istanbul 1935, 44-50; W.J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, ii, 124; Sh. Sāmī Frāsheri, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iv, 2625; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 222 ff.; K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, Leipzig 1898, 142 ff.; Th. Wiegand, in *Athenische Mitteilungen*, xxix (Athens 1904), 324 (with view); A.D. Mordtmann, ed. F. Babinger, *Anatolien*, Hanover 1925, 40-1; Admiralty Handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1942-3, i, 129, ii, 207, 421-2, 581; *Belediyeler yıllığı*, Ankara 1945, iii, 334-40; *IA*, art. *Simav* (Besim Darkot).

(C.E. Bosworth)

SĪMDJŪRIDS, a line of Turkish commanders and governors, originally of slave origin, for the Sāmānids in 4th/10th-century Khurāsān.

The founder, Abū ʿImrān Sīmdjūr, was the *amīr* Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad's [*q.v.*] ceremonial ink-stand bearer (*dawātī*). He became Sāmānid governor of Sīstān [*q.v.*] in 300-1/913-14 when the local dynasty of the Ṣaffārids [*q.v.*] were temporarily driven out. Thereafter, the family was prominent as governors of Khurāsān for the *amīrs*, involved in warfare with the Sāmānids' rivals in northern Persia such as the Būyids, and they acquired a territorial base of estates in Ḳuhistān [*q.v.*]. They were active in the tortuous politics and campaignings of the last decades of the Sāmānids. The last-mentioned member of the family is Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī, commander in Khurāsān till 392/1002.

Bibliography: Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vi, 351-5; Barthold, *Turkestan*; 246 ff.; Erdoğan Merçil, *Simcûrîler. I-IV*, Istanbul n.d. [*ca.* 1986], originally published in various journals; C.E. Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz*, Costa Mesa and New York 1994, 271-3; idem, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 86.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SĪMIYĀʾ, in form like *kibriyāʾ*, belongs to old Arabic beside *sīmā*, *sīmāʾ* (Ḳurʾān, XLVIII, 29 etc.; al-Bayḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, i, 326, 14, 15), in the sense "mark, sign, badge" (Lane 1476a; *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v., ed. Būlāḳ, 1282, ii, 200; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 696; *LA*, xv, 205). But the word, as a name for certain genres of magic, had a quite different derivation; in that sense it is from σημεῖα, through the Syriac *sīmya* (pl.), and means "signs, letters of the alphabet" (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 708b, and references there; Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ii, col. 2614). In Bocthor, *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, i, 154b, under *Chiromancie*, *sīmiyāʾ* is given as one of three Arabic renderings. By Barhebraeus (d. 685/1286) the Syriac and Arabic forms are used together (*Chron. Syr.*, ed. Paris, 14, 7; *Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Pococke, 33); according to these passages the science (*ʿilm*) was "invented" in the time of Moses by a certain انونيوس, which Bruns and Kirsch rendered "Eunumius", but he seems to be quite unknown. The *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, ii, 1032b, suggests a derivation from שְׁמַיָּה "name of Allāh", and the Names of Allāh certainly play a large part in *sīmiyāʾ* (Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 344, who also suggests, 102, that the form of the word has been affected by *kīmiyāʾ*; but see above).

The term, apart from this dubious sense of "chiromancy", has been and is applied to two quite different branches of magic. (1) It is very widely applied at the present day to what is often called "natural magic", but is evidently hypnotism. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 126, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 158) gives this as the third division of magic (*siḥr*) in his arrangement and says that the philosophers (*al-falāsifa*) call it *shaʿwadha* and *shaʿbadha* [*q.v.*]. Ibn Khaldūn expresses it very clearly as a working of the *nafs* of the magician on the imagination of his subject, conveying certain ideas and forms which are then transferred to the senses of the subject and objectify themselves externally in appearances which have no external reality. Well-described cases of this will be found in Lane's *Arabian nights*, ch. i, n. 15, ii, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. xii; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 452, iv, 277; Nöldeke, *Doctor und Garkoch*, 5 and *passim*. Cf. also Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 102, 345, who calls it also *nīrandj*; *Muḥīṭ*, ii, 1032b; Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, part vii, 102, and references there.

(2) The second is dealt with at length by Ibn Khaldūn in a special section (ed. Quatremère, iii, 137 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 170 ff.). In Ibn Khaldūn's time (d. 808/1405) it was called distinctly *sīmiyāʾ*. Ibn Khaldūn prefers to call it the science of the secret powers of letters (*ḥurūf* [*q.v.*]) because *sīmiyāʾ* was originally a broader term applied to the whole science of talismans and this limited use only originated in the extremist school of Ṣūfīs, who professed to be able to control (*taṣarrafa*) the material world by means of these letters and the names and figures compounded from them. It was thus considered a possible study and practice for pious Muslims. But the Ṣūfīs who took it up were of the speculative and pantheistic school and claimed control of the elemental world and power to invade its order (*khawāriḳ al-ʿāda*) and asserted that all existence descended in a certain sequence from a Unity (the Neoplatonic Chain). In their system the entelechy (*kamāl*) of the Divine Names proceeds from the help of the spirits of the spheres and of the stars, and the natures and secret powers of the letters circulate in the Names built out of them. Then they circulate similarly in the changes of transient becoming (*al-akwān*) in this world and these *akwān* pass from the first initial creation (*al-ibdāʿ*) into the different phases of that creation and express clearly its secrets. This seems to mean that letters contain the primal secrets of creation and the secret powers

which still circulate in the *akwān* and that the Divine Names and Allocutions (*kalimāt* [*q.v.*]) are produced from letters; therefore the elemental world and the *akwān* in it can be controlled by these names and allocutions when used by spiritual souls (*nufūs rabbāniyya*). That is the doctrine of al-Būnī [*q.v.*], Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*] and their followers. As to the nature and origin of this secret power in letters, there is dispute. Some assign it to an elemental nature or constitution (*mizādj*) and divide letters into four classes according to the four elements. Others ascribe it to a numerical relationship (*nisba ʿadadiyya*) based on the value of the letters as numbers (*abdjad*). Ibn Khaldūn admits that there does exist such control of the material world but it is by divine grace in the *karāmāt* [*q.v.*] of the *walīs* [*q.v.*], and when those who lack that divine grace and insight endeavour to exert the same control by means of these names and allocutions, they are in the same class as the workers of magic by means of talismans, except that they have not the scientific training and system of these magicians. They may produce effects through the influence of the human *nafs* and purpose (*himma*)—which for Ibn Khaldūn is the basis of all such working, licit and illicit—but these effects are contemptible besides those of the professional magicians. Ibn Khaldūn, therefore, disapproves of this attempt by al-Būnī and others to produce a pious and licit magic; but there is no question that al-Būnī has imposed his system upon Islam. The best description of this state of mind which sees in letters relations to the universe and a science of the universe is in Louis Massignon's *Al-Ḥallâdj*, 588 ff.; see also Doutté, 172 ff. It is evident that this is a sister phase of thought to the Jewish Ḳabbāla of the alphabetic and thaumaturgic type connected with the divine names, teaching that the science of letters is the science of the essences of things and that by letters God created and controls the world and that men by suitable knowledge of these can control material things (see C.D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, 127; art. KABBALA, by H. Loewe, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Rel. and Ethics*, vii, 622-8).

Finally, one should note that the term *sīmā*, mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (II, 273, VII, 46, 48, XLVIII, 29, LV, 41), denotes a mark of recognition of the believer, either physical (mark on the forehead from practising the Muslim worship) or moral (the result of his good or bad behaviour). Likewise in *Ḥadīth*, *sīmā*, *sīmāʾ*, denotes the distinctive mark of Muslims in relation to other peoples (*umam*) (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, 36-7) and the mark resulting from the effects of the worship on their foreheads, allowing one to distinguish them from other peoples on the Day of Resurrection (al-Tirmidhī, *Djumʿa*, 74). This term has thus no connection with *sīmiyāʾ*, a transliteration of σημεῖα, a derivative of σημεῖον, with the same sense as *sīmā*. But just as *sīmiyāʾ* evokes *siḥr* "magic, white or phantasmagoric", *sīmā* evokes *firāsa* [*q.v.*] "physiognomy". In Persian, *sīmyā* "natural magic" is distinguished from *sīmyāʾ* "mark, sign", according to Steingass, *Dictionary*, 718.

Bibliography: On *sīmiyāʾ*, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 137-61, tr. idem, iii, 188-200 (pp. 147-91 of text not tr. by him), Eng. tr. Rosenthal, iii, 182-227; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, iii, 646-7. There are several works on *sīmiyāʾ*, from which one may cite Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad al-ʿIrāḳī, known as al-Sīmāwī (7th/13th century), *ʿUyūn al-ḥadāʾiḳ wa-īḍāḥ al-ṭarāʾik*, Cairo 1321/1906; Aḥmad b. Muḥ b. al-Bannāʾ (d. *ca.* 721/1321), *ʿUyūn al-ḥadāʾiḳ fī ʿilm al-sīmiyāʾ*, B.N. of Tunis, ms. 431, fols. 131-54; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj al-Maghribī al-Tilimsānī (d. 736/1336), *R. fi 'l-Sīmiyāʾ*, Cairo, *Fihris*, vi, 418; Djīlī (d. 831/1428), *ʿUyūn al-ḥadāʾiḳ fī kull mā yuḥmal min ʿilm al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, B.N. Paris ms. 2595. There are three anonyma in the B.N., Paris: *al-Sharāsīm al-hindiyya fī ʿilm al-sīmiyāʾ*, mss. 2634-5; *al-Shaʿbadha wa 'l-sīmiyāʾ*, ms. 2595, fols. 136-48; and *Sīmiyāʾ*, ms. 2357, fols. 143-56.

On these texts, see the refs. in M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, HdO, Leiden-Cologne 1972, 391 ff.; A. Kovalenko, *Magie et Islam. Les concepts de magie (siḥr) et de sciences occultes (ʿilm al-ghayb) en Islam*, diss. Strasbourg 1979, publ. Geneva 1981, 22 ff., 434.

(D.B. MACDONALD-[T. FAHD])

SIMNĀN, a town of northern Persia (long. 53° 24' E., lat. 35° 33' N., alt. 1,138 m/3,734 ft.), in mediaeval Islamic times coming within the province of Ḳūmis [*q.v.*] and lying on the great highway connecting Rayy with the administrative centre of Ḳūmis, sc. Dāmghān [*q.v.*], and Khurāsān. To its north is situated the Elburz Mountain chain and to its south, the Great Desert.

1. History.

Simnān comes within what was the heartland of the Parthians (whose capital almost certainly was at Shahr-i Ḳūmis, southeast of Dāmghān on the Simnān road), but nothing is known of any pre-Islamic history for the town, even though legend later attributed its foundation to Ṭahmūrath (Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 161, tr. 157). At the time of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution (131/748-9) it was described as a mere village, occupied by the forces of the *dāʿī* Ḳaḥṭaba's son al-Ḥasan in the course of the march westwards in pursuit of the Umayyad governor Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2-3). In 267/880-1 the soldier of fortune Aḥmad al-Khudjistānī, who had seized Khurāsān from the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr b. al-Layth, reached as far as Simnān in an abortive attack on Rayy (*ibid.*, iii, 2008).

By the time of the 4th/10th century geographers, however, Simnān had become a flourishing town, with fertile gardens and agricultural lands watered by the stream which came down from the Elburz and ran through it. The waters were canalised and allotted to the users in rotation, and also stored in cisterns. Simnān is mentioned in the accounts of the fighting between various Caspian princes and the generals of the Sāmānids in the early 4th/10th century (see Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 191, 390). In Ghaznawid times, the local governor Abū Ḥarb Bakhtiyār carried out building works in the town (see 2. below), and although in 427/1036 it was plundered by the so-called "ʿIrāḳī" Turkmens en route for Rayy and Ādharbaydjān (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 379), by 437/1046 it must have been rebuilt enough for Nāṣir-i Khusraw to have halted there on his Pilgrimage westwards and to have had learned discussions with local scholars (*Safar-nāma*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 3, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 2-3). When Yāḳūt described Simnān (probably utilising earlier information of al-Samʿānī), there were signs of ruin and decline (*Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 251-2), which must have been intensified by the devastation in 618/1221 of the Mongol commander Sübetey (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 146-7).

Simnān has nevertheless survived as a town of moderate importance, largely because of its position on the Khurāsānian highway. It was the home town of the famous Sunnī mystic ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (659-736/1261-1336 [*q.v.*]). At the end of the 19th century, Curzon found it prosperous enough, with tobacco

grown in its environs as a cash crop and with a small colony of Hindu traders living off trade coming from Yazd and the Persian Gulf coastlands (*Persia and the Persian question*, i, 290-1).

The modern town is the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* or county in the province (*farmāndārī-yi kull*) of Simnān. It is on the Tehran-Mashhad railway and is a lively market centre for local agricultural produce and for textiles and carpets. In 1991 the town had a population of 93,715 (*Preliminary results of the census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 135; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vii, 229-31; Le Strange, *Lands*, 366; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 819-20; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 119-20; Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, iii, 157-9.

2. Monuments.

Al-Muḳaddasī, 356, visited what he describes as the fine Friday mosque in the bazaar, but the earliest surviving elements of this are from the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. They include a minaret which has an inscription of the benefactor, the *amīr* Abū Ḥarb Bakhtiyār b. Muḥammad Dāmghānī, governor of Ḳūmis under Masʿūd I of Ghazna [*q.v.*] and dateable therefore to 421-5/1030-4 (this same Bakhtiyār had previously built the Pīr-i ʿAlamdār tomb tower for his father Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad at Dāmghān and also a minaret at the Tārīk-khāna mosque there). There are also in Simnān a 6th/12th century *ḥammām*, and the *khānaḳāh* and tomb of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī, built nearly a century after his death by the Tīmūrid sultan Shāh Rukh in 828/1424. The Masdjid-i Sulṭān or M.-i Shāh, built by the Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] in 1242/1826, together with a *madrasa*, is a particularly fine example of Ḳādjār architectural and inscriptional art.

Bibliography: Pope, in *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1033, 1038; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*², London 1972, 192-3; Chahryar Adle, *Le minaret du Masjed-e Jâmeʿ de Semnân, circa 421-25/1030-34*, in *Stud. Iranica*, iv/3 (1975), 177-86; Nasratollah Mechkati, *Monuments de sites historiques de l'Iran*, Tehran n.d., 253; P. Soucek, in R. Ettinghausen and E. Yarshater (eds.), *Highlights of Persian art*, Boulder, Colo. 1979, 138-41; R. Hillenbrand, *The role of tradition in Qajar religious architecture*, in E. Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran, political, social and cultural change 1800-1925*, Edinburgh 1983, 359; Sheila S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxania*, London 1992, 7, 99-100, 102, 109.

3. Language.

The man whom Nāṣir-i Khusraw encountered at Simnān who spoke Persian with a "Daylamī" accent (*Safar-nāma, loc. cit.*), may have been reflecting the idiosyncratic speech patterns of the town. At the present day, Simnānī is a distinct dialect of New Persian, phonologically connected with the central Persian dialects but, from the point of view of morphology, it departs from these last and forms a transitional dialect with the Caspian ones. The masc. and fem. genders are distinguished in nouns; this may be by separate forms of the indefinite suffix or by the endings of the nouns in question. An oblique case is distinguished in nouns and pronouns.

Bibliography: Earlier studies by Christensen (1915), Mann (1926) and Morgenstierne (1950s and early 1960s, plus in *Hdb. der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, IV. *Iranistik*, 1, 172-3) are outdated. See now P. Lecoq, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, 307-9, cf. bibls. at 312; Mohammed-Reza Majidi, *Strukturelle Beschreibung des iranischen Dialekts der Stadt Semnan. Phonetik, Morphologie, Syntax*, Hamburg 1980. M. Sitūda published a *Farhang-i Simnānī* (Tehran 1343/1964) on Simnānī and neighbouring dialects. (C.E. Bosworth)

al-SIMNĀNĪ, Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, traditionist, Ḥanafī jurist and Ashʿarī theologian, born at a place called Simnān in ʿIrāḳ (and not at the better-known one in Ḳūmis) in 361/971-2, died at Mawṣil in Rabīʿ I 444/July 1052.

He lived mainly in Baghdād, and then in Mawṣil, where he acted as *ḳāḍī*. In *ḥadīth*, his masters included al-Dāraḳuṭnī [*q.v.*] and Naṣr b. Aḥmad al-Mawṣilī, and amongst his own disciples was al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*]. In *fiḳh*, he is said to have composed several works, whose titles are not specified. But it was as a theologian that he was known above all, displaying the rare peculiarity of being a Ḥanafī adherent of the Ashʿarī doctrine. His master in this regard was the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr al-Bāḳillānī [*q.v.*], himself a Mālikī; al-Simnānī was known as his disciple par excellence (cf. al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 301, ll. 11-12) or the main disciple (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317-21, iv, 208 l. 14, and also, al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik*, Beirut 1965, ii, 586-7). He is vigorously called to account as such by Ibn Ḥazm in the chapter of his *Fiṣal* devoted to criticism of the Ashʿariyya (iv, 206-26), in the course of which the author cites, growing indignant about it, several extracts from a work by al-Simnānī in which the latter sets forth the theses of his companions (see also *ibid.*, ii, 168, where one should read al-Simnānī for al-Samʿānī). This work, for which no title is given, most certainly differs from that preserved in the ʿUthmāniyya madrasa at Aleppo (no. 577) under the title *K. al-Bayān ʿan uṣūl al-īmān wa 'l-kashf ʿan tamwīhāt ahl al-ṭughyān*. On this important treatise of 145 fols., of which an edition remains to be done, there are some apposite references in Gardet and Anawati, *Introd. à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 73, 184-5, 365-7, 378-9 (where one should read throughout al-Simnānī for al-Sumnānī) and D. Gimaret, *Théories de l'acte humain en théologie musulmane*, Paris 1980, 93-4, 101-2, 326.

Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad's son, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad (384-466/994-1074) had a "profile" quite similar to that of his father: he was also both Ḥanafī and Ashʿarī, and also a *ḳāḍī* (but in Baghdād).

Bibliography: *T. Baghdād*, i, 355 no. 284; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. Margoliouth, fol. 310a ll. 2-9, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vii, 240; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*, ed. Ḳudsī, Damascus 1347, 259; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 156 no. 215; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 252a; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ed. Dedering, ii, 65 no. 362; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1964-76, v, 301-2; Ibn Abi 'l-Wafāʾ al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*, Ḥaydarābād 1332, ii, 21 no. 57; Ibn Ḳutlūbughā, *Tādj al-tarādjim*, Baghdād 1962, 61 no. 181; Brockelmann, S I, 636. On the son Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad, see *T. Baghdād*, iv, 382 no. 2260; Ibn al-Djawzī, viii, 287 no. 338; Ibn Abi 'l-Wafāʾ, i, 95-6. (D. Gimaret)

SIMSĀR [see dallāl].

SIMSIM, sesame, a family of plants with some 16 classes, of which *sesamum indicum* or *sesamum orientale, Pedaliaceae*, primarily qualifies for consideration. Sesame is an ancient cultivated plant, whose habitat is probably in Central Asia and which spread in the tropics and sub-tropics. The name can be derived from Akkadian *shamashshammu*, which became on the

one hand Greek σήσαμον, on the other Arabic *sumsum* and the more usual *simsim* via Hebrew *shumshōn* and Aramaic *shushmā* (and variants). An often-used synonym is *djuldjulān*, wrongly interpreted by some authors (like Ibn Baklārish, *Musta'īnī*, ms. Naples fol. 71b) as coriander (*kuzbara*). The greasy oil of sesame is indicated as *duhn al-ḥall* (*sic*, *al-khall* is wrong), as *ṣalīt djuldjulān* or *shīradj* (Persian *shīra*). The small, angular, yellow-white to black seeds are kept in elongated capsules which develop from the blossoms of the plant. In many countries, sesame is an important foodstuff. In India sesame flour is boiled into pulp, in Asia Minor and in Egypt bread and pastry are flavoured with sesame. If pressed when cold, sesame oil is liquid, odourless and of a pleasant taste. Like olive oil, it has served at all times as a valuable salad oil, and also as a substitute for butter fat (*samn*).

In medicine, sesame belongs to the softening and resolving remedies. When grilled and eaten with linseed (*badhr al-kattān*), it increases virility. It is quite efficient against breathing difficulties and asthma, as well as against coughing and hoarseness. Sesame may harm the stomach, but this can be avoided or alleviated if it is taken together with honey. Sesame herb boiled in wine is efficient against inflammation of the eye. Its oil is a remedy against raw and chapped skin and brings ulcers to ripening. Mixed with attar, it soothes headaches originating from sunburn (*iḥrāk al-shams*). It is also used in cosmetics. In the bazaars of Cairo, sesame is sold in great quantities, but, in pursuit of profit, lotus seeds (*nīlūfar*) are often deceitfully passed off as *djuldjulān miṣrī*, and the seeds of the black poppy (*khashkhāsh aswad*) as *djuldjulān al-ḥabasha*. Finally, there were also "sesame-like" plants (*sisāmuwīdā*, σησαμοειδές), a large one and a small one, which were considered as classes of a wild sesame (*simsim barrī*) (A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, iv, 138-52).

As a means to neutralise magic, sesame is already mentioned in Babylonian-Assyrian incantations. Until today, the Arabs consider sesame presses as dwelling-places of spirits. The formula "Sesame, open your door" (not "Sesame, open up") became popular through the well-known story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves from *Alf layla wa-layla* (270th night).

Bibliography: Abū Ḥanīfa, *K. al-Nabāt*, no. 528; Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xxi, 36-9 (no. 442); Maimonides, *Sharh al-'ukkār*, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 268; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmi'*, iii, 30-1 (Leclerc no. 1218); Suwaydī, *K. al-Simāt*, ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 200b; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, no. 367; Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, i, 198; M.A.H. Ducros, *Le droguier populaire arabe... du Caire*, Cairo 1930, no. 129; A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, ii, 83; idem, *Die Dioskurides-Erklärung des Ibn al-Bayṭār*, Göttingen 1991, ii, 84.

(A. Dietrich)

SĪMURGH (p.), the name of a mythical bird. There are two passages in the Avesta referring to the "bird Saēna-" (*mərəγō saēnō*; Yašt 14: 41) or the "tree of Saēna-" (*vanam yam saēnahe*; Yašt 12: 17); the latter specifies that this tree stands in the middle of Lake Vourukaša, that its name is "all-remedies" and that it bears the seeds of all plants. The word *saēna-* is etymologically identical with Sanskrit *śyenā-*, "eagle, falcon", but it is not clear from the two Avestan passages whether it designates a species of bird (though the fact that Saēna- is used elsewhere in the Avesta as a personal name supports this view), or whether it is the name of an individual supernatural bird. However, the latter is clearly the case with Middle Persian *sēn murw* ("Sēn the bird") and New Persian *sīmurgh* (which is no longer separable). In the Persian epic tradition, best recorded in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*, Sīmurgh is a gigantic creature, the special protector of Zāl, who is brought up by this bird after being abandoned by his parents, and of his son Rustam, whom it helps in his battle against Isfandiyār. Remnants of ancient Avestan conceptions can be seen in the fact that Sīmurgh's feathers have magical healing powers. On the other hand, the original function of the tree of healing seems to be inverted in the story of how Sīmurgh conveys Rustam to a far-away tree, from the branches of which he forges the fatal arrow which kills Isfandiyār. Similarly, the story of how Isfandiyār himself slays Sīmurgh must be a later accretion.

It is perhaps not surprising to see the Sīmurgh of Iranian mythology amalgamated with the Arabic *'ankā'* ("phoenix" [*q.v.*]) and even with Garuḍa, the giant bird which in Hindu mythology transports the god Viṣṇu. A striking example for this syncretism can be found in the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*; in the story of the strand birds and the sea, as told in the first book of the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*, the birds complain to their king Garuḍa; in the old Syriac translation (and evidently in its lost source in Middle Persian) Garuḍa has become *sīmur(gh)*, while in the Arabic translation by Ibn al-Mukaffa' (from the same Middle Persian original) he becomes *al-'ukāb al-'ankā'*. Similarly, in Arabic accounts of the "history" of pre-Islamic Persia (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, al-Tha'ālibī) the Sīmurgh of the Rustam story is represented by *al-'ankā'*, and conversely Arabic *'ankā'*, is often translated in Persian by *sīmurgh*.

Sīmurgh plays a role in Islamic mystical literature. The *Risālat al-ṭayr* (extant in an Arabic and a Persian version, attributed, on very questionable authority, to Muḥammad and Aḥmad al-Ghazālī respectively [see al-ghazālī, aḥmad]) uses a story of how the birds set off in search of their king, *al-'ankā'*/Sīmurgh, as an elaborate allegory for the relationship between the worshipper and God. Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār [*q.v.*] developed this story further in his Persian narrative poem *Manṭik al-ṭayr*, where it is given a pantheistic twist; through their search for God, the "thirty birds" (*sī murgh*) become of one essence with the Sīmurgh himself.

Bibliography: Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, 1548; V.F. Büchner, *EI*[1], art. *Sīmurgh* (detailed, but rather speculative); H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele. Mensch, Welt und Gott in den Geschichten des Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār*, Leiden 1955, 8-18, and index s.v. *Sīmurgh*; M. Mo'in (Mu'īn), *Sīmury*, in *Dr. J.M. Unvala memorial volume*, Bombay 1964, 18-24; M. Boyce, *A history of Zoroastrianism*, i, Leiden-Cologne 1975, 88-9, 138.

(F.C. de Blois)

SĪN and **SHĪN**, the 12th and 13th letters of the Arabic alphabet. Both letters have the same form (*rasm*), which derives from that of the Aramaic letter *shīn*, and are distinguished only by diacritics, *shīn* having three dots above, while *sīn* is in principle unpointed (*muhmal*), though in carefully written manuscripts it can be distinguished by a V-shaped sign above the letter, or else by three dots below. In the Eastern form of the *abdjad* [*q.v.*], *sīn* occupies the position of Aramaic *semkath* and, like this, has the numerical value 60, while *shīn* has the position of Aramaic *shīn* (= 300), but in the Western *abdjad*, *sīn* occupies the position of Aramaic *shīn* (= 300), while *shīn* stands at the very end with the value 1000. It is worth mentioning that *s* (*semkath*) is the only Aramaic letter which has no graphic descendant in the Arabic alphabet.

For the hypothetical common ancestor of the Semitic languages it is possible to postulate three unvoiced, non-glottalised sibilants, for which we can use the conventional symbols *s*¹, *s*² and *s*³. In most Semitic languages these have coalesced into two or even one single phoneme (in Arabic and Old Ethiopic *s*¹ merges with *s*³; in Akkadian, Ugaritic and some Canaanite dialects *s*¹ merges with *s*²; in Aramaic and modern Hebrew *s*² merges with *s*³; in modern Ethiopic languages all three are reduced to a single sibilant), but they survived as three separate phonemes in Biblical Hebrew (where they are represented by שׁ, שׂ and ס respectively), in Ancient South Arabian (which has three different characters for these sibilants) and in the modern South Arabian languages (Mehrī, Djibbālī, Soḳoṭrī, Hobyōt). In the latter the descendant of Semitic *s*¹ is a palato-alveolar [š]—with a frequent (except in Djibbālī) secondary shift to [h]—, *s*² is represented by the unvoiced lateral conventionally transcribed as [ś]—roughly like Welsh *ll*—and *s*³ by the alveolar [s]; it is probable that these were approximate realisations of the three sibilants in proto-Semitic. Already in the earliest documents in North Arabian (with the exception only of Taymanite, which appears to have retained the three Semitic sibilants), *s*¹ and *s*³ have become a single phoneme, which is represented by the South Arabian sign for *s*¹, and which in classical Arabic is continued by the phoneme represented by the letter *sīn*, while *s*² survives as the separate phoneme represented in classical Arabic by *shīn*. The etymological correspondence of Arabic *sīn* and *shīn* with the sibilants in other Semitic languages is clear and well-established; what remains uncertain is the chronology of the sound-shifts in Arabic and the precise pronunciation of the sibilants at any particular stage in the history of the language. It seems, however, that one must reckon with at least two sound-shifts: the first resulting in the merger of *s*¹ and *s*³ into one phoneme, which in remote antiquity was probably realised as [š] but in modern Arabic has become a very sharp [s]—produced with the tip of the tongue just behind the ridge of the upper teeth—, and a second, evidently more recent, shift of Semitic *s*² from a lateral [ś], perhaps via some intermediary stage, to a palato-alveolar [š].

The mediaeval grammarians give detailed phonetic descriptions of *sīn* and *shīn* which, though much discussed by modern scholars, remain rather obscure; in particular, one must ask to what extent these descriptions really reflect the pronunciation at the time of a given author and are not merely repeated from an earlier tradition. Some light on the history of Arabic pronunciation is shed by the treatment of loan-words from non-Semitic languages (the many Arabic borrowings from Aramaic are less instructive, as there is always the possibility that their form has been influenced by that of cognate Arabic roots). It can be observed that in early Arabic borrowings from Greek the σ of the latter language, though often represented by *sīn*, quite frequently appears as *ṣād* (e.g. *ḳayṣar* from χαῖσαρ, though here, velarisation as a suprasegmental feature should be considered), which would seem to indicate that the Arabic phoneme represented by *sīn* was in any case not perceived as being completely identical with the Greek or Aramaic [s], though the difference may be merely that the latter were produced with a more retracted tongue, i.e. with a tongue-position closer to that of Arabic [ṣ]. In Arabic words borrowed from Iranian languages, original [š] is, as the mediaeval philologists noted, normally represented by *sīn* (e.g. Arabic *sarāwīl*, "trousers", plural of *sirwāl*, from Middle Persian *šalwār*/*šarwāl*; Arabic *banafsadj*, "violet", from MP. *wanafšag*; also proper nouns like Arabic Sābūr for MP. Šābuhr), though in some (presumably more recent) loan-words Iranian [š] is represented by *shīn* (e.g. in *shāh*, "king [in the game of chess]"). Conversely, Arabic *sīn* is represented by Persian [š] in the early loan-word *lashkar*, "army", from Arabic *al-ʿaskar*, itself evidently borrowed (via Aramaic and Greek) from Latin *exercitus* (thus Nöldeke, *apud* S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 239; but this borrowing is not accepted by everybody, nor is it entirely clear in which direction the borrowing occurred). Such examples confirm that early Arabic *shīn* was not pronounced like the Persian palato-alveolar [š], for otherwise *shīn* would have been used consistently for its supposed Persian equivalent.

On the other hand, Sībawayh (ed. Derenbourg, ii, 376) cites the *sīn* of the above-cited word *sarāwīl* as an example for how Arabic can substitute one "letter" for another in a borrowed Persian word even in cases where the replaced letter is one that occurs also in native Arabic words; in other words, the [š] of Persian *šarwāl* was, in Sībawayh's judgement, one of the "letters of the Arabs". From this one must conclude that in the 2nd/8th century *shīn* already had its modern value [š] and that the grammarians consequently saw the substitution of [s] for [š] no longer as a case of the replacement of an unknown sound by a known one but as a phenomenon within the phonological system of Arabic.

Bibliography: C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1908-13, i, 128-30; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 24, 30, 73; J. Cantineau, *La "mutation des sifflantes" en sudarabique*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 313-23; A.F.L. Beeston, *Phonology of the Epigraphic South Arabian unvoiced sibilants*, in *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1951), 1-26; idem, *Arabian sibilants*, in *JSS*, vii (1962), 222-33 (both articles are fundamental); M.V. McDonald, *The order and phonetic value of Arabic sibilants in the "Abjad"*, in *JSS*, xix (1974), 36-46; R.C. Steiner, *The case for fricative-laterals in proto-Semitic*, New Haven 1977; A. Faber, *Genetic subgroupings in Semitic languages*, Austin 1980, 171-229 (largely misguided); A. Roman, *Étude de la phonologie et de la morphologie de la koinè arabe*, Aix en Provence 1983, i, 68, 144-7; M.C.A. Macdonald, *HU 501 and the use of s³ in Taymanite*, in *JSS*, xxxvi (1991), 11-35; idem, *On the placing of ṣ in the Maghribi abjad and the Khirbet al-Samrāʾ ABC*, in *JSS*, xxxvii (1992), 155-66. (F.C. de Blois)

ṢĪN- or ČĪN KALĀN, literally, "Great China", a name appearing in Islamic sources, e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Western travellers of the Mongol period, for the Chinese port of Canton, more generally known in Islamic sources as Khānfū [*q.v.*].

al-ṢĪN, the usual designation in mediaeval Arabic for China; properly, it means the Chinese people, but is normally used, with the prefixed *bilād*, for the land of China itself.

1. The name.

The initial consonant of the word represents the customary rendering of Persian *čīm* into early Arabic as *ṣād*. Thus the forms Čīnistān and Čīn appear in the Persian *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (*ca.* 372/982), the first form going back to the 2nd century A.D. Sogdian letters and appearing subsequently in Middle Persian and Armenian; in New Persian, the form Čīn is more common. The Arabic version al-Ṣīn appears in geo-

graphical and historical texts from the time of Ibn Khurradādhbih (mid-3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]) onwards. The origin of the name lies in that of the first of the Chinese empires, i.e. the Ch'in (Qin) (221-210 B.C.) (see V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 227).

One also finds in later Islamic sources the place name Mādjīn = Māčīn, said to be called by the Indians Mahāčīn "Great China", referring to the Northern and Southern Sung (Song) (960-1279), so that when Islamic sources link Čīn with Māčīn, the latter term refers to southern China where the Sung emperors ruled after 1127. A reminiscence of the dynastic name is to be found in the local history of Bayhaḳ by Ibn Funduḳ (later 6th/12th century), the *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ* (ed. A. Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317/ 1938, 18): *S.nḳū* = the capital of Mahāčīn.

2. The present distribution of Muslims in China and a characterisation of Islam there.

The modern People's Republic of China (PRC) contains 55 recognised ethnic minority groups, ten of which include Muslims amongst their numbers: (a) The Turkic group: Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Tatar and Salar [see the arts. on these various peoples]. (b) The Mongol group: Tung-hsiang (Dongxiang) and Puo-an (Baoan) [see MONGOLIA. Muslims in the modern Mongolian People's Republic, at the end]. (c) The Iranian group: Tadjiks. (d) The Chinese group: the Hui or native Chinese Muslims. The Turkic group and the small number of Tadjiks are essentially concentrated in what was historically Eastern Turkestan. This was only fully incorporated into the Chinese empire after a lengthy military campaign in the mid-18th century, and is now the Hsin-chiang (Sinkiang or Xinjiang) Uighur Autonomous Region, comprising about one-sixth of the total area of the Chinese Republic and its largest administrative unit. It contains over half of the Muslims in the Republic as a whole. For this region, see SINKIANG, and for its peoples and languages, see also TURKS.

These facts show that Islam in China, although with indigenous Hui elements in various regions, such as Yün-nan (Yunan), Sichuan (Ssu-chuan, or Szechuan), Shan-tung (Shandong), Shan-si (Shanxi), Shensi (Shaanxi), Kan-su (Gansu), Ning-hsia (Ningxia), Hu-nan (Henan) and T'in-fang (Tianfang) is essentially a religion of the western lands lying between Tibet and Mongolia and of the interiors, rather than of the eastern coastlands. Hence Chinese Islam has over the centuries only been able sporadically to keep in touch with the main centres of Muslim piety and scholarship outside China, such as Western Turkestan, the Iranian world and Muslim India. Maritime contacts, e.g. with the very numerous Muslims of Indonesia, have been minimal in recent centuries, after European naval powers like the Portuguese, Dutch and British took control of the Indian Ocean and China Seas. On the other hand, Chinese Muslims have always had a consciousness that the focus of their faith lay in the "Western lands", the *T'ien fang* or "celestial region", and have endeavoured to send a trickle at least of believers for the Arabian Pilgrimage. This has increased in recent years, with a slackening in the anti-religious stance of the Chinese Communist government and the diplomatic need to cultivate Muslim powers of the Middle East, Africa, etc.; in 1983 over 1,000 pilgrims went to Mecca (see further below, 4).

A consequence of geographical isolation has been intellectual impoverishment; at the present time, Kansu, traditionally a concentration-point for Muslims, has the lowest literacy rate (2%) of all China's eighteen provinces. No contributions to Muslim culture or scholarship of any significance have ever come out of China. Up to the 20th century, the sole religious knowledge of the Hui Muslim leaders, the *Ahongs* (< Persian *ākhūnd*) or Imāms, was often of a few Ḳurʾānic texts and prayers. Only in the last few years, with the ending of the Cultural Revolution and its excesses, have *madrasas* been allowed to cater for increased numbers of students and potential religious leaders, with *Ahongs* being allowed to study abroad, in e.g. Pakistan. It was not really till the 18th and 19th centuries (the first Chinese Muslim literature seems to date from *ca.* 1600) that there grew up a Muslim apologetic literature in Chinese emphasising the faith and trying to demonstrate a certain degree of conformableness to the mainstream of Han Chinese culture and traditional Confucian religion, with which Chinese Islam was always in a state of tension and, at times, of outright rebellion. It was at this time, too, that Chinese translations from Arabic and Persian religious literature were made, the first complete Chinese translation of the Ḳurʾān being that by Tu Wen-hsiu [*q.v.*] (Du Wenxiu), leader of the western Yunnan Muslim rebels in the Panthay [*q.v.*] revolt of 1855-73 [see AL-ḲURʾĀN. 9. Translation of the Ḳurʾān, 4]. Nevertheless, despite all such handicaps, the faith has survived in China and despite the repression of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, retains its place, so far as one can now discern, as one of the active and flourishing religions of China.

Reliable population statistics for the Muslims of China have never been easy to obtain. Estimates in the early part of the 20th century, as attempted by M. Broomhall (*Islam in China, a neglected problem*, Shanghai 1910, repr. London 1987, and the French military mission whose findings were published as *Mission d'Ollone 1906-1909, recherches sur les musulmans chinois*, Paris 1911, could only be tentative, but tended to show that their numbers had at that period been often much exaggerated. In the modern Peoples' Republic of China (PRC), an often-cited, semi-official estimate (1995) is 16 to 18 millions, with 7 to 8 millions of these being Hui.

Bibliography: See also G.F. Andrews, *The crescent in north-west China*, London *ca.* 1921, and the articles on the various Muslim nationalities of China in R.V. Weekes (ed.), *Muslim peoples, a world demographic survey*², London 1884; M. Dillion, *Islam in China*, in Azim Nanji (ed.), *The Muslim almanac*, Detroit 1996, 91-105. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

3. Geographical and historical information to the year *ca.* A.D. 1050.

The early connections of the pre-Islamic Near East with China were primarily commercial, involving above all the silk trade, carried on by land through eastern Persia, Transoxania, the Tarim basin (with a route along its northern rim passing through Ḳuča and Ḳarashahr and one along the southern rim through Yarkand and Khotan) and the Kansu corridor to northwestern China. The native Chinese seem to have brought their goods only to the western borders of their empire, and the great carriers of the trade across Inner Asia were the Western Turks or Kök Türks—in Chinese, T'u-chueh (Tujue)—and, above all, the Indo-European peoples of the Tarim basin, such as the Tokharians and the Khotanese, and the Sogdians of Transoxania, whose colonies were spread out along the route and into China itself (on the silk trade here, see A. Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, Quellen und Vorschlagen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Berlin 1910, repr. Tient-

sin 1941; W. Watson, ch. *Iran and China*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iii/1, 537-58). The main consumers of silk goods in the Near East were the Sāsānid Persians and the Byzantines, both of whom required a steady inflow of silk textiles for their elaborate court ceremonial and, in the latter case, for religious ceremonies. In the later 6th century, the Western Turks under their Ḳag͟han or Yabg͟hu Istemi (in the Byzantine historian Menander Protector, Silzibul < Yabg͟hu) and his son and successor Tardu—in Chinese, Ta-t'u (Datu)—endeavoured to bypass the Persians, who claimed to act as sole intermediaries in the trade, and to deal directly with Byzantium, and diplomatic missions took place between the Kag͟hans and the Emperors Justin II and Tiberius II (see on these, R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*[4], Paris 1951, 128-30, Eng. tr. *The empire of the steppes. A history of Central Asia*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1970, 83-5; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. I. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*[2], Berlin 1958).

We have numerous accounts of the relations of the Islamic world with China, which in part prove to be very accurate. To the Arab geographers, China was the land of the unknown and mysterious, into which only the boldest might venture. It must be noted that even in the oldest Arab geographers, who deal with China, that have survived for us, the connection of South and North China is known; it is one and the same land whose coasts are washed by the Indian Ocean (*Baḥr Fāris, Baḥr al-Hind* [*q.vv.*]) and whose mountains are connected with the mountains of Farg͟hāna and their continuation; so we are told by al-Balk͟hī in al-Iṣṭak͟hrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal (sea-coasts, 40, 193; mountains, 109, 249). What the tradition of the Muslims of China itself tells us about the earliest connections of China and western Asia, is legendary, although it is stated in numerous monuments in stone. It deals with the famous companion of the Prophet Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], whom it makes a maternal uncle of Muḥammad and whose grave in Canton (Guangzhou) is revered, although he really never came to China (de Thiersant mentions the name Wahb Abū Kabs͟ha in addition to Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, without sufficient authority, cf. Broomhall, *Islam in China*, 76 ff.). Tradition also tells of the bringing of Islam to China by land via Hami (Ḳumul) by Arab envoys and the exchange of 3,000 Arab and Chinese soldiers as a result of a dream of the Emperor T'ai-tsung (Taizong) (A.D. 626-49). These legends have been collected by de Thiersant and, more critically, by Devéria, *Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine*. The oldest document on the beginnings of Islam in China is a stele in the chief mosque of Hsi-an (Si'an, or Xi'an), which under the name of Ch'ang-an (Chang'an) was the principal capital of the T'ang (Tang) emperors, K͟humdān of the early Islamic sources (see below), situated on the River Wei, a tributary of the Yellow River. This stele professes to have been erected in A.D. 742. According to this, Islam must have been known in China under Won-ti (Wonti), first emperor of the Sai Tien-ch'e (Sai Dianche) dynasty (A.D. 581-604). Equally impossible dates for the introduction into China of Islam are given in other places also. In any case, the inscription is a palpable forgery. It was probably erected when the mosque was repaired, possibly at the renovations undertaken in the Yüan or Mongol period by Sai Tien-ch'e (Sayyid-i Ad̲j̲all, see below). The Chinese official tradition found in the dynastic histories is not much more reliable than that of Chinese Islam. These also are full of legendary matter, profoundly influenced by national pride and compiled with a lack of critical judgement; nevertheless, they cannot be entirely neglected as they contain a few geographical and linguistic data. One should note also that, in the older Chinese literature, the land of the Muslims is called *Ta-shih* (*Dashi*), i.e. *Tād̲j̲ik* (*tād̲j̲ik* being the Middle Persian form of the modern Persian *tāzī*; it is the Persianised form of the Syriac *ṭayyāyē*, properly "Arab of the tribe of Ṭayyi'". The change in meaning is explained by the fact that once the Muslim Ṭayyi' Arabs were regarded by one body of Persians as the representatives of the Arab world, their name was extended to all Arabs and thus came to mean "Arab" or "Muslim". Later, they learned to distinguish more accurately between various branches of Muslims and *tād̲j̲ik* again became limited in application and was applied to the Muslim inhabitants of northeastern Persia; see TĀD̲J̲IK).

The Arabic sources are much better. We have such splendid works as al-Ṭabarī's history, which gives us all the material available in his time so that we can reconstruct the history for ourselves; it is improbable that any important notices from older times have escaped him. The Arabic sources afford a check on the Chinese ones, which we cannot afford to neglect; they are quite silent regarding the legends handed down by the traditions of indigenous Chinese Islam.

The Arab geographers are of particular importance. While no exact definition of the locality of China or its chief towns is given by the historians, the geographers by the very nature of their works have to give this information. Striking differences are found when one compares the different authors, according to the views prevailing when they wrote. Particularly striking is the utter disagreement between the statements of Ibn Rusta [*q.v.*] (who wrote his *al-A'lāḳ al-nafīsa ca.* 290/903) and al-Mas'ūdī (who wrote his geographical work *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-is̲h̲rāf* in 344-5/955-6). According to Ibn Rusta (96, l. 5), the first clime begins in the east in the farthest borders of China, passes over China, thence over the coast lands in the south of the land of Sind, etc.; the second clime begins (96, ll. 13 ff.) in the east, passes over China, thence over India and thence to the land of Sind, etc.; the third clime (97, ll. 1 ff.) begins in the east passes over northern China, then over India, etc.; Tibet is the first station of the fourth clime (97, l. 12); the fifth clime begins in the land of Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ in the east (98, ll. 3 ff.) and passes immediately into northern K͟hurāsān; the sixth clime begins in the land of Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ and passes over the land of the K͟hazars; the seventh clime (98, ll. 13 ff.) begins in the east with the northern Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲, passes over the land of the Turks, the coast lands of the Caspian Sea, etc.; Ibn Rusta adds (98, ll. 16 ff.); "what lies behind these climes, in addition to the inhabited areas enumerated by us, begins in the east with the land of Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲, then passes over the land of the Tog͟huzg͟huz (i.e. Tog͟huz Og͟huz [*q.v.*], the 'Nine Og͟huz) and the land of the Turks, then over the land of the Alahs, then over the Abars (the land of the Avars), then over Burd̲j̲ān or Burčān (the land of the Danubian or "Inner" Bulg͟hārs) and the Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*] (the land of the Slavs) and ends in the Western Ocean". It is clear from this sketch that Ibn Rusta and his contemporaries only knew of South China, which was only reached by sea; China is a country by the sea, and so he speaks (83, ll. 15 ff.) of the Sea of the Indians, Persians and Chinese. When he says (87, ll. 19 ff.): "The Sea of the Indians is bounded on the east side [at the beginning] by the island of Tīzmakrān, at the end by China and is

bounded on the west side at the beginning by the Gulf of Aden, at the end by Java", he evidently means that the Indian Ocean is divided into an eastern and a western section, the first of which ends on the one side at the island of Tīzmakrān and on the other at China, which is a vast expanse of land reaching in the north to the land of Tibet in the fourth clime and to the land of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj in the fifth to seventh climes. Characteristic of Ibn Rusta's views is also the statement (88, l. 24, 89, l. 1) that the sea on which one sails from Baṣra to China is one sea and one water reaching to China, in which India also is situated. It was, however, thought that there were really seven seas, each of which had its characteristic features, such as different winds, different taste, different colour and different animals; on this opinion, cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj* i, 325 = § 356, where it is stated that the sea is one but is to be navigated in different ways in different parts (this point is not raised in Ibn Rusta, 88, ll. 11 ff., where probably *al-zābadj* should be read for *al-ṣīn*). Ibn Rusta unconcernedly makes another land adjoin China, sc. Japan and Korea. He says, 82, l. 23, 83, l. 1: "Every Muslim who enters a land at the end of China, which is called al-Sīlā and where there is much gold, settles there and never comes back again from it"; we are also told elsewhere of Muslims who had come to al-Sīlā (Silla was the name of the dependent kingdom of Korea during T'ang times).

Al-Mas'ūdī is better informed, though there are many confusions in his account of the climes (*Tanbīh*, 32 ff.). It is in the main based on a knowledge of the northerly situation of China; according to the general view (31 ff.), the sixth clime is particularly associated with Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj and the seventh with the *Yawamāris* (?) and the Chinese; on the other hand, we find the other view manifesting itself on 26, ll. 3 ff., where China and Korea are regarded the last inhabited areas in the east: "the farthest outposts of civilisation in the east are the frontiers of China and al-Sīlā (or al-Shīla [*q.v.*], i.e. Korea), up to where they end in the wall of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, which Alexander built, and the mountains behind, through the ravines of which the wall runs; Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj used to sweep down on the plains from there. The beginning of this wall is outside the habitable region in the seventh clime ... it then takes a southward direction and runs right along till it finally reaches the Sea of Darkness. In the caliphate of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7) there had allegedly been an embassy from the court in Sāmarrā' to the wall of Gog and Magog led by one Sallām the Interpreter. See M.J. de Goeje, *De muur van Gog en Magog*, Leiden 1888; C.E. Wilson, *The wall of Alexander against Gog and Magog, and the expedition sent out to find it by the Khalif Wāthiq in 842 A.D.*, in *F. Hirth anniversary volume* = *Asia Major*, introductory vol., ed. B. Schindler, London 1927, 575-612.

Al-Mas'ūdī also knows that India and China are near one another: "thither go ships of the Muslims, who on the voyage thither and to Djidda and al-Ḳulzum are attacked by the pirates of the land of Sind ... on *bawāridj*, which are like the *shawānī* of the Mediterranean" (55, ll. 9 ff.). Al-Mas'ūdī gives more information about China in his *Murūdj al-dhahab* (written in 332/943, revised in 336/947 and again in 345/956). There was no longer a direct connection by sea in his time but ships came from either side to Galla (Point de Galle), which was almost the halfway point, from which Chinese ships sailed to Khānfū (Canton): "in olden times it was otherwise, when the Chinese ships sailed to the land of 'Umān in Sīrāf, the coasts of Fārs and Baḥrayn, to Ubulla and Baṣra, and ships from these places likewise traded directly with China: it was only after justice could not longer be relied on and the above-described state of affairs in China had come about that they began to meet at this intermediate point" (i, 308 = § 336). The journey was actually undertaken by this route by a contemporary of al-Mas'ūdī's, a merchant of Samarḳand, whose experiences al-Mas'ūdī gives (i, 307-12 = §§ 336-41), while a Ḳurashī in the time of the revolt of the Zandj in Baṣra (255-65/869-79) sailed from Baṣra to India, thence proceeded partly by water and partly by land to China and landed at Khānfū, from which he visited the Emperor in his residence Khumdān (*ibid.*) (but the capital city in T'ang times was Ch'ang-an (Chang'an), hence there is a problem here). In i, 303 = § 329, Khānfū is also mentioned as an important commercial town, up to which ships from Baṣra, 'Umān, Sīrāf, the towns of India, the islands of al-Zābadj and al-Ṣanf sail from the mouth of the river, some six or seven days' journey distant (on al-Zābadj, see *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 163-4, comm. 472-3; according to Minorsky, the form stems from *Javaga "Javanese", the term being applied by Islamic writers at various times to Java, Sumatra and the whole of the Sunda archipelago; on al-Ṣanf = Čampa in South-East Asia, see AL-ṢANF and also ČAM).

The roads leading to China have been most fully described by the oldest Arab geographer whose work has survived, Ibn Khurradādhbih, who held the office of chief superintendent of roads, in his *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* written around the middle of the 3rd/9th century. According to him, relations with China were principally maintained by sea, and his account of the ports of South China is surprisingly thorough. After giving the route of the traveller to China from Baṣra to al-Ṣanf on the coast, three days' journey from Ḳumār, he continues (69, ll. 1-19): "from al-Ṣanf to Lūḳīn, which is the first harbour in China, is 100 *farsakhs* by land and water ... from Lūḳīn to Khānfū, which is the largest port, is a journey of four days by sea and of twenty days by land ... from Khānfū to Khāndjū is an eight days' journey ... from Khāndjū to Ḳānṣū is a journey of twenty days ... every harbour of China has a large river which the ships sail into; there is ebb and flow of the tide there. ... The length of China along the coast from Armābīl to the end of the land is a journey of two months. There are 300 flourishing towns in China, ninety of which are particularly renowned: the [northern] frontier of China runs from the sea to Tibet and the land of the Turks, in the west to India; to the east of China is the land al-Wakwak, rich in gold ... (70, ll. 7 ff.) (on Wāḳwāḳ, concerning which there is utter confusion in the Arabic sources between a Wāḳwāḳ on the East African coast and a Wāḳwāḳ = Sumatra, "the gold island", at the side of other names for this last like Zābadj and Fanṣūr, see the art. s.v.). At the end of China opposite Ḳānṣū, there are many mountains and many kings, this is the land of al-Sīlā, where is much gold; the Muslims who enter this land settle in it on account of its attractions (cf. the account of Ibn Rusta above); it is not known what lies beyond". The whole route from Ceylon to Ḳānṣū is discussed by A. Sprenger in his *Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864, 82 ff. (on the route to Ceylon, it should be noted that "the harbour between 'Umān and China" is not a place called Kila, to be identified with the town of Malacca, but Galla, which still survives in Point de Galle, see above). Al-Ṣanf he

identifies (with Reinaud and Peschel) with Čampa, i.e., the southern part of Cochin China, and locates Lūḳīn at the mouth of the Songkoi. As to the latter part of the route, one should note that Khānfū is undoubtedly Canton (Guangzhou), and Ḳānsū, in which we readily recognise the Khansā of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, is clearly Hang-chou (Hangzhou, or Hangchow), and Khāndjū should be identified as Ch'üan-chou, with Khāndjū a copyist's mistake for *Djāndjū*; this would agree with the distance, and we would then have evidence of the existence of Zaytūn, afterwards so important, in this period.

Ibn Khurradādhbih was, however, also acquainted with the land-routes to China. He only briefly describes the route followed by the Jewish Rādhān merchants [see AL-RĀDHĀNIYYA] in connection with the route followed by them by sea from the land of the Franks (Mediterranean—al-Faramā—carrying their goods on their backs over the isthmus to al-Ḳulzum = Suez) (153, ll. 13-15) "beyond Rūm into the land of the Slavs, then to Khamlīdj, the capital of the Khazars, then across the Caspian Sea, then to Balkh and Transoxania, then to the *wurut* (i.e. *yurt* 'pasture-grounds') of the Toghuzghuz and thence to China". He is much more detailed in describing the roads which lead from Transoxania to the east, and gives a vivid picture of a journey by the main route from the lands of the west to the east (178 ff.). At the ford on the upper course of the Oxus where it separates the Pamirs from Ṭukhāristān (Badakhshān), the Turks used to wait on the Pamir side and watch for foreign merchants appearing and signalling to them on the summit of the mountains opposite; they crossed the river and brought back the strangers and their goods to set them on their journey again to China or to India; he describes in thrilling fashion the skill with which these mountain Turks travelled through the great deserts of rocks where no path was visible; this agrees pretty closely with what modern travellers tell us about the Pamir districts of Darwāz and Shughnān, which is the locality referred to by Ibn Khurradādhbih; even the name has survived, for we may easily recognise Shughnān in the *Shikinān* of Ibn Khurradādhbih (179), who calls the Turks of this district *Shikīna* (178, 15) and gives the name of the district in the form *Shikinān* (37, 173). When Ibn Khurradādhbih calls the *Shigīna* Turks (178, ll. 15: *al-Turk alladhīna yusammawna Shigīna*), he is using the word in a very general sense; the inhabitants of Shughnān as well as of the whole of the rest of Ṭukhāristān were certainly Indo-Iranians and probably spoke the same dialect (*Shughnī*) as they do at the present day [see further, SHUGHNĀN].

Ibn Khurradādhbih's account makes it quite clear how distinctly the difference between China and the land of the Turks was understood in his time. This is all the more remarkable, as in his time the influence of China in the Turkish lands between China proper and the T'ienshan (Tianshan) was still significant; the Khāḳān and the lesser Turkish princes were regarded by China as vassals, and these princes endeavoured to place themselves under the protection of the Chinese Emperor or *Faghfūr* [*q.v.*] when threatened, e.g. by the Arabs. Through contacts with the harbours of China, the Muslims were well enough acquainted with the characteristics of the Chinese to understand the differences between them and the Turks. The division of the earth into four continents by Ibn Khurradādhbih is characteristic (155): Arūfā (Europe), Lūbiya (Africa), Ityūfiyā (Ethiopia) with Tihāma, Yemen, Sind, India and China, and Isḳūtiya (?) with Armenia, Khurāsān, the land of the Turks and the land of the Khazars, which cuts up Asia in a peculiar fashion.

There are also other important extant sources of information on the connections by sea, namely the accounts collected by Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī in his *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948. Though the first part of this work is merely a repetition of the notes compiled in 237/851 by Sulaymān the Merchant (Reinaud, *Relations de voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et dans la Chine*, Paris 1845, ii, 61), supplemented by Abū Zayd's own materials, the second part deals with the changes that had taken place in commerce by sea, in their relation to history and gives the narrative of the Ḳurashī Ibn Wahb (of the family of Habbār). This narrative is of no geographical importance: only two towns are fully dealt with, *viz.* Khānfū, which has just been discussed above and shown to be Canton, and Khumdān or Khamdān (= *Khān* "Emperor" + *t'ang* "court"?) the capital of the empire, Hsi-an fu (Xi'an fu), which Ibn Wahb visited. In the *Akhbār*, Khānfū is the great centre of trade between the Arabs (the word is of course not to be taken literally, but means Muslims generally) and the Chinese; on account of the frequent fires and shipwrecks, the goods exposed were not numerous, however; trade was also seriously hampered by piracy (ed. Sauvaget, § 11); Sulaymān is quoted as authority for the statement that a Muslim was appointed law-giver to the Muslim colony by the King of China; this judge was also *Imām* and prayed for the caliph. His decisions were universally respected (§ 12). The voyage from the Gulf to Khānfū was made in fresh water (§§ 13 ff.); the Chinese governor of Khānfū bore the title *dayfū* = *t'ai fu* (*taifu*) (§ 37); the revolt of the Banshua was a disastrous period in the history of Khānfū; he attacked the town which lay in the interior, a few days' journey from the coast, on a large river; this was in 264/878; after the capture of the town by the rebels over 120,000 souls perished from among the foreigners alone, Muslims, Christians, Jews and Magians; it was possibly this blow to Khānfū which brought Ch'üan-chou (Quanzhou), the nearest commercial town to the north, to the front. Lastly, Abū Zayd tells of a native Khurāsānī, who came with his wares to Khānfū and from there visited the capital Khumdān, more than two months journey distant.

It is not till a later period that the seaport of Zaytūn appears in Arabic literature, probably for the first time in Ibn Sa'īd, whose statements Abu 'l-Fidā' (365, tr. in Reinaud, ii, 124) utilised along with those of one who had been there, probably a fellow countryman and subject. It is next described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 268-72, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, 894-5), who first stepped ashore on Chinese soil at Zaytūn. Zaytūn (i.e. Ch'üan-chou-fu or Quanzhou, near Amoy (Hsiamen, or Xiamen), in Fukien or Fujian province) had an enormous harbour where the Moroccan traveller saw a hundred large junks and innumerable smaller ones. The Muslims lived in a separate town of their own, with a *ḳāḍī*, a *shaykh al-Islām*, a Ṣūfī convent and a colony of leading merchants who, to judge by their *nisbas*, were all Persians. He made Zaytūn his base for further journeys in China, e.g. to Ṣīn Kalān or Ṣīn al-Ṣīn or Canton (i.e. Khānfū), then after a return to Zaytūn, by river to Ḳandjanfū, a large city on a plain (? Fu-chou, or Fuzhou, Foochow, further north on the Fukien coast), which again had a Muslim colony with its *shaykh*. Then he went via al-Khansā

(Hang-chou-fu or Hangzhou, Hangchow), Marco Polo's Kinsai, in Chekiang province, which had a large Muslim community, including a merchant descended from the Caliph ʿUthmān and a group of Ṣūfīs; and then to the capital of the Yüan, Khān Bāliḳ (Peking) also said to be called Khāniḳū (read Khānfū, hence a confusion with the name for Canton?). The lengthy florescence and importance of a Muslim Arab and Persian colony at Zaytūn is further attested by the survival there of several hundred mosque and tombstone inscriptions in Arabic script, mostly in Arabic language but with some in Persian and with some Arabic-Chinese bilingual ones, dating from the 7th to the 15th century. See Chen Da-sheng, *Islamic inscriptions in Quanzhou* (*Zaitun*), tr. Chen En-ming and Zheng De-chao, Ningxia and Fujian 1984; R.B. Serjeant, *Yemenis in mediaeval Quanzhou* (*Canton*) [*sic*], in *New Arabian Studies*, i, Exeter 1993, 231-4.

The land route connecting Transoxania with China via Inner Asia figures in the travel account, his first *Risāla*, of the Arab author Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*], purporting to describe his membership of an embassy *ca.* 331/943 to the King of China, Ḳālīn b. al-Shakhīr (Minorsky suggested for this last component of the name **Čaḳir* = Tkish. *čaghrï* "falcon") from the Sāmānid Amīr of Bukhārā, who refused to give a daughter in marriage to an infidel but allowed his son to marry a Chinese princess. The embassy travelled to Sandābil [*q.v.*], which Marquart identified (*Streifzüge*, 85-90) with Kansu or Kan-ču, capital of the eastern, so-called "Yellow" (*Sarï*) Uyghurs, whose head was recognised as Khān by the Chinese Emperor (see A. von Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abû Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestân, China und Indien neu übersetzt und untersucht*, Bonn, 1939, tr. 25-30, comm. 56-60). Unfortunately, Abū Dulaf's *Risāla* contains so many fanciful elements and problems of itinerary that it cannot be relied upon for firm evidence of Sāmānid-Chinese relations at this time.

Very important, however, for such considerations as these is the information in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (tr. Minorsky, 83-6, comm. 223-35) and in the geographical-ethnographical section of the *K. Zayn al-akhbār* of the Ghaznawid historian Gardīzī [*q.v.*], who wrote in the mid-5th/11th century (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 268-71; the significance of this passage was first noted and translated by Barthold in his *Otčet o poyezdkie v Sredniyu Aziyu 1893-1894*, St. Petersburg 1897, 92-4). These two sources are the first Islamic ones to speak of China and Tibet [see for this last, TUBBAT. 1] in any detail, and though they have many resemblances, they do not entirely coincide. Minorsky surmised, with great probability, that they both went back to the lost geographical work of the Sāmānid vizier Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Djayhānī [see AL-DJAYHĀNĪ, in Suppl.]. Both sources give roughly the same itinerary for the land route to China. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* notes that the Chinese monarch was called the Faghfūr-i Čīn, and was said to be a *shamanī* (? Buddhist). His capital was at Khumdān (Ch'ang-an fu, Hsi-an-fu), although after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 907 it was transferred elsewhere. China is said to have nine large provinces, but the places mentioned, apart from the capital, tend to be in the Tarim basin-Kansu region rather than in China proper further to the east and south. Gardīzī, however, was by his time aware that there were many kings in China, "of whom the greatest is the Faghfūr", thus reflecting the post-T'ang political divisions of the land. The statement in both sources that the main religion of China was Manicheism can only, of course, reflect the state of affairs amongst the eastern Uyghurs on the western fringes of the Chinese empire proper (see above).

Writing some 70 years after Gardīzī, in *ca.* 514/1120, the section on China in Marwazī [*q.v.*] is less concerned with itineraries and places than with ethnological and sociological details plus an emphasis on the importance of trade and manufactures for the Chinese (Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, tr. 13-27, comm. 61-92). Chinese artisans had long been famed in the Islamic world for their aptitudes; thus al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*] praises their fine silk textiles and their porcelain, and states that "The Arabs used to call every delicately or curiously made vessel and such like, whatever its real origin, 'Chinese', because finely-made things are a speciality of China" (*Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1968, 141-2). This fame of Chinese technical skills may go back to the capture of Chinese paper-makers at the battle of Talas in 133/752 and the consequent establishment by means of these workers of paper manufacture at Samarḳand (see *ibid.*, 140, and KĀGHAD).

From all these accounts, there emerges that the road from Turfan via the Kansu corridor to north-western China was always the main land route for diplomatic and commercial contacts with China up to the Mongol period. It appears that, in the 13th century, the Mongol Great Khāns tended to take a more northerly route from their *ordo* at Karakorum [*q.v.*] in Mongolia, one going north of the T'ienshan via Bishbalïḳ, Almalïḳ, Talas and Sayram [*q.vv.*] to the Sīr Daryā valley, though much of the traffic in the Mongol period was military rather than commercial.

The above analysis of the accounts of the land of China by Islamic writers will facilitate the investigation of the history of Islam in China. For the older period, this investigation must be undertaken in two quite separate fields. The two routes by which Islam came to China were quite different in character and object: the land route, which led into northern China, brought Islam into the western parts of the northern kingdom only, and did not send out colonies to the coast; the route by sea ran along the coast of China as far as Hangchow, founding colonies everywhere, which carefully avoided any attempt to advance into the interior. This was one of the features of the advance of Islam; when it came by water, it remained on the coast, and when it came by land, it remained in the interior. The maritime contacts of the Islamic lands of Western Asia and China remained strong well into the Yüan period of Chinese history (1260-1368), and probably into that of the early Ming (1368-1644), but as noted in 2. above, the appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and the China Seas during the 16th century severed this connection; thereafter, Islamic-Chinese contacts were to be almost entirely by the land route, and it is now the Hui Muslim communities of western and northwestern China which become significant for Chinese imperial history.

The story of the maritime contacts has largely emerged from the geographers' and travellers' accounts detailed above. However, for the story of political and military relations via the land route across Inner Asia, one needs to go back to the early decades of Islam.

The earliest notices of the relations of Islam with China that are worthy of mention, are connected with the political events which arose out of the expansion of Islam. Fīrūz, son of the last Sāsānid king, Yazdigird III, had fled to China after his father's death in 651 [see SĀSĀNIDS] and had sought to persuade the Emperor

to take action on his behalf. His prospects seemed on the whole not unfavourable, as an important dynastic change had just been accomplished in China at this time; the Sui Dynasty had been superseded by the T'ang (A.D. 618), whose first emperors were pursuing an energetic career of conquest. Muḥammad and his successors were similarly engaged in the west. The fact that the huge mountain wall of the T'ienshan formed a barrier between these two new powers, and that on the Chinese side between it and China proper lay the inhospitable Tarim basin, did not prevent Muslim legend from supposing that the Prophet and his companions entered into relationships with the distant empire. According to an oft-repeated tradition (see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 270-1, Eng. tr. Barber and Stern, i, 245-6), Muḥammad issued a warning against provoking the Turks, whose name he possibly did not even know. Such stories are later inventions, whose object it was to increase the prestige of the Messenger of God by crediting him with foreseeing later events. The Chinese were accustomed to hold aloof when, under exceptional circumstances, strangers entered their territories or when their armies would have to be sent beyond the natural frontier. They followed this policy in the case of Fīrūz, son of Yazdigird. The Emperor T'ai-tsung (Taizong) refused his request for help (this we may assume from al-Ṭabarī, i, 2685-6, even if the report of the envoy is legendary; cf. i, 2876). Islam, on the other hand, began to expand eastwards from Khurāsān, and by 94/713 the great general Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] had led an army out of the conquered Farghāna across the mountains into the adjoining land of the Turks. His campaign was unsuccessful; the comparison of the original authorities in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1275-9, shows that his expedition did not result in the conquest of Kāshghar, a conclusion confirmed by H.A.R. Gibb (*The Arab invasion of Kashghar in A.D. 715*, in *BSOS*, ii [1923], 467-74).

There are various mentions in the T'ang annals of diplomatic contacts and military clashes with the Arabs during the 8th century A.D. in the Central Asian region, over which the Emperors claimed a general suzerainty, and records of appeals for aid from the Soghdian city-states of Transoxania now threatened by the Arabs [see MĀ WARĀ' AL-NAHR. 2]. Thus in A.D. 715 the Tibetans and Arabs are said to have attacked, in concert, Farghāna, provoking the Chinese governor in Kāshghar to send a punitive expedition to extend Chinese overlordship in the province. But the Chinese failed to maintain their position in Transoxania, and three or four decades later, in 133/751, the Arab general Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ defeated the imperial army under Kao Hsien-chih (Gao Xianzhi) at the battle of Talas, determining the future orientation of Transoxania, that it was to become an integral part of the Islamic and not the Chinese world, and deterring the Chinese from ever again intervening there militarily. China was in fact racked by internal revolts from 751 onwards. The Emperor Hsüan-tsung (Xuanzong) fled from his capital to Szechuan, but his son and successor Su-tsung (Suzong) recaptured Ch'ang-an with the aid of troops from Kāshghar, Farghāna and the upper Oxus lands, including Arabs; in the Chinese annals these last are said to have been lent by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr. Gibb pointed out (*Chinese records of the Arabs in Central Asia*, in *BSOS*, ii [1923], 615-22) that there is no mention of any of the episode in the Arab historians and that the so-called "Arabs" must have mercenaries and adventurers, who probably subsequently settled in China and may have formed a nucleus for the spread of Islam there. The Arabic sources are equally silent about what was a long series of Arab diplomatic missions mentioned as being received at the T'ang court from 716 onwards (detailed in E. Chavannes, *Notes additionelles sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, in *T'oung Pao*, v [1904], 32 ff.); there seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of this information, but the embassies were probably sent by the governors of Khurāsān rather than directly by caliphs.

From the 3rd/9th century onwards, overland connections between the Arab Persian governors of Khurāsān and the successor-states there to the caliphate (e.g. those of the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids [*q.vv.*]) and China, tended to be blocked by the constituting of powerful Turkish states like those of the Uyghurs of Eastern Turkestan and Mongolia, with their capital on the Orkhon river (till A.D. 840), and, in the 4th/10th century, the ascendancy of the Ḳarluḳ Turks [*q.v.*] and the Ilig Khāns or Ḳarakhānids which almost certainly arose out of them. Hence contacts were only sporadic. From this period, we know of the possible embassy to the Emperor of China sent by the Sāmānid Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad in response to a Chinese approach (see above), and of a more historically-attested embassy from the rulers of Ḳitā and of the Uyghurs to Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 417/1026 (Gardīzī, ed. Ḥabībī, 191) or in 418/1027 (Marwazī, tr. 19-21), bearing presents of the specialities of China and Siberia and seeking marriage alliances, in fact refused to the infidels by the Sultan; the potentates in question would appear to be Sheng-tsung (Shengzong), emperor of the (probably Mongolian) Liao (Khitan) dynasty (982-1031) [see ḲARA KHITAY] and the Uyghur Khān of Kansu, head of the "Yellow" (*Sarï*) Uyghurs there. See Minorsky, *Marvazī*, comm. 76-80).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, Paris 1878; Devéria, *Musulmans et Manichéens chinois*, Paris 1898; H. Yule and H. Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*[3], London 1903; eidem, *Cathay and the way thither*, repr. Taipei 1966; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, i, Berlin 1905; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910; T. Lewicki, *Les premiers commerçants arabes en Chine*, in *RO*, xi (1935), 173-86; Jih-ming Chang, *Les Musulmans sous la Chine des Tang (618-905)*, Taipei 1980; Zhang Jun-yan, *Relations between China and the Arabs in early times*, in *Jnal. of Oman Studies*, vi (1980), 91-109. (M. HARTMANN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

4. History of Islam in China from *ca.* A.D. 1050 to the present day.

During the Sung (Song) period (Northern Sung, 960-1127, Southern Sung, 1127-1279) we again hear in the Chinese annals of Muslim mercenaries. In 1070, the Sung emperor, Shen-tsung (Shenzong), invited a group of 5,300 young Arabs, under the leadership of Amīr Sayyid So-fei-er (this name being as mentioned in the Chinese source) of Bukhārā, to settle in China. This group had helped the emperor in his war with the newly-established Liao empire (Khitan) (on these, see above, 3) in northeastern China. Shen-tsung gave the prince an honorary title, and his men were encouraged to settle in the war-devastated areas in northeastern China between Kaifeng, the capital of the Sung, and Yen-ching (Yanjing) (today's Peking or Beijing) in order to create a buffer zone between the weaker Chinese and the aggressive Liao. In 1080, another group of more than 10,000 Arab men and women on horseback are said to have arrived in China to join So-fei-er. These people settled in all

the provinces of the north and northeast, mainly in Shan-tung (Shandong), Ho-nan (Henan), An-hui (Anhui), Hu-pei (Hubei), Shan-hsi (Shanxi) and Shen-hsi (Shaanxi). As settlers in the area between the Chinese and the northern nomads, these Muslims became an important local element in the 11th and 12th centuries, being involved in the land commercial traffic along the Silk Road with the support of the Chinese, the Khitan, and the Tibetan and Tangut authorities.

So-fei-er was not only the leader of the Muslims in his province, but he acquired the reputation also of being the founder and "father" of the Muslim community in China. Sayyid So-fei-er discovered that *Arabia* and *Islam* were misnamed by the T'ang and Sung Chinese as *Ta-shi kuo* (*Dashi guo*) ("the land of the Arabs") or as *Ta-shi fa* (*Dashi fa*) ("the religion, or law, of Islam"). This was derived from the ancient Chinese name for Arabia, *Ta-shi* (*Dashi*), which remained unchanged even after the great developments in Islamic history since that time. He then introduced *Ta-shi kuo* (*Dashi guo*) ("the Religion of Double Return") to substitute for *Ta-shi fa* (*Dashi fa*), and then replaced *Ta-shi kuo* (*Dashi guo*) with *Hui-hui chi'ao* (*Huihui jiao*) ("the Islamic state"). "The Religion of Double Return" meant to "submit and return to Allāh". Thus, in Chinese, *Hui-hui kuo* (*Huihui guo*) was universally accepted and adopted for *Islam* by the Chinese, Khitan, Mongols and Turks of the Chinese border lands before the end of the 11th century.

The appearance of the Mongols [*q.v.*] in China meant a new phase in the development of Islam there. The Yüan Dynasty was founded by Ḳubilay Khān (r. 1260-94 [*q.v.*]), a grandson of the Great Khān, Čingiz Khān (1206-27 [*q.v.*]). His military forces, used for the overunning of both North and South China, were built largely upon the thousands of Muslim soldiers which he brought with him from the Middle Eastern and Central Asian campaigns. At least two of the commanders-in-chief of the three Mongol war zones were Arabs: Amīr Sayyid Bayan (Po-yen, Boyan) (1235-94) and Amīr Sayyid-i Adjall Shams al-Dīn ʿUmar (1211-79) (see below). They fought in the war against the Sung, and helped to establish Mongol power in China, with many thousands of Muslims serving as high officials in the central and provincial governments. Because large numbers of the Mongol soldiers were Muslims, the Khān decreed them to be second-class citizens of the Mongol empire (after the Mongols themselves in Yüan China). One of Ḳubilay's Muslim commanders was the Bukhāran, who claimed to be a *sayyid*, i.e. descendant of the Prophet, Shams al-Dīn ʿUmar, called Sayyid-i Adjall, given by the Great Khān the transliterated Chinese title *Sai-tien-ch'e* (Saidanche). He was Ḳubilay's governor of the southwestern Chinese province of Yunnan [*q.v.*] for the period 1273 till his death in 1279. He was buried there, and his tomb, with its inscriptions, was subsequently discovered at the opening of the 20th century by the French Mission d'Ollone; a second grave also exists at Hsi-an (Xi'an), also with an inscription, this being a cenotaph which only contained the dead governor's ceremonial court dress (see A. Vissière, *Etudes sino-mahométanes*, Paris 1911, 41 n. 1). Sayyid-i Adjall probably did much for the spread of Islam in Yunnan, but it is his son Nāṣir al-Dīn who is given the main credit for its spread there. The latter had been governor of Shensi, and when he died in Yunnan as governor there in 1292, he was succeeded by his brother Ḥusayn. Other sons of Sayyid-i Adjall and their sons in turn held high office under the Yüan emperors, and the family remained famous in Chinese life. Thus the famous scholar Ma-chu (Mazhu) (*ca.* 1630-1710) supervised the renovation of the tomb and shrine of his ancestor Sayyid-i Adjall, as attested by an inscription. It is certain that the dominant position of Islam in Yunnan dates from the Yüan period, being accomplished through land contacts and not maritime ones, and the Muslims of Yunnan must have remained in constant contact with the Hui Muslims of the northern provinces of Shensi and Kansu, especially as Muslims became famous as traders and hirers of animals for transport.

The tolerant, or rather, indifferent Great Khāns thus encouraged the Muslims, as they did other religious groups within their empire. Under such conditions, the Muslim community in China made great strides, and the evidence of such Muslim travellers as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa shows that there were also flourishing mercantile colonies in the coastal cities along the China Sea (see above, 3.). Muslims became prominent in occupations such as engineering, medicine, technology, transportation and overseas trade, agriculture and handicraft work. Under the Yüan, there was a significant change in religious life as well; mosques and schools were built, and a network of Muslim hostels was established for travelling Muslim merchants. In the 14th century, by the end of the Mongol role in China, the Muslims totalled about 4,000,000, more than any other minority in China. They took their place in all aspects of Chinese life: political, economic, administrative and military; yet they were still confined to their own communities, somewhat isolated from the vast Chinese population surrounding them. Most of their large communities were still located in areas distant from "China Proper".

The high profile of some Muslims under the Yüan inevitably provoked a backlash. Many Muslim officials and commanders behaved arrogantly and oppressively, lording it over the native Chinese majority, with its own, much more ancient Confucian ethos and traditions, very much at variance with many Muslim attitudes (e.g. in regard to taboos on food and to ritual cleanliness). Already in Ḳubilay's reign, Marco Polo noted the tyranny of a certain Aḥmad, who secured an ascendancy of the Khān and used it to further the interests of his own family, until after suffering 22 years of oppression, a Chinese revolt took place in which Aḥmad was killed (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*[3], London 1903, i, 415-23; cf. also H. Franke, *Ahmed. Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte China's unter Qubilai*, in *Oriens*, i [1948], 222-36).

Hence the situation changed for the Muslims under the indigenous Chinese Ming dynasty (1368-1644), during whose period the Hui-hui evolved from being Muslims in China to being Chinese Muslims but for whom the golden age under the Yüan was now over. At the beginning, Muslims were granted political, economic, social and religious freedom, but later this attitude changed. The new régime forced many Chinese immigrants to settle in the border zones, such as the northwest and the southwest where the Muslims had established their communities, and the majority of the people in these areas became Chinese. Moreover, the Muslims were prohibited from upholding their dietary, marriage, dress and speech customs. Under these circumstances, they adopted Chinese names, wore Chinese dress and often married Chinese spouses. This process of acculturation into Chinese culture continued steadily, and the Muslims in China came to consider themselves Chinese.

But with the increase of Sinicisation, they also insisted on retaining many customs and traditions attesting to their origin. Many Arabic and Persian words were preserved, particularly in religious life. This syncretisation of the two cultures created the *Hui* as we know them today, namely, not merely "Chinese with Islamic faith", but a minority with various ethnic distinctions from the Chinese. Towards the end of the Ming rule, in the late 16th century, the first Chinese translations of Arabic and Persian books concerning Islamic history, ritual and philosophy appeared in China. This was probably the most obvious sign of the culmination of the process of Sinicisation. By the end of the Ming, in the year 1644, the total Chinese Muslim population had increased considerably. But then, the almost 1,000 years of Islamic existence in China were undergoing a violent form. The new Manchu rulers, who conquered China and established the Ch'ing (Qing) Dynasty (1644-1911), would act adversely as far as the Hui minority was concerned.

The Muslims greeted the new dynasty with a series of rebellions. Muslim "Ming loyalists" led uprisings against the Manchus in various locations where large Muslim populations resided. Such was the Ting Kuo-tung (Ding Guodong) rebellion (1648) in Kansu. This ill-prepared uprising lasted one year and resulted in many cities destroyed and hundreds of thousands of Chinese and Muslims killed. The Ch'ing rule in China was characterised by many Muslim rebellions, and an uneasy coexistence between Chinese and Muslims. Intercultural and inter-religious violence usually triggered significant rebellions of the Muslims in mid-19th century China also, when Muslim leaders established ephemeral Muslim states and threw all northwestern and southwestern China into chaos. A case in point was Tu Wen-hsiu (Du Wenxiu), who took over much of Yunnan and styled himself "Sultan Sulaymān". After 17 years of struggle, in 1872, he was defeated by the Manchu forces with more than one million Muslims killed [see PANTHAY]. This was probably the last significant chapter history of Islam in Imperial China. In Kansu, Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*] (Ma Hualong) and in Sinkiang, Ya'ḳūb Beg [*q.v.*] of Kāshghar attempted also to throw off the Manchu rule, but they were likewise suppressed.

Religious aspects of Islam in China

Some scholars tend to divide the development of Islamic religion in China into three tides of influence or movements which entered China from without, thus relating the changes in Chinese Islam to developments in the Islamic world. Not surprisingly, it was the maltreatment of the Muslims in China by the Manchus which conditioned much of their predisposition to rebel, when their oppression under the Ch'ing coincided with the new winds of reform and change which blew from the core of the Islamic world.

During the T'ang and Sung, the Muslim merchants of the China Sea fringes lived in their separate quarters in the major coastal cities where they had settled down and continued their Middle Eastern lifestyle undisturbed. Under the Yüan, their status was second only to the Mongols and they were prominent throughout China; but under the Ming, they adopted a low profile. All this while, they stuck to their Ḥanafī law school allegiance with moderation and without raising much suspicion in their environment. They paid lip-service to the Imperial Calendar, but they lived by their own Muslim one. They built their mosques often without a minaret, in order not to give any prominence to their houses of prayer in comparison with Chinese temples. They behaved as Chinese outwardly, but as Muslims indoors. They spoke Chinese outdoors, but inside the mosque they used Arabic script and ornaments, and sprinkled their speech with Arabic or Persian words. These Muslims are referred to today as *Gedimu* ("the Ancients") (Ar. *Ḳadīm*).

A second phase set in after the 13th century, when Ṣūfī orders penetrated to China. The Ṣūfī wave intensified and widened the roots of Islam in China, and it generated the spread of Islamic learning as well as the construction of new mosques. Of several Ṣūfī orders, the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*], brought from Central Asia via Sinkiang, became the most deeply and widely rooted in China.

The next stage was connected with a movement renewal (*tadjdīd*) generated by a prominent 18th century scholar, Ma Ming-hsin [*q.v.*] (Ma Mingxin). His group was known as the *Hsin chiao* (Xin'jiao) ("New Teaching"). When he returned to China in 1761 from his trip to the Middle East and Central Asia, Ma Ming-hsin was imbued with revivalist ideas which generated much of the unrest in 18th and 19th-century China. He introduced new variants of ritual, for example, the reading out loud and declamation of the Ḳur'ān (hence the name, the *Djahriyya* sect, compared with *khufya*, the silent reciting of before). There is reason to believe that many of the leaders of the rebellions, notably Ma Hua-lung and Tu Wen-hsiu, were related to this revivalist trend.

Islam in Communist China

Under the Republic (1911-49), and then under Communist rule (since 1949), the Muslims have been recognised as a "national" minority, but under the PRC they are kept atomised under their various ethnic appellations (Hui, Uyghur, Kazakh, etc.; see 2., above). Generally speaking, because of the régime's necessity to have relations with Muslim countries on the international arena, it attempted to avoid any overt and brutal oppression of the Muslims domestically. But during the harsh periods of ideological oppression (the Great Leap in the 1950s, and the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s), Muslims were grossly mistreated, as were members of other religious groups. *Waḳf* lands were confiscated, mosques destroyed (only one remained open in the capital Beijing) and Muslims forced to undergo Marxist education. On some occasions, even physical attacks were launched by Chinese troops against Muslim villages. However, since the advent of Teng Hsiao ping (Deng Xiaoping) (1979) and the opening up of China to the outside world, there has been a considerable relenting regarding these policies. More Chinese Muslims than ever are allowed to go on the *Ḥadjdj*. Muslim delegations are allowed in from outside. There are at present several mosques open in the capital to serve its considerable Hui population, the largest and oldest of which, that in Niu chieh (Niujie) or Ox Street, now (1995) has six *Ahongs* on its staff. Scattered manifestations of Islamic revival are again evident in many a Chinese Muslim locality. Whether these emergences of Islam amongst the Hui will follow the path of fundamentalism, as has been the case amongst the Turks of Sinkiang in the early 1990s, or will settle into a pattern of mild protest and peaceful religious re-emergence, remains to be seen.

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5. Chinese Islamic literature [see Suppl.].

SĪNĀʾ, the Arabic form for Sinai (as in Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 20, though whether this term denoted Mount Sinai itself or the region in which it was situated, was not clear to the exegetes; cf. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 184-5). The present article deals with the Sinai peninsula in general, and specifically, its history and ethnography in more recent times; for its early and mediaeval Islamic history, see AL-TĪH and AL-ṬŪR.

The Sinai peninsula is an arid, desert region, now part of Egypt, bounded by the Mediterranean on the north, the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Suez on the west, the Gulf of Aqaba on the east, and the Negev [see AL-NAḲB] and the Gaza strip on the north-east. It covers about 23,000 sq. miles. The topography comprises a coastal plain bordering on the Mediterranean, with the land gradually rising as one goes southwards, culminating in the mountainous southern tip, with its highest point the Djabal Kātirīnā at 2,637 m/8,651 feet. Close by this last is Mount Sinai itself (Ar. Djabal Mūsā, the Ḳurʾānic al-Ṭūr [*q.v.*], with a height of 2,285 m/7,493 feet, just to the north of which lies the celebrated monastery of St. Catherine's, founded in A.D. 530 and probably the oldest continuously-inhabited Christian monastery in the world.

The people of the Sinai peninsula call the northern plateau region *Bādiyat al-Tīh* "the Desert of the Wanderings", i.e. of the Children of Israel, as depicted in Ḳurʾān, V, 23-9/20-6, and the mountainous southern part *Bilād al-Ṭūr* "the Land of the Mountain", i.e of Mount Sinai, as in Ḳurʾān, II, 60/63. Since the 18th century, the main administrative centre has been al-ʿArīsh [*q.v.*] on the Mediterranean coast, whose older, very mixed population comprised the descendants of Ottoman officials, Egyptian peasants and migrant cultivators from the Ḥidjāz, but whose present population has been much swelled by refugees, incomers, etc. (population in 1975: 40,000). At times, al-Ṭūr, on the Gulf of Suez, and Nakhl, in central Sinai, have served as district administrative posts.

Until recently, two-thirds of Sinai's population have been Bedouin tribesmen, adhering to a number of tribal confederations, such as the Ṣawālḥa, ʿUlaygāt and Muzayna forming the Ṭawara confederation in the south, the Suwārka, Tarābīn, Tiyāhā, Aḥaywāt and Bayāḍiyyīn groups in the north. Being mainly arrivals from the Arabian peninsula in the 15th and 16th centuries, most tribes already inhabited their present areas by 1807, when Seetzen visited Sinai. Since then, peace has prevailed amongst the Bedouin, except for some who participated in the 19th century tribal wars of fellow-tribesmen in the adjacent Negev desert.

During the 19th century, various Western travellers visited Sinai and wrote about the region, including the German Seetzen, the Swiss Burckhardt, the English professor Palmer, the American E. Robinson and the Czech explorer Musil. The most comprehensive work on Sinai's history is that of the official in British service, Naʿʿūm Shuḳayr. Britain took over administrative responsibility for Sinai, along with the rest of Egypt, in 1882 [see MIṢR. D. 7]. The major impact of this change of power was that the whole peninsula was for the first time under regular administration. In 1884 the Cairo-Mecca Pilgrimage caravan was ended, and, on the diplomatic level, the Ottoman government was compelled to recognise that Sinai was part of Egypt, with the present eastern border of Sinai delimited in 1906. During the First World War, Sinai was occupied by the Turks, and there was strenuous fighting in northern Sinai between Ottoman forces under Djemāl Pasha, attempting to push towards the Suez Canal, and British forces, who in 1917 after defeats at Gaza nevertheless broke through under General Allenby towards Palestine. For much of the interwar period, Major C.S. Jarvis, whose various books are an interesting and amusing commentary on life in Sinai during this period (see *Bibl.*), was governor of Sinai. In 1946, Egypt gained control of Sinai, which became a *muḥāfaẓa* or governorate, and was the setting for large-scale warfare against Israel in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1968-70 and 1973. Sinai was under Israeli military occupation 1967-82. Since its retrocession to Egypt, the latter power has constructed several strategic roads, developed tourism on the two Gulf coasts, sedentarised the Bedouin and settled Egyptians in newly-founded towns.

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ṢINĀʿA (A., pl. *ṣināʿāt*), the occupation of and production by artisans; craft, industry, derived from the verb *ṣanaʿa* "to do, to produce". The Arab lexicographers provide several meanings of *ṣināʿa*, *ṣunʿ*, *ṣanʿa*; the common significance is "occupation" (defined as *ḥirfa*); *ṣāniʿ*, pl. *ṣunnāʿ* meaning *ḥādhiḳ* (adj.) = "skilful, skilful artisan". The original verb means "to produce, to keep well or take care of (a horse)"; *ṣanīʿ*

(adj.) would mean "polished (sword)", *maṣnaʿa* (pl. *maṣāniʿ*) means "notable palaces, fortresses and edifices in which special endeavours are invested". This denotation originated from Ḳurʾān, XXVI, 129, where the people of ʿĀd [*q.v.*] are reproved on account of the *maṣāniʿ* that they built to dwell forever (see Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, x, 53, xii, 255-61). *Ṣināʿa* could also denote the action of shipbuilding that flourished in Umayyad, Fāṭimid and Mamlūk times and was adopted in *dār al-ṣināʿa*, in both English and French, arsenal, arsenale = workshop or house for handwork. In modern Arabic, *maṣnaʿ* denotes "factory" and *ṣināʿa* means "industry".

Ṣināʿa meant in the Middle Ages the activities of the craftsmen which were usually concentrated in the market (*sūḳ* [*q.v.*]), the latter consisting of lanes and streets, each specified in a given category: a street of shoemakers producing and selling ordinary shoes, a street of producers and vendors of special shoes, streets of saddle makers, tent makers, goldsmiths, etc. On the periphery of the town one finds industries requiring space or causing bad smells and dirt, such as pottery, dyeing and tanning. The *sūḳs* of Cairo are minutely depicted by Ibn Duḳmāḳ in his *al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ʿiḳd al-amṣār*, and al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, as well as by authors of *ḥisba* manuals [see ḤISBA; SŪḲ]; see also L. Massignon, in *Enc. of the Social Sciences*, art. *Guilds*, in the section *Islam*; B. Lewis, *The Islamic guilds*, in *Economic History Review*, viii (1937), 20-35; idem, *An epistle on manual crafts*, in *IC*, xvii (1947) 142-51; G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Islam. Essays in the nature and growth of a cultural tradition*, ch. vii, 141-55; G. Baer, *Guilds in Middle Eastern history*, in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, Oxford 1970, 11-17; S.M. Stern, *The constitution of the Islamic city*, in A. Hourani and Stern (eds.), *The Islamic city*. Several vocations, such as medicine (sometimes defined as *ʿilm* = science, sometimes as craft), singing, poetry, calligraphy and astrology, that one describes today as technical and free professions, were considered by the Muslim world, before modern times, as mere *ṣināʿāt* (see Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, *Rasāʾil*, in the 8th *risāla*; al-Māwardī, *Adab al-dunyā wa ʾl-dīn*, Beirut 1986, 213-14; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Beirut n.d., 382-3, 405-34). The classification of crafts is an important issue. Al-Djāḥiẓ is one of the first authors in Islam who dealt with crafts and craftsmen. He claims that God planned the differentiation between artisans in order to keep society in harmony (see his *Ḥudjadj al-nubuwwa*, in *Rasāʾil*, ed. ʿA.-S. Hārūn, Beirut 1991, iii, 242-3). In some of his other works, he describes the two principal categories of crafts:

(a) The trades that bring wealth to their occupiers, like jewellers (*aṣḥāb al-djawhar*), vendors or producers of embroidery (*aṣḥāb al-washy*), money-changers (*ṣayārifa*).

(b) Minor crafts and trades that hardly suffice the provisions of their occupier, like water-supplier (*saḳḳāʾ*), plasterer (*ṭayyān*) and ploughman (*ḥarrāth*); see *Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿA.-S. Hārūn, Cairo 1988, iv, 434-5; *Bukhalāʾ*, Cairo 1983, ii, 48-9; *Risāla fī ṣināʿāt al-ḳuwwād*, in the above-mentioned *Rasāʾil*, 379-97 (partly tr. in Ch. Pellat, *Life and works of Jāḥiẓ*, London 1963, 114-16, and minutely discussed in Sadan, *Kings and craftsmen*, in *SI*, lvi [1982], 5-49, lxii [1985], 89-120); see also W.T. al-Nadjm, *al-Djāḥiẓ wa ʾl-ḥādira al-ʿabbāsiyya*, Baghdād 1965, 44-101; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, ch. vi; M. ʿUways, *al-Mudjtamaʿ al-ʿabbāsī min khilāl kitābāt al-Djāḥiẓ*, Cairo 1977, 156-75.

The above-mentioned Ikhwān classify the crafts according to their simplicity and according to the materials used and according to ranks (*Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ed. Ziriklī, Damascus 1928, i, 210-26; see also the analysis of the eighth *risāla* by B. Lewis, in *op. cit.*). This classification was adopted in the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*, ascribed to Ibn Sīnā (see *al-Mashriḳ*, ix [1906], 967), as well as al-Māwardī, *op. cit.*, 193-4, and Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.* It is possible that the Muslims followed the pre-Islamic classification of Bryson (see M. Plessner, *Der Oikonomikos des Neupythagoreers Bryson*, Heidelberg 1928, 145-8; see also R. al-Sayyid, *Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Māwardī: dirāsa fī ruʾyatihi al-idjtimāʿiyya*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxxiii (1985), 55-97.

In addition to *ṣināʿa* and *ḥirfa*, there are two other terms with the same denotation, *mihna* and *ṣinf*. *Mihna* (pl. *mihan*) means "profession, service and handiness, mostly domestic", while *aṣḥāb al-mihan* means artisans. *Māhin* is one who serve others skilfully, a servant, and is to be distinguished from *mahana* and *imtahana* signifying "to submit, to be humiliated" (see *LʿA*, s.v. *m-h-n*; J. Sadan, *A new source*, in *IOS*, ix, 375, n. 15).

Ṣinf (pl. *aṣnāf* and *ṣunūf*), means literally "sort, kind", whereas *taṣnīf* means "classification". In the wider sense, *ṣinf* means a group of something, *ṭāʾifa min kull shayʾ*; at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period *ṣinf* means also various kinds of crafts and trades. Al-Yaʿḳūbī uses the term *aṣnāf*, meaning various artisans that the caliph al-Manṣūr grouped, classified and arranged in the *sūḳs* of his new capital (*Buldān*, Leiden 1891, 242, 253). Concerning the controversy regarding the beginning of *aṣnāf* and whether they constituted real guilds, see Massignon, *op. cit.*, in *Enc. of Soc. Sc.*, 215; idem, *Les corps de métiers et la cité islamique*, in *Opera minora*, i; Lewis, *loc. cit.*, Stern, *loc. cit.*; Baer, *loc. cit.*; Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1968, 267; S. al-Shaykhalī, *al-Aṣnāf fi ʾl-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī*, Baghdād 1967; Dūrī, *Nushūʾ al-aṣnāf wa ʾl-ḥiraf fi ʾl-islām*, in *Bulletin of Fac. of Arts, Baghdād* (1959), 133-69; and see ṢINF. The *ṣunnāʿ* (craftsmen) play an important role in the Islamic society. They constitute a distinct group within the *ʿāmma* [*q.v.*]. Ethnically, the *ṣunnāʿ* class consisted of Arabs, Persians, Syriac Christians, *Nabaṭ* [*q.v.*] ("autochtonous" speakers of Aramaic), Kurds, Turks, Jews and others. Many of them, especially those who embraced Islam or were born Muslims, played an important part in the religious, political and the social movements, and even in the rebellions against the Sunnī authorities. They were also organised in professional groups in order to resist any kind of hostile actions or governmental sanctions (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 895-6; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 452-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vi, 271-3; Pellat, *Milieu*, *loc. cit.*; al-Nadjm, *loc. cit.*; Fahmī Saʿd, *al-ʿĀmma fī Baghdād*, Beirut 1983; al-Dūrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-iḳtiṣādī*, Beirut 1974, 75-116, 246-8.

The nomad Arabs and dwellers of the desert towns esteemed trade and despised crafts; they respected the brave horsemen who used to take part in wars and raids; even robbery was not despised. When someone worked for himself, performing any occasional handwork, or when he was served by his wife in works such as clothing and manufacturing tents, it did not provoke any criticism (see Sadan, *The art of the goldsmith*, in D.J. Content (ed.), *Islamic rings and gems in the collection of B. Ẓucker*, London 1987, 462-73). However, earning one's living by serving others was disdained. Accordingly, *ḳayn* (blacksmith), *ṣāʾigh* (goldsmith), *dabbāgh* (tanner) and *ḥāʾik* (weaver) were despised by pre-Islamic Arabs (see Goldziher, *Die Handwerke bei den Arabern*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1967-73, iii, 316-18; Ettinghausen, *The character of Islamic art*, in N. Faris

(ed.), *The Arab heritage*, 251-67; and see the reaction of Ağa-oğlu to these arguments, "*Remarks on the character of Islamic art*, in *Art Bulletin*" [Sept. 1954], 175-202). When some circles spoke in favour of the tradesmen, they quoted the tradition according to which Muḥammad earned his living as a herdsman and merchant. According to this tradition, the Prophet also used to perform repairing works (mending shoes and clothes) for himself; in this manner, the Islamic tradition could praise modesty and handiwork, without depicting the Prophet contrary to the old Arab values. One should not neglect the traditions ascribed to the Prophet and to his Companions encouraging *kasb* ("earning") in all its permitted forms, including trade and crafts (special chapters titled *al-Buyūʿ wa 'l-tidjārāt* and *Ṣināʿāt* in *Ḥadīth* collections, such as those by Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mādja, al-Kulaynī, al-Rāzī and others; see also al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ch. *Adab al-kasb wa 'l-maʿāsh*; al-Shaybānī, *al-Iktisāb fi 'l-rizq al-mustaṭāb*; Abū Bakr al-Khallāl, *al-Ḥathth ʿalā 'l-tidjāra wa 'l-ṣināʿa*; see also Goitein, *The rise of the Middle Eastern bourgeoisie*, in *Journal of World History*, iii [1957], 583-604.

In the Ḳurʾān one encounters a positive attitude towards the outcome of the various crafts, i.e., the products, especially those which will be used by believers in paradise (see the various utensils described in the verses XVII, 31; XLIV, 53; LXXVI, 21; LV, 54; XXII, 23; XXXV, 33). On the other hand, the excessive use of luxury products in this world (*al-dunyā*), especially precious objects and imposing buildings, is far from being praised. It is possible that the period of the Prophet inherited certain concepts from pre-Islamic times, namely, the discrepancy between the taste for fine objects and the attitude towards their producer, the artisan. Many Ḳurʾānic verses praise *kasb*, i.e., earning from any permitted craft and trade (LXII, 8-10; XX, 73; II, 198, 267). Verses XXXIV, 10-11; XXI, 80, tell the story of David. God taught him how to use iron and produce armour in order to defend himself at war (XXI, 80, *wa-ʿallamnāhu ṣanʿat^a labūs^in*), whereas verse LVII, 25 speaks about the various uses of iron. No wonder that the Ḳurʾānic verses indicating positively the crafts of iron and linking them to a prophetic figure are quoted, in later periods, by those who try to plead for the apparently despised professions. Is it possible that through these verses the Ḳurʾān intended to change the negative pre-Islamic attitude towards such crafts? However, in Arabic literature we encounter a real discrepancy between the positive attitude towards the product and the negative attitude towards the producer (Sadan, *The art*, and *Kings*, in *SI*, especially lxii [1985], 89-120). One can conclude that the first generations of Islam were still under the influence of pre-Islamic concepts, transmitted, *inter alia*, by language and poetry. On the other hand, one should not forget the continuation of the sedentary concepts inherited from the civilisations, the territories of which were occupied by the Muslims; even these civilisations felt a certain contempt towards certain crafts. However, in the Djāhiliyya, there was a general disdain of manual crafts; when some artisans were especially mocked, it is due to the fact of their presence in the society of the Arabian tribes, while other trades, more sophisticated, sedentary and refined, were absent or rare; but in the Islamic world, some trades were more despised than others, due to both the concepts inherited from the Djāhiliyya and the contempt felt by the Persians and others towards particular trades. Such are the trades of the cupper (*ḥidjāma*), the tanner (*dibāgha*) and the weaver (*ḥiyāka*). R. Brunschvig (*Metiers vils en Islam*, in *SI*, xvi [1962]) excludes the weavers and stresses that they were despised in particular by the free Arab spirit because of the hard labour and servitude involved in this trade; the rich testimony to the inter-sedentary aspect, namely the disdain of the pre-Islamic Persian aristocracy towards weavers, is rejected by Brunschvig (who accepts, however, this argumentation concerning other trades, relying mainly on Talmudic sources), because he suspects the evidence to be non-authentic projected into the past by the Arab historiographers who were influenced by their own standpoint and the atmosphere prevailing in their period (*ibid.*, 49, n. 1). For a different opinion, emphasising the continuation of the Persian concept, see Sadan, in *SI*, (1986), 89-91, and n. 33, who takes into consideration the great skill of A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen 1944, in distinguishing, in the Arabic sources, between authentic and doubtful data.

In his so far unpublished *Kitāb al-Mathālib*, Ibn al-Kalbī, one of the first Arab historiographers, depicted the crafts despised by the Arabs; his descriptions reflect urban circles, i.e. those of Mecca, probably at the beginning of the Islamic era; for instance, trades such as *djazzār*, *ḳaṣṣāb*, *laḥḥām*—all designating butcher, with probable different nuances—as well as teacher, tailor and smith (Sadan, *op. cit.*, 120).

There were also serious attempts to defend crafts and craftsmen and give the latter a better place in Muslim society. Al-Djāḥiẓ, who does not refrain from humoristic statements concerning tradesmen, shows respect and understanding of their vocation and responsibility to mankind, from the practical and moral point of view. He also praises *tidjāra* (commerce) and considers the high status of merchants in society. Weavers, he believes, are essential for the religious duty of *satr al-ʿawra* ("hiding of intimate parts"); without builders, people would not live safely (*Rasāʾil*, ii, 242-3, and al-Djāḥiẓ's dialogue with a carpenter in *al-Ḥayawān*, iii, 276-7, iv, 434-5; see also *al-Bayān*, ed. ʿA.-S. Hārūn, Cairo 1990, i, 248-9 and the conclusions drawn from these passages by al-Nadjm, *op. cit.*, 52-62; Sadan, *Kings*, 89-94; F. Saʿd, *op. cit.*, 85-91). Another kind of pleading for the manual crafts is manifested by jurists and theologians such as Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-ʿĀlim wa 'l-mutaʿallim*; al-Shaybānī, *op. cit.*; al-Khallāl, *op. cit.*; al-Ḥabashī al-Wiṣābī, *op. cit.* One of their arguments is based on the tradition according to which every prophet was given by God at least one trade for his living: Ādam knew one thousand crafts which he taught his descendents; his wife was a weaver; Idrīs was a tailor and calligrapher; Nūḥ and Zakariyyā were carpenters; Hūd and Ṣāliḥ were merchants; Ibrāhīm was a farmer and carpenter; Dāwūd was an armourer; and lastly, Muḥammad used to repair his own garments and shoes, as mentioned above, and he also tended his herd as a shepherd and was engaged in the housework of his family. Thus the trades of the various prophets include all kinds of *kasb*; and *imāra* ("governing"), trading, farming and *ṣināʿa* are equal and of the same status (see al-Shaybānī, *al-Kasb*, 36; al-Wiṣābī, *op. cit.*, 6-7; al-Khallāl, *op. cit.*, 5-21). Apparently, this apologetic attitude was needed in the 3rd/9th century; certain Ṣūfī circles believed in relying totally on God (*tawakkul* [*q.v.*]) even in everyday economic life and those who exaggerated this principle, called for *taḥrīm al-makāsib*, i.e. the prohibition of all forms of earning (see al-Muḥāsibī, d. 243/857, *al-Makāsib*, Cairo 1969, 180-212). From the 5th/11th century onwards, more positive views towards *kasb* (earning) and crafts are expressed by theologians such

as al-Māwardī and al-Ghazālī. They laid down the legal grounds for all kinds of *kasb*, including almost all trades and crafts. At the same time, the role played by the lower classes, especially craftsmen, in the Islamic city became more important. However, religious opposition movements, such as the Ismāʿīliyya (and associated groups like the Ḳarāmiṭa), may possibly have tried to get close to the spirit of the *ʿāmma*. Thus the Ikhwān al-Safāʾ, who reflect Ismāʿīlī tendencies, may have sought positively to change the social attitude towards them in order to recruit them against the Sunnī caliphate. On this ground, certain orientalists have sought the origin of the *aṣnāf* organisations in these movements, e.g. Massignon, and B. Lewis, in his *Islamic guilds*, repeats the same argument (see also Lombard, *L'Islam dans sa première grandeur*, 153-8). But more recent opinion denies any connection between the *aṣnāf* and the Ismāʿīlī movement; see, e.g., Stern, *op. cit.*; Goitein, *op. cit.*, 255-70 and especially Cahen, *Y-at-il eu des corporations professionelles?*, in Stern and Hourani (eds.), *Islamic city*, 51-63; Baer, *op. cit.*; al-Shaykhalī, *op. cit.*, 48-57.

The Ṣūfī movements were used by the various categories of tradesmen as a means to improve their position in Islamic society. They used to adopt a *wālī* (a patron, like a saint chosen by Christians for each of the arts and crafts) for each of the trades, such as Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*], a Companion of the Prophet, for the barbers. The religious ground for this was the tradition that every prophet had a special craft from which he earned his living. Those prophets are considered by the *aṣnāf* as *djudhūr* ("roots") of the various crafts, while the patrons chosen among the Companions of Muḥammad and the Successors are the *bīrs* (*pīrs*), the elder heads of the trades, who inaugurated these trades in Islam. By this the *aṣḥāb al-ḥiraf* intended to prove the religious origin of their crafts and to assure their legitimacy in Islam (see anon., *al-Dhakhāʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf fī bīr al-ṣanāʾiʿ wa 'l-ḥiraf*, ms. Gotha, Or. 903; Lewis, *op. cit.*, 29; Shaykhalī, *op. cit.*, 116-20).

An interesting resemblance exists between the organisation of *aṣnāf* and *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] associations. The mediaeval phenomenon of *futuwwa* groups organised as *ʿayyarūn* [*q.v.*] ("robbers, brigands") provoked a controversy between those who were eager to define them as representatives of the proletarians and those who saw in them (as well as in other elements, such as the *aḥdāth*) the latent expression of civil and corporate feeling in Islamic city life. According to Ibn al-Miʿmār, *Kitāb al-Futuwwa*, Baghdād 1958, the *naḳīb* (the assistant of the *shaykh al-fityān*, the leader) presides over the ceremony held in honour of the newly-recruited members, reads the names of the elder masters of trades and blesses them. The ceremony is called *shadd al-futuwwa* [see SHADD]. (The *futuwwa* of the following categories is defined as "deficient" (*futuwwa nāḳiṣa*): *mudallisūn* ("cheaters"), *arbāb al-ḥiyal* ("people using trickery devices") and of the despised crafts (see Ibn al-Miʿmār, *op. cit.*, 139-78; F. Taeschner, *Futuwwa Studien*, in *Islamica*, iv [1932], 285-333; idem, *Die Islamischen Futuwwabünde*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxvii [1934], 6-49; Cahen, *Mouvements populaires*, in *Arabica*, vi [1959], 47-48; Von Grunebaum, *Mediaeval Islam*, Chicago 1954, ch. 6; E. Ashtor, *Social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley etc. 1976, 183-92). The craftsmen's associations were apparently based on the fraternity principle used to bring together the members within a strong unit in order to protect their trades from outside depredations, such as those of robbers and governmental sanctions. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *futuwwa* associations were transformed in Anatolia into *akhīs* [*q.v.*] organisations called *akhiyyāt al-fityān* ("fraternity associations of *futuwwa* brethren"). He defines the *akhī* as one who, in his *zāwiya* joins his fellow-tradesmen, *ahl ṣināʿatihi*, and other young people who like their company. Thus craftsmen were the initial and essential members of the *akhī* associations, although the associations were non-professional (see Taeschner, *op. cit.*, Baer, *op. cit.*, 16-30; M. Djawād, *al-Futuwwa wa-aṭwāruhā*, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*, v [1958], 46-81; D.A. Breebaart, *The* Fütüvvet-name-i kebīr, *a manual on Turkish guilds*, in *JESHO*, xii [1970], 203-15).

A very important aspect of *ṣināʿa* in the mediaeval Islamic city was the agoranomos (*muḥtasib*); see B. Foster, *Agoranomos and Muḥtasib*, in *JESHO*, viii [1965], 128-44, and ḤISBA. The latter's task included inspecting the morality, integrity and quality of the various trades. He inspected prices, measures, weights and scales, as well as religious and moral regulations. Obviously, the *muḥtasib* relied on the assistance of specialists chosen from each of the various trades. He also appointed an *ʿarīf* (a man responsible) for each craft and each market. The candidate for such an appointment should be "one who is experienced in the craft, and familiar with all the swindlings and deceits; one who is well-known for trustworthiness and honesty and who will be a true observer of the craftsmen's affairs and who will inform about it the *muḥtasib*" (see anon., in Sadan, *A new source of the Būyid period*, in *IOS*, ix [1979], 355-76; al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Cairo 1946, 12; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, Cambridge 1938, 217-21, and Eng. tr., *ibid.*, 88; R.B. Buckley, *The* Muḥtasib, in *Arabica*, xxxix [1992], 59-117). With the help of the *ʿarīf*, the *muḥtasib* could keep in touch with the people of the market, both tradesmen and customers. A special literary genre dealt with tricks and devices of the various craftsmen and reveals their secrets. It began in the time of al-Djāḥiẓ, who composed the lost epistle *Ghishsh al-ṣināʿāt* (see Pellat, *Inventaire*, in *Arabica*, iii [1957], in the alphabetical list, under *ṣināʿāt*). There are other works, such as the anonymous *Raḳāʾiḳ al-ḥilal fī daḳāʾiḳ al-ḥiyal*, Fr. tr. René Khawam, who also published separately the Arabic text; the manuscript on which both the translation and the edition are based contains only the sections dealing with the relatively better-off classes, whereas the part dealing with the masses (and which, according to the list of contents, should have dealt with the various artisans and tradesmen) is now lost. Other lost works are *Kashf al-dakk wa-īḍāḥ al-shakk* of Ibn Shuhayd al-Maghribī (d. 425/1035 [*q.v.*], see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Beirut 1968, i, 116-18). A manuscript of *Irkhāʾ al-sutūr wa 'l-kilal fī kashf al-dakkāt wa 'l-ḥiyal* of Ibn Dahhān (d. 591/1195) is to be found at the Rampur Library, no. 1/689. The best-known work in this literary genre is the *Kashf al-asrār wa-hatk al-astār* by al-Djawbarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Fr. tr. R. Khawam, *Le voile arraché*, Paris 1980. An Arabic summary of this book was published in Damascus 1885 and in Beirut 1992 (the latter edited by ʿIṣām Shapparō). In his book al-Djawbarī reveals all the devices and secrets used by perfumers (*ʿaṭṭārūn*), alchemists (*ahl al-kāf*), wandering physicians (*aṭibbāʾ al-ṭarīḳ*), jewellers (*djawhariyyūn*), armourers (*ahl al-ḥarb wa-ālāt al-silāḥ*), money-changers (*ṣayārifa*) and so forth; many of the tricks described here are also mentioned briefly by *ḥisba* manuals.

A noteworthy phenomenon in Islamic *ṣināʿa* is the fact that one craft can be referred to by more than one term. For example, the goldsmith (*ṣāʾigh* [*q.v.*]) is

also called *ṣawwāgh*, *dhahabī*, *sabbāk* and *djawharī* (see Ibn Sīda, *op. cit.*, xii, 256-261; Sadan, *The goldsmith*, in *Islamic rings*, 480, and H. Shay, *A glossary of goldsmithing terms*, in *ibid.*, 502-16).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but note also the philosophers, e.g. al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā makārim al-sharīʿa*, ed. Ṭāhā ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Saʿd, Cairo 1393/1973, 197-219, with an interesting classification of the crafts at 202-3. (A. GHABIN)

SINAI [see SĪNĀʾ; AL-TĪH; AL-ṬŪR].

SINĀN, born in 895/1490, the chief Ottoman court architect from 945/1538 until his death in 996/1588. Although the names of several other Ottoman court architects are known, none match his fame. Combining a long life with the opportunities afforded by the resources of the Ottoman empire at its zenith, he produced an œuvre that is unmatched in quantity and quality, not just in Ottoman, but in Islamic architecture as a whole. Of Christian Greek origin, he was recruited in the *devshirme* levy within the reign of Sultan Selīm I (1512-20). He first participated in a military campaign at Belgrade in 1521 under Süleymān, and subsequently, until his appointment as court architect, in locations as far apart as Vienna (1529) and Baghdād (1535). He would have had the opportunity to learn his profession in the repair and erection of military architecture, such as bridges and citadels and, in the early 1530s, in building mosques in Istanbul between campaigns. Sinān's accomplishments as an architect are detailed in three late 16th-century manuscript sources: Muṣṭafā Sāʿī's *Tadhkirat al-bunyān* and *Tadhkirat al-abniya* and the anonymous, but partially autobiographical, *Tuḥfat al-miʿmārīn*. Between them they list some 477 buildings, ranging over the following categories: congregational mosques (*djāmiʿ*), neighbourhood mosques (*masdjid*), colleges (*madrasa*, *dār al-ḳurrāʾ*, *dār al-ḥadīth*), infant schools (*maktab*), mausoleums (*türbe*), hospitals (*dār al-shifāʾ*), aqueducts, bridges, caravansarays, soup kitchens (*ʿimārat*), palaces (*sarāy*) and baths (*ḥammām*) (see the list in F. Babinger's *EI*[1] art.). The sheer number attributed to Sinān is proof in itself that he could not have overseen each project. For those in centres remote from Istanbul he can hardly have done more than send a plan with more or less detailed instructions on how the finished buildings should be realised. For instance, the Süleymān complex at Damascus (962/1554-5) and the Melek Aḥmed Pasha mosque at Diyār Bakr which have been attributed to Sinān have stonework and decorative detailing which locate them fully within their local style. Even some of the buildings in Istanbul which are listed as Sinān's work such as the Ḳïlïč ʿAlī Pasha mosque at Topkhāne (988/1580), a diminutive copy of Hagia Sophia, or the Piyāle Pasha mosque (981/1573-4) at Ḳāsïmpasha in Istanbul, have been questioned on grounds of quality (Kuran, *Sinan*, 126, 220).

Major projects. The three largest complexes (*külliyes*) erected by Sinān, the Shehzāde, Süleymāniyye and Selīmiyye, each represent a significant step in his maturity. In each, however, he chose to work with the form that had become standard for major Ottoman mosques since the building of the Üč Sherefeli in Edirne (841-51/1438-47), namely, the combination of large dome chamber and square or rectangular courtyard.

The death of Süleymān's son Meḥmed in 1543 gave Sinān his first major commission, the Shehzāde complex at Istanbul (950-5/1543-8). A prototype for its plan of a central dome surrounded by four semi-domes has been suggested in the Fātiḥ Pasha Mosque (1516-20) in Diyār Bakr. While this is a possibility, it does not take great imagination to alter the dome flanked by two semi-domes of the Sultan Bāyezīd II mosque at Istanbul (906-11/1501-5) to the four flanking semi-domes of the Shehzāde. But a comparison of the Shehzāde with the mosque of Bāyezīd II reveals two striking differences, each repeated in his later major projects, which are indeed the result of a new vision.

The first is the fenestration. Sinān virtually doubled the number of windows of the Bāyezīd mosque by a novel approach to the supporting walls: thickening them with buttresses at regular intervals to open up the intervening spaces, these buttresses being disguised. The second innovation is the treatment of the roofscape. In the Bāyezīd Djāmiʿ the square block which supports the dome is awkwardly obvious; in the Shehzāde, it is all but invisible due to two alterations. The first is the enlarged height and diameter of the round turrets which stand at the four corners of the square; the second is the stepped profile, both horizontal and vertical, of the area between the turrets and the central dome. Sinān obtained a pyramidal effect by raising the height of the four corner domes to be in line with the diagonal axis created by the central dome and the turrets. Further evidence of his concern for variety in this area is seen in the height of the semi-domes and their exedrae, the first a little higher, the second a little lower, than the corner domes.

The Süleymāniyye in Istanbul (957-64/1550-7) was the most ambitious single Ottoman complex, with an array of some 14 buildings of various functions accommodated ingeniously on the sloping site around the mosque. The mosque itself was divorced from these by a surrounding garden which can be viewed as a variation of the *ziyāda*. Set on a hill overlooking the harbour, the mosque still dominates the skyline of the city. Sinān took up the challenge of the Hagia Sophia, the largest dome in Istanbul, by reproducing its vaulting scheme of two axial flanking domes. At ground level, however, the vast interior is adjusted to the requirements of Islamic ritual by having the maximum uninterrupted space, to enable the faithful to pray in rows, the plan being actually quite similar to that of the Shehzāde, apart from the three smaller domes on the sides that replace the earlier mosque's semi-dome and exedrae.

In the complex built for Selīm II at Edirne (972-82/1564-75) Sinān determined to surpass the dome of Hagia Sophia, although as built it was approximately the same diameter; it is lower if measured from the ground, but its steeper profile makes it higher if measured from the base of the dome. The challenge resulted in a ground plan radically different from the previous two large mosques: based on an octagon, so that eight instead of four piers are the main load-bearing elements. This in turn permitted the most striking feature of the building: a reduction of the curtain walls to enable light to pour into the building from an even greater multitude of windows than in his previous mosques. The only drawback of the octagonal plan is the arrangements that had to be made for the *miḥrāb*. To leave it on the plane of the rest of the *ḳibla* wall would have been to overshadow it by the colossal flanking piers, so a deep recess was made between them. In contrast to the rest of the mosque, this area has few windows and so leaves the *miḥrāb*, despite its flanking Iznik tile panels, in relative obscurity. The exterior treatment of this recess is also less than satisfactory. Its bulk necessitated a link to the corner minarets, but the diminutive paired columns of the arcade which accomplish this

are on too small a scale. The minarets are the tallest in Ottoman architecture; their slender form at the four corners of the dome chamber provides an effective complement to the massiveness of the dome between them.

Smaller projects. Among the myriad of Sinān's smaller projects, we may single out four of particular interest. The complex of the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] at Tak̲h̲taḳalʿe in Istanbul was finished not long after his death in 1561. Structurally its mosque is of interest for being raised on a vaulted substructure that enables it to dominate its commercial neighbourhood. However, the relatively simple architectural lines of its interior, with a dome on an octagonal base, are unfortunately sabotaged by the very thing that gives the mosque its fame: its lavish revetment of Iznik tiles. Seen close up these are indeed superb examples of their kind, but the overall effect of repeated small-scale patterns, especially on the four large piers, is to negate the stability of the structure.

The exact date of the complex of Mihrimāh Sulṭān, the daughter of Süleymān, at Edirneḳapî in Istanbul is not known, although a teaching appointment to it was first made in 976/1568-9. From the exterior the mosque is the embodiment of the dome on pendentives: the four arches which support it soar above the roofline of smaller domes, their form emphasised by both the setback of the tympana and by lightening them with as many windows as possible—nineteen in all.

The complex of the Grand Vizier Ṣoḳullu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] at Ḳadîrg̲h̲a in Istanbul (979/1571-2) was expertly fitted into an awkward sloping site downhill from the ancient hippodrome. Here it is the interior which holds the greatest interest. The dome is seamlessly incorporated within the rectangular prayer hall without using columns by means of a hexagonal base. For once, the balance of decoration seems appropriately weighed: the central arched panel on the *ḳibla* wall is revetted to its full height near the base of the dome with Iznik tiles patterned on a large scale.

Notwithstanding these comments on decoration, it is as well to remember that we are unfortunately missing an essential ingredient in evaluating the decorative programme of Sinān's buildings: their painted interiors. Not one has survived intact without restoration. Judging from the lavishly-painted decoration of a provincial Ottoman building such as the mosque of Süleymān Pas̲h̲a in the citadel in Cairo (935/1528), the loss is a major one that might have tempered a view of Sinān's structures as usually being of exclusively architectonic interest.

One other architectural masterpiece should be mentioned, partially because it is so unexpected: the aqueduct at Mag̲h̲lova (1553-64). Its diamond-shaped piers support twin buttresses which are faceted like the Turkish triangles of early Ottoman zones of transition. The upper story has a second tier of buttresses arranged so that the knife-edged lines of support continue unbroken from top to base. It is strikingly modern in its blend of form and function, a concept that also encapsulates the successes of his domed mosques.

Bibliography: The most comprehensive study is A. Kuran, *Mimar Sinan*, Istanbul 1986 (in Turkish), also published in English as *Sinan, the grand old master of Ottoman architecture*, Washington and Istanbul 1987, both with full bibls. See also R.M. Meriç, *Mimar Sinan, hayatı, eseri. I. Mimar Sinan'ın hayatının eserlerine dair metinler*, Ankara 1965 (contains eds. of the *Tad̲h̲kirat al-bunyān*, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-abniya*, and the *Tuḥfat al-miʿmārīn*); G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971; Ö. Barkan, *Süleymaniye cami ve imareti inşaatı*, 2 vols., Ankara 1972-9; D. Kuban, art. *Sinan*, in *Macmillan Encyclopaedia of Architects*, ed. A.K. Placzek, London 1982, iv, 62-73; J.M. Rogers, *The state and the arts in Ottoman Turkey. The stones of Süleymaniye*, in *IJMES*, xiv [1982], 71-86, 283-313; G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, *The Süleymaniye complex in Istanbul, an interpretation*, in *Muqarnas*, iii [1985], 92-117; D. Kuban, *The style of Sinan's domed structures*, in *ibid.*, iv [1987], 72-97; Jale Erzen, *Sinan as anti-classicist*, in *ibid.*, v [1988], 70-86; M. Sözen, *Sinan, architect of ages*, Istanbul 1988 (full bibl.); M. Sözen and S. Saatçi, *Mimar Sinan and Tezkiret-ül bünyan*, Istanbul 1989; S. Saatçi, *Tezkiret-ül bünyan'ın Topkapı Sarayı Revan kitaplığındaki yazma nüshası*, in *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık*, iv [1990], 55-101; G. Necipoğlu, *Challenging the past. Sinan and the competitive discourse of early modern Islamic architecture*, in *Muqarnas*, x [1993], 169-80; G. Goodwin, *Sinan. Ottoman architecture and its values today*, London 1993.

(B. O'Kane)

SINĀN PAS̲H̲A, K̲H̲ĀDÎM (? - 922/1517), Ottoman Grand Vizier under Selīm I.

Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf Pas̲h̲a was of Christian, probably Bosnian, origin, recruited into Ottoman service through the *dews̲h̲irme* [*q.v.*] system. Promoted from amongst the white eunuchs of the Palace to the rank of vizier, he served as *beg* of Bosnia, and then in 920/1514, at the beginning of the eastern campaign against S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl, was appointed *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*] of Anatolia. Commanding the right wing of Selīm I's army at the battle of Čaldiran [*q.v.*] (August 1514), he played a decisive role in the Ottoman victory and was immediately appointed to the vacant post of *beglerbegi* of Rumelia. In 921/June 1515, as a result of his victory over D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳadr-og̲h̲lu ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, he was made Grand Vizier, remaining in that post until the reinstatement of the former Grand Vizier Hersekog̲h̲lu Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a in August 1515. In 922/April 1516 Sinān Pas̲h̲a was appointed Grand Vizier for a second time and also commander-in-chief of that year's campaign. He was the chief architect of the Ottoman victory against the Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣawh al-G̲h̲awrī [*q.v.*] at Mard̲j̲ Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] (922/August 1516) and the subsequent conquest of Syria. Marching south towards Egypt, he gained a second victory over the Mamlūks at K̲h̲ān Yūnis (922/December 1516), but was killed at the battle of Raydāniyya (922/January 1517). One of only two white eunuchs to rise to the rank of Grand Vizier in this period, K̲h̲ādîm Sinān Pas̲h̲a was renowned for his personal bravery and was particularly well-regarded by Selīm I.

Bibliography: Meḥmed T̲h̲üreyyā, *Sʿ O*, iii, 105; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1943, ii, 266 ff., 536 ff.; for a full account and other bibl., see *İA*, art. *Sinan Paşa, Yusuf, Hadım*, at x, 661-6.

(Christine Woodhead)

SINĀN PAS̲H̲A, K̲H̲OD̲J̲A, the name of two Ottoman dignitaries.

1. The vizier, scholar and prose writer (845-91/1440-86).

Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf Pas̲h̲a was born probably in 845/1440, in Bursa, the son of K̲h̲iḍr Beg b. Ḳāḍī D̲j̲elāl al-Dīn (d. 863/1459 [*q.v.*]), the first Ottoman *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul. Through his mother, a daughter of Mollā Yegān (d. 878/1473), he was also descended from a second *ʿulemāʾ* family prominent in the early Ottoman period. After initial appointments as *müderris* in Edirne, he was promoted by Meḥemmed II to a teaching post at the Istanbul *ṣaḥn-i t̲h̲emāniye* [*q.v.*], to be held jointly with that of *k̲h̲od̲j̲a* to the sultan. In 875/1470 he was raised to the rank of vizier and

became known consequently as "Khodja Pasha". In 881/1476 he was apparently appointed Grand Vizier to succeed Gedik Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], but was himself disgraced and imprisoned within a year. Although the precise cause remains unknown, one possibility is that, as a prominent member of a particular *ʿulemāʾ* group, he may have been a victim of factional rivalry (*IA* art. *Sinan Paşa, Hoca*, at x, 666-7). Meḥemmed II ordered his release following *ʿulemāʾ* protests, but removed him to Sivrihisar as *ḳāḍī*, where he remained five years. On the accession of Bāyezīd II in 886/1481, Sinān Pasha was restored to the rank of vizier and appointed *müderris* at the Dārü 'l-ḥadīth in Edirne with a daily salary of 100 *aḳčes*. He died in 891/1486, either in Edirne or in Istanbul. His brothers, Aḥmed Pasha, *müftī* of Bursa (d. 925/1519), and Yaʿḳūb Pasha, *ḳāḍī* of Bursa (d. 891/1486), were also prominent members of the *ʿulemāʾ*.

Sinān Pasha was a noted scholar and sceptic, with wide-ranging interests and a talent for debate; he became a follower of the dervish Sheykh Wefāʾ. His early works comprised learned treatises in Arabic on law and mathematics, but he is better known for his three works in Ottoman Turkish written during Bāyezīd II's reign: (i) *Taḍarruʿ-nāme*, a work on *taṣawwuf*, particularly admired for its fluent rhymed prose (ed. M. Tulum, Istanbul 1971); (ii) *Naṣīḥāt-nāme* or *Maʿārif-nāme*, a work on ethics (ed. İ.H. Ertalayan, Istanbul 1961); (iii) *Tedhkiretü 'l-ewliyāʾ*, containing the biographies of 28 saints, a partial translation of ʿAṭṭār's [*q.v.*] *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* (ed. E. Gürsoy-Naskali, Ankara 1987).

Bibliography: Khodja Saʿdu 'd-dīn, *Tādj al-tewārīkh*, Istanbul 1280/1863, ii, 498-500, 510; Ḳinali-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, *Tezkiretü 'ṣ-ṣuarâ*, ed. İ. Kutluk, Ankara 1978, i, 486-8; Meḥmed Medjdī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1269/1853, i, 193-6; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir; *ʿOM*, ii, 223-5; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1943, ii, 534, 658-60; mss. and further bibl. in *İA*, art. *Sinan Paşa, Hoca*, at x, 666-70. (Christine Woodhead)

2. The vizier and statesman (d. 1004/1596). He was born in Albania, in the village of Topoyan, belonging to the province Lurë, *ca.* 1520. His father was a Muslim, with the name of ʿAlī. He first appears in the Serai as the *čashnegīr bashi*, chief taster of Süleymān the Magnificent [*q.v.*]. Narrative sources maintain that he was later promoted to be *mīr-i liwā* of Malaṭya, Ḳasṭamūnī, Ghazza, Ṭarābulus in Syria, and *beglerbegi* of Erzerum and Ḥaleb (*Ḥadīḳat ül-wuzerāʾ*, 35). Archival evidence suggests a somewhat different career. At least the appointment of a *čashnegīr bashi* Sinān, who must be identical with the later Grand Vizier, to the *sandjak* of Ṭarābulus on 17 Djumādā II 963/28 April 1556 can be documented (cf. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme defteri 2, p. 68, no. 618). Sinān, the former *sandjakbegi* of Ṭarābulus, is referred to on 4 Rabīʿ I 967/4 December 1559 (Mühimme defteri 3, p. 234, no. 666). Then he is mentioned as the *sandjakbegi* of Ghazza in April 1560 (*ibid.* 317, no. 929), from where he—"the brother of Ayās Pasha"—was transferred to Malaṭya on 28 Djumādā II 968/16 March 1561 (Mühimme defteri 4, p. 191, no. 1998). After some years, Sinān was *beglerbegi* of Erzerum in 1564 and 1565 (Mühimme defteri 6, p. 9, and Mühimme defteri 5, p. 144, no. 325). His holding office in Aleppo can also be proved in October 1565 (BBOA, Kepeci 7502, p. 115). At the end of 1567, he became governor of Egypt. While in this function, he was nominated vizier and *serdār* on 20 Ṣafar 976/15 August 1568, to undertake campaigns against the Yemen and to suppress the revolt of the *Imām* Muṭahhar. He succeeded in regaining the territory for the Ottomans, for which his panegyrists gave him the epithet "conqueror of the Yemen". He undertook the *ḥadjdj* in 1571, and was again appointed governor of Egypt on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 978/13 May 1571 (Mühimme defteri 12, no. 542, cited by Hulûsi Yavuz, *Kâbe ve Haremeyn için Yemen'de Osmanlı hâkimiyeti* (*1517-1571*), Istanbul 1984, 117, n. 92), and remained in this position for almost two years. He returned to Istanbul as sixth vizier.

In the spring of 1574 he was given supreme command of the Ottoman land forces, which were marching against Tunis. Goletta (Ḥalḳ al-Wādī) was stormed after a long siege and Tunis incorporated once again in the Ottoman Empire (consequently, Sinān Pasha used the epithet "conqueror of Tunis"). For his success, he was honoured by the rank of fourth vizier, in which position his old rivalry with Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], who happened to be the third vizier, intensified. This led to their unprecedented double nomination as *serdārs* of the campaign against Persia in 1577. Later, he lost this position, but when his rival was unsuccessful, he was charged with the continuation of the warfare alone. In the spring of 1580 he led the Ottoman army against Georgia, and on 18 Djumādā II 988/31 July 1580 was appointed Grand Vizier in succession to Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha, who was *wakīl-i salṭanat* for three months after Aḥmed Pasha had died. Since, however, the Ottoman conquests in Georgia were not secure and peace with Persia could not be concluded, Sinān Pasha was dismissed on 10 Dhu'l Ḳaʿda 990/6 December 1582 and he was banished to Dimetoḳa, and later to Malḳara [*q.v.*] in Thrace. After four years in disgrace, through harem influence and appropriate presents (allegedly 100,000 ducats), he attained the governorship of Damascus in December 1586. Having lost this office, he was staying in Üsküdar when he was appointed Grand Vizier for the second time on 16 Djumādā I 997/2 April 1589. During this term, a peace treaty with Persia was signed, thus ending twelve years of hostilities. His new rival, Ferhād Pasha [*q.v.*], however, was able to denigrate him and oust him from his position (11 Shawwāl 999/2 August 1591), using as a pretext the huge expenses spent for the realisation of the old plan of connecting the Black Sea with the Gulf of Nicomedia by digging a canal from the lake of Ṣabandja; also the aborted project of ordering galleys from provincial governors for a large-scale naval campaign in the Mediterranean must have played some role in his fall from favour (cf. Pál Fodor, *Between two land wars: Ottoman naval preparations in 1590-1592*, in *Armağan. Festschrift für Andreas Tietze*, ed. Ingeborg Baldauf and Suraiya Faroqhi, Prague 1994, 89-111). One and a half years later, however, a rising of the Janissaries brought him back again from Malḳara, and from 25 Rabīʿ II/29 January 1593 onwards, he filled the Grand Vizierate for the third time.

Henceforth, all his energies were concentrated on winning military laurels in the west, especially in Hungary. In the spring of 1593, he therefore personally led the army in the Hungarian campaign which followed the defeat of Ḥasan Pasha, the *beglerbegi* of Bosnia, at Sisak. The first year of the Long War between 1593 and 1606 resulted in the capture of two fortresses of secondary importance, Veszprém and Palota, by the Ottomans, while some Ottoman strongholds were lost to the Habsburgs. In 1594, Sinān's forces were more successful since—besides Tata and Pápa—they took Győr, a significant trading town

situated in the strategic zone before Vienna, and made it the seat of a new province. A month after the death of Murād III [*q.v.*] on 16 February 1595, he again had to leave his post and go into exile at Malḳara, but only for a few months. On 29 Shawwāl 1003/7 July 1595 he replaced his rival and relative Ferhād Pasha, and immediately began a campaign against Wallachia. His defeat at Giurgiu (Yergöğü) and the loss of Esztergom in Hungary brought about his dismissal and banishment to Malḳara on 16 Rabīʿ I 1004/19 November 1595. But when his successor, Lala Meḥmed Pasha, died on the third day after his appointment, the imperial seal was again entrusted to Sinān Pasha, this great survivor, for the fifth time. In this office he died, when just engaged in plans to attack Transylvania, on 4 Shaʿbān 1004/3 April 1596. He was buried in his own *türbe*, built by Miʿmār Dāwūd, in the Čarshiḳapi̊ quarter in Istanbul.

Sinān Pasha's fabulous wealth, with which he could finance the state in cases of emergency, explains why he was able—besides his personal capacities—to survive four periods of disgrace. He established several pious foundations in various places of the Empire. Although some of them were confiscated by the treasury when he was dismissed, many others survived or were renewed later. The handsomely-fitted *köshk* of the Serai on the shore of the Golden Horn bore his name and survived till 1827.

It was during his terms as Grand Vizier that—as a result of the consummation of the process of princely isolation of the sultans—the communication in writing of the ruler and his "absolute attorney" became a general practice in the form of the *telkhīṣ* [*q.v.*].

His strong personality provoked his contemporaries, mainly those who belonged to the Bosnian faction in the Serai. The chronicler Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī [*q.v.*] had a special hatred for him, partly because the vizier openly expressed his contempt for the literati. On the other hand, for people of lower rank he symbolised the Ottoman soldier, the true pillar of the empire, and the suppressor of the infidels.

Bibliography: Tahsin Öz, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde Yemen fatihi Sinan paşa arşivi*, in *Belleten*, x/37 (1946), 171-93; Şerafeddin Turan, art. *Sinan Paşa*, in *İA*, x, 670-5; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Die Vorlagen* (telḫīṣe) *des Großwezirs Sinān Paša an Sultan Murād III*, Hamburg 1967; Hasan Kaleši, *Veliki vezir Kodža Sinan-paša, njegove zadužbine i njegova vakufnama*, in *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti u Jugoslaviji na arapskom jeziku*. Priština 1972, 257-308; Tülây Reyhanlı, *Bursa Yenişehrinde Koca Sinan paşa camii ve imareti*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi. In Memoriam Prof. Albert Louis Gabriel*, Ankara 1978, 373-95; K. Schwartz and H. Kurio, *Die Stiftungen des osmanischen Großwesirs Koğa Sinān Pascha (gest. 1596) in Uzungaova/Bulgarien*, Berlin 1983; Sándor László Tóth, *Szinán nagyvezér tervei 1593-94-ben*, in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, xxix (1982), 159-74; Haase, *Eine kleinere Waqf-Urkunde Koca Sinan Paschas für Malkara, Thrakien*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, xi (1991), 129-57; Pál Fodor, *Sultan, Imperial Council, Grand Vizier. Changes in the Ottoman ruling élite and the formation of the Grand Vizieral* Telḫīṣ, in *AO Hung.*, xlvii (1994), 67-85. (F. Babinger-[G. Dávid])

SIND, the older Indian Sindhu, the name for the region around the lower course of the Indus river (from which the region takes its name, see mihrān), i.e. that part of the Indus valley south of approximately lat. 28° 30' N., and the delta area, now coming within the modern state of Pākistān.

There are alluvial soils in the delta and in the lands along the river, liable to inundation when the river rises in spring from the melting snows of the northern Indian mountains and rendered fertile by a network of irrigation canals and channels for flood control. To the west of the lower Indus lies the Sind hill country, much of this comprising the Kīrthar range, which rises to an average height of 1,500 m/ 5,000 feet and which forms a natural frontier with Balūčistān [*q.v.*]. To the east of the river valley begins a desert of sand dunes, the southwestern end of the Thār Desert which lies mainly in modern Rādjāsthān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (see H.G. Raverty, *The Mihrān of Sind and its tributaries*, in *JASB*, lxi (1893), special number, repr. Lahore 1979; H.T. Lambrick, *Sind, a general introduction*, Ḥaydarābād-Sind 1964, chs. 1-4; Kazi S. Ahmad, *A geography of Pakistan*², Karachi 1969, index; O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan, a general and regional geography*³, London 1972, 504-13).

1. History in the pre-modern period.

Sind forms part of one of the early centres of human civilisation, that of the Indus valley (overall span, approximately 2500-1700 B.C.), with its epicentre at Mohenjo-daro on the right bank of the river in Upper Sind (see Sir R. Mortimer Wheeler, *Civilizations of the Indus valley and beyond*, London 1966; idem, *The Indus civilization*³, Cambridge 1968). This civilisation was succeeded by the one brought into the subcontinent by the Indo-Europeans or Aryans, doubtless in several waves but apparently covering the years 1750-1000 B.C. The Achaemenid king Darius the Great (522-486 B.C.) made Sind and Gandhara parts of his empire, but these were soon lost to the Persians, certainly by the time Alexander the Great traversed the region in 326-325 B.C. before turning westwards and homewards through Gedrosia (the later Makrān [*q.v.*]) (see M. Stein, *On Alexander's track to the Indus*, London 1929; P.H.L. Eggermont, *Alexander's campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan and the siege of the Brahmin town of Harmatelia*, Leuven 1975). Various conquerors subsequently controlled Sind, from the Mauryas through the Indo-Bactrian Greeks and the Parthians, the Scyths and the Kushans. Under the Kushan emperor Kanishka (1st century A.D.), Sind apparently became, at least in part, Buddhist in faith, in addition to its existing Hinduism, so that, at the time of the Arab invasion of the early 8th century, Sind seems to have been in majority Hindu but with a very substantial Buddhist minority.

The Arab general Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*] invaded Sind in 93/711, during the governorship of ʿIrāḳ and the east of al-Ḥadjdjādj and the caliphate of al-Walīd I b. ʿAbd al-Malik, marching from southern Persia through the arid region of the Makrān [*q.v.*] coastland to the Indus delta, and by the time of his recall and death three years later, the Arabs controlled all the lower Indus valley up to and including Multān [*q.v.*] and beyond. Despite the brevity of this conquest period, fierce and bloody campaigning was necessary. Probably a majority of the towns of Sind sought *amān* from the Arabs and submitted under a treaty of peace, *ṣulḥ*, as was the case, e.g. at Arōr/al-Rār, Armabīl and Sīwistān. But resistance at the capital Dēwal/Dēbal/Daybul [*q.v.*] by the local king, named in the Arabic sources as Dāhir (whose attacks on Muslim shipping in the Arabian Sea had allegedly provoked the Arab's punitive expedition) was strenuous, with the invaders conducting a massacre of the inhabitants over three days; 6,000 were killed at Rāwar and another 6,000 at Multān (see F. Gabrieli, *Muhammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī and the Arab conquest of Sind*, in *EW*, N.S. xv [1964-5],

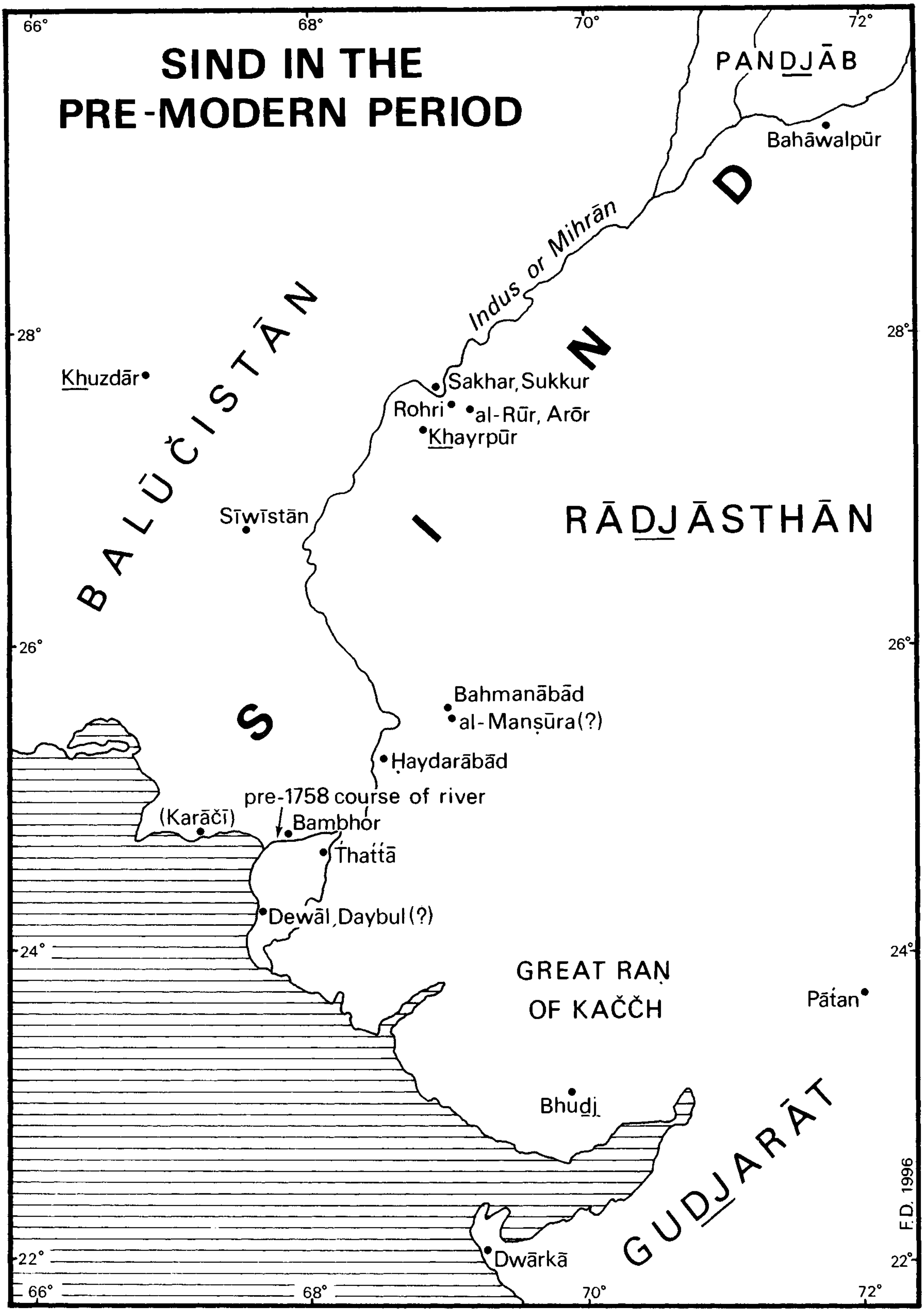
SIND IN THE
PRE-MODERN PERIOD
66°
68°
70°
72°
28°
26°
24°
22°
PANDJĀB
Bahāwalpūr
Indus or Mihrān
BALŪČISTĀN
SIND
Khuzdār
Sakhar, Sukkur
Rohri
al-Rūr, Arōr
Khayrpūr
Sīwīstān
RĀDJĀSTHĀN
Bahmanābād
al-Manṣūra(?)
Ḥaydarābād
pre-1758 course of river
(Karāčī)
Bambhor
Thaṭṭā
Dewāl, Daybul (?)
GREAT RAṆ
OF KAČČH
Pāṭan
Bhudj
GUDJARĀT
Dwārkā
F.D. 1996

281-95; Y. Friedmann, *A contribution to the early history of Islam in India*, in Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 309-33). In the succeeding decades, when Arab rule was well established, it seems to have been the Buddhists who collaborated more readily with the Muslim Arabs than the Hindus, and there may have been a process of absorption which contributed to the comparatively rapid extinction of Buddhism in Sind. When the Arab geographers and travellers of the 4th/10th century give descriptions of Sind, there is no mention of the *sumaniyya/samaniyya*, and al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048 [*q.v.*]), when he visited Sind, was unable to find any information there on Buddhist and Buddhism for his book on the religions of India (see D.N. McLean, *Religion and society in Arab Sind*, Leiden 1989, 22-82).

During the three centuries of Arab rule in Sind up to the Ghaznawid period (5th/11th century), the province was governed by officials sent out by the caliphs, with the capital and residence of these governors at al-Manṣūra (perhaps 78 km/45 miles to the northeast of modern Ḥaydarābād, Sind), founded by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's son ʿAmr [see AL-MANṢŪRA]. By the mid-3rd/9th century, caliphal control had become very tenuous, and Arab families of Sind like the Habbārids, who claimed Ḳurashī descent, ruled this out-post of the *Dār al-Islām* largely undisturbed. Islam as a faith settled down into a generally peaceful co-existence with the Hindus, doubtless still very much a majority of the population. It produced a good number of traditionist scholars (*muḥaddithūn*), the majority of whom were accounted amongst the stricter school of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* (McLean, *op. cit.*, 95-110, cf. also 120-5).

Ibn Ḥawḳal (mid-4th/10th century) found the *khuṭba* in Sind pronounced in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph (ed. Kramers, 320, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 313), but in this century, *duʿāt* (pl. of *dāʿī* [*q.v.*]) of the Ismāʿīlīs [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA] arrived in Sind and Multān from Yemen. During the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz (341-65/953-75 [*q.v.*]), an Ismāʿīlī principality was set up in Multān, and the *khuṭba* accordingly made there for the Fāṭimids (see S.M. Stern, *Ismāʿīlī propaganda and Fatimid rule in Sind*, in *IC*, xxiii [1949], 298-307). This nest of heresy attracted the attention of the rigidly Sunnī orthodox military conqueror Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], who was concerned at this time to display his loyalty to the ʿAbbāsids and his abhorrence of the Fāṭimids. In 396/1006 he attacked Multān, capturing the city, and four years later he returned, extinguished its independence completely and deposed the local ruler Abu 'l-Futūḥ/Fatḥ Dāwūd b. Naṣr. The latter's son Dāwūd al-Aṣghar led a rebellion against the new Ghaznawid sultan Mawdūd [*q.v.*] in *ca.* 432/1030-1 or shortly thereafter, but his failure marks the end of Ismāʿīlism in Multān and Upper Sind. Less is known about Lower Sind at this time, but Ismāʿīlism does not seem to have secured a significant hold there in the face of a strong adherence to Sunnī orthodoxy (M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 96-7; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1964, 76; idem, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, 31; McLean, *op. cit.*, 126-53).

At some point in the first half of the 5th/11th century, Lower Sind came under the rule of a Rādjput family, the Sūmeras [*q.v.*] or Sūmras, but Upper Sind remained under Ghaznawid control. After the demise of the Ghaznawids, the whole of Sind came into the hands of their supplanters, the Ghūrids, and it was conquered by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [*q.v.*], passing after the sultan's death in 602/1206 to his commander Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳubāča. The latter submitted to the Dihlī Sultan Aybak, but was defeated by Iltutmush, whose authority he refused to recognise. The Khʷārazm Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*], fleeing before the Mongols, invaded the Indus valley in 618-20/1221-3, reaching as far as Dēwal/Daybul and the Indian Ocean coast, with the local Sūmera chief fleeing before him (see J.A. Boyle, *Jalal al-Din Khwarazm Shah in the Indus valley*, in *Sind through the centuries*, 124-9). The Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] visited Sind in 734/1333-4, probably entering the Indus valley via the Bolan Pass, and almost certainly again in 741/1341 (C.F. Beckingham, *Ibn Battuta in Sind*, in *ibid.*, 139-42); he mentions the Sūmeras (whom he calls by the familiar Arabic term *al-Sāmira* [*q.v.*], *recte* the Samaritans) as an endogamous clan, with an *amīr* called Wunār who led a rebellion against the Dihlī Sultans, the suzerains of Sind (*Riḥla*, iii, 101-8, tr. Gibb, iii, 596-600). When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was in Sind, the ancient capital Dēwal/Daybul had ceased to exist, and its place must have been taken by Thaṭṭā [*q.v.*], probably a foundation of the Sūmeras. The Sūmeras themselves ceased to rule Sind in *ca.* 733/1333, and their power was crushed in 752/1351 by a new ruling dynasty, also of Rādjput origin, the Sammās [*q.v.*], whose monarchs, the Djāms, were to rule Sind for nearly two centuries until the early 10th/16th century. Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] of Dihlī died in Muḥarram 752/March 1351, on the banks of the Indus, while in pursuit of a rebel whom the Sammās had harboured, and Sind contended successfully with the imperial arms until the Sammās were reduced to obedience and vassalage by Fīrūz Shāh, Muḥammad's successor. With the decline of the power of Dihlī, that of the Sammās revived, the greatest of their line being Djām Nanda, or Niẓām al-Dīn, who reigned for forty-six years and died in 915/1509. In 926/1520 Sind was invaded by Shāh Beg Arghūn [*q.v.*], who, having been driven from Ḳandahār by Bābur, succeeded in establishing himself in Sind. Djām Fīrūz, the last of the Sammās, was driven into Gudjarāt, where he died. The Mughal Humāyūn [*q.v.*], expelled from Hindūstān by Shīr Shāh Sūr [*q.v.*], made two abortive attempts to conquer Sind, during the second of which his son Akbar was born at ʿUmarkot in 949/1542, but was compelled to flee into Persia. On the death of Shāh Ḥasan, the last of the Arghūns, in 961/1554, the Tarkhāns, another short-lived dynasty, related to the Arghūns, became rulers of Sind, and witnessed the sack of Thaṭṭā by the Portuguese in 1555, but in 1000/1592 Akbar defeated Mīrzā Djānī Beg Tarkhān and annexed Sind, which was incorporated in the *ṣūba* of Multān. The province was a part of the empire, but owing to its remoteness local affairs remained much in native hands. The Dāūdputras were powerful in Lower Sind in the 11th/17th century, and were succeeded by the Kalhoras, who in 1112/1701 ousted them from Shikārpūr and obtained from Awrangzīb a large grant of land. For the next forty years, the Kalhoras increased their power, but in 1153/1740 Nūr Muḥammad Kalhora incurred the displeasure of the Persian invader Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], to whom that part of Sind lying to the west of the Indus had been ceded, and was compelled to surrender Shikārpūr and Sībī and to pay a heavy tribute. In 1167/1754 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (Abdālī) [*q.v.*], to whom Sind had passed on after the death of Nādir Shāh, drove Nūr Muḥammad to Djaysalmer, where he died, but his son, Muḥammad Murād Yār Khān, appeased the Afghān and retained the kingdom. In

1182/1768 his brother and successor, Ghulām Shāh, founded Ḥaydarābād on the site of Nerankot. The relations of the Kalhoras with the English East India Company, which in 1772 opened a factory at Thaṭṭā, were the reverse of friendly, and the factory was closed in 1775. Some years later, Mīr Bidjar, a chief of the Tālpūr tribe of the Balūč, rose in rebellion, and the Kalhora compromised the matter by appointing him minister, but he was assassinated in 1195/1781 after defeating an Afghān army near Shikārpūr, and his son ʿAbd Allāh Khān Tālpūr drove ʿAbd al-Nabī, the last of the Kalhoras, to Kalāt [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd al-Nabī regained his throne and put ʿAbd Allāh to death, but the latter's kinsman, Mīr Fatḥ ʿAlī, defeated him and finally compelled him to take refuge in Djodhpūr, where his descendants held distinguished rank till the end of British Indian days. In 1197/1783 Fatḥ ʿAlī, the first of the Tālpūr Mīrs, established himself as Raʾīs of Sind. The history of the country under its new rulers was bewildering, owing to its partition among different members of the family: (1) the Ḥaydarābād or Shāhdādpūr branch, ruling in Central Sind, (2) the Mīrpūr or Manikānī branch, seated at Mīrpūr, and (3) the Suhrābānī branch, ruling at Khayrpūr [*q.v.*].

The English East India Company had had a factory at Thaṭṭā for some thirty years in the mid-17th century and, as noted above, again in the later 18th century. In 1799 an attempt to establish commercial relations was made by the Governor of Bombay, with the additional motives of excluding possible French Revolutionary influence from Sind and, more pressingly, that of the Tālpūr Mīrs' suzerains, the Durrānī rulers of Afghānistān. By *ca.* 1830 the possibility was being mooted in British Indian circles of trade along the Indus waters, and a mission under Henry Pottinger was sent to Sind in 1832. At the time of the First Afghan War, British Indian troops insisted on transit through Sind and the Bolan Pass into Afghānistān, and in 1839 a treaty was imposed on the Mīrs. Military disasters in Afghānistān and north-eastern Balūčistān weakened British prestige. In the rising in Sind of 1843 against British interference there, Sir Charles Napier defeated the insurgents at Miyānī near Ḥaydarābād. Mīr ʿAlī Murād, of the Suhrābānī branch, remained faithful to the British connection, and was permitted to retain his principality of Khayrpūr and the honorary office of *Raʾīs* of Upper Sind. The rest of Sind was annexed to British India, attached administratively to Bombay, and until 1847 was in fact governed by Napier, until his retirement from the post, as Commissioner for Sind.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): For an early source on the Arab conquest, see ČAČ-NĀMA in Suppl. Also R.F. Burton, *Scinde; or, the unhappy valley*, London 1851; idem, *Scinde revisited*, London 1877; M.R. Haig, *The Indus valley delta country*, London 1894; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 389-432; E.H. Aitkens, *Gazetteer of the province of Sind. A*, Karachi 1907; H.T. Lambrick, *Sir Charles Napier and Sind*, Oxford 1952; R.A. Huttenback, *British relations with Sind, 1799-1843*, Berkeley, etc. 1962; R.C. Majumdar, in idem (ed.), *History and culture of the Indian people*, ix/1, Bombay 1963, ch. VIII; H.T. Sorely, *Gazetteer of West Pakistan. The former province of Sind, including Khairpur State*, Lahore 1968; M.H. Panhwar, *Source material on Sind*, Jamshore, Sind 1977; Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and culture of Sind*, Karachi 1980; Hamida Khuhro (ed.), *Sind through the centuries, Procs. of an International Seminar held in Karachi in Spring 1975 ...*, Karachi 1981; A. Wink, *Al-Hind. The making of the Indo-Islamic world. I. Early medieval India and the expansion of Islam 7th-13th centuries*, Leiden 1990, 144-218.

(T.W. HAIG-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. History from 1843.

Sind was annexed by the British in 1843 following the defeat by British troops commanded by Sir Charles Napier of the local Tālpūr *mīrs* at the battles of Miani (17 February) and Ḥaydarābād (22 March). This action was taken as part of a wider plan to secure India's northwestern frontier in the aftermath of the unsuccessful First Afghan War of 1838-41, and was officially justified by claims that Sind's rulers had failed to honour agreements entered into with the British administration in India. Contemporary public opinion, however, was divided over the way in which the *mīrs* had been treated, some observers alleging that Britain had behaved dishonourably, which led to the famous "Peccavi" (I have sinned/Sind) saying attributed by the magazine *Punch* to Napier.

Under British administration, a hierarchy of officials was installed along the same lines as other parts of British-controlled India. A similar land revenue system was also introduced which did not differ very greatly from the situation under the *mīrs*. In return for their allegiance, most landholders were confirmed in their estates. From the British point of view, Sind remained a frontier province, albeit attached to the Bombay Presidency after 1847, and consolidating and maintaining the security of its borders was consequently a high priority. The other main concern of Sind's new authorities was to encourage the development of the local economic infrastructure in order to expand the region's usefulness as a source of raw materials and a market for British goods. The introduction of new irrigation schemes such as the Jamrao canal in 1900 and the Sukkur barrage in 1932 facilitated a steady shift to cash cropping as thousands of acres were released for cultivation. Helped by the expansion of the railway network, the port of Karachi [*q.v.*] acquired all-India importance. The strains of commercialisation combined with British revenue demands resulted in a familiar pattern of alienation, with land often moving out of Muslim into Hindu hands. The events of 1857-8 had passed by almost unnoticed in Sind, but economic problems in the 1890s produced a period of instability when the administration was confronted with problems of law and order. Local people also began to resent the presence of settlers from outside the region, who were officially encouraged to exploit the new agrarian opportunities.

While the province escaped the communal bitterness of many other parts of India, Muslim-Hindu differences gradually came to dominate local politics. By 1936, enough public support had been generated to win Sind's separation from the Bombay Presidency, which had communal implications, as on the whole Muslims supported the break while Hindus remained wary. Sindhi Muslims had enthusiastically supported the Khilāfat movement [*q.v.*] of 1919-22, but it was not until the Second World War that Sindhi politics were drawn more fully into the wider nationalist debate. Both the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League had only acquired toe-holds in the province prior to the war years. However, during 1939-45 the League, in particular, with the help of influential Muslim landed élites, increased its support, winning victory in the post-war elections of 1945-6.

At independence in 1947, Sind became a province in the new state of Pakistan, with Karachi the federal capital until 1962. As a result of the demographic

upheaval which accompanied partition, Sind received large numbers of refugees from north and west India who were largely urban-based and so filled to some extent the gap left behind by Sind's departed Hindu community, contributing to Karachi's dramatically-swelling population, which rose from 400,000 at independence to nearly 1.5 million in the early 1950s. Provincial politics continued to be the domain of rural élites, but with the introduction of One-Unit in 1955, for which Sind's Chief Minister M.A. Khuhro mobilised support, Sind's separate political identity was once again lost until the late 1960s. Sind's towns and cities continued expanding, and further irrigation schemes such as the G.M. Barrage across the Indus at Ḥaydarābād helped to strengthen commercial agriculture.

Despite the advantages of having a Sindhi Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, during the 1970s, economic problems, exacerbated by widescale waterlogging and salination, and competition for scarce employment, contributed to political instability, producing riots as migrants protested against the introduction of quotas favouring local Sindhis, while Sindhis resented the dominance of Urdu. The martial law régime of General Zia was interpreted by many Sindhis as undisguised rule by the Panjab, and there was much support mobilised in Sind for the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) which campaigned hard against it in 1983. With the return to parliamentary democracy in the late 1980s, another Sindhi, Benazir Bhutto, became Prime Minister but ethnic tensions fractured the province, which fell victim to the widespread violence that erupted between the province's communities. New political organisations, such as the *Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz* (MQM) which represented refugee interests, clashed with Sindhi nationalists and also Panjabi-Pathan groups in battlegrounds provided by the province's main cities and towns. By the early 1990s, Sind was facing an uncertain political and economic future.

Bibliography: Several of the works listed in the *Bibl.* to 1. above deal with events leading up to the annexation of Sind and its aftermath, but see also Hamida Khuro, *The making of modern Sind. British policy and social change in the nineteenth century*, Karachi 1978; Sarah Ansari, *Sufi saints and state power. The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947*, Cambridge 1992.

(Sarah Ansari)

3. Language and literature.

Sindhī is the Indo-Aryan language of Sind, spoken by an estimated 15 million speakers in Pakistan, where they constitute the third largest speech community after speakers of Pandjābī and Pas͟htō, and a further 2.6 million (1991) in India.

(a) Language. Within Indo-Aryan, Sindhī is most closely related to the Sirāikī of the southwestern Pandjāb, which is also widely spoken bilingually with Sindhī in northern Sind. Even Sirāikī, however, which was classified by Grierson in the *Linguistic survey of India* under Lahndā [*q.v.*], shares many more features with Pandjābī [*q.v.*] than with Sindhī. The somewhat isolated status thus conferred upon Sindhī by its peculiar mix of conservative and innovatory features is largely to be accounted for as a natural consequence both of its geographical position on the extreme western perimeter of the Indo-Aryan speech area and of the high degree of isolation from other parts of South Asia imposed upon Sind by the deserts and hills with which the historically inhabited riverain area is largely surrounded. Internal dialectal divisions, e.g. between the standard Vičōlī of the central region, including Ḥaydarābād, and the Lārī of the Indus delta, are less significant than those between Sindhī proper and Kaččhī, a distinct variety of Sindhī which betrays its cultural subordination to Gudjarātī.

Among the more notable conservative features of Sindhī particular mention may be made of the widespread retention of short final vowels (albeit often as whispered vowels) now entirely lost in most other New Indo-Aryan languages, thus permitting the retention of such grammatical distinctions as *gharu* "house", *ghara* "houses", *ghari* "at home". Other conservative features include the continued existence of distinctive feminine pronouns, partial distinctions in conjugation between intransitive and transitive verbs, and the maintenance of more than 100 irregular past participles. Innovatory distinctive features include the formation of the future from the present participle, and the exceptionally widespread use of pronominal suffixes not only with verbs, e.g. *atha-mi* "is for me", but also with nouns of relationship, e.g. *pi'u-mi* "my father", and common postpositions, e.g. *sāñu-mi* "with me". While Sindhī is naturally further distinguished from Urdū and the other Indo-Aryan languages of Pakistan by many distinctive lexical items, its vocabulary also shares with these a very considerable component of Perso-Arabic loans, although here too there are some unexpected contrasts, e.g. Sindhī *kitābu* "book", masculine, versus the feminine Urdū and Pandjābī *kitāb*.

Phonologically, the most distinctive feature of Sindhī (and Sirāikī) is the presence of the voiced implosives *g' dj' d' b'*, which are derived from Middle Indo-Aryan initial and medial geminate voiced unaspirates, and which now stand in phonemic contrast with the corresponding explosives *g dj d(ḍ) b*. As a result of these and other contrasts, Sindhī possesses 41 consonant phonemes, an exceptionally large inventory which led to rather far-reaching adaptations of the Arabic script. Earlier conventions were formalised soon after the British conquest of 1843, with the implementation in 1853 of the recommendations of the Ellis Committee of 1851. A regularised Sindhī orthography was thereby instituted, using a 52-letter alphabet normally written in *naskhī* style as opposed to the *nastaʿlīḳ* favoured for Urdū and other South Asian languages. Many letters are distinguished by additional dots, so that, e.g. the *djīm* set also includes separate letters for implosive *dj'* (with two vertical subscript dots), palatal *ñ* (with two horizontal subscript dots) and aspirated *čh* (with four subscript dots). Other unusual conventions include the specialisation of different forms of *kāf* for *k* and aspirated *kh*, and such creative spellings as *hamza* with nunation for *aẽ* "and". Although the unsystematic character of these innovations was deplored by Trumpp, whose Germanic enthusiasm for order led him to devise a confusingly different orthography in his classic grammar, the quite distinctive character of the Sindhī script has done much to ensure the subsequent literary and cultural autonomy of the language. The autonomy of Sindhī was fostered by the region's separate administration from Bombay during the British period, but came to be challenged after 1947 by the settlement of very large numbers of Urdū-speaking *muhādjirīn* in Karāčī, Ḥaydarābād and other urban areas and the accompanying expulsion of most of the Sindhī Hindū population to India, and by subsequent attempts by centralising régimes to enhance the unique status of Urdū as national language of Pakistan. In spite of enduring tensions, however, the status of Sindhī as the most highly developed of Pakistan's provincial languages has now been amply secured, while in India its national status was recog-

nised in 1967 in the eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution.

(b) Literature. The beginnings of a reliable literary record hardly predate the late 16th century. In spite of the claims sometimes more or less extravagantly advanced to the contrary, the early date of Muslim conquest of Sind is therefore not matched by the preservation of any substantial early Muslim Sindhī literature. The Sindhī and Kaččhī elements to be discerned in some of the hymns (*ginān*) of the Ismāʿīlī Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. 1416?) and his successors provide tantalising indications of the likely early existence of an important sectarian literature, but much has been obscured by uncertain textual transmission and the tendency of later copyists and editors to impart a strongly Gudjarātī character to the language of these Ismāʿīlī compositions.

The classical tradition of Sindhī literature has a strongly Ṣūfī emphasis, already apparent in the brief couplets ascribed to Ḳāḍī Ḳāḍan (d. 1551) and the better authenticated and poetically more memorable set composed by ʿAbd al-Karīm of Bulṛī (1536-1623). The apogee of this tradition is reached in the *Risālo* of Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf of Bhiṭ (1689-1752), a collection of verses designed for musical performance in *ḳawwālī*, which has subsequently become the focus of extraordinary veneration as the supreme expression of Sindhī cultural identity. Arranged under the modal headings called *sur*, the *Risālo* draws for its poetic inspiration not only upon the Ḳurʾān and *Mathnawī*, but also variously upon directly observed phenomena of Sindhī rural life, upon such local folk-romances as the tragic stories of Sasuī and Māruī, and upon memorable evocations of the yogis to whose company the author appears to have been so particularly drawn. Many later Ṣūfī poets were inspired by the example of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, but his ecstatic inspiration is genuinely matched only by Saččal Sarmast (1739-1827) of Khayrpūr [*q.v.*] in Upper Sind, who also wrote in Sirāikī. The primacy of the Ṣūfī lyric has caused the considerable Islamic literature produced in other traditional poetic genres in the Kalhoṛā and Ṫālpur periods (1748-1843) to appear to be of rather lesser interest.

During the British period, there was the usual shift in fashion away from indigenous genres to more prestigious external models, involving extensive adaptations into Sindhī both of the pedantic niceties of Perso-Urdū *ʿarūḍ* and the Western genres now being made familiar through English. While Hindu writers played an important part in these modernising developments in Sindhī, both tendencies were most vigorously if often prosily promulgated by the extraordinarily prolific writer Mīrzā Ḳalīč Bēg (1853-1929), the son of a Georgian Christian convert to Islam. Ḳalīč Bēg was one of those figures characteristic of the age who devoted his life to the service of his mother tongue. Fluent in Persian, Arabic, Urdū and English, he drew upon the most varied sources in his 300-odd books, which embraced poetry, dramas, novels, essays, grammar, biography and children's books, as well as many translations of all sorts. In the Pakistani period, the leading figure in Sindhī literature has been the poet Shaykh Ayāz (b. 1923), whose extensive œuvre has drawn profoundly upon the resources of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's *Risālo* in its often outspoken articulation of Sindhī cultural nationalism.

Bibliography: (a) Language. E. Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhi language*, London and Leipzig 1872, remarkably long-lived as the standard work of reference, may be supplemented by R.E. Yegorova, *The Sindhi language*, Moscow 1971. G.A. Grierson (ed.), *Linguistic survey of India*, viii/1, *Sindhī and Lahndā*, Calcutta 1919, has a full bibl. of the earlier sources. Later items may be found in the bibliography of C.P. Masica, *The Indo-Aryan languages*, Cambridge 1991, 508-9.

(b) Literature. Besides the useful account of L.H. Ajwani, *History of Sindhi literature*, New Delhi 1970, the summary description in A. Schimmel, *Sindhi literature*, Wiesbaden 1974, is an excellent guide to the primary and secondary bibliography, including many of her own valuable contributions to the subject. Further information may be conveniently sought in G.R. Garg, *International encyclopaedia of Indian literature*, viii, *Sindhi*, New Delhi 1991. H. Khuhro (ed.), *Sind through the centuries*, Karachi 1981, includes articles on various aspects of Sindhi language and literature.

A comparative analysis of the earliest examples of Sindhi verse is offered in C. Shackle, *Early Muslim vernacular poetry in the Indus valley: its contexts and its character*, in A.L. Dallapiccola and S. Zingel-Avé Lallemant (ed.), *Islam and Indian regions*, i, *Texts*, Stuttgart 1993, 259-89. The language and content of the Ismāʿīlī literature is described in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili hymns from South Asia*, London 1992. M. Jotwani, *Shah Abdul Karim*, New Delhi 1970, offers an introduction to one early poet with complete translation of his verses. The overwhelming reputation of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf has generated a considerable literature in English, but this is largely uncritical. The classic account in H.T. Sorley, *Shāh Abdul Latīf of Bhit*, London 1940, should be supplemented by A. Schimmel, *Pain and grace*, Leiden 1976, and Durreshahwar Sayed, *The poetry of Shah Abd al-Latif*, Jamshoro-Ḥaydarābād 1988. The character of the pre-modern Islamic literature may be deduced from the descriptions in C. Shackle, *Catalogue of the Panjabi and Sindhi manuscripts in the India Office Library*, London 1977, 58-71. More recent literature is much less well described, but mention may be made of the useful small anthology *Sindhi short stories*, tr. H.K. Ramani, Karachi *ca.* 1972, and the coverage of modern poetry in Fahmida Riaz, *Pakistan, literature and society*, New Delhi 1986.

(C. Shackle)

4. Architecture.

Deserts, marshes and inhospitable ranges of hills and mountains have isolated Sind from the architectural traditions and building techniques of Persia, the Pandjāb and other parts of the subcontinent. The earlier tradition of building in brick was followed throughout the Islamic period, with plinths of stone to protect the walls from rising salt. The use of stone structures and carving could have been introduced from neighbouring Gudjarāt in the late 8/15th century. A century earlier, the glazed tilework tradition of Persia started to enliven brick buildings with two shades of blue and white; the occasional touch of yellow appeared later.

Built under Arab rule, the earliest mosque of the subcontinent in Bhambōr [see daybul] contains two dated inscriptions: 109/727 and 294/906. Excavations only reveal the outline in stone of the ground plan; it follows the square plan of the earlier mosques in Kūfa and Wāsiṭ with a sanctuary without *miḥrāb*, three bays deep and with three rows of eleven columns on stone bases. The *ṣaḥn* is surrounded by the usual *riwāḳs*. Presumably the mosques in al-Manṣūra [*q.v.*] followed the same plan. Later mosques can be grouped according to their tilework decoration inspired by Persian work. Their ground plans recall Lōdī and Mughal prototypes. The earliest example is the Dabgīr

mosque 966/1558 in Thaṭṭā [*q.v.*] as well as the better-known one, the Djāmi' Masdjid built between 1053/1644 and 1056/1647. Other such mosques in bad repair are scattered throughout Sind in Sukkur, Khūdābād, Rōhrī (*ca.* 990/1583) and Ghotki (1144/1732).

More than mosques, tombs stand out as the major architectural achievement of Sind. Many of them are characterised by a funerary enclosure which includes a *miḥrāb*. Once more, baked brick remains the basic material and in the earlier examples of Arūr [*q.v.*] near Sukkur, such as the tombs of Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Shakar-Gandj [*q.v.*] or Khatal al-Dīn, the relief patterning in terra cotta recalls the decoration of the tomb towers of Kharraḳān from 486/1093 in northern Persia. On the other hand, the square plans with dome are drawn from monuments such as the tomb of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*] in Bukhārā or in Sind from indigenous stupas. Although Multān [*q.v.*] remains the province of grandiose mausolea with glazed tiles, yet in the Maklī [*q.v.*] Hills near Thaṭṭā, the largest Muslim cemetery of the subcontinent, there are also brick tombs with intense patterning in tilework. The best preserved brick-and-tile mausoleum is that of Dīwān Shūrfā Khān (1048/1638) with its mosque; inside its enclosure the square domed building with corner round towers, is sited on a plinth. In Ḥaydarābād, the massive tomb of the founder Ghulām Shāh Kalhōrā buried in 1186/1772 follows the same building traditions as do the two groups of later Tālpūr tombs.

The impact of Gudjarātī stone carving is also echoed in the stone mausolea of the Sindī ruling dynasties. In the Maklī Hills, the most richly carved is the tomb of Djām Niẓām al-Dīn, who died in 914/1508. Amongst other large cemeteries, that of Chaukundi, meaning domed roofs, contains numerous stone burials of the Jokhia tribe (12th/18th century); they exhibit geometric carvings and crude representations of warriors on horseback.

To protect cities, fords and bridges, forts were an essential feature of river and desert landscapes. Nothing much remains of the walls of Bhambōr or al-Manṣūra, but the battlements of the two forts of Ḥaydarābād still dominate the city. In Sukkur, one imposing brick watch tower (1003/1594) survives by the *Ārām-gāh* or resthouse of Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm [*q.v.*], the gifted courtier of the Mughal court. South of Sukkur, the fort of Kōt Didji (12th/18th century) stands out as an impressive landmark; and the ruined battlements of Rōhrī still overlook the Indus, as do those of the fortress on the island of Bhakkar near by. The early 13th/19th century fort at Ranikot, with its 24 km/15 miles of walls, is said to be the largest in the world.

Urban architecture during the British period in Karāčī [*q.v.*], in particular, took on a syncretic European style of great exhuberance. After independence, Mahdī 'Alī Mīrzā (1910-61), the first president of the Institute of Architects of Pakistan, directed the next generation into a more modern international form of building, although in Karāčī's university complex planned by M. Ecochard, the materials used are a combination of cement and local stone, sand and aggregate.

All over Sind, wind catchers, *mangh* or *mungh*, from around 1 m square and up to 2 m high/3.3-6.6 feet high, rise above the flat roofs of houses to catch the summer wind. From the *shikargāhs* or the game reserves comes the *acacia arabica* for the building of houses. In Thaṭṭā, fine lime plaster or *čunam* covers the mud rendering of the walls; it is carved into mouldings and pilasters. Doors for the fort of Ḥaydarābād are elegantly carved in Indian rosewood or *shīsham*, as are in Lārkhānā the doors for the tomb of Shāh Bahra, who died in 1148/1735.

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SINDĀBŪR, Sandābūr, a port on the western coast of peninsular India. Al-Idrīsī describes it as a trading town on a large estuary with an anchorage. It has been tentatively identified with either Siddhāpūr/Shiddāpūr or the modern Shadāshivagad, some 80 km/50 miles south of Goa, hence in what is now the union territory of Goa, Daman and Diu in the Indian Union.

Bibliography: S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the* Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq ... *of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, 58, 62, 102, 159. (Ed.)

SINDĀN, Sandān, a port on the western coast of peninsular India, mentioned by the early Islamic geographers (Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn Ḥawḳal, the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*) as a flourishing mercantile town with a mixed population of Hindus and Muslims. It has been identified with the Sanjam of Portuguese maps and the St. John of English ones and as lying south of Damān and north of Thāna, hence in the modern Bombay state of the Indian Union.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 57, comm. 244-5; S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the* Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq ... *of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, 56, 102.

(Ed.)

SINDBĀD (the sailor), narrator and protagonist of a collection of travel narratives, originally an independent work, but since the time of Antoine Galland's adaptation (1704-6), forming an integral part of the *Arabian Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla* [*q.v.*]).

The frame story tells of how the wealthy merchant Sindbād overhears a passing porter, his namesake (alternatively also called Hindibād), complain about the injustice of fortune. He invites the porter, and at a number of subsequent occasions narrates about his seven mercantile voyages at sea. On all occasions he is shipwrecked by some misfortune, saved by chance, endurance, and cleverness, and after experiencing varying numbers of adventures, at the end of each journey eventually returns home richer than before. All of Sindbād's adventures mention a number of mirabilia, e.g. wonderful objects, creatures, facts, etc.

Generally speaking, the various voyages focus on the following central episodes: (1) Sindbād's companions mistake a huge fish for an island on which they light a fire. Later, he finds a mare that is to be impregnated by the magic stallion of the sea. (2) Sindbād finds the huge egg of the giant bird Rukhkh [*q.v.*]. Tying himself to the bird's leg, he is carried

to the diamond valley guarded by huge snakes. From there he is saved by clinging to a large piece of meat, which has been thrown down by human merchants exploiting the diamonds. (3) Sindbād's company is kidnapped by hairy dwarfs. A cannibal giant roasts and devours his companions. The giant is blinded with a glowing spike, but only Sindbād himself manages to escape from the wrath of his fellow giants. Later, he saves himself from being devoured by a giant snake by tying his body to large pieces of wood. (4) Caught by black people, Sindbād's comrades are fattened and slaughtered. Managing to escape, Sindbād teaches a foreign king the use of the saddle. He gets married, but later, according to local custom, is deposited in a cave together with his deceased wife. He survives on the scarce nutrition gained by killing other people lowered into the cave until an animal by chance points out to him a way to escape. (5) Sindbād's comrades on the island of the Rukhkh destroy some eggs, and the returning birds bombard their ships with rocks. Sindbād is saved on an island where an old man, taken on Sindbād's back, slings his legs around his body and forces him to obey his orders until Sindbād gets him drunk and kills him. On another island, the inhabitants regularly flee from hordes of monkeys until Sindbād teaches them how to exploit the monkeys' habit of throwing back items thrown at themselves. (6) Sindbād's ship is wrecked at the shores of the magnetic mountain, and he entrusts himself on a raft to a river leading through an underground passage. Eventually emerging in Sarandīb [*q.v.*] (Ceylon), the kingdom's ruler furnishes him with numerous presents intended for Hārūn al-Rashīd. (7) Hārūn subsequently orders him to repay the ruler's generosity, but Sindbād is kidnapped by pirates, who sell him into slavery. When his master orders him to go hunting elephants, he does not engage in killing the animals. In return, they lead him to their cemetery, where he finds huge amounts of ivory.—A variant recension renders the last adventure in a different way: (7a) Sindbād saves himself through the passage of an underground river, and lives with people who turn into flying demons at certain occasions. Not knowing their true nature, he evokes God's name while airborne and is cursed for risking their life.

The Sindbād tales usually are considered as originating from the context of sailors' yarns such as are preserved in Buzurg b. Shahriyār's [*q.v.*] *ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind*. Attempts at establishing an exact dating delineate a period ranging from about A.D. 900—since the Sindbād tales contain numerous verbatim quotations from Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*]—to the 12th century, after which date analogous tales are quoted by al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*]. Probably the earliest mention of the *Ḥadīth Sindbād* is in al-Ṣūlī's *K. al-Awrāḳ* (Brockelmann, S I, 252; N. Abbot, in *JNES*, viii [1949] 155); since the title there is mentioned in close context with a book entitled *ʿAdjāʾib al-baḥr*, it seems quite likely that this quotation does not refer to the *Sindbād-nāma*, a collection of edifying stories, focusing on a homonym protagonist, which was popular in Persian and Arabic at an early period. The further textual history of the Sindbād tales remains largely unknown, though obvious similarities exist between the Sindbād tales and other narratives of fabulous journeys, such as the Latin *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* (*ca.* 10th century; see M.J. de Goeje, *La légende de Saint Brandan*, in *Actes du viiie Congrès International des Orientalistes*, ii, Leiden 1893, 43-76), the German *Herzog Ernst* (12th century; see C. Lecouteux, *Herzog Ernst*, in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vi, Berlin-New York 1990, 939-42), or the Arabic romance *Sayf al-mulūk*, itself integrated in the *Arabian Nights* (V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vii, 64-73). The Sindbād collection was first publicised by the French orientalist scholar Galland (see M. Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland, sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris 1964, s.v.) towards the end of the 17th century. Galland initially intended to publish an independent French translation, but becoming aware of the fact that the Sindbād tales were similar to the larger collection of the *Arabian Nights*, he included them in his translation *Les mille et une nuits*, adapted to the literary taste of the contemporary French mode of *contes de fées*.

Since then, the Sindbād tales have achieved an immense popularity, notably in the Western literatures, where they continue to constitute a mine of inspiration for literary and artistic production (see e.g. *The Arabian Nights in English literature*, ed. P.L. Caracciolo, Houndmills 1988, s.v.; R. Irwin, *The Arabian Nights*, London 1994, s.v.). In this respect, their impact is challenged only by that of the tale of *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (Aladin) and the wonderful lamp* (U. Marzolph, *Das Aladdin-Syndrome*, in *Sehen, Hören, Lesen, Lernen, Festschrift Rudolf Schenda*, Frankfurt am Main 1995). In the literatures of the Islamic lands, where pure fiction traditionally appears to be regarded with discretion, the impact of the Sindbād tales is less well articulated (compare, however, several mentions in F. Saʿd's *Min waḥy Alf layla wa-layla*, i-ii, Beirut 1962-6). Rare distinct examples of the collection's reflection in oral literature are represented by the Persian popular romance *Salīm-i djawāhirī* (see U. Marzolph, *Social values in the Persian popular romance "Salīm-i Javāhirī"*, in *Edebiyât*, N.S. v [1994], 77-98), or the Persian storyteller's Mashdī Galīn Khānum's re-telling of Sindbād's fourth journey (see *Die Erzählungen der Mašdi Galin Ḫānom/Ḳiṣṣahā-i Mashdī Galīn Khānum*, ed. U. Marzolph and A. Amirhosseini-Nithammer, Wiesbaden 1994, i, no. 60).

As for single traits, numerous motifs incorporated in the Sindbād tales find analogues in other literatures, prior and posterior to the collection (E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, ³Leipzig 1914, 191-6). To name only the most important: The huge fish (or turtle) in the first journey appears already in the *Ps.-Callisthenes* (see J. Runeberg, *Le conte de l'île poisson*, in *Mémoires de la société néophilologique à Helsingfors*, iii [1902], 343-95). The huge egg of the Rukhkh in the second and fifth journeys is known by Lucian (*True history*, ii, 40). The diamond valley and the particular way to harvest its treasures also form the basis of another story of the *Arabian Nights* (see U. Marzolph, *Hasan von Basra*, in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vi, 538-40). The blinding of the giant cannibal in the third journey reminds one of the Homeric adventure of Odysseus and Polyphemus (*Odyssey*, ix, 231-499; see J.L. Comhaire, *Oriental versions of Polyphem's myth*, in *Anthropological Quarterly*, xxxi [1958], 21-8), and the fattening of Sindbād's companions in the fourth journey bears a vague memory of Odysseus' adventure with Circe (*Odyssey*, x, 229-347; see Chauvin, *Homère et les 1001 nuits*, in *Le Musée Belge*, iii [1899], 6-9). The old man in the fifth journey, often misinterpreted as an orang-utan of Sumatra or Borneo, undoubtedly represents a popular repercussion of the ancient and widely spread belief in a race of strap-legged monsters (see F. Meier, *Das Volk der Riemenbeinler*, in *Festschrift Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 341-67). The mountain in the sixth journey, although its magnetic qualities are not mentioned in an outspoken way in the Sindbād tales, derives from a Plinian tradition rendered in the *Commonitorium Palladii* which was popularised by the latter's incorporation into the Alexander legend (see

C. Lecouteux, *Die Sage vom Magnetberg*, in *Fabula*, xxv [1984], 35-65). Finally, the story of the cemetery of the elephants, as in Sindbād's seventh journey, is already included in al-Tanūkhī's (d. 384/994) *al-Faradj ba'd al-shidda*, ed. al-Shālidjī, iv, no. 424.

In addition to inspiring Western artistic imagination, the Sindbād tales have occasioned a number of specialised interpretations, such as concerning the real geographical background of the travels (B. Walckenaer, *Analyse géographique des voyages de Sind-bad le marin*, in *Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques*, liii [1832], 5-26; J. Henninger, *Der geographische Horizont der Erzähler von 1001 Nacht*, in *Geographica Helvetica*, iv [1949], 214-9). Here, it has been stated that Sindbād's travels almost exclusively head eastward toward India, Ceylon, and the Indonesian archipelagoes, with the sole exception of East African islands (the home of the Rukhkh). While M. Gerhardt has pointed out the structural characteristic of fixing the culmination point of the small cycle of travel narratives in the middle rather than at the end (*Les voyages de Sindbad le Marin*, Utrecht 1957; eadem, *The art of story-telling in the Arabian Nights*, Leiden 1963, 236-63), P. Molan additionally deciphered the underlying ethics of violence (*Sindbad the Sailor, a commentary on the ethics of violence*, in *JRAS* [1978], 237-47), which justify the means of solving a conflict by ultimate success. Probably, this point is the most responsible for the Sindbād tales' enthusiastic reception in Western societies.

Bibliography: R. Hole, *Remarks on the Arabian Nights' entertainments ...*, London 1797; M.J. de Goeje, *De reizen van Sindebaad*, in *De Gids*, liii (1889), 278-312; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vii, 1-29; P. Casanova, *Notes sur les voyages de Sindbâd le marin*, in *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, xx (1922), 113-98; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1946, 298-305; F. Gabrieli, *I viaggi di Sindibàd*, in idem, *Storia e civiltà musulmana*, Naples 1947, 83-9; W. Walther, *Tausend und eine Nacht*, Munich 1987, 134-59; A. Miquel, *Les voyages de Sindbad le marin*, in idem, *Sept contes des mille et une nuits*, Paris 1981, 79-110.

(U. Marzolph)

SINDBĀD AL-ḤAKĪM (Syntipas), a collection of tales also known by the title *Book of the seven viziers*.

The existence, as early as the 4th/10th century, of an Arabic version translated or adapted from Pahlavi, is mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī. This version, revised, was later incorporated into certain editions of the *Thousand and one nights* as well as the *Hundred and one nights*, but independent references to it exist (in particular, that given by A. Ateş following his edition of the Persian *Sendbād-nāme* by Ẓāhirī Samarḳandī, Istanbul 1948). From the 4th/10th century onwards, numerous Persian versions also appeared (mentioned in that of Ẓāhirī, mid-5th/11th century, cf. D. Bogdanovic, *Le livre de sept vizirs de Ẓāhirī de Samarkand*, Paris 1975, "Postface"); then, towards the end of the 5th/11th century, a Greek version, *Syntipas*, was made, based on a Syriac intermediary (*Sindbān*), as well as a Hebrew version (*Sindabār*); the work was finally translated into Spanish in 1253, at the court of Alfonso the Wise, under the title *Libro des los engannos y los assayamientos de las mujeres*. It was also the subject of numerous adaptations in the literatures of mediaeval Europe, in particular the *Book of the seven sages of Rome*, of which numerous editions exist, as well as the *Dolopathos*. It is also worth mentioning the fact that several tales from *Sindibād*, in more or less adapted form, are reprinted in collections of *exempla* intended for preachers; such volumes proliferated from the 12th-13th centuries onward.

The framework-narrative of *Sindibād* adopts the thoroughly classical theme of "rescue through story-telling". A young prince, commanded to keep silence for seven days by his teacher, the sage Sindibād, is accused by one of his father's wives of having attempted to seduce her; he is condemned to death, but the king's seven viziers take turns in delaying the execution from day to day, each telling a story designed to show the perfidy of women. Each evening, their work is undone by the guilty wife, who tells the king a story presenting the contrary case. After seven days the prince, permitted once more to speak, exculpates himself and then pardons his accuser.

The Indian origin of this theme, accepted by the majority of specialists, has been contested by B.E. Perry (*The Origins of the Book of Senbād*, in *Fabula* [Berlin 1960], 1-95), according to whom it is linked to a very ancient Greco-Oriental tradition; there is also close kinship between certain stories in the collection and tales known in classical Antiquity. Although there can be no definitive resolution of this point, it may be noted that *Sindibād* apparently exploits international thematic material, which was probably constituted in such an early period that its origin is not easily to be determined.

A variation on the framework-narrative of *Sindibād* appears in the *Story of the ten viziers*, also known by the title of *Bakhtiyār-nāma*, of which an Arabic version (probably based on a Persian version from the second half of the 8th/14th century; later versions exist in Persian, Turkish, Malay and Syriac) also appears in certain editions of the *Thousand and one nights* and has been translated by R. Basset (Paris 1883); here, it is the ten viziers who accuse the prince Bakhtiyār of having attempted to seduce one of the king's wives. The cycle of *Shāh Bakht*, likewise incorporated into certain versions of the *Thousand and one nights*, and known in Turkish, is also close to the two preceding in terms of its framework-narrative and some of its thematic material; in this case, it is a vizier who, unjustly accused of trying to assassinate his master, postpones his execution by telling the king stories intended to exonerate himself.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Histoire des dix vizirs* (= annotated tr.), Paris 1883; idem, *Deux manuscrits d'une version arabe inédite du recueil des Sept Sages*, in *JA*, ii (1903), 43-83. See also V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège-Leipzig, viii, 1904; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (annotated tr.) *Les cent et une nuits*, Paris 1911, repr. 1982, 134-71.

(J.-P. Guillaume)

SINDHIND, a word understood by various Arabic authors to mean "eternal" because its astronomical system is based on a Kalpa of 4,320,000,000 years, but in fact a clever calque (Sind and Hind) on *siddhānta* ("perfected"), a term applied to a class of Sanskrit astronomical texts. Such a *siddhānta*—probably entitled *Mahāsiddhānta* because there is mention of *al-Sindhind al-kabīr*—was brought to Baghdād by an embassy sent from Sind in 773, and there translated into Arabic by an Indian scholar collaborating with an Arab, probably Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī. The original Sanskrit *siddhānta* was either a part (*adhyāyas* I-X) of the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*, composed by Brahmagupta at Bhillamāla in southern Rādjasthān in A.D. 628 for the Cāpa ruler Vyāghramukha (Fiyāghra in Arabic), or a separate treatise, the hypothetical *Mahāsiddhānta*, derivative from it, but mixing with it elements from other Sanskrit astronomical works. The Arabic translation is known only through its remote descendents, each of which has distorted its immediate ancestor in various ways.

The original translation would have been characterised by numerous parameters and by rules for computation based on certain geometrical or other mathematical models; the only table would have been (though not in tabular form) one for Sines and Versines. From the (now lost) translation, al-Fazārī fashioned a set of astronomical tables accompanied by canons for their use; his models would have been the Sāsānid *Zīk-i Shahriyārān* and the latter's model, Ptolemy's *Handy tables*. Al-Fazārī entitled his work *Zīdj al-Sindhind al-kabīr*, in which he mingled elements from Indian, Pahlavi and Greek sources into a usable but internally contradictory set of rules and tables for astronomical computations.

A different solution to the problem of combining the various astronomical traditions known in the early ʿAbbāsid period was achieved by Yaʿkūb b. Ṭārik, apparently a collaborator with al-Fazārī, in his *zīdj*, also written in the mid-770s. Fifty years later, in the 820s, the task was undertaken again by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khʷārazmī [*q.v.*] in his *Zīdj al-Sindhind*. Of this work we know much more than we do of the earlier two, and so can perceive most clearly the process of Ptolemaicisation that gradually rendered the Indian part of the *Sindhind*, except for its trigonometry and its analemmata, meaningless to Muslim astronomers.

Shortly after al-Khʷārazmī composed it, the *Zīdj al-Sindhind* was brought to Spain, and it was there and in Western Europe that it thrived the longest. Though it is the basis of a Byzantine treatise of the 11th century and still survives today in Samaria, the last eastern astronomer writing in Arabic to base, at least nominally, his *zīdj* upon it was Ibn al-Ādamī, whose *al-Zīdj al-kabīr* was completed by his pupil, al-ʿAlawī, who completed it under the title *Naẓm al-ʿiḳd* in 338/949. To scholars like al-Bīrūnī, the *Sindhind* was simply a curious antiquity. Meanwhile, the *Zīdj al-Sindhind* of al-Khʷārazmī was revised by Maslama al-Madjrīṭī at Cordova in the late 10th century, and later by two of his students, Ibn al-Ṣaffār and Ibn al-Samḥ. Through the work of Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī [*q.v.*] and al-Zarḳālla, some elements of the *Sindhind* were incorporated into the *Toledan tables*; the translation of these tables into Latin in the 12th century, along with the translations of the commentary on al-Khʷārazmī's original version by Ibn al-Muthannā (which was also translated into Hebrew by Abraham ben Ezra, who wrote elsewhere about the *Sindhind* in Latin works and in Hebrew works that were translated into Latin), of the *Zīdj al-Sindhind* itself in Maslama's recension, and of Ibn Muʿādh's *Zīdj al-Djayyānī*, written in Jaén in about 1080, strongly established *Sindhind* astronomy (of course, with modifications of or replacements for many of its Indian components) as the basis of that of Western Europe. This position it held till the introduction of the *Alfonsine tables* in the 14th century.

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al-SINDĪ, ABŪ ʿAṬĀʾ [see abū ʿaṭāʾ al-sindī].

SINDJĀBĪ (in Kurdish, Sendjāwī/Sindjāwī), a Kurdish tribe of Persia, playing an important role in the inter-tribal relations of western Persia, on account of its loyalty to the Iranian state and its defence of the frontiers, confronting foreign powers—Russian, British and in particular, the Ottomans.

Localisation of the tribe. The areas of habitation and of agricultural and stock-rearing activity comprised two regions: that of transhumance in summer and that of settled residence in winter.

The territories of transhumance (*kishlāk*) included the regions of Bāghča, Ḳaṭār, Āḳ-dāgh and Ḳalʿa-Sabzī with their numerous villages and pasturing places extending from Ḳaṣr-i-Shīrīn to the neighbourhood of Khānaḳīn as well as Ḳizil-Ribāṭ and Naft-i Shāh. The Zehāb was located to the north and the pasturages of the Kalhors to the east. Other tribes originating from more or less far-flung districts (Bādjelān, Māfī, Morādī and Ṭālebānī) bordered on territory of this tribe and sometimes engaged in legal disputes with them. Following the treaty of 1914 and the determination of the Persian-Ottoman frontiers imposed by the representatives of Britain and Russia, Sir Arnold Wilson and V. Minorsky, a significant proportion of these territories was ceded to the Ottomans and is currently part of ʿIrāḳ.

Eighty per cent of this population was sedentary, still living on a permanent basis in the regions of winter residence to the north of the Māhīdasht plain (neighbouring the Kalhor and Gūrān tribes) in the province of Kirmānshāh. This geographical position has never been favourable for rebellion against the central government; rebellion tends to be the prerogative of mountain-dwellers, with access to mountain refuges.

The Djalīl-wand and Surkhakī clans and numerous other minor branches inhabit the mountainous region in the capacity of *khorda-mālek* (small-holders), each peasant owning his portion of land; in ancient times these included major landowners.

This region of sedentary habitation is thus subdivided into two districts, plain and mountain. These districts were at all times centres of stock-rearing and comprised huge pasturages later transformed into arable land. The horses of Māhīdasht were and still are famous.

Origins, history and clans. The organisation of the numerous clans constituting this tribe is relatively recent and mention of the "Sindjābī" does not date back beyond two centuries, although the existence of its components is much more ancient. The denomination of this tribe cannot be accounted for with precision. It is said to derive, however, from the word

sandjāb (Persian)/*sindjāw* (Kurdish) "squirrel", which is corroborated by tradition. In fact, the first time that its members were thus named dates back to the period of the war for the reconquest of Harāt (formerly in Khurāsān, currently in Afghānistān), in which the rebellious chieftains were supported by the British, to detach it from Persia. This war had begun at a time when the Sindjābīs were still a part of the tribe of the Zangena, before joining with the Gūrāns and finally forming an independent tribe; they then constituted a group apart, supplying the government with soldiers in return, as was normal under the *bonīča* system, for retention of their equipment and the security of their families. The Persian defence of Harāt was begun in 1249/1833, but was interrupted on account of the death of ʿAbbās Mīrzā (the Crown Prince), son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. The second war for the reconquest of Harāt took place in 1255/1838 under the reign of Muḥammad Shāh and the third in 1273/1856 in the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. It was actually in the course of the second war for Harāt that a detachment of 200 horsemen from this tribe took part for the first time in the siege of this city of Khurāsān. The lining of their tunics being made of squirrel fur, it is said that the army commander assigned them the nickname of Sindjābī "those dressed in the fur of squirrels".

At the outset, there existed in this geographical zone numerous families of diverse origin led by a succession of chieftains (*khāns*), known as Čālāwī/Čālābī, from the province of Fārs. They claimed that their ancestors belonged to the Shabānkāra Kurds [*q.v.*], they themselves constituting a branch of the descendants of the pre-Islamic Sāsānids. This is at least the version of this family's tradition. According to other oral versions, they were descended from the Daylamīs, the best known of whom was the Amīr ʿAḍud al-Dawla of the Būyid dynasty (who reigned from 338/949 to 372/982). In the period of Nādir Shāh (1736-47) they left their original home and migrated to western Persia before settling in their region of current residence.

The line of chieftains included the branches of the *khāns* of Bakhtiyār, Barkhordār, Khodā-Morowwat and Allāhyār-Khān. Other groupings which followed them in this migration were the clans of ʿAbbās-wand (in Kurdish, Hawāsa-wan), Khorda-dasta, Djalīl-wand (in Kurdish, Djalīla-wan), Sorkhakī, Sorkha-wand (in Kurdish, Sura-wan), Dāliyān, Dawlat-mand (in Kurdish, Dawla-man), Dastadja, Dārkhor and the minor clans of the Ṣūfī and the ʿAlī-Walī, all including their subgroups. Some groups and clans which no longer exist also accompanied them, sc.: Rahbar-wand (in Kurdish, Rīwara-wan) Wotka-wand (in Kurdish, Wotka-wan), Bīwa-Djashniyān (Bīwar-Djashniyān?) and Modjrīlān. The suffix *-wand* (*l-wan*) which follows certain names of clans, of mountains and villages shows that outside elements (coming from Luristān) were mingled at the very outset with the clans of the Sindjābīs. It is even probable, on account of numerous names of places and mountains, that at least a part of this ethnic group was in residence, even before the arrival of other branches of the Sindjābīs. This is the only tribe which succeeded in assimilating within itself, in a spirit of great tolerance, the three communities—Sunnī, Shīʿī and Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ—side-by-side in each village, even though its lineage of chieftains was Shīʿī.

Major figures. The individual who was among the last to contribute to the prosperity and unification of these clans and families, detaching them from other tribes, was a descendant of the Čālāwī family named Ḥasan Khān. Through his wisdom and energy, the majority of the villages were purchased by this family. In years of plenty he stored the produce (grain), reselling it during the years of famine which followed. It was thus that this family, at the outset nomadic, practising livestock husbandry and participating in wars of survival, passing through periods of prosperity and of penury, became, for some time, influential and rich. The son of Ḥasan Khān, Shir Muḥammad Khān Sandjābī, officially nicknamed Ṣamṣām al-Mamālik "the sharp sword of the Kingdom", was the governor of Ḳasr-i Shīrīn, a frontier town in western Persia, and to some extent, the warden or margrave entrusted with the protection of a border zone. He tirelessly defended the frontiers of Persia against the incursions of the army of the Ottoman Pashas and sporadic attacks by Russian and British units before and during the First World War.

After the death of Ṣamṣām al-Mamālik, it was his three illustrious sons, ʿAlī Akbar Khān Sardār Muḳtadir, Ḳāsim Khān Sardār Nāṣir and Ḥusayn Khān Sālār Ẓafar, who continued their father's activities. Sardār Muḳtadir, the best known of the three, was frequently imprisoned and finally exiled to Tehran and placed under house arrest; he died in 1935. Sardār Nāṣir, exiled to Ḳazwīn and dispossessed of his lands and property, died in 1950. Sālār Ẓafar, the youngest, who survived the repressions under Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, unwisely took refuge in 1930 in Russia, and was killed at the time of the Stalinist purges.

The last celebrity produced by this family was Dr. Karim Bakhtiyār Sandjābī, son of Sardār Nāṣir, statesman, former professor and Dean of the Faculty of Law, Minister of National Education in the cabinet of Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*] and the Iranian judge at the Hague, during the Anglo-Iranian dispute over the nationalisation of Iranian oil. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs at the outset of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, before retiring and going into self-imposed exile, disappointed at the turn of events.

In summary, in the preceding decades, before the policy of sedentarisation pursued by the state from the time of Riḍā Shāh onwards, and before the damage which this caused, each tribe had a place designated for the pasturing of its livestock. By consensus and by traditionally established regulations, changes could be made in the allocation of territory. Conflicts resulting from the greed of individuals, owners of substantial herds of cattle and sheep and from the belligerence of young nomads, were not uncommon. Tribal elders and government officials tried to solve these problems amicably. Such disputes were ended by force or by the decision of the government, or by the payment of compensation calculated by head of animals, for the use of pasturage possessed by another tribe. Ultimately the Sindjābīs and other tribes were deprived of their regions of transhumance.

This sedentarisation (which was, however, partially abandoned after the fall of Riḍā Shāh), has contributed to the impoverishment of the peasantry and a decline in livestock numbers, the policy being hastily introduced and badly planned. Instability has reigned in recent years, and reigns still among the nomads, semi-nomads and sedentary tribes. It has led to the decline of herds and progressive pauperisation, in turn entailing an increase in the importation of foreign meat and dairy products, as well as malnutrition of country dwellers; this process is thus changing the economic structure of the tribes of these regions.

Bibliography: The late nature of the formation of this tribe accounts for the absence of ancient and recent sources. In the capacity of representative of a commission for the training and education of the nomadic and sedentary tribes of Iran, founded in 1944, the author of this article has travelled extensively among these tribes, and has had the opportunity to question the elders and dignitaries of tribes. Thus the first study relating to the Sindjābīs was published in the historical and literary review *Yādigār*, Tehran, in 1948, then printed as a book in its own right, in Tehran in 1951; new ed. Mohammad Mokri, *Les tribus kurdes. I. Tribu des Sandjābīs, Histoire, géographie, toponymie, groupes et clans*, Paris-Louvain 1993. This third edition has been revised and expanded with the addition of a supplement containing new notes and hitherto unpublished documents, as well as a summary in French from which a substantial part of this article has been drawn. See also Karim Sanjabi, *Hopes and despairs. Political memoirs* [in Persian], London 1989, and M. Mokri, *Le foyer kurde*, in *Ethnographie* [Review of the Ethnographical Society of Paris] (1961), 79-95; idem, *Notes sur la généalogie des fondateurs de la secte des Fidèles de Vérité (Ahl-i Ḥaqq), d'après un manuscript inédit de source sunnite*, in *JA* (1994), 37-109 (see esp. 83, 92). The *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-i Īrān*, Tehran 1951, mentions the names of certain villages in the Sindjābī district, but the majority of these are inaccurate and incomplete.

(M. Mokri)

SINDJĀR, Djabal, a steep mountain range to the west of Mawṣil, rising to 1,463 m/4,798 feet in height, in the desert zone between the Tigris and Khābūr rivers. At the present time, it lies mainly in ʿIrāḳ, but has its western slopes in Syria. There are only a few valleys with vegetation and timber; some wādīs of the southern slopes are affluents of the Nahr al-Tharthār, and irrigated agriculture (in mediaeval Islamic times, with figs, date palms and mulberry trees for a flourishing silk production) is possible. The town of Sindjār lies on this side also. An important ancient east-west route, in Saldjūḳ times called *al-darb al-sulṭānī*, connects Mawṣil with Syria, and there is a more minor road to Takrīt and Ḥasakiyya. In the main, the Djabal Sindjār has functioned, like other such areas in the Syria-al-Djazīra region, as a refuge for minority groups.

For the ancient city of Singara, of which hardly any original traces remain, see Oates (in *Bibl.*), Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, 484-6, 495-8, and J.-M. Fiey, *Pour un Oriens Christianus Novus*, Beirut 1993, 268-9. Both Nestorian and Jacobite bishops are mentioned, and Fiey, *op. cit.*, records five Jacobite bishops in the period from the 7th century until A.D. 818, one in 1278 and another in 1345. According to early Islamic sources, control of the region had oscillated in pre-Islamic times between Persians and Byzantines (see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 177; Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*, 64). A fascinating view of the mixed Christian, Zoroastrian and Jewish population is given in a 6th century *vita* (see P. Peeters, *La passion arabe de S. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ*, in *Anal. Bollandiana*, xliv [1926], 270-341); the decline of Christian culture there under early Islam is reflected in the Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius, written in Sindjār (see G.J. Reinink, in *Bibl.*). From the late 5th century, this part of the later Diyār Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] was inhabited by the Arab tribe of Taghlib [*q.v.*].

At the time of the conquests, it was taken over by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm. Already in 117 or 118/735-6, Dionysius of Tell Mahré (*Chronique*, 30, tr. Chabot, 27-8) mentions the revolt in Sindjār of one ʿAtīḳ, perhaps a Khāridjite, and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 302 = § 1994, mentions Ibāḍiyya there at an unspecified date. Since the 4th/10th century until today, Yazīdī Kurds have been dwelling there (see R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yézidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar*, Paris 1938). It was taken by the Ḥamdānids in 359/970, but the citadel seems to be of ʿUḳaylid origin (Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, 129). Its most flourishing phase came in the period of the Turkmen commanders and dynasties, who from the time of Čekermish of Mawṣil (*ca.* 500/1106-7) tried to secure their independence in this remote region. Nūr al-Dīn Zangī twice conquered Sindjār (563 and 566/1169-71) and a branch of the Zangid dynasty grew up there, beginning with ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Zangī II (565-94/1170-97), whose petty court achieved a high cultural level. There followed Ayyūbid rule under al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn of Diyār Bakr (607-17/1210-20) and then that of the vizier of Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ (619-57/1222-59).

Ibn Shaddād describes the town as having a double wall and two citadels, the old ʿUḳaylid one and a new one built by the local Zangid ruler Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad in the early 6th/12th century, both of them devastated by the Il-Khānid Mongols in 660/1261-2, together with a *mashhad ʿAlī* next to the wall, subsequently rebuilt by the Il-Khānids' Persian governor Muḥammad al-Yazdī. Also mentioned are two mosques and six *madrasas*, for both the Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī *madhhabs*. A minaret is preserved with an inscription by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn from 598/1201 (Van Berchem, in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Reise*, i, 9-10, ii, 229, 308, 318, iii, pls. 4, and 84-5, with a view of the town; *RCEA*, ix, 3544). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the Friday mosque was encircled by a running stream (*Riḥla*, ii, 141, tr. Gibb, ii, 352). Ibn Shaddād also mentions three *khānḳāhs*, and a further *zāwiya* is mentioned by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, viii, 3647. Al-Ḳazwīnī calls Sindjār a "little Damascus", especially from its fine baths with mosaic floors and walls and its octagonal stone-lined ponds (*Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 263). A Yazīdī sanctuary, that of Imām Pīr Zakar, one km to the south of the town, is mentioned by Sarre-Herzfeld, *Reise*, ii, 204, and they also mention (ii, 200-1) two shrines, apparently of the Ḳādiriyya. Ibn al-ʿAdīm records several *ʿulamāʾ* of Sindjār, to which others may be added from al-Dhahabī, such as the polymath Ibn al-Akfānī al-Sindjārī, d. 749/1348 [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

After the Tīmūrid interlude, for which Ewliyā Čelebi records the local tradition of a seven months' siege by Tīmūr (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, iv, 64), the region passed under the control of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and then the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu until the Ṣafawid conquest of 913-14/1507-8 and the Ottoman conquest in 941/1534. Under the Ottomans it was a *sandjaḳ* of the province of Diyār Bekir, then a *nāḥiye* of the *sandjaḳ* of Mārdīn until *ca.* 1830, and thereafter of Mawṣil. According to Ewliyā, there were 45,000 Yazīdī and Bāburī Kurds in the Djabal Sindjār and, within the town itself, Kurds and Arabs of the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ. For long, the Yazīdīs were a threat to travellers through the region (cf. Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, London 1849, 317; M. von Oppenheim, *Von Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii, 17-18). In spite of the efforts of the governor of Baghdād, Dāwūd Pasha, Yazīdī revolts in the period 1850-64 could not be suppressed by force, and it was only after careful diplomacy that Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*] was able to introduce Ottoman taxation and customs to the Djabal (see ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ*, vii, 173-4, viii, 119-20). The modern town of

Sindjār (lat. 36° 20' N., long. 41° 51' E.) comes within the Mawṣil governorate (*muḥāfaẓa*) of ʿIrāḳ.

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ṢINF (a.), pl. *aṣnāf*, a term denoting "profession" (synonyms *ḥirfa*, pl. *ḥiraf*, and *kār*, pl. *kārāt*), and not "corporation".

1. In the Arab world.

In Cairo, in the Ottoman period, *ṣinf* is not used in this sense, except by the Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebi, in his renowned description of professional corporations (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 358-86). There is no word in Arabic specifically denoting the professional corporation: texts frequently use the word *ṭāʾifa*, pl. *ṭawāʾif*, which has the much more general connotation of "group", "community". It is only in the expression *arbāb al-ḥiraf wa 'l-ṣanāʾiʿ* that *ḥirfa* takes on a very similar meaning, "the masters of arts and professions". It is important to stress this limitation before describing the corporative system in the Arab world with reference to the word *ṣinf*, as was done by L. Massignon in *EI*[1].

This lexical lacuna could be one of the reasons which has recently led scholars to reconsider the classical notions of the origin and development of professional corporations in the Muslim world, such as were expounded by L. Massignon (see his *EI*[1] articles s̲h̲add and ṣinf) and synthesised by B. Lewis in his article of 1937. The idea that professional corporations were born in the 3rd/9th century in an Ismāʿīlī environment (in the framework of the Ḳarmaṭī movement) was subjected to vehement criticism on the part of S. Stern and Cl. Cahen, in *The Islamic City* (1970). These two authors concluded that professional corporations did not exist in the classical Muslim world, the date of their appearance needing to be postponed until the 16th century, i.e. the start of the Ottoman period: influences emanating from the Anatolian Turkish world would then have led to the formation in the Arab world of professional organisations of a powerfully religious nature, with the *ak̲h̲ī* [*q.v.*] ("brothers") of the *fityān* ("young people"), whose activities and ritual were described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, ii, 260-5).

This revisionism seems, in its turn, excessively radical. According to all the evidence there were, before the 16th century, professional communities (*d̲j̲amāʿas*) directed by *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*, which could be quite legitimately be considered corporations. The *ḥisba* [*q.v.*], in particular, was under their control. But there is no doubt that the 16th century has to be considered effectively as a turning-point. In the Arab Near East it was at this time that there was introduced, in the corporative system, the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], which constituted its "catechism". In the Mag̲h̲rib, the corporative organisation seems to have been regenerated under the influence of Andalusian immigration, very strong in the 16th and the early 17th centuries; this was, evidently, the case of Tunisia where the corporative system was controlled entirely by Andalusians, who were to dominate it until the 19th century.

The functioning of professional corporations comprises internal aspects (organisation) which often remain obscure, and external aspects (ceremonies) which are in general better known. The hierarchy in professions is described in detail in the manuals of *futuwwa* of the Arab East, rites of passage being marked by the *s̲h̲add* [*q.v.*]. It does not appear with the same clarity in the practices revealed by the texts currently available. The essential grades were those of apprentice (*mubtadiʾ*), of companion (*ṣāniʿ*) and of master (*muʿallim* or *usṭā*): there is only fragmentary information regarding the tests which eventually existed, and, in particular, regarding the presentation of a "masterpiece", with a view to accession to the status of master. Corporations were directed by a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* (*amīn* in the Mag̲h̲rib) appointed by his peers, but often confirmed by the administration which intervened in cases of difficulty. The older masters constituted a council, that of the *ik̲h̲tiyāriyya*. It seems that the corporative organisation was often headed by a senior dignitary: in Damascus there was (according to Qoudsî) a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-mas̲h̲āʾik̲h̲*, in Tunis an *amīn al-tud̲j̲d̲j̲ār* (an Andalusian), in Algiers (Touati) an *amīn al-umanāʾ*). But these individuals seem to have performed a purely ceremonial role.

The number of professional corporations varied according to the importance of cities and their economic activity: Algiers contained only about sixty and Cairo more than two hundred. But the number of professions was much higher: Qasimi and Azem have referred to 435 in Damascus where A. Rafeq thinks that there were between 160 and 180 corporations.

The efficacy of professional corporations was assured, on the one hand, by the very thorough specialisation of professions which gave them strong cohesion, on the other by a very effective geographical localisation, each profession, and the corporation which represented it, occupying a specified zone of the urban centre: there was thus a correspondence between profession, corporation, market (*sūḳ*) and quarter. The corporation also played an important role as a factor of integration when, as was the case in Aleppo it united members of different communities (in this case, Muslims, Christians and Jews) (A. Rafeq).

The activity of the corporations was multifarious. Their economic role is evident. They regulated dealings between artisans and merchants and with consumers; and they co-operated with the authorities in the fixing of prices in times of crisis. They played the role of a "para-administrative" structure, helping to represent the working population in dealings with rulers, and enabling the latter to control their subjects and to raise taxes and contributions. They were one of the communities (*ṭawāʾif*) which assisted the functioning of the city, the absence of a precise judicial statute constituting no obstacle, either to their existence or to their role (on this point, too, the analysis of S.M. Stern, in *The constitution of the Islamic city*, is to be treated with caution). In the central (public) part of the city they were an active instrument for urban generation: they palliated the lack of "public services", since it was through their agency that citizens were assured of the supply of water, street-cleaning, and fire-fighting. They contributed to the vitality of the city, participating in public festivals (decoration of markets to celebrate the arrival of an important individual), in religious ceremonies (in Cairo, the *ruʾya* [see ruʾyat al-hilāl] at the beginning of the month of Ramaḍān was the occasion for a kind of

major review of the corporations which paraded with floats symbolising the activities of the different professions).

There can be doubt that the strict organisation of professions did not favour a spirit of competition, the causative motivator of progress; the quasi-hereditary principle in professional activities which institutionalised the practice of *gedik* (a right awarded by shopkeepers and giving access to the profession) also contributed to a certain technical stagnation. But the importance of these negative factors should not be exaggerated: the introduction into the corporative system (and into the *futuwwa*) of new professions (such as those involving coffee and tobacco, the permissibility of which had been long debated) clearly shows that the corporative organisation was not totally immovable.

These corporations were profoundly affected by the political, economic and social changes experienced in the Arab world during the 19th century: their disappearance was, in general, gradual and was not the result of formal decisions (such as, in France, the Le Chapelier law of 1791). Economic changes (decline of traditional activities, appearance of new professions, competition from western products, emergence of national industries) played a decisive role in the decline of the corporations. Rapid urban growth in the second half of the 19th century led to the installation in cities of populations having no place in the corporate framework, while modernised states took charge of the administrative functions traditionally exercised by corporations (raising of taxes, administration of central zones) and organised genuine public services, substitutes for the services formerly supplied by the corporations. Colonisation accelerated this process with the imposition of free enterprise and the installation of a foreign population engaged in the most modern economic activities.

However, this evolution was slow. In Egypt, the industrialising efforts of Muḥammad ʿAlī did not put an end to the activity of the corporations: in 1868, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak, organising the development of the modern city of Cairo, used the services of the building workers' corporations. But the process was inevitable. In Damascus in 1927, according to a survey conducted by L. Massignon, only 10% of the working population still belonged to corporations (*La structure du travail à Damas*). The retention, here or there, of a few corporations and a few corporative practices constitutes nothing more than an anachronistic survival, of only folkloristic significance. There is no evidence to suggest that the emergence of modern trade unionism [see NIḲĀBA] represents an element of substitution: the work of J. Gaulmier in Hamāt (1932) seems to show that this was an independent process.

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(A. RAYMOND)

2. In Persia.

(a) *The pre-Islamic period*. In Sāsānid Persia, groups of artisans existed, which formed distinct groups (*tegme, teg̲h̲mē* in Syriac), paying taxes and some even having a festival peculiar to them. Their chiefs were called (in Syriac) *ḳas̲h̲s̲h̲ē* or *rēs̲h̲ē*. There was even a chief of all artisans known (in Middle Persian) as *ḳarugbed*. However, the chiefs were appointed by the emperor and the artisans concerned worked in the royal workshops and were not representative of the other artisans and traders present in the cities. See N. Pigulevskaya, *Les villes de l'état iranien aux époques Parthes et Sassanides*, Paris 1963, 160-1; eadem *et alii*, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Īrān az dawrān-i bāstān tā pāyān-i sada-i hid̲j̲dahum*, tr. K. Kis̲h̲āwarz, Tehran 1352/1973, i, 90, 141-4).

(b) *The Islamic period*. For the pre-Tīmūrid period, there are scattered data that indicate that artisans groups existed, but little is known about them. Some scholars have identified these groups as guilds without any evidence. The earliest confirmation of the existence of organised urban labour is given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, writing that in S̲h̲īrāz and Iṣfahān "the members of each craft appoint one of their members as headman over them, whom they call *ḳolu*". He also relates that they were taxed as a body and that they had an active social life in Ṣafawid Persia, each *ṣinf* elected its own chief or *kadk̲h̲udā*, who settled disputes and distributed the guild tax burden known as *bunīča*. See Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, ed. M.T. Dānis̲h̲pazhūh, in *MDAT*, xvi/5-6 (Tehran 1347/1968), 121; Minorsky, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-mulūk*, 81-3. Any person who wanted to set up shop had to receive permission from the guild chief. He had, however, to keep a certain distance between his own and already existing shops outside the central bazaar (Chardin, iv, 93, vi, 119-24).

In the 19th century, the *kadk̲h̲udā*'s power had been considerably diminished (Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Taḥwīldār, *D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. M. Sutūda, Tehran 1342/1963, 93). Due to their loose organisation, guilds were unable to fix minimum prices or to guarantee the standard of workmanship. Certain guilds had the *ḥaḳḳ-i bunīča*, a right to exercise a trade, a right which was transferable. The number of shops in every quarter was therefore fixed as a function of the number of households. New shops could only be started outside the restricted area (*gud̲h̲ār*) already served and then only after the guild gave its permission (A.K.S. Lambton, *Islamic society in Persia*, London 1954, 24; de Rochechouart, *Souvenir d'un voyage en Perse*, Paris 1867, 180-3; J. Greenfield, *Die Verfassung des persischen Staates*, Berlin 1904, 145).

Notwithstanding a widespread idea that guilds were part of the *futuwwa* organisation [*q.v.*], there is no shred of evidence for this supposition in the Persian context (Floor, *Guilds and futuwat in Iran*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxiv [1984], 106-14). Many guilds had their own habitual location (*patuk*), or festivals peculiar to them, but guilds seldom provided for mutual assistance. During the period of the Constitutionalist Movement (1905-6), guilds acquired some political influence, which resulted in their receiving 32 seats in the first *Madjlis*. However, they lost all their seats in 1909 and reverted to their traditional role.

During the Pahlavī period, guilds were strictly controlled and basically became trade organisations and an extension of the state, membership of which was compulsory. The guilds themselves were in the hands of wealthy members, who had links with the prevailing political power. Rather than being voluntary organisations with social and other functions, guilds became amorphous intermediaries, haggling over taxes and price policies. Despite the fact that the guilds and other *bāzārīs* helped finance the Islamic Revolution of 1978-9, their situation has not much changed under the Islamic Republic. As in previous times, the Islamic government, by using financial, economic and other instruments, has a fair control over the *aṣnāf*.

Bibliography: See also Floor, *The guilds in Iran: an overview from the earliest beginnings till 1972*, in *ZDMG*, cxxv (1975), 99-103; idem, *EIr* art. *Aṣnāf*; M. Keyvani, *Artisans and guild life in the later Safavid period*, Berlin 1982 (to be used with caution).

(W. Floor)

3. In Turkey.

Trade guilds (*eṣnāf londjaları*) were first established in Anatolia during the later 13th century and were called *Akhilik*, and continued until the beginning of the 20th century [see akhī, akhī baba, akhī ewrān, futuwwa]. In Arabic, *Akhī* means "my brother", but the resemblance to Tkish. *akī* is fortuitous; in old and middle Turkish, *akī* means "generous, brave, stout-hearted".

The *Akhīs* were typically a Turkish trade guild, arising from economic and social necessity, which aimed to regulate the relationship between the producer and the consumer. Within the organisation they had several meeting places, called *zāwiyes*, where they taught morals, good manners and ceremonial behaviour to the young members of this organisation. The members of a *zāwiye* had different tasks: they acted as religious leaders, teachers, preachers, poets and dancers. These members ranked in nine categories: (1) *Yigitler* (apprentices) were the lowest category; (2) *Akhiler*, divided into six divisions: the first three divisions were *aṣḥāb-tark*, the experienced, and the last three, *nakībler*, inexperienced; (7) *Khalīfeler*, who could not function outside the *zāwiye*; (8) *Sheykhler*, heads of the previous seven categories; and (9) *Sheykh ül-meshāyikhler* (the heads of the *Sheykhs*).

Akhīs did not like yellow and red colours in their costumes, but preferred turquoise, white, black and green. Teachers, judges and nobles wore green; white was for the writers, poets and preachers; and black for the apprentices.

Each apprentice had two comrades, one master teacher, and one *pīr* (founder of his order). The apprentices learned their craft and trade under the supervision of a master. When an apprentice, after several years of work, was qualified in his craft, a ceremony, called *teferrüdj*, was held, where the master awarded his pupil an apron. In such ceremonies, and also in various other festivities, these guilds—whatever their field was—organised amusements and performances. Apart from the actors' guilds, called *kol*, most of the trade guilds were interested in spectacles. Skilful members of a guild entertained guests in the ceremonies by verbal and musical recitals of poems, songs and epics, dances; and jugglers, rope dancers, sword-swallowers, conjurers, acrobats, etc. showed their skills. They also entertained those watching a procession by various shows [see mawākib. 4]. What they achieved was something like a carnival, or a preliminary form of today's street theatre. Each guild played a representative scene relating to its profession, exhibited mostly on carts pulled by horses or oxen. Apart from these scenes, these corporations demonstrated clowning, with giant marionettes with dazzling costumes, pennants and flags. Each guild had its own pennant. In the festival of 1539, for instance, one of the guilds showed a dragon with seven heads. The festival of 1582 witnessed a sea monster which could plunge into the sea and come up again with three dancers on board. The guild of feather merchants caused giant birds to fly. The miniatures painted by ʿOthmān, in his *Sūr-nāme-yi humāyūn* (reign of Murād III, 1582) show big fans on sticks, which could be used in several ways. Some of these corporations had instrumental groups, giant whirligigs, and corpulent puppets which could be set in motion. In the festival of 1675, in Edirne, the actor's guild carried huge phalluses.

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SINGAPORE (literally, "the lion city" in Hindi), a diamond-shaped island which lies 137 km/85 miles north of the equator at the southern tip of the Malay

Peninsula [*q.v.*]. The island itself is 544 km²/210 square miles in extent and there are a further 50 islets, many of which are uninhabited.

Singapore was an important Malay city in the Middle Ages, acting as a port of call between India and China. Singapore's fortunes declined in the 14th century following its sacking by the Majapahit Javanese, and in the following century it was superseded by the port of Malacca [*q.v.*]. The modern history of Singapore can be dated from 6 February 1819, when Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles of the East India Company secured from the titular sovereign, Sultan Ḥusayn of Johore, cession of the island. Britain's position was consolidated five years later when the Dutch recognised Britain's claim to Singapore.

When Raffles arrived on the island, it was inhabited by a mere two hundred or so Malay fishermen. The island's rapid economic expansion, which followed Raffles' intervention, witnessed profound demographic and social changes. By 1824, the population had risen to over 10,000, 30% of whom were Chinese immigrants. By the 1830s and 1840s, Chinese were arriving at the rate of 2,000-3,000 a year, with the Malays [*q.v.*] soon assuming the position of a minority community. Nevertheless, Singapore became a centre for Islamic reformism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Not only did it stand on the pilgrimage route from South-East Asia to the Middle East, but it also enjoyed a large measure of religious freedom under the British colonial régime. Moreover, the presence of Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] Arabs, Indo-Malays descended from Indian Muslims, and Indonesians, enriched the Islamic community of Singapore. These groups maintained links with Islamic centres in the Middle East and encouraged the spread of new ideas through writing and journalism.

British colonial rule in Singapore came to an abrupt end on 15 February 1942, when the island fell to the invading Japanese. Despite suffering dislocation during the Japanese occupation, Singapore soon recovered. The post-war period has been characterised by rapid and sustained economic growth, the island becoming one of the most prosperous countries in South-East Asia. In 1963 Singapore became formally independent from Britain and on 16 September of that year entered the new federal state of Malaysia [*q.v.*]. The constitutional experiment, however, proved unsuccessful. The large Chinese majority in Singapore radically affected the racial composition of the new country and challenged traditional Malay supremacy on the Peninsula. Indeed, politics assumed the appearance of a struggle between Malays and non-Malays. Relations with the federal capital, Kuala Lumpur, became increasingly strained and in 1965, just two years after the inauguration of Malaysia, Singapore seceded from the federation.

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ṢĪNĪ (A., P. *čīnī*), a generic term for Chinese ceramics including porcelain. High-fired Chinese wares were exported to South-East Asia, India and the Islamic world from at least as early as the ʿAbbāsid period. T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) white wares have been found at Sāmarrāʾ, as well as their local imitations. Similar T'ang sherds have been discovered at Daybul, Sīrāf, Fusṭāṭ, ʿAḳaba and Antioch; and much material from Mantai (a trading emporium in northern Sri Lanka, which ceased commercial activity in the early 4th/11th century), including white wares, Changsha painted stoneware, *yue*, *sancai* sherds, and "Dusun" storage jars, suggesting the Chinese exports were largely sea-borne.

Amongst the earliest references to Chinese ware is that of the author of the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*, who recorded in 243/851 that "[The Chinese] have a fine clay, from which they make drinking cups as fine as glasses, through which you can see the gleam of water, though they are made of clay" (ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, 16). Ibn Khurradādhbih, his contemporary, mentions that the port of Lūḳin was well stocked with Chinese wares, *al-ghaḍār al-djayyid al-ṣīnī*. Al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 256/869) refers to coloured Chinese pottery, *awānī ṣīniyya mulammaʿa*, probably Changsha ware. Ibn al-Faḳīh (*ca.* 291/903) notes pottery as a Chinese craft, *al-ghaḍāʾir al-ṣīniyya*. According to al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038), "The Arabs used to call any delicately or curiously-made vessel and such like, whatever its real origin, 'Chinese' (*ṣīnī*), because finely-made things are a speciality of China ... They also have translucent pottery (*al-ghaḍāʾir al-mustashiffa*), used for cooking purposes; a piece of this may be used equally for boiling things, for frying or simply as a dish for eating from. And the best of these are the delicate, evenly-pigmented, clearly-resounding, apricot-coloured (*mīshmishī*) and after that, the cream-coloured (*zabādī*) ware with similar characteristics" (*Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 141). As al-Thaʿālibī was writing at the beginning of the Sung dynasty (349-678/960-1279), he must be referring to such wares as *yue* and *qingbai*. Al-Bīrūnī (363-440/973-1048) saw no less than thirteen different types of Chinese ware in the house of a merchant from Iṣfahān, who lived in Rayy; these included bowls, dishes, bottles, trays, jugs, drinking vessels, ewers, hand basins, baskets, incense-burners, lamps, lamp standards and other objects. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (after 656/1258) mentions cups, mugs, plates and dishes of Chinese ware, and is one of the first to repeat the popular fallacy that poison is detectable when served on it.

Chinese blue-and-white porcelain was developed in the first quarter of the 7th/14th century. The cobalt blue was imported from Persia, probably by Persian merchants living on the China coast. Initially, blue-and-white ware was largely exported to India, Central Asia and the Islamic world, with massive and highly decorated bowls and dishes representing a complete break with the more delicate and plain wares of the Song period. Evidence of early blue-and-white, whether sherds or complete specimens, has been found at Karakhoto in Inner Mongolia and on the Central Asian trade routes, and at Samarḳand; in Dihlī, South India, Hurmuz, Fusṭāṭ, East Africa, Ḥamāt, Damascus and Aleppo; and specimens exist in the two great royal collections of Persia and Turkey, now housed in the National Museum in Tehran and the Topkapı Sarayı Museum in Istanbul (see Pls. VIII and IX, 6).

A most important authority for the early 7th/14th century is the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] who not only remarks on the technique and manufacture of fine wares when he was in China (*ca.* 749/1348), *al-fakhkhār al-ṣīnī*, made in Zaytūn (Quanzhou) and Ṣīn-i Kalān (Canton/Guangzhou), and exported to India and other

countries including his own, the Maghrib, as well as to Yemen. Twenty years earlier, when he was in Damascus (727/1326) he witnessed an incident in the *sūḳ* when a slave-boy dropped his master's Chinese dish, *ṣaḥfa min al-fakhkhār al-ṣīnī*, and was advised that there was a *waḳf* for broken utensils, which would provide funds for a new one (*Riḥla*, i, 238, iv, 256, tr. Gibb, i, 149, iv, 889). The date corresponds to that of the very earliest blue-and-white, (see Pl. VI) and a number of whole or almost intact early dishes and bowls have been recorded from Syria during the past two decades. Another famous traveller, Marco Polo, was responsible for the introduction of the term *porcelain* into the European language: in French *porcelaine*, derived from the Italian *porcellana* "[*concha*] *porcellana*" in both Latin and Italian = "cowrie shell", and a cowrie shell was the closest Marco Polo could think of to characterise china. The cowrie shell was thus called because of its resemblance to the female vulva, Latin *porcus* or *porcella*, itself a calque from Greek χοῖρος ("pig" and "vulva").

From the earliest times, the secret of the composition and fabrication of Chinese stonewares and porcelain remained a mystery to Islamic potters (and indeed to most of the world until the 12th/18th century). This did not prevent the Islamic craftsmen from imitating the Chinese wares in humbler materials, such as the so-called "Sāmarrā'" pottery of the 'Abbāsid period. From the 9th/15th century onwards, imitations of blue-and-white were made in Central Asia, Persia, Syria, Egypt and Turkey, often with Chinese-inspired designs; celadon was also replicated. Chinese designs also inspired a whole series of blue-and-white hexagonal tiles, examples of which occur in Syria, Egypt and Turkey; the craftsmen were originally from Tabrīz (see Pl. VII, 2). In Persia, in the Ṣafawid period, the influence of Chinese blue-and-white on the indigenous pottery was so marked that a legend arose that Chinese craftsmen actually worked in Persia. The influence of Chinese wares continued in Turkey until the 12th/18th century, and in Persia throughout the Ḳādjār period in the 13th/19th century.

At the same time, the influence of Mamlūk glass and inlaid metalwork can be clearly discerned in the shapes of Chinese blue-and-white, and even on occasion in its decoration as well, as for instance a porcelain stand in the British Museum (1966.12.15.1) (Pls. VII, 3 and IX, 7) with imitation Mamlūk ornament and a pseudo-Arabic inscription. Chinese porcelain made specifically for Muslim patrons in the early 10th/16th century, with Persian or Arabic inscriptions, and frequently with the mark of the Emperor Zhengde (912-28/1506-21), has been attributed to the period when the influence of Muslim eunuchs was particularly strong at the Chinese court (Pl. VIII, 4).

Nor should one underestimate the influence of Chinese blue-and-white on other decorative arts in the Islamic world. It frequently appears, with celadon (Pl. IX, 6), in Persian and Turkish miniature paintings, often in scenes of feasting and festivities. Individual Chinese motifs such as the lotus, and the cloud-scroll, became an integral part of the répertoire of decorative motifs throughout the Islamic world. It is evident that Muslim merchants and traders played a major part in the export of Chinese ceramics, both by sea and by land.

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(J. Carswell)

SINKIANG, Sin-Kiang (also spelt as Hsin-chiang in the Wade-Giles system), the largest province (area *ca.* 620,000 sq. miles) of the People's Republic of China.

It is situated in the north-west of the country, and is also known as "Chinese Central Asia", "Eastern Turkestan" or "Chinese Turkestan". Sin-kiang in Chinese means "new dominion" or "recently pacified territory". Geopolitically, it is important as it holds a pivotal position between China, Central Asia, Russia and India. Sin-kiang is divided by the T'ien-shan range into two main regions, the Tarim Basin in the south and Dzungharia in the north, and two lesser regions of economic importance, the Ili Valley and the Turfan Depression. The T'ien-shan range runs roughly eastwards from the Pamir massif, and forms a natural wall between Dzungharia and the Tarim Basin, making communication between the two regions difficult. The Ili Valley, isolated from the rest of the province, was cut off by the northern spur of the T'ien-shan, and is only accessible from the western fringes of the province, while the Turfan Depression is closely linked with Kansu province [*q.v.*] and China proper. Sin-kiang is a multi-national province whose population is composed of the following main ethnic groups: Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Tatar, Tadjik, Mongol, Tongkan, Sibo, Manchu, Solon, Tafur, Han, Slavic and others. The total population of the province is approximately 12,500,000.

From the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) until the middle of the 17th century, Sin-kiang was always mentioned in Chinese sources as part of Hsi-yü (the Western Territory) referring to Central Asia, and was intermittently under Chinese control or sovereignty. By 60 B.C. after the Hsiung-nu (the Huns) had been expelled from Sin-kiang, the Han imperial court exerted its authority there by setting up *Hsi-yü T'u-hu Fu* ("The Commandery of the Western Territory"). Many city-states in the region thus became vassals of the Han Empire. Sin-kiang has been regarded as the

1. A broken Chinese blue-and-white porcelain dish, found in the *sūḳ* in Damascus. 7th/14th century. Private collection, Hong Kong.

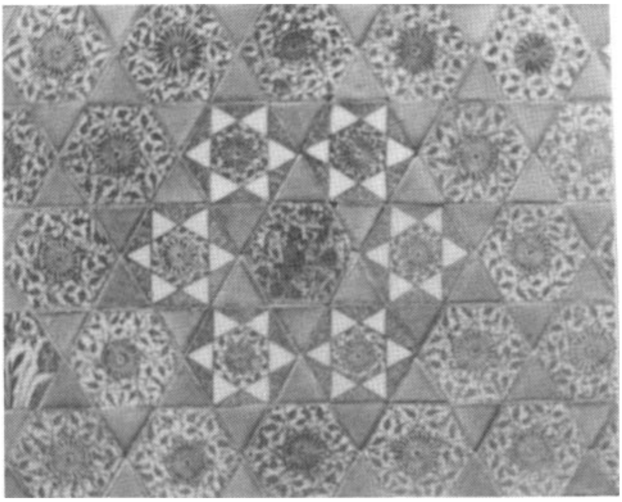

2. Blue-and-white, and turquoise, Syrian pottery tiles. 9th/15th century. In the mausoleum of Ghars al-Dīn al-Tawrīzī (d. 826/1423), in Damascus.

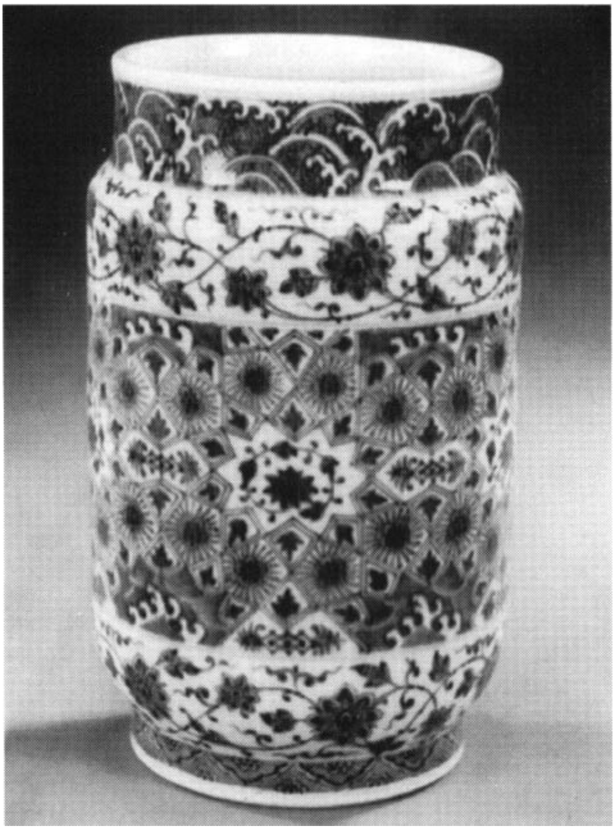

3. A Chinese blue-and-white porcelain *albarello*. Early 9th/15th century. With Islamic-inspired motifs. Al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait.

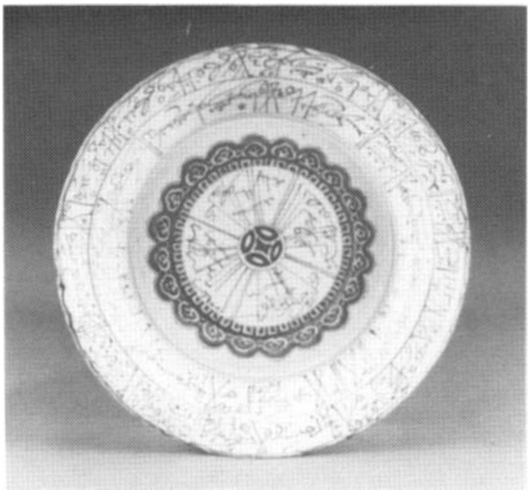

4. A Chinese blue-and-white porcelain dish, with Ḳur'ānic inscriptions. 10th/16th century. Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, TKS 15/3168.

5. A Chinese blue-and-white porcelain flask. 7th/14th century. Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, TKS 15/1391.

6. A Chinese celadon dish, with unglazed red motifs. 7th/14th century.
Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, TKS 15/239.

7. A Chinese blue-and-white porcelain stand, of Mamlūk form, with pseudo-Arabic inscriptions.
Early 9th/15th century. Found in Damascus; British Museum, London.

crossroads of Chinese and Central Asian cultures. Historical evidence proves that Buddhism from Central Asia travelled along the Silk Road and entered China via Sin-kiang during the Han period, and other religions subsequently. By the end of the Han dynasty, Chinese Han influence in this region had gradually died away. At the turn of the 7th and 8th centuries, Indian, Persian, Near Eastern and Tibetan influences prevailed. As a result, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Buddhism flourished in this region. These religious elements were carried to Tibet after the Tibetan invasion to Sin-kiang (*ca.* 670 A.D.), and contributed to shaping of the syncretic Lamaistic Buddhism.

During the T'ang period (618-906 A.D.), the political situation in Sin-kiang region was complicated by the movement of Turkish nomadic peoples, such as the Uyghurs, Ḳarluḳs, Ḳirghiz [*q.vv.*] and others, from the northern steppe fringe of Inner Asia and the southern edges of the Siberian forests into this region. These nomadic peoples competed with the Chinese and Tibetans for dominance over this region. Amongst them, the Uyghurs, who adopted Manichaeism as their state religion between 744 and 840, later became the new masters of Sin-kiang.

Although Islam might have entered Sin-kiang before the Arab invasion to the region of Ṭarāz [*q.v.*] (or Talas) around 750-1, it was not widely spread there until the establishment of the Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK KHĀNS] (382-607/992-1211). Muslim sources mentioned that Satūḳ Bughra Khān's devotion to Islam instigated mass conversion of the Ḳarakhānids to Islam. However, Ṣūfīs from Bukhārā may equally have played an important role in it. The earliest establishment of Islam as a state religion in Sin-kiang probably took place during the reign of Yūsuf Ḳadīr Khān (417-24/1026-32), and practice of Islam was most likely limited to the area of Kāshghar and to the Khotan area in south-west of Sin-kiang. The Ḳarakhānids survived until the beginning of the 7th/13th century, and control of Sin-kiang then fell into the hands of the Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*] (the Western Liao dynasty in Chinese history). The Sinicised Khitans favoured the Confucian-Buddhist culture. Therefore, according to Muslim sources, the Ḳara Khitay rulers were hostile to Islam and to Arabo-Persian culture, so that the spread of Islam in Sin-kiang under their rule was probably slowed down.

After the great Mongol conquests in Asia, Sin-kiang was then under the authority of the Čaghatay Khānate (624-771/1227-1370 [*q.v.*]). Despite a good relationship between the Mongol rulers and their Muslim subjects, the practice of Islam in Sin-kiang was apparently not encouraged. Most of the Khāns inclined rather to their native religious practices and to their nomadic tradition and customs. Throughout the Čaghatayid period, compared with the Ḳarakhānid times, the process of conversion of Uyghur Turks to Islam in Sin-kiang is not clear, except during the reign of Tughluḳ Temūr (760-4/1359-63). By the middle of the 14th century, the Čaghatay Khānate began to disintegrate. The eastern branch based on the Tarim Basin and the Turfan region survived under the protection of the Turkish Dughlat state based in Kāshghar until the late 17th century. By then, they had already become Islamicised. They paid homage to the Chinese Ming authority (1368-1644). However, Chinese influence was not exerted there, just as it had never been exerted under the Ming Chinese mandate. According to contemporary Muslim sources, Perso-Turkish Islamic rather than Chinese culture was flourishing in the region during the 16th century, possibly due to the Tīmūrids' influence in the region.

From the 17th century onwards, the history of Sin-kiang becomes more complicated. Various peoples such as the Uyghurs, Mongols, Tibetans and the Sino-Manchu were contending for dominance of the region. By the early 17th century, the surviving Čaghatay Khānate's authority was undermined by the rising Khʷādja family originating from the Naḳshbandiyya order of the *Silsilat al-Khʷādjagān* in Samarḳand. The Khʷādja family who were *de facto* Islamic missionaries, activated Islamisation in the region. In the second half of the 16th century, descendants of the family were involved in political strife and split up into two lines called Aḳtaghliḳs (people of the White Mountain) based in Kāshghar, and Ḳarataghliḳs (people of the Black Mountain) based in Yarkand respectively. They were called "White-cap Hui" and "Black-cap Hui" in Chinese sources. In 1678, with the help from the Kalmuck Mongols in Dzungharia, the Aḳtaghliḳ Khʷādja Ḥaḍrat Apak defeated his rival faction and reunited Kashgharia. An Islamic theocratic state was thus formed, but functioned as a protectorate of the Mongol Empire of the Dzunghars. This indirectly challenged the Sino-Manchu authority in the region, and caused serious conflicts between the two powers throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

By the middle of the 17th century, Dzungharia was still under a Mongol khānate's domination. The Tarim Basin was then called Hui-p'u ("Islamic or Muslim region") by the Sino-Manchu government. In 1757 Dzungharia was annexed to the Chinese territory. In order to keep firm control, the Manchu government deliberately repopulated this region with various peoples of Altaic stock, including Muslims from the Tarim Basin, from Kansu province and from other parts of China proper. Two years later, Kashgharia was also annexed, and then the Hui-p'u and Dzungharia were renamed as Hui-chiang ("Muslim or Islamic dominion"). Throughout the 19th century, several Muslim rebellions against Manchu rule took place in Hui-chiang. In 1884, six years after the suppression of Yaʿḳūb Beg's [*q.v.*] rebellion (1864-77), the Manchu government re-organised the region by placing it under a form of Chinese provincial administration, and designated it Hsin-chiang. From then onwards, Eastern Turkestan became an official Chinese province.

During the Nationalist Republican period (1911-49), Sin-kiang continued to be a nominal province of China, but was in a chaotic state. The provincial governors acted in reality as independent warlords, conducting their own foreign relations with neighbouring countries. Chinese rule has always been regarded by the local Muslims as that of a foreign power. Nationalism amongst the Turkish Muslims grew strongly since the fall of Yaʿḳūb Beg's emirate, and eventually resulted in secession movements. In 1931 Khʷādja Niyāz Ḥādjdjī led a rebellion trying to liberate the country by establishing a "Turkish Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan". However, with Soviet intervention in support of the Chinese governor, the movement was put down in July 1934. A cruel campaign of massacres against the Muslims was launched. Nevertheless, these killings did not stop Muslims from taking up arms against Chinese rule and Russian pressure. In 1937, another rebellion broke out under the leadership of ʿAbd Allāh al-Niyāz, but again failed. In 1940 ʿUthmān Batūr led another rebellion, and succeeded in defeating the Russians. It lasted until 1943, but was eventually suppressed by the Chinese Nationalist Government armies.

Despite the failures of previous rebellions, Turkish nationalism and a secession movement continued to grow. In November 1944, another rebellion took place in the Ili Valley region, which led to the establishment of the "East Turkestan Republic" (*Sharkī Türkistān Djumhūriyyati*), whose first president was an Uzbek *'ālim*, 'Alī Khān Türe. Although this movement was basically conducted by the Kazakhs and Uyghur population, it later gained considerable support from non-Muslims. According to the declaration of 5 January 1945, the main aim of the republic was to create a multinational democratic state with religious freedom. It seems that Islam was not adopted as the official religion, probably due to the failure of the fundamentalists to Islamicise the republic in the course of the movement. The nature of the movement was nevertheless in actuality Turko-Islamic, because Islam provided the basis for unity within the republic's three-fourths of Muslim population. The East Turkestan Republic lasted only three years and then collapsed due to various factors. Nevertheless, the spirit of Turkish nationalism which its promoters advocated continued, and continues at the present time.

In 1949 the Communist party took over from the Nationalist government. The situation of Muslims in Sin-kiang did not become any better. According to eyewitness reports, persecution of Muslim secessionists by the new régime was conducted in the 1950s. In 1966 all religions in China were banned. This was part of the Cultural Revolution's campaign of destroying the old traditions. There was no exception for Sin-kiang. Muslims suffered a great deal from it; Ḳur'āns and Islamic books were burned, mosques were devastated or closed, and religious leaders were persecuted by the Red Guards. As a result, thousands of Muslims were driven into exile in Muslim countries in Central Asia, Middle East and the Indian Subcontinent.

The Communist government adopted previous Sino-Manchu policy on national minorities. Mass waves of Han settlers were sent to the province from 1953 onwards in order to Sinicise the region and keep firm control of it. Before 1953, the population of the Han Chinese there was only 4.94% (the Uyghurs being 75.42%). However, according to the 1982 census, the Han population had increased to 41% (the Uyghurs down to 45.48%). This indirectly produced an effect of de-Islamisation in Sin-kiang. Possibly due to the central government's policy on birth control (the Han are allowed to have only one child, but the minorities two), the population of the Han Chinese by 1986 dropped to 39%, and the Uyghurs increased to 46% (Muslims of other races, 14%). In 1955, the Sin-kiang Uyghur Autonomous Region was set up under the guidelines of the 1949 constitution which provided that all the national minorities should have the right to use their native languages in daily life, to keep their traditions, and to have religious freedom. However, in the 1970s, by a constitutional amendment, minorities' rights for the preservation of their cultures and religious freedom were eliminated. In spite of this, Islam is still practised in Sin-kiang. Nowadays it is rather a matter of personal belief and practice. Under the policy of economic reform in early 1980s, mosques were re-opened, and Muslims have been allowed to run their own religious schools. As a result, Islamic revivalism has been growing gradually there.

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(Chang-Kuan Lin)

SINNA, Senna [see sanandadj].

SINNĀR, a town in the modern Sudan Republic, often rendered as Sennar.

Modern Sinnār is now a modest Sudanese provincial town on the west bank of the Blue Nile about 170 miles above its confluence with the white Nile. During the 19th century it was a regional centre of commerce and administration under the Turco-Egyptian colonial régime and as such attracted the special wrath of the Mahdist movement [see al-mahdiyya], which destroyed the town in 1885 and transformed the demography of the surrounding district. For much of the period 1500-1821 Sinnār served as eponymous capital to the Islamic Nubian kingdom of the Fūndj [*q.v.*], which embraced much of the northern Nile-valley Sudan.

The early Fūndj kings, like their contemporary Ethiopian counterparts, kept a mobile court to distribute among the provinces the burden of the royal presence. Sinnār entered the historical record in 1523 as the fixed seat of the treasury of the first Fūndj sultan, and the site was later chosen as permanent capital when kings of the second quarter of the 17th century brought their roving court to rest. Foundations for a mosque were laid by Rubāṭ I (1025-54/1616-44) and the building was completed by Bādī II (1054-92/1644-81). These kings and their immediate successors Ūnsā II (1092-1103/1681-92) and Bādī III (1103-28/1692-1716) began to sponsor royal caravans that opened a flourishing trade with Egypt and the Red Sea; by 1700 Sinnār had become a large and cosmopolitan city.

Accounts of European visitors during the reign of Bādī III afford an image of Sinnār at its apogee. At the heart of the capital lay a broad plaza or *fāshir*, which served as a bazaar on market days, an occasional mustering-ground for soldiers, and a setting for periodic state ceremonies such as the delivery of tribute by the governors of the eight provinces. On one side of the *fāshir* was the mosque of fired brick, graced with bronze window gratings imported from India. On the other stood the royal gate, before it a bench where the king appeared on occasion to render justice to petitioners, and beyond a vast walled palace complex of adobe dominated by two lofty towers.

Those who lived within the palace were surrounded bv the finest luxuries known to the age, but were bound by a strict régime of conduct, not all of which may now be discerned. The palace housed the royal family, construed by Nubian custom in matrilineal

terms. The sons of a king lived there in captivity until their father died; the high courtiers then elected one his successor and executed the rest. A king throughout his life was answerable to his electors, and if repudiated should be executed by his maternal uncle, entitled *sīd al-ḳōm*. Princesses, the sole transmitters of noble status, were given in marriage to the far-flung Fūndj vassal lords; a king, in turn, accepted wives—normally several hundred—from among the female offspring of his noble subordinates. Male children of vassal lords also lived in the palace, serving as pages and as hostages for the good behaviour of their distant fathers. Each provincial governor was assigned quarters in the palace from which to conduct his affairs while in the capital. The palace also housed many other titled officials, some of them slaves, who supervised the assessment, collection, storage, and disbursement of tax-goods collected in kind, who organised the royal caravans and conducted exchanges with foreign merchants, and who arranged the stockpiling or manufacture of arms and munitions and commanded the royal slave corps of cavalry and infantry.

Surrounding the public edifices of the capital lay the homes of lesser courtiers, holy men and craftsmen enjoying royal patronage, and the residential quarters of traders from every province and many foreign lands, each answerable to a patron at court. Beyond the town inland lay cemeteries for Muslims and non-Muslims, and along the river royal gardens for rustic court outings and the cultivation of lemons and roses. Within a 40-mile radius of the town proper lay an unusually densely-populated district directly responsible to the palace and not part of any province. West of the river were estates assigned to members of the royal family such as the Queen Mother, and to prominent holy men with their followers. If the inhabitants of these estates resembled their counterparts at better-documented provincial capitals, in addition to farming they invested much labour in the weaving of long strips of white cotton cloth that provided customary garments and served as market place currency. East of the river lay widespread permanent village encampments of slave soldiers and their families; they preserved some of the culture of their native homes in the Nūba Mountains and the Ethiopian borderlands. When travellers of 1700 assessed the population of Sinnār at 100,000 souls, it is probable that the estimate also embraced this wide semi-rural conurbation.

As the 18th century advanced, the opening of Sinnār to influences from the Islamic heartlands eroded institutions vital to Fūndj government, notably matrilineal succession and state control over trade. With the collapse of Fūndj kinship discipline, the family hierarchy of landed nobility fragmented into bellicose patrilineages, while some twenty new towns arose as a rising middle class of private merchants defied royal prerogative. In 1762 a clique of base-born (*Hamadj*) warlords seized power, and at the death of their leader Muḥammad Abū Likaylik in 1775 the kingdom lapsed into half-a-century of civil strife that brought ruin to the capital. In 1202/1787-8 the *Hamadj* commander Nāṣir b. Muḥammad Abū Likaylik, having crushed an abortive royalist counter-coup, avenged himself by systematically firing the highly combustible city and its west-bank suburbs. In February 1804 factional fighting left the palace complex for two months in the hands of a provincial governor, who sacked it thoroughly; the capital was then abandoned and all factions fell back upon armed camps in the countryside. Of these, the slave settlements on the east bank were among the most important until they in turn were devastated by campaigns of the decade to follow. At the Turco-Egyptian conquest of 1821 the *fāshir*, surrounded by ruins, witnessed the ceremony of surrender that ended the sultanate of Sinnār.

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(J.L. Spaulding)

SINNAWR (a.) (in rare instances *sunnār*, *sunār*) (pl. *sanānīr*), masculine substantive denoting the cat, and synonym of *hirr* (pl. *hirara*, *hirar*) and of *ḳiṭṭ* (pl. *ḳiṭāṭ*, *ḳiṭaṭa*) (cf. Latin *catus*). These three equivalent terms which have the feminine in *-a* for the female cat make no distinction between wild and domestic species. Among the former, at least four were known in the lands of Islam: (a) *Felis sylvestris lybica*, European wild cat, of the Libyan subspecies, with the names *ḳiṭṭ al-khalā*, *ḳiṭṭ al-barr*, *kadīs*, in Kabyle *amshīsh boudrar*; (b) *Felis margarita*, Sand cat, which has become quite rare in Morocco and the western Sahara and is known as *barrān*, *mushsh al-khalā*; (c) *Felis ocreata*, Fettered cat, its name, *ḍaywan*, also applicable to the two preceding species; (d) *Felis chaus*, Jungle cat, peculiar to Nubia and Egypt where it is known as *tufah*, *tuffa*, *tifā* and, in Morocco, *sabsab*, *zabzab*.

There are many species of Domestic cat (*Felis domestica*) produced by interbreeding; two varieties are typical in the Orient, *Felis maniculata* or Egyptian cat (*sinnawr miṣrī*) and *Felis angorensis* or Persian cat (*sinnawr shīrāzī*). The Arab lexicographers have supplied a copious list of names given to the cat, each evoking a particular feature of the diminutive feline; thus, in alphabetical order: *azram*, *bass*, *biss*, *dam*, *dimma*, *hars*, *haris*, *hārūn*, *harrūn*, *hizdj*, *ḳalaṭi*, *ḳayʿam*, *khaydaʿ*, *khayṭal*, *khizbāz*, *mā'iyya*, *mishsh*, *mukhaddish*, *mukhādish* *nuwwa*, *shabrama* and *shunārā*. The kitten is called *dirṣ* (pl. *adrāṣ*, *durūṣ*) and *shibriḳ* (pl. *shabāriḳ*). Alongside all these terms, which currently appear somewhat archaic, the cat was furthermore endowed with nicknames with *abū* or *umm* according to its sex, such as *abū ghazawān*, *abu 'l-haytham*, *abū khaddāsh* and *abū shammākh*. In addition, the dialects peculiar to each Muslim region have their own names for the cat. Berber-speaking groups call it *emmashīsh*, *mushsh* (pl. *mushshiten*), fem. *tamushshit* (pl. *timushshītīn*), in Tamahaḳḳ *tikurash*. In Tunisia, the only term in use is *ḳaṭṭūs/gaṭṭūs* (pl. *ḳaṭāṭīs*) (Low Latin *cattus*) with the diminutives *ḳṭiyyet*, *ḳṭīṭes* for the kitten, while in Syria it is *busayn* and, in ʿIrāḳ, *bazzūn*; the Turkish *kedi* and Persian *gurba* are not related to Arabic. The sounds typically uttered by the cat, mewing, purring, wailing, are represented in Arabic, as in most other languages, by onomatopoeia; such words are derived from artificial verbal roots, usually triliteral. Thus mewing is denoted by the roots *m-'-w* (*muwā'*), *'-m-w* (*'umā'*), *m-ʿ-w* (*muʿā'*), *n-ʿ-w* (*nuʿā'*), *m-w-gh* (*muwāgh*), *n-w-w* (*tanwā*). According to al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 22) the cat is capable of modulating its mewing in five different ways to express its moods and its needs (hunger, distress, appeals for attention, etc.). Purring, an utterance peculiar to felines and an expression of contentment, is imitated by the terms *khurūr*, *kharīr*, *kharkhara* and *harīr*. Finally, to drive a cat away, the appropriate cry is *ghiss*! or *ghasghas*!

It is through Egypt that the Arabs, like the Hebrews, seem to have become acquainted with the domestic cat. It had been venerated there since the Pharaonic period and enjoyed the privilege of being embalmed as a sacred animal (Herodotus, *History*, ii, 66). On the other hand, there is no mention of it either in the Bible or in the Ḳur'ān; it is only later that certain Muslim commentators invented the legend according to which a pair of cats was produced, on board Noah's Ark, by a sneeze of the lion, as a means of destroying rats and mice which swarmed there and were causing considerable damage to the provisions of the travellers (*Ḥayawān*, i, 146, v, 347-8).

Al-Dj̲āḥiẓ is the first, indeed the only, scholar to have spoken extensively and knowledgeably of the cat, in his valuable *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, and later naturalists such as al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī only repeated his statements. This remarkable polygraph mounts a vigorous refutation to the assertion of Zoroaster/Zarathustra (Zarādus̲h̲t) and of the Mazdaeans, who claimed that the cat is a diabolical animal, while they saw as divine creatures the mouse, the weasel and fishes (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 298, v, 319-20); a similar idea existed among the ancient Arabs, for whom a fanciful superstition held that the *ḳuṭrub* [*q.v.*] (pl. *ḳaṭārib*), one of the categories of demons, took on the form of the female cat (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj̲*, iii, 320-1 = § 1204). Similarly, he castigates those who eat the flesh of the cat; they belong, he says, to two categories, one consisting of depraved youths, the other of keepers of doves who thus eliminated the predatory cats threatening dovecotes. He also denounces the ancient legend according to which eating the flesh of a black cat gives protection against spells and enchantments. In fact, Islamic law forbids the consumption of the flesh of the cat, a prohibition applying to every carnivore equipped with canine teeth. Also forbidden were the sale and purchase of cats, in deference to an opinion of the Prophet Muḥammad who was fond of these beasts; but some jurists reckoned that this applied only to the wild cat and that the domestic cat, in commercial terms, was of the same status as the ass, the mule and the dog (al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt*, ii, 382). Al-Dj̲āḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, v, 339) describes a kind of aversion therapy by means of which cat owners weaned their pets from catching pigeons.

In the 4th/10th century, the "Brothers of Purity" (*Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafā'* [*q.v.*]), as a part of their indictment of the cat, proposed in one of their Epistles (*Rasā'il*, ii, 247), a curious, but very logical explanation of the domesticity of the cat and the dog, which attach themselves to mankind as a means of ensuring their subsistence. The phenomenon dates back to the time of the murder of Abel (Hābīl) by his brother Cain (Ḳābīl); this was followed by a fratricidal struggle between the two lines, and the descendents of Cain, gaining the upper hand, set about the systematic slaughter of all the livestock of the vanquished, sheep and cattle as well as camels and horses. For a long time they feasted on these beasts, and this resulted in an accumulation of carcases which attracted hordes of wild dogs and cats, competing over this abundant and easy source of food; henceforward, they remained close to men, whose discarded material was sufficient to satisfy their daily needs. This interpretation is not devoid of reason, since scholars of prehistoric times have shown that since the Neolithic period, there has been a symbiosis between man and certain species of animal, including the dog, which were soon domesticated, becoming accustomed to a reliable source of sustenance and to protection from their enemies.

Al-Dj̲āḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, *passim*, esp. v) describes the cat in glowing terms, admiring its instinctive cleanliness, its agility, its vigilance, its efficiency in the hunting of rodents, its attachment to the home of its master, its visual acuity in darkness and the affection which the female shows towards its offspring, sometimes inducing it, he says with a degree of exaggeration, to devour them. Furthermore, in spite of its small size, the cat, like other much larger felines, the lion, the tiger, the panther, has the ability, simply by showing itself, to strike fear into camels and elephants [see FĪL]; the latter, on seeing it, are seized by panic and this phenomenon gave rise, according to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj̲*, iii, 13-16 = §§ 855-6), to a tactical stratagem employed by the kings of Persia, that of releasing cats in the path of the elephants forming the vanguard of an attacking army. The enemy, trusting in the invulnerability of these pachyderms, saw them suddenly turn and flee, charging in the opposite direction and causing panic in the ranks. This stratagem was used successfully by Hārūn b. Mūsā, valiant warrior of Islam and poet, against a king of India who used elephants when attacking him in his fortress of Multān, and the victor recounted the episode himself in a score of verses (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 76-8). This fear which the cat, like the larger felines, is capable of inspiring in the largest mammals, has given certain poets the notion of comparing it to the lion. On this theme there are a number of verses of Muḥammad b. Yasīr al-Riyās̲h̲ī, a contemporary of al-Dj̲āḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, i, 59, v, 272), and most worthy of note is a fine composition in eight verses by al-Ṣanawbarī [*q.v.*] (*al-Madj̲ānī al-ḥadīt̲h̲a*, iii, 222) in which he expresses (metre *k̲h̲afīf*, rhyme *-ābi*) his affectionate admiration for the cat, declaring "It is a veritable lion of the thicket both in body and in temperament!" He concludes with this magisterial declaration "What an agreeable companion, for, when in good mood, it is more loyal than all other friends!" In addition, al-Dj̲āḥiẓ relates that cats were the object of attentive care and petting on the part of women of the harems; they painted their paws with henna, adorned them with collars and jewels and were in the habit of kissing their muzzles.

The atavastic hostility of the cat in relation to the rats and mice on which it preys has, among all peoples, been a theme much exploited in fables and moralising tales; the "game of cat and mouse" has served as a metaphor for denouncing the law of the strongest and for opposing oppression and tyranny exercised over the weak, while drawing attention to the caution, the ingenuity and the guile which, often, the latter demonstrates in escaping and even getting the better of his persecutor. This is the theme of nights 900 and 901 in *The Thousand and One Nights* with the story of "the cat and the mouse" (*al-sinnawr wa 'l-fa'r*); the mistrustful mouse, besieged in his refuge by a cat, invokes the Most High and is saved by the unexpected arrival of a hunter whose dog loses no time in settling accounts with the feline. Similarly, in the Book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], the philosopher Bidpāy illustrates for the king Dabs̲h̲alīm the theme of true and false friendship with the fable of "the rat and the cat" (*al-dj̲uradh̲ wa 'l-sinnawr*) in which the cat, trapped in the meshes of the hunter's net, implores the rat to free him by gnawing through the threads, with a thousand oaths and promises. The rat, very wisely, sets about the task, but without haste, and waits until the arrival of the hunter before severing the last thread; on seeing the man, the cat has no option other than rapid flight and the rat, rid of this false friend, disappears safe and unharmed into his burrow.

The predatory nature of the cat has given rise to a number of metaphorical adages; by comparison with the wild cat, it is said *adabb min ḍaywan*, "a more skilled stalker than a wild cat", and *aṣyad, anzā min ḍaywan* "more predatory, more agile than a wild cat". Among expressions relating to the domestic cat are *athkaf min sinnawr* "more lively than the cat" and *abarr min hirra* "more gentle to its little ones than a female cat". On the other hand, the origin of the expression *ka-anna-hu sinnawr ʿAbd Allāh* "he is like the cat of ʿAbd Allāh", used to say of somebody that, the older he becomes the less he is worth, is unknown; in this context, al-Djāḥiẓ indicates (*Ḥayawān*, v, 315) that in the illegal trade in cats, kittens commanded a much higher price than adults, respectively a *dirham* [*q.v.*] and only a *ḳīrāt*. Finally, a fairly widespread contemporary image defines the fool in these terms: *lā yaʿrifu hirr*[an] *min birr* "he cannot tell a cat from a mouse".

The specific qualities attributed to the different bodily parts of the cat are as varied as they are fanciful. Al-Ḳazwīnī (7th/13th century) and al-Damīrī (8th/14th century) supply a list of them (*ʿAdjāʾib*, in the margins of *Ḥayāt*, ii, 232 and *Ḥayāt*, ii, 35, 251, 382). Thus the brain of a wild cat blended into a hot infusion of rocket (*djirdjir, Eruca sativa*) drunk on an empty stomach in the public baths, is beneficial for testicular ailments and the retention of urine. The two eyes of the cat, dried and burned for purposes of fumigation, ensure the success of any enterprise. To carry on one's person a cat's tooth suppresses all nocturnal fears, and carrying the heart of a cat in a bag made from the skin of this feline guarantees victory over any enemy. The gall of a cat mixed with an eyewash induces nyctalopia and, blended with half a dirham of oil of jasmine, cures buccal paralysis. The gall when dried, pulverised and mixed with kohl constitutes an eyewash which enables one to see the djinn and put them to one's service; mixed with salt and wild cumin (*kammūn kirmānī, Lagoecia cuminoides*) and applied to sores and ulcers, it is an efficacious ointment. The blood of the cat is drunk to cure scurf, and that of the black cat is a love-potion; applied to the sexual organs, it has an aphrodisiac effect. The spleen of a black cat attached to a woman suppresses menstruation. Finally, the excrement of the cat has a smell which dispels mice and in addition, when diluted in oil of myrtle (*duhn al-ās, Myrtus communis*) and used as an ointment, it cures any fever; pulverised in water, it alleviates the pains of gout when smeared on the affected areas.

In botany, a score of plant names refer to the cat. Thus the term *ḥashīshat al-sanānīr* "herb for cats" is applied to Balm (*Melissa officinalis*, labiate), the smell of which appeals to cats. Cat's foot (*Antennaria dioica*, composite) is called *ridjl al-ḳiṭṭ/al-hirr*, "cat's foot" and *ẓufr al-ḳiṭṭ* "cat's claw", while the Corn crowfoot (*Ranunculus arvensis*, ranuncular) and the Asiatic crowfoot (*R. asiaticus*) correspond to *kaff al-hirr* "cat's paw". The term *ʿayn al-ḳiṭṭ* "cat's eye" is applied to five plants, including three which belong to the family of compositae: (a) Corn camomile (*Anthemis arvensis*); (b) Camomile (*A. nobilis*); (c) Wild camomile (*Matricaria chamomilla*); (d) Water speedwell (*Veronica anagallis aquatica*, scrofular); and (e) Minor phalaris (*Phalaris minor*, graminaceous). The "cat's head" (*raʾs al-hirr*) is the Hemp nettle (*Galeopsis*, labiate), while the "cat's tail" (*dhanab al-ḳiṭṭ*) denotes both the Bugloss (*Anchusa italica*, boraginaceous) and the Goldylocks (*Chrysocoma*). As for the "long cat's tail" (*dhayl al-ḳiṭṭ*), this can be either Cat's tailgrass (*Phleum pratense*, graminaceous) or Alfagrass (*Lygeum spartum*, graminaceous). Among papilionaceous plants the genus Milk vetch (*Astralagus*) has borrowed three names referring to cats: (a) *ẓubb al-ḳiṭṭ* "cat's penis" for the variety *A. cahiricus*; (b) *khuzām al-ḳiṭṭ* "cat's mignonette" for the varieties *A. Forskallii* and *A. cruciatus*; and (c) *bayḍ al-ḳiṭṭ* "cat's testicles" for the variety *A. sieberi*.

It may be mentioned, in conclusion, that in zoology the term *sinnawr al-zabād* "civet cat" is also found, denoting the Civet cat (*Viverra civetta*) of the family of Viverridae, but in Arabic as in English, this small carnivore of Africa and Asia is more often known in the abbreviated form *zabād*, *sinnawr* being omitted.

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(F. Viré)

SĪNŪB, Sinope, modern Turkish Sinop, a town and seaport on the north coast of Asia Minor, in the classical Paphlagonia, between the mouths of the Saḳarya [*q.v.*] and the Ḳîzîl Irmaḳ [*q.v.*] and about equidistant from the ports of Ṣamsūn and Ineboli, 120 km/75 miles to the north-east of Ḳasṭamūnī [*q.v.*] (lat. 42° 05' N., long. 35° 09' E.). It is the celebrated Σινώπη of the ancients and has retained this name. Muslim authors know it by the name of Sanūb (Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, 392, and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Quatremère, in *NE*, xiii, 361), Ṣanūb (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 348), Sināb (Anon. Giese, 34; Urudj Beg, ed. Babinger, 73) or Sīnūb (ʿĀshiḳ-Pasha-zāde, and, following him, all the Turkish historians and other writers). The town lies on an isthmus running north-eastwards from the mainland, to which it joins the peninsula of Boz Tepe Adasî. This position gives the town two harbours, but only that on the south, the safer of the two, has remained in use since ancient times. The strip of coast behind Sīnūb is bounded by the great Pontic range which borders the Central Anatolian plateau, and is particularly difficult to cross directly south of the town.

1. Pre-Ottoman history.

The history of Sinope goes back to a remote period. It was already an important port for trade with caravans from Mesopotamia and Cilicia, before it became a Greek colony of Milesians, in the 8th century B.C. Herodotus, Xenophon and Strabo describe it, but in the time of the latter it was no longer the great

terminal port for continental trade (cf. Sir W. Ramsay, *Historical topography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 27). The town however retained its importance; in the 2nd century B.C., it was the capital of Mithridates of Pontus and after its capture by Lucullus in 70 B.C., it knew several centuries of prosperity as a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Julia Felix. When, under the Byzantine empire, the interior of Asia Minor gradually lost its Hellenism, Sinope remained a commercial city of the first rank. The invasion of Asia Minor by the Saracens in 217/832 had as one result that Theophobos, commander of the "Persian" auxiliary troops of the emperor, was proclaimed king of Sinope for a brief period; this episode is related by the Byzantine sources Symeon Magister and Theophanes Continuatus.

As the conquest of Asia Minor by the Rūm Saldjūḳs was confined for the first century to the interior of the peninsula, Sinope remained Byzantine, but also served as a port for the merchants of the Saldjūḳ empire, who embarked there for the Crimea (Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, i, 298). At the beginning of the 13th century the town passed into the hands of the empire of the Comnenoi of Trebizond. The Saldjūḳ sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Ḳubādh took the town from them. Ibn Bībī, who gives a detailed account of its capture (in *Recueil des historiens des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, iv, 54 ff.) gives as the date of the capture 26 Djumādā II 611, corresponding to 2 November 1214. The Saldjūḳ sultan had taken advantage of the discord between the two Greek empires, but the immediate pretext for attacking the town was the raids which the lord of Sinope (in Ibn Bībī and Barhebraeus, *Chronicon*, ed. Bedjan, 429, called Kīr Aleks, i.e. Kyr Alexis Comnenos, cf. Fallmerayer, *Gesch. des Kaisertums Trapezunt*, Munich 1827, 94) had made into Turkish territory. Abu 'l-Fidā' seems also to allude to this conquest (*Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1286, iii, 122 under 611/1214-15, cf. Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, 96); in any case, Barhebraeus is wrong in saying that Alexis was killed by the Saldjūḳs. The Byzantine historians do not mention the taking of Sinope.

The town was given a Saldjūḳ garrison and the church turned into a mosque. Some time afterwards, the town was given as a hereditary fief to the celebrated vizier Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān Parwāne [*q.v.*], who built a fine mosque there which is described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. It was about the same time that William of Rubruck passed through the town, which he calls Sinopolis, on his way to Russia. According to Münedjdjim Bashi, *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*, Tkish. tr., iii, 31, the Parwāne was succeeded at Sīnūb by his son Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad (676-96/1277-97) then by his other son Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Masʿūd, on whose death in 700/1301 his lands passed to the lords of Ḳasṭamūnī. But another authority (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, v, 22, quoting Rūḥī) says that, after the deposition of the last Rūm Saldjūḳ (in 707/1307), the Il Khānid Ghazan Khān granted all the lands in the north and northwest of Asia Minor to Ghāzī Čelebi, son of the Saldjūḳ sultan Masʿūd. This Ghāzī Čelebi is well-known in history, especially for his bravery in his acts of piracy (for example, he dived under the water to destroy the keels of enemy vessels) which he committed against the Genoese and the Greeks of Trebizond, whose ally he had sometimes been. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*loc. cit.*) and probably Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 393), however, make Ghāzī Čelebi a descendant of the Parwāne. After his death, Sīnūb was taken by Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Sulaymān Pasha, lord of Ḳasṭamūnī [see ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU]; it was shortly after this event that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the town (*ca.* 740/1340). During the 14th century, the town retained its importance as a commercial port, connected with the interior by a road to Iznīḳ and Bursa (Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i, 196). Trade was mainly in the hands of the Genoese, who probably had a consulate there since 1351; there was also a Genoese colony (Heyd, *op. cit.*, i, 550). Sīnūb was the last refuge of the Isfendiyār Oghlu when the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I had attacked them, and in the end, they abandoned the town to him in 797/1394-5, according to the old Ottoman chroniclers (ʿĀshiḳ-Pasha-zāde, 72; Anon. Giese, 34). After the restoration of this dynasty by Tīmūr in 805/1402-3, Sīnūb again passed under their rule; it was the seaport by which the rebels against the Ottomans, like Shaykh Badr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (cf. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi, 60), were able to escape under the protection of the Isfendiyār Oghlu. It was, however, only in the year 862/1458 that Meḥemmed II definitely incorporated the town in his territory by a treaty with the Isfendiyār Oghlu Ismāʿīl Beg, who received in exchange fiefs in Rūm Ili. This event is recorded by all the Turkish historians and by the Byzantine Ducas and Chalcondylas; the latter mention the formidable defences that had been erected in the town.

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2. The Ottoman and modern periods.

Sinop's importance in the reign of the Saldjūḳs and Isfendiyār-oghullarï, as well as in the Ottoman period, lay in its two harbours. In addition, the forests of northwestern Anatolia provided the timber needed for shipbuilding. In Ḳānūnī Süleymān's time, peasants from the surrounding countryside supplied the Ottoman navy's shipyard, which could build at least fifteen ships in a year, with timber in exchange for a tax rebate. At this period, activity in the shipyard appears to have been seasonal, and moreover, linked to the probability or otherwise of naval warfare. The high point of construction activity was apparently reached in 979/1571, when 25 galleys were built for the Cyprus war.

The first surviving Ottoman tax register dates from 892/1487. At this time, the town had a tax-paying population of 773 adult males, of whom 176 were Christians; the latter were excused from the payment of the *ispendje* [*q.v.*] and paid a standard sum of 34 *akčes* as *kharādj*. This means that with 5 people to a household, the town should have contained over 3,500 inhabitants. At the end of the 9th/15th century, Sinop was divided up into 13 Muslim and 6 Christian quarters; there was a single Friday mosque, probably the Ulu Djāmiʿ (Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tapu Tahrir 23 m, pp. 335-47).

A tax register from 937/1530 records Sinop as a *ḳaḍā* centre in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳasṭamōnū. This source records a total of 21 town quarters, with two Friday mosques and a *medrese*, inhabited by 611 taxpaying households; 378 were Muslims and 233 Christians. A further register dated 968/1560-1, which records 1,003 taxpayers, gives a more detailed overview of the Sinop population (Tapu Tahrir 327, 454 ff.). Among the

fourteen Muslim town quarters, the most populous was that surrounding the mosque of Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. Another mosque still in existence today, the Mesdjid-i Ulu Beg, also formed the centre of a small quarter (inscription dated 760/1358-9). The Christian population lived in seven quarters; all except the Tersāne (naval dockyards) and the ʿArabpînarî quarters had a church for a centre. The "Büyük kilīse" may have been the sanctuary of St. Phocas; but few people lived here, the largest Christian quarter being that of ʿArabpînarî.

The last extant *taḥrīr* documenting Sinop dates from the reign of Sultan Murād III (Ankara, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Kuyudu kadime 200, fol. 90b ff., 990/1582), and differs from its predecessor only in a few details. Among the Muslim inhabitants, we find 13 garrison soldiers recorded; but in a sense the entire population did guard duty. From the times of Meḥmed the Conqueror, they had been rewarded for this service by an exemption from many other dues and obligations. As confirmed by all sultans up to Murād III, the inhabitants of Sinop could not be called upon to work on fortress construction, nor could they be obliged to serve as rowers or imperial falconers. In addition, they could not be forced to move to any other location, that is, they were exempt from the deportations known as *sürgün*. In addition, the inhabitants of Sinop were excused payment of the *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye*. 1,677 adult males benefited from these exemptions, among whom 940 were recorded as single. Christians numbered 233 households and almost 300 bachelors. The total population should have numbered between 3,700 and 4,700.

At the end of the 10th/16th century, economic activity seems to have been modest; our tax register records a small dyehouse and fishing weirs (*dālyān*). Bidding for the farm of the Sinop customs in the second half of the 10th/16th century seems to have started at 27,000 *aḳčes*; these dues were earmarked for the pay of the garrison soldiers. Polish merchants occasionally passed through the town on their way to Aleppo, and slaves were imported from the northern shores of the Black Sea. By the next century, the town seems to have been in difficulty, partly due to the damage caused by Cossack attacks. In one instance, a band of raiders even occupied the town for a short while. An account dated 1049/1639-40 documents repairs to the fortifications: the foundations of the citadel were strengthened, the tower over the gate known as Orta Ḳapu was repaired. Quite possibly these repairs were undertaken to guard against another Cossack raid.

Two accounts of Sinop as in the mid-11th/17th century stem from Ewliyā Čelebi and Kātib Čelebi. According to Ewliyā, the town possessed 24 quarters and eight gates; one of the gates was located near the dockyards. After the Cossack raid, the fortress commander was obliged to remain in the town at all times. The Christians lived outside the walls; Ewliyā thought that they numbered 1,100 families, with one hundred of them assigned to the upkeep of the fortress.

Among public buildings, both Ewliyā and Kātib Čelebi noted the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque. According to the first, this building boasted a fine *miḥrāb* of carved marble, and he praised it highly, comparing it to the *miḥrāb* of the Ulu Djāmiʿ in Bursa; but it had disappeared by the 13th/19th century. Ewliyā also noted the existence of an Ayaṣofya mosque, known from 10th/16th century sources as "Küčük Ayaṣofya", and which he described as an "ancient building". There seems to have been a notable increase in the number of pious foundations, possibly in connection with the strengthening of the town's defences after the Cossack raid. The *medrese* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (today the Sinop Museum) was functioning at the time, in addition to numerous Ḳurʾān schools.

Paul of Aleppo, who accompanied Patriarch Macarius on his travels to Russia, gives another fairly full description of Sinop in 1069/1658. This writer claims that the *pasha* of Ḳasṭamonu, in whose district Sinop was located, was not permitted entry into the town, and even *ḳapudjus* from the sultan's palace, bringing an order from the ruler, were only allowed in three to four at a time. The Christians, whose *djizya* served to pay the soldiers, still lived outside the walls, where they possessed seven churches. In the event of Cossack attacks they were allowed to seek shelter within the walls. As slaves were still being imported in large numbers, even the Christian inhabitants of the town owned them.

Later visitors paint a less optimistic picture. Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, who visited Sinop in 1112-13/1701, describes a much neglected fortress manned by a few Janissaries, while the Greek quarter *extra muros* was unprotected. Bernard Rottiers, who visited Sinop before 1829, noted that the naval shipyard at Sinop was small, but the ships turned out were of excellent quality, so that merchants sometimes purchased permission to have their own vessels constructed there. At this time, Sinop exported rice, fruit, skins and hides as well as timber.

According to the count of taxpayers undertaken in 1831, the district of Sinop, still a *ḳaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Ḳasṭamōnū, was inhabited by 7,137 Muslim males. Since it was the aim of this count to assess military potential, Christians, women and presumably small children were not counted. Von Moltke passed by Sinop on his way to Samsun, and was favourably impressed by the durability of the houses and the activity of the naval arsenal. Collas and Texier, whose books were published in 1864 and 1862 respectively, mention the recently-instituted steamship connection to Istanbul; but both felt that Sinop was declining, According to Collas, this was due to the successful competition of İnebolu for the exportation of the region's principal products, namely nuts, skins and hides. However, the unwalled parts of Sinop had suffered severe damage in the Ottoman-Russian naval engagement 1853, which began the Crimean War.

Reconstruction must have followed fairly soon, for Cuinet, whose data concern the years around 1890, paints a much more hopeful picture. Sinop at this time contained a mere 1,790 houses, that is, only about 100 more than the number of households registered in 990/1582; this figure corresponded to a total population of 9,749, of which 5,041 were Muslims. However, he gained the impression that Sinop was small but active, growing not only by virtue of its expanding trade, but also because the summer season attracted holiday makers to the seashore. As to the agricultural hinterland, it produced mainly wheat, maize and tobacco.

Due to the relative isolation of Sinop, the town was first used as a place of banishment during the reign of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, a tradition which was continued under the following governments. As a result, the town is frequently mentioned in short stories and memoirs dealing with the late Ottoman and Republican periods. Refīḳ Khālid (Karay [*q.v.*]) wrote a story (*Shaḳāʾ*) set in this town in 1915, while the journalist Zekerya Sertel describes the atmosphere of

the middle 1920s in his *Hatırladıklarım* (Istanbul 1968). After the Republican government had transformed the inner fortress into a prison, the novelist and short story writer Sabahattin Ali [*q.v.*] spent several months there, reflected in the tragic short story *Duvar.*

Up to the present time, the district of Sinop has remained agricultural (82.5% of all economically active persons in 1980). Apart from grain agriculture, forestry is significant, while fishing is much less so. Some agricultural growth was achieved after 1950, when roads were constructed and Sinop became accessible not only by sea but also from the Anatolian mainland as well. The road connection to Samsun has come to be of economic importance, but the port of Sinop has not been able to keep up with that of its larger competitor only a short distance away.

Sinop is now the chef-lieu of an *il* or province of the same name. The population of the town in 1970 was 45,800, and that of the *il* 265,000.

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(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

SIPĀHĪ (P.), from the Persian *sipah, sipāh* "army", hence basically meaning soldier. It has given such European words as English *sepoy* (see below, 2.) and French *spahi* (see below, 3.).

1. In the Ottoman empire.

Here, *sipāhī* had the more specific meaning of "cavalryman" in the feudal forces of the empire, in contrast to the infantrymen of the professional corps of the Janissaries [see YEÑI ČERI]. Such feudal cavalrymen were supported by land grants (*dirlik* "living, means of livelihood") at different levels of income yield. Below the *khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] lands granted to members of the higher echelons of the administrations and army, the mass of the *sipāhī*s were supported by *tīmār*s [*q.v.*] or, giving a superior income, *ziʿāmet*s [*q.v.*], the revenues from such land grants being known in general as *māl-ī muḳātele* "fighting money". As an encouragement to *sipāhī*s to perform their military duties properly, as well as the inducement of promotion from holder of a *tīmār* to one of a *ziʿāmet*, bonuses might be granted (*teraḳḳī* "advancement").

The *sipāhī*s of a province were under the supreme command of the provincial governor (*beylerbeyi* [see BEGLERBEGI]), who called them to the colours when need for a campaign arose, although in later times, at least, it was possible to compound for absence by a financial payment. Conditions of service varied; some were always obliged to turn out (the *eshkindjis* "those who ride out to war"), whilst others turned out in rotation (*bi-newbet*). The lowest category of *tīmār*-holding *sipāhī*s merely served personally, with their mount, but those with higher incomes had to bring with them at least one fully-equipped and mounted man-at-arms (*djebeli* "dressed in a mailed coat"), up to a maximum of five; *ziʿāmet*-holding *sipāhī*s might have as many as eighteen men-at-arms in their train.

There was no formal system of training, as had been the case e.g. amongst the Mamlūks of Egypt [see FURŪSIYYA; MAYDĀN], but since the land grants could only descend hereditarily to the sons or descendants of *sipāhī*s or *djebeli*s, who had normally been brought up to the profession of arms and were capable of performing military service, a level of competence could be maintained. On a *sipāhī*'s death, his land grant usually passed to his son, although if the latter was still a minor, his required military service had to be performed by a *djebeli* substitute. If there was no heir at all or no capable heir, the grant reverted to the state, with its revenues collected *ad interim* by the *mewḳūfātčī* [*q.v.*], and it could then be granted out subsequently to some other deserving warrior.

There are no reliable figures for the total number of *sipāhī*s and their *djebeli*s in the empire during its heyday, and neither the sultans nor the administration probably ever knew the exact number anyway; a possible figure is *ca.* 150,000, spread over both Anatolia and Rumelia. Before the Ottomans came up against trained, professional armies of the European powers, the feudal forces probably formed the most numerous and formidable part of the Ottoman army, since the élite force of the Janissaries was a numerically restricted one. But as with their mediaeval European counterparts, the feudal knights, there was always the disadvantage that land-grant holders might be reluctant to leave their sources of income and local power and go to fight on distant frontiers. To counter this, at a general call to arms, the Ottoman state allowed one in ten *sipāhī*s to remain at home, and if a summer campaign turned into a prolonged one requiring winter quarters in the field, some *sipāhī*s were allowed to return home and collect the revenues from the estates which supported the fighting forces.

When in later times the Ottomans had to face the European professional armies, their feudal forces were at an obvious disadvantage compared to troops paid to remain in the field as long as money could be found to support them. Hence by the early 19th century, the *sipāhī*s had become an obsolete element in the Ottoman forces, which were themselves from the times of Selīm III and Maḥmūd II [*q.vv.* and NIẒĀM-I DJEDĪD] beginning to evolve into a more modern, uniformed and professionally-trained army. Hence during the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period, in 1263/1847, all *tīmār* and *ziʿāmet* holders were required to exchange these for a monetary payment equivalent to half the income from the land grant.

The term *sipāhī* was also applied to one of the six cavalry divisions of the Ottoman standing army, whose creation may date back as far as the reigns of Murād I (761-91/1360-89 [*q.v.*]) or even Orkhan (724-61/1324-60 [*q.v.*]), and which took up the favoured position in battle on the sultan's right; the term was, indeed, applied in a general sense to the whole of the cavalry in the standing army.

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Cambridge, Mass. 1913, 98-105; Pakalın, iii, 230-5; Gibb and Bowen, i, 46-53, 69-70; *İA* art. *Sipâhî* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin). See also ḤARB, iv.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In North Africa.

The term was used in late, pre-modern North Africa, in which, from the time of the Ottoman conquest (or, from the very beginning of the 17th century for Tunis), *Sbā'ihiyya* (sing. *Sibāḥī*), denoted a corps of mounted gendarmerie. It was then used in the 19th and early 20th centuries for troopers of the corps of locally-raised cavalry organised by the French army there, with the term passing into French as *Spahi*.

A corps of 600 Moorish "Espahies" are already recorded at Tunis in 1614. Ḥammūda Bey (1631-59) is said to have created three other corps (*odjaks*) of Sipāhīs in the interior of the country, at Ḳayrawān, al-Kāf and Bādja. At the side of these *odjaks* of "Arab" Sipāhīs, recruited from the local people, there existed an *odjak* of Turkish Sipāhīs, recruited from amongst the Janissaries. Each Sipāhī *odjak* was commanded by an Agha. The Tunis *odjak* was the most important in the Regency, being commanded by a Bāsh Agha recruited from the leading commanders of the army, assisted by a lieutenant (*kātriya*) and a secretary (*khūdja*). This number of *odjaks* remained constant up to the 19th century, when under the government of Ahmad Bey, three new corps were raised in the Sāḥil, the Djarīd and the A'rāḍ (Ḳābis, Gabès). If, at the outset, the number of Sipāhīs was 600, *ca.* 1788 there were as many as 2,000 (Arab) ones, comprising one-tenth of the Beylical forces. From 1830 onwards, after the creation of a regular army, the Sipāhī *odjaks* lost some of their importance; *ca.* 1840 the *odjak* of the Turks disappeared, being incorporated into the regiment of cavalry.

Within the Regency of Tunis, the Sipāhīs' task included accompanying the Bey on his progresses and the maintenance of order in the interior of the country; some were permanently stationed at the Bardo (the Bey's palace), the rest resided in their own tribes. The Sipāhīs acted as escorts for the tax collectors, and in time of war, were required to mobilise and participate in the movements of the army encampments. They levied an annual honorarium, received their mount, allotments of fodder and forage, and benefited by exemptions from taxes and duties.

In the Regency of Algiers, the Sipāhī *odjaks* appear at around the same time as in Tunis; there were likewise Turkish ones recruited from the Janissaries, and indigenous ones from the local population. At the end of the 18th century, the Agha of Algiers could count on 700 Sipāhīs, not counting those of the Bey. Their duties were similar to those of their colleagues at Tunis.

In 1789, Venture de Paradis was struck by the importance of this corps in the social hierarchy at Algiers. The position of a Sipāhī was especially sought by rich persons; in order to have a chance of entering their ranks, the Bāsh Agha of the Sipāhīs who, as at Tunis, was recruited from amongst the Janissary officers, had to be bought over. The Sipāhīs in the Algiers Regency received neither honoraria nor salaries, and the cost of mounts and of fodder and forage was at their own charge. But in both Regencies, they could profit from handsome windfalls, pots of wine and allowances.

In Tripolitania, Sipāhī *odjaks* are recorded from 1580 on the occasion of their interference in the political affairs of that Regency, at a time when they were commanded by Ḥaydar Pasha (see Başvekalet Arşivi, Istanbul, Mühimme defteri no. 62, dated 12 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 990/8 December 1580). These troops had the same role and the same duties as the Sipāhīs in the other Regencies.

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(ABDELJELIL TEMIMI)

3. In India.

In India both the French and the British adopted the word, which seems to have reached them through the Portuguese, the former writing it *cipaye* or *cipai*, and the latter *sepoy, seapoi, seapoy, seapy, cephoy, sipoy*, etc., but there both nations have applied it since the beginning of the 18th century to natives of India trained, armed and clad after the European fashion as regular infantry soldiers. Regiments of sepoys were first raised and employed by the French. In 1748 Dupleix raised several battalions of Muslim infantry, armed in the European fashion, and in 1759 Lally wrote to the Governor of Pondicherry: "De quinze mille cipayes, dont l'armée est censée composée, j'en compte à peu près huit cens sur la route de Pondichéry". Stringer Lawrence soon imitated Dupleix in forming regular battalions of sepoys in Madras, and in 1757 a force of sepoys accompanied Lord Clive when he left Madras in order to recover Calcutta. The military establishment of Bengal had consisted of one company of artillery, four or five companies of European infantry, and a few hundred natives armed in their own fashion, but after the recovery of Calcutta from the Nawwāb Sirādj al-Dawla a force of Madras sepoys was used to form the nucleus of an army for Bengal, and 2,000 sepoys fought at the battle of Plassey in June, 1757. About the same time, sepoys were raised and employed in Bombay, and European adventurers in native states raised and drilled battalions of sepoys for their masters.

In 1795 the infantry of the three Presidency armies was organised in regiments of two battalions each, each battalion consisting of eight battalion and two grenadier companies. Of such regiments Bengal possessed twelve, Madras eleven, and Bombay four, with an additional marine battalion. Henceforward the three armies grew on divergent principles and with different organisations. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8 shattered the old Bengal army and seriously affected that of Bombay, but both were reconstituted and remodelled. Early in the 20th century Lord Kitchener, then commander-in-chief in India, formed the three Presidency armies into one Indian army, which fought with distinction in the two World Wars until it was divided between Pakistan and India in 1947. The Native States within British India also had their own armies prior to 1947.

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(T.W. Haig*)

SIPAHSĀLĀR [see ispahsālār].

SIPIHR, "celestial sphere", nom-de-plume (*takhallus*) of the Persian historian and man of letters, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī of Kās͟hān (d. Rabīʿ II 1297/March 1880). After a studious youth spent in his native town, he settled definitely in Tehran, where he found a patron in the poet-laureate (*malik al-s͟huʿarāʾ*) of Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh. On his accession (1250/1834), Muḥammad S͟hāh appointed him his private panegyrist (*maddāḥ-i k͟hāṣṣa*) and secretary and accountant in the treasury (*muns͟hī wa-mustawfī-i dīwān*). The same S͟hāh entrusted him with the composition of a universal history. Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh also encouraged him in this enterprise and in 1272/1853 conferred on him the title of *Lisān al-Mulk* ("Tongue of the State"). De Gobineau, who had known him, speaks of his "gravité docte et administrative" in contrast to the "façons légères et riantes" of his colleague Riḍā Ḳulī K͟hān Hidāyat.

The book entitled *Barāhīn al-ʿAd͟jam* finished by Sipihr in 1251/1835 deals with Persian prosody; it is illustrated by examples from the Persian classical poets. His own verses are cited in anthologies, e.g. the *Mad͟jmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* of Riḍā Ḳulī K͟hān [*q.v.*], ii, 156-81; they show technical skill but lack originality and taste. Sipihr's universal history, pretentiously called the *Nāsik͟h al-tawārīk͟h* "Effacer of chronicles", was continued, for the early Islamic period, by his son ʿAbbās Ḳulī, and then Sipihr himself took up the history of his patrons the Ḳād͟jārs; this is the only part of the work of any originality and importance, and goes up to 1273/1857. It was much used by early chroniclers of the Bābī movement [see bābīs], such as de Gobineau, Kazimbek and Browne, with the latter paying tribute to Sipihr's candour and accuracy (most recent edition by M.B. Bihbūdī of the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ḳād͟jāriyya*, 4 vols., Tehran 1385/1965).

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(V. Minorsky*)

SIPIHRĪ, Suhrāb (1928-80), Iran's most famous 20th-century painter and a leading modernist Persian poet. Born in Kās͟hān, where he finished elementary and high school, Sipihrī received a college degree from the College of Fine Arts at Tehran University in 1953. His first exhibition of paintings took place that same year. His first book of poems had appeared in 1951. Other volumes of poetry followed, with his collected poems appearing in 1977 in *Has͟ht kitāb* ("Eight Books").

In 1957 Sipihrī made his first trip abroad, mainly to London and Paris, participating in a lithography course at l'Ecole des Beaux Arts. To subsequent trips to Tokyo, India, Europe, the United States, Greece and Egypt can be traced influences in his paintings. In the mid-1960s began a period of many Sipihrī exhibitions in Iran and abroad, which brought him to the forefront of Iranian painting. From that period also, Sipihrī's productivity as a poet established him as a leading modernist. Sipihrī never married and was a retiring, private and gentle person, much liked and loved by people who knew him well. He died of leukemia in April 1980 and was buried at a Muslim religious shrine in a village near Kās͟hān.

Simplicity is a quality of Sipihrī's art. His paintings, mostly inspired by nature, mainly landscape and some village scenes, exhibit splashes of hopeful colour in scenes of brown and other earth colours. The same simplicity in Sipihrī's poetry communicates appreciation of life's individual moments. Sipihrī is the Iranian nature poet *par excellence*. His work recalls that of European Romantics in its love of nature and sometimes child-like wonder, while its communication of belief in the unity of existence and the presence of divine creativity in nature seem rooted in Eastern gnosticism. Unlike other modernist Iranian poets, who are mostly secular-minded, anti-clerical with respect to Iran's Twelver S͟hīʿī heritage, and not inclined to find inspiration in Islamic imagery, Sipihrī uses images from religion, including allusions to the Ḳurʾān. Some readers consequently find his poetry neo-Ṣūfī. But these lines from his most famous poem, *Ṣidā-yi pāy-i āb* (1964), suggest a personal and individual poetic outlook and philosophy other than Ṣūfī religiosity: "I am a Muslim. My Mecca is a rose. My mosque is a spring. ... My Kaaba lies by the water."

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(M.C. Hillmann)

ṢĪR BANĪ YĀS, D͟jazīrat ("the ultimate place of destination of the Banū Yās" [see yās, banū]), the name of an off-shore island in the western half of the embayment in the Gulf, between the Abū Ẓaby coast and Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*], belonging to Abū Ẓaby. The island is mentioned in 1580 as "Sirbeniast" by the Venetian traveller Gasparo Balbi (Slot, *The Arabs of the Gulf*, 37-9, 50). Some of the islands in this part of the Gulf, including Ṣīr Banī Yās, G͟hāg͟ha, al-Yāsāt and particularly Dalmā, were inhabited during the winter months by groups of the Banū Yās, while during the summer they became overcrowded by the influx of pearl fishermen coming usually from what are now the United Arab Emirates [see al-imārāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muttaḥida in Suppl.], Ḳaṭar and Baḥrayn, the majority of the inhabitants being acknowledged as belonging to Abū Ẓaby. The oil con-

cessions of the 1930s necessitated the precise demarcation of the frontiers, the ownership of some of the islands becoming a matter of dispute between Ḳaṭar and Abū Ẓaby. A decision was reached in 1961 and again in 1969. The islands of Ḥalūl, al-Asḥāt and Shirāʿūh were considered as belonging to Ḳaṭar, and those of Dayyīna and Ṣīr Banī Yās to Abū Ẓaby.

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(E. VAN DONZEL)

SĪR DARYĀ, conventional form Syr Darya, a river of Central Asia and the largest in that region. The Turkish element in the name, *sïr*, is not actually found before the 10th/16th century; in the following century, the Khīwan ruler and historian Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān [*q.v.*] calls the Aral Sea "the Sea of Sir" (Sïr Teñizi).

1. In the early and mediaeval periods.

The Sïr Daryā flows through the present republics of Kirgizia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan down from the northwestern slopes of the Tien Shan Mountains to the Aral Sea [*q.v.*]. It is formed by the confluence in the eastern part of the Farghāna [*q.v.*] valley of the Narïn/Naryn and Tar or Ḳara Daryā rivers and has a length of 2,200 km/1,370 miles from that confluence and one of 2,900 km/1,800 miles from the source of the Naryn. Its water capacity is fed by melting snow in the Tien Shan and, to a lesser extent, by glaciers there and by rain. The lower reaches are frozen over from December to March/April. In the high-water period March/April to August/September it carries down vast quantities of silt, which used to push out its delta at the Aral Sea (before the present disastrous shrinkage and salinisation of that Sea) by a considerable amount each year (see 2. below). The river has numerous tributaries into its upper and middle reaches before it starts to skirt the northeastern fringe of the Ḳïzïl Ḳum desert, the last significant one being a right-bank affluent, the Arys.

The Sïr Daryā thus has its origin in that region of modern Kirgizia known in mediaeval Islamic times by the Turkish name Yeti Ṣu "[land of] the seven rivers", Russian Semirečye. The indigenous population in mediaeval times always regarded the Ḳara Daryā as the upper source of the Sïr Daryā. The district between the Narïn and the Ḳara Daryā has for long been known in Persian as Miyān rūdān and in Turkish as Iki ṣu arasï. Whether there were any significant irrigation canals led out from it in mediaeval times, as was certainly the case from the lower Āmū Daryā [*q.v.*] or Oxus, is unclear; al-Muḳaddasī's mention of a *khalīdj* or canal 140 farsakhs long between Khudjand in Farghāna and Usrūshana [*q.vv.*] (22 n. *m*, only in the Istanbul ms.) is unconfirmed by other sources.

In Western Europe, the Sïr Daryā is still frequently called by its old Greek name of Jaxartes; a Pahlavī form Yakhšārt is assumed and explained by J. Marquart (*Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, 6) as *yakhsha arta* "true, genuine pearl". Against this explanation is the fact that in the numerous personal and geographical names compounded with *arta*, this component is always found at the beginning of the word. Yet the word *yakhsha* "pearl" seems actually to be contained in the name; the Chinese (*Čin-ču-ho*) and Old Turkish (*Yinčü ügüz*) names of the river have the same meaning. The Chinese transcription of the native name is given as *Yao-sha* (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1888, i, 75), *Yau-sha* (F. Hirth, *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, 81, in W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 2nd series, St. Petersburg 1899) or *Yo-sha* (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903). In the Muslim period the initial *y* seems to have disappeared in the land itself; the Arabic (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳanūn al-Masʿūdī*, in A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, etc., Leipzig 1864, 32) and Persian (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 118) manuscripts have *Khashart*: this form and not as Marquart assumes (*Die Chronologie*, etc., 5), *Yakhshart* was probably in Ibn Khurradādhbih, 178, l. 2. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 178, l. 4, mentions the name *Kankar* which also appears in Chinese transcription (*K'ank't*) and was used probably on the central course of the river only: cf. *Daryā-i Gang* from Firdawsī, in *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, ii, 445. The Arabs introduced the name *Sayḥūn* for the Sïr Daryā like *Djayḥūn* for the Āmū Daryā (cf. the names Djayḥān and Ṣayḥān in the south-eastern frontiers of Asia Minor). In the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (ed. Le Strange, 217, 16, tr. and n., *ibid.*, ii, 210) appears the *Gul Ẓaryūn* which seems to occur nowhere else. Blochet explains this word (in Le Strange, *loc. cit.*) as the Mongol *gul serikün* = "cold river", probably wrongly, as the order of words should be reversed. The river is usually called in Arabic and Persian sources after towns and districts on its banks, most frequently "river of Khudjand" (Khudjand is now the only town situated immediately on the bank of the Sïr Daryā). This name also was adopted by the Mongols (Bretschneider, *loc. cit.*, in Chinese transcriptions *Ho-shan-mu-lien*, for Mongol *müren* "river"). Also occasionally found, since the Ḳara Daryā flowed past the mediaeval town, important under the Ḳarakhanids [see ILEK KHĀNS], of Özkend [*q.v.*] or Uzkend, is the name "river of Özkend" (e.g. in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 72). Other names include: river of Banākat, or Fanākat (in Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 740: Banākit), after the town on the right bank near the mouth of the Angren said to have been destroyed by Čingiz Khān (this destruction is not recorded by contemporaries); river of Shāhrukhiyya after the town built by Tīmūr in 794/1392 on the site of the destroyed Banākat (*Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1888, ii, 636); river of Akhsīkat (*ibid.*, i, 441) or Akhsīkath [*q.v.*]; and river of Čāč or Shāsh, after the great oasis of Čirčik.

There were many towns along the course of the Sïr Daryā, especially numerous in the fertile Farghāna valley. On the middle course lay such provinces as Usrūshana and Īlāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and the frontier towns of Utrār [*q.v.*] and Isfīdjāb [*q.v.* in Suppl.], for it was here that the river valley entered the lands of the pagan Turks. At the mouth of the river three towns are mentioned in the geographers of the 4th/10th century, including the Oghuz foundation of Yangi-kant (Ar. al-Ḳarya al-ḥadītha, Pers. Dih-i Naw; see C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, Edinburgh 1963, 212-13), Djand and Khuwāra [see on these, DJAND, in Suppl.].

In the 4th/10th century the Sïr Daryā is mentioned as a navigable river along with the Āmū-Daryā (al-Muḳaddasī, 323, 1); in "times of peace or of truce", food supplies were brought to Ḳaryat al-Ḥadītha by water (Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 489). Navigation is now interrupted by the rapids of Begovat which begin at the village of Kosh-Tegermen, 15 miles below Khudjand. These rapids seem to be nowhere mentioned in Muslim sources; Djuwaynī's story (*Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, tr. Boyle, i, 92-4) of the siege of Khudjand by the Mongols in 1220, and the

adventurous flight of the commander Tīmūr Malik, presupposes an uninterrupted passage by water from Khudjand to the towns on the lower course of the Sīr Daryā (cf., e.g. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, i, 225-6). After the foundation of Russian rule on the lower course of the Sīr Daryā (since 1847) an attempt was made to introduce steam navigation on the river; the steamers of the Aral fleet went up the Sīr Daryā also and had their most important anchorage at the town of Kazalinsk founded by the Russians. After this service ceased in 1882, no further such attempts were made, although several times proposed; traffic on the Sīr Daryā was maintained solely by boats of native construction (*kayik*).

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(W. Barthold-[C.E. Bosworth])

2. The colonial and modern periods. With the submission of the Kazakh steppes in the 1830s, at a time when Anglo-Russian rivalry was becoming strong, the Tsarist armies formed a fortified line along the Sīr Daryā which allowed them to occupy without difficulty in 1864 the towns of Čimkent, Turkestan and Aulie Ata, and then Tashkent in 1865. The Russian government thus inherited the system of water distribution according to Ḳur'ānic law, to which was added the question of agricultural lands for the colonial interests. Despite some innovations, the area of irrigated land remained limited (35,000 ha in the Hunger Steppe) and dependent on the small and medium-sized water courses.

The installation of the Soviet régime was accompanied by a specific policy of irrigation involving the maximum use of the waters of the Āmū and Sīr Daryās, until then neglected in favour of lesser streams. Apart from the introduction of agricultural reform and a new irrigation water law between 1925 and 1929, the Five Year Plans of the Stalinist period gave a large part to the large-scale (numerous water barrages) and a spectacular increase in the network (more than 50 canals which were led off) between the years 1938-40. Because of this, the water flow of the Sīr Daryā progressively dried up as the surface of irrigated land increased (some 2,286,000 ha in 1965 and 4,109,000 in 1987). This process accelerated after the 1960s. It reduced almost to nothing the supply of water to the Aral Sea, whose decrease, already noted by 19th-century travellers (Meyendorff, 1826; Ujfalvy, 1872), has led to a present-day ecological disaster without precedent: wastage of water for intensively irrigated agriculture on the lower course, salinisation of the land and of the Sīr Daryā's waters (456 mg/l I 1912, 1844 g/l in 1985 at Kazalinsk), pollution of the Sea itself, unrestrained use of fertilisers and a deterioration of health conditions for the populace. The middle and lower courses formed, over the long scale of history, a line of political demarcation which also had, in the complex history of contacts between the Siberian and Middle Eastern worlds, an important cultural dimension. Thus in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. the Sīr Daryā had marked the northern limit of Islam and the southern limit of the Turkicised domain (see 1. above). More generally, the middle reaches of the river, the most populated zone, was regarded as the frontier of urban civilisation and its learned culture vis-à-vis a nomadic civilisation based on orality.

The Sīr Daryā, like other great rivers of the world, ran through various states which, during the Russian and Soviet periods formed part of the same political unit. During 1924-9 its course watered a part of the autonomous Tajik republic (transformed into a federated republic in 1929), the Uzbek federated republic and the autonomous Kirghiz republic, which became the federated Kazakh republic in 1925. Today, these republics have, since the winter of 1991, become independent, but the economic and ecological crisis ravaging the region places the river in the position of a hostage in the fragile inter-ethnic and political equilibrium which is emerging there. The Farghāna valley, where the Islamic revival seems most marked, is at the intersection of a bundle of economic and social problems in which a strong hand on the utilisation of the river and the canals running off it will be decisive. The possible deflection of the river's waters in favour of some republic, region or population group is a weapon often used in history.

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(C. Poujol)

SĪRA (a.), a genre of early Islamic literature: *Sīra* means "way of going"; "way of acting", "conduct", "way of life" (in these meanings it is almost synonymous with *sunna* [*q.v.*]); also "memorable action" and "record of such an action". In *ḥadīth* collections and books on Islamic law, the plural *siyar* is also used for "rules of war and of dealings with non-Muslims" (which are sometimes headed elsewhere under *djihād*). Furthermore *sīra* means "epistle", "pamphlet", "manifesto", and last but not least: "biography", "the life and times of...". Ibn al-Muḳaffa' (102-39/720-56 [*q.v.*]) translated a Pahlavi history of the Persian kings under the title *Siyar mulūk al-'adjam*. 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam (d. 147/764 [*q.v.*]) wrote a *Sīrat Mu'āwiya wa-banī Umayya*. Abān b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiḳī (d. *ca.* 200/815 [*q.v.*]) wrote *Sīrat Ardashīr* and *Sīrat Anūshirwān*. For later popularised biographies of kings and heroes, see sīra sha'biyya.

"The *sīra*", *sīrat rasūl allāh* or *al-sīra al-nabawiyya*, have been the most widely used names for the traditional account of Muḥammad's life and background. Martin Hinds (Maghāzī *and* Sīra, in *La vie du Prophète Mahomet*, 57-66; see also maghāzī) has argued that the biographical material on the Prophet was transmitted during the first two centuries of Islam exclusively under the name of *maghāzī*, whereas *sīra* was applied only since Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833 or 213/828 [*q.v.*]). This view has been challenged by Maher Jarrar (*Prophetenbiographie*, 1-59), who claims that *maghāzī* is only part of the *sīra*, the designation being used occasionally as a *pars pro toto*, and that the biography was already called *sīra* by al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742 [*q.v.*]), a central figure in the transmission of materials on the Prophet.

History of the *sīra*. In maghāzī, Hinds discussed not only the designation of the prophetic biography but wrote also its early history. For that stage

the present contribution has little to add. However, the most archaic layer of the biography, that of the stories of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see KĀṢṢ; ḲIṢṢA. 1], deserves a little more emphasis. An early 3rd/9th century papyrus, whose *isnāds* go back to Wahb b. Munabbih (34-110/654-728 [*q.v.*]), contains a large *sīra* fragment of the early *ḳiṣṣa* type. Its narrative is lengthy, no less entertaining than edifying, more often interrupted by poetry than by *isnāds*; it has an outspoken pro-ʿAlī ring, and it contains a wealth of miracle stories (e.g. the Prophet practicing sorcery: Wahb 142, 20; Ibn Isḥāḳ, no. 426).

A renewed study of Ibn Isḥāḳ has been stimulated by the publication of part of Ibn Isḥāḳ's *maghāzī* in the *riwāya* of Yūnus b. Bukayr (d. 199/815; *GAS*, i, 289), which has been preserved in ms. Fās Ḳarawiyyīn 202, and in the *riwāya* of Muḥammad b. Salama al-Ḥarrānī (d. 191/807; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 296) (Damascus Ẓāhiriyya madj. 110, fols. 158-174). These texts, which contain many fragments which were hitherto unknown or deviate from the familiar versions, shed new light on the transmission of Ibn Isḥāḳ's work. Comparisons of Yūnus' versions with those of al-Bakkāʾī (as preserved by Ibn Hishām), Muḥammad b. Salama and several others have led Sellheim, Samuk and Muranyi to the conclusion that there has hardly been any written standard text by Ibn Isḥāḳ himself and that we depend on his transmitters, whose texts should be studied synoptically, in all their variants.

Furthermore, Muranyi has pointed out that Yūnus b. Bukayr transmitted materials which do not go back to Ibn Isḥāḳ at all. Yūnus was a *sīra* compiler in his own right, whose *Ziyādāt al-maghāzī* was quoted by al-Bayhaḳī, Ibn Kathīr and several others.

After Ibn Isḥāḳ, a limited, but interesting *maghāzī* collection was composed by Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 154/770; *GAS*, i, 290-1), which is preserved in the *Muṣannaf* by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām (d. 211/826; see AL-ṢANʿĀNĪ). Several other *ḥadīth* collections have a *maghāzī* section, e.g. Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf* and al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

The fame of Ibn Hishām, whose *sīra* is considered the most prominent, rests mainly on his selection from Ibn Isḥāḳ's work. The latter, by means of his *Mubtadaʾ* section, had placed Muḥammad in the tradition of the earlier prophets, and had indeed made him the pivot of world history by adding a history of the caliphs. Ibn Hishām, however, narrows the perspective down to Ancient Arabia. A chain of works with a limited focus on prehistory are al-Wāḳidī's (130-207/747-822 [*q.v.*]) *K. al-Maghāzī*, which concentrates on the life and times of the Prophet only and displays a great interest in the chronology; the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), in which the *sīra* section is preceded only by a brief survey of the prophets, and al-Balādhurī's (3rd/9th cent.) *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, which outlines Muḥammad's ancient Arabian origins. Al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/922 [*q.v.*]) *Taʾrīkh* puts Muḥammad once again in the perspective of the history of the prophets and even the kings of Persia.

The numerous later *sīra* works are mainly commentaries or compilations, although they contain important material from early sources. Of the late authors, the most interesting are al-Suhaylī (d. 581/1185), who wrote a commentary on the *sīra* of Ibn Hishām, and his critic Mughulṭāy (d. 689/1290). Other compilers are Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1333); Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; in *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*); Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 942/1536; Brockelmann, II, 304-5); and Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (975-1044/1567-1635; see AL-ḤALABĪ).

For a survey of early *sīra* works, see *GAS*, i, 275-302; for late works see Kister, *The* sīrah *literature*, 366-7.

Characteristics of *sīra* texts. Be it under the heading *maghāzī* or *sīra*, in the prophetic biography very heterogeneous materials are brought together. Various intentions seem to prevail: to build up the image of Muḥammad in rivalry to the prophets of other communities, to depict him as a statesman of international stature, to elaborate on Ḳurʾānic texts and create a chronological framework for them, to record the deeds of the early Muslims, to continue the genre of *ayyām al-ʿarab* [*q.v.*] and to set standards for the new community. These intentions are striven after in a great variety of text types, of which the following survey is by no means exhaustive:

(1) Stories about the military expeditions of Muḥammad and his companions (*maghāzī* in the strictest sense). They form a continuation of the profane accounts of *ayyām al-ʿarab*, with raids, battles, challenges, examples of bravery, exchanges of poetry and single combats. Islamic elements are, e.g., the intervention of angels in battle and the (often merely ornamental) addition of Ḳurʾānic passages. In later centuries, the *maghāzī* were continued in their turn by would-be historical popular stories in which Muḥammad is venerated, while ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib develops into a military hero of supernatural stature. These popular stories, which were studied by Paret, can be reckoned with the *sīra shaʿbiyya*. The 7th/13th century author Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī [see AL-BAKRĪ] played a central part in this genre, but he may well have had predecessors.

(2) Accounts of *faḍāʾil* and *mathālib*, which form the record of the merits and faults of clans and individual Companions of the Prophet, as well as their genealogies. Various lists are incorporated in the *sīra*: of the first converts, of the Emigrants, the fighters in various battles, representatives of the Anṣār, etc. A specific type of text, to which also monographs were dedicated, is that of the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*], in which is recorded who did something for the first time, e.g. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ was the first to shed blood in Islam (Ibn Isḥāḳ, no. 194). The deeds of the Companions also became recorded in separate works, such as the *Ṭabaḳāt* by Ibn Saʿd; *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (368-463/978-1070), *Usd al-ghāba* by Ibn al-Athīr (555-630/1160-1233) and *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (773-852/1372-1449) [*q.vv.*]. These works show many overlaps with *sīra* texts and should be read in combination with them.

(3) Pieces of Ḳurʾānic inspiration: *tafsīr*, *asbāb al-nuzūl* and Midrash. Large parts of the *sīra* are inspired by the Kurʾān. They have been recently studied by J. Wansbrough.

Some texts merely paraphrase a Ḳurʾānic passage, e.g. sūra XCIII in Ibn Isḥāḳ, no. 166.

Typical for the *sīra* are the accounts of the occasion for the revelation of certain Ḳurʾānic passages (*asbāb al-nuzūl*). When the Prophet was mocked, for example, the verse "Apostles have been mocked before you ..." (VI, 10) was revealed (Ibn Hishām, 262; cf. *ibid.*, 272, and Ibn Isḥāḳ, no. 418).

Many *sīra* texts elaborate on a Ḳurʾānic passage, in the manner of a Jewish midrash. The episode of the Satanic verses (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1192-4), for example, was evoked and foreshadowed by XXII, 52: Satan casts something on the tongue of a prophet; God abrogates it and establishes His verses. In one version, this episode is presented as a *sabab al-nuzūl*.

The relationship between a Ḳurʾānic passage and the story which pivots upon it may be quite loose.

The long narrative of how Ḳuraysh conspired at the eve of Muḥammad's *hidjra*, and how Allāh outwitted them by making them unable to see him, is built on VIII, 30: "and when the unbelievers were plotting... but God plots also, and God is the best of plotters", and elegantly incorporates XXXVI, 8: "... and We covered them, so that they could not see" (Ibn Hishām, 323-6; see also Wahb, 132-6). This story does not give the occasion for the revelation of the verses, but playfully talks about them together.

The verse which forms the inspiration of a story need not even be quoted. The story about the reception of Muslim emigrants by the Negus of Abyssinia is built on Ḳur'ān, III, 191, without any literal correspondence (cf. W. Raven in *JSS*, xxxiii [1988], 201).

(4) Prophetic legend. As the Ḳur'ān had done before, the *sīra* aims at establishing the place of Muḥammad among the prophets, and that of Islam among the other religions. The numerous stories which dwell upon the characteristics of prophethood react on the narrative repertoire of Judaism [see ISRĀ'ĪLIYYĀT], Christianity and Manichaeism.

Some examples: The twelve "leaders" (*nuḳabā'*) appointed by Muḥammad from the Anṣār at al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] are put on a par with the disciples of Jesus or the representatives of the tribes of Israel during the Exodus (Ibn Hishām, 299; Wahb, 130).

In the Ascension story, the rank attributed to the prophets is reflected by their places in one of the seven heavens: Muḥammad finds Ibrāhīm in the highest heaven, but Mūsā and ʿĪsā in the lower ones (Ibn Hishām, 270).

Even the physiognomies of the various prophets were subjected to comparative descriptions (Ibn Hishām, 266, Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 125).

The *sīra* sometimes recapitulates prophetic characteristics in general statements, which are exemplified by Muḥammad: there is no prophet but has shepherded a flock (Ibn Hishām, 106); a prophet does not die without being given the choice (*ibid.*, 1008); no prophet dies but he is buried where he died (*ibid.*, 1019); the eyes of prophets sleep while their hearts are awake (*ibid.*, 266; Ibn Saʿd i/1, 113). In *ḥadīth* this generalising tendency becomes more frequent; cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 196-7.

The *sīra* contains stories about numerous miracles wrought by God through His Prophet, or by the Prophet himself, which served as the proofs of his prophethood, often with the intention of comparing him to the other prophets. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, these stories developed into the independent genre of *dalā'il* or *aʿlām* or *amārāt al-nubuwwa*. Well-known authors in this field are ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025), Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066), Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), and al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) [*q.vv.*]. For a longer enumeration of such works, see Kister, *The* sīrah *literature*, 355.

(5) Written documents, including:
- letters from the Prophet to foreign rulers, governors and to the Arabian tribes (e.g. Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, xiv, 336-46);
- treaties, as for instance that of al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] (Ibn Hishām, 747-8);
- the "Document (*kitāb*; wrongly called 'Constitution') of Medina" (Ibn Hishām, 341-4; Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl*, ed. M. ʿAmāra, Beirut 1989, 291-4) is a category in itself. It is an agreement between "Muḥammad the Prophet" and "the believers and Muslims of Ḳuraysh and Yathrib, and those who follow them, join them, and strive alongside them", including Jewish groups (see MUḤAMMAD, at vol. VII, 367b, and the updated bibliography here below);
- the lists which were mentioned above under *faḍā'il* and *mathālib* should in some cases be classified as documents. Lists of the first Emigrants, or of participants in certain battles, may have been taken over by the story-tellers from government registers.

(6) Speeches and sermons by the Prophet, e.g. his first addresses in Medina (Ibn Hishām, 340-1); his speech at the Farewell Pilgrimage (*ibid.*, 968-9).

(7) Poetry. Story-tellers often interspersed their *maghāzī* narratives with poetry. This has a function similar to that of speeches; it underlines a point or emphasises a dramatic moment by changing to another mode. Battling heroes exchange improvised poetry, as was the case in *ayyām al-ʿarab*. This poetry is generally of poor quality. Serious poetry occurs as well, e.g. by Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (his *Bānat Suʿād* is the only *ḳaṣīda* in the *sīra*) and Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.vv.*]. A new kind of panegyric praises the Prophet, emphasising his mission, his spiritual qualities and those of his new religion. Certainly not all poetry ascribed to Ḥassān was composed by him, as Arafat has pointed out.

Ibn Hishām tends to place all occasional poetry on a certain event together, e.g. after his accounts of the battles of Badr, Uḥud and Ḥunayn, possibly because he took the narratives which he transmitted too seriously to contaminate them with doubtful verse.

The simple, sometimes banal character of the poetry in the *sīra*, as well as the often unlikely ascriptions may have led early critics to the verdict that much of it is "inauthentic", i.e. not composed by the poets it is ascribed to. Ibn Hishām expresses his doubts about authorship in many places. Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī [*q.v.*] censures Ibn Isḥāḳ's unfamiliarity with poetry and his uncritically taking over of whatever poetry he found, be it ascribed to men who had never said a line of verse, to women or even to ʿĀd and Thamūd (*Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarā'*, ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo 1974, 7-8, 11). Ibn al-Nadīm accuses Ibn Isḥāḳ of having inserted poetry on request (*Fihrist* 92).

"Authenticity". The question of the authenticity of the poetry has also been discussed by modern scholars (Kister, Monroe, Arafat), although it seems less urgent if one does not start from the assumption that the surrounding prose texts date back to the time of the Prophet. There is indeed no reason why some *ḳāṣṣ* would not have included pieces of verse in his narrative, in order to comment on past events, or to make propaganda for certain factions of his own days. The poetry turns out to be easily interchangeable in different versions of a story.

The *sīra* materials as a whole are so heterogeneous that a coherent image of the Prophet cannot be obtained from it. Can any of them be used at all for a historically reliable biography of Muḥammad, or for the historiography of early Islam? Several arguments plead against it:

(1) Hardly any *sīra* text can be dated back to the first century of Islam.

(2) The various versions of a text often show discrepancies, both in chronology and in contents.

(3) The later the sources are, the more they claim to know about the time of the Prophet.

(4) Non-Islamic sources are often at variance with Islamic sources (see P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism*).

(5) Most *sīra* fragments can be classed with one of the genres mentioned above. Pieces of salvation history and elaborations on Ḳur'ānic texts are unfit as sources for scientific historiography—except, of course,

for the historiography of the image of the Prophet in the belief and doctrine of his community.

The "Document of Medina" is generally considered authentic, i.e. dating back to the Prophet, but there is disagreement about the unity of the text and its attitude towards (certain groups of) Jews, because the well-known Jewish tribes of Medina are not mentioned. Scholars, driven perhaps by a *horror vacui*, continue deriving historical facts from late sources. The last scholarly biography of Muḥammad is that by W. Montgomery Watt (*Muhammad at Mecca* and *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1953, 1956), and a new one is unlikely to appear. G. Schoeler has recently published a monograph on the character and authenticity of Islamic tradition about the Prophet's life.

To Muslims, the *sīra*, which in the first centuries of Islam had been taken less seriously than *ḥadīth*, gradually became almost a holy writ, whose reliability was accepted almost without asking questions. In reaction to the rise of historical criticism in the west, which often struck a patronising, if not resentful, note towards Islamic beliefs, some Muslims have felt the need vigorously to defend the veracity of the *sīra*. *The Life of Muḥammad* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (1935) is an example of an apologetic biography.

A striking illustration of the attitude of modern Muslims towards the *sīra* is the scandal around the British author Salman Rushdie, who in his novel *The Satanic verses* (London 1988) has alluded to both traditional and self-invented details from the life of the Prophet, and has been subsequently severely attacked and threatened all over the Muslim world, notably in Iran.

Bibliography: The following is meant as a supplement to the bibls. in the arts. IBN HISHĀM; IBN ISḤĀḲ; MAGHĀZĪ; MUḤAMMAD; see also AL-SUHAYLĪ; AL-ṬABARĪ; TAFSĪR; WAHB B. MUNABBIH; ʿURWA B. AL-ZUBAYR; AL-WĀḲIDĪ; AL-ZUHRĪ.

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(W. Raven)

SĪRA SHAʿBIYYA (or "popular *sīra*"), the modern Arabic designation (coined by Arab folklorists in the 1950s) for a genre of lengthy Arabic heroic narratives that in western languages are called either "popular epics" or "popular romances" (*Volksroman*). These narratives, which in their manuscript corpus refer to themselves equally as either *sīra* or *ḳiṣṣa* [*q.vv.*], are works of adventure and romance primarily concerned with depicting the personal prowess and military exploits of their heroes. Pseudo-historical in tone and setting, they base many of their central characters on actual historical figures or events. Nevertheless, details of history are soon transcended by the imaginative improvements that fiction provides, with the result that history is usually reflected only along general levels of setting, atmosphere and tone.

The written versions of popular *sīras* are composed in rhymed prose (*sadjʿ* [*q.v.*]) frequently interspersed with poetry, and they tend to be exceedingly long, often taking a year to narrate fully in oral form and with the longest manuscript and printed versions running to between two and six thousand pages, depending upon page and script size. Arabic literature produced a rich harvest of these popular epics that, taken together, cover almost the whole of recorded pre-Islamic and Islamic history. Early Persian history is represented by *Sīrat Fīrūz-Shāh*, whose protagonist is the son of the Achaemenid King Darius II; the Sāsānid dynasty figures in the *Story of Bahrām Gūr* [see BAHRĀM GŪR], and in between falls *Sīrat Iskandar* [see ISKANDAR], the *geste* of Alexander the Great. Pre-Islamic South Arabian history forms the backdrop for *Sīrat al-Malik Sayf ibn Dhī 'l-Yazan* [see SAYF B. DHĪ YAZAN] while pre-Islamic North Arabian history is dealt with in *Sīrat ʿAntar* [see ʿANTAR, SĪRAT], as well as in the story of *al-Zīr Sālim* and other accounts of the War of Basūs [*q.v.*] between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib. Early Islamic history is broached with *Sīrat Amīr Ḥamza*, which narrates the adventures of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib [*q.v.*], uncle to the Prophet Muḥammad. *Dhāt al-Himma* [*q.v.*], *Ghazwat al-Arḳaṭ*, and *al-Badr-Nār* deal with the tribal feuds and holy wars (*al-djihād*) of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphates; while Fāṭimid and Mamlūk history are treated in *Sīrat al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh* [see AL-ḤĀKIM] and *Sīrat al-Mālik al-Ẓāhir Baybars* [see BAYBARS]. The protagonists of the cycles of *Aḥmad al-Danaf* and *ʿAlī Zaybaḳ* are not martial heroes but rather *ʿayyārūn* (rogues [*q.v.*]), who rely on craft and guile to achieve their aims. Finally, there is *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, along with *Sīrat ʿAntar* the most famous and beloved cycle of this genre, which gives a legendary account of the history of the tribe of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] from their pre-Islamic days until their conquest of much of North Africa in the 5th/11th century.

Although the genre of Arabic popular epic probably began to develop in the early period of the Islamic empire, references to specific works occur only in the early 6th/12th century. The formulaic character of their rhymed prose, the episodic structure of their story-lines, their continual repetition of a limited number of narrative patterns and motifs, the lack of any identifiable authors and their great length all indicate that these narratives originated and developed within a flourishing tradition of oral compositional public storytelling. This tradition of oral composition (either with or without musical accompaniment) has diminished significantly in the last century in the face of competition from modern entertainment technology, although some transfer has been made and these stories now occasionally appear in the Arab world as radio dramas, television series, films, and in modernised book and storybook form. Despite their primary existence as an oral popular art form, *sīras* also have a substantial manuscript and printed tradition. The earliest manuscripts date from the early 9th/15th century, whilst in the last century printed versions of these manuscripts have been continually reproduced in various Arab countries.

There are significant differences in style, content, and historical origin among members of the genre. *Sīrat Fīrūz Shāh*, for example, is Persian in origin, while *Sīrat al-Zīr Sālim* is based on pre-Islamic *Ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*] sources. *Sīrat al-Malik Sayf ibn Dhī 'l-Yazan* is full of sorcery and demons, while *Sīrat ʿAntar* is practically devoid of magic. *Sīrat al-Mālik al-Ẓāhir Baybars* is cast mainly in unadorned prose, while other *sīras* use rhymed prose (*sadjʿ*) and poetry. Nevertheless, these works form a cohesive genre by reason of their shared emphasis on heroes and heroic deeds of battle, their pseudo-historical tone and setting, and their indefatigable drive towards cyclic expansion; one event leads to another, one battle to another, one war to another, and so on for hundreds and thousands of pages.

Viewed from a wider cultural perspective, these popular epics are Arabic examples of a larger body of vibrant popular literature that existed in most parts of the Islamic world. Pre-modern Persian and Turkish literatures also developed strong traditions of popular epic, and there is convincing evidence that, despite their linguistic differences, neighbouring traditions of popular storytelling borrowed and translated from and mutually influenced one another. *Sīrat ʿAntar*, for example, exists in an Ottoman Turkish translation, and many of these epics exist in multiple versions across disparate linguistic borders. Renditions of *Sīrat Amīr Ḥamza*, for instance, exist in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Georgian, Urdu and Malay, while versions of *Sīrat Iskandar* are even more widely disseminated.

Furthermore, Arabic and other Islamic popular epics constitute only one portion of a vast tradition of multilingual Islamic popular literatures that also encompasses non-epic pseudo-historical narratives (*maghāzī* [*q.v.*] and *futūḥ*), religious literature of various types (popular biographies of the Prophet Muḥammad and his companions, saints' legends, accounts of miracles, etc.), numerous genres of popular poetry, song, proverb and humour, and tales of wonder and fantasy, the best known being *Alf layla wa-layla* [*q.v.*]. The history and nature of this large corpus of literature is still largely uncharted, as are the ways in which different genres, whether within single linguistic traditions or across them, influenced or impacted one another. Nevertheless, no single example of these popular literatures should be considered without at least an awareness of the existence of this larger literary and social context.

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Arkat, al-Badr-Nār, and *al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh* remain unpublished. *Aḥmad al-Danaf* is present in part in *The Thousand and One Nights*, but a full-length unpublished version exists in manuscript.

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(P. Heath)

SIRĀDJ (A.), lamp (synonyms *miṣbāḥ*, *ḳindīl*, etc., from Pers. *čirāgh* via Syriac *shrāgā* or *shrāghā*). In the Ḳurʾān, the word *sirādj* occurs four times, and *miṣbāḥ* three times, in the sense of lamp or beacon. In LXXI, 15/16, the sun is characterised as a *sirādj*, and XXXIII, 45/46, the Prophet is called a "shining lamp", *sirādj munīr*. The most famous reference is, however, in the "light verse", XXIV, 35, where God's light is compared with a niche in which is a lamp [see NŪR. 2.]. Later in Islam, Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*] interpreted the allegory of the Ḳurʾānic "fourfold light", expressed by *mishkāt, miṣbāḥ, zudjādja* and *zayt*, as referring to the Four Holy Books, sc. the Ḳurʾān, the Psalms, the Pentateuch and the Gospels.

The use of lamps in Arabian Islamic society was perhaps not widespread. Among the earliest references to lamps in the domestic life of Islamic society, we learn from a tradition narrated by ʿĀʾisha that there was no lamp in the Prophet's household in the early years of his life at Medina (cf. Malik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, i, 106). In early Islamic society, there are indications that Abū Bakr and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, among their contemporaries, owned lamps. In the social life of Medina, the introduction of a lamp (*ḳindīl*) in the life of the community was associated with the Prophet's Mosque, which was adjacent to Muḥammad's own house. The lighting of a lamp (*ḳindīl*) at the Prophet's mosque is said to have been the work of one of his disciples, namely, Tamīm al-Dārī [*q.v.*]. According to records, Tamīm, a wine merchant before his conversion to Islam, brought a *ḳindīl* with lamp oil and a wick from his native Syria to Medina. His lighting of a lamp in the mosque was an important social event which was not only approved but also commended by the Prophet who, allegedly, gave him the nickname of *sirādj*. Prior to the use of lamps, according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, palm leaves (*saʿaf al-nakhl*) were burnt for lighting the interior of the mosque. After the event of lighting a lamp in the *Masdjid al-Nabawī*, the use of lamps at night in mosques became a universal practice among Muslims.

The growing popularity of lamps in Islamic society is reflected in the records of trade in lamps. By the time ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb assumed the caliphate and the Islamic conquests of older seats of civilisation such as Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Egypt were accomplished, the use of lamps became widespread among the Arabs. ʿUmar is portrayed as a pious and scrupulous head of state, who, it is said, once extinguished a state-owned lamp at the time of his supper and said, "I do not eat in the lighting of a lamp owned by the public (*sirādj al-ʿāmma*)." (al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Beirut 1961, iv, 412).

During al-Walīd's reign (86-96/705-15), the Umayyad mosque was built in Damascus and the Prophet's mosque was enlarged at Medina. Chandeliers were hung from chains to illuminate these mosques (al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, Beirut 1971, ii, 519). Al-Djahshiyārī portrays the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr (nicknamed *Abu 'l-Dawānīḳ* "father of farthings" for his austere fiscal policy) as having instructed his servants not to keep lamps burning in his palace in daylight hours because it was an unnecessary waste of oil (*K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1938, 139).

Al-Djāḥiẓ records in his *K. al-Bukhalāʾ* that there were several types of lamps in use in his time, such as pottery lamps (*masāridj al-khazaf*) and stone lamps (*masāridj al-ḥadjar*) and glass lamps (*ḳindīl al-zudjādj*). The prototypes of such pottery and stone lamps are ancient, and have been found at Ur in ancient Mesopotamia in the Sumerian civilisation (cf. W.T. O'Dea, *The social history of lighting*, London 1958, 15). Al-Djāḥiẓ in his social satire on the misers portrays a certain Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Marwazī who, one evening, paid a visit to the house of a Khurāsānian *shaykh* who had just lit a green pottery lamp in his house. Their subject of conversation turned to lamps and the most economic way of using them; it emerged that the glass lamps were cleaner and more economical than pottery lamps because those did not absorb oil (ed. Ḥādjirī, Cairo 1958, 17-21, tr. Pellat, Paris 1951, 27-31). In the social and domestic life of Arab society in early Islamic centuries, lamps were an essential tool for lighting in the life of average people, although the wealthy and notables could afford and showed a preference for candles and glass lamps. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī also took up the theme of the misers in his shorter version of the *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, echoing the belle-lettrist's social satire of a class which disregarded and made a mockery of the Arab social value of generosity (*sakhāʾ*). An ʿAbbāsid poet, Marwān b. Ḥafṣa, who received largesse from al-Mahdī (d. 169/785), was accused of being a miser because he did not spend money to buy a lamp for lighting his house (cf. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 142-3).

We also find in Arabic and Persian travel accounts frequent references to the use of lighting at night in many parts of the mediaeval Islamic world. Lamps made of silver, brass and other materials, as well as wax candles, were widely used for lighting in centres of social and religious significance such as mosques, markets and tombs of holy personages. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*ca.* 1045) reported a widespread use of lamps, made of brass and silver, in the holy places of Hebron, Bethlehem and Jerusalem. He further noted that the lamp oil, called *zayt ḥārr*, was derived from turnip

seed and radish seed. He also wrote that in the mosque of Fusṭāṭ there was a huge silver lampholder or chandelier with sixteen branches, which could hold as many as seven hundred odd lamps on holiday evenings. More than a hundred lamps were kindled in the Fusṭāṭ mosque every night. In Cairo, according to Nāṣir-i Khusraw again, there was also a Market of Glass Lamps (*Sūḳ al-Ḳanādīl*) which was on the north side of the mosque. Yāḳūt also mentions a *Zuḳāḳ al-Ḳanādīl* ("Lamps' lane") in Cairo. There are some rare instances of people who had the surname of *al-Miṣbāḥ* in Islamic society of the ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid periods. Al-Thaʿālibī noted that all places of worship, Zoroastrian temples, Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, had a means of burning fire or lamps for interior lighting (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, 459-60). Although Ibn al-Ukhuwwa speaks of an Islamic prohibition of the use of vessels like lamps, and of candlesticks made of gold or silver, al-Samhūdī records the existence of lamps made of silver and gold given as gifts by Muslim kings and potentates for the Prophet's sacred house (*al-ḥudjra al-sharīfa*) (cf. *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, ii, 584-7).

In Cordova during the Arab period, according to some sources, there were not only household lamps but also street lamps. In his travels to the eastern Islamic lands, the Andalusian traveller Ibn Djubayr witnessed, among other things, candlebearing chandeliers of different styles. He saw lamps lighted, torches kindled and candles lit and censers burning fragrant aloes wood in the sacred mosque in Mecca in the blessed night of the middle of Shaʿbān in 579/1183. He also found the use of torches, glass lamps and thick candles in brass candlesticks burning near the tomb (*maḳām*) of Muḥammad in the Prophet's Mosque of Medina on the blessed night of 27 Ramaḍān 579/1184. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa makes some brief references to night lighting during his time. He once stayed as a guest in a Ṣūfī lodge (*khānḳāh* [*q.v.*]) in Cairo where the residents were given rations of soap, sugar, the cost of bathing in the *ḥammām*, and oil for their lamps. During his visit to Antalya in Asia Minor, he was invited to dine with a cobbler, who was also the *Shaykh* of the local *futuwwa* (*akhī*) movement in a hospice, which was handsomely decorated with Turkish rugs and an ʿIrāḳī glass lamp which radiated light at the hospice's dinner (*Riḥla*, i, 72, ii, 263, tr. Gibb, i, 44, ii, 420).

The use of lamps was more widespread than that of expensive candles, but both were used during feasts and festivals, depending on the user's economic circumstances. The relative merits of these two sources of light inspired Tādj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Madjīd (d. 744/1343) to write a literary debate or *munāẓara* [*q.v.*] between the chandelier and the lamp, see *Zahr al-djinān fī ʾl-mufākhara bayn al-ḳindīl wa ʾl-shamʿa-dān*, *apud* al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, i, 124-9.

In Islamic lore, knowledge was described as light (*al-nūr*) and the scholars as lamps. Scholars used lamps for studies at night, as it is illustrated in the biography of Ibn Sīnā and others, and al-Tanūkhī mentions that there were some Baghdādī residents who played chess for hours at night in a room lighted by a lamp (*sirādj*), see *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, Beirut 1971, ii, 270. In the literary world of Arabic folk lore, fiction and imagination, the *Arabian Nights* (*Alf Layla wa-Layla*) refer to lamps and candles incidentally, including the surreal story of a "wonder lamp" (or, Aladdin's lamp), with its genie.

The *muḥtasib*, as a municipal official [see ḤISBA], had amongst his functions supervision of the town's major mosques to see that the *muʾadhdhins* called the faithful to prayer on time, that mosque employees like attendants swept the floor of the mosque on Fridays, and that the mosque's lamps were thoroughly washed and cleaned at least twice a month and the wicks of the lamps were snuffed and cleaned every night.

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(M.A.J. BEG)

SIRĀDJ AL-DAWLA, Mīrzā Maḥmūd b. Zayn al-Dīn Aḥmad, Nawwāb of Bengal, d. 1170/1757.

The Nawwāb Nāẓims of Bengal arose, like local ruling families of this time in Ḥaydarābād and Awadh (Oudh) [*q.vv.*], from provincial governorships of the declining Mughal empire of the first half of the 12th/18th century. Sirādj al-Dawla was the grandson and heir of ʿAlīwirdī Khān Mahābat Djang, *ṣūbadār* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for the Mughal emperor. On ʿAlīwirdī Khān's death in 1169/1756, he himself became governor of Bengal and Bihar, Orissa having fallen into the hand of the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*], against the opposition of his cousin Shawkat Djang.

At this same time, relations between Sirādj al-Dawla and the British East India Company in Bengal became strained, but these relations of the Company with the rulers in Bengal had been unstable for some thirty years; the Company sought long-term advantageous conditions for trading, but found the Nawwābs' behaviour unpredictable. The Company's representative in Calcutta, Drake, refused to dismantle the defences of Fort William and to surrender an offender against Sirādj al-Dawla. In spring 1756 the Nawwāb marched with his army, captured the Ḳāsim Bāzār factory and besieged Calcutta against stiff resistance from the small British garrison. Fort William and the town were occupied, and it was the prisoners taken there who were incarcerated in the notorious "Black Hole of Calcutta".

Sirādj al-Dawla's army had meanwhile fought off and killed Shawkat Khān, who had secured from the Mughal emperor a *farmān* for the governorship of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But Robert Clive and Admiral Charles Watson arrived from Madras with troop reinforcements, and their forces easily seized Hūglī (Hooghly). The Nawwāb opened negotiations, and a treaty of February 1757 confirmed for the Company all its trading privileges in the Mughal emperor's grant of 1717 plus the right to mint coins at Calcutta. Clive, however, plotted against Sirādj al-Dawla with the latter's ambitious commander Mīr Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], and warfare broke out. At the Battle of Plassey on 23 June 1757, Clive, with some 3,000 men and eight cannon, defeated a vastly superior but less trustworthy force of infantry, cavalry and an artillery battery under the French officer Saint-Frais. Sirādj al-Dawla fled the field, but was captured by the partisans of Mīr Djaʿfar and killed on 2 July 1757; he had made the mistake of taking on the British before assuring himself of the loyalty of his own subjects, alienating such elements as the Hindu bankers of Bengal. Mīr Djaʿfar now became Nawwāb of Bengal [see further DJAʿFAR, MĪR], and British involvement in North Indian politics henceforth became large-scale.

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(I.H. Siddiqui, shortened by the Editors)

SIRĀDJ AL-ḲUṬRUB (A.), lit. "the werewolf's lamp", a name for the mandrake, i.e. the plant species of *Mandragora officinarum L.* (family *Solanaceae*) indigenous to the whole Mediterranean area.

Sirādj al-ḳuṭrub, a loan translation from Syriac *shrāgā dh-ḳanṭropos* (the latter term < λυκάνθρωπος), may refer to the whole plant, yet commonly and more specifically denotes its forked root which resembles the human form; synonyms include *mandrāghūras* (< μανδραγόρας, thence *mandragora*), *yabrūḥ* (< Aramaic *yabrūḥā*), *shadjarat al-ṣanam*, and *luffāḥ*. The turnip-shaped root is thickly covered with fibres and often consists of two parts which bear a clump of large, sinuate, egg-shaped leaves between which grow the axillary petiolated, bell-shaped, strong-smelling, whitish or purple flowers; the globular yellow fruits are about the size of cherries. The anthropomorphism of the root about the digging of which curious stories are told even by classical authors (Plinius, Flavius Josephus), gave rise to many superstitions. Thus the mandrake has been used from ancient times for medicinal, and in particular, for magical purposes, i.e. as an analgesic, anesthetic, hypnotic, cathartic and, most importantly, aphrodisiac. The mandrake was known in ancient Egypt, it seems to occur in the Old Testament (Gen. xxx, 14) under the name of דודאים lit. "the two lovers", and Dioscorides [see DIYUSḲURIDĪS] gives a detailed account of it. For the Arabs, it is the queen of the seven (!) mandragoras, the herb which Alexander the Great [see AL-ISKANDAR] held in his hand during his expeditions, and which according to Hermes [see HIRMIS] gave Solomon [see SULAYMĀN], who wore it under his signet, power over the *djinn* [*q.v.*]; therefore, the mandrake is regarded as particularly useful against all those diseases which are caused by evil spirits, like paralysis, spasms, epilepsy, loss of memory, *et al.*

Bibliography: I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna-Leipzig 1924, iii, 363-8; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 435 no. 679, 536 ff. no. 805; M. Ullmann, *Der Werwolf*, in *WZKM*, lxviii (1976), 171 ff. (for other meanings of *ḳuṭrub*), 181; Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Ghassānī, *al-Muʿtamad fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*, Beirut 1402/1982, 224-5; H. Bächtold-Stäubli and E. Hoffmann-Krayer (eds.), *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, ^{2}Berlin-New York 1987, i, 312-24, s.v. *Alraun*; A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, ii, 500 n. 2 (for other identifications of *sirādj al-ḳuṭrub*), 579 ff. no. 67; F. Rosner, *Pharmacology and dietetics in the Bible and Talmud*, in I. and W. Jacob (eds.), *The healing past*, Leiden 1993, 6-9; S. Kottek, *Medicinal drugs in the works of Flavius Josephus*, in *op. cit.*, 102 f.

(O. Kahl)

AL-SĪRADJĀN, Sīradjān, one of the principal cities of mediaeval Persian Kirmān and that province's capital during the first three Islamic centuries. Only from Būyid times onwards (4th/10th century) did Bardasīr or Guwāshīr (perhaps originally a Sāsānid foundation, *Weh Ardashīr) become the administrative capital, known in the sources also as *shahr-i Kirmān* [see KIRMĀN, at vol. V, 150].

Sīradjān now exists as the name of a district in the western part of Kirmān province and as a name recently revived and given to the present town of Saʿīdābād on the Shīrāz-Kirmān City road (lat. 29° 28' N., long 55° 44' E.). The exact site of mediaeval Sīradjān seems to be the modern village of Tādjābād-i Ḳalʿa-yi Sang (the *ḳalʿa* being the citadel mentioned by authors like Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī), 9 km/5 miles south-south-east of Saʿīdābād (cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 300, who based himself on P.M. Sykes' identification of a ruined urban site there, see the latter's *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 431). At all events, Sīradjān flourished in early Islamic times, and the Arabic geographers describe it as having houses built of mud brick, with a town wall pierced by eight gates, two markets and a water supply from *ḳanāt*s built by the Ṣaffārids ʿAmr b. al-Layth and his grandson Ṭāhir (al-Muḳaddasī, 464). This same author characterises the people there as being in his time mainly Muʿtazilīs, although Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers 312, tr. Kramers-Wiet 307, states that they were orthodox *ahl al-ḥadīth*.

Despite the Būyids' transfer of the capital elsewhere, Sīradjān continued to be populous and flourishing, and the resort of merchants. Yāḳūt makes it the second city of Kirmān province, and also says, without explanation, that it used to be called al-Ḳaṣrān[1] "the two fortresses/palaces" (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 295-6). During the following two centuries, it was important from its position not only on the Shīrāz-Kirmān route but also because it lay on the north-south route to Hormuz and the Gulf coast. In the early 6th/12th century, the Shabānkāraʾī chief Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubāriz [see SHABĀNKĀRA] managed to detach the Sīradjān district from Kirmān and attach it to his own principality in Fārs; only later was it recovered by the Ḳutlugh-Khānid [*q.v.*] governors of Kirmān, but possession of it remained a subject of dispute amongst various representatives of the Il-Khānids (see J. Aubin, *La question de Sīrğān au XIIIe siècle*, in *St. Ir*, vi [1977], 285-90). In 744/1343 the city passed to the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] of Yazd and Kirmān. Later in the later 8th/14th century, the city maintained its allegiance to the Muẓaffarids and held out during a long siege against the armies of Tīmūr's son ʿUmar Shaykh; but it fell in 798/1396 and was devastated. Even so, it must have been rebuilt, for in 814/1411 it was again besieged and captured, this time by Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh, Tīmūrid governor in Fārs, and it is often mentioned in accounts of the politics and campaigns of later in the century (see Aubin, *Deux Sayyids de Bam au XVe siècle. Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran timouride*, Wiesbaden 1956, 35 and index). Only in the Ṣafawid period does Sīradjān fade from mention.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see for the information of the geographers, Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 300-2, Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 230-3, and Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 137, to which may be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 124 (follows al-Iṣṭakhrī). See also D. Krawulsky, *Īrān—Das Reich der Īlḫāne*, Wiesbaden 1978, 146.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SĪRĀF, a port of the Persian Gulf which flourished in the early Islamic centuries as one of the main commercial centres of the Gulf, rivalling Baṣra. It lay on the coast of Fārs, near the modern village of Ṭāhirī, some 200 km/125 miles to the southeast

of Bushire (Bū Shahr [*q.v.*]), in the *garmsīr* or hot region of the *sīf* or coastland.

Excavations carried out at the site of Sīrāf 1966-73 by a team sponsored by the British Institute of Persian Studies have shown that there was a Sāsānid port there, probably serving the inland centre of Ardashīr Khurra, the latter Islamic Gūr or Djūr [see FĪRŪZĀBĀD], to which it was connected by road, and protected by a massive fort which may have been built *ca.* 360 by Shāpūr II [see SHĀPŪR].

The early Islamic geographers expatiate on the prosperity of Sīrāf, "the merchants' haunt and the emporium of Pārs" (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 127) and the splendour of its buildings. The Friday mosque was begun, according to archaeological investigation, in the 3rd/9th century. There were richly-decorated, multi-storey houses built from teak (*sādj* [*q.v.*]) imported from East Africa and from fired brick, although the town's situation suffered from earthquakes, with a particularly devastating one lasting seven days in 366 or 367/976-8. Provisions for the town had to be brought in from outside, as had also water, apart from one small *ḳanāt* of sweet water (al-Muḳaddasī, 326-7). The sources state that Sīrāf began to decline after the earthquake, and with the political enfeeblement of the Būyid dynasty in Fārs and the ascendancy there of the rapacious and violent Shabānkāra Kurds [*q.v.*], whilst pirates based on the island of Ḳays [*q.v.*] or Kīsh further down the Gulf caused ships to bypass Sīrāf and the other Sīf ports and go directly to Baṣra. But this decline can only have been relative, since we know that Sīrāf was in the early 6th/12th century the centre of operations, with ramifications stretching as far as China, of a great tycoon, the *nākhudā* or ship-owner Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Rāmisht (d. 534/1140) (see S.M. Stern, *Rāmisht of Sīrāf, a merchant millionaire of the twelfth century*, in *JRAS* [1967], 10-14).

Sīrāf was certainly partly ruinous in the early 7th/13th century when Yāḳūt was there, for he describes it as a small place (*bulayd*) inhabited by wretched people (*ṣaʿālīk*) and with only vestiges visible of its ancient fine buildings (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 294-5; *Irshād*, ed. Beirut, viii, 145). It was by this time known as Shīlāw. However, the evidence of archaeology and an examination of later sources by Jean Aubin have demonstrated that Sīrāf was by no means commercially inactive, but enjoyed a modest, continuing trading life. It served as the outlet for the hinterland region of Khundj u Fāl and as a port of departure from this hinterland across the Gulf to Ḳaṭīf [*q.v.*] and Arabia. Shīlāw was known to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who may have visited it in 748/1347, crossing the Gulf in this fashion from "Khundju Pāl" (ii, 244, tr. Gibb, ii, 407-8). Shīlāw is still mentioned by European travellers of the 16th century, e.g. by António Tenreiro as Chilaão (1528) and Gasparo Balbi as Silaú (1590), but subsequent references are to a simple harbour only at the modern village.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see for the mediaeval Islamic sources Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 258-9; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 59-64; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 160-1. For the excavations at Sīrāf, see D. Whitehouse, in *Iran JBIPS*, vi-xi (1968-75), and idem, *Siraf III. The Congregational Mosque*, London 1980; cf. also Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*, ²London 1976, 249-52. For the later history, see J. Aubin, *La ruine de Sîrâf et les routes du Golfe Persique aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, ii (Poitiers 1959), 295-301; idem, *La survie de Shīlāu et la route du Khunj-ō-Fāl*, in *Iran JBIPS*, vii (1969), 21-37; V.F. Piacentini, *Merchants, merchandise and military power in the Persian Gulf* (*Suriyanj/Shariyaj-Siraf*), in *Accad. dei Lincei, Memorie*, Ser. 9, vol. iii/2 (1992).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-SĪRĀFĪ, the *nisba* of two mediaeval Arabic scholars.

1. ABŪ SAʿĪD AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-MARZUBĀN, judge and grammarian, b. at Sīrāf [*q.v.*] between 279/892 and 289/902, d. at Baghdād on 2 Radjab 368/3 February 979, according to some reports, at 84. In biographical literature, he appears as a scholar versed in all the traditional sciences and as a man of exemplary life style; today, he is best-known for two basic works on grammar and for his part in a public controversy over Arabic grammar and Aristotelian logic.

The oldest notice on him is in the *Fihrist*, 62, who derived information from al-Sīrāfī's son (see 2. below) and perhaps from al-Sīrāfī himself, whom Ibn al-Nadīm cites some twenty times and whom he calls on occasion *shaykhunā*. The other most original biographical notices are by al-Khaṭīb, *T. Baghdād*, vii, 341-2, and by Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii, 84-125. According to his son, al-Sīrāfī first studied in his home town and then in ʿUmān, where he studied law, then to al-ʿAskar for study with Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṣaymarī. Finally, he ended up at Baghdād and perfected his studies with Ibn al-Sarrādj [*q.v.*] and Mabramān in grammar; Ḳurʾānic sciences with Abū Bakr b. Mudjāhid; and lexicography with Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*]. In one, sometimes two of the quarters of the city he acted as deputy for the judge Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf. Al-Khaṭīb is the first to mention that he had two *madjlis*: one in which he exercised the duties of a Ḥanafī judge and *muftī* and the other in which he taught the traditional sciences.

Later sources describe how al-Sīrāfī taught a wide range of subjects for fifty years, living entirely on the fruits of his own work, including the copying of ten or so manuscript leaves each day, which brought him ten dirhams for his living expenses. In his long, forty-page notice, Yāḳūt moves from traditional biography to a genre near to that of the literary séances, his main informant here being Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*]. He notes al-Sīrāfī's international reputation during his own lifetime, and that prominent persons frequently sent queries to him for answer (*masāʾil*), addressing him with prestigious titles (cf. Krenkow, *EI*¹ art.; Brockelmann, S I, 175). He also mentions (iii, 105) that certain *warrāḳūn* claimed that al-Sīrāfī falsely gave his name to manuscripts he had not really copied personally, these being sold for higher prices than would otherwise have obtained. Finally, Yāḳūt is the sole biographer to mention (iii, 105-25) the story given by al-Tawḥīdī in his *Muḳābasāt*, 68-86, cf. *Imtāʿ*, i, 107-33, about a controversy on logic and grammar, taking place in 320/932 when al-Sīrāfī was some forty years old, which has became famous in the West since Margoliouth translated this in his *The discussion between Abū Bishr Mattā and Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī on the merits of logic and grammar*, in *JRAS* (1905), 79-129. It took place in the presence of many leading figures, and was convoked by the vizier Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*], and was a response to Mattā's claims on the superiority of Aristotelian logic. The debate, as Versteegh has clearly shown, revolved essentially round two questions: are meanings and significations the same for all nations, the words alone differing according to languages, or are the meanings and significations closely linked to the words and the

language, hence different for each nation? Hence is a grammarian competent or not to pronounce on meanings and significations? The other question was that of the capacity of logic to judge between the true and the false, especially in regard to correct or incorrect speech. For Mattā, logic was independent of language, and the true and the false were universals; hence only the logician was competent to judge on meanings and significations, whilst the grammarian's task was simply to study the words and their function in a given language. Thus the logician has no need of grammar, but logic is indispensable for the grammarian. For al-Sīrāfī, however, meaning was intimately linked with words, and these differ for all languages, thus falling within the domain of grammar. Also, grammarians have rules for recognising correct (Arabic) language. In his view, there was no place for an independent discipline of logic. In combatting Mattā's position, he claimed that the latter could not comprehend all the subtleties of Arabic since he was of Syriac-speaking origin; moreover, Greek was a dead language, hence it was impossible to learn it correctly. The grammarian seems to have participated in further controversies, according to Yāḳūt, including with regard to the theses of the philosopher Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

For specialists on Arabic grammar, al-Sīrāfī shares with his contemporary Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī the fame and originality of work on Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* during the 4th/10th century.

1. His most famous work is his commentary on the *Kitāb* (ed. in progress at Cairo since 1986), a lengthy text in 6 vols., of which 5 are extant in a Cairo ms. According to Yāḳūt, al-Sīrāfī made the first copy himself in 3,000 leaves. Extracts from the commentary have often appeared previously in print, such as in the margins of early editions of the *Kitāb*, from the Calcutta 1887 one onwards, and Jahn, in his translation, studied and commented on these extracts. These may have come through the intermediacy of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī and the glosses of his personal copy of the *Kitāb* (see G. Humbert, *Les voies de la transmission du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, 72-7). Yāḳūt says that al-Fārisī and his friends long tried to get a complete text of al-Sīrāfī's work in order to denounce and expose its alleged deficiencies. The commentary is certainly of prime interest for studying the history of Arabic grammar, showing amongst other things that the *Kitāb* was in actual use during the commentator's time.

2. A little work on the Baṣran school of grammarians, *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn* (*al-baṣriyyīn*), first ed. Krenkow, 1936, also Cairo 1955, one of the oldest works extant on the biographies of grammarians. Al-Sīrāfī was also, as noted above, a direct informant for the section of Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* on grammar.

The other works attributed to al-Sīrāfī are not extant:

3. A *Sharḥ abyāt/shawāhid Sībawayhi*, possibly recast by his son, from whom a work of this name has come down to us.

4. *K. al-Iḳnāʿ fi 'l-naḥw*, not mentioned in all mss. of the *Fihrist*, but whose existence is confirmed by Ibn Khayr's *Fahrasa* (312).

5. Yāḳūt (iii, 86-8) also mentions several times, in the field of grammar, the *Mudkhal ilā Kitāb Sībawayhi*.

6. In Ḳur'ānic philology, a *K. Alifāt al-waṣl wa 'l-ḳaṭʿ* is mentioned in the sources.

7. In lexicography, a *K. sharḥ Maḳṣūrat Ibn Durayd*.

8. In geography, a *K. Asmā' djibāl al-Tihāma wa-makānihā*, and 9. a *K. Djazīrat al-ʿArab*.

Other titles also lost but only rarely mentioned are: 10. *al-Waḳf wa 'l-ibtidā'*, and 11. *Ṣanʿat al-shiʿr wa 'l-balāgha*.

The biographers do not mention the commentaries on the verses in Ibn Durayd's *Djamhara fi 'l-lugha*, signed "al-Sīrāfī" in the 2nd and 3rd vols. of the Leiden ms. (discovered by Krenkow and edited by him in the margins of the Ḥaydarābād edition of the *Djamhara*, 1925-32). For other titles or anonymous texts possibly attributable to al-Sīrāfī, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 99-100.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): The main modern studies on al-Sīrāfī's commentary and on his controversy with Mattā are listed in the bibl. of C. Versteegh's *Logique et grammaire au Xe siècle*, in *HÉL*, ii (1980). See also Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 161-3; Sh. Ḍayf, *al-Madāris al-naḥwiyya*, 145-50, 244; M.M.E. Hegazi, *Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī, der Sībawaih-Kommentator als Grammatiker*, diss. Munich 1965, unpubl. On the controversy with Mattā, see Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, *Maḳāla fī tabyīn al-faṣl bayn ṣināʿatay al-manṭiḳ al-falsafī wa 'l-naḥw al-ʿarabī*, ed. G. Endress, 141-93.

2. Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf, son of the preceding, d. at Baghdād in 385/995 aged 55 years.

He studied with his father, and probably completed the latter's *K. al-Iḳnāʿ*. Whilst working as a *sammān*, he specialised in commenting on the verses cited by famous philologists and lexicographers. His works included: 1. The *Sharḥ abyāt/shawāhid Sībawayhi*, possibly begun by his father (ed. M.ʿA. Sulṭān, Damascus 1976). 2. A ms. copy of his *Sharḥ abyāt al-Iṣlāḥ*, commentary on the verses cited in Ibn al-Sikkīt's [*q.v.*] *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (ms. Köprülü 1296). 3. There are attributed to him a *Sharḥ abyāt al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*, i.e. on those in the work of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām [*q.v.*]; 4. a *Sharḥ abyāt al-Madjāz*, on those in the work of Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*]; and 5. a *Sharḥ abyāt Maʿānī al-Zadjdjādj* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Biographical notices in Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 187; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, vii, 82-4. Other more recent sources (e.g. al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, ii, 355), given in the ed. of the *Sharḥ abyāt Sībawayhi*, 11).

(Geneviève Humbert)

SIRĀIKĪ [see lahndā; sind. Language].

SIRAḲŪSA, the mediaeval Arabic form of the name of the city of Syracuse in Sicily.

Founded by men of Corinth in 734 B.C., it was the most powerful of the Greek colonies until the Roman conquest. Belisarius captured it for Byzantium, and in 663 Constans II fixed his seat there. In Byzantine times, it was frequently raided by Arabs from Ifrīḳiya. The name of the city also appears in Arabic sources as Saraḳūsa, with vars. Sarḳūsa, Surḳūsa, etc. According to Amari, the Arabic transcription may be from an older form than the Greek Συράκουσαι used before Yāḳūt's time.

The most exact geographical description is that of al-Idrīsī in his *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, in which he stresses the city's reputation as a resort of merchants and travellers, and he describes the islet of Ortigia, linked to the mainland by an isthmus, in mediaeval times the exclusively inhabited part of the city, mentioning its two ports, its buildings, gardens and fertility. This was the main source for al-Ḥimyarī's *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, with a passage also from al-Bakrī and other items of unknown provenance.

The story of the Arab conquest of Syracuse is essentially given by Yāḳūt, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Nuwayrī and Ibn Khaldūn. In 212/827 Asad Ibn al-Furāt, sent by the Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh to con-

quer Sicily, marched from Mazara del Vallo, on the northern coast of the island, as far as Syracuse and concluded a treaty with the city, in exchange for payment of the *djizya*. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Asad expected resistance and besieged the city. But the besieged were supplied by sea from Venice, and Asad died of plague in 213/828. His successor Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Djawārī was driven away with severe losses. Raids on the suburbs of Syracuse resumed in 248/862 and the following years, and there was a siege by Khafādja b. Sufyān b. Sawādan in 259/872-3. In 263/877 the governor of Sicily Dja'far b. Muḥammad devastated the environs of the city, destroyed the port fortifications and besieged the inhabitants for 30 days. In the absence of aid from Byzantium, the city was about to surrender when the Arabs raised the siege. But they returned in the spring, and conquered it on 27 Ramaḍān 264/21 May 878. All the Christian soldiers were massacred, and the population carried off to Palermo as slaves, with an enormous plunder of precious metal weighing over 5,000 pounds. It was not till seven years later that the Byzantine Emperor was able to ransom the Syracusan captives.

Under Arab rule, Syracuse was the capital of the Val di Noto, one of the great territorial divisions of Sicily. In the 10th century, the Byzantines managed to recapture the city for three years, but lost it again. After the end of the Kalbids in 442/1050, local lords disputed power in Sicily. In 452/1060 one contender, Ibn al-Thumna, lord of Catania and Syracuse, called in the Normans to his aid, opening the way for the Norman conquest. After a naval battle, the Normans captured Syracuse in 479/1086, and the city became a county governed by Roger I's son, Jordan. Arabs and Jews continued to be able to practise their faiths and regulate their community affairs, in return for annual tribute, whence the survival of bi- or tri-lingual documents in the languages of the various communities, Latin, Greek and Arabic. After the death of Prince Tancred, Syracuse became a crown possession. There were serious earthquakes and a raid from Ifrīḳiya in retaliation for an expedition of Roger II. The succeeding Swabian domination pressed hard on the population, which tried fruitlessly to rebel. In the infancy of Frederick II (acceded to the throne in 1197), Pope Innocent III acted as regent. During this period, factional fighting was frequent, and Genoese and Pisans were at times in control of the city. Under Frederick, the city was eventually entrusted to the governorship of Gualdo Torenabene.

No monument from the Arab period survives at Syracuse. We have no proof that the Byzantine cathedral was ever transformed into a mosque, nor the temple of Apollo and Artemis on the islet of Ortigia, where some Arabic graffiti were discovered *ca.* 1624. But there are two Arabic gravestones in the Galleria Regionale of the Palazzo Bellome. The first is of marble with a Kūfic inscription dated by Amari to the end of the 3rd/9th or end of the 4th/10th century, which would make it one of the oldest Arabic inscriptions of Sicily. The second is a fragment of a slab with floriated Kūfic writing, the basmala and Ḳur'ān, LIV, 54-5. Workshops of potters, ironworkers and goldsmiths functioned at Syracuse until the first half of the 12th century and after. Fragments of pottery have been found, including a type of green ware in relief or with sgraffito with a decoration pressed on a thin bed of enamel. Much of the pottery has floral lines and motifs as decoration. Of bronzeware, there is a small ewer preserved in the Archaeological Museum, studied by P. Orsi and published by U. Scerrato in the volume *Gli Arabi in Italia*. There are also preserved in the same museum and in the Palazzo Bellome many glass jetons of Syracuse and 36 of other provenance, used in the first place as weights; P. Balog thinks that they were made *ca.* 950 as small money to fill the lack of copper coinage. There is a collection of some 600 coins in the Palazzo Bellomo, essentially from the Norman and Swabian periods, but a certain number, including the *taris* [*q.v.*], merit examination.

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(VINCENZA GRASSI)

ṢIRĀṬ (A.), a religious term which has two quite distinct meanings. It is first of all a common noun "way", which is encountered 45 times in the Ḳur'ān. This metaphorical word is almost always introduced by the verb *hadā* "to guide" or by its *maṣdar hudā* "guidance", where God is the subject. Of the 45 Ḳur'ānic instances, *ṣirāṭ* is 33 times qualified by the word *mustaḳīm* "the/a right way", meaning the religion, or the Book, of Islam. Only once does *ṣirāṭ* denote an evil way, i.e. one which leads away from the will of God (XXXVII, 23). The word has a neutral and concrete meaning in VII, 86 (and XXXVI, 66 ?). The substantive *ṣirāṭ* derives ultimately from the Latin *strata*, via Greek and Aramaic, then Syriac (Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary*, 195-6). This foreign origin was recognised at an early stage by scholars, including Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Naḳḳāsh (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itḳān fī 'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān, naw'* 38, Beirut 1407/1987, 437). On the other hand, the word is derived from the root *ṣ-r-ṭ* according to some philologists, and this conclusion is accepted by Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*, vii, 313b, 340a).

The other meaning is the proper name of a bridge which dominates Hell, *al-Ṣirāṭ*, always with the definite article. The Ḳur'ān makes not the slightest allusion to it, and has nothing to say about this or any other bridge. On the other hand, this conception is attested in Prophetic traditions, whence the important *ḥadīth* regarding the vision of God on the Day of Resurrection and the intercession of the Prophet, going back to Abū Hurayra—'Aṭā' b. Yazīd—Ibn Shihāb—Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān, bāb* 129, and *Tawḥīd, bāb* 24/4; Muslim, *Īmān*, no. 299).

According to this tradition, when God makes himself known to men as their Lord, they will follow him *wa-yuḍrabu 'l-Ṣirāṭ bayna ẓahray* (or *ẓahrānay*) *dj̲ahannam* "and the Ṣirāṭ will be erected above Gehenna". In al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Riḳāḳ*, *bāb* 52, Ibn S̲h̲ihāb and Ibrāhīm are absent from the *isnād*, and the key-phrase has a different form: "and the Ṣirāṭ will be erected, the bridge of Gehenna".

Another well-known *ḥadīt̲h̲* on the same subject (but with a list of prophets asked in vain to intercede for men) goes back to Abū Saʿīd al-K̲h̲udrī—ʿAṭā' b. Yasār—Zayd b. Aslam (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Tawḥīd*, *bāb* 24/5; Muslim, *Īmān*, no. 302). The key-phrase here is: "Then they will bring (or, will erect) the bridge (*al-dj̲isr*)". The latter, bristling with hooks and thorns, is "narrower than a hair and sharper than a sword" (Muslim, *Īmān*, no. 302, *in fine*). The believers will cross it in the winking of an eye, with the speed of lightning. However, the wicked will fall into the fire of Gehenna.

Other traditions are attributed to different Companions and supplement the fundamental data: thus e.g. Muslim, *Tawḥīd*, nos. 316, 320, 329. They support the theses developed by authors such as al-G̲h̲azālī (in the "Book of the remembrance of death and of that which follows it", towards the end of the *Iḥyā'*).

This bridge of Muslim eschatology closely resembles that of Iranian religion, to such an extent that the two are definitely related. The bridge of Činwad, "traditionally thought to mean 'the bridge of the separator' but recently shown to be 'the bridge of the accumulator/collector' ... is mentioned already in the Gathas", then in a number of Middle Persian texts (Tafazzoli). For the virtuous, it is enlarged considerably. For the wicked, it becomes like the blade of a razor or the cutting-edge of a sword, and they fall into Hell. In its name, written as Činwat in Pahlavi, the Arabs recognised their word *ṣirāṭ* (but the utilisation to this effect of Ḳur'ān, XXXVI, 66, and XXXVII, 23, has no justification and is disregarded by the major Muslim commentators).

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(G. Monnot)

SĪRAT ʿANTAR [see ʿantar].

ṢIRB, the Ottoman Turkish name for Serbia.

1. The Ottoman period to 1800 [see Suppl.].

2. The modern period.

The end of the 12th/18th century saw the first serious Ottoman attempts at improving the situation of the Serbian *reʿāyā* [see raʿiyya. 2]. After the treaty of Sistova (Zis̲h̲towa, 12 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥidjdja 1205/12 August 1791) between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg monarchy had secured a general amnesty even for the active supporters of the enemy (§ 1), Selīm III appointed Ebūbekir (Abū Bakr) Pas̲h̲a as governor of Belgrade (1793) to put an end to the oppressive régime of the local *yamaḳs*, i.e. self-appointed Janissary leaders outside the regular Ottoman hierarchy. In order to curb the financial power of the *yamaḳs* of Belgrade in particular, they were ordered to relinquish their landholdings in the province, while the Serbian *knezes* (lit. "princes"; in fact, local strongmen) were given the right to apportion and collect taxes and provisions in their districts. In spite of fierce opposition (kindled by Paswānog̲h̲lu ʿOt̲h̲mān of neighbouring Vidin [see paswan og̲h̲lu]), the reforms continued, with additional privileges being granted to the Serbian *knezes* and their peasants by Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a, the new governor of Belgrade. To allow the country to be effectively defended against *yamaḳ* aggression, Muṣṭafā encouraged the *knezes* to recruit, arm and train a modern native Christian army, a move which aroused strong opposition among the *ʿulamā'*. Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a was killed late in 1216/1801 when the *yamaḳs* of Serbia succeeded in re-establishing their rule under the leadership of K̲h̲alīl Ag̲h̲a and four of their chiefs bearing the title of *dahi* (derived from *dayi*, the title of the Janissary rulers of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli in North Africa). Fearing that an Ottoman campaign led against them under the command of Ebūbekir Pas̲h̲a would encourage a general revolt of the population, the *dahis* executed hundreds of Serb leaders. Serbian resistance against the *yamaḳs* now had to be organised largely from the hills and forests, in particular the district of Shumadija, where the scattered *hayduḳ* bands accepted the military leadership of Djordje Potrović, known as Karageorge (*ca.* 1768-1817). It was he who was to co-ordinate the First Serbian Uprising and to become the founder of the Karadjordjević dynasty of Serbian rulers. The details of the Serbian Revolution and the gradual emergence of a sovereign Serbian state cannot be retold here. Instead, an outline is given of the developments in Serbo-Ottoman relations in the period from 1804 until 1878, when Serbia gained full independence from the Ottoman Empire.

Until 7 May 1805, when an Imperial decree to lay down all arms and rely on the regular Ottoman troops alone for their protection against *yamaḳ* attacks was ignored by the Serbian leadership, the revolt, called on 14 February 1804, was not directed against the Ottoman sultan, but was aimed primarily at the restoration and enlargement of such privileges and internal autonomies as had been granted to the Serbs by Ebūbekir Pas̲h̲a and later governor-reformers of Belgrade. This is reflected in the early Serbo-Ottoman negotiations which took place at Zemlin around 10 May 1804, mediated by the Austrian governor of Slavonia. It is still reflected in the Serbian proposals of May 1805 for a modified régime of administrative and fiscal autonomy under a Grand Prince at Belgrade representing the people in all dealings with the Ottoman authorities, in particular the *muḥaṣṣil*, with all taxes to be collected by special agents of the *knezes* in the country's twelve districts. Fief-holders were to reside in Belgrade only and receive their revenues through the *muḥaṣṣil*. Security matters were to lie jointly in the hands of the Grand Prince and the *muḥaṣṣil*, each being allowed to maintain an army. *Yamaḳs* would no longer have the right to settle on Serbian soil. In all this, the payment of an annual tribute to the sultan was never disputed. Only when the Porte, represented by Ebūbekir Pas̲h̲a, refused to have a foreign power-guaranteed Ottoman fulfilment of the Serbian demands, and the Serbs refused to lay down their arms, did Serbo-Ottoman relations reach a turning point. Henceforth, the sultan considered the Serbs as rebels (*ʿāṣī*). The Serbs, on the other hand, intensified their links with enemy powers, above all Russia and Austria. Opposition against the concentration of power in the hands of the Serb leader and his centralising policies led to the establishment of a Legislative Council (1805) with Matija Nenadović as

its first president (L.F. Edwards (ed.), *The Memoirs of Prota Matija Nenadović*, Oxford 1969). In January 1811 Karageorge swore that he would rule in accord with the council, and in turn was recognised as the Supreme Leader. The formerly semi-autonomous districts were reduced in size and placed under increased centralised control, while leading opposition figures were exiled. When, because of the danger from Napoleon, Russia, the Serbs' main ally, concluded the Peace of Bucharest in 1812, the Treaty's provisions (§ 8) for an amnesty, for limited Serb autonomy under Ottoman rule and for the stationing of Ottoman forces in the country's fortresses (clauses the sultan was only reluctantly prepared to ratify), the Serbian leadership decided to continue fighting without Russian help, with disastrous consequences. By mid-October 1813 Serbia was under Ottoman control once again, and Karageorge had become an exile in Austria. It was left to Milosh Obrenović (1780-1860), military leader and rival of Karageorge (and the founder of the Obrenovići dynasty of Serbian rulers) to proclaim the beginning of the Second Serbian Uprising (on Palm Sunday 1815). On 6 November 1815 he reached a (verbal) agreement with Mar'ashlî 'Alī Pasha (confirmed by the Porte in the following year) about Serbian participation in the internal administration of the *pashalik* of Belgrade, under his leadership. His murder of Karageorge (25 July 1817) soon made Milosh the Serbian Supreme Leader (elected Hereditary Prince on 6 November 1817, but not finally confirmed by the Porte until 1830). In the convention of Aḳ Ḳermān (7 October 1826) between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, the Porte promised (§ 6) fulfilment of clause 8 of the Treaty of Bucharest; at the same time, the limited rights of autonomy enjoyed by the Serbs were specified in greater detail (additional *Note* to § 5 of the Convention). The peace treaty of Edirne (14 September 1829) demanded that the Ottoman government immediately implement the measures required by the Convention and hand back to Serbia all six districts outside the *pashalik* of Belgrade which had been liberated in the course of the First Uprising (provisions put into practice by the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of 30 September 1829). Negotiations with the Porte about Serbian autonomy commenced early in 1830, resulting in the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of August 1830 in which the autonomy rights for Serbia were laid down one by one, and in which Milosh Obrenović was officially confirmed as Hereditary Prince. Serbia had now developed into a principality under Ottoman suzerainty. Disturbances in Serbia during the spring of 1833 necessitated new comprehensive legislation. In November of the same year, a *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* defined the new borders of the country which now included the Six Districts (*ca.* 38,000 km^2 as opposed to *ca.* 24,000 previously), the amount of the annual tribute as a pay-off for all remaining fiscal and feudal obligations towards the Ottoman state and Muslim landowners (2.3 million piastres per annum), the modalities concerning the resettlement of Muslims from Serbia, and the stationing of Ottoman troops in the country. The *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* was read out in the National Assembly in Kragujevac on 13 February 1834. It marked the end of the Ottoman land régime in Serbia. The new constitution of 10 December 1838, which was to replace the liberal "Sretenjski ustav" of 1835 (which was modelled along French and Belgian lines), was worked out in Istanbul by a Serbian delegation and was promulgated in the shape of another *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* (hence "Turski ustav"). In 1862, after clashes between Serbs and Ottoman soldiers had led to the firing of Ottoman cannon into Belgrade, the Ottoman garrisons were restricted to fortifications along the Danube and Sava rivers (Belgrade, Šabac, Semendire and Gladova: Protocol of Istanbul of 8 September 1862). In April 1867 the sultan was forced to withdraw all troops from Serbian soil. Belgrade was handed over to the Serbs by 'Alī Riḍā Pasha, its last *muḥāfiẓ*, on 18 April. The final end of Ottoman suzerainty over Serbia and the proclamation of Serbian independence was one of the results of the Congress of Berlin (13 June-13 July 1878).

In 1815 Serbia was divided into twelve *nāḥiyes*: (1) *Belgrade*, (2) Cuprija, (3) Jagodina, (4) Kragujevac, (5) Požarevac, (6) Požega, (7) Rudnik, (8) *Šabac*, (9) *Smederevo*, (10) *Soko*, (11) *Užice* and (12) Valjevo. The six additional districts added in 1833 were Krajina (Negotin), Crna Reka (Zaječar), Gornji Timok (Gurgosovac), Aleksinac with Kruševac, part of Stari Vlah (Ivanijica) and the Loznica region (only the italicised district capitals had town (*grad*) status before 1833). Population in 1804: *ca.* 478,000; in 1815: *ca.* 473,000 (war losses estimated at *ca.* 133,000); in 1834: *ca.* 678,192; in 1874: 1,353,890 (these and the following figures are from H. Sundhaussen, *Historische Statistik Serbiens*, Munich 1989). The first population census, still largely fiscal in character, was carried out in 1834 (in the Ottoman Empire, in 1830-1); for detailed figures see Sundhaussen, Tabelle 2a). The population of Serbia, although in its vast majority consisting of Serbs (86.85% in 1866), was largely immigrant (*ca.* 75,000 arrived 1820-34; *ca.* 150,000 1834-74). Only a small minority was autochthonous: *ca.* 20% in Valjevo district, less than 1% in Takovo and Shumadija. Literacy (1866): 4.2%. Characteristic of Serbian agriculture during most of the 19th century was the clearance of arable land by fire, extensive cultivation of corn and (from the late 1830s) wheat, large flocks of sheep being driven by Vlach herdsmen, and, for a (former) Ottoman possession, exceptionally large numbers of pigs (165 pigs per 100 inhabitants in 1859; main export article). The agricultural unit continued to be the "house" (*kuća* < *khāne*) with *ca.* 10-30 (in the earlier period), later (1863) *ca.* 5.5-8.3 inhabitants. The first survey of all agricultural lands (details in Sundhaussen, Tabelle 51) was carried out in 1834 (in the Ottoman Empire proper, the first *taḥrīr-i arāḍī* was begun in 1838). The woodlands of Serbia remained an important economic factor; the first decrees for their protection date from the 1820s. Urban crafts were initially largely restricted to Muslims and foreigners; their "Serbianisation" had long been under way by 1830, when there were 18 recognised *eṣnāf* in Belgrade. This figure rose to 40 in 1838 (detailed lists of *eṣnāf* in Branko Peruničić, *Uprava varoši Beograda 1820-1912*, Belgrade 1970, 133-4, 142-3, 428-68, 693-7). The Muslim pious foundations (*ewḳāf*) outside Belgrade were sold or transferred into property of the Orthodox Church within five years of the Law of 28 July 1839 which regulated the return of non-Serb held lands into Serbian possession, in accordance with the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf*s of 1830 and 1833 (for *waḳf* property supporting several Belgrade mosques as late as 1862, see Peruničić, *op. cit.*, 480-1). What immovables remained in Belgrade in the hands of individual Muslims until 1863 is shown in an official survey published by Peruničić (*op. cit.*, 540-59). The Ottoman tax régime remained in force for about 20 years until the comprehensive tax reform of 1835 ended the system of division into (1) payments to the Ottoman state or the sultan, (2) rents and services due to the Muslim landowners and (3) taxes for the benefit of the Serbian state. The reform introduced a single monetary tax

amounting to *ca.* 12 "Taler" (5 gold ducats) per taxpayer per annum. But as in the Ottoman period (see the account in Edwards, *Memoirs*, 28 ff.), the community leaders continued to fix each taxpayer's contribution by taking into account his ability to pay. The metric system of measurement was introduced in 1873, coinciding with similar Ottoman attempts under Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*].

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SIRDĀR [see sardār].

SIRḤĀN (a. "wolf"), the name of a wadi in North Arabia, which runs southeastwards from the fortress of al-Azraḳ, at the southern end of Ḥawrān [*q.v.*], to the wells of Maybūʿ (see Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 167). It has a length of about 140 km/187 miles and a breadth of 5 to 18 km/13 to 11 miles. Musil (*ibid.*, 120-1) calls it a depression and "a sandy, marshy lowland, above which protrude low hillocks". Al-Azraḳ is known for its large, permanent pond. Since ancient times, the wadi has been used as an important trade route. Already King Esarhaddon (699-680 B.C.) undertook a campaign against the Bazu and the K̲h̲azu (the Buz and the Hazo of the Bible, cf. Gen. xxii. 21-2, Job xxxii. 2 and Jer. xxv. 23), who were living in the wadi Sirḥān. The Muslims conquered the region after the battle of the Yarmūk [*q.v.*] in 13/634, and the wadi became the much-contested frontier between the Banu 'l-Ḳayn [*q.v.*] and the Banū Kalb [see kalb b. wabara], two tribal groups of the Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*]. The wadi was also known as Baṭn al-Sirr (al-Muḳaddasī, 250; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 666). It served as the natural route of communication between al-Ḥīra or al-Kūfa [*q.vv.*] and Syria. The area is inhabited by the Banū Ruwala [*q.v.*]. In 1926, the *amīr* Nūrī b. S̲h̲aʿlān (Musil, *op. cit.*, index) signed the Treaty of Ḥadda, by the terms of which al-D̲j̲awf [*q.v.*] and the greater part of the wadi Sirḥān were handed over to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd [*q.v.*], the northeastern corner of the wādī being assigned to Transjordan.

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SIRHIND, a town of India in the easternmost part of the Pand̲j̲āb, situated in lat. 30° 39' N. and long. 76° 28' E. and lying some 36 km/24 miles north of Patiāla city.

In the mediaeval Islamic Persian chronicles, the name is usually spelt *S.h.r.n.d*, and the popular derivation from *sar-Hind* "the head of India", from its strategic position, is obviously fanciful. The town must have had a pre-Islamic, Hindu past, but became important from G̲h̲ūrid times onwards and was developed by the Tug̲h̲luḳid sultan Fīrūz S̲h̲āh (III) at the behest of his spiritual mentor Sayyid D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Buk̲h̲ārī. It was at Sirhind that Bahlūl Lōdī, the founder of his line of sultans [see lōdīs], assumed the crown in 855/1451. It flourished under the Mug̲h̲als, but during the period of Mug̲h̲al decline, in the 18th century, it was several times attacked by the Sikhs [*q.v.*]. It eventually passed under the control of the Māhārād̲j̲ās of Patiāla, and the region came under British protection in 1809 by a treaty with Rand̲j̲it Singh, remaining till 1947 within the Princely State of Patiāla. It is now in the Pand̲j̲āb State of the Indian Union.

Sirhind is also famous as the birthplace in 971/1564 of the religious revivalist and reformer S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*].

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SIRIUS [see al-s̲h̲iʿrā].

SIROZ, the Turkish form (Greek Sérrai, conventionally Serres), for a town of eastern Macedonia, now in Greece (lat. 41° 03' N., long. 23° 33' E.). In Ottoman times it was the capital of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Siroz and also the seat of a Greek Orthodox metropolitanate. It is situated on seven hills to the southeast of Mount Ménoikon, in the centre of a fertile plain and near to various mineral resources which supplied metal for the local mint.

In Classical antiquity it was called Siris (Herodotus) and Dirra, and in Byzantine times one finds Serrai and Ferrai in various forms and orthographies. It is mentioned in Justinian I's time as a fortified town of Macedonia Prima, and surviving parts of the citadel may date from before the 10th century. In 803 Nicephorus Phocas implanted a strong military garrison and rebuilt the town against Slav invasions. In 1204 it surrendered without a fight to Boniface of Monferrat, who abandoned it to the Bulghars in 1206, who destroyed it totally. But it revived in the course of the 13th century and became the capital of the theme of Serres.

Its citadel was rebuilt for the last time after Stephen Dušan captured the town in 1345, and he was crowned Emperor of the Serbs there. Retaken by Manuel Palaeologus in 1371, it fell temporarily to the Ottoman

Turks in 1371 and definitively in 1383. Ewliyā Čelebi alone of the Ottoman sources describes this definitive conquest by Ghāzī Ewrenos and Djandarlï Ḳara Khalīl Khayr al-Dīn Pasha, although this is unmentioned by the Byzantine chroniclers. According to oral sources, the surrender terms allowed the Turks to install themselves outside the Byzantine enceinte and guaranteed to the Greeks their quarters and churches. The enceinte's walls must have been demolished at this time as a precaution against revolts. The town soon regained its old importance. Even before the arrival of the Ottomans, it had spread beyond the enceinte, to the west of the Phoros Gate, as the presence of some Byzantine churches shows. The Ottomans established new quarters, bearing the names of their military chiefs, for themselves further to the west and to the south. Nomads (*Yürüks*) were planted in the adjacent countryside, whilst the town received immigrants from Anatolia. At the end of the 15th century there arrived the first Jewish families from Sicily and Spain.

Notable events included Murād I's using it as a base for campaigns against the Serbs (1385). In 1412 the revolt of Sheykh Bedr al-Dīn [see BADR AL-DĪN] ended at Serres with his defeat and hanging there. In 1571 there was a Greek revolt there after the Ottoman naval defeat at Lepanto. At Serres was the tomb of the town's *ḳāḍī*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Ḥibri" (d. 1676), author of a work, the *Enīs ül-müsāmirīn*, important for the history of Adrianople. The consolidation of Ottoman power was marked by the building of the Eski Camii, with a foundation inscription, now destroyed, by Djandarlï Khayr al-Dīn Pasha in 787/1385, who also built the Eski Hammam; and Bāyezīd II's vizier Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha built further public and charitable buildings. The Bezesten seems to date from 859/1454-5.

According to the 15th and 16th century registers, Serres had a population estimated at 6,200 in 859/1454-5 (see Table for later figures). The Muslim proportion grew steadily, doubtless through conversions. In the 15th century, according to the *Chronicle* of Synadinos, there were 25 Muslim quarters and 45 Christian ones, whose names indicate the various commercial and industrial activities carried on in this important town of the Empire's European provinces, as the presence of a Bezesten and of a mint show (earliest known coins from 816/1413-14).

Of numerous 17th century descriptions of the town, the most important are those of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Ewliyā, Robert of Dreux and the rich cloth merchant Papa Synadinos, after 1642 a priest and author of a *Chronicle of Serres* covering the years 1598-1642. Ewliyā describes a flourishing town, with 10 Christian quarters with 2,000 fine houses in the old town, and 30 Muslim quarters in the new town, totalling 4,000 houses, 12 Friday mosques, 91 other mosques, 26 *medreses*, 2 *tekkes* and 5 *ḥammāms*. Its market was, with those of Salonica and Skopje, among the greatest of

Table
Evolution of the population of the town

Year	Total		Muslims	Christians	Jews	Others
1454/55	6,200		2,750	3,450		
1478/79	4,896		3,190	1,706		
1494/1503*	8,599		4,830	3,489	280	
1519	7,034		3,420	3,149	270	195 Gypsies
1528/30	5,755		3,360	2,065	330	
1569/70	6,000		4,165	1,555	280	
1660	4,000	houses (Ewliyā)				
1800	30,000	(Beaujour)				
1854	25,000	(Boué)				
1870	30,000	(Reclus)				
1886	28,000	(Schinas)	11,000	14,000	2,000	1,000
1905	42,000	(Ḥilmī Pasha)				
1913	18,668	(Greek administration)				
1916	20,700	(Loukatos)				
1920	14,564	(ESYE)*				
1928	29,640	(ESYE)				
1940	34,630	(ESYE)				
1951	36,769	(ESYE)				
1961						
1971	39,897	(ESYE)				
1981	45,213	(ESYE)				
1991						
Kaza (after Karpat, 1985, 136-7)						
1881-82-93	83,499		31,000	31,000	1,000	19,500 Bulgarians
						650 various

*ESYE = Greek National Statistical Office.

Sources:
Karanastasis, 1991, 220-3*
Barkan, 1977, AISEE
Sokoloski, 1977, AISEE

the region, with 2,000 shops and 17 *khāns*. The area of the town increased vastly under the Ottomans, whilst at the same time, 31 churches remained by the mid-19th century, but most were lost in the fire of 1849, the worst of a whole series of conflagrations, which only ended with the 1913 one, which destroyed several quarters of the old Byzantine town and of the Turkish one, plus a large number of religious buildings. The reports of the French consuls give much information on commercial activity in the 18th and 19th centuries. Several of them, plus travellers, note the importance of the annual Kervan fair at Serres, part of a chain of great fairs all through Rumelia. By the 19th century, the town had 25-30,000 people and was, with Monastir and Salonica, the most important town of Macedonia; in Ḥilmī Pasha's 1905 census, 42,000 inhabitants were counted.

After 1870, the importance of the fairs diminished, with the development of railways and highways for the speedy transport of goods to the ports. Commerce declined at Serres, especially when steamship lines passed by the ports of Epirus and Albania, but the town recovered its importance when the Istanbul-Salonica railway line was opened in 1896. The cultivation of cotton there, formerly dominant, was now eclipsed by that of tobacco, which gave a new economic impetus to the region.

The Greek Colonel N. Schinas gave a precise description of Serres in 1886. It had 28,000 inhabitants (see Table), 26 churches, 22 mosques, 2 Greek schools and 6 Turkish ones, 24 spacious *khāns* and a fine market separate from the residential areas and closed by gates. At the same period (1881-93), Ottoman censuses give a figure of 83,499 for the *ḳaḍā* of Serres, including 31,000 Muslims, 31,000 Greek Christians, 19,500 Bulgarian Christians, 1,000 Jews, etc. In the First Balkan War, the town was occupied first by the Bulgarians, who fired the ancient Byzantine town and the Muslim quarters as far as the market when the Greeks advanced and took it (July 1913). It was definitively incorporated in Greece in 1918 and entirely reconstructed. By 1991 it had a population of 45,213, having received a large number of refugees in 1922 and after. Amongst the monuments still preserved, the Bezesten is now an Archaeological Museum, but the Ottoman monuments are reduced to a fine double *ḥammām* and three mosques, that of Meḥmed Bey being the oldest (898/1492-3) and also one of the largest in the Balkans, that of Muṣṭafā Bey (925/1519) and the Zincirli Camii (estimated date, 985/1577-8).

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(Alexandra Yerolympos)

SIRR [see Suppl.].

ṢIRWĀḤ, the name of two pre-Islamic archaeological sites in northern Yemen.

1. Ṣirwāḥ Khawlān, an important Sabaean site 90 km/50 miles west of Mārib [*q.v.*], at lat. 15° 27' N., long. 45° 01' E., on a small plain at altitude just under 1,500 m/4,900 feet. The site preserves the name of the ancient town of the inscriptions, *Ṣrwḥ*, and near its ruins is now a modest little town, with a *sūḳ* and small number of inhabitants, the modern Ṣirwāḥ.

The site was discovered in 1843 by the French scholar Joseph Arnaud, and again explored in 1870 by Joseph Hálevy and Hayyim Habshūsh. E. Glaser had some inscriptions copied for him. Since the 1962 revolution in Yemen the site has become more accessible, and excavations have been undertaken since 1990 by the German Archaeological Institute in Ṣanʿāʾ. Though of modest size, and though we still do not possess a systematic description of the ruins, the quality of its monuments show that it was an important Sabaean centre. The main monument is the great temple, built, according to the inscription CIH 366, by the Sabaean *mukarrib* (literally, "unifier", a title borne by South Arabian princes of some eminence) Yadaʿʾīl Dharih son of Sumhūʿalī, written in a style from the 7th-6th centuries B.C. Apparently, in later antiquity, it was transformed into a fortress. The temple was dedicated, according to its inscriptions, to the main god of the Sabaean pantheon, Almaḳah, with the temple apparently having the title of *ʾwʿl*, sc. Awʿāl (or Awʿalān) Ṣirwāḥ. There is also the monument of the Dār Bilḳīs, probably the palace of the *ḳayls* of the Banū Dhū-Ḥabāb, with one inscription mentioning a decree in their favour by the Sabaean king Nashaʾkarib (third quarter of the 3rd century A.D.). But there are large numbers of inscriptions from the whole site. The origins of this Ṣirwāḥ are certainly old, but the oldest inscriptions seem to date from the second half of the 8th century B.C. It ceased to play any notable role after Ḥimyar annexed Sabaʾ in *ca.* A.D. 275. It was clearly a royal site under the *mukarribs*, and probably directly under a king.

It subsequently became the centre of an homonymous tribal group, the $s^{2c}b^{n}$ *Ṣrwḥ* (the same process which we find in Nadjrān and several towns of the Djawf of Yemen), though the extent of the group's power is unknown. It was enlarged in the 3rd century A.D. by other groups such as the Khawlān [*q.v.*], known in Islamic times as Khawlān al-ʿĀliya, and the Haynān, the ensemble under the *ḳayls* of the Dhū-Ḥabāb. The inscriptions last mention the Ṣirwāḥ in the period 4th-6th centuries A.D., when, like other Sabaean tribes, it must have been supplanted by the Ḥimyar.

The town of Ṣirwāḥ seems, on onomastic evidence, to have early contained speakers of Arabic. Administratively, a *kabīr* is mentioned who was presumably the representative there of royal power. The region had in antiquity palm trees, now totally absent, probably from the decay of irrigation works.

The town played no role in Islamic times, but its site became a great mythic one for Islamic historians (cf. Grohmann, *EI*[1] art.), and al-Hamdānī mentions it regularly (*Iklīl*, viii, Ar. text 24, 45, 49, 75), also with frequent citations of poetry mentioning it. The historians regarded Dhū-Ṣirwāḥ (all knowledge of Dhū-Ḥabāb having been lost) as one of the eight most

noble lineages of ancient Yemen, the Mat͟hāmina [*q.v.*] (the *ad͟hwā'* being the landed aristocracy of the great oases of interior Yemen).

2. Ṣirwāḥ Arḥab, a Sabaean site of upland Yemen, 45 km/25 miles north of Ṣan'ā', at an altitude of 2,500 m/8,200 feet. Visited for the first time by Glaser in 1884, it was not until 1971 that another scholar, the Russian P. Gryaznevič, was able to visit it.

It is the site of an ancient town called Madar^{um} (Mdr^{m}), the name surviving in a nearby village, Madar. Inscriptions mention a temple Marbaḏān of the town of Madar^{m}, which can be identified with the building with columns discovered by Glaser. Its lords towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. were the Banū G͟haḏab^{um} and D͟haramat. The Islamic antiquarians and geographers (al-Hamdānī and Yāḳūt) knew the site as Madar, with the name Ṣirwāḥ ("large building") being comparatively recent. The former author visited the site, and describes fourteen palaces there, some ruinous, some still inhabited (*Iklīl*, viii, 95, Eng. tr. 61); but it is hardly ever mentioned in poetry.

A third Ṣirwāḥ, amongst the Banū Bahlūl, to the southeast of Ṣan'ā', is mentioned by the modern author al-Ḥad͟jrī, but this has now disappeared.

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SIRWĀL (A.), trousers. Trousers are not originally an Arab garment but were introduced, probably from Persia. From quite early times, other people have copied the thing and the name from the Persians and it almost looks as if Persia were the original home of trousers (cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 136, n. 3). The Greek σαράβαρα or σαράβαλλα, Latin *sarabala* (perhaps also Aramaic *sarbālīn*, Daniel, iii, 21; cf. Syriac *s͟harbālīn*) and the Arabic *sirwāl* are all derived from old Persian *zārawāro*, the modern Persian *s͟halwār* (which is explained as from *s͟hal* "thigh", with a suffix *-wār*); to *sirwāl* in turn may be traced the corresponding word among the Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Tartars, Siberian peoples and Kalmucks in the east and the Spanish and Portuguese in the west. The form *sirwāl* has probably been influenced by the word *sirbāl* meaning garment in general (explained as a development of the root *s-b-l* and an originally Semitic word). This occurs in the early Arabic poetry and in the Ḳur'ān, but not *sirwāl*.

The Arab grammarians retained a memory of the Persian origin of the word. As frequently with loanwords, *sirwāl* shows several formations in Arabic, sing. *sirwāl(a)*, *sirwal(a)*, *sirwīl*, dialectic *s͟hirwāl*, modern also *s͟harwāl*, and the question is continually discussed whether it is triptote or diptote; pl. *sarāwīl* and double pl. *sarāwīlat* both also with *s͟hīn* and dialectic *sarāwīn*, diptote only but usually (like the word for trousers in many other languages) used with singular meaning and varying in sex between masc. and fem.; dimin. *surayyīl*, plur. *surayyīlāt*; *(ta)sarwala* has been formed as a denominative verb.

When the word entered Arabic and the garment was adopted by Muslims is not exactly known, but the Muslims must have become acquainted with trousers in the very early days of Islam, at the latest during the conquest of Persia. Tradition usually traces them to the Prophet Muḥammad, and even credits pre-Islamic prophets with wearing them. A *ḥadīt͟h* says, "the first to wear trousers was the prophet Abraham, wherefore he will be the first to be clothed on the day of judgment". Another *ḥadīt͟h* tells us that Moses was wearing trousers of wool on the day on which God spoke with him. It is related in one tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad that he bought trousers from the clothiers, but it is uncertain whether he actually wore them; on one occasion he replied to the question whether he wore them, "Yes, when travelling and at home, by day and night; I was commanded to cover myself and I know no covering really better than these". According to another *ḥadīt͟h*, he recommends the wearing of trousers in the words, "be different from the people of the book, who wear neither trousers nor *izār*". But other stories deny positively that he wore them, and it is also disputed whether the caliph 'Ut͟hmān wore them. The intermediate view is that it is permitted to wear trousers, *ubīḥa*, *lā ba'sa bihi*.

In contrast to men, to whom all that has been said so far applies, the wearing of trousers is recommended for women in all *ḥadīt͟h*s. It is said, for example, "Put on trousers, for they are the garments that cover one best, and protect your women with them when they go out", or "God has mercy upon the women who wear trousers" (*yarḥamu 'llāhu 'l-mutasarwilāti min al-nisā'*); or "a woman came past riding one day and fell off. The Prophet turned aside in order not to see her, and was only put at his ease when he was told that she was *mutasarwila*". Other *ḥadīt͟h*s fix the length of the trousers as being to the ankles, not longer; as a concession, as a protection against insects, they may be a little longer but must not trail on the ground.

The pilgrim who is *muḥrim* is forbidden to wear trousers (along with certain other garments). But even the *ṣalāt* in trousers was *makrūh* according to the strictest view, and must be repeated; trousers are also considered unfitting for the *mu'ad͟hd͟hin*.

In actual practice, little attention has been paid to all such restrictions, and numerous passages in historical and geographical literature, in books of travel and in *adab* literature, show that trousers have probably been worn in most Muslim lands since the early centuries of the Hid͟jra. It is quite exceptional to find the statement that in one region a so-called *fūṭa* was worn in place of trousers (e.g. in India). The word *fūṭa* is of Indian origin, and means a simple cloth

with a seam, which was fastened in front and behind to the girdle. A *fūṭa* of this kind—those from the Yemen were particularly noted—was also worn in regions, where trousers were usually worn, by women in negligée in the house instead of trousers (cf. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Kitāb al-Mudkhal*, Cairo 1320, i, 118).

Oriental trousers differ very much in different countries. They are of all possible widths, from wide pantaloons, which are only drawn together at the bottom over the feet, to close-fitting shapes which look more like drawers and indeed are so-called by European travellers. They are also of very different lengths, from knee-breeches, especially for soldiers, to long trousers coming to below the feet. Colours were dependent not only on fashion (at times, only natural colours were considered chic, and artificial colours not at all) but also on political considerations; the ʿAbbāsid colour, for example, was black and that of the Fāṭimids white. As regards material, a famous Persian speciality was silken trousers; in Egypt and the adjoining lands, the white Egyptian linen was popular, trousers of red leather are mentioned as the dress of the women in the market of lights at Cairo, and so one.

In contrast to the European fashion, trousers in the East are worn next to the bare body under the other garments (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Tādj*, ed. Zeki Pacha, 154 below; the shirt and the trousers are *shiʿār*, the other garments, *dithār*, are worn above) and are supported not by braces but by a special girdle tied round the body, called the *tikka* (modern *dikka*). Although the *tikak* were covered by the other garments and could not be seen, they were the objects of a particular extravagance, being adorned with inscriptions, usually of an erotic nature; the most famous and valuable were the *tikak* made in Armenia of Persian silk. The prohibition against wearing them issued by the *fuḳahāʾ* had scarcely any effect. A thousand pairs of trousers of brocade with a thousand trouser bands of silk from Armenia (*alf sarāwīl daybaḳīya bi-alf tikka ḥarīr armanī*) were, according to al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 4, part of the estate of an Egyptian noble (cf. Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 110); a thousand jewelled *tikkas* were given to the daughter of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] on her wedding; the *tikka* was also used as a love-token sent by a lady to her admirer.

For practical reasons, trousers formed part of a soldier's dress. Al-Ṭabarī records that even the Umayyad soldiers already wore *sarāwīl* made of a coarse cloth called *misḥ*. Under the latter, they wore very short drawers called *tubbān*, which were made of hair. When Islam adopted the old Oriental custom of granting robes of honour (*khilaʿ*; see KHILʿA), trousers were included among them; indeed, they were sometimes regarded as the most valuable part of the gift. Originally the garments of honour given were not new, but had been worn by the donor; he ought to have worn them at least once.

As a kind of uniform and a garment of honour, the trousers play a very special part in the Muslim *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] organisations. In the ceremonial reception of a new member into the gild, an essential feature of the initiation ceremony (*shadd* [*q.v.*]) is the putting on of the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa*, often briefly called *futuwwa*. Here also stress is laid on the point that the *kabīr* or *shaykh* must have either previously worn them himself or at least gone into far enough to touch them with his knees. The *sarāwīl* had occasionally a similar importance for the *fityān*, as had the *khirḳa* [*q.v.*] for the Ṣūfīs. An oath was taken on the *sarāwīl* (this oath is, however, invalid according to Ibn Taymiyya); they could also be put on a coat of arms [see RANK] with a cup, *kaʾs*.

The putting on of the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* acquired a certain political significance under the "reformer of the *futuwwa*", the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225 [*q.v.*]), about whose grants of *sarāwīl* a few stories have been preserved by the historians. He sent embassies to the petty dynasts of Syria, Persia and India with the demand that they and their nobles should put on the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* for the caliph. This was done with solemn ceremonial and they thereby placed themselves under the protection of the caliph as overlord of the *fityān*. The same al-Nāṣir seems to have limited the right of investiture to a very few, and his successors also claimed the right for themselves. But others did it, for example the Mamlūk sultan al-Ashraf Nāṣir al-Dīn (764-78/1363-76) of Egypt two centuries after al-Nāṣir.

When the *futuwwa* gilds declined, other organisations with political or other aims adopted their external ceremonies, and laid special stress on the putting on of trousers; thus the gild of thieves in Baghdād, for example, under the caliph al-Muktafī, and a secret Sunnī association in Damascus called the Nabawiyya with anti-Shīʿa tendencies, mentioned by Ibn Djubayr. But with the disappearance of the *futuwwa*, the original significance of the *sarāwīl* as a badge of chivalry was no longer understood, and they became combined with the *khirḳa* of the Ṣūfīs into the *khirḳat al-futuwwa*.

For the expression *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* we also find *libās al-futuwwa* with the same meaning "trousers" and in Egyptian Arabic, *libās* (see Lane) acquired the general meaning of "drawers" (i.e. for men; for those of women there is a new foreign word, *shintiyān*, for which see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.). This circumstance is a criterion for ascertaining the Egyptian texts in the 1001 Nights; they replace the word *sarāwīl* of the non-Egyptian texts without exception by *libās*.

In many expressions *sirwāl* is used metaphorically. Thus *musarwal* is a pigeon with feathered legs, a horse with white legs or a tree with branches down on the trunk. *Shirwāl al-ʿāʾiḳ* "rogue's trousers" and *sarāwīl al-ṭukūk* (cuckoo-trousers) (*linaria elatine*) are the names of plants (on the other hand, *sarwal* or *serwēl* or *serwīl* for "cypress" is formed from the well-known word *sarw* with the article after it and has nothing to do with *sirwāl*).

Bibliography: In addition to the general dictionaries, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. Sirwāl and Futuwwa; idem, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements*, s.v. *sirwāl*, *libās*, *tikka*, *fūṭa*, cf. also *miʾzar*, *tubbān*, *djakshīr*, *ḥizza*, *ḥikw*, *sīḳān*, *shintiyān*, *nuḳba*, *ḳalṣa*, and also Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s.v. *s-r-b-l*; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, iv, 83.—Philology and *ḥadīths*: see the special work on the subject *Muntakhab al-aḳāwīl fī-mā yataʿallaḳ bi ʾl-sarāwīl* by Djaʿfar b. Idrīs al-Kattānī, 10 pp. lith., Fās n.d. Bukhārī has a *Bāb al-sarāwīl*, ed. Krehl, iv, 77; also Suyūṭī wrote a book *Fī ʾl-sarāwīl*, cf. the Berlin ms. Ahlwardt, no. 5455.—References from historians and geographers have been collected by Dozy, *Vêt.*, and by Mez, *Renaissance*, 96, 314, 368-9, 399, 436.—On inscriptions on *tikak*, see al-Washshāʾ, *K. al-Ẓarf wa ʾl-ẓurafāʾ*, Cairo 1324, 102, 141.—On the different colours of clothing, see al-Ṭabarsī, *K. Makārim al-akhlāḳ*, Cairo 1311, 35.—Military: N. Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omaijaden*, diss. Kiel 1921, 30.—*Futuwwa*: H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islāmischen Vereinswesens*, 49-50, 162, 187, 198-9, 204 ff.; E. Blochet, *Histoire d'Egypte de Makrizi*, 297.—19th

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SĪS, a town of Cilicia in southern Anatolia, also called Sīsiyya (as in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 297-8), mediaeval Latin Sisia and Sis; in mediaeval French sources the forms Assis and Oussis are also found. In later mediaeval times it became the capital of the Christian kingdom of Cilician Armenia, and subsequently, the Turkish town of Ḳozan, modern Kozan. It lies in lat. 37° 27' N. and long. 35° 47' E. at an altitude of 290 m/950 feet against an outlying mountain of the Taurus range, on a river which eventually flows into the D̲j̲ayḥān [*q.v.*]/Ceyhan.

Before the Middle Ages, nothing is known about this town; the attempted identifications with antique localities (some have thought of Flavias, others of Pindenissus) are very doubtful.

In the Byzantine period we hear of the Arabs besieging in vain τὸ Σίσιον κάστρον in Cilicia, in the sixth year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius III Apsimarus = 703 (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, i, 372).

In ʿAbbāsid times however, Sīs belonged to the Islamic empire: it was reckoned among *al-t̲h̲ug̲h̲ūr al-S̲h̲āmiyya*. It was rebuilt during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, under the direction of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī, but afterwards laid waste by the Byzantines (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 170). There is also a tradition, going back to al-Wāḳidī, of an emigration of the inhabitants of Sīs to the *aʿlā al-Rūm* in the years 193 or 194/808-10, which event may be connected with the loss of the locality by the Greeks, in the interval between the times of Apsimarus and al-Mutawakkil (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *loc. cit.*; cf. Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, where the years erroneously are given as 94 or 93). A further mention of Sīs is found during the wars of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] with the Byzantines. That prince, after rebuilding ʿAyn Zarba (Anazarba), sent his *ḥād̲j̲ib* with an army, which ravaged the Byzantine territory; the Greeks, in revenge, then took the stronghold of Sīs (*ḥiṣn Sīsiyya*), in the year 351/962 (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, viii, 404). It appears, then, that in the early Middle Ages Sīs has been a fortified frontier town.

The continuous history of Sīs begins about the end of the 12th century of the Christian era, when it had become the royal residence of the Armenian kings of Cilicia (the Rubenids and the Lusignans). But already before that time it is sometimes mentioned in the annals of the Cilician kingdom. It is numbered among the places conquered by the Armenian princes Thoros and Stephanos (*Chronicle* of Kirakos of Gand̲j̲ak under 562 Armenian era = 1113-14); moreover, Sīs belonged to the towns which suffered from the earthquake of the year 1114 (Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa under 563 Armenian era). Nerses of Lambron, writing in the year 1177, complains that in the royal residence (*is̲h̲k̲h̲ananist*) Sīs, there is no bishop, nor are there suitable churches. It is surprising to find the town mentioned as a royal residence as early as 1177, for it must have been Leo II (1187-1219), who transferred the royal residence, for strategic and political reasons, from Anazarba to Sīs. Since the time of this ruler, the kingdom of Cilicia is called, by Muslim authors, not only *bilād al-Arman* but also *bilād Sīs*; an Armenian geographer (13th century?) cited by Saint Martin, ii, 436-7, also identifies the names Cilicia and Sīs.

Leo II caused many new buildings to be erected in the town. In 1198 he was crowned king (he himself before, and the older Rubenids only wore the title of baron) and transferred, as stated above, the royal residence to Sīs. His coronation must have been at Tarsus (a later chronicler, Jehan Dardel, erroneously pretends that it was at Sīs), but the town of Sīs is already called the "metropolis" of Leo in a poem on the taking of Jerusalem by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, written by the Catholicos Grigor IV (d. 1189; in this poem the form Sisuan is to be noted: *Rec. des hist. des Croisades. Doc. arm.*, i, 301). In the year 1212 it was at Sīs that the coronation of Leo's grand-nephew and co-regent Ruben took place. This ceremony was witnessed by Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who in his *Peregrinatio* gives a short account of the town.

It is surprising that, according to this traveller, the town had no wall; it seems that the stronghold was deemed sufficient for defence. Still in 1375, when Sīs was taken by the Mamlūks, there was no town wall. The royal palace, together with some other buildings, were enclosed with a wall; it seems to be this complex which is called by Jehan Dardel the *bourg*, and it must be distinguished from the castle on the mountain.

The kings of Cilicia, moreover, had a summer-residence in the Taurus, to the north of Sīs, Barjirberd, which was also their treasure-house. Likewise, in modern times, the inhabitants of Sīs, during the summer, have tended to leave the unhealthy town, to take summer habitations (*yaylaḳ*) in the mountains.

The political history of Sīs is, of course, intimately connected with the general history of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom. The chief feature of that history consists in the struggle for existence which that kingdom had to carry on against the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt; it is therefore not surprising that the chief events connected with the town are attacks of the Mamlūk armies and ravages wrought by them. Other foes were of minor consequence; an attack of a Turkoman chief in the year of the accession of Leo II (1187) was repelled by that prince, but the Turkomans, during the reign of the following kings, remained a menace to the Cilician kingdom. These nomads, whenever a strong government was lacking, availed themselves of the opportunity to seize pasture-grounds; we shall find them, under the Ḳozan-og̲h̲ullarí (see below) in the actual possession of the territory of Sīs in the first half of the 19th century. On the occasion of the Egyptian attack of 1266, the town of Sīs, with its cathedral, was burnt down and the royal tombs were desecrated. Other Egyptian incursions in the district of Sīs occurred in the years 1275, 1276, 1298 and 1303; in the last-named year, the city itself was plundered by the enemy. In 1321 the environs again suffered from hostile attack; this time it was the Il K̲h̲ānid Mongol governor of Rūm, Tīmūrtās̲h̲, who, on the instigation, as it seems, of the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, carried out his ravages in the district of Sīs. A similar incursion was made by the then officiating governor of Aleppo, by order of the same sultan in the year 1340; the incursions from the *amīr* of Aleppo were repeated in 1359 and 1369; both times the town was taken. In the meantime, Sīs had suffered from the great epidemic, which in Europe, during that same time, is known under the name of the "Black Death" (1348).

However, the end of the Cilician kingdom was imminent. The last king, Leo VI (de Lusignan), was reduced to his capital, Sīs; after the retreat of the Egyptians, the Turkomans fell upon the land; then, in the years 1374 and 1375 came the catastrophe. The sieges of Sīs during these years by the Mamlūk army of al-As̲h̲raf S̲h̲aʿbān II, and the final taking of the town, wherein the enemy was assisted by the treason of some nobles and of the Catholicos, are described in detail in the chronicle of Jehan Dardel, who had been chaplain to king Leo VI since 1377, Leo being then a prisoner at Cairo.

From the ecclesiastical history of Sīs during the time of the Cilician kingdom, only the following facts may be mentioned.

The patriarchs of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom fixed their seat at Sīs in 1292. On 29 June of that year, Rūm Ḳalʿesi [*q.v.*], which was the former seat of this patriarchate, had been taken by the Egyptians; so the new patriarch (Grigor VII) came to reside at Sīs. There his successors have remained even after the fall of the kingdom, and after the renovation of the patriarchal see of Echmiadzin in Transcaucasian Armenia (1441), which caused, of course, a schism in the Armenian church not healed until 1965. The chief relic preserved by the patriarchs of Sīs was the right hand of St. Grigor, the apostle of the Armenians, which, in 1292, was redeemed, with other relics, from the infidels by king Hethum II.

After the Mamlūk conquest, the patriarchs, at first, had no fixed residence; they came only to the town of Sīs to perform some ecclesiastical duties, e.g. the benediction of the sacred oil (*myron*). Under the rule of the Rubenids and Lusignans, the habitation of the patriarchs had been within the circumvallation of the royal dwellings. After the period of their wandering, the patriarchs obtained from the Mamlūk authorities permission to reside in the town. First, this residence of the patriarch was an ordinary house; in 1734, long after the Turkish conquest, a monastery was founded by the patriarch Lucas, which seems to have been the seat of the patriarchate until 1810, when the patriarch Kirakos founded another monastery, in which the patriarchate was established when V. Langlois visited Sīs (1853). A little before 1874, the patriarch was expelled from Sīs and migrated to ʿAyn Ṭāb, the present Gaziantep.

But if the ecclesiastical history of the town continued until modern times, politically Sīs soon became insignificant. Immediately after the Egyptian conquest, Sīs remained the capital of a new province, which included Ayās, Tarsus, Adana, Maṣṣīṣa and Ramaḍāniyya, the whole being dependent on Aleppo. In 893/1488 Sīs was taken by the Ottomans, during the war between Bāyezīd II and the Mamlūks. Afterwards, the town belonged to the realm of the Turkoman dynasty of the Ramaḍān O̲g̲h̲ullarî [*q.v.*], whose members, however, since the time of the fifth prince, K̲h̲alīl b. Maḥmūd, were vassals to the Porte. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, in his *D̲j̲ihān-nümā* contrasts the once flourishing condition of the district of Sīs with its uncultivated state in his time.

Under Ottoman administration, Sīs belonged to the *wilāyet* of Adana and the *sand̲j̲ak* of Ḳozan. When Langlois visited the locality, he found it to be a village, consisting of *ca.* 200 houses, inhabited by Turks and Armenians. There was a *masd̲j̲id* and a *bāzār*; the Turkoman beg of the Ḳozanog̲h̲lu tribe was virtually the ruler, for the *wālī* of Adana had no authority whatever in Sīs. The village, moreover, paid no tribute to the Porte. The mountain-stronghold of Sīs, built by Leo II (*Sīs Ḳalʿesi*) was in a tolerable state of preservation.

According to a statement of 1894 (Sāmī Bey Fras̲h̲erī) Sīs then had *ca.* 3,500 inhabitants, 2 *masd̲j̲ids*, 3 churches and 3 *medreses*. Its territory, though fertile, was insufficiently cultivated, but in its neighbourhood there were many gardens.

For further details on Sīs/Ḳozan in Ottoman and recent times, see the arts. ḳōzān and ḳōzān-og̲h̲ullarî

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(V.F. Büchner*)

SISĀM, the Turkish name for Samos, an island in the south-eastern Aegean alongside the Turkish coast, from which only 1.8 km/1.2 miles separate it at the narrowest point of the Dar Bog̲h̲az/Stenon Samou.

With an area of 468 km^2, Samos is one of the larger islands in the Aegean, and today forms, with Ikaria and a few other islands, one of Greece's 52 *nomoi*. The capital and main port city is situated on the north-eastern coast inside the bay of Vathy, and was known by this name until outgrown by a suburb called Samos. The nearest important port on the Turkish coast is Kuşadası [see aya solūḳ], and there is frequent boat service between the two.

Samos was a Byzantine possession in the early Middle Ages. There were two raids by the Arabs of Crete in 889 and 911, and in 1090 it was incorporated in the short-lived maritime principality of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ prince Čaḳa or Čaḳan (1089-92). In the first half of the 14th century, Aydîn-og̲h̲lu Ümür Bey raided it, but in 1420 Börklüd̲j̲e Muṣṭafā, the leader of a popular revolt with proto-socialist overtones on Urla peninsula, established friendly contacts with Orthodox prelates on Samos. Subsequently the Genoese of Chios gained control of the island, but soon abandoned it after having transferred some of its population to their chief possession. The first Ottoman occupation occurred under Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ in 884/1479, and an effort was made to repopulate the island; a fort was erected on the site of the ancient port of Tigani on the southern coast, but was abandoned under Bāyezīd II, and the island was left to its own devices. It was in that period that the Turkish mariner and corsair Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*] recorded certain salient features of Samos: the sparsely populated island had splendid growths of tall trees which the Hospitallers of Rhodes [see rodos] used to harvest as timber for their shipbuilding and for export; there were large herds of gazelles (*āhū*; perhaps deer) and boars, both of which the visitors hunted for consumption and sale.

By the time Pīrī Re'īs wrote the 1526 version of his portolan, Rhodes had fallen to the Ottomans, and the anchorage on Samos's southern coast served as a convenient stopover for Turkish warships sailing from Istanbul, providing shelter and drinking water for 200 ships.

In 969/1562 Ḳilidj ʿAlī Pasha [see ʿULŪDJ ʿALĪ] re-established the Ottoman presence on Samos while holding it as his own revenue-bringing fief, and increasing its population through transfers from other places (chiefly from other islands and mainland Greece, but also from Albania; Turks or other Anatolians were seemingly excluded); upon his death in 1587, it became a *khāṣṣa* property of the sultan, yielding 400,000 *ḳurūsh* annually; out of this amount, 101,000 *ḳurūsh* remained reserved as *waḳf* income supporting a mosque which the Pasha had built at Tophane in Istanbul. From then on, and until the 1820s, the only visible tie with Istanbul was a civil servant called *agha* residing in Khora; he was seconded by a deputy called *nāʾib* who also supervised judicial matters as *ḳāḍī*; a metropolitan was the head of the Greek Orthodox population. There was no Turkish military garrison, a fact symptomatic of the islanders' loyalty or contentment, but whose price was defencelessness against frequent depredations by corsairs of all hues and faiths (fleeing to the island's wooded mountainous interior was the only recourse). The uneventfulness of this period was broken by Venetian invasions during the Habsburg-Ottoman war (1683-99) and by Russian occupation (1771-4) during the Russo-Turkish war.

A unique sequence of events occurred as a result of the Greek War of Independence (1821-9). The Samiots, who possessed a small merchant marine, not only joined the cause but sent an expedition to Chios exhorting that important island to rebel (for the consequence there, see ṢAḲIZ). Samos, although invaded by a Turkish expeditionary force, emerged from the turbulence unharmed and thanks to the intervention of Britain, France and Russia, obtained an autonomy that surpassed that of Chios. From 1833 until 1913, it was governed by an Orthodox *wālī* (*hegemon* in Greek; "prince" in western renditions) and an assembly of 37 deputies, from among whom a committee of four was chosen as the island's government; the laws were those of mainland Greece, and Greece was the only country to maintain a full-fledged consulate on Samos. The *wālī* was appointed by the Porte, and from 1851 until 1913 he was always chosen from among the Phanariot Greeks of Istanbul. Samos, located on one of the busiest shipping lanes of the Aegean, had a thriving economy (above all, in the export of wine and olive oil), and its population was Greek Orthodox except for a garrison of 150 Turks. The ties with Turkey were definitively severed as a result of the Balkan War, and Greek sovereignty was ratified by the treaty of London (1913).

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SĪSAR, a town of mediaeval Islamic Persian Kurdistān, in the region bounded by Hamadān, Dīnawar and Ādharbāydjān. The Arab geographers place Sīsar on the Dīnawar-Marāgha road 20-22 farsakhs (3 stages) north of Dīnawar (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119-21; Ḳudāma, 212; al-Muḳaddasī, 382). According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 310, Sīsar occupied a depression (*inkhifāḍ*) surrounded by 30 mounds, whence its Persian name "30 summits". For greater accuracy it was called Sīsar of Ṣadkhāniya (*wakāna Sīsar tudʿā Sīsar Ṣadkhāniya*), which al-Balādhurī correctly explains as Sīsar of the hundred springs. *Khānī* in Persian (*kānī* in Kurd) does mean spring; on the other hand, the geographers (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 175; Ibn Rusta, 89) locate the sources of the Safīd Rūd (Ḳizil Üzen) "at the gate" or "in the ravine" (*bāb*) of Sīsar (al-Masʿūdī, *K. al-Tanbīh*, 62: in the *nāḥiya* of Sīsar). Finally, al-Masʿūdī (*ibid.*, 53), speaking of the Diyāla [*q.v.*], makes it come from the mountains of Armenia (?) and talks of Sīsar as belonging to Ādharbāydjān.

These quotations show that the site of Sīsar lay near the watershed between the Ḳizil Üzen (southern arm) and the Gāwarūd (Diyāla) i.e. near the col of Kargābād, where numerous streams rise flowing in different directions. According to the ingenious hypothesis of G. Hoffmann, the name of the town of Sinna or Senna [see SANANDADJ] might be a contraction of the old form Ṣadkhāniya. There is not sufficient evidence, however, to show that the site of the modern Sinna/Sanandadj is identical with that of the town of Sīsar.

In the district of Sīsar (al-Balādhurī, 130), there were at first only the grazing-grounds of the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85). This intermediate zone (*ḥadd*) between three great provinces soon became a refuge for outlaws (*al-ṣaʿālīk wa 'l-dhuʿār*) and the caliph ordered his superintendents to build a town. These lands formed a separate district (*kūra*) which was extended by the addition of the following cantons (*rustāḳ*): 1. Māypahradj, detached from Dīnawar; 2. Djūdhama (?), detached from the *kūra* of Barza in Ādharbāydjān; and 3. Khānīdjar (?). Hārūn al-Rashīd stationed a garrison of 1,000 men at Sīsar. Sīsar was later the scene of battles between a certain Murra al-Rudaynī al-ʿIdjlī and rebels and perhaps outlaws under ʿUthmān al-Awdī (Yāḳūt, iii, 216). The caliph al-Maʾmūn made Humām b. Hāniʾ al-ʿAbdī governor of Sīsar, which became a crown domain.

In the 7th/13th century Yāḳūt was able to add very little to the information given by al-Balādhurī. In the 8th/14th century Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī no longer mentions Sīsar. On the other hand, he talks of the "mountain of Sīnā" forming the boundary of Ādharbāydjān and the "pass of Sīnā" in the mountains of Kurdistān in which was the source of the Taghatū. The *Djihān-nümā* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, while marking correctly on the map the exact site and correct name of Taghatū, gives in the text the wrong reading *n-f-t-w* which Norberg in his translation (Lund 1818, i, 547) rendered by Neftu. Quatremère introduced the reading Naghatū found in an edition of Mīrkhʷānd. G. Hoffmann admitted the identity of this river with the Khorkhora (a right bank tributary of the Djaghatū). But there is no proof of the actual existence of the name Naghatū, and the text of Mustawfī may simply indicate that in his day the frontier between Ādharbāydjān and Sīnā was marked by the watershed between the Taghatū [see SĀWDJ BULĀḲ] and Bāna. This last district had long been a dependency of Sinna. In this way since the 8th/14th century, the name Sīnā (Sinnā, Sīna) has become substituted for that of Sīsar and its later history will be found in the article SANANDADJ. As to the date of origin of this town, it may be noted that in 1039/1630

Khosrew Pasha [*q.v.*] destroyed Ḥasanābād which was the capital of the princes of Ardalān (von Hammer, *GOR*², iii, 87). Only forty years later, Tavernier (*Les six voyages*, Paris 1692, i, 197) speaks of his visits to Sulaymān Khān at *Sneirne* (= Senna).

Bibliography: Besides the Arab geographers and Balādhurī, see Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 85, 224; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, Istanbul 1145, 388; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, i, *ad* fol. 297b; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 255-6; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 18; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 190; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iv, 479. (V. Minorsky*)

SISḲA, the Ottoman Turkish form for the Croatian town of Sisak (lat. 45° 30' N., long. 16° 22' E.). It is situated in a wide plain at the confluence of the Odra, Kupa and Sava (Save) rivers some 50 km/30 miles southeast of Zagreb, hence in the 16th-18th centuries on the edge of Krajina, the "military frontier" of Austria, facing the Ottoman empire.

It was founded in the 4th century B.C. by the Scordisci, a people of Celtic origin established on the Save and Danube, where they mingled with the Illyrians, then passed under Roman domination (as Segestica, and then Sciscia), then under that of the Avars, Croats, Hungarians (as Sziszek), Austrians and Austro-Hungarians before being included (with Croatia as a whole) in 1918 in the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, then becoming the kingdom of Yugoslavia. During the Second World War, Sisak came within the fascist Croat state of Ante Pavelić, then the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and finally, in the Croatian Republic. In the 19th and 20th centuries, Sisak has been best known as an important river port and an industrial centre (blast furnaces, heavy metal industries and petroleum refining).

In fact, the history of Sisak is only relevant for us during a brief period of four years, 1591-4. At the time of the Ottoman campaigns of the 10th/16th century, Sisak was a strategic point in the last line of defences for Zagreb, which is on the Kupa. Between 1544 and 1550, a solid, triangular fortress, comprising three fortified towers, was built, using the remains of the old Roman town, and this played a great role towards the end of the century, especially when the town was successively attacked by Ḥasan Pasha ("Predojević"), *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia, who first besieged it, in vain, in 1591. In the next year, Ḥasan conquered northwestern Bosnia, with the town of Bihać, after having taken the fortress of Petrinja (Yeñi Ḥiṣār) in Croatia, not far from Sisak, which he rebuilt. He again besieged Sisak, unsuccessfully in July 1592, devastated the vicinity and carried off many slaves. A year later, he came back for a third time, with an army which certain sources number at 25,000 men, and on 15 June 1593 began the siege once more. This ended a week later in the famous battle on the left bank of the Kupa, in a triangle formed with the Odra and Save, on 22 June 1593, in which the Turkish army suffered a terrible defeat. Most of its troops perished, either in battle or by drowning (as Ḥasan Pasha himself), with only a small part (2,500 is the often-cited figure) escaping.

This event unleashed the "Long War" between Turkey and Austria, which lasted until 1606 and the peace treaty of Zsitvatörök. Since the battle involved one of the first great victories of Christendom over the Ottomans in this part of Europe, it was hailed with great joy in the West (cf. the main references to pamphlets, articles and archival documents, in K.M. Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the seventeenth century*, Philadelphia 1991, 6-7), and also gave rise to a popular Croatian poetry celebrating the victory. Nevertheless, hardly two months later, on 24 August 1593, Sisak was taken by assault by the *beylerbeyi* of Greece and Thrace, Ḥasan, who installed a garrison in the fortress (where naturally, a mosque was now built) commanded by a certain Ibrāhīm Beg. But this conquest was in turn of brief duration, since in autumn 1594, faced by the advance of Christian troops, the Ottomans evacuated Sisak and its fortress definitively, so that it never subsequently came within the *Dār al-Islām*.

Bibliography: Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3/1864-6, ii, 128-9, ed. in Roman script M. Uraz, Istanbul 1968-9, ii, 342-4; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286-7, i, 10-12; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1275/1878, i, 79-81; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1315, v, 513 (annotated tr. H. Šabanović, *Evliya Čelebi, Putopis*, Sarajevo 1967, 220-5); J. Modestin, art. *Sisak*, in *Narodna Enciklopedija*, Zagreb 1929, s.v. (Cyrillic script ed., iv, 139-41); S. Beg Bašagić, *Znameniti Hrvati, Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u turskoj carevini*, Zagreb 1931, 24-5; P. Tomac, *Bitka kod Siska, 22 juna 1593 g.*, in *Vojnoistorijski Glasnik*, viii (Belgrade 1957), 59-72; J. Kolaković, *Sisak u odbrani od Turaka, 1591-1593*, Sisak 1967 (important monograph of 136 pp.); V. Blašković *et alii*, art. *Sisak*, in *Encikl. Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1968, vii, 200-2; Setton, *loc. cit.* (A. Popovic)

SĪSTĀN, the form usually found in Persian sources, early Arabic form Sidjistān, a region of eastern Persia lying to the south of Khurāsān and to the north of Balūčistān, now administratively divided between Persia and Afghanistan. In early Arabic historical and literary texts one finds as *nisbas* both Sidjistānī and Sidjzī, in Persian, Sīstānī.

1. Etymology.

The early Arabic form reflects the origin of the region's name in MP Sakastān "land of the Sakas", the Indo-European Scythian people who had dominated what is now Afghānistān and northwestern India towards the end of the first millennium B.C. and the first century or so A.D. Earlier designations of the region had been the Avestan one "land of the Haētumant", i.e. land of the Helmand river, appearing in the early Greek geographical sources as Erymandus; and the OP Zara(n)ka or Zra(n)ka of the Behistun inscription of Darius I and the Persepolis one of Xerxes, appearing in Herodotus as the land of the Sarangai, the Drangiana of the time of Alexander the Great and the Zarangianē of Isidore of Charax (probably 1st century A.D.). This latter form survived into early Islamic times as the name of the capital, Zarang [*q.v.*], current up to Saldjūḳ times. The oldest MP text with the form *Sakastān is the Naḳsh-i Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I (239 or 241 to 270 or 273 [see shāpūr], *Skstn*, indicating Sakastān or Sagastān.

But already in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī one finds the region also called Nīmrūz, lit. "midday", i.e. the land to the south of Khurāsān, "the eastern land", and this appears in the Ghaznawid sources (5th/11th century) detailing the component provinces of the empire of Sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd. From Saldjūḳ times, it becomes frequent for the region, at the side of Sīstān, and the local rulers there were, from the 5th/11th century onwards, known as the Maliks of Nīmrūz; the geographical term Nīmrūz has been revived in Afghānistān during the 20th century (see below, 3. History). See on these topics C.E. Bosworth,

The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542-3), Costa Mesa, Calif. and New York 1994, 30-8.

2. Topography and climate.

Geographically, Sīstān forms a shallow basin at an average altitude of 482 m/1,580 feet above sea level, with its lowest point in the southernmost depression of the Gawd-i Zirih, some 12 m/40 feet lower. The highest elevation is the Kūh-i Khʷādja, so-called after a local saint, which rises 120 m/400 feet above the level of the region between the Hāmūn-i Puzāk and the Gawd-i Zirih (see below), and in times of inundation rises out of the water as an island. There is a large, central sheet of water, fringed with marshes, which is only filled in May when rivers like the Helmand [*q.v.*] and the northern feeders like the Khʷāsh Rūd and the Farāh Rūd bring in water from the melted snows of the mountains of Ghūr [*q.v.*] in central Afghānistān; the feeders from the west are insignificant. The lake may then cover over 140 sq. miles, and it straddles both of the modern countries of Persia and Afghānistān. The rising summer temperatures and the "wind of 120 days" (see below) reduce this sheet of water in summer to three separate, permanent sheets, the Hāmūn-i Sābarī and the Hāmūn-i Puzāk in the north and the Hāmūn-i Hilmand in the south. Only the last is completely within Persian territory, and forms the largest sheet of permanent water on the Persian plateau. When the water level is particularly high, the Hāmūn-i Hilmand discharges its surplus water into a channel, the Shēla or modern Shaylak Rūd, leading to the depression of the Gawd-i Zirih (the Aria palus of the classical geographers; it is also mentioned in the *Shāhnāma*, in which Kay Khusraw sails across the Āb-i Zirih when pursuing Afrāsiyāb, the Helmand appearing there as the Hīrmand). Natural drainage into the Gawd-i Zirih helps to keep the waters of the central lake clear and fresh. Feeder waters like the Helmand bring down with their spring flooding vast quantities of silt, which seem to be redistributed around the basin by action of the winds, since the general level of the basin does not rise. Western travellers have noted one of the features of the climate of Sīstān, described by the Arabic geographers of a thousand years before, the notorious *bād-i ṣad u bīst rūz* "wind of 120 days", which blows from the northwest from May to October and may reach 120 k.p.h./70 m.p.h. The wind carries dust and sand particles, which have a powerful abrasive effect on the terrain, stripping vegetation and light soil covering away, eroding buildings and causing intense evaporation from the stretches of water. Hence whilst the winters can be cold, they are usually healthy, whereas the summers are hot, humid and febrile, with a host of noxious insects and snakes (in mediaeval Islamic times, Sīstān was known for its poisonous vipers, *afāʿī*).

The alluvial soil of Sīstān allows the cultivation of crops, the greater part of them being winter ones like wheat, barley and beans, with legumes, melons and fodder crops as summer ones. There are few trees—C.E. Yate noted only the decayed remains of date palms—except tamarisks along the banks of the watercourses and canals; Sir Percy Sykes described them as forming one of the few jungles he had seen in Persia.

The effects of climate and water-supply have meant that the topography of Sīstān has been constantly changing all through history. River channels have regularly changed their course, making the restoration of the historical geography of mediaeval Sīstān extremely difficult. Conservatism in building techniques and the almost universal use of sun-dried brick [see LABIN] as a construction material have meant that very few ancient buildings have survived the effects of the eroding winds; there are few inscriptions and there have been few coin finds, so that the buildings that remain are accordingly difficult to date. These processes of weathering have been aggravated by earthquakes; thus the Mīl-i Ḳāsimābād, an imposing, free-standing minaret or tower with Kūfic inscriptions describing its construction by a 6th/12th-century Malik of Nīmrūz Tādj al-Dīn Ḥarb b. Muḥammad (*r.* 564-610/1169-1213) was 23 m/75 feet high when the Seistan Boundary Commission was at work in the first decade of this century, but collapsed totally *ca.* 1955 in an earthquake. The effects of wind and of moving sands have meant that whole villages and tracts of agricultural land may disappear or, conversely, be revealed. All these factors have made the interpretation of the region's history, when written sources fail, arduous.

The population of Sīstān is substantially Tādjīk, with some Balūč and other outside peoples settled there by Persia rulers, such as Kurdish nomads brought thither by Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*], and some Balūč and Arab nomads who appear there from Ḳuhistān in the summer. An indigenous element noted by all the travellers in Sīstān is that of the *ṣayyāds* or hunters and fishers of the lakes and marshes, on which they travel in *tutins*, cigar-shaped rafts of reeds, making a living by fishing and shooting waterfowl; it has been speculated that they may represent the aboriginal inhabitants of the region. A class of cattle-raisers, *gāwdārs*, has also been noted. See on these topics, *EI*[1] art. *Sīstān* (V.F. Büchner); Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 116-18; *Camb. hist. of Iran*, i, 78-81.

3. History.

Sīstān had formed part of the Sāsānid empire after the disappearance of the Sakas and other earlier conquerors in the region. Under Shāpūr I, it became a province (*shahr*), with its full name given in the inscriptions as "Sakastān, Tūrestān (sc. Tūrān [*q.v.*] in what is now northern Balūčistān) and Hind, to the edges of the sea", and was often given as an appanage to sons of the emperors (see V.G. Lukonin, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii/2, 729-30, and map at 748-9). In the "quadrant" (*kust*) of the east, it comprised both the Achaemenid Zranka/Dragiana and Haraxwat/Arachosia, with Zarang as its administrative capital (C.J. Brunner, in *ibid.*, 773-4). The state church of Zoroastrianism was, naturally, firmly established there, as appears from what we know of the arrival of the Arabs in Sīstān in the 1st/7th century, when the incomers encountered a Mōbadh Mōbadhān [see MŌBADH] and a chief Hērbadh, whilst the important fire-temple of Kārkūya remained intact after the Muslims came (see Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 5-6). The Nestorian Church was, however, represented there also, with a bishop of Sīstān mentioned at the Synod of Dādīshōʿ in 424 and Christian congregations in Bust and Arachosia as well as in Sīstān proper; these Christians persisted into the Islamic period, and a bishop in Sīstān is mentioned for 767 (see *ibid.*, 6-10).

The Arabs first appeared in Sīstān in ʿUthmān's caliphate, pushing eastwards from Kirmān during the governorship in Khurāsān of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]. Hence in 31/652-3 Zarang surrendered peacefully, although Bust resisted fiercely, and immediately after this, coins of Arab-Sāsānid pattern begin to be minted at Zarang. From a base in Sīstān, governors like Muʿāwiya's appointee ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura

undertook campaigns eastwards into al-Rukhkhadj (sc. the earlier Arachosia) and Zamīndāwar [*q.vv.*] against the local rulers, the Zunbīls, and towards Kābul against the Kābul Shāhs. Zoroastrianism was of course toppled from its position of primacy, the higher levels of the official hierarchy collapsed, but the sacred fires apparently remained; an item in a late 4th/10th-century survey of the revenues of Sīstān mentions the *māl-i ādharūy*, which may refer to some rent paid for fire-temple premises or land (see *ibid.*, 13 ff.; Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan*, 56, 294-5).

Arab governors were sent out during the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods, and continued to be involved in raiding into eastern Afghānistān, with the object of gathering plunder in the form of slaves and herds. But the Zunbīls and the Kābul Shāhs proved tenacious foes, and were not subdued till the Ṣaffārid period, after some two centuries' strenuous resistance (for a detailed account of one particular Arab débâcle, see Bosworth, *ʿUbaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the "Army of Destruction" in Ẕābulistān (79/698)*, in *Isl.*, l [1973], 268-83). The Arab settlers in Sīstān were rent internally by the tribal feuds of Tamīm and Bakr b. Wāʾil, carried over from those raging in Khurāsān, and there seems to have been a general resentment over the years on the part of the indigenous Iranian population against Arab financial exactions, which contributed to the strong growth, especially in the countryside of Sīstān, of support for the Khāridjites [*q.v.*] who had fled eastwards through Kirmān after defeats by the Umayyad governors. The Arabs of Bakr b. Wāʾil also appear to have had sympathies for the Khāridjite Azāriḳa [*q.v.*]. Hence Sīstān was, with Khurāsān, one of the epicentres of the great, prolonged rebellion in the eastern Persian lands of Ḥamza b. Ādharak or ʿAbd Allāh (d. 213/828, himself a native of (?) Rūn u Djūl in southern Afghānistān. For some 30 years, Ḥamza defied the armies of the ʿAbbāsids, requiring the personal presence in Khurāsān of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who died however at Ṭūs in 193/809 before he could take up arms against Ḥamza. The Arab governors sent by the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] of Nīshāpūr were no more successful against the rebels. Khāridjism continued to be vigorous and militant in the small towns, villages and countrysides of Khurāsān and Afghānistān until the time of the Ṣaffārids (see below) and, in a more quiescent form, till the later 4th/10th century (see Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 33-107).

It was out of the bands of local enthusiasts for the defence of Sunnī orthodoxy in the towns of Sīstān and Bust, the *ʿayyārs* and the *mutaṭawwiʿs* [*q.vv.*], who were exasperated at the inability of the Ṭāhirid governors to protect their towns from the Khāridjite attacks, that there arose *ʿayyār* leaders like Ṣāliḥ b. al-Naḍr or al-Naṣr and Dirham b. al-Naṣr. From their entourages, there soon attained power at Zarang, in 247/861, as *amīr* of Sīstān, the local commander Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth, founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty, most glorious of those who ruled Sīstān in pre-modern times (see Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 112-33; idem, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan*, 67-83). Over the next 150 years, Sīstān was to become the centre of a vast military empire built up by Yaʿḳūb and his brother ʿAmr [*q.vv.*], and even when the Khurāsānian provinces were lost at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the Ṣaffārids still had a century before them of not inglorious existence. This history can now be followed in detail in the art. ṢAFFĀRIDS, and see especially, Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 67-361. It should further be noted that it is from these times, sc. the later 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries, that we possess detailed descriptions of Sīstān from the Arabic and Persian geographers (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 334-45, to which should be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 110, comm. 344-5; W. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 65-73; Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 39 ff.).

Sīstān was in 393/1003 incorporated into the mighty Ghaznawid empire of Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin [*q.v.*], and was then governed by nominees of the court in Ghazna. It was out of these last that there arose, in the person of Tādj al-Dīn (I) Abu 'l-Faḍl Naṣr (d. 465/1073), a line of local *amīrs* in Sīstān which became in effect autonomous, though at first under Ghaznawid, and then Saldjūḳ, suzerainty. These *amīrs* became in the last decades of their power caught up in the struggles over control of the eastern Iranian lands between the Ghūrids and Khʷārazm Shāhs [*q.vv.*], until the appearance of the Mongols in Sīstān (Sack of Zarang in 619/1222) reduced the province to chaos and anarchy and brought about the end of their line. It is these rulers who figure in such sources as Djūzdjānī and the two local histories of the province, the anonymous *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* and Malik Shāh Ḥusayn's *Iḥyāʾ al-mulūk*, as the Maliks of Nīmrūz; the first line of the Maliks (421-622/1030-1225) may conveniently be called the Naṣrids (the so-called "third dynasty" of Ṣaffārids in Zambaur, *Manuel*, 200; but it must be emphasised that there is nothing to connect these Naṣrid Maliks, nor the succeeding Mihrabānid ones, with the Ṣaffārids, and the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* categorically states that the Ṣaffārid line ended with the deposition of Khalaf b. Aḥmad by Maḥmūd of Ghazna).

The Naṣrid Maliks flourished under the light suzerainty of the Saldjūḳs, and especially during the long reign of Tādj al-Dīn (II) Abu 'l-Faḍl Naṣr (499-559/1106-64), who was married to Sultan Sandjar's sister Ṣafiyya Khātūn. On various occasions, he supplied troop contingents for the Saldjūḳ army, including for Sandjar's expedition of 510/1116-17 against Ghazna with the aim of setting his protégé, Bahrām Shāh, on the throne there, and at the battle of the Ḳatwān steppe in Turkestan in 536/1141 against the Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*]. Within the Naṣrid amīrate, the Maliks defended their lands against periodic incursions by the Ismāʿīlīs of Ḳuhistān (see Bosworth, *The Ismāʿīlīs of Quhistān and the Maliks of Nīmrūz or Sīstān*, in F. Daftary (ed.), *Essays in mediaeval Ismāʿīlī history and thought*, Cambridge 1995), but could not protect Sīstān against the Mongols. See on these Maliks, Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan*, 365-410.

After an interim of rule in Sīstān by the Khʷārazmian *amīr* Tādj al-Dīn Inaltigin (622-32/1225-35), ended by a fresh Mongol onslaught on the province, there came to power the second and last line of Maliks of Nīmrūz, that of the Mihrabānids (633-mid-10th century/1236-mid-16th century), also from one of the local families of notables in Sīstān. For their history we depend almost wholly on the *Iḥyāʾ al-mulūk* and scattered references in the sources for Il-Khānid, Tīmūrid and early Ṣafawid history, plus very sparse information from coins. Sīstān was during these three centuries very much squeezed between the surrounding Turco-Mongol powers, as their satellite, and the Maliks also had to defend the frontiers of their realm against the rival local power of northern Afghānistān, the Kart dynasty [*q.v.*] of Harāt. Although the threats to the internal stability of the province from the Ismāʿīlīs had by now disappeared, these were replaced by the raids of virtually independent, freebooting Turco-Mongol marauding bands, such as the Ḳaraw-

nas and their component, but distinct, group of the Negüders or Nīkūdārīs. The land was devastated also by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] in 785/1383, when the Malik Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (II) b. ʿIzz al-Dīn was deposed, Zarang and Bust sacked (to such effect in the latter instance that the old city of Bust, whose site is marked by the modern Ḳalʿat-i Bist, had to be abandoned), and the Band-i Rustam, the weir or barrage across the Helmand river behind which water was stored for diversion into irrigation channels, destroyed. In the later 9th/15th century, internal disorder in Sīstān compelled the Maliks to withdraw for several years into the Sarḥadd [*q.v.*] or mountainous borderland of Sīstān and Makrān.

After the Özbeg Muḥammad Shībānī Khān had secured Harāt from the last Tīmūrids (913/1507), a Shībānid expedition against Sīstān followed, but three years later the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*] crushed the Özbegs at Marw. The Mihrabānid Maliks rallied to Ismāʿīl's side, but Sīstān now acquired a permanent Ṣafawid military presence through the administrative oversight there (*wikālat*) of Ḳizilbash *amīrs*, and under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*] it came under the governorship of Khurāsān exercised by his younger brothers such as Sām Mīrzā. The last Mihrabānids were increasingly drawn into the Ṣafawid administrative and military defence system of the east, as warfare with the Özbegs continued, and the last semi-independent Malik, Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Niẓām al-Dīn Yaḥyā, had to introduce the Shīʿī *adhān* or call to prayer amongst his Sunnī subjects. After his death, Ṣafawid *wakīls* took over in Sīstān, although scions of the Mihrabānids (including the local historian Malik Shāh Ḥusayn, *flor.* early 11th/17th century) lived on there after his time. See on the Mihrabānids, Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan*, 411-77, to whose references should be added, Barbara Finster, *Sīstān zur Zeit tīmūridischer Herrschaft*, in *Archaeol. Mitteilungen aus Iran*, N.F., ix (1976), 207-15.

Without the *Iḥyā' al-mulūk*, the history of Sīstān towards modern times becomes even more obscure than before. G.P. Tate included a narrative of the events of these three centuries or so in his *Seistan, a memoir on the history, topography, ruins, and people of the country*, 3 parts, Calcutta 1910-12, 71-99, based on such sources as Iskandar Munshī's *Taʾrīkh ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Mahdī Khān Astarābādī's *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushāy-i Nādirī*, and a *Shadjarat al-mulūk* (?), but with very few hard dates. Local Maliks continued in Sīstān, but closely under Ṣafawid control, and Sīstān served, for instance, as the Ṣafawid base for the struggles with the Mughals over possession of Ḳandahār [*q.v.*]. The names of various 17th and 18th century Maliks are known, and in the early 18th century, when the Ṣafawid dynasty was in its death throes, Malik Maḥmūd b. Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān seems to have made himself a semi-independent power in Sīstān and Ḳuhistān, with a substantial military force at his disposal. In the complex fighting in Khurāsān involving the Ghalzay Afghān invaders, Nādir Beg Ḳulī Afshār and the last Ṣafawid, Ṭahmāsp II, Maḥmūd in 1135/1723 had himself crowned and secured such towns of Khurāsān as Mashhad and Nīshāpūr, until Nādir procured his death in *ca.* 1139/1727.

After the death in 1160/1747 of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], Sīstān came under the suzerainty of the Afghān chief Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], who married the daughter of the then Malik, Sulaymān b. Ḥusayn Khān. Sīstān fell into an anarchic state, with the last Malik to exercise any effective power being Djalāl al-Dīn b. Bahrām Khān, deposed in the later 1830s by local Sarbandī and Shahrakī chiefs. Both the ruling powers in Persia and Afghānistān, endeavoured to draw Sīstān into their orbits, until the Sarbandī chief ʿAlī Khān definitely acceded to the side of Persia, marrying a Ḳādjār princess in Tehran, until he was killed in 1858. Many of the notables of Sīstān inclined to the side of Afghānistān, but the struggles for power within the ruling family of Bārakzays meant that the *amīr* Shīr ʿAlī Khān could give no direct help in Sīstān from Kābul. In 1865 a Persian army invaded Sīstān and a Persia governor, with the title of Ḥashmat al-Mulk, and dependent on Ḳāʾin in Ḳuhistān, was placed over the province. It was this Ḥashmat al-Mulk whom Lt. Col. C.E. Yate met when he was travelling in Sīstān in 1894. Yate also gives information on the state of the province at this time. He found it dire: "What with their debts to the cattle-owners for hire of bullocks, and their debt to the Kadkhudas who advanced them grain, the cultivators and people of Sīstān generally were in a wretched state of poverty. I do not think I ever saw a more miserable-looking lot." All the land belonged to the state, and there were no private landowners. There was no regular trade, merely an annual caravan with skins and wool to Quetta in Balūčistān or to Bandar ʿAbbās on the Makrān coast which brought back items for consumption like tea and sugar. The revenue of the province amounted to 24,000 *khārwars*, each of 649 lbs. of grain, per annum; from this, 6,850 *khārwars* were retained for the salaries of officials and troops, and the rest was paid by Ḥashmat al-Mulk, as a fixed sum of 12,000 *tūmāns*, to the central government. In addition, there was a tax of 2,600 *tūmāns* levied in cash on sheep and cattle. (See Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900, 75-113.)

Border disputes between Persia and Afghānistān had caused a fear of an outbreak of war between the two states, leading therefore to the Seistan Boundary Mission of 1872 presided over by General Sir Frederick J. Goldsmid. It awarded much of Sīstān proper to Persia, but required the Persian forces' evacuation of the right bank of the Helmand; naturally, neither side was satisfied. The boundary was not, however, definitively delimited till the second Seistan Boundary Commission of 1903-5 under Col. (later Sir) Arthur McMahon. The absence of clear natural dividing features, beyond that of the Helmand river, made the tasks of these Commissions difficult (see the Hon. G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 229 ff.; G.P. Tate, *The frontiers of Baluchistan. Travels on the borders of Persia and Afghanistan*, London 1909).

Persian Sīstān today falls within the province (*ustān*) of Balūčistān and Sīstān, with its administrative centre at Zāhidān [*q.v.*] (Zahedan); whilst Afghān Sīstān has, since the administrative re-organisation of 1964, formed the province (*wilāyat*) of Nīmrūz, thus reviving the old name, with its chef-lieu at Zarang, again reviving an old name, adjacent to Nād-i ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Comprehensive bibls. are given in the two works of Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, and *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan*, and older bibl. is given in V.F. Büchner's *EI*[1] art. One may note additionally the following. For the older period, Pauly-Wissowa, new ed., arts *Sakai*, *Sakastane* (A. Herrman), *Drangai* (W. Tomaschek); Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, index, esp. 248 ff., 292 ff. On the present archaeological state of Sīstān, K. Fischer, D. Morgenstern and V. Thewalt, *Nimruz. Geländebegehungen in Sistan 1955-1973 und die Aufnahme von Dewal-i Khodaydad 1970*, 2 vols., Bonn 1974-6, and on some of the surviving buildings there, M. Klinkott, *Islamische Baukunst in Afghanisch-Sīstān, mit einem geschichtlichen*

Überblick von Alexander der Grossen bis zur Zeit der Safawiden-Dynastie, Berlin 1982. For the post-16th century history of Sīstān, up to the end of the 19th century, see Tate, *Seistan, a memoir*, part 1. For the situation towards the end of the 19th century see Sir F.G. Goldsmid (ed.), *Eastern Persia, an account of the journey of the Persian Boundary Commission 1870-1872*, 2 vols., London 1876; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*; P.M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Irán*, London 1902, 361 ff.; Tate, *The frontiers of Baluchistan*. (C.E. Bosworth)

SISTOVA [see ZISTOVA].

SITI BINTI SAAD (*ca.* 1880-1950), a singer famed throughout East Africa. Born at Fumba, Zanzibar, her father was an Mnyamwezi subsistence farmer and her mother an Mzigua potter. As a child she was known as *Mtumwa* (slave), in accord with the Swahili custom of giving children pejorative names. Brought up in the village, she had no formal education, and was illiterate. She disappointed her parents in failing to learn the skill of pot-making. She had an unsuccessful marriage, and occupied herself in carrying pots made by her mother for sale in the town. Eventually she moved to the town, where she fell in with a lute-player, who taught her to sing and also Arabic. When she was about thirty-one she fell in with a band of professional musicians, who played the lute, the mandoline and the tambourine. She adopted the name *Siti*, ambiguously meaning "lady", or fife or whistle. The band added other instruments to their répertoire, but her skill as a singer gave them wide popularity, and she was praised for the sweetness and delicacy of her singing. She was spoken of as if she were some incarnation of a spirit from the tales of the *Thousand and one nights*. It was in this tradition that she was sent for by the Sultan of Zanzibar, Khalīfa b. Kharūb, when she sang a song that had been specially composed in his honour. Behind this popularity lay a long tradition of at least two centuries of Swahili bards, who included many women such as the famous Mwana Kupona, the wife of Bwana Mataka, Shaykh of Siu [*q.v.*] in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1927 Siti came to the attention of the Colombia Record Company, which made gramophone records of her singing with her band in Bombay. Her recordings were immediately popular in India, and her reception when she returned to Zanzibar was as if she were a queen. She travelled and sang in Pemba, and on the mainland in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. She was unspoilt by her success, and what, for those days, were the considerable sums that she earned. Shaaban Robert [*q.v.*], her biographer, first heard her sing in 1936, but only became acquainted with her in the last months of her life.

Bibliography: Shaaban Robert, *Wasifu wa Siti binti Saad*, Diwani wa Shaaban 3, London 1967 (in Swahili); Mwana Kupona, *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona*, ed. A. Werner and W. Hichens, Medstead 1934 (in Swahili and English); L. Harries, *Swahili poetry*, Oxford 1962; J.W.T. Allen, *Tendi*, London 1971, and information kindly supplied.

(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

SITR "veil", a curtain behind which the Fāṭimid caliph was concealed at the opening of the audience session (*madjlis*) and which was then removed by a special servant (*ṣāḥib/mutawallī al-sitr*) in order to unveil the enthroned ruler. The *sitr* corresponded to the *velum* of the Roman and Byzantine emperors. The holder of the function of *ṣāḥib al-sitr*, who also served as bearer of the caliph's sword (*ṣāḥib al-sitr wa 'l-sayf*), chamberlain and master of ceremonies, was mostly chosen from the Slav mamlūks (*ṣaḳāliba* [*q.v.*]); al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-ḥunafā'*, ii, ed. M.Ḥ.M. Aḥmad, 30, 72, 106, 127.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(H. Halm)

SITT AL-MULK, or Sayyidat al-Mulk, Fāṭimid princess, daughter of the fifth Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] and half-sister of al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*]. She was born in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 359/September-October 970 at al-Manṣūriyya near al-Ḳayrawān to the prince Nizār (the future al-ʿAzīz) by an anonymous *umm walad* [*q.v.*], who is referred to in the sources as *al-Sayyida al-ʿAzīziyya* (al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1978, 94, 111; al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-ḥunafā'*, ed. Dj. al-Shayyāl *et alii*, Cairo 1967 ff., i, 271, 292; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1981, 175). When her mother died in Cairo in Shawwāl 385/November 995, the daughter held a death-watch at her tomb for one month (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 288-9); she inherited her mother's slave girl Taḳarrub (d. 415/1025), who became her confidante and served her as a spy (al-Musabbiḥī, 111). Like the other daughters of Fāṭimid caliphs, Sitt al-Mulk never married, probably for dynastic reasons. Beloved by her father al-ʿAzīz, she was showered with gifts and provided with a lucrative appanage so that she was able to establish large charitable endowments, e.g. wells, reservoirs, baths, etc. (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 33; Lev, *The Fatimid Princess*, 321).

When her father al-ʿAzīz died suddenly in Bilbays on 28 Ramaḍān 386/13 October 996, the princess, then 26 years old, accompanied by the *Ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān, the Bearer of the Parasol Raydān (or Zaydān) and other courtiers, hurried to Cairo with the palace guard (*al-ḳaṣriyya*) in order to occupy the palace; according to Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 44, she planned to take over and to hand the power to her cousin, a son of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿizz. But she was prevented from entering the palace and was brushed aside by the eunuch Bardjawān [*q.v.*], who placed her under house arrest and put her eleven-year old half-brother al-Manṣūr (al-Ḥākim) on the throne (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 291; Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, *Mughrib*, i/2, 54).

After Bardjawān's assassination by Raydān, the Bearer of the Parasol, in 390/1000, the princess seems to have exercised some influence on her young half-brother, to whom she made precious gifts and who, on his part, bestowed on her *iḳṭāʿāt* [*q.v.*] whose annual income was 100,000 dīnārs (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 15; 33). Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 60, mentions the Christian administrative personnel of her Syrian estates. During the last years of al-Ḥākim's sole reign, she seems to have become alienated from him, perhaps as a result of al-Ḥākim's desiguation of his cousin ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās as heir-apparent in 404/1013. It was Sitt al-Mulk who thereupon took al-Ḥākim's *umm walad* Ruḳayya and her son—the future caliph al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*]—to her palace in order to protect them; the young prince was brought up and educated in her household (Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, ed. Cheikho *et alii*, 207, 235). In the following year, al-Ḥākim had his *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* Mālik b. Saʿīd put to death because he suspected him to be in tacit understanding with the princess (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 106-7).

Sitt al-Mulk's alleged involvement in the murder of al-Ḥākim in 411/1021 is dubious; the only source for it is the Baghdādī court chronicler Hilāl al-Ṣābī [*q.v.*], whose anti-Fāṭimid bias is well-known; his report, preserved by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, iv, 185-90, is pure fiction.

Neither the Christian al-Anṭākī nor the Shāfiʿī jurist al-Ḳuḍāʿī [*q.v.*]—both contemporaries and sources of the event—casts any suspicion on the princess.

After al-Ḥākim's disappearance, Sitt al-Mulk was instrumental in securing the succession to the throne of her protégé al-Ẓāhir, whom she kept under her tutelage, apparently in competition with his mother Ruḳayya (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 124-5). She had put to death the murderer of al-Ḥākim, Ibn Dawwās, a Kutāma [*q.v.*] chief (al-Ḳuḍāʿī, in Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, iv, 191-2; al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 125-8), and eliminated al-Ḥākim's designated heir-apparent ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās, who was serving as governor of Damascus (al-Ḳuḍāʿī, in Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, iv, 194; al-Anṭākī, 236). She held the reins of government for her nephew al-Ẓāhir; in the contemporary sources she is referred to as *al-Sayyida al-ʿamma*, "the Princess-aunt" (al-Musabbiḥī, 43, 96), *al-Sayyida al-sharīfa* (*ibid.*, 110-11), or *al-Sayyida al-ʿazīza* (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 174; not to be confounded with her mother, *al-Sayyida al-ʿAzīziyya* who had died in 385/995; *ibid.*, i, 288-9). Sitt al-Mulk tried to restore order in state affairs following the mismanagement of al-Ḥākim's last years; she cancelled the *iḳṭāʿāt* and salaries which he had conferred on his favourites, and she re-imposed the illegal customs duties (*mukūs*) he had abolished (al-Anṭākī, 237). She died of dysentery, on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 413/5 February 1023 (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xxviii, 205; Ibn al-Dawādārī, vi, 346; cf. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, i, 271; al-Anṭākī, 243-4; Barhebraeus, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, repr. Beirut 1958, 180). Hence al-Maḳrīzī's statement (*loc. cit.*) that she reigned five years and eight months after al-Ḥākim's death is due to an obvious mistake.

Bibliography: H. Halm, *Der Treuhänder Gottes. Die Edikte des Kalifen al-Ḥākim*, in *Isl.*, lxii (1986), 11-72; Y. Lev, *The Fatimid Princess Sitt al-Mulk*, in *JSS*, xxxii (1987), 319-28. (H. Halm)

SIU, in some authors Siyu, is a small town 6 miles east-north-east of Pate [*q.v.*] on Pate Island. Its date of foundation is unknown. The Swahili *History of Pate* ascribes it to 903/1497; finds of Sāsānid-Islamic pottery suggest earlier occupation. The inhabitants claim Bajun origin, Bantu settlers from southern Somalia. There is a town wall, ascribed to 1843, but possibly earlier, and some houses believed by Kirkman to the 19th century. The Friday mosque has a minaret, a rarity in East Africa; the *minbar* has the earliest known inscription on wood in the region, 930/1523-4. It is no indication of the date of the mosque.

Siu is not mentioned in Arabic literature. The earliest account is that of Fra Gaspar de St. Bernardino's visit in 1606. Two Indian merchants accompanied him; they spoke the local language, presumably Swahili. They enabled him to have a conversation with the king about the Franciscan Order and the sights of the town, which the friar found had "nothing worthy of note." In 1589 Siu was attacked by the Ottoman Turks under Amīr ʿAlī Bey [see MOMBASA]. The king turned traitor against the Portuguese, who later imprisoned him, and destroyed 2,000 palm trees in reprisal.

Siu is not heard again until the 18th century. In 1187/1773 it was subject to Pate, but rebelled in 1190/1776. It was again subject in 1245/1829. The governor, Mataka, rebelled in 1249/1833 against Pate and against Sayyid Saʿīd of Zanzibar [see ĀL BŪ SAʿĪD]. He was defeated when he attacked with a force from Lamu, and again on a second attempt in 1259/1843. In 1263/1847 the erection of a fort was begun, which is known to have been occupied by Sayyid Madjīd's soldiers in 1857. Shortly, it seems, there was another rebellion, but from 1863 the town was independent, only to be recovered by Zanzibar in the mid-1860s. The fort still stands today.

Siu was not simply a fishing and agricultural community. There was a substantial material culture: cloth manufacture, embroidery, woodworking and furniture, silverware, leather-work, sandal-making, paper manufacture, book copying and binding. It was notable for its poets and poetesses, not least the celebrated Mwana Kupona, wife of Mataka. The ascription to Siu of a bound copy of portions of the Ḳurʾān in the Royal Asiatic Society's library, found at Witu, is based solely on the copyist's *nisba* of *al-Siwī*, an unwarrantable assumption.

Bibliography: Gaspar de St. Bernardino and Swahili *History of Pate*, in G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African coast: select documents*, Oxford 1962 (in English); Mwana Kupona, *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona*, ed. and tr. A. Werner and W. Hichens, Medstead 1934; J. Strandes, *The Portuguese period in East Africa* (1899), Eng. tr. ed. J.S. Kirkman, Nairobi 1961; C.S. Nicholls, *The Swahili Coast*, London 1971: G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville and B.G. Martin, *A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the Eastern African coast*, in *JRAS* (1973); R. Wilding, *A note on Siu Fort*, in *Azania*, viii (1973); [W.]H. Brown, *Siyu, town of the craftsmen*, in *Azania*, xxiii (1988) (with rich bibl.); S. Digby, *A Qurʾān from the East African coast*, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, no. 7, London 1975; and information kindly supplied by Dr. M.C. Horton. (G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

SIVAS [see SĪWĀS].

SĪWA, an oasis in northwestern Egypt.

"A jewel, the most fascinating of the Egyptian oases": thus Nancy McGrath (*Guide to Egypt*, ed. 1983-4, 403) describes the renowned oasis which, in early 1995, was the site of a sensational event, the discovery of the alleged tomb of Alexander the Great, some 25 km/16 miles from the temple of Zeus-Amon. Sīwa, Ammonium in ancient times, is indeed a large and pleasant oasis, the most westerly of the five Egyptian oases, situated only some 50 km/31 miles (as the crow flies) from the frontier of Libya. A road 300 km/186 miles in length, entirely asphalted since 1983, links it to Marsa-Matrouh, the ancient Paraetonium, situated to the north-east on the Mediterranean.

1. *The site*

Sīwa and the oases grouped under this name are located in a depression some 80 km/50 miles in length lying on a west-east axis, the base of which is some 20 m/65 feet below sea-level. From this a number of holms emerge, two of them sheltering the localities of Sīwa and Aghurmī, separated by a distance of 3 km/2 miles. It is at the latter site, on a rocky plateau, as well as a few hundred metres away at Umm ʿUbayda, that the remains of the temple of Amon have been found; this was constructed by the Pharaoh Amasis (26th dynasty) probably during the period which also saw the restoration of the oracular temple of Apollo at Delphi, accidentally destroyed by fire in 548 B.C., with the aid of an international fund to which the Pharaoh had contributed. The humble appearance of the temple of Amon today does not reflect the reverence in which its oracle was long held in ancient times.

The population of the oasis, which—an unusual phenomenon for Egypt—is Berber-speaking, may be estimated at between 8,000 and 10,000 inhabitants, this figure including the village of Gara, or Ḳāret Umm al-Ṣaghāʾir, some 100 km/62 miles to the east on the edge of the depression of Ḳaṭṭāra, which is in

fact the eastern extremity of the Berberophone region. This depression, 300 m/985 feet below sea-level, cannot be crossed without risk of being stranded, trapped in the soft sand. In June 1964, five young Germans, attempting to trace in reverse the course of Rommel's advance on El Alamein, died of thirst there.

A curiosity of Sīwa is the ancient citadel, today in ruins, called Shālī (*šal-i* = "my country", cf. Laoust, *Sīwa*, 301), a fortified village built on a hill overlooking the "modern" town. In an interesting short work by Bettina Léopoldo (cf. *Oasis*) ample descriptions will be found, not only of the traditional architecture but also of the economy, crafts and professions, religious and secular customs. Furthermore, it should be stressed that the article by E. Laoust in *EI*[1] is still, more than two-thirds of a century after its composition, a mine of information.

The wealth of Sīwa derives fundamentally from its dates, renowned since ancient times. In second place, but a considerable distance behind the 200,000 or so date-palms, the 40,000 olive-trees contribute extensively to the revenues of the Īsīwān (people of Sīwa).

As for the ambitious irrigation and drainage scheme called "New Valley", which was inaugurated in 1954 and involved the five major Egyptian oases, it seems to have been pursued with less energy in the case of Sīwa than in that of Khārga. In the past, agricultural work was for a long time the preserve of the *zaggāla*, unmarried labourers, not allowed to live within the walls, even reduced, it is said, to practising marriage between men, supposedly legal until the visit of King Fu'ād I in 1923.

Currently, while young men may leave the region to pursue their studies, women are still confined to the oasis. Their role in the family remains, however, primordial: in her home, the wife takes the decisions, holds the purse-strings and brings up her children as she sees fit. "If our children speak Sīwī (*ẓlan n isīwān*)," it was said in early September 85 by a deputy mayor, "it is to our womenfolk that they owe it". Six months later, television made its appearance. It is hardly likely that that there will be a great deal of broadcasting in the Berber Language, but it must be hoped that, at the end of this first decade, the damage will not prove to be too great. Determined efforts must be made to preserve this language which, at the time of Alexander's visit to the oasis in 331 B.C., had perhaps been spoken there for as many centuries as have passed since then, although it must be admitted that this hypothesis has no more corroboration than that of the presence of the tomb of the "Son of Amon" at Ammonium.

2. *The language*

Regarded over the past two centuries by European travellers as related to Berber, the language of Sīwa has been the object of many studies, varying considerably in terms of the scope and the rigour of the description. Two of them may be considered thorough and comprehensive. That of E. Laoust (*Sīwa*), appearing in 1931, has constituted and still constitutes a work of great value, for its grammatical and syntactical analysis as well as for its ethnographical information, with however one serious error in the verbal system. That of Werner Vycichl (*Sketch*), the manuscript of which the present author read in 1989-90, is absolutely remarkable in terms of the detail, the rigour and the thoroughness of its descriptions. The question of the pertinence of vocalic quantity and accentuation could usefully be the object of further and deeper verifications.

The personal visit (September 1985) on the part of the author of this article had as its primary object study of the use of the verbal system, in particular that of the theme of the resultative perfect, that Berber peculiarity, then the syntax of relatives and focalisation.

First of all, some remarks on phonology; the consonantal system presents few difficulties. The affricative pronunciation [ǧ] of the fricative *ž*, since noted by W. Vycichl and transcribed by him as *j* (*Sketch*, 44-5), did not register with this writer. As for the opposition of emphasis *r-ṛ* in *ajrā* "small bottle" ~ *ajṛā* "frog", it is possible, bearing in mind the notation *aẓraū*, pl. *iẓrawən* of Laoust (*Sīwa* 245), that the emphaticisation of *ṛ* may be owed to the vowel/consonant *u/w*.

The opposition *ə-ă* or *ă* which K.-G. Prasse has established for Tuareg (*Manuel*, i-iii, 13), referring to its discovery by J. Lanfry (*Ghadamès*, p. xxxiv), was not observed at Sīwa. As for the vocalic quantity which in Tuareg opposes the perfect *iγra* "he studied, he read" to the resultative perfect *iγrā* "he has studied, he has read", this seems to have no relevance in Sīwī. This dialect indicates the resultative otherwise, and opposes *iγra* to *iγraya*, where the length of the first *a* is definitely phonetic but not distinctive. In a brief and excellent recapitulation of the characteristics of Sīwī, based on Laoust's study corrected by that of A. Basset (cf. *Problème*), Prasse does not mention the vocalic quantity. The present writer only became aware of this article (cf. *Isiwan*) several months after returning from Sīwa.

When, some four years later, this writer read the text of W. Vycichl, it was to find recorded there not only the length but also the accentuation, which poses a problem with regard to the notations of Basset and of Prasse, to the texts of Laoust and to this writer's own observations. In fact, the author distinguishes here between four cases: for example for *a* he differentiates long and accented *â* from long and unaccented *ā*, from short and accented *â* and from short and unaccented *a*. But it is puzzling to read that long and unaccented vowels "are effectively short", as in *ā* of *tenwāwên* "children" (*Sketch*, 43). Still more disconcerting is the fact that *e*, even when accented, can disappear: thus *ifessên* "hands" is heard as *if=ss=n*, = being simply "a space between consonants" (*Sketch*, 48). Particularly to be noted is another novelty represented by the change in position of the accent after a preposition. As opposed to *isīwân* "the Sīwīs" we have *jlān n isîwān* "the language of the Sīwīs". As opposed to *tenwāwên* we have *i tenwâwēn* "to the children" (*Sketch*, 35, 81, 82).

Finally, most interesting seems to be the combination of a change of accent and of length, or of timbre, with the suffixing, to an adjective of an *a*, the meaning of which remains mysterious. In this writer's personal judgment, to the adjective *akways*, fem. *tkwayst* (cf. Egyptian Arabic *kwayəs*, fem. *kwaysa* "good, well") there should correspond a plural *kwaysina* which, alongside the Arabic *kwaysin*, could be considered analogous with the resultative perfect of a verb, e.g. *yuṭnina* "they are (fallen) ill", as opposed to the perfect *yuṭnən* "they fell ill".

Vycichl says that his informants differ over the sense of the *a* termination. For ʿAbd Allāh Baghī (who was also consulted by this writer), *akwayyis* means "good, in my opinion" and *akwayyis-a* "good, as everyone should know" (*Sketch*, 89). For others, it is a case only of variants, which recalls the analysis of verbal themes by Laoust when he says for example that "an *a* sound, enigmatic in sense, lengthens all forms" (*Sīwa*, 63) or that "the paradigm of the conjugation of the

perfect presents *certain variants* (our italics) in the 2nd and 3rd persons plural". For him, *iflīna* is merely a variant of *ifl*ən (*Sīwa*, 56, 57), whereas in fact what we have is the resultative perfect "they have passed", as opposed to the perfect "they passed". What exacerbates the difficulty is the assertion by Vycichl of the lengthening, indeed the super-lengthening of the last vowel of an interrogative term; this leads to the distinction of three lengths, for example, *é*, *ê* and *êe*... (*Sketch*, 89); it would be interesting to check the phonological pertinence of this phenomenon.

In any case, the difference of form [*i*...]a, is determinant for the opposition of two verbal themes, the perfect *ilsən ikəbrawən ənnsən tṛaṛən* "they put on their new clothes" and the resultative perfect *ilsina*... "they have put on..., they wear..." It is surprising that Laoust should have called "passive" a form furnished with this "augmentation" [*i*...]a or [*a*...]a, given that he has occasion to use it with a direct object (A. Leguil, *Notes*, 16). It was R. Basset who drew attention to Laoust's error in four articles dated 1935, 1936, 1937 and 1940 (cf. *Problème*); and, in contesting the analysis of this original form of Sīwī, he identified it with an important verbal theme exclusive to Tuareg, discovered by de Foucauld. In 1948 he called this theme "intensive preterite", and labelled as "intensive aorist" the so-called "habitual form", which, to his credit, he had integrated into the tense/aspect system in 1929 (*Verbe*, p. L). It is to L. Galand that we owe the terminology that best describes the functioning of the latter (*Système*, *Continuité*, n. 193).

As regards the special theme, Basset had in 1952 concluded that the formal differences between that of Tuareg and those of Sīwa and of Awdjīla "are a case of dialectal innovation" (*Langue*, 14). Here there is effectively an instance of aspectual dynamic (doubling of the perfect and/or of the imperfect) remarkably described by D. Cohen for the most diverse languages (*Phrase*, ch. 6; *Aspect*, ch. 4). Consequently, it is particularly noticeable that to the aorist-perfect opposition, analysed by Bentolila (*Grammaire*, 156, n. 140), there corresponds at Sīwa a perfect-resultative perfect relationship. Thus in

(1) *af-ənni ammʷa-t-sən iləḥq-in* (*nətnən*) *iwnina* (resultative perfect) *i adrar* "when their brother joined them, they had (already) set out to climb the hill", if we substitute... *iwnən* (perfect)... we would have "... they climbed...". The justification of the term *resultative* seems particularly apt if in

(2) *nətta yuṭina* (resultative perfect) *g ifəḍ-ənnəs*, *bead yuṭa* (perfect) (*fəll-as*) "he has hurt his knee, because he fell (down)", we substitute ... *yuṭaya* (resultative perfect) "... he has fallen (and he is still on the ground)".

Another peculiarity of Sīwī is its residual *injunctive*, comparable to that of Kabyle (Chaker, *Kabylie*, 206). In

(3) *ga-ṛṛuḥwət ga-nẓərwət wən n ǧəbbant* "Let us go to see those of the cemetery (the dead)"—there is a combination of *wət*, the imperative suffix, with *ga-ṛṛuḥ* "we shall go" and *ga-nẓər* "we shall see", where *ṛuḥ* and *ẓər* are in the "non-real" mode (terminology of F. Bentolila, *Grammaire*, 146).

At variance with Morocco, but as in Kabylia and in Tuareg (Galand, *Continuité* 302; Prasse, *Manuel*, pp. vi-vii, 37-8), a succession of unreals serves to denote a continuous recurrent series:

(4) *ga-nnkər əsrah*, *ga-nšədd lkarro*, *ga-ṛṛuḥ i lɣeṭ*... "We rise in the morning, we take the cart, we make our way to the fields..." (Leguil, *Notes*, 63).

While the Sīwī verbal system shows remarkable fidelity to its Berber identity, the syntax of relatives, for its part, is in a process of powerful "contamination" by Arabic structures. As early as 1925, at the time of Laoust's visit, it had lost the participial subject-marker which permits a distinction, e.g. in Kabyle between *iǧr iḵrzn* "the field (which is) worked" from *iǧr iḵrz* "the field is worked", and the state of annexation which distinguishes *iḵrz yiǧr*, lit. "it is worked, the field" from *iḵrz iǧr* "he has worked the field". In addition, there used to be three supportive relative pronouns: *wən*, *tən*, and *wiyən*. In 1985 this last had disappeared. And above all, there is now the obligatory presence of a pronoun of recall. Thus the phrase of Laoust (*Siwa*, 119):

(5) *rədd-i lgruš wiyən səllfy-aka*, lit "Give me the moneys that I have lent you" has become

(6) *rədd-i lgruš wən səllfy-ak-tina*, lit. "... that I have lent them to you" (Laoust, *Notes*, 69).

Laoust (*Sīwa*, 119) has also asserted the absence of the particle of prominence *a*(*d*), *ay*, *i*, such a typical feature of Berber. In fact, this is not the only signifier of focalisation, especially in the negative, where Sīwī clearly opposes the focalising statement (7) to the neutral statement (8):

(7) *qəči ənkənum ukərəm* "It is not you who has stolen".

(8) *l ukərəm* "You have not stolen".

3. *Myths and history*

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the Berber language may already have been thousands of years old at the time of the visit of Alexander the Great to the temple of Amon. Alongside this astonishing antiquity, the existence in this remote oasis of a renowned oracle was another singularity. For Camps (in *Enc. berb.*, A196), whatever may be the origin of the Amon of Sīwa, it was through the Greeks of Cyrenaica that its reputation became supreme throughout the Mediterranean world under the name of Zeus-Amon, with a humanised effigy, showing the features of a bearded individual whose horns are barely visible in his curly hair. The cult enjoyed remarkable success in the Hellenistic world, especially after Alexander's sojourn in Sīwa; the coinage struck in honour of this effigy was to show it rendered divine with the ram's horns of Zeus-Amon and was perhaps to contribute, even a thousand years later, in the centuries following the Muslim conquest of the 640s, to bestowing upon the Macedonian "a sacred dimension from the moment that he is identified with Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn (the bicorn, or man with two horns) "to whom the Ḳur'ān attributes the conquest of all inhabited lands", in the words of Ahmed Siraj in *L'histoire* (May 1995), 41. The same issue, which contains an excellent study of Alexander (22-41), also quotes P. Briant who, three months before, was still dubious regarding the sensational announcement by the Greek archeologist Liana Souvaltzi of the discovery at Sīwa of the tomb of Alexander, as saying that "the balloon was soon deflated, through the expertise brought to bear by specialists" (36).

What became of the oracle of Zeus-Amon after the Macedonian had himself recognised there as son of the god and proclaimed, as shortly before at Memphis, Pharaoh of Egypt, the first of the 32nd dynasty? According to Cl. Savary, having become Jupiter-Amon under the Romans, the oracle, although in decline, continued to be consulted at least until the 6th century A.D. (Leopoldo, *Oasis*, 17). The fact is, however, that with the edict of 391 the Emperor Theodosius ordered the closure of all pagan temples and prohibited sacrifices. According to Vycichl, local traditions show traces of a Christian past to which the ruins of Beld er-Rum, a Greek or Christian village,

bear witness; but he challenges the "extravagant stories" related notably by the so-called *Manuscript of Siwa* (*Sketch*, 21). It is by the name *Santariya*, probably of Greek origin, that two Arab authors, al-Bakrī (d. 486/1094) and al-Idrīsī (d. 561/1166) refer to Sīwa; and it is al-Maḳrīzī (d. 846/1442) who gives it this last name and calls its language Sīwī, associating it with the Zenata group described by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 809/1406).

In a very recent work, Salem Chaker reckons that "no historical fact later than the establishment of Pharaonic Egypt could explain the appearance of the Berbers and of their language in North Africa". In his estimation, on the basis of the common Hamito-Semitic stock, "Berber was constituted in the form of a distinct group between the 8th and the 7th millennium B.C." (*Ling. berb.*, 209).

In Vycichl's excellent work (*Sketch*, 26-34) will be found a thorough survey on the studies, of varying importance, contributed by a score of authors who have documented Sīwa and/or its language from Brown (1799) to Aḥmad Fakhrī (1973, cf. *Oases*). It seems that for centuries the oasis was independent, threatened only by Bedouins. In 1820, it was subjugated by Muḥammad ʿAlī, whose representative was however assassinated in 1838. Laoust (*Islam*) indicates that Muḥammad al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*] spent several months here and acquired disciples here. Some decades later, the chief of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] engaged in conflict with the Anglo-Egyptians, using Sīwa as a base (1915-17). Finally, during the Second World War, Rommel, a fervent admirer of Alexander the Great, paid a visit to Siwa and was received there by Shaykh ʿAlī Ḥayda (Léopoldo, *Oasis*, 23-4). During the present writer's brief stay (1-4 September 1985), the oasis was occupied by a large force of Egyptian troops; there was suspicion of predatory intentions on the part of the Libyan "big brother". However, in March 1988, the frontier, closed since July 1977, was re-opened, as a result of the diplomatic efforts of Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Tunisia, although Gaddafi (Ḳadhdhāfī) has still refused any restoration of normal relations with Egypt.

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(A. Leguil)

SĪWĀK [see miswāk].

SĪWĀS, the form found in Islamic sources from the 6th/12th century onwards for the Turkish town of Sivas, a town of north-east central Anatolia, lying in the broad valley of the Kızıl Irmak [*q.v.*] at an altitude of 1,275 m/4,183 feet (lat. 39° 44' N., long. 37° 01' E.). It is now the chef-lieu of the *il* or province of the same name in the modern Turkish Republic.

There may well have been a Hittite settlement there, but the site only emerges into history as the Roman city of Sebasteia, the capital of Armenia Minor under Diocletian. It was a wealthy and flourishing city in Byzantine times. In 1021, the Armenian king Senekʿerim Hovhannes of Vaspurakan ceded his dominions to the Emperor Basil II, and he and his successors became the Byzantine viceroys of Sebasteia until the battle of Malāzgird [*q.v.*] in 1071. Thereafter, it became the capital of the main branch of the Türkmen Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] until it was taken by the Rūm Saldjūḳ Ḳilič Arslan II in 570/1174, becoming, with Konya, one of the Saldjūḳ capitals.

It then acquired an upper and a lower citadel, with the lower one completed in 621/1224, according to an inscription. There were also mosques and *medreses* from this century; the oldest building extant in the town today, the Ulu Djāmiʿ, may conceivably go back to Dānishmendid times, though its minaret has been assigned, on stylistic grounds, to the 7th/13th century. Only four of the numerous *medreses* survive today, the oldest being the hospital of Sultan Kay Kāwūs I, founded in 614/1217 and transformed into a *medrese* in Ottoman times; all the other three date from 670/1271, when the Saldjūḳs were vassals of the Il Khānids, including that of Muẓaffar Burūdjirdī or Ḥādjdjī Masʿūd, which now houses the Sivas Museum.

Sivas early became the centre of the Anatolian caravan trade, with merchants travelling northwards to Sinop, Samsun and the Crimea and east-westwards between Tabrīz and Constantinople. Genoese notaries occasionally functioned in the town, and in 700/1300 they established there a consul. The roads to the town crossed the Kızıl Irmak on important bridges, three of these still standing, including one built by Mubāriz al-Dīn Ertoḳush, Atabeg to one of the sons of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubādh I, and there were numerous *khāns* along the roads to the town, several endowed by the Saldjūḳ-Il Khānid vizier, Muʿīn al-Dīn Parwāna [*q.v.*]

(cf. K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1961, i, 79-80).

With the decline of Il Khānid power in Anatolia during the 8th/14th century, local lines appeared in the Sivas region, of varying extent and durability. One of these was Eretna Beg (d. 753/1352 [*q.v.*]), whose capital was Sivas, and then in 783/1381, the *Ḳāḍī* Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad [*q.v.*], formerly vizier and *nā'ib* of Eretna's grandson. Before this time, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had visited Sivas, which he thought was the largest town of the Il Khānid dominions in Anatolia. The local *akhīs* [*q.v.*] were strong in the town, and may have played a role in the internecine struggles for the succession of Eretna Beg, able to take over power in the absence of a recognised ruler (*Riḥla*, ii, 289-92, tr. Gibb, ii, 434-6).

Sivas was plundered several times, but was able to recover. However, the end of the 8th/14th century brought a cataclysm. The town surrendered, after the death in battle in 800/1398 of *Ḳāḍī* Burhān al-Dīn, to the Ottoman Bāyezīd I Yïldïrïm, and thus became a prime target of Tīmūr's onslaught. It had to surrender in 803/1400; the garrison and many inhabitants were massacred, and the fortifications dismantled. Even in 859/1455, the date of the first Ottoman *taḥrīr* recording the tax-paying population of Sivas, it apparently lay largely in ruins. It had 560 tax-payers, 214 Muslims and 346 non-Muslims: at most, a total population of 3,000. Only a number of *zāwiyas* seem to have been active, possibly providing the core around which Sivas gradually revived.

The 10th/16th century was likewise troubled. During the war with Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī, Selīm I killed large numbers of real or suspected Shī'ī sympathisers. During Süleymān's reign, in 933-4/1526-7, there was a rebellion of the rural population of the region, and even after its suppression, other outbreaks occurred, in one of which, it appears, the poet Pīr Sulṭān Abdāl was involved, leading to his death. In *ca.* 1008-9/1600, the town and its hinterland were ravaged by the Djelālī leader Ḳarayazïdjï [see DJALĀLĪ, in Suppl.].

In Ottoman times, Sivas was the administrative centre of the *eyālet* of Rūm, the core of which consisted of the *sandjaks* of Sīwās-Tōḳad, Niksār, Čorum, Amāsya, Djānīk (Samsun) and Ḳaraḥiṣār-ï Sharḳī. Apart from these *sandjaks*, sometimes known as Rūm-ï ḳadīm, there was a second division, known as Rūm-ï ḥadīth, which encompassed the *sandjaks* of Diwrigi, Kemākh, Bāybūrd and Malaṭya. In 982/1574-5, a *taḥrīr* of the city counted 3,386 taxpayers, of whom 1,987 were Christians. Only 311 unmarried men were listed, probably an undercount. If we make the conventional assumption that a household contained five members, the tax-paying population should have amounted to slightly over 15,000 persons. Even if we make a generous allowance for tax-exempt and therefore non-registered soldiers and officials—who were probably numerous, given the rank of Sivas as a provincial capital located in a troubled area—it is unlikely that total population was much higher than 20,000.

The text also mentioned a *ḳal'e-yi köhne*, presumably in contrast to the more recently constructed fortress (re)built by Meḥmed Fātiḥ in 861/1456-7, according to an inscription published in 1840 but since lost. At the end of the 10th/16th century, Sivas possessed a covered market and at least two tanneries, in addition to a dyehouse and a brewery for millet beer (*boza*); it also functioned as a market for the salt produced in the surrounding villages. Different mosques owned a total of 170 shops, and the 10th/16th century mosque of Ḥasan Pasha drew a yearly income of 12,400 *aḳčes* from the tenants of its 74 shops. As usual all over Anatolia, Sivas was surrounded by vegetable gardens; but that the latter could also be found within the old fortress may indicate the population losses which the town had suffered since its apogee in the Saldjūḳ and Mongol periods.

For the 11th/17th century, two major sources are the reports of Kātib Čelebi and Ewliyā Čelebi. Kātib Čelebi and his collaborators describe Sivas as constituting the centre (*pasha sandjaghï*) of the *wilāyet* of Rūm, which now consisted of Amāsya, Bozoḳ, Djānīk, Čorum, Diwrigi and 'Arabgīr. Ewliyā Čelebi's description is far more explicit: he distinguishes the town walls from the Ič Ḥiṣār, which consisted of two parts. The town walls, 10,500 paces in circumference, still showed traces of their former strength, but many sections lay in ruins, probably since Tīmūr's time. The upper fortress possessed a small garrison, but the cannons were out of order. This citadel was not much frequented, and mainly used for the storage of valuables. More lively was the lower fortress which Ewliyā also calls the Pasha ḥiṣārï, the administrative centre of the *wilāyet*, where the governor held his *dīwān* four times a week. Within the walls of the town, Ewliyā recorded 4,600 houses in "forty" *maḥalles* (possibly intended as a synonym for "many"), the Christians, both Greek and Armenian, living in two quarters close to the Kayseri gate. Among the mosques he mentions the Ulu Djāmi' and Ḳodja Ḥasan Pasha Djāmi'i, the latter with its associated shops, already known from the 10th/16th century *taḥrīrs*. Among the *medreses*, Ewliyā especially praises a structure which he calls the Ḳïzïl *medrese*. He also mentions the existence of 18 *khāns*, and the *bedestān*, probably with some exaggeration, is credited with a thousand shops. Apart from tanneries there were many shoemakers' workshops. A variety of cotton fabrics was manufactured. Not too long before Ewliyā's visit, a dignitary at the court of Sultan Murād IV had had the *sipāh bazārï* rebuilt in stone. Ewliyā noted that both Turkish and Kurdish were spoken in the town. Where agriculture was concerned, he commented that the cold weather prevented fruit from ripening, but that grains, lentils and chickpeas did very well.

Two authors of the same period provide information on the Christians of Sivas: the Polish Armenian Simeon, who travelled in Anatolia 1017-28/1608-19, and the Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, describing the mid-11th/17th century travels of his father, the Patriarch Macarius. Simeon claimed that the Armenian population recently had declined from 2,000 to 600 households. Many of the surrounding villages were also deserted, probably due to the Djelālī rebellions. Paul of Aleppo also thought that the local Christian community was very small. This author mentions a new church with a high cupola, dedicated to St. George and built in the reign of Sultan Murād IV. An *āyāzma* commemorated the martyrs of Sebasteia, while the former church of St. Philasius was now in Turkish hands.

At the end of the 12th/18th century, Domenico Sestini experienced Sivas in the throes of a rebellion of both Turks and Armenians against the high taxes demanded by the local *mütesellim*. It is unlikely that he saw much of the town itself, but he thought that it held 15,000 inhabitants. In the 19th century, Sivas was visited by several European travellers. V. Fontanier mentions a register, according to which Sivas consisted of 8,000 houses, or 40,000 inhabitants, including about 3,000 Armenians. Among Armenian merchants

operating in Sivas, he encountered some who traded in nut galls from Mawṣil, tobacco from Malaṭya, and particularly, copper; apparently Sivas, Kayseri and Tarsus had taken over the copper trade from Tokat. Andreas Mordtmann, Sen., visited Sivas in the middle of the 19th century, but although he paints a rather pessimistic picture, he estimated the population at approximately 50,000.

For the late 19th century, Cuinet and Shems al-Dīn Sāmī provide fairly detailed information, which can be completed from the *sāl-nāmes* of this period. At this time, the *wilāyet* of Sīwās was much smaller than it had been in the 10th/16th century, and consisted merely of the *merkez sandjak* of Sīwās, in addition to Tokat, Amāsya and Ḳaraḥiṣār-i Sharḳī (modern Şebinkarahısar). Urban population consisted of about 43,000 persons, 32,500 of whom were Muslims. Quite a few crafts mentioned in older sources were still being practiced, such as the work of local gold- and silversmiths, while tanneries were active and the salt-pans of the *ḳaḍā* were also in productive use. High-quality rugs and carpets were being manufactured, in addition to the elaborately-adorned socks for which the area is still known today. However, agriculture produced exclusively for the local market, as transport over poor roads to the ports of the Black Sea was prohibitively expensive.

During the Turkish War of Independence, Sivas was the site of one of the major congresses of the Müdāfaʿa-yi Ḥuḳūḳ Djemʿiyyeti, which organised national resistance against the partition of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. This congress met from 4 to 11 September 1919; apart from 31 provincial delegates, it was also attended by a number of civil and military authorities. The congress members announced their determination to defend Turkish territory by military force if necessary, and confirmed the election of Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) as chairman of the executive committee of the national resistance movement (see E. Zürcher, *Turkey, a modern history*, London 1993, 156-7). However, even though Sivas had originally been selected as a meeting-site because it was considered one of the safest places in Turkey, in the end Ankara with its rail connections, became the seat of the National Assembly. In 1927, the first census conducted by the Republican government showed the lack of dynamism due to a decade of war; Sivas was still a modest town of about 30,000 inhabitants.

Public investment was soon to modify this picture. Between 1930 and 1936, Sivas became an important railway junction, as the city was linked to Kayseri, Samsun and Erzurum. The factory established in Sivas for the construction and repair of locomotives and waggons remains one of the major industrial enterprises of the province. A cement plant was also constructed, and by 1950, the town had acquired a population of over 50,000. According to the 1980 census, the population of Sivas had experienced an unprecedented growth spurt in the recent past, and now amounted to about 173,000 persons. But industrial investment has been insufficient, and local roads have remained underdeveloped to the present day, and continue to hamper the expansion of trade in agricultural produce, still the main wealth of the province.

Cultural life has drawn strength from a vigorous peasant culture, which expresses itself in village plays and games, kilims and, particularly, folk poetry and music. Beginning with a School of Medicine, a University began to function in the 1980s. But Sivas has not remained immune to the communal tensions of recent years, which culminated in the attack on a literary conference held in the city in 1993; amongst the 36 victims was the writer Asım Bezirci.

Bibliography: For full bibls., see the arts. *Sivas* in *İA* (Besim Darkot) and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, ix, 6835-6963 (various authors). See also Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 622; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 195-207; D. Sestini, *Voyage à Bassora*, Paris 1798, 57-65; Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, *The travels of Macarius*, tr. A.C.F. Belfour, London 1836, ii, 443-4; V. Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient enterprises par ordre du gouvernement français de 1830 à 1833*, Paris 1839, 149-71; H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835 bis 1839*, Berlin 1876, 205-6; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, Paris 1892, 643-702; Shems al-Dīn Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1311/1893-4, iv, 2794-9; M. van Berchem and Halil Edhem, *CIA*, pt. iii, *Asie Mineure*, vol. i, Cairo 1917, 1-54 (excellent photographs); A.D. Mordtmann, Senr., *Anatolien. Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien (1850-1859)*, ed. F. Babinger, Hanover 1925, 151-7; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, Paris 1934, ii, 131-64; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *15. ve 16. asırlarda Eyâlet-i Rum*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, iv (1965), 51-62; Hanna Sohrweide, *Der Sieg der Safaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 156-7, 162-3, 172-83; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, rev. Fr. version, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, Paris 1988; Aptullah Kuran, *Anadolu medreseleri*, Ankara 1969, i, 90-6, 115-16; Metin Sözen, *Anadolu medreseleri. Selçuk ve Beylikler devri*, Istanbul 1970, i, 49-63, 90-4; Yaşar Yücel, *Kadi Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devleti (1344-1398)*, Ankara 1970; M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)*, repr. London 1977, 41-5; *Osmanlı yıllıkları (salnameler ve nevsaller)*, Istanbul 1982, 460-73; Zeki Coşkun, *Aleviler, Sünniler ve ... oteki Sivas*, Istanbul 1996.

(Suraiya Faroqhi)

SIWRI ḤIṢĀR, also written Sifri Ḥiṣār, i.e. strong fortress (see Aḥmed Wefīḳ, *Lehdje-yi ʿOthmānī*, 459), the early Turkish and Ottoman name of two small towns in northwestern and western Anatolia respectively.

1. The more important one is the modern Turkish Sivrihisar, in the modern *il* or province of Eskişehir. It lies on the Eskişehir-Ankara road roughly equidistant from each, south of the course of the Porsuk river and north of the upper course of the Saḳarya [*q.v.*] (lat. 39° 29' N., long. 31° 32' E., altitude 1,050 m/3,440 feet). Siwri Ḥiṣār is on the northern slope of the Günesh Dagh; the citadel of the town was built on this mountain. The town does not date beyond the Saldjūḳ period, and has no remains of archaeological interest. But it was already known as a strong place to al-Ḳazwīnī (*Geography*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 359) and to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 99). In the 9th/14th century it formed part of the possessions of the Ḳaramān-oghlu [see ḳaramān-oghullarī], who occupied it again after Tīmūr's conquest. The latter had his headquarters there for a time. But under Meḥemmed I, Siwri Ḥiṣār was annexed to the Ottoman dominions (see e.g. ʿĀshiḳ-Pasha-zāde, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Giese; ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, v, 177). In the 11th/17th century the town belonged to the *sandjak* of Khudāwendigār (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 656), but in the new system of administrative division, it became the capital of a *ḳaḍā* in the *sandjak* of Ankara. Towards the end of the 19th century it had about 11,000 inhabitants,

of whom 4,000 were Armenians (Sāmī). There is a mosque there attributed to the Saldjūḳ vizier Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl, with a library of 1,500 volumes.

Near Siwri Ḥiṣār there are relics of important centres of classical and Byzantine times. These are the ruins of Pessinus, near the village of Bālā Ḥiṣār, to the south-east of Siwri Ḥiṣār (Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, ii, pl. lxii); and towards the south, on the other bank of the Saḳarya, near Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza, the remains of the Byzantine town of Amorium, known in early Arabic historical sources as ʿAmmūriya [*q.v.*]. After the First World War, Siwri Ḥiṣār was occupied by the Greek army from July 1921 to September 1922. In 1965 it had a population of 7,414.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 153; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1858, ix/1, 525, 577; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 287; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iv, 2582; *Belediyeler yıllığı*, Ankara 1950, iii, 363-7; *İA*, art. *Sivrihisar* (Besim Darkot).

2. The modern Turkish Seferi Hisar lies near the Sığacık bay shore of the Aegean, 30 km/18 miles south-west of Izmir and is in the *il* or province of Izmir, being the chef-lieu of an *ilce* or district of this last (lat. 38° 10' N., long. 26° 48' E.). In pre-Ottoman times, it came within the *beylik* or principality of the Aydîn-Oghullarî [*q.v.*]. Under Bāyezīd II, it was the refuge of the corsair Ḳara Ṭurmîsh (von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 346). Ewliyā Čelebi passed through it in 1081/1670 (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 130-2). In the late 19th century, Sāmī gave its population as 3,640 (*Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iv, 2582); in 1965 it was 5,259.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 493-6; *Belediyeler yıllığı*, iii, 272-8; *İA*, *loc. cit.*

(J.H. Kramers-[C.E. Bosworth])

ṢIYĀGHA [see ṣāʾigh].

SIYĀH-ḲALEM, Central Asian, Turkman or Persian painter of the 15th century.

Sixty-five paintings and drawings in two albums (Topkapı Saray Libr., Istanbul, H2153 and H2160) are inscribed *Ustād Muḥammad Siyāh-Ḳalem* "Master Muḥammad Black Pen". Neither the wording nor the calligraphy of the inscriptions is uniform, and the works on which they appear vary significantly in style. As a result, scholars disagree on the identity of the artist, whether the inscriptions containing his name are signatures or later ascriptions, and the context in which the works attributed to him were produced.

The most thorough examination of Siyāh-ḳalem and the albums containing his works are the proceedings of a Percival David Foundation colloquy, *Between China and Iran. Paintings from four Istanbul albums* (London 1980). Although albums H2153 and H2160 contain no patron's name or date of compilation, they have many calligraphies by scribes from the court of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Turkmen Yaʿḳūb Beg (r. 883-96/1478-90) and bear the seal of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I (r. 918-26/1512-20), found on the first and last folios of H2160. The latest calligraphies in H2160 and H2153 are dated 1512 and 1496, respectively. In addition to works inscribed *Siyāh-ḳalem*, the two albums contain 14th and 15th-century paintings and drawings in the style of Tabrīz, Harāt, Samarḳand and Baghdād, and Chinese paintings and European prints. Presumably, the albums were complete by 1512 and entered the Ottoman royal collection no later than 1520.

The works associated with Siyāh-ḳalem consist primarily of paintings of bare-chested demons and shamans, fully dressed, coarse-featured men and women, animals, and elegant princesses and angels. The most distinctive stylistic trait of these paintings is the treatment of drapery and bare flesh, which consists of wide, parallel bands of black or red with light pigment highlighting the creases of each fold. The large-scale and grotesque appearance of the figures and the unpainted ground diverge markedly from the court paintings of the major 15th-century schools of the Djalāyirids, Turkmens and Tīmūrids. While small-scale demons and grotesques are found in 15th-century manuscript illustrations, their visual impact and pictorial style bear little relation to the works attributed to Siyāh-ḳalem.

In addition to works inscribed with Siyāh-ḳalem's name, H2153 and H2160 contain 71 ascriptions to Shaykhī and three to Darwīsh Muḥammad, the two artists who added illustrations to a *Khamsa* (Topkapı Saray Libr. H762 and dispersed pages) for Yaʿḳūb Beg at Tabrīz in 886/1481. The imbalance in pictures assigned to one leading Turkmen painter and not the other has led B.W. Robinson to identify Muḥammad Siyāh-ḳalem with Darwīsh Muḥammad, on the assumption that Darwīsh Muḥammad was too important to be so under-represented in the Yaʿḳūb Beg albums. The teacher of Darwīsh Muḥammad, Shāh Muẓaffar, was known as Siyāh-ḳalem, and it is possible that the sobriquet passed from teacher to pupil.

While the subject-matter of the Siyāh-ḳalem paintings and drawings in the Istanbul albums is unconnected to that of Darwīsh Muḥammad's illustrations in the 886/1481 *Khamsa*, some of the Siyāh-ḳalem works share the intensity of palette, fineness of brushwork and wealth of detail of the illustrations. Yet the identification of Siyāh-ḳalem with Darwīsh Muḥammad presupposes the artist's ability and desire to work in markedly different styles, depicting a very broad range of subjects. Until more is learned of how Turkmen court artists worked and the circumstances under which the Siyāh-ḳalem works were produced, the identity of the artist will remain uncertain.

Bibliography: Full bibliography and pertinent articles by F. Cağman, Z. Tanindi, B.W. Robinson, A.A. Ivanov, E. Esin, B. Karamagarali and J. Raby, in E.J. Grube and E. Sims (eds.), *Between China and Iran. Paintings from four Istanbul albums*, London 1980, and in *Islamic Art*, i (1981). See also J.M. Rogers, Cağman and Tanindi (eds.), *The Topkapı Saray Museum. The albums and illustrated manuscripts*, London 1986; Rogers, *Siyah Qalam*, in S.R. Canby (ed.), *Persian masters. Five centuries of painting*, Bombay 1990.

(Sheila R. Canby)

SIYĀḲAT (a.), Ottoman Turkish form of the Arabic original *siyāḳa* (from *sāḳa* "drive, urge on, herd"), a technical term of ʿAbbāsid financial administration, certainly in use by the 4th/10th century with the sense of "accounting practice", "revenue bookkeeping practice" (*ʿilm al-siyāḳa wa 'l-ḥisāb*), and hence by extension the particular form of Arabo-Persian script which came to be utilised by financial bureaucrats of Turco-Islamic polities, e.g. that of the Ottomans, for the writing of both *defter*s and single documents of a financial nature (including the so-called *tapu we taḥrīr defterleri* [see daftar-i khāḳānī]. In Ottoman practice, for which alone original documentary evidence is of a comprehensive nature, it was also used for certain elements in documents such as the so-called *ḥükm-i māliyye* (cf. J. Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymāns des Prächtigen*, Wiesbaden 1974, docs. 2, 6) or *tewdjīh fermānlarî* (cf. Matuz, doc. 16), and for financial calculations made on incoming *ʿarḍ-u-ḥāl*s which would be used in drafting imperial orders or *buyuruldu*s. These exceptions apart, *siyāḳat* was not used in legal docu-

ments, or in other documents (*hükm, nāme*) deriving from the chanceries of the *Dīwān-i Hümāyūn* [*q.v.*].

A distinction has to be made between *siyāḳat* script, characterised by the prologation (alternately, the compression) of letter forms and by the virtual absence of diacritic points (cf. the examples given by A. Zajączkowski and J. Reychman, *Zarys dyplomatyki osmańsko-tureckiej*, Warsaw 1955, 68-9), and *siyāḳat* numerals. The latter, the so-called *dīwān raḳamlari*, were in effect the "written out" shapes of the numerals in Arabic, reduced to a skeletal and schematised form (cf. the useful tables in Salahettin Elker, *Divan rakamlan*, Ankara 1953; actual examples in L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, 2 vols., Budapest 1955, i, 34-9 = ii, pls. i-iii). However, financial documents, the literary elements of which are written in *siyāḳat* script, frequently have the figures in whole or in part supplied in their normal "Arabic" forms. It is also perhaps worth mentioning that *siyāḳat* figures were used for the dating of Ilkhānid and late Saldjūḳ of Rūm coinage.

The *siyāḳat* script itself has been described as "squat and angular" (V.L. Ménage and M. Hinds, *Qasr Ibrīm in the Ottoman period. Turkish and further Arabic documents*, London 1991, 76), but the script in fact, in its best period, has a style and elegance which stands comparison with what are the commonly accepted more "aesthetic" forms of Perso-Arabic script (cf. the examples in Fekete, ii, *passim*). It has also been commonly regarded as difficult in the extreme to read, but in both indigenous Islamic and later western criticism there may be detected a certain amount of exaggeration. What should not be forgotten, however, is Fekete's observation (i, 9) that "no person, who is not competent to read *siyāḳat* script, is qualified to work on source-based research in [the field]".

The forms and ductus of *siyāḳat*, as used in the Ottoman financial bureaucracy, underwent a profound development from the 9th/15th to the 19th centuries. It reached its most elegant form early in the 10th/16th century; from the later 11th/17th century it becomes more stylised, with the distinction between "thick" and "thin" strokes greatly accentuated. By the era of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], Ottoman *siyāḳat* hands have in general become debased and, ultimately, before its abolition, decadent (see the later plates in Fekete, ii, *passim*). The standard manual on *siyāḳat* remains, after more than 40 years, the two-volume study by Fekete referred to above, which is unlikely ever to be superseded.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.J. Heywood)

SIYĀLKŪT, conventional rendering Sialkot, a town in the Pandjāb situated in 32° 30' N. and 74° 32' E., the foundation of which is attributed by legend to Rādjā Sālā, the uncle of the Pāndavas, and its restoration to Rādjā Sālivāhan, in the time of Vikramāditya. Sālivahān had two sons, Pūran, killed by the instrumentality of a wicked step-mother, and thrown into a well, still the resort of pilgrims, near the town, and Rasālu, the mythical hero of Pandjāb folk-tales, who is said to have reigned at Siyālkūt. In A.D. 790 the fort and city were destroyed by Rādjā Narawt with the help of the Ghandauris of the Yūsufzāī country, and the fort was not restored until it was rebuilt by the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām to overawe the turbulent Khokars, who preferred the feeble rule of the later Ghaznawids to the more energetic domination of their conqueror. Under the Mughal emperor Akbar, Siyālkūt became the headquarters of a *sarkār* or fiscal district, and in the middle of the 11th/17th century it fell into the hands of the Rādjpūt princes of Djammū. The mound in the centre of the town, crowned with the ruins of a fort, is popularly supposed to mark the site of Sālivāhan's stronghold, but it is in fact all that is left of the fort of Muḥammad b. Sām. Siyālkūt also contains the shrine of Bābā Nānak, the first Sikh *guru*, where an annual fair is held.

In 1799, the Siyālkūt district, and also Lahore, was acquired by the great Sikh leader Randjīt Singh [see sikhs], and the town was planned on a rectilineal pattern by the Italian general in his service, Avitabile. In 1849 it passed, with the rest of the Pandjāb, under British control, and the old fort, now dismantled, was defended by a handful of Europeans during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8. Within British India, Siyālkūt was the site of a large military cantonment, and the town itself grew in size to a population of 58,000 in 1901.

At the Partition of India in 1947, Siyālkūt came within Pakistan, and is now the chef-lieu of an intensively-cultivated District of the same name in the Lahore Division of the Pandjāb. It is now a significant manufacturing centre, including of sports equipment and surgical instruments, and in 1972 had a population of 212,000. It also has the renown, in contemporary Pakistan, of having been the birthplace of a figure regarded as one of the country's founding fathers, Sir Muḥammad Iḳbāl [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: There are references in the historical sources, such as Djūzdjānī's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* and in Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī's *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*. See also J.R. Dunlop-Smith, *Sialkot District gazetteer*, 1894-5; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 326-36.

(T.W. Haig-[C.E. Bosworth])

al-SIYĀLKŪTĪ, ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. Shams al-Dīn (d. 1067/1657), counsellor of the Mughal emperor Shāh Djahān (*regn.* 1037-68/1628-58 [*q.v.*]), versatile scholar and well-known writer of glosses (*ḥawāshī*, sg. *ḥāshiya*) on a number of popular textbooks. Many of them exist in old prints and lithographs, of which a fair number have recently been reprinted. In non-Indian prints, his name often appears distorted as al-Siyalkūtī or al-Silkūtī (intended vowels unknown).

Works on which he wrote *ḥawāshī* include: (1) the *Tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286 or later [*q.v.*]); (2) the commentary of al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389 or later) on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Nadjm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142 [*q.v.*]); (3) *al-Sharḥ al-mutawwal* of al-Taftāzānī on the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338 [*q.v.*]); (4) *R. fi 'l-Taṣawwurāt* of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī (d. 907/1501 [*q.v.*]); (5) the gloss of ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī (d. 912/1507) on *al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya* of Djāmī (d. 898/1492 [*q.v.*]), a commentary on the *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*]; (6) the commentary of al-Kulunbāwī on *al-R. al-Shamsiyya* of al-Kātibī al-Ḳazwīnī on logic.

Bibliography: Brockelman, G II², 550, S II, 613-14; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², iv, 55. (Ed.)

ṢIYĀM [see ṣawm].

SIYĀSA (a.), verbal noun from the root *s-w-s* "to tend, manage", etymologically connected with Biblical Hebrew *sūs* "horse", originally used in Bedouin society for the tending and training of beasts, hence *sāʾis* "manager or trainer of horses, camels, etc." (this last appearing, via Hindi, in the Anglo-Indian word *syce* "groom", Fr. *çais*; see Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*², London 1903, 885-6).

1. In the sense of statecraft, the management of affairs of state and, eventually, that of politics and political policy.

Here, the sense of training and managing animals passed early into the context of Islamic rulership, the conduct of state affairs and the management of the subject people, the *ra'iyya* [*q.v.*], doubtless influenced by the ancient Near Eastern idea of the ruler as the shepherd and director of his human flock, and perhaps also with the idea of the "man on horseback" as a symbol of authority. The semantic process at work here would appear to be parallel to that in the term *furūsiyya* [*q.v.*] "equitation" > "chivalry, knightly conduct". Hence the meaning in early Islamic usage is primarily that of "statecraft, the successful conduct of public affairs". Bernard Lewis has described this usage, with copious examples, in his exhaustive study *Siyāsa*, in A.H. Green (ed.), *In quest of an Islamic humanism. Arabic and Islamic studies in memory of Mohamed al-Nowaihi*, Cairo 1984, 3-14. He adduces examples attributing use of the word *siyāsa* to the Caliph ʿUmar and the Umayyads, and (more authentically) to the ʿAbbāsids, as when al-Masʿūdī credited al-Manṣūr with superlative *ṣawāb al-tadbīr wa-ḥusn al-siyāsa* "good administration and sound statecraft" (*Murūdj*, vi, 221 = § 2431). From Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. *ca.* 140/757 [*q.v.*]) in his *Risāla fi 'l-ṣaḥāba* comes the germ of an important future extension of meaning, that *siyāsa* is the discretionary authority of the ruler and his officials, one which they exercise outside the framework of the *Sharīʿa*, the authority conferred on the caliph and his delegates by divine sanction. There further develops from this an additional sense of *siyāsa* in Arabic, and thence in Persian and Turkish usage, that of punishment, extending as far as capital punishment, the violence which the ruler has to use in order to preserve his authority. Specifically, it implies punishment beyond the *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] penalties prescribed by the Divine Law. Lewis again quotes Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā's [*q.v.*] celebrated work on statecraft and history, *al-Fakhrī*: "*Siyāsa* is the chief resource of the king, on which he relies to prevent bloodshed, defend chastity, prevent evil, subjugate evildoers and forestall misdeeds which lead to sedition and disturbance" (ed. Derenbourg, 30, Fr. tr. Amar, 37, Eng. tr. Whitting, 20) and the fact that, in Persian and Ottoman Turkish, *siyāsat-gāh* means "place of torture or execution". In Mamlūk times, this distinction between *Sharīʿa* penalties and *siyāsa* led, as reflected in such contemporary authors as al-Maḳrīzī, to a fantastic etymological connection of *siyāsa* with the Mongol tribal law, the *yasa* (a view which was embraced by such an early Western orientalist as Silvestre de Sacy, see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 702). See further on this, 3. below, at the end.

In the more recent Arabic Middle East, sc. from the mid-19th century onwards, *siyāsa* and *siyāsī* became increasingly used in the sense of "politics, political"; the Egyptian traveller and translator Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] had used *siyāsa* as his translation for "loi, réglement" in his Arabic translation of the French constitution of 1830. Likewise, in Ottoman Turkish, whereas *siyāset* had been almost exclusively used in regard to physical punishment for offences against the state (as, e.g. in the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II), during the course of the 19th century it began to acquire the meaning of "politics", with Ottoman reformers of the mid-19th century now demanding *ḥuḳūḳ-i siyāsiyye*, so that the old sense of "punishment" rapidly disappeared.

Bibliography: See, above all, the study of B. Lewis mentioned in the text, and also his *The political language of Islam*, Chicago and London 1988, ii, 19, 122 n. 19. For various aspects of modern politics in the Middle East, see DUSTŪR, ḤIZB, IṢLĀḤ, MADJLIS, MASHWARA, etc.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In the context of political philosophy.

Modern scholars such as Fauzi M. Najjar and Miriam Galston are agreed that such titles as al-Fārābī's *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya* should be rendered in English as *The political régime*. Najjar considers *siyāsa* to be "the art of ruling or managing the city in accordance with a principle or an end". In the hands of a philosopher, such principles and ends were clearly underpinned by philosophy. And in a philosopher like al-Fārābī, the intimate links between metaphysics and politics, or political science, have been stated many times. This is immediately clear in the alternative title given to *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, i.e. *Mabādi' al-mawdjūdāt* which Najjar renders as *The treatise on the principles of beings*. Not only was there that intimate link between philosophy and politics in al-Fārābī's writings but, whereas al-Ghazālī and Ibn Taymiyya subordinated *siyāsa* to *fiḳh*, the philosophers often elevated *siyāsa* above *sharīʿa* in importance. Furthermore Najjar stresses that "under the influence of classical philosophy, especially that of Plato and Aristotle, the *Falāsifa* regarded *siyāsa* as an important and *separate* branch of philosophy [my italics]. Accordingly, political life is susceptible to philosophical scrutiny, and its principles may be established by reason, independently of *fiqh* and *kalām*". It is al-Fārābī who is the arch-exponent of philosophical *siyāsa* in mediaeval Islam. In his *Kitāb Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm* he devotes an important fifth chapter to *al-ʿIlm al-madanī* (which has been translated as both "political science" and "civil science") together with *Fiḳh* and *Scholastic theology* (*ʿilm al-kalām*). Al-Fārābī notes that *al-ʿIlm al-madanī* "makes enquiry into the kinds of actions and intentional ways of behaviour and natural dispositions and character and traits and the natures from which those actions and ways of behaviour derive" (*Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*, 91 (Arabic) tr. Netton, 100 n. 44). Given the links in al-Fārābī's thought between *al-Madīna al-fāḍila* and *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, this definition of al-Fārābī's provides a useful philosophical substrate for the whole concept of *siyāsa*. In another work, his *K. al-Tanbīh ʿalā sabīl al-saʿāda*, which like the *Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm* shows al-Fārābī's passion for division and sub-division, the author divides philosophy into the theoretical and the practical, and the latter is further sub-divided into ethics and *siyāsa*. It is thus no exaggeration to say, together with many other commentators, that *siyāsa* was an integral part of al-Fārābī's philosophical edifice, and, in particular, a distinctive and highly developed feature of his metaphysics.

Bibliography: Fārābī, *Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm* (*Catálogo de las ciencias*), 2nd edn., Arabic text ed. and Spanish tr. Angel Gonzalez Palencia, Madrid 1953; idem, *K. al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, ed. Fauzi M. Najjar, Beirut 1964; idem, *K. al-Tanbīh ʿalā sabīl al-saʿāda*, Ḥaydarābād 1927; compare with these works, R. Walzer, *Al-Farabi on the perfect state: Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī's Mabādi' ārā ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, Oxford 1985. See also Miriam Galston, *Politics and excellence. The political philosophy of Alfarabi*, Princeton 1990; Fauzi M. Najjar, Siyāsa *in Islamic political philosophy*, in M.E. Marmura (ed.), *Islamic theology and philosophy. Studies in honor of George F. Hourani*, Albany 1984, 92-110; I.R. Netton, *Al-Fārābī and his school*, London 1992.

(I.R. NETTON)

3. In the sense of *siyāsa sharʿiyya*.

"Governance in accordance with the *sharīʿa*" is a Sunnī constitutional and legal doctrine emerging in late mediaeval times and calling for harmonisation between the law and procedures of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiḳh*) and the practical demands of governance (*siyāsa*). Most

responsible for crystallising the doctrine were the two Ḥanbalī scholars Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]) (particularly in his *al-Siyāsa al-s̲h̲arʿiyya*, Beirut[?] 1966) and his student Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]). Ibn Taymiyya's view in his treatise is that, if the divine law or *s̲h̲arīʿa* is duly observed, *siyāsa* of rulers (*imām, sulṭān, amīr* or *wālī*) will not conflict with *fiḳh* [*q.v.*] as elaborated by scholars (*fuḳahāʾ*). Earlier authorities had conceded that rulers had the need and the right to deviate from *fiḳh* in order to attain effective *siyāsa*, but Ibn Taymiyya claimed that such "deviations" are imaginary. If conflict between them appears, it is either because the *fiḳh* is understood too narrowly, neglecting the rich resources of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* for attaining the public good, or because rulers disregard the divine will and act unjustly (*siyāsa ẓālima*). Indeed, Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya claimed that true *siyāsa* (*siyāsa ʿādila*) is but part of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* (*al-Ṭuruḳ al-ḥukmiyya fi 'l-siyāsa al-s̲h̲arʿiyya*, ed. A. al-ʿAsharī, Cairo 1961, 100; see also idem, *Iʿlām al-muwaḳḳiʿīn*, Cairo n.d., 373-4). If the rulers and the *ʿulamāʾ* (who, for Ibn Taymiyya (*al-Ḥisba*, ed. S. Ibn Abī Saʿd, Kuwait n.d., 117), collectively comprise the Ḳurʾānic *ulū 'l-amr*, sūra IV, 59) uphold the revealed law not only in particular rulings but also in its general objectives or principles, they will lead mankind to good in the present world and the hereafter.

By this doctrine, Ibn Taymiyya advances both a more expansive vision for *fiḳh* (among other things, embracing disputed doctrines by which *fiḳh* draws on utility [see ʿĀDA; ISTIḤSĀN; ISTIṢLĀḤ; MAṢLAḤA; ʿURF]) and also a constitutional theory by which the excesses of rulers may be curtailed and *s̲h̲arīʿa* legitimacy extended to actual states. In effect, his doctrine offers rulers *s̲h̲arīʿa* legitimation in return for a greater share of power for *ʿulamāʾ*; it offers *ʿulamāʾ* greater *s̲h̲arīʿa* efficacy at the cost of their being implicated further in affairs of state.

Ibn Taymiyya's view is only one understanding of the relationship between *fiḳh* and *siyāsa*, and between the roles of ruler and *ʿulamāʾ*, in upholding *s̲h̲arīʿa*. Other formulations (by other names) appear in Islamic political and constitutional writings, some with greater historical influence. (They include some of the most thoughtful statements on state and religion in Islam: e.g. Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Beirut 1415/1995, esp. 177-8; and see IMĀMA; K̲H̲ALĪFA; MAHDĪ.) Indeed, Ibn Taymiyya's doctrine, and the context in which it arose, reflect only one stage in the course of Islamic constitutional history, a field demanding greater scholarly attention.

If we merely trace uses of the term *siyāsa*, we find that in early periods it appeared not as a technical term but as a common word for "governance" and "statecraft" (see 1. above), which was used in a manner betraying little sense of conflict with *fiḳh*. (*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, imāra*, 46; B. Lewis, *Siyāsa*, in *In quest of an Islamic humanism* (see for this, above, 1). Early *s̲h̲arīʿa* legitimacy being grounded in the office of the caliph, his discretion in the *s̲h̲arīʿa*'s application was axiomatic. The *Rās̲h̲idūn* caliphs exercised extremely broad legal authority, taking many far-reaching legal actions with little apparent concern for the interpretative techniques of later *fiḳh*. By the early ʿAbbāsid era, despite self-conscious adoption of *fiḳh* as state law, caliphs still enjoyed a legal authority supervening *fiḳh*, as reflected in works by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. 140/757 [*q.v.*]) and Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798 [*q.v.*]) in his *K. al-K̲h̲arād̲j̲* (ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1985). Abū Yūsuf often cedes to the caliph discretion in *fiḳh* matters and never mentions *siyāsa*. In the 10th and 11th centuries, the decline of the caliphate in favour of sovereign military-caste sultanates, and increased vitality and outreach in *fiḳh* and in *ʿulamāʾ* institutions, brought the two legitimacies of *fiḳh* and *siyāsa* into competition. Al-Māwardī's (d. 450/1058 [*q.v.*]) classic statement in the mid-11th century, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, grants military and administrative officials, but not the learned *ḳāḍī*, powers under the *s̲h̲arīʿa* to transgress particular *fiḳh* laws and procedures in their adjudications, as long as categorical rules are not offended (see particularly, discussions of *nāẓir al-maẓālim* "the enquirer into grievances," *Aḥkām*, Beirut 1410/1990, 148-70, e.g. *naẓar al-maẓālim lā yubīḥu min al-aḥkām mā ḥaẓarahu al-s̲h̲arʿ*, *Aḥkām*, 160; and of the *wālī 'l-d̲j̲arāʾim* or criminal jurisdiction, *Aḥkām*, 361-3. See also MAẒĀLIM; S̲H̲URṬA; and cf. Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Ḥisba*, 15-16, countering al-Māwardī with a claim that distinctions between the *ḳāḍī* and other judicial authorities have no basis in *s̲h̲arīʿa* but are only customary). Al-Māwardī's system, to our eyes, makes large concessions to political authority, but in historical context it seems a bold assertion of political vision in *fiḳh*. For, with al-Māwardī and public law after him, even the political sphere is to be judged by standards set by *ʿulamāʾ*, *siyāsa* being valid only where the latter admit it. With such a theory in place, it becomes far easier to criticise various rulers' actions as illegitimate. And with the decline and extinction of the caliphate, *fiḳh* indeed accepted rulers, and their acts, as legitimate only by way of necessity (A.K.S. Lambton, *State and government in medieval Islam*, Oxford 1981, 103-29). Against this background, Ibn Taymiyya's theory represents a reaction, an attempt to restore some form of Islamic legitimacy in political circumstances which were by then understood as not only tragic but also permanent. The compromise which he proposed was largely ignored in his lifetime, but appears to have had a strong influence on Mālikī (see e.g. Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799/1397 [*q.v.*]), *Tabṣirat al-ḥukkām*, Cairo 1884, i, 12-13, ii, 104-15, following Ibn Taymiyya and departing from the views of the Mālikī al-Ḳarāfī, d. 684/1285), and on late Ḥanafī and Ottoman law and practice (al-Ṭarābulusī, d. 844/1440, *Muʿīn al-ḥukkām*, Cairo 1973, and Dede Efendi (d. 972/ 1565?), both relying heavily on Ibn al-Taymiyya and Ibn al-Ḳayyim; see U. Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, ed. V.L. Ménage, Oxford 1973, 198). In modern times, Ibn Taymiyya's views have been adopted by the Wahhābī movement (Ḥanbalī in *fiḳh*) as the constitution for all Saudi states since 1745. For this and other reasons, his views have exercised immense influence on modern Islamic constitutional thought.

Although mediaeval *fiḳh* writings on *siyāsa* are varied and profound, in modern times there is often distilled from them a single doctrine of *siyāsa s̲h̲arʿiyya* broadly accepted (see e.g. A. K̲h̲allāf, *al-Siyāsa al-s̲h̲arʿiyya*, Cairo 1350). This recognises, in the state, authority to take legal acts (including legislating to supplement the *s̲h̲arīʿa* and creating new courts) as needed for the public good (*maṣlaḥa ʿāmma*), provided that the *s̲h̲arīʿa* is not infringed thereby (or, in another formulation, as long as the *s̲h̲arīʿa* has "no text", *lā naṣṣ*, on the matter). How the latter provisos are to be understood and applied is, however, disputed in practice. One view excludes acting whenever *fiḳh* possesses a ruling, even if this is based on *id̲j̲tihād* and open to dispute. A more permissive view limits contradiction to indisputable *s̲h̲arīʿa* tenets (*naṣṣ ḳaṭʿī*), overlooking mere *id̲j̲tihād* and *ḳiyās*. A still more liberal view is concerned only with contradiction with the "spirit" of *s̲h̲arīʿa* or with its "principles" (*mabādiʾ*).

Returning to mediaeval writings, since *siyāsa shar'iyya* and similar theories deal with the relationship between *fiḳh* and *siyāsa*, both sources of legitimation for state power, they have often been called upon to allocate authority between state institutions deriving from the two sources. In many areas, there was little competition, as in undisputed *fiḳh* authority over ritual and family law or clear *siyāsa* jurisdiction over governmental organisation and administration. Other areas, however, were rife with conflict, and we find *fiḳh* writings preoccupied with them. We give here three major examples.

One of these is adjudication generally. *Fiḳh* writings on *siyāsa* deal extensively with non-*ḳāḍī* jurisdictions, such as those of the *maẓālim*, the *shurṭa*, and that of the Mamlūk *ḥādjib*, that employ *siyāsa* procedurally and substantively, concerned that such tribunals are oblivious of *sharī'a* (Ibn Taymiyya, *Ḥisba*, 16; Ibn Khaldūn, 206). *Fiḳh* works endorsing *siyāsa shar'iyya* seem dedicated to persuading *ḳāḍīs* to use *siyāsa*'s flexible methods of proof and investigation, particularly in criminal law, presumably with the object of expanding *ḳāḍī* jurisdiction against *siyāsa* competitors (Ibn Taymiyya, *Madjmū' fatāwā*, ed. A. al-'Āṣimī, Riyāḍ 1382, xx, 388-93; Ibn al-Ḳayyim, *Ṭuruḳ*; Ibn Farḥūn, *Tabṣira*; al-Ṭarābulusī, *Mu'īn*).

As a second example, *fiḳh* writings on criminal law are preoccupied by *siyāsa*, since here *fiḳh* and *siyāsa* shared the field. First, apart from the small number of *ḥudūd* [*q.v.*] crimes extensively regulated by *fiḳh*, authors largely delegated substantive criminal law to the ruler's discretion under the heading of *ta'zīr* [*q.v.*]. Secondly, under a related concept, rulers claimed, and most *fuḳahā'* acknowledged, authority in certain circumstances to punish *siyāsat^an*, meaning that the ruler has authority to punish severely and peremptorily, without observing even the few general limits as to punishments and procedures imposed by *fiḳh* (Ibn Taymiyya, *Siyāsa*, 98-100). Thirdly, *siyāsa* was invoked to justify police practices of imprisoning and beating accused persons to encourage confessions, practices of which, as al-Māwardī states explicitly, *'ulamā'* disapprove but nonetheless uphold (*Aḥkām*, 219-21). Indeed, because of practices under these various heads, *siyāsa* became so closely associated with discretionary penalties (and particularly with harsh punishments and torture) that it became the very name for them. This usage appears in al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085) (*Ghiyāth al-umam*, Alexandria n.d., 150, 170) and even earlier, and by Ottoman times it is the term's most common meaning (Lewis; Dozy, *Suppl.*; Heyd, 192-207).

A third concern of *fiḳh* writings on *siyāsa* is legislation issued on the ruler's authority (see e.g. Ibn al-Ḳayyim, *I'lām*, iv, 372). This arose particularly after the advent of Mongol rule, when states adopted or imitated the Mongol practice of dynastic laws and customs called *yāsaḳ* or *yāsa* [*q.v.*], and often applied the term *siyāsa* to these rules. *'Ulamā'*, jealous of ruler's law as a potential competitor to *fiḳh*, portrayed respect for *yāsa* as a heretical placing of Čingiz Khān and his decrees alongside the Prophet Muḥammad and the *sharī'a* (al-Ba'lī, *al-Durar al-muḍiyya*, Beirut n.d., 394-5, citing Ibn Taymiyya). Al-Maḳrīzī went so far as to claim that "*siyāsa*" in Mamlūk military-class usage is not Arabic at all, but derives from *yāsa* (*Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1934, ii, 220; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Cairo, vii, 182-3; Ayalon, *The Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan*, in *SI*, xxxiii [1971], 1-15; J.S. Nielsen, *Secular justice in an Islamic State. Maẓālim under the Baḥrī Mamlūks*, Istanbul 1985, 104-9; D.O. Morgan, *The "Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan" and Mongol law in the Īlkhānate*, in *BSOAS*, xlix [1986], 163-76). In Ottoman practice, the institution of dynastic law overcame *'ulamā'* resistance to become a relatively ordered system of state legislation (called *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*] or *niẓām*) accepted as supplementary to the *sharī'a* and applied by the *ḳāḍī* courts.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): 1. Primary sources. Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1967-68, esp. i, 22-4; Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farrā', *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1966, esp. 73-90, 257-60.

2. Secondary sources. M. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's philosophy of history*, Chicago 1957, 232-84; F.M. Najjar, *Siyāsa in Islamic political philosophy*, in *Islamic theology and philosophy*, ed. M.E. Marmura, Albany 1984, 92-110; E. Tyan, *Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam*, in *SI*, x (1959), 79-109.

(F.E. Vogel)

SIYĀSAT-NĀMA [see naṣīḥat al-mulūk].

SIYĀWUSH, a Kayanid prince of Persian legendary history and national epic, whose murder by the order of Afrāsiyāb, the arch-king of Tūrān, deepened the deadly feud between Īrān and Tūrān and led eventually to the destruction of Afrāsiyāb and the devastation of his land.

Siyāwush is mentioned several times in the Avesta as a holy prince, whose blood was avenged by his illustrious son Kavi Haosrauuah (Pers. Kay Khusraw [*q.v.*]), who slew Afrāsiyāb and destroyed his kin (*Yashts* 9.18; 13.132; 19.71,77). The *Bundahishn*, a major Middle Persian work, contains a brief account of the legend and from the *Dēnkart* we learn that a lost section of the Avesta, the Sutkar Nask, referred to the avenging of Siyāwush's blood.

Arabic and Persian histories that treat of ancient Iranian history generally give an account of Siyāwush's legend. The fullest account, however, is provided by Firdawsī's epic, the *Shah-nāme*, which is by and large a rendering in verse, through more than one intermediary, of the Pahlavi *Khwadāy-nāmag* or "Book of Lords", compiled in late Sāsānid times. The legend constitutes the longest and also the most moving episode of the *Shāh-nāma*.

Briefly, according to this account (ed. Khāliḳī-Muṭlaḳ, ii, 202 ff.), Siyāwush, King Kāwūs's favourite son, is accused by his stepmother, Sūdāba, who has fallen in love with him, of amorous advances towards her, an accusation of which he clears himself through an ordeal of fire. Later, he seeks refuge in the land of the enemy as a consequence of the unreasonable demand of his petulant father to break an honorable peace he had made with Afrāsiyāb. He is welcome and honoured by Afrāsiyāb, who later, however, following accusations by his wicked brother Garsīwaz, has the prince murdered. Siyāwush's death is subsequently avenged by his son Kay Khusraw, who hunts down and kills Afrāsiyāb. There are some variants in the legend as retailed by other Islamic sources, such as al-Tha'ālibī's *Ghurar al-siyar*, 171-222, and al-Ṭabarī, i, 598-602, tr. M. Perlman, iv, 1-5. See Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 111, for further variants, and on the tale in general, Yarshater, ch. *Iranian national history*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii/1, 374-6.

The religious dimension of the legend of Siyāwush, whose cult continued at least in Transoxiana well into the 10th century, is evidenced by a report in Narshakhī's *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Raḍawī, 32-3, tr. Frye, 117, 122, according to which the people of Bukhārā had many laments (*nawḥa-hā*) on the slaying of Siyāwush, which the minstrels had made into chants called the "weeping of the Magi" (*girīstan-i mughān*).

He reports further that Siyāwush was believed to have been buried in Bukhārā, and each year, on New Year's day, every man sacrificed a cock and poured its blood on his grave (*ibid.*), a fact confirmed by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (*Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Rif'at Bey, iii, s.v. *Ḳāz*, tr. Atalay, iii, 150). Reflections of this cult, which appears to have had pre-Zoroastrian origins, is found in a number of other sources (see Miskūb, 82-6, and Yarshater, 90-3, where it is argued that the *ta'ziya* or Persian passion plays have a precedent in the pre-Islamic mourning rites of the martyrdom of Siyāwush). Siyāwush's significance as a venerated figure with spiritual dimensions beyond an exalted prince can be gauged also from the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, 29, which says that Persians believed Siyāwush was an apostle of God, and by al-Bīrūnī's report, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, tr. Sachau, 35, that the people of Khwārazm marked the beginning of their era with the entrance of Siyāwush in it, which occurred 92 years after the settlement (*'imāra*) of Khwārazm 980 years before Alexander. His myth seems to contain elements from the myth of the annual disappearance of a vegetation deity, current in ancient Mesopotamia and eastern Mediterranean world (Bahār, *Asāṭīr-i Īrān*, Tehran 1973, pp. l-lvii). It is said that when Siyāwush was killed, there sprang from his blood a plant, called *par-i siyāwushān* (see Pūrdāwūd, *Yasht-hā*, Bombay 1931, ii, 233, n. 2).

The Siyāwush episode in the *Shāh-nāma* represents the height of Firdawsī's poetic power, endowed as it is with rare psychological insights, apt characterisation, and careful structure. It has been ably translated into English verse by Dick Davis (*The legend of Seyavush*, Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth 1992), and has prompted a number of literary studies beside Miskūb's perceptive analysis (see *Bibl.*). Several historical figures in Persia and Armenia bear the name of the prince (see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 300, s.v. *Šiyāvaršan*).

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(E. Yarshater)

SIYĀWUSH PASHA, the name of two Ottoman Grand Viziers.

1. Kanizheli (i.e. from Kanizhe, modern Nagykanizsa in Hungary), of Hungarian or Croatian descent, b. at an unknown date, d. 1010/1602.

He was educated in the Istanbul palace and steadily followed a career through the posts of *mīrākhur*, *silihdār*, Janissary *agha* and *beglerbegi* of Rumelia. Having attained the rank of vizier in 988/1580, he was married to Fāṭima Sulṭān, a sister of sultan Murād III [*q.v.*], by whom he had two sons and a daughter. Three times he attained the highest state office as Grand Vizier, which he occupied for a little over five years in all during the reign of the same sultan, but he does not seem to have been involved in decision-making of any historical impact. Neither is he known as a patron of the arts and sciences or as a creator of great charitable works. He is described by Ottoman biographers as "moderate", "gentle" and "incorruptible". Three times he had to yield the Grand Vizierial signet ring and give way to the more influential personalities of Özdemiroghlu 'Othmān Pasha [*q.v.*] (in 992/1584) and, twice, of Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*] during the serious military revolts of 997/1589 and 1001/1593. He had two public fountains built in the Ṭopkhāne quarter of Istanbul. He died in 1010/1602 and was buried in Eyüb (Eyyūb [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, *Künh ül-akhbār* (see J. Schmidt, *Pure water for thirsty Muslims. A study of Muṣṭafā 'Ālī of Gallipoli's* Künhü l-aḫbār, Leiden 1992, index); Selānikī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1281, 170-1, 180, 202, 205, 252-5, 310-12; 'Othmān-zāde Aḥmed Ṭā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wüzerā'*, Istanbul 1271, 38; von Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, iii, iv, index; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iii, 116-18; İ.H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1961, iii, index.

(J. Schmidt)

2. Abāẓā, Köprülü Dāmādī (*ca.* 1037-88/*ca.* 1626-88), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Of Abkhazian origins, he began his career as a slave of Köprülü [*q.v.*] Meḥmed Pasha (1578-1661), and remained a client of the Köprülü family. Set free, he was given an income as a *gedikli za'īm*, and married a daughter of his master. After the latter's death he became *ḳapîdjîlar kahyāsî* of Köprülü Fāḍîl Aḥmed Pasha, participating in his campaigns against Uyvar (Nove Zamky) in 1073/1663, against Canea (Hanya) in 1076-80/1666-9, and against Kamenets Podolskiy (Ḳamaniče [*q.v.*]) in 1083/1672. Siyāwush Agha became acting *ḳapîdjîlar kahyāsî* of the sultan's court, and then, next year, *küčük mīr ākhūr* "Lesser Master of the Horse" of the sultan, but resigned to take part in the campaign against the Cossack stronghold of Čehrin in 1089/1677 led by the Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], another son-in-law of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha. He was appointed commander of the *Silāḥdār* division of the "Sipahis of the Porte", the sultan's household cavalry, and served in the army before Vienna in 1094/1683 as *djebedji bashi*, i.e. commander of the Armoury troops of the Porte. Next year he was appointed commander of the *Sipāhī* division of the household cavalry, and two months later became vizier and *beglerbegi* of Diyār Bakr.

He continued serving in the army in Hungary, and successfully relieved the besieged fortress city of Buda (Budun [*q.v.*]). He was present at the defeat of the Ottoman army in the Second Battle of Mohacz (3 Shewwāl 1098/12 August 1687), and at the fighting around the famous bridge of Eszek as well as at the defeat at Siklös. After these events, the field army rebelled, proclaimed Siyāwush Pasha its commander and Grand Vizier and began its march back to Istanbul. At Nish [*q.v.*] he received the seal of office sent by the sultan upon the advice of the *Dīwān*. Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*] was deposed, however, and succeeded by Süleymān II [*q.v.*] before Siyāwush Pasha arrived at Istanbul on 5 *Muḥarram* 1099/12 November 1687. Soon the Janissary and Sipāhī commanders rebelled again. The Grand Vizier failed to assert his authority; a mob of these soldiers besieged him in his residence, and he lost his life while defending his womenfolk (28 Rabī' II 1099/3 March 1688). His wife and daughter were grievously mutilated, and their female slaves were sold as booty. Siyāwush Pasha's grave lies in the Tūnus Bāghî section of the cemetery of Ḳaradja Aḥmed at Üsküdār. It is evident from the inscription that the vizier was spiritually affiliated to the Nakshbandiyya dervish order.

The afore-mentioned should not be confused with two of his predecessors carrying the same name. 1. Siyāwush Pasha, Kanizheli, Dāmād, (d. 1010-11/1602), was three times Grand Vizier: in the years 990-2/1582-4, 994-7/1586-9 and 1000-1/1592-3 (on him, see above, 1). 2. Siyāwush Pasha, Abāzā, Dāmād, (d. 2 *Redjeb* 1066/25 April 1656) was Grand Vizier under Sultan Meḥemmed IV in 1061/1651 and 1066/1656.

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SKOPJE [see üsküb].

SKUTARI [see ishkodra, in Suppl.].

al-SLĀWĪ [see al-nāṣir al salāwī].

SMĀLA [see zmāla].

SMYRNA [see izmīr, in Suppl.].

SŌBA, a town of the mediaeval Sūdān, situated on the right bank of the Blue Nile 22.5 km/14 miles above its confluence with the White Nile. While the city arose amidst the remains of older Meroitic or Napatan settlements, to the Islamic world Sōba was the capital of the mediaeval kingdom of Alodia [see ʿalwa]. Brief inscriptions in Old Nubian have been found in the area, while recent discoveries of texts in Greek, including a royal tombstone, suggest that this language also played an important role in the court culture of the very large and ethnically diverse Alodian realm. In A.D. 580 the Alodian monarch embraced Monophysite Christianity, and richly endowed ecclesiastical architecture graced Sōba when, no later than the 9th century, it became the Alodian capital.

Sōba at its 10th-century apogee was a sprawling city, its public buildings of red brick, set amidst a wide and fertile agricultural and pastoral hinterland. Its customs and usages were said to resemble those of Dongola [*q.v.*], which it exceeded in wealth and power, and its kings, through marriage diplomacy, sought with indifferent success to unite the two Nubian crowns. A large quarter of Sōba was inhabited by foreign Islamic merchants who supplied the court with imported luxuries, conspicuously glassware, in return for Sudanese products.

During the 12th century, Sōba began to decline as the authority of the Alodian monarch over his far-flung provinces faltered, yet the city remained a centre of regional power until its conquest by the Fundj [*q.v.*] at the close of the 15th century. Thereafter, Sōba enjoyed posthumous eminence as legendary ancestral home to the kings of Fāzūghlī [*q.v.*].

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SOCOTRI [see suḳuṭra. 3].

SOFĀLA, Ar. Sufāla, a district and former town in Mozambique, in lat. 18° 13' S., long. 14° 20' E., 48 km south-south-east of Beira, was the principal port for the regional gold export trade at least from the 10th to the 17th century. Materials are not available to construct an orderly history, which is recorded only in scattered Arabic, Chinese, Persian and Portuguese sources.

The name is generally connected with the Arabic root *safala* "to be low-lying". Thus al-Masʿūdī (i, 331-2 = §§ 362-3) says that "whenever a mountain stretches some distance below the sea, in the Mediterranean it is given the name *al-sufāla*". Prescinding from "underwater mountains", the coast here is low-lying. Nevertheless, the term is also used for the ancient Indian port of Surpuraka, near Bombay, which is by no means low-lying. For this reason G. Ferrand considered that a Bantu root may be preferable, but there is no evidence to support this.

Al-Masʿūdī is the first author to name it (i, 233 = § 246). There is, however, some earlier archaeological evidence. Slight evidence exists of gold digging in the region, *ca.* A.D. 100 in some authors, *ca.* A.D. 300 in others, the earliest source being Mapungubwe in the present republic of Zimbabwe. A recent archaeological survey by G. Liesegang disclosed nothing of antiquity. Al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9) attests a Muslim presence and an established slave trade in Zanzibar and Pemba, without mentioning gold. Nevertheless, there, and on Tumbatu Island, remains of mosques have been found datable to the 8th or 9th centuries A.D. Their size indicates that they were built not simply for agricultural settlements but for substantial trading towns. The gold trade of Sofāla could not have sprung "like Venus from the waves"; it seems logical to rely upon these indications. The answer to the problem will lie in systematic excavation.

Al-Masʿūdī says that Sofāla lies at the utmost end of the land of Zandj. It adjoins the Wāḳwāḳ country, the name of this being possibly an onomatopoeic word which suggests click-speakers [see further, wāḳwāḳ]. At iii, 6-8 = §§ 847-9, he says that the Zandj settled in Africa as far as Sofāla, which is the extreme limit of navigation for vessels coming from ʿUmān and Sīrāf. This incidental remark refers not only to an established trade route; it explains the undoubted Sīrāfī influence in the architecture of the *miḥrāb*s in the mosques mentioned above. The Zandj Sea, he continues, ends at the land of Sofāla and the Wāḳwāḳ, and produces gold and other marvels. The climate is warm and the soil fertile. The Zandj have their capital there. With evident hyperbole, their king commands 300,000 cavalrymen. There is a sophisticated religion and a developed constitution. The kings are called *waḳaleme*, sing, *mḳaleme*—the text has wrongly وقليمى, for وفليمى, *wafalme*, *mfalme*, the ordinary words for kings, king, in current Swahili today. Clearly by this time the Bantu had already penetrated to this part of Africa.

In his *Book of the wonders of India*, Buzurg b. Shahriyār of Rāmhurmuz relates how an ʿUmānī shipmaster, Ismāʿīlawayh, was twice driven by storms to Sofāla, first in 310/922, the second a little later. Here he mentions huge birds that can seize animals in their beaks, evidently the giant *rukhkh* [*q.v.*]; there was a lizard whose male had two *penes* and whose female two *vaginae*, and whose bite was incurable (perhaps the monitor lizard, which is as big as a labrador dog); there were also numerous snakes and vipers. In 334/945 the Wāḳwāḳ attacked Sofāla, and destroyed many towns and villages. In Sofāla district "men dig

for gold, and excavate galleries like ants", phraseology almost identical with that of Diogo de Alcaçova in a letter to the King of Portugal in 1606.

The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, written in Persian in northern Afghānistān in 372/982, mentions three towns in Sofāla: M.LDJĀN, possibly a corruption of *al-Ungudja*, the ancient name for Zanzibar still current in Swahili; SUFĀLA, the seat of the Zandj kings; and HWFL, a name which so far has defied identification. *Ca.* 421/1030 al-Bīrūnī, in his *India*, mentions an animal, of which a man who had visited Sofāla told him that its horns were used to make knife-handles, clearly a rhinoceros. More importantly, he says that Somnāth in Kathiawar [see SUMANĀT] has become celebrated because it is much frequented by sailors, and is the port from which voyages are made frequently between Sofāla of the Zandj and China. At Sayūna there are settled Indian traders, plausibly what the Portuguese called Sena on the Zambezi river, an important town trading in gold and other local products. It has not been excavated.

Al-Bīrūnī's reference to China makes it no surprise that the Sung Annals for 1071 and 1083 have detailed accounts of envoys from the Zandj coast, from a ruler called A-mei-lo A-mei-lan, which may reasonably be taken as Persian *amīr-i amīrān*, a ruler of rulers such as al-Masʿūdī had also described. He had also mentioned a brisk ivory trade, of such dimensions as to have caused a shortage of ivory in Islamic lands. The Sung Annals give a glowing picture of trade in many items, and also speak of gold, silver and copper currency as in use by the Zandj. Of gold currency we have no evidence of minting at Kilwa [*q.v.*, and see below] before the 14th century. Of both silver and copper currency there is already evidence in Zanzibar and Pemba by the 10th century; there is some possible evidence of silver currency in the Lamu archipelago by the 9th century. Nevertheless, there was no immediate source of silver in eastern Africa, although it could have been obtained from India. The recorded present to the envoys from the Zandj court to that of the Sung, amounting to 2,000 *lieng* of silver, would have been a very handsome one indeed.

Al-Idrīsī, a century later in 549/1154, speaks of the famous iron mines, and of the abundance of gold in Sofāla. He also names two towns, Djabasta and Dāghūṭa. The readings are uncertain, and they have not been identified. For the end of this century the *Crónica dos Reyes de Quiloa*, from a lost Arabic source which can be dated to *ca.* 1506, and translated by João de Barros and published in 1552, gives us some rather questionable information. It alleges that, up to *ca.* 1190, the Sofāla trade had been conducted by merchants from Mogadishu, and that then, because a Kilwa fisherman was driven out of his course down to Sofāla, he discovered the Mogadishu trade with Sofāla. Thereupon he reported to the sultan of Kilwa, who then sent a governor there. It is difficult to assess the truth, for the standing mediaeval buildings in Mogadishu, two mosques, both have 13th-century dedication inscriptions. This would seem to point away from an earlier date for the prosperity of Mogadishu. As to Kilwa, the *Crónica* shows that, prescinding from the myth of the fisherman, Kilwa did certainly send governors to Sofāla, and one such from Kilwa was found there when the Portuguese built their fort there in 1506.

Be that as it may, Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii, 96) reports in the early 7th/13th century that Sofāla was the last known town of the Zandj, and that merchants traded with the inhabitants by the "silent trade", in the manner that Yāḳūt reports also in the Maghrib, and that Herodotus and later Cosmas Indicopleustes had reported centuries before in the Maghrib and in Ethiopia. A far more elaborate report was completed two years before in China, by Chao Ju-Kua in his *Chu-fan-chih*. He was commissioner for foreign trade in the Fukien province of China. Of Zanzibar (Ts'ong-pa) he says that the inhabitants are Muslim. It is an island of wooded hills and terraced rocks, a description more like Pemba, which is hilly, than Zanzibar, which is flat. "The products of the country consist of elephants' tusks, native gold, ambergris and yellow sandalwood." The Arabs send ships to this country with white cotton cloth, porcelain, copper, and red cotton. This gold could only have come from the Sofāla region, for other sources of gold far inland near Lake Victoria were not exploited before colonial times.

Ibn Saʿīd (7th/13th century) says that the names of the towns of Sofāla are not known but that the capital is Sayūna. Ferrand says that this is undoubtedly the Chiona of Barros (Decade ii, Bk. 1, ch. ii), which he locates between Malindi and Mombasa in lat. 2° 30' S., long. 99° E. Aḥmad b. Mādjid lists no such place on the eastern African coast, nor is there any philological connection with Sayūna apparent. As with al-Bīrūnī above, it would seem preferable to equate Sayūna with the market-town of Sena on the Zambezi. Ibn Saʿīd continues that Sayūna is the capital of the king of the Sofālians, a further pointer to the location. The Sofālians and the Zandj worship idols and wear panther-skins. (There are no panthers in Africa; presumably leopard or cheetah are meant.) Their principal resources are gold and iron. They have no horses, and only infantry. He speaks also of the straits of Ḳumr (Comoro Islands [see ḲUMR]), yet further confirming a southern location for Sayūna, as does the mention of the unidentified town of Dāghūṭa.

Al-Ḳazwīnī (*ca.* 600-82/*ca.* 1205-83) records Sofāla as the last town in the land of Zandj, which has gold mines, and practises the "silent trade". He mentions a bird called the *hawāy*, which "speaks better than a parrot". Presumably a mynah is meant (cf. A. Roberts, *Birds of South Africa*, 1940, pl. xlvii). Al-Ḳazwīnī mentions a similar bird in Sumatra, calling it *ḥawārī*, "smaller than a pigeon, with a white belly, black wings, red claws and a yellow beak". Sofāla, too, has white, red (or yellow) and green parrots (cf. Roberts, pl. xxii, but the white parrot would rather be a lourie). Men here eat flies, believing that this prevents ophthalmia, and he notes that they do not suffer from it.

Abu 'l-Fidā' (672-732/1273-1331) makes only the briefest mention of the location of Sofāla. Al-Dimashḳī (*ca.* 725/1325) mentions Sofāla three times, citing Aristotle for an "oil stone ... red with a bluish light; touched by oil, it is changed for the worse, the oil going right to the centre. It comes from Sofāla of Zandj. When it is rubbed over a garment stained with oil, it removes all traces immediately."

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Kilwa briefly in 732/1331, after short stops at Zaylaʿ, Mogadishu and Mombasa. A merchant told him that Sofāla was half a month's march away. "Between Sofāla and Yufī in the country of the Līmīs is a month's march. Powdered gold is brought from Yufī to Sofāla." This is possibly a confused memory of Nupe in Nigeria, several thousand miles away, and unconnected by any known caravan route. Yufī and Līmīs have never been identified, nor is Līmīs recognisable as a Bantu root.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates a long anecdote about the generosity of a sultan of Kilwa, al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān,

known as Abu 'l-Mawāhib, and how he gave a beggar a present of his own clothes, together with slaves and ivory. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa comments with palpable acidity, as if his own hopes had been dashed: "In this country the majority of presents are of ivory: gold is very seldom given." This sultan, al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān (*ca.* 1310-33) is known from the *Akhbar Kulwa* (see below), from an inscription in the Husuni (sc. Ar. *ḥiṣn*) Palace in Kilwa, from many copper coins, and from five gold pieces in his name, the only gold coins so far known to have been minted at Kilwa. They were reported to the British Museum only in 1990. It has thus become possible to interpret Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *en passant* remark as referring to coin. Since much of Kilwa, and of other larger sites in eastern Africa, have not yet been fully excavated, the subject is one that must be treated with great caution. Nevertheless, this gold could only have come from Sofāla.

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī related that Sofāla of Zandj has a cavern measuring 500 parasangs in every direction. Because of shifting sands and the heat and aridity, the country is not thickly inhabited.

Ibn al-Wardī (*ca.* 740/1340) says that "golden Sofāla" adjoins the land of Zandj. The inhabitants work vast iron deposits, which are sold to Indians, who make it into steel swords and tools. Gold is found under the soil in great abundance, with numerous nuggets weighing as much as two or three *mithḳāls*. Nevertheless, the people of the country only wear copper ornaments, esteeming copper more than gold. The land of Sofāla adjoins the land of the Wāḳwāḳ.

Ibn Khaldūn is very laconic. Sofāla lies east (sc. south) of Maḳdashū (sc. Mogadishu), adjoining Wāḳwāḳ. Bākuwī speaks of the land of Zandj, famous for its gold mines. He speaks also of a bird called *ḥawārī*, like al-Ḳazwīnī above, that speaks better than a parrot. The *muʿallim* or shipmaster Sulaymān al-Mahrī (early 10th/16th century) locates Sofāla at about 18° S., a very accurate observation, since correctly it is 18° 13'.

About 1490 Sofāla was visited by Pedro da Covilhã. His journeys, starting from Portugal, and travelling along the coast of Arabia to eastern Africa, back to Cairo, whence to India, and then returning to Ethiopia, where he was detained, have been related and traced in detail by E. Axelson. Before proceeding to Ethiopia he encountered a Rabbi from Beja in Portugal, who carried back—so it seems—an account of the intelligence which Covilhã had gathered to the king of Portugal. Covilhã's report, if it were written down, has not survived; it was perhaps destroyed like much else when the Torre do Tombo, the archives of Portugal, succumbed to the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Covilhã was never allowed to return to Portugal.

He was not the first European traveller to visit south-east Africa. Aḥmad b. Mādjid records in two verses of a nautical treatise dated 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 866/13 September 1462: "It is said that in former days the ships of the Franks came to Madagascar and to the coast of Zandj and Western India, according to what the Franks say." Ferrand considered that the verses seemed to allude to the voyage of Pseudo-Brocardus, who is probably William Adam O.P., in the first half of the 14th century. He recorded *mercatores vero et homines fide digni passim ultra versus meridiem procedebant, usque ad loca ubi asserebant polum antarticum quinquaginta* (sc. *triginta*) *quatuor gradibus elevari*. (The question is treated s.v. ZANDJ.)

On his first voyage, Vasco da Gama bypassed Sofāla and Kilwa, seeking a pilot to take him to India, without success at Mombasa, and then finding one at Malindi. He had learnt, nevertheless, of the gold of Sofāla, and this was the object of Cabral's voyage in 1500-4. He first visited India, and the visit to Sofāla amounted to no more than a reconnaissance. The attempt to found a *feitoria*, commonly factory, that is to say, a trading agency, failed. Vasco da Gama's second voyage in 1502 had as its main object the humiliation of Calicut, with the tapping of the riches of Sofāla as a subsidiary aim. Gama himself proceeded to Kilwa, and subjected the ruler to the payment of tribute. On his return to Lisbon in September 1503 he went in procession, first, some say, to the cathedral, others to the royal palace. Damião de Goes relates how a page walked before him, carrying in a water bowl the 1,200 *mithḳāls* of the tribute of Kilwa. With them were the jewels that he had also taken from Kilwa, and supplemented by a further 800 *mithḳāls* of gold from Cananor and Cochin. That the page carried them in a water-bowl suggests plausibly that he carried coin and not unminted gold. At the king's orders, these provided materials for a *custódia* or monstrance for the Jerónimos monastery at Belém, from which Gama had set out for the *descobrimento* of India, and where he and the poet Camōs are buried. It is now the most splendid exhibit in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon. The inscription on the base states:

O MVITO ALTO PRIČIPE E PODEROSO SEÑOR REI DÕ MANUEL I A M̃DOU FAZER DO OURO E DAS FARIAS DE QILVA AQUABOU E CCCCCVI

"The most high Prince and mighty Lord King Dom Manuel I ordered the making from the gold and tribute of Kilwa. Completed in 1506"

Thus gold from Sofāla is exhibited today far-off in Europe. The account also attests, it seems, that Cananor and Cochin were outlets for the Sofāla gold.

In 1505 Francisco d'Almeida was commissioned to set out with a fleet to set up fortresses at Kilwa and at Sofāla. He set out in March or April, but the vessel whose crew was to occupy Sofāla sank in the Tagus. Eventually Pero d'Anhaya reached Kilwa with six ships, carrying materials for building a fort similar to São Jorge de Mina, now Elmina in Ghāna. After suffering a series of misfortunes, they crept up the river. They were received by the Shaykh Yūsuf, the governor, a member of the royal family of Kilwa, who was eighty years of age and blind. His house was richly furnished, with Indian silks and cloth, ivory and gold, filling the Portuguese with cupidity. By November a fort had been built of local materials and houses for the factor and his staff. Vessels also had been seized at sea, and prisoners slaughtered. At first trade prospered, but the atrocities committed by the Portuguese resulted in an attack on the fort. The locals were aided by fever among the Portuguese, whose numbers were halved. In December 1506 Nuño Vaz Pereira was sent to restore peace and normalise relations.

In the meantime, Diogo da Alcoçova had sent a favourable report to the king. The gold, he said, came from an inland kingdom, Vealanga, 30-36 days' journey from the coast. There the miners dig out the earth in tunnels. They cook the earth in pots, separating it from the gold. Barros (*Dec.* i, Bk. x, ch. i) says that the kingdom of Sofāla is over 650 leagues in circumference. It is so thickly populated that the elephants are leaving it. The locals say that every year four or five thousand die, which explains how they can send so great a quantity of ivory to India. The gold mines are at Manica, some fifty leagues west of Sofāla. The gold is gathered in dust or in

nuggets. There are also more distant mines in the kingdom of Butua. It has a fortress built of hewn stones, laid dry, without cement. It had an inscription over the gate which educated Muslim merchants did not know how to read. (No inscriptions have so far been found in the area.) There are other similar erections, which the local call *symbaoe*, sc. *zimbabwe*, house of stone.

At the beginning of the 16th century, Sofāla was highly prosperous. There was, however, no room for the Portuguese in the equity, and slowly the gold trade, and that in ivory, declined or moved northward to a series of small ports. *Ca.* 1517-18 Duarte Barbosa summarised the coastal trade. Cotton cloth, silk, beads were brought from Malindi and Mombasa, and bought in Sofāla, being "paid for in gold at such a price that those merchants departed well pleased, which gold they give by weight".

In the 1950s the Central African Archives initiated a series which was published in Portuguese and English, *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa, 1497-1840*. The first eight volumes reached 1589 only. There was then a hiatus in publication, until in 1989 a ninth volume appeared, taking the series up to 1615. This most valuable project was necessarily selective, containing as it does documents from Goa, Portugal, Rome and Spain. The first eight have very numerous references to local payments for salaries and goods in Sofāla, Mozambique and Kilwa. Mozambique superseded Sofāla as the main port of call in 1507. The ninth volume is more concerned with local affairs.

The payments are generally shown in gold *mithkāls*, and even in half- or quarter-*mithkāls*. One list of staff payments at Sofāla in 1508, expressed in *mithkāls*, regrets the absence of *dinheiro* (ordinary coin) to discharge them. This would make one think that *mithkāls* were still coined, but no pieces of this nature have so far been found other than those of al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān mentioned above. Some payments are shown in two currencies, both *mithkāls* and *reais* (commonly *reals*). One entry records a payment of 108 silver *mithkāls*, of which no coined specimens have ever been reported. In 1513 gold was imported in square pieces from *Dalacca*. The toponym is unidentified, and it would be strange if the Dahlak Islands were meant. In 1515-16 a payment is recorded in *ouro por amoedar*, gold for coining, that is, in nuggets or uncoined gold. There are further references to uncoined gold, others where it is not specified whether the *mithkāls* were minted or not. In 1536 Lisbon sent specially-made *mithkāl* weights to Sofāla, which could suggest that a mint was established there. There is no mention of any such in the *Documentos*. The subject is veiled in mystery. It would seem strange that in the 17th century payment was made in *mithkāls* if they were no longer minted, when the Portuguese were able to establish mints for Portuguese issues in Goa (1510), Malacca (1511), and Chaul, Diu and Bassein in the 17th century, of which the typology is well reported. A record of 1574, however, laments the decline of the Sofāla gold trade, stating that funds for the upkeep of Sofāla came from India.

Early Portuguese narratives, and some European scholars, have located at Sofāla the Biblical Ophir, from which the fleets of Solomon and of Hiram of Tyre brought back cargoes of gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks (I Kings x. 22; II Chronicles ix. 21). In a well-known passage of *Paradise lost* Milton speaks of "Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,/ and Sofala thought Ophir ..." (xi, 399-400). Modern historians see no connection.

Ancient Sofāla was on an island, whereas the Portuguese fort was built on the mainland, with a village adjacent. In 1764 it was 252 fathoms long, and 60 broad; there were thirty-five houses, one of stone and lime, two of wood with tiled roofs, and thirty-two of wood with thatched roofs. The ancient site was visited and photographed by Professor Eric Axelson in 1958. All that was left was an islet a few metres long and wide, protruding from the sea. There was some débris of stone, but most of it had been taken to build Beira cathedral. It remains only as an adventurous opportunity for underwater archaeologists. In 1889 the authors of the *Elementos para un diccionario chorographico da provincia de Moçambique* wrote the melancholy words: "the district of Sofāla, so rich in historical memories, is now poverty-stricken and abandoned."

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(G. Ferrand-[G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville])

SOFIA [see ṣofya].

SOFTA (Greek Sukē; Armenian Siga, Sigui; Frankish Nessekin; Arabic Sukayn, a fortress (Softa Kalesi), on the border of Cilicia Tracheia with Pamphylia, in present-day southern Turkey, 16 km/10 miles east of Anamur [*q.v.*] near to the fishing-port of Bozyazı (ancient Nagidos), and the classical site of Arsinoē (Maraş Harabeleri). The fortress occupies the top of a conical feature about a mile from the Mediterranean Sea. The fortifications consist of an upper and lower bailey, enclosed by a single enceinte punctuated with round and square towers. The main entrance to the castle was via a gateway on the northern side of the upper bailey. The best-preserved features of the site are the keep in the highest part of the upper bailey, and the gateway and salients in the wall separating the two baileys. The latest of several distinct building programmes probably dates from the end of the 5th/11th century. The castle was in Byzantine hands from the end of the 2nd/8th century, when it was besieged by the Arabs, until the end of the 6th/12th century, after which there appears to have been at least one period of Armenian occupancy. Softa was probably one of several Pamphylian and Cilician castles which Ibn Bībī says were acquired in 621/1225 by the Rūm Saldjūḳ atabeg of Antalya, Mubāriz al-Dīn Artuḳush Beg. In the 8th/15th century it was acquired by the Ḳaramānids with the help of the Venetians, who knew it as Sequin or Sechino. Thereafter it came under Ottoman control.

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(D.W. Morray)

ṢOFTA (T., orthography *ṣ.w.f.t.h*), a name given to students of the theological, legal and other sciences in the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] system of Ottoman Turkey. A parallel form is *sūkhte*, in Persian literally "burnt, aflame (i.e. with the love of God or of learning)", which seems to be the earlier form; the relationship between the two words, if any, is unclear (see Sh. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i turkī*, Istanbul 1318/1900-1, ii, 839 col. 3; Redhouse, *Turkish and English dict.*, 1087, 1192). The term *ṣofta* was applied to students in the earlier stages of their education; when a student became qualified to act as a *muʿīd* or repétiteur [see mustamlī], he qualified as a *dānishmend.*

Ṣoftas from the Istanbul *madrasas* are frequently mentioned in Ottoman history from the 10th/16th century onwards as an unruly mob element in the capital, provoking or participating in several uprisings there. Thus their role is mentioned in the Radjab 1011/January 1603 revolt of the former *Shaykh al-Islām* Ṣunʿ Allāh Efendi and the Sipāhīs [*q.v.*] against the Janissaries and Sultan Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*]; in the Rabīʿ I 1115/July 1703 one against the *Shaykh al-Islām* Feyḍ Allāh Efendi and Muṣṭafā III [*q.v.*]; in the Rabīʿ II 1293/May 1876 revolt against Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha [*q.vv.*]; and the Rabīʿ I 1327/April 1909 counter-revolutionary mutiny of part of the army against the Committee of Union and Progress (the so-called *31. Mart waḳʿasî*) (see Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye tarihinde... medreseli isyanlari*, in *Ist. Üniv. Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, xi [1949-50], 361-87; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 156-, 21; S.J. and E.K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976-7, I, 133, ii, 162-3, 279-82).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṢOFYA, the Ottoman form for Sofia, the present-day capital of Bulgaria [*q.v.*].

It is situated in the southern part of the Sofia plain at an altitude of 550 m/1,800 feet, at the foot of the mountains Vitoša and Ljulin; it has a temperate continental climate; a number of affluents of the river Iskăr run through the city; there are many mineral springs; and it lies on the main road between Central Europe and Istanbul, and that between Vidin on the Danube and Thessaloniki.

Its successive names were Serdnopolis (Thracian population); Serdica (Roman name), Ulpia Serdica (from the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D.); Triadica (Byzantine name); Sredec (Bulgarian name, from the 9th century); Atralissa (in al-Idrīsī); and Sofia (from the second half of the 14th century, after the name of the St. Sophia church).

It has been populated for seven millennia, and there are remnants dating from the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and the Bronze Age. The Thracian tribe of the Serds fell under the rule of the Romans at the beginning of the first century A.D. The city was granted the rights of a municipality; it became the centre of a theme and was later included alternately in the provinces of Thrace and of Inner Dacia. Constantine the Great issued some of his edicts here. The Oecumenical Council of Serdica took place in 343. In 809 the city was conquered by Khan Krum (803-14) and incorporated in the Bulgarian state.

In 1385 (or 1382), following a siege, the city was captured by the Ottomans. Towards the middle of the 15th century, the Ottomans chose Sofia to become the centre of the Rumeli *beylerbeyilik*, which encom-

passed the majority of the Ottoman European possessions. At its head was the *beylerbeyi* (*mīrmīrān*, with the rank of a *pasha*; from the 16th century, a *wezīr*), assisted by his own *dīwān* which had judicial and administrative functions. Until the end of the 18th century, Sofia was the actual capital of the European territories of the Ottoman state, hence considered as such by both Ottomans and West Europeans at the time.

Sofia was the centre of a *ḳaḍā'*. The wide prerogatives of the *ḳāḍī* are made clear by the records in the *sidjills* preserved in the Oriental Department at the National Library of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Sofia (56 volumes dating from 1550 to the end of the 19th century).

Ewliyā Čelebi attributed special attention to the Ottoman functionaries residing in Sofia. First among them ranked the *sharī'a* judge, a *molla* with 500 *akčes* daily payment, assisted by a *muḥḍirbashi*, scribes, a *muḥtesib* and a *pazarbashi*. Ewliyā also spoke of a *müftī*, a *naḳīb ül-eshrāf*, a *ketkhudā* of the *sipāhīs*, a *serdār* of the Janissaries and a *ketkhüdā* of the city. Over all these functionaries was the *Pasha*. Among the powerful Ottoman notables, the first *a'yān* of Sofia come to the fore in the 17th century.

At the end of the 18th/beginning of the 19th centuries, the city suffered from the anarchy of internecine warfare and especially from the Kïrdjalï attacks of the horde of Ḳara Feyḍ. In the 18th century, Bitola became the usual place of residence of the Rumeli *beylerbeyi*, while Sofia was ruled by his *mütesellim*; from 1836 the seat of the *beylerbeyi* was moved to Bitola; after the Crimean War, 1853-6, the city decayed, and from 1864 was degraded to a *sandjaḳ* within the Danube *wilāyet*. Sofia was captured by the Russian troops on 23 December 1877/4 January 1878; on 22 March/3 April 1879 Sofia was chosen as the capital of the Principality of Bulgaria.

The varying fate of the thousand-year old city has laid its seal upon the composition of its population. The Romanised Thracian population was gradually replaced by a Bulghar one. After the Ottoman conquest, Muslims settled in the city for the first time: there was a garrison, Muslim religious functionaries and officials, as well as craftsmen and merchants. But according to Bertrand de la Broquière (1433), Sofia was still a Bulgarian town. The "Long Campaign" of John Hunyādi and Vladislav I, king of Hungary, in the autumn of 1443, brought real disaster to the local population. At their retreat, the Ottomans applied scorched earth tactics; at their recapture of the city, the population, and especially the Christian élite, suffered from severe punitive measures.

Tax registers from the 16th century recorded an already preponderant position for the Muslim population in Sofia, both in terms of numbers and in the economy of the city. This phenomenon was the result of a migration wave from the east and of Islamisation of local people. A clear tendency of population growth due to natural increase emerges with the Muslims gaining the numerical superiority. But the populous villages around Sofia remained largely Bulgarian. Until the 19th century, the correlation between the groups of the population in the entire region remained stable—the Muslims were 12%, but in the city they prevailed over the Christians. There appeared *Yürüks* in the region of Sofia (*Nadöken*). The economic and political decline of the city in the 19th century brought about a still further withdrawal of the Muslim population from the city. After the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-8, virtually the entire Muslim population abandoned Sofia.

All travellers noted that in the 15th-18th centuries, Sofia was a well-populated city and they paid particular attention to the diversity in the ethnic and religious composition of its population. Apart from the Orthodox Bulgarians, they mention Greeks. The city was also inhabited by Jews, both Romaniot and Ashkenazim. Their numbers increased considerably in the 16th century after the influx of the Spanish Jews, the Sephardim. Sofia became then one of the cities with a significant Jewish community. There was a synagogue in the city from at least A.D. 967. The number of Monophysite Armenians in the city during Ottoman rule increased following several migrations of Armenians from Poland, Plovdiv, Nakhičevān, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire; in the 17th century there already existed a Georgian community. The sources identify also a small group of *'Adjem ṭayfe*, Armenians from the eastern provinces bordering on Persia, who were engaged in interregional trade within the Ottoman Empire. Sofia was one of the Balkan cities where, beginning with the 14th century, Ragusans settled. About the middle of the 15th century, they had a church and estates in the centre of the city, that is, something like a *maḥalle* of their own; towards the end of the 17th century, the community of the Catholic Ragusans declined. Gypsies, both Muslims and non-Muslims, are mentioned among the inhabitants of the city for the first time in the 16th century.

Following the established traditions in the Islamic and Ottoman town, all ethno-religious groups in Sofia lived in their separate *maḥalles* (at the end of the 16th century—25 Muslim and 14 non-Muslim *maḥalles*, 2 *zāwiyes* and 3 *djemā'ats*). Ottoman documentation shows, however, that from the 17th century onwards, the strict segregation of the population in separate *maḥalles* in Sofia was not infrequently violated. Muslim *maḥalles* were usually represented by the *imāms*, and from the 19th century by the *mukhtārs*. The functions of the *maḥalles* in Sofia were related to taxation, maintenance of the public security through mutual guarantees, observance of public and family morality, maintenance of the places of worship and the functionaries in them, and religious charities through the *maḥalle waḳīfs*.

The Orthodox Christians, Jews, Armenians and Catholics in Sofia were regarded by the authorities as internally independent autonomous communities grouped around their own religious leaders (an Orthodox bishop, subordinate to the Oecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople; a Catholic bishop, etc.), and they participated in taking decisions related to problems regarding the whole city.

Thus according to Ottoman *defters* from 930/1523-4, 915 Muslims (that is, ordinary tax-payers, low religious functionaries and some military men, bachelors and men with some form of disability) and 317 Christians had been registered in the city, which makes a total population of about 6,000; in 1544-5, 1,325 Muslims, 173 non-Muslims, as well as 88 Jews, that is, over 8,000 inhabitants; towards the end of the 16th century, 1,017 Muslims (without military men), 257 non-Muslims, 127 Jews and 37 Gypsies, that is, over 9,000 inhabitants. According to the Catholic Propaganda around 1580, there lived in Sofia about 150 Catholics, mainly Ragusans; in 1640 (according to Petār Bogdan) there were 58. The same author indicated that there lived in the city 30,000 Muslims, 25,000 Orthodox Christians, 15,000 Jews, and 1,600 Armenians. A number of Western European observers point out that, in the 18th century, Sofia had about 70,000 inhabitants; at the beginning of the 19th century they were only 45-50,000. The *sālnāmes* of 1872-3 record 3,065 Mus-

lim households and 1,737 non-Muslim ones, that is, over 35,000 people. According to the first census of the Principality of Bulgaria in 1881, there lived in Sofia 20,501, including 535 Turks, 13,195 Bulgarians, 4,146 Jews, 1,061 Armenians and 778 Gypsies.

The high Sofia plain, surrounded by pastures and forests, is a densely populated agrarian countryside, with over 200 villages, where many categories of population with specific military and police duties, as well as production obligations, were represented—*woynuḳs*, *derwentčis*, *dj̲elebs*, *maʿdendj̲is*. Agrarian production, cattle-breeding and metal production were directed mainly towards the big consuming and producing centre, Sofia, as well as towards the vast imperial markets and supplies for the army. The numerous population in the administrative and military centre and its position on the crossroad of two highways stimulated the economic development of the city, which was also stimulated by the emergence of a number of workshops during the Ottoman period.

At the beginning of the 16th century, Sofia was a *k̲h̲āṣṣ* of the sultan. Local trade and production were regulated through the law of the *badj̲* from the 16th century. Between the 15th and 17th centuries, Sofia was the largest import-export base for the caravan trade of Ragusa in Bulgaria. It was mainly crafts related to the processing of metals, wool and hides, that flourished. The famous red and yellow hides, called *kordovans* and *bugarins*, were produced here.

Craftsmen and merchants were a major element in the city. At the beginning of the 16th century, these were 294 Muslims and 78 non-Muslims; in the middle of the century, 347 and 130 respectively, and towards the end of the century, 474 Muslim craftsmen and 131 non-Muslims, belonging to 132 crafts. *Dj̲elebs* had an important role in the city, too. The *eṣnāf* or trade guilds [see ṢINF] were established in the 16th century. Along with the representatives of the *ʿaskerīs*, there were also *ʿulemāʾ*: *muʿallims*, *k̲h̲aṭībs*, *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲s* and dervishes from various *ṭarīḳats*, and, above all, *imāms* and *müʾed̲h̲d̲h̲ins*. According to Ottoman registers, only in the course of the 16th century did their number increase from about 30 to over 110.

Sofia is one of the few living Late Antique cities. Some of the monuments of Late Antiquity have been preserved until today: the rotunda of St. George, the church of St. Sophia and parts of the fortress walls. After the city fell under Ottoman control, Sofia came under the influence of the Islamo-Levantine culture. The architecture of the city, however, preserved both the Antique and the Mediaeval heritage, which was enriched by another important element, the Islamic one.

Under the Ottomans, the city lost its fortification walls. The Ottoman city spread in width, the houses having large courtyards with lots of verdure, hiding the muddy mediaeval streets and plain houses. For a long time, however, the fortress wall marked the area and the established planning of Antiquity: the main streets were in fact the road-beds of the highways crossing Sofia in its centre, close to the mineral spring. Thus the ancient and mediaeval centre became the centre of Ottoman Sofia, too. It was locked between the imaginary triangle formed by the dome of the church of St. Nedelja, where the relics of the Serbian king Milutin are kept, the cupola of the synagogue, and the minaret of the monumental *Banābas̲h̲ī* mosque. These three sanctuaries symbolise the Levantine spirit of the Ottoman city in the Balkans, and delineate the Ottoman centre, which was only the new attire of the ancient and of the present centre of Sofia.

Being the centre of Rumeli in the 15th and 16th centuries, Sofia became the site of building activities of a number of high Ottoman officials and acquired the appearance of an Ottoman city. Most of the important religious buildings as well as of utilitarian premises, built by the Ottomans, were beyond the boundaries of old Sofia; they had become the nuclei of separate town parts, connected rather with the incoming and outgoing arteries.

In Ottoman Sofia, regular street planning was not followed; the domestic housing architecture was very poor. Considerable changes came about in the 17th century. Along with the more solid houses, and those with a more complicated structure, such as two-storeyed houses with tiled roofs, the number of the rich serails in Sofia grew, too. Ewliyā Čelebi mentions those of Yaʿḳūb Ag̲h̲a, Ḳodj̲a Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a, Ḳodj̲a Peltek Yaʿḳūb Čāwūs̲h̲, Ganat Efendi and Durganlî Ag̲h̲a; the splendour of the Pas̲h̲a's *ḳonaḳ* (today part of the building of the National Art Gallery) is emphasised as well.

Following usual practice, the Ottomans converted some churches into mosques. It seems that the first was the church of St. Demetrius, converted into Fetḥi Dj̲āmiʿ in the beginning of the 16th century; in the 16th century the church of St. Sophia was converted into the Siyāwus̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a Dj̲āmiʿ; and the church of St. George into the Gül Dj̲āmiʿ. But the majority of the Muslim sanctuaries were the result of the activities of high Ottoman officials, local notables and zealous ordinary Muslims.

In the middle of the 15th century, Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a built the Büyük Dj̲āmiʿ with 8 lead domes (today the National Archaeology Museum of Bulgaria). A century later, the great Ottoman architect Sinān [*q.v.*] planned the *ʿimāret* complex of Ṣofu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, comprising a monumental stone mosque, the Black Mosque, with one of the largest domes in the Balkans (today the church of the Seven Saints), a *medrese* with 16 rooms, a library, a *ḥamām*, a caravanserai, a *mekteb* and a kitchen. According to Ottoman tax registers, towards the middle of the 16th century there were 4 Friday mosques and 31 *mesdj̲ids* in Sofia, while towards the end of the century there were 8 Friday mosques and 37 *mesdj̲ids*. The *sālnāmes* of the second half of the 19th century record 44 Muslim places of worship (mosques) in Sofia. There are data about 3 *waḳîf* libraries in Sofia: of Ṣofu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a in the complex of the Black Mosque; one in the complex at the Banābas̲h̲i Dj̲āmiʿ, belonging to Seyfullāh Efendi; and one more. Among the manuscripts from these libraries that are kept in the Oriental Department, the collections of the *müftī* Muṣṭafā b. Meḥmed and of ʿAbd al-Fettāḥ stand out. In the middle of the 16th century, 8 *muʿallim-k̲h̲ānes* and 2 *medreses* were registered; according to the *sālnāmes* of the end of the 19th century, the *mektebs* were 20, while the *medreses*, the *mekteb-i rüs̲h̲diyye* and the *mekteb-i ṣabīyān* were 6 altogether. Official records provide information about four *türbes* and *zāwiyes* in the middle of the 16th century. Ewliyā Čelebi's travel account, however, contains detailed information about a number of other places of worship related to various *ṭarīḳats* situated in Sofia and its outskirts.

There were also places of worship of the non-Muslim population in the city. The churches were in the centre of the city and, according to Stefan Gerlach (16th century), were 12 in number; in the 19th century there were 8. The ring of small monasteries around Sofia (25) was praised as the Mount Athos of Sofia. The newly-built churches in the Ottoman period

were St. Kral and St. Nikola the Great; there is more information, however, on repaired and newly-painted churches. They had a modest appearance, small single-naved basilicas, an architectural type that was dominant even before the Ottoman conquest and which was very convenient in the conditions of limited financial resources of the Orthodox and of the *sharīʿa* restrictions. The lesser religious communities had their places of worship in the centre of the city as well: synagogues for the three Jewish communities from the beginning of the 16th century; the Armenian church of the Holy Virgin from the 17th century; and a Catholic church was established in the second half of the 15th century. The educational institutions of the non-Muslim communities functioned, too.

The Sofia bazaar, the heart of the city, was well-developed. The specialised *sūḳs* and markets formed a dense network in the central part of the city; in the course of time, it spread to the residential quarters as well and drew them into the common economic rhythm of the city in the modern times. The busiest among them were *Banābashî čarshî*, where the Jewish one was situated too, the markets of the butchers, the cobblers, the saddlers, the goldsmiths, the Sheytān čarshî, the Yazîdjî one and the *Sungurlar* one; beginning from the 18th century, a Greek market is mentioned in the Ottoman documents. Specialised markets—the Salt Market, where salt from Wallachia was offered, the Honey Market, the Rice Market, the Horse Market, and others—also existed. According to Ottoman registers from towards the end of the 16th century, there were in the city about a thousand workshops, taverns and other industrial enterprises like a tannery, utilising the drainage from the hot mineral public bath, candleworks, the *wakîf* of El-Ḥādjdj Bayram, water mills, a mint (from the middle of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th century, and, occasionally, until the first quarter of the 18th century), a workshop for the fermented drink *boza*, ice works and an establishment for roasting and grinding coffee for the use of retail dealers.

In 1506 the *beylerbeyi* Yaḥyā Pasha built the largest *bezistān* in the Balkans (44 workshops inside and 101 outside it), and a magnificent mineral bath, which Hans Dernschwam compared to the Pantheon. The big caravanserais are also indicative of the economic prosperity of the city. Foreign travellers describe the enormous caravanserai of *Siyāwush Pasha*, the caravanserai at the *ʿimāret* of *Ḳodja Meḥmed Pasha*, the caravanserais of *Ḥādjdjī Boga*, of *Khiḍîr Čāwūsh*, of *Ilyās Bey* and of *Mewlānā Alāʾüddin*. The *ʿimārets* of *Ḳodja Meḥmed Pasha*, of *Siyāwush Pasha*, and others also had an important role in economic life. After the 17th century, the functions of caravanserais were overtaken by the private *khāns*, which were among the most impressive buildings of the time: the *Čelebi khān*, *Sliwniški khān*, *Eski khān*, *Maḥmūd Pasha khān*, *Küčük khān*, and *Čohadjî khān*, the largest civil building, with a mosque dating from the 18th century. The functions of the *bezistān* were assumed by private *maghazas* (warehouses).

Even in Antiquity, Sofia had a very good water-supply and sanitation system. Water from the Vitosha mountain was taken into the city through a water-main, maintained in a very good condition by *wakîfs* throughout the Ottoman period. The famous mineral spring in the centre of the city was canalised in the 2nd century A.D. and the reservoir was used until 1912. On a large territory around it were built the city thermal baths, replaced by an impressive Turkish bath.

The construction and upkeep of all these religious and utilitarian premises, as well as those of education, culture, etc., were maintained through the *wakîfs* of both distinguished and ordinary citizens of Sofia.

Sofia declined in the 19th century. Terrible earthquakes in 1818, and especially in 1858, destroyed the city. Most of the houses, as well as mosques and caravanserais, were razed. Nearly all minarets fell down. Some reconstruction works were carried out under Rasin Pasha and Esʿad Pasha: new productions were started, the construction of the railway between Sofia and Plovdiv was begun, the minarets were raised again.

Eminent personalities related to life in Ottoman Sofia are the famous governors and *wakîf* founders Mesīh Voyvoda, Ḳodja Meḥmed Pasha, Ḳodja Maḥmūd Pasha, Siyāwush Pasha, El-Ḥādjdj Bayram Pasha, Khüsrew Pasha. The city toponyms have preserved the name of Mewlānā Shudjāʿ, *ḳāḍī* of Sofia, and founder of a *wakîf*, of the Sofia *ḳāḍī* Seyfullāh Efendi, who founded a *medrese* in Sofia in 1570/71 next to the Banābashi mosque built by him, too; of Ṣarukhān Bey, Ḳara Dānishmend and Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza. A number of Ottoman writers, poets and religious functionaries were born or lived in Sofia, thus turning it into one of the most important centres of Ottoman culture in the Balkans in the 16th century: Aḥmed Ḥādjdjī; ʿAbdī Efendi; Ḥekīm-zāde Ṣubḥī, son of the *wezīr* Sinān. Distinguished figures of the 17th century were Ibrāhīm Efendi, a scholar and judge, born and buried in Sofia; Pasha Meḥmed Efendi, a native of Gelibolu, who wrote studies in the field of law, was a poet and a translator of Persian poetry; and the poet Ṣofyawī Wāḥid Meḥmed Čelebi.

Among the religious functionaries connected with Sofia stands out Bālī Efendi. According to his *vita*, he was "a scholar and a saint, expert in the hidden and the manifest, with perfect disciples", one who "created wonderful works and various noble books, *risāles* and precious commentaries" among which a commentary on the treatise of Ibn ʿArabī and one on the basic principles of the Khalweti order; and poems with a didactic content. This Ṣūfī mystic and preacher was also an outstanding and extreme supporter of orthodoxy, closely related to the central authorities, struggling against the heterodox sects in Deli Orman, Dobrudja and Thrace. The *vita* describes him as a saintly man; from other sources, we know that he died in 1553. On his grave near Sofia, which is still equally revered by Muslims and Christians, the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd ül-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd ül-ʿAzīz constructed a mosque and a *zāwiye*, while the village which developed was named Bālī Efendi (now Knjaževo). Donors to the *wakîf* were the *mīrimīrān* of Buda, Muṣṭafā Pasha, Mesīḥ Voyvoda and other distinguished Muslims from the city of Sofia. Bālī Efendi himself founded a *zāwiye* in Sofia.

After Sofia became the capital of the Principality of Bulgaria, almost its entire Muslim population left, and only a few monuments of Islamic architecture, like the *Banābashî Djāmiʿ*, still functioning as a place of worship, were preserved. Sofia is the seat of the *Müftülük* in Bulgaria; at different times, there have functioned also some educational institutions like the Turkish primary school at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, and today, an Islamic Religious Institute. The majority of the Ottoman and Turkish newspapers in Bulgaria—about 25, including those of the religious institutions in the country—were published in Sofia; three private Turkish printing

houses functioned there. Today, the newspaper *Mjusjulmanin* is published here.

Bibliography: Istanbul, BBK, TTD 370, 130, 236; *Vita* of Bālī Efendi, in Sheykh Süleymān Küstendilī, *Baḥr ül-welāye*, ms. Or 893 in Oriental Dept., National Library of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Sofia (dated 1235/1819-20); Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 398-402; *Sālnāme-yi wilāyat-i Tuna*, n.p. 1289/1872-3; *ibid.*, Rusçuk 1291/1874-5; K. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prague-Vienna 1891; A. Ishirkov, *Grad Sofiya prez XVII vek*, Sofia 1912; I. Ivanov, *Sofiya prez tursko vreme*, in *Yubilejna kniga za grad Sofiya*, Sofia 1912; *Yubilejna kniga za grad Sofiya*, Sofia 1928; A. Monedzikova, *Sofiya prez vekovete*, Sofia 1946; G. Gălăbov, *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia*, Munich 1960; *Tezkiretü 'ş-Şu'ara*, ed. İ. Kutluk, i, Ankara 1978; M. Stainova, *Osmanskite biblioteki v bălgarskite zemi XV-XIX v.*, Sofia 1982; N. Todorov, *The Balkan city 1400-1900*, Seattle 1983; N. Genç, *16. yüzyıl Sofya mufassal tahrir defteri'nde Sofya kazası*, Eskişehir 1988; M. Kiel, *Urban development in Bulgaria in the Turkish period. The place of Turkish architecture in the process*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, iv (1989); *Sofiya prez vekovete. i. Drevnost, srednovekovie, văzraždane*, Sofya 1989; N. Clayer, *Mystiques, état, société. Les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XVe siècle à nos jours*, Leiden 1994. (Svetlana Ivanova)

SOGHDIA [see al-ṢUGHD].

SÖGÜD, modern Turkish Söğüt, a small town of northwestern Anatolia, in the classical Bithynia, now in the modern Turkish *il* or province of Bilecik [see bileDJik] (lat. 40° 02' N., long. 30° 10' E., altitude 650 m/2,132 feet). In Ottoman times it came within the *wilāyet* of Khudāwendigār or Bursa [*q.vv.*]. It lies to the south of the Saḳarya river [*q.v.*] between Lefke and Eskişehir, and is a day's journey from each of these places (*Djihān-nümā*). Sögüd lies at the mouth of a mountain gorge, very deep and very narrow, and is built in an amphitheatre. The country round the town forms part of the fertile region which forms the transition between the central plain of Anatolia on the south and the lands on either side of the lower course of the Saḳarya to the north. It was the country of Sulṭān Öñü, and is famous in Ottoman history as having been the cradle of power of the Ottoman dynasty. According to the unanimous tradition of the Turkish historians, Ertoghrul, father of 'Othmān, received this district as a fief from the Saldjūḳ sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn; the mountains of Ṭumānīdj and Ermenī were the *yayla* of the tribe of Ertoghrul and Sögüd was their *yurt* ('Āshiḳ-Pasha-zāde, 4; Urudj Bey, ed. Babinger, 7, 83). The *türbe* of Ertoghrul is at Sögüd; this tomb has a little cupola and lies two leagues from the town, a little to the left of the road to Lefke. Tradition still tells that one of the brothers of 'Othmān, Sarïyatï or Sawdjï, is buried beside his father; 'Othmān himself is also said to be buried in this *türbe* and not at Bursa (Ritter).

As regards the pre-Ottoman period, we find in the *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa the legend that the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd conquered Sögüd in 181/797. The name Sögüd is pure Turkish and means "willow"; the oldest form seems to have been Sögüddjük or Sögütdjük (thus in the *Tewārīkh-i āl-i 'Othmān*, ed. Giese, Urudj Bey, and as late as the 18th century, Meḥmed Edīb, cf. also Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i, 101).

One of the four *djāmi*'s of Sögüd is attributed to Ertoghrul and another to sultan Meḥemmed I. After the capture of Constantinople, the town was situated on the main route of pilgrimage to Mecca. It was never large; in the 17th century Ewliyā counted 700 Turkish houses there, and at the beginning of the 19th century the number had hardly risen (cf. the traveller's records in Ritter). Towards the end of this century, Sāmī gave 5,000 as the population. After the First World War, Sögüd was occupied by the Greek army from August 1921 to September 1922. In 1965, it had a population of 3,004.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 642, 656; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 11, 506; von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 45; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix/1, Berlin 1858, xviii, 622 ff.; Cl. Huart, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1897, 32-5; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-a'lām*, iv, 2587; *Belediyeler yıllığı*, Ankara 1950, iii, 380-3; *IA*, art. *Söğüt* (Besim Darkot).

(J.H. Kramers*)

SÖKMEN [see alp; artuḳids; shāh-i arman].

SOḲOLLU MEḤMED PASHA, called Ṭawīl "the tall" (*ca.* 1505-79), one of the most famous Ottoman Grand Viziers and the only to have held this office uninterruptedly under three successive sultans, from 27 June 1565 to 12 October 1579.

He was born in Bosnia in the village of Sokolovići (< *sokol* "falcon") near the little town of Rudo in the *ḳaḍā'* of Višegrad into a Serbian family of minor rural nobility deriving its name from the village (sc. that of Sokolović > Tkish. Soḳollu). It had several branches, one of them supplying the second vizier Deli Khosrew Pasha (dismissed in 1544) through the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*]. The son of one Dimitriye who eventually converted to Islam, his baptismal name was Bayo, and he had three brothers according to Serbian tradition, two according to the Turkish one. He was educated in the Mileševa monastery where an uncle was a monk.

His career in Ottoman service and his conversion (adopting the name Mehmed) was through the *dewshirme*, he being recruited by Yeshildje Mehmed Beg at the relatively late age of 16 to 18, perhaps a sign that the recruiting officer attached special value to his recruitment. Details about Soḳollu's youth appear in the eulogistic *Djewāhir ül-menāḳib* and in various legends accruing *a posteriori* because of his spectacular career (see O. Ziroyević, *Mehmed Pascha Sokolli im Lichte jugoslavischer Quellen und Überlieferungen*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, iv [1984], 56-67). Brought to Sultan Süleymān at Edirne, early in the latter's reign, he was educated in the palace there. According to Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, he allegedly took part in the campaign to the two 'Irāḳs under the *defterdār* Iskender Čelebi (von Hammer, *Histoire*, v, 224-5, 494). Then he entered the Topkapı palace and worked in the "interior treasury" (*ič khazīne*), rising in the hierarchy towards the sultan's own person to become *rikābdār* or groom, *čuḳadār* or valet-de-chambre and *silāḥdār* or sword-bearer. Using the nepotism which he would make a corner-stone of his career, he already exercised this in favour of his own family, through the intermediacy of the *djizyedār* of Bosnia, Aḥmed Beg, he had a brother and nephew, this last under the guise of Soḳollu's younger brother, the future Muṣṭafā Pasha, brought to Istanbul and enrolled as pages in the Ghalaṭa palace, and then his father, converted to Islam as Djemāl ül-Dīn Sinān Beg, who became administrator of a *waḳf* in Bosnia.

Soḳollu became chief taster (*čashnegīr bashī*) in the palace and head door-keeper (*ḳapudjï bashï*), this last title given to him by the sultan at the time of the 1541 campaign. It seems to have been in this last function that he received the king of France's envoy before the sultan's return from Hungary. In 1546 he received his first nomination as successor to Khayr

Banābas͟hī or Molla D̲j̲āmiʿ built by Seyfullāh Efendi 978/1570-1, at present the only Muslim place of worship in Sofia (Photo: 1980s).

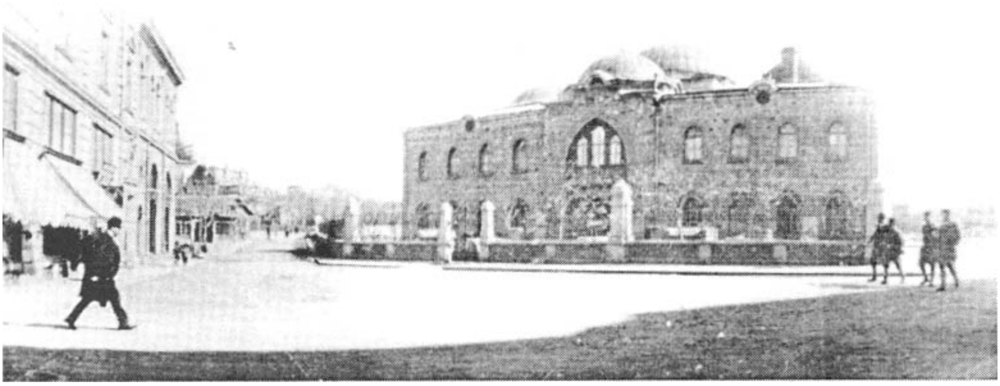

Great mosque, built by Maḥmūd Pasha, 9th/15th century (Photo: early 20th century).

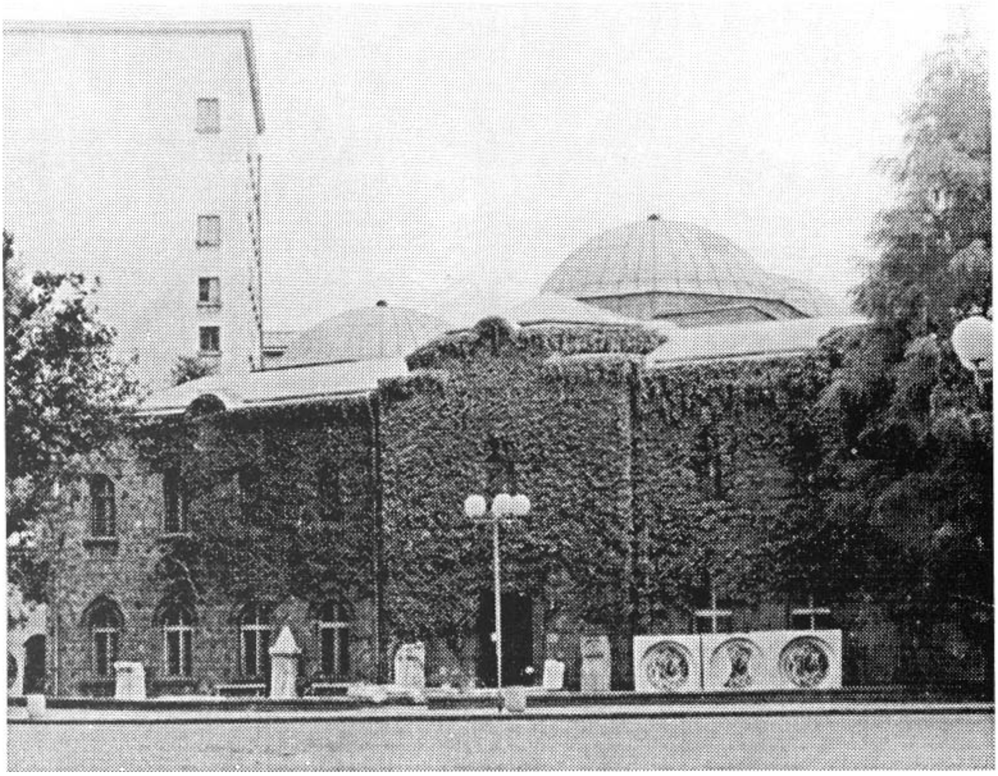

Contemporary view of the same, now the National Archaeology Museum of Bulgaria.

al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] as *kapudan pasha* with the rank of *sandjak beg*. His work with the naval forces was primarily as an administrator, the organisation of the fleet, recruitment of sailors, financial resources and the arsenal, rather than the actual conduct of operations, this being left to the corsair chief Torghud Re'īs [*q.v.*].

In 1549 he became *beglerbeg* of Rūmeli in succession to Semīdh ʿAlī Pasha, and in this function in 1551 reasserted the sultan's sovereignty and the rights of his protégé John Sigismund, the minor son of the deceased king of Hungary John Zapolya, over Transylvania against the ambitions of the Habsburg Ferdinand, who had sent an army under J.-B. Castaldo and who was to obtain a cardinal's hat for the alleged betrayal of the country by the Regent George Utješenović, called Martinucci (see A. Huber, *Die Erwerbung Siebenbürgens durch Ferdinand I. im Jahre 1551 und Bruder Georgs End*, in *Archiv für Österr. Gesch.*, lxxv [1889], 481-545; idem, *Die Verhandlungen Ferdinands I. mit Isabella von Siebenbürgen 1551-1555*, in *ibid.*, lxxviii [1892], 1-39; L. Makkai, *Hist. de la Transylvanie*, Paris 1946; M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, *L'Empire ottoman et les pays roumains, 1544-1545*, Paris-Cambridge, Mass. 1987, 17-46; S.M. Džaja and G. Weiss, *Austro-Turcica 1541-1552*, Munich 1995, index s.v. Martinuzzi). Sokollu was appointed *serdār* of this expedition to Transylvania and the Banat, with not only his own forces but also troops from the *sandjaks* of Semendire and Nigbolu, Crimean and Dobrudja Tatars, contingents sent by the Voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia and a force of 2,000 Janissaries. At Slankemen he was joined by the *akindjis* [*q.v.*] of Mīkhāl-oghlu ʿAlī Beg [see MĪKHĀL-OGHLU] and the forces of the *beylerbeg* of Buda, Khādim ʿAlī Pasha. The army crossed the Danube on 6 Ramaḍān 958/7 September 1551, then the Tisza, and entered Transylvania without resistance. During the campaign, at Csanád on the Maros and a dozen other fortresses, Sokollu benefited from the rallying to his side of local Serbian garrisons to whom he appealed by citing their common origin with him. At Lippa, the Habsburg garrison fled and the town surrendered, so that Sokollu could install a force of 5,000 *sipāhīs* [*q.v.*] and 200 Janissaries. He then besieged Stephen Losonczy in Temesvár [see TEMESHWAR], but with the approach of bad weather and of Castaldo's forces, retired to Belgrade for the winter, from where he sent letters to the three nations of Transylvania and the magistrates of leading towns there invoking their loyalty to the sultan. At the end of the year he was joined by the forces which had had to evacuate Lippa. At Belgrade he prepared the campaign of the following year. In February 1552, Michael Toth, with 5,000 hayduks, seized Szeged [*q.v.*], whose *sandjak-beg* Mīkhāl-oghlu Khiḍīr Beg was compelled to take refuge in the citadel, but this was recovered by the *beglerbeg* of Buda, ʿAlī Pasha (see von Hammer, vi, 22-3). Given the seriousness of the situation, the campaign beginning April 1552 was given to a *serdār* of higher rank, the second vizier Kara Aḥmed Pasha, with Sokollu only in a subordinate role. The army captured Temesvár and other places in the Banat in July, but in the next months a new campaign was prepared against Persia, and Sokollu was ordered to cross with the troops of Rūmeli at Gallipoli and winter at Tokat.

The campaign was initially commanded by Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*] but finally by the sultan himself, anxious to scotch rumours of his replacement by his rebellious son Muṣṭafā. This latter affair, ending with Muṣṭafā's execution, delayed events for a year, with Sokollu wintering at Tokat and the sultan at Aleppo. In June 1554, Sokollu's Rumelian troops, on the left wing, distinguished themselves on the march from Erzurum to Nakhčivān by the perfect state of their equipment, and Sokollu also took part in operations against fortresses in Georgia. On his return, Süleymān appointed him at Amasya third vizier, so that he became *ex officio* a member of the imperial *dīwān*.

His influence and high standing with the sultan could now only increase further. On returning to Istanbul, the sultan entrusted him in 1555 with the delicate matter of suppressing, with a force of 3,000 Janissaries sent in the direction of the Dobrudja, the revolt of a "false" (*düzme*) Muṣṭafā, who claimed to be the resuscitated executed prince; captured by the *sandjak-beg* of Nigbolu, the pretender was handed over to Sokollu for hanging. He was then closely involved in the aging sultan's measures to calm the situation of rivalry over the impending succession between the two *shehzādes*, Selīm and Bāyezīd, being sent in November 1558 to Selīm with messages from his father enjoining peace and harmony and their acceptance of the *sandjaks* offered to them. Sokollu succeeded here with Selīm (whose daughter he was to marry), whereas the fourth vizier Pertew Pasha [*q.v.*] failed to persuade Bāyezīd to exchange his governorate of Konya for that of Amasya. In the ensuing war between the two brothers begun by Bāyezīd, the sultan sent an army in support of Selīm into Anatolia, comprising 3,000 Janissaries and 40 pieces of cannon under Sokollu's command. In the battle on the plain of Konya on 21 Shaʿbān 966/29 May 1559, Sokollu was the architect of Selīm's victory. Sokollu and Selīm then pursued the refugee Bāyezīd towards Persia, marching as far as Sivas, and with the prince's arrival in Persia, Sokollu was deputed to winter at Aleppo and watch for any moves by the rebellious prince, only returning to Istanbul in spring 1560 (S. Turan, *Kanuninin oğlu Şehzade Bayezid vakʿası*, Ankara 1961).

In the following year, on 10 July 1561, the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha's death brought about the promotion, by the strict rules of hierarchy, of the second vizier Semīdh ʿAlī Pasha, with Sokollu in the latter's vacated place, in which his influence grew, even if still in a clandestine fashion. Then, on ʿAlī's death on 27 June 1565, Sokollu succeeded naturally to the Grand Vizierate, thus crowning his career as a *dewshirme* convert.

During this period, the siege of Malta, begun by his predecessor, had received a severe check. The new Grand Vizier aimed at restoring Ottoman prestige in the eyes of the Austrians, using firmness against the new Imperial ambassador Hosszuthoty, on pretext of Austrian encroachments on several fortresses in Transylvania and non-payment of stipulated tribute. A campaign was decided upon, and Sokollu, with other persons activated more by religious than political considerations, insisted that the aged and sick sultan should participate; but since the latter had to travel in a carriage or even be borne on a litter, Sokollu was ultimately responsible for the conduct of operations. It was during the siege of Szigetvár [*q.v.*], begun on 5 August, one day before the fortress surrendered, that Süleymān died (7 September 1565). Sokollu now acted with a skill and mastery of the situation which later became proverbial. With the complicity of his secretary Ferīdūn, the *silāḥdār* Djaʿfer Agha and the physician, the sultan's death had to be kept secret to avoid anarchy and the complete disarray of the army. The news of his father's death was sent secretly to Selīm at Kütahya, who then set out for Belgrade after securing his succession in Istanbul. In the army camp,

all sorts of stratagems were employed to perpetuate the idea of Süleymān's continuance in life, culminating in his setting off ostensibly in his coach. The news of his death was only revealed four stages out of Belgrade (detailed account of the campaign and the sultan's death in Selānikī; see also Ferīdūn Beg, *Nüzhet ül-akhbār*, Topkapı, Hazine ms. 1339; Āgāhī Manṣūr Čelebi, *Feth-nāme-yi ḳalʿe-yi Sigetwar*, Ist. Univ. ms. T 3884; ʿĀlī, *Heft medjlis*, Istanbul 1316/1898-9).

Selīm, under the influence of his favourites at Kütahya, refused to lend himself in Belgrade to a second investiture (*bayʿat*) before the troops and to award them the traditional accession gift (*djülūs bakhshīshi*). Soḳollu thought this attitude irresponsible, and was able to intervene when the new sultan's actions provoked the inevitable army revolt, persuading Selīm to give out some money. But a second revolt erupted when the army reached the Edirne Gate of Istanbul, on the grounds that it had not received the full amount demanded, and the alarmed sultan, whose access to his palace had been blocked by a hay cart, had to allow Soḳollu to concede everything.

Soḳollu now remained Grand Vizier all through Selīm's reign, making himself indispensable to the sultan, whose son-in-law he became in 969/1561-2 by his marriage to Esmakhan, a union for which he had to divorce his two previous wives, who had given him the two sons Ḥasan, the future Pasha, and Ḳurt Ḳāsim Beg, both present on the Szigetvár campaign, and Esmakhan was to give him various children, including a son Ibrāhīm Khān who became *ḳapudjï bashï* (see T. Gökbilgin, in *İA*, art. *Ibrahim Han*; genealogy of this son in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont *et alii*, *Stelae turcicae. II. Cimetières de la mosquée de Sokollu Mehmed Paşa à Kadırga limanı*..., Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft XXXVI, Tübingen 1950). Under Selīm, Soḳollu reached the apogee of his authority as the true head of the empire and maintainer of its power and grandeur. Even so, his authority was not unaffected by the whims of an intemperate sovereign and the intrigues of his enemies and potential rivals like his kinsman Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha ([*q.v.*] and see S. Turan, in *Belleten*, xxii [1958], 551-93) or the Albanian Sinān Pasha ([*q.v.*] and see Turan, in *İA*, art. *Sinan Paşa, Koça*). Moreover, he was unable to dislodge certain of the sultan's favourites, such as the same Lala Muṣṭafā, whom Selīm appointed sixth vizier in Radjab 976/January 1569 without reference to Soḳollu, and Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos, the most famous of the great Jewish financiers established in Istanbul and main advocate of the conquest of Cyprus (see NAḲSHE; PARA, and their *Bibls.*, and also A. Galante, *Don Joseph Nassi, duc de Naxos, d'après de nouveaux documents*; idem, *Hist. des Juifs d'Istanbul*, Istanbul 1942; J. Reznik, *Le duc de Naxos*..., Paris 1936; P. Grunebaum-Balin, *Joseph Naci, duc de Naxos*, Paris-The Hague 1968).

Nevertheless, Soḳollu was not a solitary figure relying purely on his own powers and skills to remain in power, but very early in his career one sees forming round him a network of protégés, a family base, or at least a regional and ethnic one. He frequently received visitors from his family in the capital, without requiring that they should become Muslim (testimony of Stefan Gerlach in 1577). Many of his relations achieved high positions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Hungary. His cousin Muṣṭafā Pasha became *beglerbeg* of Buda in the course of the Szigetvár campaign, and a young brother of Muṣṭafā, Meḥmed, was *sandjaḳ-beg* of Bosnia until in 1573 he became tutor to a royal prince, as Lala Meḥmed Pasha, and eventually Grand Vizier (see above). Another cousin, Ferhād Beg, became *sandjaḳ-beg* of Klis in 1570, and then that of Bosnia. Ḳara Sinān Beg, *sandjaḳ-beg* of Bosnia and then of Herzegovina, of the Boljanic family of Herzegovina, was Soḳollu's brother-in-law. His own two sons, Ḥasan Pasha and Ḳurt Beg, attained high office.

As well as these kinship connections, Soḳollu had several trusty confidants, such as his secretary Ferīdūn, who saved his life at the siege of Szigetvár, *müteferriḳa* under Süleymān and then later *reʾīs efendi* and *nishāndjï*, and Süleymān's last *silāḥdār*, who had helped conceal the sultan's death, married a daughter of Soḳollu and became Agha of the Janissaries.

One is tempted to discern in the re-establishment of the Patriarchate of Peć in 1557, when Soḳollu was third vizier, a manifestation of Serbian solidarity and even of nepotism, since the holder, Makariye, former Archimandrite of one of the Mount Athos monasteries, was a nephew (Marino Cavalli) or possibly even a brother (Gerlach) of the vizier. After Makariye's death in 1574, the post eventually went to two more Sokolovićs, until the death of Savatiye in 1586, so that the family had held the patriarchate for thirty years since its restoration. But one may also see an additional factor at work here, a wider policy of conciliating the Serbs to make them a support of Ottoman policy in the Balkans, a role which they had actually played in the 1551 Banat campaign (see M. Grujić, *Pravoslavna srpska crkva*, Belgrade 1920, 180-96; M. Mirković, *Pravni položaj i karakter srpske crkve pod turskom vlašću (1454-1766)*, Belgrade 1965, 212-21; Sr. Petković, *Zidno slikarstvo na području Pećke patrijarkije 1557-1614*, Novi Sad 1965).

Soḳollu did not exercise his power with warlike intentions, and ceased personally to exercise military command, in which he had always, as we have seen, been mostly concerned with questions of organisation, arms and logistics. Nevertheless, and in despite of his own preferences, some important campaigns took place during his tenure of office. An expedition to Yemen was necessary after the revolt there of the Zaydī Imām al-Muṭahhar, who had occupied Ṣanʿāʾ and thrown off Ottoman authority. Soḳollu took this opportunity to play off and to arbitrate between two of his main rivals, with Lala Muṣṭafā appointed as *serdār* of the expedition coming into conflict with the governor of Egypt, Sinān Pasha, who refused Lala Muṣṭafā resources for the campaign; in the end, the latter was disgraced, and Sinān made *serdār* in his place. On the question of Cyprus, Soḳollu did not wish for a rupture of the peace with Venice, foreseeing an alliance of the Republic with Spain and the Papacy and a strong naval threat to the Ottomans, as in fact happened when Pius V brought about the *Sacra Liga*, the war party under Piyāle Pasha [*q.v.*] and Lala Muṣṭafā and the avidity of Joseph Nasi having prevailed against his advice. His old ally, the *shaykh al-shuyūkh* Abu 'l-Suʿūd [*q.v.*], this time failed him, and gave a *fatwā* in favour of violating the treaty with Venice, although he repented of this and promised Soḳollu never to issue any decree against him in future (on the Cyprus campaign, see the refs. in the *Bibl.* to ḲUBRUṢ). Even then, Soḳollu never broke completely, during the crisis, with the Venetian *bailo* Marc-Antonio Barbaro, with whom he developed a remarkable affinity (M. Lesure, *Notes et documents sur les relations vénéto-ottomanes, 1570-1573*, in *Turcica*, iv [1972], 134-64, viii/1 [1975], 117-56). Finally, he was able to get the best advantage out of what he could not avoid; immediately after the naval defeat of Lepanto [see AYNABAKHTĪ], he used the immense resources of the empire, together with his old experience at the arsenal, to have 150 galleys and 8

mahones built in the winter of 1571-2, providing the *kapudan pasha* Ḳilič ʿAlī, some months only after the disaster, with a war fleet stronger than ever (idem, *La crise de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1972). Also, after Cyprus was conquered, the fiscal revenues of the island fell to the Grand Vizier before these *khāṣṣ* revenues passed to the *wālides*, mothers of the reigning sultans.

Standing apart personally from the combats which he did everything to avoid, Soḳollu was nevertheless very active in diplomatic affairs, negotiating incessantly through dragomans, notably the renegade from the Polish nobility, originally Joachym Strasz, now called Ibrāhīm Beg (cf. A. Zajączkowski, in *RO*, xii [1936], 91-118; A. Bombaci, in *ibid.*, xv [1939-49], 129-44). It is from diplomatic reports by foreigners having business with him, especially the Imperial ambassador Verantius (cf. *Monumenta Hungaria historica. Scriptores*, vi, docs. VI, XXI), and the Venetians Cavalli, Ragazzoni and Barbaro (cf. Albèri, *Le relazioni...*) that we possess the most precise and lively physical and psychological portraits of the Grand Vizier, the "magnificent Bassa" that all could not but admire and respect. He is depicted as tall, well-proportioned, handsome and well-groomed, with (in 1573) a long gray beard. He was a courteous speaker, but an astute adversary, always on guard, venting on the sultan or his rivals the most brutal decisions, and capable of being haughty and inflexible. All emphasise his avariciousness for exorbitant presents, from within and without the empire. Some authorities detected a streak of vanity in him, seen in his pretensions to stem from the line of despots of Serbia; but none of them knew of the physical courage which he had evinced at the siege of Szigetvár or in the great Istanbul fire of 1569.

His diplomatic policy aimed at assuaging conflicts with the Porte's potential enemies: with the Emperor (hence the renewal of the treaty with Maximilian in 1568 and then, under Murād III, with Rudolf, as well as the nomination of very reliable governors on the Hungarian and Croatian frontiers); with the Shāh of Persia Ṭahmāsp I (hence the sumptuous reception of the Shāh's envoy at Selīm's accession); with the Doge of Venice (with whom good relations were renewed in 1573); and subsequently, Tsar Ivan the Terrible of Russia. At the same time, he endeavoured to strengthen links with the Porte's natural allies: with France (capitulations of 1569, apparently the first, since those of 1536 had never been ratified, see IMTIYĀZĀT, and I. de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane avec les puissances étrangères*, i, Paris 1854, 90-140), and with Poland. He intervened in the election of the successor to Sigismund Augustus, and after first envisaging the candidature of the Voivode of Transylvania, who was first to have married Marguerite de Valois (embassy to France of 1569), he rallied to the cause of the Duke of Anjou, and finally to that of Stephen Bathory, by now the new Voivode of Transylvania (see A. Refīḳ, *Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha we Lehistān intikhābāti*, in *TOEM*, xxxv; de Testa, *op. cit.*, 113, 115; L. Szadecyk, *L'election d'Etienne Bathory au trône de Pologne*, Cracow 1935; letters of Soḳollu to Sigismund Augustus and Bathory in Z. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, Warsaw 1959). When the demands of the sultan of Acheh [*q.v.*] in Sumatra became pressing, the Grand Vizier and the *dīwān* decided to send a squadron of 19 galleys under the *kapudan* of Alexandria, plus at the same time troops with supplies and pay for a year, weapons and artillery, from the resources of Egypt. These measures were held back by the Yemen campaign, but put into effect in 976/1568-9 (Ṣafwet, *Bir ʿothmānlī filosunun Sumatra seferi*, in *TOEM*, x [1912], 604-14, 678-83; A.J.S. Reid, *Sixteenth-century Turkish influence in Western Indonesia*, in S. Kartodjirdo (ed.), *Profiles of Malay culture*, Yogyakarta 1976, 107-25; D. Lombard, *L'Empire ottomane vu d'Insulinde*, in *Passé turcotatar, présent soviétique. Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, Louvain-Paris 1986, 157-64; five large cannons, at least four of them cast in Istanbul, are preserved in the Home for Retired Servicemen from the Army of the Indies at Bronbeek near Arnhem in the Netherlands).

Such Pan-Islamic projects contrasted with the usual realism of Soḳollu, and are seen also in the Astrakhān campaign of 1569. The southwards Russian advance had led to the extinguishing of the Muslim khānates of Kazan [*q.v.*] (1552) and Astrakhān [*q.v.*] (1556). Information from a Circassian *defterdār*, Ḳāsim Beg, led the Grand Vizier to envisage the possibility of a canal connecting the Don and Volga, thus facilitating an expedition to recover Astrakhān, and Ḳāsim Beg was appointed *serdār* of this campaign. The ostensible reason for this was to protect pilgrims from Central Asia en route for the Ḥidjāz being threatened by the infidels in Astrakhān, since the sultan was Protector of the Two Sanctuaries, but there were probably wider strategic aims envisaged: perhaps to halt Muscovite expansion southwards, to strengthen Ottoman suzerainty over Shīrwān, Georgia and Ḳarabāgh; and above all, to outflank Persia and open up a new route of attack thither. In fact, climatic conditions, Russian attacks on the workmen involved, as well as the Crimean Khān Dewlet Giray I's ill-will, brought the project to nought, and exposed Soḳollu to blame from the sultan downwards; but at least he managed to patch up the damaged Ottoman-Russian relations after this. Amongst an extensive literature on this project, see Aḥmed Refīḳ, in *TOEM*, xliii (1917), 1-14; H. İnalcık, *The origin of the Ottoman-Russian rivalry and the Don-Volga canal (1569)*, in *Ankara Univ. Annals*, i (1946-7), 47-110, expanded Tkish. version in *Belleten*, xii, no. 46 (1948), 342-402; A.N. Kurat, *The Turkish expedition to Astrakhan in 1569 and the problem of the Don-Volga canal*, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xl (Dec. 1961), 7-23; Bennigsen, *L'expédition turque contre Astrakhan en 1569 d'après des "Affaires importantes" des archives ottomanes*, in *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, viii/3 (1967), 427-46; idem and M. Berindei, *Astrakhan et la politique des steppes nord-pontiques (1587-1588)*, in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, iii-iv (1979-80), 71-91; Gökbilgin, *L'expédition ottomane contre Astrakhan en 1569*, in *CMRS*, xi/1 (1970), 118-23; G. Veinstein, *Une lettre de Selim II au roi de Pologne Sigismond-Auguste sur la campagne d'Astrakhan de 1569*, in *WZKM*, lxxxii (1992), 397-420.

Soḳollu also wished to give help to the insurgent Moriscoes in Granada, and apparently even suggested to Selīm intervention in Spain rather than in Cyprus. He sent a *fermān* to the governor of Algiers in April 1570 instructing him to give all possible aid to the rebels and one to the Moriscoes themselves confirming the instructions to the *beglerbeg*. The two documents envisaged an expedition against Spain once the Cyprus campaign was over (A. Temimi, *Le gouvernement ottoman face au problème morisque*, in *Rev. d'Hist. Maghrébine*, xxiii-xxiv [1981], 258-9, text of the letter to the Andalusians at 260-2).

An enumeration of Soḳollu's military and diplomatic initiatives does not exhaust his work. He was at the same time, perhaps principally, a careful administrator concerned with the smooth functioning of existing Ottoman institutions. The historians say little about this more anonymous work, and it remains to be analysed in the light of the innumerable docu-

ments preserved in the Istanbul archives (reproductions of the grand Vizier in his council in the *Shehnāme-yi Selīm Khān* in the Topkapı Library, depicted in T. Artan, *The Kadırga palace shrouded by the mists of time*, in *Turcica*, xxvi [1994], 124). The most well known, as well as most durable, of his activities were those as builder. The Don-Volga canal and the dream of a Suez canal (cf. von Hammer, vi, 341) are in one sense the most visionary expressions of this activity. In Istanbul, he had built or rebuilt a sumptuous Grand Vizierial palace, partly occupying the site of the future Sultan Aḥmed mosque, but he had an even more magnificent palace at Üsküdar. It is now also clear that his patronage and the plans of Sinān [*q.v.*] were behind the Esma Sultan palace at Kadırga Limanı (see Artan, *op. cit.*, 55-124). In the same quarter, he entrusted to Sinān the building of the mosque which bears his name, to which a *medrese*, a fountain and a *zāwiye* were attached, and he also built so-called Azap kapı mosque. Finally, he likewise entrusted to Sinān the building of a small complex, completed in 976/1568-9, not far from the Eyüp mosque in the Camii Kebir Caddesi, including the Esma Sultan mosque, a *dār ul-ḳurrā'* and a mausoleum destined for his own remains (M. Cezar, *Le Külliye de Sokollu Mehmed Pasha à Eyüp*, in *Stelae turcicae*, ii, 29-41). But he established numerous pious benefactions all across the empire, especially in those regions particularly connected with his life and career: at Sokolović; in the Banat; at Belgrade, where his *wakf* of 1566 comprised a vast caravanserai, covered market, etc., necessitating the destruction of three churches and some synagogues of the city (descriptions in Pigafetta, Gerlach and Ewliyā); at Edirne and Lüle Burgaz; and as far away as Aleppo and Medina. He was especially concerned with such utilitarian structures as caravanserais and bridges which would facilitate traffic and communications in Rūmeli, such as the bridge at Višegrad on the Drina and other lesser known ones, e.g. at Trebnišnjica in Herzegovina (Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 508-15; A. Bejtić, *Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini*, in *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, iii-iv [1952-3], 229-87).

He seems to have had less renown as a patron of poets and painters, even if the poet Bāḳī [*q.v.*] praised him in his *ḳaṣīdes* and if, according to the historian Loḳmān, when an album of portraits of the sultans was being prepared, he ordered the painters at the palace led by Naḳḳāsh ʿOthmān to study Western portraiture (N. Atasoy, *Nakkaş Osmanın padişah portreleri album*, in *Türkiyemiz*, vi [1972], 2-12). In 1578 he commissioned a portrait of Murād III from a painter of Verona in the Venetian embassy and is said to have asked for portraits of the first sultans to be sent from Venice. He also sponsored the *Münshe'āt ül-selāṭīn* of Ferīdūn Beg, admittedly, more a historical than genuinely literary work (von Hammer, vii, 19-20).

Selīm II's premature death on 1 Ramaḍān 982/15 December 1574 threatened, as in all succession crises, the stability of the empire. Immediately informed of the death by the sultana Nūr Bānū [*q.v.*], Soḳollu for a second time successfully coped with this critical situation, sending secretly to the successor, Murād III, at Manisa. On his arrival, the grateful Murād wished to kiss the Grand Vizier's hand, but was stopped by the latter (Selānikī applies to Soḳollu here the title of *atabeg*). Accession money was agreed for the troops; nevertheless, Soḳollu had to placate part of the cavalry.

Under the new reign, he continued his diplomatic and administrative policies on the same lines as in the past, notably showing disapproval, without being able to make his views prevail, of the renewal of war with Persia in 1577, envisaging the conquest of Transcaucasia; as with the earlier Yemen expedition, Soḳollu had his enemy Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha made *serdār* (B. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-Iran siyasi münasebetleri, 1578-1590*, Istanbul 1962, 37; M.F. Kırzıoğlu, *Osmanlıların Kafkas ellerini fethi (1450-1590)*, Ankara 1976, 272, 276-9). He also favoured the first trade treaty with England in 1579 (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Türk-Ingiliz münasebetlerine dair vesikalar*, in Belleten, no. 50; Kurat, *Türk-Ingiliz münasebetlerinin başlangıcı*, Ankara 1953; Susan A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the trade with Turkey, 1578-1582*, London 1977).

However, his power was gradually decreasing through its attrition, the disappearing of his main supports and the growing boldness of old and new enemies, these last including four favourites of the new sultan: Ḳara Üweys Čelebi, the sultan's *defterdār* at Manisa, his *khodja* Shems ül-Dīn, his spiritual guide Shaykh Shudjāʿ ul-Dīn and the sultan's companion and poet Shemsī Aḥmed Pasha. But there was equal opposition from the *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker* Ḳāḍīzāde, the chief of the white eunuchs, of Hungarian origin, Ghaḍanfer, and the harem women, sc. the *wālide* Nūr Bānū, the favourite Ṣafiyye [*q.v.*] and the superintendent of the harem, *kahya ḳadīn*, Djānfidā, this last and Ghaḍanfer being old allies of Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha.

Six months after Murād's accession, Soḳollu took the initiative in opening hostilities by ordering, in Shawwāl 982/February 1575, an enquiry into Ḳara Üweys's activities at Manisa (Gökbilgin, *Kara Üveys Paşa*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, ii [1952], 17-18), but Shemsī Pasha succeeded in rallying all the Grand Vizier's opponents, Ḳara Üweys was whitewashed and promoted third *defterdār*, and an extensive purge of Soḳollu's supporters followed. Thus Ferīdūn lost his place as *nishāndjī* and was exiled to the *sandjaḳ* of Belgrade, whilst his *ketkhudā*, and that of Soḳollu plus the latter's *ḳapudjī bashī*, were all executed, as was another of Soḳollu's favourites, Michael Cantacuzenus, called Sheyṭān-oghlu, "the devil's son", on the pretext of his exactions. On the pretext also of an explosion which had damaged the palace and arsenal at Buda, Soḳollu Muṣṭafā Pasha was executed and his property confiscated (October 1578), and replaced by Üweys himself, who now became Pasha. Soḳollu's position was further weakened by the deaths of two of his old supporters, the vizier Piyāle Pasha and the *muftī* Ḥamīd Efendi, now replaced by his enemy Ḳāḍīzāde. Finally, he came up against the sultan, who now wished to control all appointments personally, instead of delegating this task, as had done his predecessor.

Despite all these bad omens, Soḳollu carried on imperturbably when, on 20 Shaʿbān/12 October 1579, a petitioner dressed as a dervish stabbed him in the heart whilst he was in his *ikindi dīwān* (P. Rycaut, *The Turkish history*, London 1687, 670-1). The assassin, of Bosnian origin, was aggrieved at the lowering of his *tīmār* [*q.v.*], but there are doubts over this. More recently, his action has been connected with the movements of the Bosnian Ḥamzawīs who wanted to avenge their master, Shaykh Ḥamza Balī, executed at Istanbul in 969/1561-2 after a *fatwā* from Abu 'l-Suʿūd (S. Başagić, *Znameniti Hrvati Bošniaci i Hercegovci in Turskoj carvini*, Zagreb 1931, 48; M.T. Okić, *Quelques documents inédits sur les Hamzavites*, in *Trans. 20th Congress of Orientalists*, Istanbul 1951), Soḳollu was mourned as a martyr, and buried in the mausoleum he had built at Eyüp. He remains as the statesman who allowed Ottoman grandeur to throw out its last flashes of fire under the two unworthy successors of Süleymān the Magnificent.

Bibliography: The main Ottoman sources on his life and career are the chronicles of Selānikī, Pečewī and Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (of this last, especially his *Künh ül-akhbār*, whose analyses revealing the role of personal rivalries and the networks of clientage at this time are carefully rendered by C. Fleischer in his *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman empire. The historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)*, Princeton 1986), Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's *Tuḥfat ul-kibār*, and the panegyric from *ca.* 1570, the *Djewāhir ül-menāḳib* (Millet 1031) cf. ʿAbd ul-Raḥmān Sheref, *Soḳollî Meḥmed Pashanîñ ewāʾil-i aḥwāli we ʿāʾilesi ḥakḳinda baʿḍī maʿlūmāt—Djewāhir ül-menākib*, in *TOEM*, xxix [1332/1914], 257-65). Amongst Western sources, as well as the travellers mentioned above, there are the Venetian *relazioni* (E. Albèri, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti durante il secolo decimosesto. Serie III. Le relazioni degli stati Ottomani al Senat*, i, Florence 1840, ii, 1844, iii, 1855); Gerlach's *Tagebuch, 1573-1578*, Frankfurt 1674; and the reports of the Imperial ambassadors; Marco-Antonio Pugafetta, *Itinerario*, London 1585, who was in the 1568 embassy of Vrancic and Teufenbach from Maximilian.

The biographies of Soḳollu include, apart from outdated ones, a study based on the Venetian documents, M. Brisch, *Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Groswesire*, Gotha 1899, 3-70; and A. Refīḳ, *Soḳollî*, Constantinople 1924, but Von Hammer's history, with vols. vi and vii of the Fr. tr. by J.-J. Hellert covering the period in question, based on a wide span of Western and Oriental sources, remains the irreplaceable basic work, resumed by Kramers in his *EI*[1] art. and amplified for a number of points by the copious *İA* art. *Mehmed Paşa* of M.T. Gökbilgin, considerably used in this present article. The book of R. Samardžić, *Mehmed Sokolović*, Belgrade 1971, Fr. tr. M. Begić, *Mehmed Sokolovitch. Le destin d'un grand vizir*, Paris 1994, is the most substantial work on him at present, amplifying his biography by a use of unpublished documents from Ragusa, Venice and Vienna, but its aim is not wholly scientific, since the author envisages the educated reading public of his own land and includes some very Serbocentric explanations, moral reflections and pyschological extrapolations, and sometimes trips up over Ottoman realities (see the review by Veinstein, in *Turcica*, xxvii [1995], 304-10).

(G. Veinstein)

SOKOTO (Sakkwato in Hausa; Ṣakata in Arabic), a city in north-western Nigeria. It was established first as a camp in 1223/1808, then the following autumn as a *ribāṭ*, by Muḥammad Bello [*q.v.*], the son of the Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*], in the fourth and final year of their *djihād* against Gobir. In 1230/1815, the Shaykh, now ill, moved to Sokoto from Sifawa. On his death in 1232/1817 and with the election of Muḥammad Bello as *Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, the city became the headquarters of the "Sokoto Caliphate". The Shaykh was buried in the garden of his house in Sokoto and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage (*ziyāra*); at the instigation of his daughter Asmāʾ, it became a focal point for organising pious women, who became known as *ʾyan taru*. Although the city remained the most important town in the area, Wurno, 20 miles to the northeast, was also used by several caliphs as a *ribāṭ* and capital instead of Sokoto; it is where Muḥammad Bello is buried.

The city of Sokoto stands high on a bluff overlooking the Sokoto river at its confluence with the Rima river. Nearby are springs, the discovery of which was one of the *karāmāt* of the Shaykh. The city was mud-walled, with eight gates (like Paradise, people said); the walls were extended *ca.* 1230/1815 towards the west so as to accommodate the Shaykh and his companions. The core of the city originally centred on Muḥammad Bello's house closing the eastern end of a wide ceremonial avenue; the palace therefore faced west in the traditional manner with, at the rear, an eastern doorway for slaves. The open space in front of the palace had the mosque on the south side and, further away to the north, the market place (and place of execution); Muḥammad Bello's officials—the vizier and the *magajin gari*—had their houses on his right (north), while the two others, the *galadima* and the *magajin rafi*, were on his left. The Shaykh had his own mosque beside his house in the new quarter on the west side of the town.

"Sokoto Caliphate" is the term used since *ca.* 1965 to denote the state set up by Shaykh ʿUthmān following the successful *djihād* of 1218-23/1804-8 which overthrew both Muslim rulers (who were accused of condoning non-Islamic practices) and some non-Muslim chiefs. The state was made up of a series of emirates, often separated by forested no-man's-land; it would have taken a 19th-century traveller four months to traverse the state west to east, and two months from north to south. It was the largest autonomous state in 19th-century sub-Saharan Africa and (by the second half of the century) home to a sophisticated commercial network that traded throughout western and northern Africa. In 1227/1812 the state, already large, was divided into four quadrants, the north and east coming under Muḥammad Bello, the west and south under the Shaykh's brother ʿAbd Allāh; under them, the Ubandoma and the army commander ʿAlī Jedo governed the northern segment, and Abubakar and Bukhari (both sons of the Shaykh) the southern segment. ʿAbd Allāh b. Fūdī and his descendants ruled their half of the state from the small city of Gwandu, some 60 miles southwest of Sokoto. The hinterlands of the two capitals abutted on each other, together forming the spiritual core of a far-flung Muslim community.

The city of Sokoto was surrounded by a closely settled hinterland only about 25 miles wide and 40 miles long; the whole territory was defended against raids by a line of *ribāṭ*s and frontier towns (*thaghr*). No taxes apart from *zakāt* were paid by residents of this hinterland; the population was supported by farmwork and herding carried out by slaves and by taxes sent in twice a year by the emirates. The area never specialised (as did the emirates of Kano or Zaria) in trade or craft production, nor was it noted for its military strength and captives for export (as was Adamawa). It was only after *ca.* 1850 that the *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* had a small standing army of his own. Instead, the area was famous for its scholarship and poetry; over three hundred books were written by the leaders of the *djihād*, while other *ʿulamāʾ* focused on the practice of Ṣūfism. The Ḳādiriyya was the official *ṭarīḳa*; the Tidjāniyya was introduced by al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar al-Fūtī when he was in Sokoto (*ca.* 1246-54/1830-8), but only after *ca.* 1261/1845 did it win public acceptance in emirates outside Sokoto. Expectation that the end of the world was imminent, and that the Mahdī was soon to appear, was widespread throughout the hundred years of the caliphate's history; in the political and intellectual turbulence of the decade 1261-71/1845-55 many tried to migrate eastwards in anticipation; many more left at the end of the century as European imperialism put pressure on Muslim states, with the result that over a million

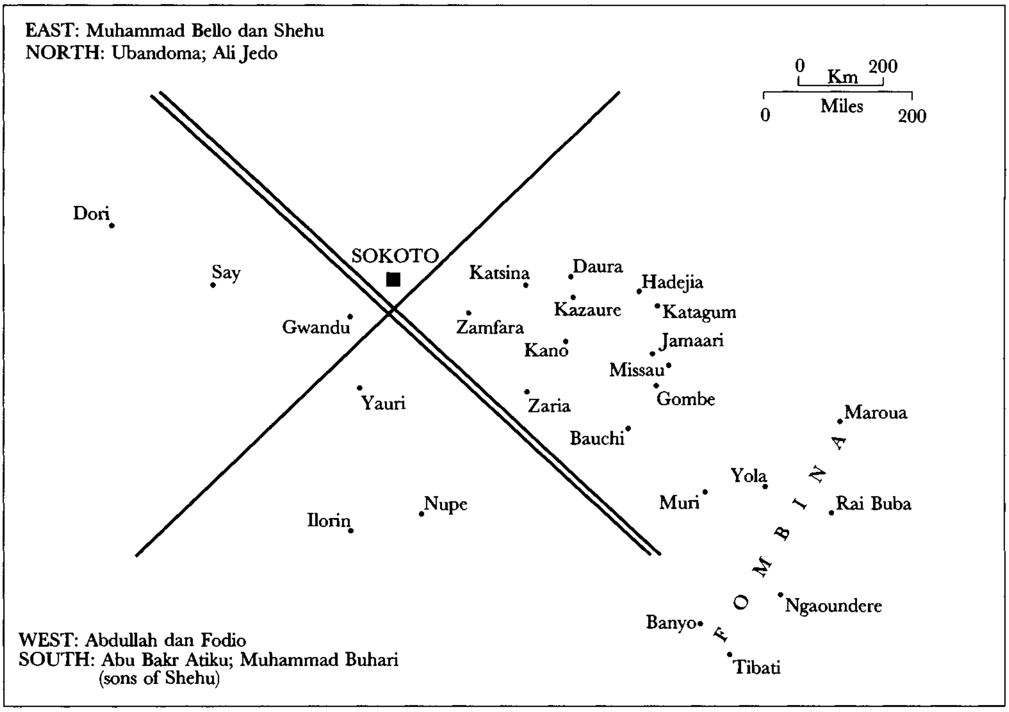

The administrative division into quadrants of the Sokoto Caliphate. (The division was made at Sifawa in 1812; the emirates shown were mostly founded after 1812.)

of their descendants ("Fellata") are today in the Sudan, many of them originally from the Sokoto area.

On 15 March 1903, Lt.-Col. Thomas Morland led a force of some 700 Hausa soldiers to open ground outside the southern walls of Sokoto and there defeated the army of the *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir. The British colonial Commissioner, Frederick Lugard, then proclaimed British sovereignty over Sokoto and its emirates and appointed another Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir as the new "Sultan". Sokoto became just a provincial capital within colonial Nigeria, rather isolated with neither railway nor tarred road. In 1956, with the attainment of self-rule, and in 1960 with full independence, the Sardauna of Sokoto became Premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria. Under him, the notion of a modern "Sokoto Caliphate" was born; through it he and his party sought to foster both a sense of unity and the ideals of good government, based on a common Islamic morality yet tolerant and forward-looking. With his assassination on 15 January 1966, the dream of a revived "Sokoto Caliphate" faded, but under its long-serving Sultan Abubakar (1938-88), Sokoto remained a source of political and spiritual leadership out of all proportion to its economic role in the Nigerian state.

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SOḲOṬRA, SOḲOṬRĪ [see SUḲUṬRA].

ṢOLAḲ, the name of part of the sultan's bodyguard in the old Ottoman military organisation. It comprised four infantry companies or *ortas* of the Janissaries [see YEÑI ČERI], and these were originally archers (*ṣolaḳ* "left-handed", presumably because they carried their bows in the left hand); they comprised *ortas* 60-63. Each *orta* had 100 men and was commanded by a *ṣolaḳ bas̲h̲ï*, assisted by two lieutenants (*rikāb ṣolag̲h̲ï*). The *ṣolaḳs* were used exclusively as bodyguards, together with the smaller (150 men) *od̲j̲aḳ* of the *peyks* ("messengers") under the *peyk bas̲h̲ï*. For their ceremonial role, the *ṣolaḳs* and *peyks* had splendid uniforms, including a special cap (*üsküf*) with a long plume on top.

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ṢOLAḲ-ZĀDE, Meḥmed Hemdemī (?-1068/1658), Ottoman historian and musical composer.

Very little is known about the life and career of Ṣolaḳ-zāde. Described as "old" at the time of his death, he was perhaps born sometime around the year 1000/1592. He died in Istanbul in 1068/1658. His father may have been a retired *ṣolaḳ-bas̲h̲ï*, whose connections gave his son an early entrée into the Ottoman imperial household, with which he remained closely associated. The *mak̲h̲las* Hemdemī reflected his status as "constant companion" to Murād IV (1623-40) during at least the latter part of that sultan's reign (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, i,

509). According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Ṣolaḳ-zāde was a talented musician and an expert player on the *miṣḳāl* (pan pipes). Fourteen of his compositions are documented (M.K. Özergin, *İA* art. *Ṣolaḳ-zāde, Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebi,* at x, 750).

He is known principally for his history of the Ottoman dynasty, untitled, known simply as *Taʾrīkh-i Ṣolaḳ-zāde* (1st ed., to reign of Bāyezīd I only, Istanbul 1271/1854; 2nd complete ed., Istanbul 1299/1881). Written in a fluent, but generally unrhetorical prose style, the History is a compilation acknowledging a range of earlier Ottoman sources but thought to depend mainly upon the *Tādj al-tewārīkh* of Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (up to the reign of Selīm I) and then upon the chronicle of Ḥasan Beg-zāde [*q.v.*], up to *ca.* 1623. The second edition includes only 32 pages (out of 773) on the reign of Murād IV, and concludes with events in the year 1053/1643. Ṣolaḳ-zāde gives little personal information or opinions in his work, except in the introduction where he acknowledges an obviously influential patron, the *khāṣṣ oda-bashî* Ḥasan Agha, who encouraged him to compile the work for presentation to Meḥemmed IV (*Tārīkh*, 2-3).

The second edition includes as preface a *ḳaṣīda* of 92 couplets entitled *Fihrist-i shāhān* ("Index of sultans"), a brief listing of the names and dates of the Ottoman sultans to Meḥemmed IV (1648-87) with their principal attributes and achievements. As a separate work, the *Fihrist* was extended by other writers.

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(Christine Woodhead)

SOLOMON [see sulaymān b. dāwūd].

SOMALI, the name of a people of the Horn of Africa, and **SOMALIA, SOMALILAND**, the geographical region there which they substantially inhabit.

1. Ethnography
2. Geography
3. History
   (a) To 1880
   (b) 1880-1960
   (c) After 1960
4. The role of Islam in Somali society
5. Language
6. Literature

1. Ethnography

The Somali people may be divided into two major socio-economic groups: nomadic pastoralists and sedentary agriculturalists; in addition to these are people who live and work in the towns. The sedentary agriculturalists live primarily along and between the two main rivers the Shabeelle and the Jubba whilst the nomadic pastoralists live in the surrounding areas, namely the northern, western and south-western regions. The pastoralists rear camels, sheep and goats and some raise cattle in certain suitable areas. Horses were also traditionally raised in certain areas, although with the advent of motorised transport their use is now more limited. The camel, sheep and goats constitute the mainstay of the pastoralist economy, being well suited to the semi-desert environment (particularly the camel) of much of the Somali territories, and the animals provide milk, meat and skins to their owners. The camel has also traditionally been the major unit of wealth to the pastoralists, a fact which is reflected often in poetry, in which a man who has no camels is regarded as having little wealth. Among the pastoralists, there is a division of labour for domestic duties with the men being responsible for the camels and the women and young children responsible for the sheep and goats and other domestic duties. The sedentary agriculturalists grow a variety of crops, particularly sorghum and maize but also sesame, beans, cotton and sugar cane, as well as fruits such as bananas and mangoes.

This difference in socio-economic activity is reflected in the way in which people identify themselves within the society. The whole of the Somali nation is divided into a number of clan groups, with the major division between the agriculturalist clan confederacies, the Digil and Rahanweyn, and the pastoralist clan groups, the Dir, Isaaq, Hawiye and Daarood. These major clan groups are divided into clans and sub-clans, etc., and all individuals know their place in this lineage system, being able to recite the line of their ancestors back to eponymous clan founders. People of the Dir clans live predominantly in the north-western regions of the Somali territories. The Isaaq people live in the central northern regions and the Hawiye live in the area around Maḳdishū [*q.v.*] and to the north east of that city as well as further south. The Daarood clans live in the north-eastern areas, in the western part of the territories and in the southern parts. The Digil and Rahanweyn clan groups live along and between the Shabeelle and Jubba rivers, the Rahanweyn to the north of the Digil. This picture is, of course, simplistic and, due to various movements of groups of people at different times in history, there are now pockets of clan groups in areas other than those just outlined, for example, the Biimaal, a Dir clan, live in a region along the coast south of Maḳdishu. In the towns and cities, increasing urbanisation means there is a mixture of people from different clans although the clan groups of the surrounding area of any town still predominate. In addition to these major lineages there are people belonging to other groups, including those who are regarded as of a lower status and who traditionally undertook occupations deemed degrading by the nomadic pastoralists such as hunting wild animals, leatherwork and ironwork. These include the Yibro (sg. Yibir), Tumaal and Midgo (sg. Midgaan), who in recent times seem to have become more a part of the wider Somali society. Other groups of people include those who are members of the minority language-speaking populations such as the Mushungulu and Oromo speakers (see 5. below). Of the many sub-clans of the main Somali clans some are specifically religious lineages, each male member of which is regarded, nominally, as a *wadaad* (see 4. below), the term *sheekhaash* or *sheekhaal* is sometimes used to denote these clans. A number of the Somali clan groups trace descent to noble Arabian ancestors, some suggesting close connection to the family of the Prophet himself. Historians regard these connections as more legendary than real, although this is not to dispute the fact that there has long been contact between the people of the Somali areas and Arabia.

Among the nomadic pastoralists one of the most important lineage levels is that of the *diya*-paying group (Ar. *diya* [*q.v.*] "blood money, wergild"), such a payment-being known in Somali as *mag* and paid, traditionally in livestock, when a member of another *diya*-paying group is injured or killed. It is the responsibility of the whole *diya*-paying group to pay the compensation on behalf of one of its members. This system of compensation is defined between different lineages in the oral system of Somali customary law, *xeer*,

(Ar. transcription, *ḥēr*), through which other contractual and "legal" aspects of life are also encoded. Marriage tended in the past to be outside the *diya*-paying group among the pastoralist nomads, and was used on occasions as the basis for establishing political ties between clans and/or sub-clans. In the southern agricultural communities, given that the Digil and Rahanweyn social groups are more confederacies than lineage structures and that the clan units are based less on lineage membership but more on common agricultural land, it is these territory-based groups of people which form the equivalent of *diya*-paying groups in these areas. This is connected with the way in which people may become adopted clients of these clans, which hold certain areas of land, part of which the incoming person is then able to farm. In the past, in addition to Somalis, these incomers have included people who are of a different ethno-linguistic background to the Somalis, such as people of Bantu language-speaking or Oromo-speaking origin. Over the course of time, these adopted clients become more or less assimilated into the clan, and marriage has always tended to be within these groups. In general, marriage among the Somalis as a whole is polygamous, with a man being able to marry a maximum of four wives according to Islamic practice. Marriage is contracted before a *sheekh* or *wadaad* and involves the giving of wealth on both sides. The groom's family gives the bride wealth, some of which may be returned as part of the dowry which, amongst the pastoralist nomads, normally consists of domestic items and burden camels to carry them as well as some livestock. Among the agriculturalists the house is normally provided by the husband's family. The central part of the whole marriage ceremony is the *meher* (Ar. *mahr* [*q.v.*]).

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2. Geography

The Somali people live in a large area of the eastern Horn of Africa which includes the countries of Somalia, including the self-declared Republic of Somaliland (unilaterally declared an independent republic in 1991), eastern Ethiopia, the south-eastern part of the Republic of Djibouti [see ḎJIBŪTĪ] and eastern and north-eastern Kenya. Turning first to the geography of the northern regions, the coastal strip is a hot, dry region know as *guban* "burnt" in Somali, a reference to its great heat in the *xagaa* season. Just inland from this is a range of hills and uplands known as *oogo* and *golis* rising to some 9,000 feet in the west (near Harar [*q.v.*]) and 8,000 feet in the east. These hills are the continuation of the eastern branch of the rift valley hills which follow on from the Somali territories to the Chercher Hills of Ethiopia and the southern Ethiopian highlands of Arussi and Bale, from which descend the two major rivers of southern Somalia. Although of little use agriculturally, these hills are the main habitat of the incense trees and this area has been involved in that trade for many centuries. Inland from the *oogo* begins the plateau area, which is known as the *hawd* by the northern Somalis and is a vast area of scrub land which forms an important grazing area for camels. South of the *hawd*, the land gradually lowers towards the south-east to the coast of the Indian Ocean and is watered by the two main rivers the Shabeelle (literally "with leopards") and the Jubba. The Shabeelle is the more northerly river, rising in the northern half of the Arussi mountains and, after a brief northerly flow continues south-east to the town of Balead (Balʿad) some twenty miles from the coast. Here it turns to the south-west and flows parallel to the coast before sinking in marshes near the town of Jilib and near the lowest reaches of the Jubba, which it may join if the water flow is great enough [see further, SHEBELLE]. The Jubba itself rises in the southern edge of the Bale Highlands and flows south east to the town of Luuq (Lūḳ), where it turns in a southerly direction straight to the Indian Ocean. Both of these rivers have a constant flow of water dependent almost entirely on the rain from the highlands, there being fewer and drier tributaries further downstream from the highlands. High floods take place twice each year according to the light and heavy rainy seasons in southern Ethiopia. This is favourable to the agriculturalists because Ethiopian heavy rains fall during the *jiilaal* season (mid-June to mid-September), which is the driest season further down-river in the Somali territories, so the high flood and sometimes the overflowing of the rivers can be utilised for growth of crops during this season.

This southern region inland from the eastern Indian Ocean coast is divided into four zones, which are found in the following order from the coast of the Indian Ocean to the interior: firstly the movable sandbanks (Somali: *bacad* (*baʿad*)) on the shore; then the hills or short plains of white and hardly consolidated sand (Somali: *carro cad* (*ʿarro ʿad*) "white land"); next, the flinty red sand scrubland, vegetated in the most part by acacia trees (Somali: *carro guduud* (*ʿarro gudūd*) "red land"); then the alluvial ground along the rivers, known in Somali as *carro madow* (*ʿarro madow*) "black land", which is comparatively rich and fertile, hence the use of this land for agriculture.

There are four main seasons in the Somali territories, given here with their approximate month equivalents: *jiilaal* (*ḏjīlāl*) (December to March), *gu'* (April to June), *xagaa* (*ḥagā*) (July to August) and *dayr* (September to November). The weather during these seasons varies according to the area, *jiilaal* is the hottest season over most of the area, apart from the northern regions where the *xagaa* season is the hottest. Thus for most regions *jiilaal* is the toughest season for people to live through with no rain and the wind coming predominantly from the north-east (the north-east monsoon). The following season of *gu'* is the most attractive of the seasons, with rain falling in all areas providing pasture for the livestock and ripening crops for the agriculturalists. Given *gu'* as the "season of plenty", it is important socially as being the season when people tend to come together and when dances and celebrations take place. Among the pastoralists, young people, in particular, come together after having been separated, the young men returning with

the camels which have been taken to *jiilaal* grazing lands. The *xagaa* season, the first of the south-west monsoon cycle, is characterised by dry cool weather over most of the areas except in the northern regions, where it is very hot, especially in the north-west where the temperature may rise above 50° C. on the *guban* coast. During the *dayr* season there is also rainfall, which in the northern regions tends to be light.

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(E. Cerulli-[M. Orwin])

3. History

(a) To 1880

Somali legends may have Islamicised the history of the people by tracing their origin from ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*], a cousin of the Prophet. Prescinding from the question whether Hamitic populations may have come into Africa from Asia, there is no doubt that the present Somali peoples occupied their present territory by various groups following and pushing on one another, with the African coast of the Gulf of Aden as the primary dispersal area. These groups, related to other groups in Ethiopia, later developed into what are denominated tribes. The dates of these movements are not known, and they are not likely to be, for they are the movements of cattle herdsmen. They did not enter an empty land, but pushed Bantu groups southward. Of these some pockets survive, and especially in the Bajun Islands. They cannot be antecedent to the general Bantu dispersal, which was not completed before A.D. 500. Subsequent groups have continued to push southwards, and even in the 1990s have caused friction between Ethiopia and Kenya.

The first literary reference to the coastal area is an observation of the sun in low altitudes mentioned by Agatharchides of Cnidus in the 2nd century B.C., but commercial contact with the Somali coast would have developed long before. In the ancient world religious rituals have employed frankincense and myrrh at least from the 3rd millennium B.C. In Somalia two species of frankincense and the greater number of species of myrrh are indigenous. The Ḥaḍramawt area in which they grow in southern Yemen is small (cf. map in L. Casson). Recently, S.C.J. Munro-Hay has reported frankincense trees near Aksum, in Ethiopia. Since these commodities grow nowhere else in the world, Somalia has long had a permanent place in world trade, from ancient times until the present. Neither the Ethiopians nor the Bajun Islanders among the Somalis are seamen, but never more than fishermen. They have consistently relied on Arab middlemen and transporters. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, mentions, *ca*. A.D. 50, a number of towns on the Somali coast which are identifiable: Avalites (probably not Zaylaʿ, but Assab); Malao (Berbera); Mundu (Heis); Mosyllon (possibly Bandar Kassim); Akannai (possibly Alula). In A.D. 79 Pliny likewise recorded the "spice port and promontory ... Barbaroi": it was Cape Guardafui, beyond which frankincense no longer grows. Archaeologically these places are unexplored, but H.N. Chittick's British-Somali Expedition of 1967, which was aborted by local misunderstanding, succeeded in identifying Roman pottery from Tunisia.

J.S. Trimingham has analysed the Arab geographers and travellers from al-K͟hʷārazmī (232/847) onwards. Their interest lies rather in the *Bilād al-Zand͟j* and the sea route to Ḳanbalū (Pemba) and the gold land of Sofāla [*q.v.*]. Thus they say little of the *Bilād al-Barbara* or *al-Barābira*, the name for the northern and eastern coasts of Somalia. They depict a trading system based on ivory, gold and slaves, in that order; they ignore the trade in frankincense and myrrh in the same way that further south they ignore the trade in mangrove-wood from the coasts of Kenya and Tanzania, age-long in providing roofing timbers in southern Arabia and the Gulf.

A Chinese scholar, Tuam Ch'eng-Shih (d. 863) knows the Somali coast as Po-pa-li: it produces only ivory and ambergris. Much later Chao Ju-Kuan, trade commissioner on Ch'üan-chu-fu [Zaytūn; see al-ṣīn. 3] in Fukien province, speaks of Pi-pa-lo as having four departmental cities. He seems to have spoken from personal contact with traders, but also to have relied on a work by Chu Ch'ü-fei dated 1178. Says Chao, "they serve heaven and do not serve the Buddha", which J.J.L. Duyvendak interpreted to mean that the coastal folk were Muslims. (We do not know when Islam first penetrated to the Somali coast, but it was already present on the adjacent Kenya coast by the 8th century, at least in small pockets.) These people produce camels and sheep, dragon's saliva (a reference to the dragon's blood tree of Socotra rather than to ambergris?), elephant and rhinoceros ivory, much putchuk, liquid storax gum, myrrh and tortoiseshell. Chao knew also of ostriches, giraffe and zebra. Contemporary import records also include strings of pearls, aromatics and "incense."

There is no evidence that the Chinese visited Africa before the voyages of Ch'êng-Ho in the 15th century. Nevertheless, Duyvendak quoted Chu Ch'ü-fei in regard to Chung-li, which he identified as Berbera. The people of Chung-li, he says, go barefoot and bareheaded. Only ministers and the royal courtiers wear jackets and turbans as a mark of distinction—presumably conforming to Islamic custom. Among other commodities, he knows of the production of incense. Direct contact began only after 1431 with Chêng-Ho's voyages in the Indian Ocean, with a view, it seems, to promoting Ming trade. The fleet sailed down the African coast as far as Malindi and Mombasa. It visited Maḳdis͟hū [*q.v.*] and a place which Duyvendak said was the "Arabic Habash, Abyssinia" called Ha-pu-ni. From its position on the Chinese map, it is followed by a clear reference to Socotra and then to Aden: could it not be Ras Hafun? Duyvendak also recorded the arrival in China of a giraffe from Bengal in 1414. The animal is not found in Bengal or India. He remarks that the Chinese name for it, *K'i-lin*, is the way that a Chinese would pronounce the Somali name for it, *girin*.

In 1934 A.T. Curle visited the ruins of twenty-one ruined towns and settlements in northern Somalia, making notes of surface finds which subsequently were identified in the British Museum. Finds near Zaylaʿ on Saʿd al-Dīn Island led him to believe that the site had been occupied for 2,000 years. It had for long been the principal port for Ethiopian exports, until

the French built the railway from Djibuti to Addis Ababa, thus diverting trade. Inland, a group of thirteen towns and settlements on the Ethiopian-Somali border disclosed groups of 20 to 200 houses and the remains of mosques. The settlements were all situated from 5,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. Another group centred round Eil Humo and Eik, 120 miles inland south of Berbera. A fourth group was in Ethiopia. The houses were stone-built, and the mosques elaborately planned at all the sites. The cemeteries however, contained no tombs or inscriptions. There were sherds of Sung and Ming celadon from the 12th to 15th centuries, and blue-and-white Chinese wares of the 16th and 17th centuries. There were also some sherds believed to have an Egyptian connection.

Finds of local currency in billon and copper have already been reported [see MAḲDISHŪ]. In the northern area no local currency has been reported. Two pieces of Ḳāyit Bay of Egypt (872-901/1468-96) have been recorded from Derbi Adad. There have been numerous reports of coins from Eik, but the only pieces recorded are two gold dīnārs of the Ottoman Selīm II (974-82/1566-74). A small number of Chinese cash have been reported from the eastern coast, but not in the profusion found in Zanzibar. Inscriptions on tombs and in mosques have been catalogued for the eastern coast by the writer and B.G. Martin [see MAḲDISHŪ]. Two refer to individuals with a Persian *laḳab*, no strong argument, however, for a Persian connection.

Curle's survey has been supplemented by an all too brief survey of southern Somalia by H.N. Chittick and another by H. Sanseverino, and of related sites at different times by T.H. Wilson on the Kenya border and related sites in Kenya by M.C. Horton, as well as in Pemba, Tumbatu and Zanzibar. The surveys in southern Somalia were necessarily very cursory, having regard to local conditions. For Chittick nothing is acceptable earlier than the 14th century. This view is highly questionable, because T.H. Wilson and, independently M.C. Horton, have identified finds of Sāsānid-Islamic pottery at no less than twenty-six Kenya sites, at which the surface characteristics are similar to those of Somalia. It would be surpassing strange if the Somali sites will not prove to belong to a common trade pattern with neighbouring Kenya, common over several millennia.

Inland, for many centuries, as Curle noted, trade in the towns had been in the hands of Arab and Indian merchants. The Somalis were content to conduct camel transport, the brokerage of stock brought to market, and petty trading. In the interior from the early 15th century up to colonial times the history has been of intermittent conflict between Ethiopia and Somali tribesmen. Until 1950 the latter never coalesced to form a unitary state: thus their history is scattered about in articles in this encyclopaedia s.v. Adal, Balī, Berbera, the Dankāli tribe, Dawāro, Maḳdishū and Shungwaya. In 1402 the Ethiopians took Zaylaʿ after a siege, but did not occupy it for long. Throughout the 15th century there was a constant series of raids and wars, Christian Ethiopia on one side, Muslim Harar [*q.v.*] and Zaylaʿ on the other. It was in the intervals of peace that the towns described by Curle would appear to have flourished. In 1503 Ludivico di Varthema visited Zaylaʿ "in Ethiopia" (*sic*). He described its commerce in glowing terms, with gold, iron and black slaves sold at low prices, for markets in Arabia, Persia, Cairo and Mecca. Early in his reign, the Negus Lebna Dengel (1508-40) sent merchants into Somali country, trading in gold, musk and slaves, and selling them in Aden. In 1516 the Portuguese burnt Zaylaʿ, shortly followed by the Ottoman Turks, who established a customs house and a small fleet. In 1527 Lebna Dengel invaded Adal. It provided a *casus belli* for Aḥmad Grañ [*q.v.*], who laid Ethiopia waste in 1544. A full account is given by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* [see AḤMAD GRAÑ]. The Muslims were finally defeated in 1575, and left only with the coastal towns. After their successful siege of Mombasa in 1696-8, the sultans of ʿUmān imposed a somewhat vague authority over the whole coast. It was effective only after Sayyid Saʿīd's [*q.v.*] move to Zanzibar in 1840, and never penetrated inland. Garrisons were set up at Maḳdishū, Marka and Barawā. This brief period ended when the sultan ceded areas to France and Britain in 1884, and to Italy in 1889. A curious survival of the Zanzibar period is the title of the Maḳdishū Museum, the *Garesa*. It had formerly been the residence of the ʿUmānī governor. The word stems from the Swahili *Gereza*, the earliest sultanic palace-fort in Zanzibar, its name being derived from the Portuguese word *yglesia* "church", the building from which it had been adapted.

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(E. CERULLI-[G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE])

(b) 1880-1960

The 1880s saw the establishment of British, French and Italian protectorates in various parts of the Somali territories as well as the expansion of the Ethiopian empire into Somali territory under the Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913). The British, who had had an interest in the northern regions of the Somali territories for some time as an area supplying food for their port at Aden, established the Somaliland Protectorate in 1887. This followed the departure in 1884 of Egypt from parts of the northern Somali coast and was also motivated by the British desire to stem French expansion in the region. In the same year, Léonce Lagarde had been appointed governor of Obock, on the northern coast of the Gulf of Tadjourah, and French Somaliland was declared a protectorate (this region was inhabited by ʿAfar people [see DANḲALĪ] in the north and west as well as Somalis in the south-east).

Disagreement with the British regarding the border between the two protectorates led to an Anglo-French agreement in 1888 defining the boundary, and

in 1892 Djibouti [see DJIBŪTĪ] became the capital of French Somaliland. In 1889 Italy acquired Somali areas on the north-east and south-east coast, including Maḳdishū, and in 1892 the Sultan of Zanzibar ceded some important ports to the Italians for 25 years. In 1889 Italy, whose interests were now wider than just the southern ports and their hinterlands signed the treaty of Ucciali (Wəč'ale in Amharic) with Ethiopia which, following the taking of Harar [*q.v.*] in 1887, had moved into the Somali territories to the east and south-east of that town. The Amharic and Italian interpretations of this treaty differed, the Italians seeing Ethiopia as essentially an Italian protectorate whereas to the Ethiopians, communicating with other countries through Italy was optional. It was in this light that Italy entered into negotiations with the British, signing a protocol in 1894 that defined British and Italian spheres of interest. Following the Battle of Adwa (Adowa) in 1896, however, at which the Italians were defeated by the Ethiopians, the British began to talk directly with Menelik II, signing a treaty with him in 1897 which allowed Somali pastoralists to use grazing land on either side of the border between the British Protectorate and Ethiopia. Thus it was that by the end of the 19th century the boundaries in the Somali territories were essentially set and the Somali people were divided between the British, French, Italian and Ethiopian spheres of influence. This division, in fact, split not only the Somali people as a whole but individual clans, for example, in the north-west the Ciise (ʿĪse) clan inhabited parts of British Somaliland, French Somaliland and Ethiopia, and are still divided by the boundaries between the corresponding modern states of today.

Although a number of treaties had been signed with various Somali clans by the European powers, there was little Somali influence in the developments which had taken place. This was to change during the next 20 years with the rise of Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān [*q.v.*] and his Dervish movement. This movement rose against the British, Ethiopians and Italians, and it was only in 1920 that it concluded, with the expulsion of the Sayyid and his remaining followers to Ethiopia and the subsequent death of the Sayyid (see MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH ḤASSĀN for further details of this campaign). Given the fact that missionary activity was one of the factors which led the Sayyid to start the campaign, the British authorities prohibited all such activity in British Somaliland, a regulation which was strictly adhered to. French Somaliland was little affected by the campaign, however, and in 1917 the rail link between Addis Ababa and Djibouti was completed, gradually eclipsing the importance of Zaylac (Zaylaʿ [*q.v.*]) as a port. This helped the development of the town of Djibouti as a cosmopolitan centre, whose main sources of income were the duties and earnings from trade via the railway and through the port; apart from livestock, salt was the only natural resource available in the territory and was exported primarily to Ethiopia. Following the opening of the railway, a road was built in British Somaliland from Berbera [*q.v.*] to Hargeisa [*q.v.*] and on to the Ethiopian border to help trade through the port of Berbera. In 1921 the British introduced direct taxation on livestock, which met with much resistance and resulted in the death of the Burco (Burʿo) district commissioner in a riot following which the tax was revoked. The governor from 1925 to 1931, Harold Kittermaster, however, tried to provide some development assistance to the nomadic population as well as to farmers, who over the previous few years in the west of British Somaliland, had developed plough cultivation, particularly of sorghum, under the influence of Ṣūfī brotherhood agricultural communities and other farming communities in neighbouring areas of Ethiopia. Later, in the 1920s a serious drought led to some further development in the area of water resources. The British, however, were unsure of what to do with Somaliland, and after ruling out a number of other possibilities decided to retrench. In Italian Somalia, on the other hand, one of the main factors was the advent in Italy of a Fascist government under Mussolini in 1922. The first Fascist governor, Cesare de Vecchi, subsequently intended to bring the whole Italian region under direct rule (some of the inland and northern parts, such as the Sultanate of Hobyo, were virtually independent despite nominal Italian rule) and, despite Somali resistance, the territory was brought together and divided into seven provinces. The Italians set up many agricultural projects producing sugar, bananas and cotton, for which forced recruitment of labour was common and, in addition, embarked on road building.

The later 1930s were marked in the whole region by Italy's ambitions to create an East African Empire which was to include Ethiopia. A gradual encroachment was made into the Ethiopian-ruled Somali territories, and by 1934 plans had been instituted for the Empire. The catalyst for the opening of the real advance of Italy was the Walwal incident of 1934. This incident occurred when the Ethiopian-British boundary commission was to inspect grazing facilities for British-protected Somali clans over the border from British Somaliland in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian escort arrived at Walwal ahead of the commission to clash with Italian-led troops. This clash became the pretext for the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy. In the Ethiopian Somali territories, the invasion was led from Italian Somalia by General Graziani and, despite Ethiopian resistance, the invasion of that country was virtually complete by 1936 with the taking of Addis Ababa. Italian Somalia now included the Somali territories which had been part of Ethiopia, and so all these Somali territories were administered as a whole by Italy. During the time of the Italian East African Empire, the Somalis were subjected to Fascist discriminatory laws and had no power in the government of the region; in addition, trade was controlled by the Italian authorities. Increased urbanisation was another feature of this period, which in turn led to a political consciousness of a modern nationalist tenor which was suppressed by the Italian authorities. At the same time, nationalist feeling was developing in British Somaliland where various political organisations were set up. With the beginning of the Second World War, the Italians further expanded their empire with the capture of British Somaliland in 1940, if only for a brief seven months, after which it was retaken by the allies whose assault started from Kenya in the south in January 1941 and was supplemented by an expedition from Aden in the March. French Somaliland, whose governor supported the Vichy régime, continued to pose a threat to the British, but following capitulation of the régime, which now declared for Free France, a short-term agreement was signed.

After the restoration of Emperor Haile Sellasie in Ethiopia in 1941, there followed negotiations on how to deal with the ex-Italian colonies. In 1942 the British Military Administration of the region came to an agreement recognising Ethiopian independence which was revised in 1944, although even after this second

agreement Britain still administered the Somali-inhabited regions of Ethiopia. Following the redevelopment of agriculture and trade, one of the important moves during this time of British administration was the furtherance of political organisations which had been suppressed under the Fascist régime. These included Italian and, increasingly, Somali organisations, one of the most important of which was the Somali Youth Club, founded in May 1943, which developed rapidly and changed its name to the Somali Youth League (SYL) in 1947, when it had branches in all the British-administered Somali territories. Another important political organisation was the Hizbia Digil-Mirifle Somali (HDMS), formed in 1947 out of the Patriotic Benefit Union, with its power base among the sedentary agricultural population of the central regions. In January 1948 the Four Power Commission dealing with the ex-Italian colonies, made up of the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union and France, arrived in Maḳdis͟hū and discussed the situation with the various interested parties, including the SYL, the HDMS as well as the Italian societies. The four powers, however, failed to agree among themselves, handing the final decision of what to do to the General Assembly of the United Nations, who, in November 1949, placed what had been Italian Somalia prior to the invasion of Ethiopia under United Nations trusteeship for ten years, to be administered during that time by Italy, following which the country would gain independence. It was in 1948 also that most of the Ogaadeen (Ogādēn [*q.v.*]) area (leaving aside the northern and north-eastern region known as the Haud and the Reserved Area) was handed back to Ethiopia, despite strong resistance on the part of the majority of the Somali inhabitants and the reluctance of the British, who had supported a plan proposed by the British Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin, for the creation of a Trusteeship of the Union of Somali territories. It was later in 1954 that the Haud and the Reserved Area came under Ethiopian rule, and it was this move in particular which sparked a greater political consciousness in the British Protectorate and also led to the organisation of another political party, the National United Front (NUF). In 1960 the NUF, along with the SYL, the Somali National League (SNL) and the new United Somali Party (USP) contested an election and later that year, on 26 June, the Protectorate became fully independent. In Italian-administered Somalia, given the ten-year term of the Trusteeship, moves were more quickly made towards eventual independence, including a general election to a legislative assembly in 1956 in which the SYL won most of the votes, with the HDMS finding itself as the main opposition. Somalia became an independent state five days after British Somaliland, and six days following that, on 7 July 1960, the two newly-independent states united after having undertaken negotiations towards this end for some time. During the early 1960s, the matter of the other Somali-inhabited territory, the eastern part of the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, was a major concern to the newly-independent state of Somalia. In French Somaliland, following an election in 1958, the country remained an overseas territory of France, finally gaining full independence in 1977.

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(M. Orwin)

(c) After 1960

In April 1960, the British government decided to terminate its authority over Somaliland, allowing time for possible unification with Italian Somalia, the independence of which had just then been scheduled by the United Nations for July 1960. That same month, representatives of the two territories met in Mogadishu and agreed on the unification of the two Somalias into a single democratic and parliamentary state, to be led by an elected president responsible to a parliament, also to be elected but initially composed of members of the two existing territorial assemblies.

On 26 June, British Somaliland became independent and was united with Somalia, to form, on 1 July 1960, the Republic of Somalia. This was a deviation from the inviolable principle of the intangibility of colonial frontiers, in the name of ethnic unity.

ʿAbd al-Ras͟hīd ʿAlī S͟hirmake, the leader of the Somali Youth League (SYL), originally dominated by Darod (Daarood) and Hawiye (Hawiyye), which since 1947 had campaigned for the unification of lands inhabited by Somalis ("Greater Somalia") and for independence, was summoned to form a coalition government. This coalition combined, besides his own party, two northern parties unrepresented in the South: the Somaliland National League (SNL) with Muḥammad Ḥād͟jd͟jī Ibrāhīm Igal and the United Somali Party (USP), representing respectively the Isaq (Isaaq), and the Dir and Darod. The choice by the Assembly of Adan ʿAbdulle ʿIsmān as President of the Republic was confirmed in 1961 by a conference.

Problems of unification

Concluded in a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm, unification of the British and Italian colonies was bound to raise serious problems. Although both populated by Somalis, they had hitherto experienced few mutual contacts. Everything separated them: the usage of English or of Italian, administrative traditions, judicial systems, etc.

Their fusion altered the situation of each group. The Isaq of the SNL, the majority party in Somaliland, became an insignificant group in the context of a unified state such as Somalia. They were naturally drawn towards accommodation with the southern opposition party, the Greater Somali League (GSL) of Ḥād͟jd͟jī Muḥammad Ḥusayn, pro-Arab and pan-Somali. The Darod of the USP, on the other hand, found themselves in tune with their fellow-tribespeople of the SYL. As for the Dir, they were torn between their Isaq neighbours and their Hawiye traditional allies. The difference in importance between the two territorial entities also led the administrative classes of former Somalia to expect that they would naturally monopolise all decision-making functions, not only at the national but also at the regional level.

The results of the first popular consultation—the referendum on the Constitution—of June 1961 clearly illustrated these divisions: adopted with a large majority by the electorate of former Somalia, the text was approved by less than 50% of the electors of former Somaliland. Discontent erupted more overtly when in December of that year a group of British-trained police officers mutinied in protest against the appointment to senior posts of Italian-trained police officers brought in from the south.

After 1962, the political landscape changed, reflecting the difficulties of unity but also demonstrating the desire of all to maintain it. At the beginning of the year, the attempt by Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Ḥusayn to exploit the discontent of the north by launching a new party, the Somali Democratic Union, consisting of the GSL and elements of the SNL hostile to the participation of their organisation in central government, ended in failure. On the other hand, two SNL ministers, including Igal, resigning in May, succeeded in attracting to themselves, besides members of their own movement, a Hawiye faction of the SYL and creating a new organisation, the Somali National Congress (SNC).

Somali nationalism was pan-Somali. It stressed as the first objective of its programme the aspiration to gather within a single political entity all Somali people, those who had been placed by colonial politics under the authority of the British in Somaliland or in Kenya (Northern Frontier District, NFD) of the Italians in Somalia, of the French in Djibouti (French Coast of the Somalis, which was to become in 1967 the French Territory of the Afars and Issas, then in 1977 the Republic of Djibouti) or of the Ethiopians in Ogaden (Ogaadeen), five regions symbolised by the five points of the white star (on a blue background) of the Republic's flag. The Constitution of 1961 recorded this aspiration in its preamble: "the Republic of Somalia seeks to promote the union of Somali territories by lawful and peaceful means". Somali governments, caught in the snare of nationalism, would henceforward be obliged to make constant demands for self-determination on behalf of their Somali brothers inhabiting other territories, on pain of being accused of "treason". They would also incite them to achieve the objective themselves, especially in radio broadcasts. On numerous occasions, this irredentism was to lead to violent conflict and serious repercussions.

In 1961, in the course of negotiations in London over Kenya, the representatives of the NFD demanded, with the support of the Oromo of this territory, the right to secede from Kenya. The British proposal—a federal Kenya—was never implemented and the Somalis of Kenya remained an aggrieved and dissident community for years thereafter.

Relations with Ethiopia were still more difficult. Somalia challenged the Anglo-Ethiopian treaties defining the frontiers of Somaliland and the Ethiopian province of Hararge (capital Harar) which encompassed the Ogaden [*q.v.*], an area with a majority Somali population. The last of these treaties, concluded as recently as 1954, definitively placed the pastures of the Haud (Hawd) in Ethiopia. It was in this region that there took place, six months after Independence, the first disturbance involving Ethiopian police and disgruntled nomads, a skirmish which Somalia chose to interpret as repression of the aspirations of the Somalis of Ethiopia. In February 1964, more serious border incidents occurred, culminating in the invasion of Somali air-space by Ethiopian aircraft. Mediation by Sudan, in April, under the auspices of the OAU brought about a provisional resolution to the conflict, but Ethiopia took the precaution, the same year, to ally itself with Kenya by means of a mutual defence pact.

Somalia's determination to amend existing frontiers isolated it internationally. Although Somali leaders tended to be relatively well disposed towards the Western bloc, relations between Somalia and the countries belonging to this bloc were unfriendly for political reasons: Somalia would not forgive the United Kingdom for its policy relating to the Kenyan NFD and the Haud, France for its occupation of Djibouti and the USA for its active support of Ethiopia. The exception was Italy, whose nationals retained a decisive economic role in the land. In pursuit of allies, Somali leaders found themselves obliged to turn towards the USSR and China. In 1962 the Russians, intent on exerting dominant influence in the Red Sea region, agreed to lend money, to equip and train the armed forces and to assist with the implementation of all kinds of development projects. From 1969 onwards, the Chinese in their turn supplied substantial civil assistance.

The SYL had an overall victory in the municipal elections of 1963, also in the legislative elections of 1964. With the aim of revitalising internal politics, President ʿIsmān chose a new Prime Minister, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Ḥādjdjī Ḥusayn. Concerned with efficiency, the latter chose his ministers without regard for tribal and regional balance. Discontented, members of his own party formed an opposition movement under the leadership of the former Prime Minister Shirmake. Though sincere pan-Somalis, ʿIsmān and Ḥusayn favoured giving priority to internal problems and issues. Furthermore, Ḥusayn obtained the confidence of the Assembly with great difficulty, only succeeding with the aid of supporters outside the SYL.

On the occasion of the presidential elections of 1967, President ʿIsmān paid the price of his errors: Shirmake, who had led the country in the period of militant nationalism, was elected. The new President chose as Prime Minister Igal, who had returned to the SYL after 1964. A man of the north, an Isaq, the new Prime Minister hoped to put Somalia's relations with its neighbours on an amicable basis and to concentrate on problems of economic and social development. By acting in this way, he too risked discrediting the one ideal capable of inducing the Somalis to forget their tribal divisions: irredentism. In the municipal and legislative elections of 1969, the electoral system, a series of defections and the game of post-electoral coalition-making, guaranteed his party 120 seats out of 123.

But this was a hollow victory, since the state was running out of control. Corruption and nepotism were rampant, and the Assembly no longer even pretended to be a forum for the exercise of the traditional Somali virtues of conciliation and dialogue. Lack of direction, widespread intrigue, insecurity and government ineffectiveness aroused discontent which was particularly intense among intellectuals and the military, a discontent which aggravated further the resentment felt by those, the majority, who believed that in improving relations with Kenya and Ethiopia, the government had betrayed its mission. Rumours of a *coup d'état* began to circulate.

The Somali Revolution

An unexpected event hastened the resolution of this looming crisis. On 15 October 1969, while the Prime Minister Igal was on an overseas visit, President Shirmake was assassinated by one of his bodyguards. Igal

hurriedly returned to organise the election of a new President. On 20 October, the party chose as its candidate Ḥādjdjī Mūsē Boqor, one of his close associates. He was thereby assured of retaining his post as Prime Minister.

The following day, the Army took control of Mogadishu and a Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) was immediately established, taking the measures which were normal in these circumstances: detention of members of the former ruling clique, suspension of the Constitution (it was to be officially abrogated in February 1970), suppression of the Supreme Court, closure of the Assembly and prohibition of political parties. The Supreme Council announced its intention to combat tribal nepotism and corruption and to promote a just society where all would be guaranteed access to social and economic progress. In foreign policy, Somalia, renamed the "Democratic Republic of Somalia", would honour its commitments and support peoples fighting colonialism. On 1 November, the list of members of the Supreme Council was made public: comprising 25 officers, it was presided over by General Muḥammad Siyad (Siyaad) Barre, commander of the Army since 1965.

The military caucus which had overturned the democratic régime subsequently defined its action as a Marxist revolution. But despite the presence of Soviet advisers in the Army (in implementation of the Somali-Soviet military accord of 1963), there is no evidence that there was Soviet backing for the coup, and Soviet-trained junior officers received no preferential treatment. In October 1970, to mark the anniversary of the coup, Siyad Barre, who in spite of the corporate power supposedly wielded by the Supreme Council was very much "the strong man", announced the adoption of scientific socialism (in Somali: *hanti-wadaagga cilmi ku dhisan*) as the ideology of the state. This ideology sought to integrate the tribal element into the theory of class-struggle, and acknowledged Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse Tung as well as Mussolini and the Ḳur'ān. Declaring himself a pragmatist, Siyad Barre remained fairly flexible on the ideology of his movement, which he reckoned was compatible with Islam. This view was not shared by all.

The Supreme Council discharged certain responsibilities formerly allotted to the President, the Council of Ministers or the National Assembly, and was assisted by a Council of Secretaries of State mainly composed of civilians. Siyad Barre monopolised the most important functions and encouraged the development of a personality cult. Officers were placed in charge of the major public organisations in order to assure the state's control over the economy, finance, commerce, transport, etc. Regional and local administration was also taken over by the military, civilian functionaries being "re-educated" or dismissed. Administrative sub-divisions were re-arranged in order to nullify the influence of tribal assemblies. In 1976, the single party proclaimed in 1971 came into existence under the title of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) and the Supreme Council was transformed into its central committee. Theoretically, this was a return to civilian rule, but in fact power remained in the hands of the same group of officers.

An important measure in the nationalist and pan-Somali policy of the revolutionary government was the adoption of a system for the writing of the Somali language. In 1971, the Supreme Council revived the Committee for the Somali Language which in 1962 had proposed the adoption of the Latin alphabet, and entrusted to it the task of preparing a grammar, a dictionary, texts and a programme of adult education. But it was only in 1972 that the Council announced that Latin transcription had been adopted and would be applied throughout Somalia from 1 January 1973. The hopes of those who wanted Arabic to be the official language were dashed. An impressive campaign aimed at improving literacy was then launched.

The economy was nationalised and shaped according to the Soviet model with the aid of Russian advisers. New agricultural initiatives were developed in the south with the aid of Arab investment, while in the north and in the region between the great rivers state collective farms were established. Stock-breeders were "invited" to settle in southern areas where irrigation was promised. The drought of 1974-5 was exploited by the revolutionaries to expedite this process. Nomads were thus directed towards state-owned farms and 300,000 (?) of them were transferred from north to south, with Soviet assistance and installed in "co-operative" villages. This assault on traditional ancestral life-styles was also intended to undermine the tribal system. Although itself based on an inter-Darod alliance of the clans of Marehan (Mareexaan) and Ogaden (Siyad Barre's power-base) with the Dulbahante (Dulbaaxante) clan, the revolutionary government vigorously denounced tribalism and numerous activities and customs defined as "tribal" were punished under the law. But the social and economic disorders created by scientific socialism had the paradoxical effect of making tribalism the last refuge of Somalis. The events which were to follow the fall of Siyad Barre were to prove this clearly.

After fifteen years of socialist experiment, the Somali economy was in a disastrous state, exporting, at the very most, only cattle to Saudi Arabia and bananas to Italy. With a GDP of 260 dollars per inhabitant per year the Somalis (55% stock-breeders, 22% arable farmers in 1986) counted among the least developed peoples of the world. Aware of the parlous condition of the economy, the government decided on a limited programme of liberalisation which did not have time to bear fruit.

The only successes of the régime were those which it had recorded in the development of education, with the writing of the Somali language, and in the improvement of the status of women. But these secular achievements found no favour in religious circles, the younger members of which were influenced by fundamentalism.

Somalis hostile to the policies of Siyad Barre, described as "counter-revolutionaries", were watched, hunted, tried and in some cases executed. Since the inception of his régime, in April 1970 and in May 1971, Siyad Barre had been denouncing conspiracies against himself hatched by members of the Supreme Council.

Foreign policy was closely linked to internal policy. In 1974, as a means of tempering his dependence on the Soviet Union, Siyad Barre took his country—as a purely political move—into the Arab League, whose richest members supplied him with aid and offered him new markets. For reasons of nationalism, he supported the Somali guerrillas in the Ethiopian Ogaden, and for reasons of self-interest the separatist struggle of the Eritreans, both these campaigns being directed against Addis Ababa.

Ethiopia had been much weakened by the collapse of the régime of Haile Selassie in 1974-5. Siyad Barre waited for the opportunity to exploit this situation and avenge the humiliation of 1964. In the summer of 1977, Somali troops crossed the frontier and advanced as far as the gates of Harar. But in a spectacular reversal of policy, the Soviets changed the rules

of the game. In a region where South Yemen was already within their sphere of influence, it was in their interest to support Ethiopia rather than Somalia, which was proving itself unstable and unpredictable, and accordingly they changed sides. Crippled, Siyad Barre appealed for the support of the Americans, who showed no inclination to intervene. Henceforward the Somali offensive became a rout. The country was swollen by refugees (a quarter [?] of the population in 1980) whom the economy, destroyed by droughts and "scientific socialism", was incapable of feeding. Siyad Barre was seen as incompetent and as a traitor.

After the fiasco of the Somali offensive and the expulsion of Soviet advisers which ensued, political instability worsened. Siyad Barre had a number of generals executed, scapegoats for the defeat, and in April 1978 he was confronted by a revolt on the part of officers (most of them belonging to the Majerteyn, a clan allied to the former régime), seventeen of whom were executed. The inhabitants of the Ogaden withdrew their support for the régime, and opposition movements, inaugurated in other countries, made their appearance, including the Somali Salvation Front (SSF) (with Majerteyn majority) which united in October 1981 with the Somali Workers Party (SWP) to form the Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia (DFSS). In April 1981, the Somali National Movement (SNM) was founded in London by members of the Isaq. This party advocated a mixed economy and a neutral international policy and some of its members favoured the secession of the north. The same year, the dismissal of the Minister of Defence, ʿAlī Samantar, caused discontent in the Army. The following year, the first acts of armed struggle on the part of the SMN unleashed ferocious repression in the north. Isaq and Majerteyn were excluded from all posts and privileges.

The drought of 1983-4 and the guerrilla war drove groups of nomads into shanty-towns in such numbers that for the first time in its history, Somalia saw its urban population exceed its nomadic population. Illicit trading of all kinds and the misappropriation of international aid, in which the most senior of statesmen were implicated, increasing nepotism, more-or-less systematic recourse to a politicised police force, etc., spoke eloquently of the corruption of power.

In May 1988, Italian mediation led to the signing of an Italo-Ethiopian treaty which made official the colonial frontier between the two countries but imposed on them the obligation to pursue the dissidents within their own territories. Feeling threatened, the SNM took pre-emptive action and seized major cities of the north: Hargeysa, Berbera and Burao. The artillery barrages with which Siyad Barre responded terrorised the population and increased the number of refugees. The Hawiye, influential in Mogadishu, withdrew their support from him. After the riots of the summer of 1989 which followed the detention of recalcitrant *imāms*, Siyad Barre began to lose control of entire regions in the south. The Army, the police and the administration, all of whom had grievances over irregularities in remuneration, become uncontrollable. In 1990, Siyad Barre believed he could retrieve the situation by installing a multi-party system and undermining the alliance which was then coming into existence between the now very active rebel movements (accord signed on 2 October 1990); but he acted too late.

At the end of January 1991, the partisans of the United Somali Congress (USC), a movement led by ʿAlī Mahdī Muḥammad and the general Muḥammad Faraḥ Aydid, both Hawiye but from different clans, took control of Mogadishu and compelled Siyad Barre to take refuge, first in the interior and later in Kenya. But from December 1991, conflict erupted between the partisans of ʿAlī Mahdī Muḥammad, unilaterally declared president of the interim government, and those of Muḥammad Faraḥ Aydid.

Violence spread rapidly among all factions seeking to establish themselves. The problem posed by refugees (one million [?] at the end of 1991), was aggravated. The nutritional situation deteriorated rapidly, and an international guilty conscience was aroused, alerted by the media, especially in the summer of 1992.

International intervention

In early 1992, a United Nations mission arrived to report on the situation on the ground. A few days after its return, the Security Council adopted Resolution 733 which imposed an embargo on the sale of arms to Somalia and called upon the General Secretary to increase the aid budget and to negotiate a cease-fire agreement. This agreement, obtained on 3 March, foresaw the dispatch of a security force to protect food-aid convoys and the deployment of 40 observers to monitor implementation: the UN operation in Somalia, known as UNOSOM, was launched.

During the two years that were to follow, in the name of the "duty of intervention" and the "duty of assistance", the UN was to pursue goals that were gradually defined in the course of time: guaranteeing the distribution of aid, implementing the cease-fire, promoting national reconciliation, assisting the return of refugees, reviving the economy and creating employment, reconstructing a state and, to make all this possible, disarming the "factions". The intervention achieved some success in the humanitarian effort but failed to establish civil peace, and stopped short of engaging in full-scale military action. For the first time in its history, the UN was intervening in the internal affairs of a member-state, in a coercive manner and with clearly humanitarian objectives, and this constituted an innovation. It is, however, legitimate to wonder why the UN and the USA took so much interest in Somalia while ignoring Liberia, then embroiled in an analogous situation.

The stages of the process were as follows. On 3 December 1992, confronted by the deterioration of the situation, the Security Council adopted Resolution 794 which, at the instigation of the USA, called for military intervention under American leadership. The task-force, comprising 40,800 soldiers from a score of different nationalities soon occupied 40% of Somali territory (operation "Provide Hope"). George Bush, due to concede the US presidency to Bill Clinton on 11 January 1993, wanted to conclude his term of office with a success. This not being forthcoming, he ordered an initial withdrawal of American troops. In March 1993, the representatives of fifteen Somali armed factions met in Addis Ababa to sign a cease-fire agreement. To ensure its application, the UN launched operation UNOSOM II (Resolution 814, adopted 26 March). Holding General Aydid responsible for cease-fire violations, United States forces tried in vain to capture him during the summer of 1993. But after the deaths of eighteen Rangers in an ambush, in October, President Clinton decided against any further action and announced that US forces would be withdrawn by 31 March 1994. Although deprived of direct American assistance, the UN continued to operate in the country until 31 March 1995.

The secession of the north

The anarchy which developed in the south from January 1991 onwards enabled the former Somaliland

to acquire *de facto* autonomy under the control of the SNM, the movement which had unleashed armed struggle in the northern provinces in 1982. An assembly of Elders, representing the leading families of Somaliland, was held in Burao six months later. There, the president of the SNM declared the abrogation of the Act of Union of 1 July 1960 and the independence of the "Republic of Somaliland". The dogma of pan-Somalism proved to be less potent than that of the intangibility of colonial frontiers. This event coincided, approximately, with recognition of the independence of Eritrea, another return to colonial frontiers. The secession of former Somaliland passed almost unnoticed however, international attention being concentrated on the situation in the south of the country.

The SNM comprised those whose primary objective was to depose Siyad Barre and others who had always envisaged secession of the north in response to the oppression and economic neglect (genuine but magnified in the public consciousness) suffered by this region since 1960. The Elders, who fulfilled a significant popular "representative" function, prevailed over those who, having continued to play a political or economic role in the south, would have been prepared to accept a federation. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ʿAlī Tur became president of the new state. Since then, Somaliland has attempted to rebuild itself, without however escaping struggles between factions and clans.

Henceforward, Somalia needs not only to repair the damage caused by the headlong collapse of its traditional economic and social structures, by years of drought, famine and catastrophic crop-failure, by oppression, civil war and the ruin of its pan-Somali dream; it must also cope with the dire effects of a clumsy and ineffectual international intervention.

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4. The role of Islam in Somali society

The Somalis are Sunni Muslims and follow the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. It is assumed that Islam first arrived in the Horn of Africa in the early years of the spread of the religion from the Arabian Peninsula. Along with the rest of the East African coast, the Somali coast had been part of the Indian Ocean trading region involving much movement of people and goods, particularly between the Arabian Peninsular and the Horn of Africa. Trading settlements along the coast, of which Zaylaʿ and Maḳdishū were particularly important examples, must have become centres of Islamic activity early on. From the coast, the religion gradually made an impact inland, with Islamic centres being established, one of the most important in this part of Africa being the town of Harar [*q.v.*]. In its essentials, Islam among the Somalis is practised as elsewhere in the Islamic world, the people following the five pillars of the faith, and indeed Islam constitutes a very important aspect of Somali identity.

One of the particularly striking aspects of religious life is the widespread influence and role of the Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳas*, of which the most widespread among the Somalis are the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*], the Aḥmadiyya (also known as Idrīsiyya [*q.v.*]), the Ṣāliḥiyya [*q.v.*] and, to a lesser extent, the Dandarāwiyya [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Rifāʿiyya [*q.v.*]. Although not necessarily formal initiates to the *ṭarīḳas*, many Somalis will profess adherence to one of them, and most prominent religious figures amongst the Somalis have played important roles as members of the orders. The oldest of the *ṭarīḳas*, with many followers throughout the whole area, is the Ḳādiriyya, which is thought to have been brought to the Horn of Africa through contacts with other parts of the Islamic world; it is also said that it was introduced specifically into Harar by Sharīf Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs in the 15th century. Among the many important leaders within this *ṭarīḳa*, two of the most famous are Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī (*ca.* 1235-6 to 99/1820-82) and Shaykh Uways Muḥammad (1263-4 to 1327/1847-1909), both of whom founded sub-branches of the main *ṭarīḳa*. The Aḥmadiyya and Ṣāliḥiyya *ṭarīḳas* were both introduced into the Horn of Africa some time towards the end of the 19th century, the Aḥmadiyya probably some time earlier than the Ṣāliḥiyya. The Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīḳa* was introduced by Shaykh ʿAlī Maye Durogba (d. 1335/1917) from the town of Marka, and the Ṣāliḥiyya one introduced by Shaykh Muḥammad Gūlēd (d. 1918), who was from the Bantu language-speaking Shidle community. The best-known figure from both these two *ṭarīḳas* is Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān (1250-1 to 1339/1864-1920 [*q.v.*], and see that article for alternative date of birth), who, having been initiated into the order by Shaykh b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ [see ṢĀLIḤIYYA] himself in Mecca, went on to lead the so-called Dervish movement against the foreign powers in the northern Somali ter-

ritories, particularly the British, from 1898-1920.

A regular feature of the religious calendar among the Somalis is the *siyaaro* (from Ar. *ẓiyāra*), celebrations of a saint's life through a pilgrimage to the saint's tomb and the holding of services there in his honour. This is bound up, particularly among the nomadic pastoralists, with the society's lineage system. The founders of lineage segments, such as the eponymous clan group founders Shaykh Daarood (Dārōd) or Shaykh Isaaq (Isāḳ), are revered in their own right as saints and the *siyaaro* celebrations are held in their honour. Other saints are also revered who have become well known through their virtuous deeds (Ar. *manḳaba* pl. *manāḳib*) which are remembered in oral narratives as well as in written collections in Arabic, which, it is assumed, have been taken from oral narrative. These are to be found in manuscript form and some have also been published (see Bibl. for an example). In addition to these local saints the lives of founder saints of the *ṭarīḳas*, such as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], are also celebrated.

The role of saints as intermediaries, particularly the role of deceased saints, is an issue on which the *ṭarīḳas* differ. The intercession of deceased saints as intermediaries between humans and God is rejected by the Aḥmadiyya and the related Ṣāliḥiyya, but is accepted by the Ḳādiriyya. This was one of the main issues, which, along with others, led to animosity between the Ṣāliḥiyya and the Ḳādiriyya at the beginning of this century. Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān was the most prominent figure in this exchange on the Ṣāliḥiyya side and, on the side of the Ḳādiriyyas, one of the most prominent was Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿallim Yūsuf al-Ḳuṭbī who edited and co-authored *al-Djuzʾānⁱ al-awwal wa ʾl-thānī min al-madjmūʿa al-mubāraka al-mushtamila ʿalā kutub khamsa* ("The two parts, the first and the second from the blessed collection comprising five books") (Maḳdishū n.d., printed in Cairo), which includes five treatises on *taṣawwuf* [*q.v.*], including polemics against the Ṣāliḥiyya *ṭarīḳa*. Shaykh Uways also engaged in this with a bitter exchange of poetic invective taking place between him and Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān during the first decade of the 20th century, which led eventually to followers of Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān killing Shaykh Uways in 1909 at Biyooley where the latter had founded a settlement.

Religious ceremonies such as marriages and funerals are undertaken in Somali society by men of religion, who are known in Somali as *wadaads*. The title of *sheekh* (*shēkh*, in Arabic *shaykh*) is used in respect to *wadaads* when they have reached a certain level of respect as men of religion (N.B. the term Shēkh in Somali is used only in a religious sense; it is not used in a secular context as in Arabic for an elder, for which the term *oday* is used in Somali). The term *wadaad* is used in contrast to the term *waranle* ("warrior", literally: "spear bearer"), amongst which other Somali men are traditionally classed. Another important role played by *wadaads*, given the respect owed them as religious men, is that of mediator in disputes between lineages. They may also provide amulets and bless livestock and crops as well as pray for the ever-important rain. The education of *wadaads* may differ widely, with some having travelled to various centres of Islamic learning both within the Horn of Africa as well as abroad, gaining a deep and wide ranging education and, indeed, in some cases writing treatises on theological matters. Others have less education and may have just a rudimentary understanding of the Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth*. As they are the men of learning, it is the *wadaads* who in turn are the religious teachers of the young and, for this purpose, they may be based in a particular town or village, pupils coming to them for learning. On the other hand, they may set up an itinerant college, moving from place to place with accompanying students, and carrying out religious duties in the places they arrive at. With regard to law, the customary law of the Somalis, known as *xeer* (*ḥēr*), continues to play an important role and exists alongside the *Sharīʿa* to which the Somalis, as Muslims, adhere also.

All the Ṣūfī orders in the Somali territories have set up agricultural communities in suitable areas known as *jamaacas* (from Ar. *djamāʿa*). Most of these are, naturally, in the agricultural areas between and along the two main rivers; such communities, however, have also, since the last century, been founded in the northern regions, particularly in the north-west, where the land and climate are more suitable. In the north-west, this has in turn led to the development of a certain amount of agriculture being practised by the general population growing, in particular, sorghum.

In addition to the general Muslim religious practices, there are a number of other spiritual aspects of life practised among the Somalis. One well-known example is the *saar* (*sār*) [see ZĀR] cult, in which a person is regarded as having been made ill by the presence of a spirit within them. The person is then relieved of the spirit through the performance of a ritual, often by a woman specialist known as *alaaqad*. This cult is regarded by some as a superstitious and un-Islamic practice, and is generally practised among women and among more disenfranchised groups of people on the margins of the society. It is a widespread phenomenon found in North Africa, the Arabian peninsula as well as Ethiopia, from where it is thought to have originated and to have spread during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

In more recent decades, Islam has in different ways been a force within the politics of the Somali territories. Following the campaign of Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān, there was a certain amount of Islamic reformist activity under such leaders as Ḥādjdji Faraḥ ʿUmar, who was exiled to Aden by the colonial authorities and there set up the Somali Islamic Association. It has been suggested that this exile contributed to the lack of connection between the developing nationalist-oriented political organisations such as the Somali Youth League and the Islamic reformist movement. Later in the history of Somalia, the matter of Somali irredentism as an expression of Somali nationalism may have further lessened the impact of Islamic expressions of nationalism. Two Islamic organisations were established in 1969: *Djamāʿat Ahl al-Islām* and *Waḥdat Shabāb al-Islām*, with the aim of imparting more Islamic values, especially among the young, whom they regarded as moving away from these standards. During the régime of Maxamed Siyaad Barre (Muḥammad Siyād Barre) a religious opposition developed, particularly after January 1975 when a new Family Law was attacked by the religious establishment as being against the laws of Islam in terms of inheritance rights for women. Following subsequent opposition speeches, a number of religious leaders were arrested and some executed, leading to an increasing gulf between religious groups and the régime. During the fragmented political situation following the ousting of the Barre régime, Islamic groups have continued to play a role in the politics of the region, this role being particularly strong in certain areas; e.g., the area around the town of Luuq (Lūḳ)

in south-west Somalia has been described as an "Islamic mini-state amidst surrounding chaos and anarchy" (Hussein, 219).

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5. Language

Somali is a member of the Omo-Tana group of Lowland East Cushitic languages, Cushitic being a member of the Afroasiatic super-family. Other Omo-Tana languages include Rendille, Bayso, Dasenech and Elmolo spoken in the region of north-west Kenya and south-west Ethiopia; whilst two of the most important Lowland East Cushitic languages are ʿAfar and Oromo, which are spoken by the two major groups of people neighbouring the Somalis to the west in the Horn of Africa.

Somali itself, may be regarded not so much as a single language, but rather a collection of closely-related dialects. According to Lamberti (1986, 14-32), there are five major dialect groups of Somali: the Northern group of dialects spoken predominantly by the nomadic pastoralists; the May and Digil dialect groups spoken by the sedentary agriculturalists living between the two main rivers, the Jubba and the Shabeelle; the Benaadir dialects, spoken along the southern coast (and also in parts of southern-central Somalia) and Ashraaf, a dialect spoken just in Maḳdishū and in the region around and to the north of the town of Marka. There are a small number of other language-speaking minorities: dialects of Oromo are spoken in parts of the south-western regions and in the southern part of the Lower Jubba region and Af-Boon (also known as Aweera), an endangered Cushitic language, is spoken in an area between the town of Jilib and the coast (as well as in neighbouring parts of Kenya). There are also speakers of northern dialects of Swahili: Ki-Bajuni is spoken along part of the coastal strip in the region of the lower Jubba and especially in the town of Kismaayo and Chi-Mwiini (= a dialectical form of Standard Swahili *Kī-Mjini* "the language of the town") is spoken in the town of Baraawe (Brava) and along the adjacent coast and the Bajun Islands. A further Bantu language Af-Mushungulu is spoken along the banks of the Jubba in the vicinity of the town of Jamaame and is regarded as corresponding to the Shambaa language of Tanzania (according to W.I.G. Möhlig, as mentioned in Lamberti 1986, 33).

Somali has a rich verbal morphology which, aside from the inflectional suffixes, includes a number of derivational suffixes which alter the argument structure of the verb. These include a causative or transitivising suffix, *-i*, which may be affixed to a verbal root, and a middle voice suffix, *-o*, which often has an autobenefactive or an intransitivising meaning. Whereas the vast majority of verbs inflect by means of suffixes, a small number of verbs mark person by means of prefixes, mark tense by means of stem-internal vowel mutation and have a number marker suffix. In Standard Somali there are five such verbs: *yimi* "come", *yiqiin* "know", *yidhi* "say", *yiil* "be in a place (only with inanimate subjects)" and the idiosyncratic verb *yahay* "be". The nominal morphology is characterised by a number of deverbal and denominal derivational suffixes as well as defining, demonstrative and possessive suffixes. The status of adjectives in Somali is a matter of dispute among linguists, some seeing them as a separate part of speech which is used with the verb *yahay*, others regarding adjectives as a distinct verbal group. With regard to syntax, one prominent feature is the system of focus marking which has been shown to be syntactically cognate to cleft constructions used in some other Afroasiatic languages of the Horn of Africa. Prepositional expressions are also interesting from a syntactic point of view: it is possible to use a possessive construction to express such things as "under the table": *miiska hoostiisa*, literally "the table its underneath"; but most prepositional expressions are rendered using four preverbal prepositional particles, given here with approximate meanings: *u* (to, for), *ku* (in, at, instrumental), *ka* (from, about) and *la* (with). These preverbal prepositional particles are found in most of the other Omo-Tana languages but not in less closely-related Cushitic languages in which certain case markers and postpositions are cognate. Of phonological interest is the system of tonal accent or pitch accent, in which certain grammatical distinctions are made by the position of accent which is realised as a higher tone phonetically.

Despite the fact that Somali is essentially a cluster of dialects, Standard Somali (sometimes called Common Somali) has developed over the last few decades, based on the Northern dialect group. This dialect group has developed in this way because it was already being used to a certain extent as a lingua franca throughout the Somali-speaking areas and also because much oral poetry was, and still is, composed in it and this poetry, when good, often became well known over a very wide area, thus helping to disseminate a certain competence in the dialect. Standard Somali is now the language of written and broadcast media and it is this use, especially in radio, which over the last few decades has continued the development of this standard language and made it widely known to speakers of other dialect groups.

The widespread use of written Somali only began in 1972 when an official script was introduced by the government of the time. Prior to this, written communication was mostly carried out in other languages.

For a long time, Arabic was used in this way by those who knew it well enough and it continues to be used by some Somalis today as a written medium. In addition to the use of the Arabic language as such, the Arabic script was used by some people to write the Somali language itself, although this did not become very widespread. The European colonial languages, English, Italian and French, have also been used for written communication. In addition to the use of the Arabic script to write the Somali language, in the 20th century, a number of invented scripts gained a certain amount of usage. Two of the most famous of these are the Gadabursi script which was used in the north-west of the Somali territories and the Cismaaniya (ʿIsmāniya) script which gained a somewhat wider currency.

The selection of an official script for the Somali language was a matter fraught with problems and indecision for a long time. Three major proposals were considered, firstly the use of a version of the Arabic script which was argued for on the basis of Islam. This, though, faced the practical problem that a number of new characters were needed, especially for vowels; despite this people were aware that other languages had used the script such as Persian and Urdu and that it was at least generally more familiar to Somalis than other scripts. The second option was the use of an indigenous invented script, which was advocated on the basis that it would be an authentic Somali script. However, the invented scripts were to a certain extent associated with particular clans and thus were not regarded by all as being possible "pan-Somali" scripts; also, typewriters and printing presses would have needed to be built from scratch, which was considered by some as impractical and expensive. The third option was the use of a version of the Latin alphabet which, practically, was suited to the language but which was opposed by the groups who supported the other options. No decision was made by the civilian régimes of the 1960s and it was the former military régime of Maxamed Siyaad Barre which officially adopted the Latin script in 1972.

Somali is written more or less as the language is spoken. Each sound is represented by a letter of the alphabet or a digraph, most being similar to English apart from the following characters which are given here with their respective symbols in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and in Arabic transcription: "c" (Arabic: ʿ, IPA: ʕ), "x" (Arabic: ḥ, IPA: ħ), "dh" (not found in Arabic, IPA: ɖ) "j" (Arabic: d̲j̲, IPA: ʤ or in some speech IPA: ʧ), "kh" (Arabic: k̲h̲, IPA: χ, this sound is only found in Arabic loanwords), "q" (Arabic: ḳ, IPA: q), "sh" (Arabic s̲h̲, IPA: ʃ). Long vowels and geminate consonants are both written as digraphs.

Following the acceptance of this script, Somali was made the national language of the then Democratic Republic of Somalia and urban and rural literacy campaigns were implemented. Although following these the literacy rate may be assumed to have improved, at the present time, with civil war and great upheavals in the Horn of Africa, it is assumed to be very low (in 1985 the adult literacy rate in Somalia was 12% according to the African Development Report for 1991 published by the African Development Bank). Since 1972, much new vocabulary has been introduced into the language; some has been coined from existing Somali words by compounding or semantic shift, and some borrowed from Arabic (from which borrowing has taken place for a long time) or from the colonial European languages.

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6. Literature

Prior to the writing of the language, Somali literature was, with some very few exceptions, composed, retained and performed solely in oral form. Poetry has always been the most important type of literary expression, but, from the 1940s onwards, theatre became important and, following the acceptance of an official Somali script in 1972, prose fiction also developed. The Somalis themselves distinguish between a large number of genres of poetry, ranging from children's songs through work songs and dance songs to poetry handling more serious themes, the latter being classified together as *maanso* (*mānso*) (sometimes referred to as "classical poetry" by English-speaking scholars), whereas the work songs, etc., are classified together as *hees*. Within these major groups there are genres of poems and songs which are distinguished by four major factors: the subjects they treat, the context in which they are recited, the metrical structure of the lines and the "tune" (in Somali, *luuq* (*lūḳ*)) to which they are traditionally performed. Somali poetry is alliterative, the alliterative sound being carried throughout the whole poem and there is a quantitative system of metrical structure (in Somali, syllable final consonants are not counted in the metre).

There are different songs associated with all the standard types of work among the rural Somalis such as watering camels and other livestock (each animal has its own song), driving livestock along, weaving mats, pounding grain, etc. Many of these songs are well known and the original composer anonymous, but people do also compose their own poetry in this context. This may sometimes be used by people to convey a message allusively to someone whom they would not normally be able to directly address on the matter in hand. The dance songs and poetry, of which there are many types such as *dhaanto* and *shirib*, are performed in specific contexts at celebrations and particularly when young people come together to dance at certain times of the year; again, many of these songs and poems are anonymous but may also be composed by individuals who then perform them in the dance.

Turning to the *maanso* type of poetry, this is all composed by named individuals, and before reciting a poem of this type the reciter must say who is the composer of the poem and must then recite the poem verbatim. There is no professional class of poets among the nomads; anyone who has the skill is able to compose poetry and those who are very good become well known and gain a great deal of prestige. Among the southern, mainly agriculturalist clans, the situation is different in that there are specific reciters of poetry, *laashin* (pl. *laashinno*), who often recite in an extemporised manner. Unfortunately, the work available to the academic community on this poetry is very sparse, and consequently what is to be said below on poetry pertains primarily to the pastoralist nomads

and the modern types of poems which have developed from that tradition.

Given the oral nature of the literature, the earliest examples of poems which are known are from the latter half of the 19th century. Some of these poems are those by Raage Ugaas Warfaa (Rāge Ugās Warfā) (*ca.* 1810-*ca.* 1880) which are still remembered with great respect, such as the poem he composed in response to the marriage of his fiancée to another, *Alleyl dumay* "At nightfall". Among the pastoralist nomads there is no history of epic poetry, although among the agriculturalists there are poems which are passed on from one generation to the next and which recount aspects of clan history. From the turn of the 20th century, many poems have been remembered, particularly those of the most famous and prestigious poets; and when the Somali language was first officially written in 1972 many of these poems were soon transcribed, thus keeping them for posterity, although those which have survived to the present time will only be a small proportion of the total amount of poems composed. One of the most important poets whose work is preserved in this way is that of Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān [*q.v.*], whose work has been collected and published, as has also the work of his contemporaries. Looking at the work of more than one poet within a particular context is particularly important, as Somali poetry is very often composed to address a particular situation and a poem composed by one person may be replied to by another poet, as was often the case with the poetry during the Dervish campaign. At times, poems may be replied to and the replies themselves solicit a response; in such situations a *silsilad* (Ar. *silsila* "chain") may develop in which a whole chain of poems is composed, all alliterating in the same sound. Despite the fact that many poems comment specifically on issues, others handle general issues or may be in praise of a person or indeed a well-loved horse.

During the late 1940s and the 1950s, the new genres *belwo* and *heello* developed, which dealt more specifically with the theme of love but which developed into an important vehicle for the expression of developing nationalist, anti-colonial feeling. Of particular importance in this development was the poet and musician Cabdullaahi Qarshe (ʿAbd Allāh Ḳarshe), who was the first Somali to introduce musical instrumental accompaniment, the lute, to this poetry. It was during this time also that Somali theatre developed, with the composition of plays by playwrights who took theatrical forms from the European examples which they saw and developed them, using Somali poetic forms as the basis of the play text. This poetry was learnt verbatim by the actors, who then improvised the linking parts of the play in spoken prose under the guidance of the playwright. In addition to simple recitation of the poetic parts, some were sung with a musical accompaniment, and these songs often became very popular and were broadcast over the radio, as indeed were the whole plays. The plays themselves were generally initially performed in theatres in the major towns and were then taken on tour around the country.

At the present time, poetry continues to be of great importance in Somali culture, with poems addressing the contemporary situation avidly listened to by many people through radio broadcasts or via audio cassette tapes. Many modern popular poems are also often recorded with a musical accompaniment as songs. Three of the most prominent poets of the present time are Maxamed Ibrahiim Warsame "Hadraawi" (Muḥammad Ibrahīm Warsame Hadrāwi), Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac Gaarriye (Muḥammad Ḥāshi Dhamaʿ Gārriye) and Cabdi Aadan "Cabdi Qays" (ʿAbdi Ādan "ʿAbdi Ḳays"), all of whom have composed a wide variety of poems, including ones addressing the political situations they have lived through as well as love poems and poems on other themes.

Although most poetry which is widely known is composed by men, there are women also who compose poetry. Given the male-oriented system of memorisation used in the past, very few older poems by women are now known but from more modern times, due to the use of radio and audio cassettes, women's poetry is more widely known. For example, Mariam Xaaji Xasan (Maryam Ḥādji Ḥasan) composed poetry in opposition to the former régime of Maxamed Siyaad Barre (Muḥammad Siyād Barre) which was broadcast through an opposition radio station based in Ethiopia under the name of Carraweello Ararsame.

Religious poetry in praise of the Prophet or saints or dealing with didactic themes is composed in both Somali and Arabic. Of the Arabic poems, most are written and retained in manuscript form and some have also been published in book collections. Among the best known are those of Shaykh Uways and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī (see above, 4.), some of whose poems have become very well known and may be recited at religious celebrations such as al-Zaylaʿī's poem popularly known as *al-ʿAyniyya* on account of the rhyme in *ʿayn* (see *Bibl.*). Religious poetry is also composed in Somali, with some early examples having been written in this language using a version of the Arabic script. A more modern, well known composer of religious poetry in Somali is Sheekh Caaqib Cabdulaahi Jaamac (Shaykh ʿĀḳib ʿAbd Allāh Djāmaʿ).

Prior to the introduction of the official script for Somali, prose literature was confined to oral narratives of folktales and to hagiographies of saints, some of these being written in Arabic. Prose literature in the form of novels and short stories in Somali is the product of the adoption of the official script (see above, 5.). Some of the earliest novels include those by Faarax Maxamed Jaamac Cawl (Fāraḥ Muḥammad Djāmaʿ ʿAwl) (1937-91) who wrote three novels, including *Aqoondarro waa u nacab jacayl* (Mogadishu 1974), which was translated into English as *Ignorance is the enemy of love* by B.W. Andrzejewski (London 1982). Another well known writer of prose fiction is Maxamed Daahir Afrax (Muḥammad Ṭāhir Afraḥ), whose novels were first published as serials in the newspaper *Xiddigta Oktoobar* ("The October Star"). The novels of Faarax M.J. Cawl concentrate on didactic themes in a more historical context, *Aqoondarro waa u nacab jacayl* taking the theme of illiteracy set in the context of a true story from the time of the Dervish movement. Those of Afrax, on the other hand, treat the urban life of Maḳdishū in the 1970s and the vulnerabilities of various people in that particular society under the régime of the time. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, a number of other writers wrote novels and short novels which were published in Maḳdishū, but in more recent years, following the civil war and the destruction of many facilities, prose fiction publication has become very difficult, although there has been some, e.g. *Waddadii walbahaarka* ("The road of grief") by Xuseen Sheekh Biixi (Ḥusayn Shaykh Biḥi), which was recently published in Addis Ababa (1994) and which addresses the embroiled situation among the Somalis during the early 1990s. As in other parts of Africa, there has also been some writing of fictional literature and poetry

in the colonial European languages, English, French and Italian. The best known of these writers is Nuuruddiin Faarax (Nūruddīn Fāraḥ; in his publications his name is spelt Nuruddin Farah), who has written a number of novels in English which are very well known in the Western world.

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(M. Orwin)

ṢŌMĀY, a Kurdish district of Persia lying between the Turkish frontier (modern *il* or province of Hakkâri) and the western shore of Lake Urmiya, hence falling within the modern Persian *ustān* or province of West Ādharbāydjān.

In Kurdish, *sōmāy* means "view" (cf. in Persian *sūma* "terminus, finis, scopus", Vullers, ii, 352). To the north, Ṣōmāy is separated from the basin of the Zola Čay (Shepirān, Salmās [*q.v.*]) by the mountains of Bere-dī, Undjalīḳ and Aghwān; on the east the canton of Anzal separates it from Lake Urmiya; to the south-east lies the Shaykh Bāzīd range, to the south the canton of Brādōst; to the south-west the peak of Kotūl; towards the west the ravine of Bānegā runs into the interior of Turkish territory. Ṣōmāy is sometimes used to include the cantons of Shepirān and Anzal-i Bālā.

Ṣōmāy is watered by the northern tributaries of the Nāzlu Čay, several of which drain the main valley, and one (Ḥasanī, Berdūk) comes from the ravine of Bānegā. They unite east of Berdūk, flow towards Brādōst, where they are joined by the tributary from the valley of Bāžirgā and then, joining the Nāzlu Čay, enter the lake north-east of the plain of Urmiya [*q.v.*].

According to the *Sharaf-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Khān Bidlīsī [*q.v.*], Ṣōmāy and Brādōst were at first governed by scions of the Kurd Ḥasanūya dynasty (Ḥasanwayhids) [see ḤASANWAYH] who had taken refuge in the north after the defeat which the Būyid Shams al-Dawla [*q.v.*] had inflicted in 405/1014 on Hilāl b. Badr. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the *Sharaf-nāma* mentions a member of the family, Ghāzī-ḳirān b. Sulṭān Aḥmad, who for his exploits was granted by Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī the cantons of Ṣōmāy, Tergavar and Dōl but later went over to the Ottoman sultan Selīm. His descendants, who were under the *wālī* of Wān, broke up into various branches. The last *mīr* of Ṣōmāy mentioned by the *Sharaf-nāma* is Awliyā Beg (from 985/1577).

When in 1065/1654 Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] visited the country between Wān and Urmiya, the strong castle of Ghāzī-ḳirān still stood on a cliff commanding the plain of Urmiya, while the western part of Ṣōmāy was occupied by the Pinyānish tribe (which now lives in Turkish territory). The lord of Berdūk was called Čolaḳ ("the one-armed") Mīr ʿAzīz; the strong castle stood some distance below (*ashaghiya*) Ḳalʿa-yi Pinyānish, which may be identified with Bānegā (3-4 miles above Berdūk).

It is not very clear whether the *mīrs* of Ṣōmāy who, shortly after the visit of Ewliyā Čelebi, erected several curious monuments, were of the same tribe of Pinyānish. At Berdūk is a mosque of white and black stone and a cemetery with the tomb of Naẓar Beg, son of Ghāzī Beg (d. 1071/1660). His son Sulṭān Taḳī Sulṭān, whose title shows that he had consolidated the power—for *sulṭānlīk* means a fief for which one has received investiture—built the very imposing and picturesque castle near Bānegā. A reconstruction of the old Ḳalʿa-yī Pinyānish probably also dates from his time (1078/1667). On a rock at the entrance to the tower can still be seen the remains of a rudely carved inscription *ṣāḥib mālik—Sulṭān Murād b. Sulṭān*—(?). Below the fort is an *ʿibādat khāna* built by a certain Zāl-i ʿĀdil (1103/1691?) and a mosque. The style of these buildings recalls that of the castle of Maḥmūdī (Khoshāb) east of Wān (cf. Binder, 126-8). In 1136/1736 the hereditary chief of the *sandjaḳ* of Ṣōmāy, Khātim Khān, as a reward for his services received from the Ottoman government the adjacent cantons of Salmās [*q.v.*], Kerdḳāzān (?), Ḳarabāgh and Anzal (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*², iv, 211).

In the 19th century the Shakāk [*q.v.*], encouraged by the Persians, gradually occupied Ṣōmāy. According to Derwīsh Pasha, Bānegā was destroyed by ʿAlī Āghā Shakāk (about 1257/1841).

In 1851 Čirikov was still able to speak of a "hereditary ruler of Ṣōmāy", Parraw Khān, who had also seized Brādōst. In 1893 the Shakāk killed at Gunbad the last representative of the family of *mīrs*, a certain Ḳilīdj Khān.

Among the antiquities of Ṣōmāy may be mentioned: 1. the citadel of Zandjīr Ḳalʿa (between Ṣōmāy and Salmās) which must correspond to the "Shaddādī" building of Ḳarnî-yarīḳ, mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 281) the name of which (*alias* Farhād ḳapu) is found in Blau, in *Peterm. Mitt.* [1863], 201-10; 2. a chamber carved out of the rock on Mount Kotūl; 3. similar chambers where the Nāzlu Čay enters the plain of Urmiya. All these monuments must date from the Urartian period (cf. Minorsky, *Kelashin*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xxiv [1917], 190).

Ṣōmāy had a significant Nestorian Christian population, and Ṣōmāy-Brādōst was a Nestorian diocese under the archdiocese of Shamdīnān [*q.v.*]; see M. Chevalier, *Les montagnards chretiens du Hakkâri et du Kurdistan septentrional*, Paris 1985, 230, and see map 1.

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(V. Minorsky*)

SOMNĀTH [see SŪMANĀT].

SONĀRGĀ'ON, Subarnagrāma in Sanskrit, a famous mediaeval capital city and trade centre in eastern Bengal at the juncture of the rivers Lakhkha, Brahmaputra and old Meghna, and about 14 miles south-east of Dhaka and 3 miles east of Narayanganj. Though the city existed in the early 13th century during the time of the Hindu dynasties of Sena and Deva in East Bengal, it started flourishing only during the time of Balbanī rulers in the region (681-746/1282-1345). The city was visited by the famous Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa during 1345-6 in the reign of Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (739-50/1338-50), who found it very affluent. It continued thriving during later Islamic dynasties of Bengal, namely the Ilyās Shāhī (740-892/1339-1487) and Ḥusayn Shāhī (898-944/1493-1538) dynasties. Towards the end of the 10th/16th century, Sonārgā'on served as the capital for the independent Afghān chieftains—'Īsā Khān and later on his son Mūsā Khān—who resisted Mughal rule until 1611.

From the beginning of Muslim rule, Sonārgā'on was an important educational and cultural centre with a large number of mosques and *madrasas*. During the reign of Sultan Balban (664-86/1266-87), Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Tawwāma established a prestigious *madrasa* in this city, where Shaykh Yaḥyā Manērī [see MAKHDŪM AL-MULK] of Bihār studied. Shaykh 'Alā' al-Ḥakk—a famous Ṣūfī saint of Pandu'ā—lived in Sonārgā'on for two years towards the end of the 8th/14th century. His *khānkāh* attracted many pupils. Epigraphic evidence from the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries records the appellation of Ḥādjdjī for a number of personalities (such as Ḥādjdjī Bābā Ṣāliḥ and Ḥādjdjī Bhāgal Khān), indicating religious links of this region with Arabia (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *An epigraphical journey to an Eastern Islamic land*, in *Muqarnas*, v/7 [1990], 87-103).

Among its architectural remains is a mosque known as Mughrapara Shāhī Djāmi' Masdjid with an inscription dated 889/1484 (see idem, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 107-8). Sonārgā'on was an important mint town since the beginning of the 8th/14th century, and was also famous for its fine cotton production known as Muslin. With the shift of Bengal's capital to Dhaka during the Mughal period in the early 11th/17th century, however, Sonārgā'on lost its glory.

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(MUHAMMAD YUSUF SIDDIQ)

SONGHAY, or Songhai, Sonraï, Sonrhaï, (1) a West African language, (2) a people speaking that language, (3) a West African state in existence from *ca.* 1450 to *ca.* 1600.

1. Language. The Songhay language consists of a cluster of dialects spoken around the Middle Niger from the Inland Delta in the west to the borders of modern Nigeria, Niger and Bénin in the east, with isolated pockets in and around the Hombori mountains south of Timbuktu in the lands of the right bank of the Niger (*gurma*), and around In Gall to the south-west of the Aïr massif in Niger. Down to the late 19th century, a Songhay dialect called Emgedesi was also spoken in Agades. In the northern Saharan oasis of Tabalbala a language is spoken that is Songhay in structure, but largely Arabic and Berber in its lexicon. At the present time the two major dialects are Songhay itself, spoken upstream of Labbezanga and in Dendi, and Djerma or Zerma spoken downstream. Songhay proper is generally considered to have two principal dialects: western and eastern. The western is spoken in Timbuktu, Goundam and the northern Inland Delta, and has absorbed a higher proportion of lexical items of Arabic origin; the eastern is spoken along the banks of the Niger from Arnassey to Labbezanga. The Wogo dialect of Sinder, and Dendi spoken in the far south, are closely related to the eastern dialect. Zerma is spoken in the area between the modern capital of Niamey and Dosso on the borders of the Hausa-speaking lands, and in a broad zone to the north of Niamey. In between are dialects such as Kado and Kourtey.

Linguists have differed on the family affiliation of Songhay-Zerma. For long it defied classification. Then J. Greenberg (*The languages of Africa*, The Hague 1966) grouped it with Nilo-Saharan. More recently, Nicolai has proposed first that it belongs in the Mande family, and more recently still that it is a Tamacheq creole. The term Songhay to refer to the language was in use as early as the beginning of the 16th century, when Leo Africanus noted it as the language of Walāta, Timbuktu, Jenne and Gao (and, implausibly, Mali). But, except in Gao it was, at that time, little more than a language of administration resulting from the incorporation of those areas into an expanded Songhay state from the 1460s. Prior to the expansion of the Songhay state the language was mainly spoken along the banks of the Niger from Gao southwards, but for how long we have no way of telling. The origins of the isolated pockets of Songhay speech are likewise a matter of conjecture, but a plausible hypothesis is that the eastern ones, at any rate, resulted from the activities of Songhay-speaking merchants.

2. People. The name Songhay applied to a people does not appear in the literature until the late 15th century with the "Replies" of al-Maghīlī [*q.v.*]. The name Zerma (and a parallel form, Zaberma) appears even later; there is a single passing reference in an anonymous chronicle of the mid-17th century (see *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, "Deuxième Appendice", 334). Arab writers from the Mediterranean lands of Islam had known of Kawkaw/Gawgaw as the name of a town (Gao [*q.v.*]) and a people, and there is no reason to suppose that these people were not Songhay speakers ancestral to those who inhabited the area in the 16th century and still do today (but see Lange, *Les rois de Gao-Sané et les Almoravides*). A problem remains, however: there is no known etymology for the name Songhay, and the name is scarcely used by speakers of the language to designate themselves (see Olivier de Sardan, *Conceptes et conceptions songhay-zarma*, 340). The *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* and the *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* (both mid-17th century) use the term to refer either to the ruling oligarchy (*ahl Sunghay*) or to the region of Gao, or occasionally to the empire as a whole. Although modern anthropological literature has used the term Songhay(-Zarma) in englobing fashion, the people themselves use more particularist terms such as *koyraboro*—villagers; *gaabi* (or *gabibi*)—"black body", cultivators (in Timbuktu especially denoting ex-slaves); *sorko*—fisher folk, boatmen; *gow*—hunters; *Sohance*—descendants of Sunni 'Alī; *Maamar haama*—descendants of Askiya Muḥammad; *arma*—descendants of the Sa'dian invaders of 1591; etc. The Zarma have traditions that would make them immigrants from Mali, but these probably refer only to groups that came from the Inland Delta and established themselves as local chiefs, perhaps at more than one time. In the

late 19th century, "Zabarma" adventurer carried out extensive slave-raiding among Grunshi populations in north-west Ghana, and under the leadership of Babatu established a short-lived political hegemony in the area that was ended by French and British colonial expansion (see N. Levtzion, *Muslims and chiefs in West Africa*, Oxford 1968, 151-60).

Pre-colonial Songhay society recognised three social statuses: free, servile and slave. The free were the chiefs and the mass of the cultivators and herders, and such slaves and servile people as had achieved free status. The highest status groups were the *Sohance*, the *Maamar haama* (also termed *meyga*), the *arma* and the *sirfay* (*shurafā'*, pl. of *sharīf* [*q.v.*]—descendants of the Prophet). Servile groups comprised people who were attached to, and performed certain services for, free men, in particular those of the chiefly class during the period of the Songhay empire. In some cases, they were probably remnants of earlier conquered peoples; in others they were artisans, musicians and griots (*gesere*) whose functional if not their physical origins go back to the Mali empire of the 13th-14th centuries (see Tal Tamari, *The development of caste systems in West Africa*, in *J. African Hist.*, xxxii [1991], 221-50). In theory, they were not slaves and hence could not escape their status by being emancipated, though in fact slaves may have been assimilated to them; Songhay rulers obliged them to observe endogamy (see Hunwick, *Studies in the* Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh, *II*). Songhay society recognised that slaves in the second generation (*horso*, in French "captifs de case") were on the road to freedom, and by the fourth generation they were assimilated into free society as *gabibi*.

Being strung out in a thin line around the river, the Songhay-Zarma were interpenetrated and hence culturally influenced by many groups: Arab, Tuareg, Fulbe, Manding and Hausa. Like these groups, they have been strongly affected by the religious culture of Islam (in the 11th century, al-Bakrī, *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. de Slane, Paris 1857, 183, noted that none but a Muslim could rule at Kawkaw). In the early 17th century, Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī [*q.v.*] in his *Miʿrādj al-suʿūd* (ms.) classified the Songhay as among the wholly Muslim peoples of *Bilād al-Sūdān*. However, indigenous religion, magic and possession cults have remained strong in Zarma country down to the present time (see Rouch, *Religion et magie*, and Stoller, *Fusion of the worlds*).

3. History. Songhay chroniclers recognise three dynasties: the Zā (or better Zuwa/Žuwa), the Sunni or Si/Shi, originally probably pronounced Soṅ-ñyi) and the Askiya dynasty. Of the first we really know no more than the list of rulers' names given in the local chronicles; royal tombstones discovered at Gao-Sané suggest a short-lived dynasty in relationship with the Almoravids of Spain and their Ṣanhādja cousins of the southern Sahara in the late 11th/early 12th century, but the relationship of these rulers to the Zās remains problematic. Some later inscriptions include the title *zuwā*. The Sunnis were probably originally vassals of the Malian rulers who conquered the Middle Niger in the later 13th century [see MALI]. The *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* glosses the title with *koi banandi*/*khalīfat al-sulṭān*, indicating a subordinate relationship. By the mid-15th century, Mali had withdrawn from the area, and with the advent to power of Sunni ʿAlī in 869/1464, a period of Songhay expansion began. During his twenty-eight years' rule he conquered a broad swathe of territory around the Niger from the borders of Kebbi (Kabi) in the south-east to beyond Jenne in the south-west. His brutality towards certain of the scholars of Timbuktu during that city's conquest in 873/1468 stirred up animosities that were exacerbated by al-Maghīlī's judgement that he was an unbeliever (*kāfir*), and are reflected in the local chronicles.

On Sunni ʿAlī's death in 898/1492, his son Abū Bakr (Bukar Dāʿū) succeeded him, but he was soon overthrown by one of ʿAlī's generals, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*], of mixed Soninke-Songhay parentage, who took the dynastic title of *askiya* (*r.* 898-935/1493-1529). He expanded Songhay into a veritable empire, making lands as distant as Galam on the Senegal river in the west and the Aïr massif in the east his tributaries. Although his conquest of the Hausa states has been questioned, it is likely he tried to exercise hegemony over at least the important mercantile cities of Kano and Katsina, and by the same token to exclude Bornu, the other major power of the region. Some of these conquests were ephemeral, and his fifth successor, his son Askiya Dāwūd (*r.* 956-90/1549-82) again campaigned in many of the same areas. A brief but disastrous civil war in 996/1588 weakened Songhay, and it fell an easy prey to an expedition equipped with firearms sent by the Saʿdian sultan of Morocco Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] under the leadership of the *Bāshā* Djawdār in 1000/1591. Songhay resistance continued from the southlands (Dendi) for some twenty years, but to no avail, while the conquerors abandoned Gao in favour of Timbuktu, where they set up an administration (generally called the *bāshālik*) and installed puppet *askiyas*.

Songhay was the largest of the mediaeval empires of West Africa, but both its size and its administrative style imperilled it. Succession under the *askiyas* generally passed to brothers, but in no fixed order; the strongest carried the day, especially if he was present at Gao on his predecessor's death. Regional governorships and other high offices were mainly distributed among the *askiya*'s sons, and sometimes his brothers, and competition was fierce. The state had a sound agricultural base in the fertile lands of the river Niger and in the Inland Delta, and slaves ran plantations to feed the royal household and its soldiers. A well-developed river transport system ferried foodstuffs, soldiers and officials, and the Sorko who manned the boats were the *askiya*'s "property" (*mamlūk lahu*). Trade with North Africa provided luxury items (European swords, cloth, paper, etc.) while gold and slaves were high value exports. Rock salt from the central Saharan mine at Taghāza was (and remained until recently) a lucrative item of trade, cut into ever smaller pieces and serving as a currency for smaller items, while gold dust was used for larger transactions. The *askiya* period also marked a high point in the fortunes of Islam, and especially of Timbuktu [*q.v.*] as a centre of Islamic scholarship. Askiya Muḥammad made the pilgrimage in 902/1497 and received a diploma of authority as a lawful *amīr* from the fainéant ʿAbbāsid caliph of Cairo. He established cordial relations with the men of religion, making them gifts and granting them privilege. During his reign and those of most of his successors, the moral authority of the scholars and holy men of Songhay served to mitigate the despotism of the rulers.

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SONḲOR, Sunḳur (t.), one of the many words in Turkish denoting birds of prey. In the modern Turkic languages, and probably always, it means the gerfalcon, *falco gyrfalco* (Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dict. of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 838a). Maḥmūd al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī says that it was a raptor smaller than the *tog̲h̲rïl* (*Dīwān lug̲h̲āt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, iii, 381).

The term became frequently used as a personal name in mediaeval Islamic times, both alone and in such combinations as Aḳ/Ḳara Sonḳor "White/Black Gerfalcon", cf. J. Sauvaget, *Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks*, in *JA*, ccxxxviii (1950), 37 no. 22, 52 no. 163.

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SORGUČ [see tulband].

SOUTH AFRICA, Islam in.

1. The community.

Although there is evidence that small groups of Arab or African Muslims reached its northernmost regions, Islam was established in the country during European colonial occupation. The first group of Muslims were brought to the Cape during Dutch rule, while the second group arrived during the British occupation of Natal in the 19th century.

The first group, inappropriately called Malays in South Africa, came from the range of South-East Asian islands, Bengal, Malabar and Madagascar. Beginning in 1658, they came as political prisoners, slaves and convicts. There were prominent religious scholars among them, like Abidin Tadia Tjoessoep of Makassar (d. 1699), known as S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Yūsuf, and Imām Abdullah Kadi Abdus Salaam from Tidore (d. 1807), known as Tuan Guru. The graves of these and other contemporary religious figures are dotted throughout the Western Cape. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Yūsuf's tomb in Faure has become an identity symbol for the Muslim community, while the other tombs also play a prominent part in its mystical orientations.

The second group were Indian indentured workers and traders from Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Gud̲j̲arāt. Traders played a prominent role in the establishment of institutions, the first mosque being built in 1884. These traders then invited religious functionaries, *imāms* and *ʿulamāʾ*, to serve them. Among the early Muslims from India there were also two mystics whose tombs have become sites of veneration in Durban. The first, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad, is said to have come to Natal in 1860 as an indentured worker. *Mad̲j̲d̲h̲ūb* Badsha Peer ("enraptured saintly saint"), as he is popularly known, was released from his term of indenture, and then hawked fruit and vegetables in the Durban mosque market until his death in 1886. The second, S̲h̲āh G̲h̲ulām Muḥammad Ṣūfī Ṣiddīḳī, alias Soofie Saheb, established a more enduring tradition. Sent to South Africa by his Chis̲h̲tī master Ḥabīb ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, Soofie Saheb arrived in this country in 1895. According to tradition, he discovered the grave of Badsha Peer and established the celebration of his death anniversary (*ʿurs*). Soofie Saheb also encouraged the development of other folk practices as symbols for distinguishing poor Indian Muslims from Hindus.

In addition to this Asian composition of Muslims, there were also smaller groups from Africa, partly consisting of migrants from African countries like Malawi in the north, and partly from a steady flow of converts from indigenous peoples. On a smaller scale, there have also been conversions, especially in the Cape, of Europeans to Islam. These diverse origins and different histories notwithstanding, Muslims in South Africa increasingly regard themselves as a national community.

Islam in South Africa is marked by a range of institutions established in the 19th century and continuing unabated. Mosques, *madrasas*, modern Islamic schools, colleges, welfare and youth organisations, are all the more remarkable considering that Muslims constituted only 1-2% of the estimated total population of 43 million. The institutionalisation of Islam began in the Cape at the beginning of the 19th century, when Tuan Guru established the first mosque after an 1804 ordinance allowed the free and public practice of religions other than the Dutch Reformed Church. Scholars in the Cape continued to establish mosques and schools wherein they played a leading role. In Cape society, they were also intellectuals for slaves and Free Blacks. Their valuable role shone through educational activities, and other important community services like name-giving ceremonies, marriage and death rites. Cape religious leaders also adopted the Arabic script to write religious texts in the Afrikaans of the Cape.

From the second half of the 19th century, an increasing number of these scholars studied at Arab

institutions, especially in Mecca, Cairo and Medina. Prominent scholars like Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Adams, Shaykh Mahdī Hendricks, Shaykh Aḥmad Behardien, and Shaykh Shākir Gamieldien, played a crucial role in religious life in the Cape. Cape religious leaders are organised in scholarly fraternities. The Moslem Judicial Council (est. 1945) is the largest, but the Majlis al-Shura al-Islami and the Islamic Council of South Africa also enjoy prominence. These groups serve the community, and thereby claim its allegiance, through the provision of education, community counselling and religious services.

The institutionalisation of Islam in the northern regions of South Africa has, however, been markedly different. Generally, mosques, schools and welfare organisations employ *imāms* and *ʿulamāʾ* in their capacity as religious specialists. In response, religious scholars in the northern regions have defined themselves in terms of Islamic legal and theological criteria. Most of them have studied at institutions in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, reflecting Islamic trends there. The Jamiatul Ulama Transvaal (est. 1932) and Jamiatul Ulama Natal (est. 1952) together with the small but vociferous Mujlisul Ulama in the Eastern Cape, have spread Deobandi doctrines in *madrasas*, mosques, and by means of monthly broadsheets. This approach is more text-centred, following the revivalist tradition in India. The Sunni Jamiyat-e-Ulama (est. 1978), and a few splinter groups, champion the cause of Bareilwi thought in popular festivals like the *Mīlād* (birthday of the Prophet), *ʿUrs* (death anniversaries of Ṣūfī saints), and *ʿĀshūrā* (martyrdom of Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet). Bareilwism in South Africa, as in India, is more inclined towards the charismatic presence of the Prophet Muḥammad and Islamic saints.

The central role of the *ʿulamāʾ* and other influential leaders has begun to be shared in the present century by modern groups. In the Cape, the Cape Muslim Youth Movement (est. 1957) and Claremont Muslim Youth Association (est. 1958) represented the aspirations of youth who demanded a more modern understanding of Islam. They also insisted that Muslim communities and religious leaders should take a more unequivocal stance against racist apartheid legislation.

The anti-apartheid movement among Muslims in the Cape rallied around Imām Abdullah Haron in Claremont, Cape Town, until his death in police detention on 27 September 1995. Even though Imām Haron and his supporters did not always get the support of the entire Muslim community, they placed the anti-apartheid agenda within Islamic circles. As part of the larger non-white population, Muslims suffered the injustices of discriminatory legislation and forced removals. However, as Coloureds and Indians, they escaped its worst features such as influx control regulations and homelands marginalisation. Muslims, as a result, were ambivalent between an open rejection of apartheid and accommodation within its excesses.

Anti-apartheid activists among Muslims in Natal, like e.g. Ismail and Fatima Meer, threw in their lot with the Natal Indian Congress. Nevertheless, the more conservative Arabic Study Circle (est. 1950) in Durban was also a clearly modernist exponent of Islam, arguing for reading the Ḳurʾān in English translation, women's emancipation, and religious evolution. The Islamic Propagation Centre (est. 1957), led by Polemicist Aḥmad Deedat, launched a missionary drive on the basis of the rational, historical truth of Islam, first against Christianity and then also against Hinduism. Although his methods in recent times have been rejected by many Muslims, the call for conversion to Islam has been a feature of non-clerical groups since then.

From 1970 onwards, socio-political organisations wrestled with the particular approach to apartheid and with its religious meaning in South Africa. The nation-wide Muslim Youth Movement (est. 1970), influenced by the Muslim Brothers in Egypt and the Djamāʿat-i Islāmī in Pakistan, searched for a modern approach to Islam, but reflected the ambivalence of Muslims between the liberation movements and the apartheid state. On the other hand, the group Qiblah established in 1980 by anti-apartheid activist Achmat Cassiem, took a more direct anti-apartheid approach. Similarly, the Call of Islam, founded in 1983 by Farid Esack, joined the United Democratic Front to reject the tri-cameral parliamentary proposals of the South African government. By 1985, all these three groups launched a formidable anti-apartheid campaign within the Muslim community.

Muslims entered the most recent phase of South Africa as a very articulate and organised group. In spite of their small numbers, the Islamic presence is felt in all sections of South African society. The application of Muslim Personal Law, greater media coverage of Islamic events, and the sheer presence of Muslims at all levels of government, are signs that Muslims enjoy greater prominence in society than ever before.

Muslims are divided in terms of their political allegiance. No single party enjoys their undivided support, including the Islamic parties that were formed to contest the first democratic elections in 1994. A lively debate, which can sometimes be acrimonious, rages about the new state. Many *ʿulamāʾ* and activists like Achmat Cassiem argue that the Muslim community should vigorously maintain its independence and authority in the service of a pure Islamic order. Dissident voices from the Call of Islam and the Muslim Youth Movement respond that an Islamic ethos can be created through and within the development of a new South African nation. For the vast majority of Muslims, however, these debates do not restrain their political expressions within trade unions, professional organisations and trade organisation.

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2. Afrikaans in Arabic script [see Suppl.].

SOUTH ARABIA, modern languages of. See al-Ḥarāsīs; mahrī; shiḥrī; suḳuṭra. 3. Language; ẓufār.

SOYŪRGHĀL, a term with the primitive meaning in Mongolian of "favour" or "reward granted by the ruler to someone, sometimes of a hereditary nature" (Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, i, 351 no. 228). *Soyūrghāl kardan* is used synonymously with *soyurghamish kardan* "to grant a favour". The plural (*soyūrghālāt*) is often associated with such words as *ʿawāṭif*, *tashrīfāt* and *inʿāmāt*, "favours", "presents" (see e.g. Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjiwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, ed. A.A. Alizade, Moscow, i, 1964, i/2, 1971, ii, 1976, index, and Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937-56, i, 107). In the course of time, *soyūrghāl* came to be used to designate various grants formerly known as

iḳṭāʿ. There is, however, a certain lack of precision in the use of the term (see H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 97-111, for a discussion of it). The *soyūrghāl* was invariably a personal grant.

It is not always easy to decide whether *soyūrghāl* is being used in the sources for the Īlkhānate and Tīmūrid periods in the sense of "favour" or more specifically as a provincial grant (see e.g. Öldjeytü's grant of Asadābād near Hamadān to Āy Doghdī, *wilāyat-i Asadābād-rā bi Āy Doghdī soyūrghāl farmūd*, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl-i djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh-i rashīdī*, ed. Khān Bābā Bayānī, Tehran AHS 1350/1971, 95; and Abaḳa's grant of Fīrūzān and Djurbādhagān to Yūsuf Shāh, Atabeg of Luristān, *Fīrūzān wa Djurbādhagān-rā soyūrghāl-i ū farmūd*, Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran AHS 1336/1957, 45, and cf. *ibid.*, 206, 209. See also B. Spuler, *Mongolen*[4] Berlin 1985, 275).

In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, *soyūrghāl* is sometimes found in conjunction with the term *hūdabarī* (see Doerfer, iv, nos. 396, 400-1). ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī states that *soyūrghāls* were renewed annually by Tīmūr's *dīwān* unless they were *hūdabarī* (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1949, ii, 1037. See also Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, ed. Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, Tehran AHS 1339/1960, ii, 436, and Hosein Modarressi Tabataba'i, *Farmānhā-yi Turkumānān-i Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu wa Aḳ Ḳoyunlu*, Ḳum AHS 1352/1973-4, 71, n. 1). The phrase *bi ḳarār-i hūdabarī* in a *farmān* dated 893/1488 in idem, 103, clearly has the sense "on a permanent basis".

Under the Tīmūrids, the *soyūrghāl* in the sense of a provincial grant was not clearly distinguished from the *tuyūl* [*q.v.*]. Both were used to signify the grant of a district or provincial government or its taxes, with or without immunities. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ records the grant of Ḥiṣār Shādamān to Mīrzā Muḥammad Djahāngīr in 812/1409-10 as a *soyūrghāl* (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, i, 148) and the grant of Sīstān to Amīr Khalīl as a *soyūrghāl* in 859/1455 (*ibid.*, ii, 1084). In either case, the phrase *bi-rasm-i soyūrghāl* is used. This could simply mean "by way of a favour/gift", but it is more likely that the term *soyūrghāl* is used here in the specific sense of a grant of a district rather than in the general sense of "favour" (cf. also Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī's statement that Tīmūr granted the district (*mawḍiʿ*) of Gāwkūrish to Mubashshir Bahādur as a permanent *soyūrghāl* (*soyūrghāl-i abadī*) as a reward for his courage in battle in 786/1384-5 against Amīr Walī, the ruler of Māzandarān, *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 95).

A document issued by Djahānshāh Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, dated 857/1453, informs the *kalāntars*, *kadkhudās* and subjects of Djūlāh (Julfa) that their taxes (*māl wa mutawadjdjihāt*) had been granted to Shaykh Darā'ī as a *soyūrghāl* from the beginning of the Year of the Hen and instructs them to consider him as their governor (*ḥākim wa dārūgha*). "He was to present himself (*ḥāḍir gardānad*) with equipment (*yarāḳ*) and followers (*nawkar*) at the royal camp on the issue of a royal order" (Busse, 149-50. The document is also published by Modarressi Tabataba'i in *Farmānhā-yi Turkamānān*, 25-6, with the reading *ḥāḍir gardānand*, which would mean that the *kalāntars*, etc. were to present themselves at the royal camp). A document issued by Shāh ʿAbbās, dated 1019/1611, would seem to confirm Busse's reading. It grants the *ulkā* of Dizmār and its dependencies to Burhān al-Dīn, the *khalīfa* of the Ṣūfīs of Dizmār on the same terms as it had been held by his father Ilyās Khalīfa. The *kadkhudās* and peasants were to pay their taxes (*māl wa wudjūhāt*) to him and to refer to him any disputes which might occur between them except cases of murder (*siwā-yi khūn*), and the Ṣūfīs of Dizmār and Uzumdil were to present themselves at his call when he undertook royal service, as had been the custom under his father. The *tuyūldārān* and officials (*ʿummāl*) of Ādharbāydjān, especially in the *ulkā* of Dizmār, were not to interfere in his *soyūrghāl* and *tuyūl* in any way, or to collect any dues from which, according to the decree of the late shah, the *soyūrghāls* of the Ṣūfīs were exempt (Sarhang Bāyburdī, *Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, Tehran AHS 1341/1962, 160). Another document dated 1113/1702 issued by Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (first described by N. Khanikoff, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii/1, St. Petersburg 1857, 70-4) is quoted by Minorsky. It confirms the transfer, as requested by Bāyandur Sulṭān, of a *soyūrghāl* consisting of a sum on the revenue of the Dizmār district to his son Muḥammad Ḳāsim Beg on the same conditions as it had been held by Maḥmūd Sulṭān, Bāyandur Sulṭān's father, namely that he should provide seven men at the shah's call (*A Soyūrghāl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu (903/1498)*, in *BSOS*, ix/4 [1938], 959). Such grants were normally called *tuyūls* under the Ṣafawids (cf. the *tuyūl* granted to Lāčīn Sulṭān in 1110/1698, see Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 109-10).

Under the White Sheep Turkomans, the grant of districts with immunities was still known as a *soyūrghāl*. An example of this is Ḳāsim Beg's grant to Isfandiyār Beg, dated 903/1497-8, for the *ulkā* of Egil, which was his home-ground (*ūdjāḳ*), and the villages of Bāghīn and Hīnī as a "permanent *soyūrghāl* and permanent gift" with immunity from the entry of government officials (*dar basta*) and from a great variety of dues (Modarressi Tabataba'i, *Farmānhā-yi turkamānān*, 113-16; see also Minorsky, *op. cit.*). Increasingly under the White Sheep and the Ṣafawids, the term *soyūrghāl* appears to have been applied to pensions, either in the form of a money grant on the taxes or a grant of immunity from the interference of government officials in land belonging to the beneficiary, who was frequently a member of the religious classes. It is not clear how they differed from the grants of immunity known as *muʿāfī* and *musallamī* unless it was that the latter were temporary (but renewable) grants while *soyūrghāls* were life grants or hereditary grants. They were essentially grants of "grace", retaining the original sense of "favour" or "gift" and phrases such as *soyūrghāl-i abadī wa iḥsān-i sarmadī* occur in the documents (cf. the documents, dated 1067/1656 and 1115/1704, quoted by Lambton, *Two Ṣafavid soyūrghāls*, in *BSOAS* xiv/1 [1952], 44-54). In the *farmān* issued by Yaʿḳūb Beg in 893/1488 granting immunity from land taxes to the *wakfi* lands of the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* in Shīrāz, the founder Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr is given as a *soyūrghāl* 3 *tūmāns*, made up of 9,000 dīnārs in cash and 2 *tūmāns* and 1,000 dīnārs in kind (Modarressi Tabataba'i, *op. cit.*, 104).

A *soyūrghāl* dated 875/1471 issued by Uzun Ḥasan in favour of the sayyid ʿAbd al-Ghaffār grants him permanent immunity from land and other taxes (*māl wa mutawadjdjihāt-i dīwānī*) and dues in one of the districts of Rūdiḳāt belonging to Tabrīz (Busse, 151-3, also in Modarressi Tabataba'i, 74-6). It is described as an *inʿām-i abadī wa soyūrghāl-i sarmadī* (152), the implication of "favour" or "gift" being thus retained. A *farmān* of Ṭahmāsp I, dated 966/1558-9 shows, if it is authentic, that *soyūrghāls* were, or might be, hereditary. The grant is to the descendants of Shaykh Zāhid-i Gīlānī. It gives them the taxes of Djūra, Mādjūra and Ūranḳād in Mughānāt as a permanent

soyūrghāl (*soyūrghāl-i abadī wa iḥsān-i sarmadī*), thus implying, as in the case of the grant to ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, that the grant was a favour, and also that these districts had been held in hereditary succession by the Zāhīdī Sayyids. It also mentions that the grant had been reaffirmed in a document (*wathīka*) dated 888/1483-4 (Shaykh Ḥusayn Zāhīdī, *Silsilat al-nasab-i ṣafawī*, Iranshahr Publications No. 6, Berlin 1924-5, 103-5).

The *Tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi amīnī* of Faḍl Allāh Rūzbihān Khundjī Iṣfahānī throws some light on Aḳ Ḳoyunlu practice in ʿIrāḳ and Fārs in the years 894-6/1489-90. From this account it would seem that *soyūrghāls* were numerous and held mainly by the *ʿulamāʾ* and learned men. Ḳāḍī ʿĪsā, Yaʿḳūb Beg's *ṣadr*, as part of the reforms he had planned in order, at least nominally, to reimpose *sharʿī* government, determined to suspend *ḥashwī* and *khardjī soyūrghāls* pending a reassessment of the value of the grants and measurement of the land so held. *Khardjī soyūrghāls* were presumably granted for sustenance, and may have been simply money grants, while *ḥashwī soyūrghāls* may conceivably have been immunities on land which the beneficiaries owned or which had been granted to them. The *soyūrghāls* were to the tune of 1,000 *tūmāns* or more and held by *ʿulamāʾ*; some of whom were very poor. According to Faḍl Allāh, it was common for the beneficiaries to borrow money on the security of the *soyūrghāls* before they fell due. He alleges that the officials sent to Fārs to carry out Ḳāḍī ʿĪsā's plan committed many abuses and much tyranny, such that those whose *soyūrghāls* were suspended suffered great hardship. Suddenly events were interrupted by the death of Yaʿḳūb Beg from pestilence in 896/1490, and no more seems to have been heard of Ḳāḍī ʿĪsā's plans. He fell from power and was hanged (*Tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi amīnī. Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, ed. J.E. Woods with the abridged tr. by Vladimir Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490, Turkmenica* 12, London 1992, and see also Minorsky, *The Aq-Qoyunlu and land reforms*, in *BSOAS*, xvii/3 [1995], 451-8). The precise details of these events are obscure, but there are indications that one of the reasons for Ḳāḍī ʿĪsā's attempted reform was the need to provide money for the army. If this is so, it would suggest that revenue from the land, which according to *sharʿī* law could be spent on the army, was being diverted into private hands.

Gradually, the terms *soyūrghāl* and *tuyūl* were differentiated. Generally speaking, the *tuyūl* was a temporary grant, probably on state lands, while the *soyūrghāl* was a life or hereditary grant, probably mainly on crown land but also on *waḳf* land and privately-owned land. But the distinction between them was by no means hard and fast in practice. Under the Ṣafawids and occasionally under the Ḳādjārs, the terms appear to have been used synonymously. A document issued by Ṭahmāsp I, dated 943/1528, granting immunities to Ḳaranča Muḥammad, the royal *rikābdār*, states that he held the village of Raz in Mishkīn as his *tuyūl* and *soyūrghāl* (G. Hermann, *Ein Erlass Tahmāsps I. von 934/1528*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxix 1 [1989], 105). Hermann suggests that this may mean that the beneficiary received tax immunities as a *tuyūl* in return for services performed, and that the *soyūrghāl* meant that he would enjoy these privileges, not simply while he was performing the services demanded of him, but during his lifetime (108). This may be so, but in the case of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's grant to Yūsuf Khān Gurdjī of his estates (*raḳabāt*) as a permanent *tuyūl* (*tuyūl-i abadī*) and permanent *soyūrghāl* (*soyūrghāl-i sarmadī*) in 1244/1828-9, the terms appear to be used synonymously (Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, Tehran AHS 1339/1960-1, ix, 704).

For the Ṣafawid period many *soyūrghāl* documents are available (see B.G. Fragner, *Repertorium persischer Urkunden*, Freiburg im Br. 1980). They are mostly grants of immunities to members of the religious classes. A typical example is the grant by Ismāʿīl I, dated 913/1507-8, confirming the *soyūrghāls* and immunities (*musallamāt wa mutaʿarrifāt*) on the properties belonging to Sayyid Amīr Naʿīmā and his brothers and nephews according to decrees issued by former sultans (*Rāhnamā-yi kitāb*, year 11, no. 6, [Shahrīvar 1347/September 1968], 324-5).

Several documents granting *soyūrghāls* on properties connected with the Ṣafawid shrine at Ardabīl in favour of officials and senators of the shrine have been published by B.G. Martin (*Seven Safawid documents*, in *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, ed. S.M. Stern, Oxford 1965). The first of these is a grant of 6,000 dīnārs by Ismāʿīl I on Kazadj in Khalkhāl as a permanent *soyūrghāl* to Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ardabīlī, together with the villages of Awmāniḳ and Sulṭānābād, in the tax districts of Ardabīl, with immunities from taxes (*ibid.*, 180). Kazadj was one of the *raḳabāt* and exempted properties (*musallamiyyāt*) of the Ṣafawid shrine and was assessed at 45,000 Tabrīzī dīnārs. The *soyūrghāl* was thus a small proportion of the total revenue. Another document, dated 992/1584, issued by Muḥammad Khudābanda, states that the *bahradja* (i.e. the landlord's share of the crop) of Kazadj was the *soyūrghāl* of Mīr Sharīf, the chief servitor (*khādimbāshī*) of the shrine (*ibid.*, 193). A third document, dated 1000/1592, issued by Shāh ʿAbbās, states that Kazadj was the *soyūrghāl* of the descendants of Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ardabīlī and that money had been wrongfully taken from the peasants of Kazadj by a certain Shāh Ḳulī Āḳā (*ibid.*, 196-7). A fourth document, dated 1016/1607, also issued by Shāh ʿAbbās, states that the *soyūrghāl* of the descendants of Kamāl al-Dīn amounted to 8 *tūmāns*, 8,390 dīnārs (*ibid.*, 201-2). This was a considerable increase on the sum originally granted to Kamāl al-Dīn. It appears from the document that the *soyūrghāls* of Ādharbāydjān had been suspended from the beginning of the year 1009/1600, but the descendants of Kamāl al-Dīn had requested the confirmation of their *soyūrghāl* and so it was restored. The reasons for the suspension of *soyūrghāls* in Ādharbāydjān is not mentioned, and the effectiveness of the measure is not known. Another instance of the suspension of *soyūrghāls* by Shāh ʿAbbās is recorded, when he ordered Allāhwirdī Khān, the *beglerbegī* of Fārs, to investigate the titles of those who held *soyūrghāls* and to resume those whose holders did not have a valid title (*Rāhnamā-yi kitāb*, iii, year 9, 349, quoted by Bāstānī Pārīzī, *Siyāsat wa iḳtiṣād-i ṣafawī*, Tehran AHS 1362/1983-4, 72).

Originally, under the Ṣafawids the grant of a *soyūrghāl* took the form of a *nishān*. Shāh ʿAbbās changed the procedure to a *parwānača* with the introductory formula *farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yāft* (K. Röhrborn, *Regierung und Verwaltung unter den Safawiden*, H der O, Abt. 1, 1 Bd. 6 Abschn, 5, Teil 1, Leiden-Köln 1979, 29. See also idem, *Staatskanzlei und Absolutismus im safawidischen Persien*, in *ZDMG*, cxxvii [1977], 311-43). The documents were sealed on the back with the royal (*humāyūn*) seal and the *sharaf-i nafādh* seal, while the *khatm* seal was placed in the margin at the end of the document (Ḳāʾim-Maḳāmī, *Muḳaddama-ī bar shinākht-i asnād-i tārīkhī*, Tehran AHS 1350/1971, 82), and the words *farmān-i humāyūn shud*, were inscribed in the form of a *ṭughrā* on the

document (*ibid.*, 194). *Soyūrghāls* were drafted by the *munshī al-mamālik* (*ibid.*, 254). Copies were kept in the royal registers (*dafātir-i khulūd*) in the royal secretariat (*ibid.*, 290; see also Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 71, 77).

A commission was paid by the beneficiary on receipt of a *soyūrghāl* to the *wakīl* of the supreme *dīwān* (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 85) and to the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān* (*ibid.*, 86). The *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* received one-tenth (*ʿushr*) and one-twentieth of all *soyūrghāls*, i.e. 15% (*ibid.*, 86). It is not stated whether these commissions were once-only payments made at the time of issue or annual payments. The *nāẓir* of the royal secretariat and the keeper of the royal seal also received commissions (*ibid.*, 89) as did various other officials, presumably at the time of the issue of the grant.

It is not unlikely that in the disorders that occurred on the fall of the Ṣafawids, and from time to time thereafter in the 18th century, that many of those who held *soyūrghāls* converted them by usurpation into private property. However, under Nādir Shāh there seems to have been a tendency towards a resumption of *soyūrghāls* and *tuyūls* (Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 129). In the 19th century, the term *soyūrghāl* ceases to be widely used. Allowances and pensions continued to be granted, but they were no longer called *soyūrghāls*; where they involved grants of territory or immunities on landed property they were called *tuyūls*.

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(Ann K.S. Lambton)

SPARTEL, a cape forming the extreme north-western point of Morocco and of Africa, 7 or 8 miles west of Tangier, the ancient Ampelusia Promontorium. Al-Idrīsī does not mention it; al-Bakrī knows of it as a hill jutting out into the sea, 30 miles from Arzila [see AṢĪLA] and 4 from Tangier, which has springs of fresh water and a mosque used as a *ribāṭ*. Opposite it on the coast of al-Andalus is the mountain of al-Agharr (= Ṭarf al-Agharr > Trafalgar). The name Ishbartāl (probably connected with the Latin *spartaria* = places overgrown with esparto) given it by al-Bakrī is not known to the natives.

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ŚRĪ WIDJĀYA [see ZĀBADJ].

SRĪNAGAR, a historic city of Kashmīr and one of considerable antiquity (lat. 34° 08' N., long. 74° 50' E., altitude 1,600 m/5,250 ft), now the summer capital of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Union (population 1981: 586,038, the great majority of them Muslims).

1. History.

According to the *Rādjatranginī*, the city was founded by Aśoka in 250 B.C. and became known as Srīnagarī, the city of Srī or Lakhshmī (the goddess of fortune). It stood at the site of the present village of Pandrethan, some 3 miles above Srīnagar on the road to Djammū. According to Kalhaṇa, the city contained lofty buildings reaching to the clouds. Srīnagar was the capital till about the middle of the 6th century A.D., when a new capital Pravarapura was founded, but Srīnagar continued to enjoy its existing position. Hiuen Tsang (Xuan-Zang), who visited Kashmīr in 631, mentions two capitals. Hindu rulers frequently transferred the capital from place to place (*Rādjatranginī*, Stein, 444-5). During Muslim rule, the city of Srīnagar was termed Kashmīr (Bernier, 397); Mīrzā Ḥaydar, Abu 'l-Faḍl and Djahāngīr, however, called it by its original name. The Muslim rulers founded a number of quarters in Srīnagar, known as *Rinčanpura*, *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn pura*, *Ḳuṭb al-Dīn pura*, etc. In 1819 Srīnagar was conquered by Randjīt Singh, and the Sikh rulers restored its original name.

The Mughal rulers took a keen interest in the construction of buildings and the development of gardens in Srīnagar. Akbar reached Srīnagar on 21 Radjab 997/5 June 1589 for the first time. He ordered the construction of a bastioned stone wall enclosing the hill. During the time of Djahāngīr, there were about 800 gardens in the neighbourhood of the Dal lake (Stuart, *The gardens of the Great Moghul*, 153-79). Abu 'l-Faḍl remarks: "Srīnagar is a great city and has long been peopled ... Most of the houses are of wood, and some rise up to five storeys. On the roofs they plant tulips and other flowers, and in the spring these rival flower gardens" (*Akbar-nāma*, tr. iii, 827-8). Bernier refers to the valley as the "Paradise of the Indies". After the Mughals the Afghāns and the Sikhs ruled over Srīnagar. Moorcroft and Trebeck found Srīnagar "a confused mass of ill-favoured buildings" (*Travels*, ii, 127-8), where insanitary conditions and over-population often led to epidemics. Before the accession of the Māharādja Ranbīr Singh (*r.* 1856-85), Srīnagar had been destroyed by fire sixteen times. Urban improvement took place after 1886 when the first Municipality Act was passed.

In the Muslim religious life of the region, the following four developments are of special significance: (i) Riñčana, the first Muslim ruler of Kashmīr, built the first mosque in Srīnagar, known as *Bud.Masdjid*, on the site of a Buddhist temple. (ii) Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī, popularly known as *Shāh-i Hamadān* (d. 786/1385), established his mystical centre in Srīnagar, which became a focal point in the spread of Islam in Kashmīr. (iii) Sultan Sikandar b. Hindāl, called But-shikan (792-813/1390-1410 [*q.v.*]), built the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, and his son Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn built the *khānaḳāh* of Sayyid Muḥammad Madanī. (iv) In 1110/1699, the *mū-yi mubārak* (sacred hair of the Prophet) was brought to Srīnagar from Bidjāpur by a Kashmīrī merchant Khʷādja Nūr al-Dīn Ishbarī, and was placed in a mosque, which became known as Ḥadratbāl mosque; thereafter the Ḥadratbāl assumed a central place in Muslim religious life in Srīnagar.

The geographical location of Srīnagar added to its importance as a centre of trade and industry. According to Stein, Srīnagar enjoyed facilities of communications which no other place in the region could offer. The river Djhelam has been the main artery of communication. Equidistant from Djammū, Rawalpindi, Leh and Gilgit, Srīnagar commanded the trade routes between India and Central Asia. Under Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, many new arts and crafts, like stone-polishing, stone-cutting, glass blowing, gold and silver leaf-making, papier-mâché, the weaving of shawls, carpet weaving and calico printing, were introduced into Srīnagar. The shawl industry became particularly famous; according to M. Dauvergne, it dates back to the time of Bābur. The first shawl which reached Europe was brought from Egypt by Napoleon. The enamel and metal-working of Srīnagar were famed. Beautiful ceilings of pine-wood, known as *khatam-band*, decorate houses and shrines. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's patronage attracted to Srīnagar master-craftsmen from Samarḳand, Bukhārā and Persia.

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2. Monuments and gardens.

i. General considerations: The city of Srīnagar (also called, in the Muslim sources, Kashmīr, like the valley) is built along both banks of the river Djhelam (in Kashmīr called Behat; Sanskrit Vitastā) and covers also the area between the river and the Dal lake, tranversed by a net of canals. Integrated into this urban landscape of an unstable topography are two hills, the fortified Harī Parbat and the Takht-i Sulaymān (for a map see best Stein; also Bates, 353). The residential areas on both sides of the Djhelam are linked by wooden bridges (*kadal*), introduced in the Muslim period; one of the earliest being the Zayna Kadal, ascribed to Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (823-75/1420-70) (Ṭabāṭabāʾī, fol. 91a; Stein, 153). The residential architecture, too, is essentially in wood and characterised by its multi-storeyed constructions, reflecting an ancient local tradition, alluded to in the *Rādjataranginī* (Kalhaṇa, iii, v. 359), and continued by Muslim builders. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's wooden palace had, according to Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt (429, cf. 425), as many as twelve storeys. In the Mughal period, however, the royal buildings and those of the well-to-do were constructed in stone (ʿInāyat Khān, tr., 125), a local grey lime stone which takes polish like marble. Stone was continuously used for the religious architecture of Kashmīr, but Muslim religious buildings were more often constructed in the vernacular wooden style (Bernier, 398). Characteristically, they are composed of a cubical body surmounted with a stepped pyramidal roof, topped by a spire sitting on an open pillared element; the form is used for both tomb-shrines (*ziyārat*) and mosques (figs. 1,2). Roofs are typically covered with birch and turf, and planted with tulips or irises, producing stunning effects during the time of their bloom (Djahāngīr, tr. ii, 144-5; ʿInāyat Khaān, tr., 125). The wooden constructions were highly susceptible to fires, bringing about frequent reconstructions, which causes problems in dating [see also HIND. vii. Architecture. xi. Kashmīr; MASDJID. II. B. Kashmīr].

ii. Sultanate. The earliest surviving buildings of the Muslim period are largely built of stone and brick. The oldest are found in the quarters around the Harī Parbat. The complex of Mad(g)īn (also Madanī) Ṣāḥib, situated in Zadibal, consists of a gate, tomb and mosque. The mosque (dated 848/1444-5) follows the basic vernacular wooden type (delineated above but for its main body, which is built in masonry (fig. 1), integrating elements of the pre-Muslim style of temple architecture, such as a portal with trefoil arches and fluted columns (front view in Nichols, pl. 58). The gate is a 17th century Mughal brick addition, robbed since 1918 of most of its excellent tile decoration (dated by some authors wrongly to the 15th century), brought here—according to the stylistic evidence—from Lāhawr, the Mughal centre of tile production; part of the tiles are kept today in the Pratāp Singh Museum of Srīnagar (Hirananda Shastri, *Annual progress report of the Archaeological Department Jammu and Kashmir State for the Vikrama year 1974 (A.D. 1917-18)*, 3; cf. Nichols, 78-81). The (heavily restored) tomb of the mother of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, designated also as the tomb of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn or "Bādshāh," below Zayna Kadal, follows an entirely different style, imported from Khurāsān or Central Asia (fig. 4). The octagonal structure with angular projections at four of its corners topped by turret-like domed kiosks surrounding the central dome, (the interior dome being supported by a transition zone of 16 arches), shows a brick exterior decorated with small blue glazed moulded joint plugs (for this type of wall-facing in Central Asia, see L. Golombek and D. Wilber, *The Timurid architecture of Iran and Turan*, Princeton 1988, cat. no. 18), testifying to the Tīmūrid inclinations of its patron (for which see Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn*, ii, tr. 383). The conspicuous *Khānaḳāh* of Shāh Hamadān (died in 786/1384 according to the inscription over the doorway), on the right bank of the Djhelam, represents, as it stands today, an elaboration of the basic vernacular wooden building type (often illustrated, e.g. Kak, pl. 6). The Djāmiʿ Masdjid, founded in 795/1392-3 (according to Djahāngīr, tr. ii, 142) on the site of the old city temple, and rebuilt several times, after being destroyed by fires, the latest in 1085/1674, integrates vernacular units as prayer hall and gates into a large courtyard mosque on a four-*īwān* plan, formed of wings with tall wooden pillars. (fig. 2; good plans and elevations of both monuments in Nichols). The southern gate of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid has an epigraphical edict of Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-58) (S. Moosvi, *Administering Kashmir. An imperial edict of Shāhjahān*, in *Aligarh Jnal. of Oriental Studies*, iii/2 [1986], 141-52).

iii. Mughal period. Mughal building activities began soon after the final conquest in 1586, when Akbar built fortifications for a new city, called Naganagari (Djonarādja, 426-7) or Nagar Nagar (inscription dated 1006/1597-8 on Kathī Darwāza; tr., Kak, 89) around the Harī Parbat. The citadel on the hill (*dawlat khāna-yi Kashmīr*) was completed by Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27) (*Tūzuk*, tr., ii, 139, 150-1) but altered in the later periods (fig. 3). Today it consists of two oblong enclosures, set at an angle to each other, of which the upper one seems to be the site of a garden laid out by Akbar, refashioned in 1620 and renamed Bāgh-i Nūr Afzā by Djahāngīr (ii, 151, 161-2); a building with traces of painted wall decoration was still standing there in 1986. Also of Djahāngīr's period is the Patthar Masdjid or Naw Masdjid in the city (fig. 5; plan in Koch, fig. 91) (according to its inscription, rescued in 1207/1792-3 from being used as a granary), which is an early example of a distinct Mughal imperial mosque type, with an oblong, arched prayer hall formed of bays arranged on a grid pattern and covered by vaults, which express the elaborate netted patterns of the period in the local stone. The mosque of Akhnūn Mullā Shāh (1061/1651, ʿInāyat Khān, 458; plan in Soundara Rajan, fig. 5) on the southern side of the

Harī Parbat, between the outer wall and the citadel, also introduces Mughal mainstream traditions (fig. 6). Its compact five-bay prayer hall is integrated into a courtyard building composed of three more wings with only partly interconnecting rooms; the plan has a close precursor in the mosque of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī at Dihlī (983/1575-6; *ASI, Memoir*, ix [1921], pl. 2). The Harī Parbat mosque formed part of a larger complex to which belonged also the *ḥammām* situated to its north east (dated 1059/1649; tr. of inscription, Kak, 91), created—like the terraced Parī Maḥall outside of the city (fig. 7) by the famous Ḳādirī *Shaykh* Mullā Shāh Badakhshānī (Akhnūn Mullā Shāh) and his imperial disciples, Dārā Shukōh and Djahānārā [*q.vv.*], the children of Shāh Djahān [*q.v.*] (Koch, 96, 117; Asher, 215-6).

The glory of Srīnagar is its Mughal gardens, about which we are best informed by the historians of Shāh Djahān, who name about seventeen in the vicinity of the city, on the banks of the river, and in and around the Dal lake (Lāhawrī, i/2, 24 ff.; ʿInāyat Khān, 125-7). The most famous are the Shālīmār (fig. 8), Nishāṭ and Čashma-i Shāhī [see BŪSTAN. II. Mughal Gardens; MUGHALS. 7. Architecture]. Architecturally planned gardens of note usually fell back after the death of their owners to the emperor, who either kept them for himself or bestowed them on members of his family or the nobility. The same garden would thus pass through a chain of owners, which led to repeated remodelling and renaming. The gardens of Srīnagar fell into disuse during the Afghān (1752-1819) and Sikh periods (1819-46); restorations were carried out under the Dōgrās, in particular by Māharādja Ranbīr Singh (1856-85) assisted by his governor Wazīr Pannū (R.C. Kak, *Annual report on the Archaeological Department Jammu and Kashmir State for 1976 [A.D. 1920]*, 1), with much arbitrary rebuilding and alterations; their original outline, architecture, and planting still await systematic reconstruction.

Bibliography (including references given above): To date there is no systematic documentation of the Islamic architecture of Srīnagar; the information about its buildings and gardens has to be pieced together from original sources; from secondary literature, much of which is, however, outdated; and from on-the-spot investigation.

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2. Studies. For the topography of pre-Muslim Srīnagar, see M.A. Stein, *Memoir on maps illustrating the ancient geography of Kashmir*, in *JASB*, lxviii (1899) (Extra no. 2), section iii, 1-232, which also contains information about the Muslim periods; for indigenous maps see S. Gole, *Indian maps and plans from earliest times to the advent of European surveys*, New Delhi 1989, 116 ff. The most useful general treatment is still R.C. Kak, *Ancient monuments of Kashmir*, London 1933, repr. New Delhi 1971; see also C.E. Bates, *A gazetteer of Kashmir*, 1893?, repr. New Delhi 1980; M. Kaul, *Kashmir. Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim architecture*, New Delhi 1971. For the vernacular style, see P. Brown, *Indian architecture (Islamic period)*, London 1942, 1956, repr. Bombay 1981, 80-3; J.R. Nichols, *Muhammadan architecture*, in *Marg*, viii/2 (1955), 76-92; M. Mangat Rai, *Wooden mosques of Kashmir*, in *Oriental art*, N.S. xiii/4 (1967), 263-70; M.N. Ganju, *Srinagar au bord de l'eau (Cachemire). Architectures en Inde*, Milan-Paris 1985, 30-5. For individual buildings discussed above, see Soundara Rajan, *Islam builds in India*, Delhi 1983; Ebba Koch, *Mughal architecture*, Munich 1991; Catherine B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, Cambridge-New York-Oakleigh 1992. The literature on the gardens is cited under BUSTĀN. II. Mughal Gardens; MUGHALS. 7. Architecture; and, since then, A. Petruccioli, *I giardini moghul del Kashmir*, in *Il giardino islamico*, Milan 1994.

(EBBA KOCH)

ŚRĪRANGAPAṬṬANAM, Europeanised form SERINGAPATAM, a town of South India (lat. 12° 25' N., long. 76° 42' E.). In British India, it came within the princely state of Mysore [see MAHISUR, MAYSŪR], and is now in the Mysore District, the southernmost one of the Karnataka State of the Indian Union. It is situated on an island in the Cauvery River to the north-north-east of Mysore city.

Named after its shrine to the Hindu god Śri Raṅga (Viṣṇu), it became in the 17th century the capital of the Hindu Rādjās of Mysore and then, after 1761, of the Muslim sultans Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.vv.*]. The latter's opposition to the British brought about an attack on Seringapatam by Lord Cornwallis in 1792, and then in May 1799 Tīpū's capital was finally stormed by combined British forces under General Harris, and Tīpū killed.

The town's significant Islamic monuments include Tīpū's Masdjid-i ʿĀlī and the Daryā Dawlat garden and palace; for details, see MAHISUR. 2. Monuments. In 1971 the town had a population of 14,153.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*^{2}, xxii, 178-80; Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, Calcutta 1971; and see the bibl. to MAHISUR.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SU (T.), the common Turkish word for "water", originally *suw* (which explains the form *suy-* before vowel-initial possessive suffixes, e.g. *suyu* "his water"), the form still found in South-West Turkmen, in Ottoman orthography *ṣū*. The word is found frequently in the Orkhon inscriptions, often in the phrase *yer suw* = "territory", i.e. an area containing both land and water in the form of rivers, lakes, etc. (see Sir Gerald Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 783-4). In Central Asia and in the Turkicised northern tier of the Middle East, Su is a frequent component of hydronyms, e.g. Aḳ Ṣu, Ḳara Ṣu.

(ED.)

ṢU BASHĪ (T.), an ancient title in Turkish tribal organisation meaning "commander of the army, troops". The first word was originally *sü*, with front vowel; no proof has as yet been adduced for

1. Shrine of Madīn Ṣāḥib, mosque, 848/1444-5 (Photo: E. Koch, 1986).

2. Dj̲āmiʿ Masd̲j̲id, courtyard, founded in 14th century, last rebuilt in 1085/1674 (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).

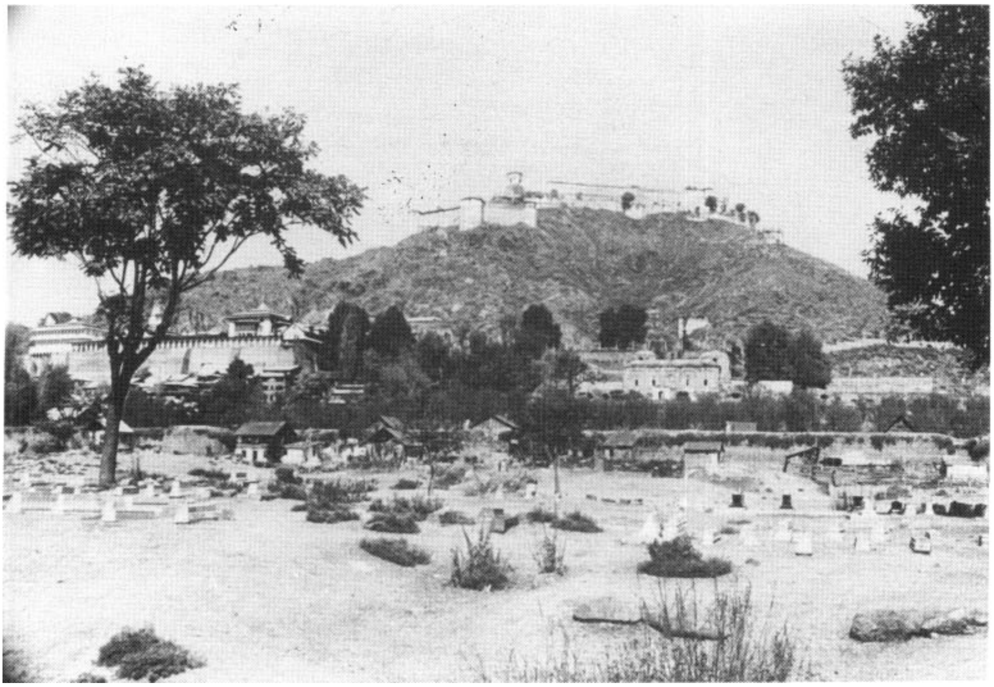

3. Harī Parbat, from the south-east (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).

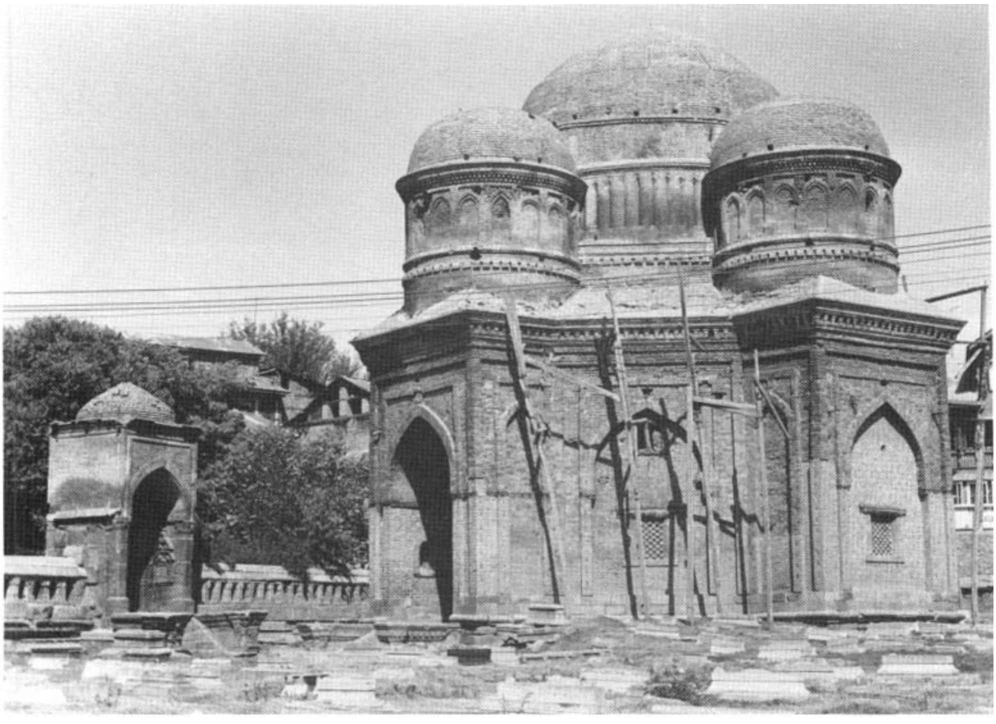

4. Tomb (of the mother?) of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, 9th/15th century (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).

5. Patthar Masdjid, 1620s, *pīshṭāk* of prayer hall (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).

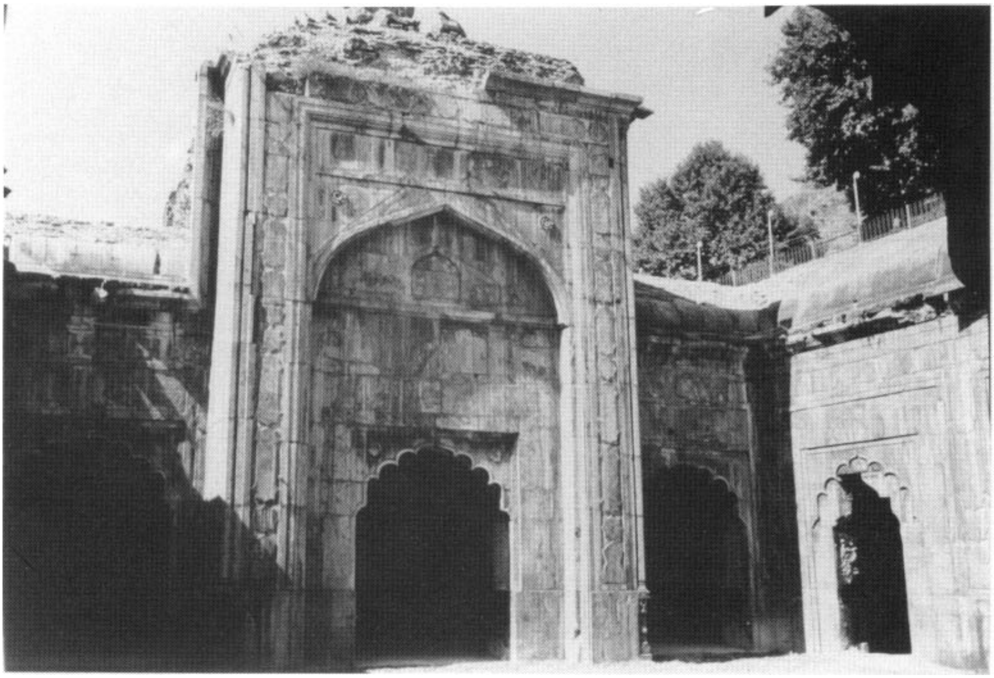

6. Harī Parbat, mosque of Akhnūn Mullā Shāh, 1061/1651, courtyard façade of prayer hall (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).

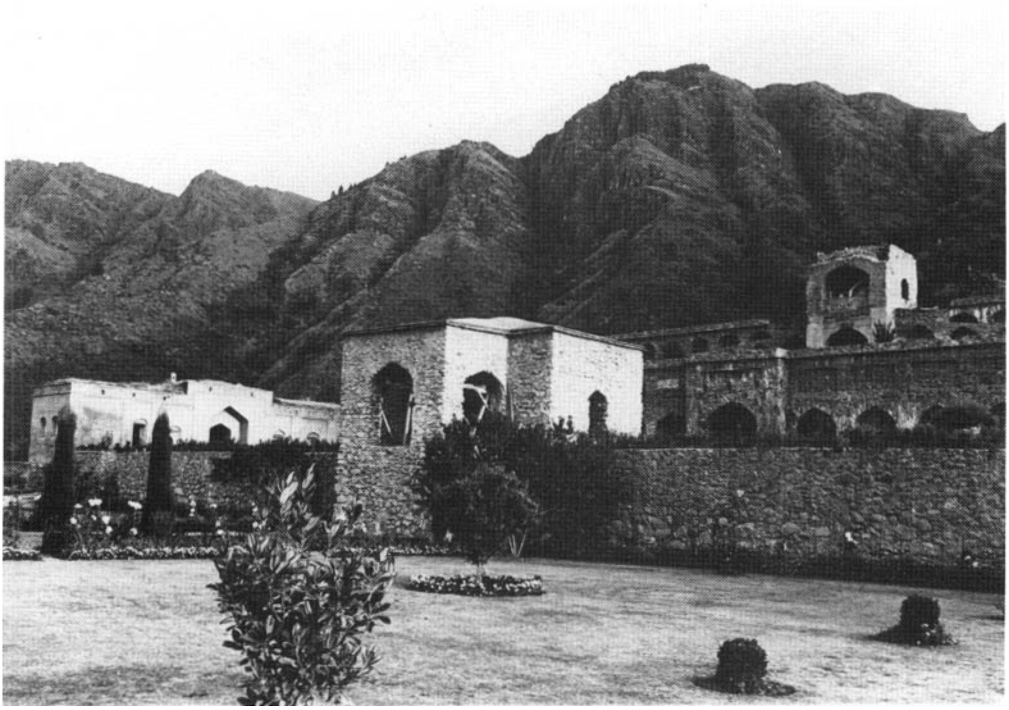

7. Parī Maḥall, *ca.* 1650 (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).

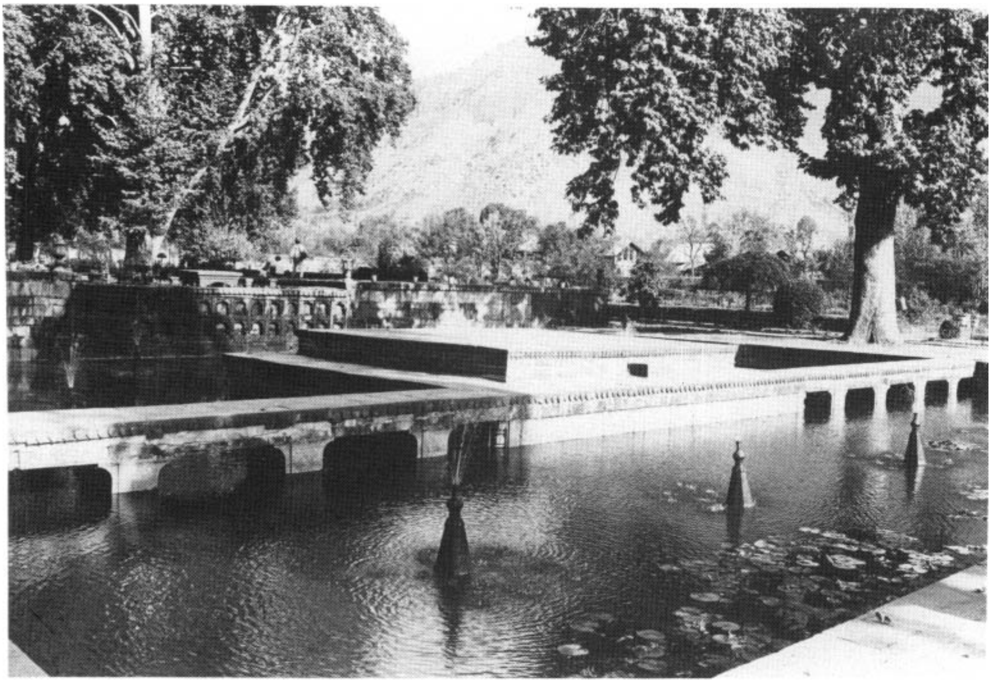

8. Shālīmār gardens, Bāgh-i Faraḥ Bakhsh (lower garden), founded in 1620 (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).

the suggestion that the word was originally a loan from Chinese (see Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dict. of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 781).

Sü appears frequently in the Or<u>kh</u>on [*q.v.*] inscriptions and probably in the Yenisei ones also. In the former, we find the phrase *sü sülemek* "to make a military expedition", and the title *sü ba<u>sh</u>î* also occurs (see Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkish*, Bloomington-The Hague 1968, index at 370). In Maḥmūd Kā<u>shgh</u>arī [*q.v.*], *sü* is glossed as *<u>dj</u>und* (*Dīwān lu<u>gh</u>āt al-turk*. Tkish. tr. Atalay, iii, 208-9, Eng. tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-4, ii, 258), and in the Ḳîpčaḳ Turkish of the 8th/14th century, *sü ba<u>sh</u>î* is defined as *raʾs al-ʿaskar* (M.T. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894, Ar. text 14, 30). The spelling *ṣu* evolves later, apparently influenced by the quite separate word *ṣu(w)* "water" since we occasionally find at a later date the originally military title *sü ba<u>sh</u>î* for the official in charge of irrigation (i.e. the *mīr-āb*).

Some two centuries after the Or<u>kh</u>on Turkish usage, *sü ba<u>sh</u>î* is found amongst the O<u>gh</u>uz tribe in their pre-conversion-to-Islam days. In 309/922 the Arab traveller Ibn Faḍlān [*q.v.*] encountered in the steppes between thc Aral Sea and the Ural River the *ṣāḥib al-<u>dj</u>ay<u>sh</u>* of the O<u>gh</u>uz, clearly their *sü ba<u>sh</u>î*; he had under him subordinate military commanders, including the Ṭar<u>kh</u>ān, the Yînāl and the Y.<u>gh</u>.l.z (A.Z.V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1929, §§ 34, 36, Ar. text 28-31, and Excursus § 34a, Ger. text 141-2). The late Sāmānid author al-<u>Kh</u>ʷārazmī [*q.v.*] likewise, in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* defines *sü ba<u>sh</u>î* as *ṣāḥib al-<u>dj</u>ay<u>sh</u>* (C.E. Bosworth and Sir G. Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* [1965], 11). Around this same period, according to Kā<u>shgh</u>arī, the full title of Sel<u>dj</u>ük (*sic*) b. Duḳaḳ, eponymous ancestor of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs, was Sel<u>dj</u>ük Sü Ba<u>sh</u>î (tr. Atalay, i, 478, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 356).

Ṣu Ba<u>sh</u>î became a very well-known military and police title in the Ottoman empire, but it was found in Asia Minor as early as the time of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs. In the 7th/13th century Ibn Bibi (ed. Houtsma, iv, 210) speaks of a *ṣu ba<u>sh</u>î* of the town of <u>Kh</u>arpūt or <u>Kh</u>artpert [*q.v.*] who was probably under the Rūm Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ sultan of Ḳonya. Every town of any importance had a *ṣu ba<u>sh</u>î*; when ʿO<u>th</u>mān took possession of his first capital, Ḳara<u>dj</u>a Ḥiṣār, one of his first acts was to appoint to the *ṣu ba<u>sh</u>îlîk* his cousin Alp Gündüz (*Tawārī<u>kh</u>-i āl-i ʿo<u>th</u>mān*, ed. Giese, 7; Uru<u>dj</u> Beg, ed. Babinger, 12).

As the Ottoman supremacy became confirmed, a differentiation of the functions and the position of the Ṣu Ba<u>sh</u>î in the provinces and in the capital was introduced. In the provinces, they obtained a position in the feudal organisation, which also proves the military origin of their functions. The Ṣu Ba<u>sh</u>îs had their own fiefs (*tîmār*), and they exercised police control over the other *sipāhī*s and the inhabitants of the district under their charge. Administratively, they were under the authority of an *ālāy beg*, who again was subject to the *san<u>dj</u>aḳ beg* [see SAN<u>DJ</u>AḲ]. These Ṣu Ba<u>sh</u>îs had many privileges, which varied according to the different provinces; they had the right to a certain amount of the imposts and the fines extorted from the people (see *Ḳānūn-nāme-yi āl-i ʿo<u>th</u>mān*, ed. ʿĀrif Bey, Istanbul 1330, appendix to *TOEM*, xiii-xiv, 28).

In the capital, the Ṣu Ba<u>sh</u>î became one of the chief officers of police, who assisted the Čāwu<u>sh</u> Ba<u>sh</u>î, whose function is most like that of minister of Police. With the Muhzir (Muḥḍir) A<u>gh</u>a and the ʿAses Ba<u>sh</u>î, he was responsible for the carrying out of all the judicial sentences and in general for obedience to the police regulations in the capital. Besides this, the title of Ṣu Ba<u>sh</u>î was used to designate a certain military rank in the cavalry corps of the ʿUlūfe<u>dj</u>is.

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(J.H. KRAMERS-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SUʿĀWĪ, ʿALĪ (1839-78), journalist, controversial pamphleteer and political activist, born in Istanbul. His father Ḥüseyin Efendi is said to have instilled in him a dedication to social justice. Suʿāwī's early education was at a *rü<u>sh</u>diyye* (high school). He later studied the Islamic sciences at a *madrasa*. He held various administrative and teaching posts in Istanbul and Bursa. As a teacher in Plovdiv (now in Bulgaria), he was dismissed for allegedly fomenting civil disturbances.

Returning to Istanbul in 1866, he published articles in the newspaper *Mu<u>kh</u>bir* ("The Reporter") and gained fame also as a fiery preacher (mainly at the <u>Sh</u>ehzāde Mosque). Because of his radical ideas, he was banished, in 1867, to Kastamonu, from where he escaped to Paris. With Nāmîḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] and Ziyā (Ḍiyāʾ) (Pa<u>sh</u>a), he re-published *Mu<u>kh</u>bir* in London as the official organ of the Young Ottoman Society. The following year, he fell out with Kemāl and Ziyā, and turned against the Young Ottomans. In 1869 he published, in Paris, a journal entitled *ʿUlūm* ("The Sciences"), which carried the subtitle "Encyclopaedic Turkish Journal". Later he went to Lyons, where he published a periodical called *Muwaḳḳaten* ("Temporarily").

Upon Murād V's accession to the throne (1876), ʿAlī Suʿāwī returned to Istanbul in 1876. After a short stint as Director of the Royal School of Galatasaray, he was dismissed in 1877 during the reign of ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II. On 20 May 1878, in an abortive attempt to bring Murād V back as sultan, he led a few hundred Balkan refugees in an assault against the Čîrā<u>gh</u>ān Palace, where he was clubbed to death by Ḥasan Pa<u>sh</u>a, the police commandant for Be<u>sh</u>ikta<u>sh</u>.

ʿAlī Suʿāwī's intellectual life, protean and full of paradoxes, failed to produce a synthesis. He oscillated between his loyalty to Islam (as faith and culture) and modernisation (as a civilising and secular process). He was at once a bold progressive and a strong reactionary. Like many of his contemporaries, he came under the influence of Enlightenment ideals, about which he was often critical. His Islamic orientation caused him to challenge European concepts of popular sovereignty and separation of powers. For the Ottoman state, he advocated a constitutional government and Turkish nationalism. Near the end of his life, he became enamored of Frederic LePlay's populist ideas and set up a *Semʿ u Ṭāʿat* ("Hearing and Obeying") Society dedicated to a counter-revolutionary programme.

One of the pioneers of Turkish nationalism and the Pan-Turkish ideology, ʿAlī Suʿāwī played a significant role in fostering patriotic pride in Central Asian Turkic culture and in the strengths of the Turkish language. He articulated these nationalistic views in several monographs, including *Khiwa en Mars* (1873). He also wrote dozens of pamphlets and books

(127, according to some sources), most of which remained unpublished and have been lost. *His Ḳāmūs ul-ʿulūm we 'l-maʿārif,* given with the journal *ʿUlūm*, did not go beyond eighty pages; it is, however, considered one of the earliest attempts at an illustrated Ottoman encyclopaedia.

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SUʿAYR, preferably to be read as Saʿīr, although the former is more common, an idol of the pre-Islamic Arabian tribe of ʿAnaza (Ibn al-Kalbī, 48-9), coming from *ʿ.w.ṣ*, an Aramaean eponym denoting in the Bible (refs. in Gesenius-Buhl, 573) the land of Edom and the group of tribes living there (W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 260-1; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xl [1887], 183).

Saʿīr, which followed the same evolution as ʿAwḍ, denotes in the Bible the land of Edom before its occupation by the sons of Esau. Gen. xxxvi.9 speaks of the hill country Seʿir, of the Horites, sons of Seʿir (v. 20), and of the land of Seʿir (v. 30). The names Yaḳdum and Yadhkur, the two sons of ʿAnaza, whose descendants sacrificed to al-Saʿīr (Ibn al-Kalbī, 26), resemble in their formation those of Yaʿūsh and Yaʿlam, two of the numerous sons of Esau (Gen. xxxvi.5, etc.). On this last, al-Layth says substantially that Esau (ʿĪṣū, Hebr. ʿEśāw), son of Isaac, son of Abraham, was buried in a small village called Sīʿīr between Jerusalem and Hebron; he is the eponymous ancestor of the Rūm (*TʿA*, iv, 414).

The ʿAnaza and Bakr b. Wāʾil (Ibn al-Kalbī, 25; *TʿA*, iii, 276, v, 58) are said to have known and to have adopted this divinity in the course of their migrations as a guarantor of the pact uniting them. As a clan name, it appears in Liḥyanite as *s.ʿ.r.* (see G. Ryckmans. *Noms propres*, i, 153). The text represented on camel-back at Palmyra, formerly read as *š.ʿ.r(w)* (see D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1951, 154-5) is now, however, read as *š.ʿ.d(w)* and related to Ar. *saʿd* "good fortune" (see D.R. Hillers and Eleonora Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic texts*, Baltimore 1996, 415).

Bibliography: Refs. in T. Fahd, *La panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 48-9. (T. Fahd)

ṢŪBA, traditionally but dubiously derived from Arabic *ṣawb*, lit. a patch or track, direction, pronounced *ṣūb* in India; whence the term *ṣūba* for province coined by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 989/1580, when he created this territorial unit by putting a number of the existing *sarkārs* or territorial divisions under each *ṣūba*. Some of these *ṣūbas* like Bengal, Bihār or Gudjarāt represented historic, well-organised regions; others like Ilahabas (Allahābād) or Āgra were artificial creations. As Akbar extended his empire, the original twelve *ṣūbas* were augmented: Multān (with sub-*ṣūba* of Thaṭṭa), Kābul (with sub-*ṣūbas* of Kashmīr and Ḳandahār), Dāndesh (Khāndesh), Aḥmadnagar and Berār. Subsequent annexations under Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb led to the creation of the *ṣūbas* of Bīdar, Bīdjāpur and Ḥaydarābād, while the *ṣūba* of Ḳandahār was lost to the Ṣafawids. Abu 'l-Faḍl's *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (1003/1595) gives an extremely detailed account of the geography, resources, revenues, *zamīndār* castes, etc. of each *ṣūba*.

The administrative machinery of the *ṣūba* was designed by Akbar to have the writ of the central administration run most effectively. While the governor (*sipāhsālār, nāẓim*) was directly answerable to the Emperor, his colleagues, viz. the *dīwān* (head of revenue department), *bakhshī* (head of military administration and intelligence) and *ṣadr* (in charge of pious endowments) were not subordinate to him, but to the corresponding ministers at the centre. Moreover, during the heyday of the empire (late 10th and 11th century/late 16th and 17th century), the governors and other officers were frequently transferred from one *ṣūba* to another. Nor did the governor have full control over the assignment of *djāgīrs* [*q.v.*] to military commanders posted under him, which belonged to the jurisdiction of the central *Dīwān*. There was, at the same time, an element of flexibility in the *ṣūba* administration: The Deccan *ṣūbas* began to be grouped together under one *sipāhsālār* or viceroy from even Akbar's time onwards. This became ultimately the source of power of Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh [*q.v.*] in Ḥaydarābād during the 12th/18th century.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ed. Blochmann, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1867-77, ii; P. Saran, *The provincial government of the Mughals*, [2]Bombay 1973; Irfan Habib, *An atlas of the Mughal empire*, Oxford and New Delhi 1982; M. Athar Ali, *The apparatus of empire. Awards of ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal nobility 1574-1658*, Oxford and New Delhi 1985. (M. Athar Ali)

ṢŪBADĀR, the governor of a *ṣūba* [*q.v.*] or province in the Mughal empire, also known variously as *sipāhsālār, nāẓim* and *ṣāḥib ṣūba*. Though governors of large territories (e.g. Gudjarāt) were appointed before 989/1580, when Akbar organised the *ṣūbas* of his empire, a systematic form was given to the office only after this organisation. Depending upon the importance of the *ṣūba*, the office was one of great status, and only high nobles (*manṣabdārs* [see manṣab and manṣabdār]) were appointed to it. Akbar's experiment of appointing co-governors was soon abandoned. While the terms of office depended upon the Emperor's will, transfers were frequent; and until well into the 12th/18th century, the Mughal court did not allow provincial dynasts to develop out of its governors.

The *ṣūbadār* was not only appointed by an imperial *farmān*, but was directly subordinate to the Emperor. As *sipāhsālār*, he was the head of the army posted to the *ṣūba* and responsible for maintenance of law and order. He had a role, too, in administering criminal justice. But the financial and revenue administration, being in the hands of the *dīwān*, was outside his jurisdiction, since the *dīwān* of the *ṣūba* was directly subordinate to the ministry at the centre, the *dīwān-i aʿlā*. So, too, was the maintenance of military contingents and the intelligence network, being under the *bakhshī* (responsible to the central *mīr bakhshī*). This limitation of authority was designed to prevent the *ṣūbadār* becoming too powerful. Djahāngīr abolished the *ṣūbadār*'s privilege of awarding capital punishment, and prohibited any observance that might smack of royal court ritual. Constraints on the *ṣūbadār*'s authority, however, began to disappear in the 12th/18th century after the death of Awrangzīb.

Bibliography: See that to ṣūba, and also M. Athar Ali, *Provincial governors under Aurangzeb—an analysis*, in *Medieval India. A miscellany*, Bombay 1969, i. (M. Athar Ali)

SUBAYʿ (or Sabayʿ), Banū, the name of a Bedouin tribe of al-ʿĀriḍ [*q.v.*], the central district of Nadjd [*q.v.*; see also al-kharj] in modern Saudi Arabia. They live in and around the oasis of al-Ḥāʾir,

also called Ḥā'ir Subayʿ or Ḥā'ir al-Aʿizza, a dominant section of the Banū Subayʿ. Al-Ḥā'ir lies south-south-east of al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*], at the junction of Wādī Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] and the valleys Luḥā (sometimes misspelled as al-Ḥā) and Bu'ayd̲j̲a' (the lower stretch of al-Awsaṭ). The valley of al-ʿAtk [*q.v.*] is regarded as lying within the range of the Banū Subayʿ and the Banū al-Suhul, while the sweet water wells of Ḥafar al-ʿAtk belong to the K̲h̲udrān, a group consisting of the al-Nabaṭa and the al-ʿUraynāt, both sections of the Banū Subayʿ. The latter are also found in the borderlands between al-Ḥid̲j̲āz and Nad̲j̲d [see the map in AL-ʿARAB, D̲j̲azīrat], while their western section regard the oasis of al-K̲h̲urma [*q.v.*] as their capital. They are mentioned among the opponents of the al-Dawāsir [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: H.St.J. Philby, *The heart of Arabia. A record of travel and exploration*, 2 vols., London 1922, index; idem, *Arabian highlands*, London-New York 1952, index; idem, *Arabian jubilee*, London 1952, 63; J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Oman and central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, repr. Farnborough 1970, IIB, 1622. (E. VAN DONZEL)

AL-ṢUBAYBA, a large castle, popularly known as Ḳalʿat Namrūd, located on a mountain top near the western slopes of the D̲j̲awlān [*q.v.*], some 2 km to the east of the city of Bāniyās [*q.v.*].

It was traditionally believed by modern scholars that the castle was originally built by the Franks, during the years when they controlled Bāniyās (1130-2, 1140-64), but recent research has shown that it was first constructed by the minor Ayyūbid prince of the region, al-ʿAzīz ʿUt̲h̲mān b. al-ʿĀdil b. Ayyūb, in 625/1288 (see the foundation inscription in *RCEA*, no. 3984, and the evidence provided by Sibṭ Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, viii, Ḥaydarābād 1951, 678). The first stage of the construction work is represented by the imposing keep on the eastern side of the present-day structure, and may well have been instigated by al-ʿAzīz's brother, the ruler of Damascus al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]. It has been convincingly suggested that the impetus for the establishment of the fort was the desire of al-Muʿaẓẓam, who was locked in a struggle with his brother al-Kāmil Muḥammad [*q.v.*] and likewise disturbed by reports of Frederick II's impending Crusade, to protect the approach to Damascus from the northern Palestinian coast (see R. Ellenblum, *Who built Qalʿat al-Ṣubayba?*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xliii [1989], 103-12). Two years later, al-ʿAzīz ʿUt̲h̲mān significantly enlarged the fort along the narrow ridge on which it is located, giving it its present-day elongated shape. In early 658/1260, the area came under the control of the Mongols, who destroyed part of the fortifications of al-Ṣubayba and looted the place (Abū S̲h̲āma, *D̲h̲ayl ʿalā 'l-rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1947, 206). After the Mongol defeat at ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt [*q.v.*] later that year, the fortress and the surrounding region were incorporated into the Mamlūk Sultanate. Baybars (658-76/1260-77 [*q.v.*]) had the fort repaired, substantially enlarging the towers. Subsequently, it appears to have become the actual administrative centre for the *ʿamal* (region) of Bāniyās. With the eventual expulsion of the Crusaders from Syria and the ebbing of the Mongol threat, the fort lost much of its strategic importance. By the 9th/15th century, it appears to have been mainly used as a prison for high-ranking Mamlūk inmates. During the Ottoman period, the castle was repaired at least twice (1625, 1761), the first time by Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*], the second by a local potentate. The Ottoman governor of Damascus, however, soon had these latter repairs dismantled (A. al-K̲h̲ālidī al-Ṣafadī, *Le Liban à l'epoque de Fahr-ed-Dīn ii*, ed. Rustum and Baoustany, Beirut 1936, 243; M. Breik, *Histoire du pays de Damas de 1720 à 1723*, ed. Constantin Bacha, Harissa 1930, 72). Important surveying work of the site was conducted by Deschamps in the 1930s, and in recent years extensive excavations and reconstruction work have been undertaken.

Bibliography: For a comprehensive list of earlier studies, see Ellenblum, 103, n. 2. For the inscriptions, see M. van Berchem, *Le château du Bâniâs et ses inscriptions*, in *JA*, ser. 8, xii (1888), 440-70; R. Amitai, *Notes on the Ayyūbid inscriptions at al-Ṣubayba (Qalʿat Nimrūd)*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xliii (1989), 113-19; R. Amitai-Preiss, *An Arabic inscription at al-Ṣubayba (Qalʿat Namrūd) from the reign of Sultan Baybars*, forthcoming in *ʿAtiqot* which also discusses the history of the fort in the early Mamlūk period.

(R. AMITAI-PREISS)

ṢUBAYḤĪ (as in "the Ṣubayḥī tribe") or Ṣubayḥa, the name of a tribal group inhabiting the area to the west and north-west of Aden [see ʿADAN] in the Yemen from Ra's ʿImrān, a few kilometres to the west of Little Aden in the east, as far as Bāb al-Mandab in the west, and inland. They are divided into five main groups as follows: K̲h̲ulayfī, ʿUṭirī, ʿĀṭifī, Muṣaffī and Buraymī. Their name is inherited from the ancient D̲h̲ū Aṣbaḥ of Ḥimyar. Writing in the 4th/10th century, al-Hamdānī, 53, says that Laḥd̲j̲ has in it the Aṣābiḥ, the descendants of Aṣbaḥ b. ʿAmr b. Ḥārit̲h̲ D̲h̲ī Aṣbaḥ. He later, 97, notes that in his day the Ṣubayḥīs occupied an area more to the east and including K̲h̲anfar in Abyan [*q.v.*] which they shared with Banū Mad̲j̲īd. Of the latter are the ʿAbādil, the ruling family of Laḥd̲j̲. In 1882 the Ṣubayḥī Engagement was ratified in Calcutta by the Viceroy and Governor-General himself, placing the ʿAbdalī sultan of Laḥd̲j̲ in authority over the Ṣubayḥīs (text in Government of Bombay, *Arab tribes*, 161-3). In 1886, however, the Ṣubayḥīs were released from ʿAbdalī control after much hostility between the two (*ibid.*, 20), a hostility which was to continue, at least in the early years of the century. After the Protectorate treaties of the 1950s, the Ṣubayḥīs were placed nominally under the Laḥd̲j̲ sultan, although they continued to show varying degrees of independence.

Bibliography: Extremely useful on the geography and history is R.B. Serjeant, *Notes on Ṣubaiḥī territory west of Aden*, in *Le Muséon*, lxvi (1953), 123-31. See also Government of Bombay, *Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden*, Bombay 1909; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿd̲j̲am ḳabā'il al-ʿArab*, ²Beirut 1982, ii, 632-3.

(G.R. SMITH)

SUBAYTA, ISBAYTA, the Arabic name for a settlement in the Negev [see AL-NAKB] region of southern Palestine, which had the Nabataean name, rendered in Greek sources as Sobata (whence the Arabic one), Hebrew Shivta.

Its ruins lie 43 km/27 miles to the southwest of Beersheba at an altitude of some 350 m/1,150 feet. First described by E.H. Palmer in 1870, it has been extensively excavated since the 1930s. The town flourished in Late Nabataean, Late Roman and Byzantine times as an unwalled, essentially agricultural centre, it being away from the main trade routes. The exact date of the coming of the Muslim Arabs is unknown, but was probably in the later 630s. A mosque was built near the Southern Church, with care taken not to damage the adjacent basilica. Early Arab-Islamic coins have been found, but it seems that the town was abandoned in the 2nd/8th century or the 3rd/9th one at the latest.

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SUBAYṬILA, modern Tunisian Arabic pronunciation Sbīṭla, conventionally Sbeïtla, the Islamic and modern names of ancient Sufetula, a town of west-central Tunisia. Situated at over 450 m/ 1,500 feet above sea level, near abundant water resources and a wadi and surrounded by high plateaux, it is still today an important cross-roads between the north, west and south of the country.

From what is at present known, the ancient town (whose present successor only occupies some 20 ha, and this more than double that of the end of the 19th century) must have been closely linked with two other great cities: Cillium (Kasserine) and Ammaedra (Haydra), i.e. in the second half of the 1st century A.D. when the region, permanently involved in warfare against Berber tribes, was pacified by the Third Legion of Augustus under the Flavian emperors. The army was in large measure replaced by veterans who settled on parcels of land for colonisation, of which Subayṭila was probably part.

Like most of the great African cities, the town enjoyed under Septimius Severus (193-211), himself of African origin, a great urban and commercial development. In Christian times, Sufetula had, by 256 at the latest, a bishop who represented it at the Council of Carthage convoked by St. Cyprian. It was affected by persecutions, the most severe of which was that of Diocletian at the beginning of the 4th century and which gave rise to the Donatist movement, a schismatic movement which enlivened African Christianity all through the 4th century. Like many African towns, from this time onwards, Sufetula had two bishops, one Catholic and the other Donatist. Both parties in the town were represented at the council summoned by the Emperor Honorius at Carthage in 411 which condemned and isolated this schismatic movement.

With the Vandal invasion and occupation of 429, Sufetula formed part of the royal domain until the Byzantine reconquest in 533. From then onwards, it became a military centre under Justinian's policy of unifying the province and defending it against the more and more pressing threats from the Berber kingdoms. The Patricius Gregory, who succeeded Belisarius, the first Byzantine governor of Africa, chose Sufetula as his personal residence and as his military base. He speedily declared his independence of the emperor in Constantinople, and subsequently had to face the Muslim armies sent from Tripolitania and headed by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and then by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Abī Sarḥ [*q.vv.*]. He was defeated at Sufetula in 26/647, thus opening a new page in the history of the region in particular and the whole land in general. It was only twenty years later that al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*], the first great Muslim foundation in the Maghrib, was created.

Subayṭila was not wholly abandoned in Islamic times, and life probably continued there until the 6th/12th century, as the large quantities of recently-discovered pottery fragments from this period shows.

Monuments. There are numerous classical remains, the most spectacular being the capitol with three separate temples, a monumental gate with the date 139 (reign of Antoninus Pius) and the public baths, restored, together with the theatre, in the 4th century. The monuments of Christian and Byzantine times are especially well preserved: an episcopal complex, with a church, cathedral, etc.; a second church built on a pagan temple, and two lesser ones; and a series of fortified houses to the south-east of the site, all from the 6th-7th centuries.

Bibliography: The most complete bibl. (to the 1970s) is N. Duval, *L'urbanisme de Sufetula*, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (ANRW), xii/2, 19. See also A. Merlin, *Forum et églises de Sufetula*, in *Notes et documents de la Direction des Antiquités et Arts de Tunisie*, v, Paris 1912; C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, ii, Paris 1981; F. Béjaoui, *Sbeïtla, l'antique Sufetula*, Tunis 1994. (Fethi Béjaoui)

ṢUBḤ [see ṣalāt].

ṢUBḤ al-Bashkunsiyya, so-called on account of her Basque origin, was a singing slave girl belonging to the second Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus, al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir (350-62/961-76 [*q.v.*]), who loved her dearly (calling her Dja'far) and to whom she bore two sons, thus becoming an *umm walad* and taking the title of *sayyida*. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam was born in 351/962; he was the first son of the caliph, who was already 46 years old at the time. Although ʿAbd al-Raḥmān died at an early age (359/969-70), his brother Hishām (born 354/965) guaranteed a successor to al-Mustanṣir, whose joy at the birth of this second son is recorded by the chroniclers, and illustrated by the pair of little ivory boxes made at Madīnat al-Zahrā' and dedicated in 355/966 to "the most beloved of fertile women", i.e. to Ṣubḥ.

In 356/966-7 she chose as administrator of her property and that of her children a young man who had been introduced to her by the *wazīr* Djaʿfar al-Muṣḥafī. This was the start of the impressive career of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (al-Manṣūr) [*q.v.*], who succeeded in gaining the support of Ṣubḥ and of other women of the caliphal entourage. The relationship between Ṣubḥ and Ibn Abī ʿĀmir was the subject of malicious rumours, and satirical verse concerning them was widely circulated in Cordova. Public display of the lavish gifts offered to Ṣubḥ by Ibn Abī ʿĀmir contributed to the proliferation of these rumours, but the caliph continued to entrust to him official duties of the highest importance, while his love for Ṣubḥ and their son Hishām is acknowledged by all the Arabic sources. Hishām was proclaimed heir in 365/976, which reinforced his mother's position in the palace as well as that of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir. Ṣubḥ had other supporters, including her brother (Rā'iḳ or Fā'iḳ by name), who was a *mawlā* of the caliph and occupied posts in the civil and military administration (*ṣāḥib al-makhzūn*, *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*, *ḳā'id*, etc.).

On the death of al-Ḥakam, however, the succession of Hishām, still a minor, was opposed by two senior palace officials, the *Ṣaḳāliba* [*q.v.*] Fā'iḳ and Djawdhar. An alliance formed by Ṣubḥ, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir and al-Muṣḥafī guaranteed the succession of Hishām, which enabled them to exercise real power. According to some sources, it was Ṣubḥ who controlled affairs of state, through the intermediacy of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, who conveyed her instructions to ministers and was the only one having access to the *sayyida*. But relations between them deteriorated when Ṣubḥ realised that Ibn Abī ʿĀmir had no intention of transferring power to Hishām on attainment of his majority. When Ibn Abī ʿĀmir fell sick, she took advantage of his absence and removed from the palace, with the aid of her brother, very substantial sums of money, intended no doubt to finance an armed *coup* against Ibn Abī ʿĀmir. But in this struggle for power, it was

the latter who emerged victorious. With the aid of his son ʿAbd al-Malik, he took control of the caliphal palace and the public treasury on 3 D̲j̲umādā I 386/24 May 996. ʿAbd al-Malik was unmoved by the abuse hurled at him by Ṣubḥ, who was forced to admit defeat. His̲h̲ām willingly acknowledged the authority of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir over the country, and in 387/997-8 he participated with his mother in a ceremony intended to renew his caliphal oath and the transfer of power into the hands of al-Manṣūr. Ṣubḥ died one year later, on 29 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 389/11 December 999; it was al-Manṣūr who, bare-footed, led the funeral prayers.

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(Manuela Marín)

ṢUBḤ-I AZAL, the sobriquet of Mīrzā Yaḥyā Nūrī (*ca.* 1830-1912), founder of the Azalī sect of Bābism [*q.v.*]. Yaḥyā's father was the calligrapher and civil servant, Mīrzā ʿAbbās Nūrī (d. 1839). In Yaḥyā's early childhood, Nūrī was dismissed from his governorship and dispossessed of much of his considerable wealth and property. Yaḥyā's mother died about 1844; by then he was living in Tehran under the tutelage of an older brother, Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī (Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*]). In 1844, Ḥusayn ʿAlī and Yaḥyā, then about fourteen, were among the first converts to Bābism in the capital. Four years later, Yaḥyā tried unsuccessfully to join the Bābī insurgents at S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ṭabarsī in Māzandarān.

Between 1848 and 1852, Bābism underwent radical changes. The clerical leadership of the earliest period was largely eradicated in uprisings, and the Bāb himself was executed in 1850. Yaḥyā, variously known as Ṣubḥ-i Azal ("Morning of Eternity") and al-T̲h̲amar al-Azaliyya ("the Eternal Fruit"), was among the first of many lay claimants to revelation. He had been composing "inspired verses" for some time, and these had met the approval of the Bāb, who designated him his successor.

In 1852, he was involved in an abortive uprising in Tākur, planned to coincide with the unsuccessful attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh. Escaping to Bag̲h̲dād, he established himself as head of the sect and drew large numbers of Bābīs to the region. His whereabouts were kept secret from all but a few, and he remained in contact with the Bābī community through intermediaries, in imitation of the seclusion of certain S̲h̲īʿī Imāms. During this period, numerous other claimants appeared, and Yaḥyā's policy of seclusion worked against him, particularly when the more-outgoing Ḥusayn ʿAlī emerged as the *de facto* leader of the Bag̲h̲dād community and finally advanced his own claims to prophethood.

In 1863, most of the Bag̲h̲dād Bābīs were removed by the Ottoman authorities to Edirne in western Turkey. Here, the breach between the brothers became overt and ended in a permanent schism between Azalī and Bahāʾī Bābīs. Disturbed by the open hostility between these groups, the authorities exiled them, sending Ḥusayn ʿAlī and his followers to Acre in Palestine and Yaḥyā to Cyprus.

Ṣubḥ-i Azal died in Famagusta on 29 April 1912. His appointed successor, Mīrzā Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, chose the role of secular reformer over that of religious leader and before long Azalī Bābism became a spent force.

Yaḥyā wrote extensively, but few of his works have been published, and only a brief chronicle translated. Best known are the *Kitāb al-Nūr, al-Mustayḳiẓ* and the *Mutammim-i Bayān*, a continuation of the Bāb's unfinished Persian *Bayān*. These and other writings owe much to the obscure style of the Bāb, but add little to his thought.

Ṣubḥ-i Azal considered himself the conservator of primitive Bābism, with its minutely-observed legislation, metaphysical obfuscation and rejection of established political power. But, whereas the rival Bahāʾī faction held itself aloof from political and social involvement, several Azalī Bābīs came to play leading roles in the early reform movement in Persia. How far Ṣubḥ-i Azal may have encouraged or directed this development remains a matter for conjecture.

Bibliography: D. MacEoin, *Divisions and authority claims in Babism (1850-1866)*, in *St. Ir.*, xviii (1989), 93-129; E.G. Browne (ed.), *Kitāb-i Nuqtatu 'l-Kāf*, Leiden and London 1910; Browne, *Materials for the study of the Bābī religion*, Cambridge 1918, 211-20 (a list of works by Ṣubḥ-i Azal), 309-15; idem and R.A. Nicholson, *A descriptive catalogue of the oriental MSS belonging to the late E.G. Browne*, Cambridge, 1932, 69-75; Ṣubḥ-i Azal, *Mad̲j̲mūʿaʾī az āt̲h̲ār-i Nuḳta-yi Ūlā wa Ṣubḥ-i Azal* [Persia n.d.]; idem, *Mutammim-i Bayān* [Persia n.d.]; idem, *Mustayḳiẓ* [Persia n.d.]; (on Mīrzā ʿAbbās Nūrī, see P.P. Soucek, in *EIr*, i, 84; Bāmdād, *Rid̲j̲āl-i Irān*, vi, 126-9; on Mīrzā Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, see A. Amanat, in *EIr*, vii, 143-6). (D. MacEoin)

SUBḤA (a.), in Egyptian colloquial pronunciation *sibḥa*; in Persian and Muslim Indian usage, more often *tasbīḥ*, Ottoman Turkish *tesbīḥ*, modern *tespih*, rosary. It is used at present by nearly all classes of Muslims, except the Wahhābīs who disapprove of it as a *bidʿa* and who count the repetition of the sacred names on their hands. There is evidence for its having been used at first in Ṣūfī circles and among the lower classes (Goldziher, *Rosaire*, 296); opposition against it made itself heard as late as the 9th/15th century, when al-Suyūṭī composed an apology for it (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 1st ed. 165). At present, it is usually carried by the pilgrims (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 441), by dervishes and by many ordinary believers. For its use by the Bektās̲h̲īs, see J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London-Hartford 1937, 235 and plate 10.

The rosary consists of three groups of beads made of wood, bone, mother of pearl, etc. The groups are separated by two transversal beads of a larger size (*imām*), while a much larger piece serves as a kind of handle (*yad*; Snouck Hurgronje, in *Int. Arch. f.*

Ethnographie, i, 154 and plate xiv, no. 12). The number of beads within each group varies (e.g. 33 + 33 + 34 or 33 + 33 + 31); in the latter case, the *imāms* and the *yad* are reckoned as beads. The sum total of a hundred is in accordance with the number of God's 99 beautiful names [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ]. The rosary serves for the enumeration of these names; but it is also used for the counting of eulogies, *dhikr*s and the formulae at the end of the *ṣalāt*. Lane (*Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, chs. III, XXVIII) makes mention of a *subḥa* consisting of a thousand beads used in funeral ceremonies for the thrice one-thousand repetitions of the formula *lā ilāha illa ʾllāh*.

Masābiḥ (pl. of *misbaḥa*) are mentioned as early as A.D. 800 (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 318). Goldziher (*Vorlesungen*, 165) thought it certain that the rosary came from India and the Buddhist tradition to Western Asia. Still, Goldziher himself pointed to traditions mentioning the use of small stones, date-kernels, etc. for counting eulogies such as *takbīr, tahlīl, tasbīḥ*.

From such traditions the following may be mentioned: "on the authority of Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ .... that he accompanied the Messenger of God, who went to visit a woman, who counted her eulogies by means of kernels or small stones lying before her. He said to her: Shall I tell you what is easier and more profitable? "Glory to God" according to the number of what he has created in the earth; "glory to God" according to what he has created in the heaven; "glory to God" according to the number of what is between these; "glory to God" according to what he will create. And in the same way *Allāh akbar, al-ḥamdu lillāhi* and "there is no might nor power except in God" (Abū Dāwūd, *Witr*, *bāb* 24; al-Tirmidhī, *Daʿawāt*, *bāb* 113).

The tendency of this tradition is elucidated by the following one: Ṣafiyya said: The Messenger of God entered while there were before me four thousand kernels which I used in reciting eulogies. I said: I use them in reciting eulogies. He answered: I will teach thee a still larger number. Say: "Glory to God" according to the number of what he has created (al-Tirmidhī, *Daʿawāt*, *bāb* 103).

To a different practice points the tradition according to which the Messenger of God "counted the *tasbīḥ*" (al-Nasāʾī, *Sahw*, *bāb* 97). The verb used here is *ʿaḳada*; its being translated by "to count" is based upon the fact that the lexicons give it this meaning among others (but *ʿaḳada* actually refers to finger-reckoning, in which certain positions of the fingers symbolise numbers). Probably, this is based in its turn upon traditions like the one just mentioned and like the following: "The Messenger of God said to us (the women of Medina): Practise *tasbīḥ, tahlīl* and *taḳdīs*, and count these eulogies on your fingers, for these will have to give account" (Abū Dāwūd, *Witr*, *bāb* 24; al-Tirmidhī, *Daʿawāt*, *bāb* 120). According to Goldziher, in these traditions the counting of eulogies on the fingers is contrasted with their being counted by means of stones, etc. There is, however, a tradition that makes it a matter of doubt whether *ʿaḳada* in connections like those mentioned has always the meaning of counting and not its proper sense of tying. One should take into account a tradition preserved by Ibn Saʿd (viii, 348), according to which Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn used to say eulogies aided by threads in which she made knots (*bi-khuyūṭ maʿḳūd fīhā*).

Paralleling the Sunnī use of rosaries brought back from Mecca by the returning pilgrims, the Shīʿīs often use rosary beads made from the clay of Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*], where al-Ḥusayn was buried; these clay beads may on occasion be stained red in memory of the slain Imām's blood, or else green for his brother al-Ḥasan, whose body reputedly turned green after his alleged poisoning.

The term *subḥa* does not occur in classical Tradition in the meaning of rosary; it is often used in the sense of supererogatory *ṣalāt*, e.g. *subḥat al-ḍuḥā* (Muslim, *Musāfirūn*, trad. 81). Al-Nawawī explains the term by *nāfila* (commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii, 204). Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v. asks how it is that the ideas of *nāfila* and *subḥa* coincide. He answers that eulogies (*subḥa*) are supererogatory additions to the obligatory *ṣalāt*s. So supererogatory *ṣalāt*s came to be called *subḥa*.

If Ibn al-Athīr's opinion is right, the semasiological evolution of *subḥa* took two directions:

eulogies

supererogatory eulogies in *ṣalāt* — counted eulogies

supererogatory *ṣalāt* — instrument used for counting eulogies

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Le rosaire dans l'Islam*, in *RHR*, xxi (1890), 295-300 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii, 374-9; T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, 546; art. *Rosaries, Muhammadan*, in *ERE*, x, 852-3; Helga Venzlaff, *Der islamische Rosenkranz*, Abh. für die Kunde der Morgenländes, 47,2, Stuttgart 1985.

(A.J. WENSINCK)

SUBḤĀN (A.), a term of Ḳurʾānic vocabulary, *maṣdar* from the root *s.b.ḥ.*, but recorded solely in the form of an exclamative (with inflection of the accusative case) and in a state of annexation, having as its complement *Allāh* (cf. Ḳurʾān, XII, 108; XXI, 22; XXIII, 91; XXVII, 8; etc.) or some substitute for *Allāh*: *rabb* (*subḥāna rabbī*, XVII, 93: *subḥāna rabbika*, XXXVII, 180; *subḥāna rabbinā*, XVII, 108), various periphrases (*subḥāna ʾlladhī asrā bi- ʿabdihi laylan*, XVII, 1; *subḥāna ʾlladhī bi-yadihi malakūtu kulli shayʾin*, XXXVI, 83), or pronouns of recollection (*subḥānaka*, II, 32, etc.; *subḥānahu*, II, 116, etc.). Most commonly, it is translated "Glory be to God!", but see below.

In regard to the meaning of the expression *subḥāna ʾllāhi* and other related formulas, Islamic exegesis is unanimous: it is a case of exempting (*nazzaha*), purifying (*barraʾa*) and distancing (*baʿʿada*) God from any representation which could be made of Him and which does not conform to the absolute perfection which is His prerogative. It is "to exempt God from all that by which it is inappropriate to describe Him" (*tanzīhu ʾllāhi taʿālā ʿan kulli mā lā yanbaghī lahu an yūṣafa bihi*) (*LʿA*, ed. Beirut, ii, 471a ll. 23-4; cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *K. al-Tawḥīd*, Nadjaf 1346/1387, 207 ll. 7-8), "to exempt Him from all imperfection" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1378/1958, 8 ll. 2-4). The Prophet himself, according to some traditions, is said to have interpreted the formula *subḥāna ʾllāhi* as meaning the act of exempting God from evil (*inzāhu/tanzīhu ʾllāhi ʿani ʾl-sūʾ*) or from all evil (*tanzīhu ʾllāhi ʿan kulli sūʾ*); cf. al-Ṭabarī on Ḳurʾān, XVII, 1; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, XXb, 220 ll. 7-8; Abū Bakr al-Bayhaḳī, *K. al-Asmāʾ wa ʾl-ṣifāt*, Cairo 1358/1939, 37 ll. 10-21).

This is clearly to be understood from the context in numerous instances in the Ḳurʾān, in particular when the expression *subḥāna ʾllāhi* is followed by the

preposition *ʿan*, the sense then being that God is "high above", "far distant" from that which could be said of Him by "associators" and other disbelievers: *subḥāna 'llāhi ʿammā yaṣifūn* (XXIII, 91; XXXVII, 159), *subḥāna 'llāhi ʿammā yus̲h̲rikūn* (LII, 43; LIX, 23). In this case *subḥān* appears to be a straightforward equivalent of *taʿālā*, with which it is furthermore occasionally associated (e.g. in the formula *subḥānahu wa-taʿālā ʿammā yus̲h̲rikūn*, X, 18; XVI, 1; XXX, 40; XXXIX, 67). Almost always, when the question arises of attributing sons or daughters to God, or of accepting other divinities in addition to Him, the expression *subḥānahu!* appears, sometimes followed by *ʿan*, as an indignant exclamation, as if to "cleanse" God of a scandalous imputation (cf., e.g., II, 116; IV, 171; VI, 100; IX, 31; XVI, 57).

It may, however, be considered that such is not invariably the case. Thus in reference to the first verse of sūra XVII, *subḥāna 'lladh̲ī asrā bi-ʿabdihi layl^an* (and cf. also XXVII, 8; XXXVI, 36, 83; XLIII, 13), what could be seen here is a simple laudatory formula, a synonym of the expression *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi* "praise be to God"—a conclusion supported by the fact that *ḥamd* is often associated with the verb *sabbaḥa*, in formulae such as *sabbiḥ bi-ḥamdi rabbika* (XV, 98; XX, 130; XL, 55; etc.), *yusabbiḥūna bi-ḥamdi rabbihim* (XXXIX, 75; XL, 7; XLII, 5). Nevertheless, even in this case, the exegetes (al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, al-Rāzī, etc.) understand *subḥāna* in the sense of *tanzīh*. Thus on XVII, 1, al-Ṭabarī supplies the gloss *tanzīh^an li-lladh̲ī asrā bi-ʿabdihi wa-tabriʾat^an lahu mimmā yaḳūlu fīhi 'l-mus̲h̲rikūn.*

This presents a very difficult problem of translation. There can be no doubt, in view of what has said above, that formulae such as "Gloire à Dieu!" (Blachère), "Glory be to God!" (Arberry), "Gott sei gepriesen!" (Paret) as renderings of *subḥāna llāhi*, are not really adequate, even though they have the advantage of being clear and convenient. Hamidullah is closer to the truth in translating it by "Purity" (see his comment on II, 30), as indeed is Berque, who suggests "Transcendence". Unfortunately these two translations are alien-sounding, from a stylistic point of view, and are therefore not favoured. For his part, the writer of this article does not see a solution.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, Paris 1988, 202-3.

(D. GIMARET)

ṢUBḤĪ MEḤMED EFENDI (d. 1182/1769), Ottoman historian, best known under his pseudonym Ṣubḥī. He came from an established family in state bureaucratic service. His father, K̲h̲alīl Fehmī Efendi, as *beylikd̲j̲i* (head of the bureau of scribes of the Imperial Council) during the reign of Aḥmed III, saw to his son's training from an early age to join the ranks of the secretarial class. Throughout his adult life, Ṣubḥī held a series of high-ranking positions in the state bureaucracy and his experiences in office greatly influenced both the style and content of the history for whose composition he is chiefly remembered. In 1152/1739-40, upon his appointment as official court chronicler, Ṣubḥī retained his position as auditor in the Bureau of the Lesser *Awḳāf*. But his promotion (in Rad̲j̲ab 1156/late August-early September 1743) to his father's former post as *beylikd̲j̲i*, with pressing demands on his time for the drafting of treaties and letters of commitment and intent (*temessük*) drawn up to consolidate the terms of agreements reached with foreign powers, made his relinquishment of the post of chronicler inevitable. He was succeeded in the latter office by ʿIzzī [*q.v.*].

The part of Ṣubḥī's history that corresponds to his own term as official court chronicler begins on folio 145b of the Istanbul edition of 1198/1783-4 (see *Bibl.*) with his account of the events of 1152/1739-40, while the last recorded events date from the period around the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr at the end of Ramaḍān 1156/early November 1743 (1198 edn., fols. 236b-238b). Ṣubḥī is greatly admired for the excellence and clarity of his prose style. As for the "original" part of his history covering the years 1152-5(6) [fols. 145b-212a (238b)] when Ṣubḥī was directly responsible for the recording of significant dynastic events, his history is a mine of information on a variety of topics. Of particular value (given his background and professional experience) are Ṣubḥī's remarks on the conduct of Ottoman diplomacy, and his accounts of the reception of foreign envoys in Istanbul. Ṣubḥī's history is an exceptionally detailed and reliable source for the complex diplomacy leading up to the conclusion of peace between Austria, Russia, and the Ottoman empire following the three-way war of 1736-9. It incorporates the full details of the articles of peace mutually agreed to on 14 D̲j̲umādā I 1152/18 September 1739 (1198 edn., fols. 163a-167a), but what gives his history a unique importance is the account he provides of ongoing negotiations, settlement of border disputes, and the monitoring and enforcement of the terms of peace after the Treaty of Belgrade. The verbatim transcripts (*sūret*) of post-treaty commitments and undertakings provided in his history form a characteristic feature of Ṣubḥī's work (see the examples in *Bibl.*).

Ṣubḥī also reports on (and sometimes gives a verbatim record of) the content of the submissions of provincial governors received in Istanbul (cf. fol. 217a [year 1156]), *wurūd-i ḳāʾime-yi wālī-yi Bag̲h̲dād Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a*), and he carefully notes both the tenor of discussions in council and the nature of any responses sent back to the dispatcher (cf. fol. 222a-b). Another feature is his preoccupation with all aspects of state protocol (*tes̲h̲rīfāt*), favouring in particular detailed description of receptions (many of which he personally attended) organised during the visits of foreign dignitaries to the capital. Thus he gives a full account of the mission to Istanbul of Nādir S̲h̲āh's envoy Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲ān in 1154/1741 and provides an exhaustive list (cf. fols. 192b-193a) of the gifts brought from Persia for presentation to Sultan Maḥmūd I [*q.v.*]. In short, Ṣubḥī's history—published together with the histories of Samī and S̲h̲ākir which relate the events of the first five years of Maḥmūd's reign—provides the most comprehensive and reliable account we possess of the formative years of Maḥmūd's rule.

Bibliography: Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Samī we S̲h̲ākir we Ṣubḥī, Istanbul 1198/1784 (portion attributable to Ṣubḥī, fols. 72b-238b); D̲j̲emāl al-Dīn, *Āyīne-yi ẓurefāʾ*, Istanbul 1319/1901-2, 48-9; Meḥmed T̲h̲üreyyā, *SʿO*, iii, 220; *IA*, art. *Vekayiʿ nüvis* (B. Kütükoğlu). The following passages exemplify Ṣubḥī's use of diplomatic correspondence: fols. 167a-168b, year 1152, *sūret-i mewādd-i temessük*; fols. 188a-189b, year 1153, *sinīrʾa dāʾir temessük sūreti*; and fols. 237b and 237b-238a, year 1156, *mübādele-yi temessük bā-ketk̲h̲udā-yi Nemče* and *sūret-i temessük-i mezbūr*.

(R. MURPHEY)

AL-**SUBKĪ**, the *nisba* from the name of two small towns of Lower Egypt, in the mediaeval district of Manf [*q.v.*], now in the Manūfiyya *mudīriyya* or province, in the southwestern part of the Nile Delta. See ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-d̲j̲adīda*, Būlāḳ 1305/1887-8, xii, 6-7; Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953-68, ii/2, 217.

A. The mediaeval Subk known as Subk al-Ḍaḥḥāk (modern Subk al-Thalāth) was the place of origin of a celebrated family of Shāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ* which flourished in Mamlūk times and of which the most outstanding figures were the *Shaykh al-Islām* Taḳī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Kāfī (b. Ṣafar 683/April 1284, d. Djumādā II 756/June 1355) (no. 6 below) and his son the *Ḳāḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt* Tādj al-Dīn Abu 'l-Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (b. 727 or 728 or 729/1327-9, d. 7 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 771/2 July 1370) (no. 9 below). The significant members of the family are detailed below and appear in the genealogical table. For the family as a whole, see F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Academien der Araber und ihre Lehrer, nach Auszügen aus Ibn Schohba's Klassen der Schafeiten*, Göttingen 1837, 119, and the section on them in ʿAlī Mubārak, *op. cit.*, xii, 7-8.

1. Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Ḳāḍī* of al-Maḥalla [*q.v.*] and later *mudarris* at Cairo, died 725/1325 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 183).

2. Taḳī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, b. 704/1304-5, *mudarris* at Cairo and Damascus, d. 744/1344, author of a *Taʾrīkh*; his correspondence is in Ahlwardt, no. 8471, 24 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 97; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xii, 8).

3. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Muḥammad, b. 708, *mudarris*, *ḳāḍī* and *ḥākim* in Damascus and Cairo, *wakīl* of the sultan and *khaṭīb* of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, d. 772/1370-1. He left three unfinished writings (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 52; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xii, 8).

4. Walī al-Dīn Abū Dharr ʿAbd Allāh, b. 735/1334-5, *mudarris*, *ḳāḍī*, *khaṭīb* and financial officer in Damascus, d. 785/1383 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 98).

5. Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, b. 741/1340-1, *mudarris*, *muftī* and *ḳāḍī* at Cairo, Damascus, etc., and *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad mosque. He became unpopular on account of the influence he allowed his son Djalāl al-Dīn to exercise over his affairs; d. 802 or 803/1399-1401 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 53; ʿAli Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, *loc. cit.*).

6. Taḳī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī studied in Cairo, then travelled to Damascus and performed the Pilgrimage, returning to become *mudarris* at the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* at the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. He later became Chief *ḳāḍī* in Damascus and *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque, and taught at two *Dār al-Ḥadīths* there before returning to Egypt, where he eventually died. He was the author of some 150 works, of which those still extant are listed in Brockelmann, II², 106-7, S II, 102-4, and which covered such fields as law, a collection of *fatāwā*, *masāʾil wa-adjwiba*, poetry, etc. See on him the lengthy biography by his son Tādj al-Dīn in his *Ṭabaḳāt*, 1st ed. vi, 146-227, new ed. x, 139-338; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 180-1; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 8765; Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 49; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², v, 116; other sources in Brockelmann, S II, 102.

7. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Taḳī al-Dīn ʿAlī, b. 719/1319, *mudarris*, *muftī* and *ḳāḍī* in Cairo and Damascus, d. in Mecca 773/1371-2. He wrote (1) an unfinished commentary on *al-Ḥāwī* of al-Ḳazwīnī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 494); (2) a supplement to the unfinished commentary on the *Minhādj*-commentary of his father; (3) *Djamʿal-tanāḳid* or *al-Munāḳaḍāt* (Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, vi, 157); (4) *ʿArūs al-afrāḥ fī sharḥ talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (cf. Brockelmann, I², 353-4; published in *Shurūḥ al-Talkhīṣ*); (5) an unfinished commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of the *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib from al-Bayḍāwī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 370); (6) a *Ḳaṣīda* on the meaning of the word *ʿAyn* (Ahlwardt, no. 7065, 1 as also in 6973, 3 and in 7334); (7) a riddle-poem on the Nile (with the answer of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī thereupon; Ahlwardt, no. 7866, 1, also in 6111); (8) another poem by him; Ahlwardt, no. 8471, 28; (9) writings addressed to him by others; Ahlwardt, nos. 7869 and 8471, 24 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 50; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, *loc. cit.*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 1899 al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², i, 171).

8. Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ḥusayn b. Taḳī al-Dīn ʿAlī, b. 722/1322, *mudarris* in Cairo and Damascus, in the latter also deputy *ḳāḍī*; d. 755/1354, previously to his father. He wrote a book on people with the name of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAli (Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, v, 159); his correspondence is listed in Ahlwardt, no. 8471, 24 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 73; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, *loc. cit.*).

9. Tādj al-Dīn Abu 'l-Naṣr b. Taḳī al-Dīn ʿAlī studied in Cairo and Damascus, and early became a *mudarris* in Damascus and *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque. In 756/1354 his father nominated him as *ḳāḍī*, the first of many spells of office thus. In 769/1368 he was imprisoned for 80 days on a charge of misappropriating the property of a minor, apparently unjustly, but released through the efforts of friends. He died soon afterwards of plague. The surviving ones of his many works are listed in Brockelmann, II², 108-10, S II, 105-7. See on him Ibn al-ʿImād, vi, 221-2; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 8704; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xii, 8; Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, 40; al-Ziriklī, iv, 385; other sources in Brockelmann, S II, 105.

Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī's *magnum opus* in the eyes of Western scholars concerned with the religious and intellectual history of earlier Islam and, above all, the history and development of the Shāfiʿī law school [see SHĀFIʿIYYA], is his great biographical dictionary of Shāfiʿī scholars, the *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, which exists in three versions of differing size, from the *kubrā* through the *wusṭā* down to the *ṣughrā* one (*kubrā* version first printed ed. Cairo 1323-4/1905-6, 6 vols., defective; new ed. Maḥmūd Muḥ. al-Ṭanāḥī and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥilw, Cairo 1383-96/1964-76, 10 vols.). In a study of al-Subkī's underlying aims in compiling this work (which had been preceded by other *ṭabaḳāt* works on the scholars of this law school), George Makdisi has suggested that Tādj al-Dīn was especially following his predecessor of two centuries before in Damascus, Ibn ʿAsākir [*q.v.*], in the latter's *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī fī mā nusiba ilā 'l-Imām Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī* in producing a work of Ashʿarī propaganda [see ASHʿARIYYA]. However, he continues, al-Subkī went further and was better qualified. He was defending al-Ashʿarī and the ideas attributed to him, with the Shāfiʿīs in general in his mind, as Ibn ʿAsākir was; he fully endorsed his predecessor's work, but, having superior qualifications as a *faḳīh* as well as a *muḥaddith*, he aimed at producing a work resting on broader foundations (explicitly describing his *Ṭabaḳāt* as concerned with history, *adab*, law and tradition). His work is thus indeed a treasury of literary and historical information as well as theologico-legal material. He hoped in this way to convince those Shāfiʿī adherents who were nevertheless hostile to the use of *kalām*, rational arguments in theology [see ʿILM AL-KALĀM], that Ashʿarī rationalism had a valid role, and that the ideal was a fusion in Shāfiʿism of traditionalism and rationalism which would then make it superior to all the other *madhhabs*; accordingly, al-Subkī's enemies here were such anthropomorphists as the Ḥanbalīs and also intransigent Shāfiʿī traditionalists who were blatantly anti-Ashʿarī. Although

The Subkī Family

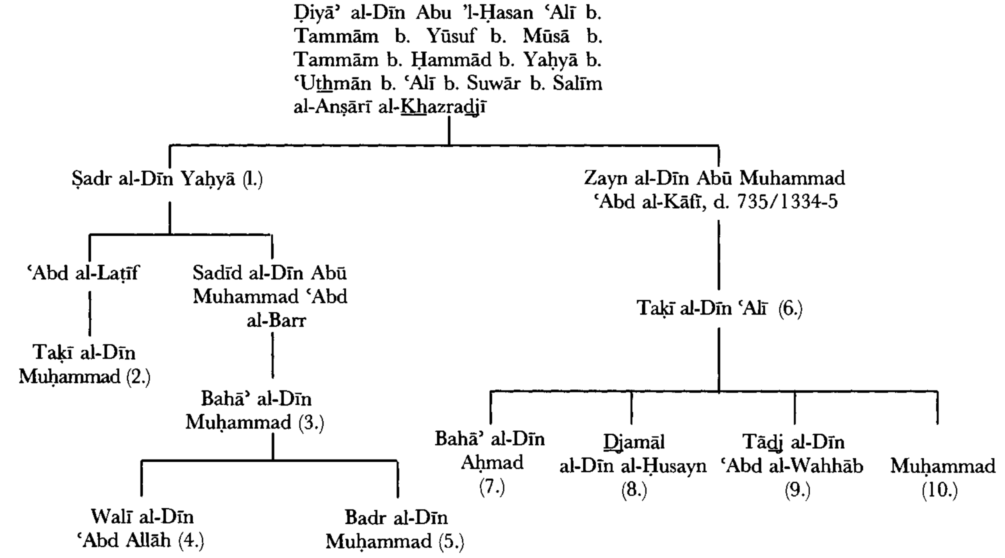

al-Subkī admits that *kalām* used wrongly can be dangerous, he asserts that the Imām Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*] himself used it, and that Shāfiʿīsm and Ashʿarism had always been inseparably linked. In his campaign against those purblind Shāfiʿīs who refused to recognise this, he did not hesitate to discredit the attitudes of his own old teacher al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*]. See further, Makdisi, *Ashʿarī and the Ashʿarites in Islamic religious history*, in *SI*, xvii (1962), 37-80, xviii (1963), 19-39, esp. xvii, 57-79; on earlier *ṭabaḳāt* works, Shāfiʿī and others, see idem, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la resurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963, 47-58.

That such a polemic on behalf of Ashʿarism was still necessary in the 8th/14th century is, of course, an indication that Ashʿarī rationalism had not, despite the passage of four centuries, secured a majority recognition amongst the adherents of Shāfiʿism; Tādj al-Dīn was apparently swimming against the tide. Such considerations as those discussed above need to be taken into account in any evaluation of the *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, as do others mentioned by Heinz Halm, that the compiler was concerned above all with scholars from the main centres of Shāfiʿī influence (Cairo, Damascus, Baghdād, Nīshāpūr and Marw), with little or no attention to other towns and regions where we know, e.g. from historical sources, that there were significant Shāfiʿī elements. Hence whole regions are either sketchily covered or not covered at all, such as Sīstān, Ādharbaydjān, pre-Ayyūbid Egypt and Yemen. See Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 11-14.

Another, slighter work of Tādj al-Dīn's which has been readily accessible to Western scholars has been his *Muʿīd al-niʿam wa-mubīd al-niḳam* (ed. D.W. Myhrman as *The restorer of favours and the restrainer of chastisements*, London 1908; ed. Muḥ. ʿAlī al-Nadjdjār *et alii*, Cairo 1367/1948; slightly abbreviated German tr. O. Rescher, Constantinople 1925 = *Gesammelte Werke*, Abt. II, Bd. 2, 691-855) which treats of 113 (in the fullest ms.) trades, professions and offices of the author's own time, in the light of how their exponents should behave in order to recover God's favour and secure their own salvation after having lost this. It contains *en passant* a certain amount of historical information and throws light on contemporary customs and attitudes, seen e.g. in the author's disapproval of the practice of kissing the ground (*taḳbīl al-arḍ*) before sultans or great *amīrs*.

10. Muhammad b. Taḳī al-Dīn ʿAlī, to whom his father addressed an admonitory *ḳaṣīda*.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Myhrman on the Subkī family in the introd. to his *Muʿīd al-niʿam* edition, 8-35.

B. Shihāb al-Dīn or Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Subkī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfiʿī (d. Djumādā II 1032/April 1623, author of several works and commentaries, listed in ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xii, 8-9, and *EI*[1] art. s.v.

C. Aḥmad Bey al-Subkī b. Aḥmad ʿUdjayla, a personage in mid-19th century Egyptian life. Educated at the schools set up by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], he was sent to Paris and stayed there two years, and later filled various official and military posts under the rulers of Egypt. See ʿAlī Mubārak, *op. cit.*, xii, 9. (J. Schacht-[C.E. Bosworth])

al-**SUBKIYYŪN**, the name given to members of a religious society, al-Djamʿiyya al-Sharʿiyya li 'l-ʿĀmilīn bi 'l-Kitāb wa 'l-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya founded by the reformer Shaykh Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Subkī (1274-1352/1858-1933), a native of Subk in the Manūfiyya district of Lower Egypt (also the home of the 8th/14th century author Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī [*q.v.*]).

Shaykh Maḥmūd was first educated in Subk and later enrolled in al-Azhar. While studying at al-Azhar, he began to preach against current *bidaʿ* [see bidʿa], such as excessive grief at funerals, including the use of professional wailing women, as well as excessive celebrations at weddings. He also attacked the excesses of many of the Ṣūfī groups he encountered in Cairo, despite his involvement with Ṣūfism in the early part of his life. He then turned his attention to *bidaʿ* in the *ʿibādāt* which he encountered in al-Azhar itself, bolstering his arguments with *fatāwī* obtained from the senior *shaykh*s there, which he published under the title *Fatāwī aʾimmat al-Muslimīn*. He received his degree and *idjāza* to teach in 1313/1896. His increasing

popularity and strict message irked some Azharīs, who tried without success to curb his activities by complaining to the political authorities. His orthodoxy vindicated, the following years he continued to spread his views via Friday sermons and published tracts.

In Muḥarram 1331/December 1912 he established his society, with the aim of "spreading the true teachings of religion, to enlighten the minds and save the Muslims from corrupt beliefs and low *bidaʿ* and myths", embodying his ideals of strict adherence to the Sunna and open to all. The society would send its most able preachers to give the Friday sermons in mosques all over Egypt where they exhorted people to return to the basics of the Ḳur'ān and Sunna and abandon often deeply-ingrained popular practices. In time, the society established its own network of mosques and published regular journals including *Risālat al-Islām*, still published today. Members of the society used to be distinguished by their distinctive turbans. On Shaykh Maḥmūd's death, the leadership of the society went to his sons Amīn Khaṭṭāb and then Yūsuf Khaṭṭāb. When this line ended, the leadership went to ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Mushtahirī and then to Farḥat ʿAlī Ḥilwa. The society is currently headed by Dr. Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī Abu 'l-Nūr. It is estimated that the society has some 680 branches with over 64,000 members.

Among Shaykh Maḥmūd's publications are *al-Manhal al-ʿadhb*, Cairo 1351, which is seen as his major work; *Itḥāf al-kā'ināt bi-bayān madhhab al-salaf wa 'l-khalaf fi 'l-mutashabbihāt*, Cairo 1350; *al-Dīn al-ṣāliḥ*; etc. The introduction to *al-Manhal* lists 26 works in all.

Bibliography: The introd. to *al-Manhal al-ʿadhb*; ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥifnī, *Mawsūʿat al-firaḳ wa 'l-djamāʿāt al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo n.d.; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Mushtahirī, *Hādhihi daʿwatuna*, Cairo n.d., which is an explanation of the movement and what it stands for. (MAHA AZZAM)

SŪDĀN, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the modern Republic of Sudan.

1. History and political development.

The republic takes its name from the mediaeval Arab geographers' *bilād al-Sūdān*, a sub-Saharan belt of which eastern and Nilotic lands were conquered by Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Egypt and his successors. This "Egyptian Sudan" came to comprise territory from the Red Sea to the western marches of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*], and from Nubia [see NŪBA] to the African Great Lakes. Thus although the present republic has an older political identity than most African states, like them it was born of foreign conquest.

In the European "Scramble for Africa", the Sudan was among the last prizes. Under Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī (d. 1885 [see AL-MAHDIYYA]) and his successor, the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh al-Taʿā'ishī, an independent state had been made of Egyptian possessions. But even in its origins, the Mahdist state was bound up in Great Power rivalry; the Mahdī's rise did not so much cause as coincide with collapse of Egyptian authority in the Sudan, and with political crises in Egypt itself that ended with British occupation in 1882. The fall of Khartoum in 1885 would equip imperialists with arguments for a British conquest that imperial strategy required anyway.

Britain's anomalous position in Egypt influenced the 20th-century political development of the Sudan. Despite British occupation, Egypt remained an Ottoman province under the Khedive and his ministers. In the light of this, and to deflect Great Power objections, invasion of the Sudan in 1896-8 was termed an Anglo-Egyptian "reconquest" of lost Egyptian provinces. Kitchener commanded a largely Egyptian (and Sudanese) army when he defeated the Khalīfa at Kararī on 2 September 1898. The flexibility of a "two-flag" policy was evident two weeks later at Fashoda, where a French expedition under Marchand was warned off by the British for trespassing on Egyptian rights.

In the wake of "reconquest" there was therefore no question of wholly separating the Sudan from Egypt. Instead, Lord Cromer, Agent and Consul-General in Cairo, devised a "hybrid form of government" in two Anglo-Egyptian conventions that in 1899 established a formal condominium. Sovereignty in the Sudan went unspecified. Power was concentrated in a Governor-General nominated by Britain and appointed by the Khedive; every Governor-General until independence in 1956 was British. The Capitulations, Mixed Courts and other apparatus of international control in Egypt, were excluded. Separate financial regulations further defined relations between the new régime and Egypt. In broad terms, the Condominium, at least until the 1920s and to a considerable extent thereafter, was controlled by Britain and financed by Egypt, staffed in its upper echelons by British officers and (increasingly) civilians, and in its lower by Egyptians, Syrians, other foreigners and (increasingly) by Sudanese.

But the land and its peoples were more important in determining the nature of the régime than were the war and diplomacy that created it. Defining the Sudan's borders began in the Condominium Agreement itself; the conquest of Dār Fūr in 1916 and long negotiations between Britain and France, the Congo, Italy and other powers completed it. A territory of about one million square miles resulted, with conditions varying from sand desert in the north, to savannah in a central belt and forest in the south. The population was very heterogeneous: what would soon be called the Northern Sudan comprised Nubians, Fur, Beja, and (mostly) Arabic-speaking Muslims claiming Arab descent; the South presented a mosaic of ethnic diversity without any linguistic or religious cement. Contact between the two regions had been characterised during the 19th century by the raiding and enslavement of southerners by northern Sudanese. The total population under Anglo-Egyptian rule may only be guessed; in its first decades even the existence of separate ethnic groups went largely unknown to their nominal governors.

That ignorance, and the régime's limited resources, were factors in the unequal development of the regions. Indeed, with Egyptian subventions the Sudan Government was better off than many colonial governments. But great distances and sparse population made communications difficult and transport expensive. Foreign officials' greater familiarity with the Arab-Muslim culture of the North almost invariably biased them in favour of that region. The result was considerable public investment in the northeastern quadrant of the country: Khartoum was rebuilt; a railway was extended from Wadi Halfa to Khartoum, the Gezira, al-Ubayd, and to Port Sudan, which was built to supersede Suakin [see SAWĀKIN] as the Sudan's principal harbour; a vast Gezira Scheme, financed by European loans to irrigate cotton in the region between the Blue and White Niles south of Khartoum, skewed the country's subsequent development. Social services were again relatively lavish in northern centres, while in rural areas and the South their provision was left up to the Army and Christian missionaries. Thus the relative backwardness of peripheral regions, most

obviously the South, was widened by Anglo-Egyptian bias and policy.

Much of that policy was set by or under the second Governor-General, Sir Reginald Wingate (1900-16). Upon succeeding Kitchener, Wingate had already spent sixteen years in the Egyptian Army, latterly in charge of Intelligence, and had formed definite views. With Cromer, his superior until 1907, Wingate devised structures and set a tone that would last as long as the Condominium.

Confrontation with Sudanese Mahdism had dominated Wingate's work in Egypt; in the Sudan a fear of "fanaticism" influenced otherwise disparate areas of policy. He suppressed not only Mahdism and its surviving notables, but also any sign of disruptive heterodoxy: individual *fikis* (Ar. *faḳīh*) were arrested, exiled and even executed; Ṣūfī *ṭuruḳ* were denied recognition, while co-operative *shaykhs* were loaded with privileges. Orthodox Islam was promoted: the *Sharīʿa*, as reformed, became a model; a Grand Qadi and Mufti of the Sudan were appointed, and *ʿulamāʾ*, never influential in the Sudan, were nonetheless given honours, pensions, and official status. In 1912 a *maʿhad al-ʿilmī*, with curriculum closely modelled on that of al-Azhar, was opened in Omdurman to train *ʿulamāʾ*. The Ḥanafī *madhhab* of the Ottoman Empire, introduced at the Turco-Egyptian conquest, was reimposed; in personal law, Sudanese continued their adherence to the Mālikī rite. The government repaired and built mosques, encouraged the *ḥadjdj* (for long an important socio-economic phenomenon in a land adjacent to the Ḥidjāz and traversed by the "Sudan Road" of West African pilgrims), and subsidised religious education. Avoiding offence to Muslims, Christian missionaries were largely limited to the South.

Wingate's fear of Mahdism influenced economic policy. Although his own propaganda against the Mahdist state had decried a revival of slavery, Wingate and his lieutenants saw mass manumission as offensive to Muslims and thus as a focus for revolt; while for European audiences they championed repression of the slave trade, yet they turned a blind eye to it and intervened to prevent the manumission even of individuals. Similarly, taxes, especially in regard to lightly-administered nomadic tribes, were kept low, lest a spark be given to apprehended Mahdist tinder.

A turning-point in the history of the régime was the First World War. If the Ottoman sultan, still nominally sovereign in Egypt, should side with the Central Powers, the British feared repercussions not only in Egypt but also in the Sudan, as indeed in India and other Muslim lands. Wingate acted quickly to defuse a call to *djihād*. Adding to war-time security measures (censorship, propaganda, arrest of enemy aliens, and so forth), he altered his religious policy. By 1914 it was clear that the *ʿulamāʾ* had little influence: Sudanese continued to look, as they had for centuries, to individual holy men (*fikis*) and the Ṣūfī *ṭuruḳ* for guidance; while the government encouraged the *ḥadjdj* to Mecca, pilgrimage to the tombs of Sudanese saints was vastly more popular. Thus when the War broke out, the government's embrace of pliant *shaykhs* was widened to include the son of the Mahdī, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; restrictions were eased in return for support of the régime, a position in any case consistent with his father's *djihād* against "the Turks". This rehabilitation would have rapid and far-reaching political results.

Whether Wingate overreacted is debatable; the Sudan remained quiet throughout the War, and, indeed, became a base of operations against the Turks and their allies. In 1916 Wingate moved against ʿAlī Dīnār, sultan of Dār Fūr, who had assumed an anti-British tone and whose autonomy impeded the European position in the south-central Sahara; an Anglo-Egyptian force defeated the Fūr near al-Fashīr, the sultan was later killed in a skirmish, and Dār Fūr came under the Sudan Government. Meanwhile in the east through personal efforts and proximity to the Ḥidjāz, Wingate assumed roles for himself and the Sudan in the revolt of the Sharīf of Mecca against the Ottomans.

After the War, the Sudan experienced political ferment and social dislocation. The growth of Egyptian nationalism had both paralleled and stimulated Sudanese feelings of national identity. Although limited to a tiny educated élite and tentatively expressed, these stirrings provoked an incommensurate British reaction. Fearing that Egyptian civilian cadres and army units would suborn the Sudanese, and that a potential existed for an unholy (and even unwitting) alliance of discontented townsmen and fanatical tribes, the British hardened their position. During 1924 demonstrations, by the White Flag League and others, condemned Britain and defended Egyptian rights in the Sudan. When in November the Governor-General, Sir Lee Stack, was assassinated in Cairo, the opportunity was taken both to bring down the Wafd government of Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*] and to expel Egyptian Army units and civilians from the Sudan. In Khartoum some Sudanese soldiers died resisting that evacuation, in an episode still commemorated.

There followed a period of repression. The seeming ease with which trouble had arisen in the towns convinced British authorities that a class of secularly-educated Sudanese, like its counterpart in Egypt, India and elsewhere, was dangerous. The reaction was reflected in social policy. Ordinances extended powers of tribal chiefs, circumventing the educated; traditional Ḳurʾānic schools (*khalwas*) replaced as the focus of education policy the secular primary and elementary schools that had produced "effendis"; and the scope of the latter's employment was reduced and avenues for advance closed. These changes coincided with dramatic economic developments: the Gezira Scheme, inaugurated in 1925, for several years produced good returns on a huge investment; but insect infestation and the collapse of the cotton market during the Depression resulted in destitution for tenants and financial crisis for the Sudan Government. Post-1924 quiescence was thus misleading, and bought at a price.

Moreover, Britain's freedom of action in the Sudan was limited by its position in Egypt. Violent disturbances in 1919 had led to Egypt's nominal independence in 1922 and, in 1924, to the Wafd government of Saʿd Zaghlūl, who insisted on the unity of the Nile Valley. No subsequent Egyptian government would forswear the Sudan, the status of which became, with that of the Suez Canal Zone, the focus of Anglo-Egyptian relations. Negotiations after 1924 all collapsed over these issues. It was only a shared fear of Italian imperialism, and the Wafd's need for more than rhetorical results from its nationalist stance, that finally brought progress. In a 1936 treaty, Egypt won concessions over its international status, and a symbolic return of some troops to the Sudan, while Britain secured its position at the Canal; the sovereignty issue was deferred, the signatories merely expressing continuing concern for the welfare of the Sudanese. This reference, made without consulting them, ironically rekindled political interest among Sudanese, and gave to the Sudan question a triangular shape that it would

retain until independence. All parties recognised this; to pre-empt an increase in Egyptian political activity, the British authorities encouraged, in 1938, the founding of a Graduates' General Congress to co-opt the educated element they had suppressed.

While nationalist activity had subsided after 1924, changes in the relative importance of individuals and groups altered the dynamics of Sudanese politics. After his rehabilitation during the First World War, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mahdī had rapidly expanded his following and influence, especially in the west. As early as 1919, British officials expressed alarm; collaboration with the Sayyid remained controversial, and a rising led by ʿAbd Allāh al-Sihaynī in Dār Fūr in 1921 was blamed on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's agents. But in 1924, when the régime felt threatened by Egyptian politicians and disgruntled townsmen, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was foremost in condemning both, and he received a knighthood from the British Government. By the late 1920s, as a result of government concessions and the free labour of his followers, he was probably the richest Sudanese; by the mid-1930s, he openly vied with Sayyid ʿAlī al-Mīrghānī, whose Khatmiyya *ṭarīḳa*'s support for established authority and opposition to Mahdism pre-dated the Condominium, for a comparable political standing. Renewed political activity after the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty both reflected and heightened that competition.

In the Second World War, unlike the first, the Sudan played a direct role. Despite a huge advantage in numbers and equipment, an Italian advance in 1940 ended in the ignominious Allied occupation of Italian East Africa in 1941. Units of the Sudan Defence Force (the Anglo-Sudanese army created in 1925), served in several African and Near Eastern theatres. Not until the German defeat at al-Alamein in November 1942 was the Axis threat to Britain's position in the Nile Valley removed. But what British officials saw as a defining crisis of world history, some Sudanese considered a clash of imperialisms; in their view, Sudanese political advance should be accelerated, not postponed. It was with this view that in April 1942 the Graduates' Congress asked for concessions, including Sudanese independence at the end of the war. They were rebuffed, and divisions within the Congress that had led to its demands now widened into overt political parties. In 1944 the *Ashikka* formed the nucleus of what would become (under various names) the Unionists, while in 1945 the *Umma* proclaimed "the Sudan for the Sudanese". But Union and Independence were watchwords; superficial polarisation obscured a wide spectrum of interests.

The politics of the Condominium's last decade are thus complicated in detail but susceptible to generalisation. Anglo-Egyptian relations worsened. In 1945, at Egypt's request, re-negotiation of the 1936 treaty began, but with irreconcilable positions over the Canal and the Sudan. To break the impasse the British government, in the so-called Ṣidḳī-Bevin Protocol of October 1946, recognised Egyptian sovereignty in the Sudan. A furious reaction in Britain, and among British officials in the Sudan, wrecked the agreement. But British willingness to compromise over sovereignty whetted Egyptian appetites, imbued the Sudan Government with permanent suspicion of a "sell-out", and disconcerted its Sudanese allies, to whom the end of strategic collaboration had always been seen as independence.

The development of Sudanese politics in the post-war period was thus inseparable from Anglo-Egyptian relations. The Unionists, led by the irrepressible Ismāʿīl al-Azharī, a mathematics teacher from a prominent religious family, condemned the British, withheld co-operation from successive consultative bodies, and demanded union with Egypt. To varying degrees, they saw this as a lever for moving the British; those wedded to the Unity of the Nile Valley were few, while many upheld "union" in order to preclude the Mahdist monarchy the British might impose in order to debar Egypt. For his part, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mahdī co-operated with the Sudan Government, and his Umma Party dominated its advisory bodies; the Egyptians were his family's historic enemies, and by collaborating he kept Egypt at bay while prodding the British towards negotiated departure. Many tribal and religious leaders, notably ʿAlī al-Mīrghānī, recoiled at a choice between Mahdist monarchy and Egyptian imperialism, and saw nominal "Union" as a way of foiling Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, while disposing of his British patrons; Egyptians had after all been ejected before and could be again.

Central to the machinations of the period was therefore the rivalry between the *Sayyids*. The ebullient ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, whose influence derived from the revolutionary charisma of his father, was ironically the more worldly and modern; this routinisation of Mahdist ideology has been described as "neo-Mahdism", and been compared with the achievement of dynastic power in Libya and Morocco. ʿAlī al-Mīrghānī, on the contrary, would be king-maker rather than king, and embodied cautious reserve and oracular reticence; his support of Unionists was always qualified, rarely certain, and stemmed wholly from opposition to Mahdism.

The Anglo-Egyptian (and Sudanese sectarian) impasse was broken only after the Egyptian Revolution of 1952. The ruling junta, influenced by Muḥammad Nadjīb [*q.v.*], proclaimed a willingness to allow Sudanese self-determination. Since this had been the ostensible goal of the British, who by terms of the Ṣidḳī-Bevin Protocol had lost the confidence of their Sudanese allies, the Sudan Government was suddenly isolated and to a degree irrelevant; the Sudanese parties entered into direct negotiation with Egypt, and Anglo-Egyptian agreement over terms of self-determination was reached in 1953. This called for a transitional period during which Sudanisation of the administration, and elections to a national parliament would take place. These produced a parliamentary majority for al-Azharī's National Unionist Party; the Umma had campaigned ineptly and alienated non-Mahdists, while other groupings—hardly parties—were regional, extreme, or otherwise flawed.

It was ironical therefore that al-Azharī and the Unionists led the Sudan to independence. The events of 1954-5 are less significant than that result; through deft manoeuvring, favourable circumstance, rivals' mistakes, and the unlimited elasticity of "union", al-Azharī presided as Prime Minister when the Sudanese parliament dispensed with formalities and voted for independence at the end of 1955. An independent republic was declared on 1 January 1956.

Despite this formal break with a colonial past, evidence of continuity after 1955 is striking. In two areas, national politics and the affairs of the South, this would have lasting and disastrous consequences. Al-Azharī's triumph in 1955 had been personal and tactical; the two Sayyids were the true masters of the Sudan, and it was their mutual hostility that had allowed his success. In late 1955 they had reached a truce, and in July 1956 their parliamentary supporters duly ousted al-Azharī and elected the Umma leader, ʿAbd Allāh Khalīl, as Prime Minister in a coalition

of the Umma and a Unionist faction. This and subsequent manoeuvring discredited party politics. Beset by a faltering economy, and by rifts within the Unionists' ranks that threatened his own position, ʿAbd Allāh Khalīl, a former officer, connived in 1958 in an army coup that swept away the parliamentary régime. A junta assumed supreme power, which it in turn delegated to the Commander-in-Chief, Ibrāhīm ʿAbbūd.

An issue of particular concern to the military régime that ruled until 1964 was the South. Largely neglected by the British under a misapplied "Southern Policy", the region had ironically at the end of the Second World War became a last bastion of imperial control; British officials' demand for "safeguards" for the South in a self-governing Sudan was viewed by others as an attempt to delay independence or even to detach the region. In the first parliament, Southern representatives were overwhelmed by Northern politicians, and their votes for independence were bought with the easy promise of future considerations. Meanwhile, in August 1955, alarmed by precipitate Sudanisation—or as they saw it, Arabisation—of regional government, Southern army units rebelled. Hundreds of Northerners were killed. Neither al-Azharī's nor ʿAbd Allāh Khalīl's administration took effective steps to deal with Southern grievances; ʿAbbūd's régime worsened the problem. A programme of Arabisation and Islamisation was adopted, and Christian missionaries were harassed and finally expelled. Guerrilla activity sprang up among veterans of the 1955 mutiny and others. ʿAbbūd's junta responded in kind, and by 1964 there was civil war.

The soldiers' military failure brought down a régime already discredited by ineptness and repression in other areas. In October 1964 street demonstrations in Omdurman and Khartoum gained momentum from the evident half-heartedness with which troops responded. Banned political parties resurfaced, but it was an alliance of professionals, trade unionists, students and others that directed and dominated mass action. With support from the ranks evaporating, ʿAbbūd and his colleagues resigned, and a Transitional Government was formed to prepare a return to democratic rule.

The Transitional Government of 1964-5 has since been seen as one of missed opportunity. The cabinet, under Sirr al-Khātim al-Khalīfa, a civil servant, was dominated by members of the Professionals' Front, who favoured radical democratic and socialist solutions to the Sudan's problems. Opposed to them, and outnumbered, were leaders of the old parties. The former had ideas without mass support, the latter sectarian followings without ideas. In the end, ideas were discounted; under pressure from the politicians, new elections were held in April-May 1965, before the professionals could organise. A coalition of the Umma and NUP was formed, with the Umma's Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥdjūb as Prime Minister; by a hastily-contrived constitutional amendment, Ismāʿīl al-Azharī became President of the Supreme Council of State. The intellectual bankruptcy of the parties and cynicism of their leaders is evident from subsequent events.

The second parliamentary régime witnessed a return to the sterile sectarian and personal rivalries of the past and, because of this, a worsening situation in the South. No party or politician would risk the electoral consequences or a rival's jeers by suggesting a generous solution to what they persisted in calling the "Southern Problem". For their part, no leader of the disunited tribally-based rebels in the South had a following large enough to dominate the movement; successive groupings with ever-grander names reflected factionalisation. Southern politicians working within the Khartoum system had little influence, nor can it be said that any proposed constitutional "solution"—federalism, autonomy or independence for the South—had the support even of most Southerners. A multilateral conference held by the Transitional Government in March 1965 rehearsed old positions a month before parliamentary elections. Continuation of guerrilla war was expedient for weak politicians on both sides.

The base from which the second parliamentary régime began was thus as weak as its predecessor's. Debilitating inter- and intra-party rivalries both caused and fed off political and economic crisis. In 1966 Ṣādiḳ al-Mahdī, great-grandson of the Mahdī, having engineered the fall of the Umma Prime Minister and his own succession, embarked on a campaign of modest reform unacceptable to his uncle, al-Hādī, the *imām* of the *Anṣār*. Their disagreement was exploited by al-Azharī, who joined forces with al-Hādī to depose Ṣādiḳ. With the Umma split, a new coalition was formed of Unionists and followers of al-Hādī, with Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥdjūb as Prime Minister. This coalition, dominated by al-Azharī's reunited Unionists, retained office after elections in 1968. That a government with a huge parliamentary majority could be so ineffectual is indicative of the continuing personal and sectarian nature of Sudanese politics and, indeed, of the growing irrelevance of electoral politics. The régime's true strength was revealed by the ease with which a group of young officers led by Djaʿfar Muḥammad Numayrī, overthrew it in May 1969.

Despite its revolutionary pronouncements, the long military régime of 1969-85 exhibits elements of continuity with previous régimes. These may be summarised as: a failure to create durable institutions; an attempt to Islamise—some would say Sudanise—the South, through peaceful assimilation or mass violence, a process seen as interrupted by British imperialism and unrealistically resisted by diehard Southerners; the dominant centre's struggle to maintain control of an impoverished and powerless periphery, not only in the South; the weakness of secular authority without sectarian support, and the concomitant failure of "new men", "professionals" and "technocrats" to assume political power; big-project economic development, an addiction induced by the Condominium's Gezira Scheme, with disastrous results; poverty; and international insignificance despite a natural position of influence as an Afro-Arab, multi-confessional, and strategically-located state. The identification of this second military régime with one man, Numayrī, is therefore convenient but inaccurate; Numayrī was adept at wringing personal advantage from a situation worsened by his survival in office, and is a notable but hardly revolutionary figure in post-Independence Sudanese political history.

Only the main events of this recent period may be described without reference to archival sources. Its plotters saw the May Revolution as successor to the radical movement of the Professionals' Front of 1964-5; Numayrī acted quickly to dispose of organised rivals on left and right. In 1971 the small but influential Communist Party was purged, and leading members executed after a failed coup; Numayrī followed up a narrow escape with a referendum confirming his presidency. In 1972 the army attacked the stronghold of the *Anṣār* at Aba Island; thousands were killed, including the Imām al-Hādī, while the movement went into disarray. Having failed like his predecessors to win a military victory in the South, Numayrī now shored

up his personal position by reaching an agreement with the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement, which had coalesced under Joseph Lagu; by the terms of the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972, the South was granted a large measure of autonomy. But peace in the South was no substitute for mass support in the North; after a failed but bloody *Anṣār* coup attempt in 1976, Numayrī took steps to co-opt Ṣādiḳ al-Mahdī, the exiled Umma leader, who returned to the Sudan in 1977. Timebuying political gestures were by now a hallmark of the régime, which dispensed patronage through a Sudan Socialist Union, which a constitution promulgated in 1973 made the sole legal party. But the manifest failure of the régime's economic policies, and the consequent resort to unpopular prescriptions of the International Monetary Fund and donor countries, fuelled opposition in the late 1970s and early 1980s; a massive foreign debt was accumulated, with little to show for it but half-finished and inefficient projects, repeated devaluations, and the emergence of a parasitical class of newly-rich officers and cronies. By 1983 Numayrī evidently felt the need for another bold gesture: taking advantage of Southern politicians' incompetence and venality, he declared in June the "redivision" of the South into three "regions" corresponding to the old Anglo-Egyptian provinces; in September he declared the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, heretofore enforced only in the North, applicable to all. The cost of appeasing Northern opponents was soon evident in the South; a Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/SPLA) were formed, and by 1985 full-scale civil war engulfed the region.

Economic collapse and civil war set the stage for Numayrī's downfall. By late 1984 he had successively allied with and opposed every political and religious grouping of significance, from the Communists to the Muslim Brothers; in January 1985 Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭāhā, the aged leader of the tiny Republican movement, was hanged on a charge of heresy after criticising the régime. Emboldened by his opponents' hand-wringing, Numayrī embarked on a foreign trip in April, even as demonstrations against the régime mounted. The army deposed him lest it go down with him, and opposition leaders now "called off the revolution". A military government assumed absolute but avowedly temporary power, while a cabinet of disparate elements prepared for new elections. The position of 1964-5 was soon replicated, as the old parties with sectarian backing pushed aside the ill-assorted elements that had brought down Numayrī. Indeed, the SPLM/SPLA, in clandestine radio messages, belittled "Numayrism without Numayrī" and continued to prosecute the war.

The history of the third parliamentary régime (1986-9) was dominated by the same two problems that had plagued its predecessors: inability to take strong measures in the face of enduring personal and sectarian rivalries, and the related problem of civil war, which involved fundamental questions about the nature of the Sudanese state. Under Ṣādiḳ al-Mahdī, Prime Minister in the coalition governments of the period, the inherited prestige of the Father of Independence proved an inadequate base for national consensus. Despite twenty years in the political wilderness, Ṣādiḳ in power maintained that basic issues—the role of Islam, the applicability of *S̲h̲arīʿa*, the rights of religious minorities—required further study. Negotiations with the SPLM/SPLA, which saw itself as nationalist and secularist, not separatist, therefore collapsed. At the national level, lack of direction reduced politics to the familiar search for tactical advantage, while the costs of war, and an ever-worsening economy, limited room to manoeuvre. Ironically the end of the régime came on the eve of an agreement which Ṣādiḳ had reached with the SPLM/SPLA to negotiate an end to the war.

In June 1989 a group of middle-rank officers took power in a bloodless coup. Their programme and even political orientation remained unclear for some time. It was eventually apparent that they had none, and the vacuum thus created was deftly occupied by the National Islamic Front. Descended from the Muslim Brothers, whose Sudanese roots reached back to the 1940s, that party had, like others, both collaborated with and been suppressed by Numayrī. Its leader, Ḥasan al-Turābī, had withstood criticism of his long support for the dictator; it was during Numayrī's rule that Turābī made of the NIF a small but cohesive party. After the 1986 elections, it was taken into government. Thus in 1989, the NIF was at first banned with the other parties, and Turābī was for a time formally under arrest. By midsummer 1995, Turābī, though widely acknowledged in—and even at times acknowledging—a leading role, still had no official position in the régime.

After 1989, therefore, the Sudan was governed by a military junta drawing inspiration from the ideology of Ḥasan al-Turābī. There were no national elections and political parties remained banned. The president, General Ḥasan al-Bas̲h̲īr, and his colleagues renewed the war against southern rebels, declaring this a *d̲j̲ihād*; active support of Arab and Muslim states was solicited and received. Epidemics, famine, even slavery, returned to the South, while the collapse of the Mengistu régime in Ethiopia deprived the SPLA of its main foreign bases and support, and the movement itself splintered. The war's financial burden contributed to a disastrous economic record. Opponents of the Sudanese régime were detained without charge and tortured; thousands went into what increasingly appeared permanent exile. Accused by western governments and by its neighbours of harbouring, training, and exporting terrorists, the régime became increasingly isolated; Egypt on several occasions seemed ready to take action against the Sudan.

After six years in power, this third Sudanese military régime showed signs of going the way of the previous two. Despite its ostensible Islamic character, and the many and costly steps it took to exhibit this, the régime never enjoyed the support of more than a small minority, even of Muslim Sudanese. But opposition, while widespread, was unconcerted, both within the country and between exiles and residents; alliances of the Anṣār and the SPLM, of Nūba Christians and exiled professionals, of aged Communists and Fūr nationalists, inspired in Khartoum more hope than fear. The Sudanese pattern in such cases is of mass action followed by a struggle between old parties and the partisans of change.

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2. Languages.

The Sudan's 25.2 (1990) million inhabitants occupy an area of approximately one million sq. miles and speak some 134 languages. Obtaining precise and reliable statistics often proves difficult, however, due to the language vs. dialect problem. For example, many scholars treat Kakwa, spoken in Yei District, Equatoria Province (40,000 speakers [1978]) as a Bari dialect, even though Kakwa and Bari are better designated separate languages despite their 73% lexical similarity. Most of those 134 languages are not normally written, nor do they have an extensive body of written literature. The literacy rate for the entire country has been estimated at 20% (1991).

The Sudan's amazing range of diverse languages belongs to three distinct language phyla (out of a total of four for all of Africa, following the standard classification of Joseph H. Greenberg [1963]). They are: Afroasiatic (AA), also known as Hamito-Semitic; Nilo-Saharan (NS); and Niger-Congo (NC).

Approximately 51% of the population speak one of the many dialects of Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (SCA) as a native language. This means that the Semitic sub-branch of the AA phylum to which Arabic belongs represents the majority of the Sudanese population. (Tigré, a northern Ethiopian-Semitic language, also has some speakers in northern Sudan.) The only other major, autochthonous AA language spoken in the country is Beja, a member of the Cushitic sub-branch. The Muslim Beja [see BEDJA], also known as Bedauye or Bedawiye, have probably resided in their present locale for 6,000 years. They number about a million speakers in the Sudan, with at least 50,000 more in Ethiopia and Upper Egypt (1982). Its three major dialects are Hadendoa, Hadareb and Bisharin, while Bani-Amer is an ethnonym for some Beja. The Chadic sub-branch of AA is also represented in the Sudan by Hausa, Kajakse, and possibly also Kujargé, spoken around Jebel Marra and along the lower Wadis Salih and Azum rivers. The Hausa speakers, many of whom are ethnic Fulani who no longer speak Fulfulde (Fellata), emigrated over a long period (especially from Chad and Nigeria). Hausa is an important trade language, which may account for its remaining an important lingua franca, not only in the Sudan but also in the neighbouring countries.

Approximately 90 languages of the Sudan belong to the second phylum, NS. This is the most intricate language family in Africa, and the least investigated. Proto-NS may be divided into "Peripheral NS" and "Core NS". The former can be split into (1) Songhay, (2) Saharan and Kuliak, (3) Maba and Fur, and (4) Kunama and Berta, while the latter can be broken down into (1) East Sudanic (ES), (2) Central Sudanic, (3) Komuz, and (4) Kadugli-Krongo.

Neither the Songhay nor the Kuliak members of NS are found in the Sudan. Saharan's only Sudanese member is Zagawa, spoken in Waddai-Dārfūr (102,000 speakers [1982]). Similarly, the Maba(n) stock has only one Sudanese representative, Masaalit, with 145,000 speakers (1991).

The most studied language family in the Sudan is ES, which contains the largest number of languages of the entire phylum of NS. ES is subdivided into Nubian, Nara, Nyima, Tama, Surma, Jebel, Temein, Daju, and Nilotic. The eastern part of ES consists of the Nubian group, spoken in the Nile Valley up to the border with Egypt. Today, the group is comprised of Nobiin, Meidob (in Dārfūr), Kenuz-Dongola, and Hill Nubian. The latter, a language cluster of the Nūba Hills, still has no accepted classification. The Birked language, a separate ES branch which was formerly spoken in northern Dārfūr, east of Jebel Marra between Jebel Harayt and the Rizaykat country, is now extinct. One of the least-known branches of ES is the (Eastern) Jebel group, spoken in Blue Nile Province. Its main language is Tabi, also known as Gaam or Ingessana with 10,000 speakers (1972). Western ES is broken down into Daju, Nyima(ng), Tama and Temein. All together, these four languages have about a quarter of a million speakers. Many Daju today have been Arabicised and speak a Darfurian

SCA, similar in numerous respects to Chadian and Nigerian (Shuwa) Arabic.

Some information exists on the Sudanese Nilotic languages. North and Central Nilotic occur in the Sudan; however, South Nilotic does not. The principal languages of North Nilotic are: Shilluk, 175,000; Dinka, 2 million (Northeastern and Northwestern Dinka may be two separate languages); Nuer, 740,000; and Luwo (Dhe Luwo), 54,000 (all 1982); while Central Nilotic has Bari, 226,000 (1978); Lotuko, 185,000 (1982); and a few members of the Teso-Turkana group, such as Toposa with 95,000 (1982). The latter is mutually intelligible with Turkana, which has 260,000 speakers in Rift Valley Province, Kenya.

The classification of Surma is complicated. There are a minimum of ten branches, the two most important southern Sudanese members of which are Didinga with 58,000 speakers (1978) and Murle with 60,000 (1982). These two languages have 71% lexical similarity.

Central Sudanic consists of Moru-Madi, Mangbutu-Efe, Mangbetu, Kresh, Baledha (Lendu), Aja, Bagirmi, Yulu-Binga, Sinyar and Bongo. The internal classification of Central Sudanic remains problematic. It seems clear, however, that Moru-Madi with 88,000 speakers in Equatoria Province (1982) represents one grouping, while Kresh, spoken mainly in Raga, western Bahr el Ghazal Province, with 16,000 (1987), forms another. There are also Kresh communities in Khartoum, Wau and Boro.

NS can also possibly claim the ancient Meroitic language, written in a script coming from ancient Egyptian. The Meroitic Kingdom, extending from the third cataract in the north to the Soba area in the south, reached its height in the third and second centuries B.C. Another theory that classifies Meroitic as AA is far less probable.

NC represents two-thirds of Africa's languages. Proto NC separated into the Mande, Atlantic-Congo and Kordofanian sub-branches. The 32 Kordofanian languages are spoken in the Nūba Hills by several hundred thousand. Four groups have been postulated: Heiban, Talodi, Rashad and Katla, with the major languages Koalib, 30,000 (1989), spoken around Delami in southern Kordofān; Moro, 30,000; Tira, 40,000, around Otoro and Talodi; and Tagali, 80,000 (all 1982), in the Tagali Range and Rashad town and hills.

A major characteristic of many NC languages is the serial verb construction, in which what seems to be a single clause is expressed syntactically by juxtaposed verbs, all sharing the same subject or agent, without coordinating conjunctions of any kind. By way of contrast, there is little which gives NS a distinctive morphosyntactic unity, except that plural pronouns are often formed by singular pronouns with plural affixation. This process, however, does not occur in NC. Many NS languages, additionally, are agglutinative or inflectional in nature.

Since the official language of the country is Arabic, and whereas there have been numerous attempts at Arabicisation and Islamisation in the southern Sudan (resulting, in part, in the ongoing Sudanese Civil War), uncountable Arabic loanwords have found their way into various NS and NC languages. In addition, innumerable NS and NC speakers use SCA as a second or third language, or have learned a major lingua franca of the southern Sudan, Sudanese Pidgin Arabic (so-called Juba Arabic, in actuality both a pidgin and a creole, a variety not confined to the city of Juba). Speakers of NC Banda (10,000 [1982]), for instance, speak Pidgin Arabic with non-Banda speakers. African languages have also influenced, although to a lesser extent, via substratum, the Arabic pidgins and creoles of Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal, and the Upper Nile regions.

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SŪDĀN, Bilād al-, literally "land of the blacks", the general name in pre-modern Arabic sources for the Saharo-Sahelian sector of Africa, that lying south of the Maghrib, Libya and Egypt and stretching from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Red Sea in the east.

1. The eastern part of the Sūdān.

See for this, čad in Suppl.; dārfūr; kordofān; nūba; wādāy; and for the modern period, sūdān, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the modern Republic of Sudan.

2. History of the Western Sūdān.

It is by the name *Bilād al-Sūdān al-Gharbī* (although the "western" qualification is not always clearly specified) that Muslim geographers, and historians in later times, referred to this part of the "land of the Negroes", contiguous with the Sahara, between the Atlantic Ocean and the loop of the Niger or the Aïr. From the 8th/14th century onward, at least, the term Takrūr, which initially in the 5th/11th century denoted a city of Middle Senegal, was widely used in the Orient to denote this western, Islamised sector of Sudano-Sahelian Africa, thus competing with, and then virtually replacing, the expression "Western Sudan".

The Sūdān of the Arabs—Black Africa dominated by Muslim civilisation—did not denote the entire Black continent, but only a corridor of varying breadth extending from one side of the continent to the other. Essentially, this general conception remained unchanged in the Middle Ages and has survived into the present day. In western Sudan, Islam was implanted at the point at which the caravans arrived and, in a millenium, with remarkable slowness, advanced only a few hundreds of kilometres. Besides this transverse band, and until the 20th century, the West Africa of the southern savannahs and the rain forests thus remained relatively untouched by the process.

In the early years of Islam, western Sudan represented for the Arabs the very extremity of the world. It was not zeal for proselytism but the attraction exerted by highly-valued merchandise (gold, ivory, slaves, precious wood, etc.) which in the first centuries of the Hidjra brought Muslim merchants, Arab, Berber or Persian, to the gateways of Sudan and in particular, following the conquest of the Maghrib, to its western sector. One of the first Arab texts dealing with the sub-Saharan world, that of the geographer al-Fazārī (second half of the 2nd/8th century) describes the "state of Ghāna" (which is not present-day Ghana, but a mediaeval political formation bordering on Mauritania, Senegal and Mali) as "the land of gold" [see ghāna]. The image of western Sudan was thus founded on contradictions: it was simultaneously a "barbarous" and distant region, and a land of plenty.

With the exception of a few trans-Saharan explorations, the historical caliphates neither encompassed nor attempted to occupy any part of western Sudan. Even the Almoravids, themselves veiled Berbers originally from the South of the Mauritanian desert (5th/11th century), constructed their power-base in Morocco and, while attaching the highest importance to control of the western gold route, soon lost interest in sub-

Saharan political struggles. Their role in the Islamisation of the closest West African populations has always been a controversial issue.

This absence of the central caliphates, or of local emirates, no doubt partially explains the slow pace of cultural contact or interaction. In contrast to the situation in the lands of the Mediterranean basin, for a long time there did not exist here a power drawing its exclusive legitimacy from adherence to Islam and, as the single political entity, throwing all its weight behind the new religion. A badge of social status, of equal value to luxury goods imported from the north (horses, salt, fabrics, glass-ware, etc.), Islam took root gradually among African commercial agents, especially the Soninke (the dominant ethnic group of the "empire" of Ghana) and in the courts of the chieftains. But it was to be several centuries more before it was to pass from cities to the countryside, from élites to peasants, from groups inhabiting the fringes of the desert to groups in the interior.

Sudanese Islam was, for a long time, confined within urban enclaves (separate districts or entire towns). These Islamised enclaves were to take considerable time in converting the surrounding populations, either by peaceful means or, from the 11th/17th century onward, by armed *djihād*. Generally occupied by specialist traders, they adapted well enough to their insularity and to existing balances of power, rating commercial success above issues of religion. The Muslims who lived there offered their services to the local pagan chieftains, handling their correspondence or supplying them with highly valued talismanic texts. Even when the sovereigns of local empires were Muslim, relations with African religions were not substantially different. Until the 12th/18th century, the animist countryside encircled the partially Islamised urban settlements, and the sovereigns themselves, whose "indigenous" legitimacy was initially based on respect for ancestral customs and rights, were generally prepared to fulfil their obligations as African chieftains, performing the prescribed ceremonies and sacrifices.

Western Sudan thus presents a specific model of Islamisation, distinguished not so much by a somewhat limited number of peculiar heterodox practices, but determined more by its long accepted minority status. This was a case of an "extramural" Islam, which was nonetheless to consolidate, over the course of time, its identity and its adherence to the central Sunni norms.

Unlike in other regions of the continent, such as the current Republic of Sudan with its capital Khartoum [see sūdān, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the modern Republic of Sudan. 1.], the Islamisation movement in western Sudan did not lead to a proliferation of the Arabic language, except in a few educated circles. Certain African languages, which have themselves accommodated borrowed Arabic words, in such areas as religion, days of the week, commerce and the names of persons, fulfil an intermediary function in oral preaching as in the written culture (using Arabic characters). Such is notably the case of Fulfulde, across the whole of West Africa, of Wolof in Senegal, of Malinke/Jula in Mali, in Guinea and in certain neighbouring countries [see fulbe], and most particularly, at the eastern extremity of western Sudanese territory, of Hausa [*q.v.*]. Separate treatment should be reserved for Mauritania, the population of which has, from the 5th/11th century onward, been gradually subjugated by Arab tribes descended from the Banū Hilāl, and almost totally Arabised [see mūrītāniyā].

Initial contacts

From the direction of Morocco, there is mention of an expedition mounted by Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Fihrī, grandson of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], "in the Sūs and the land of the Sūdān" in 116/734. He achieved, according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, " a victory without equal and brought back gold in profusion". This reconnaissance was not, apparently, without long-term effect: his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was to become governor of Ifrīḳiya in 127/745, had three wells sunk on the desert routes leading towards western Sudan. The Arabo-Berber troops, who in twenty years had covered the distance from Gibraltar to Poitiers, thus remained, after these hesitant explorations, at the northern approaches to the desert.

The effective discovery of western Sudan was carried out by merchants, Berbers for the most part. Under the influence of the Arabo-Muslim conquest, which stimulated demand and created a commercial dynamism, towns and itineraries were established on both sides of the desert. To the west was Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*] (south-east Morocco), which was in contact with Awdaghost [*q.v.*] (a Berber town of southern Mauritania) and with Ghāna, about twelve days journey from the former, for a long time the principal Black metropolis in this zone. In the centre, a ramified axis linked Tripoli, Ifrīḳiya and Wargla to Gao [*q.v.*] (Kaw-Kaw), one of the oldest Black African towns on the Niger, by way of Tādmakka/al-Sūḳ, another Saharan depot town. Throughout the Middle Ages, the principal axes were continually shifting from west to east, following, essentially, the movement of the northern powers: Umayyads of Cordova, Almoravids, Fāṭimids, then Ayyūbids and Egyptian Mamlūks. A parallel shifting of powers took place in the Sudanese region, from the West (Ghāna, 5th/11th century) to the east (Gao [*q.v.*], 9th/15th century), although it is impossible to compare accurately the role of the intrusions by trans-Saharan commerce with that of local political issues.

From the time of these first contacts, African groups were converting to Islam. In all the cases cited, it was the chiefs who embraced Islam and then imposed it on their subjects. Thus, according to al-Bakrī, Wāra Dyābi, king of Takrūr, "became a Muslim and installed Islamic law among his people. He persuaded them to conform, having enlightened them as to the truth. He died in 432/1040-1". Wāra Dyābi also achieved the conversion of a neighbouring town, that of Silla, which was dependent on Takrūr. Later, in 448/1056, his son Labī is known to have fought with Almoravid troops. Moving further east, the conversion of the king of Gao, Zā Kosoy, is said to have taken place even earlier: "he embraced Islam voluntarily and under no constraint" *ca.* 400/1009-10, according to the author of the *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*. But even earlier than this, al-Muhallabī (d. 380/990) had noted with reference to Gao: "The king of the land declares himself a Muslim before his subjects; many among them also declare themselves Muslims". Al-Bakrī, writing in 460/1068, even evokes a distant allegiance to the Umayyads of Cordova: "For the royal investiture, the sovereign is presented with a seal, a sword and a Ḳurʾān which are alleged, so they say, to be gifts presented by the *Amīr al-muʾminīn*. Their sovereign is a Muslim and only a Muslim can be invested with royalty". At the end of the 5th/11th century, a series of Muslim epitaphs came into existence in the cemetery of Gao-Sane, referring to dignitaries and royal figures who have yet to be positively identified. The oldest of these epitaphs of Gao dates from 481/1088: it bears the name of "Makkiyya (?), daughter of Ḥasan al-Ḥādjdj".

It is worth noting that this Islamic inscription is the oldest known in the whole of Black Africa. A few years later, the names of kings and queens appear on the same site: the three most ancient steles (494/1100, 502/1108, and 503/1110) which are made of marble, were imported from Almeria. The others are of local manufacture. With Gao, there is thus available a remarkable cluster of convergent sources, which render this town another major centre of Islamisation, undoubtedly older than the preceding.

Only Ghāna resisted these first conversions for a short time. It capitulated under the influence of the Almoravids, before the end of the century, in 479/1076. The 5th/11th century was thus the great century of the initiation into Islam of the royal courts situated at the termini of the trans-Saharan routes. The co-existence between Muslims and non-Muslims took a remarkable form, as was noted assiduously by the Arab authors of the period, in particular by al-Bakrī; the majority of sub-Saharan cities were divided, the "town of the merchants" being separated, sometimes by several kilometres, from the "royal town". This was notably the case of Ghāna and of Gao.

The Khāridjite pioneers

The Arab sources cited above are exclusively Sunnī. There is thus total silence regarding the religious conflict which for several centuries pitted the Sunnīs of the Maghrib against their Khāridjite adversaries, most of them Ibāḍīs [see IBĀḌIYYA]. For two centuries at least (*ca.* 130-340/750-950) the Khāridjite Berbers, masters of the power-centres of the southern Maghrib (Sidjilmāsa and Tāhart) and of the Saharan routes, were interposed between the central Muslim world and western and central Sudan. Ibāḍī sources of the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries, at least those which have survived destruction, not to mention later sources, speak of Ibāḍī travellers from Tāhart, Wargla, Nafzāwa and Djabal Nafūsa, journeying into Tādmakkat, Gao, Ghāna and other regions of western Sudan. Al-Bakrī himself notes the presence of traders from Ibāḍī regions in Awdaghost, where they became very numerous until the conquest of the city and the Almoravid massacres of 446/1054-5. In fact, the hatred felt by the Almoravids, nomadic Ṣanhādja Berbers, for the sedentary Zanāta Berbers was augmented by the religious hostility of militant Sunnīs against Khāridjite heretics. Although their power was in a seriously weakened state in the 5th/11th century, the Khāridjites had hitherto exercised political and economic control of all the trans-Saharan routes. The Ṣufrī Khāridjites [see ṢUFRIYYA] of the independent city of Sidjilmāsa (founded 140/757) represented the principal western outlet. The Ibāḍī Rustamids [*q.v.*] of Tāhart [*q.v.*] (159-297/776-909) ruled over all the Saharan approaches, from central Algeria to Wargla, to southern Tunisia and Djabal Nafūsa. The Ibāḍī dynasty of the Banu 'l-Khaṭṭāb (306-568/918-1172), based at Zawīla, a place with a longstanding Khāridjite tradition in Fazzān, controlled, for its part, access to the Chad basin.

Some have concluded from this that the first form of sub-Saharan Islam must have been Khāridjite. The hypothesis is plausible but its proof more problematic. The only source which testifies to the adherence to Khāridjism of a Black African population is the *Kitāb al-Djughrāfiyya* of al-Zuhrī, probably written after 539/1133, which refers to a population situated, according to the context, between Ghāna and the loop of the Niger, at a time when Timbuktū [*q.v.*] barely existed. On travelling through the same zone, near the Niger, in 753/1352, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes the presence of "white" Ibāḍīs bearing the name of a Malinke family, that of Saghanughū. Thus, at the approaches to the Sahel in Tādmakkat [*q.v.*], vigorously Ibāḍī in the 2nd/8th century, an African population seems to have adopted the *madhhab* of its commercial associates and remained loyal to it until the Almoravid upheaval, and possibly after it. It is possible that there were other analogous cases, but Ibāḍism progressed no further in Black Africa, either in time or space.

A founding moment: the Almoravid movement

Speculations on the role of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] in Black Africa are conditioned by the mediocrity of the sources. There can be no doubt that the activities of the Almoravids to the south of the Sahara have been under-estimated to the advantage of developments in the north, much better documented and more "central" for classical orientalism and European history. The Almoravid movement was, however, born on the fringes of Black Africa. The *ribāṭ* which gave it its name, if it existed, was perhaps situated on an island off the southern coast of Mauritania, or even in the Senegal river, and from the outset, contingents from Takrūr, a Senegalese kingdom, are observed giving the movement their support. But the poor quality of the available sources leaves the field open to mythologies of all kinds. For purposes of prestige, the Muslim historiography of these regions regularly seeks to trace its origins to a founding movement, or what is seen as such. Thus Leo Africanus [*q.v.*], in 1526, recorded claims which sought to link the empire of Mali [*q.v.*], born in the 7th/13th century, to Abū Bakr, the cousin of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, the Almoravid sovereign, but the chronological and geographical distance, as well as the knowledge which is available regarding the origins of Mali, are sufficient refutation of these pretensions. Similarly, traditions make Ndyadyan Ndyay, the legendary founder of the dynasty of Waalo, a Senegalese kingdom, a son of the same Abū Bakr, but more than two centuries separate the era of the former from that of the latter. The genealogy of Aḥmad Bābā [*q.v.*], the great scholar of Timbuktū (b. 953/1556), dating back through nineteen generations to Abū Bakr, is no more convincing.

Returning to the known facts: the movement of the *Murābiṭūn*, which led, for a century, to the constitution of a vast north-south empire, from Senegal to the Ebro, marked the rise, under the guidance of the Lamtūna tribe [*q.v.*], of the Ṣanhādja Berbers, veiled nomads of the Mauritanian desert, at the expense of their Zanāta rivals. In the economic sphere, this was reflected by seizure of exclusive control of access to West African gold: the map of the empire is shaped by the western south-north routes which transported the gold to North Africa. In the religious sphere, it marked the victory of the Maghribī Sunnī circles, from which it had emerged, over Khāridjite and Shī'ī dissidence, then active in the Maghrib and the Sahara.

Ibn Yāsīn, the stern visionary who, despite nomadic reservations, had determined the organisation and the doctrine of the *Murābiṭūn*, died in battle in 451/1059. The titular *amīr* of the Lamtūna henceforward took up the mantle, in the person of Abū Bakr b. 'Umar, nominated as successor to Ibn Yāsīn and head of the community. It was after the foundation of Marrākush [*q.v.*], according to one of the available sources, that Abū Bakr chose to return to the desert to maintain order and unity in the cradle of the movement. He delegated his authority in the north to his first cousin Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, destined for an illustrious future, and became until his death, in 480/1087 (with varia-

tions in date according to sources), the leader of the southern wing of the movement, establishing his capital at Azukkī, in the Mauritanian Adrār.

Developments at this time to the south of the Sahara are not so well known. As regards the inhabitants of Ghāna, al-Zuhrī relates that in 469/1076-7 "they became Muslims in the time of the Lamtūna and were distinctive in their Islam". While numerous generations of textbooks have given 1076 as the date of a conquest and a destruction of Ghāna by the Almoravids, contemporary commentators, although far from unanimous, tend to call into question both the conquest (the text of al-Zuhrī is indecisive) and the destruction (archaeology of the site of Kumbi-Saleh, the presumed site of ancient Ghāna, rather shows evidence of a revival in the town's prosperity until the 8th/14th century). The Soninke capital would thus have become Muslim under the Almoravids, and al-Zuhrī, some fifty years after the event (539/1133), confines himself to eulogising the fervent Islam of its population, which included *ʿulamāʾ*, *fuḳahāʾ* and sophisticated readers of the Ḳurʾān. Some years later, in 548/1154, al-Idrīsī described Ghāna as a prosperous city, entirely Muslim, with a sovereign claiming Sharīfian ancestry, through al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, and acknowledging the primacy of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. Al-Zuhrī also relates how the people of Ghāna appealed for the aid of the Almoravids, of Abū Bakr in fact, "seven years" after their own conversion to Islam, i.e. *ca.* 476/1083, in rendering "Muslim"—meaning, in this instance, Sunnī—the population of Tādmakkat and of another city in the region. Finally, Yāḳūt, who compiled his *Muʿdjam al-buldān* in 617/1220 on the basis of earlier sources, tells of a close and doubtless ancient alliance between Zāfūnu/Jafunu, another important Soninke kingdom, situated to the west of Ghāna, and the Almoravids, and notes the extreme deference shown by the latter towards their king on the occasion of a visit to Marrākush. These various items of evidence show that the Almoravids, far from playing on an insoluble rivalry between nomadic Whites and sedentary Blacks, were capable from the outset of benefiting by firm alliances in Black countries, more specifically in the various Soninke kingdoms which encircled the southern boundaries of its empire and admitted the Maghribī caravans. As the first Islamised ethnic group of the region, the Soninke subsequently became a seed-bed of Muslim traders and teachers who diffused Islam throughout the surrounding regions.

After the death of Abū Bakr, in 480/1087, Almoravid memories continued to nourish the genealogical claims of various local nomads who thus claimed descent from him or from the eminent *imām* al-Ḥaḍramī, the jurist of Azukkī (d. 489/1096). A distant prototype, although never claimed as such, of the West African *djihāds* of the 11th/17th and 13th/19th centuries, the Almoravid movement appears as a unifying, if not founding development, on the fringes of the Soninke world and in the neighbouring Sahelian regions. It has also taken on, as a result of its reverberations, the dimensions of a creation-myth, often repeated and always in demand.

The age of the great Sudanese empires

The western Sudanese empires—with the addition of that of Kanem-Borno, in the Chad region of central Sudan—which so fascinated the newly-independent African states in the 1960s, are much better documented. These empires had nothing at all of the centralisation which is normally associated with this type of formation. These were vast superstructures, operating within shifting frontiers, in a world where control of people rather than of land, was seen as crucial. It was a matter of great families, mounted warriors and commercial networks. The mass of the peasantry, socially stratified according to ancestry, essentially pursued its daily life under the authority of chieftains of villages or of cantons (the *kafu* of Mali), who had little contact with the central power. Mediaeval Sudanese empires were thus complex structures, combining numerous levels of culture and of power. This accounts for the fact that the families running the empires, all of them geared towards control of access to trans-Saharan commerce, were in most cases Islamised, while their subjects, whether close by or far-away, remained devoted in their daily lives to pagan cults.

In contrast to the situation in mediaeval Europe, where rulers drew their revenues from levies imposed on agricultural production, the Sudanese imperial formations earned their wealth from the profits of trans-Saharan trade, positioning themselves accordingly between the sources (gold, ivory, slaves, etc.) and the outlets. These courtiers were also predators. In order to augment the influx of costly merchandise of Maghribī, European or Oriental origin, which increased their prestige as well as supplying them with the instruments of power (horses and, later, fire-arms), the leading groups of these empires raided and pillaged, where possible, beyond the boundaries of their recognised tributaries, or at the expense of internal or external adversaries. In principle, adherence to Islam was protection against capture and reduction to slavery, but this was a fragile protection which counted for little when weighed against the interests of the powerful. In the *Miʿrādj al-suʿūd*, a work composed in Timbuktū in 1024/1615, Aḥmad Bābā replies to a merchant from Twāt [*q.v.*] who has consulted him about the legal status of slaves who are natives of various regions of Sudan. He recalls the obedience to Islam of a number of Sudanese states and, consequently, the illegality of enslaving Muslims originating from these empires, while deploring the frequency of such infractions of the *Sharīʿa*.

These empires conducted business dealings over vast spaces and contributed to the creation of new identities. The hierarchical and administrative models which they established left lasting traces; thus titulatures and functions initiated in Mali or in Borno radiated through all the neighbouring countries, and tributary states took them over for their own purposes, retaining them in their own political systems when they became independent of imperial rule. On the other hand, the effective protection afforded to medium and long-distance trade, noted by Arab observers, led to an urban development which is nowhere more perceptible than at the loop of the Niger, where a chain of ancient and modern towns is to be found, under the successive control of Mali and of Songhay: Ja (Dia), Djenne, Timbuktū, Gao, etc.

Being privileged partners of the Arabo-Muslim world, these empires merited numerous mentions in the Arabic sources of the time, which contributed to endowing them with an "Arabised" aspect. In most cases, Maghribī and Egyptian travellers were acquainted only with the capitals and the major cities and were only partially aware of the social realities. Local Arabic sources (*taʾrīkh*) help to diversify the information available, but it should not be forgotten that they emanated from urbanised families, with both scholarly and commercial interests, which themselves lived according to this openness to the Arab world, to such an extent that sometimes, as at Timbuktū, they were more Arabised than African. The Islam that was then

practised was an Islam of the court, of cities, of chieftains and merchants, still inadequately implanted and sometimes capable of offering only weak resistance to the "pagan" reactions of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. As long as this Islamisation of the higher echelons was not matched by popular Islamisation, the entire process remained limited in its effects, even if there was even a gradual vulgarisation of Islamic concepts, values and practices.

At the time that the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Bag̲h̲dād came to a tragic end under the onslaught of the Mongols, the Islamised empires of West Africa, on the contrary, entered a phase of ascendancy. Following the collapse of G̲h̲āna which, as a limited regional hegemony (on the fringes of Mali and Mauritania), seems to have been dismembered during the Almoravid era (the capital city of G̲h̲āna remaining for its part, over a period of several centuries, a commercial centre of the highest importance), a new empire emerged from the local struggles, much further to the south, centred on the gold-mines of Bure, the fluvial axis of the Niger and the trade routes originating from the western and the central Sahara. The mythical founder of this empire, Sunjata/Soundjata Keita (early 7th/13th century), originating from a milieu of societies of hunters endowed with both physical and magical powers, is celebrated by a highly-structured epic tradition, the dating of which is still the object of controversy. His adherence to Islam, vigorously contested by some, appears probable, although purely formal, to others. The Keita dynasty was well known to Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, who gives a list of all the reigning sovereigns, from "Mārī D̲j̲ātā" (probably the Sunjata of the oral chronicle) to Mansa Mag̲h̲ā III, who came to power in 792/1390. Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, who was informed on these matters by a man who had been *ḳāḍī* in Gao, gives the duration of reigns and salient dates which make it possible to reconstruct the entire dynastic chain. The tradition of pilgrimage, which began with Mansa Ulī, son of Mārī D̲j̲ātā (after 659/1260), continued with Sākūra, a *mamlūk* of the family who acceded to power *ca.* 700/1300, and culminated in Mansa Kanku Mūsā (*Mansa* is the royal title, Kanku the Malinke name of his mother), whose journey in 724/1324, accompanied by a large retinue, attracted a great deal of attention, especially in Cairo where he was noted for his distribution of lavish gratuities to intermediaries and to local dignitaries [see MANSA MŪSĀ]. Mūsā's brother, Mansa Sulaymān (*ca.* 735-59/1335-58) performed the pilgrimage to the Holy Places in his turn. The arrival of books and of Arab scholars in larger numbers can be dated from this period. The name of Mali was henceforward well-known in the Mediterranean region, arousing the curiosity of visitors. It was in 735/1352, during the reign of Sulaymān, that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived in Mali, visiting the capital of the empire, which he describes in considerable detail (although it is virtually impossible, on the basis of his account, to locate this capital), then visited Timbuḳtū and Gao, where he spent a short period of time, paying more attention to the Mag̲h̲ribī names of the residents whose hospitality he enjoyed.

The empire disappears from history with these sources, at the end of the 8th/14th century. It disintegrated at this time, giving way to multiple regional units. It was through one of these units, in the direction of Gambia, that the Portuguese, exploring the territory by stages from the 9th/15th century onward, became aware of the existence of a kingdom of the "Mandingas" (Manding/Malinke), henceforward located towards the Atlantic coast, and of a major city, situated far inland, which they called with numerous variants, Tambucutu (Timbuḳtū).

In the Sahel, another hegemony rose to prominence in the wake of Mali's decline. Nourished by long-distance trade, and marked by a drive towards urbanisation, the loop of the Niger, closer to the most active new axes of trans-Saharan traffic and direct beneficiary of the strengthening of ties with Egypt, became the new dynamic centre of the western Sudan. It fell to a local power, that of Gao, to unite all these regions in a "fluvial empire", first released from the control of Mali and then inheriting from the latter the majority of its former possessions. This empire, called Songhay [*q.v.*], from the name of the ethnic group which then constituted its nucleus, was founded by Sonni ʿAlī (869-98/1465-1492), a political and military chief whose religious commitment to Islam was probably minimal. In 898/1493, a provincial governor, Muḥammad Ture, supported by the urban élite of Timbuḳtū and the "Muslim party" of the region, deposed the son of Sonni ʿAlī and inaugurated a dynasty, that of the *Askiyā* (the meaning of this title is still unknown) which was to last for a century. Thus the Songhay empire had barely been constituted when it became the focus of a struggle between the educated and commercial élite of Timbuḳtū and the warrior power of Gao. Between the new and the old town, between the two systems of values, tensions, even under the *Askiyā*, were recurrent. The two *Taʾrīk̲h̲s* (*al-Sūdān* and *al-Fattās̲h̲*), which espoused the cause of Timbuḳtū, clearly reflect this mutal polarisation. In particular, the character of Sonni ʿAlī as it emerges from these prejudiced sources is that of "a debauched and impious tyrant". No doubt the Islam of the court, constrained to accept numerous compromises, was thus challenged by the new Arabised and Arabophile élites, who hoped for a pattern of government closer to their interests and their ideals. The *Askiyā* Muḥammad, who began his reign with performance of the pilgrimage (between 901/1496 and 904/1498) and appointed numerous *ʿulamāʾ* as his advisers (including the Algerian reformer from Tlemcen, al-Mag̲h̲īlī [*q.v.*]), corresponded well to the type of sultan whom they preferred. For the most part, Muḥammad's successors pursued the same policy. An Islamic framework was established in the central provinces of the empire: creation of mosques and schools, appointment of *ḳāḍīs*, of *imāms* and of teachers. In spite of political vicissitudes, the Songhay empire thus represents an important phase in the Islamisation of western Sudan.

The system of Sudanese empires came to an end, in western Africa, with the Moroccan conquest. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], ambitious sovereign of the new Saʿdian dynasty, in his efforts to ward off European attacks, sought to create a vast African empire which would enable him to exert direct control over sources of gold, salt and slaves. Songhay and Morocco were specifically at odds on the issue of the salt-mines of Tag̲h̲āza [*q.v.*], in the mid-Sahara. After an initial unsuccessful attempt, Moroccan troops led by a Spanish convert to Islam, the Pas̲h̲a D̲j̲ūdar, took control of Gao, then of Timbuḳtū, in 999/1591. Moroccan pas̲h̲as, increasingly detached from the mother-country, were to govern the principal towns of the loop of the Niger until 1249/1833. This marked the end of the prosperity of the region and of the power of its urban élites. Aḥmad Bābā himself spent fourteen years in detention in Morocco.

"Imperial Islam" had been dealt a mortal blow, and animist regional hegemonies were soon to be seen taking its place. But what Islam had lost at higher

levels, it recouped at the grass-roots ones. The discreet efforts of missionaries contributed to the development of new arrangements, more in tune with popular sensibilities. An Islam of popular saints began to emerge, prefiguring that of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods [see ṬARĪḲA] whose penetration, from the direction of Egypt and of the Maghrib, had at that time barely begun.

The birth of a West African Muslim culture

The Soninke networks were the first and principal vehicles of Arabo-Islamic education in western Sudan. Transmission subsequently took place in the direction of Mali and of the river Niger. Malinke tradition has retained the memory of this Soninke primacy in religious matters. One town, of Soninke foundation, embodied more than others this transmission of knowledge towards the riparian societies of the Niger: the city of Ja (Dia, Dja, Djaba, Djagha-ba/Djakha-ba, Zagha, are variant forms of the name) to the west of Māsina, situated in the interior delta of the central Niger). This town, the history of which has become somewhat mythic, seems to have been the place of origin or of reference of numerous West African scholarly dynasties. According to the *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, it had been a "city of jurists" (*madīnat al-fuḳahā'*) since the time of the empire of Mali. It enjoyed almost total autonomy within the empire and guaranteed immunity to criminals who found refuge there. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the place in 753/1352, observed that "the people of Zāgha have a long history of adherence to Islam. They are religious and are zealous for *'ilm*". It is clearly evident that the religious centres of Jenne (which was nearby) and of Timbuktū, which began to flourish at a later stage, were the heirs to this hotbed of religious zeal. One of the major scholarly figures of Ja and of western Sudan was al-Ḥādjdj Sālim Suwārī, who can be placed in the 9th/15th century. A native of Ja, Suwārī emigrated to what was to become, under the same name, an annexe to the scholarly metropolis, that of Jakha (Diakha), on the Bafing, a tributary of the Senegal, in the gold-bearing region of Bambuk. Suwārī and Diakha were in their turn the points of reference for the foundation of the great religious and pacific lineage which during subsequent centuries was to spread its influence over the territories of Senegambia and bore the name of this colony of Ja: the Jakhanke. For his part, I. Wilks has studied, in Ghāna and in the Ivory Coast, a total of 34 Mālikī chains of transmission (*isnād*) of Malinke/Jula (or Dyula) *karamoko* (teachers) of this region which also originated with al-Ḥādjdj Sālim Suwārī. Thus through these multiple channels of transmission, Ja extended its influence over the totality of learned lineages in this part of West Africa.

Cultural and linguistic transfers were accomplished without any difficulty in these scholarly networks, which were themselves merged and blended, in the same families, even in the same individuals, with the commercial networks. A generic name, that of Wangara, which features in the Arabic sources, denotes these circles specialising in commerce. These Wangara were the precursors of the migrants and traders who were to be known at a later stage, in the world of the Malinke and in neighbouring countries, by the name of Jula. The Wangara did not belong to a single ethnic group: the term is generic and is applied to all those who shared the same way of life, but it is clear that the "hard core" was constituted by the Soninke and the Malinke, in other words by the inheritors of the first two empires, who were subsequently to be joined by some of the Songhay (the *Askiyā* Muḥammad was himself of Soninke origin). With their facility of movement, these Wangara radiated within the interior of these empires, then further and further afield in different directions, particularly towards the Hausa (currently northern Nigeria), the known history of which, in the context of central Sudan, comes into existence around the 14th century.

The scholarly city *par excellence* during this period was Timbuktū. Founded in the early 6th/12th century by Tuareg tribes, it rapidly became, on account of its position at the gateway to the desert and in proximity to the river Niger, a commercial outpost of the first importance. The known history of the Muslim community of Timbuktū dates from the 8th/14th century. In 753-4/1352-3, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the place (on two occasions), it was still a small town, principally inhabited by Masūfa Berbers of the desert. He noted, however, the tombs of two Muslim Arabs who had followed Mansa Mūsā after his return from the pilgrimage: a merchant of Alexandria, who died in 734/1334, and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Gharnāṭī al-Sāḥilī, an Andalusian who had begun his career as a notary in Granada, and, following his pilgrimage to the Holy Places, had accompanied Mansa Mūsā to Mali, becoming his confidential adviser and his architect. Al-Sāḥilī built a palace for the sovereign in the capital (reckoned to be Niani, on the upper Niger), and possibly the great mosque of Timbuktū, and is credited with having introduced the Sudanese style of architecture. He subsequently settled in Timbuktū, where he died in 747/1346. Passing under control of the Songhay, after the turbulent reign of Sonni 'Alī, Timbuktū reached its zenith under the *Askiyā*. Dominated by a few major families incorporating all the ethnic groups of the region (Berber and Negro), such as that of the Aḳīt, to which Aḥmad Bābā belonged, it became the principal centre of Islamic learning in this part of Africa.

A scholar of the *Mashriḳ* was serving then as an intermediary in this transmission of knowledge: the renowned Egyptian encyclopaedist Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]). Al-Suyūṭī did not visit Sudan, but he became the favoured spokesman for Sudanese persons passing through Cairo on the pilgrimage route or in search of education. Thus at the end of the 9th/15th century, he had welcomed the *Askiyā* Muḥammad, with whom he maintained a correspondence. It was he who was responsible for the very rapid diffusion of copies of the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* (commentary on the Ḳur'ān, completed in 870/1465), of which al-Suyūṭī himself was one of the co-authors, and which achieved classic status to the south of the Sahara. A judicial work of great importance also reached western Sudan, by way of Timbuktū, during the same period. This was the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], a well-known summary of Mālikī jurisprudence. By the end of the 9th/15th century, a range of studies was thus firmly established in this town.

In the absence of *madrasas* as such, the education provided in Timbuktū was based on various initiatives, mosque-schools in particular, the best known being that of Sankore. This mosque attracted large numbers of students and teachers. It was directed by the *imām*, who was often also the *ḳāḍī* of the city. Two inter-related families, the Aḳīt and the Anda ag-Muḥammad, both of Tuareg origin, supplied Sankora with its principal teachers. The fact that the *Mukhtaṣar* (composed before 776/1374) was introduced so late underlines what had long been the provincial nature of Timbuktū, as a local centre. But once it was fully developed, the scholars of the town and of the loop of the Niger, who kept themselves informed by means of cross-desert traffic and seized every opportunity to

consult visiting intellectuals, had no doubt attained a very respectable level of competence by the standards of the period, which was that of a literature of textbooks accompanied by abundant glosses (*ḥawāshī*) and commentaries (*shurūḥ*).

Another cultural aspect of Islamisation which deserves mention is the aspiration of scholars and of royal dynasties towards noble, i.e. eastern, origins. The Islamised dynasty of Ghāna, as has been seen, declared its descent from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī; the Keita of Mali claimed descent from Bilāl, the Prophet's muezzin; and the Sefuwa of Kanem claimed Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [*q.v.*], a Yemeni hero, as their ancestor. Many other examples could be given. The *shurafāʾ* [*q.v.*] (pl. of *sharīf*), reputedly of the blood of the Prophet, were endowed for this reason with unequalled prestige. The *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh* relates how Mansa Mūsā made efforts to attract authentic *shurafāʾ* to his court, but succeeded in adding to his entourage only a few freedmen of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, while the *Askiyā* Muḥammad, for his part, was able to recruit a nephew of "the prince of Mecca", Mawlāy al-Saḳlī, who took up residence in Timbuḳtū in 925/1519. The history of these events is evidently apologetic, but it shows by what symbolic means the West African Islamic community was then seeking to take its place in the *umma* and to obtain titles of recognition and legitimacy which would be accepted in the central lands of the Arab world. The significance attached to these contacts with the East also illustrates the growing importance of Egypt in the African Islamic world. Until the 8th/14th century, the Maghrib, the first progenitor of western Sudan, held the advantage. From the time of the pilgrimage of Mansa Mūsā, Egypt, which since the Fāṭimids and the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had become the metropolis of Sunnism, occupied a central position, reinforced by its status as a necessary stage on the pilgrimage route. Islamised Western Sudan henceforward was following, more or less, the Egyptian model.

Ṣūfism and the brotherhoods

In the mediaeval period, the brotherhoods had not yet effectively penetrated the Sahelo-Sudanese realm, but saintly individuals and bearers of Ṣūfī ideas were beginning to make their appearance across the desert. The Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] was the first brotherhood to become widely diffused to the south of the Sahara. Claims or reconstructions contained in Ḳādirī sources have led some authors to adopt a fairly early chronology, for example making al-Maghīlī (*ca.* 900/1500), a vehicle of this *ṭarīḳa*. These interpretations are no longer considered valid. The history of the Ḳādiriyya in the Sahara and in western Sudan is closely linked to the destiny of the Kunta [*q.v.*], an Arabised nomadic group which made its adherence to this doctrine one of the foundations of its power. The Kunta probably emerged in the 9th/15th or 10th/16th century, in the western Sahara between Adrar and Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ. They considered themselves the descendants of Sīdī Aḥmad al-Bakkāy (d. 920/1514). Shortly after their formation, the Kunta split into two branches, one remaining in the west, the other migrating to the region north of the loop of the Niger in the early 12th/18th century. It was there, at the end of the same century, that Sīdī al-Mukhtār (1142-1226/1729-1811) became the first individual definitely known to have been associated with the Ḳādiriyya, serving as the brotherhood's *shaykh* and winning renown throughout the region. But Ṣūfī influences must have crossed the desert before the institutionalisation of the Ḳādiriyya. This period of "Ṣūfism without brotherhood" is one of the most obscure phases in the history of African Islam. A case investigated recently by H.T. Norris is that of a holy man of Aïr, arriving from the Mashriḳ *ca.* 900/1500, a semi-legendary figure known by the name of Sīdī Maḥmud al-Baghdādī, who was killed at some time during the first half of the 10th/16th century on the orders of the sultan of Agadès and the *fuḳahāʾ* of his court. Al-Baghdādī, whose teaching has been preserved by an oral tradition put into writing at a later stage, principally taught the recitation of the *dhikr* and the practice of *khalwa* (solitary retreat). He left a community and disciples, whose traces were to survive for some time. In any case, in 898/1493, thus even before the supposed arrival of the holy man, an educated Berber of the region informed al-Suyūṭī of the practice of *khalwa* in the region of Aïr and asked for his opinion on the subject. Al-Suyūṭī saw no cause for concern, but the innovation was sufficiently substantial to induce Aḥmad Bābā, a century later in 1024/1616, making explicit reference to the "heretics of al-Baghdādī", to denounce the excesses of the *dhikr* and to authorise the persecution of its practitioners. It also seems that the Kel al-Sūḳ, Tuareg scholars from the crossroads-town of Tādmakkat, who were dispersed between Niger and Aïr in the late 9th/15th century, were responsible for spreading Ṣūfī influence. But the time of the brotherhoods was yet to come, and these initial developments were confined to the world of Saharan scholars, Berbers for the most part.

Conclusion

The concept of western Sudan is applied especially, in history, to the mediaeval period. It is associated with the first penetration by Islam, with trans-Saharan trade and with the imperial political formations known as "Sudanese empires". This western Sudanese space was subsequently the setting for new political experiences: re-activation of non-Muslim political systems (Bambara, Mossi), then, from the 17th century onward, principally at the instigation of Fulbe scholars, outbreak of a series of localised *djihād*s, reformist movements which once again called into question the strategy of co-existence between Muslims and animist culture: 1138/1725-6, Futa Jalon, in Guinea; 1174/1760, Futa Toro (Middle Senegal); 1804, foundation of the caliphate of Sokoto, in northern Nigeria; 1818, Māsina, in Mali; 1852, al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar, in Guinea-Mali-Senegal. Another period, other methods, another history. The term "Western Sudan", which derived its origin and its pertinence from the external Arab viewpoint on an earlier period, then became too generic and inappropriate to denote a space where political differences were constantly accentuated, in contrast with the European conquest (from the mid-19th century) which was arising.

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3. Languages across the whole geographical Sūdān.

The Arabs brought Islam to *Bilād al-Sūdān* as traders in gold, ivory, and slaves. Already by the end of the 7th century A.D., many Arabic dialects were spoken in the great Sudanese markets. The varieties of Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (SCA) and Sudanic Arabic (SA) spoken today demonstrate that there are many affinities among them and those of the Ṣaʿīd [*q.v.*] or Upper Egypt, such as the preservation of Old Arabic /a/ in word-initial position for the /i/ of other dialects (cf. /al-/ "the", Cairene /il-/, or the genitival exponents *hinīn* or *allīl*). The term SCA refers to any non-pidgin/non-creole dialect of Arabic used in the Republic of Sudan, whereas the term SA is a much broader designation indicative of a macro-dialect of both sedentary and Bedouin types in the larger *Bilād al-Sūdān* context.

This article deals primarily with SCA within the larger SA framework. Also featured are several other major languages of *Bilād al-Sūdān*. Although grammars and vocabularies of these languages (including SA) have been produced, they vary in terms of (1) quality of transcription and (2) authenticity of data. Sigismund Koelle's *Polyglotta Africana* (1854) may serve as illustrative. Although a pioneering work, it is an example of the former, since his description of Chadian and Shuwa Arabic [see SHUWA. 2.], among other problems, fails to mark gemination consistently.

SCA is currently spoken as a first language by more than half of the Sudan's population of 25.2 million (1990), and as a second or third language by many more. There are also Arabic-based pidgins and creoles used in the southern Sudan (e.g. Juba Arabic) which can be characterised by (1) the loss of the pharyngeals and emphatic consonants, which happens in other SA dialects, and (2) the reduction of morphology.

SCA dialects are the least investigated ones in the entire Arab world due, in part, to the complicated history of the immigration of various Arab tribes and the Arabicisation and Islamicisation of the many ethnic groups which initially utilised Arabic as a lingua franca and then adapted it as a primary language. The aforementioned situation can be illustrated by taking the case of the multilingual inhabitants of the Nūba Hills, who are surrounded by SCA [see NŪBA. 3]. A shift has occurred from the autochthonous tribal language to SCA via contact with the superstratum. Moreover, when villagers, who have moved to the larger towns and cities thereby acquiring SCA, return home, their newly-acquired SCA skill seemed to contribute to a higher prestige, often associated with higher-paying jobs, which has, in turn, influenced others to shift to it.

The most thoroughly studied variety of SCA after the Khartoum-Omdurman dialect is that of the camel-breeding Shukriyya, who number between 150,000 and 300,000 and inhabit the Buṭāna between the Atbara and the Blue Nile. Although they trace their ancestry back to Arabia and Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, their dialect is not Arabian. SCA does have some common isoglosses with Arabian dialects, however, such as one of the genitival exponents in current use, *ḥagg* (another, *bitāʿ*, shows the close affinity with Egyptian Arabic).

Historically speaking, many Arabic-speaking tribes came to the Sudan from Egypt (e.g. the Djaʿaliyyīn) and the Ḥidjāz (e.g. the Djuhayna). Among the former, it is possible today to subgroup the Shaykiyya, Rubāṭāb, Mirāfāb, Djaʿaliyyīn, Kawāhla, and Rufāʿa; the latter can be divided among the Shukriyya, Djuhayna, Ḥassāniyya, Hawāwīr, Kabābish, Ḥamid, Salima, Hawāzma, Messiriyya, Ḥumr, Ḥamar, Rizaygāt, Habbāniyya, Taʿaysha, and Baggāra. Whether Arabian features date back to the inner-Arabian conditions or occurred later inside the Sudan itself under the influence of the Hilāl and Sulaym groups remains unclear. In terms of dialect geography, however, four basic zones can be distinguished: (1) Northern, including the Arabic-speaking parts of Dongola; (2) Central, including Khartoum-Omdurman, the Gezira, and the country east of the Blue Nile; (3) Western, including the White Nile territory, Kordofān, and Dārfūr (the Baggāra dialect constitutes a group by itself, however); and (4) Southern, including the aforementioned pidgins and creoles.

One of the most striking features of SCA dialects is the different vocabulary used. For instance, throughout the Sudan, one eats thin, round, flat bread called *kisra* or a thicker type thereof, *gurrāṣa*. These words are unknown in other parts of the Arab world unless the user is familiar with Sudanese cuisine. Typical other Sudanese lexemes include: *kadīs*, pl. *kadasa* ~ *kadāyis*, also *nyāwa* "cat"; *biriš* "straw mat"; *marfaʿīn* "wolf; hyena"; *baʿšōm* "fox; jackal"; *ʿangarēb* "bed"; *karkab* "wooden slippers"; *waṭā* ~ *waṭā* "earth"; *kadrūk* "pig"; *marīsa* "kind of alcoholic brew usually made of millet"; and *gannab* "sit". SCA *katīr* "many, much" is a particularly good illustration of the close connection with Upper Egyptian *katīr* (cf. Cairene *kitīr* but Moroccan *bezzāf* or Gulf Arabic *wādjid* ~ *wāyid*).

Turning to the verbal realm, most SCA dialects use the verb *maša*, *yamši* for "go", whereas Egyptian and other Eastern dialects use *rāḥ*, *yirūḥ* (Classical *ḏahaba* survives only in Yemen). Although the verb *ʿāwiz* or *ʿāyiz* can be heard for "want" in the Sudan, this is probably best analysed as an Egyptianism. The authentic SCA active participle is *dāyir*, a metathesised form of Classical form IV, *ʾarāda* with aphaeresis.

Cf. SCA *dāyir šinu* "what do you want?" for Egyptian *ʿāwiz ee(h)*. It is Chadian and Nigerian Arabic *ta/idōr šinú* "what do you want?" which should be directly compared with the aforementioned SCA expression proving that these dialects are basically extensions of SA.

After Arabic, Hausa [*q.v.*] is the most important language of the *Bilād al-Sūdān*. With 22 million first-language speakers and another 10 million second language users (1991), this West Chadic (Afroasiatic) language has supplanted over the centuries many other Chadic languages with fewer speakers. It is written today mainly in Latin script; however, Ajami (i.e. Arabic) writing is still used, befitting the many Arabic loanwords.

Kanuri [*q.v.*] is the major language (Saharan sub-branch of Nilo-Saharan) of Borno State, Nigeria, with 3.5 million speakers (1987). Like Hausa, it has a tradition of being written in Ajami script. There are 100,000 speakers in Chad (1985); 56,500 in Cameroon (1982); and 50,000 in Niger (1991). It is used on radio and television, and has been able to supply loanwords to the languages of the area; e.g. Nigerian Arabic *dugó* "then, afterwards" has been borrowed from Kanuri *dugō* "first".

Fulfulde (Fula, Fulbe, Fulani [see FULBE]) is spoken by 8.6% of the Nigerian population (7.6 million, 1991). It has four major Nigerian dialects: (1) Adamawa, spoken in Gongola State; (2) Kano-Katsina; (3) Bororro, in Bornu State; and (4) Sokoto. This Atlantic (Niger-Congo) language is spoken over a vast area since the Fulani are found in many countries, e.g. Mali has one million (1991).

Songhay [see SONGHAY] (Nilo-Saharan) has 600,000 speakers in Mali; 390,000 in Niger; 122,700 in Burkino Faso (all 1991). It continues to serve as an important trade language and is also being used as the language of primary school instruction.

Another Nilo-Saharan language is Bagirmi [*q.v.*] (30,000 to 40,000 speakers, 1977), spoken in Chad and Nigeria. It was the language of the ancient Bagirmi Kingdom and has many second-language users.

Wolof (Atlantic sub-branch of Niger-Congo [see SENEGAL. 1]) is spoken by 36% of the population of Senegal (1976) and 14.6% of the population of Gambia (1983). Together, the Gambian and Senegalese dialects have 3 million speakers (1987). Another 3 million speak it as a second language (1991). It is also used in Mali and Mauritania.

Other important languages of this area include Tamasheq (Berber, Afroasiatic), Bambara and Mandinka (both Mande, Niger-Congo).

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(A.S. KAYE)

SUDAYF B. MAYMŪN, Arab poet of the 2nd/8th century.

Sudayf b. Mahrān b. Maymūn, *mawlā* of the Khuzāʿa, or of the Banu 'l-ʿAbbās, or of the Banū Hāshim, was born in Mecca during the final years of the Umayyad dynasty. From an early age he was a supporter of the Hāshimites against the latter and was even, according to al-Iṣfahānī, the leader of a sect, the Sudayfiyya, opposing a pro-Umayyad group organised by a certain Sayyāb. After the seizure of power by the ʿAbbāsids, Sudayf left Mecca for al-Ḥīra, where he approached the caliph al-Saffāḥ and tried without success to persuade him to slaughter certain remaining Umayyads. But following the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, at Medina, and that of his brother Ibrāhīm at Baṣra, Sudayf openly sided with the ʿAlids against the ʿAbbāsids, supporting them with his poetry and with the money which he had previously accepted from the latter. However, after the failure of both these revolts Sudayf fled to Medina or to Mecca, appealing for pardon to the caliph al-Manṣūr. According to a source quoted by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, this pardon was granted, but another source, generally considered more reliable, insists that the caliph rejected his approaches, took a personal dislike to him, and instructed one of his uncles, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī or Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, then governors of Mecca and of Medina respectively, to assassinate him. One of them carried out this instruction in the year 147/764.

Of a *dīwān* of 30 folios, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, composed by Sudayf b. Maymūn, all that remains, or more accurately, all that Riḍwān Mahdī al-ʿAbbūd has succeeded in collecting, is 20 fragments comprising a total of 99 verses, gleaned from numerous and diverse sources of which the most important, among ancient sources are: Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, and al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* (6 fragments), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd* (6 fragments) and Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* (4 fragments), and among modern or contemporary sources: al-Ṣanʿānī, *Nasamat al-saḥar*, still in manuscript (5 fragments) and al-ʿĀmilī, *ʿAyān al-shīʿa* (13 fragments). As reconstructed, these 20 fragments are of unequal length. Only five can be regarded as *ḳaṣīdas*, the other fifteen comprising between one and six verses.

Sudayf employs eight metres. Foremost are *kāmil* and *khafīf* (5 fragments), followed by *basīṭ* (4 fragments), *ṭawīl* (2 fragments), and finally, *madīd, wāfir, ramal* and *mutaḳārib* (1 fragment). For rhyme, eight letters are used: *nūn* (5 times), *yāʾ* (3 times), *hamza, rāʾ* and *ḍād* (twice) and finally *bāʾ, ḥāʾ* and *dāl* (once).

Sudayf b. Maymūn addresses the principal themes of Arabic poetry. In fact, his *dīwān* includes three erotic fragments (nos. 7, 14 and 17) with a total length of 16 verses, a satirical fragment (no. 5, one verse), a laudatory fragment (no. 6, two verses) dedicated to a certain Djumaḥī, a dirge (no. 10, two verses) in which he laments over his "men", probably meaning the Shīʿīs, and finally and of the greatest importance, fifteen political fragments which could be placed under two major headings. Under the first heading are a number of fragments (no. 2, 18 verses, no. 11, 4 verses and no. 13, 2 verses) in which Sudayf attacks the Umayyads, whom he describes as unjust and misguided, reproaching them in particular over the killing of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and of Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn. The fragments of the second category may also be divided into two groups. On the one hand, Sudayf addresses eulogies to the ʿAbbāsids, noble guides and leaders, and especially to the caliph al-Saffāḥ (no. 20, 7 verses, and no. 6, 8 verses), whom he describes a "well-guided and supreme chief"; but on the other hand he attacks these same caliphs, especially after the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, and condemns them as impious, proclaiming at the same time his allegiance to the ʿAlids, envisaging their recovery of the caliphate (no. 16, 9 verses). Finally, on account of his opposition to the Umayyads and his virulent satires against the ʿAbbāsids, whom he had previously praised, and his eulogies of the Hāshimites and ʿAlids in particular, Sudayf b. Maymūn is classed as a Shīʿī poet,

and consequently he was placed by Ibn Shahrāshūb (*Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, 151) among the *Shuʿarāʾ Ahl al-Bayt al-muktaṣidūn* and among the *Aʿyān al-shīʿa* by al-ʿĀmilī.

Bibliography: Among the works mentioned in the article, the most important are ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, xxxiv, 3-25; Riḍwān Mahdī al-ʿAbbūd, *Shiʿr Sudayf b. Maymūn*, Nadjaf 1974. See also S. Moscati, *Le massacre des Umayyades dans l'histoire et dans les fragments poétiques*, in *ArO*, xviii/4 (1950), 88-115, Prague 1950; Taieb El Acheche, *La poésie shiʿite*, thesis, Paris-Sorbonne 1988, unpubl.

(Taieb El Acheche)

SUDAYR [see SUDAYRĪ].

SUDAYRI (AL-SADĀRĀ), the name of one of the most prestigious clans of the al-Dawāsir [*q.v.*]. They derive their name from Sudayr (or Sadayr), a northernmost district of Nadjd, in modern Saudi Arabia, north of the valley of al-ʿAtk [*q.v.*]. Wādī Sudayr, known as Bāṭin al-Sudayr, runs northwest of al-Riyāḍ. In recent centuries they ruled in the oases of al-ʿAwda, Djalādjil, al-Madjmaʿa, al-Ghāṭ and Sudayra, the latter being the name of one of the sweet water wells of Ḥafar al-ʿAtk. Ever since the 13th/19th century, their name has been intimately associated with the Āl Suʿūd [*q.v.*].

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(E. van Donzel)

AL-SUDDĪ, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a *mawlā* of Zaynab bt. Ḳays b. Makhrama, was a popular preacher in Kūfa, who is said to have died in 127/745. His reputation as a transmitter of prophetic traditions was a matter of dispute. The opinions of the *ridjāl* [*q.v.*] experts ranged all the way from neutral (*ṣāliḥ* [*q.v.*], *lā baʾs bihi*) to mendacious (*kadhdhāb*). His role in *isnāds* [*q.v.*] supporting canonical traditions is minimal anyway and entirely artificial, i.e. he cannot be held responsible for it. His political stance (*tashayyuʿ*) may be distilled from the accusation that he, at one time, had slighted the two *shaykhs* Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. His fame lay in his alleged expertise in Ḳurʾān exegesis, which seems to be reflected in his *nisba*-cum-*laḳab* al-Suddī. He acquired this name because he used to sit on the threshold (Ar. *sudda*) of the great mosque, where he is said to have gathered people around him. His contemporary al-Shaʿbī [*q.v.*] thought absolutely nothing of his exegetical expertise. Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī [*q.v.*] described his exegesis as popular (*tafsīr al-ḳawm*). In al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, countless exegetical remarks ascribed to al-Suddī can be found and could conceivably be brought together in a volume. Whether such a compilation would allow conclusions as to a certain bias or predilection on his part, if any, has as yet to be established.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, vii, 109-10; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, iii, 132-8; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, i, 313-14; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, *passim*.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

SŪDĪ, Aḥmed (mod. Tkish. Ahmet, and sometimes referred to, incorrectly it seems, as Mehmet), also known as Sūdī-yi (or Aḥmed-i) Bosnawī, Ottoman scholar noted as a commentator on the *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], the *Gulistān* and *Bustān* of Saʿdī [*q.v.*], and other Persian works. He was born in Bosnia at Sudiči (whence his *nisba*), a village near the town of Foča which, being better known, some sources give as his birthplace. His birthdate is unknown, as are the names of his parents and other details of his family beyond the fact that he remained unmarried, a remark in his commentary on the *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ stating that, like Jesus, he never took a wife (Nazıf M. Hoca, *Sûdî. Hayatı, eserleri ve iki risâlesi'nin metni*, Istanbul 1980, 15). The date given for his death varies from 1000/1592-3 to after 1006/8 May 1598 (*op. cit.*, 16), but it is known that he was buried at the Yūsuf Pasha mosque in Aksaray, although the whereabouts of his tombstone is not known, it having been removed during the course of roadworks. Assumed to have adhered to the Ḥanafī law school, a charge that he suppressed from the Ḥāfiẓ corpus some poems of Shīʿī sympathy seems to have been disproved by lack of such poems in the earliest mss. [see ḤĀFIẒ].

Sūdī's early schooling is assumed to have been in Foča, while his commentary on the *Gulistān* includes a reference to study in Sarajevo, and he is thought to have continued his education in Istanbul, to which city (like others from Bosnia) he came during the ascendency of the Bosnian-born Ṣoḳullu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]. He visited Erzurum, and studied with Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī [see AL-LĀRĪ] at Āmid in Diyarbekir before going to Damascus (where he read Saʿdī's *Gulistān* with the poet Ḥalīm-i Shirwānī), Baghdād, Nadjaf and Kūfa, and undertook the *Ḥadjdj*. He comments on the places he visited, complaining, e.g. about an ignorance of Persian and good Arabic among the people of Baghdād, and describing the mosques and tombs of Kūfa as in ruins. He did not visit Persia itself, but everywhere sought to widen his knowledge of Persian, not only through contact with scholars but, according to his own statements, discussing difficult passages from Ḥāfiẓ and Saʿdī with such people as Persian merchants who were men of both trade and learning.

Returning to Istanbul, he undertook further study before becoming a teacher to the *ghilmān-i khāṣṣa* in the household of Ibrāhīm Pasha (d. 942/1636) (on Ibrāhīm Pasha and the *ghulām* system, see GHULĀM. iv, at 1087a) one of whom, Mostarlī Derwīsh Pasha (d. 1012/1603 [see DERWĪSH PASHA]) was to mention Sūdī in the preface to his *Murād-nāme*.

Sūdī's recension of the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (3 vols., Būlāḳ 1250/1834) is said to have been produced at the suggestion of Muḥammad b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-Munshī of Akhisar [see AḲ ḤIṢĀRĪ (b)]. Considered authoritative and outshining earlier works by Shemʿī and Sürūrī (see Ritter, in *IA* art. *Ḥâfiẓ*), it was used for editions by Persian scholars as well as for studies by Western orientalists. His *risāle*s on the second *bayt* of the first *ghazal* in the *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ and on one *bayt* of Saʿdī's *Gulistān* are included in the study by Nazif Hoca (see above). The former is shown by Rypka (*History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 103) as an exception to the usual approach of the old commentators, who stressed only the intellectual content of Persian poetry rather than its formal aspect, which they regarded as self-evident (see also Browne, *LHP*, iii, 299, 302).

Bibliography: For titles in addition to those mentioned in the article, see Hoca's work, on which this article draws broadly for biographical detail; and see also Mustafa Özkan, *Mahmûd b. Kâdî'i Manyâs Gülistan tercümesi. Giriş—inceleme—metin—sözlük*, Ankara 1992.

(Kathleen Burrill)

SUDJĀN RĀY BHANDĀRĪ, or Sudjān Singh Dhīr, Munshī (*flor.* in the second half of the 11th/17th century and the early part of the 12th/18th century

under the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*]), Hindu chronicler of Muslim India and compiler of collections of *inshā'* [*q.v.*] literature. The name Sudjān (probably not to be taken as Sandjān, as in the *EI*[1] article) comes from a Hindi word meaning "well informed, wise, intelligent", according to Storey.

Very little is known of his life and career, apart from what he tells us in his books or what has been added to the manuscripts of them by their copyists. In the preface to his history (see 1. below), he states that he was by profession a *munshī* or secretary in the civil and financial administration of the Mughal empire, that he was born at Batāla (in the Gūrdāspūr District) in the Pandjāb and that he visited Kābul, probably Thaṭṭā and the Pindjawr Garden at the foot of the Himalayas.

He is the author of:

1. The *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, completed in 1107/1695-6. It is a history of India from the earliest times to the accession of Awrangzīb in 1069/1659, with his narrative ending in 1068/1658. He based it on a number of historical works in Persian, which he enumerates. It claims only to be, as its title says, an "epitome of histories", but is of interest as being written by a Hindu. It also contains a valuable geographical section, with particular information about the Pandjāb. Much of the *Khulāṣa* was incorporated in the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* of Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabā'ī [*q.v.*], written shortly afterwards, and in the *Akhbār-i Maḥabbat* of Nawwāb Maḥabbat Khān. A free Urdu adaptation of the earlier part of the *Khulāṣa*, on the geography of India and on the Hindu Rādjās of Dihlī, was made in 1219-20/1804-5 by the Urdu poet Mīr Shīr 'Alī "Afsūs" [*q.v.*]. The *Khulāṣa* was edited by M. Ẓafar Ḥasan, lith. Dihlī 1918; sections are tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, viii, 5-12, and by Jadunath Sarkar in *The India of Aurangzib* (*topography, statistics and roads*) ..., Calcutta 1901. See on the *Khulāṣa*, H. Beveridge, *The Khalásat-at-Tawárikh, or Essence of History*, in *JRAS* (1894), 733-68 (1895), 211; Storey, i, 453-8.

2. The *Khulāṣat al-inshā'* and the *Khulāṣat al-makātīb*, two collections of *inshā'* or ornate official prose by Persian and Indo-Muslim authors, compiled in the 1690s and so far unpublished. See Storey, iii/2, E. *Ornate prose*, 318.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(MOHAMMED SHAFI-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-**SUDJDJA**, apparently the name of an idol of the pre-Islamic Arabs.

In a marginal addition to Ibn al-Kalbī's *K. al-Aṣnām* (ed. Klinke-Rosenberger, 2), the following *ḥadīth* is given: "Fulfill your legal alms obligations, for God has freed you from al-Sudjdja and al-Badjdja" (missing from the *Concordance*). The commentator says that al-Sudjdja was an idol. As for al-Badjdja, this is the blood drawn from an incision (*faṣīd*) of a camel's vein, on which the Arabs used to feed in times of dearth. But according to *T'A*, ii, 6, al-Badjdja was an idol too. In this case, the second part of the tradition would have the following meaning "... for God has freed you from al-Sudjdja and al-Badjdja" (in regard to whom you used to have to pay a tenth on herds or make sacrifices; in future, these should be made to God).

A variant of this *ḥadīth* (equally missing from the *Concordance*) mentions a third idol, al-Djabha, which denotes at the same time, in addition to the sense of "forehead", a pre-Islamic idol, a lunar mansion, the moon itself, horses (like *al-sudjdja*), humiliation, the leading men of a tribe and, finally, the persons responsible for levying money for a ransom or a debt (*T'A*, ix, 383). The name of this idol is found in another tradition, together with two other names of deities, "No alms payment is due to al-Djabha, al-Nukhkha or al-Kus'a" (*ibid.*, v, 484, ii, 285).

Bibliography: Given in the article; other refs. in T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 51-2. But see also W. Atallah, *De quelques prétendues idoles Baǧǧa, Suǧǧa, etc.*, in *Arabica*, xx (1973), 160-7, who questions whether these words refer to idols and interprets them as relating to stages of an animal sacrifice. (T. FAHD)

SUEZ [see AL-SUWAYS].

SŪF (Ar. Wādī Sūf, *nisba* Sūfī, pl. Sawāfa, *vulgo* Suafa), a group of oases in south-eastern Algeria, termed by the French (since 1885) Annexe d'El Oued, after its chef-lieu al-Wād. With its nomadic periphery, it covers an area of *ca.* 80,000 km^2, stretching along the Tunisian border from the Djarīd to the approaches of Ghadāmes. Most of it is sand dunes forming part of the Great Oriental Erg, the remainder is flat, stony terrain (*ṣaḥn*, lit. "plate") and several salt marshes (*sabkha*, *shaṭṭ*). Villages and palm groves occupy only a fraction of the whole. Though of difficult access (hence its use as a refuge), it was never really isolated, thanks to its role as a link between Tunisia (Nafṭa) and pre-Saharan Algeria (Tuggurt, Tamāsīn, Biskra). The settled area comprises nine older villages (founded before the 17th century), divided in three groups: Ḳmār (vocalisation uncertain, Fr. spelling Guémar) and Taghzūt in the north-west; Kuinīn and Tiksabt in the south-west; Zkūm (spelling uncertain; Fr. spelling Zgoum), Bahīma, Dabīla and Sīdī 'Awn in the north-east; and al-Wād in the centre. The number of their inhabitants ranges from 880 (Sīdī 'Awn) to *ca.* 13,000 (al-Wād) (Nadler 1957, 24). There are a dozen newer villages, including the Amish group in the south and temporary camp sites (*naẓlāt*). The global population of the Sūf has soared from 17,629 (?) in 1883 to *ca.* 120,000 in 1966 (Kielstra 1987, 11). About one-third of these are nomads, but the distinction between them and the settlers is not clear-cut: most nomads own palm groves and spend there the harvest season, while many villagers raise flocks. Demographic pressure and poor harvests entail emigration, mostly to Tunisia (36,000 in 1955; Vanney 1960, 177).

Origins. The aborigines of the Sūf were presumably Berbers, but the main ethnic components in the Islamic period are the 'Adwān and the nomadic Ṭrūd. According to the *Kitāb al-'Adwānī* (see *Bibl.*), the former claimed descent from a Makhzūmī who came with the first Islamic conquest, while the latter arrived near the end of the 14th century and considered themselves as part of Sulaym. After initial clashes between the two, a *modus vivendi* was reached though political opposition remained.

Economy. The basis of the Sūfī economy is the date palm. Its cultivation differs from that practised elsewhere [see NAKHL and TAMR] in two respects: (a) the tree is planted in a funnel-like excavation (*ghawṭ*, pl. *ghīṭān*) at a depth enabling its roots to reach the groundwater; hence no need of irrigation, but of sisyphean labour to keep the sand out; and (b) with the lowering of the water table, the tree, in order to survive, must be lowered too—an arduous and risky operation. The palm groves produce several varieties of dates, such as the famous *deglet nūr* (5.3% of the total, for export only) and the soft dates, *ghars* (78% of the total, the staple food of the Suafa). The total number of trees went up from 154,000 in 1883 to 441,000 in 1930 (Cauvet 1934, 93). Vegetables, too,

are grown in the *ghawṭs*, as well as snuff tobacco. Cereals must be imported. Livestock is raised mostly by the nomads. Textiles produced include burnuses, *ḥā'iks* and carpets. A supplement of income is provided by smuggling (notably of gunpowder). A closed chapter in the Sūfi economy is the black slave trade and slavery, which only stopped completely as late as 1922 (Leselle 1955, 20).

Islam in the Sūf. The Suafa are Mālikis. The Fāṭimid and Khāridjite heresies left no trace in the Sūf, and much the same applies to the 16th-century maraboutic Shābbiyya. Only the implantation of three major Ṣūfi orders, the Raḥmāniyya, the Tidjāniyya and the Ḳādiriyya [*q.vv.*] in the 19th century and the rivalry between the latter two, has made religion a prime factor in Sūfi life and politics. The Raḥmānīs were the first to found a lodge at al-Wād (1815). By 1858 they had some 10,000 members. Next came the Tidjānīs, who founded a lodge at Ḳmār, an extension of Tamalhat at Tamāsin in the Rīgh valley. Being staunch collaborators of the French, they enjoyed their trust and favour, but the two main lodges at ʿAyn Māḍī and Tamāsīn were long divided over the supreme headship of the order. The Ḳādiriyya became active in the Sūf thanks to two brothers from Nafṭa, al-Hāshimī and al-Imām, who built two lodges in the Amish area (1887, 1892). The Ḳādirīs were welcomed by the Raḥmānīs, but the Tidjānīs took an unfavourable view of the new competitor. Thus began a 30-year long rivalry (1895-1924), which divided the Sūf into two camps. To bolster his position, al-Hāshimī likewise offered his services to the French, who, though mistrustful, used him to expand their Saharan trade, check smuggling and obtain information on the Turks and the Sanūsīs. When he incited his followers against the French, he was banished to Tunisia (1918). After the demise of both his Tidjānī rival and his own one (1923), their successors made peace (1924), but the rise of the Orthodox Reform movement [see IṢLĀḤ. i. and SALAFIYYA] threatened the entire maraboutic establishment. By 1932, the Sūf was again divided into two blocs, for and against the Reformists. The Ḳādirī chief ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz denounced the marabouts and joined the AUMA (Algerian ʿUlamāʾ Assoc.) in 1937, which prompted Ibn Bādīs to spread the reformist gospel in the Sūf (Pigoreau 1954, 36). Despite their success, the membership of the three orders did not diminish: in 1945 it averaged 15,000 for each (Kielstra 1987, 14).

Religious differences were not the only ones to divide the Sūf. It was also plagued by tribal alliances based on enmity between neighbouring villages [see ṢAFF]. These factions became involved in regional rivalries: between Tuggurt and Tamāsīn, the Bū-ʿUkkāz and the Ben Gāna. From this involvement, the Sūf profited little and suffered much in terms of human losses and material damage. Its submission to the French (1854) was followed by 16 uneventful years, marred by exactions of French-appointed *ḳāʾids*. France's defeat at the hands of Prussia stimulated uprisings in the Constantinois (1871), including a bloody attack on Ḳmār by a religious agitator called Bū Shūsha. When the *pax gallica* was restored, France imposed direct rule on the Sūf (1877). Two former *khalīfas* of the Ṭrūd, Ḥammū Mūsā and Aḥmad ben Tuātī, were appointed *ḳāʾids*, but they no longer enjoyed the autonomy which tribal leaders had possessed before. There was a silent agreement between them and the Tidjānīs as to their respective spheres of influence, but after the Great War both religious and secular leadership lost their political basis. Only the old merchant families kept their status, and, by providing their sons with a modern education, qualified them as bureaucrats in independent Algeria (Kielstra 1987, 23).

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ṢŪF (A.), the wool of sheep (*shāʾ*, *ḍaʾn*). The hair sheared from other animals is named differently; *wabar* denotes camels' hair, *shaʿr* the wool of goats (*djubbat shiʿār*, a gown made from goats' hair, see al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭaylasān*, no. 114). The radical *ṣ-w-f* is known from pre-Talmudic Hebrew in the sense of "bundle of wool" (*Tosafta*). *Ṣūf* is mentioned in several pre-Islamic contexts, but in the Ḳurʾān only once in the plural form (*aṣwāf*), in XVI, 82/80.

Sheep breeding (*aṣwāf muʿbarāt al-ritāʿ*, the thick wool of sheep pasturing freely, in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1848 l. 3; cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, 30 l. 16; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 364 l. 3) and wool spinning (*ghazl al-nisāʾ*, *TA*, x, 315 l. 22) were ubiquitous among the Arab tribes during the Djāhiliyya and in the semi-arid zones in the Mediterranean countries during early Islam and later, these regions being unfit for intensive agriculture but suitable for the herds of the Bedouins which roamed in these lands. Thus sheep flocks were a symbol of richness. Nevertheless, with the development of Islamic civilisation, the nomads' tents were replaced by houses and palaces, and the use of luxury fabrics and furs (*farwa*) grew. It seems that due to this development, the use of wool acquired among the Muslims of the caliphal period an image of coarse cloth (*djibāb ahl al-bādiya*, in Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam* viii, 84 l. 10).

Market demand stimulated commerce in wool and encouraged partnership between Bedouins and sedentary people (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine*, doc. 46) as well as long-distance land (al-Muḳaddasī, 145 ll. 13-14) and maritime trade in wool (Gil, *A history of Palestine 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, 251 doc. 458 ll. 15-16) Documents from 15th-century Morocco deal with commerce between that country and Portugal (*Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1ère série, *Portugal*, i, 314, 581, iii, 260).

Wool was spun (*ghazala*) into raw material (R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, 72, 92, 80; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, iv, 126-7). It was used in the manufacture of *baṭāʾin al-riḥāl* (saddle linings), *raḥl min shaʿr wa-ṣūf* (camel's saddle made from goats' hair and wool) *ḥanbal* (rug made of coarse wool, in *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1ère série, *Portugal*,

i, 44), carpets, *bisāt*, *farsh* (or *fursh*); and in the garment industries in a variety of woollen clothes (*thiyab al-ṣūf*): *aʿbiya* (woollen cloaks), *busht* (woollen wraps), *aksiya* (clothes; *kisāʾ min ṣūf* (in al-Baladhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/4, 86 l. 8), *athwāb* (woollen robes), *kilal* (veils), *djubba* (gown) and *zaʿbūt* (woollen garment); see further, LIBĀS.

In local markets different qualities of wool and felt (*lubūd* [*q.v.*]) were on sale; these were manufactured in a variety of colours (Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, 197).

Wool-makers or sellers (*ṣawwāf*; al-Ḳāsimī, *Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, ii, 275) are mentioned in towns (Goitein, *op. cit.* i, 105, 419, nn. 37-9; Maya Shatzmiller, *Labour in the medieval islamic world*, Leiden 1994, 120, 123) as well as in the countryside, among sedentary people as well as pastoralists.

The assumption of E. Ashtor (*Les lainages dans l'Orient mediéval*, 1976, 673 ff., repr. in his *Studies on the Levantine trade*, London 1978) that the system of wool manufacturing in the Islamic Near East declined due to the dumping of European exports, remains to be proved. Thus, for example, one of the guilds in Ottoman Jerusalem, a backwater provincial town, is named *ṭāʾifat al-bushtiyya* or *al-ʿabawiyya*, the wool craftmen's association (M. ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, *Wathāʾiḳ al-ṭawāʾif al-ḥirfiyya*, ii, 47-61; for trade in woollen clothes in the European lands of the Ottoman empire, cf. S. Faroqhi, *Peasants, dervishes and traders*, Variorum edns., Aldershot).

Although wearing a woollen dress was a signal of poverty (*marḳaʿa min ṣūf* = woollen rags, in Ibn Iyās), of simplicity (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 2537) and even of asceticism (*djubbat ṣūf ḳubruṣiyya* = a long outer garment open in the front, in al-Muḳaddasī, 415 ll. 6-8; *thiyāb bīḍ ghilāẓ* = white, rough dress, in al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, § 2727), and Goldziher, among others, suggested the hypothesis of the possible association of *ṣūf* and Ṣūfism, there is nevertheless evidence for the use of wool in luxurious contexts (*fawḳāniyya mulawwana min al-ṣūf al-nafīs* = a coloured robe made from expensive wool, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 40; Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires*, Paris 1969, 176, 344).

Bibliography: See also Busul Asʿad, *Information about costume in Arabic literature*, M.A. thesis, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 1966, unpubl.

(Y. FRENKEL)

ṢUFFA [see AHL AL-ṢUFFA].

ṢŪFĪ [see TAṢAWWUF].

AL-**SŪFISṬĀʾIYYŪN** (A.), the Sophists, from the Greek word for a sophist, *sophistēs*. At the heart of the Arabic references and discussions lies the Greek text of Aristotle, *On sophistical refutations* (*Peri sophistikōn elenkhōn*). Here sophistical refutations are defined as those arguments which go under the guise of refutations but are, in fact, fallacious and should not be considered as refutations. A little further on in his text, Aristotle describes a sophist as one who capitalises financially on wisdom which is apparent rather than real. Arabic forms of the words "sophist", "sophistics" and "sophistry" do not appear in the Ḳurʾān, and the latter does not know the Arabic *mughālaṭa* ("fallacy") either. The translation history of Aristotle's *Sophistical refutations* into Arabic is problematic, as F.E. Peters has shown. Several versions clearly existed and the work was known, and commented upon, by early, scholars as diverse as al-Kindī and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī. An abridgement is also known by Ibn Sīnā. The Syriac commentators, and more importantly, the Greek (Alexandrian) commentators on Aristotelian logic identified nine branches, and their division was adopted by the Arabs. Sophistics, whose basic text was the *Sophistical refutations*, and which was called in Arabic *al-Safsaṭa* or *al-Mughālaṭa*, appeared as number seven in the traditional list. This was its position, for example, in the encyclopaedic work of al-Khwārazmī called *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*. Here, under the rubric "Seventh section on Sophistics", the author briefly observes: "This Book is called *Sophistics*, a word meaning 'arbitrary action'. The Sophist (*al-sūfisṭāʾī*) is one who exercises arbitrary judgement. The Book reports the causes of fallacies and how to be on one's guard against them. The Sophists (*al-sūfisṭāʾiyyūn*) are those who do not establish the real facts of a matter". Al-Kindī, earlier, ranking the *Sophistical refutations* as the sixth, rather than the seventh, of the classical books of logic, similarly defined a sophist as "one who passes arbitrary judgement" (*al-mutaḥakkim*). The subject matter of the *Sophistical refutations* broadly dealt with fallacy in syllogistic discourse. The great philosopher al-Fārābī, whom Muhsin Mahdi has aptly characterised as "the *Imām* of logicians', spoke of sophistry in the same breath as dialectic (*djadal*). Deborah Black notes that "Fārābī sometimes links sophistry to widely-accepted premises, distinguishing it from dialectic on the grounds that dialectic takes premises that are in fact widely-accepted, whereas sophistry takes those that only appear or are presumed to be so" (*Logic and Aristotle*'s Rhetoric *and* Poetics, 96, n. 129). In sum, we can identify, from all these definitions, a broad agreement in mediaeval Islamic thought about the meaning of the word "sophist" and a general logical suspicion of those who engaged in sophistry. It is worth noting here, too, that several went further and added a religious dimension to their discussions. Ibn al-Djawzī, for example, in his *Talbīs Iblīs* examined the Sophists (here, not in the technical logical meaning, but merely "sceptics" in the epistemological sense, i.e. those who deny knowable essences; see on this, J. van Ess, *Scepticism in Islamic thought*, in *Al-Abḥāth*, xxi [1968], 1-18) as a source of heresy.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): The seminal work is, of course, Aristotle's *Peri sophistikōn elenkhōn*, also known under the Latin title of *De sophisticis elenchis*. See E.S. Forster (ed.), *Aristotle: On sophistical refutations* [and other works], The Loeb Classical Library, London-Cambridge, Mass repr. 1965, for dual Greek-English text. See also Soheil M. Afnan, *A philosophical lexicon in Persian and Arabic*, Beirut 1969, *s.vv.* *sūfisṭāʾī*, *sūfisṭīḳā*; Deborah L. Black, *Logic and Aristotle's* Rhetoric *and* Poetics *in medieval Arabic philosophy*, Islamic Philosophy and Theology, Texts and Studies, ed. H. Daiber, vii, Leiden 1990; Kindī, *Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. M.A.H. Abū Rīda, 2 vols., Cairo 1950-3; Muhsin Mahdi (ed.), *Al-Farabi's Book of Letters* (Kitāb al-Ḥurūf), Beirut 1969; F.E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, Leiden 1968; idem, *Aristotle and the Arabs: the Aristotelian tradition in Islam*, New York-London 1968; N. Rescher, *The development of Arabic logic*, Pittsburgh 1964; idem, *Studies in the history of Arabic logic*, Pittsburgh 1963.

(I.R. NETTON)

ṢŪFIYĀNA (P.), the term applied to the days of abstinence from eating meat introduced by the Mughal emperor of India, Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605 [*q.v.*]). His chronicler Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*] notes in his *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (tr. H. Blochmann, i, 51-2, more accurately tr. in Shireen Moosvi, *Episodes in the life of Akbar. Contemporary records and reminiscences*, New Delhi 1994, 100-1) that Akbar abstained thus on Fridays and Sundays, and then on various other days of the year, including the first day of each solar month and the whole of the first month Farwardīn and the one in which he had been born, Ābān. His son Djahāngīr

(1014-37/1605-27 [*q.v.*]) continued the practice, with *ṣūfiyāna* meals on Sundays in his father's memory and on Thursdays to commemorate his own accession. It has been plausibly suggested that both Ṣūfī Muslim and Hindu and Jain influences played parts in determining Akbar's practice here.

Bibliography: See also Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, 177; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, New Delhi 1975, 386-7.

(C.E. Bosworth)

ṢUFRIYYA, an early Islamic religious group defined by the heresiographers as the name of a Khāridjite sect arising out of the breakup of the Khāridjite community in Baṣra in the year 64/683-4.

The heresiographers commonly derive the name from a founder variously called ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Aṣfar, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṣaffār al-Saʿdī al-Tamīmī, or Ziyād b. al-Aṣfar, who was active at the time of the breakup. This founder is almost certainly fictitious. The scholars of the Ṣufriyya themselves, according to al-Mubarrad, narrated that the Khāridjites, at the time of their original rebellion against ʿAlī, chose ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī as their *imām*, rejecting Maʿdān b. Mālik al-Iyādī because he condemned those Khāridjites who would not join the revolt. The Ṣufriyya, therefore, dissociated themselves (*bariʾū*) from Maʿdān (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 528-9). This may well be a back-projection of the later conflict with the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] into the time of the founders of the Khāridjite movement. It shows, however, that the foundation figure of Ibn al-Aṣfar was unknown to the Ṣufriyya. Some sources rather mention an otherwise unknown ʿUbayda b. Ḳabīs as the spokesman of the Ṣufriyya at the time of the breakup.

In reality the name Ṣufriyya was derived from the description of early Khāridjite worshippers, even before the breakup, as *ṣufr* (*al-wudjūh*) "yellow-faced" as a result of their constant ascetic devotions, and was initially applied to the Khāridjites in general. The early Baṣran Khāridjite leader Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayya [*q.v.*] (killed in 61/680), who was famous for his pious devotion, is described as the *imām* of the Ṣufriyya in the account of al-Baghdādī (*Farḳ*, 72). Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim al-Laythī dissociated himself from the Baṣran Khāridjites, calling them *al-ṣufr al-ādhān* in two lines of poetry to be dated around 66-7/685-7. A mere jibe is the derivation of the name offered by al-Aṣmaʿī, who suggested that it should be read Ṣifriyya and explained that someone had addressed an imprisoned Khāridjite as "a zero (*ṣifr*) in religion" (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *Ṣufriyya*).

1. In Arabia and the Islamic East.

When militant Khāridjite groups left the Baṣran community and rose in rebellion in 64/683-4, they were named after their leaders, while the name Ṣufriyya came to denote the moderates, those who remained "sitting" (*ḳaʿad* or *ḳaʿada*). Naṣr al-Laythī thus mentions the followers of Nadjda and Ibn al-Azraḳ (*al-ladhīna tazarraḳū*) separately from the Ṣufriyya. Only the Azāriḳa, however, broke radically with the moderates, declaring the *ḳaʿad* polytheists (*mushrikūn*), and are never counted among the Ṣufriyya. The Nadjadāt [*q.v.*] defended the conduct of the *ḳaʿad* and evidently maintained their ties with the Baṣran community. The heresiographers also date the schism between Ṣufriyya and the moderate Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] in 64/683-4. The Ibāḍiyya, however, at this stage appear to have constituted merely a current among the moderates. Their separate sectarian identity was definitely established only under the leadership of Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma beginning *ca.* 95/714. Some of the Ibāḍiyya thus backed the revolts of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ and Shabīb b. Yazīd in 76-7/695-7, although these were commonly counted as Ṣufrī leaders. Similarly the Bayhasiyya, followers of Abū Bayhas [*q.v.*], were initially a current within the Ṣufriyya and only later developed into a relatively radical, separate sect. At the time of the breakup in 64/683-4, Abū Bayhas is reported to have accused Ibn al-Azraḳ of extremism and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ of short-coming (*taḳṣīr*) because of the latter's assertion that non-Khāridjite Muslims were not polytheists but merely rejectors of God's bounties (*kuffār bi ʾl-niʿam*). Abū Bayhas argued that these were *mushrikūn*, but that it was licit for the Khāridjites to live temporarily in peace with them while practicing religious dissimulation (*taḳiyya*), to intermarry with them and to inherit from them. This was in fact the common opinion of the Ṣufriyya.

After the death of Abū Bilāl in 61/680, the learned ascetic and poet ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān [*q.v.*], according to al-Baghdādī (*Farḳ*, 71), became the *imām* of the Ṣufriyya. This is confirmed by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 47, 346), who describes ʿImrān as the chief of the *ḳaʿad* of the Ṣufriyya, their consultant in religious matters (*ṣāḥib futyāhum*), and their refuge when they disagreed. ʿImrān must have been active as leader in Baṣra until 75/694, when al-Ḥadjdjādj became governor of ʿIrāḳ and ʿImrān, persecuted by him, was compelled to leave the town and go into hiding. No supreme chief of the Baṣran Ṣufriyya is known thereafter. Al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 595) mentions al-Ruhayn b. Sahm al-Murādī as a Ṣufrī leader, equally learned and gifted in poetry as ʿImrān, whose contemporary he appears to have been. Al-Djāḥiẓ names as scholars of the Ṣufriyya Shubayl b. ʿAzra al-Ḍubaʿī (d. 140/757), al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣudayḳa and Mulayl. Only the first of these is otherwise known as a transmitter of historical reports, poet and orator. According to al-Djāḥiẓ, he was during most of his life a radical Shīʿī before becoming a Ṣufrī. Closer to his own time, al-Djāḥiẓ describes the well-known Baṣran philologist and historian Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā (d. 209/824-5 [*q.v.*]) and the Kūfan historian al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (d. between 206/821 and 209/824 [*q.v.*]) as Ṣufrī Khāridjites. Neither of these men were sectarian activists. Abū ʿUbayda had at most sentimental Khāridjite sympathies; the case of al-Haytham is even more doubtful.

The first armed revolt of the Ṣufriyya was led by Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ al-Tamīmī in northern Mesopotamia in 76/695, and was continued after his death by Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*]. The rebellion was evidently provoked by al-Ḥadjdjādj's persecution of ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān and other leaders of the *ḳaʿad*. Ṣāliḥ was a pietist with ties to Khāridjites in Kūfa, and is said to have preached Khāridjite views in Dārā for twenty years before his move. His followers were mostly of the Banū Shaybān of Bakr and other Rabīʿa. He was later venerated as a martyr, and recitations from his collected sermons were performed at his tomb. Ṣufrī Khāridjism became entrenched among the Rabīʿa in northern Mesopotamia and numerous Khāridjite revolts erupted there. In 100-1/718-20 Shawdhab (Bisṭām) al-Yashkurī rose and was killed. In 119/737 Buhlūl b. Bishr rose near Mawṣil backed by the Banū Shaybān and Yashkur, and al-Ṣaḥārī, a son of Shabīb b. Yazīd, revolted at Djabbul among the Banū Taym al-Lāt b. Thaʿlaba. Both were killed in battle. On a much larger scale was the Ṣufrī rebellion which erupted after the murder of the caliph al-Walīd II in 126/744. It was at first led by Saʿīd b. Bahdal al-Shaybānī, who defeated a Bayhasī rival and

died as he moved against Kūfa. He was succeeded by al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*], who had long been recognised among the Khāridjites as a religious scholar with distinct views. His followers were sometimes counted a separate sect called al-Ḍaḥḥākiyya. In al-Shahrazūr, al-Ḍaḥḥāk was joined by large groups of Ṣufriyya, some of whom had previously taken possession of Armenia and Ādharbāydjān. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk seized Kūfa, and Wāsiṭ. The Umayyad governor of Kūfa, ʿUmar II's son ʿAbd Allāh, surrendered and pledged allegiance to al-Ḍaḥḥāk. There was general amazement that a Ḳurashī prince should pray behind a Khāridjite *imām* of Bakr b. Wāʾil. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk was then joined by another Umayyad prince, Sulaymān, son of the caliph Hishām. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk was killed fighting Marwān II at Kafartūthā in 128/746. His second successor, Shaybān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Yashkurī was driven out of Mawṣil by Marwān's army and moved with his followers to Fārs, where he backed the Djaʿfarid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*]. Shaybān briefly occupied Zarandj, the capital of Sidjistān, but then left for ʿUmān, where he died in battle, fighting the Azdī chief al-Djulandā, who was backed by Ibāḍī Khāridjites, in 134/751-2.

Throughout the first two centuries of the ʿAbbāsid age, numerous Khāridjite rebellions erupted in northern Mesopotamia, and especially in the region of Mawṣil. Ibn al-Athīr and other sources report revolts in the years 133/750-1, 160-2/776-9, 168/784-5, 171/787-9, 176/792-3, 178-9/794, 180/796-7, 187/802-3, 190/805-6, 202/817-18, 214/829 (location uncertain), 231/845-6, 248/862-3, 252/865, 257/870-1, 267/880-1 and 317-18/929-31 (see Veccia Vaglieri, in *RSO*, xxiv, 39-40). Although these rebellions most often are qualified merely as Khāridjite, they may generally be counted as Ṣufrī. Yāsīn al-Tamīmī, who rose in 168/784-5, is described as inclining to the doctrine of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ. Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī (killed in 283/896) is called a Ṣufrī. Most of the revolts, which at first involved chiefly the Banū Shaybān and Yashkur and later the Taghlib, Badjīla, and even Hamdān, were minor and quickly suppressed. They reflect the will to seek martyrdom as *shurāt* following the example of the early Khāridjites. More serious were the rebellions of al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf al-Taghlibī (178-9/794-6), which alarmed the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, and of Musāwir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Badjalī (252-63/866-77) and Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī (267-83/880-96). The latter two seized control of extensive territories in northern Mesopotamia, where they collected taxes. Hārūn al-Badjalī at first had to defeat a rival, Muḥammad b. Khurzād, a popular Khāridjite worshipper, probably a Kurd, with a strong following in al-Shahrazūr. Among Hārūn's followers was the Kurd Ibrāhīm b. Shādhlūya, the father of Daysam (d. 346/957), a Khāridjite who rose in the military service of Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj and, after the fall of the Sādjids, from 326/955-6 for some time held sway over Ādharbāydjān and Armenia, backed by Kurdish troops.

Ideologically, the Ṣufriyya were strongly attached to the memory of the early Khāridjites, whom they venerated and emulated as martyrs of their cause. They dissociated themselves from those Khāridjite groups who, in their eyes, deviated from the path of the pious ancestors like the Azāriḳa and the Ibāḍiyya. Unlike the latter they did not develop a theological and legal school doctrine of their own and did not participate in the debates of the *kalām* theologians in the 2nd/8th century. Since Ṣufriyya was initially a general name for Khāridjites, the heresiographers tended to view Khāridjite sects as factions of the Ṣufriyya. In fact, all Khāridjite sects except for the Azāriḳa have been described by one or the other heresiographer as derived from the Ṣufriyya. Specific doctrines ascribed to "the Ṣufriyya" evidently were not held by these in general but by some group otherwise viewed as a Ṣufrī sub-sect.

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2. In North Africa.

By the mid-2nd/8th century, the label Ṣufriyya was regularly applied in the Maghrib to those Khāridjite Berber tribes with no Ibāḍī affiliation. Local tradition identifies the first Ṣufrī missionary in the West as ʿIkrima [*q.v.*] (the Berber client of Ibn ʿAbbās), from whom several notable Ṣufrī leaders in the first half of the 2nd/8th century are said to have acquired their knowledge of Khāridjite teachings. ʿIkrima's presence in Ḳayrawān, if in fact historical, would have to be placed at the end of the 1st/7th or the beginning of the 2nd/8th century. However, the account preserved in Ibāḍī sources (in which ʿIkrima is pictured arriving in Ifrīḳiya on the same camel as that of his Ibāḍī counterpart) does not bear much scrutiny, and is probably best seen in the context of later Ṣufrī-Ibāḍī rivalry, and the eventual absorption of the Ṣufriyya into the Ibāḍiyya (Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *Siyar*, 25-6; al-Dardjīnī, *Mashāyikh*, i, 11).

Whatever their beginnings, Ṣufrī teachings spread most quickly among the remote Berber tribes of the western Maghrib, where they served to promote active resistance to Arab domination at a time when the Ibāḍīs further east had yet to declare themselves openly in revolt. By 122/739-40, the Ṣufriyya in the region around Tangier were in open rebellion under the leadership of Maysara al-Maṭgharī [*q.v.*]. Maysara's tribal support was broad and heterogeneous, and included (besides the Maṭghara themselves) elements of the Miknāsa and the Barghawāṭa. Some of the latinised Berbers (*afāriḳa*) in Tangier may also have been involved, if we are to judge from Maysara's decision to appoint ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Djuraydj al-Ifrīḳī governor of Tangier after the Ṣufrī capture of the town.

Although Maysara was recognised as *khalīfa*, the title was always subject to revocation in Khāridjite circles, and in 123/740 Maysara was deposed and killed by his own followers and replaced by Khālid b. Ḥamīd/Ḥumayd al-Zanātī. A recent military defeat suffered by Maysara, as well as tribal rivalries within the Ṣufrī coalition, may also have played a part in Khālid's elevation to the "caliphate". While Maysara's coalition does not seem to have survived his death intact, the Ṣufriyya were nonetheless able to inflict serious damage on two Umayyad armies, the first in

123/740 at the so-called "Battle of the Nobles" (*ghazwat al-ashrāf*), and the second later that year at Nafdūra/Baḳdūra on the Subū river. With Ḳayrawān itself threatened, the governor of Egypt, Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], was sent by the caliph Hishām to pacify the west. Unable to crush the Ṣufriyya completely, he did at least prevent Ḳayrawān from falling into Khāridjite hands by defeating Ṣufrī armies at al-Ḳarn and al-Aṣnām in 124/742.

Despite these setbacks, the Ṣufriyya continued to threaten the stability of Arab rule in Ifrīḳiya. The Fihrid ruler at Ḳayrawān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb [*q.v.*], was forced to contend with Ṣufrī rebellions of the Ṣanhādja west of Tūnis around 130/748. These revolts increased in seriousness, with the ʿAbbāsids otherwise preoccupied and the Fihrids, after the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, weakened by internal division. It was in this context that Ḳayrawān itself was in 139/757 occupied by the Warfadjdjūma, one of the leading clans of the Nafzāwa [*q.v.*] Berbers. Modern scholarship, on the basis of the principal Sunnī sources, associates this occupation with a Ṣufrī conquest of the town and with excesses committed against Arabs and others. However, the relationship between the Warfadjdjūma and the Ṣufriyya is by no means clear, and there is no good evidence linking such excesses to Ṣufrī teachings. It is notable that the Ibāḍī sources do not regard the Warfadjdjūma as Ṣufrīs, even while making of their atrocities a pretext for the Ibāḍī conquest of Ḳayrawān in 141/758 (al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, i, 115-17; Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *Siyar*, 38-9).

It is likely that the increasing strength of their Ṣufrī rivals is what pushed the Ibāḍīs to proclaim an Imāmate in 140/757. The Ibāḍī Imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb's [*q.v.*] conquest of Ifrīḳiya in 141/758-9, followed shortly afterward by the consolidation of ʿAbbāsid power in Ifrīḳiya and the eastern Maghrib under Ibn al-Ashʿath, had the effect of pushing the centres of Ṣufrī power south and west, from Ifrīḳiya to the central Maghrib. At Tilimsān (Tlemcen), Abū Ḳurra was able to establish an independent Ṣufrī state based on the power of the Īfran and Maghīla [*q.vv.*] Berber tribes. Abū Ḳurra had long been a principal Ṣufrī leader in North Africa, particularly after the death of Khālid b. Ḥamīd/Ḥumayd al-Zanātī. In 124/741-2, when the Ṣufrī rebel ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Yazīd al-Hawwārī threatened Ḳayrawān, Abū Ḳurra had commanded the vanguard of his army. Two decades later, he was able to claim the Ṣufrī imāmate, his position strengthened by the westward migration of the main body of Īfranid tribesmen following Ibn al-Ashʿath's conquests in Ifrīḳiya and the eastern Maghrib.

Abū Ḳurra's dominion, which extended from the new town of Tilimsān as far east as Tāhart, came under immediate attack by an ʿAbbāsid army sent in 148/765. Unable to extinguish Ṣufrī power, and facing a generalised Khāridjite threat to Ḳayrawān, the new governor of Ifrīḳiya ʿAmr b. Ḥafṣ sought in 151/768 to fortify the town of Ṭubna, and found himself surrounded and badly outnumbered by a combined Ṣufrī-Ibāḍī force which included among its notable commanders Abū Ḳurra and the Ibāḍī leaders Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam. Abū Ḳurra seems to have commanded by far the largest force, made up overwhelmingly of Īfranid tribesmen; elements of Ṣanhādja and Zanāta are also mentioned as participating in the siege. The sources generally attribute the failure of the attack to bribes paid by Ibn Ḥafṣ either to Abū Ḳurra or to his brother, although broader conflicts between the Ṣufrī and Ibāḍī elements of the besieging force may also have played a role in its disintegration.

The siege of Ṭubna marked the high-point of Ṣufrī power in Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib. Both the strengthened ʿAbbāsid presence after 155/772 and the spread of Idrīsid power in the far west came at the expense of Tilimsān, and those Berbers who continued to regard themselves as Ṣufrīs, migrated to the region of Tāfīlalt, now the principal Ṣufrī centre in North Africa. Ṣufrī teachings had been spread there by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Samghū/Samdjū b. Wāsūl, one of the Miknāsa reported to have studied with ʿIkrima at Ḳayrawān and to have participated in the Ṣufrī uprising around Tangier in 122/739-40. At some point after that date he is said to have occupied himself as a shepherd and a teacher on the site of the future town of Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*], and when the number of his followers reached 40 in 140/757, the group began to build permanent dwellings and recognised as leader a black named ʿĪsā b. Mazyad. Some 15 years later ʿĪsā was deposed, tortured, and executed, and replaced by Samghū. The sources offer in explanation only generalised accusations of misconduct by ʿĪsā, but it is possible to suppose from al-Bakrī's language (*Mughrib*, 149) that a growing presence of Miknāsa Berbers at the expense of blacks in the area around Sidjilmāsa may have led to the change. It is in any case from Samghū b. Wāsūl that the Ṣufrī Midrārid line of rulers would eventually issue [see MIDRĀR]. Whatever Ṣufrī identity the Midrārids maintained may have worked to preserve their independence from the neighbouring Ibāḍī Rustamid [see RUSTAMIDS] imāms, with whom they normally enjoyed friendly relations. (The succession conflict which raged in Sidjilmāsa between 221/835 and 224/838 suggests the importance which many attached to the state's maintaining a Khāridjite identity distinct from that of the Rustamids.) Their sectarian independence also allowed the Midrārids to sponsor non-Ibāḍī Khāridjite rebels elsewhere in the Maghrib. The Ṣufrī rebellion which a certain ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ led against the Idrīsids, and which reached the town of Fās (Fez) before being crushed in 292/904, appears to have been incited and supported by the Midrārids [see MIDYŪNA].

Ultimately, the Khāridjism which survived in North Africa was of the Ibāḍī, and not the Ṣufrī, variety. Just how quickly the Ṣufriyya died out or were absorbed into the Ibāḍiyya is impossible to tell. The final collapse of the Midrārid state in 366/976-7 must have hastened the process, although Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1065) was still able to observe that in his own day, the sole Khāridjite sects remaining were the Ibāḍiyya and the Ṣufriyya (*Fiṣal*, iv, 145).

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(K. Lewinstein)

ṢUFRŪY (colloq. Moroccan Ar., *Ṣefrū: nisba Ṣefrīwī*, pl. *Ṣefrāwa*; in European languages, Sefrou), a large town of over 30,000 inhabitants in north-central Morocco, located at an altitude of 850 m/2,790 feet in the foothills of the Middle Atlas just above the Sā'is plain only 30 km/18 miles south of Fās. It is situated in a green, picturesque setting surrounded by gardens and fruit (most notably cherry) orchards that give it an oasis-like aspect. The area is watered by several streams that branch out from the main watercourse, the Wādī Aggay (frequently referred to simply as Wādī Ṣefrū) which meanders through the heart of the town, and in the past it has caused considerable death and destruction in times of flooding, e.g. in 1888 and in 1950. The town today consists of several quarters: the old walled city which includes the *madīna*, which is subdivided into four principal quarters, and the *mellāḥ*; the new traditional neighbourhoods outside the walls, such as the Darb al-Mitr, Ḥabbūna, Slāwī, Sīdī Aḥmad Tadlī, and Habitant, and al-Ḳal'a, a walled traditional quarter, on the hill to the west above the old *madīna*. There is also the French-built Ville Nouvelle or al-Balad al-Djadīda, immediately up the hill to the west and south of the original town. The population of Sefrou has been increasing rapidly since the 1960s. Many of the newcomers are Tamazight-speaking Berbers from the countryside.

Sefrou was a settlement predating the Islamic conquest. It was supposedly named after the Ahl Ṣufrū, a Berber tribe professing Judaism. The lower course of the Aggay River is still called Wādī 'l-Yahūdī ("The River of the Jew"). However, this name may have originally been due to the fact that this part of the river runs along one side of the *mellāḥ*, or Jewish quarter [see mallāḥ], and the etiological legend was created as a later explanation. Sefrou and its environs were subjugated and Islamised in the early 3rd/9th century by Idrīs II [*q.v.*]. By the 5th/11th century, Sefrou was an important walled town on the caravan route connecting Fās, the Tafilalet, and the western Sudan (al-Bakrī, *al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, 147). Al-Idrīsī mentions that it is the first day's stop on the thirteen-day journey from Fās to Sidjilmāsa and that "it is a small, civilised town with few markets, and most of its inhabitants are farmers, who grow many crops and have camels, cattle, and sheep" (*Opus geographicum, Maghrib*, 76).

In 455/1053, the Almoravid leader Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn conquered Fās and Sefrou, which had been in the hands of Wānūdīn al-Maghrāwī, the ruler of Sidjilmāsa, and killed all of Wānūdīn's family members there (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 73). The city was captured and sacked again by the Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min on 5 Muḥarram 536/10 August 1141. Because of its location on the principal route across the Middle Atlas and on the border between the urban and agricultural *bilād al-makhzan* and the pastoral Berber *bilād al-sība*, Sefrou suffered from periodic attacks and devastation during periods of civil strife over the centuries. The city seems to have always recovered. Leo Africanus, who visited it in the 1540s, states that "Sofroi's [*sic*] inhabitants are wealthy, but they dress poorly and their clothes are always full of olive oil stains" (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Epaulard, Paris 1956, i, 310). During the 18th and 19th centuries, Sefrou frequently came under the domination of chieftains from the tribal hinterlands. The last of these was Ḳā'id 'Umar al-Yūsī, who was recognised by the Makhzan as *pasha* of the city until his assassination in 1904. It is a mark of the importance of Sefrou and the surrounding region that the first prime minister of independent Morocco was Sefrou's pasha Sī Mubārak Bakkāy, and the first minister of the interior was Ḳā'id al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, the chief of the area's principal Berber tribe, the Ayt Yūsī.

It was among the Ayt Yūsī that there arose the maraboutic leader and scholar al-Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd, known as Sīdī Laḥsen Lyūsī (1040-1102/1631-91). His *zāwiya* is located to the southwest of the town and is a popular pilgrimage site for the Berbers, with an annual *mawsim*.

Sefrou is the home of several naturalist cults, the most important of which are those at the spring of Lalla Rakiyya next to the *kubba* of Sīdī Bū 'Alī Sarghīn and of the grotto known to the Muslims as *Kāf al-Yahūdī* ("the Cave of the Jew") and to Jews simply as *al-Kāf* or *al-Djabal al-Kabīr* ("the great mountain").

Until the mass exodus of Moroccan Jewry that began in the early 1950s, Sefrou boasted the seventh largest Jewish community in the French Protectorate, with close on 6,000 people, representing from one-third to two-fifths of the town's inhabitants. It was a centre of Jewish scholarship and claimed to be *Yerushalayim ha-qeṭana* ("the little Jerusalem") and *Yerushalayim shel Maroko* ("the Jerusalem of Morocco"). The Jewish community flourished in the 18th century. In addition to their prominence in commerce and scholarship, Sefrīwī Jews held patents from the Makhzan for the minting of coins. By 1715, the community was considered important enough to have its own *shaykh al-yahūd* (Hebr. *nagid*), or lay communal official recognised by the sultan. Muslim-Jewish relations in Sefrou were on the whole better than in neighbouring Fās, or indeed than in most Moroccan cities, a fact noted by the French explorer and spy Charles de Foucauld (*Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris, 1939, 166). The Jews of Sefrou spoke a very distinctive and unusual dialect of old urban Arabic.

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(N.A. Stillman)

SUFTADJA (a.), a financial term referring to a negotiable instrument in the form of a written bill of credit which is similar to the modern drawing of a cheque.

The *suftadja*, like the *ḥawāla* [*q.v.*] and the *ṣakk*, was used in mediaeval Islam to facilitate the speedy transfer of money over distances or to expedite the exploitation of assignments of taxation, in an age when movements of actual cash were hazardous. For the general use of such financial instruments in mediaeval Islam, see R. Grasshoff, *Die Suftağa und Ḥawāla der Araber*, Göttingen 1899, and W.J. Fischel, *Jews in the economic and political life of mediaeval Islam*, London 1937, 3-35. The etymology of the term is allegedly from Persian *sufta* "pierced", because the folded or rolled financial instrument was pierced in order to enable a

cord to be passed through it, which was then sealed.

The *suftadja* thus enabled money to be instantly available in another land through what was in effect a letter of credit. The *modus operandi* was that (A), normally a broker, issues a bill for (B) to collect his money somewhere else from (C) who is an agent for (A). The *suftadja* differs from the *ḥawāla* in that it refers only to the transfer of money, whereas the *ḥawāla* is used to refer to transfers of all kind of claims whether money or goods; moreover, with *ḥawāla*, the safety factor is not the prime concern. Although *suftadja* is seen by Islamic law as a form of loan, both its formation and objectives are different from those involved in loans. The objective of a loan is the acquisition of money, while the objective of the *suftadja* is the avoidance of risk in transport. For Schacht, the difference between *suftadja* and *ḥawāla* rests in the "creation" of an obligation. "The obligation in the case of *suftadja* is created on purpose" while the obligation in the *ḥawāla* is "supposed as already existing". This can be contested by the fact that the *suftadja* debt does not really exist between the broker (A) and his agent (C). This is due to the fact that (C), the agent, is only an extension of (A), in the same way as are the branches of a bank.

The Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī schools consider the practice of the *suftadja* to be reprehensible because a debt should be repaid without any form of profit to the owner which results from the avoidance of risk (i.e. involved in an actual cash transfer). The Mālikīs only allow it on the grounds of necessity, while the Ḥanbalīs permit the practice so long as it is done without any material gain, such as commission, accruing to the person repaying the debt. Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳudāma permit the practice without reservation, since both the debtor and the indebted benefit. The term *ḥawāla maṣrafiyya* ("bank draft") seems to be replacing the term *suftadja* in many contemporary commercial transactions, although the main difference between a draft and a *suftadja* lies in the fact that the latter has a fixed value.

Bibliography: See also J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 78, 148; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī wa-adillatuh*, Beirut 1985, iv, 728, v, 178, S.E. Ryner, *The theory of contracts in Islamic law*, London 1991, 74-5.

(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

SUFYĀN AL-ʿABDĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Sufyān b. Muṣʿab al-ʿAbdī, of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, an Arab poet of the 2nd/8th century. The date of his birth is not known and the date of his death is not generally agreed. On the one hand al-ʿĀmilī in his *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* has him die in 120/739, whereas al-Amīnī in *al-Ghadīr* cites the date as 178/794.

He was probably born and spent most of his life in Kūfa. According to the sources he is said to have known the famous Shīʿī poet al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 173/789? [*q.v.*]), who is supposed to have said "were it not for al-ʿAbdī I would have been the greatest poet".

His relationship with the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765 [*q.v.*]) is most important. He is said to have esteemed him highly and, in view of their importance to the Shīʿīs, exhorted people to teach his poems to their children. Those poems previously mentioned do in fact relate essentially to Shīʿism. It was probably for this reason that they were not compiled. An attempt has been made to reconstitute the *dīwān* of Sufyān al-ʿAbdī and to study the poems and fragments attributed to him (see below, *Bibl.*). This present article has profited from this thesis and the main ideas in what follows stem from it.

The poetic works of al-ʿAbdī are at present composed of 33 poems and fragments, some of doubtful authenticity, grouped into 302 verses. They have been neglected by Sunnī authors and preserved only thanks to Shīʿī ones, in particular later writers such as Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) in his *Manāḳib*, al-ʿĀmilī in *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, xxxv, and al-Amīnī in *al-Ghadīr*, ii.

His œuvre is composed chiefly of short fragments, of which 22 consist of 5 or less verses, and they barely conform to the plan of the classical *ḳaṣīda*. On the other hand, al-ʿAbdī uses classical metres such as *basīṭ* (7 times), *ṭawīl* and *khafīf* (6 times), *kāmil* and *wāfir* (4 times). The most frequently used letters in the rhymes are *rāʾ* (7 times), *mīm* and *bāʾ* (5 times).

Using a narrative style and easy language free from learned words, and thus accessible to the masses, al-ʿAbdī develops political and religious themes across all three poetic and classical genres, elegy, threnody and satire. His work essentially relates to the People of the House, *Ahl al-Bayt*, and to their adversaries, or Umayyad enemies and even ʿAbbāsid enemies. Primarily, it is the merits of the *Ahl al-Bayt* in general, and of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in particular, that are highlighted, and they are even sometimes presented as superior to the Prophet himself.

Then there is the narration of the misfortunes of the Shīʿīs and the description of the dramas or tragedies they experienced, in particular, the drama of Karbalāʾ and the killing of al-Ḥusayn (61/680). The feelings of anxiety or sadness conveyed in this narration are characterised by a simplicity of expression, and denoted the sympathetic attitude of the poet and his deep attachment to the Prophet's family. In his invectives, Sufyān strongly expresses his hatred and rancour toward his enemies, the usurpers of power from the ʿAlids, scarcely sparing the caliphs Abū Bakr (13/634) and ʿUmar (23/643).

In conclusion, the poetic works of Sufyān al-ʿAbdī, in the light of how they have been restored, may now be seen as partisan poetry of a propagandist nature. The poems were written to be declaimed in order to arouse pity for the lot of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and to distract them from their enemies.

Bibliography: See also, of sources, Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*; and Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*. For reference works, see Sezgin, *GAS*, and, especially, Abu 'l-Suʿūd al-Ḥamīdī, *Sufyān b. Muṣʿab al-ʿAbdī, vie et œuvre*, unpubl. M.A. diss. Tunis 1981. (Taieb El Achèche)

SUFYĀN AL-THAWRĪ, Sufyān b. Saʿīd b. Masrūḳ Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Kūfī (97-161/716-78), prominent representative of early Islamic law, tradition, and Ḳurʾān interpretation, founder of the Thawriyya law school and important link in numerous *ḥadīth* transmissions of juridical, religious and dogmatic subjects on a broad literary scale, including the major *musnad* works.

Born 97/715-16 in Kūfa, Sufyān al-Thawrī soon belonged to the exclusive Kūfan law circles around Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān (d. 120/737), Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sabīʿī (128/745), Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir (132/749), and Sulaymān al-Aʿmash (148/764), and swiftly developed a profound reputation as a particularly *ḥadīth*-oriented legal scholar, thereby differing distinctly from the generally speculative ʿIrāḳī law system (that of *raʾy*), with Abū Ḥanīfa as its most effective exponent. Between 115/732 and 120/737 al-Thawrī started a major period of more than three decades of extensive travelling and *ḥadīth* transmitting in Khurāsān, Ḥidjāz, and especially Baṣra which—according to Ḥammād, as "a part of Syria"—developed a fast grow-

ing and most formative influence on al-Thawrī's intellectual curriculum.

Baṣran scholars like Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (131/748) and, in particular, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn (151/767) averted him from a probable Shīʿī inclination, quite common among Kūfan lawyers of the 2nd/8th century, and initiated contacts with Syria, especially with the great al-Awzāʿī (157/773 [*q.v.*]), thereby starting a long-term pro-Umayyad influence in legal and political reasoning. Al-Thawrī's religious and dogmatic thinking assumed a clearly rational, independent orientation through frequent contacts to early Muʿtazilīs like Khālid al-Ḥadhdhā' (141/758), ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (145/762), and Wāṣil b. ʿAṭā' (145/762), who excelled as a critic of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Consequently, al-Thawrī himself rejected the vacant post in Kūfa as *ḳāḍī*, tactically offered to him in 153/769, and evaded capture by escape to Ṣanʿā' where he continued a productive *ḥadīth* circle with Maʿmar b. Rāshid (153/769) and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣanʿānī (211/826 [*q.v.*]), whose *muṣannaf* partly originated from this special interaction. Between 153/769 and 158/774 he seems to have left his Yemeni exile for various pilgrimages to Mecca and frequent visits to Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, where he repeatedly met with al-Awzāʿī and their common disciple Abū Isḥāḳ al-Fazārī (186/801), who later transmitted a selection of their legal statements in al-Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā'*.

During his pilgrimage of 158/774, al-Thawrī managed to elude the caliph al-Manṣūr's repeated attempts at his arrest by another escape back to Baṣra, where he continued *ḥadīth* transmission, mainly to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Ḳaṭṭān (198/813), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī (198/813), and Abū Ḥudhayfa Mūsā b. Masʿūd al-Nahdī (220/835), who obtained parts of his Ḳur'ān commentary. Towards the end of his life, fatigued by constant pursuit, he agreed to an official reconciliation with the new authorities under al-Mahdī, but could not realise a planned meeting in Baghdād. At 64 he died in Shaʿbān 161/May 778 and was buried among renowned scholars of Baṣra like al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī.

Al-Thawrī has to be counted certainly among the first literary generation in Islam. His works, partly perished, partly preserved, comprise 1. two (lost) *ḥadīth* collections (*al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr, al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*); 2. a compendium of inheritance law provisions (*Kitāb al-Farā'iḍ*, ed. and comm. Raddatz, in *WI*, xiii [1971]); 3. a fragmentary Ḳur'ān commentary (*Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān al-kabīr*, ed. ʿArshī, Rampur 1965); 4. various religious treatises (*al-Iʿtiḳād*, rev. Ibn Taymiyya, Ẓāhiriyya, madjm. 139/14, *Risāla ilā ʿAbbād b. ʿAbbād al-Arsūfī*, *Ḥilya*, vi, 376, *Waṣiyya ilā ʿAlī al-Sulamī*, *Ḥilya* vii, 82); 5. occasional references to al-Thawrī's interests in natural sciences and "unusual subjects/*gharā'ib*" (al-Ishbīlī, *Kitāb al-ādāb* (lost), *Risāla kīmiyā'iyya*, Ketâbkhâne-yedâneshgâh-e-Tehrân, *Fihrist*, iii/4, 2265, ms. 1178, fols. 134b-135b, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdima*, 125) with very fragmentary literary traces only.

Considerable parts of his legal thought are preserved in al-Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā'* (ed. Schacht, Leiden 1933, on military law, and ed. Kern, Cairo 1902, on civil law), where his opinions on detailed questions of legal practice in the typically ʿIrāḳī form of speculative deduction are compared to other *madhāhib* (al-Awzāʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī). The immense variety of his being cited as an essential authority throughout the respective *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, and *ṭabaḳāt* literature, however, illustrates his formative position as a systematic *ḥadīth* developer—though methodologically criticised—within the Kūfan law school. Al-Thawrī's views and methods coalesce into an independent complex of legal and religious statements, frequently based on Companion or Successor and—more rarely—Prophetic traditions, thereby preparing, if not anticipating, a homogenously *ḥadīth*-oriented law system like al-Shāfiʿī's. His marked theoretical creativity and pronounced political, anti-ʿAbbāsid preferences secured a high degree of contemporary acceptance of his *madhhab* and contributed considerably to the peculiar expansion of the Thawriyya as far as Umayyad Cordova. Originating from Syrian-based disciples like Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Firyābī (212/827) and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Fazārī, the Thawriyya represented law as practiced in North Africa and Spain before Mālikī absorption in the 4th/9th century.

Al-Thawrī's religious and dogmatic statements, comprehensively rendered in Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilya* and Ibn Abī Ḥātim's *Taḳdima*, make up a basically orthodox, rationally-accentuated range of thought. Continuous recommendations of diligent religious studies (*ʿilm*), of efforts towards righteous intention (*niyya*) and action in daily practice (*ʿamal*), as well as trust in God's unfailing justice, based on a ceaseless awareness of God's predestining almightiness and eternal properties, place his theology in an intermediate position between the Khāridjites and the Ḳadariyya as well as the Ṣifātiyya, respectively. Positive affirmation of worldly life and its active design in preparation for the Last Judgement, combined with a pragmatic, *ḥadīth*-oriented legal codification, represent a clearly rational modification of the conservative *sunna* and a gradual anticipation of Muʿtazilī concepts without, however, the idea of God's absolute oneness and the resulting createdness of the Ḳur'ān, duly reflected in the fact that his moderately rational *tafsīr* is an important source for the orthodox al-Ṭabarī. While al-Thawrī's dogmatics may have had an influence on ascetics like al-Muḥāsibī and the Thawrī adherent al-Djunayd, many tendentious Ṣūfī claims may be set aside. The mystic postulation of complete renunciation of man's worldly endeavour and the negation of God's corresponding justice prove incompatible with al-Thawrī's constructive belief and conduct.

Thus his famous antagonism towards the ʿAbbāsid-inclined Murdji'a [*q.v.*] should be regarded as a result of not only his political, pro-Umayyad commitment but also of his active, though demanding, Last Judgement orientation. Occasional suspicion of his alleged sympathising with Shīʿī, including Zaydī, circles, possibly arisen for the same political reasons, points to an early, typically Kūfan *tashayyuʿ* without lasting effect on his tenets. Sufyān al-Thawrī appears today as a progressive element within the unfolding currents of the 2nd/8th century by his theoretical development and literary codification of *ḥadīth*-based law and reason-based *sunna* as stepping stones towards al-Shāfiʿī's jurisprudence and—to a more limited extent—the new Muʿtazilī rationalism, leaving very little justification for Shīʿī or Ṣūfī claims. The unusual aspect of his politico-religious pro-Umayyad, conservative attitude adds a historical facet to his intellectual independence, conditioning the major expansion of his *madhhab* into Spain.

Bibliography: Plessner, *EI*[1] art. s.v.; H.P. Raddatz, *Die Stellung und Bedeutung des Sufyān al-Thawrī*, diss. Bonn 1967; idem, *Frühislamisches Erbrecht*, in *WI*, xiii (1971); Ibn Saʿd, vi; Ṭabarī, iii/4; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1944; idem, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, i, Cairo 1907; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, Ḥaydarābād

1907; idem, *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1911; Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, Cairo 1930; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii/2, Ḥaydarābād 1941; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, Cairo 1932, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdima*, Ḥaydarābād 1952; Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1893; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, i; Ishbīlī, *Fihrist*, ed. Codera, repr. Baghdād 1965; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii; Horst, *Korankommentar Ṭabarīs*, in *ZDMG*, ciii; Ḳurṭubī, *Intiḳāʾ*, Cairo 1952; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, Heidelberg 1910; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1948, ii; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, Cairo 1911-32; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld 1842; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940-53, iii; Muḳaddasī; Schacht, *Origins*, Oxford 1950; Yaḥyā b. Ādam, *K. al-Kharādj*, ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1886; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1872, i; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ*, ed. Ritter, Istanbul 1931; Mez, *Renaissance*, Heidelberg 1922; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, ii, ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1852-61; Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, Madrid 1892; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, ed. Bergsträsser, Cairo 1933; ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkira*, i, ed. Nicholson, London 1907; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1940; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, Cairo 1925-30; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, vi; Schreiner, *Beiträge*, in *ZDMG*, lii-liii; Madelung, *Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1906; Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1953; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, Leiden 1967; H. Motzki, *Anfänge d. isl. Jurisprudenz*, Stuttgart 1991; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, Cambridge 1983.

(H.P. RADDATZ)

SUFYĀN B. ʿUYAYNA b. Maymūn al-Hilālī, a scholar of the Ḥidjāz, was born in Kūfa in 107/725. In his youth he moved to Mecca, where he died in 196/811. Although biographical sources also describe him as a Ḳurʾān commentator (*mufassir*) and a jurist (*faḳīh*), his fame is due mainly to his activity as a traditionist (*muḥaddith*). In his teens he studied with al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*], who remarked on his youthful intelligence, and he is considered one of the main transmitters of al-Zuhrī's *ḥadīths* (examples in Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 238 ff.). Other well-known traditionists from whom Sufyān transmitted are ʿAmr b. Dīnār (d. 126/744) and ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār (d. 127/745). Those who transmitted traditions from him include Sulaymān b. al-Mihrān al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765), Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/766 [*q.v.*]) and Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*]. His own tradition collection has not survived independently (see Sezgin, i, 96 for surviving fragments). He is said to have known over 7,000 traditions; as is the case with many traditionists, he is reported to have had a phenomenal memory and never to have written down anything he had not already memorised. He is also reported to have practiced *tadlīs*, that is, he transmitted traditions from people who had not actually heard the texts from the persons who preceded them in the *isnād*, and he himself transmitted traditions from persons whom he had not actually heard [see ḤADĪTH].

Sufyān's Ḳurʾān commentary has not survived, but is known from later references (see Sezgin, *loc. cit.*). There is no evidence for any writings of *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], but some of his legal opinions can be gleaned from a manuscript collection of the responses (*masāʾil*) of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Isḥāḳ b. Rāhawayh [*q.vv.*] compiled by the Ḥanbalī scholar Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Kawsadj al-Marwazī (d. 251/865), who, as a very young man, had heard Sufyān lecture in Mecca. Al-Kawsadj often frames a question by reporting an answer of Sufyān's and asking Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Rāhawayh their opinion of it (Ẓāhiriyya, *Fiḳh Ḥanbalī, 1* and *83*). Sometimes Sufyān's legal reasoning resembles that of his older contemporary Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*], and sometimes that of his younger contemporary Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*].

Despite his scholarly reputation and the large number of his teachers and students, little is actually known of Sufyān's life. He had eight or nine brothers, several of whom were also active as traditionists. Al-Shāfiʿī, who studied with Sufyān as well as with Mālik, is reported to have said: "Were it not for Mālik and Sufyān, knowledge would have departed from the Ḥidjāz."

Bibliography: For primary sources, see references in Sezgin, i, 96, and ʿUmar R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1957-61, iv, 235, and add Ibn Ḥanbal, *K. al-ʿIlal wa-maʿrifat al-ridjāl*, ed. Talât Koçyigit and İsmail Cerrahoğlu, Ankara 1963 (see index, *s.v.* Sufyān b. ʿUyayna and Ibn ʿUyayna). See also Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, in Wensinck, *Concordance*, viii, for a listing of traditions in which he figures prominently. Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, Chicago 1967, ii, discusses fully his role as a collector and transmitter of traditions.

(SUSAN A. SPECTORSKY)

AL-SUFYĀNĪ [see Suppl.].

SUFYĀNIDS, the branch of the Umayyad dynasty of Arab caliphs in early Islam who formed the first and shorter-lasting line of the dynasty, being predecessors of the Marwānids [*q.v.*]. The line took its name from Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*], whose son Muʿāwiya I became caliph in 41/61, to be followed briefly by his son Yazīd I and the latter's young son Muʿāwiya II, who died in 64/683. The succession was then taken up by the parallel branch of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*].

For the general history of the Sufyānids, see UMAYYADS and the articles on the individual rulers, and for the post-132/750 eschatological figure of the Sufyānī, see AL-SUFYĀNĪ in Suppl. (ED.)

AL-ṢUGHD or AL-SUGHD, the name in early Islamic geographical and historical sources for the Soghdia of classical Greek authors, a region of Central Asia lying beyond the Oxus and extending across the modern Republics of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kirghizia in its wider acceptation. The same name (Old. Pers. Sugudu, late Avestan Sughda, Greek Sogdioi or Sogdianoi (the people) and Sogdianē (the country) was applied in ancient times to a people of Iranian origin subject to the Persians (at least from the time of Darius I, 522-486 B.C.) whose lands stretched from the Oxus [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ] to the Jaxartes [see SĪR DARYĀ], according to the Greek sources. The language, and especially the terms relating to the calendar and festivals of the Soghdian Zoroastrians, are very fully dealt with in the Muslim period by al-Bīrūnī in his *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 46-7, 233 ff., tr. idem, London 1879, 56-7, 220 ff. From al-Bīrūnī's information, modern Iranists (notably F.C. Andreas and F.W.K. Müller) were able to identify as Soghdian the language of numerous fragments of manuscripts found in Chinese Turkestan (commercial documents, Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian texts).

As in classical times, the Soghdians still appear in al-Bīrūnī (*op. cit.*, 45, l. 21) along with the Khwārazmians as an indigenous people with a Zoroastrian civilisation in the lands beyond the Oxus.

In both pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, Soghdian merchants were great travellers through Inner Asia, including along the Silk Route through eastern Turkestan to northern China, and references to Soghdian colonies in these remote regions are to be found not only in Chinese but also in Islamic sources. Thus the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (*ca.* 370/980), tr. Minorsky, 99,

comm. 304, mentions the Soghdian colony in the lands of the Tukhsi Turks in the Semirečye called Bīglīligh ("home of the Beg's men") in Turkish and S.m.knā in Soghdian, and at tr. 95, comm. 274, five Soghdian villages belonging to a certain Beg-tigin in the Tarim basin, the land of the Toghuz Oghuz. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī [*q.v.*], *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 29, 471, tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-4, i, 84, 352, mentions the Soghdaḳ (the form also found earlier in the Orkhon [*q.v.*] inscriptions) settlers in the region of Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*], i.e. in the Ču valley, who had adopted Turkish dress and manners. The fact proved by R. Gauthiot that the Uyghurs borrowed their alphabet from the Soghdians seems to have been known in Islamic times, cf. Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (beginning of the 7th/13th century) in E.D. Ross in *ʿAdjab nāma, a volume of oriental studies presented to E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 405. Turkish *kent* meaning "village, town" is already described as a Soghdian loan-word in the *K. al-Ḳand fī taʾrīkh Samarḳand* (text in W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, i, *Tekstî*, St. Petersburg 1898, 48).

As the name of a country, Ṣughd had a much narrower application in the Islamic period than in antiquity. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī (316), Ṣughd proper comprised the lands east of Bukhārā from Dabūsiyya to Samarḳand; he also says that others also included Bukhārā, Kish and Nasaf in Ṣughd. Kish sometimes appears as the capital of Ṣughd, e.g. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 299, 14; it is possible that the oldest Chinese name for the region of Kish, *Suhiai* (old pronunciation *Su-git*) is a reproduction of the name Ṣughd; it is so taken by J. Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, 57. In another passage (293), al-Yaʿḳūbī describes Samarḳand as the capital of Ṣughd; Kish and Nasaf are included in Ṣughd but Bukhārā is separated. It is not known what geographical connotation Ṣughd had for al-Bīrūnī; whenever he associates a Soghdian festival with a particular district, it is always some village in the territory of Bukhārā.

Early Islamic al-Ṣughd thus comprised essentially the valley of the Zarafshān (lit. "gold spreader") river, which rose in the Buttamān mountains to the north of Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*] and Rasht, and flowed westwards through the oases of Samarḳand and Bukhārā [*q.vv.*] before losing itself in the deserts to the north of the middle Oxus. It is this river which is described by the mediaeval geographers as the Nahr al-Ṣughd (e.g. by Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 486, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 466; al-Muḳaddasī, 19; the Nāmiḳ (?) in al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 293, tr. Wiet, 111, possibly echoing the ancient Iranian name of the river, Namik, Chinese transcription Na-mi); and by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 73, as the river of Bukhārā. The present name Zarafshān does not appear in historical sources before the 18th century, according to Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 82.

The Arabs first crossed the Oxus in the reign of the caliph ʿUthmān, apparently in 33/653-4, and subsequently attacked such Soghdian city-states as Kish [*q.v.*], Bukhārā and Samarḳand. The securing of Arab political control over Soghdia was, however, a protracted process, and the course of Islamisation even slower; for details, see MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR.

In his *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, Narshakhī, ed. Schefer, 47, tr. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, 48, comm. 135-6, quotes a few expressions in Soghdian, cited as the local language of the city (see the discussion in Frye, *op. cit.*, 135-6), and according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, 314, Soghdian was spoken there. The Middle Iranian language of Soghdian undoubtedly survived well into the Islamic period, though not so long, it seems, as Khʷārazmian, but was eventually overwhelmed by standard New Persian or Tādjīk and by Turkish. Some of the surviving Soghdian texts could date from as late as the 11th or 12th centuries. As noted above, the Soghdians were great travellers, and left documents and inscriptions in many distant regions, e.g. across the Karakoram mountains, via such passes as the one taken by the modern Karakoram Highway, and into the extreme north of modern Pākistān and India, where hundreds of inscriptions and graffiti of Soghdian travellers (unfortunately undated) have been found in recent years. Soghdian survives today in Yaghnōbī, a Neo-Soghdian dialect spoken in an isolated valley of eastern Islamic Soghdia, now in Tajikistan. See on Soghdian and its dialects, *GIrPh*, i/2, 334-44; *HdOr*, IV, 1, *Iranistik*, 52-6, 105-8; *Compendium linguarum iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989; ĪRĀN. iii. Languages, in Suppl. In modern Central Asian topography, Ṣughd is only a part of the territory of Samarḳand and a distinction is made between "Half-Ṣughd" (Nīm Ṣughud) on the island between the two arms of the Zarafshān (Aḳ Daryā and Ḳara Daryā), and "Great Ṣughd" (Ṣughud-i Kalān) north of the Aḳ Daryā.

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(W. BARTHOLD-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SUGHDĀḲ (Sudak in Russian and Ukrainian; Σουγδαία or Σουγδία in Greek, Surozh in old Russian, Soldaia or Soldachia in mediaeval Italian), once a great seaport, now a small town on the coast of the Crimea (Ukraine) almost due north of the Anatolian port of Sinob [see SĪNŪB], and some 40 km to the south-west of Theodosia [see KEFE]. In the 12th and 13th centuries, it was the principal port for trade between Russia and the Islamic and Mediterranean worlds, while also attracting a portion of the silk and spice trade from South Asia and the Far East.

The origins of Sughdāḳ are less well documented than those of Theodosia; unlike the latter and other settlements on the Black Sea coast which were founded by Greek colonists in Antiquity, Sughdāḳ is believed to have sprung up as a Sogdian settlement (hence the name; see AL-ṢUGHD), possibly in the time of contacts between Central Asian Sogdians and the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine Greek element asserted itself since the time of Justinian I (6th century), and received still more immigrants during the Iconoclastic Controversy (8th century); recent excavations have uncovered archaeological evidence beginning with the 6th century; eventually there was a bishop (archbishop from the 10th century) in the predominantly Orthodox city. At the same time, the growth of the Khazar [*q.v.*] Kaghanate led to intermittent control of the Crimea by it, with the *tudun* or governor residing in Sughdāḳ. The town became a thriving commercial port, despite occasional Byzantine-Khazar hostilities. Its exports were chiefly furs, wax and slaves from the Slavic hinterland, and they survived the subsequent irruptions of the Turkic Pečenegs [*q.v.*] and Polovtsians (Cumans). Sughdāḳ, like the rest of the

Crimean coastland, developed as a cosmopolitan place, with Greek, Russian, and Ḳïpčaḳ elements existing side-by-side, and was frequented by merchants from Anatolia, Syria, Egypt and Byzantium; these were joined by Venetian merchants after the foundation of the Latin kingdom of Constantinople in 1204, although political domination fell to the Greek empire of Trebizond or to the Ḳïpčaḳ k͟hāns of the adjacent steppe. Ibn al-At͟hīr, while mentioning the first Mongol sack in January 1223, describes *madīnat Sūdāḳ* as "a city of the Ḳïpčaḳ ... on the sea coast, frequented by ships bringing cloths, which the Ḳïpčaḳs buy from them and sell them slave girls and boys, *burṭāsī* beaver and squirrel skins, and other products of their land..." (*al-Kāmil*, xii, 386).

A curious episode was the brief conquest (probably in 1225-7) of Sug͟hdāḳ by an expedition sent by the Sald͟jūḳid sultan Kayḳubād I [*q.v.*]; the ostensible reason was chastisement of the local leaders for mistreating the sultan's subjects, and an effort was made to turn the Christian town into a Muslim one. This episode was followed in 1238 by another sack by the Mongols, this time as part of their definitive conquest of southern Russia. Nevertheless, Sug͟hdāḳ continued to prosper as a port. William of Rubruck, the Franciscan envoy from St. Louis to the Mongols, landed there in 1253 after a fortnight-long voyage from Constantinople, as did in 1260 two brothers of the Polo family on the way to the court of Berke; Marco Polo the Elder owned a house in Sug͟hdāḳ, which in 1280 he willed to the local Franciscans. The end of the Latin kingdom in 1261 favoured Genoa over Venice, but for the time being it failed to affect Venice's position in Sug͟hdāḳ. At the same time, the growth of the Golden Horde as a member of the Mongol empire and suzerain of the Russian principalities, had a further stimulating effect on the trade passing through ports like Sug͟hdāḳ. A 1281 treaty between the emperor Michael Palaeologus and the Mamlūk sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] illustrates the importance of Sug͟hdāḳ in that period. The treaty, whose Arabic version is quoted by al-Ḳalḳas͟handī (*Ṣubḥ al-a'S͟hā*, xiv, 72-8), stipulates unhindered passage of merchants of both countries to and from Sug͟hdāḳ with such goods as slaves of both sexes.

Meanwhile, Genoa made a vigorous entry into the competitive Black Sea trade. Genoese merchants in Sug͟hdāḳ are first documented for 1274. By 1365 the republic, firmly installed in Kefe since 1314, conquered Sug͟hdāḳ, and in 1380 Genoese commercial presence on Crimea's southern coast was formalised through a treaty with the Tatars as the colony of Gazaria (a name echoing the extinct K͟hazar Kag͟hanate), possessing the coast from Kefe (Theodosia) to Cembalo (Balaklava) and tied to the Golden Horde only by tenuous bonds of vassaldom and tribute. This colony then prospered until its conquest by the Ottomans. In the course of their two centuries-long presence in Sug͟hdāḳ, the Genoese transformed the harbour town into a stronghold whose fortifications still bear witness to past glory; it was administered by a consul subordinated to the principal consul in Kefe. Genoese possession, however, also caused Sug͟hdāḳ's decline well before the Ottoman conquest; for the Republic, favouring Kefe as the capital of the colony, gradually restricted the volume of activities permitted in other ports such as Sug͟hdāḳ.

Sug͟hdāḳ fell to the Ottomans in July 1475. At the end of the siege, some of the inhabitants took refuge in a church which then, according to local tradition, became their tomb after its doors and windows had been walled over; doubts about the genuineness of the account were dispelled by excavations undertaken in 1928.

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ṢUḤĀR, a mediaeval and modern town in ʿUmān conventionally Sohar (lat. 24° 23' N., long. 56° 45' E.).

It is situated in the middle of the flat and sandy bay which is found on the coast of Arabia between Masḳaṭ in the south-east and the peninsula of Musandam in the north-east. The site is of no particular use as a harbour, even though it has a broad opening on to the Gulf of ʿUmān. But the reasons for the development of the region are the long, fertile and well-irrigated coastal plain of the Bāṭina behind the site of the city, and also the east-west thoroughfare across the D͟jabal Ak͟hḍar which provides access to the Persian Gulf. Moreover, since ancient times, veins of copper have been exploited in the region; archaeological studies in metallurgy have shown that this ore has been mined in the region from the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. until the 11th A.D., and copper ingots which were found on the eastern coast of the island of Baḥrayn, south of the village of Zallāḥ, also came from this region which was then known by the name Magan or Makan (Makkan). Magan also supplied copper to Mesopotamia and Elam. Another mineral resource of the valleys of the D͟jabal Ak͟hḍar was olivine gabbro, a dark stone which becomes outstandingly fine after polishing. Among the statues made from this were those of Gudea, King of the ancient Sumerian city of Lagash.

Ṣuḥār is distinct from the other sites which at regular intervals mark out the coastline of the Bāṭina (Sīb, Barkā, Suwayḥ, K͟hābūra, Lawā and S͟hināṣ), for it forms a tell, which is 500-700 m in diameter and rises to a height of about 10 m above sea level. The circle of empty areas which surrounds the tell at the lower levels is a reminder of the greater extent of the town in the middle ages; it is further encircled by palm groves. Until 1980, when the modern reconstruction of the town was begun, there were dilapidated remains of houses and mosques from the 18th to the 19th centuries sporadically covering the site, but there was no archaeological evidence of any occupation from pre-Islamic times. But the soundings which were undertaken between 1982-6 have revealed stratified layers of occupation for the site which are uninterrupted from the beginning of the Christian era (at a depth of about 1.80 m above sea-level) until the pre-modern period (at the summit of the tell, some 8 m higher). From the time of its foundation, the town had commercial contacts with western India, as is attested by the presence of many fragments of polished red ceramics, an Indian imitation of Roman sigillated

pottery. In the higher levels, those corresponding to the Sāsānid period, there are fragments of Chinese glazed earthenware jars which provide the oldest evidence for maritime exchanges between ports on the Sea of ʿUmān and those in Southern China.

In the first centuries of the Christian era, Ṣuḥār was probably known as Omana, a toponym attested by Pliny the Elder as well as by the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (dated to the 1st century of this era), but that identification of the name remains uncertain. In the 4th century, the city was mentioned as a part of the Sāsānid empire under the name *Emporium Persarum* on the occasion of a mission carried out in Arabia by Theophilus the Indian. This bishop founded three churches in the peninsula, one of which was probably at Ṣuḥār. Consequently, the city and the region were designated by the Persian toponym Māzūn, which is preserved in Arab Islamic historiography, and also in certain Chinese texts, which continue to use it until the 17th century.

With the advent of Islam, the tribes of ʿUmān became divided regarding their support of the new faith and the representatives of the prestigious al-Djulandā family, who according to tradition received the messengers of the Prophet at Ṣuḥār in 8/629-30, had to take refuge in the mountains until the submission of the opponents of the Prophet in 12/633-4. The Persians, who controlled the Bāṭina and the stronghold of Rastāḳ in the interior, were driven out and this was about the time when the toponym Māzūn was replaced by that of Ṣuḥār. This was the name of a territory that had allegedly belonged to ʿĀd b. ʿŪṣ b. Iram b. Sām b. Nūḥ, and attempts were made to pass it off as an anthroponym, to create a pseudo-authentic bond between the city and a very ancient Arab founder. Ṣuḥār was the official place of residence for the governors appointed by the caliph during the 1st century A.H., and it was through Ṣuḥār, by mediation of the ʿUmānīs established at Baṣra, that the Ibāḍī doctrine [see IBĀḌIYYA] penetrated ʿUmān. The reign of the first Imām, al-Djulandā b. Masʿūd, had barely begun (in 132/750) when it was brutally interrupted by an attack from an ʿAbbāsid army sent to take back the country under the tutelage of the caliph. But ʿUmān kept its *de facto* independence under the successors of al-Djulandā b. Masʿūd, the Yaḥmad, another branch of the confederation of the Shanūʾa, who lived in Nazwā.

In the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century, under the Imāmate of al-Wārith b. Kaʿb al-Kharūṣī, Hārūn al-Rashīd tried again to subdue the country, but his general, ʿĪsā b. Djaʿfar b. Abi ʾl-Manṣūr, was defeated, imprisoned in the fort of Ṣuḥār and murdered there against the wishes of the Imām. In the last years of the same century, the rivalry between the "Yemenite" Ibāḍī tribes and the Sunnī Nizārī tribes degenerated into a civil war, in the course of which the orthodox Sunnīs called to their aid Muḥammad b. Nūr, the governor of Baḥrayn. He conducted a terrible repression in Nazwā and the whole surrounding area, causing the exodus of many Ṣuḥārīs to Shīrāz and Baṣra. When he departed, Muḥammad b. Nūr left behind a governor at Bahlā, who soon established himself at Ṣuḥār, for it seemed he favoured the commercial interests of the city. However, the Ḳarmaṭīs soon took control of ʿUmān and led raids against Baṣra from Ṣuḥār in 331/943 and 341/953, until in their turn they were conquered by the Būyids. After a mutiny by the Zandj and Daylamī contingents billeted at Ṣuḥār, which was severely put down by the Būyids, the town was devastated, and then again suffered through the Ghuzz invasion during its domination by the Saldjūḳs.

It seems that these events, though they were brutal, were also short-lived, and they did not deeply affect the prosperity of Ṣuḥār. The town had been established for centuries and had been reinforced at the beginnings of Islam by flourishing maritime trade links with India, East Africa and China. Commercial relations with these countries were obviously close, for Ṣuḥār was known as the "warehouse of China"; furthermore, Chinese chronicles recorded the name of a Ṣuḥārī, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh (Xin-ya-tuo-luo), who was called the director of foreigners at Canton in the 5th/11th century. There were other traders originating from Ṣuḥār, from Ḳalʿāt or from the interior who became famous in China, such as Abū ʿAlī (Bu-ha-er), who became the minister of the province of Fujian in the 7th/13th century. During the excavations of 1982-6, some traces of the beautiful houses of burnt brick which had belonged to the merchants and ship-owners of the metropolis of the Bāṭina were brought to light once again.

Arab historiography of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries conjures up the splendour of the city in this period, in particular thanks to the testimony of the Palestinian geographer al-Muḳaddasī, who described it thus: "It is a flourishing place, well-populated, beautiful and pleasant to live in. There are elegant quarters lining the shore, and the houses are tall and stately, built of brick and teak wood. You can see the beautiful minaret of the Friday mosque rising close beside the sea, and inside the *miḥrāb* shimmers with reflections, now yellow, now green and red. But what delighted visitors above all was the *sūḳ* of Ṣuḥār, where commodities from the whole world could be found."

Archaeological excavations have clearly proved that the economic prosperity of Ṣuḥār came to an end in the course of the 7th/13th century. The series of events listed above probably played a large part, but there were also the incursions from Persia during the Mongol epoch (the arrival of Fakhr al-Dīn and of Shihāb al-Dīn in the second half of the century) which must have been the major cause, since these invasions are contemporary with the ruin of the city, as is evident from its archaeological stratigraphy. These incursions ended with the integration of Ṣuḥār into the empire of the princes of Hurmuz, and the building within the city of a fortress controlled by a Hurmuzī garrison. As a fortress, it was used to prevent the landing of cargoes in a port which had long been devoted to trade on the high seas, but rather to force them back towards Hurmuz, where the fiscal agents of the princes were awaiting them. Not one single piece of pottery imported from China has been found at Ṣuḥār in the levels corresponding to the period of the 8th-11th/14th-17th centuries.

The Portuguese, who conquered Ṣuḥār in 913/1507, pursued the same political ends as the princes of Hurmuz, and stationed their officers and garrison within the fortress; occasionally they made attempts to plunder the forbidden goods which flooded into the city for their own profit.

But the days of Portugese power in the region were numbered. Just at the time when they were chased from Hurmuz by the concerted action of the Ṣafawids and the English, Nāṣir b. Murshid al-Yaʿrubī was elected Imām. He and his successors, Sulṭān b. Sayf in particular, first chased the Portuguese and then the Persians from ʿUmān, and he set in motion an aggressive maritime and commercial policy involving vengeance against the former oppressors, where raids on

the Portuguese possessions of India were mingled with piracy and bargaining. When the Ṣafawids saw their maritime interests were suffering from these practices, they tried (without much success) to involve the European powers (England, Holland and France) against ʿUmān. In 1146/1738 they laid siege to Ṣuḥār, but the governor of the city, Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, opposed them with fierce resistance. This feat of arms was the original claim to prowess of the dynasty of the Āl Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*], which is still in power in ʿUmān today.

At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, Ṣuḥār still enjoyed a considerable amount of maritime activity. J.R. Wellsted described it as the second city of ʿUmān, with an annual revenue of 10,000 dollars from customs dues and with 9,000 inhabitants. Among them were about twenty Jewish families with a small synagogue, and still today there is a Jewish cemetery at Ṣuḥār which could date back to the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. On a number of the bricks used in the masonry of its tombs, as well as in the enigmatic wall which towers above them, are engraved Hebrew names in square characters.

The general economy of Ṣuḥār was run down because of the transfer of activity to Zanzibar and through the limitations imposed by the British authorities on the business which the ships of ʿUmān had been traditionally carrying out; the slave trade, in particular, was conducted specifically by the privateers of Sūr. Ṣuḥār was finally ruined by the attacks of pirates who, in the 19th century became established in the neighbouring fort of S̲h̲inās, and also by internal rivalries in the region, in which Wahhābī elements played a part.

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al-**SUHAYLĪ, ʿABD** al-**RAḤMĀN** [see Suppl.].

SUḤAYM, called ʿAbd Bani ʾl-Ḥasḥās, meaning the slave of the Banu ʾl-Ḥasḥās (Asad, the clan Nufāsa b. Saʿīd b. ʿAmr of the Banū Dūdān), a slave-poet of the *muk̲h̲aḍram* who lived in Medina during the reign of ʿUt̲h̲mān b. ʿAffān. He is not to be confused with his namesake Suḥaym b. Wat̲h̲īl al-Riyāḥī, a Tamīmī with a pure pedigree (as noted in the work of Ibn S̲h̲ākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Cairo 1951, i, 338).

The traditions concerning him are very contradictory and it is difficult to put together even an approximate biography of the poet. The only dateable event is his purchase by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, to present him to the Caliph ʿUt̲h̲mān because of his poetic talent. But the caliph declined the offer and is supposed to have said that negro slave-poets address *hid̲j̲āʾ* to their masters when they are hungry, but when they are full they write lewd songs (*yus̲h̲abbibūna*) about their women (*S̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, 241; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xxii, 305; *K̲h̲izāna*, ii, 104).

The slave went back to his former master D̲j̲andal b. Maʿbad of the Banu ʾl-Ḥasḥās (*Simṭ*, 720). The precise date of his relationship with ʿUmayra, the daughter of D̲j̲anbal who is evoked in the *yāʾiyya*, is unknown. However, a poem by Suḥaym tells of a sale that was planned but ended abruptly because of the imploring and pleas made by the slave (*Dīwān*, 56, rhyme *rāʾ*, metre *ṭawīl*). He went back to D̲j̲andal and had another affair with a young woman. News of this affair spread and his masters put him to death by beating him with red-hot iron bars. His death occurred in 37/657-8 (*al-Muntaẓam*, v, 142).

It is hard to date the other recorded episodes, and some of the scenes described in his *Dīwān* can be considered as poetic fiction, and as such they are without literary-biographical significance; see for example *Dīwān*, 15-16, 37-8.

The poetry of Suḥaym was collected by grammarians in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries and has a pronounced linguistic character; see, in addition to the *riwāya* of Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Aḥwal (died 259/873), those of Nifṭawayhi (died 323/935) and Ibn D̲j̲innī (died 392/1002), which have all survived. Moreover, his verses seem to have found favour with the *nuḥāt* and with the lexicographers (Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, Cairo 1403/1983, i, 350; iv, 225; T̲h̲aʿlab, *Mad̲j̲ālis*, Cairo 1948, 20, 2849; Ibn Durayd, *Waṣf al-maṭar wa ʾl-saḥāb*, Damascus 1382/1963, 70; ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Baṣrī, *al-Tanbīhāt*, Cairo 1967, 167; al-Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1382, 76-7, 130-1; Ibn Yaʿīs̲h̲, *S̲h̲arḥ al-mufaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., i, 119-24; al-Suyūṭī, *Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ*, Cairo 1327, i, 189; idem, *al-Muzhir*, Cairo n.d., ii, 195; Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muk̲h̲aṣṣaṣ*, Būlāḳ 1316, iv, 59, ix, 103, 108, x, 69, xii, 260; xiii, 232; *LʿA*, index of poets).

Only some 240 verses are still in existence, and they are divided between three major themes: tribal poetry, love poetry and poetry of rebellion. Five fragments totalling 31 verses constitute an altogether secondary side of his poetic talent, and in the poems of this genre Suḥaym certainly seems to play the role of

a commemorative poet, as he recalls the battles (*ayyām*) of Asad, such as Yawm al-Ras̲h̲ā' (*Dīwān*, 49) and Yawm al-Liwā (*ibid.*, 38-9, with the death of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṣimma and the flight of his brother Durayd, an episode which inspired one of the most famous threnodies of pre-Islamic poetry), as he praises the bravery of his "fellow-tribesmen", and as he frequently plays the role of the counsellor. The Banū G̲h̲aḍīra and the Naṣr b. Ḳuʿayn were given eulogies (*ibid.*, 49-50, 51, 52, 52-4).

But his main contribution was love poetry. There is not the slightest trace of *nasīb* in his work. On the contrary, his *yā'iyya* is a sensual hymn of praise to the complete woman. It is steeped in an atmosphere of licentiousness and his verses, which are knowingly obscene, portray a real woman to replace the ideally pure and somewhat conventional lady of the *nasīb* (*ibid.*, 16-33). However this hymn of passion delivers a serious blow to the woman's sense of self-respect, for he takes every opportunity to make disparaging remarks about his partner; G̲h̲āliya, Hind, Mayya, Asmā', Sulayma, Umm ʿAmr and their friends are all pictured scantily dressed and all exhibit an insatiable thirst for men. Nothing is left to the imagination; language which is certainly very crude verges on the obscene and gives explicit names to the sexual organs (*ibid.*, 34). The woman is very frequently presented as a sexual object and he never stops evoking details about positions and involuntary movements to express the carnal satisfaction of his partners in an atmosphere of sweat and scent. Terms that are visually vivid and convey fragrances play an essential role in his poetry. It is a poetry which is clearly anti-feminine and the virulence within it was hardly seen elsewhere during this period or even much later. Even in his most accomplished poems he finds an opportunity to take morbid pleasure in defiling women's bodies. Such novel motifs and new poetic tones provided an indispensable landmark for the emergence of the Ḥid̲j̲āzī school of poetry, and it could even be said that Suḥaym is one of the fathers of *tas̲h̲bīb*. The novelty of this poetry was astonishing. One perspicacious critic, Ibn S̲h̲araf al-Ḳayrawānī, could use only psychological means to explain the phenomenon, suggesting that such poetry was in itself a compensation for his ugliness and his state of servitude (*Rasā'il al-intiḳād*, 329-30, in Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, *Rasā'il al-bulag̲h̲ā'*, Cairo 1365/1946).

To express his revulsion at his social condition (*Dīwān*, 54-5, 55, 56, 56-7, 57, 63-4, 65-6, 66-7) Suḥaym borrowed a unique, albeit well-known and predictable, motif. He affirms his right to take responsibility for his condition, proclaiming that there is a contradiction between outward appearances (i.e. his black colour) and spiritual superiority (his soul that was sparkling white). The same worn-out theme runs through the verses of ʿAntara or al-Ḥaykutān, a negro poet contemporary with D̲j̲arīr (al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Fak̲h̲r al-sūdān ʿalā al-bīḍān*, in *Rasā'il al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ*, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 183-5).

Bibliography: *Dīwān Suḥaym ʿAbd Banī 'l-Ḥasḥās*, Cairo 1369/1950; Abū Tammām, *K. al-Waḥs̲h̲iyyāt*, Cairo 1987, 192; Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-Iṣfahānī. *Ag̲h̲ānī*,[3] xxii, 303-12; Was̲h̲s̲h̲ā', *al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā*, Cairo 1373/1953, index; al-K̲h̲ālidiyyān, *al-As̲h̲bāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir*, Cairo 1965, i, 58; ii, 19-20, 25, 42, 211, 246; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Ḳurṭubī, *Bahd̲j̲at al-mad̲j̲ālis*, 1402/1982, index; Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār al-s̲h̲iʿr*, Cairo 1953, 33; al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḳayrawānī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, Cairo 1969, 336; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, Cairo 1352, ii, 76, 166; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Beirut 1412/1992, v, 141-2; al-Ḳāḍī al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, *al-Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa-k̲h̲uṣūmihi*, Cairo 1386/1966, 213, 426; Ibn al-S̲h̲ad̲j̲arī, *al-Ḥamāsa al-s̲h̲ad̲j̲ariyya*, Damascus 1970, 545-6, 668; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 40, ii, 295; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *K̲h̲izānat al-adab*, Cairo 1409/1969, i, 258-68, ii, 101, 102-6, iv, 429, vi, 383, x, 126; D̲h̲ahabī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲ al-Islām*, Beirut 1407/1987, 669-71; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nas̲h̲wat al-ṭarab fī ta'rīk̲h̲ D̲j̲āhiliyyat al-ʿArab*, ʿAmmān 1982, ii, 878; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, xv, Wiesbaden 1979, 121-3; Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 318-19; with important bibl.: Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, Leiden 1973, 288-9; B. Lewis, *Race and slavery in the Middle East*, Oxford 1990, 28-9, 89; D̲j̲urd̲j̲ī Zaydān, *Ta'rīk̲h̲ ādāb al-lug̲h̲a al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1936, 146-7; Yaḥyā al-D̲j̲ubūrī, *S̲h̲iʿr al-muk̲h̲aḍramīn wa-at̲h̲ar al-Islām fīhi*, [4]Beirut 1993, 11, 63, 253, 326; ʿAbduh Badawī, *al-S̲h̲uʿarā' al-sūd wa-k̲h̲aṣā'iṣuhum fi 'l-s̲h̲iʿr al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1392/1973, 72-89; Muḥammad K̲h̲ayr Ḥalwānī, *Suḥaym ʿAbd Bani 'l-Ḥasḥās*, Beirut, n.d.

(A. Arazi)

SUHRAWARD, a town of mediaeval Islamic Persia in D̲j̲ibāl [*q.v.*], the ancient Media. Nöldeke was the first to connect the name with Suhrāb, and Marquart followed him, so that one may assume older forms of the name to have been **Suxrāp-kart*, **Suhrāv-gerd*. Nöldeke thought that the eponym of the town was the Suhrāb who was a Persian governor of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]. Although this does not mean that the town was not founded till the time of this governor—it is only a hypothesis that he, and no other of the many known bearers of the name Suhrāb, is the one in question—one should perhaps be careful not to date the foundation of the town at too remote a period. The classical geographers do not seem to have known the town; at least, no ancient name is known which could be applied to the place later known as Suhraward.

The site of Suhraward cannot be located with absolute certainty. We have the statements of the Muslim geographers, according to which the town lay on the road from Hamad̲h̲ān to Zand̲j̲ān to the south of Sulṭāniyya. This road, 30 *farsak̲h̲*s long, was, according to al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, used in times of peace as the shortest route to Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān; in troubled times the circuit via Ḳazwīn was taken. Ibn Ḥawḳal states exactly the reverse about the use of these two routes. In the 4th/10th century, the town was already in the hands of the Kurds; the inhabitants were mainly K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ites (*S̲h̲urāt*), who then emigrated, with the exception of those who stayed in their native town out of lack of courage or love of their home.

The town, which had been walled, was destroyed by the Mongols; Mustawfī describes it as a little village with many Mongol villages around it. On account of the cold in the Median highlands, little was grown here beyond corn and the smaller fruits.

Bibliography: On the etymology, see Th. Nöldeke, *Über iranische Ortsnamen auf -kert und andere Endungen*, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii (1879), 143 ff., esp. 147; idem, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 1879, 246 n. 1: J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 238; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.v. Suhrāb.—The passages in the Muslim geographers are briefly utilised by G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, 223, with references; those of the Arabs only fully in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, vii, Leipzig 1926, 731 ff.; see also Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 208.—The only map which attempts to locate Suhraward is map V in Le Strange's book.—On famous men of Suhraward, see in addition to the

biographical works, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. Suhraward, and Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, s.v. al-Suhrawardī.

(M. Plessner*)

al-SUHRAWARDĪ, Abu 'l-Nadjīb ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bakrī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, a Sunnī mystic who flourished in the 6th/12th century.

Born about 490/1097 in Suhraward [*q.v.*], west of Sulṭāniyya, in the Djibāl region, Abu 'l-Nadjīb, genealogically linked with Abū Bakr, died in 563/1168 at Baghdād. Abu 'l-Nadjīb moved to Baghdād as a young man, probably in 507/1113, where he studied *ḥadīth*, Shāfiʿī law, Arabic grammar and belles-lettres. A paternal uncle of Abu 'l-Nadjīb, ʿUmar b. Muḥammad (d. 532/1137-8), head of a Ṣūfī convent in Baghdād, invested him with the Ṣūfī *khirḳa* [see ṬARĪḲA]. Probably before his arrival in Baghdād, Abu 'l-Nadjīb already studied *ḥadīth* in Iṣfahān. At about 25, in Baghdād, he abandoned his studies at the Niẓāmiyya [*q.v.*], a Saldjūḳ institution, in order to lead a solitary life of asceticism. He returned to Iṣfahān to join the illustrious Ṣūfī Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 520/1126 [*q.v.*]). When he went back to Baghdād he became a disciple of Ḥammād al-Dabbās (d. 525/1130-1) who, albeit considered an illiterate, stands out as a teacher of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*]. Abu 'l-Nadjīb is said to have earned a living for a number of years as a water-carrier. He began to preach Ṣūfism, and he founded a convent on the western bank of the Tigris. In 545/1150-1 Abu 'l-Nadjīb was appointed to teach *fiḳh* in the Niẓāmiyya. However, in 547/1152-3 he was dismissed from office, as a result of the power struggle between the caliph and the Saldjūḳ sultan. Both before and after his appointment at the Niẓāmiyya, Abu 'l-Nadjīb taught *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* in his own *madrasa*, situated next to his *ribāṭ*, and he continued teaching Ṣūfism. In 557/1161-2 he left Baghdād for Jerusalem, but he could not travel beyond Damascus because Nūr al-Dīn Zangī [*q.v.*] and Baldwin had resumed their hostilities. After being received with honour in Damascus, Abu 'l-Nadjīb returned to Baghdād. Some years later he died and was buried in his *madrasa* there. His students were numerous and included, in *ḥadīth*, the historian Ibn ʿAsākir [*q.v.*] and the traditionist al-Samʿānī. His disciple ʿAmmār al-Bidlīsī (d. between 590/1194 and 604/1207) occupies an important place in the history of Ṣūfism as a teacher of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā [*q.v.*]. Abu 'l-Nadjīb had his most far-reaching influence, however, through his disciple and nephew, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*], the famous author of the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*.

Abu 'l-Nadjīb was not a productive author. He wrote the *Gharīb al-maṣābīḥ*, a commentary on a popular *ḥadīth* collection, but his fame as a writer rests on his composition of the *Ādāb al-murīdīn*. However, the *Ādāb* became widely known only with the spread of the Suhrawardiyya order founded by his nephew ʿUmar after Abu 'l-Nadjīb's death. In the *Ādāb* Ṣūfism is viewed from the perspective of rules of conduct (*adab*). The book treats of, *inter alia*, common practices which did not conform to the strict etiquette required by Ṣūfī theory. By applying the traditional concept of *rukhṣa* ("dispensation", pl. *rukhaṣ*) in a novel way, Abu 'l-Nadjīb responds to the phenomenon of an affiliation of lay members to Ṣūfism. Whilst Abu 'l-Nadjīb also draws on various works of al-Sulamī, al-Sarrādj and al-Ḳushayrī [*q.vv.*], he betrays the closest dependence on Ibn Khafīf al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], whose *Kitāb al-Iḳtiṣād* he quotes throughout the *Ādāb*. However, he never identifies him when he excerpts from the *Iḳtiṣād*. The reason for this lies in the fact that Abu 'l-Nadjīb inverts Ibn Khafīf's fundamentally negative view of *rukhaṣ*: the very dispensations whose adoption by the "truthful novice" Ibn Khafīf interpreted as a failure to fulfill the requirements of *ṣidḳ* ("truthfulness"), are introduced in the *Ādāb* and vindicated by Abu 'l-Nadjīb. It may be argued that the *rukhaṣ* incorporated an element of instability into the Rule and that this heralded a decline from the "high ground" of the Ṣūfī spirituality of Abu 'l-Nadjīb's predecessors.

Bibliography: Suhrawardī, Abu 'l-Nadjīb, *K. Ādāb al-murīdīn*, ed. M. Milson, Jerusalem 1977; idem, *A Sufi Rule for Novices: Kitāb Adāb al-murīdīn of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī. An abridged translation and introduction*, Cambridge, Mass. 1975; I.R. Netton, *The breath of felicity. Adab, aḥwāl and maqāmāt and Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī*, in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *Classical Persian Sufism: from its origins to Rumi*, London 1993, 457-82, repr. in *Seek knowledge. Thought and travel in the House of Islam*, Richmond, Surrey 1996, 71-92; F. Sobieroj, *Ibn Ḫafīf aš-Šīrāzī und seine Schrift zur Novizenerziehung (kitāb al-Iqtiṣād). Biographische Studien, Edition und Übersetzung*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1996; R. Gramlich, *Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse des ʿUmar as-Suhrawardī* (tr. of *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, Wiesbaden 1978, 3-4; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1976/1396, vii, 307 (s.v. *al-Suhrawardī*); Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād 1357-9, x, 75; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, Cairo 1386, i, 589-90 (s.v. *al-Suhrawardī*); idem, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1301, xi, 149 (s.a. 563); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1970, iii, 204; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1401-5/1981-5, xx, 475-8; idem, *al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghabar*, Kuwayt 1963, iv, 181-2; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ed. M. al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿA. al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1383-8/1964-8, vii, 173-5 (no. 881); Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Nawāʾī, n.p. 1336-9, 666; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, 1931 ff., xix, 48-9; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt ul-uns*, ed. Tawḥīdipūr, Tehran 1336/1957, 417; Shaʿrānī, *al-Anwār al-ḳudsiyya*, Beirut 1978, i, 31, 50.

(F. Sobieroj)

al-SUHRAWARDĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar (539-632/1145-1234), one of the most important Ṣūfīs in Sunnī Islam. He was born and grew up in the town of Suhraward [*q.v.*], later destroyed by the Mongols, in the Persian province of Djibāl, to the west of Sulṭāniyya. He should not be confused with other persons carrying the *nisba* "al-Suhrawardī", in particular, not with his contemporary the mystic Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl [*q.v.*], put to death in Aleppo in 587/1191 because of his heretical ideas in religious and political matters.

Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī came in his youth to Baghdād, where his uncle Abu 'l-Nadjīb al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*], himself a famous Ṣūfī, introduced him to the religious sciences and made him also familiar with the duties of a preacher. Abū Ḥafṣ followed his uncle's courses both in the Niẓāmiyya and in the latter's *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] on the shore of the Tigris, a much-visited centre of the Ṣūfī way of life. He often mentions his uncle in his main work *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* (e.g. ch. 30, section on humility). Another important teacher of Abū Ḥafṣ in Baghdād was the Ḥanbalī Ṣūfī and jurist *shaykh*, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*]. The close relationship of the still quite young al-Suhrawardī with the famous *shaykh*, who was already approaching the end of his life, was significant for al-Suhrawardī's later attitude towards religio-dogmatic questions. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir is said to have dissuaded al-Suhrawardī from occupying himself with *kalām* [*q.v.*]

and to have warned him in particular against the use of *ḳiyās* (see Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, i, 296-7). In doing so, he is said to have mainly talked him out of reading al-Djuwaynī's *K. al-Shāmil* and al-Shahrastānī's *Nihāyat al-aḳdām*, both leading works of Ashʿarī theology. Al-Suhrawardī was not a Ḥanbalī, as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir was, but a traditionalistic Shāfiʿī, which was rather typical in Baghdād. With respect to al-Suhrawardī's spiritual career, it is important to note that his later violent attacks against the *mutakallimūn* corresponded to an initial personal interest in their doctrine (for other teachers of al-Suhrawardī, see Gramlich, *Gaben*, 6-13).

After his uncle's death in 563/1168, al-Suhrawardī followed "the path of seclusion". He preached and headed mystical meetings in Abu 'l-Nadjīb's *ribāṭ*, which soon extended to several other places in Baghdād. He was a trained orator, one of the most successful traditionalist preachers in the ʿAbbāsid metropolis. He put his audience into ecstasies, so that many cut their hair or were spiritually transported away from the world. His pulpit was made of clay, as prescribed by the ascetic way of life.

Al-Suhrawardī maintained friendly relations with Muʿīn al-Dīn al-Čishtī [*q.v.*], the founder of the Indian Čishtiyya order which, in its early period, orientated itself completely on al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif*. He maintained a particularly close relation with Nadjm al-Dīn al-Rāzī, known as al-Dāya [*q.v.*], a *murīd* of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā [see KUBRĀ], whom he had met in 618/1221 in Malatya while the latter was on his way from Khwārazm to Asia Minor. Dāya submitted his *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* to al-Suhrawardī, who expressed his unrestricted approval and gave him a letter of recommendation for the Rūm Saldjūḳ Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I in Konya (see *Mirṣād*, 22-4).

Though referring to the doctrine of the "pious forefathers" [see AL-SALAF WA 'L-KHALAF], al-Suhrawardī in his mystical ideas went far beyond this, up to the point of even accepting, be it in a limited way, the *anā 'l-ḥaḳḳ* of al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*]. Yet the freedom which al-Suhrawardī permitted himself in his judgement of the executed mystic did not bring him into agreement with the doctrines of contemporary "freethinkers". In strong words, he turned against the pantheism of his contemporary Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. According to al-Suhrawardī, the latter had started to establish a despicable connection between *taṣawwuf* [*q.v.*] and elements of Greek philosophy. The often-quoted story of the meeting in Baghdād between the very famous and controversial Andalusian mystic and al-Suhrawardī, his elder by about twenty years (see Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 193-4), contains legendary elements (cf. Cl. Addas, *The quest for the Red Sulphur*, Cambridge 1993, 240-1, who discounts the story). His contacts with Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī [*q.v.*] (see Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 418) also belong to the realm of legend. On the other hand, his meeting with Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*], perhaps the most important mystical poet in the Arabic language, is historical. They met in the *ḥaram* of Mecca in 628/1231 during al-Suhrawardī's last pilgrimage (cf. al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, iv, 77-8; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 542-3; *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, 147).

The interest shown by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] in al-Suhrawardī's gatherings, and the ruler's first extraordinary marks of goodwill towards the *shaykh*, e.g. the foundation of the ribāṭ al-Marzubāniyya in 599/1202-3 (also known as ribāṭ al-Mustadjadd, situated on the shore of the Nahr ʿĪsā in West Baghdād) occurred in a period in which al-Nāṣir had intensively begun to promote the Ṣūfī branch of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] and to put it at the service of the caliphate. The development of a new *futuwwa*, led by the caliph as a *ḳibla*, was no less important to al-Nāṣir than it was to al-Suhrawardī. The caliph thus obtained a unique political instrument, while the *shaykh* in his turn saw his personal prestige spread far and wide outside Baghdād, as well amongst the circle of students which was gradually taking shape and from which the *ṭarīḳa al-Suhrawardiyya* [*q.v.*] later originated.

In his works, al-Suhrawardī supported the union of *futuwwa* and *taṣawwuf*. Interpreting the *futuwwa* as a part of the *taṣawwuf* (*Idāla*, fol. 89a-b), he created the conditions necessary for both supporting the caliphate through the *taṣawwuf* and for sanctioning Islamic mystics by means of the highest Islamic institution, the caliphate. In his *Idālat al-ʿiyān ʿalā 'l-burhān* (fol. 88a), al-Suhrawardī considers the relation of a Ṣūfī teacher (*shaykh*) to his novice (*murīd*) as being analogous to that of the caliph, who is the mediator (*wāsiṭa*) appointed by God between the absolute One (*Allāh*) and the people (*nās*). However, a reference to the idea of consensus (*idjmāʿ*) is missing in this context. Al-Suhrawardī developed a theory which co-ordinates the concepts of *futuwwa*, *taṣawwuf* and *khilāfa* in an upward relation: "The supreme caliphate is a booklet (*daftar*) of which the *taṣawwuf* is a part; *taṣawwuf* in its turn is also a booklet of which the *futuwwa* is a part. The *futuwwa* is specified by pure morals (*al-akhlāḳ al-zakiyya*); *taṣawwuf* also includes the pious actions and religious exercises (*awrād*); the supreme caliphate comprises the mystical states, the pious actions and the pure morals" (*Idāla*, fol. 89a-b). The comparison of the caliphate with a booklet, which contains *taṣawwuf* and *futuwwa* in a subordinate way, is reminiscent of the hierarchy of the concepts of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīḳa* and *ḥaḳīḳa* found in al-Suhrawardī's *Risālat al-futuwwa* (*Aya* Sofya 3155, fol. 186b), which are also linked in gradations. Here the *Sharīʿa* is the higher concept, used on the same level as *khilāfa*. In relation to one another both concepts represent a unity.

The bilateral relation which, according to al-Suhrawardī, existed between the caliphate and Ṣūfism explains why the caliph sent the *shaykh* several times to the courts of rulers as his representative. To the best-known diplomatic missions belong al-Suhrawardī's visits to the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*]. In 604/1207-8, after al-Nāṣir had declared himself the mandatory *ḳibla* for all members (*fityān*) of the *futuwwa*, he sent al-Suhrawardī to the courts of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir in Aleppo (cf. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, 180), of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in Damascus (*op. cit.*, 181-2), and of al-Malik al-Kāmil in Cairo (*op. cit.*, 182; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *Djāmiʿ*, ix, 259). On his return to Baghdād, the *shaykh* was greeted by immense expressions of sympathy and processions in his honour, just as he had experienced during his journey. But al-Suhrawardī's new ostentatious pomp and his breach of the rules of a Ṣūfī way of life was not agreable to the caliph, who withdrew from him the direction of the *ribāṭ*s and banned him from preaching (cf. Sibṭ Ibn al-Djāwzī, *Mirʾāt*, fol. 306b, which is lacking in the Ḥaydarābād edition; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 51-2). The event caused quite a public stir in Baghdād. Only the *shaykh*'s inner repentance, his renouncing property and money, and his complete return to the ideal of a Ṣūfī way of life brought about the lifting of the measures taken against him and reconciliation with the caliph. Never again was a cloud cast upon their friendship.

Ten years later, when the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, through the politics of the Khwārazm Shāh [see KHWĀRAZM SHĀHS], found itself in a difficult position,

both militarily and constitutionally, al-Suhrawardī was entrusted with a second important diplomatic mission. In order to defend the caliphate, al-Nāṣir sent him in 614/1217-8 to Hamadān, where the Khwārazm Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad II, who was already marching against Baghdād, gave him a chilly reception in his state tent. The Khwārazm Shāh was not prepared to accept al-Nāṣir as caliph. On the decisive question, whether it was permitted to the caliph, by reason of the public interest, to keep members of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, namely his own son and the latter's family, in prison, or whether the *ḥadīth* should be applied according to which no harm could be caused to descendants of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib [*q.v.*], al-Suhrawardī did not reach agreement (cf. Sibṭ Ibn al-Djāwzī, *Mir'āt*, viii, 582-3; Nasawī, *Sīra*, 51-2; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 76); the mission failed.

On the other hand, al-Suhrawardī's mission in 618/1221 to the new Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayḳubād [see KAYḲUBĀD I], was successful. In the caliph's name the *shaykh* brought the sultan the tokens of rulership: the diploma with the titles and insignia of a sultan and of the delegated state power over the Islamic regions of Asia Minor, the ruler's robe of honour, the sword and the signet ring. Al-Suhrawardī was also successful in recruiting members for the caliph's *futuwwa*, which was joined in Konya by Kayḳubād and many officials and scholars. Al-Suhrawardī led the initiation ceremonies. The extraordinary friendly atmosphere is described by Ibn Bībī [*q.v.*] in his chronicle of the Saldjūḳs. According to Franz Taeschner, al-Suhrawardī's political and Ṣūfī activities in Asia Minor could be interpreted as a secession from the caliph's *futuwwa*. On the basis of linguistic peculiarities in one of al-Suhrawardī's Persian epistles (see *Risālat al-futuwwa*, Aya Sofya 3155, fols. 185a-190b), e.g. because he uses *akhī* instead of *futuwwatdār*, and because the usual classification into *sayfī* and *ḳawlī*, common in the organisation of the *akhīs* [*q.v.*], as well as the term *tarbiya* are used, Taeschner surmised that the *futuwwa* represented by al-Suhrawardī was not identical with that of the caliph, but that there had been close relations between the *akhīs* of Anatolia and Persia and even a *futuwwa* of al-Suhrawardī's own (Taeschner *Schrift*, 280). Cahen (*Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 196 ff.) and Breebaart (*Turkish futūwah guilds*, 109-39), on the other hand, have shown that a consistent terminology was not yet common in Anatolia in the 7th/13th century. It can be assumed that there were strong rivalries within Ṣūfism, the *futuwwa* and the *akhīs* in Anatolia. Besides, the Anatolian *akhīs* did not form a definitely constituted professional organisation, as has been thought in the past; on the basis of their ethical principles they can rather be considered as a widely-spread *ṭarīḳa* (cf. Köprülü, *Ilk mutasavvıflar*, 212-13). A comparative study of al-Suhrawardī's terminology and that of other writers, including of anonymous contemporary authors, is still lacking.

Just as al-Suhrawardī spread the caliph's "purified *futuwwa*", he enjoyed support during his journeys by followers for his own Ṣūfī doctrine and his theological view of the world. He himself considered the latter as wisdom within the Prophet's inheritance, as a complete representation of all branches of religious knowledge and standards of behaviour. Yet there is also, especially in al-Suhrawardī's works of his last years, a mixture of traditionalist Ṣūfī concepts with heterogeneous thoughts which can be traced back to gnostic and Neo-Platonic elements. A conclusive investigation is still lacking. Al-Suhrawardī's numerous disciples and friends spread his doctrine mainly in Syria, Asia Minor, Persia and North India. His pupils—and not he himself as has been thought for a long time—founded the Suhrawardiyya, the famous order named after him. Next to the Čishtiyya, the Ḳalandariyya and the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.vv.*], the Suhrawardiyya became one of the leading Islamic orders in India, where it still exists. Among the most successful propagators of al-Suhrawardī's doctrine were his disciples 'Alī b. Buzghush (d. 678/1279-80 in Shīrāz), Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' [*q.v.*], who founded the Suhrawardiyya in Sind and in the Pandjāb (cf. Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 504) and Djalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī [see TABRĪZĪ, DJALĀL AL-DĪN] who was active mainly in Bengal. According to a devotee of the orders of the 8th/14th century, the Suhrawardiyya was more subdivided than other orders, so that enumerating its establishments and members is not easy.

Works. Al-Suhrawardī left behind a sizeable number of writings, in which all traditions of classical Islamic mysticism and religious sciences are represented.

1. *'Awārif al-ma'ārif* is the title of his main work. It is a famous and comprehensive handbook (*vade-mecum*) for Ṣūfīs, which has influenced permanently the thoughts of millions of believers and which is still used today. In this work were incorporated the older Ṣūfī literature, the *tafsīr* of Sahl al-Tustarī [*q.v.*], the *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr* of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī [see AL-SULAMĪ], and the handbooks of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj [see AL-SARRĀDJ], of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī [*q.v.*], of Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī [see AL-KALĀBĀDHĪ], and of Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī [see AL-ḲUSHAYRĪ] and other Ṣūfī *ṭabaḳāt* literature and commentaries on the Ḳur'ān. The themes treated comprise in 63 chapters the whole of Ṣūfī way of life, the relation of the novice to the *shaykh*, the latter's tasks, a human being's self-knowledge, the revelations of the Ṣūfīs on this point and the explanation of what happens when one is in the mystical "state" (*ḥāl*) and when in the "station" (*maḳām*). It is not known when the *'Awārif* was composed, but the *terminus ad quem* is 612/1215-16 (cf. Hartmann, *Bemerkungen*, 124-5), and thus it is certain that al-Suhrawardī wrote his work at a period in which his theoretical epistles on *futuwwa* also came into being. Persian translations and commentaries of the *'Awārif* were already made during the author's lifetime. The most important basis for the continuation of al-Suhrawardī's thoughts in the Persian-speaking world was the *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa-miftāḥ al-kifāya* by 'Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī-i Kāshānī (d. 735/1334-5). This work contains most of the doctrines of the *'Awārif*, but adds personal ideas (Eng. tr. by H. Wilberforce Clarke, printed as a supplement to his translation of the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, Calcutta 1891). There still is no critical edition of the *'Awārif*. The best-known editions are those of Cairo 1358/1939 (printed in the margin of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*) and of Beirut 1966, but both are defective. The partial edition of Cairo 1971 contains only chs. 1-21 and is based on later manuscripts. In his German translation (*Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse*, Wiesbaden 1978), Richard Gramlich has corrected the mistakes of the existing editions by adducing better variants, thus providing for the first time a reliable basis for the text. There are several Turkish translations, the last one being Istanbul 1990.

2. *Rashf al-naṣā'iḥ al-īmāniyya wa-kashf al-faḍā'iḥ al-yūnāniyya* (Reisülküttab 465, Köprülü 728) is a polemic against the arguments of the apologetic-dialectical theology (*kalām*), against Islamic philosophy and its ancient origins. In this work, composed in

621/1224, the author, already aged and almost blind, reveals to what extent his theological-mystical thinking had developed. The *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* was still completely grounded in the Shāfiʿī-Ashʿarī orthodoxy, but the works of his old age, especially the *Rashf al-naṣāʾiḥ*, show concepts and borrowings from the tradition of his intellectual adversaries, e.g. from the *falāsifa* on one hand, and from the refutation of the latter derived from the (crypto-) Ismāʿīlī viewpoint of the heresiographer Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī [*q.v.*] on the other. In the *Rashf*, al-Shahrastānī's theology has become the basis of a peculiar concept of creation and of anthropology. This doctrine can be followed far back in Islamic gnosis, e.g. the myth of the cosmic marriage between spirit and soul as the starting-point of the origin of the universe, the participation of earthly man in the universal spirit and the universal soul, the world as macranthropos, man as a microcosmos, the classification of the strata of the earth in *djism* and *djirm*. Al-Suhrawardī adopts other ideas which he believed he was refuting: he draws up a hierarchical series of creatures which emanate from the primordial creature with the help of God's command (*amr*). This creature he calls "the mighty spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-aʿẓam*). It is identical with the *prima causa* of the philosophers, and it is "One" (*wāḥid*), just like God. While God is above existence (*mūdjid*), His first and most beloved creature has the tasks of a *necessitator* (*mūdjib*). The first to originate from it is "the intellect of the primordial quality" of the human being (*ʿaḳl fiṭrī*, i.e. the intellect of the prophets), the second is the soul, while "the intellect of the creational quality" (*ʿaḳl khalḳī*, i.e. the intellect of the philosophers) comes only in the third place. Then follow the spheres, down to the sphere of the moon. Al-Suhrawardī unites these concepts with the Ashʿarī doctrine of *sabab* and with popular mythologumena into an innovative conception of theological thinking.

The work is dedicated to the caliph al-Nāṣir, whom al-Suhrawardī quotes as an authority on *ḥadīth*. The political and religious aim of this work consists in the fact that the author unites contradictory dogmatic trends into an—in his eyes—purified traditionalism, in order to strengthen the ʿAbbāsid caliphate by using *ḥadīth* as a tool and by involving *taṣawwuf* to reform the intellectual education. The work offers a politico-religious middle course (*wasaṭ, tawassuṭ*), from which were only excluded those who challenge the unicity of God (*waḥdāniyya*). These are, in al-Suhrawardī's opinion, the philosophers with their doctrine of the *prima causa* and their analogies, by which they have committed polytheism (*shirk*). That is why he calls them the enemies of the *umma*, while the Shīʿīs, including the Ismāʿīlīs, are not attacked.

There exist recensions of the *Rashf* with and without its Neo-Platonic adaptations. The work was translated into Persian by Muʿīn al-Dīn al-Yazdī (d. 789/1387) [*q.v.*], the historian of the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] and provided with borrowings from Ibn al-ʿArabī's theosophy (ed. Tehran 1365/1986). The Persian historiographer Muḥammad al-Īdjī [*q.v.*], who wrote *ca.* 781/1380, based the methodological part of his history of religions and cultures *Tuḥfat al-faḳīr ilā ṣāḥib al-sarīr* (Turhan Valide Sultan 231), partly word-for-word on al-Suhrawardī's argumentation. In the 7th/13th century, a refutation of the *Rashf* was composed under the title *Kashf al-asrār al-īmāniyya wa-hatk al-astār al-ḥuṭāmiyya*. The author, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (d. 655/1257-8), was a scholar from Shīrāz and a disciple and friend of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*].

3. *Idālat al-ʿiyān ʿalā ʾl-burhān* (Bursa, Ulu Cami, Tas. 1597), also a refutation of philosophy. This work was finished after the *Rashf*, between 622/1226 and 632/1234, and contains the same underlying ideas, but the linguistic style is more precise. Quotations from authorities and mythological themes are less frequently brought up. Instead, al-Suhrawardī develops an independent theory of the state in which caliphate, *futuwwa* and Ṣūfism, as described above, are linked together. In the third section, al-Nāṣir's grandson, al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] is mentioned as patron of the *futuwwa*.

4. *Iʿlām al-hudā wa-ʿaḳīdat arbāb al-tuḳā* (Aşır Ef. 416/10), composed in 632/1234, is a treatise on religion, in which the author tries to explain to the conservative Ḥanbalīs in Baghdād the theological arguments of the Ashʿarīs concerning God and the theodicy. The author's aim is to promote the unity of the Muslim community in the face of the Mongol danger.

5. *Nughbat al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* (Hacı Beşir Ağa/Eyüp 24, dated 610/1214) is a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, which should be situated in the tradition of Ḳurʾān exegesis as practised by the Ṣūfīs al-Tustarī and al-Sulamī.

6. Al-Suhrawardī carried on an extensive correspondence, from which have survived, among others, letters to the theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*].

7. For his disciples, al-Suhrawardī wrote spiritual testaments (*waṣiyya*, pl. *waṣāyā*), in which he admonishes them to observe the duties of a Ṣūfī on the basis of the sciences approved by Ḳurʾān and *sunna*. Also in the *waṣāyā*, al-Suhrawardī speaks of the close connection between *futuwwa* and *taṣawwuf*. Further writings and collections of sayings of al-Suhrawardī, as well as their manuscripts, are mentioned in the publications of H. Ritter, A. Hartmann and R. Gramlich (see *Bibl.*).

Al-Suhrawardī died in Baghdād at the age of 90 in Muḥarram 632/November-December 1234 and was buried in a *turba* in the *maḳbarat al-wardiyya*, the cemetery of the Ṣūfīs (cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Ḥawādith*, 74; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, fol. 359b). His tomb has been venerated as a sanctuary since the 8th/14th century. After Baghdād had been conquered by the Ottoman sultan Murād IV, the tomb, which had become dilapidated, was in 1638 restored, together with the tombs of Abū Ḥanīfa and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī.

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(Angelika Hartmann)

al-SUHRAWARDĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak, Abu 'l-Futūḥ, well known Persian innovative philosopher-scientist, and founder of an independent, non-Aristotelian philosophical school named "the Philosophy of Illumination" (*Ḥikmat al-Ishrāḳ*), which is also the eponymous title of his most widely-known text; he is thus commonly referred to as the "Master of Illumination" (*Shaykh al-Ishrāḳ*). He was born in the small town of Suhraward in northwestern Persia 549/1154, and met a violent death by execution in Aleppo in 587/1191, so ordered by the Ayyūbid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Recent studies have demonstrated that al-Suhrawardī's execution was directly linked to his involvement in politics, whereby he sought to implement the "Illuminationist political doctrine" which he had taught to several late 6th/12th century rulers, among them the prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubād; the Saldjūḳ Sulaymān Shāh, who commissioned the *Partaw-nāma*; the ruler of Kharpūt, Malik ʿImād al-Dīn Artuḳ, who commissioned the *Alwāḥ-i ʿImādī*; and, lastly, to the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's young son, the prince al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, governor of Aleppo (see Ziai, *The source and nature of authority*).

Al-Suhrawardī first studied philosophy and theology with Madjd al-Dīn al-Djīlī in Marāgha, then travelled to Iṣfahān to study with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī (d. 594/1198), who is said to have predicted his student's death (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 269; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 299-301). It is also known that Ẓahīr al-Fārisī, a logician, introduced al-Suhrawardī to the *Observations* (*al-Baṣāʾir*) of the non-Aristotelian Persian logician ʿUmar b. Sahlān al-Sāwadjī (*fl.* 540/1145) (see *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ*, 146, 278, 352). Sāwadjī's novel ideas concerning the reconstruction of the Aristotelian nine-book logical corpus of the *Organon* into more logically consistent divisions of semantics, formal logic and material logic had a major impact on al-Suhrawardī's writings on logic.

Works

In his short 36 years of life, al-Suhrawardī is reported to have composed some 50 works, many of which remain unpublished. The published texts are also incomplete in that they do not include major sections on logic and physics. The most important texts in the philosophy of illumination are al-Suhrawardī's four major Arabic philosophical works: the *Intimations* (*al-Talwīḥāt*), the *Apposites* (*al-Muḳāwamāt*), the *Paths and havens* (*al-Mashāriʿ wa 'l-mutāraḥāt*) (see H. Corbin (ed.), *Opera metaphysica et mystica I*), and the *Philosophy of illumination* (*Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ*) (see idem, *Opera metaphysica et mystica II*). The four texts constitute an integral corpus and also define the "syllabus" for the study of the philosophy of illumination (see Ziai, *Knowledge and illumination*, 9-15). Other texts, especially the *ʿImādian tablets* (*al-Alwāḥ al-ʿimādiyya*) and *Temples of light* (*Hayākil al-nūr*)—both of which were composed in Arabic *and* Persian—plus the Persian *Epistle on emanation* (*Partaw-Nāma*) (see Corbin and S.H. Nasr (eds.), *Opera metaphysica et mystica III*) are of lesser theoretical significance, but are to be included in this category of Illuminationist reconstructions.

Next in order of significance are al-Suhrawardī's Arabic and Persian philosophical allegories: "A tale of the occidental exile" (*Ḳiṣṣat al-ghurba al-gharbiyya*); "The treatise of the birds" (*Risālat al-ṭayr*); "The sound of Gabriel's Wing" (*Āvāz-i par-i Djibrāʾīl*); "The red intellect" (*ʿAḳl-i surkh*); "A day with a group of Ṣūfis" (*Rūzī bā djamāʿat-i Ṣūfiyān*); "On the state of childhood" (*Fī ḥālat al-ṭufūliyya*); "On the reality of love" (*Fī ḥaḳīḳat al-ʿishḳ*); "The language of ants" (*Lughat-i mūrān*); and "The simurgh's shrill cry" (*Ṣafīr-i sīmurgh*) (see Corbin, *ibid.*; W.M. Thackston (tr.), *The mystical and visionary treatises of Shihabuddin Yahya Suhrawardi*; and O. Spies (tr.), *Three treatises on mysticism by Shihabuddin Suhrawardī Maqtul*).

The next group of works by al-Suhrawardī consists of devotional prayers and invocations, aphorisms and other short statements (see Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, ii, 136-43). Of specific interest are two prayers and invocations composed in an especially rich allegorical and literary style, where al-Suhrawardī addresses "the great Heavenly Sun, Hūrakhsh," and invokes the authority of "the Great Luminous Being" (*al-nayyir al-aʿẓam*), praying to it for knowledge and salvation (published by M. Moin, in *Madjalla-yi Āmūzish wa Parwarish*; and one reprinted in M. Ḥabībī, *Si risāla az Shaykh-i Ishrāḳ*).

His Illuminationist philosophy

With a few exceptions, most notably Max Horten, Orientalist studies on al-Suhrawardī's Arabic and Persian texts have failed to recognise the systematic philosophical side of Illuminationist logic, physics and metaphysics. Al-Suhrawardī's own oft-repeated aim to compose a novel scientific system has been inadequately described by the use of such non-technical philosophical terms as "theosophy", "sagesse orientale", "transcendental theosophy", "Sophia perennis", and the like. Suhrawardī was a well-trained scientist-philosopher, whose works on logic, foundations of mathematics, cosmic continuum theories, unified epistemological laws, etc. all demonstrate his intention which may be summed as a rational attempt to, among other things, harmonise intuitive knowledge (*al-ḥikma al-dhawḳiyya*), with deductive knowledge (*al-ḥikma al-baḥthiyya*) (see al-Shahrazūrī, *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ*, 1-9).

Al-Suhrawardī's principal novel philosophical approach is founded on his critique of the universal validity of Aristotelian scientific methodology. He is one of the first philosophers to elaborate on an old tradition, whose roots are to be found in Plato's idea of sudden inspiration put forth in light imagery in the *Seventh letter* (341C, 344B), later discussed by Speusippus, who introduced the term ἐπιστημονικὴ αἴσθησις (see Merlan, 64, n*), and the subject of an entire treatise by St. Augustine (see R. Allers, *St. Augustine's doctrine on Illumination*). The favourite Platonic metaphor of light and vision of the *Republic*, V-VIII, is repeated in almost all Illuminationist texts, but incorporated in the Illuminationist unified epistemological theory named "Knowledge by presence" (*al-ʿilm al-ḥuḍūrī*).

Al-Suhrawardī expresses his concern with ambigu-

ities and inconsistencies which he discovered in the Arabic Aristotelianism of his time. They cover every domain of philosophy, e.g. in logic, concerning predication and the Law of Identity; in physics, concerning the discrete and numbered separate Intellects; but especially in early passages of the *Posterior analytics*, I.2:71b.20-72a.25. The latter concern the foundations of Aristotelian scientific method, summed up as: science rests on necessary, true, primary, and most prior premises, which are known not through syllogistic deduction, but by immediate, intuitive knowledge, Ἀνάγκη τὴν ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐξ ἀληθῶν τ' εἶναι καὶ γνωριμωτέρων καὶ προτέρων καὶ αἰτίων τοῦ συμπεράσματος. Aristotle does not systematically present what is the intuitive mode, nor does he discuss an epistemological process that could describe primary intuition nor immediate knowledge. Science is defined as a deductive theory (an axiomatic system), based on ὅροι, ἀξιώματα, θεωρεῖν, where the latter may be known through primary ὑποθέσεις or αἴτημα or, ὁρισμός; this view is then further refined and expanded in the *Metaphysics* E.1, 1025b ff., when Aristotle defines kinds of theoretical sciences; and in *Metaphysics* M.10, 1086b. 5 ff., he examines the two ways the term *science* is said, and emphasises that scientific knowledge is universal (the same as in *De anima*, II.5, 417b). Al-Suhrawardī's main scientific aim was to construct a unified epistemological theory that describes intuitive knowledge in a "scientific" way. For example, "I intuitively know I exist/I think, that is the same", then generalised as "every self-apprehending being is the same as its substantial existence" (cf. the *Philosophy of Illumination, Part Two*, I.5, § 114 ff.). (Illuminationist philosophy also recovers Stoic sources, e.g. relating to reduction of categories, continuum theories, etc. See Ziai, *Knowledge and Illumination*, chs. I, II.)

Al-Suhrawardī's novel system is a scientific philosophical one intended to refine the scientific methods of the time, and closely parallels the ideals of Kant's "Critical philosophy" and Fichte's "Theory of scientific knowledge". The most widespread impact of Illuminationist philosophy has in fact been in the area of epistemology. Al-Suhrawardī argues against the validity of the Aristotelian *horos* and *horismos* in the foundations of philosophy, and considers ambiguous Aristotle's use of "intuition" as a starting-point of knowledge, because the Stagirite is not clear as to whether intuitive, immediate knowledge is opinion, δόξα, valid by *common acceptance*, ἔνδοξος, or something known ἐπιστητόν as scientific knowledge. Al-Suhrawardī's main claim is that in his reconstructed system, the Philosophy of Illumination, by which a new and more consistent scientific method, the "science of lights" (*ʿilm al-anwār*) is defined, the ambiguity is resolved. He constructs a unified epistemological theory, knowledge-by-presence, hailed since the 7th/13th century by such creative thinkers as al-Shahrazūrī and Ibn Kammūna, and up to the present, as one of Islamic philosophy's greatest achievements and the most valid process of obtaining and describing scientific knowledge of a wider range of things in every sector of the continuum Whole, e.g. the phenomenal and the noumenal (see M. Ha'iri Yazdi, *The principles of epistemology in Islamic philosophy*). Unlike Aristotle, the theory unequivocally posits primacy to a temporal, pre-inference and immediate mode of knowledge, which, in contemporary terms, is non-propositional intuitive knowledge prior to dyadic differentiation of subject-object.

The Illuminationist ontological position, called "primacy of quiddity", is a long-standing problem that distinguishes philosophical schools in the development of Islamic philosophy in Persia up to the present day. It is also a matter of considerable controversy. Those who believe in the primacy of being or of existence (*wudjūd*) consider essence (*māhiyya*) to be a derived, mental concept (*amr iʿtibārī*, a term of "secondary intention"); while those who believe in the primacy of quiddity consider existence to be a derived, mental concept. The Illuminationist position is this: should existence be real outside the mind (*mutaḥakkak fī khāridj al-dhihn*), then the real must consist of two things—the principle of the reality of existence, and the being of existence, which requires a referent outside the mind. And its referent outside the mind must also consist of two things, which are subdivided, and so on *ad infinitum*. This is clearly absurd. Therefore existence must be considered as an abstract, derived, mental concept (cf. William of Ockham, *Summa logicæ, Pars prima*, 15: "That the general term is not a thing outside the mind". The same is said in *the Philosophy of Illumination. Part One*, I.5: "On the [principle] that the general term does not exist outside the mind").

In sum, Illuminationist philosophy contests the Aristotelian position that the laws of science formulated as A-propositions are both necessary and always true, and that they are universal. Through an elaborate process of arguments, starting in logic in the four major texts mentioned, al-Suhrawardī establishes future contingency (*al-imkān al-mustakbal*) as a scientific principle. Using this principle and others, he further argues that, contrary to the Aristotelian position, laws of science cannot be universal.

Finally, Illuminationist philosophy is quintessentially different from philosophical "text books" composed by Muslim dialectical theologians and cannot be reduced to a state-sponsored "handmaiden of theology." Al-Suhrawardī's concepts such as *idrāk* ("apperception or "apprehension" similar to modern philosophy's replacing *noein* with *Vernehmen*); *al-iḍāfa al-ishrākiyya*, (comparable to non-predicative knowledge; *idrāk al-anā'iyya* (self-awareness, *Selbstgefühl*); *mushāhada ishrākiyya* (cf. *Selbstgefühl*, as well as *Ichheit*, as acts *Bewusstsein* of the cognitive intuitive mode, and *Anschauung*, meaning "seeing," applied to a "seeing subject," whose act of sight is identified as *Wesensschau*); and many other technical terms, are also not to be confused with their subjective use in Ṣūfism.

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(HOSSEIN ZIAI)

SUHRAWARDIYYA, an order of Ṣūfīs of 'Irāḳī origin which flourished particularly in India; devoid of a centralised organisation, the *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] split into numerous branches.

1. *The order in 'Irāḳ and Persia.* The Suhrawardiyya traces its origin back to Abu 'l-Nadjīb Suhrawardī [*q.v.*], the disciple of Aḥmad Ghazālī [*q.v.*]. Through two of his students who became masters of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā [*q.v.*] (Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 417-18), also the *silsila* of the Kubrawiyya goes back to Abu 'l-Nadjīb. Some of Kubrā's major students, such as Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 654/1256) and Yaḥyā Bākharzī (d. 736/1335-6), were either linked with Abu 'l-Nadjīb's nephew Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] or they were active in the propagation of the latter's work. Abu 'l-Nadjīb is also at the origin of the line of the mystic poet Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. probably 635/1237-8; R. Gramlich, *Derwischorden*, i, 9; H. Ritter, *Meer*, 473-6; see *Bibl.* below).

However, it is Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar Suhrawardī, trained in his uncle's *ribāṭ* in Baghdād, who deserves to be regarded as the actual founder of the order. On account of his close relationship with the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*], for whom Shihāb al-Dīn acted as a court theologian and special emissary, he obtained the privileged position of a *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* within the Ṣūfiyya of Baghdād. The caliph had a lodge built for Shihāb al-Dīn, the Ribāṭ al-Mustadjadd, and he designated him as a patron of his knightly *futuwwa*. Shihāb al-Dīn prepared the propagation of his order through an extensive correspondence. He visited Ṣūfī lodges and received many distinguished visitors, upon whom he conferred the *khirḳa*, including, e.g., the poet Sa'dī [*q.v.*] and the historian Ibn al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*]. In Baghdād, Shihāb al-Dīn was succeeded by his son 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad Suhrawardī (d. 655/1257) as custodian of the Ribāṭ al-Ma'mūniyya (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Ḥawādith*, 323). Other disciples, on Shihāb al-Dīn's orders, returned to their homelands or settled in new areas where they founded daughter lodges.

The spreading of Shihāb al-Dīn's *'Awārif al-ma'ārif*, used by him as a teaching manual, became the prime concern for his disciples. Both in the propagation of his *magnum opus* and in the dissemination of the order, Ṣūfīs of Shīrāz, in general, and the line of Nadjīb al-Dīn 'Alī b. Buzghush (d. 678/1280), in particular, seem to have played a leading rôle: The latter's son Ẓahīr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 716/1216) translated the *'Awārif* into Persian, and a great-grandson of Ibn Buzghush wrote a commentary on his grandfather's translation. Apart from these renditions, the *'Awārif* were propagated in the Persian langnage through the compilations of Bākharzī and Maḥmud Kāshānī (d. 735/1334-5). The latter received the transmission of the *'Awārif* from two disciples of Ibn Buzghush, of whom 'Abd al-Ṣamad Naṭanzī may be mentioned here (Djāmī, *op. cit.*, 481; Gramlich, *Gaben*, 14; see

Bibl.). Naṭanzī left his mark as the master of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kās͟hī (d. 736/1335), who is noted for the correspondence he had with ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī [*q.v.*] in which he vindicated Ibn ʿArabī's [*q.v.*] philosophy of *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* ("unity of being"; D̲j̲āmī, *op. cit.*, 483-91). Zayn al-Dīn K̲h̲ʷāfī (d. 838/1435 at Harāt [*q.v.*]), initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Nūr al-Dīn Miṣrī, in Egypt, was equally linked with S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn through Naṭanzī. However, K̲h̲ʷāfī established his own chain, the Zayniyya, which spread into the Ottoman Empire (Trimingham, *Sufi orders*, 78). Although K̲h̲ʷāfī has originally been portrayed as orthodox, he came to be associated with the Ḥurūfiyya and Bektās̲h̲iyya ([*q.v.*]; H. Norris, *Mirʾāt al-ṭālibīn*, 59).

2. *The order in India.* In the Indian Subcontinent, the Suhrawardiyya has been one of the four major orders, besides the Čis̲h̲tiyya, Ḳādiriyya—which has now widely overtaken the Suhrawardiyya in popularity—and the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya. The brotherhood was introduced to India from the beginning of the Dihlī Sultanate (13th-16th centuries) by three disciples of S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn, who each founded a regional branch: Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī (d. 673/1274) in the area of Dihlī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d. 641-2/1244) in Bangāla, and Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā' Multānī (d. 661/1262 [*q.v.*]) in Multān. Bahāʾ al-Dīn, a man of Ḳurays̲h̲ descent who joined S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn in Bag̲h̲dād after having studied in Buk̲h̲ārā, was the most successful propagator of the order, and his line became its centre in India. Among the contemporaries of S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn, Muʿīn al-Dīn Čis̲h̲tī [*q.v.*] of Sīstān also entered India. He settled in Ad̲j̲mēr, where he founded the Čis̲h̲tiyya order [*q.v.*]. The Čis̲h̲tiyya used the *ʿAwārif* as their manual of instruction. The S̲h̲aṭṭāriyya order [*q.v.*], whose chain also links with the Suhrawardiyya, was introduced to India at the end of the 9th/15th century.

The continuous history of the order can be traced best through the successors, *k̲h̲alīfas*, of Bahāʾ al-Dīn. Among his disciples, Sayyid D̲j̲alāl Buk̲h̲ārī (d. 690/1291), called D̲j̲alāl Surk̲h̲, migrated from Buk̲h̲ārā to Učč̣h [*q.v.*], where he founded the D̲j̲alālī branch of the order. D̲j̲alāl Surk̲h̲ was the grandfather and namesake of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Buk̲h̲ārī [*q.v.*], the so-called Mak̲h̲dūm-i D̲j̲ahāniyān (d. 785/1384). The S̲h̲īʿī dervish order of the K̲h̲āksār is almost certainly to be seen as a Persian development of this D̲j̲alālī-branch (Gramlich, *Derwischorden*, i, 71).

Bahāʾ al-Dīn's most famous disciple was the Ṣūfī and poet Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ʿIrāḳī [*q.v.*], who originated from the area of Hamadān (D̲j̲āmī, *op. cit.*, 605-6). After a stay of 25 years in Multān with Bahāʾ al-Dīn, he was appointed one of his *k̲h̲alīfas*; however, after Bahāʾ al-Dīn's death he left Multān. A hereditary principle became established within the line of Bahāʾ al-Dīn with the appointment of Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad ʿĀrif (d. 684/1286) as his father's successor (D̲j̲āmī, 504).

Among Ṣadr al-Dīn's disciples, the most learned was Amīr Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī (d. after 720/1320; Rizvi, *History*, i, 206; see *Bibl.*) who exchanged letters with the mystic of Tabrīz, Maḥmūd S̲h̲abistarī (d. 720/1320; D̲j̲āmī, 605). The successor of Ṣadr al-Dīn, however, was his son Rukn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ (d. 735/1334-5). The latter was succeeded, according to the hagiographers, by a nephew, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, 475-7) by his grandson *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Hūd. Although the sultan decided the ensuing dispute in favour of Hūd, he had the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* executed as a result of accusations of embezzlement against Hūd. With this episode, the fortune of Bahāʾ al-Dīn's splendid *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* in Multān came to an end. The order thereafter started to flourish in the areas of Učč̣h, Gud̲j̲arāt, the Pand̲j̲āb, Kas̲h̲mīr and in Dihlī.

In Učč̣h, D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Buk̲h̲ārī, "Mak̲h̲dūm-i D̲j̲ahāniyān" infused the *ṭarīḳa* with new life. Mak̲h̲dūm was also initiated, by Čirāg̲h̲-i Dihlī [*q.v.*], into the Čis̲h̲tiyya order. Despite Bahāʾ al-Dīn's insistence that his Ṣūfīs should join one order only, from the 8th/14th century, Indian Ṣūfīs often became affiliated with both the Čis̲h̲tiyya and Suhrawardiyya orders. Mak̲h̲dūm, noted for his puritanism, opposed religious customs followed by some Muslims which were specifically Indian; he also disapproved of invoking God by names in Hindi (Schimmel 33; see *Bibl.*). His brother and successor Ṣadr al-Dīn Rād̲j̲ū (d. after 800/1400) earned the *s̲h̲uhra* "Ḳattāl" on account of his religious militancy. The order of the Buk̲h̲ārī Sayyids spread further through the sons and grandsons of Mak̲h̲dūm and Sayyid Ḳattāl.

Whereas various disciples and descendants of the Mak̲h̲dūm established themselves in the provincial kingdoms of Kalpī [*q.v.*] and also Gud̲j̲arāt, the centre in Dihlī was founded by *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Samāʿ al-Dīn (d. 901-2/1496), a second generation disciple of Rād̲j̲ū Ḳattāl. Samāʿ al-Dīn is noted as an author who wrote under the influence of *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* and ʿIrāḳī's *Lamaʿāt*. The leading figure among Samāʿ al-Dīn's disciples was Ḥāmid b. D̲j̲amālī Dihlawī (d. 942/1536 [*q.v.*]), a widely-known poet and great traveller. In Harāt, D̲j̲amālī had discussions with D̲j̲āmī [*q.v.*], whose belief that the *Lamaʿāt* were inspired through Ḳūnawī [see ṢADR AL-DĪN] he disputed.

The Indian Suhrawardiyya had the greatest impact, however, in Kas̲h̲mīr [*q.v.*]. This was partly due to the support they received from migrant Ṣūfīs of the Kubrawiyya order. Rinchana, the king of Kas̲h̲mīr and former Buddhist chief from Ladak̲h̲ who embraced Islam in the 8th/14th century, is said to have been converted by Sayyid S̲h̲araf al-Dīn [see BULBUL S̲H̲ĀH in *Suppl.*], a disciple of one of S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn's *k̲h̲alīfas* in Turkestan. In the 9th/15th century, various Suhrawardī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*, mainly of the branch of the Mak̲h̲dūm-i D̲j̲ahāniyān, kept Kas̲h̲mīrī Ṣūfism alive. There were clashes between Suhrawardīs and S̲h̲īʿīs in the 10th/16th century under the Čāk [*q.v.* in Suppl.] dynasty which patronised S̲h̲īʿism.

(a) Relations with the rulers. In the Sultanate of Dihlī, the Suhrawardiyya was an aristocratic order which justified the possession of wealth and enjoyed state patronage. Bahāʾ al-Dīn, like his master S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn, willingly cooperated with the government, trying to influence it in turn; Iltutmis̲h̲, of the line of "Slave Kings", moved his troops against the governor of Učč̣h apparently under Bahāʾ al-Dīn's influence. Thereafter, the sultan conferred upon Bahāʾ al-Dīn the title of the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* for Sind and Pand̲j̲āb. Bahāʾ al-Dīn's successors also maintained close relations with the rulers. The sultans of Gud̲j̲arāt were devoted to the Suhrawardī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*, and high government officials attached themselves to Ṣūfism under their influence. Samāʿ al-Dīn of Dihlī blessed the sultan Sikandar Lōdī during his coronation, and his disciple D̲j̲amālī accompanied the crown prince Humāyūn [*q.v.*] on his campaigns. D̲j̲amālī's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Gadāʾī assumed the powerful post of *Ṣadr al-ṣudūr* [see ṢADR. 5] under emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] and his *samāʿ* assemblies were attended by the emperor.

(b) Attitude to Hinduism. The Suhrawardīs supported the enforced conversion of Hindus. D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī was active in converting Hindus and

Buddhists to Islam, which occasionally involved the destruction of a temple and its replacement by a *khānaḳāh*. The brotherhood demanded formal conversion to Islam as a pre-requisite to initiation in mysticism. In the main, however, it seems that the Suhrawardiyya only succeeded in converting Hindus of high caste (Rizvi, *op. cit.*, ii, 398).

(c) Some traits of Suhrawardī spirituality. The order played an important part in the preservation of the Prophetic tradition, on which their *shaykhs* wrote numerous works. Suhrawardī mysticism, orientated more towards classical Ṣūfī doctrine than to Ibn ʿArabī's philosophy, was fully orthodox. Relatively uninterested in austerities, the Suhrawardīs emphasised canonical prayer, *dhikr* [*q.v.*] and fasting in Ramaḍān. Modifications of the form of *dhikr* exercises as a result of encounters with Yogis may be observed for the Čishtiyya, but not for the Suhrawardīs. The practice of prostration before the *shaykh* (*zamīn-būs*) adopted by the Čishtiyya was rejected by the Suhrawardīs.

Regarding *samāʿ* [*q.v.*], the Suhrawardiyya were little inclined towards the appreciation of poetry or music. Already Shihāb al-Dīn had taken a reserved stance against audition parties (*ʿAwārif*, chs. 22-5). Shihāb al-Dīn also criticised (Djāmī, 589) Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī, a typical representative of the *shāhid* theory, for his contemplation of beauty in sensible objects (Ritter, *op. cit.*, 473), which often formed part of *samāʿ* assemblies. Notwithstanding this, ʿIrāḳī, the poet and—like Kirmānī—advocate of *shāhid-bāzī*, followed Bahāʾ al-Dīn as his spiritual preceptor. Under the inspiration of the *shaykhs* of the Čishtiyya, some of Rukn al-Dīn's disciples propounded the licitness of *samāʿ*. The Suhrawardī *shaykh* Amīr Ḥusaynī viewed *samāʿ* as the exclusive domain of the spiritual élite—a notion which is echoed in Djāmī's story (602) about Bahāʾ al-Dīn's vindication of ʿIrāḳī against his disciples' reproaches. Thus, on the whole, the order did not succeed in enforcing a total rejection of *samāʿ*.

3. *Some modern developments.* While in recent times the Suhrawardiyya has largely disappeared from some Middle Eastern countries such as Syria, in ʿIrāḳ the order still continued to recruit adherents. The *shaykhs* of the contemporary Suhrawardiyya in ʿIrāḳ traditionally belong to the family of the Bayt Ṣāliḥ al-Khaṭīb. Some of them served as professors at the Madrasat Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī and as *khaṭībs* at the mosque attached to it. One Suhrawardī *shaykh* mentioned in Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Suhrawardī's *Lubb al-albāb* (Baghdād 1933, ii, 463-5; cf. F. de Jong, *Les confréries mystiques*, 230) is said to have served as the *imām* of the army of the ʿIrāḳī government.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Nadjīb al-Suhrawardī, *K. Ādāb al-murīdīn*, ed. M. Milson, Jerusalem 1977; Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, Cairo 1358/1939; R. Gramlich, *Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse des ʿUmar as-Suhrawardī* (German tr. of the *ʿAwārif*, includes valuable introd. to the history of the text and the order), Wiesbaden 1978; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Beirut 1379/1960, *passim*; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa*, Baghdād 1351; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Djunayd al-Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-izār fī ḥaṭṭ al-awzār*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, Tehran 1328, *passim*; Nūr al-Dīn Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Tawḥīdī-Pūr, Tehran 1336/1957, *passim*; Ḥāmid b. Faḍl Allāh Dihlawī, *Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, Dihlī 1311 (gives full account of Suhrawardī and Čishtī leaders); ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār fī asrār al-abrār*, Dihlī 1309 (reliable collection of biographies of Indian Ṣūfīs); Firishta, *Tārīkh*, Bombay 1831-2; Ghulām-i Sarwar-i Lāhawrī, *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Lucknow 1290/1873-4; J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, Appx. C. Suhrawardī silsilas, and *passim*; Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A history of Sufism in India*, New Delhi 1978, 2 vols. (exhaustive study of Indian Ṣūfism); H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele. Mensch, Welt und Gott in den Geschichten des Farīduddīn ʿAṭṭār*, Leiden 1978, 473-6 (on Kirmānī); R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, Wiesbaden 1965-76, 3 vols.; A. Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, 2. Abt., iv, 3, Leiden-Köln 1980; F. de Jong, *Les confréries mystiques musulmanes au Machreq arabe*, in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, *Les Ordres mystiques dans l'Islam*, Paris 1985, 205-43; H.T. Norris, *The* Mirʾāt al-Ṭālibīn, *by Zain al-Dīn al-Khawāfī of Khurāsān and Herāt*, in *BSOAS*, liii (1990), 57-63; B. Radtke, *Von Iran nach Westafrika. Zwei Quellen für al-Ḥāǧǧ ʿUmars* Kitāb Rimāḥ ḥizb ar-raḥīm: *Zaynaddīn al-Ḫwāfī und Šamsaddīn al-Madyanī*, in *WI*, xxxiv/1 (1995), 37-69 (on a Suhrawardī influence on the West African Tidjānī Ṣūfī Ḥādjdj ʿUmar al-Fūtī [d. 1864]). (F. Sobieroj)

SŪḲ (A.), pl. *aswāḳ*, market.

1. In the traditional Arab world.
2. In the Muslim West.
3. In Cairo under the Mamlūks and Ottomans.
4. In Syria.
   (a) Damascus under the Ottomans.
   (b) Aleppo.
5. In ʿIrāḳ [see Suppl.].
6. In Persia.
7. In Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkans.
8. In Muslim India.

1. In the traditional Arab world.

Sūḳ, market, is a loanword from Aramaic *shūḳā* with the same meaning. Like the French term *marché* and the English *market*, the Arabic word *sūḳ* has acquired a double meaning: it denotes both the commercial exchange of goods or services and the place in which this exchange is normally conducted. Analysis of the *sūḳ* is thus of interest to the economic and social historian as well as to the archaeologist and the urban topographer. The substantial textual documentation which is available has as yet been analysed only very partially and the phenomenon of the market, fundamental to the understanding of mediaeval Arab culture, has not, to the present writers' knowledge, been subjected to a thorough and comprehensive conceptual study.

Since the beginnings of urban civilisation in Mesopotamia and in Syria, from the third millennium onwards, the Middle East had seen the development of commercial activities, local and long distance. On the contributions of the mercantile tradition to Islamic civilisation, the reader is referred to a perceptive and useful monograph by Maxime Rodinson which appears as a preface to P. Chalmeta's important work *El Señor del zoco* (Madrid 1973). For M. Rodinson, the Arabic *sūḳ* could be associated with an ancient Semitic term, the Akkadian *sūḳu*, from a root evoking tightness (if *sūḳu* < *ṣūḳu*) and, in early Hebrew texts, with the term *shūḳ*, denoting streets and squares and used to translate the Greek ἀγορά and the Latin *forum*. Intermediate Jewish sources between the 3rd and 6th-7th centuries A.D. refer to various functionaries supervising the market in the Talmudic era. The function of market inspector had been inaugurated in Mesopotamia, and the Greek term had passed into the Aramaic language of the Jews of Babylon and of Palestine where

the Jewish authorities appointed agoranomes entitled to impose their own prices on the market.

The prominent role played by the market and its physical centrality in the Hellenistic and Roman world induced the state to take a keen interest in its workings. Thus attention may be drawn to the appearance, in Athens and elsewhere, of colleges of agoranomes, entrusted with supervision of the maintenance and good order of the agora, but above all responsible for checking the regularity of the transactions conducted there. The function of agoranome seems to have disappeared from Greek institutions 300 years before the Arab conquest (Foster, *Agoranomos and muḥtasib*, in *JESHO*, xiii [1970], 128-44). However, if a solution based on chronological continuity is to be rejected, the *ʿāmil ʿalā al-sūḳ*, or *walī al-sūḳ*, or *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ*, who appeared from the outset of Islam, in the time of Muḥammad, may be associated with the agoranomes of Palmyra of the 3rd century, who had a more exalted municipal function than simple market-policing and whom a bilingual inscription also calls *rabb sūḳ*. While agoranomy disappeared after the 3rd century, market inspectors continued, however, to operate in the adjacent world of Arabia. Regarding the five centuries which followed the Muslim conquest, there was a dispute between Claude Cahen and Eliyahu Ashtor over the question of the permanence of urban institutions, including control of the markets, in the Arab Orient.

It is also important to recall the importance of commercial activity for pre-Islamic and Islamic civilisation. The socio-economic structures of pre-Islamic Arabia are still inadequately known and have given rise to divergent interpretations, but the importance accorded there to the transport and exchange of merchandise seems clear. According to Rodinson, several maritime *emporia* were in existence (Aden, ʿUmān, Ubulla), as well as temporary markets or fairs distributed throughout the year, *aswāḳ al-ʿArab*, although it is not known whether there was anything resembling a unified or regional organisation of such phenomena. M.A. Shaban followed Rodinson in writing: "It is impossible to think of Makka in terms other than trade; its only *raison d'être* was commerce" (*Islamic history*, Cambridge 1971, i, 3). However, Patricia Crone has recently disputed the excessive importance attributed to Mecca as regulator of trade between Yemen and Syria. Excavations in the Arabian Peninsula have revealed conurbations including a group of three linked buildings: sanctuary, seat of power and market (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī, *Ḳaryat al-Fāw*, 1981). Muslim tradition holds that Mecca was inhabited and controlled by merchants when the Prophet Muḥammad received there the revelation of the Ḳurʾān; the latter contains allusions to the coming and going of caravans and to the fairs which were held twice a year, close to the city.

On numerous occasions, it is evident that concepts deployed in the Ḳurʾān—which was initially addressed to the population of Mecca, a town occupied essentially by traders—assumed the existence of a "market" economy, especially in references to the relations between God and human beings, established in terms "of reckonings, of just and precise equivalences, of selling and buying" (Chalmeta, *El Señor del zoco*, 53); thus God has "bought from the believers their selves and their goods in exchange for Paradise" (Ḳurʾān, IX, 112). The Prophet himself disconcerted the Ḳuraysh with his preaching in markets (XXV, 8). After the seizure of Mecca, Muḥammad is said to have appointed in this place Saʿīd b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ to serve as *ʿāmil ʿalā al-sūḳ*. There were also numerous *sūḳs* in Medina when the Prophet established himself there; their style of organisation remains entirely unknown, but the names of some of them have been preserved, in particular those belonging to the Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ [*q.v.*]. In the time of Muḥammad, women exercised the function of *ʿāmila ʿalā al-sūḳ*, possibly because the majority of shoppers were also women. An incident in the life of the Prophet involves the arrival of Banū Sulaym nomads from the neighbourhood, bringing butter and livestock for trade. It is known furthermore that Muḥammad designated an open space as a *sūḳ*, forbade any building work on this site, and even had tents erected there.

The obligations imposed by God on his creatures, as well as the relations which God requires human beings to uphold among themselves—marriage, repudiation, inheritance, exchange of goods or services, recognition of the power of a political leader—are presented according to a general pattern comparable to that of commercial contracts, clearly committing the two parties, according to strictly codified formulae. The mechanisms of the "market", taken in the broadest sense of the term, thus play a fundamental role. "Ideology attributes to the market a supreme dominance over life on this earth," Rodinson writes, quoting al-Ghazālī, who compares a spiritual with a material market: "Let the *sūḳ* of this world below do no injury to the *sūḳ* of the Hereafter, and the *sūḳs* of the Hereafter are the mosques". This enables him to conclude: "The Muslim economy is essentially a market economy. It celebrates the triumph of the market, extending for the first time over a substantial area of the earth's surface". The Arabs created the first "common market" covering an enormous space, stretching from the shores of the Atlantic to the frontiers of China, from the estuaries of the Volga to the Sahara, constructed on a unity which was initially political, then cultural, creating an institutional identity from one end to the other of the *Dār al-Islām*.

It is reasonable to speculate on the extent to which the pro-commercial ideology of the new conquerors directly influenced their urban policy in captured or newly-established towns. Chalmeta (*Señor del zoco*, 141 ff.) stresses the importance of the building of *sūḳs* at the orders of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik: according to him, it was this period which saw clear evolution towards what is now recognisable as the *sūḳ*, and its ultimate transformation into the constructed *sūḳ*, an enclosure with gates, with permanent shops (*ḥānūt*), a base for the levying of taxes. H. Kennedy (*The impact of Muslim rule on the pattern of rural settlement in Syria*, in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam*, Damascus 1992, 296-7) relies on the results of the excavation of a presumed Umayyad *sūḳ* at Palmyra in proposing the notion that the steppe region became, with the Arab conquest, a place of revived commercial activity after a late Byzantine phase of stagnation.

The desert was henceforward an active space, bordered by points which could be animated, among other activities, by commerce. An obvious point of reference here is the work of O. Grabar, *City in the desert*, Harvard 1978. The article by Roll and Ayalon, *The market street at Apollonia-Arsuf*, in *BASOR*, (1987), 61-76 describes a town of regional importance, the only harbour serving a quite extensive hinterland, where the elements of a *sūḳ* have been established: a narrow commercial street 2.5 m wide by 65 m in length, within the fortified town, which was apparently in use from the late 7th/early 8th century, where Umayyad coins have been found. In sum, however,

in the absence of publications in sufficient number on the Umayyad period and of firmly-established chronologies, questions remain unanswered, especially for major cities such as Aleppo and Damascus where the transformation of the large central avenues into a *sūḳ* follows a chronology which, since the work of Sauvaget (*Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas*, in *REI*, viii [1934]) is still far from clarified (on the functioning of *sūḳs* in towns created by the Arabs, see A.J. Naji and Y. Ali, *The Suqs of Basrah. Commercial organisation and activity in medieval Islamic society*, in *JESHO*, xxiv [1981], 298-309).

These urban transformations have an undeniable religious, social and judicial dimension. In the Arabo-Muslim world of the first five centuries, one of the most respected functions was that of the merchant/disseminator of *ḥadīth*, who enabled all the inhabitants of this region to acquire the same access both to the commodities of material culture and to the fundamental elements of religious culture. In mediaeval Arabic literature, religious as well as secular, the travelling merchant plays a predominant role: he transports the goods which he buys or sells from one market to another, between the time of the dawn prayer and the time of the midday prayer. Similarly, he memorises or diffuses prophetic traditions, from one mosque to another, between the afternoon prayer and the final prayer. The *ḥisba* [*q.v.*], a branch of Islamic legislation precisely defining the functions of the *muḥtasib*, a civilian official appointed by the *ḳāḍī* to uphold Islamic order in the town and, in particular, to supervise the markets, is well understood, since numerous texts concerning it, often very concrete and practical, have been preserved. As will be seen especially with regard to the towns of the Muslim West, these documents make it possible to follow the daily functioning of the *sūḳ*.

Whether it was a case of ancient cities captured by the Arabs or newly-founded ones, all maintained certain similar, essential functions. The pattern of organisation of these large urban areas is well known: in the centre of the city, the *djāmiʿ*-mosque and the governor's palace, *dār al-imāra*, constituted a local outpost of caliphal authority, communal prayer, upholding of Muslim order and levying of fiscal revenues. These buildings/institutions symbolised the town, a space for mediation between Arab tribes belonging to traditionally mutually hostile confederations, or between Arab Muslims and converted *mawālī*, or even between the various officially recognised religious communities, Muslims and *dhimmīs*. Immediately adjacent to the centre, along thoroughfares radiating from this nucleus and delimiting homogeneous areas, the *sūḳs* supplied the third function of these cities, being the provider of wealth, of the exchange of goods and services. These *sūḳs* comprised a series of broadly similar booths established on a segment of the road, deployed on one or on both sides of the latter according to the type of commercial activity and of product. These booths, of little depth, were fronted on the street by a bench: they could be overlooked by residential areas or separated by a rearward wall from such zones. The latter could accommodate the family of the trader or the artisan, but in general there was no access between them and the shop and they were occupied by families unrelated to the user of the premises.

In general, each type of commerce was concentrated on both sides of one of the radial routes linking the central square to each of the gates, a sector to which it gave its name. Traditionally, close to the Great Mosque, in the heart of the city, were located the sellers of manuscripts and the copyists, *kutubī*; suppliers of perfumes, *ʿaṭṭār*, and of fine leather, slippers and furs; and trades associated with precious metals; changers, *ṣarrāf*, goldsmiths, jewellers, *ṣāʾigh*, *djawharī*, trades often practised by Christian or Jewish artisans. Large central markets sold quality fabrics and items of clothing. Closer to the gates were those practising noisier crafts: carpenters, joiners and manufacturers of copper or brass objects, the latter often being Jews or Christians. Close by the gates of the citadel were saddlers and the sellers of weapons, such as swords, sabres, lances, bows and quivers. In the section of the town easily accessible to Bedouins, there were sellers of felt or cloth for tents, ropes, fur-lined capes, utensils and all other essentials for living in the steppelands. Located outside the city were those businesses which required abundant space or easy access to running water, or those which were dirty and malodorous: fullers, dyers, tanners, potters, wholesalers of fruit and vegetables, *sūḳ al-biṭṭīkh*, traders in sheep, horses, donkeys, mules, camels (on the variety of craft and commercial activities in the Middle Ages, see the list compiled by Maya Shatzmiller, *Labour in the medieval Islamic world*, Leiden 1994, 255-323).

Besides these linear *sūḳs*, there existed agglomerations located in the enclosed structures of a continuous wall, breached by an easily-controlled monumental gate, structures of one or two storeys, surrounding a space open to the sky. Often of considerable size these buildings were denoted by various terms: *ḳaysāriyya* [*q.v.*] (imperial establishment for the protection of stages on major commercial routes), *funduḳ* [*q.v.*] (hostel, *fondaco*, place for the lodging of visitors to the town), *khān* [*q.v.*], *wakāla* (meeting-place for commercial agents), *rabʿ* [*q.v.*] (facilities for temporary accommodation concentrated in a single building), *ḥawsh* (enclosed area, urban or suburban, of rural aspect, a yard of beaten earth, where cattle or poor immigrants could be accommodated) and when situated away from towns, isolated on commercial routes, *karawānsarāy* (from the Persian "caravan" and "palace", caravanserai).

Large in scale, supplied with lodgings, stables, sometimes with a mosque and a public bath, and comprising substantial warehouses, *makhzan*, *ḥāṣil*, the *ḳaysāriyyas* could maintain a high level of bulk trading, storage and processing by means of the workshops often located on the site. Situated either outside or within the city, close to a gate or linked to it by a well-proportioned street, these massive structures could be easily reached by heavily-laden dromedaries. The merchandise, resold semi-wholesale or retail, was distributed, outside these enclosed markets, through the narrow streets of the city, transported by donkeys or porters. These enclosures, set apart for a series of well-defined and restricted commercial or industrial activities, provided governments with an easy framework for operating fiscal levies [see MAKS], and the single gate, which could be locked, made it possible during the night to segregate transients from resident citizens. They were in fact the forerunners of customs offices. In Fusṭāṭ, from the Fāṭimid period onward, sales outlets specialising in the commerce of cheese, carpets, eggs or jewellery were leased on behalf of such a *dīwān* supplying the financial needs of Kutāmī Berber soldiers or other social groups (al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr, al-ḳism al-taʾrīkhī*, Cairo 1978, index, 134, s.v. *dār*; Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1987, i, 209, n. 1, bibl. of Dār Mānik; idem, *Le fonctionnement des dīwāns financiers*

d'après al-Musabbiḥī, in *AI*, xxvi [1992], 47-61).

Foodstuffs harvested on the land adjacent to the towns, often processed in urban or suburban workshops, were introduced into networks of exchange covering a vast expanse between the Atlantic and Central Asia, while merchandise originating from other horizons was offered to local consumers. The *sūḳ*, like the *ḳaysāriyya*, was thus the indispensable link between the city, its neighbouring territory and the *Dār al-Islām*. What is not properly understood is the mode of interaction between these *sūḳ*s and other urban commercial institutions, and those market sites which were temporary, mostly rural and located outside the town (see, in this connection, the typology of Chalmeta, *El Señor del zoco*, 71-198). Mediaeval geographers often refer to the rural markets of the Maghrib; thus al-Idrīsī, describing the still very fragmentary structure of Meknès in the period prior to his own time, indicates that at a certain distance from the nuclei of population, in the process of transforming themselves into a town, there existed an ancient rural market site, still functioning, called *al-sūḳ al-ḳadīma*, "a flourishing market to which people come from near and far every Thursday and where all the tribes of the Banū Miknās are gathered". Still in the Maghrib, a hypothesis of "non-evolution" of the places of concentration of rural products into towns has been put forward by A. Adam, *L'Agadir berbère: une ville manquée?*, in *ROMM*, xxvi (2nd quarter 1978), 5-12.

Whatever may have been the importance of places of rural exchange (and it must again be stressed that very little is known on the subject), the Muslim travellers of the Middle Ages who describe the towns of the *Dār al-Islām* define them principally by the presence of a great mosque and of markets. In the eyes of the peasantry of the regions surrounding the town, it is also, apparently, the market which constitutes its most specific element. Thus—outside the Arab domain—P. Centlivres, *Un bazar de l'Asie centrale* (Wiesbaden 1972), notes that the country folk living in the villages situated in the environs of Tāshḳurghān, in Afghānistān, refer to the town itself, in its entirety, by the term *bāzār*, synonym of *sūḳ*. In certain towns of the Maghrib, merchants are forbidden to conclude, except within the confines of the market and during its times of functioning, any transaction with peasants from the neighbourhood of the town; this is for the economic protection of the producer against the malice of a buyer operating outside the normal framework of competition (Chalmeta, *El Señor del zoco*, 83-6, 123, 212-13).

According to their range of activity or the circles in which they operate, it is possible to distinguish between different types of merchants and of "markets": Chalmeta places in totally different categories the shopkeeper (*ḥawānītī*) and the major trader (*tādjir*), corresponding to two quite distinct economic circuits. In the *K. al-Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra*, the Fāṭimid-period author al-Dimashḳī identifies the *khazzān*, the sedentary merchant who, by means of stocking or de-stocking, plays on variations of price as influenced by space, time and the quantities of the commodities traded; the *rakkāḍ*, the itinerant trader who owes his profits to his knowledge of the differences in purchase and sale prices according to the places where the transactions take place; and the *mudjahhiz*, the purveyor, who supplies travellers with all that they need (Y. Essid, *A critique of the origins of Islamic thought*, Leiden 1995, 220-8). Thus I. Lapidus stresses, in Mamlūk Egypt, the independence of the local and long-distance commercial circuits, the latter continuing to prosper while the former declined. At the risk of over-simplification, it should be possible first to define the "shopkeeper", dealing in local products, living in a universe of limited intellectual and economic horizons. In ʿAbbāsid Baghdād, this class of shopkeepers, with its thoroughly practical daily concerns, seems often to have been inspired by Ḥanbalism. The larger traders, sedentary wholesalers or travelling merchants, capable of more complex economic calculations since they need to take into account the risks of long-distance transport were attracted by Shāfiʿism, Ashʿarism, or eventually Ismāʿīlism in the East, Mālikism or Khāridjism in the West. Major financiers close to the centres of power, juggling with substantial abstract sums, tended rather towards Ḥanafism or Twelver Shīʿism or even Ismāʿīlism.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also TIDJĀRA. (TH. BIANQUIS and P. GUICHARD)

2. In the Muslim West.

In the Occident as well, the geographers refer to the countless *sūḳ*s which constituted the commercial heart of Muslim towns in all western regions. The diversity of these *sūḳ*s is well illustrated, for example, by Ibn Ḥawḳal, in the description which he provides of the markets of Palermo in the 4th/10th century, for which he lists some twenty-five different specialities (traders in oil, corn, fish, meat and vegetables, smiths, apothecaries, money-changers, drysalters, cobblers, tanners, joiners, potters, embroiderers, polishers, etc.). Regarding the late Middle Ages, the index of Brunschvig's survey of Ḥafṣid Tunisia (*La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides, des origines à la fin du XVe siècle*, 2 vols., Paris 1940-1947) names some fifty different *sūḳ*s. It would seem to be appropriate to seek out, through detailed study of a town such as Fez on the eve of the colonial period, the still vibrant modern echo of these ancient structures (see Le Tourneau's classic work on *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949). It is evident that cities of the western Mediterranean linked to the Muslim world were remodelled according to patterns emanating from the East, or were constructed according to the same principles in the case of new foundations.

As regards the Maghrib, it is however somewhat difficult to glean precise information on the topographical and economic organisation of *sūḳ*s in the Middle Ages. It is known that at al-Ḳayrawān, before the Fāṭimids transferred commercial activities to Ṣabra Manṣūriyya, the sector of the *sūḳ*s extended along the Simāt, a main street which, traversing the whole city from gate to gate, skirting the Great Mosque and fringed by two rows of shops, served as the city's principal thoroughfare. In 275/888-9, at the time of the "insurrection of the dirhams", following a monetary reform ordered by the Aghlabid Ibrāhīm II, the traders closed their shops and rose in revolt. Calm having been restored after a skirmish between the local militia and the Ḳayrawānīs, the *amīr* sent a vizier to parade along this *simāt* as a means of appeasing the inhabitants (al-Bakrī, 25-6/59; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Colin/Lévi-Provençal and tr. Fagnan, i, 114/158). Also for the 3rd/9th century in Ifrīḳiyya, a very interesting source exists, the *Aḥkām al-sūḳ* of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, containing a wealth of detail regarding the daily life of the *sūḳ* (ed. Makkī in *RIEI*, iv [1956], 59-152 and tr. García Gómez, *Unas ordenanzas del zoco del siglo IX*, in *al-Andalus*, xii [1957], 253-316). But besides this compilation of judicial consultations relating to the *sūḳ*, Maghribī literature specifically concerning markets is rather meagre, and it would be necessary, for a clear understanding of

the market economy in the mediaeval Maghrib, to gather together a very dispersed and often allusive stock of documentation, since the sources currently available do not seem to allocate much importance to the "market".

In his synthesis of the politico-administrative institutions of the mediaeval Maghrib, Hopkins (*Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, London 1958, 135-6) supplies very little information on the administration of the market. The paucity of references to the specific jurisdiction of the *ḥisba* even leads him to believe that it was in fact the *ḳāḍī* who directly assumed the function of *muḥtasib*. Sometimes, the latter would even have been the personal prerogative of the sovereign himself: twice a month, the Almohad caliph Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf is supposed to have called together the *umanāʾ* (s. *amīn*) responsible for each of the professions to report to him on the state of the markets. The sources do, however, mention at about the same time a *muḥtasib* of Marrakesh. Atallāh Dhina, in his comprehensive survey of state institutions of the Muslim West in the 13th-15th centuries, supplies no additional information.

In his study of Zīrid Ifrīḳiya, Idris makes virtually no mention of magistrates being in charge of a single market, which in his opinion was the responsibility of a kind of secondary judge, distinct from the *ḳāḍī* and called *ḥākim*, probably exercising supervision over the *umanāʾ* responsible for the different professions, or a *nāẓir al-sūḳ*, mentioned in a document of 430/1038 (*Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, 2 vols., Paris 1962, 549-51). Besides a fairly thorough nomenclature (names of *sūḳs*, straightforward mention of the *sūḳs* of such and such a locality), *sūḳs*, as a concrete reality, appear hardly at all in Brunschvig's survey of Ḥafṣid Tunisia, although there is mention there of the creation of markets by sovereigns (30, 345), and details of the revenues levied by the state on the different markets in the mid-8th/14th century (239-40). But under the Ḥafṣids, the role of the *muḥtasib*, if indeed it existed, had little importance (149-50). Regarding the late Middle Ages, the *Risāla fi 'l-ḥisba* of al-Djārsifī, which dates from *ca.* 700/1300, nevertheless gives an interesting insight into the life of the urban proletariat of the *sūḳs* in the towns of the western Maghrib, if, as Chalmeta believes, the work was indeed written in Fez or in Tlemcen and not in the Naṣrid kingdom as has also been suggested.

The situation in al-Andalus is quite different from that of the Maghrib. There the *sūḳs* are in fact one of the better understood aspects of the economic history of the country, illuminated as they are by numerous texts of *ḥisba*. This type of source appears to be an Andalusian speciality, taking account of the fact that Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, cited above, was of Andalusian origin, considering also the doubts which remain over the geographical localisation of the work of al-Djārsifī. Information regarding Cordova is, however, not perhaps quite as precise, or abundant (in particular from a topographical and institutional point of view) as could be hoped. The description of the *sūḳs* of the caliphal capital supplied by Lévi-Provençal (*Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, iii, 1967, 299-305) is very general and is based principally on his knowledge of the "traditional city" in western (Maghribī) Islam, and on data gleaned from manuals of *ḥisba* of which only one, the *Risāla* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, dates from the caliphal period (ed. Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispaniques de ḥisba*, Cairo 1955; tr. R. Arié in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i [1960], 5-38). A useful point emerging from this survey is the indication that the corporative system, which is thought to have operated in towns of the ʿAbbāsid East, did not exist in al-Andalus: there were no professional "corporations" as such, only *amīns* or *ʿarīfs* recognised by the authorities and serving as responsible intermediaries between them and each profession (302). Chalmeta's fundamental work supplies much more abundant information.

Besides the information, perhaps rather theoretical, which may be drawn from it regarding the jurisdiction of the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ/muḥtasib* of caliphal Cordova (relating to the supervision of prayer, marriages, etc.), the *Risāla fī adab al-ḥisba* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf provides some interesting details concerning the regulation of the *sūḳs* of Cordova in the 4th/10th century, weights and measures and the types of fraud likely to be committed by artisans and merchants. But the two most important texts for the study of the *sūḳ* in al-Andalus are: the *Risāla fi 'l-ḳaḍāʾ wa 'l-ḥisba* by Ibn ʿAbdūn, which contains a wealth of detail regarding control of the market of Seville *ca.* 1100 A.D. (published by Lévi-Provençal in the afore-mentioned *Trois traités* and translated by him in *Séville musulmane au début du XIIe siècle*, Paris 1947), and the *Kitāb fī adab al-ḥisba* by al-Saḳaṭī, which supplies similar information regarding Malaga of about a century later (ed. G.S. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba, traité d'Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad as-Saḳaṭī de Malaga*, 1931; tr. P. Chalmeta in *Al-Andalus*, xxxii [1967], 125-62, 365-97, and xxxiii [1968], 143-95, 367-434). All of these texts, which cover norms of activity for those responsible for the market, the regulations which they are expected to apply and safeguards against the more blatant forms of fraud, are more concerned with the control of professions and the policing of the market, thus its functioning and practical reality, than with the broader function of the *ḥisba*.

This seems to be due to the specifics of this control of the market in al-Andalus, where the Umayyad tradition seems to have preserved, better than was the case in the ʿAbbāsid East, a post for the policing of commercial activities, the one responsible retaining the title of *wālī al-sūḳ* or *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ*. There is no doubt of the existence of a particular magistrate entrusted with the *wilāyat al-sūḳ*, distinct from the *wilāyat al-madīna* since the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥman II (206-38/822-52). Information is available concerning numerous jurists who exercised this function, which was closely involved with the practical regulation of economic life, and constituted one of the echelons of a kind of *cursus honorum* of magistratures and senior official posts (Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, for example, seems to have been successively *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ*, *wālī al-madīna*, then *wazīr*). For P. Chalmeta, confusion with the *ḥisba* was a late and rather deliberate development in al-Andalus, and among the populace, the functionary entrusted with this role was still seen primarily as "controller of the market". The later treatise, that of al-Saḳaṭī, is also the more precise and more vivid in regard to the ingenuity of fraudulent practices, the composition and manufacture of products: it provides an exceptionally clear insight into the daily life of a *sūḳ* which seems principally devoted to the promotion of a multiplicity of small and highly specialised businesses.

The Andalusian treatises often paint a detailed and colourful picture of a world of impecunious small tradesmen and rogues, seeming to exist on the very edge of survival. They have little to say of higher-level commercial activities, and are almost silent on the subject of costly merchandise (where luxury products are mentioned, it is their manufacture which is

described, rather than their marketing: thus for example the brocades and silk fabrics cited by Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, p. 353 of R. Arié's translation). Chalmeta draws a firm distinction between the closed world of small artisans and merchants of the *sūḳ* as such, defined by him as *ḥawāntī*, and the much more open one of the major traders, *tudjdjār*, who were not, in his opinion, subject to the jurisdiction of the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ*. He stresses the separation of the two commercial circuits, local and long distance, which in his view had very little in the way of coordination or interaction with each other, and even developed in divergent directions. In her study of commerce—and particularly large-scale commerce—in al-Andalus, O.R. Constable, while slightly modifying the notion of the non-intervention of the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ* in long distance commerce (in areas such as the supervision of vessels and of ports), agrees that texts dealing with control of the Andalusian *sūḳ* leave aside almost entirely precious products, major commerce and major traders. She believes that others were entrusted with this charge, but concedes that the sources say virtually nothing on the subject (*Trade and traders in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge 1994). It would probably be necessary to distinguish between different types of town. For his part, H. Ferhat provides a picture of Ceuta, a town which could be considered as representing Andalusian civilisation, where, in the 13th-14th centuries, "all the in habitants were merchants, settlers, traders and mariners" (*Sabta des origines au XIV*[e] *siècle*, Rabat 1993, 308 and *passim*, in particular the whole of the very interesting chapter on commerce, 305-45).

It would be helpful to have a better knowledge of the precise geography of the places, in the city, where commercial activities were practised. The *sūḳ* in the strict sense, the *ḳaysāriyyas* (article by L. Torres Balbas on the *Alcaicerías* in *Al-Andalus*, xiv [1949], 431-55; detailed description of a surviving edifice, the current Corral del Carbón of Granada), *funduḳs*, open markets, certainly also played an important role, without counting the extramural and rural markets, which are often evoked but of which virtually nothing is known (cf. for example Brunschvig, ii, 235; Chalmeta, 75-102). A systematic analysis of texts of all kinds would perhaps facilitate a more accurate identification of the places where different types of commercial transaction were concluded. A passage from the *Tashawwuf* of al-Tādilī (singled out as representing a somewhat exceptional case by H. Ferhat, *Sabta*, 310) refers for example to a purchase of corn made some time in the mid-12th century at Azemmour, by an Andalusian merchant who intended to export it to Malaga; the deal was struck in the port and not in the *sūḳ* (ed. A. Tawfīḳ, 1404/1984, 190).

Reference has been made above to a list of the revenues of different sales locations in Tunis in the 14th century cited by Brunschvig: it emphasises the meagre revenue of *sūḳs* as such in comparison with the receipts earned by markets in public places and by *funduḳs*. A survey which is currently in progress of collections of *fatwās* of the Muslim West will perhaps facilitate a better understanding of the organisation of the "market" in its entirety (V. Lagardère). A detailed study of the traffic in slaves at Cordova has been conducted by M. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Khallāf in his *Kurṭuba al-Islāmiyya*, Tunis 1984, 113 ff., on the basis of the *fatwās* of Ibn Sahl. But a more precise analysis of commercial activities as a whole and of the *sūḳ* as a physical commercial site often remains unattainable, in the absence of effective archives. Reference may be made for example to a judicial review conducted by a *wazīr ṣāḥib al-aḥkām wa 'l-sūḳ* of Cordova who, in 458/1066, intervened in a transaction involving a company consisting of two brothers, one based in Cordova and the other in Fez, who were in dispute with a third party to whom they had forwarded a number of dīnārs as payment for the manufacture on their behalf of ten pieces of silk, apparently for export (V. Lagardère, *Histoire et société en occident musulman au Moyen Age. Analyse du Miʿyār d'al-Wanšarīsī*, Madrid 1995, 355). This would seem to contradict the notion expressed above that long-distance trade was immune from the jurisdiction of the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ*, but this is only one particular case among many others which should be cited.

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(P. Guichard)

3. In Cairo under the Mamlūks and Ottomans.

The installation of political and military power in the Citadel of Cairo, effected by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), definitively opened up the Fāṭimid foundation of al-Ḳāhira [*q.v.*] to indigenous settlement and to economic activities which the privileged status of the city had not, however, greatly hindered: specialised markets are mentioned there from 364/975 onward, and al-Maḳrīzī has compiled a list, already long, of commercial centres dating back to the Fāṭimid period. But with the Ayyūbids the trend became more pronounced: the Andalusian traveller Ibn Saʿīd, who resided in Cairo between 638/1241 and 646/1249, then between 658/1260 and 675/1277, describes the stalls which invaded the square known as Between-the-two-palaces, *Bayn al-ḳaṣrayn*, robbing it of the dignity which it owed to the vision of the sultans who constructed it. The gradual decline of Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*] contributed to this evolution.

It was in the Mamlūk period that the market quarter experienced the expansion which is described by the *Khiṭaṭ* of al-Maḳrīzī, with their list of *sūḳs* and of caravanserais and the precise localisation which they make possible. Although this census is probably not exhaustive, and although it is located in a period of relative decline in Cairo, it may be considered to give a reasonably accurate impression of what the market sector used to be under the Mamlūks. The area devoted to economic activities extended on both sides of the great Fāṭimid avenue, the Ḳaṣaba, between Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwayla. In a space of some forty hectares, 48 markets were concentrated (out of the 87 located by al-Maḳrīzī in Cairo) and 44 caravanserais (out of a total of 58). This was the site for the most important mercantile activities of Cairo. Other specialised markets were located alongside several major roads leading towards the suburbs, while elsewhere markets tended to be non-specialised ("small markets", *suwayḳa*) supplying products required for daily consumption.

The markets, *sūḳs*, were open structures, located along roads or at road intersections, the conglomeration of shops generally having no architectural distinction. In these markets, professional specialisation was the rule, each activity occupying a fixed sector of the city, as is well indicated by al-Maḳrīzī's description. Although the terms qualifying them are quite variable (al-Maḳrīzī uses, in different cases, the words *funduḳ*, *ḳaysāriyya*, *khān* and *wakāla*), the caravanserais served similar functions (major commerce, wholesale trade and accommodation for merchants) and maintained a fairly constant architectural structure. These square or rectangular buildings opened on the street by means of a single, covered, monumental gateway;

their central courtyard, open to the sky, gave access to shops on ground-level, above which were accommodation facilities for traders. They were sometimes surmounted by a *rabʿ* [*q.v.*], a building available for rent, comprising a variable number of apartments. Such is the appearance of the few specimens which have survived, from what is admittedly a rather late period: two *wakālas* constructed by Ḳāʾit Bāy in the centre of Cairo (881/1477, class. no. 75) and near the Bāb al-Naṣr (885/1480, no. 9), al-Ghūrī's *wakāla* (909/1504, no. 64), monuments of remarkable architectural quality, considering their utilitarian function.

The district of markets and caravanserais which occupied the centre of Cairo reflected the evolution of the city as a whole during the Mamlūk era, with a phase of expansion and prosperity in the first half of the 9th/15th century, a period of decline between 748/1348 and 802/1400, and finally a period of restoration under the reigns of the sultans Barsbāy, Ḳāʾit Bāy, and Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī in particular. To the last-mentioned sovereign is owed the construction of the Khān al-Khalīlī (917/1511), the design of which evokes the Ottoman *bedesten*: this major commercial centre was furthermore intended for the Turkish merchants whose swelling numbers in Cairo were like a presage of the Ottoman conquest. The increasing importance of the Mediterranean in the life of the Mamlūk empire was also reflected by the decline of Old Cairo and the expansion of Būlāḳ [*q.v.*], which had become Cairo's principal outer harbour.

The Ottoman period (923-1213/1517-1798) was marked by an overall expansion of the city of Cairo, the population of which increased from 150,000-200,000 inhabitants, in 1517, to 250,000 in 1798; no doubt the numbers were higher still *ca.* 1750, when the town was at its zenith. This development is explained by the economic progress which led to the integration into the Ottoman empire of Egypt and of other Arab provinces: Aleppo evolved in much the same way as Cairo. On the other hand, Egypt continued to be an active centre of oriental commerce, in particular with the growth of the trade in coffee, which reached its highest point of prosperity between 1650 and 1750.

The economic dynamism of Cairo was illustrated by a remarkable extension of the central business area, on both sides of the Ḳaṣaba, to cover an area which may be estimated at some sixty hectares. In this region were included 57 markets (out of a total of 144) and 228 caravanserais (out of a total of 348), figures which give an impression of the development of business in Cairo since the Mamlūk period. The principal centres were the Khān al-Khalīlī, the Bunduḳāniyyīn, the Ghūriyya and the region of al-Azhar, with important extensions in the region of the Djamāliyya (trade with Palestine and Syria) and of Amīr al-Djuyūsh. This was the zone dominated by the trade in coffee (no fewer than 62 *wakālas*) and in fabrics. The expansion of the city had led to the establishment of secondary nuclei of commercial activity, situated closer to the outskirts of the city. The most important were those of Bāb al-Shaʿriyya (8 markets and 14 caravanserais), of Bāb Zuwayla (15 and 16 respectively), of Sūḳ al-Silāḥ-Rumayla (11 and 17), and of Ibn Ṭūlūn (9 and 14). The remarkable prosperity of Būlāḳ, in particular in the 10th/16th century, testifies to the importance of commercial connections within the empire; 65 caravanserais are cited there in 1798.

Commercial structures had undergone few changes since the Mamlūk period. Markets, *sūḳ*, were normally groups of shops, *dukkān*, *ḥānūt*, of such simple structure and low cost that they could be constructed in large numbers, often in the framework of pious foundations, *waḳf*. But Cairo has preserved an example of a market of architectural quality, the "Riḍwān *ḳaṣaba*", built by the *amīr* Riḍwān Bāy *ca.* 1640, to the south of Bāb Zuwayla: this covered market, which extends over some 50 m, comprises a double row of shops, a *rabʿ* and a *wakāla* (class. nos. 406, 408). The caravanserais, henceforward known as *wakāla* (the term *khān* being employed only in a small number of cases), had retained the pattern of their Mamlūk models: warehouses, *ḥāṣil*, and tiered accommodation, *ṭabaḳa*, ranged around a courtyard. But although their price could be exorbitant (a million *paras*), these were purely functional buildings with decoration reduced to the minimum: a monumental doorway and windows, *mashrabiyya*, projecting from exterior and interior façades. The Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Katkhudā *wakāla* (1084/1673, no. 19) constitutes the relatively rare example of a monumental structure designed horizontally (covering an area of 2,625 m²), perhaps as a result of Syrian influences. The Bazarʿa *wakāla* (end of the 11th/17th century, no. 398) is a monument of very traditional vertical structure (area: 1,125 m²), surmounted by a *rabʿ*. The largest caravanserais were built at Būlāḳ, in the 10th/16th century: the Ḥasan Pasha *wakāla* (7,560 m²) and Kharnūb *wakāla* (3,840 m²). These exceptional dimensions are accounted for by the dynamism of this outer harbour and by the wealth of the governors of Cairo who often financed such buildings at this time.

The impressive scale of this economic investment reflects the activity of the city of Cairo, whose decline, due to internal causes (political crisis after 1186/1773, famines and devastating epidemics after 1194/1780) and external factors (effects of western commercial competition, perceptible from 1750 onward), was not to become irreversible until the last two decades of the 12th/18th century.

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(A. Raymond)

4. In Syria.

(a) Damascus under the Ottomans.

When the Ottomans entered Damascus in 923/1517, the topographical separation of skilled and commercial activities had been in effect since the Mamlūk period. It is true that already in 803/1402, the city had been sacked by Tīmūr and the leading representatives of the urban professions deported, with their families, towards Samarḳand (Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, iv, year 803 [1400-1]); numerous *sūḳs* had ceased to function and some crafts had disappeared at least temporarily, especially the artistic professions

which depended on the patronage of the Mamlūk *amīrs*. However, these activities were gradually revived and at the end of the 9th/15th century, 139 *sūḳ*s and 117 professions were counted by Ibn al-Mabrad (*Nuzha*, supplemented by his *Iʿānāt* and *K. al-ḥisba*). Once mapped, this information makes it possible to locate within the city (Ṣāliḥiyya, a major suburb separated from Damascus by gardens, preserved its autonomy with its *sūḳ*s, its *khān*s and its *muḥtasib*) three sectors combining the majority of economic activities: a central intramural sector and, outside the enclosure, starting from a large square "under the Citadel", two great perpendicular axes, the one to the north, *al-ṭarīḳ al-sulṭānī*, following the left bank of the Baradā towards the northern towns and the villages of the Ghūṭa, and the other leading towards the south, *al-ṭarīḳ al-ʿuẓmā*, in the direction of the Holy Places and of the Ḥawrān.

The central intramural sector which, in the 6th/12th century was firmly implanted to the east of the Great Mosque, was gradually transferred towards the west and the south-west; it was henceforward located (with the 40 or so *sūḳ*s recorded by Ibn al-Mabrad) in a zone bounded to the east by the Umayyad Mosque, to the west by the "intersection" of Bāb al-Barīd, to the south by the Street called Straight, the western part of which developed in the first quarter of the 9th/15th century, after the ravages of the Mongols, with the foundation of the Djakmak *sūḳ*, where two *khān*s of the Mamlūk period, Djaḳmaḳ and Dikka (a site for the sale of slaves transferred in the Ottoman period to the al-Ḥaramayn *khān*, also called the *djiwār khān*) are still in existence today. This sector concentrated in a series of *sūḳ*s and *ḳaysāriyya*s, situated on these two axes and the perpendicular streets linking them, with certain traditional crafts, the principal commercial activities of the city. These comprised wholesale and retail sale of luxury or quality products in the immediate proximity of the Great Mosque, of superior merchandise on the periphery (the Street called Straight): markets for fabrics (and clothing) of silk, cotton and wool, for furs, a *sūḳ* for spices and drugs, markets for gold, silver, jewellery, weapons, a small *sūḳ* of copyists and booksellers, leatherwork and the manufacture of high quality shoes, carders and rope-makers.

Outside the walls to the north and west, at the gates and on the two major perpendicular arteries skirting the walls, *sūḳ*s requiring extensive space developed, along with noisy or malodorous crafts, combining production and sale aimed at both urban and rural consumers. To the North, on the esplanade called "Under the Citadel", were markets which were transferred thither at the beginning of the Mamlūk period from the interior of the town (Sauvaget, *Décrets mamelouks*) in the interest of space: every morning, markets for horses and pack-animals were held, and on Friday morning that for camels and cattle. Around this space, which was animated by a variegated crowd of shoppers and strollers who came to be amused by public entertainers, were installed specialised markets "more or less closely associated with military life and the raising of horses" (traders in clothing and items of equipment, craftsmen dealing in metal and in wood, saddlers, manufacturers of panniers and of sieves, straw merchants) which had followed the livestock markets when the latter were transferred, markets of poor quality fabrics, and markets of fruit and vegetables (Dār or Khān al-Biṭṭīkh).

Towards the east, as far as the gate of Bāb al-Farādīs, were markets tending to specialise in the manufacture and sale of various consumer goods, giving their names to each part of the area (shoes for peasants, wooden boxes, domestic utensils and tools of iron or copper, flea-markets, etc.). Tanneries, which required abundant water, and also on account of the nuisance and the pollution that they engendered had been concentrated since the Middle Ages to the east, in the proximity of the Baradā river between Bāb al-Salām and Bāb Tūmā—these remained there until the early 1950s, and for a long time constituted an obstacle to the expansion of the city in this sector. On both sides of the major perpendicular artery, leading southward from the esplanade to Bāb al-Djābiya, various businesses associated with foodstuffs (sellers of vegetables, fruits, pastries, cooked meats, etc.) catered for strollers and itinerant visitors, in the vicinity of the *sūḳ*s of wood-turners and of basket-weavers.

Outside these three major sectors and beyond the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, the southern gate, close to the gardens of the Ghūṭa, were located *sūḳ*s of manufacturers of agricultural implements, wood-carvers, and the market for pigeons, the rearing of which was a popular pastime among Damascenes. Further to the south, in the suburb of Mīdān, were situated the markets for sheep and activities associated with the wholesale trade in vital consumer goods: transported from the Ḥawrān and also from the Biḳāʿ. Cereals were stored in open, unroofed spaces (*ʿaraṣāt*) in the Mamlūk period and, in the Ottoman period, warehoused in specially constructed closed buildings (*ḥāṣil* or *bāʾika*).

Manufacturing activities linked to the flourishing textile industry, in which numerous craftsmen were engaged, could not be gathered together in a single place; they were practised in shops or workshops dispersed throughout the city, some professions even being pursued in the home (Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs*). Some concentrations may however be noted: the Bāb al-Sarīdja and Ḳabr ʿĀtika (Ṣabbāgh, *Wathīḳa*), *khān*s accommodated workshops of weavers who produced a fabric (*ʿātikī*) sufficiently renowned to be exhibited in the markets of Cairo in the 11th/17th century (Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*, index); installed nearby were craftsmen who produced the equipment (combs, shuttles, etc.) necessary for this industry. Later, in the 13th/19th century, weaving-shops are mentioned in districts to the south of Mīdān (von Kremer, *Topographie*).

In the intramural *sūḳ*s, sources of the Mamlūk period mention numerous *ḳaysāriyya*s. Edifices dedicated to specific forms of commerce, they had the form of a gallery closed at both ends by gates, with a groundfloor of shops; in the centre were a water basin and one or more *maḳʿad*s, each provided with a coffer (*khizāna*); and on the upper floor were warehouses (*makhzan*) or lodgings (*ṭabaḳa*) reached by an external staircase (*Waḳfiyyat al-Umawī*, fol. 49a). In the Ottoman period, governors of the province and local dignitaries built a score of large caravanserais, including a *bazzāzistān* or *bedesten* [*q.v.*], a base for traders in luxury fabrics, and they also built *sūḳ*s in this central sector. These *khān*s, taking the place of the *ḳaysāriyya*s, closed and guarded at night, were constructed of freestone on two levels around an open central courtyard and, in more specifically Ottoman style, covered entirely by cupolas, the best examples being the al-Djūkhiyya *khān* of the 10th/16th century or the Asʿad Bāshā one of the 12th/18th century; they provided warehouses on the groundfloor, sometimes hostelries on the upper level, and they supplied, like the *ḳaysāriyya*s before them and along with the *sūḳ*s, a significant proportion of the revenues for *waḳf*s.

Outside the major sectors which had concentrations of specialised markets, each district of the city—as was asserted by J. Sauvaget and confirmed for the Mamlūk period by Ibn al-Mabrad and for the Ottoman period by an Ottoman census of 1827-8 (*Başbakanlık Arşivi*, no. 19450, from 1243/1227-8)—possessed its own small market, *suwayḳa*, where numerous local businesses were established (between 30 and 100 shops for traders in vegetables and fruit, charcoal and wood, for butchers, bakers, etc. according to the census of 1827), offering services to local residents or as in Mīdān, to the south of the city, to a clientèle of peasants and of nomads. These *suwayḳa*s represented, with the mosques and the *ḥammāms*, the indices of urban expansion. Thus, in the Mamlūk period, on the axis of the Bāb al-Sarīdja, leading to the villages of the Ghūṭa in the south-west and towards Palestine, there developed an important *sūḳ* known as Khān al-Sulṭān and, at its western extremity, a Sūḳ al-Masā' (mentioned in the *waḳf* of the Tayrūzī Mosque founded in the 9th/15th century and still functioning today), which testify clearly to the urbanisation of this sector.

The Ottomans were content in the early stages to retain and enforce some of the regulations formerly decreed by the Mamlūk sultan Ḳā'it Bāy (873-97/1468-92), under the general heading of *iḥtisāb*, which had taken the place of the term *ḥisba* [*q.v.*]. Essentially, the *iḥtisāb* collected duties and taxes imposed on shopkeepers, craftsmen and merchants (Bakhit, *Ottoman province*), excluding duties on foodstuffs (cereals, fruits and vegetables), livestock markets and the weighing-tax; it was in fact the second largest source of revenue for the province, after that constituted by the taxes levied on alkalis used in the manufacture of soap, and was of equal value to the tolls and taxes which the Treasury sought to levy on products transported by caravans on the Pilgrimage route. The *iḥtisāb* was an annual tax-farming contract (*muḳāṭa'a*), and the appointment depended on the senior local judge who exercised exclusive jurisdiction in matters of *ḥisba*, a function extended to the inspection of morality in public places, and on the *daftardār* of the province for the collection of revenues.

In the Ottoman period, artisans were united by an institutionalised solidarity in the framework of professional corporations (*ṭawā'if al-ḥiraf* or *aṣnāf* [see ṢINF. 1.]). In Damascus, in the early 12th/18th century, more than sixty different corporations were recorded in the registers of local tribunals, and a similar number is given in the census of 1827; of course, the number of actual professions followed was considerably higher (al-Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs*). Religious diversity within these groups seems to have been the norm, the faiths of all being respected. They exercised a virtual monopoly over the market: the quality of products was subject to internal control as well as to that of the state, and the conditions required for permission to practise a trade were particularly restrictive. Admission to a corporation and the promotion of the individual to different levels in the hierarchy, apprentice (*adjīr*), worker (*ṣāni'*), master (*mu'allim, usṭā*), were marked by an initiation ritual. Each professional corporation was headed by a *shaykh*, elected by its members; a *shaykh al-mashā'ikh* representing the artisans and a *shahbandar* [*q.v.*] for the merchants. Their precise role was unclear. But it was the senior judge of the city who confirmed the appointment of each *shaykh*, ruled on internal disputes within corporations and instituted legal proceedings between them and imposed punishments for professional misconduct.

Up to *ca.* 1860, the three major sectors experienced developments, the detailed history of which has yet to be studied (the division of markets, dating back as far as the Mamlūk period, displacements, disappearance of crafts and appearance of new ones) but which followed the gradual economic and demographic evolution of the city, which progressed from 50,000 inhabitants in the 16th century to approximately 140,000 at the end of the 19th (al-Ḳasāṭili, *al-Rawḍa al-ghannā'*, 8). As a result of the intensification of trade brought about by the incorporation of the city into the Ottoman empire, an increase in density is perceptible from the 16th century onward in the intramural commercial zone. *Sūḳ* and *khān* were built on residential sites in the centre; outside the walls, at Bāb al-Djābiya, the newly-founded Sūḳ al-Sināniyya, a broad complex of 74 shops (of unknown use and function) and 34 units (*ḥudjra*) on the upper level on both sides of the artery leading to Mīdān, represented an extension of the markets of the Street called Straight at the end of the 16th century. Separated from the other markets, the Sūḳ al-Sibāhiyya (later called Sūḳ al-Arwām), an enclosed market built in the 16th century in the neighbourhood of the Palace to the south of the Citadel and a site for brokers (*dallāl*) specialising in the purchase and sale of furniture and moveables belonging to the estates of the deceased, prefigured the progressive expansion of *sūḳ*s in this sector in centuries to come.

More significant and better-documented changes took place after 1860: greater openness to Europe led to an increase in the importation of manufactured goods, textiles especially, which began to invade the central *sūḳ*s, supplanting local products. In spite of resistance, the number of trades associated with textiles declined (al-Ḳasāṭilī, 123). On the other hand, the Crimean War, by halting the export of Russian corn to Europe, led to a demand for wheat from the Ḥawrān which was henceforward to be quoted on the London Stock Exchange. It is probably from this period that the multiplication of *bā'ika* constructions on the artery of Mīdān should be dated (the census of 1827 recorded 24, a survey conducted in 1994 showed about 60, but many have disappeared with the current modernisation of the city).

With the Ottoman Reform period, the desire for modernisation was seen in works of public utility and in urban projects which sought to change in a more decisive manner the landscape of the city: paving and enlargement of the major arteries and the streets of the *sūḳ*s by removing the benches (*maṣṭaba*) from the fronts of shops; these certainly constituted an obstruction but could be used in times of instability to construct barricades. There was the Excavation of new arteries, such as the western part of the Street called Straight or the section between the south-eastern corner of the Citadel and Bāb al-Barīd (1884-85), named Sūḳ al-Ḥamīdiyya in honour of the sultan, an operation followed by the filling-in of the ditches of the Citadel in order to create space for the extension of markets (western part of the Sūḳ al-Ḥamīdiyya) or the creation of new *sūḳ*s (Sūḳ al-Khūdja in 1905-6 on the site of the western ditch, and on Mardja Square, in 1878, a "closed market" (Sūḳ 'Alī Bāshā al-djadīd). Changes in the use of buildings also occurred (the 16th century Darwīsh Bāshā *ḥammām*, in the centre of the major markets, became a *sūḳ* named al-Ḳīshānī, in reference to its earthenware decoration). Finally, the constitution of a new administrative nucleus around Mardja Square with the construction of the newly-created City Hall, the Court, police and postal headquarters and a proper hotel for travellers, attracted

professions (changers, clock-makers and seal-makers) which were previously located elsewhere in the city.

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(Sarab Atassi and J.P. Pascual)

(b) Aleppo.

Little is known of the history of the emergence of the *sūķ*s of Aleppo, particularly in reference to the transformation of the ancient avenue into a *sūķ*, which seems to have begun in the Byzantine period. The first precise information dates back to the 6th/12th century. Ibn D̲j̲ubayr (quoted by Sauvaget, *Alep. Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne*, Paris 1941. 119-20), evokes on the one hand the principal *sūķ*, "in all its length", evidently corresponding to the Ķaṣaba and extending from the Antioch Gate to the Citadel, on the other, the Ķaiṣāriyya "which enfolds the Great Mosque", which does not seem to have adopted a basilical form, but that of linear *sūķ*s. Trading at that time was mainly confined to fabrics and second-hand goods.

The descriptions of Ibn al-S̲h̲addād in the 7th/13th century are more detailed (Arabic text by D. Sourdel, Damascus 1953; see also the passages quoted by Ibn al-ʿAd̲j̲amī in Sauvaget, *Les trésors d'or de Sibṭ ibn al-ʿAjami. Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire d'Alep*, Beirut 1950; analysis by Sourdel, in *Esquisse topographique d'Alep intra-muros à l'époque ayyoubide*, in *Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, ii [1951], 109-33). It appears that the *sūķ*s and manufacturing activities were then located in a central zone broader and less exclusive than was the case in the Ottoman period: the economic activities mentioned, in the streets perpendicular to the Ķaṣaba, especially to the south, such as the street of the falconers, of the dyers, of manufacturers of ovens, of traders in wood, animal fat, mats, the street of the smiths, the street of the glaziers, the *k̲h̲ān* of the bow-makers, etc., were almost all located in districts which are currently exclusively residential. Other concentrations of craft occupations in the districts to the north of the Great Mosque—soap-makers, stone-dressers, tanners, dyers—disappeared gradually or abruptly: the first century of Ottoman domination was marked in fact by a process of refinement of professions, a process which had perhaps begun earlier, and by the banishment to the suburbs of almost all manufacturing activities (A. Raymond, *Le déplacement des tanneries à Alep, au Caire et à Tunis a l'époque ottomane: un indicateur de croissance urbaine* in *Revue d'histoire maghrebine*, vii-viii [1977], 192-200).

Among the activities practised in the 13th century in the central *sūķ*s, in the vicinity of the Great Mosque, very few are still to be found on their original site: fabrics and second-hand goods have been displaced, in particular, by rope- and shoe-making, against the *ķibla* wall of the Great Mosque. Goldsmiths were then located further to the south, while traders in spices and drugs also seem to have been displaced, moving towards the central axis where they are currently situated. It is difficult to identify an immutable logic in these changing localisations, the classical concentration of goldsmiths and carpet and fabric sellers in the proximity of the Great Mosque having been gradually realised.

Other specialised or open-air markets have also been displaced and the most stable sites, up to the present day, are without doubt on the one hand the *sūķ*s selling fresh foodstuffs, which have long been situated close to Bab al-D̲j̲inān and the *suwayķa*s (small or specialised local *sūķ*s), those of the Jews, of Ḥātim and of ʿAlī, on the axis of Bāb al-Naṣr.

Another important change concerning the location of commercial activities is the concentration of the majority of the *k̲h̲ān*s close to the central *sūķ*s and the Great Mosque, away from their former locations near the gates, or in relatively dispersed sites in outlying districts. This process was accentuated before the Ottoman period, especially with the construction of three monumental *k̲h̲ān*s and of numerous large and conventional *sūķ*s in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. The Ottoman foundations are, however, a more prominent factor in the contemporary urban landscape, by their extensive size, their architectural quality and the diversity of occupations which they accommodate.

The most ancient *sūķ*s were not covered by stone vaults but by timber frames and possibly by tiles, and were thus at risk from frequent fires. Their arrangement was doubtless less uniform than that of the great Mamlūk or Ottoman *sūķ*s on account of their more spontaneous mode of production, with the exception of major foundations by sovereigns. They were also narrower, comprising tiny shops like those which are still to be seen in the current cordage *sūķ* or in a very small *sūķ* to the south of the goldsmiths' *sūķ*. The large *sūķ*s, with much bigger shops and a high roof constructed from mixed materials and stone arches doubtless supporting a timber frame or ceiling, seem to date back to the end of the Mamlūk period. Roofing in stonework became standard in the Ottoman period, with sets of cupolas, then cradle-vaults, or cradle-vaults or groined arches, alternating with cupolas.

The ancient system combined commercial sites with other public buildings, in a mixed environment, where residence was not entirely excluded. The campaign of concentration and selection which reached its highest point in the Ottoman period created a quite different system, excluding all forms of permanent residence, except for visitors, but establishing among the *sūķ*s or

in close proximity to them a substantial range of services, old or new, including mosques, *madrasas*, *ḥammāms*, cafés, public conveniences, buildings designed for temporary lodging, for bulk trading and manufacturing activities, *khāns* and *ḳaysāriyyas*. Uses of these spaces diversified, especially between the 17th and 19th centuries, with the presence of western trade missions and consulates, and the consequent appearance of convents, religious schools and chapels. Banks, hospitals and modern schools were also been established in this neighbourhood, constituting in the 19th century an embryo of the modern centre.

The old *sūḳs* remain a powerful model for the management of modern commercial space, albeit on other sites and in terms of practice rather than architectural forms.

Bibliography: J.-C. David and M. Hreitani, *Les sūḳs traditionnels et les structures modernes du commerce de détail à Alep, 1930-1980*, in *BEO*, xxxvi (1986), 1-78. For a complete history and geography of Aleppo, see H. Gaube and E. Wirth, *Aleppo. Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung*, Wiesbaden 1984; Th. Bianquis, *Le pouvoir politique à Alep au Ve/XIe siècle*, in *REMM*, lxii (1992), 49-59.

(J.-C. David)

5. In ʿIrāḳ [see Suppl.].

6. In Persia.

The Persian equivalent word for Arabic *sūḳ* is *bāzār*, attested in Middle Persian written texts (MP *wāzār*; Sogdian *w'crn*; and as a loanword in Armenian, *vačar*), all with the sense of "market".

When Nāṣir-i Khusraw entered Iṣfahān in 444/1052, he saw one lane of the *bāzār* with 50 caravanserais and another one with 200 *ṣarrāfs* or money-changers/bankers. The term which he uses for "caravanserai" is *tīm* (see *Safar-nāma*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 123, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 98). This is still used in parts of the Iranian world, but has survived mainly in the diminutive form *tīmča* "a small *tīm* or caravanserai". This traveller's account seems to be the earliest description of a *sūḳ* or *bāzār* as the term came to be understood: a structural and functional ensemble of buildings for long-distance trade, for wholesale and retail trade and for banking.

There had existed in pre-Islamic times streets or lanes with workshops on each side, but the combination of streets or lanes hemmed in by shops, caravanserais and other buildings for commercial use behind these shops, seems to be product of Islamic civilisation before *ca.* A.D. 1000, at a time when long-distance trade within the Islamic lands was at a high level. Within this, the Persian economy had a central function, with diversification of function a key feature; hence it seems that it was the physical and functional shape of the *sūḳ/bāzār* which spread from it both eastwards and westwards.

In Persia, as everywhere else in the Islamic world, the main elements involved are lanes covered by wooden roofs, sheds made of canvas, reeds and straw, or vaults with shops (the Arabic *dukkān* being used here in New Persian). Behind such shops are *karwānsarāys* and *tīmčas*. The first of these are huge, usually two-storeyed buildings with a central courtyard and rooms and storerooms around this last (see further, KHĀN, the Arabic equivalent for caravanserai). Here in pre-modern times merchants came from far away and sold their goods; today, merchants have their offices and storerooms there. *Tīmčas* are small, courtyard structures or roofed galls with shops for retail sale around them. Functionally, they can be considered an extension of the *bāzār*. We find similar structures in the Arab East (e.g. at Aleppo), where they are called *ḳayṣariyya* [*q.v.*], a term which has differing meanings in the Arab West, the Arab East and Persia. Whereas in Syria, small structures bear this name, in the Arab West and in Persia the central parts of the *sūḳ/bāzār* are called *ḳayṣariyya*. Thus the *ḳayṣariyya* of the *bāzār* of Iṣfahān is a complex system of *bāzār* lanes, *karwānsarāys*, *tīmčas*, *čahārsūs* (= "four directions") or *čahārsūḳs* ("four *sūḳs*, these being domed crossings of *bāzār* lanes with shops around), the royal mint and a bath-house or *ḥammām*.

Bibliography: J.L. Clark, *The Iranian city of Shiraz*, Durham 1963; P.W. English, *City and village in Iran*, Madison 1966; G. Schweizer, *Tabriz (Nordwest Iran) und der Tabrizer Bazar*, in *Erdkunde*, xxvi (1972), 32-46; H.J. Rotblat, *Structural impediments to change in the Qazvin bazaar*, in *Iranian Studies*, v (1972), 130-48; E. Wirth, *Zum Problem des Bazars. Versuch einer Begriffsbestimmung und Theorie des traditionellen Wirtschaftszentrums der orientalisch-islamischen Stadt*, in *Isl.*, li (1974), 203-60, lii (1975), 6-46 (fundamental); V.F. Costello, *Kashan. A city and region of Iran*, London 1976; H. Gaube and E. Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan*, Wiesbaden 1978; M. Seger, *Tehran. Einer stadtgeographische Studie*, Berlin 1978; M. Scharabi, *Der Bazar*, Tübingen 1985 (fundamental).

(H. Gaube)

7. In Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkans.

The term *sūḳ* in Ottoman sources may be used in a very broad sense, as in statements that a given inheritance had been sold in the *sūḳ-i sulṭānī*. Here *sūḳ* encompasses both shops and markets, the entire business district of a town. But in other texts *sūḳ* is sometimes used in place of the more common term *čarshi*, which refers both to individual business locales and the covered markets (*bedestān*), which may encompass over a hundred shops. Here the term *čarshi* contrasts with that of *pāzār*, an open-air market held once or several times a week.

In Ottoman towns, the *sūḳ/čarshi* was clearly distinguished from the residential areas of a town. However, there was no absolute separation between the two. Some craftsmen practiced their craft at home, and had living-in apprentices, while certain shops, such as those of bakers and greengrocers, were located in the vicinity of the households which bought from them day by day. In 12th/18th century Aleppo, women apparently frequented shops in their own neighbourhoods; this was probably true of Anatolian and Rumelian towns as well. Yet in spite of well-attested commercial activity in residential quarters, the multitude of shops built and rented out by pious foundations reinforced the trend toward segregation of shops and dwellings. For *waḳf*-owned shops, well attested in the foundations' account books, were not normally accompanied by housing. Apart from widower masters or an occasional apprentice, the tenants of *waḳf*-owned shops needed to find residential space elsewhere.

Waḳfs *as builders of the* sūḳ/čarshi.

In 8th/14th and 9th/15th century Anatolia and Rumelia, both the Ottomans and other princely dynasties established shop complexes, *bedestāns* and *khāns*, intended to supply revenues to a major mosque and/or *medrese*. This was presumably undertaken with the aim of re-animating urban life, especially in the sites chosen as temporary or permanent capitals, for many Anatolian towns had suffered greatly during the wars following upon the disintegration of the Rūm Saldjūḳ sultanate after the battle of Kösedagh (641/1243). The Ottoman sultans at first concentrated on Bursa. But Timurtāsh Pasha, a servitor of Bāyezīd I, and later his descendants Umūr Beg and (probably) Saldjūḳ Beg

b. Umūr Beg, established shops in Kütahya, Bergama and Sivrihisar as well. The monumental *ḥammām* founded by Sultan Meḥemmed I in Merzifon should be regarded in the same context. Among the other Anatolian dynasties, the Ḳaramān-og̲h̲ullari̊ were active in Konya and Konya Ereğlisi, while the Dulḳadi̊r in the second half of the 9th/15th century built commercial structures in their capital Maraş.

On a much larger scale, the construction of a *sūḳ/čars̲h̲i̊* was sponsored in Istanbul by Sultan Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ. The two *bedestāns* which even today form the core of Istanbul's Ḳapali̊ čars̲h̲i̊ were built during his reign. A *waḳf* deed of 877-8/1473 informs us that the Old Bedestan contained 124 shops, while on the outside of this building, 72 additional business locales had been accommodated (Halil İnalcık, *The hub of the city. The Bedestan of Istanbul*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, i [1980], 9). Here valuable goods, such as textiles, jewelry and spices were traded, and the slave dealers (*esīrd̲j̲i*) equally did business from the Ḳapali̊ čars̲h̲i̊. Meḥemmed II's foundations were to provide revenue for his monumental foundation complex in Istanbul, which, apart from the mosque, included 16 *medreses*, a hospice, a hospital, a library and the mausoleum of the founder. The mosque of Sultan Bāyezīd II, equally located in the new Ottoman capital, was also endowed with rows of shops, and so was the Süleymāniyye (completed 964/1557). Among the founders of *sūḳ/čars̲h̲is* who were not members of the Ottoman dynasty, the most notable personage was probably Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a (executed 879/1474). Not only did he sponsor the Ankara *bedestān*, he also contributed extensively to the *sūḳ/čars̲h̲i̊* of Istanbul, with the intent of generating revenue for his mosque located in the vicinity of the Istanbul *bedestāns*; the district housing the Ḳapali̊ Čars̲h̲i̊ is named after him. But even in the 12th/18th century, the establishment of a *sūḳ/čars̲h̲i̊* by means of a *waḳf* was still practised; when in 1139/1726-7, Aḥmed III's Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a elevated the central Anatolian village of Mus̲h̲ḳara (today, Nevşehir) to the status of a town, he ordered the construction of both a *kerbānsarāyi̊* and a *k̲h̲ān*, both of which should have increased commercial traffic.

Markets and fairs.

Small and medium-sized towns possessed only a single *sūḳ/čars̲h̲i̊*, which usually included specialised open-air markets for the sale of bulky goods, such as grain, rice, sheep, yarn or firewood. Istanbul and Bursa in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries also possessed special women's markets; in 11th/17th century Bursa, women could sell their work there without paying taxes (H. Gerber, *Social and economic position of women in an Ottoman city, Bursa 1600-1700*, in *IJMES*, xii [1980], 231-44). In certain Rumelian towns, a market known as an *ʿaraba pāzāri̊* was recorded; presumably this was located on the outskirts of the town or along a major road in order to facilitate the access of carts.

Markets were also found in villages, a necessary condition if the Ottoman taxation system was to work; for these markets allowed peasants to earn the cash they needed in order to pay their money dues, and *tīmār*-holders to rid themselves of extra supplies of grain in exchange for horses and other necessities. *Ḳānūn-nāmes* of the 10th/16th century therefore often required that the peasant bring the *sipāhī*'s grain to the nearest market, with the proviso that this market was not be more than a day's travel away (Ö.L. Barkan, *XV ve XVIıncı asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, i, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 131, 175, 287, 321). These markets must have promoted the growth of originally rural district centres into towns.

In accordance with this political function of local markets, the early 10th/16th century *taḥrīrs* normally record merely one market per district (*ḳaḍā*), which was located in the district centre. But in the following decades, the number of village markets increased notably, and villages with no administrative function might acquire one. In addition to markets located in permanent settlements, we also find cases of markets held on summer pastures. The latter were often shared between several villages and nomadic groups, and therefore suitable for exchange. In front of rural *kerbānsarāyi̊s*, markets were also on record; presumably they functioned irregularly, namely, when caravans passed through. In the second half of the 11th/17th century, Ewliyā Čelebi noted that, in the coastal plain between Antalya and Alanya, at that time largely inhabited by nomads, a sizeable number of markets was in operation.

Fairs were of economic importance particularly in Thessaly and Thrace; often they had originally been established in connection with the feast of the saint to whom the local church was dedicated. But in the course of the 10th/16th century, these fairs became so profitable that Ottoman officials, including Ḳānūnī Süleymān's Grand Vizier Rüstem Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], took them over, built installations to accommodate hundreds of merchants, and assigned the dues paid by the latter to a pious foundation of their choice. The Thessalian and Thracian fairs formed a chain, so that traders could visit them in turn. By contrast, the Anatolian fairs, among which those held in the Aegean town of Nazilli and in the Içel district of Gülnar were particularly notable, seem to have functioned more or less in isolation from one another. The word *panayi̊r*, normally employed to designate fairs, was not always used in the *taḥrīrs* in connection with gatherings that must have fallen into this category. But when a complex of 157 shops was built by Sinān Pas̲h̲a, *sand̲j̲aḳ begi* of Mentes̲h̲e, in the minuscule settlement of Seki (Mentes̲h̲e), we must assume that it was not in permanent use, but accommodated some kind of fair (Suraiya Faroqhi, *Sixteenth-century periodic markets in various anatolian* sancaks, in *JESHO*, xxii [1979], 68). As observed in other parts of the world as well, the settlements where even the largest fairs were held, such as the Thessalian village of Mas̲h̲ḳolur, did not expand into towns.

The sūḳ/čars̲h̲i̊ *within the town.*

In major cities, the main *sūḳ/čars̲h̲i̊*, located in the city centre, might be supplemented by smaller agglomerations of shops on the outskirts; in Bursa, masters unable to join the guild of their craft were known to set up shop in outlying town quarters (İnalcık, *Capital formation in the Ottoman empire*, in *Jnal. of Economic History*, xix [1969], 117). In Istanbul, the different sections of the city had their own *sūḳ/čars̲h̲is*; apart from the enormous area between the Golden Horn and the Sultan Bāyezīd Mosque, which serviced Istanbul *intra muros*, there were the smaller business districts of Galata, complete with its own *bedestān*, and the pilgrimage centre of Eyüp. On the Anatolian side, Üsküdar built its own *bedestān* at the end of the 10th/16th century, while Yeniköy, halfway up the Bosphorus, by the 11th/17th century even had developed its own money market, whose rates of exchange differed slightly from those practiced in Istanbul (Halil Sahillioğlu, *XVII. asrın ilk yarısında İstanbul'da tedavüldeki sikkelerin râici*, in *Türk Tarihi Kurumu, Belgeler*, i/1-2 [1964], 233).

The distinctive feature of all business districts of any importance were the *khāns*. These often belonged to *wakfs* within or even outside the city, and tenants paid rent for the right to exercise their trades there. Frequently, the *wakf* awarded the *khān* to a principal tenant after an auction. Sometimes *khāns* were rented out to craftsmen from one or a few related guilds; thus in 12th/18th century Urfa, the shoemakers gave their name to the Ḳawāflar Khānî, property of the Riḍwāniyye *medrese*. In Istanbul before foreign embassies established permanent quarters in Pera/Beyoğlu, ambassadors were also assigned *khāns* in the *sūḳ/čarshî*, notably the Elçi Hanı (Semavi Eyice, *Elçi Hanı*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxiv [1970], 93-129). Foreign traders equally put up in *khāns*; in most Ottoman cities, only those traders intending a long-term stay rented private houses. *Khāns* as well as *bedestāns* were also used by tax collectors as safe places in which to store money; in such cases, alterations to the building fabric were sometimes undertaken in order to minimise the likelihood of theft. In some towns, special guards (*ʿases*) were in charge of patrolling the *sūḳ/čarshî*. Transportation services could be found in the area; nomads and semi-nomads renting out camels were usually established in and around the *khāns*.

In the 12th/18th century, the Ottoman administration, by now in need of extra money, put increasing pressure for revenue on the *wakfs* which owned so many of the commercial buildings available, particularly in Istanbul. The *mütewellīs* attempted to increase the rents paid by craftsmen; in order to limit these increases, the artisans, apparently aided by sympathetic *ḳāḍīs*, developed the notion of *gedik*, which had not been entirely unknown in earlier times but came to be of major significance only during this period. In Istanbul, the *gedik* encompassed the workspace, tools and materials needed for the exercise of a given craft; these items could only be passed on to members of the relevant guild, thus limiting demand (Engin Akarlı, Gedik: *implements, mastership, shop usufruct and monopoly among Istanbul artisans, 1750-1850*, in *Wissenschaftskolleg—Jahrbuch* [1985-6], 223-32). In late 12th/18th century Bursa, however, the *gedik* apparently encompassed only the tools and materials and not the shop itself.

Collective workshops and streets named after crafts.

Related to the *khāns* tenanted by members of a single craft were the collective workspaces used by dyers (*boya-khāne*) or tanners (*debbāgh-khāne*). The latter were usually located on the outskirts of the town or city in question in order to minimise nuisances; when the town expanded, the *debbāgh-khāne* was moved, and the term *eski* (old) *debbāgh-khāne* came to denote a quarter like any other. In the case of the *boya-khāne* associated with the foundation supporting the library which Sultan Aḥmed III had built in the Topkapı Palace precincts, enough documentation survives to give us some idea of its functioning. The artisans in question had been granted a monopoly for the dyeing of certain fabrics, which was worded in a rather vague fashion so that the limits of the monopoly at times needed to be re-defined by recourse to the *ḳāḍī*. Only artisans possessing access to the *boya-khāne* were allowed to participate in the monopoly. Access was controlled by the dyers already in place, who formed a guild with their own *ketkhudā*. They could accept new members and also exclude people they considered undesirable, who thereby lost their access to the *boya-khāne*. In the latter case, the expelled dyer possessed the right to a money payment, presumably his investment plus a share of the accruing profits. *Boya-khāne* buildings were owned by one or even several *wakfs*, and while *wakf* administrators might decide to relocate the *boya-khāne* and concomitantly increase the rent, the dyers possessed no recourse against such a decision.

In most *sūḳ/čarshîs*, there were individual lanes, equally known as *čarshî*, which bore the names of the craftsmen who occupied or at least had occupied them at some time in the past. For 10th/16th century Anatolian towns, these lanes are documented in the *wakf* registers, as shops located in these specialised craft streets, which produced rent for a given pious foundation, are enumerated among the assets of the *wakf* in question. Textile crafts were the most widespread, including dyers, felt makers, dealers in woollens, cotton fabrics and silks, in addition to the ubiquitous skull-cap makers. In addition to *wakf*-owned shops, there must have been shops held as private property. But shop-lined streets containing no *wakf* property are not recorded in official registers. However, it is hard to say to what extent the separation by craft, implied in the very names of the lanes making up the *sūḳ/čarshî*, was actually applied "on the ground". *Wakf* records provide contradictory evidence. While in some cases we do find concentration by craft, in other instances shops were tenanted by craftsmen totally unrelated to the craft which was supposedly being practiced in the street in question. At least in the case of Istanbul, there survive a number of records concerning the collection of *iḥtisāb* dues, which enumerate the tenants of individual shops and thus enable us to reconstruct the composition of a given street. Where members of a single craft were concentrated in one neighbourhood, this enabled the masters to supervise one another. Not only could those who ignored official price regulations or did not conform to locally accepted standards of quality be easily detected, socially unacceptable behaviour such as the excessive beating of an apprentice could also rapidly be brought to the notice of the relevant guild authorities.

The physical appearance of Ottoman shops before the 13th/19th century is documented mainly through the miniatures of the two illustrated *sūr-nāmes*, which record circumcision festivities held in 990/1582 and 1132/1720. Here various craftsmen are shown at work, and the miniatures also document the insides of bakeries, *kebābdjîs* or glassblowers' workshops. The *sūr-nāme* of 1132/1720 even contains a miniature of a *ḥammām* model, in which bath attendants served their customers. However, these models were meant for display, particularly of pantomime and craft skills, and therefore should not be regarded as completely accurate representations. In the second half of the 13th/19th century, European photographers and their Levantine colleagues made numerous photographs not only of shops but particularly of the *petits métiers* exercised on the street. However, here the aim was to show what a European clientèle regarded as picturesque, so that these photographs should not be viewed as authentic depictions of reality either; the photographer may well have arranged a scene in a manner similar to that of the miniature painter of earlier ages (G. Beauge and Engin Çizgen, *Images d'empire. Aux origines de la photographie en Turquie/Türkiye'de fotoğrafın öncüleri*, Istanbul n.d. [1992?], 146 ff.).

Mosques in the sūḳ/čarshî.

The *sūḳ/čarshî* district was normally located close to the town's Friday mosque. Markets held on a Friday were often more popular than their competitors convened on other days of the week, as peasants from the surrounding area appreciated the chance of attend-

ing Friday prayers before returning to their villages. In certain towns, there existed mosques specifically designated as the Čarshî Djāmiʿi. This close connection of mosque and *sūķ/čarshî* was at times expressed architecturally as well; the Istanbul mosque of Rüstem Pasha (*wakf-nāme* dated 968/1561), located in the middle of Istanbul's *sūķ/čarshî* district, was built on a terrace over an elaborate substructure housing shops, even though we do not know whether the latter were part of the original design. In addition, the *sūķ/čarshî* might contain mosques named after one of the local guilds, and possibly built by one of their richer members; in Ankara, there exists a 8th-9th/14th-15th century mosque named the Ṣābūnī, presumably built or repaired by a soap maker or soap merchant (Gönül Öney, *Ankara'da Türk devri dini ve sosyal yapıları*, Ankara 1971, 38-9). In 12th/18th century Bursa, where money *wakfs* were documented more intensively than elsewhere, many guildsmen donated money to local mosques to supplement the *imām*'s salary, or to provide funds for matting and lighting. Only the more important among these foundations were administered by special *mütewellīs*; in most other cases, the *imām* was in charge of the money *wakfs* attached to his mosque. This meant that he needed to acquire information on the solvency or otherwise of prospective borrowers, and present accounts periodically to the *ķāḍī*. This arrangement further strengthened the link between urban mosques and the commercial activity carried on around them.

Transformations during the 13th/19th century.

Ottoman urbanism of the 13th/19th century was directed mainly at public buildings, such as *ḥükūmet binālari*, hospitals or barracks, in addition to a number of seaside palaces in Istanbul. However, this construction activity had direct repercussions on the *sūķ/čarshî* as well. In Istanbul, the concentration of imperial palaces and the dwellings of high officials led to the growth of a new *sūķ/čarshî* in Beşiktaş. This contained mainly bakers, grocers and greengrocers who delivered their wares to the *konaķs* in the vicinity; and since many of these shops received their supplies by sea, there were numerous boatmen and porters who waited for employment in the local coffee-houses (Hagop Mıntzuri, *İstanbul anıları (1896-1907)*, Istanbul 1993). In the old *sūķ/čarshî* area of *intra muros* Istanbul, there was considerable rebuilding following the series of fires which swept the old city. The principle was to make the major streets accessible to carts and coaches, and do away with cul-de-sacs in order to allow fire brigades easy access everywhere. Building in stone was officially recommended, and Dīwān yolu was widened as far as the Ķapalî Čarshî. Apart from these utilitarian concerns, there was also an interest in making the major monuments visible by clearing the space surrounding them. After the fire of 1281-2/1865, a square was thus opened up in the area near the Ķapalî Čarshî, around the column of Constantine (Çemberlitaş), which involved the partial destruction of the Çemberlitaş *ḥammām* (compl. 991/1583) (Zeynep Çelik, *The remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century*, Seattle and London 1986, 49-81). A number of new *khāns* was also built in Galata.

More importantly, the trade in luxury goods shifted from the Ķapalî Čarshî to another new shop-lined street, known as the Grand' Rue de Péra (today, İstiklal caddesi). Along this street restaurants, coffee houses and pastry shops alternated with department stores and *modistes*. Among the shopkeepers and artisans, Ottoman non-Muslims were a prominent presence, but immigrants from France and Italy were equally in evidence. Many of them lived in the vicinity, for instance, in the district then known as Tatawla (today, Kurtuluş) or in the side streets of the Grand' Rue de Péra. While most restaurants were reserved for a male clientèle until well into the 20th century, women of the Ottoman upper class, whose families came to reside in the vicinity in growing numbers around 1900, could patronise the shops of the Grand' Rue. In the area of today's Bankalar Caddesi, the Jewish banking family of Camondo, whose main residence after 1285-6/1869 was located in Paris, sponsored the construction of a financial centre closely modelled on its Paris counterpart (Nora Seni, *The Camondos and their imprint on 19th century Istanbul*, in *IJMES*, xxvi [1994], 663-75).

Moreover, the shopping district of Pera/Beyoğlu doubled as a centre of entertainment. French and Italian troupes, not excluding Sarah Berhardt, performed before a public at first consisting of only the local Levantines, but young Muslims of the upper class soon patronised these theatres as well. Performances, at first limited to male audiences, became increasingly available to women as well, at first in the shape of separate matinées or of special boxes from which they could follow the proceedings without being seen. The installation of street lighting and a modern water supply further enhanced the attraction of this district.

The transformation of the *sūķ/čarshî* area could also be observed in the major provincial towns. İzmir already possessed a tradition of *frenk-khāne*, buildings in a European style, intended to house European merchants during their more or less extended stays in the city. In the 12th/18th century, these buildings, often located by the sea and provided with storage spaces for goods, were rented out by *wakfs*, some of them in places as distant as Manisa. In the course of the 13th/19th century the "Frankish" street, now known as the "Kordon", became one of the city's important shopping districts. Theatrical entertainment was also available in this part of town; the first theatre was established in 1188-9/1775, and in 1257-8/1842, Bellini's *Norma* was performed in the Theâtre Euterpe (Rauf Beyru, *Social life in İzmir in the first half of the 19th century*, in *Three ages of İzmir, palimpsest of cultures*, tr. Virginia Taylor Saçlıoğlu, Istanbul 1993, 145-216, good illustrations). In Selanik as well, the modernisation of the quais around 1900 led to the transformation of the surrounding area, where hotels and shops were now concentrated. In Bursa, the straight street built by Aḥmed Wefīk Pasha equally attracted the more modern shops (Beatrice St. Laurent, *Un amateur de théâtre: Ahmet Vefik pacha et le remodelage de Bursa dans le dernier tiers du XIXe siècle*, in P. Dumont and Fr. Georgeon (eds.), *Villes ottomanes à la fin de l'Empire*, Paris 1992, 94-114).

The style of the newly erected buildings was at first eclectic, with "Renaissance" features prominent, particularly in the banking houses. A miniature version of the famous "Spanish steps" of Rome connected the building which housed the urban administration of Istanbul's "Altîndjî Dā'ire" (Pera/Beyoğlu) with the shopping district on the hill. An interesting re-importation was the *pasazh*, a shop-lined covered street, which can be regarded as a 13th/19th century version of the *ārāsta*. Some of the examples surviving in modern Beyoğlu show traces both of the Paris or Brussels models and the local tradition. After 1900, features of Ottoman and Iranian palace architecture took the place of the previously popular "Renaissance" features, and were regarded as symbols of

national revival (Yıldırım Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin ve birinci ulusal mimarlık dönemi*, Ankara 1981, 147 ff.). However, the structure of these buildings reflected their resolutely modern functions: office buildings, banks, hotels and apartments.

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8. In Muslim India.

In India, different terms have been in use for markets and market places, e.g. *sūḳ* (*Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ms. Bankipur, fol. 90), *čawk*, *bāzār*, *bāzār-i khāṣṣ*, *čakla*, *katra*, *mandī*, *darība*, *nakhkhās*, etc. Occasional or seasonal markets, which brought together commodities from far and near and established cultural and economic links, were called *peth* or *mela*. The *bāzār-i khāṣṣ* was the market on the principal streets of the city (e.g. *Čandnī čawk*, *Bāzār-i khānum*, *Čawk Saʿd Allāh Khān* in Mughal Dihlī). *Čawk*s were usually located at places where four roads met; *gandj* generally meant a grain market; *katra*s were usually known after the commodity sold there; *mandī* was the place where different commodities, particularly corn, were brought from outside and sold in bulk; and *darība* was a short lane or street, usually one where betel leaves were sold. At the *nakhkhās*, slaves as well as animals—elephants, horses, cows, etc.—were sold. In coastal areas, *bāzār*s were arranged according to the arrival and departure of ships. Some markets and fairs were held annually at places of religious importance.

The urban transformation which came in the wake of the establishment of Muslim rule in India led to the rise of new *sūḳ*s, with extended scope for the functioning of the market system. The flourishing condition of *sūḳ*s in India was referred to by a large number of geographers and travellers, from al-Idrīsī, S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, to Finch, Bernier, and others.

The city of Dihlī had a number of gates (13 according to Amīr K̲h̲usraw; 12 according to Baranī; 28 according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; and 10 according to Tīmūr), some of which had become famous as market places for specific commodities (e.g. the Pālam Gate for slaves; the Badāʾūnī Gate for corn, etc.).

It appears that in India markets of special commodities arose very early. D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ānī refers to a *bāzār-i bazzāzān* (market of cloth merchants) in Dihlī (tr. Raverty, i, 646). During the Mug̲h̲al period, there were many markets named after different professions and goods (*katra*s like *katra-yi ḳaṣṣābān, katra-yi rūdgarān, katra-yi nīlgarān*, etc.; *mandī*s like *gul furūs̲h̲ōn kī mandī, sabzī mandī, mandī ṣābūn*, etc.; and *kuča*s like *čarkhay wālā, batās̲h̲āy wālā*, etc.; see Nizami, *Dilli tārīk̲h̲ kay āʾīna main*, Delhi 1989, 85-8). These *katra*s and *mandī*s have survived to this day, though with changed character and patterns. According to Bernier (tr. Constable, 249), most of the markets in Dihlī were of mixed commodities, except the fruit market where fruits were brought from Persia, Balk̲h̲, Buk̲h̲ārā and Samarḳand. According to Darga Ḳulī K̲h̲ān (*Muraḳḳaʿ-i Dihlī*, ed. Anṣārī, Dihlī 1982), shops in the Čāndnī *čawk* were replete with unique objects procured from different parts of the world. Small shop keepers in Dihlī had their residential quarters on the roofs of their shops (Bernier, tr. 245). The *nak̲h̲k̲h̲ās* in Agra, Patna and Lahore had covered buildings.

The nature of a market place depended largely on the requirements of people living in that locality. In the capital cities, the demands of aristocracy conditioned the nature and quality of goods brought and sold in the market; *ḳaṣba*s and small towns generally concentrated on supplying daily needs of the people. The village people got what they needed at *peth*s and *mela*s.

During the time of the Dihlī sultan Balban, there was an *amīr-i-bazāriyān* (officer of the market) (Baranī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Fīrūz S̲h̲āhī*, ed. Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1862, 34). The market control of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī was regulated from the *sarāy-i ʿadl*, where the prices of commodities were fixed. An officer known as *s̲h̲aḥna-i mandī* looked after the market. Abu ʾl-Faḍl refers to the appointment of several market inspectors to check oppression and irregularities in buying, selling, weighing, measuring and pricing the commodities in the Agra market (*Akbar-nāma*, ed. Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1878-9, iii, 396). The *mutaṣaddī*s issued permits to merchants who brought their merchandise into the market for sale and issued passes for goods which were taken out of the city. He checked also the register of sale and purchase (*siyāha-yi k̲h̲arīd u farūk̲h̲t*).

Humāyūn devised a market on boats, *d̲j̲ahāz-i sūḳī*, where all sorts of articles were sold (K̲h̲ʷāndamīr, *Ḳānūn-i-Humāyūnī*, ed. Bibl. Indica, 1940, 61). During the Mug̲h̲al period, *mīnā bāzār*s were arranged in the palace. These were in the nature of fêtes, in which the ladies of the nobles set up shops and the Emperor, along with his queens, made purchases in a convivial atmosphere (Nizami, *Dillī tārīk̲h̲ kay āʾīna main*, 79-80).

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(K.A. Nizami)

SŪḲ AL-S̲H̲UYŪK̲H̲, a small town in southern ʿIrāḳ, on the right bank of the Euphrates (lat. 30° 53' N., long. 46° 28' E.). It lies some 40 km/25 miles to the south-east of al-Nāṣiriyya [*q.v.*] and at the western end of the K̲h̲awr al-Ḥammār lake and marshlands region, about 160 km/100 miles as the crow flies from Baṣra. The town is surrounded by date-groves extending along the river bank, but the marshy country, that extends into Baṣra, makes the air very unhealthy.

Sūḳ al-S̲h̲uyūk̲h̲ was founded in the first half of the 18th century as a market-place (*sūḳ*) of the confederation of the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*] Arabs; 4 hours to the east there was formerly the residence of the chief S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ of the Muntafiḳ, called Kūt al-S̲h̲uyūk̲h̲; the plural *s̲h̲uyūk̲h̲* designates the members of the clan of this chief. To the end of the 18th century, Sūḳ was a small town with a mosque and surrounded by earthen walls (Beauchamp), and at the beginning of the 19th century it is described as an extremely dirty town, inhabited by 6,000 families and having a lively commercial intercourse with Baṣra and even with Būs̲h̲īr and Bombay. According to Fraser, the Muntafiḳ S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ disdained to live in the town, but in Petermann's time (1854) he had a house there; this last-mentioned traveller estimated the number of the population at 3,000. At the end of the 19th century the number 12,000 is given (Cuinet, Sāmī), of whom 2,250 were Sunnīs possessing two mosques (*d̲j̲āmiʿ*), and 8,770 S̲h̲īʿīs with one sanctuary (*masd̲j̲id*). The population also included 280 Jews and 700 Mandaeans or Ṣubbā. The latter lived for the greater part in the suburb Ṣubbūye on the opposite bank of the Euphrates. Before 1853, the Mandaean population had numbered 260 families, but the oppression of the Muntafiḳ had caused 200 families to emigrate to ʿAmāra. The German orientalist Petermann in the year 1854 visited in Sūḳ al-S̲h̲uyūk̲h̲ the high priest of the Mandaeans, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Yaḥyā. As elsewhere, these people are here silversmiths; they are also builders of a special type of boats.

Under Ottoman Turkish administration, Sūḳ al-S̲h̲uyūk̲h̲ became the capital of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the same name in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Muntafiḳ. In post-Ottoman ʿIrāḳ, the town was involved in the 1920 tribal uprising and in the unrest of 1935-6. In Republican ʿIrāḳ,

it now comes within the governorate of Dhū Ḳār, and continues to be a centre for date-growing and for the cultivation of rice along the western and north-western fringes of the Khawr al-Ḥammār.

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SUKAYNA BT. AL-ḤUSAYN, the *laḳab* of a granddaughter of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. There are different versions of her name; she is called either Umayma (according to Muḥammad b. al-Sāyib al-Kalbī, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo, n.d. 140), or Amīna or Āmina (*Aghānī*[3], xvi, 139-41); there is a preference for the last of these names because of the *khabar* cited by al-Madā'inī about the origins of the character differences between her and her eldest sister Fāṭima: *wa-(i)smuhā Āmina wa-hādhā huwa al-ṣaḥīḥ*, her authentic name is certainly Āmina (*K. al-Murdifāt min Ḳuraysh*, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 68; *Aghānī*, xvi, 139).

Her mother, al-Rabāb bt. Imri' al-Ḳays al-Kalbiyya, belonged to one of the most illustrious Kalbī clans. Her grandfather, 'Adī b. Aws b. Djābir, and her father, Imru' al-Ḳays b. 'Adī, were the undisputed military leaders of Kalb (Muḥammad b. Sā'ib al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma'add wa 'l-Yaman al-kabīr*, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 583). In a very ancient tradition, al-Kalbī reported that the grandfather of Sukayna went to see 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and swore an oath of allegiance to him. Although he was a Christian, the caliph made him chief of the armies of the Ḳuḍā'a, who had been converted to Islam after the conquest of Syria by the Muslim armies. It is said that he also received the signal honour of marrying his three daughters into the family of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, one to himself and one each to his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (*ibid.*, ii, 584).

When compared to that for other female figures of this period or even later, the biographical details which have been retained in the sources are very considerable, but it is naturally difficult to distinguish between what must have been entertaining and probably anecdotal stories and the historical facts. To trace her biography it is best to use the most ancient account (which is also the least tricky), that of *K. al-Murdifāt* composed less than a century after the death of our heroine. The lacunae that are attested in her *sīra* have been filled in with details borrowed from serious works which have nothing to do with the amusing *adab*. The *Aghānī* remains a valuable source for studying her cultural activities.

At the time of her father's martyrdom at Karbalā' in 61/680, Sukayna seems to have been a young child (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 232). In this case the affirmation of al-Madā'inī (*op. cit.*, 64) copied by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (*Aghānī*, xvi, 149) may be contested. According to him 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ṭālib, who also died at Karbalā', had married her and had already consummated the marriage.

For a short time she was forced to stay at Damascus (Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh*, xix, fol. 442; al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, xlv, 155, 169, 194). Then she returned again to Medina, where she was brought up by her mother, who passed on to her a pronounced taste for intellectual matters (Vadet, *Une personnalité féminine*, 268, who states that her mother al-Rabāb was a poet). In about 67/686, at the time of the revolt of her brother 'Abd Allāh, she married Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, the governor of 'Irāḳ, and was provided with an immense *mahr*. This inspired the epigrams and maxims of the intelligentsia of the day (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, Jerusalem 1936, 282-3; *Aghānī*, xvi, triplet of Anas b. Abī Unās or of 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥammām). As a result of this marriage, al-Rabāb was born, but the union was brutally cut short at the time of the reconquest of 'Irāḳ by the Umayyads in 72/691 by the violent death of Muṣ'ab.

After this 'Irāḳ interlude, she returned to Medina, where in great haste Ramla, her sister-in-law, organised a new marriage for her; it was to be with 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, a distinguished member of the aristocracy of Ḳuraysh in Medina and who was attached to the Zubayrids (al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, Cairo 1953, 232-3). This haste seems to have been motivated by the justified concern of Ramla to keep her safe from a possible marriage with the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. The new union seems to have developed peacefully and resulted in the birth of two boys and two girls. The date of the death of her second husband, 'Abd Allāh, has not been established.

There now followed two strange episodes involving two damaged unions. The one was with al-Aṣbagh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, which took place before the 21 Rabī' II 86/April 706, the date of his premature death (al-Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Muḳaffā al-kabīr*, Beirut 1411/1991, ii, 213-4, § 793) provoked the opposition of 'Abd al-Malik. The second was with Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Awf, and it was a means of allaying the gossip of the people of Medina who were in a state of consternation at the long widowhood of this great lady (*al-Murdifāt*, 68, where Zayd should be replaced by 'Abd Allāh).

Her third marriage (and effectively her last) was a union lasting for many long years between her and Zayd b. 'Umar, the grandson of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān; it lasted from 87/705 until his death (*Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 120). After this Sukayna faded into anonymity; all that is recorded of her is the date and place of her death, Thursday, 5 Rabī' I 117/23 March 736, at Medina.

The pious classes and the puritans of her generation, and later the authors of *adab* and *ṭabaḳāt*, were astonished, indeed even scandalised, by Sukayna. There is an ambivalence in the portrait of her drawn by the sources which can be explained by many factors; there was her very strong personality, her reputation for caustic repartee, her much flaunted and extreme feminism, her undisguised scorn for the masculine race who would fall prey to some outrageous tricks which she would constantly play on the traditionalists (Sulaymān b. Yasār was one such victim, *Aghānī*, xvi, 144), on the puritans (*ibid.*, xix, 157) and on important officials of the region (such as the chief of police in Medina, *ibid.*, xvi, 145). It was certainly known that she had an illustrious lineage; she was good-looking, deeply chaste (*'afīfa*) and did not lack generosity or courage; she is even said to have confronted those who would insult her grandfather in the mosques (*ibid.*, xviii, 143). It seems that she was something of a feminine counterpart to the Medinan *sayyid sharīf* of her day.

However, these same sources also strongly emphasise the dark side of the personality of the woman, as well as her negative behaviour, which was regarded as not altogether consistent with the conduct of a respectable woman. Despite her youth and beauty she was never veiled (she was *barza*) nor followed the rules of a confined life-style. Moreover, she exhibited culpable coquetry in the way that she showed off her beauty with a special hair-style, a style which was actually named after her as *al-ṭurra al-sukayniyya*, "Sukayna-style curls."

Another way in which she laid herself open to very sharp criticism was in her relations with the poets of the *tas͟hbīb*. It is certainly known that ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] made her the heroine of one of his pieces (*S͟harḥ dīwān ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa*, Beirut 1412/1992, 67), and perhaps also the same applies to al-ʿArd͟jī (*al-Murdifāt*, 69). Her marriages and love life are represented in a tendentious manner, more like the excesses of a less scrupulous woman, as if she were ready to marry anyone. But it is easy to forget that for a woman to have many husbands was a common occurrence in Ḳurays͟h society. What is portrayed in her literary salon and her *mad͟jlis* are the social gatherings of a bohemian with dissolute morals (Vadet, *L'esprit courtois*, 66-7). Apart from her profligacy, by her conduct and by her happy and ironic irrepressibility Sukayna seems to prefigure the libertines (*mud͟jd͟jān* [see MUD͟JŪN]) of the 2nd/8th century.

But Sukayna stood out from her companions, the ladies of the Ḥid͟jāzī aristocracy (as listed in Vadet, *op. cit.*, 68-72; for other names see *Murdifāt*, 60-80) because of her cultural involvement in the spheres of poetry and music.

The place of her residence in Medina attracted many poets, well-known singers and lovers of good music. All this activity was encouraged by the prevailing atmosphere of peace in the region after 79/698. Very often the great *g͟hazal* poets of the Ḥid͟jāzī school came to recite their poems, to listen to remarks, and to flaunt their talent. It is known that they broke with the traditional *nasīb* [*q.v.*] and introduced into ancient Arab poetry small narrative expositions, by using exchanges on the subject matter between the principal protagonists. Sitting beside ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa they would quote al-Aḥwaṣ, D͟jamīl b. Maʿmar, Kut͟hayyir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and their transmitters. Among those who went there when they were in the neighbourhood were D͟jarīr and, in particular, al-Farazdaḳ.

Several kinds of schemes were given approval there. It was Sukayna who would open the discussion thus: "Was it you who wrote the following verses?", she would enquire. The poet who replied in the affirmative would find himself rewarded with money. At other times, she would make remarks on the inadequate use of an expression, an overlapping of elements, or a motif that had appeared in the verses that were cited (*Ag͟hānī*, xxii, 277, where she shrewdly points out the clumsy expression of the motif of the self-sacrifice of the lover in al-Namir b. Tawlab). Much less often she would embark on a comparison, citing the same motif as it had been used by someone else (*ibid.*, xvi, 161-3, the famous *mad͟jlis* with D͟jarīr, al-Farazdaḳ, Kut͟hayyir, D͟jamīl and al-Aḥwaṣ). It is easy to imagine the scene; one can also speak of an embryonic literary discussion with fragmentary remarks on certain points of detail.

Sukayna's support revived the knowledge of elegiac poetry in her epoch. In this way, she encouraged the *g͟hazal* poets to continue in their style of poetry during the time when they were being censored by the higher spheres of society. Moreover, it is possible to detect within her a preference for what could be called natural composition (*maṭbūʿ*), which worked to the detriment of the poetry of effort. This was why in her eyes the poetry of D͟jarīr was superior to that of al-Farazdaḳ (*Ag͟hānī*, xxi, 366-7), and the compositions of D͟jamīl surpassed those of his peers. Nevertheless, she esteemed truth more highly than any other quality, and this led her to condemn a triplet by al-ʿArd͟jī and a threnody dedicated by ʿUrwa b. Ud͟hayna to the memory of his brother Bakr, because of the discrepancy between what was reality and the much-embellished portrait that had been drawn by the piece (*Ag͟hānī*, xviii, 328, 334; Ibn ʿAsākir, fols. 444-5).

Sukayna had a lasting influence on music in the Ḥid͟jāz, and Ibn Surayd͟j [*q.v.*] considered himself her protégé. He would reserve for her the freshness of all his new creations, and more than once she would send him verses and ask him to set them to music for her. He is reported to have forsaken music after his conversion but he did not come any less frequently to her house; he came for three days at a time to sing with ʿAzza al-Maylāʾ (*Ag͟hānī*, xvii, 46-7).

G͟harīḍ was the slave of Sukayna, and it was she who discovered the musical talents he possessed, presided over his training and decided what his speciality should be. The *Ag͟hānī* reports that Sukayna sent her slave, who was called ʿAbd al-Malik, to Ibn Surayd͟j and demanded that he teach him the funeral melodies (*niyāḥa*). On the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya he was entrusted with the singing of the funeral songs. He excelled so much in this duty that the women cried out, "Lamentations like these are overwhelming (*g͟harīḍ*)!", which is why he was given the epithet G͟harīḍ (*Ag͟hānī*, i, 255).

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2. Studies. *EI*[1] s.v. and bibl.; Muḥsin Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-s͟hīʿa*, xiii, 35-52, xxxv, 191-2; Kaḥḥāla, *Aʿlām al-nisāʾ*, ii, 202-23 and bibl.; Muḥ. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāʾirī, *Aʿlām al-nisāʾ*, Beirut 1407/1987, ii, 199-207 (contemporary S͟hīʿī viewpoint); Muḥ. Zag͟hlūl Sallām, *T. al-Naḳd al-ʿarabī*, i, Cairo n.d., 80-4; Sālih ʿAzab, *Maẓāhir al-adab al-ʿarabī fī ʿahd ... ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān*, Cairo 1709/1989, 125-32; J.-Cl. Vadet, *Une personalité féminine du Ḥid͟jāz au Ier/VIIe siècle: Sukayna petite-fille de ʿAlī*, in *Arabica*, iii (1957), 261-87; idem, *L'esprit courtois en Orient*, Paris 1968, 61-102; Sanni Amidu, *Women critics in Arabic literary tradition, with particular reference to Sukyna bint Husayn*, in *BRISMES. Procs. of the 1991 Conference on M.E. Studies, SOAS*, London 1991, 358-66.

(A. ARAZI)

SUKHF (A.), a word which the Arab lexicographers apply almost exclusively to the intellect (*ʿaḳl* [*q.v.*]), connecting it etymologically with the form X verb *istakhaffa*, and giving its root meaning as "thinness", "lack of substance". The adjectival form is *sakhīf*: a man is *sakhīf* "when he is shallow-minded (*nazik*) and frivolous (*khafīf*)" (Ibn Durayd, *Djamharat al-lugha*, Ḥaydarābād 1345/1926-7, s.v.). It is often used indiscriminately to designate "obscenity" (which is, more properly, *fuḥsh*), in which cases it frequently goes hand-in-hand with *mudjūn* [*q.v.*].

The mediaeval Arab literati appear not to have used *sukhf* as a designation of a poetic genre, preferring *mudjūn*. It is difficult to determine when *sukhf* and *sakhīf* mean "shallow-wittedness" and when they mean "obscene": see e.g. the opinion expressed by Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī (d. *ca.* 232/847 [*q.v.*]) concerning the pre-Islamic poet Zuhayr [*q.v.*], that he had the least tendency to *sukhf* (*Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo 1952, 53), "levity", or "foolishness", and its rebuttal by the poet-caliph Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908 [*q.v.*]), who construes it as meaning "obscene", quoting two verses of a vulgar and abusive nature (al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, ed. by ʿA.M. al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1965, 59-60) (see further G.J. van Gelder, *The bad and the ugly*, Leiden 1988, 16); Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 297/910 [*q.v.*]), in his *Kitāb al-Zahra*, ed. I. al-Samarrāʾī and N. al-Ḳaysī, Baghdād 1975, 169, connects it with *safah*, "folly"; a two-fold use of the root is found in the *Dīwān al-Maʿānī* of al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005 [*q.v.*]), Cairo 1352, i, 205 (*sakhīf* = shallow-witted, of some verses by Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*]), and i, 211 (*sakhīf* = obscene, of poetry the transmission of which should not be neglected). In the *Maḳāma al-Ṣaymariyya* of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008 [*q.v.*]), ed. M. ʿAbduh, Beirut 1973, 212, al-Ṣaymarī tells how on his peregrinations he amassed "the poems of the witty and the frivolities of the entertainers" (*ashʿār al-mutazarrifīn wa-sukhf al-mulhīn*); in his *Rasāʾil* "the *sakhīf* or exponent of *sukhf* is defined ... as 'the one who is heedless about the consequences to him of what he does, and the one whose crown of the head is unperturbed by a blow'" (C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*, Leiden 1975, i, 64), a definition similar to that offered of *mādjin* by Ibn Manẓūr, *LʿA*[1], s.v.

It is with the Būyids and with al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] and Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], in particular, that *sukhf* meaning "obscenity" became a slogan of the age, characterised by a fascination with the more sordid aspects of life and society which centred around, and was fuelled by, the interests of Ibn ʿAbbād. His patronage and predilections gave such a fillip to the taste for the obscene that it became a literary vogue and a social accomplishment. Its emergence (connected with burgeoning sophistication and urban progress, as well as with literary phenomena, being, along with *mudjūn* poetry, a reaction-formation to the poetry of *madīḥ* and *zuhd* [*q.vv.*]) was a response to a change in the reading public, catering to the popular taste. Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj's poetry, of both a traditional and an "underground" stamp, was hugely popular throughout the Islamic lands and brought him high rewards. It reflects the biparous nature of *sukhf* itself: many of his traditional panegyrics contain items of frivolity, while his "alternative", scabrous pieces defined a poetic type, imitated by subsequent centuries.

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SUKKAR, from Pers. *shakar* or *shakkar*, from Skr. *carcarā*, Prakrit *sakkarā*, the sap crushed from the sugar-cane (*kaṣab al-sukkar*) and solid sugar.

The origin of sugar cane and its early domestication cannot be precisely determined, but it evidently derived from the family of large *Saccharum* grasses which grow in India and Southeast Asia. From India, cultivation of the plant spread westward. Clear references to cultivation in Persia belong to the period immediately following the Islamic conquest, but it was possibly known somewhat earlier; papyrus evidence indicates that sugar cane was grown in Egypt by the mid-2nd/8th century and diffusion across North Africa was steady although its entry into areas of the Iberian peninsula under Muslim domination may not have occurred until the 5th/11th century. From Crusader times, the eastern coast of the Mediterranean and later Cyprus, were important sources of supply for Christian Europe.

Plant terms in Arabic frequently varied from region to region and possibly over time as well. Supposed synonyms can further lead to confusion. The same is true of the by-products of the sugar-cane resulting from different stages of preparation and refinement, that is, pressing, filtering and decocting. For example, two common terms for types of sugar are (*sukkar*) *ṭabarzad* and *sukkar nabāt*. Maimonides states they are the same, the latter replacing the former in Egypt, while Ibn al-Ḳuff lists them separately as distinct varieties. The difference appears to be that *ṭabarzad* set hard in moulds (sugar loaf) while *nabāt* set on palm sticks placed in the recipient where it was being prepared; *nabāt* was also produced from other substances such as rose syrup or violet syrup. Al-Anṭākī, on the other hand, describes *ṭabarzad* as produced by adding to the sugar one-tenth of its bulk in milk while the mixture cooked (*Tadhkira*, i, 195). This, however, may only have reflected a practice in Syria. Another common type of sugar was called *fānīd*, made in elongated moulds and which "melted quickly in the mouth" (Ibn al-Ḳuff, 314); its highly refined state was produced by adding the oil of sweet almonds or finely-ground white flour to the process of decoction. Finally, a sugar called *sulaymānī*, was made from hardened "red sugar" (*sukkar aḥmar*) broken into pieces and further cooked to remove any impurities (*Tadhkira*, i, 194).

Sugar was one of several substances used as a "sweetening" agent in mediaeval cooking as well as medical preparations. Honey, molasses (*dibs*) and fruit sugars were also commonly used. At times, their purpose served as a preserving agent for certain foods. It is impossible to judge the relative popularity of one sweetener over another. One medical writer, al-Tamīmī (d. late 4th/10th century) wrote of sugar that although "not one of the manna fallen from the sky" it was the "full brother of honey, its equal and associate". Its benefits included aiding the performance of ingested drugs, both laxative and non-laxative varieties, because it broke up their bitterness, softened any coarseness in their mixtures and eased their acceptance by the body, "conducting them to the very depths of the bodily organs" (Marín and Waines, *Manuscripts*, 130). Sugar was described in Galenic terms as hot and moist. Despite its many benefits, sugar was nonetheless judged to be harmful to the stomach at times

when yellow bile prevailed in it; the *ṭabarzad* variety, however, because it was less warm and moist than other sugars, was therefore less likely to be transformed into yellow bile. A number of medical receipts employing sugar are preserved in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr's *K. al-Mudjarrabāt*, although they are considerably outnumbered by those using honey.

On the other hand, in a late culinary manual, the *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, sugar appears more frequently in preparations than honey. Moreover, unlike medical receipts in which sugar and honey rarely occur together, this is often the case in dishes prepared in the domestic kitchen. Dishes containing meat and vegetables were broadly classified as either "sour" (or "acidic", *ḥāmiḍ*) or else "sweetened" by virtue of the presence of a sweetening agent which, in the case of sugar, could be added either during, or sprinkled on top of the dish at the end of the cooking process. The intention in other preparations was to produce a "sweet-sour" effect by combining vinegar with a sweetener. Sugar used in the household seems to have been purchased in a state which required it to be "crushed", "pounded", "powdered" (*madjrūsh, mahrūs, madḳūḳ*) in the kitchen itself; recipes instruct that the sugar used should be "pounded (in a mortar) and sieved". Sugar was used, therefore, in a wide variety of preparations including, naturally, sweetmeats such as the popular *kunāfa* and *sanbūsak*, pickle preparations and other condiments. Finally, it may be noted that sugar was also an ingredient in several kinds of "home remedies" such as the electuary (*maʿdjūn*), the stomachic (*djawarsh*) and medicinal powders (*safūf*) prepared in the household as aids for the maintenance of the general health and welfare of its members.

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al-SUKKARĪ, Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-ʿAlāʾ b. Abī Ṣufra b. al-Muhallab, Arabic philologist from Baghdād, noted for his expertise in Arabic poetry, d. 275/888. His Muhallabid [*q.v.*] ancestry seems to be rather a link of clientage, as was the case with other scholars also (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Ansāb*, s.v. al-Muhallabī). Al-Sukkarī marks a milestone in the process of collection and composition, commenting and edition of poetic *dīwāns*. The exact dimensions of his personal contribution to the shape of materials which he received from his teachers or informants is hard to assess in detail, since old pieces of evidence are rare. We may perceive from what is preserved of his works, however, that he transmitted and edited collections, and also gathered and composed poetic *dīwāns* himself.

Born in 212/827-8, he cannot have met with the early authorities in this field, e.g. Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, Abū ʿUbayda and al-Aṣmaʿī, as Yāḳūt rightly points out (*Udabāʾ*). Even so, he often refers to them in his commentaries; much of the material seems to have come to him through Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb [see ibn ḥabīb], who is the most important of his teachers. Al-Sukkarī transmitted his *al-Muḥabbar*, *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ* and possibly *al-Mughtālīn* (*GAS*, ii, 179), and used Ibn Ḥabīb's collection of verses and commentaries as a starting-point for his editorial activity as editor-transmitter. In this manner, al-Sukkarī's redactions of the—preserved—*dīwāns* of Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. W.N. ʿArafat, i, 11), ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt (ed. N. Rhodokanakis, p. iii), Imruʾ al-Ḳays (ed. Ahlwardt, p. vi), al-Ḥuṭayʾa (ed. N.M.A. Ṭāhā, 13), al-Akhṭal (ed. A. Salhani, 3), Djarīr (ms., *GAS*, ix, 281), Surāḳa b. Mirdās al-Aṣghar (ed. S.M. Husayn, in *JRAS* [1936]) are related to the authority of this teacher. A short version (*mukhtaṣar*) of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Djamharat al-nasab*, a work also transmitted by Ibn Ḥabīb, is attested as a redaction of al-Sukkarī as well (W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, i, 100). This list can in no way lay claim to completeness, but may give an impression of the importance of the materials which he handed down to us.

Al-Sukkarī is also known for his "composition (*djamʿ*) of *dīwāns*" as al-Dhahabī expresses it (*Siyar*, xiii, 126), and most famous among his works of this kind is the edition and commentary of the tribal *dīwān* of the Hudhayl [*q.v.*]. Another tribal *dīwān* in his redaction was that of Taghlib as used by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī (*Khizānat al-adab*, i, 304, 309; cf. *GAS*, ii, 2 338). Also, the poetry of individual poets was gathered together and edited by him, like that of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (ed. T. Kowalski, 1) and many others. Ibn al-Nadīm has a long list of poets whose *dīwāns* al-Sukkarī gathered or transmitted (*Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 178). No manuscripts of his works on lexicology and poetry have, it seems, survived, but Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel) testifies, apart from *dīwāns*, to a *Kitāb al-Wuḥūsh* and *al-Abyāt al-sāʾira*. Fragments of his editorial work in poetry, as well as narrative materials about poets, are to be found scattered in classical Arabic literature, mainly in the *Khizānat al-adab* and, of primary importance, the *Aghānī*; here, for instance, a collection of the poetry of Ghaylān b. Salma is quoted from a copy of al-Sukkarī's own handwriting (*Aghānī*^{3}, xiii, 231) and his famous *Akhbār al-luṣūṣ*, parts of which are also preserved with the *dīwān* of Ṭahmān b. ʿAmr al-Kilābī (ed. W. Wright, in his *Opuscula arabica*), are mentioned (*Aghānī*^{3}, xxiv, 169).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I^2, 108-9, SI, 168; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii (poetry), viii (lexicography), ix (grammar), passim (see indices). For the *Aghānī*, see M. Fleischhammer, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb al-Aġānī*, Halle/Saale 1965 (unpublished ms.), ch. 3, no. 36, and ch. 4, no. 42; in addition to the biographical literature mentioned in these reference works, see Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, xiii, 126. (S. Leder)

SUKNĀ (a.), lit. "abode". This is a Ḳurʾānic legal term referring to a women's right upon her husband to provide shelter for her (XL, 6). It also refers to her right to stay in the matrimonial house during her waiting period following divorce or death (XL, 1). A famous statement of Fāṭima bt. Ḳays is recorded by al-Bukhārī and Muslim in their collections of *ḥadīth*, that *suknā* and *nafaḳa* were not granted to her by the Prophet when she was irrevocably

divorced. Her statement lead to a disagreement among scholars. Ḥanafīs follow the view of ʿUmar and ʿĀʾisha who rejected Fāṭima's statement on the ground of the strength of the opposing Ḳurʾānic verse and prophetic traditions. Other scholars, including ʿAlī, Ibn ʿAbbās and the Imāmī school of the Shīʿa, deny both *suknā* and *nafaḳa* on the grounds of Fāṭima's statement. These two rights are only given to a woman who has not been irrevocably divorced. The Ḥanbalī Ibn Ḳudāma extended the range of exclusions to include a woman divorced before the consummation of the marriage. The Shāfiʿī and Mālikī schools maintain that the right to *nafaḳa* would be lost following a final pronouncement of divorce, unlike the right to *suknā*, since it is specified by Ḳurʾān, LXV, 6. The Ḥanafī tendency unreservedly to give a divorcee both *nafaḳa* and *suknā* seems to be the tendency adopted by some modern Muslim Family laws, including the Pakistani Ordinance, 1961.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, Cairo 1989, ii, 354-5; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī wa-adillatuh*, Beirut 1985, vii, 657; Sayyid Sābiḳ, *Fiḳh al-sunna*, Beirut 1977, ii, 158; Arshad Mubeen Anwari, *The manual of family laws*, Lahore n.d., 68, 75.

(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

SUḲRĀṬ, the Greek philosopher Socrates. There is no specific discussion of the teachings of Socrates on the part of the Arabo-Muslim authors who mention his name. This also applies to bibliographers such as Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī (*Siwān al-ḥikma*), Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*), Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (*Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*) and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*). The small amount of information supplied by these diverse authors is, furthermore, repetitive. According to Abū Sulaymān, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle acquired Egyptian wisdom from Pythagoras. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, tr. R. Blachère, Paris 1935) merely states that Socrates was a disciple of Pythagoras, adding that "He confined himself, in philosophy, to the study of the metaphysical sciences. He scorned the pleasures of this world and rejected them, and publicly proclaimed his disagreement with the Greeks over the worship of idols". According to Ṣāʿid, it was this opposition to idolatry which led to the condemnation of Socrates. He relates a legendary episode and concludes by attributing to Socrates "sublime counsels", remarkable "institutions" and memorable statements. "He possessed opinions similar to those of Pythagoras and of Empedocles on the divine attributes. Nevertheless, on the subject of the Afterlife, he professed unfounded notions, far removed from sound philosophy and verified doctrines" (61). It may be noted that Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī's analysis is influenced by his Muslim sensibilities. In particular, no doubt referring to Plato's *Phaedo*, he attacks a conception of the immortality of the soul which takes no account of the resurrection of the body. This treatise by Ṣāʿid inspired Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī numbers Socrates among the Five Sages, with Empedocles and Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle. Only Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa refers specifically to one of Plato's writings, under the title of *Kitāb Ihtidjādj Suḳrāṭ ʿalā ahl Athīniya*, which could be the *Apology*. But it seems certain that, for the *falāsifa*, there was no distinction between the thought of Socrates and that of Plato.

Bibliography: Given in the text; see also I. Alon, *Socrates in Medieval Arabic Literature*, Leiden 1991.

(R. Arnaldez)

SUKŪN. In philosophy and in grammar, [see al-ḥaraka wa ʾl-sukūn].

SUKŪT (a.), lit. "silence", a term of Islamic law. Here, *sukūt* refers to an individual's action of not actively expressing an opinion when involved in an action or contract that requires acceptance or rejection. This "tacit" manifestation of will can only be clarified by circumstance. The concept is highlighted by the legal maxim that states "no statement can be ascribed to a silent person, but silence when a need arises is a manifestation of will". The application of this rule can be found in the silence of a landlord who demands an increase on the former rent. The continuation of tenancy is viewed as including positive acceptance of the old rent (*Madjalla*, art. 438). In contrast to this is the silence of the owner who is asked to lend his property; this is considered to mean a negative answer (*Madjalla*, art. 805). This appears to create a situation in new cases when the arbitrary decision of the judge is the only factor for deciding what needs manifestation and what does not.

The contrasting variation of the "value" of silence in Islamic law seems to place significant importance on the psychological "state" of individuals performing contracts. This is best represented in the *sukūt* that is taken as acceptance (*riḍā*) in wedding ceremonies when a virgin bride is asked, "do you take this man to be your husband?" This is based on the grounds that she is too embarrassed to say "yes". This contrasts with the previously married woman who is expected explicitly to declare her will.

Bibliography: Salīm Rustum Bāz al-Lubnānī, *Sharḥ al-Madjalla*, repr. Beirut 1986, 344, 447, 244, 1180; A. Zaydān, *al-Madkhal li-dirāsat al-Sharīʿa al-Islāmiyya*, Baghdād 1967, 94. (M.Y. Izzi Dien)

SUḲUṬRA (other transcriptions: Suḳuṭrā, Suqutra, Soqotra, Soḳoṭrā, Socotora and Socotra; in Arabic, the final letter may be an *alif maḳṣūra* or a *tāʾ marbūṭa*), is an island in the Indian Ocean, at a distance of approximately 300 km/186 miles from the coasts of Arabia (Ras Fartak) and 240 km/150 miles from Ras Asir (Cap Guardafui) in Africa. Its geographical coordinates are, from east to west, Raʾs Māmī (12° 32' N. 54° 30' E.) to Raʾs Shuʿab (12° 32' N. 53° 19' E.), and from north to south, Raʾs Ḥulaf (12° 42' N. 54° 06' E.) to Raʾs Ḳatanān (12° 21' N. 53° 33' E.).

The dimensions of the island change according to the sources:

Source	*Length*	*Breadth*	*Surface*
EI[1] (1934)	132 km	40 km	km² 3579.2
West Arabia (1946)	138 km (75 miles)	37 km (20 miles)	
Red Sea Pilot (1967)	129 km (70 miles)	37 km (20 miles)	km² 4801 (1,400 sq. miles)
Djughrāfiya (1971)	—	—	(1,400 sq. miles)
Les Yemen (1979)	130 km	40 km	

It is part of an archipelago which includes at least three other islands: ʿAbd al-Kūrī (12° 12' N., 52° 13' E.) and the "Brothers", that is, Djazīrat Samha (12° 09' N., 53° 03' E.) and Djazīrat Darsa or Darza (12° 06' N., 53° 16' E.). According to *EI*[1], the population was estimated at 13,000 "Moslems"; the editors of *West Arabia* (1946) calculated that it was between 6,000 and 8,000; according to the *Djughrāfiya*, its inhabitants are 1,500; and finally, Alain Rouaud states that in 1979 the population was around 20,000, to whom 200 inhabitants of ʿAbd al-Kūrī must be added.

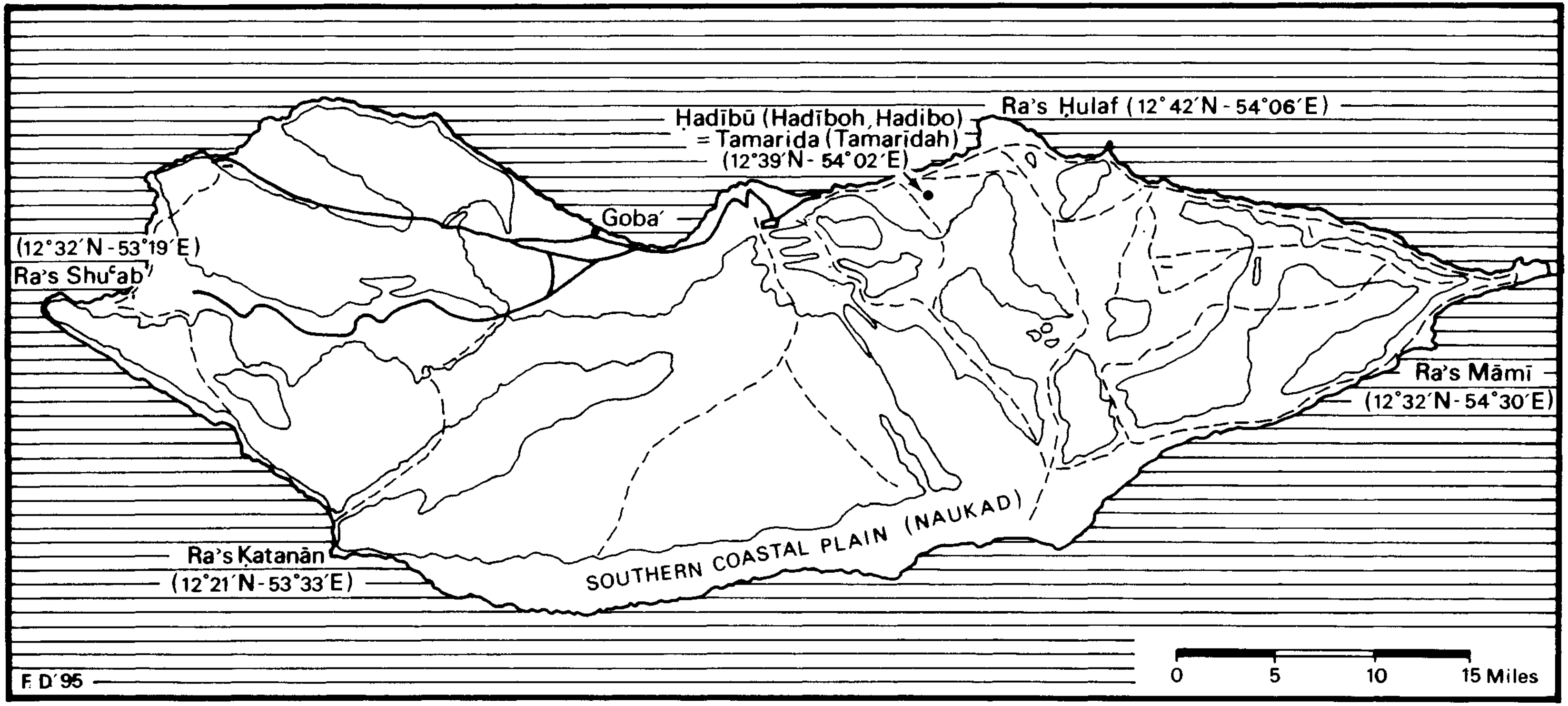
Ḥadībū (Hadīboh, Hadibo)
= Tamarida (Tamarīdah)
(12°39′N - 54°02′E)
Ra's Ḥulaf (12°42′N - 54°06′E)
Goba′
(12°32′N - 53°19′E)
Ra's Shuᶜab
Ra's Māmī
(12°32′N - 54°30′E)
Ra's Ḳatanān
(12°21′N - 53°33′E)
SOUTHERN COASTAL PLAIN (NAUKAD)
F. D′95
0 5 10 15 Miles

SUKUṬRA

1. Topography and demography.

Situated near the track of vessels bound to and from the east, Sukuṭra is generally sighted by vessels entering or leaving the Gulf of Aden; but being exposed to both monsoons and having no harbours in which vessels can at all times anchor with safety, it is but little visited. Jabal Haggier is the summit of the island, and attains an elevation of 1,419 m/4,654 feet.

The south-western part of the island is arid and barren, but much of the remainder is comparatively fertile, being well-watered by the monsoon rains of July and December. The southern coast preserves a nearly unbroken line, but the northern and western coasts are broken into a succession of small bays, generally with streams at their head, affording anchorage according to the seasons, but none of them is safe at all times of the year. Over a broad area, hills rise abruptly in vertical cliffs several hundred feet high, but at other places there are plains, which attain a breadth of as much as 9 km/5 miles between the base of the hills and the coast. On the southern side is the plain of Naukad, the largest plain, which, extending nearly the whole length of the island, is for miles covered with dunes of drift sand. On the northern side, these plains occur chiefly at the mouth of streams, and are the sites of the only places which may be called towns.

The internal part of the island may be roughly described as broad, undulating, and intersected by limestone plateaux, with an average elevation of about 300 m/984 feet, that flank westward, southward and eastward, a nucleus of granite peaks, which attain elevations of over 1,200 m/3,936 feet. These are seldom free from clouds, but when the weather is clear their appearance is broken and picturesque. The whole of this hilly region is deeply intersected by ravines and valleys, which, in the rainy seasons, are occupied by roaring torrents, but the majority are empty in the dry season. There are, however, many perennial streams.

The population has a composite character that struck the travellers of Antiquity: Arabs, Indians, Somalis, and Blacks, the descendants of mixed slaves.

Inland, they are nomad "Bedouins" and live in caves. They practise a rotation of the pasture land to feed their flocks of goats, sheep and camels. They also gather the resin of dragon's blood (Dracaena Cinnabari), incense and aloe, and make the most of some palm groves and tobacco plants. The southern coast is deserted. The habitants of the northern coastline are scattered in some twenty small villages: they practise fishing and exchange their surplus with the "Bedo" against meat and milk.

The language spoken in the island is Sukuṭrī (Soqotri, Socotri, etc.); see below, 3.

2. History.

The long history of Sukuṭra extends back into mythology. One suggested derivation of the name is from the Sanskrit, *Dvipa Sukhādhāra* according to *Western Arabia*, or *dvīpa sukhātara*, according to J. Tkatsch in *EI*[1], which are to be translated "Isle of the Abode of the Bliss" or "l'île heureuse". There is also a theory that this was corrupted into *Sūḳ al-Ḳaṭra* "market of the exudations", but this is apparently untenable on philological grounds.

Sukuṭra has been identified with the Panchaia of Virgil, which is connected with the story of the Phoenix, which lies down to die in a perfumed nest of cinnamon and frankincense sprigs. A connection has also been suggested with Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri, twin sons of Jupiter and Leda, whence possibly the Roman name Dioscoridis Insula. To this day, the Arabs call dragon's-blood *dam al-akhawayn* "the blood of the two brothers".

Iskuduru, one of a list of countries conquered by Darius (5th century B.C.), is believed to have been Sukuṭra. The island was apparently visited, along with the Land of Punt, by the ancient Egyptians in order to obtain frankincense by the direct sea-route. The anonymous writer of the *Periplus* referred to Sukuṭra as containing (1st century A.D.) a mixed Greek-speaking population, trading with Arabia and India, especially in turtle-shell of high quality; while Cosmas Indicopleustes, visiting it in the 6th century, thought that the Greek-speaking people had been placed in "Dioscorides" by the Ptolemies. Traders from Muza (the Arabian Red Sea coast) and Barygaza (the Gulf of Cambay) visited the island for turtle-shell. The island is mentioned in pre-Islamic inscriptions from Ḥaḍramawt, spelt in the *musnad* script *s³krd*, as an appanage of Ḥaḍramawt. In Islamic times, as far back as the 10th century it was a noted haunt of pirates from Cutch and Gudjarāt. Marco Polo, among other writers, described the harpooning of whales round its coasts for ambergris and sperm oil.

Several Arab geographers, among them Yāḳūt, al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Idrīsī, al-Baghdādī (d. 739/1338) and al-Ḥamdānī (d. 945/1539), mention Sukuṭra in their descriptions. The information which they give is, however, limited to mentioning the gathering of aloes [see ṢABR] and dragon's blood, and they state that most of the inhabitants are "Christian Arabs". Al-Idrīsī adds that Alexander the Great had replaced the primitive inhabitants of the island with Greek immigrants on the advice of his tutor and friend Aristotle. In 1507, the Portuguese Afonso de Albuquerque conquered the island, but this occupation did not last long; it was, however, the first contact with expanding Europe.

The islands for long formed part of the domains of the Imām of Masḳaṭ and the Mahri Sultan of Ḳishn and Sukuṭra. The island was occupied by a British force, following an agreement with the Sultan in 1834, for about five years while the Government of India was negotiating the purchase of the island as a coaling station. In 1886 the Sultan accepted a Protectorate Treaty. All the islands then became part of the Aden Protectorate, administered from India through the Resident at Aden, till the transfer of the Protectorate to the Colonial Office in London in 1937. The Sultan, whose capital was Hadibu, ruled with the help of his *wazīr* and of headmen appointed from the coastal settlements and the pastoral clans of the interior.

The first landing ground for aircraft was established on the Hadibu plain in 1940. This was replaced in 1942 by a larger landing-ground on the northern coastal plain, some 2 miles west of Kathub. According to Alain Rouaud, "the Soviet Union apparently used the same landing grounds for their planes operating in the Indian Ocean; they also established a base for their fleet of submarines and 30 other boats. The presence of these military bases explains the thick veil and the absence of information which the South Yemenis kept over the island, since camps for political prisoners were to be found there. Situated at the same distance from Mogadishu and Addis Ababa on the petroleum route that passes by the Cape of Good Hope, or on that going through the Suez Canal, Sukuṭra is a particularly strategic centre in a zone of conflicts".

On 22 May 1990, the Arabic Republic of Yemen and the Popular Republic of Yemen joined to form

the new state of the Republic of Yemen, in which Suḳuṭra is now included.

Bibliography: Most of the bibliographies, even those dealing specifically with the Arabian Peninsula, ignore the existence of Suḳuṭra. Moreover, the scattered information already published is not recent or up-to-date. With reference to the historical part of the period before the appearance of Islam, the reader should refer to the *EI*[1] art., where detailed information can be found.

1. Geographical co-ordinates and place-names. *People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Official standard names gazetteer*; United States Board on Geographic Names 1976, Washington D.C. (A list of *Soḳoṭrī* names was supplied by the *Permanent Committee on Geographical Names* (*U.K.*); they are the result of field work by the late Professor Tom Johnston of S.O.A.S., London.)

2. Description of the island. *EI*[1], art. *Soḳoṭrā* (1934); Naval Intelligence Division, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, Appendix F, Socotra, 609-15; *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden pilot, comprising the Suez Canal, etc. Socotra and its adjacent islands*, 11th ed. London 1967 (contains a detailed description of the coasts and anchorages of the islands); *Djughrāfiya Djumhūriyyat al-Yaman al-dīmūḳrātiyya al-shaʿbiyya*, Cairo 1971; A. Rouaud, *Les Yemen et leurs populations*, Brussels 1979, 224, Soqotra (île de-), 129-30, Soqotri (langue), 30, 129.

3. History. G.F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early medieval times*, Princeton 1951, new augmented ed. by J. Carswell, Princeton 1995, index, s.vv. Socotra, Dvipa Sukhatara; G.R. Tibbets, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese, being a translation of* Kitāb al-Fawā'id fī uṣūl al-baḥr wa 'l-qawā'id *of Aḥmad b. Mājid al-Najdī*, London 1971, index, s.vv. Socotra, ʿAbd al-Kūrī, Darza, Samḥa. (G. OMAN)

3. Language.

The term Suḳuṭrī/Soḳoṭrī denotes both an inhabitant of the island of Suḳuṭrā and the language of the Yemeni islands of Suḳuṭrā and ʿAbd al-Kūrī and the nearby islet of Samḥa, situated in the Gulf of Aden off Cape Guardafui. Suḳuṭrī (S), realised as [sḳʌṭri], is one of the six languages of the group known as "Modern South Arabian Languages" (MSAL) currently spoken in Yemen and in ʿUmān and belonging to the southern branch of western Semitic, as do Arabic and the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. It should be stressed that there is no inter-comprehension between Arabic and the MSALs, nor between S and the other MSALs. The number of speakers is hard to reckon in the absence of recent official figures; the population of Suḳuṭrā may, however, be estimated at approximately 50,000 (Naumkin and Porkhomovskiy, 1981, 3), that of ʿAbd al-Kūrī at around 260 (Naumkin, 1993, 342, 359 n. 2), that of Samḥa at less than 50 (University of Aden, 1986, 9, Arabic section). S, not a written language, is the mother tongue of all the inhabitants of the islands; it is used in all facets of private life and in social intercourse, as well as in oral literature (songs, poetry, anecdotes, traditional tales); outside the islands, it is spoken within communities of expatriate islanders (especially in the Emirates). Arabic, the national language, is the second language of the islands in question, spoken in administrative contexts. It is taught in schools and through contact with Arabophones living on the northern coast of Suḳuṭrā, in particular in Ḥadībo or, for the fishermen of ʿAbd al-Kūrī, with Arabophones on the coast of Ḥaḍramawt. Many Bedouin women living in remote regions of the islands, born before the 1960s and never having had access to education, possess little or no knowledge of the national language. Arabic also serves as the language of communication with speakers of one other MSAL, Mahrī [*q.v.*], which for historical, geographical and economic reasons is the only MSAL having contact with S.

The first document regarding S dates back no further than 1835, when J.R. Wellsted compiled a list of 246 words and expressions in this language. At the end of the 19th century the Viennese scholar, D.H. Müller, in the context of the *Südarabische Expedition*, provided Semitic scholars with a veritable library of texts in S from Suḳuṭrā and ʿAbd al-Kūrī, studied and analysed by M. Bittner, W. Leslau and E. Wagner. Studies conducted since 1966, by T.M. Johnstone, V. Naumkin and the *Mission Française d'Enquête sur les Langues du Yemen* (A. Lonnet and M.-Cl. Simeone-Senelle) have revealed a rich dialectology and made it possible to complete and revise certain assertions which were formerly applied to only a small number of S dialects, the only ones studied in previous works.

Among the MSALs which, it may be recalled, present a number of traits original and internal to the southern group of western Semitic, S occupies a particular place; its geographical and historical isolation has definitely been the cause of an evolution different to that of the MSALs of the mainland, in permanent contact with one another.

In terms of phonology, as with the other MSALs, the consonantal system of S is characterised by the existence of ejective glottalised consonants: ṭ, ḳ, ṣ, ṣ̂, ṣ̌ (these correspond to the Arabic series of emphatics, with the exception of ṣ̌, a supplementary phoneme peculiar to the MSALs), of two lateral fricatives (of which traces are found in the writing of ancient South Arabian languages, in Hebrew and in Geʿez) including ṣ̂ (the Arabic homologue of which is the letter *ḍād* [*q.v.*], which seems to have exhibited a lateral articulation, cf. the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi).

It should be stressed that, contrary to what has sometimes been stated, the velar fricatives x and ġ form part of the phonological system of S, although it is true that, in some dialects, there has been coalescence with the pharyngals: in Ḳalansiyya, xte "night" and ġayž "man" correspond to ḥte and ʕɛyž in Ḥadībo. On the other hand, within the MSALs, S is distinguished by a consonantal system lacking interdentals.

From the purely phonetic point of view, there are two traits typical of S which should be noted. One is the consequence of rules of accentuation: the existence of a so-called "parasitic" h which permits the prolongation of a syllable which has become short and unaccented (méṣ̌əher "stable", but in the dual məṣ̌éri; férhim "daughter"). The other is the pronunciation of certain consonants in a "whispered" form: the emission of the phoneme is such that the vocal cords are not fully engaged, and the auditive impression is that of a breath accompanying the consonant; it is transcribed as ^{h}: gém^{h}ɛl "camel", léš^{h}ən "tongue".

Other phenomena of phonetic combination, also existing to varying degrees in other MSALs, are present in S: the palatalisation of voiceless, glottalised and voiced velars: icœ́tab "he writes" (ktob "he has written"), mərbī́cɔh "poisoned" (f.) (rībək "he has been poisoned"), diçáʕnəhən "scorpion", ʕɛyž "man", in certain dialects ʕɛ̄g^{y} "man"; the fricative realisation [ź] of /l/: åź (for /al/, negative particle), ʔə́sʌź "he helped", åźźah "Allah".

The vocalic system of S differs from that of other

MSALs, in that certain dialects include ö and œ in addition to the i, e, ϵ, a, ɔ, o, u, ə, of the "basic" MSA system. The timbre and vocalic quantity are closely linked with accentuation and, as in Djibbālī [see SHIḤRĪ], contrast in vocalic duration seems to have no phonological relevance. The syllabic structure is of the Cv or CvC type. The accent, in comparison with the other MSALs, is "retracted" towards the beginning of the word; it applies to the penultimate, or antepenultimate syllable (except in certain conjugations) and under its effect, the vowel is often realised long (xɔ́məh "five"). Vowels play an important morphological role. In nouns, they contribute to distinction of gender: ṭáḥrər (masc.) and ṭáḥrer (fem.) "wild goat", ḱérkam and ḱérkim "yellow", śībœb "old man" and śībib "old woman" and to distinction of number: ʕāṭɔm (sing.) and ʕϵṭɔm (pl.) "big", náḥrər and náḥrur "nose/noses". They have a similar function in verbs where, in addition to gender and number, they indicate the person and the diathesis: tkœ́təb "you write" (m. sing.) and in the fem. tkḗtəb, tā́ "he ate, they (fem.) ate" and tœ́ "they (masc.) ate", ḳɔ́rɔṣ̂ "he shaved" and ḳūrɔṣ̂ "he is shaved".

The noun is not supplied with case endings; it possesses two genders, masc. and fem., and three numbers, singular, dual and plural. In words where the fem. is indicated, it is by the suffix -əh, -ϵh, -ɔh, and -t in the dual: ʕḗnɔh "year", ʕénīti "two years". The nominal dual is very active; it is marked by the suffix -i and, unlike in the other MSALs, it is not necessary followed by the numeral trœh (masc.), trih (fem.) "two". Nouns have both internal and external plurals and often several plurals for one singular.

As in the Mahrī spoken in the Yemen Republic, but different from the MSALs spoken in ʿUmān, there exists in S no definite article.

The morphology of autonomous and incorporated personal pronouns includes a form of the dual, including the first person; with all the persons (excepting the dual) there is distinction of gender. The verbal system does not differ from that of other MSALs; it comprises three simple forms: Cə́CɔC and CCɔC (active voice), CéCəC (middle voice) and CíCəC (passive voice), four derived forms (by internal modification, prefixation or infixation): Cə́CɔC (intensive-conative), ʔə́CCəC (factitive and "intermediate" value), šəCCəC and šəCéCəC (causative-reflexive), CɔtCəC and CɔtéCəC (reflexive). The verbal paradigms, as in Arabic, are arranged in prefixal and suffixal conjugations (corresponding to the imperfect and perfect aspect). In contrast to Arabic, S, with the MSALs, is distinguished by the existence of a dual in three persons. In the perfect state, the two first persons sing. and dual, as well as the second of the plur., have the ending -k; the third person fem. has the endings -əh, -ɔh: ʔəṣk "I have been afraid", ʔəṣki "the two of us have been afraid", ʔəṣɔh "she has been afraid", and -t when the verb is followed by a complementary pronoun: baʕárəh "she has spat" and baʕárət-š "she has spat it". The subjunctive differs from the indicative in its particular vocalic scheme and it includes a prefix l- added to the first persons sing. and dual, and to the third persons masc. sing., pl. A certain number of verbs, especially simple passive verbs, are conjugated in the inaccomplished aspect without the prefixed personal indicators y- and t-; however, the subjunctive has l- in all persons, except the first of the plural. Some derived forms have an imperfect tense with a supplementary -n. S is the only one of the MSALs to possess no specific form for the future. The jussive is expressed by the imperfect indicative, but the prohibitive is expressed by a negative particle followed by the subjunctive: zœ́ʕœm "you sit, sit!", ʕa lə́zʕam "do not sit!"

In syntax, two features clearly distinguish S from the other MSALs. The notion of possession is expressed by a prepositional syntagm (the preposition is followed by the independent or incorporated pronoun referring to the possessor) *preceding* the noun which refers to the thing possessed: diho^{h} bébe mey šem ʕali (of-me [independent pron.] father of-him [incorporated pron.] name ʿAlī) "my father, his name is ʿAlī". For the construction of negation, S is the only MSA language in which the negative particle is always anteposed to the element negated; furthermore, it differs (except in the dialect of ʿAbd al-Kūrī) in terms of the mode of the verb: ʔal with the indicative in assertive or interrogative phrases and ʕa (or ḥa) followed by the subjunctive in prohibitive phrases.

As regards the lexicon, in S numerous roots are encountered which belong to ancient Semitic lexical stock; but what is striking is the number of original words, original even in terms of the MSA lexicon, which cannot, in the present state of knowledge, be associated with any of the languages (African, Indian, European) which could have been in contact with S. It should only be noted that the dialect of ʿAbd al-Kūrī has been strongly influenced in its phonetics and its vocabulary by the Arabic dialect of the region of the Ḥadramawt, with which contact is regular and continuous.

Bibliography: References to the MSALs as a whole are to be found in T.M. Johnstone's art. MAHRĪ. All references to S by the scholars of the *Südarabische Expedition* of Vienna, D.H. Müller and M. Bittner, are to be found in W. Leslau, *Lexique soqotri*, Paris 1938. Numerous lexical terms are also present in Johnstone, *Mehri lexicon*, London 1987. For works subsequent to E. Wagner (*Syntax der Mehri-Sprache* ..., Berlin 1953) and not quoted by Johnstone (1986), see Johnstone, *The non-occurrence of a t- prefix in certain Socotri verbal forms*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi/3 (1968); A. Lonnet and M.-Cl. Simeone-Senelle, *La phonologie des langues sudarabiques modernes*, in A. Kaye (ed.), *The phonology of selected Asian and African languages*, Wiesbaden 1995; V. Naumkin, *Sokotriytsî* ("The Soqotris"), Moscow 1988; idem, *Island of the Phoenix*, Reading 1993; Naumkin and V. Porkhomovskiy, *Očerki po etnolingvistike sokotrî* ("Studies on Soqotri ethnolinguistics") Moscow 1981; Simeone-Senelle, *Récents développements des recherches sur les langues sudarabiques modernes*, in *Procs. of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress 1987*, Vienna 1991; eadem, *Notes sur le premier vocabulaire soqotri: le Mémoire de Wellsted (1835)*, in *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques* (*MAS*), n.s. 3,4 (1991, 1992); eadem, *L'expression du futur dans les langues sudarabiques modernes*, in *MAS*, n.s. 5 (1993); eadem, *La négation dans les langues sudarabiques modernes*, in *MAS*, n.s. 6 (1994); eadem, *Aloe and Dragon's Blood, some medicinal and traditional uses on the island of Socotra*, in *New Arabian Studies*, ii (1994), 186-98; eadem, *Magie et pratiques thérapeutiques dans l'île de Soqotra: le médecin-guérisseur*, in *PSAS*, xxv (1995); eadem and A. Lonnet, *Lexique des noms des parties du corps dans les langues sudarabiques modernes*, in *MAS*, 3, n.s. (1985-6, 1988-9); eadem, *Lexique soqotri: les noms des parties du corps*, in *Semitic studies in honour of Wolf Leslau*, Wiesbaden 1991, ii; eadem, *Compléments à Lexique Soqotri: les noms des parties du corps*, in *MAS*, n.s. 4 (1992); D. Testen, *The loss of the person-marker in Jibbali and Socotri*, in *BSOAS*, xlv (1992); University of Aden, *Research Programme Socotra Island*,

Aden 1986; E. Wagner, *Der Dialekt von ʿAbd el-Kūri*, in *Anthropos*, xliv/2-3 (1959).

(M.-Cl. Simeone-Senelle)

SULAḤFĀ, Sulaḥfāʾ, Sulaḥfāⁿ, Sulaḥfiyya, pl. *salāḥif* (a.), feminine substantive denoting the tortoise or turtle in general, terrestrial as well as aquatic. The root *s.l.ḥ.f.* is drawn from an ancient and unidentified language, unrelated to Arabic. Besides this classical term and the synonyms *ghaylam* for the male and *ṭuwama* for the female, dialectal names are encountered according to regions: thus in the Maghrib, *fakrūn, fakir, afkir*, pl. *fakāʾir, fakārin* derived from the Berber *īfakrūn*, pl. *īfkar, īfkaran*; in Syria and Lebanon, *kurkaʿa*.

I. Species. The order of Chelonians with a carapace, *sulaḥfiyyāt mudarraʿāt* (Greek χελώνη, Latin *testudo*), comprises three families:

A. *Terrestrial Chelonians, barriyyāt* or chersites, including, in Arab countries: (1) Hermann's tortoise (*Testudo Hermanni*); (2) The Greek or Moorish tortoise (*Testudo graeca, mauritanica*); (3) The Caspian emyde (*Mauremys caspica*); (4) The bordered tortoise (*Testudo marginata*); and (5) The Barbary tortoise (*Testudo ibera*).

B. *Marsh Chelonians, munkaʿiyyāt* or elodites, including the European cistude (*Emys orbicularis*).

C. *Marine Chelonians, baḥriyyāt*, including: (1) The lute turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*), which can exceed 2 m in length and 500 kg in weight; (2) The caret or caouane turtle, *ḥanfāʾ, aṭūm* (*Caretta caretta*); (3) The green turtle or true chelon, *ladjʾa khaḍrāʾ* (*Chelonia mydas*); and (4) The imbricated chelon, *ladjʾa sahfiyya* (*Chelonia imbricata*).

II. Utility. A. The shell of the tortoise, *dhabl*, has always been highly valued for the manufacture of combs and bracelets, *masak*.

B. The carapace, *bayt al-sulaḥfā*, of large marine turtles is used, especially among nomads, as a cradle for new-born infants. It is also employed in various domestic functions, serving, e.g. as a basket or a basin. It should not be forgotten that in ancient times, this carapace, fitted with vibrating strings, constituted the original lute, *ʿūd*, ancestor of the lyre which among the Greeks and the Romans was attributed to Hermes/Mercury.

C. The meat of certain turtles was a popular foodstuff, as were their eggs; consumption of these is permitted according to Ḳurʾānic law.

III. Specific Properties. In a place of ice and intense cold, if a living tortoise is laid on its back, feet in the air, the atmosphere immediately becomes clement. The blood of the tortoise is an effective ointment for all maladies of the joints. Carrying on one's person the tail of a tortoise supposedly favours sexual endeavours and finally, seeing a tortoise in a dream foretells an attractive bride, perfumed and finely adorned, or the acquisition of great wisdom.

IV. Astronomy. *Al-Sulaḥfāʰ* is one of several names for the nineteenth boreal constellation of the Lyre situated between Hercules and the Swan. The Arabic term has given rise, in ancient and mediaeval treatises, to the following renderings: *eçulhafe, açolhafe, açulhafe, acolhafe, açulafe, aculhaffech*.

V. Proverbial usage. Al-Damīrī cites the adage *ablad min sulaḥfāʰ* "more stupid than a tortoise", but it is not clear what aspect of the behaviour of this useful creature is supposed to justify such an assertion.

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(F. Viré)

al-SULAMĪ, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Azdī al-Sulamī al-Naysābūrī, important Ṣūfī hagiographer and Ḳurʾān commentator. He was born at Nīshāpūr (Naysābūr) in 325/937 or 330/942 and died in the same city in 412/1021. He belonged to the tribe of the Azd on his father's side and to that of the Sulaym on his mother's. When al-Sulamī's father left Nīshāpūr to settle at Mecca, al-Sulamī's education was entrusted to his maternal grandfather, Abū ʿAmr Ismāʿīl b. Nudjayd (d. 366/976-7), who was a disciple of Abū ʿUthmān al-Ḥīrī (d. 298/910), a Shāfiʿī scholar of *ḥadīth* and an adherent of the ascetic tradition of Nīshāpūr. Al-Sulamī received a teaching certificate (*idjāza*) from the Ḥanafī Abū Sahl al-Ṣuʿlūkī (296-369/909-80) and, some time after 340/951, the Ṣūfī cloak (*khirka*) from the Shāfiʿī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Naṣrābādhī (d. 367/977-8) who, some ten years before in 330/942, had become a Ṣūfī at the hands of Abū Bakr al-Shiblī [*q.v.*] at Baghdād.

An avid student of *ḥadīth*, al-Sulamī travelled widely throughout Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ in search of knowledge, visiting Marw and Baghdād for extended periods of time. He travelled as far as the Ḥidjāz, but apparently visited neither Syria nor Egypt. His travels climaxed in a pilgrimage to Mecca, performed in 366/976 in the company of al-Naṣrābādhī, who died shortly after the Pilgrimage. When al-Sulamī returned to Nīshāpūr about 368/977-8, his teacher Ismāʿīl b. Nudjayd had passed away, leaving him his extensive library. This library became the centre of the small Ṣūfī lodge (*duwayra*) which al-Sulamī established in his quarter of the town, the *sikkat al-Nawand*. There he spent the remaining forty years of his life as a resident scholar, probably visiting Baghdād on a number of occasions. By his later years, he had become highly respected throughout Khurāsān as a Shāfiʿī man of learning and an author of Ṣūfī manuals.

Al-Sulamī was a prolific author who eventually employed his future biographer, Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Khashshāb (381-456/991-1064), as his attendant and scribe. He composed the long list of his works, amounting to more than a hundred titles, over a period of some fifty years from about 360/970 onwards. Some thirty of his works are known to be extant in manuscript; many have appeared in print. These writings may be divided into three main categories: Ṣūfī hagiographies, Ṣūfī commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, and treatises on Ṣūfī traditions and customs. Each of these categories appears to be represented by a major work.

The substantial *Taʾrīkh al-Ṣūfiyya*, listing the biographies of a thousand Ṣūfīs, is known only through extracts incorporated in later sources. It was probably an amplified version of the *Taʾrīkh* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī, known as Ibn Shādhān al-Rāzī, who died in 376/986 at Nīshāpūr. The *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya* (ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, and N. Sharība, Cairo 1969) is a shorter version, listing summary biographies of 105 Ṣūfīs with selections of their sayings. The writings of al-Sulamī on Ṣūfī traditions and customs, often referred to as *Sunan al-ṣūfiyya*, are lost today. Extracts of its contents were integrated into the major works of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066). Judging by these extracts, al-Sulamī's *Sunan* probably resembled

a variety of minor treatises on Ṣūfī practices. His principal commentary on the Ḳur'ān, *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr*, is a voluminous work which still awaits publication as a whole, although extracts of it have been published by Massignon and Nwyia. Some time after the completion of the *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr*, al-Sulamī wrote a separate Ḳur'ān commentary entitled *Ziyādāt ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr* (ed. G. Böwering, Beirut 1995), an appendix to the former extant in a unique manuscript. This work was compiled some time after 370/980, the date by which, in all probability, the *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr* had been completed. Significant portions of both Ḳur'ān commentaries were integrated into the *'Arā'is al-bayān fī ḥaḳā'iḳ al-Ḳur'ān* (2 vols., Cawnpore 1301/1884) of Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī (d. 606/1209).

Bibliography: For al-Sulamī's life and work, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 671-4; the introds. to the editions of Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*; S. Ateş, *Sülemî ve tasavvufî tefsiri*, Istanbul 1969; G. Böwering, *The Qur'ān commentary of Al-Sulamī*, in W.B. Hallaq and D.P. Little (eds.), *Islamic studies presented to Charles J. Adams*, Leiden 1991, 41-56; idem, *The minor Qur'ān commentary of Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn as-Sulamī (d. 412/1021)*, Beirut 1995; idem, *The major sources of Sulamī's minor Qur'ān commentary*, in *Oriens* (1995). Extracts from Sulamī's *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr* were published by L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, ²1968, 359-412; P. Nwyia, *Le Tafsīr mystique attribué à Ǧa'far Ṣādiq*, in *MUSJ*, xliii (1968), 181-230, repr. in 'Alī Zay'ūr, *al-Tafsīr al-ṣūfī li 'l-Ḳur'ān 'ind al-Ṣādiḳ*, Beirut 1979, 125-212; P. Nwyia, *Sentences de Nūrī citées par Sulamī dans Ḥaqā'iq al-Tafsīr*, in *MUSJ*, xliv (1968), 145-7; idem, *Trois œuvres inédites de mystiques musulmans*, Beirut 1973, 23-182. The items of Ibn 'Aṭā''s Ḳur'ān commentary included in Sulamī's *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr* have been tr. into German with introd. by R. Gramlich, *Abu 'l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā': Sufi und Koranausleger*, Stuttgart 1995. Minor works attributed to Sulamī known to have appeared in print: *Risālat al-malāmatiyya* (ed. Abu 'l-'Alā' al-'Afīfī, Cairo 1364/1945); *Kitāb al-Arba'īn fī 'l-taṣawwuf*, Haydarābād 1369/1950; *Kitāb Ādāb al-ṣuḥba*, ed. M.J. Kister, Jerusalem 1954; ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Badyawī, Beirut 1410/1990; *Djawāmi' ādāb al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. E. Kohlberg, Jerusalem 1976; *'Uyūb al-nafs wa-mudāwātuhā*, ed. idem, Jerusalem 1976; ed. Madjdī Fatḥī al-Sayyid, Ṭanṭā 1410/1990; *Kitāb al-Futuwwa*, ed. S. Ateş, Ankara 1397/1977; cf. also F. Taeschner, in *Studia Orientalia J. Pedersen septagenario*, Copenhagen 1953, 340-51; *al-Muḳaddima fī 'l-taṣawwuf wa-ḥaḳīkatih*, ed. Yūsuf Zaydān, Cairo 1408/1978; ed. Ḥusayn Amīn, Baghdād 1984; *Manāhidj al-'ārifīn*, ed. Kohlberg, in *JSAI*, i (1979), 19-39; *Manāhidj al-'ārifīn, Daradjāt al-mu'āmalāt, Djawāmi' ādāb al-ṣūfiyya, al-Muḳaddima fī 'l-taṣawwuf, Bayān aḥwāl al-ṣūfiyya, Mas'ala daradjāt al-ṣādiḳīn, Sulūk al-'ārifīn, Nasīm al-arwāḥ, Bayān zalal al-fuḳarā'*, ed. S. Ateş, in *Tis'a kutub li-Abī 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā al-Sulamī*, Ankara 1401/1981, 1-212; *Ṣifāt al-dhākirīn wa 'l-mutafakkirīn*, ed. Abū Maḥfūẓ al-Karīm al-Ma'ṣūmī, in *Madjallat al-madjma' al-'ilmī al-hindī*, ix (1404/1984); *Uṣūl al-malāmatiyya wa-ghalaṭāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Aḥmad al-Fāwī Maḥmūd, Cairo 1405/1985; *Daradjāt al-mu'āmalāt*, ed. Aḥmad Ṭāhirī 'Irāḳī, Tehran 1369; *Nasīm al-arwāḥ*, ed. idem, Tehran 1372; *Kitāb kalām al-Shāfi'ī fī 'l-taṣawwuf*, ed. idem, Tehran 1372; *Kitāb al-Samā'*, ed. N. Pūrdjawādī, Tehran 1372; *Dhikr al-niswa al-muta'abbidāt al-ṣūfiyyāt*, ed. 'Irāḳī, Cairo 1413/1993. Many of these minor works of al-Sulamī are being reprinted collectively in N. Pūrdjawādī (ed.), *Madjmū'a-yi āthār-i Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sulamī*, i, Tehran 1369; ii, Tehran 1372; iii, Tehran, forthcoming. (G. Böwering)

AL-SULAMĪ, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Salām b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥasan al-Dimashḳī, Sulṭān al-'Ulamā', Abū Muḥammad, Shāfi'ī jurist who was born in Damascus in 577/1181-2 (or 578) and died in Cairo 10 Djumādā I 660/1 April 1262.

The scion of a modest family originally from North Africa (al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfi'iyya*, Beirut 1987, ii, 84), 'Izz al-Dīn al-Sulamī "the Damascene" was the leading Shāfi'ī authority of his generation, the majority of biographers attributing to him the status of *mudjtahid*, a distinction not often awarded at this time (according to al-Suyūṭī, quoting Ibn Kathīr, at the end of his life al-Sulamī regarded himself as an "absolute" *mudjtahid* whose judicial opinions were no longer tied to any constituted school, see *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1968, i, 315 and idem, *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā man akhlada ilā 'l-arḍ*, Beirut 1983, 76, 193).

In Damascus, in terms of law (*fiḳh* [*q.v.*]), his masters were Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn 'Asākir (d. 620/1223)—the Banū 'Asākir were one of the most prestigious scholarly families of Shāfi'ī and Ash'arī persuasion in Damascus—and the *ḳāḍī* Djamāl al-Dīn b. al-Ḥarastānī (d. 614/1217) while Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233) instructed him in the *uṣūl*, this meaning either the methodology of law (*uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]) or theology (*'ilm al-kalām* [*q.v.*]) or both (the term *uṣūl* can denote either of these two disciplines and al-Āmidī was an eminent exponent of both of them).

A Shāfi'ī jurist and Ash'arī theologian—this latter tendency caused serious tension between him and the Ayyūbid sovereign al-Ashraf Mūsā who was, if al-Subkī is to be believed, won over by the doctrines of the Damascus Ḥanbalīs (see *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., viii, 218-29) where his profession of faith is reproduced)—al-Sulamī also took a very close interest in Ṣūfism, becoming a convert to it under the influence of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), author of *'Awārif al-ma'ārif*. In Egypt, where he spent the last twenty years of his life, 'Izz al-Dīn was a frequent visitor to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) and the latter's "successor" (*khalīfa*), Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mursī (d. 685/1287), and he readily attended sessions of *samā'* [*q.v.*], organised by Ṣūfīs but denounced by most of the other jurists. The profound influence of Ṣūfism on the "juridico-spiritual" thought of al-Sulamī is furthermore illustrated, as al-Subkī acknowledges, in his master-work *al-Ḳawā'id al-kubrā* (published under the title *Ḳawā'id al-aḥkām fī maṣāliḥ al-anām*, 2 vols. in 1, Cairo 1934; another ed., Cairo 1968), in which, in particular, he considers "discourse on the detailed questions of Ṣūfism" (*al-kalām fī daḳā'iḳ al-taṣawwuf*) to be a "laudable innovation" (*bid'a mandūba*) (ed. Cairo 1934, ii, 173). Similarly, the identification of the notions of *iḥtiyāṭ*—the "prudence" in legal matters characteristic of the Shāfi'ī school—and of *wara'*—the "spirit of scruple" advocated in so-called "sober" Ṣūfism—practised by al-Sulamī in the same book (ii, 14) is an eloquent expression of the pertinence of Ṣūfī doctrines for judicial theory. His affirmation (ii, 199), according to which the genuinely spiritual mission of prophecy (*al-nubuwwa*) takes precedence over its legislative function (*al-irsāl*) betrays the same influence. This is in fact a fairly typical feature of a major trend in the legal thinking of the time, and al-Sulamī's work is just one of its representatives. His more strictly judicial thinking is centred around the notion of "the interest of the community" (*al-maṣāliḥ*) which is, likewise, scarcely original for its time.

His extensive reputation, his popularity during his lifetime and his posthumous renown, the "Sultan of the scholars" (*sulṭān al-ʿulamāʾ*), the nickname given to him by Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd (d. 702/1302), his most eminent pupil—all of these owe less to the quality of his bibliography or to the originality of his thought than to his exemplary life, to his militancy placed exclusively at the service of the community, to his independence in dealing with political authorities—"he avoided praising kings, rather, he lectured them" (Ibn Ḳāḍī al-Dimashḳī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, Beirut 1987, i, 441)—and the zeal with which he conformed to what he regarded as the most important mission of the scholar in society, sc. to command the good and to forbid the reprehensible (*al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*). It is definitely this image of the militant sage which accounts for the renewed popularity of ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sulamī and of his works in the contemporary Arabo-Muslim world (in Damascus, Cairo and Beirut, editions of his texts have proliferated in recent years).

Thus the biographers pay particular attention to various episodes in the life of ʿIzz al-Dīn. In Damascus, while he was officially responsible for preaching the sermon (*al-khuṭba*) at the Friday mosque of the Umayyads, he abolished "numerous innovations introduced by preachers" (dressing in black, preaching in verse, etc.; Ibn Ḳāḍī al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*). When, in 638/1240, the Ayyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, then ruler of Damascus, made an alliance with the Frankish invaders against the Ayyūbid ruler in Cairo, and ceded to them towns, fortresses and territories in exchange for their aid (see al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd, *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, Paris 1994, 71-3), in the course of one of his sermons ʿIzz al-Dīn expressed his courageous and public opposition to the policies of al-Ṣāliḥ, who had him imprisoned. It was on this occasion that ʿIzz al-Dīn, having been released (very quickly) from detention, decided to leave Syria and make his way to Egypt. He was accompanied by the eminent Mālikī jurist Djamāl al-Dīn ʿUthmān Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 646/1248) who had supported him in Damascus; both men settled permanently in Egypt.

It seems that he was well received by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb (r. 637-47/1240-9). He was appointed preacher and *ḳāḍī* at the great mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Fusṭāṭ, but before long his intransigence in dealings with the political authorities and especially with military élites of servile origin—apparently ʿIzz al-Dīn refused to recognise them as of free status (*aḥrār*) and for this reason would not validate any of their transactions (al-Subkī, *op. cit.*, viii, 216-17)—led him into difficulties. Feeling himself incapable of performing his functions correctly and independently, he preferred to resign voluntarily, and nobody pressed him to reconsider this decision.

ʿIzz al-Dīn then undertook a career as a teacher of Shāfiʿī law at the Ṣāliḥiyya, a college founded in the heart of Cairo by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ which had then barely been completed and which was, in Egypt, the first establishment providing instruction in the four rites (see K.A.C. Cresswell, in *BIFAO*, xxi, 33-4). The biographers indicate that he was the first to teach Ḳurʾānic commentary in Egypt (al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, i, 315; he composed a brief *tafsīr* which has not survived). Furthermore, it was with his customary zeal—a little too much for the taste of al-Isnawī—that he continued, as *muftī*, to pursue his mission of the scholar closely involved in issues concerning the community. The biographers refer to two compilations of his judicial decisions: *al-Fatāwā al-mawṣiliyya* and *al-Fatāwā al-miṣriyya* (1987 Būlāḳ ed. of a work intitled *Fatāwā Sulṭān al-ʿulamāʾ al-ʿIzz b. ʿAbd al-Salām*).

Besides the above-mentioned *al-Ḳawāʿid al-kubrā*, in which he was largely inspired by the *Shuʿab al-īmān* of al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066) and of which he composed a summary (*al-Fawāʾid fī ikhtiṣār al-maḳāṣid al-musammā bi 'l-Ḳawāʿid al-ṣughrā*, Cairo 1988), al-Sulamī is the author of a *Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān* which earned a certain notoriety (*K. al-Ishāra ilā 'l-īdjāz fī baʿḍ anwāʿ al-madjāz*, Cairo 1896) and which he also abridged. Other texts attributed to al-Sulamī have been published under titles which do not correspond to those mentioned by his early biographers (see for example al-Subkī, *op. cit.*, viii, 247-8).

One of al-Sulamī's sons, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 695/1296 in Cairo), was also a jurist (see al-Subkī, *op. cit.*, viii, 312) and seems to have composed a biography (*sīra*) of his father, claimed by al-Subkī as direct inspiration for the long article devoted to al-Sulamī in his *Ṭabaḳāt*.

Bibliography: A very characteristic member of the intellectual élite in post-classical Sunnī Islam, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sulamī definitely deserves the distinction of a separate monograph. In addition to works cited in the article, the following of his texts have been published: *Ḥall al-rumūz wa-mafātīḥ al-kunūz*, Cairo 1899; *al-Fawāʾid fī mushkil al-Ḳurʾān*, Kuwait 1967; *Masāʾil al-ṭarīḳa fī ʿilm al-ḥaḳīḳa*, Cairo 1904; *Nuddj al-kalām fī nuṣḥ al-Imām*, Cairo 1991.

(E. Chaumont)

SULAWESI, formerly Celebes [*q.v.*], sometimes Selebessi, derived from *sula besi*, iron knife or *kris* (?), one of the four biggest islands in Indonesia, stretching from 4° N. to 7° S. and 118° to 126° E. The island consists of four major peninsulas, linked together by a central part. Administratively, it is divided into four provinces: South, Southeast, Central and North Sulawesi. Its population comprises a number of ethnically and linguistically quite different tribes. While the seven tribes of Minahasa (northern tip of the island) and the Toraja (northern part of South Sulawesi) predominantly, and the people of Central Sulawesi to a large extent, became Christians, Islam became the decisive religious factor in most of the other areas, except some parts of the interior where traditional religions still survive.

Makassar [*q.v.*], situated in South Sulawesi, was the most powerful sultanate on the island. The forceful Islamisation of the neighbouring Buginese kingdoms, which started immediately after the two Makassarese kingdoms Gowa and Tallo' united themselves after their Islamisation was completed in 1607, resulted in an enduring enmity with Bone, the greatest Buginese kingdom. In 1660, a member of the royal family of Bone who became famous as Arung Palakka (d. 1696), raised an abortive rebellion against the sultan of Makassar. After his defeat he fled with his followers to Java and asked the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) for shelter. When the Dutch, on their part, launched their final attack against Makassar in 1667-9, Arung Palakka came to their help and brought Makassarese rule over the Buginese kingdoms to an end and likewise its suzerainty over other kingdoms in the region like Sumbawa [see sunda islands], Buton and Manado (in the north of Sulawesi). In 1672, Arung Palakka became king of Bone.

The expansionist zeal of Makassar after its Islamisation had strained relations with the sultanate of Ternate which, since its ruler had gone over to Islam in 1490, had established its own sphere of influence over most of the spice islands, including the southern Moluccas

with Amboina, and the eastern and southeastern parts of Sulawesi. There, on the island of Buton and its twin island Muna off the southern shores of Southeast Sulawesi, a small sultanate had emerged. In 1542 the sixth *rād̲j̲ā* (king) of Buton, Sultan Murhum, was converted to Islam, influenced by an Arab teacher named ʿAbd al-Waḥīd from Gud̲j̲arāt. His dynasty had apparently assumed power at the beginning of the 15th century and had close relations with the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, from where Hinduism was introduced to Buton. When Majapahit was Islamised early in the 16th century, many Hindu noblemen and scholars sought refuge in Buton. This explains the heavy resistance by them and the native people against their forcible conversion to Islam. However, many pre-Islamic beliefs were continued after this conversion, and Islam itself was understood according to its Ṣūfī tradition. To this effect, relations must have been established with Aceh [see ATJÈH], the cradle of Malay *taṣawwuf* in the archipelago, and with Java [see D̲J̲ĀWA, and also INDONESIA]. A constitution of the sultanate, promulgated during the reign of the fourth sultan La Elangi (1578-1615), with the help of a divine named S̲h̲arīf Muḥammad, was based on the notion of the "seven worlds", or "levels" (Mal. *martabat tujuh*). Politically, Buton had accepted the sultanate of Ternate as overlord, and it resented the aggressive expansion of Makassar. A Makassarese expedition in 1666 of roughly 15,000 men against Buton to protect their interests there against the Dutch, was destroyed by the VOC and their ally, Arung Palakka, and was thus one of the preludes to the final attack on Makassar itself. The sultanate of Buton was, like the other sultanates still existing (with the exception of Yogyakarta), abolished after the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed.

After the defeat of Makassar, the VOC finally implemented rigorously its policy of a trade monopoly in the Eastern islands and ordered all clove trees to be cut down except those on Amboina. As a result, poverty spread among the people, and particularly the Makassarese merchants, additionally hit by Arung Palakka's raids, whilst Buginese sailors and traders lost their incomes and moved in great numbers to other areas or contributed decisively to a new tide of piracy. Many of them settled down in Gorontalo on the northern peninsula of Sulawesi and became active, too, in the promotion of Islam, which soon spread to the neighbouring principality of Bolaang-Mongondow.

In Manado, the Portuguese allies of Makassar were driven away, and the Spaniards withdrew to the Philippines. Thus Minahasa became an open field for Christian missions. Because of its relative secure situation, however, the Dutch used it also as place to resettle Muslim rebels from other islands, especially during the 19th century. Famous among them was Kyai Mojo, the spiritual adviser of Prince Diponegoro who initiated the "Java War" (1825-30). The Kyai and some of his followers were resettled near Tondano lake and founded there Kampung Jawa Tondano.

Later on, other exiled Muslims were added to their community which until now maintains its "Malay" Islamic identity. Prince Diponegoro himself was exiled to Makassar (Ujung Pandang), where he died in 1855; his tomb still attracts many pious visitors. Also, Imam Bonjol, one of the famous leaders of the Padri [*q.v.*] War in West Sumatra (1821-37) found himself exiled to a village at the outskirts of Manado where he, too, established a Muslim community which until now has preserved its Islamic character amidst a predominantly Christian neighbourhood.

After the independence of Indonesia was acknowledged by the Dutch in December 1949 and the Republican government under Soekarno began restructuring the state, South Sulawesi became the scene of one of the different Darul-Islam rebellions which shook Indonesia for many years. This one was led 1950-65 by Kahar Muzakkar, a Buginese who had received religious training in the Muʿallimin college of the Muhammadiyah, an Indonesian "modernist" Islamic organisation in the tradition of the Salafiyya, in Solo, and who had served in the Indonesian armed forces. In spite of the many atrocities committed during its campaigns against both Muslims and non-Muslims, this Darul-Islam movement needs careful analysis also in order to understand its real roots and the intentions of its leader against the background of the special character of Islam as maintained by the Buginese (see Barbara S. Harvey, 1989 in *Bibl.*).

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ṢULAYB, the generic and proper name of a tribal group in the northern half of the Arabian peninsula and in the adjacent deserts to the north in what are now Jordan, Syria and ʿIrāḳ. Ṣulayb seems to be a diminutive form, as often, found with a contemptuous meaning, sing. Ṣulabī, colloquially Ṣlebī. They are one of the Ḥutaym tribes, often described as pariahs, as also such gypsy groups as the Nawār. For lists of their subsections, their living areas, etc. see Musil, *Arabia deserta*, 231; French Government in Syria, *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades*, 71; von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iv, 150; *EI*[1] art. *Ṣulaiḅ*.

The reasons for their low status centre around occupation, political independence and origin. Each affects the others and they are, to some degree, inter-dependent. The distinctions drawn between Ṣulayb and other Ḥutaym and Bedouin distance the two categories on the basis that the Bedouin provide their own security and are independent, while the Ḥutaym are not able to do this and buy security from the Bedouin. Different authorities, whether western scholars or Arab tribal experts, emphasise one area or another as the fundamental ground for seeing the Ṣulayb as distinct, sometimes to the extent that Ṣulayb are seen as non-Arab in origin. The more exotic behaviour and origins attributed to the Ṣulayb thus parallel their ascribed social position.

The Ṣulayb call themselves Awlād Ṣalībī or Awlād G̲h̲ānim; the Bedouin use Ṣulayb, Ṣulabba or Ṣulbān. Earlier derivations of the Ṣulayb from Sabaean or Christian (sometimes Crusader) origins have been refuted by Caskel (in von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 148), who sees Ṣulayb as a classificatory term for widely-spread groups of different origins; those of al-Ḥasā coming from southern Persia between the end of the 13th and the 15th century, while those of Syria and western Arabia may be the descendants of groups defeated by Wahhābīs, following a suggestion by Rousseau or by "fanatical Bedouin". Butler suggested they are aboriginal inhabitants.

Arab tribesmen see the Ṣulayb as without genealogy, and sometimes as probably unbelievers or Jews (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i, 326), but usually as Arabs. Some Ṣulayb told Doughty that they did not know

their lineage, others that the name of their ancestor was Mʿaybī. At Medāʾin Ṣāliḥ, Doughty met a Ṣulayb family from Wadjh who said that they were formerly Bedouin with herds and villages who had become weak and, in order to live, had taken up smithing and hunting.

The Ṣulayb spread over the northern half of the Arabian peninsula, roughly from Medina to Riyāḍ and as far north as Aleppo and Mawṣil. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, 515, says that Ṣulayb had large settlements with their own headmen outside Kuwait town and Zubayr. The desert-dwelling Ṣulayb lived among the tribes on friendly terms.

Musil describes Ṣulayb social organisation, which has a subdivision into clans, called *āl*, like the Bedouin *benī*. The *ahl* is the vengeance group, while the *ʿāʾila* is the ensemble of man, woman and children living in one tent. Each Ṣulaybī *ahl* paid its Bedouin an agreed sum for protection, and the tribe appointed one or more "brothers" who compensated its Ṣulayb for property taken from them by other tribesmen. Musil, *op. cit.*, 231-3, gives a list of the "brothers" of the Ṣulayb in northern Arabia. Each Ṣulayb section had a chief, some of whom, according to Dickson, owned large flocks and herds of camels and were up to a point respected.

The distinction between Bedouin and Ḥutaym, including Ṣulayb, was epitomised in that no Bedouin would marry from the Ḥutaym, because the Ḥutaym bought protection, and therefore were not independent. They had honour, according to Musil, "as white as that of the Rwala, but were not held in esteem"; this was recently reiterated by a Rwelī. Ṣulayb would not marry a slave or a smith; they were free, whereas slaves and smiths were not.

The Ṣulayb have often been characterised (see Caskel, in *op. cit.*, 103-11) as following despised occupations, like other Ḥutaym, but in their case, as concentrating almost exclusively outside herding; as hunters, as wood, metal and leather workers, and as doctors of animals and people, as professional poets and musicians, as fortune tellers and makers of witchcraft potions, as scouts for pasture and hunting, and as noted breeders of donkeys sold in Baghdād and Damascus (Musil, *op. cit.*, 269). Some occupations were seasonal, and some geographically limited, like gazelle hunting in eastern Syria. Ṣulayb also herded camels, sheep, goats, just as Bedouin hunt, work in metal, wood and leather, compose poems and tell fortunes on occasions. The difference was that the Ṣulayb, in addition to supplying their own needs, worked for profit.

The Bedouin respected the Ṣulayb for their knowledge of the inner deserts, referring to them as people who could live in regions where the Bedouin with their camels cannot subsist in a particular year, but where the Ṣulayb can with their donkeys and goats. Doughty remarked the Ṣulayb were called *el-Khlûa* or "the desolate" because they lived apart from each other, and that the Bedouin used the same term of themselves when they camped on their own. The Ṣulayb were able to use the inner desert in the summers because of their knowledge of small wells and their hunting skills. Doughty quoted the Bedouin as saying that the Ṣulayb "are like herdsmen of the wild game". Musil reported that families of Ṣulayb owned particular valleys and slopes of the desert, and that the family of a young man gave a portion of their property to the father or brother of his bride, which was then hunted on only by his wife's father and brothers. This expert knowledge meant that Ṣulayb were hired by Bedouin as finders of pasture, as guides on long-distance raids, and for finding men lost on raids.

The Ṣulayb were unique in being outside the raiding economy of the Arabian peninsula; other Ḥutaym groups did raid. The Ṣulayb, because of their knowledge of the desert, provided rescue services, and were a protected neutral group, whose security was rarely contravened.

Many authors from Burckhardt to Musil and von Oppenheim, comment on the appearance and customs of the Ṣulayb, especially the wearing of gazelle-skin smocks and cloaks, on their gazelle-skin tents and dancing (Dickson, *op. cit.*, 518-20: Montagne, *Contes poètiques bédouins*, 98). Most Ṣulayb dances are common to those seen among other tribes; the dancing of men and women together, described by Dickson and said to be considered disgraceful, is not unknown.

Musil mentioned that the Ṣulayb "worship the enormous boulder of *al-Weli abu Ruzuma*" in the Syrian desert. Dickson reported that the Ṣulayb "are said to be Muslim, but few pray properly." Commonly assumed to be unbelievers, they suffered Wahhābī raids, with a notorious massacre in the Wādī ʿArʿar.

After the suppression of the Ikhwān rebellion by Ibn Suʿūd, the Ṣulayb were compensated. By 1937, the Ṣulayb could enrol in the ʿIrāḳī Army and Police, where they had a high reputation as trackers. By the Second World War, they were enrolling in the Kuwaiti Army and Police. With the diminution of game, the decline of camel-herding and increased participation by the Bedouin in national economies, the Ṣulayb have also changed their methods of livelihood. Some herd their own camels, sheep and goats; others work as shepherds for Bedouin owners or in the oil companies and service industries of the new towns along the pipe-lines. Some have urban properties and live from rents or other investments; while others are now employed as teachers, accountants, security personnel and other mainstream occupations. Some continue to practise particular types of traditional medicine. In *ca.* 1990, the term Ṣulayb was formally abandoned as a social category in Saudi Arabia; some assumed the identity of the tribes with whom their section had been associated, but many continue to call themselves Ṣulayb.

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(W. and Fidelity Lancaster)

ṢULAYḤIDS, an Ismāʿīlī dynasty ruling over much of the southern highlands and Tihāma [*q.v.*] region of the Yemen between the years 439-532/1047-1138 approximately.

1. *History*. Firstly, a word should be said about sources. Ismāʿīlī sources have in the past always been difficult of access and we still suffer from their general policy of secrecy in this matter. Still a major source is ʿUmāra's *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman* (the author died in 569/1174) and the best edition of it remains Kay's (see *Bibl.* below). The work is scarcely ideal, however; the author, writing for the high officials of the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo (see Kay, 1, and H. Derenbourg, *ʿOumara du Yémen, sa vie et son œuvre*, PELOV, IVe série, x-xi, Paris 1897-1904, 92-3), produces a confused account in which dates in particular are often lacking. He also appears to have known little of the internal affairs of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the Yemen (see M.L. Bates, *Notes on some Ismāʿīlī coins from Yemen*, in *ANS Museum Notes*, xviii [1972], 149-62, 150). We are fortunate, however, to have available al-Hamdānī's *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn* (see *Bibl.*), for the author was able to draw on mediaeval Ismāʿīlī sources not available to other scholars.

The period of Ṣulayḥid history in the Yemen can be divided into two: the Ṣanʿāʾ years, 439-80/1047-87 approximately, and those of Dhū Djibla, 480-532/1087-1138. The founder of the dynasty, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, came from the mountainous region of Ḥarāz to the south-west of Ṣanʿāʾ and appears to have had an orthodox Shāfiʿī upbringing, but at a young age in the early years of the 5th/11th century, he was befriended by the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* in the Yemen, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zawāḥī. The latter, it seems, gradually taught his friend, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, the doctrines of the Ismāʿīlī cause and eventually appointed him to the rank of *khalīfa* within the *daʿwa*. The sources differ concerning the date, but it was probably in 439/1047 that ʿAlī rose to arms on Djabal Maswar in his native Ḥarāz region. He marched on through the Ḥadūr area between Ḥarāz and Ṣanʿāʾ. In the latter he fought off Zaydī [see ZAYDIYYA] and Sunnī Nadjāḥid [see NADJĀḤIDS] armies. By 455/1063 he was in control of the whole of the south of the Yemen below Ṣanʿāʾ and the capital itself. He appointed governors in Tihāma, al-Djanad, near Taʿizz, and al-Taʿkar, a massive mountain fortress in the southern highlands near Ibb. Suddenly the sources fall silent. We are not even sure of the date of ʿAlī's death, 459/1066 or 473/1080. At any rate, he was murdered by the Nadjāḥid ruler Saʿīd al-Aḥwal in al-Mahdjam in northern Tihāma and his wife Asmāʾ was taken captive.

ʿAlī was succeeded by his son, al-Mukarram Aḥmad. Confident after their killing of ʿAlī and taking captive of his wife, the Nadjāḥids were able to recover much land previously controlled by them in Tihāma and they even pressed the Ṣulayḥids hard in their strongholds of Ḥarāz and al-Taʿkar. It is quite possible that at this time Ṣulayḥid territory was reduced to the Ṣanʿāʾ area. In 460/1068 al-Mukarram Aḥmad succeeded in rescuing his mother from the grasp of the Nadjāḥids, and his Ṣulayḥid armies began to fight back on all sides.

Once again we slip into a confused period of Ṣulayḥid history. In 461/1069 al-Mukarram Aḥmad married a lady who was to become renowned even outside the country, al-Sayyida Arwā bt. Aḥmad. In either 467/1074 or 479/1086 he handed over the affairs of state to his wife, who had borne him four children. Perhaps in 480/1087, Arwā renounced Ṣanʿāʾ as the capital of the Ṣulayḥid state and left for a small town, founded in 459/1066, which lay beneath the towering mountain of al-Taʿkar in the southern highlands. Thus begins a period of rule by the Ṣulayḥids from Dhū Djibla, a period of some brilliance, presided over by the famous Yemeni queen Arwā bt. Aḥmad, Bilḳīs al-Ṣughrā as she is known in Yemeni tradition.

The Dhū Djibla phase of the history of the Ṣulayḥids is very much the history of Arwā bt. Aḥmad herself and her henchmen. The town was only about twenty years old when she arrived with her followers, and we are told that she converted the original palace into a mosque. The *djāmiʿ* can still be seen to this day and the tomb of the queen is still preserved in it (see R. Lewcock and G.R. Smith, *Two early mosques in the Yemen: a preliminary report*, in *AARP*, iv [1973], 117-30). To replace the original palace Arwā built a new one, a grand building called Dār al-ʿIzz, which, if it is not the same construction as the present-day palace in the town, is probably on the same site and its original building materials provided those of the present structure.

The queen appointed three state officials. The first, Sabaʾ b. Aḥmad, was famed for his fierce hostility towards the Nadjāḥids, against whom he fought with great vigour. Although he married Arwā after the death of al-Mukarram Aḥmad, he never appears to have succeeded in persuading her to consummate the marriage.

The second, another strongly loyal supporter, was al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Barakāt, the lord of al-Taʿkar, the lofty stronghold to the south of Dhū Djibla to which reference has already been made. He had originally been appointed by al-Mukarram Aḥmad, and it appears to have been under his supervision that the Ṣulayḥid treasures were transferred to al-Taʿkar for reasons of security. Al-Mufaḍḍal also participated frequently in the wars against the Nadjāḥids in Tihāma.

The third official associated closely with Queen Arwā's rule centred in Dhū Djibla was Ibn Nadjīb al-Dawla. He entered the Yemen in 513/1119, despatched, it would seem, by the Fāṭimids in Cairo in an attempt to revive the flagging fortunes of the Ṣulayḥids in the Yemen. Operating from al-Djanad, he did much to pacify the southern areas and keep them within the Ṣulayḥid fold, as well as joining in the general effort to keep the Nadjāḥids at bay. In 519/1125, however, arguing that the queen's mind was no longer fit to rule over the territories of the dynasty, he attempted to overthrow her and lock her away in seclusion. But Arwā fought back and her supporters besieged Ibn Nadjīb al-Dawla in al-Djanad. He was brought, humiliated, to the queen in Dhū Djibla. Her judgment was that he be sent back to Egypt in a wooden cage, and that is how he left the Ṣulayḥid capital. He never reached Egypt, however, dying at sea. Our sources peter out; Arwā died at the ripe old age of 88 in 532/1138. There was no one of the dynasty to carry on.

2. *Mints and money*. The earliest coins struck by the Ṣulayḥids from 445/1053 so far published are the dīnārs of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad minted in Zabīd and described by P. Casanova (*Dinars inédits du Yémen*, in *Revue Numismatique* [1894], 200 ff.). N.M. Lowick (*Some unpublished dinars of the Ṣulayḥids and Zurayʿids*, in *Num.Chron.*, 7th series, iv [1964], 261-70) publishes other dīnārs minted in Dhū Djibla and Aden. It was the Ṣulayḥids, al-Mukarram to be precise, who in 479/1086 instituted a new variety of dīnār called the *malakī*. The date is given in ʿUmāra (Kay, 37) who also quotes the inscription. The *malakī* outlived the Ṣulayḥids and the Zurayʿids [*q.v.*] (473-569/1080-1173), originally their vassals, later the independent rulers of Aden. We know, for example, that they were used in Ayyūbid Aden (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1951-4, 138).

Bibliography: Apart from those sources mentioned in the text, there are H.C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892; Ḥusayn b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī, with the collaboration of Ḥasan Sulaymān Maḥmūd al-Juhanī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn wa 'l-ḥaraka al-Fāṭimiyya fi 'l-Yaman*, Cairo 1955; G.R. Smith, *The political history of the Islamic Yemen down to the first Turkish invasion* (*1-945/622-1538*), in W. Daum (ed.), *Yemen, 3000 years of art and civilisation in Arabia Felix*, Innsbruck and Frankfurt am Main [1988], 129-40, 132. There is a useful article, Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, in Aḥmad Djābir ʿAfīf *et alii* (eds.), *al-Mawsūʿa al-Yamaniyya*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1992, ii, 573-4.

(G.R. Smith)

SULAYM, an Arabian tribe, a branch of the so-called Northern Arabian federation of Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*]. Its genealogy is given as Sulaym b. Manṣūr b. ʿIkrima b. Khaṣafa b. Ḳays ʿAylān. The tribe's territory was in al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*]. The *ḥarra* or basalt desert [see ḤARRA. 1] that was once called *Ḥarrat Banī Sulaym*, and is now called *Ḥarrat Ruhāṭ*, is roughly located at the centre of their former territory. The *Ḥarra* was easy to defend because cavalry could not operate in it, and the *ḥimās* [*q.v.*] or protected pasturing areas of Sulaym were along its eastern and western slopes. The Baṣra and Kūfa pilgrim roads and the inland road between Mecca and Medina passed through Sulamī territory, which meant that both towns had to be on good terms with the Sulaym.

The Sulaym were divided into three subdivisions. The Imruʾ al-Ḳays, perhaps the strongest one, lived on the eastern slopes of the *Ḥarra* and included three tribal groups: the Khufāf b. Imriʾ al-Ḳays, which in turn contained ʿUṣayya, Nāṣira, ʿAmīra and Mālik. The most prominent family among the ʿUṣayya was the Sharīd. The Bahz b. Imriʾ al-Ḳays included Mecca's rich ally, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. ʿIlāṭ, who owned the gold mines in the land of Sulaym (M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym. A contribution to the study of early Islam*, Jerusalem 1989, 133-4; cf. P. Crone, *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam*, Princeton 1987, 93-4). The ʿAwf b. Imriʾ al-Ḳays were divided into the Mālik b. ʿAwf and the Sammāl b. ʿAwf. The Mālik b. ʿAwf included the following clans: Riʿl (led at the time of Muḥammad by al-ʿAbbās b. Anas), Maṭrūd and Ḳunfudh.

The Ḥārith subdivision generally inhabited the western slopes of the *Ḥarra*. It contained the following tribal groups: Muʿāwiya b. al-Ḥārith, the members of which settled in Medina before the arrival there of the Aws and Khazradj [*q.vv.*] and were in due course Judaised; Ẓafar b. al-Ḥārith, part of which was incorporated into the Aws; Rifāʿa b. al-Ḥārith; Kaʿb b. al-Ḥārith, a member of which was the last custodian of the idol Suwāʿ (Ḳurʾān, LXXI, 23) located in Ghurān; and ʿAbs b. Rifāʿa b. al-Ḥārith, which included the Djāriya family. One of the Djāriya, the poet and warrior al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās [*q.v.*], worshipped before his conversion to Islam an idol called Ḍimār or Ḍamār. Al-ʿAbbās was put by Muḥammad in charge of levying the *ṣadaḳa* from the brother tribes Sulaym and Māzin. A member of the ʿAbs was the last custodian of the idol al-ʿUzzā [*q.v.*] located in the Ḥurāḍ valley which drains into Nakhla [*q.v.*] al-Shaʾmiyya.

The Thaʿlaba subdivision contained two tribal groups. The Mālik b. Thaʿlaba, also called Badjla after their mother, broke away from the Sulaym and became the "protected neighbours" of the ʿUḳayl [*q.v.*]. But far more important were the Dhakwān b. Thaʿlaba (also referred to as "Thaʿlaba") who on the eve of Islam were Mecca's closest Sulamī allies. Before they formed an alliance with Mecca, one of them, Muḥammad b. Khuzāʿī, was reportedly crowned by Abraha [*q.v.*] and put in command of a troop from Muḍar [see RABĪʿA and MUḌAR]. The Dhakwān married into some of the most important Ḳurashī families, and their member, al-Ḥakīm b. Umayya, in his capacity as *muḥtasib* in pre-Islamic Mecca, supervised law and order with the consent of all the clans of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*]. The Prophet's Companion Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal ([*q.v.*] and Lecker, *op. cit.*, 91-2, 111), living in Medina, was an exception among the Dhakwān.

Sulaym's genealogy was of major political and military importance, as shown by the fact that their links with other Ḳays ʿAylān tribes, above all the Hawāzin [*q.v.*], were far closer than those with other tribes. Among Sulaym's pre-Islamic *ayyām* [see AYYĀM AL-ʿARAB], there were several long-range expeditions into the Yemen as well as battles against tribes living in southwestern Arabia on the road to the Yemen. For instance, in order to carry out a raid against the Zubayd and Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*], al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās recruited warriors from all the clans of Sulaym. In addition, a battle against Kinda took place near Ṣaʿda and the Ḳuḍāʿa killed, again near Ṣaʿda, a brother of al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās. The Yemenī expeditions should possibly be linked to Sulaym's activity in escorting caravans. Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Hibat Allāh mentions that the Sulaym and Hawāzin used to conclude pacts with the kings of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]. They would take the kings' merchandise and sell it for them in ʿUkāẓ and in other markets (see *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, eds. Darādika and Khrīsāt, ʿAmmān 1404/1984, ii, 375). These pre-Islamic expeditions, which involved other Ḳaysī tribes as well, are relevant to the debate about the origin of the Ḳays—Yaman antagonism (cf. Crone, *Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad period political parties?*, in *Isl.*, lxxi [1994], 1 ff.).

Many Sulamīs were agriculturalists, before Islam and in early Islamic times, a fact which may easily be overlooked because the bulk of our literary evidence relates to the military exploits of the tribe. The 3rd/9th century geographer ʿArrām al-Sulamī said about the Sulamī stronghold of al-Suwāriḳiyya that it belonged to the Sulaym alone and that each of them had a share in it. It included fields, dates and other kinds of fruit. The Sulamīs born in al-Suwāriḳiyya, he added, lived there while the others were nomadic (*bādiya*) and roamed around it, supplying food along the pilgrim roads.

The Sulaym had friendly relations with Medina. Sulamīs brought horses, camels, sheep and clarified butter to the markets of Medina. An idol called Khamīs was worshipped by both the Sulaym and the Khazradj. Before Islam, the Sulaym once intervened in the fighting between two clans of the Aws, and at the time of Muḥammad al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās lamented the expulsion of the Jewish al-Naḍīr [*q.v.*] (Lecker, *op. cit.*, 99-100).

The Sulaym played an important role in the struggle between Muḥammad and Ḳuraysh. Under ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl [*q.v.*] (who was not a Sulamī, but a member of the Djaʿfar b. Kilāb), several Sulamī clans carried out in Ṣafar 4/625 the attack at Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*] (M.J. Kister, *O God, tighten Thy grip on Muḍar*..., in *JESHO*, xxiv [1981], 242-73, at 255-6; idem, *The expedition of Biʾr Maʿūna*, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in honor of H.A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 337-57). In the battle of Khandaḳ [*q.v.*] (5/627), the Sulaym under Sufyān b. ʿAbd Shams of the Dhakwān still co-operated with Ḳuraysh. However, when

Muḥammad set out to conquer Mecca in Shaʿbān 8/January 630, the Sulaym or most of them were already on his side. Several weeks later, the Sulaym participated in the battle of Ḥunayn with the exception of Abu 'l-Aʿwar (the son of Sufyān b. ʿAbd Shams), who fought with the pagans.

At the time of Abū Bakr, several clans of the Sulaym apostatised [see RIDDA in Suppl.] and were crushed by forces loyal to Medina. The rebels included the ʿUṣayya, especially the Sharīd family, the ʿAmīra (one of whom was the famous rebel al-Fudjā'a), the ʿAwf b. Imri' al-Ḳays, the Djāriya family of the ʿAbs and also perhaps the Dhakwān. Soon afterwards, we find the Sulaym among the forces heading to ʿIrāḳ and Syria.

Although there were no doubt Sulamīs among ʿAlī's supporters (cf. *MME*, iv [1989], 177), Sulaym's contribution to Muʿāwiya's success was fundamental. At this point, it should be observed that the evidence about Sulaym's history in the first decades of the Islamic era, and particularly during the time of Muḥammad, was probably influenced by their role in the ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya conflict. This can be illustrated by the dispute regarding the Companion status of the aforementioned Abu 'l-Aʿwar, who became one of Muʿāwiya's generals (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ed. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1392/1972, iv, 641).

Some Sulamīs appointed as governors in early Islam owed their nomination to pre-Islamic ties with Ḳuraysh.

1. The wealthy Companion ʿUtba b. Farḳad (Rifāʿa b. al-Ḥārith) was closely connected with Mecca and his mother was of Ḳuraysh. In 20/641 ʿUmar appointed him as the governor of al-Mawṣil [*q.v.*] and later he made him governor of Ādharbaydjān [*q.v.*].

2. Abu 'l-Aʿwar (Dhakwān) was under Muʿāwiya the governor of al-Urdunn [*q.v.*]. His mother and grandmother were of Ḳuraysh (M.J. Kister, *On strangers and allies in Mecca*, in *JSAI*, xiii [1990], 113-54, at 134; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, facs. ed. xiii, 463 ll. 10,20, 464 ll. 16,-6; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 641). The assumption that Abu 'l-Aʿwar's mother was Christian [see ABU 'L-AʿWAR] is based on a corrupt text (in Ibn Rusta, 213; cf. *Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 305). ʿUbayda b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Dhakwān) was probably governor of Ādharbaydjān under ʿUmar II. Under al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik he was governor of al-Urdunn, and in 110/728 he was appointed by Hishām to Ifrīḳiyā [*q.v.*]. ʿUbayda was said to have been Abu 'l-Aʿwar's nephew (Crone, *Slaves on horses. The evolution of the Islamic polity*, Cambridge 1980, 125) but his detailed pedigree (Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 264 l. 2, where he is called ʿUbayd) shows that he was Abu 'l-Aʿwar's great-grandson.

3. ʿUbayd Allāh, the son of Mecca's rich ally al-Ḥadjdjādj b. ʿIlāṭ (Bahz), was appointed by Muʿāwiya over the *arḍ* Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*].

4. Al-Ḥadjdjādj b. ʿIlāṭ's grandson, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Naṣr, was appointed to Muʿāwiya's *dīwāns*.

Sulaym supported ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], and 600 of them were reportedly killed in the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ (64/684 [*q.v.*]). In 73/692-3 the Sulaym under al-Djaḥḥāf b. Ḥakīm al-Dhakwānī fought against the Taghlib [*q.v.*] at al-Bishr [*q.v.*] in eastern Syria.

After the conquests, some Sulamīs settled in Kūfa, while others went to Baṣra and Khurāsān. Several governors are relevant here:

1. Mudjāshiʿ b. Masʿūd (Sammāl) was under ʿUmar in charge of the *ṣadaḳa* of Baṣra.

2. Ḳays b. al-Haytham (Sammāl), the governor of Khurāsān under Muʿāwiya, was appointed by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, whose mother was of the Sammāl.

3. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (Sammāl), a relative of Ḳays b. al-Haytham, was already appointed to Khurāsān by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir at the time of ʿUthmān. ʿAbd Allāh, who under Muʿāwiya replaced Ḳays b. al-Haytham as governor of Khurāsān, was also its governor under Ibn al-Zubayr. He lost the governorship when he refused to accept ʿAbd al-Malik's letter appointing him on Khurāsān.

4. Kathīr b. ʿAbd Allāh (ʿUṣayya) who was nicknamed Abu 'l-ʿĀdj "the tusked one" because of his long middle incisors, was briefly the governor of Baṣra under Hishām.

5. One of the governors of Khurāsān under Hishām was al-Ashras b. ʿAbd Allāh (Ẓafar b. al-Ḥārith).

6. Also Manṣūr b. ʿUmar b. Abi 'l-Kharḳā' (Riʿl) was governor of Khurāsān under Hishām.

However, most of the Sulamīs who left their Arabian territory emigrated to northern Syria and from there to the Djazīra. There is an intriguing case of continuity with regard to Sulamī governors in Armīniyā [*q.v.*]:

1. Usayd b. Ẓāfir (Ḳunfudh) was governor there under the Marwānids.

2. Usayd's son, Yazīd, was governor under al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*, at vol. VI, 427] and his son al-Mahdī [*q.v.*, at vol. VI, 1238].

3. Yazīd's son, Aḥmad, was later in the ʿAbbāsid period governor of al-Mawṣil and Armīniyā.

Other Sulamīs remained in Arabia, as is shown by the Sulamī rebellion of 230/845. The Ḥarb [*q.v.*], who probably came from the Yemen and settled between Mecca and Medina towards the end of the 9th century, gradually absorbed the original inhabitants of that area, including the Sulaym. In the 5th/11th century, the descendants of Sulamīs and Hilālīs [see HILĀL] who had settled in Egypt left it and spread into the predominantly Berber North Africa [see AL-ʿARAB. iv], conquering within a short period Barḳa [*q.v.*] and Tripolitania. At the end of the 12th century, the Sulaym invaded Tunisia [*q.v.*] and Morocco, making North Africa both Bedouin and Arab and pushing the Berber element to the background (Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī [*q.v.*] al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab bi-ta'rīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿarab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAmmān 1982, ii, 519-23; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, 308-9; vi, 12 ff.; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḳalā'id al-djumān fi 'l-taʿrīf bi-ḳabā'il ʿarab al-zamān*, ed. al-Abyārī, Cairo 1383/1963, 123-4).

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(M. LECKER)

SULAYM b. ḲAYS al-Hilālī al-ʿĀmirī, Abū Ṣāʿī, a Kūfan and, according to Shīʿī tradition (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 119; al-Ḥillī, *Ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1963, 83), a contemporary of ʿAlī, at least at the end of the latter's life, and one of his most fervent partisans.

He was pursued by the Umayyad governor al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], who aimed at killing him, and found refuge with the Shīʿī traditionist Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh, who was then only 14 years old (Abū ʿAlī, *Muntahā*, 151; al-Māmaḳānī, *Tanḳīḥ*, ii, 53). It was to him—again according to the Shīʿī tradition—that Sulaym, just before his death, entrusted his *K. al-Aṣl*,

which contained the "unpublished" traditions concerning ʿAlī and his descendants. In his turn, two months before his own death, Abān gave this work to another Shīʿī, ʿUmar b. Udhayna (d. before 169/785), and it is to this last that we owe the book, much venerated by the Shīʿa of all shades of belief. If this tradition is to be believed, Sulaym b. Ḳays must have lived during the 1st century A.H., spanning the 7th and early 8th centuries A.D. He is said to have then died during al-Ḥadjdjādj's life-time, i.e. before 95/714.

Nevertheless, the very existence of this man, and of his work, should be regarded with caution, since, apart from Ibn al-Nadīm, of the older biographers, only a few Shīʿīs mention him, and then only in a very terse and laconic fashion. Ibn al-Nadīm himself drew his information on Sulaym from a Shīʿī source, probably from the ʿAlid ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿAḳīḳ (d. after 298/911), whose information is also reproduced by later biographers, such as al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), amongst others. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, a scholar of rare erudition and one fully conversant with Shīʿī works, openly questioned the existence of Sulaym, by asserting that he had heard people say "that this man was nothing but pure invention of the imagination, no such writer having had any earthly existence and his alleged book being nothing but the apocryphal work of a forger" (*Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1965-7, xii, 216-17).

Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd certainly did not mince his words. He probably alludes to certain Imāmī or Twelver scholars, such as Aḥmad b. ʿUbayda (d. 333/941) and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghaḍanfarī (d. 411/1020), who denied the authenticity of Sulaym's book on the following bases:

(1) One of the pieces of information in the work indicates that the Imāms numbered 13 contradicting the Shīʿī tradition limiting them to 12;

(2) A second piece of information states that Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*] censured his dying father, whereas the son was at that time only 3 years old.

(3) It is alleged that the book was transmitted solely by Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh, when the latter was only some 14 years old.

Al-Ḥillī attacked this thesis (*Ridjāl, loc. cit.*), but without much success; his arguments were too unconvincing to sweep away such doubts. Other, later Shīʿī biographers were content to reproduce verbatim al-Ḥillī's words without adding anything. Moreover, Abān, the prime source for the work, was equally attacked. Thus Ibn Khallikān affirmed that certain traditionists of high authority, such as Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/776 [*q.v.*]) taxed Abān with lying. This is why this traditionist was excluded from the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Hence one would seek in vain for his name amongst the *isnāds* of these two scholars (*Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 339). This information in Ibn Khallikān, added to that of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, leads one to adopt a circumspect attitude towards the book as must be adopted towards its presumed author.

Whatever the truth, this *K. al-Aṣl* or *K. Sulaym* is considered by Shīʿī scholars as one of the oldest sources for Shīʿism and as being equal to the four master-works of Islamic tradition (sc. the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal and the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik) (al-Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt*, 318). Others go so far as to say that "it is the alphabet of Shīʿism, which no Shīʿī can do without" (al-Māmaḳānī, ii, 54; Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, ii, 152). It is clear that this work was a collection of traditions about ʿAlī and his descendants. It is said that Sulaym allegedly gathered his information from the mouths of eminent men, beginning with ʿAlī himself, via Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī and Salmān al-Fārisī to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī and his brother al-Ḥusayn [*q.vv.*]. At all events, the work was a main source for Shīʿī writers, notably al-Kulīnī, who took from it a considerable number of traditions for his *Uṣūl al-kāfī* (i, 44, 46, 297-8, 529, ii, 391, *et passim*).

If Ṭihrānī (ii, 156-7) is to be believed, there exist at least five mss. of Sulaym's work preserved in the private libraries of certain Shīʿī scholars of Nadjaf, including those of Muḥammad al-Samāwī and Shaykh al-Hādī Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ. A third one exists at Tehran (Ibn-i Yūsuf, *Kitābkhāna*, v, 150). The book was published at Nadjaf in 1961.

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2. Studies. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 10-11, Eng. tr. *Muslim studies*, ii, 23-4; Brockelmann, I², 525; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 527. (Moktar Djebli)

SULAYMĀN, the name of a range of mountains running roughly south-north and to the west of the Indus river in modern Pākistān.

The Sulaymān rise from the low tract of the Dēradjāt [*q.v.*] which lie along the right bank of the Indus and run, in a series of long, sharp-backed ridges and jagged peaks, from the Bugṭī and Marī districts of north-east Balūčistān in the south to the Gomal Pass [see gūmāl in Suppl.] and river in the north, thereafter continuing as the Wazīristān hills (i.e. they lie between latitudes 28° 50' and 32° 20' N.). It is at the northern end that the highest peak of the range, Takht-i Sulaymān, is situated (3,374 m/11,066 feet). The range can only be crossed through the defiles and chasms carved out by the few rivers running through it, and it has accordingly formed, all through history, a barrier to movement between the middle Indus valley and Afghānistān.

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SULAYMĀN, Mawlāy, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ b. Muḥammad, ʿAlawī sultan of Morocco who reigned from Radjab 1200/March 1792 to 13 Rabīʿ I 1238/28 November 1822. He was the son of Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and his mother belonged originally to the tribe of the Aḥlāf. He spent his youth in Sidjilmāsa, and it was he who brought the *bayʿa* of the inhabitants of this region to his brother Mawlāy al-Yazīd in 1204/1790. On the death of the latter on 20 Djumādā II 1206/14 February 1792, several of his brothers competed for power, notably Mawlāy Hishām, recognised as sultan of the Sūs at Azammūr, and Mawlāy Muslama, proclaimed in the north-west of Morocco. A third brother also laid claim to the Sharīfian throne, and this was Mawlāy Sulaymān, who was declared sultan at Fās and at Miknās (Meknès) on 17 Radjab 1206/11 March 1792, and at Salé and Rabat a month later, 20 and 21 Shaʿbān/13 and 14 April.

This prince rapidly extended his authority over the north of the country, and an unavoidable struggle developed between him and his brother Mawlāy Hishām, now his only rival; in 1208-9/1794 the latter

retained control only of his capital at Marrākush. In addition, the previous year his brother Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Salām, who governed the province of Agadir and supported him hitherto, had entered into alliance with Mawlāy Sulaymān. Furthermore, the entire Moroccan fleet was controlled by this Sharīf, who had denounced as rebels the Pashas of the ports to the south of Rabat, who for their part recognised the authority of none of the claimants. A short-lived rebellion had erupted at Salé, where there were aspirations towards the formation of an independent republic.

By 1796, Mawlāy Sulaymān was effectively considered the undisputed sovereign of Morocco by the majority of European nations. In Radjab 1211/January 1797 he finally subdued the troublesome province of the Shāwiya, and then, recognised by the ʿAbda and Dukkāla, he succeeded in taking possession of Marrākush in early December of that year/late Djumādā II 1212. The unity of Morocco was realised, and the defeated claimant took refuge in the al-Sharābī *zāwiya*.

Taking advantage of the anarchy which had persisted for five years, the Algerians had occupied Wudjda. Having consolidated his authority, Mawlāy Sulaymān requested the withdrawal of Muḥammad Pasha from the town and the surrounding region, and the province was once again under Moroccan control (1211/1796-7).

Although the sultan had succeeded in regaining control of his eastern frontier, throughout his reign he was obliged to confront continual opposition on the part of the Berber tribes, especially those of the Middle Atlas where a certain *murābiṭ*, Sīdī Muḥammad U-Naṣīr Amhāush, exerted a major influence. Between 1213/1798 and 1235/1819-20 there was a series of expeditions against these tribes. During the fourth campaign against the Ayt U-Malū of the Fāzāz in 1234/1818-19, the son of the sultan, Mawlāy Ibrāhīm, was killed. There were three expeditions against the tribes of the Rīf, and against the Ayt Idrāsan, the Garwān, the Ayt ʿAtta, the tribes of the Sūs, of the Drāʿ and the Sahara, military interventions followed one another in rapid succession. All these movements of troops contributed to famine in the countryside, and there were serious outbreaks of plague, especially in 1233-5/1818-20. In 1220/1805, intervening on behalf of the people of Tlemcen in their conflict with the western Bey, Muḥammad Mukallash, Mawlāy Sulaymān came into collision with the powerful brotherhood of the Derkāwa.

Although the inhabitants of Fās had been supporters of the sultan at the beginning of his reign, towards the end they rebelled against their governor al-Ṣaffār, appealed to some of the Berber tribes for aid and chose another sultan, a certain Mawlāy Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd, to whom they offered their allegiance on 24 Muḥarram 1236/1 November 1920. The latter died shortly after this in Tiṭṭiwān (Tetouan) and was replaced by his brother Mawlāy Saʿīd b. Yazīd. Mawlāy Sulaymān was then obliged to leave Marrākush and to lay siege to Fās, which he captured in Radjab 1237/March-April 1822. In the same year, the sultan attacked the Sharrardiyya *zāwiya* near Marrākush. Not only was he defeated but he was actually taken prisoner for a short time, before being sent back to Marrākush, where he died on 13 Rabīʿ I 1238/28 November 1822 after designating as his successor his nephew Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām.

Mawlāy Sulaymān was an energetic builder and a number of monuments are owed to him; in Fās, he was responsible for the construction of four great mosques, three gates and a bridge; he also had mosques built in Wazzān, Tiṭṭiwān and Salé, and he restored the palaces of Miknās and the great mosque of Marrākush.

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SULAYMĀN, Shāh, Ṣafawid ruler, reigned 1076-1105/1666-94; oldest son and successor of Shāh ʿAbbās II born to a Circassian mother, Nikāḥat Khānum, in December 1647 or January 1648.

Originally named Ṣafī Mīrzā, Shāh Sulaymān was first crowned as Ṣafī II on 30 September 1666, an event preceded by a great deal of court intrigue.

Having spent his entire life in the confines of the harem, Ṣafī II was ill prepared for his task as ruler. Once crowned, he threw himself into a life of pleasure, also engaging in many acts of generosity, liberally granting favours and fiefs, and filling all vacant administrative positions, all of it at the expense of the treasury, which by 1668 was reportedly empty. The resulting impecuniousness, coinciding as it did with Özbeg and Cossack raids across the northern borders, earthquakes in Shīrwān and Tabrīz, and drought followed by famine, convinced some court astrologers that the Shāh's coronation had occurred at an inauspicious moment. Ṣafī II thus was re-crowned Sulaymān on 20 March 1667.

He now underwent a radical shift from liberality to frugality. The number of troops of the royal guard was drastically reduced, many posts were left vacant for long periods of time, and the military budget was curtailed. At the same time, royal revenue was increased through new and higher taxes. This policy not only exacerbated Persia's military weakness but also furthered the deterioration of the country's economic base, so that there were frequent merchant bankruptcies and the circulation of a great deal of debased money. Widespread poverty and food riots in Iṣfahān in the 1670s were the result.

Eyewitness observers lay much of the blame for this state of affairs on Shāh Sulaymān, portraying him as a lethargic and superstitious weakling and drunkard, with resultant irrational, cruel and violent behaviour. Modern scholarship has built on this image to dismiss his entire reign as a period of effeminate sloth and uneventfulness. Sulaymān has been especially criticised for refusing all overtures by Western powers to lure Persia into an anti-Ottoman alliance. A closer look at the sources, however, reveals that his pacifism was not a matter of principle or simply a question of cowardice. Under him, the Persian army set out to counter Özbeg raids and Balūčī aggression. The Shāh's decision to preserve peace with the Ottomans and not to enter an alliance with the European powers was rather based on strategic calculations of relative military strength and potential benefits. It is also not true that he did nothing to counteract economic prob-

lems or to remedy abuse. Most of his measures, however, were short-lived and rendered ineffective, such as a half-hearted currency reform of 1684. He made a judicious choice with his selection of Shaykh ʿAlī Khān, an official of integrity, who served him as Grand Vizier for almost twenty years. However, a lack of lasting royal support undercut Shaykh ʿAlī Khān's reform efforts and turned him into a timid servant rather than an effective counsellor.

Internal divisions grew as the Shāh increasingly relied on the inner palace and its residents. His institution of a privy council consisting of the principal palace eunuchs shifted most power to their ranks and marginalised the *dīwān* administration. In his later years, Sulaymān became increasingly more removed from the daily affairs of state. Following the advice of his astrologers, he often did not appear in public for weeks or even months, during which time the Queen-Mother and the court eunuchs were in control. In this period, the signs of crisis multiplied, with Özbeg raids in Khurāsān, rebellions in Georgia and Kurdistān, and Balūčī incursions in the Kirmān area. He died on 29 July 1694, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sulṭān Ḥusayn [*q.v.*].

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SULAYMĀN B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, seventh caliph of the Umayyad dynasty [*q.v.*], *r.* 96-9/715-17, born probably in Medina about 55/675, son of the subsequent caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān [*q.v.*] and of Wallāda bt. al-ʿAbbās b. Djaz' from the Banū ʿAbs, a tribe considered part of the Northern Arabian confederation of the Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*].

There is almost no substantial information on the first three decades of Sulaymān's life. It is likely that he came to Syria during the initial stage of the Second Civil War (60-73/680-92) in the company of other members of the Marwānid branch [*q.v.*] of the Umayyads emigrating thither. In 81/701 he led the *ḥadjdj*. At the latest after the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān [*q.v.*] (85/704), brother of the then ruling caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and his successor as designated by their father Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Malik nominated as successors his own sons al-Walīd [*q.v.*] and Sulaymān.

During the caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (86-96/705-15), Sulaymān acted as governor of the *djund* Filasṭīn [*q.v.*], where he was engaged in developing al-Ramla as the new capital of Palestine. Some time after 90/710, Sulaymān granted asylum to some clansmen of the Muhallabids [*q.v.*], who had been in disgrace with al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], but had escaped from jail. Among these refugees was Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who later became Sulaymān's governor of ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān. Though the reasons are not known, the behaviour of Sulaymān points to a certain disagreement with al-Ḥadjdjādj and also with al-Walīd. The sources do not provide sound arguments whether there was a connection with the efforts to exclude Sulaymān from the succession in favour of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Walīd, which are said to have been supported by al-Ḥadjdjādj. In this respect, it should not be overlooked that al-Walīd, in his endeavour to designate his own son as his successor, acted in the same way as all his Umayyad predecessors. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, after the death of al-Walīd (13 Djumādā II 96/24 February 715), Sulaymān acceded to the throne unchallenged. Syrian sources prove that he obviously chose Jerusalem as his principal seat of government. In 97/716 he led the *ḥadjdj*, and it is likely that he soon afterwards moved to Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] in northern Syria, the supply centre for the campaign against the Byzantine empire of 97-100/716-18. It was at Dābiḳ that he died on 12 Ṣafar 99/24 September 717.

To form an appropriate picture of Sulaymān's reign is difficult because of his short term of office. Basically, the policy under Sulaymān seems to have been the same as under his predecessors, even though in probably every province of the empire new governors were appointed. The choice of governors does not give the impression of bias—e.g. towards favouring a certain tribal fraction—except that the appointments might have been aimed at having closer control over the empire by nominating loyal functionaries and by breaking with arbitrary conditions under long-established and powerful governors. Prominent cases of the latter are: Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], the conqueror of Spain, and his sons; the clan of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf (who had himself already died in Ramaḍān 95/June 714); ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī in Medina; Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*] in Mecca; and Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān, who fell victim to an insurrection by Wakīʿ b. Abī Sūd (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 96/August 715), subsequently self-appointed governor and soon dismissed by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, governor of al-ʿIrāḳ, then additionally of Khurāsān.

The expansion of the Arabo-Islamic empire more or less came to a standstill—not least caused by the appearance of effective counterforces; only the conquests of Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān deserve mention. But that does not mean that the impulse of expansion and conquest slackened under the rule of Sulaymān. As proof of this may serve the huge campaign against Byzantium, which was launched by the end of 97/716 under the supreme command of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] via land, and at the beginning of 98/716 via sea under the command of ʿUmar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī. This campaign culminated in an unsuccessful siege of Constantinople (early summer 98/717 summer 99/718).

With a hoped-for conquest of Constantinople and with the approaching year 100 of the *hid̲j̲ra* came chiliastic expectations. The popularity and effectiveness of messianic ideas at that time and in those circumstances is as difficult to evaluate as the actual meaning and function of the relatively numerous references to Sulaymān as the expected Mahdī [*q.v.*], which appear in the panegyrics of D̲j̲arīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*]. While the role of Sulaymān as the "rightly-guided one", who restores justice after oppression, has a more or less clear contemporary and authentic base, this can hardly be said about his appearances in the world of literary anecdotes and religious instructions. There he is depicted on the one hand as a glutton, a conceited and cruel voluptuary, well-versed in the use of Arabic, while on the other hand, he typifies the unjust ruler (*ẓālim*) who, contrite and humiliated, falls a victim to sermons by pious religious figures. In a similar way, Sulaymān figures in descriptions of his alleged relations with his successor ʿUmar II, the famous exception among the Umayyad caliphs, credited with the reputation of having been exemplarily pious.

In nominating a successor, Sulaymān most probably was not bound by the testament of ʿAbd al-Malik in favour of the two subsequent caliphs Yazīd II and His̲h̲ām [*q.vv.*], and so like all his Umayyad predecessors he designated his own son, Ayyūb, who, however, already died before his father (about the end of 98/717 or the beginning of 99/717). Ample space in the sources is given to accounts which attribute to Rad̲j̲āʾ b. Ḥaywa [*q.v.*]—a somewhat enigmatic figure appearing as a kind of court theologian or spiritual counsellor in the period from ʿAbd al-Malik to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—the leading role in securing the nomination of and the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] to ʿUmar II. Most of these traditions are connected more or less directly with Rad̲j̲āʾ b. Ḥaywa himself, and it is very likely that his role during the events in Dābiḳ at the time of Sulaymān's death has been exaggerated. More reasonable seems a succession of ʿUmar II by means of traditional patterns, like seniority and well-founded claims; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān had never denied the ones which he had.

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SULAYMĀN b. **ʿALĪ** b. **ʿABD ALLĀH**, early ʿAbbāsid prince and uncle of the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr [*q.vv.*], d. at Baṣra in D̲j̲umādā II 142/October 759 aged 59 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 141).

He was appointed governor of Baṣra, including also eastern Arabia and western Persia, by al-Saffāḥ in 133/750-1 (*ibid.*, iii, 73), and remained in this important power base until forced out of the governorship in 139/756. As one of the *ʿumūma* or paternal uncles, whose position vis-à-vis their nephews the caliphs was ambiguous, Sulaymān sheltered for many years the failed rebel ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], until ʿAbd Allāh was handed over to al-Manṣūr on a promise of *amān* or safety (promptly violated by the caliph), although al-Manṣūr did not encompass ʿAbd Allāh's death until after Sulaymān's own death.

Sulaymān and his family, including his sons Muḥammad and D̲j̲aʿfar, carried out extensive public works in order to develop the region of Baṣra, much enriching themselves in the process. Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd eventually confiscated the wealth and property of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, amounting to 60 million dirhams, on the latter's death in 173/789, as part of his policy of reducing the power of independent-minded members of the ʿAbbāsid family (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 607-8; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, vi, 289-92 = §§ 2496-7; etc.).

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SULAYMĀN b. al-**AS̲H̲ʿAT̲H̲** [see abū dāʾūd al-sid̲j̲istānī].

SULAYMĀN b. **DĀWŪD**, the biblical King Solomon, is an outstanding personality in Islamic legends.

There were, as the Arab histories recount, four great world-rulers, two of whom were infidels, Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar; and two of whom were believers, Alexander the Great and Solomon. Of these, the last was the most resplendent figure. Special emphasis was placed on his wonderful powers of magic and divination. The most puzzling riddles and the most abstruse subjects were within his ken. Perspicacity and discernment dwelt in his eyes; wisdom and justice were graven on his forehead. His knowledge was deeper than the Jordan Valley. In the Ḳurʾān itself he is frequently mentioned, and along with Alexander enjoys the distinction of being designated a true Apostle of God, a divine messenger and prototype of Muḥammad. The Ḳurʾānic passages tell how at an early age he even surpassed his father David [see dāwūd] in skilful administration of justice (XXI, 78, 79). When David died, Solomon was chosen from amongst the other sons as successor (XXVII, 16). He had admirable endowments. God had granted him esoteric knowledge. He was acquainted with the speech of birds and animals (XXVII, 16, 19), a tradition based on I Kings iv. 33. A strong wind was subjected to him (XXI, 81; XXXVIII, 36). It blew in the morning for a month, and in the evening for a month, while a fountain of molten brass was made to flow for his benefit (XXXIV, 12). At his command were legions of satans to do whatever he wished. They were employed, for example, in diving for pearls (XXI, 82; XXXVIII, 37). The *d̲j̲inn* were forced to work his will. If they disobeyed they were threatened with the pains of hell (XXXIV, 12). They constructed for him

shrines and statues and costly vessels (*ibid.*, 13). His armies were recruited from men and *d̲j̲inn* and birds. The hoopoe (*hudhud*) was the first to bring him tidings of the kingdom of Saba and of its illustrious queen, Bilḳīs [*q.v.*]. Solomon, as a prophet, corresponded with her and summoned her to Islam. And after an exhibition of his strength and wisdom, she submitted (XXVII, 20-44). The devils frequently sought to convict him of infidelity, but in vain (II, 101). On a certain occasion he failed in the observance of his religious duties, and that was when his admiration for his stud of horses led him to forget his prayers. In atonement he sacrificed them, cutting their legs and necks (XXXVIII, 31-3). For a time he seems to have lapsed into idolatry. As a punishment he lost his kingdom, his throne being occupied by some one in his own likeness. When he had asked forgiveness, he was restored to his place, and promised divine favour in Paradise (XXXVIII, 34, 35, 40). When he died he was resting on his staff, and no one knew of his death until a worm bored its way through the prop and the body collapsed. Then the *d̲j̲inn* were released from their labours (XXXIV, 14).

Later legendary lore has magnified all this material, which is chiefly Rabbinic in origin. Solomon's control over the *d̲j̲inn* and his use of them in his building operations are derived from the *Midras̲h̲* on Eccles., ii. 8. His kingdom is even made universal, perhaps after the analogy of that of the 40 (or 72) kings of the Pre-Adamite *d̲j̲inn*, who were each named Solomon (Lane, *Arabian nights*, Introd., n. 21; d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, v. 372). His renowned wisdom included "the wisdom" for which Egypt was famous, i.e. occult science. Pythagoras is said to have received his knowledge from Solomon in Egypt (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī ak̲h̲bār Miṣr*, i, 27). Solomon is said to have been the pupil of Mambres the Egyptian Theurgist (G.R.S. Mead, *Thrice-greatest Hermes*, iii, 283 n.). Hence his reputation in tales as a magician. This magic power of his was effected by means of a talismanic ring engraved with "the most great name" of God. Permission to use this was also vouchsafed to his *wazīr*, Āṣaf b. Barak̲h̲yā [*q.v.*], who transported the throne of Bilḳīs from S̲h̲eba to Jerusalem in the twinkling of an eye. Solomon was in the habit, when he performed his ablutions, of laying aside this ring from his finger, and entrusting it to one of his wives, Amīna. Ṣak̲h̲r, one of the Satanic spirits, assumed the form of the king, purloined the magic seal, and for forty days ruled, while Solomon was forced to wander as an outcast. The demon, however, lost the ring in the sea, whence Solomon recovered it when he cut open a fish which had swallowed it. Thus he regained his throne. It is said he was punished in this way because of the idolatry of the royal consort, D̲j̲arāda, the daughter of the king of Sidon. Some say the counterfeit body that occupied his throne was his son who died. The 13th of the month is regarded as unlucky because, on that day, Solomon was exiled by God. The Persian *Nawrūz* festival [*q.v.*] and its customs are said to date from the restoration of Solomon to his kingdom (al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology of ancient nations*, ed. Sachau, 199). Because he boasted that 1,000 wives would bear him 1,000 warrior sons, he had one son only who was misshapen, with one hand, one eye, one ear, and one foot. Then in humility he prayed to God, and his son was made whole. In his capacity of warrior, he conquered many kingdoms (al-Bayḍāwī, v, 19).

Some of the marvellous works of Solomon may be briefly mentioned. Shortly after his accession he was in a valley between Hebron and Jerusalem, when he received his authority over winds, water, demons and animals from the four guardian angels in charge of these spheres. Each one gave him a jewel which he placed in a ring composed partly of brass and iron. With the brass he sealed his orders for the good *d̲j̲inn*, while with the iron he sealed his orders for the evil *d̲j̲inn*. The seal is said to have held a mandrake (J.G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii, 390). Solomon's seal (*k̲h̲ātam Sulaymān*) is a common charm, in the form of a six-pointed star, often inscribed on drinking cups. The Table of Solomon (*mā'idat Sulaymān*) and other marvellous relics, according to legend, found their way to Spain, where they were discovered by Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād at the capture of Toledo [see ṬULAYṬULA]. They had been taken from Jerusalem as booty (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Annales du Maghreb*, ed. Fagnan, 37 ff.; al-Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, *Chronique*, ed. Zotenberg, iv, 183; Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i, 5). The Table was made of green beryl, had 360 legs, and was inlaid with pearls and rubies. There was also a magic mirror which revealed all places in the world (Carra de Vaux, *Abrégé des Merveilles*, 122).

The blocks of stone for the building of the Temple were hewn by means of the miraculous pebble Samur (*S̲h̲amir*) which the demon Ṣak̲h̲r procured from the sea-eagle. Solomon sheltered himself from the heat of the sun under a canopy composed of all the birds of the air. A magic carpet of green silk for aerial transportation was woven for him. On this he could leave Syria with all his equipment in the morning, and reach Afg̲h̲ānistān by evening. Untold wealth of precious stones and gold and silver was accumulated with the help of the servile d̲j̲inn. They also assisted him in erecting palaces, fortresses, baths and reservoirs. Various relics of these operations are pointed out in Palestine, Arabia and elsewhere (see *Revue des traditions populaires*, ix, 190; Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 56, 76, 84, 85). He had 1,000 glass-roofed houses containing 300 couches and 700 wives (al-T̲h̲a'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 204). Besides the building of the Temple, during which he outwitted the d̲j̲inn, the Farther Mosque is likewise claimed as his work (Mīrk̲h̲ʷānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, ii/1, 76). He is even credited with founding a mosque in Alexandria (al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, i, 37). Part of his leisure time was spent in acquiring the art of basket-weaving, that he might have some means of earning a livelihood if the need arose (Mīrk̲h̲ʷānd, *op. cit.*, 79). The tradition seems Rabbinic in character. His throne was constructed of pure gold. The whole natural world was so completely under his sway that, on one occasion, the sun stood still to enable him to say his evening prayers. The evil d̲j̲inn he imprisoned in vessels of lead (cf. Zech., v. 8). 'Ayd̲h̲āb, on the Red Sea, was assigned by him as a place of incarceration for the demons (Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw, *op. cit.*, 297). His knowledge of the speech of the animal world enabled him at times to display his clemency. Once he turned aside his armed hosts in order to avoid smashing the eggs of a bird; while on another occasion, he had compassion on a colony of ants (al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 199; sūra XXVII, 17, 18).

A claim is put forward that he invented the Arabic and Syriac scripts, and that he was the author of many Arabic treatises on magic. He is compared with D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd, and there were, undoubtedly, Iranian influences at work in the Solomon saga. His personal appearance is variously given, e.g. as "a large-headed man riding on a horse" (Mīrk̲h̲ʷānd, ii/1, 83), and as being "fair, well-built, of lustrous beauty, with a plentiful supply of hair, and clothed in white garments" (al-T̲h̲a'labī, *op. cit.*, 254). When he died he

was aged 53, having reigned for forty years. The exact location of his tomb is uncertain. Some place it in Jerusalem, in the Ḳubbat al-Ṣak̲h̲ra; others near the Sea of Tiberias. The Prophet said (according to al-Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, *Chronique*, i, 60) that it was "in the midst of the sea ... in a palace excavated in a rock. This palace contains a throne on which Solomon is placed with the royal ring on his finger appearing as though he were alive, protected by twelve guardians, night and day. No one hath arrived at his tomb except two persons, Affān and Buluḳiya" (Lane, *op. cit.*, xx, 96; see Mīrk̲h̲ʷānd, 102-3). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (*Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayan folklore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, iii, 418; idem, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii, 476-7). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W.B. Stevenson, in *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, Glasgow 1920, 104-5, and the references therein. The Ethiopic legends of Solomon and Mākedā, Queen of ʿAzēb, may be found in C. Bezold, *Kebra Negast*, and in E.W. Wallis Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelik* [see bilḳīs]. Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in al-T̲h̲aʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 202; Jacques de Vitry, in *PPTS*, 17.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see for older works the Bibl. to the *EI*[1] art., the salient items here being T̲h̲aʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 200 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 572-97; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, i, 111-12 = § 106. Of additional references and more modern works, see Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, *The Tales of the Prophet of al-Kisaʾi*, Boston 1978, 288-308 and index; G. Salzberger, *Salomons Tempelbau und Thron in der semitischen Sagenliteratur*, Berlin 1912; J. Walker, *Bible characters in the Koran*, Paisley 1931; D. Sidersky, *Les légendes musulmanes de la Bible*, Paris 1933; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen in Qoran*, Grafenhainischen 1938, repr. Hildesheim 1961; H.J. Hirschberg, in *Eretz-Israel*, iii (1954), 213-20 [in Hebr.]; idem, art. *Solomon, in Islam*, in *Encycl. Judaica* (Jerusalem), xv, 108; P. Soucek, *The Temple of Solomon in Islamic legend and art*, in J. Gutmann (ed.), *The Temple of Solomon. Archeological fact and medieval tradition in Christian, Islamic and Jewish art*, Missoula 1976, 72-123; J. Pirenne, *Bilqis et Salomon. La Reine de Saba dans le Coran et la Bible*, in *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, xxxiii (1979), 6-10; C. Schedl, *Sulaiman und die Königin von Saba: logotechnische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Sure 27, 17-44*, in *Al-Hudhud. Festschrift für M. Höfner zum 80. Geburtstag*, Graz 1981, 305-24; H. Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and extra-biblical legends in Islamic folk-literature*, Walldorf 1982; D. König and H. Venzlaff, *Salomo und das Rätsel der Perle*, in *Isl.*, lxii (1985), 298-310; A.H. Johns, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's treatment of the Quranic telling of the story*, in *Abr-Nahrain*, xxiv (1986), 58-82; S.S. Ali, *King Solomon's strategy of deception*, in *IQ*, xxiv (1990), 59-65; P. Soucek, *Solomon's throne/Solomon's bath: model or metaphor?*, in *Ars Orientalis*, xxiii (1993), 109-34.

Solomon figures prominently in manuals of practical magic, and likewise plays an important role in Islamic esotericism, notably in Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (partial tr. T. Burckhardt, *La sagesse des prophètes*, Paris 1968; full tr. R. Austin, *The Bezels of Wisdom*, Ramsey, N.J. 1981) and the school of his commentators, in which he incarnates the "word of the mercy-bestowing wisdom".

(J. Walker-[P. Fenton])

SULAYMĀN b. D̲J̲ARĪR al-RAḲḲĪ, Zaydī *kalām* theologian from al-Raḳḳa, active in the second half of the 2nd/8th century. Little is known about his life. He is said to have pledged allegiance to the ʿAlid pretender Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan and participated in debates with His̲h̲ām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], Ḍirār b. ʿAmr [*q.v.*], and the Ibāḍī ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd in the circle of the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. K̲h̲ālid. In legendary reports he is accused of having poisoned the ʿAlid Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh in the Mag̲h̲rib at the instigation of the caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd or of Yaḥyā b. K̲h̲ālid. Although such reports were transmitted even by Zaydīs, their reliability is doubtful.

In his doctrine on the imāmate, Sulaymān stood near the Batriyya [*q.v.* in Suppl.], among whom he is sometimes included, although in some respects he came closer to the more radical D̲j̲ārūdiyya [*q.v.*]. In agreement with the Batriyya, he denied that there had been a divinely-inspired appointment (*naṣṣ*) of ʿAlī by Muḥammad and held that the imām should be chosen by consultation (*s̲h̲ūrā*). ʿAlī was, however, entitled to the imāmate after Muḥammad because of his impeccability (*ʿiṣma*). In choosing the less excellent (*mafḍūl*), sc. Abū Bakr, the community had committed an error (*k̲h̲aṭaʾ*), which did not, however, amount to a grave offence (*fisḳ*). Obedience to the "less excellent" imām, once properly chosen, was obligatory so long as he displayed sound knowledge and good conduct. ʿUt̲h̲mān had lost legitimacy by his reprehensible acts. After ʿAlī, his and Fāṭima's descendants were entitled to the imāmate by *s̲h̲ūrā* because of their collective authority in religion.

In his theology Sulaymān espoused predestination, while attempting to avoid determinism. He thus held that God was from eternity angry at the infidels and pleased with the faithful, but, against the Sunnī traditionalist doctrine, God did not will acts of disobedience. Human ability to act (*istiṭāʿa*) exists before the act and is used up by it. Sulaymān was opposed to anthropomorphism and interpreted the Ḳurʾānic face (*wad̲j̲h*) of God as God's self. Against Muʿtazilī doctrine, however, he affirmed the reality of divine attributes of knowledge, power, will, etc., describing them as neither identical with Him nor other than Him. About the nature of the Ḳurʾān, he seems to have taught that whatever constituted divine knowledge in it was uncreated and whatever constituted command or prohibition was created.

After his death, Sulaymān's theological school prevailed in ʿĀnāt, but his followers there were converted to Muʿtazilism by D̲j̲aʿfar b. Mubas̲h̲s̲h̲ir (d. 234/848-9). Later Zaydī tradition was generally hostile towards his teaching, and the Imām al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ wrote a refutation of his predestinarian views.

Bibliography: (Ps.) Nās̲h̲iʾ, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, in J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut 1971, 44-5; K̲h̲ayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. H.S. Nyberg, Cairo 1925, 68; Nawbak̲h̲tī, *Firāḳ al-S̲h̲īʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 9, 55-7; As̲h̲ʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-33, index; C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imāmat Zaidite au Yemen*, Leiden 1960, esp. 80-2; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, esp. 61-6; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin 1991-, ii, 472-85, v, 53-62.

(W. Madelung)

SULAYMĀN b. ḤASAN (d. 1005/1597), the grandson of Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, the twenty-fourth *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs, was a deputy of Dāwūd b. ʿAd̲j̲abs̲h̲āh (d. 997/1589), the twenty-sixth *dāʿī*, in Muk̲h̲ā [*q.v.*], the famous coffee port and a great trade centre on the Red Sea coast of Yaman. Three years after the succession of Dāwūd b. Ḳuṭbs̲h̲āh as the twenty-seventh

dāʿī, Sulaymān claimed the succession for himself. The great majority of the community in India upheld the succession of Dāwūd b. Ḳuṭbs͟hāh, whereas a minority, mainly in Yaman, accepted Sulaymān's claim. Because of this schism the former became known as the Dāwūdīs while the latter as the Sulaymānīs [*q.v.*].

Contemporary Dāwūdī sources give a detailed account of this schism, which is corroborated by independent Mug͟hal sources in its main outlines. The Sulaymānī sources, on the other hand, are spotty and apologetic. According to these sources, two widows of the late Dāwūd b. ʿAdjabs͟hāh, their two sons, and a confidential scribe of the late *dāʿī*, were accused of embezzling money from the treasury. To counteract those charges, the accused schemed to challenge Dāwūd b. Ḳuṭbs͟hāh's authority by forging a document of succession in favour of Sulaymān by using the stolen seal of the late *dāʿī*, a plan in which their kinsman by marriage, Sulaymān, acquiesced. Sulaymān then announced his claim as the twenty-seventh *dāʿī*, but the plot was uncovered and Sulaymān was dismissed from his position. Unable to garner support in Muk͟hā, Sulaymān went to Ḥarāz, was rebuffed by the chief deputy of the *dāʿī* in Yaman and others, hence went to Nadjrān, inhabited by the influential Banū Yām [*q.v.*], a subdivision of the large and ancient tribe Hamdān who had embraced the Ismāʿīlī faith, and succeeded in winning their support. Soon he was imprisoned by the Turkish authorities, until after three years he managed to escape and fled to India. He arrived in Aḥmadābād in 1003/1595 and tried to assert his claim by resorting to litigation against Dāwūd b. Ḳuṭbs͟hāh at the court of the Mug͟hal emperor Akbar. But before the case was decided in favour of Dāwūd, Sulaymān died in Lahore on 25 Ramaḍān 1005/12 May 1597; his body was taken to Aḥmadābād and interred there.

He was an eloquent speaker and wrote several works on Ismāʿīlī doctrines, asserting his claim and refuting that of his opponents, but most of them are lost.

Bibliography: I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 242-4; Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs. Their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 304-5 (his statement that Dāwūd b. ʿAdjabs͟hāh died in 999/1591, or in 997/1589 according to the Sulaymānīs, is incorrect), 318; Ismāʿīldjī Badripresswala (ed.), *Ak͟hbārud duʿātil akramīn* (in Gudjarātī), Rajkot 1356/1937, 110-68. See also SULAYMĀNĪS.

(I. POONAWALA)

SULAYMĀN B. **KATHĪR** al-K͟huzāʿī, Abū Muḥammad, *dāʿī* of the Hās͟himiyya in K͟hurāsān.

He figures as an authority on Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's campaign in Djurdjān in 98/716-17, and it was perhaps as a member of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's army that he left Kūfa for K͟hurāsān, where his brother Djābir or Ḥārit͟ha b. Kat͟hīr campaigned against the Turks in 106/724-5, and where his father, Kat͟hīr b. Umayya, fell in battle against the Turks as an old man in 119/737 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1323, 1480, 1601 [wrongly Kat͟hīr Abū Umayya]). Sulaymān himself was *min ahl al-dīwān* in Marw when he was recruited for the Hās͟himī cause, allegedly in 100/718-19, by Bukayr b. Māhān, a *mawlā* who had himself participated in Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's campaign in Djurdjān (*Ak͟hbār al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*, ed. ʿA.-ʿA. al-Dūrī and ʿA.-Dj. al-Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 191, 199). Sulaymān recruited his son, brothers, brothers-in-law and other K͟huzāʿīs, as well as some prominent non-K͟huzāʿīs, for the movement and rose to the position of *naḳīb* (*ibid.*, 202, 216, 219, 220, 271; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1954, 1358; al-Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, iii, 115 [makes him a *mawlā* of K͟huzāʿa]). He was arrested in 117/735-6 along with other *dāʿīs*, but soon released (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1586 ff.), and was the prime leader of the *daʿwa* until the arrival of Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], whose take-over he opposed and who liquidated both him and his son after the accession of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās in 132/750 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1960 ff., iii, 61; *Ak͟hbār*, 271 ff., cf. 220; al-Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, iii, 168).

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(PATRICIA CRONE)

SULAYMĀN B. **ḲUTULMÎS͟H** b. Arslan Isrāʾīl, member of the Saldjūḳ family and founder of the sultanate of Rūm (d. 479/1086).

His father was killed in 456/1064 during a succession struggle with his kinsman Alp Arslan [*q.v.*], and at least four of his sons appear to have escaped eventually to the west (see Cl. Cahen, *Qutlumush et ses fils avant l'Asie Mineure*, in *Isl.*, xxxix [1964], 14-27; on the form of the name Ḳutulmîs͟h, see *ibid.*, 14 n. 1, and M.F. Köprülü, *Türk onomastique'i hakkında*, in *İstanbul Üniv. Edebiyat Fak. Tarih Dergisi*, i [1950], 227-30). Sulaymān, the most prominent of them, appears in 467/1074 as the chief of a large group of Türkmens in Anatolia (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī [the most important source on his life], *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, ed. Ali Sevim, Ankara 1968, 174-5; cf. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure*, in *Byzantion*, xviii [1948], 5-67).

After an abortive attempt to intervene in Syrian affairs (see Sevim, *Suriye ve Filistin Selçuklulan tarihi*, Ankara 1983, 68-70), Sulaymān withdrew into Anatolia, and taking advantage of the confusion there and the collapse of the Byzantine defence system after Malāzgird [*q.v.*], he moved westwards with his Türkmen followers, and took possession of Nicaea and its environs, perhaps as early as 467/1075 (al-ʿAẓīmī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, ed. Ali Sevim, Ankara 1988, 16). Greek sources state that the Emperor Michael VII hired Sulaymān to help crush the rebellion of Nicephorus Botaniates, the general in command of Anatolia, but that Sulaymān in fact joined the latter, so that with Türkmen assistance, Botaniates achieved the throne in Constantinople in 1078. Sulaymān, meanwhile, from his base at Nicaea was able to overrun most of western and central Anatolia (see the Greek sources in S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley, etc. 1971, 105-6). An expedition sent against him by the Great Saldjūḳ Sultan Malik S͟hāh under Bursuḳ [*q.vv.*] failed to bring Sulaymān to heel, although it killed his brother Manṣūr, and, since Alexius Comnenus had to withdraw troops from Anatolia for the Balkans, the Emperor concluded a treaty with Sulaymān acknowledging his suzerainty in the territories under his control (Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, tr. E.R.A. Sewter, Harmondsworth 1969, 198). Around this time, Greek sources refer to Sulaymān as "sultan"; unfortunately, no coins of his have come to light.

Sulaymān now turned his ambitions eastwards, possibly with the intention of challenging Malik S͟hāh

for control of the Saldjūḳ empire, and attacked Cilicia and northern Syria, capturing Anṭākiya (Antioch) in 477/1084 and turning the cathedral there into a mosque (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, x, 138-9; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahan, ii, 86-8; Ibn Shaddād, *al Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra*, tr. A.-M. Eddé Terrasse, *Description de la Syrie du Nord*, Damascus 1984, 243-5; Sevim, *op. cit.*, 107-12). Four years later he was able to kill the ʿUḳaylid ruler of Mawṣil and Aleppo, Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, but this provoked a powerful reaction from Tutush b. Alp Arslan [*q.v.*], ruler of Syria, and his commander Artuḳ defeated and killed Sulaymān in a battle near Aleppo in Ṣafar 479/June 1086, capturing Sulaymān's son Ḳilīdj Arslan also (Sibṭ, 236-40; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, 97-9; Sevim, *op. cit.*, 119-26). The latter only succeeded in escaping to Anatolia after Sultan Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092.

Sulaymān emerges as a proto-typical Türkmen chief, operating independently on the frontiers of the Saldjūḳ empire; there is no evidence that it was Malik Shāh who originally sent him to conquer and rule Anatolia.

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SULAYMĀN b. **MIHRĀN** [see al-aʿmash].

SULAYMĀN b. **ṢURAD** b. al-Djawn al-Khuzāʿī, Abu ('l-)Muṭarrif, leader of the pro-ʿAlid Tawwābūn ("penitents") movement [*q.v.*]. There is disagreement whether he was a *ṣaḥābī* or a *tābiʿī*. The former is the prevalent view; according to most biographical sources he was originally called Yasār, was given the name Sulaymān by the Prophet, and was 93 years old when he died. Lammens suggested that reports of Sulaymān's longevity were circulated in order to reinforce the claim that he was a Companion (*Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, Beirut 1921, 129, n. 3).

Sulaymān was among the early settlers of Kūfa, where he built a *dār* on land allotted to his tribe. Together with other *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*], he protested against the land policy of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*]. A number of sources report that Sulaymān fought alongside ʿAlī at the Battle of the Camel; others maintain that he was not present and was rebuked by the caliph for his absence. There is general agreement that he participated in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. Sulaymān strongly objected to the arbitration agreement, was critical of al-Ḥasan for abdicating in favour of Muʿāwiya and, after al-Ḥasan's death, unsuccessfully attempted to prevail upon al-Ḥusayn to rise against the Umayyad caliph. After Muʿāwiya's death, Sulaymān was the first signatory of a letter in which the Kūfans urged al-Ḥusayn to come to Kūfa; he was also among those who did not come to al-Ḥusayn's aid.

Abū Mikhnaf (as cited by al-Ṭabarī) reports that after the Karbalāʾ massacre, five leaders of the Tawwābūn met at Sulaymān's home in al-Kūfa and nominated him as their commander (*amīr al-tawwābīn*). Sulaymān obtained messages of support from the Shīʿīs of al-Madāʾin and Baṣra, but the movement remained clandestine until the death of Yazīd (Rabīʿ I 64/November 683). At that point, the *ashrāf* of Kūfa expelled ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī (ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād's deputy in al-Kūfa) and recognised Ibn al-Zubayr as caliph. Ibn al-Zubayr appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭmī al-Anṣārī as governor of Kūfa. One week before Ibn Yazīd's arrival, al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*] entered the town. Al-Mukhtār called on the Shīʿīs of Kūfa to support him in seeking vengeance for al-Ḥusayn, and dismissed Sulaymān as a useless old man who had no experience of politics or warfare and who would only get himself and his followers killed. Al-Mukhtār won the support of some Shīʿīs, but most remained loyal to Sulaymān, whom they regarded as *shaykh al-shīʿa*, and Sulaymān made preparations to meet the Syrian army which had been dispatched to the Djazīra.

According to Abū Mikhnaf, Sulaymān and his party of horsemen left Kūfa on 1 Rabīʿ II 65/15 November 684 and camped at al-Nukhayla [*q.v.*]. Sulaymān checked the register (*dīwān*) of those who had given him the oath of allegiance and found that of 16,000 (or 12,000) who were listed there, only 4,000 had joined him. The party left al-Nukhayla three days later and proceeded to Aḳsās Mālik (on the bank of the Euphrates), where Sulaymān discovered that another thousand or so were missing. The following morning they arrived at al-Ḥusayn's tomb at Karbalāʾ, and then eventually reached Ḳarḳīsiyā [*q.v.*]. The town's ruler, the Ḳaysī Zufar b. al-Ḥārith, advised Sulaymān to get to ʿAyn al-Warda [see raʾs al-ʿayn] before ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād in order to gain control of its springs, and there to await the Syrians in fortified positions; Sulaymān followed this advice.

The first skirmishes between the two sides took place a few days after the Tawwābūn had reached ʿAyn al-Warda, with Sulaymān's men inflicting casualties on the Syrian army. Then ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dispatched al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr [*q.v.*] at the head of an army of 12,000 men. Fighting broke out on 22 Djumādā I 65/4 January 685. On the first day Sulaymān's men were successful, but very soon the Umayyads brought up reinforcements of about 10,000 men. In the ensuing battle, a large number of Syrians were killed or wounded, but Sulaymān was fatally wounded by an arrow (24 Djumādā I 65/6 January 685). In accordance with the instructions which Sulaymān gave in advance, al-Musayyab b. Nadjaba took command and fought on until he too was killed; the battle ended in complete defeat for the Tawwābūn.

From Abū Mikhnaf's account, it emerges that about six weeks passed between Sulaymān's departure from Kūfa and his death. This is contradicted by the information in al-Balādhurī. Here, too, the date of Sulaymān's departure from Kūfa is given as 1 Rabīʿ II 65/15 November 684; yet the first encounters between the Syrians and the Tawwābūn are said to have taken place some time after the death of Marwān five months later (*Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, 204, 210, 298-9). If these reports are to be trusted, then Sulaymān's death may well have occurred in the spring or summer of 65/685, i.e. at least several months after the date given in al-Ṭabarī.

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Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1379/1960, ii, 257-9; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, ed. M.B. al-Maḥmūdī, Beirut 1397/1977, 48, 149, 151, 157, v, ed. S.D.F. Goitein, index; Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, Beirut 1406/1986, i, 499, ii, 120, iii, 224-8, 230-2, 236-40, 243-6; Ṭabarī, index; Ps.-Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, Beirut 1401/1981, i, 163-5; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 1976, 1979, 1981, 1982; idem, *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf*, Beirut 1993, 285; al-Mufīd, *K. al-Djamal*, Nadjaf 1368, 36; idem, *K. al-Irshād*, Beirut 1399/1979, 203, tr. I.K.A. Howard, London 1981, 303; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ*, Beirut 1408/1988, 171-2; Ṭūsī, *Ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1381/1961, 20, 43, 68; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 649-51; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, i, 200-2; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿAṭā and Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿAṭā, Beirut 1412/1992, vi, 35-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *Taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1385-6/1965-6, index; idem, *Usd al-ghāba*, Tehran n.d., ii, 351; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-duwal*, Beirut n.d. [1978-9], 111; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, ed. ʿU.ʿA.-S. Tadmurī, v, Beirut 1410/1990, 45-8, 122-3; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, viii, 251-5; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, iv, 200-1; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ed. ʿA.-K. al-Arnāʾūṭ and M. al-Arnāʾūṭ, Beirut 1406-14/1986-93, i, 290; Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1956-74, xlv, 355-61; J. Wellhausen, *The religio-political factions in early Islam*, tr. R.C. Ostle and S.M. Walzer, Amsterdam etc. 1975, index; al-Māmaḳānī, *Tanḳīḥ al-maḳāl*, Nadjaf 1349-52/1930-3, § 5218; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, vii, Beirut 1406/1986, 298-301; A.A. Dixon, *The Umayyad caliphate 65-86/684-705*, London 1971, index; S.H.M. Jafri, *The origins and early development of Shiʿa Islam*, London and New York 1979, index; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, index; M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1983, 103-4; M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, index; G.R. Hawting, *Two citations of the Qurʾān in "historical" sources for early Islam*, in G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (eds.), *Approaches to the Qurʾān*, London and New York 1993, 260-8; H. Halm, *Der schiitische Islam*, Munich 1994, 30-2.

(E. Kohlberg)

SULAYMĀN B. WAHB [see WAHB].

SULAYMĀN B. YAḤYĀ, nicknamed Ibn Abi 'l-Zawāʾid, minor Medinan poet of the period straddling the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid dynasties. He was of Arab origin from the tribe of the Saʿd b. Bakr (Hawāzin) and seems to have owed his nickname to a malformation of the legs (fleshy excrescences showing on the legs); in *al-Aghānī* (xv, 34), the poet is nicknamed *dhu 'l-zawāʾid* ("he who has fleshy excrescences"). The ancient sources, with one exception only, are silent regarding him; *K. al-Waraḳa* and the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, while mentioning numerous Baghdādī artisans of the same social level as Ibn Abi 'l-Zawāʾid, simply ignore all extra-ʿIrāḳi literary activity.

Biographical information concerning him is by no means negligible: the major part of his life was spent in Medina. In spite of his responsibilities as *imām* of the great mosque of the city, he led an active social life; he frequented the houses of *ḳaynas*, inns (*Aghānī*, xiv, 127) and the promenades of Medina (*ibid.*, 128-9), accompanied by *udabāʾ* (Ibn Daʾb), poets (Ibn Abi 'l-Saʿlāt) and members of the Medinan aristocracy (Thābit, al-Zubayr and Khubayb, great-grandson of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr). During the reign of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) he made his way to Baghdād, but did not enjoy life there, as is shown by a poem in eight verses which he composed, bemoaning the irritations caused by the fleas of the great metropolis and expressing nostalgia for his natal town (*ibid.*, 126); the light-hearted tone is indistinguishable from that of verses evoking the same motif attested in the poetry of *al-ḥanīn ilā 'l-awṭān* from the 2nd/8th century onward (al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938-58, v, 385-92). The place and date of his death are both unknown.

The wife, the spouse, but also the mistress and the singing slave-girl, constitute the basic theme of what survives of his poetry; the spouse is evoked here as an old, hideous and decrepit woman, and the tone is extremely coarse (*Aghānī*, xiv, 123-5), in a manner reminiscent of the poems of the Kūfan Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmmār al-Asadī; the *ḳayna* poems reveal an ambivalent attitude: hatred and fear in relation to the sin of fornication (*ibid.*, xiv, 123), while on the other hand he sings the praises of Baṣaṣ, the *djāriya* of Ibn al-Nafīs, who has been bought by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. As for the mistress, here he displays a delicacy which is at odds with the other verses dedicated to the wife.

Bibliography: Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 449; *al-Aghānī*[3], xv, 27, 34. (Ed.)

SULAYMĀN B. YASĀR [see FUḲAHĀʾ AL-MADĪNA, in Suppl.].

SULAYMĀN AL-MAHRĪ, in full Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Mahrī, an Indian Ocean sea captain (*muʿallim al-baḥr*) of the 16th century A.D. Attributed to him are five treatises on navigation which were translated into Turkish by the author and admiral Sīdī ʿAlī Čelebi [*q.v.*] and included in his work *al-Muḥīṭ* written in 1554. According to Sīdī Čelebi, Sulaymān finished the treatise called *ʿUmda* in 917/1511. He was a native of Shiḥr [*q.v.*] and was dead by the time Sīdī Čelebi was writing. That is all that is known of him personally. However, he was probably a pupil of Aḥmad b. Mādjid [see IBN MĀDJID] in the late 1400s. He quotes Ibn Mādjid and builds the structure of his works on the form derived from the latter's work. The Arabic form of these treatises has survived, together with the earlier treatises of Ibn Mādjid in several manuscripts. Those which include the works of Sulaymān are four, (a) Paris, B.N. Arabe 2559 (dated 961/1554); (b) Leiden no. 8660 (2) (dated 1059/1649); (c) Yale Arab ms. 1480, 1535, 1536-7 (dated 1097/1686); while the fourth is in private possession in Bahrain (dated 1091/1680). The treatises are named (1) *al-ʿUmda al-Mahriyya fī ḍabṭ al-ʿilm al-baḥriyya*; (2) *al-Manhadj al-fākhir fī ʿilm al-baḥr al-zākhir*; (3) *Tuḥfat al-fuḥūl fī tamhīd al-uṣūl*; (4) *Sharḥ al-tuḥfa*; (5) *Ḳilādat al-shumūs wa'stikhrādj al-usus.*

The *ʿUmda al-Mahriyya* is the earliest of these works, and is quoted by both the *Tuḥfa* and the *Manhadj*. It quotes the *Ḥāwiya* of Ibn Mādjid, the plan of which is followed approximately by Sulaymān in his work. A skeletal plan is noticeable in all these navigational works, but the authors have great difficulty in keeping to the subject. The *ʿUmda*, however, is the work which keeps closest to a plan, although even here Sulaymān gets side-tracked easily. Unlike Ibn Mādjid, who had literary ambitions, Sulaymān's style is simple and straightforward. His aim was to produce a treatise which would be of practical use for a navigator sailing in the Indian Ocean. His intention was to take the main points of navigational science as chapter headings and then include everything relating to each point in the relevant chapter. This, as noted above, he finds difficult, but his final order of headings is Ch. 1, first principles, properties of the heavenly sphere, stars used by navigators as rhumbs

(*akhnān*) and as Pole Star altitude measurements (*kiyās*), i.e. a chapter of general theory. Ch. II, use of stars as compass bearings. Ch. III, bearings between ports around the coasts of the Indian Ocean. Ch. IV, bearings around islands. Ch. V, list of values of Pole Star altitudes for ports of the world. Ch. VI, monsoon seasons for sailing out from various ports. Ch. VII, descriptions of routes throughout the Ocean.

This arrangement is not very logical, and lends itself to confusion. Sulaymān was not satisfied with the result. He began a second work, the *Tuḥfat al-fuḥūl*, in which he intended to write down only the theory of navigation, omitting the lists of Pole Star altitude results and tables of bearings which are found in the *ʿUmda*. This was a short treatise taking only six folios in the Paris ms. Its chapters are arranged in a logical sequence and it gives only the basic theory necessary for navigation. The order of chapters is 1. Generalities, 2. Compass bearings, 3. the *ẓām*, 4. Types of routes, 5. *ḳiyās* theory, 6. Theory of *masāfāt* (distances measured along the line of latitude), 7. Theory of winds. Later, Sulaymān complemented this with a "commentary" (*sharḥ*) similar to the commentaries of classical writers written round the Ḳurʾān or some legal work. Of this he seems to have been proud, and it was probably his last work. However, it does not help either the scholar or the Indian Ocean navigator who already has the original *Tuḥfa*. For although it was five times as long as the original work, it had little more to say. He states a sentence from the *Tuḥfa*, prefixing it with the word *ḳultu* ("I have said"), and then after the word *aḳūlu* ("now I say"), he expands it, stretching out phrases, sometimes to great length, attempting to explain something which was quite clear before. Rarely does he clear up any obscure point; occasionally he adds something which he has omitted in the *Tuḥfa* but which occurs in one of the other works. Therefore, with the other works in one's possession, the commentary to the *Tuḥfa* is completely unnecessary.

The list of results (latitudes, bearings etc.) which were in the *ʿUmda*, but which he omitted when completing the *Tuḥfa*, were reserved for the *Manhadj al-fākhir*. Although this work may contain corrections to actual values it is not as rewarding for the modern scholar as the *ʿUmda*. It loses that straightforward plan of theory plus results equals descriptions of set voyages, which the navigator would appreciate and perhaps Ibn Mādjid himself might have been aiming for but never actually achieved. The real value of the *Manhadj* is that corrected values give a more accurate picture of those parts of the Indian Ocean in the higher latitudes, i.e. around Djidda, Raʾs al-Ḥadd and Chittagong (Shātīdjām). It also gives distances along the line of latitude (*masāfāt*) not listed before except incompletely in Ibn Mādjid's *Ḥāwiya*. It also has a section on birds, seaweed, etc. (*ishārāt*) which was not given in the *ʿUmda*, but at this stage, Sulaymān has begun to lose his purpose again and a section on the revolutions of the sun and moon is irrelevant. This material is not strictly navigational, and introduces theory which has been avoided so far in the *Manhadj*. Theory of winds and cyclones is out of place here, although a list of specific types of wind would be relevant. What one might expect would be a list of sailing dates which depend on the monsoon winds. Sulaymān closes the *Manhadj* with a revised survey of the set voyages in South-East Asia and the Bay of Bengal, although not the rest of the Ocean. We have no universal series of sailing directions as we are given in the *ʿUmda*, and generally, the *Manhadj* is inferior when compared with the former work.

One other treatise remains. This is the *Ḳilādat al-shumūs*, which gives calculations necessary for converting Muslim years to solar, Byzantine, Coptic and Persian years and vice-versa. As the seasons for sailing—in fact, all navigational dates—are given in days after the Persian (Yazdigirdian) Nawrūz, this treatise has a very practical advantage. It consists of just over two folios of important formulae, written clearly after the manner of the *ʿUmda* and it is possible that it comes from the same period as the latter work.

Bibliography: For his *EI*[1] art. on Sulaymān, G. Ferrand worked entirely from the Paris mss. A French version of this article appeared in *Annales de Geographie*, xxxii, 298-312, as *Les instructions nautiques de Sulaymān al-Mahrī*. The Arabic text of Sulaymān's work was published from the B.N. ms. by Ferrand as *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, 3 vols., Paris 1921-8. A critical edition of the four ms. versions of the texts was prepared by Ibrahim Khoury, *Arab nautical sciences: navigational texts and their analysis* (*al-ʿUlūm al-baḥriyya ʿind al-ʿarab*), 4 vols., Damascus 1970-2. There are no complete translations of Sulaymān's works into European languages, only extracts in works on geography, navigation, etc. These are many, but the most detailed are probably in Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, 2 vols., Paris 1913-14; G.R. Tibbetts, *A study of the Arabic texts containing material on South-east Asia*, London 1979. The Turkish text of Sīdī Čelebi's *Muḥīṭ*, which includes what is virtually a translation of Sulaymān's five works, is not in print but only appears in partial translation in English by J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Extracts from the Moḥīṭ, that is the Ocean, a Turkish work on navigation in the Indian Seas*, in *JASB* (1834), 545-53, (1836), 441-68, (1837), 805-12, (1838), 767-80, (1839), 823-30, and in German by M. Bittner and W. Tomaschek, *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels, Moḥīṭ*, Vienna 1897. Detailed bibls. can be found in works on Arab Indian Ocean navigation in the 16th-17th centuries such as T. Shumovskiy, *Kniga pol'z ob osnovakh i pravilakh morskoy nauki*, Moscow 1985; G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, and in the work of I. Khoury mentioned above. Other works of interest are given in the bibliographies to the arts. IBN MĀDJID and MILĀḤA. Useful works in Arabic are A.I. al-Nashamī, *al-Milāḥa fi 'l-khalīdj al-ʿarabī*, Kuwait 1969 and Ḥasan Ṣāliḥ Shihāb, *Fann al-milāḥa ʿind al-ʿarab*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1982.

(G.R. TIBBETTS)

SULAYMĀN PASHA, AL-FARANSAWĪ (Sèves or Sève Pasha, 1788-1860), one of the French officers serving in Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's [*q.v.*] army.

Joseph Anthelme Sève was the son of a Lyons draper. When fifteen years old, he enlisted as a gunner in the French army, and later served in the Hussars. He fought in Napoleon's Prussian campaign (1806-7) and was promoted to the rank of adjutant, and during the "Hundred Days" (1814), he served on the staff of Marshal Grouchy. Dismissed by the royal government, he went to Egypt in 1815, and was eventually attached to the staff of Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. Sève became an instructor of the infantry, consisting of Albanian, Syrian and Maghribī "Arab" as well as "Turkish" Ottoman subjects. He established a training camp at Aswān [see USWĀN], where from 1823 onwards he was able to form six regiments of infantry, and was given the title of *Bey*. From 1824 to 1827,

he served under Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a in the Morea [see MORA] against the Hellenic insurgents. In 1831 he became a major-general. He served in the war against the Ottoman Sultan, and distinguished himself in the battle of Konya (1248/1832), upon which he became a *Pas̲h̲a*, afterwards successfully organising the retreat to Suez.

In his later years, he was relegated to minor tasks. In 1833 he supported the activities of the "Saint-Simoniens" led by "le Père" Enfantin in Alexandria, and in 1834 he assisted Linant de Bellefonds in the construction of dams in the Nile delta. He maintained a grand life style, including a harem in his palace in Cairo, where he received many prominent guests from France e.g. the painter Horace Vernet, Marshal Marmont, Gustave Flaubert and Maxime Du Camp. His conversion to Islam must have greatly benefited his relationship with his trainees. His principal consort, Sittī Maria, gave him a son, Iskandar Bey. His lasting reputation was evident from a statue and a street named after him in Cairo till 1956.

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SULAYMĀNĪS, a branch of Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs, so called after Sulaymān b. Ḥasan [*q.v.*], who claimed the succession for himself after Dāwūd b. ʿAd̲j̲abs̲h̲āh as the twenty-seventh *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. They are predominantly to be found in Yaman, where their total number may currently be placed at more than 70,000, living mainly in the northern districts and on the northern border region between Yaman and Saudi Arabia. Besides being represented amongst the Banū Yām of Nad̲j̲rān, the Sulaymānīs are settled in Ḥarāz, D̲j̲abal Mag̲h̲āriba and in Hawzan, Lahāb and ʿAttāra, and in the district of Hamdān and in the vicinity of Yarīm. The Sulaymānīs of India, on the other hand, called the Sulaymānī Bohras, number a few thousand only and live mainly in Bombay, Baroda, Aḥmadābād and Ḥaydarābād Deccan. There are also some Sulaymānīs in Pakistan. Most recently, some families from the subcontinent have migrated to England, America and Canada.

Sulaymān was succeeded by his minor son D̲j̲aʿfar, hence the affairs of the *daʿwa* were run by Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Fahd al-Makramī (d. 1042/1633 [*q.v.*]), one of the earliest supporters of Sulaymān during the Dāwūdī-Sulaymānī succession dispute and originally from Ṭayba, a town northwest of Ṣanʿāʾ. After winning the confidence of the influential Banū Yām, settled in the Nad̲j̲rān region, he adopted Badr as his residence, and this subsequently became the capital of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa*. His son Ibrāhīm succeeded as the 30th *dāʿī* in 1088/1677. Since then the office has remained in the Makramī family except for a few interruptions. The Makramī *dāʿīs* not only ruled the Yām but, at the height of their power, their influence extended to the Mik̲h̲lāf al-Sulaymānī in the north and to Ḥaḍramawt in the east. In 1174/1764 they felt strong enough to invade Nad̲j̲d and inflicted a crushing defeat on the rising power of the Wahhābīs. However, they were unable to curb the subsequent Wahhābī encroachment against Nad̲j̲rān, as they had also to withstand the hostilities of the Zaydī Imāms in Yaman. Their rule over Nad̲j̲rān came to an end in 1934 when it was annexed to the Suʿūdī kingdom, and their 45th *dāʿī*, ʿAlī b. Muḥsin Āl S̲h̲ibām, was pensioned off by the Suʿūdī government. This marked the end of the political significance of the Makramī family of Sulaymānī *dāʿīs* and their followers in Yaman. Because of this close association of the Makārima (pl. of Makramī, see MAKRAMIDS) with the Sulaymānī *daʿwa*, the term Makārima itself is often used synonymously with that of Sulaymānīs in Yaman. The present *dāʿī*, al-S̲h̲arafī al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Makramī, succeeded to the office in 1396/1976.

The Sulaymānīs continued the traditions of the post-Fāṭimid Yamanī Ṭayyibīs. The *dāʿīs* do not use honorific titles and are simply addressed as *Sayyidnā*, and are known in Yaman as the *dāʿīs* of the *ḳabāʾil Yām*. In India, the *dāʿī*'s chief representative, known as the *manṣūb*, resides in Baroda, and is assisted by a number of *ʿāmils* or *mullās* residing in various cities where the Sulaymānī Bohras live. The assistants conduct the communal prayers, perform religious ceremonies, and collect the dues for the *dāʿī*. In India the official language of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* is Urdu, but Arabic is used in correspondence between them and their *dāʿī* in Yaman.

In Yaman, the Sulaymānīs have enjoyed a great degree of cohesion and have become an effective fighting force. In India, the Sulaymānī Bohras, in contrast to the Dāwūdīs, have developed closer ties with other Muslims in terms of language, dress and customs. They have also experienced a much greater degree of freedom from their *dāʿīs* and their *manṣūbs*. As a result, the small Sulaymānī community not only represents a progressive group, approving of social change and encouraging modern secular education, but has also produced, proportionately speaking, a significant number of prominent public figures. Asaf Ali Asghar Fyzee (1899-1981), an outstanding Islamicist and eminent scholar of Muslim law in the Indian subcontinent and India's ambassador to Egypt, belonged to the well-known Tyabji family of Sulaymānī Bohras of Bombay. Badr al-Dīn Tyabji, another member of this family, was the first Muslim president of the Indian National Congress in 1887.

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SULAYMĀNIDS [see MAKKA. 2. ii].

SULAYMĀNIYYA, a town and district in southern Kurdistān, since the Ottoman reconquest of ʿIrāḳ from the Ṣafawids in the 11th/17th

century under nominal Ottoman suzerainty, and since the aftermath of the First World War in the kingdom and then republic of ʿIrāḳ. The town lies in lat. 35° 32' E. and long. 45° 27' N. at an altitude of 838 m/2,750 feet, and is 90 km/54 miles east of Kirkūk [*q.v.*], to which it is connected by road.

The historical region of Sulaymāniyya lies between what is now the ʿIrāḳ-Persia frontier, the Diyāla [*q.v.*] and its upper affluents the Tandjaru and Sīrwān, the region of Kirkūk and the upper basin of the Little Zāb. To the northeast of the basin of these affluents of the Tigris rise the ranges making up the Zagros massif and running northwest to southeast (see further on the geography of the region, KURDS, KURDISTĀN, D.).

1. History to 1920.

The district of Sulaymāniyya is known from the earliest times. Mount Niṣir (in Lullutu: Kiniba), where according to the Babylonian epic the ship of Gilgamesh rested during the Deluge, can only be Pīr-ʿUmar-Gudrūn. The region of Sulaymāniyya corresponds to the land of Zamua occupied by the Lullutu people, the southern frontier of which was on the col of Babite (the modern Bāziān). In 880 B.C., Assur-nāṣirpal conquered all the kings of Zamua. A stele found at Darband-i Gawr, north of Ḳara-dagh, seems to belong to a Lulltu king. Brzozowski mentions another ancient bas-relief at the entrance to the defile of Derbend through which the Little Zāb forces a passage, to the extreme northwest of the territory of Sulaymāniyya. Herzfeld (in *Isl.*, xi, 127) mentions ruins at Sītak in the canton of Sērōčik. In 745 B.C. Tiglat Pileser III transplanted to Mazamua (*Māt-Zamua*, Forrer, 43) Aramaeans who had lived in northern Mesopotamia. In the Sāsānid period we have in the extreme southwest of the territory of Sulaymāniyya the famous monument of Paikuli (cf. SHAHRIZŪR). In the history of the Syrian church the district of Sulaymāniyya formed part of the diocese of Bēth Garmai (Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 253).

In the Islamic period, the history of the region was at first involved with that of Shahrizūr. Sulaymāniyya had a more or less autonomous existence from the end of the 11th/17th century to 1267/1850. The local dynasty was called Bābān. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Khān Bidlīsī (i, 280-8), the first chief and the eponym of this family was Pīr Būdāḳ Babē (probably about 1500). The home of this tribe seems to have been to the west of Ḳandīl [see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ]. The direct descendants of Babē were soon supplanted by their subordinates, but this second line disappeared also and about 1005/1596 the tribe had no recognised chief. A new line (of the clan Saḳir of the tribe of Bilbās; Rich, i, 270) came from the village of Darishmāna to the canton of Piždar; it had a legendary genealogy claiming descent from a young "Frank" woman called Kēghān, whom their ancestor had taken prisoner in a battle. The true founder of this third dynasty, Bābā Sulaymān, came to the front in 1088/1677, and in 1111/1699 took service at the Ottoman court. Rich (i, 381-5) gives a list of his descendants, who include 17 Bābān Pashas. The representatives of this local dynasty cleverly maintained their position between the two rival powers, Turkey and Persia, but they were really under the Pashas of Baghdād, who themselves held a very subordinate position with respect to the Sublime Porte. Maḥmūd Pasha, who received Rich on his memorable journey through Kurdistān and in whom Rich (i, 322) tried to arouse the Kurd national pride, finally submitted to the Persians. The latter invaded Sulaymāniyya in 1842 to re-establish Maḥmūd Pasha, but by the treaty of 1847 Persia withdrew all claims on the town and *sandjak* of Sulaymāniyya in favour of the Turks. The last ruler of the family of Bābān, ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, was deposed by the Turks in 1267/1850 (Khurshīd Efendī, 209).

It may be mentioned that the Bābān family was simply a conquering and warrior caste. Alongside the Bābān and under their suzerainty lived several other warrior tribes (*ʿashīrat*), of which lists are given by Rich, i, 280, and Khurshīd Efendī, 217. The principal of these tribes was Djāf [see SANANDADJ and SHAHRIZŪR]. Later we often find mentioned the turbulent tribe of Ḥamāwand of Čamčamāl which claimed to have come from Persian Kurdistān (its name resembles those of the Lur tribes). The Hamāwand in the course of their razzias used to come down as far as the banks of the Tigris (Cholet, *Arménie, Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, Paris 1892, 295-311).

Beside the clans which had kept their tribal organisation there were in Sulaymāniyya, as elsewhere in Kurdistān, the peasants (*gūrān, kelowspī* "white caps", according to Rich, i, 80).

At first the capital of the Bābāns was at Shara-Bažār (Shahr-i bāzār) in the first valley conquered by Pīr Būdāḳ Babē, but Ibrāhīm Pasha moved his residence to the canton of Sar-činār, where he founded about 1199/1784 (Rich, i, 387) the town of Sulaymāniyya on the site of the village of Malik Hindī (Malik Kendi?) built around an ancient mound which had to be cleared away on the occasion. The town was called after Büyük Süleymān Pasha (of the family of Georgian Mamlūks), governor of Baghdād in 1780-1802 (Cl. Huart, *Histoire de Baghdad*, Paris 1901, 159). Towards 1820, the town had 2,000 households of Muslims, 130 of Jews, 9 of Chaldaean Catholics (who had a little church) and 5 of Armenians, in all 10,000 souls. There were 5 mosques in Sulaymāniyya. In 1868 Lycklama estimated the population at 6,000 Kurds, 30 families of Chaldaeans and 15 of Jews.

Under Ottoman rule, Sulaymāniyya remained the nursery of an indefinite Kurdish movement. The local Kurds supplied Turkey with a large number of officials and, particularly, armed officers. Several Bābāns became distinguished in Istanbul like Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Pasha, Unionist minister and diplomat in 1909-14. After the deposition of the Bābāns, a great part in politics was played by the family of religious *Shaykhs* of the family of Barzandja, whose ancestor Ḥādjdjī Kaka Aḥmad enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity and is buried at Sulaymāniyya.

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Efendī, *Siyāḥet-nāme-yi ḥudūd*, Russ. tr. 1877, 205-32; Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie* etc., Paris-Amsterdam 1875, iv, 75-84; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891, ii, 868-73; Korab-Brzozowski, *Itinéraire de Souleimanieh en 1869*, in *Bull. soc. géogr. de Paris* (1892), 250-64; Dickson, *Journeys in Kurdistan*, in *Geogr. Journ.* (April 1910), 376; A. Adamov, *Irak Arabski*, St. Petersburg 1912, 387 ff.; E.B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise*, [2]London 1926, 163-209; Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs. Politics, travel and research in north-eastern Iraq 1919-1925*, London 1957, 52-9 (with genealogical table of the Bābān family at 53). (V. Minorsky*)

2. Since 1920.

There was provision in the Treaty of Sèvres of August 1920 for an Autonomous "Southern Kurdistan", but this topic became linked with the question whether the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, of which Sulaymāniyya had been a *sandjak* under the Ottomans, should remain Turkish-controlled or whether it should become part of the new predominantly Arab state of ʿIrāḳ [see al-mawṣil. 2.]. In the end, Sulaymāniyya was included in the territory awarded to ʿIrāḳ, though a League of Nations decision of December 1925 granted a certain amount of local autonomy to the Kurds there. Unrest had already broken out in Sulaymāniyya in 1919 under the Kurdish Shaykh Maḥmūd Barzandjī, and over the next five years, Barzandjī returned to Sulaymāniyya on three separate occasions until air raids in 1923-4 drove him back across the Persian frontier to a bandit existence.

Sulaymāniyya became almost depopulated through this fighting, but by the end of 1924, 20,000 of its people had returned. Yet it remained disturbed, including at the time of the 1929 ʿIraḳī election, and Maḥmūd Barzandjī again invaded the *liwāʾ* of Sulaymāniyya in 1930, until he again fled to Persia in the next year; he eventually made his peace with the ʿIrāḳī authorities and in 1938, when the Sulaymāniyya region was unusually quiet, his confiscated properties were restored to him. He returned to Sulaymāniyya from provincial exile in southern ʿIrāḳ in May 1941 during the Rashīd ʿAlī al-Gaylānī [*q.v.*] coup, ostensibly to raise forces "to support the British".

In the post-1945 period, Sulaymāniyya continued to be a centre of unrest, for Kurdish aspirations and for other elements aiming at the destabilisation of the Hāshimite monarchy in ʿIrāḳ, such as the underground Communist Party of National Liberation, which could from Sulaymāniyya make contact with other Communist forces across the Persian border. Hence a certain merging of Communist activities with Kurdish nationalism took place, and Sulaymāniyya was particularly disturbed in 1948.

The proclamation of the ʿIrāḳ Republic in July 1958 initially aroused Kurdish enthusiasm, but the history of the ensuing decades has been one of continuing disturbance in the Sulaymāniyya region. In March 1961 Muṣṭafā Barzandjī proclaimed an independent Kurdistān stretching through northern ʿIrāḳ as far east as Sulaymāniyya and the Persian border. During the succeeding phases of ʿIrāḳī-Kurdish conflict, possession of Sulaymāniyya was maintained by ʿIrāḳī government troops, with the surrounding countryside usually held by the Kurds, until in spring 1991 the Kurds briefly captured the town and then, in the summer, recaptured it more lastingly. Sulaymāniyya is now the chef-lieu of the autonomous Kurdish region of ʿIrāḳ, with the whole region having a population of 951,723 (1987 census), and has a Kurdish-language university of its own.

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SULDUZ, Süldüz, a Mongol tribe which played a considerable role in mediaeval Islamic history of the Mongol and Il Khānid periods.

According to Berezin, the correct Mongol form would be Süldes (pl. of *sülde* "good fortune"; Vladimirtsov interpreted *sülde* as "le génie-protecteur habitant le drapeau"). L. Ligeti, *Die Herkunft des Volksnamens Kirgis*, in *Körösi Csoma Archivum*, i (1925), saw in the ending of Suld-uz, as in Ḳïrḳ-ïz, the remains of an ancient Turkish plural suffix (cf. *biz* "we", *siz* "you", etc.) and as a hypothetical singular quoted the name of a Ḳïrghïz clan Sult, Sultu. Rashīd al-Dīn classes the Sulduz amongst the *dürlükin* Mongols, i.e. of "common" origin, in contrast to the *nirun* "pure" ones, who were, however, descended from the *dürlükin* through Alan Goʾa, the miraculous grandmother of Čingiz (Činggis) Khān.

Sorḳan Shira Sulduz one day saved the life of Čingiz whilst the latter was fighting with the Tayičiʾüt, and this exploit gained the Sulduz great prestige with Čingiz Khān and his successors.

Sorḳan Shira
|
Djilawḳan
|
Sodo Noyon (Sodun)
|
Tudan
|
Malik
|
Čoban

The children of Sodo Noyon came to Persia with Hülegü, whose wife Yesündjin, the mother of Abaḳa, was a Sulduz. Malik is said to have overrun Persian Kurdistān. In 688/1289, under the Il Khān Arghun, an act of bravery brought to the front Čoban, son of Malik, and he afterwards distinguished himself in the reigns of Ghazan and Öldjeytü [*q.vv.*]. The *Taʾrīkh-i Üldjāytū* written by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳāshānī (ed. Māhīn Hambly, Tehran 1969), in a list of *amīrs* mentions Čoban (*amīr-i buzurg muḳaddam-i Tāzīk wa Turk*) in the second place next to Ḳutlugh Shāh Manḳut, but adds that in ability he is superior to them all. There is extant a letter from Pope John XXII, dated Avignon, 12 November 1321, addressed to "Zoban Begilay" (Čoban?). In spite of the Shīʿī leanings of Öldjeytü, Čoban remained a Sunnī. When the young Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] ascended the throne, Čoban became regent, and in 719/1319 married Sātī Beg, daughter of Öldjeytü. The detailed history of Čoban and his sons and grandsons over the next generation or so may now be followed in the article čūbānids.

After the murder of Čoban's grandson Ḥasan Küčik at Tabrīz in 744/1343 (see below), the Sulduz are only occasionally mentioned by the historians. Under 807/1404, Mīrkhʷānd mentions the instructions given by Tīmūr to the Khaladj of Sāwa to reinforce the troops under Pīr ʿAlī Sulduz in Rayy. In the early 20th century, there was still a body of Sulduz in this region among the Shāh-seven [*q.v.*] of Sāwa.

Several women of the Čobanids had remarkable

careers. Besides Baghdād Khātūn, one may mention: (1) Sātī Beg, widow of Čoban, who was first the wife of the Il Khān Arpa and in 739/1338-9 was herself placed on the throne by the grandson of her first husband, Ḥasan Küčik. Finally, the latter married her to the new pretender Sulaymān, who reigned 740-4/1339-43. (2) Dilshād Khātūn, daughter of Dimashk Khwādja, first of all married Abū Saʿīd (at the same time as her aunt Baghdād Khātūn) and then Ḥasan Buzurg Djalāʾir. (3) Malik ʿIzzat, wife of Ḥasan Küčik, whom she killed in an indescribable and atrociously cruel fashion. She was executed by her husband's relatives, who cut her into pieces which they then ate.

In Mongolia in the time of Čingiz, the encampments of the Sulduz seem to have been not far from the river Onon. But in the time of Rashīd al-Dīn, the *yurt* of the Sulduz was near the forests inhabited by the forest-dwelling Uryangkit. The Chinese list of Mongol encampments published in 1867 (*Meng-gu-yu-mu-tsi*, Russ. tr. P. Popov, St. Petersburg 1895) no longer mentions the Sulduz. In Turkestan, the Sulduz, with their subdivisions (?) Nukuz and Tamadur, are mentioned among the troops of Shaybānī Khān [see SHAYBĀNIDS] at the beginning of the 10th/16th century. Later, the Sulduz rejoined Bābur (*Shaybānī-nāma*, ed. Melioranski, St. Petersburg 1908, 137, 176; cf. the *Scheibaniade* of N. Vambéry, Vienna 1885, 273, 350). According to A.Z.V. Togan, Özbeg genealogies (*shadjara*) mention the Sulduz among the 92 Özbeg clans; the people of the canton of Altïn-kul in Farghāna [*q.v.*] were in the early 20th century Sulduz, and there must be some in Khīwa (Khwārazm) alongside of the Nukuz.

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SULDŪZ, a small district of western Ādharbāydjān in Persia, to the south-west of Lake Urmiya, on the lower course of the Gādir-čay, which here receives on its right bank the Bāyzāwa and Mamad-shāh and flows into the Lake. To the west it is bordered by Ushnū, which lies on the upper course of the Gādir, from which it is separated by the Darband gorge through which the river runs; to the north it is bounded by the little district of Dōl (cf. Dōl-i Bārīk, in Sharaf al-Dīn Khān Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, St. Petersburg 1860-2, i, 288) belonging to Urmiya; to the south and the east by the cantons of Paswa and Shāri-wērān which go with Sāwdj-Bulāk [*q.v.*].

Suldūz is a fertile plain producing much wheat. It is often flooded by the waters of the Gādir, which near its mouth forms marshes and salt beds (*kopi*). On the south side, Suldūz is bordered by the heights of Firangī, at the foot of which are numerous springs impregnated with lime. The crest Bahrāmlū separating Suldūz from Shāri-wērān is also of limestone formation.

We know that in 703/1303 the Il Khānid Ghazan distributed the land in fiefs. It is possible that it was at this time that the name of the tribe (Suldūz, in Kurdish: Sundūs) replaced the old name of the district now lost.

According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, in the time of the Turkoman dynasties (about the 15th century), i.e. long after the Čōbānīs [see ČŪBĀNIDS] had disappeared, the Mukrī Kurds occupied the district, the old inhabitants of which were probably reduced to servitude. The same authority (i, 280) in a sentence now mutilated in the ms., and undated, says that Pīr Budāk of the Kurd tribe of Bābān (Babē) took Suldūz from the Kïzïlbāsh, which may refer to one of these sudden outbursts of fighting on the frontier in the time of the Ṣafawids.

In 1828 the Kādjār prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā gave Suldūz as a fief to 800 families of the Kara-papakh [*q.v.*]. The newcomers were allowed to levy and collect the taxes (12,000 *tūmāns* a year), and in return had to maintain 400 horsemen at the disposal of the government. At this period, there were in Suldūz 4-5,000 families of Kurds and Mukaddam Turks, but gradually the lands passed into the hands of new Shīʿī masters.

In the early 20th century there were 123 villages and small towns in Suldūz with 8,000 families. The chief settlement is Naghāda (Nahāda), with a thousand houses. This little town lies on the bank of the Bāyzāwa around an ancient artificial mound. Another important centre is Rāhdāna (Rah-dahna), where there is a good bridge over the Gādir, which provides communication between Urmiya and Sāwdj-Bulāk.

The south-east corner of the district is occupied by the canton of Mamad-shāh, the name of which is mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* (i, 290). The early 20th-century inhabitants were Shamsaddīnlu Turks. With their chief Māsī Beg, they came into Persia and received from ʿAbbās Mīrzā 3 villages with 100 families of Kurd peasants (*raʿiyyat*).

The Sunnī Kurds of the tribes of Mamash, Zarzā and Mukrī numbered in the early 20th century 2,000 families, or a quarter of the total of the population. They entirely occupied 10 villages (Ghilwān, Wazna, etc.), and 11 others (Čiāna, Naghāda, Mammiand, etc.) they shared with the Kara-papakh.

Suldūz, like Ushnū, is mentioned among the Nestorian bishoprics (Assemani, iv, 423; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, Leipzig 1880, 204: Saldus, Saldōs), but in 1914 there were only 80 Christian families left in Naghāda. The Jews were more numerous (120 families in Naghāda) and were probably the oldest element in the present population of the district; virtually all have now emigrated to Israel.

Under the Turkish occupation of 1908-12, the Shīʿī Kara-papakh suffered considerably, as the Turks regarded them as Persian agents. The Turks, without success, however, tried to destroy the tribal organisation and to emancipate the *raʿiyyats*. During the First World War, the village of Ḥaydarābād (on Lake Urmiya) became a Russian naval base, and a light railway was built through the district. Suldūz changed hands several times, but after the departure of the Russians and Turks it has since 1919 remained within Persia.

Bibliography: Rawlinson, *Notes on a journey from Tabrīz*, *JRGS*, x (1840), 13-14; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix/2, 602, 939; Minorsky, in *Materialï po izuč. vostoka*, ii, Petrograd 1915, 453-7. (V. MINORSKY*)

SÜLEYMĀN (926-74/1520-66), the tenth and most illustrious of the Ottoman sultans. There is a tradition of western origin, still current, according to which he was really Süleymān II, but that tradition has been based on an erroneous assumption that Süleymān Čelebi [*q.v.*] was to be recognised as a legitimate sultan; he was one of the sons of Bāyezīd I, who established himself at Adrianople after his defeat at Ankara. He received the epithet *Ḳānūnī* "the lawgiver" at an unspecified date; this is first mentioned at the beginning of the 18th century in the work of the historian Dimitri Kantemir (see C. Kafadar, in *Süleyman the Second and his time*, 41), while he was known in the west as Süleymān the Magnificent, the Great Turk, or the Great Lord.

Early years

He was born at Trebizond where his father, the future sultan Selīm I, had his residence as a *sandjak beg*. Three different dates have been suggested for his birth: 6 November 1494; 27 April 1495; and April or May 1496 (see Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i). One tradition, apparently going back to Jovius (see A. Fisher, in *Süleymān the Second* 9, n. 20), has it that his mother Ḥafṣa, a Tatar, was the daughter of the Crimean *khān* Mengli Giray, or of a Turkish woman; a document relating to a mosque founded in her name at Manisa showing her to be a convert to Islam denies this legend (Ç. Uluçay, *Padişahların kadınları ve kızları* (1980) 27).

His childhood was spent at Trebizond, where he was taught by a certain Khayr ul-Dīn Efendi, who remained in his entourage and where, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, he learned how to be a goldsmith from a Greek master-craftsman. He first governed as prince (*shehzāde*) at Kefe [*q.v.*] (Caffa, Feodosiya) in the east of the Crimea. In 1513 Süleymān became *sandjak beg* of Manisa, a post which he occupied until his actual accession in 1520. In the interim, however, there were two separate occasions when Selīm appealed for his help during his absences. In 1514-15, during the campaign in Persia, he ensured that the lieutenancy for his father was maintained in Istanbul; and in 1516-18 he was put in charge of the defence of Adrianople in the campaign against the Mamlūks. He returned to Manisa on the premature death of his father (see Uluçay, in *Kanunî armağanı*, who publishes the registers of the transactions of the *shehzāde*).

His accession

Eight days later he had arrived in Istanbul, where his accession took place without any problems or unrest, for there were no brothers who were likely to dispute the claims of Süleymān to the throne. His reign began on 17 Shawwāl 926/15 September 1520 and was the longest in Ottoman history. It coincided with the zenith of empire, when power and prestige were at its height. Observers of Ottoman decline were in retrospect to see this as a golden age and an absolute reference point, which justifies considering it as a unit (cf. e.g. the *ʿadālet-nāme* of 1595 in Inalcik, *Adâletnâmeler*, in *Belgeler*, ii/3-4, 104-5). Nevertheless, there is an opinion that the period of his reign could be subdivided into two which is very old (Ḳoči Beg, for example, thought that the threat of Ottoman decline could be traced from the end of his great reign).

At the beginning, the new sovereign was scarcely known and he was overshadowed by the overwhelming power of his awesome father, but he was seen as a just and peace-loving young man (cf. for example the Venetian forecast in Sanudo, *Diarii*, 29, Venice 1890, col. 357). His first actions, even though they were always symbolic, clearly pointed in this direction. At the same time, the energy and pugnacity of the new master were glaringly apparent to the world. The *beglerbeg* of Syria and Palestine, Djānbardī al-Ghazālī, a former Mamlūk chief, thought that the time had come to start a rebellion, but he was quickly subdued by a punitive force. Above all, there began an impressive series of "imperial campaigns" (*seferi-i humāyūn*) from the spring of 1521 onwards, ten in Europe and three in Asia, in which the sovereign participated in person.

Military campaigns 1521-36

Momentarily forsaking the Persian scene in which his father had been involved, he turned to the West to seek his primary objectives, this time not only with an eye to their strategic value but once again also for their symbolic significance. Taking as a pretext the ill treatment inflicted on his emissary Behrām Čawush, Süleymān forced the surrender of Belgrade on 29 August 1521 after his armies had taken Sabacz and Semlin and had ravaged the countryside between the Save and the Drave. He was then able to go on and seize the "key to Hungary" and to succeed where his great-grandfather Meḥemmed II "The Conqueror" had failed in 1456.

His next target was the island of Rhodes, which was a fearsome stronghold held by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and a base for regular piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean [see RODOS]. Süleymān launched a fleet of some 235 vessels against Rhodes and mobilised about 200,000 men. The siege went on into the winter and the fleet took shelter in the Sea of Marmara. The Knights capitulated on 21 December 1522, but only after five months of ordeal. The Conqueror kept his promise which he had made to them, that they could leave the island in freedom, and this contributed to his reputation for reliability. After these two great feats, there followed a period of military inaction on the part of the sultan, and then he decided to embark on a new campaign, against Louis of Hungary, to whom a second emissary had been sent in 1524 but in vain.

Süleymān and his Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] set out on a march in April 1526, but because of the severity of the weather the army was only able to reach Belgrade in July. In the end, the Hungarian heavy cavalry was hewn to pieces by the fire of the Ottoman artillery, and Süleymān pursued them as far as Buda, which he entered on 11 September, without having met any opposition.

He occupied the Hungarian capital only for about ten days and then hastened to return to his own capital, constrained by news learned in the course of his retreat of the serious Turkoman revolts which had broken out in Cilicia and in Ḳaramān; these were not crushed until the summer of 1528. After his dazzling successes of 1526, Süleymān contented himself with annexing the two counties of the region south of the Danube, Szerém and Valko, as well as with the rich booty he had gathered from Buda.

The Voivode of Transylvania, Janós Szapolyai or John Zapolaya (1487-1540), took advantage of the fact the Ottomans had abandoned the centre of the kingdom and had himself elected as king by an assembly of nobles at Székesféhervár (11 November 1526). But the brother of Charles V, Ferdinand of Habsburg, Archduke of Austria, soon to become king of Bohemia in February 1528, was also being enthroned (by a more limited assembly, the Diet in Bratislava, 17 December 1526).

Süleymān was obliged to choose between these two rivals, each of whom sent him ambassadors. On the advice of Ibrāhīm and his favourite Aloïs Gritti, the natural son of the Doge, he quite logically opted for Szapolyai; he made him his vassal in February 1528 after negotiations in Istanbul with Hieronymus Laski, the palatin of Sieradz (December 1527-February 1528). But Ferdinand did not disarm, and his troops took possession of Buda. Therefore, despite the immense difficulties involved in these enterprises because of the distance and the problems of administration, a third Hungarian campaign was forced upon Süleymān.

The sultan left his capital on 10 May but did not reach Belgrade until 17 July. On 18 August, when again passing through Mohács, a place now symbolic to him, he gave an audience to János Szapolyai, who

did homage to him, and Süleymān confirmed him as king of Hungary. He retook Buda without any difficulty and then made for Vienna, which he did not reach until 27 September. Then there began the famous siege, which was to be lifted on 14 October after four vain attempts to attack before the rapid arrival of winter.

The Ottoman failure was obviously linked to problems of climate and insurmountable logistics, but it was deliberately masked by Ottoman propaganda. Süleymān confirmed his support of Szapolyai, to whom he restored the crown of St. Stephen. This allowed him in 1538 to have an inscription engraved in the citadel of Bender: "I am the Sultan who seized the crown and the throne of Hungary and restored them to a humble slave" (M. Guboglu, *Paleografia şi diplomatica turco-osmana*, Bucharest 1958, 167, facs. no. 7; idem, *L'inscription turque de Bender relative à l'expédition de Soliman le Magnifique en Moldavie (1538/945)*, in *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, i [Bucharest 1958], 175-87).

During this period, rivalry with the Habsburgs reached its height, Hungary being only one of the stakes of a profound antagonism which placed the Ottomans against the Habsburgs. Charles V, who had been elected as head of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire from 1519, had himself crowned by Pope Clement VII at Bologna in 1530; Ferdinand, who had been elected King of the Romans by the diet of Cologne in January 1531, subsequently had himself crowned as such at Aachen in January 1532.

Süleymān was master of the world, unique by nature, hence his refusal to acknowledge that the Habsburgs had any imperial title. Charles V was for him only "the king of Spain" (*Ispanya ḳirali*) and Ferdinand only "the king of Vienna" (*Beč ḳirali*) or "king of the Czechs" (*Čeh ḳirali*). Charles V, even more than Ferdinand, was to be the principal target of the fourth campaign of Süleymān in Europe, termed the "German campaign against the King of Spain" (Chr. Turetschek, *Die Türkenpolitik Ferdinands I. von 1529 bis 1532*, [Vienna 1968]). The triumphal arches, the exceptional pomp flaunted by the sovereign, the unusual tiara crafted at that time by a consortium of the Venetian goldsmiths, all served one purpose of clearly intimating to Christendom the claims of the Ottomans (O. Kurz, *A gold helmet made in Venice for Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent*, in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, lxxiv [1969] 249-58; for the interpretation of this object, see G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, *Suleymân the Magnificent and the representation of power in the context of the Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal rivalry* in *The Art Bulletin*, lxxi [1989]).

From a military point of view, the campaign was less brilliant, and was principally outstanding because of the laborious siege of the little town of Güns (Köseg) and the devastating raids into Styria, at the heart of the patrimonial possessions of the Habsburgs, and in Slavonia (*Tārīkh-i sefer-i-ẓāfer-i Alaman*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Kadi-zade Mehmed küt., no. 557; Feridūn Beg, i, 577 ff.; von Hammer, v, 158-75). However, the threat was sufficiently impressive to drive the Habsburgs to seek a truce. Süleymān granted this to them in July 1533 on the basis of the status quo in the dividing up of Hungary between Ferdinand and Szapolyai, who were both to become tributaries of the Sultan.

Until then, Süleymān had appeared more pragmatic than his father with regard to the Ṣafawids of Shīʿī Persia, who exerted their religious influence on the Turkoman *ḳizilbash* of Anatolia. It is true that the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl in 1524 had brought with it the long-standing minority of his successor Shāh Ṭahmāsp, thus weakening the Ṣafawid state. Since his accession, Süleymān had put an end to the commercial blockade against Persia and was content to address warnings (*tehdīd-nāme*) to the young Ṭahmāsp to renounce his Shīʿism.

However, the schemings of provincial governors on both sides were to give him the excuse to intervene. The first of these was in 1528 and concerned the offer to surrender of a Ṣafawid governor, Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Beg, who had seized Baghdād and had refused to acknowledge the authority of the Shāh. He was executed shortly afterwards, but he provided a pretext for Ottoman claims to Baghdād. Then in 1530-1 it was the turn of the Ṣafawid governor of Ādharbaydjān, Olame Takalu, to come and offer his services to Istanbul, where he began by obtaining the disgrace of his personal enemy, Sheref Beg, the *amīr* of Bitlis. The latter left to seek the aid of the Shāh, who unwisely took his part and thus triggered the Ottoman reprisal. *Fatwās* were issued which obliged the sultan to restore the *sharīʿa* and to root out heresy (*rafḍ u ilḥād*). At the end of 1533, Ibrāhīm Pasha, once again appointed *serʿasker*, was despatched at the head of a great army to recover Bitlis, which had reverted to the Ottomans before his intervention, and to prepare to take Baghdād and Arab ʿIrāḳ.

In the following spring, he embarked on the conquest of Persia and reached Tabrīz in mid-July. Shāh Ṭahmāsp had abandoned it to him, having resolved never to enter into combat with the Ottoman army. The sultan had left Istanbul with a reinforcement army in June 1554 and rejoined Ibrāhīm in Tabrīz on the 28th of the following September, after a journey through Erzindjan, Erzurum and the southern fringes of Lake Van. The Ottoman army then headed for ʿIrāḳ.

The sultan entered Baghdād on 30 November without meeting any opposition. In the winter which followed, he devoted himself to organising new conquests and marked his conquest of Baghdād with several acts of religious significance, including pilgrimages to Nadjaf and Karbalā, the building of a dome over the remains of the great lawyer Abū Ḥanīfa and the restoration of the tomb of the founder of the Ḳādiriyya, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī. But on learning that the Persians were threatening to take Van, Süleymān brought his stay in Baghdād to an end to go to Tabrīz in pursuit of the Shah. But when, after a laborious journey across the Zagros, the sultan again reached the capital of Ādharbaydjān, Ṭahmāsp, true to his tactics of avoidance, had already abandoned it. In August, Süleymān gave the order to return to Istanbul, which he did not reach until the beginning of 1536. From this campaign, known as that of the "Two ʿIrāḳs", the empire retrieved Baghdād and the regions of Erzurum and Van, which would remain the long-term bastions of the eastern frontier.

Two months after the end of the campaign, in the night of 14-15 March 1536 Ibrāhīm Pasha was strangled in a bedroom of the Topkapı palace. This is how that brilliant protagonist, a product of the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*], the friend from his youth of a master who had raised him to the position of Grand Vizier and had supported him there for thirteen years as a mark of his continuing favour, left the stage. The elevated position enjoyed by Ibrāhīm was clearly far superior to that of any of the Grand Viziers before or after him, and was marked by his use in foreign correspondence of unprecedented titles such as *ḳāʾimaḳām-i salṭanāt*, *serʿasker-i sāmī mertebet*, and above all *serʿasker-sulṭān*, used during the campaign of the "Two ʿIrāḳs".

The question arises as to whether he took advantage of the weakness of the sultan or whether they had come to an agreement over the division of roles. The end of Ibrāhīm at least attested the wish of Süleymān to put a stop to that experience, even if the immediate causes of the event must remain conjectural.

The military campaigns of 1537-55

It was this turning point in his reign that brought to a close the period of his most spectacular conquests, but it in no way ended the military activity of Süleymān. On the contrary, in the remaining thirty years of his life he was to lead seven more campaigns. During the course of these operations, the fleet which had already been put to the test at Rhodes became increasingly important. However, the sultan understood that it needed to be reinforced in order to be able to withstand the maritime threat of his adversaries, in particular, of the Habsburgs, in the Mediterranean. The latter had had at their disposal since 1528 the assistance of an admiral of the first order, the Genoese Andrea Doria. This was the reason for the eager welcome given by the sultan to offers of service by privateers, the most important of whom was Khayr ul-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*], the holder of power in Algiers, who was not only a mariner but an organiser on a large scale, and he made him his *ḳapudan pasha* in 1533.

This was also the period when the two parties concerned tried to bring about a diplomatic revolution for the age; the alliance between the Most Christian King Francis I and the Ottoman ruler. After the plea for help from the Frenchman, who was defeated and made captive at Pavia (1525), the Ottoman realised the advantage of holding a pawn on the chessboard of Christian Europe.

This alliance of the two principal enemies of the Habsburgs was given new impetus at sea through Barbarossa, once he had become *ḳapudan pasha*, and this gave an increased opportunity of producing actual military results. The instructions given to the French ambassador Jean de la Forêt did not only include the pursuit of commercial and judicial guarantees but also comprised plans of joint action against Charles V: Francis I was to penetrate into Lombardy, while Süleymān would attack the kingdom of Naples by land and sea from a base in Albania, with the French fleet envisaged as joining up with that of Barbarossa. But things did not proceed as expected. Francis I did not attack Milan. His fleet was very much delayed and did not reach Avlonya until 10 September. Süleymān, for his part, gave up his attack on Naples, and because his relations with Venice had deteriorated, on 26 August he arrived at last at Corfu in order to mount a siege against this possession of the Most Serene Republic. He lifted it when the French fleet eventually arrived, for it was growing late in the season. Though Corfu was saved, Barbarossa went on to seize the greater part of the Aegean islands which were still in the possession of the Venetian patricians.

Apart from this, on 28 September 1538 he achieved the greatest Ottoman naval success at Preveze [*q.v.*] in the Gulf of Arta, where he put to flight the joint naval forces of Spain and Venice led by Andrea Doria. Venice was driven to making concessions. The *ʿahd-nāme* in the form of a *nishān* which was issued by the sultan on 2 October 1540, was to establish peace between the two powers until the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus. The sultan acquired Nauplia and Monemvasia in the Peloponese, Vrana and Nadin on the Bosnian frontier as well as numerous Aegean islands (such as Naxos, Paros, Santorino and Andros). There was control of access by Venetian ships to Ottoman ports, and guarantees necessary for the smooth running of commerce between the two states were formulated.

In the same summer of 1538, Süleymān intervened on his own account on the Lower Danube, where he went to quell a vassal, the Voivode of Moldavia, Petru Rareş, who was suspected of intrigues with Vienna and whose designs on Pokucia (the region of Kolomiyya and Snyatyn) risked impairing the alliance between the sultan and Poland. From 15 to 22 September 1538, Süleymān occupied Suceava, nominated a new Voivode and withdrew from Moldavia, but not without annexing the south-east of the country, the region between the Prut and the Dniestr (Budjaḳ [*q.v.*]) along with the fortress of Bender (Rum. Tighina). Thus he completed the Ottoman military system north of the Black Sea and secured land links with another vassal, the *khān* of the Crimea.

In the years which followed, the attention of Süleymān was redirected to Hungary where the situation remained ambiguous and unstable. His tributary Janós Szapolyai remained under the thumb of Ferdinand of Habsburg, who had in February 1538 imposed on him the secret treaty of Varad (Oradea), by which both protagonists kept their title of King of Hungary and their respective possessions in the country; but Szapolyai was committed to transferring his rights to Ferdinand after his death. Now a late marriage to Isabella, one of the daughters of Sigismund of Poland, produced a son who was born several days after his own death in July 1540.

His chief advisor, Georges Martinuzzi-Utiešenović, the bishop of Varad, had the infant proclaimed king at Buda and asked the sultan to recognise "the son of King John", the one whom ~~the Ottomans were~~ to call "Istefan". Meanwhile, Ferdinand rallied to his cause most of the Hungarian lords and laid siege to Buda from May 1541 onwards. Süleymān reoccupied Buda at the end of July. He finally decided on the transformation of the central part of the kingdom into an Ottoman province (the *beglerbegilik* of Budun) and allocated to Istefan, whose guardian was to be "brother George", "the land of Transylvania", which meant in reality not only the actual voivodate of Transylvania but also all the eastern region of the ancient former kingdom of Hungary, with the northern and western parts of the country remaining to Ferdinand.

For the Banat of Temesvár, the sultan recognised more especially the authority of Petro Petrovics, a Serb by birth who was related to Szapolyai, on whom he conferred a *sandjaḳ* by investiture. From 1543 onwards, Transylvania paid him a tribute of 10,000 pieces of gold which then increased to 15,000. In the summer of 1543, Süleymān set out again for Hungary, having prepared his campaign particularly carefully and having provided on an unprecedented scale for its provisioning and logistics. Numerous places were conquered (Valpo, Sziklos, Pécs, and especially important, Esztergom and Székesféhervár), but it took more than that to knock Ferdinand out of the game.

The Ottoman policy of attrition continued during the following summer, this time led by the *beg* of the frontiers. The projected campaign for the summer of 1545 was nevertheless abandoned in view of the progress of negotiations with Ferdinand, on whom it also managed to apply pressure. The successful outcome of these negotiations led to successive truces, and a five-year peace treaty was concluded in June 1547. While this peace treaty confirmed the territorial status quo, it also instituted the payment of

a tribute to the Sublime Porte of thirty thousand ducats per year by the Archduke.

From this time onwards, Süleymān had his hands free for affairs on the Persian frontier where, since 1536, tension had been limited to sporadic border incidents. A pretext for intervention was provided for him by the flight of Elḳas Mirzā, the brother of Shah Ṭahmāsp and governor of Shirwān, who came to Istanbul to seek the sultan's help (cf. *İA* art. *Elḳas Mirza*; J.R. Walsh, *The revolt of Alqas Mirza*, in *WZKM*, lxviii [1976], 61-78). In the spring of 1548 the sultan, who had not been on campaign for five years, once again set off for Persia, and on his way through Anatolia met his sons the *shehzādes* in their respective spheres of provincial government. He got as far as Tabrīz without meeting any resistance, as the Shāh had, according to his usual preference, declined battle and, in the hope of eluding him, had withdrawn into the steppelands and deserts.

Süleymān then left in the direction of Van, which he besieged. Van had been conquered in 1534 but retaken by the Persians the following year. On 25 August, after a brief resistance, Van fell [see WĀN]. The sultan fortified the citadel and, leaving a strong garrison there, departed in the direction of Diyārbekir and Aleppo, where he spent the winter.

A campaign against the Georgians of Akhaltzikhé, who had conducted a raid in the frontier zones, led to a reinforcement of Ottoman control of the Tortum region. As for Elḳas Mīrzā, he did not succeed in launching the expected uprising in Persia, but fell into the hands of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, whose overthrow then ceased to be the priority of the day.

Süleymān set out again for Istanbul, which he reached on 21 December 1549 (for information of this campaign, see J. Chesneau, *Le voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon, ambassadeur pour le Roy en Levant*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887). In the following years, Shāh Ṭahmāsp emerged again. Ṣafawid horsemen set out to raid and plunder in 1551, and the troops of the *beglerbeg* of Erzurum, Iskender Pasha, suffered reverses. A new Persian campaign was then planned but the Grand Vizier, Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], who had received the title of *serdār*, was put in charge; Süleymān declined to take part. His refusal strengthened the opinion in the army that the age of the sultan meant that he was no longer able to play the role of military commander-in-chief which the soldiers under him expected of him.

A rumour then emerged that his son Muṣṭafā intended to take over from his father. Faced with this danger, Süleymān changed his plans and set out for Anatolia at the end of August 1553, entrusting to his son Bāyezīd the defence of the European frontiers, with the office of *muḥāfiẓ* of Edirne, which he himself had held in the past. On the way, he was joined by the princes Selīm and Muṣṭafā with their respective troops. On 6 October, near Ereğli in Ḳaramān, after the ceremony of kissing hands, Süleymān had his son Muṣṭafā executed as a presumed rebel (Y.T. Ünal, *Şehzade Mustafa'nın Ereğlide idam edilmesi*, in *Anıt* xxviii [1961], 9-22; Uluçay in *İA*, art. *Mustafa Sultan*) and dismissed the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha. Then he set off again to spend the winter in Aleppo. He did not start travelling again until April 1554, which was the real beginning of what was to become the campaign of Nakhčevān [*q.v.*]. He reached Ḳars by way of Diyārbekir and Erzurum, then went into Nakhčevān on 28 July. Being unable to make contact with the Shāh, the sultan ravaged the frontier zones of Persia and Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*]. Once he had reached this goal he withdrew, and then contacts with Shāh Ṭahmāsp ended in a truce concluded in September. The sultan arrived at Amasya on 30 October and spent the winter there, and there he received a delegation from the Shāh, with whom he concluded the so-called peace of Amasya in May 1555, which formalised the official status quo of the territories of the two empires: the Ottomans kept 'Irāḳ, a good part of Kurdistān and Eastern Armenia, but gave up Tabrīz, Erivan and Nakhčevān. This period of participation in person in military operations and a phase in his reign both came to an end in the 1550s.

Other military operations

After the victory at Preveza and the end of the war with Venice, in August-September 1543, Barbarossa, acting within the framework of the Franco-Ottoman alliance, laid siege to Nice, a possession of Savoy; he then went on to spend the following winter with his fleet as the guest of the King of France in the port of Toulon. Later, other corsairs were to play an active role in the naval operations commissioned by the sultan, as for example the capture of Tripoli in 1551 which was carried out by Murād Agha and Ṭorghud Re'īs [*q.v.*] (Dragut; see St. Yerasimos in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, 529-47). In 1560 the sultan had his last great naval success, when Piyāle Pasha [*q.v.*], then *ḳapudan pasha*, put to flight the troops of Philip II, king of Spain, from the island of Djerba. By contrast, the massive siege of Malta in 1565 ended in failure. But in the following year, Piyāle Pasha again seized the island of Chios, which was the last Genoese possession in the archipelago (Ş. Turan, in *Kanunî armağanı*, 79-109). Other naval activities were mounted on the Eastern front in order to counter the attempts of the Portugese to capture the former maritime trade routes of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf for the benefit of their route through the Indian Ocean.

In 1538 the *beglerbeg* of Egypt, Khādim Süleymān Pasha [*q.v.*], who had previously been commissioned to build a fleet at Suez, launched the so-called campaign against Diu in Gudjarāt with 72 ships. Firstly he seized Aden and then, in cooperation with the forces of Gudjarāt, was engaged in the Indian Ocean in 1535-6 in laying siege to the fortress built by the Portugese at Diu. He abandoned his efforts in the following November to return to Egypt; he reorganised on his way the province of Yemen around Aden and Zabid (H. Melzig, *Hadım Süleyman Paşanın Hind seferi*, Istanbul 1943; S. Özbaran, *Osmanlı imparatoluğu ve Hindistan yolu*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxxi [1978], 98-104). In 1552, a second offensive led by Pīrī Re'īs [*q.v.*] was carried out against the Portugese. He left Suez with 25 galleys and 4 galleons, with 850 soldiers on board, and pillaged Muscat on his way; he then laid siege to Ormuz, which had been occupied by the Portugese since 1515. Pīrī Re'īs did not succeed in capturing the island, and even failed to bring back his galleys, and this led to his execution (C. Orhonlu, *Hint kaptanlığı ve Piri Re'is*, in *Belletin*, xxxiv, 134 [1970], 235-54).

In 1554 Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs left Baṣra and was involved in the only serious confrontation between the Portugese and the Ottomans. He lost several ships there before suffering a terrible storm on the coast of Makrān. He finally gained refuge in Sūrat [*q.v.*], when the remainder of his fleet dispersed (Seydī 'Alī Re'īs, *Mir'āt ul-memālik*, Istanbul 1313/1895). It is clear that, in sum, Süleymān succeeded in preventing the complete annihilation of trade in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf but failed to dislodge the Portugese from the Sea of Oman and the north-western shores of India.

The man and the ruler

This more or less favourable view which has been taken of the war leader should not obscure the aspect of the man and the statesman which has been of more interest to recent historiographers. By general opinion, Süleymān demonstrated the physical majesty commensurate with his rank. Commentators are equally agreed on his private virtues: frugality, temperance, modesty, loyalty, generosity, faithfulness to his word, piety and even a tendency to mysticism which had been encouraged from the time of his youth at Manisa by the influence of the Khalwetī (Sünbülī) *sheykh* Merkez Efendi, whom he invited to take part in the Corfu campaign (N. Clayer, *Mystiques, État et société. Les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XVe siècle à nos jours*, Leiden 1994, 119-20). Then, subsequently deriving confidence from his first victories, he experienced a firmly-rooted faith in his privileged support by God (*te'yīd-i ilāhī*). It has even been shown that, in the first years of his reign, he was the focus of current thought concerning the generalised Messianic hopes of that time, appearing to some people as the *ṣāḥib-ḳirān* [*q.v.*]. This Messianic excitement of the first years of his reign co-existed with an extraordinary taste for splendour, and this certainly went hand-in-hand with an acute sensitivity to propaganda. Conversely, he also established an eclectic aestheticism, which probably developed from the booty acquired in the West as well as from the humanist, Renaissance tastes of his vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, tastes far removed from the strict principles of Islam.

However, things changed greatly, later on, once Ibrāhīm Pasha was removed from power and the mood of the sultan darkened with age. His religious feelings began to turn to a strict austerity which bordered on puritanism, which naturally ran counter to the passions of his youth. Even the most favourable opinions on the grandeur of the sovereign are not without reserve. Did not the unprecedented influence exerted on him by succeeding relatives show evidence of a certain lack of character? Nevertheless, an ability deliberately to delegate authority may also be observed, the very quality which his father had lacked. This goes equally well for the viziership of Ibrāhīm, and for the two long vizierships of Rüstem Pasha in 1544-53 and in 1556-61, who was accused of avarice and corruption (T. Gökbilgin, *Rüstem Paşa ve hakkındaki ithamlar*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, viii, 11/12 [1956], 11-50), but who also stimulated remarkable progress in the domain of public finance and commerce.

Other aspects concerning his private life are more difficult to justify. He was deplorably given over to outside influences, particularly those of the harem. A first concubine of Süleymān, Gülbahār, is known. But it was another woman who held the centre position in the affections of the sultan; she was a slave of Ruthenian descent known in the West by the name of Roxelana and figuring in Ottoman sources under the appellation of Khürrem Sulṭān, Khürrem-Shāh Khātūn or Khāsseki Khürrem Sulṭān. She became the legal spouse of Süleymān in 1534 [see KHURREM].

There are records of eight sons born to Süleymān: three died at an early age; another, Djihāngīr, the son of Khürrem, was an invalid and though dearly loved, died in 1553. The other four sons held provincial governorships and were eligible to succeed their father: Muṣṭafā was the only one who was not a son of Khürrem. Meḥemmed was removed from the competition by his premature death in October 1543, and he was commemorated by the Shehzāde mosque in Istanbul; then there remained Selīm (II) and Bāyezīd.

The style of the sovereign was very different from that of his father Selīm "the Cruel", or of his great-grandfather Meḥemmed "the Conqueror". His own style was that of a universal monarch devoted to realising the ideal of the tradition of the "mirrors of princes". Order and justice were founded on the law which, in the Ottoman state, had two sources, the *sherīʿa*, the canonical law of Islam, and the *ḳānūn*, the secular law emitted by the sultan. Süleymān was therefore to remain in Ottoman Turkish tradition as the *Ḳānūnī*, the one who at one and the same time formulated laws and supervised their application. In fact, the creation of a code of general law for the empire was attributed to him. It is preserved in several manuscripts copied during his reign or afterwards. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that most of the provisions included in it in reality went back to the code of laws of Meḥemmed II (H. İnalcık, *Süleyman the lawgiver*, 117-36). The legislative works of the *Ḳānūnī* were therefore marked not so much by their originality but more by the effort exerted in compilation, systematisation, adaptation and diffusion. The king-pin in this enterprise was the *nishāndji* Djelālzāde Muṣṭafā, the so-called "great" *nishāndji*, the celebrated chancellor of Süleymān.

Inasmuch as the Ottoman *ḳānūn* was given a new slant under Süleymān, it moved towards the reinforcement of centralisation. This implied for the sultan an increased hold on the land and on the *reʿāyā* there which could not be used without his express mandate. The acquisition of land was made possible in a limited way by large-scale, meticulous campaigns for registration on the ground, from which resulted the registration collections (*taḥrīr defteri*) which made the reign of Süleymān the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the *sandjaḳ* of Anatolia and of Rūmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, *tapu ve tahrir defteri*, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council in Istanbul, see *Başbakanlık Osmanlı arşivi rehberi*, Ankara 1992, 190-221). Such centralisation required the affirmation of the authority of the sultan over all his agents, as opposed to their being involved in the habitual process of forming private clienteles (M.T. Gökbilgin, *Kanûnî Sultan Süleymanın timar ve zeamet tevcihi ile ilgili fermanları*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, xvii [1967], 35-48, and Topkapı Saray Kütübhanesi, KK 888, fols. 338b, 357a, 366b, 393a). Conquests or new registrations gave him the opportunity to draw up codes of the provincial laws of Hungary, Syria and Egypt (the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, the *defterdār* Iskender Čelebi and Djelālzāde Muṣṭafā all participated in these), and also of Diyārbakır and of Erzurum. The effort of codification and diffusion of the *ḳānūn* was coupled with the unprecedented exaltation of the *sherīʿa*, and more generally, of the Sunnī Muslim characteristics of the state, while only according a limited and marginalised position to the title of caliph in Süleymān's rhetoric.

Süleymān clearly played his role of "servant of the two holy sanctuaries" (*khādim al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn*) to the full by his pious bequests to Mecca and Medina and the care which he took to protect the Pilgrimage. On a wider front, by his titles and by his monumental inscriptions he proclaimed his pre-eminence over all the sovereigns in the world, and at the same time his supremacy within the bosom of Islam associated with the evidence of divine predilection which

had singled him out. In fact, this primacy in the Muslim world also laid on him the obligation of coming to the aid of less important Muslim sovereigns.

Another reason which could equally explain the insistence of Süleymān on Muslim orthodoxy in his empire was the rivalry inherited from his father with the Ṣafawids of Persia and the threat of political and religious subversion inherent in their influence on the *ḳizilbash* Türkmens of Anatolia. This threat was evident in the great political and religious revolts of the first years of the reign of Süleymān: the revolt of Bābā Dhu 'l-Nūn in 1526, and the revolt of Shāh Ḳalender in 1527 (H. Sohrweide, *Der Sieg der Safaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Isl.* xli [1965]; A. Allouche, *The origins and development of the Ottoman-Safavid conflict 906-962/1500-1555*, Berlin 1983).

The right-hand man of the sultan during this trend in increasing the Sunnī nature of the state was Ebū Su'ūd Efendi, the *muftī* of Istanbul from 1545 to 1574 (see ABU 'L-SU'ŪD, and R.C. Repp, *The müfti of Istanbul*, Oxford 1986, 272-96). The application of the *sherī'a* in its Ḥanafī form (notably according to the treatise of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, the *Multaḳā*, Istanbul 1309; cf. Ş.S. Has, *The use of the Multaqa 'l-Abhur in the Ottoman madrasas and in legal scholarship*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, vii-viii [1988], 393-418) was stipulated for the *ḳāḍī* and, as it were, regulated by the writings of the *muftī* himself, his *fetwās* and his *ma'rūḍāt* (M.E. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebusuud Efendi fetvaları*, Istanbul 1972; P. Horster, *Zur Anwendung des islamischen Rechts im 16. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1935), but the cleavage between the *ḳanūn* and the *sherī'a*, on that point perceptible in several areas such as landed property, fiscal and penal matters, was reduced or blurred by the task of justifying and reformulating the *ḳānūn* according to the *sherī'a*. The sultan supervised the formation and the orthodoxy of the *'ulamā* by the institution of numerous *medreses*.

Besides this, in a decisive way he reinforced the tendency which had already arisen during the preceding reigns to make the *'ilmiyye* into a structural hierarchical body dependent on the state (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1994; R.C. Repp, *op. cit.*, 27-72; H. İnalcık, *The Ruznamce registers of the Kadiasker of Rumeli as preserved in the Istanbul Müftülük*, in *Turcica* xx [1988] 251-75). But Ebū Su'ūd (and through him the office of the *muftī* of Istanbul, which in that period was more often referred to by the title of *muftī el-enām* than by that of *sheykh ul-islām*, which was imposed later) was put at the head of the order of clerics which was being formed (M. Zilfi, *Sultan Süleymân and the Ottoman religious establishment*, in *Suleyman the Second*, 112 ff.).

There are still more dimensions to the politics of the increasing of the Sunnī nature of the state. *A firmān* in 944/1537-8 arranged for the building of a mosque in every village (*Ma'rūẓāt*, in *Milli Tettebü'ler Medjmū'asi*, ii, 338), while a policy of religious persecution was being conducted on a grand scale. But this in no way affected Christians or Jews who were conversely protected by their status as *dhimmīs*, which was completely respected; rather, it concerned all forms of heresy or dissidence within Islam. Persecution took very different forms; as, for example, a lawsuit where dissidents were examined by the highest *'ulamā*, if necessary in the presence of the sultan, like those who brought an action against Mollā Ḳābiḍ [*q.v.*] (1527), or various *sheykhs* of the Melāmī-Bayramī *ṭarīḳa* or of the *gülshenī* branch of the Khalwetīs (A.Y. Ocak, *Les réactions socio-religieuses contre l'idéologie ottomane et la question de zendeqa ve ilhâd (hérésie et athéisme) au XVIe siècle*, in *Turcica*, xxi-xxiii [1991], 71-82; idem, *Idéologie officielle et réaction populaire: un aperçu général sur les mouvements et les courants socio-religieux á l'époque de Soliman le Magnifique*, in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, 185-92).

"The Magnificent"

Contemporary Christian observers who were more aware of the conquests of the Great Turk, of his personality and above all, of the matchless splendour of his court, accorded him the epithet "the Magnificent". Before the morose austerity of his old age, Süleymān was indeed an incredible patron, by encouraging expert craftsmanship through the group which he supported in his Topkapı palace, or by giving external commissions to craftsmen in the capital, the provincial centres (Bursa, Iznik) or abroad (Venice, Brussels). This expertise encompassed skills concerning books (calligraphy, book-binding, illuminations, miniatures) as well as metal-working, wood carving, textiles, ceramics, sculpture in stone, and skills in setting precious stones. As a collector, he assembled in his palace Chinese porcelain from the Yüan dynasty and the beginning of the Ming dynasty as well as works of art picked up as booty during his conquests. He himself was a poet in the manner of his father Selīm and his great-uncle prince Djem [*q.v.*], and composed a *dīwān* in Ottoman Turkish with some pieces in Persian under the pseudonym of Muḥibbī "he who loves with affection" (von Hammer, vi, 248). His work was dominated by the figure of his beloved, the *khāṣṣekī* Khürrem, and many of his verses became popular.

However, it was in the realm of architecture where the sultan exercised his greatest, most spectacular and most constant patronage, since, even after he had abandoned the other arts, he continued building, with the closest possible scrutiny of operations, in a way which characterised classical Ottoman architecture. He commissioned in his own name or for his family a great number of buildings for manifold purposes; religious, charitable, utilitarian and military buildings were constructed both in Istanbul and in the rest of his empire. However, it was the capital, the historic cities of Islam and the eastern provinces that were more favoured by his patronage than European places (see the attempt at an inventory, though far from being exhaustive, made of buildings commissioned by the sultan in his own name and in that of his family by A. Kuran in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, 217-25). Most of these constructions were the work of Mi'mār Sinān [*q.v.*] (*mi'mār bashi*) from 1539 to 1588). The most grandiose of the buildings of Süleymān, the complex of the Süleymāniyye mosque and its subsidiary buildings, were constructed between 1550 and 1558; they cost 897,350 gold florins, which amounted to one-tenth of the budget for the empire in 1527-8.

The campaign of Szigetvár

The old sultan sprang one last surprise on the world in the circumstances surrounding his disappearance. His health had begun seriously to deteriorate from the end of the 1540s onwards, and during this time, periodic announcements were given out that he had died. But he was in no way daunted, and after more than ten years of military activity, he embarked on a new campaign in Hungary, driven, it would seem, by his last Grand Vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], who wanted to obliterate from memory the badly-failed siege of Malta in 1565; also, he wanted to react spectacularly to the encroachments attempted by the new emperor Maximilian II.

Süleymān was in pain, was irritable and in the worst of physical conditions, but nevertheless he per-

sonally led the campaign of Szigetvár. On the way, he received his now adult protégé John Sigismund Szapolyai "the son of King John" with great pomp and circumstance. But on the night of the 20-1 Ṣafer 974/6 September 1566, in his tent under the walls of the fortress of Szitgetvár, which was being defended by Miklos Zrinyie, he breathed his last. He had begun the siege of this fortress on 5 August, and on the day after his death it fell. It seems that the remains of the sultan were eviscerated and were provisionally buried in secret under his tent.

There then followed what could be called the posthumous life of the sultan, which was organised with remarkable composure and authority by the Grand Vizier Ṣoḳollu, who was assisted by some very reliable followers (Selānikī, ed. İpşirli, 35-53). After the disagreement which took place in Belgrade between Selīm and the Janissaries, Ṣoḳollu protected the body of Süleymān from any further anger of the mutineers by hastily despatching it to Istanbul, in the custody of the advance guard of the army accompanied by the vizier Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a, by the governor of Egypt, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, by the former *mīrāk̲h̲ur* Ferhād Ag̲h̲a, by Nūr ul-Dīn-zāde and his Ṣūfīs, and by a modest escort of 400 cavalrymen.

Süleymān was buried according to his wishes in the cemetery of the Sülemāniyye, in a mausoleum built by Sinān. Its position, beside that of K̲h̲ürrem, had been decided in his lifetime, but, in accordance with custom, this was probably not carried out on the orders of his son and successor Selīm II until after the interment (for a discussion on the chronology of this edifice, see N. Vatin and G. Veinstein, *Les obsèques des sultans ottomans*, in *Les Ottomans et la mort: permanences et mutations*, Leiden 1996, 233-5). The ceremony involved a reading of seven stanzas of a *mert̲h̲iye* by Bāḳī [*q.v.*], and this, according to Selānikī, "caused the entire nation to lament".

Bibliography: 1. Oriental sources. From Süleymān's time, the surviving Ottoman archives become very rich. Numerous of the sultan's original acts, including *fermāns*, *berāts*, *ḳānūn-nāmes*, *ʿahd-nāmes* or treaties, *tapu ve taḥrīr defteri* or land registers and other military land and fiscal registers have survived, of which only a small part were given in J. Matuz, *Herrscher-Urkunden des Osmanensultans Süleyman des Prächtigen. Ein chronologisches Verzeichnis*, Freiburg im Br. 1971. The main collections are in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi in Istanbul (cf. the *Rehber*, Ankara 1992), esp. the first six vols. of the *Mühimme defteri* (vols. iii, v-vi, publ. in transcription with facs. by the General Directorate of Archives, Ankara), and several other series (625 acts of Süleymān in the *Ali Emiri tasnifi*). Other important collections in the Topkapı Museum. incl. two registers of *dīwān* orders prefiguring the *Mühimme defterleri*; see also Ü. Altındağ, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Osmanlı Saray arşiv kataloğu. Fermanlar*, i, Ankara 1985, 7-13, ii, 1988, 108-12. To these one should add pieces preserved in the *sid̲j̲ills* [*q.v.*] of local *ḳāḍīs* of the time (for Turkey, see A. Akgündüz (ed.), *Şer'iye sicilleri*, i, Istanbul 1988, 83-215, and art. s.v.), and the collections of Ottoman documents in foreign archives, the main ones for this period being in Sofia (see B.A. Cvetkova, *Sources ottomanes en Bulgarie ...*, in *Studi preottomani et ottomani*, Naples 1976, 79-99), in Venice (M.T. Gökbilgin, *Venedik devlet arşivindeki vesikalar külliyatında Kanunî Süleyman devri belgeleri*, in *Belgeler*, i/2 (Ankara 1965), 119-220), in Warsaw (Z. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, Warsaw 1959, docs. nos. 19-189) and in Vienna (A.C. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchive zu Wien*, Vienna 1983; idem, *Die Schreiben ... an Vasallen, Militärbeamte, Beamte und Richter. ...*, Vienna 1986), amongst the many collections containing relevant material, the best known is that of Ferīdūn Beg, *Müns̲h̲eʾāt-i selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1275, i, 500 ff., ii, 1-86, giving notably accounts of the first eight campaigns, some of them cited above.

As well as those mentioned in connection with particular points, the main Ottoman chroniclers covering all or part of the reign are: Rüstem Pas̲h̲a, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān*, tr. L. Forrer, Leipzig 1923; D̲j̲elāl-zāde Muṣṭafā, *Ṭabaḳāt ul-memālik we dered̲j̲āt ül-mesālik*, facs. ed. P. Kappert in *Geschichte Sultan Süleyman Kanunis von 1520 bis 1557*, Wiesbaden 1981; Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a, *Tewārīk̲h̲-i āl ʿOt̲h̲mān*, ed. S.M. Tayşi, Istanbul 1990; Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Künh ül-ak̲h̲bār, rukn* 4, mss.; Ferdī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Sulṭān Süleymān* (up to 1552), Flügel no. 998; Muḥyī al-Dīn, in *Tewārīk̲h̲-i āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān*, ed. Giese, Breslau 1922, 138-53 (up to 1553), Selānikī Muṣṭafā Ef., *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ed. M. İpşirli, Istanbul 1989, see also *T.-i Selānikī. Die Chronik des Selaniki*, Freiburg 1970. Later historians: Pečewī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1284, and ed. F. Derin, Istanbul 1980, and B.S. Baykal, Ankara 1981-2; Ḳara Čelebi-zāde, *Süleymān-nāme* (continuation of Saʿd al-Dīn's *Tād̲j̲ al-tawārīk̲h̲*) and *Rawḍat al-abrār*, both Būlāḳ 1248; Ṣolaḳ-zāde, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1298, and ed. V. Cabuk, Ankara 1989; Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im-bas̲h̲ī, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-ak̲h̲bār*, iii. Numerous *s̲h̲āh-nāmes* and *hüner-nāmes* dedicated to the sultan have survived, inc. the *Süleymān-nāme* of the official historiographer ʿĀrifī (covering 1520-58), splendidly illustrated, publ. in E. Atil, *Süleymanname. The illustrated history of Suleyman the Magnificent*, Washington-New York 1986.

2. The sources in Western languages include the correspondence and reports of envoys from the main powers to the Porte. See esp. E. Albèri, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneziani al-Senato durante il secolo decimosesto*, ser. 3, Florence 1840-55; E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, Paris 1848-55; I. de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane avec les puissances étrangères*, i, Paris 1844, 15-99; A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Verhältnisse zwischen Österreich, Ungarn und der Pforte im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderte*, 3 vols. (years 1527-41) Vienna 1841-2; M.S. Džaja and G. Weiss, *Austro-Turcica 1541-1552. Diplomatische Akten des habsburgischen Gesandtschaftverkehrs mit der Hohen Pforte im Zeitalter Süleymans des Prächtigen*, Munich 1995. There are also many travel accounts, treaties and pamphlets. See C. Göllner, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Baden-Baden 1961-78; St. Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman (XIVe-XVIe siècles). Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités*, Ankara 1991.

3. There are various biographies of Süleymān, e.g. J.B. Merriman, *Süleiman the Magnificent*, New York 1944; H. Lamb, *Suleiman the Magnificent, Sultan of the East*, New York 1951; R Sertoli Salis, Tkish. tr. *Muhteşem Süleyman*, Ankara 1963; Gy. Kaldy-Nagy, *Szulejman*, Budapest 1974; A. Clot, *Soliman le Magnifique*, Paris 1983. These are of very unequal quality, but none reflect completely the state of historiography, and this place is in one sense better taken by three collective, commemorative works: *Kanunî armağanı*, Ankara 1970; G. Veinstein (ed.), *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, Paris 1992; and H. İnalcık and C. Kafadar (eds.), *Süleymân*

the Second (sic) *and his time*, Istanbul 1993. The *EI*[1] art. by J.H. Kramers and, still more, the *İA* one by M.T. Gökbilgin, remain of value, as well as various general works, older and more recent, such as Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, Gotha, 1854, repr. Darmstadt 1963, ii, 611-936, iii, 1-380; Iorga, *GOR*, ii-iii, Gotha 1909; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, [4]Ankara 1983 and iii/2, [2]Ankara 1977; Von Hammer, *GOR*[2], v, 1520-47, vi 1547-74; V.J. Parry, *The Ottoman Empire 1520-1566*; Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire. The classical age*, London 1973; R. Mantran (ed.), *Hist. de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, 139-225; İnalcık and D. Quataert (eds.), *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, Cambridge 1994, 9-409. For numismatics, see İ. Artuk, *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman adına basılan sikkeler*, Ankara 1972.

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(G. Veinstein)

SÜLEYMĀN II, the twentieth Ottoman sultan (1099-1102/1687-91).

Süleymān II's succession to the throne came about in his middle age as the result of the forced abdication of his half-brother Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*] in 1099/1687. He inherited rule over an empire facing severe internal problems and external challenges. The financial position of the empire at this time (after four years of unremitting war with Austria) was dire and, according to the contemporary historian Mewḳūfātī, writing about the period just after Süleymān's demise (see *Bibl.*), even during periods of peace regular state expenditures exceeded revenues by about 72 million *aḳčes*. The treasury deficit was made worse (by a further 137 million *aḳčes*) due to pressures, irresistible in periods leading up to major military involvements, to expand Janissary enrollments. Given the magnitude of the problems which he faced and the brevity of his reign, Süleymān II's achievements were impressive. Progress during the first year and a half of his rule was effectively blocked by the turmoil in the capital led by Janissary "rebels" who agitated for enhancement of their (already extensive) privileges and for payment of the pay bonuses customarily awarded at the accession of a new sultan. Their activities were mirrored in the provinces by recalcitrant troop mobilisers, such as Yegen ʿOthmān Pasha, whose final suppression was achieved only at the close of winter in 1100/1689. But once these obstacles were removed, and especially during the grand vizierate of Köprülüzāde Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha beginning in Muḥarram 1101/October 1689, recovery was swift and in 1101-2/1690 the Ottomans launched a successful counter-offensive against the Habsburg armies in both Serbia and Transylvania.

Apart from these military successes (which made a significant difference to the dispirited Ottoman rank-and-file), Süleymān's reign is especially noteworthy for its initiatives for fiscal and bureaucratic reform. A significant narrowing of the budget gap was achieved (in part) by the introduction of new taxes on the sale and consumption of luxury items such as tobacco, but in addition a number of more radical measures (some more successful than others) were attempted. In general, it may be said that Süleymān's reign was a time of considerable experimentation with new monetary (e.g. the introduction of copper coinage) and general fiscal policies. But above all it is in the realm of administrative reform that Süleymān left his most enduring legacy. The sultan's preoccupation with record-keeping is clear from the massive scale of the work he commissioned Mewḳūfātī to write; Mewḳūfātī's account of his reign lasting less than four years takes up the better part of two volumes covering more than 1,100 pages of text.

Süleymān appears to have been committed to the goal of closer coordination of policy with provincial authorities, and he devised a means for monitoring the performance (and compliance) of his governors. Documentary evidence suggests that he was the first sultan to introduce the pioneering concept of separate and duplicate registration, according to region, of outgoing orders (*fermāns*) sent by the Imperial Council to the *dīwāns* of key provincial governors. The *wilāyet aḥkām defterleri* were later more fully systematised and regularised, but that the institution existed in Süleymān II's time is clear from a register for Aleppo preserved in the Damascus archives (see Bibl.).

Comparison of the lag in time between a *fermān*'s promulgation in the capital and its registration in the provinces (in this case, Aleppo) reveals the state's interest in maintaining a cumulative as well as current record of problem-solving at the provincial level. As a result of such changes in governing procedure, Süleymān was able to bequeath to his successors—at the time of his premature death from a condition associated with anasarca in Ramaḍān 1102/June 1691—a stabler, more solvent and better-administered empire.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Mewḳūfātī, *Wāḳiʿāt-i rūz-merre*, 3 vols., Topkapı, Revan Köşkü mss. 1223-5, cf. Karatay's cat., i, 271-2 (on the work, see R. Murphey, *Biographical notes on "Mevkufati", a lesser-known Ottoman historian of the late seventeenth century*, in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kutukoğlu'na armağan*, Istanbul 1991, 193-204); the parts relevant to Süleymān's reign are all of vol. i (331 fols.) and fols. 1-244 of vol. ii, whilst vol. iv, Süleymaniye, Esad Ef. 2347, fols. 257a-258b, contains a summary report (*telkhīṣ*) on the size of Ottoman treasury deficits in this period. The Damascus State Directorate of Archives, Aleppo, *Awāmir-i sulṭāniyya* series, i, 1-118 = copies

(*süret*) of imperial *fermāns* received and recorded at Aleppo in 1101-2/1689-91.

2. Studies. R. Murphey, *Continuity and discontinuity in Ottoman administrative theory and practice during the late seventeenth century*, in *Poetics today*, xiv (1993), 419-43, esp. 429-31. On the *wilāyet aḥkām defterleri* (in the 18th century), see A. Cetin, *Başbakanlık Arşivi kılavuzu*, Istanbul 1979, 62-5, and H.G. Mayer, *Das Osmanische Registerbuch der Beschwerden (Şikayet Defteri) von Jahre 1675*, Vienna 1984, 17.

(R. Murphey)

SULEYMĀN ČELEBI, Ottoman prince and eldest son of Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], ruler in Rumelia and a considerable part of northern and northwestern Anatolia in the confused years after Bāyezīd's defeat and capture by Tīmūr at the Battle of Ankara in 804/1402, b. ?779/1377, d. 813/1411.

He is heard of in 800/1398, when his father sent him against the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Ḳara Yülük at Sivas, and he fought at Bāyezīd's side, together with his brothers, at Ankara. He managed to escape to Europe with his retainers by being ferried across the Bosphorus by the Genoese. He had to make peace with the Venetians, the Genoese, the Knights of Rhodes and the Byzantines, ceding lands along the Black Sea and Thracian coasts plus Salonica to Manuel II Comnenus and renouncing the requirement of tribute. But he was still a powerful force in Rumelia, with the Serb Stefan Lazarević as his vassal, and when Tīmūr left Anatolia in 1403, Süleymān began to reconquer the former Ottoman lands in northwestern Anatolia as far as Ankara in the east and Aydïn in the south. He was now in strenuous rivalry with his younger brothers Meḥemmed in Anatolia and Mūsā in Rumelia, and was unable to maintain himself in Anatolia; by 1410 Meḥemmed was in control there and began his first reign as sultan Meḥemmed I [*q.v.*]. In Rumelia, Mūsā Čelebi had mixed success against Süleymān in 1410, and Süleymān endeavoured to secure Byzantine support by marrying a princess of the Palaeologi; but subsequently Mūsā managed to surprise Süleymān in his capital at Edirne and then capture him at the village of Dog̲h̲andjïlar as he fled towards Constantinople, executing him on 22 S̲h̲awwāl 813/17 February 1411.

Mūsā was thus now dominant in Rumelia, but became engaged in warfare there, which involved Stefan Lazarević and Süleymān's son Ork̲h̲on, released by the Byzantine Emperor to harass Mūsā; he fended off attacks from Anatolia by Meḥemmed, but was finally captured and killed by the latter after a battle near Sofya in 816/1413 [see mūsā čelebi].

Bibliography: The early historical sources include the *Anonymous chronicle* in Neshrī, ʿĀs̲h̲ïḳpas̲h̲a-zāde and Lütfī Pas̲h̲a; see also Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj̲ al-tewārīk̲h̲*, i, 218-20, and *SʿO*, i, 42. Of studies, see von Hammer, *GOR*², i, 217-300; Iorga, *GOR*, i, 325 ff.; E.A. Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman chronicles*, in *Isl.*, lx (1983), 268-90; N. Vatin, in R. Mantran (ed.), *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, 53, 56-61; C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 41, 52, 54, 56-9, 63-9; *IA* art. *Süleyman Çelebi* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin).

(C.E. Bosworth)

SÜLEYMĀN ČELEBİ, DEDE (?752-826/1351-1422), Ottoman poet, author of *Wesīlet el-nedjāt* (*Vesiletü'n-necat*) ("Means of salvation"), a *mat̲h̲nawī* [*q.v.*] in honour of Muḥammad completed in 812/1409, referred to in Turkey as the *Mewlid* ([*q.v.*], and see Neclâ Pekolcay, *Mevlid*, Ankara 1993, 1-3), *Mewlūd*, or *Mewlid-i S̲h̲erīf* ("The [noble] birth").

Sources provide little biographical information, but show his forbears as religious scholars and bureaucrats closely connected with the Ottoman dynasty. The identity of his father Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a is obscure. His (maternal?) grandfather S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Maḥmūd lectured at an Iznik *madrasa*, and is credited with poetry and a commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ* of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Süleymān was born in Bursa and is described as having been a disciple of Emīr Sulṭān [*q.v.*], the "patron saint" of Bursa (and son-in-law of Bāyezīd I) and as having served as *imām* to Bāyezīd. After the latter's death (1403), he became chief *imām* of the Great Mosque in Bursa, where he died and was buried. His precise birth date remains in debate. A reference to his completing the *Mewlid* when he was sixty led Ahmet Ateş to posit his being born in 752/1351 (*Vesiletü'n-necât*, Ankara 1954, 25 ff.). Pekolcay, who earlier questioned that date (*IA*, art. *Süleyman Çelebi*), now agrees (*Mevlid*, 36).

Tradition claims that the *Mewlid* was composed to counter statements of a popular preacher that Muḥammad was not superior to Jesus (Gibb, *HOP*, i, 232-5). Whatever his inspiration, Süleymān displayed a familiarity with the Muslim corpus of works concerning the Prophet, and the *Mewlid* shows influence from the *G̲h̲arīb-nāme* of ʿĀs̲h̲ïḳpas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and echoes some of the verses interposed by Muṣṭafā Ḍarīr (an Erzurum Turk writing in Mamlūk Egypt) in his life of the Prophet (*Siyerü'n-nebewī*) (see A. Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 211-12, 301-4). Many later Ottoman *mewlids* appeared, but Süleymān's remained the favourite, becoming part of the official celebration of Muḥammad's birth (12 Rabīʿ I) introduced under Murād III (d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, ii, 358-68), and continues to be recited by Turks celebrating the Prophet's birth, marking the fortieth day after bereavement, fulfilment of a vow, etc. A vivid description of its place in Ottoman life occurs in the novel *The clown and his daughter* by Halide Edib Adıvar [see k̲h̲ālide edīb].

Manuscripts (the earliest from the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries) and printed editions vary in length (from about 260 to some 1000 *bayts*) and topics covered. The work has been translated into a number of languages, including Albanian, Greek, Serbo-Croat and Kurdish, and Schimmel has noted an echo of it in a work by Abū ʿAlī Ḳalandar, an 8th/14th-century Indian poet (*Mystical dimensions in Islam*, Chapel Hill 1975, 216-7). F. Lyman McCallum's 263-*bayt* English translation (*The Mevlidi Sherif of Süleyman Chelebi*) appeared in London in 1943; and an annotated English translation of the text published by Ateş (*op. cit.*) formed the Senior Thesis of Stephanie R. Thomas at Barnard College in New York 1988. This text, a compilation from five manuscripts, omits the well-known *Merhaba* ("Welcome") section (McCallum, 23-4).

A devout work, the *Mewlid* has a short prose prologue in Arabic, then follows a typical *mat̲h̲nawī* format with praise of Allāh, apology, prayer for the author, etc. The main narrative is preceded by a discourse on the Light of Muḥammad [see nūr muḥammad], then includes not only Muḥammad's birth and the wonders preceding it, but his virtues, attributed miracles, the *Miʿrādj̲* [*q.v.*], his final illness and death. The metre is the hexametric *ramal*, and the language is a simple Ottoman that is both lyrical and moving.

Bibliography: For mss. and further studies, see Pekolcay's 1993 work quoted.

(Kathleen R.F. Burrill)

SÜLEYMĀN PAS̲H̲A (?-758/?-1357); son, probably the eldest, of the second Ottoman ruler, Ork̲h̲an [*q.v.*]. He was the first member of the dynasty to establish Ottoman rule on the European side of

the Straits of Gallipoli and, as such, occupies a revered position in Ottoman tradition and historiography. However, the earliest Ottoman accounts of his deeds appear in the chronicles composed in the second half of the 9th/15th century and, although these contain obvious allusions to real historical events, they belong to the genre of popular epic (*dāstān*), and cannot serve as historical sources. The only contemporary and seemingly reliable references to events in Süleymān Pasha's life appear in the Byzantine chronicle of John Cantacuzenus (ed. L. Schopen, *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, xx, vols. i-iii, Bonn 1828-32). References to Süleymān Pasha therefore inevitably occur in the context of Cantacuzenus' own relations with Süleymān Pasha's father, Orkhan.

In 747/1346, Cantacuzenus formed an alliance with Orkhan and, with his help, seized the Byzantine throne in the following year. The first reference to Süleymān Pasha dates from 749/1348, when Cantacuzenus sought help from Orkhan against the Serbian Tsar, Stephen Dushan, who had occupied Thessaly. Orkhan sent "over ten thousand" troops under the leadership of Süleymān and his other sons, but when this force reached Macedonia, and learned that it was Dushan from whom they were to recover the Thessalian cities, they deserted "and started plundering and killing" (iii, 32). The second reference to Süleymān recalls a similar event. In 751/1350, Cantacuzenus called on Orkhan to give assistance in recovering Thessaloniki from the rebel Alexius Metochites. Again, Orkhan sent Süleymān with a force of "twenty thousand horsemen", and again these deserted. The reason, Cantacuzenus claims, was that Orkhan had recalled them to fight a war against a neighbouring prince in Anatolia (iii, 111). A similar incident occurred in 753/1352, when the co-Emperor, John V Palaeologus, attacked Cantacuzenus' son, Matthew, near Adrianople/Edirne [*q.v.*]. Cantacuzenus again called on Orkhan, who once again sent Süleymān Pasha with "at least ten thousand cavalry". On this occasion, Süleymān Pasha was victorious, leading John V to try unsuccessfully to win him over to his cause (iii, 248).

These events have left no echoes in the Ottoman tradition, which remembers Süleymān as, above all, the conqueror of Gallipoli and parts of Thrace. It is again Cantacuzenus who provides what appears to be the most accurate account of these events.

In 753/1352, the Turks occupied the fortress of Tzympe (Bolayır?) in Thrace. It seems that Cantacuzenus himself had invited them there so that the soldiers would be more easily at his disposal, and that he had granted them, in return for military service, the right to tax the inhabitants (N. Oikonomides, *From soldiers of fortune to Gazi warriors: the Tzympe affair*, in C.J. Heywood and C. Imber (eds.), *Studies in Ottoman history in honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, Istanbul 1994, 239-48). The Turks in Tzympe were, it seems, under the command of Süleymān Pasha. When Cantacuzenus asked Orkhan to abandon the fortress, Orkhan replied that it was his son, Süleymān, who had control of Tzympe and, if he were to abandon it, he would require compensation. Cantacuzenus provided a thousand gold pieces, and the Turks "sent men to hand over the stronghold to him" (iii, 277). This was in February 755/1354. On 2 March a violent earthquake destroyed Gallipoli and the surrounding towns. The Greek inhabitants fled, and Süleymān Pasha, ignoring the agreement to abandon Tzympe, crossed the Dardanelles from his base at Pegai on the Asiatic shore, and settled Gallipoli and the abandoned towns and villages with Turks from Anatolia. He restored the fortifications of Gallipoli, making them stronger than before, and left a large garrison. Süleymān Pasha never restored to the Emperor Gallipoli and the other places which he had occupied. Cantacuzenus sought them from Orkhan, but Süleymān refused to abandon them, "replying that he had not conquered the cities by force, but merely occupied abandoned and ruined ones". Orkhan, however, eventually persuaded his son to hand over the towns for 40,000 gold pieces, but the agreement foundered when Orkhan failed to meet Cantacuzenus at Nicomedia/Izmid to finalise the arrangement (iii, 277-81).

In the summer of 755/1354, Süleymān Pasha also led an army eastwards, capturing the towns of Crateia/Gerede and Ankara [*q.v.*], but from whom he took them is not clear (iii, 284). He died in 758/1357 (Ç.N. Atsız, *Osmanlı tarihine ait takvimler*, Istanbul 1961, 25).

Bibliography: Given in the article. All modern accounts of the reign of Orkhan (see *Bibl.* to that article) contain references to Süleymān Pasha, but these tend to be essentially romantic re-workings of the apocryphal materials in the Ottoman chronicles.

(C. Imber)

SÜLEYMĀN PASHA, MALAṬYALÏ, Dāmād, Silāḥdār, Ḳodja, (*ca.* 1016-98/1607-87), Ottoman Grand Vizier under Sultan Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*].

Born in Malaṭya [*q.v.*] of non-Muslim parents, possibly Armenians, he was educated in the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] establishment of the Ibrāhīm Pasha palace at Istanbul upon the instigation of his relative, the *Ḳapu Aghasï* [*q.v.*] Ismāʿīl Agha, and made his career in the palace service (see enderūn). From being *Dülbend agha*, he became *Miftāḥ shāgirdi* in the *Seferli odasï* and the *Khāṣṣ oda* [*q.v.*], and in 1050/1640 became *Silāḥdār* [*q.v.*] to the sultan. Six months later he was raised to the rank of *Ḳubbe wezīri* [*q.v.*]. On 12 Djumādā I 1054/17 July 1644 he was appointed *beglerbegi* of Sīwās [*q.v.*, i.e. *Rūm*], and two years later, of Erzurum [*q.v.*]. He was able to suppress the *Djelālī* [see djalālī, in Suppl.] revolts in his governorships at this time. Recalled to the capital, he was appointed military governor of Ṣaḳïz [*q.v.*] or Chios and entrusted with the transport of troops from Česhme to the theatre of war in Crete [see ḳandiva; iḳrītish] in 1057/1647. After this, he was restored to his position of *Ḳubbe wezīri*. He was made Grand Vizier upon the suggestion of the influential ex-Agha of the Janissaries, Ḳara-Ḥasanzāde Ḥuseyin Agha on 16 Shawwāl 1065/19 August 1655 and married to the princess ʿĀʾishe Sulṭān, a daughter of Sultan Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], who had previously been the wife of Ipshir Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*]. The new "supremo" turned out to be unable to get a grip on affairs. It was a particularly difficult juncture of events, with the "War of Candia" going from bad to worse, revolts raging in the Crimea as well as in Anatolia, and the imperial finances out of control. The Grand Vizier confessed later to having been unable to break up the corrupt networks of patronage and protection of the leading personalities of that period of the "sultanate of women" (*ḳadïnlar salṭanatï* [see wālide sulṭan]). Nor was he able to reduce the size of the *Ḳapu Ḳulu* corps. His financial policy consisted of the farming out, two to three years in advance, of certain items of taxation, the sale in rapid succession (every six to seven months) of offices and a debasement of the coinage. The *Ḳapu Ḳulu* troops, however, refused to accept their pay in the new "*čingene*" or "*meykhāne*" *aḳčesi*. The *Dār al-Saʿāde Aghasï*, after a long hesitation of the leading circles, advised the Wālide Sulṭān, Turkhān Khadīdje Sulṭān, to dismiss Süleymān Pasha (2 Djumādā I 1066/28 February

1656). The Pas̲h̲a's life was spared during the bloody revolt in Istanbul known as the *Waḳʿa-yi Wakwākiyye* or *Čīnar Waḳʿasi* (8-12 D̲j̲umādā I 1066/4-8 March 1656). Süleymān Pas̲h̲a was appointed *Beglerbegi* of Bosnia for eight months in 1066/1656. Two years later, he was made *ḳāʾim-maḳām* [*q.v.*] at Istanbul (1069/1659). A year later, after a great fire had raged for 49 days in Istanbul, he was dismissed and transferred to the government of the province of Silistre at Oczakow [see ÖZÜ], where he had to tackle the maritime raids of the Cossacks of the Don. After a not-too-successful tenure of office in these border areas, he was recalled to the capital to become *ḳāʾim-maḳām* once more (1075/1665). Fires again devastated the capital in that year; the sultan came to see the damage, and dismissed the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* as being the responsible authority (29 Rabīʿ I 1076/12 October 1665). Süleymān Pas̲h̲a retained his rank, and in spring of the next year accompanied the Wālide Sulṭān to Edirne. He was made *beglerbegi* of Erzurum in 1076/1666. Dismissed a year later, he was given the status of *maʿzūl* and retained all his vizierial *k̲h̲āṣṣ* estates (1077/1667). For the remaining twenty years of his life, Süleymān Pas̲h̲a lived as a private person, dying aged around eighty on 15 Rabīʿ II 1098/28 February 1687. His career may be seen as characteristic of a decent, not very talented statesman, helped along by the *intisāb* network of patronage to which he belonged.

Bibliography: B. Kütükoğlu's art. in *IA*, xi, 197-200, forms the basis of the above and contains extensive references to unpublished sources. See also ʿAtā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1291, ii, 66-7; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 236 ff., ii, 165-7; Ḥasan Wed̲j̲īhī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ed. B. Atsāz, *Das osmanische Reich um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1977, 50; Kātib Čelebi, *Fed̲h̲leke*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 292, 313; Meḥmed K̲h̲alīfe, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i G̲h̲ilmānī*, in B. Atsāz, *op. cit.*, 127-8, and also K. Su, *Mehmet Halife, Tarih-i Gilmani* (popular ed.), Istanbul 1976, 49-50; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1280, vi, 106-8, 282-3, 135 ff.; ʿOt̲h̲mān-zāde Aḥmed Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat ul-wüzerāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 101-2 (data unreliable); Rās̲h̲id, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1282, i, 97, 105, 129; Findiḳlili Meḥmed, *Silihdār taʾrīk̲h̲i*, ed. Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altānay], Istanbul 1928, i, 16, 26, 63, 255-6, 389 ff., 410, 434, ii, 293-4, 264; Von Hammer, *HEO*, x, 352, 363, 375-6, 378-9; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, tables XXXVI and XXXVII, nos. 1170, 1191 (correction: these refer to the same ʿĀʾis̲h̲e!).

(A.H. DE GROOT)

ṢULḤ (A.), an abstract noun from the verb *ṣaluḥa* or *ṣalaḥa* "to be sound, righteous", denotes the idea of peace and reconciliation in Islamic law and practice.

The purpose of *ṣulḥ* is to end conflict and hostility among believers so that they may conduct their relationships in peace and amity. In the relationship between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, the purpose of *ṣulḥ* is to suspend fighting between them and establish peace, called *muwādaʿa* (peace or gentle relationship), for a specific period of time. In Islamic law *ṣulḥ* is a form of contract (*ʿaḳd*), legally binding on both the individual and community levels.

According to the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, *ṣulḥ* between two believers is a contract of settlement, consisting of offer (*īd̲j̲āb*) and acceptance (*ḳabūl*). The objects of the *ṣulḥ* are essentially the same as those in contracts of sale, consisting of material and non-material objects, except those prohibited commodities such as wine and dead animals.

Three kinds of settlement are recognised under the *S̲h̲arīʿa*. First, the defendant can, by *iḳrār*, acknowledge the settlement. Secondly, he can, by *inkār*, dispute or reject it. Thirdly, he can, by *sukūt*, say nothing. The three kinds of settlement, however, are not recognised without differences among the schools of law. From the early classical period, the principal founders of the schools of law, especially Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/768) and al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 204/820), have differed as to which of the three kinds of settlement is binding.

Abū Ḥanīfa maintained that competence to negotiate a *ṣulḥ* settlement by the parties, i.e. that they should have attained their majority, *bulūg̲h̲*, is not essential. But *ṣulḥ* by *iḳrār* is not binding; it must be by *iḳrār* and *sukūt*. Al-S̲h̲āfiʿī set no qualifications, and held that, by *iḳrār*, a *ṣulḥ* is binding. He also set no conditions about the claimed object, as he divided the settlement into *ṣulḥ al-ibrāʾ*, by virtue of which the object would be a *hiba* (donation), and *ṣulḥ al-muʿāwaḍa*, when the claimed object is replaced by another. The caliph ʿUmar is reported to have opined that all kinds of disputes should be considered as settled, irrespective of any qualifications, and his opinion seems to have been accepted by the Companions.

Like *ṣulḥ* between two believers, the *ṣulḥ* between the community of believers in the *dār al-Islām* (territory of Islam), and the community of unbelievers in the *dār al-ḥarb* (territory of war), is also considered a legal *ʿaḳd* (a treaty), called *muhādana* or *muwādaʿa*, consisting of all the terms and stipulations agreed upon between the two sides which will become the law governing the relationship between them. Such a treaty is not intended to supersede the normal "state of war" existing between the *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-Islām* as envisaged by the early Muslim scholars. The period of such a treaty is limited in duration not to exceed 10 years (a limit set on the basis of the Prophet Muḥammad's first treaty with the people of Mecca in 2/624), although it can be renewed for one or more terms.

The early Muslim scholars and founders of the schools of law, however, differed in their views as to the relationship between the two *dārs*. Abū Ḥanīfa, and even more Abū Yūsuf and al-S̲h̲aybānī, held that a "state of war" (war in the legal sense, not in the sense of fighting) had existed between the two *dārs*, but they made no explicit statements that the *d̲j̲ihād* [*q.v.*] was a war against such non-Muslims as Christians and Jews solely on account of their disbelief in Islam, because they believed in God and repudiated idolatry. For this reason, they were not denounced as the people of *kufr*, but they were often referred to as *d̲h̲immīs*, the protected people who lived under Islamic rule [see DHIMMAH]. This was also the position of al-Awzāʿī in Syria, and Mālik in the Ḥid̲j̲āz. It was al-S̲h̲āfiʿī who first formulated the doctrine that the *d̲j̲ihād* was intended to be a permanent war on the unbelievers, not one merely when they came into conflict with Islam, on the basis of Ḳurʾān, ix, 5, which commands believers "to fight unbelievers whenever you may find them" (*K. al-Umm*, iv, 84-5).

When conditions in the *dār al-Islām* began to change from the 4th/10th century, and the expansion of Islam had come to a standstill, Muslim scholars began to argue that the *S̲h̲arīʿa* did not require performance of the *d̲j̲ihād* duty unless the *dār al-Islām* were threatened by foreign forces. Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] held that Islam should not be imposed by force on unbelievers who made no attempt to encroach upon the *dār al-Islām*. He said, "If the unbeliever were to be killed unless he becomes a Muslim, such an action would constitute

the greatest compulsion in religion," and this would be contrary to the Ḳur'ān, in which it is stated that "no compulsion is prescribed by religion" (II, 257). But when unbelievers from the *dār al-ḥarb* (e.g. the Mongols and the Crusaders) menaced the *dār al-Islām*, such a situation required every Muslim to fulfill the *ḏjihād* as an individual duty.

It follows that *ṣulḥ* as a concept of peace and harmony was not applied by the *dār al-Islām* to the *dār al-ḥarb* in regard to territorial rule, but in regard to a community or a group or even one person in their relationship with Islam. Three specific categories were acknowledged by the *S̲h̲arīʿa*:

(1) When the *d̲h̲immīs*—Christian, Jews, Sabians and other who claimed to have a scripture—had passed under Islamic rule, under an agreement, a permanent peace was established between them under certain conditions; for these, see D̲H̲IMMA.

(2) Non-Muslims who believed in more than one God and worshipped idols were denounced as *kuffār* or unbelievers; for their position, see KĀFIR. Any convert who had renounced Islam after the death of the Prophet was denounced as a *murtadd* or apostate; for his position, see MURTADD.

(3) *Ṣulḥ* under an *amān*. Despite occasional conflicts between the Byzantine and the Islamic empires, under both the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids, a number of treaties and agreements were reached between the two sides to maintain periods of peace and also to facilitate occasional commercial and cultural relationships. As the two *dār*s were in principle in a state of war, the entry by non-Muslims from the *dār al-ḥarb* into the *dār al-Islām* was made possible by the granting of *amān*, a pledge of security by virtue of which the person from the *dār al-ḥarb*, called a *ḥarbī*, was at peace with Islam during his visit to the *dār al-Islām*. No longer at war with Islam, the *ḥarbī* would become a *musta'min*, and he would be entitled to protection by the Muslim authorities (for details, see AMĀN).

The institution of *amān*, like a passport to facilitate peaceful relationship among nations today, may accordingly be considered as a factor promoting *ṣulḥ* in the relationships between the *dār al-Islām* and the *dār al-ḥarb*.

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(M. KHADDURI)

ṢULḤ-I KULL, the central principle in the religious thought of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor Akbar (d. 1014/1605) and his counsellor Abu 'l-Faḍl, apparently developed under the influence of Ibn ʿArabī's ideas.

As a *farmān* of Akbar from 999/1590 (publ. in Desai, 545) puts it, the highest station of spiritual attainment is *muḥabbat-i kull*, absolute love, where only unity remains. A lower station is *ṣulḥ-i kull* or absolute peace, which constitutes a recognition of diversity and calls upon one to be benevolent to all. By 989/1581, the doctrine of *ṣulḥ-i kull* was dominant at Akbar's court, as reported by a letter from his counsellor Abu 'l-Fatḥ to S̲h̲arīf Āmulī (*Ruḳaʿāt*, 150), where it is taken to mean "accommodating oneself to people, good and bad, and regarding oneself, with all one's defects, as a necessary part of this world." In Akbar's mind, *ṣulḥ-i kull* most strongly implied the necessity of tolerance of all the different and contradictory religious beliefs. As he moved away from Muslim orthodoxy after the theologians' *maḥḍar* of 987/1579, which had admitted him to be an authoritative interpreter of the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, he came to occupy, at almost the same moment, "the sovereign seat of *ṣulḥ-i kull*" and so assumed as an obligation, the tolerance of "all the idle-talkers" against his religious views, according to the official history of the Emperor, written by Abu 'l-Faḍl (*Akbar-nāma*, iii, 271). In 1000/1591, while holding the Muslim prayers and fasts to be mere ritualistic exercises, Akbar forbade his son Murād from prohibiting or interfering with them on the explicit ground that it was "incumbent on sovereigns and administrators to keep to *ṣulḥ-i kull* with all the world and its denizens" (*Akbar-nāma*, early version, fol. 389a). *Ṣulḥ-i kull* was stressed as a basic article in Akbar's preaching to his own spiritual followers (see D̲j̲ahāngīr's statement of these "articles" in his *Tūzuk*, 28). *Ṣulḥ-i kull* is not heard of after the early years of D̲j̲ahāngīr's reign (1014-37/1605-27). Perhaps it was too early for its time. Even some of the religions which Akbar protected under its umbrella, were not impressed. The Jesuit Monserrate wrote (1581) that Akbar "cared little that, in allowing every one to follow his own religion, he was in reality violating all religions" (*Commentary*, 142).

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(M. ATHAR ALI)

AL-ṢŪLĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Ṣūl, man of letters, court companion of several caliphs, expert on poetry and chess, d. 335/947. As a prolific author, collector of poetry, and as an often-quoted authority for reports on caliphs and poets, he holds a place of eminence in classical Arabic literature. Since he himself mentions that he attended—and disliked—the lectures of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893-4 [*q.v.*]) at Baṣra in the year 277/890-1 (*Ak̲h̲bār al-s̲h̲uʿarā' al-muḥdat̲h̲īn*, 210), the year of his birth may be placed about twenty years earlier, i.e. around the year 257/874 (for further evidence, see Nuʿmān, *Sharḥ al-Ṣūlī*, i, 70, n. 1). He was born into an illustrious Bag̲h̲dādī family; his great ancestor, "Ṣūl the Turk", had held D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān at the time of its conquest (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1323-5). In the course of events leading to the ʿAbbāsids' rise of power, his family became closely linked to the new dynasty. Muḥammad b. Ṣūl, who must have joined the *daʿwa* at an early date, was

appointed governor of Mawṣil and Ādharbaydjān under the caliph Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ. Another member of the family, Abū ʿAmr Masʿada b. Saʿīd b. Ṣūl, served in the chancellery of al-Manṣūr and the Barmakids (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 88), as did his son ʿAmr (d. 217/832) at the beginning of his career; ʿAmr was later given several high offices under al-Ma'mūn (D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 234-8; Shawḳī Ḍayf, *Ta'rīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī, al-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-awwal*, Cairo 1966, 552-8). From the time of al-Ma'mūn until al-Mutawakkil there had flourished also his great-uncle, Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Ṣūlī, who was one of the famous secretary-poets and a master of ornate prose and poetry in *badīʿ* style (d. 243/857; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 578-80).

Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī himself never held any administrative post, but mainly served as *nadīm* [*q.v.*] and tutor, positions which did not provide him with a secure rank and income, a fact reflected in his frequent requests directed to the addressee of his panegyrical poetry (e.g. *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa'l-Muttaḳī*, 14 ll. 6-12; 23 ll. 3-5; 153 ll. 5-7). Biographical dictionaries name the famous Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī, Thaʿlab and al-Mubarrad as his teachers, but the authorities most often quoted by him are ʿAwn b. Muḥammad al-Kindī, al-Ḥasan b. ʿUlayl al-ʿAnazī and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Ghalābī. At first admitted to the *madjlis* of the caliph al-Muktafī for his praised mastery of chess, as it seems (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, § 3471; quoted by Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iv, 359-60), his excellence in literary matters was soon recognised, and al-Muḳtadir entrusted to him the education of two of his sons. One of them, Muḥammad, the later caliph al-Rāḍī (in succession to al-Ḳāhir, from the year 322/934), was a gifted poet and particularly attached to al-Ṣūlī. This relationship, which lasted until the caliph died (329/940), gave him a privileged position at court. With the succession of al-Muttaḳī, who did not entertain literati and court-companions, al-Ṣūlī had to find a new sphere of activity and went to Wāsiṭ, where he was generously received by Badjkam [*q.v.*], the later *Amīr al-Umarā'*, as he himself reports (*Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa'l-Muttaḳī*, 193-4). In the reign of al-Mustakfī, al-Ṣūlī tried to find admission to court again, but did not succeed, and, according to a short note of Ibn al-Nadīm (*al-Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 167) and others, was subsequently accused of ʿAlid sympathies. He then retired to Baṣra, where Abū ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī [*q.v.*] attended his reading of his *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* in the year 335/946-7 (*al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda*, *Ḳiṣaṣ* 111, 113, 140, 276, 326, 402). Here he died in the month of Ramaḍān of the same year, again according to the testimony of al-Tanūkhī (no. 328); biographical literature, beginning with al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994), has also 336 as the year of his death (*Muʿdjam al-shuʿarā'*, ed. Krenkow, 465). It is not clear, in how far this accusation should be understood as a reflection of his Shīʿī leanings, but al-Ṣūlī has become part of the Shīʿī tradition (cf. Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Tabaḳāt aʿlām al-shīʿa. Nawābigh al-ruwāt fī rābiʿat al-mi'āt*, Tehran 1971, 214), and it is most likely that he was on good terms with ʿAlids and their traditions, as his *Waḳʿat al-Djamal* (cf. Sezgin, i, 331) may suggest.

Al-Ṣūlī had a multitude of written sources at his disposal, since he possessed an impressive library of many volumes, well arranged and with marvellous bindings. However, a strong bias against reliance on books as a sole source of transmission prevailed at his time, and even Ibn al-Nadīm mentions that his library was considered to be a stain on his scholarly reputation (168). Al-Ṣūlī claimed, as recorded by his pupil Abū Bakr Ibn Shādhān (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iii, 431), that in the course of his studies he had attended "the reading" of all the books he possessed. In spite of this attempt at self-defence, verses defining his library as the only source of his knowledge spread widely. A few other critical voices attack his reliability as author, for example Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAshshār, who disqualifies the transmission of al-Ṣūlī's materials by Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī as lies, and disqualifies al-Ṣūlī's transmission from al-Ghalābī as well (Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, v, 428). Also, Ibn al-Nadīm accuses him of plagiarism (see below).

In any case, those of his writings mainly concerned with history and poetry won recognition among his colleages. Al-Masʿūdī refers to al-Ṣūlī's main work, the *Kitāb al-Awrāḳ*, as a collection of accounts (*akhbār*) about the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and their poetry, and about their secretaries, ministers and poets, and appreciates the originality of the information and literary quality of its contents (*op. cit.*, § 11). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī made extensive use of this source (cf. al-ʿUmarī); and traces of this and other works of al-Ṣūlī are scattered in *adab* literature, such as the works of al-Ḥuṣrī, al-Murtaḍā, and al-Tanūkhī. Al-Marzubānī, the excellent connoisseur of poetry and *adab* tradition, considered al-Ṣūlī as his master (*op. cit.*) and quoted him extensively in his *K. al-Muwashshah*. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī refers more than four hundred times to al-Ṣūlī for materials on poets and poetry in his *Aghānī* (cf. Fleischhammer).

Only some of his works listed by Ibn al-Nadīm (*loc. cit.*) are preserved. Traces of them may be identified from exact quotations. As mentioned above, al-Tanūkhī studied the *K. al-Wuzarā'* with the author, and Abū Saʿīd al-Samʿānī copied from his own teacher al-Djawālīḳī two large volumes of al-Ṣūlī's *Amālī*, not mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (*al-Ansāb*, ed. al-Barūdī, iii, 567); the *Kitāb al-Anwāʿ*, which seems to have dealt mainly with poetry and poets, is quoted by al-Baghdādī (*Khizānat al-adab*, Būlāḳ, iii, 53). Further quotations from al-Ṣūlī are gathered by I. Kratschkovsky in his *EI*[1] art. s.v.; Brockelmann S I, 218-19, and Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 330-1 (with further references). See also the footnotes to al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, years 331-50, pp. 131-2.

The extant works give a vivid impression of his literary production. His *K. al-Awrāḳ* included under its heading (cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 354) a number of his books as enumerated by Ibn al-Nadīm. These depict many sides of the culture of his time dealing with the—mostly literary—aspects of courtly life and poets, and also include a few autobiographical notes. The edition of the parts entitled *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa'l-Muttaḳī*, *Ashʿār awlād al-khulafā'; Akhbār al-shuʿarā' al-muḥdathīn* (ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne, London 1934-6) did not cover all the parts preserved in manuscripts. A new and completed edition has now been announced at St. Petersburg (cf. Chalidov).

His handbook for secretaries, *Adab al-kuttāb* (ed. Muḥammad Bahdjat al-Atharī, Cairo 1341), which deals with the technical requirements of the secretarial profession, namely, appropriate writing tools, the right formulae of address, some administrative expertise and orthography, also contains anecdotes and shows a strong interest in the aspects of etiquette.

His writings assign much space to the poetry of "the modern" poets (*muḥdathūn*). The study of this poetry was obviously his main literary interest, which he pursued with the collection, arrangement and edi-

tion in the form of *dīwāns*. This scholarly work is an important contribution to Arabic literature, mainly because most of the *dīwāns* he collected, as they appear in the listing of Ibn al-Nadīm, belong to poets of the 3rd/9th century or contemporary poets, e.g. Abū Sh͟urāʿa al-Ḳaysī, ʿAlī b. al-Dj͟ahm, Diʿbil b. ʿAlī, Kh͟ālid b. Yazīd al-Kātib and al-Ṣanawbarī. Al-Ṣūlī's redactions of these *dīwāns* seem not to have survived in separate manuscripts; some are referred to in works of Arabic literature, such as those of Abu 'l-Sh͟īṣ (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii), Ibn Ṭabāṭabā and Ibn al-Rūmī (*ibid.*). Excerpts from his scholarly work are preserved in the *dīwāns* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and, probably, of Muslim b. al-Walīd. Whereas his redaction of the poems of Abū Nuwās has survived in many manuscripts (cf. Wagner), the poetry of the above-mentioned Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī is preserved only in his redaction (cf. al-Maymanī); the redaction of the *dīwān* of Abū Tammām is preserved along with his commentary (*Sh͟arḥ Dīwān Abī Tammām*, ed. Nuʿmān).

In addition to the mere transmission of poetry, al-Ṣūlī collected narratives of the events which supposedly had inspired or provoked the poets' verses, and occasionally explain and evaluate the poems themselves. In this vein, the *Akh͟bār Sudayf b. Maymūn* and *Akh͟bār al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī* are mentioned as parts of the *K. al-Awrāḳ* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *loc. cit.*); elsewhere we find mentioned the *Akh͟bār sh͟uʿarā' Miṣr* (Yāḳūt, *Irsh͟ād*, v, 454), the *Akh͟bār al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf*, used by Abu 'l-Faradj͟ (cf. Sezgin), and more may be found scattered in Arabic literature, as Ṣāliḥ al-Ash͟tar has demonstrated with the collection of the *Akh͟bār al-Buḥturī* (Damascus 1958). In the *Akh͟bār Abī Tammām* (ed. Muḥammed ʿAbduh ʿAzzām), al-Ṣūlī gives a detailed and elaborate defence of the latter's poetic style; moreover, he presents, in his *Risāla* to Muzāḥim b. Fātik—edited together with the *Akh͟bār*—a critical analysis of the position of those who rebuked the new style of Abū Tammām, along with a thoughtful comparison between the art of the Moderns and the Ancients.

The critical remarks of Ibn al-Nadīm, who accused him of plagiarism from a work of al-Marth͟adī (143, 168), and suspected him of having produced the poetry ascribed to Ibn Harma himself (181), cannot be corroborated. In any case, they may indicate al-Ṣūlī's strong inclination to defend the qualities of "modern" poetry.

For his contribution to the literature on chess and his role as a master player, see SH͟AṬRANDJ͟.

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(S. LEDER)

SULLAM (A.), *Scala*, denoting a bilingual Coptic-Arabic vocabulary, and by extension, a ms. of a Coptic-Arabic philological miscellany.

As Arabisation progressed in Egypt, and the usage of Coptic, the latest form of Ancient Egyptian, diminished [see ḲIBṬ], local scholars put together bilingual (and even trilingual, with Greek) vocabularies, composed to respond to the need of social adaptation or the preservation of the ancient patrimony. At the outset, the lexicographical work was a prolongation of the earlier, rich local tradition, which had already mingled the Pharaonic and Hellenistic heritages. But from the 13th century A.D. onwards, within the framework of the philological movement marking the intellectual and literary Coptic renaissance, one aspect of which was the birth of Coptic grammar of Arabic inspiration [see MUḲADDIMA], new directions appeared.

The oldest and most represented genre in this lexicography is that called "onomasiological" (sc. the classification of words by subjects or themes). Editions by Munier and Kircher, unfortunately defective and incomplete, based on single mss., have brought to light the most developed of these vocabularies: the anonymous and composite Greco-Copto-Arabic one called "Book of degrees" (βιβλίον τῶν βαθμῶν, *K. Daradj͟ al-sullam*) and the "Scala magna" (*al-Sullam al-kabīr*), a Copto-Arabic work by the encyclopaedist Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (d. 1324 [*q.v.*]). But many others exist (incl. Greco-Arabic lexica), still unpublished, which served either directly or indirectly as models for later compilations, whose archetypes may go back to the pre-Islamic period, in the form of monolingual "onomastica", Greek or Coptic, or also bilingual, Greco-Coptic.

Apart from a less numerous type of vocabulary, of the glossary type, analysing Biblical and Christian liturgical texts, and another dealing with homonyms (*kalām mush͟tabih*), not to speak of those of a hybrid character, there exist rhymed (*muḳaffā*) alphabetically-arranged lexica on the Arabic pattern. These are owed to two other polymaths of the 7th/13th century: Abū Sh͟ākir Ibn al-Rāhib and al-Mu'taman Ibn al-ʿAssāl [*q.vv.*]. The first has not survived, but its existence and its method of arrangement are known to us thanks to the prologue preserved with the grammar which served as an introduction (*muḳaddima*) to it, whilst the second was edited by Kircher, in the same poor conditions as those mentioned above.

Independent of their intrinsic value in regard to Coptic lexicography, these mediaeval vocabularies proved very useful to European scholars of the last century for discovering and getting to know the ancient language of the hieroglyphs; but they also contain precious information on the lexicon of the Greek *koiné* and the mediaeval Arabic used in the Nile Valley.

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(A. Sidarus)

SULṬĀN (a.), a word which is originally an abstract noun meaning "power, authority", but which by the 4th/10th century often passes to the meaning "holder of power, authority". It could then be used for provincial and even quite petty rulers who had assumed *de facto* power alongside the caliph, but in the 5th/11th century was especially used by the dominant power in the central lands of the former caliphate, the Great Saldjūḳs [see saldjūḳids. II, III.1], who initially overshadowed the ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād. In the Perso-Turkish and Indo-Muslim worlds especially, the feminine form *sulṭāna* evolves to denote a woman holder of power. A denominative verb *tasalṭana* was formed, with the somewhat contemptuous diminutive *mutasalṭin* for a petty prince, whilst in Spanish Muslim sources, *sulaṭān* was used to designate Alfonso VII of Castile after he had come to the throne as a child only (Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 674).

1. In early Islamic usage and in the central lands of Islam.

The native Arabic verb *salaṭa* "to be hard, strong" (cf. Akkad. *šalāṭu* "to have power") often occurs in ancient poetry, but not in the Ḳurʾān. *Sulṭān*, on the other hand, occurs frequently in the Ḳurʾān, with the denominative verb *sallaṭa fulānan ʿalā fulānin* "to empower s.o. over s.o." appearing in IV, 92/90, and LIX, 6. *Sulṭān* has there most often the meaning of a moral or magical authority supported by proofs or miracles which afford the right to make a statement of religious import. The prophets received this *sulṭān* from God (cf. e.g. sūra XIV, 12, 13) and the idolators are often invited to produce a *sulṭān* in support of their beliefs. Thus the dictionaries (like *TʿA*[1], v, 159) explain the word as synonymous with *ḥudjdja* and *burhān*. There are also six passages in the Ḳurʾān where *sulṭān* has the meaning of "power", but it is always the spiritual power which Iblīs exercises over men (XIV, 26; XV, 42; XVI, 101, 102; XVII, 67; XXXIV, 20). Now it is this meaning of power, or rather of governmental power, which is attached to the word *sulṭān* in the early centuries of Islam. The word and its meaning were undoubtedly borrowed from the Syriac *shulṭānā*, which has the meaning of power, and, although rarely, also that of the wielder of power (Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 4179; Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 39; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 176-7). The Ḳurʾānic sense of the word may probably also be derived from the meaning of power (some lexicographers try to explain it as the plural of *salīṭ*, "olive oil"). Later, an attempt was made to connect the title *sulṭān* with the meaning of "argument", and it was paraphrased as *dhu 'l-ḥudjdja* (*TʿA*, *loc. cit.*).

In the literature of Ḥadīth, *sulṭān* has exclusively the sense of power, usually governmental power (the *sulṭān* is the *walī* for him who has no other *walī*, al-Tirmidhī, i, 204) but the word also means sometimes the power of God. The best-known tradition, however, is that which begins with the words *al-sulṭān ẓill Allāh fi 'l-arḍ* "governmental power is the shadow of God upon earth" (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 61, Eng. tr. ii, 67, and idem, *Du sens propre des expressions Ombre de Dieu, Khalife de Dieu, pour désigner les chefs dans l'Islam*, in *RHR*, xxxv [1897], 331-8). Al-ʿUtbī quotes this tradition at the beginning of the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, and his commentator al-Manīnī says that it was transmitted by al-Tirmidhī and others as going back to Ibn ʿUmar (*al-Fatḥ al-wahbī*, *Sharḥ al-Yamīnī*, Cairo 1286, i, 21). This tradition later played a part in the theories of the Sultanate because an allusion to the title was wrongly seen in it. Apart from Ḥadīth, Arabic literature to the end of the 4th/10th century only knows the word *sulṭān* in the sense of governmental power (among the many examples, cf., e.g. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 346, 349; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 183, where it is said that in ancient times the residence of the *sulṭān* of Ifrīḳiya was Carthage, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. de Goeje, 143, where al-Mawṣil is called the residence of the *sulṭān* and of the *dīwān* of al-Djazīra) or of the person who at a particular time is the personification of the impersonal governmental power, as opposed to *amīr*, which is rather in the nature of a title. This last meaning, which is sometimes more completely rendered by *Dhu 'l-Sulṭān* (e.g. in Ḥadīth), and is totally different from the first, is found as early as the Egyptian papyri of the first century (for the governor of Egypt, cf. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens*, 90, n. 6) and in the following centuries sometimes also for the caliphs (the caliph al-Manṣūr is called Sulṭān Allāh in a *khuṭba*, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 426; the caliph al-Muwaffaḳ is called *Sulṭān*, *ibid.*, iii, 1894; and again in 997 the caliph al-Ḳādir, al-ʿUtbī, *op. cit.*, 265). This practice of designating a person by the word which indicates his dignity has parallels in all languages (see e.g. for Turkish official language, H. Ritter, in *Islamica*, ii [1927], 475); it even appears that the Assyrian form *silṭān* was applied to foreign sovereigns (according to Ravaisse in *ZDMG*, lxiii [1909], 330). The meaning of "power, government", has been maintained in Arabic literature to the present day.

The transition in meaning from an impersonal representative of political power to a personal title is a development the stages of which are difficult to follow. Authorities writing later than this development make statements which can only be accepted with reserve. Thus Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 8, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 8-9) says that the Barmakī Djaʿfar was called *sulṭān* because he held the most powerful position in the state and that, later, the great usurpers of the power of the caliph obtained *laḳabs* like *amīr al-umarāʾ* and *sulṭān*. The same thing is recorded of the Būyids (A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 568) and of the Ghaznawids. Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 92) says that Maḥmūd of Ghazna obtained the title of *sulṭān* from the caliph al-Ḳādir. This statement is not confirmed by al-ʿUtbī, who, in giving the various *alḳāb* conferred on Maḥmūd by the caliph (*op. cit.*, i, 317), makes no mention of this title. It is, however, true that al-ʿUtbī himself always calls Maḥmūd *al-Sulṭān*, giving in explanation the fact that Maḥmūd had become an independent sovereign (*op. cit.*, 311); but to al-ʿUtbī *sulṭān* cannot yet have been an official title, since he gives the same epithet to the caliph (see above). The first Ghaznawid on whose coins the title appears is Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd (451-92/1059-99),

apparently stimulated by the extensive use of the title by the Great Saldjūḳs to the Ghaznawids' west (see C.E. Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Oriens*, xv [1962], 222-4). We find the Fāṭimids using the epithet Sulṭān al-Islām (Ibn Yūnus, Leiden ms.) and in the same period we find the *laḳab* of Sulṭān al-Dawla among the Būyids of Fārs (Sulṭān al-Dawla, Abū Shudjāʿ, 403-15/1012-24 [*q.v.*]). The same *laḳab* was borne by the last Būyid al-Malik al-Raḥīm at Baghdād at the time when the usurping Saldjūḳ Ṭoghril Beg received from the caliph in 443/1051 the *laḳab* of al-Sulṭān Rukn al-Dawla (al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbál, 105; cf. also Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-ẓāhira*, ed. Popper, 233).

Ṭoghril Beg was also the first Muslim ruler whose coins bear the epithet or rather title *Sulṭān*, and that in the combination *al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam* (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of oriental coins in the Brit. Mus.*, iii, 28-9). This fact makes it very probable that the Saldjūḳs were the first for whom *Sulṭān* had become a regular title for a ruler; the qualification by *al-Muʿaẓẓam* was necessary to lift the word definitely out of its use as a more or less impersonal common noun. This development would at the same time explain why the word *Sulṭān* immediately became the highest title that a Muslim prince could obtain, while in the centuries preceding, any representative of authority could be so designated. The adjective *al-Muʿaẓẓam*, essential for the title, was soon omitted in unofficial language. Thus with the Saldjūḳs, *Sulṭān* became a regular sovereign title. Neither the provincial lines of the Saldjūḳs (among whom, however, we find the proper name Sulṭān-shāh) nor the Atabegs after them bore the title *sulṭān*; they were content with titles like *malik* and *shāh*. It was only after the end of the Great Saldjūḳs in the middle of the 6th/12th century that the Khwārazm-shāhs assumed it. The caliph al-Nāṣir was, however, able to take advantage of the weakness of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh by refusing to recognise his claim to this title (al-Nasawī, *Vie de Djelal-eddin Mankobirti*, ed. Houdas, 247). Soon the Saldjūḳs of Rūm also called themselves *Sulṭān* (on coins from Ḳilidj Arslan II, *r.* 551-88/1156-92, onwards). Almost at the same time the title is applied in literature to the early Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. Wright and de Goeje, 40), although *Sulṭān* never appears on the coins of the Ayyūbids, whose official titles were all combined with *al-Malik*. By the literature of the 7th/13th century, *Sulṭān* had become a title indicating the most absolute political independence. Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 169) speaks of Baghdād and its environs as the territory where the caliph reigned without a *sulṭān*. It is not certain if in the last period of the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād, the caliph was already regarded as the only authority who could confer the title *sulṭān*. We see, however, that after the fall of the caliphate an increasing number of Muslim potentates arrogated the title to themselves. In official use, the title was very often followed by an adjective like *al-Aʿẓam*, *al-ʿĀdil* etc. (a complete list is given in O. Codrington, *A manual of Musalman numismatics*, London 1904, 81-2). During the 7th-9th/13th-15th centuries, the Mamlūk *sulṭāns* of Egypt added the greatest lustre to the title of *Sulṭān*; after them came the Ottoman *sulṭāns*.

Sultans, having thus become potentates whose absolute independence was generally recognised, jurists and historians set themselves to construct theories to find a justification in law for the existence of such potentates, for whom there had been no place in the old conception of the Muslim caliphate [see KHALĪFA]. We find these theories as early as al-Māwardī (who wrote in the time of the later Būyids), for whom *sulṭān* had not yet any other meaning than governmental power, as is evident from the title of his book *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*. This same author says (ed. Enger, Bonn 1853, 30-1) that the caliph may remain in office even if he is dominated by one of his subordinates, provided that the latter's actions are in conformity with the principles of religion. Al-ʿUtbī, who quotes the tradition that the sultan is the shadow of Allāh on earth (see above), does so very probably to justify the independent position of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, to whom he always gives the epithet *al-Sulṭān*; but this allusion to the well-known tradition is perhaps rather a play upon words than the theory of a jurist. To al-Ghazālī, the "Sultans of his age", of whom he has a very low opinion (Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte*, Leiden 1916, 93), are in general the representatives of temporal power. It is only under the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt that a definite theory is laid down by Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (*Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, 89-90), who says that it is only the caliph who has the right to grant the title of *sulṭān* and that, in consequence, this title only belongs in reality to the sultan of Egypt. The Mamlūks called themselves in their inscriptions *Sulṭān al-Islām wa 'l-Muslimīn* (M. van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909). About the same time, Ibn ʿArabshāh in the biography of Sultan Djaḳmaḳ (*JRAS* [1907], 295 ff.) calls the sultan the *Khalīfa* of Allāh on earth in affairs of government, while the *ʿulamāʾ* are the heirs of the Prophet in matters of religion; this statement contains, like that of al-ʿUtbī, an apt allusion to the tradition (in another form). Lastly, al-Suyūṭī (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 91 ff.) gives a definition of the titles of *sulṭān* (he in whose possessions there are *maliks*) of *al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam* and of *Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn*, which is the highest title. In the time of the Mamlūks there were actually quite a number of Muslim potentates who called themselves *Sulṭān*; some of these, in keeping with al-Ẓāhirī's theory, had even asked the permission of the fainéant ʿAbbāsid caliph in Cairo to bear the title.

From the beginning of the use of the title, we may say that all the great rulers who bore it were Sunnīs. It is therefore not a mere coincidence that this development went parallel with the religious revival in Islam in the period of the Crusades; the great sultans became at the same time the defenders of Sunnī Islam, and the originally pagan Mongol rulers, after having in general embraced this form of Islam, assumed this very title. This Sunnī significance of the title is specially noticeable in the Ottoman sultanate. It appears that some coins of Orkhān [*q.v.*] already bear the title *sulṭān* (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. or. coins*, viii, 41), although the first Ottoman princes were generally regarded as *amīrs* (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 321). Bāyezīd I is said to have been the first to obtain from the caliph in Cairo the right to call himself *Sulṭān* (von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 235). After the taking of Constantinople, Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] assumed the title of *Sulṭān al-barrayn wa 'l-baḥrayn* (*GOR*, i, 88), but even in the Ottoman empire itself as the title of the sovereign it was never as popular as those of *Khunkār* and *Pādishāh*. In the official protocol, on the other hand, it occupies an important place, e.g. in the formula *al-Sulṭān ibn al-Sulṭān*, etc., before the names of the rulers. After the extinction of the Mamlūk sultanate by the conquest of Selīm I, Ottoman rulers had become indisputably the greatest sultans in Islam. The Ṣafawids of Persia were called *Shāh* and the opposition *Sulṭān-Shāh* henceforth corresponded to that between Sunnīs

and Shīʿīs. It is true that officially the Ṣafawids also called themselves *Sulṭān*, e.g. on their coins (R.S. Poole, *Catalogue of the coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, London 1887, index, 313, s.v. *Sulṭān*), but they were only known by the title of *Shāh*. In general under the Ṣafawids, *sulṭān* was a title of deputy governors in the provinces (see K.M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966).

In Ottoman Turkey, *Sulṭān* was always an elevated title. In addition to rulers, it was borne by princes, and one of the causes why the Grand Vizier and favourite of Süleymān I, Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], was disgraced is said to have been that he had taken the title of *Serʿasker Sulṭān* (*GOR*, iii, 160). In the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, the petty chiefs who were appointed *sulṭān* in their own country (e.g. in Ḥaḍramawt) were not allowed to use the title when they visited Istanbul. In Turkish, the title *sulṭān* was always placed before the name of the sovereign or of the prince, showing its foreign origin. The really popular use of the word in Turkish is with the meaning of princess (see e.g. the story *Söleyme Sulṭān*, in G. Jacob, *Hilfsbuch*, ii, 59, and the use of the word in erotic poetry). It is by this usage that the practice of placing *sulṭān* after the word when it means princess is to be explained, as in Wālide Sulṭān, Khāṣṣeki Sulṭān (cf. also ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, v, 16). For the same reason. Sulṭān is added after the name when it is applied to a mystic (see 4. below).

In Persia, on the other hand, as noted above, *sulṭān* was used as a title for officers and governors (ʿĀlī, *loc. cit.*, in *ZDMG*, lxxx [1926], 30). Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of the sulṭāns of Persia as minor governors (*Siyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 299-305). The only case in which the sovereign has been given the title *Sulṭān* is that of the last Ḳādjār Aḥmad Shāh, who received it on his accession in 1327/1909 after the Constitutional Revolution.

In Egypt, the title had disappeared with the last Mamlūks, but was revived for the short period (1914-1922) of the reign of *Sulṭān* Ḥusayn Kāmil and the beginning of the reign of Fuʾād [see KHIDĪW].

The number of dynasties whose rulers have borne or bear the title *Sulṭān* is very great. Only in North Africa did it appear relatively late; in Morocco the dynasty of the Filālī Shurafāʾ or Shorfāʾ [*q.v.*] (since the second half of the 12th/18th century) was the first to assume the title *Sulṭān*.

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2. In South-East Asia.

Muslim rulers in the South-East Asian archipelago did not automatically adopt the title of a sultan after their conversion to the Prophet's religion. They usually maintained the title of a *raja*, or *maharaja*, or similar titles rooted in their respective cultural and tribal tradition. In Malaysia, the traditional Malay title *Yang di-Pertuan* (he who is made Lord) is still used officially.

Together with the titles, pre-Islamic religious and mystical conceptions legitimated by mythology were continued. The true king can only fulfill his task, i.e. to safeguard prosperity and harmony in the cosmos he rules, after he has reached a kind of mystical union with the Divine power which works through him and expresses itself as his *śakti* (magical power, in Islamic times also called *keramat*). Thus the king appears as the *dewa raja*, the representative of the Divine. Dynasties which had adopted Hinduism, or even Buddhism, legitimated their rule by linking their genealogical lineages with the heroes of the Indian mythical past. Since the ruler is the manifest representative of Divinity, and thus also of Divine Law, he on his own authority may issue the laws of the country and adjust them to changing circumstances. On the part of his people, absolute obedience is demanded. He should not be adored like a god, but certain rituals to strengthen his *śakti*, and that of his *regalia* were usual and frequent.

The religious and dynastic traditions out of which the Malayan sultanates developed, were rooted in Srīvijaya, the Mahayana Buddhist maritime empire which declined in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. These traditions were supported by those Muslims who participated in the establishment of the first Islamic principalities. They originated from Persia or Northern India and the Dakan (Deccan), had a Ṣūfī background and were influenced by the dynastic ideologies which had developed in the eastern parts of the Islamic world since the 4th/10th century, and which reactualised old Iranian conceptions in a cultural setting in which the influence of Mahayana Buddhism still was present. The famous *ḥadīth* that the sultan is the *ẓill Allāh fi 'l-ʿālam* "God's shadow on earth," fitted well with this understanding, and again bestowed absolute power to the ruler, to which his people had to respond with absolute obedience and loyalty; this made them a *bangsa* (nation), indissolubly linked to their ruler.

With regard to the first Islamic dynasty in the archipelago, that of Samudra (later Pasai [see PASÈ]) in northern Sumatra, which had turned from Shīʿism to Sunnism in 683/1285, the official chronicle (*Ḥikāyat Raja-raja Pasai*) narrates that its first ruler, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (d. 696/1297), was converted to Islam in a dream in which the Prophet himself magically transferred the basic knowledge of Islam to him and presented him with the title of *sulṭān*. Shortly after that dream, a messenger "from the caliph of Mecca" arrived and installed him indeed as a sultan, while a mystical preacher from India, who came with the same vessel, is said to have taught Islam to the people.

This story gives importance to the fact that the title of *sulṭān* should be bestowed by "the caliph". There seems to have been, however, only scanty knowledge about that person. When an embassy of the rulers of Aceh [see ATJÈH], who at that time were still consolidating their position among the Malayan sultans, visited Istanbul *ca.* 1562, it asked for military equipment but not for the title of *sulṭān* for their king (Lombard, 1967, 37). Sultan Agung of Mataram in Java (see below), however, prided himself on the fact that he had obtained this title in 1641, again through a direct delegation from Mecca, despatched by the *ʿulamāʾ*, and from the "Meccan caliph" (Ricklefs, 1974, 17).

The founder of the once most influential sultanate of Malacca [*q.v.*], Paramēśvara, a refugee from the Śailendra court in Palembang [*q.v.*], had maintained the Buddhist court etiquette of Srīvijaya, even after his conversion to Islam (*ca.* 816/1413) on his marriage with a daughter of the sultan of Pasai. Thus during the years of his rule and that of his sons, the centre of the court was again shaped according to the Hindu and Buddhist symbol of the windrose, thus representing the order of the cosmos in which the sultan takes the centre, his main aids and highest dignitaries (after himself) being the *bendahara* or Chief Minister; the *penghulu bendahari*, responsible for maintaining the sacred traditions; the *temenggung*, responsible for security; and the *laksamana*, as the supervisor of the fleet. Below these "Big Four" was the next level of eight dignitaries, followed by others accordingly (Winstedt, 1961, 63 ff.; Hashim, 1990, 147 ff.). This structure was later taken over by most of the succeeding Malay sultanates, and in most of them it exists until the present, although more or less significant adjustments may have taken place in the course of time.

Since the emperor of the Ming dynasty of China had acknowledged his authority already in 1405, Paramēśvara and his sons continued to use the Śailendra title of *Śri Maharaja*. In the *Sejarah Melayu*, the court chronicle of the Malaccan sultans and their descendents in Johore, the necessary genealogical legitimation of this dynasty was established by linking them to Alexander the Great, or Iskandar Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, who is said to have journeyed to Andelas (an old name of Sumatra, not al-Andalus!), established there the Śailendra dynasty and is thus the ancestor of the Malaccan dynasty. Logically, Paramēśvara had already used, after his conversion, the name of Iskandar Shāh. But only his third, or fourth successor, Raja Kasim (Ḳāsim) or Sultan Muẓaffar Shāh (850-63/1446-59), whose mother was the daughter of a Tamil merchant, established Islam firmly as the religion of his dynasty and upgraded the use of the title of *sulṭān*. A policy of intermarriage with the major principalities in the archipelago introduced this title more firmly as a notion of a Muslim ruler; usually it is combined with an Arabic name, preferably with a theophoric meaning, such as e.g. Sultan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

On the Malayan peninsula, nine Islamic kingdoms have survived until the present, two of them not using the title *sulṭān* for their rulers: Perlis (Raja) and Negeri Sembilan (Yang di-Pertuan Besar). In contrast to Indonesia with its centralised republic, the existence of these Islamic kingdoms demanded the formation of a federal Malayan state after independence from the British was achieved. Malay "nationalism", *kebangsaan*, still could not separate itself from the basic loyalty of each Malay *bangsa* towards its ruler (cf. Omar, 1993, *passim*). Thus the Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia (1963) provided that, on one hand, the authority of the rulers in all matters related to religion (Islam) should remain untouched; they remain the Heads of the Islamic religion in their states (art. 3.2). Also in the Federation, Islam was proclaimed to be the official religion, although freedom of religion is guaranteed to all non-Muslims. For all Muslims in the Federation who do not live in a sultanate or Islamic kingdom, i.e. who live either in Penang, Malacca, Sabah, Sarawak or one of the Federal Territories, the Head of State (of the Federation), or Yang di-Pertuan Agong, elected by the nine rulers—who constitute the "Conference of Rulers"—from among themselves for a period of five years, acts as their religious-legal head and protector (art. 3.3). The position as head of the religion (Islam) gives much influence on the practice and interpretation of Islamic law to the rulers, sometimes resulting in conflict with other legal or constitutional institutions and their representatives. On the other hand, as natural members of the "Conference of Rulers", which is a particular chamber provided by the Constitution (art. 38) whose membership is limited to them, the rulers may exercise some influence also on federal politics. One of their major privileges, a natural legal immunity with regard to the federal law, has, however, been abolished recently (1993) on the initiative of the Prime Minister, Mahathir bin Mohamad. But perfect loyalty (*kesetiaan*) to the Ruler (*Raja*) and the state is still the second of the Five Basic Principles (*Rukunegara*) of the Federation.

While the sultanates in North Sumatra, Malaya, North Borneo and up to the Southern Philippines were dynastically and ideologically linked to Malacca and its tradition, those in South Sumatra, South and East Borneo, Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia and Java came under the influence of the Central Javanese Islamic kingdoms, starting with Demak (1474-1546) and climaxing with Mataram (since 1582).

The West Javanese *Ḥikāyat Ḥasanuddin* reports that the third ruler of Demak, Terengganu (*r.* [1505-18 ? and] 1521-46), had been offered the title of *sulṭān* by Sèh Nurullah (Shaykh Nūr Allāh, also known as Mawlānā Makhdūm, Sunan Gunung Jati etc.) in 1524; the *shaykh*, originating from Pasai, was said to have completed his *ḥadjdj* before he came to Java and thus seems to have been entitled to bestow such a title (cf. H.J. de Graaf and Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, 1974, 50-1). The most eminent ruler of Mataram, Agung (*r.* 1613-1646), after having his dynasty legitimised according to the criteria of the last Hindu empire of Majapahit, and thus as its successor, obtained the title of *sulṭān* by a special delegation dispatched by the Meccan *ʿulamāʾ*, in 1641. But only after the division of Mataram in 1755 into the two main principalities Surakarta and Yogyakarta [*q.vv.*] did the ruler of the latter one resort to it again and, moreover, add the titles of *kalipatulah* (*khalīfat Allāh*), *panatagama* (regulator of religion), and *sayidin*, thus even claiming descent from the Prophet. All of his successors until the present one, who is the tenth one (in office since 1986), have born the title Sultan Ngabdurrahman Hamengku Buwono ("holding the universe in his lap"). Again, the position of the sultan, being the representative of the Prophet who is the representative of God, is understood according to Ṣūfī traditions. The sultan has obtained the highest mystical insight into God and His Will, not only externally according to the written *sharīʿa* but internally. To underline the religious and social importance of his person, he is usually the *ḳibla* of his courtiers, particularly in times of leisure or meditation.

While all other sultanates in Indonesia lost their political power either in the colonial period or in the years immediately after independence (1945), the sultanate of Yogyakarta still exists to some degree as an independent administrative entity or *daerah istimewa* ("special district") in the Republic of Indonesia, the sultan taking a similar position to that of a governor in other provinces. This exceptional position is due to the late Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX's active support given to the "Republican government" under Soekarno during the times of military confrontation with the Dutch colonial administration (1946-9). For many Javanese, the Sultan thus gave proof of being a kind of *ratu adil* (just king), with the *kesaktian* (cf.

śakti) of his rule still being active, and so he strengthened his personal and particularly his religious/spiritual authority.

The only sultanate in South-East Asia which still has maintained its independence is that of Brunei [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

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3. In West Africa.

The least one can say is that, in West Africa, as in other parts of the Muslim world, the term is very rich and varied in meaning. In Moorish tribal society in general, the dominant personality is called, in Ḥassāniyya Arabic, *Sulṭān* or *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲* in an interchangeable manner, with the term thus expressing the idea of power.

In one of his writings called *Nad̲j̲m al-ik̲h̲wān* ("The star of the brethren"), the great fighter for the faith Usuman Dan Fodio [see ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Fūdī], gave validity to the idea that the terms *k̲h̲ilāfa*, *imāma*, *imāra* and *salṭana*, and consequently the titles *k̲h̲alīfa*, *imām*, *amīr* and *sulṭān*, are all authorised in the *S̲h̲arīʿa*. What the founder of the most powerful politico-economic system in the Central Sūdān during the 19th century wished thereby to say, was, according to his interpreters, that it was not so much that there were no nuances in the fields of the exercise of power by those who claimed one or other of these titles, but rather that, whatever might be the title adopted by a person who claimed to rule in the name of Islam, he had to disassociate himself from the anti-Islamic tradition of royal power (*mulk*), which had no foundation of religious legitimacy.

Nevertheless—and in this they resembled the greater part of their contemporaries—those who in practice directed the Sokoto [*q.v.*] caliphate until the colonial conquest, most often styled themselves *amīr al-muʾmimīn* "commander of the faithful", in Hausa, *Sarkin Musulmi*. When *sulṭān* was used to designate them, it was usually in combination with other honorific titles, notably that of *amīr al-muʾmimīn*.

After the colonial conquest, the British, who retained pre-colonial political structures as part of the policy of "Indirect Rule" and within the context of the political system of Sokoto, designated its head as Sultan, a title which continues to be used substantially today in order to refer to the person who is considered as the supreme Muslim religious authority in contemporary Nigeria.

A certain number of the heads of Islamicised political structures in West Africa also claimed this title of Sultan. Thus the Aïr had a Sultan based in Agadès, as also in Damagaram (or the sultanate of Zinder), based in Zinder. Al-Hajj Umar Said Tall (1774-1864), the founder of an ephemeral empire in the Western Sūdān on the eve of the colonial conquest, is styled *sulṭān* of the Tid̲j̲ānī state by his biographer Muḥammad al-Tid̲j̲ānī and his son and successor Ahmadu likewise claimed the title of *sulṭān*. But according to F. Dumont, the title of *sulṭān* attributed to al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUmar by Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ was more a feature of style, since there emerges clearly from al-Tid̲j̲ānī's work that al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUmar was in no way swayed by the idea of temporal power but sought to combat it and render it subordinate to the faith. One should mention a polemical point raised by contemporary writers on the state created by Usman dan Fodio. The authors who consider him as endowed with Islamic legitimacy call this last a caliphate and consider those who directed it as above all *amīr al-muʾminīn*, reserving the term *sulṭān* for political systems which were fairly strong and based on absolute rule such as Kebbi, Gobir and Zamfara (Last, 1967), whilst others who classify it as a state just like all the others call it an empire and its heads *sulṭāns* (Johnson, 1967).

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4. In mysticism.

This use of the word is not earlier than the 7th/13th century, and it spread particularly in Asia Minor and the countries influenced by Ottoman civilisation. The beginning of the development of the use of the word may have been titles like *Sulṭān al-ʿās̲h̲ikīn* given to the mystical poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*] and *Sulṭān al-ʿulamāʾ* borne by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad, father of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]. But this mystical epithet was no doubt also influenced in its development by the conception frequently expressed in mystical poetry that the mystic obtains the rank and power of a sovereign in the spiritual world. It is through the same order of ideas that the title of K̲h̲unkār (cf. the name of the Ottoman province *K̲h̲udāwendigār*) may be explained. Ewliyā Čelebi (*Siyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 367-8), in bracketing the names of Sultans Meḥemmed II and Bāyezīd II with the names of two mystics, says that all were great *sulṭāns*.

This was the origin of names like Dede Sulṭān and Baba Sulṭān. The Shaykh Badr al-Dīn b. Ḳāḍī Samāwnā [*q.v.*], leader of the religious revolutionary movement in Asia Minor in the early 9th/15th century, was also called *Sulṭān* by his adepts; Babinger (in *Isl.*, xi, 74) sees in this an indication that he was considered a real sovereign. It appears that the surname of *Sulṭān* was especially borne by the Bektāshīs. It did not, however, indicate a particularly high rank in the order; thus Babinger (*loc. cit.*) was probably right, in any case for the latter period, in regarding it as simply a hypercoristic or term of affection.

Bibliography: See that for TAṢAWWUF.

(J.H. KRAMERS)

SULṬĀN AL-**DAWLA** b. Bahā' al-Dawla Fīrūz, Abū Shudjā', Būyid ruler in Fars, and at first in 'Irāḳ also, 403-15/1012-24, succeeding his father [see BAHĀ' AL-DAWLA, in Suppl.] at Shīrāz.

Much of his reign was spent in conflict with his brothers, including Abu 'l-Fawāris Ḳawām al-Dawla, who eventually became ruler in Kirmān as Sulṭān al-Dawla's subordinate, and Abū 'Alī Ḥasan, with whom he disputed control of 'Irāḳ. By 412/1021 the latter was able to secure recognition as ruler in 'Irāḳ with the honorific of Musharrif al-Dawla (he had already declared himself *Shāhānshāh* "king of kings"), and in 413/1022 there was a formal division of territories, with Musharrif al-Dawla reigning over 'Irāḳ and Khūzistān and Sulṭān al-Dawla over Fārs and Kirmān.

Sulṭān al-Dawla died at Shīrāz in Shawwāl 415/ December 1024 at the age of 32, six months before Musharrif al-Dawla's own death, and he was succeeded in Fārs by his son and heir Abū Kālīdjār Marzubān [*q.v.*].

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SULṬĀN ḤUSAYN, SHĀH, Ṣafawid ruler, reigned 1105-35/1694-1722, the eldest son and successor of Shāh Sulaymān [*q.v.*], born in 1080/1669-70 to a Circassian mother, and died in 1139/1726. He was crowned Shāh on 7 August 1694, nine days after his father's death after divisions of opinion at court over the succession.

Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn resembled his father in having grown up in the confines of the harem and in coming to power with limited life experience and virtually no training in the affairs of state. Exceedingly devout, he immediately fell under the spell of the religious forces, led by the zealous Shaykh al-Islām of Iṣfahān, Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, seen in the proclamation, directly following the accession, of a series of decrees that proscribed the production and consumption of wine, and popular practices such as gambling and pigeon flying, but as was customary, these bans soon fell into desuetude, and before long the Shāh was given to drinking as much as his predecessors.

Sulṭān Ḥusayn came to power at a time when Persia's long-standing outward stability was breaking down, with rebellions in Georgia and Kurdistan, and Omani and Balūčī incursions.

The Shāh made some efforts to counter these problems: he strengthened the eastern border, sent an army to quell the revolt in Georgia and made an (abortive) attempt to respond to Omani aggression, but subsequent historians without exception have criticised him for being a *fainéant* and a weakling, while some have blamed him personally for the demise of the Ṣafawid state.

It is certainly true that he was even more removed from statecraft than his father had been. Withdrawn and disconnected, he spent most of his time amid his immense numbers of eunuchs and women, and in this climate factionalism and peculation were allowed to thrive as never before. Corruption became so widespread that local officials became accomplices in highway robberies. Taxes went up and became particularly onerous for the Armenians and Indians, two groups with a disproportionally large role in the economy. The Shāh, meanwhile, built pleasure gardens and palaces, the money for which was extorted from merchants and court officials, and expended riches on the restoration of the *'atabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the Shī'ī shrines in 'Irāḳ, as well as on costly pilgrimages to Ḳum and Mashhad.

After 1710 the signs of distress rapidly multiplied, with bread riots in urban areas. Revolts broke out in various border regions with alienated Sunnī populations. The greatest pressure came from the east, where the Afghān Ghilzay tribe, led by Mīr Ways, extended control over Ḳandahār, while their Abdālī rivals expanded into Khurāsān, taking Harāt in 1717. In 1721 Maḥmūd Ghilzay, Mīr Ways's son, invaded Persia, reached Iṣfahān virtually unopposed and defeated a hastily-assembled Ṣafawid army at the battle of Gulnābād, subsequently besieging the city. Sulṭān Ḥusayn's third son, Ṭahmāsb Mīrzā, managed to escape to the old Ṣafawid capital of Ḳazwīn, where he proclaimed himself Shāh. After a six month's siege, Sulṭān Ḥusayn left Iṣfahān on 23 October and went to the Afghān camp and surrendered to Maḥmūd. Instead of killing him, Maḥmūd imprisoned him in his harem, from which he was forced to proclaim the Afghān conquerer as legitimate ruler of Persia. Maḥmūd was assassinated in 1725 and succeeded by his cousin Ashraf. Faced with Ottoman support for Ṭahmāsb, he ordered the killing of Sulṭān Ḥusayn on 9 September 1726.

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(R. Matthee)

SULṬĀN ISḤĀḲ [see sulṭān sehāk].

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH [see maḥallātī].

SULṬĀN ÖÑÜ, the ancient name of a region in northwestern Anatolia with its centre at Eskishehir [*q.v.*]. As an Ottoman administrative unit, it meant the first Ottoman *sandjak* [*q.v.*], more or less identical with the Sakarya River bend and the present provinces (*il*) of Eskişehir and Bilecik. It was already under the Rūm Saldjūḳs a *sübashilik*. ʿOthmān Ghāzī was given the district by Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubādh III (d. 1307). According to the chronicle of Idrīs-i Bidlisī, ʿOthmān granted the province of Ḳara Ḥiṣār, otherwise known as Sulṭān Öñü, to his eldest son Orkhan (H. İnalcık, *Osmān Ghāzī's siege of Nicaea*, in E. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Ottoman emirate (1300-1389)*, Rethymon 1993, 87).

During the Ottoman centuries the *liwā* or *sandjak* of Sulṭān Öñü was part of the *beglerbeglik* (later *eyālet*) of Anadolu [*q.v.*]. The registers of the 16th century have indifferently Eskishehir (with Ḳaradja shehir), Seydī Ghāzī, Günyüz, İnönü and Biledjik as *nāḥiyes* of the province. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's *Djihān-nümā* has a long chapter on the province (631-3). The *sandjak* existed until the *Tanẓīmāt* administrative reforms. Shemsü 'l-Dīn Sāmī underlines its role as "the cradle of the Ottoman dynasty", which preserved the name for a long period (*Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1888-98).

In no other region of the empire did there exist a special category of *müsellem* [*q.v.*], such as the *taydji djemāʿati*, which enjoyed exemption from taxes in exchange for the breeding of horses for the royal stables (*khāṣṣ akhiri*). A statute (*ḳānūn*) for them dating from 1034/1624 was published by I.H. Uzunçarşılı (*Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 500).

It has been suggested that the spelling Sulṭān Öñü, though exclusively used in post-15th-century sources, may have replaced an earlier form *Sulṭān öyüğü* "Sultan's tumulus". But the form Sulṭān Öñü appears as early as *ca.* 1180 in the travel book of al-Harawī [*q.v.*] (ed. and tr., J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1952-7) for hot springs in the region (*al-Thirmā/aw garm*). Al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1929, 39) has a ductus without dotting, Sulṭān اونى). The word formation Sulṭān + öñü corresponds to a number of place-names in Turkey (e.g. Eminönü, Hammamönü, Hanönü, İnönü). The foundation act of the *amīr* Djadja-oghlu Nūr al-Dīn of 1272 (ed. Ahmet Temir, Ankara 1959, 61 l. 538) has *maḥrūsa Sulṭānyügi* obviously for the town of Eskishehir. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] mentions the name Sulṭān Öñü only in the form of the *nisba* of two persons in Iznik (324) and Kastamonu (342).

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(K. Kreiser)

SULṬĀN SEHĀK, a historical figure of the highest importance to the sect known as Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], who lived in the 15th century (textual variants: Seḥāk, Sihāk, Sohāk, Ṣoḥāk) a name of Biblical origin (Isaac) but incorporated into the Islamic tradition and attested in the Ḳurʾān in the form Isḥāḳ.

The uncertainties which remain concerning the dates of Sulṭān Sehāk have recently been to a great extent clarified and resolved, following the discovery of original sources and the publication of studies assiduously conducted over the past forty years (see *Bibl.*) The mystical and biological genealogy of this individual is, however, better attested in regard to his close ancestors then in regard to his direct successors. The tradition of the sect presents him as the fourth great theophany (or rather avatar or, indeed, in the language of the sect, *maẓhar* "Manifestation of God on earth", as well as *djāma* (Persian) or *dūn* (Turkish) corporeal "habit" into which the Essence of Truth has entered, and *yort/yurt* (Turkish) "place" wherein God has dwelt). The first Theophany is said to be that of Yā, at the time when God, the Khāwandgār (God-Creator), inhabited the primordial gleaming white pearl (*al-durra al-bayḍāʾ*) in which He was enclosed, with his angels, this after concluding a pact of fidelity and submission to the conditions inherent in human life during his forthcoming appearances in the world; the second, that of ʿAlī, son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad; the third that of Shāh-Khōshīn, in an episode which is said to have taken place in Luristān on Mount Yāfta-kūh around the 4th/10th century, again according to the vague information concerning the sect.

In view of the approximate contemporaneity of the historical founders of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ with those of other circles and fraternities, the transformation from "mystical chain" to "sect" as correctly defined, for numerous connected social and circumstantial reasons, in spite of their secrecy which has surrounded them until recent times, can be fairly reckoned to have taken place around the end of the 17th and start of the 18th century, the oldest credible documents (manuscripts previously jealously preserved) dating back no earlier than these dates.

On the historical and social climate of the time, see ahl al-ḥaḳḳ, ḥurūfiyya, naḳshbandiyya, nūrbakhshiyya and shāhrukh. This article will be confined to essential information.

It was precisely from the time of Shāhrukh and of his fellows in other provinces of the kingdom that conflicts of ideas under the rubric of mysticism took on other dimensions and a more rapid pace than in earlier years.

The renowned Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, claiming to be the awaited Mahdī of a messianic movement, preoccupied for some time the mind of Shāhrukh, who was more moderate than his father and proclaimed himself the defender of an integral but not fundamentalist Islam. This mystical Master was still alive after the death of Shāhrukh and was the leader of a renowned mystical fraternity, the Nūrbakhshiyya, which was capable of surviving over the centuries, numerous scholars, poets and authors being counted among its supporters.

As a counterpart to the movement of the Nūrbakhshīs which appeared to the east of Persia, in Turkistān and Transoxania, and that of the Ḥurūfīs in the north-west of Persia, there appeared some years later another subversive and extremist movement, in Khūzistān and the Djazāyir (marshy regions between the town of Wāsiṭ and lower ʿIrāḳ, which was centred on Hawīza (Ḥawīza/Ḥuwīza) in Khūzistān. Its founder, Sayyid Muḥammad Mushaʿshaʿ, son of

Sayyid Falāḥ, born in Wāsiṭ, was able to gather around him a host of Bedouins, villagers, low-caste workers and, especially, members of the numerous Arab tribes nomadising in the plains and valleys situated near the ancient Karkha canal and between Baṣra and Wāsiṭ.

Finally, he chose for his capital the town of Hawīza: initially he claimed to be "the place" and "the veil" (*ḥidjāb/parda*) of the Hidden Imām, later, by gradual stages, the Mahdī and then, hesitantly, the Essence of God. He disseminated his doctrine as far as Luristān, and sometimes in the course of his travels took refuge in the mountains of this province, which bordered on Ḥawīza and Wāsiṭ. But his son, Mawlā ʿAlī, more ambitious than he, courageous, bellicose and bloodthirsty, and usually successful in battle, eclipsed his father and took power into his own hands. Not content with claiming to be the Mahdī, he openly declared himself, before his adherents, the Essence of God itself. In the meantime, Pīr-Budāgh, having eliminated Mawlā ʿAlī and having rebelled against the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djahānshāh in Baghdād, was defeated by the latter and killed by his brother, Muḥammadī, who was in his turn killed by his rival Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] head of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu.

The Mushaʿshaʿīs, descendants and followers of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falāḥ, controlled a part of Khūzistān and of ʿIrāḳ, and survived even after the execution of the two brothers by Shāh Ismāʿīl almost to the present day, as conventional governors on behalf of the Persian state [see further, MUSHAʿSHAʿ].

Sulṭān Sehāk, the founder or rather the reformer of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, was born in this historical and politico-religious climate.

Birth. Relative lack of interest in regard to dating as well as simple modesty and effacement are at the root of a reluctance even to engrave the dates of deaths on tombstones, in particular among the Khāmūshī, one of the eleven (or twelve) *khānadān* "families" of the sect; see on this subject M. Mokri, *Étude d'un titre de propriété du début du XVIe siècle*, in *JA* (1963), 229-56 and other sources mentioned in the *Bibl.*

In Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ tradition, it is accepted as a constant fact that the manifestation of each theophany on the earth should appear in the form of a miraculous birth. The great avatars representing the Divine Essence are born, in fact, of virgin mothers and are foretold by mysterious signs. Certain categories of miraculous births date back to Altaic origins distinct from Indo-European beliefs, if account is not to be taken of the universality of this theme. The first miraculous birth related by the tradition of this sect is that of Shāh-Khōshīn, according to them the first great avatar after ʿAlī.

For the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk, the same procedure applies, with more details and precision. He was born of a virgin mother named Khātūn Dāyrāk. Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ tradition applies to this event accounts conforming to their own meta-historical myths. According to them, at the time of his disappearance Shāh-Khōshīn had promised his faithful companions (incarnate angels) that he would re-appear many times in this world, in particular shortly before the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk. It was for this reason that Pīr-Binyāmin (a manifestation of the Angel Gabriel), net in hand, searched through time and space for the divine being, the Royal Eagle, occupying the form of an unwitting believer. In the pursuit of their quest, the four angels had a presentiment of the imminent arrival in the world of the Essence of God, in the shape of the Royal Eagle. Having uncovered his traces, they convened near a spring in Awrāmān, at the foot of the mountain of Shāhū in the Dālāhū [Zagros] range. Then the divine being, still in the form of an eagle, appeared to them and commanded them to marry the daughter of Ḥusayn Beg Djald of the Djāf tribe to Shaykh ʿIsī who lived in Barzandja. He also ordered the planting of an orchard under the supervision of Iwat Hushyār ("Iwat the Perspicacious"), and the planting within the orchard of a clump of dried-up mulberry bushes. When this should once again be green, the Royal Eagle perching on it, they would know this was the moment of the Manifestation of the Divine Being. When all this had been done and the time of the confinement of Khātūn Dāyrāk arrived, the Royal Eagle re-appeared and rubbed against the legs of the young woman. He was then transformed into a bright and handsome boy later named Sulṭān Sehāk. This bizarre birth is by no means a unique case in the tradition of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ.

History. The date of the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk is an object of controversy and has yet to be fixed definitively. V. Minorsky located it broadly in the 14th century, solely on the basis of testimony of members of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. For his part, C.J. Edmonds (*Kurds, Turks and Arabs* 184), relying on notes written by a former Ottoman official which were drawn to his attention, written in Turkish and sometimes translated into Kurdish (which he entitles the *Tadhkira*), gives the year 671/1272-3 as the birth date of Sulṭān Sehāk. Numerous ethno-historical enquiries conducted on the ground by M. Mokri since 1942 and his decipherment and publication of numerous original manuscripts (see *Bibl.*) have contributed to the relative elucidation of ambiguities on these dates. The author of the *Shāhnāma-yi ḥaḳikat* offers no precision, but muddles and complicates the assumptions of this question. It proposes the year 612/1216 as the date of his arrival, as a means of crediting this individual with a suitably prestigious antiquity, but to palliate the startling fantasy of this arbitrary date he gives him three centuries of life with the object of adjusting to the facts. This date is still earlier than that in the *Tadhkira* placed at the disposal of Edmonds. It is true that this period is obscure on account of the lack of precise historical documents. Numerous former enquiries conducted in various places from 1942 to 1949 have even produced a date later than the 15th century, which marks a new stage of the sect. If there is such a lapse of time (from the 15th or from the 16th century to the present day) it may be wondered whence come all these ancient riches of legend, custom, stories and thought.

On the assumption that the union of ʿIsī and Khātūn Dāyrāk was some years previous to the death of Shaykh Mūsī and the marriage of his widow to ʿIsī in 828/1424-5, it may be inferred as a primary estimate that the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk took place shortly before 846/1442 (thus at the end of the first half of the 15th century, and not, at the 7th/13th dates mentioned above, nor yet at that vague and arbitrary date in the 14th century proposed by certain members of the sect).

The (manuscript) treatise *ʿĀlam-i ḥaḳīkat* written by religious representatives of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ in the tribe of the Gūrānīs (the three great dervishes Kā-Turāb, Kā-Raḥīm and Kā-Bashar, two of whom were questioned extensively between 1942 and 1949), speaks of the date of the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk, apparently with some lack of precision, but with more eloquence and plausibility than are possessed by previously-mentioned sources, as follows: "As for the date of the arrival of Sulṭān Sehāk, it is not known to us. But it seems, in

relation to the year in which we are now living, 1322/1943, to be approximately five hundred years previous" (meaning 1443). In giving the reasons for the choice of this date, the treatise cites the evidence of the deed of ownership of Anzala (studied and published in *JA* [1963]), a village offered to Bābā Yādigār by a noble neophyte of Zehāb named Ḳamām al-Dīn, son of Faḳīh ʿUthmān Kurdī, following a dream in which his release from prison in Baghdād was foretold. This document bears the date 933/1526. On the assumption that this offer was made when Bābā Yādigār had attained a certain age, and that the Sarāna period (the time when Bābā Yādigār established himself in Sarāna in Zarda) was some years subsequent to the Pirdīwar period (the properly defined period of Sulṭān Sehāk and of the spread of his ideas), the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk could well have taken place, according to this treaty, in 1443-4. The *ʿĀlam-i ḥaḳiḳat* assumes an interval of 83 years between the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk and the date of the composition of the Anzala document, to arrive at its round figure of 500 years before the year 1943, this figure being only approximate. Thus an agreement is reached, more exact than that of the other sources, between the date suggested by the Gūrānīs and that of the genealogical treatise, undoubtedly written one or two centuries previously.

Other historical data tend to corroborate this last date. There is no doubt that the two brothers Shaykh ʿIsī and Shaykh Mūsī were the sons of Sayyid Bābā ʿAlī Hamadānī, the great mystic of Hamadān. It is he who was the master of Khʷādja Isḥāḳ Khuttalānī, in his turn the master of Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh. Sayyid Bābā ʿAlī, a mystic whose paternal genealogy extends as far as the Imām Mūsā Kāẓim, the seventh Shīʿī Imām, was the son of ʿAlī b. Shihāb Hamadānī and was also related to the Prophet through seventeen generations in the maternal line, according to the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, 301. Once the paternity of Sayyid Bābā ʿAlī Hamadānī over Shaykh ʿĪsā and Shaykh Mūsā is accepted, the ascendant genealogy of Sulṭān Sehāk poses no further problems, the lineage of dignitaries and mystics of Hamadān playing an important role in history. But the same does not apply to the descendants of Sulṭān Sehāk. From a historical point of view there is considerable confusion, with various traditional accounts vitiated by the lack of reliable documentation and by the intervention of numerous persons claiming to be the offspring of Sulṭān Sehāk, a common phenomenon in the case of eminent individuals in a period for which valid registers do not exist, such that the way is open for families to believe in their descent from a known patronym. Some of the numerous brothers of Sulṭān Sehāk have even been regarded as his own sons, while various other records, including the genealogical treatise of Ashrafiyya Baḥr-al Ansāb, declare that he died childless.

According to the *khānaḳāh* of Tūt Shāmī (the religious centre of the Gūrānīs) the last great manifestation of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is that of Ḥaydarī, under the leadership of Sayyid Brāka, the son of Sayyid Manṣūr, who lived in Dūl Dālān (Tūt Shāmī), was born in 1210/1795 and assassinated by one of his kinsmen in 1290/1873. The latter's era is considered the most brilliant period of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, known as the period of the *Yerī tanī* (Triad), since in the opinion of his disciples Sayyid Brāka was the incarnation simultaneously of Dāwūd, Yādigār and Sulṭān Sehāk; he was *shāh mehmān*, meaning that "he was host to the Divine Essence". The latter's son, Sayyid Rustam Ḥaydarī Gūrān, one of the major figures of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, was a man of great eminence in western Persia, giving his support to the Constitution of 1906.

There is no proof that the heads of the five "families" (*khānadān*), to which six more were to be added over the course of time, are genuinely the direct descendants of Sulṭān Sehāk. No reliable historical document supports this proposition, only later tradition, and even this is imprecise.

Bibliography: For the earliest studies, reference should be made to V. Minorsky's detailed bibl. to AHL-I ḤAḲḲ.

In addition to the sources cited in the text of this article, see idem, *Notes sur la secte des Ahlé Ḥaqq* in *RMM*, xl-xli (1920), 19-97, xliv-xlv (1921), 205-302; idem, *Jihan-shah Qara-qoyunlu*, in *BSOAS*, xvi/2 (1954); C.J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London 1957; W. Ivanow, *The Truth-worshippers of Kurdistan, Ahl-i Ḥaqq texts*, Leiden 1953; Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, lith. Kārkhāna-yi Ḥādjī Ibrāhīm Bāsmači Tabrīzī, n.d., 301.

Studies by M. Mokri. Numerous studies concerning the dialects, tribal organisation and hierarchy of the sect of the Gūrāns, extended to other regions where members of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ reside, as well as their guides and their religious procedures, were conducted by M. Mokri between 1942 and 1951, and verification of these notes and observation of new developments within the sect has continued to the present day. *Le Chasseur de Dieu et le mythe du Roi-Aigle* (*Dawra-y Dāmyārī*), ed., tr. and annotated, Wiesbaden 1967; *La grande assemblée des Fidèles de Vérité au tribunal sur le mont Zagros en Iran* (*Dawra-y Dīwānā-gawra*), Paris 1977; *Cinquante-deux versets de Cheikh Amīr*, in *JA* (1956); *L'idée de l'incarnation chez les Ahl-i Ḥaqq*, in *Akten des XXIV Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München 1957*, Wiesbaden 1959; *Le symbole de la perle dans le folklore persan et chez les Kurdes Fidèles de Vérité*, in *JA* (1960), 463-81; *La naissance du monde chez les Kurdes Ahl-i Ḥaqq*, in *Trudī XXV Mezdunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovedi*, Moscow 1963, ii, 159-63; *Étude d'un titre de propriété du début du XVIᵉ s. provenant du Kurdistan "Qabāla-y Anzala"*, in *JA* (1963), 229-56; *L'ésotérisme kurde. Aperçus sur le secret gnostique des Fidèles de Vérité*, Paris 1966; *Kalām sur l'Aigle divin et le verger de Pirdīwar*, in *JA* (1967), 361-74; *Le Kalam gourani sur "le Cavalier au coursier gris", le Dompteur du vent*, in *JA* (1974), 47-93; *Le Kalām gourani sur le pacte des compagnons Fidèles de Vérité au sein de la perle prémondiale*, in *JA* (1977), 237-71; *La musique des Kurdes "Fidèles de Vérité" en Iran*, in *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, i, Paris 1968, 431-53; *Notes sur la généalogie des fondateurs de la secte des Fidèles de Vérité (Ahl-i Ḥaqq) d'après un manuscrit inédit de source sunnie*, in *JA* (1994), 37-110; *De la distinction des différents groupes d'hommes et de leur attitude* (*Dawra-y gurūh-grūh*), in *JA* (1995), 275-350.

See also Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Mushaʿshaʿiyān*, Tehran 1356/1977; Mokri, *Le Shāhnā-ye Ḥaqīqat de Neʿmat Modjrem*, 1st ed. Tehran-Paris, 1966, 1971; 2nd ed. *Ḥaqq al-Ḥaqāyeq ou Shāh-Nāma-ye Ḥaqīqat*, Tehran-Paris 1982; Ziba Mir-Hosseini, *Inner truth and outer history: the two worlds of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq of Kurdistan*, in *MES*, xxvi (1994), 267-85; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iḳbal, Tehran 1364/1984, see 98-9, on Bābā Ṭāhir Hamadānī.

(M. MOKRI, shortened by the Editors)

SULṬĀN AL-**ṬALABA** (*vulgo* AL-ṬOLBA), a traditional Moroccan spring festival, a combination of a carnival and a picnic, celebrated annually in the second half of April, primarily at Fās. Although all the people joined in, the main participants and

beneficiaries were the foreign students in the *madrasas* of the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*].

A central feature of the feast was the election of a mock sultan for a week (whence the name), the office being auctioned; in 1923, the bidding reached 22,500 Fr. This was financed by an interested party, since the mock sultan enjoyed the privilege of asking the real sultan of Morocco for certain favours (e.g. release of prisoners, exemption from taxation). The *makhzan* or government provided aid in the form of tents, food and cash, and awarded the *sulṭān al-ṭolba* the royal insignia. After the week had passed in feasting, singing, dancing, etc., the two sultans might sometimes meet ceremonially on horseback, and a burlesque *khuṭba* was delivered by the mock *muḥtasib* who had been appointed by the mock sultan (for two specimens, see E. Doutté, *La khot'ba burlesque de la fête des Tolba au Maroc*, in *Recueil de mém. et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIVe Congr. des Orientalistes*, Alger 1905, 197-219).

The origins of the festival are linked by local tradition with the founder of the ʿAlawī dynasty, Mawlāy Rashīd, and his overthrow of a tyrannical Jewish chief, Ibn Mashʿal. E. Laoust considered this to be pure fable, and saw in the festival an ancient rite involving the personification of a god of vegetation (see *Hespéris*, i [1921], 290). P. de Cenival, however, whilst discarding the patently legendary motifs, thought there was some truth in the story, since native Moroccan historians agree on it, as also three independent, near-contemporary European accounts (see his *La légende du Juif Ibn Mech'al et la fête du Sultan des Tolba à Fès*, in *Hespéris*, v [1925], 137-218, esp. 150-1, 216). But this still leaves unexplained the special relationship between this sultan and the Fās students, unless this is seen as part of his general favour towards learning. The appearance of similar festivals in other parts of Morocco, e.g. at Marrakesh in the late 18th century, for a while at Casablanca and amongst some tribes in the Gharb and Djibāla regions, is clearly derivative.

Bibliography: De Cenival's article (see above) is the most comprehensive study. Of subsequent studies, see P. Marty, *Le Maroc de demain*, Paris 1925, 43-9; N. Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa*, Philadelphia 1927, 394, 405, 407-13, 416-17; R. Ricard, *La fête du Sultan des Tolba et la "fiesta del obispillo" en Espagne*, in *Hespéris* (1937), 138-9 (Spanish parallel); R. le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 466-9; G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Paris 1959, i, 570-1, H.Z. Hirschberg, *A history of the Jews in North Africa*, Leiden 1981, ii, 243-6, 251-2. See further, ṬALABA.

(P. SHINAR, shortened by the Editors)

SULṬĀN WALAD, BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD-i Walad (623-712/1226-1312), eldest son of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*], poet and Ṣūfī, is one of the founders of the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*] order. He was born on 25 Rabīʿ II 623/24 April 1226 in Lāranda, present-day Karaman, south of Konya. He was given the name of his grandfather Sulṭān al-ʿulamāʾ Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad (Aflākī, *Manāḳib*, ii, 785, 994; on Bahāʾ see F. Meier, *Bahāʾ-i Walad*, Leiden 1989). Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī himself looked after Sulṭān Walad's education, sending him, together with his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, who was one year younger than him, to Aleppo and Damascus to study the religious sciences.

Sulṭān Walad was very close to his father and is said to have resembled him so greatly that they were thought to be brothers. From his boyhood he was on intimate terms with the circle around Mawlānā and had close ties with the latter's friends, in contradistinction to his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn who was, probably falsely, accused of having been involved in the death of Shams-i Tabrīzī [*q.v.*]. It was Sulṭān Walad who, after Shams's disappearance on 21 Shawwāl 643/1 March 1246, was sent by Mawlānā to bring him back from Damascus to Konya (*Mathnawī-yi Waladī*, 47 ff., Farīdūn Sipahsālār, *Risāla-yi Sipahsālār*, 133, Aflākī, *op. cit.*, ii, 695-6). The oldest known manuscript of the *Maḳālāt* of Shams-i Tabrīzī is in Sulṭān Walad's hand.

At the behest of Mawlānā, Sulṭān Walad married Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb's [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN AL-RŪMĪ] daughter Fāṭima Khātūn. He had two daughters by her and one son, Djalāl al-Dīn ʿĀrif (Ulu ʿĀrif Čelebī, d. 719/1320), who was to become his successor. In 683/1284, after the death of Čelebī Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan (see *ibid.*), who had held the title *khalīfa* when Mawlānā was still alive, Sulṭān Walad, at the insistence of his entourage, took up the succession which, at his father's death, he had declined in favour of Ḥusām al-Dīn. The report that Karīm al-Dīn Bektemür was *khalīfa* of the Mawlawiyya from 683/1284 until his death in 690/1291 and that Sulṭān' Walad took up office only after his demise cannot be found in Aflākī nor in Sipahsālār, but only in the *Walad-nāma* and in later *silsila-nāmas* of the Mawlawiyya. The role played by Karīm al-Dīn Bektemür in the history of the order does not become transparent from the sources on the Mawlawiyya. On the basis of the testimonies, it has been suggested that he served as a kind of spiritual guide to Sulṭān Walad.

With Sulṭān Walad begins the history of the Mawlawiyya order in the true sense of the word; he gathered the *murīds* of his father around himself and organised the order. He had a mausoleum erected for Mawlānā which was to become the centre of the order. He sent out *nuwwāb* and *khulafāʾ* and established branches outside Konya. Contrary to earlier assumptions that it had been Sulṭān Walad who had established firm rules for the *samāʿ* [*q.v.*], it has now been shown that the *samāʿ* received its final form for the first time under Pīr ʿĀdil Čelebī (d. 864/1460) (A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, ²Istanbul 1983, 100). The solemn triple circumambulation at the beginning of the ceremony is called *dawr-i Waladī devr-i Veledî* (*Sultan Veled devri*) in memory of Sulṭān Walad. He died at the advanced age of nearly ninety years on 10 Radjab 712/12 November 1312 in Konya and was buried next to his father. For nearly fifty years he had lived in the shadow of his famous father, whose personality had determined the life and work of his son even beyond his death.

His works, of which there exist numerous manuscripts, have, with the exception of a *mathnawī*, all been printed (Ritter, *op. cit.*, 229 ff.). Four poetic and one prose work in Persian are known. The first three poetic works contain, apart from some early Turkish verse, also some Arabic and a few Greek lines.

1. *Dīwān-i Waladī* contains *ghazaliyyāt*, *ḳaṣāʾid*, *muḳaṭṭaʿāt*, *tarkībāt*, and *rubāʿiyyāt*. It was published for the first time by F.N. Uzluk, *Dîvânı Sulṭân Veled*, Istanbul and Ankara 1358/1941 and later by Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Dīwān-i Sulṭān Walad*, Tehran 1338/1960.

2. Three *mathnawīs* which were composed after the *Dīwān*:

(a) *Ibtidāʾ-nāma*, also called *Walad-nāma* or *Mathnawī-yi Waladī*. Composed between Rabīʿ I and Djumādā II 690/1291, it is written, like Sanāʾī's *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, in the metre *khafīf*. It constitutes an important source for the biographies of Bahāʾ al-Dīn and

Mawlānā as well as for the early history of the order. Edition by Djalāl-i Humā'ī, *Walad-nāma, Mathnawī-yi Waladī bā taṣḥīḥ wa muḳaddama*, Tehran 1315-16/1936-37.

(b) *Rabāb-nāma*, composed, at the behest of a notable, within five months of the year 700/1301 in the metre *ramal* of his father's *Mathnawī*. It contains explanations to ideas in the *Mathnawī* and to general Ṣūfī notions. Edition by ʿAlī Sulṭānī-i Gurdfarāmarzī, *Rabāb-nāma*, Tehran 1359/1980 (see F.T. Ocak, *Sultan Veled'in Rebâbnâme'si*, in Erdem, iv, [1988], 11).

(c) *Intihā'-nāma*. Like the *Rabāb-nāma* written in *ramal*, completed on the last day of Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 708/1309. It was composed for parenetic purposes, and is a kind of summary of the first two *mathnawīs*.

3. *Maʿārif-i Waladī*, also called *al-Asrār al-djalāliyya*. It is a prose work in a style approaching the spoken language and containing accounts of Sulṭān Walad's thoughts and words. The title is an evocation of his grandfather's work by the same title. An uncritical edition appeared as an appendix to an undated Tehran print of Mawlānā's *Fihi mā fīh*; a scholarly edition was prepared by Nadjīb Māyil-i Hirawī, *Maʿārif*, Tehran 1367/1988.

The Turkish verses in the *Dīwān* (129), the *Ibtidā'-nāma* (76), and the *Rabāb-nāma* (162 or 157) are among the oldest examples of Anatolian Turkish literature and are the most extensive testimony of this early stage of the language. Their language is simple and easily comprehensible. It has been suggested that they served the purpose of propaganda for the Mawlawiyya. From the beginning these verses have attracted the attention of European scholars. Hammer, Wickerhauser, Behrnauer, Radloff, Kúnos, Smirnov, and Salemann have dealt with them (see J.H. Kramers, art. *Sulṭān Walad*, in *EI*[1]). The verses have been collected by Veled Čelebī (Izbudak) and Kilisli Rifʿat, *Dīvān-i turkī-i Sulṭān Veled*, Istanbul 1341/1925, cf. Fuat Köprülü, in *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında araştırmalar* (1934), 162-73, and *TM*, ii (1928), 475-81, and Mecdut Mansuroğlu, *Sultan Veled'in Türkçe manzumeleri*, Istanbul 1958.

Translations: *Ibtidânâme*, tr. Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı. Istanbul 1976; *La Parole secrète. L'enseignement du maître soufi Rûmî*, tr. Djamchid Mortazavi and Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch, n.p. 1988; *Maître et disciple. Kitâb al-Ma'ârif*, tr. eadem, Paris 1982; *Maârif*, tr. Meliha Tarıkâhya, Ankara 1949.

Bibliography: See also Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, [2]Ankara 1976-80; Farīdūn Sipahsālār, *Aḥwāl-i Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn-i Mawlawī*, Tehran 1325/1947; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Maḥmūd-i ʿĀbidī, Tehran 1370/1992; J.H. Kramers, *EI*[1] art. s.v.; Badīʿ al-Zamān-i Furūzānfar, *Risāla dar taḥḳīḳ-i aḥwālu zindagānī-i Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad*, Tehran 1315/1937, [4]1361/1982; H. Ritter, *Philologika XI. Maulānā Ǧalāladdīn Rūmī und sein Kreis*, in *Isl.*, xxvi (1942), 116-58, 221-49; Tahsin Yazıcı, art. *Sultan Veled*, in *İA*; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn-i Zarrīnkūb, *Palla palla tā mulāḳāt-i khudā. Dar bāra-i zindagī, andīsha u sulūk-i Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn-i Rūmī*, Tehran 1371/1992. For the Turkish verses, see references in text, and also W. Björkmann, *Die Altosmanische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 403-426. For the Greek verses, see P. Burguière et R. Mantran, *Quelques vers grecs du XIIIe siècle en caractères arabes*, in *Byzantion*, xxii (1952), 63-80. (Gudrun Schubert)

SULṬĀNĀBĀD, the name of various places in Persia.

1. The best-known one is the town presently known in Persia as Arāk lying in long. 49° 41' E. and lat. 34° 5' N. at an altitude of 1,753 m/5,751 feet, 284 km/176 miles to the southwest of Tehran. It lies in the southwestern corner of the plain of Farahān, adjoining the Zagros massif. The popular (and now official) name Arāk must come ultimately from ʿIrāḳ, in the sense of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam or Persian ʿIrāḳ, the mediaeval Djibāl [*q.v.*]. The modern region of Arāk lies within the bend of the Ḳara Ṣu. Its rural districts include that of Kazzāz, which seems to be identical with the mediaeval Karadj Abī Dulaf (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 197-8; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 575-8; al-karadj), and Dargazīn on the left bank of the Ḳara Ṣu, with which two viziers of the Great Saldjūḳs in the early 6th/12th century were connected, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Nāṣir and Abu 'l-Barakāt Dargazīnī Ansābādhī.

Sulṭānābād was founded in 1223/1808 by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Ḳādjār as part of a plan to overawe the local chiefs, and it was laid out on a rectangular plan, with defensive walls and towers, by the commander Yūsuf Khān Gurdjī. In the later 19th century, Sulṭānābād began to grow in importance as a centre for carpet-weaving, and it became, at least until the 1940s, Persia's most important centre for commercial carpet manufacture. It also acquired under Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī [*q.v.*] various other industries. Its importance was further enhanced when it became a major station on the Trans-Persian railway, at the point where the line from Khūzistān emerges from the Zagros. Arāk is now the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* or district of the same name in the Central Province, and in 1976 had a population of 114,500.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. and that to al-karadj. Also Admiralty Handbooks. *Persia*, London 1945, 98, 553-8; Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, ii, 6; H. Dermet-Grégoire and P. Fontaine, *La région d'Arak et de Hamadan: cartes et documents ethnographiques*, Cahiers de Studia Iranica 6, Paris 1988; and the detailed bibls. to *EIr* art. *Arāk* (C.E. Bosworth and X. de Planhol).

2. The Mongol Il Khān Öldjeytü [*q.v.*] founded in 711/1311-12 at Čamčamāl, at the foot of the Bīsutūn mountain in the region of eastern Kurdistān-western Djibāl, a town which was called Sulṭānābād (Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, ed. and tr. Le Strange, 107, tr. 106; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv, 545; H.L. Rabino, *Kermanchah*, in *RMM* [1920], 14), and this same ruler founded Öldjeytü-Sulṭānābād in the Mūḳān [*q.v.*] steppe in Arrān near the Kur river (B. Spuler, *Iran in Mongolenzeit*[1], Leipzig 1939, 450).

3. There are several other villages of this name in Ādharbādjān, Khurāsān, Kirmān, Khūzistān, etc.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SULṬĀNIYYA, a town in the mediaeval Islamic province of northern Djibāl some 50 km/32 miles to the southeast of Zandjān [*q.v.*] (lat. 36° 24' N., long. 48° 50' E.).

1. History.

Sulṭāniyya was founded towards the end of the 7th/13th century by the Mongol Il Khānids and served for a while in the following century as their capital. The older Persian name of the surrounding district was apparently Shāhrūyāz or Shārūyāz/Sharūbāz (which was to be the site, adjacent to Sulṭāniyya, of the tomb which the Il Khānid Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] built for himself, according to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū). It was originally a dependency of Ḳazwīn. The Mongols called this district Ḳongḳur Öleng ("the pasture ground of the Alezans"; there is still a village called Öleng to the southeast of Sulṭāniyya). Sulṭāniyya is about 5,000-5,500 feet above sea-level. The coolness of its climate

in summer and the richness of the high plateau in pasturage and game must have had a special attraction for the Mongols. Arghun began the construction of a town, the wall of which (*bārū*) was 12,000 paces in circumference. His son and later successor Öldjeytü (704-16/1304-16 [*q.v.*]), to celebrate the birth of his son Abū Saʿīd, began in 705/1305 to enlarge the new town (up to 30,000 paces in circumference) and made it the capital (or, more accurately, the chief seasonal residence) of his kingdom. The sovereign and his ministers vied with one another in embellishing Sulṭāniyya. The vizier Rashīd al-Dīn alone built a quarter of 1,000 houses, the *rabʿ-i Rashīdī* (d'Ohsson, iv, 486; Hammer, *Geschichte d. Ilchane*, ii, 184-6; Sheila S. Blair, *Ilkhanid architecture and society: an analysis of the endowment deed of the Rabʿ-i Rashīdī*, in *Iran JBIPS*, xxii [1983], 67-90). The building of the town was finished in 713/1313 and was solemnly celebrated. After his conversion to the Shīʿa, Öldjeytü thought of bringing to Sulṭāniyya the remains of the caliph ʿAlī and of the Imām Ḥusayn. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī says that nowhere except Tabrīz could so many splendid buildings be seen as in Sulṭāniyya and he makes the five great roads (*shāh-rāh*) radiate from Sulṭāniyya as the centre of Iran (*miyān-i Īrān-zamīn*). The exaggeration in the last statement is apparent; the site "so inconvenient" (P. della Valle) of the town was the main cause of its decline (cf. Minorsky, *Geographical factors in Persian art*, in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 1964, 47). Öldjeytü died in Sulṭāniyya and was buried in the famous mausoleum there. The *kurultay* [*q.v.*] of Abū Saʿīd was held in Sulṭāniyya, but the fact that ʿAlī Shāh, this ruler's minister, began to build a magnificent mosque in Tabrīz seems to indicate that pride of place was returning to the old capital. European envoys and merchants were nevertheless to be found there, and in 1318 the Pope created an archidiocese at Sulṭāniyya, still in existence at the beginning of the 15th century.

After the fall of the Il Khānids, Sulṭāniyya often changed hands and its possession was disputed between the Čūbānids [*q.v.*], the Djalāyir [*q.v.*] and the Muẓaffarids. A former captain of Shaykh Uways Djalāyir called Sariḳ ʿĀdil fortified himself in Sulṭāniyya in 781/1379. He inflicted a defeat upon the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ, but finally submitted to him and kept his position. A little later, Sariḳ ʿĀdil proclaimed Bāyazīd Djalāyir as sultan at Sulṭāniyya; his brother sultan Aḥmad complained of this to Shāh Shudjāʿ, who removed Sariḳ ʿĀdil from Sulṭāniyya. Tīmūr's troops took Sulṭāniyya from the sons of Aḥmad in 786/1384. At the same time, Tīmūr reestablished Sariḳ ʿĀdil as governor there and seems to have respected the tomb of Öldjeytü (cf. Olearius). Among the villages built by Tīmūr around Samarḳand with the names of celebrated towns, there was one called Sulṭāniyya (Barthold, *Ulugh-beg*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, Leiden 1958-62, ii, 41). In 795/1393 Sulṭāniyya formed part of "the fief of Hülegü" conferred by Tīmūr on his son Mīrān Shāh, see Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 388, 399, 623. Clavijo, who visited Sulṭāniyya in 1404, says that Mīrān Shāh (from 798/1395 afflicted with madness, which showed itself in the destruction of monuments, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 221), had plundered the town and citadel (*alcazar*) and profaned the tomb of Öldjeytü ("é el Cabellero que yacia enterrado mandólo echar fuera"). In spite of this, the ambassador of Henry III of Castile adds that the town had many inhabitants and that its trade was greater than that of Tabrīz. Under the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, the mausoleum was restored and Pietro della Valle and Olearius found it in good preservation. Trade, however, gradually went back to Tabrīz, and the removal of the political centre to Iṣfahān completed the ruin of the old capital of Öldjeytü and caused it to become forgotten. It only experienced a brief revival of favour when, in the reign of the Ḳādjār Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, when the court followed the old custom of moving to a summer residence, a hunting-palace was built near Sulṭāniyya with materials taken from the old city. This new Sulṭānābād was also abandoned after the Russo-Persian war of 1828. The splendid mausoleum then rose from the centre of a wretched little village. In 1880 Houtum-Schindler counted 400-500 houses there, but the place has in the present century increased somewhat in size and importance because of its position near the Ḳazwīn-Zandjān-Tabrīz highway.

The modern Sulṭāniyya is now in the province of Zandjān; in 1991 it had a population of 5,114 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

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(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

2. Monuments.

Like most Persian cities, Sulṭāniyya was composed of an inner citadel surrounded by a moat and an outer city surrounded by ramparts. The square citadel was built of dressed stone and articulated with sixteen towers, a machicolated parapet, and an iron gate, all visible in the earliest depiction of the city, a painting in an Ottoman manuscript recounting the stages

of the journeys of Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent composed by Maṭrāḳī Naṣūḥ in 944/1537-8 (Istanbul University Library, Yıldız T 5964, fols. 31b-32a; facs. reproduction by H.G. Yurdaydın, *Naṣūḥü's-Silāḥī (Maṭrāḳçī), Beyān-i Menāzil-i Sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn-i Sulṭān Süleymān Hān*, Ankara 1976). Much of the citadel survived until the 1780s, and traces are still visible (Muḥammad Mihryār, Aḥmad Kabīrī and Fāʾiḳ Tawḥīdī, *Bar-rasī wa paygardī-yi mukaddamatī: Burdj wa bārū-yi arg-i shahr-i kadīm-i sulṭāniyya (zimistān 1364)*, in *Āthār*, xii-xiv [1345/1988], 209-64).

The centrepiece of the citadel and the major building to survive is the tomb of Sultan Öldjeytü (Iranian National Monument 166). Oriented almost cardinally, it is an enormous octagon (diameter 38 m) with an adjoining hall (15 × 20 m) on the south. The central domed chamber (height 50 m; diameter 25 m) is supported by heavy, 7-m thick walls and ringed by eight towers. On the interior the walls are pierced by eight tall and deep bays, and on the exterior a gallery, reached by staircases in the north-east and north-west corners, encircles the building below the base of the dome. In addition to its size and sophisticated handling of spaces, the tomb is remarkable for its decoration. The exterior was decorated with inventive patterns of tile mosaic, and the interior was decorated twice; a lower layer of glazed brick and tile combined with carved stucco and terracotta was covered by a second layer, largely of painted plaster, with smaller areas of cuerda-seca tiles, appliqué plaster, and plaster-stiffened cloth ornaments. The building was apparently dedicated in its original state in 713/1313-14, but redecorated shortly before Öldjeytü's death three years later. Several explanations have been proposed for the quick redecoration, most of them dealing with Öldjeytü's religious conversions or political aspirations, but none of them is entirely convincing. Even more speculative are attempts (e.g. P. Sanpaolesi, *La Cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore ed il Mausoleo de Soltanieh*, in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, xvi/3 [1972], 221-60) to connect this remarkable domed structure with contemporary innovations in vaulting in Europe.

Like most other major Il Khānid funerary complexes, Öldjeytü's tomb was part of a pious foundation that included places for prayer, Ḳurʾān reading, meditation, and residence. The ensemble had four *īwāns* connected by arcades around a court and was set in an elaborate garden. It had one of the largest pious endowments of its time; according to Shams al-Dīn Āmulī, a *mudarris* there, it exceeded 100 *tūmāns*. The fittings and furnishings for the tomb complex were the finest that money could buy. The contemporary panegyrist Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī waxes eloquent about the lavish materials used, including marble, *muḳarnas*, gold, and silver. The windows and doors had elaborate grilles, and three ball joints (diameter 13 cm) made of bronze inlaid with gold, silver, and a bituminous material and inscribed with Öldjeytü's name may have come from his tomb or other buildings at Sulṭāniyya. The largest copy of the Ḳurʾān made in the period, a gigantic (72 × 50 cm) 30-part manuscript transcribed at Baghdād between 706 and 710 (1306-13), was also endowed to the tomb (D. James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks*, London and New York 1988, no. 40).

Other Il Khānid buildings in the citadel have not survived but can be reconstructed from descriptions and depictions by historians and travellers. There was a large congregational mosque with a monumental portal leading to a large central court with four *īwāns* and a domed sanctuary. The sultan's enormous palace had a large marble court and suites of rooms. The inner city also boasted numerous bazaars, hostelries for merchants, and palaces and gardens for notables. The vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, for example, built an entire quarter that housed a large pious foundation with a *madrasa*, hospital, and *khānaḳāh* announced by a large entrance portal with minarets flanking an *īwān*. His rival Tādj al-Dīn vied by building a bazaar of stone and baked brick and a lavish palace costing 10,000 dīnārs.

One pair of Il Khānid buildings located several hundred metres southwest of Öldjeytü's tomb survives from the many public and private structures in the bustling outer city: an octagonal tomb tower (Iranian National Monument 167) and an adjacent *khānaḳāh*. Although commonly known as the tomb of Čelebi Oghlu, the tomb tower (diameter 12 m) actually marks the grave of Shaykh Burāḳ, a leading Ṣūfī who was killed during Öldjeytü's invasion of Gīlān in 706/1306. The tomb was built at royal command soon after the Shaykh's death, and the site served as an important Ṣūfī centre at least until the succeeding generation when Khʷādja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī (re)built the adjacent *khānaḳāh* and had an inscription dated 733/1332-3 carved in the plaster near the *miḥrāb* announcing his endowment of water to the Shamsiyya *khānaḳāh* that he had built at Ḳazwīn.

Near these buildings is the tomb of Mullā Ḥasan Kāshī Shīrāzī, a theologian, orator, and poet of the early Ṣafawid period. The tomb (Iranian National Monument 168) is an octagonal building with four *īwāns* leading to a square tomb chamber (6.22 m) surmounted by a tall dome. An inscription in *abdjad* at the base of the dome records that the tomb was built in 963/1565-6; another inscription on the drum give the names Muḥammad b. Fatḥī, the builder, and Ḥadjdjī Bannāʾ, probably the person responsible for the tile decoration. A third inscription at the base of the *muḳarnas* dome in the interior records that the building was restored under the Ḳādjār ruler Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh.

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SULU [see PHILIPPINES].

SULŪK (A.), a technical term in Islamic political and mystical thought. *Sulūk* is a verbal noun derived from the root *s-l-k* "to travel or follow a road". Depending on the context, connotations of the term in Islamic literature include "progression", "method", "behaviour", "comportment", "demeanour", "wayfaring", "conduct", and "manners".

1. In political theory. Here the term usually carries the implication of "conduct" or "comport-

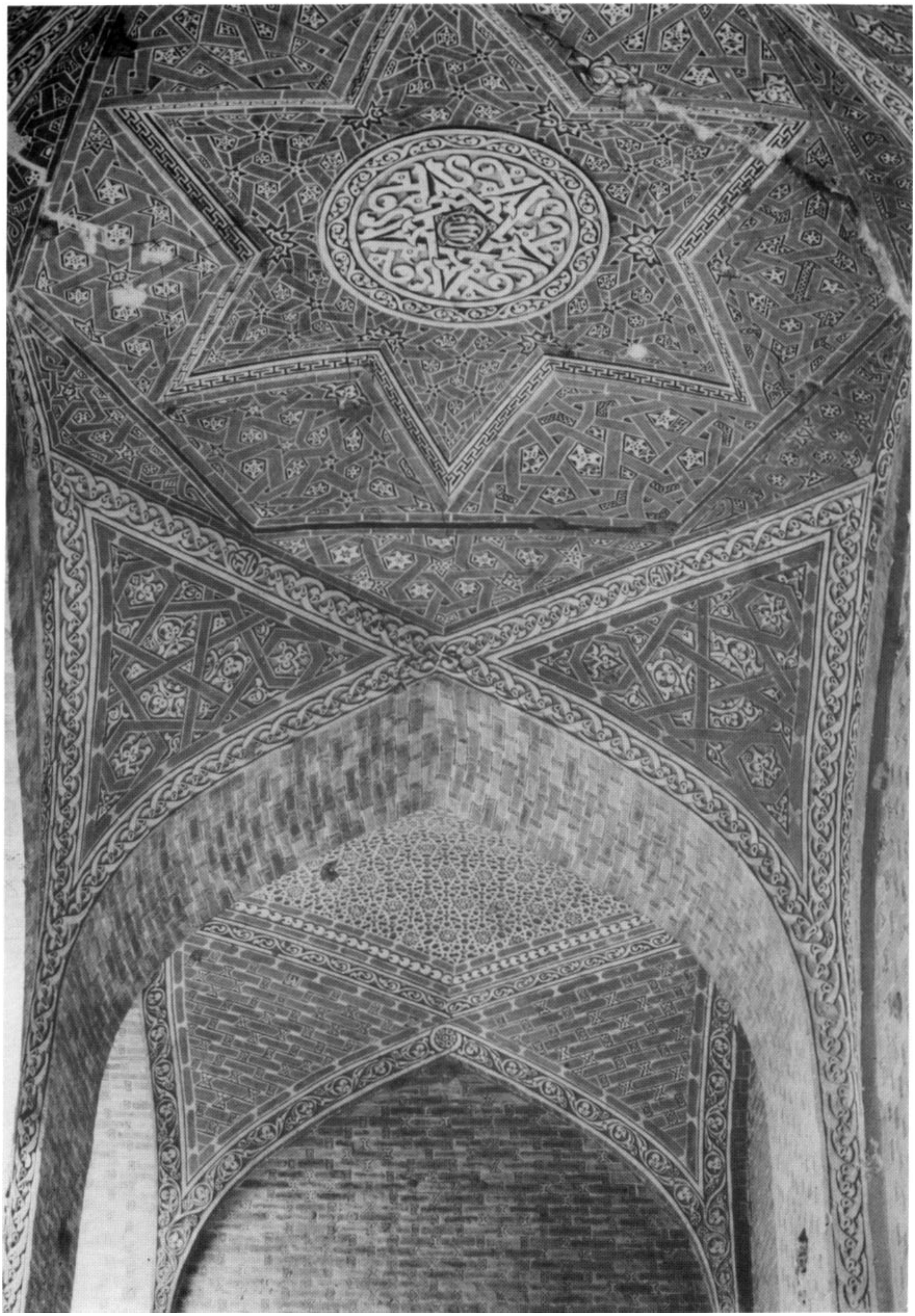

Sulṭāniyya, tomb of Öld̲j̲eytü, view of vaults in the second-story gallery (photo: Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, 1977).

ment". A Persian treatise by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī [*q.v.*], composed in 920/1514, concerning the proper comportment which various types of leaders in the religious and political sphere should observe, is appropriately entitled *The conduct of kings* (*Sulūk al-mulūk*, ed. M.ʿA. Muwaḥḥid, Tehran 1362 *Sh.*/1983). In the same fashion, a Ṣūfī author like Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 654/1256) devoted all eight divisions (*faṣl*) of the final chapter of his monumental conspectus of Ṣūfī doctrine, the *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* (ed. M.A. Riyāḥī, Tehran 1352 *Sh.*/1973, 409-548), to the "proper conduct (*sulūk*)" to be observed by kings, ministers, deputies, the learned classes, the rich, landowners, merchants, businessmen and artisans.

2. In mysticism. From the standpoint of comparative religion, *sulūk* is the Islamic version of the archetypal motif of the "journey" which mystics of different religious traditions have used to describe the various steps which must be taken to leave illusory selfhood behind and realise union with the divine. In the particular lexicon of Muslim mysticism, *sulūk* denotes methodical progress on the *via mystica* or *ṭarīḳa*, the process of ascension and advancement—psychical, ethical and spiritual—which the Ṣūfī "wayfarer" (*sālik*) experiences in his pursuit (*ṭalab*) of God. Constituting the main "course of practice" on the Ṣūfī Path, it involves an integral method of spiritual progress based on spiritual warfare (*mudjāhada*) and inner "unveiling" (*kashf*), combining what in Christian mystical theology are known as the *via purgativa* and the *via illuminativa* into a broad-based mystical highway. In this way, the term *sulūk* designates—as J.S. Trimingham (*The Sufi orders in Islam*, London 1973, 140) aptly put it—"the *scala perfectionis* of the orders".

Suʿād Ḥakīm (*al-Muʿdjam al-ṣūfī*, Beirut 1981, 720) points out that the term *al-ṭarīḳ* (way) referred to throughout the Ḳurʾān (e.g. XLVI, 30—although the exact construction *sulūk* does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, there is one reference to *salaka*, XX, 53) is more or less equivalent to the later Ṣūfī conception of *sulūk*; Rāzī introduces the term in this sense in the exordium of the *Mirṣād* (ed. Riyāḥī, 11), where he states that his work is devoted to "expounding the modes of proper conduct on the Ṣūfī Path" (*bayān-i sulūk-i rāh-i ṭarīḳat*).

Sulūk is the not merely proper "wayfaring", but "spiritual correctness" (as is conveyed by the modern Persian expression *ḥusn-i sulūk*, "becoming conduct"), the "travelling-manners"—appropriate spiritual attitude and proper ethical comportment—which the roadwise Ṣūfī "wayfarer" (the term *sālik* is defined by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kāshānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Djaʿfar, Cairo 1981, no. 259, as "one who is travelling towards God, being midway between the novice [*al-murīd*] and one who has attained the end of the Path [*al-muntahī*]") must possess to traverse the stations of the Way.

It would appear that, with the rise of institutional Ṣūfism in the early 5th/11th century, the traditional technical usage of the term denoting the progression of the mystic pilgrim on his path came to the fore. The conspicuous omission of *sulūk* from Massignon's *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris 1928) is symptomatic of the term's absence from nearly all the early—3rd-4th/9th-10th century—classical Ṣūfī texts written in Arabic. *Sulūk* is notably not featured in either Nicholson's index of technical terms to his critical edition of al-Sarrādj's *Lumaʿ*, nor in the *Taʿarruf* by al-Kalābadhī, nor in the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, nor in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya* of al-Sulamī, nor in the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, nor in the *Risāla* of al-Ḳushayrī, nor in (both the Persian and) the Arabic writings of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī—those key works which played a formative role in the literary blossoming of 6th/12th-century Ṣūfism. Neither does any mention of *sulūk* occur in the oldest Persian treatise on Ṣūfism, namely the *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* of Hudjwīrī (d. 463/1071). Perhaps the earliest known usage of the term to describe the proceeding of the mystic on the Path under the supervision of a teacher is to be found in al-Ḳushayrī's *Tartīb al-sulūk* (see F. Meier, *Qušayrī's* Tartīb as-sulūk, in *Oriens*, xvi [1963], 1-39).

As an integral part of the Ṣūfī lexicon of technical terms, *sulūk* is later regularly featured throughout early 6th/12th-century mystical literature in Arabic and Persian. In his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, *K. Kasr al-shahwatayn*, Bk. 23, al-Ghazālī gives a detailed description of the practical requirements of *sulūk* in Ṣūfī discipline taught to neophytes, and this mystical usage is further underlined by ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadhānī (d. 525/1131, the famous pupil of Abū Ḥāmid's brother, Aḥmad al-Ghazālī) in his *Tamhīdāt* (ed. ʿA. Osseiran, Tehran 1962, 71, 4) who draws a distinction between "the people of religion on the religious way" (*ahl-i dīn dar rāh-i dīn*) and "the people of spiritual conduct who follow the mystical method" (*ahl-i sulūk dar rāh-i sulūk*). According to ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt, *sulūk* principally relates to the "conduct" of the elect who tread the Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa*, and is only secondarily treated as an affair of the *Sharīʿa* (which is shared in common among all Muslims). A few decades later, Ibn Munawwar in his *Asrār al-tawḥīd* (composed between 553-88/1158-92), ed. M. Shafīʿī-Kadkanī, Tehran 1987, 4, used the term in exactly the same sense to describe the saintly manner of "conduct on the course of the Ṣūfī Path" (*sulūk-i ṭarīḳ-i ṭarīḳat*) observed by the holy companions of Abū Saʿīd b. Abi ʾl-Khayr.

In the poetry of ʿAṭṭār (d. 618/1221 [*q.v.*]), an ethical dimension of *sulūk* figures prominently, referring, in a more general sense, to the mystic's "proper conduct" amongst all creatures, ranging from the lowliest ant unto the highest human being. The Ṣūfī should relate to all creation from what might be called *sulūk*'s "transcendent ecological perspective", he or she should comport him or herself with all creatures equally through viewing all beings *sub specie aeternatis*. ʿAṭṭār thus recounts how ʿAlī encountered an ant on the road which aroused in him a state of terror, and was later informed by the Prophet in a dream of the ant's exalted spiritual rank (*Ilāhī-nāma*, ed. H. Ritter, Tehran 1359 *Sh.*/1980, 54, vv. 2, 10).

Other technical taxonomies of the science of *sulūk* attempt to integrate the term into an entire programme of mystical behaviourism and spiritual pedagogy through underlining the importance of the varieties of psychological types of human beings. Despite rather strict requirements for *sulūk* in Ṣūfī spiritual discipline, scope for individual variation in "conduct"—due to contrasting types of character differentiation—is theoretically unlimited. Thus there cannot be said to exist any single, exclusively "correct" form of conduct on the Path, insofar as much divergence in "mystical procedure" is usually tolerated. Abu ʾl-Mafākhir Yaḥyā Bākharzī (d. 776/1261) thus devotes an entire chapter of his lengthy treatise on Ṣūfism, the *Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb* (ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1358 *Sh.*/1979, 55-6) to the subject of the *ikhtilāf al-masālik* the "divergent ways" among the Ṣūfīs, citing some nine different approved methods of *sulūk* or Ways of spiritual conduct.

First, states Bākharzī, comes the way of the devotee: "One group base their conduct on the path of

devotion (*sulūk-i ṭarīk-i ʿibādat*), focusing their practice on water [for ritual ablutions] and the prayer niche, occupying themselves intensively with *dhikr*, supererogatory works of obedience and litanies". His categorisation continues to that of: (2) "the ascetic" to (3) "the solitary", to (4) the "itinerant traveller and voluntary exile", to (5) the way of service and charitable preference of one's Ṣūfī brethren over oneself to (6) the way of spiritual struggle, to (7) the way of self-humiliation and self-abasement before people, to (8) the way of [conscious] helplessness and weakness, and lastly, to (9) the way of teaching [religious] knowledge and keeping the company of scholars, listening to the "traditions" [of the Prophet and his companions] and preservation of knowledge. Bākharzī is careful to emphasise that each of these *sulūk* types has its own proper conditions and etiquette (*ādāb*) to be observed "exactly as the masters have taught or else the wayfarer will be halted and never reach the goal".

Perhaps the most comprehensive treatment of the entire human/divine continuum and spectrum of meanings of *sulūk* can be found in the *Risāla dar bayān-i sulūk* written by Bākharzī's contemporary and fellow Kubrāwī *shaykh*, ʿAzīz Nasafī (d. between 1281-1300, see his *K. al-Insān al-kāmil*, ed. M. Molé, Tehran-Paris 1962, 80-99).

In many Ṣūfī works, *sulūk* is contrasted, on the one hand, to "attraction" (*djadhba*) and to "spiritual travel" (*sayr*) on the other. Sometimes paired as two different polar opposites to *sulūk*, and sometimes coupled to the term for the sake of rhetorical effect, the term takes on interesting nuances:

Djadhba/sulūk. "Attraction" (*djadhba*) by God *before* undergoing *sulūk*, states Tādj al-Dīn Khʷārazmī (d. 840/1436-7), "is the quality of beginners", whereas "the experience of 'attraction *after sulūk*' belongs to the most advanced and perfect adepts" (*Sharḥ-i Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam ... Ibn ʿArabī*, ed. N.M. Harawī, Tehran 1989, 235). Maḥmūd Kāshānī (d. 735/1335) in his *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa-miftāḥ al-kifāya* also describes *sulūk* as an initial stage leading to *djadhba*. Only two sorts of mystics are worthy to become guides on the Ṣūfī Path, he affirms: 1. "The 'wayfarer who later becomes an ecstatic' (*sālik-i madjdhūb*), must first traverse all the deserts and perils of the qualities of the lower passions with the feet of *sulūk*, until by grace of divine attraction (*djadhabāt*) he surpasses all the degrees of the heart and hierarchical levels of the spirit, attaining to the realm of mystical unveiling and certitude (*kashf wa yaḳīn*)". 2. "The 'ecstatic who later becomes a wayfarer' (*madjdhūb-i sālik*), who by grace of divine attraction crosses the wide expanse of the stations (*maḳāmāt*), attains to the world of unveiling and direct vision (*ʿiyān*), only later re-experiencing the stages and levels of the Path (*ṭarīk*) through pedestrian *sulūk*, finding the reality of his spiritual disposition in the form of knowledge. In a similar vein, al-Tahānawī (*Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn/A dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musalmans*, 686) contrasts *sulūk* with the personal "effort" (*kūshish*) of the *sālik* and *djadhba* with the fore-ordained "pull" (*kashish*) of God.

Sayr/Ṭayr/Sulūk. Contrasted with *sulūk* in Ṣūfī terminology are terms such as *sayr* ("visionary voyage") and *ṭayr* ("spiritual flight"), denoting higher degrees or levels of the same spiritual journey. The terms "*sayr* vs. *sulūk*", "flight of spiritual vision" vs. "methodical progression" on the Path belong to those popular linguistic pairs of opposites whose alliterative rhyming was manipulated to great rhetorical effect by the Ṣūfī writers. What is interesting here is not only the typological difference of *sayr* and *sulūk* but also their analogical relationship, aimed at creating an equilibrium between such apparently polar opposites. Thus Maḥmūd Kāshānī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 110, observes that "The visionary voyage (*sayr*) of lovers through the hierarchical levels of the spiritual stations (*maḳāmāt*) cannot be undertaken except by correct methodological order and graduation. As long as the lover has not fulfilled the requirements of a lower station he or she cannot attain to a higher one.... Hence no progress (*taraḳḳī*) will be made unless each station is traversed step by step in proper methodological order by following [the process of] the 'journey within' (*sayr*) and 'conduct without' (*sulūk*). Then and only then shall his conduct (*sulūk*) be transformed into divine attraction (*djadhba*) and his inner voyage (*sayr*) culminate in spiritual flight (*ṭayr*)...." The *sayr/sulūk* relationship is thus complementary rather than hierarchically distinct; instead of considering the former as a higher stage of the latter, each should be seen as depending on the other, *sayr* being the fruit of the tree of *sulūk*. Other Ṣūfīs, however, such as Nasafī, *op. cit.*, 12-13, did not discriminate between *sayr* and *sulūk* and considered them as synonyms.

Descriptions found in Ṣūfī writings of the terminus of the *maḳāmāt* of *sulūk* are unanimous on one point: the end of *sulūk* is the attainment of *fanāʾ fī ʾllāh*, annihilation of the temporal selfhood in God, and the realisation of the perfection of existential Oneness (*tawḥīd*) which pertains to the level of the "transconscious" (*khafī*). Nonetheless, the mystics varied considerably in their comportment whilst bidding "farewell to wayfaring". Some, like Tādj al-Dīn Ushnawī (d. *ca.* 610/1213) could pronounce philosophically: "This station [*fanāʾ fī ʾlāh*] is the farthest point of the *sulūk* of the wayfarers, and the ultimate desideratum of the seekers (*ṭālibān*), for beyond this station there is no wayfaring (*sulūk*), wayfaring being but a derivative part of existence (*wudjūd*), and when existence, which is the principle, is annihilated, how should the derivative ever remain?" (*Madjmūʿa-yi āthār-i fārsī ... Shaykh Tādj al-Dīn Ushnawī*, ed. N.M. Harawī, Tehran 1368 *Sh.*/1989, 93); others, such as ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt, in his *Tamhīdāt*, 317, voiced their realisation more stridently.

Bibliography (apart from the references already cited): ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v. *sulūk*. As an example of typical usage of the term in mediaeval Persian Ṣūfism, see Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Farghānī, *Mashāriḳ al-darārī*, *Sharḥ-i Tāʾiyya Ibn Fāriḍ*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Āshtiyānī, Tehran 1979; *sulūk*: 61, 71, 73, 84, 166, 185, 187, 205, 209, 216, 217, 232, 234-6, 261, 274, 277, 285, 287, 306, 309, 312, 315, 340, 356, 369, 383, 395-7, 459, 476, 526, 572-3, 610, 612; *djadhba/sulūk*: 307-10; *sayr/sulūk*: 60, 72, 77, 108, 144, 147, 150, 175, 203, 261, 271, 292, 337, 380, 511, 544, 573, 590. For a somewhat idiosyncratic usage of the term in the Persian *ḥikmat* tradition, incorporating its technical Ṣūfī sense into traditional Shīʿī theosophical thought, see the Persian tract on *sulūk* ascribed to Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (d. 1212/1797), a famous Shīʿī scholar with strong Ṣūfī sympathies, *Risāla-yi sayr u sulūk-i mansūb bi-Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*, ed. S.M.Ḥ. Ṭihrānī, Tehran 1360 *Sh.*/1981.

(L. Lewisohn)

ṢUʿLŪK (A.), pl. *ṣaʿālīk*, brigand, brigand-poet and mercenary in time of need. The *ṣaʿālīk* owe their place in history mainly to their poetic talents which were without equal at the time of the *Djāhiliyya* and until the end of the Umayyad régime.

It is not at all easy to unravel the problem posed by the existence of this group, on account of the

absence of contemporary documents. On the other hand, later authors, in copying ancient texts, have replaced the original terms with those in use in their own time: the *ṣaʿālīk* mentioned by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 310-11) become *dhuʾʿār* ("thieves") in the same text as recorded by Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, s.v. *Sīsar*).

I. *Equivalents.*

It is impossible to speak of synonyms as such; the majority of relevant terms refer to categories or certain behavioural patterns of the *ṣaʿālīk*.

Al-aghriba or *aghribat al-ʿArab* ("the crows of the Bedouin") is not the equivalent of *ṣuʿlūk*; it was used to designate poets of negroid maternal ancestry. On this basis, according to the texts, the *aghriba/ṣaʿālīk* poets were represented by three individuals: Khufāf b. Nudba, al-Sulayk b. al-Sulaka and al-Ḥārith b. Sharīd (Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya fī akhbār al-mulūk al-asadiyya*, ʿAmmān 1404/1984, 170). Also mentioned are *dhuʾbān* ("wolves"), *khulaʿāʾ* (sing. *khalīʿ*; originally it signified one who has been disowned by his kinsmen for fear of accepting the consequences of his crimes; very soon, it acquired the meaning of *shāṭir*, a rebel who makes a conscious decision to practise evil; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Ḳāmūs*, s.v. *kh.l.ʿ*, tells of a *fakhidh* of the ʿĀmir d. Ṣaʿṣaʿa which was nicknamed al-Khulaʿāʾ, since they refused to submit to anyone's authority, *wa-li-annahum kānū lā yuʿṭūna aḥad^an ṭāʿat^an*), *radjliyyūn*, *futtāk* (sing. *fātik* "killer"; cf. the hybrid *futtāk al-ʿArab*, Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa ʾl-shuʿarāʾ*, 438; al-Āmidi seems not to know the term *ṣuʿlūk* and systematically uses *fātik* in *al-Muʾtalif wa ʾl-mukhtalif*, Beirut 1411/1991, 70, 81), *luṣūṣ* [see LIṢṢ] ("brigands"), *shudhdhādh* ("miscreants"; the word is not attested in Djāhilī and Umayyad poetry) and *al-dhuʾʿār* ("thieves").

II. Ṣaʿālīk *in pre-Islamic times.*

(1) Meanings of the term.

A discrepancy exists between the poems attributed to the *Djāhiliyya* which evoke these individuals on the one hand, and the texts which claim to sketch their biographies on the other. Rather than evoking honourable brigands, a significant number of the quotations attributed to these poets use the term in the sense of "poor" (al-Kaḥlaba Hubayra b. ʿAbd Manāf: *ʿalā l-samāḥati ṣuʿlūk^an wa-dhā māli* "my generosity whether I be *ṣuʿlūk* or the possessor of camels" [Abū Zayd, *al-Nawādir*, Beirut 1894, 154, l. 7]); Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī and al-Aʿshā make comparisons in their verses between wealth (*ghinā*) and *taṣaʿluk*, in this case, poverty (*Dīwān shiʿr Ḥātim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭāʾī*, Cairo 1411/1990, 203, v. 15; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, Oxford 1918-21, 342, l. 6; al-Bakri, *Simṭ*, 928, l. 7; al-Aʿshā, *Dīwān*, London 1928, 61, v. 16). This meaning is also attested in Umayyad poetry: it is found in the work of Aʿshā Hamdān (*al-Aghānī*³, vi, 44, l. 6; al-Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1891, 8, l. 4; 122, l. 4). This meaning is that used in the prose texts which record pre-Islamic events, but which were put into writing at a much later date (Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, Leiden 1955, 313b; al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, Cairo 1953, 177-8).

What remains evokes an eventful existence: the *ṣuʿlūk* tells in verse of his temerity, his solitude and the dangers he has surmounted (Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 226-7, vv. 38-42; al-Sulayk b. al-Sulaka was nicknamed *al-riʾbāl* ["the lion"], Thuwaynī and ʿAwwād, *al-Sulayk b. Sulaka, akhbāruhu wa-shiʿruhu*, 18; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, Jerusalem 1938, 293, l. 19; ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1412/1992, 48, ll. 3-6), and expresses mordant criticism of the *ṣuʿlūk* who demeans himself by accepting the crumbs thrown by wealthy *sayyids* (al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, Beirut 1910, 127-8, § 634, al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 298).

(2) The socio-tribal background.

The process of exclusion (*khalʿ*) constituted a sentence pronounced against a fellow-tribesman guilty of a crime leading to dishonour. Such opprobrium damaged the pact instituted by *ʿaṣabiyya* [*q.v.*] ("loyalty to the group"), since it almost invariably rebounded on the tribe. Since this culpable act constituted a threat to the economic existence of the whole, impairing any enterprise where solidarity was required, the *khalīʿ* was banished and his blood could be shed with impunity. Thus rejected, his survival was precarious; if he was fortunate he might receive *djiwār* [*q.v.*], the protection of another tribe, but even this was a highly problematical status, the *djār* ("protected one") being constantly threatened by the potential loss of goods and of honour. At other times, those excluded were banished to Ḥaḍawḍā. According to Yāḳūt, this mountain is located in western Arabia; the Bedouin of the *Djāhiliyya* banished their undesirables there (*kānat al-ʿArab fī ʾl-Djāhiliyya tanfī ilayhi khulaʿāʾaha* [Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. *Ḥaḍawḍā*]). The strongest and most determined either constituted or joined a band of brigands and became *ṣaʿālīk*. Thus Ḳays b. al-Ḥudādiyya of the Salūl b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr (Khuzāʿa) was banished by his kinsmen for involvement in the murder of a fellow-tribesman. He gathered around himself other *khulaʿāʾ* and *shudhdhādh*. Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, a poet of the Banū Fihr (Ḳuraysh), assembled a group of clients and rebels (*murrāḳ*); he carried out raids (*yughīr*), practised abductions (*yusbī*) and stole camels (al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1394/1974, i, 250-1). The texts describe them by the name of *ṣaʿālikat al-ʿArab*. *Aghriba* were integrated into these bands; most often, they gained admittance by shedding their own blood.

Finally, some have identified a third distinct category, that of impoverished individuals who opted for *ṣaʿlaka* in order to survive. Such was the case of Fahm, of Hudhayl and of the brigands who gathered around ʿUrwa b. al-Ward.

(3) The activities of Djāhilī *ṣaʿālīk*.

These marginal characters conducted armed incursions and, if their poems are to be believed, they seem to have possessed to a high degree the qualities required for this type of activity (see below, 4. The poetry).

Little information survives regarding the places where the *ṣaʿālīk* operated. They were numerous, and active, in the western sector of the mountainous region of Sarāt, bordering on Tihāma, to the south of Mecca (al-Sidjistānī, *K. fuḥūlat al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1411/1991, 121; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, i, 88); the sources mention other regions ravaged by these troublesome elements; the Sarāt of the Banū Fahm raiding the region of al-Ṭāʾif, the *diyār* of Badjīla, the Djawf Murād in the region of Sabaʾ (*al-Aghānī*³, ii, 352; *al-Sulayk*, 15, 50), Turba and Bīsha, two regions belonging to Khathʿam (*Aghānī*; xiii, 51-2), Yathrib and the valleys surrounding it (ʿUrwa, *Dīwān*, 62-4) and the Nadjd (al-Aʿlam al-Hudhalī and his two brothers pillaged al-Siṭāʿ, a day and a half's journey to the south of Mecca [al-Sukkarī, *op. cit.*, i, 233, 243]).

As for the targets of their plunder, camels (*amwāl*) were their prime objective. *Ṣaʿālīk* of this category were known as *khāribs* ("camel-thief;" *wa-huwa sāriḳ al-ibil khāṣṣa*, he is above all a camel-thief [*al-Aghānī*, xiii, 3]).

In other instances, they invaded agricultural regions with the object of pillage: al-Sulayk, with a gang drawn from the Taym al-Ribāb, was active in the *aryāf* (cultivated and fertile regions) around Fakhkha

(Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mughtālīn*, 226), as were Ta'abbaṭa Sharran and Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhalī; according to ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, the booty coveted was dates (ʿUrwa, *Dīwān*, 89, v. 4). Whatever the case, whether it was camels or dates that were involved, the *ṣaʿālīk* seem to have acted with the complicity of the major tribes; ʿUrwa sold the goods obtained by theft to members of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr; in times of drought, the latter approached him (al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, Cairo 1332, ii, 180).

There is very little surviving evidence regarding attacks on caravans, markets and sanctuaries. One isolated tradition relates that al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir was accustomed to sending a camel laden with musk and silk (*laṭīma*) to the market of ʿUkāẓ [*q.v.*], where the merchandise was to be sold: the *sayyid* of Muḍar guaranteed him protection against attacks from the *ṣaʿālīk* (*al-Aghānī*, xxii, 57). However, indirect details are of crucial importance, alluding to a certain level of activity on the part of these brigands against caravans and markets: a tradition owed to al-Djāḥiẓ (al-Sandūbī, *min K. faḍl Hāshim ʿalā ʿAbd Shams*, Cairo 1352/1933, 70-1) testifies clearly to the importance of this menace; it is said that Hāshim imposed taxes on the chiefs (*ru'ūs*) of the tribes in order to protect the inhabitants of Mecca against attack by the *dhu'bān al-ʿArab wa-ṣaʿālīk al-aḥyā'* ("Bedouin wolves and the brigands of the tribes"). Furthermore, numerous important individuals and members of the leading mercantile families of Ḳuraysh gave shelter and assistance to *ṣaʿālīk*, probably with the aim of gaining their favour and thus protecting commercial routes and merchandise; the Ḳurashī patrons most often mentioned are ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim (al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarā'*, Cairo 1354, 375), Ḥarb b. Umayya (*al-Aghānī*, xxii, 56), the Banū Makhzūm (*ibid.*, xii, 49), al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 229) and al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās (Djawād ʿAlī, 622; Khulayf, 138-9).

Finally, certain *ṣaʿālīk* seem to have lent their services in the pursuit of vendettas and the struggles which ensued: Zayd al-Khayl appealed to the *shudhdhādh al-ḳabā'il* to avenge him on his enemies the Banū ʿĀmir (*al-Aghānī*, xvii, 52); Zuhayr b. Djanāb al-Kalbī did the same at the time of his campaign against the Bakr and the Taghlib (*ibid.*, xxi, 96).

These activities have been diversely interpreted according to the mood of the times; the romanticism of the 19th century, although diluted, persists in current research. Some regard these brigands as socialists before their time, their acts of violence as expressions of class struggle and the financial support offered to some of the poor as socialist-inspired redistribution of wealth (Khulayf, 47, 143-4; Ḥifnī, 334-50; Djawād ʿAlī, iv, 563-5; ix, 66).

(4) The poetry.

Pre-Islam is the golden age of the poetry of the *ṣaʿālīk*, who seem to have preserved the best of the ancient poetic tradition. Besides the suspicions and doubts which are legitimately expressed concerning the authenticity of much of this material (Brahim Najar, *Madjmaʿ al-dhākira aw shuʿarā' ʿabbāsiyyūn mansiyyūn*, i, Tunis 1987, 47, 52-5, 66-8), serious problems of attribution are raised, but such is to be expected in dealing with archaic texts. Several parameters may be observed in the endeavour to decipher the diverse meanings of these poems.

The apologetic parameter: this poetry is often presented as an intimate journal. Here the poet tells of his life with particular emphasis on his poverty; but this is a case of poverty overcome by virtue of his endurance, his courage and his determination; this insistence on his personal qualities allows him to deploy justificatory themes and to underline his beneficent pretensions. This aspect is crucial in the poetry of al-Shanfarā [*q.v.*], of Ta'abbaṭa Sharran and of ʿUrwa b. al-Ward (*Dīwān*, 51-2, 67-70, 83). It is also a vigorous element in that of the Hudhalī *ṣaʿālīk* (al-Sukkarī, *op. cit.*, i, 315; *al-Aʿlam*, iii, 1198-1204, 1231-2, Abū Ṣakhr).

The lyrical parameter: the *ṣuʿlūk* poet, more than any other, has succeeded in endowing his discourse with sentimentality of the very highest order. The desert, its topography, its fauna and flora, have often been evoked by these poets. All of this is integrated into the theme of a journey, combining travel with a description of the desert and its toponymy and of the silence of the night; accompanied by members of his band, the poet attacks and loots. All of this is evoked with a passion seldom equalled in Arabic poetry. Having withdrawn to his *marḳaba* ("mountain refuge") for the night, close to the sky and the stars, he lords it over nature (al-Sukkarī, *op. cit.*, ii, 571, v. 24-6; ʿAmr Dhu 'l-Kalb, iii, 1222-3; Abū Khirāsh; al-Shanfarā; al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii, 119; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 393; ʿAmr b. Barrāḳa, i, 316; ʿAbda b. al-Ṭabīb, iii, 1012; Abū Khirāsh). In these poems, weapons are likewise idealised.

The therapeutic parameter: despite its pronounced lyrical aspect, an ambience of death usually dominates the verse of the *khulaʿā'*. Other taboo subjects are likewise addressed; these individuals break down all the barriers, setting ambushes, conducting raids, committing abductions. In most cases, they thoroughly enjoy this behaviour. Dangers confronted and temporary triumphs give to these characters, who are currently outside the law, a sense of power, clearly visible in the work of all the *ṣuʿlūk* poets without exception. This is in fact an artificial power. This liminal zone is by its very nature precarious. Here, the transition fails, and is absent. Implacable death lies in wait. The transitory *ṣuʿlūk* is thus doomed to a period of expiration of greater or shorter length; he succumbs or delivers himself with pleasure to a violent death. The poetry here responds to a triple need: (i) the poet thumbs his nose at death, being thus better equipped to deal with it; (ii) the poem serves as a means of surmounting the difficulties which are bound to be faced in the course of this phase; and (iii) it also enables the poet to cleave to the group which has marginalised him.

III. *The* mukhaḍramūn *and Umayyad* ṣaʿālīk.

The emergence of the new religion presented to the *ṣaʿālīk* an unexpected opportunity to improve their situation. According to Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 278) the Prophet had promised to spare the lives of the brigands of Kināna and Muzayna in the region of Tihāma on condition that they converted; furthermore, they were permitted to keep all the spoils hitherto amassed. The Ḳur'ān definitely prescribes severe punishment for brigands: crucifixion, death, amputation or banishment (v, 33-4). Among the *ṣaʿālīk* who embraced Islam were Abū Khirāsh, al-Uḥaymir al-Saʿdī, Djurayba b. al-Ashyam al-Faḳʿasī, etc.

After the death of the Prophet, a situation favourable to the *ṣaʿālīk* came into being: with the *Ridda* and the major upheavals of the *fitna*, the *ṣaʿālīk*, in return for a share of the spoils, placed very valuable additional forces at the disposal of the belligerents (*Khizāna*, ii, 156-61). At the time of the Battle of the Camel, two partisans of the assassinated caliph ʿUthmān, Ḥasaka b. ʿAttāb al-Ḥabaṭī and ʿImrān b. Fuḍayl al-Burdjumī (Tamīm), had obtained the support of reinforcements

from *ṣa'ālīk al-'Arab*; after their defeat they withdrew, still accompanied by these troops, to Sidjistān and subsequently to Zālik. Even during the period of the great conquests, bands of *ṣa'ālīk* were fighting the Byzantines under the command of their own chieftains (for example, 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣabra al-Ḥurashī, *al-Ḥamāsa*, 239); among those who died for Islam at this time was Yazīd b. al-Sikkīl al-'Ukaylī, otherwise renowned as a camel-thief (al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 59). For the *ṣa'ālīk* of the *mukhadramūn*, camels were still the favourite form of booty.

(1) The Umayyad period, the great age of *ṣa'laka*.

Under the Umayyads, the need to consolidate a properly structured central power and to guarantee freedom of movement on roads frequented by pilgrims and caravans, induced the caliphs of Damascus to treat with the utmost severity the gangs causing instability on these routes. Henceforward they were classed as *liṣṣ*, i.e. common thieves. This term seems to have been seldom used in Djāhilī poetry to denote these outlaws; at this time, and for a certain category of brigands, it replaced *ṣu'lūk* (Djarīr, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1354/1935, 90, v. 7, 126, v. 1; *al-Ḥamāsa*, 42, 769; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 454, l. 1; *al-Aghānī*, xi, 371, l. 5; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shu'arā'*, 293, l. 6, 448, l. 9). For others, few in number, the old appellation survived.

(i) The activity of these *luṣūṣ* became intensified and diversified; furthermore, their number seems to have risen in comparison with the earlier period. Organised bands took the place of freelancers and controlled certain regions. Cases which could be cited include that of Abu 'l-Nashnāsh al-Nahshalī and his band of outlaws (*shudhdhādh al-'Arab*) who attacked caravans on the Damascus-Ḥidjāz route (*al-Aṣma'iyyāt*, 124; *al-Ḥamāsa*, 156-7), that of al-Samharī b. Bishr al-'Uklī (al-Bakrī, *Dhayl ṣimṭ al-la'āli'*, 38) and those of Mālik b. al-Rayb al-Māzinī and of Djaḥdar b. Mālik al-Ḥanafī who caused panic among travellers in the Ḥidjāz (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 178; *al-Aghānī*, xix, 163); Ṭahmān b. 'Amr al-Kilābī (*Dīwān*, 54) was active in Yamāma; Shaẓẓāẓ al-Ḍabbī pillaged sites in the neighbourhood of Baṣra, and Muḳātil b. Rabāḥ opposed the Taghlib in Djazīra (*al-Waḥshiyyāt*, 93).

The nature of spoils was significantly diversified; these consisted primarily of the luggage of pilgrims, but also targeted were camel markets and communal pasturages such as those at Nāhiḳ in the outskirts of Baṣra. Al-Uḥaymir al-Sa'dī deserves special mention. Alongside verses in which he boasts of his acts of depredation against herds of livestock, he is the first of the outlaw poets to evoke his assaults on merchants (*al-tudjdjār*). Accompanied by his gang, he plundered stocks of silk (*bazz*) in 'Irāḳ, and items of streaked silk originating from Yemen (*maṭārif* [*al-Waḥshiyyāt*, 34; al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, i, 48; al-Bakrī, *Ṣimṭ*, 1961]); luxury articles, perfumes (Ibn Ḳutayba, *'Uyūn*, 181-2) and leatherwork are also mentioned.

(ii) The state authorities pursued policies of repression. Systematically hunted, these men disappeared, going into hiding in the remotest corners of the realm. Although their clans rejected them, the system of *khal'* no longer applied. The governors of the time refused to absolve the clan of its responsibilities even after repudiation; considerable pressure was applied on the collective group to hand over the outlaw, or induce him to surrender himself. Among the *khula'ā'* handed over by their own kinsmen the following are mentioned: Ibrāhīm b. Hāni' b. Muslim b. Ḳays *alias* Ya'lā al-Azdī, 'Ubayd b. Ayyūb al-'Anbarī, Mas'ūd b. Kharasha al-Tamīmī and al-Ḳattāl al-Kilābī.

(iii) Certain outlaws were known as *al-ṣa'ālīk al-futtāk*. In the texts of the time, the *fātik* was an indomitable man, refusing to submit to the wielders of power (*fātik lā yuṭī al-umarā' ṭā'a* [al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 290]). Members of this group were opposed to the authorities and mounted armed resistance to them, not solely for the sake of financial profit. Undoubtedly, in the course of these struggles they were induced to commit acts of banditry, but neither the texts nor those in power seem to have regarded them accordingly. On the contrary, they were admired: the most illustrious name is that of 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥurr al-Dju'fī, the most famous of all Arab heroes according to al-Djāḥiẓ. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥadjdjādj of the Ḳays 'Aylān was considered one of the finest warriors of Muḍar; he is said to have shown great courage, whether in his capacity as a member of the *ṣa'ālīk al-'Arab* or when participating in rebellions (*kāna shudjā'an ṣu'lūkan min ṣa'ālīk al-'Arab mutasarri'an ilā al-fitani* [*Aghānī*, xiii, 158; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 231]). Finally, Abū Djilda al-Yashkurī, who had taken part in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath [*q.v.*], earned the same title (al-Nahshalī, *op. cit.*, 126). What is striking about these three *ṣa'ālīk* is the respect which they seem to have enjoyed on the part of the wielders of power.

(2) The poetry of the Umayyad *ṣa'ālīk*.

This is as rich in diverse resonances and as personal as that of their pre-Islamic forebears. It appears in the form of short fragments and constitutes an emotional and artistic response to a situation confronting the brigand-poet. The poetry is less cultivated and its poetic language is clear and transparent. The *ṣu'lūk* uses it in order to stay alive, or to avoid captivity and torture, and therefore his poetic discourse needs to be easily comprehensible. Furthermore, this body of work is firmly rooted in space by means of intensive use of names of places and of water-sources, and evocation of the precise details (fauna and flora) which characterise a given environment.

The apologetic parameter. In this context, the poets stress their poverty as a justification for banditry. It might be wondered whether this is not rather a case of creative poverty, since the literary treatment of the issue is identical to that previously expressed by their Djāhilī predecessors. The Umayyad *ṣa'ālīk*, in their celebration of their tenacity and determination, are simply continuing an established tradition, although two original themes emerge within this framework: their refusal to bow in the face of official repression (al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 118; *al-Ḥamāsa*, 30-3, 325-6, 326-7, Sa'd b. Nāshib declares his determination to continue in his way after the demolition of his home) and of the torture inflicted in prisons (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 771; al-Ḳattāl al-Kilābī, 75-7). Henceforward, themes of captivity occupy a significant place in the discourse of the brigand-poets. The 22-verse poem of Djaḥdar b. Mu'āwiya al-'Uklī on his imprisonment brings together in a single text the entire range of humiliating punishments reserved for captives; but nothing lessens his determination to pursue his career as an outlaw (al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, i, 281-2).

The lyrical parameter. The desert takes on an ambivalent aspect. In the work of some poets, it is described as a dreadful place infested with injurious creatures (i.e. a treatment identical to that attested in the previous era); others insist on the irresistible appeal of its vast spaces. Thus al-Ḳattāl al-Kilābī sings of the romantic space of the 'Amāya, the protectress and mother of fugitives (*umm kull ṭarīd*); in this interminable expanse, mounted on his camel, he enjoys a liberty

which nothing and nobody can shackle (al-Ḳattāl al-Kilābī, 45).

Whether fugitives or captives, these people have memories of a place and its inhabitants, and of a time, the past. This territorial nostalgia (*al-ḥanīn ilā al-awṭān*) represents the most important contribution of the *mukhaḍramūn* and Umayyad *ṣa'ālīk* to the poetry of the period (see A. Arazi, *al-Ḥanīn ilā al-awṭān entre la Djāhiliya et l'Islam*, in *ZDMG*, cxliii [1993], 300-3). This nostalgia is all-consuming and ever-present. Ya'lā b. Muslim al-Azdī, Yazīd b. al-Ṭathriyya, Darrādj b. Zur'a al-Kalbī, Djaḥdar b. Mu'āwiya al-'Uklī, al-Khaṭīm al-'Uklī and 'Uṭārid b. Ḳarrān pine for the urban landscapes and enchanted suburban sites of their youth. Furthermore, this parameter has given to Arab culture the martyr of *ḥanīn*, Mālik b. al-Rayb al-Māzinī, who died at Ṭabasān devastated by statelessness, the memory of the abandoned hearth, of lost loves and the beloved city of Baṣra.

The therapeutic parameter. This disappears almost completely from the verses of post-Muslim *ṣa'ālīk*. The phenomenon of rejection (*khal'*) having become inoperative as a result of official Umayyad policy, the liminal phase itself is rendered obsolete. All is reduced to lamentation and recrimination against the clan which has surrendered them to the agents of authority. The tribe has failed them (al-Ḳattāl al-Kilābī, 39, 55, 85; *al-Aghānī*, xxi, Leiden 1305/1888, 19-25, al-Samharī al-'Uklī).

IV. Ṣa'ālīk *in the 'Abbāsid era.*

(1) *Ṣa'laka* as a sociological phenomenon. New activities gave different connotations to the term *ṣu'lūk*. Researchers have established equivalences between *ṣa'ālīk, fityān, shuṭṭār, 'ayyārūn* [see 'AYYĀR] and *mukaddūn* [see MUKADDĪ]; and hitherto unknown synonyms also came into existence, such as *zawāḳīl* [*q.v.*]. This sudden proliferation of terms denotes a complex reality which is not always easy to disentangle.

In 132/750, Ibn Hubayra, besieged for several months in Wāsiṭ, saw his supporters gradually dwindling in number; in the end, according to a tradition attributed to Abu 'l-Sarī and quoted by al-Ṭabarī, only the *ṣa'ālīk* and the *fityān* remained loyal (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 66). This association of the two terms, which is in any case unique, seems somewhat enigmatic; it could signify either equivalence or divergence. The text suggests that what is involved here is the rabble which remained following the disengagement of warriors from the Ḳaysiyya and the Yamaniyya. On the other hand, texts of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries avoid mention of the *ṣa'ālīk, 'ayyārūn* and *shuṭṭār* together. The latter two have nothing in common with the *ṣa'ālīk*, being urban or suburban troublemakers; there is no question of any kind of equivalence between them, in spite of certain resemblances in matters of detail, such as a shared appetite for plunder and armed robbery.

Important texts containing precise details on the diverse activities of the *ṣa'ālīk* feature in various chronicles.

At the time of the civil war between al-Amīn and Ma'mūn, reinforcements comprising Bedouin of the desert (*a'rāb al-bawādī*), some *ṣa'ālīk al-Djibāl* and heterogeneous elements joined the army of 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 798). The same *ṣa'ālīk al-Djabal* (var. of Djibāl) are encountered again in a *khabar* on the armies which assembled in 213/828-9 to put down the insurrection of Bābak (al-Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 386); a third instance of this expression will be analysed below. The mention of Djibāl is very instructive. In the early years of the 'Abbāsid régime, this region was swarming with *ṣa'ālīk*, who succeeded eventually in controlling the entire region as well as Sīsar [*q.v.*], the provincial capital. According to al-Balādhurī, in the reign of al-Mahdī it became necessary to send a powerful army (*djaysh 'aẓīm*) to the place under the command of two persons of the very highest importance since they were *mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn*; they were charged with the task of constructing a fortified town for the accommodation of livestock, herdsmen and soldiers. The enterprise seems to have lasted some time; after the destruction of Sīsar by the *ṣa'ālīk*, the caliph sent in a permanent garrison of 1,000 men commanded by Khāḳān *al-khādim* (*Futūḥ*, 310-1; al-Hamādhānī, *Mukhtaṣar K. al-Buldān*, 239-40).

Numerous concordant indications (al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf*, 361-2; idem, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, § 2683; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1677-8; al-Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 34, 345, 385; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shu'arā' al-muḥdathīn*, Cairo 1956, 177) confirm the impression that this term denoted quasi-military units composed of Arabs who invested a province, established themselves there and practised brigandage on a major scale, and with such success that garrisons of regular troops were unable to dislodge them. At times of civil war or armed struggle, their services were sought; they took part in operations in a mercenary capacity. On conclusion of these operations, they were expected to return to their homes.

In his homily, the *mukaddī* Khālid b. Yazīd takes pride in the fact that at one time in his life, he had been a member of the *ṣa'ālīk al-Djibāl* and of the *zawāḳīl al-Shām*. The two terms seem to be equivalents; in fact, in both cases it is a reference to seasoned Arab forces playing a dual role as mercenaries and brigands (an equivalence accepted by D. Ayalon, *The military reforms of Caliph al-Mu'taṣim; their background and consequences*, 13-20, especially n. 32, at p. 18, *in Islam and the Abode of War*, Variorum, London 1994).

(2) Literary activity.

This disappears almost completely. New activities, the cessation of persecution and imprisonment and the acceptance of these people into respectable society seem to have dried up the wells of their inspiration. Only one poet is cited for this period, Bakr b. al-Naṭṭāḥ (d. 211/826-7); a single verse expresses some vague notions about the ideals of the outlaw (*al-Aghānī*, xix, 107), about the need to seize what one needs rather than be reduced to the status of a beggar.

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(A. Arazi)

AL-ṢU'LŪKĪ, the name of a family of influential legists in 4th-5th/10th-11th-century Nīshāpūr.

1. Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. 'Īsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Bishr al-Ḥanafī (*nasab*[an]) al-'Idjlī, al-Imām al-Ustādh. A Shāfi'ī legist during Shāfi'ism's formative period, al-Ṣu'lūkī was born in Iṣfahān in 296/908 and studied there with his father. He first "audited" *ḥadīth* at the age of 9. After studying *ḥadīth* with his father, he travelled to Baṣra in 320/932. At this time, from an account in the *Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* (i, 150), it seems he must have met and associated with the theologian Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī [*q.v.*]. Since Abū Isḥāḳ al-Marwazī praised his merits in his *madjlis*, and since Ibn Khallikān says that Abū Sahl was al-Marwazī's student, it appears that Abū Sahl must have gone also to Baghdād. Thereafter, he went to Iṣfahān, where he taught, and studied *fiḳh*. At some point, according to al-Sam'ānī (in al-Nawawī, 242), he also toured Khurasān, studying with various prominent figures there. He returned to Nīshāpūr at the death of his uncle Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad—himself a prominent legist—in 337/948-9. There he spent the rest of his life until his death on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 369/2 June 980.

Abū Sahl was acclaimed as the intellectual leader of Nīshāpūr throughout his life there. He taught *fiḳh* and *kalām* sequentially on days appointed for the topic. He refused, however, to teach *ḥadīth* until 365/975-6. He was also a poet of note (al-Tha'ālibī, iv, 483-4). He defended the doctrine of the "vision of God" (*ru'yat Allāh*) using "intellectualist" (*'aḳlī*) arguments, namely that one yearns to see God, and yearning implies the possibility of achievement (al-Subkī, iii, 172). His memory is praised by al-Marwazī, al-Ḳaffāl al-Shāshī, Abū Bakr al-Ṣayrafī, and other formative figures in speculative Shāfi'ism. He seems also to have been part of the nascent Ṣūfī movement. He was an associate of the Ṣūfīs al-Shiblī [*q.v.*] and Abū 'Alī al-Thaḳafī. He is mentioned by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*] as an associate of al-Sulamī [*q.v.*], who reports a story of Abū Sahl's having worn a woman's garment after he gave his only *djubba* to a poor man during the winter. When summoned to ride out in welcome to some dignitaries, the commander of the army was affronted by Abū Sahl's wearing of women's dress. The measure of his asceticism may be seen in his declaration to al-Sulamī (al-Subkī, iii, 170) "I have never made a contract, I never had a lock or key, I never pocketed gold or silver at all." He seems firmly to have believed in a hierarchy of master and teacher; al-Sulamī reports that when al-Sulamī one day asked Abū Sahl, "Why? (*li-mā*)" he retorted, "Haven't you learned that anyone who asks his professor 'why?' will never succeed?" (al-Subkī, iii, 171). He also said "the disobedience to parents is effaced in forgiveness; nothing effaces recalcitrance to professors." Most biographies seem to be dependent on that of al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī [*q.v.*]. The most complete biography is in al-Subkī (iii, 167, no. 138).

2. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṣu'lūkī, Sahl b. Abī Sahl Muḥammad. He succeeded to leadership in Shāfi'ī circles in Nīshāpūr after his father's death. He seems to have been both less accomplished and more prominent than his father. It appears that his legal positions are never subsequently cited, but in his time he was not merely *muftī* of Nīshāpūr, but was addressed as "Imām", a title which he accepted. It was said also that he "gathered together leadership of this world and the next" (Ibn Khallikān, s.v.). His death date is disputed; Muḥarram 387/January-February 997 and early in 402/1011, Radjab 404/January 1014 are both cited.

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SŪMANĀT, the spelling in the Indo-Muslim sources for the ancient Indian town of Somnāth, properly Somanātha "lord of soma" (the hallucinogenic drink of the early Indo-Iranians), referring to Śiva (Shiva), and, by extension, "lord of the moon". It is now an ancient ruined town on the southwestern coast of the Kāthīāwāṛ peninsula of western India, in what was the older Indo-Muslim sultanate of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*].

Recent excavations have revealed settlement there dating back to 1500 B.C., and Somnāth plays a part

in the story of the death of Kṛṣna (Krishna) in the *Mahābhārata*. In the 8th century A.D. Somnāth was ruled by the Čāvada Rād̲j̲puts, vassals of the Čawlukyas. Its fame in Islamic history arises from the famous attack on its temple, mounted from Multān, by Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azna [*q.v.*] in 416-17/1015-16. The sultan desecrated the shrine and destroyed its idol, pieces of which were reputedly sent to Mecca and Medina to be trodden underfoot by the true believers; the whole event vastly enhanced Maḥmūd's reputation in Islam as the hammer of infidels. This was nevertheless essentially a plunder raid, and Kāthīāwāṛ reverted to Hindu control in the persons of the Vad̲j̲a Rād̲j̲puts. In 697/1298, in the reign of the Dihlī Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī, the shrine was again sacked by the commander Ulug̲h̲ Beg, but only came under prolonged Muslim control in 875/1470 when the sultan of Gud̲j̲arāt, Maḥmūd I, conquered D̲j̲unāgaṛh or Girnār from its Rād̲j̲ā [see MAḤMŪD I, SAYF AL-DĪN, BEGAṚHĀ]. It was eventually conquered by the Nawwābs of D̲j̲unāgaṛh, and in British Indian times it fell within their princely state.

The modern port of Pātan-Somnāth or Somnāth-Pātan (lat. 20° 58' N., long. 70° 28' E.), on the old town site, is in Junagadh District of the Gujarat State in the Indian Union, and in 1971 had a population of 64,618, but it is now overshadowed by the adjacent port of Verāval.

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SUMANIYYA, the name given to the Buddhists by several Muslim authors. In this survey, first the Arabic word will be examined, then the doctrines of the *sumaniyya* according to Muslims will be discussed, and finally the Buddhist heritage in Persia and references to Buddhists in Muslim writings will be presented.

The Arabic word is here given in its usual vocalisation, though it sometimes appears as *samaniyya*, and this is based on the information spelt out literally by al-D̲j̲awharī, *Ṣiḥāḥ*, Būlāḳ 1282/1865, ii, 283, and cited by Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*, xiii, 220a). It is now generally acknowledged that the first origins of this term are to be found in Sanskrit *śramana*, which with some phonetic modification has come to mean a Buddhist monk in the languages of Central Asia (particularly in Sogdian); it is from there that it passed into Arabic.

To all appearances it is the same word which in its form Σαμαναῖοι is found previously in Hellenistic Greek (Alexander Polyhistor, Porphyry) and as *šaman* at the end of the 3rd century in the Middle Persian inscription of Kaʿba-yi Zardus̲h̲t (Gignoux, 46, 69). However, "shamanism", despite the homonymy, is derived from the Tungus word *saman/šaman*, which certainly does not come from an Indian language and has nothing to do with the *sumaniyya*.

Several doctrines have been attributed to the *sumaniyya* by the *mutakallimūn*, some of which are very vague. It was said that they were idolaters and that they believed the world was eternal. Moreover, they were accused of professing transmigration (*tanāsuk̲h̲*). In this connection, al-Maḳdisī has two passages of great interest but which in reality describe a belief that is common to all Indians and not one distinctive of the *sumaniyya*. These last al-Māturīdī credits with a very remarkable theory, inasmuch as they claimed to know that the whole earth "is hurtling indefinitely into the void" (Gimaret). Al-Naẓẓām is said to have objected to this theory when he observed that if a pebble is dropped it falls to the ground; but the earth is in contrast much heavier than a pebble and therefore it would fall faster than a pebble. The conclusion is that such a pebble would never be able to catch up with the earth if it really were falling.

However, Muslim theologians regularly associate the name *sumaniyya* with another thesis, which concerns a scepticism which "limits certain knowledge to perceptible knowledge". This is the general attitude but it is in fact presented in different ways. Sometimes it comes within the scope of a debate about our knowledge of God and sets out the controversy between D̲j̲ahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*] and the *sumaniyya* according to two accounts with diverging purposes. On other occasions it takes on a universal value but comprising two variants, the second of which seems to be a dialectical refinement of the first. The first takes its support from given facts derived only from the five senses and is said to deny the probative power of information (*ak̲h̲bār*), including the *k̲h̲abar mutawātir*. The second variant, which became a recognised subject of refutation by the As̲h̲ʿarīs, essentially sees in the scepticism of the *sumaniyya* the systematic denial of the value of speculative reasoning (*naẓar*) and inference (*istidlāl*). Any conclusion from a careful study of these bookish discussions is invariably restrictive. Like the doctrines of the *barāhima* which were contrasted with them, the doctrines of the *sumaniyya* which the theologians note are most often fictitious. The presumptions made about their proponents serve to give more substance and more shame to the positions rebutted by the *mutakallimūn*, or at least by some of them.

Any traces of Buddhism within Muslim culture must be sought elsewhere. The expansion of Buddhism towards the north-west of India is an acknowledged fact but its extent has not always been recognised. Modern archaeological discoveries and recent studies of toponyms in Zābulistān, Transoxiana and K̲h̲urāsān now seem to show clearly that Buddhism "largely embraced the eastern half of the Iranian world, even if it is improbable that it was ever the exclusive religion there" (A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, in *Le Monde iranien et l'Islam*, iii [Paris 1976], 3). This Buddhist presence, which varied in intensity with place and time, lasted for about a thousand years, from the 2nd century B.C. to the 8th century. From the end of the 3rd century it dwindled in the face of the vigorous influence of Mazdaism, the state religion of the Sāsānids, at the very time when Indian Buddhism was progressively losing its impetus under the Gupta dynasty. This double evolution explains why the Muslim empire was able to eliminate the Buddhist religion rapidly from its territory, and why Muslims had hardly any contact with it in India. But the Eastern Iranian world had been experiencing a long permeation of Buddhism which could not disappear so easily. The accepted ideals and established literary and plastic aspects of Buddhist art were for centuries incorporated into the poetry and arts of Islamic Persia.

Even the name *bot* that was given to the "idol" of the poet, by which is meant the object of his affection, the "moon-face" (*māhrūy*) which describes him, his physical type in pictorial art, many other recurring details as well as the compassionate sentiment which penetrates the epic of Firdawsī, can have no other origin. The Persian word *nawbahār*, from Sanskrit *nava-vihāra*, "the new monastery", is still today the name of several villages in the region of Nis̲h̲āpūr, but it has chiefly remained associated with the memory of

the great monastery of Balkh, destroyed by the Muslims in 42/663. Its superior had as his descendants the Barmecides [see AL-BARĀMIKA and NAW BAHĀR].

The last monastic sites at Bāmiyān [*q.v.*], right in the centre of present-day Afghānistān, were devasted as late as 257/871 and the two enormous faceless rock Buddhas, 53 m and 35 m high, continue to call on men silently to go beyond all external scrutiny.

The paucity of references and imprecision in Muslim writing on the subject of Buddhism can be explained from what has been mentioned previously. Yet they should not be the subjects of undue criticism. Leaving aside the theologians and their conceptual plots, genuine scholars were hindered by the proper name Būdhāsf (a corruption of the original Sanskrit *bodhisattva*). Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, §§ 535, 1371) and Ibn al-Nadīm confused it with the Buddha, and several scholars annoyingly linked it with the so-called Sabaeans [see AL-ṢĀBI'A]. But the majority (included in *Murūdj*, §§ 1371, 1375) described the geographical area of Buddhism very correctly, and the person of the Buddha (*al-Budd*) is clearly recognised by several as the founder of the Buddhists or the *sumaniyya* [see BUDD].

Nevertheless, only two authors made any connection with Buddhism which even begins to resemble actual and doctrinal reality. One of these was al-Shahrastānī. He very clearly distinguishes the previous Buddhas, the historical Buddha and the *boddhisattva*. Then he gives the list of ten sins enumerated by the Buddhist tradition, and then the list (a little Islamicised) of the ten types of virtuous behaviour which should be acquired.

For his part, Rashīd al-Din Faḍl Allāh, in his *Djāmi' al-tawārikh*, has on the subject a whole section of about thirty pages preserved in Persian and also in Arabic, and for this he went to one of the best sources, that of a Buddhist scholar who, thanks to the unprecedented situation prevailing there at the end of the 7th/13th century, came to Iran. The paths of Buddhism and Islam crossed again for several decades during the Mongol domination of Persia [see ILKHĀNS and BAKHSHI]. For the extraordinary fortunes of a Buddhist theme, including its ups and downs in several Arabic versions and several different languages, see BILAWHAR WA-YŪDĀSAF (= Būdhāsaf).

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SUMATRA, after Borneo [*q.v.*] the second largest island of the Malay Archipelago and the westernmost island (area 473,606 km²/ 182,859 sq. miles).

In pre-Islamic times, the kingdoms in Sumatra were strongly Hinduised in culture and religion (Buddhism and Śivaist Brahmanism). Islam had appeared in Sumatra by the end of the 14th century, since Marco Polo in 1292 mentions the northern Sumatran ports of Perlak (as Ferlec), Samudra (from which the name Sumatra probably derives; Marco calls the island "Java the Lesser") and Lambri, and he says that Muslim merchants had implanted the faith at Perlak (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, ii, 284 ff.). These merchants doubtless traded from Malacca [*q.v.*] in the Malay peninsula, the first great Muslim city-state of the region. Thereafter, Islam spread, especially under the impetus from the 16th century onwards from the kingdom of Aceh or Atjèh at the northwestern tip of Sumatra.

Hence see for the subsequent history of Sumatra, ATJÈH; INDONESIA. V; MINANGKABAU; and see also SUMATRA in *EI*¹. (ED.)

AL-ṢUMAYL b. Ḥātim b. Shamir b. Dhi 'l-Djawshan al-Kilābī, lieutenant and confidential adviser to the last governor of al-Andalus before the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty, Yūsuf al-Fihrī (129-38/746-56 [*q.v.*]). Al-Ṣumayl is presented by the sources as chief of the Muḍar Ḳays faction, openly opposed to the Yemenis, in a confrontation which seems to be an accurate reflection of events in the East (see Patricia Crone, *Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad period political parties?* in *Isl.*, lxxi/1 [1994], 1-57). However, as will be shown, circumstances in al-Andalus were very different and it does not seem that tribal differences played such an important role; indeed, al-Ṣumayl is seen at one moment supporting the exercise of government by a Yemeni and at another moment one of his fellow-tribesmen.

Al-Ṣumayl was the direct descendant, probably the grandson, of Shamir b. Dhi 'l-Djawshan, one of the killers of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī [*q.v.*] at Karbalā' in 61/680. His family was obliged to flee Kūfa, its town of origin, and to settle in Ḳinnasrīn. He joined the expeditionary force sent, under the command of Kulthūm b. 'Iyāḍ [*q.v.*] to suppress disorder instigated by Berbers in North Africa. The survivors of the defeat suffered at Oued Sebou (Wādī Sabū) in 123/741 succeeded, under the leadership of Kulthūm's nephew, Baldj b. Bishr, in reaching al-Andalus. Among these al-Ṣumayl established himself, with his *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn, in the region of Jaen (Djayyān), and more specifically in the locality of Jodar (Shawdhar).

Shortly after, during the governorship of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Kalbī [*q.v.*], al-Ṣumayl took over the leadership of those opposing the policies of the *wālī*, and the latter was defeated at the battle of Guadalete (Wādī Lakka) in 127/745, by an army composed of both Muḍar and Yemen. For reasons of his own, which remain unclear, al-Ṣumayl deemed it inappropriate to take power personally, leaving this to the Yemeni Thawāba b. Salama al-Djudhāmī. But Thawāba died soon afterwards, and al-Ṣumayl engineered the appointment of a Fihrī, Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who definitively defeated Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār at the battle of Secunda (130/747 [see SHAḲUNDA]) and retained nominal power, with al-Ṣumayl as his lieutenant and counsellor. Two years later, Yūsuf sent al-Ṣumayl to Saragossa (Saraḳusṭa) to govern the *Thaghr* or Frontier. This decision was not welcomed with alacrity by al-

Ṣumayl, representing as it did a form of disguised exile, but he accepted it without demur.

During al-Ṣumayl's residence at Saragossa, two Muḍarīs (non-Ḳaysīs), ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr al-ʿAbdarī and al-Ḥubāb b. Rawāḥa al-Zuhrī, rebelled and laid siege to the city, placing him in an almost desperate situation. He appealed to Yūsuf for assistance, but the latter being unable, or unwilling, to provide it, he had recourse to the Arabs of his own *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and of the neighbouring one of Damascus. Although there was not total unanimity between them, they succeeded in mustering a contingent of some 400 horsemen, including around thirty Umayyad clients. More warriors joined them on the way and, on their approach, the rebels raised the siege of Saragossa, leaving al-Ṣumayl to join forces with those who had come to his rescue, with whom he returned towards Cordova. On the way, the Umayyad clients informed al-Ṣumayl of the intention of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] to travel through al-Andalus and appealed for his support, but he asked for time to consider.

The following spring (137/755), Yūsuf and al-Ṣumayl organised a campaign against the rebels of Saragossa, who had taken control of the city on al-Ṣumayl's departure. At the approach of the army, the inhabitants handed over the two leading insurgents, who were later to be executed. But this campaign was also the occasion of a more significant development: the Umayyads once again raised with al-Ṣumayl the question of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya; having initially indicated his agreement, he reconsidered and informed them that at the most he would allow the Umayyad to establish himself in al-Andalus as a privileged exile, but without any access whatsoever to power. Soon afterwards, during the return of the victorious army, came news of the landing of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya. Although al-Ṣumayl was in favour of a rapid reaction, giving the Umayyad no time to consolidate his strength, the fatigue of the troops persuaded Yūsuf to withdraw to Cordova, whence he sent a delegation to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, with presents and an offer of matrimonial alliance.

But confrontation was inevitable. The Umayyad claimant and his supporters would settle for nothing less than absolute power. Taking advantage of the winter, which prevented Yūsuf and al-Ṣumayl from attacking them, they built up their army and obtained pledges of allegiance from numerous local chieftains. In the spring the two armies met near Cordova and the battle ended with the triumph of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya (10 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 138/14 May 756) and the flight of Yūsuf and of al-Ṣumayl. Some months later, in the village of Armilla near Granada, Yūsuf and al-Ṣumayl surrendered to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān on condition that their lives and their property be guaranteed. They established themselves in Cordova, but intrigues on the part of Yūsuf's supporters induced him to make a further attempt to regain power, which led finally to his death. Although al-Ṣumayl was totally uninvolved in the rebellion, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān seized the opportunity to be rid of him and confined him to prison where he died soon after (142/759), officially as a result of excessive consumption of alcohol; there was widespread suspicion that he had been strangled on the orders of the sovereign.

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(L. Molina)

SUMAYSĀṬ, a mediaeval Islamic town of upper al-Djazīra, classical Samosata, Ottoman Samsāṭ, modern Turkish Samsat in the *il* or province of Adıyaman (lat. 37° 30' N., long. 38° 32' E.).

Not to be confused with Shimshāṭ [*q.v.*] (Arsamosata) further up the river to the north-east, it lies on the right bank of the Euphrates' northwards bend at an important crossing of the north-south route to Edessa or Urfa, 50 km/30 miles to the south of Sumaysāṭ, and the east-west one from Mārdīn. It may have had a bridge over the river in Antiquity, and the present village preserves Roman vestiges at least in the city walls. It was taken by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm in 18-19/639-40 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 179-80; a variant account attributes this to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī), but was thereafter often endangered by Byzantine raids, e.g. in 242/856 and 245/859 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1434, 1447). At the time of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, it was at first defended for the Umayyads by Isḥāḳ b. Muslim al-ʿUḳaylī. Under the early ʿAbbāsids, its inhabitants were amongst those implanted at the newly-founded al-Ḥadath [*q.v.*] in 169/785-6 (see C.E. Bosworth, *The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers in early and middle ʿAbbāsid times*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 272 ff.). Byzantine attacks intensified in later ʿAbbāsid and Ḥamdānid times until in 347/958 it was finally conquered by John Tzimisces (see Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 78, 81). It became an episcopal see and residence of the Greek *Protospatharios* of the Euphrates towns, and it was from there that Byzantine forces recaptured Edessa in 1031 (see J.B. Segal, *Edessa, the "Blessed City"* Oxford 1970, 217-18). Briefly in Saldjūḳ possession, it was then held by Armenians and was a fief of Joscelin de Courtenay's in the County of Edessa. Regained by the Artuḳids, it was seized once more from the Greeks in 546/1151 by the Rūm Saldjūḳs and then passed under Nūr al-Dīn Zangī's control followed by that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. It remained a bishop's seat at least until the end of the 12th century (see J.M. Fiey, *Pour un Oriens Christianus Novus*, Beirut 1993, 263), and Yāḳūt still mentions an Armenian quarter (see his *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 258). But without its border function, it sank into insignificance by Ottoman times and became little more than a village. At the end of the 19th century, Cuinet estimated its population as 800 (*La Turquie*

d'Asie, ii, 379). After 1920 the Armenian element disappeared and the population is now largely Kurdish.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 108; Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 43; R. Grousset, *Hist. de l'Arménie*, Paris 1947, 493; Canard, *H'amdanides*, 280; Fikret Işıltan, *Urfa bölgesi tarihi*, Istanbul 1960, 66-88; Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, Damascus 1967, I, 140-1, 161-3, 456; F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1982, index; *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, i, Istanbul 1981, 207, 223, 239. (C.P. Haase)

al-**SUMAYSĀṬĪ** [see al-shimshāṭī].

SUMERĀ or **SUMRĀ**, the name of a Rādjpūt tribe of Lower Sind in mediaeval Islamic times. Their origins are shrouded in mystery, but they are first mentioned in Muslim historians' account of Maḥmūd of Ghazna's return from his attack on Somnāth in 416/1026 [see sūmanāt]. For the next three centuries, they were the leading power in Lower Sind, but in the 8th/14th century their domination was challenged by the rival tribe of the Sammās [*q.v.*]. Despite attempts by the Tughluḳid Sultan of Dihlī, Fīrūz Shāh (III), to aid the Sumerās, the Sammās finally emerged triumphant over their rivals in 752/1351. The early Sumerās may have been affected by the Ismāʿīlism current in early Islamic Sind, but they do not seem to have been strong Muslims, if Muslims at all, and have left no monuments behind.

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SUMM, Samm (a.), poison, venom, pl. *sumūm*, adj. *sāmm*, poisonous; Pers. *zahr*. *Al-sāmm* or *al-sāmma* was also a term for "death".

Sources of poison included bites or stings of venomous creatures, especially vipers and scorpions; and substances of plant, animal, or mineral origin, accidentally ingested or deliberately administered. Arabic writings on poisons concentrate largely on detecting and avoiding them, on their origins, identification, and most importantly, treatment and remedies.

Early Islam.

The poison from scorpions and snakes was recognised in pre-Islamic times, and treatment of a basic kind would be given. Other poisons must have been known and sometimes used. Several *ḥadīth*s relate how after Khaybar [*q.v.*] in AH 7, the Prophet was given a poisoned sheep, of which he began to eat a piece, but spat it out because of its evil taste. Although he recovered, he said that the effects remained with him and eventually would lead to his death (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo 1936, iii, 532; Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, 516; al-Bukhārī, *Ṭibb*, 55). According to one version, he was treated by cupping, *ḥidjāma*, the aim being to expel the poison from the blood (*al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, 192-3, tr. 94-5).

Another *ḥadīth* states that a fly has "poison in one of its wings, and healing, *shifāʾ*, in the other"; here "poison" would seem to indicate infection. Another claims that to eat seven dates from Medina, in the morning, protects against poison and magic (*samm wa-siḥr*) for that day (al-Bukhārī, *Ṭibb*, 52, *Aṭʿima*, 39, 45, 47; *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, 165/71). Some followers of the Prophet are said to have cured a Bedouin chief of a scorpion sting, when all the tribe's efforts had been in vain, by reciting the *Fātiḥa* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṭibb*, 33; *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, 241/133).

Medical writings.

(i) Non-Arabic. The Arabs derived knowledge of toxicology from the Indians, especially the book of Shānāḳ on poisons, which was translated first into Persian and later into Arabic, under al-Maʾmūn (Ullmann, *Medizin*, 324; *Islamic medicine*, 20).

Greek sources translated into Arabic include Rufus of Ephesus, *K. al-Adwiya al-ḳātila* or *K. al-Sumūm* (Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 66-7; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 75). The Arabic version of Dioscorides contains a sixth chapter on poisons, a translation of additional material wrongly attributed to Dioscorides; this is referred to in several places by Ibn al-Bayṭār, under the name of *Mudāwāt adjnās al-sumūm*. Dubler and Terés omit this "suplemento apócrifo" from their edition (*La Materia Médica*, ii, p. vii). Galen's two works on Theriac and one on Antidotes were translated by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ: *K. al-Tiryāḳ ilā Bīsun* and *ilā Bamfūliyānus*, and *K. al-Adwiya al-muḳābila li 'l-adwāʾ* (Sezgin, iii, 121; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 49).

(ii) Arabic writings on poisons. A work attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*], probably written in the first half of the 4th/10th century and claiming to be a translation from one al-Nabaṭī ("The Nabataean"), quotes Indian writings, and discusses in considerable detail the nature and action of poisons and also remedies, with specific and general antidotes.

A work entirely on poisons, attributed to Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], dates from probably the late 3rd/9th or early 4th/10th century. Sources of poison are classified: (a) animals, including gall of viper or tiger, tortoise tongue, "sea hare", Spanish flies, frogs; bites or stings of scorpion, hornet, spider, and tarantula. (b) plants, include Aconitum, *bīsh*; ergot, *ḳurūn al-sunbul*; opium, *afyūn*, extracted from hyoscyamus or henbane, *bandj*; and numerous others including hellebore, *kharbaḳ*; the Euphorbiaceae, *yattūʿāt*; *Anamirta cocculus* or *Menospirmum c.*, known in Persian as "fish poison", *māhī zahrah*; *Ecballium elaterium*, *ḳiththāʾ al-ḥimār*; oleander, *diflā*; and mandragora, *luffāḥ* or *yabrūḥ*. (c) minerals, including verdigris, *zindjār*; yellow lead, *martak*; and arsenic, *shakk*.

Using the translations available, and referring to their own experience, most Arabic physicians included at least a chapter on poisons in their general medical works. The emphasis would be on treatment. The primary concern, and the first to emerge, according to al-Madjūsī, was to counteract poisons from the bites and stings of vipers and other reptiles, insects, and rabid dogs, followed by treatment for the effects of other poisonous substances (*Kāmil*, ii, 256-31). ʿAlī b. Sahl al-Ṭabarī devoted a chapter of his *Firdaws al-ḥikma* to the indication of, and treatment for, various poisons, mentioning the use of a tourniquet, and cautery (445-8). This is followed by a chapter on *tiryāḳ* and compound remedies. According to Thābit b. Ḳurra, poison comes from bites or stings, or else is drunk. He refers to the Aconitum (*bīsh*, or the *Aḳūnītun* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) as an example of poisons which kill "by their essence" *bi-djumlat djawharihā*. Compound poisons of mineral origin are particularly deadly, "poison of one hour", *samm sāʿa*. The worst kinds are those which oppose the very constitution, *mizādj*, of the human body (*al-Dhakhīra*, 143-8).

Other prominent physicians who described poisons include al-Rāzī in the 8th book of his *K. al-Manṣūrī* and at various places in *K. al-Ḥāwī* (cf. Ullman, *Medizin*, 331). Ibn Sīnā deals with poisons in the 6th *fann* of the 4th book of the *Ḳānūn*. Maimonides wrote for al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil the *Risāla al-fāḍiliyya fī ʿilādj al-sumūm wa-dhikr al-adwiya al-nāfiʿa minhā wa-min al-nuhūsh*, also known as *K. al-Sumūm wa 'l-mutaḥarriz min al-adwiya al-ḳattāla* (tr. M. Rabbinowicz, *Traité des poisons*, Paris 1865; Brockelmann, I^2, 645).

Some general themes emerge from these works on poisons: (a) Classification by source. Animal or insect bite or sting; bite of mad dog, *kalb kalib*; tarantula, *rutaylā'*; hornet, *zunbūr*; vipers, *afāʿī*; serpents, *ḥayyāt*; substances of animal, plant or mineral origin.

(b) The action of poisons. By upsetting the humours, *akhlāṭ*, or the whole constitution (cf. Thābit); by cold or heat, etc. (ʿAlī b. Sahl al-Ṭabarī).

(c) Remedies. These may be physical: cautery, tourniquet, (*ibid.*, 445), cutting around a bite, causing emesis; or by administering medicines to counteract the poison.

Chief of these remedies was the *tiryāḳ*, which could be used as a prophylactic; one could take *tiryāḳ* regularly (Thābit, 146), or "accustom oneself to poison" and thus build up immunity (al-Ṭabarī, 448). These elaborate remedies were generally the property of kings or rulers, a famous early example being the antidote used by Mithridates VI of Pontus (120-63 B.C.), after whom the *mithrūdhīṭūs* theriac was named.

Despite all precautions on the part of individuals and the care taken by physicians, poisons were developed and used, and a number of persons are thought to have been despatched in this way. The death of the Eighth Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] was suspected of having been caused by poison, administered in a pomegranate or in pomegranate juice. Naturally, such poisons are neither specified nor well-documented. But the attention paid to antidotes and the identification of poisons make it likely that poison played more part in the political life of the Islamic world than is generally realised.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdhiya*, Cairo 1874; ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī, *Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, Cairo 1294/1877; ʿAlī b. Sahl al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, ed. M.Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928; Thābit b. Ḳurra, *K. al-Dhakhīra fī ʿilm al-ṭibb*, ed. G. Sobhy, Cairo 1928; B. Strauss, *Das Giftbuch des Śānāq*, in *Quellen u. Studien d. Naturwissenschaften u. Medizin*, 4, 1935, 89-152; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, Cairo 1936; C.E. Dubler and E. Terés, *La Materia Médica de Dioscórides*, ii. Tetuan 1952; *Das Buch der Gifte des Ǧābir ibn Ḥayyān*, tr. A. Siggel, Wiesbaden 1958; M. Levey, *Medieval Arabic toxicology. The Book on Poisons of Ibn Wahshīya and its relation to early Indian and Greek texts*, Philadelphia 1966; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, HdO, Leiden-Köln 1970; idem, *Islamic medicine*, Edinburgh 1978, esp. 19-20; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, ed. A.A. al-Ḳalʿadjī, Cairo 1978, tr. P. Johnstone, *Medicine of the Prophet*, Cambridge 1997.

(Penelope Johnstone)

al-ṢUMMĀN [see al-ṣammān].

al-SUMNĀNĪ [see al-simnānī].

SUMNŪN (or Samnūn) b. Ḥamza (or ʿAbd Allāh), Abū Bakr (or Abu 'l-Ḥasan or Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, nicknamed *al-Muḥibb* "the Lover," well-known Ṣūfī of the Baghdādī school, died 298/910-11 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam* vi, 108); he was a disciple of Sarī al-Saḳaṭī [*q.v.*], Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḳaṣṣāb (d. 275/888-9), Abū Aḥmad al-Ḳalānisī (d. 270/884) and Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sūsī (second half of the 3rd/9th century).

Sumnūn became famous for his love of God. In that, it is said, he followed his own peculiar approach and even placed the love of God above the knowledge of God (*maʿrifa*) (thus al-Ḳushayrī, 161, 9, = *Sendschreiben* 48, 16, and ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkira*, ii, 69, -3 f.). At any rate, he has added a new, emotionally active, dimension to Sarī's idea that God, in order to measure the truth of the lovers' pretentions with their steadfastness (*ṣabr*), puts them through well-nigh unbearable trials. In the ecstasy of love, he chafes his legs down to the bare bone; he aspires to fill the whole world with his cry of love; and, finally, he challenges God to a match between Divine tribulation and human *ṣabr*. Taken up by God on his challenge with a case of urine retention, he does not pass his test with flying colours and, from that day onward, chides himself as "liar" (*al-kadhdhāb*) instead of "lover". This has, however, not affected his postumous fame negatively (al-Ḳushayrī, 23, 19-25, = *Sendschreiben*, 1.31).

With his irrepressible temperament, Sumnūn developed the heritage of his master into extreme forms of thought and behaviour in other respects, as well. Thus he advocated a remembrance of God (*dhikr*) in which everything but God is forgotten, so that all experiential moments are filled by it and one, thus, turns entirely into remembrance of God (al-Sulamī, *Ḥaḳā'iḳ, ad* sūra II, 152; cf. also al-Sarrādj, 58, 11-12). He was also convinced that already a small part of God's forbearance would suffice on the Day of Judgment to let all evildoers join the ranks of the just. He even persuaded his master al-Ḳalānisī to match a rich person's gift of 40,000 dirhams in alms with an equal number of *rakʿas*, which they proceeded to perform together without interruption.

In general, Sumnūn was a tactful man, witty as well as modest, but also a great wielder of words, in prose as well as in poetry. A striking example is his six-line *ḳiṭʿa* in which he describes his *cognitio Dei experimentalis* (al-Sarrādj, 250, 10 ff. = *Schlaglichter*, 92.9). With regard to the love of God, he thought that it was too subtle to be described, but he knew to speak about the states and experiences of the lovers of God in such a moving way that even the dumb and inanimate creation is said to have fallen into a trance (al-Kalābādhī, 125, -8 f.; al-Ḳushayrī, 160, -17, = *Sendschreiben* 48/12). It goes without saying that, for a notorious enemy of the Ṣūfīs' "love of God" like Ghulām Khalīl (d. 275/888-9), Sumnūn's activities were a thorn in his side; they may even have been the trigger for the case he brought against the school of Sarī (al-Sarrādj, ed. Baghdād, 498-9; Hudjwīrī, 173, 3 ff.; ʿAṭṭār, ii, 71, 6 ff.; also Gramlich, *Alte Vorbilder*, i, 383 ff.).

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(B. Reinert)

SUMRĀ [see sumerā].

ṢUNʿ ALLĀH b. Djaʿfar al-ʿImādī, Ottoman *Shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*], d. 1021/1612.

Born in 960/1553, the son of the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* [*q.v.*] Djaʿfar Efendi, a first cousin of Abu 'l-Suʿūd Efendi [*q.v.*], Ṣunʿ Allāh studied under Mollā Fuḍayl al-

Djamālī and afterwards under Abu 'l-Suʿūd, then *Shaykh al-Islām*, whom he served as *muʿīd* and through whom he became *mulāzim* [*q.v.*] in 977/1569-70. Because of his family connections, his first *madrasa* appointment (Ramaḍān 978/February 1571) was at the 40-*akčes* level. He passed through the ranks of the *madrasas* until, with his appointment to the post of *ḳāḍī* of Bursa in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 998/September 1590, he entered the highest stream of learned offices, the *mewlewiyyats* [*q.v.*], in due course becoming Rumeli *ḳāḍī ʿasker* in Shawwāl 1001/July 1593. Retiring with a pension in Djumādā I 1003/early 1595, he succeeded Khōdja Efendi [*q.v.*] as *Shaykh al-Islām* in Rabīʿ I 1008/October 1599, the first of an unprecedented four occasions on which he held that post.

Ḳoči Beg [*q.v.*] notes admiringly that "though he was removed several times, he still spoke the truth and showed no compromise in the business of religion and the state" (A.K. Aksüt, *Koči Bey risalesi*, Istanbul 1939, 35); and Ṣunʿ Allāh's first two periods of office were indeed marked by contentious involvement in state matters. His first came to an end when he persuaded Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*] to order the unwilling Grand Vizier Yemishdji Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] to go out on campaign, for which the latter, in revenge, secured Ṣunʿ Allāh's dismissal in Ṣafar 1010/August 1601. Brought back as *Shaykh al-Islām* in Radjab 1011/January 1603 in an attempt to mollify the *sipāhīs*, then rebelling largely because of the deteriorating situation in Anatolia resulting from the revolts of the *Djalālīs* [*q.v.* in Supplement] but also because of Ḥasan Pasha's alleged military incompetence, Ṣunʿ Allāh—sympathetic to the *Djalālīs*, and in particular to Ḳara Yazīdjī [*q.v.*]—issued a *fatwā* for the execution of Ḥasan Pasha but was himself ousted and forced to go into hiding (Shaʿbān 1011/February 1603) (for these events, see Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3, i, 307 ff.).

Having held the office twice more, somewhat less eventfully (Muḥarram 1013/June 1604 to Rabīʿ I 1015/July 1606 and Radjab 1015/November 1606 to Ṣafar 1017/June 1608), Ṣunʿ Allāh retired fully from public life with a pension of 750 *akčes* daily and died in Istanbul on 8 Ṣafar 1021/10 April 1612.

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(R.C. Repp)

SUNAN (a.), pl. of *sunna* [*q.v.*], "norm", "custom", is used separately in the literature of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* [*q.vv.*] as referring to several important collections of traditions and legal pronouncements (= *aḳwāl*), thus resulting in this plural being used as a generic book title of such works, as was the case with the term *Ṣaḥīḥ* [*q.v.*]. The oldest collections called *Sunan* or *Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh* have not come down to us, and are only known from references to them in a work like Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, cf. ed. Riḍā Tadjaddud, index vol., 123, right col., such as the *Sunans* by Makḥūl (d. 112-16/730-4), Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767) and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Dhiʾb (d. 159/776). *Sunan* works are arranged according to the *muṣannaf* [*q.v.*] principle, i.e. separate chapters divided into paragraphs on *ʿibādāt* [*q.v.*] and *muʿāmalāt*, just as we find in *fiḳh* literature. The earliest such works available in printed editions are the pre-canonical collections by Saʿīd b. Manṣūr (d. 227/842) and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/869). Of the six canonical Books, four are entitled *Sunan*, namely the collections of Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī (d. 275/888); Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), whose collection acquired the title *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*; Aḥmad b. Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915), whose *Kitāb al-Sunan al-kubrā* was later abbreviated by the author in his *K. al-Sunan*, also called *al-Mudjtabā*; and Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Ḳazwīnī Ibn Mādja (d. 273/886). Other prestigious collections known by this title and available in print are those of ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dāraḳuṭnī (d. 385/995) and Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066).

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(G.H.A. Juynboll)

SUNBĀDH (also Sunfādh), Zoroastrian supporter of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī [*q.v.*] and leader of a rebellion seeking to avenge his death.

He originated from a village near Nīshāpūr, and is described as a man of wealth and a friend and associate of Abū Muslim. Two months after the murder of the latter by the caliph al-Manṣūr (Shaʿbān 137/February 755), he rose with the backing of Abū Muslim's followers and, according to the main historical tradition, seized Nīshāpūr. According to another, probably more reliable tradition (al-Madāʾinī), he had been stationed in Ḥulwān and from there set out for Khurāsān. Abū ʿAbda (ʿUbayda) al-Ḥanafī, the governor of Rayy, who was under orders not to allow Abū Muslim's followers to return to Khurāsān, detained him. He escaped, however, and rebelled. He defeated and killed the governor and seized control of Rayy. Returning to his Magian religion, he committed atrocities against the Muslims and adopted the title Fīrūz Ispahbadh. He seized Abū Muslim's arsenal and treasure in Rayy and sent part of it to the Dābūyid Khūrshīd, the Zoroastrian Ispahbad of Ṭabaristān, with whom he formed an alliance. His following is said quickly to have swelled to 100,000 men, coming mostly from Djibāl and Ṭabaristān. The king of the Daylamīs, to whom he wrote that the reign of the Arabs had come to an end, joined him with his men. He defeated the governors of Dastabā and Ḳūmis. Then he set out with a massive army, predicting that he would destroy the Kaʿba. But at Djardjānbān between Rayy and Hamadān, he was heavily defeated by Djahwar b. al-Marrār al-ʿIdjlī, who was sent by al-Manṣūr; 30,000 or 60,000 of his men are said to have been killed. Sunbādh fled, trying to join the Ispahbad Khūrshīd. He was killed, however, by Khūrshīd's cousin Ṭūs, allegedly because he did not show him due respect. Khūrshīd sent the heads of Sunbādh and his brother to Djahwar, but refused to surrender his treasury to al-Manṣūr. The revolt had lasted only seventy days.

According to Niẓām al-Mulk, Sunbādh told his followers that Abū Muslim had not been killed but had, by reciting the greatest name of God, turned into a white dove and flown away. He was now dwelling in a brazen castle together with the Mahdī and Mazdak. All three would soon reappear and Abū Muslim would rule with Mazdak as his vizier. When the Rāfiḍīs (Shīʿīs) and the Khurramiyya heard mention of the Mahdī and Mazdak, they joined Sunbādh in large numbers. He would tell the Khurramiyya that Mazdak had become a Shīʿī and was ordering them to make common cause with the Shīʿa. Niẓām al-Mulk's account is evident fiction designed to establish a pedigree of Mazdakite teaching and activity for the Ismāʿīliyya, whom he portrayed as a neo-Mazdakite subversive heresy. From the early reports, it is clear that Sunbādh was leader of an anti-Arab and anti-Islamic rebellion aiming at the restoration of Iranian kingship and religion, and not a sectarian chief teaching a syncretistic religious doctrine. The heresiographers, however, mention the Sunbādhiyya as the name of one of the

extremist factions which arose out of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement [see KHURRAMIYYA].

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SUNBŪḲ [see MILĀḤA; SAFĪNA].

AL-**SUNBULA** [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ].

SUNBULIYYA, in Tkish. SÜNBÜLIYYE, a mystical brotherhood derived from the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*], which emerged and developed in the Ottoman empire from the final years of the 15th century onwards.

Its founding saint, Yūsuf Sinān b. ʿAlī b. Ḳayā Bey, nicknamed Sunbul Sinān or Sunbul (Sünbül) Efendi, was born in Merzifon (or in the region of Merzifon) *ca.* 1475-80. Having begun his studies in his region of origin, he made his way to Istanbul where he was the pupil of Efḍal-zade (d. 903/1497-8) and was associated with the *shaykh* Čelebi Meḥmed Djamāl al-Dīn, known as Čelebi Khalīfe, who was then directing the first Khalwatī *tekke*, recently founded in the Ottoman capital. On receiving the latter's *khilāfe*, he was sent to Cairo with the object of disseminating his master's teaching. Some years later, *ca.* 899/1493-4 or 903-4/1497-9, after Čelebi Khalīfe had informed him that he was performing the Pilgrimage to Mecca and hoped to meet him there, Sunbul Sinān arrived in the Holy Places, where he heard of the death of his *shaykh*, as well as his last wishes: that he should marry his daughter and succeed him as director of the *tekke* of Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha in Istanbul. Thereafter, and until his death in 936/1529, he supervised this establishment which became the centre of a specific Khalwatī network, the Sunbulī one, marked by his personal influence. He was also a preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) in the prestigious mosques of Fātiḥ and Aya Sofya and enjoyed the honour of delivering the first sermon in the Selīmiyye mosque. According to Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir (*ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, i, 78), he is said to have left, besides a few *ilāhīs*, two works, the *Risālat al-Aṭwār*, concerning degrees of mystical initiation, as well as a treatise on the licit nature of *dewrān* and of *samāʿ* (*Risālat al-Taḥḳīḳiyya*, of which an abridged version exists under the title *Risālat-i Sunbul dar ḥaḳḳ-i dhikr u dewrān* (Ist. Univ. Ktp. TY 3868). This latter work must have been written when he was obliged to reply on this subject to the attacks of certain of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Istanbul.

The close links forged by Čelebi Khalīfe with the political authorities of the empire (sultan Bāyezīd had invited the *shaykh* to leave Amasya and move to the capital) and maintained by Sunbul Sinān and his successors gave added vigour to the Sunbuliyya, especially in the 16th century, with the exception of the brief and perhaps rather less favourable period of the reign of Selīm I (1512-20). In fact, leading dignitaries assisted the expansion of this Khalwatī network by founding *tekkes* for the *khalīfes* of Sunbul Efendi, following the example of the mother of the sultan Süleymān I who had built at Manisa (in western Anatolia) a complex, in which the *tekke* was directed for some time by the eminent *shaykh* Merkez Efendi (before the latter himself founded a *tekke* in the capital); the same example was set by the daughter of Selīm I, Shāh Sulṭān, who founded two Khalwatī establishments in Istanbul, or indeed by the *ketkhudā* Ferrukh Agha (Farrūkh Agha) who arranged for the construction of a *tekke* in the Balat quarter. During this "golden age" of the 16th century, the Sunbuliyya had a tendency to supplant its mother-*ṭarīḳa*, the Djamāliyya (one of the four principal branches of the Khalwatiyya) which had been founded by Čelebi Meḥmed Djamal al-Dīn, the *shaykh* of Sunbul Efendi. In Istanbul, besides the *tekke* of Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha (also known as Sünbül Efendi Tekkesi), the heart of the network, eleven other *tekkes* were founded during this period. While it is true that the brotherhood had a distinctly metropolitan character, its network also extended at the same time into Anatolia and Rumelia. Its diffusion in the Asiatic provinces has yet to be studied; it is, however, known that *shaykhs* of Istanbul were sent not only to Manisa, but also to Akshehir in the region of Konya, to Čavdarlu near Kütahya and even to Amasya. As for the European provinces, two future *shaykhs* of the *āsitāne* of Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha were principally responsible for the expansion of the brotherhood in certain regions: Yaʿḳūb Germiyānī (d. 979/1571-2) founded a *tekke* at Yanina in Epirus, and Ḥasan ʿAdlī (d. 1026/1617) another house at Serez (Serres) in Macedonia. Both appointed numerous *khalīfes* who guided the faithful in *zawāyā* founded in localities more or less close to these two new centres. The Sunbulī network in Rumelia also extended to cities such as Hayrabolu, Baba Eski, Edirne and Tekirdağ, and as far as the frontier regions of Hungary and Bosnia, on both sides of the Temeshwar/Sarajevo-Belgrade-axis, as well as to Kefe in the Crimea.

In the 18th century, the Sunbuliyya experienced a period of renewed expansion, especially in the Ottoman capital where more *tekkes* were founded and others affiliated to it. Until the mid-19th century, it was to remain the branch of the Khalwatiyya best represented in Istanbul, with 22 houses; only the Shaʿbāniyya [*q.v.*] was to overtake it in the last decades of the empire. Its network was one of the most durable, all the more so in that from the second half of the 17th century onwards, families of *shaykhs* were founded to head each one of these houses, forging bonds among themselves by means of marital ties. After the disintegration of the Ottoman empire and the proscription of the *ṭarīḳas* by Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) in 1925, the Sunbuliyya witnessed the gradual disappearance of their last spiritual masters, and even though there still exist today a few individuals who adhere to Sunbulī teaching, it does not figure among the currently active brotherhoods.

In the context of doctrine and practice, the Sunbulīs insisted, as do most of the Khalwatīs, on the practice of spiritual retreat (*khalwa* [*q.v.*]), as well as on the initiation by the seven names (*al-asmāʾ al-sabʿa*). Their *dhikr* was of the *dewrān* type, performed by turning in an upright position, and this attracted criticism to which they were obliged to respond, particularly at the beginning of the 16th century, as has been seen. For their part, certain Sunbuli *shaykhs*, including Yūsuf Sinān b. Yaʿḳūb Germiyānī (d. 987/1579) and Meḥmed ʿĀmiḳī (d. after 1023/1614-15), wrote letters denouncing the heterodoxy of the Malāmī-Ḥamzawīs (cf. Abdülbakî Gölpınarlı, *Melamilik ve Melamiler*, Istanbul 1931, 74-6). It may also be mentioned that there existed a particular prayer, called *Sünbüli ṣalāti*, in the

beste form (vocal composition in four verses each followed by the same melodic passage). Sunbulī circles in Istanbul, especially those of the *tekke* of Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha, were in fact very supportive of the development of Ṣūfī music. In this respect, as in other aspects of Ṣūfism and popular Islam, this house remained for centuries one of the most prestigious *tekkes*, if not the most prestigious, of the Ottoman capital. Evidence of this is the affluence, far greater than that of the other *tekkes*, which it has always enjoyed and still enjoys on the occasion of the feast of the *Āshūre* (*ʿĀshūrāʾ*), 10 Muḥarram, as well as the number of visits to the *türbes* of Sunbul Efendi and his successors. In terms of costume, it should be noted that the Sunbuli *tādj* varies slightly from the other Khalwatī *tādjs* with its decidedly pointed shape.

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(Nathalie Clayer)

SÜNBÜL-ZĀDE WEHBĪ (modern Tkish. Sünbülzade Vehbi), Meḥmed b. Rāshid b. Meḥmed Efendi, Ottoman poet, scholar and bureaucrat born in Marʿash [*q.v.*] probably in 1133/1718-19, died in Istanbul 14 Rabīʿ I 1224/29 April 1809, his life spanning the rule of eight Ottoman sultans, and is thought to have been buried outside Edirne Ḳapî (see Süreyya Ali Beyzâdeoğlu, *Sünbülzâde Vehbi*, Istanbul 1993, 7, 20-1).

1. Life.

The Sünbül-zāde family was a prominent one. His grandfather Meḥmed was *muftī* in Marʿash and author of several works on Islamic law. His father Rāshid (or Reshīd), also a poet and scholar, is said to have named his son after the poet and *ḳāḍī* Seyyid Wehbī (Wehb-i ewwel), as whose assistant he was working in Aleppo when Sünbül-zāde Wehbī was born.

Wehbī was educated in Marʿash, then went to Istanbul, where his writing of *ḳaṣīdas* and chronograms gained him influential patrons, securing him the rank of *müderris* [see madrasa, I, 7], then that of *ḳāḍī*, in which he was to serve for seventeen years or more in a number of locations in the Balkans, in Rhodes and al-Manisa, and with the Imperial Army in the Edirne, Sofya and Nish areas. He also served for seven years in the Ottoman scribal institution, rising to the rank of *khʷādje* [see khʷādjegān-î dīwān-î humāyūn].

In 1187/1775, early in the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I (1774-89), Wehbī (having an excellent knowledge of Persian) was sent as envoy to Iṣfahān to investigate complaints that Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] had lodged against ʿÖmer Pasha governor of Baghdād, whom Wehbī found culpable. But the governor's influence threw Wehbī into disfavour, and he went into hiding in Scutari. His well-known *Ḳaṣīde-yi ṭannāna* ("Resonant Ode"), in which he extravagantly eulogises the sultan, describes his Persian journey and ranks things Turkish high above those Persian, helped him regain ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's favour (Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 249). Controversy, however, dogged him. While *ḳāḍī* on the island of Rhodes he supported the harsh decision to execute Shāhīn Girāy Khān [*q.v.*], and in his *Ḳaṣīde-yi ṭayyāre* ("Ode on the wing") he praised the sultan and abused the victim (*ibid.*, iv, 250). Sünbül-zāde himself claimed that his subsequent seizure and detention when serving in Stara Zagora (Eski Zaghra) was revenge on the part of Shāhīn Girāy's supporters. Others say that he and his assistant (*ketkhudā*), the poet Sürūrī [*q.v.*], had aroused the indignation of the local populace by dissolute conduct, and that they were both arrested on this account (Beyzâdeoğlu, 14-17).

Wehbī spent the last years of his life in Istanbul, reportedly writing and merrymaking but, at least in the last seven years, troubled with gout, failing sight and perhaps unsound mind.

2. Works.

Influenced especially by Nābī, Thābit (on whose poems he wrote a number of *naẓīras*) and Nedīm [*q.vv.*], Wehbī was honoured with the title *Sulṭān al-Shuʿarāʾ* "Sultan of Poets" and highly regarded as a poet by his contemporaries. Today he is not judged to have been endowed with great artistic imagination or poetic sensitivity. More than once his questionable reputation, which he did little to disavow, resulted in dismissal from appointments, and he also had financial worries (Ali Canib Yöntem, *Sünbülzade Vehbi*, in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, i/2 [1946-7], 88-9). This resulted in a number of poems lamenting his situation and requesting help, and in 1205/1790-1 he dedicated his Turkish *dīwān* (some mss. of which include a few poems in Arabic and his small Persian collection) to Selīm III (1789-1807), whose valuable patronage he enjoyed to the end of his life. The *Luṭfiyye* is an *akhlāḳ* work, a *mathnawī* giving advice to his son Luṭf Allāh (who died of the plague within five years of its being composed). It owes much to Nābī's *Khayriyye*, and its value lies more in its contribution to social history than in its literary value. (For an interesting study of Wehbī the man, and of this work in particular, see Danuta Chmielowska, *La femme turque dans l'œuvre de Nābī, Vehbī et Vāṣıf*, Warsaw 1986, 39-48.)

Two other *mathnawīs*, the *Tuḥfe-yi Wehbī* and *Nukhbe-yi Wehbī* were educational and used for many years in Ottoman schools. The former, a rhymed Persian-Turkish vocabulary written in 1197/1783 for his son in imitation of a similar work by the 10th/16th-century writer Shāhidī, contains an introductory *mathnawī*, a series of *ḳiṭʿas* presenting the vocabulary, a second *mathnawī* on a selection of expressions (*iṣṭilāḥāt*) and and epilogue (recent ed. Numan Külekçi and Turgut Karabey, *Sünbülzade—Tuhfe*, Erzurum 1990). The second is an Arabic-Turkish counterpart. The *Shewḳ-engīz*, a *mathnawī* of some 775 *beyts* in the *remel* metre, features a disputation in very free language between a libertine womaniser and a pederast comparing male and female beauties and the pleasure they afford. Unable to agree on which makes the stronger case, the contenders consult a man of religion (the Sheykh

of Love) who upbraids them for knowing only carnal desire and shows them the way to pure and absolute love (see Gibb, iv, 252-4, and J. Schmidt, *Sünbülzade Vehbī's Şevk-engiz, an Ottoman pornographic poem*, in *Turcica*, xxv [1993], 9-37).

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(W. Björkman-[Kathleen R.F. Burrill])

SUNDA ISLANDS, the geographical denotation of the Southeast Asian islands stretching from Sumatra to Timor and the Aru islands, first introduced by the Portuguese; divided in the Greater and Smaller Sunda Islands, the latter—and those dealt with here—beginning with Bali and stretching to the East. The name originates from Sunda or *Pasundan* (= West Java), and the Straits of Sunda between Java and Sumatra. In Indonesian, the Smaller Sunda Islands are called the *Nusa Tenggara* (Southeastern Islands).

While Bali maintained its predominantly Hindu character and only in its Western parts experienced some cultural, religious and ethnic influences from neighbouring Madura [*q.v.*] and East Java (both predominantly Islamic), in Lombok [*q.v.*] the Sasak people in the eastern part of the island were able to protect their Islamic identity. Among the islands further to the east, only Sumbawa experienced a significant impact of Islam on the history of its people. Already in pre-Islamic times, this island had been visited by trading vassals from Malacca [*q.v.*] and Java on their ways to the Moluccas. The Islamisation of its various kingdoms was, however, conducted by Makassar [*q.v.*]. This kingdom, after having been united and established as a sultanate in 1607, launched first a *d̲j̲ihād* against the neighbouring Buginese kingdoms and, after the surrender of the last one of them, Bone, in 1611, turned overseas to the south, where it subdued, in the course of three expeditions, the kingdoms of Sumbawa.

Except the kingdom of Sanggar, which accepted quite quickly the new religion and therefore was granted a vassal kingdom status, the other kingdoms, particularly Dompu, Bima and Sumbawa (originally only the name of the western part of the island) resisted fiercely. Sumbawa, which surrendered in 1626, was able to improve its position when, in 1650, its king married a half-sister of the *karaëng* (king) of Tallo' (Makassar). Bima gave up its resistance in 1621 when a new king ascended the throne. In 1632-3 a visiting Dutch expedition, however, found the capital city burned by the Makassarese, who thus reacted to the rebellious people who had abducted their king to an island as a protest against the newly-imposed religion. But in 1640 king ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir established himself as sultan, after having married a sister-in-law of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn of Gowa (Makassar).

Following the military conquest of Sumbawa, some religious teachers originating from the tradition of the Javanese *walīs*, were sent via Makassar to teach Islam among the people. After the Dutch conquered Makassar in 1669, their Bugis ally Arung Palakka, becoming king of Bone in 1672, waged a series of campaigns in South Sulawesi which caused many Buginese and Makassarese to flee to other islands, including Sumbawa, where they established their own communities, sometimes with a semi-autonomous rule. In Bima they represented a large number of the populace.

In 1662 the Sultan of Bima claimed suzerainty over Sumba and Komodo, and expanded his influence to Manggarai on Western Flores. He and his successors maintained the pre-Islamic tradition which linked this place to Bhima, the third brother of the Pandavas, the heros of the Hindu epic of the *Mahābhārata*. They claimed that the royal family were their descendants. The sultan himself was considered to be ritually pure and infallible, and represented the highest, untouchable authority. The administration rested on three pillars: the administration proper, supervised by the Prime Minister, the legal department supervising the application of the (Islamic) Law, and a third department concerned with the customary or *adat* law. The sultanate of Bima remained until in 1950, when it was abolished, together with the other remaining sultanates, by the new government of the Indonesian Republic. Since independence, many Muslims originating from elsewhere in Indonesia have settled down in the whole region of the *Nusa Tenggara* as civil servants, soldiers, traders etc.

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(O. Schumann)

SUNDARBAN, a thick forest region on the coastal region of the Gangetic delta mainly in the southernmost part of the present division of Khulna in Bangladesh and in the district of 24 Parganas in the West Bengal state of India. Once extending much deeper into the mainland, Sundarban bears traces of early human settlement. Non-Aryan nomad aborigines roamed in this region, who were gradually influenced by Hinduism, Buddhism (through rulers such as Dummanpal around the 12th century), and finally, by Islam. The ancient Harikela kingdom (known to Muslim geographers as Harkand, from which comes Baḥr al-Harkand, the early Arabic name for Bay of Bengal) once extended up to Sundarban. To the east, a Hindu kingdom Čandradvīpa (Deva dynasty) emerged in the 13th century, which was gradually absorbed in the Mug̲h̲al empire in the early 17th century.

It was K̲h̲ān D̲j̲ahān ʿAlī (d. 863/1459, see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 65-7), a charismatic saintly figure and a great commander, who consolidated Islam in this region, mainly through his massive public welfare works such as roads, ponds, wells, hostels, etc. His most impressive architectural work is the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲-Gumbad Masd̲j̲id in Bagerhat, one of the biggest mosques in South Asia. Islam spread rapidly during this period as people started settling massively in the region through clearing the forest (as reflected in the names of the villages with the suffixes *kāṭī-i* and *-ābād* meaning clearing, e.g. *S̲h̲aroopkati*).

At present, it remains a vast natural sanctuary of birds, fishes and wild animals such as the famous royal Bengal tigers, deers, monkeys and crocodiles, and the largest forest region of Bengal.

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(Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq)

SUNḲUR or Sonḳor, the name of a district and of a present-day small town in western Persia (town: lat. 34° 45' N., long 47° 39' E.). It lies in the Zagros Mountains between modern Kangāwar [see kinkiwar] and Sanandad̲j̲ [*q.v.*] or Sinna, within the modern province of Kirmāns̲h̲āh.

In mediaeval Islamic times, it lay on the road between Dīnawar [*q.v.*] and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, and must correspond approximately to the first *marḥala* on the stretch from Dīnawar to Sīsar, the name of which is read al-D̲j̲ārbā (al-Muḳaddasī, 382), K̲h̲arbārd̲j̲ān (Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 119; Ḳudāma, 212), etc. which was 7 *farsak̲h̲s* from Dīnawar (the actual distance between the present ruins of Dīnawar and Sunḳur is, however,

not more than 24 km/15 miles). Sunkur might therefore correspond to the district of Māybahradj (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 310), which was detached from Dīnawar under the caliph al-Mahdī and joined to Sīsar [*q.v.*]; cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iv, 477-9. If, however, we are to recognise in the name of the Kurd tribe Payrawand (Pahrawand) a reminiscence of the old name Pahradj ("custodia, vigilia"), this tribe must have been driven westwards for it now occupies the west face of Mount Parrau (= Bīsutūn), lying to the southwest of Dīnawar (cf. Rabino, *Kermanchah*, in *RMM*, xxxviii [1920], 36).

The easy pass of Mele-mās on the line of heights from Dālakhānī to Amrula separates Sunkur from Dīnawar. On the northeast, Sunkur is bordered by mount Pandja-ʿAlī (Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 217: Pandj-Angusht), behind which runs the direct road from Hamadān to Sanandadj. Sunkur is watered by the upper tributaries of the river of Dīnawar, which ultimately joins the Gamas-āb (Karkha). Sunkur in the strict sense is adjoined by the more northern district of Kulyā'ī on the upper course of the Gāwa-rūd, the western dependencies of which are Bīlawar and Niyābat (on the Kirmānshāh-Sanandadj road; cf. Rabino, *op. cit.*, 12, 35). The importance of Sunkur lay in the fact that it was on the road followed by Muslim pilgrims from Tabrīz to Kirmānshāh; to avoid the Kurdish territory of Sanandadj the road made a detour by Bīdjār (Garrūs) and Sunkur, from which Kirmānshāh could be reached in a day's march.

The population of the district is made up of two distinct elements. The town (1991 population figure: 37,772) is peopled by Turks, who are said to have come there in the Mongol period. Their chief Sunkur was a vassal of the Mongols of Shīrāz (?).

The district, on the other hand, is inhabited by Kurd agriculturists whose chiefs belong to the tribe of Kulyā'ī. The Khāns in control there until the early 20th century were said to be the descendants in the eighth generation from Ṣafī Khān who lived in the time of the latter Ṣafawids. In 1213/1798, ʿAlī Himmat Khān and his brother Bābā Khān (of the Nānakalī tribe) supported the pretender Sulaymān Khān and were executed by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (Sir Harford Jones Brydges, *History of the Kajars*, London 1833, 58-9, 67). The Kulyā'ī speak a Kurd dialect resembling Kirmānshāhī and are suspected of Ahl-i Ḥakk [*q.v.*] religious tendencies.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Razmārā (ed.). *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zāmīn*.

(V. Minorsky*)

SUNNA (A. pl. *sunan*; see above, s.v. sunan, for a different connotation), an ancient Arabian concept that was to play an increasingly important role during the formative centuries of Islam, acquiring a range of interrelated nuances. Eventually, some time after the preaching of Islam had begun, the term *sunna* came to stand for the generally approved standard or practice introduced by the Prophet as well as the pious Muslims of olden days, and at the instigation of al-Shāfiʿī, the *sunna* of the Prophet was awarded the position of the second root (*aṣl*) of Islamic law, the *sharīʿa*, after the Ḳur'ān. Not long after that, *sunna* came to stand for the all-encompassing concept orthodoxy, which is still in use today. Out of this there grew the dichotomy between Sunnī (orthodox) and Shīʿī (heterodox) Islam. During the first three centuries of Islam, the term *sunna*, standing alone or in various genitive constructions with other words, displays an evolution in meaning which will be sketched in more detail in the following. For the technical *sharīʿa* term, see 2. below.

1. In classical Islam.

In the *Djāhiliyya*, the concept *sunna* originally stood for a way or manner of acting, whether good or bad, hence (dis)approved custom or norm of previous generations, *al-awwalūn*, cf. esp. Bravmann, in *Bibl.* The verbs used for laying down a *sunna* are *sanna* and *istanna*. During the 1st/7th century when, after the death of Muḥammad, the Muslim community was ruled first by the *khulafā' rāshidūn* and then the Umayyads, the term *sunna* was used in debates on legal and ritual issues to indicate any good precedent set by people of the past, including the Prophet. Moreover, various pre-Islamic *sunnas* were accepted into Islam with or without modification. In certain ancient texts, the term was occasionally also used for any bad or indifferent precedent. It turned up in political debates too, for which see further down.

During Muḥammad's lifetime and immediately after that, when faced with problems to solve, people reminded each other in their discourse (*ḥadīth*) of how the Prophet and his first faithful followers had acted under particular circumstances. This resulted in an as yet unstructured, oral transmission of more or less correctly remembered practices and customs, *sunnas*. Towards the end of the 1st/7th century, when the need thereto arose, these memories began to be transmitted in a more standardised manner after the introduction of a newly-developed authentication device, the *isnād* [*q.v.*]. The first reports (*ḥadīths*) of *sunnas* that eventually found their way to one or more of the *ḥadīth* collections compiled in the course of the 2nd/8th century and later, originated in the final quarter of the 1st/7th century.

Recent *isnād* analytical research has established that, initially, these first *sunnas* were on the whole few and disparate. Next to *ḥadīths* of *sunnas* supported by *isnāds* that allegedly went back all the way to the Prophet, which in other words were *marfūʿ* [see rafʿ. 2], there circulated hordes of other ones whose *isnāds* ended in a Companion, the *mawḳūf* strands, or even a Successor [see mursal]. These three types of *sunna* reports existed side-by-side and were supposed to register more or less faithfully what the pious forebears, *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, during and since the lifetime of the Prophet had said or done. But the Companion reports, as well as the Successor reports, did not necessarily contain opinions exclusively modelled on what the Prophet was supposed to have decided in a given situation, but often represented what these authorities thought about a particular issue themselves. They were the *fuḳahā'*. Rather than basing themselves all the time upon a pious practice attributed to someone from the past, they sometimes preferred to exercise their own judgment, their *ra'y*, and their personal opinions, *ārā'*, were occasionally also granted the status of *sunna*. Personal *ad hoc* problem-solving, without recourse to precedent, developed alongside searching for precedents, for which the general term *ʿilm*, lit. knowledge, was used. Thus *ʿilm* consisted of *sunnas* which had originated at the hands of pious forebears and which were eventually moulded into *ḥadīths*. *ʿIlm* seekers, *ʿulamā'* (pl. of *ʿālim*), were often antagonistic towards those who resorted to their *ra'y*, the *ahl al-ra'y*, and this gave way to an ongoing dialogue, or bitter dispute, between, on the one hand, a basically religious, precedent-centred point of view and, on the other hand, a somewhat secular stance with, according to some *ʿulamā'*, far too little religion mixed in with it.

It is clear that, at least during the first three centuries of Islam, *ḥadīth* and *sunna* cannot be equated

but are just related concepts. The former is the initially orally transmitted and later written registration of, among other things, the revered practice of the pious forebears, with at their head the Prophet and the earliest Muslims, while the latter is an abstraction which encompasses the revered practice of anyone of the past, although despised or indifferent practices are also occasionally referred to with the term. At the turn of the 1st/7th century, the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 101/719-20 [*q.v.*]) was allegedly the first to single out the *sunna* of the Prophet among the *sunnas* of others. Thus it happened that, after *ḥadīth̲* had begun to comprise a sizeable number of *sunnas* supposedly introduced increasingly often by the Prophet rather than by the *k̲h̲ulafāʾ rās̲h̲idūn* or other well-known Companions, the concept *sunna* began to shed its broad meaning of "any precedent" and the connotation "any laudable precedent" started to prevail.

But *sunna* as a more vague concept did not die out. Moreover, next to the term emerging in debates on legal and ritual issues, it played a significant part in the political discussions of the 1st/7th century. When the confrontation between ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.vv.*] at Ṣiffīn (37/657 [*q.v.*]) was concluded with an arbitration agreement, the *kitāb Allāh* and *al-sunna al-ʿādila al-d̲j̲āmiʿa g̲h̲ayr al-mufarriḳa*, i.e. the Book of God and the just *sunna* that unites rather than disperses, had to be consulted in order to find a solution for the dilemma that had arisen. *Sunna* in this document refers to the still broad term: the approved practice in political and administrative matters instituted by the leaders of the past (synonymous in fact with *sīra* [*q.v.*], cf. Bravmann in *Bibl.*), and the substitution of the term *sunna* in one version of this agreement by the genitive construction "the *sunna* of the Prophet" is a spurious, later interpolation, cf. the penetrating analysis of Martin Hinds in his *The Ṣiffīn arbitration agreement*, in *JSS*, xvii (1972), 93-129. It has to be stated that, in the earliest extant Islamic documents in which the term *sunna* crops up frequently, one must always reckon with the possibility that the equation of *sunna* with *sunna* of the Prophet was achieved at the hands of anonymous transmitters or copyists through—in many cases—no longer traceable interpolations of the genitive "of the Prophet". That this is the case can often be shown by carefully collating the various versions in which these documents have come down to us.

Towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, the jurist al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]) began to throw new light on the position of the *sunna* of the Prophet, in preference to that of any ancient authorities. He came to consider it the second most important root of Islamic jurisprudence after the Ḳurʾān, hence his predilection for *sunnas* recorded in *ḥadīth̲s* that were *marfūʿ*, i.e. whose *isnāds* went all the way back to Muḥammad. Thus *al-sunna* began to be felt as tantamount to *sunnat al-nabī* "the good example of the Prophet"; that is what most texts that were written during and after al-S̲h̲āfiʿī's lifetime convey. For a survey of the reception in later years of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī's ideas on *sunna*, see Wael B. Hallaq, *Was al-S̲h̲āfiʿī the master architect of Islamic jurisprudence?*, in *IJMES*, xxv (1993), 587-605.

Although the term *sunna* occurs a number of times in the Ḳurʾān, it refers nowhere to the exemplary example of the Prophet or his contemporaries, but mostly to the manner in which God chose to deal with the peoples of old who rejected the conversion endeavours of prophets sent to them. In early *tafsīr* literature there are no attempts to equate certain terms from scripture with *sunna* or *sunnat al-nabī* either. It was al-S̲h̲āfiʿī who was the first to try and link up an important Ḳurʾānic term with *sunna*, in an attempt to provide scriptural evidence for his insistence that *sunna* should be equated automatically with *sunnat al-nabī*. The word chosen by him was *ḥikma* "wisdom", but even after his lifetime this identification does not seem to have caught on with other jurists. And, finally, the verse that comes to mind most readily as offering a good opportunity for tracing the concept *sunna* of the Prophet and/or that of his faithful followers in the Ḳurʾān, namely XXXIII, 21, "You had in the Messenger of God a perfect example, etc.", was not even hinted at by al-S̲h̲āfiʿī in his *Risāla*. It is Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]) who mentions the verse (cf. his *Musnad*, ii, 15 = ed. A.M. S̲h̲ākir, no. 4641) in connection with *sunna*. Identification of the traditionist responsible for the gloss in which the verse is cited as pertaining to the *sunna* of the Prophet has as yet proved fruitless. The only person for whom a case could conceivably by made is Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198/813), cf. al-Mizzī [*q.v.*], *Tuḥfat al-as̲h̲rāf*, vi, no. 7352.

The relationship of Ḳurʾān and *sunna* has long been a matter of debate, formulated in the question of whether a *sunna* could abrogate a Ḳurʾānic verse. It has always been realised in Islam that the Ḳurʾān was more in need of elucidation, e.g. through *sunnas*, than that *sunnas* required explanation from scripture. Even so, the debate was couched in cautious terms, lest a *sunna*, which is after all a custom instituted by man, was too readily taken to be capable of abrogating scripture—which is after all of divine origin—or modified the Ḳurʾān's *prima facie* interpretation. In the first chapter of the *Sunan* of al-Dārimī (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]) a number of traditions and opinions on *sunna* vis-à-vis the Ḳurʾān are listed. The statement: *al-sunna ḳāḍiyat*^un^ *ʿalā ʾl-Ḳurʾān wa-laysa al-Ḳurʾān bi-ḳāḍ*^in^ *ʿalā ʾl-sunna* (i.e. *sunna* may determine the Ḳurʾān but not vice-versa) is ascribed to an early authority but is probably al-Dārimī's own handiwork, cf. i, 153, no. 587.

The term *sunna* emerges also in the dogmatic-political discussions among the doctors of theology, the *mutakallimūn*; see ʿILM AL-KALĀM. During the time that these disputes of, for example, adherents of the Ḳadariyya, Murd̲j̲iʾa, Rāfiḍa or Muʿtazila [*q.vv.*] with their opponents occupied increasingly large numbers of theologians from the middle of the 1st/7th century until after the *miḥna* [*q.v.*], the so-called "inquisition" instituted by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn, which ended in 234/848, the *ḥadīth̲* people or *ahl al-ḥadīth̲* [*q.v.*], busily searching for *sunnas*, were out of their depth and constituted no match for them. Among these theologians they even acquired the derogatory nickname *ḥas̲h̲wiyya* [*q.v.*] lit. "those that stuff", predominantly because of their credulity in respect of certain traditions, which they collected alongside *sunnas*, containing anthropomorphic descriptions of God [see also NĀBITA]. On the other hand, the ranks of *sunna* seekers were swollen by large numbers of traditionists suspected and/or accused of harbouring one or more of these innovative dogmatic ideas (*bidʿas* [*q.v.*]), but as long as they did not propagate them in their traditions by slipping such ideas into the reports they were instrumental in transmitting, they were on the whole tolerated. In retrospect, it can be surmised that, if the *ahl al-ḥadīth̲*, while transmitting *sunnas*, had shunned the participation in this activity of all those known to harbour a predilection for one or more of those *bidʿas*, they would have been so few

in number that the total bulk of what became known as Islam's canonical *ḥadīth* would have attained a mere fraction of its present size.

So traditions containing descriptions of *sunnas* gradually multiplied. This growth may in part be due to a *ḥadīth* ascribed to the Prophet, but for the wording of which the Baṣran *muḥaddith* Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/776 [*q.v.*]), who is the undeniable common link of its *isnād* bundle, may be held responsible: "He who introduces in Islam a good *sunna* will be given the ensuing merit and the merit accruing to all those who practise/adopt it after him, but he who introduces in Islam a pernicious *sunna* will have to carry its burden and that of those who practice/adopt it after him", cf. al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf*, ii, no. 3232. Shuʿba need not necessarily be assumed to be the first person to have thought of this saying, for it may be considered to have been foreshadowed in a differently worded tradition, without the crucial term *sunna*. On the basis of its *isnād* bundle, that tradition can safely be ascribed to al-Aʿmash (d. 147-8/764-5 [q.v.]), incidentally an alleged sympathiser of the Shīʿa(!) from Kūfa, who transmitted it to, among others, his junior *ḥadīth* colleague Shuʿba: "He who draws attention to a good (practice), he will enjoy the same reward as those who adopt that (practice)," cf. al-Mizzī, *ibid.*, vii, no. 9986. Traditions in this vein became numerous (cf. al-Tirmidhī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. A.M. Shākir *et alii*, v, 41-5) but, judging by their *isnāds*, all these originated much later than al-Aʿmash and Shuʿba.

Be that as it may, the adherents to the *sunna*, or *ahl al-sunna* as they were increasingly often called, were thought of during the heyday of theological disputes as living in concealment, as strangers in their own home, that is in any case how al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941 [*q.v.*]), the author of an early Islamic creed, expressed it, cf. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ii, 29, ll. 2-6. The appellative *ahl al-sunna* is found already in a well-known early statement on the origin of the *isnād* requirement attributed to the Baṣran *muḥaddith* Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]). This man yielded to Islam's indomitable tendency to divide society up into categories, e.g. *ahl al-...*, *aṣḥāb al-...*, or formed by attaching a feminine *nisba* ending to the name of a person associated with a controversial doctrine, long before this alleged group formation constitutes a historically plausible description of the actual situation, if ever. Thus Ibn Sīrīn divided the people of his days into two categories, the *ahl al-bidʿa* or *ahl al-bidaʿ* and the *ahl al-sunna*. The latter appellative became later, to be more precise at the earliest as from the beginning of the second half of the 2nd/8th century and more especially after the suspension of the *miḥna*, that of the orthodox in Islam. Various contemporary sources convey the impression that they began to constitute the majority in Islam only *after* the theological squabbles culminating in the *miḥna* had been decided in favour of Ibn Ḥanbal, its most notorious victim. His influence spread rapidly thereafter and he became in the eyes of the public the centre of the henceforth steadily multiplying *ahl al-sunna*.

One individual from among the *ahl al-sunna* was called a *ṣāḥib sunna*. Probably the earliest definition of a *ṣāḥib sunna* is attributed to Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797 [*q.v.*]), a *muḥaddith* well-known for his travelling *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*, i.e. in search of traditions containing *sunnas*, all over the eastern Islamic world and for his conviction that "... the *isnād* is part of the religion for otherwise everybody would be free to say whatever he wanted," a conviction that can be viewed as typical of a man who is among the first theoreticians of the *ahl al-sunna*. His definition of *ṣāḥib sunna* is found embedded in al-Barbahārī's creed which is quoted in Ibn Abī Yaʿlā's *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ii, 40, ll. 11-20. This definition may at the same time be considered as a concise creed of Islam as a whole and constitutes in fact a polemic against the *ahl al-bidaʿ*, based upon a famous *vaticinatio post eventum* couched in the *sa-taftariḳu* tradition. It foretells that the Islamic community will be torn asunder into 73 factions, only one of which, the *ahl al-djamāʿa*, will eventually attain salvation, the 72 other factions ending up in Hell. The appellative *ahl al-djamāʿa*, lit. "the people of the community," is a well-known alternative of the appellative *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa*, an early, mainly political, designation of one of the warring parties at Ṣiffīn mentioned above. This designation survived in a number of biographical notices devoted to 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th century traditionists who were labelled as *ṣāḥib sunna* or *ṣāḥib sunna wa-djamāʿa*. The prophetic tradition which contains the said *vaticinatio* had recently been brought into circulation. The numbers 1:72 may very well be considered as reflecting a symbolic, albeit somewhat hyperbolic, approximation by the *ahl al-sunna* of their own limited numbers, vastly outnumbered as they initially were by the *ahl al-bidʿa*. Only in the course of the second half of the 2nd/8th century does the number of people, who are provided in the biographical lexicons with the label *ṣāḥib sunna*, show a marked increase.

Beside the collective *ahl al-sunna*, *ṣāḥib sunna* has two plurals, *aṣḥāb sunna* and *aṣḥāb al-sunan*, lit. "people of *sunnas*." On the basis of the latter plural, one may be forgiven for being struck by the coincidence that the majority of *ḥadīth* transmitters found in the biographical lexicons as being described by the term *ṣāḥib sunna* emerge at the same time as prolific common links, each responsible for (the wording of) a number of traditions listed in the canonical collections. Viewed from that angle, the plural *aṣḥāb al-sunan* permits of the connotation "originators of *sunnas*." Some time later, in the course of the 3rd/9th century, one finds increasingly frequently the word *sunnī*, plural *sunniyyūn*, being used for members of the *ahl al-sunna*. As an investigation of the biographical data on a number of transmitters labelled *ṣāḥib sunna* makes clear, the appellatives *ṣāḥib sunna* and *ṣāḥib ḥadīth* are by no means mutually interchangeable. Many belonging to the first category had their handling of traditions frowned upon, some were even accused of *kadhib*, i.e. mendacity in *ḥadīth*, while many belonging to the second were known for their support of one or more *bidʿas* (cf. Juynboll, in *JSAI*, x, in *Bibl.*). But with the multiplying of Muslims defined as orthodox, *sunna* and Islam came eventually to be felt, by some at least, as virtually synonymous, as is witnessed in the remark of the pious Bishr b. al-Ḥārith (d. 227/842, cf. *TT*, vii, 67-80): *al-sunna hiya 'l-islām wa 'l-islām huwa 'l-sunna*, i.e. *sunna* and Islam are in essence identical, cf. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, i, 41, ult. In the writings of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/936 [*q.v.*]) the orthodox of Islam finally found their niche. In his *Maḳālāt*, appellatives like *ahl al-sunna* alternate with *ahl al-djamāʿa* as well as several other genitive constructions. Curiously, probably as a consequence of the ever expanding influence of a growing *sunnī* faction, the appellative *aṣḥāb al-islām* in this source seems to have a wider range of meaning, comprising next to the *sunniyyūn* an assorted number of people from heterodox denominations, which may differ in each occurrence of the term and are more often than not left unspecified. It

is as if in this—as it were—tolerant stance the definitive defeat of the *ahl al-bid'a* is reflected now that the *ahl al-sunna* had started to constitute everywhere the majority. For a survey of the Sunnī creed which is still in force today, see 'AKĪDA. From the 4th/10th century onwards, the term *sunna* did not acquire new connotations or nuances.

2. As a technical term in the *sharī'a*. Various customs, legal injunctions and a host of (mostly supererogatory) ritual prescriptions etc. received in the course of time the predicate *sunna*. This labelling is not supposed to indicate that the issue was due to the Prophet or the people of old, but is rather meant to express the desirability to adopt or practise it. On the scale of qualifications developed in Islamic jurisprudence, ranging from absolutely compulsory via indifferent to strictly forbidden, the so-called *aḥkām khamsa*, *sunna* came to be used in the second grade of desirability following compulsory and more or less synonymous with *mandūb* [*q.v.*] and *mustaḥabb* [*q.v.*], all three indicating "recommended". Anyone observing a rule labelled *sunna* will be awarded, but neglecting it will not automatically entail punishment.

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(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

3. In the modern Islamic world. *Sunna* has become the central point of debate in modern Muslim discussions of religious authority. Controversy centres on three issues:

(i) *The authenticity of* ḥadīth. In the 19th century, Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Muḥammad 'Abduh [*q.vv.*] began to express doubts about the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* literature (Aḥmad Khān, *Maḳālāt*, i, 25-9, 48-9, ii, 187, 190, 363-8, 419; 'Abduh, *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, 223). In the early 20th century, the doubts of these modernists gave way to dogmatic rejection of *ḥadīth* among the Ahl-i Ḳur'ān of Lahore and Amritsar. Anti-*ḥadīth* views were elaborated by Aslam Djayrādjpūrī, Ghulām Aḥmad Parwīz and Ghulām Djīlānī Barḳ, and independently by Maḥmūd Abū Rayya in Egypt. These authors, labelled *munkirīn-i-ḥadīth* by their opponents, argued that traditions were not collected in writing until the 9th century; oral transmission of *ḥadīth* is untrustworthy; forgery of *ḥadīth* rendered the collections irredeemably corrupt; and *ḥadīth* criticism was inadequate to sift authentic traditions from forged. Conservative scholars have responded with a vigorous campaign in defence of *ḥadīth* (e.g. al-Sibā'ī, *al-Sunna wa-makānatuhā*, Cairo 1961).

(ii) *Prophetic authority*. Čiragh 'Alī and 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziḳ limit prophetic authority to spiritual matters, implicitly rejecting much of *sunna*. The Ahl-i Ḳur'ān held that Muḥammad's activity as prophet was limited to the Ḳur'ān; his other actions are not binding on later generations. An Egyptian, Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Ṣidḳī, voiced similar arguments, but Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] pressured him to recant (*Manār*, ix [1906], 515-24, x, 140). Riḍā himself argued for the subordination of *sunna* to the Ḳur'ān, and he has been followed by some revivalists (*Manār*, xii, 693-9; Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *al-Sunna al-nabawiyya bayna ahl al-fiḳh wa-ahl al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1989). Other revivalists limit the scope of prophetic authority by distinguishing human activities of Muḥammad from divinely-inspired prophetic *sunna* (Mawdūdī, *Tafhīmāt*, [16]Lahore 1989, 98-113).

(iii) *The relationship of* sunna *to* ḥadīth. Seeking to salvage *sunna* from the ravages of *ḥadīth* criticism, S.M. Yusuf and Fazlur Rahman defined *sunna* as the *idjmā'* of the early Muslims, reflected in *ḥadīth*, not derived from it (Rahman, *Islamic methodology in history*, Karachi 1961, 6, 18; S.M. Yusuf, in *IQ*, xxxvii [1964], 271-82, xxxviii [1964], 15-25). *Ḥadīth*, while not strictly historical, represents "the interpreted spirit of the Prophetic teaching" (Rahman, *op. cit.*, Karachi 1961, 71). Later generations of Muslims must duplicate this interpretive process, not by a literal application of *ḥadīth*, but by discovering the spirit of the prophetic example for themselves.

While such revisionist views have not gained a wide following, they have nevertheless exerted enormous influence on modern Muslim discussions of religious authority, giving rise to a plurality of definitions of *sunna* reminiscent of the formative period of Islamic thought.

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(D.W. BROWN)

SUNNI 'ALĪ [see SONGHAY].

SŪR (A.), pls. *aswār*, *sīrān*, the wall of a town or other enclosed urban or built-up space. The present article treats of town walls and fortifications in the central Islamic lands.

The development of urban fortification may be divided into two main traditions: (1) the Mediterranean region, descended from Hellenistic and Roman fortifications, characterised by stone and fired brick fortifications with regular projecting towers, a type first seen in the 4th century B.C., and itself probably derived from Mesopotamian city fortifications, such as are represented in Assyrian reliefs, and (2) the Middle East, which inherited Mesopotamian and Iranian traditions, typified by massive pisé (beaten earth) ramparts up

to 20 m thick. One can also define a general chronological distinction between the earlier Islamic period, where fortifications were more or less direct descendants of ancient traditions, and the high mediaeval period, when urban fortifications are influenced by the castle-building of the Crusading period. Finally, it should also be noted that frequently a city's fortifications evolved slowly over the centuries, from before Islam up to the modern day; in many cases, such as Istanbul and Damascus, fortifications constructed before Islam continued to be used with little modification. In addition the design of new gates and towers was constrained by the necessity to adapt to what already existed, and by long-standing local traditions in construction and materials, which dictated basic forms.

At the beginning of Islam, not all cities were fortified. While the digging of a *khandaḳ* (fosse) to defend Medina in the time of the Prophet was considered to be an innovation, the early *amṣār* at Kūfa, Baṣra and Fusṭāṭ [*q.vv.* and see MIṢR. B] were initially unfortified. Echos of the *amṣār* can also be seen in the absence of fortifications from Baghdād [*q.v.*] in the 2nd/8th century, except for the Round City, and Sāmarrā' [*q.v.*] in the 3rd/9th century. However, on the frontiers, the caliph Muʿāwiya fortified the cities of the Mediterranean coast (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 128, 143), and the cities of the *thughūr*, the Anatolian frontier [see THUGHŪR. 1], were refortified from the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik onwards (*ibid.*, 165 ff.). At Anazarbos in Cilicia (Ar. ʿAyn Zarba), two successive defensive circuits with regular projecting square stone towers dating from the reigns of al-Mutawakkil (3rd/9th century) and the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla (4th/10th century), have been identified. They replaced late Roman walls on a smaller circuit.

In early new urban foundations, fortification played a mainly symbolic role. The Umayyad sites at ʿAndjar (Lebanon), ʿAḳaba and ʿAmmān Citadel (modern Jordan) were fortified with regular half-round or square towers, similar to the light fortifications of the Umayyad *ḳuṣūr* or "desert castles". According to the texts, the Round City of Baghdād was fortified with a double ring of walls of mud-brick, on the model of Constantinople, but in the year-long siege of Baghdād in 196-8/812-13, the Round City itself only resisted for 24 hours, owing to a defective water-supply. The surviving imitations of the Round City at Raḳḳa [*q.v.*] (built by al-Manṣūr in 155/772) and the Octagon of Ḳādisiyya at Sāmarrā' (built by Hārūn al-Rashīd before 180/796) have respectively double and single mud-brick curtain walls with regular U-shaped towers. In all these cases, larger, usually circular, towers were built at changes in the line of the walls, while the wall towers are often reduced almost to the status of buttresses. The gates have single passages, flanked by a tower on each side, or, during the 2nd/8th century, the passage way was built into a single tower. Only in the Round City of Baghdād does the device of a bent entrance with a right-angled turn incorporated, seem to have been used (Creswell *EMA*, ii, 1-38).

Most late Roman cities in the Near East did not have citadels in their fortification circuits (although their Hellenistic predecessors had); consequently, their early Islamic successors did not either. However, citadels or forts in Sāsānid cities were quite common, for example, Sīrāf (D.B. Whitehouse, in *Iran JBIPS*, ix [1971], 1-17) in southern Persia, and Karkh Fayrūz at Sāmarrā' in ʿIrāḳ (see Northedge, in *Mesopotamia*, xxii [1987]). In the latter case, the fortifications are composed of a square fort, and a curtain wall of pisé about 5 m wide, strengthened by regular half-round solid towers. However, apart from the examples cited, no well-preserved examples of early Islamic fortifications in the East are known, although unexcavated pisé circuits are known at Nīshāpūr and Sirdjān (4th-5th/10th-11th centuries) in Persia. A further specific characteristic of eastern construction was the use of fortifications to encircle a whole oasis, such as at Bukhāra, a fortification type intended to hinder nomad incursions, in the same way as linear defences such as Alexander's Wall in the Gurgān plain, and more distantly, Roman *limes* fortifications such as Hadrian's Wall in Northern England.

In the Maghrib and al-Andalus, a tradition of square towers predominated. The fashion for U-shaped towers characteristic of late Roman western Europe and the Middle East from the 3rd-4th centuries onwards, was limited to the East under Islam, and square towers are already known in the fortifications of the Byzantine reoccupation of Tunisia (6th century). Traces of early circuits have survived at Sousse in Tunisia, where projecting square towers alternate with smaller buttresses (245/859), at the citadel of Mérida (220/835) and at Madīnat al-Zahrā' outside Cordova in Spain (founded 324/936).

In the 5th/11th century, the tradition of regular projecting towers was continued in the first phase of the citadel of Damascus, and in the extension of the walls of Cairo begun by Badr al-Djamālī in 480/1087 (Creswell, *MAE*, 166-206). The three fine surviving gates of Bāb al-Naṣr, Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwayla, are each flanked by a pair of square or U-shaped towers, 20.89 and 22 m high with three storeys, and much larger than the wall towers.

The period of the Crusades led to considerable change. Large citadels were built or rebuilt in the major cities of the Near East, in Cairo, Boṣrā, Damascus and Aleppo. The citadel of Aleppo is best known for its magnificent entrance, a single massive square tower with an interior passage with five right-angled turns, built by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī in 606/1209-10, and approached by a bridge across the moat from a forecastle built by Ḳānṣūh al-Ghawrī in 913/1507. The slope of the mound was partly revetted by a glacis of stone, and the summit ringed by a wall with regular projecting towers. The city walls themselves date to the Ayyūbid period and later, with an extension to the east built in the second half of the 9th/15th century. In Cairo, the citadel built in 572-9/1176-83 by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is composed of two enclosures fortified by massive round towers added by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in 604/1207-8. There was a substantial increase in the size of towers, whether square or circular, built mainly of fine ashlar masonry, often incorporating re-used column drums, and they were now placed irregularly, to conform to the terrain and tactical requirements. At Diyarbekir in Turkey, massive 6th/12th-century towers are U-shaped and placed at changes in the line of the walls. At Baghdād, the gate-towers of the later circuit, of fired brick with stone fittings, are built on the far side of bridges across the moat. Although only the Bāb al-Wasṭānī is preserved, the now-disappeared Bāb al-Tilsimān (618/1221) was decorated with relief-carved serpents. Relief-carved decoration was also characteristic of the walls of Konya. A late version of this type is to be seen in the restoration and reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem by the Ottoman sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnī in 943-7/1537-40. In this case, there are few towers, probably because the objective was the pious act of protecting a holy city, and no great military activity was envisaged.

In southeastern Persia, well-preserved defences dating from the Ṣafawid period have survived at Bam, with a citadel with massive U-shaped brick towers and a brick curtain wall. At Bukhārā, the system of defences in its present form dates from the 18th century, partly based on massive earlier pisé ramparts, but with at least one gate flanked by half-round towers, while the new Ark was built on the site of the old citadel. New defences of the traditional type continued to be built even in the 19th century. In the 1830s, as a result of a pious donation to develop the Shīʿī sanctuary, Sāmarrā' was fortified with a brick wall having occasional projecting solid towers. The developments in artillery fortifications typical of Europe from the 17th century onwards, star-shaped fortifications with low gun bastions projecting from the main curtain, do not find a direct reflection in the Islamic world, although in Mughal military architecture, such as the Red Fort at Agra (*ca.* 1635), cannon loopholes are incorporated.

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See also the *Bibls.* to BURDJ, ḤIṢĀR, ḤIṢN and ḲAṢABA. (A. NORTHEDGE)

ṢŪR, the Arabic name for Tyre, coastal city of southern Lebanon, regional capital of the *ḳaḍā'* of the same name. Built on an off-shore island, it was in the Phoenician period one of the most powerful commercial centres of the Levant. The Bible mentions a king Hiram who, a contemporary and ally of Solomon, supplied him with cedar-wood for the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem, as well as with highly skilled and esteemed masons, carpenters, goldsmiths and stone-cutters (I Kings v. 15-32). Tyre established flourishing colonies in the western Mediterranean, and its mariners were among the most adventurous of the time; it was they who, at the behest of the Pharaoh Necho, achieved the first circumnavigation of the African continent.

The conquest of the city by Alexander was marked by the construction of a causeway linking the island to the mainland, which became over time a veritable isthmus on which the city developed.

Covering an area of 15 ha, Tyre presents today the largest archaeological site of the Eastern Mediterranean coastland. Among the features excavated, one of the most significant is the main street, 175 m in length and fringed by a portico, which led to the harbour. A hippodrome and a necropolis are located on the mainland. Since 1984, the city has been designated a world heritage site by UNESCO.

The Arab conquest did not trigger off a decline of the city, since Muʿāwiya, governor of Damascus and founder of the Umayyad dynasty, is said to have installed there Persian colonists from Baʿalbakk, Ḥimṣ or Anṭākiya, the bulk of the population being constituted by Hellenised elements and Arab soldiers. According to al-Balādhurī, the caliph Hishām had the arsenals of ʿAkka transferred there and built warehouses and docks; the city subsequently became, under the Marwānids, the operational base of the Muslim fleet in place of ʿAkka. It was very well fortified, and accessible from the mainland only by a bridge. The ancient aqueduct, fed by the well of Ra's al-ʿAyn or al-Rashīdiyya, still supplied water to the city, according to al-Muḳaddasī. Nāṣir i-Khusraw, who visited the city in 1047, mentions its houses, five or six storeys high, and a richly ornamented *mashhad*. The inhabitants were mostly Shīʿī, but the *ḳāḍī* was a Sunnī.

The merchants of the town resented their status as vassals of great empires controlled from distant capitals, and in 388/988 the people of Tyre, led by a peasant named Alaka, rose in rebellion against the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim. When the governor of Syria sent land and naval troops against the city, Alaka appealed for help to the emperor of Byzantium, but the latter's ships were sunk, and the city was taken and sacked.

In 1089, the vizier Badr al-Djamālī seized the town from the Saldjūḳ sultan of Damascus Tutush, and his successor al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh punished a new uprising in 490/1097 with a fearful massacre; this was the same year that the Crusaders set out from Constantinople. The city allied itself with ʿAkkā and Ṭarābulus against the invaders. In 1107 King Baldwin camped under the walls of the city for a month, only withdrawing in return for a ransom of 7,000 dīnārs. The Egyptian fleet, arriving too late to save Tripoli or Ṭarābulus, made its base at Tyre.

In 1111, Baldwin resumed his siege of the town, which was relieved by Tughtakīn, sent with an army from Damascus. The Crusaders made a fresh attempt in April 1124. Venetian ships blockaded the port to keep the Egyptian fleet at bay, and after a stubborn resistance, starvation forced the people of Tyre to submit. They were offered the choice of leaving the city with their property or staying on payment of a ransom; in July, they abandoned the city, settling either in Damascus or in Ghazza. The city remained in the hands of the Franks until 1191.

At this time, al-Idrīsī speaks of the flourishing industries of glassware, ceramics and high quality textiles which produced the wealth of the city.

On the sea side, the port was accessible by way of a narrow inlet flanked by two tall towers; it was the finest port of the entire Levantine coast. On three sides, the port was enclosed within the ramparts of the town, and on the fourth there was a wall and a kind of archway under which ships were docked. This

port within a city could be sealed by a huge chain deployed between the two towers.

After the capture of Jerusalem and the majority of coastal sites, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn arrived to lay siege to Tyre in November 1187, but without success. Tyre remained, with the castle of Beaufort, the last place still held by the Franks: the knights released by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn after each of his victories gathered there, and prepared to lay siege to ʿAkka. On 19 April 1192, Conrad, the deposed king of Jerusalem who resided in Tyre, was assassinated by Ismāʿīlīs. His successor Henry of Champagne, concluded the treaty of Ramla with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (September 1192); under the terms of this treaty the coast between Jaffa and Tyre remained in the hands of the Franks.

The city was devastated by two earthquakes, in 1201 and 1203. Although the treaty signed in 1229 between Frederick II and al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt maintained Frankish domination of Tyre and numerous coastal towns, the Crusaders were weakened by internal strife and rivalry between Venice and Genoa.

The Mamlūk sultan Baybars launched two expeditions against the city, in 1266 and 1269, but in 1270 he agreed to a treaty with the prince of the city under which the neighbouring territories were divided between them, part being placed under joint administration. Marguerite of Tyre bought from the sultan Ḳalāwūn a peace lasting ten years in return for sacrificing half of her revenues and a guarantee not to restore the city's fortifications. But after the capitulation of ʿAkkā in 1291, the other coastal cities were incapable of resisting much longer; the city was taken by K͟halīl b. Ḳalāwūn, who destroyed it. Some of the inhabitants were sold into slavery, others were put to the sword.

The city remained unoccupied for several centuries, and neither the Druze *amīr* Fak͟hr al-Dīn Maʿnī in the 17th century, nor the governor of Acre D̲j̲azzār Pas͟ha in the 18th, succeeded in restoring its dynamism. From 3,000 inhabitants in 1840, the population had grown to 6,000 by 1900; half of these were Muslims, the remainder Maronites, Greek Catholics and Jews.

In 1920 the Treaty of Sèvres, which dismantled the Ottoman Empire, incorporated Tyre and the D̲j̲abal ʿĀmil into Greater Lebanon, placed under French mandate by the League of Nations. The population of the south, S͟hīʿī for the most part, felt excluded from this Lebanese state, where it was represented by only a few families of dignitaries, wealthy quasi-feudal landowners who rallied to the new system. But in fact, the region constituted the northern sector of Upper Galilee, the southern being in Palestine under British mandate, with the major port of Jaffa for an outlet.

The destiny of Tyre, already constrained by this mandatory frontier, was overturned by the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, with Zionist leaders claiming territory extending as far as the Litani river, the waters of which they wanted to control, and 14 Lebanese border villages were to be occupied until 1949.

From 1967 onwards, despite the non-participation of Lebanon in the Six-Day War, southern Lebanon became engulfed in a spiral of violence from which it has yet (1996) to be extricated, and which has seriously handicapped the role which Tyre could have played in regional affairs.

Another important phenomenon has been the progressive consolidation of the S͟hīʿī community, led by the Imām Mūsā Ṣadr, who took up residence in Lebanon in 1960. Seeking to inspire the S͟hīʿī community, marginalised in spite of efforts made during the presidency of S͟hihāb (1958-64) to develop the infrastructures of the south, he founded in 1973 the Movement of the Dispossessed, then in 1975, in Tyre, the Amal political party. In January 1969, in response to the destruction by Israel of Lebanese civilian aircraft, a general strike paralysed Tyre and Sidon (Ṣaydā), with the demand that the Lebanese state introduce conscription to combat the Israeli threat. Amal was originally allied with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), which controlled the camps surrounding the city: Ras͟hīdiyya (some 14,000 inhabitants in 1975), Burd̲j̲ al-S͟himālī (some 10,000 inhabitants in 1975) and Bass (about 5,000).

In fact, the sovereignty of the Lebanese state was challenged by Palestinian guerrilla groups, taking up residence in southern Lebanon after their expulsion from Jordan in 1971. The region of Tyre was one of their bastions, and the Lebanese army tried in vain to take control of the camps. The process which was to lead to the nationwide conflagration of 1975-6 was well advanced.

In September 1972 Israel launched its first intervention in South Lebanon, and after the first phase of the civil war, in 1976, it inaugurated its policy of the "good border"; by way of numerous frontier posts, the villagers were induced to work in Israel, while the region was inundated with Israeli produce; the destruction of orchards, infrastructures and hostile villages facilitated the economic integration of the region into Israel, to the detriment of Tyre, isolated and cut off from the rest of the country.

In March 1978, to halt Palestinian incursions into its territory, Israel launched "Operation Litani"; when its army withdrew in June, it retained control of a border strip of Lebanese territory, 5 to 10 km in width, in defiance of Resolutions 425 and 426 of the Security Council of the UN demanding Israeli withdrawal and creating UNIFIL, initially a contingent of 6,000 men acting as a buffer between the Syrian army deployed to the north of the Litani and the frontier zone occupied by the pro-Israeli militia of the Maronite Major Saʿd Ḥaddād, who had defected with his troops from the Lebanese army; in April 1979, he prevented the latter from re-occupying Tyre. The city of Tyre was then effectively under the control of the PLO and the Amal movement.

To eradicate the Palestinian presence in Lebanon after the Camp David accords with Egypt, and to induce the Lebanese state to sign a separate peace in its turn, Israel once more invaded Lebanon on 6 June 1982; this was Operation "Peace for Galilee", in which Tyre was the target of 57 air-raids. The city was occupied, but resistance to the Israeli presence was stubborn: in September 1982 250,000 S͟hīʿīs demonstrated in Tyre to mark the fourth anniversary of the disappearance of the Imām Mūsā Ṣadr, and in November 1983, Amal shelled the Israeli headquarters in the city.

In June 1985 Israel withdraw, retaining control only of the "security zone", some 850 km^2, through the intermediary of the Southern Lebanese Army of General Antoine Lahad, and Amal took over the city. But competition between Amal and the PLO for supremacy in the South led to the eruption in 1985-86 of the "war of the camps", the S͟hīʿīs being supported by Iran, which sent weapons and instructors to Tyre. The war between S͟hīʿīs and Palestinians resumed on 22 October 1986, and it was not until 4 January 1988 that Amal raised the siege of the Ras͟hīdiyya camp. Israel has continued to make incursions

into South Lebanon, as in May 1988, and periodically to shell Tyre and its Palestinian camps, disrupting commerce and preventing marine fishing.

The city of Tyre comprised some 54,000 inhabitants in 1980, about a quarter of the population of the *ḳaḍāʾ*, but demographic estimates are not easily confirmed on account of the high level of mobility of the population, the result of insecurity and of a traditionally substantial trend towards emigration. In 1975, the civil war raging in Beirut impelled the Shīʿī population to seek refuge in the South, while the Israeli invasions of 1978 and 1982 provoked an exodus in the opposite direction. The annual demographic increase is at all events very high, of the order of 44 per thousand, as against 25 for Lebanon as a whole, and 34 per thousand for Ṣaydā, regional capital of the *muḥāfaẓa* of South Lebanon.

Emigration, especially towards West Africa, has affected a substantial proportion of the Shīʿī population (a quarter ?), and communities settled in clusters from Senegal to Nigeria retain close links with their region of origin. During the civil war, although cut off from the rest of the country, Tyre experienced a reasonable degree of economic prosperity, owed to remittances from these expatriates and the continuing operation of the port. But the destruction of olive and orange groves by the Israeli army, as well as, from the 1980s onward, the return of emigrants from the Gulf and Black Africa fleeing violence there, has aggravated unemployment.

Before the war, in 1973, the region produced annually 280,000 tonnes of agricultural produce. The Ḳāsimiyya canal irrigated nearly 7,000 ha, and an additional 4,000 ha were watered by some hundred wells. During the 1990s, the return of a precarious peace, interrupted by Israeli bombardments and hampered by blockade of the port, has permitted a modest economic revival, based on a boom in construction and agricultural redevelopment.

The city, which had grown on the promontory joining the former island to the mainland, was the object in 1964 of a development scheme. This permitted the opening of roads in the zone bordered to the west by recent house construction and the east by the archeological excavations of al-Bass (al-Ramī quarter). The port of Tyre is protected by a quay to the north, and matches the contour of the coast to the south: on one side are five small docks for fishing vessels, on the other a dock for merchant shipping. One of the main concerns of the development scheme has been the clearing of all the spaces invaded and disfigured by illegal construction, in particular on the isthmus, and the conservation of the beaches to the north and especially to the south of the city which, along with Tyre's cultural attractions, have the potential to constitute a profitable resort area.

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(M. Lavergne)

SŪRA, the designation used for the 114 independent units of the Ḳurʾān, often translated as "chapter". The sūras are distinct units, unlike the frequently arbitrary divisions of the books of the Bible made by later editors. They are also unlike the topical, chronological and other types of major divisions of other books called "chapters". Thus it seems best to leave the term "sūra" untranslated, treating it as a technical term, similar to "mishnah", "seder", "sutra", "upanishad" and other terms for units of sacred writings that European languages have adopted from various religious traditions. As distinct literary units of scripture that are best not regarded as "chapters", the sūras of the Ḳurʾān have a parallel in the Psalms of the Bible.

1. Derivation and Ḳurʾānic usage. The fact that the early Muslim commentators and lexicographers offered a wide variety of opinions on the origin of the term *sūra*, normally seeking an Arabic root (see al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt*, 248; Nöldeke, *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 31 n. 1), shows that its derivation was not known. The older European majority view, accepted also by Nöldeke (*ibid.*, i, 30-1), derived the Arabic *sūra* from the Hebrew *shūrā*, used in the Mishnah for "row, series". For a discussion of a variety of imaginative theories that derive *sūra* mostly from various Hebrew terms, along with arguments against each of these, see A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 180-2. Jeffery (182) and Bell-Watt (58) conclude that *sūra* entered the Ḳurʾān as a technical term, most likely derived from the Syriac word for "a writing" and "a portion of scripture", thus making it parallel to *ḳurʾān*, *kitāb*, and other Ḳurʾānic terms of Syriac origin that are associated with revelation or scripture. Opinions will no doubt continue to differ on the origin of this term. Regardless of its derivation, the view that its earliest usage occurs in the Ḳurʾān is the most plausible assumption.

The term *sūra* occurs in the Ḳurʾān nine times in the singular and once in the plural (*suwar*), all probably in Medinan contexts. It is useful to make a distinction between the usage of this term in the Ḳurʾān during Muḥammad's lifetime and its later usage after the compilation of the completed Islamic scripture. Within the Ḳurʾān the term *sūra* is best interpreted simply as "a unit of revelation", making it synonymous with some Ḳurʾānic usages of *ḳurʾān*, *āya*, and *kitāb* [see ḳurʾān, 1.b, esp. at 402a]. In most contexts the term *sūra* seems to refer to a short unit, possibly just a few verses, such as IX, 64, in which the Hypocrites [see munāfiḳūn] are said to be afraid "lest a sūra be sent down against them, telling [Muḥammad] what is in their hearts". Cf. IX, 86, 124, 127 and XLVII, 20, which also to refer to specific commands or information being "sent down" to Muḥammad, suggesting short units of revelation, rather than the present sūras. Three other contexts refer to accusations from Muḥammad's opponents that he had been forging or inventing revelations. The Ḳurʾān responds with challenges that may provide insight into the history of the sūras and of the text of the Ḳurʾān during Muḥammad's lifetime. The context that appears to be the earliest of these three is XI, 13: "Or do they say, 'He has invented it' (*iftarā-hu*)? Then bring ten *suwar* like it, invented, and call upon whomever you are able apart from God, if you speak the truth." This verse is later repeated verbatim in X, 38, with one significant change: "Then bring a *sūra* like it, ..."

This challenge to produce only one sūra equal to those recited by Muḥammad is then repeated verbatim in II, 23. It is quite possible that the challenge in XI, 13, to produce ten sūras equal to Muḥammad's revelations reflects the period when the Ḳur'ān consisted of a collection of mostly short recitations (see Bell-Watt, 137-41), whereas the other two verses reflect the later period in Medina when the Prophet was combining and expanding earlier revelations to form longer sūras as parts of a written scripture for his followers [see ḲUR'ĀN, 5.c, at 417b-418a]. Regardless of whether this hypothesis is accepted, it seems certain that most, if not all, occurrences of the term *sūra* in the Ḳur'ān refer to units of revelation that were shorter than the present, long sūras in which this term appears.

2. Composition and literary types. To say that the sūras are distinct units does not mean, however, that they are all alike in their literary form and contents. The Ḳur'ān contains a wide variety of literary or didactic types, but very few sūras consist of a single type or treat a single topic. Those that do are notable as exceptions to the nature of the vast majority of sūras. Three of the most striking of these exceptions, the first sūra (a short prayer addressed to God) and the last two (charms for driving away evil powers [see AL-MUʿAWWIDHATĀN[1]]), were not considered to be parts of the revelation by at least one of Muḥammad's closest Companions (al-Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, i, 64; *Gesch. des. Qor.*, ii, 39-42; Jeffery, *Materials*, 21). For a discussion of these three distinctive sūras, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 108-14. Another exception is the unique Sūra of the All-Merciful (LV), which consists almost entirely of a litany, in which the refrain, "O which of your Lord's bounties will you two [human kind and the djinn] deny", occurs 31 times as a separate verse, usually every other verse. The Sūra of Joseph (XII), is another exception, unique in several ways, e.g. it is the only long sūra that consists almost exclusively of a single narrative, the longest narrative in the Ḳur'ān. Virtually all other sūras contain more than one major theme and literary type, the longer sūras containing several of each.

The issue of the composition of the sūras leads to questions regarding the classification of literary types, the unity of the sūras, and the chronology of the text of the Ḳur'ān, issues that are so closely related that it is difficult to treat them separately. For a variety of reasons, classical Muslim scholars made several attempts to determine the chronological order of all of the sūras, but in a number of cases could not agree even on whether a sūra was Meccan or Medinan (*Itḳān*, i, 10-11). The order that came to be most widely accepted is now indicated in the headings to the individual sūras in the Egyptian standard text of the Ḳur'ān. The classical scholars devoted some attention to the literary forms of the sūras in attempts to determine their chronological order, but the main criteria in this effort involved the contents of the sūras and the traditional accounts of their historical setting or "occasions of revelation" (*asbāb al-nuzūl*) [see ḲUR'ĀN, 5.b, at 415-16].

European scholars developed a keener interest is the Ḳur'ān's literary types. In his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran* (1844), Gustav Weil stressed literary form as a major criterion in his rearrangement of the traditional chronological order and his division of the sūras into "early Meccan", "middle Meccan", "late Meccan" and "Medinan" periods. For instance, he placed all short sūras considered to be of the *kāhin* style [see ḲUR'ĀN, 7.a, 421-2] in his "early Meccan" period. Th. Nöldeke refined Weil's system in the 1st ed. of his *Gesch. des Qor.* (1860), and R. Blachère arranged the sūras in Nöldeke's order, with a few exceptions, in his first translation of the Ḳur'ān into French (2 vols., Paris 1949-51). For a description of this four-period system, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, 2 i, 74-234; Blachère, *Le Coran*, Paris 1966, 11-23; ḲUR'ĀN, 5.c, 416-18, which includes a critique.

The first modern attempt to classify all of the major literary types in the Ḳur'ān was made by H. Hirschfeld, in his *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, London 1902. His categories include "confirmatory, declamatory, narrative, descriptive, and legislative", along with "parables, political speeches, and passages on Muḥammad's domestic affairs". Hirschfeld surely went too far in concluding that the Meccan revelations occurred in the order of his first five categories (36, 143-5). Also, other conclusions and assumptions, along with the general tenor of his writing, are now outdated. The lasting contribution of his *New researches* is his convincing demonstration that any classification of literary types and themes within the Ḳur'ān must, with some exceptions, involve parts of sūras rather than sūras as wholes.

In her *Studien* (see *Bibl.*), A. Neuwirth classifies parts of Meccan sūras according to ten thematic types: oaths, "when" passages, other sūra beginnings, eschatological passages, lessons from history, hymnic passages, exhortations to the Prophet or to particular believers, polemic passages, affirmations of the revealed nature of the Ḳur'ān, and closing summons or closing imperatives (187-201). She concludes that, except for a few isolated cases, the middle and late Meccan sūras are "three-part compositions" similar to the three sections of the classical Arabic *ḳaṣīda*, and that by far the most common sūra type is "the revelation-confirmation-framed sura with a narrative comprising the middle part" (7). She cites as primary examples of this type sūras VII, XI, XII, XV, XVIII, XX, XXVI, and XXVII (242). While these sūras do contain stories and have references to the revelation near the beginning and end, they are far more complex than Neuwirth's presentation suggests. (For a critical review of Neuwirth's book, see A.T. Welch, in *JAOS*, ciii/4 [1983], 764-7; for examples of other classifications of literary types in the Ḳur'ān, which are not intended to be exhaustive, see Bell-Watt, 75-82, and ḲUR'ĀN, 7., at 421-5.)

One should also note Bell's view that references to the revelation, frequently to "the Book", that occur at the beginning of many sūras are parts of introductions that were added to previous, frequently Meccan, revelations when Muḥammad was preparing a scripture for his followers in the early Medinan years (see, e.g., the introductions to sūras XI and XV and the captions at the beginnings of sūras X, XII, XIV, etc., in Bell's *Translation*). Bell completed only the preliminary research for a modern critical understanding of the composition of the sūras, showing that they are far more complex than is assumed by the traditional view, which regards the sūras as unities (each revealed all at one time or completed before the next one was begun) and holds that it is possible to determine the chronological order of the sūras as wholes. It is now clear that some sūras contain units of varying length that date from different times. Others show signs of having been revised and expanded, possibly when Muḥammad recited them on later occasions or dictated them to his secretaries (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 129; Bell-Watt, 37-8). W.M. Watt presents Bell's view of "The Shaping of the

Qur'ān", including evidences of revision and reshaping of the sūras, and provides a partial critique in Bell-Watt, ch. 6. For Bell's own descriptions of the composition of the sūras, see the introductions to the sūras in his *Translation* and his *Commentary on the Qur'ān* (see *Bibl.*), the latter being the long lost "Notes" to his translation. For explanations of Bell's view of the history and compilation of the sūras, see ḲUR'ĀN, 5.c, at 417-18, and Merrill (in *Bibl.*). Indirect support for Bell's conclusions regarding the internal divisions within the sūras can be seen in A.J. Arberry's *The Koran interpreted* 2 vols., London 1955, where the sūra divisions into sections or paragraphs are frequently identical with Bell's (see, e.g., XIX, XXIV, XXV, XXVII, XXX-XL and most of the shorter sūras, LX-CXIV). Blachère also acknowledges that many sūras contain sections that are earlier or later than their present contexts (see his *Le Coran*, 1969 ed.).

3. Arrangement. The classical writers devoted considerable attention to the arrangement or order (*naẓm*) of the Ḳur'ān's words, phrases and sūras, usually in the context of discussing its inimitability (*iʿdjāz*). Among those who stressed the arrangement of the Ḳur'ān as a proof of its *iʿdjāz*, three stand out: Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 338/998), al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013), and ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078). The best known of these three, al-Bāḳillānī, devotes the majority of his famous book *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳur'ān* to *naẓm*, which he identifies as one of the three major proofs of the Ḳur'ān's divinely-inspired inimitability. The wide variety of senses he gives to *naẓm* makes it difficult, however, to determine precisely what he means by the term (a problem discussed by Bint al-Shāṭi' in her *al-Iʿdjāz al-bayānī li 'l-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1971, esp. 100). Al-Khaṭṭābī discusses *naẓm* in his *K. Bayān iʿdjāz al-Ḳur'ān*, and al-Djurdjānī in his *Dalā'il al-iʿdjāz*, the latter published several times (see *Bibl.*). These three writers employ the concept of *naẓm* in relation to the Ḳur'ān's eloquence (*balāgha*) and its various literary devices involving grammar, special word usage, and, in particular, the interrelationship (*munāsaba*) of words and phrases in the Ḳur'ān, rather than treating specifically the coherence or unity of individual sūras.

Later classical writers such as al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), al-Nīsābūrī (d. 728/1327), and al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1391) continued to stress the importance of understanding the *naẓm* of the Ḳur'ān as an essential component of its *iʿdjāz*, while extending the concept to include the relationships among verses, groups of verses within the sūras, and groups of sūras within the Ḳur'ān. This expansion of the concept of the Ḳur'ān's *naẓm* can be seen in al-Zamakhsharī's well-known commentary *al-Kashshāf* (see *Bibl.*), in which he relates the concept to the ways rhetorical devices, sentence structure, and the relationships among phrases, verses, and sūras convey complex meanings (see Darwīsh al-Djundī, *Naẓm al-Ḳur'ān fī Kashshāf al-Zamakhsharī*, Cairo 1969). Al-Rāzī is possibly the first commentator to apply the concept of *naẓm* to the whole of the Ḳur'ān, arguing that it is through its exquisite arrangement of words, phrases, and verses that the text reveals the subtlety (*laṭīfa*) of its meanings. Al-Rāzī stresses the progressive development of ideas within the sūras, showing how each verse leads to the next, and sometimes he points out similar relationships among sūras. Al-Nīsābūrī, in his *Gharā'ib al-Ḳur'ān* (see *Bibl.*), builds on al-Rāzī's approach by dividing a sūra into a number of passages and linking these passages by connecting their dominant ideas. In his *al-Burhān* (see *Bibl.*), al-Zarkashī develops al-Rāzī's approach to the *naẓm* of the Ḳur'ān further through his discussions of the interrelationships (*munāsabāt*) among verses and sūras (see, e.g., his second chapter, *Maʿrifat al-munāsabāt bayn al-āyāt*, Riyāḍ 1980, 35-52). Al-Suyūṭī's *Itḳān* contains a chapter similar to al-Zarkashī's called *Fī munāsabat al-āyāt wa 'l-suwar*, and he wrote an entire book on the order of the sūras (*Tartīb suwar al-Ḳur'ān*, Beirut 1986). These classical writers, unlike some modern commentators, provide descriptive analyses of the internal arrangement of the sūras, without attempting to develop elaborate theories that argue for the organic unity or thematic coherence of individual sūras and groups of sūras.

A number of collective names for groups of sūras occur frequently in the classical writings. Examples include *al-sabʿ al-ṭiwāl* ("the seven long ones", ranging from 300 to over 700 lines in a modern printed text): II-VII and IX; *al-mi'ūn* ("the hundreds", all sūras other than "the seven long ones" with over 100 verses): X-XII, XVI-XVIII, XX, XXI, XXIII, XXVI, and XXXVII; *al-musabbiḥāt* (those that begin with the formula "All that is in the heavens and the earth glorify God", beginning with *sabbaḥa li-llāh* or *yusabbiḥu li-llāh*): LVII, LIX, LXI, LXII, and LXIV; *al-ḥawāmīm* or *al-ḥawāmīmāt* (those that begin with the initials *ḥā-mīm*): XL-XLVI; *al-ṭawāsīn* (those that begin with the letters *ṭa-sīn*): XXVI-XXVIII; *al-ḳalāḳil* (those that begin with *ḳul*, "Say:"): LXXII, CIX, and CXII-CXIV; and *al-muʿawwidhatān* ("the two [sūras] for seeking refuge [with God from Satan]"): CXIII-CXIV (mentioned above). These are purely descriptive names, unlike the sūra pairs and sūra groups proposed by al-Farāhī and Iṣlāḥī, discussed below.

The commonly held and frequently repeated view that the sūras are arranged in the order of their length, from the longest to the shortest, is misleading, since over half of the sūras are significantly out of the order in which they would occur if descending length were the sole criterion (see Bell-Watt, 206-12). Other conspicuous and equally important criteria involve groups of sūras—such as the *ḥawāmīmāt*, the *ṭawāsīn*, and the group of short, Medinan sūras, LVII-LXIV, that include the *musabbiḥāt* (see above)—that appear together despite their widely varying lengths. Regarding the order of the sūras within the Ḳur'ān, see ḲUR'ĀN, 4.a, at 410a.

4. Unity and coherence. The idea of viewing the sūras as organic unities is not entirely a modern innovation. Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388) wrote, "No matter how many subjects the sūra deals with, it is a single discourse; the end is linked to the beginning, and the beginning is linked to the end, and the whole is devoted to a single aim" (quoted in K. Zebiri, *Maḥmūd Shaltūt and Islamic modernism*, Oxford 1993, 143). Still, it has only been in modern times that scholars have devoted special attention to arguments supporting the structural unity and thematic "coherence" of individual sūras. The Indian Ḳur'ān commentator Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī (d. 1943), whose *Tafsīr* was first published in 1908, was one of the first scholars of the modern age to emphasise the organic unity of the sūras. This same emphasis can be seen in M. ʿAbduh and M. Rashīd Riḍā's *Tafsīr al-manār* (see *Bibl.*), especially at the end of the commentary on each sūra where its subject matter is summarised. The concept of the unity of the sūra is prominent in Sayyid Ḳuṭb's commentary *Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳur'ān* (Cairo and Beirut, several eds.), in which he frequently refers to the central theme or aim of a sūra, often called its *ẓill* (metaphorically signifying its purpose or overall character)

or *miḥwar* (core or axis), which unites its various sections into a harmonious whole. Maḥmūd Shaltūt also takes for granted throughout his *Tafsīr* (see *Bibl.*) that the sūras are coherent, well-ordered structures, each being a perfectly balanced whole (Zebiri, *op. cit.*, esp. 152-5, 171-5).

Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Farāhī (d. 1930) and Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (b. 1906) made the unity and coherence of the sūras the primary principle of their interpretations of the Ḳur'ān. In his *Dalā'il al-niẓām*, A'ẓamgaṙh 1968 al-Farāhī begins by re-defining the key term *naẓm* (or *niẓām*) to mean coherence, rather than simply order or arrangement. Every sūra is said to possess this coherence, which consists of three essential elements, order (*tartīb*), proportion (*tanāsub*), and unity (*waḥdāniyya*). Each sūra also has a central theme, called *'amūd*, around which the entire sūra revolves. Iṣlāḥī adopted al-Farāhī's ideas and developed them further in his eight-volume commentary, *Tadabbur-i Ḳur'ān*, Lahore 1967-80, in which he also asserts that most of the Ḳur'ān consists of "sūra pairs" (II & III, VI & VII, X & XI, XII & XIII, XVI & XVII, XVIII & XIX, XX & XXI, XXII & XXIII, etc.) that have closely related central themes. These pairs are then said to constitute seven "sūra groups". Iṣlāḥī found support for his innovative theory in the Ḳur'ān by interpreting the much-debated expression *sab'an min al-mathānī* in XV, 87 (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 114-16; Bell-Watt, 134-5) to mean "seven (groups) of the (sūra) pairs", and in the *Ḥadīth* by interpreting the expression *sab'at aḥruf* (which can be taken to refer to the seven readings of the Ḳur'ān, though most *ḳurrā'* deny this; see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 48-51; Bell-Watt, 48-9) as referring to his seven sūra groups. For further explanation and a critique of the theories of al-Farāhī and Iṣlāḥī, see M. Mir, *Coherence in the Qur'ān*, and *The sūra as a unity*, in *Bibl.*). It is unlikely that these imaginative theories will be widely accepted.

The subjectivity of these and other modern attempts to demonstrate the unity of the sūras is seen in the fact that various writers, including al-Farāhī and Iṣlāḥī, identify different central themes for the same sūra. This is only to be expected, since the majority of the sūras treat several disparate topics. This new emphasis on the unity of the sūra was inspired partly by a reaction to the verse-by-verse approach of the classical commentators, which often stressed grammatical and linguistic details and yielded little insight into the larger themes of the sūras, and partly by a reaction to Western criticisms of the Ḳur'ān as being disjointed, repetitious and contradictory.

An equally elaborate and imaginative theory that purports to demonstrate the unity of the sūras has been developed by Neuwirth in her *Studien*. She quotes Bell-Watt, 73, "... many sūras of the Qur'ān fall into short sections or paragraphs. These are not of fixed length, however, nor do they seem to follow any pattern of length. Their length is determined not by any consideration of form but by the subject or incident treated in each" (175), and then states that it is the goal of her book to disprove this view of the structure of the suras. One major thesis of her book is that the Meccan sūras consist of groups of verses that are arranged in numerical patterns, often in balanced proportions, e.g., 5 + 9//6 + 6 + 6//9 + 5 in LXXIX, 6 + 5 + 5 + 6 in LXXXV, 4 + 6 + 6 + 4 in XC, and 24//20 + 20//24 in the medium-length XLIII. Most sūras are not said to consist of such perfectly balanced groups of verses, but she sees definite numerical patterns in all of them (175-321). One problem is that her balanced proportions are often based on changes which she makes in the traditional verse divisions in her ch. 1 (14-63). For this and several other reasons, her argument (314-15) that these numerical patterns show that the Meccan sūras are unities going back to the time they were first recited by Muḥammad is not convincing (see Welch review, *loc. cit.*, 766). The modern critical view of the structure of the sūras presented in Bell-Watt (73, 86-101) remains essentially intact. For a concise summary of the current critical view of the development and composition of the sūras during Muḥammad's lifetime, see ḲUR'ĀN, concluding paragraph of 5.c, at 418b-19. This view regards the sūras as composite in nature, with significant components from both the Meccan and Medinan periods. It thus rejects any attempt to date and arrange the sūras as wholes, including the traditional division into "Meccan" and "Medinan" sūras, as well as the modern western arrangement of the sūras into four periods, three Meccan and one Medinan.

Questions regarding the composition, unity, and coherence of the sūras are among the most disputed issues in modern Ḳur'ān studies. These differences of opinion, however, often stem from varying assumptions and approaches—theological, historical, literary, etc. Some approaches, literary as well as theological, are synchronic, assuming the unity of the present sūras and of the Ḳur'ān as a whole. Other approaches, linguistic as well as historical, are diachronic, seeking to trace the development of the language and teachings of the Ḳur'ān during Muḥammad's lifetime. Studies based on this diachronic approach have led to the conclusion that the sūras were fluid during Muḥammad's lifetime, that he recited parts of some sūras differently on later occasions in response to the changing needs of his followers, and that the compilers of the Ḳur'ān after his death were loathe to omit any attested revelations and thus placed alternative passages together. This view is not inconsistent with some early Muslim traditions (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 129, 131) and with the Ḳur'ān itself (II, 106, XIII, 39, XVI, 101, etc.). Amīn al-Khūlī, in his *Manāhidj tadjdīd* (see *Bibl.*), and M. Arkoun, in his *Lectures du Coran*, [2]Tunis 1991, have called for the application of modern historical and literary studies of the Ḳur'ān. Such studies would follow in the tradition of the classical commentators, who applied the literary and linguistic methods of their times. Studies that yield strong evidence that the sūras underwent revision and expansion need not be rejected as undermining belief in the divine origin of the sūras. Nor is this diachronic approach antithetical to synchronic studies. The two approaches to analysis of the sūras can, and some would say should, exist side-by-side within a single modern discipline of Ḳur'ān studies.

The art. ḲUR'ĀN treats other aspects of the sūras: their names (at 410), their rhymes and rhyme formulas (at 420), the formula called the *basmala* that precedes them (at 411-12), and the so-called "mysterious letters" that occur at the beginning of 29 of the 114 sūras (at 412-14).

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(A.T. Welch)

ṢŪRA (a.), image, form, shape, e.g. *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, "the image of the earth", *ṣūrat ḥimār*, "the form of an ass" (Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 115), or face, countenance (see below). *Taṣāwīr* are rather pictures; see for these, taṣwīr. *Ṣūra* and *taṣwīra* are therefore in the same relation to one another as the Hebrew *demūt* and *ṣelem*.

1. In theological and legal doctrine. The Biblical idea according to which man was created in God's *ṣelem* (Gen. i. 27) has most probably passed into Ḥadīth. It occurs in three passages in classical *Ḥadīth*; the exegesis is uncertain and in general unwilling to adopt interpretations such as Christian theology has always readily associated with this Biblical passage. In al-Bukhārī, *Istiʾdhān*, *bāb* I (cf. Muslim, *Djanna*, trad. 28) it is said "God created man after (*ʿalā*) his *ṣūra*: his length was 60 ells". On this, al-Ḳasṭallāni (ix, 144) says: "the suffix 'his' refers to Adam; the meaning therefore is that God created Adam according to his, i.e. Adam's form, that is, perfect and well-proportioned" (see also *LʿA*[1], vi, 143-4). But there are also other explanations. Another tradition says: "One should not say 'May God make thy face hateful and the faces of those who are like thee', for God created Adam after his *ṣūra*". In this tradition, the possessive pronoun obviously refers to the person addressed. Others say that the possessive pronoun refers to God, for in one version the tradition runs: "God created Ādam in the shape of al-Raḥmān", i.e. as regards his qualities, knowledge, life, hearing, sight, etc., although God's qualities are incomparable. The theologians are divided into two groups on the exposition of this tradition; the one refrains from any interpretation through dread of anthropomorphism, whilst the other explains the expression as an indication of Adam's beauty and perfection, an *iḍāfat takrīm wa-tashrīf* (like *nāḳat Allāh*, *Bayt Allāh* says al-Nawawī, see below).

The second passage in which the tradition occurs is Muslim, *Birr*, trad. 115: "If a man fights with his brother, he ought to spare his face, for God created man after his *ṣūra*". Al-Nawawī's commentary on this tradition coincides in part with the already-quoted section in al-Ḳasṭallānī. We need only quote the following here: al-Māzarī says, "Ibn Ḳutayba has interpreted this tradition wrongly by taking it literally". He says, "God has a *ṣūra*, but not like other *ṣuwar*". This interpretation is obviously wrong, for the conception *ṣūra* involves putting together, and what is put together is created (*muḥdath*); but God is not created, therefore is not composed, therefore he is not *muṣawwar*. Ibn Ḳutayba's interpretation is like that of the anthropomorphists, who say, "God has a body, but not like other bodies". They quote in support the orthodox pronouncement "The Creator is a thing (*shayʾ*), but not like other things". "This is, however, reasoning by false analogy, for *shayʾ* does not involve the conception of coming into existence (*ḥudūth*) and what is associated with it. Body and *ṣūra*, on the other hand, involve joining together and composition and therefore also *ḥudūth*", etc.

We have further to deal with the concept *ṣūra* in connection with the prohibition of images, which, in so far as it is known in the West, is traced to the Ḳurʾān, like most Muslim institutions. Although this idea is one of the numerous popular errors about Islam, it cannot be denied that the prohibition of images is based on a view which finds expression in the Ḳurʾān. In Ḳurʾānic linguistic usage, *ṣawwara* "to fashion" or "form" is synonymous with *baraʾa* "to create". Hence sūra VII, 10, "and We have created you, then We have fashioned you, then We have said to the angels, etc.". III, 4: "It is he who forms you in the mother's womb as he will". XL, 66: "It is God who has made the earth for a home for you and the heavens for a vault above you, shaped you and formed you beautiful" (cf. LXIV, 3). In LIX, 24, God is called *al-khāliḳ*, *al-bāriʾ* and *al-muṣawwir*, i.e., according to al-Bayḍāwī, "He who takes the resolution to create things according to His wisdom, who creates them without error, who calls their forms and qualities into existence, according to His will".

This linguistic usage shows complete synonymity between the concepts "to fashion, to shape", and "to make, to create". In the older Hebrew literature also, Yahweh as creator is called *Yoṣer*, i.e. the potter. The roots *ṣ-w-r* and *y-ṣ-r* are ultimately connected.

If, then, God according to the Ḳurʾān is the great fashioner, it follows in *Ḥadīth* that all human fashioners are imitators of God and as such deserving of punishment: "Whosoever makes an image, him will God give as a punishment the task of blowing the breath of life into it; but he will not able to do this" (al-Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 104; Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 100). "Those who make these pictures will be punished on the Day of Judgment by being told, Make alive what you have created" (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, *bāb* 56). "These whom God will punish most severely on the Day of Judgment are those who imitate God's work of creation" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 36). Such are called the worst of creatures (al-Nasāʾī, *Masādjid*, *bāb* 13), cursed by Muḥammad (al-Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 25), compared to polytheists (al-Tirmidhī, *Djahannam*, *bāb* 1). Houses which contain images, dogs and ritually impure people are avoided by the angels of mercy (al-Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-khalḳ*, *bāb* 17, etc.). The latter statement is illuminated by the story of how ʿĀʾisha once purchased a cushion (*numruḳa*) on which were pictures; when Muḥammad saw it from outside the house, he stood at the door without coming in. When ʿĀʾisha saw repugnance expressed on his countenance, she said, "O Messenger of God, I turn full of penitence to God and His Messenger, but what law have I bro-

ken?" He replied, "What is the meaning of this cushion?" She said, "I purchased it for thee to sit upon and use as a cushion". Then the Messenger of God answered, "The makers of these images will be punished, and they will be told, Make alive what you have created". And further, he said, "A house which contains images is not entered by the angels" (Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 96; cf. 85, 87, 91-9; al-Bukhārī *Libās*, *bāb* 92; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 172). Muḥammad is said to have removed the images and statues from the Kaʿba (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 48). There are also references to this in the *Sīra*. Here we need only quote one more remarkable tradition, which has some resemblance to the St. Christopher legend. ʿAlī relates, "I and the Prophet walked till we came to the Kaʿba. Then the Prophet of God said to me, 'Sit down'. Then he stood on my shoulders and I arose. But when he saw that I could not support him, he came down, sat down and said, 'Stand on my shoulders'. Then I climbed on his shoulders and he stood up, and it seemed to me as if I could have touched the sky, had I wished. Then I climbed on the roof of the Kaʿba, on which there was an image of copper and iron. Then I began to loosen it at its right and left side, in front and behind, until it was in my power. Then the Prophet of God called to me, 'Throw it down'! Then I threw it down so that it broke into pieces like a bottle. I then climbed down from the Kaʿba and hurried away with the Prophet, till we hid ourselves in the houses for fear some one might meet us" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 84; cf. 151).

According to the *Sharīʿa*, it is forbidden to copy living beings, those that have a *rūḥ*. Al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to *Libās*, trad. 81 (Cairo 1283, iv, 443) gives the following summary: The learned men of our school and other *ʿulamāʾ* say: The copying of living beings is strictly forbidden and is one of the great sins, because it is threatened with the severe punishment mentioned in the traditions. It does not matter whether the maker has made the copies from things used in little esteem or from other things, for the making of them is in itself *ḥarām*, because it is an imitation of God's creative activity. From this point of view, it makes no difference whether the image is put upon a piece of cloth, carpet, coin, vessel or wall, etc.

The copying of trees, camel-saddles, and other things apart from living creatures is not forbidden. Thus far the legal prescriptions affecting the copying itself.

As regards the use of articles which have on them images of living creatures, if these are hung on a wall or are on a garment which is worn, or on a turban or other article which is not treated lightly, they are *ḥarām*. If the reproductions, however, are on carpets which are walked upon, on cushions and pillows, etc., which are in use, they are not *ḥarām*. Whether the angels of mercy avoid houses which contain such articles will be discussed immediately, if God wills.

In all these cases, it makes no difference whether the reproductions have a shadow or not. Some of the older jurists say: Only what has a shadow is forbidden; there are no objections to other reproductions. But this is an erroneous view. For the reproduction on the curtain was condemned by the Prophet, and it certainly had no shadow. The other traditions should be remembered which forbid all images of whatever nature.

Al-Zuhrī says: Images are without exception forbidden, as well as the use of articles on which there are images or the entering of a house in which there are images, whether embroidered on a cloth or not embroidered, whether they are put on a wall, on a cloth or carpet, to be trodden upon or not, on the authority of the literal interpretation of the tradition about the *numruḳa* (pillow) which Muslim records (see above). This is a very strict point of view. Others say: What is embroidered on a piece of cloth, whether for lowly use or not, whether hung on a wall or not, is permitted. They regard as *makrūh* images which have shadows, or reproductions on walls, whether embroidered or not. They rely for this view on Muḥammad's words in several traditions in the *Bāb* concerned: "except what is embroidered on cloth". This is the attitude of Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad.

The consensus or *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*] forbids all representations which have shadows and declares their defacement *wādjib*. The Ḳāḍī (ʿIyāḍ) says: "Apart from little girls playing with dolls and the permission for this". Mālik, however, declares it *makrūh* for a man to buy his daughter a doll. And some say that the permission to play with dolls was abolished by the traditions (447-8). These traditions lay it down without any ambiguity that the representation of living creatures is strictly forbidden. As regards representations of trees and such-like without a *rūḥ*, neither their making nor purchase is thereby forbidden. Fruit trees in this respect are the same as other trees. This is the view of all the *ʿulamāʾ* except Mudjāhid [*q.v.*], who considers the representation of fruit-trees *makrūh*. The Ḳāḍī (ʿIyāḍ) says: Mudjāhid is alone in this view. He relies on the tradition, "Who is more unrighteous, than he who imitates my creation?" (Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 101; al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, *bāb* 56), while all the others quote the tradition, "Then it shall be said to them, put life (*aḥyū*) into that which ye have made," for *aḥyū* means, make living creatures (*ḥayawān*) with a *rūḥ*. Thus far al-Nawawī.

In spite of the opinions of theologians and jurists, breaches are not rare, as in the case of the prohibition of wine; as, e.g., the frescoes in the bath-house of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra [see ARCHITECTURE], the miniatures in Persian and Turkish manuscripts [see TAṢWĪR. 1] and the postage stamps of the great majority of Islamic countries [see POSTA]. There have even been pictures of Muḥammad in recent times. But this does not affect the fact that, among Muslim peoples, there has been neither painting nor sculpture to any considerable extent. Arabesques and calligraphy [see ARABESQUE and KHAṬṬ] may be regarded as a substitute for it.

Objections were for long made to photography (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, 432-3); now these seem, in certain circles at least, no longer to be so strong or even to have been quite overcome. In the Museum of al-Dawḥa in Ḳaṭar, one may see, in one of the rooms, rows of photographs of celebrated members of the ruling family, despite the fact that this is Wahhābī. In Cairo there appeared early an illustrated weekly *al-Muṣawwar*, produced entirely on western lines, and illustrated magazines and journals are now general in the Islamic world. This does not, however, mean that the old opinions have entirely disappeared. Chauvin gave examples of the horror of being photographed [see TAṢWĪR. 2.], examples which still have their counterparts in the modern western world. Here too we find people objecting to being photographed because they feel as if something were being stolen from their persons or spirits.

We also find the second commandment quoted literally in the West against pictures, although the usual interpretation regards it only as prohibiting the worship of idols. It may be asked whether the Muslim interdiction of images was influenced by the Jewish

interpretation of the second commandment. From the literature (Flavius Josephus) on the one hand, and the coins on the other, it is evident that the Jewish extension of the prohibition of images was exactly the same as the Muslim: no living creatures, only plants and other objects. On the one hand, we may assume Jewish influence on the Muslim prohibition of images, on the other hand recognise that the foundations for this transference can already be found in the Ḳur'an. The Biblical idea of the creation of man by the making of an image and breathing the breath of life into it as found in the story of the Creation is also found in the Ḳur'an (XV, 29; XXXVIII, 72), and it is this very idea which has had great influence on traditions and legal literature.

To the information from Tradition, some items of historical information may be added.

When the Meccans rebuilt the Kaʿba after it had been damaged by a fire, they painted on its pillars pictures (*ṣuwar*) of the prophets, trees and angels. Amongst these pictures, there were ones of Abraham, the Friend of God, in the shape of an elderly man drawing out the divinatory arrows [see ISTIḲSĀM], and ones of Jesus the son of Mary and his mother. On the day of the conquest of Mecca (the *Fatḥ*), the Prophet went into the Kaʿba, ordered a garment (*thawb*) to be brought, dipped it in the waters of Zamzam and commanded that all the pictures should be rubbed out except for that of Jesus and his mother, which he covered with his two hands, saying at the same time, "Rub out all the pictures apart from the ones which I am covering with my hands!". Then, raising his eyes, he saw the picture of Abraham and said, "May God cause them to perish! They have represented him as drawing out the divinatory arrows. What has Abraham to do with arrows?" (al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 111). ʿAṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ relates that he saw in the Kaʿba a picture of Mary painted (*muzawwaḳ*) on the pillar at the building's entrance (*ibid.*, 111-12).

There are two items of information concerning the Prophet's revulsion at the sight of any kind of picture or image. Al-Ṭabarī, i, 1788, related that the Messenger of God had a shield (*turs*) with the head of a ram carved on it. He disliked this intensely. Hence one day, God made it disappear. Ibn Saʿd records via ʿĀ'isha a conversation which took place between the Prophet's wives, who had gathered round him when he was ill. They were speaking about a church in Abyssinia, dedicating to Mary, whilst admiring its beauty and its images (one should note that Umm Salama and Umm Ḥabība had been in Abyssinia with the first group of Muḥammad's followers who emigrated thither). The Prophet interrupted them and said, "Those people erect on the tomb of one of the just persons amongst them an oratory (*masdjid*), then they paint these kind of pictures. Such people are the worst of creation" (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/2, 34).

Paintings were to be found in houses. One text leads us to think that they had a propitiatory effect. ʿAbd Allāh (or ʿUbayd Allāh, both of these being sons of Ziyād b. Abīhi) had a dog, a lion and a ram painted in the entrance porch (*dihlīz*), and said, "A dog which barks, a ram which buts with its horns and a grim and menacing lion" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 147).

Another story, arising out of the legend of al-Zabbā' (Zenobia) makes one think of a usage current within social relations. This queen sent a skilful painter to make for her a portrait of her enemy ʿAmr b. ʿAdī (al-Ṭabarī, i, 762 ff.). A similar tale is told about Muḥammad, to whom Kisrā is said to have sent a painter in order to make a portrait for himself (al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii, 177; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iii, cited in Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 471-2).

Finally, I. Goldziher (*Zum islamischen Bilderverbot*, in *ZDMG*, lxxiv [1920], 288) drew attention to Ḳur'ān, V, 110, where it is said that God gave Jesus the power of forming (*khalaḳa*) out of mud the figure of a bird, into which he was able to breathe (*nafakha*) life. This verse must have been the departure point for theological discussions which took place over the question of images in Islam.

The question of the licitness or otherwise of the representation of living forms has recently been considered by historians of Islamic art, endeavouring to go beyond the blanket assertion in many textbooks that Islam was theologically and legally opposed to all such representation. A useful discussion is to be found in Oleg Grabar's ch. "Islamic attitudes towards the arts" in his *The formation of Islamic art*, New Haven and London 1973, 75-103. He examines the exiguous Ḳur'ānic references as a document for the arts, finding nothing comparable to the categorical message of Exod. xx. 4 "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven images or any likenesses of anything that is in heaven or that is in earth beneath or is in the waters under the earth", but notes that the early Islamic attitudes, as developed in *Ḥadīth*, clashed with authentic information about the presence of beautiful objects with figures—mainly textiles and metalwork—in the Prophet's immediate environment, so that some adjustment and amelioration of a blanket prohibition was evolved in Tradition. Grabar sees a possible explanation of the whole question in the initial confused attitude of awe and admiration on the one hand, and contempt and jealousy on the other, towards the art and architecture of the Byzantine and Eastern Christian worlds, which passed to downright hostility towards representation of living things, conceivably in part under the influence of Judaic thought and arguments, but primarily as a reaction to, and a need for differentiation from, the overwhelming impact of the sophisticated system of Christian art, so that Islam could preserve it own unique quality. Islamic iconophobia seems also to reflect a fear of the magical, potentially evil power of images as deception, an attitude deeply embedded in the folk culture of the Middle East.

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of *ḥadīth* and legal texts, see R. Paret, *Textbelege zum islamischen Bilderverbot*, in *Das Werk des Künstlers. Studien H. Schrade dargebracht*, Stuttgart 1960, 36-48; idem, *Das islamische Bilderverbot und die Schia*, in E. Gräf (ed.), *Festschrift Werner Caskel*, Leiden 1968, 224-32.

(A.J. Wensinck-[T. Fahd])

2. In philosophy. For *ṣūra* as εἶδος, form, see hayūlā.

SURĀḲA b. **MIRDĀS** al-**AṢGHAR**, Umayyad poet and contemporary of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*], a member of the Yemeni tribe of Bāriḳ, of the Azd [*q.v.*], and one of three poets to bear the name Surāḳa b. Mirdās (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 327).

Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī did not devote an entry to him in the *Aghānī*, although al-Ṭabarī mentions him often enough in his *Ta'rīkh*, because of the at times prominent role which Surāḳa played in the politics of his day; Surāḳa also, apparently at the instigation of Bishr b. Marwān [*q.v.*], participated in the public haranguing matches between Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, lending his support to the latter. Various anecdotes connect him with the opposition to al-Mukhtār al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*], who had him imprisoned and then released upon Surāḳa's composition of a panegyrical *i'tidhār* (a *nūniyya*), with involvement with Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in Basra, and with membership of the court circle of Bishr b. Marwān, to whom he dedicated a panegyric (a *bā'iyya*). Surāḳa's *dīwān* also contains a *marthiya* [*q.v.*] in honour of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf (a *rā'iyya*). His death is fixed to the year 80/699. Surāḳa's extant poetry belongs predominantly to the genres of *hidjā'* and *rithā'* with some *madīḥ* and distinctive *fakhr* espousing a pan-Yemeni fervour. It also contains a superlative horse description (a *bā'iyya*) and a fine poetic manifesto of sixteen lines, verses 57-72 of a bipartite *fakhr* (a *lāmiyya*), in which the poet awards poetical pre-eminence to himself over his non-Yemeni predecessors.

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(J.E. Montgomery)

SURAKARTA, a city in Central Java, Indonesia, pop. 511, 585 (1988), formerly also the name of a Javanese kingdom.

Originally, the whole area was part of the kingdom of Mataram, with its capitals Yogyakarta (since 1582) and Kartasura (since 1677/80), in which Islam was accepted as official religion, but with both Hindu-Javanese and Javanese-monistic traditions functioning as well as ideology legitimating the rule of the dynasty. After a rebellion against the strong economic and political influence of the Dutch United East India Company (VOC), which originated in Batavia during a confrontation between the Dutch and Chinese traders who were subsequently massacred, and which soon spread to Central Java, the ruler of Mataram, Paku Buwono II, decided to abandon his *kraton* (palace) in Kartasura and established a new one in a village named Sala (Solo, in Javanese pronunciation), some 12 km/7 miles to the east and close to the river Bengawan Solo, renaming it Surakarta and taking his residence there in 1745. He was forced by the VOC to lease to them vast areas on the coasts and some in the interior of the island as well.

When Paku Buwono II died in 1749, the Dutch declared the crown prince as *susuhunan* (ruler), as Paku Buwono III. In Yogyakarta, however, a younger brother and long-time rival to Paku Buwono II and uncompromising opponent to the treaty with the Dutch, Mangku Bumi III, was declared king by his followers. In 1755 he adopted again the title of *sulṭān*, once held by Agung, the greatest ruler of Mataram (1613-46), by a special act of conferment from Mecca, and as Hamengkubuwono I he became the ancestor of the formally still ruling dynasty of (Nga) Yogyakarta Hadiningrat, with its present Sultan Hamengkubuwono X (since 1988). Thus in 1755 the unity of Mataram came to its end, and was replaced by two rival kingdoms: the *Kasunanan* Surakarta Hadiningrat, and the Kasultanan (Nga) Yogyakarta Hadiningrat. Both, however, experienced a further partition: to the still rebellious Raden Mas Said, younger brother of Paku Buwono II, some areas of the Surakarta kingdom had to be ceded where, since 1757, he and his descendants ruled as Mangku Negara, their palace being also in Surakarta, while the British, in 1812, handed over some districts of the Yogyakarta sultanate to the Paku Alam.

The influence of Islam was much less apparent in Surakarta court culture than, e.g., in Yogyakarta. The hereditary title of the ruler, Paku Buwono, means "nail of the universe" and points to his cosmic position. Priority was given to what was thought to be the authentic Javanese traditions in art, dance, gamelan music, court etiquette, batik weaving, etc., expressing the cosmic harmony. Literary life flourished with Pangeran (prince) Ranggawarsita (1802-73), who combined Javanese and Islamic mystical traditions in his philosophy.

After 1830, Dutch rule over the Javanese principalities, including Surakarta, was formally indirect, using the *susuhunan* as highest local authority, to whom also the appanage of the leased territories had regularly to be handed over. In 1905, Javanese Muslim Batik traders in Surakarta founded the *Serikat Dagang Islam* ("Islamic Trading Company") against the growing competition of Chinese Batik traders who were obviously supported by the court. After a reshuffle in 1911, it developed, as "*(Partai) Sarekat Islam (Indonesia)*", into the most influential nationalist organisation during the two decades to come [see sarekat islam]. Great poverty and social unrest made the area of the *kasunanan* and its eastern neighbourhood a focus for Communist agitation.

After World War II and the end of colonialism in Indonesia, the young Paku Buwono XII, who had been enthroned just a few weeks before the declaration of the independent Republic of Indonesia (on 17 August 1945), tried to maintain his sovereignty, albeit now under the umbrella of the Republic, by declaring his kingdom to be an "extraordinary region" (*daerah istimewa*) ruled by him, the *susuhunan*. Growing security problems caused by the Communists, the alleged lack of sufficient support to the republican defenders of independence against the returning Dutch (after 1946), and a general dislike of the feudal image of the *kraton*, resulted in the gradual reduction of the *susuhunan*'s authority to the area of his palace, while in 1950, the city and territory of the former kingdom, together with that of the Mangku Negara, were included in the province of Central Java, Surakarta maintaining only the status of a capital city of a residency (*kabupaten*). Nevertheless, it is still considered as a dominant centre of Javanese traditional culture, to which some institutions of higher education have been added.

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(C.C. BERG-[O. SCHUMANN])

SŪRAT, a city and port of western India, on the south bank of the Tāptī and some 16 km/10 miles upstream from where the river debouches into the Gulf of Cambay (lat. 21° 10' N., long 72° 54' E.). The geographer Ptolemy (A.D. 150), speaks of the trade of Pulipula, perhaps Phulpāda, the sacred part of Sūrat city. Early references to Sūrat by Muslim historians must be scrutinised, owing to the confusion of the name with Sorath (Saurāshtra), but in 774/1373 Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk III built a fort to protect the place against the Bhīls. The foundation of the modern city is traditionally assigned to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when its prosperity was restored by Gopī, a rich Hindū merchant, and in 1514 it was already an important seaport. The Portuguese burnt the town in 1512, 1530, and 1531, and the present fort was founded in 947/1540 by Khudāwand Khān, a Turkish officer in the service of Maḥmūd III of Gudjarāt. In 980/1572 it fell into the hands of the Mīrzās, then in rebellion against the Mughal Emperor Akbar, who besieged and took the place in the following year. It was plundered in 1018/1609 by Malik ʿAmbar [*q.v.*], the Ḥabashī *wazīr* of the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar [*q.vv.*], but on the whole, for 160 years Sūrat enjoyed peace and prosperity under Mughal rule, and at its peak in the mid-17th century, may have had a population of *ca.* 200,000; it was known as "the Gate of Mecca" and "the Blessed Port" from its being the point of departure for Pilgrims to Arabia. An English ship first arrived at "Swally Hole" (Suwālī) the anchorage near the mouth of the Tāptī, in 1608, but the English encountered great difficulty in founding a factory, owing to the hostility of the Portuguese. They succeeded, and their position was secured by the treaty brought back from Djahāngīr at Agra by Sir Thomas Roe in 1618. The Dutch East India Company likewise secured a factory at Sūrat at the same time, their principal one in India, and there was also a French factory opened in 1667. The principal articles of trade at this time were silks and cotton textiles exported to Europe.

There was growing insecurity in the later part of Awrangzīb's reign. The Marāthā [*q.v.*] leader Śivādjī plundered the city in 1664, but was not able to touch the English and Dutch factories. Sūrat suffered a certain decline from the English East India Company's decision in 1687 to transfer the seat of its trading operations on the west coast of India to Bombay, and the Dutch became leading traders there. Marāthā raids became almost an annual occurrence. In 1733 the nominal Mughal governor Tēg Bakht Khān declared his independence, and his family held the city till 1759 when a British expedition from Bombay, with Marāthā compliance, took over Sūrat, the local Nawwābs continuing as nominal rulers till 1800, when it was formally incorporated into the Bombay Presidency.

In 1844 Sūrat, at the time economically depressed through the rise of Bombay, was shaken by large-scale riots against the Bombay Government's imposition of a new tax on salt to compensate for its losses through abolition of transit dues on manufactured goods; the new tax fell heavily on poor fishermen who salted their catches. However, the rise in cotton prices during the American Civil War benefitted the city, and it began to recover from its depressed state with the coming of railways. It is now the administrative centre of a District of the same name in the Gujarat State of the Indian Union, with a population in 1971 of 470,000.

Monuments include the mosque built by Khudāwand Khān (947/1540) and that of Sayyid Djaʿfar ʿAydarūs (1049/1639 [see ʿAYDARUS. no. 8]. The present population is mainly Hindu, but there is a significant Parsee community, with fire temples, and the Muslims include a significant community of the Bohorā Ismāʿīlīs. The head of the Dāʾūdī branch of the Bohorās, called the *Dāʿī al-Muṭlak* or *Mullādjī Ṣāḥib*, has his headquarters in Sūrat although he normally resides in Bombay [see BOHORĀS].

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(T.W. HAIG-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

ṢŪRAT AL-ARḌ (A.), lit. "the form or shape of the earth", the term serving as the title for two early Islamic geographical works covering the world as it was then known, that of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khʷārazmī (d. *ca.* 232/847 [*q.v.*]) and that of Ibn Ḥawkal (d. after 362/973 [*q.v.*]). See further DJUGHRĀFIYĀ.

AL-SURAYDJIYYA, AL-MASʾALA, "the question of [Ibn] Suraydj", a term in the Islamic law on divorce. The jurists term this one of the formulae of the "conditional divorce" (*al-ṭalāk al-muʿallak ʿalā shart*), a type of divorce admitted by the majority of jurists and consisting of the husband addressing his wife with a formula of the kind "If you go into this house, you are divorced". In most of the *fikh* treatises, extended developments of a casuistic nature are devoted to the different forms of this type of divorce, forms distinguished from each other by the particular conditional particle used (*man, in, idhā, matā*, etc.) in the formula of divorce or by the terms of the condition evoked.

The *masʾala suraydjiyya* envisages the case of a divorce formula in the following terms: "When I divorce you, you will have already been divorced, before this divorce, three times" (*matā ṭallaktuki fa-anti ṭāliḳ*[un] *ḳablahu thalāth*[an]). Different jurists, including the Shāfiʿī Ibn Suraydj (d. 306/918 [*q.v.*])—after whom this question is named—considered that a formula like this remained invalid (i.e. realisation of the condition did not entail that of that which was made conditional), since, they said, "affirmation of a divorce leads to its negation". There is a "circular argument" (*dawr*) here, as al-Subkī notes, because in this case, when a husband divorces his spouse, one must consider whether this act is already a third one (hence irrevocable), and if one considers that the woman is already divorced in that fashion, the *ṭalāk* pronounced (or the realisation of the condition) lacks any object and cannot therefore have the effect of provoking a threefold divorce. Certain jurists held that a simple (not threefold) divorce resulted, whilst others, that a threefold divorce depended entirely on this form of conditional divorce.

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SÜRGÜN [see Suppl.].

ṢURRA (a.) lit. "purse", a sealed purse containing coins. In this meaning it is found in early Arabic papyri. It stands for the late Roman *sacculum signatum* or greek *follis* (see Hendy). The *ṣurra* was used for monetary transactions. Purses with a defined amount of money were sealed, because coins usually differ in weight (see Goitein).

In 9th/15th century Mamlūk Egypt, *ṣurra* is used for a purse of money distributed as a gift by the ruler. Ibn Iyās mentions foremost the purses annually given to the *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ* as well as the gifts given to the Sharīf of Mecca on the occasion of the *Ḥadjdj*. Before this period, the general terms *inʿām* [*q.v.*] or *ṣadaḳāt* were applied for those gifts.

After 922/1516 the Ottoman sultan became the protector of the Holy Cities. *Ṣurra* developed into a financial and administrative term (Tkish. *sürre*). It defined all expenses of the Pilgrimage caravan, payments to the Bedouin tribes for its safe-conduct, payments to the Sharīf in Mecca, as well as payments to the people connected with the services in religious institutions in Mecca and Medina, and later in Jerusalem too (see Shaw). From the 19th century, several descriptions of the connected office of the *amīn al-ṣurra* by *amīrs* of the Pilgrimage and European travellers are known (see Peters, Stratkötter, Landau).

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SŪRS or Sūrī dynasty, a line of Dihlī Sultans (947-62/1540-55) founded by the Afghān commander Shīr Shāh Sūr b. Miyān Ḥasan [*q.v.*], who had been in the service of the preceeding Lōdī sultans [*q.v.*]. This brief Indian dynasty's period of rule spanned the interval between the first reign of the Mughal Humāyūn [*q.v.*] (937-47/1530-40) and his second reign and the final consolidation of Mughal rule (962/1555).

From a base in Bihār, Shīr Shāh in the 1530s made himself master of northern India, including Bengal, and twice repelled invasions from Agra by Humāyūn, so that in 947/1540 he assumed the sultanate (for details of his career and reign, see shīr shāh sūr). When he was killed in warfare at Kālindjār in 952/1545, he was succeeded by his younger son Islām Shāh (952-61/1545-54), who managed to hold the sultanate together in the face of ambitious Afghān nobles, whose landed power he endeavoured to reduce; but on his death in autumn 960/1553, the throne was seized by Mubāriz Khān, who murdered Islām Khān's son Fīrūz Shāh and assumed royal authority as Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh. The next year was filled with anarchy and strife as the central authority in Dihlī, and the sound administrative and financial system of Shīr Shāh and Islām Khān, collapsed. Various members of the Sūr family such as Ibrāhīm, Aḥmad and Muḥammad Khāns contested the throne from such bases as Lahore and Bengal, with the commander Tādj Khān Kararānī rebelling at Gwāliyār. Assuming the throne in Dihlī, Ibrāhīm Khān soon had to yield power to Sikandar Khān; an important additional figure in these power struggle was the Hindu general of the Sūrs, Hēmū, who was eventually killed combatting the Mughals at the second battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*].

This confusion within the Sūr family enabled Humāyūn to reappear in 962/1555, occupying Lahore, defeating the Afghāns at Sirhind [*q.v.*] and entering Dihlī in 4 Ramaḍān 962/23 July 1555.

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SURT, a mediaeval city of Libya, also known today as al-Mudayna or Madīna Sulṭān, lies 55 km/34 miles east of the modern city of Sirt.

It was originally a Punic emporium called Charax. Later, in Roman times, it was called Iscina and became the site of a Jewish colony. In many Berber revolts against Byzantine authority the city seems to have been destroyed. After the Umayyad conquest of North Africa, the town has no recorded history except for the fact that the Mindāsa, Maḥanḥa, and Fanṭās branches of the Butr confederation of Berbers began to settle there. To the east of them, the Mazāta and the Lawāta Berbers were settling, and to the west of them and beyond Tawarga up to Tripoli [see ṭarābulus al-gharb] were the Hawwāra Berbers of the rival Barānis confederation. All these settlers from Adjdābiya [*q.v.*] to Tripoli seem to have been converted to Ibāḍī Khāridjism around the mid-2nd/8th century. Khāridjī affiliation made these townships independent of the newly-established ʿAbbāsid caliphate. These settlements are mentioned by the Muslim geographers al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Khurradādhbih and al-Muḳaddasī, but the most detailed description is given by Ibn Ḥawḳal, who passed through Surt in 336/947 on his way to the Fāṭimid capital al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*]. He describes Surt as lying a bow-shot away from the sea, built on hard, sandy ground with strong walls of mud and brick. It was inhabited by Berber tribes who owned farms there. They had cisterns to store rainwater and they harvested sufficient dates, grapes and other fruit. They bred goats and camels and mined alum, which they exported. The city grew wealthier than the neighbouring Adjdābiya and paid tribute to the Fāṭimid caliph. Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions the walls and cisterns, but not a mosque or forts. A Muslim community without a mosque is not imaginable, and one must have been built by the original Ibāḍī settlers. The forts were probably built later by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz (341-65/952-75 [*q.v.*]) in preparation for the final march of his general Djawhar [*q.v.*] for the conquest of Egypt. Al-Maḳrīzī gives the date 355/965.

In the period after the Fāṭimids' shift of their capital to the newly-built city of Cairo, the entire Syrtic region became a battleground between the Fāṭimids of Egypt and the new Berber rulers, the Zīrids [*q.v.*] of Ḳayrawān. For a time, the Zanātī Berber Banū Khazrūn of Tripoli, who declared themselves independent of the Zīrids, controlled the Syrtic region and brought it into a temporary alliance with the Fāṭimids. Also at this time (429/1037), we read about the settlement of the Arab Bedouin tribe of Zughba

and later of Riyāḥ and Ḳurra, all members of the Hilāl group, in this region, and this later exploded into the great Hilālian invasion of 443/1051, in the aftermath of which we have the report of al-Bakrī (d. 476/1083), "It is a large city by the sea and enclosed by a wall of bricks. It has a mosque, a bath and bazaars. It has three gates: Ḳiblī [i.e. southeast], Djawfī [i.e. landwards], and a small one facing the sea [i.e. north]. This city has no suburbs around it, but possesses date-palms, gardens, sweet-water springs and many cisterns. Its animals are goats and their meat is juicy and tender, the like of which is not found in Egypt." The new elements are a mosque, the bath, and bazaars. Al-Bakrī's report was the basis of the modern excavations in this area. He hints at the existence of Arab, Berber, Persian and Coptic merchants, whose commercial practices he criticises.

In the later Fāṭimid period, Surt began to be abandoned, being probably no longer a junction of east-west and north-south trade routes. The decline of Surt and Adjdābiya is attested by al-Idrīsī (d. 561/1166), who seems to have visited the Syrtic region. In the next century, ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286) talks of Surt's forts having survived. In the 19th century, the Ottoman writer Aḥmad al-Nāʾib al-Anṣārī also mentions Surt, but mainly on the basis of al-Bakrī's report.

The city withered away between the 6th/12th and the early 19th centuries. It is at this time that western exploration and modern archaeology revived knowledge of it. The Beachey brothers visited it in 1821; Heinrich Barth in 1846 (whose ideas were restated by Karl Müller); G.A. Freund in 1881; Luigi Cerrata in 1931; and Richard Goodchild in 1950. Later explorations by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Abu 'l-Saʿūd in 1963-4, Muḥammed Muṣṭafā in 1965-6, H. Blake, A. Hutt, and D. Whitehouse in 1971, and by Géza Fehérvari, Abu 'l-Saʿūd and Geoffrey and Joan King, as well as Masʿūd Shaghlūf and E. Chin, in 1978, have covered four seasons of excavations revealing walls that encompassed the city during the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal within 184,003 m^2, the mosque, the forts, the cisterns, and the roads and gates. No trace of the harbour remains, but as evidence of trade, 20 Fāṭimid lustre fragments and a coin of the time of the caliph, al-Muʿizz have been discovered.

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(A. Hamdani)

SURŪR, Mīrzā Radjab ʿAlī Beg (*ca.* 1787-1867) early writer of Urdu fiction, born in Lucknow, for which city he retained great affection all his life. He was well educated, noted for his command of Arabic and Persian, as well as Urdu, and excelled in calligraphy. He was also an expert musician. He was trained in poetry by a pupil of Sūz [*q.v.*], Nawāzish. He was a friend of the poet Ghālib [*q.v.*], who regarded him as the leading, Urdu prose writer of his age. Apparently, Surūr fell foul of the Nawwāb of Lucknow Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar Shāh, and had to leave for Cawnpore and Benares, where he wrote his masterpiece, the romantic novel *Fasāna-yi ʿadjāʾib*. For further information about this work, see ḳiṣṣa, 5. In Urdu, at vol. V, 202. The title of the work is apt, meaning "Story of wonders", as it contains "plenty of necromancy and witchcraft, spiced with adventures in charmed forests and duels with demons and wizards" (Saksena). It is an archetypal *dāstān* or fairy-story in the tradition of the old *mathnawīs* [*q.v.*]. Two features must, however, be stressed. Firstly, the prose style tends to be ornate with much rhyme. But Muḥammad Sadiq does concede that "whenever the story interest predominates ... he comes quite close to the spoken language of the day, and is racy and idiomatic". Secondly, considerable light is shed on contemporary Lucknow life, seen in the long introduction. Surūr played an important role in the rise of the Urdu novel. He was imitated and, at times, satirised. Future developments were to come from European—chiefly English—influences. Although written in 1824, *Fasāna-yi ʿadjāʾib* was not published until nearly twenty years later. In the meantime, Surūr, had returned to Lucknow, and had been appointed a court poet to Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh, Nawwāb of Awadh or Oudh who was, however, exiled by the British to Calcutta in 1856. Surūr was left destitute, but later enjoyed the patronage of the Māhāradjas successively of Benares, Alwar and Patiala. He died in Benares.

The position of Surūr in Urdu literary history is that his fame is in one form only, the novel; indeed, almost entirely in one work. Yet, he excelled in several fields, and this was recognised by his contemporaries. Unfortunately, little of his vast output is readily available in print. This is attested by Saksena, writing in 1927. Among works mentioned are a review of Ghālib in rhymed prose, and an adaptation of the *Arabian Nights*, *Shabistān-i Surūr*. There is also a congratulatory ode on the marriage of Prince Edward, later King Edward VII. Very little of his works, apart from his prose, has survived, and of that, his works on calligraphy and music have been forgotten. As for his poetry, although it must have been of a high order, no *dīwān* is to be found. Some poems are available in his prose works and in various anthologies. According to Saksena, though he was a member of the Lucknow school, he followed an independent path, scorning artificiality and bombast. On the whole, Saksena's account of Surūr is one of the best parts of his *History of Urdu literature*, though at times verbose and inconclusive. It does show him as a controversial figure who merits further study.

Bibliography: Surūr's letters describing his travels in northern India were published, and are praised by Saksena. For further information, reference should be made to ḳiṣṣa. 5, and also to Muḥammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu literature*, Oxford 1964, and Ram Babu Saksena, *History of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927. (J.A. Haywood)

SURŪR, NADJĪB [see nadjīb muḥammad surūr].

SURŪRĪ (SŪRŪRĪ), the pen-name (*makhlaṣ*) used by several Ottoman poets, of whom the following two are the most remarkable:

1. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā, a distinguished

philologist and commentator, born in Gallipoli in 897/1491 the son of the merchant Sha'bān. After studying with learned men of renown, he became a *mülāzim* of Fenārī-zāde Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Efendi [*q.v.*], who appointed him *bāb nā'ibi* in 927/1521 when he was *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul. After an interval in his career during which he became a *derwīsh* of Naḳshbendī Maḥmūd Efendi, the *sheykh* of the Emīr Bukhārī *zāwiye*, Surūrī became *müderris* in 930/1523-4 of the Ṣarïdja Pasha *medrese* in Gallipoli, then of the Pīrī Pasha *zāwiye* in Istanbul in 933/1526-7, and in 944/1537-8 he became the first *müderris* to teach at the *medrese* which (Güzeldje) Ḳāsïm Pasha [*q.v.*] had Sinān build in the quarter of Istanbul named after him. Although he resigned in 954/1547 to resume the life of a *derwīsh*, he later returned to the Ḳāsïm Pasha *medrese* (lecturing also on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī* in the Ḳāsïm Pasha mosque in the afternoons). In 955/1548 he was appointed tutor to Muṣṭafā [see MUṢṬAFĀ. 3], the ill-fated son of Süleymān the Magnificent, for whom he wrote some of his best-known works. Upon the execution of this prince in 960/1553, he withdrew into private life, teaching in the *mesdjid* he had had built in the Ḳāsïmpasha quarter of Istanbul. (The author of the *Künh el-akhbār*, 'Ālī [*q.v.*], also a native of Gallipoli, was a pupil of his here in 965/1557-8.) He died on 7 Djumādā I 969/13 January 1562 and was buried at his own *mesdjid* (but nothing remains of either his tomb or *mesdjid*).

The works of Surūrī, who was mainly a commentator and translator, treat a great variety of topics, such as exegesis of the Ḳur'ān, prophetic tradition, Islamic law, logic, astrology, medicine, grammar, and literature. Of over thirty commentaries of his (some in Arabic or Persian) his *Ḥāshiya* on al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl* and his *sharḥs* on al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, on the *Īsāghūdjī* [*q.v.*], and on al-Muṭarrizī's *al-Miṣbāḥ* are among the best-known. Especially remarkable among his translations is that of al-Ḳazwīnī's cosmography *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, a synopsis with the title *Kitāb el-'adjā'ib we 'l-gharā'ib*. As to literature, his commentaries on Sa'dī's *Būstān* and *Gulistān* and even more so those on Ḥāfiẓ's *Dīwān* and on the *Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī* are famous, that on the *Mathnawī* having even earned him the epithet of *Shāriḥ-i Methnewī*. Among his original works, *Baḥr el-ma'ārif*, a compendium of prosody, rhyme, rhetoric elements, and terms of *dīwān* poetry (with samples from Arabic and Persian poetry), which he wrote for prince Muṣṭafā in Turkish, was deservedly held in the highest esteem over the centuries. Surūrī is also the author of a Turkish *dīwān* (he remarks himself that he wrote the majority of his 500 *ghazels* in his youth), but the fragments of his poetry that have reached us are not remarkable.

Bibliography: The *tedhkires* of Sehī, Laṭīfī, 'Āshïḳ Čelebi, Ḳïnalï-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, Beyānī, Riyāḍī and Ḳāf-zāde; 'Ālī's *Künh el-akhbār*; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 426; 'Aṭā'ī, *Dheyl* to the *Shaḳā'iḳ al-nu'māniyya*, Istanbul 1268, 23-5; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, iii, 318; idem, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, ii, 287-9; Ḥüseyin Aywānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat el-djewāmi'*, Istanbul 1281, ii, 4-5; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iii, 12; *'Othmānlï mü'ellifleri*, ii, 225-6; Brockelmann, II², 579, S II, 650; F. Babinger, art. in *EI*¹, s.v.; C. Baltacı, *XV-XVI. asırlarda osmanlı medreseleri*, Istanbul 1976, 214-6; Ö.F. Akün, art. in *İA*, s.v. *Sürûrî*; *Başlangıcından günümüze kadar büyük türk klâsikleri*, iv, Istanbul 1986, 165-7; Â. Çelebioğlu, *Kanûnî Sultân Süleyman devri türk edebiyatı*, Istanbul 1994, 114, 117.

2. SEYYID 'OTHMĀN, the greatest Ottoman writer of chronograms (*tārīkhs*), which mastery earned him the epithet *Müwerrikh*, the chronogrammatist. He was born in Adana on 25 Rabī' I 1165/11 February 1752 as the son of Ḥāfiẓ Mūsā. He came to the capital in 1193/1779 encouraged by Yaḥyā Tewfīḳ Efendi, who later became *Sheykh el-Islām*, and who the same year changed the poet's pen-name from Ḥüznī (which he had already used six years) to Surūrī. Through his intercession, Surūrī became a *mülāzim* of *Sheykh el-Islām* Es'ad-zāde Meḥmed Sherīf Efendi; as such, he had to live in straitened means until his several appointments as *ḳāḍī* starting 1195/1781. During the years 1203-4/1788-90 he was the *ketkhüdā* of his close friend the poet Sünbül-zāde Wehbī Efendi [*q.v.*] in Eski Zaghra (Stara Zagora, in southern Bulgaria, where the latter was *ḳāḍī*). He died on 11 Ṣafar 1229/2 February 1814 and was buried beside Sünbül-zāde Wehbī Efendi outside Edirne ḳapïsï in Istanbul; neither grave exists today.

Surūrī's talent as poet was not all-encompassing (his *ḳaṣīdes* and *ghazels* are not remarkable) but restricted to the writing of chronograms, where however he showed such mastery that he earned for himself the position of unrivalled master of the Ottoman *tārīkh*. He stands apart from all other Ottoman poets who wrote chronograms before and after him, having written an incomparably greater number of *tārīkhs* (nearly 2,000) on an unlimited variety of topics, commemorating events ranging from the historic to the most trivial everyday occasion, often with a touch of humour. His admirable ease of composition is especially evident not only when he commemorates one and the same event with a great number of *tārīkhs* but also when he inbeds an amazing number of chronograms in one and the same hemistich or verse. Surūrī's *Dīwān*, which he called *Neshāṭ-engīz*, was printed at Būlāḳ in 1255/1839. He is also the author of *Hezeliyyāt* (humoristic and satirical poems) under the *makhlaṣ* Hawā'ī; these were printed twice in Istanbul (undated) and include about 100 *tārīkhs*. Especially often lampooned by Surūrī was Sünbül-zāde Wehbī Efendi [*q.v.*], who retaliated in like manner. Surūrī's predilection for the chronogram is also shown by his putting together a collection of *tārīkh miṣrā's* (chronogram hemistichs; this includes but a very few *tārīkh* verses) from his own work as well as from that of poets who were his predecessors or contemporaries. This collection, which had been enlarged through additions by the poet Kečedji-zāde [see 'IZZET MOLLA] and the official historiographer Es'ad Efendi [*q.v.*], was printed by Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1299/1881-2 at Istanbul with the title *Surūrī medjmū'asï*; about half of the *ca.* 2,300 *tārīkhs* in this collection are by Surūrī.

Bibliography: Faṭīn, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1271, 189-90; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iv, 489-94; Djewdet Pasha, *Belāghat-i 'othmāniyye*, Istanbul 1299, 185-98; Ebüzziyā Tewfīḳ, *Surūrī-i müwerrikh*, Istanbul 1305; Mu'allim Nādjī, *Surūrī*, in *Medjmū'a-yi Mu'allim*, 1305, 111-6; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iii, 13; Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 265-78; *'Othmānlï mü'ellifleri*, ii, 238; Babinger, *GOW*, 379; idem, art. in *EI*¹, s.v.; Ö.F. Akün, art. in *İA* s.v.; İ. Yakıt, *Türk-islâm kültüründe ebced hesabı ve tarih düşürme*, Istanbul 1992, 198-210.

(EDITH G. AMBROS)

SURŪRĪ KĀSHĀNĪ, the pen-name of Muḥammad Ḳāsim, Persian lexicographer of the 10th-11th/16th-17th century.

His father, Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad, is said to have been a shoemaker. Surūrī, during his early youth, practised the same profession but, later turned to

scholarship. According to a tradition, he was endowed with a prolific memory and could recite thirty thousand verses by heart. He chose to reside in Iṣfahān, and there he is reported to have met the traveller Pietro de la Valle, who visited the city in 1032/1622-3. Surūrī made a journey to India and was in Lāhawr during the reign of Shāh Djahān in 1036/1626-7. From there he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but died on the way.

Surūrī was the author of the famous Persian-to-Persian dictionary, the *Madjma' al-Furs* "A collection of words from the Persian language", also known as *Farhang-i Surūrī*. In the preface of the book (see *Farhang-i madjma' al-Furs*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāḳī, Tehran 1338/1960, i, 1-6), the author states that he compiled his dictionary after consulting a number of works, gives the names of many of these works, and dedicates his production to Shāh 'Abbās I [*q.v.*]. Several years later, he prepared an enlarged edition of his book after he had come into possession of Djamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Indju's dictionary, the *Farhang-i Djahāngīrī*, a copy of which was brought to him from India, and from which he was to benefit in the revision of his own work. In the meantime, Surūrī had compiled a concise version of *Madjma' al-Furs*, named *Khulāṣat al-Madjma'*, the preface of which carries an endorsement to I'timād al-Dawla Ḥātim Beg, minister of 'Abbās I. It must have been composed not later than 1018/1609-10, since the Catalogue of the Sipah Sālār Library refers to a copy of the work in a private collection bearing that date (see *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi 'Ālī-yi Sipah Sālār*, Tehran 1316-18/1938-40, ii, 222).

Surūrī's *Madjma' al-Furs* is a useful piece of Persian lexicography; for the meaning of its terms, which are arranged according to their initial and final letters, it provides illustrative examples from the works of the poets.

Surūrī was also a poet, and some of the verses composed by him are cited by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī in his *Tadhkira*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgardī, Tehran 1361/1982, 291.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see also H. Blochmann, *Contributions to Persian lexicography*, in *JASB*, xxxvii/1 (1869); P. de Lagarde, *Persische Studien*, repr. Osnabrück 1970; Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, Add. 7681; Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits Persans*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, i-ii, 995; Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Dā'ī al-Islam, *Farhang-i Niẓām*, Tehran 1364/1985, v; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v. *Surūrī*; Muḥammad Mu'īn, *Farhang-i Fārsī*, v, Tehran 1371/1992; Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i naẓm u nathr dar Īrān wa dar zabān-i Fārsī*, i, Tehran 1363/1984; Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/1, Tehran 1372/1994; Muḥammad 'Alī Tabrīzī, (Mudarris), *Rayḥānat al-adab*, ii, Tabrīz (?) 1328/1949; Shahriyār Naḳwī, *Farhang-nawīsī-yi Fārsī dar Hind u Pākistān*, Tehran 1341/1962; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Ma'ānī, "*Madjma' al-Furs*", in *Madjalla-yi adabiyyāt u 'ulūm-i insānī, Dānishgāh-i Firdawsī*, x/1 (Mashhad 1353/1974).

(Munibur Rahman)

SURŪSH, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, prominent Persian poet of the Ḳādjār period. He was born around 1228/1813 in Sidih, a district of Iṣfahān. His ancestors were artisans and farmers, and his father was reportedly a butcher by trade (see *Dīwān*, i, introd., 2). About 1243/1827 Surūsh moved to Iṣfahān after his father's death. There he completed his education and also discovered his poetic vocation. In 1247/1831 he left Iṣfahān to find suitable patronage, and travelled to various cities. Finally, he settled down in Tabrīz, where he gained access to the heir-apparent, Nāṣir al-Dīn. When the latter came to the throne in 1264/1848, Surūsh accompanied him to Tehran, and after the death of Ḳā'ānī in 1270/1854, succeeded the latter as the foremost poet of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's court. The monarch awarded him the title of Shams al-Shu'arā' and later elevated him to the rank of Khān. He died at Tehran in 1285/1868-9 and was buried in Ḳum.

In his poetry, Surūsh was a follower of old masters like Anwarī, Mu'izzī and Farrukhī [*q.vv.*]. His main field of literary activity was the *ḳaṣīda*, in which he is reckoned among the leading exponents of his age. Besides *ḳaṣīdas*, he composed several *mathnawīs*, of which *Urdībihisht-nāma* "Book of Urdībihisht" and *Rawḍat al-asrār* "Garden of mysteries" are perhaps the most significant. The former, which comprises over 9,000 couplets, represents an account of the Prophet's life. The second *mathnawī*, *Rawḍat al-asrār*, comprises a little over 1,150 couplets. It was first published in 1286/1869-70, and deals with the tragic events that took place at Karbalā'. The poet is also credited with the composition of a *mathnawī*, modelled on Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* and describing the history of the Ḳādjār dynasty from its inception to the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. Another achievement for which Surūsh is remembered relates to his involvement in the translation of *Thousand and one nights* into Persian. This rendering, made by Mullā 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ṭasūdjī, owed its verse extracts to the efforts of Surūsh, who replaced the Arabic originals either by substituting them with verses drawn from the works of Persian masters or, where it was not possible, by translating them himself.

Bibliography: Surūsh, *Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Dja'far Maḥdjūb, Tehran 1339-40/1960-1, i-ii; Riḍā-ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjma' al-fuṣaḥā'*, ed. Maẓāhir Muṣaffā, ii/1, Tehran 1339/1960; Sayyid Aḥmad Dīwān Begī, *Ḥadīḳat al-shu'arā'*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, i, Tehran 1364/1985; Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *Wafayāt-i mu'āṣirīn*, in *Yādgār*, v/1-2; Muḥammad 'Alī Tabrīzī (Mudarris), *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz (?) 1328/1949, ii; Djalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, *Surūsh Iṣfahānī*, in *Maḳālāt-i adabī*, Tehran 1369/1990, i; Riḍā-zāda Shafaḳ, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt-i Īrān*, Tehran 1321/1942; Ibrāhīm Ṣafā'ī, *Nahḍat-i adabī-yi Īrān dar 'aṣr-i Ḳādjār*, Tehran (?) n.d.; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Muḥammad Dja'far Maḥdjūb, *Dāstānhā-yi 'āmiyāna-yi Fārsī*, in *Sukhan*, xi/1; Yaḥyā Āryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, Tehran 1350/1971, i; Muḥammad Mu'īn, *Farhang-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1371/1992, v; 'Abd al-Rafī' Ḥaḳīḳat (Rafī'), *Farhang-i shu'arā'*, Tehran 1368/1990.

(Munibur Rahman)

SŪRYA [see al-sha'm].

SŪS (a.) "licorice", i.e. the root, and more specifically the decoction from the root of *Glycyrrhiza glabra* L. var. (family *Fabaceae*), a perennial herb indigenous to southern Europe and western Asia. Arabic synonyms of *sūs* (a common Semitic word corresponding to Akkadian *shūshu* and Aramaic *shūshā*) include *'ūd al-sūs* and *shadjarat al-furs*, whereas the Persian *mahak/mathak* seems to reflect Sanskrit *madhuka*; the Greek name γλυχύρριζα, of which *licorice* is a corruption (< late Latin *liquiritia*), literally means "sweet-root".

From ancient times, the herb has been cultivated throughout the Mediterranean. It grows up to one metre, with four to eight egg-shaped leaves, and axillary bunches of blue flowers. The long, thin underground roots are flexible, fibrous, easily cut, coloured yellow inside, and have a distinctively sweet taste. The

powder obtained from the dried root is supposed to hold cathartic properties, and was added to beverages and cataplasms. The evaporated juice extracted by boiling the root (*succus liquiritiae*) is mainly used as an expectorant in the form of lozenges or syrups, but it is also considered useful against pain in the stomach, kidneys, and bladder; besides, it serves as a mask for bitter medicines, and the sweetmeat known as licorice candy or black sugar is made from it.

Bibliography: I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna-Leipzig 1924, ii, 435 ff.; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 253 no. 409; idem, *Ein Beitrag zur indo-arabischen Arzneimittelkunde und Geistesgeschichte*, in *ZMDG*, cxxv (1975), 77; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdhiya*, Baghdād n.d., iii, 42-3. (O. Kahl)

al-SŪS, the early Islamic form for the ancient site of Susa in the south-west Persian province of Khūzistān, modern Persian Shūsh. It lies on the plain between the two main rivers of Khūzistān, the Kārūn and the Kerkhā [*q.vv.*], which were once connected by canals, and the Shāwūr river runs along the western side of the site.

From at least the second millennium B.C., it was the capital of the Elamite kingdom, destroyed by the Assyrian Ashurbanipal in the 7th century B.C., but rebuilt by the Achaemenids and a flourishing town under the Sāsānids; Syriac sources show that it was the seat of a Christian bishop in the years A.D. 410-695.

Sūs fell into the hands of the Arabs in 17/638 (or the next year), when Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] carried through the conquest of Khūzistān. The forces there, commanded by the Persian governor Hurmuzān, apparently offered little resistance to the Muslim troops (cf. the Syriac *Chronicle*, ed. Guidi, in *Actes du 8ᵉ Congrès Intern. des Orient.*, in *JA* [1891], 32, and history of the Armenian Sebēos of the 7th century; see Hübschmann, in *ZMDG*, xlvii [1893], 625). The older historians al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 374 ff., and al-Ṭabarī, i, 2561-7, know nothing of severe fighting with the natives and a destruction of the city by Arab troops, mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī (and cf. Loftus, *op cit.*, 344). Under Islam, Sūs remained for several centuries more a populous flourishing city—we have coins struck in it (cf. W.K. Loftus, *Travels and researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, 400)—but it was no longer the capital of the whole region of Khūzistān or Ahwāz; this role now fell to the city of Ahwāz (more precisely Sūḳ al-Ahwāz; see al-ahwāz). Sūs was now merely the capital of one of the seven (and at times more) divisions of this district. To the district of Sūs belonged several smaller towns, notably Karkha (Syriac Karkhā dhᵉ Lēdhan), which is well known from Syriac literature. Sūs was surpassed in importance not only by the capital Sūḳ al-Ahwāz but soon also by other places in Khūzistān, e.g. Shushtar [*q.v.*] or Tustar and ʿAskar(a)-Mukram [*q.v.*]. All these three places lay on the river Kārūn, towards which during the caliphate the political and economic centre of gravity of the region moved.

The Arab geographers emphasise the busy industries of Sūs, notably weaving, which was highly developed. Its silk was famous (cf. the *Dīwān* of Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, ed. Rhodokanakis, in *S.B. Ak. Wien*, cxliv [1902], 63 v. 8, and R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles. Material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 40-1, 44-5). The lemons grown here were held in particular esteem; in the Middle Ages a good deal of sugar was grown around the town and still more was refined in the town. According to al-Muḳaddasī, in his time (end of the 4th/10th century), the town proper had already fallen into ruins; the population lived in a suburb. Al-Idrīsī (tr. Jaubert, Paris 1836, i, 381, 384) makes Sūs still thickly populated at the middle of the 6th/12th century, and Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled through the Near East a few years later, says that there were no less than 7,000 Jews here with 14 synagogues. The two banks of the river "Ulai"—the Shāwūr (see above) must be meant—were united by a bridge; on the west bank was the quarter of the poor (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 305; Loftus, *op. cit.*, 320). The Persian geographer Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, writing in the 8th/14th century, describes Sūs as still a flourishing town. But we are justified in doubting whether this is really accurate at this late period and was not simply taken from earlier writers. It is certain that Sūs became more and more completely deserted from the 15th century, and this agrees with the results of the French excavations, according to which most of the remains of the Arab period discovered in Sūs belonged to the 14th and 15th centuries (see de Morgan, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, Paris 1900 ff., viii, 32). Dizfūl [*q.v.*], to the north-east of Sūs, which only appears to have come into prominence since the Mongol period, and is now an important town in Khūzistān (ʿArabistān), may be in some way considered the successor of the mediaeval Sūs.

The very extensive ruins at Sūs have been under investigation since the time of the British scholar W.K. Loftus in 1851-2, in the 20th century above all by French archaeologists (for a good survey of the site, see Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*, ²London 1976, 147-52). The site includes the tomb-mosque of the Prophet Daniel [see dāniyāl], called by the local people Pīr or Payghambar Dāniyāl. According to Arabic sources, the sarcophagus and bones of Daniel were found after the capture of the town by the Arabs (al-Balādhurī, 378; al-Ṭabarī, i, 840, 2566), although another tradition held that Daniel's sarcophagus was found at Shushtar, so that the two towns disputed over possession of the saint's relics, which were highly venerated for their curative properties (see al-Muḳaddasī, 417, who accounts this rivalry amongst the *ʿaṣabiyyāt* of Khūzistān).

The country round Sūs suffers for nine months of the year from the glowing heat of the South Persian sky. In January, however, a luxurious, almost tropical, vegetation springs up after the winter rains. The rich pastures that then cover the soil attract the nomads thither. In the spring it is mainly Arabian Bedouins that camp here and, indeed, they are in the majority in Khūzistān generally, so that this district is actually often called ʿArabistān by the Persians. The region of Sūs is particularly visited by the tribes of ʿAlī Kathīr and Banī Lām [*q.v.*]. On the ʿAlī Kathīr, who migrated hither over three centuries ago from Nadjd in Central Arabia, cf. A.H. Layard, in *JRGS*, xvi (1846), 33, 56, 90; Loftus, *op. cit.*, 327, 331, 356, 358, 381-2, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 417. Of the great tribe of ʿAlī Kathīr, we are here mainly concerned with two of its subdivisions, the Kaʿb and Zabbā (cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, 33). The Kaʿb [*q.v.*] were originally members of the powerful Kaʿb tribe leading a nomadic life on the lower Kārūn; see Layard, *op. cit.*, 37-9, 41-5, and Loftus, *op. cit.*, 285-6, 381, 390. Lur nomad tribes are often found in the plain of Sūs. At the beginning of May all is again as quiet as the grave. Even the guardian of the tomb of Daniel leaves the district, which is filled with miasma from the swamps and the heat now becomes unendurable.

The site of al-Sūs is now marked by the town of Shūsh, the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* in the *shahrastān* of

Dizfūl. In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of around 5,000, which had risen by 1991 to 48,134 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

Bibliography: For a detailed bibl. of early travellers and researchers, see *EI*[1] art. s.v., and in addition to references given in the article, see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden 1879, 58; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 240-1; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 313, 358-64; Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 82, 86, 228-31, 298, 426-7; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 29-30, 135, 236-9 and index; F.McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 216-17. (M. STRECK-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-SŪS AL-AḲṢĀ, a district in the south of Morocco, forming a triangular plain about 120 miles long by 25 to 26 miles broad with an area of about 7,500 square miles. On the west it is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean and on the north by the last slopes of the Great Atlas and on the south by the Anti-Atlas, gradually narrowing till it reaches the junction of these two ranges. It is watered by the Wādī Sūs and its tributaries. The Arab geographers of the Middle Ages usually distinguish between *al-Sūs al-aḳṣā*, "Farther Sūs" and *al-Sūs al-adnā* "Hither Sūs". *Al-Sūs al-adnā* seems in those days to have meant the whole of northern Morocco with Tangier as its capital, and *al-Sūs al-aḳṣā*, the whole of the massif of the two Atlases. According to Yāḳūt, the distance which separated the two Sūs was two months' journey. The term *al-Sūs al-adnā* seems in any case to have been very early ousted by that of *Gharb*. The same geographers praise the excellence of the products of Farther Sūs and describe it as a thickly populated country. Al-Idrīsī speaks of the cereals which grew there—wheat, barley and rice, fruits of all kinds in abundance—nuts, figs, grapes, quinces, pomegranates, lemons, peaches, apples and, particularly, an incomparable sugar-cane. When he wrote, a sugar was made in the Sūs that was celebrated throughout almost the whole world. Cloth which enjoyed a good reputation was also made there. The same author gives some notes on the people, who were a mixed race of Maṣmūda Berbers. He charges them with a lack of urbanity, coarseness and insolence. The dress of the men consisted of a *kisā'* of wool which enveloped them entirely, with a *mi'zār* of wool around the waist which they called *āsfāḳis*. They were armed with short spears with steel heads. They drank a liquor made from the must of sweet grapes which they called *anzīz* and considered it a permitted beverage as it did not bring about drunkenness.

1. History.

These notes show clearly that the term *al-Sūs al-adnā* was then applied to a much wider area than at the present day; it included not only the valley of the Wādī Sūs but also the mountainous country towards the Ḥawz of Marrakesh, the Dra (Dar'a) and the Tāfīlālt.

Farther Sūs, as a province of the Maghrib, has always been closely connected with the history of the whole country and with the histories of the different dynasties which have successively established themselves there. In 117/735 it was conquered and converted to Islam by Ḥabīb b. Abī 'Ubayda, the grandson of 'Uḳba b. Nāfi'. Under the Idrīsids it passed on the death of Idrīs II in 213/828 to his son 'Abd Allāh, at the same time as the massif of the Great Atlas with the towns Aghmāt and Nafīs. It was next one of the main objectives of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] when they thrust their way northwards. In 451/1059 the general Abū Bakr b. 'Umar seized the towns of Māssāt and Tārūdānt but the authority of the Almoravids was never very secure in the Sūs, in spite of the submission of the province to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in 478/1085.

The Sūs played a prominent part in the early days of the Almohad movement in the Maghrib. It was, along with the plain of Marrakesh, the centre of Almoravid resistance against the attempts at expansion by the companions of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart beyond the massif of the Grand Atlas where the movement began. A son of the Almoravid ruler 'Alī b. Yūsuf, Baggū, organised the resistance there and it was only in 535/1140-1 that the caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min definitely conquered the whole of the Sūs. During the whole period of the Almohad dynasty it was one of the most important provinces of the empire. On its decline in the reign of al-Murtaḍā (646-65/1248-66), it was the scene of a rebellion on a great scale fomented by the agitator 'Alī b. Yaddar. This individual, a former dignitary of the Almohad court, wishing to found a little independent kingdom in the Sūs, appealed to the Arab tribes settled between Tlemcen and the Rīf, the Dawī Ḥassān and the Shabbānāt of the Ma'ḳil group. He was able to hold out against the Almohad governor of Tārūdānt, but his success was not of long duration. In 1266 the Almohad prince Abū Dabbūs, with the help of Marīnid contingents, regained the province from him and seized Tīzakht and Tīyūnīwīn. Nevertheless, the independent kingdom of the Sūs was able after the final fall of the Almohads to maintain some sort of independence in the period of the early Marīnid sultans until the reign of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, who broke it up for ever.

In 1504 the Portuguese gained a footing on the coast of Sūs in the bay of Āgādīr [*q.v.*] and founded the fortress of Santa Cruz; it was a strategic point of great importance, the gateway to a rich hinterland and at the same time an excellent harbour, one of the best on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The people of the country tried in vain to dislodge the garrison; in order to harass it unceasingly and to blockade it by land they established quite close to the Portuguese station, a *ribāṭ* or concentration point and residence of the "volunteers of the faith" who used to come there in relays to deliver open attacks on their Christian foes or prepare murderous ambushes for them. Between the sea and Tārūdānt, a *zāwiya* was soon formed to take charge of the local *djihād*, the *zāwiya* of Tedsī, the cradle of the Sa'dian [*q.v.*] dynasty. It was founded by some Ḥasanī *Shurafā'* [*q.v.*], whose ancestor Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, had come in the 12th century from the Ḥidjāz and settled in the valley of the Wādī Dar'a, at Tāgmādart. His descendants then migrated to the Sūs near Tedsī, settled there and took up a position in the country which daily increased in importance. At the beginning of the 16th century, the head of the *zāwiya*, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, became the real leader in the holy war in the Sūs; assisted by his two sons, Aḥmad al-A'radj and Muḥammad al-Shaykh, he displayed great activity and denounced the impotence of the ruling dynasty to the people. He was not long in achieving his object; the tribes of the Sūs proclaimed him their sultan in 1510. He died soon afterwards, leaving his son to continue his work. The eldest, al-A'radj, who had assumed the title of king of the Sūs in the lifetime of his father, established himself as sovereign in Tārūdānt and in 1541 succeeded in driving the Portuguese finally out of Āgādīr.

We see from the above what a large part the Sūs played in the history of the first of the two Sharīfian dynasties of Morocco. The Saʿdians also always kept a watchful eye on this vital part of their empire. Muḥammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdī was the first to extend the cultivation of sugar in the Sūs and thus created an important source of revenue for the treasury. It was in the reign of the great prince Aḥmad al-Manṣūr that this province saw its greatest revival of prosperity. A regular army, formed of citizens recruited in the Sūs, at this time formed the garrison of Marrakesh and relations between the capital and the province were never closer. But after the death of al-Manṣūr, when anarchy once more reigned throughout the empire, the Sūs did not escape the various rebellions which broke out on all sides. Prince Zaydān, a claimant to the throne, made his headquarters there. A few years later, the Sūs fell into the hands of a powerful rebel, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Samlālī, called Abū Ḥassūn, who made an alliance with the Filālī Sharīf of Sidjilmāsa. But this alliance was only ephemeral, and the early days of the second Sharīfian dynasty of Morocco were marked by the struggle between Abū Ḥassūn and the ʿAlawid pretenders of Tāfīlālt. He was succeeded on his death by his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, who was soon brought to terms by the ʿAlawid sultan al-Rashīd. In 1670 the latter led an expedition to the very heart of the Sūs and captured the stronghold of Īligh. Next year, the people of the Sūs sent a deputation to him at Marrakesh to offer their submission. The latter was not of long duration, for in 1677 Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl had to send an expedition to the Sūs and another in 1682. The country was finally pacified, and at the end of his reign when Mawlāy Ḥasan divided his empire among several of his sons, the Sūs fell to Muḥammad al-ʿĀlim, with Tārūdānt as his capital. But this prince only went to his domain to set up as a pretender to the throne, and from this time onwards, we find each successive ʿAlawid sultan forced to suppress one or more rebellions in the Sūs during his reign. We may just mention the expeditions to put down rebellions sent by Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh (1733), Mawlāy Sulaimān (1802) and particularly those of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan in 1882 and 1886. The Sūs was not definitively brought under the control of the Protectorate administration till the 1930s.

2. The present position.

Climatically, the Sūs is clearly an arid region, with an average annual rainfall of less than 250 mm. From April to October, in particular, precipitation is totally absent. The water courses are unable to supply this because the affluents of the Wādī Sūs only have water when they come down from the mountains, and even the main channel dries up through seepage into the ground. It is only through use of the underground water-table that surface cultivation for human needs there has been possible. Downstream from Tārūdānt, in the Huwwāra country, as likewise between the Wādī Sūs and Tiznit, amongst the Shtūka, wells are numerous, with their water in previous times raised by animal-power but now by diesel pumps, except where the waters held back by the dam completed in 1973 on the Wādī Māssa have not changed everything.

Nevertheless, only one-fifth of the surface area of the Sūs is used for agriculture, a proportion by no means the least of all the lowlands of Morocco. In addition to winter barley and a little maize in summer, the traditional peasant cultivates vegetables for his own use and also for market. He also has orchards of olive trees, almonds, figs and pomegranates. Within the modern sector of the economy, there are important citrus fruit plantations irrigated from pumps, all along the Wādī Sūs and near the coast, and early produce, above all tomatoes, which arrives on European markets out of the normal season. Otherwise, it is bare plain which, towards the north and east, blends with the wooded slopes of the same kind as in the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, the open forest land of the argan trees. The argan is exploited by man, who presses from its fruit an edible oil which is appreciated and who leads up goats to browse on the foliage.

3. The towns.

The main town of the Sūs is no longer Tārūdānt [*q.v.*], 75 km/45 miles within the interior, but Āgādīr [*q.v.*] on the Atlantic coast. Starting from almost nothing at the beginning of the 20th century, the latter has surpassed Tārūdānt since the 1940s on account of the colonial period investment there, in the first place, on basic installations for the harbour. In the 1982 census, Āgādīr had a population of 100,000, with 160,00 if the quasi-conurbation Āgādīr—Ben Sergaou—Inezgane—Aït Melloul is taken into account; Tārūdānt had at that time 36,000. It was with a population of this order that Āgādīr was on 29 February 1960 stricken by a terrible earthquake which destroyed 80% of the town and killed 15,000 people. King Muḥammad V decided on reconstructing the town, and this was carried through by the local dynamic brought into being by the calamity. It is through the port of Āgādīr that the products of the Sūs plain and the network connected with it are exported. The airport of Inezgane-Āgādīr add further services to it. Fish curing is important, and investments for tourism has made it a resort of the highest quality.

Tārūdānt seems to have been founded at a very early period, and we already find it playing a part in history in the Almoravid period. In mediaeval times, the Sūs had as its capital sometimes Tārūdānt and sometimes Īglī. After the death of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, at the end of the 19th century, Tārūdānt was the centre of the rebellion of Aḥmad al-Hība [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who held out there till the town was taken in 1913 by the *Maḥallas* of the Makhzen. It is surrounded by a great wall of clay which dates from the end of the 17th century.

Like Tārūdānt, Tiznit is a traditional town. Sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan is said to have founded it in 1882 at the time of the first of his expeditions into the Sūs. At all events, he threw a rampart round the nuclei of the four main contiguous quarters which is known today. Being 87 km/50 miles south of Āgādīr and 20 km/12 miles from the coast, at the foot of the Anti-Atlas, Tiznit had 23,000 inhabitants in 1982. This centre receives large sums of money sent as remittances by workers who have emigrated to Europe.

The aim of the sultan's expedition to Tiznit, one which was not achieved, was to recover control of the Sūs, at that time held by the chief of the house of Iligh, a much-frequented lodge of the very near *zāwiya* of Sīdī Aḥmad ū-Mūsā in the Tazerwalt. One recalls that, from this locality, some 25 km/15 miles south-east of Tiznit, came the troupes of dancers and acrobats who formerly travelled through the whole of North Africa and as far as Europe.

The people of the Sūs continue to speak a Berber dialect of the Tashelḥīt [*q.v.*] group, but Arabic-speakers are becoming more numerous through extensive emigration to the cities and towns of Morocco, Casablanca in the first place and then Europe, above all France, where they become mingled with other contingents of Maghribīs. The Sūsīs' dynamism does not merely

admit them to petty trading activities; since the 1980s, a minority of them, who have become entrepreneurs, have jostled with the Fāsī bourgeoisie for positions, above all in the agricultural, food-producing sector.

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SŪSA, the Tunisian town of Sousse.

1. Site.

Sūsa is built on a 40 m high hill which dominates the Ḳaṣba. It is delimited by two wadis, to the north and the north-west by Wādī Blībān and its affluent Wādī 'l-Kharrūb, and to the south by Wādī 'l-Ḥallūf, near the Sabkhat Sūsa. The subsoil is essentially of sedimentary origin with ancient alluvial deposits, while to the north and the south, near to the sea, the alluvial deposits are recent. Like other neighbouring settlements, such as al-Ḳalʿa al-Kabīra, al-Ḳalʿa al-Ṣaghīra, Akūda and others, Sūsa has always had a defensive character. It lies on the Mediterranean coast in the eastern-central part of Tunisia at 35° 51' lat. N. and 10° 36' long. E. Winters are therefore mild; the average rainfall is limited to 69 days per year, while the region has a reduced cloud cover and a great deal of sunshine.

Sūsa lies in the centre of the Sāḥil, in an agricultural, industrial and heavily populated region. Due to its commercial port, the town is the outlet of a large area in central Tunisia, especially of the steppes around al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] and Ḳasrīn. It is also a junction of roads and railways, and as such, it connects the northern and southern parts of the country.

2. History.

Founded by the Phoenicians around the 9th century B.C. (see Tissot in *Bibl.*), it had developed into an important town at the height of Carthage. After 146 B.C., Sūsa, known to the Romans as Hadrumetum, became the county town of a Roman colony. In the 3rd century A.D., it was the capital of the province of Byzantium. After the Vandal period, Sūsa was reconquered by the Byzantines and renamed Justiniapolis. The Arabs, under command of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, conquered and destroyed the town in 27/647. The Christian basilica, built in the 4th century, was razed to the ground. Between 158-79/775-96, Yazīd b. Ḥātim, the ʿAbbāsid governor of al-Ḳayrawān, had the first small fort built on part of the foundations of the basilica. In 821 the Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh destroyed the south-western tower of the fort and constructed a *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] instead. The Great Mosque was built in 237/851—in later times it was to be restored several times, most recently in 1964—and the ramparts of ancient Hadrumetum were restored in 245/859 and again in 602/1205.

From that time onwards, the *ribāṭ* lost its military function and remained just a dervish convent. Another much higher watch tower, the Burdj Khalaf, was constructed at the south-western corner of the town wall, on the highest spot of the site together with a new *ḳaṣba*. The Aghlabids also provided Sūsa with a powerful arsenal; it was from this port that Asad b. al-Furāt, *ḳāḍī* of al-Ḳayrawān, undertook the conquest of Sicily [see SIḲILLIYA. 1].

According to the Arab geographers, the town counted many bazars with a multitude of merchandise, fruit, meat, and textiles.

After this period of prosperity, Sūsa knew a relative decline, due to plundering by Arab nomads who, between the 5th/11th and the 8th/14th centuries, arrived from Upper Egypt. Sūsa regained a certain importance under the Turkish domination. After al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] had been ruined in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries, Sūsa remained the most important town of the Sāḥil, with a population of *ca.* 15,000 inhabitants.

European travellers such as Peyssonnel describe Sūsa as a town which lived largely on the products of the soil. Many inhabitants were landowners, and most of its industries depended upon rural products: oil-works, soap factories, pottery, fabrication of sandals (*balgha*), weaving of burnouses and blankets. But Sūsa was also a town of trade: local commerce

in the *sūḳs* and at the weekly Sunday market (*sūḳ al-aḥad*), which took place near the *Bāb al-Gharbī*, as well as trade with Europe and the Orient. To a great extent, this trade depended upon al-Ḳayrawān, which served as an entrepôt of the steppes and of a part of the al-Kāf region in the north-west. Towards the end of the 13th/19th century, Sūsa, with some 7,000 inhabitants, was the most active town after the capital Tunis; but its role then became strictly regional.

3. The modern period.

At the beginning of the French Protectorate, towards the end of the 19th century, the urban structure of the Sāḥil had already become evident. For a very long time, Sūsa had been surrounded by urban settlements whose industries were exclusively agricultural. Two of these, Kala Kebira and Msaken, were more densely populated than Sūsa itself. The Protectorate immediately reinforced the tertiary character of Sousse by establishing Civil Control, enlarging the port and developing public transport, especially railways. Between 1896 and 1911, Sūsa was linked by railways with Tunis, Ḳayrawān, Moknin, Mahdiyya, Henshir Suwatir and Sfax. Food industries and public facilities were set up, serving both the town of Sūsa and the Sāḥil as a whole.

After Tunisia became independent in 1956, Sūsa was made the seat of a *wilāya* and developed into a regional metropolis. These transformations have had their influence on the demographic, spatial and functional growth of the town:

(a) The population increase was spectacular. It grew from 8,577 in 1885 to 134,835 in 1994. Sūsa now is the third largest city of Tunisia, after Greater Tunis and Greater Sfax.

(b) The spatial extension is no less important. Until the first years of the Protectorate, the entire population of Sūsa lived inside the *medīna*, whose walls were right on the seaside. Already before 1939, a modern city in the European style was constructed around the old centre, but between 1926 and 1946 the developed site remained thinly populated. Between December 1942 and May 1943, in the fighting between the armier of the Axis powers and the Allies, Sūsa suffered 39 bombardments which wrought great havoc, and in 1946 priority was given to reconstruction. After independence, Sūsa developed in all directions. The urban perimeter, only 29 ha (71.66 acres) in 1881, had grown to 3,100 ha (7,660 acres) in 1992.

(c) The functional growth of Sūsa is almost exclusively secondary and tertiary, primary activities being limited to fishing. More than 45% of the working population is active in secondary functions, such as textile and leather industries, in the fabrication of mechanical, electrical and electronic devices, in construction and chemicals. The real importance of Sūsa, however, is to be found in its tertiary function (administration, education up to higher academic level, health and other social activities, trade, communications, banking) which occupies more than half of the working population. As a port, Sūsa is surpassed by Sfax, but it is important for the tourist industry.

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(MOHAMED JEDIDI)

SŪSAN or more often SAWSAN, iris or lily; generally *Iris florentina* L., or *Lilium sp.* Of Middle Persian origin, from *sōsan*, it is related to Hebrew *shūshan*, and is possibly originally a loan-word from Egyptian (I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna-Leipzig 1924-34, ii, 1-4, 160-84). The *sūsan asmāndjūnī* (Pers. *āsmān-gūnī* "sky-coloured") was the blue iris; other colours were white and yellow.

In the Arabic Dioscorides, *īrisā*, a "type" of *sawsan*, is equated with the Greek *iris*; *zahr al-sawsan* with lily (*krinon*) (see M.M. Sadek, *The Arabic materia of Dioscorides*, Quebec City 1983). Ibn al-Bayṭār lists three varieties: white or *azād*; wild; and cultivated. (*Djāmiʿ al-mufradāt*, Cairo 1874, iii. 43-4). He quotes Dioscorides, Galen, and others: its "power" is mainly dessicative (*tadjfīf*) and dissoluent (*taḥlīl*). Its roots, seeds and leaves were used as an oil or a juice.

External use was for skin complaints such as scab (*djarab*), scalds, burns and ulcers; internally, it could be chewed for toothache, or drunk for vermin bite and cough (al-Ghāfiḳī) or to sharpen the intellect and remove "yellow water" (Ibn Sīnā). Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī says that the wild and the white varieties relieve pain in muscles or nerves (*ʿaṣab*).

Precise identification of species is not practicable (see W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 253-4). W. Ainslie refers to *Iris florentina*, or Orris root, as used by Arabs and Persians as suppurative and deobstruent; and in Europe formerly as a cathartic in dropsy (*Materia Indica*, London 1826, i, 182, 284). Iris is still sometimes used in herbal-based medicine.

Bibliography: Given in the article, see also Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, 29; M. Levey, *The medical formulary or Aqrābādhīn of al-Kindī*, Madison 1966, 289; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 286-7; Bīrūnī, *K. al-Ṣaydana*, ed. al-Ḥ.M. Saʿīd, Karachi 1973, 238-40 (Arab.), 194-95. (P.C. JOHNSTONE)

SUTRA (A.), covering, protection, shelter, especially at the *ṣalāt*, where *sutra* means the object which the worshipper places in front of himself or lays in the direction of the *ḳibla*, whereby he shuts himself off in an imaginary area within which he is not disturbed by human or demoniacal influences. "The fictitious fencing off of an open place of prayer, the *sutra*, seems to have had among other objectives that of warding off demons" (Wellhausen, *Reste*², 158). In one tradition, the man who deliberately penetrates into this imaginary area is actually called a *shayṭān* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 100; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 2; al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, Ḥaydarābād 1321, no. 1342).

The word is not found in the Ḳurʾān. In *Ḥadīth*, the root often occurs in the expression *satara* (*tasattara*, *istatara*) *bi-thawb* in traditions which describe the ritual ablution, in which one conceals one's nakedness or causes it to be concealed by a cloak or curtain (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣayd*, *bāb* 14; *Ghusl*, *bāb* 21; Muslim, *Ḥayḍ*, trad. 70, 79; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 123; *Manāsik*, *bāb* 37). Similarly, *sitr* is the name given to the curtain by which Muḥammad concealed his women from the gaze of the world (al-Bukhārī,

Maghāzī, bāb 56; *Nikāḥ, bāb* 67). We are further told that one performs the *ṣalāt* in the direction of an object which isolates him from the multitude (*yasturuhu min al-nās*) so that he is not disturbed by them (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj, bāb* 53; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 259; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik, bāb* 53).

Muḥammad is said to have been quite unrestricted in his choice of a *sutra*: baggage camels, horses, trees, saddles (al-Bukhārī, *Salāt, bāb* 98), a couch (*ibid., bāb* 99), lance (*ḥarba, bāb* 92), stick (*ʿanaza, bāb* 93) and the pillars of the mosque (*bāb* 95) are mentioned. *Ḥadīth* has preserved the memory of two opinions regarding the *sutra*; one gives minute rules and the other opposes this.

The first opinion endeavours to lay down accurately what distance should be preserved between the *sutra* and him who performs the *ṣalāt* (*mamarr al-shāt* "space to allow a sheep to pass"; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 91; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trads. 263, 264, etc.); it makes Muḥammad explain that no one is to be allowed to pass between anyone and his *sutra* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 100, 101; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trads. 258-62, etc.), that passers-by, especially dogs, asses and women, render void the *ṣalāt*: the Apostle of God said: "If one performs the *ṣalāt* without having in front of him something, such as the end or central part of a saddle, his *ṣalāt* is rendered void by a passing dog, ass or woman" (al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 136; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 86).

The other view holds that the *ṣalāt* is never rendered void by passers-by (this is also al-Shāfiʿī's view, according to al-Tirmidhī's note on *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 135). ʿĀʾisha exclaims indignantly, "you place us on the same level as asses and dogs; by Allāh, the Prophet used to perform the *ṣalāt* while I lay on the couch between him and the *ḳibla*" (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 105). The same tendency is seen in an anecdote by Ibn ʿAbbās: "I was riding behind al-Faḍl on a she-ass; we came up to the Prophet just as he was performing the *ṣalāt* with his companions in Minā. We dismounted and took our places in the row, while the animal ran among the people without rendering void the *ṣalāt*" (al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 135; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 196).

The Shāfiʿīs call the *sutra* a *sunna*. The various views of the jurists are given in al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii, 76-7; cf. also al-Tirmidhī's remarks on *bāb*s 133-6 in his chapter *mawāḳīt al-ṣalāt*.

Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, ed. Juynboll, 29, writes as follows: "If anyone passes a man who is performing the *ṣalāt* and there is a *sutra* or stick between them of about an arm's length in size, it is not *makrūh*; nor is it *makrūh* if there is no stick but a line which the worshipper has drawn at a distance of 3 ells; if, on the contrary, there should be nothing of the kind at all then it (sc. passing by) would be *makrūh*. The *ṣalāt* would however remain valid".

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the *sutra* of the *imām* at the *ṣalāt* is valid for those with whom he performs the *ṣalāt* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 90).

Bibliography: The material of the classical *ḥadīth* is given in A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, Leiden 1927, s.v.; Ibn Hadjar al-Haytamī, *Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1282, i, 180-1. See also ṢALĀT.

(A.J. WENSINCK)

SUʿŪD, ĀL, a major Arabian dynasty belonging to the ʿAnaza tribe, first rising to power in Nadjd in the 12th/18th century in association with the religious reform movement of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*]. The Āl Suʿūd provided the leadership for three successive states inspired by Wahhābī doctrines: the first Suʿūdī-Wahhābī state, 1159-1233/1746-1818, with its centre in Nadjd, but controlling much of central and northern Arabia at its greatest extent; the second such state re-established in Nadjd, 1240-1305/1824-87; the third state restored with its capital in al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*] from 1319/1902 and culminating in the modern kingdom of Suʿūdī Arabia [*q.v.*] from 1351/1932. The Islamic basis of the rule of the Āl Suʿūd is evidenced by their assumption of the title *imām*, denoting their spiritual headship of the community, in addition to the temporal rank of *amīr*, although the two titles were on occasion held by different members of the family.

The founder of the dynasty, Muḥammad b. Suʿūd (1159-79/1746-65 [*q.v.*]), is chiefly remembered for lending his support to the reform efforts of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb from his power base as *amīr* of al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], seeking to enforce a Ḥanbalī interpretation of *Sharīʿa* and to root out perceived un-Islamic innovation, *bidʿa*, notably as represented in the cult of saints. In exchange, his rule acquired religious legitimacy, but for twenty years he was engaged in a struggle with forces opposed to the creation of the new theocratic state.

During his reign, military campaigning had been entrusted to his capable and dedicated son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who assumed office as the new *imām* on his death in 1179/1765, embarking on an energetic thirty-eight year period of rule, ending with his assassination by a Shīʿī, or possibly Ṣūfī, assailant in 1218/1803. During his time the power of the Āl Suʿūd was consolidated in Nadjd and extended to al-Ḥidjāz with the capture of the Holy Cities, while raids were made deep into al-ʿIrāḳ, Karbalāʾ being sacked in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1215/April 1801 as part of the Wahhābī attack on Shīʿism. Much of the coastal region of eastern Arabia was brought under Suʿūdī control, including for some time the island of al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*]. Both ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his son Suʿūd (1218-29/1803-14) have been widely regarded as capable rulers and strategists, respected among their Wahhābī followers for their strict adherence to the principles of the faith and their readiness and ability to ensure justice and security among the Bedouin in areas that had suffered from blood feuds and lawlessness. Understandably, they were not so appreciated by the Ottomans, whose authority and status as Muslims they challenged, and by the settled Ḥidjāzīs and the eastern Arabian and ʿIrāḳī Shīʿa.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd (1229-33/1814-18) inherited a difficult situation, which he was less well-equipped to handle than his predecessors, lacking their strategic skills. The Ottomans were determined to end Suʿūdī and Wahhābī hegemony in Arabia and the threat posed by them to the region. In 1222/1807 Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] as viceroy of Egypt had received orders from the Ottoman sultan Muṣṭafā IV to launch an expedition against the Suʿūdī *imām*. However, it was not until 1226-7/the winter of 1811-12 that the Egyptian forces were able to wrest control of the Holy Cities from Suʿūd, and only in 1232/early 1817 that Muḥammad ʿAlī's son, Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], led a fresh expedition into central Arabia. There has frequently been criticism of ʿAbd Allāh's tactics in choosing to hold out in al-Dirʿiyya rather than to attack Ibrāhīm's vulnerable lines of communication more effectively. Yet he was also faced with the problem of treachery by those tribes who succumbed to Egyptian financial inducements to turn against the Āl Suʿūd. Nevertheless, he was able to withstand a six-month siege before surrendering the town in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda

1233/September 1818. The first Suʿūdī state had come to an end and al-Dirʿiyya was razed to the ground. ʿAbd Allāh himself was sent for execution to Istanbul. Many of the Āl Suʿūd had been killed in the fighting and a number of others were deported to Egypt.

It was several years before the second Suʿūdī state could be recreated in Nadjd by Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh (1240-9/1824-34), a cousin of Suʿūd and grandson of Muḥammad b. Suʿūd. Abandoning hope of reviving al-Dirʿiyya, he made his new capital to the south of it in al-Riyāḍ, which he captured from the Egyptians, who subsequently withdrew to al-Ḥidjāz. Turkī was noted for his just government and efforts to maintain order, also for his guaranteeing safe passage to non-Wahhābī pilgrims passing through his territories. He effectively restored the Suʿūdī position in eastern Arabia, but became the victim of intrigues within the Āl Suʿūd, being assassinated by a nephew in 1249/1834. However, his son Fayṣal took prompt action against the assassins and succeeded in establishing his rule, until a second Egyptian expedition invaded Nadjd, forcing him to surrender and taking him as captive to Cairo.

A period of Suʿūdī weakness and instability followed, Khālid b. Suʿūd (1253-7/1837-41), brother of the late Imām ʿAbd Allāh, being returned from his exile in Egypt and imposed as ruler by Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces. He had little popular support and briefly gave way before a rebellious relative, ʿAbd Allāh b. Thunayyān (1257-9/1841-3), who also proved unpopular owing to harsh taxation and inability to preserve security and assert his authority.

Real independence was asserted by the Āl Suʿūd with the escape of Fayṣal b. Turkī from his captivity in Egypt and his successful return to his homeland. His second reign (1259-82/1843-65) marked a high point in Suʿūdī fortunes. The British Political Resident in the Gulf, Lt. Col. Lewis Pelly, visited him shortly before his death and noted him as "a just and stern ruler", who was interested in encouraging the Bedouin to adopt a more settled life and to pursue agriculture and trade. Unfortunately, his death ushered in a time of fratricidal struggle between his sons ʿAbd Allāh and Suʿūd, ʿAbd Allāh ruling twice, from 1282-88/1865-71 until his deposition by Suʿūd (1288-91/1871-4), then again from 1291-1305/1874-87 when he lost power to the Āl Rashīd [see RASHĪD, ĀL] of Djabal Shammar in northern Nadjd. Thus the second Suʿūdī state came to an end, its fall owed both to internal power struggles and to the temporarily greater dynamism and political skill of the Rashīdīs. Fayṣal's youngest son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, tried to hang on to a limited local authority, but, after a disastrous defeat at the battle of al-Mulayda in 1309/1891, was forced to leave al-Riyāḍ accompanied by his family, among them his young son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the future king of Suʿūdī Arabia.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fayṣal Āl Suʿūd [*q.v.*] began his long reign with his return from exile in al-Kuwayt and bold recapture of al-Riyāḍ in 1319/1902. There followed many years in which he sought to establish Suʿūdī control over Nadjd and extend his power eastwards to al-Aḥsā' by a combination of military and diplomatic tactics, confronting challenges from the combined forces of the Ottomans and Āl Rashīd as well as the dissension of relatives, rebellious tribes and the growing power of the *amīr* of Mecca, the Sharīf Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. He was also well aware of the advantages of gaining British support, while preserving the maximum degree of independence, and the treaty he signed with Britain in Ṣafar 1334/December 1915 assured him of a regular subsidy and assistance in the event of aggression against him. In 1339/1921 he crushed the Rashīdī power in northern Nadjd, taking their centre of Ḥā'il [*q.v.*] and assumed the title of *sulṭān* of Nadjd. After years of soured relations and occasional hostilities with the Sharīf Ḥusayn, now king of al-Ḥidjāz, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz invaded his territory in 1343/1924, being provoked by the Sharīf's claim to the caliphate and his refusal to allow Wahhābī pilgrims to perform the Ḥadjdj. In 1344/1926 he assumed the title of king of al-Ḥidjāz for himself, an un-Islamic title disliked by the Wahhābīs. His father ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had held the spiritual position of *imām* until his death in 1346/1928, when it devolved on to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, although he had informally been so addressed earlier.

Those who met ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz seem invariably to have been impressed. Thus Gertrude Bell in a letter of 1916 wrote of him as "one of the most striking personalities I have encountered. He is splendid to look at, well over 6' 3", with an immense amount of dignity and self-possession". However, assessments vary as to the importance of his character and personality in building the power of the Āl Suʿūd in Arabia, from eulogy of him as the key figure in the enterprise to judgment of his role as overrated and his being no more than fortunate in his historical circumstances. As a Muslim leader, he was pious and conscientious in the performance of his religious duties, convinced that Islam must triumph and dedicated to its promotion. This may be witnessed in his policy of establishing the *hidjar* [*q.v.*], agricultural religious settlements for the Wahhābī Ikhwān [*q.v.*] and his systematic implementation of the *Sharīʿa* in al-Ḥidjāz after its conquest with the same strictness as in Nadjd. Yet there were those among the Ikhwān for whom his religious zeal was insufficient and who condemned him for his dealings with the unbelieving British, his use of infernal innovations such as cars and telephones, his allowing the tribes of Transjordan and al-ʿIrāḳ to graze their herds on the lands of true Wahhābī Muslims and his failure to impose Wahhābism among the Shīʿa of al-Aḥsā'. While noted for the traditional Arab virtues of generosity and magnanimity to defeated enemies, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz could also be implacable if angered and utterly ruthless, as is evidenced by his final suppression of the Ikhwān in Shaʿbān 1348/January 1930. To the end of his life, even after the commercial exploitation of his country's vast oil reserves, he retained his simple and austere lifestyle.

The same could hardly be said of his son and successor, Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1373-84/1953-64), who was widely criticised for his exceptional extravagance as well as for his political ineptitude and the corruption in his government. This was to bring his country to the edge of bankruptcy by 1377/1957 and lead to speculation that the days of the Āl Suʿūd were numbered. In 1384/1964 Suʿūd was formally deposed by a council made up of senior members of the royal family, *ʿulamā'* and government officials on the grounds that his rule was in violation of the *Sharīʿa*.

His brother Fayṣal, who succeeded him and ruled until his assassination by a nephew in 1395/1975, inherited his father's political acumen and is credited with establishing the modern institutions of Suʿūdī Arabia, moving away from the traditional patriarchal rule associated with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Suʿūd. He oversaw successful development programmes financed by more efficiently managed oil revenues, ensuring increased prosperity for all sectors of the population. As a deeply committed Muslim, Fayṣal was active in

promoting pan-Islamic policies even before his accession to the throne. In 1382/1962 he encouraged the founding of the Islamic World League (*Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī*) in Mecca dedicated to the worldwide promotion of the faith, sponsoring the work of *daʿwa* and aiding Muslim minorities. As king, Fayṣal urged Muslims to work for the liberation of Jerusalem and, following an Australian Christian's attempt to set fire to al-Aḳṣā Mosque in 1389/1969, called for a *d̲j̲ihād* against Israel and organised an Islamic summit in Rabat, Morocco. In Muḥarram 1390/March 1970 he held an Islamic conference of foreign ministers in D̲j̲idda, leading to the establishment of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (*Munaẓẓamat al-Muʾtamar al-Islāmī*).

Fayṣal's successor, K̲h̲ālid b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1395-1402/1975-82), was already elderly at the time of his accession and plagued by poor health. During his reign, his Islamic credentials were challenged by a revolt organized by neo-Ik̲h̲wān with the takeover of the Great Mosque at Mecca on 1 Muḥarram 1400/21 November 1979 [see MAKKA. 3] and by unrest among the S̲h̲īʿa of al-Aḥsāʾ. In both cases, the incidents were brought under control, but the Āl Suʿūd became increasingly sensitive to the need to re-establish respect for their Islamic leadership at both the domestic and international levels.

Fahd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (acceded 1402/1982) had considerable experience in government when he became king on K̲h̲ālid's death. He sought to strengthen the Islamic Wahhābī character of the state, and in Ṣafar 1407/October 1986 assumed the title of *k̲h̲ādim al-ḥaramayn*, thus seeking to enhance Suʿūdī religious legitimacy.

The Āl Suʿūd today are estimated as numbering between 4,000 and 7,000, of whom several hundred are direct descendants of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. They are intermarried with many traditionally important tribal families, notably the Ṣudayrīs of northern Nad̲j̲d, and with the Āl al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, the descendants of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Members of the Āl Suʿūd who have been prominent in government include full brothers of Fahd, especially Sulṭan, Minister of Defence from 1382/1962, Nāʾif, Minister of the Interior from 1395/1975 and Salmān, governor of al-Riyāḍ from 1382/1962.

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(ELIZABETH M. SIRRIYEH)

AL-SUʿŪDĪ, ABU 'L-FAḌL AL-MĀLIKĪ, theologian of the 10th/16th century. He wrote a controversial work finished in S̲h̲awwāl 942/April 1536 against the Christians (and the Jews), which has been edited from manuscripts of Leiden and Oxford by F.J. van den Ham (*Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos*, Leiden 1877-90) and is in substance an extract (*muntak̲h̲ab*) from a book by Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥusayn al-D̲j̲aʿfarī (wrote in 618/1221) entitled *Tak̲h̲d̲j̲īl man ḥarraf al-Ind̲j̲īl*. He is probably to be identified with Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mālikī, the servant (*k̲h̲ādim*) of the Ṣūfī S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Abu 'l-Suʿūd al-D̲j̲āriḥī (died some years after 930/1524), see al-S̲h̲aʿrānī, *Lawāḳiḥ al-anwār fī ṭabaḳāt al-ak̲h̲yār*, Cairo 1317, iii, 113-14), who wrote, according to Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa (iv, 557, no. 9521) a commentary on the *Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*]. For al-Suʿūdī refers in his polemic (146, 14, 147, 4) to Abu 'l-Suʿūd as his master (*ustād̲h̲*), and al-S̲h̲aʿrānī (*op. cit.*, ii, 113, 5 ff.) mentions Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mālikī as a devoted adept of Abu 'l-Suʿūd, from whom he probably derives his *nisba* al-Suʿūdī. According to van den Ham (*Praefatio* of his edition, 6), his book contains many passages occurring word for word in a manuscript commentary on the *Hamziyya* preserved in Gotha (Pertsch, *Die Arab. Handschriften... zu Gotha*, iv, 294, no. 2295), in which the author's name is Faḍl Allāh al-Mālikī.

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(C. VAN ARENDONK)

SUʿŪDĪ (or ABU 'L-SUʿŪD) B. YAḤYĀ B. MUḤYĪ 'L-DĪN AL-MUTANABBĪ AL-ʿABBĀSĪ AL-S̲H̲ĀFIʿĪ AL-DIMAS̲H̲ḲĪ, a man of letters, who died in Damascus in Ṣafar 1127/February 1715. He studied several branches of Islamic knowledge, and one of his preceptors was ʿAbd al-G̲h̲anī al-Nābulusī [*q.v.*]. Al-Murādī mentions his *Dīwān* entitled *Madāʾiḥ al-ḥaḍarāt bi-lisān al-is̲h̲ārāt* and gives specimens of his poetry. According to the same author, al-Muḥibbī gives an article on him in his *Nafḥat al-rayḥāna wa-ras̲h̲ḥat ṭilāʾ al-ḥāna* (cf. Brockelmann², II, 379). A *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* in praise of Damascus from his pen is extant in a manuscript of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 6090, We 1120, fol. 78a, cf. no. 8174, 2).

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(C. VAN ARENDONK)

AL-SUʿŪDĪ, SAYF AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-LAṬĪF B. ʿABD ALLĀH, a theologian who died in 736/1335-6. Biographical data do not seem to be known hitherto. He contested the tenets of Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*] in some *ḳaṣīdas* occurring in al-Sak̲h̲āwī's work *al-Ḳawl al-munabbiʾ ʿan Tard̲j̲amat Ibn ʿArabī* (ms. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 2849, cf. 7846, 4) and is mentioned (*op. cit.*, 8379, cf. 3658) as the author of a prayer (*duʿāʾ*).

Bibliography: Brockelmann², II, 10.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

AL-SUʿŪDIYYA, AL-MAMLAKA AL-ʿARABIYYA, the modern Saudi Arabian kingdom, declared on 16 December 1932.

It emerged from the transformation of the Suʿūdī chiefdom, located in the central Arabian province of Nad̲j̲d, into a more organised, expanded and territorially-defined state. The chiefdom itself passed through three historical stages: there was the first Saudi chiefdom based on an alliance, struck in 1744, between the House of Suʿūd, and its Bedouin tribes, with the religious leader Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*]. This alliance was expressed through territorial expan-

sion into neighbouring territories, accompanied by an attempt to rid Muslim society of unlawful innovations (*bidaʿ*). These attempts, however, resulted in the chiefdom's destruction in 1818-21 by Muḥammad ʿAlī's Egyptian forces on behalf of the Ottomans. A subsequent second Suʿūdī chiefdom was continuously immersed in internal struggles, leading to internal warfare and disintegration in 1891. A third Suʿūdī chiefdom emerged in 1902, when the new leader of the Suʿūdī family, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, returned from exile in Kuwayt to reoccupy the city of al-Riyāḍ and its vicinity, reinforcing Suʿūdī rule there in the ensuing years [for details, see SUʿŪD, ĀL].

The transformation of this Suʿūdī chiefdom had two stimulating factors. One was a drive, attributed to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and other family members, to restore the ancestral first and second Suʿūdī states, thereby reactivating the Wahhābī movement aimed at giving the *Sharīʿa* a position of supremacy in society and at purifying Islam from *bidaʿ* [see WAHHĀBIYYA]. This motive, while it explains the desire to re-establish a third Suʿūdī chiefdom, with its *raison d'état*, does not shed light on the need to transform the chiefdom as it evolved after 1902, without defined borders, minimal government based on *ad hoc* arrangements among the ruling élite, main tribal groups and townspeople, and the persistence of tribal loyalties, into a more organised state, nor on the dynamics of this process.

The second motive, which accounts for these developments, concerns the principles of evolution of states in tribal societies. It was articulated in ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's skill in responding to new challenges by increasing the Suʿūdī chiefdom's cohesion, governmental centralisation and territorial expansion. This motive became evident during and after the First World War when, by facing the challenges of British and Ottoman rivalry, the Arab Revolt led by the rival Hāshim clan, economic hardships and floating tribal groups, the Suʿūdī leader was nevertheless able to muddle through and develop state-like attributes for his dominions.

The process of state formation in tribal societies has several characteristics; first it evolves in stages. As the transformation comes about in response to challenges of a certain period, its effect is also relatively limited, until new challenges arise, requiring new responses. Since 1902, the Suʿūdī state has undergone three stages of state-building. Responding to the earlier-mentioned challenges of the First World War period, the Suʿūdī chiefdom turned into a conquest movement which, in the 1920s, expanded over large parts of the Arabian peninsula, and secured British protection, from which it obtained full independence in May 1927. Then, responding to the establishment of the Arab state system and British regional dominance, it strengthened its territorial definition and internal consolidation in the 1930s. New challenges, emanating from the use of oil wealth and coping with regional radical waves, prompted a third stage, marked by institutionalisation and welfare, in the 1960s.

The actual attributes of state building evolved through these stages. The territorial-framework and borders were already completed during the first and second stages, i.e. by the mid-1930s. The Suʿūdī occupation in 1913, of former Ottoman Turkish al-Aḥsāʾ on the Persian Gulf shores, rather than being an all-out campaign, had specific aims, i.e. to draw British attention and finally to reach an alliance with Britain as the new great power in the Gulf, a goal which was achieved in December 1915. The Suʿūdīs were then involved in mainly tribal skirmishes with the Hāshimī rulers of the Ḥidjāz and the Āl Ṣabāḥ rulers of Kuwayt. Only in 1920, faced by an alliance of regional rivals, did ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz embark on organised expansionist campaigns, leading to the capture of the Rashīdī chiefdom of Djabal Shammar in 1921, northern ʿAsīr in 1923, and the Ḥidjāz, with its holy shrines, in 1924-5. The southern parts of ʿAsīr (including Djizān and Nadjrān) were occupied during the Saudi-Yemeni war in 1934.

The new state's borders were mostly fixed by a series of international treaties: the protocol of ʿUḳayr in 1922 and the treaties of Baḥra and Ḥaddāʾ in 1925 basically determined the borders with Kuwayt, ʿIrāḳ and Transjordan, with some areas remaining undelineated. The border with Yemen was fixed in the 1934 Ṭāʾif treaty. Saudi Arabia's borders with the Gulf states and Yemen were established mainly according to the 1913 "blue line" agreement between Britain and the Ottoman Empire, which had marked Britain's sphere of influence over the coastal chiefdoms, and in 1935-6 was employed to demarcate the Gulf States' borders from Saudi Arabia.

A second process of state building concerned the evolution of central government. A most conspicuous aspect of centralization was subjugation of opposition. The *Ikhwān* tribal groups, notably the Muṭayr, parts of the ʿUtayba and the ʿUdjmān, who favoured the continuity of the chiefdom system (including the tribes' own choice of markets, raiding, and political conduct according to their own zealous interpretation of the Wahhābī code), were defeated and subjugated in a series of battles during 1929-30. The formation of political parties, and any kind of political opposition, were subsequently forbidden. Centralisation was accompanied by the establishment, between 1926 and 1929, of a new, minimal, physical infrastructure of communications, several main roads leading from Nadjd to the new occupied territories, a radio telegraph system at the leaders' disposal, and new markets in the Gulf coast cities of Hufūf and Djubayl. Centralisation was also evident in economic change: from 1924 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz began to use civilian taxation and pilgrimage income (*ca.* £100,000 annually in the late 1920s, declining by two-thirds during the 1930s economic recession) to establish a central treasury. The forbidding of raids into neighbouring states was also laid down during this period.

Two new governmental formations then emerged: the *Sharīʿa*, in its Wahhābī interpretation, was a substitute for a constitution and the primary source of daily law. In a series of conferences of *ʿulamāʾ* and *Ikhwān* with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his aides during 1927-30, the ruler was able to establish the principle that, while the senior *ʿulamāʾ* remained the main interpreters of the Wahhābī principles of Islam, as in the 18th and 19th centuries, their religious rulings would defer to the policies of the ruler and the state. A form of state Islam thereby emerged: the senior *ʿulamāʾ*, incorporated within a Supreme Council, were responsible for judicial and religious rulings (*fatāwī*) but appointed by the ruler and representing state interests.

A further sphere of centralisation was seen in institution-building. In 1932, there was a *ca.* 43,000-strong army, and a police force of indeterminate size (probably several thousand), acting in the cities and provinces. Several government departments were inaugurated between 1925 and 1933, notably internal and foreign affairs, finance, pilgrimage and health, the whole functioning as a Council of Ministers from 1932. There were two main provincial judicial and administrative systems, one in Nadjd and the other in Ḥidjāz. In view of its religious importance and separate history,

a Basic Law detailing arrangements for the governance of Ḥidjāz was promulgated by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 1926. An Advisory Assembly, representing Ḥidjāz's élite families, had existed since 1926. The law of the state derived from the *Sharīʿa*, notably criminal and personal law, although customary law (*ʿurf*), was exercised when it was not contradictory to the *Sharīʿa*.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was given formal allegiance (*bayʿa*) in 1926, by the inhabitants of Nadjd and Ḥidjāz and assumed the title of King (*malik*) in 1927; he ruled the central and provincial governments, sanctioned by the *ʿulamāʾ*, unrestricted by any elected or appointed bodies and limited only by the *Sharīʿa*.

In reality, until the 1960s, the centralisation policies encapsulated chiefdom practices and did not result in full institutionalisation and bureaucratisation. Tribal and townspeople's groups co-existed, through fighting and/or bargaining, with the new army and police forces. New offices were headed by the king's patrimonial appointees: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's son Suʿūd was governor of Nadjd, and his other son Fayṣal was governor of Ḥidjāz and minister of foreign affairs. The King ruled as a modern head of state and, at the same time, as a tribal arbiter, consulting royal family members, *ʿulamāʾ* and tribal leaders; and he was also as an Imām, head of the Wahhābī community. Policies were not carried out in a bureaucratic, rational form: tribal rebellions were usually stemmed by the payment of arbitrary financial subventions to the head of the turbulent tribal group, and no separation between the royal and tribal purse was introduced. In addition, while the government was able to quell tribal political autonomy, tribal groups remained the source of group identity, the individual's livelihood and security. The royal family, in fact, consisted of a chain of political marriages between the members of the House of Suʿūd and other notable families, nomad or urban, thereby forming a biological élite of the state's major families.

However, the process of encapsulation reached a deadlock in the 1950s. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's death in 1953, and the reign of his son King Suʿūd (1953-64), were marked by the government's need to utilise the growing oil income; to tackle a new type of worker's opposition (which erupted in strikes in 1953 and 1956); to confront radical, anti-royalist Pan-Arabism in the Middle East, led by the Egyptian President Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāsir; and cope with the implications of East West rivalry. All of these were treated with indecisiveness, when a more resolute and institutionalised ruling system was required. Only during the third stage of Saudi state formation, did the reforms of King Fayṣal (1964-75) and King Khālid (1975-82), have the effect, in Max Weber's terms, of transforming the Saudi state from a crude monarchical government, incorporating chiefdom practices, into a "routinised", bureaucratic system. To be sure, the King's absolute position was uncompromised by any constitutional arrangements as some liberal elements suggested. Furthermore, Fayṣal, utilising modern administrative planning (initially formulated by a Ford Foundation Committee in 1963) enlarged the council of ministers into twenty ministries, including petroleum, public works, education, planning, commerce and industry, which used new methods of planning and calculated decision-making. A ministry of justice was established in 1970 to control the judicial system. A civil service, which grew from 62,000 to 336,000 personnel between 1960 and 1980, extended the government's influence to all spheres of public life throughout the realm; the state organism gained full control.

From 1970, economic development evolved through "Five-year plans," focusing both on diversification and growth. Through administrative outreach and economic means, the state established centralising networks, including schools and seven universities (the number of graduates rose from 1,700 in 1975 to *ca.* 17,000 in 1985); 24,000 km of roads connected the main towns with each other; and *ca.* 226,000 houses, telecommunication and medical facilities were built.

Centralisation was also evident, through a policy of "divide and rule", in the evolution of two separate bodies of armed forces: the regular army, composed of volunteer recruits from the entire Saudi society, under the command of the minister of defence and aviation (currently Sulṭān Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, King Fahd's full brother) and the National Guard, which functions as a militia maintaining internal order, composed of conscripted recruits from the main Nadjd tribes (such as the Muṭayr and ʿUtayba) with long-established contacts with the royal family, under the command of the crown prince (currently ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, King Fahd's half-brother). In itself, this division attests to a factional division within the royal family, which King Fayṣal was able to balance, so as to ensure the functioning of the Saudi royal family in its role as the Kingdom's central-governing élite. He established a policy of co-operation between Fahd and his six full brothers, sons of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Hasa bint Aḥmad al-Sudayrī (who therefore became known as the "Sudayrī seven") who are now principal ministers, with a group of other princes, descendents of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and various mothers, led by Crown Prince ʿAbd Allāh, with the effect that the factions' candidates alternate as Kings and as Crown Princes. Thus during the reigns of Fayṣal and Khālid, the centralisation of the Saudi state reached its peak.

Saudi Arabia underwent another process of state building, which concerns its socio-political cohesion. Unification under Saudi rule of the different territories and segments, which until 1932 were known as Nadjd, Ḥidjāz and their dependencies, did not mean full assimilation, but rather the introduction of a loose, unifying framework of tribal groups, which remained socio-economically autonomous. It showed society's compliance or acquiescence with Saudi rule, and war-weariness with the effects of territorial expansion and *Ikhwān* fighting. This loose unification was demonstrated by the King's functioning, in tribal tradition, as an arbiter between the two main provinces of Nadjd and Ḥidjāz, reflecting each region's interests vis-à-vis the other, and symbolising their readiness to co-operate. Suʿūd's and Fayṣal's appointments as governors of Nadjd and Ḥidjāz respectively, further signified the role of the Suʿūdī family as the principal unifier of the kingdom. The imposition of the *Sharīʿa*, in its Wahhābī interpretation, as the legal norm of the entire realm, was another step in this loose unification, although followers of other legal schools continued to practice their own doctrines (notably Shīʿīs in al-Aḥsāʾ and Shāfiʿīs in Ḥidjāz).

Finally, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz used unification as a means to foster feelings of regional loyalty to the central government, amidst economic recession and several tribal uprisings in Northern Ḥidjāz and ʿAsīr during 1930-4. After enlisting the support of various tribal leaders and prominent businessmen, on 16 September 1932, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz declared formal unity among Saudi-ruled territories, under the newly-named Saudi Arabian Kingdom (*al-Mamlaka al-ʿArabiyya al-Suʿūdiyya*). However, the provinces were ruled separately, according to traditional principles of allegiance to tribal

chiefs, based on a complex system of subventions and taxation. Only during the reigns of Fayṣal and Khālid were all parts of society technologically made more accessible to each other and more dependent on the central government, adding a sense of a state-based, bureaucratic identity to their cohesion.

However, reforms also had disruptive socio-political effects, emanating from the impact of modernisation. Relying on financial and oil sales reserves, which in 1981-2 reached a peak of *ca.* $165 billion, Saudi Arabia became urbanised: its population, which in the 1930s was 70% nomadic, was in the 1980s about 90% urban. Djidda and Mecca in Ḥidjāz, and al-Riyāḍ in Nadjd, became megalopolises of over one million people each. Five new civil-military city-bases (notably Yanbu', Djubayl, and Khamīs Mushayṭ) were built and other older centres were renovated and enlarged. Society became more stratified, divided into a wealthy businessman élite, a professional middle class and a lower class of manual workers, including several millions of imported Asians and Africans. An atmosphere of materialism and consumerism disoriented the formerly more austere and rather egalitarian Saudi society. However, Islamic and tribal principles remained effective as value systems, even after the tribal groups became sedentarised. Thus the norms of Wahhābī conduct remained dominant, both through the role which the *'ulamā'* continued to play as teachers (notably in girls' schools), judges, prayer-leaders and religious instructors (*muftī*), and, most notably, as legal-political advisers to the government. Religious zealots continued to operate as a "moral police", for "the promotion of good and abrogation of evil" (known as *Hay'at al-nahy min al-munkar wa'l-amr bi 'l-ma'rūf*), whose duty is to supervise public conduct and punish offenders. Moreover, tribal, kin-based co-operation is upheld as the guiding principle of intermarriage, administrative appointments, business enterprises and for building political support. Finally, a welfare system of free health and education services, subsidised food, electricity and water, combined with free, weekly access of the lower classes to a provincial governor or cabinet minister for allaying grievances, maintained internal balance and a sense of cohesion and stability in a rapidly-changing Saudi society.

Events in the 1990s indicate that the political and socio-economic dynamic which has characterised Saudi Arabia's state-building since the days of King Fayṣal, resulting in centralisation and cohesion, may have exhausted itself. Lower oil prices and huge military expenses (both as assistance to 'Irāḳ in its war against Iran in the 1980s and for the Desert Storm operation in 1990-1) caused a decline in state revenues. The fast-growing population (at a rate of 4% annually, reaching *ca.* 13 million Saudis and over three million foreign workers) has made it difficult for the government to provide for employment and welfare services. Islamic and tribal values stimulate opposition movements rather than generate support for the government. Even terrorist attempts have occasionally erupted. Consequently, there is a growing need for a new stage of state-building which will create a new order and stability.

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3. Archival sources. These may be found at the Public Record Office, London (esp. Fo 371, 882, 886, 905, Co 725, 727, 730, Air Ministry 23 series; India Office Library and Records, L/PaS/10 and 12, R15/1, R15/2, R15/5 series; Philby's papers at the Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford; U.S. National Archives, State Dept. files, 790F, 890F series. (J. Kostiner)

SUWĀ', the name of one of the five gods dating from the time of Noah mentioned in the Ḳur'ān (LXX, 23), together with Wadd, Yaghūth, Ya'ūḳ and Nasr [*q.vv.*].

Suwā' was worshipped by the Hudhayl [*q.v.*] at Ruhāt in the region of Yanbu' (Ibn al-Kalbī, 6) in one of the valleys running from the Red Sea towards Medina (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 1038). The tribe assiduously frequented his shrine, made pilgrimages to it and constantly offered sacrifices of their best smaller beasts to it (Ibn al-Kalbī, 6, 35, citing two verses attributed to a Yemeni, cf. also Yāḳūt, iii, 181-2, ii, 878). The idol was said to have been given by 'Amr b. Luḥayy, the reformer of idol worship in Arabia, to al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm b. Sa'd; its custodians [see SĀDIN] were the Banū Liḥyān. The name's etymology reflects the fact that the Hudhayl, a pastoral tribe, might have given the name to the protecting deity of stray herds, since *suwā'*, as a *maṣdar* of *sā'a*, is applied to a troop of camels wandering without a herdsman (*T'A*, v, 384-5).

Suwā' has been seen as a female deity and the consort of Wadd, the first representing the fertility principle (the Moon) and the second, the fertilising principle (the Sun) (cf. Osiander, in *ZDMG*, vii [1853], 496; Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, 66 ff.). Wellhausen (*Reste*², 19) was dismissive of this; to him, both the sex of this divinity and its connection with Wadd, its alleged consort, were highly doubtful. The five gods from Noah's time are represented as male ones, and Suwā' appears as a genealogical element in Hudhalī onomastic. Moreover, Suwā''s male sex emerges clearly from the verses of Ibn al-

Kalbī and Yāḳūt's notice, cited above. That Suwāʿ was worshipped with female features by the Hamdān, according to commentators cited by Krehl, *loc. cit.*, comes from a very late Arab tradition, one not confirmed in South Arabian inscriptions (those adduced by Derebourg and Glaser are not listed in Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*). We have probably a confusion between Suwāʿ and Sūʿ, the name of a Yemeni tribe which appears in a deformed guise in the *Dīwān* of al-Nābig͟ha al-D͟hubyānī (ed. Derenbourg, Paris 1906, 79; cited also in *TʿA*, v, 384, ll. 4-5). As for the association of Suwāʿ and Wadd, admitted by Robertson Smith (*Kinship and marriage*, 293) on Krehl's affirmation, it is merely in reality based on the side-by-side enumeration of the two names in the Ḳurʾānic list and in the onomastic of Hud͟hayl (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, Göttingen 1853, 5, where is found ʿAbd Wadd b. Suwāʿ).

The absence of the name Suwāʿ from Semitic inscriptions confirms its essentially Ḥid͟jāzī character. Like Hubal, it was a god peculiar to the Hud͟halī pastoralists, represented by a stone (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1648-9) like all the primitive Arabian deities. Its sanctuary was destroyed by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ at the same time as that of al-ʿUzzā in the year 8. In the face of the god's powerlessness to protect itself, its *sādin* became a Muslim (Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 105).

Bibliography: See essentially, Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 154-6, with references; one may cite H. Derenbourg, *Le dieu Souwâʿ dans le Coran et sur une inscription sabéenne récemment découverte*, in *Bull. Real. Acad. de la Historia, Madrid* (July-Sept. 1905), 72-8; E. Glaser, *Suwâʿ und al-ʿUzzâ und die jemenitischen Inschriften*, Munich 1905.

(T. Fahd)

SUWĀR (p.), Pahlavi *aswār*, Old Persian *asabāra-*, in Muslim Indian usage *sawār*, "horseman", but assigned a special technical meaning in the bureaucratic organisation of the Mug͟hal nobility instituted by Emperor Akbar (r. 963-1014/1556-1605). The hierarchical rank given to every noble was represented by two numbers, one designed *d͟hāt* "person" and the other *sawār*. The *sawār* rank determined the mounted retainers (*tābīnān*, so spelt) and horses the *manṣabdār* [see manṣab] was required to maintain. The amount sanctioned to cover the pay against the *sawār* rank was termed *ṭalab-i tābīnān*. In 981/1573-4 Akbar first introduced a numerical system of ranks, but with a single rank only, i.e. the rank determined only by the number of cavalry (*sawār*) the noble was expected to maintain. A payment at a rather low rate began to be made in advance for a contingent of a size, generally less than the titular rank. This came to be known as *bar-āwardī* ("by estimate"). Ultimately, the *bar-āwardī* defined the number of the second or *sawār* rank, and payments for this were made according to complex rules. The rate per unit of *bar-āwardī/sawār* under Akbar initially ranged from between 12,000 *dāms* (rupees 300 per unit) of *sawār* rank per annum and 9,600 *dāms* (rupees 240). Subsequently, payments were adjusted in accordance with the actual number of horsemen and horses presented at muster [see istiʿrāḍ], and this was called the *asp-i dāg͟hī* payment, set at a uniform rate of 15,360 *dāms* (rupees 384) per annum for every unit of *sawār* rank. This system, modified by succeeding rulers, could work best so long as mounted archers formed the bulk of the Mug͟hal army, but with the increasing use of musketry [see bārūd, vi], the military significance of cavalry became less and less, and in any case, administrative laxity after Awrangzīb's death contributed to a breakdown of the entire system of Mug͟hal ranks.

In the Indian Army of British Indian times, *sowar* was the designation for troopers in cavalry regiments (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, ²London 1903, 857, and also the *Bibl.* to sipāhī. 3).

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(M. Athar Ali)

AL-SUWAYDĪ (also Ibn al-Suwaydī), ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭark͟hān, Arab physician (b. 600/1204 in Damascus, d. there 690/1292). He was a student of Ibn al-Bayṭār and a friend of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.vv.*]. The latter reports that al-Suwaydī was an excellent writer of poetry and prose (see *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, 267, for some verse) and, in addition, an outstanding calligrapher who penned his own books in the "well-proportioned script" (*al-k͟haṭṭ al-mansūb*) devised by Ibn al-Bawwāb [*q.v.*] or in clear Kūfī script.

Three works of al-Suwaydī are extant in manuscript:

1. *K. al-Tad͟hkira* (*al-hādiya*). It consists of a collection of excerpts concerning remedies from about 400 Islamic, Greek, and other authors whose names are mentioned at the end of the book. Al-Suwaydī proposes to include only such remedies as have (allegedly) been confirmed by experience (*al-mud͟jarrabāt*). The book has, however, only a limited value as a source of information, since the remedies are only mentioned, but not described in detail.

2. *K. al-Simāt fī asmāʾ al-nabāt* ("The characteristics concerning the names of plants"), al-Suwaydī's main work. His autograph is preserved in the ms. Paris, BN, arab. 3004 (= Suppl. 877). The book is probably the most comprehensive of all the writings on synonyms and a lexical treasure trove for the plant names in use in the 7th/13th century. In addition to the Arabic names, the author gives the Greek, Syriac, Persian, Mozarabic (*laṭīnī*), and Berber equivalents. The sheer size leads one to expect a comprehensive pharmacognostic encyclopaedia. But a look at the text very soon shows that one-third, if not one-quarter of its size would have sufficed, if, under the appropriate synonyms, the author had simply referred to his discussions under the main entry, i.e. the most common name of the drug. Instead he offers the same or a similar text again under the synonyms which naturally swells up the text enormously. This uneconomical procedure is *mutatis mutandis* also true for the *Tad͟hkira*. Both works are products of unchecked literary transmission.

3. In addition to these two pharmacognostic works, al-Suwaydī also composed a small mineralogical work with the title *K. al-Bāhir fī ʾl-d͟jawāhir* (also known as *K. K͟hawāṣṣ al-aḥd͟jār min al-yawāḳīt wa ʾl-d͟jawāhir*). It treats of twenty-six minerals. Being a late compilation, without any originality, it is interesting only for the authors quoted.

4. A work cited by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ʿUyūn*, ii, 267), *al-D͟hak͟hīra al-kāfiya fī ʾl-ṭibb*, has not yet been found.

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(A. DIETRICH)

AL-**SUWAYDIYYA** (modern Tkish. Samandağ), nowadays an important town and headquarters of the sub-province (*ilçe*) of Samandağ. It is situated 26 km/16 miles south-west of Antakya (Anṭākiyā [*q.v.*]), the capital of the Hatay province of Turkey, near to the Mediterranean Sea, 5 km/3 miles north of the Orontes River (Ar. al-ʿĀṣī [*q.v.*]).

In the mediaeval period, when al-Suwaydiyya is first mentioned, the name apparently refers to the port at the mouth of the river on the north bank, which the Crusaders knew as Soudin or Port Saint-Simeon, after St. Simeon Stylites the Younger, the remains of whose monastery are to be found on Mont Admirable (Samandağ), situated a little to the east. Port Saint-Simeon occupied the site of a Greek trading colony which was abandoned in later antiquity in favour of Seleucia Pieria to the north, but then reoccupied at the time of the Arab conquests, when the harbour at Seleucia Pieria silted up. References to al-Suwaydiyya are mostly in connection with the transit of people and goods through the port to and from the hinterland, and largely cease after the end of the 7th/13th century. The port, also known as al-Mīnāʾ, was probably abandoned again in the 8th/14th century, and few traces remain. After centuries of obscurity, present-day Samandağ profits from the light industrial and agricultural prosperity that has transformed Hatay, without, however, effacing Samandağ's Levantine flavour. This recalls the time, before the 1939 plebiscite, when it belonged to the partially Arabic-speaking autonomous Sandjak of Alexandretta (Iskandarūn [*q.v.*]) under French-mandated Syria [see AL-SHAʾM 2.(b)]. Samandağ continues to be associated with the predominantly Syrian Nuṣayrī sect [see NUṢAYRIYYA], who venerate an important popular shrine (*türbe*) identified with Khiḍr (al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*]) located at the nearest point to the town on the sea-shore.

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(E. HONIGMANN-[D.W. MORRAY])

AL-**SUWAYRA**, MOGADOR, a town in Morocco on the Atlantic coast. The Bay of Mogador, protected against the north winds by the rocky promontory on which the town is built, against those from the west by an island about 1 km/1,000 yards in length, forms a natural harbour which, although not large and inaccessible for ships of large tonnage, has however the merit of being accessible at all seasons, an advantage which secures it a favourable place among the anchorages of the Atlantic coast of Morocco which is, generally speaking, inhospitable. This favoured situation was taken advantage of at a very early period. In spite of the lack of precision in the sources, it is probable that we should seek at Mogador the site of one of the five Phoenician colonies founded by Hanno (5th century B.C.). Pliny records that at the end of the 1st century B.C. the king Juba II founded purple dye-works on the *Purpurariae Insulae*, apparently islands and islets opposite al-Suwayra. Getulic purple, which was celebrated at Rome, was supplied by the molluscs abundant on this coast.

In the 5th/11th century, according to al-Bakrī, Amogdul, a very safe anchorage, was the port for all the province of Sūs. We see in the name that of a local saint, Sīdī Mogdūl, still venerated in this region, whose tomb is on the bank near the mouth of the Wādi 'l-Ḳsob. It is however possible that the saint gets his name from an old Berber place-name. Mogador is only a Spanish or Portuguese transcription of Mogdūl, through the forms Mogodul, Mogodor, which we sometimes find in the texts. The harbour and the island bear the name Mogodor or Mongodor on a series of portolans of the 14th and 15th centuries (publ. by Ch. de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen-âge*, Paris 1925) but there was not a town here, when in September 1506, the king of Portugal Dom Manuel I commanded a gentleman of his court, Diogo d'Azambuja, to build a fortress here which was called *Castello Real* of Mogador. Built with great difficulty, the Portuguese stronghold did not long resist attacks from the local tribes. It seems that at Mogador they came up against strong resistance, probably organised by the old Berber marabout body of the Ragrāga. The garrison had to remain blockaded in Castello Real, revictualled with difficulty from Portugal and Madeira, until in 1510, the tribes were strong enough to seize the fortress.

This old Portuguese castle situated on a rocky promontory supporting the western mole of the modern harbour, survived till 1764 or 1765 and was only destroyed when the town of al-Suwayra was built (see below).

In spite of the lack of success of the Portuguese attempt, this privileged situation continued to attract the envy of European nations. At the beginning of the 17th century, Spain thought of seizing it to protect the route to the Indies. At the same time, English agents were thinking of making Mogador a base against Spain. In France, Richelieu and Père Joseph were drawing up schemes for a colonial policy. The Chevalier de Razilly in 1626 suggested to them the occupation of Mogador and the organisation of a factory and fisheries there. He had it reconnoitred in 1629, but found it impossible to take it by surprise.

In spite of so many projects and attempts against it, the island and the shores remained practically deserted. Ships, however, frequented the roadstead. It was through Mogador that in the first quarter of the 17th century, the greater part of the trade between Marrākush and Holland took place. Later, in the time of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, the harbour was mainly used as a refuge for corsairs who came there to rest and repair their vessels.

Shortly after 1750, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, having become sultan and having made Marrākush his capital, decided to found a town at Mogador and to conduct all the commerce of the south of his kingdom through it. The harbour also served as a base for the corsairs who, through the menace they offered to the fleets of Europe, forced the Christian nations to conclude treaties with the sultan. In order to populate the town and start business in it, he demanded

that European consuls and merchants should settle there and have houses built at their own expense.

It is from the autumn of 1764 that the foundation of the town really dates; it was given the name al-Suwayra (Swīra), the little fortress; the name Mogador was only used by Europeans. We also find a Berberised form (*Tasuirt*). The English provided the sultan with an architect. They sent him a French "engineer", a native of Avignon, called Nicolas Cournut, who had made the plans for the fortifications of some places in Roussillon. He was an adventurer who, after working in France as a contractor, had entered the English service during the Seven Years' War. The sultan did not gain much by his services and sent him back to France at the beginning of 1767. None of the present buildings in Mogador can be attributed with certainty to Cournut, for after him a number of European architects and masons worked for the sultan, notably a Genoese architect who built the battery called the *sḳāla* situated on the western rampart facing the sea. Suwayra owed to its builders the narrow streets, massive gateways and bastions of European type, the like of which cannot be found in other Moroccan towns and which give it quite a specific character as an "orthagonal médina". Sīdī Muḥammad also built outside the town a country palace which still stands half buried in sand opposite the little village of Diyābāt.

The dreams of the sultan were only imperfectly realised. The prosperity of al-Suwayra remained insignificant under Sīdī Muḥammad and declined under his successors. The situation of the town, a long way from great cities and main roads, made it frequently used in the 19th century as a political prison and compulsory place of residence for high officials in disgrace. Mogador remained, however, the starting-place for the caravans to the Sūs, Mauritania and the Sūdān, and retained from this position a certain commercial importance, to which the opening of the port of Agadir to commerce was to cause considerable harm.

On 15 August 1844, a French squadron commanded by the Prince de Joinville, who had just bombarded Tangier, came and bombarded al-Suwayra likewise. It was intended to make an impression on Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān by striking at a town which belonged to him personally and from which he drew considerable revenues. A three hours' bombardment silenced the batteries; the French army then disembarked on the island, the garrison of which, entrenched in the mosque, made a vigorous defence until the next morning. On 16 August, a detachment of 600 men went to spike the guns, throw the gunpowder into the sea and destroy the last defences of the town.

Under the French Protectorate, the town now called Mogador became the seat of a *contrôle civil.* In the 1926 census, it had 18,401 inhabitants, including 7,730 Jews. This important community progressively decreased, and on the eve of independence was reduced to only 1,341. During the colonial period, Mogador became an important fishing port, furnished with canning factories, on the impulse of Breton entrepreneurs. A commercial port was set up, and dealt with the agricultural products of the town's hinterland: cereals, almonds, cummin, wax, woollens, hides and gums. In 1956, the town re-assumed the name of al-Suwayra.

The drying-up of the oceans' resources and the development of better-equipped ports both to the north (Safi) and to the south (Agadir and then Tan Tan) brought to a precipitate close the industrial activities of processing fish, throwing part of the working population into unemployment, a quarter of which had worked in the fishing industry and its ancillaries. It was Morocco's third fishing port in 1970, with over 40,000 tonnes of fish landed annually, but this fell to 20-25,000 tonnes after 1982 and down to 6,000 tonnes in 1991. Commercial activity in the port became negligible. Its administrative significance (al-Suwayra is the chef-lieu of a province), the presence of a large-scale and a petty commerce serving the Chiadma (S͟hiyādma) region, and the survival of workers in marquetry (of national importance, starting from working with the thuya or arbor vitae wood), have enabled it to survive with difficulty. The industry benefited from some incoming capital and employed 4,600 persons in 1993 (Ministry of Industry statistics). But al-Suwayra remains above all a town whose tertiary sector has withered away.

Despite an exceptionally mild summer and winter climate, an original countryside mingled with sand dunes, forests of argan trees and a splendid, diversified coastline, al-Suwayra has not been able to grow into a residential centre for international tourism. It is mainly frequented by Moroccan town-dwellers, especially those from Marrākus͟h (Marrakech), in search of bathing and an unusual coolness. It has become a refuge for "hitch hikers" and, at times, for groups of hippies, so that its image as a tourist centre has been impaired. On the other hand, its unspoilt appearance has meant that it is frequently used as a stage for shooting films: "Saharan desert" scenes, utilising the surrounding massive sand dunes; urban and seaport settings for Orson Welles' *Othello*; and, more recently, for a film on Rimbaud (*L'homme aux semelles de vent*) by Marc Rivière.

In these conditions, population growth has remained relatively modest. From 30,000 inhabitants in 1971, there were 42,000 in 1982 and 56,000 in 1994. The rate of annual increase of the twelve years 1982-94 has been 2.4%, whilst the urban population of the economic region of Tensift, in which al-Suwayra is situated, has grown by 3.6% during the same period.

As a town isolated amid the dunes, poorly connected with its hinterland (which is in any case poor), away, as it always has been, from the great axial road connecting Safi with Agadir, al-Suwayra cannot compete with the two towns between which it is situated. It appears today as the archetype of a medium-sized Moroccan town in crisis, at the end of the world as it were, and a town turned inwards with the memories of its rich past.

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(P. DE CENIVAL-[J.-F. TROIN])

AL-**SUWAYS** or SUEZ, a seaport in Egypt, located at the northern end of the Red Sea (lat. 29° 59' N., long. 32° 33' E.).

The town centre is situated closely south to the ancient town of Ḳulzum [*q.v.*] which continued the Ptolemaic settlement of Κλυσμα or Κλεισμα at the western shore of the bay of Suways and of which only a few ruins remain, known as Kūm al-Ḳulzum. The foundations of al-Suways were laid after the formerly famous trading centre al-Ḳulzum (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 213) had been fallen into decay in the 5th/11th century because of severe problems in supplying the inhabitants with fresh water and the difficulties in using the place as a permanent harbour, which had been effected by increasing silting up of the coast. Al-Idrīsī still mentioned al-Ḳulzum on his map of the world (*Charta Rogeriana*) dated 1154. Yāḳūt says that "today", al-Ḳulzum is ruined and the newly-founded al-Suways, which al-Muḳaddasī had already mentioned nearly two centuries before "was also like ruins where only a few people lived" (*Buldān*, iv, 388). In earlier times, al-Suways had just been one of several wells which had been used to supply the inhabitants of al-Ḳulzum with fresh water. In the Middle Ages, al-Suways served as a modest harbour for pilgrims travelling to Mecca and Medina by sea, as a trading place for Bedouin tribes and as the point of departure for the Egyptian annual tribute for the Ḥidjāz (see *ibid.*, iii, 286). At al-Suways, the old pilgrim road from Cairo and the caravan track through the Wādī 'l-Tīh ended. The use of the seaport was limited, although at the end of the 9th/15th century, the Mamlūks tried to restore the importance of the place as a military harbour. In Ottoman times, however, al-Suways became a supply centre for ships of the Ottoman Red Sea naval forces which were lying in the roads. In addition, the Ottomans built a fortress which, however, fell into decay. Prior to the urban extension works of the 19th century, the old town, covering 0.15 km^2, enclosed 11 quarters (*ḥāra*) with a total of 112 residences, 2 mosques, a mill, several ovens, some 18 larger shops and *khāns*, six markets with 120 shops and workshops and a *zāwiya*. Two new quarters named Salīmiyya and al-Munsha'a were built in the 1810s as Muḥammad 'Alī promoted a small ship-building industry in order to facilitate the transportation of troops to the Ḥidjāz during the Egyptian-Wahhābī wars (1811-18). This already anticipated the urban development of the 19th century, when al-Suways experienced a remarkable refoundation, and, after Alexandria, became Egypt's second trading centre. In 1838 al-Suways was connected to the new post road to Cairo and Alexandria, and also became the starting point for the new steamship liners to Bombay, with steam now allowing the all-year-round use of al-Suways as harbour. Its importance grew when, during the Crimean War, the telegraph link between Egypt and Aden was laid.

In the early 1840s, Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805-94) made further investigations into the possibility of digging a new canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. He elaborated earlier plans published by J.P. Le Père (1808) and Linant de Bellefonds (1821), and, after earlier measurings, according to which the level of the Red Sea was about 9 m/30 feet higher than that of the Mediterranean Sea (Lepère 1798), had been corrected, de Lesseps finally submitted a proposal to the then *wālī* of Egypt, Sa'īd Pasha [*q.v.*]. He supported the opinion of Bellefonds' Saint-Simonist study group and of an Egyptian-European commission which had been set up in 1846, according to which the building of a canal through the Isthmus of Suez was possible. On 5 January 1856, Sa'īd signed the concession, hoping that the canal would strengthen his ambitions of making Egypt more independent of the Ottoman Empire. After three years of fund-raising and political quarrels, which involved the question of Ottoman sovereignty, the Suez Canal Company was founded with the support of Napoleon III in Paris in 1858. In the course of time, French entrepreneurs bought more than 50% of the shares. Sa'īd Pasha himself, who had originally acquired 21% of the shares, had to sell some of them already in 1860. Finally, canal construction started on 22 April 1859. The Egyptian government recruited 25,000 peasants to work in the Canal region. Simultaneously, a sweet water canal was dug from Cairo to the region of Ismā'īliyya. This canal followed the old canal which had linked the Red Sea with the Nile in Late Pharaonic times and which had been restored several times till the 2nd/8th century [for details, see *EI*[1] art. *Suez*]; it took five years to dig this canal. After 1863 and the introduction of machines, the infrastructure and working conditions were considerably improved. When on 16 November 1869 the Canal was opened, construction costs had reached about 19 million pounds sterling, one-third of which had been paid by the Egyptian government. The Canal was now owned by the Companie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez, which controlled further property along the Canal. As a result of severe financial problems the Egyptian Khedive Ismā'īl Pasha [*q.v.*] was forced to sell his shares in the Suez Canal Company to the British government. Following the digging of the Canal (1859-69), two new permanent artificial harbours (formerly called Port Ibrāhīm and Port Tawfīḳ) were built 3 km/2 miles to the south of Suez at the entry into the Canal. The Convention of Constantinople (29 October 1888) guaranteed the freedom of shipping through the Canal even in time of war. This treaty was again recognised by the Egyptian government on 24 April 1952. When opened, the Canal had a length of 164 km and a breadth of 52 m; in 1982, the length was 195 km and its breadth 164 m, now allowing even larger tankers (up to 150,000 registered tons in 1980) to pass through.

In 1858, Suez was connected to the railway network, and the railway was used to import fresh water into Suez, which gradually turned into a town. Having become the southern port of entry into the Canal, its population has steadily increased (1860: 4,160; 1897: 17,500; 1992: 388,000), being nowadays the sixth largest town of Egypt. From 1882 to 1954, the Canal Zone remained a British military deployment area. Following the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 10 October 1954, the British were to demilitarise the zone within 20 months; on 26 July 1956, the Egyptian government nationalised the canal. Until 1960, Suez formed part of the Canal Governorate, but in that year it became the centre of a separate province (*muḥāfaẓa*). From 1956 to 1967, the sharp increase in oil shipment favoured an economic boom of the town, and the Canal was dredged out several times in order to bring the depth into line with the steadily increasing

tonnage of tankers. Suez severly suffered from the wars and military activities from 1948 to 1973. During the Suez Crisis in 1956, Suez was not occupied and only a few bombing attacks hit the town. The Egyptian-Israeli Wars of 1967 and, in particular, of that of 1973, however, devastated Suez, destroying up to 70-80% of it. The town only slowly recovered from the damage. From 1967 to 1975 whilst the Canal was blocked, Suez was almost a dead city. After 1975, there were ambitious plans to reconstruct Suez and it was projected as an urban agglomoration of nearly 1 million inhabitants by the year 2000, although only a few of these plans have since been realised. Refineries have been established, and a production pipeline now links the town with Cairo, and some chemical industries and an aluminium works constitute the present industrial importance of Suez.

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SŪYĀB, a settlement in the Semirečye region of Central Asia [see YETI SU] mentioned in the history of the Early Turks and their connections with the adjacent Islamic lands. It apparently lay slightly to the north of the Ču river valley, hence just north of the modern Kirghizia-Kazakstan border. Minorsky suggested that the name means "canal (*āb*) on the Ču".

At the time of the Arab incursions into Central Asia, the chief *ordu* or encampment of the Türgesh ruler Su-lu was located at Sūyāb; it was sacked by the incoming Chinese army in 748, and then in 766 the site was occupied by the Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] when they migrated southwards and westwards after the fall of the Western Turkish empire. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿalām*, tr. Minorsky, 99, mentions 20,000 warriors as coming from it, but Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, 279, has the more modest figure of 500. The author of the *Ḥudūd* placed it, in his time (late 4th/10th century), in the country of the Tukhsī, who may have been remnants of the Türgesh. Thereafter, however, it fades from mention; it does not e.g. appear in Kāshgharī's *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 287, 289, 299 (map vi), 303; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 195, 301; idem *History of the Semirechyé*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956, 82-5. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SUYURGHATMISH [see ḲUTLUGH-KHĀNIDS].

SUYŪṬ [see ASYŪṬ].

AL-**SUYŪṬĪ**, ABU 'L-FAḌL ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ABĪ BAKR b. Muḥammad Djalāl al-Dīn al-Khuḍayrī, famous Egyptian scholar, at present recognised as the most prolific author in the whole of Islamic literature.

1. Life.

Through his father, al-Suyūṭī was of Persian origin. He himself states that his ancestors lived at al-Khuḍayriyya, one of the quarters of Baghdād (hence his second *nisba*). In the Mamlūk period his family settled in Asyūṭ [*q.v.*], where its members were engaged in important religious and administrative duties. Al-Suyūṭī was born on 1 Radjab 849/3 October 1445 in Cairo, where his father taught Shāfiʿī law and acted as substitute *ḳāḍī*. An anecdote prefigures Djalāl al-Dīn's fertile career: his mother, a Circassian slave, is said to have borne him while she found herself in the family library. To this, al-Suyūṭī owes the surname "son of books" (*ibn al-kutub*) (A. al-Aydarūsī, *Taʾrīkh al-nūr al-sāfir ʿan akhbār al-ḳarn al-ʿāshir*, Baghdād 1934, 51). His father died prematurely in 855/1451, and so the son had several teachers. At the age of fourteen, he deepened his education in the various religious sciences (*tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, Shāfiʿī law, etc.) as well as in Arabic. Among his numerous teachers were ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Munāwī and Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Kafyādjī. Al-Suyūṭī includes among them Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī [*q.v.*], but he attended only once his courses, and that at the age of three (*Taʾrīkh al-nūr al-sāfir*, 54). He studied *ḥadīth* under the aegis of a dozen women specialising in this discipline (M. al-Shakʿa, *Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, masīratuhu al-ʿilmiyya wa-mabāḥithuhu al-lughawiyya*, Cairo 1981, 35-40). In 867/1463, hardly eighteen years old, he inherited his father's position, taught Shāfiʿī law in the mosque of Shaykhū and gave juridical consultations in which he handled various sciences in a brilliant way (an example of a complex *fatwā* given at that early age is reported by S. Abū Djīb in *Ḥayāt Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī maʿ al-ʿilm min al-mahd ilā 'l-laḥd*, Damascus 1993, 189-93). In 872/1467 al-Suyūṭī took up again the tradition of dictating (*imlā*) *ḥadīth* in the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn, where his father had been a preacher. This method had been interrupted twenty years earlier at the death of Ibn Ḥadjar. As a result, al-Suyūṭi obtained in 877/1472 the post of teacher of *ḥadīth* at the Shaykhūniyya. Though nominated by his teacher al-Kafyādjī, it seems that he obtained this post because of the support of a Mamlūk *amīr*. From 891/1486 he was also in charge of the Baybarsiyya *khānḳāh* [*q.v.*]. These obligations left him time to write his works and to see to their spread outside Egypt. Before he had reached thirty years of age, his works were sought after in the entire Near East, and later circulated from India to Takrūr in Sahilian Africa, where he, from Cairo, played the role of counsellor in matters of Islamisation (see the *Asʾila wārida min al-Takrūr*, in the *Ḥāwī* presented below, i, 377-85).

In fact, his career developed much more smoothly abroad than in Egypt. Here he found himself in the middle of numerous polemics: the intransigence and arrogance he displayed certainly contained elements which irritated his colleagues and stirred up their jealousy. These controversies touched upon questions of theology and law as well as mysticism, and the *Ḥāwī li 'l-fatāwā* (new ed. Beirut, n.d.), through the titles of the *fatwās* and chapters which the work brings together, attests that al-Suyūṭī must have refuted (*al-radd ʿalā*...) many times the views of his adversaries. His main detractor was Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497 [*q.v.*]), a traditionist who took offence at the fame of his colleague (as is admitted by al-Shawkānī in *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ bi-maḥāsin man baʿd al-ḳarn al-sābiʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 328-35). Al-Sakhāwī's acrimony

appears in the pages which he reserves for al-Suyūṭī in *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' fī a'yān al-ḳarn al-tāsi'* (Beirut n.d., iv, 65-70). The tension came to a head when al-Suyūṭi, probably in 888/1483, pretended to have reached the degree of *mud̲j̲tahid muṭlaḳ muntasib*, that is to say that he exercised *id̲j̲tihād* [*q.v.*] by following the method of one of the four *imāms*, in this case that of *imām* al-S̲h̲āfi'ī. He thus does not present himself as an "independent" *mud̲j̲tahid* (*mustaḳill*). In *al-Radd 'alā man ak̲h̲lada ilā 'l-arḍ* (Algiers 1907), he reminds the reader that *id̲j̲tihād* is a collective duty (*farḍ kifāya*), underlined not only by the masters of the S̲h̲āfi'ī school but also by Ibn Taymiyya. He also affirms that his *id̲j̲tihād* is not at all limited to the *S̲h̲arī'a* but also applies to the disciplines of the *ḥadīt̲h̲* and of the Arabic language. Al-Suyūṭī's allegations aroused a real *fitna* (this term is used by Muhammad Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī; cf. al-S̲h̲a'rānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣug̲h̲rā*, Cairo 1970, 78), and so it becomes understandable that al-S̲h̲a'rānī devoted the greater part of his entry on al-Suyūṭī, whom he venerated, to the justification of the latter's points of view with regard to *id̲j̲tihād* (*op. cit.*, 17-36). In consistency with his pretentions to *id̲j̲tihād*, al-Suyūṭī, two or three years before the year 900/1494, announces himself as the renewer of Islam (*mud̲j̲addid*) [*q.v.*] for the 9th century of the *Hid̲j̲ra* (see his epistle on this subject in the *Ḥāwī*, ii, 248 ff. and his autobiography with the title *al-Taḥadduth bi ni'mat Allāh*, ed. E.M. Sartain, Cambridge 1975, 215-27).

From 891/1486, at the age of about forty, al-Suyūṭī decided to retire from public life. Progressively he resigned his functions and stopped delivering *fatwās*. Apart from the resentment of his colleagues towards him, the reasons he put forward were corruption in the milieu of the *'ulamā'* and their ignorance. Indeed, the decline of the cultural level at the end of the Mamlūk period was manifest. At the same time, al-Suyūṭī's relations with sultan Ḳā'it Bāy [*q.v.*] became more acrimonious. He refused to pay a visit to the sultan at the beginning of each month: frequenting the wordly rulers, he profounded, was condemned by the first Muslims (cf. his epistle *Mā rawāhu al-asāṭīn fī 'adam al-mad̲j̲ī' ilā 'l-salāṭīn*, Ṭanṭa 1991). On several occasions, he clashed with Ḳā'it Bāy (see his *fatwā* in the *Ḥāwī*, ii, 154-79) and declined the offer made later by sultan al-G̲h̲awrī [*q.v.*] to assume direction of his *madrasa*. Al-Suyūṭī always rejected peremptorily the *de facto* power of the Mamlūks whom he, following the example of al-'Izz Ibn 'Abd al-Salām (d. 660/1261), considered as "slaves" (*mamlūk*). He never missed the opportunity to point this out in one or the other of his *fatwās* (*Ḥāwī*, i, 206-10). He reproached sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] for having weakened the S̲h̲āfi'ī rite—and, beyond that, Islam—by designating a grand *ḳāḍī* for each of the three other rites. Conversely, the 'Abbāsid caliphs were for him the incarnation of legitimacy, for they were the best guarantors of the revealed Law and of the prophetic *Sunna* (see J.Cl. Garcin, *Histoire, opposition politique et piétisme traditionaliste dans le Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara de Suyūṭī*, in *AI*, vii [1967], 33-88; see also *Le sultan et le Pharaon*, in *Hommage à François Daumas*, Montpellier 1986, 261-72). The indestructible support al-Suyūṭī gave to the caliphate is also explained by the bonds which his father wove with the caliphs residing in Cairo, and from which he himself profited: in 902/1496, he succeeded in having himself nominated "supreme *ḳāḍī*" by al-Mutawakkil, but the latter had to retract when faced with the hostility of the *'ulamā'*.

Al-Suyūṭī's complete retreat into his house on Rawḍa island took place in 906/1501, following the conflict which opposed him to the residents of the Baybarsiyya. For him, who venerated the masters of *taṣawwuf*, the residents of that *k̲h̲ānḳāh* were only pseudo-Ṣūfīs. Forced to reduce their salaries, he was obliged to hide in order to escape the persecution of sultan Ṭūman Bāy, who supported his adversaries. He was then dismissed from his functions, but, as E.M. Sartain has shown in her *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, biography and background*, Cambridge 1975, 101, this certainly did not happen because of mismanagement of the finances of the establishment. In his house on Rawḍa, he concentrated on the editing and revision of his works. He died there on 19 D̲j̲umādā I 911/18 October 1505. His reputation as a scholar and the aura of godliness which were already his during his lifetime, then reached their zenith; his clothes were bought as if they were relics (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waḳā'i' 'al-duhūr*, Istanbul 1934, iv, 83).

2. Al-Suyūṭī as a scholar, and his works. The self-confidence of al-Suyūṭī was based on his being aware of his own gifts. He had a prodigious memory (he knew by heart all the *ḥadīt̲h̲s* which had come to his knowledge, namely 200,000) and his remarkable synthetic mind enabled him to edit or to dictate several works at the same time. He certainly did not lack ambition (at the age of twenty, during the Pilgrimage, he asked God to grant him more knowledge in *fiḳh* and in *ḥadīt̲h̲* than the two great scholars of his time had in these disciplines; cf. *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, 55), and this prompted him to write on the most divers subjects. He did not want to remain ignorant in any field of knowledge (see Goldziher's judgement on this matter, in J.O. Hunwick, *Ignaz Goldziher on al-Suyūṭī*, in *MW*, lviii (1978), 94, 96). He asserted, however, that it was not a question of pride on his side, but of concern for bearing witness to the blessings with which God had favoured him (*al-taḥadduth bi-ni'mat Allāh*; cf. also *Ḥāwī*, ii, 562). Moreover, we know that he led a rather frugal life. He was convinced that he had been invested with a mission which prevailed over every other consideration, in particular, over the opinion others had of him. This mission consisted in assembling and transmitting to coming generations the Islamic cultural patrimony before it might disappear as a result of the carelessness of his contemporaries. In fact, he quotes in his works numerous ancient texts which are now lost, in particular in the field of the Arabic language. Al-Suyūṭī represents the apex of mediaeval science (among others, David King makes this point with respect to al-Suyūṭī's treatise on cosmology (*al-Hay'a al-saniyya fī 'l-hay'a al-sunniyya*) in his review of A. Heinen, *Islamic cosmology*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1982; cf. *JAOS*, cix/1 [1989], 125, and *D̲j̲am'al-d̲j̲awāmi'*, Cairo 1984, 9 vols., al-Suyūṭī's great—unfinished—compilation of the prophetic tradition). At the same time, he prefigures the modern period by certain aspects, such as being partly an autodidact, presenting to a public, which he wanted to be widened, manuals which were centred around precise themes (this is, e.g., the case with his *Itḳān fī 'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān* (many editions), which remains a work of reference wherever Ḳur'ānic sciences are taken up. Moreover, his epistles and *fatwās* are often the fruits of a request from the public, Egyptian or foreign. In the same spirit of vulgarisation, he epitomised the works of others, as well as his own (e.g. *al-D̲j̲āmi' al-ṣag̲h̲īr*, a summary of the *D̲j̲am' al-d̲j̲awāmi'* quoted above). For all that, al-Suyūṭī cannot be considered as a mere compiler. He indeed takes up themes which were usually neglected in Islamic literature. He is the first to have introduced Muslim mystics into

the field of the *fatwā* (in this, he was to be followed by other Shāfiʿī scholars of the 10th/16th century, such as Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghayṭī and, above all, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī [*q.v.*]. As for the form, al-Suyūṭī's procedure is scientific in so far as he quotes his sources with precision and presents them in a critical way. In the introduction to a work, he often defines the method which he is going to follow. His works benefit from a clear structure, and he often broke new ground by expounding his material according to its alphabetical order.

Regarding the number of his works, Arab and Western authors have brought forward different figures, and these go up parallel to our knowledge. A study of 1983 mentions up to 981 works (A. al-Khāzindār and M.I. al-Shaybānī, *Dalīl makhṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī wa-amākin wudjūdiha*, Cairo), whereas al-Suyūṭī lived only for sixty solar years. In our days, his manuscripts are published with great success, and from this point of view, he has won the battle which laid him open to his detractors. Al-Suyūṭī's versatility is the illustration of the Islamic ideal, according to which there is no really profane science. He explored geography as well as lexicography, pharmacopeia, dietetics and erotica. Certain works of his are studded with the most anecdotal details, which in his eyes are all worthy of interest (cf. *al-Kanz al-madfūn wa 'l-fulk al-mashḥūn*, Cairo 1991—if this indeed is his—or "The hundred questions" to which he answers in his *Ḥāwī*, ii, 527-67). More profoundly, his approach of a subject is often multidisciplinary. The purpose of his small treatise *al-Aḥādīth al-ḥisān fī faḍl al-ṭaylasān* is to prove to sultan Ḳā'it Bāy that wearing the *ṭaylasān* is a *sunna*, but he does not deprive himself of introducing philological expositions. Moreover, he asserts that, at the elaboration of his *al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-kubrā*, on the specific virtues of the Prophet (Beirut 1985, 2 vols.), he made use of the sciences of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, law and its foundations (*uṣūl*), of Ṣūfism, etc. (S. Abū Djīb, *op. cit.*, 52).

However, a well-defined main line of al-Suyūṭī's attachment to the Prophet and his *Sunna* stands out from this versatility. In his field of vision he includes the most scattered sciences as long as they do not contradict the Revelation which has come down upon Muḥammad. That is why he condemns in several texts Hellenistic logic (*al-manṭiḳ*) (cf. in particular *Ṣawn al-manṭiḳ wa 'l-kalām ʿan fann al-manṭiḳ wa 'l-kalām*, Cairo 1947). He is a man of Tradition, and for him every speculation is submitted to it. From this comes al-Suyūṭī's *salafī* aspect, which explains why he often walks in the footsteps of Ibn Taymiyya, although he dissociates himself from him in certain points (cf. E. Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie*, IFEAD, Damascus 1995, 448-9). Among the disciplines which he says he controls (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1968, i, 238-9; *al-Taḥadduth*, 204), that of the *ḥadīth* prevails, for its impregnates the greater part of his works. The various sciences which are related to the Arabic language perhaps represent his favourite subject (this is what he asserts in *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir fī 'l-lugha*, Ḥaydarābād 1940, i, 3-4), but the influence of *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* is quite distinctly to be noticed in his major work on the language, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā* (see e.g. B. Weiss, *Language and tradition in medieval Islam: the question of al-Ṭarīq ilā Maʿrifat al-Lugha*, in *Isl.*, lxi [1984], 98-9), and al-Suyūṭī himself acknowledged this in the prologue of his *Muzhir* (Beirut 1986, i, 1). In the same way as he did for the *ḥadīth*, al-Suyūṭī reintroduced the "dictation of the language" (*imlā' al-lugha*) after this had been interrupted for almost five hundred years (Hunwick, *op. cit.*, 92). It is worthwhile to note that, in his other works on language, al-Suyūṭī follows the method of the religious sciences, that of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, in *al-Iḳtirāḥ fī ʿilm uṣūl al-lugha*, and that of *fiḳh* in *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir fī 'l-lugha*, which he puts side-to-side with *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir fī fiḳh al-imām al-Shāfiʿī* (Cairo 1959). Though claiming that he innovated the science of the "foundations of the Arabic language" (*uṣūl al-lugha*), he worked as a philologist rather than as a linguist. Another pole of al-Suyūṭī's work are the Ḳur'ānic sciences (about twenty works), and if the above-mentioned *Itḳān* gives a generous share to language and rhetoric, al-Suyūṭī's main commentary, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī 'l-tafsīr bi 'l-maʾthūr* (Beirut 1990, 8 vols.) is exclusively supplied with *ḥadīth* and the sayings of the first Muslims. In this field should also be mentioned the very practical *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* (many editions), the commentary begun by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459 [*q.v.*]), one of al-Suyūṭī's teachers, and perfected by the latter. Brockelmann wrongly identified this work with the *Lubāb al-nuḳūl fī asbāb al-nuzūl*, which deals with the "circumstances of the revelation" (Cairo n.d.; see *EI*[1] art. *al-Suyūṭī*, at IV, 573b).

If in al-Suyūṭī's eyes the discipline of the *ḥadīth* represents "the noblest of sciences" (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 155), this is because it is related to the prophetic model, which for him is the only way leading to God. In this field, al-Suyūṭī completes Ibn Ḥadjar's contribution by establishing the chain of guarantors and the degree of reliability of certain traditions introduced by his precursor. Here al-Suyūṭī's key work is perhaps *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ taḳrīb al-Nawawī* (Beirut 1979), which deals with the terminology of *ḥadīth* (see e.g. the extensive use made of it by Ṣ. Ṣāliḥ in his *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Beirut 1982), but many others could be quoted. The prophetic model evoked previously cannot be transmitted exclusively by bookish science; it must be vitalised from inside. Al-Suyūṭī, who claimed to have seen the Prophet more than seventy times while awake (al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, 29; al-Suyūṭī justifies this faculty in a long *fatwā* in *Ḥāwī*, ii, 473-92), assures people that, during a vision, one may be entertained directly by the Prophet about the validity of a *ḥadīth* (*Taḥdhīr al-khawwāṣ min akādhib al-ḳuṣṣāṣ*, Beirut n.d., 50). He attached importance to the complementarity between the esoteric and exoteric aspects of the Prophet in a work with the explicit title *al-Bāhir fī ḥukm al-nabī (Ṣ) bi 'l-bāṭin wa 'l-ẓāhir* (Cairo 1987). As a Ṣūfī, al-Suyūṭī found in the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] a just equilibrium between the Law and the Way (cf. his *Ta'yīd al-ḥaḳīḳa al-ʿaliyya wa-tashyīd al-ṭarīḳa al-shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1934). As master, he had a *shaykh* of this order, Muḥammad al-Maghribī (d. 910/1504), and his principal disciple, who served him for forty years, was called ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Shādhilī. In accordance with this personal engagement, al-Suyūṭī profited from his fame as *ʿālim* and jurisconsult to spearhead a clear-sighted apology for Ṣūfism and its masters. He saw the highest form of adoration in the *dhikr*, showed that one must interpret the sayings of the Ṣūfīs and not stop at their first appearance, maintained that the saints had the gift of ubiquity, put the initiatory hierarchy of the saints back into a Sunnī perspective, defended the orthodoxy of Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn al-ʿArabī, etc. (the relationship between al-Suyūṭī and Ṣūfism is treated in detail in the above-mentioned *Le soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie*). Among the supernatural favours attributed to al-Suyūṭī we may cite his predictions on the first Ottoman period (Ibn

Iyās, *op. cit.*, v, 218; al-Sha'rānī, *op. cit.*, 30-2). Moreover, the eschatological dimension is very much present in his work (see the many *fatwās* in his *Ḥāwī*, e.g. ii, 213-56, 358-66, etc.; see also *Bushrā al-ka'īb bi-likā' al-ḥabīb*, Cairo 1969).

Finally, it should not be forgotten that al-Suyūṭī also was a historian and biographer. In this field, he took up theory (e.g. *al-Shamārīkh fī 'ilm al-ta'rīkh*, but above all he wrote on several concrete subjects, such as a history of the caliphs (*Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'*, Cairo 1964), a history of Egypt (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, quoted above), and a great number of biographical collections, chosen according to specialities (*ṭabakāt* of commentators, traditionists, grammarians, poets, etc.). He did not neglect literature, but this was hardly ever an end in itself. He took it up, in particular, under its historical angle (*al-Mustaẓraf min akhbār al-djawārī*, Beirut 1963) or under its erotic one (his *Rashf al-zulāl min al-siḥr al-ḥalāl* has been translated by René Khawam under the title *Nuits de noces*, Paris 1988), and his poetry is dedicated to the praise of the Prophet.

Bibliography: Add to the sources quoted in the article, al-Suyūṭī's biography, written by his disciple 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Shādhilī, *Bahdjat al-'ābidīn bi-tardjamat Djalāl al-Dīn* (mss. in London, Dublin, Kuwayt), as well as Shams al-Dīn al-Dāwūdī, *Tardjamat al-Suyūṭī* (ms. Tübingen); Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira bi-a'yān al-mi'a al-'āshira*, Beirut 1945, i, 226-31. E.M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, remains the most complete study in a Western language; see also eadem, *Jalāl al-Dīn as-Suyūṭī's relations with the people of Takrūr*, in *JSS*, xvi (1971), 193-8. In his bibliography, S. Abū Djīb mentions several studies in Arabic (*op. cit.*, 331-2). In his *Muhammad's birthday festival* (Leiden 1993, 45-70), N.J. Kaptein presents and translates al-Suyūṭī's *fatwā* which validates the practice of the *mawlid nabawī*. (E. GEOFFROY)

SŪZ, SAYYID MUḤAMMAD MĪR (1133-1213/1720-98), Urdu poet, was born in Dihli. His father was descended from a Gudjarātī saint, but the family originally hailed from Bukhārā. The poet had the broad education and training typical of the noble classes. He was an excellent archer and horseman, and generally skilled in the martial arts and noted for his physical strength. He was an expert calligrapher, and excelled in all the seven different types of ornamental writing. After a licentious youth, he became a dervish. As a writer, whilst a number of *tadhkira* authors refer to him and quote from his verse, there is a lack of firm detailed information. Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*] asserts in his *Tadhkira* that Sūz wrote prose as well as poetry: but none of this has survived; not even, regrettably, his book on archery.

His skill as a poet is recognised, but while the salient points of his poetry are well-known, we lack an authoritative *dīwān*. He was known for his emotional recitation, which contrasted with the more common *taḥt al-lafẓ* method, which perhaps placed phonology before feeling. His Urdu poetry is dominated by *ghazal*, but also includes *mathnawī*, *rubā'ī* and *mukhammas*. He at first used the *takhalluṣ* Mīr, but, to avoid confusion with Mīr Taḳī Mīr [*q.v.*], changed it to Sūz (= "passion, burning"). He was the first Urdu poet to achieve fame for *rēkhtī* verse, that is, using women's language, in which Rangīn later became better-known. Spontaneity, simplicity, avoidance of high-flowing similes and obscure allusions, all these, according to Saksena (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 60), are among his characteristics. He does not make excessive use of Persian expressions: and, unlike his contemporary, Sawdā [*q.v.*], he has no penchant for virtuosity in prosody, such as rich and difficult rhymes. It is all very tantalising, and from what we know of his life and works, one is tempted to ask, "Is this a genius *manqué*?" Though essentially a Dihlī poet, he was, like others, driven by Marāṭhā and Afghān incursions to leave the city, and after a stay in Murshidābād, seat of the Nawwābs of Bengal, he became mentor of the Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla in Lucknow in 1797, but died the following year. A pleasant, witty and courteous gentleman, he did not take easily to patronage, but won a niche for himself as a "prince of amorous style" (Saksena, 60). It must be admitted, however, that it contains more pathos than passion.

Bibliography: Ḳudrat 'Alī Shawḳ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shu'arā'*, ed. Nithār Aḥmad Fārūḳī, Lahore 1968, 231-40, contains a short account and useful examples of Sūz's poetry. This should be taken together with Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, *Lakhnaw kā dabistān-i shā'irī*, Lahore 1955, 135-8. Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1926, 59-60, is helpful. In addition to Ḳudrat 'Alī Shawḳ's work mentioned above, the *tadhkiras* of the following authors merit reference: Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*]; Nassākh, *Sukhan-i shu'arā'*; and Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. (J.A. HAYWOOD)

SŪZANĪ (better Sōzanī), Muḥammad b. 'Alī (or Mas'ūd?) al-Samarḳandī, Persian satirical poet of the 6th/12th century. A native of Nasaf (Nakhshab), he eulogised several of the Ḳarakhānid rulers of Samarḳand, from Arslān Shāh Muḥammad II (495-*ca.* 523/1102-*ca.* 1129) up to Ḳilič Ṭamghač Khān Mas'ūd II (*ca.* 556-74/*ca.* 1161-78), but also several of the Burhānid *ṣadrs* of Bukhārā [see ṢADR. 1], the Saldjūḳid Sandjar [*q.v.*] and others. Dawlatshāh, who appears to have seen Sūzanī's grave in Samarḳand, says that he died in 569/1173-4, and adds that before his death he repented his many sins and turned his hand to devotional poetry.

However this may be, Sūzanī is now remembered mainly as the author of vehemently abusive invectives and of pornographic (mostly homoerotic) facetiae. For modern scholars (as already for the mediaeval Persian lexicographers) their interest resides largely in the fact that they contain many examples of the Samarḳand dialect and of unusual slang expressions. The poems were collected, together with a good number of scurrilous anecdotes, by the Ṣafawid antiquarian Taḳī Kāshī [*q.v.*] in his *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, from which virtually all of the manuscripts purporting to contain Sūzanī's *dīwān* are apparently derived, and a selection of these mediocre manuscripts forms the basis of the published edition by N. Shāh-Ḥusaynī, Tehran 1338 *Sh.*/1959. However a fair number of Sūzanī's poems are contained in a textually superior form also in anthologies of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries.

Bibliography: 'Awfī, *Lubāb* ii, 191-8; Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Nawā'ī, Tehran 1339 *Sh.*/1960, 733-4; Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, 100-3; Taḳī Kāshī, *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, B.L. ms. Or. 3506, fols. 361a-396a; Browne, *LHP*, ii, 342-3; de Blois, *Persian literature*, v, 546-50 (with further references); R. Zipoli, *I Carmina Priapea di Sûzanî*, in *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, xxxiv/3 (Venice 1995), 205-56. (F.C. DE BLOIS)

SŪZĪ ČELEBI, Meḥmed b. Maḥmūd b. 'Abd Allāh, Ottoman poet who lived in the second half of the 9th/15th century and the first decades of the following one, d. 931/1524.

Born at Prizren [*q.v.*] near Üsküb [*q.v.*] (Skoplje), he became secretary to Mīkhāl-Oghlu [*q.v.*] 'Alī Beg,

and after the latter's death in 913/1507, secretary to Mīkhāl-Oghlu Meḥmed Beg up to 918/1512. From a *wakfiyye* of his dated 919/1513, it appears that Sultan Selīm I granted him the farm of Grajdanik with a *temlīk-nāme*, and that he left the service of Meḥmed Beg. He settled down in Prizren and established a *mesdjid* and a school in the Khōdja Ilyās district, becoming an *imām* and *mü'edhdhin* and teaching there. He probably remained there till his death, and was buried in the graveyard of his own mosque near the grave of his elder brother Nehārī.

The *tedhkires* quote two elegies by him and a few couplets, but do not mention whether he composed a complete *Dīwān*. However, it seems that he composed a *Ghazawāt-nāme* of 15,000 couplets in *mathnawī* form, describing and lauding ʿAlī Beg's campaigns in Rumelia, but only 1,795 couplets survive today. In its first part are narrated the campaigns of the Mīkhāl-Oghlu, and in its second the love affair of ʿAlī Beg and Meryem, daughter of Erdel Beg, so that the work can be considered as a hybrid epic-romance. The extant four ms. have been critically edited by Agâh Sırrı Levend, together with a facsimile of the Millet ms. *manzum* 1339 (*Ġazavāt-nāmeler. Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Ġazavātnāmesi*, Ankara 1956) and with an extensive study on this type of literature in general and of ʿAlī Beg's Balkan campaigns. At the end, Levend includes some new information on Sūzī Čelebi from Olesnicki's biography in Serbo-Croat (Üsküp 1934).

Bibliography: See also Sehī, *Tedhkire*, ed. Günay Kut, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 272; Laṭīfī, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 194-6; ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, *Meshāhir ül-shuʿarā'*, ed. Meredith-Owens, London 1971; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 114; *ʿOthmānlī mü'ellifleri*, ii, 231; F. Babinger, *GOW*, 34-5. (Gönül A. Tekin)

SUZMĀNĪ [see lūlī].

SVIŠTOV [see zishtowa].

SWAHILI, a language extensively used on the coastland of East Africa (< Ar. *sawāḥil* "coastlands").

1. Language.

Swahili, also known as Kiswahili, belongs to the Bantu family of languages which are spoken in the southern third of Africa, from Cameroon and Kenya to South Africa. The languages share striking features of grammar—all nouns, for example, belong to one of a number of concord-classes, with characteristic prefixes and agreements—and a considerable common lexicon.

Swahili is spoken as a mother-tongue on the east coast of Africa, from the southern part of Somalia to the northern areas of Msumbiji (Mozambique), including the islands of the Lamu archipelago off the coast of Kenya, Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia, and Kilwa off the coast of Tanzania, and on the Comoro islands. The location of the region on the rim of the Indian Ocean basin has enabled it to engage in maritime trade with other countries across the seas. The anonymous Greek traveller of *ca.* A.D. 50 (thus dated by Casson) notes such trade with Arabia in his *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.* He also observed that the Arab captains and agents, as he called them, did not merely possess a superficial acquaintance of the coastal towns but were familiar with the people, intermarried with them, and that they knew the whole coast and understood the language. The coast also traded with Sīrāf and Shīrāz in Persia.

Trade was followed in time by the introduction of Islam to the coast by at least the 10th century. In the 12th century, al-Idrīsī gives a Swahili word *waganga* "practitioner of white magic", and four centuries later, Aḥmad b. Mādjid [see ibn mādjid] speaks of the *lughat al-Zandj*, presumably Swahili. With the appearance of Islam on the coast arose the necessity to learn the Arabic alphabet in order to read the Ḳur'ān, a practice which gave rise to a certain amount of literacy, especially among the urban population; this, in turn, prepared the ground for the development of poetry. Islam also widened the contact with the Middle East, initiating a continual flow of migration to the East African coast of scholars and learned persons with a good command of Arabic. Consequently, the influence of Arabic on Swahili has been semantically extensive in religious and commercial fields. Three ways have been suggested whereby Islamic concepts and Arabic religious terms entered the language: (i) the original Arabic term was Swahilised, e.g. *rūḥ* ("soul") became *roho*; (ii) the original Arabic term was Swahilised but a Bantu synonym was also used, e.g. *rasūl* "messenger" was realised both as *rasuli* and as *mtume* "the one sent"; (iii) the original Arabic term was not adopted as such but its concept was realised through the use of a pre-existing Swahili word, e.g. *Allāh* was rendered by the Swahili *Mngu.*

Words of Arabic origin in commercial discourse include the word for "trade", which is a combination of the Arabic words for "buying" and "selling", *bayʿ* and *shirā'*, Swahilised as *biashara*; others are *soko* ("market"), *faida* ("profit"), *bidhaa* ("goods"). The Swahili word for "contract", *mkataba* is formed out of the root *k-t-b*, which has also supplied *kitabu* ("book"), *katiba* ("constitution"), *katibu* ("secretary"), *maktaba* ("library").

The importance of Swahili as a language complementary to Arabic has long been recognised by some scholars. One such, Sheikh Abdulla Saleh al-Farsy (d. 1982), deliberately employed Swahili in his sermons, radio broadcasts and writing. The use of an African language was to him a legitimate medium for the expression of Swahili Islam, a necessity for a fuller assertion of one's identity. His translation of the Ḳur'ān, originally serialised in a Zanzibari weekly newspaper, *Mwongozi*, is a major contribution in this field. Al-Farsy's ideas are being continued today by his pupils, notable among whom is Sheikh Saidi Musa (b. 1944), who writes extensively from his headquarters at Ugweno, Moshi, on mainland Tanzania. The outcome is that Swahili has today made inroads in areas previously reserved for Arabic. The Friday sermon, for example, is now preached in Swahili, though Arabic is employed in the "formulaic" parts which require reading from a set text.

The way in which the two languages complement each other is best exemplified in the adoption of what is known as the "Swahili-Arabic script" as the orthography of the coast. The script was used extensively prior to the introduction of the Latin script by the Germans, and remains in limited use among Swahili Muslims of the coast. Thus the earliest phase of Swahili literature—16th to the 19th centuries—is given expression in this script. It is a phase dominated by poems written on religious themes. The poets drew their inspiration from the life of the Prophet: the earliest extant work is the *Hamziyah*, composed in 1652 by Idarus Othman, which is a translation in verse of the *Ḳaṣīda Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī (d. 1296 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). But while the earlier poets projected themselves to the Arabia of the 7th century for their inspiration and themes, later poets expressed their understanding of Islam through local idioms and imagery. An interesting example is the Swahili poem *al-Inkishafi* by Sayyid Abdallah Nasir (d. 1820), in which the poet uses the deserted city of Pate [*q.v.*] as an image of the transitoriness of life, a theme often invoked in Muslim literature.

Gradually, both language and literature spread beyond the coast, moving inland more rapidly and deeply in Tanganyika than in Kenya. Trading caravans from around 1800 onwards diffused Swahili up-country, creating settlements (e.g. at Tabora and Ujiji) where the language and its Muslim culture took root. Christian missionaries of various nationalities and orders also used Swahili in their evangelical work, in both oral and written media, including the translation of the Bible. The early missionaries contributed significantly to the study of the language through their scholarly works. Ludwig Krapf (of the Church Missionary Society) published the first grammar of Swahili in 1850, to be followed by his dictionary in 1882, Bishop Edward Steere of Zanzibar (of the Universities Mission to Central Africa) produced a *Handbook* of Swahili in 1870, and, a few years later, Fr. Charles Sacleux (of the Holy Ghost Mission in Zanzibar and Morogoro) started his studies of the dialects of Swahili which culminated in the publication of his Swahili-French dictionary in 1891, "a dictionary in which there is a wealth of dialectal and verse material not available elsewhere" (Whiteley, 1968, 13). Mention must also be made of the Rev. W.E. Taylor, who collaborated with a local Swahili scholar, Mwalimu Sikujua, in the 1880s in collecting and preserving the work of the Swahili poet Muyaka bin Mwinyi Haji (d. 1840).

Another factor which aided the spread of Swahili and its consolidation as a *lingua franca* in Tanganyika was its use by the colonial powers as the language of administration, police and education. The German administration of Tanganyika (1891 to 1918) laid the foundations upon which the British (1918-61) continued to build. A far-reaching decision was taken in 1930 to select the Swahili spoken on Zanzibar as the "standard" language to be used officially in education and for all publications to be written in a standard Latin orthography.

In Tanganyika, Swahili was adopted by early manifestations of organised labour which grew into the political parties that fought for independence; in Kenya, the future President, Jomo Kenyatta, chose to speak in Swahili to raise his originally local Gikuyu organisation into a national movement. In both countries, the language contributed to the creation of a sense of unity. In recognition of this fact, the independent government of Tanganyika (1961) declared it a national language; and, together with English, Swahili is an official language in Kenya. At least 40 million people speak it today. Its extensive use in Tanzania [*q.v.*] (the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar) has given rise to a group of mother-tongue speakers of Swahili whose parents use the language as their common medium of communication. Not all of them are Muslims. Whereas a century or so ago, to be a Swahili was synonymous with being a Muslim on the coast, that equation is increasingly being challenged and debated. A crucial factor of change has been the use of Swahili as a home-tongue by families belonging to different nationalities, different ethnic communities and different faiths.

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2. Literature.

This is covered in detail in the following articles: ḤAMĀSA. vi, in Suppl.; ḲIṢṢA. vii; MADĪḤ, MADḤ. 5; MARTHIYA. 5; MATHAL. 5; MIʿRĀDJ. 3; SHAABAN ROBERT. See also TAʾRĪKH. East Africa:

SWĀT, a region of the North-West Frontier region of what is now Pākistān, lying roughly between lats. 34° 30' and 35° 50' N. and long. 72° and 73° E. It is bounded on the north-west by Čitrāl, on the west by Dīr, on the east by Bunēr and Hazāra and on the south by Mardān. It comprises essentially the basin of the Swāt River, from its headwaters down to the Malakand Pass, after which it runs into the Kābul River below Peshāwar and near Nawshēra. The northern part of the basin, Swāt Kōhistān, includes high mountains, but Kūz or lower Swāt is the alluvial basin of the river, fertile and intensively cultivated. In classical times, Lower Swāt may well have been traversed by Alexander the Great and his army.

Swāt must originally have been peopled by speakers of Indian or Dardic languages. By the 16th century, the majority of the Swātīs were incoming (displacing Dilazāks) Pashto-speaking Yūsufzay and other Pushtūns, although there remain Dardic-speaking Torwāls and Gārwīs in Swāt Kōhistān [see DARDIC and KAFIR LANGUAGES]. Also by this time, Swāt became Muslim, and its history since then, into the 20th century, has been inextricably linked with that of Dīr, Čitrāl and Badjawr [*q.vv.*]. Dīr and Swāt were centres of the Rawshaniyya movement [*q.v.*] of the late 16th century, and the whole region north of the Kābul River was never really controlled by the Mughals or by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.vv.*]. Arising out of the *mudjāhidīn* movement led by Sayyid Aḥmad of Bareilly (killed 1246/1831) in the early 19th century [see AḤMAD BRĒLWĪ and MUDJĀHID. 2], the Ākhund ʿAbd al-Ghafūr (d. 1877) in 1835 established himself as a religious leader at Saydū in lower Swāt, and the shrine at Saydū Sharīf later became one of the holiest Islamic sites in northern India.

Although British rule was imposed on the Peshāwar valley after 1849, British influence was only fitfully exercised in the lands further north. Swāt and the adjacent petty states were the targets of the British Indian Army's punitive campaign of Ambēlā in 1863, and Swāt (but not Dīr) was involved in the Malakand rising of 1897 led by Mullā Saʿd Allāh Sartōr ("The Madman"). It was shortly after this, in 1901, that a railway branch from Nawshahra (Nowshera) to Dargai at the foot of the Malakand Pass was completed.

Temporal rule in Swāt had been exercised until his death in 1857 by the *Pādishāh* Sayyid Akbar of Sitāna, patron of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī and leader of warfare against the Sikhs. After the death of the Ākhund ʿAbd al-Ghafūr and, shortly afterwards, those of his two sons, Sayyid Akbar's family again had tem-

poral power in Swāt, whilst the spiritual succession was disputed amongst the Ākhund's four grandsons, the Miyānguls. Swāt was recognised by the Government of India as a princely state in 1917. It was not until 1926 that one of these grandsons, Miyāngul Gul Shāhzāda ʿAbd al-Wadūd, succeeded in finally excluding Sayyid Akbar's descendants and in consolidating the Swāt valley under his leadership. He was recognised by the Government of India as Wālī or ruler of the Swāt princely state; by his death he had extended the State northwards and eastwards into Indus Kōhistān and had taken over Bunēr. His son Miyāngul Djahānzīb succeeded in 1949. After Partition, Swāt remained a princely state within Pākistān, with the Wālī independent in regard to internal affairs and ruling with a partially-elected Advisory Council, until 1969, when Swāt was peacefully integrated within the regular administration of Pākistān. A demographic trend there has been the steep rise in the population of the valley, now dense, with pressure on resources there.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

SYLHET [see SILHET].

SZECHUAN (also spelled as Ssŭ-ch'uan in the Wade and Si-chuan in the Pin-yin systems) is a province in the south-west of the People's Republic of China. Geographically, the four grand rivers (Min, T'o, Chialing and Wu; three of them are tributaries of the Yangtze River) flowing north-southward give the modern name of Sze-chuan (meaning "four rivers") to the province. The whole province is a huge basin, some 75,000 square miles in extent. The mountains on all sides bar easy access to the outside world. The azure mountains of the Tibetan borderland rise in the west, crossed only by the road to Lhasa and penetrated by only a few trails. The T'apa and Tsinling ranges run across the north, traversed by a single road and one railway. These mountains continue south-eastward and close to the Yangtze Gorges. Terrain which is difficult to cross surrounds the basin in the south, next to Kweichou and Yunnan provinces. The Szechuan basin is also known as the "Red Basin" because of its underlying soft sandstone and shales, ranging from red to purple in colour. In ancient times, the region was called "Pa Shu," denoting the original non-Han cultures of this region. The geographical isolation of the region has made its culture unique, and distinct from that of inland China. Various aboriginal cultures still exist today.

Modern studies suggest that the ancient Chinese silk industry was invented by the Ti and Ch'iang peoples in Szechuan. According to the *Han Annals*, Ch'iang Ch'ien, the Han envoy sent by Emperor Wu to the Central Asian countries, found Szechuan silk, crafts and other industrial products in the country of T'a Hsia (modern Afghanistan) around 139-126 B.C. Apparently, a trade route between Szechuan and Central Asia existed in ancient times. The ancient south-western silk road was probably the earliest communication route between China and Hsi Yu ("the western countries": Central and Western Asia). This route is supposedly 700 years older than the northern one, which was discovered by Ch'ang Ch'ien on his mission to the Huns in Central Asia.

The south-western silk road started from Ch'engt'u city, which has been, throughout history, the cultural, economic and political centre of Szechuan; and then split into two routes: the eastern river way along the Min river entered Yunnan province to Kunming city; the western land route, running from the ancient steel-making centre of Ch'iunglai through various valleys, entered western Yunnan to T'ali city, then the two routes joined at T'ali and, following the traditional horse caravan route, entered Burma and ended in India. This road is the so-called ancient Shu Junt'u T'ao ("Szechuan—Indian Path"). From India, it then went in two directions: either southward via the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf, then to Arabia; or northward by land to Central Asia. The south-western silk road was often used by Muslims of Yunnan and Szechuan as the caravan trade route to India or as the Pilgrimage route to Mecca before modern transport became available.

From the Han period (195 B.C.-A.D. 220), the Han culture gradually permeated Szechuan and was imbibed by the local people, with subsequent syncretisation. In spite of its existence in China during the T'ang and Sung periods, Islam never appeared in Szechuan until the Mongol conquest of the province. According to Chinese sources, the first appearance of Islam here took place probably in the year A.D. 1253, when a Muslim contingent of the Mongol Tamači army was sent by Ḳubilay Khān [*q.v.*] to conquer Szechuan and Yunnan. After the conquest, Muslim troops stayed there to cultivate the conquered lands. From then on throughout the Mongol-Yuan (1278-1368), Ming (1368-1644) and Manchu-Ch'ing (1644-1911) dynasties, Muslims, mostly from the north-western provinces of Kansu, Shensi and Ninghsia, and some from inland provinces, continued to migrate into the region either for trade or for military campaigns. Islamic communities were thus formed and mosques built in the main cities all over the province. The Ku-ch'ie Lou mosque in Ch'engt'u city, which was built in the Ming period and reconstructed in the 17th century, is apparently the oldest of those still in existence. It is known for its traditional architectural design and use of local construction materials.

The Muslim population in Szechuan grew rapidly during the Ch'ing period, especially when the Muslim rebellions of Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*] in Shensi and Kansu and T'u Wen-hsiu [*q.v.*] in Yunnan failed and a great number of Muslims fled the Manchu massacres to Szechuan. The Naḳshbandiyya-Djahriyya order thus spread into Szechuan. However, the Ḳādiriyya and Naḳshbandiyya-Khafiyya orders had existed in the province from early in the 17th century, and the Ḳādiriyya are reported to have set up seven shrines in the province. The indigenous Chinese Ṣūfī order called Hsi-T'ao-Tang and founded by Ma Ch'i-hsi in Lin-t'an-Kansu at the beginning of the 20th century, also set up its branch *zawāyā*, which also served as their trading and preaching centres, in the north-west of the province. The order probably entered the region mainly through Muslim traders. At the present time, the Muslim population of Szechuan is about 109,000 (2.2% of the provincial minority population), according to the rather laconic report of the 1990s official census. During the last three decades, due to the Communist central government's assimilation policy

towards the national minorities, Szechuan Muslims have increasingly been integrated into Han-Chinese society. Nowadays, it is not easy to distinguish Muslims from ordinary Chinese, apart from pork avoidance.

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SZEGED (Ottoman, Segedīn), a town and centre of a *sandjak* in the Great Plain of Hungary, along the river Tisza. First mentioned in a 1183 charter, Szeged acquired town privileges in the 13th century and became a *civitas* ("free royal town") in 1498. After being ransacked by the Ottomans in 1526 and by the Serbian militia of "Tsar" Yovan in 1527, it enjoyed peaceful years until 1541. Since the town had some ruinous remnants of a mediaeval castle only, it was unable to show resistance, and was easily taken by the Ottoman Pasha of Buda early in 1543. A *sandjak* was created immediately around Szeged, which was to extend over a large territory later, and whose first *mīrliwā*, Derwīsh Beg, was an active participant in the 1543 campaign.

By 1547-8 the castle was rebuilt by the Ottomans. In 1552 Mihály Tóth and his haiducks, as well as the mercenary troops of Bernardo de Aldana, made an abortive attempt at regaining Szeged. After this event, Ottoman rule remained uninterrupted until September 1686. Following the 1596 establishment of the *wilāyet* of Eger, the *sandjak* of Szeged was transferred to its territory, though its governor occasionally resided in Bács (Serbian Bač).

The Hungarian population of the town reached approximately 10,000 souls both in the 1520s and the 1540s, thus being among the three largest places in Ottoman Hungary. After a sudden and significant drop by 1560, when 700 hearths were found instead of 1,350, due to the migration of the wealthiest elements to Kecskemét and to towns of Habsburg Hungary, a period of stagnation followed. The high annual number of Catholic baptisms registered in the second half of the 17th century—160 on the average with an increasing tendency—suggests that there was no population fall among the Christians in 100 years.

Economically, Szeged was a traditional centre of salt transportation. Cattle and sheep breeding stood in the foreground of agricultural activities, while locally-produced grain and wine could not cover the needs of consumption. Export-oriented trade concentrated on cattle. The role of handicrafts was modest.

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SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR (Ottoman, Istōlnī/Ustōlnī Belghrād [from Serbian *stolni belgrad* "white capital castle"]; German, Stuhlweißenburg; Latin Alba Regia), a town and centre of a *sandjak* in Transdanubia, Hungary, and one of the main royal and ecclesiastical centres from the time of St. Stephen (1000-38), where several kings were crowned and buried.

Realising its strategic and spiritual importance in the Buda-Esztergom-Székesfehérvár triangle, the Ottomans took the town and its castle, which fell without considerable resistance, on 3 September, during the 1543 campaign, two years after they had captured the Hungarian capital and had created a new *beglerbegilik* there [see Budin]. Except for a short interval in 1601-2, Székesfehérvár remained under Turkish rule until May 1688, when it surrendered to the Austrians after a long blockade.

A *sandjak* of extensive territories was established around Székesfehérvár, including some western regions which were not actually in Ottoman possession; out of the 591 towns and villages registered in the *idjmāl defteri* of 1570, only some 250 paid the *djizye* in 1563-5. Among its *sandjak begis*, significant personalities can be found such as Ḥamza Beg, who spent most of his life in Hungary, as well as Ḳāsim Pasha, who served also as *beglerbegi* of Buda and Temesvár, and Ibrāhim Pečewī [*q.v.*], the famous chronicler, in the years 1632-5.

The castle underwent restoration in 1545-6, before 1550, in 1572 (this time, more than 1,000 workers and 650 carts were employed), and finally in the period 1640-60. Otherwise, only a few Ottoman buildings were erected: two *djāmi*'s or *mesdjids* and two baths.

Following the usual pattern in administrative centres, the original Hungarian population—estimated at 7-8,000—diminished to 1,200-1,500 by 1563-5 and to some 500 by the time of the rule of Murād III. The number of Ottoman garrison soldiers, which was nearly 3,000 in 1543, fell to 1,400 by 1568-9; besides, some 1,000 timariots lived here in the 16th century, including their *djebelüs* and families.

Apart from occasional fluctuations, Székesfehérvár preserved its economic importance, at least in the 16th century. This is proved by financial sums in customs lists and the high number of shops. The town was a significant place on the transit route of cattle exported to Austria, Germany, and Italy. However, due to lack of sources the 17th century history of the town is almost unknown.

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(G. Dávid)

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LEADING ORIENTALISTS

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P. 1142ᵃ, **GURGANDJ**, l. 40, *add after* "iv, 260 f.)": A building surviving there, on stylistic grounds attributable to the later 6th/12th century, is by popular local tradition considered as the tomb of the Khʷārazm Shāh Tekish b. Il Arslan (567-96/1172-1200 [*q.v.*]), but is more probably a palace or government building, perhaps part of a larger complex (see S. Chmelnizkij, *The mausoleum of Tekesh in Kunya Urgench*, in F. Reroche *et alii*, *Art turc/Turkish art. 10th International Congress of Turkish Art... Geneva 17-23 September 1995*, Geneva 1999, 217-23).

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P. 724ᵃ, **LEO AFRICANUS**, *add to Bibl.*: D. Rauchenberger, *Johannes Leo der Afrikaner. Seine Beschreibung des Raumes zwischen Nil und Niger nach dem Urtext*, Wiesbaden 1999.

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P. 67ᵃ, **NĪZAK, TARKHĀN**, *add to Bibl.*: Emel Esin, *Ṭarkhān Nīzak or Ṭarkhān Tīrek? An enquiry concerning the prince of Bādhghīs who in A.H. 91/A.D. 709-710 opposed the ʾOmayyad conquest of Central Asia*, in *JAOS*, xcvii (1977), 323-31.

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P. 118ᵇ, **SAYYID ḲUTB**, *add to Bibl.*: Sayyid Ḳuṭb's articles containing social criticism, published in periodicals during the Second World War, have been collected and edited, with an elaborate introd. by A. Roussillon: Sayyid Ḳuṭb, *al-Mudjtamaʿ al-Miṣrī. Djudhūruhu wa-āfāḳuhu, iʿdād wa-taḳdīm Alān Rūsiyūn*, Cairo 1994, p. 388.

P. 174ᵃ, **SHĀDHILIYYA**, l. 10, *for* Yashruṭī (d. 1891), *read* Yashruṭī (d. 1899)

P. 377ᵇ, **SHAWḲ**, *add to Bibl.*: Naṣr Allāh Purdjawādī, *Shawḳ-i dīdār*, in *Nashr-i Dānish*, Tehran, xiv/4 (1994); idem, *Ḳibla-yi shawḳ*, in *ibid.*, xiv (1994).

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Dichtung und Lüge in der arabischen Literaturtheorie, in *Isl.*, xlix (1972), 85-99; eadem, *Ibn al-Muʿtazz: Dair ʿAbdūn, a structural analysis*, in *JAL*, vi (1975), 35-56; eadem, *The Camel-section of the panegyrical ode*, in *ibid.*, xiii (1982), 1-22; eadem, *Neue Forschungen zur altarabischen Qaṣide*, in *BiOr*, xl (1983), 5-16; eadem, *Die Anfänge der arabischen Gazalpoesie. Abū Ḏu'aib al-Huḏalī*, in *Isl.*, lxi (1984), 218-50; eadem, *Time and reality in Nasīb and Ghazal*, in *JAL*, xvi (1985), 1-17; eadem, *The Khayāl motif in early Arabic poetry*, in *Oriens*, xxxii (1990), 50-64; eadem, *Altarabische Topoi in der Abbasidendichtung. Zur Technik und Funktion der "Verfremdung"*, in M. Forstner (ed.), *Festgabe für Hans-Robert Singer*, Frankfurt 1991, ii, 757-71; eadem, *Theme and variations in Umayyad Ghazal poetry*, in *JAL*, xxiii (1992), 109-19; eadem, *Und der Lagerplatz ruft: Wo ist Labīd? Interpretation einer Luzūmīya*, in Alma Giese and J.Chr. Bürgel (eds.), *Gott ist schön und Er liebt die Schönheit. Festschrift für Annemarie Schimmel*, Bern 1994, 291-303; eadem, *Zur Gazalpoesie des Walīd ibn Yazīd*, in W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeler (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag, ii, Studien zu arabischen Dichtung*, Beirut 1994, 145-61; eadem, *Von der Stammesdichtung zur Hofdichtung. Probleme des Motivwandels in der frühen arabischen Literatur*, in *Ibn an-Nadīm und die mittelalterliche arabische Literatur. Beiträge zum 1. Johann Wilhelm Fück-Kolloquium (Halle 1987)*, Wiesbaden 1996, 103-10; eadem, *Al-Khayālānī—a variation of the khayāl motif*, in *JAL*, xxvii (1996), 2-12; eadem, *The origins of the Qasida form*, in S. Sperl and C. Shackle (eds.), *Qasida poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa, i, Classical traditions and modern meanings*, Leiden 1996, 21-34; Irfan Shahîd, *The authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry: the linguistic dimension*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xliv (1996), 3-29.

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P. 18[b], AL-ṬABARĪ, *add to Bibl.*: J.-M. Gaudeul, *Riposte aux Chrétiens par ʿAlī Al-Ṭabarī*, Rome 1995 (French tr. of *al-Radd ʿalā ʾl-Naṣārā*).

P. 32[b], **TABKH**, *add to Bibl.*: Th. Bianquis, *Une crise frumentaire dans l'Egypte fatimide*, in *JESHO*, xxiii (1978), 67-101; J.Cl. David, *La cuisine, manger à Damas*, dans *Damas, miroir brisé d'un Orient arabe*, Paris 1993, 226-39.

P. 70[b], **TADJNĪS**, *add to Bibl.*: M. Grünert, *Die Begriffsverstärkung durch das Etymon im Altarabischen*, in *Sb. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, Philos.-hist. Kl.*, cxxv, v, Vienna 1892; H. Reckendorf, *Über Paronomasie in den semitischen Sprachen*, Giessen 1909; H. Kindermann, *Über das 'Etymologisieren' und das Denken in Bildern im Arabischen*, in *WO*, ii (1959), 528-30.

P. 83[a], **TĀFĪLĀLT**, *add to Bibl.*: H. Pérès, *Les relations entre le Tafilalt et le Soudan à travers le Sahara du XIIe au XIVe siècle*, in *Mélanges de géographie et d'orientalisme offerts à E.F. Gautier*, Tours 1937; J. Margat, *Données sur l'habitat du Tafilalt. Contribution à l'étude demographique des palmeraies du sud marocain*, in *Notes marocaines*, Rabat, no. 11-12 (1959); A. Zerhouini, *Maîtrise des eaux dans le périmètre du Tafilalt*, in *Hommes, terres et eaux*, Rabat, no. 42 (1981); D. Jacques-Meunie, *Le Maroc saharien des origines à 1670*, Paris 1982; G.S. Colin, *Un voyage au Tafilalt en 1787*, in *Revue de la Géogr. du Maroc* (Jan. 1984); M. Boubekraoui and C. Carcemal, *Le Tafilalt aujourd'hui. Régression, évolution et société d'une palmeraie du sud marocain*, in *Revue Géogr. Pyrenées et Sud-ouest*, no. 47 (1986), 449-63; L. Mezzine, *Le Tafīlalt. Contribution à l'histoire du Maroc aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Publs. de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Univ. de Rabat, Rabat 1987.

P. 136[a], **TAḲIYYA**, *add to Bibl.*: E. Kohlberg, *Taqiyya in Shīʿī theology and religion*, in H.G. Kippenberg and G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and concealment. Studies in the history of Mediterranean and Near Eastern religions*, Leiden 1995, 345-80 (provides excellent survey of both sources and secondary literature).

P. 151[a], **ṬALĀʾIʿ** B. **RUZZĪK**, *add to Bibl.*: See also Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk, *Dīwān al-wazīr Ṭalāʾiʿ al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ*, ed. A.A. Badawī, Cairo 1958, ed. M.H. al-Amīnī, Nadjaf 1964; S.B. Dadoyan, *The Fatimid Armenians. Cultural and political interaction in the Near East*, Leiden 1997 (for Ṭalāʾiʿ's Nusayrism).

P. 176[b], **TAʾMĪM**, l. 1, for *millī, kardan* read *millī kardan.*

P. 290[b], **TAʾRĪKH**. 2. In Persian, l. 9 from foot, *add to Bibl.*: C.E. Bosworth, *The Persian contribution to Islamic historiography in the pre-Mongol period*, in R.G. Hovannissian and G. Sabbagh (eds.), *The Persian presence in the Islamic world, Thirteenth Giorgio Levi Della Vida Biennial Conference 1991, in honor of Ehsan Yarshater*, Cambridge 1998, 218-36; Julie Scott Meisami, *Why write history in Persian? Historical Writing in the Samanid period*, in Carole Hillenbrand (ed.), *Studies in honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth. 2. The Sultan's turret*, Leiden 1999, 348-74.

P. 360[b], **TASNĪM**, *add at end of article*: For the opposition between Fāṭimid Shīʿīs and Shāfiʿīs from Damascus on the *tasnīm* of tombs, see Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, ii, Damascus 1989, 627.

P. 378[a], **TAWAKKUL**, l. 19, *add to Bibl.*: L. Lewisohn, *The way of* Tawakkul. *The ideal of "Trust in God" in classical Persian Sufism*, in *IC*, lxxiii/2 (1999), 27-62.

P. 376[a], **ṬAWĀF**, l. -9, *for* keeping the Kaʿba on the right at all times, *read* for keeping the Kaʿba on the left at all times;

P. 435[a], AL-**THAʿLABIYYA**, l. 7, *after* al-Mukaddasī *add* Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, vi, 53 *et passim.*
l. 10, *before* Today, *add the sentence* Many incidents which took place from the 1st/7th to 6th/12th centuries are recorded by Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*; *Fihrist*, 440.

P. 435[a], **THALLĀDJ**, l. -3 from bottom, *after* cf. *add* Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Sayyid-Bianquis, Cairo 1978, 68;

P. 436[b], **THAMŪD**, *replace 2nd paragraph, ll. 9-21, with*: As the following article THAMUDIC shows, the term "Thamudic" is a purely conventional one, actually a misnomer, and has no demonstrable connection with the historical tribe of Thamūd; nor is there any evidence that the various scripts described as "Thamudic" are derived from Sabaic rather than their being parallel developments.

P. 461[b], AL-**TIBRĪZĪ**, ll. 15-17, *in place of what is written in the text, read* 458/1065), and in Ṣūr [*q.v.*] or Tyre, Sulaym b. Ayyūb al-Rāzī (d. 447/1055), who as a philologist had specialised in *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, and above all Shāfiʿī law.

P. 547[a], **TIRMIDHĪ**, *add to Bibl.*: B. Furūzānfar (ed.), *Maʿārif. Madjmūʿa-yi mawāʿiẓ wa kalimāti-i Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Muḥakkik-i Tirmidhī*, [2]Tehran 1377.

P. 547[b], **TIRNOWA**, l. 28 from foot, *for* At some point in the later 15th century, the Ḳawaḳ Baba *tekke* had been established round the former church of the Forty Martyrs by a *wakf*, *read* According to the latest evidence, the church of the Forty Martyrs was converted into the Ḳawaḳ Baba *tekke* after the conquest of Tirnowa. Recent studies prove that the Ḳawaḳ Baba *tekke*, with an *ʿimāret* and a *medrese*, belonged to the *wakf* of Bāyazīd I. The *tekke* was established there towards the end of the 17th or at the beginning of the 18th century, when the church was abandoned,

P. 567[b], **ṬOPḲAPI SARĀYI**, l. -8, *for* Meḥemmed III, *read* Meḥemmed IV

P. 568[a], l. 33, *for* Meḥemmed III, *read* Meḥemmed IV

P. 914[b], **ʿUSHAḲ**, *add to Bibl.*, H. İnalcık, *The Yürüks: their origins, expansion and economic role*, in *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies*, ii (1986), 39-66.

SUPPLEMENT

P. 411[a], **ĪLĀḲ**, l. 51, *add* In the later 4th/10th century and early 5th/11th centuries, the *dihḳāns* of Īlāḳ took the side of the incoming Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS] against their Sāmānid overlords. It now seems possible to place the *fulūs* minted during this period, going up to 403/1012-13, as emanating from three apparently successive *dihḳāns*. See M. Fedorov, *A rare fals of AH 401 struck at Īlāq (new data about the "Dihqāns of Īlāq" dynasty), in Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, n°. 162 (winter 2000), 11-13.

T

TĀʾ and **ṬĀʾ**, the third and sixteenth letters of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical values in the *abdjad* system of 400 and 9 respectively. In the modern standard pronunciation, the former represents a voiceless, slightly aspirated, dental (or dento-alveolar) stop; the latter a voiceless, unaspirated, dental (dento-alveolar) stop with simultaneous velarisation, i.e. with the back of the tongue lifted towards the soft palate. Sībawayh and his successors classify *ṭāʾ* as *madjhūr*, which most modern scholars have understood to mean "voiced" [see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ and the references cited there], but the evidence of modern Arabic dialects and of the other Semitic languages seems hardly reconcilable with the alleged voiced articulation of *ṭāʾ*. It is true that in a large area of central Yemen, including Ṣanʿāʾ, the reflex of classical *ṭāʾ* is in fact realised as a voiced [ḍ] in pre- and inter-vocalic positions, but in many of these dialects *tāʾ* is also voiced in the same positions (see P. Behnstedt, *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte. Teil 1. Atlas*, Wiesbaden 1985, 13 and Karte 6). Thus the Yemenite evidence does not really support the supposedly ancient voiced realisation specifically for "emphatic" *ṭāʾ*.

In words of Greek or Latin origin which entered Arabic via Aramaic original [t] is normally represented by *ṭāʾ*; this continues the scribal practice in Aramaic, where the letter *taw* represents the (originally aspirated, later fricative) Greek θ, while the letter *ṭēth* is reserved for the Greek (unaspirated) τ. Similarly in borrowings from Iranian languages, original [t] is very often represented by *ṭāʾ* in Arabic (e.g. in place-names like Ṭabaristān, Ṭūs, Iṣṭakhr), possibly suggesting that in early New Persian [t] was still (as in Old Iranian) unaspirated. However, in modern Persian [t] is pronounced almost exactly like Arabic [t], i.e. with some degree of aspiration, and when the Persians began to write their own language in Arabic script they consistently used *tāʾ* for their [t], restricting *ṭāʾ* to words borrowed from Arabic.

Turkic languages, when written in Arabic script, generally use *tāʾ* for the more or less palatalised [t] occurring in the vicinity of front vowels and *ṭāʾ* for the same phoneme next to back vowels. Urdū uses *tāʾ* for its voiceless, unaspirated dental [t] and puts (at least in the modern orthography) a miniaturised *ṭāʾ* over the letters *rāʾ*, *dāl* and unpointed *tāʾ* to indicate the Indian retroflex consonants [ṛ], [ḍ] and [ṭ]; ordinary *ṭāʾ* is used (as in Persian) only in Arabic words and is not distinguished from *tāʾ* in pronunciation.

Bibliography: W.H.T. Gairdner, *The phonetics of Arabic*, London 1925; J. Cantineau, *Cours de phonétique arabe*, in *Etudes in linguistique arabe. Memorial Jean Cantineau*, Paris 1960, 31 ff.; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, 57 ff.; A. Roman, *Etude de la phonologie et de la morphologie de la koiné arabe*, Aix-en-Provence 1983, i, 155 ff., 254-6, 311-13, ii, 604 ff.; T.F. Mitchell, *Pronouncing Arabic*, i, Oxford 1990, 33-45. (F.C. DE BLOIS)

ṬĀ-HĀ, two isolated letters at the head of sūra XX in the Ḳurʾān. It has been proposed to explain them as an abbreviation, either of an imperative (from the root *w-ṭ-ʾ*; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) or from a proper name (Ṭalḥa; Abū Hurayra), meaning the Companion of the Prophet, who supplied this sūra to the first compilers of the Ḳurʾān.

The important thing to note is that Muslim tradition since the 3rd/9th century has made Ṭā-Hā one of the names of the Prophet, and as a result, to this day we find boys in Egypt and ʿIrāḳ given the name Muḥammad Ṭā-Hā. From the 4th/10th century, mystics unanimously see in Ṭā-Hā the purity (*ṭahāra*) and rectitude (*ihtidāʾ*) of the heart of the Prophet. Such are in *djafr* [*q.v.*] the classical meanings of the two letters.

On the other hand, the two letters *ṭā-sīn* (found at the head of sūra XXVII), following the methods of *djafr* which sees in them abbreviations of *ṭahāra* + *sanā*, have been taken by certain early mystics to designate Iblīs, whose monotheistic preaching among the angels was parallel with the monotheistic mission of Ṭā-Hā (= Muḥammad) among men (see al-Ḥallādj, *Ṭāsīn al-azal*. In this connection, it may be asked whether *ṭā-sīn* was not formed by the inversion of *shī-ṭān* and this after the year 309/922, date of the death of al-Ḥallādj, for numerically *ṭā* + *sīn* = 300 + 9).

The personal name, reduced to Ṭāhā, has not acquired a comparatively frequent usage in the Islamic lands. This is particularly seen in the name of the famous Egyptian man of letters and politics, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Maydānī, s.v. *rudda min ṭāhā ilā bismillah*; Baḳlī, *Tafsīr*, Cawnpore 1883, ii, 18-19 (tr. in Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*[2], Paris 1954, 99, and idem, *La passion d'al Ḥallāj*, Paris 1922, 884, n. 1); *ibid.*, Eng. tr. H. Mason; Rāghib Pasha, *Safīna*, Cairo 1282, 395; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, ii, 70-9. (L. MASSIGNON)

ṬĀʿA (A., pl. *ṭāʿāt*), a term of the theological vocabulary for an act of obedience to God, contrasted with *maʿṣiya*, pl. *maʿāṣī*, act of disobedience to God, hence sin. The two terms represent respectively good and bad actions, but add, or substitute for, these purely moral ideas the religious concept of conformity or non-conformity to the divine Law.

Ṭāʿa is not a Ḳurʾānic term (good actions are usually called *ṣāliḥāt*, or much more rarely, *ḥasana*, pl. *ḥasanāt* (see VI, 160; XI, 114; XXV, 70; XXVII, 89; XXVIII, 84). On the other hand, the verb *aṭāʿa* "to obey", is very common (74 attestations), and in 31 instances it involves, in effect, obedience to God; but

one should note that this obedience to God, when expressly formulated, is always linked with obedience to the Prophet (see III, 32, 132; IV, 13, 59, 69, 80; V, 92; VIII, 1, 20, 46; etc.). In seven cases, it is a question of obeying *tout court*, without further precision (II, 285; IV, 46; V, 7; XXIV, 47, 51; XLVIII, 16; LXIV, 16), and, once, obedience involves only the Prophet (XXIV, 56). It is not, however, the same with the verb *ʿaṣā* "to disobey", for which there are seven mentions, in various ways, of disobedience to God alone (VI, 15; X, 15; XI, 63; XIX, 44; XX, 121; XXXIX, 13; LXVI, 6). One should nevertheless mention that the noun *maʿṣiya*, which appears in a unique passage (LVIII, 8-9), figures only in the expression *maʿṣiyat al-rasūl.*

In *Ḥadīth*, so far as one can judge, obedience to God is expressed exclusively in the explicit formula *ṭāʿat Allāh*, with the plural never found. On the other hand, the pl. *maʿāṣī* is already used, in an absolute form, for sinful actions (see e.g. al-Bukhārī, *buyūʿ*, 2; *tafsīr sūra* II, 47).

It would indeed be futile to claim to be able to say at exactly what moment the usage of *ṭāʿa* and *maʿṣiya*, used absolutely, for good and bad actions, came to be employed. One can only say that, in the theological writings which are presumed to be the oldest (end of the 1st century A.H.), this usage seems to be already firmly established (thus in the *Risāla* attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ed. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xxi [1933], 74, ll. 6-7, 76, ll. 7-20, 78, l. 5; in that attributed to the caliph ʿUmar II, ed. J. van Ess, in his *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, Beirut 1977, §§ 14-16).

On the exact meaning of *ṭāʿa*, Sunnī and Muʿtazilī theologians were opposed, as a corollary of the debate which divided them on the crucial question whether God willed the evil actions of men or not. For the Muʿtazilīs, God—by the fact of His justice—only wills men's good acts. He wills neither their unbelief nor their sins. In other words, there is no difference between what God wills and what He ordains, and to obey Him is thus the equivalent of conforming to His will. For the Sunnī theologians, on the contrary, God—from the fact of His all-powerfulness—necessarily wills everything which exists, including men's evil acts. Hence there cannot be in any circumstances an equivalence between His will and His order; to obey Him is to do what He ordains, and not necessarily to do what He wills. On this question, see ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, vi/a, 39, ll. 17 ff.; Ps. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, Cairo 1965, 457, ll. 16 ff.; Ibn Fūrak, *Mudjarrad maḳālāt al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1987, 70, ll. 20-3, 157, ll. 12-18; al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., 183, ll. 4-11; D. Gimaret, in *SI*, xli (1975), 69-71; idem, *La doctrine d'al-Ashʿarī*, Paris 1990, 298-9.

Another question, connected with the foregoing, is that of knowing whether every act of obedience to God only merits being called thus if it is an act of conscious obedience to a divine order known as such. Certain theologians—admittedly a very small minority—held that the answer was no, and admitted (at the time when there is, objectively, a coincidence between the act and such-and-such divine prescription) the existence of "acts of obedience in which God is not intended" (*ṭāʿāt lā yurādu bihā Allāh*): thus the Muʿtazilī Abu 'l-Hudhayl [*q.v.*] and certain Ibāḍīs (see Gimaret-Monnot, *Livre des religions et des sectes*, i, Paris 1986, 409, 411). Most of the Muʿtazila rejected this thesis (see al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 2nd ed. Ritter, 429, ll. 12 ff.). For his part, al-Baghdādī affirms that, in the eyes of the Sunnīs, there is only one solitary case of unintentional obedience to God, sc. when a man who does not yet have knowledge of God uses reasoning power (*al-naẓar wa 'l-istidlāl*) which leads him to this (*Farḳ*, 126, ll. 1-7; *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 267, ll. 6-10).

According to ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *ṭāʿa* can be said of every act willed by God (in the Muʿtazilī sense of the expression), by which he means it to be understood as either an obligatory act (*wādjib*) or a recommended one (*nadb*). It cannot be said of an act simply permitted (*mubāḥ*) (*Mughnī*, vi/a, 39, ll. 12-14). Al-Baghdādī is more explicit, and distinguishes four categories of *ṭāʿa*: (1) the most important is faith, which will vouchsafe to the believer entry to Paradise; (2) the affirmation of faith *bi 'l-lisān*, which will enable him to enjoy all the privileges reserved for Muslims in this present life; (3) involves performing all obligatory acts and eschewing grave faults, which will preserve him from Hell; and (4) the practice of supererogatory acts (*nawāfil*), which will guarantee him an extra reward in Paradise (*Uṣūl al-dīn*, 268, ll. 3-12).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(D. Gimaret)

TAʾABBAṬA SHARRAN, the nickname of the pre-Islamic *ṣuʿlūk* poet Thābit b. Djābir b. Sufyān of the Banū Saʿd b. Fahm (of the group Ḳays ʿAylān, see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Alḳāb*, 307). The traditions which have attempted to explain this nickname ("he carried an evil under his arm") should not be taken at face value; the evil that was carried round by this very young man possessed a legendary significance, whether it concerned snakes, a sabre or a *ghūl* [*q.v.*]. This name was intended to convey a particular image of a poet dominated by an inborn tendency to cause nuisance as well as to suggest the presence of an unconquerable determinism.

There are details in his biography which could well pass for authentic, but they are mixed with "traditions" (or rather literary episodes) which attempt to illustrate or enhance the essential themes of his poems. These narratives seem to have taken shape from the 2nd/8th century onwards. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/859) speaks about numerous extraordinary stories connected with the raids he made, but he declines to report them (*al-Muḥabbar*, 196); al-Baghdādī (*Khizānat*, i, 138) speaks of numerous stories which remain perplexing because of their fantastical nature. In this list are recorded his encounters and victorious battles with the *ghūl* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 175, a theme which is found again in ʿUbayd b. Ayyūb al-ʿAnbarī, a *ṣuʿlūk* of the Umayyad period, see Ḥusayn ʿAṭwān, *al-Shuʿarāʾ al-ṣaʿālīk fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-islāmī*, Beirut 1407/1987, 155-7), his legendary speed, and his effectiveness in handling weapons and in the art of making raids. Similarly, the whole account accompanying the poem by Abū Kabīr al-Hudhalī in al-Tibrīzī (*al-Ḥamāsa*, Bonn 1828, 41-4) aims to illustrate the mutual hatred between Taʾabbaṭa Sharran and the Hudhalīs, who were responsible for the death of the poet (see below).

The more authentic biographical details indicate that the poet possessed a good lineage: his mother was an Arab of the Banū Ḳayn (Fahm); one of his sisters, Umayya, was married to Nawfal b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā (of Ḳuraysh), and she bore him a son ʿAdī b. Nawfal (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1382/1962, 120). It is also known that he married a woman of the Banū Kilāb.

Taʾabbaṭa Sharran was a brigand, but despite his activities, just like ʿUrwa b. al-Ward [*q.v.*], he was one of the very few *ṣaʿālīk al-ʿArab* who managed to remain integrated within his own tribe. Thus he never

suffered the reproaches of khalʿ (repudiation by the tribe) and was never recorded as being called a khalīʿ. His band of men seem also to have belonged to the Fahm: his alleged maternal nephew al-Shanfarā, ʿĀmir b. al-Akhnas, al-Musayyab b. Kilāb, Murra b. Khulayf, Saʿd b. al-Ashras and ʿAmr b. Barrāḳ.

His incursions seem to have been directed in the main against the Badjīla, from whom he helped himself to camels and sheep (*ghanam*), against the Hudhayl and the Azd, as in the episode of an escape helped by honey which he poured on to the slope of a mountain, and down which he was then able to slide to safety, and against the Khathʿam.

Brigands and their booty used to find refuge in the Sarāt mountains, escaping pursuit by the clans they had raided. He met his death pierced in the heart by the arrows of a mere youth (*duwayn al-ḥilm*) of the Banū Hudhayl. His mortal remains were thrown to the bottom of the cave of al-Rakhmān (for the narrative detail see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mughtālīn*, 215). He was mourned by his sister Umayya or Rayṭa and his mother (Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 139).

The latter paints a very engaging portrait in a famous threnody of the perfect Djāhilī hero who was also a careful and perceptive leader of his men. Because of his attentive care, he was eulogised as *umm al-ʿiyāl*, mother of the hearth and home (al-Tibrīzī, 523), and also as *ʿayr al-ʿāna*, the wild ass who has a herd of females (*ibid.*, 526), because of his courage and relentless intransigence.

There were two chains of scholars who specialised in transmitting the poetry of Ta'abbaṭa Sharran: 1. Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī (d. 206 AH) > Ibn Ḥabīb > al-Sukkarī; 2. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī > Ibn al-Aʿrābī. A good part of the poet's work is said to have been cited in *al-Durra al-fākhira* (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, iii, 344). This transmission was actually a little later than Khalaf al-Aḥmar (d. 180/821-2). It has been suggested that it is legitimate to have a certain distrust towards this poetry (238 verses divided into 32 fragments and pieces), and some caution should be observed concerning Khalaf, one of the grand masters in the art of forgery.

However, this poetry reflects in an exemplary fashion the usual ideas of the life of the *ṣuʿlūk*. The work of Ta'abbaṭa Sharran expresses the fierce claims of the "me", and a no less absolute contesting against collectivity, against the "us". Typical terms used in pre-Islamic poetry such as *ḳawm, ḥayy, ḳabīla, ḳabīl* and the pronouns of the first person plural are totally absent from these texts; more precisely he uses them to describe his enemies and those he attacks and pillages. Nevertheless, these texts fit naturally into the three parameters of all poetry of the *ṣuʿlūk* type [see ṢUʿLŪK]: the apologetic, the lyric and the therapeutic parameters, and can be divided thus:

1. apologetic parameter (Yūsuf Shukrī Farḥāt, *Dīwān Ta'abbaṭa Sharran*, in *Dīwān al-ṣaʿālīk*, Beirut 1413/1992, nos. I, II, VI, IX, X, XII, XIII, XV, XVI, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI);
2. lyric parameter: (nos. VII, VIII, XII, XVIII, XIX, XXV);
3. therapeutic parameter: (nos. III, V, XI, XII, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXV, XXIX).

The most beautiful piece is the *ḳāfiyya* (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, no. 1; *Dīwān*, no. XVIII). Gabrieli, however, considers it an accumulation of heterogeneous verses. According to him, it creates the impression of a mosaic of which the pieces have been arbitrarily collected by later rhapsodists (F. Gabrieli, *Ta'abbata Sharran, Shanfarā, Khalaf al-Aḥmar*, in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, 8th series [1946], i, 49-50).

Goethe translated the *lāmiyya* of the brigand poet into verse in 1819 (*Goethes Werke*, ii, *Gedichte und Epen*, Hamburg 1952, 130-3), using Freytag's Latin translation. After carrying out a study of the structure of the poem, in which he detected a profound order and harmony, the great German artist concluded in his analysis that this bare style reflected the serious element of the work. After a careful reading of the text, he wrote, the event unfolded to the smallest detail before the eyes of our imagination (*ibid.*, 133-4). (Lyall, however, thought that Goethe's interpretations were not always correct.)

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(A. Arazi)

TAʿADDĪ (A., *maṣdar* of the form V verb), literally "act of going beyond, passing over... to", a term of Arabic grammar denoting transitivity; the related form *taʿdiya* is also found.

The term is understood in terms of the syntactic effect of the transitive verb which goes beyond and passes over the agent to fall on the direct object (Levin, 1979). In that sense, the verb is considered an operator which governs the syntactic inflections of the agent and the direct object. Verbs such as *kāna* ("to be"), *ẓanna* ("to suppose"), which is a verb that introduces what were originally the subject and predicate of a nominal sentence and keeps them in the now verbal proposition as its objects, and *ḍaraba* ("to

hit") which is a transitive real verb—are each called *mutaʿadd*[in] by all Arab grammarians. By definition, *mutaʿadd*[in] verbs cause the agents to be in the nominative and the verb complements to be in the accusative. The term *mutaʿadd*[in] is therefore subsumed under the concept of *ʿamal* or government.

Arab grammarians regarded the morphological patterns of verbs as essential in determining verb transitivity. Therefore, the patterns were always related to the concepts of *taʿaddī*. However, the emphasis on how much the morphology of the verb could be the determining element of its transitivity or intransitivity decreased significantly by the 4th/10th century especially with the writing of Ibn al-Sarrādj's *al-Uṣūl fī 'l-naḥw*. Ibn al-Sarrādj (d. 316/928) gave more emphasis to the meaning denoted by the verb over the meaning denoted by the morphological pattern (Bohas and Guillaume, 1990).

Starting with the work of al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898 [*q.v.*]) and continuing very clearly in the work of Ibn al-Sarrādj, the use of the word *mutaʿadd*[in] as a technical, structural term was based on purely syntactic processes. These processes concerned case inflections not only on the verb's agent and direct object, but also on all the other accusative complements used with the verb. In this manner, *taʿaddī* reflected the verb's power to govern the nouns surrounding it.

On the other hand, al-Mubarrad introduced the term *wāṣil* ("reaching") which Ibn al-Sarrādj later used consistently to refer to a different level of interaction between the action denoted by the verb, the doer, and the semantic object. This interaction covers the semantic side of verb transitivity which the structural term *taʿaddī* does not (Taha, 1995).

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(ZEINAB A. TAHA)

TAʿADJDJUB (A.), lit. "amazement", a term of rhetoric. Though sometimes given a separate place in lists of *badīʿ* [*q.v.*], as in Rādūyānī's [*q.v.*] *Tardjumān al-balāgha* or Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ's [*q.v.*] *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr*, it is far more often mentioned, in more general discussions of poetry, as one of the basic effects or aims of the poetic process, especially of imagery. It is found, together with its active counterpart *taʿdjīb* ("causing amazement") in the Aristotelian tradition (Ibn Sīnā, Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī [*q.vv.*]) and, in a somewhat different sense, in the poetics of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.*]. This "amazement", which is in fact usually "feigned amazement", is related to concepts such as *ighrāb* or *istighrāb* "[evoking] wonder", found in works of poetics since Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], and lies at the basis of the common figure of *badīʿ* called *tadjāhul al-ʿārif*, "feigned ignorance".

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(G.J.H. VAN GELDER)

TAʿĀʾISHA, one of a series of Arabic-speaking ethnic groups collectively called Baḳḳāra [*q.v.*] "cattle people", who live in the Sudan Republic across the southern Gezira, Kordofan [*q.v.*], Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] and eastern Chad. The Taʿāʾisha tribal home is in the far southwest of Dār Fūr, neighbouring on the east the Habbāniyya, with whom they are closely linked. Little is known of the history of the Baḳḳāra; nor can much be said about how and when the present groupings emerged, although in Dār Fūr they were already in conflict with the sultanate to the north by the late 18th century.

The Taʿāʾisha rose to power when one of their number, ʿAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad Karrār [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD AL-TAʿĀʾISHĪ], a member of a holy family affiliated to the Sammāniyya *ṭarīḳa*, became a follower of the Sudanese Mahdī, Muḥammad Aḥmad [see AL-MAHDIYYA] before his public manifestation in 1882. During the revolution, ʿAbdullāhi became the strongman of the movement and was designated as senior *khalīfa* by the Mahdī. Following the Mahdī's death in June 1885, the Khalīfa ʿAbdullāhi ruled the Mahdist state until its destruction by an Anglo-Egyptian army. He himself was hunted down and killed at Umm Diwaykarāt on 24 November 1899.

During the Khalīfa's rule, he made extensive use of his relatives and other fellow-Taʿāʾisha as soldiers and administrators, leading to what P.M. Holt has called "The Taʿāʾisha autocracy" (*The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898*, [2]Oxford 1970, 204-22). Throughout the Mahdist period there was constant tension between the Taʿāʾisha leaders and the riverain Sudanese.

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(R.S. O'FAHEY)

ṬAʿĀM (A.), food, nourishment. For foods and food habits, see GHIDHĀʾ; for cookery and the culinary art, see ṬABKH. The present article deals with the restricted topic of food etiquette.

Since pre-Islamic times, the rules of food etiquette were divided between host and guests, the prime rules being that the former should be as generous as possible and the latter should not appear too greedy. Much may be learned from the numerous anecdotes on those who sinned against these rules: see the monographs and chapters in *adab* anthologies on misers (*bukhalāʾ*), especially the book by al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], and parasites and cadgers (*ṭufayliyyūn*), e.g. the *K. al-Taṭfīl* by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], Djudda 1986. Explicit prescriptions, all but absent from the Ḳurʾān (cf. XXIV, 61), are found in *Ḥadīth* literature, e.g. al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ, Aṭʿima*, or Muslim, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ, Ashriba* (*bāb ādāb al-ṭaʿām*), where one is enjoined to begin with pronouncing the *basmala*, to eat with the right hand, not to condemn any food but merely to leave it if one dislikes it, to praise God after a meal, etc. More detailed and comprehensive treatment of "table manners"—although instead of a table (*khiwān*), a mat (*sufra* or *simāṭ*) is often preferred—is found primarily in religious works as well as secular texts. To the former category belongs the *Kitāb Ādāb al-akl*, which opens the second "quarter" of al-Ghazālī's [*q.v.*] *Iḥyāʾ* (cf. the section on the Prophet's eating behaviour, *ādābuhu fī 'l-ṭaʿām*, in *K. Ādāb al-maʿīsha wa-akhlāḳ al-nubuwwa*, which closes the same "quarter"). Aimed particularly at Ṣūfīs are the similar but shorter chapter

on *ādāb al-akl* in ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* and the lengthy chapters (39-40) in Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, tr. R. Gramlich, *Die Nährung des Herzen*, iii, Stuttgart 1995, 266-390. The secular category, never devoid of religious elements, includes sections in all of the large *adab* anthologies that have chapters on eating and food. A *K. Adab al-mawāʾid* by al-Rāmhurmuzī (d. *ca.* 370/971) is mentioned in the *Fihrist* but is now lost. His contemporary Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ concluded his cookery manual *K. al-Ṭabīkh* (ed. Helsinki, 1987) with chapters on table manners. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Djazzār (d. 669/1270 or 679/1281), butcher and poet, wrote *Fawāʾid al-mawāʾid*, still unpublished but discussed by Traini (see *Bibl.*). ʿAbd al Raʾūf al-Munāwī [*q.v.*] was the author of the unpublished *K. Ādāb al-akl wa ʾl-shurb wa-ʾl-malbas*. . . . In the entertaining *R. Ādāb al-muʾākala* by Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 984/1577), ed. in *RAAD*, xlii (1967), 503-23, 732-57, many forms of bad eating behaviour are exposed in a fashion already found in al-Djāḥiẓ's *Bukhalāʾ*. On eating with kings, see Pseudo-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tādj* (Cairo 1914: *bāb fī muṭāʿamat al-mulūk*).

In general, eating etiquette seems to have been similar in many ways to what is expected of polite society in the West, stressing an aversion from unsavoury noises and messy or greedy behaviour. During communal meals, always preferred to solitary eating, particular care is to be taken to avoid contact with one another's saliva. Conversation during meals is generally encouraged, in spite of what seems a widespread practice in modern Arab countries, where food is consumed quickly and silently.

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(G.J.H. van Gelder)

TAʿARRUB (A.), the verbal noun of a denominative verb formed from *ʿArab*, pl. *Aʿrāb*, in the sense of "nomads, Bedouins" (the Ḳurʾānic sense of this latter term, cf. e.g. IX, 98/97, XLIX, 14; *taʿarrub* itself does not occur in the Ḳurʾān). In earliest Islam, *taʿarraba* and its synonym *tabaddā* denote the return to the Arabian desert after *hidjra* [*q.v.*] to the garrison towns (*amṣār* [see miṣr. B]) and participation in the warfare to expand the Arab empire and the Abode of Islam. Some of this movement back to the desert was doubtless legitimate, but on occasion it was denounced by circles of pietistic town dwellers as a kind of apostasy, the reversion to a life where the full, town-oriented Islamic cult could not be practised and its obligations fulfilled. See the full discussion in C.E. Bosworth, *A note on taʿarrub in early Islam*, in *JSS*, xxxiv (1989), 355-61.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

TAʿAṢṢUB [see ʿaṣabiyya].

TAʿĀWĪDHĪ [see ibn al-taʿāwīdhī].

TAʿĀWUN (A.), co-operation in all modern senses of the term; a noun of activity and sometimes an abstract noun, parallelled, in the latter case, by *taʿāwuniyya* (co-operativism). It was established in the early years of the 20th century as the term designating this field of meaning, by transference from the sense of mutual aid (still valid), with the adjective *taʿāwunī* (co-operative), the active participle *mutaʿāwin* (co-operator), then, later, the substantive *taʿāwuniyya* (co-operative, principally agricultural, but also organised on the basis of supply of goods, housing, credit, crafts and manufacture). Since the middle of the 20th century it has been applied to the activities and institutions of international co-operation. It is attested in Persian (*taʿāvon*), although contemporary Turkish translates co-operative by *kooperatif*, retaining *teʿāwün* (currently *teavün*) in the sense that it possessed at the turn of the century (of mutual aid, solidarity), a sense for which Arabic prefers *taʿāḍud*.

The co-operative movement was inaugurated in Egypt by the Waṭanī Party. Confronted by the financial crisis of 1907 which devastated the countryside, ʿUmar Luṭfī made inquiries in Italy regarding that country's experience of the agrarian co-operative movement and the judicial aspects of co-operative credit. It was above all a case of protecting medium and well-to-do landowners from usurers and of major landowners protecting themselves against state fiscal policies. In 1912, a *Niḳāba ʿāmma li ʾl-taʿāwun* united the score of co-operatives instituted since December 1909, agrarian ones (*Niḳābāt zirāʿiyya* [see niḳāba]), credit and services into a *sharikat* (*Sharikat al-taʿāwun*).

It was only during the 1920s that legislation concerning associations of this type was passed, and then to little effect. The same applied elsewhere, the Maghrib under French domination representing an exceptional case (reference to co-operativism by European labour organisations from the turn of the century, a number of successful foundations, outside this affiliation, primarily agricultural and restricted to the European sector).

The concept was re-launched during the 1940s, in association with the movement of decolonisation. It was the peasants—to whom the present survey is limited—who were principally concerned, the United Nations (and the United States) insisting on the necessity of agrarian reforms and the formation of co-operatives for a dual purpose, preventive and developmental. However, the movement proved genuinely successful only in tandem with policies of economic and social planning, whether these had the object of guaranteeing independent and autonomous development or of promoting liberally-oriented growth. From the associative form, the co-operative sector has thus, in most cases, advanced to the status of a category of ownership (alongside public, private, and sometimes mixed ownership).

The first experiments were made in Nasserite Egypt. The law of agrarian reform of September 1952 (revised in 1961 and 1969) obliged landowners and smallholders to belong to *djamʿiyyāt taʿāwuniyya*. When the process was completed, this consisted of pyramidal groupings, with examples at local, cantonal and provincial levels and a governing council. In the 1960s, the system was extended to include sectors of land unaffected by the reform (village co-operatives) or upgraded in parallel with the progress of construction of the Aswān Dam, these sectors, open to landless peasants, remaining, however, included within state farms. Specialised co-operatives also appeared. The liberalisation (*infitāḥ*) introduced by President Anwar al-Sādāt had

the effect of limiting the role of co-operatives (credit, logistics and commerce), as well as the representation of small landowners (previously 80%) in the administrative councils in order to stimulate the profitability of land and to permit foreign involvement. A new law regulating co-operativism (since revised) was passed in 1980. The number of local co-operatives, formally subject to centrally-imposed regulation of production and prices, is in decline, whilst that of the specialised co-operatives is steadily growing.

Other countries are related to this "model" (with its genuine, but relative social effects), conceiving this sector as a method of organising the agrarian branch of the public sector, depending on state planning (with its relative or negative effects).

In Syria, the agrarian reform of September 1958, suspended after the breaking of the union with Egypt (February 1958—October 1961), was the object of a new law in June 1963, since amended. The obligation to form co-operatives was maintained, but redistribution was sporadic, even with the addition of the upgraded land. In April 1974, agricultural co-operatives were combined with peasant associations (small landowners, farmers and labourers) in a National Union, a consultative body, but also the agrarian wing of central planning.

In ʿIrāḳ, the law of agrarian reform (August 1958), which followed the revolution of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*], was applied only to a limited extent until the Baʿt͟hists returned to power (July 1968). A new law (May 1970) made "collective" exploitation (state, collective, co-operative farms) the framework of a "total agrarian revolution". If resistance in Kurdistān is discounted, the co-operative sector has been effective. In 1977, peasant and co-operative associations were combined in one organisation. Here too, and to an even greater extent since the fragmentation of the Front in 1979, it is the Baʿt͟hist structure which is dominant in serving the objectives of central planning.

Algeria was slow to introduce such measures. From 1962 to 1970, the formula of self-management, exercised over vacant land and nationalised colonial territories, developed into nothing more than the agrarian branch of the state's public sector. Preceded by partial texts, the Charter of Agrarian Revolution (1972) opted for global and progressive agrarian reform and for the creation of co-operatives of various kinds, and later of Agrarian Revolution villages, in liaison with the Combined Agricultural Co-operatives with which self-managed holdings and the private sector were to be associated. But this experiment did not achieve the hoped-for results, and during the 1980s a return to privatisation has been observed.

In Tunisia, the recovery of colonial territory and agrarian reforms coincided with the choice of a state-run and centralised planned development (1961-9). The agrarian programme was structured on "co-operative units" (all forms of production, development and services). The decision to extend this co-operative system to the entirety of agricultural enterprise (January 1969), provoked a crisis. The return to liberalism has led, in this case, to the dissolution of the co-operatives.

In Morocco, the recovery of colonial territory proceeded in stages (1963, 1973). As envisaged by ʿAllāl al-Fāsī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] as early as 1952, a law of agrarian reform was passed in 1966, but it was the Code of Agricultural Investment (1969) which, by the encouragement of more favourable credit arrangements, boosted the formation of co-operatives (of utilisation of materials and of market-gardening). But this tended to favour major and medium-sized landowners, or at least, family groupings. Once subsidies were received, a number of them disintegrated.

The choice made by Iran, at the beginning of the 1960s, for a policy of planned growth, was accompanied by agrarian reform (1962). A central organisation of rural co-operatives was created in 1963 in order to serve the interests of the latter. Conditions of repurchase or leases tended, however, to favour farmers backed by capital. The same has been the case in Turkey, where until 1960 laws of reform were sporadic or unimplemented; the agrarian co-operative structure is poorly developed there. In Sukarno's Indonesia, under the agrarian law of 1960, the use of co-operatives was no longer obligatory, but it was among the demands of the rural movements during the unrest preceding the *coup* of 1965.

The experience of the two Yemens before their unification (1990) deserves mention. In the North, the co-operative movement was the result of popular initiatives at the time of the civil war (1962-70) and had the object of filling the gaps in matters of infrastructure and local services. In 1963 and 1969, laws were passed with the object of harmonising the regulations, and in March 1973 the *Hayʾāt al-Taʿāwun al-Ahlī* were combined in a Federation. Incorporated into the single party (People's General Congress, 1982-), it supplied a basic framework of organisation. It was through the expedient of elections of local councils of co-operative development (*taṭwīr*) (1985) that the country was endowed with municipal and communal councils. In South Yemen, as agreed in principle in the months which followed independence (1967), agrarian reform and the constitution of a co-operative sector were the object, from October 1970 onwards, of peasant *intifāḍāt* which took possession of land and extended the co-operative sector, to include fishing and some sections of industry. The radical Arab nationalists in power (1969-) supported a new law, passed in November 1970, which encouraged this movement. The merging of the radical Left into the Marxist Socialist Party (1978), confirmed the interest taken in this sector. In 1988, there were the beginnings of public consultation on the issue of ownership in the countryside, but it was after the unification of the two Yemens that moves were made in the direction of privatisation. The defeat of the Yemenite Left in the civil war of 1994 led to the overall collapse of the co-operative movement, often to the benefit of the former landowners.

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Méditerranée orientale, Paris 1994; D. Warriner, *Land reform in principle and practice*, Oxford 1969; Publications and documents of the relevant states and organisations, as well as those of international and regional institutions, in particular: International Co-operative Alliance (1895-), Geneva; Organisation Arabe pour le Développement Agricole (League of Arab States, 1970-), Kharṭūm. (J. Couland)

TAʿAWWUDH (a.) means the use of the phrase *aʿūdhu bi ʾllāhi min* ... "I take refuge with God against...", followed by the mention of the thing that the utterer of the phrase fears or abhors. The term *istiʿādha* "seeking refuge", is often used as a synonym. The phrase, with variants, is well attested in the Ḳurʾān, in particular in the last two sūras which each consist of one extended *taʿawwudh* [see al-muʿawwidhatān]. The litany-like enumeration of evil things in the first of the two foreshadows similar strains in a number of Prophetic invocations recorded in the *Ḥadīth* collections (see e.g., several *abwāb* in the *kitāb al-daʿawāt* of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which actually have the terms *taʿawwudh* or, less frequently, *istiʿādha* in their titles). With such precedent it is not surprising that *taʿawwudh* becomes a clearly recognisable subgenre of *duʿāʾ* "invocation", in the devotional literature (see C.E. Padwick, *Muslim devotions*, London 1961, 83-93). Remarkably, *taʿawwudh* here often forms part of a two-pronged prayer in which the praying person asks for the good in the thing that is the object of the prayer and takes refuge against the evil in that very same thing (*ibid.*, 89). If it is God's wrath (*ghaḍab*) that the praying person wants to guard against, refuge can only be taken with God's good pleasure (*riḍā*), which leads to the mysterious formula "I seek refuge from Thee with Thyself" (*ibid.*, 90-2).

More specifically, *taʿawwudh* is also used to denote the formula *aʿūdhu bi ʾllāhi mina ʾl-shayṭāni ʾl-radjīm* which usually precedes any Ḳurʾānic recitation (and thus also the *ṣalāt*) as a safeguard against misspeaking, omission of words, and other such mistakes. It is the counterpart of the formula *ṣadaḳa ʾllāhu ʾl-ʿaẓīm* which follows any formal recitation. The works on Ḳurʾānic readings [see ḳirāʾāt] have extended chapters on the *taʿawwudh*, dealing with its exact wording, its correct delivery, and its legal status (see e.g. Ibn al-Djazarī, *al-Nashr fi ʾl-ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashr*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Ḍabbāʿ, 2 vols., Cairo n.d., i, 243-59).

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

ṬABAḲA (a., pls. *ṭibāḳ* or *aṭbāḳ*), a term of Mamlūk military organisation. The *ṭibāḳ* were the barracks in the Cairo Citadel, *Ḳalʿat al-Djabal*, where the Mamlūk sultans (648-922/1250-1517) had their Royal Mamlūks quartered and which also housed the military academies where newly-bought *mamlūks* received their training. We first learn of the *ṭibāḳ* during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars who "established... barracks for the *mamlūks* which overlooked the great al-Dirka gate, and inside the al-Ḳarāfa gate he put up... a large building with small halls for the *mamlūks*' quarters, and above them barracks for those who were married" (Ibn Shaddād, 341, 343). According to the sources, there were seventeen *ṭibāḳ* during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709-41/1310-41 [*q.v.*]), but their number may have varied, as old ones were habitually demolished to make room for new ones and barracks could bear more than one name. The historian al-Ẓāhirī speaks of twelve barracks in the next century, each of which could house 1,000 *mamlūks*. Some of the better-known *ṭibāḳ* were Ṭabaḳat al-Rafraf, Ṭabaḳat al-Zimām or al-Zimāmiyya, Ṭabaḳat al-Ḥawsh, Ṭabaḳat al-Ṭāziyya, Ṭabaḳat al-Muḳaddam, Ṭabaḳat al-Ṣandaliyya and Ṭabaḳat al-Ashrafiyya.

As their appellation indicates, many of the *ṭibāḳ* were named after the eunuchs who had the overall responsibility for their administration. The *ṭibāḳ*'s staff of teachers and instructors, too, was mainly composed of eunuchs, according to a strict hierarchy: at the bottom were the *ṭawāshiyya*, or *khuddām al-ṭibāḳ*, responsible for training small groups of *mamlūks* only; placed above them were the *muḳaddamū ʾl-ṭibāḳ*, each of which stood at the head of a *ṭabaḳa*, and at the apex stood the *muḳaddam al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*, who carried the responsibility for all Royal Mamlūks. Then there were religious scholars (*faḳīh*, pl. *fuḳahāʾ*) who were charged with the religious education of the *mamlūk* trainees. One of the adult *mamlūks* of each *ṭabaḳa* was appointed as leader (*aghā*, pl. *aghāwāt*, lit. "elder brother") of the younger *mamlūks* (*inī*, pl. *iniyyāt*, lit. "younger brother") whose task it was mainly to help them acclimatise to the life and discipline of the *ṭabaḳa*. Ties between guardian and trainee were often kept up long after the period of training at the *ṭibāḳ* had come to an end. Upon entering the military academies, *mamlūks* were divided into peer groups, according to age and ethnic origin, and further split up into smaller groups so as to make their instruction as efficient as possible. Two principal stages characterised a *mamlūk*'s education: the first lasted into adolescence and concentrated on religious studies, e.g., reading the Ḳurʾān, the Islamic prescriptions and the *sharīʿa*, so as to make him a Muslim, while the second began at adolescence and was only concluded when the young *mamlūk*'s professional skill in the arts of war was deemed to have reached the highest level of accomplishment. The period of training at the *ṭibāḳ* culminated in a special ceremony (*ʿitḳ*) during which *mamlūks* of one and the same age group (*khardj*) were released from servitude and became members of the Mamlūk household of the Sultan at the Citadel.

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(Amalia Levanoni)

ṬABAḲĀT (a.), pl. of *ṭabaḳa*, "everything which is related to another and which is similar or analagous to it, which comes to mean a layer of things of the same sort (Flügel, *Classen*, 269, n. 1). From this a transition can be made to the idea of a "rank, attributed to a group of characters who have played a role in history in one capacity or another, classed according to criteria determined by the religious, cultural, scientific or artistic order etc." (Hafsi, i. 229; cf. al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 917). In biographical literature it is the "book of classes" of characters arranged by "categories" and organised into "generations".

A. Lexicography and literature.

1. This term does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, but two other expressions approaching it do: *ṭabaḳ* and *ṭibāḳ* "analagous things which follow each other" (in a temporal or qualitative sense) or "placed on top of each other" (in a spatial sense); "You shall surely ride stage after stage" (LXXXIV, 19, tr. Arberry: *ṭabaḳan ʿan ṭabaḳin* from one state to another, or from one calamity to another; see al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*); "[God] who created seven *ṭibāḳan*" (the ranks or stages of the heavens, LXVII, 3; LXXI, 15). The common point

of reference is the idea of covering everything by something equivalent, of applying oneself to it (*Ḳāmūs*, s.v.). The idea of equivalence is again found in *ṭabaḳa* "a similar epoch" (*al-ḳarn min al-zamān*). According to al-Aṣmaʿī, *ṭibḳ* designates a "group of people"; for Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231/846) *ṭabaḳ* reflects "a given state [or category] whatever its sort" (*al-ḥāl ʿalā ʾkhtilāfihā*). So does *ṭabaḳa*, according to al-Layth: *kāna fulān^un ʿalā ṭabaḳāt^in shattā min al-dunyā: ay ḥālāt; K. al-ʿAyn*; M.-N. Khan, *Die exegetischen Teile des Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, Berlin 1994, 220, or again *al-umma baʿd al-umma* "one community succeeding another". For Ibn Sīduh, *ṭabaḳ* is "a group of people who correspond to an analogous group". The variant *ṭibḳ* designates a vast number of people, grasshoppers, camels, etc. (*LA* and al-Ṣaghānī, *Takmila*. . ., ed. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥidjāzī, Cairo 1988, s.v.; Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 118). According to al-Layth, *ṭabaḳa*, which may be *ṭabaḳ* in the masculine, is used as a unitary form of the noun of action *ṭibāḳ*. Numerous other meanings are to be found in Lane, s.v.

2. In *adab* and historiography, *ṭabaḳa* is in common use in the sense of category or class, in particular of society: Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, *Risāla fi ʾl-ṣaḥāba*, ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, Paris 1976, §31; Ibrāhīm b. M. al-Shaybānī (d. 298/911) according to *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Tarḥīnī, iv, 262-3; G. Makdisi, *The rise of humanism*, Edinburgh 1990, 233-4. As for al-Djāḥiẓ, he uses it in the sense of degree, as in *al-shakk fī ṭabaḳāt^in* "doubt is made up of degrees" (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 35, 37, Jâhiz, *Le cadi et la mouche*, tr. L. Souami, Paris 1988, 74, 75); *ṭabaḳat maʿānīhā* "degree or level (of meaning)" (*op. cit.*, i, 10, Jâhiz, 231; cf. i, 98). (Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, 1073, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 344: *ṭabaḳāt al-kalām*.) What is more, in his work the meaning of "social categories/classes" is often associated with types of character: misers, singers, singing slave girls, traders, secretaries, Turks, etc. (Ch. Pellat, *Arabische Geisteswelt*, Zürich 1967, 48-9, 436 ff.; S. Enderwitz, *Gesellschaftlicher Rang und ethnische Legitimation*, Berlin 1979, 72-3, *passim*: al-Djāḥiẓ on the Africans, the Persians and the Arabs). Finally, the notion of *ṭabaḳa* applied to poets has been attested at least since the second half of the 2nd/8th century; see al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), *K. Fuḥūlat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Torrey, in *ZDMG*, lxv (1911), 495, 499.

As to the following Prophetic tradition reported by Anas, it is very obviously spurious: "My community will be made up of five classes: firstly forty years with charitable and pious people; they will be followed for the next 150 years by people who will live in compassion and mutual harmony; then for 160 years more there will come people who will turn their backs on each other and will separate themselves; then will come a period of scattering (*hardj*) [and of war or of flight] and every-man-for-himself (*nadjā*)". In another version it is said that each class would last for forty years and that another class would be added between year 40 and year 80 to arrive at the number of five (Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, 36, *Fitan*, no. 4058; cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mawḍūʿāt*, iii, 196; idem, *Talḳīḥ*, 714, several versions). It is possible that it may have been modelled on the following tradition: "The best of men are those of my century (*ḳarnī*), and below them are those of the next century" (al-Bukhārī, 62, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*, i, tr. Houdas, ii, 583).

In modern texts, the term is accepted most clearly to designate a "social class", as in *ṣirāʿ al-ḳabaḳāt* "the class struggle".

B. The division into "classes".

1. Origin and meaning.

For several scholars, the origin of this division in Arab biographical literature is found in the criticism of tradition (Loth, 594 ff.). It has even been written that the genre of the *ṭabaḳāt* "was born within the framework of the *ḥadīth* and is inseparable from it" (Hafsi, i, 227). What supports the thesis of Hafsi is that the first book of classes was perhaps the *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-muḥaddithīn* of al-Muʿāfā b. ʿImrān al-Mawṣilī (d. 184/800; Sezgin, i, 348; Hafsi, i, 241). One argument against his position would be the *K. Ṭabaḳāt ahl al-ʿilm wa ʾl-djahl* of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 131/748), but the subject matter is not known: was it the "orthodox" believers, i.e. the Ḳadarīs and the "ignorant", i.e. the predestinationists (Van Ess, *TG*, v, Berlin 1993, 137-8)?

For Heffening, on the other hand, this grouping "much rather owes its origin to the interest of the Arabs in genealogy and biography". Rosenthal, 93-5, for his part, considers that the division is genuinely Islamic and that it would seem to be the oldest chronological division which presented itself to Muslim historical thinking. It was the natural consequence of the concept of the Companions of Muḥammad, the "Followers", etc., which in conjunction with the *isnād* criticism of traditions developed in the early second century of the *hidjra*.

Without denying the fundamental role which it played in the birth and development of the genre, it does not seem that it originated from the genre, as the semantic survey above (cf. Heffening) would suggest. The ideas of covering, of egality, of analogy (cf. also *ḳarn*, which perhaps preceded *ṭabaḳa* in the sense of "generation", Rosenthal, 93, and which also has the connotation of analogy) and of succession which this term conveys, correspond well to the Muslim concept of "the history of salvation", with the succession of pious men, beginning with the "prophets", whose characters were so many models to be imitated. Even if tribal genealogy continued to exist, it gave way more and more to a particular form of spiritual or intellectual genealogy which also appeared, of course, in the *ḥadīth*, "the transmission of knowledge", but also in other disciplines. In addition, by the use of certain types of *ṭabaḳāt* every effort was made to maintain the link with the primitive community which was widely mythologised. Finally, the fact that al-Aṣmaʿī (see above) had already used the term *ṭabaḳa*, however loosely, to compare two poets, and that al-Djumaḥī (d. 232/846) organised his *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* (see Kilpatrick) according to an order which has nothing to do with religious merit, about the same epoch as Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) composed his own work, suggests that the genre in its origins was part of a global preoccupation of all scholars in different fields: to give to society the canons for transmitting knowledge, whether sacred or secular, and in particular by means of a biographical tool. This concern for continuity (Khalidi, 46-8, 205 and n. 50) insists at one and the same time on "sacred history continued" and on the equally secular aspects of the genre deeply rooted in its origins, also apparent in the genre of the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*], which was attested at least since the time of Ibn Shayba (d. 235/849; see book 34 of his *Muṣannaf*, Beirut 1995, vii, 247-76). It is not fortuitous if in *Talḳīḥ*, 461-8, the section concerning them follows that on the *ṭabaḳāt*.

The interest in "genealogy" understood in that way was specified above, and can also be observed in the role which local stories play in the evolution of the genre, with certainly a touch of regional pride, but especially in order to justify the juridical practices in use in one place or another (Rosenthal, 94). Already

by this time, Ibn Saʿd had given a special place to the grouping according to the capital cities and towns (Mecca, Medina, Baṣra, Kūfa), or even events (Badr) but the *History of Wāsiṭ* of Baḥshal (d. 292/905 [*q.v.*]; ed. K. ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1967; Rosenthal, 166-7) is essentially a work about the classes of traditionalists in this town. Later this division was extended to all sorts of persons, but generally scholars.

2. Criteria of classification.

For the classification of the Companions, especially in the work of Ibn Saʿd, see ṢAḤĀBA. For the Successors, see TĀBIʿ. For both, see al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, chs. 7, 14 (twelve classes of Companions, fourteen classes of Successors); al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, 221-2, 234 ff., ch. 39-40, according to precedent; Marçais, 222-4; Hafsi, i, 242-4, 236-8.

It is difficult to give general criteria for classification for all the *ṭabaḳāt*; four can be distinguished: moral and chronological, relationship with the Prophet for the first generations, chronological, and finally a late classification where alphabetical order is used (Hafsi, i, 234-6).

For the classes of traditionalists, the "encounter" (*luḳyā*) between master and disciple is a fundamental criterion for distinguishing between the two classes (ʿUmarī, 51). The principles of hierarchisation and also of illustration of the forged *ḥadīth* cited above, are seen in the original grouping which goes back to Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996). He distinguished five classes of forty years up to his era, citing five names for each one: caliph, jurist, traditionist, reader and ascetic (*Talḳīḥ*, 714-17, takes up this classification which was continued by others until 560 A.H., perhaps some 40 classes).

The organisation of works into classes did not seem very practical, as would appear in the work of al-Dhahabī: *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* comprised twenty-one (80 years); *Maʿrifat al-ḳurrāʾ*, seventeen; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, about forty (from seven to thirty years); *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* [i-xxvii (up to 400 A.H.). ed. ʿU.ʿA. Tadmurī, Beirut 1987-92; i-iv (611-40 A.H.), ed. B.ʿA. Maʿrūf *et alii*, Beirut 1988]; seventy (in general ten years). In this work he associates chronological organisation with organisation into classes, but in that way the traditional principle of the "encounter" is abandoned. Furthermore, in two of his works he designates each class by one of its illustrious representatives, cf. "the class of al-Zuhrī". Thus he continues in *al-Mudjarrad fī asmāʾ ridjāl K. Ibn Mādja* (eight classes, Maʿrūf, 103; ʿUmarī 49-50; Sezgin, i, 148; ed. Fayṣal al-Djawābira, Riyāḍ 1988) and in *al-Muʿīn fī ṭabaḳāt al-muḥaddithīn* [Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xix, no. 105, mistaken by Hafsi, 31, for *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*], where the first classes have names, e.g. "the class of al-Aʿmash and of Abū Ḥanīfa", then from the 3rd/9th centuries onwards he has recourse to the classes of twenty to thirty years.

C. Works in the genre.

See Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, nos. 7879-7932. The lines which follow are the addenda (sometimes the corrigenda) to Hafsi, in particular the editions of texts which have appeared since.

Philologists (Hafsi, ii, 155-61) and poets (iii, 50-61): Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-udabāʾ*, ed. I. al-Sāmarrāʾī (Baghdād 1970²); Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1448 [*q.v.*]), *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt wa ʾl-lughawiyyīn*, ed. M. Ghayyāḍ, Nadjaf 1974.

Readers and exegetes (Hafsi, ii, 2-7): Ibn al-Djazarī [*q.v.*], *K. Maʿrifat al-ḳurrāʾ al-kibār ʿalā ʾl-ṭabaḳāt wa ʾl-aʿṣār*, i-ii, ed. M.S. Djād al-Ḥaḳḳ, Cairo 1969; Dāwūdī (M. b. ʿA., d. 945/1538), *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn*, ed. ʿA.M. ʿUmar, Cairo 1972, Beirut 1983.

Traditionists and associates (Hafsi, i, 241-65): Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ [*q.v.*]; Muslim, *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt* (Hafsi, i, 248-9), ed. S.ʿA.M. al-Ḳazaḳī, announced in *ATA*, xxxv (1988), 17; Bardīdjī (A. b. Hārūn, d. 301/816; Sezgin, i, 166; Hafsi, i, 249-50), *Ṭabaḳāt al-asmāʾ al-mufrada fī ʾl-ṣaḥāba wa ʾl-tābiʿīn wa-aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, ed. S. al-Shihābī, Damascus 1987; contrary to Sezgin, i, 350, al-Azdī (Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yazīd b. M., d. 334/935), *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt*, lost work, which is different from *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, ed. ʿA. Ḥabība, Cairo 1967, 11; Abū Shaykh (ʿAl. b. M. b. Djaʿfar, d. 369/979; Hafsi, 25), *Ṭabaḳāt al-muḥaddithīn bi-Iṣbahān*, ed. ʿA.S. al-Bundārī, i-iv, in two vols., Beirut 1989; ʿAlī b. al-Mufaḍḍal (al-Maḳdisī al-Iskandarānī al-Mālikī, d. 611/1214; Hafsi, i, 256), *al-Arbaʿūn al-murattaba ʿalā ṭabaḳāt al-arbaʿīn*, ed. announced in *ATA*, xl-xli (1989), 15.

Ḥanafīs (Hafsi, ii, 11-17): Ibn Abi ʾl-Wafāʾ al-Ḳurashī (d. 775/1373), i-v, ed. ʿA.M. al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1993², see Gilliot in *MIDEO*, xxii, 191; M. b. ʿU. al-Ḥanafī (d. 959/1551), *add.* Hafsi, ii, 15, n. 4: ms. Ali Emiri 2510; al-Hinnāʾi (d. 979/1572), *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanafiyya: add.* Hafsi, ii, 16, n. 1: Baghdād, Awḳāf 929-30; al-Ghazzī (A. b. ʿAk. al-Tamīmī, d. 1004/1595), *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-saniyya fī tarādjim al-ḥanafiyya*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1989² (1970¹).

Mālikīs (Hafsi, ii, 9-11): ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā [*q.v.*], *Tartīb al-madārik*, i-viii, ed. M.T. al-Ṭandjī *et alii*, Rabat 1966 ff. (1983²), preferable to the edition of A. Bakīr Maḥmūd, i-iii, Beirut 1965-8; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab*, i-ii, ed. M. al-Aḥmadī Abu ʾl-Nūr, Cairo 1972; continued by Aḥmad Bābā al-Takrūrī al-Tinbutktī (d. 1036/1627; Brockelmann, II, 176), *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, ed. ʿA. b. ʿAl. al-Harlama, Tripoli (Libya) 1989.

Shāfiʿīs (Hafsi, ii, 17-24; introduction to al-ʿAbbādī by G. Vitestam, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ al-shāfiʿiyya*, Leiden 1964, 3-5; introduction of Khān, see below under Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba): Muṭawwiʿī (ʿU. b. ʿA., d. *ca.* 440/1048); Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib Sahl al-Ṣuʿlūkī (d. 404/1013-14); Khān, 10, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 7900; al-Subkī (Tādj al-Dīn, *q.v.*): *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, i-x, ed. al-Ṭannāḥī and al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1964-76; al-Asnawī (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan, d. 772/1370), *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, i-ii, ed. ʿAl. al-Djubūrī, Baghdād 1970-1 (Riyāḍ 1981); Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, i-iv, Ḥaydarābād 1978-80, i-iv in 2 vols., ed. Ḥ.ʿA. Khān, Beirut 1987; Ibn Kathīr (ʿImād al-Dīn, d. 774/1373), *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ al-shāfiʿiyyīn*, with the *Dhayl* of al-Maṭarī al-ʿUbādī (d. 765/1363), i-iii, ed. M.Z.M. ʿAzab, Cairo 1993 (Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xxii, no. 192, and *corr.* in *MIDEO*, xxiii, *add.* Hafsi, ii, 21: Ibn Mulaḳḳin (A. Ḥafṣ ʿU. b. ʿA., d. 804), *al-ʿIḳd al-mudhahhab fī ḥamalat [corr.* Hafsi: *djumlat] al-madhhab*, ms. DK 579 *taʾrīkh*).

Ḥanbalīs (Hafsi, ii, 24-6): Ibn al-Mabrid (or Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, d. 909/1503), *al-Djawhar al-munaḍḍad fī ṭabaḳāt mutaʾakhkhirī aṣḥāb Aḥmad*, ed. A.S. al-ʿUthaymīn, Cairo 1987 (Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xix, no. 106); al-ʿUlaymī (ʿAr. b. M. al-ʿAmrī (d. 928/1521), *al-Manhadj al-aḥmad fī ṭabaḳāt al-imām Aḥmad*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1965.

Muʿtazilīs (Hafsi, iii, 175-6, Madelung, 330): M. b. Yazdādh al-Iṣfahānī (last wrote 3rd/9th century; Madelung), *K. al-Maṣābīḥ*; Abu ʾl-Ḥ. b. Farzawayh, a disciple of Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī, *K. al-Mashāyikh*; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Ṭabaḳāt al-muʿtazila* (ten classes), with the addition of two supplementary classes by al-Ḥākim al-Djishumī, in *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaḳāt al-muʿtazila*, ed. F. Sayyid, Tunis 1974; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-muʿtazila*, ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, Wiesbaden 1961. Overall, see Gilliot in *MIDEO*, xix, no. 56.

Ashʿarīs: Ibn Fūrak, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mutakallimīn*, prob-

ably the oldest (Hafsi, iii, 180; Madelung 334), and Kamāl al-Dīn b. Imām al-Kamāliyya (d. 864/1460; al-Sak̲h̲āwī, *Ḍaw'*, ix, no. 259), *Ṭabaḳāt al-as̲h̲ā'ira* are not preserved (Hafsi, ii, 26; Madelung, *ibid.*); Ibn 'Asākir [*q.v.*], *Tabyīn kad̲h̲ib al-muftarī*, divides them into five classes.

Ibāḍīs (Hafsi, iii, 176): al-Dard̲j̲īnī (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]), *K. al-Mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲ fi 'l-Mag̲h̲rib* (*Ṭabaḳāt mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲ al-ibāḍiyya*), i-ii, Beirut 1974.

S̲h̲ī'īs and Zaydīs (Hafsi, iii, 171-5): al-Barḳī (Abū D̲j̲a'far, d. 280/893), *K. al-Rid̲j̲āl*, ed. D̲j̲. Muḥaddit̲h̲ Urmawī, Tehran 1964; al-Kas̲h̲s̲h̲ī [*q.v.*], *K. al-Rid̲j̲āl*, ed. S.A. al-Ḥusaynī, Karbalā *ca.* 1960/*Ik̲h̲tiyār ma'rifat al-rid̲j̲āl* (summary by al-Ṭūsī), ed. Ḥ. Muṣṭafawī, Mas̲h̲had 1970.

Ascetics and mystics (Hafsi, ii, 27-41): Ibn al-Mulaḳḳin, *Ṭabaḳāt al-awliyā'*, ed. N. S̲h̲arība, Beirut 1986[2] (1973[1]); al-Munāwī ('Abd al-Ra'ūf [*q.v.*]), *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī tarād̲j̲im al-sāda al-ṣūfiyya* (*al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*; first complete ed.), i-iv, in 2 vols., ed. 'A.Ṣ. Ḥamdān, Cairo 1994 (see Gilliot, in *MIDEO* xxiii).

Physicians and sages (Hafsi, iii, 161-5): Ṣā'id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070), *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, *add.* Hafsi, iii, 161, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1912; ed. Ḥ. Bū 'Alwān, Beirut 1985; M.S. Khan, *Qāḍī Ṣā'id al-Andalusī's* Ṭabaḳāt al-umam, in *Islamic Studies*, xxx/4 (1991), 517-40; missing from Hafsi are the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, wrongly atributed to Abū Sulaymān al-Sid̲j̲istānī [*q.v.*], and *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* of Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*], new ed. R. al-'Ad̲j̲am, Beirut 1992.

Others: Mālikī (A. Bakr 'Al. b. M., d. 453/1061; Hafsi, iii, 166), *K. Riyāḍ al-nufūs fī ṭabaḳāt 'ulamā' al-Ḳayrawān wa-Ifrīḳiya*, i-iii, ed. B. al-Bakkūs̲h̲, Beirut 1983; Burayhī ('Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Ar. al-Saksakī, d. 904), *Ṭabaḳāt al-mud̲j̲tahidīn*, ed. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Aḳīl, in *Risālatān li-Ibn Kamāl Bās̲h̲ā wa-Ṭās̲h̲kubrīzādah*, Cairo 1976.

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TABĀLA, a town and wadi just within the northern boundaries of the 'Asīr emirate of present-day Saudi Arabia, situated about 200 km/125 miles as the crow flies from the Red Sea coast line and less than 100 km/62 miles due west of Bīs̲h̲a (Zaki M.A. Farsi, *National guide and atlas of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, map 34, G5).

The town is an ancient one, and is mentioned in the literature on the Prophet. Al-Wāḳidī (ed. Marsden Jones, London, 1966, ii, 853-4 and iii, 981) twice mentions his raids against K̲h̲at̲h̲'am in Tabāla in 8/629 and 9/630. It is stated in more than one source that the town is on the Yemeni pilgrim route, with al-Ḥarbī (*K. al-Manāsik wa-amākin ṭuruḳ al-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ wa-ma'ālim al-D̲j̲azīra*, ed. Ḥamad al-D̲j̲āsir, Riyāḍ 1969, 644) expressly placing the town between Bīs̲h̲a and Ad̲j̲rab. The mediaeval geographers describe the town as large, with springs and wells which water date-palm groves and agricultural lands. Al-Hamdānī (127, 258) adds that it was the centre of the pre-Islamic idol D̲h̲u 'l-K̲h̲alaṣa and that most of its inhabitants were from Ḳurays̲h̲. The story is also told that, when he was sent as governor by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] thought it too insignificant a place since it was hidden from his route by a hill. Consequently, he turned back and never entered the town.

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AL-ṬABARĀNĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM SULAYMĀN b. Ayyūb b. Muṭayyir al-Lak̲h̲mī, one of the most important traditionists of his age (260-360/873-971).

He is said to have begun his studies in *ḥadīt̲h̲* at the age of 13, with his education spanning his native Syria, 'Irāḳ, the Ḥid̲j̲āz, Yemen and Egypt, and he is said to have frequented several thousand masters in the course of a *riḥla fī ṭalab al-'ilm* which lasted for 33 years. Amongst these were Abū Zur'a al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, al-Ṭabarī and al-Nasā'ī [*q.v.*]. He died at Iṣfahān, where he had lived for sixty years under the aegis of the governor Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Rustum, even though at the end of his life he left it because of having held suspect views on Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Amongst his numerous disciples were Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Manda.

He is known above all for three works on *ḥadīt̲h̲*: *al-Mu'd̲j̲am al-kabīr* [*'alā asmā' al-ṣaḥāba*], ed. Beirut 1983, 10 vols., from which he excluded the traditions from Abū Hurayra, which he treated in a separate work, *al-Mu'd̲j̲am al-awsaṭ* [*fīhi aḥādīt̲h̲ al-afrād wa 'l-g̲h̲arā'ib*], classed according to the names of his masters; and *al-Mu'd̲j̲am al-ṣag̲h̲īr*, which gave a *ḥadīt̲h̲* from each of his masters. Amongst his numerous other works in the same field, one may mention the *K. al-Du'ā'*, *K. al-Manāsik*, *K. al-Sunna*, *K. al-Nawādir*, *K. Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, *Musnad S̲h̲u'ba*, *Musnad Sufyān* and *K. al-Awā'il*. He also wrote a *Tafsīr*, a *Radd 'alā 'l-Mu'tazila* and a *K. al-Ṣalāt 'alā 'l-nabī*. There are lists of his extant works in Brockelmann, S I, 279, and Sezgin, i, 196-7, as well as a complete list of his works in al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 912-17. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, iii, 73-5 no. 275 gives some unfavourable reports on his work as a traditionist.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Ibn 'Asākir, *T. Dimas̲h̲ḳ* (not seen); Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ed. 'Abbās, ii, 407 no. 274; D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, xvi, 119-30 no. 86; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xv, 244-6 no. 492; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *Nud̲j̲ūm*,

iv, 59-60; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 30; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 629; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, iv, 253, xiii, 391. (Maribel Fierro)

AL-ṬABARĪ, Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Djarīr b. Yazīd, polymath, whose expertises included tradition and law but who is most famous as the supreme universal historian and Ḳurʾān commentator of the first three or four centuries of Islam, born in the winter of 224-5/839 at Āmul, died at Baghdād in 310/923.

1. Life.

It should be noted at the outset that al-Ṭabarī's own works, in so far as they have been preserved for us, give little hard biographical data, though they often give us leads to his teachers and authorities and help in the evaluation of his personality and his scholarly attitudes. Several persons who knew him directly wrote on his life and works at an early date, though none of the works in question has survived *in extenso*, and they are only known from excerpts preserved by later authors. Thus the judge Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Kāmil (d. 350/961) was close to al-Ṭabarī and was an early adherent of al-Ṭabarī's own *madhhab*, the Djarīriyya (see below), whilst Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Farghānī (d. 362/972-3 [*q.v.*]) knew al-Ṭabarī when al-Farghānī was a student, prepared an edition of the latter's *History* and wrote a *ṣila* [*q.v.*] or continuation to it which contained a long obituary notice of al-Ṭabarī. The Egyptian historian Abū Saʿīd b. Yūnus al-Ṣadafī (d. 347/958 [see IBN YŪNUS] included a section of al-Ṭabarī in his *K. al-Ghurabāʾ* "Book of strangers [coming to Egypt]" because al-Ṭabarī visited Egypt for study (see below). But there seems to have then been an hiatus until al-Ḳifṭī (d. 646/1248 [*q.v.*]) compiled an enthusiastic biography, *al-Taḥrīr fī akhbār Muḥammad b. Djarīr*. For knowledge of these lost works, we rely on the authors' material cited in the general biographical works of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, in his *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, and of Ibn ʿAsākir, in his *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* (because al-Ṭabarī came to the Syrian capital for study; see *Annales, Introductio*, pp. LXIX ff.), and, above all, the literary biographical work of Yāḳūt, the *Irshād al-arīb*.

Al-Ṭabarī stemmed from Āmul [*q.v.*] in Ṭabaristān, where his father Djarīr seems to have been a moderately prosperous landowner. He provided his son with a steady income during the early part of his life, brought to the latter from Ṭabaristān to Baghdād by the annual Pilgrimage caravan from Khurāsān, and when he died (at an unknown date), al-Ṭabarī inherited a share of his estate. Whether the family was of indigenous stock or descended from Arab colonists in Ṭabaristān is unknown. At all events, al-Ṭabarī's modest degree of financial family support enabled him to travel extensively as a student and then, when he was an established scholar, gave him some independence from outside pressures and influences and from the necessity which poorer scholars experienced of seeking patronage.

He was a precocious student who was, as he himself states, a *ḥāfiẓ* or memoriser of the Ḳurʾān aged seven, qualified as an *imām* or leader of the Muslim worship aged eight and studied the Prophetic traditions aged nine. It seems well-authenticated that he left home aged twelve *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*, and during a stay of five years in the metropolis of northern Persia, Rayy, he received an intellectual formation which gave him solid grounding for his future career. The most significant of his teachers there was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Rāzī (d. 248/862), who as Ibn Ḥumayd figures as an oft-quoted authority in al-Ṭabarī's *History*, above all, for information going back to Ibn Isḥāḳ, since Ibn Ḥumayd was an authorised transmitter of Ibn Isḥāḳ's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* through Salama b. al-Faḍl (d. after 190/805-6). From Rayy, al-Ṭabarī progressed naturally, at the age of less than seventeen, to the intellectual centre of the Islamic world, Baghdād, according to one story, in the expectation of studying with Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (unfulfilled, at it happened, since Ibn Ḥanbal died at that point). After a year in Baghdād, he seems to have left for southern ʿIrāḳ (by 242/856-7) to study with the leading scholars of Wāsiṭ, Baṣra and Kūfa, whom he was afterwards to cite in his own works, such as Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 255/869) and Muḥammad b. Bashshār, called Bundār (d. 252/866, see Sezgin, i, 113-24) in Baṣra, and Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 247 or 248/861-2) in Kūfa. He probably returned to Baghdād after less than two years away and spent eight further years there, including a spell as tutor to one of the sons of the caliph al-Mutawakkil's vizier ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān [see IBN KHĀḲĀN. 2], hence at some point between 244/858-9 and 248/862.

He then embarked on his major educational and research journey, this time to Syria, Palestine and Egypt. His precise itinerary is unknown, but he was certainly in Beirut and the considerable number of scholars from or connected with such towns as Ḥimṣ (a particularly important centre, with its own special tradition of *ḥadīth* transmission), al-Ramla and ʿAskalān probably points to stays in those places and an interchange of views and information with the local scholars. Al-Ṭabarī's entry into Egypt seems to be fixable with some certainty as the year 253/867; he made a side-trip to the Syrian lands and then came back to Egypt, possibly in 256/870, though this is much less sure than the first date. In Egypt he met the leading Egyptian *muḥaddith* and authority on the *ḳirāʾāt* Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā (d. 264/877, see Sezgin, i, 38), and profited especially from contacts with the leading authorities there on Mālikism and Shāfiʿism, including with the Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] family, which had been especially close to the Imām Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī and whose head was the eminent scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam.

Al-Ṭabarī returned from Egypt to Baghdād around the year 256/870. He may at some point have made the Pilgrimage but cannot have made a prolonged stay there for study, since Ḥidjāzī scholars do not seem to figure amongst his teachers. His return to Baghdād marked the end of his student *Wanderjahre*, and he now settled down for the remaining fifty years of his life in order to devote himself to teaching and authorship, producing an amount of high-quality scholarship such as to evoke the admiration, in an age of prolific authors anyway, of both contemporaries and subsequent generations. During this half-century, he merely made two journeys to his native Ṭabaristān, the second in 289-90/902-3. See, in general, for al-Ṭabarī's years of learning and study, with lists of his teachers, Cl. Gilliot, *La formation intellectuelle de Ṭabarī*, in *JA*, cclxxvi (1988), 203-44, and idem, *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam. L'exégèse coranique de Tabari (m. 311/923)*, Paris 1990, ch. I, 19-37 (adds additional references to the preceding article).

He was now able to follow a career in a multiplicity of branches of knowledge. This was to embrace not only history, Ḳurʾān exegesis, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, but he also possibly wrote in the field of ethics and had an educated person's interest in Arabic poetry. His comfortable, if not luxurious, financial and economic

circumstances enabled him to follow an even tenor of life in which he seems to have eaten temperately, dressed modestly and generally to have avoided excess in all things. Anecdotal evidence suggests that he never accepted any official employment (such as that of *ḳāḍī* or judge, for which he would have been supremely well-equipped), although his post as tutor to the son of a vizier would doubtless have given him the entrée to such a career had he wished for it. These stories also stress his high moral standards and his great probity, with a reluctance to accept in return for services costly gifts which he did not feel he had earned or for which he could not give equally valuable presents in return. He did probably add to his income from teaching a wide circle of students, one increasingly attracted by his fame, although he does not seem energetically to have sought after such sources of income; and he may perhaps have received fees for legal advice and opinions, one apparent instance being for services rendered to the caliph al-Muktafī [*q.v.*]. It does not appear that he ever married, but was wed to his scholarship; his continuator and biographer, the Andalusian Maslama b. al-Ḳāsim al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 353/964) says that he lived as an *ḥaṣūr*, one leading a celibate life. On the sketchy evidence of one story, he may conceivably have had a son by a slave mother; his having a *kunya*, Abū Dja'far, does not of course imply in any way that he was a biological father. No progeny of his is mentioned, as one would certainly expect of a man of his celebrity, and all the evidence points to the fact that al-Ṭabarī never married.

In Baghdād, he apparently installed himself on the eastern side of the city, in al-Shammāsiyya, certainly in this quarter by the year 290/903, and lived there till he died, aged about 85 lunar years, on Monday, 27 Shawwāl 310/17 February 923. He was buried in his house on the next day, much eulogised by the scholars of his day; one of these encomia, by al-Ṭabarī's acquaintance the philologist Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*], is preserved in its entirety.

The Baghdād years were filled with his various scholarly activities which, as noted above, embraced not only the traditional "Arab" sciences in which he excelled and with which he was primarily concerned, but also the "foreign" science of medicine; he possessed a copy of the medical encyclopaedia, the *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, of his older contemporary and compatriot 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. in the 850s or early 860s? [*q.v.*]), and occasionally prescribed medical treatment for friends and students. All his surviving works indicate that he had a reverence for scholarship and wished to present what must have already become, over the course of some two-and-a-half centuries, a formidable body of knowledge in such fields as *fiḳh*, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and *akhbār* in as concise and accurate a manner as possible. An anecdote says that he originally intended his *History* and his *Commentary* to be much lengthier and more detailed, but cut them down to more manageable proportions for his students and later scholars; the tale is very probably apocryphal, but indicates al-Ṭabarī's concern for conveying essentials in a form which could be used by the following generations.

In his approach to scholarship, most notable is his emphasis on *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] or independent exercise of judgement. After quoting his sources—in his major works, he depended essentially on existing written works and reports—he gives what he considers to be the most acceptable view. His own dogmatic beliefs appear to have been basically within the framework of "orthodox" Islam as conceived, e.g. in the environment of Ibn Ḥanbal just before al-Ṭabarī's time and that of al-Ash'arī after him. This is clear from his extant dogmatic writings such as the *Ṣarīḥ al-sunna* and the partly-preserved *Tabṣīr ulī 'l-nuhā wa-ma'ālim al-hudā* (see below, section 3., nos. v, vi) and he further appears as a firm opponent of all "heretical innovations" (*bida'*) [see BID'A]. On the question of the imāmate or headship and leadership of the Muslim community, the most hotly-disputed dogmatic question of his time, when Shī'ism was becoming a force not only in peripheral areas like the Caspian provinces and Yemen but also in the heartland of the caliphate itself, he was a resolute defender of the pre-eminence of all four of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, venerating Abū Bakr and 'Umar and defending the rights of 'Alī equally. Nevertheless, since accusations of Shī'ī sympathies, however ill-founded, were a standard weapon at this time against opponents, al-Ṭabarī seems to have found himself accused of such sympathies by his Ḥanbalī opponents, who were to stir up the Baghdād mob against al-Ṭabarī on more than one occasion. Yet despite his origins from Ṭabaristān—which had not, in any case, become in the early 3rd/9th century so closely identified with Zaydī Shī'ism as it was later to become—there is no evidence whatever of any inclination by al-Ṭabarī towards Shī'ism beyond the admiration for 'Alī as a person which was often found in the staunchest of Sunnīs. In *fiḳh*, al-Ṭabarī was at first a Shāfi'ī, but as his views developed into a distinct and self-sustaining corpus of law, he and his followers came to constitute themselves as a separate *madhhab*, that of the Djarīriyya (named after his father, a not uncommon feature of the nomenclature of sects and schools, cf. the Khāridjite 'Adjārida and Azāriḳa [*q.vv.*]). In al-Ṭabarī's later years, his students were considered as adherents of the Djarīriyya, and the school's ranks included several leading scholars of the age; but its principles do not seem to have been distinctive enough from Shāfi'ism to have ensured its future growth and development after al-Ṭabarī's death, especially since the intellectual environment was one in which the three well-established Sunnī *madhāhib* of the Mālikiyya, Ḥanafiyya and Shāfi'iyya were by now firmly entrenched and competing for supremacy in various regions of the Islamic world.

Al-Ṭabarī had debates and altercations with Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, son of the founder of the Ẓāhirī law school with whom al-Ṭabarī had in fact studied [see DĀWŪD B. 'ALĪ B. KHALAF], but these took place on the level of courtesy and mutual respect. His conflicts with the belligerent and uncompromising Ḥanbalīs were, on the other hand, acerbic and may well have had a disturbing and unsettling effect on al-Ṭabarī's life. Ḥanbalism was at this time struggling to carve a niche for itself alongside the existing three main *madhāhib* and its advocates were pugnacious and often unscrupulous, being ready to whip up the mindless Baghdād mob. Al-Ṭabarī himself had originally been drawn to study at Baghdād by the presence there of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (see above), and he always regarded him with great respect; he and Ibn Ḥanbal's youngest son 'Abd Allāh, the transmitter of his father's teaching, had many common teachers. The break with the Ḥanbalīs seems to have occurred over al-Ṭabarī's legal work, the *Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā'* (see below, section 3. no. iii) in which al-Ṭabarī totally disregarded Ibn Ḥanbal as being essentially a *ḥadīth* scholar and not a jurist. This was a perfectly valid and sustainable judgement, but it enraged the touchy Ḥanbalīs. The ensuing dispute—

only known to us in the form of conflicting reports from both sides—involved such rallying-points for the Ḥanbalīs as the interpretation of Ḳurʾān, XVII, 81/79, with its mention of the "praiseworthy position" (*maḳām*[an] *maḥmūd*[an]) promised to the Prophet: did this mean, as a tradition from the Successor Mud̲j̲āhid b. D̲j̲abr [*q.v.*] stated, that Muḥammad would be seated with God on the divine throne, as the Ḥanbalīs asserted? Al-Ṭabarī discussed the interpretation of the phrase at great length in his *Commentary* (ed. Būlāḳ, x, 97-100, partial tr. Rosenthal, in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, i, *General introduction and from the Creation to the Flood*, Albany, N.Y. 1989, 149-51), and in a circumspect and reasoned manner, but—perhaps aroused by Ḥanbalī intransigence and misinterpretation—is said publicly to have denied the credibility of Mud̲j̲āhid's tradition, and this led to Ḥanbalīs stoning his house in a riot which had to be put down by the Bag̲h̲dād *s̲h̲urṭa*. The Ḥanbalīs may have been behind occasional difficulties which al-Ṭabarī had in delivering his lectures and may have deterred students from coming to him from outside Bag̲h̲dād. Violence around al-Ṭabarī's house is reported at the time of his death, again involving the controversial *maḳām*[an] *maḥmūd*[an] formula, although the reports of Ḥanbalī hostility at the time of his funeral may be exaggerated; if al-Ṭabarī's funeral was a quiet one, attended by few people, it was probably because al-Ṭabarī had thus requested it.

2. Al-Ṭabarī's methodology.

This topic has already been broached in regard to al-Ṭabarī's emphasis on *id̲j̲tihād* after a thorough consideration of his sources, these being essentially written ones. The great virtues of his *History* and *Commentary* are that they form the most extensive of extant early works of Islamic scholarship and that they preserve for us the greatest array of citations from lost sources. They thus furnish modern scholarship with the richest and most detailed sources for the political history of the early caliphate, above all for the history of the eastern and central lands of the *Dār al-Islām* during the first centuries of the Hid̲j̲ra, and also for the early stages of the development and subsequent variety and vitality of Islam as a religious institution and corpus of legal knowledge and practice.

In the building-up of these two great syntheses of knowledge, al-Ṭabarī relied, as by this time had become possible, on a wide spectrum of written sources which were available to him. When he introduced sources by such formulae as *ḥaddat̲h̲anā*, *ak̲h̲baranā* or *kataba*, this meant that he had the *id̲j̲āza* [*q.v.*] for the book from which the passage in question was quoted, whilst when he relied on older books for which he had no firm transmission tradition on which he could rely, he used words like *ḳāla*, *d̲h̲akara*, *rawā*, *ḥuddit̲h̲tu*, etc. Hence al-Ṭabarī's works are above all compilations of material written down during the two centuries from *ca.* 50/670 to *ca.* 250/864, and he did not in general use the works of his contemporaries. In his *Commentary*, when he does not trace traditions back to the Prophet, this means that al-Ṭabarī's sources were books which enshrined the interpretations or exegesis of their authors or their contemporaries.

We must not suppose that al-Ṭabarī worked single-mindedly on a particular work, completed it and then went on to a fresh project. It is likely that all his major works first took shape as dictated lectures (see, concerning this technique, MUSTAMLĪ), and developed and grew over lengthy periods of his life, especially when the subject-matter concerned allowed of its treatment in self-contained, component sections. This meant that a work might reach its final form on a certain date but parts of it might well have been in circulation at earlier times. This accounts for the facts that the same work appears under different titles, or that what seem to be works with separate titles are in fact component parts of greater works. But in any case, al-Ṭabarī rarely gives formal titles when he himself cites his works, but rather, he refers to them by their subject-matter; formal titles may never have existed for some (or the majority) of them. All these uncertainties make it difficult to arrange his works chronologically, although there is a certain amount of evidence, internal and external, regarding their times of composition and their issue in final, complete copies.

3. Works.

Only al-Ṭabarī's major works are mentioned here. A complete listing of titles as mentioned in the sources, including those which seem to denote parts of larger works only or which appear to be wrongly attributed to al-Ṭabarī, is given by Rosenthal, in his *General introduction*, 81-134, with a classification by subject and an attempt at placing the works in chronological order, is given in his Appx. B at 152-4. Likewise valuable is Gilliot, *Les œuvres de Ṭabarī*, in *MIDEO*, xix (1989), 49-90 (Gilliot must have been writing contemporaneously with Rosenthal), concentrating with great detail on al-Ṭabarī's works in the field of the legal sciences; Gilliot points out (49-50) how great a confusion there exists regarding the number, titles and contents of al-Ṭabarī's works as listed in the sources, in large measure due to the fact that *kitāb* is used both for complete works and also for chapter titles only. Ch. II of his *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam* (39-68) modifies his *MIDEO* article in some points. Of older listings, see Brockelmann, I^2, 148-9, S I, 217-18, and Sezgin, i, 326-8.

i. The *History*, usually simply referred to as such because of its fame; its most authentic title, as given by al-Ṭabarī himself in the colophon of one of the manuscripts, would appear to be *Muk̲h̲taṣar taʾrīk̲h̲ al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk wa 'l-k̲h̲ulafāʾ*, but others are found. The use of the term *muk̲h̲taṣar* "short version, epitome" apparently reflected the author's own modesty and may also have reflected the report that the fuller, original version was ten times as long as the extant version, which itself fills twelve-and-a-half volumes in the printed Leiden edition made by the team of editors brought together by M.J. de Goeje in the later 19th century (*Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari*, 1879-1901, 15 vols. including Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et corrigenda, Indices, etc.).

In form it is a universal history, dealing firstly with the Creation, the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets, the rulers of ancient Israel and of the ancient Persians, and the culmination of the prophets before Muhammad, Jesus, before arriving at the history of the Persian Sāsānids. Then, after the account of the career of the Prophet Muḥammad, the *History* is arranged annalistically, with very great detail on the conquests period, the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids, ups to the date 22 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 902/6 July 915. Al-Ṭabarī's sources included an Arabic version of the Persian *K̲h̲*[w]*atāy-nāmag* or "Book of Kings" for pre-Islamic Persian history and an array of *ak̲h̲bāriyyūn* for early Islamic history, such as al-Zuhrī, Abū Mik̲h̲naf, al-Madāʾinī, Sayf b. ʿUmar, Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, ʿUmar b. S̲h̲abba, Ibn Isḥāḳ, Ibn Saʿd, al-Wāḳidī, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr [*q.vv.*], etc. (Sezgin, i, 324 n. 1, mentions a study published as articles from 1950 to 1961 by the ʿIrāḳī scholar D̲j̲awād ʿAlī, on al-Ṭabarī's sources, *Mawārid Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ṭabarī*). Al-Ṭabarī gave parallel accounts from all these last authorities of earlier Islamic

times, rather than attempting to furnish a conflated, connected story of historical events, even when the parallel accounts could not easily be harmonised or were even contradictory. His aim was, rather, to present the evidence for the course of the early Islamic history of the lands between Egypt and the far eastern fringes of the Iranian world so that others could evaluate it in a more critical fashion should they so wish. Hence a later historian like Ibn al-Athīr was to use the *History* very extensively, in general simplifying it, endeavouring to harmonise disparate accounts and trying to supply gaps from other sources. It was, indeed, through intermediaries like Ibn al-Athīr that subsequent historians continued indirectly to use the *History*, at a time when complete manuscripts of the original were less and less copied and were becoming harder to find: Ibn Khaldūn at first copied the famous *waṣiyya* or charge of Ṭāhir Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn to his son ʿAbd Allāh from Ibn al-Athīr, and was only later able to collate this with the original text of al-Ṭabarī (actually itself stemming from Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr) (see *Muḳaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 139 n. 751). The specific relationship between al-Ṭabarī's *History* and Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* was examined by C. Brockelmann in his dissertation *Das Verhältnis von Ibn al-Aṯīrs Kāmil fit-ta'rīḫ zu Ṭabarīs Aḫbār er-rusul wal mulūk* (Strassburg 1890).

The work's fame speedily led to continuations by other Arabic scholars, such as the *Ṣila* of the Andalusian scholar ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Ḳurṭubī; the *Mudhayyil* or *Ṣila* of al-Ṭabarī's pupil Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Farghānī, who had his master's *idjāza* to transmit the *History*; the *Takmila* of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī; continuations by Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābi' and his son Ghars al-Niʿma; etc. A Persian adaptation was made in 352/963 by the Sāmānid vizier Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Balʿamī [see BALʿAMĪ] which epitomised the original but added a certain amount of new matter, making it to some extent an additional historical source besides being of philological interest for students of early New Persian (see G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 38-41; E.L. Daniel, *Manuscripts and editions of Balʿamī's* Tarjamah-i tārīkh-i Ṭabarī, in *JRAS* [1990], 282-308), with further Arabic and Turkish translations made from this last. See Sezgin, i, 327, and ṢILA, at vol. IX, 604b; and for knowledge of the *History* in the West, and previous translations of parts of it before the appearance of the English translation under the general editorship of Ehsan Yarshater (*The History of al-Ṭabarī, an annotated translation*, Albany N.Y. 1985-, to be completed in 38 vols.), see Rosenthal, *General introduction*, 135-47. See also on the *History*, D.S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic historians*, Calcutta 1930, 110-12; Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, index.

ii. The *Commentary*, the official title of which, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan ta'wīl al-Ḳur'ān*, is mentioned in the *History* but was never apparently much in general use, the work being simply known as the *Tafsīr* par excellence. Al-Ṭabarī worked on this, too, over many years, and it was not ready for dissemination till some date between 283/896 and 290/903. It was immediately regarded very highly, and probably considered as al-Ṭabarī's outstanding achievement, even more so than his works on law and tradition; it has retained its importance for scholars till the present day. The Jacobite Christian philosopher and theologian Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 363/974 [*q.v.*]) reportedly copied it twice for sale to provincial rulers. Also like the *History*, it is said to have been longer than its present very extended form; an authority cited in Yāḳūt's *Irshād* says that he saw a manuscript of it in Baghdād of 4,000 folios, although this does not seem to be extraordinarily longer than the 3,000 and more closely-printed pages of the text which we have.

In his work, al-Ṭabarī in general treated the Ḳur'ānic verses from a grammatical and lexicographical standpoint, but also made dogmatic theological and legal deductions from the Ḳur'ān text. After the commentary of Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]) al-Ṭabarī's is the first major commentary to have survived—perhaps one should say that it is the first major running commentary *tout court* to have survived—other ones antedating al-Ṭabarī, such as those of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], having to be reconstructed or such as those of Mudjāhid b. Djabr and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām al-Ḥimyarī al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827 [*q.v.*]) having survived only fragmentarily in late, possibly reconstituted manuscripts. Al-Ṭabarī took over al-Ḥimyarī's commentary in its entirety for his own work. H. Horst, in his *Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar at-Ṭabarīs*, in *ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 290-307, surmised that al-Ṭabarī in fact used several, complete, older commentaries now lost.

The *Commentary*'s great value and its popularity ensured that supercommentaries upon it and epitomes early appeared, with an abridgement speedily made by the Baghdādī scholar of Turkish origin, Ibn al-Ikhshīd (d. 326/938, cf. Sezgin, i, 624, and D. Gimaret, *EIr* art. *Ebn al-Ekšīd*). A Persian translation was commissioned by the Sāmānid *amīr* Manṣūr I b. Nūḥ I (d. 365/976) and made by a group of scholars in Transoxania; this translation, or rather, adaptation, has survived in far fewer copies than al-Balʿamī's *Tardjama-yi Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabarī*, but these manuscripts are old and the text likewise of great philological interest (see Lazard, *op. cit.*, 41-5). A French abridged translation and an English translation have recently started to appear (see Rosenthal, *Introduction*, 111), though it may be doubted whether any modern translation can convey the subtlety of al-Ṭabarī's thought and scholarship except in a very circuitous and prolix fashion. See further, TAFSĪR, and the extensive works on early Ḳur'ān exegesis by Gilliot, including his *Textes anciens édités en Égypte*, in *MIDEO*, xix (1989) to xxii (1996), *Les débuts de l'exégèse coranique*, in *RMMM*, lviii (1990), 82-100, *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam*, and *Mythe, récit, histoire du salut dans le commentaire coranique de Tabari*, in *JA*, cclxxxii (1994), 235-68. The *Commentary* was first printed in 30 vols. at Cairo, 1321/1903, with a further edition (considered the better of these two) in 1323/1905, and more recently edited by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir and A.M. Shākir, 16 vols. Cairo 1954-68, incomplete (up to sūra XIV, 27); the best, complete edition is now that of A.S. ʿAlī, Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, Cairo 1954-7, repr. Beirut with indices, 30 vols.

iii. The *Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā'*, partially preserved, seems to have had the full title *Ikhtilāf ʿulamā' al-amṣār fī aḥkām sharā'iʿ al-Islām*. In this work on the differences between the approaches and doctrines of the "orthodox" great jurists of early Islam, al-Ṭabarī, according to Yāḳūt, presented the legal scholarship of Mālik b. Anas, al-Awzāʿī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad al-Shaybānī and (?) Abū Thawr Ibrāhīm al-Kalbī, but excluded any representation of the Muʿtazila (and, as noted above, in section 1., he excluded Ibn Ḥanbal as not primarily a *faḳīh*). Yāḳūt also reports that the original ran to about 3,000 folios. The Cairo fragment was edited by F. Kern, Cairo 1902, and the Cairo one by

J. Schacht, *Das Konstantinopler Fragment des Kitāb iḫtilāf al-fuqahā'*, Leiden 1933. See Rosenthal, *General introduction*, 103-5; Gilliot, *Les œuvres de Ṭabarī*, 52-6.

iv. *Tahdhīb al-āthār* [*wa-tafṣīl maʿānī al-thābit ʿan Rasūl Allāh min al-akhbār*] was al-Ṭabarī's most ambitious work on traditions, arranged according to the latest transmitter of the *ḥadīths* and also according to the Prophet's Companions, but apparently never completed. It is more than a mere collection of traditions like Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, but examines exhaustively the philological and legal implications of each tradition, discussing its meaning and characteristics (e.g. whether it has any *ʿilal* or weaknesses) as well as its significance for religious practice; its contents thus amount to mongraphs on a number of topics. Only fragments are preserved, including those in which al-Ṭabarī took material from the *Musnads* of traditions going back to the Companions ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAlī and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās [see MUSNAD, at vol. VII, 706 a, middle]. What remains of the *Musnads* going back to the second and third of these three authorities has been published by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, 3 vols. Beirut n.d., introd. dated 1982. See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 128-30; Gilliot, *op. cit.*, 68-70; idem, *Le traitement du* ḥadīṯ *dans le* Tahḏīb al-āṯār *de Ṭabarī*, in *Arabica*, xli (1994), 309-51.

v. *Tabṣīr ulī 'l-nuhā wa-maʿālim al-hudā*, partly preserved and still in manuscript, is a statement of the principles of the faith (*uṣūl al-dīn*) written at the request of the scholars of his home town of Āmul. See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 126-8.

vi. *Ṣarīḥ al-sunna*, a brief profession of faith or creed (*ʿaḳīda*), preserved, and published with a French translation by D. Sourdel, *Une profession de foi de l'historien al-Ṭabarī*, in *REI*, xxxvi (1968), 177-99. See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 125-6.

vii. *al-Faṣl bayn al-ḳirā'a*, preserved but unpublished, on Ḳur'ānic readings, also mentioned under the title *al-Djāmiʿ fi 'l-ḳirā'āt*; this last was conceivably, but improbably, a separate work. Yāḳūt quotes Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Ahwāzī (d. 446/1054-5) that the latter had seen a copy of it in 18 volumes, admittedly in a large script. See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 95-7; Gilliot, *op. cit.*, 73.

viii. *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*, only surviving in a brief selection (*muntakhab*), was a supplement to al-Ṭabarī's *History*, with historical information on the religious scholars needed in connection with the *History*. The surviving text was appended to the Leiden edition of the *History* at iii, 2295-2561. The whole work would appear to be that often mentioned by the literary biographers, etc., as the *Ta'rīkh al-Ridjāl*, i.e. of religious scholars. See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 89-90; Gilliot, *op. cit.*, 72.

Numerous other, substantially lost works are mentioned both within al-Ṭabarī's own works or in later literature, including a *Laṭīf al-ḳawl fī sharā'iʿ al-Islām* (many variants of this title), a "slim" work on the laws and principles of the Islamic faith; separate works on the *faḍā'il* or merits of the first four caliphs and of the Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās, on which al-Ṭabarī seems at times to have lectured and for which he gathered material, without living long enough to put this into a single, compendious work; on the interpretation of dreams, *ʿIbārat al-ru'yā*; a refutation of the founder of the Ẓāhiriyya, Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, *al-Radd ʿalā dhi 'l-asfār*; a refutation of some of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's view on Mālik, originating during his stay in Egypt; etc. There were also various works which were probably falsely attributed to al-Ṭabarī, including, e.g., *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Ḥurḳūṣiyya*; cf. on this last work, Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 123-4 (accepting the possibility that it was by al-Ṭabarī), and Gilliot, *op. cit.*, 24-6 (sceptical of the attribution).

Bibliography: For earlier works, see the *Bibl.* to R. Paret's *EI*[1] art. The more recent bibl. is given by Rosenthal—combined with that for his tr. of the first 201 pp. of the *History*—in his *General introduction*..., 373-8, and Gilliot has a very detailed bibliography appended to his *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam*. References are also given within the body of the present article, which is based substantially on Rosenthal's exhaustive *General introduction*. Finally, one should note, of most recently-appeared works, Gilliot, *Ṭabarī et les chrétiens taġlibites*, in Université Saint-Joseph, Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, *Annales du Département des Lettres Arabes*, vi/B (1991-2) [1996] (= *In memoriam Professeur Jean Maurice Fiey, o.p., 1914-1995*), 145-59 (al-Ṭabarī held that the People of the Book should be expelled from the whole of the *Dār al-Islām* when they were no longer of use to the Muslim community); and idem, *Al-Ṭabarī and "The history of salvation"*, in H. Kennedy (ed.), *Procs. of the conference on the life and works of Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, St. Andrews 30 August-2 September 1995*, forthcoming.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-ṬABARĪ, al-Ḳāḍī al-Imām ABU 'L-ṬAYYIB ṬĀHIR B. ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿUmar b. Ṭāhir, principal authority of his time in the ʿIrāḳī branch of Shāfiʿism [see SHĀFIʿIYYA], born at Āmul in Ṭabaristān in 348/959-60, died in Baghdād in Rabīʿ I 450/May 1058.

At fourteen years of age, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī began his legal training under the tutelage of Abū ʿAlī al-Zadjdjādjī, who had been a pupil of Ibn al-Ḳāṣṣ, in his turn a disciple of the great Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*]. Al-Ṭabarī completed his education with various Shāfiʿī masters, primarily Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Māsardjīsī but also Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarā'īnī, who taught him theology and *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'īnī, in Djurdjān, Nīsābūr and Baghdād, where he established himself definitively.

"The Judge" (*al-Ḳāḍī*), as he was called by ʿIrāḳī Shāfiʿīs, pursued parallel careers as an educator and a judge. He apparently composed a considerable body of work in various branches of legal sciences but only a fragment of one of his texts, *al-Taʿlīḳa* (it is either a commentary which he wrote on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī or his commentary on the *furūʿ* of Ibn al-Ḥaddād), has survived to this day in manuscript form (Istanbul, Ahmet III, no. 850, see G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, Damascus 1963, 204). In fact, as is indicated by the manner in which al-Ṭabarī is introduced by al-Nawawī ("the master of the author of the *Muhadhdhab*": *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa 'l-lughāt*, Beirut n.d., ii, 247), his renown was rapidly eclipsed by that of his more famous disciple, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], who devoted to him one of the most laudatory notices in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahā'*, describing him as "the greatest *mudjtahid*" whom he had ever encountered (Beirut n.d., 135). Only the titles of his other works have been preserved (besides the two above-mentioned works: *al-Mudjarrad, al-Minhādj fi 'l-khilāfiyyāt* and *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, Beirut 1988, 210-11). Al-Ṭabarī conducted his lectures in a *masdjid* in the *Bāb al-Marātib* quarter of Baghdād, attracting large numbers of students. Among his disciples or pupils who are still renowned, are included the Shāfiʿī historian and traditionist al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and the Ḥanbalī Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.vv.*].

An important personality of Baghdād (*madīnat al-salām*), and already well advanced in age, al-Ṭabarī was appointed to the post of judge (*ḳāḍī*) of the Karkh

quarter at the time of the death, in 436/1045, of his predecessor in this function, the Ḥanafī al-Ṣaymarī. Abandoning teaching, al-Ṭabarī remained *ḳāḍī* of al-Karkh until his death. According to al-Shīrāzī, although a centenarian "his reason was not disturbed nor his understanding impaired". His funeral was conducted on a lavish scale in the mosque of al-Manṣūr and he was interred in the cemetery of Bāb al-Ḥarb.

Bibliography: In the corpus of Shāfiʿī biographical literature, it is invariably the notice devoted to al-Ṭabarī by al-Shīrāzī (see above) which is reproduced as such, usually without any addition. The notice devoted to him by al-Subkī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., v, 12-50) is considerably longer because it is augmented by, firstly, lengthy quotations from poems of al-Ṭabarī; secondly, the text of the controversies in which he was opposed by the Ḥanafīs (Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ṭālikānī, who was *ḳāḍī* of Balkh, and Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ḳudūrī); and thirdly, a brief account of the special features of the master's legal thinking.

(E. Chaumont)

al-ṬABARĪ, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Djaʿfar and Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, Shāfiʿī traditionist and jurist, b. 27 Djumādā II 615/20 September 1218, d. 2 Djumādā II 694/19 April 1295.

Considered as the greatest scholar of his century in the Ḥidjāz, he was born into a family who had recently settled in Mecca and who were destined to become one of the most important *buyūtāt*. His great-grandfather, Abū Bakr, had emigrated from Ṭabaristān to the Holy City in the seventies of the 6th/12th century. There he married and had seven sons and one daughter. From the second generation onwards the family became well established, with several of his sons already occupying prestigious positions (*khaṭīb*, *ḳāḍī* and *imām* of the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* [*q.v.*]; in fact, this last position became the almost exclusive privilege of this family until the 18th century).

Al-Ṭabarī was educated essentially at Mecca. Sources do not take into account any *riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*. His principal teachers were the Ḥanbalī traditionist Ibn al-Muḳayyar (545-643/1151-1246, al-Fāsī, *Dhayl al-taḳyīd*, ii, 189-90), Ibn Abī Ḥaramī (d. 645/1247, Brockelmann, S I, 607), the Mālikī scholar Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mursī (569-655/1173-1257, Brockelmann, I, 312; S I, 546), the Shāfiʿī traditionist Ibn al-Djummayzī (559-649/1164-1251, al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, xxii, 284), the mystic Bashīr b. Ḥāmid al-Tibrīzī (570-646/1174-1248, al-Ṣafadī, x, 161-2), and finally ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Ṭabarī (576-640/1180-1242, al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn*, vi, 143-4) and Yaʿḳūb b. Abī Bakr al-Ṭabarī (592-665/1195-1266, al-Fāsī, vii, 473), both uncles of his father. He went to Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*] to complete his education as a legal expert with the Mālikī Madjd al-Dīn al-Ḳushayrī (581-667/1185-1268, al-Ṣafadī, xxii, 298-303).

Al-Ṭabarī maintained privileged relations with the Rasūlid dynasty of the Yemen. Sultan al-Muẓaffar (r. 647-94/1250-95) appointed him as teacher in the *madrasa* of al-Manṣūriyya, which had been founded by his father al-Manṣūr within the precincts of the Kaʿba. Al-Ṭabarī travelled repeatedly to the Yemen to impart a knowledge of the tradition and of some of his own works to the sultan himself and to his children. He was the author of about forty works that have largely disappeared. The most important of them can be conveniently classified according to their main themes: Ḳur'ān, *Fiḳh*, *Ḥadīth*, History, Poetry, Mysticism and Miscellaneous.

a. Ḳur'ān

(1) *al-Ḳabas al-asnā fī kashf al-gharīb wa 'l-maʿnā*; (2) *al-Kāfī fī gharīb al-Ḳur'ān al-djāmiʿ bayn al-ʿUzayzī wa 'l-bayān*; (3) *K. Marsūm al-muṣḥaf al-ʿuthmānī al-madanī*; (4) a *tafsīr*.

b. *Fiḳh*

(5) *ʿAwāṭif al-nuṣra fī al-ṭawāf wa 'l-ʿumra*, a *fatwā* on the preferences available for the circumambulation or the minor pilgrimage (*unicum* at Princeton, no. 2275); (6) *Istiḳṣā' al-bayān fī mas'ala Shādhirwān*, *fatwā* on the Shādhirwān of the Kaʿba; (7) a *madjmūʿ fi 'l-khilāf* in the style of the ancients; (8) a summary (*al-Maslak al-nabīh fī talkhīṣ al-Tanbīh*) and a commentary on the *Tanbīh* by al-Shīrāzī.

c. *Ḥadīth*

(9) *Ghāyat al-iḥkām fī aḥādīth al-aḥkām*, a collection of precepts drawn from the canonic corpus or otherwise in six volumes (the work is preserved in its entirety in manuscript); (10) al-Ṭabarī produced two abridged versions of this: *al-Aḥkām al-wusṭā* and *al-Aḥkām al-ṣughrā*; (11) *al-Ḳirā li-ḳāṣid umm al-ḳurā*, a text on the rites of pilgrimage (ed. M. al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1367/1948); (12) *Ṣafwat al-ḳirā fī ṣifat ḥidjdjat al-Muṣṭafā*, partly abridged from *al-Ḳirā* (ed. R.M. Riḍwān, Cairo 1354/1935); (13) *K. Gharīb Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl*, commentary on the *rara* of *Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl* of Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr [*q.v.*] (ms. Rağıb Paşa Musalla Medresesi 1950/60); (14) *al-Muḥarrar li 'l-Malik al-Muẓaffar*, a collection of precepts of the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* dedicated to the Rasūlid sultan al-Muẓaffar; (15) *al-ʿUmda*, an abridged version of the previously-mentioned work; (16) two alphabetic rearrangements of *al-Gharīb fi 'l-ḥadīth* of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām [*q.v.*]: *al-Durr al-manthūr li 'l-Malik al-Manṣūr* and *Taḳrīb al-marām fī gharīb al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām*; (17) *Tartīb Djāmiʿ al-masānīd wa 'l-alḳāb*, an edition of the work of Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*].

d. History

(18) *Khulāṣat siyar sayyid al-bashar*, a compendium on the life of the Prophet (Indian edition 1343/1924-5); (19) *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira fī manāḳib al-ʿashara al-mubashsharīn bi 'l-djanna*, a work on the Ten Destined for Paradise (ed. Cairo 1327/1909, many reprints); (20) *Dhakhā'ir al-ʿuḳbā fī manāḳib dhawī 'l-ḳurbā*, a work on the close agnatic relationship of the Prophet (first annotated edition based on six manuscripts by F. Bauden, see *Bibl.* below); (21) *al-Simṭ al-thamīn fī manāḳib ummahāt al-mu'minīn*, a work on the wives of the Prophet (ed. M.R. al-Ṭabbākh, Aleppo 1346/1928, with many reprints).

e. Poetry

(22) *Dīwān* (fragments in the mss. Leiden Or. 2427, ff. 78a-b, and Berlin, Sprenger 872, ff. 173-7).

f. Mysticism

(23) *Mukhtaṣar ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, an abridged version of the work of al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*].

g. Miscellaneous

(24) two *mashyakhas* edited at the request of the sultan al-Muẓaffar, *al-Taʿrīf bi-mashyakhat al-Ḥaram al-sharīf* and *al-ʿUḳūd al-durriyya wa 'l-mashyakha al-makkiyya al-muẓaffariyya*.

The attractiveness of al-Ṭabarī lies especially in the method which he adopted. He omitted the *isnād* of the traditions which he cited but took care to give his sources. He probably thought that the *isnād* distracted the reader and stopped him from coming directly to the point which interested him, in other words, the *matn*. As far as al-Ṭabarī was concerned, anyone preoccupied with the *isnād* had only to refer to the source which he mentioned. If al-Ṭabarī did not innovate in regard to this method, it appears that he was the first to make use of it on such a scale, since he applied it to most of his works. This was

essentially why he gave a bibliographical list (170 titles) in his introduction to *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira*. He was to use this list for his other works without having to repeat it. Several later traditionists (al-Yāfiʿī, iv, 224; al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIkd al-thamīn*, iii, 62-3) reproached him for not indicating which traditions were weak (*ḍaʿīf*) or fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*) as such, and this despite his method. Nonetheless, al-Ṭabarī remains an extremely interesting author, if only for his sources, most of which are lost today and which only live on in the citations which he made of them.

Bibliography: On the family of al-Ṭabarī at Mecca, see F. Bauden, *Les Ṭabariyya. Histoire d'une importante famille de la Mecque (fin XIIe-fin XVe s.)*, in U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, Louvain (OLA 73), 1995, 253-66 (a preliminary study with a family tree of 164 members of the family, from a more extensive study which includes the family history from the 12th to the 18th centuries. The most thorough study of Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī is that of Bauden, *Les Trésors de la Postérité ou les fastes des proches parents du Prophète (Kitāb Dhakhā'ir al-ʿukbā fī manākib dhawī al-kurbā) par Muḥibb al-dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī (ob. 694/1295). Édition critique accompagnée d'une traduction annotée et d'une étude sur la vie et l'œuvre de l'auteur*, unpubl. doctoral diss. in 4 volumes, University of Liège, 1996. Vol. i contains the biography, a complete inventory of his works listing the manuscripts that are still extant, and a study of the sources in *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira* and *Dhakhā'ir al-ʿukbā*.

Biographical sources: Ibn Rashīd, *Mil' al-ʿayba*, ed. Muḥammad al-Khūdja, v, 233-52; Birzālī, *Ta'rīkh*, ms. Berlin Sprenger 61, fol. 416a; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dimashkī, *Ṭabakāt ʿulamā' al-ḥadīth*, ed. I. Zaybak, iv, 258-9 no. 1144; Dhahabī, *Muʿdjam al-shuyūkh*, ed. al-Suyūfī, 37 no. 34; idem, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 1474-5; idem, *ʿIbar*, v, 382; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, facs. Frankurt, xxvii, 377; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii, 135-6 no. 3064; Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āt al-djanān*, iv, 224-5; Subkī, *Ṭabakāt*, v, 8-9; Asnāwī, *Ṭabakāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, ed. K. al-Ḥūt, ii, 72 no. 796; Ibn Kathīr, *Ṭabakāt al-fukahā' al-shāfiʿiyyīn*, ms. Chester Beatty 3390, fol. 79; idem, *Bidāya*, xiii, 340-1; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-aslāk*, ed. Weijers and Meursinge, 1846, 290; idem, *Tadhkirat al-nabīh*, i, 176; Khazradjī, *al-ʿUkūd al-lu'lu'iyya*, tr. Redhouse, i, 233, iv, ed. ʿAṣal, 277; Fāsī, *al-ʿIkd al-thamīn*, iii, 61-72; idem, *Dhayl al-takyīd*, i, 323 no. 643; Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. Ziyāda, iii, 811, tr. Quatremère, *Hist. des sultans mamlouks*, ii, 28; idem, *al-Mukaffā al-kabīr*, i, 516-17 no. 503; Ibn Kāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabakāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, ii, 162-4 no. 459; ʿAynī, *ʿIkd al-djumān*, iii, 284-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-shāfī*, ed. F. Shaltūt, i, 54 no. 184; idem, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, i, 342-9; idem, *Nudjūm*, viii, 74-5; Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa*, ed. al-Fikī, i, 194; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabakāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. ʿA.M. ʿUmar, 510-11 no. 1131; Ibn al-ʿImād, v, 425-6; Ibn al-Ghazzī, *Dīwān al-islām*, ed. S.K. Ḥasan, iv, 160-1 no. 1877; Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, col. 101; Ziriklī, i, 159; Kaḥḥāla, i, 298-9; Brockelmann, I^2, 444-5, S I, 615; Bilādī, *Nashr al-rayyāḥīn*, i, 36-9; M. al-Ḥabīb al-Hīla, *al-Ta'rīkh wa 'l-mu'arrikhūn bi-Makka*, 53-8.

(F. BAUDEN)

AL-ṬABARĪ, ʿAlī b. Rabban, a 3rd/9th century convert from Christianity to Islam, who was known for his writings on medical topics and for two works in which he demonstrated the weaknesses of his former faith and the truth of the one he embraced.

ʿAlī's father's name is recorded in a variety of forms. Ibn al-Kifṭī explains that the word read by various authors and their copyists as a name was really the Jewish title *al-rabban*, which was given to experts on the religious law, and that ʿAlī's father was a distinguished Jewish scholar (*T. al-Ḥukamā'*, Cairo 1326, 128, 155, repeated by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbā'*, ed. Müller, i, 309-10). This, however, must be regarded as an *ex post facto* reconstruction in view of the fact that for most of his life ʿAlī himself was a Christian (e.g. Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, iii, 1276, 1283, 1293, and Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iii, 312, in addition to the evidence of ʿAlī's own works cited below), and in all probability so was his father's brother (ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla*, ed. A. Mingana, Manchester 1923, 129). In fact, without showing any religious self-consciousness, ʿAlī explains that his father was given this title because of his dedication to learning (*Firdaws al-ḥikma*, ed. M.Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928, 1; M. Meyerhof, *ʿAlī ibn Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī, ein persischer Arzt des 9. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, in *ZDMG*, N.F. x [1931], 44, suggests it was a Syriac title). It seems safe to say that ʿAlī's full name was Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī.

As a native of Ṭabaristān, ʿAlī is mentioned as secretary to the governor Māzyār b. Kārin [see KĀRINIDS], whom he represented more than once in negotiations (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1276-7; *Fihrist*, 296). He stayed loyal throughout Māzyār's insurrection against al-Muʿtaṣim, though when the governor was captured and executed in 225/840 he was admitted to the caliph's service in the new capital Sāmarrā' (*Fihrist*, 296; Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, tr. E.G. Browne, Leiden 1905, 43). He evidently remained at court through the reigns of al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Wāthik and al-Mutawakkil, and the latter made him a table companion (*Fihrist*, 296). Given these connections and dates, it is difficult to identify him with the Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Naṣrānī, who was secretary to the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I (*Islamochristiana*, i [1975], 158-9), since Timothy died as early as 208/823, although ʿAlī very probably was a Nestorian (S.K. Samir, *La réponse d'al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl à la réfutation des Chrétiens de ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī*, in *Parole de l'Orient*, xi [1983], 284-6).

At some point in this period he became a Muslim. Ibn al-Nadīm suggests that this was under al-Muʿtaṣim (*Fihrist*, 296), thus between 225/840 and the caliph's death in 227/842; but ʿAlī himself implies that al-Mutawakkil played an important part in his conversion, when he records this thanks for what the caliph has done (*K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla*, 144).

The evidence of ʿAlī's works themselves supports what he says here. For elsewhere in the *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla* (86, 93) he refers to an attack he has written on Christian doctrines, the *Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā*, and at the beginning of this earlier work he explains that he was a Christian for the first seventy years of his life (ed. I.A. Khalifé and W. Kutsch, *Ar-Radd ʿala-n-Naṣārā de ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭabarī*, in *MUSJ*, xxxvi [1959], 119). This valuable item of information makes it much more likely that he converted in al-Mutawakkil's reign, since a conversion under al-Muʿtaṣim means that he would have been improbably old by the time he came to write the *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla*, which is quite definitely linked with al-Mutawakkil. It is likely that he converted in or after 235/850, since in the *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, which he says he completed in this year, he mentions al-Mutawakkil without any sign of intimacy or thanks for kindness (*Firdaws*, 2).

The *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla* may well have been written in 241/855 (see A. Mingana, *The book of religion and empire*, Manchester 1922, 138, n. 1), making it

possible that ʿAlī's conversion took place a few years earlier, and giving 165/781 or just after as a possible date for his birth. The date of his death cannot be fixed, though if he was over seventy in the late 230s/early 850s he cannot have survived long after 250/864.

According to this dating, it is quite possible that the reports which link ʿAlī with the historian Abū Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*] are correct. According to Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ* vi, 460, and cf. 429), Abū Dj̲aʿfar, who was born in 224-5/839, took down his own copy of the *Firdaws al-ḥikma* from ʿAlī's dictation. But ʿAlī's link with the great physician Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], as reported by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (155), Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, (309) and Ibn K̲h̲allikān (*loc. cit*), is problematic in view of the fact that al-Rāzī was not born until 250/864, and could not have begun his education until ʿAlī would have been extremely old. This link, and particularly Ibn al-Ḳifṭī's vivid portrayal of it, must presumably be ascribed to the tendency to make connections between well-known scholars in a shared discipline, and maybe also to al-Rāzī's knowledge and use of ʿAlī's medical writings.

Of ʿAlī's works, twelve titles are known. These are, according to Ibn al-Nadim (*Fihrist*, 296, repeated by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 155), the *Firdaws al-ḥikma, K. Tuḥfat al-mulūk, K. Kunnās̲h̲ al-ḥaḍra, K. Manāfiʿ al-aʿṭima wa ʾl-as̲h̲riba wa ʾl-ʿaḳāḳīr*; in addition, from Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (309), *K. Irfāḳ al-ḥayāt, K. Ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa, K. fi ʾl-ruḳan, K. fi ʾl-ḥidj̲āma, K. fī tartīb al-ag̲h̲d̲h̲iya*; from Ibn Isfandiyār (*History*, 80), *Baḥr al-fawāʾid*; cited by ʿAlī in the *Firdaws al-ḥikma* (113), *K. al-Īḍāḥ min al-siman wa ʾl-huzāl wa-tahayyudj̲ al-bāh wa-ibṭālihī*; and the two apologetic works, *K. al-Dīn wa ʾl-dawla*, and *al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā* (which ʿAlī also calls *al-Radd ʿalā aṣnāf al-Naṣārā, K. al-Dīn wa ʾl-dawla*, 86). If he is identical with the ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Naṣrānī mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 316), then that author's *K. fī ʾl-ādāb wa ʾl-amt̲h̲āl ʿalā mad̲h̲āhib al-Furs wa ʾl-Rūm wa ʾl-ʿArab* is a further title. Of these, some may well be alternative names for the same work.

Three of these works have been published, the *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, the *K. al-Dīn wa ʾl-dawla* and the *Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā*. The *Firdaws* was employed by many later medical authors, and enjoyed considerable circulation (see Meyerhof, *ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭabarī's "Paradise of Wisdom", one of the oldest Arabic compendiums of medicine*, in *Isis*, xvi [1931], 16-46). The anti-Christian works, however, did not gain a comparable popularity. The *Radd* is incomplete, but its latter sections can be reconstructed in part from the quotations preserved in the 4th/10th century *al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā* of another convert from Christianity al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb (quoted at length in Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Dj̲awāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ*, Cairo 1905, ii, 312 ff., ed. and Dutch tr. F. Sepmeijer, *Een Weerlegging van het Christendom uit de 10e eeuw. De brief van al-Hasan b. Ayyub aan zijn broer ʿAlī*, Kampen 1985), and from the refutation made by the 7th/13th century Copt al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl (see Samir, *art. cit.*). Also, the authenticity of the *K. al-Dīn wa ʾl-dawla* has been questioned ever since it was translated and edited in 1922-3. Despite strong defences of the work by a number of scholars, it has always been surrounded by the suspicion that it is a modern forgery. However, its antiquity is virtually settled by two convincing pieces of evidence, which are that the unique ms. which contains the work is undoubtedly old, and that it was almost certainly used by the 4th/10th century authors al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb (see Sepmeijer, *op. cit.*, 4-8) and Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-ʿĀmirī (d. 381/992 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) So its age should no longer be questioned and its authorship not seriously disputed (see D. Thomas, *Ṭabarī's Book of Religion and Empire*, in *BJRUL*, lxix [1986], 1-7, adducing this evidence and citing the major participants in the debate).

These two anti-Christian works show great inventiveness in their arguments, and reflect ʿAlī's learning in his former faith. It could be that his informed approach was not well understood by Muslims whose knowledge of Christian teachings and beliefs was less extensive, and this may account for their comparative lack of direct influence in later discussions.

Bibliography: See also Brockelmann, S I, 414-15; Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 236-40; ʿA.-M. Sharfī, *al-Fikr al-islāmī fi ʾl-radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā*, Tunis 1986, 128-35.

(D. THOMAS)

ṬABARISTĀN, in northern Persia, the name for the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, comprising both the narrow coastal plain region and the steeply-rising mountainous interior of the Elburz chain. It was bounded in mediaeval Islamic times by Gīlān and Daylam on the west and by Gurgān on the east.

The name Ṭabaristān enshrines a memory of the ancient people of the Τάπυροι, but received a popular etymology as "land of the axe (*tabar*)" because wood-cutting was an activity in this heavily-wooded region. Ṭabaristān (*nisba*, al-Ṭabarī) was the designation for the region up to Saldj̲ūḳ times, but thereafter the name Māzandarān comes in and becomes general from the Mongol period onwards. Hence for the historical geography, history, coins, etc. of the region, see MĀZANDARĀN. (ED.)

ṬABARIYYA, Tiberias, modern Israeli Ṭeverya, a town of Palestine situated on the edge of the Sea of Galilee (Yam Kinnereth in Hebrew, Buḥayrat Ṭabariyya in Arabic) in the Jordan valley, already at this point 208 m/680 feet below sea level (lat. 32° 48' N., long. 35° 32' E.).

According to some traditions, the town which Herod Antipas founded in *ca.* A.D. 87 as a capital, which he called Tiberias after the Emperor Tiberius, was built on the site of the Biblical Rakkath of Josh. xix. 35. It was built on the model of Hellenistic towns, with temples, an amphitheatre, etc., and with the royal palace described by Josephus almost certainly on the mount of Herod (in recent times called *Ḳaṣr Bint al-Malik*) within the ancient walls. Strictly-observant Jews at first avoided Tiberias, hence it had a mixed population of people forcibly settled there by Herod and people attracted by the privileges which he conferred on them. However, it later became a centre of Talmudic studies, where a strict Jewish life could be lived, and where the Sanhedrin sat. It was here that the famous Mishna or collection of legal prescriptions was composed, and here that, at the opening of the 4th century, the Palestine Gemara (also called the Jerusalem Talmud) was put together. There were a series of tombs of great Jewish scholars, and one of them, that of Rabbi Meir Baʿal ha-Nes, was to become a place of pilgrimage. After the conversion of Constantine, Christianity appeared in Galilee. The town walls, which had been destroyed, were rebuilt by Justinian.

In 16/635 Tiberias fell into the hands of the Muslims, surrendering to S̲h̲uraḥbīl b. Ḥasana [*q.v.*], who guaranteed to the inhabitants their security and possession of half their houses and churches. They were also to hand over for every *dj̲arīb* of cultivated land a *dj̲arīb* of wheat or barley and a dīnār for each head of animals. S̲h̲uraḥbīl also reserved for himself the place where a mosque was to be built. In ʿUt̲h̲mān's time, the inhabitants broke the agreement but were

subdued by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (or by Shuraḥbīl again) and accepted the former conditions. As capital of the province of al-Urdunn [*q.v.*], the town is described by the mediaeval Arab geographers, including by al-Muḳaddasī, 161-2, who describes it as a mile in length, stretched between the mountains and the Sea. When Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through the town in 438/1047 he described it as surrounded by walls except on the lake side, with a principal mosque and another one on the western side called the Masdjid al-Yāsamīn, which had the tombs of Joshua, son of Nun, and of 70 prophets killed by the Israelites, as well as the tomb of the Companion Abū Hurayra [*q.v.*] (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 16, tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 18-19).

At the time of the Crusades, the town was given as a fief to Tancred, before falling finally to Raymond of Tripoli. Al-Idrīsī, who visited it in 549/1154, praises it as a fine town and mentions the making of rush mats there and the activity of boats provisioning it. On 23 Rabīʿ II 583/2 July 1187 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took possession of the town and burnt it. The Crusader troops encamped nearby at Ṣaffūriyya let themselves be convinced by the Grand Master of the Templars to make a move to rescue the town, despite the warnings of Raymond, and this attempt led to the disaster of Ḥaṭṭīn [*q.v.*], with the fall of Jerusalem and the reduction of much Crusader authority in the Levant. In 1240 it was recovered by the Christians, only to fall to Khwārazmian troops in 1247. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in 725/1325 the town was still in ruins.

After the Ottoman conquest of Syria, in *ca.* 1560 an attempt to revive the town by introducing the manufacture of silk, begun by Don Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos (to whom the town and its area had been granted by the sultan for Jewish settlement), failed, the exact reason for this being unknown. The modern town was founded in 1740 by the *shaykh* Ẓāhir al-ʿAmr, later the governor of Acre, who built a fortified wall with towers, the remains of this being still visible today. But the town suffered two severe earthquakes, in 1759 and above all in 1837.

The hot springs (*al-ḥammāmāt*) to the south of the town, the most important in Palestine, have always played a prominent role in Tiberias's history, being mentioned by Pliny (*Natural history*, V. 15) and often in the Talmud. They are described by the Arab geographers (their average temperature is 60° C.); al-Idrīsī mentions especially the great baths called al-Damāķir and others called al-Luʾluʾ which were reportedly not saline. The springs were much frequented by those suffering from paralysis, chest complaints and wounds, who remained for three days in the waters and came out cured. The mild winter climate contributed much to making the town a famed centre for treatment. In 1703, the springs reportedly dried up for a period. Since the old baths had fallen into ruins, new premises, described by Burckhardt, were built at the opening of the 19th century. Ibrāhīm Pasha built a second one, splendidly decorated, in 1833, and a third, further to the south, was built in 1890.

But up to the First World War, the nearby region was almost desert, with traffic on the lake much reduced from what it had been in Antiquity. Only from *ca.* 1900 did the town revive, with the foundation in 1920 of the suburb of Qiryat Shemuel (named after Sir Herbert Samuel, the first High Commissioner for Palestine under the British Mandate) for Jewish settlers, some 80 m/260 feet above the old Arab walled town. There was fighting at Tiberias during the war of 1948, with Arab and Jewish quarters of the old town largely destroyed, and the Arab population was evacuated in April 1948 by British troops. Since then it has come within the State of Israel, and has become essentially a centre for tourism and recreation, with the role of industry deliberately kept small. In 1970 the population was *ca.* 23,000.

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ṬABARKA, Tabarca, known locally as Ṭbarka, a town on the north-west coast of Tunisia, 170 km/105 miles west-north-west of Tunis, 17 km/10 miles to the east of the Algerian frontier and 60 km/37 miles to the north of Djandūba, the chief town of the governorate of the region, of which Ṭabarka is a subdivision of 12,600 inhabitants. The layout of the road network which serves it is based on the two great ancient major axes, east-west and north-south, and since 1993 it has had an international airport. The railway line, which was the main link with the capital, now transports only freight. Ṭabarka also enjoys the asset of being a fishing port which is accessible to large trawlers, and has a marina frequented by holidaymakers in the Mediterranean.

Ṭabarka is built around a fertile sandy beach watered by the Oued-el-Kebir, the ancient Tusca, which rises in the mountains of Khumayr [*q.v.*]. The modern town is a tourist centre as well as a fishing resort where the most sought-after product for a long time has been coral. Citrus groves are also found there, and livestock is bred on the farms. Several timber-based industries have been established which produce fibreboard and cork stoppers (out of a total area of 37,000 ha there are 27,000 ha of forest in the district); briar blocks used in the manufacture of pipes, as well as tiles, cardboard, carved wooden objects and coral are all produced locally.

Ṭabarka was chiefly known in history as a rocky islet of 40 ha, which rises some 40 m from the shore, and this is the Tabarca of Western narratives. It is separated from the mainland by a small strait, but this has now been filled in to make a causeway, up to the Genoese fort; this fort was built by the Lomellini in about 1535 by order of Charles V.

This coastal locality did not find favour in the eyes of the Muslim travellers. For Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, Beirut 1979, 76, it had a notoriety because of the intense commercial transactions which made it "the port of the Andalusians". He added that they had formerly been compelled to pay tithes (*taʿshīr*). For al-Idrīsī, ed. Beirut 1989, 289, it was a coastal fort with only a few constructions round it, but it was also a very busy port. Al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1984, adds that it was here the galleys were armed for their incursions against the Christians. He is in fact the only writer to mention the coral there, "several hundred quintals of which were gathered every year". Most of these authors agree that it had been possible to divert the Oued

el-Kebir to the gates of the city, and even in 1725 a French agent wrote to the minister Maurepas "that the river could be navigated with large flat boats (Denise Brahimi, *Témoignages sur l'île de Tabarque au XVIIIe siècle*, in *ROMM*, i [1970], 30). Today, the current of this river is much reduced. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. Van Leeuwen-Ferré, Tunis 1992, did not say much about it, but located here the scene of the heroic death of Kāhina [*q.v.*], or in a nearby place since called "Bīr el-Kāhina" (the Well of Kāhina); but M. Talbi, *L'Épopée de la Kāhina*, in *CT* [1971], 47, casts doubt on that location.

It is, however, an ancient site. Roman and Byzantine Thabraca was the port where Numidian marble was loaded from the quarries of Simitthu (Chemtou, 20 km from Djendouba on the left bank of the Medjerda), as well as other products from the hinterland such as cereals, oil, construction timber, minerals and even wild animals for the circus games at Rome (P. Gauckler, *Mosaïques tombales... à Thabraca*, 1906, repr. *CT*, 1972, 154). Even writers as early as al-Bakrī, Yāḳūt and al-Ḥimyarī speak about the ancient ruins; the excavations undertaken since the end of the 19th century have brought to light more than one Christian necropolis where some of the sarcophagi were discovered to have been overlaid with mosaic, just like the semi-circular pavements from the trifolium of the "Godmet farm" (now in the Bardo Museum in Tunis). Ancient cisterns still exist in modern times; one of these has preserved the name basilica, because it was used until recently as a parish church, and is today the home of the Festival of Ṭabarḳa.

The modern population of the region certainly seems to have very ancient antecedents. Libyan inscriptions and Punic inscriptions have been discovered in the burial chambers (*ḥwānet*, pl. of *ḥanūt*) which are found in underground caves hollowed out of the cliff and covered with bichrome drawings. In a place called Keff Blīda one of these drawings represents a naval scene (Monique Selmi-Longerstay, *Les Houânet*, in *Bull. dactyl. de la Soc. hist. et archéol. de la Khroumirie et des Mogods*, Tabarka 1980, 21) which would be evidence to support very ancient maritime activity.

From the 17th century onwards, however, Ṭabarḳa gained more importance thanks to the Isle of Tabarca and' the richness of the coral beds surrounding it. J. Ganiage, *Les origines du Protectorat français en Tunisie*, Paris 1959, 62, talks of the sole fishing rights granted to the French from the reign of Henri IV onwards, but what is most certain is that the island was retroceded by the Spanish in 1530 or 1540 to the Lomellini of Genoa, who were given the responsibility for building a fort there. This was built in 1553 (Lt.-Col. Hannezo, *Tabarca*, in *RT* [1916]) to accommodate a garrison and to pay a rent in coral (J. Pignon, *Gênes et Tabarka au XVIIème siècle*, in *CT* [1979], 26).

But commercial enterprise was not restricted to coral. Tabarca soon became the base from which forty coral-gathering frigates operated and a trading post from where the products of the region were sent to Europe: wheat, animal hides, leathers, honey, wax, livestock and horses. The island was also used as a staging post for the Christian prisoners being redeemed, an operation in which the Genoese probably played the role of intermediary. This concession was granted, it is said, in payment of the ransom for the famous Dragut who was captured by a pirate ship belonging to the same Lomellini (A. Rousseau, *Annales tunisiennes*, 124; Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, 572). The benefits gained under the Genoese, which had enhanced the strategic value of the island, succeeded in arousing the jealousy of the French companies established after 1561 in the French bastion near La Calle (the governor of this trading post, the adventurous Sanson Napollon, even tried to take possession of the island and was killed in the course of the operation), and of the French companies in Cap Nègre (where the Compagnie d'Afrique used to fix as it pleased the purchase price of local products which it then exported without even paying any duty to the Bey, cf. art. xiii of the treaty of August 1766). The other powers, however, England, Spain, the kingdom of Naples, etc., also wanted to appropriate the coral reefs. The Lomellini were harrassed by their consuls and their agents and consented to get rid of the island at the risk of being thought traitors to their faith and to their country, according to Italian authors (see A. Gallico, *Tunis et les consuls sardes*, tr. L. and M. Yalaoui, Beirut 1992, 105, and the *Fragments historiques et statistiques sur la Régence de Tunis du consul Filippi*, ed. Ch. Monchicourt, 1929, 171).

ʿAlī Bey, acting on a warning, decided to liberate the island (June 1741) after two centuries of Christian occupation. The inhabitants, who since that time had been called Tabarcans, generally went to repopulate the Sardinian island of San Pietro or settled in Tunis, but 168 of them converted to Islam. Two women, Sofia Bosso and Salvatora Paona, even became the wives of the beys Sīdī Muḥammad and Sīdī Muṣṭafā (A. Riggio, *Cronaca Tabarchina dal 1756 ai primordi dell'Ottocento*, in *RT* [1937], 10). The capture of the island by Yūnus Bey was the subject of two different narratives: the memoirs of A. Napoly, published by Plantet, *Correspondance des Beys de Tunis avec la cour de France*, ii, 324, and the chronicle of Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, *al-Mashraʿ al-malakī*, ms. BN (from Tunis) 18,688, fol. 194b, tr. V. Serres and M. Lasram, Paris 1900, 196. The latter document confirmed that the Bey had the fortifications demolished and had the arm of the sea separating the island from the shore filled in with rubble, though al-Ḥimyarī had already said that there was such a causeway visible above the surface, except in winter when the waves sometimes covered it.

Within the Genoese fort there is accommodation for barracks and a working lighthouse. In 1742 De Saurins, a French naval officer, attempted an abortive raid on the island (Rousseau, *op. cit.*, 130). But the island remained Tunisian until April 1881 when, using the Khumayr tribal incursions into Algerian territory as a pretext, the French military authorities organised an expedition by land and sea which ended in the occupation of the region concomitantly with the occupation of the whole of Tunisia.

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(G. Yver-[M. Yalaoui])

TABARRU' (a.), a term of Islamic religious polemics, derived from form V of the verb *bariʾa*. The term *tabarruʾ* or *tabarrī*, which can also be found in the apparently incorrect but not uncommon Arabo-Persian form *tabarrā* (see below), primarily denotes the general idea of exemption or of disengagement, in particular exemption from responsibility. Among the Arabs *barāʾa*, which is also called *khalʿ* or *tabarruʾ*, is a pre-Islamic social and legal phenomenon, which has persisted in Bedouin society (Kohlberg, 1986, 139 ff.).

In the text of the Ḳurʾān it seems that *barāʾa* appears very late in the career of Muḥammad. *Barāʾa* and *adhān* ([*q.v.*], the call to prayer) were declared following the day of the great farewell pilgrimage. This gave rise to many commentaries, especially because of the association between the *barāʾa* and the

surrogatory prayers known as *ḳunūt* [*q.v.*], taken in the sense of imprecations or supplications (Rubin, 25; Kohlberg, 1986, 140 ff.). Shīʿī traditions attribute the proclamation of the *barāʾa* to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, acting on orders from Muḥammad, and this would have involved the Islamisation of pagan allies of Muḥammad (Rubin, 26 ff.).

With successive exegeses and other commentaries, *barāʾa* passed in meaning from dissociation to disunification or repudiation, these ideas being taken up in different separatist or sectarian movements. The Khāridjites were apparently the first to develop an important point of doctrine from *barāʾa* (dissociation from ʿAlī and from all their enemies; Kohlberg, 1986, 142 ff.). The expressions *tabarraʾa min/ʿan*, or often *bariʾa min/ʿan* in the sense of "to regard as an enemy", was used very early on by various groups of Khāridjites (see al-Shahrastānī, 198, 203, 206, etc., tr. Gimaret, 366, 371, 372-3; see also Gimaret, index, under *tawallā*).

The Shīʿī use of *barāʾa* developed step by step, firstly in non-doctrinal terms, concerning the hostility between ʿAlī and his opponents, during and after the conflict with Muʿāwiya, on the occasion of his dissociation in connection with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, which implied an allegiance (*walāya*) to ʿAlī. The association of *walāya* with *barāʾa* (or sometimes *ʿadāwa*, enmity) became a central idea for the Shīʿīs, although it had its opponents among the ʿAlids of Kūfa (Kohlberg, 1986, 144 ff.).

The Imāms, however, in particular Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, made it, for various reasons, an article of faith. The *barāʾa/ʿadāwa* was also expressed as a wrong against the Companions, *sabb al-ṣaḥāba*, an idea which had to remain played down during the Occultation in the name of *taḳiyya* (Kohlberg, 1986, 145 ff.; Amir-Moezzi, 217 ff.).

The idea of *barāʾa/tabarrī/tabarruʾ* could apply to various opposing parties, even at the heart of Imāmism, including the members of the families of the Imāms (Kohlberg, 1986, 158-67). The concept of juxtaposing *tawallī—tabarrī* which Gimaret (64-5, 142, 435 and index), prefers to translate as avowal—disavowal, had various connotations among the Shīʿīs. But it was the Imāmīs especially, often known as the Rāfiḍīs [see AL-RĀFIḌA], who were distinguished by their practice of *walāya—barāʾa* which was condemned as a whole by the hard line of Sunnism, as particularly expressed in Ḥanbalism (see H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 162).

Although the idea of *barāʾa* and its variants (*tabriʾa, mubāraʾa, istibrāʾ, berāt* [*q.v.*] in Turkish, *barāt* in Persian) have preserved the technical and legal connotations included in Imāmism, the Imāmīs have been particularly characterised by their partisan practice of the *walāya—barāʾa*.

In Persian usage, instead of *tabarruʾ/tabarrī*, in accordance with Arab grammar, the term *tabarrā* is often used in association with *tawallā*. This terminology, and especially the expression *tabarrā* in the sense of "to abstain" or "to dissociate oneself from" was used by the great classical Persian poets (see the entry *Tabarrā* in Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*). The practice of *tawallā—tabarrā* has been attributed to the Ilkhancid Ghāzān [*q.v.*] regarding his so-called conversion to Imāmism (see Calmard, 1993, 119). But it was particularly during the imposition of Twelver Imāmism as the state religion by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl (1501-24, [*q.v.*]) at the beginning of the 10th/16th century that the use of the term *tabarrā* was widely extended beyond the closed circles of scholars and the *ʿulamāʾ*. In its use as a sort of euphemism for insult or execration (*sabb, ṭaʿn, laʿn*) this term had the advantage of providing an agent noun, *tabarrāʾī*, execrator, with a usage current in Ṣafawid Persia.

The doctrine and practices of exclusion, or even excommunication of the Companions (*takfīr al-ṣaḥāba*), were ancient in Imāmism (see Kohlberg, 1984, 148 ff.). Various methods were used to slander or curse the Great Companions by the Imāmīs, the *Ghulāt*, the Zaydīs and the Ismāʿīlīs (Kohlberg, 1984, 160 ff.). Despite differences of opinion, the ancient Imāmī *barāʾa* was aimed especially at Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān. Other enemies of the *Ahl al-Bayt* were included in this dissociation, in particular the Umayyad caliphs and the women ʿĀʾisha, Ḥafṣa, Hind and Umm al-Ḥakam (Kohlberg, 1986, 144 ff.). However, the Rāfiḍīs were denigrated and condemned (Calmard, 1993, 121), most particularly for the execration or insulting of the Companions (*sabb al-ṣaḥāba*), and more especially of the first two caliphs (*sabb al-shaykhayn*), which certain people practised more or less openly.

The imposition of Ṣafawid Shīʿism on a population which was largely Sunnī posed various political and religious problems, and these were only partly resolved, in particular concerning the *tabarrāʾīs* and the contents of their imprecations. These official execrators—delators, whose social origin remains uncertain—seem to have practised their profession first of all at Tabrīz during the proclamation of Shīʿism in 1501. But they were practised above all at Harāt in 1510, at the time of the dramatic circumstances surrounding that proclamation (where acknowledging their presence under this name poses, however, problems), and especially at the time of the Uzbek-Ṣafawid conflicts. In the course of these the town changed hands several times, and then the *tabarrāʾīs* and their collaborators were seen at work. The latter were instructed, under pain of death, to curse and have cursed the first two or three caliphs, the Ottomans (there was some confusion in regard to the caliph ʿUthmān), Yazīd (who was particularly denigrated in the heterodox and popular circles, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, in the Turco-Iranian area), and the Sunnīs (Calmard, 1993, 121 ff.; on Yazīd among the *Ghulāt*, see Moosa, index).

The cursing persisted under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (1524-76 [*q.v.*]), including in his correspondence with Süleymān Ḳānūnī, which caused diplomatic complications with the Ottomans as well as with the Uzbeks (Calmard, 1993, 126 f.). These practices also annoyed the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* living in the territories under Ottoman control. Some of them condemned the doctrinal stance taken by the *mudjtahids* who had gone over into the service of the Ṣafawids, and particularly al-Karakī (Newman, 82 ff.). Despite the undertaking given to the Ottomans by Ṭahmāsp at the peace of Amasya (962/1555) to stop the ritual cursing, it persisted at least until Ismāʿīl II decreed its abolition. He also had suspended the *tabarrāʾīs* who were officially appointed and took measures against certain execrators, among whom were the *ʿulamāʾ*, who had a reputation for fanaticism (Calmard, 1993, 126; Calmard, 1996, 161). After this decree the *tabarrāʾīs* do not seem to have functioned as official agents in Ṣafawid Persia. The execrators included under this name nevertheless continued to practise, especially in the *rawḍa-khʷānīs* [*q.v.*] and other Shīʿī religious festivals.

The efficacy of the *tabarrāʾīs* can be measured by the very wide dissemination of the practice of cursing followed by the preachers and faithful Shīʿīs, which was to last at least until the Ḳādjār period in Persia. Among the opponents of the *Ahl al-Bayt* was above

all the caliph ʿUmar, who was both privately and publicly increasingly execrated and vilified, especially at the time of the ritual feast (*ʿUmar-kus̲h̲ān*) celebrated on 9 Rabīʿ I, in the course of which his effigy was burned, and also sometimes at ceremonies of Muḥarram; he is then confused with ʿUmar b. Saʿd, one of those chiefly responsible for the massacre of Karbalā (see Calmard, 1996, 161 ff.).

But in their hatred of the Sunnīs and the Ottomans, the *ʿulamāʾ* of Ṣafawid Persia made every effort to extend the ritual cursing to Abū Ḥanīfa, the founder of the official Ottoman *mad̲h̲hab* (Arjomand, 166). His tomb in Bag̲h̲dād was desecrated and destroyed by S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl (1508), ornamented with a cupola by Süleymān Ḳānūnī (1534), destroyed again by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās (1623), and reconstructed by Murād IV (1638). Amid the almost permanent socio-religious troubles, the execratory character of Imāmism continued in ʿIrāḳ, which from then on was under Ottoman control, and among the strong Persian community in Istanbul until the end of the 19th century (see S. Derengil, *The struggle against Shiism in Hamidian Iraq. A study in Ottoman counter-propaganda*, in *WI*, xxx [1990], 45-62).

S̲h̲īʿism with its sectarian practices was to some extent exported to India, notably in the S̲h̲īʿī sultanates of the Deccan which resulted from the decline of the Bahmānids (1347-1527 [*q.v.*]). This is particularly the case for the ʿĀdils̲h̲āhīs of Bid̲j̲āpūr (1490-1686), the first S̲h̲īʿī state in India (see R.E. Eaton, art. *ʿĀdelšāhīs*, in *EIr*). The rituals of the *tawallā—tabarrā* also persisted in the popular S̲h̲īʿism of the state of Awadh [*q.v.*] in the north of India (see J.R.I. Cole, *Roots of North Indian Shīʿism in Iran and Iraq. Religion and state in Awadh, 1722-1859*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1988, 108, 239 ff.). The adoption or rejection of these practices in other S̲h̲īʿī states in India (which were often more moderate) remains to be determined.

In the use that they made of the terms *tabarrā/tabarrāʾī* for elaborating and propagating S̲h̲īʿism, the Ṣafawids largely went beyond *taḳiyya* during the Occultation of the Imām. This was not accepted by all the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*. For some, insult (*sabb*, i.e. the effective content of the Ṣafawid *barāʾa/tabarrā*) was worse than *barāʾa* in the sense of dissociation (see Kohlberg, 1986, 156, n. 89; Calmard, 1993, 145).

Bibliography: This subject, which has only been briefly outlined here, and the related concepts which cover a very wide period, plus numerous references to primary sources, are given in the works cited in the text and in the following: S̲h̲ahrastānī, *K. al-Milal wa ʾl-niḥal*, ed. Fatḥ Allāh Badrān, Cairo 1366-75/1947-55, tr. D. Gimaret, with introd. and notes by idem and G. Monnot, *Le Livre des religions et des sectes*, i, Louvain-Paris 1986; S.A. Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago 1984; U. Rubin, *Barāʾa. A study of some Quranic passages*, in *JSAI*, v (1984), 13-32; E. Kohlberg, *Some Imāmī Shīʿī views on the Ṣaḥāba*, in *ibid.*, 143-75; idem, *Barāʾa in Shīʿī doctrine*, in *ibid.*, vii (1986), 139-75; Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites. The Ghulat sects*, Syracuse 1988; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin dans le shîʿisme originel*, Lagrasse 1992; A.J. Newman, *The myth of the clerical migration to Safawid Iran: Arab Shiite opposition to ʿAlī al-Karakī and Safawid Shiism*, in *WI*, xxxiii (1993), 66-112; J. Calmard, *Les rituels shiites et le pouvoir. L'imposition du shiisme safavide: eulogies et malédictions canoniques*, in idem (ed.), *Etudes safavides*, Paris-Tehran 1993, 109-50; idem, *Shiʿi rituals and power. II. The consolidation of Safavid Shiʿism: folklore and popular religion*, in C. Melville (ed.), *Safavid Persia*, Pembroke Papers, Cambridge, IV, London-New York 1996, 139-90.

(J. Calmard)

ṬABARSARĀN (in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 16, Ṭabarstarān), a district of the eastern Caucasus, essentially the basin of the Rūbās river which runs into the Caspian Sea just south of Darband [see DERBEND], the early Islamic Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*]. It now comes within the southernmost part of Dāg̲h̲istān (see map in ḲABḲ, at IV, 344). Its population comprises Caucasian mountaineers plus a considerable admixture of Iranian speakers of Tātī dialect [see TĀT].

At the time of the Umayyad prince Marwān b. Muḥammad's raids through the Caucasus, there was a Ṭabarsarān S̲h̲āh (known also with this title in pre-Islamic times), who agreed to pay tribute to the Arabs (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 196, 208; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 2 = § 442). It is frequently mentioned in the *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bāb al-Abwāb* from the 4th/10th century onwards, being ruled at various times by the Hās̲h̲imid *amīrs* of Darband and the Yazīdī S̲h̲īrwān S̲h̲āhs; see V. Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries*, Cambridge 1958, 91-2 and index.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

AL-**ṬABARSĪ** [see AL-ṬABRISĪ].

ṬABAS, the name of two places in eastern Persia, denoted in the early mediaeval Islamic sources by the dual form al-Ṭabasān[1] (e.g. in al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 45, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 20) and distinguished as Ṭabas al-Tamr "Ṭ. of the date-palms" and Ṭabas al-ʿUnnāb "Ṭ. of the jujube trees", later Persian forms Ṭabas Gīlakī and Ṭabas Masīnān respectively. Ṭabas al-Tamr lay to the west of Ḳuhistān [*q.v.*] in the central Great Desert at a junction of routes between the Das̲h̲t-i Lūṭ in the south and the Das̲h̲t-i Kawīr in the north and west. Ṭabas al-ʿUnnāb lay farther to the east in Ḳuhistān, adjacent to the modern border of Persia with Afg̲h̲ānistān. It is the first which has been more important and which has played a role in Islamic history.

Ṭabas al-Tamr was reached in ʿUmar's caliphate by Arab raiders from Kirmān under ʿAbd Allāh b. Budayl al-K̲h̲uzāʿī, and a peace treaty made with the inhabitants (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 403). In the 4th/10th century it was a fortified place with a mosque, notable for its extensive date-palms and supplied with water brought to reservoirs by *kanāts*. Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw passed through it in 444/1051 and noted that it was called Ṭabas Gīlakī after its *raʾīs*, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Gīlakī (*Safar-nāma*, ed. M. Dabīr-siyākī, Tehran 1335/1956, 125-6, tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 100). In the later 5th/11th century it passed under the control of the Ismāʿīlīs of Ḳuhistān, and in 494/1102 was attacked and partly destroyed by a Sald̲j̲ūḳ army sent by Sultan Sand̲j̲ar (Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 341, 354). In the time of the Ṣafawid S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I it was devastated by the Özbegs. It was soon after this, in 1621, that the first European to visit Ṭabas reached there, the Silesian nobleman Heinrich von Poser (A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 58). In the early 19th century, according to Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, ii, 43-4, the virtually independent ruler in Ṭabas was the Arab chief Mīr Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān, who maintained a powerful army there; by Curzon's time, however, the hereditary chief Mīrzā Bāḳir ʿImād al-Mulk supplied only 150 cavalrymen to the Ḳād̲j̲ār army (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 202-3).

Modern Ṭabas (Gīlakī) (lat. 33° 37' N., long. 56° 54' E.) is now the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* in the *ustān* of Khurāsān. In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of 8,114, which had risen in 1991 to 17,071 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). Ṭabas (Masīnān), also in Khurāsān province (lat. 32° 48' N., long. 60° 14' E.), is a village in the *shahristān* of Bīrdjand; in *ca.* 1950 it had a population of 1,513, but in 1991 only 468 (*ibid.*).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṬABĀSHĪR, a medicament used in mediaeval Islam. It is a crystalline concretion in the internodes of the bamboo (*Bambusa arundinacea Willd., Gramineae*). The concretions, also known as "bamboo sugar", consist of silicic acid, silicates, and carbonate of calcium. They are extracted by burning the bamboo stems, often also through auto-combustion due to the heat by mutual friction of the stems when moved by strong winds (*yaḥtariḳ min dhātihī li 'ḥtikāk baʿḍihā bi-baʿḍ bi-rīḥ shadīda*). Some believed the concretions to be burnt elephant bones; most likely this is just a falsification using elephant teeth. Falsifications were also done with the burnt bones of ram's heads, whenever the price for *ṭabāshīr*, which in its Indian place of origin was practically worthless, was higher in the outside world. Others consider *ṭabāshīr* to be the roots of "Indian cane" (*al-ḳaṣab al-hindī*). The white, light, and soft concretions which were easily crushed and pulverised were considered the best (according to others those with a blueish hue). The Indians held especially the "knots" (*ʿuḳad*) and the dirham-size disks inside the stems in high esteem. *Ṭabāshīr* had been part of the Indian *materia medica* as of old; the Persian-Arabic name is supposed to be a translation of a Sanskrit word. The idea that *ṭabāshīr* is simply Dioscorides' σάκχαρον is no longer held. Popularly in Egypt and Syria *ṭabāshīr* denotes "chalk."

The medicinal effects attributed to *ṭabāshīr* are manifold. Taken internally or externally, it is used against inflammations of the gall bladder; it fortifies the stomach, is efficacious against high fever and thirst, lowers the heat of the liver, is beneficial against ulcers, pustules, haemorrhoids, and stomatitis of children. It is astringent, tonic, and a mild expectorant due to its slight bitterness. It is beneficial against eye inflammations, fortifies the heart, calms down heart palpitations and soothes stomach troubles of all kinds. Its application is also recommended in cases of diarrhoea and chronic liver ailments.

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(A. Dietrich)

ṬABĀṬABĀʾĪ, Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, Persian statesman (1888-1969).

He was born in Yazd into a conservative, clerical family, and spent much of his childhood and youth in Shīrāz, where he received a traditional education, and then embarked upon a career in journalism, editing a pro-constitutional newspaper, the *Nidā-yi Islām*. He moved to Tehran where he continued his work as a journalist, editing the newspaper *Raʿd*.

In Tehran, Sayyid Ḍiyā''s reputation as a reformer grew and he became the centre of a group of like-minded individuals. He also assiduously cultivated the confidence of the British military and diplomatic establishment. In late 1919-early 1920 he was sent by the then Prime Minister, Wuthūḳ al-Dawla, to Baku to negotiate with the anti-Bolshevik Musāwāt party. As a result of this mission his prominence in official circles increased significantly.

In the circumstances of political collapse prevailing in Persia in late 1920-early 1921, Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ entered into a conspiracy with Riḍā Khān [see riḍā shāh], commander of the Cossack force then stationed under British control at Ḳazwīn, and with certain officers of the nationalist Government Gendarmerie. On 20-21 February 1921 these elements marched on and captured Tehran and overthrew the government of Sipahdār, Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ becoming the new Prime Minister. The programme of his government contained far-reaching proposals for the reform and reconstruction of the state with, as its centrepiece, the creation of a national army. Many members of the landed aristocracy, whose overthrow Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ had consistently advocated, were arrested and imprisoned, Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ intending to extract money from their families with which to finance the government's reforms.

Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ remained Prime Minister for three months, being forced out of office and into exile in early May 1921 as a result of the growth and combination of opposition from a variety of sources, including the Shāh and the court, the notables, state officials and the *ʿulamāʾ*, and, decisively, from Riḍā Khān, now War Minister. Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ was given refuge in Palestine, then under British mandatory rule, where he devoted his attention to Islamic issues, participating in the Islamic Congress in 1931, and also to farming and agriculture.

In 1943 Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ returned to Persia and resumed his political and journalistic activity on a right-wing and pro-British basis. He founded the National Will party, and was elected to the Madjlis. In the early 1950s he opposed both Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*] and the Tūdah party. Subsequently he withdrew from politics. He died in 1969.

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(Stephanie Cronin)

TABATTUL [see zuhd].

ṬABBĀKH (a.), cook, a professional term, although rarely used as a *laḳab* in early Islamic times; however, the *ṭāhī* or *shāwī* "roaster" is mentioned in ancient poetry describing feasts, but these were probably slaves deputed to do the job, and not professionals.

The early Arabs' diet used to include dates, milk, vegetables, mushroom, lentils, onion, honey, coarse bread, and meat of various animals like lamb, goats, camels, rabbits, reptiles, etc. Most of the food they

ate did not require much cooking, hence the profession of cook only appears with the political expansion of the Arabs. The Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, apparently had a taste for good food and employed a cook named Bashīr from eastern Persia (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 86). The Arabs became familiar with the life-styles of their non-Arab subjects, including cooking tasteful food. By the time the ʿAbbāsids came to power in 132/750, the Arabs and Persians co-operated in social, economic and cultural activities. They also learnt a good deal of ancient culinary art and about applying colour to food. Al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) observed that a professional cook (*ṭabbākh*) would talk about his ability to dye food, and the many ways of cooking chicken and making sweets (cf. *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. Sandūbī, i, 222). However, *muḥtasibs* denied cooks the license to dye food as they wished, and only approved saffron as the dye for food. Moreover, in the urban centres of the caliphate like Baghdād, Fusṭāṭ and Cairo there were food markets (*sūḳ al-ṭaʿām*) wherein a person could buy and eat cooked food. However, market inspectors inspected the quality of food sold in cookshops and fined offenders who failed to observe the legal and customary guidelines for cooks. The *ḥisba* officials demanded cleanliness of cooks for the sake of public hygiene, and even recommended the cooks to follow instructions in al-Kindī's culinary pamphlet *Kīmiyāʾ al-ṭabāʾikh* "The chemistry of cooked foods".

Cooks of both sexes are cited in Arabic proverbs and literary works. In Fāṭimid Egypt there were female slaves (*djawārī*) working as professional cooks who were praised for their culinary skill, and in modern Egypt cooks have formed guilds.

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ṬABBĀL (A.), lit. drummer; owner of a drum; a drumming expert who earned his livelihood by playing various kinds of drums [see ṬABL].

The drummers (*ṭabbālūn*) as a group emerge in Arabic historical writings of the ʿAbbāsid period. Al-Iṣfahānī noted that people used to sing with drum-beats. Drummers performed in various celebrations and festivities. Birthdays were celebrated by the wealthy who feasted with friends and fed the poor amidst musical entertainment. In one particular instance, the drummers beat drums and musicians played clarions (*būḳāt*) while celebrating the birth of a son to the caliph al-Muḳtadī (467-87/1075-94) (*al-Muntaẓam*, ix, 14). Some Christians attended a funeral procession carrying crosses, accompanied by relatives, mourners and drummers in Baghdād in 403/1012 (*ibid.*, vii, 262).

Al-Djāḥiẓ cited the drums (*ṭubūl*) as a characteristic musical instrument of the Turks, who were recruited into the ʿAbbāsid army and housed in special barracks in Sāmarrāʾ from the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim onwards. Drummers often accompanied the army on the battlefield and, despite their humble position, were required to wear coats of mail to protect themselves, because the outcome of the battle often depended on the standard-bearers and spirit-stirring drummers. Victory celebrations by the public also brought the drummers to the fore, as was the case in celebrating al-Ḳāʾim's victory over the rebel al-Basāsīrī in 451/1059 when men and women played kettledrums (*dabādib*), tambourines (*dufūf*) and clarions in daylight hours and carried torches at night. In times of emergency, the drummers awakened the public to impending danger, as they did at midnight during a Ḳarmaṭī military threat to the ʿAbbāsid capital in 320/932 (cf. *The Eclipse*, i, 132).

The custom of beating drums in front of the caliph's palace at the five times of prayer was recorded during the 4th/10th century. The Buwayhid Amīrs, especially Muʿizz al-Dawla and ʿAḍud al-Dawla, requested the same privilege from the *Khalīfa*. After prevarication, the latter granted a reduced privilege of beating the drum away from the gate of Muʿizz al-Dawla's palace for three times: at dawn, sunset and night prayers. Al-Ṭāʾiʿ allowed ʿAḍud al-Dawla to employ drummers in front of his palace in the Shammāsiyya district of Baghdād at three of the times of prayer. Under the Saldjūḳs, a certain Saʿd al-Dawla, according to Ibn al-Athīr, also enjoyed the privilege of being serenaded by drummers in front of his residence in 471/1078. The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw witnessed an impressive display of beating of drums and blowing of trumpets by a thousand soldiers (perhaps an exaggerated number) in front of the royal palace at the sunset prayer (*maghrib*) in Cairo in 439/1047. The customary beating of drums thrice a day at prayer times (*rasm al-ṭabl al-nawba fi 'l-ṣalawāt al-thalāth*) for *amīrs*, according to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, was practiced until 634/1236.

During the Mamlūk period the drummers were employed as part of a military band at *ṭabl-khāna* [*q.v.*] where they performed at fixed hours and regular occasions for the sultans. In Yemen during the Rasūlid period (628-723/1228-1323), the *ṭabl-khāna* existed, wherein drums were beaten with other musical instruments like cymbals at processions as well as on various celebrations for three or seven days. Some members of the military band were of African descent. The privilege of having *ṭabl-khānas* was sometimes extended to various *amīrs*. A place in Ṣanʿāʾ was known as the quarter of the drum-band (*ḥārat ṭabl-khāna*).

The drummers' status in society was low. In Ṣafawid Iṣfahān, they were grouped with people of other demeaning professions like dancers, singers, pigeon-trainers and brothel keepers. Inferior social status promoted solidarity among the drummers, who formed guilds in Ṣafawid Persia and early modern Egypt.

In Syria, the drummers earned their livelihood by performing their art at the circumcision of male children, at mock sword-plays for folk-entertainment and in marriage ceremonies for three days. During the harvesting seasons of olives and grapes, they per-

formed ritual beating of drums and sang songs to eke out a meagre wage. The drummers' work in pre-modern Syria, as elsewhere in the Middle East, was treated as a demeaning profession (*ḥirfa danīʾa*).

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TĀBIʿ [see POSTA].

ṬABĪʿA (A.), literally "nature", functional equivalents *ṭibāʿ* and *ṭabʿ*, a term of Islamic science, philosophy and theology. Numerous Arabic-writing authors have defined the term, and a first survey shows that in a large number of cases these definitions betray Aristotelian origins. In such cases, therefore, it would be legitimate to analyse *ṭabīʿa* in the context of Aristotle's φύσις, a term usually translated as "nature", provided that the distinct and varying conceptual range of the Arabic term is kept in view and it is not considered identical to its Greek source.

1. Appropriations of the Greek φύσις tradition.

Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] writes in his *K. al-Ḥudūd* that "*ṭabīʿa* is an essential first principle (*mabdaʾ awwal*) for the essential movement of that in which it is present; in short, for every essential change (*taghayyur*) and every essential persistence (*thabāt*)" (*Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326, 86; cf. A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, 201). This is clearly an Aristotelian definition; in fact, in the *ʿUyūn al-ḥikma*, we find Ibn Sīnā providing a fairly faithful Arabic paraphrase of Aristotle's *Physics*, ii/1, 192.b.20-3: "*Ṭabīʿa* is a cause (*sabab* = αἰτία) in that it is a certain essential principle (*mabdaʾ* = ἀρχή) of motion and rest to that in which it is inherent, essentially and not by accident" (Arabic text in Goichon, 201). Similarly, to take another example, the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* of pseudo-Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Madjrīṭī [*q.v.*] also defines *ṭabīʿa* as a cause and an essential principle; and in conformity with Aristotle it is expressly called a potentiality: we are told that *ṭabīʿa* is a certain *ḳuwwa* (δύναμις) existing in physical bodies by means of which their forms and acts are preserved for a finite period of time—"natural philosophers (*ṭabīʿiyyūn*) call this *ḳuwwa* the constraining cause (*al-sabab al-mumsik*) by means of which bodies persist without collapsing, disintegrating, or calcining. . . . The definition of *ṭabīʿa* is that it is the essential first principle . . . of motion and rest" (ed. H. Ritter, Berlin 1933, 284). Recall Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, ix/8, 1049.b.9-10: "φύσις is in the same genus as δύναμις; for it is a principle of movement". Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], too, in his polemical discourses on *ṭabīʿa*, says that it is a potentiality, and so do the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*] (see below).

But pseudo-Madjrīṭī continues to give the definitions of *ṭabīʿa* according to others, and here the question of sources, though they remain evidently Greek, becomes rather complex. According to the philosophers, he says, *ṭabīʿa* is a corporeal form (*ṣūra djismiyya*) and "it is in physical bodies (*al-badan*) through the mediation of the Sphere lying between this [corporeal form] and the Soul" (*loc. cit.*). Plato, he tells us, defined *ṭabīʿa* as a natural substance (*djawhar ṭabīʿī*). And like Ibn Sīnā—and here the texts of the *Ḥudūd* (Goichon, 201) and *Ghāya* are practically identical—he gives the definition of the physicians: "They apply the term *ṭabīʿa* to humour, natural heat (*al-ḥarāra al-gharīziyya*), aspects of the bodily organs (*hayʾāt al-aʿḍāʾ*), movements, and the vegetative soul" (*loc. cit.*).

Indeed, the term is widely used by Arabic physicians and, as Goichon points out (200), in this usage it carries the broad sense of the Latin *natura rerum*. In this connection, one should note what seems to be a fairly common feature of Arabic encyclopaedic works on animals: found in these writings is a section devoted to the *ṭabāʾiʿ* of each animal, followed by its properties (*khawāṣṣ*) (see, for example, Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥawāfir (d. 701/1301), *Badāʾiʿ al-akwān fī manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ms. Chester Beatty 4325; ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī (*fl.* 3rd/9th century), *K. Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ms. Berlin 6240; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, Leiden 1970). Also, in natural historical writings sometimes the term used is *ṭibāʿ*, which functions as the equivalent of *ṭabīʿa*. Thus Aristotle's title *History of animals* is translated *Fī maʿrifat ṭibāʿ al-ḥayawān al-barrī wa 'l-baḥrī* (ed. A. Badawī, Kuwait 1977). Again, in the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Generation of animals* attributed to Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ, φύσις is consistently rendered *ṭibāʿ* (see ed. J. Brugman and H.J. Drossaart Lulofs, Leiden 1971, 249). But the use of *ṭibāʿ* is not restricted to this particular context, since, for example, in a discourse on the souls of heavenly bodies Ibn Sīnā speaks of their *ṭibāʿ* in which, he says, inheres the principle of change and multiplicity (Arabic text in Goichon, 201).

An unmistakably Neoplatonic account of *ṭabīʿa* is found in the *Rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ which contains a whole chapter on the quiddity (*māhiyya*) of *ṭabīʿa*. "Those among the sages and philosophers who used to talk about cosmic phenomena occurring in the sublunar realm", we read in the *Rasāʾil*, "attributed all natural events and processes to *ṭabīʿa* . . . Know, O my brother, . . . that *ṭabīʿa* is only one of the potentialities of the Universal Soul, a potentiality spreading through all sublunar bodies, flowing through each of their parts". Then we are told that, expressed in terms of Divine Law, *ṭabīʿa* is a group of "angels who are assigned the task of protecting the world and carrying out natural creation (*tadbīr al-khalīḳa*) by the permission of God" (*Rasāʾil*, Beirut 1957, ii, 63). This is an interesting appropriation of the Neoplatonic doctrine of emanation, particularly as it is found in the historically important *Theologia Aristotelis*, a pseudo-Aristotelian text whose ultimate substratum is Plotinus' *Enneads*, iv-vi in Porphyry's arbitrary arrangement. In this text *ṭabīʿa* is spoken of as an emanation ultimately radiating forth from the First Cause, through the successive emanations of the hypostases of the Intellect and Soul (ed. A. Badawi, in idem, *Plotinus apud Arabes*, Cairo 1955, 6). Note that both Plotinus

and the Ikhwān agree on the intermediary roles of the Intellect and Soul in the creation of the natural world. God's method was to act indirectly, and for the Ikhwān, this meant that He carried out the affairs of the world through His angelic agents—and *ṭabīʿa* was one of them: "*ṭabīʿa* is only one of God's angels, His supporters and His obedient slaves, doing whatever they are commanded to do" (*Rasāʾil*, ii, 127; cf. I. Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists*, Edinburgh 1982, 38). We have already seen that pseudo-Madjrīṭī assigns this role to the Sphere.

Given the hierarchical ethos of Neoplatonic metaphysics, one frequently finds in the Islamic philosophical literature elaborate discourses on the ranks of created beings, and man's place on this scale. An example is the ethical treatise *K. al-Nafs wa 'l-rūḥ* (ed. M.S.H. Maʿṣūmī, Islamabad 1968) of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*]. In this work, the author organises his four ranks of beings on the basis of, *inter alia*, the existence or non-existence of *ṭabīʿa* in a given being. Angels were on the top, endowed with intellect but no *ṭabīʿa*; next came lower animals possessing *ṭabīʿa* and desire, but no intellect; then inanimate objects, having none of the three; and finally the fourth place belonged to human beings, possessing all three, *ṭabīʿa*, intellect, and desire. But then, we are told that it is the privilege only of human beings to be God's vicegerents, because they had faculties of which other beings were deprived (see M. Fakhry, *Ethical theories in Islam*, Leiden 1991, 186); and in this sense man becomes the highest created being. Here it is interesting to note that al-Rāzī does not admit of *ṭabīʿa* in inanimate objects, and this clearly means that he is thinking of it exclusively in psychological terms; for him, *ṭabīʿa* was a faculty which necessarily implied volition, and this is certainly not Aristotle's φύσις.

2. In Kalām.

In the *kalām* literature [see ʿILM AL-KALĀM], the term *ṭabīʿa* is often used interchangeably with *ṭabʿ*. Thus, in his own reformulation of the meaning of the two terms, the *mutakallim* al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] conflates them: when, he says, one is accustomed to seeing the occurrence (*ḥudūth*) of some specific accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) invariably (*ʿalā watīrat*[un] *wāḥidat*[un]) in some specific bodies, one calls them "*ṭabʿ* and *ṭabīʿa*" (Ibn Fūrak, *Mudjarrad maḳālāt al-Ashʿarī*, ed. D. Gimaret, Beirut 1987, 131-2). But this does not mean that here we have a total conceptual equivalence, for frequently one finds in *kalām* a distinction between *ṭabʿ* and *ṭabīʿa*. In general, the latter term in its standard non-*kalām* usage is understood by the *mutakallimūn* to mean the natural disposition of a physical entity which *necessarily* determines its particular behaviour, and here *ṭabīʿa* is practically synonymous with the *khilḳa* of the *mutakallim* al-Naẓẓām as reported by al-Shahrastānī [*q.v.*]: "Everything that lies beyond [the action of human beings] . . . is the work of God by the necessitation of a *khilḳa*" (al-Shahrastānī, 38). Again, in a qualified manner, the term is functionally equivalent to the *maʿnā* of Muʿammar (see R. Frank, *Al-maʿnā: Some reflections on the technical meaning of the term in the Kalâm and its use in the physics of Muʿmmar*, in *JAOS*, lxxxvii [1967], 248; cf. H.A. Wolfson, *Philosophy of the kalâm*, Cambridge, Mass. 1976, 566). On the other hand, the *mutakallimūn* view the standard notion of *ṭabʿ* in a distinct generic sense of a natural causal agency which brings about the real phenomena of the world (see below). It would appear, then, that here *ṭabīʿa* is a special case of *ṭabʿ*; and since both of them were equally considered to imply natural causation for physical processes, as opposed to direct divine will or command, they were both equally unacceptable to practically all *mutakallimūn*. It is for this reason, it seems, that they sometimes do not bother to keep the two terms distinct from each other.

Mentioned among those whom the *mutakallimūn* censure for believing in natural causation is a group of thinkers called *aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*, espousers of *ṭabāʾiʿ*—and this seems to be a rather broad designation for those who pursue natural philosophy (see A. Dhanani, *The Physical theory of kalām*, Leiden 1994, 4, 182). However, it is clear that the *mutakallimūn* attribute to these *aṣḥāb* such views on *ṭabʿ*/*ṭabīʿa* as are shared also by the alchemists, for the alchemists did believe in *ṭabʿ*/*ṭabīʿa* as an agency of natural causation (see 3. below). But it is an interesting fact that in the *Sirr al-khalīḳa* of pseudo-Apollonius of Tyana [see BALĪNŪS], a fundamentally important source of early Arabic alchemy [see RUKN], we find mentions of *aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ* as a group of people who deify and worship *ṭabāʾiʿ* and whom the author of the text strongly condemns (*K. Sirr al-khalīḳa wa-ṣanʿat al-ṭabīʿa*, ed. U. Weisser, Aleppo 1979, 30, 60). Further, in his *K. al-Sabʿīn*, Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], too, refers to *aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*, whom he evidently considers outsiders to his field of alchemy (see P. Kraus, *Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân*, ii, Cairo 1942, 17). Thus the self-perception of some alchemists was that they are not among this group; but they do nonetheless fulfill the *mutakallimūn*'s criterion of what definitively characterises *aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*.

Ṭabīʿa and ṭabʿ as causality. It should be noted that the *kalām* discourses on *ṭabʿ*/*ṭabīʿa*, and they are voluminous, are always carried out in the larger context of the problem of causality. Indeed, one would agree with the claim that for the *mutakallimūn* the "term [*ṭabʿ*/*ṭabīʿa* is] the equivalent of causality" (Wolfson, *op. cit.*, 559). Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*] expresses this the other way around, but categorically: denial of causality is, in effect, a denial that things have a *ṭabīʿa* (*Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, xvii/5, 520). A lucid explanation of the *mutakallimūn*'s position on this matter is to be found in the *Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn* of Mūsā b. Maymūn (Maimonides) [see IBN MAYMŪN]. Here one reads the report of the *kalām* doctrine that all physical bodies consist of atoms (*djawhar*, pl. *djawāhir*/*djuzʾ*, pl. *adjzāʾ*) and accidents (*ʿaraḍ*, pl. *aʿrāḍ*) created by God through His will. All attributes of bodies (colour, smell, motion, growth, decay, life, death, etc.) are accidents. But these accidents do not arise out of, even less, are necessarily caused by, a *ṭabʿ* or *ṭabīʿa* inhering in bodies and acting naturally without God's direct creative causal action. Everything in the world that comes into being comes into being by an act of free creation by God as He wills. The object of this doctrine, Maimonides tells us, is to guard against the idea that there is in any sense a *ṭabīʿa* in things and that this *ṭabīʿa* of a thing requires necessarily that there should be joined to it such and such accident (*Le Guide des égarés*, ed. and tr. S. Munk, Paris 1856-66, i, 375 ff.).

In other words, *ṭabʿ*/*ṭabīʿa*, in its standard usage, is considered by the *mutakallimūn* to signify a real principle of natural causation, and this is in conformity with Aristotle. Again, Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], speaking of the *mutakallimūn*'s denial of causality, characterises them succinctly by his statement "They denied *ṭabīʿa*" (*Mukaddima*, iii, 114). Ibn Ḥazm says of the Ashʿarīs that they used the term *ʿāda* (custom) instead of *ṭabīʿa* to designate the natural course of events not broken off by miracles (*K. al-Fiṣal fī 'l-milal*, Cairo 1320, v, 15). To be sure, in the *Maḳālāt* al-Ashʿarī declares: "One who holds *ṭabīʿa* to be necessitating (*al-mūdjiba*) and

ṭabʿ to be that which causally engenders (*al-muwallid*) is mistaken" (Ibn Fūrak, 131; note here the distinction between *ṭabʿ* and *ṭabīʿa*). He then explains his position by saying that it is simply a matter of linguistic usage that people say, "the *ṭabʿ* of so and so is good" and that "the *ṭabʿ* of so and so is evil". They do so because they are accustomed to (*iʿtādū*) seeing some specific accidents occurring invariably in certain bodies (132). Thus *ṭabʿ/ṭabīʿa* has no ontological significance. Again, "He [al-As͟hʿarī] used to reject the views of the philosophers, the espousers of *ṭabāʾiʿ* (*ṭabāʾiʿiyyūn*), and the Muʿtazila, all of whom argue for their belief in causality (*tawallud*) by saying that there exists in fire a tendency (*iʿtimād*) which causally engenders its upward motion, and a tendency in stone which causally engenders its downward motion. He would say: all that is in these bodies is the creation of the All-Powerful, the Wise, Who does whatever He wills to do, without cause (*sabab*) and without any mediating processes (*muʿālad͟ja*). Indeed, we have already elucidated his views concerning his denial of the doctrine of *ṭabāʾiʿ*" (276).

In explaining the regularity and predictability of natural phenomena, Abū Ḥāmid al-G͟hazālī [*q.v.*] also substitutes *ʿāda* for *ṭabʿ/ṭabīʿa*. But his explanation is more sophisticated. Why is it that fire always burns, and (to take one of his own examples) a boy never turns into a dog? His answer is twofold: (a) God creates certain events in succession to other events; this succession continues in the same way since God has caused the continuance of custom (*ʿāda*), and (b) God has created in us the knowledge of (a), namely that the custom will continue, and that fire will continue to burn, and a boy will not turn into a dog. Thus natural phenomena are not caused, of necessity, owing to a *ṭabʿ*, but due to a divinely-created custom, a custom of which we possess a divinely-created knowledge. (*Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1927, 270-86).

But the substitution of *ʿāda* for *ṭabʿ/ṭabīʿa* came under heavy criticism in the hands of Ibn Ḥazm. Thus arguing on grounds of linguistic usage, he says, "*ʿāda* in the Arabic language" is used with regard to something which may either be avoided (*tarkuhu*) or not avoided, and whose absence (*zawāluhu*) is possible (*mumkin*), in contradistinction to the term *ṭabīʿa*, which is used with regard to something the avoidance of which (*al-k͟hurūd͟j ʿanhā*) is impossible (*mumtaniʿ*) (*Fiṣal*, v, 15-6). Thus unlike *ṭabīʿa*, *ʿāda* cannot explain the regularity in the processes of the world, since they always happen in the same way. He then explicates the term: *ṭabīʿa*—which is, he tells us, synonymous (*mutarādifa*) to *k͟halīḳa*, *salīḳa*, *baḥīra*, *g͟harīza*, *sad͟jiyya*, *sīma*, and *d͟jibilla*—only means the potentiality (*ḳuwwa*) of a thing whereby the qualities therein, such as they are, come to pass (*Fiṣal*, v, 15). But Ibn Ḥazm goes on to say that this does not mean that bodies act independently by virtue of their *ṭabīʿa*, for *ṭabīʿa* so defined has no intelligence (*ʿaḳl*) and therefore actions of things are not created by the things themselves. Of necessity, says Ibn Ḥazm, we know that with regard to these actions, their creation is due to something outside of the things in which they appear, and that can be none other than God. Thus by rejecting the ontological equivalence of *ṭabīʿa* and natural causation, Ibn Ḥazm makes *ṭabīʿa* a potentiality whose actualisation is caused directly by divine will, even though for him the *ṭabīʿa* of a thing is fixed once and for all by God ("*al-kalām fi 'l-tawallud*", *Fiṣal*, v, 59-60; cf. Wolfson, *op. cit.*, 576-7).

3. *Ṭabāʾiʿ* in the alchemical tradition.

In the Islamic alchemical literature there exists a rigorously systematic and rich theory of *ṭabāʾiʿ*, and the grand corpus of tantalising Arabic texts attributed to D͟jābir b. Ḥayyān remains its supreme representative. Indeed, so central is the doctrine of *ṭabāʾiʿ* in the alchemy of D͟jābir that his entire natural scientific system can be reduced to a theory of *ṭabāʾiʿ*, their place, and their combinations; and in the development of this theory the *Sirr al-k͟halīḳa* of pseudo-Apollonius seems to have served as a direct source (cf. Kraus, *op. cit.*).

"All things", says the author of the *Sirr*, "arise out of the four *ṭabāʾiʿ*, and they are: Hot (*al-ḥarr* [elsewhere *al-ḥarāra*]), Cold (*al-bard* [elsewhere *al-burūda*]), Moist (*al-līn* [elsewhere *al-ruṭūba/billa*]), and Dry (*al-yubs* [elsewhere *al-yubūsa*])" (ed. Weisser, 3). Identical declarations are to be found throughout the D͟jābirian corpus (e.g., see *K. al-Aḥd͟jār*, ed. S.N. Haq, in idem, *Names, natures and things*, Dordrecht and London 1993, *passim*). Indeed, for both pseudo-Apollonius and D͟jābir, the four *ṭabāʾiʿ* constituted the fundamental principles of the natural world; they were the First Simple Elements (*al-ʿanāṣir al-basāʾiṭ/al-basāʾiṭ al-uwal*) of all bodies. They were uncompounded entities (*al-mufradāt*) out of which the first compound elements (*al-murakkabāt*), Fire, Air, Water, and Earth were formed, and these latter were Second Elements (*ʿanāṣir t͟hawānī*) (see *Muk͟htār rasāʾil*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1935, *passim*; *Aḥd͟jār*, ed. Haq, 38-4; *Sirr*, ed. Weisser, *passim*). Again, "when these four *ṭabāʾiʿ* enter into combination, they give rise to Fire, Water, Air (*al-rīḥ*), and Earth (*al-turāb*), and they are then called *usṭuḳussāt*; they are the generators (*al-ummahāt*) and principles (*al-uṣūl*) of all individual things (*al-afrād*)" (*Sirr*, 187).

The temptation to read Aristotle's four qualities into these *ṭabāʾiʿ* must be resisted; for even though some isolated similarities do exist here, the two sets of entities remain both metaphysically and functionally distinct from each other. Aristotle's qualities were conceptual entities, *ṭabāʾiʿ* were real elements; the former were not to be found in isolation from the four Empedoclean primary bodies in which they inhered, the latter were independently existing entities capable of physical acts, such as motion, combination, and separation. In the *Sirr*, each of the *ṭabāʾiʿ* is sometimes referred to as a *ḳuwwa* (e.g. 186, 330, 372), but in the context the term seems to have a peculiar sense of a motive force, something that is conceptually far removed from δύναμις or ποιότης (Ar. *kayfiyyāt*). As for the D͟jābirian corpus, Aristotelian appellations in this particular matter are almost totally absent; indeed, the author of the corpus sometimes explicitly distinguishes *ṭabāʾiʿ* from *kayfiyyāt* (see *K. Ik͟hrād͟j mā fi 'l ḳuwwa ilā 'l-fiʿl*, ed. Kraus, 92).

In both the *Sirr* and the D͟jābirian corpus, the generation of bodies out of *ṭabāʾiʿ* is explained in mechanistic terms. Thus: "When the Sphere (*al-falak*) [which encloses the world] moves perpetually and becomes vigorous in its motion, the four *ṭabāʾiʿ* form pairs (*izdawad͟jat*), one with the other. They become different, and one knows one pair from the other by its essence (*ʿayn*) and form (*ṣūra*)... Thus come to pass by their combination the four compound *ṭabāʾiʿ*, namely, Fire... Water... Air... and Earth" (*Sirr*, 187). The explanation is more elaborate in D͟jābir who speaks in Neoplatonic terms: At the root of the generation of the corporeal world lies the Desire (*s͟hahwa*) of the Soul which endows substance (*d͟jawhar*) with formative power; thus substance attaches to *ṭabāʾiʿ*, and the four elementary bodies come to pass. The D͟jābirian *ṭabāʾiʿ* get themselves "implanted" in substance, they "attack" substance, and "act upon" it;

they "shape" it, "embrace" it, and "compress" it (see Haq, 57-62). All this stands in sharp contradistinction to Aristotle.

It should be noted that the Djābirian *ṭabāʾiʿ* were indeed the true material elements of things; things could be decomposed into their constituent *ṭabāʾiʿ*; they could be made to undergo transmutation by augmentations, suppressions, and rearrangements of *ṭabāʾiʿ*; and like all material entities, *ṭabāʾiʿ* possessed weights and all other physical properties too (see *K. al-Sabʿīn*, ed. Kraus, 473). Indeed, the elixir was only a substance in which the four *ṭabāʾiʿ* existed in a perfect numerical proportion (see ed. Haq, *passim*). Aristotle had said that to each elementary body there was only one affection (*Generation and corruption*, ii/3, 331.a.3-6); this meant that when, say, Fire is deprived of Hot, the contrary quality, Cold, always appeared—Fire which was hot and dry, thus became Earth which was cold and dry. But in the Djābirian system, we could, through alchemical procedures, extract Hot from Fire, and in this way reduce the latter to pure Dry; and of course there did exist bodies which were only hot, or only cold, and so on (see Kraus, *Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân*, ii, 135-85). To be sure, the whole of alchemy consisted in nothing other than systematic operations on, and manipulations of, *ṭabāʾiʿ*.

In the Islamic alchemical literature, the words *ṭabʿ* and *ṭabīʿa* do occur in their ordinary sense of the natural properties or disposition of a thing, or the temperament of a person. But when so employed, these words do not seem to function as technical terms; rather, they are used informally in the way in which al-Ashʿarī describes them—that is, as they are uttered in ordinary linguistic usage.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the text, see Abū Rashīd, *K. al-Masāʾil fī ʾl-khilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa ʾl-Baghdādiyyīn*, ed. and tr. A. Biram, Leiden 1902; A. Altmann and A.M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, London 1958; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d.; idem, *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1346; Bāḳillānī, *al-Tamhīd*, ed. R.J. McCarthy, Beirut 1957; Djuwaynī, *al-Irshād fī uṣūl al-iʿtiḳād*, ed. and tr. J.D. Luciani, Paris 1938; M. Fakhry, *A History of Islamic philosophy*, New York 1983; R. Frank, *Notes and remarks on the* ṭabāʾiʿ *in the teaching of al-Māturīdī*, in *Mélanges d'islamologie. Volume dédié à la mémoire de Armand Abel par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, ed. P. Salmon, Leiden 1974, 137; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1315; A.-M. Goichon, *Introduction à Avicenne*, Paris 1933; idem, *La distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1937; B. Haneberg, *Ibn Sīnā und Albertus Magnus*, in *Abh. der Philos.-philol. Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akad. der Wiss.*, xi [1868], 191; Job of Edessa, *Book of treasures*, ed. and tr. A. Mingana, Cambridge 1935; Khayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. and tr. A.N. Nader, Beirut 1957; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaḳaddimīn wa ʾl-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, with the commentary of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal*, ed. A. Nūrānī, Tehran 1980; U. Weisser, *Das "Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung" von Pseudo-Apollonius von Tyana*, Berlin and New York 1980. (S. Nomanul Haq)

4. In astronomy.

It seems that the non-Ptolemaic planetary models of the 7th/13th to 10/16th centuries largely grew out of metaphysical speculations on the *ṭabīʿa* of heavenly bodies. Recall that Ptolemy in Book ii of his *Planetary hypotheses* explains the diurnal rotation of the heavenly spheres by the *ṭabīʿa* of the outermost Sphere and that of all the other spheres, which move uniformly and simultaneously in a circular motion. But the motions of the spheres within each planetary sphere he attributes to the will of the soul of that planet as well as to the *ṭabīʿa* of ether (see A. Murschel, *The structure and function of Ptolemy's physical hypotheses of planetary motion*, in *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, xxvi [1995], 33). In the system of Ptolemy, then, simple bodies had composed motions.

Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] was troubled by this, considering it to be a violation of the *ṭabīʿa* of celestial bodies. Thus in ms. Y of his *Fī hayʾat al-ʿālam* (ed. and tr. Y.T. Langermann, New York 1990, 66-7, 230-1) he is quoted as saying that stars are natural (*ṭabīʿiyya*) bodies that by themselves can have only *one* natural motion. There are four premises on which explanations of planetary motions must be based:

1. A natural body does not move by its nature with more than one natural motion,
2. A simple natural body does not move with a varying motion,
3. The body of the heavens does not admit of being acted upon,
4. A void does not exist.

Ibn al-Haytham's argument runs something like this: since each star is of a simple substance, its motions must be regular and uniform. And given that there cannot be a void, each planet has a sphere whose circular motion carries it about. But since each planet has several motions, all planets have a separate sphere to account for each of their motions.

Much of this is accepted by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] in his *Tadhkira*, i/2. Of interest is i/2, 2: "If the motion of a self-moved mobile is monoform, its principle of motion is called a nature (*ṭabʿ*), whether the motion is natural and elemental or voluntary and celestial. Otherwise its [principle of motion] is called a soul (*nafs*), whether the [motion] be vegetative or animal" (ed. and tr. F.J. Ragep, New York 1993, 100). It is in ii/7, 25, that al-Ṭūsī enumerates the ways in which Ptolemy's lunar model violates the principle of simple motion for simple bodies (for Mercury, see ii/8, 19, and also ʿuṭārid)—a violation, that is, of their *ṭabīʿa*.

(D.E. Pingree and S. Nomanul Haq)

ṬABĪB [see ṭibb].

ṬABĪʿIYYĀT [see Suppl.].

TAʿBĪR [see ruʾyā].

TĀBIʿŪN (a.) (sing. *tābiʿ* or *tābiʿī*), usually translated as Successors, means the Successors of the Companions of the Prophet [see ṣaḥāba]. The Successors are the members of the generation of Muslims that followed the Companions, or those Muslims who knew one or more of the Companions but not the Prophet himself. They played a significant role in the early stages of Ḳurʾān commentary [see tafsīr], the biography of the Prophet including the history of his campaigns [see maghāzī; sīra; taʾrīkh], jurisprudence [see fiḳh] and the collection and dissemination of traditions [see ḥadīth]. In all these fields, the earliest material consists of reports about the actions and sayings of the Prophet, his family and his Companions. The Companions transmitted this information to the Successors, who in turn transmitted it, both in writing and orally, to one another, to their students and to the leadership of the larger Muslim world of the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods. Chronologically, the last of the Successors were those who knew the Companions who lived for the longest time after the Prophet's death. Among these are included those who studied and worked with the Companion Anas b. Mālik [*q.v.*], who did not die until 91-3/709-11 and was the last Companion to die in Baṣra.

There are biographies of the Successors in *ṭabaḳāt* [*q.v.*] works, as well as in the biographical dictionaries devoted specifically to establishing the reliability of *ḥadīth* transmitters [see AL-DJARḤ WA 'L-TAʿDĪL; ʿILM AL-RIDJĀL]. In *ṭabaḳāt* works, Successors are ranked chronologically; *ridjāl* works tend to list transmitters alphabetically (e.g. al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*).

In his *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845 [*q.v.*]) divides his biographies of the Successors into a number of classes corresponding to the places in which they taught and studied and to their contact with the most important Companions. The first class consists of Medinan Successors who transmitted from either Abū Bakr or ʿUmar or both; the second, of Medinan Successors who transmitted from ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, as well as from eight other well-known Companions. After the Medinans come the Successors of Mecca (starting with those who transmitted from ʿUmar), and then a few who were active in other parts of Arabia. He then moves on to notices of Successors active in Kūfa, Baṣra and Baghdād, then in Syria and North Africa and finally he mentions one person, Muʿāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 158/774), in al-Andalus.

Some of the Successors are especially noted for their contribution to one or another of the fields of learning mentioned above. In *tafsīr*, for example, among the students of the Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 68/687 [*q.v.*]), Saʿīd b. al-Djubayr (d. 95/714) and Mudjāhid b. Djabr (d. 104/722 [*q.vv.*]) were particularly important; in *maghāzī*, Abān b. ʿUthmān (d. 105/723) and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. *ca.* 94/713 [*q.vv.*]). A great many of them are known for their contributions to several fields. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742 [*q.v.*]) is possibly the most famous polymath among the Successors. As an historian, he was one of the foremost early authorities on the life of the Prophet [see SĪRA; MAGHĀZĪ] and he was a teacher of al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/823 [*q.v.*]); as a traditionist, he played a crucial role in the written transmission of *ḥadīth*. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]) is claimed as a seminal figure by virtually all branches of religious learning (although Sezgin lists him with the theologians; see *Bibl.*).

As jurists, the Successors were considered the link to the early period of Islam that made it possible to ascertain the established practice, the *sunna* [*q.v.*], of the Prophet and of the early community. Certain of them are associated with the legal development of a particular place. In Medina, prominent among the many Successors mentioned in early Mālikī texts [see MĀLIKIYYA] are the Medinan Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/713) and Nāfiʿ b. ʿUmar (d. 117/735). In Kūfa, the legal opinions of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (d. 96/715 [*q.v.*]) form the basis of early Ḥanafī doctrine. They were compiled by his student Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān (also a Successor, d. 120/738), with whom Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]) studied. In Mecca, ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732 [*q.v.*]) stands out; in Damascus, Ḳabīṣa b. Dhuʾayb (d. 86/705).

As the repositories of the legacy of the Prophet and the Companions, all the Successors were potentially traditionists. Distinguishing among them to determine exactly who each was and whether he could be considered a reliable transmitter in the link of an *isnād* chain is the most important component of the sciences of Tradition (*ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*) [see ḤADĪTH. IV]. Thus their biographers are particularly careful about their genealogies, the time and place of their birth, the cities where they spent their active lives and their teachers. Once it is ascertained with whom they studied, then the precise nature of the contact must be explored. In the case of the Successors who knew one or more Companions, for example, the question is whether they associated with them or simply encountered them, and whether they actually heard (*samāʿ*) traditions from those Companions, or merely transmitted on their authority (*rawā ʿan*, or only *ʿan*) [see MUʿANʿAN; also again ḤADĪTH].

The *ḥadīth* collections of a number of Successors happen to have survived in manuscript; they are listed in Sezgin (see *Bibl.*). Two examples are Ḥumayd b. al-Ṭawīl (d. 142/759), and Hishām b. ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 146/763). The biographical information about them that can be gleaned from various sources (see *Bibl.*) will serve to illustrate what we find for the vast majority of Successors. The Baṣran Ḥumayd transmitted on the authority of the Companion Anas b. Mālik (see above), and is said to have taken and copied al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's books and then returned them. However, the jurist and traditionist Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (d. 143/760) is reported to have said that, whenever he asked Ḥumayd anything about al-Ḥasan's *fatwās*, he would say he could not remember. It is not clear whether Ḥumayd actually heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb or only transmitted on his authority; similarly, he may have only transmitted on the authority of Anas b. Mālik without actually having known him, despite the fact that he was a younger contemporary of Anas's in Baṣra (al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī [see *Bibl.*] mentions Ḥumayd as one of those Successors guilty of *tadlīs* [*q.v.*], or improperly altering *isnāds*). Hishām was born in Medina and died in Baghdād. He related from his father, the Successor ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, and from his uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (d. 73/692 [*q.v.*]), a nephew of ʿĀʾisha's. The noted Kūfan traditionist Wakīʿ b. al-Djarrāḥ (d. 197/812) reported that at a certain point he spent some time among the scholars of Kūfa.

In his work on *ḥadīth* methodology, *K. Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 404/1014 [*q.v.*]), like Ibn Saʿd, divides the Successors into a number of classes, although his classification system is not the same as Ibn Saʿd's (and is not fully explained). His first class is comprised of the Successors who transmitted from those Companions to whom the Prophet promised Paradise (*al-mubashshara al-ʿashara*). Other classes include one made up of the seven jurists of Medina [see FUḲAHĀʾ AL-MADĪNA AL-SABʿA, in Suppl.]; Successors born in the period of the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*], *al-mukhaḍramūn* [see MUKHAḌRAM]; and people falsely credited with actually hearing (*samāʿ*) one of the Companions when they in fact had heard only a fellow Successor.

Al-Ḥākim prefaces his section on the Successors by saying that whoever does not know who the Successors are will not be able to distinguish between them and the Companions, nor will he be able to distinguish between them and the Successors of the Successors (*tābiʿ al-tābiʿīn* or *atbāʿ al-tābiʿīn*). These, al-Ḥākim explains, are the third generation (*ṭabaḳa*) of Successors after the Prophet and among them are found such people as Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778 [*q.v.*]), Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/776 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767).

With this group we move to the scholars in the forefront of the development of Islamic law who were known both as jurists and traditionists and whose use of traditions in legal reasoning, exemplified by al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*], made *ḥadīth* studies an inextricable part of jurisprudence [see again FIḲH; also UṢŪL]. During this period, when the lives of the Prophet and the Companions were becoming part of the dis-

tant past, the authority of the Successors as heirs to the knowledge of those times increased. Concern that their knowledge might be lost led the Umayyad caliphs of the early 2nd/8th century to patronise the efforts made by *ḥadīth* scholars, most notably al-Zuhrī, to collect and write down as many traditions as possible.

In Muslim scholarship both of the pre-modern and modern periods, biographical information about *isnād* transmitters is utilised to assess the worth of each transmitter's contribution. The fact that many transmitters are known to have been inaccurate about their contacts and scholarly activities is considered proof of the veracity of the biographies. In secular and orientalist scholarship, most, if not all, of this information is viewed as later fabrication, and it is utilised to figure out how, when and for what purposes the scholars of the generations after the Successors chose to participate in the practice of depending upon and elaborating *isnāds*; the Successor and Companion links in the *isnāds* that go back to the Prophet are considered particularly problematic.

Bibliography: For biographies of Successors, see Bukhārī, *K. al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1361-5, 8 vols.; Ibn Ḥadjār al-ʿAsḳalānī, *K. Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7, 12 vols.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *K. al-ʿIlal wa-maʿrifat al-ridjāl*, eds. Talât Koçyigit and İsmail Cerrahoğlu, Ankara 1963; Ibn Saʿd, *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*. For individual Successors and primary and secondary sources about them, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i. For *ḥadīth* methodology, see al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *K. Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, Beirut n.d. For a reaction to the critical view of the role of the Successors, see Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, Chicago 1967, ii, and Sezgin, *op. cit.* For critical studies of their role, see M. Cook, *Early Muslim dogma*, Cambridge 1981, ch. 11 "The dating of traditions"; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, Cambridge 1983; J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950; H. Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz. Ihre Entwicklung in Mekka bis zur Mitte des 2./8. Jahrhunderts*, AKM 50, 2, Stuttgart 1991. (SUSAN A. SPECTORSKY)

ṬABKH (A), the action of cooking either in a pot, by boiling or stewing; or by roasting, broiling, frying or baking. Beyond the narrow sense of cooking only fleshmeat, *ṭabkh* meant the transformation from a raw state of every conceivable foodstuff for consumption. Possibly the Arabic substantive for "cook" (*ṭabbākh* [*q.v.*]) also contained the Hebrew sense of serving food at table, in addition to its preparation. According to some lexicons, cooked food, *ṭabīkh*, was distinguished from *ḳadīr*, the latter specifying fleshmeat cooked in a pot seasoned with pepper, cumin and the like, while the former meant meat not thus seasoned; or, *ṭabīkh* meant fleshmeat cooked with broth or gravy, while a different term applied to meat prepared without such liquid (Lane, s.v. *ṭ-b-kh*). It is evident, however, from the extant mediaeval culinary manuals (*kutub al-ṭabīkh*) that such distinctions did not obtain in practice, the term "cooked" applying to a dish comprising any combination of ingredients prepared by any of the methods noted above. Food as nourishment, and factors determining diet in pre- and classical Islamic times, are treated in the art. GHIDHĀʾ, while MAṬBAKH describes the kitchen, its major appliances and utensils employed therein. Here, cooking techniques will be dealt with, together with the main categories of ingredients used.

Cooking techniques varied somewhat according to the social location of the "kitchen". Bread making, an activity common to all segments of the population, illustrates the point well. J.L. Burckhardt observed the following method among the Bedouin of the Arabian peninsula in the early 19th century. First, a circular "element" of stones was heated. The fire was then removed and dough made from coarse-ground grain was set on the stones over which the glowing ashes were placed until the bread was cooked (*Notes on the Beduins and Wahabys*, London 1831, 58). Unleavened bread made in this fashion was called *khubz malla* or "roasted" bread, *malla* referring to the hot ash and embers (Ibn Durayd, *Djamhara*, Ḥaydarābād, 1925-33, s.v.). Another method was a kind of grilling process which involved the cooking of large thin loaves on a concave metal plate (*ṣādj*) inverted and supported on stones over a fire, with the dough placed on the convex side (A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Beduins*, New York 1928, 92). Bread was also prepared in the communal oven (*furn*) employed by households among settled hamlet and village as well as the less affluent urban populations; either the dough was prepared in the home and baked in the *furn*, the baker retaining a portion of the dough as payment, or else a poorer quality bread could be purchased directly from the baker. By contrast, bread made for a comfortable urban household was prepared in its own kitchen from the best wheat flour; the appliance used was the *tannūr*, the bee-hive shaped baking oven of Mesopotamian origin. Another general contrast between the urban and rural-nomadic techniques may be found in methods of food preservation. In the latter tradition, sun- and wind-drying of raw materials like meat were common, desiccation being nature's own way of preservation. In the urban kitchen, ingredients such as salt, vinegar, lemon juice, mustard and other spices and the process of smoking were used in addition to the more "natural" means of preservation. Finally, there was a contrast in the use of condiments accompanying a dish and flavourings in food. Complicated preparations like *murrī* and *kawāmikh* were commonplace in the urban "high" cuisine, while natural plant flavourings, where they could be had, were employed elsewhere. The cookbooks which have survived reflect the urban milieu of a leisure class, although they undoubtedly contain as well traces of regional or rural oral cooking traditions. For example, the preparation *sawīḳ* [*q.v.*] was traditionally made of barley, parched and dried for use on long journeys; the meal was reconstituted with water or milk when required. Food by the same name was sold in the markets of Baghdād as a poor man's staple made from powdered chickpeas. However, in more affluent households this rustic fare was made from fine wheat flour sweetened with sugar or mixed with other ingredients like pomegranate seeds. In the two extant cookbooks of Andalusī-North African provenance, regional tastes appear reflected in the frequent use of eggs in a range of substantial dishes, in the traditional dish of Berber origin, couscous [see KUSKUSŪ], and in dishes associated with particular locales (D. Waines, *The culinary culture of al-Andalus*, in *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. S.K. Jayyusi, Leiden 1992). The processes and ingredients discussed below are, however, derived solely from the culinary manuals.

The most characteristic cooking method for creating substantial dishes was the "stew" or "casserole" preparation where the ingredients (e.g. meat, vegetables, seasonings) were cooked in liquid in a pot over the heat of a fire. Recipes for meat dishes other than fowl usually use only the word "meat" (*laḥm*) which, appearing unqualified, should be assumed to mean mutton, a meat preference supported by medical opin-

ion. It is impossible to tell at what age the mutton was deemed best for eating, whether as hoggets (between one and two years) or older. Lamb and kid were also enjoyed. Beef is only infrequently mentioned in recipes, possibly mirroring the medical view that, owing to its coarse nature, it was more suited to the toiling and labouring classes. Game meat such as rabbit, hare, wild cow, wild ass, gazelle, horse, mountain goat, oryx and stag were all considered edible. Dishes containing fowl, especially chicken, were also popular. In one recipe for the famous Persian dish *sikbādj* [*q.v.*], mutton, beef and chicken are cooked together (al-Warrāḳ, 132).

Typically, these are meat dishes with vegetables and seasonings, but also with dried fruit in many cases. The meat in the first stage of the cooking process may be sautéed briskly in hot oil to which water is then added, furthering the cooking, while other ingredients and seasonings are placed in the pot; conversely, the meat may first be boiled in a stock of water and oil to which other ingredients are added while the cooking process is brought slowly to an end. A recipe for *zirbādj* follows the second procedure:

Take a fine quality chicken, joint and clean it and place in a clean pot. Then pour over one-half *raṭl* of fresh water and a half *ūḳiyya* of good quality oil, some white of onion and boil all together. When boiled, pour in white vinegar of half a *raṭl* and two *ūḳiyya* of white sugar and one *ūḳiyya* peeled almonds and one *ūḳiyya* of rose water. Add the spices, pepper, cinnamon and ginger tied up in a fine cloth so that they do not alter the dish's colour. Leave on the fire a little, allowing it to thicken (al-Warrāḳ, 153).

This recipe illustrates a number of interesting points about the mediaeval cuisine. First, the dish is also Persian, indicating its strong influence upon the cosmopolitan character of the urban "high cooking culture"; many other dishes, such as *tharīd, maṣliyya* and *maḍīra* [*q.v.*], are contributions of traditional Arab provenance. Second, the recipe gives measures of ingredients, a rare feature of the corpus where measures and proportions were left to the cook's discretion. However, characteristic of the recipes is their usually clear, step-by-step description of the process of preparation. Thirdly, *zirbādj* is an example of the common practice of "meat substitution" in dishes; while the main feature of the dish is its sweet-sour flavour, other recipes for *zirbādj* call for meat (*laḥm*) or a combination of meat and fowl, a practice found today, for example, in North African cooking. Fourthly, recipe references to slaughtering and cleaning an animal or bird indicate that fresh meat could be had from livestock, for example goats and chickens, kept by the household. Finally, a word on the use of spices in cooking. A spice combination in common use throughout the Middle East was cinnamon, coriander (often plus cumin), with pepper and saffron widely employed as well, while regional preferences probably also existed. The essential oils of pepper and cinnamon were known for their antiseptic, preservative properties. Their use was likely as much a matter of aesthetics as anything, their preservative function being useful when left over food could be served the following day, with the flavour of the dish perceptibly enhanced. This "spice spectrum" was inherited from the Middle East and transformed much of the European cuisine from the 14th century onward (T. Peterson, *The Arab influence on western European cooking*, in *J. of Medieval History*, vi [1980], 317-41). The achievement of balance in bouquet and flavour between "aromatic" (e.g. cinnamon) and "pungent" (e.g. coriander) spices was another feature of the cuisine.

Popular meat dishes were also prepared in milk or with milk products; for example, *maṣliyya* was a dish of lamb (or kid) with finely-chopped dried curd cheese (*maṣl*) sprinkled on top, while *maḍīra* was meat cooked in soured milk.

Other dishes containing meat were known, however, by a vegetable or fruit highlighted in it. Thus *isfānākhiyya* was a spinach (and meat) dish, *tuffāḥiyya* an apple dish, and *saldjamiyya* a dish of turnip, chicken, onion, cheese and seasonings. In the gardens and orchards of the urban Middle East, vegetables and fruits were seasonally available the year round. In the mediaeval culinary lore, vegetables (*buḳūl*) included edible plants which today would be considered herbs such as mint, dill, fresh coriander and fennel. Fruits (*fawākih*) were classified as dried and fresh; dried fruits included soft fruit like apples and apricots as well as nuts like almonds, pine seeds and pistachios. Fresh fruit, the most common being dates, of which there were said to be more than three hundred varieties, was also used in cooked dishes or else consumed before or after a meal. Plant food classified as "grains" or "seeds" (*ḥubūb*) included chick peas, lentils and the mungo bean (*māsh*) and the grasses wheat, barley and rice.

Vegetables prepared alone without meat formed another broad category of victuals for the table. They could be served hot or cold. One process was to stew the vegetable and then blend into it a quantity of oil into which seasonings had been lightly heated, and finally fold a beaten egg into the mixture while heating it in a pan. Cold dishes were called *bawārid*, and were prepared not only from vegetables, but also from meat, fowl and fish. Frequent ingredients of vegetable *bawārid* were vinegar and a sweetening agent, sugar or honey.

Fish dishes were popular as well. Rather than being stewed, they were generally prepared in a (frying) pan. Fresh fish rather than salted or dried fish appear to be the norm; it was recommended washing the fish thoroughly first, including scaling and gutting, lightly flouring and then frying it. The dish might be simple, prepared for example with pepper, garlic, finely chopped fresh coriander and onion cooked into a kind of sauce which was served over the fish at table. Or else the cleaned fish could be filled and covered with a highly seasoned pasty stuffing and baked slowly in the communal oven.

The cereals wheat, barley and rice were probably common to the tables of the urban leisure class and poor alike. The difference between them was that the daily bread of poor was made from inferior quality wheat or other cereals while in times of real hardship, "secondary grains" such as pulses and nuts (acorn and chestnut) had to suffice. The well-to-do had access to the finest wheat for even their plainest loaf; the same kitchen could also produce "glass-bread" a loaf baked in a thin glass mould which was broken upon completion of the baking. Wheat flour was also used to prepare many varieties of pastry and sweetmeats.

The culinary manuals include not only preparations for immediate consumption. The preservation of foodstuffs by pickling made mealtime planning more flexible. A preparation called *ḥallām* describes the steps for slaughtering either a kid or calf and boiling the jointed carcass in vinegar until cooked; the meat was then soused overnight in a mixture of vinegar, cinnamon, galingal, thyme, celery, quince, citron, and salt and then stored in glass or earthenware vessels. Again, chicken lightly boiled whole in water, salt and

oil was then jointed and the portions placed in jars filled with vinegar and seasonings; when ready for use it was fried in oil and served. Vinegar, which was genuine *vin aigre*, was also the preserving agent for a wide variety of vegetable *mukhallalāt* which included pickled onions, capers, cucumber, turnip, garlic, egg-plant and mint. These dishes were offered during meals to "cleanse the palate of greasiness, to appetize, to assist the digestion, and to stimulate the banqueter" (A.J. Arberry (tr.) *A Baghdad cookery book*, in *IC*, xiii [1939], 205).

Another variety of relish or condiment was called *kawāmikh*. They may have been served, several at a time, in small bowls into which bread or morsels of food could be dipped. Certain kinds of *kāmakh* or *kāmakh* juice (*mā' kāmakh*) were added to the pot as seasoning during cooking. One of the most important of this class of condiment was *murrī*, a cereal-based preparation often mistakenly referred to as *garum*, the fish-based condiment of the classical world (D. Waines, *Murrī: the tale of a condiment*, in *al-Qantara*, xii, [1991], 371-88). It required a long, complicated process which took some three months from the end of March when preparation commenced. The condiment could then be stored for future use; shorter methods lasting only two days were also known which could have been employed the year round.

Activities in the mediaeval kitchen were not merely concerned with the preparation of food for pleasure but also with matters of bodily equipoise (see R. Kuhne Brabant, *Un tratado inedito de dietetica de al-Razi*, in *Anaquel de estudios arabes*, ii [1991], 35-55). Recipes for main dishes as discussed above often add a brief note as to its benefit for the régime and hygiene. One dish might be recommended to stimulate the appetite and strengthen the stomach, another for cooling the body. A certain class of meatless dish called *muzawwar* was identified for its aid to those with fever (D. Waines and M. Marín, *Muzawwar: counterfeit fare for fasts and fevers*, in *Isl.*, lxix [1992], 289-301). Moreover, other preparations were intended more directly to alleviate the consequences of over-indulgence of food, as well as to stimulate other bodily functions and desires; these included such "home remedies" as electuaries, stomachics and medicinal powders and syrups, all prepared in the kitchen for immediate or future use.

Finally, a word on "forbidden" beverages (*sharāb muskir*). Explicit religious injunctions notwithstanding, intoxicating beverages were consumed at every level of society, although never by those who strictly observed the *sharī'a* code. Recipes are found in the cookbooks for a barley beer called *fukkā'* which was simply and cheaply made; fermentation was achieved by placing the barley wort in a skin container and leaving it for two days so that it was ready for drinking on the third. Moreover, wine (*nabīdh* [*q.v.*]) was made in fermented and unfermented varieties. Some medical writers noted the medicinal benefits of *sharāb muskir*, although they warned against its possible addictive qualities or even shorter term dangers.

This brief survey of operations in the domestic kitchens of the urban leisure classes has covered the period from about the 3rd/9th to 8th/14th centuries. The major innovation of this "high cooking tradition" was in the collection, transformation, elaboration of and experimentation with hundreds of traditional, local, regional dishes within a dynamic cosmopolitan context. Although the culinary manuals are a rich resource for the study of this aspect of domestic life, they still do not yield answers to all a historian's questions. While the names of two cooks, one male the other female, are known to have held honourable positions in 'Abbāsid court circles, one would like to know much more about those who performed the myriad operations in this, the most important space of the domestic household, the kitchen; but see further ṬABBĀKH.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, the following items have been selected which deal with cooking activities in the broadest sense. The most important primary sources are A. Huici Miranda (ed.), *La cocina hispano-magrebi en la época almohade según un manuscrito anónimo*, Madrid 1965; *Faḍālat al-khiwān fī ṭayyibāt al-ṭa'ām wa 'l-alwān*, ed. M. Benchekroun, Beirut 1984; Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ, *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. K. Ohrnberg and S. Mroueh, Helsinki 1987; Ibn al-'Adīm, *al-Wuṣla ilā 'l-ḥabīb fī waṣf al-ṭayyibāt wa 'l-ṭīb*, ed. S. Maḥdjūb and D. al-Khaṭīb, Aleppo 1988; *Kanz al-fawā'id fī tanwī' al-mawā'id*, ed. M. Marín and D. Waines, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993. Two recent anthologies of essays are *La alimentación e las culturas islámicas*, ed. M. Marín & D. Waines, Madrid 1994; *Culinary cultures of the Middle East*, ed. S. Zubaida and R. Tapper, London 1994; see also M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI* (1949), 95-165, and E. Garcia Sanchez, *Fuentes para el estudio de la alimentación en la Andalucia Islámica*, in *Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I.*, Malaga 1984, 269-88. (D. WAINES)

ṬABL, the generic name for any instrument of the drum family. Islamic tradition attributes its "invention" to Tūbal b. Lamak (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 88-9 = § 3213, and see LAMAK), whilst another piece of gossip says that Ismā'īl, the founder of the *musta'riba* Arabs [*q.v.*], was the first to sound it (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Travels*, i/2, 239). The word is connected with Aramaic *tablā*. According to al-Fayyūmī (733/1333-4), the term *ṭabl* was applied to a drum with a single membrane (*djild*) as well as to that with two membranes. This, however, does not include the *duff* or tambourine [*q.v.*]. It is certainly an ancient Middle Eastern instrument, and players of large and small kettle drums appear on the Sāsānid period Ṭāḳ-i Bustān reliefs (near Kirmānshāh), including as part of a military band, what in Islamic times would have been called a *ṭabl-khāna* [*q.v.*] (H.G. Farmer, *The instruments of music on the Ṭāq-i Bustān bas-reliefs*, in *JRAS* [1938], 404-5, 410).

The *ṭabl* family may be divided into two classes, viz.: 1. the cylinder type; and 2. the bowl type.

1. The cylinder type. There are two kinds of cylinder drums, viz.: *a.* the single membrane; and *b.* the double membrane. Of the former we have several shapes, although generally the body (*djism*) is either cylindrical or goblet-shaped. The earliest name for the cylindrical drum with a single membrane would appear to be *kabar* which we find mentioned as early as Ya'ḳūb al-Mādjishūn (d. 164/780-1) (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iv, 270, ed. 'Abbās, vi, 376). It is identified by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (d. 308/920) as a drum (*Ancient Arabian musical instruments as described by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama (9th century) in the unique Istanbul manuscript of the* Kitāb al-malāhī *in the handwriting of Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī* (*d. 1298*). Text in facsimile and translation edited with notes by James Robson (= Collection of Oriental Writers on Music, ed. H.G. Farmer, iv), Glasgow 1938, 17: "... the *ṭabl*, which is the *kabar* and the *kūba*..."), and Ibn Khallikan (tr. de Slane, iv, 272, ed. 'Abbās, vi, 378) affirms that it had one membrane. The Arabic lexicographers confuse this word (cf. also the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, 85, 562,

and Farmer, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, 59; see now *WKAS*, i, 24b). The name was probably derived from the Ethiopic *kabaro*, and we know that the Arabs borrowed at least one drum from Abyssinia (Lane, *Lexicon*, col. 2013). A more definite clue to the identity of this particular kind of drum is to be found in al-Shaḳundī (d. 629/1231-2 [*q.v.*]), where an instrument called the *aḳwāl* is mentioned (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 144). It still exists in the Maghrib. Dozy (*Supplément*, i, 30) says that it is a Berber word and Meaken writes it *agwāl*. It is delineated by Höst who, however, gives it as a goblet-shaped drum and calls it the *akwāl* (*Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*, Copenhagen 1781, 262, tab. xxxi, 9). The *aḳwāl/agwāl* is also known in Algeria as the *gullāl* and it is generally about 60 cm long. In Tripolitania, a similar instrument called the *tabdaba* is used among the folk (Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et de la musique arabes*, Paris 1886, 39; Lavignac, *Encycl. de la musique*, 2794, 2932).

The goblet-shaped instrument may have been the *dirrīdj* mentioned by earlier Arabic writers such as al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (*op. cit.*, fol. 21), although he thought that it was a pandore (*ṭunbūr*), as do many of the Arabic lexicographers. That it was a drum we know from al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124). According to Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), the proper vocalisation is *durraydj*, and to-day it is this name, with colloquial variants, which is heard in the Maghrib (Crosby Brown, *Cat. of the Crosby Brown collection of musical instruments*, New York, iii, 51, 53: *AM*, xx, 239). East of Morocco, the instrument has come to have a different name. In Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripolitania, it has long been called the *darbūka* (Salvador-Daniel, *La musique arabe*, Paris 1879, 79; Christianowitsch, *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe*, Paris, 31; Delphin and Guin, 43; Laffage, *La musique arabe*, Tunis, vi, xxxii; Lavignac, 2935), whilst in Egypt and Syria it carries the name *darbukka* [*q.v.*], *darabukka*, *dirbakka*, *darābukka*, or *ḍarābukka* (Villoteau, *Description de l'Egypte. Etat moderne*, i, 996; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. xviii; Darwīsh Muḥammad, *Ṣafā' al-awḳāt*, Cairo, 13; El-Hefny, *Congrès de musique arabe*, Cairo, 660; H. Hickmann, *La daraboukkah*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. de l'Egypte*, xxxiii [1952]). For illustrations of both these instruments, see the authorities quoted above, whilst specimens may be found in most museums, notably Paris (nos. 954-7, 1457), Brussels (nos. 112, 330-4, 680), and New York (nos 335, 345, etc.). In some parts, the *darbūka* is known as the *ṭabla* (Farmer, *Studies*, i, 86).

In Persia, the instrument is known as the *dunbak* or *tanbak*, although wrongly registered by lexicographers as a bagpipe. See Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans*, Paris, 13, and pl.; Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum ... fasciculi 5*, Lemgoviae 1716, 742, fig. 6; Lavignac, 3076.

The double-membrane drum is also found in several shapes. We read of the *kūba*, a drum shaped like an hour-glass which was forbidden to be used by Muslims, as early as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar (d. 18/639) (see *WKAS*, i, 420b-421a). It is condemned by several legists, including Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (d. 281/894) because of its association with people of low character (*Dhamm al-malāhī*, ed. and tr. J. Robson, London 1938, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, Cairo 1987, 55, 59). The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (10th century) call it the *ṭabl al-mukhannith* (ed. Bombay, i, 91). According to al-Djawharī (d. *ca.* 392/1002) it was "a small drum, slender in the middle", although al-Ghazālī says that it was "long" (*Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1908, ii, 186). Mediaeval designs of the *kūba* may be seen in the 6th/12th-century woodwork at Palermo (*BZ*, ii, 384), a 7th/13th-century bowl from al-Mawṣil (Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1856, 2734/56), and in a ms. of al-Djazarī (dated 755/1354) at Istanbul (Martin, *Miniature painting and painters of Persia*, ii, pl. 2). The *ṭabl* of which we read so frequently in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (ed. Būlāḳ, viii, 161, ix, 162) as a rhythmic instrument in concert music, was probably either the *kūba* or *dirrīdj* (= *darbūka*). It is rarely seen nowadays in the Islamic East, except in India.

The cylindrical or barrel-shaped drum has been more favoured. The former was probably the shape of the early warlike drum of which we read among the ʿAbbāsids in the 3rd/9th century (*Aghānī*, xvi, 139). It is to be seen in several mss. on automata by al-Djazarī dating from the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, tab. ii; *The legacy of Islam*, 1st edn., Oxford 1931, fig. 91; D.R. Hill (tr. and comm.), *The Book of knowledge of ingenious devices* (Kitāb fī maʿrifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya) *by Ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī*, Dordrecht-Boston 1974, 43 (= fig. 34), showing the "water-clock of the drummers" with kettledrum, cylindrical drums (with drumstick, *ṣawladjān*), trumpet and cymbals). This long-bodied cylindrical drum was popular until the beginning of the 19th century and designs may be seen in Höst (tab. xxxi) and Niebuhr (tab. xxvi); Villoteau (*loc. cit.*) calls it the *ṭabl al-turkī*. Since mediaeval times it has been played with a curiously crooked drumstick. By the 18th century, a second percussive implement, a switch, was in use. In modern times, this drum has been superseded by a drum with a shorter body. In early times, this seems to have been known in Persia and Arabic-speaking lands as the *duhul*. It is mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. in the 1070s) as one of the martial instruments of the Fāṭimids (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 43, 46, 47), and by al-Ẓāhirī (d. 872/1468) among the Mamlūk sultans (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i/1, 173-4). That it was different from the *ṭabl* we know from both Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (*Mathnawī*, tr. R.A. Nicholson, iii, 159). In Egypt of modern times it is known as the *ṭabl al-baladī* (Villoteau, *loc. cit.*; Lane, *op. cit.*, ch. xviii). Specimens may be seen at Brussels (nos. 336, 338, 341) and New York (nos. 417, 1321). Kaempfer (740, fig. 4) calls the Persian cylindrical drum the *danbāl* and delineates it. The *tabīr* of Firdawsī may have been similar. See also the *dhol* of India. The *dāwul* in Turkey is said by Ewliyā Čelebi (*Travels*, i/2, 226) to have been first used by Orkhan (724-61/1324-60), but we know of it in the time of his predecessor ʿOthmān I. The Turks, like the Arabs, used a drumstick (*čangal*) and a switch (*daynak*) to play this drum.

In modern Persia, the *dohol* is a barrel-shaped drum (Advielle, *loc. cit.*; Lavignac, 3076; cf. Kaempfer, 743, fig. 12). The Arabic *ṭabl* or the Persian *tabīr* was the parent of the European *tabel, atabal, tabor, tambour*, etc.

2. The bowl type. This is represented by the kettledrum. Although tradition says that Bābā Sawindīk, the Indian, played the kettledrum (*kūs*, for which see *WKAS*, i, 436a, *naḳḳāra*) in the wars of the Prophet Muḥammad (Ewliyā Čelebi, *loc. cit.*, 226), it is more likely, as Ibn Khaldūn tells us (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 44, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 50) that the Arabs did not use drums in wartime at this period. The early Muslim legists discriminate between the *ṭabl al-ḥarb* (war drum), the *ṭabl al-ḥadjdj* (pilgrimage drum), and the *ṭabl al-lahw* (pastime drum). The first two were allowable but the last was not (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, ii, 186). The two former were doubtless identical with the modern *naḳḳāra* and *ṭabl al-shāmī*.

The largest of the kettledrums used by Islamic

peoples was the *kūrgā* which was greatly favoured by the Mongols. It was the royal drum which conveyed commands. The *ṭabl al-kabīr* mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, ii, 127, tr. Gibb, ii, 343) was doubtless the *kūrgā*. We get an idea of the size of this drum from the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (tr. H.G. Blochmann, i, 50-2), where it is nearly the height of a man. Abu ʾl-Faḍl ʿAllāmī says here that the *kūrgā* and *damāma* were identical (i, 50), but the *damāma* of India is a much smaller kettledrum (see specimen at New York, 26). ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Samarḳandī (d. 1482) clearly distinguishes between the *kūrgā, damāma* and *naḳḳāra* (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, in *NE*, xiv, 129, 321). See also Farmer, *Studies*, ii, 12-13.

The kettledrum next in size was the *kūs* which, among the Arabs of the 4th/10th century, was the largest of their kettledrums (Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, i, 91). This also was a martial instrument; for its use, see ṬABL-KHĀNA. There is a 7th/13th-century Arabic ms. reproduced by Schulz (*op. cit.*, pl. 8) showing three pairs of *kūsāt*.

The ordinary kettledrum was what the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ call the *ṭabl al-markab* (mounted drum). They say that its tone was softer than that of the *ṭabl al-kūs*. Another early name for this drum was *dabdāb* or *dabdaba*. Later, it came to be known as the *naḳḳāra*, a word, together with the instrument, which was adopted by Europe as the *naker, nacaire*, etc., whilst Persian *ṭinbal* became the European *timbale, tymbala*. For mediaeval designs of the *naḳḳāra*, see Schulz (*op. cit.*, tab. ii), *The legacy of Islam*, 1st edn. (fig. 91), the *Kitāb al-Burhān* (Bodleian ms., Or. 133, fol. 38), and the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (Edinburgh University, fols. 54b, 157). See also ṬABL-KHĀNA. Early 19th-century examples are delineated by Villoteau (992-3), whilst actual specimens may be seen at Brussels (no. 335) and New York (no. 1232). For the Turkish *dunbalak* or *ṭablak*, see Farmer, in *JRAS* (1936).

In Turkey, a medium-sized kettledrum is known as the *ḳudūm*, and it is said to have been played at the nuptials of Muḥammad and Khadīdja (Ewliyā Čelebi, i/2, 234). It was to be found in the *darwīsh* communities; for an illustration of Mawlawī/Mewlewī *küdumzen*s or players in these drums, see *Oriens*, xv (1962), pl. viii.

The smallest of the kettledrums is the *nuḳayra* or *ṭubayla*, which belongs to concert music. We read of the former among the ʿAbbādids (5th/11th century) of Moorish Spain (Dozy, *Historia Abbadidorum*, ii, 243), and in the *Vocabulista Aravigo* (1505) the word equates with the Spanish *atabalia*. In Russell's *Aleppo* (1794), there is a design (pl. iv) of the *naḳḳāra* (= *nuḳayra*), whilst another may be found in Höst (tab. xxxi, 10) and Christianowitsch (32, pl. 12), the latter being copied by Fétis (*Hist. générale de la musique*, Paris, ii, 163) and Lavignac (2793).

Villoteau, speaking of Egypt at the close of the 18th century, mentions a number of small hand kettledrums but, with the exception of one called *ṭabl-i bāz*, most of these names are unknown today (Villoteau, 994). It was, obviously, a drum used for decoying birds or recalling the hawk (*bāz*), but by this time it had become the favourite instrument of the criers at Ramaḍān and the *darwīsh* fraternities, and was actually known as the *ṭablat al-musaḥḥira*. There are specimens at Brussels (no. 329) and New York (nos. 421, 2661). It was held in one hand and beaten with a short stick held in the other hand. A slightly larger instrument was the *ṭabl al-miṣrī* (sic). This was beaten with a leathern strap.

Shallower types of kettledrums were the *ṭabl al-shāmī* and the *ḳaṣʿa*. The former was probably the *ṭabl al-ḥadjdj* so frequently quoted by the legists. It was suspended from the neck, the head or membrane being perpendicular. There is a representation (10th/16th century) of pilgrims with these drums in a Bodleian Library ms. (Or. 430, fol. 15). For early 19th-century designs and details, see Villoteau (992-4) and Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, chs. ii, vi, xviii). There are specimens at New York (nos. 386, 494). The *ḳaṣʿa* of the Maghrib today has a flat bottom like a dish (*ḳaṣʿa*), hence its name. It is played upon with rods called *maṭariḳ* (Delphin and Guin, 44; Lavignac, 2932); in the past it was a martial instrument.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*; H.G. Farmer, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, London 1931; H. Hickmann, in *Orientalische Musik* = *HdOr*, Abt. 1, Ergänzungsband IV, Leiden, 61-3; *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, i, 514-39, art. *Arab music; The new Grove dictionary of musical instruments*, i, 601-11, art. *Drum*. (H.G. FARMER*)

ṬABL-KHĀNA, NAḲḲĀR-KHĀNA, NAḲḲĀRA-KHĀNA, NAWBA-KHĀNA, literally the "Drum House", "Kettle-drum House", "Military Band House", the name given in Islamic lands to the military band and its quarters in camp or town. These names are derived from the drums (*ṭabl, naḳḳāra*) which formed the chief instruments of the military band, and from the name given to the special type of music (*nawba*) performed by this band. Originally, the *naḳḳāra-khāna* or *ṭabl-khāna* consisted of drums only, and in some instances of particular kinds of drums. This we know from several authorities. Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 815/1412) speaks of the "kettledrums (*dabādib*), i.e. the *ṭabl-khāna*". Al-Ẓāhirī (d. 872/1468) alludes to "three sets (*aḥmāl*) of *ṭabl-khāna* and two trumpets". Ibn Iyās (d. *ca.* 930/1524) has a reference to "the *ṭabl-khāna* and the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*)" (al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte*, tr. Quatremère, Paris 1845, ii/1, 123, ii/2, 268, al-Khazradjī, *The pearl-strings, GMS*, London 1906-18, iii/5, 135, 229). As for the *nawba*, this was a special piece of music, which later comprised several movements (*fuṣūl*), performed by the *naḳḳāra-khāna* at the five hours of prayer [see ṢALĀT] by royalty, but at the three obligatory hours of prayer by dignatories of lesser rank. The sounding of the *nawba* was not only jealously guarded as one of the attributes of sovereignty, but its performance necessitated respectful silence from auditors (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ii, 188, tr. Gibb, ii, 377-8; von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1835, i, 75). The custom of the *nawba* is said to have been handed down from the days of Alexander the Great (al-Nasawī, *Hist. du Sultan Djelal ad-Din Mankobirti*, Paris 1895, 21).

The Ancients. Instruments of percussion appear to have been specially favoured by peoples of the Orient for their martial display from time immemorial. According to the Greeks, who only used the trumpet and flute in war, instruments of percussion belonged to the barbarians. Yet in the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callesthenes of the *History of Alexander the Great* (tr. Budge, 96) we find that the world-conqueror added drums to his martial music. If we turn to the Pseudo-Aristotelian Arabic treatise the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* (3rd-4th/8th-9th century) and the contemporary works of Mūrisṭus [*q.v.*], also in Arabic, it would seem that Alexander also introduced a monster organ (*urghanūn*) of the hydraulis type as a means of signalling to his troops and to spread dismay in the ranks of the enemy (Farmer, *The organ of the Ancients*, London 1931, 119-38). Strabo (1st century B.C.) says that the youth of

Persia were called to arms by the sound of brazen instruments, and that the kings of India moved in public to the din of drums and cymbals (*Geogr.*, xv.1, 55, xv.3, 18). Plutarch (d. *ca.* A.D. 120) speaks of the Parthians using kettledrums to frighten the enemy (Crassus, xxiii, 10). The pages of the *S̲h̲āh-nāma* of Firdawsī (d. 411/1020) abound with details of the military music of Persia of old. Here we read of instruments of the horn and trumpet type (*karranāy, s̲h̲aypūr, būḳ*), the reed and brazen-pipe (*nāy, ruwīn nāy*), the drum and great kettledrum (*tabīra, kūs*), as well as the Indian bell, sonette and cymbal (*hindī darāy, zang, sindj̲*).

The Arabs of the Dj̲āhiliyya. Clement of Alexandria (2nd century A.D.) says that the Arabs of pre-Islamic days used cymbals in war (*Paedagogus*), but Arabic authors only mention the tambourine (*duff* [*q.v.*]) of the matrons and singing-girls (*ḳiyān* [see ḲAYNA]) in battle. This is what we see at Uḥud and Badr, although it is highly probable that the reed-pipe (*mizmār* [*q.v.*]) was also an instrument of martial music in these days (Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian music*, London 1929, 10-11; *Kitāb al-Ag̲h̲ānī*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 172). That highly imaginative Turkish writer, Ewliyā Čelebi (d. *ca.* 1091/1680) avers that in the time of Muḥammad it was neither the trumpet nor the flute that sounded in his wars but only the great kettledrum (*kūs; Travels*, tr. von Hammer, London 1846, i/2, 194). On the other hand, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (d. 808/1406) says that the early Muslims used neither horns (*abwāḳ*) nor drums (*ṭubūl*; ed. Quatremère, ii, 44, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 50). It is certain that, although the Arabs used the horn (*būḳ* [*q.v.*]) in civil life, it was not a military instrument with them since it is specially mentioned in the 3rd/9th century as being used by Christians (al-Dj̲awharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*).

Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids. Under the Umayyads, the drum and kettledrum appear to have been introduced into martial music and served as better accompaniments to the reed-pipe (*mizmār*) than the tambourine (*duff*; Seyyid Ameer Ali, *A short history of the Saracens*, London 1899, 65). Persian influences, which so strongly asserted themselves under the early ʿAbbāsids led to the Persian reed-pipe (*surnāy*) being adopted in place of the more primitive *mizmār* (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, xvi, 139, but read سرناى instead of سرناب). With the Persians the *surnāy* (= *suryānay*) went with the drum (*ṭabl*; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj̲*, viii, 90 = § 3214). By the 4th/10th century, several types of kettledrums were in use in martial array: the *ṭabl al-markab* or "mounted drum" which was probably identical with the *dabdāb* or *dabdaba* and the *naḳḳāra*, and a larger type, the great kettledrum called the *kūs* (*Rasāʾil Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ed. Bombay, i, 91). These were used in pairs and were carried on either side of a horse's or camel's neck. The *būḳ* or horn had also been adopted into military music by this time. Although originally fashioned out of the natural horn of an animal like the more primitive *ḳarn*, it came to be made in metal, and Ewliyā Čelebi says that the metal form (*pirindj̲ būrū*) was introduced by the Saldj̲ūḳid Alp Arslan (d. 465/1073; *Travels*, i/2, 238). The trumpet proper was the *nafīr*. This was first known as the *būḳ al-nafīr* or "military *būḳ*" (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fak̲h̲rī*, ed. Derenbourg 30).

The Buwayhids. Up to the 4th/10th century, the *naḳḳāra-k̲h̲āna* or *ṭabl-k̲h̲āna*, which by this time comprised kettledrums, drums, trumpets, horns and reed-pipes, was part of the insignia (*marātib*) of the caliph and reserved, with the *nawba*, for the Commander of the Faithful alone (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, ed. Quatremère, ii, 42, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 48; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, 418). With the decline of the caliphate and the rise of petty rulers there came demands from all and sundry for the privilege of the *naḳḳāra-k̲h̲āna* and the *nawba*. Thus the custom arose that, when the caliph conferred regality on subject rulers, a drum or kettledrum usually accompanied the other patents or symbols of authority sent by the caliph, such as a diploma, banner, or standard; the type of instrument, the number, and the specific use of the *nawba*, being determined by the rank of the recipient. Muʿizz al-Dawla (d. 356/967), the Buwayhid *amīr*, sought from the caliph al-Muṭīʿ the privilege of the *naḳḳāra-k̲h̲āna*, but was refused. Yet in 355/966 this caliph allowed a commander to sound kettledrums (*dabādib*) during a campaign, an honour which the latter appears to have retained. It is said, however, that the first prince to obtain these coveted musical honours was the *amīr* ʿAḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/983). He was granted the *naḳḳāra-k̲h̲āna* by the caliph al-Ṭāʾīʿ in 368/979, but he was only allowed the three-fold *nawba* at the obligatory hours of prayer, the five-fold *nawba* being reserved for the caliph. One of the Buwayhids, Abū Kālīdj̲ār (d. 440/1048), assumed the five-fold honour in Bag̲h̲dād and although asked by the caliph to content himself with the three-fold one, he refused. Yet the caliph had already permitted others to have or assume this privilege. In the year 390/1000, under the caliph al-Ḳādir, a minister was allowed to beat a drum (*ṭabl*) for the five-fold *nawba*, and in 408/1017, Sulṭān al-Dawla was allowed or had assumed a similar honour (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 418; Margoliouth, *The eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, ii, 264, 396, iii, 345; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq* (*945-1055*), Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 186-8).

The Saldj̲ūḳids. Considerable extensions of the privileges of the *naḳḳāra-k̲h̲āna* were made under these rulers. The caliph al-Muḳtadī (d. 487/1094), in appointing a governor to a province, conferred the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) on him, with permission to sound the five-fold *nawba* within his province, but only the three-fold one outside of this. When the two Saldj̲ūḳid princes Berk-yaruḳ and Muḥammad took the titles of *sulṭān* and *malik* respectively in 494/1101, they adopted the five-fold and three-fold *nawba* with these respective ranks. Both Alp Arslan and the Eldigüzid Ḳïzïl Arslan (d. 587/1191) used the five-fold honour (Ibn al-Dj̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*; al-Bundārī, *Ẓubda*).

The Arabs in Islamic times. In Yaman in the 3rd/9th century the Ḳarmaṭī al-Manṣūr b. Ḥasan had thirty drums (*ṭubūl*), and Saʿīd al-Aḥwal (d. 482/1089) of the Nadj̲āḥids [*q.v.*] had horns (*būḳāt*) and drums (*ṭubūl*). Later, we read of the *ṭabl-k̲h̲āna* and the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) and kettledrums (*naḳḳārāt*; H.C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, 84; al-K̲h̲azradj̲ī, *op. cit.*, iii/1, 103, 160, iii/2, 3, 75, iii/3, 52). At Ẓufār in ʿUmān in the 8th/14th century the sultan had reed-pipes (*surnāyāt*), horns (*būḳāt*), trumpets (*anfār*), and drums (*ṭubūl*) at his gate. At al-Ḥilla, the military music consisted of horns (*būḳāt*), trumpets (*anfār*), and drums (*ṭubūl*) (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 98, 212, tr. Gibb, ii, 325, 390). At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the ʿUḳaylids favoured the horn (*būḳ*) and kettledrum (*dabdāb*) in their martial music (*JRAS* [1901], 755, 785), whilst elsewhere we find a small shallow kettledrum called the *ḳaṣʿa* in use. In the *Alf layla wa-layla*, the most imposing martial musical display is made up of reed-pipes (*zumūr*), horns (*būḳāt*), trumpets (*anfār*), drums (*ṭubūl*), and cymbals (*kāsāt, kuʾūs*).

Egypt. The Fāṭimids dispensed musical honours upon subject rulers on very much the same lines as the caliphs of Bag̲h̲dād (Dj̲ūzdj̲ānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr.

Raverty, London 1881, ii, 616; Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, tr. Lowe and Ranking, Calcutta 1884-98, i, 94, 310). When al-ʿAzīz (d. 386/996) marched into Syria he had five hundred horns (*abwāḳ*) sounding (Ibn Khaldūn, ii, 45, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 51). Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes the Fāṭimid military band (*ca.* 438/1047), and mentions that it comprised such instruments as the horn (*būḳ*), reed-pipe (*surnā*), two kinds of drum (*ṭabl* and *duhul*), the latter a Persian variety, kettledrum (*kūs*) and cymbal (*kāsa; Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1881, 43, 46, 47). In the year 567/1172, when Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn were together at Damascus, the former, who was the suzerain of the latter, sounded the five-fold *nawba*, whilst the latter contented himself with the three-fold one (Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, 419). Under the Mamlūk sultans, the military band was organised on more elaborate lines and, similar to the practice in ʿIrāḳ and al-Maghrib, it was linked up with the banners, standards and similar emblems of authority, as Ibn Iyās informs us (al-Maḳrīzī, i/1, 226). According to al-Ẓāhirī, the band of sultan Baybars I (d. 676/1277) comprised forty great kettledrums (*kūsāt*), four drums (*duhul*), four reed-pipes (*zumūr*), and twenty trumpets (*anfār*). He says that the *duhul* and *zumūr* were of recent adoption, but we have seen them in use under the Fāṭimids, the *zamr* and *surnā* both being reed-pipes. Ibn Taghrībirdī says that under Ḳalāwūn (d. 678/1290) a *wazīr* possessed a *ṭabl-khāna*, and we read of a similar privilege in 821/1418, although we are told that the custom was not usual. Ibn Khaldūn states that the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) were allowed to each *amīr* and general (ii, 46, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 52), yet according to Ibn Taghrībirdī it was only the *umarā'* commanding a thousand men who were granted this honour. Among the instruments used in the *ṭabl-khāna* of an *amīr*, says al-Ẓāhirī, were the drum or *duhul* (two), the reed-pipe or *zamr* (two), and the trumpet or *nafīr* (four), but *not* the great kettledrum (*kūs*). An *atābak* was allowed twice this number, whilst an *amīr muḳaddam* was only permitted to have a horn or *būḳ*. By the 9th/15th century, however, an *amīr* of forty cavaliers was permitted to possess a *ṭabl-khāna*, but for a time he was only allowed to sound it when on duty. When the Ottomans conquered Egypt in 923/1517, the bands of the *umarā'* were suppressed (Quatremère, in al-Maḳrīzī, i/1, 173-4, i/2, 272). For instruments of martial music in 18th and 19th-century Egypt see Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, 1776, i, 145-6, tab. xxvi; Villoteau, *Description de l'Egypte. Etat moderne*, fol. ed., i, 701-3, 931-40, 948-9, 976-97 and plates.

The Maghrib. Ibn Khaldūn says that the nomadic Arabs of North Africa employed an improvisator (*munshid*) who sang at the head of the troops just as the Arabs of the Arabian peninsula did in the *Djāhiliyya*. The Almohads suppressed bands used by local governors, and reserved the use of the *ṭabl-khāna* for royalty alone (Ibn Khaldūn, ii, 45-6, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 51-2). This was formed into a separate company with the standards (*bunūd*) which became known as the *sāḳa*. The first Almohad sultan ʿAbd al-Mu'min (d. 558/1163) had more than two hundred drums (*ṭubūl*) and among them were such large instruments that the ground quaked when they were played (al-Marrākushī, *Hist. des Almohades*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1881, 165). The Marīnids possessed a large drum of this type, and this passed into the possession of the Saʿdian dynasty. It was an enormous instrument and could be heard a great distance (*Nuzhat al-hādī*, ed. Houdas, Paris 1888-9, 117). For designs of 18th-century instruments of martial music in Morocco, see G. Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*, 1787, tab xxxi, 261.

The Bilād al-Sūdān. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was at Mogadishu [see MAḲDISHŪ] in the Eastern Sūdān and heard the *ṭabl-khāna* of the sultan, which comprised reed-pipes (*surnāyāt*), horns (*abwāḳ*), trumpets (*anfār*), and drums (*aṭbāl*). At Māllī in the Western Sūdān [see MALI], the sultan's military band was made up of horns (*abwāḳ*) and drums (*aṭbāl*), the former being made out of elephant's tusks (ii, 188, iv, 403 tr. Gibb, ii, 377-8, iv, 958). One of the last of the Sonni rulers of the Songhay of Gāo (1335-1493), ʿAlī (d. 1492), used a drum as a symbol of authority. Their successors, the *Askiya* kings (1493-1590), also used the drum, and under the *Askiya* al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad troops were assembled in 1493 to the beating of the drum (*ṭabl*). In 1500-1, a large trumpet called the *kakaki* was adopted by the cavalry of the Songhay. The *Askiya* Muḥammad Bunkan (d. 1537) invented a horn called the *futurifu*. There was also a drum known as the *gabtanda*, and both this and the *futurifu* were used at Gāo. He fixed the limit outside a town where no drum save the royal drum (*ṭabl al-salṭana*) could be sounded. This royal drum continued to be used until the end of this dynasty. On the Moroccan conquest in 998/1590, and the governorship of the *pashas* in the place of the native kings, a change came in the martial music. Under Pasha Aḥmad al-Khalīfa (1105-6/1694-5), reed-pipes (*ghiyāt*), drums (*aṭbāl*), and other instruments, including the native tambourines (*dufūf al-asākī*), were counted among the martial instruments of the *pasha*'s court. The military music of the Bambara chiefs were horns (*būḳāt*) and tambourines (*dufūf*), and one chief had great horns (*būḳāt al-kibār*) as tall as a man (*Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, ed. Houdas and Delafosse, Paris 1913, 49, 54-5, 70, 84, 153; *Tadhkirat al-nisyān*, ed. Houdas, Paris 1901, 43, 45, 93, 120, 152; *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān*, ed. Houdas, Paris 1900, 79, 122, 197).

The Il-Khānids. Under the early Khāns, a royal prince was allowed kettledrums and a drum, whilst a *wazīr* had a kettledrum. The commander-in-chief was given drums, and an *amīr* of 10,000 (?) men, as well as tributary princes were allowed a [kettle]drum (d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii, 581; iv, 96, 187, 566; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1876-88, iii, 296). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives a picturesque account of the military music of the sultan Abū Saʿīd (d. 736/1355) at Baghdād. It consisted of drums [and kettledrums] (*ṭubūl*), trumpets (*anfār*), horns (*būḳāt*), reed-pipes (*surnāyāt*), and singers. According to this writer, the *umarā'* had horns (*būḳāt*) as well as drums (*ṭubūl*), and each royal princess (*khātūn*) had a drum, whilst the Il-Khān himself had a special monster kettledrum called by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa the *ṭabl al-kabīr* ("great drum"), but known to the Mughals as the *kūrgā* (ii, 126 tr. Gibb, ii, 342-3). The *kūrgā* was the personal musical emblem of the Il-Khān and at his death it was destroyed, as Rashīd al-Dīn, the historian of the Mongols, has related. In times of mourning, it was also customary to refrain from sounding the *nawba*. This was an old practice which we find as early as the caliph al-Muḳtadī who, when he lost his son Muḥammad in 480/1087, forbade the beating at the hours of prayers (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*). Similarly, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, having suffered a reverse at the hands of the Crusaders, abandoned the *nawba* until he had won a victory (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 42). During the Tīmūrid period, according to the apocryphal *Tūzūkāt* ("Institutes"), the military band was carefully regulated. A *beglerbeg* had a kettledrum (*naḳḳāra*) and a horn (*būrghū*: for بورغوی read بورغو), and the *amīr al-umarā'* and an

amīr of the four-tailed *ṭūḳ* had a kettledrum only. A *ming pas͟ha* had a trumpet (*nafīr*), and a *yüz pas͟ha* and *on pas͟ha* a drum (*ṭabl*), whilst an *oymāḳ* (tribal chief) had a horn (*būrg͟hū*; *Institutes, political and military*, ed. Davy and White, Oxford 1781, 290-2).

In India, the Mug͟hals maintained the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* as one of their attributes of sovereignty. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa points out that when the Medinan *s͟harīf* Abū G͟hurra visited India he caused great consternation by his use of drums (*ṭubūl*) and trumpets (*anfār*) because here, unlike ʿIrāḳ, Egypt or Syria, nobody but the king could use the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* (i, 422-4, tr. Gibb, i, 259-62). Al-ʿUmarī (d. 750/1349), in his *Masālik al-abṣār*, speaks of the five-fold *nawba* of the sultan of Dihlī being played by two hundred pairs of kettledrums (*naḳḳārāt*), forty pairs of great kettledrums (*kūsāt al-kibār*), twenty horns (*būḳāt*), and ten pairs of cymbals (*ṣunūd͟j*; see Quatremère, in *NE*, xiii, 189). The *naḳḳār-k͟hāna* of Akbar the Great (d. 1014/1605) is described by Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī. It was made up of the monster kettledrum called the *kuwargā* or *kūrgā* (about 18 pairs), the kettledrum or *naḳḳāra* (about 20 pairs), the drum or *duhul* (four), the reed-pipe or *surnā* (nine, both Indian and Persian types), the large trumpet known as the *ḳarranā* or *ḳarnā* (four or more), the trumpet or *nafīr* (Indian, Persian and European types), the horn or *sing* (two) and the cymbals or *ṣind͟j* (three pairs; *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. H.G. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873-94, i, 50-2). A description of the *nawba* is also given in this latter work. By this time, kettledrums were sometimes conferred on high civil or military functionaries, but the latter had to be of the rank of two thousand *suwārs* at least, and they could not be sounded in the presence of the emperor nor within a certain distance from his residence. In conferring this privilege, the recipient had miniature drums placed around his neck (Thorn, *Memoir of a war in India*, 1818, 356; *JASB* [1879], 161). For other details of the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* of the 18th century, see F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire 1665-1668*, ed. Constable, 363; Manucci, *Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India 1653-1708*, tr. W. Irvine. For later information, see Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls*, London 1903, 30, 196, 207; Day, *The music and musical instruments of Southern India*, London 1891, 96; Meadows-Taylor, in *Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, ix/1.

The Ottomans. Until comparatively recent times, the Turks made a special feature of their military music which, like the Mongols, they linked up with the insignia of flags, banners and *ṭūg͟hs*. When ʿOt͟hmān I, the founder of the dynasty, was made a prince by the Sald͟jūḳ sultan of Rūm ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in 688/1289, he was invested with a drum, flag and *ṭūg͟h*. At the ceremony, absolute silence was insisted on during the performance of the *nawba*. The large kettledrums called *kūsāt* were used in the time of ʿOt͟hmān I (d. 724/1324) when they were carried by elephants on some occasions. Ewliyā Čelebi, who mentions this latter point, gives a few details of the military music of the 11th/17th century (*Travels*, i, 225-6, 236-9). Murād IV (d. 1050/1640) introduced the large trumpet called the *ḳarnā* from Persia. Military music was regularly organised during this century, and Turkish bands comprised the large reed-pipe or *ḳābā zūrnā*, the small reed-pipe or *d͟jura zūrnā*, the flute or *nay*, the big drum or *ḳābā duhul*, the ordinary drum or *duhul*, the great kettledrum or *kūs*, the kettledrum or *naḳḳāra*, the cymbal or *zill* and the "Jingling Johnny" or *čag͟hāna* (Mahillon, *Catalogue... du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles*, 2nd ed., ii, 184). Coeck, in his *Les Mœurs... de Turcz*, 1553, ed. W.S. Maxwell in 1873 as *The Turks in 1553*, gives a woodcut of a party of Janissaries headed by reed-pipes and kettledrums. In the 18th-century, a *pas͟ha* of three tails had the reed-pipe or *zūrnā*, the trumpet or *būrū*, the kettledrum or *naḳḳāra* and the cymbal or *zill* (de Marsigli, *Stato militaire dell' imperio Ottomanno*, 1732, ii, 54-5 (and pl. xviii). The sultan's military band comprised sixty-two players under the command of an officer called the *mīr mihtār ṭabl wa-ʿalam*.

Persia. Before the rise of the Il-K͟hānids, we find how important the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* and the *nawba* were in the Middle East. G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn the G͟hūrid (d. 599/1203) had great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) of gold which were carried on a chariot (D͟jūzd͟jānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. i, 404). D͟jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu (d. 628/1231), the last S͟hāh of K͟hʷārazm, had his *nawba* performed on twenty-seven drums of gold encrusted with precious stones, the players being sons of subject rulers (al-Nasawī, *op. cit.*, 21). A fine pair of bronze kettledrums from Dag͟histān, but probably of Persian manufacture, were exhibited at the International Exhibition of Persian Art, London 1931, but were not catalogued. They belonged to the 6th-7th/12th-13th century. Persian art teems with representations of military bands (see *Bibl.*, Iconography). For the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* under the Ṣafawids and Ḳād͟jārs, and its survival into the Pahlawī period, see NAḲḲĀRA-K͟HĀNA. It would appear that the English trumpet was known in Persia, as it was in Turkey (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Travels*, i/2, 238). The instruments used in Persian military music were the reed-pipe (*surnā* or *surnāy*), the large trumpet (*karnā*), the trumpet (*nafīr*), the horn (*s͟hāk͟h*), the large kettledrum (*kūs*), the kettledrum (*naḳḳāra*), and the drum (*duhul*). For modern instruments, see Laborde, *Essai sur la musique*, 1780; Jourdain, *La Perse...*, 1814; Ouseley, *Travels in various countries in the East*, 1819; Fétis, *Hist. générale de la musique*, ii; Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans en 1885*, 1885; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, 3073-7.

Modern conditions. In almost every Islamic land today, the march of Western civilisation has brought Western ideas of the military band. Brass and reed instruments of European manufacture and of equal temperament are gradually ousting the old conception of the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna*. Yet in the Middle Ages, it was Europe that borrowed from the Muslims. The *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* was an indispensable factor in military discipline, exercise, and tactics, as Christian armies soon found out. It was the rallying-point in battle, and the silence of the band was a sign that the banners and standards were in danger. Europe soon adopted the device, and up till the 17th century at least, the colours and the regimental music were kept together (Sir John Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, London 1899, i, 14-15; Farmer, *Rise and development of military music*, London 1912, 13). The West also borrowed the *naḳḳāra* as the *naker*, *nacaire*, etc., the *ṭabl* as the *tabel*, *tabor*, etc., the *ṭinbāl* as the *timbale*, the *ḳaṣʿa* as the *caisse*, the [*al-*]*būḳ* as the *alboque*, the [*al-*]*nafīr* as the *anafil*, whilst such terms as *fanfare* and *tucket* may possibly be derived from *anfār* and *tuḳā* (see Farmer, *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London 1930, 18-19). The percussion instruments in the modern military bands of Europe were adopted from Turkey in the early 18th century, and when adopted in orchestral (string band) music they were for a long time called "Turkish Music".

The English "Jingling Johnny" (Fr. *chapeau chinois*, Germ. *Schellenbaum*), with its horse-tails, carries a relic of its Turkish name *čag͟hāna* (> "Johnny"). It has been superseded by the portable glockenspiel. The fanfares

of European military bands may very well be survivals of mediaeval Oriental practice.

Bibliography: The most important references to the *naḳḳāra-khāna* and *nawba* are to be found in the following works: Walley, *Year book of oriental art 1924-1925*, London 1929; al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, as cited; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, as cited; Ibn Faḍl Allāh ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie des Mamelouks*, Paris 1927, pp. lvi-lviii; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, as cited; Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls*, as cited; Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian music*, 109, 154, 206-8.—Iconography. Printed books. Many of the numerous works on Oriental art and painting contain pictures of the military band and the *naḳḳāra-khāna* quarters, among them Martin, *The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the viii[th] to the xviii[th] century*, 1912, ii, pl. 12, 183; P. Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, 136, pls. xxxi, xlvi; N.C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian painting*, Bombay 1926, 93, pl. 38; *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pls. i, xxix, lv.—Manuscripts. In all the great public collections of illustrated Oriental mss., examples of both the military band and the quarters of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* are to be found.—Instruments. For instruments used in the *naḳḳāra-khāna*, see the catalogues of museum collections mentioned in the *Bibls.* to BŪḲ, MIZMĀR, ṬABL. See also the *Bibl.* to NAḲḲĀRA-KHĀNA.

(H.G. FARMER*)

TABLĪGH [see DAʿWA].

TABLĪGHĪ DJAMĀʿAT (in Arabic, *Djamāʿat al-tablīgh*), a Muslim missionary organisation founded in India around 1927 and established after 1947 throughout the world. The internal designation is *dīnī daʿwat*, religious mission, from the term *daʿwa* [*q.v.*], taken here in the modern sense of a proselytising undertaking.

The movement is founded on five basic principles. The invitation (*daʿwat* in Urdu, for *daʿwa*) to the practice of Islam is not the business of an élite of religious specialists but the individual responsibility of all Muslims who are required to devote time and money to this project. One should not wait for people to come but take the initiative and go to them: preaching is the activity of self-financing itinerant groups, criss-crossing first India and then the world. The mingling of social classes is obligatory within these groups, since they must lodge together in mosques, eat at the same tables and engage in mutual instruction. The primary objective is the deepening of the faith of those who are already Muslims, preachers as well as congregations; proselytism directed towards non-Muslims remains a marginal activity. The promotion of Muslim unity is a fundamental objective; theological controversies are prohibited and the political sympathies of members must not interfere with the activity of what is ostensibly an apolitical movement.

However, the history of the movement is firmly rooted in politics. It was created between 1925 and 1927 at the time when, in British India, the rift between Hindus and Muslims was becoming irreparable, presaging the partition of the sub-continent which took place in 1947 with the creation of Pakistan. Both religious communities felt threatened; each promoted missionary organisations with the object of attracting converts from the other. Numerous Muslim groups committed to propagating the faith (*tablīgh*) were created at this time; linked to political parties they had an ephemeral existence. Muḥammad Ilyās (1885-1944) [see HIND. v, c] founder of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat, guaranteed its survival by avoiding any direct political involvement. Belonging to the scholarly lineage of the Kāndhalawī, he received a religious education in the Deoband [*q.v.*] movement, then lived in seclusion at the Ṣūfī sanctuary of Nizamuddin (Niẓām al-Dīn) at Dihlī; there he created the Tablīghī Djamāʿat with the object of purifying the religious practices of the Mēōs, semi-Islamised peasants from the region of Mēwāt [*q.v.*] to the west of Dihlī. He acquired the support of reformist schools such as Deoband and the *Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ* [*q.v.*] and of the merchants of Dihlī; he was thus enabled to establish his movement in northern and central India (United Provinces, Pandjāb, Karachi and Bhopal). In order to avoid political complications, proselytism directed towards non-Muslims was forbidden. His son and successor, Muḥammad Yūsuf (1917-65 [see YŪSUF, MUḤAMMAD]) refused to transfer to Pakistan in 1947 and retained his headquarters or "centre" (*markaz*) at Nizamuddin. He consolidated the Tablīghī Djamāʿat throughout the sub-continent with secondary centres in Pakistan (Raiwind near Lahore) and in East Pakistan, which in 1971 became Bangladesh (Tongi near Ḍhakā). He transformed it into a worldwide movement, extending proselytism to non-Muslims and operating systematically in five continents: the first missions were sent into the Arab states and Turkey between 1946 and 1951; the western countries (Britain, the United States, Japan and continental Europe) were reached between 1950 and 1961; the Afro-Asiatic countries (Black Africa and South East Asia) were explored systematically from 1956 onward; and the movement is currently active in Western China and in former Soviet Central Asia. Although omnipresent at the time of the death of Muḥammad Yūsuf, the Tablīghī Djamāʿat remained little known; it became visible and impossible to ignore under his cousin and successor Inʿām al-Ḥasan (d. 1995) at the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s; since then the annual gatherings (*idjtimāʿ*) held in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh have regularly attracted millions of worshippers; in western countries, the Tablīghī Djamāʿat is often the principal religious organisation for Muslim immigrants, especially in Britain, France, Belgium and Canada. Since the death of Inʿām al-Ḥasan, the movement has been led collectively by two sons of his, Iẓhār al-Ḥasan and Zubayr al-Ḥasan (d. 1996), and one grandson of Muḥammad Yūsuf, Saʿd.

A didactic literature which eschews all theological or political controversy is produced and diffused among the faithful: it constantly extols the merits (*faḍāʾil*) of canonical religious practices and preaches meticulous imitation of the Prophet and of his Companions. It essentially comprises nine monographs written between 1928 and 1964 by a cousin of Muḥammad Ilyās, Muḥammad Zakariyyā Kāndhalawī (1898-1982) who taught *ḥadīth* at Sahāranpūr [*q.v.*] (a subsidiary of Deoband) before moving to Medina, where he died. These monographs are distributed in the original Urdu and in English, French and Arabic translations as a means of reaching all the world's Muslims; most translations are printed in Dihlī. The entire corpus is collected in one or two volumes under the title *Tablīghī niṣāb* (officially translated as *The teachings of Islam/Les enseignements de l'Islam*). These texts are read and reread, memorised and discussed in order to permeate the minds of the faithful and to induce them to conform to the prestigious models of the Prophet and his Companions. The movement also distributes publications of Deoband-affiliated theologians, such as the *Bihishtī zewar* of Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī (1863-1943 [*q.v.*]); broadly it adheres to the teachings of the Deoband

school, in other words a reformed Ḥanafī Sunnism which eschews the cult of saints but accepts a purified form of Ṣūfism. It enjoins an austere practice of Islam, with female seclusion, and prohibition of music and cinema attendance.

The organisation of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat is centralised and secret. Leadership has been provided since its inception by the dynasty of the Kāndhalawīs, three of whose members have so far been chiefs (*amīr*) of the movement, with the present collective directorship (see above) made up of their offspring; they are based at Nizamuddin (Dihlī), where they are also buried. Here a large building accommodates the central administration of the movement and the publishing house from which its literature is distributed throughout the world. Teams working in other countries are trained at this centre. In each country, the Tablīghī Djamāʿat has a chief who in his turn delegates authority, by stages, to those responsible for provinces, districts and towns... down to the smallest preaching group of some dozen persons, this group too having its own hierarchy. Members are trained and indoctrinated; in order to progress in the organisation they are required to gives pledges of their commitment, devoting a proportion of their time and their income to missionary ventures. Only then are they granted access to the inner circles of the movement, the functioning of which remains closed to outsiders. The financial apparatus of this vast world-wide organisation is also a closely-guarded secret.

This secrecy raises the question of the ultimate political motivations of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat. At its inception it had the form of a clan-based Ṣūfī fraternity; at the end of its universal expansion, its functioning is more closely related to that of a sect. It exercises considerable worldwide power, with its dynamic proselytising, which it conceives as a form of *djihād* [*q.v.*] enabling it to mobilise millions of persons on a global scale. It may be wondered whether one day it will reveal political ambitions which are for the time being disguised.

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(M. Gaborieau)

al-ṬABRISĪ (Ṭabarsī), Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Imāmī scholar and author. (For the vocalisation of his *nisba* see the next entry.) He lived in the first half of the 6th/12th century; the death-date of *ca.* 620/1223 given by some late sources is probably erroneous. Virtually nothing is known of his life; the claim that he hailed from Sāriya [*q.v.*] (Khʷānsārī, i, 73), like the claim that he was related to al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī [*q.v.*], appears to be uncorroborated. He studied with Abū Djaʿfar Mahdī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿashī, and Ibn Shahrāshūb [*q.v.*] was among his pupils. Some of his legal opinions are cited by later authors, including al-Shahīd al-Thānī [*q.v.*]. His shrine, in a place named after him and today called Ḳaryat Shaykh Ṭabarsī, is located near Bārfurūsh [*q.v.*] in Māzandarān.

Ibn Shahrāshūb (in his *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*) lists six works by al-Ṭabrisī: *K. al-Kāfī fi 'l-fiḳh, al-Iḥtidjādj, Mafākhir (Mufākharat) al-ṭālibiyya, Taʾrīkh al-aʾimma, Faḍāʾil al-Zahrāʾ* and *K. al-Ṣalāt*. Of these, only the *Iḥtidjādj* (more fully, *al-Iḥtidjādj ʿalā ahl al-ladjādj*) is known to have survived. It opens with the text of debates which the Prophet held with representatives of various religions, but its bulk consists of disputations which the Imāms and a number of their followers held with opponents of the Shīʿa. Also included are rescripts from the Twelfth Imām to various Shīʿī leaders. Al-Ṭabrisī neither identifies his sources nor provides the *isnāds* of the traditions cited, except in

the case of the *Tafsīr* attributed to the Imām al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*] which, al-Ṭabrisī explains, is less well-known than the other sources he uses (*al-Iḥtidjādj*, Beirut 1410/1989, 14; it is cited on pp. 15-55, 235-9, 319-21, 330-1, 445-61). The *Iḥtidjādj* was particularly popular in the Ṣafawid period, when it was twice rendered into Persian (Storey, i/i, 14, 16).

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AL-ṬABRISĪ (Ṭabarsī), Amīn al-Dīn (or Amīn al-Islām) Abū ʿAlī al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan, Imāmī scholar and author. His *nisba* refers to Ṭabris (Ṭabrish), which is the Arabicised form of Tafrish, a village between Ḳāshān and Iṣfahān mentioned by ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī (d. 565/1169-70) as the place of origin of al-Ṭabrisī's family (*Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, 420). The pronunciation Ṭabarsī was first defended by some 17th-century Ṣafawid scholars, who took the *nisba* Ṭ-b-r-s-ī to refer to Ṭabaristān; and in the following two centuries, a number of Shīʿī authors actually called themselves Ṭabarsī (see Karīmān, i, 166-205, 313-33).

Al-Ṭabrisī was born in 470/1077-8 or shortly before and grew up in Khurāsān. Among his masters were ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muḳriʾ al-Rāzī (alive in 503/1109-10), who was a student of Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, and al-Ṭūsī's son Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (alive in 515/1121-2). Some of al-Ṭabrisī's teachers were Sunnīs; they included the Ḳurʾān commentator Maḥmūd b. Ḥamza b. Naṣr al-Kirmānī (d. *ca.* 500/1106-7) and the Shāfiʿī Abu ʾl-Fatḥ ʿUbayd Allāh (in most sources, erroneously, ʿAbd Allāh) b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ḳushayrī (d. 521/1127), a son of the renowned mystic [*q.v.*]. For many years al-Ṭabrisī lived in Mashhad, where he had close ties with the Shīʿī Zubāra family. In 523/1129 he moved to Sabzawār [*q.v.*] and taught in the Madrasat Bāb al-ʿIrāḳ. He died on 10 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 548/26 February 1154. According to al-Bayhaḳī, his death occurred in Sabzawār, though others maintain that he died in Mashhad; but all agree in any event that he was buried in Mashhad. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaḳī al-Kaydarī (Kaydhurī) (alive in 610/1213-4) refers to al-Ṭabrisī as a martyr (*shahīd*), and this is repeated by some later biographers, who suggest that he was poisoned. His shrine is at Ḳatlgāh (or Ghuslgāh), said to be the spot where the Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] died (or where his body was washed). Al-Ṭabrisī's students included some of the best-known Imāmī authors of the 6th/12th century, such as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177-8), Muntadjab al-Dīn (d. *ca.* 585/1189), Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) [*q.v.*] and Shādhān b. Djibrāʾīl al-Ḳummī (alive in 593/1196-7). Al-Ṭabrisī was a prominent jurist, and some of his legal pronouncements are cited by later authorities; but he is not known to have written a work of *fiḳh*. In theology, he broadly followed the Muʿtazilī doctrines adopted by his Imāmī predecessors.

The titles of over 20 works by al-Ṭabrisī are mentioned in the sources (cf. Karīmān, i, 260-90). Among the best-known are:

(i) *K. Madjmaʿ al-bayān li ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān* (or *fī maʿānī ʾl-Ḳurʾān*/*fī tafsīr al-ḳurʾān*), described by Muntadjab al-Dīn (145) as comprising 10 volumes. It was written for al-Sharīf Djalāl al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Hibat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Zubārī (d. 8 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 539/2 May 1145) and completed on 15 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 534/2 July 1140 or 536/11 June 1142; it eventually became one of the most authoritative Imāmī Ḳurʾān commentaries. In the introduction, al-Ṭabrisī acknowledges his debt to al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Tibyān*, but criticises al-Ṭūsī for including unreliable material and for occasional stylistic infelicities. Al-Ṭabrisī's method is to take up one group of verses at a time and discuss *ḳirāʾāt*, language and grammar before providing a detailed commentary on the text, based on both Sunnī and Shīʿī sources and incorporating his own views.

(ii) *al-Kāfī al-shāfī min kitāb al-kashshāf*, a one-volume Ḳurʾān commentary also known as *al-Tafsīr al-wadjīz*. As its title suggests, it is an abridgement of al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*—a work which al-Ṭabrisī came to know and admire after completing the *Madjmaʿ al-bayān*. The *Kāfī* was still available to ʿAlī al-Karakī [*q.v.*] (see al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, cviii, 48).

(iii) *Djawāmiʿ al-djāmiʿ*. This 4-volume work, also known as *al-Tafsīr al-wasīṭ*, was the last to be written of the author's three Ḳurʾān commentaries; it was composed at the request of al-Ṭabrisī's son al-Ḥasan and completed in a single year, on 24 Muḥarram 543/14 June 1148. The material in the *Djawāmiʿ* is culled from both the *Madjmaʿ al-bayān* and the *Kāfī*.

(iv) *Iʿlām al-warā bi-aʿlām al-hudā*, written for the Ispahbadī ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Shahriyār b. Ḳārin (r. 511-34/1117-40) [see bāwand]. It comprises biographies of the Prophet, of Fāṭima and of the Imāms, and is based on a wealth of Sunnī and Shīʿī sources. This work, under its alternative title *Rabīʿ al-shīʿa*, was on occasion erroneously attributed to Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) (Kohlberg, 65).

(v) *al-Ādāb al-dīniyya li ʾl-khizāna al-muʿīniyya*, a work of *adab* dedicated to Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl b. Maḥmūd, who for two years, until his assassination by Ismāʿīlī *fidāʾīs* in Rabīʿ I 521/March-April 1127, was a vizier of the Khurāsānian ruler Sandjar b. Malikshāh (d. 552/1157 [*q.v.*]).

(vi) *Tādj al-mawālīd*, containing succinct biographical information about the Prophet, Fāṭima and the Imāms. The work was written in 509/1115-6 (*Tādj al-mawālīd*, in *Madjmūʿa nafīsa fī taʾrīkh al-aʾimma*, Ḳumm 1406/1985-6, 139, 146).

(vii) *Nathr al-laʾālī*, alphabetically arranged apothegms of ʿAlī. It is sometimes confused with a work of the same title by ʿAlī b. Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (alive in 589/1193) (Kohlberg, 298-9).

All of these, with the possible exception of the *Kāfī*, are extant.

Al-Ṭabrisī wrote abridgements (*ikhtiyārāt*) of various works, including (besides the *Kāfī*) the *Muḳtaṣad fī*

ʾl-naḥw of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078) [*q.v.*, in Suppl.] and the *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa* of al-Marzūḳī (d. 421/1030) [*q.v.*]. He appears to have also written his own commentary on the *Ḥamāsa*, entitled *al-Bāhir fī sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa*, of which an incomplete manuscript survives (see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, ii [1949], 259, whence F. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 71, no. 26; see also Brockelmann, S I, 40).

Prominent scholars among al-Ṭabrisī's descendants include his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl (*fl.* mid-6th/12th century), author of *Makārim al-akhlāḳ*, and his grandson Abu ʾl-Faḍl ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan (*fl.* late 6th/12th century), author of *Mishkāt al-anwār*.

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ṬABRISĪ (Ṭabarsī), Ḥādjdj Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taḳī Nūrī (1254-1320/1839-1902) Ithnāʿasharī Shīʿī scholar and divine considered by some to have been the greatest Shīʿī exponent of *ḥadīth* and *akhbār* since Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī (d. 1699 [*q.v.*]). Ṭabrisī first studied in his home province of Nūr in northern Persia under Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Burūdjirdī, with whom he later travelled to the Shīʿī shrine centres in ʿIrāḳ. He studied in Nadjaf, Karbalāʾ and Sāmarrā for several years (with intervals in Persia) under Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭihrānī (known as Shaykh al-ʿIrāḳayn), as well as under the two leading *marādjiʿ* of the day, Shaykh Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī and Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī. He died in Nadjaf on 21 Djumādā II 1320/25 September 1902.

Ṭabrisī's scholarly interests lay mainly in the spheres of biography and tradition, specialising in the lives of *ʿulamāʾ*, *muḥaddithūn* and *ruwāt*. His books include *Nafs al-Raḥmān*, a biography of Salmān al-Fārisī; *al-Fayḍ al-ḳudsī*, a biography of Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī; *Maʿālim al-ʿabr*, a continuation of vol. xvii of Madjlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār*; and the well-known *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil wa mustanbaṭ al-masāʾil* (3 vols., Tehran 1311-21), a continuation of al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī's *ḥadīth* collection the *Tafṣīl wasāʾil al-Shīʿa*.

Bibliography: Mihdī Bāmdād, *Tārīkh-i ridjāl-i Īrān*, i, Tehran, 1347 *Sh.*/1969, 430; Mīrzā Muḥammad Mihdī al-Lakhnawī al-Kashmīrī, *Nudjūm al-samāʾ: takmila*, 2 vols., Ḳum 1396/1976, ii, 210-15; Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Kitāb al-Maʾāthir wa ʾl-āthār*, Tehran 1306/1889, 155-6; Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī, *Zindigānī wa shakhṣiyyat-i Shaykh-i Anṣārī*, ?Tehran 1380/1960-1, 257-60. (D. MacEoin)

TABRĪZ, the traditional capital of the Persian province of Ādharbāydjān [*q.v.*] and now the administrative centre of the *ustān* of eastern Ādharbāydjān (lat. 38° 05' N., long. 46° 18' E., altitude *ca.* 1,340 m/4,400 feet).

1. Geography and history.

Geographical position. The town lies in the eastern corner of the alluvial plain sloping slightly towards the north-east bank of Lake Urmiya. The plain is watered by several streams, the chief of which is the Adjī čay ("bitter river") which, rising in the south-west face of Mount Sawalān, runs along the Ḳaradja dagh which forms a barrier on the south and entering the plain runs around on the north-west suburbs of the town. The left bank tributary of the Adjī čay, Mihrān rūd (now the Maydān čay), runs through the town. Immediately to the north-east of the town rise the heights of ʿAynali-Zaynali (the *ziyārat* of ʿAwn b. ʿAlī and Zayd b. ʿAlī) which (6,000 feet) form a link between the mountain system of the Ḳaradja dagh (in the north and north-east) and the outer spurs of the Sahand whose peaks (about 30 miles south of the town) reach a height of 11,500 feet. As the Ḳaradja dagh is a very wild and mountainous region and the great massif of Sahand fills the whole area between Tabrīz and Marāgha, the site of Tabrīz is the only suitable pass for communications between east and north. Lastly, as the outer spurs of the Sahand leave a rather narrow couloir along the east bank of Lake Urmiya, communication between north (Transcaucasia, Ḳaradja dagh) and the south (Marāgha, Kurdistān) must also take place via Tabrīz.

This fortunate position predestined Tabrīz to become the centre of the vast and rich province lying between Turkey and the former Russian Transcaucasia and in general one of the most important cities between Istanbul and India (only Tiflīs, Tehran, Iṣfahān and Baghdād fall into the same category).

The climate of Tabrīz is very severe in winter with heavy snowfalls. In summer, the heat is tempered by the proximity of the Sahand and by the presence of numerous gardens about the town. The climate is on the whole healthy.

One feature of Tabrīz is the frequent earthquakes. The most formidable took place in 244/858, in 434/1042 (mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw in his *Safar-nāma* and predicted by the astronomer Abū Ṭāhir Shīrāzī), in 1641, in 1727, in 1780, etc. Seismic shocks are of everyday occurrence at Tabrīz; they may be due to the volcanic activity of the Sahand. See further, N.N. Ambraseys and C.P. Melville, *A history of Persian earthquakes*, Cambridge 1982, 37 ff., 57, 62.

The fortifications of the town were razed to the ground in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The part of the town called the *Ḳalʿa* is therefore no longer

separated from the former part *extra muros*. The town has also incorporated the former suburbs to the west of the town and the south-east. The tendency of the city is to extend to the west and south-west.

The name. According to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 822, the name of the town is pronounced Tibrīz. Yāḳūt gives as his authority Abū Zakariyyā' al-Tabrīzī (a pupil of Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*], of whom we know that he spoke the local Iranian dialect (see Sayyid Aḥmad Kisrawī Tabrīzī, *Ādharī yā zabān-i bāstān-i Ādharbāyagān*, Tehran 1304/1925, 11). The pronunciation Tibrīz must be one of the peculiarities of this dialect which is related to those called "Caspian", or, more probably, Arabic purism assimilating it to the *fiʿlīl* form of the noun. The modern pronunciation is exclusively Tabrīz (or with a metathesis typical of the Turkish dialect, now predominant throughout Ādharbāydjān: Tarbīz). The Armenian sources confirm the pronunciation with *a*. The popular Persian etymology explains *Tabrīz* as "making fever run" (= disappear) (Ewliyā Čelebi: *sītma döküdjü*), but it is possible that the name rather means "that which makes the heat disappear", in some connection with the volcanic activities of the Sahand. The Armenian orthography reflects the peculiarities of Northern Pahlavi Tʿavrēž and this suggests the origin of the name may go back to a very early period, pre-Sāsānid and perhaps pre-Arsacid.

History. The identification of Tabrīz with some ancient city of Media has given rise to much discussion (cf. the résumé in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 770-9). According to the Armenian historian Vardan (14th century), Tabrīz was founded on Persian territory by the Arshakid Armenian Khusraw (217-33) as an act of revenge against the first Sāsānid king Ardashīr (224-41), who had killed the last Parthian king Artabanus; this story is not found in any ancient source and is probably to be explained by popular etymology.

Arab rule. During the conquest of Ādharbāydjān by the Arabs (*ca.* 22/642) the principal efforts of the latter were directed against Ardabīl. Tabrīz is not mentioned among the towns from which the Persian Marzubān had levied his troops (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 326). After the devastation mentioned by Faustus of Byzantium (4th century), Tabrīz must have become a mere village. The later legend (Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-kulūb*, 730/1340) of the "building" of Tabrīz in 175/791 by Zubayda, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, is perhaps based on the fact that after the sequestration of the Umayyad estates Zubayda had received Warthān (in Ādharbāydjān on the Araxes). According to al-Balādhurī, 331 and Ibn al-Faḳīh, 285 (cf. also Yāḳūt, i, 822), the rebuilding of Tabrīz was the work of the family of al-Rawwād al-Azdī and particularly of the latter's sons, al-Wadjnā' and others who built the walls round the town. Al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1171 = Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 315) speaking of the rebellion of Bābak (201-20/816-35 [*q.v.*]) mentions among his conquerors a certain Muḥammad b. Baʿīth, owner of two castles: Shāhī, which he had taken from al-Wadjnā', and Tabrīz (no details given).

When Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119, wrote (232/840), Tabrīz belonged to Muḥammad b. al-Rawwād. In 244 the town was destroyed by an earthquake but rebuilt before the end of the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61). Tabrīz seems then to have changed hands several times, for, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī (*ca.* 340/951), 181, the strip of territory which included Tabrīz, Djabrawān (or Dih-Kharraḳān?) and Ushnūh bore the name of the ruling tribe Banū Rudaynī, which had already disappeared by the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal (*ca.* 367/978), 289. These owners seem to have ruled in practical independence, for the history of the Sādjids [*q.v.*] (lords of Ādharbāydjān 276-317/889-929) contains no reference to their intervention in the affairs of Tabrīz.

After the disappearance of the Sādjids, Ādharbāydjān became the arena of numerous struggles. A former governor for the Ziyārid Mardāwīdj, Lashkarī b. Mardī, had seized the province in 326/938. He was driven out by the Kurd Daysam, who soon came into conflict with the Daylamī Musāfirids [*q.v.*]. The people of Tabrīz invited Daysam into their town, which was at once besieged by the Musāfirid al-Marzubān. Daysam left Tabrīz, and the rule of al-Marzubān was proclaimed in all the towns of Ādharbāydjān (*ca.* 330/942).

The end of the Musāfirid dynasty is not quite clear, but their successors the Rawwādids [*q.v.*] can be traced at Tabrīz down to 446/1054. The following events are connected with these Rawwādīs: in 420/1029, Wahsūdān b. Mahlān (Mamlān?) had a large number of Ghuzz chiefs massacred at Tabrīz (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 279); in 434/1043 an earthquake destroyed Tabrīz, and the *amīr* (probably the same one) went to his other strongholds for fear of al-Ghuzz al-Saldjūḳiyya (*ibid.*, 351); in 438/1046-7 Nāṣir-i Khusraw found in Tabrīz a king Sayf al-Dawla wa-Sharaf al-Milla Abū Manṣūr Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad (Mamlān?) Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn; in 446/1054 the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl received the submission of the lord of Tabrīz, al-Amīr Abū Manṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Rawwādī (*ibid.*, ix, 410).

The geographers and travellers. While Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119, al-Balādhurī, 331, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1171, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 285, and even al-Iṣṭakhrī, 181, simply mention Tabrīz among the little towns of Ādharbāydjān, al-Muḳaddasī already sings the praises of Tabrīz, and his contemporary Ibn Ḥawḳal (*ca.* 367/978) considers it the most prosperous town in Ādharbāydjān, with a busy trade. Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) calls Tabrīz a "noble city with a strong wall, surrounded by woods and gardens", and its inhabitants "brave, martial and rich". According to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the area occupied by the town in 438/1046-7 was 1,400 × 1,400 paces, which is only about a third of a square mile.

Saldjūḳ period. Tabrīz is very rarely mentioned in the history of the Great Saldjūḳs. In the vicinity of the town, Ṭoghrïl celebrated his marriage with the caliph's daughter (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 111). During his struggle with his brother Muḥammad, Berk-yaruḳ retired in 494/1101 to the mountainous region to the south of Tabrīz, but at the reconciliation of the brothers, Tabrīz fell to Muḥammad, who appointed Saʿd al-Mulk as *wazīr* there (498/1104-5). In 505/1111-12 we find Amīr Sukmān al-Ḳuṭbī mentioned as lord of Tabrīz, i.e. the founder of the dynasty of Shāhs of Armenia (Shāh-i Arman [*q.v.*]), which ruled at Akhlāṭ 493-604/1100-1207.

Under the branch of the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ, whose capital was at Hamadān, Ādharbāydjān played a more important part. In 514/1120 Sultan Maḥmūd spent some time at Tabrīz to calm the inhabitants, who were alarmed at the inroads of the Georgians. The name of the Atabeg of Ādharbāydjān at this period was Kün-toghdï. After his death (515/1121), the Amīr of Marāgha Aḳ-Sunḳur Aḥmadīlī endeavoured to get Tabrīz out of the hands of Ṭoghrïl (brother of the sultan), but these intrigues came to nought. Maḥmūd appointed to Ādharbāydjān the Amīr Djuyūsh of Mawṣil, who was killed at the gate of Tabrīz in 516/1122. After the death of Maḥmūd (525/1131), his brother Masʿūd occupied Tabrīz and was besieged there by

Dāwūd, son of Maḥmūd. Finally, Dāwūd established himself in Tabrīz and from this town ruled (526-33/1132-9) a great fief composed of Ādharbāydjān, Arrān and Armenia. Ādharbāydjān and Arrān were later entrusted to Ṭoghrïl I's old slave, the Atabeg Ḳara Sunḳur whose capital seems to have been at Ardabīl (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 52). After his death in 535/1140-1, the Amīr Djā'ūlī (Čawlï) al-Ṭoghrïlī succeeded him, but we soon find Ildegïz [*q.v.*], the founder of the dynasty of Atabegs which ruled the province till 622/1225, established in Ādharbāydjān. The centre of Ildegïzid power was at first to the north-west of Ādharbāydjān, while Tabrīz became part of the possessions of the Aḥmadīlī [*q.v.*] Amīrs of Marāgha, for it was not till 570/1174-5 that the Atābeg Pahlawān b. Ildegïz [*q.v.*] took Tabrīz from Falak al-Dīn, grandson of Aḳ Sunḳur b. Aḥmadīl, and gave it to his brother Ḳïzïl Arslan. It was during the period that Ḳïzïl Arslan was Atābeg (582-87/1186-91) that Tabrīz definitely took its place as the capital of Ādharbāydjān.

In 602/1205-6 the Amīr Ḳara Sunḳur 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḥmadīlī, in alliance with the Atbeg of Ardabīl, made an attempt to retake Tabrīz from Ḳïzïl Arslan's successor, the bon-vivant Abū Bakr. The attempt failed, and Ḳara Sunḳur lost Marāgha.

The Ildegïzids lived in great style, as we may judge from the odes addressed to them by poets like Niẓāmī and Khāḳānī [*q.vv.*], but of their buildings we only know the remains at Nakhčiwān [*q.v.*].

The Mongols. The Mongols made their appearance before the walls of Tabrīz in the winter of 617/1220-1. The incapable Ildegïzid Atabeg Özbeg b. Pahlawān obtained their departure by paying a heavy ransom. Next year, the Mongols came back again. The Atabeg fled to Nakhčiwān, but a resistance was organised by the valiant Shams al-Dīn al-Ṭughrā'ī and the Mongols departed with a new ransom, after which Özbeg returned to Tabrīz. In 621/1224 a new horde arrived from Mongolia and demanded from Özbeg the surrender of all the Khwārazmians in Tabrīz. Özbeg hastened to yield to this demand.

Djalāl al-Dīn. The Khwārazm Shāh soon arrived from Marāgha and on 27 Radjab 622/15 July 1225 gained admittance to the town, which Özbeg had again abandoned. The inhabitants were glad to find a valiant defender, especially as Djalāl al-Dīn was soon to show his energy by an expedition against Tiflis and by the punishment of the marauding Turkomans of the tribe of Aywā (al-Aywā'iyya). Djalāl al-Dīn having married the *malika*, the former wife of Özbeg, held Tabrīz for six years, but towards the close of this period, his position was seriously compromised by his failures as well as by his personal conduct (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 323). As early as 627/1230, a Turkoman chief of the tribe of Ḳush-yalwa (?), a chief of Rūyīndiz (near Marāgha), dared to plunder the environs of Tabrīz. In 628/1231 Djalāl al-Dīn left Ādharbāydjān and the Mongols conquered the whole province, including the town of "Tabrīz which is the very heart (*aṣl*) *of* the country [for] every one is dependent on it and on those who live there" (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 328). The *malik* of the Mongols (Djurmaghun noyin) sent for the notables, levied a heavy indemnity, ordered the weavers to make *khatā'ī* stuffs for the use of the great king (Ögedey) and fixed the amount of the annual tribute. From the time of Güyük, the effective rule of Arrān and Ādharbāydjān was in the hands of Malik Ṣadr al-Dīn, a Persian ally of the Mongols (see Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 518).

The Mongol Il-Khāns. After the taking of Baghdād in 654/1256, Hülegü went to Ādharbāydjān and settled at Marāgha [*q.v.*]. In 661/1263, after the defeat inflicted on him in the northern Caucasus by Berke's troops, Hülegü returned to Tabrīz and massacred the merchants there of Ḳïpčaḳ origin. In 662/1264, at the re-distribution of the fiefs, Hülegü confirmed Malik Ṣadr al-Dīn in the governorship of the province of Tabrīz.

Tabrīz became the official capital under Abaḳa (663-80/1265-82) and kept this position under his successors till the coming of Öldjeytü. In 688/1289 under Arghun, the Jewish vizier Sa'd al-Dawla appointed his cousin Abū Manṣūr to Tabrīz. Under Gaykhatu, the revenues of the province of Tabrīz were estimated at 80 *tūmāns*. In 693/1294 Tabrīz was the scene of a rebellion as a result of the introduction of a paper currency (*čao*). It was in the reign of Ghazan Khān that Tabrīz attained its greatest splendour. This monarch entered Tabrīz in 694/1295 and took up his abode in the palace built by Arghun in the village of Shām to the west of the town, on the left bank of the Adjī čay. Orders were at once given to destroy the temples of idols, churches and synagogues, and fire-altars. These orders are said to have been revoked in the next year on the appeal of the Armenian king Hethum. In 699/1299 on his return from the Syrian campaign, Ghazan began a whole series of buildings. He intended Shām, already mentioned, as the site of his eternal rest. A building was erected there higher than the *gunbad* of Sultan Sandjar at Marw, which was then considered the highest building in the Muslim world. Besides this mausoleum, which was crowned by a dome, there was a mosque, two *madrasas* (one Shāfi'ī and the other Ḥanafī), a hostel for Sayyids (*dār al-siyāda*), a hospital, an observatory like that at Marāgha, a library, archives, a building for the officers of these establishments, a cistern for drinking-water and baths with hot water. *Wakfs*, the revenues from which amounted to 100 *tūmāns* of gold (Waṣṣāf), were set aside for the maintenance of these foundations. At each of the gates of the new town was built a caravanserai, a market and baths. Fruit trees were brought from distant lands.

In the town of Tabrīz itself, great improvements were also made. Hitherto its wall (*bārū*) was only 6,000 *gām* ("paces"). Ghazan gave it a new wall 25,000 *gāms* in length (4½ *farsakhs*). All the gardens and the Kūh-i Waliyān and Sandjarān quarters were incorporated in the town. Within the wall on the slopes of the Kūh-i Waliyān (now Kūh-i Surkhāb or 'Aynali-Zaynali) a series of fine buildings was erected by the famous vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, and the quarter was therefore known as *Rab'-i Rashīdī* (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 76, tr. 79-80). We have a letter from Rashīd al-Dīn in which he asks his son to send him from Rūm 40 young men and women to people one of the villages in the new quarter; cf. Browne, *LHP*, iii, 82.

As if to emphasise the fact that Tabrīz was the real centre of the empire which stretched from the Oxus to Egypt, the gold and silver coins and the measures (*kīla*, *gaz*) were standardised according to the standards of Tabrīz (d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv, 144, 271-7, 350, 466-9).

Tabrīz was also at this time an important focus of Muslim literature, spirituality and mysticism, eulogised by Rūmī in his *Mathnawī*, Book VI, vv. 3106-5, tr. Nicholson, vi, 429-30. The Ṣūfī poet Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. *ca.* 718-20/1317-20 [*q.v.*] came from a small town near Lake Urmiya and lived and worked at Tabrīz amongst other places (see L. Lewisohn, *The political milieu of Mongol Persia*, in *Beyond faith and infidelity. The Sufi poetry and teachings of Mahmud Shabistari*,

London 1995, 55-103), and another notable Ṣūfī master of Tabrīz was Khwādja Muḥammad b. Ṣadīḳ Kudjudjī (d. 677/1279), whose descendants were later *shaykh al-islāms* in Tabrīz under the early Djalāyirids, the Tīmūrids and the early Ṣafawids (see J. Aubin, *Études safavides. I. Shāh Ismāʿīl et les notables de l'Iraq persan*, in *JESHO*, ii [1959], 60-3, and Lewisohn, *Palāsī's memoir of Shaykh Kujujī, a Persian Sufi of the thirteenth century*, in *JRAS*, 3rd ser., vi [1996], 345-66).

In 703/1304 Ghazan Khān was buried with great ceremony in the mausoleum of Shām. In 705/1307 his successor Öldjeytü conceived the idea of creating a new capital at Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*]. It was, however, not easy to move the inhabitants, as in 715/1315 we still find the ambassador from the Özbegs of Ḳipčaḳ following the route by Tabrīz instead of the shorter Mughān-Ardabīl-Sulṭāniyya. It is also noteworthy that Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Shāh (vizier from 711/1312) had begun the construction of a magnificent mosque at Tabrīz (outside the Mihād-mihīn quarter).

In 717/1317 under Abū Saʿīd, the retiring vizier Rashīd al-Dīn went to Tabrīz and only left it the following year to meet his fate. His property was confiscated and Rabʿ-i Rashīdī sacked (Browne, *LHP*, iii, 71). His son Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who was called to power by Abū Saʿīd himself, continued to enlarge Rabʿ-i Rashīdī. The capital continued to be Sulṭāniyya, judging from the fact that Abū Saʿīd was buried there in a mausoleum which he himself had ordered to be built (d'Ohsson, iv, 720).

When in 736/1336 his successor Arpa lost the battle of Taghatu (this to be read for Baghatu), his vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn was killed by the conqueror ʿAlī Pādshāh Oyrat. The property of the family of Rashīd al-Dīn was plundered by the people of Tabrīz, and valuable collections and precious books disappeared on this occasion.

The Djalāyirs and the Čobanids. In the midst of the anarchy which followed these events we have the rise of the Djalāyir [*q.v.*] dynasty, whose fortunes were closely associated with Tabrīz. In 736/1336 Ḥasan Buzurg Djalāyir established on the throne of Tabrīz his candidate Sultan Muḥammad. In spite of its temporary nature, this episode marks the restoration of its primacy to the old capital. The Čobanid Ḥasan Kūčik soon appeared on the scene with his own candidates. Ḥasan Buzurg retired to Baghdād and Ḥasan Kūčik (740/1340) put on the throne Sulaymān Khān with rule over ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, Ādharbāydjān, Arrān, Mughān and Georgia. The successor of Ḥasan Kūčik, his brother Ashraf, in 744/1344 proclaimed a new puppet, Anūshirwān, whom he relegated to Sulṭāniyya while he himself remained in Tabrīz as the real ruler and extended his authority as far as Fārs. His cruelty and exactions provoked an "intervention in the cause of humanity" by Djānī Beg Khān of the Blue Horde (Eastern Ḳipčaḳ). Ashraf was defeated at Khoy and Marand and his head suspended over the door of a mosque in Tabrīz (756/1355). The vizier Akhidjūḳ whom Djānī Beg had left in Ādharbāydjān found his authority disputed on several sides. Tabrīz was temporarily occupied by the Djalāyir Uways b. Ḥasan Buzurg who came from Baghdād. Hardly had he been driven out by Akhidjūḳ than the Muẓaffarid of Fārs, Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, quarrelling with Djānī Beg, who had called upon him to recognise his suzerainty, arrived from Shīrāz, defeated Akhidjūḳ at Miyāna and seized Tabrīz in 758/1357. After two years he retired before Uways, who soon afterwards reoccupied Tabrīz and slew Akhidjūḳ.

When the news of the death of Uways (776/1377) reached Fārs, the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ, who had succeeded Mubāriz al-Dīn, set out from Shīrāz to take Tabrīz. Ḥusayn, son of Uways, was defeated and Tabrīz occupied, but after a few months, a rebellion having broken out at Ūdjān, forced Shudjāʿ to evacuate the town which Ḥusayn reoccupied without striking a blow. Sulṭāniyya seems to have marked the limits of the lands of the Muẓaffarids in the northwest (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Browne, 723-5). In 784/1382 Ḥusayn Djalāyir was slain at Tabrīz, and his brother Aḥmad succeeded him in Ādharbāydjān, but his rule was to be brief, for Tīmūr soon after appeared on the scene.

In spite of all the vicissitudes of their intermittent rule, the Djalāyirs were able to gain the sympathy of the people of Tabrīz. Their rights were implicitly recognised by the lords of Shīrwān and the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu. Among their buildings in Tabrīz are recorded their mausoleum Dimishḳiyya and a large building by Sultan Uways, which, according to Clavijo contained 20,000 chambers ("camaras apartadas é apartamientos") and was called Dawlat-khāna ("Tolbatgana... la casa de la ventura").

The period of Tīmūr. During his first invasion of Persia (786/1384), Tīmūr returned to Samarḳand after taking Sulṭāniyya. His great rival Toḳtamish Khān of the Golden Horde at once sent an expedition against Ādharbāydjān via Darband in 787/1385. The invaders took Tabrīz, which was badly defended by Amīr Walī (the former lord of Djurdjān driven out by Tīmūr) and the Khān of Khalkhāl, plundered the inhabitants, carried off prisoners (including the poet Kamāl Khudjandī) and returned to Darband (Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 392; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 321).

Hardly had Sultan Aḥmad Djalāyir recovered Tabrīz than he was driven out again by Tīmūr (788/1386), who came on the pretext of protecting the Muslims. Tīmūr encamped at Shām-Ghāzān and levied an indemnity (*māl-i amān*) on the people of Tabrīz (see Yazdī, i, 326).

In 795/1392 the "fief of Hülegü" (*takht-i Hūlāgū*), consisting of Ādharbāydjān, al-Rayy, Gīlān, Shīrwān, Darband and the lands of Asia Minor, was granted to Mīrān Shāh (*ibid.*, ii, 623) and Tabrīz became the capital of this territory. Three years later, this prince became insane and committed a series of insensate actions (execution of innocent people, destruction of buildings; *ibid.*, ii, 200, 213, and Browne, *op. cit.*, iii, 71). Tīmūr immediately on his return from India set out for Ādharbāydjān in 802/1399-1400 and executed those who shared in Mīrān Shāh's debauches.

In 806/1403-4, Mīrzā ʿUmar, son of Mīrān Shāh, was placed at the head of the "fief of Hülegü" and the lands conquered by Tīmūr in the west. His father Mīran Shāh (in Arrān) and his brother Abū Bakr (in ʿIrāḳ) were placed under the authority of Mīrzā ʿUmar. After the death of Tīmūr, a long struggle began between ʿUmar and Abū Bakr. In 808/1405-6, Abū Bakr succeeded in levying on Tabrīz a tribute of 200 ʿIrāḳī *tūmāns*. ʿUmar returned to Tabrīz, but his Turkomans harassed the people and Abū Bakr regained the town. Hardly had he left Tabrīz than the Turkoman rebel Bisṭām Djāgīr entered it but hurriedly retreated on the approach of Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān [*q.v.*]. In 809/1406-7 the latter handed over Tabrīz to Aḥmad Djalāyir as to its true sovereign and the inhabitants showed great joy on this occasion; see ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, tr. Quatremère, 109. On 8 Rabīʿ I, Abū Bakr was again at Shām-Ghāzān, but did not dare go into the city where the plague was raging.

A short time before these latter happenings, the Ambassador of Henry III of Castile, Clavijo, spent some time in Tabrīz (in 1404 and with intervals 1405, i.e. from the end of 806 to the beginning of 808 A.H.). In spite of the trials it had undergone, the town was very busy and conducted considerable trade. Clavijo speaks highly of the streets, markets and buildings of Tabrīz.

The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]. On 1 Djumādā I 809/ 14 October 1406, Ḳara Yūsuf, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Turkoman, inflicted a defeat on Abū Bakr, who in his retreat handed Tabrīz over to plunder, and nothing escaped the rapacity of his army (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, 110). Ḳara Yūsuf advanced as far as Sulṭāniyya and carried off the population of this town to Tabrīz, Ardabīl and Marāgha. Abū Bakr soon returned to Ādharbāydjān, but Ḳara Yūsuf assisted by Bisṭām defeated him at Sardarūd (5 miles south of Tabrīz). Mīrān Shāh fell in this battle and was buried at Tabrīz in the cemetery of Surkhāb.

Ḳara Yūsuf, remembering the agreements on the redistribution of the territory made with Sultan Aḥmad Djalāyir at the time when both were in exile in Egypt, had recourse to a stratagem. With great ceremony, he put on the throne of Tabrīz his son Pīr Budāḳ who was regarded as Aḥmad's adopted son (according to the *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, Ḳara Yūsuf did not give the title of Khān to Pīr Budāḳ till 814/1411-12). Aḥmad to outward appearance resigned himself to this arrangement but, when Ḳara Yūsuf was absent in Armenia, he occupied Tabrīz. Aḥmad was finally defeated in battle (28 Rabīʿ II 813/30 August 1410). He was executed by Ḳara Yūsuf and buried in the Dimishḳiyya beside his father and mother. Once more the sympathies of the people of Tabrīz were with the last Djalāyir king; cf. Huart, *La fin de la dynastie des Ilkhaniens*, in *JA* [1876], 316-62.

Tabrīz is regularly mentioned as the centre from which Ḳara Yūsuf sent out his expeditions. The Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh, fearing the influence of Ḳara Yūsuf in 817/1414, undertook his first expedition against him but did not advance beyond al-Rayy (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, 238, 250). When in 823/1420 he was renewing his attempt, news reached him of the death of Ḳara Yūsuf (on 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 823/12 November 1420). Anarchy broke out in the Turkoman camp, and a week later Mīrzā Baysunghur occupied Tabrīz. Shāh Rukh arrived there in the summer of 824/1421 after defeating in Armenia the sons of Ḳara Yūsuf. In 832/1429 Iskandar, son of Ḳara Yūsuf, seized Sulṭāniyya. Shāh Rukh again arrived at Shām-Ghāzān at the head of an army and inflicted a defeat on the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu at Salmās. In the winter of 833/1429-30 Ādharbāydjān was given to Abū Saʿīd b. Ḳara Yūsuf, who had come to pay homage to Shāh Rukh. In the following year he was slain by his brother Iskandar. In the winter of 838/1434, Shāh Rukh came to Ādharbāydjān for the third time. Iskandar thought it wiser to retire before him, but his brother Djahān Shāh hastened to join Shāh Rukh. The latter spent the summer of 839/1436 in Tabrīz, and on the approach of winter gave investiture to Djahān Shāh.

Thus began the career of the prince who made Tabrīz the capital of a kingdom stretching from Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf and to Harāt. The most remarkable building in Tabrīz, "the Blue Mosque" (*Gök masdjid*) is the work of Djahān Shāh (according to Berezin, of his wife Begum Khātūn). It is possible that the presence in Tabrīz in the Surkhāb and Čarandāb quarters of members of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ sect [*q.v.*] dates from the time of Djahān Shāh, on whose heretical views see Münedjdjim Bashî, Tkish. tr., iii, 154.

The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]. On 12 Rabīʿ II 872/ 10 November 1467 Djahān Shāh was surprised in Armenia and slain by Uzun Ḥasan Bayandurī, chief of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Turkomans. The two daughters of Iskandar proclaimed at Tabrīz their dervish brother Ḥusayn ʿAlī, but Begum Khātūn, widow of Djahān Shāh, put a stop to this plan. Tabrīz was, however, occupied by Ḥusayn ʿAlī, the mad son of Djahān Shāh (by another wife), who put to death Begum Khātūn and her relatives (Münedjdjim Bashî).

In spite of the assistance which he had received from the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd, Ḥasan ʿAlī was defeated at Marand. Subsequent events led up to the death of Abū Saʿīd himself. In 873/1468 Uzun Ḥasan seized Tabrīz, which he made his capital (he announced this decision in a letter to the Ottoman sultan, see Ferīdūn Bey, *Münsheʾāt*).

The Venetian sources are of considerable value for the period of Uzun Ḥasan. Giosafa Barbaro, sent by the Republic in 1474, describes the animated life of Tabrīz, to which embassies came from all parts. Barbaro was received in a pavilion of the magnificent palace which he calls "Aptisti" (*Haft* + ?). The anonymous Venetian merchant who visited Tabrīz as late as 1514 (?) still speaks of the splendour of the reign of Uzun Ḥasan "who has so far not yet had an equal in Persia". Uzun Ḥasan died in 852/1477 and was buried in the Naṣriyya Madrasa which he had built and which was later to be used for the burial of his son Yaʿḳūb. During the twelve years of his comparatively peaceful reign (883-96/1478-90), the latter attracted to his court many men of letters (the Kurdish historian Idrīs was his secretary) and in 888/1483 built in the garden of Ṣāḥibābād the Hasht Bihisht palace. This palace (*Astibisti*) was also described by the Venetian merchant; on the ceiling of the great hall were represented all the great battles of Persia, embassies, etc. Beside the Hasht Bihisht there was a harem in which 1,000 women could be housed, a vast *maydān*, a mosque and a hospital to hold 1,000 patients (see also Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 249).

The Ṣafawids and the Turco-Persian wars. Ismāʿīl I occupied Tabrīz in 906/1500 after his victory at Sharūr over Mīrzā Alwand Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Of the 200-300,000 inhabitants of the town, two-thirds were reported to be Sunnī but the new ruler was not long in imposing Shīʿism upon them and took rigorous measures against those who objected (Iskandar Munshī, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 31). In his hatred of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Ismāʿīl had the remains of his predecessors exhumed and burned (G.M. Angiolello). The Venetian merchant speaks of the despair into which the debauches of the young prince had plunged several noble families. When Ismāʿīl set out for Arzindjān after Alwand, the latter succeeded in returning to Tabrīz and during his brief stay there "oppressed the rich" (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 31).

The battle of Čaldirān [*q.v.*] (2 Radjab 920/23 August 1514) opened to the Ottomans the road to Tabrīz. Nine days later the city was occupied by the vizier Dukagin-oghlu and the *defterdār* Pīrī and on 6 September Sultan Selīm made his triumphal entry into it. In the town, the Turks conducted themselves with moderation (Browne, *LHP*, iv, 77) but seized the treasures amassed by the Persian sovereigns and carried off to Istanbul 1,000 skilled artisans. The sultan only stayed a week in Tabrīz, as he had to return to his own lands in consequence of the refusal of the Janissaries to continue the campaign (von Hammer, *GOR*², i, 720).

The events of 920/1514 were a grave warning to the Persians, and under Ṭahmāsp I, the capital was transferred much farther east to Ḳazwīn. According to the Venetian Ambassador Alessandri, Ṭahmāsp, as a result of his avarice, was not popular in the old capital of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu.

At the suggestion of the renegade Ulāma (of the Turkoman tribe of Tekke) the troops of Süleymān I under the command of the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, occupied Tabrīz in 941/13 July 1534 and went to the summer camp at Asadābād (Saʿīdābād?). Ibrāhīm Pasha began to build a fortress at Shām-Ghāzān. The government of Ādharbāydjān was entrusted to Ulāma, who had held the same post under Ṭahmāsp. On 27 September, Süleymān himself arrived in Tabrīz. A little later, he made a thrust as far as Sulṭāniyya and occupied Baghdād. On his return to Tabrīz, he spent 14 days engaged in administrative business. The cold forced the Turkish army to retreat and the Persian troops at once advanced as far as Wān. Again in 955/28 July 1548, at the instigation of Alḳāṣ Mīrzā, brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Süleymān occupied Tabrīz but only stayed five days there. The sultan refused Alḳāṣ Mīrzā's proposal that the inhabitants should all be massacred or carried off into captivity. M. d'Aramon, ambassador of Francis I, was an eye-witness of the occupation of Tabrīz and testifies to Süleymān's efforts to protect the town (*Voyage*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1887, 83). In 962/29 May 1555 there was signed at Amasiya the first treaty of peace between Turkey and Persia which lasted about 30 years (von Hammer, ii, 112, 120, 269; *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 49-59).

In 993/1585 the Grand Vizier of Murād III Özdemir-zāde ʿOthmān Pasha with 40,000 men undertook the recapture of Tabrīz. The governor of Wān, Čighala-zāde, joined him with 6,000 men. Going via Čaldirān and Ṣofiyān, the Turks arrived before Shām-Ghāzān. The Persian governor ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān, after a bold sortie which cost Čighala-zāde 3,000 men, retired during the night. In September the Turks occupied the town. As a punishment for the murder of several soldiers, the Turks sacked the town and massacred its inhabitants for three days. The Persian chief minister Ḥamza Mīrzā operating around the city on several occasions inflicted heavy losses on the Ottoman troops. To defend Tabrīz, ʿOthmān Pasha built a square citadel, the walls of which were 12,700 ells long (Ewliyā Čelebi, *miʿmār-i mekki arshunī*). This citadel, which was erected in 36 days, was inside the town. It was held by a garrison of 45,000 men. The eunuch Djaʿfer Pasha was appointed governor of Tabrīz. On 29 October 1585, ʿOthmān Pasha died. Čighala-zāde, whom he had appointed on his deathbed to command the Ottoman troops, succeeded in defeating the Persians, but soon the latter were able to besiege the Turks within the town. Forty-eight encounters took place before Ferhād Pāshā definitely relieved the garrison (von Hammer, ii, 354). By the disastrous peace of 998/1590, Shāh ʿAbbās I had to cede to the Ottomans their conquests in Transcaucasia and the west of Persia. Henceforth, the Turks took their occupation of Tabrīz seriously. Their many buildings, especially those of Djaʿfer Pasha, are mentioned by Ewliyā in Tabrīz and its vicinity. But the Persians were keeping a watchful eye on their old capital.

The troubles with the *sipāhīs* [*q.v.*] at the beginning of 1603 showed the weakness of Sultan Meḥemmed III. In the autumn, Shāh ʿAbbās left Iṣfahān unexpectedly and entered Tabrīz 12 days later. ʿAlī Pasha was defeated at Ḥādjdjī Ḥarāmī (2 farsakhs from the town), after which the citadel surrendered. Shāh ʿAbbās treated the defeated foe with generosity, but in a revival of Shīʿī fanaticism the inhabitants killed a large number of Turks in the town and neighbourhood without heed for any bonds of kinship or friendship that had been formed during the 20 years of Ottoman occupation. ʿAbbās I invited the people to do away with all traces of Turkish rule and "in a few days they had left no vestige of the citadel nor of any of [their] houses, buildings, dwellings, caravanserais, shops, baths etc." (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 441, 451).

In 1019/1610, in the reign of the weak Sultan Aḥmed III, the Turks again tried to resume the offensive. The Grand Vizier Murād Pasha unexpectedly appeared with an army in front of Tabrīz, but ʿAbbās I had had time to make his preparations. The town was defended by the governor Pīr Budaḳ Khān. No fighting took place, but the Turks suffered greatly from want of provisions in the country which the Persians had laid waste. Five days later, the Turkish army was retracing its steps, while Shāh ʿAbbās and Murād Pasha continued to exchange embassies. This Turkish invasion hastened the building of a new fortress at Tabrīz, which was built under the shadow of Surkhāb in the Rabʿ-i Rashīdī quarter. The materials were taken from old ruins, particularly at Shām-Ghāzān (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 584, 601). On the other hand, the unsuccessful invasion by Murād Pasha led to the conclusion of a new treaty in 1022/1612 by which the Persians succeeded in restoring the status quo as it had existed in the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Sultan Süleymān (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 600, 611; von Hammer, ii, 736, 745).

In 1027/1618, at the instigation of some Tatar Khāns of the Crimea, the Ottoman troops (60,000 men) of Wān suddenly invaded Ādharbāydjān. The Persians evacuated Tabrīz and Ardabīl. The Turks, who were short of supplies, revictualled at Tabrīz and advanced to Sarāb, where Ḳarčḳay Khān, *sipāhsālār* of Tabrīz, won a brilliant victory over them. A new treaty was made confirming the conditions of that of 1022 (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 656-61; von Hammer, ii, 773).

After the death of ʿAbbās I, the struggle between Turk and Persian was resumed on a great scale. In the reign of his successor Shāh Ṣafī, Sultan Murād IV invaded Ādharbāydjān in 1045/1635 and entered Tabrīz on 12 September. The aim of this campaign was plunder rather than conquest. Murād ordered his soldiers to destroy the town. Having in this way "knocked down Tabrīz" (Ewliyā, *eyidje örseleyip*), Murād, in view of the advance of the season, hastened to return to Wān. In the following spring, the Persians reoccupied their possessions as far as Eriwān and by the treaty of 1049/1639 secured for themselves the frontier which has survived in its main lines to the present day.

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, who was an eye-witness of the campaign of 1045/1635, says that after the devastation wrought by Murād IV the old ramparts had completely disappeared and "only here and there could traces of old buildings be seen" (*Djihān-numā*, 381). Even Shām-Ghāzān was not spared; the mosque of Uzun Ḥasan alone was left intact.

Such then was the state of the town, but a series of travellers who visited it a few years later say that it had undergone a splendid revival. The interesting story of Ewliyā Čelebi (in the reign of ʿAbbās II in 1057/1647) gives detailed statistics of Tabrīz, its *madrasas*, schools, caravanserais, houses of notables, dervish *tekiyyes*, gardens and animated public promenades. In the same period, Tavernier says that, in spite of the damage done by Murād IV, "the town is almost completely rebuilt". According to Chardin

(ii, 328), in 1673 under Shāh Sulaymān I, there were in Tabrīz 550,000 inhabitants (the figure seems exaggerated), 15,000 houses and 15,000 shops. It was "really a large and important town . . . There is plenty of all the necessaries of life and one can live very well and cheaply in it". There was a hospice of Capuchins at Tabrīz on which the authorities cast a kindly eye. The *beglerbegi* of Tabrīz had under his authority the Khāns of Ḳarṣ, Urmiya, Marāgha and Ardabīl and 20 *sulṭāns* (= local chiefs).

The end of the Ṣafawids and Nādir. The Afghān invasion of Persia resulted in a state of complete anarchy. The heir to the throne, Ṭahmāsp (II), who had fled from Iṣfahān arrived in Tabrīz where he was proclaimed king in 1135/1722. When by the treaty of 12 September 1723, Ṭahmāsp II ceded the Caspian provinces to Russia, Turkey announced that as a precautionary measure she would be forced to occupy the frontier districts between Tabrīz and Eriwān. After the fall of Eriwān, Nakhčiwān and Marand, the Turks under the *ser'asker* 'Abd Allāh Pasha Köprülü arrived before Tabrīz in the autumn of 1137/1724. The Persians, who made Shām-Ghāzān their base, held out. The Turks had some success, but the advanced season of the year forced them to retreat before the end of the month. In the following spring, Köprülü returned at the head of 70,000 men. The siege only lasted four days, but the fighting in the seven fortified quarters was very desperate. The Persians lost 30,000 men and the Turks 20,000. The survivors of the Persian garrison, to the number of 7,000, withdrew without hindrance to Ardabīl ('Alī Ḥazīn, ed. Balfour, 153; Hanway, *The revolutions of Persia*, London 1754, ii, 229).

The treaty of 1140/1727 concluded with the Afghān Ashraf confirmed to the Ottomans the possession of northwestern Persia as far as Sulṭāniyya and Abhar. Two years later, Nādir defeated Muṣṭafā Pasha's army at Suhaylān (*vulgo* Sawalān or Sīnikh-köprü) near Tabrīz. He entered this city on 8 Muḥarram 1142/3 August 1729 and made prisoner Rüstem Pasha, governor of Hashtarūd.

Anxious to take advantage of the domestic troubles of Turkey, Shāh Ṭahmāsp resumed the offensive but lost the battle of Ḳuridjān (near Hamadān) and the *ser'asker* 'Alī Pasha returned to Tabrīz in the winter of 1144/1731 and even built a mosque and *madrasa* there. By the treaty concluded a little later (16 January 1732), the Persians ceded to the Porte the lands north of the Araxes but kept Tabrīz and the western provinces. As Tabrīz had actually been occupied by 'Alī Pasha, the Porte very reluctantly agreed to its restoration to Persia and the signing of the treaty resulted in the dismissal of the Grand Vizier (von Hammer, iv, 281). On the other hand, the cession of the Transcaucasian provinces to Turkey gave Nādir an excuse for deposing Ṭahmāsp II. After checking Nādir near Baghdād, the governor of Wān, Rüstem Pasha, re-occupied Tabrīz. In 1146/1734, Nādir set out for Tabrīz and as a result of his victories in Transcaucasia, the treaty of 1149/1736 re-established the status quo of 1049/1639.

Towards the end of the reign of Nādir, when anarchy was again beginning, the people of Tabrīz declared in favour of an obscure pretender who claimed to be Sām Mīrzā. The death of Nādir in 1160/1747 might have given the Porte an opportunity to intervene in Persian affairs especially as Riḍā Khān, son of Fatḥ 'Alī Khān, *dīwān-begi* of Tabrīz, had come to Erzerūm to beg Turkish support for one of the candidates for the throne (a Nādirid; von Hammer, iv, 474), but Turkey maintained complete neutrality.

Nādir Shāh had entrusted Ādharbāydjān to his valiant cousin Amīr Arslān Khān, who had 30,000 men under him. After Nādir's death, this general aided Nādir's nephew Ibrāhīm Khān to defeat his brother 'Ādil Shāh (Sulṭān 'Alī Shāh), but Ibrāhīm at once turned on his ally, slew him and after collecting 120,000 men spent six months in Tabrīz where he had himself proclaimed king (*Ta'rīkh-i ba'd-Nādiriyya*, ed. O. Mann, 36-7). He was soon killed by Shāhrukh, grandson of Nādir.

The history of Ādharbāydjān during the rule of the dynasty of Karīm Khān Zand is still little known. The Afghān Āzād Khān was at first lord of the province. In 1170/1756 it was taken from him by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ḳādjār. Next year, Karīm Khān defeated Fatḥ 'Alī Khān Afshar of Urmiya and conquered the greater part of Ādharbāydjān (Sir John Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*). In 1194/1780 an earthquake did great damage in Tabrīz (see Ambraseys and Melville, *op. cit.*, 54-5).

The Ḳādjārs. Towards the end of 1205/1790, Āḳā Muḥammad, founder of the Ḳādjār dynasty, set out to occupy Ādharbāydjān. Among the governors who came to meet him was the hereditary lord of Khoy, Ḥusayn Khān Dumbulī. Āḳā Muḥammad added Tabrīz to his fief. After the assassination in 1211/1796 of the first Ḳādjār Shāh, troubles broke out in Ādharbāydjān. Ṣādiḳ Khān of the Shiḳāḳī tribe attempted to seize the supreme power, and appointed his brother Muḥammad 'Alī Sulṭān to Tabrīz. The Dumbulī Khāns took an active part in suppressing the rising, and in return, Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh confirmed Dja'far Ḳulī Khān Dumbulī in the governorship of Tabrīz. The latter as soon as he arrived in Tabrīz in 1213/1798 formed a coalition with Ṣādiḳ Khān, who had re-established himself in Sarāb, and the Afshār Khān of Urmiya, and shaking off "the dependence which was so slight that it really was absolute independence" drove out the Shāh's representatives. Troops were sent against Dja'far Khān who, with the help of the Kurds, held out for some time in Khoy; cf. Sir Harford Brydges, *The dynasty of the Kajars*, London 1833, 50, 84, etc. In 1214/1799 the heir to the throne of Persia, 'Abbās Mīrzā, established himself in Tabrīz with Aḥmad Khān Muḳaddam (of Marāgha) as his *beglerbegi*. Dja'far Khān sought refuge in Russia [see SHAḲḲĪ], but for some time other members of the Dumbulī family continued to rule in Tabrīz.

After the incorporation of Georgia into Russia (1801), complications between Russia and Persia gradually increased and Tabrīz became the principal centre of Persian activities. 'Abbās Mīrzā set himself the task of Europeanising the Persian army. An important English mission, including a number of very notable explorers of Persia (Ouseley, iii, 399; Ritter, ix, 876-80), made its headquarters in Tabrīz. The English and Russian diplomatic missions (the secretary and later head of the latter was the famous writer Griboyedov, later assassinated) also came to the court of 'Abbās Mīrzā. The energetic heir to the throne built arsenals, cannon foundries, depots and workshops. After the trials it had undergone the town was, however, but a shadow of the splendid city of the time of Chardin. Tancoigne (1807) estimated its population at 50-60,000 including several Armenian families; Dupré (1809) at 40,000 with 50 Armenian families. Kinneir gives Tabrīz ("one of the most wretched cities") only 30,000 inhabitants. Morier, who in the account of his first journey (1809) had given the exaggerated figure of 50,000 houses with 250,000 inhabitants,

in his second journey confines himself to saying that Tabrīz had only a tenth of its pristine magnificence and that it had no public buildings of note.

The Russo-Persian wars filled the period to 1828. During the operations of 1827, the General Prince Eristov, with the help of certain discontented Khāns, entered Tabrīz with 3,000 soldiers on 3 Rabīʿ II 1243/24 October 1827. ʿAbbās Mīrzā was away and opinions in the town were divided. Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Dawla was for continuing the struggle, but an important cleric, the Imām Mīrzā Fattāḥ, insisted on surrender and opened the gates of the town to the Russians. (After the peace, Mīrzā Fattāḥ had to leave Persia and take refuge in Transcaucasia.) The commander-in-chief Count Paskevič then came to Tabrīz and met ʿAbbās Mīrzā at Dih-Kharraḳān. An armistice was signed, but the court of Tehran did not approve of the terms. The Russians resumed the offensive and occupied Urmiya, Marāgha and Ardabīl. The peace of Turkman-čay 5 Shaʿbān 1243, 22 February 1828 [see TÜRKMEN ČAY[Ī]], which fixed the frontier on the Araxes, finally put an end to the Russian occupation (*uruslukh*).

After the time of ʿAbbās Mīrzā, Tabrīz became the official residence of the heir to the Persian throne. Down to the accession of Muḥammad Shāh in 1250/1834, the British and Russian diplomatic missions spent most of their time in Tabrīz (J.B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, ii, 247). Their transfer to Tehran marked the definite transference by the Ḳādjārs of the political capital to that city. Down to the end of the 19th century, little of general importance marked the life of Tabrīz. On 27 Shaʿbān 1286/8 July 1850, the Bāb [*q.v.*] was executed in Tabrīz at the entrance to the arsenal (*djaba-khāna*). In 1880, the approach of the Kurds under Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh [see SHAMDĪNĀN] greatly disturbed the people of Tabrīz. Gates were put up between the quarters to isolate them if necessary, but the Kurds did not go beyond the Bināb.

The consolidation of Ḳādjār power secured peace for Ādharbāydjān, and Tabrīz gradually recovered. In spite of the terrible ravages of cholera and plague in 1830-1, the census made in Tabrīz in 1842 recorded 9,000 families or 100-120,000 people (Berezin). In 1895 the number of inhabitants was estimated at 150-200,000, of whom 3,000 were Armenians (S.G. Wilson, *Persian life and customs*, London 1896, 53). Twenty years later, the population was certainly over 200,000 and, in spite of the rudimentary nature of the municipal organisation, the town showed every sign of prosperity. The trade of Tabrīz, after a period of stagnation developed, especially between 1833 and 1836, but the too great excess of imports from Russia over exports from Persia produced a great crisis in 1837. The opening of the route by Transcaucasia (Poti-Baku) meant considerable competition for the parallel route Trebizond-Tabrīz.

Twentieth century. The history of Tabrīz in the opening years of the century was very stirring. The Turks of Tabrīz (who are the result of intermarriage of Persians with Ghuzz, Mongols, Turkomans, etc.), played a very important part in the Persian nationalist and revolutionary movement. Open rebellion broke out in Tabrīz on 23 June 1908, the day of the bombardment of the Parliament in Tehran. The names of Saṭṭār Khān, a former horse-dealer who became chief of the Amīr Khīz quarter, and his companion Bāḳir Khān, are closely associated with the brave defence of Tabrīz, but darker sides of their activity were noted by E.G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910, 491-2. The government troops under Prince ʿAyn al-Dawla surrounded the town, and at the beginning of February 1909 blockaded it completely. On 20 April the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg agreed to send to Tabrīz a Russian force "to facilitate the entrance into the town of the necessary provisions, to protect the consulates and foreign subjects, and to help those who so desired to leave the town". The Russian troops led by General Snarski entered Tabrīz on 30 April 1909 (Browne, *op. cit.*, 274). The negotiations for their withdrawal lasted till 1911, when the Russian ultimatum presented at Tehran on 29 November provoked a new agitation in the country. On 21 December the *fidāʾīs* of Tabrīz attacked the weak Russian detachment, distributed about the town, and inflicted considerable losses on them. This had the immediate result of the despatch to Tabrīz of a Russian brigade under Voropanov, which arrived on the eve of the new year. The Russian military tribunal pronounced several death sentences (including one on the Thiḳat al-Islām, an important member of the Shaykhī sect [see SHAYKHIYYA]). In October 1912 the Turkish detachments who occupied the "disputed" districts west of Ādharbāydjān were recalled, but the question of the Russo-Turkish frontier [see KURDS, KURDISTĀN] remained still undecided. The Russian troops therefore remained in Ādharbāydjān till 1914, when the First World War broke out [see further on the constitutional movement, DUSTŪR, iv. Īrān].

At the beginning of December, the Kurdish irregulars commanded by Ottoman officers began a movement from Sawdj-bulāḳ towards Marāgha and Tabrīz. At the same time, Enwer Pasha's raid on Sari-ḳamish (south of Ḳarṣ) threatened the whole Russian army in the Caucasus. Orders were given to evacuate Ādharbāydjān. Between 17 December 1914 and 6 January 1915, the Russian troops and, following them, the bulk of the local Christian population, had left Tabrīz. On 8 January Aḥmad Mukhtār Bey Shamkhal, at the head of a body of Kurds, entered the town. The situation changed suddenly, and on 31 January the Russians, returning in force, re-occupied Tabrīz (see the details in the book by the former German consul in Tabrīz, W. Litten, *Persische Flitterwochen*, Berlin 1925, 8-127).

Since 1906, a paved road connecting Tabrīz with the Russian frontier (Djulfā, terminus of the Russian railway) had been constructed by the Russian government company, which had obtained the concession from the Persian government. The work of changing this road into a railway was now actively hurried on, and it was opened to traffic at the beginning of May 1916. The railway (80 miles long, with a branch line from Sofiyan to Lake Urmiya 25 miles long) was the first to be built on Persian territory [see SIKKAT AL-ḤADĪD].

The Russian army on the Persian frontier had become disorganised on the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917. Ādharbāydjān was evacuated at the beginning of 1918. The representatives of the Persian central government, and even the Crown Prince, had remained all this time at their places, but when the last Russian detachment left Tabrīz on 28 February 1918, the actual power passed into the hands of the local committee of the Democratic Party and its head Ismāʿīl Nawbarī.

Meanwhile, the Turks emerging from their inactivity, quickly occupied the frontiers abandoned by the Russians. On 18 June 1918, the Ottoman advance guard entered Tabrīz. On 8 July General ʿAlī Iḥsān Pasha arrived, and on 25 August Kāẓim Ḳara Bekir

Pas͟ha, who commanded the army corps. The Ottoman authorities banished Nawbarī and supported the appointment of Madjd al-Salṭana as governor of Ādharbāydjān. This troubled situation lasted for a year, and only with the arrival in Tabrīz of the new Governor-General *sipāhsālār* (June 1910) did affairs begin to resume their normal course. Complete order was only established under Riḍā K͟hān [see RIḌĀ S͟HĀH], who became first of all Minister of War and later ruler of Persia.

By the treaty of 26 February 1921, the Soviet government renounced all the old concessions in Persia, and the railway from Tabrīz to Djulfā built at the expense of the Russian government thus became the property of the Persian state.

Tabrīz suffered after the Constitutional period from the decline of the transit trade from Turkey and Russia, and from a lack of favour by the Pahlawīs, suspicious of Azeri political and linguistic separatist feelings. From being in the 19th century the second city of Persia, in 1980 it was the fourth one, with a population of some 600,000, risen by 1991 to 1,088,985 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). After the Second World War, however, streets were widened and public gardens laid out. Local industries include the traditional one of carpet-weaving, plus textile manufacturing, leatherworking, agriculture and food processing, etc. A railway links Tabrīz via Zandjān and Kazwīn with the Trans-Persian line at Tehran, whilst a westwards extension to Van in eastern Turkey has been constructed.

With the abdication of Riḍā S͟hāh in September 1941, Russian troops occupied Tabrīz and northwestern Persia for military and strategic reasons. Their control there enabled the Soviets to encourage and train pro-Communist elements there, so that, although British troops withdrew from southern Persia in March 1946, Russian troops remained. Tabrīz had meanwhile become the capital, proclaimed there on 10 December 1945, of an autonomous, potentially secessionist, régime of the Democrat Party in Ādharbāydjān under a veteran Bolshevik leader, Dja'far Pīs͟hawarī. The régime was not wholly kept in power by Soviet manipulation, but expressed some genuine local grievances against Riḍā S͟hāh's centralisation policies and discrimination against the use of Azeri Turkish. It made a start on land reform and nationalisation of the larger banks, and a University of Tabrīz was inaugurated, but there was a real danger of complete secession and possible union with the Azerbaijan S.S.R. In fact, the diplomatic skills of the Prime Minister in Tehran, Aḥmad Ḳawām al-Salṭana, American pressure and unfavourable publicity for the Soviet Union in the United Nations Organisation, brought about a Soviet abandonment of their erstwhile protégés. The Imperial Persian army entered Tabrīz on 12 December 1946, and a purge began of pro-Communist elements, with Pīs͟hawarī fleeing to Baku. In the ensuing years, Tabrīz and Ādharbāydjān in general suffered from the profound suspicions of the Tehran government regarding Ādharbāydjānī secessionist sentiment, seen *inter alia* in a discouragement in schools, etc., of the majority Azeri Turkish language, an attitude which was only gradually relaxed somewhat by the 1970s.

Bibliography: For the mediaeval period, see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 161-3; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 1000 ff., 1955-74; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1983, 217-23; the works of Jahn and Mas͟hkūr cited in the *Bibl.* to 2. below; Judith G. Kolbas, *Mongol money. The role of Tabriz from Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu, 616 to 709 AH/1220 to 1309 AD*, U.M.I. dissertation services, Ann Arbor 1992; also L. Lockhart, *Famous cities of Iran*, London 1939, 19-23. For detailed bibl. of Western travellers to and residents in Tabrīz, see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. s.v. See also those to *EI*[2] ĀDHARBĀYDJĀN and DUSTŪR, iv. For the modern period, see G. Lenczkowski, *Russia and the West in Iran 1918-1948*, Ithaca 1949: R. Rossow, *The battle of Azerbaijan, 1946*, in *MEJ*, x (1956), 17-32; E. Abrahamian, *Iran between the two revolutions*, Princeton 1982.

(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. Architecture.

In the early Islamic period, the city walls around Tabrīz enclosed a small urban area less than half a mile square on the south bank of the Mihrān River. Twelve gates led to bazaars surrounding the congregational mosque. When the Ilk͟hānid ruler G͟hazan made Tabrīz his capital, the urban area was tripled within a perimeter wall 25,000 paces around. To judge from contemporary reports by historians and travellers, the city's bazaars were particularly flourishing at this time. The city also had two major suburbs. The one on the west known as S͟hām (or S͟hanb)-i G͟hazan was centred on G͟hazan's dodecagonal tomb and included institutions of learning, a library, a hospital, and a mosque. The suburb on the east known as the Rabʿ-i Ras͟hīdī was centered on the tomb complex founded by the vizier Ras͟hīd al-Dīn in 709/1309. Although almost totally destroyed, it can be reconstructed from the text of its endowment deed (S.S. Blair, *Ilkhanid architecture and society. An analysis of the endowment deed of the Rabʿ-i Rashīdī*, in *Iran*, xxii [1984], 67-90). Surrounded by ramparts, the quarter had a monumental entrance leading to the founder's tomb complex, a hospice, a *k͟hānaḳāh*, a hospital and service buildings. The endowment provided upkeep for the buildings, support for more than 300 employees and slaves, and for the copying of luxury manuscripts of the Ḳur'ān, *ḥadīt͟h* and Ras͟hīd al-Dīn's own works (eadem, *Patterns of production and patronage in Ilkhanid Iran. The case of Rashid al-din*, in *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, x, 1996).

The only monument to survive from Ilk͟hānid Tabrīz is the congregational mosque founded *ca.* 710/1310 by the vizier Tādj al-Dīn 'Alīs͟hāh just outside the southern gate to the city. Now known as the Arg or fortress, it comprised a huge barrel-vaulted hall (30 x 65 m with walls 10 m thick), flanked by a *madrasa* and *zāwiya* and fronting on a large, lavishly-decorated courtyard with a pool (reconstruction in D. Wilber, *The architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il-Khānid period*, Princeton 1955, no. 51). The vault, meant to surpass the fabled Sasanian *īwān* at Ctesiphon, fell soon after its construction.

Tabrīz continued to be a major metropolis and artistic centre after the demise of the Ilk͟hānids. The Dawlatk͟hāna, the palace built by the Djalāyirid sultan Uways (r. 757-76/1356-74), for example, was reported to have had 20,000 rooms decorated with paintings. After the Tīmūrids took the city several times, many of its public monuments were destroyed and its artisans carried off to Central Asia, but building was resumed under the Turkmen confederations of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, and the garden suburbs north of the river were developed. The most famous was the garden created by the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan (r. 857-82/1453-78 [*q.v.*]), known from a lengthy description by a Venetian merchant who visited the city in the 1460s (summarised in L. Golombek and D. Wilber, *The Timurid architecture*

of Iran and Turan, Princeton 1988, 178-9). A vast area lined by populars, the garden centred on a large octagonal palace called Hasht Bihisht ("Eight Paradises"). Set on a raised marble plinth, it measured some 63 to 72 m in circumference and had a central domed hall surrounded by 32 rooms. Other amenities included an adjacent pool, a guest house with many rooms to the east and a covered hall overlooking the garden.

The best surviving example of the rich architectural patronage left by the Turkmens is the Blue Mosque or Masdjid-i kabūd, so-called because of the extraordinary blue tile revetment that covered both interior and exterior surfaces (F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1901-10, 27-32; Dj.T. Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Naḳshhā va nigāshtihā-yi masdjid-i kabūd-i tabrīz*, Tabrīz 1348/1969; Golombek and Wilber, no. 214). Located outside the south-east entrance to the city, it was part of the complex erected in 870/1465 by Khātūn Djān, wife of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu sultan Djahānshāh. According to an endowment deed dating from the previous year, the complex included a hospice for Ṣūfīs with two pools fed by a canal and was intended as a mausoleum for the queen and her family. The mosque has an unusual plan, with a domed square hall (diameter 16 m) enclosed on three sides by a U-shaped corridor covered with nine domes. Behind the square hall on the axis of the main entrance is a smaller domed hall containing a *miḥrāb*. The tile revetment is unequalled in variety and technical virtuosity and includes not only the standard floral and arabesque designs but also medallion-shaped panels set against a background of unglazed brick tiles. The hall with the *miḥrāb* was particularly lavishly decorated, with a white marble dado surmounted by a revetment of small purple-glazed hexagonal tiles accented with designs in gold leaf.

Wars between the Ṣafawids and Ottomans in the 16th century took their toll on the city's monuments, as did repeated earthquakes, but with the growing importance of the Russian frontier, Tabrīz again became of special interest under the Ḳādjārs. New boulevards were cut through the city core, and mosques and caravanserais were erected after the devastating earthquake of 7 January 1780, the strongest ever to hit the city. Large gardens, such as the Bagh-i Shimāl on the north, were added and became the stage for intriguing among foreigners.

Bibliography: In addition to the studies on individual sites cited in the text, see K. Jahn, *Täbris, ein mittelalterliches Kulturzentrum zwischen Ost und West*, in *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse*, cv/16 (1968), 201-12; ʿA. Kārang, *Āthār-i bāstānī-yi Ādharbāydjān*, i, Tehran 1351/1972; M.Dj. Mashkūr, *Tārīkh-i Tabrīz tā pāyān-i karn-i nuhum-i hidjrī*, Tehran 1352/1973; C. Melville, *Historical monuments and earthquakes in Tabriz*, in *Iran*, xix (1981), 159-77; and art. *Tabriz*, in *The dictionary of art*, London 1996. (Sheila S. Blair)

TABRĪZĪ, the *nisba* normally to be expected from the name of the city in Ādharbāydjān of Tabrīz [*q.v.*]. This was, however, hypercorrected by early Arab writers to al-Tibrīzī. Hence in the *EI* early scholars writing in Arabic appear under this latter form, whereas those writing in Persian during later times or emanating from Tabrīz appear under *Tabrīzī*.

TABRĪZĪ, Aḥmad Kasrawī [see kasrawī tabrīzī].

TABRĪZĪ, Ḳāsim-i Anwār [see ḳāsim-i anwār].

TABRĪZĪ, Muḥammad ʿAṣṣār [see ʿaṣṣār].

TABRĪZĪ, Muḥammad Ḥusayn [see muḥammad ḥusayn tabrīzī].

TABRĪZĪ, Shams-i [see shams-i tabrīz(ī)].

al-**TABRĪZĪ**, Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Khalaf [see burhān].

TABSHĪR [see Suppl.].

TABŪK, a town of northwestern Arabia, now the centre of an *imāra* or province of Saudi Arabia (lat. 28° 22' N., long. 36° 32' E., altitude 6,500 m/2,250 feet), some 233 km/145 south-south-east of Maʿān and separated from the Red Sea and Gulf of ʿAkaba by the Ḥismā mountains.

It seems to be the Thapaua of Ptolemy, and formed part of the Roman *Provincia Arabia* set up in A.D. 106. It was in the tribal area of the Banū Kalb, and later had a Byzantine military post, in the environs of which lived Arabs of the Lakhm, ʿĀmila and Djudhām tribes [*q.vv.*]. In the summer of 9/630, the Prophet Muḥammad ordered preparations for a raid from Medina on Tabūk, where he had heard the Byzantines and Arab tribes were assembling., this being his second attempt in this direction after the abortive Mu'ta [*q.v.*] expedition of the previous year. However, many Muslims were reluctant to go on the expedition in the summer heat and during the harvest period, so that it was referred to as the *ghazwat al-ʿusra* "raid of hardship"; the laggards were denounced in Sūrat al-Tawba, IX, of the Ḳur'ān. The Prophet did not make contact with hostile forces at Tabūk, but received the submission of some local chiefs of the region and the Gulf of ʿAḳaba-Red Sea coastal region (sc. Midian [see madyan shuʿayb]). An expedition was sent out under Khālid b. al-Walīd against Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Kindī, the Christian ruler of Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*], who also submitted and agreed to pay the *djizya*. Muḥammad then appointed ʿAmr (or al-Ḥakam) b. al-ʿĀṣ to govern northwestern Arabia, with Muʿādh b. Djabal as collector (*djābī*) of the *ṣadaḳa*. In 98/716 the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz built a mosque at Tabūk, the Masdjid al-Tawba, on the spot where the Prophet had prayed, a mosque revered through the centuries by pilgrims passing through the town en route for Medina. This was several times repaired, with the present mosque built by King Fayṣal Āl Suʿūd in 1393/1973.

Tabūk's importance as a station of the Syrian *ḥadjdj* route was because of the availability of water in its well, which was blessed by the Prophet. Pilgrims and travellers used to encamp there to fill their water skins, and occasionally, as in 937/1530, marauding Arab tribes attacked the pilgrims and prevented them from reaching the water in Tabūk or elsewhere. The region has a great amount of underground water, which accounts for the notable agricultural schemes which have been implemented there. The well was well maintained by the Ottomans, who provided it with a pumping machine to keep the water clean, as part of their project to build the Ḥidjāz Railway [*q.v.*]. References in geographical texts indicate that there had been palm, olive, lemon, and grape trees at Tabūk; grapes from Tabūk were well-known in the Ḥidjāz.

Two years after Bedouin attacks against the Pilgrimage caravan in 965/1557, Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent ordered the construction of a number of fortresses along the pilgrimage routes, including one at Tabūk. A surviving inscription states that it was rebuilt in 1064/1653. It had a mosque and a well, and was flanked by two ponds. Tabūk enjoyed security because of the fortress, with its permanent garrison that was provided even with cannons. This explains the degree of prosperity that it enjoyed, as is reflected in the 17th century travellers' accounts;

Syrian merchants went at Tabūk to meet the pilgrims on their return and sell them provisions, sweets, and clothing.

Tabūk was visited by a number of European travellers, sc. Georg August Wallin (1850) and Charles Doughty (1877), who provided a grim picture of it as a place with few residents, while Charles Huber (1884) stated that it had been totally deserted by its inhabitants. This changed by the start of the 20th century as a result of the construction of the Ḥidjāz Railway, to which Tabūk was connected. It was selected as one of the workshop stations, a new suburb was built, and a hospital and medical quarantine were established. Eight buildings referred to as the Ḳalʿa, which are still extant, were constructed, and as noted above, water resources were managed and the mosque was rebuilt.

When the Kingdom of the Ḥidjāz was declared following the Arab Revolt, Tabūk was part of the new province of Maʿān that was created in 1432/1924 by King Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Two years after the Ḥidjāz was annexed by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 1344/1925, an *amīr* was appointed over Tabūk and took up residence in the fortress. A number of governors, mostly members of the Sudayrī family and the Suʿūdī royal family, succeeded to this office.

During the 19th century, the inhabitants of Tabūk were from the Ḥamīdāt clan, but with passage of time and its growth, people of diverse origins settled in the city, which was surrounded by a number of different tribes, *viz.* the ʿAṭiyya, Balī, Ḥuwayṭāt, and ʿAnaza. It has developed, thus, from a small settlement into an urban centre due to development schemes, and today it is the northern-western gateway of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

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ṬABŪR (t.) (a word which has passed into French in the form *tabor*), from Eastern Turkī *tapḳūr* and *ṭapḳūr*, denoting a pallisade formed of waggons arranged in a circle or square; a body of troops sent out for reconnaissance; a battalion; or a body of about 1,000 men commanded by a *biñbashī* (chief of a thousand).

In Morocco, from the mid-19th century, it denoted the first permanent military units. Under the French Protectorate, the term was applied to a group made up of several goums (*gūm*, an armed group of *ca.* 150 men commanded by officers of the Indigenous Affairs Department), hence parallel to a battalion. Several *ṭabūrs* could make up a regiment. The Moroccan *ṭabūrs* acquitted themselves gloriously in the Italian campaign (1944) and that of Indo-China (1945-54). Goums and tabors have formed the nucleus of the Royal Moroccan Army since Independence.

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TADALLĪS, Tedellès, the town now known as Dellys on the Algerian coast in the *wilāya* of Tizi-Ouzou (lat. 36° 57' N., long. 3° 55' E.). It is 110 km/70 miles east of Algiers and 5 km/3 miles to the east of the mouth of the Sebaou (Wādī Sabāw), the main river of Kabylia, from which it is separated by a mountain massif.

1. Geographical situation.

The urban centre has developed on a slope towards the sea. It falls into three parts. In the north, the Arab-Kabyle town is the most densely populated and the only ancient quarter existing in Lower Kabylia; then, bordering on the ravine and developing to the south of that, is the town from colonial times; and to the east, there is the port quarter linked to the upper town by stairways or sinuous, very steep ways, as well as by the road which describes a hairpin bend to avoid the abrupt change of levels. Finally, the suburban zone of the gardens, attributed to the arrival of the Andalusians, has developed on the old, raised bank which looks northward; a centre for new development (dating from the War of Independence), the Garden City, has been formed with solid houses built within little patches of ground enclosed by reed hedges. As for the small blocks of apartments, these appeared after the years 1958-62 in order to accommodate an influx of rural population and as a result of the strengthening of the administrative infrastructure. The little port (designed by the colonial authorities with the aim of making Dellys both the administrative centre of Lower Kabylia, easy of access, and also an entrepôt and landing-place in case of troubles) is protected from the north-west winds by a promontory; hence is of a type of site for ports frequent along the Algerian coast.

Before 1860, Dellys was the only town of Lower Kabylia. In 1844 it had 1,150 inhabitants, in 1886, 3,900, and in 1968, 20,000. The people are of Kabyle Berber origin, but like the majority of tribes in the neighbourhood, speak only Arabic.

2. History.

The site of Dellys was occupied in the Roman period by the town of Rusucurru, a few traces of which have been discovered (remains of walls, cisterns, etc.). This town must have been destroyed at the Arab conquest, and for long the site remained uninhabited. Al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. de Slane, 135) does mention a port situated to the east of Marsā 'l-Ḥadjadj which he calls the town of the Banū Djannād.

The name itself under the form Tadellast, Tadellist ("the cottage") does not appear till the period when the Ḥammādid sovereigns [see ḥammādids] established their capital in Bougie. Owing to its position, which enabled relations to be easily established with the people of the valley of the Sebaou, this little town acquired a certain commercial and military importance; it even had a Ḥammādid governor. In 496/1102-3, the sultan al-Manṣūr gave this office to a prince of Almeria who had taken refuge in Africa. Al-Idrīsī (104) describes Tadāʾilīs as a town on an eminence and surrounded by a strong wall. He mentions the fertility of the country around, the low cost of living, and the abun-

dance of cattle which were exported to the adjacent regions. After the fall of the Ḥammādid kingdoms, Dellys passed under the rule of the Almohads, was taken by Yaḥyā b. Isḥāḳ Ibn G͟hāniya (622/1226-7), and then its possession was disputed among the Almohads, Zayyānids, Ḥafṣids and the Marīnids, who took it in 796/1394. In the 9th/15th century, according to Leo Africanus (bk. iv, tr. Schefer, iii, 69), Dellys shared the fate of Algiers. Like all the towns on the coast, it received a number of refugees from Spain who must have contributed to the economic and intellectual life of the town. Leo (*loc. cit.*) says that the inhabitants engaged in dyeing, traded successfully and were noted for their skill in playing the lute. As to their fashion of dress, he says it is like that of the people of al-Djazā'ir. When the Algerians had submitted to Spain (1510), the people of Dellys followed their example, but in 1517 it was retaken by ʿArūdj [*q.v.*]. The Turks put a garrison there and made the town a base of operations against the tribes of the valley of Sebaou. Although the inhabitants kept up a constant intercourse by sea with Algiers, Dellys only vegetated under Turkish rule. It was a wretched village when the French occupied it on 7 May 1844. A European quarter was established there two years later. The conquest of Kabylia, which was followed by the transfer of the military establishment to Tizi-Ouzou and Fort-National, arrested its development. In the course of the insurrection of 1871, Dellys was blockaded on the land side by the Kabyles (April-May), but maintained its own communication by sea so that it could not be taken by the rebels.

After that time, peace reigned, with only a little European colonisation developing on the town's outskirts.

Because of its tripartite nature, with three distinct nuclei, the town hardly possesses a centre, unless it be the square which, together with the municipal headquarters and the post office, forms the geometric centre of the three quarters. Most of the shops and commercial activity are aligned on the street which runs to the north-east of the square, in the direction of Algiers; others (and also some of the administrative services) are along the road which goes down towards the coast in a southwest direction, and also in the little street which one takes for going in the direction of the Djebel Bou Arbi. Finally, some businesses and cafés are grouped at the port, without any of these three poles being exclusive for these various activities; thus, e.g. some small booths can be found in the narrow streets of the old town. Some buildings are on the periphery, such as the technical high school and the collective apartments. Finally, some small units of production (shoes, food processing) are spread out within the whole urban area. Dellys nevertheless suffers from its position away from the main axes of development in contemporary Algeria; since the last century, the building of the Algiers-Tizi-Ouzou railway has strongly affected the commercial activities linked to the presence of the port.

In sum, Dellys forms an authentic small town, with firm roots and with a relative firm social coherence. Its original feature lies in the fact that it has an active population, anciently established, better educated and less agricultural in origin than in the other towns of Lower Kabylia.

Bibliography: Col. Robin, *Notes sur l'organisation militaire des Turcs dans le Grande Kabylie*, in *RAfr.* (1873); S.A. Boulifa, *Le Djurdjura à travers l'histoire*, Algiers 1925; P. Peillon, *L'occupation humaine en Basse-Kabylie. Peuplement et habitat dans une zone intermédiaire du Tell algérien*, diss. Univ. of Lyons II, 1972, unpubl.

See also the Bibls. to *EI*[1] KABYLIA and *EI*[2] AL-DJAZĀ'IR.

(G. YVER-[J. BISSON])

TADBĪR (A.), *maṣdar* or verbal noun of form II of the root *d-b-r*.

1. In the sense of "direction, administration".

The Arabic lexicographers explain *dabbara* as a verb from the noun *dubur* "the hindmost, the end" (opposite, *ḳubul*), meaning "to consider the end, or result, of an affair" (see *LA*, *s.r.*, *an tanẓura ilā mā ta'ūlu ilayhi ʿāḳibatuhū* "to heed what one attains at the end of the matter"; cf. Lane, 844), hence "to manage, or conduct the affairs (as of a country, *umūr al-bilād*)". But it is most likely a loanword from Aramaic, cf. Syriac *dabbar* "to run, govern, administer (something)", though strangely not listed in Fraenkel's *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*.

As a technical term, *tadbīr* is used: (a) in the sense of "government, administration", synonymously with *siyāsa* [*q.v.*] (e.g. in the title of an ethical-political compendium by Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ, *Sulūk al-mālik fī tadbīr al-mamālik*), and (b) in the phrase *tadbīr al-manzil* = οἰκονομία, "administration, management of a household". (This, in its turn, is called *al-siyāsa* in Ibn Sīnā's treatise on the subject, see below.) Thus for example, Ibn K͟haldūn says in his *Muḳaddima* (ed. Quatremère, i, 62, cf. iii, 127, on *siyāsa madaniyya*, and tr. F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddima*, i, 78): "Political government (*al-siyāsa al-madaniyya*) is the administration of a household or of a city (*tadbīr al-manzil aw al-madīna*) in accordance with the demands of ethics (*ak͟hlāḳ*) and philosophy (*ḥikma*) for the purpose of directing the mass towards behaviour that will result in the preservation of the [human] species".

The *Tadbīr al-manzil* is one of the three subdivisions of practical philosophy in the Hellenistic tradition; ethics (*ʿilm al-ak͟hlāḳ*), economics (*ʿilm tadbīr al-manzil*), and politics (*ʿilm al-siyāsa*); going back to Aristotle, *Nicomachean ethics*, VI 8-9, 1141b31-2, 1142a9-10, this tripartition is well attested in later Greek and Syriac introductions to philosophy. In Arabic classifications, it is regularly referred to from the late 4th/10th century onwards, as in e.g. the *Rasā'il Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafā'* (Beirut 1957, i, 274: *ʿilm al-siyāsa al-k͟hāṣṣiyya*), al-K͟hʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 132, and in Ibn Sīnā's *Risāla fī aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya* (in *Tisʿ rasā'il*, Constantinople 1298/1881, 73, and ed. Ḥasan ʿĀṣī, Beirut 1986, 85).

The pseudo-Aristotelian *Œconomica*, dealing with the family household as a pre-political form of society, left few direct traces in the Arabic treatments of the topic. It is mentioned as a textbook by Abu 'l-Faradj Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043) in his prolegomena to Aristotelian philosophy, heavily dependent on Alexandrian Greek sources (*Tafsīr kitāb Ḳāṭīg͟hūriyās*, ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Muṣṭafā Fāḍil *ḥikma* 1, fol. 5a3), and also by Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* (ed. L. Cheikho, 39). Ibn al-Ṭayyib most probably wrote the epitome of *Œcon.* book 1, entitled *T͟himār maḳālat Arisṭū fī tadbīr al-manzil*, extant in two mss. (Escurial[2] 888, among similar *t͟himār/istit͟hmār* compendia by Ibn al-Ṭayyib, and Zaḥle (Lebanon), Maʿlūf collection, ed. ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf, in *RAAD*, i [1921], 377-85).

All other Arabic treatments of economics depend directly or indirectly upon the *Oikonomikos* of the neo-Pythagorean philosopher Bryson (2nd century A.D.?), a small work dealing in four chapters with the main topics set by ps.-Aristotle: 1. the necessity, acquisition, preservation and spending of property (*māl*), 2. the treatment of slaves, 3. the tasks of women in the household and the rôle of man and woman in mat-

rimony, and 4. the education of children—everything being regarded in view of attaining the greatest possible good fortune. The unique ms. of the original (4th/10th century?) Arabic version (*Kitāb Brys fī tadbīr al-radjul li-manzilihī*, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Taymūr *akhlāk* 290, pp. 62-96) was edited by L. Cheikho (in *Machriq*, xix [1921], 161-81; idem, *Anciens traités arabes*, Beirut 1920-3, 13-33) and re-edited—with the mediaeval Hebrew and Latin versions and a German translation—by M. Plessner, *Der* Οἰκονομικός, 144-259. "Bryson" (*Burūsun*, also *Ubrūsun*, *Burūsīs* and other variants) is first quoted as the standard textbook of economics by Miskawayh (*Tahdhīb al-akhlāk*, ed. K. Zurayk, Beirut 1966, 55 ff.), and Ibn Sīnā (*R. fī aksām al-ʿulūm al-ʿakliyya*, in *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, *loc. cit.*), and then in many later encyclopaedias and classifications of the sciences, as by Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348), *Irshād al-kāṣid* (ed. J.J. Witkam, *De egyptische arts Ibn al-Akfānī en zijn indeling van de wetenschappen*, Leiden 1989, 64, 1, 845), followed by Ṭāshköprüzāde (d. 968/1561) in his *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda* (ed. Kāmil Bakrī and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Abu ʾl-Nūr, Cairo n.d., i, 407). Important excerpts are found in Miskawayh's *Tahdhīb* (*loc. cit.*), used also by al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, books 12-14, see Plessner, 131 ff.), in the *K. al-Siyāsa* of Ibn Sīnā (ed. L. Maʿlūf, in *Machriq*, ix [1906] = idem, *Traités inédits d'anciens philosophes arabes*, Beirut 1911, 1-17), and in the *Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra*, a handbook on trade written between the end of the 4th/10th and the middle of the 5th/10th century by Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Dimashkī (analysed by H. Ritter, *Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*). Independent use of the same source was made by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in the second part of his *Akhlāk-i Nāṣirī*, expanded from other Muslim Arabic and Iranian sources (Plessner, 52-103). All later treatments of the subject—as in the ethical manuals of al-Īdjī, al-Āmulī, al-Dawānī, etc.—depend on al-Ṭūsī's exposition of economics.

Bibliography: Christel Hein, *Definition und Einteilung der Philosophie: von der spätantiken Einleitungsliteratur zur arabischen Enzyklopädie*, Frankfurt am Main etc., 1985, 226-32, 320, 324; M. Plessner, *Der* Οἰκονομικός *des Neupythagoreers Bryson und sein Einfluss auf die islamische Wissenschaft*, Heidelberg 1928 (diss., Breslau 1925); idem, art. *Bryson*, in *PW*, Suppl. 11, Stuttgart 1968, 356-7; M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893, 227-9; H. Ritter, *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, in *Isl.*, vii (1917), 4-14; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Akhlāk-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Mudjtabā Mīnuwī and ʿAlī-Riḍā Ḥaydarī, Tehran 1356/1977 ([5]1373/1995), 205-44; *The Nasirean Ethics*, tr. G.M. Wickens, London, 1964, 151-84. See also TIDJĀRA. 2, 3.

(W. HEFFENING-[G. ENDRESS])

2. In the sense of "manumission of a slave".

This is a type of manumission which, however, only becomes operative after the death of the master. *Dabbara* is in this case a verb formed from the noun *dubur* "(life's) end", i.e. death, see *LʿA*, v, 358; al-Muṭarrizī, *Mughrib*, s.v. The manumitted slave (*mudabbar*) is in the same legal position as the *umm walad* [*q.v.*], except that, in the calculating of a dead man's estate for inheritance purposes, the cost of the manumission of an *umm walad* is to be debited wholly to the man's assets, but only one-third of the cost of manumitting a *mudabbar*.

Bibliography: D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1926, i, 122; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 129, 169. See also ʿABD. (W. HEFFENING*)

TADHKIRA (A.), "memorandum" or "aide-mémoire". The word is considered a verbal noun of the form II verb *dhakkara* "to remind", but already in its nine occurrences in the Ḳurʾān it tends to mean a concrete "reminder" rather than a verbal "reminding".

1. In Arabic literature.

Tadhkira occurs not infrequently in the titles of books. From a closer scrutiny of these titles, two clusters of books emerge that represent two different "genres" of text presentation: (1) handbooks and (2) notebooks. It should be noted that, in most cases, the word is not yet used as a strict technical term, although in its second meaning it comes close to being such.

In the sense of "handbook", the term appears in the titles of books in a large variety of fields. Here are a few characteristic examples: (a) *adab* encyclopaedia: *al-Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya* by Ibn Ḥamdūn (d. 562/1166 [*q.v.*]), ed. I. and B. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1996; (b) poetic anthology of the *Ḥamāsa* [*q.v.*] type: *al-Tadhkira al-Saʿdiyya fī ʾl-ashʿār al-ʿarabiyya* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Madjīd al-ʿUbaydī (8th/14th century), [vol. i], ed. ʿA. al-Djubūrī, Baghdād 1391/1972; (c) *ḥadīth* transmission: *al-Tadhkira fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* by Ibn al-Mulakkin (d. 804/1401), ed. ʿA.Ḥ.ʿA. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, ʿAmmān 1988; (d) Ḳurʾān readings: *al-Tadhkira fī ʾl-kirāʾāt* (title varies) by Ibn Ghalbūn (d. 389/999), ed. ʿA.B. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1990; (e) theology: *al-Tadhkira fī ʾl-djawāhir wa ʾl-aʿrāḍ* by Ibn Mattawayh (5th/11th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), ed. S.N. Luṭf and F.B. ʿAwn, Cairo [1975]; (f) medicine: *Tadhkirat ulī ʾl-albāb wa ʾl-djāmiʿ li ʾl-ʿadjab al-ʿudjāb* by Dāwūd al-Anṭākī (d. 1008/1599 [*q.v.*]); (g) ophthalmology: *Tadhkirat al-kaḥḥālīn* by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Kaḥḥāl (5th/11th century [*q.v.*]), ed. Ghawth Muḥyi ʾl-Dīn al-Sharafī, Ḥaydarābād 1383/1964; (h) astronomy: *al-Tadhkira fī ʿilm al-hayʾa* by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274 [*q.v.*]), ed. F.J. Ragep, New York 1993; (i) biography: *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* by al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 [*q.v.*]) and *Tadhkirat al-nuḥāt* by Abū Ḥayyān (d. 745/1344 [*q.v.*]), ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Beirut 1986. The Persian and Turkish use of the term for a biographical dictionary of poets (see below) is attested in Arabic too, but is probably due to Ottoman influence, thus *al-Tadhkira* by al-Fayyūmī (ʿAbd al-Barr b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, d. 1071/1660 in Istanbul, cf. Brockelmann, II[2], 377).

In its second meaning the word refers to, sometimes huge, collections of text snippets that the compiler found of interest to himself and gathered mainly for his own use. Some of these have been at least partially preserved, the best known perhaps being *al-Tadhkira al-Ṣalāḥiyya* of al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]) in thirty volumes, of which a stray number is found in various libraries. The oblong book format of the *safīna* seems to be popular for these notebooks, in which case the word may appear in the title (cf. e.g. Brockelmann, II[2], 391, 558, S II, 55, 387, 402, 416, 912). These collections often contain valuable materials not found elsewhere. Thus the *Safīna* of ʿAlī b. Mubārakshāh (mid-9th/15th century) has yielded unknown *zadjals* by Ibn Ḳuzmān and others (see W. Hoenerbach and H. Ritter, *Neue Materialien zum Zacal. I*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 266-316, see 267).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(W.P. HEINRICHS)

2. In Persian literature.

Although most often concerned with the lives of poets, some works called *tadhkira* deal with calligraphers, the Ahl al-Bayt, Ṣūfī *shaykhs* or other categories of memorable persons (see e.g. the variety of the

works mentioned by Storey). Actually, the oldest book carrying this term in its title is Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* ("Memoirs of the saints"), a collection of hagiographies. The special connotation of a work on literary biography was derived from the *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarā'* ("Memoirs of the poets"), completed by Dawlatshāh [*q.v.*] in 892/1487, which set an authoritative example for future generations. Basic to the genre is the combination of biography and anthology, although the importance of the latter frequently outweighs that of the former. *Tadhkiras* have often been criticised on account of their unreliability, especially as far as datings are concerned, and accused of recording legend rather than historical fact. Whatever limitations they may have as historical sources, it cannot be denied that the *tadhkiras* constitute the only form of literary history created by the tradition itself.

If each of its two aspects is considered separately, Dawlatshāh's work cannot be regarded as a complete innovation. Already during the preceding centuries, anthologies had been assembled in many different forms [see MUKHTĀRĀT]. ʿAwfī's [*q.v.*] *Lubāb al-albāb* (composed at Lahore, 617/1220-1), a precursor of the *tadhkira*, is still predominantly an anthology, but a biographical interest can be found also in other mediaeval genres. In the *Čahār maḳāla* (written *ca.* 550/1155), Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī [*q.v.*] related anecdotes on a number of great poets, which typify different sides of court poetry. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī [*q.v.*] added a separate chapter on the poets to his *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda* (tr. E.G. Browne, in *JRAS* [1900], 721-62 and [1901], 1-32), and other historiographers equally paid attention to the lives of poets. Short biographies of poets who were the pride of their native towns can be found in the geography *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād* by Zakariyyā' al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*]. The most important Ṣūfī poets were dealt with separately by Djāmī [*q.v.*] at the end of his hagiographical work *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, and he inserted a section on poets into the elegant prose work *Bahāristān*.

The genre of the *tadhkira* proliferated in the 10th/16th century and afterwards. A rough distinction can be made between general works, surveying the entire history of Persian poetry up to the time of the author, and those which are focussed on a specific period (usually the compiler's own), a region or a special kind of poetry; among the latter there are, e.g., works devoted to women poets only. General *tadhkiras* are often chronologically divided into sections on poets of the early period (*mutaḳaddimīn*), of the middle period (*mutawassiṭīn*) and recent times (*muta'akhkhirīn*). The information concerning older poets tends to be handed down cumulatively from one *tadhkira* to another, but even in a 19th century work like the comprehensive *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā'* by Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat [*q.v.*] there are data not to be be found in earlier works still extant. The most valuable data are, of course, those which refer to the author's contemporaries. (For further details on the history of the *tadhkiras*, see MUKHTĀRĀT.)

The *tadhkiras* have been drawn upon by modern writers on the history of Persian literature ever since Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall chose Dawlatshāh's work as the main source for *Die schönen Redekünste Persiens* (Vienna 1818). Nathaniel Bland introduced to Orientalist scholarship ʿAwfī's *Lubāb al-albāb*, as well as many other *tadhkiras*. This new material stimulated the study of the beginnings of Persian poetry, pursued notably by Hermann Ethé in a great number of articles. The *tadhkiras* have further provided a wealth of factual information to the authors of catalogues of Persian manuscripts.

Bibliography: The most comprehensive survey of Persian *tadhkiras* is A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Tārīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi fārsī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1348-50 *Sh.*/1969-71. See further N. Bland, *On the earliest Persian biography of poets, ... and some other works of the class called Tazkirat ul Shuârá*, in *JRAS*, ix (1848), 111-76; H. Ethé, in *GIPh*, ii, 213-7 ("Übersicht über die Quellen"); E.G. Browne, *The sources of Dawlatsháh...*, in *JRAS* (1899), 37-60; Storey, i/2, 781-922; F. Tauer, in J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 453 ff. (J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

3. In Turkish literature.

The first Turkic biography of poets was produced by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī in the Čaghatay dialect in 897/1491-2. His *Madjālis al-nafā'is*, along with two Persian works of this genre, Djāmī's *Bahāristān* (883/1478) and Dawlat Shāh's *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarā'* (892/1487) were known to, and used as models by, the first Ottoman biographer of poets, Sehī of Edirne (d. 955/1548 [*q.v.*]) who composed his *Hesht bihisht* in Ottoman Turkish and finished it in 945/1538. There are, altogether, twenty-four of these collections of biographies of note. The last one was completed in 1930 by İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal. Generally referred to as *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarā'* by the Ottomans, this uninterrupted series has contributed considerable detail to the history of Ottoman literature.

The compilers were mostly members of the *ʿulemā'* class and reflected the mentality, interests and tastes of this class. The *tedhkeres* themselves constitute the chief source of biographical detail on the biographers. Nearly all the biographers were poets in their own rights, and as such were featured in the works of colleagues who were their contemporaries or continuators. Biographical matter on the poets included in the *tedhkeres* was generally obtained from previous *tedhkeres*, secondary documentary sources and oral sources of one kind or another. The biographers, like the historians, demonstrate a desire to satisfy the need for an unbroken chain of recorded facts placed in works that could be serialised by means of *dheyls*. The poetic citations that were invariably added to the end of the biographies were acquired mainly from *dīwāns* and *medjmūʿas*.

The arrangement and length of individual notices vary between a few words to identify the poet to several folios. Each entry is identified most frequently by the *nom-de-plume* or *makhlaṣ* or, in the case of sultans, statesmen or administrators, by the given name. This is followed by the name of the town where they originated or the one in which they reside. There is little information given about ancestry and date of birth, but more information is supplied on the date of death. Generally, details concerning the education and training of poets are restricted to the *ʿulemā'*, and citations pertaining to careers and professions range from single words like "judge" and "janissary", to much longer descriptions of the careers of better-known poets. There is hardly any reference to character or appearance, but the longer *tedhkeres* sometimes include additional biographical, anecdotal and incidental material.

The Ottoman Turkish biographies of poets, like their Arabic and Persian counterparts, felt the need to tabulate, serialise, describe and preserve the best of the literary enterprises of the Ottomans for the benefit of posterity. As far as the compilers themselves were concerned, it may be suggested that a second reason for and an objective of compiling these biographical dictionaries was to create opportunities

for the compilers to exercise their very mild critical prowess as well as to praise the creativity of their fellow-bards. The following are the twenty-four major *tedhkeres*, listed in chronological order: (1) Sehī (of Edirne), d. 1548; *Hesht bihisht*, comp. 1538; covers *ca.* 1400-1538. (2) Laṭīfī (ʿAbd ul-Laṭīf of Kastamonu), d. *ca.* 1582; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1546; covers *ca.* 1400-1546. (3) ʿAhdī (Aḥmed of Baghdād), d. *ca.* 1593; *Gülshen-i shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1563; covers *ca.* 1520-63. (4) ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi (Pīr Meḥmed of Prizrin), b. 1519, d. 1571; *Meshāʿir ül-shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1569; covers *ca.* 1400-1569. (5) Ḳinalīzāde (Ḥasan Čelebi of Bursa), b. 1546, d. 1603; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1585; covers *ca.* 1400-1585. (6) Beyānī (Muṣṭafā of Rusčuk), d. 1597; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. *ca.* 1595; covers *ca.* 1400-1585. (7) Riyāḍī (Meḥmed of Istanbul), b. 1572, d. 1644; *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1609; covers *ca.* 1400-1609. (8) Riḍā (Zehīr-i Mārzāde Seyyid Meḥmed of Edirne), d. 1671; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1640; covers 1591-1640. (9) Yümnī (Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ of Istanbul), d. 1662; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp *ca.* 1662; covers *ca.* 1600-62. (10) Güftī (ʿAlī of Edirne), d. 1677; *Teshrīfāt ul-shuʿarāʾ*, comp. *ca.* 1669; covers *ca.* 1600-69. (11) Müdjīb (Muṣṭafā), b. 1671, d. 1726; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1710; covers 1609-1710. (12) Ṣafāʾī (Muṣṭafā of Istanbul), d. 1725; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1719; covers 1640-1719. (13) Sālim (Mīrzā-zāde Meḥmed Emīn of Istanbul), b. 1687, d. 1743; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1721; covers 1687-1720. (14) Belīgh (Seyyid Ismāʿīl of Bursa), b. 1668, d. 1729; *Nukhbet ül-āthār li-dheyl-i Zübdet ül-ashʿar*, comp. 1726; covers 1620-1726. (15) Rāmiz (Ḥüseyin of Istanbul), d. *ca.* 1785; *Ādāb-i ẓurafāʾ*, comp. second half of 18th century; covers 1721-84. (16) Esrār Dede (Seyyid Meḥmed of Istanbul), d. 1796; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarā-yi Mewlewiyye*, comp. 1796; covers *ca.* 1400-1790. (17) Shefḳat (ʿAbd ül-Fettāḥ of Baghdād), d. 1826; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1813; covers *ca.* 1730-1813. (18) ʿĀkif (Meḥmed), d. *ca.* 1796; *Mirʾāt-i shiʿr*, comp. 1796; covers his contemporaries. (19) Esʿad (Meḥmed of Istanbul), b. 1786, d. 1847; *Bāghče-yi ṣafā-endūz*, comp. 1835; covers 1722-1835. (20) ʿĀrif Ḥikmet (Seyyid Aḥmed of Istanbul), b. 1786, d. 1858; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. *ca.* 1836; covers 1589-1836. (21) Faṭīn (Dāwūd of Drama), b. 1814, d. 1867; *Khātimet ül-eshʿār*, comp. 1852; covers 1722-1852. (22) Tewfīḳ (Meḥmed of Istanbul), b. 1843, d. 1893; *Ḳāfile-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1873; incomplete. (23) ʿAlī Emīrī (of Diyarbakır), b. 1857, d. 1923; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ-yi Āmid*, *ca.* 1878; covers the principal poets of Diyarbakır. (24) Inal (Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal), b. 1870, d. 1957; *Son asır türk şairleri*, comp. 1930; covers 1852-1930.

Bibliography: J. Stewart-Robinson, *The Ottoman biographies of poets*, in *JNES*, xxiv (1965), 57-74.

(J. Stewart-Robinson)

AL-TAʿDĪL (A.), in planetary astronomy the correction or equation (corresponding to medieval Latin *aequatio*) applied to mean positions of the sun, moon and planets to derive the true positions [see ḲAMAR; SHAMS. I.; TAḲWĪM; ZĪDJ]. Muslim astronomers generally tabulated these functions in the same way as Ptolemy had done in the *Almagest* [see BAṬLAMIYŪS] but occasionally introduced more extensive sets of tables to facilitate the tedious application of more than one equation (as in the case of the moon and planets).

Bibliography: E.S. Kennedy, *Solar and lunar tables in early Islamic astronomy*, in *JAOS*, lxxxvii (1967), 492-7, and M. Tichenor, *Late medieval two-argument tables for planetary longitudes*, in *JNES*, xxvi (1967), 126-8, both repr. in Kennedy *et alii*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 108-13 and 122-4; D.A. King, *A double-argument table for the lunar equation attributed to Ibn Yūnus*, in *Centaurus*, xviii (1974), 129-46, repr. in *idem*, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*, London 1986, [2]Aldershot 1993, V; G. Saliba, *The double-argument lunar tables of Cyriacus*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, vii (1976), 41-6, and *idem*, *The planetary tables of Cyriacus*, in *Jnal. of the Hist. of Arabic Science*, ii (1978), 53-65; and B. van Dalen, *A table for the true solar longitude in the* Jāmiʿ Zīj, in A. von Gotstedter, (ed.), *Ad radices. Festband zum fünfzigjährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften Frankfurt am Main*, Stuttgart 1994, 171-90.

(D.A. King)

AL-TAʿDĪL BAYN AL-SAṬRAYN (A.), literally, correcting between the two lines, an expression used in Islamic mathematics and mathematical astronomy for interpolation. Muslim scientists used linear and non-linear procedures for calculating intermediate values in mathematical and astronomical tables.

Bibliography: J. Hamadanizadeh, *A survey of medieval Islamic interpolation schemes*, in D.A. King and G. Saliba (eds.), *From deferent to equant. Studies ... in honor of E.S. Kennedy*, New York 1987, 143-52. See also King, *Ibn Yūnus' Very Useful Tables for reckoning time by the sun*, in *Archive for History of Exact Science*, x (1973), 342-94 (repr. in *idem*, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*, London 1986, 2nd ed. Aldershot 1993, X), especially 354-7, for a highly sophisticated double-order procedure advocated by Ibn Yūnus *ca.* 400/1010, and J.-P. Hogendijk, *The Qibla table in the* Ashrafī Zīj, in A. von Gotstedter (ed.), *Ad radices. Festband zum fünfzigjährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften Frankfurt am Main*, Stuttgart 1994, 81-94, for an example of a 8th/14th-century table where the interpolation has gone awry.

(D.A. King)

TAʿDĪL AL-ZAMĀN (A.), or *taʿdīl al-ayyām bi-layālīhā*, the equation of time, a fundamental notion in mathematical astronomy. Times derived from observations of the sun [see MĪḲĀT] need to be corrected by a function which takes into consideration the fact that the true sun does not move on the celestial equator but on the ecliptic [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ] and the fact that its motion on the ecliptic is not uniform. This correction, which varies throughout the year, is the equation of time, and it was tabulated in Islamic astronomical handbooks [see ZĪDJ]. Since tables of this function are dependent on three different parameters (the obliquity of the ecliptic [see MAYL] and the solar apogee and eccentricity [see SHAMS. I.]), they present a particular challenge to modern investigators.

Bibliography: E.S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomica tables*, in *Trans. Amer. Philosophical Society*, N.S. xlvi (1956), especially 141; and B. van Dalen, *Ancient and mediaeval astronomical tables. Mathematical structure and parameter values*, Utrecht 1993, 97-152.

(D.A. King)

AL-TĀDILĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ribāṭī (1242-1311/1827-94), scholar from Tadla, in particular, in the field of music. He was descended from Sīdī Djābir, whose mausoleum is on the left bank of the Umm al-Rabīʿ and who was of Djusham Arab origin, a group which had been established in that region since the 7th/13th century. For generations, his ancestors had lived in Rabat, which confirms the belief that they had emigrated in the course of the 17th century, fleeing the troubles which shook Tadla after the death of Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl.

The Tādilīs of Rabat were renowned for their knowledge, their dignity and their distinction, and they were among the most illustrious families in the town; they were put on the same footing as those who were originally from al-Andalus.

Ibrāhīm al-Tādilī was unique among his contemporaries for his encyclopaedic mind and his familiarity with European and oriental languages. Having finished the basic cycle of education which was usual for that period, he went to Fās to continue his studies. For fifteen years he attended courses in the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*]. Among his teachers he had illustrious scholars such as al-Walīd al-ʿIrāḳī, Aḥmad Bennānī, Ḥamdūn b. Ḥādjdj al-Sulamī, and several others.

As well as following the linguistic and Islamic disciplines, together with a few other students he applied himself to studying the rational disciplines, which were generally passed over and were no longer offered for study except in smaller mosques or in particular places, including, mathematics, astronomy, equations, astrology, medicine and logic, with music also included. In his writings he reserves a place for the teachers of music at Fās, whom the biographers have totally neglected, such as Ḥādjdj Ḥaddu Bendjellūn, Rashīd Djamal and his brother al-Ghālī Djamal, Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān and al-Makkī Maḥrūsh. Al-Tādilī was therefore the only one to have recorded first-hand the facts of music teaching at Fās in the second half of the 19th century.

On his return journey he stopped off several times at Meknès, and then derived learning from the local *ʿulamāʾ* of Marrākush. When he reached Rabat again, he busied himself with his tasks as a teacher. But feeling that he had not yet learned enough he decided to travel and hear the *ʿulamāʾ* of the East, once in 1862, and again in 1867.

At the Azhar he deepened his knowledge of the disciplines of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* with the *shaykh* ʿUllaysh. At Mecca, he studied law according to the different schools: Mālikī, with which he had already familiarised himself in Morocco; Ḥanafī, with the *shaykh* Djamāl al-Dīn al-Hindī; and Shāfiʿī, with the *shaykh* al-Ḥamzāwī. He also put his stay in Mecca to good use by following other courses on different specialities with the *shaykh*s Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān al-Kannawdjī [see NAWWĀB SAYYID ṢIDDĪḲ ḤASAN KHĀN] and al-Naḥrāwī, and finally with a Moroccan scholar who was resident in the Holy City, *shaykh* Muḥammad b. Daḥḥu al-Zāmmūrī, who issued him with an *idjāza* which sanctioned his transmission of the most authentic *ḥadīth*s. On his return to his homeland, he taught at Rabat for three decades, delivering five to eight lectures daily.

His works number more than 120, and can be divided into three categories. First, there are the didactic materials, which group together his commentaries on old texts and his own lectures. Most of these were unfinished for lack of time, and today quite a number of them are known only by their titles. Then there are books on current Muslim disciplines. To his work on Mālikī *fiḳh* he added commentaries on Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*. Finally, there are the books on subjects which appeared to be new for that period, such as geography, astronomy, medicine, etc. The titles of three of these works are *Zīnat al-nahr fī ʿulūm al-baḥr*, in which he deals with the technique of navigating sailing boats and steam boats; *Ḥisān al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ wa ʾl-raḳāʾiḳ fī ḥisāb al-duradj wa ʾl-daḳāʾiḳ*, which deals with the mathematical measurement of spheres, constellations, latitude and longitude; and *Aghānī al-sīḳā wa-maʿānī al-mūsīḳā* or *al-Irtiḳāʾ ilā ʿilm al-mūsīḳā*. The subject of this third book, music, which formed an important aspect in the life of the author, did not attract any particular attention from his biographers.

In fact, *Aghānī al-sīḳā* was finished in 1891, and it appeared at a time when Tetuan was experiencing a resurgence of musical activity. This was crowned in 1885 by the compilation of *Kunnāsh al-ḥāʾik*, which grouped together the eleven *nawbāt* of Andalusian music still in use today. All this suggests that al-Tādilī contributed to the composition of the Tetuan booklet, for in fact the origin of these eleven *nawbāt*, their time patterns, their cadences as well as the methods of playing and singing them based on the Fās model are set out in *Aghānī al-sīḳā* in ch. iv and those which follow in that book. His music courses in Rabat were to produce several musicians, such as Muḥammad al-Rṭal the singer, al-Ḥadjdj Ḳāsim b. ʿAsīla the player of the *ḳānūn*, and the lute player Makkī al-Figīgī.

In Rabat, al-Tādilī led a peaceful life. But his prestige and his audiences earned him jealousy from his enemies; no-one understood what were the prime motives behind his incarceration, when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Brībrī, the *ḳāḍī* of Rabat, intervened. His biographers all bear witness to his courage in denouncing iniquity, so it was not surprising that in the course of his lectures, in which some members of the *makhzan* were present, he became indignant about the illegal imposition of the *maks*, an unpopular tax which had been levied for a long time in Morocco when products of commercial value were brought into the towns.

He was fearless, too, when he declined, for health reasons, the invitation from the king to participate in the religious evening at the Great Mosque in Rabat on the occasion of the night of 27 Ramaḍān 1302. What is more, he seized the opportunity to ask the chamberlain to beg Sultan Ḥasan I to abolish the *maks*. Five months later, in the *ẓahīr* of 13 Rabīʿ I, 1303/20 December 1885, this tax was abolished.

In 1886 al-Tādilī undertook a third voyage to the East, but this time with a political aim. He went to Turkey in an attempt to bring together the Ottoman *khalīfa* and the Sharīfī *khalīfa*, and was warmly received in Istanbul. For him this was a chance to meet politicians and Muslim scholars and to appreciate the progress in modernisation and development that had been made by the Turks. From there he went on to Beirut, where he met Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], who was in exile and whose reformist ideas had aroused his admiration, and then to Palestine, where he lectured at the al-Aḳṣā mosque.

He died in Rabat on the night of Thursday and Friday 18 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1311/15 June 1894.

Bibliography: Several of al-Tādilī's own works remain in ms., but see Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*, Casablanca 1960; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Iʿlām*, i, Rabat 1974; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ben ʿAbd Allāh, in *Encyclopédie marocaine*, Fédala 1975, s.v.; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ben Manṣūr, *Aʿlām al-Maghrib al-ʿarabī*, i, Rabat 1979; ʿAbd Allāh al-Djirārī, *Abū Isḥāḳ al-Tādilī*, Casablanca 1980; Muḥammad Lamnūnī, *Maẓāhir yaḳẓat al-Maghrib al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1985; Mohammad Hajji, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque sbīhiyya*, Kuwait 1985; Muḥammad Larbi al-Khaṭṭābī, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Royale* (*Hasaniyya*), iv, Rabat 1985; Muḥammad Dinyā, *Madjālis al-inbisāt*, Rabat 1986; Muḥammad Bū Djāndār, *al-Ightibāt*, Rabat 1987; ʿAbd al-Ilāh al-Fāsī, art. *al-Tādilī, Ibrāhīm*, in *Encyclopédie du Maroc*, Salā 1992; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Lahrīshī, *Catalogue abrégé des mss. de la Fondation ʿAllāl al-Fāsī*, i, Casablanca 1991; ʿAbd al-Salām b. Sūda, *Itḥāf al-muṭāliʿ*, Beirut 1996.

(MOHAMMAD HAJJI)

AL-TĀDILĪ, YŪSUF B. YAḤYĀ, IBN AL-ZAYYĀT [see IBN AL-ZAYYĀT].

TĀDJ (A.), crown, a Persian loanword in Arabic going back to the Old Persian **tag*; cf. Armenian *tʿag*, Aramaic *tāgā*. From it are formed in Arabic the broken plural *tīdjān* and the corresponding verb *t-w-dj*, forms II "to crown", V "to be crowned", and *tāʾidj*, "crowned" (Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, 81; Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 74, 84, Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 62). Like the name, the object itself comes from old Persia. The form of the crowns of the old Persian kings, which we know best from their coins, was not unknown in Arabic literature. Al-Masʿūdī, for example, tells us he had seen an old book with coloured pictures of Persian kings wearing their crowns, which was translated into Arabic for the Umayyad Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (*Tanbīh*, 106). A whole series of books now lost with titles like *Kitāb Siyar al-mulūk* and *Kitāb al-Tādj* seem to have been of similar content. The *Kitāb al-Tādj* edited by Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (Cairo 1332/1914) is a compilation of Arab and especially Sāsānid Persian traditions; its translator, Ch. Pellat (*Le livre de la couronne*, Paris 1954, Introd.), thought that its author was an Arabised Persian, conceivably Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Taghlibī/al-Thaʿlabī, but certainly not al-Djāḥiẓ (see also Brockelmann, S I, 246; NAṢĪḤAT AL-MULŪK; and AL-THAʿLABĪ). It is presumably on such sources that are based the statements on the Persian crown in Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh Sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa ʾl-anbiyāʾ* (Berlin, Kaviani Press, 17, 24-5, 32, 35 ff.), and the Persian *Mudjmil al-tawārīkh* which utilises him and the statements in al-Ṭabarī also (on the relation of their sources, cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden 1879, Introd. (on the crown among the Persians, cf. especially, 95, 221, 304, 385, 453); A. Christensen, *L'empire des Sasanides*, Copenhagen 1907, 14, 89 ff., 106; idem, *Le règne du roi Kawadh I et le communisme mazdakite*, Copenhagen 1925, 22 ff.). In the Arabic *Awāʾil* [*q.v.*] literature, we are told that the first to wear a crown was al-Ḍaḥḥāk (see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 415).

On Islamic miniatures which depict the old Persian kings, the latter wear regular crowns, but their form is, of course, in no way authentic. On the miniatures, crowns are also worn by the angels, and notably by the Prophet Muḥammad and Burāḳ in the *Miʿrādj* (see the miniature in the edition of the Uyghur *Miʿrādj-nāme*, ed. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1882).

The Arabs made their first acquaintance with crowns before Islam, for the Persian kings occasionally gave their Arab vassal kings crowns as a token of their rank, e.g. to the Lakhmid Imruʾ al-Ḳays (d. 328 A.D. (if *tg* in the Namāra inscription really equals *tādj*, which is by no means certain); cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Or.*, vi, 307: *Le roi de "tous les Arabes"* and vii, 176: *Le Tâdj-dâr Imrou 'l-Qais et la royauté générale des Arabes*; U. Monneret de Villard, *Il Tāǧ di Imruʾ l-Qais*, in *RCAL*, Cl. di Sc. morali, storiche e filologiche, viii [1953], 224-9; Irfan Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, Washington D.C. 1984, 36-7, 413-14; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii, 35, 375: also on the difference between *iklīl* and *tādj*; the latter seems to mean a simple chaplet only), and to the Lakhmid Nuʿmān III (see G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥîra*, Berlin 1899, 128) and to the *Dhu 'l-Tādj* Hawdha b. ʿAlī, the Christian ruler of Yamāma in the time of Muḥammad, to whom the Prophet is said also to have sent a demand to become converted to Islam (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 971; al-Ḳalḳashandī, vi, 379; Fraenkel, 62; al-Ṭabarī, i, 985; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber*, 258). Crowns and bearers of crowns were often celebrated by the poets (see Siddiqi, 84; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 289-90, where the crown is said to be a peculiarity of the Yemen, possibly a reminiscence of the old relations between Yemen and the Abyssinians; on the crown of the latter, cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 225, 233).

The celebrated crown of Khusraw II Aparwīz was among the booty which the Arabs took at Ctesiphon (Christensen, *L'Empire*, 106). But the crown continued to be something foreign and rare among the Arabs. There is a *ḥadīth* which says *al-ʿamāʾim tīdjān al-ʿArab*, "the turbans are the crowns of the Arabs", i.e. according to the usual explanation in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* and elsewhere, turbans are as rare amongst them as crowns, for most Bedouins do not wear turbans but only *ḳalānis* (caps, see ḲALANSUWA) or no headdress at all.

Islam knows no regular royal crown or coronation in our sense as a symbol of regal power. When we find mention of crowns, the reference is to foreign rulers like those of the old Persian Great Kings, of Christian rulers, etc. The *tādj al-Bābā* is the tiara of the Pope and the *tādj al-uskuf* the mitre of a bishop. Only in the case of the so-called *tādj al-khalīfa* do we seem at first sight to have a Muslim ruler's crown. This crown of the caliph, which is included among the insignia (*ālāt al-mulūkiyya*) of sovereignty, is not found till the ʿAbbāsid period, and it has been suggested that this dynasty imitated the Persian tradition in deliberate contrast to the early caliphs and Umayyads (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 453). The caliph wore this *tādj* on ceremonial occasions (*mawākib* [*q.v.*]) on the great feast-days. Al-Ḳalḳashandī (iii, 472, 484 = Wüstenfeld, *Calcaschandi*, 172, 182) describes the *tādj* of the Fāṭimid caliph of Egypt. It is evident from him that it was not a proper crown but a turban richly studded with gems, including a particularly large one called *al-yatīma*, weighing seven dirhams, of the colour of the Fāṭimids, namely white, for the elaborate winding of which (*shadd al-tādj al-sharīf*) a special official (the *shadd*, later called *laffāf*) was appointed (cf. Inostrantsev, *The ceremonial procession of the Fāṭimid caliphs* [in Russian], St. Petersburg 1905, 64; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḳānūn dīwān al-rasāʾil*, ed. Bahdjat, 27[1]). The Ḥafṣid sultan, too, wore a *tādj* on his *mawākibs* (see Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-abṣār*, extract, *Waṣf Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Andalus*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis [*ca.* 1922], 23, no. 2).

Among the robes of honour which the caliph or the sultan used to send to governors, ambassadors, etc., there was usually a *tādj*, as is often expressly mentioned. Thus according to al-Ḳalḳashandī, viii, 375, on his accession the caliph presents a crown set with jewels (*tādj muraṣṣaʿ*; cf. also Wüstenfeld, *Statthalter*, iii, 38). A similar *tādj* seems also to appear as an emblem on the arms of *amīrs* of the Mamlūk period [see RANK].

The name *tādj* was also given to the headdress of the Ottoman sultans. Even ʿOthmān I is said to have worn a *tādj-i Khurāsānī* (d'Ohsson, ii, 135). We know exactly the kind of headdress worn by the conqueror of Constantinople from the paintings by Bellini. He wears a large turban, and the *tādj*; the inner cap of this turban is in the shape of a truncated cone and is usually red and rippled (? stitched). Round this is wound the turban proper (*ṣarīḳ*) of thin cloth. The form of the turban of Meḥemmed Fātiḥ found on his paintings is also shown on the medals. When we find, on the reverse of a medal, three regular crowns, which

are believed to represent the three kingdoms of Asia, Greece and Trebizond united under Ottoman rule, the explanation probably is simply that the medal was designed and executed by a European artist (cf. G.F. Hill, in *NC* [1926], 287-98 and pl. xiv). Karabacek has dealt fully with the *tād̲j̲* of the Ottoman sultans. According to him, the Perso-Turkish *tād̲j̲* corresponds to the *ṭarṭūr* of Arabic-speaking lands, a rather high cap which is found represented as early as a papyrus of the 7th century A.D., and assumed many varying forms in the course of time. In remarkable agreement with these forms are the headdresses (*hen*[*n*]*in*) of the 14th-16th centuries of ladies in France and Spain, which according to Karabacek came direct from the east (the name, Arabic *ḥanīnī*, as well as the object itself). Particular forms of this headdress have survived on women to the present day, e.g. among the Druses of the Lebanon and in Algeria and Tunis. In modern Egypt, there has developed from this the *ḳurṣ* as a woman's headdress. This is a plate-like ornament of gold and gems, which is sewn on the crown of a rather high cap and is sometimes of considerable weight. This *ḳurṣ* is put on the top (*s̲h̲āhid*) of the bier of dead women, as is done with the turban in the case of men (cf. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, Appendix A; idem, *Arabian society in the Middle Ages*, 218, 234). The use of a special crown for brides, which is found all over the world, is also sometimes found in the Muslim world (Lane, *The thousand and one nights*, i, 424; Lagarde, *Arabes mitrati*, in *Nachrichten*... *Göttingen* [1891], 160 ff.; and the title of the well-known dictionary *Tād̲j̲ al-ʿarūs*; cf. for Eastern Turkestan, Brockelmann, in *Asia Major*, ii, 122).

The *tād̲j̲* was given a special religious significance as a headdress among the dervishes. The assumption of the *tād̲j̲* was an essential part of the *s̲h̲add* [*q.v.*]. The different dervish orders each had their *tād̲j̲* of distinct form and colour, frequently with 12 seams (*terk*) from the number of the Imāms, or with 9, 7 etc., and there were numerous names and symbolical interpretations associated with them (see Aḥmed Rifʿat, *Mirʾāt al-maḳāṣid*, Istanbul 1293, 212-15; Brown, *The Darvishes*, 148 ff.; pictures in d'Ohsson, ii, 292; there is also a large coloured table of the 14 most important dervish orders with pictures of their *tād̲j̲* and accounts of the *silsile* of their founders, printed in the Istanbul press of Maḥmūd Bey, publ. by the *Ṣanāʾiʿ-i nefīse resim-k̲h̲ānesi* of Ẓiyā Bey, dated 15 S̲h̲aʿbān 1314). In Persia, under S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥaydar [*q.v.*; whence *Tād̲j̲-i Ḥaydarī*] and S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], we find the Ṣūfī *tād̲j̲* as a kind of official headdress for the king, the court, the army and the officials, granted with a special ceremonial, but it probably existed before them (see Karabacek, *op. cit.*, 87; and ḳizil-bās̲h̲).

We find *tād̲j̲* used in many ways with a metaphorical application. Names of honour (*alḳāb*) combined with *tād̲j̲* are very common in later times, and were probably most popular in the Mamlūk period. At first they were content with simple epithets like *Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn* for soldiers (al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, v, 488) or *Tād̲j̲ al-Dawla* for Christian secretaries (*ibid.*, v, 487); then we get double epithets like *ʿAḍud al-Dawla wa-Tād̲j̲ al-Milla* (v, 492), *Tād̲j̲ al-ʿUlamāʾ wa 'l-Ḥukkām* for *ḳāḍīs* (vi, 41) and many others. For infidel kings, forms of address like *Baḳiyyat Abnāʾ al-Tuk̲h̲ūt wa 'l-Tīd̲j̲ān* (vi, 85), *Muk̲h̲awwil al-Tuk̲h̲ūt wa 'l-Tīd̲j̲ān* (vi, 175), *Wārit̲h̲ al-Asirra wa 'l-Tīd̲j̲ān* (vi, 177) were used. Perhaps the custom, of which there are countless examples, of giving books titles in the form of *Tād̲j̲* with a genitive is connected with this.

In astronomy, *Tād̲j̲-i Saʿdān* = Saturn [see zuḥal]; *Tād̲j̲ al-D̲j̲abbār* = a star near Orion. *Tād̲j̲ ʿamūd* is the capital of a column (see Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise*, ii, 185); *tād̲j̲* is also the name given to the comb of a cock and similar birds. A famous palace of the caliphs was called *Ḳaṣr al-Tād̲j̲*. It was built under the caliphs al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī out of the ruins of a palace in al-Madāʾin, one of the seven wonders of the world, burnt down in 549/1154 after being struck by lightning, rebuilt but not finished, and completely destroyed in 574/1178-9 (Yāḳūt, i, 806-9, tr. in *ZDMG*, xviii, 403-6; Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i, 74; von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii, 54; Sarre-Herzfeld, i, 92, ii, 63, 148). Among the pleasure houses (*manāẓir*) of the caliphs in Cairo there was one called *Manẓarat al-Tād̲j̲*, built by Badr al-D̲j̲amālī [*q.v.*], which was in ruins by the time of al-Maḳrīzī (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 481, ii, 129; Yāḳūt, suppl., v, 15; Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i, 224, 228).

Bibliography: In addition to the particular works mentioned in the text, see in general: Dozy, *Dictionnaire des vêtements*, s.v. *Tād̲j̲*; *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. *Crown*; Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler in Konstantinopel im 15. u. 16. Jahrhundert, I. Italienische Künstler am Hofe Muhammeds II. des Eroberers 1451-1481*, in *Denkschriften d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien*, lxii/1 (1918). See also ḳizil-bās̲h̲ and libās and their Bibls. (W. Björkman*)

TĀDJ MAḤALL, the mausoleum which the Mug̲h̲al emperor S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān [*q.v.*] (r. 1037-68/1628-58) built for his favourite wife Mumtāz Maḥall at Āgra [*q.v.*]. This is the grandest in a series of monumental dynastic mausoleums that have become synonyms of Mug̲h̲al architecture. Mug̲h̲al imperial tombs are the most spectacular exponents of a funerary tradition which creatively synthesised and developed ideas of its Tīmūrid heritage and local Indian building conventions.

The architecture. The success of the Tād̲j̲ Maḥall lies not only in its aesthetic, romantic and symbolic appeal but in the fact that it expresses in a canonical form the architectural principles of the period. The Mug̲h̲als had no written architectural theory; it was laid down here in a built form: (1) A rational and strict geometry brought about by modular planning using grid systems based on the S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahānī *gaz* (varying in length between 80 and 82 cm or *ca.* 32 inches) (see R.A. Barraud, *Modular gaz planning of the Taj Mahal, Agra*, unpubl. ms. 1995; Begley's and Desai's grids [*Taj Mahal*, figs. 13, 17] are not correct); (2) Consistent symmetrical planning with emphasis on bilateral symmetry on both sides of a central axis (*ḳarīna*) into which are integrated centralised schemes; (3) A hierarchical grading of material, forms and colour down to the most minute ornamental detail; and (4) A sophisticated symbolism in the architectural programme.

The mausoleum is set at the northern end of the main axis of a vast oblong walled-in complex (*ca.* 1,114.5 × 373 *gaz*) formed of three units: the tomb and its garden with elaborate water works (Fig. 3, A, B, E), and two courtyard complexes to its south with subsidiary structures (C, D), only one of which survives. The preserved Tād̲j̲ complex measures *ca.* 561 m × 300 m (690 × 313 *gaz*). In its layout the tomb garden (A and B) is the monumentalised version of the S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahānī expression of the waterfront garden, a type specific to Mug̲h̲al architecture (Koch, *The Mughal water front garden*, in A. Petruccioli (ed.), *Theory and design of gardens during the times of the great Muslim empires*, Leiden 1997). The plan shows the characteristic configuration of a raised rectangular terrace (*kursī*,

A) on which are placed the main buildings and a lower centrally planned four-part garden (*čahār bāgh*) (B); its square, measuring 368 × 368 *gaz*/296.31 × 296.31 m, formed the basis for developing the grid of the plan. The two complexes with the subsidiary structures are arranged according to the same compositional scheme of a rectangle (C) combined with a centrally-planned unit (D) but here the buildings consist of open courtyards formed of narrow wings and arcades, typical of the residential and utilitarian architecture of the period (for the function of the buildings see MUGHALS. 7. ARCHITECTURE, at Vol. VII, 332). The courtyard complex adjoining the tomb garden contains also subsidiary tombs for other women of Shāh Djahān's *zanāna*. These tombs are set in miniature replicas of the main garden (C, 9a, b). (Their form revives an older Sultanate type of a domed octagon surrounded by arcades, translated into the lighter architectural vocabulary of the period; see MUTHAMMAN; Koch, *Mughal architecture*, 101, and figs. 34, 35.) Outside the walled enclosure is another small tomb complex varying this pattern (9c) and a tomb and a mosque (11, 12).

The income of the *bāzārs* and the *karwānsarā'īs* of the subsidiary complexes (8, 10)—together with that of thirty villages from the district of Āgra—was devoted by imperial command to the upkeep of the mausoleum.

In the tomb garden, emphasis is on the features on the central axis: the grandiose group of the mausoleum (*rawḍa*) (1) and its four minarets, flanked by a mosque (2) and a "guest house" (*mihmān-khāna*), rather an assembly hall (3), set the main accent. Radial symmetry is observed in the gatehouse (*darwāza*, 5) and the tomb proper. Both follow the ninefold plan (Fig. 4), the favourite plan of Mughal architecture with Tīmūrid antecedents (L. Golombek, *From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal*, in *Islamic art and architecture. Essays in Islamic art and architecture in honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari, Malibu 1981, i, 43-50; E. Koch, *Mughal architecture*, 44-50, 80-1, 99-100). The plan of the mausoleum is inscribed in a square with chamfered corners or irregular octagon, described in the contemporary texts as *muthamman* [*q.v.*] *baghdādī*. The elevation follows—in the interior—the Tīmūrid concept of two super-imposed tomb chambers surmounted by a high double dome (Fig. 2). The exterior—composed of monumental *pīshṭāks* [*q.v.*] flanked by double-storey niches—brings the cubical tomb of the Dihlī tradition enhanced by Deccani features (bulbous profile of the dome) to a formal apotheosis of unparalleled elegance and harmony (Fig. 1). The balanced proportions are highlighted by the sophisticated facing of the brick structure: the white marble inlaid with *pietre dure* reacts to atmospheric changes and enhances the mystical and mythical aura of the building. All the subsidiary structures of the Tādj complex are faced with red sandstone; special features, such as domes may be clad in white marble. This hierarchically graded colour dualism—generally characteristic of imperial Mughal architecture but here explored with unparalled sophistication—connects with ancient Indian *śāstric* traditions, laid down in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (8th century?) (tr. P. Shah, Ahmedabad 1990, 268, 271) where white-coloured stones are assigned to *brāhmaṇs* and red ones to *kṣatriyas*. The marble for the Tādj was brought from Makrāna in Rādjasthān and the sandstone from the quarries of the Vindhyan system in the region of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī and Rūpbās.

The architectural decoration with naturalistic flowers and plants executed in relief (Fig. 5) and in the famous Italianate inlay with semi-precious stones (*pietre dure*, Mughal *parčīn kārī* [*q.v.*]) (Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, Graz 1988, esp. 15-22, 39 n. 24) finds its richest and most artistic expression in the central chamber of the tomb (Fig. 6). It symbolises eternal bloom and supports thus the architectural programme of the building as an earthly replica of the abode of the pardoned Mumtāz in the gardens of heavenly Paradise. The elaborate Ḳur'ānic inscriptions designed by Amānat Khān al-Shīrāzī focus accordingly on the Day of Resurrection, Last Judgement, and the Reward of the Faithful.

The architect. The question about the identity of the architect of the building has as yet not been entirely solved, since contemporary sources minimise the role of the architects and emphasise the involvement of the patron. Mīr ʿAbd al-Karīm, Djahāngīr's leading architect and the Mughal official Makramat Khān are named as overseers of the construction; Ustād Aḥmad Lāhawrī is also reported to have been connected with the building (Begley and Desai, *Taj Mahal*, pp. xli-xliii, 260-86). The craftsmen made their contribution known with numerous mason marks, which still await systematic study.

History. Mumtāz died on 17 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1040/17 June 1631 in Burhānpūr [*q.v.*] and was temporarily buried there. The construction on the Tādj started in Djumādā II 1041/January 1632 after the takeover of the site had been negotiated with its then owner, Rādjā Djai Singh Kačhwaha of Amber. The body of Mumtāz was brought in December 1631 from Burhānpūr to Āgra and temporarily reburied in January 1632 on the construction site. In June 1632 Shāh Djahān commemorated the first death anniversary (*ʿurs*) in the *ṣaḥn* (courtyard [*djilaw khāna*]?) of the building with rites aimed at obtaining divine pardon for the deceased. The second *ʿurs* in May of the following year was already held on the monumental platform (*čabūtra*) on the terrace (*kursī*) raised over the third and final burial place of Mumtāz; the place of the tombstone was on this occasion surrounded by a screen of enamelled gold, the work of the imperial goldsmiths' department supervised by Bībadal Khān (replaced in 1643 by the present inlaid marble screen). At this time, the domed tomb structure had not as yet been raised. According to two inscriptions in the interior of the mausoleum and one in the portal of the west façade, the main mausoleum was completed in 1048/1638-9. The histories report that the entire complex was finished in 1052/1643 but—according to an inscription on the garden façade of the main gateway—work on the decoration went on at least until 1057/1647. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbō even reports that the entire complex took twenty years to be completed. The cost amounted to 50 lakhs (4 to 5 millions) rupees (see S. Moosvi, *Expenditure on buildings under Shahjahan—a chapter of imperial financial history*, in *Procs. of the Indian History Congress, 46th session Amritsar, 1985*, 285-99).

The *ʿurs* celebrations are mentioned intermittently until the fourteenth death anniversary. Of particular importance was the 12th *ʿurs* on 17 Dhu 'l Ḳaʿda 1052/6 February 1643, when the tomb was officially reported as being complete, on which occasion Lāhawrī and Kanbō provided detailed descriptions of the entire complex which—with regard to exactitude, detail and consistent terminology—are unparalleled in all of Mughal writing on architecture. After the 14th *ʿurs*, Shāh Djahān spent over two years in the north of his empire and moved his capital in 1648 to the newly-constructed Shāhdjahānabād at Dihlī. The last documented imperial visit to the Tādj is that of Ṣafar

1065/December 1654. When Shāh Djahān died in 1076/1666, after having spent the last years of his life in captivity at Āgra, he was buried in the tomb at the side of his wife.

After Shāh Djahān's burial little is known about the mausoleum until the later 18th century when it began to enter the awareness of the west through the depictions and descriptions of British visitors to India in search of the picturesque (Pal, 199 ff.). In 1803 the British conquered Āgra and the tomb became the focus of their selective restoration of monuments, which was put on a more systematic basis at the beginning of the 20th century when the Archaeological Survey of India (founded in 1860) also took on the agenda of conservation. Today, the Tādj Maḥall is included in the Monuments of World Heritage in India and also, sadly, appeared on the 1996 list of the world's hundred most endangered historic sites, according to World Monuments Watch (tourism and uncontrolled industrial growth in its surroundings). Despite India's uneasiness with its Islamic past, the Tādj Maḥall has become India's national symbol, advertising in particular tourism.

Bibliography (including references given above): 1. Original sources. All known 17th century sources—Mughal and Western—related to the Tādj Maḥall have been compiled and translated by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *Taj Mahal: the illumined tomb*, Cambridge, Mass. 1989; the work includes also a detailed photographic documentation.

2. Studies. The vast literature on the Tādj Maḥall comprises surprisingly few serious scholarly studies. There is as yet no monograph dedicated to its architecture; J.A. Hodgson's plan (1828) published in *Memoir on the length of the Illahee guz, or imperial land measure of Hindostan*, in *JRAS*, vii (1843), 42-63, remained until recently the most accurate survey of the Tādj complex and the basis of all later plans. A new plan based on measurements taken in 1995 by R.A. Barraud and E. Koch is published here as Pl. IV. Pioneering studies are M. Moin-ud-Din, *The history of the Taj and the buildings in its vicinity*, Agra 1905; and M.A. Chaghtai, *Le Tādj Maḥal d'Agra (Inde): histoire et description*, Brussels 1938. In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see R. Nath, *The immortal Taj Mahal. The evolution of the tomb in Mughal architecture*, Bombay 1972; R.A. Jairazbhoy, *The Taj Mahal in the context of East and West: a study in the comparative method*, in *Jnal. of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxiv (1961), 59-88; Begley, *Amānat Khān and the calligraphy on the Taj Mahal*, in *Kunst des Orients*, xii (1978-9), 5-39; idem, *The myth of the Taj Mahal and a new theory of its symbolic meaning*, in *The Art Bulletin*, lxi (1979), 7-37; P. Pal, J. Leoshko *et alii*, *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, Los Angeles and London 1989; and for excellent photographs, see J.L. Nou, A. Okada and M.C. Joshi, *Taj Mahal*, Paris and New York 1993. For the most recent treatment in the context of Mughal architecture, see Ebba Koch, *Mughal architecture: an outline of its history and development (1526-1858)*, Munich 1991, and C.B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, Cambridge 1992. See also the bibls. to ĀGRA and MUGHALS. 7. Architecture.

(EBBA KOCH)

TĀDJ AL-DAWLA [see TUTUSH].

TĀDJ AL-DĪN [see AL-SUBKĪ].

TĀDJ AL-DĪN YILDIZ MUʿIZZĪ, Turkish slave commander of the Ghūrid sultan Muʿizz or Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad, who after that ruler's death in 602/1206, made himself, with the support of a group of other Turkish soldiers, independent in Ghazna in eastern Afghānistān. Muʿizz al-Dīn's successor at Fīrūzkūh [*q.v.*], Maḥmūd b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, had to manumit Yildiz and recognise him as governor in Ghazna. During his nine years' rule there, Yildiz treated another Muʿizzī slave commander Iltutmish [*q.v.*], who had established himself in northern India, as his subordinate. But in the end, Yildiz was driven out of Ghazna in 611/1215 by the Khwārazmian forces of Djalāl al-Dīn; he fled to India, but was defeated there in battle by Iltutmish and executed.

Bibliography: The main source is Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī, i, 410-14, tr. Raverty, i, 496-506. See also M. Habib and K.A. Nizami (eds.), *A comprehensive history of India. v. The Delhi Sultanat (A.D. 1206-1526)*, Delhi, etc. 1970, 198-214.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

TĀDJ AL-MULŪK [see BŪRIDS].

TADJALLĪ (A.), a *maṣdar* formation from form V of the root *dj-l-w*, which means "to appear, to come to light, to be clear or brilliant". Rabāḥ b. ʿAmr al-Ḳaysī (d. *ca.* 180/796) of ʿIrāḳ seems to have been the first to use this term to designate the manifestation of God to a person at the time of the Judgement and then in Paradise (L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, 217).

Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) introduced it into Ṣūfism, giving it a meaning which is reproduced in the manuals of the 10th and 11th centuries (G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam*, 172-5 and index s.v. *taǧallī*; al-Kalābādhī, *al-Taʿarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, Damascus 1986, 121-2; al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Damascus 1988, 74; al-Sarrādj, *al-Lumaʿ fi 'l-taṣawwuf*, ed. Nicholson, Leiden 1914, 362, etc.). The *tadjallī* consists of *mukāshafa*, an "unveiling", which allows divine light to "irradiate" the heart of the meditator; it therefore releases human nature from its darkness in the same way that the sun chases away gloom (cf. Ḳur'ān, XCII, 2).

The influence of al-Tustarī is also equally noticeable in the Sālimiyya, a spiritual movement which grew from him, as in his disciple al-Ḥallādj (L. Massignon, *Passion*, ²Paris 1975, i, 432, 568, 621, iii, 181-2; but note that Massignon has a tendency to "Christianise" the word *tadjallī* by translating it as "transfiguration", and in fact Christian Arabs use this same term to denote the Transfiguration of Christ).

Later mystics retain the meaning of "unveiling" in the term (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Iṣṭilāḥ al-ṣūfiyya*, in *Rasā'il*, Ḥaydarābād 1948, 9, and this is often taken up again by other authors) while also exploring its range of meaning for initiation. *Tadjallī* reveals divine knowledge which is in the heart of man, thus opening to him the pathway to gnosis. Such theophany is so powerful (according to Ḳur'ān, VII, 143, it reduced Mount Sinai to dust before the eyes of Moses) that it made the human ego volatile. Mystics then experiment by attempting to annihilate the "Sinai of the soul", according to the formula of Kubrawī Ṣūfīs (cf. the introduction of H. Landolt to N. Isfararayini, *Révélateur des mystères*, Lagrasse 1986, 106; and see also M. de Miras, *La méthode spirituelle d'un maître du Soufisme iranien, Nur Ali-Shah*, Paris 1973, 295, 322). Therefore a person can only tolerate theophanies of divine attributes, names and acts, and these paradoxically form "so many protective veils between the divine essential being and the creature".

The term *tadjallī* also has a metaphysical and a cosmogonic meaning; as the correlative of the first, it

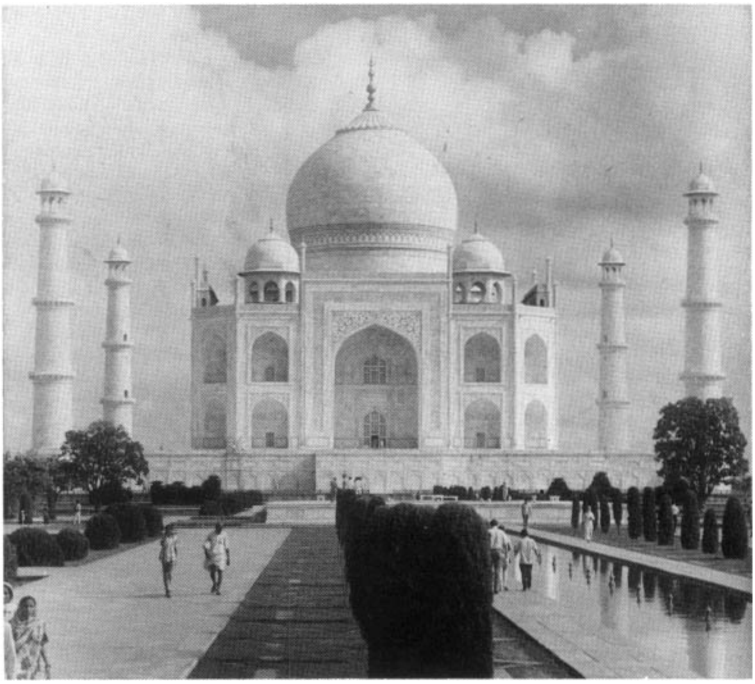

Fig. 1. Tā<u>dj</u> Maḥall 1041-52/1632-43

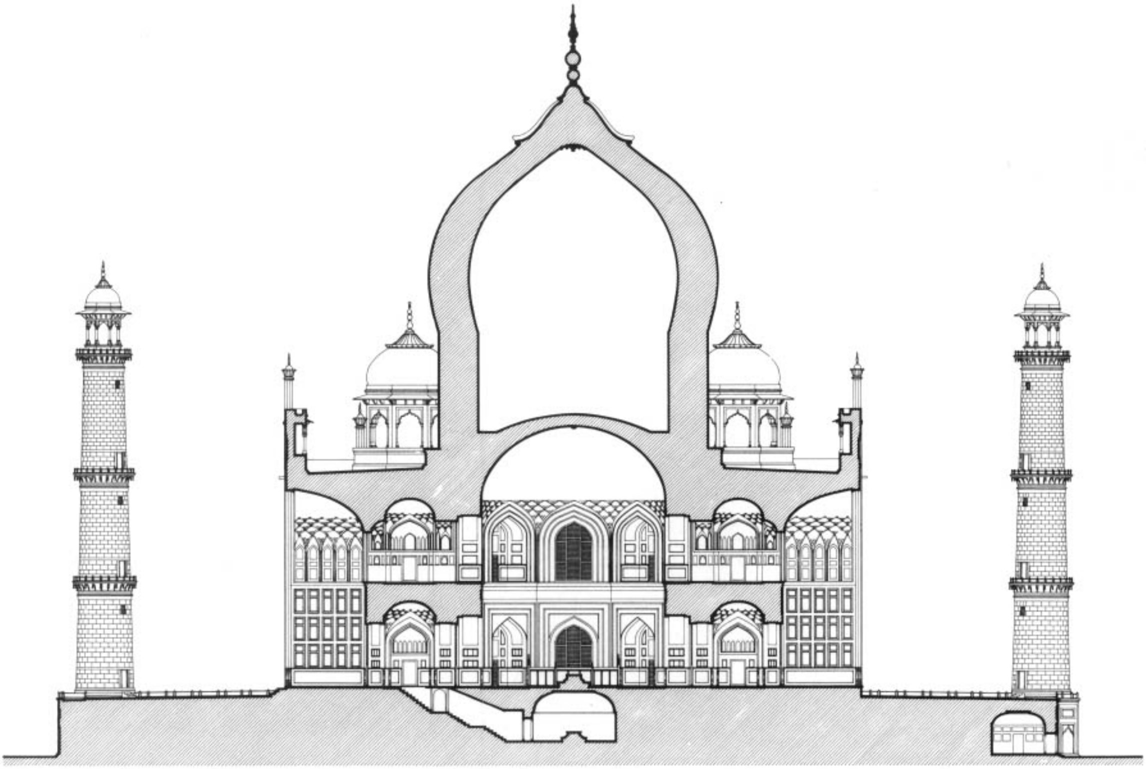

Fig. 2. Section (Drawing R.A. Barraud/E. Koch)

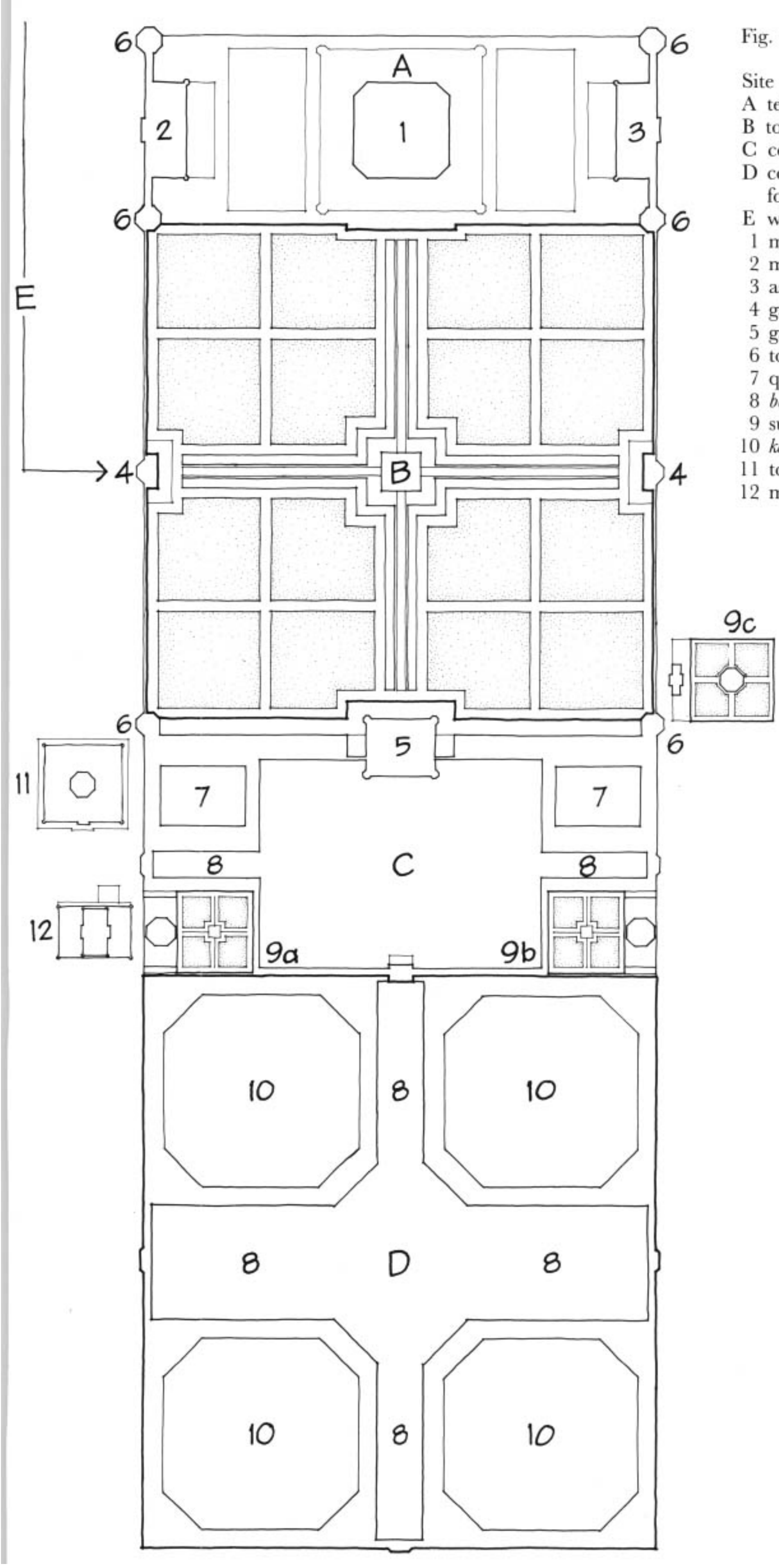

Fig. 3.

Site plan (Drawing R.A. Barraud/E. Koch)
A terrace (*kursī*)
B tomb garden (|*čahār*|*bāg̲h̲*)
C complex of forecourt (*d̲j̲ilaw k̲h̲āna*)
D complex with cross-shaped (*čār sū*) *bāzār* and four |*karwān*|*sarā'*īs
E water works
1 mausoleum (*rawḍa*)
2 mosque (*masd̲j̲id*)
3 assembly hall (*mihmān k̲h̲āna*)
4 garden pavilion
5 gate (*darwāza*)
6 tower pavilion (*burd̲j̲*)
7 quarters for tomb attendants (*k̲h̲awāṣṣpūra*)
8 *bāzār* street
9 subsidiary tomb (*maḳbara*)
10 *karwān*|*sarā'ī*
11 tomb
12 mosque

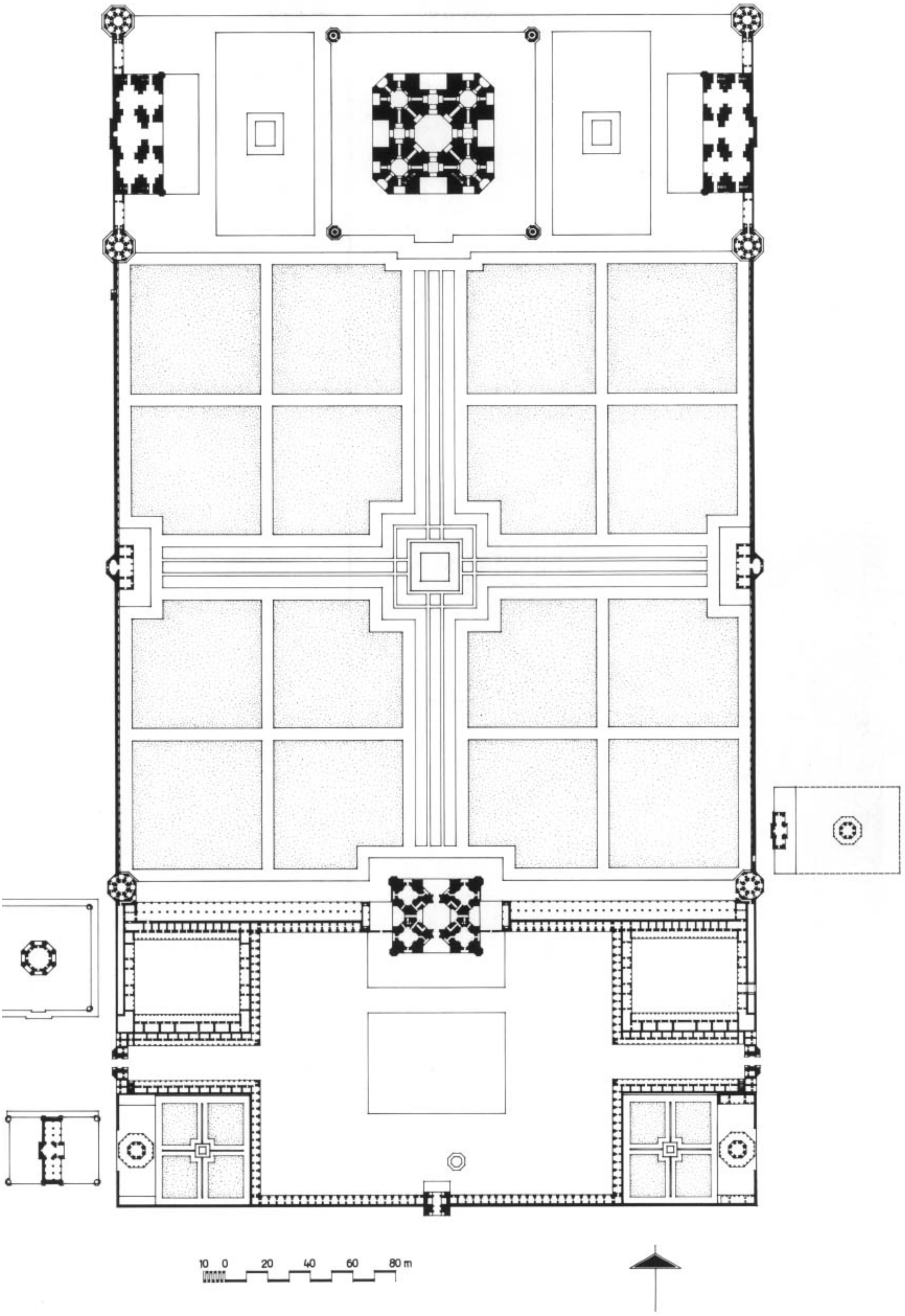

Fig. 4. Overall plan of preserved complex showing main levels of the individual buildings (Drawing R.A. Barraud/E. Koch)

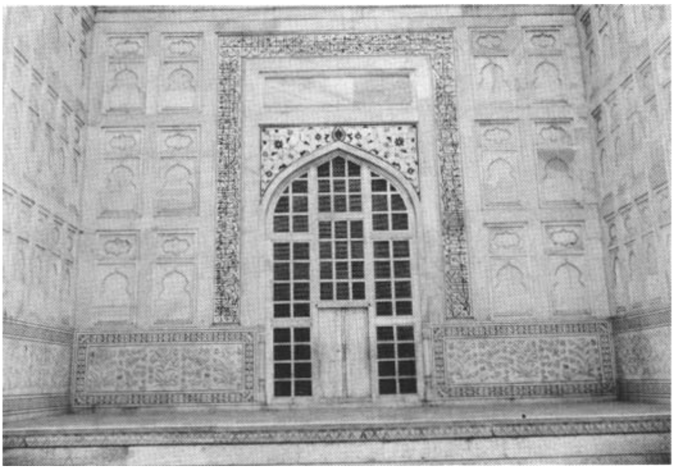

Fig. 5. Main mausoleum, northern portal (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

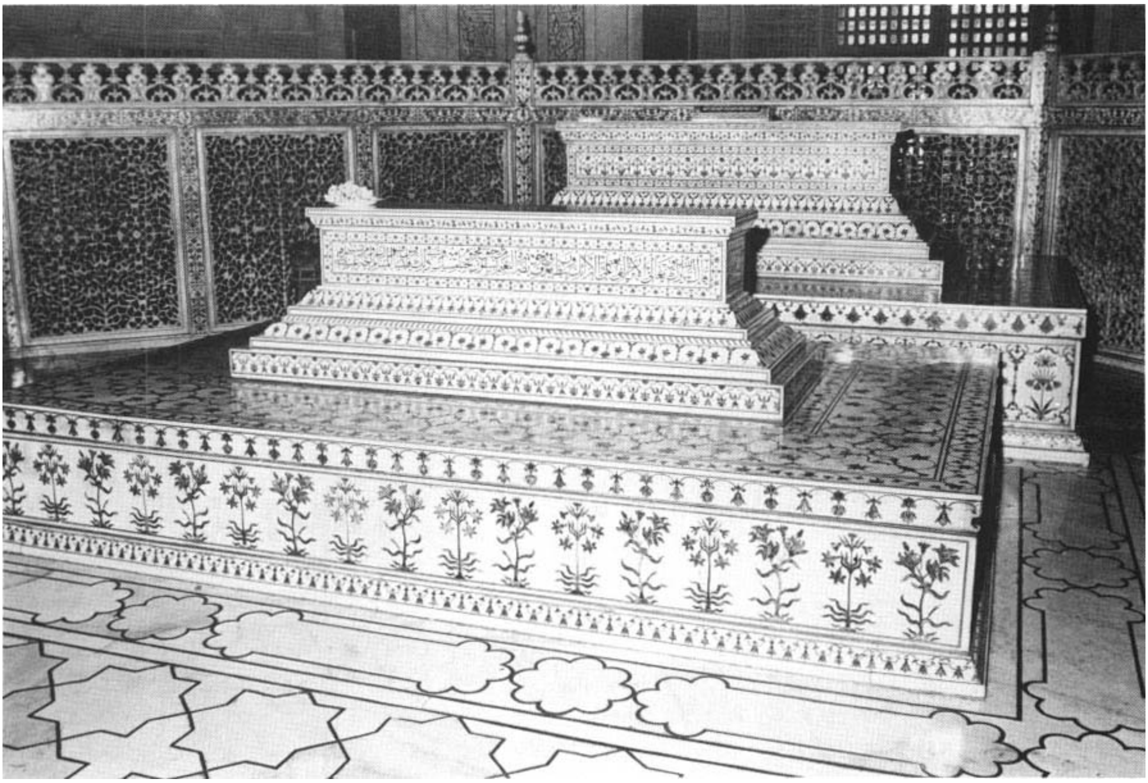

Fig. 6. Tombstones in main tomb chamber (Photo: E. Koch, 1981)

appears in Ṣūfism, especially from Ibn al-ʿArabī onwards. The Arab philosophers were already using *tadjallī* in such a perspective. For Ibn Sīnā, souls and the tangible world flow by "irradiation" from the actuating intellect, which itself comes from God, the supreme light (L. Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, Paris 1951, 52, 166). In the work of the *falāsifa*, as in that of the later mystics, the notion of *tadjallī* shows affinities with that of *fayḍ*, the theory of "emanation", borrowed from Plotinus.

Ibn al-ʿArabī, who distinguishes the two terms, made the first one of them the foundation for his metaphysical doctrine. Ibn Khaldūn puts *tadjallī* elsewhere as a characteristic tenet of the major representatives of "the school of theophany" (*ahl* or *aṣḥāb al-tadjallī*) which in his opinion represents the major current of thought in "modern" Ṣūfism (*Shifāʾ al-sāʾil li-tahdhīb al-masāʾil*, Tunis 1991, 212; *Muḳaddima*, tr. V. Monteil, *Discours sur l'Histoire universelle*, Beirut 1968, 1017-22; however, the poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ, who is also included in this changing hierarchy, favours the term *fayḍ*). According to Ibn al-ʿArabī, multiplicity extends gradually outwards from unity, through a long unbroken line of theophanies, which assume countless different forms; the world continues to exist thanks to "perpetual creation" (*khalḳ djadīd*). By the "irradiation" of the Divine Essence on them, creatures pass from nothingness to existence, or from virtual existence to effective existence. Everything or every being is therefore a "theophanic locus" (*maẓhar, madjlā*), a receptacle (*ḳābil*) which receives this "irradiation" according to its predispositions (*istiʿdād*). Consequently, man sees only his own image in the divine mirror.

Elsewhere, most of the masters deny that God is revealed to objects in His Essence (*tadjallī dhātī*; cf., e.g. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1329, ii, 606). For Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1964, ii, 312), an author as early as al-Ḳushayrī had this perception of *tadjallī*, but he was afraid to divulge its esoteric implications in his *Risāla* (*loc. cit.*).

Ibn al-ʿArabī develops the metaphysics of *tadjallī* in many passages of his works (in particular the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* and the *K. al-Tadjalliyāt*; for this last work, use the edition of O. Yahia in *al-Mashriḳ* [1966-7]). This doctrine has clearly diffused mainly into the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī (Ḳāshānī, Djīlī, Ḳayṣarī, etc.) but also into more orthodoxly Sunnī Ṣūfism (cf. for example *K. al-Tadjalliyāt* of the Shādhilī Ibn Zaghdān, ms. Berlin We II, 1505), Imāmite gnosis (cf. *La philosophie shiʿite*, texts by H. Amoli, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahia, Paris-Tehran 1969), and also to Ismāʿīlī gnosis (ʿAzīz-i Nasafī, *Le livre de l'homme parfait*, ed. M. Molé, Paris-Tehran 1962; H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Paris-Tehran 1961); the Ismāʿīlīs already professed the doctrine of the cycles of occulation (*satr*) and of manifestation (*tadjallī*).

Bibliography: The occurrences of the term *tadjallī* in mystical literature, particularly in that which is later than Ibn al-ʿArabī, are too numerous to be recorded here. But a discussion of the teaching of the master on this subject is presented by Suʿād al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣūfī*, Beirut 1981, 257-69; similarly see H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Paris 1958, 324 (index); G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in Classical Islam. The Qurʾānic hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl At-Tustarī* (d. 283/896), Berlin and New York 1980; W.C. Chittick *et alii*, *Les Illuminations de la Mecque, The Meccan Illuminations*, Paris 1988, 501 n. 7 (with copious references to passages on *tadjallī* in *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-ʿArabī); Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge*, Albany 1989, index s.v. *jilwa*.

(E. Geoffroy)

TADJDĪD (A.) "renewal", verbal noun of the form II verb *djaddada* "to renew", a term of both classical and modern Islamic politico-religio-social vocabulary.

A well-known tradition preserved in Abū Dāwūd's *ḥadīth* collection (Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 364) reports how the Prophet predicted that at the beginning of each century, God will send someone who will renew the religion of that century: *ʿalā raʾsi kulli miʾati sanat^in man yudjaddidu lahā dīnahā*.

The title of *mudjaddid* [*q.v.*] "renewer" has been bestowed, amongst others, on the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar II (*r.* 717-20) and the famous theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). The great writer al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) expected his contemporaries to recognise him as the renewer of the 10th/16th century [see further, mudjaddid].

In modern times, the idea of a renewer for each century of the Muslim era has remained alive. It may be more a part of popular Islam than of the High Islam of the established official *ʿulamāʾ*. The first day of the first month of the Muslim year 1400 fell on 21-2 November 1979. On the eve of the 15th century A.H., a number of candidates for the title of Renewer of the century were under discussion.

One of these was Rūḥ Allāh al-Khumaynī, who had come to power in Iran earlier that year. But the Egyptian Muslim reformer and cult leader Shukrī Muṣṭafā (b. 1942, executed March 1978 for his involvement in an assassination which had taken place in July 1977) was, earlier in the 1970s, seen by many as, possibly, the Renewer of Islam of the 15th century.

Also, the word *tadjdīd* is repeatedly used in the title of books about the renewal of the Arab Muslim world in its confrontation with the West. One of the most famous of such books is *Tadjdīd al-fikr al-ʿarabī* (1971) by the Egyptian neopositivist philosopher Zakī Nadjīb Maḥmūd (1905-93). This book argues that every culture is a collection of techniques, values, beliefs, utensils, etc., and that modern Arab culture should not simply imitate the West but has carefully to select the elements which it wants to take over from the West in order to create a new, cohesive culture that is truly both modern and Arab at the same time.

The tension between High and Low Islam, it has been repeatedly pointed out, especially eloquently and convincingly in the writings of Ernest Gellner (d. 1995), has been responsible for the frequent launching of internal purification and renewal movements. Periodically, High Islam would attempt to impose itself on the whole of society. In the long run, this could not be successful, so that the resulting pattern has been one that might be called cyclical reformation.

In the confrontation with the West, this state of affairs has created a particular development. Should Muslim countries, it was now asked, emulate those with whom they wished to be equal in power (thereby spurning their own tradition), or should they, on the contrary, affirm the values of their own tradition, even at the price of material and military weakness?

The dominant and persuasive answer did not recommend emulation of the West, nor idealisation of some folk virtue and wisdom. It commended a return to, or a more rigorous observance of, High Islam. Self-renewal did, in this case, not have to go outside the society. Society could find self-renewal in its own perfectly genuine and real Higher Culture which had

been recognised, though not implemented, as a valid norm by the rest of Muslim society.

It is this vision which is now conquering the Muslim world. The many books and articles about renewal of the Muslim world which are written and published in the Middle East often do not do much more than present a version of this view. In the West, since the seventies, such views, especially when violent, are usually called "fundamentalist".

Bibliography: J.J.G. Jansen, *The philosophical development of Zakī Nagīb Maḥmūd*, in *Bi Or*, xxxiv (1977), 298-300; idem, *The significance of modern Muslim radicalism*, in C. van Dijk and A.H. de Groot (eds.), *State and Islam*, Leiden 1995, 115-23 (on Shukrī Muṣṭafā); E. Gellner, especially his *Postmodernism, reason and religion*, London and New York 1992.

(J.J.G. Jansen)

TĀDJĪK, the later form of a word Tāzīk or Tāžīk used in the Iranian and Turkish worlds. In Islamic usage, it eventually came to designate the Persians, as opposed to the Turks.

1. Etymology and early linguistic development of the term.

The traditional explanation of the term goes back at least to E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks de l'Egypte*, ii/2, Paris 1845, 154-5, and was set forth, e.g., in Barthold's *EI*[1] art. This derives Tāzīk, etc./Tādjīk from the name of the Arab tribe of Ṭayyi' [*q.v.*], Syriac Ṭayyāyē, meaning "Arabs", said to have been the first Arab tribe encountered by the Persians in pre-Islamic times (this would presumably be from contacts with the Lakhmids [*q.v.*] of al-Ḥīra, who used the Ṭayyi' as frontier guards in 'Irāḳ, with Iyās b. Ḳabīṣa al-Ṭā'ī in A.D. 602 actually taking over the wardenship of the marches from the Lakhmids), so that the Persians then applied it to the Arabs in general. The usage of the term may, however, be older than the 6th century. It spread eastwards with the Arab advance through Persia in the 7th century A.D., and when Arab troops reached Transoxania and first encountered members of the Western Turkish empire, the latter gradually took over the term, at first applying it to all Muslims (between whose component ethnic groups they did not as yet distinguish) but subsequently to the Iranian peoples of Transoxania and then Persia proper, as the Muslim people with whom they were, by that time, most in contact. From the Turkish side, the Turks' nomadic, steppe background led them to use Tāzīk, etc., as applied essentially to sedentary agriculturists and town dwellers, somewhat disparagingly (for similar processes at work here with other terms from the same milieu and period, see SART and TĀT). However, it also begins to be used by the Persians themselves. In the mid-11th century, the Ghaznawid historian Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī in his *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 594 ult., has a Persian official at the court speaking of his people as "we *tāzīkān*", i.e. it was by then a self-designation of the Persians in their relations with the Turkish ruling and military classes.

In a thoroughgoing study of more than half-a-century ago, H.H. Schaeder examined the origins and development of the terms Tāt and Tādjīk. He noted the MP form *tāčīk* (and the Armenian one *tačik*), which would normally yield in NP **tāzīg*. The transition is visible in languages of the Further East, where the term begins to be borrowed from MP: Old Turkish *täzik*, twice appearing in the Orkhon [*q.v.*] inscriptions of the first half of the 8th century to denote non-Turkish peoples of Central Asia, such as Transoxania; Chinese *ta-she*; and Tibetan *stag-gzig* = *ta-zig*. Hence when New Persian evolved, Tāzīk appears from the first half of the 11th century, and especially from the Mongol period, e.g. in the contrasting pair of terms *Turk u Tāzīk*. The Old Turkish form *täzik* must come not from NP but from MP *tāčīk* > *tažik* > *tazik* (*tāžīk* in Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, and forms with *ž* in the Cairo ms. of the *Ḳutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*]). At the side of *tāzīk* we have in NP the word *tāzī* for the Arabs (hence Firdawsī speaks of *tāziyānī*, i.e. Arab, horses, see Ph. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, s.v.). Here, the process of development from the name of the Arab tribe Ṭayyi' seems clear, and Schaeder felt that *tāzī* and *tāzīk* could only spring from a common origin.

The form Tādjīk would thus be a later development, but seems to have become the standard one by the 15th century; the oldest citation for it which Schaeder could find was in verses of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (13th century [*q.v.*]). He suggested that the transition *tāzīk* > *tādjīk* first took place in western Persia via an intermediary form *tāžīk*.

The topic has since been taken up by V.A. Livshits and Werner Sundermann. The implication now is that NP *tāzī* "Arab" goes back to a MP **tāzīk/g* and Middle Parthian **tāžīk/g* which was an Iranian calque on Ṭayyāyē arising quite early in the Christian era (possibly on analogy with MP *rāzīk/g* as the ethnic adjective from the city of al-Rayy, rhyming closely with Ṭayyi', and especially with its truncated form Ṭayy). Thus coined in western Persia to denote "Arab", the term would then have been carried by Persians and Parthians, traders and others, into various parts of Central Asia, but more probably by Parthians, the western neighbours of Sogdia, given the Sogdian spelling *t'zyk* = *tāžīk/g*. When, on the other hand, Arabs or Muslims in Central Asia are referred to, in the sources from the 8th century onwards, as Tāzīk with *z*, it must have been Persians who introduced the name or confirmed it by then established Persian pronunciation with *z*. The majority of Persian invaders of Transoxania in early Islamic times were, however, no less Muslim than their Arab commanders, to whom they, for ethnic and not for religious distinction from themselves, referred as Tāzīk/g. Hence Barthold and Schaeder thought it possible that the name Tādjīk, as today applied to and used by native speakers of the form of Persian language current in what is now the former Tādjīkistān SSR, finds its ultimate explanation in a restriction to the meaning "Persian", by the still un-Islamised Turks of Inner Asia, of a term originally meaning "Arab", which they had come to use in the sense of "Muslim".

There is, however, a complication in that popular speech in the western province of Fārs was at the end of the 19th century using the term *tādjīk* (not with *z* or *ž*) to designate the everyday Persian koine spoken there, in order to show its distinctiveness from the true Iranian dialects of Fārs (see O. Mann, *Die Tâjîk-Mundarten der Provinz Fârs. Kurdisch-persische Forschungen*, Abt. 1., Berlin 1909, p. XXVIII). This peculiar usage may go back as far as Sāsānid times. W. Henning (cited in M. Mu'īn's ed. of the *Burhān-i ḳāṭi'*, Tehran, i, 455) therefore concluded that *tādjīk* in the sense of "Persian" has nothing to do with MP *tāzīk/g* and MParth *tāžīk/g*, which exclusively mean "Arab", and convincingly postulated an origin for *tādjīk* in **Tāt-čīk*, originally **Tād-čīk*. Persians migrating from Fārs to Transoxania would have brought with them their own name for themselves and their language, a name quite distinct from Tāzīk and Tāžīk, names by which the Persians and Parthians respectively called the Arabs.

In later centuries of the Islamic period, as with the term Sart [*q.v.*], Tādjīk became for some Turkish peoples of Inner Eurasia especially associated with the Iranians in their role as traders. Thus amongst the Volga Tatars, Tādjīk/Täzik came to be used as a common noun "merchant, trader"; according to one of the original sources for the Russian conquest of Ḳāzān [*q.v.*] in 1552 (Prince Kurbskiy's account), the citadel of Ḳāzān was defended by the "ditch of the Tezik" (*tezitskiy/teshitskiy rov*), with Tezik explained as meaning "merchant".

By the 19th century, Tādjīk was sometimes used to denote the Eastern Iranian peoples of Khurāsān and Transoxania, as distinct from the Persians proper of central and western Persia; hence its particular usage during the 20th century in the designation of the Tādjīkistān Autonomous SSR, set up in 1924 (in 1929 a SSSR), the present independent Tadzhikistan Republic, and the language used there [see below, TĀDJĪKĪ 1.; and TĀDJĪKISTĀN].

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see Barthold, *EI*[1] art. s.v.; H.H. Schaeder, *Türkische Namen der Iranier*, in G. Jäschke (ed.), *Festschrift F. Giese*, Sonderband der Welt des Islams, Leipzig 1941, 1-34; V.A. Livshits, *Sogdiiskie dokumenti s gorï Mug II*, Moscow 1962, cited in Sundermann (see below); W. Sundermann, *An early attestation of the name of the Tajiks*, in *Medioiranica. Procs. of the Internat. Colloquium... Katholieke Universiteit Leuven... 1990*, Leuven 1993, 163-71. (C.E. Bosworth)

2. Historical development of the term from Tīmūrid times onwards.

In the usage of early Islamised Turks in Central Asia (Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, and in the *Ḳutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*]) the word *Težīk* (alongside *Tāt*) appears as a designation for the "Persians". In Persian documents up to the 19th century (in historiographical works since Bayhaḳī) the word appears regularly with the meaning of "Persians", almost always in a delimiting or contrastive combination with *Turk*. In this context, the comprehensive term *Turk u Tādjīk* may mean something like "the totality of the subjects", the focus here being on social rather then ethnic differentiations. This situation becomes particularly clear in Tīmūrid times (9th/15th century). According to the stereotypical imaginations typically formulated in this period, the following was generally accepted: The *Turk* are the warriors (*ahl-i sayf*), organised in tribes and being conscious of their tribal affiliations; the *Tādjīk* are free of all tribal connections and are sedentary (peasants or urban dwellers); in the expectations of others they are not warriors, but rather tradesmen and, most particularly, merchants and bureaucrats (*ahl-i ḳalam*). The use of Persian is no differentiating criterion: at least those Turks that belonged to the élite were just as well in command of it as were the Tādjīk. They had, however, one linguistic advantage: they spoke, in addition to Persian, their own Turkish vernacular which the Tādjīk learned only in exceptional circumstances. At least, this is the way the contrast appeared to the Turk politician and poet Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] in the courtly society of the late Tīmūrid state; he belonged to the class of the *amīrs*, i.e. the *ahl-i sayf*, although he himself was no active military man. The functional segregation of *Turk* and *Tādjīk* was explicitly regulated in the government and court of the Tīmūrids: there were two princely councils (*dīwān*), the "Turkish Dīwān" (in Persian *dīwān-i umarāʾ*, in Turkish *Türk dīwānī*) for the tribal and military leaders, and the "Persian Dīwān" of the bureaucrats (in Persian *dīwān-i tādjīkān*, in Turkish *sart dīwānī*; see Roemer, *Staatsschreiben*, 169 ff.). *Sart* [*q.v.*] was a further designation of the Tādjīk, taken from Turkish usage, originally having the explicit meaning of "trader", "merchant" (for the semantic development of the term *Sart* see Baldauf, 79 ff.).

Thus from the time of the Tīmūrids onward (and in Persia proper and Central Asia certainly up to the 19th century) the term *Tādjīk* was used, first and foremost, in the contrastive pair *Turk* vs. *Tādjīk*, without any specific regional correlation. The two terms had, if at all, only partially an ethnolinguistic semantic component. *Turk* implied also military prowess, tribal nobility, and other such attributes, whereas *Tādjīk* (with its synonym *Sart*) denoted, alongside the use of Persian, also sedentariness, lack of tribal affiliation, and often an urban way of life and the occupation of merchant (Bregel, *Turko-Mongol influences*, 63). Members of Persian-speaking tribes were never called *Tādjīk*.

This state of affairs changed with Russia's colonial rule over Central Asia. During the repeated censuses of the Russian colonial administration, observations of ethnographers were used as statistical categories throughout the empire. Thus it became current among the Russian bureaucrats to use *Tādjīk* for those inhabitants of Transoxania, Farghāna, and the Pamirs who spoke Iranian languages and dialects, while sedentary people living in towns and rural areas and speaking predominantly Turkish (often, however, being bilingual) were statistically assigned the term *Sart*. This was based to a large extent on a misunderstanding, given that until then the two terms had denoted the same type of inhabitants. Even the fact that the major part of the urban Sart/Tādjīk of the Zarafshān [*q.v.*] valley (Samarḳand, Bukhārā) and of the Farghāna valley had become bilingual during the last three hundred years, had not been taken into account with this new terminology. During Russian rule, *Sart* and *Tādjīk* were considered to be designations for two ethnolinguistic groups that were conceived of as quite distinct.

In the early Soviet period, this differentiation was further developed. Literati like Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAynī (Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni, passim*) and the "regionalist" and Turkestanist ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat (Bečka, *Tajik literature*, following Bertel's) [see TĀDJĪKĪ. 2. Literature] superimposed the notion of *Tādjīk* on to the linguistic term *Tādjīkī* (*todjikī*), which denoted a modernised form of the Persian literary language as adapted to the colloquial language of the inhabitants of Bukhārā and Samarḳand. ʿAynī was also representative of a tendency favoured by the Soviets, to separate the Tādjīk as a Persian-(Tādjīkī-)speaking nation from the Uzbeks, who were conceived as Turkophone. The term *Uzbek*, up to that time a tribal name, from now on also covered the Russian colonial term *Sart*. With the founding of the Soviet Republic of Tādjīkistān (Todjikiston) in 1929, *Tādjīk* finally became the official name of a Soviet titular nation and, since 1991, that of the majority nation of an independent republic [see TĀDJĪKISTĀN]. In Uzbekistan, *Tādjīk* indicates the minority of Persian-(Tādjīkī-)speakers in Bukhārā, Samarḳand, the Ḳashḳa Daryā region and in parts of Farghāna, which are mostly bilingual (Uzbek, Tādjīk). Since the "national delimitation" of Central Asia in 1924, the Tādjīk of the Uzbek part of the Zarafshān valley have been exposed to an extensive process of Uzbekisation. Following the usage of Russian colonial times, speakers of non-Persian Iranian languages and dialects were also called *Tādjīk*, a fact which led to further confusion (Bregel, *Notes*, 15). For the sake of differentiation, terms like "Mountain Tādjīks" (a synonym of *Galča*) were introduced; these were all foreign des-

ignations, which were, however, adopted by the peoples concerned under the influence of colonial, later Soviet, language regulation.

In the People's Republic of China, *Tādjīk* today almost exclusively means speakers of Iranian Pamir languages in Xinjiang (Sinkiang [*q.v.*]), in particular, speakers of Sarikulī. In Afghānistān, to the present day, it is the Persian-speaking, traditionally sedentary, and in no way tribally-bound population that is called *Tādjīk*. As a self-designation this term, which earlier on had been more or less pejorative, has become acceptable during the last twenty years, particularly as a conscious and comprehensive delimitation of Persian-speaking Afghāns. The self-designation of Persian-speakers in Afghānistān had been for a long time most commonly *Fārsīwān, Fārsībān*, or *Fārsī-gū(y)*. However, even today *Tādjīk* does not comprise all Persian-speaking groups in Afghānistān; it has obviously preserved a socio-cultural semantic component. The Uzbeks in northern Afghānistān, mostly bilingual and thus also Persian-speaking, consider themselves, as can be expected, clearly distinct from the Tādjīk, and so do the Persian-speaking Shīʿī Hazāra [see HAZĀRAS, in Suppl.] and some other tribes.

Until today, under the influence of the ethnographers, a meaning of the term *Tādjīk* has been preserved in scholarly literature on regions outside the Republic of Tajikistan, one which corresponds closely to the concept of the Russian colonial administration. This may be helpful as a convention among scholars, but has little to do with the historical and the modern meanings of the term and the self-understanding of the Tādjīk.

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(B.G. FRAGNER)

TĀDJĪKĪ.

1. Language.

Tādjīkī is the name of an Iranian (Irano-Aryan) language commonly applied to the official language of Tādjīkistān (formerly a republic of the Soviet Union which declared its independence on 8 September 1991). Closely-related varieties of the spoken language called Tādjīkī are used by different ethnic groups (not necessarily sometimes identifying themselves Tādjīks) in many places over Central Asia, northern Afghānistān, Pakistan and the Sinkiang-Uygur province of China. All these genetically South-Western Iranic dialects go back to the classical New Persian language of the 9th-16th centuries, the common ancestor of modern Persian, Tādjīkī and modern Darī of Afghānistān. In Tādjīkistān, South-Western forms of Iranian supplanted indigenous Eastern Iranian languages (Bactrian, Sogdian and others) over a long period of time, mainly after Islamisation of the area (8th-9th centuries) [see further, ĪRĀN. 3. Languages, in Suppl.].

The total number of speakers can be estimated at about 7-8 millions (over 3 millions in Tādjīkistān). In Central Asia, dialectically differentiated are so-called groups of "northern" (Bukhārā, Samarḳand, Khudjand, Farghāna), "central" (Zarafshān, Ḥiṣār, Dushanbe), "southeastern" (Badakhshān, Darwāz) and "southwestern" (Ḳulyāb—Khatlān) dialects.

The first indications of Tādjīkī grammatical peculiarities may be traced in literary texts originating in Central Asia and written in Arabo-Persian script from the 16th century onwards. After the introduction in 1929 of a Latinised alphabet into Tādjīkistān, the phonetical features of Tādjīkī became obvious. This Latinised alphabet was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic (Russian) one, with 6 additional letters. Appeals for the restoration of the Arabo-Persian script are now being mooted.

The written variety of Tādjīkī is characterised by a phonetic system of 6 vowels and 24 consonants (compared to the modern Persian 8 vowels—6 monophthongs and 2 diphthongs—and 23 consonants' system). In morphological structure, Tādjīkī is differentiated from Persian by the existence of a developed system of verb formation, including several specific forms for definite tenses (such as *xonda istoda-ast* "he is reading now", *xonda istoda bud* "he was reading at some definite time in the past"), subjunctive participles in *-gī* (*xondagī-st* "he is supposed to have read"), composite verbal aspectual formations of various types (*xonda mond* "he finished reading") and also other peculiar verbal constructions (auditive, i.e. "non-obvious" perfect and other forms).

Written Central Asian Tādjīkī is clearly orientated more to the spoken dialect variety of the "northern" group. Some dialects of this group are strongly under Turkic influence, and intermediate Uzbek-Tādjīk vernaculars exist in the region of active Uzbek-Tādjīk bilingualism where Uzbek is supplanting Tādjīkī in all spheres of life (not only in the bazaars but also amongst families at home). In the south, on the contrary, the process of Tādjīkī's supplanting local Eastern Iranic (i.e. Pamir) languages continues (especially as Tādjīkī till recently remained the only written language of the Western Pamir area).

Naturally, there is much Russian influence and a great amount of loanwords and Russian loanword-formations in the sphere of official and journalistic language; but attempts are now being made to substitute

for Russian loanwords Persian ones (sometimes, ones coming from other European languages).

The dialectal spoken varieties of Tādjīkī become closer to Persian ones as one goes towards the southwest (sc. towards Khurāsān). Among the Turkicised varieties of the north, some can be classified as Turkic by morphology, but lacking such Turkic features as vowel harmony (together with some Iranised Uzbek dialects).

The authors of important works on Tādjīkī and its dialects include the Russian scholars M.S. Andreyev, A.A. Semenov, I.I. Zarubin, V.S. Rastorgueva and A.Z. Rosenfeld, and the Tādjīk scholars M. Shukurov, Sh. Rustamov and R. Ghafforov.

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(I. Steblin-Kamensky)

2. Literature.

Tādjīkī is an indivisible part of Persian literature [see Īrān. vii], but its thousand-year existence and its historical circumstances justify treating it as a separate entity. In the Central Asia where the Tādjīks live, there originated, in the 10th and 11th centuries, the first Persian poets, whence the oldest style of Persian literature is called *sabk-i turkistānī*, but until the 15th century at least, Persian literature was homogeneous, and the classic works of Saʿdī, Niẓāmī, Ḥāfiẓ, and Rūmī [*q.vv.*] have always been considered a part of the literature of the Tādjīks in Central Asia.

From the 16th century onwards, a certain separation in culture from Shīʿī Persia and Central Asia began. Some authors used local dialects at times, and the influence of the large Turkī population was also felt. Literary production was more and more influenced by the so-called Indian style, *sabk-i hindī* [*q.v.*]. From the region sprang authors like Hilālī, Wāṣifī, Bannāʾī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Mushfiḳī (932-94/1525-85 [*q.v.*]), author of several *mathnawīs* and a *dīwān-i mutāʿibāt*, which won him place among the popular jesters. Mīr Ābīd Sayyidā Nasafī, was the representative of the so-called artisanal poetry, author of the often-imitated *dāstān*, the *Bahāriyyāt* or *Ḥaywānāt-nāma*. Central Asian literature in Persian was completely taken over by the style of the Indo-Persian author Bīdil [*q.v.*], unknown at that period in Western Persia, and from the 18th century onwards, there was no poet or writer in Central Asia or in Afghānistān who did not imitate him. A prominent representative of derwish poetry was Ṣūfī Allāhyār Kattaḳurghānī (d. 1136/1723), who, in verse written in Persian and Turkī, preached the renunciation of the earthly life. In the 19th century were notable the Bukhāran poets ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Khʷādja Sawdā (1239-90/1823-73) and Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Shāhīn (1274-1312/1857-94), the author of a *dīwān* and of the *mathnawī Laylā wa Madjnūn*, the *Tuḥfat-i dūstān* and the prose work *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*. A new spirit was brought into the poetry by Tāshkhūdja Asīrī of Khodjand (1261-1315/1864-1916), and new ideas are discernible in Aḥmad Dānish Kalla (1242-1315/1827-97) [see Āzādī, in Suppl., at 109], author of the prose work *Nawādir al-waḳāʾiʿ* containing new opinions on education, culture and technology. His *Risāla* contains a condemnation of the Bukhāran ruling dynasty. Dānish was a predecessor of the so-called Djadīd or Young Bukhāran movement, whose theoretician then became ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat [*q.v.*]. An important follower of theirs was a pupil from the *madrasas* of Bukhārā, Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAynī (1878-1954 [*q.v.*]), who was, for his reformist educational methods (*maktab-i uṣūl-i djadīd*), condemned to 75 strokes of the cane in 1917 and narrowly escaped death.

Tādjīkī literature takes a new path after the Bukhāran revolution in 1920. ʿAynī, Fiṭrat and others welcomed in their verse the fall of the amirate; its backwardness was described by ʿAynī in his story *Ādīna* about the life of a poor Tādjīk boy, the first truly realist piece of prose in the Tādjīk language.

In 1926 ʿAynī's *Namūna-yi adabiyyāt-i tādjīk* was published, a traditional-type *tadhkira* that brought together samples of and short notices about 500 Central Asian poets and several writers, such as the Persian Lāhūtī [*q.v.*], who participated prominently in the formation of post-revolutionary Tādjīk poetry. In the poetry of the 1920s, the leading place belongs to the innovator Payraw Sulaymānī (1899-1933).

A serious estrangement from the mainstream of Persian literature was caused by the substitution of a Latin script for the Arabic-Persian one in 1929 and later, 1940, a Cyrillic alphabet. In these years ʿAynī and the Tādjīk language scholars were fixing the norms of their language, which showed differences in phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary from the Persian of Iran and Afghānistān; these differences are above all evident in works of prose, especially in journalistic language.

ʿAynī's novels *Dokhunda* (1930) (a transcription from the Tādjīk Cyrillic script is used from here onwards) and *Ghulomon* (1934) form, together with *Odina*, a trilogy about the destiny of the Tādjīk nation. It was followed by the successful satirical novel *Margi sudkhūr* (1939, new version 1953). Tādjīk poetry is marked by the arrival of poets brought up in post-revolution schools, who published poetry which, in a less traditional form, praises the liberation of women, the growth of education, victory over the Basmačis [*q.v.*] and the so-called success of the Soviet development, including eulogies of Lenin and Stalin. As everywhere in the Soviet Union, so in Tādjīkistān there were in the 1930s repressions; some writers were imprisoned, exiled or even lost their lives, and ʿAynī himself was persecuted. He then, in the 1940s and early 1950s, wrote his fundamental work, a book of recollections, *Yoddoshtho*, a chronicle of the Bukhāran society at the turn of the 19th century. ʿAynī's followers are younger writers like Djalol Ikromī (1909-93), with a short novel *Tirmor* (1939), an autobiographic novel *Subhi djavonii mo* (1954) and others works, and also several plays for the theatre on historical and contemporary subjects. The 1960s brought a certain détente. In poetry, the leading place belongs to Mirzo Tursunzoda (1911-77), who was for a long time President of the Tādjīk Writers Union. He published several books of poetry denouncing colonialism, stressing the brotherhood between the eastern nations, and also some intimate lyrics. There are series of lyrical epic poems (*dostons*) about the changes in Tādjīk life: *Hasani arobakash* (1954), *Az Gang to Kreml*, about the journey of Raja Pratap to Moscow, or *Čaroghi abadī* (1958), in honour of Sadriddin Ayni. Mirsaid Mirshakar (1911-93) published collections of poems as well as poetry for children or *dostons* like *Kishloki tilloī* (1944) a legend from the Pamir region, and others, as well as his memoires

Yordi yori mehrubon (1979). Muʿmin Ḳanoat (b. 1932) wrote *Korvoni nur*, and the *dostons Surudi Stalingrad, Gahvorai Ibni Sino*, etc. To the distinguished poets of this time belong Ghaffor Mirzo, Abdudjabbor Ḳahhorī, the poetess Gulrukhsor Safiyeva, Loiḳ Sheralī, Bozor Sobir and others.

Although poetry was dominant, Tādjīk prose is now gaining more prominence. Ikromī published his novel on contemporary themes *Zoghhoi badmur* (1977), and the crimes against humanity during the Stalinist era are treated in his short story *Duvozdah kilometr* (1967), published only in 1988. Ulughzoda published historical works such as Firdusī (1978); Rahim Djalil (1909-89) wrote about the formation of socialism, and Foteh Niyozī (1914-91) treated mostly of war events. An author of some promise was Fazliddin Muhammadiyev (1928-91), with his novel *Palatai kundjakī* ("The corner room") showing a more liberal civil standpoint. Contemporary life is the theme of authors like Yusufdjon Akobirov, Muhiddin Khodjayev, Amindjon Shukūhī or Djumʿa Odina, whose novel *Guzashti ayyom* (1978) was prohibited because of its critical attitude to a Communist party functionary; and there are many other authors, like Ūrun Kūhzod, Sorbon, Bahrom Firuz, Adash Istad, etc. The plays of Ghanī Abdullo (1912-84) and those of authors like Ulughzoda, Ikromī, Shukūhi, Muhammadiyev, including the poets Mirshakar and Fayzullo Ansorī, have been staged in Tādjīkistān theatres.

In 1989 the Tādjīkistān Parliament accepted a law about the priority of the "*todjikī* (*forsī*)" language, which is expected to mean a return to the traditional script, but this has not so far been implemented. At the University of Dushanbe there has been created a department for the study of *adabiyoti navini forsii todjik*. Political liberation at the end of the 1980s resulted in an outpouring of patriotic poetry, verses praising the mother-tongue, the national traditions, including Islam, and condemning the Soviet régime, the losses of Bukhārā and Samarḳand, etc. After civil war broke out in 1991, a quarter of a million Tādjīks, mostly intelligentsia, left the country, and from Russia, Persia and other countries are now resounding proclamations and verses of protest: *doston* Muʿmin Ḳanoat's *Hamosai dod* (1994), the verses of Bozor Sobir, the collection of sorrowful poems *Zodruzi dard* (Moscow 1994) by the poetess Gulrukhsor, and others.

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TĀDJĪKISTĀN (*Djumhurii Todjikiston*), a modern republic in Central Asia bordering on China (frontier of 430 km), Afghānistān (1,030 km), Uzbekistān (950 km), and Kirgizstān (590 km). 93% of its territory (in total 143,000 km^2) is covered by mountains, almost half of them higher than 3,000 m/9,840 feet above sea level. Its capital is Dushanbe, renamed 1929-61 Stalinābād. The state language is, according to the constitution of 1994, Tādjīkī (under Soviet rule officially promoted as a distinct Iranian language, nowadays generally regarded as a variant of New Persian) [see TĀDJĪKĪ. 1.], and besides that, Russian for "international relations". The population amounts to *ca.* 5.5 million consisting, according to the last census (1989), of 62.3% Tādjīks, 23.5% Uzbeks, 7.6% Russians, and others (these figures may partly have changed due to developments connected with the civil war of 1992).

As already the topography of the country suggests, the titular nation of the Tādjīks is of a regionally rather diverse character. It ranges between, on the one hand, a population of mixed Turkic-Iranian extraction (prior to the 1920s, in the Russian sphere of influence usually referred to as Sarts [*q.v.*]), not seldom bilingual in Turkic and Persian, and originating in the densely-populated agricultural regions and urban centres of the lowland; and, on the other hand, population remnants of Eastern Iranian elements, which have survived in the refuge areas of remote high mountain valleys, and have in part preserved their archaic languages (such as Yaghnābī, Yazghulāmī, Shughnī and Wakhī). Even though certain popular traditions and religious practices were more or less radically suppressed in Soviet times, the local population, especially the rural one, to a certain extent kept up their customs and beliefs (predominantly Sunnī of the Ḥanafī law school, with an Ismāʿīlī community in Gorno-Badakhshān).

The creation of the state of Tādjīkistān was brought forth under Soviet auspicies by the so-called national-territorial delimitation of Central Asia in 1924. The Tādjīk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), functioning as a part of the Uzbek SSR, was made up of Eastern Bukhārā—till then belonging to the Bukharan People's Republic (removed by the above-mentioned delimitation; until September 1920 the Emirate of Bukhārā); a part of the Pāmīrs [*q.v.*] (since 1895 under Russian dominion), and twelve districts (*volost'*) of the Turkestan ASSR (also removed by the delimitation of 1924; until 1917, a governor-generalship of Russia). In October 1929 the province and city of Khudjand [*q.v.*] (renamed Leninābād) was added to the territory of Tādjīkistān, which at the same time received the status of a Union Republic (SSR).

Tādjīkistān was included in the general development schemes of the Soviet Union (collectivisation, industrialisation, etc.) and became subject to various campaigns—all of them, more or less extensively, for the first time launched from 1927-8—such as the elimination of illiteracy, the changeover to the Latin then to the Cyrillic alphabet [see TĀDJĪKĪ. 1], the unveiling and liberation of women, the promotion of atheism, resettlement operations and political purges. During the first decade of these policies, there were waves of emigration (mainly to Afghānistān) and anti-Soviet, traditionalist, armed resistance by the Basmačis [*q.v.*]; one of the most prominent Basmači leaders was Ibrāhīm Bēg (arrested 1931, executed 1932).

In the decades following World War II, Tādjīkistān, although continuing to be considered as the poorest republic of the Soviet Union, in a technical sense represented a relatively developed country, with a certain amount of industrial and agricultural production, a basic infrastructure, and broad networks of public health and education. At the breakdown of the Soviet Union (August 1991), Tādjīkistān declared itself independent but soon fell into a precarious situation. Regional animosities and political quarrels led to a civil war (1992). These conflicts and their manifold consequences are not yet (1996) finally resolved. The economy, apart from its having been a integral and therefore heavily dependent part of the centralised

economy of the USSR, has almost come to a halt, thereby fostering further social disruption.

Bibliography: There exists an ample amount of biased Soviet literature on Tādjīkistān. For general information see, e.g., *Istoriya Tadzhikistana* (*Ukazatel' sovetskoy literaturi 1917-1983*), i ff., Dushanbe 1986 ff.; *Tadzhikskaya Sovetskaya Socialističeskaya Respublika*, Dushanbe 1974. For a post-Soviet assessment of the recent situation, see *Respublika Tadzhikistan. Otčet po čelovečeskomu razvitiyu 1995*, Bishkek 1995. Well-informed, comprehensive Western studies are not available. For certain aspects, see T. Rakowska-Harmstone, *Russia and nationalism in Central Asia. The case of Tadzhikistan*, Baltimore and London 1970; M. Atkin, *The subtlest battle. Islam in Soviet Tajikistan*, Philadelphia 1989; *Le Tadjikistan, existe-t-il? Destins politiques d'une "nation imparfaite"* (*Cahiers d'Études sur la Méditerranée Orientale et le Monde Turco-Iranien*, no. 18, 1994). (R. Eisener)

TĀDJIR (a.), merchant, trader, further defined by Arabic authors as a person engaged in the buying and selling of commodities. The etymology of the term and the attitude towards merchants and trading in early Islamic society, with the evidence from the Ḳur'ān and from *Ḥadīth* and then from subsequent writers, is considered below in TIDJĀRA. 2. Hence here will be given only some few comments on the role of the merchant; for an extended treatment, see TIDJĀRA.

The trader was certainly a well-known figure in the urban societies of pre-Islamic Arabia and Arabia at the time of the Prophet, even if some aspects of the significance of trading within the global society of Arabia and its Near Eastern environment are matters for controversy (see Patricia Crone, *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam*, Princeton 1987). Muḥammad himself acted as a trader in the earlier part of his life, and Companions such as Abū Bakr, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.vv.*] likewise followed this avocation.

Yet, as Islamic society developed, traders often had something of an ambivalent status within it. There was a hierarchy within them, with perfume sellers and clothiers somewhere near the top, and the customary prescriptions of *kafāʾa*, social compatibility for marriage, meant that e.g. a weaver was not regarded as the equal of a jeweller (*djawharī*) or money-changer (*ṣayrafī*). Senior government officials were considered to be higher in status than traders. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*] was probably voicing public opinion of his time when he said that these last lacked refinement (*adab*) and moral virtue (*muruwwa*), so that they ranked below the élite or *khāṣṣa* of the ruler and his courtiers (*al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, Cairo 1944, iii, 60-1). A proverbial saying echoed such beliefs, that traders were like wolves beneath their outward clothing (*ahl al-sūḳ dhiʾāb taḥt al-thiyāb*).

The cognomen of *al-Tādjir* was known for merchants who traded outside their own towns or lands on a large scale (cf. al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. fol. 102a-b = ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 2-4), such as the trader with the Far East cited by Ibn al-Faḳīh, 11, Sulaymān al-Tādjir.

Bibliography: This is substantially given in TIDJĀRA, but see also S.D. Goitein, *The rise of the Near Eastern bourgeoisie in early Islamic times*, in *Jnal. of World Hist.*, iii (1957), 596-604; M.A.J. Beg, *Social mobility in Islamic civilization*, Kuala Lumpur 1981, 28-30. (M.A.J. Beg)

TADJMĪR (a.), the verbal noun of form II of *dj-m-r* meaning basically "to come together".

In early Islamic military and administrative usage, *djammara* had the meaning of "to keep the troops quartered on distant frontiers, far away from their families" (see *LʿA*[1], v, 217). The caliph ʿUmar is said to have disapproved of this, as leading to discontent and rebelliousness amongst the Arab warriors. But once the initial phase of the Arab conquests was over, the *muḳātila* found themselves fighting in distant, climatically and topographically difficult environments like Central Asia and Afghānistān, so that complaints grew. It was discontent at al-Ḥadjdjādj's [*q.v.*] policy in the late 690s of stationing troops on the far eastern frontiers in permanent garrisons (*tadjmīr al-buʿūth*) which sparked off the revolt of the "Peacock Army" under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath in 82/701 and almost toppled the Umayyad caliphate (see IBN AL-ASHʿATH and C.E. Bosworth, *ʿUbaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the "Army of Destruction" in Zābulistān (79/698)*, in *Isl.*, l [1973], 268-83).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (C.E. Bosworth)

TADJNĪS (a.), a technical term for a rhetorical figure (alternative names, all from the same root, are *djinās* [very common], *mudjānasa*, *mudjānas*, and *tadjānus*), variously translated as paronomasia, pun, homonymy, and alliteration. The last two terms, however, do not cover all the types that have traditionally been subsumed under this heading, while "pun" has also been used to render *tawriya* [*q.v.*], the difference being that *tawriya* is a one-term pun (*double entendre*). A general definition of *tadjnīs* would be: a pair of utterances (mostly, but not necessarily single words), within a line or colon, which are semantically different but phonetically, either completely or partially, identical. The alternative "completeness or lack of such" is the basis for distinguishing the various subtypes that the rhetoricians have discovered. Since words that are only partially identical are very likely to be semantically different anyway, it becomes clear that two notions have merged in the *tadjnīs* concept: a narrow one which covers only the case of complete phonetic identity (this is the *tadjnīs tāmm*, which some say, or imply, is the original and "correct" meaning of the term), and a broader one in which the two terms of the *tadjnīs* show any kind of lesser degrees of assonance, down to root-repetition (*ishtiḳāḳ*, *figura etymologica*). Some authors deny that *ishtiḳāḳ* is a subtype of *tadjnīs*.

I. Literary history

Tadjnīs is without doubt one of the most popular and sought-after rhetorical figures, especially in later Arabic poetry and ornate prose, whence it became also a favourite in other Islamic literatures. Word plays are, of course, universal in all languages and literatures. In world-views that consider names not to be arbitrary, puns are used to discover and express hidden relationships between similarly named things, while those who do not believe in "natural" names, may still use puns the same way, though tongue in cheek, or else employ them to create witty and unexpected connections. However, Arabic, as a Semitic language, has particularly ample possibilities here due to its root-and-pattern structure. Different derivations from the same root play an important role even in everyday syntax, as shown by such constructions as the cognate accusative (e.g. *ḳāla ḳawl*^{an}), the participial expression of an indefinite subject (e.g. *ḳāla ḳāʾil*^{un}), and the strengthening of a noun with an etymologically related but *per se* meaningless adjective (e.g. *layl*^{un} *lāʾil*^{un}/*alyal*^{u}; *laylat*^{un} *laylāʾu*) (see Reckendorf and Grünert, in *Bibl.*). This kind of repetition (*figura etymologica* in Classical terms, and *ishtiḳāḳ* in the later rhetorical taxonomy,

but see below) thus comes naturally to artisans of the language and is made the starting-point for other more artistic uses of root-derivations. Examples collected by the rhetoricians from early, pre-"modern" poetry show that this particular type is moderately well attested. Particularly rich are the Umayyad *radjaz* poets: Ru'ba [*q.v.*] has more than 1,200 cases in his *Dīwān* (ed. Ahlwardt, p. xciii; and see the specimens, pp. xciv-xcvii). One specific use of this figure is to extract "meaning" from a personal or geographic name, a method that remains popular also in later poetry (cf. Djarīr [*q.v.*], *Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, 326, l. 6: *fa-mā ẓāla maʿkūl*[*un*] *ʿIkālun ʿani 'l-ulā—wa-mā ẓāla maḥbūs*[*un*] *ʿani 'l-madjdi Ḥābisu*, a closure line in a *hidjā'* against al-Farazdaḳ that resounds with its two malicious name games). Apart from root repetition, there are also other, less extended, phonetic repetitions that were clearly intended by the poets, but which find their way into the later *tadjnīs* category only in part (see Renate Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣide*, Wiesbaden 1971, 183-93; Th. Bauer, *Altarabische Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1992, i, 163-71). Word repetition is not uncommon in early poetry (*ibid.*), but rarely has the second word a different meaning; thus the repetition does not constitute a *tadjnīs* in the later taxonomies. The rhetoricians who can be trusted to have looked very hard cannot muster more than four or five examples of *tadjnīs tāmm* in ancient poetry (e.g. al-Afwah al-Awdī [*q.v.*] *apud* Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 322: *wa-aḳtaʿu 'l-hawdjala mustaʾnis*[*an*]*—bi-hawdjal*[*in*] *ʿayrānat*[*in*] *ʿayṭamūs* "I cut through the pathless desert [*hawdjal*] taking comfort—in an onager-like magnificent fleet camel mare [*hawdjal*]").

With the rise of the "modern" poetry of the ʿAbbāsid era, *tadjnīs* became a bone of contention, as it was one of the phenomena in the centre of the *badīʿ* controversy. As Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908 [*q.v.*]) correctly explains (*Badīʿ*, 1), poets like Abū Tammām (d. 231/845 or 232/846 [*q.v.*]), who was the focus of the debate, "exaggerated" the use of this and other figures of speech and thus shifted the character of these figures from being a means of poetic style to becoming an essential part of the poetic endeavour. For a study of *tadjnīs* in this period in general, see J.E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe. Précedée de Essai sur un discours critique*, Paris 1989, 186-202 (who deals only with the *ishtiḳāḳ* variety), and for individual poets, see E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās. Eine Studie zur arabischen Literatur der frühen ʿAbbāsidenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1965, 432-36; Magda M. al-Nowaihi, *The poetry of Ibn Khafāja. A literary analysis*, Leiden 1993, 71-96; and, on al-Maʿarrī, S. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1989, 142-51 (who includes phonetic repetition). Although the *figura etymologica* can probably claim the lion's share, the *tadjnīs tāmm* and, in particular, its *murakkab* variety gain much in popularity and soon have their own specialists, such as Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Bustī (d. 400/1010 or later [*q.v.*]). His friend, the arch-*adīb* al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038 [*q.v.*]), declared the *tadjnīs murakkab* to be the crowning achievement in this field and he compiled a sizable anthology of thematically arranged verse displaying this particular variety of punning (*Anīs*, see *Bibl.*), in which al-Bustī figures prominently (e.g. *Anīs*, 452: *ḳad tafāʾaltu bi 'l-arāki fa-lammā—an raʾaytu 'l-arāka ḳultu arāki—khāʾifan min ṣalāḥihī li-siwākin—an yakūna 'lladhī arāhu siwāki* "I took the arak-tree [*arāki*] for a good omen and when—I saw the arak-tree, I said: I shall see you [*arā-ki*],—(though) fearing that, due to its being good for (the making of) tooth-sticks [*siwāki(n)*],—the one I shall see will be someone other than you [*siwā-ki*]."). Actually, the *Anīs* contains also a number of instances of *tadjnīs tāmm*. One particular use made of both varieties is homonymous rhyme. Examples of this artifice, which retained a certain popularity through the centuries, are already attested for the 3rd/9th century (an *inshād* of Thaʿlab [*q.v.*] quoted by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, 438-40, with eleven instances of the rhyme-word *khālī*). What is remarkable here is the fact that the *tadjnīs* stretches over more than one line.

In another work (*K. al-Mutashābih*, see *Bibl.*), al-Thaʿālibī devotes a large part to the *tadjnīs muṣaḥḥaf*, for which he adduces numerous examples, this time not only from poetry but also from prose, mostly cola from ornate epistles of well-known people of eloquence. A poetic example is the following verse by Ibn al-Rūmī: *lā asriḳu 'l-shiʿra wa-ghayrī ḳālah—yakfīniya 'ntikhāluhū 'ntiḥālah* "I do not steal poetry, when another has said it;—sifting it prevents me from lifting it" (*Mutashābih*, 22), i.e. it is not good enough for me. The popularity, among the scribes, of this ingenious artifice is easy to understand. Al-Thaʿālibī does, however, express his dislike for texts that consist exclusively of pairs of *tadjnīs muṣaḥḥaf*, such as *gharraka ʿizzuka fa-ṣāra ḳuṣāru dhālika dhullaka*. . . (*Mutashābih*, 24, and see below, II. Terminology, B, 1-2), where in every pair the words exhibit the same *rasm*. Nonetheless, even this odd self-imposed hardship found its adherents and reached its apogee in *al-Risāla al-tawʾamiyya*, the "Twin Epistle," of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 749/1348 [*q.v.*]).

In post-classical poetry, the *tadjnīs*, together with its cousin, the *tawriya* [*q.v.*], becomes ever more central. Al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362 [*q.v.*]) wrote independent studies on both figures of speech and, in the *Djinān al-djinās*, included as its third part an anthology of his own *djinās* poetry. Studies are, however, still few. For Ayyūbid poetry, see the few remarks in J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyûbides et ses principaux représentants*, Paris 1949, 264-8; on Mamlūk poetry, see Muḥammad Zaghlūl Salām, *al-Adab fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-mamlūkī*, 2 vols., Cairo n.d. [1971], index of technical terms, s.vv. *tadjnīs* and *djinās*. Salām makes the point that the Syrians were more interested in *tadjnīs*, while the Egyptian poets concentrated their efforts on the *tawriya* (*op. cit.*, ii, 126).

It is interesting to note that the *tadjnīs*, which is often taken as a symbol of the late artificial, ossified state of pre-Modern Arabic poetry, also made it into many genres of folk poetry, particularly the *mawāliyā* [*q.v.*], where it often is a feature of the rhyme scheme. This is to some extent already attested in pre-Modern sources (cf. a *mawāliyā* by al-Shihāb al-Ḥidjāzī with a *tadjnīs murakkab* rhyme "*kallām*", *apud* al-Suyūṭī [d. 911/1505], *Djanā*, 141). In modern Egyptian *mawwāls*, the rhyme paronomasia is generally achieved by wilfully distorting the words; this feature is called *zahr* "flowers" (see MAWĀLIYĀ, and P. Cachia, *Popular narrative ballads of modern Egypt*, Oxford 1989, see index s.vv. "paronomasia" and "*zahr*").

II. Terminology

Whether the early poets had terminological ways of talking about paronomasia is unclear. The earliest attestations from late Umayyad times onward show various terms, some of which do not find acceptance in the later terminology. Thus al-ʿAdjdjādj [*q.v.*], in an argument with his son Ru'ba [*q.v.*], emphatically tells him that he, al-ʿAdjdjādj, taught him *ʿaṭf al-radjaz*, and as an example he adduces a line with triple paronomasia (*apud* Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 331, and cf. G. Kanazi, *Studies in the Kitāb aṣ-Ṣināʿatayn*, 64). It is not certain, but very likely, that the enigmatic *ʿaṭf* (in

the sense of "folding back" or "adding on"?) meant "paronomasia." Similarly, ʿUmāra b. ʿAḳīl, great-grandson of the Umayyad poet Djarīr [*q.v.*], compared Abū Tammām's paronomasias to those of his famous forebear and called them *raddāt* "echos" (?). The first term seems to be taken up again in the term *taʿaṭṭuf* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005 [*q.v.*]) (*Ṣināʿatayn*, 438-40; see below), whereas *raddāt* may have metamorphosed into the later term *tardīd*, which however refers to a repetition of the same word with the same meaning in different syntactic contexts to create a contrast and is thus not a paronomasia.

The first theorists are less than homogeneous in their technical language. Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) uses the term *muṭābaḳ*, and although he defines it as the repetition of the same word with a different meaning, he includes a fair amount of *figura etymologica* cases (*Ḳawāʿid*, 64-7). Interestingly, his one-time disciple Ḳudāma (d. 337/948 [*q.v.*]) takes up this term but combines it with *mudjānas* and assigns the meaning of "pun" to the former and the meaning of "*figura etymologica*" to the latter. Thus, although he considers both as one phenomenon, he seems to feel uneasy in lumping the two subcategories together. At about the same time, Ibn al-Muʿtazz uses the term *tadjnīs*; whether he introduced the term (some say he "invented" it) is unclear. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, who as a compiler is, of course, very much dependent on his predecessors, nonetheless veers off by using *tadjnīs* for the *figura etymologica* and excluding the word-repetition, which he says is called *taʿaṭṭuf* (see above, on *ʿaṭf*). But the later theorists *grosso modo* understand *tadjnīs*, or the equally frequent *djinās*, as covering both phenomena. There are numerous subcategories with a plethora of synonymous technical terms. The most important subcategories are the following, taking al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 734/1338 [*q.v.*]) as the basis:

A. *Tāmm*, complete agreement in nature, number, and arrangement of consonants and vowels between two words of different meaning.

1. *Mufrad*, either term is one word.

(a) *mumāthil*, both words belong to the same word class, as in *zāʾiru ʾl-sulṭāni ʾl-djāʾiri ka-zāʾiri ʾl-laythi ʾl-zāʾiri* "who visits an unjust ruler is like someone visiting a roaring lion" (*zāʾir* "visiting" from root *z-w-r*, "roaring" from root *z-ʾ-r*).

(b) *mustawfā*, the two words belong to different word classes, as in *mā māta min karami ʾl-zamāni fa-innahū yaḥyā ladā Yaḥyā bni ʿAbdi llāhi* (Abū Tammām) "whatever dies of the nobility of Time, that lives on with Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh" (*yaḥyā* verb and *Yaḥyā* proper name).

2. *Murakkab*, one term is a composite.

(a) *malfūf*, the composite term consists of two independent words.

(b) *marfūw*, the composite term consists of one word and a fragment of another. An additional consideration is the question whether the two terms are spelled the same way (*mutashābih*) or differently (*mafrūḳ*).

Example of *malfūf mutashābih*:

Idhā malik^un lam yakun dhā hibah—fa-daʿhu fa-dawlatuhū dhāhibah (al-Bustī)

"When a king is not generous (lit. one of gift), leave him, for his rule is transient".

Example of *malfūf mafrūḳ*:

kullukum ḳad akhadha ʾl-djāma wa-lā djāma lanā—mā lladhī ḍarra mudīra ʾl-djāmi law djāmalanā (al-Bustī)

"Each of you has received the goblet, but there is none for us—what harm would have been done to the one who makes the goblet go around, if he had been friendly to us?"

Example of *marfūw mafrūḳ*:

wa-lā talhu ʿan tadhkāri dhanbika wa-ʾbkihī—bi-damʿin yuḥākī ʾl-muzna ḥāla maṣābihī—wa-maththil li-ʿaynayka ʾl-ḥimāma wa-waḳʿahū—wa-rawʿata malḳāhu wa-maṭʿama ṣābihī (al-Ḥarīrī)

"Don't fail to be mindful of your sins and mourn them with tears that are like the rainclouds at the time of a downpour—and put before your eyes the fall of death, the terror of its encounter and its bitterroot taste".

3. *Mulaffaḳ*, both terms are composites, as in *Ilā ḥatfī saʿā ḳadamī—arā ḳadamī arāḳa damī* (al-Bustī) "Toward my ruin ran my foot: I see my foot having spilled my blood".

B. "Imperfect" paronomasia (there is no generally accepted cover term for this), which means lack of agreement (1) in the pronunciation of the consonants, (2) in their number, (3) in their arrangement, and (4) in individual consonants of the two terms.

1. *Muḥarraf*, difference in vocalisation, as in *al-daynu shaynu ʾl-dīn* "debt is a blemish on religion".

2. *Muṣaḥḥaf* (or *djinās al-khaṭṭ*), difference in diacritics, as in *idhā ẓahara ʾl-zinā wa-ʾl-ribā fī ḳaryat^in adhina ʾllāhu fī halākihā* "when fornication and usury appear in a town, God will permit its ruin".

Often both types are mixed, systematically, e.g. in the following pairing of terms: *gharraka ʿizzuka fa-ṣāra ḳuṣāru dhālika dhullaka fa-khsha fāḥisha fiʿlika fa-ʿallaka tuhdā bi-hādhā wa ʾl-salām* (from an alleged letter of ʿAlī to Muʿāwiya). "Your might has deluded you, so the outcome of that became your humiliation. Fear therefore your abominable deeds, perhaps you will be guided by that. Peace".

3. *Nāḳiṣ*, one term incomplete by one or two letters, which may be at the beginning or end or in the middle of the term.

Example for incompleteness at the end of the word: *yamuddūna min ayd^in ʿawāṣ^in ʿawāṣim^in—taṣūlu bi-asyāf^in ḳawāḍ^in ḳawāḍibi* (Abū Tammām) "they stretch out hands that attack and defend, which wield cutting sharp swords".

If several letters are "appended" to one term, the *tadjnīs* is called *mudhayyal*, as in *inna ʾl-bukāʾa huwa ʾl-shifāʾu mina ʾl-djawā bayna ʾl-djawāniḥ* (al-Khansāʾ) "crying is the medicine against love passion between the ribs".

4. *Djinās al-ḳalb*, difference in the arrangement of the letters, as in *ḥusāmuka fīhi li ʾl-aḥbābi fatḥ^un—wa-rumḥuka fīhi li ʾl-aʿdāʾi ḥatfu* (al-Aḥnaf) "Your sword carries victory for your friends, your lance carries death for your enemies".

If the distribution of the two terms is the beginning and the end of a verse, it is called *mudjannah*, as in *lāḥa anwāru ʾl-nadā min—kaffihī fī kulli ḥāli* "the rays of generosity shone from his hand in every situation".

5. One divergent consonant.

(a) *muḍāriʿ*, homorganic, i.e. similar articulation area, as in *baynī wa-bayna kinnī layl^un dāmis^un wa-ṭarīḳ^un ṭāmis(^un)* (*Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*) "Between me and my inn is a dark night and an effaced road".

(b) *lāḥiḳ*, non-homorganic, as in *wayl^un li-kulli humazat^in lumazah* "woe unto every calumniator and libeller"

6. Terms are derivations of the same root (or seemingly the same root) (*figura etymologica*) [*tadjnīs al-ishtiḳāḳ*], as in *fa-aḳim wadjhaka li ʾl-dīni ʾl-ḳayyim* "so turn your face toward the straight religion".

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

TĀDJUH, the Tagus river, *wādī Tādjuh* (Port. Tejo, Span. Tajo), together with the Ebro [see IBRUH], the Douro and the Guadalquivir (*al-wādī al-kabīr*), one of the great rivers of the Iberian peninsula. Rising in the Serranía of Cuenca in Aragon, its course of over 1,000 km/600 miles, crosses the Castilian Meseta and Estremadura and then enters Portugal, to debouch into the Atlantic in the Bay of Lisbon.

It is mentioned by Arabic geographers essentially in passages dealing with the towns of Toledo (Ṭulayṭula), Talavera (Ṭalabīra), Santarem (Shantarīn) and Lisbon (Ushbūna [*q.vv.*]). Most of them mention a bridge dating from Antiquity, crossing it downstream from Toledo, probably that of Alcántara (al-Ḳanṭara). Al-Ḥimyarī alone, taking up al-Rāzī, devotes a complete notice, though brief, to the river in his *K. al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*. He compares the Tagus to the Nile for its floods and the alluvium which it deposits on the plain of Santarem. Al-Idrīsī mentions mills along its course as well as a piece of hydraulic machinery meant to draw water to an aqueduct.

With the Muslim conquest in the early 8th century, the Tagus came within the *dār al-Islām*. For two centuries, the neighbouring regions were characterised by the implantation of numerous Berber tribesmen in the mountainous regions along its upper and middle zones (Maṣmūda, Nafza, Hawwāra, Miknāsa, etc.). At the end of this period, the territory effectively occupied by the Muslims must have begun more or less with the line of sierras separating the Tagus from the Douro basin. But there was probably hardly any stable,

dense population before the Tagus valley itself, where the line of fortresses of the Middle and Lower Marches were established to defend the Muslim territory: Santarem, Alcántara, Nafza and above all Talavera and Toledo [see AL-THUGHŪR. 2]. Other places, recently revealed by archaeological excavations, reinforced this line: e.g. the town of Vascos (the Nafza of the Arabic texts?) not far from Talavera de la Reina, whose ruins stretch over more than 6 ha and are enclosed by an imposing wall of dressed stone, but there were also a certain number of fortifications in the rural districts along the Tagus (Castros, Alija, Espejel, etc.) whose architecture suggests a probable Berber occupation.

Further to the north, between the Tagus and the sierras, some advanced points like Coria must have controlled a land where there was no-one but a few, fairly widely-spaced Berber tribesmen, perhaps still semi-nomadic. Against the image sketched out by Lévi-Provençal in his *Hist. Esp. mus.* of marches strongly controlled from Cordova and having a well-defined administrative status, recent historians like Eduardo Manzano have opposed that of a mosaic of Berber or indigenous populations who were for most of the time outside the authority of the Asturian-Leonese kings and the *amīrs* of Cordova. These territories comparatively independent of the central power were in practice governed by local families, often Berber like the Dhu 'l-Nūnids and the Banū Razīn [*q.vv.*], whose authority Cordova simply recognised rather than formally entrusting it to them.

Toledo was the capital of the Middle March until the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir decided to transfer its functions nearer to the scene of operations at Medinaceli. But after Alfonso VI of Castile's capture of Toledo in 1085, it was along the approaches to the Tagus that the Christian and Muslim positions finally became stabilised. In the western part, the river remained within Islamic territory. In the modern Portugal and in Estremadura, Muslim Santarem faced Christian Leiria and Coria faced Salamanca, but each side had bridgeheads on the other bank. On the other hand, upstream from Toledo, after half-a-century of fierce fighting to control the course of the Tagus or to defend it, this last really did separate Muslims from Christians. The Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa (*al-ʿIḳāb* [*q.v.*]) in 1212 marks the definitive conquest of the river's course by the Christian kingdoms, the opening-up of the gates of Andalusia to their armies and the fixing of the frontier in the southern parts of the Peninsula.

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(P. BURESI)

TADJURRA, in English conventionally Tadjura; in French, Tadjoura; in Italian, Tagiura; etc., a small coastal port on the gulf of the same name in the Republic of Djibouti and residence of the *dardar* ("sultan") of Tadjura, one of the traditional ʿAfar chieftains.

The Arabic name Tadjurra is itself a corruption of the name given to the locality by its inhabitants in their own ʿAfar dialect, sc. Tagorri. This last name is derived from *tagor*, pl. of *tagra* (a leather bucket for drawing water). The town is thus "*tagor [le ʿeela]*", meaning "[the well] with buckets", "the place of abundant water". Tadjura is, in fact, primarily an oasis.

Flanked by a palm-grove to the west and overshadowed by the Goda mountains from which it is separated by a plain traversed by wadis, the settlement is located on an impressive site. It consists of solidly built, single-storey white houses, interspersed with shacks constructed from vegetal material.

Islam has a long history in Tadjura and is well entrenched, even if the practice of it is hardly conspicuous. A degree of revival is, however, perceptible and non-Islamic practices are in decline. The last sacrifice to the genies of the sea (*baddi maskin*), for example, is said to date back to 1973. Ḳurʾānic education depends on women and on men, some of whom have left an indelible mark, such as Ḥajji Kaamil who was active during the 1970s. Tadjura is traditionally known as "the town of the seven mosques", a substantial number by the standards of the region; in fact Tadjura had nine of them (almost all endowed with a short and square minaret), including the Khoroojib mosque and the Djaamiʿ mosque, but the ʿIdi mosque was replaced in 1987 by a landing strip. The town possesses a *ḳāḍī*. Ṣūfī brotherhoods seem to be non-existent.

The *walīs* or saints revered in the region are: *shaykh* Gonduruḥmaan, *shaykh* Abazeed, also known as Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī and *shaykh* Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Zarben. The first is reckoned to have arrived from Sudan around 1880. Having died once at Balo in Ethiopia, he came to Ambabbo, some 10 km to the west of Tadjura, where he was betrothed to a Ḥasooba girl, but finally died for the second time before marrying. His tomb is the object of a *siyyaara* on 27 Ramaḍān. The second, who allegedly lived from 188 to 261 A.H., is honoured on the peak of Barraʿbarré in the Goda mountains, where his tomb (or his cenotaph?) attracts pilgrims not only from the surrounding region but also from Yemen and Somalia. The third, doubtless of Arab origin, threw his spear from Zaylaʿ (Saylac) towards Tadjura. The place where it fell, at Marsaaki, is marked by a heap of dry stones. The inhabitants of Tadjura come to this place to appeal to the saint for prosperity and fertility.

The "sultanate" of Tadjura which is defined as "the area [subject to] the *dardar* of Tadjura" (*Tagorri dardarih ḍeddar*) is the only ʿAfar chiefdom, the territory of which is entirely enclosed within the frontiers of the Republic of Djibouti. It occupies part of the northern shore of the eponymous gulf and is bordered by the ʿAfar sultanates of Raḥayto (which has in the past grown at its expense) to the north and east, of the Awsa to the north and west, and of Goobaʿad to the south-west.

The ʿAfar clans occupying the territory are the Adʿali, the Ḥasooba, the ʿAble (the most numerous?), the Ayrolasso, the Songo Goda, the Maʿandiyta, the Seeka and the Mafa. ʿAfar society recognises transversal associations, the *fiʿma*, which counterbalance tribal divisions. In Tadjura there are four, the two male being Ḍiinekala and Farrada, the two female Amrisa and Maḥaysa.

It is very difficult to construct a continuous history of Tadjura and of the sultanate. The first mention of the town would seem to be in the writings of al-Idrīsī, and it is shown on the earliest Portuguese maps. Arab and European travellers mentioned it regularly.

The Adʿali, for their part, trace their origin from the miraculous appearance in the tree overshadowing the wells of ʿAdaylu, 30 km to the north of Tadjura, of Ḥadalmaaḥis, "he who was in contact with (i.e. "on", "under" "beside", etc.) the tree in the morning". This individual, traditionally regarded as being of Arab origin, established himself in this place and married there. The Adʿali are descended from his second son, Adaaʿal. Calculations based on the study of genealogies make it possible to locate the event towards the end of the 8th/14th century. In fact, it is known that at about this time there was an Adʿali chiefdom in the upper Weeʿima which soon extended its power to Tadjura, expelling *ca.* 1600 from the place another ʿAfar group, the Ankaala.

The Adʿali constitute the majority of the ʿAdohyammara (the "Whites"), a major grouping of families rivalling another assemblage, that of the ʿAsahyammara (the "Reds"), of whom numerous elements, the Moodayto of Awsa and the Dammohoyta of Bidu, for example, nevertheless also claim descent from Ḥadalmaaḥis.

The sultanate's connections with France date back to 1705, in which year Bretons on their way towards Mok͟ha arrived, as a result of navigational error, in the gulf of "Tagora" and made contact with the sultan Muḥammad b. Dini. In the following century, after first contemplating competition on the Arabian shore of the Gulf with Great Britain, which had occupied Aden since 1839, France began to take an interest in the African shore. On 11 March 1862, the sultans of Tadjura, Raḥayto and Goobaʿad agreed to a convention acknowledging French possession of Obock (Oboki, in ʿAfar: Ḥayyu), an anchorage which was not effectively occupied until the summer of 1884. It was then that Léonce Lagarde, newly-appointed governor of Obock, signed protectorate treaties: on 9 August with the sultan of Goobaʿad, and on 21 September with the sultan of Tadjura, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. In 1896 these ʿAfar chiefdoms were joined to Somali territory to form a new colony, misleadingly called the French Coast of the Somalis. In March 1949, Tadjura became the provincial capital of an administrative division of 13,000 km^2, currently one of the five districts of the Republic of Djibouti. Since the 19th century and until independence (1977), the population—always difficult to estimate—has varied around the 3,000 mark. At present (1997), it may reach 10,000 (70,000 for the district). Tadjura is, in any case, the most important town of the northern shore of the gulf, ahead of Obock and of the ʿAfar region of Djibouti.

Tadjura has always benefited by its position as a transit centre. On the landward side, the town is a point of convergence and a bartering site for nomads. It is also the point of arrival and departure of caravans heading towards Shoa, and in this capacity it was for many years the regional bridgehead for the traffic in slaves. This trade was still active after the First World War, supplying in particular the market in D̲j̲edda. The sultan himself was implicated, as were his counterparts in Awsa and Goobaʿad. It was as a result of a press campaign launched in 1922, and of abolitionist edicts issued by the Täfäri *ras* with the aim of easing Ethiopia's admission to the League of Nations (1923) that this resource of the inhabitants of Tadjura steadily dwindled before finally disappearing.

On the seaward side, Tadjura is a cabotage-port linked to Djibouti (by a ferry of often dubious reliability), as well as to ports on the Arabian and African shores of the Red Sea. There is also a small-scale boat-building operation, managed by expatriates from Yemen.

Today, the community subsists on coastal fishing, various trades (including the traffic in *ḳāt* [*q.v.*]) and supplies and posts for various local officials.

The *dardar*, whose title, mis-translated as "sultan", derives from the Arabo-Persian *sardār*, is assisted by a *banoyta* (or "vizier"). These two functions alternate within two clans, the Burhanto and the Diinite; when the *dardar* is a Burhanto, the *banoyta* is a Diinite and vice-versa. At one time, the *dardar* ruled over a vast domain. Today his power is much reduced and his control is confined to his personal property.

After the year of traditional mourning which followed the death of the Diinite *dardar* Habib Ahmed (enthroned in 1964), the *dardar* Abdoulkader Houmed and the *banoyta* Chehem Ahmed were enthroned on 8 April 1985 in the presence of 40,000 persons and the significant absence of the Somali President of the Republic, Hassan Gouled. When unrest erupted in 1991, Abdoulkader was asked by the government to intervene with the aim of obtaining the surrender of 3,000 mutinous soldiers. He refused vehemently, thus regaining some of the prestige which he had earlier forfeited as a result of his obsequious appeasement of the authorities.

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(A. Rouaud)

TAD̲J̲WĪD (a.), verbal noun from *d̲j̲awwada*, literally means "to make better" in the sense of *taḥsīn* "to embellish, beautify", but has come to be understood generally as the art of reciting the Ḳurʾān, known as *ʿilm al-tad̲j̲wīd*. The term does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, but it was used early. For example, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, son-in-law of the Prophet and fourth caliph, is reported to have replied in answer to a question about the meaning of the Ḳurʾānic phrase in sūra LXXIII, 4, *wa-rattili ʾl-ḳurʾāna tartīl^{an}* ("and recite the Ḳurʾān by means of *tartīl*") that it means *tad̲j̲wīd al-ḥurūf wa-maʿrifat al-wuḳūf* ("excellent rendering of the consonant sounds and knowledge of the pauses"). In this terse definition we see the importance of both the phonetics and the semantics of Ḳurʾānic recitation: giving each letter its due and knowing where to pause in the recitation, which also

entails knowing where to resume it. This latter aspect came to be known as *al-wakf* ("pause", pl. *wuķūf*) *wa 'l-ibtidā'* ("and beginning, resumption"), and occupies an important place in *'ilm al-tadjwīd*. Modern copies of the Arabic text of the Ķur'ān contain symbols indicating the pauses and their several kinds, as well as whether they are obligatory or optional.

Although *tadjwīd* is principally concerned with the rules and skills of the oral performance of recitation, it also extends to knowledge and practices that are not strictly phonetic in nature. For example, in addition to the semantically and syntactically-oriented pause and beginning (*al-wakf wa 'l-ibtidā'*) is the etiquette of recitation (*ādāb al-tilāwa*), covered in many *tadjwīd* manuals as an important part of the piety if not strictly the performance practices of recitation.

1. Other terms. Another term for Ķur'ānic recitation is *ķirā'a*, lit. "recitation, recital", in the general sense of reciting passages during the prayer or reciting the entire Ķur'ān, as well as "reading", i.e. among variants. In this last sense, the discourse has to do not with the rules of recitation—its manner—but with the text itself—its matter—which from earliest times admitted of variation in a largely oral culture before the Arabic script had reached maturity. The "science of readings" (*'ilm al-ķirā'āt* [see ĶIRĀ'A] became an important, complex discourse with first seven, then ten, and later fourteen canonical readings of the Ķur'ānic text, although it is the seven which remain important. The multiplicity of readings does not mean that there are different versions of the Ķur'ān, but that there are variant readings—most very minor—of the same basic text. The question of whether reciters should mix variant readings in recitation performance has been much discussed, with a general tendency toward not doing so in the presence of listeners unfamiliar with these matters, whose confidence in the revealed text might thereby be endangered through confusion.

The teacher of "readings and recitation" (*al-ķirā'āt wa 'l-ķirā'a*) is known as a *muķri'* (pl. *muķri'ūn*), and a reciter of the Ķur'ān is called a *ķāri'* (pl. *ķurrā'*). The former is a member of a relatively small professional élite, whereas the latter is a much more common performer, albeit highly respected for mastery of *tadjwīd* and, often, full memorisation of the Ķur'ān as a *ḥāfiẓ*. Every *muķri'* must be a *ķāri'*, but only rarely is a *ķāri'* also a *muķri'* in the strict sense of being a certified expert in the science of readings and recitation.

Probably the most generic term for recitation of the Ķur'ān is *tilāwa* "to follow, to read/read out loud, to recite". The term, like *tartīl*, is Ķur'ānic (II, 121, "those unto whom We have given the Scripture, who read it [*yatlūnahu*] with the right reading [*ḥaķķa tilāwatihi*], those believe in it"). But *tilāwa* does not specify anything concerning performance; that is the domain of *tadjwīd* and, to a lesser extent, *ķirā'a*. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī's gloss of *tilāwa* (from his *Iḥyā'*, as cited in 'Āmir b. al-Sayyid 'Uthmān, *Kayfa yutlā 'l-Ķur'ān*, Cairo 1394/1974, 9), contextualises Ķur'ānic recitation within scriptural piety rather than merely skilled technical oral performance: "[The Ķur'ān's] true recitation (*tilāwa*) is that the tongue, the intellect and the heart share in it. The portion of the tongue is to render the consonants authentic by *tartīl*, the portion of the intellect is the explanation of the meaning, and the portion of the heart is admonishment". The lexical meanings of *tilāwa* convey the double senses of reading and being obedient to—"following"—the message.

2. Selected technical aspects of *tadjwīd*. The typical handbook quickly gets right into the technical matters of the phonetics of Ķur'ānic recitation, most of which require demonstrations to comprehend fully. First the letters of the Arabic alphabet are discussed, along with their places of articulation (*makhāridj al-ḥurūf*) in the human vocal anatomy and their manners of articulation (*ṣifāt al-ḥurūf*). With respect to *makhāridj al-ḥurūf*, modern manuals sometimes contain illustrations of the mouth, throat, teeth and lips with indications of precisely where each letter's utterance originates. One influential Indonesian manual has lessons with thoughtfully arranged sequences of juxtaposed sounds—using nonsense patterns—so that the non-Arabic speaking student will be able to master the difficult muscular and auditory skills of Arabic pronunciation. The *ṣifāt al-ḥurūf* treat groups of the alphabet in pairs of opposites, according to their characteristics as pronounced (some examples follow): whether they are gently uttered (e.g. *thā', khā', sīn, kāf, hā'*) or fully voiced (e.g. *bā', dāl, rā', zā', 'ayn, ķāf, lām, mīm, wāw, yā'*), whether the letters are pronounced with confidence in their place of origin (e.g. *djīm, dāl, ķāf, tā'*) or with some lack of confidence in the exact point (e.g. *thā', fā', wāw, hā'*), whether they are pronounced with tongue elevated (*khā', ṣād, ḍād, ghayn, ṭā', ķāf, ẓā'*) or lowered (the remainder) in the mouth, whether they are "covered" (*ṣād, ḍād, ṭā', ẓā'*) or "opened" (the remainder) with respect to the tongue being closely covered by contact with the hard palate, and whether the pronunciation is light—coming from the tip of the tongue and lips (*fā', rā', mīm, nūn, lām, bā'*) or hard (the remainder). Some fine points under *ṣifāt* include *ķalķala*, strong pronunciation of certain letters when they are quiet (*sākin*), e.g. *ķāf, ṭā', dāl*); *takrīr*, trilling the *rā'* at certain times; and *istiṭāla* "stretching" the sound from one side of the tongue to the other when pronouncing *ḍād*.

The manuals then proceed to treat a number of additional matters pertaining to *tadjwīd*: *ghunna*, nasal sound of certain letters in excess of ordinary speech; assimilation (*idghām* [*q.v.*]) of certain letter sounds, for example, silent *nūn* and *tanwīn* when followed by *tanwīn* and *rā'*, as in II, 5, where *'alā huda*ⁿ *min rabbihim* is rendered *'alā hudammirrabihim*; *madd* "extending" the duration of a syllable; *iķlāb* "alteration" of a letter's sound, as in quiescent *nūn* followed by *bā'*, where the phrase *min ba'd* becomes *mim ba'd*; and others.

3. Styles of recitation. Recitation style is determined in some degree by the pace of performance, ranging from very slow to rapid. The ideal form, which has dominated the discourse since earliest times, is called *tartīl*, after the Ķur'ānic passage quoted above. A contemporary manual defines *tartīl* as "recitation ... done at a slow pace ... and the *ķāri'* observes with great care the clarity in pronunciation of each letter from its *makhradj*, place of origin, strictly follows all the rules of *al-tadjwīd*, uses a melodious voice, exercises pauses and enables the listeners to comprehend each letter and meaning of the words for their reflection ...." (Muh. I.H.I. Surty, *A course in the science of reciting the Qur'ān*, Leicester 1988, 197).

Another term for slow recitation is *taḥķīķ* "meticulousness". It is in the class of *tartīl* but slower than ordinary *tartīl*, and used principally in learning and practising *tadjwīd*. Medium-paced recitation is known as *tadwīr*, whereas rapid recitation is called *ḥadr*. The latter is generally reserved for private use, as when the reciter wishes to maintain the text in memory through frequent repetition. One reciter in East Java informed the present writer that he profitably and pleasantly passes the time on the slow train from

Surabaya to Yogyakarta by reciting the whole Ḳur'ān in *ḥadr* style. All the styles are strictly governed by the rules of *tadjwīd*.

Certain kinds of recitation are considered as detestable and others are unlawful. An example of the first is lengthening the short vowels and then stretching the elongated (*madd*) vowels even more, and one of the second is transforming the recitation into singing (other examples, together with a table of words whose mispronunciation will change the meaning of the text and lead the reciter into unbelief, are in Surty, *op. cit.*, 201-2).

4. Melodic recitation of the Ḳur'ān. There is an ancient, absorbing and continuing discourse concerning the place and propriety of musical performance in Ḳur'ānic and other types of pious recitation in Islam, such as the *dhikr* and *samā'* practices of Ṣūfī orders. We do not know what the earliest Ḳur'ānic recitation sounded like, so far as melodies and modes are concerned. A famous prophetic *ḥadīth* is: "He is not one of us who does not chant the Ḳur'ān" (al-Bukhārī). The word translated as "chant" is *yataghannā*, which can also mean "sing", although some commentators prefer "be content with" (*yastaghnī*). Muḥammad enjoyed listening to the Ḳur'ānic recitation of others and declared, according to another *ḥadīth*, that Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī's recitation was like "a flute of the people of David", where al-Nawawī glosses "flute" (*mizmār*) as "beautiful voice" (*al-ṣawt al-ḥasan*) (*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī*, Cairo 1964, vi, 80). Ibn Khaldūn's interpretation (tr. Rosenthal, ii, 401) is that it "does not refer to cadence and melodious music, but... to a beautiful voice, a clear pronunciation", that is, to strict *tadjwīd*. There are reports in early Muslim history of recitation of the Ḳur'ān using popular melodies (*alḥān*), but the influence of art song on the practice seems to have been relatively short-lived. It came under the severe censure of the *'ulamā'* quite early.

Although the musical dimension of Ḳur'ānic recitation is a diverse, complex discourse, sustained over many centuries, the practice of *tadjwīd* came universally to be independent of any kind of popular singing, with set melodies. In contemporary Egypt, which has great influence on recitation everywhere, the word *tadjwīd* may be understood to designate melodic and highly embellished Ḳur'ānic recitation as well its more generic meaning, discussed above. A more precise term for melodic recitation is *mudjawwad* style, as distinguished from *murattal* style (from *tartīl*). It employs musical modes/pitches (*maḳām*, pl. *maḳāmāt*) and largely improvised melodic chants (*naghamāt*). But even *mudjawwad* recitation should ideally be spontaneous, without set melodies, and obeying the rules of *tadjwīd* (see the detailed exposition by Kristina Nelson, *The art of reciting the Qur'ān*, Austin 1985, 32-51, 101-35 and *passim*).

Sound recordings of Ḳur'ānic recitation have become important means for learning the art, as well as for enjoying its many expressions. Two influential reciters of this century were the Egyptians Shaykh 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ 'Abd al-Ṣamad, renowned for his *mudjawwad* performances, and Shaykh Maḥmūd Khalīl al-Ḥuṣarī, whose recitation in *murattal* style was greatly admired. A respected contemporary woman reciter is the East Javanese reciter Mariya Ulfa, who is active in Ḳur'ān recitation educational affairs, including the famous biennial *Musabaqah Tilawatil Qur'an* ("Contest in the Recitation of the Ḳur'ān") in Indonesia. Performance recordings of all three reciters, and many more besides, are widely available.

5. Other performance matters and examples of the etiquette of recitation. Recitation of any portion of the Ḳur'ān should be preceded by *ta'awwudh* [*q.v.*] "seeking protection" by saying the formula *a'ūdhu billāhi min al-shayṭān al-radjīm* "I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan". After seeking refuge, the reciter utters the *basmala* (regardless of whether the recitation begins at the beginning of or within a sūra), "In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate". Then the portion to be recited is commenced. At the end of recitation is said *ṣadaḳa 'llāhu 'l-'aẓīm* "God the Mighty has spoken truthfully".

Another matter is weeping during recitation, which is recommended both by the Ḳur'ān (XVII, 109) and in *ḥadīth*. One should induce weeping if it does not come spontaneously, because thereby it brings more forcefully to mind, as al-Ghazālī wrote, the "threats, warnings, covenants and promises... in the Ḳur'ān", noting that the "greatest of all misfortunes" is a "lack of grief and tears" for which, if nothing else, a person should weep (M.A. Quasem, *The recitation and interpretation of the Qur'ān: al-Ghazālī's theory*, Kuala Lumpur 1979, 44).

The best context for recitation is generally agreed to be while standing at the *ṣalāt* worship service. In any event, one should recite facing the *ḳibla* in a clean location and, if handling a Ḳur'ān copy (*muṣḥaf*), be ritually pure. It is permissible to recite the Ḳur'ān from memory without first performing *wuḍū'*, whether sitting, standing, reclining or walking. At certain points in the text prostration (*sadjda*), as in the *ṣalāt*, is observed after reciting an *āya* such as VII, 206, "They celebrate His praises, and bow down before Him". The classical Sunnī *madhhabs* recognise 11 to 15 obligatory *sadjda* verses, and most printed copies contain a rubric designating each prostration verse. In addition to prostrations are various uttered words and phrases at certain points in the text, e.g. *Subḥān Allāh* "Praise God!" when a verse glorifying Him is recited.

Opinions vary as to the amount to be recited at one time. Some people recite the entire Ḳur'ān in one night, but it is more common for the text to be recited in its entirety over three days, a week, or a month. In an oft-quoted *ḥadīth*, the Prophet declared that one who completes a recitation of the Ḳur'ān in less than three days does not understand it (e.g. Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, al-Riyāḍ 1404/1984, i, 244-5, "Iḳāma", no. 1341). Ḳur'ān copies have marginal indications for divisions and subdivisions of the text into equal portions for weekly or monthly completions. It is common for a group of reciters to perform by taking turns, completing the entire Ḳur'ān according to differing time-frames, which depend in part on whether the style adopted is *tartīl* or the much slower-paced *mudjawwad*, and to what extent the session is also for training, with sufficient time for correction and commentary. In any recitation, both reciters and listeners have the duty to stop the proceedings for correction when an error is noticed.

A completion of the recitation of the entire text is called a *khatma*, whereupon it is recommended immediately to recite sūra I "*al-Fātiḥa*", and the first five verses of sūra II "al-Baḳara", ending with *ulā'ika humu 'l-mufliḥūn* "these are the successful". It is common at this point to recite appropriate litanies and supplications (*du'ā'* [*q.v.*]), for which there is an established literature.

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TĀDLĀ, a vast region of central Morocco. It is a landscape of plains, foothills and mountains. In the east it starts at the sources of the Umm al-Rabīʿ (Wansifane) and the Moulouya, and in the Middle-Atlas (Fazāz) it follows the upper course of the former river to its confluence with the Wād al-ʿAbīd. From there the plains of the Tādlā stretch on both sides of the two rivers until they reach the fields of phosphates in the north; then they skirt the sills of the Srāghna and the Shāwiya in the west. Southwards, Tādlā thrusts towards the slopes of the High Atlas (Drane). It has a Mediterranean type climate, semi-arid to dry with an average precipitation of 350 mm, except in the foothills where humidity is more noticeable. The geological evolution of the region has endowed Tādlā with an alluvial plain which is particularly rich in water resources and highly fertile.

There are still divided opinions about how this vocable should be written (Tādlā, Tādila, Tidle, etc.) and what it means. The Amazigh language of Morocco, Algeria, and the Touareg includes terms derived from the root *t-d-l* which indicate the colour "black" or "dark green". The morphological parallel which may exist between the vocables Tādilā and Dilā', denoting the mountainous zone in the north-east with the famous Zāwiya of Dilā', has already been emphasised elsewhere by the present writer, and can also be found in the writings of historians such as ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Fishtālī (d. 1031/1622-1) in *Manāhil al-ṣafā'*, and Abū al-Ḳāsim al-Zayyānī (d. 1241/1883) in *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*. The word Tādlā, as it is pronounced locally, means "a sheaf of corn", which fits in well with the preponderant agricultural realities of the region. In Classical Arabic the ethnic name is *tādilī*, and in dialect it is *tādlāwī*.

The ancient inhabitants of the Tādlā were Berbers, with the Zenāta agriculturalists in the plains, and the Haskūra-Ṣnāga shepherds in the mountains. The first contact the Tādlā had with the Arabs was when ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ (d. 63/683 [*q.v.*]) passed through on his way back from Sūs. But when Idrīs I conquered Tādlā in 172/789 he found only a small number of Muslims; the majority of the population were either Jews or Christians. In 202/818 the Andalusian Arabs on their flight from Spain after the revolt of the Rabaḍ at Cordova settled in Tādlā. Some years later, other Arabs from Fās followed them when an Idrīsid amīrate was created in that region. However, the main Arab migration took place only at the end of the 6th/12th century, when the Almohads decided to make the Arab Bedouin of the Banū Hilāl and Sulaym, who had settled in Tunisia, move towards Morocco. The Arabs then spread out within the country. On this subject Ibn Khaldūn wrote that "the immigrant Arabs of the Djusham and Riyāḥ have made their home in the plains and Morocco is being submerged by countless clans".

After the assassination of the Almohad Yaḥyā b. Nāṣir in 633/1236, the Banū Djābir, another group of the Djusham, flocked to Tādlā and settled in the foothills neighbouring the Ṣnāga, who were established in the hilltops and the plains. Sometimes the Banū Djābir risked going to the plains but when they learned of danger coming from the central power or a ruthless leader they withdrew to the mountains to their Berber allies. The Saʿdians, in their turn, brought in the Maʿḳil Arabs who originally came from the Yemen to Tādlā.

In time, a heterogeneous Arabo-Berber population grew up. Because of its strategic situation between the north and the south, and its control of the road linking the two imperial cities, Fās and Marrākush, and its natural resources, Tādlā has been the object of constant interest on the part of all the dynasties of Morocco, and each has tried to strengthen its hold there by nominating representatives from it to high levels of power.

Nevertheless, conflicts affected the region badly; some towns were destroyed and rebuilt, but others just disappeared and new ones were built on their ruins. That is how, in the Middle Ages, the town of Tādlā was a metropolis which gave its name to the whole province; al-Ḥimyarī wrote in his *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* that "it is an ancient town where relics of ancient times can be found". Al-Idrīsī adds that "the city of Tādlā held a prime position for the production of cotton and exported large quantities of it in all directions; it was the principal raw material used in the production of cotton fabric in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā".

Only the town of Dāy at the foot of the mountain could be compared to it. Al-Bakrī, calling it *ḥiṣn*, a stronghold, describes a lively trade there, with traders from Fās, Baṣra and Sidjilmāsa. Al-Idrīsī noted that Dāy had an advantage over the town of Tādlā in its

rich mineral resources, above all, its mine of pure copper. This was probably the reason why the Idrīsids chose Dāy as the chief town of their amīrate and prince Yaḥyā (or Aḥmād), the son of Idrīs II, settled there when the sultan of Fās, Muḥammad b. Idrīs, shared out the provinces of Morocco among his brothers in 213/829. The Idrīsids had been very successful in penetrating into the mountains of Tādlā and setting up there several mints, at Wazekkūr, Mrirt, Wawāhna and Tāgarāg.

When the Banū Yafran, the Zenāta Berber princes governing Salā and Shālla, had hounded the Idrīsids from power, they seized the province of Tādlā, which they held until it was wrested from them by the Almoravids. It would seem that Dāy suffered enormously from these events and that the Almoravids did so much restoration work that it looked like a newly-created town. They also built the fortress of Tāgrārt in the neighbourhood. Scarcely a century later, the Almohads ousted the Almoravids from Dāy and Tāgrārt, and completely razed the two cities to the ground. At the same time, the city of Tādlā perished, never to rise again; perhaps this was because of the opposition of the population to such tendencies of the Almohads as Mahdism and the impeccability of their Imām.

When he visited the province of Tādlā at the beginning of the 16th century Leo Africanus (who called it Tidle) spoke of new towns built at a high altitude. He mentions "Tafza, the chief town, built on the mountain side about five leagues away from the plains; the town of Afza, two leagues from the previous town; between them flows the Wādī Darna. The town of Ayt 'Itab, to the south-west of that place, was approximately forty leagues distant. Finally there is the town of Ayt 'Iyat, built on a small mountain in the Atlas range". These towns all disappeared in their turn as a consequence of the many military actions on the battlefields of Tādlā, in which the Waṭṭāsids were engaged against the Sa'dians.

When the Sa'dī prince Zaydān was named viceroy of Tādlā by his father Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī in 1584, he had a *kaṣba* built on the left bank of the Umm al-Rabī', where he settled and which bore the name of Kaṣba Zaydāniyya. It was also destroyed, during the military operations which took place between the sons of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr after the death of their father. However, the remains of this *kaṣba* are still standing.

One of the objectives in the political strategy of the 'Alawī sultan Mawlay Ismā'īl was the establishment of law and order. He therefore had fortified *kaṣbas* built all across Morocco. He built one on the right bank of the Umm al-Rabī' in 1688, and garrisoned it with about 1,000 cavalrymen conscripted from the *'Abīd.* Then in 1700 he named his heir-presumptive Aḥmad al-Dhahabī to act as his governor of Tādlā, gave him 3,000 soldiers and ordered him to undertake the extension of the precincts of the *kaṣba.* He built another *kaṣba*, in addition to the *kaṣba* of his father, within the precincts of which he built a palace for himself. The two fortifications together bore the name Kaṣba-Tādlā, and they played important political and military roles in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries; several times they changed masters and would pass from the hands of dissidents to the hands of refugees or conquerors, before being totally abandoned.

Charles de Foucauld visited Kaṣba-Tādlā on 17 September 1883 and gave a detailed description of it, but without mentioning the *kaṣba* of Mawlay Ismā'īl, indicating that there was no trace of it at that time. As for the *kaṣba* of Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, de Foucauld only found the walls, the doors, the towers, the mosque and the palace of the *Makhzan.* Everything was deserted and devastated. In the suburbs people had set up homes in dwellings with mud walls, whilst others were living in tents and huts.

Early in its history, Tādlā witnessed much cultural and mystical activity, possibly because of its contacts with the great intellectual centres from Sabta/Ceuta and Fās to Aghmāt and Marrākush on the one hand, and on the other hand because of their constant confrontation with their heretical neighbours, the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*], who dominated the plains of the Tamasna.

This cultural and mystical activity was reflected in the 6th/12th century by the work of Ibn al-Zayyāt al-Tādilī, *al-Tashawwuf,* which comprises more than twenty biographies of Ṣūfīs originating from Tādlā, ranking first among whom was Abū Ya'zā Yalannūr al-Haskūrī (d. 573/1177). His qualities and his miracles gave rise to important literary works, and his mausoleum, otherwise known as Mawlāy Bū 'Azza, still receives a constant stream of pilgrims and visitors.

There are some *zāwiyas* scattered across Tādlā, six of which are very important: the Zāwiya Aḥanṣāl, on the banks of Assif Aḥanṣāl, one of the tributaries of the Wādī al-'Abīd, was founded in the 7th/13th century by the *shaykh* Sa'īd Aḥanṣāl the Great; the Zāwiyat al-Ṣawma'a was erected on the ruins of the town of Dāy, near the minaret of the Almoravid mosque, which had been spared; this *zāwiya* remained until the beginning of the century as a centre of learning and mystical exercises; the Zāwiya of Dilā' [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was a religious and cultural influence on the whole of Morocco for about a hundred years, before it was devastated in 1668 by the young 'Alawī sultan Mawlāy Rashīd; the Zāwiya of Bū Dja'd, called the Zāwiya al-Sharkāwiyya, still enjoys great esteem throughout the Tādlā; the Zāwiya of Tamadjdjūt, about 30 km to the east of the town of Bani-Mellāl, was founded by the *shaykh* 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dar'ī (d. 1091/1680); it was destroyed but was later reconstructed, and a *mawsim* is organised there every summer; finally, there is the Zāwiyat al-Shaykh, the foundation of which was encouraged by Mawlāy Ismā'īl with the aim of counteracting the influence of the Zāwiya Bū Dja'd, a branch from the Zāwiyya Nāṣiriyya of Tamgrūt, in the Dar'a.

Most of the scholars and Ṣūfīs bore the ethnic name of al-Tādilī, whilst some of them were known by an appellation like al-Ṣawma'ī, al-Dilā'ī, al-Sharkāwī, al-Djābirī, al-Bzīwī, al-'Utābī, al-'Umayrī, al-Ma'dānī, etc., according to which *zāwiya* or with which tribe of the region they were associated. Others belonged to part of a tribe or some forgotten corner of the region, so that their origin can only be discovered by reading biographical and genealogical works. Such is the case for Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Garrāwī (d. 609/1212), for example, the famous poet of the Almohad court, who at the request of Ya'kūb al-Manṣūr composed *Ṣafwat al-adab wa-dīwān al-'Arab*, an example of heroic Maghribī poetry distinct from the heroic poetry of the East.

In the 20th century, the plain of Tādlā has undergone an important agricultural revolution, principally due to the introduction of a modern irrigation system. As a result of the construction of the Kaṣba-Tādlā barrage in 1929, the Umm al-Rabī' was able to irrigate 34,500 ha of the territory of the Banī 'Āmir on its right bank; and in 1953 the Bīn al-Wīdān barrage on the Wādī al-'Abīd irrigated 69,500

ha of the land of the Banī Mūsā on the left bank of the Umm al-Rabīʿ; in all a total of some 104,000 ha. After the independence of Morocco, interest in irrigation grew, so that the total surface area under irrigation increased to 120,000 ha. As a result there has been economic and social development, as well as a growth in the network of urban centres which have been created to absorb and organise the flow of emigrants from the different regions.

The decree of 19 December 1955 announcing the first administrative divisions of independent Morocco promised thirteen provinces, one of which was the province of Banī-Mellāl, to be made up of most of the territories in Tādlā, plains and mountains. But in 1974, this vast province was divided, and the province of Banī-Mellāl, which would encompass only the plains, was separated from the province of Āzilāl, which was to include the mountainous regions throughout Tādlā.

The province of Banī Mellāl actually includes ten urban centres, the majority of which bear the names of the tribes who live there. The chief town of the province is Banī-Mellāl with 130,000 inhabitants (in 1988); the others are Fḳīh ben Ṣālaḥ, Ḳaṣba-Tādlā, Sebt Ulād al-Namma, Ulād ʿIyyād, Ulād Mbārek, Dār Wald Zidūh, Ulād Yaʿis̲h̲, Ḥad al-Brādya and Sīdī D̲j̲āber.

The province of Āzilāl has six urban centres; Āzilāl is the chief town, and the others are Demnāt, Āfurār, Wāwizag̲h̲t, Fum al-D̲j̲umuʿa and Bzū.

There are other tribes or parts of tribes not mentioned above which also live in the two provinces. In the plains are the Banī S̲h̲āgdal, Ayt al-Rbaʿ, Banī Maʿdān, Gtāya, Semkat, Ulād Ḥamdān, Ulād Saʿīd, and the Ulād Gnāw; and in the mountains are the Berber Ayt ʿItāb, Ayt Mḥammad, Iḥanṣālane, Faṭwāka, Ayt ʿAṭṭā-u-Malu, Ayt Būzīd, Ayt Utfarkāl, Ayt Bugummāz, and the Ayt ʿAbbās.

Bibliography: See the geographers and travellers (Bakrī; Idrīsī; Ḥimyarī; Leo Africanus) and the historians (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*; anon, *K. al-Istibṣār*; Bayd̲h̲aḳ, *Ak̲h̲bār al-Mahdī*, Rabat 1971; *al-Muḳtabas min Kitāb al-ansāb*, Rabat 1971; Aḥmad al-Zayyānī al-Manṣūrī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ baldat K̲h̲unifra*, ed. Amahzūḥ, Casablanca 1986). Also Ch. de la Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1988; L. Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du 16ème siècle*, Algiers 1900; R. Peyronnet, *Histoire du Tādlā des origines à 1910*, Algiers 1924; *Tādlā, Moyen-Atlas, pays Zaïan*, Algiers 1923; H. Terrasse, *Hist. du Maroc*, Casablanca 1950; J. Martin *et alii*, *Géographie du Maroc*, Paris 1964; Muḥammad Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī, *al-Zāwiya al-dilāʾiyya*, Rabat 1964; Muṣṭafā ʿArbūs̲h̲, *Min taʾrīk̲h̲ minṭaḳat iḳlīm Tādlā wa-Banī Mallāl*, Casablanca 1989; Muḥammad Tamīm, art. *Azilal*, in *Encyclopédie du Maroc*, Salā 1989; Aḥmad ʿAmalāk, art. *Tādlā*, in *ibid.*; ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abu ʾl-ʿIzz, *al-D̲j̲ihāz al-ḥadarī bi-Tādlā*, diss. 1989-90; *Actes du colloque de la Faculté des Lettres de Béni-Mellal* on the theme *Tādlā, histoire, espace et culture*, Casablanca 1993. (Mohammad Hajji)

TADLĪS (a.), a term of Islamic law, verbal noun from Form II verb *dallasa* which means, according to *LʿA*, "to conceal a fault in a commodity", with a not obviously related noun form *dalas* "darkness".

1. In the law of sale and contract.

According to a generally-accepted view, found e.g. in Coulson, the term stems from the Byzantine Greek word *dolos* (< Latin *dolus*) with the idea of fraudulent concealment of defects in merchandise. Ryner points out that both *tadlīs* and *tag̲h̲rīr* [*q.v.*] appear to be almost synonymous and used interchangeably by classical authors. *Tadlīs* is the term adopted by the Mālikī school for the concept of *tag̲h̲rīr*, although this school represents only a part of the Medinan law, and the main term used for fraud, *tag̲h̲rīr*, is a native Arabic word. *Tadlīs* is quoted by Ryner as parallel to the English legal term of "misrepresentation", as used in Bahrain law (article 20). The difference between *tag̲h̲rīr* and *tadlīs* remains subtle, and perhaps one can trace it in the nature of the action contained in each word. Although both refer to fraudulent actions, *tadlīs* is more concerned with the object of the contract, *maḥall al-ʿaḳd*, whereas *tag̲h̲rīr* is a fraudulent action that takes place against a second person who buys or enters into the contract. *Tadlīs*, according to S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Dardīr, occurs "when the buyer does not explain a fault that he is aware of in his commodity". The distinction between the two might be less ambiguous when we observe their other usage in Arabic; *tadlīs* often seems to be used to describe abstract concepts like a weak *ḥadīt̲h̲* (see 2. below), while *tag̲h̲rīr* is used to describe a physical action like deception in marriage. Although *tadlīs* is not found in the primary Islamic sources (e.g. the Ḳurʾān) or frequently mentioned in early texts, the *LʿA* quotes Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab as having used a word of the same root to describe temporary marriage as a cause that leads to the evil of fornication, *d̲h̲arīʿat al-zinā*. Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab used the term *dawlasī* instead of *d̲h̲arīʿa*, the means of evil. This can be seen as one of the instances that views evil from a positive angle [see further sadd al-d̲h̲arāʾiʿ].

Bibliography: *LʿA*, Beirut n.d., vi, 86; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1963, ii, 130; N.J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, 28; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdawī al-Dardīr, *al-S̲h̲arḥ al-ṣag̲h̲īr ʿalā aḳrab al-masālik ilā mad̲h̲hab Mālik*, ed. Muṣṭafā Kamāl Waṣfī, Cairo 1973, iii, 160-4, iv, 43-5; Nūr al-Dīn ʿItr, *Lexique des terms techniques de la science du Hadith*, Fr. tr. and adaptation by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-S̲h̲īrāzī al-Ṣabbāg̲h̲ and Dāwūd Gril, Damascus 1977, 25-7; S.E. Ryner, *The theory of contracts in Islamic law*, London 1991, 194, 204, 208.

(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

2. In the science of *ḥadīt̲h̲*.

Here, *tadlīs* is a generic term indicating a number of deceitful methods used by *ḥadīt̲h̲* transmitters to make *isnād*s [*q.v.*], with which traditions had to be authenticated, acceptable.

The term used in a *ḥadīt̲h̲* context developed out of the original connotation of deceit, e.g. of a man who pretends that he is a free-born but is in reality a slave (al-Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, ed. G̲h̲ifārī, v, 405, l. 1, 410). Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, ii, 48) states that the word is connected etymologically with *dolus*. By general consensus, this tampering with *isnād*s was considered a kind of fraud but less objectionable than outright mendacity (= *kad̲h̲ib*). In mediaeval Muslim *ḥadīt̲h̲* sources, it is recorded that *tadlīs* was already resorted to among the second earliest generation of *ḥadīt̲h̲* transmitters, that of the Successors. Examples of such Successors mentioned are al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]) and Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma (d. 117/735 [*q.v.*]) among many others. In fact, all through the first two and a half centuries after the *Hid̲j̲ra*, during which time traditions were transmitted that eventually found a place in the canonical collections, *tadlīs* was practised on varying scales of deceitfulness by very many transmitters whose activities, however, hardly ever escaped detection, if the large number of cases recorded is anything to go by. Apparently the first *ḥadīt̲h̲* scholar to catalogue the diverse *tadlīs* methods used was al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014 [*q.v.*]), cf. his *Maʿrifat*

ʿulūm al-ḥadīth, ed. Muʿazzam Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād-Cairo 1937, 103-12. He distinguished six categories. Several of these showed up so much overlap in the eyes of the mediaeval ḥadīth expert Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245 [*q.v.*]) that he summarised those six under only two headings: (1) *tadlīs* in the *isnād* amounting to mentioning an informant but without adding that between that informant and oneself there were one, two or more other transmitters left unmentioned; and (2) *tadlīs* in the identification of one's informant in an *isnād* by deliberately using a name, patronymic or agnomen by which the person was generally not known in order that he might not be recognised. The first category became the more severely criticised of the two, even prompting Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] to label it "the brother of mendacity". It eventually gave rise to some casuistry on how to deal with such *tadlīs*-affected traditions. The second category was seen to be less infamous, and qualifying this form as *tadlīs* depended on the overall measure of (un)reliability of the transmitter once that man's identity was denuded of mystification. Possibly the earliest collection solely devoted to *ridjāl* [*q.v.*] accused or suspected of *tadlīs* is the *Kitāb al-Mudallisīn* of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Karābīsī (d. 245/859 or 248/862 [*q.v.*], cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 599-600), which is preserved in some fragments in later works, but the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm also mentions a similar collection ascribed to ʿAlī Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234/849) of which there does not seem to be a trace. In all the later *ridjāl* lexicons, the term shows up frequently.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *K. al-Madjrūḥīn*, Ḥaydarābād 1970, 77, lists some famous *thikāt* [*q.v.*] among the *mudallisūn*; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 355-71; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrāzūrī, *Muḳaddima* [*fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth*], ed. ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, Cairo 1974, 165-72; Ibn Radjab, *Sharḥ ʿilal al-Tirmidhī*, ed. al-Sayyid Ṣubḥī Djāsim al-Ḥumaydī, Baghdād 1396, 264-8; Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ Taḳrīb al-Nawāwī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, ²Cairo 1966, i, 223-31; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, index s.vv. Karābīsī and *tadlīs*. (G.H.A. Juynboll)

TĀDMAKKAT (also Tadmakkat, Tādmakka, Tādimakka, and Tādmāk, in Arabic transcription; Tadmăkkăt in modern Tămashăḳ), name of a mediaeval urban crossroads between Black Africa and North Africa and al-Andalus. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal (i, 84, 105), the Tādmakkat area was ruled by Muslim Berbers of the Banū Tānmāk. Yāḳūt (ii, 938), probably borrowing from the lost work of al-Muhallabī (d. 380/990), mentions "Zakrām" (possibly a textual corruption of *Akrām, from the Berber *aghrem* "settlement") as the capital of the "kingdom of Tādmāk". Since al-Bakrī (460/1067-8), the name "Tādmakkat" has been glossed as "The likeness of Mecca", or "This is Mecca", on account of the town's topography and role as Islamic centre.

Tādmakkat's ruins and cemeteries, rich in Arabic inscriptions, are in the Aḍagh-n-Ifoghas, Mali, at lat. 18° 46' N., long. 1° 11' E., at the site called Ɛssuk in Tămashăḳ (possibly from the Arabic *al-sūḳ* "The Market") which also displays rock engravings and inscriptions in Tifīnagh [*q.v.*, and see BERBERS. vi]. The earliest Arabic inscription so far published dates from 404/1013-4. But trans-Saharan contacts started much earlier. Ɛssuk is on an ancient chariot route from the Fazzān. Later, from the late 2nd/8th century to the late 5th/11th century, Tādmakkat was frequented by Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] Maghribī traders coming from Tāhart (until its fall in 296/909), the Djabal Nafūsa, Sadrāta and Warglān. The military intervention by Ghāna and the Murābiṭūn [*q.vv.*] in 476/1083-4 or 503/1109-10 was a setback to Ibāḍī influence in Tādmakkat. But even before this, the town's Maghribī contacts had been not only with Ibāḍī centres but also with Ḳayrawān and Tripoli. Its principal sources of slaves, gold, and ivory were Găwgăw (Kawkaw or Djawdjaw), i.e. Gao on the Niger, and Ghāna.

By 737-8/1337-8 al-ʿUmarī mentions Tādmakkat no longer as a major trans-Saharan crossroads but in the context of a mainly pastoralist economy. However, this perhaps reflected a temporary situation. Two confused passages in Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar* vi, 202, vii, 51-2, dating from 754-76/1353-75, purportedly about Takadda (Təgədda, in the Ahīr/Ayər area), are likelier to refer in part to Tādmakkat. If so, they suggest a renewal of this town's long-distance contacts—with the Mali empire and Ibāḍī and other areas of the Maghrib. In any case, Ɛssuk/Tādmakkat remained on the caravan route transporting Saharan salt to Gao, and up to the mid-11th/17th century retained a degree of urban life though perhaps not without interruptions. The 19th-century writings of the Kăl-Ɛssuk Tuareg depict the town as a seminal centre of dispersion of Ṣūfī (Ḳādirī) mystics in the Sahel in the late 9th/15th and the 10th/16th centuries, following ruinous attacks by Songhay armies. It was finally abandoned after the Moroccan conquest of Songhay (999/1591) downgraded the route to Gao, and following the 11th/17th-century droughts and conflicts in the Aḍagh-n-Ifoghas.

Bibliography: See also Bakrī, *al-Masālik wa-'l-mamālik*, ed. and tr. de Slane, 181-3/338-43; Zuhrī, *K. al-Djaʿrāfiyya*, ed. Maḥammad Hadj-Sadok, in *BÉt. Or.*, xxi (1968), 180-1, 183-4; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, excerpt, tr. J.F.P. Hopkins and N. Levtzion, in *Corpus of early Arabic sources for West African history*, Cambridge 1981, 274; H. Lhote, *Contribution à l'étude des Touaregs soudanais*, in *BIFAN*, xvii B (1955), 334-70; H.T. Norris, *The Tuaregs*, Warminster 1975, *passim*; idem, *The Arab conquest of the Western Sahara*, Harlow and Beirut 1986, 81-90; J.O. Hunwick, *Gao and the Almoravids*, in B.-K. Swartz Jr. and R.E. Dumett (eds.), *West African culture dynamics*, The Hague 1979, 413-30; T. Lewicki, *Les origines et l'islamisation de la ville de Tādmakka*, in *Le sol, la parole et l'écrit. Mélanges en hommage à Raymond Mauny*, i, Paris 1981, 439-44; E. Hodgkin, *Social and political relations on the Niger Bend in the 17th century*, Ph.D. thesis, Birmingham University 1987, unpubl., 67-8, 444-9; P.F. de Moraes Farias, *The oldest extant writing of West Africa*, in *Journal des Africanistes*, lx (1990), 65-113. (P.F. de Moraes Farias)

TAḌMĪN (A.), quotation, enjambment, implication.

This term ("inclusion") has a number of different senses in Arabic poetics and stylistics. It is used for the incorporation in a poem of a line, or part of a line, by another poet by way of quotation rather than plagiarism [see SARIḲA. In literature, in Suppl.]. Felicitous quotation was included by Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] in his seminal *K. al-Badīʿ* among the "beauties of speech" and was therefore adopted by many later authors, who often discuss it together with related phenomena such as the literary quotation of Ḳurʾān or Tradition [see IḲTIBĀS]. Related terms are *istiʿāna* ("seeking help") and *īdāʿ* ("depositing"), sometimes as synonyms of *taḍmīn* in order to avoid confusion with other senses of the term. It was par-

ticularly appreciated if a different twist was given to the quoted part in its new context. Witty quotations are found already in Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*]; extensive use of *taḍmīn* is found in parody. The *khardja* of the *muwashshah* normally poses as a quotation, which it often is.

Taḍmīn meaning enjambment, the syntactical dependence of a line on a following line, is usually condemned by the prosodists, especially the more extreme forms (the standard example is al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī's *innī/shahidtu* "I/have witnessed", a phrase that straddles two consecutive lines). The same restrictions were sometimes made to apply to *sadj*ʿ [*q.v.*]. Some forms were, however, condoned and even appreciated, such as the structure exemplified by the same poet in *mā 'l-Furātu... bi-adjwada minhu* ("The Euphrates... is not more generous than he"), with several lines intervening, a structure often found. The short lines of some metres from ʿAbbāsid times and strophic forms such as *muwashshah* and *zadjal* [*q.vv.*] brought about a relaxation of the strict rules of the prosodists. Ignoring the caesura between hemistichs (*idrādj* or *tadwīr*) is not condemned; in some metres (e.g. *khafīf*), words often straddle the two halves of a line.

Taḍmīn meaning "implication" is listed in *al-Nukat fī iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān* by al-Rummānī [*q.v.*] as one of the ten elements of Ḳurʾānic eloquence; it is explained as either a form of brevity (*īdjāz*, also separately listed among the ten elements) or the connotation of word or expression (e.g. *muḥdath* "created" implying a *muḥdith* "creator"). This sense was rarely taken over by writers on stylistics and rhetoric.

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TADMUR, Tadmor, the ancient name, and that of modern Arabic usage, for the city of Palmyra. It lies in the Syrian Desert some 145 km/90 miles east of Ḥimṣ and 240 km/150 miles west of the middle Euphrates (lat. 34° 36' N., long. 38° 15' E., altitude 407 m/1,336 feet).

From early times, Tadmur must have been a station on the caravan route connecting Mesopotamia with Syria, since the road on which it lay could pass through a gap in the southwest to northeastwards-running chain of hills: to the southwest of Tadmur, the Djabal al-Khanāzir, and to the north and northeast, the Djabal Abū Radjmayn running on to the Djabal al-Bishrī and the Euphrates. It was clearly of importance in the late second millennium B.C., when letters from Mari record that Tiglath-Pileser I (1116-1076) defeated men from Tadmur in the land of Amurru, and it was significant enough for the Old Testament author of II Chron. viii. 4 to attribute its building to King Solomon.

Under the Romans, the place was of international significance because of its position facing the lands of the Romans' enemies, the Parthians and the Sāsānid Persians. In the troubled 3rd century A.D., the city-state of Palmyra was able to develop a wide-ranging policy and become a military power of significance under its energetic prince Septimius Odenathus II (Udhayna b. Hayrān b. Wahb Allāt), who drove the Persian emperor Shāpūr I [*q.v.*] back as far as his capital Ctesiphon and who acquired from the Roman emperor the title *corrector totius orientis* "governor of all the East". After Odenathus's assassination in 267 or 268, his widow Zenobia (Zaynab) and her son Vaballathus (Wahb Allāt) continued Odenathus's activist policy, but in 272 Palmyra had to open its gates to the emperor Aurelian and Roman control. Zenobia, famed equally for her beauty and her intellect, entered later Arabic folklore under the name of al-Zabbā; *inter alia*, she was said to have enticed and then killed the king of al-Ḥīra, predecessor there of the Lakhmids, Djadhīma al-Abrash [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, i, 757-61; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 189-99 = §§ 1046-57; cf. R.A. Nicholson, *A literary history of the Arabs*, London 1907, 35-7). Palmyra subsequently became a legionary station on the *strata Diocletiana* linking Damascus with the Euphrates. In 325 its bishop, Marinus (who could conceivably be, in the surmise of Irfan Shahîd, an Arab, since we know of a famous Arab clan in al-Ḥīra, the Banū Marīnā; see his *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, Washington D.C. 1984, 345), attended the Council of Nicaea, and Justinian later built a church there.

Its great days ended with the Arab overrunning of Syria. In the 630s, it surrendered *ṣulḥ*^{an} to Khālid b. al-Walīd but later rebelled and had to be conquered *ʿanwat*^{an} (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 111-12; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 18-19). It now became a settlement of the Kalb, who dominated central Syria under the Umayyads. It was one of the towns which, under the claimant Sulaymān b. Hishām, rebelled against Marwān II al-Ḥimār in 127/744-5 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1896, 1912), and according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, 110, cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 17, Marwān had part of Tadmur's walls pulled down. Soon afterwards, its people were involved in the pro-Sufyānid, anti-ʿAbbāsid movement in Syria of Abu 'l-Ward al-Kilābī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 53).

The town suffered in later times from earthquakes, especially that of 552/1157, and Benjamin of Tudela's assertion, only sixteen years later, that there were 2,000 Jews at Tadmur seems unlikely. It now sank to the status of a miserable village amongst the extensive ruins of ancient Palmyra. It was rediscovered by the West when in 1678 two traders from the English Levant Company's factory at Aleppo visited the site, and this last was explored in detail by Robert Wood in 1751 and splendidly described and illustrated by him in his *The ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor, in the desert*, London 1753. The town has now revived in the 20th century through its position during the inter-War period and the post-Second World War years on the Iraq Petroleum Company's Kirkuk-Tripoli oil pipeline and through the growing tourist trade; it is now a town of over 30,000 inhabitants in the *muḥāfaẓa* or governorate of Ḥimṣ.

Palmyra was of significance in the development of early Arabic culture. Although the inscriptions, numbering almost 2,000, found at Palmyra include many in what is a continuation of Imperial Aramaic and although Greek must also have been a language of cultural prestige, the everyday language of the townspeople in the early Christian centuries was probably Arabic and the people themselves ethnically Arab.

This is shown by the Arab names of its rulers during the period of its florescence in the 3rd century A.D. and the fact that over half the personal names occurring in the inscriptions (naturally, from the class of notables and leading merchants) can be explained etymologically as Arabic; they include, e.g. many theophoric names with the god Arṣu and the pan-Arab goddess Allāt [see AL-LĀT]. As well as Arṣu, whose name is an adaptation of Ar. Ruḍā "the Favourable, Benevolent One", and Allāt, other Arab deities are prominent, such as Maʿn, ʿAzīzu, Saʿr or Saʿd, Salmān and Raḥīm. The whole region of Palmyrene, passing under the control of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra, must have become substantially Arabised; in 328, at al-Namāra [*q.v.*] some 220 km/140 miles to the south-southwest of Palmyra, the king Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. ʿAmr's funerary inscription was written not in Aramaic but in Arabic language with the Nabataean alphabet (see F. Briquel-Chatonnet, in *L'Arabie antique de Karibʾîl à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions*, ed. Ch. Robin = *RMMM*, no. 61 [1991-3], 40-3).

Bibliography: For older bibl., see *EI*[1] art. *Palmyra* (F. Buhl): See now Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 540-2; R. Dussaud, *La topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 247 ff.; A. Musil, *Palmyrena. A topographical itinerary*, New York 1928, 136-43 and index; Christine P. Grant, *The Syrian Desert. Caravans, travel and exploration*, London 1937, index; Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Syria*, London 1943, 230 and index; Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, 20-2; I. Browning, *Palmyra*, London 1974; J. Starcky and M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre*, Paris 1985; J. Texidor, *Un port romain du désert*, Paris 1985; D.N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible dictionary*, New York 1992, v, 136-7; Gawlikowski, *Les Arabes en Palmyrène*, in Hélène Lozachmeur (ed.), *Présence arabe dans le Croissant fertile avant l'Hégire*, Paris 1995, 103-8; E.M. Myers (ed.), *The Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East*, New York 1996, iv, 238-44.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

TADRĪS (A.), the *maṣdar* of the form II Arabic verb *darrasa* "to teach". One who teaches is known as a *mudarris*. In contemporary usage, the term is an unfocussed one, referring to instruction of different varieties. The term *mudarris* thus indicates a "teacher" in its most general sense, although it can also have a more specific meaning: in the hierarchy of modern Egyptian universities, for example, a *mudarris* is an instructor holding the Ph.D., but ranking below an *ustādh* and *ustādh musāʿid*—roughly analogous, therefore, to an assistant professor in an American university.

In the classical and mediaeval periods, the term *tadrīs*, as well as various other technical terms derived from the same root, had more precise connotations. *Tadrīs* usually referred specifically to the teaching of the religious law, that is, *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], and in this was distinct from other terms used to describe the transmission of knowledge: the relatively uncommon *taṣdīr*, for instance, when used to mean instruction, had a more general application, while *taʿlīm*, which also indicated teaching, usually referred to instruction at a more basic level (hence *muʿallim*, a primary school instructor or Ḳurʾān teacher). The term *tadrīs* could be used with regard to instruction in other subjects, especially when it was combined with a qualifying phrase; thus, for example, *tadrīs al-tafsīr* ("teaching Ḳurʾānic exegesis"), or even *tadrīs al-ṭibb* ("teaching medicine").

The methodology of instruction in the law has been thoroughly studied in a number of works by G. Makdisi, and discussed more fully in other entries of this Encyclopaedia [see esp. MADRASA]. After an invocation, a class (*dars*, pl. *durūs*) consisted of lecture and dictation, with the instructor providing an exegesis of the text or question under discussion. At more advanced levels, instruction focused on disputation (*munāẓara*), in which the *mudarris* explored fine points of legal doctrine with his students and probed their understanding of the issues and their ability to solve difficult legal problems. As in all the traditional Islamic sciences (as, indeed, in pre-modern education more generally), memorisation played an important role. As the purpose of instruction in the law was the training of qualified jurists and professors, legal education culminated in the issuing to the student of an *idjāza* [*q.v.*] (the term was borrowed from the conventions for the transmission of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]) acknowledging his qualifications to teach the law himself (*idjāza li 'l-tadrīs*) or to issue *fatwās* (*idjāza li 'l-iftāʾ*), or sometimes one encompassing both practices (*idjāzat al-iftāʾ wa 'l-tadrīs*) (examples in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xiv, 322 ff.).

The establishment of institutions devoted principally or exclusively to higher education (both mosques with endowments supporting organised classes, and, from the 5th/11th century, *madrasas*) had little effect on the process of *tadrīs* itself. Methods of instruction remained the same, as did the measure of a pupil's success (the *idjāza*, usually awarded by his teacher or teachers): no system of institutional degrees took root before the modern period. But the spread of educational institutions, and of the endowments which supported them, did have a profound impact on the social context in which *tadrīs* took place. Most importantly, *tadrīs* came to signify not merely an activity but an office, in effect, a professorship, one to which a learned individual could be appointed, and from which he might derive valuable emoluments. The reification of *tadrīs* is reflected in the appearance in the sources of a plural form, *tadārīs*, which was used to indicate the separate "professorships" in different fields (*fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, Arabic grammar, etc.) which an institution might support, or the multiple teaching posts held by a single individual (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 39).

The social and even political consequences of this process of reification were enormous. Many of the new schools and endowed mosques were the creation of the ruling élite, and the founders might retain control of appointments to their institutions' professorships. So, for example, when Niẓām al-Mulk called Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī to Baghdād and appointed him to the *tadrīs* of Shāfiʿī *fiḳh* in the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa*, bestowing on him the honorifics "Zayn al-Dīn" and "Sharaf al-Aʾimma" (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, ix, 55), his action was as much a political statement as an expression of personal piety. Sultans in Mamlūk Cairo routinely interfered in the appointment process, naming scholars to professorships not only in *madrasas* which they themselves had founded but in older institutions as well.

From the standpoint of academic instruction, a more important issue concerned the way in which scholars themselves learned to control and manipulate professorial posts. On one level, of course, the academic élite benefited from the proliferation of endowed professorships. Not only were they guaranteed a stipend for their instructional efforts, but a respected scholar might acquire and hold multiple positions simultaneously. In the mid 8th/14th century, Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī held professorships in *fiḳh* in several institutions

in Cairo, which he then passed on to his son Bahā' al-Dīn (Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Cairo 1966-7, i, 225-6; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, Cairo 1984, i, 409)—indicating that scholars, as well as sultans and viziers, had learned how to play the game of patronage. Another member of the Subkī family, Tādj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, was critical of scholars holding professorships in two or more schools (*Muʿīd al-niʿam wa-mubīd al-niḳam*, ed. D.N. Myhrman, London 1908, 164), but in fact the practice was common, and led to the frequent appointment of substitutes to fulfill the duties of an absent or over-burdened *mudarris*. Alternatively, a lucrative professorship might be divided among several different scholars; the sources frequently report that some individual "held half the professorship" (*lahu niṣf al-tadrīs*) in a given institution. Moreover, the financial lure of a well-paid *tadrīs* could be deleterious to the quality of instruction by attracting unqualified individuals. Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī worried about lazy professors who would simply memorise two or three lines of a text, deliver them to the assembled class, and leave; such individuals, he said, were "not fit for a professorship [of law]" (*ghayr ṣāliḥ li 'l-tadrīs*) and did not deserve a professor's stipend (*ibid.*, 153). Such problems did not necessarily pose a serious threat to the transmission of knowledge in mediaeval Islamic societies, but they did result from the transformation of *tadrīs* into an institutionalised and remunerative office.

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(J.P. Berkey)

TADWĪN (a.), the verbal noun from *dawwana* "to register", most probably a denominal verb from the Persian noun *dīwān* [*q.v.*]. For *tadwīn* in the connotation of "drawing up lists for military and administrative purposes", see dīwān. For its use as "gathering poetry of a certain poet or tribe", see shiʿr.

In the science of *ḥadīth*, the term indicates the collecting of traditions in writing in order to derive legal precepts from them and not as a mere memory aid, for which rather the terms *kitābat al-ʿilm* or *k. al-ḥadīth* were used. The period of *tadwīn al-ḥadīth* is generally assumed to have started at the end of the 1st/7th century with the order issued by the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) to repair to Medina and collect all the traditions he could lay his hands on. Another person receiving a similar order is Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm (d. sometime between 110/728 and 120/738), cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1327, xii, 39, Suyūṭī, *al-Wasā'il fī musāmarat al-awā'il*, ed. M.S.B. Zaghlūl, Beirut 1986, 100. This resulted in as yet unstructured collections which differed from those made during the *kitāba* stage in that they aimed at completeness. The Meccan traditionist ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767) is also mentioned as one of the first to collect *ʿilm* in this manner. Out of *tadwīn* there arose the *tabwīb*: there we see the first attempts at bringing the material together in chapters (Ar. *bāb*, pl. *abwāb*) under certain subject headings of gradually increasing detail and sophistication. Alongside this we find the first structural division of *ḥadīth*s into collections ascribed to certain ancient individuals, Companions or Successors, which resulted in the first *musnad* [*q.v.*] collections, while the *tabwīb* gave rise to the first *muṣannaf* [*q.v.*] works.

Bibliography: For a detailed account of the Muslim point of view, cf. Muḥammad ʿAdjdjādj al-Khaṭīb, *al-Sunna ḳabl al-tadwīn*, Cairo 1963, 293-382; G. Schoeler published on this subject four articles in *Isl.*, lxii (1985), 201-30; lxvi (1989), 38-67, 213-51; and lxix (1992), 1-43; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies on chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 21-2.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

TAFARNUDJ (a.), from Ifrandj [*q.v.*], lit. "adopting, imitating or aping the manners and customs of the Franks, i.e. the Europeans". The term was used by the pioneer journalist Khalīl al-Khūrī in his satirical novella *Way idhan lastu bi-Ifrandjī* ("Alas then, I am not a European"), published in the magazine *Ḥadīḳat al-Akhbār* in 1860, and may be older. The Turkish *alafranga*[*lık*], from Italian *alla franca*, and the Persian *gharbzada*[*gī*], literally "West-struck[ness]", convey the same meaning. The latter term has been variously rendered as "Westosis" and "Westoxication".

During the 19th century, Muslims in significant numbers became aware of the culture, as well as of the political, military and commercial power of Europe, and reacted to it in various ways. Some responded eagerly, learning a European language, reading and even translating European books, and sometimes even adopting European dress and some European social usages. Others responded negatively, and called for the rejection of these alien and infidel innovations. *Tafarnudj*, with its equivalents in other Islamic languages, was a term used by the latter to designate—and denigrate—the former. The first European language to be widely used in the Middle East was Italian, followed by French and finally English. The stages of cultural penetration can be traced in the sequence and distribution of loanwords. Senate and Parliament in Ottoman Turkish are *Senato* and *Parlamento*, because it was in Italian that the Ottomans first heard of these physically and culturally remote institutions. It was not until late that Turks met senators, and that reports of parliaments reached the Arab provinces—hence Turkish *senatör* and Arabic *barlamān*. By that time, French had replaced Italian as the European *lingua franca* of the Levant. In the late 20th century, both were being replaced by English, usually in its American form.

Like the Frenchified fop in English, German and other European literatures in the period of French cultural ascendancy, the imitator of European ways became a figure of fun in Arabic, Persian and Turkish literature. Sometimes the attack is directed against any and every form of Western influence or borrowing. More often, in modern literature, it is concerned with the mindless imitation of everything Western, good, bad and indifferent alike.

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(B. Lewis)

TAFḌĪL (A.), literally "superiority, the act of raising something to a higher level or degree". In grammar, it is the raising of a quality to a degree combining both the "comparative" and "superlative" functions of European adjectives, hence usually translated as "elative". Formally, the elative has the patterns *afʿal^u* (masc.) and *fuʿlā* (fem.) with sound plurals (also *afāʿil^u* and *fuʿal^u* respectively), in an obvious but still unexplained parallelism with the colour and defect adjective patterns *afʿal^u* and *faʿlāʾ^u*. The origins of the patterns remain obscure: Wehr, 598 ff. (summarised in Fleisch, 409 ff.) provides some circumstantial evidence to connect *afʿal^u* with exclamatory formulae; Bravmann, 34, speculates, with no evidence at all, that *aḥsan* is a variant of *ḥasan* produced by a different resolution of the initial consonant cluster in **ḥsan* which would underlie both forms. However, no theories can account for the feminine forms, still less for the syntax and possible links with the *fiʿl al-taʿadjdjub* or "verb of surprise", which also has the form *afʿal* (in *mā afʿalahu*, or *afʿil* in *afʿil bihi*).

The comparative and superlative senses are distinguished only syntactically, broadly a distributive structure (*afʿal^u min*) for our comparative, and annexation (*afʿal^u shayʾ^in*, *afʿal^u ʾl-shayʾ^i*, *afʿal^u ʾl-ashyāʾ^i*) for the superlative (see Wehr, 572, and reference grammars for details), which is thus seen to have the same syntax as *kull* "all" and *ayy* "which". Wehr, 612, makes the important point that *afʿal^u* forms are derived not only from simple "positive" adjectives but from any kind of word, even a verb.

The semantic and rhetorical features of the elative, as in other languages, are most complex. An interesting case is the occurrence of *afʿal^u* in isolation, of which the best known example is *Allāh^u akbar^u*; Sībawayhi's [*q.v.*] "comparative" paraphrase *akbar^u min kull^i shayʾ^in* (*Kitāb*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 233, ed. Derenbourg, i, 199) clearly reflects the intuitive understanding of this expression, but is remarkable also for the way it delicately avoids the heresy implicit in a "superlative" paraphrase *akbar^u shayʾ^in*/ *ʾl-ashyāʾ^i*, even though logically the two formulations might appear synonymous (*wa ʾllāh^u aʿlam*). Nor was Sībawayhi unaware of syntactical problems caused by comparing a thing with itself, as in *mā raʾayt^u radjul^an aḥsan^{u/a} fī ʿaynihi ʾl-kuḥl^u minhu fī ʿayn^i zayd^in* (*ibid.*, i, 232/i, 199), a topic which detached itself as the "Kuḥl question" (*masʾalat al-kuḥl*) in later literature (see al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*], *al-Muḳtaḍab* iii, 248 ff., where there are also further references).

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(M.G. Carter)

AL-ṬAFF, the desert region that lies west of Kūfa along the alluvial plain of the Euphrates. It is higher than the low-lying ground by the river and forms the transition to the central Arabian plateau. According to the authorities quoted by Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 359, *al-ṭaff* means an area raised above the surrounding country or fringe, edge, bank; the name is not found after the 13th century. The district contains a number of springs, the waters of which run southwest (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 187). The best known of these wells was al-ʿUdhayr. From its geographical position al-Ṭaff was the scene of the first encounter between the Arabs and Persians (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2210, 2247; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 345, 351). The Sāsānid kings had stationed there feudal guardians of the frontier which was defended by forts (*maṣlaḥa*) and a great ditch (*khandaḳ*) which began at Hīt (Ibn Rosta, 107). On al-Ṭaff lay al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] and also Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*], famous as the scene of the death of al-Ḥusayn (Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, and Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 456). The latter is accordingly referred to as *al-Maḳtūl bi ʾl-Ṭaff* (cf. al-Mukhtār, in Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 140; cf. also the poem quoted by Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 267). In later centuries, al-Ṭaff is rarely mentioned (e.g. in Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 379 in connection with the Ḳarmaṭian troubles), and the majority of the Arab geographers make no mention of it.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1927, 48, 351. (J.H. Kramers)

TĀFĪLĀLT, with the *nisba* Filālī, pl. Filāla, the name of a district of southeastern Morocco, essentially comprising the broad basin of the Wādī Zīz, which runs into the fringes of the Sahara Desert (roughly between lats. 31° and 32° N. and longs. 3° 30' and 4° W.).

It consists of an alluvial plain 20 km/12 miles long and 16 km/10 miles broad, over which are scattered 200 *ḳṣūr* (or fortified dwellings of clay) surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields. Where irrigation from wells is possible, the soil is wonderfully fertile. The chief product of Tafīlālt is the palm-tree, of which there are several hundred thousand, and the most developed industry is the preparation of goat-skins by the use of the bark of the mimosa which yields a tanning gall. Filālī leather is famous and sought after throughout all North Africa. The population is dense, in the *ḳṣūr* of Tāfīlālt it was estimated in 1920 at 150-200,000. The historical capital of Tāfīlālt was Sidjilmāsa ([*q.v.*] for the pre-modern political history of Tāfīlālt). Here one may simply state that the district was the cradle of the dynasty of the ʿAlawī or Filālī Sharīfs, who have ruled Morocco from 1041/1631 and the time of Mawlāy Maḥammad I al-Sharīf up to the present day [see ʿALAWĪS]. Many of these Sharīfs after the accession of their family to the throne remained in or returned to settle in Tāfīlālt, where they may be counted by thousands. A *khalīfa* of the Moroccan sultan traditionally represented the authority of the *makhzen* among them and in the valley of the Zīz.

After the establishment of the French Protectorate over Morocco, a French mission arrived at Tīghmart, which has defences built at the end of the 19th century by Mawlāy al-Ḥasan; but its presence was immediately challenged by the local Ayt Atta confederation of Berbers under a claimant to power, al-Semlālī. The district was not re-occupied, by troops under Col. Giraud, till 1932.

The main urban centres of Tāfīlālt are the administrative chef-lieu, Er-Rachida (al-Rāshida), formerly Ksar Es-Souk (Ḳṣar al-Sūḳ) and, to its south, Erfoud, both now linked by a road across the High Atlas and Middle Atlas to Azrou (Azrū) and then Fès (Fās) and Meknès (Miknās). At 15 km/10 miles south of Erzou is Rissani, a *ḳṣar* built in the 18th century by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl and an ancient centre for the caravan trade between southern Morocco and the Sahara and Western Sudan. In its environs are a large market, Bū ʿĀmm; the *zāwiya* of Mawlāy ʿAlī al-Sharīf, ancestor of the

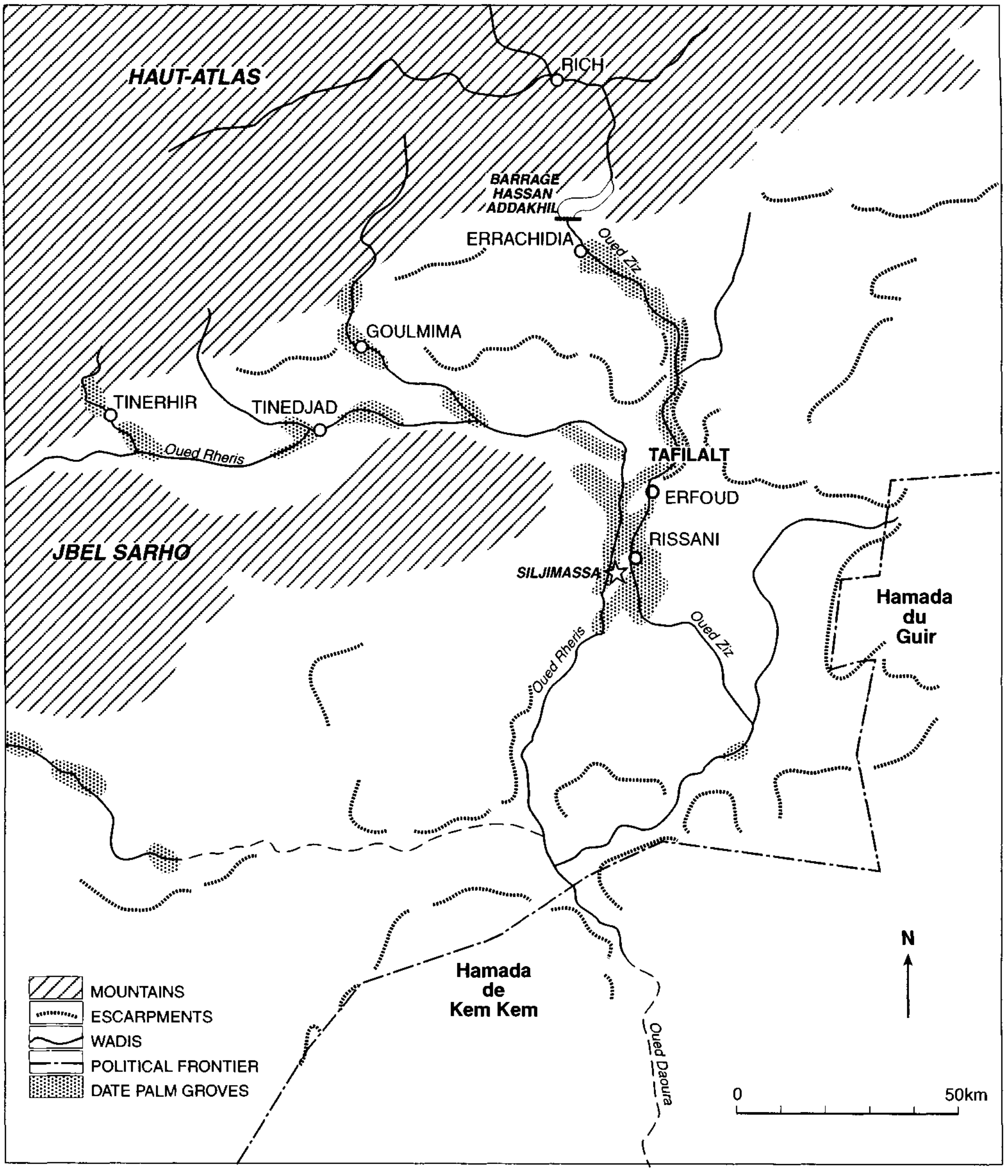
HAUT-ATLAS
RICH
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ERRACHIDIA
Oued Ziz
GOULMIMA
TINERHIR
TINEDJAD
Oued Rheris
TAFILALT
ERFOUD
RISSANI
JBEL SARHO
SILJIMASSA
Hamada
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Filālī ruling house (*ca.* 1050/1640); and the ruinous site of Sidjilmāsa, whose *kaṣba* was finally destroyed by the Ayt Atta in 1818.

Bibliography: See those to ʿALAWĪS and SIDJILMĀSA, and also P. Ricard, revised Ch. Bacquet, *Guide Bleue. Maroc*, 8th ed. Paris 1954, 424-31 and map at p. 416. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL*)

TAFKHĪM (A.), the verbal noun from *fakhkhama* meaning "to make thick, to emphasise or to make grand". In Arabic, it is a phonetic phenomenon involving the pronunciation of the emphatic consonants, *mufakhkhama* (sing. *mufakhkham*), /ṭ ط, ḍ ض, ṣ ص, ð̣ ظ/and also includes the marginal emphatics /ṛ, ḷ/. Ḳurʾānic orthoepists used the term *tafkhīm* to describe certain variants of /r/ when it occurs next to low and back vowels; however, they designated the term *taghlīẓ*, thickening, which they used synonymously with *tafkhīm*, for the description of certain variants of /l/. The /ḷ/, as an emphatic variant, has a limited environment and is primarily used with the word *Allāh* when not preceded by /i, ī/.

The earliest occurrence of the term *tafkhīm* was when Sībawayhi used it to describe what he called *alif al-tafkhīm* and he considered it as a variant, not a phoneme. According to him, *alif al-tafkhīm* is found in a limited number of words such as *ṣalāt*, prayers; *zakāt*, the giving of alms to the poor; and *ḥayāt*, life, especially in the dialect of Ḥidjāz (*al-Kitāb*, iv, 432). The four primary emphatic consonants /ṣ, ḍ, ṭ ð̣ / are not referred to by Sībawayhi as *mufakhkhama* but as *muṭbaḳa* (sing. *muṭbaḳ*), a tradition followed by Arab grammarians and Ḳurʾānic orthoepists. The verbal noun *iṭbāḳ* "act of covering or putting on a lid", is used to describe the position of the tongue in the pronunciation of the *muṭbaḳa*. The *muṭbaḳa*, along with the velar/uvular group /x خ, γ غ, q ق/, are referred to by the generic term *mustaʿliya*, high or raised. The *mustaʿliya* consonants are described as preventing the occurrence of *imāla* [*q.v.*], "inclination" of /a/ towards /i/.

Contemporary Arabists and linguists use the term *tafkhīm* to describe the emphatic consonants, *mufakhkhama*, /ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ð̣ / and the marginal emphatics /ṛ and ḷ/. *Tafkhīm* is often characterised by pharyngealisation or velarisation, but the *mufakhkhama* consonants are best characterised by the phonetic feature of retraction which involves moving the tongue up and further back toward the velum and upper pharynx. *Tafkhīm* is not restricted to the environment of the emphatics, but rather spreads to any adjacent vowel or consonant making it emphatic. It is this feature of retraction that makes this group of consonants opaque [see ṢAWTIYYA].

Bibliography: For related articles on *tafkhīm* in *EI²*, see IMĀLA, MAKHĀRIDJ AL-ḤURŪF and ṢAWTIYYA. Also Salman H. Al-Ani, and Mohamed S. El-Dalee, *Tafkhīm in Arabic. The acoustic and physiological parameter*, in M.P.R. Van den Broecke and A. Cohen (eds.), *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, Utrecht 1984, 385-9; Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb*, Damascus 1985, i, 45-67; Ibn al-Djazarī, *al-Nashr fī ʾl-ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashr*, Cairo n.d., i, 210-4, ii, 90-119. R. Jakobson, *Mufaxxama. The "emphatic" phonemes in Arabic*, in *Studies presented to Joshua Whatmough*, ed. E. Pulgram, The Hague 1957, 105-15; Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Beirut 1975, iv. (SALMAN H. AL-ANI)

ṬAFRA (A.), lit., "leap or impulsive movement", from *ṭafara* "to jump, leap", a term of Islamic philosophy, which became an important part of anti-atomistic theories brought into play during the controversies of the Baṣra Muʿtazilī cosmology, and which is attributed in particular to Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār al-Naẓẓām (and also to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam). Al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] is taken to have argued that it is possible to move over a distance without going through all the parts of the distance, by leaping over those parts. Although this theory came in for a lot of criticism by those sympathetic to atomism, al-Naẓẓām was successful in pointing to difficulties in the minimal parts discrete geometry of the atomists. This is a version of the paradoxes which Zeno first discussed in connection with the existence of indivisible magnitudes. The paradox of the flying arrow is that every thing which is moving is really resting at each stage of the movement. The movement itself is hidden in the substance and only appears when the substance itself is moving. Hishām al-Fuwaṭī (*fl.* early 3rd/9th century) is said to have abandoned the theory of leaps once he realised that, if it is valid, then a creature which had dipped its legs in ink would produce a discontinuous rather than a continuous track when it covered a particular distance (see Ibn Mattawayh, 169). This sort of example played a large part in contemporary disputes over the plausibility of atomism and its alternatives as a theory of the nature of physical reality.

Bibliography: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, Istanbul 1929-30, 61, 321; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 113; Shahrastānī, 38-39; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1899, 64, 92; Isfarāʾinī, *Tabṣīr*, Cairo 1955, 68; H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād as-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, 300-2; Ibn Mattawayh, *Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-djawāhir wa ʾl-aʿrāḍ*, ed. S. Luṭf and F. ʿAwn, Cairo 1975; H. Wolfson, *The philosophy of the Kalam*, Cambridge, Mass. 1976, 514-7; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin and New York 1991-7, iii, 310-24, and index s.v. *ṭ-f-r* at iv, 1001; A. Dhanani, *The physical theory of kalām. Atoms, space and void in Basrian Muʿtazilī cosmology*, Leiden 1994, 176-81. (O.N.H. LEAMAN)

TAFSĪR (A.), pl. *tafāsīr* "interpretation" (as a process and a literary genre), generally, but not always, of the Ḳurʾān. The word is used for commentaries on Greek scientific and philosophical works, being equivalent to *sharḥ* [*q.v.*]; the term is applied to the Greek and Arabic commentaries on the works of Aristotle, for example. Jews and Christians writing in Arabic also use the word in the context of translations and commentaries on the Bible, as some of the works of Saadia Gaon demonstrate. The most significant usage of the word, however, and the focus of this article, is its reference to the branch of Islamic learning concerned with the Ḳurʾān. An essential part of *madrasa* training, the study of *tafāsīr* of the Ḳurʾān stands alongside the study of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* as elements of the traditional curriculum.

The emergence of the word *tafsīr* as a technical term is unclear. It is used once in the Ḳurʾān at XXV, 33, "They [the unbelievers] bring not to thee [Muḥammad] any similitude [*mathal*] but that We bring thee the truth and the best *tafsīr*". This follows on a verse which states, "The unbelievers say, 'Why has the Ḳurʾān not been sent down all at once?' Even so, that We may strengthen thy heart thereby, and We have chanted it very distinctly". The idea would appear to be that God has provided an explanation, *tafsīr*, of why the Ḳurʾān is being revealed piece-by-piece. Of course, other technical terms in Muslim religious thinking frequently have no special status within the Ḳurʾān, so the lack of a firm reference point for the

term *tafsīr* is not particularly surprising (see J. Wansbrough, *Quranic studies. Sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, Oxford 1977, 154-8). For the first three Islamic centuries, there appears to be no consistent differentiation between *tafsīr*, *ta'wīl* [*q.v.*] and *ma'nā* [*q.v.*, section 1] when used in titles of books or as a technical term within works of *tafsīr* (and, indeed, this is the attitude of the lexicographers: see Lane, i, 2397; for the ambiguities of the differentiation between the terms in early times, see N. Kinberg, *A lexicon of al-Farrā''s terminology in his Qur'ān commentary*, Leiden 1996, 40-2, 503-27, 563-6). After some time, *tafsīr* was distinguished from *ta'wīl* by the latter being considered the product of research and investigation, the former dependent upon transmission from Muḥammad and his companions. In its developed sense, *ta'wīl* became limited to interpretation which leaves the "obvious" (*ẓāhir*) sense and delves into more speculative levels of language (*bāṭin*). *Ma'nā*, on the other hand, became more constrained and limited primarily to lexicographical aspects of interpretation.

A *tafsīr* of the Ḳur'ān is a work which provides an interpretation of the Arabic text of the scripture. There are formal characteristics of such works which help to define the literary genre further. In most cases, a work entitled *Tafsīr* will follow the text of the Ḳur'ān from the beginning to the end, and will provide an interpretation (*tafsīr*) of segments of the text (word-by-word, phrase-by-phrase, or verse-by-verse) as a running commentary. The major exceptions to this fundamental characteristic are to be found in the formative and the contemporary periods of Islam; in the formative period, one finds works of *tafsīr* which cover only isolated segments of the text, and in the contemporary period, thematic (*mawḍū'ī*) *tafāsīr* have become quite popular (see J.J.G. Jansen, *The interpretation of the Koran in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1974, 13-4). But the presence of scriptural text and commentary as two elements interplaying remains. A number of sub-disciplines are often included within the broad scholarly enterprise itself and these have resulted in books which concentrate on *asbāb al-nuzūl*, *gharīb al-Ḳur'ān*, *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, *ḳirā'āt*, *marsūm al-khaṭṭ*, *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, *al-waḳf wa 'l-ibtidā'* and *al-wudjūh wa 'l-naẓā'ir*. These works are best understood as a part of the overall *'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān* (to which books are devoted as summaries of the various sub-disciplines, e.g., al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392 [*q.v.*]), *al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān*, and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), *al-Itḳān fī 'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān*). However, the contents of these books have often been derived from the major works of *tafsīr* (and then subsequently have acted as a source for them in many instances), so, in that sense, such works are a part of the intellectual discipline while not formally being a part of the literary genre.

Within the genre attempts have been made to classify the various books. Attempts to describe the "method" of the books predominate in Muslim discussions, and such classifications have also found their way into scholarly works (e.g., I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920). The basic separation between *tafsīr bi 'l-ma'thūr* (or *riwāya*) and *tafsīr bi 'l-ra'y* (or *dirāya*), with the occasional addition of *tafsīr bi 'l-ishāra*, reflects a tension which runs throughout the Muslim community and its intellectual disciplines, that of the authority of the community (*ma'thūr*) versus that of the intellect (*ra'y*) (*ishāra* being the speculative "hint" or "allusion" generally connected to Ṣūfism and outside these two main classifications). This separation does not, however, provide a sufficient analytical tool by which one may characterise the wide variety of books and approaches which are contained within the broadly-defined genre of *tafsīr*, since it concentrates on a superficial understanding of the form of the works with little attention to their underlying substance.

Recent scholarly attempts to define the genre have concentrated on isolating the variety of elements which come together within a given text in varying proportions (see N. Calder, *Tafsīr from Ṭabarī to Ibn Kathīr: problems in the description of a genre, illustrated with reference to the story of Abraham*, in G.R. Hawting and A.-K.A. Shareef (eds.), *Approaches to the Qur'ān*, London 1993, 101-40; P. Heath, *Creative hermeneutics: a comparative analysis of three Islamic approaches*, in *Arabica*, xxxvi [1989], 173-210). Different *mufassirūn* have different concerns and goals, and this is reflected in the relative weight they put upon elements such as history, grammar, semantics, law, theology, or folklore. All commentators are concerned with the process of analysing the text in light of the "external world", however that be defined for the individual author, with the aim of resolving any apparent conflict and making the text "clear". Each element that comes into play within a text of *tafsīr* acts both to prompt exegesis (in the sense that a conflict is perceived between the world and the text) and to characterise the emphasis of a given interpretative approach.

Pride of place in the tools used in the interpretative process has been given to grammar (including elements of lexicography and orthography). As an implement for asserting the scholar's status and authority, arguments over grammar have had no rival (see M.G. Carter, *Language control as people control in medieval Islam: the aims of the grammarians in their cultural context*, in *Al-Abḥāth*, xxxi [1983], 65-84). Grammar became a specialisation within *tafsīr*, producing works such as *Ma'ānī 'l-Ḳur'ān wa i'rābuhu* by al-Zadjdjādj (d. 311/923; see *GAS*, viii, 99-101), *I'rāb al-Ḳur'ān* by al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950; see *GAS*, ix, 207-9) and *Mushkil i'rāb al-Ḳur'ān* by Makkī al-Ḳaysī (d. 437/1045 [*q.v.*]). The historical origins of grammar and lexicographical comparison within the framework of *tafsīr* have become a matter of scholarly controversy in light of Wansbrough's arguments for the relatively late introduction of both aspects (see *Quranic studies*, 216-27); for example, C.H.M. Versteegh, *Arabic grammar and Qur'ānic exegesis in early Islam*, Leiden 1993, and M. Muranyi, *Neue Materialien zur tafsīr-Forschung in der Moscheebibliothek von Qairawān*, in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qur'an as text*, Leiden 1996, 225-55, both argue against Wansbrough's point, citing grammar and poetical references in texts understood to be early in date. Much of the dispute depends upon dating of texts (see A. Rippin, *Studying early tafsīr texts*, in *Isl.*, lxxii [1995], 310-23).

Rivalling grammar but yet itself often thought of as dependent upon it, the framework of legal analysis emerges quite clearly in some works, achieving a status reflected in titles such as the *Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān* written by the Ḥanafī al-Djaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981 [*q.v.*]), the Mālikī Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 543/1148 [*q.v.*]) and the Mālikī al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 671/1272 [*q.v.*]). Aiming to demonstrate that the body of Islamic law may be derived in the first instance from the Ḳur'ān, such works include, out of necessity, grammatical and historical elements within interpretation in order to argue their legal points.

Theology, on the other hand, frequently remained subsumed within the overall contents of *tafsīr*, although certain works attributed to prominent theologians (e.g. the *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-ta'wīl fī mutashābih al-tanzīl* by al-Sharīf

al-Raḍī, d. 406/1016 [*q.v.*]) tend to provide a thorough-going emphasis on a certain theological perspective. The famous work of al-Zamak͟hs͟harī (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]), renowned for its Muʿtazilī perspective, is distinctive primarily for its special outlook and not for the presence of an overall theological argument *per se*, nor for the quantity of such argumentation. Other works, especially those from S͟hīʿī writers such as al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153), provide more detailed and thorough-going examples of the Muʿtazilī tendency, as does the work only available in "reconstructed" form from al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī (d. 303/915 [*q.v.*]) (see D. Gimaret, *Une lecture muʿtazilite du Coran. Le* tafsīr *d'Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī* [*m. 303/915*], Louvain-Paris 1994). All other major works of *tafsīr* have a theological perspective as well (see e.g. C. Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue, et théologie en Islam. L'exégèse coranique de Tabari* (*m. 311/923*), Paris 1990, 207-78) but are not so "distinctive" as to gain a reputation in that regard. The observation regarding al-Zamak͟hs͟harī's distinctiveness (but not uniqueness) is confirmed by the frequent use of that book within the *madrasa* context, regardless of its theological perspective.

The genius of Muslim *tafsīr* is perhaps best seen in its historicisation of the text through the general tools of narrative provided by prophetic history, both of the distant past as found in the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, and of the contemporary as found in the *sīra* of Muḥammad. Designed both to prove the fact of revelation and to embody an interpretation that would relate the text to a context (see Rippin, *The function of asbāb al-nuzūl in Qurʾānic exegesis*, in *BSOAS*, li [1988], 1-20), historicisation grounded the text in the day-to-day life of the Muslim community. In that manner, the extraction of law was facilitated, the sense of moral guidance was emphasised and the "foreign" made Islamic. Whether this was a matter of filling in the details on the life of the former prophets with incidents to which Muslims could relate (see e.g. J. Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba. Boundaries of gender and culture in post-biblical Judaism and medieval Islam*, Chicago 1993), a concern with identifying the unknown within the context of the life of Muḥammad (*taʿyīn al-mubham*) (see U. Rubin, *The eye of the beholder: the life of Muhammad as viewed by the early Muslims: a textual analysis*, Princeton 1995), or a polemical impulse from the context of Sunnī-S͟hīʿī interaction (see e.g. U. Rubin, *Prophets and progenitors in the early Shīʿa tradition*, in *JSAI*, i [1979], 41-65), historicisation of the text was comprehensive and compelling. Of course, this is not the history of contemporary historians, but a history which is both controlled by, and productive of, the meaning of the text of the Ḳurʾān.

It is in the flight from the constraints of sacred history, however, that symbol, allegory and inspiration gained their status, especially in *tafsīr* from within the context of Ṣūfism, but by no means limited to that area. The appreciation of the literary qualities of the text of the Ḳurʾān in terms of literary figures and general stylistic concerns may well have led, over the course of time, to more wide-ranging symbolic and allegorical readings of the text. In the hands of Ṣūfīs, such readings became supported by notions of insight derived from mystical experience; this is reflected in the text of their *tafāsīr* in the way in which a passage of the Ḳurʾān can be the jumping-off point (a "keynote") for a meditation on a topic seemingly unconnected to the text itself but derived from images contained within the personal experience of the individual Ṣūfī (on Ṣūfī interpretation, see P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langue mystique*, Beirut 1970).

Within all these aspects and procedures, there are changing emphases over time. Variability in the matter of citation of authorities is one such factor, and the one which Muslims seized upon in their efforts at classification, as noted above. Expansion and contraction in the number of meanings provided is another, independent variable which appears to vary over time. It is perhaps one of the ironies (but also one of an author's celebrations) that the reliance on the citation of authorities tended, in some hands at least, to proliferate meanings. There was a continual building upon the past which was being accumulated for future generations within these works. Al-Ḳurṭubī, for example, exemplifies the tendency towards multiplicity of meanings with little indication of what is to be preferred. The Ḳurʾān, it is being suggested, incorporates all these potentialities. Named authorities are an important element within this proliferation of alternatives. But even then, it needs to be remembered that all this is done within a certain framework of the author, his concerns and allegiances (e.g. his concept of what "Sunnī" Islam encompasses). The citations are always subject to choice, the authorities subject to selection. Time, location, sectarian and popular beliefs will all have affected the selections and choices. The selection of material is precisely what defines the tradition within which an author is working (and thus for the purposes of this overview of *tafsīr* as a genre, distinctions such as Sunnī versus S͟hīʿī are irrelevant; on the specific characteristics of the latter, see G. Monnot, *Islam: exégèse coranique*, in *Annuaire EPHE, V^e section*, xci [1982-3], 309-17).

Another such variable may be seen in the expansion and contraction in the amount of supplementary material provided within a *tafsīr*. This is especially so in the contemporary context, but it is a tendency which has roots in the mature stage of Muslim *tafsīr* for a variety of reasons. Some authors clearly aimed their works at more popular (although not necessarily less learned) audiences with the result of producing concise works suitable for easy copying and detailed study. Such works (e.g. D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, d. 864/1459 [*q.v.*] and D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [d. 911/1505], *Tafsīr al-D̲j̲alālayn*) end up being technical and presumptive of a great deal of knowledge in areas of grammar and the like. Other authors, however, reacted to the accumulation of exegetical material with a more negative attitude, feeling that much of it was "getting away" from the meaning of the Ḳurʾān. Categories of material emerged which were deemed to be extraneous and were to be censured: the movement against *Isrāʾīliyyāt* [*q.v.*], a technical term within *tafsīr* apparently first employed as such by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]), serves as the prime example of this tendency. Rigorous *isnād* criticism and a prioritising of knowledge by its proximity in time to Muḥammad also provided criteria by which the treasure trove of material from the generations of past exegetes was whittled down to produce more limited ranges of meaning.

In tracing the historical developments of the genre, it is possible to separate out four periods of expression: formative, classical, mature and contemporary. The separation is artificial, particularly fuzzy at the edges and certainly in need of refinement. It does, however, provide a means by which to summarise the contents of the genre by its highlights.

A debate has raged for a century now in scholarly literature concerning the origins of *tafsīr* as a procedure and as written works. To some extent, this is a continuation of a debate within Islam itself concern-

ing authority in *tafsīr*: did Muḥammad authorise interpreting the Ḳur'ān? If so, then interpretations from him and his closest companions might be thought to be of the highest importance in establishing what the text means. It may be observed in passing that such an argument tends to be a restraining one, suggesting a limited range of legitimate meanings; these arguments become closely associated in mediaeval times with Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Kat͟hīr (d. 774/1373 [*q.v.*]). On the other hand, an early reluctance to interpret the Ḳur'ān is to be noted, especially associated with statements attributed to the caliph ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb [*q.v.*]. An attempt to reconcile these two ideas is found in the notion that ʿUmar was only against interpretation of "unclear" verses. The lack of documentary evidence makes the debate a difficult one to adjudicate, and the debate among the views of Goldziher, *Richtungen*; H. Birkeland, *Old Muslim opposition against the interpretation of the Koran*, Oslo 1955; N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri: Qur'ānic commentary and tradition*, Chicago 1967; and Wansbrough, *Quranic studies*, remains unresolved (see Gilliot, *Les débuts de l'exégèse coranique*, in *RMMM*, lviii. 4 [1990], 82-100).

One response to this uncertain historical situation has been the attempt on the part of a number of contemporary editors to reconstruct texts on the basis of attributions found in later texts. Such "books" are historically said to have existed (as Sezgin documents in *GAS*, i, 6-8, 25-35 esp.) but are no longer found in manuscript copies. Thus the only choice has been to reconstruct them. Such publications have recently proliferated and a number of examples can be cited: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*] and see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1992 à 1994*, in *MIDEO*, xxii [1994], 295-6, no. 36); Ibn Abī Ṭalḥa (d. 120/737; see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1990 à 1992*, in *MIDEO*, xxi [1993], 439-40, no. 78); al-Suddī (d. 128/745; see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1992 à 1994*, 296, no. 37, and E. Kohlberg, *A medieval Muslim scholar at work. Ibn Ṭāwūs and his library*, Leiden 1992, 348, no. 574); and Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 196/811 [*q.v.*], and see Gilliot, *Les débuts de l'exégèse coranique*, 89-90). In some senses, these reconstructions may be no different from the supposedly early works found in late manuscript form ascribed to Mud͟jāhid b. D͟jabr (d. *ca.* 100-4/718-22 [*q.v.*], and see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1990 à 1992*, 440, no. 79) and Sufyān al-T͟hawrī (d. 161/778 [*q.v.*], and see Gilliot, *Les débuts de l'exégèse coranique*, 89). A fundamental issue exists regarding the fragmentary nature of these books: should it be interpreted as evidence of the fragmentary nature of early *tafsīr per se*, or as evidence of a mediaeval attempt to extract these books from later works? On this, see Rippin, *Al-Zuhrī, naskh al-Qur'ān and the problem of early tafsīr texts*, in *BSOAS*, xlvii (1985), 22-43.

We are on somewhat firmer ground for discussion of the formative period of *tafsīr* with a series of books the character of which is more cohesive and thus more likely to be authentic, although certainly not free of later interpolation, reformulation and editorial intrusion. Works ascribed to Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]), al-Farrā' (d. 207/822 [*q.v.*]), ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanʿānī (d. 211/827; see *GAS*, i, 99), and al-Ak͟hfas͟h al-Awsaṭ (d. 215/830; see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1990 à 1992*, 441-2, no. 81) may all be thought to fit into this category. However, the work ascribed to al-Kalbī (d. 146/763 [*q.v.*])—and at the same time ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. *ca.* 68/687 [*q.v.*]) and al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415 [*q.v.*])—indicates the difficulty in accepting an ascription without detailed examination and comparison; in this particular case, the work is more likely attributed to the 4th/10th century (see Rippin, *Tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās and criteria for dating early tafsīr texts*, in *JSAI*, xviii [1994], 38-83). It should be noted that the fragmentary nature of the works ascribed to Ibn Wahb (d. 197/812 [*q.v.*]) has been argued by Muranyi, *ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (125/743-197/812). al-Ǧāmiʿ. Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (Die Koranexegese)*, Wiesbaden 1993-5, i, 2, to be evidence that this formative stage of *tafsīr* is not as uniform as the above summary may suggest, but the nagging question of assessing the date of all these early texts still remains.

The classical period of *tafsīr* is often considered to come into existence with the *D͟jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan ta'wīl āy al-Ḳur'ān* of Abū D͟jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923 [*q.v.*]). Al-Ṭabarī's work, the focus of a series of studies by Gilliot (esp. *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam*), is a vast compendium of traditions and analysis in which grammar plays its role as the major arbitrator between rival meanings. However, this period was clearly one of intense development of works of *tafsīr*, and several significant works from authors who lived roughly in the same period as al-Ṭabarī still exist and need to be viewed as a part of this expression of classical *tafsīr*. Notably, a number of other works that express differing theological viewpoints need close attention, especially when viewed in light of the polemical aspects of al-Ṭabarī: Hūd b. Muḥkim (d. towards the end of the 3rd/9th century; see *GAS*, i, 41), *Tafsīr*, an Ibāḍī work; Furāt b. Furāt al-Kūfī (d. *ca.* 310/922; see *GAS*, i, 539), *Tafsīr*, S͟hīʿī; al-ʿAyyās͟hī (d. *ca.* 320/932 [*q.v.*]), *Tafsīr al-ʿAyyās͟hī*, S͟hīʿī; al-Ḳummī (d. end 4th/10th century; see *GAS*, i 45-6), *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, a brief and markedly S͟hīʿī work; al-Tustarī (d. 283/896; see *GAS*, i, 647, and G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam. The Qur'ānic hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896)*, Berlin 1980), *Tafsīr*. More subtle in its theological variance but significant none the less is al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944 [*q.v.*]), *Ta'wīlāt ahl al-sunna* (only vol. i published).

Within the mature phase of *tafsīr* there is an abundant number of works, the full dimensions of which have not been fully catalogued. Among the most famous are al-T͟haʿlabī (d. 427/1035 [*q.v.*]), *al-Kas͟hf wa 'l-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān* (unpublished except for its bibliographic introduction, ed. I. Goldfeld, Acre 1984), a vast compendium of material whose interests are partially reflected in the author's work, *ʿArā'is al-mad͟jālis fī ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*; al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021; see *GAS*, i, 671-4, and G. Böwering, *The Qur'ān commentary of al-Sulamī*, in W.B. Hallaq and D.P. Little (eds.), *Islamic studies presented to Charles J. Adams*, Leiden 1991, 41-56), *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr*, a work characterised by Ṣūfī interpretations (al-Sulamī's *Ziyādāt ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr* has now been published, ed. Böwering, Beirut 1995); al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058 [*q.v.*], and see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1992 à 1994*, 296-7, no. 38), *al-Nukat wa 'l-ʿuyūn*; al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067 [*q.v.*]), *al-Tibyan fī tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, a significant S͟hīʿī expression; al-Zamak͟hs͟harī, *al-Kas͟hs͟hāf ʿan ḥaḳā'iḳ g͟hawāmiḍ al-tanzīl*; al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153 [*q.v.*], and also see M.O.A. Abdul, *The Qur'an: Shaykh Tabarsi's commentary*, Lahore 1977), *Mad͟jmaʿ al-bayān li-ʿulūm al-Ḳur'ān*, a moderate S͟hīʿī work; Ibn al-D͟jawzī (d. 597/1201 [*q.v.*], and see Jane McAuliffe, *Ibn al-Jawzī's exegetical propaedeutic: introduction and translation*, in *Alif. Journal of Comparative Poetics*, viii [1988], 101-13), Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209

[*q.v.*], *Kitāb zād al-masīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr*, and also see the studies by J. Jomier, *Les mafatih al-ghayb de l'imam Fakhr al-Din al-Razi: quelques dates, lieux, manuscrits*, in *MIDEO*, xiii [1977], 253-90 and *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (m. 606 H./1210) et les commentaires du Coran plus anciens*, in *ibid.*, xv [1982], 145-72), *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, a work generally cited for its vast coverage and philosophical depth; al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 671/1273 [*q.v.*]), *al-Djāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, one of the most masterly compendia of interpretational material; al-Bayḍāwī (d. between 685-716/1286-1316; [*q.v.*]), *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl*, a work usually understood as an epitomisation of that of al-Zamakhsharī, minus the Muʿtazilī theological slant; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshānī (d. 731/1330 [*q.v.*], see also P. Lory, *Les commentaires ésotériques du Coran d'après ʿAbd ar-Razzāq al-Qāshānī*, Paris 1980), usually known under the title *Tafsīr Ibn al-ʿArabī*, a Ṣūfī *tafsīr*, reflecting al-Kāshānī's mystical forebear Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 628/1240 [*q.v.*]); Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344 [*q.v.*]), *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*; al-Maḥallī and al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*; al-Suyūṭī also wrote his own larger work, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī 'l-tafsīr bi 'l-maʾthūr*. This summary of titles only takes into account some of the major published works readily available; many more works exist, both published and unpublished, especially from the later centuries, of which only a small portion has been examined with scholarly eyes.

It is in this mature phase that substantial debates rage within the discipline and have their affect upon the works produced. Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Muḳaddima fī uṣūl al-tafsīr* is one of the most strident and polemical of all such presentations and the effect of these ideas on Ibn Kathīr and many contemporary *mufassirūn* is noticeable. Fundamentally antagonistic to intellectual speculation of all types, whether legal or exegetical, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Kathīr stand in contrast to the general tendency in *tafsīr* to allow for diversity. The latter champions dogmatism in his attempt to juxtapose and reconcile the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*, both understood as revealed books (see Calder, *Tafsīr from Ṭabarī to Ibn Kathīr*, 130; McAuliffe, *Quranic hermeneutics: the views of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr*, in Rippin, *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qurʾān*, Oxford 1988, 46-62).

In a manner which may well be unique amongst the world's religions, Muslims continue down to the present day to produce *tafāsīr* of the classical form, while also taking the enterprise into new literary regions. The contemporary phase of *tafsīr*, then, is an important one. The impetus behind much of the writing of *tafāsīr* from the 19th century on has been an attempt to simplify the content of the texts, making them more accessible to an increasingly literate but not necessarily formally religiously-trained population. As well, there has been the desire to spread religious and social ideas associated with the various contemporary platforms of reform, and an effective vehicle for doing this has been *tafsīr* (overviews of the subject are provided by J.M.S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran interpretation (1880-1960)*, Leiden 1968, and J.J.G. Jansen, *The interpretation of the Koran in modern Egypt*).

One can, then, point to a series of *tafāsīr* written in the 19th and 20th centuries that, in basic form, follow the classical literary genre. It is in their authors' conceptions of the world around them that the texts differ so markedly from their classical counterparts. This has especially led to a displacement of the exegetical tools of grammar and to an emphasis on theology and law but with those two disciplines defined to a large extent outside of their classical modes. Thus the *Tafsīr al-Manār* of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905 [*q.v.*]) and Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935 [*q.v.*]) places an emphasis on law but sees this in general terms of moral guidance on the practical and social planes. Perhaps the most famous and influential of all contemporary *tafāsīr*, *Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳurʾān* of Sayyid Ḳuṭb (d. 1966 [*q.v.*]), is an eloquent statement constructing an Islamic vision of the world that is, at times, brilliant in its ability to relate the Ḳurʾānic text to the contemporary situation often through the tools of allegory and symbolism (see e.g. A.H. Johns, *Let my people go! Sayyid Quṭb and the vocation of Moses*, in *Islam and Christian-Muslim relations*, i [1990], 143-70, and O. Carré, *Mystique et politique. Lecture revolutionnaire du Coran par Sayyid Quṭb, frère musulman radical*, Paris 1984). Likewise, works known as *tafsīr ʿilmī* (for example, Ṭanṭāwī Djawharī (d. 1940 [see DJAWHARĪ, ṬANṬĀWĪ]), *al-Djawāhir fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*) are characterised by an emphasis upon the "scientific" elements of the Ḳurʾān and could be said to introduce a new tool for interpretation, that of the discipline of science.

As well, there has been a tendency among contemporary writers to leave the form of classical *tafsīr* and compose works more limited in scope but embracing particular methods of approach. ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (b. 1913) has written (under the pseudonym Bint al-Shāṭiʾ) *al-Tafsīr al-bayānī li 'l-Ḳurʾān al-Karīm*, a study of 14 short *sūras* which focusses on lexical matters and "original meanings" of individual words within a framework of attention to Ḳurʾānic stylistic usage. Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, *Mafhūm al-naṣṣ. Dirāsa fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, is another recent example in quite a different vein, for it is a book which raises methodological issues (severely challenged by some) about the understanding of the Ḳurʾān within contemporary times, in a form structured along the lines of classical introductions to *tafsīr* (see R. Wielandt, *Wurzeln der Schwierigkeit innerislamischen Gesprächs über neue hermeneutische Zugänge zum Korantext*, in Wild (ed.), *The Qurʾan as text*, 257-82).

The other important approach in contemporary times has been thematic (*mawḍūʿī*), a form that has no direct classical counterpart and breaks significantly from the description of the literary genre since, in the main, it leaves the principle of following the order of the scriptural text. The *tafsīr* of Maḥmūd Shaltūt [*q.v.*], for example, does follow the Ḳurʾān *sūra*-by-*sūra*, but emphasises the themes which emerge from a given *sūra* and then brings that theme into conjunction with all other passages dealing with the same theme. The treatment of each *sūra* thus ends up being organised by theme rather than verse order (see K. Zebiri, *Maḥmūd Shaltūt and Islamic modernism*, Oxford 1993). As a technique of interpretation, this does not move far from Ibn Taymiyya's emphasis on the first source of interpretation being the Ḳurʾān itself. Nor, upon close analysis, is it significantly different methodologically from the classical exegetes' well-established willingness to adduce other passages from elsewhere in the Ḳurʾān which would help in the elucidation of a problematic verse (al-Ṭabarī, for example, provides many such instances of referring the reader back to earlier discussions of a given point of dispute). It is thus the form in which the commentary appears that gives the contemporary works their distinctiveness. The popularity of this method has also led to the publication of vast numbers of monographs dealing explicitly with single themes within the Ḳurʾān (e.g. Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *Min hudā 'l-Ḳurʾān*, which contains a number of individual monographs).

It is important to observe as well that in contem-

porary times, the writing of *tafāsīr* in languages other than Arabic has become more significant. While classical examples of such books exist in languages from Persian to Malay, such works were frequently (although not always; cf. the Persian *tafsīr* of al-Maybudī, d. 6th/12th century [*q.v.*], *Kashf al-asrār wa-ʿuddat al-abrār*) based around translations from Arabic. In contemporary times there has been a recognition of the need to express an interpretation of the Ḳur'ān in local languages and to raise interpretational issues of local concern. The extent of the material, as reflected in the example of Indonesia (see H. Federspiel, *Popular Indonesian literature on the Qur'an*, Ithaca 1994), indicates that this will be a significant field of study in the future. *Tafsīr* has also been an important vehicle for new religious expressions, notably in the case of the Bābī and Bahā'ī faiths, once again indicating an increasing flexibility in the genre within the contemporary period.

Bibliography: Largely given in the text. C. Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam*, contains a significant bibliography of the subject. For further bibliographies, see A. Rippin, *The present status of tafsīr studies*, in *MW*, lxxii [1982], 224-38; A. Neuwirth, *Koran*, in H. Gätje (ed.), *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, Band II, *Literaturwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1987, 119-35 (sections 3.7 and 3.8) and Band III, *Supplement* (W. Fischer, ed.), Wiesbaden 1992, 262-4. Still valuable as an overview of the subject is T. Nöldeke and F. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, ii, *Die Sammlung des Qorāns*, Leipzig 1919, 163-92. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa 'l-mufassirūn*, ²Cairo 1967, surveys the major *tafāsīr* in a useful manner. (A. Rippin)

TĀFTA (p.), a type and weave of fabric used mainly in dress in Persia and Turkey from the 16th century onwards. Since the verb *tāftan* has many meanings, e.g. to twist, turn, be woven, be shining, be sparkling, there has been much ambiguity and confusion of identification; the term has been used indiscriminately for both silk cloth and linen garments. The safest definition is based on technique, and here the meanings "twisted" and "shining" are important. *Tāfta* is a silk cloth of technically simple plain or tabby weave. Fine horizontal silk weft threads pass over and under single alternating vertical silk warp threads of equal weight and thickness to produce a firm textured, but supple and versatile, fabric. *Tāfta* was usually dyed in one colour only, and has a soft shimmering appearance, in contrast to the highly-polished surface of satin.

Tāfta was woven in large quantities in Persia during the Ṣafawid period as a light silk garment fabric. The best surviving examples are coats of 17th century date, with tight bodices, long sleeves and full bell-shaped skirts which were all probably woven in Iṣfahān, with Yazd and Kirmān as important secondary centres of manufacture. Background colours include light blue, orange and golden yellow. Variations in the basic *tāfta* weave depend on the twist of the silk, which produces a more or less pronounced ribbed effect. *Tāfta* can be decorated with stamped geometric motifs or with sprays of flowers woven in supplementary brocade weave in coloured silks and gold and silver wire. *Tāfta* production continued into the 18th and 19th centuries, brocaded with small repeated floral motifs. *Tāfta* was used in Turkey from the 16th century onwards, mainly as a plain fabric decorated with stamped designs. Here it was used as linings and facings in contrasting colours to the long, formal *kaftan* and *entari* robes made of velvet or heavy silk brocade.

Tāfta passed into Europe as Italian *taffeta*, German *Taft*, where, although possibly represented in 16th century paintings, it is best known as a light silk fabric in fresh colours—blue, green, pink—made into women's fashionable dresses of the late 17th to 18th centuries. The *tāfta* weave survives today but it is machine-woven in synthetic fibres.

Bibliography: Nancy A. Reath and Eleanor B. Sachs, *Persian textiles and their techniques from the sixth to the eighteenth centuries, including a system for general textile classification*, New Haven 1937; Carol Bier (ed.), *Woven from the soul, spun from the heart*, Textile Museum, Washington D.C. 1987; Hülya Tezcan, *Atlaslar atlası. A catalogue of the Vedat Nedim Tor fabric collection*, Istanbul 1993. (Jennifer M. Scarce)

AL-TAFTĀZĀNĪ, Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh, renowned scholar and author on grammar, rhetoric, theology, logic, law and Ḳur'ān exegesis, born in Ṣafar 722/February-March 1322 in Taftāzān, a village near Nasā in Khurāsān, d. 793/1390 (on the form of this place-name, see al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 61-2; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 35).

His family seems to have been distinguished in scholarship for several generations, and his grandfather Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUmar was a *ḳāḍī*. Nothing certain is known about his education. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī in his unreliable biographical notice in his *Inbā'* describes him as a pupil of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī without specifying a time or place for his alleged studies with them. It is, in fact, unlikely that al-Īdjī ever taught him. In his commentary on al-Īdjī's *Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-uṣūl*, al-Taftāzānī praises him highly without referring to him as his teacher. A story reported by Ibn al-ʿImād about al-Taftāzānī's having at first been the most stupid among al-Īdjī's pupils is entirely fictitious. According to Ibn ʿArabshāh, al-Taftāzānī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī were both among the scholars active at the court of the Khāns of the Golden Horde in Sarāy. If they were there at the same time, al-Taftāzānī may have benefited from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's learning in philosophy. He was, however, already an established scholar at that time. More reliable is perhaps a note in Ibn Ḥadjar's biography of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī al-Ḳirimī that al-Taftāzānī was among his pupils. Al-Taftāzānī's fields of learning, especially his expertise in both Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī law and *uṣūl*, closely matched those of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn. Al-Taftāzānī, in any case, completed his earliest book, a commentary on *al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī* by al-Zandjānī on Arabic morphology, in 738/1338 at the age of sixteen, according to Faṣīḥ al-Khʷāfī in Faryūmad.

His further peregrinations are better known from the dates and places of completion of his works. In 742/1342 he was in Djurdjāniyya in Khʷārazm. Then he became attached to the ruler of Harāt, Muʿizz al-Dīn Kart, to whom he dedicated his *Sharḥ al-Talkhīṣ al-muṭawwal* in 748/1347. In 752/1351 he was in Djām. Next, he joined Djānī Beg, Khān of the Golden Horde, to whom he dedicated his *Mukhtaṣar al-maʿānī*, completed at Ghudjduwān in 756/1355. Two years later he was in "Gülistān of Turkistān". Gülistān is known as a mint of the Golden Horde; its exact location is uncertain, but it has been thought to be near New Sarāy. Al-Taftāzānī departed, presumably because of the troubles following the death of Djānī Beg, and was back in Harāt in 759/1358. He completed books in Khʷārazm in 768/1367, 770/1369, and 778/1367-8 and was evidently attached during this period

to Ḥusayn Ṣūfī, independent ruler of Kh^w^ārazm. When Tīmūr seized Kh^w^ārazm in 781/1379, Mu'izz al-Dīn Kart's son Malik Muḥammad, ruler of Sarakhs, asked his nephew, Pīr Muḥammad b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who was in the suite of Tīmūr, to obtain the latter's permission for al-Taftāzānī to join him in Sarakhs. Al-Taftāzānī thus was in Sarakhs in 782/1380. Subsequently, learning of his eminence in scholarship, Tīmūr insisted that he come to Samarḳand. He was there in 784/1382 and, after returning to Sarakhs in 785-6/1383-4, stayed in Samarḳand permanently from 787/1385 until his death on 22 Muḥarram 793/30 December 1390. Tīmūr at first treated him with great honour. A scholarly rivalry, however, arose between him and the much younger al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī, whom Tīmūr brought to Samarḳand after his conquest of Shīrāz in 789/1387. (The assertion of some modern scholars that Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī had earlier introduced al-Djurdjānī to Shāh Shudjā', the Muẓaffarid ruler of Fārs, is based on a confusion with another Sa'd al-Dīn.) A public debate about al-Zamakhsharī's exegesis of Ḳur'ān, II, 5, took place between them in the presence of Tīmūr. The Mu'tazilī scholar Nu'mān al-Dīn al-Kh^w^ārazmī judged in favour of al-Djurdjānī, and Tīmūr backed him. Al-Taftāzānī's severe grief about this defeat is said to have hastened his end. His body was carried to Sarakhs where he was buried.

Al-Taftāzānī's fame rests mainly on his commentaries on well-known works in various fields of learning, which came to be widely used in teaching at *madrasas* until modern times. Many of them received supercommentaries by later scholars. His own original works are few, such as *al-Maḳāṣid* on theology, *al-Miftāḥ* on Shāfi'ī law, a collection of Ḥanafī *fatwās*, and a Persian commentary on the Ḳur'ān entitled *Kashf al-asrār wa-'uddat al-abrār*. Noteworthy are also a Turkish versified translation of Sa'dī's *Būstān* composed in 755/1354 (Gibb, *HOP*, i, 202-3) and a polemical refutation of Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. Al-Taftāzānī wrote on both Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī law, and is described in some of his biographies as a Shāfi'ī. From remarks in his *al-Talwīḥ* it seems evident, however, that he personally adhered to the Ḥanafī school. In theology he sometimes, especially in his commentary on the *'Aḳā'id* of the Māturīdī scholar Nadjm al-Dīn al-Nasafī, upheld Māturīdī positions against Ash'arī criticism, but he also often endorsed Ash'arī doctrine. Altogether, he backed a broad, though anti-Mu'tazilī Sunnism, which was in accord with later concepts of Sunnī orthodoxy. In later literature, he is often quoted simply as "al-'Allāma".

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, Ḥaydarābād 1350, iv, 350; idem, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, ed. Ḥ Ḥabashī, Cairo 1969, i, 183, 389-90; Faṣīḥ Kh^w^āfī, *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, ed. Maḥmūd Farrukh, Mashhad 1962, iii, 124; Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Adjā'ib al-maḳdūr*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar, Cairo 1979, 83; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 319-22; Kh^w^āndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran n.d. [1954], iii, 544-6; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, ed. K.K. Bakrī and 'A. Abu 'l-Nūr, Cairo 1968, i, 205-8; Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya*, Cairo 1324, 128-30, 134-7; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 353-4; Brockelmann, II, 278-80, S II, 301-4; Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-'aḳā'id al-Nasafiyya*, ed. Klūd Salāma, Damascus 1974, introd. 6-36; idem, *Sharḥ al-Maḳāṣid*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayra, Cairo 1984-9, i, introd., 74-146.

(W. MADELUNG)

TAGHĀZA, a Saharan salt pan (*sabkha* [*q.v.*]), situated in lat. 23° 26' N., long. 4° 59' W. (hence now in southern Algeria), and a major source of rock salt for West Africa down to the mid-sixteenth century. It is possible that it is to be identified with the Tātantāl of al-Bakrī (*K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, 171), which is described as a mine twenty days from Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*], from which huge quantities of salt are sent to Sidjilmāsa and to *bilād al-sūdān*. Salt blocks also formed the local building material. Al-Ḳazwīnī (*'Adjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 16), the first author to mention Taghāza by name (for Taghāra *read* Taghāza) also notes this feature, and says the salt was mined by slaves of the Masūfa. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 377-8, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, 947), whose journey from Sidjilmāsa to Taghāza took twenty-five days, remarked on the large amounts of gold dust traded there for the salt. This salt was then carried to Walāta and on to Mali [*q.v.*] where it was sold at great profit. He also notes the use of this salt, cut in pieces, as currency, as it was also in Gao (al-Bakrī, 183).

At what point Taghāza came under the control of Songhay [*q.v.*] is not clear, but already by *ca.* 946/1539-40 the Sa'dian sultan Aḥmad al-A'radj was laying claim to it with Askiya Isḥāḳ I. Later, in 964/1556-7, Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Shaykh attempted to install his own representative there. The mine was abandoned in favour of another called Taghāza al-ghizlān. On his accession in 986/1578, Mawlāy al-Manṣūr demanded that Songhay hand over to him the tax revenue from this mine. Askiya Dāwūd responded with a generous gift, but in 994/1586 a small Sa'dian force occupied this Taghāza and exploitation was moved to a site probably to be identified with Taoudeni (at lat. 22° 40' N. long. 3° 59' W.). A new Sa'dian demand to be paid the salt tax revenue in Ṣafar 998/December 1589-January 1590 was met with defiance from Askiya Isḥāḳ II. This provided the pretext for the Sa'dian conquest of Songhay in 1000/1591.

Although the original mines of Taghāza were abandoned, the site was used as an occasional caravan station. As late as 1828 René Caillié found Tādjakant nomads there clearing out wells and saw the ruins of houses made of salt slabs (*Journal d'un voyage à Tombouctou et à Jenné*, Paris 1830, ii, 471-8). Several superficial archaeological excavations have been carried out there, revealing two villages, one to the south-east and one to the north-west of the salt pan. In each, the remains of a mosque was found and, in the north-westerly one, traces of a fort. Mauny estimates that their total population may have reached 1,200-1,800. Salt is still being mined at Taoudeni and carried to Timbuktu on camel-back (see J. Skolle, *The road to Timbuctoo*, London 1956).

Bibliography: R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'ouest africain au moyen âge*, Dakar 1961 (Mems. IFAN, no. 61), 116-17, 328-32, 474-5, 485-7; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sa'dī, *Ta'rīkh al-sūdān*, ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1898, 99, 111, 121, 137-8; Th. Monod, *Teghaza, la ville en sel gemme*, in *La Nature*, no. 3025 (15 May 1938), 289-96.

(J.O. HUNWICK)

TAGHLIB B. WĀ'IL (also Taghlib Wā'il), an important, mostly nomadic, tribe of the Rabī'a b. Nizār group [see RABĪ'A and MUḌAR; NIZĀR B. MA'ADD]. A member of this tribe was called Taghlabī or Taghlibī (for the plural Taghāliba, see al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1384/1965, 130). The tribe's pedigree is Taghlib/Dithār b. Wā'il b. Ḳāsiṭ b. Hinb b. Afṣā b. Du'mī b. Djadīla b. Asad b. Rabī'a b. Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān.

Until the Basūs [*q.v.*] war which they fought against their brother-tribe, Bakr b. Wā'il [*q.v.*], the Taghlib

lived in Nadjd [*q.v.*]. Following their defeat in the battle known as Yawm Taḥlāḳ al-Limam ("the day of the shaving off of the hair that descends below the lobe of the ear", also called Yawm al-Taḥāluḳ), which took place after the death of Kulayb b. Rabīʿa [*q.v.*; and see ḤIMĀ], the Taghlib dispersed (*fa-tafarraḳū*; Yāḳūt, s.v. *Ḳiḍa*) and settled, together with their "paternal uncles", the Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ and Ghufayla b. Ḳāsiṭ, on the lower Euphrates, where some of them may have settled earlier. After ʿAmr b. Kulthūm [*q.v.*] had in 569-70 assassinated the king of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], ʿAmr b. Hind [*q.v.*], they migrated further up the river to al-Djazīra [*q.v.*].

Before Islam the Taghlib were within the sphere of influence of the Sāsānids [*q.v.*] and their client-kings, the Lakhmids [*q.v.*] of al-Ḥīra. Already in the 4th century A.D. Shāpūr [*q.v.*] II transferred Taghlibī captives to Baḥrayn, more precisely to Dārīn, "the name of which is Haydj"(!), and al-Khaṭṭ (al-Ṭabarī, i, 839, cf. 845; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, 56-7, cf. 67). But the place-name "Haydj" owes its existence to a scribal error: instead of *Dārīn wa-ʾsmuhā h.y.dj*, read: *Dārīn wa-Samāhīdj* (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab* . . ., facs. ed. Frankfurt a. M. 1986 ff., ix, 290; for the later history of the Taghlib in Baḥrayn, see al-Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Shams al-Dīn, Beirut 1407/1987, i, 395-6). The poet Djābir b. Ḥunayy al-Taghlibī complained about the practices of a tax-collector sent by the king of al-Ḥīra and the customs imposed on trade at the markets of ʿIrāḳ (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, no. xlii). The Taghlib were at some stage part of the *ridāfa* institution (M.J. Kister, *Al-Ḥīra: some notes on its relations with Arabia*, in *Arabica*, xv [1968], 143-69, at 149, 166, repr. in idem, *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam*, Variorum Reprints, London 1980, no. III).

For several decades in the second half of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th, Taghlib's fortunes were connected to the rise of Kinda [*q.v.*] in central and northern Arabia. After a major Taghlibī defeat in the war against the Bakr and the retirement of their leader, Muhalhil, several tribes, including the Taghlib and Bakr, agreed to subject themselves to king al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr b. Ḥudjr/Ākil al-Murār al-Kindī. There followed a short interregnum of Kinda [*q.v.*] in al-Ḥīra in the twenties of the 6th century [see SĀSĀNIDS, vol. IX, at 77a]. After the king's death two of his sons, Shuraḥbīl and Salama, fought against each other at al-Kulāb (after 530; it was the First Day of al-Kulāb, or the Kulāb of the Rabīʿa; on Wādī ʾl-Kulāb (modern Wādī ʾl-Shaʿrā'), see *al-ʿArab* [Riyāḍ] xiii/1-2 [July-Aug. 1978], 14-29). The two brother-tribes returned to their feud; the Bakr fought on Shuraḥbīl's side while the Taghlib and Namir were with Salama. The latter's cavalry was led by the Taghlibī warrior al-Saffāḥ (Salama b. Khālid) (Abū ʿUbayda, *al-Dībādj*, ed. al-Djarbūʿ and al-ʿUthaymīn, Cairo 1411/1991, 100). Shuraḥbīl was killed by ʿAmr b. Kulthūm's cousin, Abū Ḥanash ʿUṣ(u)m b. al-Nuʿmān. The war between the Taghlib and Bakr came to an end [see BAKR B. WĀ'IL] around the middle of the 6th century with the signing of a peace treaty at the market of Dhu ʾl-Madjāz near Mecca.

When the Lakhmids regained control of al-Ḥīra, they could count on Taghlib's support. Al-Wazīr al-Maghribī (d. 418/1027; see AL-MAGHRIBĪ, vol. V, at 1211b; Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 245-6; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, vi, 27 ff.) corrects a common error with regard to the famous visit of Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. Ḥudjr [*q.v.*] to Byzantium. It was not against the Asad [*q.v.*], who had killed his father, that Imruʾ al-Ḳays wanted the Byzantines to support him, but against the king of al-Ḥīra, al-Mundhir III (b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ, *ca.* 505-54). Upon his return to the throne in al-Ḥīra, al-Mundhir sent an army of the Taghlib and Bakr to hunt down Kinda's leading family, the Banū Ākil al-Murār (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, iv, 567, confirming the reading "Taghlib" in *Aghānī*[1], viii, 64, l. 17; cf. G. Olinder, *The kings of Kinda*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, Nova Series xxiii/1 [1927], 1-118, at 66-7; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, 85, n. 5).

In the Islamic period, there were Taghlibīs in the Farasān [*q.v.*] island(s) in the Red Sea near the Yemeni coast. The name Farasān originally belonged to a tribal group of the Taghlib which emigrated from Syria to the Mawzaʿ area (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Taʿrīf fī ʾl-ansāb* . . ., ed. Ẓalām, Cairo [1407/1986], 119-22; cf. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, in *al-ʿArab* [Riyāḍ] xxvi/3-4 [March-April 1991], 258-67, xxxvi/5-6 [May-June 1991], 390).

The genealogical literature records the name of al-Akhzar b. Suḥayma, an early Taghlibī genealogist (*nassāba*) who transmitted at least part of the information on his tribe available to later scholars (cf. W. Caskel and G. Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-Nasab*, i, 45-7). Between al-Akhzar's generation and that of the great philologists of the 2nd Islamic century there were intermediaries who in most cases remained anonymous. Yet we know that one of Abū ʿUbayda's [*q.v.*] informants on the Yawm Irāb was the Taghlibī Abū Khayra Affār b. Laḳīṭ (*Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa-l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. A.A. Bevan, Cambridge 1905, i, 473, l. 11, ii, 703, l. 4; his *nisba*, al-ʿAdawī, shows that he belonged to the ʿAdī Taghlib, i.e. ʿAdī b. Usāma b. Mālik b. Bakr). But expertise in Taghlibī history and genealogy was not an exclusive Taghlibī domain. Ibn al-Kalbī's informant about the First Day of al-Kulāb, and about ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, was Khirāsh b. Ismāʿīl al-ʿIdjlī [cf. ʿIDJL] *al-rāwiya* (on Khirāsh, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Ḥasan, Beirut 1407/1986, 551; cf. *op. cit.*, 544-5, 547; *GAS*, ii, 40). Khirāsh also gave information about the battle of Ṣiffīn (M. Hinds, *The banners and battle cries of the Arabs at Ṣiffīn (657 A.D.)*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv [1971], 3-42, at 6, 20), which indicates that his scholarly interests included both the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. Interestingly, a passage from Abū ʿUbayda's *K. al-Ayyām* (taken either from his *K. al-Ayyām al-ṣaghīr* or *K. al-Ayyām al-kabīr*), which deals with the killing of ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī in the war between the Taghlib and the Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*], demonstrates that Abū ʿUbayda's *K. al-Ayyām* (at least in its longer version) included not only pre-Islamic *Ayyām* but also battles of the early Islamic period (Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā ʾstaʿdjama*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1364/1945 ff., i, 216, iv, 1362).

Ibn al-Kalbī's interest in the Taghlib is reflected in the titles of two of his monographs, *K. Akhbār Rabīʿa wa ʾl-Basūs wa-ḥurūb Taghlib wa-Bakr* and *K. Akhbār banī Taghlib wa-ayyāmihim wa-ansābihim* (al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, ed. al-Nāʾīnī, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 400).

The 2nd/8th century scholar ʿAllān al-Shuʿūbī compiled *K. Nasab Taghlib b. Wāʾil* and Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī compiled *Nasab banī Taghlib* (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1993, iv, 1631, 1709). Other early collections of reports about the Taghlib were entitled *Ashʿār* [*Banī*] *Taghlib* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, *passim*; I. Goldziher, *Some notes on the Dīwāns of the Arabic tribes*, in *JRAS* [1897], 325-34, at 331, repr. in idem, *Gesammelte Schriften*, iv, 119-28). Beside poetry, these monographs also included reports about the historical background of the verses (cf., e.g., *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1387/1967 ff., ii, 173-4, viii, 557-60).

From Taghlib are descended three sons: Ghanm, al-Aws and ʿImrān. But the genealogical literature, keeping to the essentials, deals almost exclusively with the descendants of Ghanm b. Taghlib. The six sons of Bakr b. Ḥubayb b. ʿAmr b. Ghanm formed a group called al-Arāḳim (pl. of al-Arḳam, a certain speckled serpent). All six were eponyms of tribes (*ḳabāʾil*), the most numerous and prestigious being the Djusham. Two of the Arāḳim tribes, the Djusham and the Mālik, were referred to as *al-rawḳān*ʾ ("the two horns" or "the two numerous and strong companies"). Bakr's other sons were ʿAmr, Thaʿlaba, al-Ḥārith and Muʿāwiya. The Arāḳim were the most important group among the Taghlib; nearly all the information about the Taghlib in the genealogy books relates to them.

Among the Djusham b. Bakr, the Zuhayr b. Djusham had a *nisba* of their own, al-Zuhayrī. The Zuhayr included several separate groups, the most important being the ʿAttāb b. Saʿd b. Zuhayr. One of the ʿAttāb was the *muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*] poet ʿAmr b. Kulthūm. Also, the poet and epistle writer Abū ʿAmr Kulthūm b. ʿAmr [*q.v.*] al-Ḳinnasrīnī, who lived at the time of al-Maʾmūn and Hārūn al-Rashīd, belonged to the ʿAttāb (Yāḳūt, *Udabā*ʾ[2], v, 2243-6). The ʿAttāb kept their leading position in Islamic times. When the Taghlib-Ḳays war began, the Taghlib were led by ʿAmr b. Kulthūm's great-great-grandson (*Aghānī*[1], xx, 128, l. 4). The ʿAttāb and their brother-clans, ʿUtba and ʿItbān, formed a group called al-ʿUtab. The other descendants of Saʿd b. Zuhayr, namely the offspring of ʿAwf and Kaʿb, were called Banu ʾl-Waḥad or al-Awḥād.

Still within the Zuhayr b. Djusham, but along the genealogical line of al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr, we find Kulayb b. Rabīʿa and his brother, the poet and leader Muhalhil. Kulayb was a *djarrār*, i.e. one who commanded 1,000 men, and the same was said of his father Rabīʿa.

The other component of the *rawḳān*ʾ, namely the Mālik b. Bakr, included the Djāhilī warrior al-Saffāḥ, whose descendants, like those of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, were prominent in the Islamic period.

There were among the Taghlib at least five more tribal groups (*aṣnāf*) known by a tribal appellation. Most of them belonged to the Mālik b. Bakr: al-Ḳamāḳim, al-Lahāzim (probably the ʿAwf b. Mālik b. Bakr), al-Abnāʾ (the Rabīʿa, ʿĀʾidh and Imruʾ al-Ḳays, sons of Taym b. Usāma; J. Barth, *Dīwān des ʿUmeir ibn Schujeim al-Quṭāmī*, Leiden 1902, no. 31, 1), al-Ḳuʿūr (the Mālik b. Mālik b. Bakr and al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Bakr) and Rīsh al-Ḥubārā (the Ḳuʿayn b. Mālik b. Bakr). The ʿAmr b. Bakr were nicknamed al-Nakhābiḳa.

Rich evidence about Taghlib's tribal divisions in the Umayyad period is derived from the reports about the Taghlib-Ḳays war. Particularly detailed is the description of the battle of al-Ḥashshāk. Having been fatally wounded, their commander, Ḥanẓala b. Ḳays b. Hawbar al-Kinānī (of the Kināna b. Taym) was replaced by al-Marrār b. ʿAlḳama al-Zuhayrī, who organised the Taghlibī units under their tribal banners (*rāyāt*) and ordered each clan (*banū ab*) to place the women behind them. They were set in war disposition by a member of al-Abnāʾ. The Mālik b. Bakr had a banner of their own and one of their groups, the ʿAdī Taghlib, was at the centre of the army (*Shiʿr al-Akhṭal*, ed. Ḳabāwa, Aleppo 1390/1970, i, 75-6).

Before Islam, Taghlib was one of the strongest and most numerous nomadic tribes. The Taghlibīs were involved in some of the largest battles of pre-Islamic Arabia and often fought in large military formations. This indicates a high degree of solidarity among their subdivisions. Out of the eleven Rabīʿa leaders listed as *djarrārūn*, four belonged to the Taghlib (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 249-50; for a fifth *djarrār*, al-Saffāḥ, see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1378/1958, 337). This is also true of Islamic times: in the category of those who held the command (*riʾāsa*) over whole tribes or groups of tribes, the following are mentioned in connection with the Taghlib-Ḳays war: Ḥanẓala [b. Ḳays] b. Hawbar, Shuʿayth b. Mulayl and Marrār b. ʿAlḳama al-Zuhayrī (*Muḥabbar*, 255-6).

However, after the advent of Islam, Taghlib's political importance declined. In the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*] around 605, the Taghlib and Namir (under al-Nuʿmān b. Zurʿa, a descendant of al-Saffāḥ) fought on the Sāsānid side. Since the Taghlib lived far from the birthplace of Islam, they could not have played a central role in Islamic history during the Prophet's life. Only four Taghlibīs were found in the biographical dictionaries dedicated to the Prophet's Companions: 1. ʿAṭiyya b. Ḥiṣn, said to have visited the Prophet; 2. The poet ʿUtba b. al-Waghl; 3. A member of al-Akhṭal's [*q.v.*] clan, the Banū Fadawkas, called Ḳabīṣa b. Wāliḳ, a Kūfan *sharīf* and one of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf's [*q.v.*] generals; and 4. Khawla bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayra, a niece of the Companion Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī and probably a Christian, was reportedly given in marriage to the Prophet but died on the way from Syria to Medina.

The Taghlib took part in the *ridda*. The false prophetess Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*], and her Tamīmī clan were clients of the Taghlib in the Djazīra, to whom her mother belonged. It was among the Taghlib that she began her career. One of her followers was al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān, a former Christian who led the Taghlibī unit in an army made of "mixed sorts of men from Rabīʿa" (*afnāʾ Rabīʿa*) which followed her into Arabia. Al-Hudhayl, who was one of the *djarrārūn*, was later involved in fighting against the conquering Muslims at ʿAyn al-Tamr and elsewhere.

Some wrongly assumed that al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān was identical to Khawla's father, al-Hudhayl b. Hubayra of the Thaʿlaba b. Bakr (or rather, the Ḥurfa b. Thaʿlaba), who was also one of the *djarrārūn*. Now in order to differentiate between the two famous al-Hudhayls, al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān was called *al-aṣghar* or "the younger" (Djarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṭāhā, Cairo [1969-71], i, 253), while al-Hudhayl b. Hubayra was called *al-akbar* or "the older" (*Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa ʾl-Farazdaḳ*, i, 473, l. 9). Indeed, whereas "the older" was connected to the pre-Islamic *ayyām*, "the younger" was linked to the conquests and was still alive at the time of ʿUthmān.

The Taghlib fought against the conquering Muslim armies in western ʿIrāḳ and the Djazīra. The ʿUtba b. Saʿd b. Zuhayr are specifically known to have taken part in the fighting. Al-Ṣahbāʾ Umm Ḥabīb, the daughter of the Taghlibī leader, Rabīʿa b. Budjayr of the ʿUtba, was taken captive at al-Thanī and sent to Medina where she was bought by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]. She bore ʿAlī twins, a boy and a girl, ʿUmar *al-akbar* (Ibn al-Taghlibiyya) and Ruḳayya.

Yet at some stage during the conquests, Taghlibī troops fought with the Muslims. The most prominent person among them was ʿUtba b. al-Waghl (mentioned above as a Companion) of the Saʿd b. Djusham b. Bakr. At the time of ʿUthmān he was a political activist in Kūfa, where the Taghlibī troops had settled. Taghlib's limited support in the conquests and

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's *Realpolitik* guaranteed for Taghlib a special status with regard to taxation.

In the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL], the Rabī'a (including the Taghlib) and Kinda fought under the same banner on 'Alī's side (Abū 'Ubayda, *al-Dībādj*, 153-4). In connection with Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], we hear of the joint *ri'āsa* of Kinda and Rabī'a. Among the Rabī'a who fought with 'Alī at Ṣiffīn there were also Taghlibīs who had their own banner (Hinds, *op. cit.*, 21), and the Arāḳim are specified in a verse (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳ'at Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1401/1981, 486, l. 13). The Arāḳim were also involved in the Taghlib-Ḳays war (see e.g., Yāḳūt, s.v. *al-Raḥūb*). At Ṣiffīn there were Taghlibīs on Mu'āwiya's side as well. One of them was "Mu'āwiya's poet", Ka'b b. Dju'ayl (*Waḳ'at Ṣiffīn*, 549). 'Alī's reported hostile attitude towards the Taghlib (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 183, l. 2; *'Iḳd*, Cairo 1384/1965, vi, 248, l. 15) may suggest that they were not an insignificant factor in the Umayyad force (cf. Ya'ḳūbī, ii, 218).

A crucial reconciliation between the Taghlib and Bakr (who at Dhū Ḳār still fought on opposite sides) was affected by the pro-Umayyad Hammām b. Muṭarrif, described as the first leader (*awwal man sāda*) of the Taghlib in Islam. He guaranteed (*taḥammala*) the payment of the pending blood money (reportedly, for 1,000 men), giving 200 of his own camels, and paid the dowers of 500 women from each tribe who married men from the other tribe (al-Ḳurṭubī, *Ta'rīf*, 118; the figures are no doubt exaggerated). The reconciliation was presumably brought about by the Taghlib-Ḳays war (cf. Barth, *Dīwān . . . al-Quṭāmī*, no. 25, 34-5). With the backing of both the Taghlib and Bakr, the leader of the former, 'Abd Yasū', addressed the caliph 'Abd al-Malik as a representative of both sons of Wā'il (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, 567).

At the beginning of the rebellion of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], the Taghlib supported the Ḳays, who were led by Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī and 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī (on the latter, cf. M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, Jerusalem 1989, index) in their fight against the Kalb b. Wabara [*q.v.*]. Then a series of battles (*maghāzī*; *Aghānī*[1], xi, 59, l. 12) took place between the Taghlib, often together with the Namir, and the Ḳays which continued for some time after Ibn al-Zubayr's defeat (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 308-9, 313-31). The Taghlibī forces in the battle known as Yawm al-Ḥashshāk, in which 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb was killed, are of particular interest. First, not only Taghlib's nomads (*bādiya*) took part in it but also their settled (*ḥāḍira*). Second, Taghlib's forces included 2,000 cavalrymen from their *muhādjirūn* [*q.v.*] (*sic*) equipped with heavy armour who had been called in from Ādharbaydjān (*Aghānī*[1], xi, 62, l. 3).

The settled members among the Taghlib of the Djazīra were few. Reportedly, the Taghlib were *badw* and included no *ḥāḍira* at all, but this statement must be qualified. In early Islam, the Taghlib, while owning no estates (*amwāl*), had fields (*ḥurūth*) as well as cattle (Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, ed. Harrās, Cairo 1396/1976, 37; note also the small villages (*ḳurayyāt*) along the Khābūr inhabited by the Taghlib in the Umayyad period; *Aghānī*[1], xx, 127, l. 9).

The Taghlib-Ḳays war was merely an episode in the struggle between 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. The Taghlib were pro-Umayyad. Ibn al-Zubayr's governor in al-Mawṣil [see AL-MUHALLAB B. ABĪ ṢUFRA] threatened to raid them if they did not pledge their allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr, but was dismissed before he could carry this out. 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb asked Ibn al-Zubayr's brother and governor of 'Irāḳ, Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], to appoint him as Taghlib's tax-collector (*Aghānī*[1], xx, 127, l. 23). Moreover, Muṣ'ab killed the brother of a Bakr b. Wā'il leader who headed from 'Irāḳ to the Djazīra with reinforcements for the Taghlib. (The military aid must have followed the Taghlib-Bakr reconciliation.) The Taghlib are said to have complained to a leader of the Rabī'a, whose support they sought, about the official support given to their enemies: "You know that there is Christianity among us and that the Muḍar are the Muḍar. They are the government (*sulṭān*) and we cannot combat the government's stable or treasury". 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb's head was reportedly sent in 70/689-90 to 'Abd al-Malik, who welcomed the killing of Ibn al-Zubayr's ally.

The conversion of the Taghlib already began in the early days of Islam. "Mu'āwiya's poet", Ka'b b. Dju'ayl, was a Muslim and the same was true of the small Taghlibī community in Kūfa. The Umayyad poet al-Ḳuṭāmī [*q.v.*] ('Umayr b. Shiyaym or Shuyaym) was a convert to Islam. Among the Taghlibīs living in Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*] there were early converts to Islam (see entries on two *ḥadīth* transmitters, a father and a son, in al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, ed. Ma'rūf, Beirut 1405/1985 ff., iv, 141-4, xxiv, 5-6).

But the number of converts during the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid periods was small. At that time the Taghlib, mostly Christian and living near the boundary of a hostile Christian empire, were not given high positions in the Muslim state. The Taghlib probably did not take part in expeditions against Byzantium, and the participation of the poet known as A'shā Banī Taghlib in one such expedition (Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughya*, viii, 114) does not indicate the contrary. Yet they did not lose their military prowess or they would not have kept so tenaciously to their faith and their vast territories, constantly threatened by massive military pressure from immigrating Arabian tribes.

Under the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II, Hishām b. 'Amr b. Bisṭām al-Taghlibī (a descendant of al-Saffāḥ) was governor of al-Mawṣil and the Djazīra. (He had a partner who was in charge of the *kharādj* [*q.v.*].) At the time of al-Manṣūr, Hishām was governor of Sind. Under al-Mahdī, Bisṭām b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī (perhaps Hishām b. 'Amr's brother) was governor of Sind and later of Ādharbaydjān.

Both Hishām and Bisṭām were no doubt Muslims. The summer expedition against Byzantium of 177/793 was led by 'Abd al-Razzāḳ b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Taghlibī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 629) whose forces must have included many Muslims from his own tribe.

Later in the 'Abbāsid period, the Taghlib became increasingly Muslim as well as more and more prominent in the government of their own territory. In 197/813 al-Amīn appointed al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-'Adawī (of the 'Adī Taghlib) governor of al-Mawṣil. Al-Ḥasan took the old town of Adhrama from its owner, built in it a castle and fortified it.

In the 3rd/9th century there rose a powerful family in the Djazīra linked through marriage to that of the above-mentioned al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar. Ṭawḳ b. Mālik (d. 216/831) of the 'Attāb, who was a descendant of 'Amr b. Kulthūm, officiated at the time of al-Ma'mūn as governor of Diyār Rabī'a [*q.v.*] or the eastern Djazīra (in al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyyā', *al-Djalīs al-ṣāliḥ*, ed. al-Khūlī and I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1407/1987 ff., iv, 100, instead of *al-d.bār*, read *al-Diyār*).

The former's son, the above-mentioned Mālik b. Ṭawḳ b. Mālik (d. 260/874; sometimes the sources confuse the two), was governor of Damascus and al-Urdunn under al-Wāthiḳ and al-Mutawakkil (*Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh*

Dimashk li-Ibn ʿAsākir, ed. al-Naḥḥās *et alii*, Damascus 1404/1984 ff., xxiv, 50-4). More importantly, Mālik founded the town of al-Raḥba [*q.v.*] or Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ (modern al-Mayādīn; cf. Th. Bianquis, *Raḥba et les tribus arabes avant les croisades*, in *BÉt. Or.*, xli-xlii [1989-90], 23-53, at 27-8). There is yet another case of building activity carried out by Taghlibīs in the same area. The offspring of Abū Rimtha al-Taghlibī (of the ʿAttāb, a descendant of ʿAbd Yasūʿ) settled in the ancient castle of Kafartūthā, fortified it and turned it into a *madīna* (*fa-maddanūhā*). In 261/874-5 Khiḍr b. Aḥmad al-Taghlibī was appointed by al-Muʿtamid governor of al-Mawṣil [see AL-MAWṢIL, vol. VI, at 900a].

The Ḥamdānids who in the 4th/10th century controlled both al-Mawṣil and Aleppo, were reportedly of the ʿAdī Taghlib. However, some claimed that they were *mawālī Taghlib* (cf. Canard, *H'amdanides*, 287-9). Further evidence on this matter goes back to al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, whose father and grandfather were secretaries of Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī. Al-Wazīr remarks that one of those who were envious of the Ḥamdānids accused them of having made a false claim regarding their pedigree (*daʿwa*). This unspecified person said that they were in fact the *mawālī* of Isḥāḳ b. Ayyūb al-Taghlibī (on whom, see al-Ṭabarī, index). Al-Wazīr refutes this, and his defence of the Ḥamdānids seems to provide us with valuable evidence concerning a presumed major conversion to Islam among the Taghlib in the latter half of the 3rd/9th century: simply, al-Wazīr says, many of them converted to Islam "at the hands of" [see MAWLĀ, vol. VI, at 876a] Isḥāḳ (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, vi, 527-9). Roughly in the same period, Mālik b. Ṭawḳ convinced al-Akhṭal's great-grandson, Sahl b. Bishr b. Mālik b. al-Akhṭal, to convert to Islam together with the rest of al-Akhṭal's offspring (*Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, xxiv, 52 (see AL-AKHṬAL, where it is wrongly stated that the famous poet left no offspring).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iv, Index, s.v. Taghlib; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 27-8, 541-2; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, 564-75; idem, *Nasab Maʿadd wa 'l-Yaman al-kabīr*, ed. Ḥasan, Beirut 1408/1988, i, 83-94; Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 303-7; Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *K. al-Nasab*, ed. Maryam Khayr al-Darʿ, Damascus 1410/1989, 355-6; Yāḳūt, *al-Muḳtaḍab min kitāb djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Ḥasan, Beirut 1987, 203-7; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1969, 95-6; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, i, 266, 373; H. Lammens, *Le chantre des omiades*, in *JA* (1894), 94-176, 193-241, 381-459 (for the tribe's history after al-Akhṭal, see 438 ff.). About the Taghlibī poets, see the relevant entries in *GAS*, ii. For the dispute over the question whether or not the Dawāsir in contemporary Saudi Arabia are Taghlibīs, see *al-ʿArab* (Riyāḍ) xix/1-2 (April-May 1984), 111-20. For Taghlibī traditionists of various periods, see Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih*, ed. al-ʿAraḳsūsī, Beirut 1407-14/1986-93, ii, 45-9.

(M. LECKER)

TAGHRĪR (A.) a term of Islamic law normally meaning "deception". Its root is commonly used to refer to personal deceptive attributes of a person, while *maghrūr* is a person who is self-deceived and an inexperienced person is called *ghirr*. This perspective into the variety of the word's uses may help to distinguish it from *tadlīs* [*q.v.*], a word often used synonymously for deception in contracts.

The *Madjalla* [see MEDJELLE] encapsulates the Islamic legal definition of *taghrīr* (art. 164) to refer to deception (*ghishsh*). The example given is when the vendor offers the purchaser his commodity for a certain amount, telling him that he will be gaining, since it is worth more than that. The *Madjalla* permits a sale contract if it contains excessive undervaluing (*ghabn fāḥish*) providing it contains no deception (*taghrīr*). This clearly reflects a tendency towards a free market economy, which gives the vendor the right to sell at any price he sees fit. The exception to this rule is when the buyer is an orphan, or when the buying party is a religious endowment (*waḳf*), or the treasury which represents a public interest (art. 356). This provision has also been adopted by the Promulgated Civil Code of United Arab Emirates in article 191. By taking this view on *taghrīr*, the *Madjalla* follows the standard Ottoman Ḥanafī view which divides *taghrīr* into *ḳawlī*, verbal (see above), and *fiʿlī*, positive action of fraudulence, which takes place by deceiving the purchaser by misrepresenting the commodity's appearance or nature. The classical example of *taghrīr fiʿlī* is when a substandard part of the merchandise is placed below the good, giving the impression that the whole is good. *Taghrīr* can be seen as a prism that reflects the differences between the personal nature of *bayʿ* [*q.v.*] or sale in Muslim society and the formal nature of marriage [see SAWM]. *Taghrīr* in marriage is unlike *taghrīr* in *bayʿ* [*q.v.*] or sale because, once it has taken place, the contract may be terminated by either party, as it is not a matter of personal economic gain but rather involves a formal contract that is seen to affect society. Accordingly, if the man is led to believe that a woman is beautiful or a virgin when she is not, the contract can be nullified with *ghirra* compensation to be given by the person who caused such a deception, the *ghārr*. Similar rules apply to a woman deceived in marriage.

Bibliography: Nāṣir al-Muṭarrizī, *al-Mughrib fī tartīb al-muʿrab*, Beirut n.d., 337-8; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī wa-adillatuh*, Beirut 1985, iv, 527-8, vii, 123; *Sharḥ al-Madjalla*, Beirut repr. 1986, 199; S.E. Ryner, *The theory of contracts in Islamic law*, London 1991, 194, 204.

(M.Y. IZZI DIEN)

ṬĀGHŪT (A.).

1. In pre- and early Islamic usage.

The root *ṭ-gh-w* yields several forms with the general meaning of "to go beyond the measure, be very lofty, overflow, be tyrannical, rebellious, oppressive, proud, etc.", from which two may be noted here: *ṭaghw*, designating a height or mountain summit, and *ṭāghūt*, pl. *ṭawāghīt*, meaning the great pre-Islamic Arabian deities like al-Lāt at Ṭāʾif and al-ʿUzzā at Mecca. The term was then applied to Satan, sorcerer and rebel, and to any power opposed to that of Islam. One may also cite *ṭaghwa* "excess of injustice, impiety", as opposed to the *sharīʿa* and legitimate authority. This usage connects with usages and customs of various tribes in Yemen at variance with the *sharīʿa* (see further for this sense, below, 2.).

In the Ḳurʾān, *ṭāghūt* is considered as a plural when it denotes the idols (II, 256-7; V, 60; XVI, 36; XXXIX, 17) and as a singular when it is the equivalent of *shayṭān* [*q.v.*] (IV, 60, 67) or diviner and magician (IV, 51) with, however, a collective sense. The sing. ought to be *ṭaghw* which, according to al-Djawharī, ii, 620, means "mountain peak" and "any high place". Thus *ṭawāghīt* are the high places and sanctuaries taking their place there and the divinities worshipped there. But, by assimilation to the Aramaic root *ṭ-ʿ-w* (= Ar. *ṭ-gh-w*; *TʿA*, x, 225), found once in

the Bible (Ezek. xii. 10) and meaning essentially "to lead into error" (not to be confused with *ṭ-ʿ-y*, Ar. *ṭ-gh-y*; *TʿA*, x, 224), whose basic sense is "to be excessive in everything, be despotic", *ṭāghūt* designates, according to the exegetes and lexicographers, "everything which leads astray and turns aside from the cult of Allāh" (*ibid.*, x, 225). Cf. however, Eth. *ṭāʿōt* "idols", in Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 470, and see this also for *al-djibt* "idol, magician, impious person", named with *ṭāghūt* in Ḳurʾān, IV, 51, and *ʾamlak gebt*, θεὸς πρόσφατος. See on this W. Atallah, *Ğibt et Ṭāġūt dans le Coran*, in *Arabica*, xvii (1970), 69-82.

In *Ḥadīth*, the epithet *ṭāghiya* is given to Dhu ʾl-Khalaṣa, *ṭāghiyat Daws* (al-Bukhārī, *fitan*, 23), to Manāt (*ibid.*, *ḥadjdj*, 79, and Muslim, *ḥadjdj*, 261) and al-Lāt (Abū Dāwūd, *ṣalāt*, 12; Ibn Mādja, *masādjid*, 3). One tradition distinguishes between a simple idol (*wathan*, see ṢANAM) and a leading deity (*ṭāghiya*) (Ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 6, 366). Faith in Allāh presupposes the rejection of the cult of *ṭawāghīt* (al-Bukhārī, *adhān*, 129, *tawḥīd*, 24, *riḳāḳ*, 52; Muslim, *īmān*, 299; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 275, 293, 524; al-Dārimī, *waṣiyya*, 4) and refusal to resort to them for their arbitration (al-Bukhārī, *īmān*, 5; Muslim, *īmān*, 6; al-Nasāʾī, *īmān*, 10; Ibn Mādja, *kaffārāt*, 2; Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 62).

The cult of the *ṭawāghīt*, largely similar to that of the Kaʿba, was made up of worshipping stones, bloody sacrifices and ritual processions (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 54-5). In origin, it must have had in it various, complementary divine mythologies, given shape in different rituals, whose fusion into two rituals, that of the *ḥadjdj* on one hand and that of the *ʿumra* on the other, makes these last two incomprehensible through their composite and fragmentary character.

The hegemony of Mecca ended the ancient rivalry of the cults outside that of the Kaʿba. An example of resistance to that hegemony has been studied by Iḥsān ʿAbbās in his *Two unpublished texts on pre-Islamic religion*, in *Signification du bas moyen âge dans l'histoire et la culture du monde musulman*, Aix-en-Provence 1987, 7-16.

Bibliography: The core of this article is to be found in T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 240. See, especially, H. Lammens, *Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie Occidentale*, in *MUSJ*, xi (1926), 39-169; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet, l'homme et son message*, Paris 1957, 548 (he was hoping, in vain, that excavations carried out at Masdjid al-Khayf (see Yāḳūt, i, 507-8) and at Minā would reveal the foundations of ancient temples). (T. FAHD)

2. As a legal term in Yemen.

Here, the term was commonly used by the learned to refer to the customary law of the tribes, e.g. al-Shawkānī, 73-4 (18th century), Sayyid Muṣṭafā Sālim, 209 (decree of the Imām Yaḥyā issued in 1910). This usage was apparently also known elsewhere in Arabia (Rossi, 11; Serjeant, *Studies*, no. III, 41). For the learned, the term was one of opprobrium; but it has been implied that some tribespeople in their ordinary speech employed the word *ṭāghūt* to refer to the customary law, presumably without opprobrium, and furthermore that the word was used to refer to the arbitrator in customary law not only in Yemen (Landberg, *Daṯînah*, 815n.; Serjeant, *Customary and shariʿah law*, no. III, 45) but also (opprobriously) in Saudi Arabia (al-ʿAzzāwī, i, 403). More certainly, colloquial terms that can be used to refer to tribal law include *ʿurf* or *aʿrāf al-ḳabāʾil*; *sunna*; *sharʿ*; *shurūʿ al-ḳabāʾil al-sābiḳa*; *silf (al-ḳabāʾil)*; *salaf* and *aḥkām al-aslāf*; and in the south, *sibl* "custom", *sawābil* "precedents", and perhaps *sāriḥa*.

The word *manʿ(a)* is used in literary sources to refer to the customary law, and *ḥukm al-manʿ* and *sharʿ al-manʿ* are also attested in the colloquial (Obermeyer, 367). The term probably came into use because much of the law is concerned with the protection (*manʿ*, cf. Landberg, *Glossaire*, s.v.; Adra, 164-5) of those to whom the tribesman has special obligations, e.g. the *djār* or *manīʿ* "one who seeks refuge" and the *rafīḳ* "travelling companion". Educated Yemenis are reported to have distinguished between *sharʿ al-manʿ*, customary tribal law that was compatible with the *sharīʿa* even though not part of it, and *ṭāghūt*, customary tribal law that was in contradiction to the *sharīʿa*.

The belief that the *al-manʿ* is consistent with the *sharīʿa* is expressed in more than one Yemenite treatise concerning the *manʿ* (Rossi, 33; Serjeant, *Materials*, 591). No doubt it was this belief that allowed learned men to write what were in effect brief codes of customary law. Several works of this kind—the oldest dating back several hundred years—are to be found among the mss. bequeathed by R.B. Serjeant to the library of the University of Edinburgh. Rossi, 18-29, offers an invaluable summary of two of these treatises. Another code of the *manʿ*, entitled *Ḳāʿidat al-sabʿīn*, has been published in the form of a photocopy of a damaged and incomplete manuscript (Abū Ghānim, 361-84).

Codes of customary law, which must often have included matter incompatible with the *sharīʿa*, were also sometimes produced at the behest of the tribesmen themselves. Those found in the possession of such codes were severely punished by the government of the Imām Yaḥyā (1904-48). Nevertheless, some have survived. One such, from an area not controlled by the Imām Yaḥyā, is the *sharʿ* agreed upon between the Sultan and the tribesmen of the ʿAwdhalī sultanate; it was published in a "free translation" by R.B. Serjeant (Naval Intelligence Division, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, 587-9; Serjeant, *Customary and shariʿah law*, no. IV, 91). Another is a code agreed on in the 18th century by the tribes of the Baraṭ area (text with commentary in ʿUlaymī, 118-41; a modern ms. of a fuller version is photographically reproduced in Abū Ghānim, 387-400; see also Dresch, 73 n. 23, 352).

The laws of the Yemeni tribes resemble in their main features the laws of the tribal Arabs of other parts of Arabia and the Fertile Crescent. See further ʿURF.

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ṬĀHĀ, ʿALĪ MAḤMŪD (1902-49), Egyptian poet, very popular in the 1930s and 1940s. He was born into a well-to-do family in al-Manṣūra and educated there at a technical school, the *Madrasat al-Funūn wa 'l-Ṣanāʾiʿ*. After he graduated in 1924, he became a government employee as an architect. He began writing poetry in 1918 and made the acquaintance of the town's poets, later to earn fame like him, such as Ibrāhīm Nādjī [*q.v.*], Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī al-Hamsharī and Ṣāliḥ Djawdat. He published his poems in Egyptian periodicals, including *al-Risāla* and *Apollo* of Cairo. In the 1930s, he moved to Cairo, where he held posts at the Ministry of Commerce and in the Secretariat of the Egyptian parliament, and joined the Apollo Group of poets. His first collection of poetry, *al-Mallāḥ al-tāʾih*, appeared in Cairo in 1934 and received immediate acclaim. Following a first summer visit to Europe in 1938 and a second in 1939, he published *Layālī 'l-mallāḥ al-tāʾih* in 1940, mostly reflecting his frolicking and amatory exploits in Europe, including a gondola tour in Venice during a carnival described in his poem "Ughniyat al-Djundūl", which was set to music and sung by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, adding to his popularity.

Ṭāhā published five other books of poetry and a book of essays and of translated English and French verse. His wide popularity rested on his first two books and a few poems from the others, and was basically engendered by his Romantic view of life and hedonistic love relations, his strong nationalist feeling, and his alluring musical use of polished Arabic in his poems. His popularity faded after mid-century with the rise of the free verse movement and changes in Arab poetic sensibility.

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ṬĀHĀ ḤUSAYN (1889-1973): Egyptian critic, essayist, novelist, short story writer, historian, literary and political journalist, translator, editor, publisher and educator.

(1) *His formation.*

He was born in ʿIzbat al-Kīlū near Maghāgha in the governorate of Minyā, the seventh of thirteen children in a family of modest condition. At the age of two, he lost his eyesight. Local educational resources equipped him with little more than the memorisation of the Ḳurʾān. In 1902 he was sent to al-Azhar University under the care of an elder brother who was a disciple of its rector, Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*]. Ṭāhā heard the reformer's last two lectures and attended the literature courses of one of his protégés, al-Sayyid al-Marṣafī (d. 1931); but he antagonised the conservative professors, and in 1912 he was denied a degree. He had, however, already transferred his loyalty to the modern Egyptian University (later renamed Fuʾād I, then Cairo University) from its inception, greatly admiring its Orientalist professors, especially Carlo Alfonso Nallino; and on presenting a doctoral dissertation on al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*] in 1914, he became its first graduate.

A scholarship to the University of Paris at the Sorbonne brought him under the influence of such scholars as Gustave Lanson, but his doctoral work was on Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*]. He graduated in 1918 and obtained the *Doctorat d'État* in 1919. He also married the French lady who had been his reader.

Since early in his student-days, he had made his mark as a sharp contributor to the press on literary and social issues, and was particularly associated with the circle of Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid [*q.v.*]. Now, enamoured both with classical Arabic literature and with all aspects of French culture, he was soon to emerge as a leading modernist who held that the application of Western standards to the Arab-Islamic heritage was a process not of innovation but of renovation, sometimes even arguing—perhaps reflecting Duhamel—that Egypt had always been not an Oriental but a Mediterranean country. A bold and hard-hitting polemicist, he was often to be at odds with both the political and the religious establishments, as well as with some of his fellow-writers.

(2) *His public career.*

On his return from France, his *alma mater* appointed him first Professor of Ancient History in 1919, then of Arabic Literature in 1925. The following year, however, his *Fī 'l-shiʿr al-djāhilī* "On pre-Islamic poetry", which argued that the bulk of this highly-prized corpus had been forged, roused fierce controversy, especially as it adduced religious considerations among the motives for the fraud. He was accused—but not convicted—of heresy, and the book was banned, only to reappear in superficially emended form and under a slightly altered title.

The University, headed by Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid stood by him, and in 1930 he was the first Egyptian to become Dean of its Faculty of Arts; but it was now a State institution, and in 1932 his political writings led to a revival of the controversy and his dismissal from all government service. He did later hold a variety of educational posts, but he lived largely by his pen. Between 1945 and 1948 he was a very active director of a publishing house and of its journal, both called *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* "The Egyptian Scribe". He was at the time viewed as vaguely "leftist" because of the stress he laid on the plight of the poor, but his creed was a paternalistic one, relying on the good will of a liberal élite for the realisation of social justice, as was confirmed in his later polemic against the doctrinnaire socialists of the middle 1950s.

He reached the peak of his career as Minister of Education in the last Wafdist Cabinet, which lasted two years from January 1950. In this capacity, he not only gave effect to the policy he had long advocated of abolishing fees in State schools but also did much to extend higher education and cultural representation abroad.

He remained active in journalism until the middle 1960s; and despite ill-health, he was faithful to the end to the concerns of the Academy of the Arabic

Language, to the presidency of which he had succeeded Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid in 1963.

(3) *His writings.*

In common with many intellectuals of his generation, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn wrote profusely and on a wide variety of subjects. He is credited with 1,481 articles and 61 volumes of original writings (not a few of which are collected articles). In addition, he edited eight texts, translated eleven books and thirty articles, contributed substantially to twenty-one other books, and wrote introductions to another thirty-six.

In his youth, he wrote some poetry which he later discounted. On the other hand, not a small contributor to his popularity was his prose style, for he was a master of the classical language and a defender of its purity, while adapting it to new purposes with a deceptive suppleness and fluency.

It was as a critic that he was most celebrated, for he produced some major studies and a multitude of articles covering virtually every period and most major aspects of classical and modern Arabic literature, excluding only folk compositions, for he considered the colloquial forms of the language as corruptions unworthy of artistic recognition. His aesthetic creed was never systematically expounded, but the progress of his thinking can be traced from the early studies, which claimed scientific rigour and ascribed to social and psychological factors considerable deterministic power, leading to an eventual recognition of the critics's complete subjectivity. And in this respect, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was decidedly romantic, prizing the evocation of emotion as the supreme touchstone of literary worth.

He broke into the narrative field by retelling tales from early Islamic sources, but not without planting into them some modernistic seeds, and later wrote short stories and sketches mainly bearing on contemporary social ills. A more signal achievement was the first volume of his fictionalised autobiography, *al-Ayyām* "The Days", serialised in *al-Hilāl* "The Crescent" in 1926-7. This was the first modern Arabic literary work to receive international recognition, being translated into a number of foreign languages. He followed this up between 1935 and 1944, with six novels, and started another in 1946, *Mā warā' al-nahr* "Beyond the river", which was published posthumously in its incomplete form. Although he was not at his best in sustaining a well-integrated plot, he was characteristically bold in his choice of themes, *Du'ā' al-karawān* "The call of the [mythical bird] Karawān", being a rare attempt at dealing with the code of honour that requires the slaughtering of a woman who offends against sexual mores, and *Aḥlām Sh̲ahrazād* "The dreams of Scheherezade", being an early exploitation of the *Arabian Nights* to convey a political message.

His output includes substantial historical studies of the first four caliphs and a slighter but revealing early work, *Ḳādat al-fikr* "Leaders of thought", which celebrates the ascendancy of the Western over the Oriental mind.

Finally, in his lesser writings and his translations—which give a good deal of attention to the theatre—one may detect an effort to fill gaps in the Arab literary experience and in his own creative work.

(4) *His standing.*

He was a charismatic figure in his own time, his bold initiatives at the cutting edge of intellectual progress earning him the unofficial title of Dean of Arabic Letters. The next generation—more self-assertive towards the West, more rigorous in its critical perceptions and imbued with socialist doctrines—has been somewhat less appreciative of his attainments, though they had opened the way to further development.

Under the Egyptian monarchy, he was awarded the title of Bey, then that of Pas̲h̲a. The Republic, having abolished titles, awarded him the Order of the Nile in 1965. Internationally, he received countless honorary doctorates and the French Légion d'Honneur. In 1949, mainly on the initiative of André Gide, he was nominated for the Nobel Prize. Finally, the United Nations' Rights of Man prize was delivered to him on his deathbed.

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ṬĀHĀ, MAḤMŪD MUḤAMMAD, free-thinking Islamic reform theorist, founder and spiritual leader of the religio-political lay movement al-Ik̲h̲wān al-D̲j̲umhūriyyūn in Sudan. Born about 1909 in Rufā'a on the Blue Nile, he grew up in a traditionally mystic-religious environment. Following graduation as a hydraulics engineer in 1936 from the Gordon Memorial College in al-K̲h̲urṭūm (Khartoum) [*q.v.*], Ṭāhā worked until 1941 for the Sudan Railway Company in 'Aṭbara.

Ṭāhā's thinking was clearly formed by both the religious nature of his home background and the intellectual confrontation with European thinking at the British colonial college and in 'Aṭbara. In addition to the traditional literature of his Islamic heritage, particularly al-G̲h̲azālī, Ibn al-'Arabī and al-Ḥallād̲j̲, he also read sociological texts by Benjamin Kid, Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer, as well as works by European philosophers of the schools of enlightenment, logic and dialectic, from Hegel to Marx and his successors.

Since the beginning of the Sudanese nationalist movement in the 1930s, Ṭāhā played an active part in fighting for Sudanese independence. However, his objective was neither Sudan under British rule, as advocated by the Umma Party, nor administrative and political unity with Egypt, as advocated by the As̲h̲ikkā' Party, so that together with a few other intellectuals, he founded his own party in 1945, al-Ḥizb al-D̲j̲umhūrī, and became party chairman. The objective of this party was an independent, federal republic of Sudan, where "democratic socialism" would guarantee individual freedom and perfect social justice.

In 1946, an anti-British leaflet brought Ṭāhā into prison for the first time, accused of anti-government propaganda. Released prematurely after 50 days, he was arrested again during the same year and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for public incitement and sedition, after preaching a sermon to the population of Rufā'a in which he incited them to use violence to free a woman from prison who had had her daughter circumcised. His followers, the D̲j̲umhūriyyūn, see this event as the turning point in their history.

During his imprisonment and subsequent two-year period of voluntary isolation, *k̲h̲alwa*, Ṭāhā subjected

himself to stringent Ṣūfī practices of fasting, prayer and meditation, re-appearing in public in 1951 with a new understanding of Islam instead of a political programme. Since recommencing their activities in 1951, the Djumhūriyyūn considered themselves to be more an instructive movement spreading an anti-legalistic, humanitarian understanding of Islam, rather than a political party. After the ban on parties following the bloodless coup of Dja'far al-Numayrī in 1968, they changed their name to al-Ikhwān al-Djumhūriyyūn. They nevertheless retained their political objectives, integrating them in their purely Islamic ideological approach. They propagated their views in lectures, public discussions, newspaper articles and publications of their own.

The core of Ṭāhā's teaching—the result of divine inspiration received during personal worship, according to Ṭāhā—is the opinion that the Ḳur'ān contains two main messages. The first, reversing the revelation chronology, consists of the laws of Medina (*furū'*), which is the foundation among others for the traditional *sharī'a*. By contrast, the second message, proclaimed in Mecca, contains the basic spiritual principles (*uṣūl*) of the Islamic religion: individual liberty and religious freedom, equality regardless of sex, race or religion, and equal rights to property (i.e. socialism). Ṭāhā taught that the first message had only limited validity for the Islamic society in its status during the 1st/7th century, and should be replaced today by abrogation, *naskh* [*q.v.*], by the second, eternally valid message, in order to create forms of Islamic living and society which are in line with the changed realities of the 20th century. In this context, the focal demands of the Djumhūriyyūn were for an individual, spiritualised religion, together with further development of the *sharī'a* to assume ethical dimensions.

Since the 1960s, Ṭāhā's reforms have repeatedly met with protest and resistance from the institutional orthodox Islamic religion in Sudan and on an international dimension, and from the Sudanese Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, who are based on implementing the *sharī'a* as focal aspect of their ideology and as legitimation of their claims to political power. Ṭāhā was twice accused of committing apostasy: in 1968 without legal consequences, then in 1985 the proceedings were followed by his execution on 18 January, 1985, with posthumous annulment of the sentence because of numerous discrepancies. On the death of their leader, the Djumhūriyyūn ceased all public involvement.

Bibliography: The main titles of Ṭāhā's extensive works, most of which have disappeared from the market through being banned and destroyed, include: *al-Risāla al-thāniya min al-Islām*, Umm Durman 1967, Eng. tr. with introd. by Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na'im, *The Second Message of Islam*, Syracuse-New York 1987; *Ṭarīḳ Muḥammad*, Umm Durman 1966; and *Risālat al-Ṣalāt*, Umm Durman 1966. For Ṭāhā's reception, see al-Mukāshifī Ṭāhā al-Kabbāshī, *al-Ridda wa-muḥākamāt Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭāhā fī 'l-Sūdān*, Riyāḍ 1987; *al-Ustādh Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭāhā, rā'id al-tadjdīd al-dīnī fī 'l-Sūdān*, ed. Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Sūdāniyya, Casablanca 1992; J. Rogalski, *Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭāhā. Zur Erinnerung an das Schicksal eines Mystikers und Intellektuellen im Sudan*, in *Asien Afrika Lateinamerika* (1996) no. 1; G. Lichtenthäler, *Muslih mystic and martyr: the vision of Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭaha and the Republican Brothers in the Sudan. Towards an Islamic Reformation?*, in *Islam et Sociétés au sud du Sahara*, no. 9 (Paris, Nov. 1995), 57-82. For other biographical information, see Annette Oevermann, *Die "Republikanischen Brüder" im Sudan. Eine islamische Reformbewegung im Zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main, etc. 1993. (ANNETTE OEVERMANN)

TAHADJDJUD (A.), verbal noun of form V from the root *h-dj-d*, which is one of the roots with opposed meanings (*aḍdād* [*q.v.*]), as it signifies "sleep" and also "to be awake", "to keep a vigil", "to perform the night *ṣalāt* or the nightly recitation of the Ḳur'ān". The latter two meanings have become the usual ones in Islam. The word occurs only once in the Ḳur'ān, sūra XVII, 81: "And in a part of the night, perform a *ṣalāt* as a voluntary effort", etc., but the thing itself is often referred to. We are told of the pious (LI, 17) that they sleep little by night and pray to God for forgiveness at dawn. In XXV, 65, there is a reference to those who spend the night prostrating themselves and standing before their Lord.

From the Ḳur'ān it may be deduced that the old practice in Mecca was to observe two *ṣalāts*, one by day and one by night (XVII, 80-1); LXXVI, 25: "And mention the name of thy Lord in the morning and in the evening [26] and in the night prostrate thyself before Him and praise Him the livelong night"; XI, 116: "And perform the *ṣalāt* at both ends of the day and in the last part of the night". Tradition is able to tell us that for a shorter or longer period (mention is actually made of a "period of ten years", al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 68), vigils were so ardently observed that Muḥammad and his companions began to suffer from swollen feet. The old practice is said to be based on LXXIII, 1. "O thou enfolded one, 2. stand up during the night, except a small portion of it, 3. the half or rather less, 4. or rather more and recite the Ḳur'ān with accuracy"; but its origin cannot be dissociated from the example of Christian ascetics. In the end, however, this form of asceticism became too much for Muḥammad's companions. The revelation of LXXIII, 20 ff., brought an alleviation: "See, thy Lord knoweth that thou standest praying about two-thirds, or the half or a third of the night, thou and a part of thy companions. But God measureth the night and the day; he knoweth that ye are not able for this; therefore he turneth mercifully to you with permission to recite as much of the Ḳur'ān as is convenient for you". By the institution of the five daily *ṣalāts*, the obligatory character of the *tahadjdjud* was then abolished (cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭawwu'*, *bāb* 17, and al-Bayḍāwī on LXXIII, 20).

Nevertheless, Muḥammad is said not to have abandoned the vigils (Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭawwu'*, *bāb* 18b); in *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* this is considered blameworthy for those who were wont to perform these *ṣalāts* (Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 185; al-Nasā'ī, *Ḳiyām al-layl*, *bāb* 59; al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya*, i, 165). The performance is in general regarded as *sunna*. David is said to have spent a third of the night in these exercises (Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 189; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣawm*, *bāb* 67); another reason given in justification of it is that the *tahadjdjud* loosens one of the knots which Satan ties in the hair of a sleeper (Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭawwu'*, *bāb* 18). The *tahadjdjud* is particularly meritorious in Ramaḍān and in the night before each of the two feasts (Ibn Mādja, *Ṣiyām*, *bāb* 68: al-Nasā'ī, *Ḳiyām al-layl*, *bāb* 17, where the term *iḥyā' al-layl* is used [see also TARĀWĪḤ]).

Even at the present day, the *mu'adhdhin* in some lands summons to a night *ṣalāt* (consisting of an even number of *rak'as* and therefore called *shaf'*; see WITR) shortly after midnight by an *adhān* to which special formulae are added (Lane, *Manners and customs*, ch. iii "Religion and Laws"; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 74).

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For the views of the different law schools, see also I. Guidi, *Il "Muḫtaṣar" di Ḫalīl ibn Isḥāq*, Milan 1919, i, 97; Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *al-Tanbīh*, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, 27; Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj*, i, 488 ff.; Ibn Hadjar al-Haythamī, *Tuḥfa*, i, 201 ff.; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥillī, *Kitāb Sharā'iʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1839, i, 27; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, i, 52-3; Niẓām, *al-Fatāwa al-ʿālamgīriyya*, Calcutta 1243/1827-8, i, 157. (A.J. Wensinck)

al-TAHĀNAWĪ, Muḥammad Aʿlā ('Alā' or 'Alī are not correct) b. *shaykh* 'Alī b. *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad Ḥāmid b. Mawlānā *atkā 'l-ʿulamā'* Muḥammad Ṣābir al-Fārūḳī al-Sunnī al-Ḥanafī al-Tahānawī, originating from Tohāna, a place at about 170 km/105 miles to the northwest of Dihlī, philologist, especially lexicologist, and *ḳāḍī*. The years of his birth and death are unknown; we only know that he finished the draft of his main work, *Kashshāf*, in the year 1158/1745. His tomb in his native town is visited until today, including with the purpose to spend in his presence days and even weeks in studying scholarly works, in the expectation to be enlightened by the *shaykh*.

Among the three works which have come down to us, is the well-known and often quoted large *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, a thesaurus of technical terms compiled from good sources. Because of the numerous interpolations and parts in Persian, this extensive work has proved its value for the study of Islamic scholasticism, especially in India. Under the superintendence of Aloys Sprenger and William Nassau Lees, and by order of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, the work was published in altogether 17 fascicules from 1848 onwards) by the Mawlawīs Moḥammad Wajíh, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and Gholám K/Qádir, Calcutta 1862, 2 vols., the English title being *A dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musalmans* (Bibliotheca Indica). In an Appendix, which had already been issued in 1854, Sprenger published the compendium of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's *Logic*, called *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya fi 'l-ḳawāʿid al-manṭiḳiyya*, popular in India and repeatedly published [see al-kātibī, nadjm al-dīn], together with an English translation, *The logic of the Arabians* (cf. C. Ralfs, in *ZDMG*, ix [1855], 868 f.). The edition of the *Kashshāf* (*Kashf* is incorrect) is based on two manuscripts, which were both copied from one and the same of the three autographs of the author which are available. A first, substantial, part was printed anew in Istanbul 1317-18/1899-1900. There is a new edition in four small volumes: i-iv ed. Luṭfī 'Abd al-Badīʿ, the Persian sections having been translated into Arabic by Amīn al-Naʿīm Muḥammad Ḥasanayn, and i-ii revised by Amīn al-Khūlī, Cairo 1382/1963, 1969, 1972 and 1977. The editor starts from the author's draft, with its corrections and additions, always taking the two prints into consideration. Most recently, a new edition by Rafīk al-ʿAdjam has appeared, 2 vols. Beirut 1996.

Of the second work, *Aḥkām al-arāḍī*, a treatise on the principles of the *sharʿ* regarding the ownership and taxation of the land, with special reference to India (some parts are explained in Persian), there is a manuscript in the Library of the India Office, London (R. Levy, *Catalogue*, ii, 3 [Fiqh], London 1937, no. 1730).—What exactly is hidden behind the title of the third work, *Sabḳ al-ghāyāt fi nasḳ al-āyāt*, which could not be traced, remains uncertain. According to Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, i, 645, it was printed in 1316/1898 in India (Hind).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II², 555, S II, 628; 'U.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1380/1960, xi, 47; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Beirut 1979, vi, 295; 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād/Deccan 1376/1957, vi, 278.

(R. Sellheim)

TAḤANNUTH (a.), verbal noun, and *taḥannatha*, verb, are words found in some of the accounts of Muḥammad's first prophetic experience. Already in the earliest texts which are available to us, they are accompanied by variant interpretative glosses and explanations, and their significance has been debated in both traditional and modern scholarship.

In Ibn Hishām's *Sīra* (151-2), Ibn Isḥāḳ reports that Muḥammad used to spend one month each year making *djiwār* [*q.v.*] at Ḥirā'—"that was a part of the *taḥannuth* of Ḳuraysh (*mimmā taḥannatha bihi Ḳuraysh*) in the *Djāhiliyya*". *Taḥannuth* is immediately glossed as *tabarrur* ("abstaining from sin"?): *wa 'l-taḥannuth al-tabarrur*. Ibn Hishām then intervenes in the text to explain that "the Arabs" customarily pronounced *f* as *th* and that *taḥannuth*, therefore, is the same as *taḥannuf*. Thus he links the expression with the pristine monotheism of the Ḥanīfs [*q.v.*] and the religion of Abraham. Another report in the *Sīra* (151), which does not use either the verb or the noun, tells us that as part of his preparation for prophethood Muḥammad had been caused by God to love solitude. In Ibn Saʿd's version (i/1, 129) the report goes on to say that he would go alone to the cave of Ḥirā' where he would make *taḥannuth* (*yataḥannathu fīhi*) on certain nights (*al-layālī dhawāt al-ʿadad*) and then would go back to Khadīdja to obtain provisions for a similar period (*li-mithlihā*). It was while he was in the cave doing this that the revelation came to him. In some of al-Bukhārī's versions of the tradition (see A.J. Wensinck *et alii*, *Concordance*, s.v. *taḥannatha* for references), *taḥannuth* is glossed by *taʿabbud* ("devoting oneself to the worship of God").

Other and later traditionists and commentators provide further interpretative additions. The most extensive survey of the material was made by M.J. Kister ("*Al-taḥannuth*: an enquiry into the meaning of a term", in *BSOAS*, xxxi [1968], 223-36). As well as with *tabarrur* and *taʿabbud*, *taḥannuth* was equated with such things as *tafakkur* (meditation), *taḥawwub* (abstaining from sin), and *ta'alluh* (devotion to God). Solitude, (religious) retreat and withdrawal, devotional practices, gazing towards the Kaʿba, and feeding the poor are also mentioned. Since this was before the revelation made to the Prophet, speculation involved the question which body of law (*sharīʿa*) he followed at the time. *Taḥannuth* is said to have been practised also by other individuals: Khālid b. al-Ḥārith of Kināna, the Ḥanīf Zayd b. 'Amr, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and others. The traditions about these individuals supply further material for speculation regarding the content of *taḥannuth*.

After his survey of traditional and modern scholarship, Kister concluded that *taḥannuth* was indeed an ancient custom of Ḳuraysh and that essentially it consisted of veneration of the Kaʿba and works of charity while being withdrawn on Mount Ḥirā'. Others, such as Caetani (*Annali*, i, 222, "Introduzione", section 208, n. 2), have suspected that the word was not used in Mecca in the time of the Prophet. N. Calder has argued that the word reflects the ideas and practices of the 2nd century A.H. ("*Ḥinth, birr, tabarrur, taḥannuth*: an inquiry into the Arabic vocabulary of vows", in

BSOAS, li [1988], 214-39). He has suggested that *taḥannuth* refers to the condition which, in *fiḳh*, one assumes by making a binding vow—one becomes "liable" (*ḥānith*) to fulfil the vow. (*Ḥanīth* also means "breaking a vow" and *ḥinth* means "perjury".) In the traditions about the Prophet, the word would reflect the idea that he had made a vow to enter a period of retreat (*iʿtikāf* [*q.v.*]), a practice of early Muslim times which was becoming less widespread as a result of juristic disapproval of asceticism. It was because the practice was in decline that the word was such a puzzle for later generations.

H. Hirschfeld (*New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, London 1902, 19, n. 94), saw *taḥannuth*, not as a genuine Arabic noun form, but as an arabisation of Hebrew *tʿhinnōth* "prayers or voluntary devotions apart from the official liturgy". His suggestion was rejected by S.D. Goitein (*Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1966, 93, n. 2) on the grounds that that plural form is known in Hebrew with that technical sense only at a significantly later time (Goitein did not adduce his evidence). It may be noted, however, that the hithpael form of the Hebrew verb *ḥānan* with the meaning "to seek favour" (frequently, but not exclusively, from God), and the noun form *tʿḥinnā* with the meaning "supplication" or "cry for favour" is relatively well attested in the Hebrew Bible and at Qumran (G.J. Botterwick and H. Ringgren (eds.), *Theological dictionary of the Old Testament*, Eng. tr., Grand Rapids, Michigan 1986, v, 22 ff.).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G.R. Hawting)

ṬAHĀRA (A.), a *maṣdar* signifying cleanliness or freedom from disgusting matter. Some dictionaries suggest as a fundamental meaning the notion of cleanliness (e.g. Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ, *al-Kulliyyāt*, iii, 154) but the existence of the word in Syriac and Hebrew with a ritual meaning suggests that from its first usage in the Ḳurʾān it is a technical term (perhaps for the cleansing of menstrual blood flow; *LʿA*, iv, 505, s.v. *ṭ-h-r*, quoting Ibn ʿAbbās). The root may perhaps have to do with distinction, setting aside through cleansing (e.g. Ḳurʾān, III, 42).

Ṭahāra is the rubric under which ritual order and purity are discussed in manuals of *fiḳh*. The word itself seems to have two aspects: material and formal. The material one would encompass foods and other substances to be avoided or removed—e.g. pork, faeces, blood, carcasses—and the means of their removal—the number of washings, the characteristics of the water used in washing, and the like.

In general, substances connected with death, most—but not all—substances from within the body—blood, urine, semen, etc.—items associated with carrion or inedible animals—dogs, or pigs, for instances—must be avoided, and if they cannot be avoided, they must be removed in an appropriate manner [see NADJAS]. To reinstate *ṭahāra*, the test of whether something has been successfully removed is its imperceptibility in taste, smell or colour.

Formal aspects of *ṭahāra* concern the fitness of persons to carry out ritual practices and duties. Menstruation (*ḥayḍ*) and childbirth (*nifās*), sexual excitement and consummation, defecation and urination, and various sorts of loss of control—sleep while reclining, according to some, quarrelling, violent laughter, etc.—require appropriate ritual cleansings—ablution (*wuḍūʾ* [*q.v.*]) for "minor or transient events" (*ḥadath* [*q.v.*])—urination, defecation, breaking wind—the more total lustration (*ghusl* [*q.v.*]) for events that preclude one from religious community (*djanāba* [*q.v.*]), such as sexual activity or menstruation. Despite the claims of certain apologists, the issue here is not cleanliness in the hygienic sense but in the formal and ritual sense.

Madhhab differences are too various to be detailed here. In general, however, Imāmī and Zaydī purity rules are more rigorous and they are more likely to see the *nadjas* thing or *djunub* person as contiguously impure. The Shīʿīs likewise refuse to accept *kitābīs* as butchers and food providers.

Bibliography: C.H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 374-99; G.-H. Bousquet, *La pureté rituelle en Islam* (*Étude de fiqh et de sociologie religieuse*), in *RHR*, cxxxviii (1950), 53-71; M. Cook, *Early Islamic dietary law*, in *JSAI*, vii (1987), 217-77; Carol Delaney, *Mortal flow. Menstruation in Turkish village society*, in *Blood magic*, ed. T. Buckley and Alma Gottlieb, Berkeley 1988, 75-93; I.K.A. Howard, *Some aspects of the pagan Arab background to Islamic ritual*, in *Bull. British Assoc. Orientalists*, N.S. x (1978), 41-8; Julie Marcus, *Islam, women and pollution in Turkey*, in *Jnal. Anthropological Assoc. of Oxford*, xv/3 (1984), 204-18; E. Mittwoch, *Zur Enstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, in *APAW*, Berlin (1913); A.K. Reinhart, *Impurity no danger*, in *History of Religions*, xxx/1 (1990), 1-24 and sources cited there; R. Rubinacci, *La purità rituale secondo gli Ibaditi*, in *AIUON*, N.S. vi (1954-6), 1-41; A.J. Wensinck, *Der Herkunft der gesetzlichen Bestimmungen die Reinigung [istindjāʾ] oder [istiṭāba] betreffend*, in *Isl.*, i (1910), 101-2; idem, *Die Entstehung der muslimischen Reinheitsgezetzgebung*, in *Isl.*, v (1914), 62-80; Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Ayyūb b. Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī al-Kaffawī (d. 1094/1683), *al-Kulliyyāt, muʿdjam fī 'l-muṣṭalaḥāt wa 'l-furūḳ al-lughawiyya*, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, Damascus 1974; Ghazālī, *Marriage and sexuality in Islam: a translation of al-Ghazali's book on the etiquette of marriage from the Iḥyāʾ*, Salt Lake City 1984; idem, *The mysteries of purity*, Lahore 1966. See also the first section of any *fiḳh* book, e.g. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [Muḥammad] al-Djazīrī, *al-Fiḳh ʿalā 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Beirut n.d.; Muḥammad Djawār Maghniyya, *al-Fiḳh ʿalā 'l-madhāhib al-khamsa*. 2 vols. Beirut n.d.

(A.K. Reinhart)

TĀHART (or Tīhart, Tāhert) known as al-Ḥadītha (the New), as opposed to al-Ḳadīma (the Old), situated 9 km/5 miles to the north-east, becoming Tagdemt in Berber, the ancient Tingartia, a town of Algeria, founded by the Rustamids [*q.v.*]—according to a custom frequent in the mediaeval Muslim world—and capital of their kingdom. In Berber, Tāhart is said to signify "lioness" or "tambourine" (*daff*), taking the word in its first signification a reference to its location: a wooded plateau formerly inhabited by wild beasts which had, mysteriously, abandoned the place, a miracle borrowed from the foundation of Kairouan or Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*].

The beginnings of Tāhart were modest. The anecdote which tells of the founding Imām busily engaged in building his house with the aid of a slave, even if false—which is not necessarily the case—reveals the initial puritanism and principled egalitarianism of the Ibāḍīs [see IBĀḌIYYA]. In their choice of site, the Rustamids were guided by several considerations: the region was populated by tribes—Lamāya, Lawāta, Hawwāra, Maghīla, Zuwāgha, Maṭmāṭa and Miknāsa Zanāta—committed to Ibāḍism; the site benefited by the proximity of an existing ancient urban centre, with fortifications which often provided refuge during the disorders which affected New Tāhart; water was abundant there, channelled towards homes and orchards, and the soil fertile; finally, and perhaps

decisively, the land "belonged to the defenceless people (*li-ḳawm mustaḍʿafīn*) of the Marāsa" (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. A. Leuven and A. Ferré, Tunis 1992, ii, 736). Construction of the town was, however, a laborious business: everything built by the founders during the daytime was destroyed at night. A compromise was eventually found when the ancient proprietors, the Lamāya, were offered a share of the *kharādj*.

According to the anonymous author of the *K. al-Istibṣār* (ed. Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Alexandria 1958, 178) the town was initially a rectangle of approximately 1,100 m by 800 m, traversed from east to west by a long thoroughfare—*cardo maximus?*—and enclosed within a perimeter wall of stone, breached by four gates at the four cardinal points, creating a chequered layout irresistibly reminiscent of Roman urban planning, the "islands" (*insulae*) thus constituted being distributed according to ethnic groups. In fact, all the contemporary geographers stress the segregation of the population of Tāhart by tribal or regional origin.

The town, which was financially supported at the outset by the Ibāḍī community of Baṣra, grew very rapidly, to such an extent that within a short space of time it became literally unrecognisable. The Baṣran benefactors failed to recognise the place on their second visit and were obliged, allegedly, to return home with their donations intact. Tāhart soon became a powerful magnet for people and an important commercial centre. For the indigenous population, it played an important role in terms of sedentarisation, and its magnetic appeal extended as far as the Orient; so much so that it was dubbed "the ʿIrāḳ of the Maghrib" (al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. *ca.* 284/897), *Buldān*, tr. G. Wiet, *Les Pays*, Cairo 1937, 217).

Towards the end of the Rustamid dynasty, the town had completely changed its appearance, exchanging its initial puritanism and simplicity for hedonism and opulence. Although still dominant, Ibāḍism ceased to be the faith of the majority. The town became affluent and elegant: twelve *ḥammāms*, numerous *sūḳs*, parks and gardens, sumptuous residences etc. "Highways connected it to the Sūdān and to all the lands of East and West for the purposes of trade and the exchange of all kinds of commodities" (Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, *Akhbār al-aʾimma al-rustamiyyīn*, in *CT*, xci-xcii [1975], 325). The road from the Sūdān was the source of gold and of slaves, which accounts for the particular interest taken in it: the Imām Aflaḥ (208-58/824-72) had sent an ambassador to the king of Sūdān with lavish gifts (*ibid.*, 340). Jews, subsequently established in Kairouan, were actively engaged in commerce (S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, Berkeley, etc., i, 1967, iii, 1978; idem, *Letters of medieval Jewish traders*, Princeton 1974, index, s.v. Taherti). Wealthy merchants flaunted their riches ostentatiously and were accompanied in their travels by considerable entourages, composed principally of slaves. Predictably, cosmopolitanism and affluence encouraged moral laxity. "The town was corrupted (*fasadat*), as were its inhabitants", notes Ibn al-Ṣaghīr (*op. cit.*, 363), citing as evidence the consumption of intoxicating liquor (*al-muskir*), and pederasty (*ghilmān*). Abū Ḥātim (281-2/894-5) reacted vigorously, but not for long; it was in fact his rigorous moral stance which led to his deposition. As to whether he was equally intransigent during his second reign (286-94/897-907), the sources are eloquently silent. The end of the dynasty was approaching, and it was soon to be swept away by the Fāṭimid tide (296/909). The more fervent Ibāḍīs emigrated towards the south and established themselves in the oasis of Sadrāta [*q.v.*] some 8 km to the south-west of Wārdjilān [*q.v.*], currently Ouargla, and finally at Mzāb [*q.v.*], where their community still upholds the ancient traditions.

The prosperity of Tāhart was maintained for some time. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, writing at the time of the foundation of al-Mahdiyya (308/920), noted that Tāhart was "a large town, surrounded by an extensive fertile plain with abundant supplies of water", and that Ibāḍīs were still "the dominant force there" (Cairo 1961, 34). Ibn Ḥawḳal, who visited Sidjilmāsa in 340/951, also depicted it as a prosperous town deriving its wealth from agriculture, arboriculture, apiculture and stock-breeding (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, Beirut n.d., 84, 93). Al-Muḳaddasī noted that the "district (*kūra*) of Tāhart" comprised no less than thirty-three towns (*madīna*) including Oran. The town, we are told, "disappears amid gardens ... a great and very rich city ... of wondrous appearance ... It is reckoned superior to Damascus", and also to Cordova, although he does not personally share this opinion (*Description de l'Occident musulman* ... Arabic text and tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1959, 5, 7, 23). A century and a half later, al-Idrīsī says of the place: "the city of Tāhart was, in times past (*kānat fī-mā salafa min al-zamān*), composed of two large towns ..." (*Nuzhat al-mushtāk*, Naples-Rome 1972, as *Opus geographicum*, iii, 255-6). Al-ʿAbdarī, who crossed the whole width of the Maghrib on the Pilgrimage route, does not mention it in his *Riḥla* (ed. M. al-Fāsī, Rabat 1968). *Ca.* 1526, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyātī (i.e. Leo Africanus, d. after 1550) had only vague impressions of it. He could only have discovered ruins there, "those of the town founded by the Romans, according to some" he says. Furthermore, he does not refer to Tāhart, but to Tagdemt "which was a very civilised town", formerly ruled by the Idrīsids (*al-Adārisa, sic*). He adds that wars have taken their toll, "so much so that the visitor can see there only the remnants of the foundations, as I have myself observed" (*Waṣf Ifrīḳiya*, tr. Muḥammad Ḥādjdjī and Muḥammad al-Akhḍar, Beirut 1983, ii, 40-1). The mediocre vestiges revealed by excavations (G. Marçais and A. Dessus-Lamare, *Tihert-Tagdemt*, in *R. Afr.*, xc [1946], 24-54), which have not been pursued further, definitely do not reflect the state of the city at the height of its prosperity.

Tāhart suffered greatly as a result of the wars which raged throughout the central Maghrib following the accession of the Fāṭimids. The ability to move rapidly with tents and livestock was essential; nomadism became the sole means of survival. In 297/910, 312/924, 320/932, 358-60/968-71, the town was constantly subjected to successive assaults. In 360/971, in the process of avenging his father Zīrī, Būluggīn carried out a massacre there of the Zanāta, on whose bodies "the muezzins climbed to proclaim the call to prayer" (Idrīs, *Zīrīdes*, Paris 1962, i, 37). In Ramaḍān 362/June 973, he took Tāhart by storm. "He massacred the men, reduced women and children to slavery, pillaged and burned the city" (*ibid.*, i, 48). In 374/984 the Zīrid al-Manṣūr quelled a rebellion there "with slaughter and pillage" (*ibid.*, i, 79). In 390/998 the city was again the scene of carnage. From 408/1017 onwards it was part of the Ḥammādid kingdom. The *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] established his capital at Tagdemt (1835-43). It was there that in 1863, General La Moricière founded the modern Tihert, currently provincial capital of the *wilāya*, i.e. on the site of Roman Tingartia. The Tāhart of the Rustamids does not survive.

Bibliography: See IBĀḌIYYA and RUSTAMIDS. Supplementary references, besides works cited in the body of the text and the two afore-mentioned entries, include:

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2. Studies. Brahim Zerouki, *L'imamat de Tahart*, Paris 1987; F. Dachraoui, *Fatimides*, Tunis 1981, 134, 150-4, 206-8, 237-8; L. Golvin, *Le Maghrib central à l'époque des Zirides*, Paris 1957, index; J. Lethielleux, *Ouargla, cité saharienne, des origines au début du XXe siècle*, Paris 1983; Ch.A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine*, Paris 1964, index; A. Laroui, *L'histoire du Maghreb*, Paris 1970, index; M. Talbi, *Effondrement démographique au Maghreb du XIe au XVe siècle*, in *CT*, xcvii-xcviii (1977), 51-60. (MOHAMED TALBI)

AL-ṬAḤĀWĪ, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD b. Salāma b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Azdī al-Ḥadjrī Abū Djaʿfar, a Ḥanafī jurist (d. 321/933). He spent most of his life in Egypt, with only one brief trip to Syria. His fame depends on his writings which include works of *fiḳh*, works on technical legal and judicial matters, *ḥadīth* criticism, and a famous and enduring statement of the Muslim creed.

Life. Basic biographical details are provided in the Ḥanafī biographical tradition represented by Ibn Ḳutlūbughā, al-Ḳurashī and al-Laknawī. The last of these works incorporates most of the detail of the earlier ones, as well as extensive reference to the broader biographical tradition. Four different years of birth are given: 229/844, 230/845, 238/852 and 239/853. The last of these dates is given in a report attributed to al-Ṭaḥāwī himself, the genealogist al-Samʿānī prefers 229, and Ibn Khallikān prefers 238. His early training was with his maternal uncle al-Muzanī (Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā d. 264/878 [*q.v.*]), a pupil of al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*], but he subsequently transferred to the Ḥanafī *madhhab* and trained with Aḥmad b. Abī ʿImrān Mūsā b. ʿĪsā. He went to Syria in 268/882, where he worked for the *ḳāḍī* Abū Khāzim ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Djaʿfar (d. 292/905). He returned to Egypt after a brief stay and worked again with a *ḳāḍī*, namely Abū Bakra Bakkār b. Ḳutayba (d. 270/883 [*q.v.*]). He continued to advance his training in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, gradually acquiring prominence as an administrator in the judicial sphere and as a teacher. The lists of his pupils include a number of names, none of them very famous, but, perhaps significantly, including two or three figures identified as judges (*ḳāḍīs*) and one who was both a *ḳāḍī* and leader of the Ẓāhirīs in his time. He produced many books. The most important of these relate to three broad areas of study: 1. the propagation of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*; 2. a specialist interest in practical judicial activity; 3. *ḥadīth* criticism. He also produced his enduring statement of the Muslim creed, and a history, now lost (*al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, possibly a biographical work). Further details of his role in the administrative and judicial spheres of Egyptian society can be gleaned from scattered reports in al-Kindī's *Wulāt Miṣr*. Secular biographies show a number of characteristic expansions, al-Samʿānī focusing on genealogy, Ibn Khallikān on the narrative of the split between al-Ṭaḥāwī and al-Muzanī (most of it incorporated into al-Laknawī). Specialists in the science of *ḥadīth* tend to criticise him: Ibn ʿAsākir and Ibn al-Djawzī described him as deficient (*naḳaṣa*) (cit. in Ibn Ḳutlūbughā), and Ibn Taymiyya said that his knowledge of *isnāds* was not like that of specialists in the field (cit. in al-Laknawī, who comments that Ibn Taymiyya was exaggerating as usual). Most of the material of the biographical tradition is gathered into the modern biography by al-Kawtharī, *al-Ḥāwī fī sīrat al-imām Abī Djaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī*.

Works.

1. The *madhhab*. Al-Ṭaḥāwī's work on the propagation and continuation of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* is represented by his commentaries on al-Shaybānī's *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* and *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (both lost). Still extant are his *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiḳh* and his *Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahāʾ*. Both have been published. The *Mukhtaṣar* follows the usual pattern of such works and attracted a number of commentaries, notably those of al-Djaṣṣāṣ (Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī, d. 370/980 [*q.v.*]) and al-Sarakhsī (d. *ca.* 490/1097 [*q.v.*]). The *Ikhtilāf* has been preserved only partially, and possibly only in a redaction by al-Djaṣṣāṣ (see Sezgin; also Maʿṣūmī, in al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Maʿṣūmī).

2. Practical judicial works. Al-Ṭaḥāwī's most enduring contribution in this area is represented by his works on formularies, of which three are mentioned, *al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr*, *al-Shurūṭ al-awsaṭ* and *al-Shurūṭ al-ṣaghīr*. A number of treatises are mentioned in the biographical tradition on topics like *maḥāḍir*, *sidjillāt*, *waṣāyā* and *farāʾiḍ*, but these are in fact sections within the *shurūṭ* works. Much of the material from these works was incorporated into later works of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, notably the *Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī [*q.v.*] and the *Fatāwā ʿĀlamgīriyya*. The *K. al-Shurūṭ al-ṣaghīr* is preserved in full, the *K. al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr* only in part, the *Awsaṭ* not at all. Some fragments of the *K. al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr* were published by Joseph Schacht in the 1920s and a major section, the *Kitāb al-buyūʿ*, in 1972, by Jeanette A. Wakin in a work which incorporates a bibliography and introduction. The whole of the *Shurūṭ al-ṣaghīr* together with all extant fragments of the *Shurūṭ al-kabīr* were published in 1974 in ʿIrāḳ (ed. Rūḥī Ūzdjān), independently of the Western editions.

3. *Ḥadīth* criticism. Al-Ṭaḥāwī produced two important works in this area, one of which, the *Bayān mushkil al-ḥadīth* (or *Mushkil al-āthār*, or *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*) was influential and widely admired; the other, the *K. Maʿānī 'l-āthār*, also admired in the Ḥanafī tradition, was more problematic. The *Mushkil al-āthār* corresponds in aims and structure to the *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* of Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*], which was clearly an influence. It is a catalogue of problem cases arising out of apparent discord between two or more *ḥadīth* and/or between *ḥadīth* and the Ḳurʾān. It is not well-structured, but individual problems are dealt with by appeal to a variety of hermeneutical arguments, some of which are notably elegant or skilful. An abridged version was produced by Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Rushd (grandfather of the philosopher) called a *mukhtaṣar*, incorporating criticisms. This in turn was edited by Yūsuf b. Mūsā al-Ḥanafī (d. 803/1401) in his *al-Muʿtaṣar min al-Mukhtaṣar*. (The printed version of this work identifies the intermediate author as Abu 'l-Walīd Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bādjī, whose *nisba* is in fact mentioned in the author's introduction, but this is certainly an error.) The *Maʿānī 'l-āthār* is organised under the normal topics of a work of *fiḳh*. It presents Prophetic *ḥadīth* which are problematic in so far as they conflict with each other or with the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. Al-Ṭaḥāwī's commentary and analysis tend to offer arguments that promote harmony between *ḥadīth* and *madhhab*. It is this work that provoked the negative appreciation of al-Ṭaḥāwī amongst *ḥadīth* experts of a later date, though it also generated defensive commentaries within the Ḥanafī tradition, notably that of al-ʿAynī (Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī, d. 855/1451 [*q.v.*]). (*The Mushkil al-āthār* and the *Maʿānī 'l-āthār* are discussed in Calder, *Studies*, ch. 9.)

4. Creed. Al-Ṭaḥāwī's presentation of the Muslim

creed has always been and still is popular; and has generated important commentaries.

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2. Other sources and studies: Sezgin, i, 439-42; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 207; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 24, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, i, 61-2, tr. de Slane, i, 51-3; Ibn Ḳutlūbughā, *Tādj al-tarādjim*, no. 15; 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. Abi 'l-Wafā' Muḥammad al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍiyya*, Ḥaydarābād 1332, i, 102-5; Abu 'l-Ḥasanāt Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya*, Cairo 1324/1906, 31-4; Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, *al-Ḥāwī fī sīrat al-Imām Abī Dja'far al-Ṭaḥāwī*, Cairo 1368/1948; N. Calder, *Studies in early Muslim jurisprudence*, Oxford 1993 (chs. 9-10); F. Krenkow, in *EI*[1], s.v.

(N. CALDER)

ṬAḤḤĀN (A.), miller; owner and operator of mills to grind wheat, and other grains to produce flour.

There were no millers (*ṭaḥḥān*) and bread-makers or sellers (*khabbāz*) in the Islamic society of Medina during the era of the Prophet. Instead, every family used to buy grain, grind and make bread for daily meals (Kattānī, *Tarātīb*, ii, 108-9). Some wives of the Prophet used to grind grains in hand-mills. A favourite illustration of this practice was the example of the Prophet's daughter, Fāṭima, who used to grind grain for her own family.

In early Islam, some seasonal farm labourers of Baṣra were employed to grind grain, as did some slave-women of Indian origin. A popular anecdote from the Umayyad period, repeated by many Arab writers and historians, speaks of a Damascene miller who hung a bell (*djuldjul*) on the neck of a donkey working in the mill so that he could know from a distance whether the animal was at work or whether it had stopped and was resting.

During the 'Abbāsid period, there were a variety of mills; for these, see ṬĀḤŪN.

Some millers were wealthy. During the attack of the Zandj slaves on Baṣra in 257/871, a wealthy miller, al-'Abbās b. al-Faradj al-Riyāshī, was killed for his wealth. Millers' income depended on good or bad seasonal harvests, which also affected price of grains and flour. In Fāṭimid Egypt, when the price of flour rose high, the government imposed price control measures, including lashing grain-merchants and millers, to bring down the price.

A strong influence of Shī'ism was detected among some millers of Baghdād's Karkh district (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, x, 267). On the other hand, there were millers who were strongly Sunnī and who became well-known as reliable transmitters of traditions (*aḥādīth*). Many of them were known by their *laḳab* of al-Ṭaḥḥān, although it was not uncommon for some friends of millers to share the same surname, as was the case with Khālid al-Wāsiṭī al-Ṭaḥḥān.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1957, iii, 347; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, [2]Cairo n.d., ii, 149-50; Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*, Bulāḳ 1884, 52; Sarakhsī, *K. al-Mabsūṭ*, [2]Beirut n.d., xvi, 15-18; Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, ed. al-Ḥādjirī, Cairo 1958, 129; idem, *Rasā'il*, ed. A.S.M. Harūn, Cairo 1965, ii, 240-4; idem, *Bayān*, ed. Sandūbī, ii, 187-8; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 40, 190, x, 267; Abū Zakariyyā' al-Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, ed. 'Alī Ḥabība, Cairo 1967, 362; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, i, 91-2, xi, 90, 206, xii, 140, xiii, 301; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, Beirut 1961, iii, 344; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ed. 'Awwāma, Beirut 1976, viii, 214-17; Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, Beirut 1960, 202, 241, 260, 462, 477; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii, 270, viii, 15-16, xvi, 364; Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo 1952, ii, 53; Maḳrīzī, *Ighāthat al-umma bi-kashf al-ghumma*, Cairo 1940, 13; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān, Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ed. Reinaud, Paris 1840, 340-1; Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 181-2; R.B. Serjeant, *A Zaidi manual of Ḥisba*, in *RSO*, xxviii (1953), 14; A.H. al-Kattānī, *al-Tarātīb al-idāriyya*, Beirut n.d., ii, 108-9; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 287; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the 'Abbāsid caliphate*, 145; for mills and millers in Umayyad Spain, see S.M. Imamuddin, *The economic history of Muslim Spain* (711-1031), Dacca 1963, 181-6; M.A.J. Beg, *A contribution to the economic history of the caliphate: a study of the cost of living and the economic status of artisans in 'Abbāsid 'Iraq*, in *IQ*, xvi (1972), 153. See also the *Bibl.* to ṬĀḤŪN.

(M.A.J. BEG)

ṬĀHIR B. AḤMAD B. BĀBASHĀDH, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, al-Naḥwī al-Miṣrī, the most important Egyptian grammarian of his time, usually referred to as IBN BĀBASHĀDH, d. 469/1077. Of Daylamī origins, his father or grandfather set up in Cairo, where, after an interlude in 'Irāḳ trading in precious stones, Ibn Bābashādh found well-paid employment as a *kātib* in the *Dīwān al-inshā'*, as well as presiding over Ḳur'ān recitation at the mosque of 'Amr. He died in a fall from the minaret of this mosque, in which he had secluded himself for some time in a pious abandonment of his secular livelihood (he may have been a Ṣūfī as well as a Shī'ī: Haarmann, 167).

Only two of his works survive. Among those lost are a commentary on the *K. al-Uṣūl* of Ibn al-Sarrādj [*q.v.*] and a large treatise of some fifteen volumes known as *Ta'līḳ al-ghurfa*, after the room in the mosque where it was composed. It passed through the hands of several of his pupils and subsequently attracted the admiration of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*], but it proved impossible to edit after his death and has disappeared. An unpublished and highly regarded commentary on the *Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī [*q.v.*] survives in several copies, though the foreshadowed edition (Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 90) has not appeared.

His best known work is the *Muḳaddima*, on which he also wrote his own commentary. The *Muḳaddima* (see Haarmann, 166, 168, for editions) is conspicuous for its arbitrary and rigid arrangement of topics into four sections over ten chapters, in which the principle of classification is not so much the natural features of language as the urge for complete logical systematisation, probably to serve as a text book in the *madrasa* [*q.v.*]. It seems to have enjoyed considerable favour in the Yemen, being memorised by the Rasūlid ruler al-Mu'ayyad (Carter, 179). The arrangement also attracted imitators: we read of a certain al-Fā'ishī (d. 697/1296) that he composed a grammar "in the Bābashadhī style" (*ibid*).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I[2], 365, S I, 171, 529; Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 84, 89-90, 239; N. Moussa, *Les études grammaticales en Egypte des origines à la fin*

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ṬĀHIR B. AL-**ḤUSAYN** b. Muṣʿab b. Ruzayḳ, called Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn (? "the ambidextrous"), b. 159/776, d. 207/822, the founder of a short line of governors in Khurāsān during the high ʿAbbāsid period, the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*]. His forebears had the aristocratic Arabic *nisba* of "al-Khuzāʿī", but were almost certainly of eastern Persian *mawlā* stock, Muṣʿab having played a part in the ʿAbbāsid Revolution as secretary to the *dāʿī* Sulaymān b. Kathīr [*q.v.*]. He and his son al-Ḥusayn were rewarded with the governorship of Pūshang [see BŪSHANDJ], and Muṣʿab at least apparently governed Harāt also.

Ṭāhir likewise entered the ʿAbbāsids' service, and took part under Harthama b. Aʿyan in operations against the rebel in Transoxania Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] (194/810). In the civil warfare between the two sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn [*q.vv.*], Ṭāhir led an army of the latter's and defeated al-Amīn's general ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān at Hamadhān in 195/811, pressing on to Baghdād, where his soldiers killed the captive al-Amīn (198/813). He then became governor of the western provinces, with his base at Hārūn's old capital of al-Raḳḳa [*q.v.*] on the Euphrates, and also became *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* [see SHURṬA] in Baghdād, the basis of the extensive wealth and power which the Ṭāhirid family was to acquire in ʿIrāḳ. In 205/821 he became governor of Khurāsān and the East. Soon after his arrival there, he began omitting the caliph's name from the *khuṭba*, and certain coins minted by him in 206/821-2 omit al-Maʾmūn's name; both these actions were virtually declarations of independence from Baghdād, but at this point, in 207/822, Ṭāhir died at Marw. Because of this abrupt end, we do not know what Ṭāhir's motives were or how events might have turned out; but the ʿAbbāsids did not hesitate to appoint Ṭāhir's sons and later descendants to high office in Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ.

Ṭāhir is said to have been well educated in Arabic as well as his native Persian, and his epistle to his son ʿAbd Allāh on the latter's appointment to his own old office at al-Raḳḳa in 206/821-2 (text preserved in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and thence in al-Ṭabarī) became famed as a model of Arabic eloquence.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The standard Arabic chronicles, esp. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's *Kitāb Baghdād* and Ṭabarī; also Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 517-23, tr. de Slane, i, 649-55. For the famous epistle, see the Eng. trs. by F. Rosenthal in his tr. of Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ii, 139-56, and C.E. Bosworth, in *JNES*, xxix (1970), 25-41.

2. Studies. D. Sourdel, *Les circonstances de la mort de Ṭāhir I au Ḫurāsān en 207/822*, in *Arabica*, v (1958), 66-9; Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 91-5; Mongi Kaabi, *Les Ṭāhirides au Ḫurāsān et en Iraq*, Paris 1983, i, 69 ff. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬĀHIR B. **MUḤAMMAD** b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, AL-MUHANNAD AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, poet and letter-writer (one biographer mentions interesting ones, *rasāʾil ʿadjība*), born in Baghdād in Ramaḍān 315/November 927. In 340/951, in his mid-twenties, al-Muhannad left Baghdād for Cordova in search of fame and patronage, both of which he found as panegyrist and companion to the ʿĀmirid ruler al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]. His biographers are consequently Andalusian. The earliest notice occurs in Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]), *Taʾrīkh ʿUlamāʾ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Abyārī, Cairo-Beirut 1983, i, 361, in a section devoted to foreign scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) in Spain.

Ibn al-Faraḍī provides details such as al-Muhannad's full name, his date and place of birth, the date of his departure for Cordova, and the date of his death in his adoptive city in Muḥarram 390/December 999. However, he makes no mention of the assertion made by al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095 [*q.v.*]), *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis fī taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Abyārī, Cairo-Beirut n.d., i, 383, no. 516, that al-Muhannad was a descendant of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr [*q.v.*], "the author of *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* [sic]". Ibn al-Faraḍī either simply does not record the connection or is unaware of it, though he is otherwise very informed about al-Muhannad. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir and his *K. Baghdād* would no doubt have reached Ibn al-Faraḍī's attention, if through nothing else but the history of Cordova by al-Rāzī (d. 340/955 [*q.v.*]), said to be modelled on that work. The genealogy in Ibn al-Faraḍī does argue against descent but the fact that al-Ḥumaydī claims to have composed his work entirely from memory in Baghdād lends some credence to the assertion. Al-Ḥumaydī's contemporary, Ibn Ḥayyān al-Ḳurṭubī (388-469/987-1076 [*q.v.*]), records al-Muhannad in *al-Muḳtabis*, ed. al-Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1983, 31, 120, 156 ff., but, like Ibn al-Faraḍī, does not tie him to Ibn Abī Ṭāhir. The al-Ḥumaydī notice is quoted verbatim by the much later al-Ḍabbī (d. 599/1202-3 [*q.v.*]), *Bughyat al-multamis fī taʾrīkh ridjāl ahl al-Andalus*, Cairo 1968, 326, no. 859.

The biographers remark that reports (*akhbār*) are told about al-Muhannad's spiritual contemplations and how his espousal of the ways of the "heretic" mystic al-Ḥallādj led people to have a low opinion of him. As these stories are uncorroborated (*ḥukiyat ʿanhu*), al-Ḥumaydī adds that "God knows best!"

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 690. (SHAWKAT M. TOORAWA)

ṬĀHIR SAYF AL-**DĪN**, Abū Muḥammad, 51st *dāʿī al-muṭlaḳ*, or absolute *dāʿī* (addressed as *Bāwa Ṣāḥib* and *Sayyidnā*), vicegerent of the 21st Imām's (al-Ṭayyib) descendants, and leader of the small, predominantly Gudjarātī, Ismāʿīlī merchant community of Dāwūdī Bohorās [*q.v.*]. He was born in Bombay in 1304/1886, assumed headship of the *dawat* (= *daʿwa*) from ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Dīn in 1330/1912, and ruled till his death in Matheran in 1384/1965, when he was succeeded by his son, Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn (b. 1334/1915). He is buried in the "Rawḍat Ṭāhira" mausoleum built by his son, now a *ziyāra* site for Bohorās.

Though he is not a descendant, recent Bohorā literature identifies Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn's ancestors as "the Fāṭimī Imāms" and describes the Bohorās as "Fāṭimī". This re-establishment of links with the Fāṭimids was important to Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn and was underscored by his successful negotiation with the Egyptian government for stewardship of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh [*q.v.*] in Cairo. Indeed, his active cultivation of diplomatic contacts with heads of state brought to the office of *dāʿī* the bearing of a princeship it had not hitherto enjoyed.

Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn came under much criticism from Bohorā reformist elements about management of *dawat* funds, but Privy Council decisions guaranteed him the

right to manage "as sole trustee with wide discretionary powers". The reformers are right that the *dāʿī al-duʿāt* (chief *dāʿī*), his Fāṭimid analogue, did not have similar sweeping powers—but that was before the Occultation of the Imām. The *dāʿī*'s right to excommunicate, frequently and prominently exercised in India as elsewhere (e.g. in Tanzania), also provoked outcry and judicial intervention.

Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn was responsible for the expansion of the *al-Djāmiʿa al-Sayfiyya* in Sūrat [*q.v.*] into a large-scale Academy for the training of *ʿāmils* (the modern successors to the Fāṭimid regional *dāʿīs*) in Arabic and religious matters. It is said to be inspired by the Dār al-Ḥikma [*q.v.*] of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim and by al-Azhar [*q.v.*].

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(SHAWKAT M. TOORAWA)

ṬĀHIR WAḤĪD, MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD, Persian poet, court historian, epistle writer and state dignitary, born during the beginning of the 11th/17th century, and died most probably in 1110/1698-9.

He was born at Ḳazwīn into a family whose members had served in the state chancery. His father, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān, was a prominent citizen of Ḳazwīn. Ṭāhir Waḥīd learned the traditional subjects taught during his time, and acquired a good training in accountancy and secretarial work. He served as secretary to two successive prime ministers, Mīrzā Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad, called Iʿtimād al-Dawla, and Sayyid ʿAlī al-Dīn Khalīfa Sulṭān. Through the intervention of the latter he was appointed official chronicler in the administration of Shāh ʿAbbās II (r. 1052-77/1642-66), and in 1055/1645-6 he became the court historian of that ruler. In 1101/1689-90, after a temporary lay-off, he was recalled to fill the post of prime minister under Shāh Sulaymān I (r. 1077-1105/1666-96), and received the title of ʿImād al-Dawla. He held that position till the early years of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn's reign (1105-35/1694-1722), when he resigned because of old age or, according to some writers, as a result of official censure. He died soon afterwards at the advanced age of nearly one hundred years.

Ṭāhir Waḥīd's intellectual activity covered poetry, letter-writing and historiography. His verse production is estimated at some 50,000 couplets (see Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/2, Tehran 1372/1993-4, 1348). It includes, besides *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals* and *rubāʿīs*, a number of long and short *mathnawīs* such as *Khalwat-i rāz* "The secret solitude"; *Nāz u niyāz* "Pride and humility"; *Sāḳī-nāma* "Book of the cup-bearer"; *ʿĀshiḳ u maʿshūḳ* "Lover and beloved"; *Fatḥ-i Ḳandahār* "Conquest of Ḳandahār"; and *Gulzār-i ʿAbbāsī* "The garden of ʿAbbās". The poet has been judged favourably by most literary historians, with the significant exceptions of Riḍā-ḳulī Khān Hidāyat and Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, who expressed their disapproval in no uncertain terms.

Ṭāhir Waḥīd's prose output is represented by his collection of letters, written in the name of Shāh ʿAbbās II, and his history of the same ruler, published in 1329/1951, under the title *ʿAbbās-nāma*. The letters were collected by the author himself and have been published from Calcutta in 1243/1826 and again from Lakhnaw in 1260/1844. The historical work was composed in response to the command of Shāh ʿAbbās II, and the published version covers the first twenty-two years of the monarch's reign ending with the year 1073/1662-3.

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ṬĀHIRIDS, the name of three dynasties of mediaeval Islam.

1. A line of governors for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Khurāsān and the holders of high offices in ʿIrāḳ, who flourished in the 3rd/9th century (205-78/821-91).

The founder of the line was the Persian commander, of *mawlā* origin, Ṭāhir (I) b. al-Ḥusayn Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn [*q.v.*], who became governor of Khurāsān in 205/821 but who died almost immediately afterwards, after showing signs of asserting his independence of Baghdād. Nevertheless, the caliph—possibly being unable to find anyone else with the requisite prestige and military capability to govern these distant and potentially difficult regions—appointed first his son Ṭalḥa (207-13/822-8), who is a somewhat shadowy figure in the sources, and then another son ʿAbd Allāh, who left a strong imprint on the history and culture of his age and who was probably the greatest of the Ṭāhirids (213-30/828-45 [*q.v.*]). ʿAbd Allāh had achieved great military successes for the caliphate whilst governor of the western provinces, securing the surrender of the rebel in al-Djazīra Naṣr b. Shabath [*q.v.*] and suppressing a longstanding rebellion in Egypt. With his local capital at Nīshāpūr, ʿAbd Allāh managed to retain the caliphs' favour, although he prudently stayed in Khurāsān and never visited the caliphal courts in Baghdād and Sāmarrāʾ. His territories extended as far as Transoxania, where his deputy governors included members of the rising Sāmānid family [see SĀMĀNIDS]. For details of his governorship, see the article on him.

ʿAbd Allāh's son Ṭāhir (II) was eventually appointed governor after his father's death (230-48/845-59), and like his father, received glowing praises from the historians for his benevolent and just rule in Khurāsān, although they have little specific to say about the events of his time. But we know that it was during his governorship that direct Ṭāhirid control over Sīstān, hitherto an administrative dependency of Khurāsān, was lost to local *ʿayyār* leaders, paving the way for the ultimate triumph in 247/861 of Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth and the indigenous Ṣaffārid dynasty [*q.v.*] there.

Ṭāhir (II)'s successor at Nīshāpūr was his son Muḥammad [see MUḤAMMAD B. ṬĀHIR]. Perhaps because of his ultimate failure, the sources view him as weak and pleasure-loving, inferior to his predecessors. He was unfortunate in that Ṭāhirid rule in the East was challenged by the Zaydī Shīʿī rebellion in the Caspian provinces under al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, called *al-Dāʿī al-Kabīr*, an outbreak provoked by Ṭāhirid financial oppression in the region. The downfall of Ṭāhirid authority came, however, from the opposite quarter of Sīstān, where Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] speedily made himself strong enough to challenge the Ṭāhirids. In 259/873 he entered Nīshāpūr without a blow being struck, imprisoned Muḥammad and effectively ended Ṭāhirid authority in the East, although various local military adventurers in Khurāsān subsequently claimed to be acting in the name of Muḥammad (who, after escaping from Ṣaffārid captivity, was once more appointed governor of Khurāsān but who never dared to take up the office).

The fortunes of the Ṭāhirids in ʿIrāḳ were more enduring, based as they were on the immense property and wealth built up by them in Baghdād, epitomised in the *Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhir* in Baghdād, where the Ṭāhirid commanders of the police guard (*shurṭa* [*q.v.*]) and governors of ʿIrāḳ resided, and which enjoyed quasi-regal administrative and legal status (whence *Ḥarīm* = "Sanctuary"). The offices in ʿIrāḳ were held by members of both the line of Ṭāhir (I) and of his cousin Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab. Such governors as Isḥāḳ (207-35/822-49) and then the sons of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (I), Muḥammad, Sulaymān and ʿUbayd Allāh, gained great reputations not only as effective military commanders at a time when there was intense civic and ethnic violence enveloping the caliphate but also as patrons of literature and such arts as music, and as creative artists themselves; ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] was himself the author of a work on music and singing. Some Ṭāhirids held intermittent power in ʿIrāḳ at the end of the 3rd/opening of the 10th century, but the family then lapsed into obscurity; only al-Thaʿālibī mentions a scion of Ṭāhir II who resided at the Sāmānid court in Bukhārā on estates granted to him by the Amīrs and who was a littérateur.

Earlier orientalists often regarded the Ṭāhirids of Khurāsān as the first provincial dynasty to arise out of the enfeebled condition of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the mid-3rd/9th century, but it is doubtful whether we should think of them thus. With the single exception, an apparent aberration, of Ṭāhir (I)'s action at the end of his life, the Ṭāhirid governors faithfully acknowledged and fulfilled the constitutional rights of their overlords the caliphs. Their coins were little different from those of other provincial governors, and some coins were minted in places definitely under Ṭāhirid control without mentioning them at all. The Ṭāhirids seem to have been retained in Khurāsān by the ʿAbbāsids because they were able to provide firm government for an important sector of the empire at a time when the caliphs themselves were increasingly constricted in their own power.

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2. Studies. Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 207-18; G. Rothstein, *Zu aš-Šābuštī's Bericht über die Ṭāhiriden*, in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 155-70; Spuler, *Iran*, 59 ff.; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 90-106; Mongi Kaabi, *Les origines ṭāhirides dans la* daʿwa *ʿabbāside*, in Arabica, xix (1972), 145-64; idem, *Les Ṭāhirides au Ḫurāsān et en Iraq*, 2 vols., Paris 1983 (i = historical study, ii = texts). On literary and cultural aspects, see Bosworth, *The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture*, in *JSS*, xiv (1969), 45-79; idem, *The Ṭāhirids and Persian literature*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, vii (1969), 103-6. For a list of the governors, see idem, *The New Islamic dynasties, a chronological and genealogical manual*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 82. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. A minor dynasty of Al-Andalus.

The Banū Ṭāhir belonged to one of the most influential families of Mursiya (currently Murcia), in the *Shark al-Andalus*, of Arab origin (Ḳays ʿAylān) and celebrated by Arab authors for its wealth and social status. They were major landowners; the name of the *ḳaryat Banī Ṭāhir*, near Murcia, is attested in the second half of the 4th/10th century, and they added to their possessions in the course of the following century. Some of the Banū Ṭāhir distinguished themselves in literature and the sciences, while simultaneously playing a major role in the administration of the city. Also, during the periods of disintegration of the central power (first and second *ṭāʾifas*), members of this family were the heads of regional government.

The first of the Banū Ṭāhir to take power was Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ b. Zayd b. Ṭāhir al-Ḳaysī (d. 455/1063), chosen by the ruler of Almeria, the slave Zuhayr, who wanted to rid himself of the representative of another eminent family, the Banū Khaṭṭāb. After the death of Zuhayr, Ibn Ṭāhir recognised the nominal authority of the prince of Valencia, the ʿĀmirid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, grandson of al-Manṣūr. Until his death, which occurred at a very advanced age, Ibn Ṭāhir proved capable of maintaining peace in his domains, taking responsibility for payment of the *djund* applied to the region and keeping fiscal control of the territory. His son Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad, who had held the post of *ṣāḥib al-maẓālim*, continued the policies of Abū Bakr, and his reign is unanimously commended by Arab historians. However, he was unable to resist attacks on the part of the *wazīr* of Seville Ibn ʿAmmār, who succeeded in making alliances among the nobility of Murcia and ultimately conquered the city. Imprisoned in the castle of Monteagudo, near Murcia, Muḥammad subsequently managed to make his way to Valencia, where he participated in the events which led to the conquest of the city by the Cid. Imprisoned again in 488/1095, he died in Valencia in 507/1113-14 and was buried in Murcia. In addition to his political activities, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad was a respected man of letters. He was the author of numerous *rasāʾil* collected by Ibn Bassām in a book entitled *Silk al-djawāhir min tarsīl Ibn Ṭāhir*, and reproduced partially in his *Dhakhīra*. Arabic sources liken the literary output of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad to that of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād and convey anecdotes illustrating his wit and his encyclopedic knowledge.

In Rabīʿ I 540/September 1145, during the period of the second *ṭāʾifas* which followed the Almoravid collapse, the people of Murcia united in offering power to Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭāhir. Once installed in the *ḳaṣr*, this Ibn Ṭāhir at first accepted the sovereignty of Ibn Hūd [see HŪDIDS], but he was soon to declare himself independent ruler of Murcia, entrusting command of the cavalry to his brother Abū Bakr. However, a *coup* mounted by the *ḳāʾid* Ibn ʿIyāḍ put an end to the reign of Ibn Ṭāhir fifty days after his seizure of power. Subsequently, he became increasingly estranged from the new master of the *Sharḳ*, Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*], who was presenting active resistance to the Almohads. In fact, Ibn Ṭāhir became an ardent supporter of the Almohad doctrine, and died in Marrākush in 574/1178-9, having travelled to the Moroccan capital to present to the caliph his *risāla* entitled *Al-Kāfiya fī barāhīn al-imām al-Mahdī raḍiya Allāhu taʿālā ʿanhu ʿaḳl*[an] *wa-naḳl*[an] (reproduced by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, *Naẓm*, 101-22). Ibn Ṭāhir's personal interests were far removed from the political activity in which he was a reluctant participant. After studying *fiḳh* in Murcia and in Cordova, he devoted himself to the "sciences of the ancients" (*ʿulūm al-awāʾil*), in which he became an authority acknowledged by the specialists in these branches of knowledge; he also lectured in philosophy. Married to Amat al-Raḥmān, daughter of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Ghālib b. ʿAṭiyya (himself a member of an important Granadan family), he had a son (d. 598/1201) who took the name and *kunya* of his maternal grandfather and was a poet and an expert in the judicial sciences.

As for those members of the Banū Ṭāhir who had no involvement in public affairs, the biographical dictionaries cite several names, among which the most important is undoubtedly that of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir Abi 'l-Ḥusām b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḳaysī al-Shahīd (d. 378/988-9), a scholar of ascetic inclination who spent eight years in Mecca perfecting his spiritual development. After his return to al-Andalus in 366 or 367/976-8, he led a life dedicated to piety and to the practice of residence in a *ribāṭ*, initially in the vicinity of Murcia and then in the frontier zone. He also involved himself actively in the practice of *djihād* and participated in al-Manṣūr's expeditions against Zamora and Coimbra; he was only 42 years old when he died in the course of the Astorga campaign (377/988). Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir is described by the sources as a Ṣūfī, and as a performer of miracles during the time of his residence in the Mashriḳ; a book entitled *K. al-Idjābāt wa 'l-karāmāt* is attributed to him.

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2. Studies. ʿI. Dandash, *al-Andalus fī nihāyat al-Murābiṭīn wa-mustahall al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, Beirut 1988; M. Fierro, *The Qāḍī as ruler*, in *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam*, Madrid 1994, 71-116; M. Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de la Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905, repr. Murcia 1980; P. Guichard, *Murcia musulmana (siglos IX al XIII)*, in *Historia de la región murciana*, iii, Murcia 1980, 132-85; M.J. Viguera, *Los reinos de taifas y las invasiones magrebíes*, Madrid 1992; eadem, *Historia política*, in *Los reinos de Taifas: al-Andalus en el siglo XI*, Madrid 1994, 31-129.

(MANUELA MARÍN)

3. A Sunnī dynasty of South Arabia.

They ruled, as direct successors of the Rasūlids [*q.v.*], over the southern highlands of the Yemen and Tihāma [*q.v.*] between the years 858-923/1454-1517. They take their name from one Ṭāhir b. Maʿūḍa, the father of the first Ṭāhirid ruler, who found favour with the Rasūlids in the early 9th/15th century (see Schuman, pull-out family tree after p. 142). They were *mashāyikh*, originating from the area of Djuban and al-Miḳrāna, some 80 km/50 miles south of Radāʿ.

1. *History*. The Ṭāhirids had taken Laḥdj, just north of Aden, in 847/1443, as the Rasūlids declined in the midst of internecine squabbles. Their capture of the chief port in 858/1454 marks the beginning of their period of rule. There were four sultans: al-Ẓāfir ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] and al-Mudjāhid ʿAlī, a dual sovereignty until 864/1460, when the former relinquished his power; al-Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, 883-94/1478-89 and finally al-Ẓāfir ʿĀmir II, 894-923/1517.

The Ṭāhirids were certainly less interested in expanding their territory in Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] and into the north of the Yemen than their predecessors had been (see Smith, *Some observations, passim*). After initial consolidation of territory in the southern highlands and Tihāma, the Ṭāhirids settled down to a regular pattern of government: their summers were spent in Djuban and al-Miḳrāna, with their easy access to the southern highlands, and their winters in Zabīd [*q.v.*] in Tihāma. The latter in part returned to its previous role as intellectual and educational capital of the Yemen and a major seat of learning in the Islamic world. The primary sources indicate much more political and military activity in Tihāma than in the southern highlands. The history of the period, in fact, is largely taken up with Ṭāhirid efforts to quell the uprising of recalcitrant Tihāma tribes and the punishment often dealt out to them.

The destruction of the Ṭāhirids was due indirectly to the activities of the Mamlūks of Egypt, whose fleet in 921/1515 arrived off Kamarān, an island in the Red Sea off the Yemeni coast. The despatch of the fleet into the Red Sea was part of the Mamlūk strategy to combat the increasing Portuguese threat to the eastern trade route. The Ṭāhirid sultan, al-Ẓāfir ʿĀmir, refused to provision the ships, but was defeated in battle near Zabīd by a combined force of Mamlūks and Zaydīs from the north. The Mamlūks were able to capture the Ṭāhirid treasure house at al-Miḳrāna and killed al-Ẓāfir ʿĀmir near Ṣanʿāʾ in 923/1517, thus in effect putting an end to Ṭāhirid rule.

2. *Monuments*. Although their architectural legacy is undoubtedly less imposing than the Rasūlids', Ṭāhirid monuments are impressive, and some of them can still be seen and appreciated to this day. Perhaps the most famous is the ʿĀmiriyya *madrasa* in Radāʿ built in 910/1504. Other outstanding architectural examples can be found in both Djuban and al-Miḳrāna, in Zabīd and elsewhere.

Bibliography: 1. History. The history of the Ṭāhirids can be approached in the primary sources from three sides: (1) the pro-Ṭāhirid Sunnī sources,

mainly those of their historian, Ibn al-Dayba'; (2) the Zaydī ones; and (3) at least one Ismā'īlī source. Most are listed and discussed in G. Rex Smith, *The Ṭāhirid sultans of the Yemen (858-923/1454-1517) and their historian Ibn al-Dayba'*, in *JSS*, xxix/1 (1984), 141-54, but add Ibn al-Dayba', *Bughyat al-mustafīd fī tārīkh madīnat Zabīd*, and idem, *al-Faḍl al-mazīd 'alā Bughyat al-mustafīd*, both ed. J. Chelhod, Ṣan'ā' 1983. See also L.O. Schuman, *Political history of the Yemen at the beginning of the 16th century*, Groningen 1960; G.R. Smith, *Some observations on the Ṭāhirids and their activities in and around Ṣan'ā' (858-923/1454-1517)*, in Ihsan Abbas *et alii* (eds.), *Studies in history and literature in honour of Nicola Ziadeh*..., London 1992, 29-37; Venetia Porter, *The history and monuments of the Ṭāhirid dynasty of the Yemen—858-923/1454-1517*, unpublished Ph.D. diss. University of Durham 1992, 2 vols. (an excellent work); C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 50.

2. Monuments. See Porter, *History and monuments*, in particular chs. 7 and 8 of i, and ii, *passim*.

(G.R. SMITH)

TAḤKĪM (A.), arbitration (the *maṣdar* of the form II verb *ḥakkama*. It denotes the action of making an appeal to arbitration by someone involved with another in a conflict or in some affair of a conflicting nature by mutual agreement. It also designates someone fulfilling the role of an agent with the power of attorney, or an authorised agent (with full powers to act) in a different or clear matter. This person should be qualified as a *muḥakkam*, a person who is solicited for arbitration. The ancient Arabs preferred to use the word *ḥakam*, arbitrator, from the verb *ḥakama*, to judge (form I), from which the noun of action is *ḥukm* or *ḥukūma*, a decision, verdict or judgement, and in modern Arabic is also used to mean power, government (cf. Ḳur'ān, IV, 35; *LA*, xii, 142, s.v. *ḥakama*; *TA*, Cairo 1888, viii, 252 ff.; Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris 1960, i, 470; 'A. Hārūn *et alii*, *al-Mu'djam al-wasīṭ*, Cairo 1960, i, 189).

Historically, the term *taḥkīm* designated the arbitration which took place between the fourth caliph 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the Umayyad Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.vv.*] with the intention of effecting a solution to the grave conflict which had broken out between the two men.

The advent of 'Alī in the year 35/656, following the assassination of 'Uthmān, certainly took place under conditions which were, to say the very least, difficult and complex. The new caliph had immediately to confront two opposition movements, contesting his legitimacy and accusing him of being involved, directly or indirectly, in the murder of the deceased caliph, and also of protecting the assassins. The first group was led by 'Ā'isha, widow of the Prophet, who nevertheless had been an adversary of 'Uthmān during his lifetime, with the support of Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh, two illustrious companions of the Prophet. The second group was led by the redoubtable Mu'āwiya, with the support of his ally 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, who was rightly and suitably nicknamed *Dāhiyat al-'Arab*, "the supremely shrewd one of the Arabs", by reason of his intelligence and skill in political matters.

For the events which followed, involving the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Ṣiffīn, see 'ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; AL-DJAMAL; ṢIFFĪN. This last series of skirmishes on the banks of the Euphrates in what is now north-eastern Syria in 36-7/656-7 ended with a final and most bloody confrontation on the *laylat al-harīr* "night of clamour", Thursday-Friday Ṣafar 37/27-8 July 658. After many exchanges of emissaries and mediators, the two opponents came to an agreement to cease fighting and designated an arbitrator in each camp, hoping thus to bring the conflict to a reasonable solution, following the principles of the Ḳur'ān. 'Alī in no way wanted this agreement. He wished to continue in combat and to defeat once and for all the forces of his adversary. However, the *ḳurrā'* [*q.v.*], the readers of the Ḳur'ān, who allegedly numbered some 20,000 men of his army although the number sounds vastly inflated, made him accept the cease-fire.

The Syrians easily made their choice; they designated 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. Then 'Alī, once more under pressure from the *ḳurrā'*, was constrained to accept as his representative Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, whom the Arab authors all depict as an honest though naïve man. It seems 'Alī would have preferred his cousin 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās or failing that, al-Ashtar.

Other voices were again raised in protest among the supporters of 'Alī, chanting the famous formula *lā ḥakama illā llāh, wa-lā ḥukma illā li-llāh*, meaning literally "there is no judge but God and there is no acceptable judgement but His". They assembled around 'Abd Allāh al-Rāsibī and were designated as the *muḥakkima al-ūlā*, the first group to have proclaimed the spoken formula *lā ḥukma illā li-llāh*. It was they who initiated one of the first schismatic movements in Islam, known a little later by the name of *Khawāridj* [see KHĀRIDJITES], the dissidents, or those coming from the ranks of the camp of 'Alī. While awaiting arbitration, the antagonists left Ṣiffīn and returned to their bases, the Umayyads to Damascus and the followers of 'Alī to Kūfa.

The Arbitration (*al-taḥkīm*). There is near total confusion surrounding the role of the two arbitrators (*ḥakam*), as well as the location for the arbitration. Concerning the place, Arab authors sometimes cite Dūmat al-Djandal (present-day al-Djawf), an intermediate town between Syria and 'Irāḳ, and sometimes Adhruḥ, situated between Ma'ān and Petra. H. Lammens, referring to a poem by al-Akhṭal (*Dīwān*, Beirut 1309/1891, i, 79) maintained that the meeting took place in the latter town (*EI*[1], vol. I, 135-6, art. ADHROḤ). But many other poets mention Dūmat al-Djandal on different occasions as the place of arbitration (see below). L. Veccia Vaglieri thought that the arbitrators held two meetings, one at Dūmat al-Djandal and the other at Adhruḥ (*EI*[2] vol. I, 384, art. 'ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB). In all probability there were indeed two meetings for arbitration, but one would have taken place at the end of the combat, on the spot, at Ṣiffīn; the other would have been held during the following year in a place half-way between Syria and 'Irāḳ. Finally, the choice was fixed on Dūmat al-Djandal.

Ibn Muzāḥim al-Minḳarī (d. 212/827), a specialist in 'Alid affairs and one of the oldest to have devoted a work to the battle of Ṣiffīn (*Waḳ'at Ṣiffīn*), asserted authoritatively that several poems support this. For him the place in question was well and truly Dūmat al-Djandal (see *Waḳ'at Ṣiffīn*, esp. 616-17 and *passim*; cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, iv, 248-9, 253, 256 and *passim*; see also al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, Beirut 1379/1960 ii, 190; al-Ṭabarī, Cairo 1384/1964, iv, 56-8, 66-7; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, iii, 145; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 282, etc.).

Accompanied by eminent men from each camp, the two arbitrators held their first talks. This was a sort of preliminary meeting which led, after numerous attempts, to a treaty drawn up and signed, very

probably on Wednesday, 13 Ṣafar 37 in the same year/31 July 657 (cf. al-Ṭabarī iv, 57; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, iii, 321. While guaranteeing the safety of the arbitrators, the text invited the belligerents to observe a truce for one year to comply with the verdict of the arbitration which was based strictly on Ḳur'ānic precepts.

In Ramaḍān 38/February 658, the two arbitrators met again, each escorted by 400 cavalrymen from their camp. The two adversaries had to be present. But only Mu'āwiya responded to the appeal. 'Alī had his cousin 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās represent him. It was 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ who according to the accepted version of pro-'Abbāsid and pro-Shī'ī historians, manipulated the negotiations. He began by rejecting all the propositions of the other speaker. Then methodically and with great skill, he managed to draw him into undermining the caliph and accepting the removal from power of both adversaries, 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, in order to give a free hand to the Muslim community to designate the leader of their choice.

At the end of their work, both arbitrators had each in turn to appear in public and announce their decision, agreed by common assent. 'Amr feigned a great respect for Abū Mūsā on the pretext that he had been a Companion of the Prophet and was the older man, and he let him speak first. He hastened to pronounce the verdict. 'Amr followed him to the rostrum, and to the great surprise of all, declared: "As far as I am concerned, I confirm the decision of Abū Mūsā about the demotion of his friend ['Alī] but I am supporting mine [Mu'āwiya]". Thus silenced, al-Ash'arī set off for Mecca and remained there for the rest of his days. When this news was announced at Kūfa, 'Alī contested the outcome of the arbitration, considering it contrary to the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*. He took the decision to fight Mu'āwiya again, mobilised his forces and left immediately to conquer Syria.

The ensuing events, the secession of the Khāridjites and 'Alī's crushing of the dissidents on the banks of the Nahr al-Nahrawān on 9 Safar 38/17 July 658, the continued intransigence of the schismatics and the final assassination of 'Alī by the Khāridjite 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muldjam in the great mosque at Kūfa on 17 Ramaḍān 40/24 January 661, may be followed in the articles 'ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; IBN MULDJAM; KHĀRIDJITES.

Bibliography: See the extensive bibls. in the articles named above and in ṢIFFĪN, to which should be added G.R. Hawting, *The significance of the slogan* lā ḥukma illā li'llāh *and the references to the* ḥudūd *in the traditions about the Fitna and the murder of 'Uthmān*, in *BSOAS*, xli (1978), 453-63; idem, *The first dynasty of Islam. The Umayyad caliphate A.D. 661-750*, London and Sydney 1986, 24-33; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates*, London and New York 1986. (MOKTAR DJEBLI)

TAHLĪL (A.), the verbal noun from *hallala*, form II verb, with two differing etymologies and meanings.

(1) From *hilāl*, the new moon, meaning "jubilation or excitement at seeing the new moon" [see HILĀL. i; TALBIYA].

(2) From the formula *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, the first and main element of the Islamic profession of faith or *shahāda* [*q.v.*]. The verbal form is here obtained by the so-called procedure of *naḥt* "cutting out, carving out". The *tahlīl* then denotes the pronouncing, in a high and intelligible voice, of the formula in question, which implies formal and basic recognition of the divine unity.

Bibliography: See *LʿA*, ed. Beirut 1375/1956, 705; also the *Bibls.* to ALLĀH; HILĀL; TAWḤĪD. (ED.)

ṬAHMĀN B. 'AMR AL-KILĀBĪ, minor Arab poet of the middle Umayyad period, whose exact dates are unknown. As the *akhbār* on Ṭahmān's biography in his *dīwān* (ed. al-Mu'aybid, 39, 42, 50, 52-5, related at length in *EI*[1], IV, 665-6) cannot be corroborated from his poems, but on the contrary are possibly read into them, his poetry remains the only reliable source for his life. A laudatory poem on the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd (no. 5) probably refers to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (cf. no. 8, l. 7); hence Ṭahmān was alive at some time between the years 86 and 96/705 and 715. Other lines are indicative of difficult living conditions: in no. 1, ll. 15 and 19, prison and shackles are mentioned (cf. no. 15, l. 4, only in ed. al-Mu'aybid), in no. 14 he complains of an enforced stay in the deserted al-Yamāma, in no. 15, l. 10, only in ed. al-Mu'aybid, he calls himself a stranger in the lands of the Southern Arabian tribe of Madhḥidj. Comparatively well known is poem no. 8, addressed to an Umayyad caliph from the Marwānid line and containing a complaint about an amputated right hand; on details such as the identity of the addressee, the reason for the punishment and the question as to whether he was punished at all, the *akhbār* contradict each other. His *dīwān*, preserved only in a Leiden manuscript and containing 14 poems, seems to be a fragment of al-Sukkarī's (d. 275/888 [*q.v.*]) otherwise lost *Ash'ār* (or *Akhbār*) *al-luṣūṣ* (Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 63). Besides the poems nos. 5 and 8 (see above), three *ḳaṣīdas* (nos. 1, 3 and 12), an elegy on a deceased comrade (no. 7), a poem about the killing of an enemy (no. 13) and two *hidjā'* pieces (nos. 9 and 10) are worth mentioning.

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, ed. W. Wright, *Opuscula arabica*, Leiden 1859, 76-95; ed. M. Dj. al-Mu'aybid, Baghdād 1968 (same sequence of poems, with an additional poem from other sources); for four additional lines, cf. *RIMA* (Kuwayt), xxxi/2 (1987), 445; German tr. of Wright's edn. by O. Rescher, in *Orientalistische Miszellen*, Istanbul 1925, 180-93. (T. SEIDENSTICKER)

ṬAHMĀSP (Ṭahmāsb), the name of two Shāhs of the Ṣafawid dynasty [*q.v.*] in Persia.

1. ṬAHMĀSP I, Abu 'l-Fatḥ, eldest son of Shāh Ismā'īl [see ISMĀ'ĪL I], born at Shāhābād in the district of Iṣfahān on Wednesday, 26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 919/22 February 1514 (Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* (ed. C.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, 142), died Monday, 15 Ṣafar 984/14 May 1576 (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 464), second ruler of the Ṣafawid dynasty [see ṢAFAWIDS. I].

Following the early Ṣafawid practice of appointing princes of the blood royal to be nominal governors of provinces, in the care of a *Ḳizilbāsh* [*q.v.*] *amīr* who was their *atabeg/lala* (tutor/guardian), in 921/1515 the infant Ṭahmāsp was appointed governor of Khurāsān in the care of Amīr Khān Turkmān (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 154).

1. *The Ḳizilbāsh interregnum (930-40/1524-33).*

On the death of Shāh Ismā'īl I, Ṭahmāsp acceded to the throne on Monday, 19 Radjab 930/23 May 1524 at the age of ten. His extreme youth enabled the *Ḳizilbāsh amīrs*, led by Dīw Sulṭān Rūmlū who, by virtue of the testamentary disposition of the late shāh had become the *atabeg* of Ṭahmāsp and *amīr al-umarā'* [see *EIr*, art., *Amīr al-Omarā'*. ii. Ṣafavid usage], to seize power and make themselves *de facto* rulers of the state. Civil war ensued as rival *Ḳizilbāsh* tribes fought for power, and Ṭahmāsp did not succeed in

asserting his authority over the rebellious *amīrs* until 940/1533 (for details, see R.M. Savory, *Studies on the history of Ṣafawid Iran*, Variorum Reprints, London 1987, no. V, 65-71).

The Özbegs, led by the powerful chief ʿUbayd (Allāh) K͟hān [*q.v.*], took advantage of this Ṣafawid military weakness to lay siege to Harāt (three times) and to capture it (twice) between 931/1524 and 940/1533. The signal victory won by Ṭahmāsp over the Özbegs at the battle of D̲j̲ām on 11 Muḥarram 935/25 September 1528 gave the Ṣafawids a brief respite, but did not remove the Özbeg threat to the north-east frontier of the Ṣafawid state (for full details, see M.B. Dickson, *S̲h̲ah Ṭahmāsp and the Uzbegs: the duel for K̲h̲urāsān with ʿUbayd K̲h̲ān*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan 1958).

2. *S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp in command (940-982/1533-1574).*

For over forty years, Ṭahmāsp reigned without further challenge to his authority from the *Ḳizilbās̲h̲ amīrs*. External forces, however, continued to threaten the very existence of the Ṣafawid state. The death of ʿUbayd K̲h̲ān in 946/1539 for a while reduced the threat in the north-east, but the threat from the Ottomans in the west and north-west increased after the accession of Sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnī [*q.v.*], who launched four full-scale invasions of Persia between 940/1533 and 961/1553-4. In these campaigns, the Ottomans were aided by *Ḳizilbās̲h̲* renegades [see TAKKALŪS] and also by the S̲h̲āh's perfidious brother Alḳāṣ [see ALḲĀṢ MĪRZĀ].

As a military commander, Ṭahmāsp was at a constant disadvantage, in that the armies at his disposal were numerically inferior to those of his principal enemies, the Ottomans and the Özbegs. He was therefore rarely able to take the offensive or risk a pitched battle, but was forced to adopt scorched-earth tactics to blunt the impact of the Ottoman invasions. For example, on the occasion of Süleymān's third invasion in 955/1548, and again in 960/1553, Ṭahmāsp laid waste the entire region between Tabrīz and the Ottoman frontier, and the inhabitants of Tabrīz blocked the underground irrigation channels [see ḲANĀT]. As a result, the Ottoman armies, denied supplies of food and water, were unable to effect a permanent occupation of the area, and Ṣafawid forces moved back into it when the Ottomans withdrew to winter quarters in Anatolia. However, in recognition of the vulnerability of Tabrīz to Ottoman attack, in 955/1548 Ṭahmāsp transferred the capital to Ḳazwīn [*q.v.*].

The Treaty of Amasya (962/1555) gave Persia a twenty-year respite from the hostilities with the Ottomans which had gone on intermittently for forty years. Under the terms of the Treaty, Georgia was divided into "spheres of influence" between the two parties, and the Ottoman-Ṣafawid frontier in the north-west was demarcated without the cession by the Ṣafawids of large areas of territory. These terms, in the circumstances favourable to the Ṣafawids, are clear evidence of the frustration felt by the Ottoman sultan at his inability to inflict a decisive defeat on the Ṣafawids. The success of Ṭahmāsp in preserving the Ṣafawid state, beset as he was by powerful enemies on two fronts and plagued by treachery both among the *Ḳizilbās̲h̲ amīrs* and in his own family, must be seen as a remarkable achievement. D'Alessandri's accusation that Ṭahmāsp "never had inclination for war" and was "a man of very little courage" (*Narrative of the Most Noble Vincentio d'Alessandri, ambassador to the King of Persia for the Most Illustrious Republic of Venice*, in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Hakluyt Society, London 1873, 216) should be disregarded. When only fourteen years of age, Ṭahmāsp commanded the Ṣafawid centre at the battle of D̲j̲ām, and it was his heroism that turned defeat into victory after most of his men had fled the field (Dickson, *op. cit.*, 134 ff.).

The reassertion of royal authority in 940/1533 had its effect on the principal offices of state. The office of *amīr al-umarā'*, denoting the commander-in-chief of the *Ḳizilbās̲h̲* troops, virtually disappeared from the scene, and the office is not recorded in the list of appointments made by ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*; see also *EIr*, art. *ʿAbbās I*] on his accession (Iskandar Beg Muns̲h̲ī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. Irad̲j̲ Afs̲h̲ār, 2 vols., Iṣfahān 1334-5 A.H.S/1955-6, text i, 384, tr. Savory, ii, 554). Instead, the title *ḳūrčībās̲h̲ī* [see ḲŪRČĪ] was increasingly used. The title *wakīl*, in the sense of the *alter ego* of the S̲h̲āh with both temporal and spiritual authority, also fell into disuse. As a direct result of the lessening of *Ḳizilbās̲h̲* influence in government, the head of the bureaucracy, the *wazīr*, gained greatly in power, as is demonstrated by the career of Ḳāḍī D̲j̲ahān Ḳazwīnī, who was appointed by Ṭahmāsp in 942/1535-6 and held office until about 957/1550-1 (see Savory, *Studies*, no. V, 73 ff.; on allegations that Ḳāḍī D̲j̲ahān was a crypto-Sunnī, see Dickson, *op. cit.*, 191 ff.). Until about midway through the 10th/16th century, the Ṣafawid state constituted essentially a Turco-Persian condominium. Between 947/1540-1 and 961/1553-4, however, Ṭahmāsp conducted a series of campaigns in Georgia, from each of which he brought back to Persia large numbers of prisoners, mainly women and children. From the 961/1553-4 campaign alone he brought back more than 30,000 prisoners, including a number of Georgian nobles (*aznāwurān*) (*Aḥsan al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 382). In addition, Armenians and Circassians were brought back to Persia from Ṣafawid campaigns in the southern Caucasus. These prisoners, and their offspring, introduced new ethnic elements into Persia which collectively constituted a "third force" in the Ṣafawid bureaucracy and army which in time altered the whole balance of power in the Ṣafawid state (see Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980, 67 ff.). The influence of this "third force" was amply demonstrated in 982/1574, when Ṭahmāsp fell seriously ill of a fever (*tab-i muḥriḳ*; possibly typhoid) for two months, and discord and strife once again broke out among the *amīrs* (*Aḥsan al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 458). With the imminence of Ṭahmāsp's death, ambitious Georgian and Circassian mothers of princes of the blood royal intrigued with the aim of securing the succession of their respective sons. Their scheming increased in intensity after the death of Ṭahmāsp in 984/1576.

3. *Character of Ṭahmāsp.*

No comprehensive biography of S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp exists, and what evidence we have as to his character is often of a disparaging nature and to some extent contradictory. Neither Persian nor Western sources seem willing to credit him with any significant skills in either the arts of peace or of war. He is portrayed as miserly and avaricious; as a religious bigot; as puritanical or alternatively as a voluptuary; and as a man capable of great cruelty. The charge of avarice seems to be well attested (see S̲h̲araf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, *S̲h̲araf-nāma*, ed. Véliaminof-Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860-2, ii, 251-2; *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, 2 vols., London 1939, i, 47-8). The evidence also indicates that Ṭahmāsp was an It̲h̲nā ʿAs̲h̲arī zealot. The story of his reception of the Englishman Anthony Jenkinson, who had made his way to the Ṣafawid court in

970/1562 by the extremely hazardous route north of Scandinavia to Archangel, and thence via Astrakhan, the Caspian Sea and Shīrwān, bearing a letter from Queen Elizabeth I to Ṭahmāsp which sought to promote trade between England and Persia, clearly indicates the Shāh's attitude toward infidels (*Early voyages and travels to Russia and Persia*, Hakluyt Society, 1st Series, nos. LXXII and LXXIII, London 1886, vol. I, 147). In 951/1544, when the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn came to Persia as a fugitive, Ṭahmāsp forced him to embrace Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism as the price of sanctuary in Persia and of Ṣafawid military aid (see Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian relations. A study of the political and diplomatic relations between the Mughul Empire and Iran*, Tehran 1970, 28 ff., and Appendix C; *Humayun's conversion to Shīʿism*, 196-7; see also HUMĀYŪN). In 939/1532-3 Ṭahmāsp performed his celebrated act of repentance (*tawba*) from all "forbidden acts" (*manāhī*). In 963/1555-6 the great *amīr*s and courtiers were obliged to follow suit, and their example was said to have been followed by the populace at large (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 246, 396; *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, text, i, 122, tr. i, 203). This puritanical posture in later life influenced his attitude toward poets in two ways: he regarded them as wine-bibbers, and no longer considered them to be God-fearing persons. Consequently, they fell from royal favour. Secondly, if they wrote occasional poems (*kiṭʿa*) or odes (*ḳaṣīda*) eulogising the Shāh or other members of the royal family, Ṭahmāsp told them they should devote their time to writing eulogies of the Imāms (*Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, text, i, 178, tr. i, 274-5; for an excellent account of Ṣafawid literature as a whole, see ṢAFAWIDS. III. Literature).

When Ṭahmāsp died in 984/1576, his reign was just nine days short of fifty-two (solar) years; no other Persian king had reigned for longer, with the exception of the Sāsānid ruler Shāpur II (A.D. 309-79). H.R. Roemer, in *CHIran*, vi, 248, says that Ṭahmāsp died "as a result of poison"... "whether this was by accident or design has never been established". The *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 464, says that because one of the attending physicians, Abū Naṣr (Gīlānī), had been guilty of treachery (*khiyānat*) in the course of the treatment, he was put to death. The *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, text, i, 168, tr. I, 264, says that Abū Naṣr Gīlānī had a good reputation at court as a physician whose prescriptions were mostly successful. When Ṭahmāsp fell ill, he attended him night and day, but "he unwisely sought recognition of his superior status vis-à-vis the other physicians; as a result, when Ṭahmāsp died, Abū Naṣr was accused of treachery (*khiyānat*) in the treatment he had prescribed, and he was put to death within the palace by members of the royal bodyguard".

Ṭahmāsp had thirteen sons: Muḥammad (later Sultan Muḥammad Shāh: 985-96/1578-88); Ismāʿīl [see ISMĀʿĪL II]; Ḥaydar; Sulaymān; Muṣṭafā; Djunayd; Maḥmūd; Imām Ḳulī; ʿAlī; Aḥmad; Murād; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn; and Mūsā, and probably thirteen daughters (the eight named in the sources are: Gawhar Sulṭān Begum; Parī Khān Khānum; Khadīdja Sulṭān Begum; Zaynab Begum; Maryam Sulṭān Begum; Fāṭima Sulṭān Begum; Shuhra Bānū Begum; and Khānish Begum.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see *CHIran*, vi, 233-50; *Tadhkira-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, ed. Phillott, Calcutta 1912 (for mss. of the work, see Storey, i, 305, 1279). For an annotated bibliography of the sources for the period of Ṭahmāsp, see Dickson, *op. cit.*, Appendix II.

(R.M. SAVORY)

2. ṬAHMĀSP II, one of the last rulers of the dynasty, ruled 1135-45/1722-32.

Born in 1116/1704, the third son of Shāh Ḥusayn I, he was appointed by his father as crown prince and heir to the throne during the siege of Iṣfahān in 1134/1722 by the Afghāns. He broke out of Iṣfahān, and with Ḥusayn's relinquishment of the throne of Persia to the Ghilzay leader Maḥmūd, had himself proclaimed Shāh at Ḳazwīn (Muḥarram 1135/ November 1722), issuing his own coins and decrees. He was to reign, more or less nominally, for some ten years, until 1145/1732, when the infant ʿAbbās III was placed on the throne by Nādir Khān, whose son Riḍā Ḳulī had Ṭahmāsp executed in 1151/1739.

The events of Ṭahmāsp's reign are bound up with the career of Nādir Khān, who became Ṭahmāsp's *wakīl al-dawla* and in 1139/1726 received from him the title of Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī "slave of Ṭahmāsp". For the course of these events, see NĀDIR SHĀH AFSHĀR.

Bibliography: See that to the above-mentioned article, to whose *Bibl.* should be added H.R. Roemer, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vii, 326-8, and C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, no. 148. Cf. also *EI*[1] art. *Ṭahmāsp* (Cl. Huart).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬAHMŪRATH, generally accounted the second king of the Pīshdādid dynasty [*q.v.*] in legendary Iranian epic history, coming after the first world-king Kayūmarth or Gayōmard and the founder of the Pīshdādids, Hūshang [*q.v.*]. Certain Islamic sources make him the first king of his line, and the length of the reign attributed to him—such figures as an entire millennium or 600 years are given—shows the importance attached to him. His name appears in the Avesta as *Takhmō urupa azinavka*, with the first element *takhma*, meaning "strong, courageous" (cf. the name Rustam/Rustahm) and *urupi.azinavant*, meaning (as recognised by K. Hoffmann, *Aufsätze zur Indo-iranistik*, Wiesbaden 1976, 487-9) "equipped with a fox-skin" (originally a goat-skin), so that the whole name should be rendered as "the strong/brave one in the fox-skin". The Pahlavi spelling, in the *Bundahishn* and elsewhere, is *thmulp* or *t'hmwrp*, usually read as *Tahmōrup*. There is no plausible phonetic reason why the final sound became rendered in the Arabic script as *th* except through the erroneous pointing of manuscripts, but this form was popularised in the *Shāh-nāma* and became universal. A. Christensen put forward the suggestion that Hūshang and Ṭahmūrath were adopted into Iranian national lore from the Scythians of the Eurasian steppes.

Various features of the ancient Iranian Ṭahmūrath are taken up in the Islamic sources. Thus his epithet in the *Shāh-nāma* of *dēwband* comes from his subduing of the demons, from whom he extorted knowledge of the various kinds of writing (Firdawsī mentions six by name: the *rūmī*, the *tāzī*, the *pārsī*, the *soghdī*, the *čīnī* and the *pahlawī* (*Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, i, 20-2, ed. Khāliḳī-Muṭlaḳ, i, 35-7; cf. Ph. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, 593); this may preserve the memory of the Iranian tribes entering the land from Inner Asia and acquiring a knowledge of writing from the original inhabitants there. It is further said that it was Ṭahmūrath who initiated the domestication of wild animals, the use of horses for riding, the weaving of woollen and hair cloth for clothing and for carpets, the use of birds of prey for hunting, etc. (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 175-61; Balʿamī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. M.S. Bahār, Tehran 1341/1962, 129; al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-Furs*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, 8-10; *Shāh-nāma, loc. cit.*). There was also an attempt to insert

Ṭahmūrat͟h, with his predecessors Kayūmart͟h and Hūs͟hang, into the genealogy of the Biblical prophets, with e.g. Adam as the first man, and Ṭahmūrat͟h being equated with Noah, and to locate his residence at Sābūr in Fārs (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, ii, 111, iii, 252 = §§ 535, 1116).

Unlike other royal names from the Iranian national epic, such as Rustam, S͟hahriyār, Hūs͟hang, etc., Ṭahmūrat͟h did not become popular within Muslim Persian and Persian-influenced onomastic. However, it does appear amongst the later line of S͟hīrwān S͟hāhs [*q.v.*] as the name of the brother of the S͟hāh Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Kay Kubād͟h (780-821/1378-1418) (see C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties, a chronological and genealogical manual*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 62). Also, it was probably these S͟hāhs' fondness for Iranian epic names that made the Christian kings of Georgia (not infrequently allied with the S͟hāhs by marriage) adopt thc name under the form Tʿeimuraz.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 320-1; A. Christensen, *Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, Stockholm 1917, i, 182-216 (interpretations largely speculative and now untenable); E. Yarshater, *Iranian national history*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii, 422; V. Minorsky, *EI*[1] art. s.v. (C.E. Bosworth)

TAḤNĪṬ (a.), the verbal noun of *ḥannaṭa* "to prepare a corpse for burial with embalming substances" (see Lane, i, 657a). For this process, and the substances used, see ḥināṭa.

TAḤRĪF (a.), change, alteration, forgery; used with regard to words, and more specifically with regard to what Jews and Christians are supposed to have done to their respective Scriptures (*yuḥarrifūna 'l-kalima ʿan mawāḍiʿhi*, sūra IV, 46, V, 13; see also II, 75), in the sense of perverting the language through altering words from their proper meaning, changing words in form or substituting words or letters for others. Such substitution is also termed *tabdīl*, a wider term, used also in other contexts, but in the Ḳur'ān and later literature practically synonymous with *taḥrīf* (see II, 59, VII, 162, and the commentary of Mud͟jāhid b. D͟jabr [*q.v.*] to IV, 46, where he explains *ḥarrafa* by *baddala*).

The Ḳur'ān accepts the *Tawrāt* and *Ind͟jīl* [*q.vv.*] as genuine divine revelations taken from the same Guarded Tablets as the Ḳur'ān itself and brought by true messengers to both Jews and Christians respectively. Those, however, did not adhere to their Law, but tampered with their own Scriptures (III, 78, with the verb *lawā*; V, 15, 45). The Ḳur'ān does not state explicitly how this was done and when, but later commentaries give various explanations. Some relate it to the times of Moses (see commentaries to II, 58-9, wherein the Banū Isrā'īl are accused of having changed (orally?) the word *ḥiṭṭa*). Later authors accuse Israelite Kings or Priests, especially Ezra the Scribe (see below) or Byzantine rulers, etc. The accusation that Jewish contemporaries of Muḥammad concealed (*kitmān*) Biblical material, e.g. the punishment (stoning) for adultery or the Biblical prediction of Muḥammad's prophecy (see the commentaries on V, 42-9, and Ibn His͟hām, ii, 382 ff., 393-5) is also considered to be *taḥrīf*.

The accusation of forgery was a widespread polemical motif, already in pre-Islamic times used by pagan, Samaritan and Christian authors to discredit their opponents and Scriptures. In the Medinan sūras it is a central theme, apparently used to explain away the contradictions between the Bible and the Ḳur'ān and to establish that the coming of the Prophet and the rise of Islam had indeed been predicted in the "true" Bible.

In the first centuries of Islam, *taḥrīf* was not a central theme, though well-known. *Ḥadīt͟h* and early commentaries filled out the gaps left by the relevant Ḳur'ānic verses. Mud͟jāhid explained that those who hide and distort Biblical verses are the Jewish *ʿulamā'* (see al-Ṭabarī on the above verses). Others stated explicitly that the Jews do so in order to hide the fact that Muḥammad was predicted in their Torah (Muḳātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1979, i, 118, to II, 76, see also 461). Some explained that *taḥrīf* means that the Jews "made the lawful forbidden and the forbidden lawful, and took the truth as falsehood and the falsehood as truth" (al-Ṭabarī, on II, 59).

Muslim authors understood the falsification as either *taḥrīf al-maʿnā*, distortion of the meaning of the text, or *taḥrīf al-naṣṣ*, falsification of the text itself (see the *Risāla* of the 3rd/9th century writer Ibn al-Layt͟h, in A.Z. Ṣafwat, *D͟jamharat rasā'il al-ʿArab*, iii, Cairo 1356/1937, 296 ff., who seems to know both meanings and defends the Ḳur'ān against the counter-argument of having also been altered). Early Christian authors already defend themselves and their Scriptures against both accusations (S.H. Griffith, *ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī's Kitāb al-Burhān. Christian kalām in the first Abbasid century*, in *Le Muséon*, xlvi [1983], 165-8). Some Muslim authors take *taḥrīf* to mean only the distortion of meaning of the text, notably al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860; see I. Di Matteo, *Confutazione contro i Christiani dello Zaydita al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm*, in *RSO*, ix [1922], 319) and Ibn K͟haldūn, who rejects the idea of actual falsification of Jewish or Christian Scriptures "since custom prevents people who have a (revealed) religion from dealing with their divine Scripture in such a manner" (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatrèmere, i, 12-13, tr. F. Rosenthal i, 20-1; most printed editions omit this remark).

The more common understanding, however, of *taḥrīf* among Muslim authors, especially from the 5th/11th century up to modern times, has been the one which accused Jews and Christians of having deliberately falsified the text of their own respective Scriptures. Jewish oral tradition, seen as an unauthorised addition to Scripture, is also considered to be part of this falsification. So is Christian canon and other law. In this context, Muslim authors stressed the differences between the "three Bibles": the Hebrew Bible of the Jews; the Samaritan Bible; and the "Greek Bible" (i.e. the Septuagint) of the Christians (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, i, 118-19 = § 115; al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āt͟hār al-bāḳiya*, 20-1, tr. Sachau, 24; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī 'l-milal*, i, 117, 198, ii, 7-10) as proof of the falsification.

The argument of *taḥrīf* is refuted already in an early polemical text attributed to the Byzantine Emperor Leo III (A. Jeffery, *Ghevond's text of the correspondence between ʿUmar II and Leo III*, in *Harvard Theol. Review*, xxxvii [1944], 269-321) with the statement that Jews and Christians share the same, widely-known divine text, and that Ezra, who redacted the Bible, was a pious, reliable person. The same arguments appear in later Jewish writings (see Ibn Kammūna [*q.v.*], *Tanḳīḥ al-abḥāt͟h li 'l-milal al-t͟halāt͟h*, ed. and tr. M. Perlmann, Berkeley 1971, 1967, ch. 2). The personality of Ezra-ʿUzayr [*q.v.*] becomes very involved in this discussion in the 4th/10th century, and especially with Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], who in his *Faṣl* explicitly accused "ʿAzrā" of having falsified and added interpolations into the Biblical text. He also arranged systematically and in scholarly detail the arguments against the authenticity of the Biblical text in the first (Hebrew Bible) and second part (New Testa-

ment) of his book: chronological and geographical inaccuracies and contradictions; theological impossibilities (anthropomorphic expressions, stories of fornication and whoredom, and the attributing of sins to prophets), as well as lack of reliable transmission (*tawātur*) of the text. He explains how the falsification of the Pentateuch could have taken place while there existed only one copy of the Pentateuch kept by the Aaronid priests in the Temple in Jerusalem. Ibn Ḥazm's impact on later Muslim polemics was great, and the themes which he raised with regard to *taḥrīf* and other polemical ideas—updated only slightly by some later authors, such as the Jewish convert to Islam al-Samaw'al al-Maghribī (d. 570/1175) in his *Ifḥām al-Yahūd* (ed. and tr. M. Perlmann, PAAJR, 32, 1964)—became the standard themes of later Muslim polemical literature against both Jews and Christians (see, e.g., al-Ḳarāfī's (d. 684/1285) *al-Adjwiba al-fākhira ʿan al-asʾila al-fādjira*; Ibn Taymiyya; and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya).

Modern European Bible criticism is taken by some Muslim authors as a vindication of the theory of *taḥrīf* (see Raḥmat Allāh al-Hindī's (1818-91) *Iẓhār al-ḥaḳḳ*; cf. C. Schirrmacher, *Mit den Waffen des Gegners, Christlich-muslimische Kontroversen im 19 u. 20 Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1992, and M. Khalīfa Ḥasan Aḥmad, *ʿAlāḳāt al-Islām bi 'l-Yahūdiyya. Ruʾya Islāmiyya fī maṣādir al-Tawrāt al-ḥāliyya*, Cairo 1986).

In Sunnī-Shīʿī polemics, the problem of *taḥrīf* arose with regard to the text of the Ḳur'ān. Sunnī authors accused the Shīʿa of believing that the Ḳur'ān had been falsified. Early Shīʿī material on this topic seems to be lost; apparently only some Shīʿī authors held this view mainly with regard to omissions (of Ḳur'ānic references to ʿAlī and his family) and some minor changes in Ḳur'ānic verses. Although the Shīʿīs practically accepted the existing Ḳur'ānic text, these accusations have been raised sporadically up to modern times (E. Kohlberg, *Some notes on the Imāmite attitude to the Qur'ān*, in *Islamic philosophy and the Classical tradition. For R. Walzer*, Oxford 1972, 209-24).

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(HAVA LAZARUS-YAFEH)

TAḤRĪR (A.), a technical term of Ottoman administration.

Derived from an Arabic verb which denotes "writing", this word is at times used in the same sense in Ottoman Turkish as well. But as a technical term, *taḥrīr* has come to denote the Ottoman tax registers for the most part compiled during the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı arşivi rehberi*, Ankara 1992, 186-228, records them under this term, a synonym being *tapu taḥrīr defterleri*). This is one of the best-known series of the Ottoman archives, which in turn can be subdivided into *defter-i mufaṣṣal*, *defter-i idjmāl* and *defter-i ewḳāf*. In principle, these registers were to be compiled about once every thirty years; but in reality, distances in time between different *taḥrīrs* covering a given region varied widely.

The *taḥrīrs* were mainly designed to keep track of that part of Ottoman state revenue which did not reach the central treasury, but was assigned locally, to *tīmār* [*q.v.*] holders, garrison soldiers, *waḳf* administrators, or even owners of private property (*mülk*); the latter might be required to furnish soldiers (*eshkindji*) in return for the privilege of official recognition. The *taḥrīrs* also recorded the revenues accruing to the central treasury (*khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*]) and assigned to the sultan himself, members of his family or provincial governors. From the late 10th/16th century, a tax of variable level, known as the *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*], came to occupy a central place in Ottoman finance. As a result, the expense of preparing a *taḥrīr* must have no longer seemed justified, particularly since an increasing number of revenues was now farmed out to the highest bidder. Tax registers were no longer compiled in coherent series after the reign of Murād III. However, individual registers were occasionally prepared both in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, and a whole group of Anatolian *taḥrīrs* survives from the 1040s/1630s.

The most extensive form of *taḥrīr* is the *defter-i mufaṣṣal*, which contains an enumeration of taxpayers, listed by settlement. Muslims precede non-Muslims. At the end of each settlement, the *defter-i mufaṣṣal* records certain taxes due from the inhabitants, such as the tithes (*ʿöshür*), farm taxes (*resm-i čift*, *resm-i bennāk*, *ispendje*), and, where applicable, the *djizye*. Individual settlements were grouped by *nāḥiye* and *ḳaḍā*, and *ḳaḍās* by *sandjaḳ*. The largest unit, namely the *wilāyet*, on account of its size does not often occur in the *mufaṣṣal*; but we possess *idjmāls* covering one or even several *wilāyets*. However, this terminology was subject to considerable variation. Some *mufaṣṣals* do not distinguish between *ḳaḍā* and *nāḥiye*, while, especially in 9th/15th century registers, the term *wilāyet* was used for small units consisting of no more than a few villages. After mentioning the name of the settlement to be described, but before enumerating the taxpayers, the scribes often provided some information on the tax history of the town or village in question. Sometimes this consisted of a simple note to the effect

that a given village was the *tīmār* of a certain personage, or that this or that town formed part of the *khāṣṣ-i hümāyūn*. In other instances, the *defter* might record that a given village had been *wakf*, that it had been converted into a *tīmār* by Meḥemmed II, and that it recently had reverted to its previous status. On the first pages of the *defter-i mufaṣṣal* we often find a *ḳānūnnāme*, which contained mainly the rules for taxation to be applied in the area, but in some instances also specified the punishments to be administered in the case of crimes and misdemeanours.

To facilitate the distribution of tax revenues to *tīmār*-holders and other recipients, the data contained in the *mufaṣṣal* were summarised in the *idjmāl*. Here taxpayers were not enumerated individually, but merely the total taxpaying population was recorded for each settlement. However, many *idjmāls* contain information on the taxpayers resident in a given *ḳaḍā* who possessed a special tax status, such as unmarried men (*müdjerred*), garrison soldiers, people enjoying tax exemptions in return for services to the Ottoman administration (*tuzdju, derbenddji, yuwadji*, etc.). For a published version, see *438 numaralı muhasebe-i vilâyet-i Anadolu defteri (937/1530)*, i-ii, Ankara 1993-4.

As the amount of land recognised as *wakf* in most rural areas was fairly limited, *wakf* registers are often short, and may simply form an appendix to the *idjmāls*. But some of the oldest surviving registers happen to concern *wakf*. Particularly notable is the document describing the province of Ḳaramān shortly after this principality had finally been incorporated into the Ottoman domain (881/1476; published by Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, *Fatih devrinde Karaman eyâleti vakıfları fihristi, Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü arşivindeki deftere göre*, Ankara 1958). Moreover, in and around major cities, such as Bursa or Istanbul, the number of *wakfs* was considerable, resulting in voluminous documents (Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (eds.), *953 (1546) tarihli İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 1970).

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(Suraiya Faroqhi)

TAḤṢĪL (a.), the verbal noun of the form II verb *ḥaṣṣala* "to collect together, acquire". In Indo-Muslim usage, this term—taken over from previous régimes—denoted in the British Indian provinces of Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces the collection of revenue and, thence, the administrative area from which this taxation was collected. Thus in the above-mentioned provinces, the *taḥṣīl* was a subdivision of a District (*ta'alluḳa*, corruptly, *tālūḳ*) with an area of up to 600 square miles. Hence in size, a *taḥṣīl* came between the *pargana* [*q.v.*] and the *sarkār* of the Mughal empire [see mughals. 3.]. The official in charge of it was called the *taḥṣīldār*, and was responsible to such superior officials as the District Magistrate and the Collector.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

TAḤSĪN, Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn 'Aṭā Khān, pioneer in Urdu prose-writing, who lived somewhere in the middle of the 18th century. He was a native of Etawah (Iṭāwa) in present-day Uttar Pradesh, and came from a middle-class family of *sayyids*. His ancestors reportedly migrated from Gardīz in what is now eastern Afghānistān, and settled in Kaŕa Mānikpūr. His father, Mīr Muḥammad Bāḳir, moved to Dihlī at an early age and was employed as commander of 3,000 (*sih hazārī*) in Awrangzīb's administration; he is said to have been a poet writing under the pen-name Shawḳ. During the turbulent times that followed the death of Awrangzīb, Taḥsīn left Dihlī and served for many years under the Mughal viceroys of Bengal. Later, he was one of the first Indians to be employed in the service of the East India Company at Calcutta. He also served as secretary for a British army officer who is mentioned by him only as General Smith. When the latter returned to England around 1769, Taḥsīn took up employment in Patna. After some time he proceeded to Fayḍābād where he gained access to the court of Shudjā' al-Dawla, Nawāb of Awadh, being still employed there in 1775 when the latter died and was succeeded by his son Āṣaf al-Dawla (d. 1797).

Taḥsīn is known chiefly for his *Naw ṭarz-i muraṣṣa'*: "A new gold-embroidered style", which has been characterised as the first book of Urdu prose literature produced in northern India (see Nūr al-Ḥasan Hāshimī's introd. to it, 23). It was completed around 1775, and contains the stories of four dervishes; it is believed to be a translation of a Persian book, *Čahār darwīsh*, wrongly attributed to Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*]. It is written in an ornate style, with an artificial diction. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, one cannot overlook its importance, if only because it was used by other writers to pen their own versions of the narrative, most notable among them being Mīr Amān's [see amān, mīr] *Bāgh o bahār* which, completed in 1217/1802, became the first classic of Urdu prose.

Apart from *Naw ṭarz-i muraṣṣa'*, Taḥsīn claims to have written other works as well, some of which were in Persian, and are now known only by name. He is also mentioned as a poet writing in both Persian and Urdu and as a master calligrapher, whose skill in fine writing had earned him the title of *muraṣṣa' raḳam* "golden penmanship".

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(Munibur Rahman)

TAḤSĪN wa-TAḲBĪḤ (a.), "determining something to be good or repellent", a phrase referring in shorthand fashion to the controversy over the sources of the moral assessment of acts. Some argued for an assessment of things according to the dictates of common sense (*ʿaḳl*) or utility (*nafʿ*), and this led some to hold that the *ḥusn* or *ḳubḥ* of an act was part of its ontology as an accident of essence or as an aspect (*wadjh*) of the thing itself. Others argued that it is only the deontic divine command (*sharʿ*) that gives moral value to acts.

The "sources" of this discussion are impossible to establish; certainly, the rudiments of the problem are already found in Plato's *Euthyphro* but the problem is common to all of the Revelational religions, whose Scripture does not reach in literal form to all possible acts. For Muslims, who had come by the 4th/10th century to believe that the Ḳurʾān contained an assessment (*ḥukm*) for every act, the problem took a particularly acute form. The Muʿtazila, in particular, for whom God's goodness required that He require only what was best (*al-aṣlaḥ*) for His bondsmen, the immediate pointlessness of ritual also constituted an incentive toward the consideration of this problem. There were consequently two Muʿtazilī positions on the question. The Baghdādīs, especially al-Kaʿbī [*q.v.*], took the position that the *ʿaḳl* could assess acts, but they were in fact proscribed (*maḥẓūr*) before Revelation came to give mankind permission to perform them. The Baṣrans urged that acts could be assessed, and that they were, in default of some *ʿaḳlī* indication to the contrary, permitted (*mubāḥ*). Of course, at issue was the category of acts which were not mentioned in revelation.

Despite the attempts of later biographical and heresiographical sources to conceal early diversity, it is clear that Sunnī school positions for theological/legal schools did not begin to form until the 5th/11th century, with Ḥanbalīs, for example, defending "Muʿtazilī" positions into the 6th/12th century (e.g. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Maḥfūẓ al-Kalwadhānī, d. 510/1117). By the 7th/13th century, the matter had sorted itself out so that Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs generally took the Ashʿarī position that the intellect could not assess the moral value of acts, and Ḥanafīs/Māturīdīs took an intermediate position that gave common sense the ability to assess acts, with-out that assessment having soteriological significance. Imāmī and Zaydī Shīʿīs embraced the Baṣran Muʿtazilī position that the performance of useful acts, in default of revelation, was permitted.

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(A.K. Reinhart)

ṬĀḤŪN (a.), mill. Lane (s.v. *ṭ-ḥ-n*) also offers the readings *ṭāḥūna* as the general word for mill, as well as watermill, and *ṭaḥḥāna* meaning an animal-powered mill. Contemporary Egyptian usage for the noun *ṭaḥūna* is given variously as grist mill, windmill and, in the expression *ṭaḥūnit bunn*, coffee grinder; *ṭaḥḥāna* is also the word for grinder and, as in the expression *ṭaḥḥāna filfil*, a pepper mill (Hinds and Badawi, *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*, Beirut 1986). The root of the word, meaning crushing or grinding, had instrumental use both in large scale commercial enterprises and in the preparation of food in the domestic kitchen. In the latter case, for example, the term *ṭāḥūn* is found, albeit but once, in a culinary manual. This occurs in a recipe called *zuhriyya* containing sandal, anbar and dried flower petals which are ground or milled (*ṭaḥana*) together in a *ṭāḥūn* with cardamon, cloves and sugar (*Kanz*, 235). The employment of a small, domestic mill or hand rotary quern appears in contrast to the far more commonly used (in the urban household at least) mortar (*hāwūn*), where the ingredients were pounded (*daḳḳa*) with a pestle. It may be assumed, however, that in instances where the verb *ṭaḥana* is used in recipes without mention of the specific instrument being employed, a domestic grinding mill is intended.

Mediaeval commercial enterprises, whether private or government controlled, powered their mills by exploiting the natural forces of water and wind (in addition to animals), depending upon which was more easily or consistently available and cheaper to harness in any given area; there also existed many different types of mill. Water-powered mills using either the undershot, overshot or horizontal type of wheel existed in pre-Islamic times and were employed throughout the mediaeval period, while wind-powered mills appear to have been first used in Islamic Persia in regions where water was scarcer (see H.E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia. Their development, technology, and influence on Eastern and Western civilizations*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 277-89; M. Harverson, *Watermills in Iran*, in *Iran JBIPS*, xxxi [1993], 149-77). Ship-mills of the undershot wheel type, were found moored in mid-stream of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, while tidal mills are noted in use at Baṣra (A. Mez, *The renaissance of Islam*, Patna 1937, 466-7). Mills of the water-driven trip-hammer type were used in the manufacture of paper and for husking rice, while others processed sugar cane, in addition to their primary purpose of providing adequate supplies of cereal flour for the major urban centres and even villages of the Middle East; a milling stage was also involved in the dressing of metal ore. Regardless of the mill type, the principles of operation were the same, the grinding being accomplished by means of a stone rotating on top of a fixed one. Traditional techniques have continued down to modern times where other sources of energy, such as fossil fuels, have not replaced those of water and wind.

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(eds.) M. Marín and D. Waines, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993. (D. WAINES)

AL-ṬĀʾIʿ LI-AMR ALLĀH (or LI ʾLLĀH), ʿAbd al-Karīm b. al-Faḍl, fainéant ʿAbbāsid caliph (363-81/974-91).

His father was the caliph al-Muṭīʿ [*q.v.*], after whose deposition on 13 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 363/5 August 974 he was proclaimed Commander of the Faithful. His mother, who survived him, was called ʿUtb. As Ibn al-Athīr justly observes (ix, 56), al-Ṭāʾiʿ during his reign had not sufficient authority to be able to associate himself with any enterprises worthy of mention. He is only mentioned in history, one may safely say, in connection with certificates of appointment to office, letters of condolence and such-like formalities, and his most remarkable feature seems to have been his extraordinary physical strength. The real rulers were at first the Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS] but after the most important of them, ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] who was the caliph's father-in-law, had died in Shawwāl 372/March 983, his sons began to quarrel among themselves. In Shaʿbān 381/Oct.-Nov. 991 Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who was in financial difficulties and could not pay his troops, was persuaded by his influential adviser Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Ibn al-Muʿallim to overthrow the caliph and seize his treasury. At an audience at which the Būyid appeared with a large retinue, the unsuspecting al-Ṭāʾiʿ was torn from his throne by Bahāʾ al-Dawla's orders and taken to the latter's house, where he was kept a prisoner. He was succeeded as caliph by his cousin Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, who took the name al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. In Radjab 382/September 992 the ex-caliph was allowed to come to al-Ḳādir's palace, where he was well treated. He died on 1 Shawwāl 393/3 August 1003.

The eastern Islamic dynasty of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], and their vassals in Khurāsān, Sebüktigin and Maḥmūd of Ghazna, refused to acknowledge the accession of al-Ḳādir, regarding him as the tool of the Būyids; on their coins the Sāmānids continued to their end to recognise al-Ṭāʾiʿ as caliph, and he likewise appears on the coins of Maḥmūd till 389/999.

Bibliography: Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 375-6 no. 296; Ibn al-Athīr, viii-ix, see index; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 428, 436; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 391; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii, 21-44; Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*[3], 582; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate*, 162, 270, 271; C.E. Bosworth, *The imperial policy of the early Ghaznawids*, in *Islamic Studies* (Karachi), i/3 (1962), 60, repr. in *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, Variorum, London 1977, no. XI; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut 1969, index.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-ṬĀʾIF, a town in Arabia to the south-east of Mecca which in the early days of Islam belonged to the Thaḳīf [*q.v.*] tribe. Today it is the fourth largest town in Saudi Arabia, located at a road junction on the way from Mecca to al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*]. In former times it took two or three days to go from Mecca to al-Ṭāʾif, depending on the route. Al-Ṭāʾif is in the Sarāt [*q.v.*] mountains, 1,680 m/5,500 feet above sea level. Some locate it in Nadjd [*q.v.*], while others argue that it is in Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*]. Its pleasant climate during the summer has made it the summer capital of western Arabia.

Al-Ṭāʾif is surrounded by valleys, the most important being the one in which it is situated, Wadjdj, which gave it its pre-Islamic name (see *al-ʿArab* [Riyāḍ] ix/7-8 [Feb.-March 1975], 514-31; for up-to-date information see *ibid.*, xxiv/9-10 [Oct.-Nov. 1989], 604-16). A clause in the agreement between the Prophet and the Thaḳīf declared the valley a *ḥaram* or sacred territory.

On the eve of Islam, a brick wall was built around al-Ṭāʾif. The initiative and financing reportedly came from a merchant who had immigrated to al-Ṭāʾif from Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*]. Pre-Islamic al-Ṭāʾif also had fortresses, the origin of which is disputed. Following a joint Thaḳafī-Ḳurashī trade expedition to Persia in which Ghaylān b. Salama al-Thaḳafī and Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] took part, Khusraw sent, with the former, someone (i.e. a skilled constructor) who built for him the first fortress of al-Ṭāʾif. This construction is variously referred to as an *uṭum* and *ḥiṣn*. This is supposed to have taken place on the eve of Islam, since both Ghaylān and Abū Sufyān became Companions of the Prophet. Another claim for "firstness" points to an earlier generation by linking the first fortress to Masʿūd b. Muʿattib, who was the father of the Prophet's Companion ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd. Both Ghaylān and Masʿūd were members of the Thaḳīf branch called al-Aḥlāf (moreover, they belonged to the same clan, the Muʿattib). There was fighting between the Aḥlāf and the Mālik, who were a rival branch of Thaḳīf. At some stage, Masʿūd sought military aid from a friend in Yathrib, Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ. Instead, Uḥayḥa sent with him a slave, a skilled builder of *uṭums*, who built for him the first *uṭum* of al-Ṭāʾif (cf. G.R.D. King, *Creswell's appreciation of Arabian architecture*, in *Muqarnas* viii [1991], 94-102, at 98b-99a).

The combination of fertile land and abundant water supply turned the valleys around al-Ṭāʾif into a prosperous agricultural area which grew wheat and various fruits and vegetables. One *ḥadīth* has it that al-Ṭāʾif was originally a tract of land in Filasṭīn transferred by God to Arabia following Abraham's prayer (Ḳurʾān, XIV, 37). Many dams were constructed around al-Ṭāʾif, among them one placed some 32 km/20 miles north-east of al-Ṭāʾif which was built by Muʿāwiya I. A Kūfic inscription dates its construction to 58/677-8 (G.C. Miles, *Early Islamic inscriptions near Ṭāʾif in the Ḥijāz*, in *JNES*, vii [1948], 236-42; A. Grohmann, *Arabic inscriptions*, Louvain 1962, 56-8; M. Khan and A. Al-Mughannam, *Ancient dams in the Ṭāʾif area 1981 (1401)*, in *Atlal*, vi [1982], 125-35, at 129-31). The dam, in the construction of which no mortar or mud were used, is still in good condition.

The Ṭāʾif area produced excellent honey, and the Liyya valley was famous for its pomegranates. But grapes were probably the most important product of the local economy. These figure prominently in the myth about the eponym of the Thaḳīf. He was adopted by an old Jewess in Wādī al-Ḳurā [*q.v.*], who gave him vine twigs which he later planted in the Wadjdj valley. Naturally, there developed in al-Ṭāʾif a wine industry. A list of tavern-keepers in Ibn al-Kalbī's *K. al-Mathālib* includes two Ṭāʾifīs who had partners from the Ḳurashī Banū Umayya. One of them was Abū Maryam al-Salūlī [see SALŪL, at vol. VIII, 1004b]. Being a tavern-keeper, Abū Maryam had links with women of ill-repute [cf. BIGHĀʾ, in Suppl.] and at the time of Muʿāwiya he testified that Abū Sufyān fornicated with Sumayya. The testimony was given in support of the claim that Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] (as he was pejoratively called after the Umayyad period) was Abū Sufyān's son (cf. U. Rubin, *al-Walad li-l-firāsh: on the Islamic campaign against "zinā"*, in *SI*, lxxviii [1993], 5-26, at 13-15).

Al-Ṭāʾif supplied, and still supplies, most of Mecca's

demand in fruit, hence it was called "the orchard of the *ḥaram*" (i.e. of Mecca). Rich Ḳurashīs developed, already before Islam, large estates in the valleys surrounding al-Ṭā'if. Their water supply was possibly based on underground irrigation canals [see ḲANĀT]. Among the Ḳurashī properties in the vicinity of al-Ṭā'if, the best known is al-Waht, which is located in the Wadjdj valley. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's [*q.v.*] father already owned this estate before Islam. ʿAmr himself further developed it and it remained a source of fabulous revenues for his offspring. At the time of Muʿāwiya, the governor of al-Ṭā'if, who was the caliph's brother, tried to seize this estate from ʿAmr's son, ʿAbd Allāh (M. Lecker, *The estates of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Palestine: notes on a new Negev Arabic inscription*, in *BSOAS*, lii [1989], 24-37, at 25-6).

Al-Ṭā'if used to have a famous tanning industry and the Ṭā'ifī shoes, for example, were known for their quality.

Beside the Thaḳīf, al-Ṭā'if was also inhabited by members of other tribes, mainly tribes of the Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*] (for an up-to-date report on the tribes in al-Ṭā'if and its vicinity, see *al-ʿArab* [Riyāḍ], xiv/1-2 [June-July 1979], 42-73).

Most of al-Ṭā'if's inhabitants before Islam were idol worshippers and one of the major deities of pre-Islamic Arabia, al-Lāt [*q.v.*], was situated there. Some of al-Ṭā'if's inhabitants were Christians. Those who considered the famous physician, al-Ḥārith b. Kalada [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a Dhimmī (cf. G. Hawting, *The development of the biography of al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada...*, in *The Islamic World... essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C.E. Bosworth *et alii*, Princeton 1989, 127-40, at 128), probably had in mind Christianity. In the first decades of the Islamic era, the Ṭā'if district (*mikhlāf*) was inhabited by Jews who had been expelled from the Yemen and Yathrib. Muʿāwiya bought his estates in al-Ṭā'if from one of them.

The high standard of living enjoyed by the Ṭā'ifīs before Islam and during its early period was accompanied by a level of literacy which was no lower than that found in Mecca. Consequently, many literate Ṭā'ifīs could easily be recruited by the administration. The self-evident link between literacy (including arithmetic skills) and administration can be demonstrated by details from the biographies of the two most famous ex-Ṭā'ifīs, Ziyād b. Abīhi and al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*]. The former, whose mother was a slavegirl, was nevertheless educated in the *kuttāb* [*q.v.*] of Djubayr b. Ḥayya. Djubayr became a *dīwān* secretary in ʿIrāḳ and then his ex-pupil, Ziyād, made him governor of Iṣfahān. As to al-Ḥadjdjādj, he was a former teacher, a shortcoming which his enemies did not fail to mention.

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ṬĀ'IFA (A.), pl. *ṭawā'if*, means in general "a group, party, company of men", as in Ḳur'ān, XXIV, 2; in later usage, often "a professional or trade group, corporation", the equivalent of *ṣinf* [*q.v.*]; and in later mediaeval and modern usage, "a religious or sectarian group", whence *ṭā'ifiyya* [*q.v.*] "sectarianism, confessionalism". Here, the extended usage from "group" to its sense in Ṣūfī mysticism will be considered, since Ṣūfīs used the term in contexts conformable to the words basic meaning of "group", *djamāʿa*, or "part of a whole", *djuz'* (see *LʿA*, Beirut 1988, viii, 223).

From the 3rd/9th century, Muslim religious spirits affirmed their specificity by calling themselves by the all-encompassing term *al-ṭā'ifa*, abbreviated from *ṭā'ifat al-ḳawm* "the group of the men of God" or "community of spiritual persons". The term *ṭā'ifa* is in this context often preceded by the demonstrative *hādhihi* (see e.g. al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Damascus 1988, 36; al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, Ar. tr. Beirut 1980, *passim*). Sometimes, *al-ḳawm* is found *tout court*. These expressions certainly reflect an allusive style favoured by Ṣūfīs, but their usage can also be explained by the fact that these persons were not yet differentiated into separate ways. Moreover, in certain regions, they were only to designate themselves as *Ṣūfīs* quite late. The Baghdād master al-Djunayd (d. 298/911) thus received a nickname which was never to leave him, sc. *sayyid al-ṭā'ifa* "master of the Muslim religious spirits" (see e.g. al-Ḳushayrī, 430; al-Hudjwīrī, 419). It was with this generic sense in view that Ibn al-ʿArabī used the term *ṭā'ifa* preceded by the definite article *al-* (*al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, ed. O. Yahia, e.g. iv, 55, 85, 190, 319). On the other hand, the use of the indefinite form goes back, in his usage, to the most common meaning of the word, that of religious community or group (*op. cit.*, iv, 191-2, 276, etc.). Ṣūfīs continued to view themselves as and to be called *al-ṭā'ifa* in later times (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifā' al-sā'il li-tahdhīb al-masā'il*, Tunis 1991, 183; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, d. 974/1566, *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīthiyya*, Beirut n.d., 53).

In the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, the emergence of spiritual lines claiming spiritual descent from the eponymous masters brought into being a second usage of the term, which eventually supplanted the first one, sc. that of a particular Ṣūfī order, distinct from the others, or also, in a similar fashion, one of the professional guilds of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. This partitive sense appears in the expression *al-ṭā'ifa min al-fuḳarā'* "groups of those poor for God's sake" used by Ibn Khallikān in regard to the Rifāʿī dervishes (ed. ʿAbbās, i, 171). Already, al-Hudjwīrī (d. 465/1072) had used the term to distinguish several groups of mystics by their attitude over agreement to the divine will (*al-riḍā*), but here it is a question merely of spiritual modalities (*Kashf*, 405). In future, *ṭā'ifa* was to incarnate the organic dimension of Ṣūfism. In the sources, it is used concurrently with *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*], with the two terms often being used indifferently; but the second one had nevertheless a wider signification.

In later Ṣūfism—in general, from the beginning of the 8th/14th century—the term was used in a concrete sense for every branch issuing through ramification from a mother-*ṭarīḳa*. This branch would assume its own autonomy, or this was accorded by the *shaykh* of the original *ṭarīḳa*; it likewise acquired a specific name from its initiator. In general, the *ṭā'ifa*s formed small-sized orders with a local or regional basis, this being notably true for the Arab East (L. Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle*, Beirut 1988, 209, 229; E. Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1995, 276-7) and for the Ṣūfī communities of the Moroccan South (M. Kably, *Société, pouvoir et religion au Maroc à la fin du Moyen-Age*, Paris 1986) or al-Andalus (see the introd. by R. Pérez to Ibn Khaldūn, *La voie et la loi*, Paris 1991, 26). A *ṭā'ifa* which prospered could in turn give birth to a "sub-branch" and so on. In order to establish their legitimacy, these branches sometimes placed the name of the original order in their form of identity.

For J.S. Trimingham, the *ṭā'ifa* is characteristic of the third and last stage of Ṣūfism, during which the mystical orders provided themselves with a fairly elaborate organisation; he dates this phase from the 9th/15th century, when the Ottoman empire was constituted (*The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 67, 103). But this idea of things, adopted by researchers working on the brotherhoods at the present time (see e.g. *Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam*, ed. G. Veinstein and A. Popovic, Paris 1986, 8, 167, 300), corresponds only partially to reality. In practice, the material structure of Ṣūfism in many cases only comes about from the beginning of the 12th/18th century.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(E. GEOFFROY)

ṬĀ'IFIYYA (A.) "confessionalism" (also translated "sectarianism" by opponents), the system of proportional political power-sharing between different religious groups (*ṭawā'if*, sing. *ṭā'ifa*) practiced in the Republic of Lebanon since the French mandate (1922-43). According to Art. 95 of the Lebanese constitution of 1926, it was designed as "a temporary measure to assure a just representation of all Lebanese sects [the most important being Sunnī, Twelver Shī'ī and Druze Muslims and Maronite, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Christians] in public offices and in the formation of cabinets". Its precursors in Ottoman *Djabal Lubnān* have been councils representing the six major sects during the régime of the double *ḳā'im-maḳāmas* (1843-60) and the *mutaṣarrifiyya* (1861-1915) [see LUBNĀN].

Proportional representation of the sects in parliament was not mentioned in the constitution prior to 1990. From independence (1943) to the last pre-civil-war elections (1972), a ratio of six to five in favour of the Christian sects was maintained in different electoral laws. The reservation of key-offices for members of specific sects (Maronite head of state, Sunnī prime minister, Shī'ī president of parliament and other stipulations) has been based on unwritten agreements since the 1930s and confirmed in the unwritten National Pact of 1943. Their validity has been increasingly challenged by both Muslim and leftist or Arab nationalist Christian political groups since the late 1960s, many of them demanding the complete abolishment of political confessionalism. The refusal of Maronite political leaders to consider a reform of the confessionalist system was one of the causes for the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war (1975-90).

Following the Ṭā'if Accord adopted by the remaining members of the 1972 Lebanese parliament on 22 October 1989, Art. 95 of the constitution was amended with validity from 21 September 1990. It henceforth stipulates a gradual abolishment of political confessionalism, starting with the lower echelon of the civil service and the armed forces, while representation of Muslims and Christians in the parliament and in cabinets must remain equal during an unspecified interim period. New electoral laws in 1992 and 1996 have both maintained the principle of confessional proportionality (64 Christians, i.e. 34 Maronites, 15 Greek Orthodox, 7 Greek Catholic, 6 Armenians, 2 members of other Christian minorities; 64 Muslims, i.e. 27 Sunnīs, 27 Shī'īs, 8 Druzes, 2 'Alawīs).

Bibliography: Edmond Rabbath, *La formation historique du Liban politique et constitutionnel*, Beirut 1973; Abdo I. Baaklini, *Legislative and political development: Lebanon, 1842-1972*, Durham, North Carolina 1976; Fu'ād Shāhīn, *al-Ṭā'ifiyya fī Lubnān. Ḥāḍiruhā wa-djudhūruhā al-ta'rīkhī wa 'l-idjtimā'ī*, Beirut 1980; Georges Charaf, *Communautés et pouvoir au Liban*, Beirut 1981; Muḥammad Aḥmad Tarhīnī, *al-Usus al-ta'rīkhiyya li-niẓām Lubnān al-ṭā'ifī*, Beirut 1981; Mas'ūd Ḍāhir, *al-Djudhūr al-ta'rīkhiyya li 'l-mas'ala al-ṭā'ifiyya al-lubnāniyya 1697-1861*, Beirut 1981; Yūsuf Ḳuzmā Khūrī, *al-Ṭā'ifiyya fī Lubnān min khilāl munāḳashāt madjlis al-nuwwāb 1923-1987*, Beirut 1989; P. Basile Basile, *Statut personnel et compétence judiciaire des communautés confessionelles au Liban*, Kaslik 1993; Antoine Nasri Messara, *Théorie générale du système politique libanais*, Paris 1994.

(A. RIECK)

AL-**ṬĀ'IR**, AL-**ṬAYR** (A.), any being or thing which is able to live or to fly above the ground level, either as a matter of function or for finding sustenance. Hence immense numbers of insects and birds are covered by the doublet *ṭā'ir/ṭayr* (pls. *ṭuyūr, aṭyār*). Moreover, with the advent of modern inventions, the root is also used for any machine or contrivance for flying (*ṭayarān*), and the flight of such contrivances as aeroplanes and airships (*ṭayyāra, ṭā'ira*), space ships and rockets and planetary satellites launched from an air-field (*maṭār*). By analogy, *ṭayyāra* can also denote a swiftly-running ship.

Amongst the birds, certain ones are formed by *ṭayr* plus an annexed complement. Thus amongst the most current, one finds *ṭ. al-mā'* for waterfowl; *ṭ. al-timsāḥ* "crocodile bird" for the Egyptian plover (*Plavianus aegyptius*) which finds its food between the teeth of the saurian; *ṭ. al-'arāḳib* for all birds of bad omen, such as the green woodpecker, *sharaḳraḳ* (*Picus viridis*); *ṭ. al-djamal* "camel bird", for the ostrich; *ṭ. al-layl* "night bird" for the screech-owl; and *ṭ. al-ḥarrāth* "tiller's bird" for the lapwing and seagull. As for the *ṭ. al-abābīl* mentioned in Ḳur'ān, CV, 3, as having pelted the army of Abraha when it was attacking Mecca [see MAKKA. 1], there are various views: some take them to be swifts (*Apus apus*) or swallows (*Hirundo rustica*), and others, bats. One might finally mention the *ṭ. Sulaymān* "Solomon's bird", which is considered to be the hoopoe (*Upupa epops*).

Amongst Arabic writers on natural history, it is really only al-Djāḥiẓ who treated at length of birds and everything connected with ornithology and hunting with birds, in his *K. al-Ḥayawān* (see *Bibl.*). Amongst the winged tribe, he distinguishes three categories: (a) the *bahā'im al-ṭayr*, plant and seed eaters; (b) the *sibā' al-ṭayr*, carnivorous raptors, including the *ṭayr ḥurr* "noble birds" (falcon, goshawk, sparrow hawk), trained for hunting by flight [see BAYZARA]; and (c) the *murakkab* and *mushtarak*, omnivorous birds like sparrows (*Ḥayawān*, i, 28-9, v, 205-7).

Based on Ḳur'ānic prescriptions, only game which is winged (the pheasant, partridge, quail) and farmyard birds are lawful for human consumption.

In ichthyology, the *ṭayra* or *murdjān* is the *Myripristis*, a small fish of the Mediterranean and Red Sea.

The diminutive *ṭuwayr* "small bird" can also be applied to butterflies, and the *ṭuyūrī* "bird seller" deals in small cage birds (canaries, etc.).

Finally, in astronomy, *al-Ṭā'ir* denotes (a) the Swan, the 20th northern constellation, and (b) the star Altaïr (from *al-Nasr al-ṭā'ir* "the flying vulture", sc. α *Aquilae*, mg. 0.9, of the 17th northern constellation of Aquila.

Bibliography: Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1928-9, ii, 91-5, s.v. *ṭā'ir*; Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, on the margins of Damīrī, ii, 250-2; A. Malouf, *Mu'djam al-ḥayawān/An Arabic zoological dictionary*, Cairo 1932, *passim*; Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1947, *passim*; A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO Alger*, ix (1951), s.v. *Altaïr*; P. Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen in Europa*, Wiesbaden 1959, 138-8 no. 52; H. Eisenstein, *Einführung*

in *die arabische Zoographie*, Berlin 1990, index s.v. *Vogel, ṭair*. (F. VIRÉ)

TAʿIZZ, now the main town in the southern highlands of the Yemen, some 195 km/120 miles south, slightly west, of Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] and about 140 km/88 miles north-west of Aden [see ʿADAN]. It is situated at the foot of Djabal Ṣabir which rises to a height of about 3,000 m/9,600 feet. Although the town is mentioned during the Ayyūbid period of Yemeni history (569-626/1173-1228) [see AYYŪBIDS], its main development came under the Rasūlids (628-845/1230-1441 [*q.v.*]), who made the town their capital. It seems that Taʿizz was originally a settlement in the region of al-Djanad, the seat of the early Islamic governors in the area, possibly until its rise and growth in the Rasūlid era, and that thereafter right down to the present day al-Djanad was a settlement in the region of Taʿizz.

Our knowledge of Ayyūbid Taʿizz comes in the main from Ibn al-Mudjāwir, a traveller from the east who wrote in the early years of the 7th/13th century (*Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1951-4). He comments (144-5) that the coffers (*khizāna*) of the port of Aden were taken up each year to the fortress of Taʿizz, four of them in all, containing the income of the ships arriving in Aden from India, that from the entry of madder (*fuwwa*) into the port, that of the export of horses to India and that of the ships travelling to India. Each one contained approximately 150,000 dīnārs. This practice came to an end in 625/1227. The fortress itself is described by Ibn al-Mudjāwir on p. 156. It was strong, built of gypsum and stones and with firm gates and walls. It was a stronghold placed between two towns, al-Maghriba and ʿUdayna, the latter at the foot of Ṣabir. A plan of Taʿizz follows the description on p. 157 of Löfgren's edition. Ibn al-Mudjāwir also mentions the water supply of Taʿizz (159) which came down from Djabal Ṣabir.

The first Rasūlid ruler to enlarge and develop Taʿizz was al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, the second sultan of the dynasty, who in 653/1255 made the town the Rasūlid capital. With the expansion of the town, the Rasūlid rulers over the years built in particular fine mosques and *madrasas*, many of which can still be seen to this day. In particular, the Djāmiʿ al-Muẓaffar (the founder dying in 694/1295) and the Ashrafiyya dating from al-Ashraf, regn. 778-803/1377-1401, are the most imposing and dominate the view over the town. Ismāʿīl al-Akwaʿ (*al-Madāris al-Islāmiyya fi ʾl-Yaman*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1980) provides some good descriptions of a number of such Rasūlid monuments in Taʿizz and traces also their historical background.

Taʿizz was visited during the Rasūlid period in 779/1377 by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Travels*, ii, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge 1962, 369 ff.) and described in some detail. He found the inhabitants "... overbearing, insolent and rude", though perhaps no more so than is usual in capital cities! He further mentions three quarters: [al-Maghriba], where was the residence of the sultan, and where his courtiers and civil servants live; ʿUdayna, where the sultan's *amīrs* and troops live; and al-Maḥālib, where the common people live and where the market is situated. He says much about the ceremonial of the Rasūlid court. Other later visitors to Taʿizz included Niebuhr in 1763, Glaser in the late 19th century and Hugh Scott in 1937.

In the Rasūlid context, it should perhaps be mentioned that the small village of Thaʿbāt on the slopes of Ṣabir provided a peaceful retreat for a number of the sultans (see G.R. Smith, *The Yemenite settlement of Thaʿbāt: historical, numismatic and epigraphic notes*, in *Arabian Studies*, i [1974], 119-35).

In 1948, Imām Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn left the previous capital, Ṣanʿāʾ, and moved to Taʿizz. All foreign missions and consulates were also established in the town. It was not until 1962, the time of the revolution in northern Yemen, that Ṣanʿāʾ regained her old position as capital of the Yemen Arab Republic which replaced the Mutawakkilī kingdom under the Ḥamīd al-Dīns. The importance of Taʿizz, however, as the chief town of the southern highlands of the Yemen (perhaps because of its geographical position in relation to the ports of Mocha and Aden and to the capital of the country, Ṣanʿāʾ) and the capital of Shāfiʿī north Yemen, has continued to this day.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources mentioned in the text, see also Khazradjī, *al-ʿUkūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, Leiden and London 1906-18, *passim*; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥadjarī, *Madjmūʿ buldān al-Yaman wa-ḳabāʾili-hā*, ed. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, Ṣanʿāʾ 1984, 145-55; Yūsuf ʿAbd Allāh, *Taʿizz*, in *al-Mawsūʿa al-Yamaniyya*, ed. Aḥmad Djābir ʿAfīf *et al.*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1992, i, 240-2. For the Rasūlid monuments of Taʿizz, see the following articles in W. Daum (ed.), *Yemen: 3000 years of art and civilisation in Arabia Felix*, Innsbruck 1988: R. Lewcock, *The medieval architecture of Yemen*; Venetia Porter, *The art of the Rasulids*; and Barbara Finster, *The architecture of the Rasulids*.

(G.R. SMITH)

AL-**TĀKA** [see KASALA].

TAḲBAYLIT, a dialect of Tamazight or Berber. It is spoken in Kabylia, one of the four Berberophone areas of Algeria, and a mountainous region at about 30 km from Algiers and comprehending roughly the area between Thénia and Collo along the Mediterranean sea to the Jurjura Mountains in the south. The numerical percentage of Berber-speaking people in Algeria has not been properly established, but there is a general agreement to estimate the Tamazight-speaking people to be about 20% of the population (see Chaker 1989). The Taḳbaylit speakers should number in the region of three million, a moderate figure taking into account the high rate of emigrants from Kabylia in Algiers and France.

The denomination Taḳbaylit probably derives from the Arabic *ḳabāʾil* "tribes" [see ḲABĪLA], but it is difficult to trace whether, and if so when, the people in the area now called Kabylia adopted a common name for the whole region. Today, the terms *Lekbayel* ("Kabyles") and *Taḳbaylit, Imazighen* ("Free men") and *Tamazight* are used by the people to define themselves and their language. This is linked to the development of a sense of community which, previously based on a village or a confederation of villages, now comes to include all the Kabyle region with an extension to the other Tamazight-speaking areas.

The general description of the Berber language [see BERBERS] applies to Taḳbaylit notwithstanding some specific traits of this dialect. Phonetically, Taḳbaylit is characterised by the presence of affricatives and by the spirantisation of the short occlusives. The long-term contiguity with Arabic-speaking areas has affected the Taḳbaylit lexicon, which has about 35% of borrowings from Arabic (see Chaker 1984, 82, 216-29). Until the last century, Taḳbaylit was a spoken language while Arabic script was used by a limited number of religious literates. A system for writing Taḳbaylit was developed in Latin script during the French colonisation of Algeria. The colonial school, however, did not stimulate the acquisition of literacy in Kabyle.

Similarly, Berber did not find a place in the compulsory education system of independent Algeria, where Arabic and French were taught. The present diffusion of literacy in Taḳbaylit has resulted from academic and associated activities that have found logistic and cultural support in the lands of Kabyle emigration, i.e. France, Canada, Belgium and the United States. The recent creation of the High Commission for "Amazigh-ness" (1995), after years of demonstrations and demands of recognition for Taḳbaylit in particular and Tamazight in general, has marked a change in the Algerian language policy.

The literary production in Taḳbaylit comprises oral, written and "audio-visual" genres. Historical changes have modified the social and cultural functions of the oral production, but the oral genres are still appreciated in Kabylia and in Kabyle emigrant circles. A prestigious genre is the *asefru*, a sonnet of nine verses grouped in three strophes rhyming according to the scheme AAB. Beautiful examples of this genre are the *isefra* (pl. form) of the famous poet Si Mohand ou Mhand (see Boulifa 1904). Another poetic genre is the so-called *izli*, a song of two or three couplets in rhyme. The production of this genre is anonymous (see Yacine 1988). The lyric genres usually give voice to individual desires and hopes, while a normative discourse is expressed in the narrative genres. For example, the *tiqsiḍin* are long narratives in verse recounting the adventures of Muslim heroes and saints, the *tidyanin* are aetiological legends about animals, while the *timucuha* narrate the adventures of heroes and heroines who assert the moral and symbolic organisation of the conventional Kabyle society (see Lacoste-Dujardin 1970).

Turning to the written production, texts in Taḳbaylit were written by Si Amar ou Saïd Boulifa already at the begin of the century, while in the 1940s some nationalist Kabyle songs had a written origin. *Les cahiers de Belaïd* by Belaïd Ait Ali (1963) is, however, considered to be the first literary work written in Kabyle. This work includes the author's personal versions of *timucuha* and narratives spanning the folk story, the novel and the autobiography. Since the 1970s, many collections of poems written in Kabyle have been published, and six novels in Kabyle have appeared, the first being *Asfel* or "Ritual sacrifice" by Rachid Aliche (Lyon, Féderop, 1981).

Genres produced in the "audio-visual" mode, i.e. supported by technical means of recording, are also newcomers on the scene. The so-called "modern song" is the most important genre as to the amount of production and public acclaim. The continuity between "modern songs" and oral poetry is indubitable, but modifications in music and themes are also remarkable. The assertion of Kabyle identity is a pivotal element of the "modern songs", but singers such as Aït Manguellet, Idir and Djura are also radical in their criticism of social norms and values.

The language used in the recent production is characterised by lexical borrowings from French and by neologisms derived from other Berber dialects. Syntactic interactions between Kabyle and French occur in the written genres (see Abrous 1991). Conversely, the Kabyle mother tongue punctuates novels and poems written in French by authors such as Taos and Jean Amrouche, Tahar Djaoud, Nabile Farès, Mouloud Mammeri and many others. Taking into consideration the process of literacy acquisition in Kabylia, the works produced in Kabyle and those written in French by Kabyle authors should be seen in the framework of an encompassing Kabyle literary space (see Merolla 1995).

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(Daniela Merolla)

TAKBĪR (a.), verbal noun of form II from the root *k-b-r* in the denominative sense, to pronounce the formula *Allāhu akbar*. It is already used in this sense in the Ḳur'ān (e.g. LXXIV, 3; XVII, 111 with God as the object). On the different explanations of the elative *akbar* in this formula, see *LʿA*, s.v., and the Ḳur'ānic elative *akram* also applied to God (XCVI, 3) and *aʿlā* (XCII, 20; LXXXVII, 1).

The formula, as the briefest expression of the absolute superiority of the One God, is used in Muslim life in different circumstances, in which the idea of God, His greatness and goodness is suggested. When Muḥammad had learned by supernatural means of the death of the Nadjāshī in Abyssinia, he proclaimed the news to those around him, arranged them in rows on the Muṣallā and had a *takbīr* pronounced four times (al-Bukhārī, *Djanā'iz*, *bābs* 4, 55, 61). On other occasions also, Muḥammad is said to have called the *takbīr* four or five times over a funeral bier (Muslim, *Djanā'iz*, trad. 72). The fourfold *takbīr* remained or became usual at the *ṣalāt* for the dead (al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, 47). The *adhān* [*q.v.*] is also opened with a fourfold *takbīr*.

The Prophet is said to have uttered very frequently the *takbīr* during the Ḥadjdj, at the beginning (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 144), during (al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, *bābs* 132, 133; but not too loudly, *bāb* 131) and at the end of the journey (Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 5), at the sight of the Kaʿba (*ibid.*, iii, 320), at the Black Stone (*ibid.*, i, 264), between Minā and ʿArafa (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb*, 86), on Ṣafā and Marwa (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 320), etc.

The *takbīr* is prescribed by the law at the beginning of the *ṣalāt* (the so-called *takbīrat al-iḥrām*); during the *ṣalāt* it is five times repeated.

Bibliography: the dictionaries, s.v. *k-b-r*; T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islām*, 629; Th.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 61, 65; A.J. Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v.; Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim devotions*, repr. Oxford 1996, 29-36; see also ṢALĀT. III. 8. (A.J. Wensinck)

TAḲDĪR (a.), verbal noun of the form II verb *ḳaddara*, used variously as a technical term.

1. Grammatical usages.

(a) The predominant meaning of *taḳdīr* is "the imaginary utterance which the speaker intends as if he were saying it, when expressing a given literal utterance". This definition needs some elucidation.

In this meaning, *taḳdīr* is a grammatical technical term belonging to the terminology of one of the main theories of Arabic grammar, which we may call here "the theory of *taḳdīr*". Since Arabic texts on grammar do not include any systematic discussion of this theory, its principles and notions, as well as the sense of its terminology, must be inferred from the data found in these texts.

The theory of *taḳdīr* is based on the notion of al-

Khalīl, Sībawayhi's teacher, that, when pronouncing given utterances, the speaker simultaneously intends that it is as if he were expressing another utterance, differing in construction, but not in its intended meaning from his literal utterance (see Sībawayhi, ii, 137, ll. 8-15). Thus, when the speaker expresses a given literal utterance, a corresponding imaginary utterance exists in his mind. If we mark the literal utterance by X and its corresponding imaginary utterance by Y, we can say that the main notion of the theory of *taḳdīr* is that the speaker intends, or imagines, that when he says X it is as if he were saying Y. For example, the grammarians hold that when saying *Zayd^un fi 'l-dāri* (= X) "Zayd is in the house", the speaker intends that it is as if he were saying *Zayd^un istaḳarra fi 'l-dāri* (= Y) lit. "Zayd has made his abode in the house". The imaginary utterance *Zayd^un istaḳarra fi 'l-dāri* is given the name *taḳdīr*.

The notion of *taḳdīr* was created by the grammarians in order to solve a theoretical difficulty, and they apply it when they find that the literal construction of a given utterance does not accord with one of their theories. E.g. the later grammarians, from the 10th century onwards, believe that the prepositions called *ḥurūf al-djarr* are connective particles which can only connect a verb or a participle with a noun, as in the example *inṣaraftu ʿan Zayd^in* "I went away from Zayd" (see Levin, in *JSAI*, x, 359-60). Since the literal construction of the utterance *Zayd^un fi 'l-dāri* does not include a verb, the particle *fī* apparently connects a noun with another noun. Hence the grammarians assume that when the speaker says *Zayd^un fi 'l-dāri*, he intends to say *Zayd^un istaḳarra fi 'l-dāri*. In this imaginary utterance, the particle *fī* connects the unexpressed verb *istaḳarra* with the noun *al-dār*, thus bringing the construction of the imaginary utterance called *taḳdīr* into line with the theory that *ḥurūf al-djarr* can only connect a verb or a participle with a noun.

It can be inferred from the sources that, in the grammarians' view, the relevant construction as far as grammatical analysis is concerned is that of the imaginary utterance (= *al-taḳdīr*) and not that of the literal one (= *al-lafẓ*), since it is the construction of the former which exists in the speaker's mind. This notion led the grammarians to believe that an imaginary construction, which accords with their theories, enables the occurrence of a non-according literal utterance.

(b) It can be inferred that the grammarians assume *taḳdīr* to exist in the speaker's mind in the following four cases:

(i) When they hold that a given part of the sentence is unexpressed by the speaker since it is "concealed" in his mind. In the grammarians' terminology, the unexpressed part of the sentence is usually called *muḍmar* "concealed in the mind" (see e.g. Sībawayhi, i, 32, l. 2; 42, l. 9), but sometimes it is denoted by the full form of the term, which is *muḍmar fi 'l-niyya* "concealed in the mind [of the speaker]" (see e.g. *ibid.*, i, 106, ll. 12-14), *muḍmar fī niyyatika* (i, 131, ll. 12-14), and *muḍmar fī nafsika* "concealed in your mind" (Ibn Djinnī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 103, ll. 11-12). It is also called *muḳaddar* "intended [in the mind of the speaker]" (see e.g. Ibn Yaʿīsh, i, 820, l. 8), and rarely also *muḳaddar fi 'l-niyya* "intended in the mind" (al-Djurdjānī, i, 275, l. 3), and *muḳaddar fī ḳalbika*, lit. "intended in your heart" (al-Sīrāfī, according to Jahn, i, 2, 74, n. 7).

The considerations leading the grammarians to hold that a given part of the sentence is concealed in the speaker's mind are usually grammatical, but sometimes they are both grammatical and semantic. Frequently, they say that a given part of the sentence is unexpressed in the literal construction since the latter does not include a word which can serve as an *ʿāmil*, i.e. as a factor producing the case-ending of a given noun, or a mood-ending of an imperfect verb. Thus, e.g., Ibn Yaʿīsh says concerning the sentence *Zayd^an ḍarabtuhu* "Zayd (acc.) I hit him": *wa-taḳdīruhu ḍarabtu Zayd^an ḍarabtuhu* "That which the speaker intends [when saying *Zayd^an ḍarabtuhu*] is *ḍarabtu Zayd^an ḍarabtuhu* (lit. "I hit Zayd, I hit him)" (Ibn Yaʿīsh, i, 199, 6). The form *ḍarabtu*, occurring at the beginning of the *taḳdīr* construction, is unnecessary for understanding the literal utterance *Zayd^an ḍarabtuhu*, but grammatically it is indispensable, since it is considered as the *ʿāmil* producing the accusative in *Zayd^an*.

(ii) The grammarians believe that there are given utterances that include a "superfluous" part. In this case they assume that a corresponding imaginary utterance (= *taḳdīr*) which does not include this "superfluous" part, exists in the speaker's mind. E.g. some grammarians hold the view that in a sentence containing a *badal*, the noun which is "replaced" by the *badal* (= *al-mubdal minhu*) does not occur in the *taḳdīr* construction. E.g. in the sentence *mā djāʾanī aḥad^un illā Zayd^un* "Nobody came to me except Zayd", *Zayd^un* is the *badal* of *aḥad^un*. In referring to this example, al-Mubarrad says: *fa-yaṣīru 'l-taḳdīru mā djāʾanī illā Zayd^un* "the *taḳdīr* [construction] [of the above utterance] is *mā djāʾanī illā Zayd^un* (al-Mubarrad, iv, 394, ll. 5-6). Al-Mubarrad's illustration of this *taḳdīr* derives from the notion that each verb can produce the nominative in one subject only. Since in the literal construction of *mā djāʾanī aḥad^un illā Zayd^un*, the verb *djāʾa* is supposed to produce the nominative both in *aḥad^un* and in *Zayd^un*, al-Mubarrad assumes that, when expressing this utterance, the speaker intends that it is as if he were saying *mā djāʾanī illā Zayd^un*. Thus the *taḳdīr* construction contains only one nominative (*Zayd^un*) which is affected by the verb *djāʾa*. Note that in this case the *taḳdīr* construction is shorter than the literal one.

(iii) The grammarians further believe that, in certain syntactic constructions, the literal word-order of the utterance differs from that intended by the speaker. This view is usually expressed when the literal word-order does not accord with one of the principles of the theory of the 3rd person pronoun. E.g. in referring to the Bedouin proverb *fī baytihi yuʾtā 'l-ḥakamu* "The arbitrator must be met in his home", Ibn al-Sarrādj says that this utterance is grammatically permissible *li-anna 'l-taḳdīr yuʾtā 'l-ḥakamu fī baytihi* "because what the speaker intends [when saying *fī baytihi yuʾtā 'l-ḥakamu*] is *yuʾtā 'l-ḥakamu fī baytihi* (Ibn al-Sarrādj, ii, 238, l. 17-239, l. 1). He expresses this view since the word-order of the literal utterance contradicts one of the main principles of the theory of the 3rd person pronoun, namely, that this pronoun cannot precede its antecedent (see Levin, in *JSAI*, xii, 40-3). However, in *fī baytihi yuʾtā 'l-ḥakamu* the pronoun *-hi* precedes its antecedent *al-ḥakamu*. This theoretical difficulty is solved by contending that the *taḳdīr* of this utterance is *yuʾtā 'l-ḥakamu fī baytihi*. Since in the *taḳdīr* construction existing in the speaker's mind, the pronoun *-hi* does not precede its antecedent, its word-order accords with the grammarians' theory of the 3rd person pronoun.

(iv) The grammarians also believe that, when uttering given utterances, the speaker intends to express another utterance, corresponding in sense to his literal utterance. This view is held when the literal construction does not accord with one of the grammarians' theories, or when it needs some theoretical elucida-

tion. E.g. in his discussion of the syntactic construction of utterances expressing wonder, known as *taʿadjdjub*, al-Mubarrad says about the example *mā aḥsana Zayd^an* "How good is Zayd!": *fa-taḳdīruhu shayʾun aḥsana Zayd^an* "The utterance the speaker intends [when saying *mā aḥsana Zayd^an*] is *shayʾun aḥsana Zayd^an* (lit. "something made Zayd [to be] good") (al-Mubarrad, iv, 173, ll. 5-9). In al-Mubarrad's view, this *taḳdīr* construction provides evidence that *aḥsana* is a past tense verb form according to the pattern *afʿala*, and not an accusative elative form on this pattern, as was held by the grammarians of al-Kūfa. The significance of al-Mubarrad's assumption, that *mā* in the literal construction is regarded by the speaker as equivalent to *shayʾ*, is that *mā*, like *shayʾ*, is here a complete noun which does not need any complement (= *ṣila*), as opposed to *mā* occurring in certain syntactic constructions as a relative pronoun which needs a complement. Since in al-Mubarrad's view *mā* is a complete noun, he determines in his syntactic analysis of *mā aḥsana Zayd^an* that *mā* is virtually a nominative, occurring as a subject (= *mubtadaʾ*), *aḥsana* a verb, predicate of *mā*, and *Zayd^an* the direct object of *aḥsana* (see iv, 173, ll. 7-8).

The grammarians also apply the theory of *taḳdīr* in the domains of phonetics and morphology. They assume that certain vowels which do not occur in the literal form of given words are intended in the speaker's mind. The most salient example illustrating this notion is that of nouns which cannot take the case-ending vowels because of their phonetic construction. Here the grammarians hold that the final sound of the pausal form of the noun, which is an *alif* (= *ā*) includes an implicit vowel which the speaker intends that it is as if he were saying it. Thus the final *alif* of the form *fatā* "a youngster" includes an implicit case-ending vowel, which is either a *ḍamma*, a *fatḥa* or a *kasra*, according to the effect of its *ʿāmil* (see Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr*, ii, 607, ll. 3-7; cf. al-Djurdjānī, i, 106, ll. 2-15; Ibn Yaʿīsh, i, 66, ll. 7-15).

2. *The sense of the term taḳdīr.*

The following aspects confirm the definition of the term *taḳdīr* given at the beginning of this article: (a) The literal sense of *taḳdīr* is "that which somebody intends". In this meaning, *taḳdīr* is a verbal noun in the sense of a passive participle of the verb *ḳaddara* in the sense of "he intended" (for *ḳaddara* in this sense, see *Tahdhīb*, ix, 24A, ll. 8-10; *LʿA*, v, 76B, ll. 10-12. For verbal nouns denoting the meaning of an active or a passive participle, see Sībawayhi, ii, 242, ll. 3-6; Ibn Yaʿīsh, i, 810, ll. 7-9). This literal sense of the term *taḳdīr* is attested by the grammatical sources. Thus the great scholar Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 1344) notes that in grammatical terminology the sense of *taḳdīr* is the same as that of *al-niyya* (Abū Ḥayyān, 147, ll. 5-6). This remark is confirmed by many texts where the forms *taḳdīr* and *niyya* correspond to each other. Similarly, a correspondence is frequently found between other technical terms and phrases derived from the roots *ḳ-d-r* and *n-w-y*.

(b) It can also be inferred that the technical phrase *ka-annahu ḳāla* "it is as if he [i.e. the speaker] were saying" corresponds to *taḳdīr* (compare Ibn Yaʿīsh, i, 199, l. 6, and Sībawayhi, i, 32, l. 1).

(c) A combination of the expressions *taḳdīr* and *ka-annahu ḳāla* sometimes occurs in the texts, as in the example *taḳdīruhu ka-annahu ḳāla li ʾl-sāmiʿ* "That which he [i.e. the poet] intended is as if he were saying to the hearer..." (al-Djurdjānī, *Dalāʾil*, 190, l. 6, which is a source dealing with rhetoric). It seems safe to assume that the expressions *taḳdīr* and *ka-annahu ḳāla* are in fact elliptical ways of expressing the rare combination *al-taḳdīr... ka-annahu ḳāla*. Hence, in grammatical terminology, *taḳdīr* and *ka-annahu ḳāla* have the same meaning.

The data in the grammatical texts show Wansbrough's conclusion that the term *taḳdīr* "signifies reconstruction or restoration..., namely, of a scriptual context or passage" to be incorrect (see Wansbrough, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii [1970], 247, ll. 17-21; see also 248, ll. 3-5, 259, ll. 21-5).

3. *The process of inferring the taḳdīr construction.*

The *taḳdīr* construction intended by the speaker is inferred by the grammarians from the literal construction expressed by him. The *taḳdīr* of certain elliptical sentences can be inferred from the circumstances under which these sentences are expressed (see Ibn Djinnī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 284, l. 12-285, l. 6).

The process of inferring the *taḳdīr* is based on the following principles: (a) the sense of the *taḳdīr* construction must accord with that of the literal one; (b) the *taḳdīr* construction must agree with the principles of Arabic grammatical theory; and (c) the *taḳdīr* construction can be an imaginary one, which never occurs in speech (see *ibid.*, ii, 408, l. 16-409, l. 8).

This survey of the term *taḳdīr* is based on data gathered from grammatical texts. The study of the term in texts from other domains such as rhetoric, Ḳurʾān exegesis and commentaries on poetry needs further investigation.

4. *The terminology of the theory of taḳdīr.*

The terminology of the theory of *taḳdīr* consists of technical terms and phrases mainly derived from the roots *ḳ-d-r* and *n-w-y*. However, it also includes terms and phrases derived from the roots *r-w-d*, *m-th-l*, *ʿ-n-y*, *ḍ-m-r*, and *ʾ-w-l*. Phrases derived from the roots *w-h-m*, *kh-y-l* and *ṣ-w-r* also appear, if rarely. The technical terms and phrases derived from the above roots are discussed in detail in Levin, al-Taḳdīr. *Studies in Arabic grammatical thought and terminology.*

5. Finally, it should be noted that Arabic grammatical terminology includes some technical terms and phrases derived from the root *ḳ-d-r* which do not refer to the theory of *taḳdīr* (some of these are denoted by the form *taḳdīr* itself). The sense of these is completely different from that of their homonyms used in association with this theory. For details see the above-mentioned forthcoming book.

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(A. Levin)

2. As a term in land management and taxation.

Here it is used for the process of estimating the amount or value of a crop for taxation purposes, hence the equivalent of *taḵẖmīn*; in the Arabic-Spanish *Vocabulista* of Pedro de Alcala, *apodar, apreciar.* See Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 312-13, and MISĀḤA. 1. (ED.)

TAKFĪR (A.), the verbal noun from the form II verb *kaffara* "to declare someone a *kāfir* or unbeliever".

1. General definition.

From earliest Islamic times onwards, this was an accusation hurled at opponents by sectarians and zealots, such as the Khāridjites [*q.v.*]; but a theologian like al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] held that, since the adoption of *kufr* was the equivalent here of apostasy, entailing the death penalty [see MURTADD], it should not be lightly made (*Fayṣal al-tafriḳa bayn al-Islam wa 'l-zandaḳa*, quoted in B. Lewis, *The political language of Islam*, Chicago-London 1988, 85-6). It has nevertheless continued to be used into modern times, and forms part of the vocabulary of abuse of modern Islamic fundamentalist groups, such as the Egyptian *al-Takfīr wa 'l-hidjra* group [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: See that to KĀFIR. (ED.)

2. In West Africa.

The doctrine of *takfīr* was first enunciated in the West African context by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī [*q.v.*] of Tlemcen, who answered questions for Askiya *al-ḥādjdj* Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*] of Songhay *ca.* 1498. Called on to make a judgment on the previous ruler Sunni ʿAlī Bēr, he gave a three-part definition of *kufr*: holding a belief which is itself *kufr*, such as disavowal of the Creator or an attribute of His without which He would not be Creator, or the denial of prophecy; doing that which is only done by an unbeliever even though the act itself is not itself *kufr*, such as declaring wine-drinking and adultery to be lawful; or uttering something which it is known would only emanate from one who does not know God. On this latter point he admits there has been difference of opinion, notably about the status of the Muʿtazila and other innovators (*ahl al-bidʿa*). These positions are evidently based on the views of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā of Ceuta [*q.v.*] (d. 1149), as stated in his *K. al-Shifā'*. In his treatise on the status of the Jews of Tuwāt and their synagogue (see *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ fī uṣūl al-falāḥ*, ed. Rābiḥ Būnār, Algiers, 1968, 103), he also pronounces *takfīr* against those who befriend the Jews and encourage or condone their "rebellion against the laws", based on a restrictive interpretation of Ḳur'ān, V, 51.

Around the same time, another treatise was written for Askiya *al-Ḥādjdj* Muḥammad by al-ʿĀḳib al-Anuṣammanī of Takidda [*q.v.*] which, to judge by the surviving fragment, also dealt extensively with *takfīr*. He classifies Muslims into several groups based on the quality of their belief, of which the first four probably correspond to perpetrators of the types of *kufr* which he cites from the commentary of al-Kirmānī on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī: the *kufr* of unawareness (*al-inkār*), of denial (*al-djuḥūd*), of obduracy (*al-muʿānada*), and of hypocrisy (*al-nifāḳ*) [see KĀFIR].

In the 19th century, the Fulani *mudjaddid* ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye (Fūdī) (d. 1232/1817 [*q.v.*]) accused the Hausa sultans of *kufr*, using the arguments of al-Maghīlī to show that they ruled in such a way as to give proof that they were unbelievers, and that a *djihād* to overthrow them was incumbent. These views are expounded in several of his works, most notably *Taʿlīm al-ikhwān bi 'l-umūr allatī kaffarnā bihā mulūk al-sūdān* (tr. B.G. Martin, in *MES*, iv/1 [1967], 50-97). He and his son Muḥammad Bello [*q.v.*] also accused Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānemī, Shehu [Shaykh] of Bornū [*q.v.*] similarly, in a lengthy correspondence included in Bello's *Infāḳ al-maysūr* (ed. C.J. Whitting, London 1951, 124-74). All of these arguments were known to *al-ḥādjdj* ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī (d. 1280/1864), who used them against Aḥmad Lobbo, ruler of Māsina, his most damaging criticism being that the latter had come to the aid of the unbelieving ruler of Segu [*q.v.*] against *al-ḥādjdj* ʿUmar.

In the 1970s in Nigeria, a general *takfīr* was pronounced against Ṣūfīs, and especially adherents of the Tidjāniyya *ṭarīḳa*, by the former Grand *Ḳāḍī* of Northern Nigeria Abū Bakr b. Maḥmūd Gumi (d. 1992), on the grounds that Ṣūfī beliefs and practices as a whole are innovations tantamount to *kufr*. This evoked many scholarly responses, the most detailed of which is *al-Takfīr akhṭar bidʿa tuhaddid al-Islām wa 'l-waḥda bayn al-muslimīn* by Shaykh Sharīf Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ of Maiduguri (publ. Cairo 1986).

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AL-**TAKFĪR** WA 'L-**HIDJRA** (A.), the name of one of several militant Islamic groups which appeared in Egypt from the early 1970s onwards, against the background of a material and spiritual crisis. The name, literally meaning "charging [Muslims] with unbelief, and emigration [from an un-Islamically ruled state]" (reflecting two pillars of the group's ideology), was given to it by the media, while its own members called it *djamāʿat al-muslimīn* "The Society of Muslims".

Al-Takfīr wa 'l-Hidjra was founded in 1971 by Shukrī Muṣṭafā, a former Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] activist disenchanted with the Brotherhood's "moderation". Muṣṭafā recruited mostly young men and (a unique feature of this group) women, of rural or urban lower middle-class background, managing to attract as many as 2,000 to 3,000 adherents by 1977. They were organised in a network throughout the country's major cities and the countryside, with a hierarchy of command and rigid rules of loyalty and discipline. Regarding Egyptian society as corrupt and even atheist, the group sought to detach itself from it, its members secluding themselves from family, friends and society's institutions and moving to reside in communes. The authorities at first considered them harmless, but arrested some of them in 1976 and early 1977. In July 1977 the group abducted the former Minister of *Awḳāf* Muḥammad al-Dhahabī in order to gain the release of detained members, then killed him when their demands were not met. This led to a clampdown on the group, including the arrest and subsequent execution of Shukrī Muṣṭafā and four other leaders, which devastated the organisation.

The ideology of *al-Takfīr wa 'l-Hidjra* comprised elements drawn from the teachings of Sayyid Ḳuṭb [*q.v.*] and, through them, the Khawāridj [*q.v.*]. Central to it was the idea of *takfīr*, namely, the idea that Islamic

society as a whole had reverted to a state of unbelief or *djāhiliyya* (other groups professing *takfīr* applied it to the government only). Since society was beyond redemption, the group advocated *hidjra*, to wit, distancing itself from society as much as possible—from its mosques, its gathering places, its habits and customs. Ultimately, the group would emigrate to another country, establish a purified community there, then return and conquer the unbelieving society through *djihād* (this modern concept of *hidjra* seems, again, to have been unique to this organisation). The group also professed *idjtihād*, that is, independent judgement in matters of religious law, permitted its members to pray only behind its own *imāms* and released them from some of the conventional religious duties.

After the death of Muṣṭafā, the organisation disintegrated. Some of its former members may have joined successor groups advocating similar ideas in the 1980s and 1990s.

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TAKHALLUṢ (A.), literally, "freeing oneself, escaping from (something)", a technical term of literary usage.

1. In literary form.

Here, it is the transition from the introduction [see NASĪB] of the polythematic *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] to subsequent themes, esp. the panegyric section. Often called *khurūdj* "exit", it may be abrupt, without any attempt at preparing what follows, or effected brusquely with formulas such as *daʿ dhā* "leave this (and speak on something else)". From ʿAbbāsid times onwards, poets and critics favoured transitions by means of one or a few lines serving as a hinge between the two sections. In a quasi-narrative *takhalluṣ*, the poet may turn away from barren desert or hopeless love to kind and generous patron. Very often the *takhalluṣ* is effected by means of a simile or metaphor involving a comparison of the patron with a phenomenon described in the preceding, e.g. ["He kissed me all night . . . until] Morning appeared with a blaze as bright as the caliph's face when he is praised", a line by Muḥammad b. Wuhayb often given as an example of *ḥusn al-takhalluṣ*. Critics from the time of Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] onwards have studied the *takhalluṣ*; numerous works on *badīʿ* discuss *ḥusn al-takhalluṣ* or *ḥusn al-khurūdj*. The school of al-Sakkākī and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.vv.*] considers it, with the beginning and the end of the poem [see IBTIDĀʾ and INTIHĀʾ], as one of three places meriting particular attention.

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2. In the sense of pen-name.

In Persian literature a different meaning became attached to *takhalluṣ* and the synonymous *makhlaṣ*, viz. that of a pen-name as it was adopted in particular by poets and used as a rhetorical device in poetry. Pen-names were an element of the poetical tradition from the very beginning, but the semantic change in the term *takhalluṣ* must have taken place at a comparatively late date. The Persian rhetoricians only knew it in the sense of a "transition" in a poem, commonly found in Arabic textbooks. In the anthology *Lubāb al-albāb*, compiled in 1220, ʿAwfī [*q.v.*] uses phrases like *al-mulaḳḳab bi-* whenever he refers to a pen-name. This indicates that they were regarded as no more than a special case of the *laḳab* [*q.v.*], which still lacked a proper appellation of its own. Only in the Tīmūrid period does the semantic change appear to be fully completed, as it is attested, for instance, by the use of *takhalluṣ* in Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*.

One of the rare reports on the actual adoption of a pen-name is an anecdote telling how the Saldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] showed his appreciation for a clever improvisation by permitting the poet Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] to choose a pen-name based on one of his *laḳabs* (Niẓāmī-yi ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Tehran 1957, 65-9). Such a derivation from the name of a patron must have been quite common, even if it has only seldom been recorded. However, other references can also be detected in pen-names. Very often they relate to abstract concepts, images or motifs which were considered to be particularly poetic. On the other hand, there are also names indicating geographical origin, trades or religious affiliations. Sometimes poets changed their names in the course of their careers or used different names in poems written in different languages.

The application of pen-names to poetry is best known from its use in the concluding passages of the classical Persian *ghazal* [*q.v.*]. In the early 6th/12th century, however, this convention was not yet fully established. In the poetry of Sanāʾī [*q.v.*], for instance, it only occurs in less than one-third of the *ghazals*, whereas pen-names are used with much greater frequency in the *ḳaṣīdas*. At that time, apparently, references to the poet's own name were still a free rhetorical device which could be applied to any form of poetry, either to mark a transition in a poem or to add a personal touch to the poetical statement. An instance of each of these functions can be found in the poem *Mādar-i may* by Rūdakī [*q.v.*], the oldest complete *ḳaṣīda* in Persian which has survived. As this example shows, the device was already well known to early court poets. This refutes the attempts (e.g. by E.E. Bertel's and A. Ateş) to seek its origin in the rise of Ṣūfī poetry. Pen-names were also used as structural elements in didactical *mathnawīs*, of which the convention introduced by Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] to conclude each *maḳāla* of his poem *Makhzan al-asrār* with a *takhalluṣ* provides a clear example.

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TAKHMĪS (A., pl. *takhāmīs*), a special kind of amplification of poetry which flourished as a genre from the 7/13th century until the modern era. In the literary canon before this period, the term normally referred to the process of composing *mukhammasāt* (pentastichic, stanzaic poems by a *single author* of which the earliest surviving example is attributed to Abū Nuwās [see MUSAMMAṬ]). It is essential to understand a distinction between *takhmīs*, when referring to an amplified poem, and *mukhammas* (though the terms are sometimes used interchangeably without rigour).

Takhmīs involves the addition of three hemistichs

to each *bayt* of a given poem; the rhyme letter of the added hemistichs is determined by the first hemistich of each successive *bayt*. This extra material usually precedes the original *bayt*; however, less commonly the *bayt* may be split and filled (see Cairo, *Fihris*, iii, 49)—a process normally referred to as *tashṭīr*. (The number of added hemistichs may in fact be more or less than three, in which case the term for the poem is variously *tarbīʿ* [2 added hemistichs], *tasbīʿ* [5 added hemistichs], etc.)

The stanzas of a *takhmīs* can be arranged on the page in one of two ways (upper case letters represent the rhyme words of the original hemistich; schemata are to be read from left to right):

(i)
xxxxxxa
xxxxxxa
xxxxxxa
xxxxxxA xxxxxxA

xxxxxxb
xxxxxxb
xxxxxxb
xxxxxxB xxxxxxA

(ii)
xxxxxxa xxxxxxa
xxxxxxa xxxxxxA
xxxxxxA

xxxxxxb xxxxxxb
xxxxxxb xxxxxxB
xxxxxxA

(Also to be found in some mss. is the following patterning:
xxxxxxa xxxxxxa xxxxxxa
xxxxxxA
xxxxxxA etc.)

Mediaeval scribes tended to favour (i); modern printed texts prefer (ii). The essential point is that the genre is given to visual manipulation, an aspect of the poetry especially important in the calligraphic celebration of al-Būṣīrī's *Burda* ode (see below) and other religious poems.

Literary value. *Takhmīs* may be viewed, in some measure, as a logical and natural development in the post-classical period of the poetic phenomena of *taḍmīn* (quotation) and *muʿāraḍa/naẓīra* (imitation), and of the pre-existent *mukhammas* form. *Takhmīs* also feeds off a tendency towards explication (*sharḥ*) in the reception and diffusion of the poetic tradition (this fact is illustrated by the titles often given to these amplifications, e.g. al-Āthārī's (d. 828/1425) *Nayl al-murād fī takhmīs Bānat Suʿād* evokes the title of a straightforward exegesis of Kaʿb's original poem, viz. Djalāl ad-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *Kunh al-murād fī sharḥ Bānat Suʿād* (Sezgin, ii, 232-4); some *takhāmīs* themselves spawn a *sharḥ*—thus several layers of literature cloak the original (e.g. Mach 4094). With regard to the Mamlūk era, in which period religious *takhāmīs* flourished, we must understand that genre in the same light as other poetic developments fomented largely by the culture which celebrated the Prophet (broadly the same religio-literary culture which gave rise to *tadhyīl*, *naʿtiyya*, and *badīʿiyya* poetry, see Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His messenger*). A recent aesthetic judgment—one which explains the dearth of scholarly attention paid to this literary genre—is as follows: "The procedure is interesting from a technical point of view, but it has the drawback that it compels the amplifier to expound in five (or seven or however many) lines what the original poet has said quite satisfactorily in two. It is thus no surprise that these poetic expansions have, as a rule, slight literary merit and that they are quite frequently copied without indication of their author..." (de Blois). It is, however, worth drawing a distinction here between secular and religious poems, two categories which explain differing levels (or functions) of creativity.

There are seven non-religious amplifications in the *dīwān* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 752/1351 [*q.v.*]), which include glosses on the work of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa and Ibn Zaydūn (Vajda further notes the ascription to him of a *takhmīs* of a poem by Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman). It is, in particular, al-Ḥillī's treatment of Ibn Zaydūn's *Nūniyya* which illustrates well the possibilities of poetic creativity; for he develops quite artfully the antitheses built into the original poem.

In the religious sphere, one must mention Ibn al-ʿArabī's (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]) *takhmīs* upon a 22-line Ṣūfī poem (*ḳaṣīda*) by Abū Madyan (d. 594/1197). His amplification (which is a *sharḥ* of sorts) enhances the meaning and function of the original which sets out the etiquette of self-effacement and obedience within the Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa*. Certain stanzas are especially sensitive, and in some cases constitute clever syntactic insertions. Noteworthy is the way Ibn al-ʿArabī refers to the very process of *takhmīs* in the last verse, suggesting thereby the established nature and function of the genre (*wa ʾdʿu li-man khammasa ʾl-aṣla ʾlladhī ḥasunā*). In subsequent periods, examples of the genre reflect Ṣūfī practice, belief and sensitivity more generally, notably in the feature of devotional repetition (i.e. there is a striking reminiscence of the *dhikr* in Mingana 473: "Every stanza begins with the word *Allāh*...").

An earlier *takhmīs* is one of several that survive of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr's *Bānat Suʿād* or "Burda" (see Sezgin, ii, 234-5), ascribed to Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191 [*q.v.*]). However, it is the later "Burda" (also known as *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*) of al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1296 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) which has been the most amplified in this way (Brockelmann, S I, 467-70); over 80 *takhāmīs* of this poem survive, 69 of them in a single collection containing some of the most recent examples (see Cairo, *Fihris*, iii, 49-57).

Many *takhāmīs* of the "Burda" are prefaced in mss. by a version of the anecdote contained in al-Kutubī's *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1951, ii, 418-19) which describes the first realisation of the poem's healing powers. The point to note is that the ms. makes no reference to the *takhmīs* itself, as illustrated symptomatically by the *explicit* to a copy of al-Fayyūmī's *takhmīs* (Khalili 563): *tammat al-burda al-muʿazzama al-mubadjdjala bi-ḥamdi ʾllāh taʿālā wa-mannihi*. Thus in the web of individuals which form the culture of this poem's celebration only the poet (al-Būṣīrī) and the text of the "Burda" itself are constant; even the dedicatee of a given ms. has been known to change with time. The motive is always pious and self-effacing: the preface in ms. Loth 1044 to Abū Bakr b. Ramaḍān b. Mūk's *takhmīs* explains the deliverance he experienced through the writing of his "gloss" (*fa-raʾaytu ʾl-faradja fī athnāʾihi*). The same sentiments underpin a whole tradition in the subjection of Ibn al-Naḥwī's (d. 513/1119) invocational *al-Ḳaṣīda al-munfaridja* to numerous *takhāmīs* (see Mach 4078-80).

Examination of the Cairo inventory and other samples of the *Burda* shows that amplifications tend to rework the lexicon of the individual *bayt*; hence collectively *takhāmīs* constitute, as one would expect,

variations on a theme. The *Djamʿ al-takhāmīs* by Aytmish al-Khiḍarī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 846/1442) (which in the Chester Beatty ms. (4215) of the 10th/16th century provides a good example of the potential of calligraphic creativity and variety) offers an excellent sample: a vocabulary seems to be established for each stanza (or section of the *Burda*); sometimes shared lexical formulae and conventions appear to have been established that are in fact independent of the language of the *bayt* (and illustrate the exegetical tradition for the particular section or *bayt*). For example, the *bayt* beginning *waʾnsub ilā dhātihī mā shiʾta min sharaf^in* (in the section of the poem describing the *Isrāʾ* has inspired a number of *takhāmīs* (dating back to the 14th century), all of which articulate the role of the Prophet in the *ṣuḥuf* (or text of the Ḳurʾān).

The same collection—in the very manner of its calligraphic arrangement—further illustrates the essential subordination of the amplification to the *Burda* (and the virtual anonymity of the glossator in such collective presentations); and, conversely, that certain *takhāmīs* (from various periods) were favourites and had a wide diffusion: for in the Aytmish collection we find the three *takhāmīs* contained in the Khalili collection (mss. 563, 223 and 79), notably those of one Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Fayyūmī (mid-14th century) and the better-known Abū Bakr b. Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434; see Brockelmann, II², 16-20, S II, 8-9).

The great reverence which the poem enjoyed in the pre-modern period led to the composition of *takhāmīs* with Turkish and Persian intralineation, and to "variations in the non-Arabic countries like India" (Schimmel, *As through a veil*, 187).

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TAKHT-I DJAMSHĪD [see iṣṭakhr].

TAKHT-I ṬAWŪS (p.), the Peacock Throne, a name given to various highly-decorated and much bejewelled royal thrones in the eastern Islamic world, in particular, to that constructed for the Mughal Emperor Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-57 [*q.v.*]).

There are relevant accounts in the contemporary Indo-Muslim sources, e.g. in ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī's *Bādshāh-nāma* and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, and in the accounts of European travellers who claimed to have seen the throne, such as Tavernier, Bernier and Manucci. These last authorities, however, contain serious discrepancies in their accounts of the throne, which are hard to reconcile with the facts, leading one to wonder if they really did see it properly.

The first *darbār* at which the Peacock Throne was used seems to have been when Shāh Djahān celebrated the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr and Nawrūz together at Āgra in Shawwāl 1044/March 1635, and thereafter, the sources make frequent mention of its use by the Mughals. A contemporary painting from a royal album of Shāh Djahān's shows the Emperor on a gold-enamelled and jewel-encrusted throne which has four legs and four columns supporting a rectangular domed canopy with a projecting cornice and two peacocks perched above. According to Bernier, the peacocks were made by a French craftsman, possibly Austin of Bordeaux (see Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Indian heritage. Court life and arts under Mughal rule*, London 1982, no. 57; there are other, similar paintings in existence). Later Mughal emperors, including the penultimate one, Muʿīn al-Dīn Akbar II b. Shāh ʿĀlam II (1221-53/1806-37), are said to have had less costly replicas made of the Peacock Throne.

Shāh Djahān's throne was carried off when Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] sacked Dihlī in 1151-2/1739. One eyewitness account of the event, Ṭihrānī's *Nādir-nāma*, records that the Persian conqueror had 17 thrones amongst his spoils. Much of the throne, including its columns and bevelled roof, could have been dismantled at Ḳandahār, during Nādir's return journey, when many of the plundered Indian jewels were sewn on to the Shāh's tents as symbols of royal authority.

Since then, there has been considerable confusion regarding thrones to be found in the Persian capital Tehran. Displayed in the Gulistān Palace of the Ḳādjārs, and seen in the 19th century by various European travellers such as Curzon, were the so-called "Marble Throne", Takht-i Marmar, of Karīm Khān Zand, and the "Peacock Throne", actually made for Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] by the Ṣadr of Iṣfahān Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān when the Shāh married an Iṣfahānī wife known as Ṭāwūs Khānum. Both of these are platform thrones of typical Indo-Persian style. Now in the Bank Melli vaults, with the Persian crown jewels, is the "Nādir Throne", which is of the chair type and has no connection with the great conqueror (the name to be interpreted as *nādir* "remarkable"?) and cannot be older than Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's time, probably younger in its present form. See G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 317-22, with illustration; V.B. Meen and A.D. Tushingham, *Crown jewels of Iran*, Toronto 1968, 54-7 (for the "Nadir Throne").

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TAKHTADJĬ (t.), literally "one who works in woods and forests, woodcutter, sawyer" (< *takhta* "wood"), the name of one of the Turkish nomadic groups of Anatolia which had a special legal status in Ottoman times, defined by their nomadic

way of life, their specialisation within that group and their confessional religious connections.

Thus we have Türkmen [*q.v.*], less an ethnonym denoting tribes of Og̲h̲uz [see G̲H̲UZZ] origin than a legal status within the Ottoman empire, paying the *Türkmen muḳāṭaʿasī* to the Ottoman ruling house (*k̲h̲āṣṣ*). The Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲īs enjoyed this *k̲h̲āṣṣ* status also in return for specialised services to the state of work in woods and forests, just as the Čepni were concerned with the transport for the troops and the Yayd̲j̲ī Bedir for bow-making. Yörük, for its part, denoted, and still denotes, a nomad in general (> *yürümek* "to travel about, journey"). Many tribal groups were and are of ʿAlewī/Bektās̲h̲ī/Ḳizilbās̲h̲ religious confession, for historical reasons (Ottoman-Persian rivalry) or for structural ones (the systems of lineage and of internal organisation of the religious community merging and supporting each other mutually). The Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲īs illustrate this principle of the complexity of multiple designations, being Türkmen, though not of the 14 component clans of the Og̲h̲uz and of the above religious affiliation, though this may be—in principle—held in secret, through *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*].

A relatively sure criterion of distinctiveness, however, allows one to bring some system into this, sc. choice of spouse and marriage relations. Amongst the Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲īs, ʿAlewī belief is the prime condition for any marriage. However, some ʿAlewī nomadic groups and some non-nomad ones (e.g. the Kurds of Dersim) refuse to exchange daughters with them; whilst the Čepni, ʿAlewī Türkmens of Og̲h̲uz origin and pastoral nomads, will accept Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲ī wives but not give to the latter their own daughters, whilst admitting the possibility. It is probably for this reason that there exists a certain opposition of the two complementary groups, each for instance accusing the other of being "cattle thieves".

In the early 20th century, Hasluck considered the "Ḳizilbās̲h̲ Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲ī" to be numerous in Lycia. Von Luschan now locates their centre at Elmalı. Each tribal group is divided into *obas* (the basic segment in the Turco-Mongol tribal scheme denoting, according to historical context, a clan, lineage or local segment of a clan) of some ten to thirty families, led by a *keye* (< *kâhya*). However reduced in size, the tribal group has its own *baba* or *dede* for religious matters. According to Ülkütaşır (1968), the group is said to be made up of 20,000 hearths representing *ca.* 100,000 persons. Two main sections (*ʿas̲h̲īret/aşiret*) are distinguished: the Čaylaklar or "kites" and the Aydınlılar in the province of Aydın.

The former occupy essentially the western zone, the Karaman plain, Mut, Finike and Fethiye, with three sub-groups (the Üstürgeli, Samaslı and Cingözler). However, because of the dynamics of the system of *obas*, with new names appearing with each new division, so that the mother-*oba* often co-exists with the daughter-*oba*, one may add other important sub-groups such as the Gökçeli, Danabaş, Eşeli, Kabakçı, Çavlak, Kardeşli and Enseli for the western group (Roux, 1970). The Aydınlılar also have sub-groups such as the Agăčeri (an old name for the Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲īs meaning "tree men") and Karakaya. They live in the east in the Adana-Mersin region, at Antalya and around Izmir in the west.

Thus the Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲īs occupy the forest zones of the Taurus chain in the south as well as the Aegean zone in the west. Their ancient connection with service to the state persists to some extent through their connections with the National Dept. for Forests which looks after the state forestry resources.

Certain communities have become definitely sedentarised like those of the districts of Çanakkale and Balıkesir, where their arrival coincided with the Crimean War of the mid-19th century and the vastly-increased investment in forestry required for shipbuilding purposes during that war.

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TAK̲H̲ṬĪṬ AL-**ḤUDŪD** (A.), lit. "delimiting boundaries or frontiers", in modern Arabic usage.

International boundaries reflect the historical moments in the life of a state, when its limits were made according to its force and ability at that time. Thus today's boundaries are relics from the past and might be changed in the future. States have acquired their boundaries in a variety of ways: in some cases they marked the territorial limit of a phase of political expansion and conquest; in other cases, they have been imposed by external powers, either through acts of conquest or through negotiation. They function as barriers to the social and economic process, which would otherwise transgress the lines without interference, as well as holding economic significance through their association with tariff and quota restrictions. The latter convert an otherwise open world economic network into series of partially closed economic systems.

Boundaries appear on maps as thin lines between adjacent state territories, marking the limits of state sovereignties. The lines can be effective with regard to underground resources, marking the limits of ore, water and oil deposits, as well as above the ground, guarding the individual states' air space. In the past, they were drawn for defensive purposes; as cultural divisions; according to economic factors; for legal and administrative purposes; or on ideological bases. Sometimes they were drawn through essentially unoccupied territories, although they were usually superimposed on existing cultural patterns, disturbing the lives of the people living in the border areas.

Of the many criteria for establishing a boundary line the ethnic criteria are those applied most often in modern times. Accordingly, boundaries have been drawn to separate culturally uniform peoples so that a minimum of stress is placed upon them. The heterogeneous world population, however, cannot define

boundaries that completely and exactly separate peoples of different character, and as a result, there are ethnic minorities in almost every state. The definition of peoples, according to race, language or religion, has been used in several cases to delimit a state boundary. Other political boundaries lie along prominent physical features in the landscape. Such physiographic political boundaries, following rivers, mountain ranges or escarpments, sometimes termed "natural boundaries", seem to be especially acceptable criteria as such pronounced physical features often also separate culturally distinct areas. In the early days of boundary establishment, physiographic features were useful as they were generally known and could be visually recognised. However, many of the boundary lines that were based on such physiographic features have subsequently created major difficulties between states. Rivers tend to shift their course, leading to countless disputes over whether the boundary should be along one of the river banks, along the *thalweg* (main navigation channel), through the median line of the water's surface or somewhere else [see e.g. SHAṬṬ AL-ʿARAB]. Any mountain range has recognised crest lines; but they rarely coincide with the region's watershed. The placing of boundaries along crest lines in mountainous areas has therefore led to water disputes concerning the use of rivers near their sources.

Most of today's political boundaries, even those in Islamic regions, have been created by European nations. In fact, it is difficult to identify any international boundary that has not directly involved a European state at some stage of its evolution. The allocation of territory was usually determined by straight lines connecting known points or by features of the physical landscape, generally solving immediate territorial conflicts. The need for delimitation of the boundaries emerged when the allocated borderland proved to have economic value or when disputes arose in the area. The delimitation of a boundary, which has usually been decided by agreement between two states or at a post-war conference, has generally been a full definition and has served as a guide-line for the demarcation team. Today, when many states are energetically seeking to fix and demarcate their boundaries, which were not accurately defined in the past, there are still a great many (over 100) boundary and territorial disputes around the world.

In contrast to modern Western ideas of boundaries, Islamic constitutional theory is concerned only with community and not with territory. It is for this reason that, traditionally, the Islamic world has not been overly concerned with precise boundary delimitation or with territorial sovereignty. As far as territorial control has been concerned, this tends to be a local or administrative matter. The issue of boundaries has only acquired importance in the context of delegated authority within larger political entities; yet they were only relevant for administrative convenience and were subject to frequent relocation. Spheres of different political authority were usually separated by border areas, rather than by precise boundary lines. It was only with the explicit introduction of the concept of the nation-state that concepts of territorial sovereignty and boundaries began to emerge in the Islamic areas. The boundaries between most of the Islamic states and between them and the outside world were mainly established, not by local rulers, but rather by external forces which shaped the world during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As most lines were demarcated for the needs of colonial and imperial powers, they often cut through peoples, tribes, etc. and have left legacies of boundary conflicts for successor and newly-established states. Some examples of these are given here.

The present boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Durand Line, represents such an example. Its establishment in the late 19th century was the climax of a lengthy process of negotiations over the extent of British influence in India and Central Asia. Two Afghan-British wars, and the threat of negotiations between the Imperial Russian government and the Afghan rulers, prompted Britain to dispatch Sir Mortimer Durand to Kābul to negotiate a permanent boundary line. A treaty signed on 12 November 1893 was re-affirmed in 1905; a Treaty of Peace was concluded between the Government of India and Afghanistan, after the Third Afghan War, on 8 August 1919, and a final treaty was signed on 22 November 1921. In 1947 Pakistan inherited the Durand Line as its western boundary with Afghanistan. Successive Afghan governments questioned the line's legitimacy, claiming that its sanctions had lapsed with the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to Pakistan; for the history of these Afghan-Pakistan disputes, see PASHTŪNISTĀN. In 1950 and again in 1956 the United Kingdom declared that it regarded the Durand Line as the international boundary, while Pakistan has repeatedly stated that it has no dispute with Afghanistan over the exact location of the line; at present the Line remains under quiet dispute.

The division of the Arab lands of the Ottoman empire after the First World War, eventually creating the Middle Eastern countries of ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel, had its origin in the secret Sykes-Picot-Sazanov Agreement of 1916 to create belts of British and French territory with two nominally independent Arab states while in 1917 Britain issued the Balfour Declaration concerning a Jewish national home in Palestine. By the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920), the British and French effectively enacted the Sykes-Picot Agreement in that France established a Mandate over Syria and Lebanon while the British established the Mandates of Palestine and Mesopotamia (which later became ʿIrāḳ) [see MANDATES]. In 1922 Britain created the Emirate of Trans-Jordan in order to fulfil an obligation to their Arab ally. The boundaries of the newly-created territories were drawn by British and French officials, and they served as the basic boundaries of the subsequently independent Middle Eastern countries, although there have been and still are numerous disputes concerning those lines, especially where there are mixed populations. Such has been the case over the former Ottoman *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, between Turkey and newly-mandated ʿIrāḳ, only settled in 1926 after a League of Nations enquiry awarded it to ʿIrāḳ [see AL-MAWṢIL. 2]; over the so-called Sanjak of Alexandretta, the later Turkish Hatay, which Turkey, in a calculated move when the Mandatary power France's priorities were elsewhere, managed to acquire in 1939 [see ISKANDARŪN]; and above all, over the boundaries and very existence of the newly-created state of Israel and its Arab neighbours since 1948.

The modern Iran-ʿIrāḳ boundary line has a history of some three centuries. Here the local Muslim powers, Ottoman Turkey, the predecessor of ʿIrāḳ and Ṣafawid Persia, were involved in the early stages of delimitation, but the final line was demarcated by a British-Russian delegation in 1914. The boundary line is 1,458 km long and reaches from the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab at the head of the Persian Gulf to the boundary tri-point with Turkey on the Kūh-i-Dalanpar. It is one

of the oldest established boundaries of the world, but its exact course is still unsettled. In the 1639 Zohāb peace treaty, the Ottomans and Ṣafawids delimited a boundary in the territory between the Zagros mountains and the Tigris River. Although this was disputed during the Turkish invasion of Persia in 1724, a peace treaty of 1746 reaffirmed the 1639 boundary. The Treaty of Erzerum of 1847, following the Persian-Turkish War of 1821-22, stipulated that the 1746 boundary was valid. However, it also delimited a boundary in the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab for the first time, determining the boundary on the eastern bank of the Gulf, leaving the waterway under Turkish sovereignty, but allowing freedom of navigation. Work on the boundary went forward during 1848-52, and by 1860 a collaborative map (*Carte identique*) was produced to illustrate the boundary. By the turn of the century, in an effort at stabilisation, Britain and Russia urged Persia and Turkey to agree to a detailed delimitation, which was completed in 1911. The so-called Constantinople Protocol of 1913 then provided for a further detailed delimitation of the entire boundary by a commission, which demarcated it in 1914. The protocol specifically stated that the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, with the exception of certain islands, was to come under Turkish sovereignty; the demarcated boundary was to follow the low watermark on the Persian bank of the Shaṭṭ, except for the area around Khurramshahr, where the line was to follow the *thalweg*. For the subsequent course of the Perso-ʿIrāḳī dispute, see SHAṬṬ AL-ʿARAB. The outstanding issues of the alignment of the international boundary between Iran and ʿIrāḳ, the control of lands adjacent to the border, and the status of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab remain unsettled today, so that the border question persists.

The boundaries of the states and amirates of the Arabian peninsula (most of these political units having emerged only in the last century or so) have been fruitful causes of dispute, given the facts that the peninsula has no perennial rivers or other natural boundaries and that much of the sparse population was in the past nomadic, hence with little or no regard for political frontiers. The ʿIrāḳī invasion of Kuwayt [*q.v.*] in 1990 has been the most violent outbreak, in this case a legacy of uncertainty over the extent of Ottoman sovereignty in the Upper Gulf coastal region; but there have also been, and in some cases remain, frontier disputes between the former North and South Yemens, between Yemen and Saudi Arabia over the Nadjrān [*q.v.*] region, between the Sultanate of Oman and the former PDRSY over Dhofar (Ẓufār [*q.v.*]), and between Saudi Arabia on the one side, and Britain on behalf of the Sultanate of Oman and Abu Dhabi on the other, over the oasis of al-Buraymī [*q.v.*], not resolved till the late 1950s.

The boundaries between Afghanistan and the newly-emerged Muslim Republics of Central Asia (Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) are also a European creation. The history of those boundaries dates back to the second half of the 19th century. At that time, the British and Russian empires contended for control in Central Asia, especially as Russia in 1865 extended her frontier in Central Asia towards British India. In 1869 Britain and Russia decided to create a buffer zone between their Asian territories. Britain, which wanted an Afghānistān within the British sphere of influence, wished Russia to remain at a distance, while the Russians wished to secure a safe route from the Caspian Sea to Central Asia along the Oxus or Āmū Daryā River. The British proposed that the middle and upper Oxus, south of Bukhārā, should serve as the boundary between the Russian Empire and Afghānistān. The proposal was accepted, but the western terminus of the line was not clear and the Khānate of Bukhārā, which was under Russian control, owned territory south of the river. In 1872, after lengthy debate between the two countries, it was agreed that Afghānistān be regarded as neutral territory between the empires, and in 1873 the Oxus was established as the northern boundary of Afghānistān, south of the Russian region of Samarḳand and of Bukhārā. The boundary line left the river at the town of Khʷādja Sālār, and this enabled Bukhārā to maintain its control over its area south of the river. Between 1882 and 1884 there were further negotiations between Britain and Russia concerning the western section of the boundary up to the Harī Rūd River which forms the eastern boundary with Persia. A demarcation commission tried to place the boundary in the ground but found it difficult to establish the exact line, as it was agreed to leave some local Turkmen tribes within Russia although their land was irrigated by canals originating in Afghān territory. Not until 1888 was the boundary line finally demarcated and from then onwards, despite all the political changes, the boundary line has remained where it was established.

Africa also has boundaries created by the Europeans between Islamic countries. The boundary between Egypt and Libya extends southward from the Gulf of Salum on the Mediterranean to the Sudan-Egypt-Libya tripoint at Jebel Uweinat, about 1,100 km/690 miles south of the Sea. The current line dates from 1841, when the Ottomans confirmed Muḥammed ʿAlī [*q.v.*] as hereditary governer of Egypt. On a map accompanying the London Treaty of 1841, a line along the 29th meridian marked the boundary between Egypt and the Ottoman province of Libya. Britain established itself in Egypt in 1882, while Libya was occupied by Italy in 1912; in that same year Egyptian forces captured the coastal town of Salum. Attempts to formalise the boundary between British Egypt and Italian Libya first reached fruition in 1919, when the two countries signed an agreement placing the oasis of al-Djaghbūb in Libya. An agreement concerning the remainder of the line was signed on 6 December 1925. A chain of permanent beacons was erected in the northern sector of the boundary in 1938. From then onwards, despite some objections by both Egypt and Libya, the boundary line has not changed.

Most other boundaries in Muslim Africa were also established by colonial régimes, mainly those of the French, which established the boundaries of Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Chad, Niger, Mauritania, etc. In most cases, local needs and history were not involved in the delimitation process, but the results of this still dominate the boundaries of the African continent with disputes at times reaching a state of warfare, as with Morocco and the so-called Polisario Front over the Spanish Sahara, and between Libya and Chad.

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TAKHYĪL (A.), lit. "creating an image, or an illusion (*khayāl*)", a technical term with various meanings but all broadly in the field of hermeneutics. It occurs in (a) theory of imagery, (b) philosophical poetics, (c) Ḳur'ānic exegesis, and (d) among rhetorical figures. Whether any or all of these usages have a common root remains to be seen. It should be noted that, like any *maṣdar*, *takhyīl* can also act as a verbal noun of the passive. Since in everyday language the verb was predominantly used in the passive (*khuyyila ilayhi* "an illusion was created for him [that such-and-such was the case]", often in the context of magic), some dictionaries use *wahm* as a synonym of *takhyīl* (cf. *LʿA*, xi, 231a, bottom). However, as shown by the syntax of the verb *khayyala*, the term *takhyīl* in its technical use mostly (always?) implies the active meaning and as such is sometimes equated with the causative verbal noun *īhām* (see below).

1. In the discussions of poetic imagery the term *takhyīl* was first employed by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), who was also the first to identify the literary phenomenon designated by this term. Briefly put, it consists in a kind of make-believe in the form of giving, to a fact stated in the poem, a fantastic interpretive twist which on the surface explains and supports that fact, but on closer inspection turns out to be an illusion. Thus in the line by Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī (d. 243/857): "The wind is jealous of me because of you—I had not presumed it among my enemies—; when I intended a kiss, it blew the wrap back over [your] face" (*Asrār*, § 16/13), the simple fact of the wind blowing the garment over the beloved's face is "explained" by attributing a motivation to the wind and in the process personifying it. Al-Djurdjānī mentions (*Asrār*, § 16/10) that the procedures producing *takhyīl* are so varied and manifold that an enumeration and classification of all its subtypes would be impossible. Instead, he proceeds to a series of case studies. The most common techniques are mock etiologies (i.e. ascribing a fantastic cause to a natural phenomenon, as in the example quoted) and mock analogies (i.e. proving a point with the help of a non-pertinent analogy, as in al-Buḥturī's (d. 284/897 [*q.v.*]) line: "and the whiteness of the falcon is of a truer beauty, if you consider it, than the raven's blackness", said to "prove" that the white hair of old age is preferable to the black hair of youth [*Asrār*, § 16/3]). Most of these conceits, though by no means all (see first example), presuppose a literary history of the motif at hand, including its figurative expression; of central importance here is the phenomenon of the metaphor understood literally, or as al-Djurdjānī calls it, the *tanāsī* of the metaphor, i.e. pretending to be oblivious of its metaphoricalness. This may result in the specific conceits known as *taʿadjdjub* "wonderment" and *tadjāhul al-ʿārif* "feigned ignorance", as when the metaphorisation of the beloved as a "sun" is used by the poet to allege not one but two real suns and, consequently, "wondering" how this might be possible or "protesting ignorance" as to which of the two suns is the real thing.

Al-Djurdjānī contrasts these phantasmagorical poetic notions (*maʿānī takhyīliyya*) with the realistic commonsensical ones (*maʿānī ʿaḳliyya*), which, he insists, can also be poetically expressive (e.g. gnomic verse). Given that *takhyīl* is a kind of irreality—al-Djurdjānī applies to it the traditional maxim *khayr al-shiʿri akdhabuh* "the best poetry is that which 'lies' the most"—it cannot possibly occur in the Ḳur'ān, a fact that forces our author to assign greater value to the *maʿānī ʿaḳliyya*. But his enthusiastic characterisation of *takhyīlī* poetry as verbal alchemy leaves no doubt where his aesthetic preferences lay.

It should be noted that *takhyīl* is not the only type of the "fantastic" in ʿAbbāsid poetry. Another kind, pointed out by G.E. von Grunebaum (*Kritik und Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1955, 47-50), is the composite simile that results in an artificial construct, as in al-Ṣanawbarī's (d. 334/945 [*q.v.*]) line: "The red anemones, when they bend down and up again, are like banners of ruby unfurled on lances of chrysolith" (*Asrār*, § 10/1).

Considering that al-Djurdjānī identified an all-important trend in ʿAbbāsid poetry, which he proceeded to name, to describe in generative and in classificatory terms, and to characterise in its overall meaning, it is surprising to see that those who used his work as the basis for their own elaborations of *ʿilm al-bayān* [see BAYĀN] had no use for the notion of *takhyīl*. The probable reason for this failure is the fact that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]) and al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]) wrote their works (*Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz* and *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, respectively) as systematic contributions to the discussion of *iʿdjāz al-Ḳur'ān* [*q.v.*], in which poetry *per se* did not play a role.

The term *takhyīl* in its *nisba* form is, indeed, used in al-Rāzī and al-Sakkākī to denote a specific type of metaphor [see ISTIʿĀRA]. The *istiʿāra takhyīliyya* is characterised by the lack of a substratum, as in "the claws of Death", where the metaphor "claws" is not tied, as other metaphors often are, by an underlying simile to a part of death, because death does not have any part that could be likened to claws. But the metaphor creates an illusion that there is such a part. The technical term *takhyīlī* is thus apt, but it has little to do with al-Djurdjānī's notion.

Bibliography: The basic text is chs. 16-18 in Djurdjānī, *Asrār al-balāgha*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954, tr. H. Ritter, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst*, Wiesbaden 1959.—Studies. W. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung und griechische Poetik*, Beirut 1969, 61-5; I. ʿAbbās, *Ta'rīkh al-naḳd al-adabī ʿind al-ʿarab*, Beirut 1391/1971, 435-7; K. Abu Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī's theory of poetic imagery*, Warminster, Wilts 1979, 157-64 and see "subject index", s.v. *takhyīl*; M. Ajami, *The alchemy of glory. The dialectic of truthfulness and untruthfulness in medieval Arabic literary criticism*, Washington, D.C. 1988, 87-100 (where rendering *takhyīl* as "imagination" is potentially misleading); Margaret Larkin, *The theology of meaning. ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's theory of discourse*, New Haven, Conn. 1995, 132-63.

2. In philosophical parlance, *takhyīl* is, first and foremost, a logical term, the meaning of which may be circumscribed as the "evocation of images of things in the minds of listeners by means of figurative language". As such it is the central notion of poetics as a branch of logic, denoting, as it does, the differentiating quality of poetic utterances (*aḳāwīl shiʿriyya*) as logical constructs. The whole idea of poetics as part of logic resulted from the late Alexandrian inclusion of the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* among Aristotle's logical writings, the result of which was an Organon of nine books including Porphyry's *Eisagoge* (see Walzer, in *Bibl.*). While among the Neo-Platonic Alexandrian commentators on Aristotle the inclusion is still a matter of debate as to whether it was legitimate and, if so, on what grounds, in the Arabic tradition it is a *fait accompli*. Among the various justificatory schemes establishing the systematic structure of the "new" Organon the two predominant ones were (a) one pairing the logical arts with truth-values (ὕλαι, *mawādd*), where

"poetry" equals "entirely false premises", and (b) another pairing them with man's internal faculties (τὰ γνωστικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μόρια, *al-ḥawāss al-bāṭina*), in which "poetry" is somehow connected with the Aristotelian "imagination." For details see Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung*, 150-2, and especially Deborah L. Black, *Logic*, 37-41, 43-4. While the truth-value idea lingered on for a while (esp. in al-Fārābī, *Taʿallum al-falsafa*, ed. F. Dieterici, *Abhandlungen*, [text] 52; [tr.] 87, and *Ḳawānīn*, 267, ll. 10-15), it was soon replaced by the more satisfactory correlation of the logical arts with the internal faculties, and it is here that "poetry" was paired with *takhyīl*, the "creation of mental images (*khayālāt*) by the poet for the 'imagination' (φαντασία, *al-ḳuwwa al-mutakhayyila*) of the listener." As there is no exact forerunner to this coupling in the Greek texts, though similar attempts can be pointed out, it may possibly have been an Arabic innovation (see Black, *Logic*, 44).

While the term *takhyīl* thus originated in the discussions of the "logical" character of Aristotle's *Poetics*, rather than in the book itself, the other key term, *muḥākāt*, is clearly a descendent of Aristotle's μίμησις "imitation". But the meaning has drastically changed: *muḥākāt* refers to imitative, i.e. figurative, language which presents one thing by means of another in the way of similes and metaphors (this semantic change may have occurred in the context of the "inclusion" debate, see G. Schoeler, *Syllogismus*, 87 and n. 207). It should be noted that, in al-Fārābī (d. 339/950 [*q.v.*]), the term *muḥākāt* is also used in a wider sense to cover "imitation" in the other arts: he mentions sculpture and painting as parallels in his writings on poetics, and he uses both this term and *takhyīl* to characterise aspects of music (see his *K. al-Mūsīḳā 'l-kabīr*, ed. Gh.ʿA. Khashaba, Cairo n.d., 62-3, 66 [*al-alḥān al-mukhayyila*], 67-9, 71, 73).

The three terms "poetry", "evocation of mental representations", and "imitation" occur together for the first time in al-Fārābī's *Shiʿr*; his *Ḳawānīn* does not (yet?) contain the term *takhyīl* and may thus be an early work. The poetic theory based on these terms states the following: The poetic text uses imitation toward its topic and evocation of mental images toward its recipient. I.e. it "imitates" its topic, whether thing or fact, by using a similar thing or fact to serve as simile, metaphor, and/or analogy, this similitude being either attractive or repulsive; it thus produces, in the mind of the recipient, images that prompt the recipient to aspire to, or recoil from, what is being described, without first forming an assent (*taṣdīḳ*) to the proposition offered (the truth or falseness of the poetic statement being irrelevant). The *takhyīl* mechanism in poetic utterances thus takes the place of *taṣdīḳ* in all other utterances; both produce action in the addressee. It is important to stress that poetic utterances, like all non-demonstrative propositions formed according to the various logical arts, are directed to a listener who is meant to be influenced by them. Consequently, al-Fārābī calls the various branches of logic altogether *al-ṣanāʾiʿ al-ḳiyāsiyya wa-aṣnāf al-mukhāṭabāt* "the syllogistic arts and the kinds of addresses" (*Iḥṣāʾ*, 45, ll. 4-5). This should be kept in mind when translating expressions like *al-aḳāwīl al-mukhayyila* "the image-evoking utterances"; misreading this term as *mukhayyala* and mistranslating it as "imaginative" has been all too common in works where these matters are only mentioned in passing by non-specialists.

Although poetics as a logical discipline is said to be a syllogistic art, none of the philosophers elaborates on this aspects, except Ibn Sīnā, who does exemplify the poetic syllogism (see Schoeler, *Syllogismus*; and Black, *Logic*, 209-41). With him it seems to be a metaphor-generating syllogism as in *So-and-so is handsome* (minor); *Everyone handsome is a moon* (major); *So-and-so is a moon* (conclusion). However, only the conclusion appears in the finished poem; the syllogism is thus an internal process of the poet, which in a way defeats the purpose of a syllogism of influencing the addressee. What is more, as appears from various passages in al-Fārābī, the *takhyīl* operation applies not only to propositions, arrived at as conclusions of syllogisms, but also to single concepts, arrived at as results of definitions. In other words, the *takhyīl* operates on the level of both *taṣawwur* "conception" and *taṣdīḳ* "assent", although it brings about no real *taṣawwur* but only a conception of the image of the thing intended, a *takhayyul*, nor does it produce real *taṣdīḳ*, but only the action that would flow from real assent.

Al-Fārābī's most audacious deed was to use a combination of logical poetics and rhetoric as a model to express his theory of religious language. In brief, he establishes a parallelism between philosophical *taṣawwur* and religious *takhayyul*, i.e. between concepts and images, thus making use of logical poetics, and another parallelism between the certain proof of philosophy and the persuasion (*iḳnāʿ*) of religion, thus drawing on logical rhetoric. Revelation is thus a language of images used in rhetorical, persuasive, proofs. Moving away from poetics on the level of proof was necessary because, as we have seen, the poetic utterances did not entail *taṣdīḳ*, which is, of course, a *sine qua non* of religion. The net result was that religion was an image of philosophy, as true and as untrue as the notion of "image" allowed. For details see Heinrichs, *Verknüpfung*; Black, *Logic*, index, s.v. "Religion"; and Lameer, 259-89.

While in al-Fārābī *muḥākāt* and *takhyīl* were strictly complementary, Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037 [*q.v.*]) tried to get out of the awkward consequence this theory entailed, to wit, the exclusive figurativeness of poetry, by considering "imitation" only one of the methods for "image-evocation". "Wonderment and pleasure" (*taʿadjdjub wa 'ltidhādh*), derived from the form of the poetic text, are equally capable of *takhyīl*. Various verbal and mental figures of speech, but also the sheer power of aptly expressed truth, have this emotive effect (see Schoeler, *Grundprobleme*, 57-73; idem, *Syllogismus*, 67-73). But thus making his theory more in tune with the existing poetry, he loses the clarity and neatness of al-Fārābī's system.

Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (d. after 560/1164-5 [*q.v.*]) very reasonably distinguishes between the poetry of his own time and place and the one that "Aristotle" (i.e. the Greek tradition, including the commentators) had in mind. Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198 [*q.v.*]) returns to the Farabian model; he uses *muḥākāt* and *takhyīl* more or less as synonyms. Although he understands that many of the things described in Aristotle's *Poetics* are peculiarly Greek, he is convinced that the First Teacher wrote something of general validity for all poetry. He therefore tries to adduce examples from Arabic literature to clarify what he finds in the text.

In brief accounts of logic it is usually the term *takhyīl* (or *mukhayyil*) that survives as the key term of logical poetics, while *muḥākāt* seldom appears.

Whether logical poetics was also used to generate "poetic" texts rather than characterise existing ones needs further investigation. P. Heath has suggested that Ibn Sīnā, in writing his allegorical works (such as *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* and *Risālat al-Ṭayr*), put to use the

method developed in logical poetics (see his *Allegory and philosophy in Avicenna*, Philadelphia 1992, 163). Since the allegorisation consists in one-to-one transmutations of abstract concepts into living beings, *takhyīl* on the level of *taṣawwur* (see above) seems to be at work here. Unfortunately, Ibn Sīnā himself, when discussing the symbolic mode of presentation, speaks of *rumūz* "symbols", and *amthāl/amthila* "images", rather than of *takhyīl* and *muḥākāt* (see D. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian tradition*, Leiden 1988, 299-307).

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Logical poetics (and rhetoric) did not have much of an impact on indigenous poetics and literary theory. Most authors ignored it and Ibn al-Athīr, who became acquainted with Ibn Sīnā's theories, scorned it (*al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, ed. A. al-Ḥūfī and B. Ṭabāna, 3 vols., Cairo 1379-81/1959-62, ii, 5-6). This is certainly due *inter alia* to the sharp dividing line between indigenous and foreign disciplines. It also meant that, in most books on the division of the sciences, "poetry" appeared twice, once in the section on logic (of Greek origin) and again among the linguistic-literary disciplines (of Arab origin).

An exception to this rule is formed by a number of Maghribī authors from the 13th century and later, who all show an influence of logical poetics. Being very different in their respective approaches, they can hardly be called a school. It is only their common interest in philosophy that binds them together. The most articulate among them is Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī (d. 684/1285 [*q.v.*]), who quotes al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. He appropriates the notions *muḥākāt* and *takhyīl*, but in order to make them more easily applicable to Arabic poetry, he changes the meaning of *muḥākāt* from "figurative language" to "individually descriptive language". In other words, to "imitate" an object in poetry means to depict it through an artful enumeration of its properties and qualities. Within this general process, figurative language has its place as one particularly effective way of depicting the object. Ḥāzim also introduces "secondary imitations", by which he means the stylistic ornamentations which, he says, imitate the ornaments of other crafts, such as weaving, the goldsmith's art, etc. (as a matter of fact, most terms denoting figures of speech are taken from the vocabulary of such crafts).

Al-Sidjilmāsī (d. after 704/1304 [*q.v.*]) uses *takhyīl* as a general term for "imagery", thus differing greatly from Ḥāzim. Ibn ʿAmīra (d. 656/1258 or 658/1260 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn al-Bannāʾ (d. 721/1321 [*q.v.*]) both seem to cling closely to the philosophers in considering *takhyīl* the distinctive feature of poetry, but they make their remarks more in passing, so that not much can be deduced from them.

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2. Studies. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung*; Schoeler, *Grundprobleme* (see previous bibl.); S. Maṣlūḥ, *Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī wa-naẓariyyat al-muḥākāt wa 'l-takhyīl fi 'l-shiʿr*, Cairo 1980; ʿA. Djabr, *Naẓariyyat al-shiʿr ʿinda Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī*, Nazareth 1982.

3. In Ḳurʾānic exegesis, the term *takhyīl* was introduced by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]) in his Ḳurʾānic commentary *al-Kashshāf*. The most explicit presentation of this notion occurs in his explanation of *Sūrat al-Zumar*, XXXIX, 67: "The earth altogether shall be His handful on the Day of Resurrection, and the heavens shall be rolled up in His right hand" (*al-Kashshāf*, ed. M. al-Ṣādiḳ Ḳamḥāwī, 4 vols., Cairo 1392/1972, iii, 408-9). This, he says, is a "depiction (*taṣwīr*) of His majesty and putting before our eyes the essence of His majesty and nothing else, without taking the 'handful' or the 'right hand' into the realm of the literal or that of the figurative". As a Muʿtazilī, al-Zamakhsharī could not let the stark anthropomorphism of this passage stand. So the literal understanding was out of the question, but to consider the "handful" and the "hand" metaphors would not solve the problem, either, because then the unanswerable question would arise: what do they stand for? Therefore, al-Zamakhsharī considers the image presented by the Ḳurʾānic verse holistically: *takhyīl* is a visualisation of an abstract notion such as God's majesty and omnipotence in a comprehensive picture, the parts of which cannot be individually connected back to the notion expressed.

The history of this hermeneutic tool after al-Zamakhsharī still needs to be studied; for some leads and references see Heinrichs, *"Takhyīl" and its traditions*, in Alma Giese and J. Chr. Bürgel (eds.), *Gott ist schön und Er liebt die Schönheit. Festschrift für Annemarie Schimmel*, Berne 1994, 227-47.

4. As a rhetorical figure, *takhyīl* is not very prominent nor very uniform. It occurs in Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, with the meaning of "giving the impression of praising while one is lampooning, and *vice versa*" (see G. Kanazi, *Studies in the Kitāb aṣ-Ṣināʿatayn of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī*, Leiden 1989, 186-88; the passage is missing in the printed editions); in Ibn al-Zamlakānī, *al-Tibyān fī ʿilm al-bayān*, ed. A. Maṭlūb and Khadīdja al-Ḥadīthī, Baghdād 1383/1964, 178, with the meaning it has in al-Zamakhsharī (*taṣwīr ḥaḳīḳat al-shayʾ ḥattā yutawahham annahū dhū ṣūrat^in tushāhad*). Finally, in Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (d. 578/1182-3 [*q.v.*]), *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr fī daḳāʾiḳ al-shiʿr*, ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1339/1960, 39-42, it occurs alongside *īhām* to denote what is otherwise known as *tawriya* [*q.v.*] or "double entendre." Likewise, al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, Cairo n.d., vii, 131-2, lists all three terms as synonymous. The discussions of *tawriya* are sometimes strangely permeated by al-Zamakhsharī's *takhyīl* explanations (on this see S.A. Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the Tawriya*, The Hague 1966, 24-8). It seems that scholars with a more Ẓāhirī bent of mind explained the *takhyīl* passages as *tawriyas*, i.e. by the assumption of homonyms, as this would avoid splitting the meaning of the passages into an outer and an inner sense (see Heinrichs, in *Oriens*, xx [1968-9], 404-5). (W.P. Heinrichs)

TAḲĪ AWḤADĪ, or Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Awḥadī, Persian anthologist, lexicographer and poet. He was born at Iṣfahān on 3 Muḥarram 973/31 January 1565, into a family with a Ṣūfī tradition from Balyān in Fārs. One of his paternal ancestors was the 5th/11th-century Shaykh Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ. During his adolescence he studied in Shīrāz, where he presented his early poems to a circle of poets and was encouraged by ʿUrfī [*q.v.*]. Returning to Iṣfahān, he attracted the attention of the young Shāh ʿAbbās I and joined his entourage. In 1003/1594-5, Taḳī retired for six years to the *ʿatabāt*, the holy cities of the Shīʿīs in ʿIrāḳ. Like many Persian literati of his times, he left Persia, in Radjab 1015/November 1606, to seek a career at the Indian courts. After a short stay in Lahore, he went to the court of Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] at Āgra, but he also lived for many years at Aḥmadābād in Gudjarāt. The date of his death is not on record. He must have survived at least till 1042/1632-3, the latest year which he mentions in additions to his *tadhkira*.

During his journey to India, Taḳī Awḥadī compiled for his fellow-travellers an anthology of Persian poetry, entitled *Firdaws-i khayāl* ("The paradise of fantasy"). At Āgra he extended this into a full *tadhkira*, the *ʿArafāt al-ʿāshiḳīn wa-ʿaraṣāt al-ʿārifīn* ("The places of assembly for the lovers and the open spaces for the mystics"), completed between 1022/1613 and 1024/1615. This voluminous work contains more than 3,000 biographical entries, alphabetically arranged in 28 *ʿarṣas* (one for every letter of the alphabet), and surveys the entire range of Persian poetry. It is a valuable source, especially for the contemporary history of Persian letters in India. After its completion, Taḳī Awḥadī continued to add dates and other pieces of information to manuscripts of his work, many of which are based on personal knowledge. At the request of the Emperor Djahāngīr, he prepared in 1036/1626 an abridged version, under the title *Kaʿba-yi ʿirfān*, ("The Kaʿba of mysticism").

Taḳī Awḥadi was a prolific writer. His learned prose includes *Surma-yi Sulaymānī* ("Solomon's collyrium"), a dictionary of rare Persian words, and treatises on the theory of rhyme and Ṣūfism. Of his poetry, which comprised seven *mathnawīs* and several *dīwāns* with *ḳaṣīdas* on the Imāms, satires and *ghazals*, little has remained.

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TAḲĪ AL-DĪN [see AL-MUẒAFFAR].

TAḲĪ AL-DĪN b. Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf, sometimes given the *nisbas* al-Dimashḳī, al-Ṣahyūnī or al-Miṣrī, the most important astronomer of Ottoman Turkey, b. Cairo or Damascus in 927/1520-1 or 932/1525 (the sources are not consistent), d. Istanbul, 993/1585. He studied theology in Cairo, served as *ḳāḍī* in Nābulus, and in 979/1571 was appointed *münedjdjim bāshï* in Istanbul. He was largely responsible for persuading the Ottoman Sultan Murād III to build an observatory in Istanbul. This was achieved in 987/1579. However, the building was pulled down a few months later in 987/1580 as a result of Taḳī al-Dīn's incorrect prediction of an Ottoman victory over the Ṣafawids following the appearance of the famous comet of 1577.

Taḳī al-Dīn wrote two astronomical handbooks with tables and explanatory text [see ZĪDJ] entitled *Kharīdat al-durar wa-djarīdat al-fikar*, completed 1893 Alexander (A.D. 1581-2), and *Sidrat muntahā 'l-afkār fī malakūt al-falak al-dawwār*; an extensive treatise on sundial theory [see MIZWALA] entitled *Rayḥānat al-rūḥ fī rasm al-sāʿāt ʿalā mustawī 'l-suṭūḥ*; a treatise on astrolabe construction [see ASṬURLĀB] entitled *Tasṭīḥ al-ukar* and full of tables; and various treatises on arithmetic and algebra. None of these has received the attention they deserve. His imposing treatise on optics [see MANĀẒIR] *Nūr ḥadaḳat al-ibṣār wa-nūr ḥadīḳat al-abṣār* is in the tradition of Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.v.*]. His treatises on mechanical clocks entitled *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī waḍʿ al-binkāmāt al-dawriyya* (compiled 966/1552) and *al-Ṭuruḳ al-saniyya fī 'l-ālāt al-rūḥāniyya* have been published and well illustrate the Ottoman reception of European notions and techniques in his time. He also compiled a set of tables for astronomical timekeeping serving the latitude of Istanbul, fully in the Islamic tradition [see MĪḲĀT]. The anonymous treatise on astronomical observational instruments entitled *Ālāt-i raṣadiyya li-Zīdj-i Shāhanshāhiyya* has been compared by S. Tekeli with the treatise of Tycho Brahe compiled in Denmark towards the end of the 16th century, and he has underlined the remarkable similarities.

The famous miniature of the Istanbul Observatory from the *Shāhanshāh-nāma* (Pl. 1) shows Taḳī al-Dīn with an assistant holding an astrolabe in front of a bookshelf. Many of his books are now in the University Library in Leiden, identifiable by his distinctive signature on the title folios (see Ünver, pl. 10-4). They are overseeing a group of astronomers involved in copying manuscripts and operating various instruments. The terrestrial globe, mechanical clock and the sand-glass are of European inspiration, but all other instruments are Islamic.

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des *Taqī ed-Dīn zu Pera*, in *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 82-96, repr. in F. Sezgin *et alii* (eds.), *Arabische Instrumente in orientalistischen Studien*, 6 vols., Frankfurt 1991, iv, 281-95; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, in *Abh. zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften*, x (1900) (repr. Amsterdam, 1982, and again in idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mathematik und Astronomie im Islam*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1986, i, 1-285 and 286-314), 191-2 (no. 471); A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam*, Ankara 1960 (repr. New York 1981), 289-305; S. Ünver, *İstanbul rasathanesi*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VII. Seri, Sayı 54, Ankara 1969; and D.A. King, *A survey of the scientific manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library*, Winona Lake, Ind. 1986, 171-2 (no. H12). A new listing of all known works by Taḳī al-Dīn and their mss. is in E. İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı literatürü tarihi. I. Astronomi*, IRCICA Studies and sources on the history of science 7, Istanbul 1996, 199-217.

On the observational instruments at the Istanbul Observatory, see S. Tekeli, *Âlât-i raṣadiye li-Zîc-i Şehinşahiye*, Ankara 1964, and idem, *Nasirüddin, Takiyüddin ve Tycho Brahe'nin rasat aletlerinin mukayesesi*, Ankara 1958. On Taḳī al-Dīn's writings on clocks, see idem, *The clocks in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century*, in *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları* 171 (1966), 121-339, and A.Y. al-Hasan, *Taqi 'l-Din and Arabic mechanical engineering*, Aleppo 1976. On his tables for timekeeping, see King, *Astronomical timekeeping in Ottoman Turkey*, in *Procs. of the Internat. Symposium on the Observatories in Islam, 19-23 Sept. 1977*, Istanbul 1980, 245-69 (repr. in idem, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*, London 1986, XII), especially 248-9. (D.A. King)

TAḲĪ al-DĪN Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Kās͟hānī, commonly called Taḳī Kās͟hī, Persian scholar of the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. He was a pupil of the poet Muḥtas͟ham Kās͟hī, whose *dīwān* he edited. His fame rests on his monumental compendium of Persian poetry *K͟hulāṣat al-as͟hʿār wa-zubdat al-afkār*, of which the first version was completed in 993/1585 and the enlarged second version in 1016/1607-8. It contains notices of well over 600 poets from the 5th/11th century up to the author's own contemporaries, each with a detailed biography, followed by an exceptionally generous selection of poems. Manuscripts of this gigantic work (some of which contain only the biographies) are rare and it remains unpublished. Taḳī's book is a valuable primary source for the literature of the early Ṣafawid period, but its main importance lies in the fact that it has preserved a very large number of poems by ancient authors which are not known from any independent source. In particular, it can be observed that all the surviving manuscripts of the *dīwāns* of such major poets as ʿUnṣurī, Manūčihrī, Farruk͟hī [*q.vv.*] and quite a few others, are not only later than Taḳī's compendium but in fact evidently derive from it. It is thus clear that Taḳī played a decisive role in collecting what in his time must already have been very rare works of early Persian poetry and in rescuing them for posterity.

The importance of the *K͟hulāṣat al-as͟hʿār* for the textual history of early Persian poetry has until now been neglected; at the same time, its value as a biographical source has been overrated. Taḳī's notices, like those in all the so-called biographical dictionaries of Persian poets, are a jumble of idle legends and largely scurrilous anecdotes. Taḳī had the particularly irritating habit of pretending to know the year when most of his poets died; many of these dates are manifestly wrong and it seems likely that virtually all of them were invented *ad hoc*. Unfortunately, these fictitious dates have been perpetuated by subsequent works, among them many of the entries in the present Encyclopaedia.

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(F.C. de Blois)

TAḲĪ al-DĪN al-NABHĀNĪ (1909-77), founder and chief ideologue of the Islamic Liberation Party (*ḥizb al-taḥrīr al-islāmī*), which has striven since its formation in 1952 to establish an Islamic state and has been particularly active in Jordan. Al-Nabhānī was born near Haifa, studied at al-Azhar and the *Dār al-ʿUlūm* in Cairo (1927-32), then returned to Palestine, where he taught religious sciences and worked in Islamic law courts. In 1952, he sought permission from the Jordanian Interior Ministry to form the Islamic Liberation Party as a legal political party, but the request was denied on the grounds that its platform contradicted Jordan's constitution. Government restrictions on al-Nabhānī's activities induced him to emigrate to Syria in 1953, and three years later he permanently resettled in Beirut.

In over two dozen works (listed in Mūsā Zayd al-Kaylānī, *al-Ḥarakāt al-islāmiyya fi 'l-Urdunn*, Amman 1990, 117), al-Nabhānī elaborated his arguments for the imperative to establish a universal Islamic state, the character of such a state, and the means to achieve it. He expresses many of the same concerns as other 20th century revivalists, but he stands out for his emphasis on the revolutionary role of a vanguard party that would revive true Islamic consciousness among the masses, guide them to overthrow existing régimes and safeguard the ideological purity of the Islamic state. Al-Nabhānī also laid down a detailed model constitution for such a state, and devoted separate works to his vision of the Islamic economy and society. While the Islamic Liberation Party never attracted a large following in the several Arab countries where it established cells, al-Nabhānī's works have become an important part of contemporary Islamist literature.

Bibliography: For analysis of al-Nabhānī's thought, see D. Commins, *Taqī al-Dīn al-Nabhānī and the Islamic Liberation Party*, in *MW*, lxxxi/3-4 (1991), 194-211; S. Taji-Farouki, *Islamic discourse and modern political methods: an analysis of al-Nabhānī's reading of the canonical textual sources of Islam*, in *American Journal of Islamic Social Science*, xi/3 (1994), 365-93.
(D. Commins)

TAḲĪ K͟HĀN AMĪR-I KABĪR [see amīr kabīr, in Suppl.].

TAKIDDA or Takedda (Tamad͟jaḳ *tagidda* "saline spring, pool"), a name given by mediaeval Arab writers to one or more locations to the west of the Aïr massif in the south-central Sahara. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 438-45, tr. Gibb, iv, 972-5) described Takidda as a place where copper was mined, smelted and forged into rods used locally as currency. The copper was also exported to Bornū and other places to the south of Aïr. Takidda, in his day, was a flourishing commercial centre trading with Egypt, and a key centre of the slave trade. It had its own *ḳāḍī* and a resident community of North Africans. It also had

a *sulṭān* who lived in a tented camp and was described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as a Berber.

Ibn K͟haldūn describes Takidda as a meeting place for pilgrims from *bilād al-sūdān* and says that its sultan exchanged gifts with the *amīrs* of the Mzab and of Wargla (Hopkins and Levtzion, *Corpus*, 336, 338-9). His siting of Takidda (variously twenty or seventy days travel south and to the west of Warg͟hla) indicates some confusion with Tādmakkat, a Berber town in Adraṛ-n-Iforas, some 250 km/150 miles north of Gao, though there is little doubt that his description of the place actually refers to Takidda.

Other sources portray Takidda as a haunt of scholars. Al-Saʿdī, *Taʾrīk͟h al-sūdān* (ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1898, 66), mentions it as a place where some scholars fled, *ca.* 875/1470-1, to escape the persecution of Sunni ʿAlī of Songhay. Aḥmad Bābā (*Nayl al-ibtihād͟j*, 330-2, 335, 348) records that al-Mag͟hīlī [*q.v.*] taught there *ca.* 1490, and gives biographies of two 10th/16th-century scholars who bear the *nisba* "al-Takkidāwī": al-ʿĀḳib b. Muḥammad al-Anuṣammanī (d. 955/1548) and al-Nad͟jīb b. Muḥammad (d. after 1004/1595).

The precise location of Takidda has been a subject of dispute, not least because there are several locations which have "Tagidda" as an element of their names: Tagidda-n-Tsemt (or Tagidda-n-Tesoum "of the salt"), Tagidda-n-Tagait ("of the doum palms") and Tagidda-n-Adṛār ("of the mountain"), all to the west of Agades. At the first of these salt is extracted on a regular basis, leading Lhote to suggest that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of copper production should be read as salt production. More recently, it has been demonstrated that Azelik (sometimes referred to as Tagiddazzarai "the first Tagidda" according to D͟j. Hamani, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 98), some 25 km/15 miles north-east of Tagidda-n-Tsemt, is a location near which copper was smelted over many centuries. It seems likely that Azelik was the location visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, and that it was the principal settlement of a small Ṣanhād͟ja polity, known to the external world simply as Tagidda. This general picture seems confirmed by the report of the Genoese merchant Malfante visiting Tuwāt in 1447, who mentioned "Thegida, which comprises one province and three ksour".

The history of Takidda is sketchy. Aḥmad Bābā (*Kifāyat al-muḥtād͟j*, in Muḥammad Bello, *Infāḳ al-maysūr*, London 1951, 15) says it was founded by Ṣanhād͟ja, and these may well have been members of the Masūfa who settled in several Saharan fringe locations (Walāta, Timbuktu and perhaps Gao) in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries; their descendants would be the Inussūfan, now considered a Tuareg group. Mali probably exercised suzerainty over Takidda in the 8th/14th century (see Ibn K͟haldūn in *Corpus*, 336, 339), governing it indirectly through its sultan. It was destroyed in a war with Agades in *ca.* 1561. For more than two centuries, however, it had played an important role in trade between North Africa and Hausaland, and between the Niger Bend and Egypt, and had supplied copper to Hausaland and Bornū, and perhaps to as far south as Ife (see R. Mauny, in *J. Hist. Soc. Nigeria*, ii/3 (1962), 393-5).

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(J.O. Hunwick)

TAḲIYYA (a.), also *tuḳaⁿ*, *tuḳāt*, *taḳwā* and *ittiḳāʾ*, "prudence, fear" (see *LʿA*, s.v. *w-ḳ-y*, Beirut 1956, xv, 401-4; *TʿA*, x, 396-8), and also, from the root *k-t-m*, *kitmān* "action of covering, dissimulation", as opposed to *id͟hāʿa* "revealing, spreading information", denotes dispensing with the ordinances of religion in cases of constraint and when there is a possibility of harm.

The Ḳurʾān itself avoids the question of suffering in the cause of religion in dogmatics by adopting a Docetist solution (sūra IV, 156) and in everyday life by the *hid͟jra* and by allowing in case of need the denial of the faith (XVI, 108), friendship with unbelievers (III, 27) and the eating of forbidden foods (VI, 119; V, 5). This point of view is general in Islam. But, as Muḥammad at the same time asserted the proclamation of his mission to be a duty and held up the heroic example of the ancient saints and the prophets as a model (V, 71; III, 40; etc.), no definite general rule came to be laid down, not even with the separate sects. Minor questions, which are very fully discussed, are whether *taḳiyya* is simply a permitted alleviation through God's indulgence (*ruk͟hṣa*) or a duty, if it is necessary in the interest of the community.

Taḳiyya was never rejected even by the extreme wing of the strict K͟hārid͟jites [*q.v.*] although among the Azraḳīs in the related question of divine worship when danger threatens (*ṣalāt al-k͟hawf* [*q.v.*]), it is often given as an example that one should not interrupt the *ṣalāt* even if his horse or his money be stolen from him during it. The advice is already old: "God gave the believers freedom of movement (*wassaʿa*) by *taḳiyya*; therefore conceal thyself!" The principle adopted by the Ibāḍīs, however, was that "*taḳiyya* is a cloak for the believer: he has no religion who has no *taḳiyya*" (D͟jumayyil, *Ḳāmūs al-s͟harīʿa*, xiii, 127-8).

Among the Sunnī authorities the question was not such a burning one. Nevertheless, al-Ṭabarī says on sūra XVI, 108 (*Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1323, xxiv, 122): "If any one is compelled and professes unbelief with his tongue, while his heart contradicts him, in order to escape his enemies, no blame falls on him, because God takes his servants as their hearts believe". The reason for this verse is unanimously said to have been the case of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*], whose conscience was set at rest by this revelation when he was worried about his forced worshipping of idols and objurgation of the Prophet. It is more in the nature of

theoretical speculation, when in this connection the question of *hidjra* is minutely investigated, that in certain circumstances, e.g. threat of death, a Muslim who cannot live openly professing his faith may have to migrate "since God's earth is wide". Women, children, invalids and those who are tied by considerations for them, are permitted *muwāfaka* ("connivance"); but an independent individual is not justified in *takiyya* nor bound to *hidjra*, if the compulsion remains within endurable limits, as in the case of temporary imprisonment or flogging which does not result in death. The endeavour, however, to represent *takiyya* as only at most permitted and not under all circumstances obligatory, as even some Sunnīs endeavour to hold on the basis of sūra II, 191, has resulted in the invention of admonitory traditions, e.g. *ra's al-fi'l al-mudārāt* "to be good friends with unbelievers is the beginning of actual unbelief". To prove that steadfast martyrdom is a noble thing, the story is told of the two Muslim prisoners of Musaylima [*q.v.*], one of whom allowed himself to be forced to acknowledge the anti-prophet, while the other died for the Prophet. The latter is reported to have said: "The dead man has departed in his righteousness and certainty of belief and has attained his glory, peace be with him! But God has given the other an alleviation, no punishment shall fall upon him".

Takiyya is above all of special significance for the Shī'a. Indeed, it is considered their distinguishing feature, not however always with justice, as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in the *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal* protests against al-Rāzī (see his commentary *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutakaddimīn wa 'l-muta'akhkhirīn*, Cairo 1323/1905, 181-2). The peculiar fate of the Shī'a, that of a suppressed minority with occasional open but not always unheroic rebellions, gave them even more than the Khāridjites occasions and examples for extreme *takiyya* and its very opposite; even the Ismā'īlīs, usually masters in the art of disguising their creed, made the challenge to their leaders: "He who has 40 men at his disposal and does not seek his rights is no Imām". The Zaydīs give as among the number of helpers who remove the necessity of *takiyya* from the Imām, that of those who fought at Badr. It is a common polemical charge of the Sunnīs, quoted from the writings of the Shī'īs themselves, that the latter, as followers of fighting martyrs, are not justified in employing *takiyya*, while the Twelvers, in particular, while representing the Imāms as examples compelling one to resoluteness, appeal on the other hand to the conduct of 'Alī during the reign of the three first caliphs and to the *ghayba* of the Mahdī as examples of *takiyya*. Belief is expressed by heart, tongue and hand; a theory of probabilities, developed with considerable dialectic skill, calculates under what real or expected injuries, "the permitting of what is pleasing to God and the forbidding of what is displeasing to God" can be dispensed with. Observance with the heart is always absolutely necessary. But if it is considered as probable to anyone (*law ghalaba 'alā ẓannihi*) or if he is certain that an injury will befall him, his property or one of his co-religionists, then he is released from the obligation to fight for the faith with hand or tongue.

In Shī'ī biographies, concealment is a regular feature; we are told that the hero broke the laws of religion like the prohibition of wine under compulsion, and this is not always reported as excusable. But since for them also Muḥammad is the Prophet, and since as among the Sunnīs a prophet may not practice *takiyya* in matters of his office, because otherwise one could not be certain of the revelation, we have, in view of the double example of the Imāms, in the code of morals for the ordinary pious men of the Shī'a, the following sayings of 'Alī in juxtaposition: "It is the mark of belief to prefer to practise justice even if it injures you, rather than injustice when it is of use to you"; and as an explanation of sūra XLIX, 13: "He among you who is most honoured before God is the most fearful (of God)", that is, he who uses *takiyya* most (*atkākum* = *aktharukum takiyyat^{an}*); and it is also said "*Al-kitmān* is our *djihād*", but at the same time the chapters on *djihād* are to be read with the implied understanding that the fighting is primarily against other Muslims. It is also to be noted that the *takiyya* of the Shī'īs is not a voluntary ideal (cf. Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, Tehran 1306/1888, iv, 66-7), but one should avoid a martyrdom that seems unnecessary and useless and preserve oneself for the faith and one's co-religionists.

In any case, because of their attachment to *takiyya*, the Shī'īs have devoted numerous works to it. Ṭihrānī, in *al-Dharī'a*, iv, 403-4 nos. 1769-83, gives a list of some 26 epistles and other works, including (1) the *R. fi 'l-takiyya wa 'l-idhā'a* of Abu 'l-Mufaḍḍal al-Shaybānī al-Kūfī (d. 387/997); (2) the *Takiyya* of 'Alī al-Bakrī (d. 940/1533), of which there is a ms. of 1100/1688 in the library of Sh. Dja'far Āl Baḥr al-'Ulūm in Nadjaf; (3) the *R. al-takiyya* of Āghā Muḥammad Bākir al-Bihbihānī (d. 1206/1791), also with a ms. at Nadjaf belonging to Sh. Mashkūr; (4) the *Takiyya*, in 600 verses, by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥillī (d. 1309/1891), of which there is a ms. in the library of Sh. Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī; etc.

In the last resort, *takiyya* is based on intention, so we continually find the appeal made to *niyya* in this connection. The validity of the profession of faith as an act of worship is not only settled by the correct formulation of the intention to do it, but this is the essential of it, so that it alone counts, if under compulsion a profession of unbelief is made with the lips or worship performed along with unbelievers. God's rights alone can be injured by *takiyya*. He has the power to punish the constrainer, and only in certain circumstances will a slight portion of the punishment fall upon the one constrained. The wiles used in this connection, especially in oaths with mental reservations give, however, ample opportunities to injure one's fellow-creatures.

The moral dangers of *takiyya* are considerable, but it may be compared with similar phenomena in other religions and even among the mystics. The ethical question whether such forced lies and denials of the faith are not still lies and denials of the faith, is not put at all by the one "who conceals his real views", as he is not in a state of confidence which would be broken by lies or denial.

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(R. Strothmann-[Moktar Djebli])

TAḲĪZĀDA, Sayyid Ḥasan (b. Tabrīz, 27 September 1878, d. Tehran, 28 January 1970), Persian politician and scholar of Iranian studies.

1. Life. The son of Sayyid Taḳī Urdūbādī, he received both a traditional Islamic and a modern education, including natural science and French and, to some extent, the English language. In Tabrīz he founded, with three like-minded friends, an ephemeral journal, *Gandjīna-yi funūn* (1903-4), and then travelled for a year in the Caucasus, Istanbul, Beirut and Egypt, returning with Western modernist ideas and sympathies. Moving to Tehran at the time of the Constitutional movement [see dustūr. iv], his reputation as one of the more radical, even revolutionary, activists secured him election to the first *Madjlis* as a representative for Ādharbaydjān, arousing the fear of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh who plotted, as the sources all agree, to kill him and five other constitutionalists. Hence when the Shāh replied with his anti-constitutionalist coup of 1326/1906, Taḳīzāda took refuge in the British Legation and then made his way to Europe, to Paris and London; in the latter place, he worked with the Iran Committee there, and his friendship with the famous Persian scholar E.G. Browne dates from this time.

He returned to Tabrīz and then to Tehran, becoming a member of the provisional steering committee when Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh was deposed and a member of the second *Madjlis* for the Democrat Party (*ḥizb-i dimūkrāt*). But he had to leave Persia in 1910 after the murder of Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Bihbihānī, and after periods in Turkey, London and the United States, went in 1914 to Germany at the German government's suggestion to help organise an anti-British and anti-Russian "Committee of Iranian Nationalists", founding the journal *Kāwa*, first as a political but later as a cultural and literary journal also; he remained in Germany till 1921.

With the defeat of the Central Powers, the Committee was dissolved. Taḳīzāda returned to Persia and now filled various government positions, serving also as a deputy in the fifth and sixth *Madjlis*. He was opposed to changing the constitution to allow Riḍā Khān (Pahlawī) [*q.v.*] to assume power. During Riḍā Shāh's reign he filled such offices as governor of Khurāsān and ambassador in London, and as Minister of Finance was concerned in the negotiations of 1933 for the extension of the Anglo-Persian (after 1935 Anglo-Iranian) Oil Company's agreement. He was also ambassador in Paris, but becoming *persona non grata* to the Shāh, went to Berlin and then London, where he started teaching at London University. On the abdication of the Shāh (1941) he became ambassador to Britain.

Returning home in 1948, he became a member of the 15th *Madjlis* and a professor at Tehran University and in 1949 a senator, acting for a time as President of the Senate. Amongst his many cultural activities during the last two decades or so of his life was his involvement in the Society for National Monuments and, in conjunction with UNESCO, the Institute for Translation and Publication of Books (*Bungāh-i Tardjuma wa Nashr-i Kitāb*).

2. Literary work. Amongst his important works in Persian were his *Gāh-shumārī dar Īrān-i ḳadīm* (Tehran 1315/1937, repr. as vol. x of his collected works, see below); a study on Firdawsī, in *Kāwa*, N.S. i-ii (1920-1), and works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Mānī. His articles and other writings are collected in *Maḳālāt-i Taḳīzāda*, ed. I. Afshār, 10 vols. Tehran 1349-57/1970-8, of which vols. vi-viii contain his writings in European languages. His writings in European languages were partly political and partly in the field of Iranian studies. He had an interest in bibliography, and with W. Litten published *Persische Bibliographie*, Berlin 1920. For a complete bibliography, see his own autobiography *Zindigī-yi ṭūfānī*, [2]Tehran 1372/1993.

Bibliography: There are references to Taḳīzāda's constitutionalist activities in most of the books on the movement, e.g. E.G. Browne, *The Persian revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910; Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Tārīkh-i mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, [5]Tehran 1340/1961; Mahdī Malikzāda, *Tārīkh-i inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat dar Īrān*, 7 vols. Tehran 1949-54. See also W.B. Henning and E. Yarshater, *A locust's leg. Studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, esp. S.M.A. Djamalzadeh, *Taqizadeh tel que je l'ai connu*, 1-18, and *Brief bibliography*, 19-20; Ḥabīb Yaghmā'ī (ed.), *Yādnāma-yi Taḳīzāda ba-munāsabāt-i sālrūz-i dargudhasht-i ān shādrawān*, Tehran 1349/1971.

(Iradj Afshar)

TAKKALŪ (Täkkä-lü), the name of a group of Turcomans originating from the regions of Menteşe, Aydın, Saruhan, Hamit and Germiyan in southern Anatolia, an area known collectively as Tekeili [*q.v.*] (*Tārīkh-i Ḳizilbāshān*, ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith, Tehran 1361 AHS/1982, 27).

The Turcoman tribes of Anatolia were one of the primary targets of Ṣafawid propaganda (*da'wa*) [see bāyazīd ii; ṣafawids. i], and the Takkalūs responded early to this call and entered the service of the Ṣafawid *shaykhs* Djunayd and Ḥaydar [*q.v.*]. In 905/1499, when Ismā'īl [see ismā'īl i] summoned his supporters to rally to him at Erzindjān, a Takkalū contingent formed part of the force of 7,000 men who assembled there (R.M. Savory, *Studies on the history of Ṣafawid Iran*, Variorum Reprints, London 1987, no. I, 63). At the time of the establishment of the Ṣafawid state in 907/1501, the Takkalū tribe was listed among the "great tribes" (*büyük oymaklar*) of the *Ḳizilbāsh* [*q.v.*] (Faruk Sümer, *Osmanlı devletinin kuruluşu ve gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin rolü*, Ankara 1976, 46-7), and the Takkalūs were classified as a tribe "of the right" (*maymana*), the Ṣafawids having adopted the old Turco-Mongol system of military organisation (Masashi Haneda, *Le Châh et les Qizilbāš. Le système militaire safavide*, Berlin 1987, 52). After the major revolt in Asia Minor led by Shāhḳulī Bābā Takkalū in 917/1511 had been crushed, a further 1,500 Takkalū tribesmen emigrated to Persia and joined Shāh Ismā'īl.

After the death of Ismā'īl I (930/1524), and the accession of the young Shāh Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*], civil war erupted between rival coalitions of *Ḳizilbāsh* tribes.

At first, the Takkalūs and other tribes acknowledged the leadership of Dīw Sulṭān Rūmlū (Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. C.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, 187-8; Būdāḳ Munshī Ḳazwīnī, *Djawāhir al-akhbār*, Leningrad ms. Dorn 288, fol. 298b) as *amīr al-umarā'* [see art. *Amīr al-Omarā* ii. Safavid usage, in *EIr*, i, 970-1], but by 933/1527 a Takkalū *amīr*, Čūha Sulṭān, had become the virtual ruler of the state (Savory, *op. cit.*, no. V, 69 ff.). Many Takkalūs defected to the Ottomans and fought alongside Ottoman troops during Sultan Süleymān's various invasions of Persia (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 237, 247 ff.). As a result, the Takkalūs lost their prestigious position in the Ṣafawid state, and only three Takkalū *amīrs* appear in Iskandar Beg's list of leading *amīrs* at the time of the death of Ṭahmāsp (984/1576) *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, text, ii, 1084-7, tr. Savory, ii, 1309-15). There was a brief revival of Takkalū fortunes under Shāh Ismāʿīl II [*q.v.*], but once more the tribe became embroiled in Ḳizilbāsh factionalism. Their *iḳṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*] in the Hamadān area were transferred to the Ustādjlū and Shāmlū tribes, and once again many Takkalūs took refuge with the Ottomans. From then on, they had the status in Persia of only a second-class tribe (Sümer, *op. cit.*, 144), and no Takkalū *amīrs* are listed by Iskandar Beg at the death of Shāh ʿAbbās I (1038/1629) (text, ii, 1084 ff., tr. ii, 1309 ff.).

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(R.M. Savory)

TAḲLĪD (A.), from the verb *ḳallada* "to imitate, follow, obey s.o.", meaning acceptance of or submission to authority. The word, with this semantic range, is not found in the Ḳur'ān nor in *ḥadīth* literature (as covered by Wensinck's *Concordance*). It has an important role throughout the Muslim religious sciences where it has a predominantly negative meaning, implying unreasonable and thoughtless acceptance of authority. It was, however, capable of being rescued and given a positive orientation. Different degrees of positive orientation can be found in the technical analyses of authority that emerged in pre-modern Islamic thought in relation to both juristic authority and credal matters. In spite of these developments, the term retained a generally abusive implication and might be discovered, on any side, in any debate about authority and epistemology, from the earliest to the most recent articulations of Islamic belief. The term has been widely adopted into Orientalist discourse where it is almost invariably translated as "blind submission". The same is broadly true of modernist Islamic discourse. The absence of any positive assessment of this term in modern commentary tends to produce a negative view of more than 1,000 years of Islamic history.

Al-Muzanī (d. 264/878 [*q.v.*]), pupil of al-Shāfiʿī, attributes to his master a prohibition of *taḳlīd* either of himself or of others (*Mukhtaṣar*, 1). This implies that the learned should not simply accept al-Shāfiʿī's juristic rulings but should be aware also of his arguments and the *ḥadīth* they are based on. It does not mean that the illiterate or unlearned should work out juristic rules for themselves; in matters of law the unlearned were necessarily subject to the authority of the learned and the appropriate term for that submission was *taḳlīd*. Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889), who did not believe that reason could lead to positive results in the sphere of credal beliefs, characterised the Muʿtazila (the *aṣḥāb al-kalām*) as achieving whatever unity they achieved as a result of *taḳlīd*, i.e. imitation and unthinking acceptance. The *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, by contrast, achieved consensus on the basic principles of faith through revelation and submission to the acknowledged authorities of the past, the *ʿulamā'* and the *fuḳahā'* (this, apparently, was not *taḳlīd*) (*Ta'wīl*, 13-17). Al-Shāfiʿī's distrust of *taḳlīd* in juristic matters is echoed in the works of the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064). He argued that there should be a return to the evident (*ẓāhir*) meanings of *ḥadīth*, and all else (he meant the principles of authority and continuity that dominated the juristic schools of Sunnī Islam) was "stubbornness, ignorance, *taḳlīd* and sin" (*Iḥkām*, ii, 130). The Shāfiʿī jurist and Ashʿarī theologian al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) defined the term *taḳlīd*, in a formula widely accepted, as "accepting the opinion of another without proof, *ḳabūl ḳawl al-ghayr min ghayr ḥudjdja*", while pointing out that prophets did not summon people to mere *taḳlīd* but rather offered evidence and/or miracles to justify acceptance of their message. Summarising a dominant view, he declared that *taḳlīd* was acceptable in juristic matters but not in *uṣūl al-dīn* (credal/theological matters) (*Ishāra*, 18). In the mystic sphere, it was possible to contrast the direct experience of God that was accessible to the Ṣūfīs with the mere acceptance and submission that characterised non-Ṣūfī belief. Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) said of himself, "We are not the people of *taḳlīd*; our affair comes... from God; we have witnessed it directly, *shahidnā-hu ʿiyānan*" (cit. in Chittick, 73). Since the late 19th century, many western scholars and modernist Muslims have characterised the earlier Islamic tradition as dominated by *taḳlīd*, meaning blind imitation. This reflects lack of sympathy and understanding on the part of the Western scholars; on the part of Muslims, it reflects a desire for radical reform, usually associated with a return to the time before *taḳlīd* became established. The motive here is technically fundamentalist, though associated indifferently with liberal or conservative views.

Taḳlīd in juristic matters. The earliest articulations of a juristic theory of authority acknowledge that the unlearned masses are dependent for their knowledge of the law on the learned. The relationship is defined by the terms *mudjtahid* and *muftī* (designating the learned authority) and *ʿāmmī* or *muḳallid* (designating the follower). In so far as these terms refer to a synchronic relationship between the participants, no jurist ever doubted the legitimacy or necessity of *taḳlīd*. However, with the development of juristic schools (*madhāhib*), it was evident that the common people and the learned alike, in fact, and by universal practice, submitted to the principles of law that had been articulated by the founders of each *madhhab*. A Shāfiʿī scholar, like a Mālikī or Ḥanafī and, in time, a Ḥanbalī, followed the basic structures of the tradition (*madhhab*) within which he was educated. *Idjtihād* [*q.v.*], meaning direct creative confrontation with the texts of revelation, was—it became gradually more evident—not characteristic of Muslim jurists after the age of the great founders. The jurists accepted and submitted to the authority of the founders. But they did not thereby cease to explore and develop the juristic tradition they inherited. In elaborating a theory which described and accounted for the reality of historical development, the jurists distinguished between *idjtihād muṭlaḳ* (meaning the creative act of *idjtihād* through

which the founding imāms derived from the revealed sources a systematic structure of law) and *idjtihād fi 'l-madhhab* (creative development of the law within the broad structures of the *madhhab*, the characteristic achievement of Muslim jurists through the centuries). The latter type of *idjtihād* was associated with *taklīd*, which, in this context, means willing submission to the authority of the founder and the *madhhab*—but not blind submission, for the principles which justified the deductions of the founder and the developments of later jurists were explored in the science of *uṣūl al-fikh*.

From a historian's point of view, the role attributed to the founding imāms is a myth, but an important one, which can be analysed as offering a dynamic orientation to the juristic traditions of Islam. The dominant traditions carry the names of the founding imāms (Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī) as signs of the human element in the articulation of divine law; and as marks of an acknowledged pluralism in the details of the law. Subsequent generations of jurists added to the meanings of the law and became a part of an expanding reticulation of authorities which defined the *madhhab* for later generations. The minor traditions are characterised by terms that indicate their fundamentalist orientation (Ẓāhirī, Salafī, and, amongst the Shīʿa, Akhbārī). *Taklīd* is the dominant term used to characterise the special loyalty to the founding imām which was the essential element in nearly all pre-modern articulations of *sharīʿa*. Neither in theory nor in practice, in spite of the intimations of Orientalists and modernising Muslims, can it be recognised as essentially a principle of stasis. The detailed expression of a theory of authority that adequately accounted for continuity and loyalty in the *madhāhib* varied, naturally, from time to time and from *madhhab* to *madhhab*, but it always involved careful manipulation of the terms *idjtihād* and *taklīd* in subtle structures of thought which are different from the frequently unsubtle descriptions of modern commentators.

Taklīd in credal matters. The view that *taklīd* was not acceptable in *uṣūl al-dīn* had been articulated by al-Shīrāzī, and remained, for a majority of theologians, the preferred view. The alternative view that *taklīd* was acceptable in this field was also articulated and maintained as part of the tradition. A late summary characterised the tradition in four brief clauses. 1. There are two views as to whether *taklīd* is permitted in *uṣūl al-dīn*. 2. It is said that intellectual exploration in this area is *ḥarām*. 3. There is a view reported from al-Ashʿarī that the faith of the masses is not valid, but this has been claimed to be a lie. 4. If it is not a lie, it is neccessary to distinguish between *taklīd* as indifferent submission and *taklīd* as positive commitment (*djazm*). That schema of views was intended to generate commentary. In the commentary tradition, the dominant view (that *taklīd* is not permitted in *uṣūl al-dīn*) is justified on the grounds that personal intellectual effort is a pre-requisite for certainty in this area. The alternative view is justified by reference to Bedouin converts, whose faith was acknowledged by Muḥammad though they were incapable of rational investigation. This argument is qualified, for, though unsophisticated, the Bedouin were capable of forms of deduction appropriate to their standing. The view that intellectual speculation may be *ḥarām* is a reminder that theological debate can be dangerous, leading some people to error and disbelief. According to any of these three views, the faith of the masses is valid, even if, according to the first view, they may be in a state of sin. The rigorous opinion attributed to al-Ashʿarī is certainly to be qualified, either because it is a lying attribution, or because he intended a particular distinction between *taklīd* as indifference (not permitted) and *taklīd* as commitment (permitted) (al-Subkī, *Djamʿ*, ii, 401-4).

The scholastic format should not hide the nuanced position that is here being advocated. If the word *taklīd* can be used to characterise the traditional faith and loyalty of the masses, it is not to be understood as "blind submission". Precisely that is not permitted and renders faith invalid. The shifting patterns of *ikhtilāf* that are offered, managed, and ranked in the scholastic tradition, here and generally, evoke a more refined and sophisticated consideration than has been recognised in the various forms of modernist discourse.

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TAKLĪD-I SAYF [see MARĀSIM. 4].

TAKLĪF (A.), a term of the theological and legal vocabulary denoting the fact of an imposition on the part of God of obligations on his creatures, of subjecting them to a law. The corresponding passive participle *mukallaf* is used of someone who is governed by this law and in this connection, in legal language, it denotes every individual who has at his disposal the full and entire scope of the law (cf. J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 124).

The Ḳurʾānic origin of the term, though indirect, is beyond doubt. On six occasions (though differently expressed) the Ḳurʾān says that God only imposes on every man what he is capable of (*lā yukallifu llāhu nafsᵃⁿ illā wusʿahā*, II, 286; cf. similarly II, 233; VI, 152; VII, 42; XXIII, 62; LXV, 7). Out of the various possible meanings of this root *k-l-f* the one which in this case is relevant is that which denotes the idea of a difficult task, requiring a great effort to perform. The *LʿA* defines *taklīf* as the fact of ordering someone to do something which is hard for him (*mā yashuḳḳu ʿalayhi*). Al-Djuwaynī gives the same meaning and suggests *ilzām mā fīhi kulfa* (*al-Burhān fī uṣūl al-fikh*, Cairo 1400/1981, § 26).

From the theological point of view, the existence of *taklīf* principally raises three questions:

1. How do we know the obligations which God imposes on us? The Muʿtazilīs reply: in two ways, by our reason (*bi 'l-ʿakl*) and by revelation (*bi 'l-samʿ*, or *bi 'l-sharʿ*). It is our reason which teaches us, for example, that we must be upright, pay back a deposit, be grateful to a benefactor. Revelation adds the specific obligations of the Islamic religion: the five daily prayers, the fast of Ramaḍān, etc. There are therefore, as ʿAbd al-Djabbār loves to say, two sorts of *taklīf*, a *taklīf ʿaklī* and a *taklīf samʿī* (cf. *Mughnī*, xiv, 149, l. 13 and 150, ll. 2-3; Ps. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, Cairo 1965, 70, l. 11; Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Madjmūʿ fi 'l-Muḥīṭ*, i, Beirut 1965, 7, l. 3). From the Sunnī side, the Māturīdīs essentially maintain an identical point

of view. The As̲h̲ʿarīs, on the other hand, affirm that no obligation is known by reason; the Law as revealed is the only foundation for good and evil.

2. Why does God impose obligation on us? The As̲h̲ʿarīs refuse to answer this question, by virtue of their principle that we have not to look for motives (*ʿilal*) in any divine action. For the Muʿtazilīs the answer is simple: God acts in everything for the good of mankind and it is therefore also for their good that He imposes duties. The reason advanced by al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī [*q.v.*] and his disciples is that because of that, God has given man the power to reach the highest form of bliss. He certainly would have been able to create man directly in Paradise, but happiness which is granted directly is less keen than that which is preceded by pain and which is its recompense.

For al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī and his disciples, contrary to other Muʿtazilīs who submitted to the so-called *al-aṣlaḥ* thesis (from all points of view God is obliged to do whatever is most advantageous to man), God was not bound at the outset to impose a law on man. If He did that, it was purely out of favour (*tafaḍḍul*) towards them. But having done it, in this situation He set about the obligation of making for them *al-aṣlaḥ fī dīnihim*, that is to say, to provide them from now onwards with the means and all assistance necessary to help them discharge the duties to which He had subjected them, and thus to "remove every excuse" for their not doing so.

3. Can God oblige man to do the impossible? This is the most serious question, the so-called *taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳu*. *A priori* the answer should be consistently in the negative, seeing that there had appeared in the Ḳurʾān itself six times "God only asks of each one what he is capable of". This is certainly the Muʿtazilī point of view, on behalf of the principle of the divine justice (*ʿadl*), a cause which they champion. It is precisely this justice which lays the obligation on God, as mentioned above, of providing man with all the means to obey his commandments. The point of view of the Māturīdīs is also fundamentally in agreement with the Muʿtazilīs on this point. This, however, was not the view of al-As̲h̲ʿarī and certain of his disciples for the following reasons.

Firstly, in favour of their thesis, there is the As̲h̲ʿarī principle of absolute divine liberty. Al-As̲h̲ʿarī said that no rule applied to God; he could do whatever He wanted; everything that He does is just and it would be equally just if He did the opposite. Nothing prevents Him, therefore, from compelling man to do the impossible, whether it be a matter of logical impossibility (*taklīf al-muḥāl*) like bringing together opposites, or a matter of physical impossibility (*taklīf al-ʿād̲j̲iz*) like commanding a lame man to walk.

Secondly, the way in which al-As̲h̲ʿarī represents human power and its relation to action leads him to allow the principle of *taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳu* by using another expedient. Contrary to the Muʿtazilīs (for whom all power is necessarily the power of an action or its converse, and power therefore necessarily precedes the action), al-As̲h̲ʿarī considers, as did al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār before him, that all human power is contemporaneous with the action which corresponds to it; it is therefore only power for this action and not for its converse. The result of this is that just when the unbeliever produces an action of unbelief this has not the power of the converse of unbelief; nevertheless, at that very moment God commands him to believe, which is certainly compelling him to do the impossible. The impossibility under the circumstances would not be of the same order as the preceding hypothesis. Al-As̲h̲ʿarī explains (here again following the theories of al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār) that, if at the moment the unbeliever did not have the capacity to believe, it was because he had made a deliberate choice to have "no belief". It would be a question in the case of a *taklīf al-tārik* (*tark* meaning the fact of accomplishing the converse of a given act) as distinct from the *taklīf al-ʿād̲j̲iz*.

(It is worth noting that to avoid ending up with *taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳu*, certain theologians—one of whom is said to have been Abū Ḥanīfa—while supporting the thesis of the "non-anteriority" of the power in relation to the action, at the same time nevertheless maintained that identical power was a power of opposites, not simultaneously, but by the substitution of the one for the other. This thesis was called *al-badal*.)

Finally, there is the fact of eternal divine foreknowledge. God knows from time immemorial that this or that person will never believe. It is therefore for all time impossible that they will believe (unless the possibility was conceded that God could be mistaken), and yet God commands them to believe. In the same way, He did not stop commanding Abū Lahab to believe, even after having announced in Ḳurʾān, CXI, 1-3, that he would roast in Hell. One would imagine that, this time, even the Muʿtazilīs would have to recognise in this a situation with an obligation to do the impossible. However, this was not the case: according to al-As̲h̲ʿarī (*Maḳālāt*, 2nd ed. Ritter, 243, ll. 14-15, and 561, ll. 14-15), all with just one exception were of the opinion that, in the matter of a man whom God knew would never believe, the order to believe was addressed to him as well, and he too had the power to believe.

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(D. Gimaret)

TAḲRĪB (a.) "rapprochement", a term widely used to designate an ecumenical trend within modern Islam in general and a movement towards reconciliation between Sunnī and S̲h̲īʿī Muslims in particular. To a considerable extent, this trend is part of the ideology of Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*]. It found its expression at many pan-Islamic congresses [see MUʾTAMAR], as well as in the activities of a number of movements and societies striving for a friendly dialogue, especially between Sunnīs and S̲h̲īʿīs. So far, the most important of these associations has been the *D̲j̲amāʿat al-Taḳrīb bayn al-Mad̲h̲āhib al-Islāmiyya*, a society founded in Cairo in 1947. With an Iranian divine, Muḥammad Taḳī Ḳummī, as its founder and secretary-general, it had the support of a number of promi-

nent Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* and intellectuals from Egypt and elsewhere, including two rectors of al-Azhar [*q.v.*], sc. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Salīm (d. 1954) and Maḥmūd Shaltūt (d. 1963 [*q.v.*]). Until his assassination in 1949, Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*], the leader of *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* [*q.v.*], was in contact with the *Taḳrīb* society. On the part of the Shīʿa, we find Āyatullāh Burūdjirdī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ (d. 1954) and Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn [*q.v.*] among those lending their support.

The activities of the *Djamāʿa* were directed by the *Dār al-Taḳrīb*, an institute which, among other things, served as a publishing house issuing classical Shīʿī works. The journal of the society, *Risālat al-Islām*, was founded in 1949. When, after several interruptions, it finally stopped publication in 1972, a total number of seventeen volumes had appeared. In the journal, both Sunnī and Shīʿī authors found an opportunity to voice their opinion in favour of *taḳrīb*. Nearly all of them, however, avoided touching on the most controversial issues dividing the two sides.

The greatest success of the *Djamāʿa* was a statement, in 1959, by Maḥmūd Shaltūt to the effect that worship according to the doctrine of the Twelver Shīʿa [see ITHNĀ ʿASHARIYYA] was valid and its *madhhab* fully recognised within Islam. The statement, originally part of a press interview, was given the form of a *fatwā* and distributed world-wide by the *Dār al-Taḳrīb*. It was greeted enthusiastically by the majority of the Shīʿīs, but met with strong criticism on the part of many members of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*]. For them, the *Taḳrīb* society from its very beginning had been nothing but a Shīʿī missionary institution designed to make converts in Sunnī lands, and not an instrument of a real rapprochement (if that, in the opinion of those critics, was feasible at all).

Mainly for political reasons, the *Taḳrīb* society lost much of its momentum from 1960 onwards. After the Iranian revolution, Muḥammad Taḳī Ḳummī left Egypt for Europe, where he died in Paris in 1990. His son ʿAbd Allāh tried to re-establish the *Taḳrīb* society in Egypt in 1992. In Iran, an association called *Madjmaʿ al-Taḳrīb* was founded with government support in 1990 (see M. Kramer, *Iran's ecumenical Islam*, in *Middle East contemporary survey*, xvi, 1992, publ. Boulder, Colo. 1995, 202-4).

A number of congresses were held in Iran and elsewhere in the early 1990s with the aim of reviving the dialogue, including one sponsored by the *İslami İlimler Araştırma Vakfı* in Istanbul in 1993. For its proceedings, see *Milletlerarası tarihte ve günümüzde şiilik sempozyumu. Tebliğler ve Müzakereler*, ed. E.R. Fığlalı *et alii*, Istanbul 1993 (texts in Turkish and Arabic).

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For general surveys of the ecumenical trend in modern times (including the opposition to it), see, e.g., H. Enayat, *Modern Islamic political thought*, Austin 1982, 18-51, and W. Ende, *Sunniten und Schiiten im 20. Jahrhundert*, in *Saeculum*, xxxvi (1985), 187-200. For a comprehensive study of the Cairene *Djamāʿat al-Taḳrīb*, see R. Brunner, *Annäherung und Distanz. Schia, Azhar und die islamische Ökumene im 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1997 (with excellent bibl.).

(W. ENDE)

TAKRĪT (popular pronunciation TIKRĪT, cf. Yāḳūt), a town of ʿIrāḳ on the right bank of the Tigris to the north of Sāmarrāʾ 100 miles from Baghdād divertly, and 143 by river, and at the foot of the range of the Djabal Ḥamrīn (lat. 34° 36' N., long. 43° 41' E., altitude 110 m/375 feet). Geographically, this is the northern frontier district of ʿIrāḳ. The land is still somewhat undulating; the old town was built on a group of hills, on one of which beside the river, stands the modern town. To the north is a sandstone cliff 200 feet above the level of the river, on which still stand the ruins of the old citadel. The traces of the old town stretch to the west of these two hills in a large circle, which shows that Takrīt was once of considerable extent.

It has been suggested that the name may be recognised in a tablet of the time of Nebuchadnezzar (Strassmeyer, quoted by Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, ii, p. xiii) but the first certain mention is that of Ptolemy (v. 18, 19), who calls it Birtha (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 861, in giving the latitude and longitude also refers to Ptolemy). Ammianus Marcellinus calls it Virta. Indeed, the hill of the citadel is still known as Burtha. In Syriac literature the town is called Taghrīth. From the fourth century, it was the see of a Jacobite bishop until, in 1155, the diocese was combined with that of al-Mawṣil (Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, i, 174, 465). The Arab writers attribute its foundation to the Sāsānid king Sābūr [*q.v.*], son of Ardashīr; the town is said to have been called after a Christian woman named Takrīt bint Wāʾil; several legends are connected with its foundation (Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ii, 288). Before Islam, the town was temporarily occupied by the Arab Christian tribe of the Iyād (al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, i, 46); they were driven from it, but the Iyād remained for a long time afterwards in the neighbourhood (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat djazīrat al-ʿArab*, 180) and in the period of the conquest, the soldiers of the Iyād in the garrison of Takrīt secretly assisted the Arabs [see IYĀD]. The first Muslim capture of the town seems to have been effected in the year 16/637 by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtamm, who was sent out by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ. Then in 20/64, the town again surrendered by agreement; tradition ascribes this second occupation to al-Nuṣayr b. Daysam or to his deputy ʿUḳba b. Farḳad or to Masʿūd b. Ḥurayth b. al-Abdjar. The last named was the first governor, and built the congregational mosque there (Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 248-9).

Down to the middle of the 4th/10th century, the Arab geographers reckoned Takrīt as belonging administratively to al-Djazīra (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 94; Ibn Rusta, 106; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 129; Ḳudāma, 245, 250; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 72, 77; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 208-9, tr. 201-2; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 36), but from the time of al-Muḳaddasī (54, 115), the town is more often regarded as belonging to ʿIrāḳ (except by al-Idrīsī and al-Dimashḳī). In the early centuries of Islam, the town was almost exclusively Christian. Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-

Mas'ūdī (*op. cit.*, 155) mention the al-Khaḍrā' church there, and there is still a ruin of this name in the south of the town. There were also other Christian buildings (like the monastery of Sa'āba on the opposite bank (Yāḳūt, ii, 673) and the Dayr Mār Yuḥannā, Yāḳūt, ii, 701). The name of the great Muslim sanctuary of al-Arba'ī slightly west of the old town, seems to indicate that it was formerly the site of a Christian building. Two vaulted chambers decorated with stucco are still standing; the building goes back to the 7th/13th century. Takrīt was celebrated for its manufactures of woollen goods (al-Muḳaddasī). In the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries it is described as a large town (Ibn Djubayr, 223; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 133). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī says it is a town of average size. Al-Idrīsī (tr. Jaubert, ii, 147) mentions the Dudjayl canal which ran from the Tigris near Takrīt and went on to Baghdād; this is probably identical with the Nahr al-Isḥāḳī, dug, according to Abu 'l-Fidā', in the reign of al-Mutawakkil (cf. also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 434). Traces of this canal, which according to Ewliyā Čelebi was cleaned out by Murtaḍā Pasha in 1064/1654 (quoted by von Hammer, *Wiener Jahrbücher*, xiii [1821], 235), are still visible.

Takrīt never played an important part in history, but al-Sam'ānī names some scholars and traditionists from there (*Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 64-5). However, it continued, until its devastation by Tīmūr in the late 8th/14th century (see below) to be a lively centre of Christian Arabic and Syriac scholarship, with a particular efflorescence in the period from the 9th to the 11th centuries A.D. Amongst its notable scholars were the Patriarch of Takrīt Cyriacus (Patriarch 793-817), the philosopher and theologian Abū Zakariyyā' Denḥā, with whom al-Mas'ūdī had discussions at Takrīt and Baghdād (*Tanbīh*, tr. Carra de Vaux, 213) and the great translator from Greek into Syriac and Arabic Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (d. 974 [*q.v.*]); see Fiey, *Tagrît*, 316-19.

In the 5th/11th century it belonged to almost independent lords until the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghril Beg took advantage of the death of its lord to seize it (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 448). From 544/1149 the town was part of the territory of the Begtegīnids, and in 586/1190 it passed to the 'Abbāsid caliphs. It was the birthplace of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), whose father Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb had been appointed commander of the town under the Saldjūḳs. When the conqueror Tīmūr took it, it was in the possession of Arab brigands (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, tr. Pétis de la Croix, ii, 141-54). In the following centuries, it remained a small place; Christians are mentioned in it for the last time by Tavernier (*Voyages*, ii, 87) in the 17th century. Under Turkish rule, Takrīt was a *sandjaḳ* in the *eyālet* of Raḳḳa (*Djihān-numā*, 434), but after the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms of the 19th century, it was reduced to a *nāḥiya* of the *ḳaḍā* of Sāmarrā' (in the *wilāyat* of Baghdād). In the 19th century the population was probably never more than 4,000-5,000 souls. All travellers up to the early 20th century were poorly impressed by it; the majority of the inhabitants until that time made their living by navigating inflated rafts or *keleks* [*q.v.*], which changed crews there.

During the First World War, Takrīt was the scene of a minor battle in November 1917 as the Turks retreated northwards before General Maude's Allied forces (S.H. Longrigg, *'Iraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953, 90). It acquired a station on the standard-gauge northwards extension of the Baghdād-Sāmarrā' railway constructed by the British and Indian troops. In contemporary Republican 'Irāḳ, Takrīt is in the governorate of Sāmarrā'.

On the Arabic dialect of Takrīt, see O. Jastrow, *Tikrit Arabic verb morphology in a comparative perspective*, in *al-Abhāth*, xxxi (1983) [1985], 99-110.

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(J.H. Kramers-[C.E. Bosworth])

TAKRŪNA, a small village in Tunisia about 100 km/62 miles south of Tunis on the Tunis-Sousse road via Zaghouan, "perched on a gigantic rock rising up majestically from the midst of an infinitely-stretching plain".

It is divided into three quarters with, on the first level, on the northwestern side, the *Ḥūma*; on the second, on the southwestern side, *Dār al-Shūd*; and on the third level, *al-Blād*. At the summit of the rock is situated the mosque of the *zāwiya* of Sīdī 'Abd al-Ḳādir. Takrūna has at present 500 inhabitants spread over some hundred households. The oldest and most important families are the Gīga, who are said to be of Berber origin, the Gmāsh, descendants of the Lawāta Berber tribe and the Shūd, descendants of the Tripolitanian Maḥāmid.

The main activities of the village's people are sheep-rearing and agriculture, especially the cultivation of olive trees, but there also industrial activities, with a fairly important cement work. The village has a primary school, and both before and after independence in 1956, Takrūna has nurtured numerous leaders and high officials, teachers and persons of cultural significance, including painters and novelists.

However, it is probably through the problems raised by the elucidation of its name and its history that Takrūna has aroused so much interest. The name Takrūna (which should not be confused with Tākurunnā [*q.v.*], a place in the Spanish Sierra de Ronda) is not found in any old dictionaries or geographical works; it is found, however, from the 19th century onwards in "old legal enactments and official documents preserved in the archives of the Tunisian government". Also, as William Marçais and A. Guiga already remarked, the historian Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf (d. 1874) speaks of it incidentally in his *Itḥāf*. Numerous authors agree on the fact that the name is Berber, with the sense of "neck". At all events, the village, which as the two authors mentioned above wrote, "has no history", "is probably of Berber origin", built over Roman ruins at some undetermined date but in any case "in troubled times when living in the lowlands meant risking ruin or death". According to educated Takrūnīs, the village is said to date from six or seven generations back, i.e. about 200 years. One should note finally that the people of Takrūna have no memory of the Berber language which was presumably that of their ancestors. To conclude, the village of Berber origin which has so charmed travellers, and notably the French of the 19th and 20th centuries, now resembles, in its ways and people and language, all the

other villages of the Sahel extending in Tunisia from Enfideville to El-Djem.

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(T. El Achèche)

TAKRŪR, a name given to a mediaeval town, kingdom and people of West Africa, and later more generally to parts or all of Muslim West Africa. In this last sense it is a well-known *nisba*, pluralised as Takārīr, or in popular speech in the Middle East as Takārna. The name Takrūr itself appears to be the arabised form of an African ethnonym, now pronounced as Tukulor (French Toucouleur, earlier Portuguese Tucuról), and referring to a people whose home is the Futa Toro region [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of the middle Senegal river. Although the Tukulor are composed of diverse ethnic elements, Fulbe [*q.v.*] comprise an important element, and the Tukolor as a whole describe themselves as speakers of Fulfulde (*hal pularen*); clans of theirs have migrated far and wide in West Africa [see TUKULOR].

The Fulbe themselves were early and important immigrants to the region, invading it from the Sahel region, perhaps *ca.* A.D. 800, and furnishing the first known dynasty, the Dya-Ogo. There were several subsequent invasions of Futa Toro over succeeding centuries. In the 12th and 13th centuries a Soninke dynasty known as the Manna ruled, and in the 14th century a Serer dynasty simply called the Tondyon (Malinke *ton dyon* "royal slave soldiers") took power, easing the way for Malian control of the region. As Mali weakened in the following century, a new Fulbe invasion accompanied by Soninke seized control of the region. In the early 16th century a new Fulbe dynasty was founded by a warrior called Koli, whose father Tengella (or Teniella) had been expelled from Diara in the Malian Sahel by forces sent by the Songhay ruler Askiya *al-Ḥādjdj* Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. This in turn was overthrown by an Islamic reformist régime whose first Almamy (*imām*) ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Kan founded in 1770 a dynasty that lasted until the French conquest of the region in 1891.

Arabic writers of the Mediterranean world of Islam knew of Takrūr from the 5th/11th century, both as a town (thought to be in the region of Podor), and as a kingdom of the same name. Al-Bakrī described Takrūr as two towns astride the "Nīl" whose inhabitants were converted to Islam by a ruler called Wār Djābī b. Rābīs who died in 432/1040-1 (*K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, 172). Later, in 448/1056-7, his son Labbi came to the aid of the Almoravid commander Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar when he was besieged in the Djabal Lamtūna (*ibid.*, 73). Wār Djābī also exercised hegemony over the neighbouring kingdom of Silā, upstream from Takrūr, and is said to have converted its people to Islam. In the mid-6th/12th century al-Idrīsī portrays a well-organised kingdom integrated into trans-Saharan trade networks, with the town of Takrūr on the south bank of the "Nīl". North African merchants took wool, copper and beads there and brought back gold and slaves (*Opus geographicum*, ed. A. Bombaci *et al.*, fasc. prim., Neapoli-Romae, 1970, 18). In the late 7th/13th century al-Ḳazwīnī, basing himself on an account by a North African travelling *faḳīh* ʿAlī al-Djanaḥānī, reported that Takrūr was a great town without walls inhabited by both Muslims and pagans, and that giraffe and elephant were common in the area (*ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 17). Al-Ḳazwīnī's contemporary Ibn Saʿīd says that the kingdom of Takrūr extended up the Senegal river to as far as Galambu near the confluence of the river Senegal and the Faleme, and that by his day Islam had entered all the towns along the river (*K. Basṭ al-arḍ fī 'l-ṭūl wa 'l-ʿarḍ*, ed. J. Vernet Ginés, Tetuan 1958, 24). For Ibn Khallikān, Takrūr is both the name of a land and of a "race" or "tribe" who are "cousins of the Kānim" (*Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. ʿAbbās, vii, 14).

By the mid-8th/14th century, the name Takrūr was already being applied to a much greater area, and also often to the people who inhabit it, such conflation of towns, kingdoms and peoples being common in mediaeval Arabic sources. Al-ʿUmarī, describing the visit of Mansā Mūsā [*q.v.*] of Mali to Egypt, says he is known as the king of Takrūr, but "if he were to hear of this he would be disdainful, for Takrūr is but one of the provinces of his kingdom" (al-Munadjdjid, *Mamlakat Mālī*, 44). Ibn Khaldūn presents several different definitions of Takrūr, ignoring the contradictions. Relying on al-Idrīsī in his *Muḳaddima*, he places the town of Takrūr on the "Nīl". In the *K. al-ʿIbar* he first quotes Ibn Saʿīd, who seems to locate a people called Takrūr close to the Atlantic ocean (Cairo 1284/1867, vi, 199), and he calls Mansā Mūsā "king of al-Takrūr" (v, 433). But later he asserts that the nation (*umma*) called Takrūr live "beyond Kawkaw (Gao)" apparently in an easterly direction, and he quotes a "*faḳīh* of the people of Ghānā" who says that they call the Takrūr "Zaghay" (vi, 200), perhaps suggesting an identification with Songhay. In another passage (v, 433) the Takrūr are squarely placed between Kawkaw and Kānim. A century later, al-Suyūṭī clearly adopts the same usage, addressing a letter to the kings of al-Takrūr in general and specifically to the sultans of Agadès and Katsina. He answers a series of questions from an inquirer in "al-Takrūr", probably referring to this same general area (see his *al-Ḥāwī li 'l-fatāwī*, Cairo 1933, ii, 284-94).

From the 8th/14th century on, Arab writers, including those of West Africa, use the name al-Takrūr as a name for Muslim West Africa, either in part or in whole, and for its inhabitants. The extension of meaning of Takrūr was probably influenced by descriptions of Mansā Mūsā as "king of al-Takrūr". Al-Saʿdī, writing in Timbuktu in the mid-11th/17th century, seems to use it as the equivalent of the Songhay empire (*Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1898, 38, 64, 73, 120). The long title of the contemporary *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh* (ed. Houdas, Paris 1913), also concerned with Songhay, includes reference to "the events of al-Takrūr". The Moroccan historian al-Ifrānī in his *Nuzhat al-hādī* (Fez n.d., 75), quoting the unidentified al-Imām al-Takrūrī, describes Askiya *al-Ḥādjdj* Muḥammad as being invested as the *khalīfa* of *bilād al-Takrūr*. In *ca.* 1800 al-Bartilī (or Barritaylī) describes al-Takrūr as "an extensive land, stretching eastwards to Adhghāgh (perhaps Adrār-n-Iforas, north of Bourem), westwards to the river Senegal, southwards to Bīṭu (Begho in east-central Republic of Ghana), and northwards to Ādrār (the highlands of central Mauritania)" (*Fatḥ al-shakūr fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-Takrūr*, ed. M.I. al-Kattānī and M. Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1401/1981). Writing in 1227/1812, Muḥammad Bello [*q.v.*] defines al-Takrūr as "a name given to the western region of the Sudanic south. It is a name widely used in the Ḥaramayn, Egypt and al-Ḥabasha, but unknown in its homeland" (*Infāḳ al-maysūr fī taʾrīkh bilād al-Takrūr*, ed. Bahīdja al-Shādhilī, Rabat 1996, 47, ed. C.E.J. Whitting, London 1951, 3). He quotes an unspecified source as saying

that *bilād al-Takrūr* refers to the region around Timbuktu, whereas *bilād al-Sūdān* refers to Kano, Katsina and their adjacent lands. But for the purpose of his book he defines it as extending "from [Dār] Fūr to Fūta [Toro]".

The *nisba* Takrūrī (pls. Takārīr and Takārna) is used in the Nile valley and the Middle East to refer to persons or communities of West African Muslim origin. From the 8th/15th century, we have a number of entries in biographical works for persons with the *nisba* al-Takrūrī (Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1392-6/1972-6, ii, 362, Ṣabīḥ al-Kallawtātī, a former slave who later taught in Cairo and Damascus; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ*, Cairo 1353-5/1934-6, iii, 173, Khāliṣ al-Takrūrī, who became chief eunuch under Ḳā'it Bāy, vii, 2, al-ʿIzz al-Takrūrī, a Cairene bookseller), while al-Maḳrīzī mentions a saintly man of Takrūr after whom the quarter known as Būlāḳ al-Takrūrī (nowadays al-Dakrūrī) was named (*Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270/1853, ii, 326). West African pilgrims were known as Takrūrīs and their caravans as the Takrūr caravan (*rakb al-Takrūr*). In 1047/1637 ʿAbd al-Salām al-Laḳānī wrote his commentary *Itḥāf al-murīd* on his own *Djawharat al-tawḥīd* at the request of a Takrūrī student (Cairo 1368/1948, 5). In the 19th century there was a *riwāḳ al-Dakārina* at al-Azhar (J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Introduction to the history of education in modern Egypt*, London 1939, 25n.).

Certain communities of West African origin in the Republic of the Sudan have been referred to as Takārīr. The best known of these is the community at al-Ḳallābāt (al-Matamma [*q.v.*]) on the Ethiopian border. West African pilgrims are said to have established themselves there in the mid-18th century, and at the time of the Mahdiyya they were an important self-governing community that played a role in the Khalīfa's war with the Ethiopians in 1884-5. Their leader Ṣāliḥ b. Idrīs fought with the Ethiopians, while a cousin of his was appointed to succeed him as community head. In the 20th century, communities of West African origin in the Sudan are referred to as Fellāta (the Kanuri name for the Fulbe) rather than Takrūrī. By the riverain Sudanese both terms are applied to persons from anywhere west of (and sometimes including) Dār Fūr.

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(J.O. Hunwick)

TAKRŪRĪ [see takrūr].

TAḲSĪM (a.) (*taksim* in modern Turkish spelling), "division", "segmentation", also used in its plural form *taḳāsīm*, a term of urban art music in the eastern Arab countries and Turkey. It refers to the improvising presentation of a *maḳām* [*q.v.*], played on a melody instrument. The corresponding North African genre is called *istikhbār*. The *taḳsīm* serves generally as an introduction into a measured vocal or instrumental piece, but it has also developed into an independent solo piece. *Taḳsīm* performance has a declamatory character. Melodic segments of different length and intensity are followed by periods of silence. It is the elaboration of a basic modal structure, concretised and embellished by the instrumentalist according to his musical knowledge and technical skill. It starts and ends with the basic tonal group (tetrachord or pentachord) of the mode, and progresses from the lower to the higher register and back again. Transitions to related modes, considered essential in virtuoso varieties of *taḳsīm*, can be introduced in the course of the ascending movement. The rhythm is free and is not determined by musical metrics (*awzān, uṣūl*), but the soloist can occasionally be supported by a kind of rhythmic drone played on a percussion instrument. By reducing the actual performance of a *taḳsīm* to its basic structure, musicologists have abstracted simple tonal patterns similar to those described earlier by Arab theorists. Thus the initial segment of the mode *rāst* transcribed by E. Gerson-Kiwi and P. Rovsing Olsen, is identical with the first section (*shuʿba*) of the mode *rāst* described in the anonymous *al-Shadjara dhāt al-akmām al-ḥāwiya li-uṣūl al-anghām* (Cairo 1983, 53), and in other more recent Syrio-Egyptian sources.

The historical development of the *taḳsīm* has scarcely been investigated. In its modern signification the term occurs in the Turkish treatise by Dimitrie Cantemir (d. 1723), where an extensive instrumental *taḳsīm* is described which touches upon thirty other *maḳāms* before returning to the initial mode. Cantemir stresses the unmetred, improvised character of the piece (see Ḳanṭemiroğlu, *Kitāb-ı ʿIlmü'l-mūsıḳī ʿalā vechi'l-ḥurūfāt*, Istanbul 1976, 126-36, 172-3). This improvised instrumental *taḳsīm* is not mentioned in pre-Ottoman music literature, neither in Arabic, nor in Persian or Turkish sources. It first appears as an introductory part of the Turkish "concert suite" *faṣıl* (see *ibid.*, 186-7) that had superseded, in the 17th century, the traditional *nawba* [*q.v.*]. In the same function it occurs in the Egyptian *waṣla*, which combined elements of the earlier local *nawba* and the Turkish *faṣıl*.

In the earliest Ottoman art and court music of the 15th and 16th centuries, the name *taḳsīm* was given to the initial section of vocal forms of the *nawba* repertoire. From extant song-text collections we learn that the poetic text of these *taḳsīm* sections was "divided" or "segmented" by the duplication of syllables and by the introduction of other elongating word elements. Although a direct relation between the earlier vocal and the later instrumental *taḳsīm* can not be recognised, it may well be that the latter resulted from a borrowing process from the vocal sphere, comparable to the adaptation of other vocal forms to the Turkish instrumental repertoire in the 16th and 17th centuries.

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TAKSĪT (A.), the verbal noun of a form II verb *kassaṭa* "to distribute", especially used as a term of early Islamic financial administration. It denoted the allocation or distribution amongst the taxpayers of the global amount of taxation due. The synonyms *kasṭ/kisṭ* are also found. The term could also denote the total amount of taxation due or the instalments by which it was paid. See the references given by F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period, with special reference to circumstances in Iraq*, Copenhagen 1950, 127, and also H.F. Amedroz, *Abbasid administration in its decay, from the Tajarib al-Umam*, in *JRAS* (1913), 883-4.

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ṬAKṬŪKA (pl. *ṭakāṭīk*), a form of strophic song in Egyptian colloquial Arabic. The semantic background of the term is vague. In the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., a certain manner of singing to the accompaniment of a wand (*kaḍīb*) was called *ṭakṭaka*, as attested by Ibn al-Kaysarānī (*Kitāb al-Samāʿ*, Cairo 1970, 63) and by Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayya b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (see *al-Mawsūʿa al-Taymūriyya*, Cairo 1961, 168). Similarly, a traditional Egyptian Bedouin song called *ṭagg* is accompanied "by the beating of two sticks on some hard surface" (see J.R. Smart, in *JSS*, xii [1967], 248). There is, however, no reference to any particular "beating" in early *ṭakṭūka* performances that would permit an explanation of the term based on its onomatopoeic connotation. The actual song form flourished in urban Egyptian society from the late 19th century to the 1940s. Being considered a basically female genre, it seems to have originated in the circle of the Egyptian singers called *ʿawālim* (sing. *ʿālima* [*q.v.*]). The popularity of the *ṭakṭūka* was stimulated by the local record industry. One of the prominent performers was Munīra al-Mahdiyya (d. 1965), but also Umm Kulthūm (d. 1975 [*q.v.*]) recorded *ṭakṭūka* songs in the twenties and early thirties. The fashionable genre was soon taken up by some well-known composers, such as ʿAbduh al-Ḥamūlī (d. 1901), Sayyid Darwīsh (d. 1923), and Zakariyyā Aḥmad (d. 1961), who refined the melodic structure, whereas the rhythm was generally based on simple musical metres (*uṣūl*).

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TĀKURUNNĀ, the name of one of the provinces (*kuwar*) of al-Andalus from the 2nd/8th to the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, at least up to the formation of the Taifas. Somewhat curiously, the Arabic sources do not describe the boundaries of these *kuwar* with precision, hence we have to rely on approximations illuminated to varying extents by the geographers and historians of the time.

This is the case for the *kūra* of Tākurunnā, for the sources on this administrative division are vague. We know that its chef-lieu was Ronda [see RUNDA], which was also one of its strongholds, although, according to Ibn Ghālib, Ronda was an *iklīm* or district of the *kūra* of Écija. In this regard one should recall that the Sierra de Ronda formed part, at varying times, of Écija, Cordova and Seville. In his *Mughrib*, Ibn Saʿīd states that the town of Tākurunnā "was the fortified centre of the *kūra*, later depopulated (or: destroyed)". Perhaps there was a fortified place in the first stages of the Muslim invasion, later abandoned through necessity or politico-military strategy or for some administrative restructuring. One should also remember that Ibn Saʿīd was writing in the 7th/13th century and that his descriptions may be based on anachronistic information.

The main fortresses of Tākurunnā included Bobastro [see BARBASHTURU], the refuge of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*].

It seems certain that there was a *kūra* thus named where a *djund* or army group was established from 125/743, since, according to the anonymous *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, the lord of the province appeared some years later before ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I with his soldiers in order to give allegiance. After that, Tākurunnā is mentioned amongst the *kuwar* of al-Andalus, and Ibn Ḥayyān mentions the governors nominated or dismissed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III during his reign. In the 5th/11th century, Runda was the seat of the Berber Taifa of the Banū Īfran [*q.v.*], who belonged to the Zanāta recently arrived in the Peninsula. Once independent, the Banū Īfran occupied the territory of Tākurunnā after the death of the ruler of Malaga, Idrīs al-Mutaʾayyid, in 431/1039-40, the year in which Hilāl b. Abī Kurra al-Yafranī rebelled, reigning in the first instance till 445/1053-4. Whilst he was imprisoned by al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*] for four years in Seville, his son Bādīs succeeded him, but acted so tyrannically that, once his father was released in 449/1057-8, he resumed power and executed his son. He died soon afterwards, leaving the succession to another son, Abū Naṣr Fatūḥ. But on the rebellion of one of his commanders, in league with al-Muʿtaḍid, the principality passed to the Seville kingdom in 457/1065. The region fell into the hands of the Almoravids in 484/1091. In the last stage of this dynasty's power, as part of a process observable in other parts of al-Andalus, Abu 'l-Kāsim Akhyal b. Idrīs rebelled, according to Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn Saʿīd, but for only a short time, it seems, since the people of Tākurunnā subsequently returned Abu 'l-Ghamr b. al-Shāʾib b. Gharrūn to power. For the Almohad period, al-Baydak affirms that their occupation took place peacefully.

Finally, the territory formed part of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada and was conquered by the Catholic monarchs in 1485.

Within Tākurunnā society, the Berber element was of importance, and included the ʿAwsadja, probably arriving there at the time of the conquest, and the Zadjādjila from the Ittaft tribe, a part of the Nafza; during the amirate of Cordova, the Zadjādjila supplied high officers for the court. New Berber groups arrived in the region with the Īfran during the 5th/11th century (see above). There must have also been a significant Christian population at the time of the conquest, some of whom probably became *muwallad* converts, whilst those faithful to their religion would become Mozarabs. Such Christians included the ancestors of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn, whose great-grandfather Djaʿfar settled at Torrecilla in the *kūra* of Reyyo (Malaga) in the time of al-Ḥakam I. Personages of Arabic origin were also known in Tākurunnā. Thus in the 5th/11th century the Lakhmid family of the Banu 'l-Ḥakīm left Seville for Ronda, as did others. The date of the appearance of the Azd Arab lineage there is uncertain; it included the famous *muḳriʾ* ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Madjīd al-Rundī (548-609/1153-1213). Also uncertain is the arrival date of the Djudhām, who included the famous judge and *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf al-Djudhāmī al-Muntishāḳirī, the teacher of Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], who exercised his profession at Ronda and Marbella right into the 8th/14th century. Finally, one should mention a group of Jewish families, including that of the 6th/12th century physician Ilyās b. Ṣaddūd.

The author of the *Dhikr* states that Tākurunnā was very mountainous, with numerous inaccessible castles, and that Ronda was an ancient place, with fertile agriculture, good pastures and other advantages, including a much sought-after aromatic herb of the mountains called the mahaleb cherry tree.

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(FATIMA ROLDÁN CASTRO)

TAḲWĀ [see Suppl.].

TAḲWĪM (A.), the verbal noun of the form II verb *ḳawwama* meaning "to correct, to rectify", in particular used by Muslim astronomers for determining the positions of the sun, the moon and the planets; hence, ephemeris or astronomical almanac.

1. Its use in astronomy.

For the computation of the *true* solar position [see AL-SHAMS], Muslim astronomers first calculated the *mean* solar position (*wasaṭ al-shams*). They then had to adjust or "correct" this by the amount of the equation of the sun (*taʿdīl al-shams*), and the result was the true solar position (*muḳawwam al-shams*). The determination of the true positions of the five naked-eye planets and the moon required more sophisticated calculations because of the more complicated underlying planetary models, but proceeded in an analogous way. The mean positions, the lunar nodes and the equations were determined by means of a *zīdj*, a handbook containing astronomical and mathematical tables (see AL-ZĪDJ, and E.S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. American Philosophical Society*, xlvi (1956), 123-77). The operations described above were then performed for the sun, moon and planets, at midday of each day of a period of, say, a year (lunar or solar Hidjra; for various years in use, see AL-TAʾRĪKH) or by going in steps of a few days (usually five or ten). This information was organised in annual ephemerides (*taḳwīm*, pl. *taḳāwīm*), from which one could determine the position of the seven celestial bodies relative to each other. This was done e.g. for predicting eclipses of the sun and the moon (for eclipses, see AL-KUSŪF) or to determine the horoscope for a given moment.

The principal part of most *taḳwīms* consists of 24 pages, one opening of two pages for every month of a given year (see the illustrations of a Yemeni specimen in RUʾYAT AL-HILĀL). On the right-hand page the first columns give the current day expressed usually in several calendars (the Persian, Arabic, Syrian and Coptic calendars were used) and the day of the week. The right margin of the page was used for putting down annotations about the day in question, such as memorable historical events, religious feasts of Muslims, Jews and Christians, local events such as the beginning of shipping seasons, and the like. To the left of these columns is found the ephemeris for each day of the current month, consisting of one column each for the sun, moon, the planets in their usual order, and the ascending lunar node. To the left of these columns might be found columns for the daily solar altitude at noon, the length of daylight, and the solar altitude at the *ʿaṣr* prayer [see MĪḲĀT]. The left-hand page was devoted entirely to matters astrological. For each day, the occurrence of aspects of one planet with the others was recorded, giving the hour of the event and short astrological interpretations like "good", "bad" or "mixed". Because aspects of the moon were given particular importance, the moon had one column of its own while the other planets shared one together. Astronomical information about the time and location of conjunction and opposition of the sun and the moon were usually mentioned in a special row at the top and bottom of the pages. Because of its importance in eclipse predictions, the lunar latitude [see AL-ḲAMAR] at these times was added. Further, since the Muslim month starts with the first visibility of the lunar crescent [see RUʾYAT AL-HILĀL], the predicted time, location and condition of first visibility were noted.

At the beginning of the *taḳwīm*, the planetary positions at the time when the sun entered the sign of Aries (vernal equinox) were put down in a diagram, thus providing the horoscope for the given year, accompanied by astrological forecasts for the year. If eclipses were predicted for the year, then information about their time, location, duration and colour was recorded. Because eclipses were considered to be maleficent they were located in a separate part at the back of the *taḳwīm* for "... it is undesirable to have it at the beginning of the calendar ..." (al-Bīrūnī). Topics featured in additional chapters of the *taḳwīm* were more astrological in nature, but here no fixed convention existed. Of the wealth of possible topics, two were the most common. One of these was a table called

ikhtiyārāt (*electiones*) [see IKHTIYĀRĀT] showing days suitable for a given purpose, depending on the position of the moon in the zodiacal signs. Another was tables of the *anwā'* and the rising and setting times of the lunar mansions [see ANWĀ'; AL-MANĀZIL]; almanacal information relating to agriculture, weather and the like is often also found in *takwīms*.

The Islamic *takwīms* were developed from Hellenistic precursors dating from the 4th or 5th centuries A.D., which show the same arrangement of several calendars, ephemerides for the sun, moon and the planets, and astrological remarks for the actual day in monthly tables (see H. Gerstinger und O. Neugebauer, *Eine Ephemeride für das Jahr 348 oder 424 n.Chr.*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ccxl/2 [1962], 1-25). The first known mention of a *takwīm* was made by Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*], and he called it *daftar al-sana* (reported by Ibn Yūnus in his *Ḥākimī zīdj*, ed. and tr. C.A. Caussin de Perceval, in *Le livre de la grande table Hakémite*, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vii, Paris 1804, 98). A detailed description was presented by al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] in his *Tafhīm*, elucidating all essential parts of a *takwīm*. The same arrangement given by him was followed for centuries with little variation. Al-Bīrūnī reports that he knew *takwīms* from Eastern Persia to the north-west of India. In putting forward additional materials and minor modifications, Persian astronomers played a major role. Some fifty years after al-Bīrūnī, Shahmardān b. Abi 'l-Khayr Rāzī in his work *Rawḍat al-munadjdjimīn* proposed to add *ikhtiyārāt* tables to the basic ephemerides. In the 6th/12th century, *takwīms* are mentioned in the mediaeval literature for Syria and Egypt (see A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam and its place in the general history of the observatory*, Ankara 1960, repr. New York 1981, 167). To this period belong the extant fragments of *takwīms* which are Hebrew copies of Arabic contemporaneous originals found in the Cairo Geniza and which cover the period from 526/1131-2 to 553/1158-9. The *Sī faṣl* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] marks the culmination in sophistication of astronomical and astrological terminology used in the *takwīms*. Al-Ṭūsī considerably enlarged the tables by joining tables for the moon's motion through the mansions, tables for changes in planetary motions (direct motion, stationary points, retrograde motion), and visibility of the planets depending on their position relative to the sun. Some symmetric alignments of the planets had special meanings and were annotated in the ephemeris: e.g. when two planets were symmetrically positioned to the beginnings of Cancer and Capricorn (*tanāẓur-i zamānī*) and to the beginnings of Aries and Libra (*tanāẓur-i muṭallīʿ*). For the Yemen, we know of *takwīms* from the 8th/14th century onwards; two specimens for the years 727/1326-27 and 808/1405-06 are preserved intact. The importance given to agricultural lore is peculiar to Yemeni *takwīms*, thus reflecting the Yemeni tradition of agricultural almanacs (see further, below 2.). The treatise on the computation of *takwīm*, entitled *Bīst bāb* written by ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Niẓām al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Bīrdjandī (d. 934/1527-8) is very similar to *Sī faṣl*, differing from it by the inclusion of a section on prayer-times and the finding of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*]. The widespread use of *Bīst bāb* was surpassed by a detailed commentary *Sharḥ-i Bīst bāb* written by Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad Ḳāsim-i Muẓaffar Djunābādī in 1005/1596-7. The extant *takwīms* which mainly originated in Persia and Turkey and date from 1800 onwards, commonly consist of the 24 ephemeris pages in the middle, an *ikhtiyārāt* table at the end, and at the beginning a horoscope using the usual zodiacal signs and a second one using the Turkish animal signs, thus showing Ottoman influence. In a small number of *takwīms* the astronomical tables are replaced by extended tables of memorable events (sometimes called *tawḳīʿāt*).

Bibliography: For descriptions of *takwīms* by Muslim authors, see Bīrūnī, *K. al-Tafhīm*, tr. R.R. Wright, London 1934, 186-91; Shahmardān b. Abi 'l-Khayr Rāzī, *Rawḍat al-munadjdjimīn*, facs., Tehran 1989, 15-33; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Sī faṣl*, Tehran, Iranian Parliament Library ms. 6998. For descriptions of extant *takwīms*, see M. Boutelle, *The almanac of Azarquiel*, in *Centaurus*, xii (1967), 12-19, and E.S. Kennedy, *A set of medieval tables for quick calculation of solar and lunar ephemerides*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1967), 327-34, both repr. in D.A. King and M.H. Kennedy (eds.), *Studies in the Islamic sciences*, Beirut 1983; B.R. Goldstein and D. Pingree, *Astrological almanacs from the Cairo Geniza, Parts I + II*, in *JNES*, xxxviii (1979), 153-75, 231-56; B.R. Goldstein and D. Pingree, *Additional astrological almanacs from the Cairo Geniza*, in *JAOS*, ciii (1983), 673-90. On the way *takwīms* were compiled, see G. Saliba, *Computational techniques in a set of late medieval astronomical tables*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Arabic Science*, i (1977), 24-9; idem, *The double-argument lunar tables of Cyriacus*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, vii (1976), 41-6; D.A. King, *A double argument table for the lunar equation attributed to Ibn Yūnus*, in *Centaurus*, xviii (1974), 129-46, repr. in idem, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*, Variorum, London 1986; idem and E.S. Kennedy, *Ibn al-Majdī's tables for calculating ephemerides*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Arabic Science*, iv (1980), 48-68, repr. in King, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*. (M. HOFELICH)

2. Agricultural almanacs.

The almanac as a literary and scientific genre in Arabic provides seasonal information on astronomical events, weather periods, holidays, agriculture, and other activities. There is no single Arabic term that defines this genre. When almanac data are arranged in tabular form, the text is sometimes called *takwīm*. The terms *natīdja* and *ruz-nāma* (derived from Persian) are sometimes used to denote almanacs. The seasonal information in a tabular almanac is often referred to as *tawḳīʿāt* ("events"). Despite numerous claims to the contrary, the English term "almanac", as well as its cognates in Western languages, is not derived from the mediaeval and contemporary Arabic term *manākh* ("climate"), but is probably from the Greek αλμενιχιακα in reference to astrological calendars.

Most Arabic almanacs are arranged according to the solar calendar. In Egypt, this is the Coptic reckoning of twelve months of thirty days followed by an interstitial period of five days. Almanacs of the Arabian Peninsula, Levant and ʿIrāḳ cite the Syriac month names, sometimes referred to as *Rūmī* months, starting with *Tishrīn al-Awwal* (October). In North Africa and Spain, the Roman month names, starting with January, are simply Arabised. Since the Islamic *hidjrī* calendar is lunar, some eleven days shorter than the seasons. it must be correlated to a given solar year to be appropriate for seasonal activities. A few star calendars are also recorded as written almanacs, although these are more common in folklore (see D.M. Varisco, *The agricultural marker stars in Yemeni folklore*, in *Asian Folklore Studies*, lii [1993], 119-42). The Rasūlid sultan al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās compiled a unique perpetual almanac by the degree of the zodiac about 777/1375 for Taʿizz in Yemen.

Hundreds of almanac texts have survived, but only

a few have been studied or translated (idem, *The Arab almanac. A preliminary bibliography*, in *MME*, vii [1995], for a full bibliography of texts). Earlier almanacs are found in folk astronomical texts of the *anwāʾ* [*q.v.*] and *azmina* genres. They are also found in works on astronomy, agriculture, encyclopaedias, and, more recently, as independent documents. Almanac poems, such as that of the Yemeni Nashwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1177), are quite common, although many are anonymous.

The earliest extant almanacs in Arabic date from the 3rd/9th century, including the texts of Abū Ḥanīfa Aḥmad al-Dīnawarī and the ʿIrāḳī Christian physician Ibn Māsawayh [*q.vv.*]. One of the most influential early almanacs was from the widely-quoted *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*]. Al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) included excerpts relevant to Greece from an earlier almanac derived from Sinān b. Thābit. The majority of surviving almanacs are Egyptian, including texts by al-Makhzūmī (d. *ca.* 580/1185), Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209), al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418), and al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442). Several almanacs have survived in Spain, the most famous being the 4th/10th century Calendar of Cordova, which was translated into Latin as *Liber Anoe.* The agricultural texts of Ibn Baṣṣāl (d. 499/1105) and Ibn al-ʿAwwām (7th/13th century) contain detailed almanacs with extensive agricultural coverage.

One of the best-preserved almanac traditions is in Yemen, where traditional almanacs are still compiled. The earliest extant agricultural almanac here is found in *al-Tabṣira fī ʿilm al-nudjūm* of the Rasūlid sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar (d. 696/1296). The text is arranged in tabular form, starting with *Tishrīn al-Awwal* (October), which is correlated with the Ḥimyarite month name *Dhū Ṣirāb.* The subjects covered in the almanac include: zodiacal astronomy; timing of the sun's zenith (*samt al-raʾs* [see AL-SAMT]); amount of daylight and shadow lengths for the start and middle of each month; risings and settings of the twenty-eight lunar stations (*manāzil al-ḳamar*) [see AL-MANĀZIL] and fixed stars such as Altair, Canopus, Procyon, Sirius, six stars of Ursa Major, and Vega; weather periods of major rains, winds, heat, and cold; stages of the Nile and Euphrates rivers; fluctuation in water sources; appearance of certain natural plants and pasturage; appearance or disappearance of certain animals; health régimes for each season; humoral timing of sexual desires; sailing seasons from Aden to Egypt, Africa and the Indian Ocean; and agriculture. The agricultural information supplements the author's *Milḥ al-malāḥa fī maʿrifat al-filāḥa* (see M. Djāzm, in *al-Iklīl* (Ṣanʿāʾ), iii/1 (1985), 165-207). Al-Malik al-Ashraf recorded ten distinct tax periods for Yemen as well as a major description of the agricultural cycle for the coastal Tihāma and the southern highlands. The crops mentioned include twenty-one varieties of sorghum and millet; ten local varieties of wheat; rice; sugar cane; over two dozen fruits, vegetables, and legumes; flax; cotton; and seven aromatic plants. At least seven almanac texts have survived from the Rasūlid era. Later Yemeni compilers often copied from these Rasūlid almanacs, at times introducing errors for crops or place names. From the 1940s up to the mid-1970s an annual almanac was published in Taʿizz by Muḥammad al-Ḥaydara.

The almanac tradition also survives in the Arabian Gulf. From 1957 until 1989 Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī published annually his *al-Takwīm al-Ḳaṭarī.* One of the primary sources for al-Anṣārī was a *takwīm* compiled by Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUyūnī of Nadjd around 1324/1906. In Kuwait, Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad al-ʿUdjayrī has published an annual almanac since the 1940s. During the 1980s, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Djabbār Muḥammad al-Mādjid compiled an annual almanac in Sharjah of the United Arab Emirates. The Gulf almanacs combine information on pastoralism in the eastern part of the peninsula with weather periods and sailing seasons for the Persian Gulf.

As a written text, the Arabic almanac throughout the Islamic period was aimed at a scholarly audience rather than as a practical guide for the farmer. Early almanacs in Arabic offer an example of applied science, i.e. the kinds of seasonal events in nature that were deemed relevant among scholars. This accounts for the attention paid to basic astronomical risings and settings in most almanac texts. Because the information provided is often cryptic and invariably unattributed to the sources consulted, study of the genre requires familiarisation with a variety of scientific texts and is enhanced when contemporary oral folklore contextualises the data.

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2. Egypt. Pellat, *Cinq calendriers égyptiens*, Cairo 1986; idem, *Le "calendrier agricole" de Qalqashandī*, in *AI*, xv (1979), 165-85.

3. Spain and North Africa. Ibn al-Adjdābī, *al-Azmina wa 'l-anwāʾ*, Damascus 1964; Ibn ʿĀṣim, *al-Anwāʾ wa 'l-azmina wa-maʿrifat aʿyān al-kawākib*, Barcelona 1993; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, Spanish tr. *Libro de agricultura* (*Kitāb al-Filāḥa*), Madrid 1802, ii, 428-44; Ibn al-Bannāʾ, *Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannāʾ de Marrakech*, Paris 1948.

4. Yemen. R.B. Serjeant, *Star calendars and an almanac from south-west Arabia*, in *Anthropos*, xlix (1954), 433-59; D.M. Varisco, *al-Ḥisāb al-zirāʿī fī ʿurdjūzat Ḥasan al-ʿAffārī. Dirāsāt fi 'l-takwīm al-zirāʿī al-Yamanī* in *al-Maʾthūrāt al-Shaʿbiyya*, xvi (1989), 7-29; idem, *Medieval agriculture and Islamic science. The almanac of a Yemeni sultan*, Seattle 1994; idem, *An anonymous 14th century almanac from Rasulid Yemen*, in *ZGAIW*, ix (1995), 195-228. (D.M. VARISCO)

TAKWĪN (A.) "to bring into being", more specifically used for the artificial generation of minerals, plants and animals; in the case of plants and animals, the process is often called *tawlīd*, and Ibn Waḥshiyya also gives *taʿfīn.* Within the mediaeval Islamic cultural sphere, the idea that artificial generation was possible was widespread in less orthodox circles. The accepted notions concerning generation, including spontaneous generation [see TAWALLUD] made the idea less far-fetched than it may seem. In the occult sciences (alchemy and magic), the processes of artificial generation are discussed in various contexts; see especially Paul Kraus' ground-breaking study in *Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân. Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*, Cairo 1943, ii, 97-134.

The main sources involved here are (a) the *Djābir ibn Ḥayyān* [*q.v.*] corpus (especially the *K. al-Tadjmīʿ*; partly ed. by Kraus, *Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân. Textes choisis*, Cairo 1935, 341-91; full ed. being prepared by Pingree and Haq; also the *K. al-Ikhrādj*, see F. Rex, *Zur Theorie*

der Naturprozesse in der frühارabischen Wissenschaft; das "Kitāb al-iḫrāǧ", übersetzt und erklärt. Ein Beitrag zum alchemistischen Weltbild der Ǧābir-Schriften (8./10. Jahrhundert n. Chr.), Wiesbaden 1975, 58, 136-8). Sources mentioned by Djābir include an otherwise unknown work of Porphyry, the *K. al-Tawlīd*, and the pseudo-Platonic *K. al-Nawāmīs*, see below. (b) Various works connected with Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*], notably the *Filāḥa nabaṭiyya* (facs. ed. Frankfurt a/M. 1984, 7 vols.; currently being edited by Toufic Fahd, *L'Agriculture nabatéenne*, Damascus 1993-), and *K. Asrār al-Ḳamar* (only quotations extant; see Ullmann, *Naturwiss.*, 76). (c) The pseudo-Platonic *K. al-Nawāmīs* (only partly extant in Arabic, but known from its Latin translation, the *Liber Vacce*); the importance of this text was already pointed out by Kraus, 1943, 103-4, and, more recently, by Pingree (*Plato's hermetic* Book of the Cow, in P. Prini (ed.), *Il neoplatonismo nel rinascimento*, Rome 1993), who places its origin in 9th-century Ḥarrān. The article contains useful refs. to extant Arabic fragments, 435 n. 15. The possible relevance of the *K. al-Nawāmīs* for the mediaeval Jewish idea of the *golem*, an artificially-created human being, remains to be studied.

The influence of all these sources is widely traceable in Arabic literature, especially the occult, such as pseudo-Madjrīṭī's [*q.v.*] *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* and—in the case of plant production—also in agricultural texts.

The idea that underlies the concept of artificial generation is that since nature [see ṬABĪʿA] can transform the four elements into minerals, plants and animals, it is possible for man to repeat this process by closely imitating nature's procedures. Added to this, especially with regard to theories about the artificial generation of higher forms of animal life, Neoplatonic ideas about the souls of the celestial bodies are of considerable importance, since these souls could possibly be induced to join with earthly matter (cf. the practices involved in making talismans). Given these ideas, it was not only of basic importance to compose the right mixture for creating a specific creature, but also to submit the matter to the right procedure. This involved not only processes such as heating and putrefaction (*taʿfīn*), but also various imitative techniques. These range from including parts of the creatures to be produced, or images of them, with the matter to be transformed (see Ibn Waḥshiyya 1984, vii, 32; Kraus 1943, ii, 110), to (Djābir, see Kraus) the use of elaborate equipment and techniques imitating the celestial bodies. Another recurring element is placing the matter to be transformed, which might contain a symbolic equivalent to semen or, as in the *Liber Vacce*, real semen of the type of animal that one intended to create, in a space or container functioning as a symbolic womb, or even putting it in the womb of a live animal (again in the *Liber Vacce*, see Pingree, *op. cit.*).

In the *K. al-Ikhrādj* (136), the production of living creatures is presented as the end result of science in Djābir's system, the "seventh science" in which the synthesis of the first six (the sciences of the Balance, talismans, engaging spiritual powers (*rūḥāniyyāt*), medicine, alchemy and the science of properties (*khawāṣṣ*)) took place. In the 12th section of the *Filāḥa nabaṭiyya*, Ibn Waḥshiyya also implies a culmination of theories unfolded earlier by referring to artificial generation as "the great advantage", *al-fāʾida al-kubrā* (on his theories, see *GAS*, iv, 141-2; also 352-6 of Fahd's synopsis of the *Filāḥa* in *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit*, i, Leiden 1977).

While Djābir's methods involve not only putting together the right mixture but also complicated equipment and techniques to induce spiritual powers, Ibn Waḥshiyya (usually referring to "Adam", the author of the *K. Asrār al-ḳamar*) mainly concentrates on the transformation, by means of *taʿfīn* "putrefaction", of earth and water particles; the process is set in motion by the heat of the sun. Several methods for the production of plants are given on the authority of "Adam", as well as a number of recipes for producing specific species; see also the many refs. to the *K. Asrār al-ḳamar* in, for instance, al-Waṭwāṭ's section on plants in his *Mabāhidj al-fikar*. Ibn Waḥshiyya describes two different methods involving burying matter in the earth, and a third one that involves burning. Of the many recipes which he tried out, a considerable number turned out to be useless, for which he blames textual corruption, while others worked satisfactorily, especially those involving burying (*tadfīn*).

Artificial generation of animals was also considered possible. This went fairly undisputed where lower animals (wasps, scorpions, snakes) were concerned (see, for instance, a recipe in the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* (411); for refs. in the *K. al-Tadjmīʿ*, see Kraus 1943, ii, 103). The possibility of creating higher animals, and even human beings, however, is not excluded either. Ibn Waḥshiyya alludes to this (sheep, camels and such like), and tells about the sorcerer ʿAnkabūtā, who managed to produce a human being, who, however, did not possess the powers of reason and speech, and could not eat. He also mentions the clay of a certain mountain (Kraus 1943, ii, 112, obviously referring to the same tradition, mentions Makrān and Kirmān), which had the potential to spontaneously produce (lifeless) human bodies and was reportedly used by people to create (living) human beings; these, however, never lived longer than a day (1984, vii, 24-5).

In Djābir's *K. al-Tadjmīʿ*, the possibilities concerning the artificial generation of human beings seem virtually unlimited; his text seems to imply that even the highest possible kind of sub-lunar creature, a prophet (*ṣāḥib al-nāmūs*), may be generated artificially. The various possible interpretations of *nāmūs/nawāmīs* (which, among other things, may mean "spell", cf. *aṣḥāb al-ḥiyal wa 'l-nawāmīs*, Kraus 1943, ii, 104; Rex, *Zur Theorie*..., 96, 129) make this statement highly cryptic. Kraus also suggests that the idea of an artificially-created spokesman of the celestial world may have its origin in Egyptian-Greek theories about the bringing to life of the statues of deities.

It may be noted that the gender issue plays no part in discussions about these artificially-produced human beings; their sex is never mentioned. Implicitly, they seem to be male. That some of the hominoid creatures produced had the power of speech (another important issue in artificially-created human beings) is explicitly stated by Djābir (see Kraus 1943, ii, 117); see also Pingree, 1993, 441.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(REMKE KRUK)

ṬALAB AL-ʿILM [see ʿILM].

ṬALABA, ṬULLĀB, ṬULBA, ṬOLBA (A.), pls. of *ṭālib* "scholar, one who has studied, student".

In Morocco, the colloquial plural *ṭolba* denotes the students at *madrasas* (*medersas*) or at universities. The best-known are those of Fās (Fès), who stay in the *madrasas* of the town and who follow courses at the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*] University. Their spring festival, called "the festival of the *sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*" won for them a certain fame. In the second half of April, these *ṭolba* or students used to have the custom of gathering together on the open spaces bordering on the Wādī

Fās. In former times, after having sought the Sultan's authorisation through the intermediacy of the Grand Vizier (under the Protectorate, the request was equally transmitted by the French administration), the *ṭolba* would congregate in the main court of the Ḳarawiyyīn Mosque and would proceed to choose the "*sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*", an office which continued to be exercised all through the days of festivity, a little more than a week. On the Wednesday following the Sultan's reply, this office was put up for auction through the voice of the *dellāl*, the crier in the book market. After being proclaimed, the "*sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*" would organise his own *makhzan*, and the chosen *muḥtasib* would make a collection, levy taxes on the markets, check the weights and measures, etc. Even the notables of Fās would hand over taxes due to the ephemeral sultan. Two days later, dressed in the insignia of sovereignty lent by the real Sultan, and accompanied by his court, the "*sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*" would visit various holy places in the town, and, on the Saturday, would reach the open spaces along the Wādī Fās. An audience was given to a prince of the reigning dynasty, who brought a present, a *hediya* (*hadiyya*) for the "*sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*". Sometimes it was the Sultan in person who would come out to the students' encampment. The "*sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*" had at this time the privilege of asking the real Sultan for a favour.

In our own time, this festival of the "*sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*" has fallen into total disuse.

For theories on the origin of this festival, see SULṬĀN AL-ṬALABA.

Bibliography: See that to SULṬĀN AL-ṬALABA, and add F. Gaillard, *Une ville de l'slam. Fès*, Paris 1905; P. Ricard, *Le printemps à Fès, le sultan des ṭolba*, in *France-Maroc*, 15 June 1917.

(CH. DE LA VÉRONNE)

ṬALABĪRA, a place in al-Andalus corresponding to the modern Talavera de la Reina in the Spanish province of Toledo. It grew up on the site of the Roman Caesarobriga, near the Sierra de Gredos and on the banks of the Tagus [see TĀDJUH].

As far back as the 4th/10th century, al-Rāzī describes it as a town dependent on Toledo, well fortified, and adds that in 325/936, on the orders of the ruler ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, a citadel for accommodating its governors was built. Al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century) also mentions its fortifications, adding that it was a fine town with considerable economic life there, surrounded by fertile lands and with numerous mills along the river. Ibn Ghālib and Yāḳūt, in the next century, drawing on al-Rāzī, state that Ṭalabīra was on the frontier between the Muslims and the infidels. According to the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (8th-9th/14th-15th century), it was the *amīr* Muḥammad I who built the walls and populated the site known as Ṭalabīra.

Its Islamic history was linked, in its various stages, with that of the important centre of Toledo [see ṬULAYṬILA].

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(FĀTIMA ROLDÁN CASTRO)

ṬALĀʾIʿ B. RUZZĪK, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, vizier in Cairo from 549/1154 to 559/1161. He held office during the imāmate of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Fāʾiz, and also at the beginning of the imāmate of al-ʿĀḍid, with the full names Abu 'l-Gharāt Fāris al-Muslimīn al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk al-Ghassānī al-Armanī (for all the titles borne by him, see *RCEI*, ix, 3231; Ibn Muyassar, *al-Muntaḳā min akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid, Cairo 1982, 151; al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. Muḥ. Ḥilmī Muḥ. Aḥmad, Cairo 1393/1973, iii, 218); coming after Badr al-Djamālī and al-Afḍal, he was the last Fāṭimid military grand vizier who attempted successfully to carry out an autonomous Fāṭimid political project in the Eastern Mediterranean. He derived his power from Upper Egypt, a rich province which controlled the route of the pilgrimage, including the supply of wheat to the holy cities, and the trade in spices and drugs with the Yemen and the Indian Ocean, as well as the trade with black Africa involving the import of slaves and gold dust.

There is just one source which gives him a Maghribī Berber origin; for although he bore the Arabic *nisba* of al-Ghassānī, most of the chronicles see him as an Armenian born in Egypt in 495/1101-2. His father is said to have been attached to the group of officers who came to Egypt for Badr al-Djamālī. Certain writers thought that he was born in Armenia (Muḥammad Ḥamdī al-Mināwī, *al-Wizāra wa 'l-wuzarāʾ fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-fāṭimī*, Cairo 1970, 285-7).

He probably sought his fortune in ʿIrāḳ, having been converted to Imāmite Shīʿism there, and always used to keep up a correspondence with Mawṣil, Kūfa and Ḥilla. He made his career in the army in Egypt. In 538, as governor of al-Buḥayra, he quelled a revolt of the Lawāta and won a decisive victory against Ibn Maṣāl (Ibn Muyassar, *Muntaḳā*, 142) for the future vizier al-ʿAbbās. In 549/1154, at the time of his accession to the vizierate, he was the governor of either Ushmūnayn and al-Bahnasā, or of Munyat Banī (or Ibn) al-Khaṣīb, or of Asyūṭ. In the interim he had been governor of Aswān and of Ḳūṣ, a town with which he kept close ties.

After he had become vizier, in 550/1155, he had the mosque there reconstructed, endowing it with a beautiful *miḥrāb* (J.-Cl. Garcin, in *AI*, ix [1970], 99-109; and idem, *Qūṣ*, 115). There is a very well-known account of the assassination of the caliph al-Ẓāfir by his lover Naṣr, the son of the vizier al-ʿAbbās, in Muḥarram 549/April 1154, and of the slaughter which resulted from this assassination, and of how the women of the palace cut off their hair and sent it to Ṭalāʾiʿ to urge him to come to the defence of the dynasty (see for example G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, Paris 1937, 284-8; Ayman F. Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya fī Miṣr, tafsīr djadīd*, Cairo 1413/1992, 214-20). Ṭalāʾiʿ set out to attack Cairo, at the head of officers who had received the *iḳṭāʿ* of the region and preceded by allied tribal groups, the Djudhām, Sanbas, Ṭalḥa, Djaʿfar and Lawāta (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, iii, 217), and al-ʿAbbās attempted to negotiate with him while organising the defence of the capital. But there was popular active resistance in the city, and the imminent threat of the arrival of a powerful coalition made the situation untenable for al-ʿAbbās, so he left the city; he was accompanied by his son Naṣr, by Usāma b. Munḳidh, and by other important dignitaries, heading a convoy of 100 war horses, 200 mules and 400 camels, laden with the treasures taken from the Fāṭimid palace.

In Rabīʿ I 549/July 1154, Ṭalāʾiʿ, dressed in black, entered the city at the head of his soldiers, who were brandishing black standards and carrying on the points of their lances the hair of the women of the Fāṭimid family whom they had come to avenge. The chroniclers saw the abandoning of the white Fāṭimid standards as a premonition of what was to be a reinstallation

of the black ʿAbbāsid standards by Ṣalāh al-Dīn in 567/1171. Having given a decent burial to the bodies of the war dead, Ṭalāʾiʿ, once he was installed in the Dār al-Maʾmūn which Naṣr b. ʿAbbās had occupied, set about making general investigations among all the families of eminent civil and military persons who had collaborated with al-ʿAbbās. Executions ensued, as well as journeys into exile and flights to the Yemen.

Throughout his reign he displayed great keenness in financial matters, balancing the financial system, carrying out confiscations, speculating on the price of cereals as soon as a scarcity was announced. The wealth of property became apparent in an act of foundation of *wakf* (Cl. Cahen, Muṣṭafā Ṭāhir and Yūsuf Rāghib, *L'achat et le waqf d'un grand domaine égyptien par le vizir fāṭimide Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk*, in *AI*, xiv [1978], 59-126). He used his wealth for pious aims; in 555/1160 he built a mosque outside the Bāb Zuwayla, which was destined to receive the head of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. In fact, this project was never fulfilled (G. Wiet, *Les mosques du Caire*, Paris 1966, 103), but this very elegant monument, the last built under the Fāṭimids, was fortified with a *badhandj* in the style of Upper Egypt; its decoration was carefully executed and, according to the original plan, it was built above a row of shops, and comprised a narthex-loggia dominating the road going south from Cairo (Caroline Williams, *Islamic monuments in Cairo*, Cairo 1993, 106-7).

The zeal for financial success shown by Ibn Ruzzīk is partly explained by the fact that the vizier al-ʿAbbās in his flight had taken away all the currency and moveable treasures which belonged to the dynasty; this collection of wealth was recovered by the Franks when they killed al-ʿAbbās in Palestine (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, 330). That is how the magnificent Fāṭimid aiguières made from rock crystal were rediscovered in the Holy Land, from where they were to be despatched to monasteries and to the collections of European royal palaces where they were displayed as relics. The young Naṣr was handed over to Ṭalāʾiʿ, who in turn handed him to the women of the palace; they put him to death.

Ṭalāʾiʿ was the first Fāṭimid vizier to bear a *lakab* in *al-Malik*. This followed the example of his contemporary al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn, but was probably chosen in memory of the Būyid rulers, who were Imāmīs like himself and protectors of the Sunnī ʿAbbāsid caliphs.

When the Sunnī Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had reunited Egypt and Syria, he bore the title of *sulṭān* which was made popular by the Sunnī Saldjūḳs. It was a title which implied a status of total political autonomy (al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, ed. al-Ḥilū and al-Ṭannāḥī, Cairo 1388/1968, v, 314-16).

The chroniclers drew attention to his high Arabic culture (al-Wahrānī, *Manāmāt*, ed. Shaʿlān and Naʿsh, Cairo 1968, 33-4), his ability to compose verses, and the entourage of scholars (who often came from Upper Egypt where Imāmī Shīʿīs and Ismāʿīlīs were numerous) among whom he liked to live; they are listed in *Ittiʿāẓ*, iii, 219-20. The *ḳāḍī* al-Muhadhdhab al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Zubayr, from an eminent family in Aswān, and the *kātib* al-Djālis al-Mākin Ibn al-Ḥubāb, who directed the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* along with al-Muʾaffiḳ b. al-Ḥadjdjādj, are those most often cited.

It was probably under the vizierate of Ṭalāʾiʿ that the Sunnī *ḳāḍī* al-Fāḍil, the future minister of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, began his public career as *kātib* of the *dīwān* at Alexandria (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1970, iii, 158-63).

Having to exercise political and military authority in Upper Egypt involved taking a particular interest in the pilgrimage to the Holy Cities, and as governor he had to give the governor of Ḳūṣ the order to exempt pilgrims from taxes, to deliver wheat to Mecca, or to detain *ʿumarāʾ* arriving in Egypt from the city (Garcin, *Qūṣ*, 104 f.).

In 548/1153, Nāṣir al-Dawla Yāḳūt was governor of Ḳūṣ. He supported Ṭalāʾiʿ, in particular in 551/1156, at the time of the revolt of al-Awḥad Ibn Tamīm, the governor of Damietta. But in 552/1157, relying on the discontent of an aunt of the Imām with the intrusion of the vizier into palace administration, Yāḳūt prepared a revolt and was arrested in Cairo. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ṭarkhān succeeded him a short time later in Ḳūṣ; then he was replaced by Shāwar, a page of Ṭalāʾiʿ's, who was destined to play a top-ranking political role.

In Ṣafar 549/spring 1154, the Frankish fleet from Sicily had carried out a murderous attack on Tinnīs. Ṭalāʾiʿ wanted to obtain a truce with the Franks and to pay them a tribute financed by a tax levied on the *iḳṭāʿ*s. His officers were uneasy and, thanks to some Egyptian sailors who spoke "Frankish", they launched a bold commando-type operation against the port of Tyre. Their victory put an end to his project (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl*, 331-2).

In Ṣafar 549/April 1154, three months after power was taken from Ṭalāʾiʿ at Cairo, Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī took up residence in Damascus, which he made his capital, being committed to his project of reconquering the territories occupied by the Franks. The hostility of Ṭalāʾiʿ towards the Christians was well known (Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, *Taʾrīkh baṭārikat al-kanīsa al-miṣriyya*, iii, 1, ed. A. Khater and Khs. Burmester, Cairo 1968, in English, 74-9, in Arabic, 46-7; S.M. Stern, *Fatimid decrees*, London 1964, 76 f.), hence his humiliation after ʿAskalān fell into their hands in 548/1153. Abandoning his diplomatic overtures to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, he sent the *ḥādjib* Maḥmūd al-Muwallad to Damascus to propose a joint military action to Nūr al-Dīn, to whom he had paid a tribute (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl*, 353, Ramaḍān 553/autumn 1158, 356, Ṣafar 554/January-February 1159). The Egyptian army was commanded by the *nāʾib al-Bāb* Ḍirghām, for whom the military corps of the Barḳiyya had been created. He led operations at Ghazza in 553/1158, then in the interior of Palestine and beyond Jordan. The Fāṭimid fleet attacked the Frankish coast, and Beirut specifically. As the military capacity of the Fāṭimid fleet was from now on recognised, in the months which followed, Ṭalāʾiʿ received a mission from Byzantium asking for his aid against the Normans of Sicily. The brother of the Count of Cyprus had been taken prisoner, so he was despatched to the Byzantine Basileus. Then the Frankish delegates, worried at the new Mediterranean situation, came in their turn to attempt to negotiate a truce. At the same time, a reconciliation was witnessed between the Byzantines and Nūr al-Dīn.

For the Arab chroniclers (Ibn Muyassar, *Muntaḳā*, 142) these costly operations gained some success but did more harm. N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, Damascus 1967, ii, 496-565, has seen them as important operations but has attributed the passivity of Nūr al-Dīn to his distrust of the stability of the Egyptian régime. G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, 287-8, gives as a reason the faint-heartedness of the Prince of Damascus, who was ill during that period. J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris 1969, i, 413, has attached no real military impact to these actions, and he scarcely mentions them.

Prudently, Ṭalāʾiʿ fortified Bilbays to block the approach of any army coming from Syria against Cairo. In Radjab 555/July 1160, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-ʿĀḍid li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*], born in Muḥarram 546/May 1151, succeeded his cousin, al-Fāʾiz, the child who witnessed the massacre of 549/1154, but died of illness. His father, the son of the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ, had been killed on the day of the enthronement of al-Fāʾiz. Al-ʿĀḍid was chosen as Imām by al-Ṣāliḥ al-Ṭalāʾīʿ after the first choice had rested on an adult member of the Fāṭimid family (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ix, 255; al-Fāriḳī, cited in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl*, 360-1). A child of eleven years old probably seemed more inclined to comply with the directives of Ṭalāʾiʿ, who had now governed Egypt for more than six years as an absolute monarch.

The vizier made the Imām his son-in-law; he would have liked to have a grandson as caliph, but he died, assassinated at the instigation of an aunt of al-ʿĀḍid, on 19 Ramaḍān 556/11 September 1161. He was attacked in the hallway of his palace, but during his long agony the vizier was able to obtain from the young caliph the death sentence for the instigator of the conspiracy and also for the three men who carried it out. Furthermore, he had his son Ruzzīk recognised as his successor, and it was to him that he confided his three regrets: the construction outside Bāb Zuwayla of a mosque which could offer an advance position to an assailant against Cairo, the excessive expenses involved in fortifying Bilbays [*q.v.*] without having the chance to make use of it for marching on Jerusalem, and the nomination of Shāwar as governor of Upper Egypt, which posed a threat to his power in Cairo.

Historians assess his exploits in diverse ways. On the one hand Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munḳatiʿa*, ed. A. Ferré, Cairo 1972, 108-13, has strongly emphasised his rapacity and his violence. On the other hand, Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Cairo 1970, 91-3, 217-58, 332-6, ranked him alongside Ibn Killis and al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Djamālī, as one of the very great Fāṭimid viziers. Al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, iii, 214-54, devoted a long account to him, passing a much more finely-shaded judgement on him. In any case, this was the last great man of the Fāṭimid state, who wanted to reconstruct a strong Egypt, which could carry out its own foreign policies. He was not an Ismāʿīlī, but this was not a danger.

His son Ruzzīk succeeded him. In 569/1174, three years after the fall of the Fāṭimid régime, a descendant of Ṭalāʾiʿ took part in a vain attempt to restore the dynasty against Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1992, 274).

Bibliography: This is extensive, but the essential references are given in the text of the article.

(Th. Bianquis)

ṬALĀḲ (a.), repudiation of a wife by a husband, a form of divorce, effected by his pronouncing the words *anti ṭāliḳ*. The root idea of the verb *ṭalaḳa* is to be freed from a tether, etc. (of a camel), to be repudiated by a man (of a wife; in this sense also *ṭaluḳa*), hence *ṭallaḳa*, to release (a camel) from a tether, to repudiate (a wife); *ṭāliḳ* means a camel untethered or a woman repudiated by a man (see Lane, *Lexicon* s.v.).

I. In classical Islamic law.

1. The right to a one-sided dissolution of a marriage belonged to the man exclusively, among the pre-Islamic Arabs. Long before Muḥammad, this *ṭalāḳ* was in general use among the Arabs and meant the immediate definite abandonment by the man of all rights over his wife, which he could insist upon as a result of his marriage. See Th.W. Juynboll, *De mohammedaansche bruidsgave*, diss. Leiden, 42-64, who corrects the view held by W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 112 ff., and J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, in *Nachrichten v.d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Göttingen (1893), 452 ff.

2. The Ḳurʾān lays down regulations which go into *ṭalāḳ* with comparative thoroughness. From their fullness, and still more from the many admonitions to observe them exactly, it is evident that Muḥammad was here introducing new rules which had been previously quite unknown to his contemporaries. Muḥammad found particularly repulsive the apparently not uncommon exploitation in his milieu of the wife by the *walī* as well as by the husband, which took place especially in connection with *ṭalāḳ*. The first Muslim regulation about *ṭalāḳ* seems to be the prohibition to use it for extortions from the woman: sūra IV, 24 (of the years 3-5/624-7; on the whole chronology, which is here given in further detail, see Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*; the preceding v. 23 is directed against encroachments by the relatives of the deceased and by the *walī*): "If ye be desirous of exchanging one wife for another and have given one of them a certain sum (as *mahr* [*q.v.*] or bridal gift) make no deduction from it; would ye take it by manifest slander and sin? (25) How could ye take it when ye have had intercourse together and they (the wives) have received a binding promise from you?" (Here Muḥammad recognises *ṭalāḳ* as such as legitimate.) The next passage which deals with *ṭalāḳ* introduces an important innovation by the Prophet, namely, the period of waiting (*ʿidda*), which is on the one hand intended to leave no doubt about the real paternity of a child born from the divorced woman, and on the other to give the man an opportunity of atoning for a too-hurried pronunciation of *ṭalāḳ* by withdrawing it; thus it is laid down in II, 228: "The women who have been given the *ṭalāḳ* shall wait three *ḳurūʾ* (this expression, which is variously explained, means in any case menstrual periods); it is not permitted to them to conceal what God creates in their bodies, if they believe in God and the Last Day; their husbands have the full right to take them back during this period, if they desire to make atonement; they have to demand the same good treatment to which they were bound but the men are a step above them; and God is powerful and wise" (the man is here given the right to take back the wife during the period of waiting, even against her will). But this right now given to the man for the first time was very soon abused; the wife was taken back near the end of the period of waiting and a new *ṭalāḳ* at once pronounced over her so that she was permanently in a state of waiting, in order to induce her to purchase her freedom by giving back the *mahr* or making some other financial sacrifice; v. 229 was therefore revealed: "If the man has twice pronounced the *ṭalāḳ*, he may still keep his wife if he treat her kindly or let her go in a seemly fashion; it is not permitted to you to take away anything of what ye have given them. . . . (in an interpolation, the *khulʿ*, the amicable purchase of her freedom by the woman in contrast to the extortions condemned above, is declared permitted). (230) If he pronounces the *ṭalāḳ* over her for the third time, it is not permitted for him to take her again unless she has married another husband; if the latter pronounces the *ṭalāḳ* over her, it is no sin for the two to return to one another if they think they can observe God's commands; these are the commands of God which

make clear to those who have knowledge" (it is probable that the second part of v. 230 was induced by a concrete case in which a thrice-divorced woman who had married another husband and received the *ṭalāḳ* from him also, desired to marry her first husband again). A further extension made necessary by the practice, which was intended to prevent abuses of the right of taking back the wife during the period of waiting, is given in v. 231: "If ye give women the *ṭalāḳ* and they reach their time, retain them with you kindly or let them go kindly; but do not keep them to harm them with hostile intent; he who does so only injures himself; make not a jest of God's words!" (Here it is forbidden to take back the wife under a show of reconciliation, and to keep her simply with the object of making her life uncomfortable and forcing her to purchase her release by the payment of a sum of money; the perhaps contemporary v. 232 contains warning admonitions to the *walī*s of divorced women.) Later than II, 228, which is presupposed, but still before the year 5/626-7 are the regulations of LXV, 1: "O Prophet, when ye pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over women, do it with regard to their period of waiting (the meaning, not quite clear, of the Arabic expression seems to be that *ṭalāḳ* is to be pronounced in such a way that the period of waiting can be easily calculated, i.e. not during menstruation), and calculate the time exactly and fear God your Lord; put them not out of your houses and they are not to depart of their own accord, unless they have manifestly done something shameful (i.e. committed adultery); these are the commands of God, and whoso transgresseth them injureth himself alone; thou knowest not whether God after this may not bring about a change (in the attitude of the man to the woman so that he may take her back). (2) When they have reached their time, then either help them with kindness or separate from them with good feeling, and take upright people from among you as witnesses and bear witness before God. This is a caution for him who believes in God and the last day. (3) (further exhortations to observe the precepts). (4) If your wives can no longer expect a menstrual period or have not yet had one and ye are in doubt (as a result, about the period of their waiting), their period of waiting shall last three months, and if they are pregnant, the period shall be until they are delivered; God will make His commands easy to him that feareth him. (5) (further exhortations). (6) Let them live where ye live, in keeping with your means and oppress them not by making their lives unpleasant; if they are pregnant, maintain them till they are delivered . . ." (here follow rules for the divorced woman while she is nursing); (in these verses certain obligations are laid upon men regarding the housing and maintenance of their wives during the period of waiting; this completes the work of protecting the woman against financial exploitation by the man in connection with *ṭalāḳ*, which IV, 24 had begun). XXXIII, 48, belongs to the end of the year 5/626-7: "O believers! when ye marry believing women and then pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over them before ye have consummated the marriage, ye have not to make them wait a period; provide for them and dismiss them in a suitable fashion." The general rule here given is stated more fully in II, 237: "It is no sin for you if ye pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over your wives before ye have consummated the marriage or made a settlement (as bridal gift) upon them; provide fairly what is needful for them, the well-to-do according to his fortune and the impoverished according to his means; this is a duty for those who do what is right. (238) If ye pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over them before ye have consummated the marriage, and have already made a settlement upon them (as *mahr*), ye shall give them half of what ye have settled unless they withdraw their claim, or he withdraws who has to decide about the contract of marriage (i.e. the husband); that you should withdraw your claim is nearer to the fear of God; forget not generosity to one another; God sees what ye do" (this rule also seems to owe its origin to a concrete case in which doubts had arisen; on the legal significance of the withdrawal from the promise of marriage, which here appears as a *ṭalāḳ* before consummation, see Juynboll, *op. cit.* 73).

In addition, there are XXXIII, 28 (of the end of the year 5) and LXVI, 5 (of the late Medinan period in which Muḥammad threatens his own wives with *ṭalāḳ*, as well as II, 226-7, where *ṭalāḳ* is mentioned in connection with *īlā'*.

3. *Ṭalāḳ* is treated hardly less fully in the *Ḥadīth* than in the Ḳur'ān. Besides numerous traditions which simply repeat the well-known precepts of the Ḳur'ān and therefore need not be dealt with here, there are also some which further develop the doctrine of *ṭalāḳ*. A group of *ḥadīth*s which endeavour to limit as much as possible the *ṭalāḳ*, deserves particular attention: "Among permitted things, *ṭalāḳ* is the most hated by God"; two arbiters appear who are to negotiate between husband and wife; the wife cannot demand from the husband that he should pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over another wife on her account; God punishes the woman who seeks *ṭalāḳ* from her husband without sufficient reason. LXV, I, is unanimously interpreted to mean that it is forbidden to pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* during the woman's period of menstruation; such a *ṭalāḳ* is regarded as a sin and error (*khaṭa'*, the opposite of *ṣawāb*) but its validity is not disputed; the man who has pronounced it should, however, withdraw it and, if he insists on a divorce, should pronounce a *ṭalāḳ* in keeping with the rules. A question not yet conceived in the Ḳur'ān is that of the effect of a *ṭalāḳ* pronounced three successive times. The traditions are divided regarding this; alongside the approval of such a thing, there is the strongest disapproval, sometimes it is even held to be invalid. In the same direction points the *ḥadīth* that, down to the caliphate of 'Umar such a *ṭalāḳ* was considered to be a single one, and that 'Umar was the first to introduce into jurisprudence his view that it was a threefold one, in order to restrain people by fear of the undesirable consequences of this abuse. The traditions further mention as a third requirement for the *ṭalāḳ* which is to be *sunna*, i.e. in keeping with the prescriptions of the Ḳur'ān and of the Prophet, that the man during the woman's period of purity in which he pronounces it must have had no intercourse with the woman. The so-called *taḥlīl*, which consists in marrying a thrice divorced woman and at once pronouncing the *ṭalāḳ* over her, simply with the object of enabling her to remarry her first husband (see II, 230) is strongly disapproved of and even cursed. In general, the woman is only considered "permitted" (*ḥalāl*) for the first husband when the second marriage is actually completed. To check frivolous pronunciation of *ṭalāḳ*, a *ṭalāḳ* pronounced in jest is considered legal and binding. As, on the other hand, *ṭalāḳ* means the dissolution of the marriage, a *ṭalāḳ* pronounced before the conclusion of the marriage is of no importance. Whether a woman who has thrice received *ṭalāḳ* has a claim during the period of waiting on her husband for lodging and maintenance is not evident from the Ḳur'ān; the earliest differences of opinion are enshrined in a group of

traditions, some of which completely deny any such claim, some of which recognise it only for lodging and some for maintenance also.

Ṭalāḳ between slaves is not regulated in the Ḳur'ān; the *ḥadīth* gives the slave also the right to *ṭalāḳ* but (in analogy with other legal enactments) only twice, and similarly puts the period of waiting of a slave-woman at two *ḳurū'* or menstrual periods. Anyone who becomes a convert to Islam and has more than four wives is bound to keep four and pronounce *ṭalāḳ* on the others. If he has married two sisters, he must pronounce *ṭalāḳ* on one of them. Finally, it should be mentioned that according to tradition, Muḥammad at once gave *ṭalāḳ* to women who took their refuge with God before him, and is said to have induced 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar to separate from his wife by a *ṭalāḳ* out of consideration for his father's dislike of her.

4. The oldest jurists (down to the beginning of the formation of the *madhhabs* or law schools), some of whom go back to the time of the origin of the traditions, develop the doctrine of *ṭalāḳ* on the lines indicated above; the most important views to be mentioned here are the following. The doctrine of *ṭalāḳ al-sunna* and its three requirements is further developed. It is ascribed among others to 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Ikrima, Mudjāhid and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (such attributions to the oldest authorities may possibly be regarded as unhistorical; they only become certainly historic with Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī; this is also true of what follows). It is even applied to the case when a woman is pregnant; for this, 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, Djābir b. 'Abd Allāh, Ḥammād, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī are given as authorities. *Ṭalāḳ* pronounced three times in immediate succession is considered a sin but as thrice valid by the overwhelming majority, including 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Ḥammād, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and al-Zuhrī. Sometimes the view is even described as the only prevailing one, against which no contradictory opinion exists; but at a somewhat later date there were nevertheless champions of the view that *ṭalāḳ* of this kind is to be considered as only once valid. While, according to the view of the majority, among whom are mentioned 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās and al-Ḍaḥḥāk, the wife becomes *ḥarām* for the man after a threefold *ṭalāḳ* and can only marry him again after completing and dissolving a marriage with another man, these consequences come into force after a twofold *ṭalāḳ*, if the man does not withdraw it, but "allows the woman to go". That the second marriage must be actually consummated if the woman is to be *ḥalāl* again to the first man, is unanimously demanded, e.g. by 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and al-Zuhrī. The validity of *ṭalāḳ* pronounced in jest, is expressly affirmed by 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and is regarded as generally recognised. The principle is unanimously affirmed that, in ambiguous expressions, the opinion of the speaker decides, but there is much difference of opinion as to whether certain expressions are to be considered ambiguous or not, and also whether the *ṭalāḳ* pronounced under pressure or under the influence of intoxication is valid or not. Here it is a question of the application of principles, important in other cases also, in a field which on account of its practical importance had a great influence on its development. The validity of the *ṭalāḳ* pronounced before the consummation of the marriage is denied, in agreement with the tradition of 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, 'Alī, 'Ikrima, Mudjāhid, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, etc. *Ṭalāḳ* pronounced on condition that the marriage is consummated (if I marry thee, thou art divorced) is, on the other hand, recognised as valid by 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and al-Zuhrī, while others deny it. Any *ṭalāḳ* pronounced before the consummation of the marriage is irrevocable (see sūra II, 238; XXXIII, 48); authorities for this are 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and al-Zuhrī, etc. (this rule is undoubtedly in the spirit of the Ḳur'ān; see XXXIII, 48). The different views found in the *Ḥadīth* regarding the claims of the thrice-divorced woman to lodging and maintenance are also found here: according to 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and 'Ikrima, she has no claim at all, whilst according to al-Zuhrī (who, however, also appears among the advocates of the first view but probably wrongly) only to lodging. According to 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and 'Umar, the claim is to lodging and maintenance. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and al-Zuhrī allow the slave only the possibility of the twofold *ṭalāḳ*, whether in respect of a female slave or a free woman.

According to 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, on the other hand, the deciding factor is the status of the woman as a slave, so that every husband of a slave, whether slave or freeman, has only the possibility of a twofold *ṭalāḳ*. The Ḳur'ānic expression *ḳurū'* (228-9) is sometimes interpreted as menstruation and sometimes as the period of purity; among the representatives of this former view are 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Ikrima, 'Umar and the 'Irāḳīs; as adherents of the latter view, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, al-Zuhrī (the first view is also wrongly attributed to him) and the Medinans are mentioned; 'Alī and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab appear in both groups. Less important differences of opinion are associated with the interpretation of different Ḳur'ānic expressions in II, 228, and LXV, I, 2, 4. There is unanimity on the point that the man has the right to withdraw *ṭalāḳ*, even against the will of the woman. This is expressly stated, e.g. by 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Ikrima and Mudjāhid.

5. The teachings of *fiḳh* on *ṭalāḳ*, which can be briefly summarised as follows, are based on the above. The husband has the right to pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* on his wife even without giving the reasons, but his pronouncing it without good grounds is considered *makrūh* (reprehensible), and by the Ḥanafīs even as *ḥarām* (forbidden); the *ṭalāḳ al-bid'a* also, i.e. one in which the requirements of the *ṭalāḳ al-sunna* (see above) are not observed, is regarded as *ḥarām*; however, the validity of the *ṭalāḳ* is not in any way affected thereby. To be able to pronounce *ṭalāḳ*, the husband must have attained his majority and be *compos mentis*; the *ṭalāḳ* of a minor is regarded as valid only by one tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; the guardian acts for the legally-disqualified husband. *Ṭalāḳ* is a personal right which the husband must exercise in person or through a mandatory specially appointed by him; he may even entrust this mandate to his wife, who can then pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* on herself. *Ṭalāḳ* presupposes a valid marriage; *ṭalāḳ* pronounced on condition that the marriage is carried through (see above) is invalid according to the Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs, but valid

according to the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs (according to the latter, however, not if it is expressed in quite general terms, e.g. "every woman that I marry, is divorced").

Ṭalāḳ pronounced in delirium or by a lunatic is invalid. The *ṭalāḳ* of an intoxicated man has given rise to lively discussions in all the *madhāhib*; in the case of culpable intoxication, it is regarded as valid by the majority. *Ṭalāḳ* pronounced under pressure is valid according to the Ḥanafīs, but not according to the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs.

Words referring unambiguously and directly to *ṭalāḳ* bring it into operation, whatever may have been the intention of the speaker who uttered them; if the speaker uses unambiguous circumlocutions, the Ḥanbalīs, Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs demand also a corresponding intention, while the Mālikīs pay no heed to the intention. In the case of ambiguous expressions or gestures, the intention of the speaker is the only deciding factor. There is a great difference of opinion among the *madhāhib* on all these questions when it comes to the individual case. The question of the validity of a conditionally pronounced *ṭalāḳ* (apart from the above-mentioned case) is also much disputed. The Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs make such a *ṭalāḳ* come into operation on the fulfilment of the condition; the Mālikīs regard it, according to the nature of the condition, as sometimes at once effective and sometimes void.

The woman's period of waiting begins at once after *ṭalāḳ* unless it is a question of a *ṭalāḳ* before consummation of the marriage, which is always definite: in this case, the woman does not need to have a period of waiting and has only a claim to half the bridal gift if it was already fixed (if it was already paid, she has to pay back half of it) or to a gift at the discretion of the man, the so-called *mutʿa* [*q.v.*] (see sūra II, 237). A distinction has further to be made between a revocable and a definite *ṭalāḳ*. In the first case, the marriage is still considered legally in existence, with all its consequences, and the woman has a claim upon the man for lodging and maintenance for the whole period of waiting; on the other hand, the man has the right to revoke the *ṭalāḳ* throughout the period of waiting. If he allows the period to pass without exercising this right, the marriage is definitely dissolved at its expiry. If the bridal gift was not yet paid, it is now due unless some later date was agreed upon for its payment. If a reconciliation then takes place between the two parties and they wish to marry again, they must draw up a new contract of marriage with a new bridal gift.

With a definite *ṭalāḳ* on the other hand, the marriage is at once finally dissolved (with the single exception that a definite *ṭalāḳ* pronounced by a man during his mortal illness does not abolish the wife's rights of inheritance: thus the Ḥanafīs, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs, with *ikhtilāf* on details, while the Shāfiʿīs consider the opposite view the better). The woman has, however, in this case also to pass the period of waiting, during which she cannot conclude a new marriage; during this period, she has a claim on the husband for lodging but for maintenance only if she is pregnant. The husband's payment of the bridal gift is the same as in a revocable *ṭalāḳ*. The conclusion of a new contract of marriage between the former partners is impossible, unless the woman has in the meanwhile lived with another man in a regularly completed marriage (cf. II, 230); but even this way out is only open to them twice.

The third *ṭalāḳ* is considered definite among freemen (see II, 229-30) and the second among slaves; it is a matter of indifference whether the separate repudiations were announced in one marriage or in several, not separated by *taḥlīl*. In mixed marriages between freemen and slaves, the status of the man is decisive according to the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, and of the woman according to the Ḥanafīs.

The period of waiting for a woman is three *ḳurūʾ* (see II, 228), i.e. according to the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs, three periods of purity, and according to the Ḥanafīs three menstruations; if she is pregnant, the period lasts till her confinement (*loc. cit.*). For a slave woman, the period of waiting is in the first case two *ḳurūʾ*, and in the second, a month and a half; if she is pregnant, the period of waiting again lasts till her confinement.

Sexual intercourse with a not definitely divorced woman during the period of waiting is not permitted according to the Ḥanafīs and the better-known view of the Mālikīs; according to the lesser-known view of the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and the other Ḥanbalī view, it is forbidden. In keeping with the views of the first class, it is regarded by them as revoking *ṭalāḳ* in every case; according to the Mālikīs, only if the man intends to do so, while the Shāfiʿīs only regard an utterance by the man as revoking the *ṭalāḳ*.

6. The Shīʿa rules concerning *ṭalāḳ* only differ in unimportant details from the Sunnī ones with which we have so far dealt. In a more strict interpretation of sūra LXV, 2, the production of two legal witnesses is regarded as absolutely necessary for the validity of a *ṭalāḳ*, while the Sunnīs dispense with them. All circumlocutions, ambiguous expressions and gestures are neglected, whatever may have been the intention of the speaker.

7. As an institution of family law, *ṭalāḳ* has in practice to follow lines strongly dictated by the principles of Muslim law. The very frequent pronunciation of *ṭalāḳ*, often on the most worthless grounds and three times in succession, has brought about the following usage: if the couple wish to marry one another again after the third *ṭalāḳ*, they seek a suitable individual who is ready for a certain reward to go through the ceremony of marriage with the woman and at once repudiate her; the woman is then again *ḥalāl* for her first husband and he who undertakes this *taḥlīl* is therefore called *muḥallil*. For this purpose, a minor or a slave is used by preference. Nothing can be urged against the validity of such a procedure, providing that at the conclusion of the intervening marriage the word *taḥlīl* is not used; its permissibility is defended by the Ḥanafīs but disputed by the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs. The Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya regarded the *taḥlīl* in general as invalid, and attacked it in a special work (see Brockelmann, II², 127, S II, 124), but he seems to be practically alone in this view.

The conditional pronunciation (*taʿlīḳ*) of the *ṭalāḳ* may have different objects: a man may pronounce such a *ṭalāḳ*, for example, to drive his wife or himself to something or to refrain from something by threatened separation, or to give force to some statement made by him. In India, Malaysia and a large portion of Indonesia, this *taʿlīḳ* of the *ṭalāḳ* has become a regular custom at the conclusion of a marriage; it is hardly ever omitted and serves to impose upon the man certain obligations towards his wife as a kind of pre-nuptial agreement, on the non-fulfilment of which the marriage is dissolved by the *ṭalāḳ*. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*, i, 382 ff.; idem, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/1, 300 ff., 370; Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaansche wet*³, 207 ff.

On the practice of *ṭalāḳ* as it has developed in

different countries under the influence of the *Sharīʿa* and under native customary law, see e.g. for North Africa: Ubach and Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika*, 37, 97, 194, 277, 379; for Egypt: Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, chs. iii, iv; for Transjordania: A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, section 3; for Northwest Arabia: idem, *Coutumes des Fuquarâ*, section 4; for Indonesia, the literature quoted by Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 207, n. 3; and ethnological works and travels in general.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already mentioned and the Arabic works on *Ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, see R. Roberts, *The social laws of the Qorân*, 18 ff.; A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v. Divorce; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf, Dictionary of the technical terms*, i, 920, ii, 921; Juynboll, *Handleiding*³, 203 ff.; Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre*, book i; Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, i, 201 ff.; Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. Divorce. (J. SCHACHT)

II. Reforms in the modern Middle East and North Africa.

1. *The impetus for reform*

Since the beginning of the 20th century, increasing dissatisfaction with traditional divorce law, against the background of changing social conditions, has spawned reforms motivated by the desire to enhance the status of women. The reforms aim to restrict the husband's right to repudiate his wife unilaterally and to provide her with grounds for judicial dissolution at her initiative.

A range of methods has provided the juristic basis for the reforms. Most important are the "eclectic" (*takhayyur*) expedient, extension of the court's discretion, administrative measures anchored in the doctrine of *siyāsa sharʿiyya*, penal sanctions, "modernistic" interpretation of the textual sources (neo-*idjtihād*), and the doctrine of public interest (*maṣlaḥa*) [see MAḤKAMA. 4. xiii, at VI, 40-1].

Relevant legislation: Algeria—Ordinance No. 59-2747, 1959; Decree No. 59-1082, 1959; Law of 29 June 1963; Family Code No. 84-11, 1984; Egypt—Law No. 25, 1920; Law No. 25, 1929; Law No. 44, 1979, replaced by Law No. 100, 1985; Iran—Family Protection Act, 1967, replaced by Family Protection Act, 1975 (repealed in 1979); ʿIrāḳ—Personal Status Law No. 188, 1959, amended by Act No. 11, 1963; Israel—[Ottoman] Family Rights Law, 1917 (OFRL), put into effect in 1919; Marriage Age Law, 1950, amended in 1960; Women's Equal Rights Law, 1951; Jordan—Law of Family Rights, No. 92, 1951, replaced by Law of Personal Status, No. 61, 1976; Kuwait—Law of Personal Status, 1980; Lebanon—OFRL, put into effect by Decree No. 241, 1942, reasserted in 1962; Libya—Law No. 112, Facilitation of Provision of *Sharʿī* Maintenance, 1971; Law No. 76, Protecting Some Rights of Women in Marriage, Divorce for Prejudice, and Consensual Divorce, 1972 (amended by Law No. 18, 1973), replaced by Law No. 10, Marriage and Divorce and their consequences, 1984; Morocco—Code of Personal Status, No. 1.57.379, 1957-58, amended by Law No. 1.93.347, 1993; The Sudan—Judicial Circulars: No. 17, *ca.* 1916, amended by No. 28, 1927; No. 41, 1936; No. 59, 1973; No. 60, 1973; No. 61, 1977; Law of Personal Status for Muslims, No. 1554, 1991; Syria—Decree No. 59, Law of Personal Status, 1953, amended by Law No. 34, 1975; Tunisia—Law of Personal Status, 1956, put into effect in 1957, amended in 1959; Turkey—Civil Code, 1926; Yemen (Republic)—Family Law No. 3, 1978, replaced by Law of Personal Status, No. 20, 1992; Yemen, South—Family Law, No. 1, 1974, replaced by 1992 Law.

2. *Curtailment of the husband's freedom of repudiation*

(a) Under OFRL (still applicable in Lebanon and Israel), in Egypt (1929), the Sudan (1936), Jordan, Syria, Morocco, ʿIrāḳ, Kuwait and Yemen, a divorce formula pronounced by a husband under compulsion, or in a state of intoxication or uncontrollable passion, etc., is no longer valid or binding.

(b) In Egypt (1929), the Sudan (1936, 1991), Jordan, Syria and Yemen, a formulaic oath to repudiate the wife pronounced merely to express determination in an unrelated matter, or as a threat to repudiate the wife with a view to inducing her to perform or abstain from some act with no intention to terminate the union, is no longer valid. In Morocco, ʿIrāḳ and Kuwait, conditional divorce is no longer valid under any circumstances. This applies also to a formula expressed in terms which need not necessarily imply divorce.

(c) In Morocco, if repudiation is pronounced during the wife's menstruation, the court shall force the husband to revoke repudiation.

(d) In some countries, more radical steps seek to make unilateral repudiation a judicial proceeding. In Tunisia, Algeria, Jordan, former South Yemen and Iran, no formula of divorce pronounced outside a court of law has any legal validity; it must be effected by judicial decree. In ʿIrāḳ, if it is not feasible for the husband to seek a court judgment he must register the repudiation during the waiting period. In Morocco (1993), repudiation may be registered only in the presence of the parties and after a *ḳāḍī*'s permission has been obtained. In Iran, both spouses were required to obtain a "certificate of impossibility of reconciliation" (see below) before a dissolution could be effected. In South Yemen, a divorce could be effected only after a "People's Committee" had failed to reconcile the spouses. In Libya (1984), repudiation can only be effected by mutual consent of the spouse, failing which the court will effect judicial divorce. In Israel (1951), divorcing one's wife against her will, unless permission to do so has been given (since 1959, prior to the divorce) by a religious court, entails a penal sanction; the divorce, however, is valid.

Turkey, with the introduction of a slightly amended form of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926, has totally abolished unilateral divorce. This applies also to Tunisia and Algeria (1984), where divorce can only be effected by a court.

3. *Judicial dissolution at the wife's initiative*

Far more radical progress has been made regarding dissolution of the marriage at the wife's (and in some countries also the husband's) initiative. A variety of Mālikī-inspired grounds have become available:

(a) Defects of body and mind, either incurable or curable only after a long period, which prevent the husband from consummating the marriage or which make married life dangerous, provided that the wife was unaware of them at the time of the marriage or, in a case where the husband was afflicted after the marriage, that she did not consent to live with him. With certain variations, such reforms have been introduced in OFRL, Egypt (1920), the Sudan (1927, 1991), Jordan, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Algeria and former South Yemen. In Morocco, Kuwait, Libya (1984) and Yemen, this ground obtains also for the husband.

In Iran (1975), a "certificate of impossibility of reconciliation" (required for any divorce) could be obtained by either spouses on various grounds: insanity, sterility, inability or unwillingness to have normal sexual intercourse, affliction with specified diseases or with some "addiction" which is prejudicial to family

life, imprisonment, desertion of family, the commission of an offence "repugnant to family honour", etc.

(b) Non-provision of maintenance or non-payment of dower. In the Sudan (1916, 1991), Egypt (1920), Jordan, Syria, Tunisia, Morocco, ʿIrāḳ, Iran, former South Yemen, Yemen, Kuwait and Libya (1984), failure of the husband (present or absent) to provide the wife with maintenance is a ground for judicial revocable divorce (see below), provided (in some of the countries) that he has no property out of which maintenance can be collected and that a period of delay has been exhausted. In former South Yemen, either party was able to request a judicial divorce if he or she needed support and the other, who could provide it, failed to do so. In Algeria, the wife loses this option if she knew of her husband's insolvency at the time of the marriage.

In Jordan (1976), non-payment of dower due to the husband's insolvency constitutes independent grounds for dissolution.

(c) Deprivation of the husband's company. Countries vary as to the relevant period of deprivation, and as to the question of whether the husband's absence must be without legal justification, whether imprisonment is included, and whether or not the wife must expressly allege that she has suffered hardship or been exposed to the danger of unchastity. This remedy obtains in the Sudan (1916, 1927, 1991), Lebanon and Israel (under OFRL), Egypt (1929), Jordan, Syria, Morocco, ʿIrāḳ, Algeria, Iran (1975), former South Yemen (for either spouse), Kuwait, Libya (1984) and Yemen.

(d) Injury or marital discord. Countries vary as to whether and when a dissolution may be granted directly by the court or only on the recommendation of arbitrators (Mālikī law empowers them to dissolve the marriage at their discretion with no prior authorisation of the spouses), and as to the circumstances in which the wife must compensate her husband financially. This remedy obtains under OFRL, in Jordan, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Egypt (1929, 1985), Morocco, Algeria, Libya (1972) (for the husband also), Kuwait, the Sudan (1991) and Yemen.

Lacking precise definition (except in ʿIrāḳ), injury may be regarded as a residuary ground. Thus marriage to another wife seems to fall under the heading of injury in some countries, and disputes between the spouses have been extended to cover also unequal treatment of the co-wives. With slight variations, this remedy obtains in the Sudan (1916), Lebanon and Israel (under OFRL), Jordan, Morocco, ʿIrāḳ and Iran (1975). In Egypt (1979), marriage to another wife without the consent of the first was simply deemed injurious to the latter, but from 1985 the wife must prove physical or mental injury. This option, available also to the new wife (provided she was unaware of the first marriage), expires one year from the date of the wife's learning of the polygamous marriage. In former South Yemen, this option obtained even if the second marriage had been permitted by a court. In Yemen, polygamous marriage is a ground for dissolution (available to all wives) if the husband fails to provide maintenance. The *ḳāḍī* will give the husband the choice to keep one of the wives and repudiate the others. If he refuses to do so, the *ḳāḍī* will dissolve the marriage of the wife who initiates the dissolution. In Libya (1984), if repudiation cannot be obtained by mutual consent of the spouses, the court will effect judicial divorce on grounds of injury after attempts by court and arbitrators to reconcile the spouses have been exhausted. The financial consequences of the dissolution will be determined in accordance with the spouses' responsibility for the injury.

(e) Other grounds. In the Sudan (1977, 1991), a recalcitrant wife is entitled to dissolution in return for ransom (*fidya*) after a specified period provided she proves injury and her husband refuses to divorce her. In Libya (1972), a court may impose *khulʿ* with compensation (which is a condition for its validity) where the husband vexatiously refuses to divorce his wife. In Yemen, addiction to wine, etc. and lack of equality between the spouses (*kafāʾa*) in terms of religion and morality are grounds for dissolution (the latter available for either spouse). In Tunisia, the wife may obtain dissolution for any or no reason provided she pays any compensation decided by the court.

In Israel (1950, 1960), marriage of a girl under 17 is a civil ground for dissolution by the religious court in accordance with the religious law applicable. If the husband divorces the wife, the (district) court will take this into account as a mitigating factor when deciding the penal sanction. In Kuwait, a Muslim wife's (unlike the husband's) apostasy is no longer grounds for dissolution.

4. *Legal and financial consequences*

(a) In Egypt (1929), the Sudan (1936, 1991), Jordan, Syria, Morocco, ʿIrāḳ, Kuwait and Yemen, a repudiation accompanied by a word or sign indicating a number pronounced on one and the same occasion, counts as only a single revocable repudiation provided that the marriage has been consummated, that the husband has no financial benefit (as in *khulʿ*) and that it was not preceded by two repudiations. In Yemen (1978), the reinstatement of the wife must take place before another repudiation is permitted.

(b) Divorce, after consummation, on grounds of non-provision of maintenance is a Mālikī-inspired judicial, and therefore revocable, divorce. The husband may reinstate his wife if he proves during the waiting period that he is willing and able to support her. If he fails to do so, the divorce becomes irrevocable when the waiting period expires. In Syria, dissolution on grounds of the husband's absence or imprisonment for more than three years (even if he has left property from which maintenance can be collected) counts as revocable. The husband may reinstate his wife on his return before the expiry of a waiting period. In Algeria (1984), the husband may reinstate his wife within three months enabling the court to reconcile the spouses before effecting the divorce. In former South Yemen, judicial divorce on any specified grounds was considered a single revocable divorce, while in Yemen it was irrevocable. In Kuwait, if the wife sues her husband more than twice for non-provision of maintenance, the court shall issue an irrevocable divorce on grounds of injury.

(c) In Tunisia, the husband is prohibited from remarrying his triply-divorced wife.

(d) In Jordan (1976) and Egypt (1985), non-registration of divorce entails penal sanction. In Egypt (1985), if the husband conceals the divorce from his wife, its financial consequences take effect only from the date of the wife's learning of it.

(e) In Egypt (1929) and Syria, waiting-period maintenance cannot be claimed for a period beyond one year from the date of the divorce. In several countries, the length of the waiting period has been modified.

(f) In several countries, if a man divorces his wife arbitrarily after consummation, the court may decide to award, in addition to waiting-period maintenance, compensation or a consolatory gift (*mutʿa*) not exceeding the amount of maintenance for one year (Syria, Jordan,

1976, Kuwait, Yemen), two years (Egypt, 1979, 1985), six months (Sudan, 1991), or until she marries (Iran, 1975), having regard to the husband's financial standing and the damage caused to the wife. In Algeria (1984), in addition to compensation due an arbitrarily divorced wife, each spouse may be compensated for damage caused following a divorce by the other spouse's departure from the conjugal home, and, in Tunisia, for any damage whatsoever sustained from the divorce. In Morocco (1993), Egypt (1929) and former South Yemen, the consolatory gift is determined in proportion to the husband's means and the wife's circumstances. In Israel, the High Court has ruled that a wife divorced against her will (see above) is entitled to prejudicial compensation on the grounds of violation of statutory obligation.

(g) In Algeria (1984), the husband must provide independent accommodation for his divorced wife and minor children until she remarries and, in Egypt (1985), during the waiting period; otherwise, they shall continue to occupy the conjugal home until the expiration of the period of custody.

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(A. Layish)

ṬĀLAḲĀN, Ṭālḳān, the name of three places in the Iranian lands. The biographical and geographical dictionaries mention only two of these specifically (thus al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 8-13; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 6-8: both distinguish just a Ṭālaḳān of Marw al-Rūdh and a Ṭālaḳān of Ḳazwīn). These are nos. 1 and 2 below. There was, however, a further Ṭālaḳān in the Ṭukhāristān-Badakhshān region; this is no. 3 below.

1. A town of mediaeval Gūzgān or Djūzdjān [*q.v.*], in what is now northern Afghānistān but adjacent to the frontier with the Turkmenistan Republic. The geographers al-Iṣṭakhrī and al-Muḳaddasī attach it administratively to Marw al-Rūdh [*q.v.*], three stages away. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*[2], Second series of addenda, tr. p. xxii and map at p. xxviii, and tr. 107, states definitely that it belongs to the ruler of Gūzgān, who at the time of this work's composition (372/982) belonged to the Farīghūnids [*q.v.*]. It clearly lay in the hills of the northern rim of the mountain range now known as the Band-i Turkistān, well-watered, with a pleasant climate, producing wine and woollen felts, and was large enough to have two congregational mosques. The exact site of the town is uncertain. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 423, associated ruins at Chachaktu with it, whilst Barthold located it on a small stream, that of Ḳalʿa-yi Wali (*An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 35-7); it may, however, have been located either somewhere between modern Maymana [*q.v.*] and Dawlatābād, near mediaeval Faryāb, or else to the east of this, in the triangle Darzāb—Belčirāgh—Kūrčī.

It is quite often mentioned in the historical sources on the early Arab conquests of eastern Khurāsān and the Oxus lands, and in the years 90/709 and 116/734 there is mentioned a local ruler, called *Suhrab (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1206, 1218, 1566). The Khāridjite rebel against the caliph al-Mahdī in *ca.* 160/777, Yūsuf al-Barm al-Thaḳafī, held it, together with Marw al-Rūdh and Gūzgān (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 126). A Ḥusaynid ʿAlid, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, rebelled at Ṭālaḳān in the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim (in 219/834: al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1165-6). In 617/1220 the Mongol Čingiz Khān besieged its citadel, called in the sources Nuṣrat Kūh, for several months till it was captured; in the next year, the Khān's son Toluy was using Ṭālaḳān as a base for operations against the cities of Khurāsān (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 439, 446-7)

Bibliography: Given in the article.

2. A town of northwestern Persia, apparently in the southern part of the Elburz range, near one of the sources of the Shāh Rūd [*q.v.*], in mediaeval times called both Ṭālaḳān of al-Rayy and Ṭālaḳān of Ḳazwīn, and coming administratively in the province of Djibāl. Although al-Muḳaddasī, 360, speaks of it as a substantial town, which might have been an administrative centre had it not been too close to the frontier (sc. with the turbulent region of Daylam), other sources seem to describe it more as a district with villages. Thus in the 8th/14th century, Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 65, tr. 70, characterises it as a district, largely populated by Sunnīs but with some Ismāʿīlī elements.

Its chief fame in mediaeval times was as the birth place of the great Būyid vizier and littérateur, the Ṣāḥib Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād [see ibn ʿabbād], who consequently had the *nisba* of al-Ṭālaḳānī. The place later disappeared from history, and its exact site is not known, but the valley of Ṭālaḳān is still known and was the place of origin of the modern Āyatullāh Ṭālaḳānī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: See also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 225; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 733-4; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 132.

(C.E. Bosworth)

3. A town of Ṭukhāristān [*q.v.*], on the modern Khānābād river, the ancient river of Ṭālaḳān, considered by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* as the easternmost town of that province, hence adjacent to Badakhshān; this same source spells the name also as Ṭārakān and Ṭāyakān (tr. 63, 109, comm. 339-40; cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 229-31). It lay on the road running eastwards from Balkh, Khulm and Ḳunduz [*q.vv.*] to Kishm in Badakhshān; cf. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, 24. Marco Polo calls it Taican, and mentions its

castle, its corn market and the important deposits of pure salt in the mountains to the south (Yule-Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, i, 153-6; the salt industry is still important in the district today). In the 8th/14th century, Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 156, tr. 153, describes it as populous and flourishing, most of the people being weavers. From the 17th to the mid-19th centuries, Ṭālaḳān was a strategic fortress in the Özbeg amīrate of Ḳaṭaghān founded by Maḥmūd Bī. The English traveller William Moorcroft passed through Ṭālaḳān, estimating the population as considerable but fluctuating, most of these being transhumant Özbegs but with a large minority of sedentary Tādjīk traders, and counting some 1,500 houses (Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab... from 1819 to 1825*, London 1841, repr. Karachi 1979, ii, 456 ff., 482). But in 1859 Ḳaṭaghān was annexed to Afghānistān by the Amīr Dūst Muḥammad's son Sardār Muḥammad Afḍal Khān, despite resistance by the Mīr Atālīk Sulṭān Murād, and from this time onwards, Ḳaṭaghān became an integral part of the kingdom of Afghānistān (J.L. Lee, *The 'Ancient Supremacy'. Bukhara, Afghanistan and the battle for Balkh, 1731-1901*, Leiden 1996, 267-71). The old citadel was destroyed and a new cantonment and bazaar laid out nearby.

The present town of Ṭālaḳān (lat. 36° 44' N., long. 69° 32' E.) is the chef-lieu of Takhār province created in 1964 when the former province of Ḳaṭaghān was divided into three. It has a thriving bazaar and is noted for its fine cloth. The ruins of the earlier town, Tepe Shahr, lie to the west of the modern settlement (W. Ball, *Archaeological gazetteer of Afghanistan*, Paris 1987, i, 267).

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ṬĀLAḲĀNĪ (or Ṭāliḳānī), Āyatullāh Sayyid Maḥmūd (1911-79), prominent Iranian cleric and political activist, one of the outstanding representatives of Shīʿī modernism in Iran and a key figure in the Islamic Revolution in Iran of 1978-9.

He was born in a village of the Ṭālaḳān valley [see ṬĀLAḲĀN. 2] to the northwest of Tehran, to a father who was himself an *ʿālim* and political activist. After studying in Ḳum and Nadjaf, including under such noted teachers as the Āyatullāh Ḥāʾirī Yazdī [see ḤĀʾIRĪ, in Suppl.], he settled at Tehran in 1939, teaching at the Sipahsālār Seminary. He suffered spells of imprisonment and exile from the capital for his religious activities, but after the fall of Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] in 1941, returned to Tehran and collaborated with Mahdī Bāzargān and Yād Allāh Saḥābī in various Muslim societies, such as the *Ḳānūn-i Islāmī*, and later he supported Muṣaddiḳ's [*q.v.*] National Movement. In 1948 he became prayer leader at the Hidāyat Mosque, and this became his main centre of activity for the rest of his life.

In the 1950s to the 1970s, he was again involved in various anti-government organisations, including the National Resistance Movement (*Nahḍat-i Muḳāwamat-i Millī*), gave help to the extremist group of the *Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām* [*q.v.*] and had contacts with the *Mudjāhidīn-i Khalḳ*, set up in 1971 by three of his former pupils and fellow-prisoners. He was imprisoned and exiled from Tehran on various occasions up to 1978. He performed many services important to the triumph and consolidation of the Islamic Revolution; he became a member of both the Revolutionary Council and the Assembly of Experts, and Khumaynī appointed him *Imām Djumʿa* of Tehran, but before his death on 9 September 1979 he openly criticised the clergy's over-engagement in political affairs and the politicisation of religion. He clearly preferred clerical oversight (*wiṣāyat-i fuḳahāʾ*) to clerical rule, having struggled all his life against one-man rule, political or religious, but strove to maintain the unity of the Islamic movement, and emphatically endorsed the correctness of Khumaynī's leadership. Because of his often-ambiguous statements, such diverse groups as Muṣaddiḳ's National Front, ʿAlī Sharīʿatī [*q.v.*], the Islamic Republic leaders and the *Mudjāhidīn-i Khalḳ* have all claimed inspiration from his ideas.

His published works include a multi-volume interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, *Partawī az Ḳurʾān*, expressing *inter alia* a developmental and progressive notion of human history; a re-issue, with his own commentary, of the 1909 treatise on government, *Tanbīh al-umma wa-tanzīh al-milla*, by the pro-Constitutionalist Sh. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nāʾīnī [*q.v.*], which expresses the view that representative government and the rule of law are desirable and both compatible with Shīʿī Islam; and *Islām wa mālikiyyat* ("Islam and ownership") (1965), the first serious and detailed discussion of Islamic economics in Persian.

Bibliography: M. Ṭālaḳānī, Preface to *Tanbīh al-umma wa-tanzīh al-milla*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nāʾīnī, Tehran [2]1955; idem, *Tamarkuz wa-ʿadam-i tamarkuz-i mardjaʿiyyat wa-fatwā*, in *Baḥthī dar bāra-yi mardjaʿiyyat wa-ruḥāniyyat*, Tehran 1962, 201-13; A.K.S. Lambton, *A reconsideration of the position of the marjaʿ al-taqlīd and the religious institution*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xx (1964), 115-35; M. Ṭālaḳānī, *Partawī az Ḳurʾān*, ed. by M.M. Djaʿfarī, Tehran 1979 ff.; idem, *Djihād wa-shahādat*, Solon, Ohio 1979; idem, *Shahādat wa-shawrā*, Tehran 1979; Iskandar Dildam, *Zindagī wa-mubārazāt-i mudjāhid-i nastūh Āyatullāh Ṭālaḳānī*, (Tehran) Intishārāt-i Bihrūz 1979; Bahrām Afrāsiyābī (ed.), *Pidar Ṭālaḳānī dar zindān: sharḥ-i muḥākamāt wa-khāṭirāt*, Tehran 1980; B. Afrāsiyābī and Saʿīd Dihḳān, *Ṭālaḳānī wa-tārīkh*, Tehran n.d. [*ca.* 1980]; M.M.J. Fischer, *Iran: from religious dispute to revolution*, Cambridge, Mass. and London 1980; S. Akhavi, *Religion and politics in contemporary Iran*, Albany 1980; M. Ṭālaḳānī [Sayyid Mahmud Taleghani], *Society and economics in Islam. Writings and declarations*, tr. from the Persian by R. Campbell, with annotations and an introduction by H. Algar, Berkeley 1982; idem, [Seyyed Mahmood Taleqani], *Islam and ownership* (tr. of *Islām wa-mālikiyyat*, 1965, by Ahmad Jabbari and Farhang Rajaee), Lexington, Ky. 1983; *Yādnāma-yi Abū Dharr-i zamān: madjmūʿa-yi zindagīnāma-yi Āyatullāh Ṭālaḳānī ba zabān-i khudash, payāmhā wa-sukhanān-i imām Khumaynī, maḳālāt wa-khāṭirāt, čand sukhanrānī dar Simīnār-i Masdjid-i Hidāyat wa sih athar-i muntashir nashuda az Āyatullāh Ṭālaḳānī*, Tehran 1360 *sh.*/1981; Y. Richard, *Der verborgene Imam. Die Geschichte des Schiismus in Iran*, Berlin 1983, 107 ff.; H. Bashiriyeh, *The state and revolution in Iran, 1962-1982*, London 1984; D. Hiro, *Iran under the Ayatollahs*, London etc. 1985; M. Bayat, *Mahmud Taleqani and the Iranian Revolution*, in M. Kramer (ed.), *Shiʾism, resistance, and revolution*, Boulder, Colo. and London 1987, 67-94; S. Akhavi, *Islam, politics and society in the thought of Ayatullah Khomeini, Ayatullah Taliqani and Ali Shariati*, in *MES*, xxiv (1988), 404-31; E. Abrahamian, *Radical Islam. The Iranian Mojahedin*, London 1989; H.E. Chehabi, *Iranian politics and religious modernism. The Liberation Movement of Iran under the Shah and Khomeini*, Ithaca, N.Y. and London

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(Roswitha Badry, shortened by the Editors)

al-**ṬALAMANKĪ**, Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad . . . b. Ḳarlamān al-Maʿāfirī (340-429/951-1037), Andalusian scholar of the religious sciences, born at Talamanca near Madrid in a frontier zone frequented by ascetics of the *ribāṭs*.

He studied at Cordova, his main master being Ibn ʿAwn Allāh (d. 378/988), an open partisan of the reality of saints' miracles in the polemics then aroused on this subject in the capital, a position equally shared by al-Ṭalamankī (see M. Fierro, in *BSOAS*, lv [1992], 236-49). In the years 375-81/985-91, he travelled abroad and made the Pilgrimage, acquiring a solid grounding in the Ḳur'ānic readings, *ḥadīth* and Ṣūfism, and studying *fiḳh* with both Mālikī and Shāfiʿī masters. On his return, he became *imām* of the Mutʿa mosque at Cordova and taught there without requiring payment. When *fitna* compelled him to leave the capital, he moved permanently to Almeria and Murcia, finally going to teach in the Upper March and acquiring a great number of pupils. At the end of his life, he retired to a *ribāṭ* at Talamanca.

Al-Ṭalamankī's importance resides not only in his numerous pupils but also in his innovatory role in intellectual circles. His biographers stress his expertise in Ḳur'ānic studies but also in non-rationalist theology (*uṣūl al-diyānāt*), and his Ṣūfī tendencies are reflected in the fact that he appears as a link in the mystical *silsila* going up to the Almeria Ṣūfī Ibn al-ʿArīf (d. 536/1141 [*q.v.*]). He wrote many works, notably in the Ḳur'ānic sciences, ascetism and theology, plus a *Fahrasa* and a *Futūḥ al-Shām* (ms. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid coll. Gayangos, no. XVIII). He opposed the extreme doctrines of the Bāṭiniyya and criticised, amongst others, the Ṣūfī Ibn Masarra, but also equally refuted the Mālikī jurist Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, who denied the reality of saints' miracles.

During a stay at Saragossa in 425/1035, al-Ṭalamankī was accused of being too radical in his condemnation of reprovable actions, of becoming guilty of *mukhālafāt al-sunna* and of being a Ḥarūrī or Khāridjite. The basis of this last accusation would seem to be his opinion that the *bayʿa* was due to God and, in regard to the exhortation of *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, that the head of the community should be the best Muslim and that all Muslims judged by him to be in rebellion against God were to be put to death. Another accusation seems to have arisen from al-Ṭalamankī's being at the head of a group (*djamāʿa*), whose leading man (*awwal*) he was. The *ḳāḍī* of Saragossa rejected the accusations and produced a certificate attesting his innocence. It is not impossible that these attacks on al-Ṭalamankī were related to his stance on the imāmate, crucial at that time. Against the partisans of the Umayyads and Ḥammūdids, and against those who ventured to propose the ambiguous solution consisting in designating the *imām ʿabd allāh*, generally identified with the ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Ṭalamankī's solution seems to have been that the *imām* ought to be the best Muslim of the community, quite apart from his *nasab*. This way was the one to be followed a century later by the Ṣūfī Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*].

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(Maribel Fierro)

TALAS [see ṭarāz].

ṬALʿAT BEY (Pasha), Meḥmed (1872-1921), a moving spirit in the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP, *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*]) before and after the 1908 revolution, minister and Grand Vizier (1917-18). He was born in the border town of Edirne to a lower middle-class family. His father died when he was eighteen, and he became the family's bread winner, entering the postal service as a clerk. Ṭalʿat also taught Turkish and learned French at the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* school in Edirne. He became active in the underground opposition against Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] and was arrested in 1895. After serving two years in prison, he was pardoned and exiled to the bustling, cosmopolitan city of Salonika, where he again joined the secret constitutional movement. In 1906, he was one of the founders of the Ottoman Liberty Committee (*ʿOthmānlī Ḥürriyyet Djemʿiyyeti*), which then affiliated with the CUP.

After the restoration of the constitution in July 1908, Ṭalʿat, described as the "the internal secretary", was perhaps the single most important member of the CUP, though he lacked the charisma of an Enwer Pasha [*q.v.*]. He was elected deputy for Edirne in 1908, and served that constituency until 1918. Unable to take power directly, the Committee tried to control the government through parliament. But rivalry between its secret bodies like the central committee (*merkez-i ʿumūmī*) and the parliamentary group made this difficult, and Ṭalʿat, who was a member of both bodies, had the unenviable task of mediating between them and reconciling their differences. He was elected Vice-President of the Chamber, and in July 1909 led the parliamentary delegation to the capitals of Europe to explain the revolution.

The Unionists wanted to exercise power indirectly by having their deputies appointed as under-secretaries to important ministries. But when this manoeuvre failed, they decided to assume office directly. Therefore, in August 1909, Ṭalʿat entered the cabinet in the critical post of Minister of the Interior in the cabinets of Ḥilmī [*q.v.*] and Ḥaḳḳī Pasha [*q.v.*]. He was forced to resign on 10 February 1911 because chauvinists in the assembly claimed that he had not taken sufficiently harsh measures to quell rebellions in Albania, Macedonia and the Yemen. He was elected president of the parliamentary party (21 February 1911) and again became Interior Minister (and later Minister of Posts and Telegraph) in Saʿīd Pasha's [*q.v.*] cabinet in 1912. When the CUP was ousted from power in July 1912 by a military *coup d'état*, Ṭalʿat rallied the Unionists and organised a Committee of National Defence during the Balkan Wars on the model of the Jacobins in the French Revolution, emerging as the CUP's "Danton".

Ṭalʿat was instrumental in organising the Unionist

coup d'état of 23 January 1913 and the recapture of Edirne from the Bulgarians. He again entered the Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pas̲h̲a cabinet as Interior Minister in June 1913 following the assassination of Maḥmūd S̲h̲ewḳat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. His appointment was a victory for the civilian wing of the CUP over the military faction which sought D̲j̲emāl Pas̲h̲a's appointment to this post. As Interior Minister, he was held responsible for the brutal implementation of the 1915 law to deport the Armenian population from the war zones. When Sa'īd Ḥalīm resigned in February 1917, Ṭal'at was appointed Grand Vizier with the rank of Pas̲h̲a. He retained the portfolio for interior affairs and also acted as Finance Minister until D̲j̲āwīd Bey's appointment. Because of his personal integrity and modesty, and his tendency to please everyone, he was acceptable to the various factions in the CUP, which he kept united. His government's dependence on Germany forced him to declare war on the United States and to make concessions when he negotiated the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918. When he saw that the war was lost, he resigned on 8 October to make way for a non-Unionist government which might obtain better armistice terms from the victors. He then convened the last congress of the CUP on November 1 and dissolved the organisation. On the same day, he and some other prominent Unionists left Istanbul for Germany, where he lived until his assassination in Berlin on 15 March 1921 by Soghomon Tehlirian, an Armenian nationalist.

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(Feroz Ahmad)

ṬAL'AT PAS̲H̲A, MEḤMED [see Suppl.].

TALBIYA (a.), the invocation made in a loud voice and repeatedly by the pilgrim when he enters the state of ritual taboo (*iḥrām*) for the Pilgrimage at Mecca [see ḤAD̲J̲D̲J̲].

This moment begins on entering the *Ḥaram* or sacred area and at the points where the pilgrims gather together (*mawāḳīt*) on the boundaries of the enclosure. Amongst the practices to be followed by the pilgrims are prayers and movements (see T. Fahd, *Les pratiques musulmanes*, in *Atlas des religions*, Encylopaedia Universalis, Paris 1988, 319-23). On entering the sacred territory, the pilgrim expresses his intention to make the Pilgrimage by repeating the formula "Here I am! Here I am! O Allāh, Who has no associate! To You are praise, grace and power! Here I am!" It is after this necessary condition, with the state of ritual taboo and by this predisposition, that the ritual of the Pilgrimage properly begins.

Like other parts of the Meccan Pilgrimage, the *talbiya* goes back to ancient times, certainly to that of Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], reformer of the cult in Mecca. All the tribes had such a formula when visiting their idols, and especially when undertaking the Meccan Pilgrimage, the greatest and most famous in the Arabian peninsula. Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) in his *Tafsīr* of Ḳur'ān, XXII, 31, gives a list of 56 *talbiyas*, of a composite and even artificial nature (see text and comm. by M.J. Kister, Labbayka, Allāhumma, labbayka. *On a monotheistic aspect of a Jāhiliyya practice*, in *JSAI* [1980], ii, 33-57, repr. with 9 pp. of additional notes in his *Society and religion from Jāhiliyya to Islam*, Variorum, London 1990, no. 1). Also, Sayyid Mu'aẓẓam Ḥusayn gathered together 28 formulae of the pre-Islamic tribes uttered when entering the *Ḥaram* (*Talbiyât al-Jâhiliyya*, in *Procs. of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference*, 1937, 361-9), mentioning only as his source Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, who, in his *Risālat al-G̲h̲ufrān*, gives seven versified *talbiyas* (Cairo 1382/1963, 535). Kister has also analysed the material in Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb's *Muḥabbar*, 311-15, Muḳātil (see above) and al-Ya'ḳūbī in his *Ta'rīk̲h̲*, i, 296-7.

Talbiya denotes the act of reciting formulae beginning with *labbay-ka*, (< form II verb *labbā*, in the sense of form IV *alabba* "halt, set foot in a place", referring to the arrival of the pilgrims at the boundaries of the *Ḥaram* and their alighting from their mounts, and then placing themselves, by this formula, at the disposal of Allāh, master of the place, by entering into a state of sacralisation.

An example, using the numbering adopted by Kister from Muḳātil, is as follows:

The *talbiya* of the Ḥums [*q.v.*] (nos. 1, 17, 32), a group concerned with the religious cult and religious life in Mecca, grouping together such leading tribes as Ḳurays̲h̲, K̲h̲uzā'a, Kināna and 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a:

Labbayka Allāhumma! Labbayka! Lā s̲h̲arīk laka illā s̲h̲arīk^{an} huwa laka tamlikuhu wa-mā malaka! (no. 1), translatable as:

"Here we are (as if it were *labbaynā-ka*), O Allāh! Here we are! You have no associate, unless it is an associate whom You dominate and who has no power (or possibly, "unless it is an associate of whom You are master with what he possesses)!" (i.e. taking *mā* here as a relative pronoun rather than as a negative).

There is also another *talbiya* of the Ḥums (no. 45) and *talbiyas* of Tamīm (no. 3) and Rabī'a (nos. 4, 17, 38). Noteworthy is the one of Bakr b. Wā'il (no. 50), a component tribe of Rabī'a, with some Christian sections, notably in the S̲h̲aybān and 'Id̲j̲l [*q.vv.*]. These Christians seem to have attended the Pilgrimage under the banner of Rabī'a, with the aim of trading:

Labbayka Allāhumma! Labbayka! Labbayka 'an Rabī'a, samī'a wa-muṭī'a, li-rabb^{in} mā yu'badu fī kanīsa wa-bī'a, ḳad k̲h̲allafat awt̲h̲ānahā fī 'iṣmat^{in} manī'a:

"Here we are, O Allāh, here we are! Here we are in the name of the Rabī'a, submissive and obedient to a certain (*mā*) God, worshipped in a church and a synagogue. They have left behind them their idols in a well-guarded place."

The *mā* could be taken as a negative, but this seems unlikely, for Allāh of the Ka'ba was, in the eyes of Arab Christians in pre-Islamic times, if only nominally, the one whom the Jews and Christians used to invoke in their places of worship. If the Rabī'a, pagans and nomads, did not come for gain, the Christians amongst

them came under their banner to trade. It is unthinkable that trading should be excluded in such a panegyric. If the Ḳur'ān, II, 198, considers it as licit, it must have been practised, if only by Christians and Jews, whilst Judaeo-Christians (? Ebionites) [see ṢĀBI'A] who lived at Mecca must inevitably have been associated in this great annual event which brought prosperity to the town.

The above examples (see for further analyses of *talbiyas*, Kister, *op. cit.*) give an idea of the *talbiyas*' form, close to that of rhymed and assonantal *sadj*ʿ [*q.v.*]. They announced the entry of the official tribal representatives into the *Ḥaram* and could not have an individual character. Whereas Islam, substituting the individual for the tribe and preaching brotherhood between believers, made the *talbiya* into a personal invocation, that of the individual before Allāh, who was to perform the rites of the Pilgrimage with a personal guide; hence the phrase "Here we are" becomes "Here I am".

The Islamic *talbiya* is pronounced with the *tahlīl* [*q.v.*], "the joy felt at seeing the new moon", which opens the ceremonies. One should note that the moon is called *hilāl* in the last two nights (26th and 27th) of the lunar month and the first two (1st and 2nd) of the following month. It is thus called because people raise their voices to hail it (*TʿA*, s.v.). The pilgrim is only *muḥrim* when he has pronounced the *talbiya* in a loud voice (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, 147; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik*, 56). According to al-Bukhārī, *Ṣayd*, 18, the Prophet ordained the *ihlāl* for the pilgrim, saying that he received the command to do this from Djibrīl (Gabriel), and Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 217, says that the *talbiya* is the ornament (*zīna*) of the Pilgrimage.

The passive verb *uhilla* is used in the Ḳur'ān II, 173, etc., in the sense of bloody offerings to the gods. Should one see here sacrifices made at the appearance of the new moon, as Ḳur'ān II, 189, suggests? In the *Ḥadīth*, *ahalla* is used for sacrifices to Manāt (Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, 26; Ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 192).

Finally, one may note that *talbiya* has become a synonym of *iḥrām*, sacralisation, and *ihlāl*, jubilation (*TʿA*, s.vv.), i.e. psalmody, with the jubilation of the invocation formula by which the *muḥrim* pilgrim proclaims his *islām*, submission, to the One God (*tawḥīd*).

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(T. FAHD)

TALDJI'A [see ḤIMĀYA].

TALFĪḲ (A.), a notion in Islamic law.

1. In classical Islamic law.

The basic meaning of *lafaḳa* and form II *laffaḳa* is "to sew (a garment) together (by joining two lengths of cloth)", whence "to patch together", and by an extension of meaning, "to piece together (a verse or story), to concoct", which is close to the legal meaning. In legal jargon, *talfīḳ* connotes the bringing together of certain elements of two or more doctrines in such a manner as to create therefrom yet another, different doctrine. It is to be noted that no technical dictionary lists the term (in any of its forms), and that the strictly technical connotation attached to the concept in modern legal reform is absent from classical and mediaeval juristic discourse. In fact, the verb form *lafaḳa* seems to have been as commonly in use as the verbal noun *talfīḳ*.

In pre-modern juristic works, the notion of *laffaḳa*/*talfīḳ* arises in the context of departing from the doctrine of the *mudjtahid* [see IDJTIHĀD], whom the layman otherwise follows. One type of such a departure is to combine in a single transaction two or more elements from the doctrines of two or more *mudjtahids*. This combination may acquire one of two forms. The first is what may be termed a synchronic combination, as when an individual enters into a marriage contract without having a guardian (*walī*) or witnesses. Here, the individual would be combining elements of the Ḥanafī and Mālikī schools, for the Mālikīs consider matrimonial contracts to be valid without the existence of witnesses (though they would be required for the consummation of marriage); and Abū Ḥanīfa held that the marriage of a free woman who is of age and of sound mind—whether a virgin or not—is valid through her consent, even if no guardian is involved. The second is what may be called a diachronic combination, namely, when another school's or *mudjtahid*'s doctrine is followed in a transaction whose juridical effect (*athar*) has not been completely exhausted. An example in point is the case of an individual who exercises the right of pre-emption (*shufʿa* [*q.v.*]) according to the Ḥanafī school, which allows the adjoining neighbour to exercise such a right. Once in possession of the property, and in a future sale, he adopts the Shāfiʿī or Mālikī doctrine which restricts the right of pre-emption only to the co-owner and does not acknowledge the adjoining neighbour as enjoying this right. Both of these forms of *talfīḳ* were considered downright unlawful. A *talfīḳ* may be deemed lawful only if a *mudjtahid* shows that his combination is grounded in textual evidence (*dalīl*).

Bibliography: *LʿA*, x, 330-31; Ibn Naḳīb al-Miṣrī, *ʿUmdat al-sālik*, tr. N. Keller, *The reliance of the traveller*, Evanston 1993, 871-3; Ibn Amīr al-Ḥādjdj, *al-Taḳrīr wa 'l-taḥbīr*, Būlāḳ 1899, iii, 352; anon., *Risāla fī 'l-Taḳlīd*, in L. Wiederhold, *Legal doctrines in conflict: the relevance of* madhhab *boundaries to legal reasoning in the light of an unpublished treatise on* taqlīd *and* ijtihād, in *Islamic Law and Society*, iii/2 (1996).

(WAEL B. HALLAQ)

2. In modern Islamic legislation.

Talfīḳ, an extension of the eclectic (*takhayyur*) expedient, designates any modern legislative enactment which combines, in a single statutory provision, parts of doctrines of more than one recognised Sunnī school. In its extreme form, the juristic opinions invoked may not only be mutually contradictory, but the statutory provision in its entirety might be such that it would not have been approved by any of the authoritative schools or jurists.

The components of the doctrines are selected on the basis of their suitability for changing social conditions regardless of their historical and systematic contexts. This expedient, inspired strongly by the liberally-oriented modernist movement in Islam, has been used extensively in matters of personal status, succession and *waḳf*. Although traditionally the ruler has the right to impose on the *ḳāḍīs* the chosen opinions of the ancient authorities, today the application of *talfīḳ* by sovereign parliaments actually undermines the doctrine of *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*], and signifies the transition of Islamic law from jurists' law to statutory law [see TASHRĪʿ].

Bibliography: N.J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, 197-200; J.N.D. Anderson, *Law reform in the Muslim world*, London 1976, 55-58; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, London 1964, 68 n., 106; A. Layish, *The contribution of the modernists to the secularization of Islamic law*, in *MES*, xiv/3 (1978), 263-77; Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Taḳrīr fī iṣlāḥ al-maḥākim al-sharʿiyya*, Cairo 1900, v-vii, 15, 152-3.

(A. LAYISH)

ṬALḤA B. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH, prominent Companion of Muḥammad, is counted among the first

eight converts to Islam and the ten *mubas̲h̲s̲h̲ara*, those to whom the Prophet had promised Paradise. He belonged to the clan of Taym b. Murra of Ḳurays̲h̲ and thus was a kinsman of Abū Bakr, but was about twenty years younger than he. The two were evidently closely associated and were known as the "two mates (*ḳarīnān*)." According to the prevalent explanation, they were thus named because during the early persecution of the Muslims they were once tied together with a single rope. According to another explanation, the young Ṭalḥa was made by his father a close associate of Abū Bakr. Ṭalḥa's mother was al-Ṣaʿba, daughter of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿImād al-Ḥaḍramī, confederate of Ḥarb b. Umayya.

According to his own account, Ṭalḥa was told by a monk in Buṣrā about the advent of "the last of the prophets." After hurriedly returning to Mecca, he was introduced by Abū Bakr to Muḥammad and accepted Islam. He continued carrying on his caravan trade in Syria and did not join the emigration to Abyssinia. At the time of Muḥammad's and Abū Bakr's *hid̲j̲ra*, he met them on the way at al-K̲h̲arrār as he came from Syria. He provided them with clothes from Syria and information about the Muslims in Medina. Then he went on to Mecca and later escorted the family of Abū Bakr, including ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, to Medina. Just before the battle of Badr, Muḥammad sent him, together with Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, to spy on the Meccan caravan. The two were thus not present at the battle, but were given their share of the booty. At Uḥud he greatly distinguished himself by personally shielding the Prophet. He killed two Meccans and received numerous wounds, one of which left one or two of his fingers paralysed. It was for his bravery on that occasion that Muḥammad promised him Paradise. He participated in all later campaigns and battles of the Prophet.

After Muḥammad's death, Ṭalḥa backed his kinsman Abū Bakr. Isolated reports of Ibn Isḥāḳ and others that he initially stayed with ʿAlī and refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr are unreliable. He took a prominent part in the battle of D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaṣṣa which opened the war of the *Ridda*. Before Abū Bakr's death he is said to have vainly protested against the caliph's choice of ʿUmar as his successor, complaining about the latter's rough treatmemt of Muslims even during Abū Bakr's reign. It is not impossible that he already aspired himself to the caliphate. ʿUmar appointed him one of the six electors and candidates for the succession. At the time of ʿUmar's death, however, he was not present in Medina and thus did not participate in the election of ʿUt̲h̲mān. When he returned to Medina, he displayed his dissatisfaction about his exclusion from the election remarking that he was not someone whose views could be ignored. ʿUt̲h̲mān is said to have offered to resign to allow a fresh election, but Ṭalḥa, having made his point, pledged allegiance to him. ʿUt̲h̲mān at first made special efforts to gain his backing by generous gifts. According to Ṭalḥa's son Mūsā, the caliph's presents to Ṭalḥa amounted to 200,000 dīnārs. ʿUt̲h̲mān also allowed him to exchange his share in the oasis of K̲h̲aybar for the highly lucrative estate of al-Nas̲h̲tāstad̲j̲ near Kūfa. Ṭalḥa soon, however, turned against him and eventually became his harshest critic among the major Companions. He wrote letters to the provincial garrison towns summoning them to revolt against the caliph. During the siege of ʿUt̲h̲mān's palace in Medina, he took possession of the treasury keys and kept close contact with the besieging Egyptian rebels. He evidently shared their aim of forcing ʿUt̲h̲mān out of office and expected, with strong backing from ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, to be chosen as his successor.

After the murder of ʿUt̲h̲mān, Ṭalḥa at first had some support among the Egyptian rebels and the Ḳurays̲h̲ present in Medina. The Kūfan rebels favouring ʿAlī, however, soon gained the upper hand, being backed by the great majority of the Anṣār. Ṭalḥa was dragged by the Kūfan leader al-As̲h̲tar to the mosque to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī against his will, though no physical force or threats were used in the presence of ʿAlī. He and al-Zubayr, who also pledged allegiance against his will, absconded within days to Mecca, where they joined ʿĀʾis̲h̲a in claiming revenge for the blood of ʿUt̲h̲mān and declaring ʿAlī responsible for the murder. They jointly led a Meccan army to Baṣra seeking support and promising a new election after the removal of ʿAlī. There was intense rivalry between Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr as the latter, having loyally backed ʿUt̲h̲mān to the end, considered himself better entitled to the succession. Ṭalḥa was treacherously murdered by ʿUt̲h̲mān's cousin Marwān b. al-Ḥakam in the Battle of the Camel (15 D̲j̲umādā I 36/8 December 656) as ʿAlī and the Kūfans were gaining the upper hand. Marwān, fighting in the Meccan army, hit Ṭalḥa's knee with an arrow, causing profuse bleeding from which he died. The reports that Ṭalḥa was killed by Marwān have been dismissed by L. Caetani and other modern scholars as anti-Umayyad fiction. They are corroborated, however, by the fact that Marwānid propaganda in Syria during the second *fitna* proudly proclaimed Marwān as the first avenger of the caliph ʿUt̲h̲mān on account of his deed.

Ṭalḥa's eldest son, the pious Muḥammad, was also killed in the Battle of the Camel. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, who survived the battle, was pardoned by ʿAlī and allowed to take possession of Ṭalḥa's vast fortune, including land holdings in ʿIrāḳ and the Sarāt in Arabia, for his family. Ṭalḥa's wealth seems to have been surpassed only by that of ʿUt̲h̲mān among the early Companions. Like ʿUt̲h̲mān, he is described as a generous benefactor of the early Muslim community.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 152-61; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1323-25, iii, 290-2; Caetani, *Annali*, ix, 380-99 and indices s.v.; N. Abbott, *Aishah, the Beloved of Mohammad*, Chicago 1942, index s.v.; W. Madelung, *The succession to Muḥammad*, Cambridge 1997. (W. Madelung)

ṬALḤAT al-ṬALAḤĀT "Ṭalḥa of the Ṭalḥas", the name by which the early Islamic Arab commander Abū Muḥammad Ṭalḥa b. ʿAbd Allāh b. K̲h̲alaf al-K̲h̲uzāʿī was known. Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 88, tr. de Slane, ii, 53, explains that he got this cognomen because his mother's name was Ṭalḥa bt. Abī Ṭalḥa. On his mother's side he was connected with Ḳurays̲h̲ (Caskel-Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 555).

He appears in Umayyad history as governor of Sīstān around the end of the caliphate of Yazīd I, being appointed by the governor of K̲h̲urāsān Salm b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] just after an Arab raid into eastern Afg̲h̲ānistān had ended in disaster and Arab captives had to be ransomed from the local rulers of Zamīndāwar and Kābul. The chronology is uncertain, but Ṭalḥa apparently began his term of office in early 64/end of 683 or mid-64/early 684; coins minted by him in Sīstān are extant for the years 64 and 65. After incurring Salm's wrath, he lost office, was reappointed, but died shortly afterwards and was buried in Sīstān, probably in 65/684-5, mourned by such poets in his entourage as Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt and Abū Ḥuzāba al-Ḥanẓalī. It was presumably when

Ṭalḥa was governor of Sīstān that Ruzayḳ, the great-grandfather of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], founder of the line of Ṭāhirid governors in Khurāsān, became his *mawlā*.

Bibliography: In addition to the Arabic histories of Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, and Ṭabarī, see also the Persian ones of Gardīzī and the anonymous *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*. These are utilised in C.E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 45-6, and G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 87-8. (C.E. Bosworth)

AL-ṬĀLIʿ (A.), literally "that which rises".

1. Astronomical aspects.

Al-ṭāliʿ is that point of the ecliptic which is rising over the horizon at a given moment, called the ascendent or horoscopus (and sometimes, incorrectly, the horoscope); see the diagram in MAṬĀLIʿ. The determination of the ascendent is necessary in mathematical astrology [see NUDJŪM, AḤKĀM AL-] before one can calculate the instantaneous positions of the 12 astrological houses (*al-buyūt*); with these determined, one can then investigate in which houses the sun, moon and five naked-eye planets are situated and then make the appropriate astrological prognostications.

Muslim astronomers generally determined the ascendent by first finding the time of day or night [see MĪḲĀT], this by means of an observation of the altitude of the sun or a bright star and the application of a trigonometric calculation or the use of an astronomical instrument such as an astrolabe or quadrant [see ASṬURLĀB and RUBʿ]. Then by using tables of ascensions [see MAṬĀLIʿ] or an astrolabe, the instantaneous position of the ascendent could be ascertained. The opposite point of the ecliptic, called the descendant (*al-ghārib*), and the points of the ecliptic instantaneously culminating on the meridian at upper and lower mid-heaven (*wasaṭ al-samāʾ*) could be found in the same way. These four points provided the basis for determining the houses, the first starting with the ascendent, the fourth with lower mid-heaven, the seventh with the descendant and the tenth with upper mid-heaven. Various mathematical procedures were available for smoothing the lengths of the houses around the ecliptic (*taswiyat al-buyūt*).

The Rasūlid astronomer Abu ʾl-ʿUḳūl (in Taʿizz, *ca.* 700/1300) compiled an extensive set of tables from which one could simply read the longitude of the ascendent at day as a function of the solar longitude and the solar altitude, and at night as a function of the solar longitude and the altitude of various fixed stars. Likewise, some astrolabe plates, particularly those of the Andalusian Ibn Bāṣo (Cordova, *ca.* 700/1300), have special markings for finding the houses for a particular latitude directly. But generally the determination of the houses at a particular time in a specific latitude was a tedious mathematical operation.

The positions of the sun, moon and planets at that time could either be calculated from the tables in an astronomical handbook of the genre known as *zīdj* [*q.v.*] or taken from an ephemeris giving positions for each day at midday [see TAḲWĪM]. The location of each of the seven bodies in a given house had astrological significance, as well as their positions relative to each other, and particularly with respect to the moon (see *ibid.*).

The resulting horoscope [see ZĀʾIRADJA] might be included in an ephemeris, showing prognostications for the beginning of a given year or for an eclipse occurring during that year, or in a nativity book, showing prognostications for each year in the life of an individual. A string of horoscopes might be recorded in an astrological history, be it of individuals or dynasties, or of conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn, which according to a theory adopted from Sāsānid astrology were deemed to be of singular astrological significance for religious and political changes.

A popular notion (associated with Vettius Valens) was that the length of life (*ʿumr al-mawlūd*) of an individual was related to the horoscopus at birth. Another was that the duration of the foetus in the mother's womb was related to the horoscopus at conception (*masḳaṭ al-nuṭfa*) and the horoscopus at birth.

Bibliography: For the basic notions, see R.R. Wright, *The Book of instruction in ... astrology by ... al-Bīrūnī*, London 1934, 149 ff.; E.S. Kennedy, *Spherical astronomy in Kāshī's* Khāqānī Zīj, in *ZGAIW*, ii (1985), 1-46, esp. 42-6; idem, *Treatise V of al-Kāshī's* Khāqānī Zīj. *Determination of the ascendent*, to appear in *ibid.*; and idem, *Ibn Muʿādh on the astrological houses*, in *ibid.*, ix (1994), 153-60. See also idem and D. Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshāʾallāh*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971; L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The horoscope of Asadullah Mirza. A specimen of nineteenth-century Persian astrology*, Leiden 1977; E.S. Kennedy, *An astrological history based on the career of Genghis Khan*, in S. Seikaly *et alii* (eds.), *Quest for understanding. Arabic and Islamic studies in memory of Malcolm H. Kerr*, Beirut 1991, 223-31; and D.A. King, *Some Arabic copies of Vettius Valens' table for calculating the duration of life*, in G. Endress (ed.), *Symposium Graeco-Arabicum II*, Amsterdam 1989, 25-8. (D.A. King)

2. Astrological aspects.

These start from the application of the term in astronomy (see 1. above) to a star (*nadjm*) whose movement is from above to below the horizon, or of a planet (*kawkab*) whose movement is from south to north, traversing the plane of the ecliptic. One speaks therefore of the ascending node of a planetary orbit, of ascending degrees and ascending latitudes. The ascending signs denote those during which the sun appears to rise on the horizon, sc. Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries, Taurus and Gemini. Hence, in astrological terminology, "the ascendent is the zodiacal sign which rises on the horizon at the first moment of a man or woman's birth" (Littré, s.v.). The astrologers derive indications from these astral positions and from their movements.

Other terms used to describe such positions and movements are: *ḳirānāt* or *iḳtirānāt* "conjunctions", in regard to the relationships between stars; *mumāzadjāt* "coincidences" of planets between themselves; *ittiṣālāt* relations of planets between themselves; *ishrāf* "apogee" of a planet; *hubūṭ* "declension" of a planet; *raʾs*, Lat. *caput*, the ascendent node in opposition to *dhanab*, Lat. *cauda*, descendant node (the pl. *ruʾūs* denotes "the direction of the zenith". For the main planets of the solar system, the line of the nodes, taken into consideration, is connected with the plane of the ecliptic (cf. Nallino, in his *Raccolta*, v, 396); *ghurūb* "setting" of the planets; *rudjūʿ*, their retrograde motion; *istiḳāma* their "direct course"; *muḳābala* "opposition" of the planets in the signs of the Zodiac; *ḥurūḳ* "fire", which springs into flame on the planets when they find themselves in the signs of the Zodiac (involving here the "comet tails", *shuhub*, Grk. αἰφλόγος, Lat. *flammae accense*, see Nallino, *op. cit.*, 16); *mudabbir*, Grk. κύριος "regent", said of a planet whose ascendent is in one of the signs of the Zodiac; and *ṭulūʿ al-shaʿrā al-ʿabūr* "heliacal rising of Sirius". All these terms play a decisive role in interpreting the movements of the planets and stars within the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

In regard to the ascendent, one can derive examples from the revolutions of the years and their ascendent stars (*taḥwīl al-sinīn wa-ṭawāliʿihā*), e.g. indications of the revolution of the years when the ascendent is the sign of Leo, or the sign Virgo with Mercury as regent, Libra with Venus, Scorpio with Mars, etc., and the same procedure for the conjunctions, oppositions, appearance of comets' tails, etc.

For the applications of these principles in daily life, see FA'L; in astrological predictions, see DJAFR; ḤURŪF; in divination through weather phenomena, see MALḤAMA; in the construction of horoscopes, see NUDJŪM, AḤKĀM AL-; and in hemerology, *electiones*, see IKHTIYĀRĀT and SAʿD AND NAḤS. Thus omens at birth, and the choice of days and hours, derive from the principles governing the connections of the stars with each other. Knowledge of these connections makes up the essence of astrological divination, of theurgy [see SIḤR] and the talismanic art [see ṬALSAM].

The anonymous ms. Aya Sofya 2684, used for this article, gives indications for the signs of the Zodiac and their regents, sc. Taurus-Mars, Taurus-Venus, Gemini-Mercury, Cancer-the Moon, Leo-the Sun, etc. (see Fahd, *Divination*, 494).

Bibliography: See also Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, 488 ff.

(T. FAHD)

ṬALĪʿA (A.), a term of military organisation, meaning an advance guard or reconnaissance force (pl. *ṭalāʾiʿ*).

It is said to refer to either an individual or a small group (three or four men) which was sent ahead of the main army to obtain information regarding the enemy (Lane, i, 1870a), although it is evident from descriptions of battles, at least from the later Middle Ages, that much larger bodies of soldiers were called by this term. According to *TʿA*, the *ṭalīʿa* was like a *djāsūs* [*q.v.*], and in fact, even in later times, the line between reconnaissance and espionage is not always clear. The term is often translated as vanguard, but this leads to some confusion, since the latter word should be reserved for the *muḳaddama*, which represents a separate corps of the regular army, such as in the *taʿbiʾa* formation (see ḤARB. ii. The Caliphate, at vol. III, 182). In later military manuals, much attention is devoted to the role of the advance guard. Al-Anṣārī (d. 811/1408) writes that they should be a small group of lightly-armed cavalry, whose soldiers (and horses it might be added) should be carefully picked. The importance of secure communications with the main body and its commander is emphasised, as is the necessity of caution, especially against enemy ambushes. These reconnaissance troops are also known as *kashshāfa*, literally "scouts" (G.T. Scanlon, *A Muslim manual of war*, Cairo 1961, 51-3 of Arabic text; see also ḤARB. iii. The Mamlūk Sultanate, at vol. III, 185). Another synonym for *ṭalīʿa* is the Persian term *yazak*: the Mongol advanced guard at Gaza in the summer of 658/1260 is referred to as *ṭalīʿa* in an Arabic source (Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Vatican Ar. 726, fol. 245a) and *yazak* by Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* = *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1836, 346-7). Shortly afterwards, on the eve of the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] the Mamlūk advance guard commanded by Baybars is referred to by one source as a *ṭalīʿa* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, Cairo 1934-73, i, 430) and by another as a *shālīsh* (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, viii, ed. U. Haarmann, Freiburg-Cairo 1971, 49). But the latter Persian term (also written *čālīsh*) is usually understood to be the equivalent to *muḳaddama*, as is clearly seen from a description of the Mamlūk order of the battle at Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] in 681/1280 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ms. B.L. Add. 23325, fols. 113b-114a).

Bibliography: R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 427; D.R. Hill, *The role of the camel and the horse in the early Arab conquests*, in V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp (eds.), *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, London 1975, 32-43.

(R. AMITAI-PREISS)

ṬĀLIB ĀMULĪ, an Indo-Persian poet of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, b. at an unknown date (*ca.* 987/1579?), d. 1036/1626-7.

A native of Āmul in Māzandarān, he was a cousin of the famous physician and poet Ḥakīm Ruknā Kāshī, who had gone to India before Ṭālib's arrival in that country. Despite the fact that his works include *ḳaṣīdas* in praise of Shāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*], there is no evidence that he was ever attached to the Ṣafawid court, and his earliest patrons seem to have been high officials. Via Kāshān and Marw, he eventually migrated to seek his fortune in India, and after being patronised by various provincial governors and leading officials, finally gained entry to the court of the Mughal Emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*]. The high point of his career was the Emperor's appointment of him as poet laureate at his court, but he seems to have developed some sort of mental illness in the last years of his life, dying comparatively young.

Ṭālib's complete poems as published (*Kulliyyāt*, ed. Ṭāhirī Shihāb, Tehran 1346/1967) comprise some 23,000 couplets. They include *ḳaṣīdas*, including some addressed to ʿAlī, an indication of the poet's possibly Shīʿī sympathies, various other types of verse-form, including *mathnawīs*, but above all, *ghazals*, which are central to his literary contribution.

Ṭālib was generally praised by the *tadhkira* writers for the quality of his verse, although Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar in his *Ātashkada* was disapproving, reflecting his dislike for the "Indian style" (*sabk-i hindī* [*q.v.*]). Ṭālib in fact contributed to what might be called the transitional phase of this style. The merit of his verse lies chiefly in the novelty of similes and metaphors and in his innovative skill in the construction of word compounds. The dominant sentiment is, however, one of sadness arising from a sense of failure and disappointment.

Bibliography: In addition to the standard *tadhkira* writers, up to and including Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, iii, Aʿẓamgaṛh 1945, see Rieu, *B.M. catalogue*, ii, ms. Add. 5630; *Bankipore cat.*, iii, Calcutta 1912; Browne, LHP, iv; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v.; Khʷādja ʿAbd al-Rashīd, *Tadhkira-yi Ṭālib Āmulī*, Karachi 1965; N.L. Rahman, *Persian literature in India during the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan*, Baroda 1970; *Urdū dāʾira-yi maʿārif-i islāmiyya*, xii, Lahore 1973; Nabī Hādī, *Mughaloṅ ke malik al-shuʿarāʾ*, Allāhābād 1978; Aḥmad Gulčīn Maʿānī, *Kārwān-i Hind*, i, Mashhad 1369/1990; Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/2, Tehran 1372/1993; Rypka *et alii*, *Hist. of Iranian literature*; S.A.H. Abidi, *Ṭālib-i-Āmulī, his life and poetry*, in *IC*, xli/2 (1967).

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN, shortened by the Editors)

ṬĀLIBŪF (TALIBOV), ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM, Persian writer and intellectual of the 19th century (b. Tabrīz 1250/1834, d. 1329/1911).

At *ca.* sixteen, he left for Tiflis (Tbilisi) in Transcaucasia, where he learned the Russian language and was exposed to the writings of Russian writers as well as to Western political ideas. Subsequently, he settled in Tamir Khān Shūra (present-day Buynaksk), capital of Dāghistān. In *ca.* 1306/1888 he joined Sayyid Muḥammad Shabistarī (afterwards editor of *Īrān-i naw*)

in starting in Istanbul the paper *Shāhsawan*, of which only one number was published (see E.G. Browne, *The press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 106-7; Muḥammad Ṣadr Hāshimī, *Tārīkh-i djarāʾid u madjallāt-i Īrān*, Iṣfahān n.d., iii, 56). In 1906, after the proclamation of a constitutional régime in Persia, he was elected in his absence to the Persian parliament but, for reasons which remain unclear, he decided against taking up his seat and stayed on in Russia. He died in Tamir Khān Shūra.

Ṭālibūf was the author of several books, both original and translated, which enjoyed much prestige during their time. Among them, *Safīna-yi Ṭālibī* "Ṭālib's journal" (Istanbul 1311-12/1893-4), *Masālik al-muḥsinīn* "The ways of the charitable" (Cairo 1323/1905), and *Masāʾil al-ḥayāt* "Problems of life" (Tiflis 1324/1906) deserve special consideration because of their literary significance. The first-named work, also called *Kitāb-i Aḥmad*, was inspired, according to the author, by Rousseau's *Emile*. In the second, Ṭālibūf presents an imaginary travelogue describing the experiences of a group of individuals who set out on an educational trip for the peak of Damāwand, and uses the narrative of the journey to expound his own views on various social, cultural and ethical subjects. Similar in form is his *Masāʾil al-ḥayāt*, which has politics and society for its theme. Ṭālibūf also wrote sundry articles which were published in the journals of the day such as *Andjuman* and *Ḥabl al-matīn*. In all his works, he used a simple Persian style, an achievement all the more creditable in view of the fact that his own language was Ādharī [*q.v.*] Turkish. Ṭālibūf's ideas attracted a keen response from the enlightened and progressive elements of the society, and played a prominent role in the late 19th-century political and intellectual awakening in Persia.

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2. Studies. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *Wafayāt-i muʿāṣirīn*, in *Yādgār*, v/4-5; Īradj Afshār, in *Yaghmā*, iv/5; idem, introd. to *Āzādī wa siyāsat*, Tehran 1357/1978; Mahdī Malikzāda, *Tārīkh-i inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, i, Tehran 1328/1949; Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Tārīkh-i mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, i, Tehran 1357/1978; Bozorg Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964; Rypka *et alii*, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Farīdūn Ādamiyyat, *Andīsha-hā-yi Ṭālibūf*, in *Sukhan*, xvi/5-8; Yaḥyā Āryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, i, Tehran 1350/1971; ʿAlī Kātibī *et alii* (eds.), introd. to *Siyāsat-i Ṭālibī*, Tehran 1357/1978; Īradj Pārsī-nizhād, in *Madjalla-yi Īrānshināsī*, ii/3, Bethesda, Md. 1990.

(Munibur Rahman)

ṬALĪḲ [see ṬULAḲĀʾ].

TAʿLĪḲ, Taʿlīḳa (a., pls. *taʿlīḳāt, taʿālīḳ*) in scholarly activity refers to the "appending upon (*ʿalā*)" a text or the "deriving from (*ʿan*)" an author and then to the resulting notes, glosses, comments, excerpts and appendices. Similar in a way to *ḥāshiya* [*q.v.*], it is, however, much less firmly anchored in manuscripts than *ḥāshiya* was originally. In later centuries, it came to be used quite frequently in titles of essays. Earlier, its supposed use as a title was more descriptive than formal and was often the choice of convenience by someone other than the author. Among titles listed in the *Fihrist*, *Taʿlīḳāt* appears only for two alchemical works (*Fihrist*, 359, ll. 5, 16) and is of uncertain meaning. In later bibliographies, some titles of works by philosophers and scientists were expanded, obviously not by their authors, by the addition of "in the form of notes" (*ʿalā djihat/ṭarīḳ al-taʿlīḳ*, see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 138-9 [al-Fārābī], ii, 96 [Ibn al-Haytham]); some were stated to be *taʿlīḳ, taʿālīḳ* (Ḳifṭī, 362-3 [Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī]; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 103-5 [Ibn Riḍwān and Afrāʾīm]; *ibid.*, i, 322, l. 13, *taʿālīḳ ḥikmiyya* [Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī] also may not be a formal title). The originality of the title *Taʿlīḳāt* in preserved works of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā is also subject to doubt. Yet the use of the word as a descriptive title may indeed have originated among problem-centred disciplines such as philosophy, natural science and grammar, rather than in the religious sciences, but it appears rather early in jurisprudence.

Other technical usages of *taʿlīḳ* include one of the science of *ḥadīth* that came into use, originally in connection with the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, for traditions "derived from (*muʿallaḳ ʿan*)" an authority without the indication of a complete *isnād* or the complete text. Note further the use of *taʿlīḳ* for a particular script [see KHAṬṬ, at vol. IV, 1124-5] and as a grammatical term. See also ṬALĀḲ.

Bibliography: Title indices s.v., as, for instance, in Brockelmann, Sezgin, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa; Lane, 2137a-b; J. Michot, *Tables de correspondance des "Taʿlīqāt" d'al-Fārābī, des "Taʿlīqāt" d'Avicenne et du "Liber Aphorismorum" d'Andrea Alpago*, in *MIDEO*, xv (1982), 231-50; J.E. Brockopp, *Slavery in Islamic law*, unpubl. Yale Univ. diss., 1995, 75 ff., for possible 4th/10th-century legal titles. For the *ḥadīth* term, see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, chs. 1 and 11, and the introduction of Saʿīd ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān Mūsā al-Ḳ-r-ḳī's edition of Ibn Ḥadjar, *Taghlīḳ at-taʿlīḳ*, ʿAmmān 1405/1985, i, 283 ff., and *passim*. For the grammatical term, see R.M. Rammuni, in *Intern. Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies*, iii (1986), 27-42.

(F. Rosenthal)

TAʿLĪḲĪ-ZĀDE, Meḥmed b. Meḥmed el-Fenārī, Ottoman court historiographer (*shehnāmedji*) in the sixteenth century. Taʿlīḳī-zāde was born in the province of Aydîn in Western Anatolia at some time in the 1540s. He was a descendant of the famous Fenārī family; as his name shows, his father must have been an expert in calligraphy, especially in the *taʿlīḳ* script. From 969/1562 he served as secretary (*kātib*) to Prince Murād in Manisa. When the latter ascended the throne in 982/1574, Taʿlīḳī-zāde found employment as a *kātib* in the imperial chancery. In 991-3/1583-5, he took part in the military campaigns against Persia where he performed secretarial services. In *ca.* 998/1590 he was appointed assistant to the chief *shehnāmedji* Loḳmān. In 1004/1596, when the latter showed reluctance to accompany Meḥemmed III on his Hungarian campaign, his office was given to Taʿlīḳī-zāde. He held this post until 1009/1601 and probably died between 1011 and 1020/1603 and 1611.

Prior to his appointment as court historiographer, Taʿlīḳī-zāde wrote three works (*Firāset-nāme*, 1574-5: on the connection of a man's outward features and his character; *Tebrīziyye*, 1585, and *Gürdjistān seferi*, 1585, on the Persian campaigns). As *shehnāmedji* he left to us another three compositions. The *Shemāʾil-nāme-yi āl-i*

ʿO̲th̲mān (1593) outlines the distinctive features of the Ottoman dynasty, while the *S̲h̲ehnāme-i hümāyūn* (1596) and the *Egri fethi taʾrīk̲h̲i* (1598, in verse; the title has been established by Woodhead, *see Bibl.*) describe the Hungarian campaigns of Sinān Pas̲h̲a and Meḥemmed III respectively. While the first court historiographers imitated the famous *S̲h̲āh-nāme* of Firdawsī in form and language, Taʿlīḳī-zāde, with one exception, composed prose works in Ottoman *ins̲h̲āʾ* style. Shortly after his dismissal, the *s̲h̲ehnāmed̲j̲i* post seems to have been abolished.

Bibliography: Ned̲j̲īb ʿĀṣim, *ʿO̲th̲mānlî taʾrīk̲h̲-nüwīsleri we müwerrik̲h̲leri: s̲h̲ehnāmed̲j̲iler*, in *TOEM*, ii, no. 7 (1911), 432-4; Christine Woodhead, *From scribe to littérateur: the career of a sixteenth-century Ottoman* Kātib, in *BSMES Bull.* ix/1 (1982), 55-74; eadem, *An experiment in official historiography: the post of Şehnāmeci in the Ottoman Empire*, in *WZKM*, lxxv (1983), 157-82; eadem, *"The Present Terror of the World"? Contemporary views of the Ottoman Empire c. 1600*, in *History*, lxxii/234 (1987), 20-37 (a thorough analysis of the *S̲h̲emāʾil-nāme*); eadem, *Taʿlīkī-zāde's* Şehnāme-i hümāyūn. *A history of the Ottoman campaign into Hungary 1593-94*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 82, Berlin 1983 (ed. of the work in transcription). The four miniatures in the manuscripts of the *Egri fethi taʾrīk̲h̲i* were published by G. Fehérvári, *The "Egri Fetihname" in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi* (in Hungarian), in *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve 1969*, Eger 1969, figs. 1-10 (according to the author, the correct title of this work is *S̲h̲ehnāme-yi sulṭān-i selāṭīn-i d̲j̲ihān*) and Géza Fehér, *Turkish miniatures from the period of Hungary's Turkish occupation*, Budapest 1975, pls. XLVIII-LI.

(P. Fodor)

TĀLĪKOṬĀ, a small town of the mediaeval central Deccan, now in the Bīd̲j̲apur District of the Karnataka State of the Indian Union (lat 16° 31' N., long. 76° 20' E.). It is famed as the assembly point and base camp for the combined forces of the South Indian sultanates (the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhīs, Barīd S̲h̲āhīs, Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhīs and Niẓām S̲h̲āhīs [*q.vv.*]). These all marched southwards some 50 km/30 miles southwards to the Krishna river and the villages of Raks̲h̲asa and Tangadi, crossed the river and, at a point 20 km/12 miles south of the Krishna, after several skirmishes, the Muslim forces engaged those of Vid̲j̲ayanagara [*q.v.*] at a village called Bannikaṭṭi on (most probably) 20 D̲j̲umādā II 972/23 January 1565. This historic battle is usually termed that of Tālīkōṭā, although it should more accurately be called that of Bannikaṭṭi. In it, the power of the Hindu ruler of Vid̲j̲ayanagara, the 80-year old Rāma Rād̲j̲ā, was broken and the Rād̲j̲ā himself executed by the victorious Niẓām S̲h̲āhī.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xxiii, 214; H.K. Sherwani, *Tilingana under Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh*, in *Jnal. Indian Hist.* (1957), 359-84; idem, *The site of the so-called Battle of Tālīkōṭā*, in *Jnal. Pak. Hist. Soc.*, v, 111 ff.; idem and P.M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*, Ḥaydarābād 1973, i, 128 n. 179, 247-8, 330-2; R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people. VII. The Mughul empire*, Bombay 1974, 424-6; B. Stein, *Vijayanagara* (= *The New Cambridge history of India*, I.2), Cambridge 1989, 119-20. See also hind. iv. History, at vol. II, 425a.

(C.E. Bosworth)

TAʿLĪMIYYA [see ismāʿīliyya].

TĀLIS̲H̲, a district on the southwestern shores of the Caspian Sea, originally wholly within Persia until the Gulistān Treaty of 12/24 October 1813 between Russia and Persia awarded to Russia the greater part of Tālis̲h̲, that north of the Astārā river. This last part has successively been ruled by Imperial Russia, the Soviets and (since 1991) the Azerbaijan Republic. The part of the Iranian Tālis̲h̲ī people remaining within Persia occupies an area of the modern province (*ustān*) of East Azerbaijan to about 50 km/30 miles south of the Astārā river.

1. Geography and history.

The region comprises an inland mountain region and a narrow coastal strip, fertile, with dense vegetation (a home of the endangered Caspian tiger) and a high rainfall (approx. 125 cm/50 inches of rain p.a. at Lankorān [*q.v.*], the main urban centre of Tālis̲h̲); in the north, Tālis̲h̲ merges into the steppelands of Mūḳān [*q.v.*] or Mūg̲h̲ān.

According to Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 278-9, the name is first found in the Armenian translation of the Alexander Romance as Tʿalis̲h̲. At the time of the Arab conquests, in 24 or 25/645-6, al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ raided al-B.b.r (? cf. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm., 391; the anonymous author does not mention Tālis̲h̲), al-Ṭ.y.lasān (= Tālis̲h̲) and the steppe region of Mūḳān (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 327; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2805). According to al-Aṣmaʿī, in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 812, iii, 571, the Persian pronunciation of the region's name was Tālis̲h̲ān (a plural form?), and in early Islamic times it was an administrative district (*ʿamal*) of the province of Gurgān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (8th/14th century) mentions a village Tālis̲h̲ on the road from Sulṭāniyya to Ardabīl (hence south of the earlier Tālis̲h̲) (*Nuzha*, 180, tr. 173). In the Il-K̲h̲ānid period, the Ispahbad̲h̲s of Gīlān seem to have had a principality on the borders of Gīlān and Mūḳān, with a fortress and villages in Tālis̲h̲ (Minorsky, *A Mongol decree of 720/1320 to the family of Shaykh Ẓāhid*, in *BSOAS*, xvi [1954], 524-5), and in later times, a local *k̲h̲ān* had his seat at Lankorān and was subject to the kings of Persia; but the district played little part in the wider affairs of Persia until the advance of Tsarist Russia through eastern Transcaucasia. Peter the Great first occupied the region; it was returned to Persia in 1732, again occupied by the Russians 1796-1812 but finally lost in the next year. Hence after 1813, the greater part of Tālis̲h̲ came within Russian territory, in which the greater part of the Tālis̲h̲ī people now found themselves, many of them continuing to nomadise in the Mūḳān steppes, but a smaller part of them has remained within Persia. Most of the Tālis̲h̲īs are S̲h̲īʿīs.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

2. Language.

Tālis̲h̲ī is a North-Western Iranian language, close to Tati [*q.v.*]. The language (or dialect) has a range of mutually intelligible sub-dialects, stretching from the north to the south. The consonantal system of Tālis̲h̲ī does not differ from that of Persian, whereas the range of its vowels is enlarged, in comparison to Persian, by the addition of *ə*, a central vowel, and at least in northern and central sub-dialects, also by *ü*, a front vowel. As is the case with most of the modern Iranian dialects of ancient Media, Tālis̲h̲ī possesses two cases: the direct or the subject case, and the oblique or the genitive and object case. In Asālimī, a central Tālis̲h̲ī dialect, the case endings typically are: sing. dir. *-ø*, pl. dir. *-e*, sing. obl. *-i*, pl. obl. *-un*.

The verbal system diverges from most other Western Iranian dialects by employing the present stem

for the Imperfect and the past stem for the Present, e.g., Asā(limī) *vrij-/vrit-* "to run," *a-vrij-im* "I was running" (*a-* is the durative marker), *b-a-vrit-im* "I run, I am running". Further, verbal affixes, including the negative *nə/ni*, cause a reshuffling of the elements of conjugation in the Present, e.g. *ni-m-a-vrit* "I don't run, am not running" where the personal "ending" precedes the marker and the stem.

Syntactically, Tālishī, like Tati, employs the ergative construction in past transitive verbs based on the past stem; accordingly, the agent of the verb is put in the oblique case, the logical direct object in the direct case and the verb agrees with its direct object, e.g. Asā. *esbun* (obl. pl.) *gušd harda* (sg.) "the dogs ate flesh".

Bibliography: The Northern Tālishī spoken to the north of the Arax river has been adequately studied and published by B.V. Miller in *Taleshskiĭ yazïk* ("Tālishī language"), Moscow 1953. A sketch of Māsūla'ī, together with some texts and a glossary, by G. Lazard is published in *St. Ir.*, vii/6 (1978), 251-68, and viii/2 (1979), 36-66, 269-75; and a grammatical outline of Asālimī by E. Yarshater in *ibid.*, xxv/1 (1996), 77-104. See also M. Bazin, *Le Tâleche, une région ethnique au nord de l'Iran*, ii, Paris 1980, 69-70, 189 ff. and figs. 94, 95; idem, *Recherche des rapports entre diversité dialectale et géographie humaine: l'exemple du Tāleš*, in *Interdisziplinäre Iran-Forschung*, Wiesbaden 1979, 1-14; L.A. Pireyko, *Talïshsko-Russkiĭ slovar* ("Tālishī Russian dictionary"), Moscow 1976; ʿAlī ʿAbdolī, *Farhang-i Tātī u Tālishī* ("T. and T. [-Persian] dictionary"), Tehran 1984. For other works, see Bazin, *Le Tâleche*, 263-4, and Yarshater, *op. cit.*, 77.

(E. YARSHATER)

TALKHĪṢ [see MUKHTAṢAR].

TALL (A.), usually written Tell in European geographical terminology, means in Arabic "hill, mound, tumulus", but has in the Maghrib a specific meaning unconnected with archaeology.

According to Maurer, in Troin (ed.), *Le Maghreb*, the primary meaning in Arabic dialect is said to be "marly, grey or darkish soil" (cf. W. Marçais and A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna. II. Glossaire*, i, Paris 1958, 495: "sol gras et argileux"). By extension, it designates the whole region where this type of soil is found, and is contrasted on one hand to the regions of the high northern plains of a more crusted, clayey nature and, in a certain manner, to the idea of *ṣaḥrāʾ*. The definition in terms of soil has then inclined towards a bio-climatic definition designating that part of the Maghrib still under a marked Mediterranean influence. It denotes a band of territory running west-south-west to east-north-east of very variable width extending from the Moroccan Gharb to northern Tunisia. Despite a relief much broken up and containing a mosaic of plains, hills and mountains, liable to intense erosion, the Tell constitutes the part of the Maghrib useful for agricultural purposes; the conjunction of soils of the *tell* type and more abundant rainfall (over 300 or 400 mm) permits agriculture there without irrigation. The parts of this made up of plains have been the main sites for economic changes, whereas the mountains have had their development frustrated by communication difficulties.

Bibliography: J.-F. Troin (ed.), *Le Maghreb*, Paris 1985. See also ALGERIA. i; ATLAS; AL-MAGHRIB. i; TUNISIA.

(Y. CALLOT)

TALL BĀSHIR (present-day (Tkish.) Tilbeşar Kalesi; Armenian Thilpašar, Thil Aveteač; Frankish Turbessel), a fortress and walled town of the north Syrian borderlands, in present-day southern Turkey, 25 km/15 miles south-east of the city of Gaziantep (ʿAyntāb [*q.v.*]), near the village of Gündoğdu.

Although mentioned as early as Assyrian times, the detailed history of Tall Bāshir begins at the end of the 5th/11th century, testimony to its position in the path of powers seeking to expand east or west. In 489/1096 the Saldjūḳ ruler of Aleppo, Riḍwān b. Tutush [*q.v.*], captured it from Yaghīsiyān, ruler of Anṭākiya. The following year Tall Bāshir and the fortress of al-Rāwandān [*q.v.*] were acquired by Baldwin II, Count of Edessa, who gave both sites as a fief to his nephew Joscelin I, Count of Courtenay. Tall Bāshir remained in Frankish hands until 546/1151, when Joscelin II lost it to Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī [*q.v.*], for whom Tall Bāshir played an important role in checking his rivals: the Artuḳids to the east, and the Dānishmendids and Saldjūḳs to the north. Tall Bāshir's strategic and economic importance were reflected in the elaboration and extent of its arrangements: a fragmentary 6th/12th century Arabic source describes an inner circuit wall comprising 15 salients, an outer circuit wall and a suburb (ms. Bibl. Nat. 2281, fol. 57b). In 571-2/1176, together with other north Syrian strongholds, including ʿAyntāb, Tall Bāshir was ceded to the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], although it was to remain mostly in the control of its Zangid fief-holder, Badr al-Dīn Duldirim al-Yārūḳī, until 615/1218-9, when it was taken by the Rūm Saldjūḳ ruler ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I. Shortly afterwards, it fell to al-Malik al-Ashraf I, Ayyūbid ruler of the Djazīra, who gave it to the Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭoghrïl, regent to the ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz. Withstanding an attack by the Khwārazmians in 638/1240-1, Tall Bāshir was given in 646/1248 by al-Malik al-Nāṣir of Aleppo to al-Malik al-Ashraf III in exchange for the latter's possession of Ḥimṣ. The fortifications survived destruction by the Mongols, since al-Ashraf paid homage to Hülegü, but were then dismantled by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars towards the end of the 7th/13th century, leaving, according to Ibn Shaddād, an administrative presence and a civilian settlement. Today, little remains of the site save for the fortress mound, upon which there are traces of a gateway.

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(E. HONIGMANN-[D.W. MORRAY])

AL-TALL AL-KABĪR, TELL EL-KEBIR, a fairly recent village agglomeration of some 5 settlements in the Egyptian Nile Delta, 50 km/30 miles west of Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] at the eastern end of al-Sharḳiyya province.

Located in Wādī Ṭumaylāt, ancient fortifications

and mounds of buried cities mostly of Ptolemaic times underline the former strategic importance of the settlement. During the late Middle Ages, the Wādī Ṭumaylāt had ceased to be a place of permanent settlement, and it was only in the middle of the 19th century that the Wādī was recultivated. Hanadī, Nafaʿāt and Ṭumaylāt nomads now settled in the vicinity of the former fortifications, giving to the place the name al-Tall al-Kabīr. In 1857-8, the railway which followed the Wādī Ṭumaylāt reached the village, and the Ismāʿīliyya Canal (dug 1858-63 in order to supply the new urban settlements in the Suez Canal region with fresh water) also improved the local agriculture. In consequence, the population of al-Tall al-Kabīr rose to over 3,000 by the end of the late 19th century. During the last phase of the Anglo-Egyptian war of 1882, al-Tall al-Kabīr became famous as Aḥmad ʿUrābī Pasha moved his military headquarters to this place. Al-Tall al-Kabīr became the last line of defence against the British troops under General Sir Garnet Wolseley advancing from Ismāʿīliyya to Cairo through the Wādī Ṭumaylāt. On 13 September 1882, 6,000 to 7,000 Egyptian regulars and some 20,000 peasant soldiers were overrun during one hour of short but severe fighting, and at least 2,000 Egyptians were killed. On 12 and 13 January 1952, al-Tall al-Kabīr again came into the news when British troops leaving the Canal Zone entered the region in order to fight Egyptian partisans.

Bibliography: A. Boinet, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Egypte*, Cairo 1899; A. Biovès, *Français et Anglais en Egypte, 1881-1882*, Paris 1910, 279; Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh, *Miṣr li'l-Miṣriyyīn*, Alexandria 1884, v, 151-7; Ch. Royle, *The Egyptian campaigns*, i, London 1886, 249-57; W. Scawen Blunt, *My diaries*, London 1919-20, ii, 38-9; idem, *Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt*, New York 1922, 311 ff.; A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern*, Zürich 1972, 252-60, Eng. tr. *Egypt for the Egyptians*, London 1981.

(R. Schulze)

AL-TALLAʿFARĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Masʿūd b. Sālim, a well-regarded minor poet of Ayyūbid times, born in Mawṣil on 25 Djumādā II 593/15 May 1197 and died in Ḥamāt on Wednesday, 10 Shawwāl 675/17 March 1277.

He claimed Arab descent from the Banū Shaybān [*q.v.*]. His father, known as Ibn ʿUrrādj, who was born in Tallaʿfar (Tallyaʿfar) near Mawṣil in 560/1165 and died in Naṣībīn on Tuesday, 3 Muḥarram 615/(Sunday!) 1 April 1218, was well educated, a poet and expert in ancient Arabian and Persian history, with strong Shīʿī sympathies; he was on familiar terms with the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā of Mayyāfāriḳīn (later of Damascus). His son spent his life at the courts of the Ayyūbid rulers of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Aleppo, Damascus, and, eventually, Ḥamāt, and also traveled widely in the region. We hear of only one trip outside of it, to Cairo, where he was in Ramaḍān 638/March-April 1241 (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vii, 40). Precise details as to how he fared during the Mongol invasion are lacking. He became well known as a poet already as a young man (if Yāḳūt, i, 863-4, refers to him rather than his father) and was in close contact with contemporary poets and littérateurs. It was poetical rivalries, especially one with Sulaymān b. Bulaymān (595-686/1199-1287), that appear to have done the most to publicise his troubles as a compulsive gambler who gambled away whatever gifts and stipends he received at court, allegedly making himself homeless at times and even provoking an official edict against gambling with him. His morals, in general, were severely criticised, yet he lived a long and productive life. As a poet, he enjoyed fame for his skilful use of lyrical/erotic imagery, and he is said to have worked in all the popular poetic genres of the time.

Bibliography: His biography and that of his father appear in the *Ḳalā'id (ʿUḳūd) al-djumān fī farā'id shuʿarā' al-zamān* by his contemporary (who died, however, two decades before him), Ibn al-Shaʿʿār, parts VII and X = vols. vi, 44-56, and viii, 512-24, of the facsimile published by F. Sezgin, Frankfurt am Main 1410/1990. Biographies by younger contemporaries are Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿī, *Tālī*, ed. J. Sublet, Damascus 1974, nos. 226 and 121, and al-Yūnīnī, iii, 218-28, iv, 323-4 (the Ḥaydarābād ed. conflates his with his father's data, as shown by manuscripts of the work made available by Dr. Li Guo). Among later biographies are Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* and *ʿIbar, anno* 675; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, v, 255-63, xv, 356-58; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 546-55, i, 350-1, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iv, 62-71, ii, 57-59; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 272; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, vii, 255-57; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 349. See further Brockelmann, I², 300, S I, 458; F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, 147-49, 176. The long promised edition of his collected poems seems not yet to have appeared; the so-called *Dīwān* (Cairo 1298 [not available], Beirut 1310, 1326) contains only a small selection of poems.

(F. Rosenthal)

ṬĀLŪT, the Islamic equivalent to the biblical Saul based on a familiar form in the Arabic reproduction of ancient names (often in assonant pairs), *fāʿūl* (Ṭālūt-Djālūt, Yādjūdj-Mādjūdj, Hārūt-Mārūt, Hārūn, Ḳārūn, Dāwūd, Tābūt, etc.). He occurs in the Ḳur'ān only in II, 246-51, a parallel with the Biblical I Samuel, v-xviii. Chosen by God to lead Israel in response to their request for a king, Ṭālūt is poor but wise and physically powerful. Although considered unworthy of kingship by the people, he is confirmed through an unnamed prophet by the divine sign of angels bearing the Ark (*Tābūt*) containing the *Sakīna* and a remnant of the house of Moses and Aaron (Hārūn). On a campaign against Goliath (Djālūt [*q.v.*]), God divides Ṭālūt's army on the basis of how they drink from a river, a motif reminiscent of the episode of Gideon in Judges, vii, 4-7. Ṭālūt's army is victorious despite Israel's fear, but it is David (Dāwūd [*q.v.*]) who slays Goliath.

The story is filled out substantially in the exegetical literature, which exhibits great familiarity with motifs from the Bible and Midrash. The traditions making up the longer exegetical narrative derive from a consistent set of sources which can be traced according to their motifs and styles of narration. The unnamed prophet of the Ḳur'ān is usually Samuel (Ashmawīl or Shamwīl [*q.v.*]), but occasionally Jeremiah, Simon, Joshua or Elisha. Ṭālūt is unfit for kingship because his tribe is Benjamin, which is disqualified because of its evil acts (Wahb in al-Thaʿlabī alludes to the episode of the tribe's evil nature in Judges, xix-xx). Before becoming king, Ṭālūt, whose name refers to his great height, was a poor donkey herder, tanner, or water carrier. God gave Samuel a staff and/or a horn of oil with which to determine whom God chose to be king of Israel. Only Ṭālūt fits the signs, and subsequently advances against Goliath, king of the Canaanites or Amalekites, or a Copt, who had Berber soldiers in his armies. In one version, Ṭālūt excuses many from his army before encountering the river (cf. Deut., xx, 5-7; Ḳur'ān, IX, 91-2). His troops

number from 4,000 to 300,000, but only 310 (or 313/319) pass the test at the river, a number equal to the number of fighters at Badr (cf. al-Bukhārī, *maghāzī*, 6; al-Tirmidhī, *siyar*, 38; Ibn Mādja, *djihād*, 25). Ṭālūt pledges to give his daughter to whomever will smite Goliath, but refuses David until he kills 200 of Ṭālūt's enemies. He eventually gives David a third (or half) of his kingdom, or his signet ring as a sign of rule, but envies Israel's love of David and tries repeatedly to kill him. In some versions, he attempts to co-opt his daughter into helping him, but to no avail. In one humorous episode, Ṭālūt impales a wine-skin put in place of David in his bed. When Ṭālūt is splashed with the red wine, he remarks how David was a drunkard. In rage at his repeated failures, Ṭālūt kills all the sages of Israel except one surviving woman who knows the ineffable name of God. He subsequently regrets his violence against David and/or the sages and seeks atonement, but Samuel has since died. With the help of the woman, a prophet (usually Samuel or Elisha, but even Joshua) is called from the dead. Ṭālūt learns that his atonement is possible only if he and all his heirs are killed in sacred warfare (*djihād fī sabīl Allah*), which he orchestrates for himself and his sons.

Bibliography: Yaʿkūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 50-3; Ṭabarī, i, 548-59; idem, *Tafsīr*, Beirut 1984, ii, 595-625; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 98-102; Thaʿlabī, *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Beirut n.d., 235-9; Fasawī, *Badʾ al-khalk*, ed. Khoury, Wiesbaden 1978, 85-98; Kisāʾī, *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922, 250-8; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut 1965, i, 217-22; Ibn Kathīr, *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Beirut 1982, ii, 240-7; Djazāʾirī, *al-Nūr al-mubīn fī kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Kum n.d., 330-4; Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1956-7, xiii, 435-57; G. Weil, *Biblical legends of the Mussulmans*, New York 1846, 177-85; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 185-9; J. Horovitz, *Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran*, in *HUCA*, ii (1925), 161-4; idem, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, 123; R. Ebied and L. Wickham, *Al-Yaʿqūbī's account of the Israelite Prophets and Kings*, in *JNES*, xxix (1970), 80-98.

(R. Firestone)

TAMAHAK [see ṬAWĀRIK. 2].

TAMASHEK [see ṬAWĀRIK. 2].

TĀMASNA (Berber, "the palm of the hand, plain"), the ancient name for the Atlantic coastal plain of Morocco bounded by the rivers Bouragrag and Umm al-Rabīʿ, "from Salā to Marrākush (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, i, 60). This "Moroccan meseta", known for its fertile soil, has traditionally been an area for cereal growing, the products being exported to al-Andalus in mediaeval times. It forms a natural passage between two key regions, those of Fās and of Marrākush, limited on the east by deep valleys covered with forest. Its richness and its position explain its lively history.

The place-name Tāmasna appears for the first time in the list of regions conquered by Idrīs I and then in the succession of his son Idrīs II [*q.vv.*]. Until the 6th/12th century, this region was merged into the kingdom of the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*], which was also termed the kingdom of Tāmasna. After the elimination of these so-called "heretics", the ruined countryside remained abandoned, and the Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr established there nomadic Arab tribes (Khulṭ, Sufyān and Djābir). The Marīnids used it as pasture land and entrusted their beasts to the Hilāl, who intermarried with the Zenāta and Hawwāra Berbers. The mixture of the two races gave birth to new tribes using the Arabic language who became sedentarised and known under the name of Shāwiya (or Chaouïa) [*q.v.*]. This name ended up by replacing the ancient Tāmasna used in the official documents of the *Makhzen* up to the 19th century. However, "Chaouïa" denotes a more restricted region.

The place-name Tāmasna has now completely disappeared. Only a place within Rabat (Bāb Tāmasna), recalling a gate now disappeared, and the patronymic "Masnāwī") retain a feeble echo of it.

Bibliography: See the classical sources on the history of Morocco (Bakrī, Idrīsī and Leo Africanus), and also Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, Casablanca 1956, viii, 30; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siècles*, Paris 1913; *Villes et tribus du Maroc. Casablanca et la Chaouïa*, Paris 1915; ʿAllāl Lakhdīmī, *al-Tadakhkhul al-adjnabī wa ʾl-muḳāwama bi ʾl-Maghrib, 1810-1894*, Casablanca 1991.

(Halima Ferhat)

TAMATTUʿ [see IḤRĀM; MUTʿA].

TAMAZIGHT (Berber).

1. This is a general term used by many Berber speakers [see BERBERS at vol. I, 1173] to designate their native language (dialect). It is increasingly used not only by them but by many other Berber speakers, non-speakers, and outsiders as well, to designate the Berber language, particularly—but not exclusively—in associations for the promotion of Berber culture and language. It is the feminine form of *Amazigh*, which is used more and more—along with its plural form *Imazighen*—to replace, in both noun and adjective uses, the traditional term *Berber* as it applies to people, artifacts, etc.

2. More specifically it is a term used to designate the Berber dialect group of the Middle Atlas mountains of Morocco, one of three groups widely, if somewhat grossly, construed as representing Berber in Morocco's territory: the other dialect groups in this paradigm are Tarifit in the north of the country and Tashelhit [*q.v.*] in the High Atlas, Sūs river valley and Anti-Atlas regions in the south. Tamazight territory, in this sense, extends from roughly Demnat in the south-west north to the corridor between Rabat and Taza. The towns and river valleys on the Sahara side of the Middle Atlas—Tinghir, Tafilelt, Oued Ziz, Djebel Sargho, Ouarzazate, Oued Dra—are the eastern limits of Tamazight, while to the north-west its territory extends to within a few tens of kilometres from Rabat (Ait Buzemmur). Within this whole area, Tamazight is the primary language. However, except in the most remote areas, there is widespread bilingualism with Arabic, especially in the towns, where Arabic generally dominates.

The region's history of tribal movement, immigration and displacement has left its mark on language patterns. Like the other two groups, Tamazight dialects, though mutually intelligible for the most part, exhibit a fair degree of variation in phonology and vocabulary, and some of its dialects (e.g. Ait Seghrouchen of Imouzzer) in fact more closely resemble certain Tarifit and even Algerian dialects than their immediate neighbours. With regard to the general description of Berber contained in the art BERBERS at vol. I, 1181-5, only a few specific features need to be noted:

Phonology. Tamazight dialects are characterised by the spirantisation of "short" (or lax) occlusives: *b* > [β], *t* > [θ], *d* > [δ], *g* > [y], *k* > [c] or [š] as opposed to Tashelhit where these are usually occlusive like the corresponding "long" (tense) consonants, used in derived morphological forms: [b], [t], [d], [g], [k]. By virtue of massive borrowings of Arabic words, the phonemic inventory includes all the Arabic phonemes.

Morphology. The demonstrative adjectival suffixes used with nouns or pronoun bases are *-ad* "near", *-inn* "distant" and *-enna* "the one in question" with a form *-dex* or *-tex* that can be suffixed to them for additional immediacy. The first three numbers are native, with distinct masculine and feminine forms; the rest are borrowed from Arabic.

Syntax. Most dialects have developed the equivalent of a relative pronoun, *enna*, used to introduce the subordinate relative clause. The intensive aorist verbal form is always preceded by a *lla* or *da*, along with any satellites, when it is used in its common habitual or progressive meaning: *lla as akkan elflus* "they give him (*as*) money".

Bibliography: See BERBERS. V. Bibl., and for further bibl. and a grammatical description of a typical dialect of the central Moroccan (Tamazight) group, see T.G. Penchoen, *Tamazight of the Ait Nadhir*, Malibu, Calif. 1973; also E.T. Abdel-Massih, *Tamazight verb structure*, The Hague 1968.

(T. PENCHOEN)

TAMERLANE [see TĪMŪR LANG].

TAMG̱HA (T.) means brand, sign, seal and, by extension, tariff or commercial tax. The exact etymology is somewhat unclear, but the original Turkish meaning was a brand or sign placed on livestock or personal property. As brands, certain *tamg̱has* became identified with specific Turkish tribes. Maḥmūd al-Kās̱hg̱harī's [*q.v.*] illustrations of the distinctive brands of the twenty-two branches of the Og̱huz (Türkmen), the oldest surviving identifications, are well known (*Dīwān lug̱hāt al-turk* [written 464/1072], tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly as *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-5, i, 101; for variants found in Ras̱hīd al-Dīn [early 8th/14th century] and Yazīdjī-og̱hlu ʿAlī [second quarter 9th/15th century], see F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler): tarihleri-boy teşkilatı-destanları*, [3]Istanbul 1992, 170-1). Similar signs have been found on grave stones and other objects, some dating perhaps from prehistoric times, widely distributed across Central Asia and as far west as the Lower Danube (B. Ögel, *İslâmiyetten önce Türk kültür tarihi*, [2]Ankara 1984, 134, 136, and index).

In addition to providing the aforesaid illustrations, al-Kās̱hg̱harī defines *tamg̱ha* as "the seal of the king or other" and as synonymous with the Arabic *ṭābiʿ* (*Dīwān*, i, 321). The title of "keeper of the seal" (*tamg̱hadjī*) appears in the earliest Turkish inscriptions, i.e. those from the Orkhon river valley [*q.v.*] composed in the 8th century (H. Orkun, *Eski Türk yazıtları*, Ankara 1986, i, 52, l. 1 § 13). M.F. Köprülü thus concluded that *tamg̱has* were used as legal symbols in the sense of a dynastic or personal arms (*Ortazaman Türk devletlerinde hukukî senbôllerdeki motifler*, in *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, ii [1932-9], 37-50; his promised exhaustive study of the word was never published). After the Mongol invasion, *tamg̱has* appeared on both documents (see e.g. V. Minorsky, *The clan of the Qara-Qoyunlu rulers*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 381; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, [2]Ankara 1970, 199, 277-8) and coins, notably those of the Djalāyirids, Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Golden Horde, Crimean Tatars (İ. and C. Artuk, *İstanbul arkeoloji müzeleri teşhirdeki islâmî sikkeler kataloğu*, Istanbul 1970-4, ii, 828, 839, 814-15, 818, respectively—see i, p. xlvii, regarding the *tamg̱ha* of the Ḳinïk tribe on the coinage of Ṭog̱hril Beg—and İ. Artuk, *İA*, art. *Sikke*, 630-1) and even the Georgians (D.M. Lang, *Studies in the numismatic history of Georgia*, New York 1955, 40).

Also after the Mongol invasion, *tamg̱ha* appeared as the name of a tax on the urban population, i.e. as a tax on commercial goods and services (including prostitution). It was introduced to the Middle East during the reign of Hülegü (654-63/1256-65). The amount varied. It may have been as much as 10% before G̱hazan (694-703/1295-1304) reduced it by half (I.P. Petrushevsky, *The socio-economic conditions of Iran under the Īl-Khāns*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 494, 506, n. 3, 508; on amounts, cf. E. Ashtor, *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley, etc. 1976, 274-5; A.K.S. Lambton, *Mongol fiscal administration in Persia*, in *SI*, lxxiv [1986], 84-5). For some time, the *tamg̱ha* seems to have replaced the *zakāt* [*q.v.*] under the Mongols (Petrushevsky, *op. cit.*, 532). As a tax, *tamg̱ha* was sometimes used synonymously with the Persian term *bādj* [*q.v.*]. It was a major source of revenue for the Mongols (W. Barthold, *İlhanlılar devrinde malî vaziyet*, in *THITM*, i [1931], 152-4, tr. W. Hinz as *Die persischen Inschriften an der Mauer der Manūčehr-Moschee zu Ani*, in *ZDMG*, ci [1951]; and A.Z.V. Togan, *Mongollar devrinde Anadolu'nun iktisadi vaziyeti*, in *THITM*, i [1931], 18-21, tr. G. Leiser as *Economic conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol period*, in *AI*, xxv [1991]). The *tamg̱hadjī* thus became the tax collector. Because the *tamg̱ha* was a non-canonical tax, Muslim jurists urged its abolition, but they had little success. Bābur [*q.v.*], the Mug̱hal conqueror of India (932-7/1526-30), abolished it several times, testifying to its importance (Barthold, *İlhanlılar*, 154). It was retained in Persia until the reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76). The *dāmg̱ha resmi* remained as a market tax, especially on textiles and metals, in the Ottoman Empire until its collapse (Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, ii, 8-9). As a term for a tax, *tamg̱ha* entered Arabic, Persian and many other languages, including Russian. Furthermore, it is still a common word for brand or stamp in Turkish, Arabic and Persian.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the text): G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1965, ii, 554-65; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, art. *Damga*; and, on contemporary use of brands, L. Kosswig, *Eigentumszeichen (Damga) in Anatolien*, in *Oriens*, xxiii-xxiv (1974), 333-405. See also C. Humphrey, *Horse brands of the Mongolians: a system of signs in a nomadic culture*, in *The American Anthropologist*, i (1974), 471-88.

(G. LEISER)

TAMGRŪT, important town in the Wādī Darʿa (Dra), in the south of Morocco and the site of the mother *zāwiya* of the religious brotherhood of the Nāṣiriyya [*q.v.*]. It is a fair-sized town with houses of red clay, surrounded by groves of palm and fruit trees, on the left bank of the Wādī Darʿa, which is here 120 to 250 feet wide but of no depth and runs between hills about 300 yards apart. Tamgrūt is surrounded by low walls pierced by 4 gates: in the north, Fumm (class. *fam* "mouth") al-Sūḳ, in the northeast, Fumm Tāʾurīrt, in the southwest, Bāb al-Rizḳ and to the east, Fumm al-Sūr. An important market is held there on Saturdays.

The *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt, which owes all its importance to the S̱hayk̲h Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, was founded in 983/1575-6 by a member of a Marabout family of the Wādī Darʿa, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī from the *zāwiya* of Sayyid al-Nās. It was the fame as mystics of two holy men who lived in the *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt, Sayyidī ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn and Sayyidī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, that led the Ṣūfī novice Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, born at Ig̱hlān in 1015/1603, to settle there. On the death of Sayyidī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, he became head of the *zāwiya*, and founded his order there, directly based on the teaching of al-S̱hādhilī [*q.v.*]. He died here in Ṣafar

1085/May 1674 and his descendants from father to son without interruption have since been heads of the *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt. The latter contains the tombs of Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and his successors together in a mausoleum, rebuilt in 1869 after a fire and surmounted by a pyramidal cupola of green tiles, with a *d̲j̲āmūr* with three golden balls on top. On the fine library there, see Muḥammad al-Mannūnī, *Dalīl makh̲ṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Nāṣiriyya bi-Tamgh̲rūt*, Rabat 1405/1985; Latifa Benjelloun-Laroui, *Les bibliothèques au Maroc*, Paris 1990, 280-5.

The *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt and the holy men who lived in it have formed the subject of a monograph by Aḥmad b. K̲h̲ālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī [see AL-NĀṢIR AL-SALĀWĪ], author of the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā'*, entitled *Talʿat al-mus̲h̲tarī fi 'l-nasab al-d̲j̲aʿfarī* (2 vols. lith. Fās n.d. [1309]). Tamgrūt was the birthplace of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Tamgrūtī [*q.v.*], a noted official of the Saʿdian court.

Bibliography: Ch. De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1888, 293; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 467; H. de Castries, *Notice sur la région de l'Oued-Draa*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, xx (1880), 497 ff.; P. de Segonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas*, Paris 1910, 89-98; M. Bodin, *La zaouia de Tamegrout*, in *Archives Berbères*, Paris 1918, 259-95; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa, essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVIème au XXème siècle*, Paris 1922, 99 n. 1 and 354.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL*)

AL-**TAMGRŪTĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, a Moroccan writer, a native of Tamgrūt [*q.v.*], died at Marrākus̲h̲ in 1003/1594-5 and was buried in the sanctuary of Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ. He held an official position at the court of the Saʿdian Sultan Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-D̲h̲ahabī (986-1012/1578-1602). He was placed by this ruler in charge of the embassy to Sultan Murād III in Istanbul along with another court dignitary, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Fis̲h̲tālī, d. 1021/1612-13. Al-Tamgrūtī prepared an account of his journey (*riḥla*) which he called *al-Nafaḥāt al-miskiyya fi 'l-sifāra al-turkiyya*: it was afterwards used, as one of his sources, by the author of the *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] (or Ufrānī). It contains interesting information about the court of Marrākus̲h̲ at the end of the 10th/16th century. An edition, with a translation, of al-Tamgrūtī's work by H. de Castries, appeared at Paris in 1929.

Bibliography: Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intas̲h̲ar*, Fās n.d., 106; Ḳādirī, *Nas̲h̲r al-mat̲h̲ānī*, Fās 1310, i, 31 (tr. in *Archives Marocaines*, xxi, Paris 1913, 70), reproduced exactly by Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya*, Fās 1336, i, 90-1; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, 98-9. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TAMIL [see LABBAI; MARAKKAYAR].

TAMĪM B. **BAḤR** AL-**MUṬṬAWWIʿ**, Arab traveller in Central Asia in early ʿAbbāsid times and the only Muslim one who has left us a record of his visit to the capital of the Uyg̲h̲ur Turks (pre-840) on the Ork̲h̲on river [*q.v.*] in Mongolia, most probably Ḳarabalg̲h̲asun, the Khara Balghasun of the modern Mongolian Republic. It may be assumed that Tamīm was an Arab, possibly one of those settled within K̲h̲urāsān, and his *nisba* implies that he had been a fighter for the faith against pagans. He certainly seems to have been a great traveller in the steppes, since he says that he also visited the Turkish Kimäk [*q.v.*] and their king on the Irtis̲h̲ river [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Siberia. What is extant of his report has been recovered from the Mas̲h̲had ms. of Ibn al-Faḳīh's *K. al-Buldān*, though citations were earlier known in e.g. Yāḳūt. Tamīm's report, perhaps dateable to 821, i.e. during al-Ma'mūn's caliphate, contains precious information on the Toḳuzg̲h̲uz or Tog̲h̲uzg̲h̲uz Turks [*q.v.*] in particular, and supports the equation of them at this time with the Uyg̲h̲urs.

Bibliography: V. Minorsky, *Tamīm ibn Baḥr's journey to the Uyghurs*, in *BSOAS*, xii (1948), 275-305. See also TOG̲H̲UZG̲H̲UZ. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

TAMĪM B. AL-**MUʿIZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH**, ABŪ ʿALĪ, poet and Fāṭimid prince, born in al-Mahdiyya (present-day Tunisia) in 337/949, died in 374/985 in Egypt (but Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī and Ibn Kat̲h̲īr mention his death *sub anno* 368/978-9).

Though Tamīm was al-Muʿizz's eldest son, he was passed over as *walī al-ʿahd*, successor to the Fāṭimid throne in the newly-founded capital al-Ḳāhira. The official reason given by al-Maḳrīzī (*al-Muḳaffā*, ii, 588), was the fact that Tamīm did not have any male offspring necessary to avoid problems for the dynasty in future, the throne being inherited from father to son. On the other hand, Tamīm's dissipated way of life and rumours about his involvement in a conspiracy by the sons of previous Imāms, like al-Ḳā'im and al-Mahdī, against al-Muʿizz, might have influenced the latter's decision too (see M. Canard, tr., *Vie de l'ustadh Jaudhar*, 213, n. 467).

After his younger brother Nizār had been installed in 365/976 as the Fāṭimid Imām al-ʿAzīz bi 'llāh, Tamīm concentrated on composing poetry only. Quite often his poems, especially some long *urd̲j̲ūza*s, were dedicated to the glory of the Fāṭimid dynasty, as represented in both his father's and his brother's reign. Tamīm's laudatory poems are moreover remarkable for some scattered references to the Ismāʿīlī creed of the Fāṭimid family, and in this way Tamīm presented himself as a self-appointed propagandist of the dynasty. But these poems of his were quite often composed with an introductory section or *nasīb*. An elegant *tak̲h̲alluṣ* was then necessary to ensure the smooth transition from the profane subject of love for some distant girlfriend to the more serious praise and love for the existing Imām (P. Smoor, *Fāṭimid poets and the "Tak̲h̲alluṣ" that bridges the nights of time to the Imām of time*, in *Isl.*, lxviii [1991], 232-62).

Generally speaking, Tamīm's poems belong to different genres, among which are some *mart̲h̲iya*s, elegies on the premature deaths of his brothers ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAḳīl, on his father al-Muʿizz, and on the often violent deaths of his ʿAlid ancestors during previous centuries. On the dynastic level, Tamīm as a Fāṭimid poet tried to compare with an earlier poet, sc. the ʿAbbāsid caliph Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], in some *naḳā'iḍ* [*q.v.*] poems in which he contradicted his ʿAbbāsid adversary by pointing out how the ʿAlid's right to the caliphal throne had been usurped.

Tamīm's more frivolous poetry is remarkable for its description of expeditions to a monastery, or to a wine tavern and its cup-bearers, both girls and boys. One poem (*Dīwān*, 440-2, rhyme *hunna*) holding descriptions of wine and beautiful girls, and finally entailing praise of Tamīm's brother the Imām al-ʿAzīz, came to be criticised severely, even after a time interval of some one hundred years, by the Fāṭimid Dāʿī al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-Dīn al-S̲h̲īrāzī [*q.v.*] (see Smoor, *Wine, love and praise for the Fāṭimid Imāms*, in *ZDMG*, cxlii [1992], 94-100). As a counter-balance to his *mud̲j̲ūn*, or more probably as a matter of convention, Tamīm composed a small number of poems in an ascetic and pious mood (in the style of the *zuhdiyyāt*). He must have felt not a little admiration for Abū Nuwās, a few of whose poetic lines being quoted here and there

in Tamīm's *Dīwān* as proverbial sentences or as parts of a slave girl's song. When Tamīm died, his brother the Imām al-ʿAzīz personally arrived from ʿAyn Shams in order to perform the *ṣalāt* over him in the graveyard of al-Ḳarāfa. Finally, his remains were entombed in the precincts of the Fāṭimid palace of al-Ḳāhira.

Bibliography: *Dīwān Tamīm ibn al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh al-Fāṭimī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Aʿẓamī, Cairo 1957, Beirut 1970; *Vie de l'ustadh Jaudhar (contenant sermons, lettres et rescrits des premiers califes fâtimides) écrite par Mansûr le secrétaire*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1958; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 301-3 (no. 125); Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muḳaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī, 8 vols., Beirut 1991, ii, 588-600; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, repr. Beirut 1973, i, 436-44, in *bāb* no. 9; Brockelmann, I², 91, S I, 147; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950. (P. SMOOR)

TAMĪM B. AL-**MUʿIZZ**, Abū Yaḥyā and Abū Ṭāhir AL-ṢANHĀDJĪ, the fifth Zīrid ruler in Ifrīḳiya, b. Ṣabra 422/1031, d. after an exceptionally long reign covering 454-501/1062-1108.

ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, in his *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, Tunis 1966, i, 141-2, makes him a Ḳaḥṭānī Arab, with a genealogy back to Noah and Adam, see also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo n.d., v, 198. He inherited a kingdom dislocated by the invasions of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*], and after almost half-a-century of effort, did not succeed in "restoring Ṣanhādjī power in its state of disarray" (H.R. Idris, *Zīrides*, Paris 1962, i, 249). On the political career of Tamīm, see *ibid.*, i, 249-57, 283-302 and index, with full bibl.; here, he will be treated mainly as man and as poet. He is said to have been highly energetic, but in fact he spent his life in struggles without any clearly-defined policy or singleness of purpose and without any lasting success on all the fronts involved: in Sicily, inside his own kingdom, and against his Ḥammūdid neighbours. After a reign of almost 50 years, he left a kingdom in a worse state than before.

His qualities of heart, his culture and his fine appearance were praised. He was tall and fair-complexioned, a great lover of pretty women, above all the *banāt al-rūm* (al-Iṣfahānī, i, 156), most of whom were Christian slaves, which made him love Christian ceremonial and the singing which accompanied it (*ibid.*, i, 146). It is related that he had 110 sons and 60 daughters. Since he was a great Maecenas and lover of pleasures, his court attracted poets, cultivated persons and musicians, from Sicily, Muslim Spain and the East. Like his Fāṭimid homonym [*q.v.*], he appreciated the beauty of young boys, good wine and singing. What survives from his *dīwān* is devoted almost exclusively to these themes. Like him also, he relied, for his salvation, on the Creator's goodness and the salvational value of the sole testimony of faith (*shahādat al-ikhlāṣ*), see al-Iṣfahānī, i, 152. One seeks in vain—and this is certainly not due to the choice of his anthologists—for the slightest sign in any verse of his poetry which would allow one to suspect the political disappointments of his reign, as if the misfortunes of his subjects and his kingdom hardly touched him so long as wine flowed at his palace. A poet of his court, Ibn al-Ḥaddād, on one occasion abandoning the current platitudes of *madīḥ* or eulogy for *hidjāʾ* or satire, tells us that "He personally preferred the Byzantines" (*al-Rūm aḥsan ʿindī*) for governing his kingdom (Ibn al-Abbār, 23). This is worth stressing. Tamīm tells us about his defiance of death (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, Leiden 1948, repr. Beirut 1983, i, 303), but he spent the whole of his life looking after his health (*ibid.*, i, 304); all his verses reveal a sensualist eager for all the joys of life.

His *dīwān*, said to have been "voluminous and celebrated" (*ibid.*, i, 303), has not come down to us. Al-Iṣfahānī (i, 142-3) was able at Damascus to borrow a copy from his grandson ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Shaddād in 571/1175-6, and he has provided for us the longest and most numerous extracts (i, 143-60), classified by rhyme-order. These have served as a basis, together with other fragments drawn from various anthologies, for the reconstruction of what remains of his *dīwān* by Muḥammad al-Marzūḳī (*al-Mahdiyya wa-shāʿiruhā Tamīm*, Tunis 1980, 91-128). Tamīm undoubtedly possessed a truly poetic sense. His verses are highly flowing and perfectly adapted for singing. They were used thus and form a veritable hymn to the beauty which their author admired, above all in pretty girls and handsome boys. They continually evoke, with a poignant nostalgia, the fleeting moments of intense mental intoxication. If we had nothing else of him but his *dīwān*, one would conclude that his age was one of a happy freedom from care. The breaking waves did not spoil his epicurism. In order to enjoy life to the full, he took excessive care of his health and bodily fitness, but nevertheless finally died paralysed.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): 1. Sources. Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 304-6; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, index; Ibn Ẓāfir al-Azdī, *Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih*, Cairo 1278/1861, 97-9; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Cairo 1349/1930-1, ii, 132, 199; Muḥammad al-Nayfar, *ʿUnwān al-arīb*, Tunis 1351/1932, i, 54-5.

2. Studies. Chédly Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīqiya sous les Zīrides (362-555/972-1160)*, Tunis 1972, 206-9 and index; Aḥmad Khālid and Aḥmad al-Shābbī, *al-Mumtiʿ fī 'l-adab*, Tunis 1973, 321-422; ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Sharīf and ʿAlī Dibb, *Min turāthinā al-shiʿrī*, Tunis 1982, 11-46. (M. TALBI)

TAMĪM B. **MURR** (or Tamīm bt. Murr, when the tribe or *ḳabīla* is referred to), a very large "Northern" tribe which before Islam and in its early days lived in central and eastern Arabia. Its *nasab* is: Tamīm b. Murr b. Udd b. Ṭābikha b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān.

1. Source material.

The literary output about the Tamīm in the form of monographs is now lost. For example, Abu 'l-Yakẓān (d. 190/806), a *mawlā* of the Tamīm, compiled a monograph *Akhbār Tamīm*, and also a *K. Ḥilf Tamīm baʿḍihā baʿḍ*[an]; Ibn al-Kalbī wrote *K. ʿAdī b. Zayd* [*q.v.*] *al-ʿIbādī* and *Ḥilf Kalb wa-Tamīm*; and Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] compiled *K. Ayyām Banī Māzin wa-akhbārihim* which he dedicated to the pre-Islamic battles of one of Tamīm's subdivisions.

Before reaching the literary stage, the materials included in these and other early monographs were preserved by tribal informants, e.g. al-Kalbī (who is quoted by his son, Ibn al-Kalbī, in his *Djamharat al-nasab*) had a Tamīmī informant, Shabba b. Iyās b. Shabba b. ʿIḳāl b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Nādjiya . . . b. Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim, whose father was an indirect source of Abū ʿUbayda (who quoted from him, via another Tamīmī, a report regarding al-Farazdaḳ's [*q.v.*] father, Ghālib b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*] b. Nādjiya).

Indeed, most of what we know about Tamīm's genealogy, and much of what we know about their history, is based on materials transmitted by informants who were either members of the Tamīm or their *mawālī*, and the clash between them and non-Tamīmī

(or rather anti-Tamīmī) informants was inevitable. Was al-Akraʿ b. Ḥābis [*q.v.*] (Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim) really "the arbiter of the Arabs (*ḥakam al-ʿarab*)" before Islam—in other words, was he the holder of an inherited arbiter's office at the market of ʿUkāẓ? Abū Ghassān Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Kinānī was of the opinion that he was not: he only arbitrated one case, following which the Tamīm gave him this epithet. Was Ḥanẓala b. al-Rabīʿ al-Usayyidī one of the Prophet's scribes, and did he write down Ḳurʾān verses? According to al-Wāḳidī [*q.v.*] (who no doubt based himself on an earlier source), Ḥanẓala received the epithet *al-kātib* ("the scribe") having written for the Prophet one single letter, "because literacy (*al-kitāba*) among the Arabs was limited".

The place of honour in Tamīm's pre-Islamic glory is given to Ḥādjib b. Zurāra's [*q.v.*] bow (*ḳaws Ḥādjib*). During severe drought Ḥādjib asked for Kisrā's [*q.v.*] permission to graze his tribe's herds at the fringes of the sown land. As a guarantee of good conduct he pledged his bow, a humble item which, however, acquired great value through the prestige and authority of its owner.

No wonder that the Tamīm (or rather the Dārim) were very proud of this story in which the Persian emperor allegedly showed great respect to traditional tribal values, whereas Tamīm's adversaries in their turn attempted to belittle the importance of the emperor's gesture.

2. Genealogy.

The Tamīm were divided into three branches the eponyms of which were Tamīm's three sons, Zayd Manāt, ʿAmr and al-Ḥārith. In the Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm branch, the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt (Saʿd Tamīm, "Saʿd al-Aktharīn", "Saʿd al-Suʿūd") were said to have equalled in number the whole of Muḍar; one of these Saʿd was al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*]. The children of Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt except Kaʿb and ʿAmr—these two were referred to as *al-buṭūn*—formed a group called *al-abnāʾ* (*nisba*: al-Abnāwī).

Most Saʿdīs belonged to the line of Kaʿb b. Saʿd. Two of Kaʿb's sons (probably ʿAmr and ʿAwf) were called *al-mazrūʿān*ʿ "because of their large number and their numerous herds", while the rest of his sons were called *al-adjārib* ("the scabby ones"). ʿAmr b. Kaʿb's son Muḳāʿis was the father of several tribal groups. The Ṣuraym b. Muḳāʿis were the group of the founders (or alleged founders) of two sects of the Khāridjites [*q.v.*], the Ṣufriyya [*q.v.*] and the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*]. Among Muḳāʿis's offspring, the ʿUbayd b. Muḳāʿis line was the most significant one. All of ʿUbayd's children but Minḳar were called *al-lubad* (or *al-libad*), their central component being the Murra b. ʿUbayd, the group of al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays. The two most famous Minḳarīs were the Companions Ḳays b. ʿĀṣim and ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam [*q.vv.*], who was the great-grandfather of the orator Khālid b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*].

The other strong subdivision of the Kaʿb b. Saʿd was the ʿAwf b. Kaʿb. Among ʿAwf's children, the offspring of Ḳurayʿ b. ʿAwf included the Banū Anf al-Nāḳa; four other children of ʿAwf formed a group called *al-adjdhāʿ* (or *al-djidhāʿ*). A family of one of the *adjdhāʿ* groups held an office related to the Meccan pilgrimage which in later times was considered one of the greatest merits of the Tamīm (Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*[2], ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1378/1959 f., xv, 126-7).

The main group among the Mālik b. Zayd Manāt was the Ḥanẓala b. Mālik [*q.v.*] (Ḥanẓalat Tamīm, "Ḥanẓala al-Akramīn"). Five (or six, or four) components of the Ḥanẓala—the less numerous ones—formed the *barādjim* group (pl. of *burdjuma* or "knuckle") against their brothers, Yarbūʿ, Mālik and Rabīʿa, sons of Ḥanẓala.

The most prominent figures among the Yarbūʿ b. Ḥanẓala at the time of the Prophet were Mālik b. Nuwayra [*q.v.*], "the *ʿarīf* [*q.v.*] of the Thaʿlaba b. Yarbūʿ" (a subdivision of the Yarbūʿ) and his brother, Mutammim b. Nuwayra [*q.v.*].

The Yarbūʿ were one of the *djamarāt al-ʿarab* or "the burning coals of the Arabs", i.e. tribes which were able to defend themselves without allying themselves with other tribes. The main component of the Yarbūʿ was Riyāḥ b. Yarbūʿ. The Riyāḥ did not attach themselves to Yarbūʿ's other sons. Four of these sons born by the same mother formed a group called *al-aḥmāl*, while three other sons formed a group called *al-ʿuḳad* (or *al-ʿuḳadāʾ*). Separate groups among the ʿUḳad were the Ghudāna b. Yarbūʿ, Ṣubayr b. Yarbūʿ, Kulayb b. Yarbūʿ (one of whom was the poet Djarīr [*q.v.*]) and the ʿUḳfān who descended from al-ʿAnbar b. Yarbūʿ.

The dominant group among the Mālik b. Ḥanẓala (according to some, among the Tamīm as a whole) was the Dārim b. Mālik, or rather the ʿAbd Allāh b. Dārim. The offspring of Mālik's other sons formed three groups: the children of Ṭuhayya. The two most commonly mentioned are ʿAwf and Abū Sūd (or Abū Sawd), but some add Djushaysh or Ḥushaysh or Khushaysh and (al-)Ṣudayy. Most genealogists, however, include (al-)Ṣudayy in another group of Mālik's descendants whose members were called, again after their mother, Banu ʾl-ʿAdawiyya (or Balʿadawiyya). The Banū Ṭuhayya and Banu ʾl-ʿAdawiyya formed the *djimār* group and "were with the Yarbūʿ". Yet another group of Mālik b. Ḥanẓala's descendants, *al-khishāb* (or *al-khashabāt*), included the offspring of Mālik's sons, Rabīʿa, Rizām and Kaʿb.

Among the Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓala independent tribal groups can be discerned through their *nisbas*: Nahshal, Manāf, Sadūs, Abān and Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim. A biographical dictionary, with reference to a certain *muḥaddith* or traditionist, uses four *nisbas* while moving from the general to the particular: al-Tamīmī, *thumma* al-Ḥanẓalī, *thumma* al-Dārimī, *thumma* al-Mudjāshiʿī. The three best known Mudjāshiʿīs were al-Akraʿ ("the bald") b. Ḥābis, al-Farazdaḳ and al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*].

The dominant line among the ʿAbd Allāh b. Dārim was Zayd b. ʿAbd Allāh. All but one of Zayd's descendants formed a group called *al-aḥlāf*; the pedigree of al-Mundhir b. Sāwā [*q.v.*], the governor of Hadjar [see AL-ḤASĀ] at the time of the Prophet, goes back to one of the *aḥlāf* groups, the ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Dārim.

The ʿAmr b. Tamīm branch ("ʿAmr al-Ashaddīn") included several subdivisions, the most important one being Banu ʾl-ʿAnbar (or Balʿanbar) b. ʿAmr. Al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr was given the nickname al-Ḥabiṭ (which was probably pejorative) and his offspring were known as al-Ḥabiṭāt (*nisba*: al-Ḥabaṭī); ʿAbbādān near Baṣra was called after one of them, the *murābiṭ* [see RIBĀṬ] ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn. The main component of the Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm was the Māzin b. Mālik. Other groups were the Ḥirmāz b. Mālik and the Ghaylān b. Mālik.

The least important branch of Tamīm was al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm and its members were the clients of the Nahshal b. Dārim. Rather than referring to the members of this branch by the *nisba* al-Ḥārithī, the more distinctive *nisba* al-Shaḳarī or al-Shaḳirī was preferred, al-Shaḳira being the nickname of al-Ḥārith's son, Muʿāwiya.

A BASIC GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE TAMĪM b. MURR

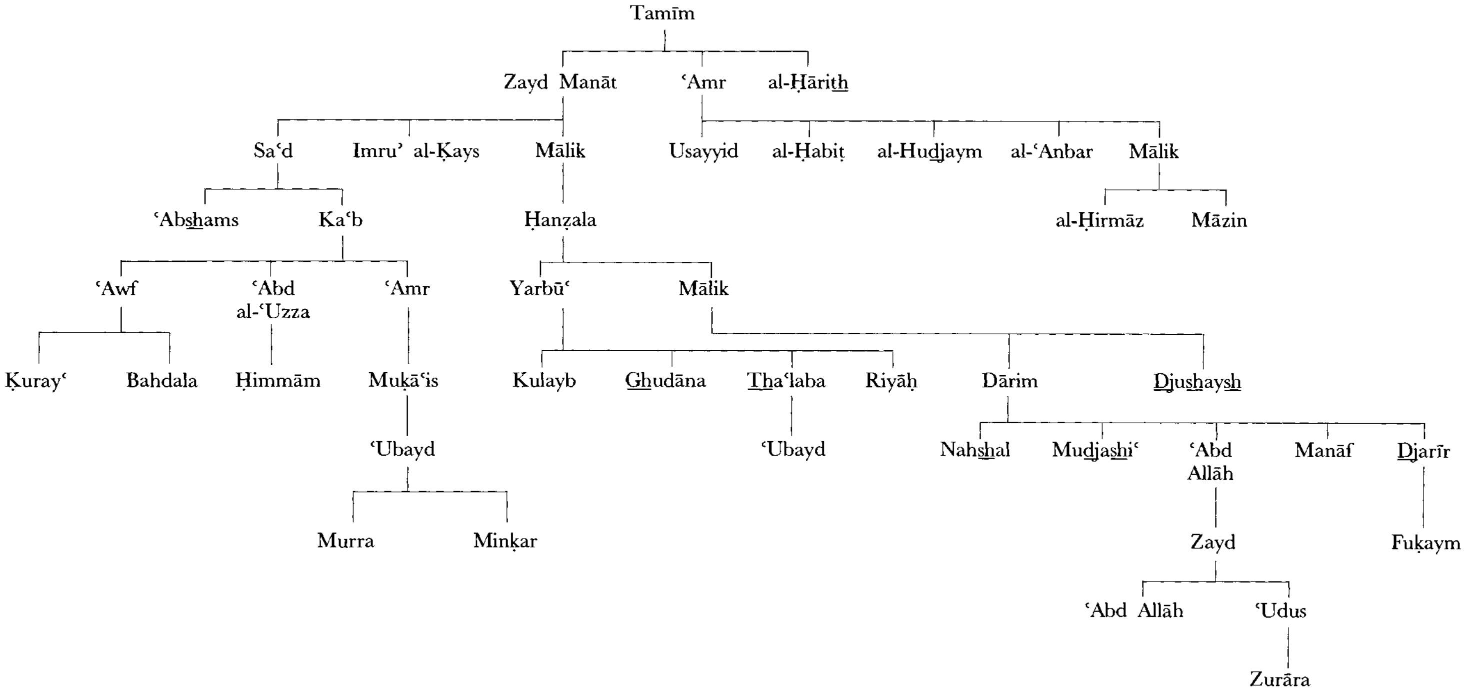

3. History.

Tamīm's territory before Islam was in Nadjd around al-Yamāma [*q.v.*] and it stretched to the Gulf, Baṣra, and al-ʿUdhayb near Kūfa (for detailed evidence see al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī [Lughda], *Bilād al-ʿarab*, ed. Ḥ. al-Djāsir and Ṣ.A. al-ʿAlī, Riyāḍ 1968, *passim*; see also the relevant entries and maps in U. Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie*, Wiesbaden 1958). They owned several rich grazing areas such as Ḥazn Banī Yarbūʿ, al-Faldj and al-Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*].

Not all Tamīmīs were nomadic before Islam. Many of them were semi-nomads or sedentaries inhabiting the oases and villages of al-Washm and eastern Arabia. In the early Islamic period, more Tamīmīs became sedentary and settled in permanent settlements and villages while other tribes gradually claimed parts of their territory. But many, perhaps most Tamīmīs remained pastoral (or semi-nomadic), reluctant to abandon their fine grazing grounds and watering-places; hence the frequent mention in the genealogical literature of the nomadic sections of the tribe. The Tamīmīs who settled in ʿIrāḳ were not cut off from their nomadic brothers who were a kind of military, political and economic hinterland.

Beside the battles described in the *ayyām* literature, Tamīm's historiography of the pre-Islamic period is dominated by two crucial relationships, with the Sāsānids [*q.v.*] and Ḥīra and with Mecca. We turn first to the Sāsānid/Ḥīran connection. The Tamīm, among other tribes, were instrumental in the transportation and defence of Sāsānid and Ḥīran trade. Trade interests were presumably behind at least some of Tamīm's long-range expeditions to the Yemen. For example, al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis (Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim) attacked, after the second battle of al-Kulāb (which took place after 620), the Ḥārith b. Kaʿb [*q.v.*] in Nadjrān [*q.v.*].

The institution of *ridāfa* or viceroyship to the king of Ḥīra in which the Tamīm and other tribes participated was essential in establishing Ḥīra's control over the Bedouin. The privileges associated with it, some ceremonial and some material, served to buy off potentially dangerous tribes. Tamīm could offer the Sāsānids a strong military potential. Obviously, the cooperation was not one between equals, since the Bedouin depended on food supplies from settlements controlled by the Sāsānids. Hadjar, for example, was the largest date-producing oasis of Northern Arabia and access to its market was vital for the Bedouin roaming its vicinity.

Hadjar was an important venue of Tamīmī-Persian cooperation. Al-Mundhir b. Sāwā (of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbdallah b. Dārim), in his capacity as the governor of al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] or of Hadjar, only had authority over the Arabs. In Baḥrayn, precisely as in Ḥīra, ʿUmān and Yemen (after the Sāsānid conquest of *ca.* 575), there was also a superior Persian governor. All this changed with the advent of Islam, when al-Mundhir became the Prophet's governor in al-Baḥrayn or in Hadjar.

Tamīm's Meccan connection is less obvious than the Sāsānid/Ḥīran one. It is true that the pre-Islamic history of Mecca was recorded during the Islamic period, when the name Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] stood for power and wealth, but Tamīm's relationship with pre-Islamic Mecca is no doubt a solid historical fact (see M.J. Kister's articles in the *Bibl.*; the first, or the second, husband of Khadīdja [*q.v.*] before she married the Prophet had been a Tamīmī; see Kister, *The sons of Khadīja*, in *JSAI*, xvi [1993], 59-95, at 59-66; on this and other Tamīmīs who settled in Mecca in the Djāhiliyya, see idem, *On strangers and allies in Mecca*, in *JSAI*, xiii [1990], 113-54, at 113-26).

The evidence about Tamīm's connection with the Prophet is a plethora of confused and contradictory reports because every trivial detail acquired in due course immense importance. What is more, the evidence was further obscured by a process of redaction (cf. E. Landau-Tasseron, *Process of redaction: the case of the Tamīmite delegation to the Prophet Muḥammad*, in *BSOAS*, xlix [1986], 253-270, esp. 256-7, 270).

Both Baṣra and Kūfa were extensions of Tamīm's Arabian territories and there were large Tamīmī groups in both. The Tamīmīs in Baṣra belonged to the Saʿd, the Ḥanẓala and the ʿAmr; members of the same groups were among the early settlers in Kūfa as well. Many Tamīmīs settled in the regions of Persia conquered by Baṣran and Kūfan troops.

Tamīm's weight in the tribal population of ʿIrāḳ and the eastern provinces meant that they were involved in every major event of early Islam which took place in these regions. Five hundred of them are said to have been killed in the Battle of the Camel [see DJAMAL], in which the Saʿd did not participate. Shortly afterwards, the Saʿd were part of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's [*q.v.*] army at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], together with many fellow tribesmen from Baṣra and Kūfa. There were no Tamīmī units on Muʿāwiya's side. Tamīm's strong support for ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn was not the best prelude for a prosperous relationship with the Umayyads; but no government could control ʿIrāḳ and the eastern provinces without Tamīm's participation and support. The many Tamīmīs who held government positions under the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids reflect their tribe's influence in ʿIrāḳ (especially in the south), ʿUmān, al-Baḥrayn and throughout the east; few Tamīmīs officiated as governors elsewhere.

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TAMĪM al-DĀRĪ, a Christian from Palestine [see filasṭīn] who became a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad. He converted to Islam at the time of the Prophet while other members of his family remained Christians and paid the poll-tax. Tamīm is said to have received from the Prophet a grant of land; a *waḳf* [*q.v.*] carrying his name still exists in Hebron [see al-khalīl].

Tamīm's origin is disputed. His *nisba* al-Dārī is said to relate to a subdivision (*baṭn*) of the Lakhm [*q.v.*] called al-Dār, and his pedigree testifies to his Arab origin. However, al-Shaʿbī [*q.v.*] lists him among the non-Arabs (*ʿadjam*) who fought at Badr [*q.v.*] (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 455, l. 3).

After his conversion, Tamīm lived in Medina. He emigrated (or rather returned) to Syria after the murder of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (35/656). According to a report purporting to describe a meeting between Tamīm and Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ [*q.v.*], Tamīm was then the governor (*amīr*) of Bayt al-Maḳdis. However, other versions of the same report place the meeting in *Masdjid Ibrāhīm*, i.e. Hebron (see e.g. al-Musharraf b. al-Muradjdjā, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maḳdis*..., ed. O. Livne-Kafri, Shfaram 1995, 349), and it cannot be ruled out that in this context Bayt al-Maḳdis means Hebron. Tamīm's tomb is said to be located north of Bayt Djibrīn [*q.v.*]. The inscription on his tombstone reportedly stated that he died in 40 A.H. (660-1); but according to some he died before then.

The links between Tamīm and Mecca, which go back to pre-Islamic times, were probably based on trade; Tamīm and his brother used to conduct trade with Mecca and after the Prophet's Hidjra they made Medina their destination. Tamīm was a wine merchant: according to his own somewhat unorthodox testimony, he used to grant the Prophet every year a wine-bag until the drinking of wine was forbidden. This trade is also mentioned in a report about a slave of his called Sirādj; together with his master and other slaves, Sirādj carried wine to Medina, and in due course became *sādin Bayt al-Maḳdis* (cf. A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic worship*, Leiden 1995, 55, l. 6).

Tamīm, possibly conceived of by Islamic tradition as representing Christian monasticism, is associated with several devotional practices. For example, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca on foot, running and resting along the way (al-Wāsiṭī, *Ta'rīkh Wāsiṭ*, ed. K. ʿAwwād, Beirut 1406/1986, 150).

Tamīm reportedly introduced in Islam's public worship several innovations, the Christian-Palestinian origin of which is openly admitted. He introduced oil-lamps in the Prophet's mosque and built in it a pulpit [see minbar] modelled on the pulpits of Syrian churches. Some claimed that, under ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Tamīm started story-telling in Islam [see ḳāṣṣ]. Reportedly, he was the source of eschatological traditions on the Antichrist and the Beast [see al-dadjdjāl; al-djassāsa]; the *ḥadīth al-djassāsa* has a unique position since the Prophet himself "transmitted it on Tamīm's authority". Tamīm was likewise famous as an intrepid traveller, allegedly penetrating to the lands of darkness (*bilād al-ẓulma*) and the lands "behind the Byzantines" (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Taʿrīf fi 'l-ansāb*, ed. Ẓalām, Cairo 1407/1987, 252).

The letters regarding Tamīm's grant are generally considered an early forgery. It appears that between the murder of ʿUthmān and Tamīm's death several years later, the members of Tamīm's clan seized former Byzantine domains and were allowed to hold them; the letters were supposed to legitimise this situation, which won official approval.

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TA'MĪM (a., Pers. *millī*, *kardan*, Tkish. *devletleştirme*), all neologisms for nationalisation (in Turkish, probably with *Verstaatlichung* in mind), i.e. the state's assumption of control or ownership of natural resources, services or economic enterprises, from private individuals or corporations. The explicit or implicit reasoning offered is that nationalisation conforms with social advancement and the public good. The term was employed in 19th-century Europe, together with the political and socio-economic philosophy implied. Its use in Muslim lands dates from the 20th century, after both World Wars, when several Muslim states became semi- or entirely independent, automatically receiving ownership of certain natural resources from their former colonial rulers. However, the issue became prominent chiefly after the Second World War, when the number of Muslim states rose substantially and some of their ruling élites were influenced by radical ideologies, both leftist and rightist. Nationalisation was considered a panacea for the problems of the people. Socialist and Communist writers in Arabic and Persian during the 1940s and 1950s, and in Turkish during the 1960s, pointed out what they perceived as the success of nationalisation in the Soviet Union and, later, in China, Great Britain and France. They recommended, as part of economic planning, rapid nationalisation of their countries' main resources, sc. land and oil. Not surprisingly, these were nationalised first (with others, such as foreign schools and companies, rail and sea transport, to follow) in several states. For oil, the main argument was that it belonged to the nation, which was taking it over to consolidate independence, secure social justice and ensure economic development. Its nationalisation in Iran (passed by Parliament, the law was approved by the Shāh on 2 May 1951) served as a model for other Muslim oil producers, such as Libya (1970), Algeria (1971), and ʿIrāḳ (1972), together with Syria, regarding the latter's transit fees, and Indonesia. By 1976, most major operating oil companies in the Middle East and North Africa had been taken over by the governments. In some states, like Iran, Saudi Arabia, Libya and ʿIrāḳ, oil revenues were used, at least partly, for public investment and industrial development. Agricultural countries with no substantial oil revenues nationalised land, together with, firstly, foreign, and then local capital. In 1952 Syria started expropriating land and

redistributing it, followed by Egypt in 1952 and at later stages in 1954, Indonesia annulled its union with the Netherlands and nationalised all Dutch plantations. In 1956, Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal Company; in 1957, financial, monetary and banking networks; in 1958, all foreign schools; and, in the early 1960s, private newspapers, public utilities, transportation, insurance companies, foreign trade, the larger industries and the fortunes of 400 wealthy Egyptians. By then, Indonesia had nationalised the remaining Dutch properties in 1958. Algeria (1963) and Tunisia (1964) nationalised agricultural lands owned by foreigners and then other economic assets. In 1964, ʿIrāḳ nationalised all banks, insurance companies and 32 large industrial firms. Libya nationalised all foreign banks in 1969, and all foreign oil interests, as well as Italian properties, in 1970. A conference of non-aligned states meeting in Algiers in September 1973 proclaimed nationalisation to be a legitimate procedure. Finally, immediately following the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the Iranian government nationalised all banks, insurance companies and most large manufacturing and mining enterprises, as part of the Islamisation of the economy.

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(J.M. Landau)

TAMĪMA (A., pl. *tamāʾim*, synonyms *taʿwīd̲h̲*, *ʿūd̲h̲a*), amulet, talisman (for a wider consideration of this last, see ṬILSAM). In origin, it means a stone with white speckles on a black field or vice-versa, threaded on a thong or cord and worn round the neck to avert danger. The Arabs placed such stones on their children, believing that it would protect them from the evil eye, ill fate, sickness and death, having thereby recourse to someone other than God, Who alone is capable of preventing evil and fixing the destiny of His creatures. Hence insofar as this practice was associated with another power than God's, Islam condemned such belief; but, when these *maʿād̲h̲āt* contain verses of the Ḳurʾān and invoke the Most Beautiful Names of God, they are licit.

But the root *t-m-m* also contains the idea of completion and perfection. Hence wearing an amulet, it is hoped, is an efficacious remedy and a perfect cure. In the invocation *aʿūd̲h̲u bi-kalimāt Allāh al-tāmmāt*, the last word means that "God's words are profitable for whoever invokes them; they preserve him from evil and suffice for him" (*TʿA*, s.v.).

Taʿwīd̲h̲ "placing oneself under the protection of God" is frequent in the Ḳurʾān (II, 67; III, 36; XI, 17; etc.), and these verses are often used in the preparing of amulets. These invocations may be written down and hung from the neck or simply pronounced or yet again soaked in some water which is then drunk, hence the name of the philtre given to them (whence *filakṭīrāt* = φυλακτήρια).

Ḥadīth also provides significant elements for this usage, still current in certain milieux. "Amongst the ten faults detested by the Prophet... [is] wearing *tamāʾim*", says a *k̲h̲abar* repeated four times by Ibn Ḥanbal (i, 38, 381, 397, 439; see also al-Nasāʾī, *zīna*, 17; Abū Dāwūd, *k̲h̲ātam*, 3). Likewise attributed to him is the saying "Whoever bears a *tamīma*, may God not bring him to a safe goal (*lā atamma lahu*). Another *ḥadīth* puts on the same level three actions very different from each other: "drinking a drug (*tiryāḳ*) or wearing a *tamīma* or speaking poetry" (Abū Dāwūd, *ṭibb*, 10; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 223). Three practices stem from paganism (*s̲h̲irk*): *ruḳā* or charms [see RUḲYA], *tamāʾim* and *tiwala* "spells by means of which a woman seeks to gain a man's love" (Abū Dāwūd, *ṭibb*, 17; Ibn Mād̲j̲a, *ṭibb*, 39).

The effects expected from these amulets are various: as well as protection from the evil eye, they may be used to excite love or hatred between men and women, win over one person's love for another by arousing a voracious passion, excite sexual desire or destroy it, create discord and enmity between persons, cause people to fall ill or die by slow poisoning, wasting away or disjunction of limbs, protect oneself against the malevolence of others, etc. (see Fahd, in the volume devoted to *Sciences occultes en Islam*, in BEO, xliv [1992], 40-1). On the whole practice, inherited from the *D̲j̲āhiliyya* and Islamised thanks to the usages of the Prophet himself, see Fahd, in the volume of *Sources orientales*, vii, called *Le monde du sorcier*, Paris 1966, 179

ff., in which numerous examples are given. See also, as part of these usages of natural or white magic, NĪRANDJ, RUKYA and SIḤR.

Bibliography: See also J. Robson, *The magical use of Koran*, in *Trans. Glasgow Or. Soc.*, lxi (1929-33), 51-60. For an analogous use in the Psalms, esp. Pss. xcii, xciii, see M. Gaster, art. *Charms and amulets* (*Jewish*), in *ERE*, citing a work called *Shimmush tehillim* related to this usage. On the bad effects of and the warding off of the evil eye, see Doutté, *Magie et religion en Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 37 ff., and cf. S. Seligman, *Die Zauberkraft des Auges und das Berufen*, Berlin 1922; idem, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, 2 vols., Berlin 1910; E.F.C. Lake, *Some notes on the evil eye round the Mediterranean basin*, in *Folk-Lore*, xliv (1938), 93-8; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes en pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 376-80; A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and divination*, ch. iv, Magic and sorcery, and Note C, Magic and religion; R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, ii, *Amulette und Beschwörungen*, Wiesbaden 1961 (with 104 pls.). For further refs., see the bibl. to *Sources orientales*, vii, cited above, at 201-4.

(T. FAHD)

TAMMĀM B. GHĀLIB, Abū Ghālib Tammām b. Ghālib b. ʿUmar, also known by the name **IBN AL-TAYYĀN(Ī)** (sometimes AL-TAYYĀN), Andalusian lexicographer and philologist, d. 436/1044. He was considered by his contemporaries as the undisputed master of the science of language (*kāna muḳaddam^an fī ʿilm al-lisān, musallamat^an lahu al-lugha*: Ibn Ḥayyān, ed. al-Abyārī, Cairo-Beirut 1989; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, i, 201), which earned him the title of *al-lughawī* "the lexicographer, lexicologist" which biographers often attach to his name, sometimes followed by the epithet *adīb* (*ibid.*, ii, 665; al-Ḥumaydī, *Djudhwa*, ii, 639-40; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, Cairo 1986, i, 294).

Originally from Cordova, where he was born at an uncertain date, probably during the second half of the 4th/10th century, he spent much of his life in Murcia and died in Almeria. He studied in the city of his birth as a pupil of his father, Ghālib (who was himself the pupil, among others, of the eminent Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya [d. 367/977], *apud* Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, ii, 665; cf. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1973, i, 256, who mentions him among the masters of Aḥmad b. ʿAbbās Ibn Zakariyyā [d. 427/1036]), attended courses given by numerous Cordovan masters, including ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Sufyān Ibn Djubrūn [d. 395/1005] and was specifically the disciple of the very eminent grammarian and lexicographer Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989).

Although he received a thorough education in all branches of knowledge, including *adab* and poetry (al-Ḥumaydī, *Djudhwa*, ii, 639-40, quotes four verses rhyming in *-ri* which are attributed to him), he distinguished himself particularly in the realm of the linguistic sciences.

Very meagre information is available regarding his activity as a teacher, but it is known that he taught in Murcia (Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 166) and in Almeria, whither he was summoned by the governor of the town who entrusted to him the education of his son and the sons of other dignitaries (Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 360). Among those who studied with him, we know of a certain Ibn Maḍāʾ (*var.* Ibn Maḍā) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (not to be confused with the author of the *K. al-Radd ʿalā ʾl-nuḥāt*) (Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, ii, 746, where Ibn al-Tayyānī should be read in place of al-Bayyānī; *Inbāh*, iii, 215), and according to a statement by Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Hishām al-Muṣḥafī (d. 481/1089), he met Tammām twice in Murcia; he does not, however, indicate whether he was a student of his or not.

As for his writings, biographers attribute two works to him: *al-Mūʿab* and *Talḳīḥ al-ʿayn* (Ismāʿīl Bāshā, i, 245-6; Kraemer, 218-19; Kaḥḥāla, iii, 92-3; Ziriklī, ii, 70; Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 256; al-Sharḳāwī, 205, 220) while the ancient sources speak, often without indicating the title, of a single and unique work. The latter unanimously stress the intellectual rigour and the piety of Ibn al-Tayyānī. As illustration of his supreme morality and his disregard for personal gain, they relate the anecdote according to which Mudjāhid al-ʿĀmirī [*q.v.*], prince of Denia and of Algeciras, offered him 1,000 dīnārs in exchange for the dedication of his work to himself, but Tammām refused the money and would not accede to his request, declaring that he was not prepared to lie and that his book had been composed for the benefit of every *ṭālib* ("person who desires to learn") and not for any specific person.

In his article *al-Mūʿab, précieux dictionnaire arabe aujourd'hui retrouvé, al-Mūʿab muʿdjam ʿarabī badīʿ fuḳid fa-wudjid*, in *Lughat al-ʿArab*, iv/1 (1914), 5-14, Père Anastase-Marie al-Karmalī showed, largely through a process of comparing the edited texts of certain biographies (in particular those of the *Ṣila* and the *Djudhwa*) and manuscript texts which he seems to have possessed, that *talḳīḥ al-ʿayn* is not the title of a work but is, in fact, an erroneous reading of the expression *bi-fatḥ al-ʿayn* which originally followed the title *al-Mūʿab*. It is introduced in order to specify that this word should be read as the passive participle, with *fatḥa* on the *ʿayn*. P. Anastase-Marie is probably right that Tammām b. Ghālib in fact compiled only one dictionary of the Arabic language, which he intitled *al-Mūʿab* "accumulated, complete (work)". However, the present writer considers that the expression *talḳīḥ al-ʿayn* could well be another title by which *al-Mūʿab* was known, or even a qualificative which recalls the close connection existing between this dictionary and the famous *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (cf. Ibn al-Khayr, *op. cit.*, claiming to have studied *Talḳīḥ al-ʿayn*; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, x, 398, where this title only is mentioned).

At all events, the work is described on the one hand as a most useful dictionary, extremely thorough and comprehensive, and on the other as a dictionary possessing the distinction of containing everything that is correct in the *K. al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl including all the indications drawn from the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* and poetry, while excluding forged attestations, erroneous readings and corruptions. In addition, it integrates all the material presented by Ibn Durayd in his *Djamhara*; as a result *al-Mūʿab* may be regarded as enfolding these two works, showing to the best advantage the material contained in the *K. al-ʿAyn* and the *Djamhara* (al-Suyūṭi, *Muzhir*, i, 88-9).

As regards his method of composition, the above-mentioned article by P. Anastase-Marie (11-14) supplies a clear description and an informative example. It emerges that Ibn al-Tayyānī organised the entries in his dictionary according to the patterns and forms of verbs and nouns, classifying these verbs and nouns in alphabetical order according to the last radical. Each entry is followed by a very brief definition and only such poetical or prosaic attestations as are strictly necessary, and in most cases he neglects to indicate his sources (cf. al-Wadghīrī, 61-6).

The *Mūʿab* seems to have enjoyed great success, particularly among scholars of al-Andalus, as is demonstrated by the compliments addressed to it by Ibn Ḥazm (*Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*, in al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*,

ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 171-2) and al-Shaḳundī (*Risāla fī 'l-difāʿ ʿan al-Andalus*, in *ibid.*, 190), citing it among the illustrious works which constitute the pride of the Andalusians. But for reasons which remain mysterious, this dictionary did not appeal to the general public and soon fell into oblivion.

The discovery of the manuscript of *al-Muʿab* in the second decade of this century by P. Anastase-Marie, and the knowledge that the material was at that time preserved in the Library of the Mission of the Carmelite Fathers of Mesopotamia (Baghdād) was welcome news to students of Arabic lexicography. But in view of the declaration by that eminent scholar that the work would never leave that place (*lā yakhrudju minhu abad al-dahr: art. cit.*, 11), it appears, regrettably, that the dictionary itself will remain inaccessible for a considerable period of time.

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TAMMĀM B. **GHĀLIB** [see AL-FARAZDAḲ].

TAMMĀR (A.), the seller of dates, often found as a *nisba* of merchants who traded in dates and known also as one for traditionists and holy men, such as Dāwūd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Tammār, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Tammār and ʿAlī b. Shuʿayb al-Tammār (see al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 72-4; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb*, Cairo 1939, 180-1).

The date-palm fulfilled many uses in the Islamic societies of the Arab and Persian lands, not merely with its fruit as food but with its wood, branches and fronds for a variety of uses, from basket-weaving and constructing boats to building houses; see for these, NAKHL. Some places had special markets for date-selling, and al-Samhūdī mentions a *sūḳ al-tammārīn* in Medina (*Wafāʾ al-wafā*, ii, 758-9). The *ḥisba* literature records that the *muḥtasibs* should regularly inspect the shops of *tammārūn* in order to ensure that dates were stored in containers, which were to be cleaned daily, ensuring that the dates did not rot.

Dates were produced in the oases of the Arabian peninsula, in those of North Africa, along the Gulf shores of Persia and in the province of Kirmān, etc., with the Sawād of Baṣra especially famed for its abundance of dates, their cheapness and their manifold varieties. Trade in dates was always extensive, and Kirmān, for instance, produced so much that caravans of *tammārūn* travelled thither, and in an exceptionally good harvest year, 100 *manns* of dates sold for as little as a dirham. In North Africa, a camel-load of dates could reportedly be bought for two dirhams, and dates were exported across the Sahara by merchants in exchange for gold and slaves.

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TAMMŪZ, the tenth month in the Syriac calendar. Its name is derived from that of the fourth Jewish month with which it roughly coincides. It corresponds to July in the Roman calendar and like it has 31 days. According to al-Bīrūnī, in Tammūz the lunar stations 8 and 9 rise and 22 and 23 set; the days on which one rose and the other, 14 days apart from it, set were the 10th and 23rd. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, on the other hand, stations 7 and 8 rise, 21 and 22 set, on the 4th and 17th respectively. In the year 1300 of the Seleucid era (A.D. 989), according to al-Bīrūnī, the stars of the stations mentioned by al-Ḳazwīnī rose and set on the 9th and 23rd. See also TAʾRĪKH. I.

Bibliography: Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, 60, 70, 347-50 (in the English translation, the pagination of the Arabic text is given at the side); Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 44-5, 49, 78-9, German tr. Ethé, 93-4, 101-2, 160-1; Ginzel, *Handbuch d. meth. u. techn. Chron.*, i, 1906, 263 ff.

(M. PLESSNER)

TAMR [see NAKHL].

TAMTHĪL (A.), literally "the adducing of a likeness, example; representation".

1. In grammar.

Here, it is used in various senses. As a denominative from *mathal* "example", it denotes the citing of examples and the technique of definition by exemplification (cf. Versteegh, 59, n. 8), while from *mathal* in the extended meaning of "proverb", it denotes the creation or use of such expressions; thus the phrase *ʿalayhi mālᵘⁿ* is called a *tamthīl* by al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*] (*al-Muḳtaḍab*, i, 51) "because [the debt] has got on top of him", a usage which clearly overlaps with *tamthīl* in rhetoric.

As a denominative from *mithāl* "pattern", *tamthīl* has become synonymous with *wazn* "measure" in morphology, but by far its most interesting syntactic application is found in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi [*q.v.*]. Ayoub, 14, paraphrases the term as "a systematic recourse to paradigm and to a relation of equivalence between an utterance and a sequence that 'is not said'", the essential feature being that the ideal patterns represent a theoretical standard which is never realised. Hence Sībawayhi can say that *mā ṣanaʿta wa-akhāka* "what have you been doing with your brother?" is semantically and structurally equivalent to **mā ṣanaʿta akhāka*, even though the latter is an incomprehensible (*muḥāl*) utterance which cannot be said (*ibid.*, 3). By this means, Sībawayhi is able to invoke paradigms of the highest abstraction, unsayable for that reason alone, which is good evidence of his theoretical sophistication. Later grammarians replaced this device with *taḳdīr* [*q.v.*], raising many important questions for which answers have yet to be found.

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2. In rhetoric.

Here, it means literally "providing a *mat̲h̲al*". One of the meanings of *mat̲h̲al* being "proverbial saying", in works of rhetoric and poetics *tamt̲h̲īl* often simply means "producing a proverb" [see mat̲h̲al]. Since Ḳudāma b. D̲j̲aʿfar [*q.v.*], the term has also been used for specific forms of figurative speech, and in particular, through the influential studies of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī [*q.v.*] in his *Asrār al-balāg̲h̲a*, for a simile [see tas̲h̲bīh] or a metaphor [see istiʿāra] based on analogy which is sentence-based and not the mere substitution of one word for another; a standard example is the Ḳurʾānic comparison of "those burdened with the Torah but who do not understand it" to an "ass carrying books" (LXII, 5). Scholastic rhetoric in the school of al-Sakkākī [*q.v.*] often discusses it under simile (*tas̲h̲bīh tamt̲h̲īlī*) and metaphor (*istiʿāra tamt̲h̲īliyya*). It is clear that *tamt̲h̲īl* underlies many old-established proverbs, and that it may produce new poetic utterances that may serve as proverbs. Since *mat̲h̲al* has also been used for "parable" or "fable", *tamt̲h̲īl* sometimes refers to the genre of allegorical tales.

The *maṣdar* of the form V verb, i.e. *tamat̲h̲t̲h̲ul*, is often used to denote the activity of someone who quotes a line or two of poetry to encapsulate the gist of the situation in which he finds himself—just as one would use a proverb. As a literary technique, it is very popular in e.g. the *Arabian Nights*.

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TANAS, conventionally Ténès, a town on the coast of Algeria (lat. 36° 30' N., long. 1° 18' E.) equidistant from Algiers and Arzew. This Berber town had near it in Antiquity a Phoenician trading-post and then a Punic landing-stage. Although the site has no protection against westerly and northwesterly winds, the mouth of the Wād ʿAllāla gives natural protection for ships. The different Latin names (Cartenna, Cartinna, Cartennas and the pl. Cartennae) suggest that there were two townships, the ancient, Berber one in a loop of the Wād 1.5 km/1 mile south of its mouth, and its satellite, the port. In Roman times it came within the western part of Mauritania Caesarensis, with a colony of veterans of Augustus in 30 B.C. In the 4th century A.D. the region was laid waste during the revolt of Firmus (370-5), and Cartennae took part in the Rogatist schism.

In Islamic times, two colonies of maritime adventurers, *baḥriyyūn*, from al-Andalus installed themselves at Tanas in 262/875-6. Their numbers increased, but many of them emigrated to Pechina to found a petty state there. The town had a stronghold (*ḥiṣn*) and the "mosque of Old Tanas" has a mixture of Idrīsid and Ag̲h̲labid styles reflecting the different occupations of the town in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries. The river provided water for irrigation, hence agriculture as well as maritime trade flourished there. According to al-Bakrī, the town wall had five gates. The town was at this time (5th/11th century) called Tanas al-Ḥadīt̲h̲a in distinction from the *ḥiṣn* and the Roman ruins, called Tanas al-Ḳadīma. In 298/910 the Fāṭimids occupied the town, but it was soon afterwards taken by Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya al-Mag̲h̲rāwī, a vassal of the Umayyads of Cordova. In 473/1080 the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲ufīn captured it and the Mag̲h̲rāwa lands as far as Algiers. At this time, the town had several baths, and it flourished through being on a road connecting eastern with western Algeria, al-Masīla with Tilimsān or Tlemcen. At the opening of the 7th/13th century Tanas formed part of the domains of Mandīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mag̲h̲rāwī, a vassal of the Ḥafṣids, after the fall of the Almohads. It seems to have been a centre of some intellectual life, with theologians and other scholars whom the local rulers attracted, notably the sultan Yag̲h̲murāsan b. Zayyān, founder of the Zanāta Berber line of the ʿAbd al-Wādids (r. 633-81/1236-83). The most famous were the two brothers Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm b. Yak̲h̲laf al-Tanasī al-Maṭmāṭī, the latter (d. 680/1282) the author of a commentary in ten volumes on the *Talḳīn* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 422/1030), and also Muḥammad al-Tanasī, *imām* of Breshk, and his two sons, both of them with the profession of *mudarris* in Tlemcen as the *awlād al-Imām*, Abū Zayd (d. 743/1342) and Abū Mūsā (d. 749/1348). In 688/1289 Yag̲h̲murāsan's son in Tlemcen Abū Saʿīd captured Tanas from the Mag̲h̲rāwa and Lamdiyya from the Banū Tūd̲j̲īn, but his descendant Abū T̲h̲ābit failed to subdue the Mag̲h̲rāwa in 752/1351 after besieging without success the fortress of Ad̲j̲rū which dominated Tanas. In the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries the port of Tanas was active in the commerce with the coasts of Murcia in Spain. It continued to be involved in warfare between the Marīnids and ʿAbd al-Wādids, and in 870-1/1466 it submitted to a Ḥafṣid army under the sultan Abū ʿUmar ʿUt̲h̲mān al-Mutawakkil, marching on Tlemcen, who coined money there. At the opening of the next century, the Swīd Arabs in the service of the ruler of Tanas became the nucleus of the Mḥāl confederation of Arabs of Hilālian origin, and their chief Ḥamīd al-ʿAbd, ally of the Spaniards in Oran, was defeated by the Turks and lost Tanas. Internecine strife within the ruling family and popular discontent favoured the installation at Tanas of the Barbarossa brothers, so that it now became a base for the Turks of Algiers to attack the Spanish. In 1533 the Turkish garrison there comprised a mere 25 men under a *ḳāʾid* and a governor sent out from Algiers.

By *ca.* 1700 Tanas was best known for the export of cereals to Europe, with tribes like the Banū Mādūn occupied in this export trade from local ports in the region. Just before 1830, the vine growers of the Tanas coastland exported part of their abundant production to Portugal, Leghorn and Marseilles, since the vine flourished on the silico-calcareous soils of the Ẓahra. One of the most venerated local saints, Sīdī Marwān, with a *ḳubba* on the summit of Cape Ténès, watched over a flourishing maritime activity, and he distributed spoils taken from the enemy to the local poor. Abundant vegetations favoured stock-rearing, with sheep and goats, and there were flourishing handicrafts. At this time, the town had four mosques and

the walls were covered with vines and fruit trees.

Tanas remained relatively untouched by the French military initiatives in Algeria until 1843, being, after the Treaty of Tafna with the Bey of Constantine in 1837, the sole port, with Cherchel, available for ʿAbd al-Ḳādir to export wool, cereals, etc. towards Algiers and foreign lands and to supply the regions still free. Hence its traffic and commerce grew in 1838, despite the presence of a French naval force. The first attack on Tanas came in January 1842, and the French entered the town on 1 May 1843, founding a Ténès-Camp as opposed to the Muslim town, Ténès-Ville. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir installed himself at the end of 1845 on the Rhīw heights, but was repulsed. During the Crimean War, Ténès gained fresh life as a depot for forage and corn which were then exported to the scene of military operations. But the town remained largely depressed, and a period of famine saw the population drop *ca.* 30% between 1866 and 1872. Old Ténès, attached to the new Ténès-Ville from 1851, decayed and in 1854 had only 1,154 inhabitants. Although it remained a regional market centre, only with the beginning of construction of a new port in 1868, not completed till 1914, did it begin to acquire an appreciable share of activity amongst the ports of Algeria. By 1924 a narrow-gauge railway line connected Ténès and Orléansville, but this had little traffic and closed in 1937, most of the traffic of the Shlef region gravitating towards the great ports of Algiers and Oran. Emigration from Ténès and the Ẓahra, especially of the young, began in 1914 for participation in the First World War and for work afterwards in metropolitan France, with remittances forming a perceptible element in the economy of the region, and continued until the coming of independence.

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(H. Bencheneb)

al-TANASĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Djalīl Abū ʿAbd Allāh (d. 899/1494), Maghribī scholar.

Devoting himself to philological-theological studies, thus qualifying for an eminent rank in several fields of religious scholarship in Tlemcen or Tilimsān [*q.v.*], then the capital of the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*] of West Algeria, al-Tanasī was eventually attracted by court life, figuring as poet and court historian. In his comprehensive work *Naẓm al-durr*, consisting of sections on ʿAbd al-Wādid history (H. Kurio, *Geschichte und Geschichtsschreiber der ʿAbd al-Wādiden*, Freiburg 1973, 15-26; ed. M. Bū-ʿAyyād, *Taʾrīkh Banī Zayyān*, Algiers 1985), on administration and court etiquette (a short account in Kurio, *Berberkönige und Schriftgelehrte*, Hamburg 1992, 72-5) anecdotes, and on poetics (ed. N. Soudan, *Westarabische Tropik*, Wiesbaden 1980) and Ṣūfī sayings, he gives his patrons, most likely of Berber origin, an Arab (ʿAlid) profile [see IDRĪSIDS]. Contemporary and fellow-citizen of the better-known theologian Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*], al-Tanasī ranked among the intellectual élite of Tilimsān at his time.

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(H. Kurio)

TANĀSUKH (A.), *maṣdar* of form VI of the root *n-s-kh*, a term with both legal and, above all, religious connotations. According to the *LA*, the simple form *nasakha* has two principal meanings: (1) to copy a writing (*iktitābuka kitāb^an ʿan kitāb^in*), the original and the copy both being called *nuskha* since each "replaces" the other (*ḳāma maḳāmahu*); and (2) to suppress a thing in order to replace it by another (*ibṭālu*

'l-shay' wa-iḳāmatu āk͟hara maḳāmahu, whence the sense of "to abrogate" [see NASK͟H]). *Tanāsak͟ha* thus suggests the notion of things which succeed one another, each in its turn "replacing" the preceding (*tadāwala fa-yakūnu ba'ḍuhā makāna ba'ḍ*[in]). In the language of *fiḳh*, in the context of the laws of succession, *tanāsuk͟h* is evoked in reference to the fact that "heirs die after other heirs in such a way that the initial heritage remains undivided" (al-K͟h[w]ārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 21, ll. 1-2).

Tanāsak͟ha does not occur in the Ḳur'ān. This verb is found once (?) in *ḥadīt͟h*, in a homily attributed to the founder of the city of Baṣra, 'Utba b. G͟hazwān [*q.v.*]: *lam takun nubuwwat*[un] *ḳaṭṭu illā tanāsak͟hat ḥattā yakūna āk͟hiratu 'āḳibatihā mulk*[an] (Muslim, *zuhd*, 14; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, iv, 174; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'd͟jam al-kabīr*, xvii, Cairo 1980, §§ 280-1). According to the *Lisān*, *tanāsak͟hat* is said to be here the equivalent of *taḥawwalat min ḥāl*[in] *ilā ḥal* "to change, move from one situation to another".

The term *tanāsuk͟h* is above all known for the way it is used in so-called "heresiographical" literature to denote the concept of transmigration, this transmigration being itself, according to the context, understood in two very different senses: (1) the "transmigration of spirits" (*tanāsuk͟h al-arwāḥ*) from one body to another, otherwise known as metempsychosis (or more correctly, according to some, "metensomatosis"); and (2) in beliefs current among certain extremist S͟hī'ī sects (*g͟hulāt*), the transmigration of a divine element from one *imām* to another.

(1) To signify metempsychosis, *tanāsuk͟h* is in fact the term most often used, but it is not the only one. Al-Mas'ūdī, for his part, has recourse to various derivatives of the verb *naḳala* "to transfer": *nuḳla, tanaḳḳul, intiḳāl* (*Murūd͟j*, ed. Pellat, §§ 687, 1396). The same vocabulary is sometimes used by al-Nawbak͟htī (*Firaḳ*, 35-7) and Ps. al-Nās͟hi' (*Uṣūl al-niḥal*, § 57). Another term, coined in modern times, is *taḳammuṣ*.

The spiritual principle transmigrating is called *rūḥ*, pl. *arwāḥ*, less frequently *nafs*, pl. *nufūs* or *anfus*. The body in which it is incarnated is the object of more varied nomenclature: *d͟jism*, *d͟jasad*, *badan*, *ṣūra* ("form"), *ḳālab* (lit. "mould") and *s͟hak͟hṣ* ("silhouette" ?).

The notion of metempsychosis naturally evokes that of metamorphosis (*mask͟h* [*q.v.*]), the difference being that *mask͟h* is always used in reference to a transformation from one body to another, inferior, body—from human to animal, in most cases. (It should be noted, however, that in current Arabic usage, *mask͟h* is itself sometimes employed to denote metempsychosis in general.) Following the lead of an anonymous theologian (*mutakallim*), a believer in *tanāsuk͟h* quoted by al-Bīrūnī (*Taḥḳīḳ*, 49, ll. 2-7), it became customary to distinguish between four types of metempsychosis, expressed by four *maṣdars* of identical assonance: *nask͟h*, *mask͟h*, *rask͟h* and *fask͟h*. These terms are variously explained. According to al-Īd͟jī [*q.v.*], *nask͟h* ("substitution") is said to refer to the passage from one human body to another human body, *mask͟h* ("transformation") to passage from human to animal, *rask͟h* ("immobilisation") to transformation into a vegetal state, and *fask͟h* ("disintegration") to that into mineral form (cf. al-S͟hahrastānī, *Livre des religions*, i, 512). In reality, it is above all a question of reincarnation in the form of animals and also, in a more exalted context, the form of angels.

Muslim historians of religion locate beliefs in metempsychosis on the one hand outside Islam, on the other within Islam proper.

Outside Islam, it is principally the Indians who are credited with such a doctrine (cf. the testimony of Yaḥyā b. Bis͟hr al-Nihāwandī, *ca.* 377/987, quoted by Ibn al-D͟jawzī, *Talbīs*, 80). A well-known phrase occurs in the preface to ch. v of *India* by al-Bīrūnī: "Just as the *s͟hahāda* is the distinguishing mark of the Muslims, [belief in] the Trinity that of the Christians, observance of the Sabbath that of the Jews, so [belief in] transmigration is characteristic of the Indians" (*Taḥḳīḳ*, 38, ll. 4-6). Indians in general is the meaning here: al-Bīrūnī, on this point, is much better informed than al-S͟hahrastānī, according to whom only *certain* Indians held such beliefs (cf. *Livre des religions*, ii, 62, 530, 535). Besides "Hinduist" Indians (the "Brahmins" or *Barāhima* [*q.v.*]), the Buddhists (known as *Sumaniyya* [*q.v.*]) are also known as believers in metempsychosis (cf. Gimaret, in *JA* [1970], 297-9). The same applies to Mānī and the Manichaeans (cf. *Farḳ*, 271); according to al-Bīrūnī, Mānī was said specifically to have brought this doctrine back from his sojourn in India (*Taḥḳīḳ*, 41, ll. 15 ff.). Al-S͟hahrastānī, without further precision, mentions the *tanāsuk͟hiyya* among the Dualists (*Livre des religions*, i, 671-2). Possibly he was also thinking of the K͟hurramiyya [*q.v.*], the inheritors of Mazdakism.

Other believers in *tanāsuk͟h* are cited not in the East but in the West of the *dār al-Islām*. These are in the first instance the Greek philosophers, namely, Socrates, Plato and their disciples (cf. *Farḳ*, 271, ll. 11 f.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūd͟j*, § 1396); in this context, al-Bīrūnī quotes a passage from the *Phaedo* (*Taḥḳīḳ*, 43, ll. 9 ff.). Then there are the self-styled Ṣābians of Ḥarrān, inheritors of neo-Platonism (cf. in particular 'Abd al-D͟jabbār, *Mug͟hnī*, v, 152, ll. 12-14, following Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarak͟hsī [d. 286/899]; and *Livre des religions*, ii, 169).

Within Islam, belief in metempsychosis is said to be characteristic of, on the one hand, a certain number of extremist S͟hī'ī sects, and on the other, curiously, of some marginal Mu'tazilīs.

Among the *g͟hulāt* S͟hī'īs, this is said to apply to certain of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*], these being the supporters of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [*q.v.*] (cf. Halm, 69-78). Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳummī also attributes it to the Muk͟hammisa [*q.v.*] as well as to their 'Alyā'iyya rivals, disciples of Bas͟hs͟hār al-S͟ha'īrī (Halm, 222-6). It permeates the "Book of Shadows" (*K. al-Aẓilla*), supposedly relating conversations between D͟ja'far al-Ṣādiḳ and the *g͟hālī* al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-D͟ju'fī (Halm, 240-74). Finally, it is still today part of the creed of the Druzes (*Durūz* [*q.v.*]) and of the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*].

On the Mu'tazilī side, there were certain disciples of al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] who were said to have become believers in it, in particular Aḥmad b. Ḥābiṭ [*q.v.*] or K͟hābiṭ, as well as a follower of the latter named Ibn Bānūs͟h or Mānūs͟h (cf. *Farḳ*, 273-6; *Livre des religions*, i, 221-7).

A number of "orthodox" theologians (in the broad sense of the term) applied themselves to opposing, among other "erroneous doctrines", the theory of metempsychosis. These included 'Abd al-D͟jabbār (*Mug͟hnī*, xiii, 405-30), al-Bag͟hdādī (*Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 235-6), al-D͟juwaynī (*Irs͟hād*, ed. Luciani, 158, ll. 5 ff., and 160, ll. 21 ff.) and the *ḳāḍī* Abū Ya'lā (*Mu'tamad*, Beirut 1974, §§ 199-202). According to Ibn al-Nadīm, the Imāmī theologian al-Nawbak͟htī is himself said to have composed a *Radd 'alā aṣḥāb al-tanāsuk͟h* (*Fihrist*, ed. Tad͟jaddud, 225, ll. 27).

(2) In the second sense of the term, more characteristic of the S͟hī'a, the notion of *tanāsuk͟h* is closely linked to that of *ḥulūl* "immanence" or "inhabitation" of the divinity or of a divine element in such-

and-such a creature. A characteristic of various extremist Shīʿī groups is actually the fact that they went so far as to deify ʿAlī and his successors to the Imāmate. Consequently, they used to say that "the spirit of God" (*rūḥ Allāh, rūḥ al-ilāh*) or "the spirit of sanctity" (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*) or a "divine particle" (*djuzʾ ilāhī*) had "inhabited" (*ḥallat*) ʿAlī, then, from him, had "transmigrated" (*tanāsakhat*) into the person of al-Ḥasan, then of al-Ḥusayn, etc., until the end of the chain. Some, furthermore, placed the beginning of the process earlier than this, with Muḥammad, or even with Adam. Such was the belief, among the Kaysāniyya, of the above-mentioned supporters of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, as well as of the Bayāniyya, disciples of Bayān b. Simʿān [*q.v.*] (cf. *Livre des religions*, i, 448-51). This was also the case with the Khaṭṭābiyya [*q.v.*], disciples of Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī (cf. *ibid.*, 522-5); the disciples of al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*] (cf. *Farḳ*, 258, ll. 5-10); and certain followers of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī [*q.v.*] (cf. *Livre des religions*, i, 453-4).

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(D. Gimaret)

al-**TANĀWUTĪ**, the *nisba* of many spiritual *shaykhs* of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] referring to the Tanāwut, a Berber tribe of the Nafzāwa country in southern Tunisia and Wargla (Wārdjalān). To the 5th/11th century belongs:

1). Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Tanāwutī, who often appears in later tradition. His son 2). Ismāʿīl, but still more his grandson 3). Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl, had the reputation of being very devout and miraculously gifted. The most important bearer of the name is the last-named's son:

4). Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Tanāwutī, fellow-pupil and friend of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī al-Wārdjalānī. He came of a wealthy family and had an allowance of 1,000 dīnārs a year for his studies in Tunis, of which he gave half to his teachers. His interest in learning, particularly in Arabic philology, was intense. His principal teacher in theology was Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wārdjalānī [*q.v.*] who also taught Abū Yaʿḳūb. Abū ʿAmmār lived principally in Wargla. In the spring, he roamed with his herds far to the south among the oases of Mzab [*q.v.*]. His co-religionists revere him as one of the renewers of their religion (*muḥyī ʾl-dīn*). On the question of the verdict on the caliph ʿAlī, always a fundamental one with the Ibāḍīs, he inclined to leniency. On the other hand, he shared the general bitterness of the Berbers against the incoming Arab Bedouins [see hilāl]. He declared that the property they had acquired in the Maghrib was theft (*ghaṣb*) and, like his friend Abū Yaʿḳūb, he received a painful impression of the Bedouins of the Ḥidjāz on a pilgrimage to Mecca, so that their consciences troubled them as to whether they, who in the Maghrib carefully avoided any, even business, intercourse with the Arabs, could purchase goods from them in the Ḥidjāz; they consoled themselves with the reflection that the Ḥidjāz had belonged to the Arabs from the very beginning.

Among the writings of Abū ʿAmmār are noted *al-Mūdjiz fī taḥṣīl al-suʾāl*, a "Refutation of all enemies of truth", i.e. one of those *farḳ* books in which the Ibāḍīs used carefully to define their doctrines as distinct from all other schools; also *Sharḥ al-djahālāt*, but particularly the *Sīra*, in which Masqueray recognised "le règle des clercs", a fundamental work for the spiritual organisation of the *ʿazzāb* leaders and their *ḥalḳa* disciples. A long illness prevented Abū ʿAmmār from ever answering a list of queries from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Ghālib b. Numayr al-Anṣārī regarding the Ibāḍīs' teaching on their differences from other sects. A reply was only given after his and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's deaths by Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Wārdjalānī and is contained in the latter's *Kitāb al-Dalīl*. According to this, Abū ʿAmmār died before 570/1174. His teaching was continued, notably by 5). Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Tanāwutī, the younger, whose name is identical with that of the individual first named in this article.

6). ʿAdī b. al-Luʾlu' al-Tanāwutī, who lived for a time on the island of Djerba [see djarba], is said to have been the first man in Wargla to be killed by the invading Arabs. His brother was the father of Umm al-Muʾmin, a woman revered for her miracles. As in the cases above named, the brothers 7). Yaḥyā and 8). Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAmr al-Tanāwutī are of interest to the biographers on account of their piety and miracles which they describe.

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(R. Strothmann)

ṬANBŪR [see ṭunbūr].

ṬANDJA, the name for the town of Tangier on the northern Moroccan shore of the Straits of Gibraltar.

Ṭandja is an Arabised form of the Roman *Tinjis*, but it is very probable that the name is Berber in origin, judging by the frequency of toponyms beginning with *tin-*, e.g. Tinmal, Tinghir, etc. Situated some 12 km/7 miles east of Cape Spartel, where the Atlantic begins, Ṭandja has for long been coveted on account of its strategic position, with Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Portuguese, Spaniards and English successively controlling it since its foundation in the 7th century B.C. The European occupation 1471-1684, its vulnerable geographical position as a *thaghr* [see thughūr. 2], as well as its essentially military population, have been factors hindering the town from developing truly urban structures and institutions such as are found in towns of the interior of Morocco.

Pre-Islamic history. Archaeological evidence shows a Phoenician presence in this part of the Tingitanian peninsula during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., but it was not till *ca.* 400 that the Carthaginians founded the small trading-post of Tingis. After the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C., the town, with the rest of North Africa, came under Roman aegis. In 38 B.C. the

emperor Claudius raised it to the rank of a colony and its people became Roman citizens. Tangier also became the capital of Mauritania Tingitana and benefited from the convergence on it of trade routes from Salé and Volubilis, but was caught up in the disturbances affecting the empire at the beginning of the 5th century A.D. It then passed under Byzantine control, but the imperial representative chose to reside not there but at Ceuta or Sabta [*q.v.*].

The Islamic period. Ṭandja came under Muslim control when Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] seized the town and installed there his Berber lieutenant, Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*]. The conquest of Spain in 711 gave the town a privileged position as a place of linkage between the two shores, and it also became the place of residence for Arab governors appointed from the East; but for Ṭandja, as for the rest of North Africa, the 2nd/8th century was dominated by Khāridjite revolts. According to historical tradition, the *sharīf* Idrīs (I) found refuge there at the end of the century, but the town was soon abandoned for a more central Idrīsid capital at Volubilis (Walīla). Thus it lost its position as the first town of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā. It still played an important role in the traffic between North Africa and al-Andalus, but tended to be overshadowed by Sabta.

The period of European colonisation. After attempts at occupation from *ca.* 1400 onwards, the Portuguese occupied Sabta and then, in 1471, Ṭandja, to remain there for two centuries. In 1671 it passed briefly under English control as part of Catherine of Braganza's dowry when she married Charles II. The English were especially concerned to make Tangier a base for their fleet in the Mediterranean, hence built defensive ramparts and towers, and for trading purposes, a mole was built out into the sea in 1663. It nevertheless remained primarily a military centre, with soldiers making up half of its 3,000 inhabitants. During these centuries, Ṭandja was completely cut off from its hinterland, but there had always been harrying of the town by Muslim *mudjāhidūn* from the Moroccan interior, and the English position was harassed by the attacks of al-Khaḍir Ghaylān of the Banū Gurfaṭ; only with the accession of the ʿAlawid sultans in Morocco in *ca.* 1666 did Ghaylān make a truce with the English in face of the common enemy.

The return to Moroccan control. It was the great Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1082-1139/1672-1727 [*q.v.*]) who achieved the reputation of "liberator of the *thughūr*". The English tried to achieve a "lasting truce", but Ottoman pressure from the sultan Meḥemmed IV, that a *sharīf* should no longer tolerate the presence of infidels on his soil, with hopes dangled before Ismāʿīl of suzerainty over the central Maghrib, led to a long siege of the town and, finally, the English evacuation of Tangier in 1684, after destruction of the mole and main fortifications. Ismāʿīl now entrusted the town to the "army of the Rīf" commanded by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamsamānī, who rebuilt the town and peopled it with immigrants from the central Rīf. Also, the sultan delegated the conduct of European affairs to the governor, who henceforth combined with his administrative duties diplomatic ones. When Ismāʿīl died, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī came to rule a virtually independent principality stretching from Ṭandja to Oujda or Wadjda. In the latter part of the 18th century, however, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh installed black troops, *ʿAbīd*, in Ṭandja as a counterweight to the power of the Rīfian army; but the sultans were unable to dispense with the services of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rīfī's family, and these continued to govern the town and its region into the 19th century.

Tangier in the 19th century. It was now that the town took on its appearance familiar till today, as a part of the general process of Morocco's opening-up to the European powers. This began with the establishing of consuls towards the end of the 18th century, these being transferred from Rabat because of Tangier's better access to maritime and postal communications, and nearness to continental Europe. For the sultan's administration, this was felt to be advantageous since it confined the European presence to a peripheral town. The increasing importance of these diplomatic connections led the Moroccan government, after the French naval bombardment of the town and the rout of the Moroccan army at Isly in 1844, to install in 1845 a representative (*nāʾib*) in Tangier charged with diplomatic duties. Its commercial importance now grew, especially as a supply of foodstuffs for the British garrison in Gibraltar; by *ca.* 1850 20% of Morocco's export trade was shipped via Tangier, and it became the main embarkation port for pilgrims to Arabia. The town developed especially after the 1856 Anglo-Moroccan trade treaty which abolished state monopolies. The population grew from 5,000 in 1810 to *ca.* 20,000 in 1878, with Jews making up one-fifth of the population. The European population was 700 in *ca.* 1862, rising to 5,000 by the end of the century in the wake of various treaties with European powers. This growth had implications for daily life and the appearance of modern urban institutions, such as a *conseil sanitaire* set up by the European consuls in 1874, and schools for the children of the European and Jewish communities. Printing was introduced, and the first newspapers known in Morocco were produced there, such as the *Times of Morocco* (1870) and *Le Reveil* (1883).

Tangier in the 20th century. On various occasions in the opening years of the new century, Tangier was a place of world interest because of colonial rivalries over Morocco, with a consequent tense and nervous climate of feeling. From the Moroccan side came acts of banditry and the targetting of Europeans, with in 1903 and 1904 the *sharīf* Aḥmad al-Raysūnī attacking the town and seizing the Greek-American Ian Perdicaris and the Englishman Walter Harris. In 1905 the Kaiser Wilhelm II landed there to assert "the rights of Germany" accorded to France by the 1904 Franco-Moroccan entente. The 1912 Protectorate agreement, however, gave Tangier a special status, in view of its strategic position on the Straits and its role as viewed by European powers, but definition of its special status only came after the First World War.

The international Status of Tangier and its zone 1923-56. The Algeciras conference of 1906 did not regulate the status of the town as the French and Spanish wanted, and Britain, in particular, did not wish to see the town under control of a power which could menace its naval hegemony in the Straits of Gibraltar region. The question was not resolved till the Paris agreement of 1923 with its "statute for the zone of Tangier", which remained in force till Moroccan independence in 1956, though suspended 1940-5 when Francoist Spain took advantage of the European war to occupy Tangier and attach it to its existing protectorate of northern Morocco.

The statute provided for political and military neutrality, unfettered economic freedom and an international administration. The sultan of Morocco retained his authority over his Muslim and Jewish subjects, with a *mandūb* or delegate in the town. Under the statute, Tangier developed greatly in the economic and financial direction, with 85 banking agencies in 1950, compared with four in 1900, and 4,000 limited companies, but commercial and industrial development remained

behind, mainly because of the separation of the town and its zone from the rest of Morocco, despite the opening of a railway link connecting Tangier with Fās and Rabat in 1927. But the town's prosperity attracted a large number of immigrants from the Moroccan interior, especially from the Spanish zone where the land was poor and there was an absence of any economic development. In the period of international control, the Moroccan population of Tangier quadrupled, and in 1952 Europeans, mainly Spanish, formed one-quarter of the total of 164,000 inhabitants.

Tangier after independence. Despite its separation from the rest of Morocco, Tangier took part in the struggle for independence, by providing a haven for nationalists fleeing the French and Spanish zones and by being the place where Muḥammad V in 1947 claimed the right of Morocco to independence, its own sovereignty and adhesion to the Arab world. But the consequences of independence were economically deleterious for Tangier, with the loss of its international status and the flight of outside capital, so that the artificial quality of its prosperity became apparent. The rural exodus continued, so that the population reached 293,000 in 1982. In the absence of any strategic economic plan for northern Morocco, the town's economy has become more and more dependent on smuggling and the drugs traffic. Thus the development of the town and its hinterland remains a social and economic challenge which independent Morocco has not yet succeeded in solving.

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TANGA and **TANKA**, terms of Islamic coinage. The present article covers what were two articles in *EI*[1] by J. Allan. Both words are spelled تنكه in Arabic, but are traditionally pronounced *tanga* or *tenge* in Persian and Turkish-speaking lands and *tanka* in the Indian sub-continent. The etymology appears to be somewhat uncertain. The earliest appearance of the word occurs in a coin legend on the bilingual Arabic/Sanskrit silver issued by the G͟haznawid ruler Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] in Maḥmūdpūr (Lāhawr) in 418 and 419/1027-8, where the word *tankam* was used to translate the Arabic *dirham* in the Sanskrit legend giving the denomination and date. Various derivations are put forward in Edward Thomas's footnote on pp. 48-9 of his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, one of which suggests that the word represented a weight in the Indian ponderal system similar to that of the *tola* [*q.v.*], *ca.* 10.7-11.2 gr, and then became a name for gold and silver coins struck to that weight in the pre-Mug͟hal Islamic coinages of the subcontinent. Another authority believed the word derived from *tang*, which in Čag͟hatay Turkish is said to have meant "white", the colour of the metal silver, and thus became a popular name for silver coin, as in the case of the Greek *asper* and the Turkish *akče*.

The numismatic evidence given above would suggest that *tanka* was the generic name for coined money at the time when Maḥmūd of G͟hazna struck his silver in Lāhawr, but that it became the name of a specific denomination when S͟hams al-Dīn Iltutmis͟h (607-33/1210-36 [*q.v.*]) regularised the currency as part of his general administrative reforms. Although gold coinage with the weight of the tola is known to have been struck by both Maḥmūd of G͟hazna and the G͟hūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [*q.v.*], it was the silver tola-weight coinage of Iltutmis͟h which became the standard for all fine silver tankas issued by most states in pre-Mug͟hal India. Tola-weight gold tankas came into general circulation under Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd S͟hāh I (644-64/1246-66). After about a century, during which gold and silver tankas were issued in abundance by many states, they gradually dropped out of use and were replaced by billon coins until S͟hīr S͟hāh Sūrī (945-52/1538-45) revamped the currency by reviving the tola-weight fine silver coinage, but using another traditional Indian name, the *rūpiyya* or rupee [*q.v.*]. The Mug͟hal ruler Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605 [*q.v.*]) then applied the name *tanka* to his 2-*dām* copper coin weighing around 41.5 gr. The tenth part of the tanka which weighed 4.15 gr he named the *tanki*. When Akbar revived the large-scale striking of gold, he called the tanka-weight coin the *muhur*, a name it retained thereafter.

In the West, where the word was pronounced *tanga* or *tenge*, the name was given to the reform silver coinage introduced by Tīmūr in 796/1394, which was described as half the weight of the Indian tanka and nominally worth four dirhams. Album has pointed out, however, that it originally weighed about 6.2 gr, it was reduced to 5.1 gr in 828/1425, and to 4.78 gr in around 895-8/1490-3. During the reign of S͟hāh Ruk͟h (807-50/1404-46 [*q.v.*]), it became known as the *s͟hāhruk͟hī*, then in the period of Tīmūrid decline and thereafter its weight standard became subject to widespread variation. The *tanga* continued to be the generic name for the principal silver denominations issued by the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu, Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, S͟haybānids and many minor Persian and Central Asian dynasties. *Tanga* is probably the most appropriate name for the heavy silver coinage that was struck by the Ottoman rulers from Sulaymān I to Murād III in the former Persian territories of Ād͟harbāyd͟jān and ʿIrāḳ. The name then passed into use in Russia, where the half-kopeck copper coin was known as the *denga*. In the 19th and early 20th centuries the k͟hānates of Turkistān, the Mangits of Buk͟hārā, the Rulers of K͟hīwa (K͟hʷārazm), K͟hoḳand and Kās͟hg͟har also named their silver and base metal coins *tenge*, with multiples and fractions being issued on a quasi-European pattern in the latter part of their usage.

Finally, in his *EI*[1] art. *Tanga*, Allan asserted that the word was connected with the Turki word *tamg͟ha* [*q.v.*], an official mark or die [see sikka]. While this otherwise unsupported etymology seems rather far-fetched, it might have been inspired by the three-circle triangular design which Tīmūr used as a personal device on his reform tankas.

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TANGIER [see ṭand͟ja].

TANKIZ (corresponding to Tkish. *deñiz* "sea") al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 740/1340), Mamlūk commander and governor of the province of

Damascus 712-40/1312-40 during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*].

Tankiz rose to favour as one of that sultan's bodyguard (*k̲h̲āṣṣakiyya*), fought against the Il-K̲h̲ānid Mongols in Syria and became *nā'ib al-salṭana* for the province. When in Syria, he remained high in the sultan's favour, travelling almost every other year to Cairo, where he was received with great honour and overwhelmed with rich presents. His son ʿAlī was made an *amīr*, and in 736/1336 two of the sultan's daughters were married to Tankiz's sons (al-S̲h̲udjāʿī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲ al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn*, ed. and tr. B. Schäfer, Wiesbaden 1977-85; text 42 ff., tr. 63 ff.). The expansion of the capital Cairo under the sultans was paralleled in the provinces of the kingdom. Tankiz's foundations and reconstructions changed the townscape of Damascus. Besides nine *ḥammāms*, he built the impressive mosque named after him, where he was ultimately buried, and the mausoleum of Sitt Sutayta, which included a *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] for women built posthumously for his wife Sutayta in 730/1330.

His pride and wealth excited jealousy at the Mamlūk court. The sultan's suspicions grew, especially as, if al-Maḳrīzī is to be believed, Tankiz planned to overthrow the sultan (*Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda and S.ʿA.F. ʿĀs̲h̲ūr, Cairo 1930-73, ii, 509). The sultan ordered his arrest, and he was brought to Alexandria, imprisoned and then executed in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥidjdja 740/May-June 1340 or the next month; his treasury and properties were confiscated.

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(S. Conermann, shortened by the Editors)

TANNŪR [see maṭbak̲h̲].

TANPINAR, AḤMED ḤAMDĪ, Turkish poet and novelist, born in 1901 in Istanbul, died on 24 January 1962. His father was the Ḳāḍī Hüseyin of Batum. After graduating from the Istanbul Faculty of Literature, he taught in various schools in Anatolia 1923-32, and subsequently taught history of art, aesthetics and mythology in the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts. In 1930, he published the journal *Gürüş* with Ahmed K. Tecer. He was a professor of literature at Istanbul University 1939-42, and then was the Member of Parliament representing Maraş 1942-6. After 1946, he went back to his teaching at Istanbul University. His works were published in journals such as *Dergâh, Millî Mecmua, Hayat, Görüş, Varlık, Oluş, Ülkü, Aile*, and the newspapers *Tan* and *Cumhuriyet*.

Tanpınar was one of the most prolific modern Turkish authors, who began by writing poetry and then turned to writing essays, novels, short stories, literary criticism and literary history. Until 1932, his works reflected the influence of Western literature and thought, but thereafter he began to look for a synthesis of Western and Eastern traditions. His well-known novel *Huzur* is full of psychological dilemmas and analysis, discussions of history and architecture, and the dichotomy of East and West. Tanpınar strove to solve the realities hidden in the inner psyches of people rather than to reflect the observable reality of life; the use of nature and references to folk legends characteristic of his works are said to be reflections of his own childhood experiences. The best example of his poetic style is *Bursada zaman*. T.S. Halman says of his poetry that he "specialized in simple lyrics of genteel sensibilities expressed in tidy stanzaic forms and the traditional syllabic meters" (Halman, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 28). Tanpınar's other well-known work, *Beş şehir*, is about his impressions of the five cities of Istanbul, Bursa, Konya, Erzurum and Ankara.

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(Çiğdem Balım)

TAÑRİ (T.), Heaven, God. In the eastern Turkish dialects the vocalisation is usually palatal: Čag̲h̲atay, *tengri* (written تینکری) and similar forms in the other dialects. The trisyllabic forms in Teleut (*täñärä*) and in the Altai dialect (*täñäri*) are worthy of note; the Kazan Tatar dialect has alongside of *tängri* (god) a word *täri* = image of a saint, ikon (we may here mention the proper name *Täri-birdi*, where *täri* of course means God). The Og̲h̲uz dialects (Ottoman Turkish, Azerbaijani and Turkmen) have a non-palatal vocalisation, as has Yakut (*tañara*) and Chuvas̲h̲ (*tură* < *tañri*).

For the lexicographical material, see Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 523-4, and idem, *Sanglax*, London 1960, 54; W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1888-1911, iii, 823, 1043-4, 1047-8, 1065; O. Böhtlingk, *Über die Sprache der Jakuten. Jakutisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg 1851, 90; and lastly Maḥmūd al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī, *Dīwān lug̲h̲āt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bey, Istanbul 1333-5, iii, 278-9, Tkish. tr. Besim Atalay, iii, 376-8, Eng. tr. Dankoff and Kelly, ii, 342-3, who says "*tängri* means God; the infidels however call heaven *tängri* and likewise everything that impresses them, e.g. a high mountain or a large tree. They worship such things and they call a wise man *tängrikän*". This word *tängrikän* appears also as an old Turkī title (see Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iii, 1048; F.W.K. Müller, *Uigurica*, Berlin 1908ff., 47: *tängrikän* = ruler). With the meaning "God" (in the

Manichaean system) we find *tängrikän*, for example, in the Manichaean confession of sins (*Chuastuanift*, ed. A. von le Coq, Berlin, 1911, 10). The word *tängrim* (i.e. *tängri* with the pronominal suffix of the first person) seems to be used in the Turfan texts in the titles of princesses or queens (cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, 48, who compares the modern usage of *khanîm* and *bēgam*). We may here give a few derivatives of *tängri*: *tängriči* (in the Manichaean confession of sins, see *JRAS* [1912], 289, 299) = "preacher, chosen one" (lit. man of God); Kuman, *teñrilik* = "divine"; Uyghur, *tengrilik* = "pious". The Mongol *tängri* (God) is a loanword from the Turkish (for this form, see *Bibl. Buddhica*, xii, 51).

The word is presumably of Hsiung-nu (East Hunnish) origin, **tañri* (in Turkish with assimilation either > *täñri* or > *tañrî*). In most modern Central Asian dialects, Turkish *täñri* has two meanings, "God" and "Heaven"; in Oghuz it only means "God".

To define the conceptions implied by the word *tängri* so far as the beliefs of Turkish paganism is concerned, it will be advisable to deal first with the Old Turkish inscriptions and then with the material collected in modern times from Teleut and Altai shamanism.

In the Old Turkish inscriptions, *täñri* is one of the three world potencies: (father) Heaven, (mother) Earth and (child) Mankind. The ruler governs mankind by order of *täñri*; his duty is to conquer the whole world. These three potencies existed from time immemorial: "When the blue Heaven above and the brown Earth beneath arose, between the twain Mankind arose." A connection with Chinese ideas is apparent. Along with the three potencies (whose mightiest is *täñri*), other deities are also mentioned, namely *umay* (goddess of women in child-bed) and *yer-sub* (spirits of earth and water).

On the conception of *täñri* in modern Turkish shamanism (i.e. mainly among the Teleut and Altai Turks) see H. Vámbéry, *Die primitive Cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, Leipzig 1879, 150 ff.; W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1884, ii, 1 ff., and the texts collected by Radloff in the first volume of his *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, St. Petersburg 1866-1904. This paganism, as might be expected, did not remain entirely free from foreign, e.g. Christian and Buddhist influences; when, for example, in a shaman's conjuration we find the expressions *Pyrkan Tengre* and *Pyrkan Kan* (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii, 33, 44), it is natural to recognise in *Pyrkan* the Mongol (also old Turkish) word *Burkhan* = Buddha. That the pagan Turkish creation myth shows traces of Jewish, Christian and Buddhist influences was noted by Radloff himself (*op. cit.*, ii, 5-6). When it is said that the evil spirit Erlik created a heaven for himself, like the god of heaven, one is tempted to think of Zoroastrian influence (the "counter-creations" of Ahriman).

According to Turkish shamanism, the most powerful god, Tengere Kayra Kan, created the heavens and also the evil spirit Erlik, the good spirits, mankind and the earth. The form *tengere* (following the orthography in Radloff) corresponds to the Teleut *Tänärä* and Altai *Tänäri*. Kayra Kan must be identical with the Altai *Kayrakkan* (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 22), a word used to describe gods and spirits; Tengere Kayra Kan is therefore the "god of heaven".

There are seventeen different regions in heaven arranged in succession one above the other; there the good spirits live. The highest of these minor deities are Bäy Ülgön, Kysagan Tengere and Mergen Tengere. The gods of heaven are not directly appealed to like the spirits of earth and of water, but through the intermediary of the spirits of ancestors, i.e. a shaman (*kam*) is required for the purpose. In a Teleut shaman's prayer (Radloff, *Volkslitteratur*, i, 238) the heavens above are appealed to as the Creator. In an Altaic myth (Radloff, *ibid.*, i, 61 ff.) a hero seeks the hand of the daughter of the god of heaven, Tämän Ökö.

When it is said of the thunderstorm in the dialect of Kazan: "The old man of the heavens (*täñri babai*) is thundering", this is a relic of old pagan ideas (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 1425, iii, 1047, iv, 1564).

Speaking generally, one may say that, apart from foreign influences, so far as they can be eliminated, in the Turkish conception Täñri is regarded as the heavens, as an element, and also as the spirit ruling in heaven. This spirit was probably originally conceived as a kind of force, a something which would be called *mana* in modern ethnology. The concept of a personal god of heaven must have developed out of this.

Turkish *kök täñri* "blue Heaven" has its counterpart in Mongolian *köke tenggeri*, also *köke möngke tenggeri* (the blue eternal Heaven). Under the influence of foreign religions, the undivided notion of *kök täñri* "the blue Heaven" (a) in the external, material sense: "the space above the earth" + (b) "the power which influences all earthly things", was split up; (a) was expressed by *kök*, (b) by *täñri* (or foreign words, such as *khudā*, *allāh*).

In Buddhist Old Turkish texts, *tängri* corresponds to the Sanskrit *deva* "god" in Buddhist mythology, a concept which is better conveyed by the word "angel", because this being lacks several qualities which to us are necessarily associated with the idea of "god". The feminine equivalent *devī* is given *by tängri khatun*; *tängri ḳîz* is Turkish for *devakanyā* (divine maiden, apsaras). The king of the gods (*devarāḍja*) Indra is *tängrilär elik/eligi Khormuzda*; Brahmā is called *Āzrua tängri*. These beings have thus Iranian names, Ōhrmazd and (perhaps) Zurwān. The goddess Śrī is called *Ḳut Tängri Khatunî* or (without *Khatun*) *Ḳut Tängrisi*. The name *Ḳut Tängrisi* seems also to be given to Kubera (e.g. Müller, *Uigurica*, 45). In a collection of *dhāraṇīs* for travellers, the *Tišastvastile* (ed. Radloff and A. von Staël-Holstein, St. Petersburg 1910 = *Bibl. Buddhica*, xii), we find a *deva* named *Tängridäm*, whom Radloff takes for Kubera so that the latter has therefore another Turkish name. But this is doubtful, for in one passage (22) of this work, Kubera (*Kupiri*) is mentioned by name and *Tängridäm* is mentioned soon after as a different deity; but it must be allowed that in the text there are elsewhere illogicalities (see, e.g. Turkish text, 23-4). For Kubera in this work, see also 97, n. 2; Buddha himself is often called *Tängri Tängrisi*. The god of heaven (*devaloka*) is called in Turkish *Tängri Yir*, and the *Vaimānika* gods, as a rule peculiar to Jaina mythology but also found, e.g. in the *Tišastvastile*, are called *Waimanuki-tängrilär*.

The Manichaean Turkish terminology which is influenced by the Buddhist one (see *Chuastuanift*, ed. Le Coq, 5; *JRAS* [1911], 278) shows the word in the following use. Tängri corresponds here to the Iranian *Yazd* (or *Bag*); in the first place, this means the highest principle of the Manichaean system, and secondly, the subordinate spirits of light or gods (*yaruḳ tängrilär*) in contrast to the demons (*yäklär*). The first man is called *besh tängri*, five-god (from his five components, known from the Manichaean myth: air, wind, light, water and fire). The name *tängri* is also given to the five elements, e.g. *oot tängri* = god of fire. Tängri is found with the meaning "heaven" (e.g. *Chuastuanift*, 16 = *JRAS* [1911], 291, l. 167). Paradise is called *Tängri Yer*. This Manichaean terminology corresponds pretty well to the Buddhist. One or two peculiarities may

still be pointed out: the occurrence of the already-mentioned term *tängrikän* (*Chuastuanift*, 10; *JRAS* [1911], 281, l. 22), in the name of a deity (*Äzrua Tängrikän*), translated by von le Coq (*JRAS*, *loc. cit.*) "Azrua the Lord", and the peculiar combination *Arkhon Yer Tängri*, the "archon earth-god", in which perhaps the word *tängri* is used for one of the powers of darkness (see *JRAS* [1911], 303, n. 31).

In Christian Turkish usage we find *Tängri* = God; *Tängri-Oghlî* = "Son of God" and *Mshikha Tängri* = the God Messiah. In the Christian fragments published by Müller in his *Uigurica*, we also have the word *Tängridäm*, which we frequently find in Buddhist Turkish; it occurs twice in these Christian texts and seems here to mean simply "God". The Kuman usage gives nothing worthy of special remark.

As regards the earlier Muslim Eastern Turkish texts, the Arabic and Persian terms (*Allāh*, *Khudā*) begin to compete with Turkish *Täñri*. The oldest (Ḳara-Khanid) sources of the 11th century still preserve *täñri* or (more frequently) employ the term *bayat* (*Kutadhghu bilig*, ed. R.R. Arat, 48, l. 284, *ʿAtabat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ed. Arat, 2, l. 3). Later on, a competition can be detected: *bayat* fades out and the authors begin to prefer the Islamic terms. Here are some examples of the relation *täñri: allāh/khudā*. In Rabghūzī's (1310) and Bābur's (1483-1531) works, *täñri* is the usual word; but in Gadāʾī (1405-92?), the relation is 6:15, and in modern Uzbek all three words exist; *khudo*, *tañri*, *olloh*. To investigate the subtle social and semantic differences between these terms in the Turkic world is a difficult task. For an introductory discussion of this subject, see Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, 577-85 (*täñri*) and 379 (*bayat*).

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(V.F. Büchner-[G. Doerfer])

TANSAR, Kitāb, "the Letter of Tansar", a political treatise from Sāsānid Persia, known in the Islamic world through an Arabic translation, probably by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], from a lost original in Pahlavi.

It was ostensibly written by "Tansar" (a misreading, in Pahlavi script, for Tusar, perhaps an abbreviation of **Tus-arteshtār*, Avestan *Tusa-raθaēštar-* "T. the warrior"), the chief priest of the first Sāsānid king, Ardashīr I (*ca.* 224-40), to Gushtāsp, the king of Ṭabaristān, encouraging him to submit to Ardashīr and, more generally, justifying the Sāsānid polity. Brief quotations explicitly from this epistle can be found in al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 99-100, quoting "Tansar", "but some call him *Dwsr*") and al-Bīrūnī (*Taḥḳīḳ mā li 'l-Hind*, 53, quoting the *Kitāb Tūsar*) and there is a third incorrectly credited quotation in Ibn al-Faḳīh, 197; this is all that survives of the Arabic text. But a complete, if painfully ornate, Persian translation of the letter of "Tansar" was included by Ibn Isfandiyār in his *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, where the underlying Arabic version is expressly attributed to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ. This attribution is presumably correct, despite the fact that the letter is not named in any old list of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's writings. The Persian text was first published, with a French translation, by J. Darmesteter in *JA*, série 9, vol. iii (1894), 185-250, 502-55, then republished from a better manuscript by M. Mīnuwī (*Nāma-yi Tansar*, Tehran 1932), and again by ʿA. Iḳbāl in his edition of the whole of Ibn Isfandiyār's history (Tehran 1942, 12-41), and translated into English, with an introduction and valuable notes by M. Boyce (*The Letter of Tansar*, Rome 1968). There is also a Danish translation by Hertha Kirketerp-Møller, *Tansar's brev til Gushnasp, Konge at Tabaristan*, Copenhagen 1965.

"Tansar"/Tusar is clearly a historical person, but the text preserved by Ibn Isfandiyār contains several obvious anachronisms, and it has been suggested that the whole letter is a literary fiction from the late Sāsānid period (6th century). However, Darmesteter and Boyce have both maintained, with plausible arguments, that it does contain a genuine kernel from the time of Ardashīr.

Bibliography: Editions and translations are indicated in the article. See also A. Christensen, *Abarsām et Tansar*, in *AO*, x (1932), 43-55; M. Boyce, *The Indian fables in the Letter of Tansar*, in *Asia Major*, v (1956), 50-8; F. de Blois, *The "four great kingdoms" in the Manichaean Kephalaia*, in *Orbis Aethiopicus*, ed. P.O. Scholz, Albstadt 1992, 221-30 (on the passage from Ibn al-Faḳīh).

(F.C. de Blois)

TĀNSIN, or Mīrzā Tānsen (d. 997/1589), a celebrated Indian musician (*kalavant*). A native of Gwalior, he became a disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth Gwāliyārī [*q.v.*] and so possibly formally converted to Islam, though neither he nor his son Vilas adopted Muslim names. Tānsen became an adept at the Dhurpad and Bishanpad modes of Indian classical music which had developed in Gwalior under patronage of Rādjā Man (9th/15th century), with many creations by Nayak Bākhshu, Tānsen's predecessor, but not apparently his preceptor. Tānsen received generous patronage from Rādjā Rāmčandra of Bhaṭṭa (in Central India), but the latter was induced to send Tānsen to Akbar's court, where his presence is first noticed in 986/1578-9. Tānsen was regarded as an unequalled master in composition (in Hindi) as well as vocalisation. Abu 'l-Faḍl, in a short obituary notice, claimed that no musician "with such sweetness, graceful composition and creation of effect has appeared in the last one thousand years." Tānsen died at Lahore on 19 Djumādā II 997/15 April 1589 and was buried there; his ostensible grave at Gwalior cannot therefore contain his mortal remains. Many of his compositions survive.

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(M. Athar Ali)

ṬANṬĀ, Egyptian city of more than 400,000 inhabitants (1996), the capital of the central Delta and the fourth city of the province. This commercial crossroads, situated 90 km/55 miles to the north of Cairo, occupies an exceptional position, being equidistant from the two branches of the Nile, equidistant from Damietta, Rosetta and Alexandria. The city is definitely of ancient origin: it is constructed on tells, currently obliterated by more modern buildings, where members of the Egyptian Expedition nevertheless identified crude bricks from the Pharaonic era, and where vestiges dating from the XXVIth dynasty have been found. The Egyptologist G. Daressy proposes that the ancient origin of Ṭanṭā is to be identified in the town of Tawa, situated 3 km/2 miles to the north-west. In the Coptic period, as an episcopal city, Ṭanṭā

is cited under the name of Tantâtho in the *Acts of the Martyrs*, and under that of Tanitad in *The history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria.*

After the Arab conquest, the city took the name of Ṭandatā (numerous variants). In 344/955 Ibn Ḥawḳal described it as a populated agricultural centre, endowed with a great mosque and *sūḳs*, the seat of a governor (*ʿāmil*) and site of a weekly market. Ibn Djubayr confirmed these observations at the time of his visit in 579/1183, describing Ṭandatā as a huge and densely populated village, with a well-attended mosque. But it was with the *madjdhūb* Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 67/1276 [*q.v.*]), that Ṭanṭā acquired renown, as al-Badawī became the most revered saint in Egypt. After his death, his disciples formed the Suṭūḥiyya brotherhood, later known as the Aḥmadiyya, which turned the central Delta into a seed-bed of sanctity. In the early 8th/14th century, a *mawlid* (dialectal, *mūled*) was instituted in al-Badawī's honour, combining patronal festival, fair and pilgrimage, the most important in Egypt. There were as many as three annual *mawlids* in honour of al-Badawī, all determined according to the solar calendar: the major one in July, the minor one in the spring for the benefit of the nomads, and the *radjabiyya* in February.

The broad popular appeal of the cult centred on the saint accounts for the importance of the sanctuary; on the *zāwiya* built after his death, sultan Ḳāyitbāy constructed a mosque-tomb. Numerous *waḳfs* were conferred upon the mosque during the Mamlūk period, in particular the neighbouring village of Ḳuḥāfa. The Mamlūk *amīrs* came regularly to visit the tomb. The city seems to have declined at the start of the Ottoman period, and it was with the object of reviving the commerce of the Delta that in 1769 ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr had the great mosque rebuilt, also endowing the tomb with a *maḳṣūra* and numerous *waḳfs*. Successive renovations were undertaken, in particular by ʿAbbās I Ḥilmī in 1851, and finally by President Sādāt, who added two minarets and a huge peristyle to the entrance to the tomb. The central cupola is reserved for al-Badawī; in a corner there is the footprint of the Prophet indented on a black stone, installed quite recently and the object of fervent veneration. Two other cupolas are located above, to the west, the cenotaph of ʿAbd al-ʿĀl, successor of al-Badawī, and to the east that of ʿAlī al-Mudjāhid, *khalīfa* of the Aḥmadiyya in the 18th century. There are numerous tombs of saints in Ṭanṭā, thirty-seven at the latest count, the most important after al-Badawī being that of *shaykha* Ṣabāḥ.

The great mosque of Ṭanṭā is called al-Djāmiʿ al-Aḥmadī, referring to Aḥmad al-Badawī, and it has become, after al-Azhar, the second most important centre of Islamic education in Egypt, specialising in the reading of the Ḳurʾān, whence the adage: "the only Ḳurʾānic teaching is Aḥmadī, the only science is Azharī". The *waḳfiyya* of ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr fixed the number of students at 700. There were about a thousand in the 19th century, when studies at the great mosque of Ṭanṭā were officially affiliated to al-Azhar. A library was created in 1898. In 1914, the Azharī institute left the precincts of the mosque to occupy a modern building. A secular university was also established in Ṭanṭā from 1962 onwards.

The sanctified aura of the city has contributed to the development of its commercial role. The *mawlid*, as well being as a pilgrimage, was a fair and market which attracted crowds of local peasantry and numerous traders from Cairo; it was for them that ʿAlī Bey established in Ṭanṭā a *ḳaysariyya* called the Ghūriyya, and at the time of Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition the city contained a dozen caravanserais. The fair took place at the gates of the city, on a huge open site near the village of Sīgār. Here animals were sold, linen and cotton fabrics, European merchandise, and, most of all, slaves. The fair attracted customers and visitors from all parts of Egypt, from the Levant, Turkey and Sudan. As the capital of popular Egyptian Ṣūfism, Ṭanṭā acquired among Europeans a reputation for fanaticism.

In spite of such disorders, the 19th century was a time of vigorous expansion for the city of Ṭanṭā. The administrative role of the city, which had become the seat of the *mudīriyya* of Gharbiyya in 1836, enabled it to supplant its rival al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā [*q.v.*]. The Alexandria-Cairo railway, inaugurated in 1856, passed through Ṭanṭā and thereby reinforced its status as a mercantile centre. The trade in cotton brought additional prosperity to the town, with the establishment of warehouses and a Cotton Exchange, and the date of the major *mawlid* was moved to October, to follow the harvest. The cotton boom of the 1860s attracted large numbers of Greek migrant workers and also Levantines and Europeans. Churches were estahlished, and European missionaries (Soeurs de Notre-Dame des Apôtres, Pères des missions africaines de Lyon) founded schools. Immigration also expanded the Jewish community, one of the oldest in Egypt, and in 1905 the Alliance Israélite Universelle was permitted to found a school there. These developments took place in spite of the fact that, in July 1882, riots had culminated in the slaughter of about a hundred Christians and Jews.

The spectacular growth in population (10,000 inhabitants in 1821, 33,725 in 1882, 54,437 in 1907) presented an urgent need for urban expansion. The old city, situated around the sanctuary and characterised by dingy, narrow and insalubrious alleyways, still enclosed within a double wall *ca.* 1800, was partially modernised from the reign of the Khedive Ismāʿīl onward. Through the appropriation of *waḳf* territory, Ismāʿīl provided the means for the city's expansion towards the west, where new administrative and residential premises were built alongside a canal. A municipal commission was created in 1893. *Ca.* 1900, the Sikka Djadīda was opened, connecting the new station to the tomb of al-Badawī. An administrative and commercial metropolis, Ṭanṭā still had little in the way of industrial activity.

These transformations of the city of Ṭanṭā marginalised the *mawlid*. The abolition of slavery, and the development of communications and of distribution networks led to a perceptible decline of the major *mawlid* at the end of the 19th century: from 500,000 visitors to the major *mawlid* in the 1860s, numbers had fallen to no more than 100,000 in 1900.

Early in the 20th century two fairs were inaugurated; they became more regional and their role in economic activity declined. The major *mawlid*, still spectacular, continues, however, to attract between one and two million pilgrims every year, although the encampments and the cosmopolitan festivities are being gradually blighted by the urbanisation which is encroaching on the suburb of Sīgār. Ṭanṭā has, in fact, experienced the urban and demographic explosion which has affected the whole of Egypt during the 20th century: the city which numbered around 95,000 inhabitants in 1937 had nearly 140,000 ten years later, and 342,641 in 1977.

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AL-ṬANṬĀWĪ, Muḥammad 'Ayyād, a product of al-Azhar who is best known as the informant and teacher of European Arabists. He was born 1810 in Nidjrīd near Ṭanṭā in Egypt and died on 29th October [O.S.] 1861 in St. Petersburg, Russia.

Having received his primary education in a *maktab* in Ṭanṭā, al-Ṭanṭāwī moved to Cairo at the age of thirteen to continue his studies at al-Azhar. Among his teachers were Ibrāhīm al-Bādjūrī and Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār; one of his fellow-students was Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī (1811-83). After his father's death in 1827, al-Ṭanṭāwī was forced to return for two years to Ṭanṭā. Returning to Cairo, he was engaged as a teacher in al-Azhar, where, in his own opinion, he was the first to lecture on al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt* and al-Zawzanī's commentary to the *Mu'allaḳāt*.

To make ends meet, al-Ṭanṭāwī taught Arabic to European diplomats and to the specialists summoned by Muḥammad 'Alī [*q.v.*] to Egypt. Among his students were E.W. Lane, F. Fresnel, F. Pruner, A. Perron, G. Weil, and the Russian diplomats N. Mukhin and R. Frähn. When J.F. Demanges (1789-1839), teacher of Arabic at the Institute of Oriental Languages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg, died, the two Russians were influential enough to bring about al-Ṭanṭāwī's invitation to St. Petersburg in 1840 as Demanges' successor.

Al-Ṭanṭāwī arrived to St. Petersburg on 29 June [O.S.] 1840. In 1847 he became the third occupant of the Arabic Chair at the University of St. Petersburg, a position he held until his death. Among his students at the Institute and at the University the following can be mentioned: P.S. Savel'ev, V.V. Grigor'ev, and the Finnish traveller to the Arabian peninsula G.A. Wallin, with whom al-Ṭanṭāwī established a close friendship. Al-Ṭanṭāwī's two decades in Russia left few imprints; the testimonies of his contemporaries make it clear that his Azharī methods did not bear fruit. Only those already familiar with Arabic profited from his teachings.

Already in Cairo, al-Ṭanṭāwī had learnt French by exchanging lectures with Fresnel; in St. Petersburg he used the same method with Wallin when studying German. He had also some knowledge of Russian. During his years in Russia, he travelled in Europe; in 1844 he had the opportunity to make a visit to his native country, Egypt.

Of al-Ṭanṭāwī's literary output two works must be mentioned: his *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire* (Arabic title, *Aḥsan al-nukhab fī ma'rifat lisān al-'arab*; published in Leipzig 1848), one of the most interesting sources for our knowledge of the Arabic of Egypt in the 19th century; and his *Tuḥfat al-adhkiyā' bi-akhbār bilād al-Rūsiyā* (ed. Muḥammad 'Īsā Ṣāliḥiyya, Beirut 1992), the Introduction of which is a relation of his itinerary from Cairo to St. Petersburg, the rest a history and description of the Russian Empire.

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(K. Öhrnberg)

ṬANṬĀWĪ DJAWHARĪ [see djawharī, ṭanṭāwī, in Suppl.].

TANŪKH, a pre-Islamic confederacy of various Arab tribes that adopted a common genealogy.

The essential reliability of the Arabic historians' accounts of this confederacy is supported epigraphically by a Sabaic, a Greek, an Aramaic, and a Syriac inscription and also by Ptolemy, in spite of some conflicting reports on its early history in the Arabian peninsula, with details that so far have not been open to verification.

1. The Arabian Peninsular stage. The history of Peninsular Tanūkh belongs to the "Migration Period" in the history of Arabia, which witnessed the movement of tribes, mainly from the south, to the centre, to the north of the Arabian Peninsula, and ultimately to the Fertile Crescent. As far as Tanūkh is concerned, various historical traditions speak of their migration from Tihāma to Baḥrayn in Eastern Arabia, but the details are difficult to accept without the availability of epigraphic and non-Arabic sources. Their arrival in Baḥrayn is, however, supported by a precious Sabaic inscription. It was in Baḥrayn that the Tanūkh is supposed to have become a confederacy and to have acquired its confederate name, to which the lexicographers refer in the phrase *muḳām wa-tanūkh*, "halt and sojourn," an etymology equally difficult to accept or reject. It was also in Baḥrayn that they are said to have been joined by the Azd (under Djadhīma) and the Lakhm, two important tribes that appear associated with them when they reached the Fertile Crescent, especially its eastern half, 'Irāḳ. Whether they became constituent members of the Tanūkh confederacy or remained closely allied to them is not clear.

2. Mesopotamia. Less shadowy than their Peninsular history is the Mesopotamian one, both in the south, in al-Ḥīra and in the north, around al-Ḥaḍr or Hatra.

(a) In the south, the Tanūkh is associated with the most important Arab urban centre in pre-Islamic times, al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]. The mysterious Mālik b. Fahm is sometimes represented as an Azdī and sometimes as a Tanūkhid, and he is the one who is credited with the foundation of al-Ḥīra. Certainly historical is Djadhīma al-Abrash [*q.v.*] of the 3rd century A.D., whose kingship over Tanūkh is attested by a bilingual inscription (Greek and Aramaic) found at Umm al-Djimāl in Trans-Jordan. His family relationships may solve the problem of how al-Azd, Tanūkh, and Lakhm became related. According to one tradition, he married Lamīs, the sister of the Tanūkhid Mālik b. Zuhayr, thus connecting the Azd with Tanūkh, while his own sister, Raḳāsh, married ʿAdī of the Lakhm tribe, thus connecting the Lakhm with Tanūkh. Djadhīma was a large historical figure in the history of the Arabs before Islam. According to the Arabic tradition, he warred with Zenobia (al-Zabbāʾ) of Tadmur or Palmyra, at whose hands he met his death. After his death, al-Ḥīra became a strictly Lakhmid city, ruled by the House of Naṣr, whose first king was ʿAmr son of ʿAdī, Djadhīma's nephew. But Tanūkh remained a factor in the history of their relatives, the Naṣrids of al-Ḥīra: they were considered one of the three groups that constituted the population of al-Ḥīra, the other two being al-ʿIbād and al-Aḥlāf "the allies or protected tribes"; in addition to al-Ḥīra, they lived in the area west of the Euphrates between al-Ḥīra and Anbār and were called ʿArab al-Ḍāḥiya "the Arabs of the Marches"; one of the military divisions in the army of the Lakhmids under Nuʿmān, namely, Dawsar, was said to be a Tanūkhid division. Apparently, the Tanūkhids fell out with the Lakhmids in the 6th century, since they were defeated by the Lakhmid king, Ḳābūs b. al-Mundhir, at the battle of Ḳuhād.

(b) The Arabic sources speak of an encounter with the Sāsānid king, Shāpūr Dhū 'l-Aktāf [*q.v.*], as a result of which they moved under al-Ḍayzan b. Muʿāwiya into al-Ḥaḍr or Hatra, in northern Mesopotamia. This is again a detail that is impossible to accept as it stands. That they had some relation or association with Hatra must be accepted as historical, since their move to northern Mesopotamia in the vicinity of Hatra is indubitably attested in an authentic Syriac source, the *History of Aḥudemmeh*, the 6th-century Monophysite Patriarch of the Orient in Mesopotamia, who converted them to Christianity, to which they became very devoted. This raises the question of their alleged Christianity while they were still in southern Mesopotamia and their Christian war cry *Yā āl ʿIbād Allāh*, which they used in their wars with the Sāsānid king of the 3rd century. Perhaps only some of them were Christianised in southern Mesopotamia while others were not, such as those who moved on to northern Mesopotamia, and this may reconcile the seeming contradiction in the sources. The Christianity of those in the south is attested by a monastery, Dayr Ḥanna, which a Tanūkhid clan by the name of the Banū Saṭiʿ erected in al-Ḥīra.

3. In Bilād al-Shām, Byzantine Oriens. This is the region where the history of Tanūkh is no longer engulfed in some unverifiable details, and this is true of it in pre-Islamic and mediaeval Islamic times.

(a) Apparently after their defeat by the Sāsānids, some of them emigrated to Byzantine territory in Oriens, and became the first group of Arab *foederati* or allies to enter the service of Byzantium, whose principal Arab allies they became in the 4th century. Al-Masʿūdī assigns to them three kings: al-Nuʿmān, ʿAmr and al-Ḥawārī, whose names cannot be checked with non-Arabic sources. The Arab allies, *foederati* of Byzantium in this century in Oriens, are represented by two large historical figures: Imruʾ al-Ḳays "King of all the Arabs" (d. 328), attested in the Namāra [*q.v.*] inscription, and Queen Mavia of the 370s, attested in the ecclesiastical Greek historians. Imruʾ al-Ḳays was a Lakhmid who had some Tanūkhid blood in him, but Mavia's tribal affiliation is unknown, hence her Tanūkhid affiliation is only a possibility. The Tanūkhid *foederati* were zealous orthodox Christians, and Mavia's wars with the Arian Valens were waged along doctrinal lines. Tanūkhid relations with the central government were chequered. Around A.D. 380 they apparently revolted, but their revolt was quelled in 383 by the *magister militum* of Theodosius I, the Frank Richomer, in the same year, and their defeat preluded their final eclipse as the dominant *foederati* of Byzantium in the 4th century. But throughout the three pre-Islamic centuries, the Tanūkhids remained federates of Byzantium, and as such they appear fighting against the Muslims during the period of the Arab conquest of Bilād al-Shām. They fought at Dūmat al-Djandal, at the Yarmūk, and took part in the abortive Byzantine counter-offensive against Ḥimṣ in A.H. 17. Their status as *foederati* came to an end shortly after the Yarmūk when Abu ʿUbayda treated with them in the vicinity of Chalcis/Ḳinnasrīn and of Beroea/Ḥalab; some of them adopted Islam while others remained staunchly Christian. In A.H. 17, a group among them participated in translating the Gospel into Arabic. The reference in the Arabic Islamic sources to the two *ḥādirs* of the Tanūkhids near Ḥalab or Aleppo and Ḳinnasrīn argues for the reliability of the sources on the principal area of their settlement in Byzantine Oriens, which they naturally continued to occupy in the Islamic period, a fact that receives further confirmation from the non-Arabic Syriac sources, both literary and epigraphic. If Queen Mavia's tribal affiliation was with the Tanūkhids, then these could be associated with the earliest reference to poetry, epinician odes composed in Arabic on the occasion of her victory over Valens, and vouched for by a non-Arabic Greek source, Sozomen. A *dīwān* for Tanūkh is attested later in Islamic times, which presumably contained poetry composed in this pre-Islamic period.

4. The Islamic period. With the rise of a new order in Bilād al-Shām, that of the Islamic caliphate, those Tanūkhids who did not cross to Anatolia formed part of the *Adjnād* of Bilād al-Shām [see DJUND] and served the Umayyads, for whom they fought at Ṣiffīn with Muʿāwiya against ʿAlī, and again at Mardj Rāhiṭ with Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Their South Arabian sympathies ranged them against the Umayyad Marwān II, whose army, composed of north Arabian Ḳaysīs, they attacked when he passed through Ḳinnasrīn and Khunāṣira in 127/744-5. With the *translatio imperii* from Umayyad Damascus to ʿAbbāsid Baghdād, their fortunes deteriorated, as did Umayyad Bilād al-Shām in general. The final act of this deterioration came in the reign of the ʿAbbāsid al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) who, when visiting northern Syria, was greeted by 5,000 Tanūkhid horsemen under the leadership of Layth b. Mahaṭṭa. The caliph asked them to accept Islam, which they refused to do, but after their chief was beheaded, they complied and their churches were destroyed. Again, the accounts of the Arabic Islamic

sources, which located them in the district of Ḳinnasrīn and Aleppo, are confirmed both by the non-Arabic Syriac sources, Bar Hebraeus and Michael the Syrian, who speak of them as residing in this area when they tell the story of their encounter with al-Mahdī, and what is more, by a Syriac contemporary inscription. Their encounter with al-Mahdī brought to a close the history of the Tanūkhids as an autonomous Christian community in Bilād al-Shām and from now onwards they appear at various junctures as Muslim Arabs. Their association with Ḳinnasrīn and Aleppo also came to a close during the reign of al-Mahdī's son, Hārūn, when rebels attacked their settlements near Aleppo. Consequently, they left the region of Aleppo and Ḳinnasrīn and moved elsewhere, where the Arab geographers found them, in al-Lādhiḳiyya and in Djabal Bahrā' and Djabal Tanūkh, the mountainous range that extended from al-Lādhiḳiyya to Ḥimṣ. Their greatest contribution to Arabic and Islamic culture in this period was in the person of the great philosopher-poet, Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī, who was a Tanūkhid.

5. In mediaeval Lebanon. The last stage of their historical role in Bilād al-Shām was set in a new area, Lebanon, where the Tanūkhids suddenly appeared in the district of al-Gharb, which lies to the south of Beirut and where they established their supremacy in mediaeval times till the Ottoman occupation of the region. The erstwhile Christian Tanūkhids thus became the first Muslim group to establish itself in Christian Lebanon, more specifically a clan within them, the Banū Buḥtur. Later, these Tanūkhids of Lebanon walked another step in their religious journey when they, Sunnī Muslims, became involved in the Druze movement. They served the ʿAbbāsids by acting as a check on the Maronites in the north of Lebanon and against the Byzantines, who would attack from the west, sc. the sea. Al-Gharb prospered under the Tanūkhid enlightened administration, and so did Beirut, which flourished as a port for Damascus and the hinterland, especially after contacts were made with the Italian merchant republics. The victory of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I at Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] spelt disaster for them, and they were superseded by the Maʿns [*q.v.*] of al-Shūf, who became the new masters of central and northern Lebanon. The final phase of their decline was their massacre in their own mansion and at a feast at which they were the hosts!

Nowadays, they are represented in Lebanon by a shrine of one of them, al-Sayyid, who was a Druze. This shrine at ʿAbayh has become a pilgrimage centre to which thousands of Druzes flock every year. Their presence in Beirut, attested during the Crusades, is now confined to a street called Shāriʿ al-Tanūkhiyyīn.

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(Irfan Shahîd)

AL-TANŪKHĪ, Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (820-84/1417-79), called by the Druzes *al-Amīr al-Sayyid*, Druze writer on theology, philosophy, mysticism, etc.

He was born at ʿAbayh in the district of the Lebanese Shūf [*q.v.*], a descendant of the Tanūkhī *amīrs* who ruled the Gharb of Lebanon during Mamlūk times and to whom Epistle 50 of the Druze Scriptures was addressed. Al-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh was taught by private teachers grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, logic, poetry, and history. He stayed several years in Damascus consulting its libraries for his studies. Equal devotion went to the study of the Ḳurʾān and the Druze Scriptures. His writings are imbued with this education: a lexicon of the Arabic language (*al-Lugha al-ʿarbāʾ*), a biography of the Prophet (*Siyāsat al-akhyār wa-kamālāt al-Nabī al-mukhtār*), and fourteen volumes on theology, ethics and commentaries on three Druze Epistles, called by the Druzes *Sharḥ al-Amīr al-Sayyid*. Through his commentaries on the Epistles (no. 5, *al-Mīthāḳ*, no. 13, *Kashf al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, and no. 25 *Sharṭ al-Imām*), his treatises and the many letters which he wrote throughout his life, he succeeded in creating unity in the various explanations of the terminology by which, until today, the *ʿuḳḳāl* of the Druzes understand the Scriptures. In meeting houses (*madjālis al-dhikr*) erected in all Druze localities, where disciples gathered to study his preaching and commentaries, he provided them with guides for comportment called *Ādāb al-Amīr al-Sayyid*. Following the Druze Scriptures, al-Sayyid elaborated the moral principles and "the lawful and the prohibited" (*al-ḥalāl wa 'l-ḥarām*) into fifteen subjects with headings such as "marriage", "heritage", "child education", "expenditure", "obligation of the borrower and lender", which soon became a kind of elementary code on which the Druzes still rely in their everyday life and in the religious courts established since 1950s. The Druzes continue to consider al-Tanūkhī as the most revered individual after the propagators (*al-ḥudūd*) of their religious doctrine (*al-daʿwa*) in the 5th/11th century.

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(Kais M. Firro)

AL-TANŪKHĪ, al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī, Abū ʿAlī (329-84/941-94), littérateur, judge and secretary in

Mesopotamia and Western Persia during the 4th/10th century, stemmed from a family of transmitters of *Ḥadīth*. Born in 329/940-1 in Baṣra, he began the study of *adab* at an early age with Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī and later continued with Abū 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī and others. Less than twenty years old, he was appointed supervisor of measures and weights at the mint in Sūḳ al-Ahwāz. Shortly thereafter, the vizier al-Muhallabī had him appointed *ʿāmil* near the ʿAbbāsid capital, and a little later he became *ḳāḍī* of some districts in Khūzistān. From 363/973 until 365/976, the year his son ʿAlī was born, he fulfilled the same function in al-Wāsiṭ. Thereafter, he changed into the class of the *kuttāb*, working as a secretary in the *ḥukm* and *wakf* department in Baghdād. Thus he came closer to the people in power, in particular, to the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], whose companion he became until, in 371/981-2, he fell from grace and was put under house arrest. Fleeing from Baghdād for some time but then returning, he lived in seclusion and under difficult circumstances until his death in 384/994.

Al-Tanūkhī is known as the author of three or four transmitted works, all compilations of anecdotes: *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda; Nishwār al-muḥāḍara wa-akhbār al-mudhākara; al-Mustadjād min faʿalāt al-adjwād*; and (least certain, cf. Fähndrich, *A propos*. . .) *ʿUnwān al-ḥikma*. All four of them were compiled under a guiding principle, namely (apart from the last one), deeds of *karāma*, of salvation from difficult situations, be they financial, political, social or personal. This is most obvious in *al-Faradj*, in which al-Tanūkhī continues the literary genre known under the name of his book's title, and *al-Mustadjād*, both of whose very titles indicate this interest. However, the stories transmitted in the *Nishwār* also have this preference, thus presenting an interesting aspect of man's relation both to God and destiny and also to the hierarchy of power. In addition, the author takes a specific interest in reporting events which he saw or was informed about from oral sources. This makes his compilations, in particular his *Nishwār*, an invaluable source about life and procedures within the 4th/10th century ʿAbbāsid bureaucracy.

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(H. Fähndrich)

TANWĪN (A.), the grammatical term nunation, the suffixed *-n* normally marking indefinite nouns (but not diptote nouns, those not fully inflected) as well as a good number of proper names and several adverbs.

This very varied distribution of the phenomenon is the result of a complex evolution which is only explicable from a diachronic and a comparativist viewpoint. Without going into the details of a complicated discussion (see H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, 342-5), one may note the existence in Akkadian of mimation, the suffix *-m* used for determination, as well as in Epigraphic South Arabian the suffixed definite article *-n* and an ending *-m* which seems to have an indefinite meaning but which is also found in certain proper nouns. The different usages of the *tanwīn* in Arabic would thus correspond, at least in part, to the different stages in the evolution of the system of the marking of determination and indetermination in Semitic. This situation, further complicated by certain special usages connected with poetic declamation (the *tanwīn al-tarannum* of the Banū Tamīm, see Fleisch, 192-3), led the Arab grammarians, who worked within a strictly synchronic framework, to reject the idea that the *tanwīn* could be in itself a mark of indetermination; in their eyes, this was "the basic state" (*aṣl*) of the noun, i.e. its case which is not marked, which does not need to be marked by any special sign. The *tanwīn*, at least in its usage of the linguistic phenomenon *-un, -an, -in*, simply marks that a noun is *mutamakkin*, i.e. that it has a complete inflexion. This enables account to be taken at the same time of its presence in proper nouns (which are in their very nature definite) and of its absence in nouns imperfectly declined. A supplementary rule stipulates that *tanwīn* is incompatible with the definite article *al-* and with the state of annexation. Other uses, clearly more marginal, are considered as different *tanwīn*s—to some extent, simple homonyms—each of these being the object of special analysis.

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(J.-P. Guillaume)

ṬANYŪS, SHĀHĪN, (1815-95), Maronite mule driver and blacksmith, who in 1858 became the leader of a peasant rebellion against the *shaykhs* of the al-Khāzin family, *muḳāṭaʿadjīs* of Kisrawān, Mount Lebanon. He was chosen by several rebellious villages as their leader and, after the flight of a number of *shaykhs*, established his authority over most of Kisrawān [*q.v.*]. He enjoyed some *de facto* recognition by the Maronite patriarch and the Ottoman authorities. In 1860, when relations between the Maronites and the Druze deteriorated, he tried to mobilise support in Kisrawān for the Christians in the southern districts, but did not himself participate in struggles against the Druze. The failure of his attempts led to a decrease

of his authority, and in spite of French support, his troops were defeated in 1860 by Yūsuf Karam, a warlord from the north.

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(R. van Leeuwen)

TANZANIA, Muslims in.

1. *The pre-colonial period.* Archaeological findings as well as the oldest extant written records indicate that Muslims found their way to and established themselves on the islands off, and in the coastal area of, what is today known as Tanzania in the first *hidjrī* century [see dar es salaam; kilwa; pemba; swahili; zanzibar]. The oldest extant African source on the history of Tanzania is the *Kilwa Chronicle* dated around 1530.

Muslims remained coastal dwellers exclusively for many centuries partly due to their seaward orientation and the links they maintained with the heartlands of Islam through the use of the monsoons. Ecological, economic, political and logistical factors of the interior also played a role. The sparse population, constant movement of disorganised ethnic groups, their fissiparousness and lack of political entities, the tsetse-fly belt, and lack of natural venues of penetration made progress inland problematic. Even coastal settlements experienced the ferocity of the Zimba as late as the second half of the 16th century. In some instances, vested interest were also a contributory factor, as some ethnic groups had evolved their own trading patterns and were bringing cattle, ivory and copper to the coast, thus making it unnecessary for the coastal people to undertake the arduous journeys inland.

The earliest known Muslim penetration of the Tanzanian hinterland began in the 16th century via the Rovuma River and somewhat later via the Ruvu/Ruaha, the Wami and Pangani rivers. In some instances they followed the routes already established by the Nyamwezi, Sukuma and Yao. This gradual penetration was primarily carried out by the descendants of the earlier Arab and Persian settlers who had married local African women along the coast and had given rise to a new "coastal" culture and language which took its name from the Arabic word for "coast" *sāḥil* (pl. *sawāḥil*), whence Swahili. Islam acted as a detribalising force, bringing into being a new group of people who read and wrote Arabic, knew Arabic literature and law, attended the mosque and observed the requirements laid down. Arab influence changed some Bantu kinship systems from matriliny to patriliny in descent, inheritance and succession. It introduced a monetary economy, promoted the cultivation of cash crops (e.g. coconut and mango) and with it new concepts of land tenure. Even the traditional division of labour was modified so that in the coastal areas agriculture became the responsibility of the men. In the interior, persons born of Bantu parents became acculturated Swahili, adopting the external signs of Swahili culture, i.e. an Arabic name, the *kanzu* (*gallābiyya*), the *kofia* (stitched cap > Ar. *kūfiyya* "head kerchief"), the language, passages of the Ḳur'ān and circumcision. The appeal of Islam derived from a mixture of tolerance and snobbishness. The acculturated Swahili retained much of their traditional beliefs and practices, and their ethical demands fitted easily into the African kinship morality. At the same time, the Swahili claimed that they alone possessed *utaarabu*, the genteel manners and values of Arab civilisation. They saw the local people as contemptible *washenzi*, uncouth, raw natives, people still under tribal bondage, while the Swahili were *wangwana*, freemen who were not subject to any local chief. Adoption of Islam was seen as a sign of progress, status and prestige.

The penetration of the hinterland was first given an impetus with the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century, who became competitors of the Arabs and the coastal people. The coastal people became known in Swahili as *Wamrima*. A further impetus came with the arrival of the ʿUmānīs in the 17th century. After the establishment of the Zanzibar sultanate in the 1830s, new routes into the interior were opened up and permanent Swahili posts were established in Unyamwezi at Unyanyembe and Msene as well as at Ujiji and Karema on the eastern shores of Lake Tanganyika and at Mtengera in Uhehe.

In 1839 Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (see below) negotiated a treaty with a delegation of Nyamwezi visiting Zanzibar, according to which his Arab and *Mrima* subjects would be exempt from paying tax to the local ruler in Unyanyembe. One of the earliest Muslims to take up residence in Unyanyembe was Djuma b. Radjab al-Murdjibī, Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad al-Murdjibī's grandfather. His father, Muḥammad b. Djuma al-Murdjibī (d. 1881), married into the Fundikira family in Unyamwezi and owned large plantations at Ituru near Tabora. Richard Burton noted in 1857 that the Coast Arab and the *Wamrima* had established themselves at Msene a few miles to the west of Unyanyembe due to their antipathy to the ʿUmānīs. The lines of division between the people from the coast and the Zanzibaris, the people of mixed race and the pure-bred Arab, although often blurred, led to a mutual distrust between the two groups which became a persistent feature among Muslims in the interior. A similar phenomenon developed in the south among the Yao, who from the 1880s increasingly became Muslims taking over the trade from the Arabs and *Wamrima*.

When a new Nyamwezi ruler tried to impose payment of tax on them, the Arabs and *Wamrima* deposed him and set up their own puppet. This led to serious tension between the local people and the people from the coast under Mirambo (d. 1884) to the detriment of their trade and by implication to the influence of Muslims in the area. In some areas the Arabs and the *Wamrima* were in control, in other areas, particularly in the south they were clients (*mawālī*, sing. *mawlā*) of the local rulers.

The reasons for the increasing involvement of the *Wamrima* with a scattering of Arabs upcountry was that, although there had been a few Indian traders and merchants on the coast since the time of the Portuguese occupation in the early 16th century, Sultan Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (1806-56 [*q.v.*]) invited and encouraged Indian businessmen to his new domains. Although they were not much liked by the Arab settlers, Saʿīd was well aware of their role in regard to the inflow of capital and expansion of trade. Their number grew from an estimated 1,000 in 1840 to about 6,000 in 1860. The Muslims among them became permanent settlers. With them came the business acumen and the means to finance the caravans, not only on the coast but also upcountry, as in the case of Mūsā Mzuri (d. 1861), an Indian Khodja Ismāʿīlī who was the principal financier of caravans at Unyayembe. But it also meant that the coastal trade was

taken over by them, forcing the Arabs and *Wamrima* to go inland in search of markets. One of these was Matimula, a *Mrima* from Kilwa who had settled at Karema around 1870. Another was Songoro, who established his authority around the southern shore of Lake Victoria. At the same time, New England merchants and later European traders established themselves in Zanzibar. The rising demand for ivory in America, Europe and India, and by implication the higher prices paid for good quality ivory also contributed to the intensification of the contacts with the interior. The Sultan's new clove plantations and the French sugar plantations on the islands of the Indian Ocean needed labour, and this too became a lucrative trade. By 1880 the Sultan had established a military post in Mamboya some 120 miles inland from Bagamoyo to protect his interests. By this time also, there were sizeable Muslim communities at Kagei, Tabora (Kazeh) as well as at previously-named places.

Prior to the colonial period, the penetration of Muslims into the interior of Tanzania was essentially infiltrative and diffuse. It is estimated that the number of pure Arabs may have been a hundred or two, whereas the *Wamrima* may have numbered a thousand or two. At every point they were interwoven with the indigenous political and social scene. The Muslims took part in local quarrels, established themselves as local political figures, married local women. Some of the traders were accompanied by *walimu* (Ar. *muʿallim*), who introduced Islamic education and offered their amulets and prayers as an complementary source of blessing.

2. *The colonial period.* By the time the Germans began to show an interest in the area in 1884, the number of Muslims, particularly among the ethnic groups along the coast and its immediate hinterland, had grown to the point where they were able to oppose and threaten the German occupation of the area under Abushiri b. Salim al-Harthi in 1888. The strength of Islam at this time can be seen in the fact that Abushiri sought guidance from the Muslim astrologer-poet Abd Allah bin Saʿid al-Buhriy in Tanga about the outcome of the struggle. He consulted the Islamic books purporting to foretell the future (*Vita vya Wadachi*, 54 ff.). Abushiri, however, was not only opposed to the German occupation, but his family had for more than a century intrigued against the Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty in Zanzibar, reflecting Arab clan rivalries, and may have hoped that the time had come to topple the rulers in Zanzibar. The situation all along the coast became so serious that the German government bad to intervene by sending Hermann von Wissmann as Imperial Commissioner. He arrived with an army of some 600 Sudanese recruited in Egypt and some 50 Somalis. As soon as Abushiri had been crushed, the Germans re-instated the Arab *liwali* at Tabora who had been deposed by Mirambo and denied the office by Mirambo's successor. When the Germans reached Speke Sound at the southern end of Lake Victoria, they were greeted by the indigenous population as liberators from their Muslim oppressors. The Muslim opposition to German rule reappeared in the hinterland of Kilwa under one Hasan bin Omari in 1894, supported by the Indian traders, but was dealt with swiftly and severely.

In spite of the Muslim opposition, the Germans realised that if they were to pacify and govern the country they would have to make use not only of their Sudanese and Somali soldiers, but would also have to use the only literate people available to them at this time, i.e. the Arabs and the *Wamrima*. Some of these were appointed as officials and agents, i.e. as *wulāt* (sing. *wālī*, Swa. *liwali* > *al-wālī*) and *ʿukadāʾ* (sing. *ʿakīd*; Swa. *akida*). Others were appointed as artisans, foremen, interpreters, teachers, etc. The Germans also encouraged the Indians, some of whom were Muslims, to settle near the new administrative centres they were establishing around the country. Swahili was adopted as the official language and initially written in Arabic script. These administrative arrangements laid a solid foundation for the growth of the Muslim community in Tanzania.

Although some *ṭuruḳ* had had a few followers in the country before the German occupation, it was during the pre-1914-18 War period that the Ṣūfī orders took root in Tanzania. The Ḳādiriyya, it is claimed, was brought from Barawa in Somalia during the 19th century by one Sayyid ʿUmar al-Ḳullatayn, whose grave is at Welezo, four miles from Zanzibar town. It was symbolised by its green flag carried in procession before adherents met for *dhikr*. It appears under a variety of local names, e.g. Djīlāniyya, Kirāma, etc. The Uwaysiyya, founded by Uways b. Muḥammad al-Barāwī (d. 1909), at the end of the 19th century, a sub-order of the Ḳādiriyya, listed Barghāsh b. Saʿīd Āl Bū Saʿīd, Sultan of Zanzibar 1870-88, and Ḥamīd b. Thuwaynī b. Saʿīd, who ruled 1893-6, amongst its members, even though they belonged to the Ibāḍī *madhhab*. The Shādhiliyya were brought into the country by the Sudanese and spread rapidly. One of its best-known leaders was Muḥammad Maʿrūf (1853-1905). Its main symbol was a white flag. There are also the Rifāʿiyya and the ʿAlawiyya.

The *ṭuruḳ* played a considerable role in some of the anti-colonial struggles. It has been suggested that they were involved in the al-Bushiri uprising in 1888 and to some extent also in the Maji-Maji uprising in 1905-6. It is quite clear that they were involved in the uprising connected with the widely circulated so-called Mecca Letter in 1908, purporting to come from Mecca and calling the faithful to rise up against the infidels in millennial terms. The letter in fact came from Zanzibar and had been written by one Muḥammad b. Khamīs al-Barwānī, alias Rumaliza, who had fought with Mkwawa, the Hehe ruler, against the Germans between 1888 and 1898 in the Iringa region. In Tabora, the letter was circulated by the Ḳādirī Shaykh Zāhir b. Muḥammad al-Djabrī al-Barāwī.

The introduction of Western-type education during the German period, and more systematically during the British Mandate from 1919, had a detrimental effect on Muslims as non-Muslims took over more and more of the administrative positions previously held by Muslims. Whereas previously the impression had been that the colonial masters preferred Muslims, it became increasingly clear that they now preferred those who had the kind of training they considered essential for the administration of the country. The Muslims, for their part, withdrew increasingly from the colonially-controlled systems and perpetuated their own traditions through the *madāris*, institutions which the Germans had already begun to push aside. Although the period between the wars and up to independence in 1961 was a problematic one for the Muslims, a not inconsiderable amount of intellectual and literary activity took place. The most important development inspired by Shaykh al-Amīn al-Mazrūʿī (1891-1947) of Mombasa and taken up by Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ Fārsī (1912-82) of Zanzibar was the Swahili rendering of the Ḳurʾān which appeared in 1984. Attempts were made by the British administration to involve at least some Muslims in the new

structures. Thus two Indians were included when the Legislative Council was set up in 1926 and one further Indian member was added in 1929. It was only with the return of some of the troops after the 1939-45 war that a new impetus was given to the community through those who had met fellow-Muslims in the various war zones, but particularly in the Middle East.

3. *Independence.* The process towards independence started to some extent with the establishment of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) in 1929 and the Muslim Association of Tanganyika (MAT) in 1934. Its aim was to do away with all cultural, educational, ethnic, political, sectarian and other differences in order to promote a solid African brotherhood. Its aims coincided with the main teachings of Islam, and the association found much support among Muslims. Its work was re-organised in 1955 under the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) with a greater stress on preparation for independence. The *ṭuruḳ* supported TANU, and Muslims were well represented in its leadership and ranks just as they had been in TAA. An illustration of the local role of the *ṭuruḳ* and its integration into national politics was Shaykh Ramiya of Bagamoyo. He was a former slave who had become a merchant and landowner. As a member of the Ḳādirī order, he undertook extensive Islamic studies and won great respect among the local people. He co-operated with the British and was appointed *liwali*. Many Africans in the area benefited from the social solidarity of the brotherhood and from their allegiance to a powerful patron. In 1938 his son and successor Shaykh Muḥammad declared that the Prophet was not an Arab but a man for all races. This was an expression of the African identity of the community. Shaykh Muḥammad encouraged his followers to join the national party and himself became a local representative. After independence, President Julius Nyerere appointed him *ḥakīm*. Arab and Indian Muslims, however, felt ill at ease, particularly with TANU's secular outlook on education and its socialist principles which they feared would impair their religious and commercial interests. As a result, they established the All-Muslim National Union of Tanganyika (AMNUT) in 1957. AMNUT suggested that independence should be delayed until Muslims had reached the same educational levels as other groups in the country. Ultimately, their interests were taken up by the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS) which had been established under the patronage of the Āgā Khān, the leader of the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī community in 1945. Its outlook was transnational, pan-Islamic and more concerned with each community's interests than the national interests of TANU. After independence, EAMWS was allowed to continue its work, being regarded as a religious organisation, but due to its increasingly political activities it was proscribed in 1968. Its place was taken by the Baraza Kuu La Waislamu Tanzania (BAKWATA), which had close ties with TANU. The majority of Muslims who are Sunnī and follow the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* claimed that the principles of *ujamaa* promulgated by TANU were easily identifiable with many teachings within Islam and that the principle of self-reliance accorded with their views. Its position within TANU can be seen in that the first Vice-President, Rashidi Kawawa, was a leading member of BAKWATA, as was the leader of the Umoja wa Wanwake Tanzania (UWT), Bibi Titi Mohamedi. When the first president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, retired in 1985, the party chose Ali Hassan Mwinyi from Zanzibar as his successor. The position of the Muslims had now improved to the point where BAKWATA was able to arrange a high-level visitation by an international group of leading Muslim scholars in 1987. At the same time BAKWATA requested the government to re-establish the Islamic *ḳāḍī* courts which had existed in the country in the colonial and pre-colonial period. This genuine Islamic profile came as a result of a more international outlook in the organisation which brought about economic aid from the Muslim world for the building of schools, mosques and for scholarships. Religious materials for use in primary and secondary school have been prepared under BAKWATA's auspices. In spite of this, some Muslims were dissatisfied with what they saw as BAKWATA's inadequate stand on matters Islamic. They formed the Baraza La Umoja Wa Korani Tanzania (BALUKTA) under the leadership of Shaykh Yahya Hussein in 1987 to propagate the reading of the Ḳurʾān and to promote religious and higher education for Muslims. It has also been in the forefront in organising the Pilgrimage to Mecca. BALUKTA has not confined itself to these activities. In 1992 it accused the vice-chairman of the ruling party of swindling large amounts of money which should have been used for *ʿĪd* and *Mawlid* prayers. The leaders were imprisoned, but then released, and the organisation de-registered. In 1988 the new Minister of Education, Kighoma Malima, suggested that Muslim students should receive preferential treatment in the selection process for secondary education. This and other moves were strongly supported by various groups including Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu (WARSHA) representing Muslims in the 20-40 age group, who broke away from BAKWATA in 1982, the Union of Muslim Youth, the Union of Muslim Students at the University of Dar es Salaam and the Union of Muslim Preachers. WARSHA is critical of the political and economic system of Tanzania. They are also involved in changing the traditional *madrasa* system of rote memorisation of the Ḳurʾān to a more varied Islamic education. The Union of Muslim Youth published a Ten-Year Development plan in 1984 in which they emphasised the need for a separate Islamic development in society. It was their insistence which made BAKWATA request the reintroduction of *ḳāḍī* courts in 1987. Beside the Union of Muslim Students at the University, there is also the University Muslim Trusteeship which stresses that the teachings of the Ḳurʾān are a complete code of life. The most recent organisation set up in 1992 is the Baraza Kuu ya Waislamu (National Muslim Conference), which is seeking to replace BAKWATA as the umbrella organisation of all Muslims in Tanzania.

The Indian Muslims representing various tendencies within Shīʿī Islam, whose numbers had continued to grow throughout the colonial period, evolved their own structures. The above-mentioned, well-organised Khodja Ismāʿīlī community has played an important role in the political life of Tanzania, particularly through the long-serving Minister of Finance Amir Jamal. The Ismāʿīlī community, although exclusivist in its nature, has made significant contributions in the fields of education, industry, medicine and social services. Wherever the community is to be found they have established *Djamāʿat Khānas*, which function as centres for their administrative, religious and social functions. Although the Āgā Khān advised them to identify totally with the new independent Tanzania, some found it prudent to leave the country in view of the attitude and tensions resulting from the indigenous perception of their business practices.

The Twelver Shīʿī Community has established itself as an educational and intellectual presence prima-

rily through the work of Sayyid Saʿid Akhtar Rizvi. Under his leadership, the Bilāl Muslim Mission was established in Dar es Salaam in 1967. It publishes among other things *The Light*, in which issues such as the Islamic concept of state and authority are discussed, as well as various Ḳurʾānic doctrines and religious practices. Through his work a number of Tanzanian Africans have accepted the Ithnā ʿAsharī tradition and have had the opportunity to study in Iran. Wherever there are sufficient numbers of the community, they have established *imāmbāras* as centres of religious and community life.

The Mustaʿlian Bohora community in Tanzania first appeared in Zanzibar in 1748 from Bombay. At the beginning of the 1950s they established the Daʾudi Bohra Jamat Corporation. They have primarily been involved in the ironmongery and watch trade. Like the Khodja Ismāʿīlīs, they have their own *Djamāʿat Khānas* and are the most exclusivist of all the Indian communities. This is particularly marked through the Seifi Foundation and Public Charity Trust, established primarily to set up members of the community in business.

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(S. von Sicard)

TANZĪL [see waḥy].

TANẒĪM AL-NASL, TANẒĪM AL-USRA (A.), family planning, denotes the conscious planning of the occurrence of a pregnancy, including decisions on the interval between pregnancies.

Social and legal aspects.

Family planning has become a major issue of religio-political controversy over the last decades, particularly since the late 1950s and early 1960s, when several Islamic countries (first Egypt, Pakistan and Tunisia) began to respond to the dangers of rapid population growth. Governments gradually realised that growing population pressure impedes their economic development. (Egyptian economists and students of humanities had been aware of the unfavourable development since the early 1930s, and some had attempted to alert the authorities to these facts. The first *fatāwā* pro- and contra-family planning had been published at the same time. But these early efforts remained without effect.) The accelerated population growth in North Africa and Middle East, like elsewhere in the developing countries, resulted from a dramatic decrease in the mortality rate, especially since World War II, unaccompanied by a parallel decrease in birth rates. The fall in the death rate and the higher life expectancy has been caused by the expansion and improvement of medical and health facilities and sanitation infrastructure, particularly since independence. Before, deaths had cancelled out births, and the high birth rate served to reproduce a relatively stable population density.

With the exception of Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich countries which could support a growing population, most Islamic countries decided to implement national family programmes in the 1960s. These were often accompanied by legislative measures and different developmental efforts (such as health, education, rural development and industrialisation programs). The success of these measures varied, due to numerous factors, such as administrative bottlenecks; shortage of trained personnel; lack of funding and coordination between private foundations and associations and state organisations and institutions concerned with family planning services; uneven country-wide distribution of family planning assistance; regional disparities in developmental efforts; educational, information and custom's problems; non-implementation of legislation; discontinuity of family planning policy as a result of change of government or policies; short-lived attempts to control internal migration; and/or exclusively growth-oriented development policies.

Until the 1980s, only modest achievements with regard to family planning could be noted. Optimistic predictions for a favourable population development were realised to have been founded on false suppositions. In general, fertility rates can only drop slowly as they react to gradually increasing pressures from modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation. Sobering results of census data and gloomy predictions for the future of the economy, drawn from demographic data, led several governments to act more strongly and effectively in order to regulate the population growth. They recognised that the rapid increase in population had nullified economic gains and that the population growth has to be brought into equilibrium with the limited national resources. Until this time, the growing rate could not be matched with economic and service development (employment, health services, transport, housing, industrialisation and agricultural productivity). It was feared that this would result in a vicious cycle of poverty, ill-health, illiteracy, overpopulation and unemployment, being compounded with social frustration and social unrest.

Constant rise of population has brought about a surplus of labour that could not be absorbed by the economy of the countries; the dependency burden is high dne to the disproportionate growth in the number of young people, and the discrepancies within the socio-economic strata are aggravated. Increased internal rural migration to large urban centres has brought a host of problems, such as rapid and disorganised growth (growing slum quarters), deficits in social, technical, and economic supplies, extremely high population density, traffic congestion, air and water

pollution, land speculation and housing problems. These problems are obvious in metropolitan areas like Karachi, Cairo or Tehran.

The population growth rate of the whole North African and Middle Eastern region averaged about 3.1% *per annum* between 1980 and 1990. Although a slight decline has been apparent over the last years, the population growth rate is still higher than the global average rate (1.7%) or the average rates for East Asia (1.7%), South Asia (1.6%) and Latin America (2.1%). Fertility appears to be highest in Ḳaṭar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the UAE (more than 4%) and lowest in Lebanon (less than 1%?). Moreover, the urban population of the whole region increased on an average rate of 4.7% between 1985 and 1990. The largest populous country among the states with a Muslim majority is Pakistan, with about 119 million inhabitants in 1994, Egypt, Iran and Turkey following with about 60 million each.

Sample surveys and census analysis of fertility and birth control practices in different Islamic countries suggest that the main variables of differences in regional population growth are the following: socio-economic class or mode of livelihood in a more general sense, the status of women (educational level, employment opportunities outside of agriculture, husband-wife relationship, valuation of women's role) and the family structure (patriarchal-traditional or modern), social environment (urban milieu or rural communities), and connection of family programmes with other health programs, especially those in maternal and child health.

Nonetheless, some progress in stabilising population has been made in the region due to more forcefully propagated anti-natalist policy (including media campaigns and sex education in schools) since the 1980s/early 1990s. Contraceptive use among married women of reproductive age and awareness of population issues have increased.

Economic pressures have certainly induced changes, particularly in the attitudes of urban middle class couples and the younger generations. Rising levels of individual expectations for a better standard of living and of parental aspirations, together with new systems of economic production that reduce the opportunities for unskilled workers and demand for child labour, have effected a re-evaluation of attitudes to child bearing in the urban centres. However, as long as comprehensive social security systems are not implemented, poor families, especially in rural areas and agricultural economies, will continue to view their children as potential wage earners and as a security against disability or old age.

The experiences in the past decades have proved that any fundamental solution to the problem of reducing fertility rate has to involve major social and economic structural change as well. The relatively positive effects of population policy in Tunisia and Turkey have to be seen in connection with several legal and administrative measures taken as complementary measures for decreasing the birth rate and aimed at emancipating women and creating social security institutions. Reformed Codes of Personal Law (raised marriage age, prohibition of polygamy, reform of divorce rules, full rights of citizenship, etc.) have improved the status of women. The remission of taxes for families with numerous children or family allowances has been abolished or limited. Liberal family planning laws have legalised abortion (during the first three months or 10 weeks) and sterilisation, also for social reasons (Tunisia 1973; Turkey 1983).

A recent example of the effects of a radical reversal in family planning policy owing to political change and economic pressure is Iran. Since 1970, the Iranian government embarked on a population control policy. Abortion was legalised in 1973, also as a response to the high rate of dangerous illegal abortions, particularly in Tehran. Sterilisation became legal in 1976. After the Revolution in 1979, K͟humaynī ordered family planning clinics to stop abortions and sterilisations. The new government propagated marriage. The legal marriage age has been lowered to 13 years for girls and 15 years for boys, polygamy was reinstituted, and temporary marriages [see MUTʿA] encouraged. Child-bearing was postulated as the main duty of women, and procreation of Muslims was deemed essential. Birth control opportunities became extremely limited and family programmes practically inoperable. The effect of the war, dwindling resources, and high inflation rate forced the government to reverse its position on population control. The year 1368 *s͟h*/1989-90 was declared "Birth control year". The UN Fund for Population was asked for assistance; birth control devices were purchased, and even voluntary sterilisation has been legalised.

Since the beginning, several governments and population planners have sought endorsement of their family planning policies by religious authorities for inducing people to accept birth control more readily and for legitimising their political measures. The *fatwās* [*q.v.*] sanctioned family planning in most cases by restating the historical *id͟jmāʿ*. Given the strong emphasis which Islam places upon family and the traditional role assigned to husband and wife, the rulings governing contraception and abortion appear remarkably liberal. The Ḳurʾān (XXIV, 30-5) recommends marriage and procreation for those who are physically and economically able and advises abstinence for all others. (As a result, all contemporary Muslim societies are almost totally "married societies"; "singleness" is a rare phenomenon.)

In contrast to the enduring view of the Catholic Church, in Islam the basic purpose of marriage is explicitly stated to be not only procreation but the gratification of spiritual and physical needs. This means that sexual intercourse has a positive value independent of reproduction itself. Muslim open attitudes towards sexuality have definitely encouraged the discussion and sanction of contraceptive methods. In Islamic jurisprudence, these discussions were primarily concerned with *coitus interruptus* [see ʿAZL], historically the most common contraceptive method known to men. Lacking a direct reference in the Ḳurʾān to answer the question of birth control, the jurists have turned to the number of Traditions relating to *ʿazl*, most of them being permissive, for proving their sanction of withdrawal; in the case of a free woman, her previous consent was usually demanded. This provision was required because sexual fulfilment and progeny were considered to be her rights. The ethical permissibility of *ʿazl* was extended by analogy (*ḳiyās*) to include other known contraceptive techniques (condoms; tampons; intravaginal suppositories; herbal potions; magic). The major schools of Islamic jurisprudence viewed contraception as an allowable but reprehensible (*makrūh*) practice; since procreation was a good action, abstention from it was an omission of a preferred action. Under certain conditions, birth control could become recommended. Several jurists recognised not only personal and medical reasons but also social and economic indications, and even, most generally, the fear of "bad times" (*fasād* or *sūʾ al-zaman*). The only jurist who condemned *ʿazl* absolutely was Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*]. He based his argument

on a *ḥadīth* which compares *ʿazl* to "hidden infanticide" (*al-waʾd al-khafī; waʾd* having been prohibited by Ḳurʾān, LXXXI, 8). Religious permission of contraception was part of the popular consciousness, and birth control information and its remedies were available, B. Musallam concluded, after extensive studies on the mediaeval Arabic discussion on contraception and abortion in Islamic jurisprudence as well as in medicine, *materia medica, belles lettres*, erotica and popular literature. Practically all contraceptive techniques used by the Europeans till the 19th century were known in the mediaeval Middle East.

Although on abortion (*idjhāḍ, isḳāṭ al-ḥaml*) the Muslim jurists failed to reach a consensus, on the whole it was religiously tolerated before "quickening", especially in case of medical reasons. All Muslim jurists agreed on the prohibition of abortion after quickening (*nafkh al-rūḥ*) of the foetus [see nafs; rūḥ] at the end of the fourth month.

In order to understand contemporary discussions on birth control, it is important to underscore the fact that religious permission applied to individual couples and not to government activities, and that it was essentially connected with the possibility of failure, inherent in all mediaeval techniques; the latter aspect could easily be reconciled with the concept of predestination.

With the involvement of the state, a new political dimension has been added to the issue of family planning. The positive responses of some contemporary *ʿulamāʾ* to national family planning programmes, probably also the first successes in planning and the spread of Islamic fundamentalism, have brought about fierce opposition to birth control. Concerning family planning, at least three distinct attitudes in contemporary Islam can be deduced from publications, statements, and conferences on Islam and population policy. The controversy has once again come to light with regard to the World Population Conference in Cairo in Sept. 1994.

1. Religiously conservative (among them less educated local *fuḳahāʾ*) and politically radical circles, either extreme Islamists or extreme nationalists, reject birth control in any form. The dominant theological argument for pro-natalism is the belief in God's omnipotence and His active providence [see rizḳ]. The popular *ḥadīth* "Marry and multiply so that God will be proud of you on the Day of Resurrection" (or similar versions) is often quoted to demonstrate Islam's prohibition of family planning. Opponents of birth control have never distinguished between limitation and organisation or regulation, i.e. *tanẓīm al-nasl* is tantamount to *taḥdīd* or *ḳillat al-nasl*. They believe that procreation is the principle purpose of marriage and emphasise women's "natural" role; availability of contraceptive means would contribute to a decline of social morality. Family planning is seen as an imported concept. Opponents furthermore argue that there is no need for family planning; the Muslim countries are able to support millions more of inhabitants. The question should be better utilisation of resources and skills (e.g. irrigation and cultivation of the desert), not limitation of population. Multiplicity would mean power, influence, and military strength. The adherents of this view hope for Islamic solidarity and for an economic cooperation (including labour migration) between rich and poor Islamic countries. In this context, they forget that most oil-producing countries are pursuing a pro-natalist policy in order to reduce their dependency on foreign workers.

Even among opponents (such as ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, the late founder of the Istiḳlāl party; ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Shaykh al-Azhar, 1973-8; Abu ʾl-Aʿlā Mawdūdī [*q.v.*]; the famous *ʿulamāʾ* Abū Zahra 1976, al-Būṭī 1976; the Azharī Ibn al-Dardīr 1990; the Saudi *muftī* Ibn Bāz 1988), some admit that contraception, including abortion and sterilisation, may be used in a restricted sense (medical and eugenic indication) in individual cases. (Some hardliners restrict birth control to the cases when there is a mortal danger to the woman in case of pregnancy.) The consent of the husband and wife and the consulting of at least one trustworthy and pious Muslim physician is required in these cases. Social motives for birth control are rejected as mere convenience. Only a few scholars have doubted the analogy of *ʿazl* to modern contraceptive methods. They differentiate between natural and artificial, unhealthy and harmless, as well as abortive and contraceptive methods. The Saudi al-Khaṭīb (1982, 135 ff.) only accepts the rhythm method and the regular practice of lactation, as also the Egyptian Muḥammad Mutawallī al-Shaʿrāwī only *ʿazl* (*al-Fatāwā*, Cairo 1982, i, 18-19).

This first major attitude comes close to the official position of the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia, although even there family planning services are available in clinics. The Saudi *Madjlis hayʾat kibār al-ʿulamāʾ* (Council of the Assembly of Senior *ʿUlamāʾ*), besides the Muslim Brotherhood [see al-ikhwān al-muslimūn], called upon the Muslim countries to boycott the World Population Conference in Cairo in 1994. Consequently, Saudi Arabia, as well as ʿIrāḳ, Sudan and Lebanon for political reasons, did not participate.

2. A second group, apparently the majority, takes the position that temporary prevention of child birth is permissible, provided that this is with the mutual consent of the married couple; this provision will pose major problems because of the still dominant patriarchal family structures. By analogous reasoning, modern contraceptive methods are allowed as long as they will not destroy fecundity or the ability to procreate. In most cases, abortion and sterilisation are not viewed as acceptable forms of contraception, unless a physician deems it necessary for medical or eugenic reasons.

The word control is avoided. The terms family planning, spacing of births and responsible parenthood are used instead.

Despite this agreement, there are sometimes remarkable differences in opinion and emphasis concerning the following aspects: the role of the state in implementing family planning programmes (although they all agree that compulsion must be avoided); the difference in priority for mother and child's health and welfare ("child spacing") and for a small family and higher living standard ("family planning"); the acceptance of social motives for family planning; the legality of voluntary abortion (before quickening) and ("reversible") sterilisation. As examples for a more conservative position, the opinion of Maḥmūd Shaltūt [*q.v.*] or the official position of Algeria can be mentioned, as examples for a more open position, the statements of Aḥmad al-Sharabāṣī (1965) or the Egyptian *muftī* Muḥammad Ṭanṭāwī (1989) and the practice in Egypt.

Arguments often put forward by these Muslim scholars in countering the opponents of family planning are as follows: trust in God (*tawakkul* [*q.v.*]) should not be confused with passivity and indifference (*tawākul*); procreation is not the exclusive or principal purpose of marriage; "quality" is better than "quantity", i.e. a huge, but weak and underdeveloped nation cannot

be the subject of pride for the Prophet or God on the day of judgement.

3. A third, not very numerous group of Muslims fully agree with all methods of voluntary birth control, including abortion and sterilisation for social reasons if performed by medically qualified persons. This group consists mainly of the academic intelligentsia (physicians, lawyers, etc.) and the economic élite (e.g. in Turkey, Vehbi Koç), among them women in influential positions and feminists (e.g. Nawāl al-Saʿdāwī in Egypt). The adherents of this position are concerned with economic and social stability and progress and the improvement of the woman's status. Their view is similar to the official stances of Tunisia and Turkey.

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(Roswitha Badry)

TANẒĪMĀT (a.), the plural of the form II verbal noun meaning "ordering, setting in order, regulating". It is used in modern Turkish and in Western languages as a singular noun with the connotation of "reforms". In Ottoman history, *Tanẓīmāt* is employed in three senses, to designate (1) the edict of 3 November 1839, the K̲h̲aṭṭ-ï Humāyūn [*q.v.*] or K̲h̲aṭṭ-ï S̲h̲erīf of Gülk̲h̲āne; (2) the sum of reforms from that date until some time between 1871 and 1881; and (3) Ottoman history in its entirety during those years. The most convenient end for the reform period is the prorogation of the first Ottoman parliament in 1878. Some historians have chosen as the limit the death of the Grand Vizier Kečedj̲izāde Meḥmed Amīn 'Ālī Pas̲h̲a [see 'ālī pas̲h̲a muḥammad amīn] in 1871, or the exile of Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in 1877, or one of the early years of the reign of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*], such as 1881 when the Ottoman Public Debt Administration [see duyūn-i 'umūmiyye] was established.

1. *The* K̲h̲aṭṭ-ï S̲h̲erīf *of Gülk̲h̲āne.*

In 1839 the Ottoman government faced extraordinary military and financial difficulties. The army of the rebellious governor of Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] had on June 24 inflicted a major defeat on the forces of Sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*]. Maḥmūd died a week thereafter. His son, 'Abd al-Medj̲īd [*q.v.*], was sixteen years old at his accession. The foreign minister, Muṣṭafā Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who had had experience as a diplomat in London and Paris and was a convinced Westerniser, persuaded the young sultan to issue the solemn proclamation, the *K̲h̲aṭṭ-ï S̲h̲erīf* of Gülk̲h̲āne, often called by Turks the *Tanẓīmāt fermānï*. The edict was Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a's creation and was publicly read by him in the open space of Gülk̲h̲āne along the Ṭopḳapï palace wall, the sultan being present.

The *K̲h̲aṭṭ* built on the innovations of Maḥmūd II, in the later years of whose reign the term *Tanẓīmāt-i K̲h̲ayriyye* ("beneficent orderings") had already designated administrative changes. The *K̲h̲aṭṭ* repeated some earlier government statements of intent, but in a more formal manner. It made promises in three broad areas: there should be security of life, honour, and property, all classes of people to be treated alike, trials to be public, no-one to be put to death except after a regular sentence, and all confiscation abolished; a system of collecting fixed taxes should replace tax-farming; military conscription should be regularised and the term of service reduced from lifetime to four or five years. The edict further promised good administration, limits on military spending, adequate salaries for bureaucrats so that bribery would disappear, and a new penal code for all subjects. The most striking promise was that the reforms would apply without exception to "the people of Islam and other peoples among the subjects of our imperial sultanate."

The general purpose of the edict was to strengthen the Ottoman Empire. It was further designed to attract the support of the European powers, by proving that the progressive empire was worth defending. This second aim was immediately achieved as the Powers, although for their own reasons, forced Muḥammad 'Alī to retreat. The edict also aimed at alleviating the treasury crisis by allowing the Sublime Porte [see bāb-i 'ālī] to send its own tax collectors to the provinces. A further specific aim of Res̲h̲īd and others was achieved with the sultan's promises about security of life and abolition of confiscation. The power of the sultan to deal arbitrarily with his statesmen, such as had only recently led to the destitution and death of Res̲h̲īd's predecessor, Pertew Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], was to be limited.

The edict had a dual personality. It began platitudinously with the assertion that the empire had grown weak because of non-observance of the Ḳur'ān and of the sacred law. But it went on to propose "new institutions" and "complete renovation of the ancient usages". The assistance of God and the Prophet was then invoked for the reforms to prosper. The edict's combination of traditional Islam with new institutions foreshadowed the split personality of the entire reform period. In a second sense, the edict reflected a dualism in Ottoman society also. It laid down the principle that all subjects were equal before the law. But to proclaim that non-Muslims should be treated like Muslims contravened the view of what was right that was held by most of the Muslim people. In making a formal enunciation of this as doctrine (Maḥmūd II had done so less formally), Res̲h̲īd aimed at countering separatism among Christian minorities, such as had already led to the revolt that created an independent Greece. With this start, the reform statesmen hoped to foster an Ottoman patriotism—Ottomanism (*'Ot̲h̲mānlïlïḳ*)—that should appeal to all the empire's peoples and hold it together.

2. *The general nature of the reform period.*

The *Tanẓīmāt* period is divided by the Crimean War and the issuance at peace-making time of the second great reform document, the *K̲h̲aṭṭ-ï Humāyūn* of 1856. The ending of the *Tanẓīmāt* is marked by a third great document, the constitution of 1876, with the two-year parliamentary period that it inaugurated. These pronouncements and the reforms that followed each came about, not because the populace demanded changes, but because some of the highest officials deemed them desirable. Reform in the *Tanẓīmāt* period proceeded from the top downwards. The leading statesmen overshadowed the sultans of the period—'Abd al-Medj̲īd (1839-61), 'Abd al-'Azīz (1861-76 [*q.v.*]), and Murād V (June to August 1876 [*q.v.*]). In the first stage of the *Tanẓīmāt*, the dominant reformer was Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a. Leadership in the second stage fell to his disciples, 'Ālī Pas̲h̲a and Fu'ād Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. After 'Ālī's death and a few years of capricious government, Midḥat Pas̲h̲a provided the leadership that produced the constitution. Then 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (1876-1909) reversed the roles in government. During his reign, the palace dominated the Sublime Porte and its ministers.

The reforms exhibited certain characteristics that persisted throughout the entire *Tanẓīmāt* period. All of them were encompassed in the general aim of preserving the Ottoman Empire by strengthening it. For over a century, the empire had been in decline as compared to the Western European states, and most importantly, as compared to its immediate neighbours, the Austrian and Russian empires. The first response to this imbalance was the Ottoman effort to improve the armed forces. Military modernisation continued through the *Tanẓīmāt* period, but was not dominant as it had been under Maḥmūd II. It was eclipsed by the effort to strengthen the central government and

to increase its control over the provinces. At the same time, the Porte embarked on the beginnings of representative government by including members of the non-Muslim minorities in some government councils. Further, government functions proliferated well beyond the traditional ones of administering justice, collecting taxes and maintaining armed forces. Matters that had traditionally been left to private hands, especially education, gradually came under government administration. In consequence of these trends, another characteristic of the period developed—a significant growth in the size of the bureaucracy.

Almost all the reforms involved a greater or less degree of Westernisation. At times, specific Western models were adopted or adapted. French institutions supplied the usual examples, except for army and navy. The French language became more widespread in the empire, especially among the leading reformers. Westernisation inevitably implied secularisation. Particularly in law and education, secular institutions developed that paralleled Muslim institutions [see IṢLĀḤ. iii]. This dualism was matched by another—the increasing tendency for the Porte to treat all the sultan's subjects simply as individuals, while at the same time preserving the corporate organisation of the non-Muslim *millets* [*q.v.*], from which individuals traditionally derived their own identity.

The path of reform was not smooth. Conservatives and groups upholding their own self-interest opposed it. Further, European powers often intervened in Ottoman domestic affairs. Sometimes the Powers pressed for changes, usually in favour of Christian minorities. At times, the Porte welcomed such diplomatic pressure if it helped to achieve a government objective. More often, the Porte tried to avoid the interference, or to lessen it by partial compliance, or to counter it entirely. Exceptionally, the Powers twice used military force to help preserve the Ottoman Empire, in 1839-41, against Muḥammad ʿAlī, and in 1854-6 when British, French, and Sardinian armies fought with the Ottomans against Russia. But when the empire was fighting to suppress a Cretan uprising in 1866-9, and then a Serbian rising in 1875-6, several powers favoured the rebels and put strong diplomatic pressure on the Porte, attempting to impose their own solutions.

The rebellions, including others, also slowed the progress of reforms. Some rebellions arose essentially over local conditions of taxes and land tenure or provincial administration, including some *Tanẓīmāt* reforms. But some rebellions gained greater significance if they turned nationalist, as was increasingly the case as time passed. Serbians, Montenegrins, Romanians and Bulgarians all harboured nationalist sentiments, and independent Greece sought to expand its territories at Ottoman expense. In the Lebanon, revolts were more over local issues, land, and sectarian differences. Various European powers were attracted to support some of these revolts; Russia, especially, was supportive of Balkan nationalist rebellions, both diplomatically and militarily.

The Porte tried to counter such interference not only by improving the armed forces but also by diplomatic means. The network of permanent Ottoman ambassadors resident in other countries, begun only in the 1830s, was greatly expanded. The diplomats learned French and the European formalities of international dealing. Also, the Porte tried at all times to keep at least one power as a supporter, and more if possible.

The most dangerous threat to Ottoman integrity arose when rebellion by members of a Christian minority was backed by one or more great powers. The outcome of such rebellions would determine whether the Ottoman Empire lived or died. Between 1839 and 1876 the empire lost no territory definitively. However, several Balkan provinces attained autonomy, and the successors of Muḥammad ʿAlī loosened Egypt's ties to Istanbul. Continuing financial problems and economic underdevelopment slowed the reform process, though the Porte tried to attack these problems. Public opinion could also be an impediment to government-led reform. In Istanbul, an independent press grew up in the 1860s, often expressing hostility to the Porte's actions [see DJARĪDA. Introd. and iii]. The Porte also coped with public opinion in Europe, which sometimes reverted to the image of the "terrible Turk." By diplomatic representations, news stories supplied to Western journals and subsidies to editors, the Porte presented the Ottoman case.

3. *The first stage, 1839-53.*

The seventeen months following the *K͟hatt-i̊ S͟herīf*'s promulgation, until Res͟hīd Pas͟ha's dismissal as Foreign Minister on 11 March 1841, were filled with new departures. The principal deliberative body, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Medjlis-i Wālā-yi Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye* [*q.v.*]), was provided with new rules that were a form of parliamentary procedure. The council could interpellate ministers, debate freely and decide by majority vote what measures to recommend to the sultan. In all provincial capitals, the Gülk͟hāne *k͟haṭṭ* was ceremonially read, after which regulations on its implementation flowed from Istanbul. An advisory council (*medjlis*) was created in 1840 for each province (*eyālet* [*q.v.*]) and sub-province (*kaḍāʾ*). It was intended to be a check on the wide authority of the governor and to prevent illegal acts on his part. Each council was composed of representatives of the Muslim and non-Muslim communities, indirectly elected, together with local officials, always Muslim. The most radical innovation was the abolition of tax-farming (*iltizām* [*q.v.*]) and the appointment by the Porte of a tax-collector (*muḥaṣṣil*) with wide powers in each province. He would collect especially the tithe on agricultural production. Additionally, many customary fees collected by local officials and *ʿulemāʾ* were abolished, as was the corvée [see ḤAWĀLA]. The innovations were an effort to centralise the fiscal powers, to increase revenue for the imperial treasury and to end corruption in tax-farming. When ʿAbd al-Medjīd opened the first session of the Supreme Council in the new year (A.H. 1256), he praised the innovations and reaffirmed the parliamentary procedure. Inspectors were also sent to some provinces to check on local officials and to hear complaints. Res͟hīd dismissed, and even imprisoned, some officials who were not observing the new regulations. They had been levying the old fees or demanding taxes beyond the proper amount. A few of these even were *muḥaṣṣils*.

Some reforms were unsuccessful. The provincial councils did not always meet. If they did, they often fell under the control of the old notables, both Muslim and Christian, who might dominate the governor. The *status quo* was little changed in most provinces. The direct collection of taxes produced far too little revenue, so that by the end of 1841 tax-farming was reinstituted [see MĀLIYYE]. Not enough good *muḥaṣṣils* had been found. Further, opposition to the new reform was widespread, both among Muslim and Christian landowners and notables who resented losing the corvée and whose taxes would increase, and also among peasants who wanted immediate application

of their freedom from fees and from tax-farmers. In various localities there were risings of peasants. In Nish, the Bulgarian rebellion against local officials and landowners carried faint nationalist overtones, but this was not true of risings in Anatolia.

Other reforms produced better results. In the summer of 1840 the Porte, having earlier considered a foreign loan, issued debt certificates [see ḲĀʾIME] that were acceptable in government offices in payment of obligations. They also could circulate among private individuals like paper money. The first *ḳāʾime* carried an interest rate of 12½ per cent. Other issues followed. The *ḳāʾime* did alleviate the treasury crisis; in effect, it was a domestic loan. It aided commerce by functioning like paper money. Over-issue after 1852 led to its depreciation and to abolition in 1862. Also, a more modern penal code, still based on Muslim law, was enacted in 1840, fulfilling another promise of the *Khaṭṭ-i Sherīf*. It paid special attention to punishing the misconduct of public officials. Further in 1840, a commercial court to deal with cases between Ottomans and Europeans was set up in the Ministry of Commerce. It helped to facilitate the empire's growing international trade.

The Porte in this period of two years achieved also a higher international standing. Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia combined to force Muḥammad ʿAlī out of Syria. He and his heirs were allowed to retain the governorship of Egypt. In the diplomatic arrangements preceding this action, the Ottoman Empire was accepted by the other powers as an equal partner. All signed the Convention for the Pacification of the Levant in 1840, and all plus France signed the Straits Convention of 1841, closing the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to warships. In this fashion, the Ottoman Empire was first admitted into the workings of the European state system.

When in 1841 Reshīd was replaced as Foreign Minister by more conservative statesmen, and sent off to Paris as ambassador, change continued at a slower pace. It quickened again in 1845 on his return to be Foreign Minister, followed in 1846 by his first Grand Vizierate. One promise of the Gülkhāne *khaṭṭ* was carried out in 1843 by a law limiting the term of army service to five years. It also set up five armies for separate regions of the empire. By 1845 some new lower military schools (*iʿdādī*) were established to prepare students for the higher military schools that Maḥmūd II had created. Provincial government received more attention. In 1844 and 1846, ʿAbd al-Medjīd himself went on inspection trips in nearby Anatolia and Rumelia, hearing complaints and asking about economic development. In 1845 an assembly of provincial representatives was summoned to Istanbul. They stayed for two months, expressing their wishes on tax reform and economic improvement. The number of *eyālet*s was increased from 28 to 36 in 1846. The local *medjlis*es continued not to be very effective. The number of able government officials remained low. Therefore, inspection commissions, five to Anatolia and five to Rumelia, were again sent out to seek out injustice and to encourage economic improvement. In 1852, in an effort to make provincial government more efficient, the powers of the governors were again broadened.

In Istanbul, several steps toward more orderly government were taken. The Sublime Porte, the office building for some of the chief ministries, was rebuilt in 1844. Reshīd had an archive building constructed in 1846. It was planned by the architect Fossati, who was soon to restore Aya Sofya. The modernised structure of government was outlined in the first government year-book (*sāl-nāme* [*q.v.*]) in 1847. In the same year, ʿAbd al-Medjīd examined the Morse telegraph, displayed to him by two Americans. He ordered a line to be built from Istanbul to Edirne, but it was not immediately constructed. The sultan also had built in 1853 the Dolma Baghče palace, planned by Balyan. It was modern, with ornate French and Italian painted ceilings and French bric-à-brac. In 1848 mixed tribunals, on which non-Muslim members sat with Muslims, were established to deal with commercial cases involving foreigners. A code of commerce of French inspiration, the first Westernised law code, was promulgated in 1850. In the same year, a system of quarantine, designed to prevent the spread of disease by pilgrims returning from Mecca, was established.

An education commission was created in 1845. Among its members were Reshīd's disciples, ʿĀlī and Fuʾād. It planned three levels of state-sponsored schools—primary, middle, and upper—as well as a university. In 1847 a Ministry of Public Education was created. The university was impractical. But in 1847 a few middle schools (*rüshdiyye*) were opened, and in the following year a teachers' training college [see MAʿĀRIF. I. i]. In 1851 an Academy of Arts and Sciences (*Endjümen-i Dānish*) was founded. Part of its mission was to prepare textbooks. Generally, it was to advance language simplification, Turkish history, and translations of European books in the sciences and arts. A Turkish grammar by Fuʾād and Aḥmed Djewdet [*q.v.*] was one of the few fruits of the Academy. Djewdet also soon began his monumental history.

A number of the reforms furthered *ʿOthmānlīlīḳ*. When ʿAbd al-Medjīd traveled in Rumelia, the equality of Ottomans of whatever religion was reaffirmed; all were compatriots. In 1850 a *fermān* opened the army to non-Muslims, but implementation was deferred. The education commission envisaged schools recognising no religious distinctions. Christians sat on the commercial court and benefited from the commercial code. But the Porte also confirmed separate religious identities in 1850 by recognising Protestants as a separate *millet*, the result of British and American pressure. Most of the Protestants were converts from the Armenian Gregorian church, and the Armenian clergy were embittered by this. The touchiest matter of all involving equality without regard to belief concerned freedom of religious conversion from Islam to another belief. There was no problem if a Christian became a Muslim. But if a Muslim apostatised and became a Christian, Islamic law stipulated the death penalty [see MURTADD]. The British ambassador Stratford Canning wrung from the Porte in 1844 a partial concession—Christians who had adopted Islam would not be put to death if they were reverting to their original religion.

Economic advance was slow. Commercial treaties with Britain in 1838 and with other states soon afterwards restricted Ottoman customs rates and banned monopolies. Monopolies in foreign trade were in fact generally eliminated, and Ottoman markets were more open to foreign goods. Some guild monopolies persisted. The empire's foreign trade increased considerably in the three decades after 1840, but state revenues were decreased by the lower customs duties as well as by the temporary elimination of the *iltizām*. Reshīd believed that prosperity would come with liberal economic and commercial policies, like those upon which Britain had embarked in the 1820s.

The monetary situation was much improved in this

period. The paper money had helped the treasury out of its financial crisis, but it circulated mostly in Istanbul alone. Silver coinage had been much debased over nearly a century. In 1844, however, the silver *medjīdiyye* [see SIKKA. 2] of 20 piastres was introduced, and the empire adopted a bimetallic standard, with 100 silver piastres to one gold pound. These measures stabilised the coinage.

The Porte encouraged the development of agriculture and manufacturing, with occasional successes. Foreign capital was attracted in modest amounts. The Porte established an agricultural school in 1850. In 1851 the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture collected over 3,000 articles that were sent to the great Crystal Palace Exhibition in London. Raw materials, especially silk and various handicrafts, won prizes. The Ottoman Empire participated in the Paris Exhibition of 1855 also. In addition to increasing commerce and revenue, the Porte thereby improved the international image of the empire.

The international relations of the empire were generally good during the first phase of the *Tanzīmāt*. An 1847 agreement with Persia on their common frontier made the repetition of past wars unlikely. Rebellions in Moldavia and Wallachia [see BOGHDĀN; EFLĀḲ] were put down by invading Russian troops, but with Ottoman agreement, sealed at the convention of Balta Liman in 1849. In that year also, the Porte enhanced its image in Britain and France by admitting thousands of Hungarian and Polish fighters fleeing the failed Hungarian revolution. The Porte then refused to surrender them, and especially Louis Kossuth, on Austrian and Russian demands, Fu'ād being the principal negotiator in these matters. In 1852 the Porte was restrained by Austrian pressure from repressing a revolt in Montenegro.

4. *The Crimean War and the* Khaṭṭ *of 1856.*

The crisis of 1852-3 and the Crimean War of 1853-6 resulted from miscalculations on all sides. Beginning as a dispute between Russia and France over Greek and Latin rights in the Holy Places, the dispute embroiled the Ottomans because they were the sovereign power over Palestine. When the Russians further demanded that they be recognised as protectors of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire, the two parties failed to reach agreement. The European Concert of Powers also failed to find a solution. The Ottomans, sensing British support, declared war on Russia in October 1853. By the spring of 1854, Britain and France joined the war on the Ottoman side. The war eventuated in an allied victory, the sole Ottoman victory over Russia in the seven wars they fought between 1768 and 1917.

Times of crisis and war speed up change. Further, in the Crimean case, Britain and France urged changes on the Porte. In 1854 the *Medjlis-i ʿĀlī-yi Tanẓīmāt*, the Council of Reforms, was created to take over some functions, especially in drafting reform regulations, from the Supreme Council. In the same year, the first municipality in the empire was established in the sixth district of Istanbul, Ghalata and Beyoghlu, where many Christians lived [see BALADIYYA. 1]. The municipal council, set up soon after, functioned fairly effectively. To pay for war expenses more *ḳāʾimes* were issued, but they depreciated rapidly. The Porte then contracted its first foreign loan. In 1856 the Ottoman Bank, the first modern bank, was established in Istanbul, largely with British capital.

In 1855 non-Muslims were declared eligible for army service. The old exemption tax (*djizye*) was abolished. But it was obvious that Christians did not want to serve, and that Muslims did not want to serve under Christian officers. A new exemption tax was then instituted, the *bedel-i ʿaskeriyye* [*q.v.*]. The war also hastened the construction of the Ottoman telegraph system. The first telegram that went out from Istanbul to Europe announced the capture of Sevastopol in September 1855. During the War, many Westerners flooded into Istanbul, where Parisian costumes and Western customs began to appeal to some elements of upper Muslim society. ʿAbd al-Medjīd was the first sultan ever to attend a Western social gathering. In celebration of the Crimean victory, he went to a ball given by the British Ambassador.

The Congress of Paris, where the Grand Vizier ʿĀlī Pasha represented the Porte, produced a peace treaty on 31 March 1856, that allowed the Ottoman Empire to gain back a little territory from Russia. It also neutralised the Black Sea, meaning that Russia could have no warships there. In 1870 Russia unilaterally overturned this. The treaty admitted the Ottoman Empire into the "public law and system" of Europe, which meant that the empire was now formally a member of the Concert of great powers. The treaty further, in article nine, recognised the "high value" of the recent *Khaṭṭ-ī Humāyūn*, and declared that the communication of this decree to the powers gave them no right to interfere in Ottoman internal affairs. These two articles—membership in the Concert and non-intervention in Ottoman affairs—thereafter became the principal diplomatic implements of the Porte.

The *Khaṭṭ-ī Humāyūn* of 18 February 1856, like the *khaṭṭ* of 1839, made many promises; in fact, some of them were in both decrees. But the decree of 1856 had a different origin and a different tone. It was drawn up not just by ʿĀlī Pasha, then the Grand Vizier, and Fu'ād Pasha, then the Foreign Minister, but in repeated meetings with the British, French and Austrian ambassadors. This *Khaṭṭ-ī Humāyūn* had no split personality. It did not mention the Ḳurʾān, the sacred law or ancient glories. It had a new economic emphasis, on setting up banks and drawing on European skills and capital. It again promised no tax-farming, and annual budgets and some new law codes. It put a major emphasis on the equality of all Ottoman subjects before the law, in taxes, in government positions and in military service. It reaffirmed the representative principle, specifying greater non-Muslim participation in provincial councils, and for the first time non-Muslim representation on the Supreme Council. Yet this emphasis on *ʿOthmānlīlīḳ* was paralleled by reaffirmation of the rights of non-Muslim *millets*, and by a provision for reforming the administration of each *millet* to make it more representative. Thus was the dualism of *ʿOthmānlīlīḳ* and *millet* maintained.

5. *The second stage, 1856-75.*

To many Muslims, the *khaṭṭ* appeared to be an *imtiyāz fermānī*, a decree of special concessions. They also resented the foreign influence it exhibited. Most Christians at first welcomed the edict, hoping for quick changes, but their higher clergy disliked it, fearing that *millet* reform would reduce their powers.

Change came more rapidly than before the Crimean War, partly as a result of European pressures, and partly because the two dominant statesmen pushed it. Reshīd Pasha held two brief Grand Vizierates after 1856, but died in January 1858. ʿĀlī Pasha and Fu'ād Pasha were already forging ahead of their former patron. From May 1855 to September 1871, for all but 46 months, one or the other was Grand Vizier. Almost always the other was then Foreign Minister.

Both were Westernisers. Both struggled to save the empire intact, to promote *ʿOthmānlilik* and to reduce separatist sentiment among minorities. In a remarkable memorandum of 1867, ʿĀlī, the more cautious of the two, and the more Muslim of the two, said that some cargo must be jettisoned to save the ship. He was not speaking of territorial withdrawal, but of absolute equality between non-Muslims and Muslims. He spoke especially of government employment and schools, as had the *khaṭṭ*, but he seemed also to be hinting at the *Code Napoléon* when he proposed a Western-style civil code. Fu'ād, more secular and more Westernised, would make slightly greater changes. Both were rather autocratic in temperament and neither believed that the empire was ready for parliamentary government, although Fu'ād might have been willing to have it at a later date.

In 1859 a conservative and Islamic conspiracy developed in opposition to the government that was preaching *ʿOthmānlilik*. It accused the Westernisers of violating Islamic law. The conspiracy, known as the Kuleli incident, was betrayed. The Muslim clerics and army officers in its leadership were sentenced to prison or exile to the provinces. The abortive conspiracy, however, represented a current of opposition to the *Tanẓīmāt* that never vanished.

On the death of ʿAbd al-Medjīd in 1861, his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz came to the throne. The latter was less a Westerniser and less interested in reform, with one exception: he sought to build up the armed forces. In 1869 a reorganisation of the army specified a four-year term of service and 16 years in the reserves. Its theoretical strength was 700,000, but there were not enough trained officers. ʿAbd al-Azīz loved the navy especially. He sought to strengthen it with purchases of ironclads, and the Ottoman fleet became one of the world's largest; the personnel, however, were poorly trained.

As promised in the *khaṭṭ*, the three major non-Muslim *millets*—Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish—were reorganised. In each *millet* there had begun a ferment among artisans and intellectuals who wanted to get rid of the autocracy and corruption of their own dominating clergy. The latter had to be prodded by the Porte to get the reforming process done. The reforms that resulted decreased clerical control, and gave laymen for the first time a major voice in *millet* governance. The Armenian constitution of 1863 created an assembly of 140, including only 20 clergy, that would elect the Patriarch and two councils; this was the most complete constitution. A series of laws for the Greek *millet* between 1860 and 1862 also created an assembly with a lay majority to elect the Patriarch. The Jewish constitution of 1865, too, included an assembly of 100, only 20 being rabbis, to elect the Grand Rabbi of Istanbul and two councils. Because Jews were organised by congregation, there was no Patriarch or priestly hierarchy as in the other *millets*, but the Grand Rabbi of Istanbul was recognised as head of the whole *millet* for civil purposes. These were hesitant steps towards representative government. But the fact that *millets* were confirmed as separate entities did not fit with *ʿOthmānlilik*. Instead, a *millet* basis was preserved for the later development of nationalism. To the dismay of the Orthodox Patriarch, a *fermān* of 1870 recognised a Bulgarian Exarchate independent of the Greek Patriarch in Istanbul. Bulgarians were gratified to be out from under the Greek clergy's administration, but it also contributed to a nascent Bulgarian nationalism.

Fair and efficient governing of the provinces, while maintaining a central control in Istanbul, was always a problem for the Porte. A Balkan inspection tour by the Grand Vizier Ḳibrisli Meḥmed Pasha in 1860 revealed no systematic oppression, as various powers had alleged, but it did find malfeasance by some Ottoman officials and Greek Orthodox clergy. During the next few years, special commissioners went out to the provinces to hear complaints, dispense justice and bolster the local administrations. Some provinces were by now semi-autonomous. Moldavia and Wallachia, semi-autonomous since 1856, combined their two legislatures into one in 1862 under one prince, and in 1866 imported Karl of Hohenzollern to take the throne; the Porte could only accept this. In semi-autonomous Serbia [see ṢIRB], the Porte was obliged to restrict its garrisons, and in 1867 to remove the last soldiers from Belgrade, leaving only an Ottoman flag flying over the fortress. North African provinces were always a special case. Algiers had been lost to France in 1830. Tunis, nearly independent, faced a similar French threat in the 1870s.

Egypt [see MIṢR] posed a unique problem. Since the days of Muḥammad ʿAlī, Egypt had acted like an independent state. Ismāʿīl Pasha, [*q.v.*] repeatedly sought more concessions from the Porte. At first, the Porte resisted. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, accompanied by Fu'ād Pasha, visited Egypt in 1863 and tried to treat Ismāʿīl as if he were just another *wālī*. But in 1866, Ismāʿīl, probably through the lavish use of money in Istanbul, secured a new *fermān* guaranteeing his right to pass on the government in direct line to his son. The next year, he secured from the sultan the exceptional title of Khedive [see KHIDĪW]. In demonstration of his near-sovereignty, Ismāʿīl presided at the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and received European royalty, not ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Meanwhile, massacres in Lebanon and Syria [see LUBNĀN; AL-SHĀM. 2 (a)] prompted an international intervention, carried out by French troops, to restore order. The Porte sent Fu'ād as Special Commissioner to do the same and to forestall further French action. By 1864, a new statute for Lebanon, as agreed by the Porte and the powers, set up a Christian governorship with a fairly representative council. The influence of the clergy was diminished.

Two months after the Lebanese statute was adopted, a plan for reorganising all the empire's provinces was elaborated. Midḥat, who had been a successful governor in Nish, was called to Istanbul to work out the new system with Fu'ād, then Grand Vizier. The provinces were renamed *wilāyets*. Each *wilāyet*, larger than the former *eyālet*, was divided into *sandjaḳs* [*q.v.*], which were divided into *ḳaḍā*'s, which were divided into *nāḥiyes*, much like the French system of *départements* and subdivisions. A council at each level excepting the *nāḥiye* was to have two Muslim and two Christian members "elected" from an official list. A deliberative assembly in each *wilāyet* would also be "elected". The *wālī*, appointed by Istanbul, would have wide powers. The *wilāyet* system represented an effort to provide good government with centralised power in the *wālī*'s hands but with representation of all sects. A civil court in each unit except the *nāḥiye* was to have three Muslims and three non-Muslims.

Midḥat was sent to test the new system as *wālī* of the new Tuna *wilāyet* in Bulgaria. His success there led to the *wilāyet* system being applied in 1867 to almost all areas except Baghdād and the Yemen. Crete [see IKRĪTISH] was added in 1868 after the rebellion of 1866 was suppressed. Baghdād [*q.v.*] was added in 1869 when Midḥat was sent there as *wālī*. There, too, his record was generally good. The *wilāyet* sys-

tem lasted until the end of the Ottoman Empire. A major problem that confronted some *wālīs* was the great influx of Turkic and other Muslim peoples fleeing Russia. Between 1856 and 1880, the Porte admitted nearly a million Crimean Tatars [see KĪRĪM] and about a million and a half Circassians [see ČERKES], all of whom had to be settled in various *wilāyets* [see MUHĀDJIR. 2].

In the central government, Christian and Jewish members were appointed to the Supreme Council. The non-Muslims were the first ever to sit on a major council. They were, however, members of families with close connections to the Porte. The Council itself re-absorbed the *Tanẓīmāt* Council in 1861. In 1868 the Supreme Council was again split, this time into a *Shūrā-yi Dewlet*; a Council of State; and a Council of Justice, the *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*. The Council of State was an institution widespread in Europe of the time; its best-known example was in Napoleon III's France. It was to prepare laws and regulations and to oversee state administrative functions. Its expanded membership was about 30 per cent non-Muslim. Midḥat Pasha was its first president, before he went to Baghdād. Its parliamentary procedure was a little more sophisticated than that of the earlier Supreme Council. The Council of Justice, headed by Djewdet Pasha, acted like a supreme court in all cases—civil, commercial and criminal—that were brought under the new Westernised codes, but not in *Sharīʿa* matters. Its membership was 40 per cent non-Muslim. In 1869 Djewdet became Minister of Justice, a transformation of his presidency of the Council of Justice. The new ministry organised the the *niẓāmiyye* courts into a hierarchy, including provincial courts. Because religious tribunals continued to exist, some confusion resulted.

Meanwhile law [see ḲĀNŪN] itself underwent transformation, both by single *fermāns* and by adoption of codes. White slavery was forbidden in 1854 and black in 1857, although implementation took forty years or more [see ʿABD]. In 1858 a new penal code, on the French model unlike the code of 1840, was drafted by a commission headed by Djewdet. He also chaired a commission that elaborated a new property law, this one based on religious law. It was an attempt to regularise the forms of land tenure, requiring registration of ownership to receive a title deed (*sened tapu*). Some customary peasant cultivators were reluctant to register in their own names, fearing increased taxation. Therefore, the opportunity for big landowners to acquire more property remained open. There is still debate about the ultimate consequences of the 1858 code for small landholders and large estate owners.

Djewdet again chaired the commission that undertook to codify a large portion of civil law, omitting matters of personal status like marriage and divorce. Between 1869 and 1876 the commission produced 16 books containing 1,851 articles on the law of transactions, contracts and civil procedure. The codification was in European style, lending clarity, but the law itself was religious. The commission selected the best among varying Ḥanafī interpretations. In essence, the *Medjelle-yi Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye* was a guide to the law for judges in both *niẓāmiyye* and *Sharīʿa* courts [see further, MEDJELLE].

Some laws were fashioned so as to attack the capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT] and to undermine extra-territorial rights. From the time of the Congress of Paris, ʿAlī Pasha had issued several statements and memoranda pointing out to the powers the unfairness and deleterious effects of extra-territorial privileges and of the European abuses of them. Several new laws attacked those privileges. A press law in 1865 allowed foreigners to publish periodicals in the Ottoman Empire only if they accepted the control of Ottoman officials and courts. A land law of 1867 allowed foreigners to own real property in the empire if they conformed to police regulations, accepted the Ottoman courts' jurisdiction and paid Ottoman taxes. The Powers reluctantly accepted this. In 1869 a law on nationality and naturalisation, adopting secular standards instead of the previous religious ones, provided that every one domiciled in the empire was an Ottoman subject unless he could prove the contrary. The law specified further that no Ottoman subject could assume another nationality without the Porte's consent. This struck at the abuse by the Powers, who gave protective foreign nationality to members of Ottoman minorities.

Progress in education was uneven. Specialised higher schools of military science and medicine continued to function, and to these in 1859 had been added the School of Civil Administration. An Ottoman school in Paris was established about 1857 to help complete the education of selected Ottoman students. Elementary and higher elementary schools spread slowly. In 1867 the Minister of Education claimed 11,008 elementary schools, *mekteb-i ṣibyān*, and 108 higher schools, *rüshdiyye*, figures that may be inflated. After French pressure, ʿĀlī and Fuʾād worked out plans for a western-style lycée, opened in 1868. The lycée of Ghalaṭa Saray admitted boys of all creeds and languages, but even in the first year, Muslims were less than half. Instruction was almost entirely in French, and most teachers and the first headmaster were French. From the start the school was successful, combining a good education with *ʿOthmānlılık*. In 1869 the Council of State elaborated a comprehensive education law [see MAʿĀRIF. I. i] setting up five levels: two elementary (*ṣıbyān* and *rüshdiyye*), two secondary (*iʿdādiyye* and *sulṭāniyye*), and higher technical schools and a university. On the first two levels, schools rapidly increased. Only a few *iʿdādiyye* were opened, and Ghalaṭa Saray long remained the only *sulṭāniyye*. In 1870, starting at the top, a university (*dār ül-fünūn*) was opened in Istanbul [see DJĀMIʿA]. It closed in 1871 when some lectures by Djemāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] provoked great complaints from members of the *ʿulemāʾ*.

Economic progress was also slow. The Porte encouraged agriculture. The export of farm products and raw materials increased during the period of the rise in world prices, from the 1850s to the early 1870s. Where tribal opposition was subdued, more land came under cultivation. The Porte by an *irāde* of 1857 tried to attract foreign investment and expertise, offering free land and exemption from military service and taxes for six to ten years. Manufactures also were encouraged. But the competition of industrialised European nations hurt Ottoman manufactures, especially textiles. An Industrial Reform Commission tried in the 1860s to revive some industries in Istanbul, creating companies out of former guilds, providing some capital and lowering taxes. In the 1870s the number of small factories began to increase around Izmir, Istanbul and Salonika. Some of them were state-owned, some private, and some owned by European entrepreneurs. Steam power began to come into factories, and handwork declined.

When commercial treaties with many nations were renegotiated in 1861-2, the Porte managed to get import duties raised from 3 to 8 per cent, and export taxes lowered from 12 to 1 per cent. During the

whole period, the number of steam vessels calling at Ottoman ports increased. Railroad building began with the Crimean War. The first two lines were in the privileged provinces of Egypt and Romania. The third linked Izmir and Aydın. The Porte encouraged this and other short lines connecting interior towns to ports that were built by foreign concessionaires and technicians. The telegraph expanded much faster than the railway. By 1878 it linked all Ottoman regions, serving not only government but private individuals, businesses and entrepreneurs as well.

In further encouragement of production and export, a special commission in 1863 organised a huge exposition (*sergi-yi ʿumūmī-yi ʿothmānī*) in Istanbul. About 15,000 articles, agricultural and manufactured, were displayed. The venture had grown out of the work of an imperial cotton commission, established by the Porte to encourage cotton production and export to take advantage of the world shortage of cotton during the American Civil War. In 1867 the Ottoman Empire participated in another great exposition in Paris. Sultan ʿAbd al-Azīz visited it, as part of the first trip which any sultan had ever made outside his territories in peace time. The visit helped to promote Ottoman products, but the origins of the trip were diplomatic, so that during the Cretan rebellion the sultan could represent to the powers a progressive empire. He succeeded in enhancing the Ottoman image. He also learned something about European technology and industrialisation, and came home more enthused than ever about British warships, Prussian land forces and railroad building.

The fiscal and monetary situation caused great difficulties for the Porte. In 1861, shortly after ʿAbd al-Azīz's accession, there were riots in Istanbul. The *ḳāʾime*, the only circulating money there, declined sharply by 100 per cent. Bakeries were sacked. Fuʾād Pas̲h̲a arranged for the first ever governmental budget to be drawn up for 1863-4. The Imperial Ottoman Bank was established in 1862 with French and English capital, and was given a monopoly of bank-note issue. Another loan was negotiated in Europe, and with its proceeds the paper money was retired. By 1863 the situation was calmer. But the loan, the fifth since the Crimean War, increased the public debt, on which the Porte had great difficulty in paying the interest. The annual budgets often bore little relation to reality. The bank, however, cautious in its issue of banknotes, was effective. In the Tuna *wilāyet*, Midḥat Pas̲h̲a created agricultural credit cooperatives that greatly aided peasants; from these cooperatives the modern Ziraat Bankası is derived.

Journalism developed rapidly in the 1860s and after [see ṢIḤĀFA]. Previously, there had been one official and one semi-official newspaper. Now an independent press grew up. The reaction of the Porte was to issue regulations in 1864 requiring that all newspapers and editors be officially licensed. ʿĀlī Pas̲h̲a explained in 1866 that the Porte's policy was to allow freedom of the press. But in the next year, harsh journalistic criticism of the government led to "ʿĀlī's decree" that allowed suspension of any paper. The influence of the press was considerable, however, despite the minuscule size of the reading public. It disseminated information. It began to use simpler language, fewer Arabic and Persian words and more Turkish and some French. It was used to shape public opinion, especially by the New Ottomans. Ibrāhīm S̲h̲ināsī Efendi [*q.v.*] and Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi [*q.v.*] represent early and late *Tanẓīmāt* journalism.

In 1861 was founded the *D̲j̲emʿiyyet-i ʿIlmiyye-yi ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, the Ottoman Scientific Society, basically the creation of the learned Meḥmed Ṭāhir Münīf Efendi. Its journal, the *Med̲j̲muʿa-yi Fünūn*, published articles on many subjects, often infused with knowledge from Western sources. An increasing number of European works were translated into Turkish. One of the earliest was Fénelon's *Télémaque*, the first novel published in Turkish, and one with political overtones. Cultural life expanded to importation of European theatre, architecture with some western influence, some city planning and the creation of public parks.

Journalism was the major occupation of some of the Yeñi ʿOt̲h̲mānlılar [*q.v.*]. They represented an ideological and political movement aimed at altering the government and influencing public opinion. These New Ottomans disliked ʿĀlī intensely, Fuʾād a little less, but thought both to be too secular, too autocratic and too compliant to the demands of foreign powers. They believed in freedom from tyranny and personal liberties [see ḤURRIYYA. ii]. Although one differed from another, most favoured government by consultation [see MAS̲H̲WARA; S̲H̲ŪRĀ. 3], a written constitution, an elected parliament, and adoption of some Western institutions and methods. They were Ottoman patriots, resentful of giving up any territory, resentful of foreign interference in Ottoman affairs, resentful of special privileges for Christians. They supported *ʿOt̲h̲mānlılık* and Res̲h̲īd's *k̲h̲aṭṭ* of 1839, while detesting the *k̲h̲aṭṭ* of 1856. Nāmiḳ Kemāl [see KEMĀL, MEḤMED NĀMIḲ] best expressed these views, and he also, in his play of 1873 *Waṭan* ("Motherland") infused a highly emotional content into his Ottoman patriotism.

A small secret group of these agitators was formed in Istanbul in 1865. During the next two years, they criticised the government in their newspapers. A plot in 1867 to riot and possibly to kill ʿĀlī Pas̲h̲a was betrayed. This led the Porte to exile several New Ottoman leaders and caused a number of them to flee to Paris. There they found support from the Egyptian prince Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pas̲h̲a who, for his own reasons, opposed the Ottoman government of the moment, and claimed to speak for what he called "jeune Turquie". He composed in early 1867 a famous public letter addressed to Sultan Abd al-ʿAzīz, urging a constitution. In exile, the New Ottomans published several newspapers, to be smuggled back into the empire and to enlighten Europe. After the death of ʿĀlī Pas̲h̲a, they filtered back to Istanbul, where Nāmiḳ Kemāl and Ḍiyāʾ (Ziyā) Efendi soon played important political roles.

ʿAbd al-Azīz felt freer after the death of Fuʾād Pas̲h̲a in 1869 and of ʿĀlī Pas̲h̲a in 1871. The palace again began to rival the Porte as the centre of government. The sultan changed Grand Viziers eight times in the five years 1871-5. Maḥmūd Nedīm Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who was twice in the post for a total of 19 months, was the sultan's favorite, and shifted round provincial *wālī*s at a ridiculous rate. Popular opinion turned against Maḥmūd Nedīm, partly because of the whimsical administration, partly because he took bribes from the Khedive Ismāʿīl of Egypt, and partly because he was strongly influenced by Russia. Opinion also built up against the sultan, principally on account of his lavish spending. One aspect of the sultan's conduct did meet with considerable approval, his increasing use of the title *K̲h̲alīfa* [*q.v.*]. Also, Pan-Islam [*q.v.*] appealed to many Ottoman Muslims, being a reaction to European pressures and an answer to the pan-Slavism that grew in the 1870s. Islamic sentiment was reinforced by calls for help from the k̲h̲ānates of Central Asia that had recently been conquered or

were threatened by Russia. Indonesian Muslims, too, appealed for help to oppose the Dutch. The Ottoman Empire was in no position to give military aid, but developed somewhat closer relations with the Central Asian Turks, especially with Kās͟hg͟har; meanwhile, D̲jemāl al-Dīn al-Afg͟hānī was preaching Islamic revival.

6. *The crisis period 1875-8 and the Constitution.* In 1875-6, in addition to the Islamic sentiment, four major currents converged to throw the Ottoman Empire into its worst crisis since 1839. Nationalist revolt by two minorities, an economic and fiscal crisis, rising discontent with the sultan and interference by the great powers, all led to a greater unrest that seemed to reinforce the New Ottomans' desire for a constitution. A revolt broke out in Herzegovina in July 1875 and spread to Bosnia. Local problems, including tax collection, caused the revolt, but it soon became more nationalist and infected with Russian Pan-Slavism; some Serbian and Montenegrin volunteers aided the rebels. The Porte, again headed by Maḥmūd Nedīm, failed to take action vigorous enough to stop the revolt. The European powers tried, without success, to settle the conflict by diplomacy. Meanwhile, the Ottoman treasury faced its own crisis. Drought and then an extraordinarily severe winter in Anatolia in 1873-4, followed by flooding, meant that less tax revenue was received. At the same time, the Porte had accumulated an enormous debt from its loans, now harder to negotiate after the European financial panic of 1873 [see DUYŪN-I ʿUMŪMIYYE]. By October 1875, the Porte could no longer meet the interest payments on the debt, and defaulted on half the interest due. The military failure and the bankruptcy brought many conservatives to oppose Maḥmūd Nedīm and to be more inclined to accept a change in government. By April 1876 the bankruptcy was total; the Porte paid no interest at all to its bondholders. In the next month, Bulgarian revolutionaries staged a rising. This time the Porte suppressed it, with cruelties that became known in Europe as the "Bulgarian massacres"; Europe forgot the Bulgarian massacre of many Turks.

On 11 May Maḥmūd Nedīm was forced out of office by the rioting of theological students. On 30 May a small group of high officials, civil and military, of which Midḥat Pas͟ha was one, deposed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in a bloodless coup. Murād V, a liberal-minded nephew of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, succeeded to the throne. Expectations of a constitution rose. Five days after his deposition, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz committed suicide. In June 1876 autonomous Serbia and Montenegro, with aid from Russian "volunteers", openly went to war against their sovereign. Discussions of a constitution were slowed down by these events, but proceeded sporadically among the highest officials. They came to no conclusion because of Murād's health. He had a nervous breakdown, could not function as sultan, and on 31 August he was in turn deposed without incident. His place was taken by a brother, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, who promised Midḥat that he would promulgate a constitution. In September, the Ottoman army began to defeat the Serbs until its further advance was stopped by a Russian ultimatum on 31 October. The Powers meanwhile planned an international conference to settle Balkan affairs.

The prospect of greater foreign intervention sped up the discussion of a constitution; Ottoman officials would show that they themselves were reorganising and needed no plans made by foreigners. A commission under Midḥat's chairmanship had been formed in October. Nāmiḳ Kemāl and Ziyā were members. Both the Belgian constitution of 1831 and the Prussian one of 1850 were influential. After many arguments in the commission and consideration of several drafts, the constitution was sent to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. He added a clause to article 113 granting the sultan powers, in a state of siege, to exile dangerous persons. Midḥat was appointed Grand Vizier on 19 December. On the 23rd, the constitution was formally promulgated, although ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd did not attend the ceremony. Midḥat, in a brief speech, said that the constitution would inaugurate a new era of enduring prosperity.

The constitution [see DUSTŪR. ii; ḤUKŪMA. i] was the last great document of the *Tanẓīmāt*. Like the *k͟haṭṭs* of 1839 and 1856, it served a diplomatic purpose, to convince the powers that the Ottoman Empire was reforming and should remain intact. Indeed, article one asserted that the empire was a whole, not divisible for any reason whatever. But the international conference, meeting in Istanbul, refused to accept this and made its own plans for rearranging the Balkans. More than a diplomatic document, however, the constitution was a domestic product created by reformers, including some military men, who believed that some kind of representative government was necessary, if only to curb the sultan's excesses. Others, like the New Ottomans, believed firmly in the principle of government by consultation.

The constitution created a council of ministers, an elected chamber of deputies, an appointed senate, an independent judiciary, parliamentary control of the budget and considerable provincial decentralisation. But the sultan retained important powers. He appointed the ministers and the members of the senate. His approval was required before any bill became law. He was also declared caliph, and his person to be sacred. In effect, the government was to be a limited autocracy. A bill of rights contained in the constitution was fairly comprehensive. It applied to all Ottoman subjects without distinction as to religion. All were to be called ʿOt͟hmānlīs and to be equally eligible for public office. All would be equal before the law. This was a strong reaffirmation of *ʿOt͟hmānlïlïḳ*.

The Constantinople Conference (*Tersk͟hāne Ḳonferansï*), convened at the same time as the promulgation of the constitution, rejected it as the solution to the Balkan questions. Midḥat's government in turn, with approval from a great gathering of notables, rejected the conference's plans to divide the Balkans. It was possible that Russia would try to enforce the conference decisions by military action. Meanwhile, on 5 February 1877, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd exiled Midḥat, presumably relying on article 113, although there was no state of siege. The views of the sultan and the Grand Vizier were too far apart to allow them to work together. Midḥat wrote the sultan a letter saying that he could not obey imperial commands that were not in the national interest; Midḥat wanted to be a constitutional Prime Minister.

The *Tanẓīmāt* continued for a time in the parliament. Elections, although indirect, were successfully held and the Chamber of Deputies met in two sessions, from March to June 1877 and from December 1877 to February 1878. Its debates and its work were sensible. At that point, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd dissolved the parliament, fearing its criticism and its rivalry. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was a reformer intent on saving the Ottoman Empire, but he intended to be master. He also feared deposition, like his two predecessors. Under the constitution, he should have called new elections in six months. He waited, however, for thirty years, until

the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, when a new generation took over the burden of reform.

The task of the *Tanẓīmātdjīs* had been difficult. They were probing to discover how fast they could go to make reforms meaningful without provoking a conservative reaction. They needed to find out how much they could borrow from Christian Europe and still preserve the self-esteem of a people steeped in tradition. Reshīd, ʿĀlī and Fuʾād were cautious reformers, trying to institute change without disruption; Midḥat was rather less cautious.

The *Tanẓīmāt* was either a qualified failure or a qualified success. It did much in the short run to keep the empire intact, but peripheral areas were slipping away. At the end of the *Tanẓīmāt*, the Russian War of 1877-8 led to the Treaty of Berlin under which Romania, Serbia and Montenegro were given complete independence. A small Bulgaria became autonomous, Bosnia and Herzegovina were occupied by Austria. Russia gained Bessarabia, Ḳarṣ and Ardahān. Cyprus in 1878 also fell under British administration. Greece was given Ottoman Thessaly in 1881, France occupied Tunis in 1881 and Britain occupied Egypt in 1882. Such territorial losses tore from the empire major productive areas. The Balkan and Anatolian losses caused a large inflow of Muslim refugees. The *Tanẓīmāt* initiated public borrowing abroad, and never solved the debt problem. The indemnity that the empire had to pay to Russia after the 1877-8 War made the problem worse. Only with the foreign imposition of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration in 1881 was the financial situation brought under control. Economic development was slight. When good political systems or administrative regulations were initiated, there were not enough competent officials to administer them. Perhaps the greatest failure of the *Tanẓīmāt* was that *ʿOthmānlīlīk* did not take hold. It found some believers, but the minority peoples in general drifted toward nationalism and separation from the empire.

Yet the Ottoman Empire of 1878 was considerably different from what it had been in 1839. Then, the reform emphasis was on security of life and property, on fair taxation and on fair military service. By 1878 the emphasis was on equality and representative government. The *Tanẓīmāt* also was a seed-time. When the Young Turks and then the Republican régime arrived, they inherited from the *Tanẓīmāt* beginnings in many areas: a new bureaucracy in a centralised administration, a new system of provincial government, expanded areas of government activity, some modern law codes, a written constitution, an elected parliament, parliamentary procedure, an effective diplomatic establishment, modernised armed forces, a system of state schools and a trend toward secularisation of law and institutions. They inherited also from the *Tanẓīmāt* various concepts, some of which had been partly realised: equality before the law, the treatment of people as individuals and not just as members of a *millet*, individual rights and civil liberties and the separation of powers (especially in regard to the judiciary). Finally, they inherited the concept of the state as an indivisible territorial unit, not just the accumulated possessions of a sovereign monarch, and the concept of *waṭan*, Motherland, added to the traditional concepts of *dīn we dewlet*, faith and state.

Bibliography: For older bibl. and the Ottoman chroniclers of the period, see J.H. Kramers' *EI*[1] art. Of more recent works, see Pakalın, iii, 395-9; Enver Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi. Nizam-i cedit ve tanzimat devirleri, 1789-1856*, [3]Ankara 1970; idem, *Osmanlı tarihi. Islahat fermanı devri, 1856-61*, Ankara 1954; idem, *Osmanlı tarihi. Islahat fermanı devri, 1861-1876*, Ankara 1956; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 101-70; R.H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman empire 1856-1876*, Princeton 1963; S.J. and Ezel Kurat Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976-7, ii, 55-171; C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980, 151-220; *Tanzimat'tan cümhuriyet'e Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, 6 vols., Istanbul 1984-5; P. Dumont, ch. *La période des Tanzîmât (1839-1878)*, in R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, 459-522; *IA*, arts. *Hatt-ı Hümâyûn* (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı) and *Tanzîmât* (A. Cevad Eren). See also the bibl. to KHAṬṬ-Ī HUMĀYŪN AND KHAṬṬ-Ī SHERĪF. (R.H. DAVISON)

ṬAPU (T.), a term of Ottoman fiscal administration.

Poetic texts from the 8th/14th to 10th/16th centuries give the meanings "presence, proximity, lord, highly placed personage, service, duty, reverence" (*Tarama sözlüğü*, v, 3748 ff.). In *ḳānūnnāmes* of the 9th/15th and particularly of the 10th/16th century, however, the word has a much more technical meaning, and signifies the holding of state-owned lands (*mīrī*) by a subject of the sultan, involving the mediation of an officially appointed tax-collector (holder of *tīmār*, *zeʿāmet* or *khāṣṣ*, administrator of a *waḳf*). The term has been translated as "title deed", by which an inhabitant of the Ottoman Empire could prove his right of usufruct (*ḥaḳḳ-ī taṣarruf*) to the *mīrī* land in his possession; it also appears to have been used as a shorthand version of *resm-i ṭapu*, the tax payable when *ṭapu* land was leased by the cultivator. Thus the *ḳānūnnāme* of Bāyezīd II for the *sandjaḳ* of Khüdāwendigār (Bursa) abolished the payments known as *öksüz ṭapusu* (*ṭapu* dues payable by orphans) as a blameworthy innovation. Handing over a piece of land to the would-be cultivator was known as *ṭapuya wirmek*. In many instances, the *ṭapu* dues collected were assigned to the *sipāhī*. The amount of permissible *resm-i ṭapu*, according to the *ḳanūnnāme* of Mora dated 1129/1716, was limited to maximally a year's income from the land in question, after tithes had been subtracted.

Conditions of holding a piece of land by *ṭapu* showed certain common features throughout the Ottoman Empire, while exhibiting quite a few local variations as well. *Ṭapu*-held land consisted of fields, and was in principle leased to the cultivator in perpetuity, as long as the latter cultivated the land. Land left fallow for three years (this period could be extended if the land was infertile) could be taken from the holder and turned over to another. According to the *ḳānūnnāme* of Vize, it did not matter if the original holder of the land had been the one who had first brought it under cultivation; once the land was reassigned, he had lost all rights to it. Some *ḳānūnnāmes*, such as that of Bolu, specified that the former holder of the land might re-acquire his right of possession against payment of *resm-i ṭapu*. While in most places, the peasant's house and garden or vineyard were regarded as freehold property (*mülk*), the *ḳānūnnāme* of İčel mentions a *ṭapu* called *ew ṭapusu*, graded into three categories, *aʿlā*, *ewsaṭ* and *ednā*. Certain kinds of land could not be given out as *ṭapu* lands, such as meadows, the village threshing floor and at least in the early 10th/16th century, the lands assigned to the *sipāhī* as his "home farm".

At least before the late 10th/16th century, *ṭapu* land passed to sons and brothers only; this form of inheritance, different from that applicable to *mülk*, was

known as *intiḳāl-i ʿādī.* The rights of widows were only recognised in some places; while the *ḳānūnnāme* of Khüdāwendigār specified that a woman who cultivated her holding could not be deprived of it, the *ḳānūnnāme* of Čemishgezek determined that wives and daughters possessed no rights whatsoever to the holding. From the late 16th century onwards, certain *ḳānūnnāmes*, such as that of the province of Ḳaramān, permitted daughters to take over their fathers' lands in the absence of male descendants. But while sons inherited without paying, daughters and other family members, such as brothers or grandsons, paid a due known as *resm-i ṭapu.* In some places it was specified that if brothers offered to pay the *ṭapu* due, the administrator could not hand over the land to anyone else. In 1022/1613 the Ohri *ḳānūnnāmesi* declared that the holdings known as *bashtina* would be treated in analogy to other state lands: sons inherited without payment, brothers could take over provided they paid *resm-i ṭapu,* while in this case, daughters and sisters were excluded altogether.

In the *ḳānūnnāme* of Ḳaramān, the reason given for the recognition of daughters' rights was that, a peasant having invested labour in his holding, his descendants should not be deprived of the fruits of their father's labour. In the course of time, the impact of *sherʿī* rules of inheritance was felt to an increasing degree. However, even after the law of 1274/1858 had enlarged the number of persons eligible to inherit a peasant holding, only sons, daughters, fathers and mothers fell into this category (Ö.L. Barkan, *Türk toprak hukuku tarihinde Tanzimat ve 1274 (1858) tarihli arazi kanunnamesi,* repr. in his *Türkiye'de toprak meselesi, toplu eserler,* Istanbul 1980, i, 291-375).

The *arāḍi ḳānūnnāmesi* of 1274/1858 reorganised the modalities of holding-state owned land, with the aim of increasing tax revenues and reasserting the rights of the state to *mīrī* land. The law thus should be viewed as part of the *Tanẓīmāt* process of state centralisation, undoing the process by which local notables had acquired *de facto* control over much of this land (Kemal Karpat, *The land regime, social structure and modernization in the Ottoman Empire,* in W.R. Polk and R.L. Chambers (eds.), *Beginnings of modernization in the Middle East. The nineteenth century,* Chicago and London 1968, 69-90; A. Salzmann, *An ancient régime revisited. "Privatization" and political economy in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire,* in *Politics and Society,* xxi/4, 393-423). The new legislation was not concerned with *mülk* properties. It recognised the prescriptive rights of people who had occupied a given piece of land without dispute for a period of ten years; neither a previous holder nor the state itself could evict any person after ten years' undisputed possession. In principle, the establishment of the cadaster involved recognising the tenure of the cultivators as permanent; but there were exceptions, as in the Ḥawrān, where in 1285-86/1869, *mīrī* lands hitherto farmed by peasants apparently were sold at auction.

Possession of lands was legalised by issuing a document known as the *ṭapu senedi.* A new office, known as the *Taḥrīr-i emlāk neẓāreti,* was formed in order to put together the new cadaster; every property owner was issued a document known as the *wergi nüfūs tedhkeresi,* which was to serve both as his identity card and as an indication of his future tax status. This cadaster was completed first in the *sandjaḳs* of Bursa and Yanya, and gradually applied to the entire Ottoman territory. In outlying provinces such as Baghdād, Baṣra, the Ḥidjāz and Ṭarābulus-u Gharb the cadasters were only completed at the beginning of the 20th century (S.J. Shaw, *Nineteenth-century Ottoman tax reforms and revenue system,* in *IJMES,* vi [1975], 426-7).

A major novelty of the 1274/1858 law was the fact that *ṭapu* could no longer be issued to collectivities, which in the 10th/16th century had sometimes been done when nomads were involved. Nor was it permissible to grant the lands of a single town or village to one or two persons. However, in certain provinces, such as Lower ʿIrāḳ, this rule was easily circumvented, tribal chiefs having the agricultural/grazing lands of the entire group registered in their own names (Albertine Jwaideh, *Aspects of land tenure and social change in Lower Iraq during late Ottoman times,* in Tarif Khalidi (ed.), *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East,* Beirut 1984, 345-7). In Lower ʿIrāḳ, tribal inhabitants were disadvantaged, as the Ottoman state maintained that between 1831 and 1869 tax farmers had received the usufruct rights normally granted through the *ṭapu senedi*; the cultivators in question thus were regarded as tenants of the tax farmers, and as such, in spite of their long-term residence in the area, could not claim the lands they worked by prescriptive right. This situation resulted in the uneasy coexistence of Ottoman and tribal landholding systems at least in lower ʿIrāḳ, and in significant tension between government officials and cultivators.

Bibliography: Given in the article. For many of the *ḳānūnnāmes* from which information has been drawn for this article, there is a new edition in Ahmed Akgündüz (ed.), *Osmanlı kanunnâmeleri ve hukukî tahlilleri,* Istanbul 1990-, 8 vols. at the time of writing (1996). (Suraiya Faroqhi)

ṬARAB (a.), a term denoting poetic and musical emotion, evoking a broad spectrum of sentiments, from the most private to the most violent: pleasure, enjoyment, emotional trauma, exaltation (Shiloah, appendix ii) and even a trance capable of resulting in death. Located in the centre of a conceptual net with multiple connections, *ṭarab* makes it possible to sketch the contours of an aesthetic.

The etymology of the word could derive from the agitation of camels, quickening their pace when returning to the encampment (*ṭirāb*). At a very early stage, *ṭarab* is associated with natural audible phenomena such as the song of birds (Imruʾ al-Ḳays, quoted in *LA,* s.v.) or the effect of the singing of camel-riders, singing which would itself originally have been a cry of anguish (al-Ibshīhī, 176).

In the classical period, the word *ṭarab* implies the notion of a more or less regular agitation: the *ʿIḳd al-farīd* describes the caliph Muʿāwiya dancing ecstatically on hearing fine verses chanted (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 18); the prophet Dāwūd is shown to be feverish and emotionally aroused when singing the Psalms (al-Ibshīhī, 176); Ibn al-Djawzī denounces *ṭarab* because "it excites the human being and induces him to lean to right and left" (quoted by Molé, 148). These phenomena of trance (described by numerous accounts in the *K. al-Aghānī*) suggest a connection with the root *ḍ-r-b*, as when al-Ghazālī describes an uncontrolled trance as *iḍṭirāb* (343).

These connotations extend to the aesthetic sphere, with the more precise sense of "vibration": "Her words are moving (*yuṭrib*) and her voice is soft/She makes me vibrate (*tuhizzu-nī*) as javelins vibrate" (Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn, Yemeni poet of the 10th/16th century). Furthermore, bees are reputed to be the creatures most responsive to song (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 5). This association with the buzzing of the insect (as well as with the song of birds) suggests that, in its most extreme manifestations, *ṭarab* is a living metaphor—dra-

matised and ritualised—for the vibratory processes so characteristic of Arabic vocal art (Shiloah, 121-31), such as trills, leaps in vocal register and vibrations of other kinds. This applies equally to instrumental techniques: "When the plectra (of the lute) are beating, persons susceptible to *ṭarab* feel light [at heart]" (*idhā khafaḳat al-maḍārib, khaffat al-maṭārib*, see *TA*, s.v.). More generally, it seems that *ṭarab* responds to a voluntarily unified and total aesthetic of poetic and musical expression.

Ṭarab was the object of numerous denunciations on the part of the religious authorities. It was under the influence of the *fuḳahā'* that musical instruments were described by the pejorative phrase *ālāt al-ṭarab* (Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, 3rd/9th century; Robson, 19). Following controversies over musical emotion, *ṭarab* came ultimately to denote music, in particular the music of entertainment, with a negative nuance which has gradually diminished (ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿAllāf, *al-Ṭarab ʿind al-ʿarab*, Baghdād 1963), but has never disappeared completely. Similarly, *taṭrīb* denoted a vocal technique (*LA*) for the cantillation of the Ḳur'ān (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, 136), playing, according to this author, the role of the sugar which makes medicines palatable. The practice of *taṭrīb* was condemned by numerous religious authorities, but according to a consensus, it was acceptable so long as it did not affect the comprehension of the verbal message.

A polysemantic concept, *ṭarab* is a symbol of cultural kinship ("He who is not moved, is not numbered among the Arabs", *alladhī lā yaṭrab laysa min al-ʿarab*) but also of separation ("The player on the reed pipe does not move his own tribe", *zāmir al-ḥayy lā yuṭrib*. It has local equivalents in the non-Arab or recently arabised Muslim world: in Mauritania, *ḥawl* (Guignard); among the Berbers of Morocco, *amarg* (Lortat-Jacob); among the Persians, *ḥāl* (During); and in Afghānistān, *mast* (Slobin). It may also be interpreted in association with certain marginal or unofficial aspects of Islam.

Although generally secular, *ṭarab* can be taken as related to its mystical equivalent, *wadjd*, the emotion codified by Ṣūfī practice, of which the psychological mechanisms are similar. Like *wadjd*, *ṭarab* emanates from a conception of experience and existence (*wudjūd*) which relates to transcendence (al-Ghazālī, 371-2). It is sudden awareness of an existential rending (Rouget, 409), provoked by a fortuitous encounter or an unexpected discovery (*wadjd*) of a personal sense, in the intensity of the present moment; for Hudjwīrī, "*ṭarab* does not come on demand (*ṭalab*)" (Nicholson, 413). Time also plays a role, in terms of nostalgia, often expressed in the generic poetry of *ṭarab*, and concerning individual life as well as collective destinies: "I have never had a day like the day [spent] with her/Even though other days have been great and glorious" (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 3-4).

Thus *ṭarab* constitutes a sensual rather than an intellectual aesthetic. By so doing, it seems to draw a separating line between on the one hand music, poetry and dance, and on the other, the plastic and decorative arts, often governed by more hieratical conceptions [see FANN]. In offering mediation between symbolically fundamental opposites such as emotion and reason, profane and sacred, nature and culture, the concept of *ṭarab* offers an essential clue to the understanding of Arabo-Islamic civilisation.

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(J. LAMBERT)

TARABA [see TURABA].

ṬARABĀY, a Bedouin clan of the Banū Ḥāritha tribe in northern Palestine.

Several members of the family administered the Ottoman *sandjaḳ* of Ladjdjūn, Palestine, in the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1480 a certain Ḳaradja b. Ṭarabāy was appointed by the Mamlūk sultan to guard the strategic roads through Mardj Ibn ʿĀmir and act as tax-farmer of a number of villages. During his campaign in Syria and Egypt, the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I established cordial relations with the Ṭarabāys and granted them the *sandjaḳ* of Ladjdjūn. Ḳaradja was succeeded by his son Ṭarabāy, who gained the confidence of the Ottomans, especially for his opposition to the rebellious governor Djānbirdī al-Ghazzālī in 1520. In the course of the 16th century, the Ṭarabāys were more deeply drawn into the various conflicts between regional administrators and chieftains, thereby straining their relations with the central authorities. However, with some intervals they kept their *sandjaḳ* (ʿAlī b. Ṭarabāy, ʿAssāf b. Ṭarabāy and Ṭarabāy b. ʿAlī, who died in 1601). From 1601 until 1647 the *sandjaḳ* was in the hands of Aḥmad b. Ṭarabāy, who was in almost continuous conflict with the Druze *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*], who administered the neighbouring *sandjaḳ* of Ṣafad and attempted to expand his influence in the region. Aḥmad was succeeded in 1647 by his sons Zayn (d. 1660) and Muḥammad (d. 1671), but by 1677 the family had lost its control of Ladjdjūn.

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(R. VAN LEEUWEN)

ṬĀRĀBĪ, MAḤMŪD, the leader of a revolt in the Bukhārā oasis, one with popular religious and social overtones, against Mongol domination (636/1238-9).

Maḥmūd was a sieve-maker from the village of Ṭārāb or Tārāb, four *farsakhs* from the city of Bukhārā on the Khurāsān road (see al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 5; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 4; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 114 n. 9, 117, 132), who led a movement against the financial oppression of the Mongol *basḳaḳs* or tax-collectors and also, it appears, against local landowners and other representatives of the leading secular and religious classes, including the *ṣudūr* of the Āl-i Burhān (on whom see Bosworth, *EIr*, art *Āl-e Borhān*; and see ṢADR). His ostensible shamanistic and thaumaturgic powers secured him a large following, and his force was able to occupy Bukhārā itself, killing or expelling Mongol officials, re-

placing the Burhānī *ṣadr* with another religious leader who had thrown in his lot with him, Shams al-Dīn Maḥbūbī, and proclaiming himself sultan of Bukhārā. His forces bloodily crushed a Mongol army sent from Karminiya, but Maḥmūd himself and Shams al-Dīn Maḥbūbī were killed. Maḥmūd's brothers Muḥammad and ʿAlī assumed leadership, but were decisively defeated by a Mongol army sent from Khudjand by the governor Maḥmūd Yalawač [*q.v.*]; only Yalawač's intercession with the Great Khān Ögedey [*q.v.*] saved Bukhārā from the threatened savage sacking.

Bibliography: The main source is Djuwaynī, ed. Ḳazwīnī, i, 85-90, tr. Boyle, i, 109-15. Of studies, see Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 469-71; A.Y. Yakubovski, *Vosstaniye Tarabi v 1238 g.*, in *Dokladī grippī vostokovedov na sessiy Akad. Nauk S.S.R.*, xvii (1936), 1-35. (C.E. Bosworth)

ṬARĀBULUS AL-**GHARB** or simply Ṭarābulus, with the local variants of Iṭrābulus, Iṭrābulus al-Gharb and Ṭrablus, the name for the city of Tripoli, of Africa or of Barbary, in Libya, a designation which is also extended to Tripolitania, a region of North Africa bordering the Mediterranean which, with Cyrenaica and the Fezzan, constitutes the State of Libya [see LĪBIYĀ; BARḲA; FAZZĀN].

1. General.

The name derives from an Arabisation of the Greek term *Tripolis* which dates back to ancient times. The qualificative al-Gharb (= "of the West") was added after the Turkish conquest in 958/1551 to distinguish it from the Syrian city of Tripoli, Ṭarābulus al-Shām [*q.v.*].

The city of Ṭarābulus is situated at lat. 32° 54' N. and long. 13° 11' E., while the region of Ṭarābulus, or Tripolitania, extends from the Tunisian frontier along the coast as far as Ḳūs/Ḳaws (Marble Arch). This arch, constructed by the Italians in 1929, some 210 km/130 miles to the east of Syrte, marks the limits of the province, which extends to the south, in the desert, along the line of latitude 28° N., and encloses an area of 250,000 km^2. Tripolitania under Italian rule comprised six provinces: Ṭarābulus, Sabha, Ghariyān, Miṣrāṭa, Zāwiya and Khums.

Numerous Islamic dynasties took turns in dominating the city (the Aghlabids, Zīrids and Almohads), which also experienced periods of foreign occupation (Normans from Sicily, Genoese, Sicilians, Spaniards and the Knights of Malta) before being conquered in 1551 by the Ottoman Turks. (G. Oman)

2. In pre- and early Islamic times.

Ṭarābulus was established by the Phoenicians and was later enlarged by the Greeks and the Romans. According to G.D.B. Jones, 92, the core of the primary settlement of the Phoenicians in Oea must be located at the elevation within the triangle formed by Borg el Hahie. This place, now covered by buildings, has not been excavated.

The port of Oea—which was named Tripoli in the 3rd century A.D. (J. Desanges, *Quelques considérations sur l'usage du grec dans les ports de l'Afrique romaine*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, vi [1995], 30 ff.)—was active during the Graeco-Roman period, but because of the direction of the prevailing wind in North Africa and the difficulty in navigating across it, the main sea routes were usually those between Tripoli and the ports of Greece rather than those between Cyrenaica and Tripoli (M.G. Fulford, *To East and West. The Mediterranean trade of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in Antiquity*, in *Libyan Studies*, xx [1989], 171). Moreover, navigation was easy from Tripoli via Pantelleria to Sicily.

Nevertheless, in Byzantine times interregional trade linking Cyrenaica with Tripoli and Carthage developed. Byzantine Tripoli was an active port from where surplus agricultural produce was exported, along with wild animals, and was also an entrepôt in the sea route from Alexandria to Carthage, and via it to Spain and England. Hagiographical works inform us that, on the eve of the Arab conquest, the Patriarchate of Alexandria financed long-run shipping activities originating along the axis Alexandria-Tripoli-Carthage. The impact of such maritime activities had a clear impact on the social structure of Tripoli and the adjacent area of Tripolitania (see V. Christides, *The conquest of Libya by the Arabs and the spread of Islam into the Maghrib*, forthcoming).

Even before the final conquest of Egypt by the Arabs (25/645), the way to Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the rest of Maghrib was open, and a series of expeditions against Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, which formed the spearhead of the Muslim conquest of North Africa, started. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, in a spectacular march moving from Alexandria (22/642), conquered Barḳa and, by-passing the fortified towns of Apollonia Sozusa (Sūs), Paraetonium (Marsā Maṭrūḥ), and Ptolemais (Ṭulmayṭa), reached Tauchira (Tukra).

The town of Tripoli was the Arabs' next target. ʿAmr soon afterwards launched a second rapid cavalry raid, later in that same year; by-passing Teuchira, where the Byzantines were still entrenched, he appeared in front of the gates of Tripoli. This town was well fortified and, according to Pseudo-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, numerous ships had moved into its port (*Taʾrīkh Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. M. Kaʿbī, Tunis 1968). ʿAmr did not possess any siege machines, so he applied his usual strategy of besieging the city and waited patiently. After a month, the Arabs penetrated into the city through a neglected opening and sacked it (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 171, and al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt wa 'l-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo, 10, place the final surrender of Tripoli in 22/642; al-Bakrī (tr. de Slane, *L'Afrique septentrionale*, repr. Paris 1913, 24) places it a year later in 23/643-4). The Byzantine army, along with the majority of the population, abandoned the city and embarked in their ships.

While the Arabs seemed to have secured Barḳa and even Zawīla on the threshold of Fezzān, Tripoli was reconquered by the Byzantines. In the successive Arab raids which followed, the situation in Tripoli is hardly mentioned in the Arabic sources. A. Ṭāhā has shown, basing himself on indirect evidence, that Tripoli was most probably retaken by Ibn Ḥudaydj in 47/667 (*The Moslem conquest and settlement of North Africa and Spain*, London and New York 1989, 60).

There is no concrete evidence whether Tripoli was in Arab hands when ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], avoiding the coast of North Africa, undertook his expedition to the extreme Maghrib. The Byzantines reconquered Barḳa in 71/690 (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 202-3) and, most probably, Tripoli was again reoccupied by them. It was firmly secured by the Arabs only in the time of al-Ḥasan b. al-Nuʿmān, and had become an important port for the Muslims when Mūsā b. Nuṣayr completed and stabilised the conquest of North Africa (91/710).

Tripoli during the Arabo-Byzantine struggle in North Africa presents a vivid and typical example of Byzantine defence policies, i.e. concentration on the heavily-fortified coastal towns and dependence on the Byzantine navy. This policy seems to have boomeranged for the Byzantines who were always ready to abandon the city, leaving in their ships and carrying with them the Romanised inhabitants of the

coastal towns, known in Arab sources as the Afāriḳ.

The process of Arabisation and Islamisation in Tripoli in this early period is little known, and archaeological evidence is lacking. The tradition that ʿAmr built a mosque in Tripoli is legendary and has not been confirmed by any discoveries (see G.R.D. King, *Islamic archaeology in Libya, 1969-1989*, in *Libyan Studies*, xx [1989], 193-208).

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(V. Christides)

3. From ʿAbbāsid times to the Ḳaramānlīs.

The Aghlabid Amīrate. In 184/800, an Aghlabid amīrate was established in Ifrīḳiya, where it lasted more than a century, until 297/909. It was during this period, from 212/827 onwards, that the Aghlabids planned the invasion of Sicily. With the exception of an expedition launched against Tripoli in 265/878-9 by the Ṭūlūnids from Egypt under the command of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn—an expedition which ended in defeat—contacts with the East were virtually broken. See further, AGHLABIDS.

In 359/969 Djawhar al-Ṣiḳillī [*q.v.*] set out from Tripoli to conquer Egypt. Three years later, al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] was to transfer the headquarters of his Fāṭimid kingdom to Egypt, leaving the Berber chieftain Buluggīn b. Zīrī as his lieutenant in Ifrīḳiya. The latter was to be the founder of the Zīrid amīrate, which included Tripoli.

The Zīrid Amīrate (the Banū Khazrūn and the Banū Hilāl). In 391/1000 the governor of Tripoli ceded the city to Yānis al-Ṣiḳillī, Fāṭimid governor of Cyrenaica. Following this decision, the Zīrid *amīr* Bādīs sent one of his generals to confront the latter. Meanwhile Falfūl, of the Banū Khazrūn, took possession of the city, which was to be governed by this family for a half-century. The refusal of the Zīrids to offer obeisance to the Fāṭimids of Egypt in 442/1950 and their recognition of the Sunnī ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād provoked, by way of punishment, the migration of tribes of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] towards the Maghrib. A branch of the latter, the Banū Zughba, occupied Tripoli. See further, ZĪRIDS.

The Normans (529-53/1135 to 1158-9). In 529/1135, the Normans of Sicily, under Roger II, occupied the island of Djarba [*q.v.*], but their attempt in 1143 to capture Tripoli was a failure. Two years later an expedition commanded by the admiral George of Antioch succeeded in taking possession of the town: this was on 17 or 18 June 1146. In 1148 the same fate befell al-Mahdiyya, Sfax and Gabès. The Norman domination of Tripoli lasted barely twelve years. In 553/1158-9, when news of the Almohad advance became widely known, the inhabitants of Tripoli rebelled and succeeded in expelling the Normans.

It was perhaps in anticipation of this occupation that the Norman kings of Sicily had minted miniature gold coins, of approximately one gram in weight, called *tarī* [*q.v.*], with the *shahāda* engraved on one side and on the other, in the form of a T, the cross of St. Antony.

The Almohads (*al-Muwaḥḥidūn*, 524-668/1130-1269 [*q.v.*]). In 554/1159, the Almohads occupied Mahdiyya, Sfax and Tripoli, creating for the first time a unitary state in North Africa. During the period of their domination, Tripolitania was thrown into chaos by the incursions of two adventurers, Ḳarāḳush, of Ghuzz, i.e. Turcoman origin, from Egypt, and ʿAlī al-Māyurḳī, from the family of the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*] in Majorca, who had inherited Almoravid ambitions regarding the colonisation of Africa.

In 626/1229, the governors of Ifrīḳiya belonging to the family of Abū Ḥafṣ proclaimed themselves independent and inaugurated the Ḥafṣid dynasty [*q.v.*]. Later, a similar declaration in Libya was witnessed on the part of a Berber family, the Banū Thābit or Banū ʿAmmār of the Hawwāra tribe. The first to achieve quasi-independence was Muḥammad b. Thābit b. ʿAmmār in *ca.* 716/1326-7.

Filippo Doria (755/1354). In the year 755/1354, or according to other sources, the following year, the Genoese Filippo Doria succeeded, by means of a trick, in taking possession of the city of Tripoli. A few months later, the Genoese managed to sell the city for 50,000 gold *mithḳāls* to Aḥmad b. Makkī, who recognised the sovereignty of the Marīnid sultans [*q.v.*] until 766/1364-5.

Intervention by the Aragonese kings of Sicily. Towards the end of the 14th century, the Aragonese kings of Sicily took a renewed interest in North Africa and sought to recapture the island of Djarba which had been lost in 1134. In 790/1388, the Admiral of Sicily Manfredi Chiaramonte succeeded in taking the island of Djarba, but the inhabitants rose in revolt. However, five years later in 795/1392, King Martino of Sicily took possession of the island with the declared consent of the population. This occupation lasted until 801/1398, when the Ḥafṣid sultan of Tunis regained control of both Djarba and Tripoli.

The Spanish and the Knights of Malta (1510-51). On 25 July 1510 the Spanish took Tripoli by assault. Later, in 1539, Charles V offered the city to the Knights of the Sovereign Order of Malta. The latter rebuilt and enlarged the Castle; however, on 14 August 1551 they were obliged to capitulate when besieged by a formidable Turkish fleet.

The Ottoman conquest of Tripoli (958/1551). After the defeat of the Knights of Malta, the government of Tripoli was entrusted to Murād Agha, the first Turkish governor, who succeeded in inflicting another crushing defeat on the Maltese with a surprise attack on the town of Zuwāra.

In 964/1556 Murād Agha died and was succeeded by Ṭorghud (Dargut, Dragut, Dorghut, etc.) ʿAlī [*q.v.*] well-known for his privateering activities. His period of rule was marked by two memorable events: the repulse of another expedition against Tripoli sought by the Grand Master of Malta, in which 14,000 Spanish, German and Italian soldiers participated, and the assault on Malta which was threatening the Turkish conquest of Africa. Ṭorghud actually died at Malta on 23 June 1565. He was succeeded by Yaḥyā Pasha, who died the following year, or, according to other sources, by Ulugh ʿAlī (known as Lucciali in Calabrian accounts), Ṭorghud's lieutenant and a renowned corsair in his own right, who later became Captain-General of the Ottoman fleet and died in 1587. Little is known of the Turkish governors who followed; their names were Djaʿfar Muṣṭafā Pasha, and Ramaḍān Pasha, who was killed in 1584.

In 1587, according to the Maltese archives, when Ḥasan Agha was governing Tripoli, the Knights of Malta tried once again to put troops ashore in support of local insurgents against the Turkish government. The years between 1590 and 1610 saw a series of Turkish governors busily engaged in suppressing revolts in Tripoli and its environs.

Relations with the European powers. For many years, Tripoli accepted no consular representatives of European states. All matters concerning the city were handled directly by the Sublime Porte in Constantinople. During the 17th century, some consulates were estab-

lished, their primary objectives being purely commercial. Later, these consulates were to assume political importance, on account of the frequent "incidents" provoked by corsair activities and continual military interventions by the warships of the European states.

The first consul of whom anything is known was a certain Du Molin, appointed in 1630 by an emissary of Louis XIII. Some years later, in 1658, Samuel Toker was transported to the city by an English fleet, to take up his appointment as consul on behalf of England. With the Knights of Malta, on account of the objectives of their Order, there existed a permanent state of war against the unbelievers, although this was occasionally interrupted by courteous diplomatic exchanges. The ransoming of slaves, and religious aid to Christian merchants and artisans, were promoted by Redemptorist missionaries and Brothers of St. Francis sent by Propaganda Fide.

Tripoli under the Dayis and the Turkish and Levantine Beys (17th century). The history of Tripoli in the 17th century is a succession of struggles and revolts, both within and in the neighbourhood of the city. Appointed governor of the city in 1610 was a certain ʿAlī Bek, of Genoese origin, who used to send the sum of 300 crowns and 64 aspers to his sister, living in the vicinity of Genoa.

Another individual, Sulaymān Safar Day, succeeded in gaining quasi-independence but was hanged by Khalīl Bey, Captain-General of the Ottoman fleet, for ignoring the emissaries sent by the Sublime Porte. After him, Muṣṭafā Sharīf Day also lost his life in tragic circumstances *ca.* 1631. Another chief of the local militia, Ramaḍān Day, governed from 1631 to 1633 before handing over power to a Levantine corsair, Meḥmed Pasha Saḳizli from Chios, who governed from 1633 to 1649, obtaining the title of Pasha from Sultan Murād IV. He also succeeded in extending his domain as far as Cyrenaica and the Fezzan. His work was continued by ʿOthmān Pasha, likewise a freedman from the Greek island of Chios, who governed until 1672 and was one of the most powerful and energetic pashas of the 17th century.

In the years that followed, Tripoli seems to have found no genuine or effective leaders, and it was not until the period between 1687 and 1701, under the rule of the Montenegrin Meḥmed Imām Pasha, that the city enjoyed stable government. His nephew, Khalīl Beg, was deposed by corsair chiefs and Janissaries towards the end of 1709. On returning from Istanbul, where he had gone in search of the aid necessary for the assertion of his rights, he found in control of Tripoli a man who showed no inclination to allow himself to be supplanted, Aḥmad Ḳaramānlī, founder of the dynasty which was to govern Tripoli for the next 124 years.

Bibliography: The principal comprehensive work concerning the history of Tripoli of the West remains that of E. Rossi, *Storia di Tripoli e della Tripolitania dalla conquista araba al 1911*, Rome 1968, 398, published posthumously through the good offices of Maria Nallino. In the *Prefazione*, pp. xv-xxii, he lists in detail all the sources and the bibliography which he has used. Other bibliographical notices are to be found in *Gli studi sul Vicino Oriente in Italia dal 1921 al 1970. II. L'Oriente islamico*, Rome 1971, chs. by U. Rizzitano, *Gli studi di storia araba*, 61-2, and S. Bono, *Gli studi sulla storia del Maghreb dal sec. XVI al 1830*, 69-88. The most recent (1982) and apparently most complete study of the Turkish period (1510-1911) is that of S. Bono in the series *Quaderni dell'Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Tripoli*, entitled *Storiografia e fonti occidentali sulla Libia (1510-1911)*.

For information relating to numismatics and epigraphy, see G. Cimino, *La zecca di Tripoli d'Occidente sotto il dominio dei Caramanli*, in *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, Milan (1916), 527-40; idem, *Storia e numismatica dell'Africa del Nord*, in *Libya*, Rome-Milan (1927), iii, 202-27; E. Rossi, *Le iscrizioni arabe e turche del Museo di Tripoli (Libia)*, Department of Antiquities, Tripoli 1953, 107. (G. OMAN)

4. The rule of the Ḳaramānlīs (1123-1251/1711-1835).

For this, see ḲARAMĀNLĪ.

5. From 1835 to the present day.

The Ottoman sultan Maḥmūd II's expedition of May 1835 ended the power of ʿAlī II b. Yūsuf Pasha and the Ḳaramānlī line of virtually independent governors, and the Turks were able to re-establish their power over the whole of Tripolitania as far east as the site of former Barca [see BARḲA], although most of Cyrenaica was speedily to fall under the control of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order. The town of Tripoli now became the capital of the Ottoman *pashalik* of that name.

After the Italians landed on the Libyan coast in September 1911, Tripoli became the capital of the colony of Libya, and has remained that of the independent Libya proclaimed in 1951. The Italians began extensive remodelling of the old town, with a garden city to the southwest of the old Muslim town and the Jewish *ḥāra* (now that of modern administrative offices, foreign embassies, etc.), demolition of part of the town walls and restoration of other parts of them, the construction of a modern port and the building of a Roman Catholic cathedral for the influx of Italian colonists (since 1970 turned into the Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir Mosque).

The modern city of Tripoli (lat. 32° 54' N., long 13° 11' E.) has now become a centre of east-west communications along the southern Mediterranean coast, with the Tunis-Benghazi road running through it, a railway running westwards to Zuwāra and one eastwards to al-Khums, and an international airport constructed some 34 km/21 miles south of the city. The post-1955 oil boom in Libya, plus a very high birth rate in the country at large, have caused a dramatic growth in Tripoli's population, estimated at 820,000 in 1980. As well as being the national capital, Tripoli is also the chef-lieu of the *muḥāfaẓa* or governorate of Tripoli [see LĪBIYĀ. 3-4].

Bibliography: J. Wright, *Libya, a modern history*, London 1982. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬARĀBULUS (or AṬRĀBULUS) AL-**SHĀM**, the Greek Tripolis, called "of Syria" in the Arabic sources to distinguish it from Ṭarābulus al-Gharb [*q.v.*] "of the West", Tripoli in Libya, an historic town of the Mediterranean coast of the Levant, to the north of Djubayl and Batrūn [*q.vv.*]. It lies partly on and partly beside a hill at the exit of a deep ravine through which flows a river, the Nahr Ḳadīsha (Arabic, Abū ʿAlī). West of it stretches a very fertile plain covered with woods, which terminate in a peninsula on which lies the port of al-Mīnā. The harbour is protected by a series of rocky islets lying in front of it and by the remains of an old wall.

1. History up to the Mamlūk period.

The old Phoenician name of the town, which is first mentioned in the Persian period, is unknown; its Greek name came from its division into three quarters each separated by walls, the Tyrian, Sidonian and Aradian. In early Christian times, it soon became

a bishopric, allegedly founded by St. Peter himself, who installed there Tripoli's first bishop. The old town lay on the site of the present port. It was protected by its situation and the defences of the quarters and was very difficult to take, but was constantly threatened by the danger of being cut off on the land side from all connection with the outer world and even from supplies of drinking water. This was shown when Muʿāwiya, in the caliphate of ʿUthmān, sent a body of troops under the leadership of an Azdī named Ṣufyān b. Mudjīb thither, who built a fort in order to cut off the town completely. The inhabitants were reduced to such straits that they sent to the Byzantine emperor and begged him to send ships with all speed to their assistance. The emperor did so, and the Tripolitans succeeded in boarding the ships by night and thus escaped. To populate the empty town, Muʿāwiya made a considerable number of Jews (al-Balādhurī; al-Yaʿkūbī says Persians) settle there. Muʿāwiya is said to have sent there annually some troops under an *ʿāmil*, who, when the town was blockaded by sea, withdrew again except for the *ʿāmil* and a handful of men. Soon afterwards, there was a Byzantine attempt to recover Tripoli, which was repelled by the Arabs, with the Byzantine commander being chased out to sea, captured and killed (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 127-8; cf. F.McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 154-5, 246-7). Byzantine hopes of recovering the town continued, and in the 10th century, one of Greek resurgence, several attacks are recorded in the Greek and Arabic sources: an attack by Nicephorus Phocas in 968, destruction of the town in 975 by John Tzimisces, further attacks by the governor of Antioch and Basil II in the 990s, etc.

Al-Yaʿkūbī in his geographical work mentions Ṭarābulus's splendid harbour as capable of holding a thousand ships (*Buldān*, 327, tr. Wiet, 178), and some fifty years later, al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawkal speak of the great fertility of the surrounding area, with its palms and sugar-cane fields. Ṭarābulus was considered as the port for Damascus, and it was defended by garrisons (*yurābaṭu*) of troops from Damascus and other *djunds* who rallied there for offensive operations or when attack was threatened (al-Iṣṭakhrī[1], 61; Ibn Ḥawkal, ed. Kramers, 175, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 172). An excellent description is given by the Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw (438/1047) of the town under the Fāṭimids. The whole countryside, he says, consists of fields and gardens with sugar-cane, citrons, bananas, oranges, lemons and date-palms; the town was protected on three sides by the sea, on the land side by a wall with a broad ditch. In the centre stood a splendid mosque; the town had 20,000 inhabitants, of whom the majority were Shīʿīs, and many villages belonged to it. The garrison of the ruling power was maintained by the tolls paid by the many ships that arrived there, while the ruler himself had ships which used to go to the Mediterranean coasts from there (*Safar-nāma*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 14-15, tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 12-13).

In the Crusading period, a County of Tripoli was created and given to Raymond of Toulouse, but the capital itself had still to be taken from the Muslims. Raymond began the siege in 493/1101, and to isolate the town more effectively, built a fort on a hill on the ravine of Kadīsha, called Mons Peregrinus or the Pilgrims' Hill (by the Arabs Sandjīl, i.e. St.-Gilles), at the foot of which in course of time a little town arose. He died in 499/1105 in this fortress without having attained his goal, and it was not till 12 July 1109 that the beleaguered town capitulated. Al-Idrīsī, who wrote in 1154, mentions the fortress "built by the Frank Ibn Sandjīl", and gives a list of towns and villages belonging to Ṭarābulus and of the rocky islets off the harbour (see *ZDPV*, viii, 135-6, Ar. text, 17). In 1170 the town suffered severely from a terrible earthquake. After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, Ṭarābulus held out for another century as an important base for the Christians, until in 688/1289 the army of the Mamlūk sultan al-Manṣūr Kalāwūn [*q.v.*] appeared before it and it had to surrender on 26 April. This proved a turning point in its history, for the sultan, learning a lesson from the past, built a new Tripoli on the Pilgrims' Hill, while the old town was destroyed and sank to be an insignificant little harbour known as al-Mīnā (from the Greek λιμήν). Al-Dimashkī, who wrote about it *ca.* A.D. 1300, describes the plentiful supply of water in the town—in addition to the running water on all sides, an aqueduct 200 ells long and 70 ells high was built—and the gardens, with excellent fruit in plenty. He also mentions the various localities belonging to Ṭarābulus, including Botrys, Bukayʿa and the Djabal al-Nuṣayriyya (*Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 207, 253).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): For the classical and early Islamic periods, see *PW*, vii A.1, cols. 203-7 (E. Honigmann). Further, see Yākūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 25-6; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 348-52; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyages en Syrie*, Mėms. IFAO, Cairo 1913-14, i, 116-31; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927; H. Probst, *Die geographischen Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästinas nach Wilhelm von Tyrus*, 1927, i, 28-9; ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, *Taʾrīkh Ṭarābulus al-siyāsī wa 'l-ḥaḍārī ʿabr al-ʿuṣūr*, i, *ʿAṣr al-ṣirāʿ al-ʿarabī al-bīzanṭī wa 'l-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya*, Tripoli 1398/1978. For the Crusading period, see the standard histories of Grousset, Runciman, and Setton and Baldwin, i-ii.

(F. BUHL-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. From the Mamlūk period onwards.

As the chef-lieu of an Ottoman *sandjak* after the conquest of Syria, becoming an *eyālet* in *ca.* 1078/1570, Ṭarābulus served as a port of entry for Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt within the Syrian interior. It was twice occupied and sacked during the next century, in 1016/1607 by ʿAlī b. Djānbulāṭ, the ally of Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn, and then in 1033/1624 by Fakhr al-Dīn himself. The population declined from 1,743 families in 1545 (1,294 Muslim, 316 Christian and 178 Jewish) to 1,320 families in 1623 (749 Muslim, 432 Christian and 139 Jewish) with the town's economic importance decreasing as that of Beirut, Ṣaydā (Sidon) and ʿAkkā (Acre) rose.

The town falls into two parts on each side of the Nahr Abū ʿAlī, with the old town on one side, with its markets grouped round the Great Mosque and the Kubba quarter. The *sūḳs* with their stone arcading and their old khāns (Khān al-Kharrāṭīn "of the tailors", Khān al-Ṣābūn "of soap", built in the 11th/17th century, etc.) are still very active; they open out on to the river, where stands the 8th/14th century al-Madrasa al-Burṭāsiyya mosque. The Ṭaylān mosque, from 736/1336, with two white domes, is one of the town's finest monuments, standing a little aside from the centre.

Ṭarābulus continued to decline in the 18th century, and only after 1801 did Muṣṭafā Barbar Aba, Aḥmad Djazzār Pasha's commandant of the town, establish a certain amount of order there in conjunction with the Amīr Bashīr Shihāb of Mount Lebanon. In 1861 it became the centre of a *liwāʾ* in the *wilāyet* of Beirut, and in 1876, under Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], subsequently gov-

ernor of Damascus, entered the modern age of westernisation: a road and a railway were constructed to Ḥimṣ. *Ca.* 1880, the town had six quarters, Ḥaddādīn, Nūrī, Muḥayṭira, Rummānī, Suwayḳa and Bāb al-Ḥadīd, but towards the end of the century, the population spilled out from the ancient limits. A road to Beirut was opened in 1909 and a rail link with Aleppo in 1911. At that time, the grouping of Ṭarābulus and al-Mīnā had 32,500 inhabitants, with 24,000 in the first and 8,500 in the second (comprising 24,100 Sunnī Muslims, 6,800 Greek Orthodox and 1,500 Maronites).

Tripoli was involved in the upsets of the last decades of Ottoman rule. This last was exercised through the great Sunnī families of the town who, after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, acquired a greater degree of autonomy; thus the *ʿulamāʾ* of the town were able to nominate their *muftī* directly. The Committee of Union and Progress came to power in Istanbul with the parliamentary elections when the Turkish constitution was restored, but their authority was badly received in Tripoli, nostalgic for the Ḥamīdian period. When the *amīr* Fayṣal entered Damascus on 1 October 1918, he nominated the *muftī* ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Karāma as governor of Tripoli, but the French landed there on 12 October 1918.

With the creation of Greater Lebanon, the Mandatory power separated Tripoli from Syria, and henceforth, the French occupation represented a challenge for the town's Muslim population (over 3/4 of the whole). Karāma lost his posts as *muftī* and governor, and now became *zaʿīm* or leader of the anti-French movement. At the time of independence in 1942, Tripoli had been traumatised by the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, its separation from Syria and incorporation within Lebanon. In 1945 ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Karāma was nominated Prime Minister, but was unable to secure recognition as *zaʿīm* of the Sunnī community of the whole of Lebanon nor even to satisfy the aspirations of the people of Tripoli.

It was at Tripoli that the first Lebanese civil war broke out in 1958, led by Rashīd Karāma, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's son. Against the President Camille Chamoun's attempts to attach his country to the West, the people of Tripoli were attracted to Nasserism and the ideal of Arab unity. Twelve years later, it was in the quarters of old Tripoli that the "state of those outside the law" (*dawlat al-maṭlūbīn*) saw the light of day. A few years after the beginning of the second civil war in 1975, the Movement for Islamic Unification (*ḥarakat al-tawḥīd al-islāmī*), a federation of all the Sunnī Islamist groups in the town, was formed under the leadership of Shaykh Saʿīd Shaʿbān, who then took control. In 1983 Tripoli became the refuge for Yasser Arafat and the PLO when they were ejected from Beirut, but they were dislodged by Syrian army bombardments. After Syrian repression of the town's quarters in autumn 1985, Shaykh Shaʿbān went over to the Syrian side.

Tripoli had over 300,000 inhabitants in 1995, and has resumed its place as the second economic centre of Lebanon, based on the agricultural riches of the plain of Kūra to the south and east, with its olive groves, and those of Akkār towards the north and central Syria. The cultivation of fruit and vegetables is increasing in this well-watered region, being modernised with both internal capital and finance from outside Lebanon. Industry is also well represented, with an oil refinery to the north of the town (at the terminus of the pipe-line, at present out of service, bringing the oil of Kirkuk to the Mediterranean coast) and the biggest cement factory in Lebanon, that of Chekka, to the south.

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AL-ṬARĀBULUSĪ AL-RAFFĀʾ, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN AḤMAD b. Munīr b. Aḥmad b. Mufliḥ Muhadhdhab al-Dīn [al-Mulk], prominent poet of Syria in the time of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī and rival of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḳaysarānī [*q.v.*]. He was born in 473/1080 in Ṭarābulus al-Shām (Tripoli, Lebanon) and died in Aleppo on Djumādā II 548/September 1153. His father sang and recited poetry in the markets of Tripoli. Al-Ṭarābulusī was a Shīʿī Rāfiḍī, and was held in prison for a certain time because of his satires (*hidjāʾ*) against Böri b. Tughtigin, the *amīr* of Damascus 522-6/1128-32, who even threatened to cut out his tongue. He was released after the intervention of the chamberlain Yūsuf b. Fayrūz. After that he lived in exile and was only allowed to return by Böri's son Ismāʿīl. But soon afterwards, he provoked the anger of this ruler, too, and was forced to hide. Then he lived in Ḥamāt, Shayzar (in the fortress of the Banū Munḳidh) and Aleppo. He witnessed the second siege of Damascus under Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī, whom he praised in his most eloquent laudatory poems. His *Dīwān* has been edited.

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ṬARABZUN, the Turkish form of TREBIZOND, Greek Τραπεζοῦς, a town on the Black Sea shores of northern Anatolia.

At the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire after the Frankish-Venetian conquest of Byzantium in 600-601/1204, Ṭarabzun, which had been occupied briefly by the Saldjūḳs at the end of the 6th/11th century, became the centre of a principality governed by a branch of the Comnene dynasty. The latter continued to use the Byzantine imperial title, and the strong walls of the Citadel and Middle City (Orta Ḥiṣār), which go back to Roman times, were supplemented by a town wall constructed by Alexius II in 724/1324. For the 9th/15th century, Clavijo and Bessarion have left descriptions of the Comnene palace, which was located in the Citadel, and presumably was also used by Selīm I and Süleymān I, who resided in Ṭarabzun as princes. Ṭarabzun's walls withstood numerous sieges, and allowed the tiny principality to survive until 865/1461. Hostilities with the Saldjūḳs were probably caused by the commercial links of Ṭarabzun with the Crimean ports (620/1223); in the course of this war, there was fighting around Sinop, and an attack against Ṭarabzun itself. In 628/1231, after a lost battle against the Saldjūḳs, the remnants of the defeated Khwārazm-

s̲h̲āh's army sought refuge on Trapezuntine territory. The commercial importance of the town during the 7th/13th century was considerable, as caravans to or from Persia brought goods for trans-shipment. The Venetians having lost control over the Bosphorus following the reestablishment of the Byzantine Empire with Genoese help (659/1261), the Genoese also traded in Ṭarabzun, concentrating their attentions upon the exportation of alum. Both Genoese and Venetians lived in special town quarters. Pero Tafur, who visited Ṭarabzun in 841/1437-8, thought that the town held 4,000 inhabitants (*Travels and adventures*, tr. M. Letts, New York and London 1926, 131; A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols., Washington 1985, i, 178-249).

After the Ottoman takeover of Ṭarabzun by Meḥemmed II in 865/1461, the last Comnenus ruler of the city was banished from the area. Immediately following the conquest, soldiers who had participated in the fighting (*g̲h̲āziyān-i̊ Ṭarabzun*) and some Christian lords who had joined the Ottomans were awarded *tīmārs*. By 821/1486, most of the Christian aristocracy and the original conquerors must have been obliged to leave the area, for a *mufaṣṣal* register from the reign of Bāyezīd II shows that of 207 *tīmārs* then existing in the area, only 21 were in the hands of Christian *sipāhīs*. Among the new *tīmār*-holders there were numerous Albanians, Janissaries recently Islamised and also some Christians, including the so-called *gebrān-i̊ wilāyet-i Torul* (Ardasa). By 924/1515, *tīmār*-holding had become a Muslim occupation (Ö.L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler*, in *İstanbul Üniv. İktisat Fak. Mecmuası*, xv [1953-4], 217-24; Heath Lowry, *Privilege and property in Ottoman Maçuka in the opening decades of the Tourkokratia: 1461-1553*, in *Continuity and change in late Byzantine and early Ottoman Society*, ed. idem and A.A. Bryer, Birmingham and Washington 1986, 97-128). Ottoman military presence was further assured by an auxiliary cavalry consisting of *müsellems*, local Christians enjoying tax-exemptions in exchange for military service. However, by 921/1515 these men had been reclassified as *reʿāyā*.

In addition, townsmen were brought into Ṭarabzun proper from Amasya, and settled in a *maḥalle* named after their hometown. The Chrysokephalos church was transformed into a mosque by order of Meḥemmed II, and subsequently was known as the ʿAtīḳ D̲j̲āmiʿ. Tradition also claimed that the St. Eugenios church was converted into a mosque at this time. But this probably only happened around 905-6/1500; the edifice was known first as the Yeñi D̲j̲āmiʿ and later as the Yeñi D̲j̲umʿa D̲j̲āmiʿi (Lowry, *Trabzon's* Yeni Cuma Camii (*New Friday Mosque*), in *Boğaziçi Üniv. Hümaniter Bilimler Dergisi*, iii [1975], 91-102). Ṭarabzun's third major church, known as the Aya Ṣofyā and located at a distance of 3 km west of the city walls, was also converted into a mosque. After Byzantine frescoes had been uncovered there in Republican times, the building was turned into a museum in 1964.

Among the pious foundations established in Ottoman times, the most prominent was the K̲h̲ātūniyye ʿImāreti, dedicated to the mother of Selīm I. An account book dated 1000-1/1591-2 lists mills and meadows in nearby Değirmenderesi, two *ḥammāms*, a sizeable number of olive trees, but also taxes such as *bād-i hawā* and tithes from various private properties, which normally should have accrued to the state treasury. The foundation also collected customs duties from some smaller ports near Ṭarabzun. The K̲h̲ātūniyye ʿImāreti owned shops in the vicinity of the *bedestān* as well as the *bedestān* itself, in addition to the land on which the *sarāy-i̊ ʿatīḳ* and the sultan's stable were located. The *ʿimāret* disbursed food to large numbers of people: the officials in charge of the storehouse needed to account for 26,253 *ūḳiyye*s of meat and 2174 *kīle*s of rice, while the same document mentions 1789 live sheep in the care of the *ʿimāret* kitchen (BBA, *Maliyeden müdevver* 15996). The foundation also lent out money, at times entering into partnerships with merchants (R. Jennings, *Pious foundations in the society and economy of Ottoman Trabzon, 1565-1640*, in *JESHO*, xxxiii [1990], 313-34).

While the town of Ṭarabzun was Islamised rapidly, nearby rural *ḳaḍā*s such as Mačuḳa (Maçka) retained many features inherited from the Byzantine period. The *taḥrīr* of 921/1515 shows 2623 households headed by Christian adult males residing in Mačuḳa, in addition to 188 widow households. Tax-paying Muslims numbered 51. Between 865-6/1461 and 960/1553, the period covered by the *taḥrīr*s extant for this region, the Muslim population increased to 101 households, mostly local people who had converted. While many properties held by monasteries were converted into *tīmārs* following the Ottoman conquest, the three major monasteries located in the valley of Mačuḳa itself, namely, Vazelon, Soumela and the Peristera, retained much of their property down into the 20th century. On his visit to Ṭarabzun in 1112-13/1701, Pitton de Tournefort put up in a convent building in the town proper, which was still owned by a local monastery.

For the 11th/17th century, our major source is Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited Ṭarabzun at the very beginning of his travels. Based on the account of Meḥmed ʿĀs̲h̲iḳ, himself a native of Ṭarabzun, Ewliyā describes the (still surviving) fortifications along with their gates. He was especially impressed by the K̲h̲ātūniyye and its food stores kept by the *ʿimāret*. There was a daily distribution of soup and bread to *medrese* students, while on Friday nights, pilav, *zerde* and meat stew were handed out. Ewliyā also was much interested in the ethnography of the area, and provides information on the goldsmiths, Ṭarabzun's most prestigious craft. He further devotes considerable space to the trade in and the preparation of anchovy, a local speciality to the present day. Kātib Čelebi's *D̲j̲ihān-nümā* contains very similar information, including details on fruit and fish (Istanbul 1145/1732, 429-30).

Well into the 10th/16th century, Ṭarabzun owed much of its importance to seaborne trade; Italian merchants had visited the town frequently before the Ottoman conquest, and some of them elected to stay on as Ottoman subjects (Lowry, *The question of Trabzon's* Efrenciyan *population, 1486-1583*, in *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, ii, Ankara 1981, 1493-1501). The late 9th/15th century *taḥrīr* still separates them into Venetians and Genoese. Toward the end of the 10th/16th and the beginning of the 11th/17th century, the trade of Ṭarabzun seems to have been less than prosperous. While in 952/1545-6 customs duties were farmed out for 453,333 *aḳče*s a year, the same farm in 1036/1622-3 produced only 500,000 *aḳče*s. Yet in the middle of the 10th/16th century 60 *aḳče*s had been equivalent to an Ottoman gold piece, while in 1032/1622-23, the rate was 170-200 *aḳče*s for 1 gold coin (DBŞM. 17229). This crisis must have been in part due to the Ottoman-Persian wars, which closed off the city's major trade route, and to the D̲j̲elālī rebellions, which caused many people, particularly among the non-Muslims, to leave the area. Cossack raids were also troublesome. Commercial crisis may also explain the difficulties of the *bedestān*; in 1022/1613, the building (which survives, and may at least partly go back to

pre-Ottoman times) had been lying in ruins for several years (K. Kreiser, *Bedestan-Bauten im Osmanischen Reich*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, xxix [1979], 397-8). In order to finance repairs, the administration of the Khātūniyye *ʿimāret* gave out a long lease and demanded rent in advance. By 1042/1632-3 the *bedestān* was again ruined in a Cossack raid; however, this time the building was repaired rather more rapidly than before, and Ewliyā claimed that much business was done here.

One of Ṭarabzun's major export goods during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries was wine; this came from the vineyards near the town, but also from other localities on the eastern Black Sea coast, particularly Giresun. Ewliyā Čelebi refers to the "delicately perfumed" grapes tended in the numerous vineyards around the town. The wine trade to the northern shores of the Black Sea had existed in Byzantine times, but expanded greatly when the Ottoman closure of the Black Sea largely eliminated the competition of Mediterranean wines. Both Christian Abaza and Russians purchased Ṭarabzun wine in sizeable quantities, until the opening of the Black Sea to European navigation after 1188/1774 resulted in the decline of this trade. After the mid-13th/19th century, wine was only made for local use, and following the exodus of the Pontus Christians in the population exchange of 1923, vinification ceased entirely and vineyards contracted to the point of insignificance (X. de Planhol, *Grandeur et décadence du vignoble de Trébizonde*, in *JESHO*, xxii [1979], 314-29).

In the early 13th/19th century the Trabzon region suffered much from the tension between locally powerful families, particularly the Ṭuzdju Oghullarî, and the governors appointed by Maḥmūd II; in Ramaḍān 1231/August 1816 the entire town was occupied by Ṭuzdjuoghlu Memish Agha. Sporadic unrest continued until 1834. In the 1820s, British diplomatic officials produced plans for the re-routing of British exports to and imports from Persia by way of Trabzon, and in 1826, the first goods destined for Erzurum and Tabrīz appeared in the harbour. From 1836, transport was assured by British, French, Ottoman, Austrian and Russian steamers, and trade increased in the mid-19th century. In his report on the state of the Ottoman Empire in 1861, M.B.C. Collas claimed that, after Istanbul, this was the most commercially active Ottoman city. To Trieste and Britain both Persian silk and locally grown hazelnuts were despatched, while refined sugar and textiles were sent from Britain, in addition to Belgian arms and paper. The trade in livestock was also important, as animals sent to Istanbul from eastern Anatolia often passed through Trabzon (*La Turquie en 1861*, Paris 1861, 209). In 1900 trade had grown to the point that 487 steamers carrying 522,000 tons were employed, in addition to thousands of sailing ships. However, there were constant difficulties due to the state of the Trabzon-Erzurum land route, passable only for pack animals, and Russian customs policy aimed at diverting the trade to Transcaucasia. From the early 1880s, much of the trade between Persia and Britain passed again through the Persian Gulf ports. Trabzon traffic stagnated in absolute terms, while its market share decreased (C. Issawi, *The Tabriz-Trabzon trade, 1830-1900. Rise and decline of a route*, in *IJMES*, i [1970], 18-27). Cuinet, who described the state of Trabzon in 1890, mentions the complaints of local merchants on account of the poor state of Trabzon's port. Among commercially-significant local products, he lists silk and cotton fabrics, in addition to fruit exported to Russia, hazelnuts, tobacco and beans.

During World War I, Trabzon was in the line of fire; most market links were severed, and a large number of the town's young men perished in the Caucasus campaign of 1914. It was bombarded several times by Russian fleets; the attack of 1915 causing over 1,300 casualties and widespread destruction. In 1916, a Russian army occupied Trabzon; during this period intercommunal tensions between Turks, Pontic Greeks and Armenians dramatically increased. In the power vacuum following the withdrawal of Russian troops, fierce intercommunal fighting ensued. In 1918, Trabzon was reoccupied by Ottoman troops. The town was an important organisational centre for resistance against the partition of Anatolia. In 1923 it was the scene of the murder of Muṣṭafā Ṣubḥī, a central figure of the Turkish Communist party recently founded in the Soviet Union, who was passing through Trabzon in an attempt to reach Ankara.

After the agreement concerning the Turco-Greek exchange of populations negotiated at Lausanne, the local Greek community, which had numbered 91,000 in Cuinet's time, was expelled from the area in 1923.

Throughout the Republican period, the economy of Trabzon has suffered from structural problems. Agriculture predominates, but suitable land is in short supply. Farmers working minuscule plots produce tobacco, hazelnuts and tea for the market, and depend both on the vagaries of world demand and government decisions concerning the quality and price of tea. Population densities are among the highest in Turkey, and would be even higher if it were not for emigration, especially to Istanbul. Trabzon itself possesses little industry, but a commercial tradition going back into the Ottoman period, when the town was known for its Muslim bourgeoisie, has helped Trabzon maintain its trade, though the port, modernised in 1954, handles much less traffic than nearby Samsun. In the 1980s transit trade with Iran once again became important. A technical university was founded in 1963, and expanded to a full-scale one in 1982. But since the tertiary sector generates few jobs, the town, with a population of 108,000 in 1980, has grown less than other comparable urban centres.

Bibliography: The articles *Ṭarabzun* in *EI*[1] (J.H. Kramers) and *Trabzon* in *İA* (M. Şehabeddin Tekindağ) contain numerous references. An exhaustive bibl. of travellers who have visited Ṭarabzun, and a listing of secondary literature published until the late 1970s, can be found in Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, pp. XXII-LI. Trabzon *sālnāmes* are presently being reprinted. See further J.M. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Koordistan in the years 1813 and 1814*, London 1818, 337-41; Col. B. Rottiers, *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*, Brussels 1829, 212-29; V. Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient... de 1830 à 1833. Deuxième voyage en Anatolie*, Paris 1834, 71-84; W.J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, London 1842, i, 242; Ch. Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie*, Paris 1842-52, i, 47-53; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt durch die nördliche Hälfte Kleinasiens nach Skutari im Herbst 1858*, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen, Erg. Heft* iii (1860); Shākir Shewket, *Ṭarabzun Tārīkhi*, n.p. 1293/1876, [2]Ankara 1954; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 3-84; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7 to 1938, ii, 81-94; Khalīl Edhem, *Ṭrabzon'da ʿOthmānlî kitābeleri*, in *TOEM*, xlviii (1338/1918), 321-52; A.D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien, Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien*, Hanover 1925, 412-15 (visit in 1858); V. Pietschmann, *Durch kurdische Berge und armenische Städte, Tagebuch der österreichischen Armen-*

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ṬARAFA, a name given to a number of Arab poets, chief among whom was the pre-Islamic composer of a *Muʿallaḳa* [*q.v.*] ʿAmr b. al-ʿAbd b. Sufyān, so-called, according to some, because of his use of the participle *muṭṭarif* (although, by analogy with al-Mutalammis [*q.v.*] and similar sobriquets, we might expect him to be known as *al-Muṭṭarif*), while according to others, it is a *nomen unitatis* from *ṭarfāʾ*, a type of tamarisk (see further Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 115, and M. Seligsohn, *Dîwân Ṭarafa ibn al-ʿAbd al-Bakrî*, Paris 1901, 3-4). Ṭarafa was purportedly related to the poets Muraḳḳish̲ the Elder and Younger [*q.vv.*] and to al-Mutalammis; his sister K̲h̲irniḳ composed verse; and his tribe, the Ḍubayʿa, belonged to the Ḳays b. T̲h̲aʿlaba, a sub-sect of Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*], which also boasted the poets al-Aʿs̲h̲ā and ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa. It is unclear whether these familial ties were uterine or whether the poets constituted an Arabian guild of craftsmen, of the type discussed for ancient Mesopotamia by W.G. Lambert, *Ancestors, authors and canonicity*, in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, xi (1957), 1-14. Whether Ṭarafa was a Christian or a staunch pagan cannot be determined from his verse; no confidence should be placed on his father's name (al-ʿAbd, an indeterminate theophoric), or on the name of al-Mutalammis's father, which is variously given as ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā: see Ch. Pellat, art. AL-MUTALAMMIS.

According to Ibn Ḳutayba (*S̲h̲iʿr*, 91-2), the poet Labīd referred to Ṭarafa as *ibn al-ʿis̲h̲rīn*, the one in his twenties, thereby either referring to or occasioning the legends of Ṭarafa's premature death: see also Ibn al-Sallām al-D̲j̲umaḥi, *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, Cairo n.d., 45, who slots him in the fourth echelon (*ibid.*, 115).

Nothing concrete is known about Ṭarafa. Several episodes in his "life" are lovingly, albeit variously, related by the mediaeval literati, although not by Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ in the *Ag̲h̲ānī*, which contains no chapter devoted to him. These reconstructions show that Ṭarafa's poetry was subjected to an exhaustive philological and biographical scrutiny at a very early stage, with the episodes in his life being "corroborated" by allusions in his verse. Indeed, it can be argued that the values reflected in the Ṭarafa legend, fidelity, to the point of extinction, to regal command, a hedonistic love of life and a fierce, indomitable independence, are more appropriate to a later age, celebrating loyalty to one's monarch and exultation in the Bedouin spirit of one's ancestors, suggesting that Ṭarafa was held up as an emblematic paragon of sorts. Scrutiny of Ibn Ḳutayba's entry on Ṭarafa (*S̲h̲iʿr*, 88-96) reveals two biographies, one narrating his death (88-90), and a condensed version of his short life and gruesome death ascribed to Ibn Ḳutayba himself (90-1). A full, manifestly fabricated, account of the events leading to Ṭarafa's death is given by al-Anbārī [*q.v.*], *S̲h̲arḥ al-ḳaṣāʾid al-sabʿ al-ṭiwāl al-d̲j̲āhiliyyāt*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1963, 115-28.

Standard episodes are: his precocious, proverbial, upstaging of al-Mutalammis (or al-Musayyab b. ʿAlas [*q.v.*]) upon his inappropriate application to a camel stallion of an epithet more fitting to a she-camel; the death of his father when Ṭarafa was still a child: a literal reading of v. 1 of poem 1 in Ahlwardt's edition of the *dīwān* (W. Ahlwardt, *The divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870); banishment from his people, caused by his incessant and unregenerate profligacy; the affair of the camels, variously said to belong to his brother Maʿbad (which is also said to have been his father's name) or to Ṭarafa himself: Ṭarafa is generally represented as the culprit, preoccupied with his verse composition to the detriment of his pastoral duties, although according to al-Anbārī, the camels were confiscated by ʿAmr b. Hind, the Lak̲h̲mid ruler (A.D. 554-69) [see LAK̲H̲MIDS]; the repossession of the camels by means of poetry; Ṭarafa's participation in the revolt of ʿAmr b. Hind's brother, ʿAmr b. Umāma, and his voyage to the Yemen; the vituperative attacks on ʿAmr, his brother Ḳābūs, and ʿAbd ʿAmr b. Bis̲h̲r, said by some to be Ṭarafa's cousin, which led to his death; his breach of court etiquette by his effrontery towards ʿAmr's sister; the letter of al-Mutalammis and Ṭarafa, addressed to the governor of al-Baḥrayn, ordering the death of the bearer (see A.J. Arberry, *The seven odes*, London 1957, 67-8; A.F.L. Beeston, *Background topics*, in A.F.L. Beeston

et alii, The Cambridge history of Arabic literature. Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period, Cambridge 1983, 22; Pellat, *art. cit.*; J.E. Montgomery, *The deserted encampment in ancient Arabic poetry: a nexus of topical comparisons*, in *JSS*, xl [1995], 292); Ṭarafa's death and burial. It can safely be maintained that no historical credence should be accorded to any of these incidents, as they are all reconstructions, based on, often with details drawn from, verses in the poet's *dīwān*. It would be foolhardy even to associate Ṭarafa with Lak͟hmid politics in al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*].

A similar degree of scepticism has surrounded the poetic remains of the Bakrī, from the mediaeval period to the present. The *dīwān* exists in a spartan version which goes back to al-Aṣmaʿī, while the recension by Ibn al-Sikkīt, via al-S͟hinkīṭī, is slightly more voluminous. It is impossible to determine which poems are authentic; which are fragmentary (Ahlwardt, poem 11, is a 14-line *nasīb* [*q.v.*]—or is it *g͟hazal* [*q.v.*]?—combining skillfully the amatory topics of *aṭlāl*, desert encampments, *tas͟hbīh*, description of beloved, *aṭlāl* and *k͟hayāl*, phantasm of the beloved); which are falsely ascribed (such as Ahlwardt, poem 3, the reminiscences of the proud leader of a noble troop of raiders now dead); and which are fabricated to provide support for the poet's legend (such as, for example, Ahlwardt, poems 6, 7 and 16: *hid̲j̲āʾ* [*q.v.*] of the Lak͟hmids and ʿAbd ʿAmr; poem 18, a verse apology addressed to ʿAmr b. Hind; poem 13, comparing Ṭarafa's devotion to Salmā with Murakkis͟h's devotion to Asmāʾ, a piece which has the playfulness and wit of an ʿAbbāsid composition, replacing the poet's desert journey with that of the *k͟hayāl*). The majority are occasional poems, largely concerned with the themes of tribal might and generosity or with the righting of a wrong and restitution of rights (Ahlwardt, poems 1, a demand for the restoration of property, and 2, an expression of disgust and dismay upon betrayal by friends, are examples). They reveal a fluid style of composition: Ahlwardt, poem 12, is a bipartite piece commencing with an *aṭlāl* section (vv. 1-5) and culminating in a lampoon aimed at a certain ʿAbd al-Ḍallāl, of which vv. 6-13 are direct attack, whereas 14-17 are sententious reflections on honour and ignominy (not devoid of flourishes of formal rhetoric), setting the standard from which Ṭarafa's adversary has so conspicuously deviated. In three poems (Ahlwardt, 5, 10 and 17) Ṭarafa expresses his gratitude for acts of generosity towards his people in time of need. They are addressed to the Banū Ḳays b. T͟haʿlaba, the Banū Saʿd b. Mālik and an individual known as Ḳatāda, respectively. Poem 5 is 76 verses in length, while 10 has 17 verses and 17 has eleven. From a generic point of view, it is impossible to decide whether these poems are *madḥ* or *fak͟hr* [*q.vv.*], presumably because of the close tribal ties existing between the poet and his dedicatees. Personal and tribal vaunting is an integral feature of these poems, suggesting that the service paid to the dedicatee is more a bond of fealty and loyalty than a mere poetic extolling of their greatness for posterity. As such, they are indispensable for a just appreciation of the origins and significance of the pre-Islamic panegyric. Ahlwardt, poems 8, 9 and 14, are monopartite boasts of the generosity and military prowess of Ṭarafa's tribe; 8 and 9 are of a more generalised character, of 16 and 10 verses respectively; while 14 is a 22-verse chronicle in celebration of the battle known as *Yawm Taḥlāḳ al-Limam* (the "Day of the Shaving of the Beards") and contains a splendid evocation of the tribe's splendour in war (ll. 11-22). Ahlwardt, poem 19, is a minatory tribal boast directed at an unnamed adversary, whom the commentators identify as the Tag͟hlib, connecting the piece with the peace settlement bringing to an end the War of Basūs. This poem contains a heavily symbolic *aṭlāl*, reclaimed by nature (ll. 1-7), two sections of admonitions (ll. 8-12 and 17-21), a narrative of al-G͟hallāḳ, whoever he may have been (l. 13-16), and two lines of sententiae capping the work, a technique identical with poem 12. There also exists a monothematic poem of 31 verses, treating of aphoristic and sententious moralisings, edited from a manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library by Arberry, *A poem attributed to Tarafa ibn al-ʿAbd*, in *JSS*, x (1965), 149-58.

Conspicuous in the *dīwān* is the poet's *Muʿallaḳa*. There has been much dispute over its authenticity, and, as Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, 82, remarks, "the various recensions exhibit considerable divergence in the order and contents of the poem". These versions are most probably the products of the exercise of editorial discernment on the part of the mediaeval scholars. It is of some 105 verses (the exact number is disputed) and is tripartite in structure, with a *nasīb* and an astonishing camel-description in which the animal is anatomically dissected, limb by limb, joint by joint, by the poet, from bottom to top, and in which the poet eschews the use of any extended similes involving onager, oryx or ostrich, a practice followed by many of his contemporaries. The description is not, however, static, as some scholars maintain, for Ṭarafa is at pains to remind the audience that this massive camel is engaged on a desert journey of consummate significance for the poet and his companion, a journey in which a "man-made" camel responds to the decisions of a man of action. The polythematic third section is a reflection on the poet's relationship with his family, his observations on this mortal coil, and his bitter celebration of his own identity.

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TARANČIS, a Turkic Muslim people originally from the Kās͟hg͟har oasis in southern Sinkiang [*q.v.*]/Xinjiang, where some of the original stock remained.

Most of them were displaced, at the same time as the Dungans or Tungans [*q.v.*] (T'ung-kan/Hui) towards the middle Ili valley to the northwest of Chinese Turkestan, where they were able to take advantage of this fertile region by displacing the Dzungars (also called Kalmucks), who had lived there until they were massacred in 1758 by the Ching/Qing power. Six thousand Taranči families are said to have been installed there by 1834, 4,100 on the right bank of the Ili and 1,900 on the left one (Radloff, 1893, 331). They enjoyed a certain prosperity there before becom-

ing the object of more and more frequent military requisitions by the Manchus as Muslim rebellions in Sinkiang increased, culminating under the Khodjas from 1863 onwards, setting the Tarančis at odds with the Chinese authorities (notably the general Tso Tsung-t'ang, 1812-85) as well as with their Tungan neighbours. Taranči fortunes enjoyed a short blossoming parallel with the rise of the Khokandī Ya'kūb Beg [*q.v.*]. Under the headship of the Sultan A'lā Khān (or Abu 'l-A'lā), in the year 1865 (proclaimed as the year 1 of an "era of Islam" (*tārīkh-i Islām*) which was to last for seven years), they formed the independent sultanate of Kuldja [*q.v.*]. This region was conquered and then temporarily governed by the Russian empire 1871-82 as the "district of Kuldja". After its retrocession to China (Treaty of St. Petersburg of 12 February 1881, which gave the Russians certain commercial and consular privileges), 45,373 out of 51,000 Tarančis passed over to Russian territory and were settled in the Semireč'e *oblast'*, mainly at Djārkent, founded for this purpose in 1882, but also at Vernyi (Almati), and in the Transcaspian region around Bayram Ali (Barthold, *EI*[1] art. s.v.). Displaced on various occasions by the formation of new Cossack colonies, according to the Russian census of 1897 there were *ca.* 70,000 in Turkestan, including 56,000 in the Semireč'e, 5.87% of the total population. This did not prevent Russian influence growing in Kuldja and Kāshghar, as part of a local version of the "Great Game" involving rivalry between Britain and Russia within China, from 1884 (the date of the setting-up of the province of Sinkiang by Peking) to 1962 (the date of the closing of the Russian consulates).

The Tarančis were sedentary agriculturists. Their mosques resembled pagodas and they had numerous *madrasas* (Ujfalvy, 1879). In physical type, culture, religion and language, they were close to the Iranised sedentaries of Transoxania, the Sarts [*q.v.*] of Russian sources of the 19th and early 20th centuries, except that their womenfolk enjoyed greater liberty, not being veiled, until the conservative reaction of the Khodjas. They specialised in kitchen garden produce and trade, and one of the two bazaars in Kuldja bore their name. They spoke an eastern Turkic dialect called Karluk, close to Uzbek and belonging to the group of sedentary speech of western and eastern Turkestan (A. Samoylovitch, in *EI*[1], art. *Turks. II. Languages*). However, the Russian orientalist N. Pantusov, who discovered in 1876 at Kuldja the *Kitāb-i ghazāt dar mulk-i Čīn*, written *ca.* 1292-3/1875-7 by Molla Bilāl, who had taken part in the 1863 rebellion, found differences between the Taranči dialect and that of their original stock in Kāshghar. In this book can be found the dating of the displacement of the "Sarts of Kāshghar", who were to become the Tarančis, to the Ili valley, as occuring *ca.* 1760. This manuscript, essential for showing the historical movements and specific cultural features of the Tarančis, reveals *inter alia* peculiarities of their language: an Arabo-Persian stratum common to all the Turkic oasis dialects of Central Asia, but also a large number of Kalmuck, Mongol and Chinese loanwords which made their language intelligible only with difficulty for the speakers of other Turkic languages, including their neighbours, and this contributed to their isolation (Radloff, 1886).

Certain sources have suggested that the Tarančis are the descendants of the ancient Uyghurs or call them "Uyghurs of the Ili" (Kabirov). However, it is through their cultural and ethnic nature that the Tarančis have made themselves a sub-strain of the contemporary Uyghurs, who were in 1989 about six millions in Sinkiang and 185,000 (half a million in their own estimation) in Kazakhstan. Today, amongst these last, 150,000 call themselves of Taranči origin, which means essentially that they came from the Semireč'e, as opposed to the "Kāshgharlïk" who have come directly from Kāshghar, like the majority of the Uyghurs in Uzbekistan and Kirghizia. This fact was noted by Barthold, according to whom both the Tarančis and the "Turks of Kāshghar" have misleadingly taken the name of Uyghurs. This illustrated one of the frequent misunderstandings of this part of the world regarding ethnic origins and the spread of ethnic names. From the Chinese side, 79,296 Tarančis were counted in Sinkiang still in 1945, after which date they disappear from separate mention in the censuses, at the side of 2,988,528 Uyghurs.

From the beginning of the 20th century onwards, the history of the Tarančis become mixed with that of the general populations on each side of the Chinese-Russian frontier, each of the communities being affected by events which touched their respective centres of power. The revolt of the nomads in Russian Central Asia in 1916, like the events marking the 1917 revolution in Turkestan, was the stimulus for vast movements of peoples across the frontier in the direction of China (thus close to 10,000 Tarančis out of the 16,000 residents there left Djārkent in 1917 (Barthold), who came back some decades later with the formation of the People's Republic of China. From 1924, specific Taranči nature was no longer recognised in the USSR as a criterion for ethnic differentiation. The politics of nationality amongst both Russians and Chinese after 1949 assimilated them to the Uyghurs, and they no longer figure in census reports. Henceforth, their ethnic and cultural strains have been merged into those of the Turkish-speaking Muslim minorities fragmented by the policies and the demographic pressures of the Chinese on one hand, and the affirmation of Kazakh nationality, since the independence of Kazakhstan in December 1991, on the other.

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TARANTO [see ĪTALIYA].

TARĀWĪḤ (A.), pl. of *tarwīḥa*, the term for *ṣalāt*s which are performed in the nights of the month of Ramaḍān. Tradition says that Muḥammad held these prayers in high esteem, with the precaution, however, that their performance should not become obligatory (al-Bukhārī, *Tarāwīḥ*, trad. 3). ʿUmar is said to have been the first to assemble behind one *ḳārīʾ* those who performed their prayers in the mosque of Medina singly or in groups (*loc. cit.*, trad. 2); he is also said to have preferred the first part of the night for these pious exercises.

The religious law recommends the performance of the *tarāwīḥ* shortly after the *ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ*. They consist of 10 *taslīmas*, each containing 2 *rakʿas*; after every four *rakʿas* a pause is held, hence the name *tarāwīḥ* "pauses". In the Mālikī law school, they consist of 36 *rakʿas*. They belong to the *ṣalāts* that are *sunna* and are as popular as any rite connected with Ramaḍān [*q.v.*]. Shīʿī *fiḳh* prefers a thousand supererogatory *rakʿas* throughout the month of Ramaḍān.

In Mecca, people assemble in groups varying from 10 to 150 persons, behind one *imām*, who acts in this case unofficially, even if he should be an appointed official. The recitation of the Ḳurʾān has a prominent place in these *ṣalāts*. Certain groups abide behind their *imāms* reciting the Ḳurʾān once or several times in the nights of Ramaḍān. Even after the *tarāwīḥ*, many people stay for pious exercises.

In Atcheh, every night large crowds assemble in order to perform the *tarāwīḥ*. Usually, however, it is the *tönku* alone who takes the active part in them, the others limiting their part to a loud joining-in with the *āmīn* and the eulogies on the Prophet.

Bibliography: Bukhārī, *Tarāwīḥ*, with the commentaries; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *ṣalāt fī Ramaḍān* with Zurḳānī's commentary; Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, 27; Ramlī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1286, i, 503 ff.; Ibn Hadjar al-Haytamī, *Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1282, i, 205-6; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥillī, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, 51; Caetani, *Annali*, A.H. 14, §§ 229-30; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, Leiden 1925, index; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 81 ff.; idem, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, no. 49; idem, *De Atjèhers*, i, 247 ff.; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i, 214-15 (to be used with caution); Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London and Paisley 1899, ch. XXIV, 481; K. Lech, *Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, i, *Das Ramaḍān Fasten*, Wiesbaden 1979. See also ṢALĀT. (A.J. WENSINCK)

ṬARĀZ, the Arabic name for TALAS, a river of Central Asia and a town of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times on its bank. The exact site is unknown, but was probably near the later Awliyā Atā/Aulie Ata, modern Dzhambul. This last is now just within the Kazakhstan Republic, but the old name Talas has been revived for a modern settlement some distance to the east, on the left bank of the Talas River and just within Kirghizia. The original Talas certainly lay in the river valley, between two mountain ranges which run westwards and end in the Aḳ Ḳum desert.

The valley carried an important trade route eastwards to the Ču [*q.v.*] valley and the Semireč'e [see YETI SU]. Talas was an ancient town, mentioned in the report of the Byzantine envoy Zemarchos, who travelled to the encampment of the Ḳaghan of the Western Turks in 568, and known as a commercial centre to the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hüan Tsang (*ca.* 630) as Ta-lo-si. Its origin was possibly Sogdian, and as late as the 5th/11th century, Maḥmūd Kāshgharī states that both Sogdian and Turkish were spoken at Talas and the nearby towns of Isfīdjāb and Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, Tkish. tr. B. Atalay, i, 30, Eng. tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, i, 84). Recent archaeological excavations in the region have shown that various faiths were professed there in early times, including Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Buddhism, and inscriptions have been found in the Talas valley in the Old Turkish "runic" alphabet and in Uyghur script.

Talas first comes into prominence in Islamic history as the general locale of the battle fought in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 133/July 751 between the Chinese governor of Ḳuča, Kao Sien-chih, and his Turkish allies, and the Arab commander Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ al-Khuzāʿī [*q.v.*], a battle which checked Chinese ambitions of establishing direct control over Central Asia (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 195-6; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923; R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*[4], Paris 1952, 170-1, Eng. tr. *The empire of the steppes. A history of Central Asia*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1970, 119-20; W. Samolin, *East Turkistan to the twelfth century. A brief political history*, The Hague 1964, 66-7; D.M. Dunlop, *A new source of information on the Battle of Talas or Aṭlakh*, in *Ural-altäische Jahrbücher*, xxxvi [1965], 326-30). In 280/893 the Sāmānid Amīr Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] raided Talas, which O. Pritsak believes was now the capital of the Western Turk *Ḳaghan*, Oghulčaḳ Ḳadīr Khān, and turned the Christian church there into a mosque (*Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden*, in *ZDMG*, ci (1951), 288-9; Samolin, *op. cit.*, 78-9). In the next century, a local ruler (*dihḳān*) of Talas is mentioned, perhaps a tributary of the Sāmānids. Talas is now, in the 4th/10th century, described by the Islamic geographers. Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī state that it was strongly fortified and populous, a centre for trade with the Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] Turks who lived in the steppes beyond the town; the second of these authors mentions goatskins as one of the products of Talas (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 468-7). According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, both Muslim and [infidel] Turks inhabited this haunt of merchants, the *dar-i Khallukh* (tr. 119, comm. 358).

Under the Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS], Talas became of special importance. It formed part of Ḳadīr Khān Yūsuf's patrimony, which extended from Eastern Turkestan through the Semireč'e to the eastern part of the middle Sir Daryā province (of which Talas, with Isfīdjāb, was reckoned a part), and after his death in 423 or 424/1032, fell to his second son Yighantigin Muḥammad (d. 449/1057), who now assumed the title Bughra Khān. We begin to possess Ḳarakhānid coins minted at Talas, e.g. by Tamghač Bughra Khān

Ḥasan or Hārūn b. Sulaymān b. Ḳadir Khān Yūsuf (d. 496/1103), head of the eastern branch of the family and dedicatee of the *Kutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*]. In 607/1210 there took place at Talas a battle between the Khwārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and his ally the Ḳarakhānid ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm, and the pagan Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*], which was indecisive but which exhausted the Ḳara Khitay resources and paved the way for the ephemeral triumph in Central Asia of the Nayman Mongol Küčlüg (see Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 342-7; Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 159, 358-9).

It was soon after this, in 1221, that the Taoist traveller Ch'ang-ch'un crossed the Talas River (*t'a-la-su*) on a stone bridge (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, i, 73 and n. 185). Under the Mongols, the Talas region was ruled by governors, who minted coins there. In 1253 Rubruck passed through the Talas valley, where he mentions a Muslim town *Kinchac* = Kemdjek, a town generally mentioned together with Talas in the Persian historical sources of the period (see P. Jackson (tr.) and idem and D.O. Morgan (comm.), *The mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, London 1990, 143, 144-5). It was on the banks of the Talas River that the first Mongol *ḳuriltay* [*q.v.*] held in Central Asia took place in spring 1269, when agreement was reached between Ögedey's descendant Ḳaydu and the Čaghatayid Baraḳ over their respective territories (Barthold, *Four studies*, i, 126; cf. J.A. Boyle, *The descendants of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 139-40).

It is in Mongol times that the name of the town of Yangī ("The New") appears alongside that of Talas, sometimes in the combination Yangī-Ṭarāz, as in Mīrkhwānd (cited in Barthold, *Four studies*, ii, 95 n. 2; cf. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and tr. N. Elias and E.D. Ross, London 1895, 79 n. 3); but thereafter, Talas largely disappears from mention in the historical sources.

Bibliography: Largely given in the article, but see also the indices to Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, Leiden 1956-62, i, and a modern study of the town, T.N. Senigova, *Srednevekoviy Taraz*, Alma Ata 1972. (C.E. Bosworth)

TARBIYA (A.), the general term in more recent Arabic for education, pedagogy (Pers. *āmūzish* wa *parwarish*; late Ottoman and Republican Turkish until roughly the early 1980s, *maarif* and *talim ve terbiye*, most recently, *eğitim*).

This topic at the elementary and pre-university or college level is dealt with in KUTTĀB; MADRASA. I. 1; PESANTREN; ṢAGHĪR, and at the university and college level in DJĀMIʿA; KULLIYYA; MADRASA. I. 2, 6.

ṬARD [see ṢAYD].

ṬARDIYYA (or *ṭaradiyya*) indicates a hunting poem; as a technical term, the word is already used in pre-modern times (e.g. by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ix, Cairo 1933, 245, l. 1; cf. also Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 34, who quotes from al-Maḳḳarī). (The hunting poems composed in the metre *radjaz* are already dealt with in the article RADJAZ; in what follows, special attention is paid to aspects not taken into consideration there.)

Arabic hunting poems are thematically self-contained, in most cases composed in the *radjaz* metre and safely attested to from the time of al-Shamardal b. Sharīk (d. after 109/728 [*q.v.*]; for two pieces of 32 and 21 lines each, both describing the hunt with birds of prey, cf. T. Seidensticker, *Die Gedichte des Šamardal ibn Šarīk*, Wiesbaden 1983, nos. 20, 39). The evolution of the genre up to al-Shamardal can be sketched as follows: 1. Already in pre-Islamic times, descriptions of sporting hunts constitute sometimes elements of the final *fakhr* of the polythematic *ḳaṣīda*. 2. Still in pre-Umayyad times, *ḳaṣīdas* began to be composed in the *radjaz* metre, and thus such hunting episodes might well have been transformed into *radjaz* as part of *ḳaṣīdas*. 3. From *ca.* 80/700 onwards, when *radjaz* poetry was experiencing its apogee, these episodes grew independent. This filiation is corroborated by al-Shamardal's introductory formula *ḳad aghtadī* and the figure of the hunting servant, both known from the *fakhr* of pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīdas* (see Seidensticker, *op. cit.*, 15-16). The second step cannot with certainty be documented from the poetic material known to us. Fragments of several *urdjūzas* ascribed to al-Shamardal's contemporary Abu 'l-Nadjm al-ʿIdjlī [*q.v.*], however, seem to indicate that this poet composed *radjaz ḳaṣīdas* containing a *nasīb* as well as a hunting episode, though these parts are transmitted separately. In two instances, a hunter lying in wait in his hide is depicted, who manages to kill an onager (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. ʿA. Aghā, Riyāḍ 1981, nos. 25, 56; ed. J. Hämeen-Anttila, Helsinki 1993, nos. 30, 64). In a third instance, an ostrich is hunted and killed by a horseman, which is close to the aristocratic type of hunt known from the ancient *ḳaṣīdas* (ed. Aghā, no. 4; ed. Hämeen, no. 2): fragments of a *nasīb*, however, are not transmitted in this last case. Besides, the formula *ḳad aghtadī* is not employed by Abu 'l-Nadjm.

Pieces such as al-Shamardal's *radjaz* poem no. 20, with the formulaic *ḳad aghtadī* introduction, the mentioning of dawn as the time of departure, the devotion of the main part to the description of the hunting animal in action, and the final part relating the preparation of the hunters' meal, have determined the shape of *ṭardiyyas* of later times to a great extent. Several decades after him, a somewhat obscure *rādjiz* named Ghaylān b. Ḥurayth composed two hunting poems (cf. *Five Rağaz collections*, ed. Hämeen-Anttila, Helsinki 1995, 219-20 no. 3, 221 no. 7), the first of which seems to imitate al-Shamardal's poem no. 20 (or was contaminated with it in the course of transmission). We are first on firm ground with the *ṭardiyyāt* of Abū Nuwās (d. *ca.* 200/815 [*q.v.*]). He has left a large number of hunting poems, 30 pieces being undisputed in authorship, many others stemming from him with high probability (see *Dīwān*, ed. E. Wagner, ii, Wiesbaden 1972, 176-327; ed. A.ʿA. al-Ghazālī, Beirut 1953, 624-71). Metres other than the *radjaz* are rarely employed (he has only four poems in *sarīʿ* and *madīd*); besides *ḳad aghtadī* and an introductory *lammā* (cf. already al-Shamardal, nos. 22, 26, and Ghaylān b. Ḥurayth, no. 7), he would start with *anʿatu* and *yā rubba* as opening expressions. In the final parts of his *ṭardiyyāt*, we often find an enumeration of the animals killed (cf. already al-Shamardal, no. 20, ll. 26-7), descriptions of their preparation as food and concluding expressions as, for example, *yā laka min* or *niʿma 'l-rafīku/'l-khalīlu*, both said in praise of the hunting animal. Introductory and concluding formulae, the mentioning of dawn and of the preparation of the meal are sometimes omitted; the length of the poems varies between one and three dozens of lines, and a great variety of hunting animals are treated (dogs, cheetahs, goshawks, tiercels, sakers, peregrines and merlins). In some cases, Persian words are employed with conspicuous frequency. Notwithstanding all these variations, Abū Nuwās's *ṭardiyyāt* seem to be strongly determined by form and contents.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908 [*q.v.*]), a man of letters and caliph for one day, is the next author who has left a greater number of *ṭardiyyāt* (cf. *Dīwān*, ed.

B. Lewin, iv, Istanbul 1945, nos. 1-53; ed. M.B. Sharīf, ii, Cairo 1978. nos. 66-120). No profound changes have taken place since Abū Nuwās' days. The *radjaz* metre still predominates (only about half a dozen poems being composed in metres other than the *radjaz*, among which the *mutaḳārib* prevails), and there are no new introductory formulae. The structure of the poems follows more or less the schemes known from Abū Nuwās, with the exception perhaps of the concluding formulae, which Ibn al-Muʿtazz seems to have neglected. If there was any change, it was in characterisation and description, above all, by way of imagery. Sometimes, quite surprising similes are used, and by the choice of the *secunda comparationis* for the hunting animals, an atmosphere of luxury is given to many of the poems.

Less committed to the tradition of Abū Nuwās was Ibn al-Muʿtazz's contemporary al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar (d. 293/906 [*q.v.*]), a well-known Muʿtazilī author. The collection of his fragments by H. Nādjī (in *al-Mawrid*, xi/1-4 [1982], and xii/1 [1983]) contains some three dozen hunting poems. Nearly half of these are composed in metres other than the *radjaz* (chiefly in *mutaḳārib, madīd, basīṭ* and *ṭawīl*). About one-third of the poems start with one of the formulae already known; concluding formulae as well as descriptions of the hunters' meal are missing. On the whole, al-Nāshiʾ tends to concentrate on depictions of the hunting animal, hence approaching the *waṣf* genre. Unique features are the hunt with the desert lynx (*ʿanāḳ al-arḍ*) and the weasel (*ibn ʿirs*) and the waiting for the lion in hides (cf. ed. Nādjī, nos. 23, 63, 116, 125).

A later poet was Kushādjim (d. *ca.* 360/971 or earlier [*q.v.*]), who has left 17 *ṭardiyyāt*. More than his two predecessors just mentioned, he closes his poems either by a summarising remark or a final formula (as, e.g., *akrim bi-*, cf. *Dīwān*, ed. Kh. M. Maḥfūẓ, Baghdād 1970, nos. 353, 467). But in doing so, he did not go beyond what was already achieved by Abū Nuwās. Around this time, a sideline had come to the fore in the *ṭardiyyāt*, sc. poetry on fishing with a net. One such piece is ascribed to al-Ṣanawbarī (d. 334/945 [*q.v.*]; *Dīwān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Appendix no. 72), and al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ (d. *ca.* 362/972 [*q.v.*]), who occasionally earned a living as a fisherman, cultivated this topic particularly. Half-a-dozen *urdjuzas* are transmitted from him (cf. *Dīwān*, Cairo 1355, 6-7, 13, 146, 204, 267), one of them with a *ḳad aghtadī* introduction (10). Two pieces are composed in *ṭawīl* (157, 170). With this exception, the *ṭardiyyāt* do not seem to have developed much further after the second half of the 4th/10th century. The genre loses importance also with respect to quantity, though hunting poems were still composed until the 8th/14th century and after.

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(T. Seidensticker)

TARDJAMA (a., pl. *tarādjim*), verbal noun of the verb *tardjama* "to interpret, translate, write the biography of someone (*lahu*)". For the function of interpreter, see tardjumān.

1. In literature.
2. Translations from Greek and Syriac.
3. Translations from Middle Persian (Pahlavī).
4. Modern translations into Arabic.
   (a) The 19th century.
   (b) The 20th century.
5. In modern Persian.
6. In Turkish.

1. In literature.

Here, it may form part of the title of a biography, or, especially in contemporary North Africa, the biography (or autobiography) itself. Hence *ʿilm al-tarādjim* is a branch of historical research, sometimes equated by the Twelver Shīʿa with *ʿilm al-ridjāl* [*q.v.*]. The term dates to at least the early 5th/11th century, where it appears in the titles of three works by al-Thaʿālibī (350-429/961-1038 [*q.v.*]), *Tardjamat al-shuʿarāʾ*, *Tardjamat al-kātib fī ādāb al-Ṣāḥib*, and *Tardjamat al-Mutanabbī*; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ* (e.g. i, 26-7), refers to earlier scholars who compiled *tarādjim*.

Even when autobiographical, a *tardjama* is generally written in the third person, suggesting a distancing from self and an appeal to set standards and understandings of religious and narrative authority. Its components include a genealogy, an account of formal education and—especially for North Africa—Ḳurʾānic memorisation, a list of teachers (often including close relatives, which indicates family support for religious learning), the books and subjects studied, travels, and selections from the subject's poetry, aphorisms, or other contributions to learning. A *tardjama* purports to represent words and deeds reliably and with credible witnesses, although, as quotation marks are not used in classical texts, the Arabic stylistic tag "he said to him", *ḳāla lahu*, does not clearly distinguish between speech and paraphrase. The *tardjama* records the evidence of a person's character and actions. Even modern *tarādjim* contain no speculation concerning "inner" self or motive, although the juxtaposition of anecdotes that demonstrate piety and devotion to Ḳurʾānic studies suggest intent. A *tardjama* provides dates whenever possible, since the ability to date events distinguishes the traditionally educated and the élite (North Africa, *nās khāṣṣa*) from "commoners" (*ʿawāmm*), who lack such distinction. Specific dates thus further enhance claims to authority and status.

A *tardjama* represents the actions and attributes that legitimate the piety, literary and scholarly authority of its subject. Other activities, no matter how significant for understanding the role of the individual, are not part of the reported scholarly persona. There is no mention of marriages, and female relatives generally appear only when they encourage Ḳurʾānic memorisation and recital. In most instances, the family or household contexts in which early learning occurs cannot be directly ascertained from a *tardjama* unless the father or other relatives play a direct role in Ḳurʾānic education. Thus Mukhtār al-Sūsī's (1900-63) *al-Maʿsūl* (Casablanca 1961), a compendium of biographies of men of learning from Morocco's Sūs region, contains numerous entries which suggest that many of its subjects came from households where the father or another close relative is literate and takes an active role in encouraging Ḳurʾānic recitation (e.g. ix, 35-6, 101, 168). Likewise, peer learning, a crucial element in understanding traditional education, is passed over in silence, as are most political activities. Men of learning may be landlords, politicians and shrewd entrepreneurs, but these activities fall outside the scope of the *tardjama*, which concentrates upon elements that link individuals with the sacred religious and literary centre of society.

There have always been alternative forms of biography and self-representation, many of which blend into one another. These include lives of the Prophet and others (*sīra* [*q.v.*]); *ṭabaḳāt* [*q.v.*], alphabetical compendia of jurists, poets, and compilers of tradition; the chronicles of caliphs and rulers; the lives and miracles of saints (*manāḳib* [*q.v.*]); and pilgrimage accounts; and, since at least the early 19th century, memoirs influenced by Western methods and conceptions.

The emergence of the self, a conscious and self-reflexive "me" or "I", as an explicit subject in biographies and autobiographies, an important element of Western social thought since the 18th century, gradually entered Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Urdu literature. Thus Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's third-person representation of himself in *al-Ayyām*, the first part of which was published in 1929, sometimes assumed to be a "realistic" image of an Egyptian childhood and mosque school education, is strongly influenced by European literary forms, as is the Algerian Malek Bennabi's *Mémoires d'un témoin du siècle* (Algiers 1965), originally written in French. The Moroccan ʿAllāl al-Fāsī (d. 1974), a popular lecturer at the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque-university in Fez in the early 1930s and subsequently a key leader in Morocco's nationalist movement, spoke only Arabic, yet the style of his autobiographical writings (e.g. *al-Naḳd al-dhātī*, Cairo 1952) suggests the influence of "modern" representations of self influenced at least indirectly by European forms.

The social and political context in which *tarādjim* are written must also be considered in both traditional and contemporary exemplars of the genre. In general, a *tardjama* represents religious scholars to specific, known audiences, whether an international network of scholars or more regional and local ones. Indeed, for a younger generation of state-educated North Africans, *tardjama* implies a traditional form of biographical narrative and religious authority; the term is not used for more "modern" forms of biography and autobiography. Until the availability of printing in the 19th century for Morocco and the 1970s for the ʿUmānī interior, *tardjama*s circulated only in manuscript form through networks of religious scholars known to one another. Thus access to *tardjama*s, as well as the ability to create them, implied religious and scholarly authority. Well after the introduction of printing, *tardjama*s continued to circulate in manuscript form. For instance, al-Sūsī's *Maʿsūl*, cited above, circulated for at least two decades prior to its private printing in 1961. In the Ibāḍī interior of northern ʿUmān, several compilations of *tarādjim* continue to circulate only as manuscripts.

There are several points of resemblance between *tardjama*s in regional contexts as disparate as ʿUmān and Morocco. In the *tardjama*s of both literary traditions, genealogies link men of learning with their distinguished ancestors, and the enumeration of scholars under whom the subjects studied does the same for their claims to scholarly authority. Selections from the subjects' sayings and actions exemplify character; lists of distinguished students represent their continued authority; and the sayings of associates who admire them enhance authority.

*Tardjama*s are not ordered by the chronological sequence of events, although genealogical descent and the details of early studies usually come first. Anecdotes or incidents intended to show character do not distinguish between youth or maturity. Because the persona of a man (or occasionally woman) of learning is linked to fixed qualities, sequence and chronology become peripheral.

In Morocco, as in ʿUmān, it is difficult to separate a *tardjama* from its intended audience. It is almost always prepared in response to a specific request, often for inclusion in compilations that reveal complex, mutually supportive networks of patronage among men of learning. Thus al-Sūsī portrays judges, court functionaries, teachers, and others with claims to learning as regularly offering hospitality and gifts to writers of such compendia, to poets and to others who could enhance their reputations. In this respect, *tardjama*s differ according to social and political contexts and over time. They are not self-contained. For the late 19th and 20th centuries, *tardjama*s were intended for audiences with access to additional (usually word-of-mouth) complementary narratives. In the contemporary era, as in the past, their compilation is a means of securing status and a reputation for learning.

Bibliography: For an excellent contextualisation of biographical dictionaries in mediaeval Damascus, see M. Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice in medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*, Cambridge 1994, esp. 18-21, 149-50, 154-60. For the modern era, see D.F. Eickelman, *Knowledge and power in Morocco*, Princeton 1985, and idem, *Traditional Islamic learning and ideas of the person in the twentieth century*, in *Middle Eastern lives*, ed. M. Kramer, Syracuse 1991, 35-59. On genealogical representations of self, see A. Sebti, *Au Maroc: Sharifisme citadin, charisme et historiographie*, in *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, xli (1986), 433-57. M.K. Hermansen, *Interdisciplinary approaches to Islamic biographical materials*, in *Religion*, xviii (1988), 163-82, offers a comprehensive general account, as does G. Makdisi, Ṭabaqāt-*biography: law and orthodoxy in Classical Islam*, in *Islamic Studies, Occasional Papers*, viii, Islamabad 1994, for the mediaeval period. M.H. Zaidi, *Biography in modern Urdu literature*, in *South Asian Digest of Regional Writing*, v (1976), 99-120, discusses modern trends.

(D.F. Eickelman)

2. Translations from Greek and Syriac.

Tardjama (Arabic), and the Persian and Turkish forms, *tardjuma* (*kardan*) and *tercüme* (*etmek*), are the most commonly used terms for "translation" from one language to another. Two other terms used in this sense in Arabic, especially in the first few centuries of Islam, are *naḳl* and, to a lesser extent, *tafsīr* (see the references by G. Endress, in *GAP*, iii, 3).

Translation had played a crucial role in the cultural history of multilingual Near Eastern peoples ever since the beginning of the second millennium B.C., with the translations of Sumerian texts into Akkadian. The conquest of the Near East by Alexander the Great and the ensuing spread of Greek and Hellenism led to two significant developments, before the rise of Islam, in the two major indigenous linguistic and cultural groups, the Aramaic and the Persian. Among the former, considerable sections of whom had in the meantime embraced Christianity, an initial attitude of antagonism against pagan Hellenism eventually gave place to assimilation just at the time when the Muslim Arabs were moving into Syria and Palestine. Helped by their knowledge of Greek and their training in the study of the Greek church fathers, Syriac-speaking scholars were translating in the 7th century pagan Greek works, primarily in the fields of Aristotelian logic and medicine (S. Brock, in *Bibl.*, section 3). In the Sāsānid empire, the devastation of Alexander's conquests was incorporated into an imperial ideology that simultaneously glorified the Sāsānid dynasty and promoted the assimilation of Hellenism through translations from Greek into Pahlavi, which appear to have

reached their high point during the reign of Khusraw Anūshirwān (A.D. 531-78). As the *Dēnkard* IV has it, Alexander's conquest caused the books containing the Avesta and the Zand to be scattered throughout the world, but the Sāsānids, starting with their founder, Ardashīr I, took it upon themselves to collect these texts as well as other non-religious writings on science and philosophy which were conformable to Zoroastrian teachings (M. Shaki, *The Dēnkard account of the history of the Zoroastrian scriptures*, in *ArO*, xlix [1981], 119). In this fashion, philosophical and scientific writings of all cultures were seen as ultimately either derived from or conformable with the Avesta, and translation as the means to "repatriate" them into Persian. This culture of translation in late Sāsānid times, officially sponsored by the state, continued even after the fall of the Persian empire, and during the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods gave rise to numerous translations from the Pahlavi into Arabic [see the following section].

With the advent of Islam and a new political order, yet another language with universalist claims, the last in a long series, made its appearance in the Near East. The move of Arab rulers and tribesmen into areas whose populations did not speak Arabic made translation into Arabic inevitable both in government circles and in everyday life during the Umayyad period. Necessity dictated that, for reasons of continuity, the early Umayyads keep both the Greek-speaking functionaries and the Greek language in their imperial administration in Damascus. The *Fihrist* (242, ll. 25-30) mentions that Sardjūn b. Manṣūr al-Rūmī (the Byzantine), who served as secretary to the first Umayyad caliphs from Muʿāwiya to ʿAbd al-Malik, was asked by the latter to translate the administrative apparatus (*dīwān*) into Arabic. Also related to the needs of the ruling élite in Umayyad times was the translation, sponsored by Hishām's secretary Sālim Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, of the Greek mirror for princes literature in the form of correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander the Great (M. Grignaschi, *Le roman épistolaire classique*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxx [1967], 223, following the *Fihrist*, 117, l. 30). Similar needs must have occasioned the translation of the Syriac medical compendium (*kunnāsh*) of Ahrun [*q.v.* in Suppl.] by Māsardjawayh [*q.v.*], allegedly for Marwān I or ʿUmar II, if indeed the sources in this regard are to be relied upon. In private life, social and commercial intercourse in Syro-Palestine and Egypt, heavily Greek-speaking until well after the end of the Umayyads, made translation a quotidian reality. Bilingual Greek and Arabic papyri of deeds and contracts attest to this fact for 7th-8th century Egypt; the practice was doubtless ubiquitous. Due also to the existence of numerous Greek speakers in these areas, translation from the Greek must have been easily available on an individual basis to everybody, scholar or otherwise. Even as late as the 4th/10th century, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī relates how he asked a Greek prisoner of war and his son to translate orally for him a text on Graeco-Roman history (cited by F. Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 74 n. 1). All these activities of translation during the Umayyad period are instances of random and *ad hoc* accommodation to the needs of the times, generated by Arab rule over non-Arab peoples. Deliberate and planned scholarly interest in the translation of Greek works (and Syriac works inspired by Greek) into Arabic appears not to have been present in Umayyad times. The report that the prince Khālid b. Yazīd [*q.v.*] had had Greek books on alchemy, astrology, and other sciences translated into Arabic has been demonstrated to be a later fabrication (M. Ullmann, *Ḫālid ibn Yazīd und die Alchemie. Eine Legende*, in *Isl.*, lv [1978], 181-218).

It was with the accession of the ʿAbbāsids to power and the transfer of the seat of the caliphate to Baghdād under al-Manṣūr that translation into Arabic from Greek (on occasion through Pahlavi or Syriac intermediaries) became a movement, a historically significant social phenomenon. What sets the translation movement in Baghdād apart from the incidental translation activities of Umayyad times and other periods of Islamic history is that it lasted uninterruptedly for well over two centuries, that it was commissioned by both the ʿAbbāsid aristocracy and the majority of all literate classes of Baghdādī society, that it was financially supported with an enormous outlay of funds, both public and private, and that it eventually proceeded on the basis of a scholarly methodology and philological exactitude that spanned generations and reflected, in the final analysis, a social attitude; more than any other characteristic it defines the public culture of early Baghdādī society. At the end of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement, the majority of pagan Greek books on science and philosophy (high literature and pagan history were excluded) that were available in Late Antiquity throughout the eastern Byzantine empire and the Near East had been translated into Arabic. To these should be added a few other marginal genres of writings, such as Byzantine military manuals, popular collections of wisdom sayings (gnomologia), and even books on falconry (for details, see *Bibl.*, section 2). In sheer quantity of volumes translated, let alone in quality of translation, the achievement was stupendous.

Historical sources credit al-Manṣūr with having initiated the translation movement (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* viii, 286 ff.; Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, 48; Ibn Khaldūn-Rosenthal, iii, 115). The ʿAbbāsids came into power as the result of a civil war, and al-Manṣūr addressed the task of reconciling the different interest groups that participated in the ʿAbbāsid cause and legitimising the rule of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty in their eyes by expanding his imperial ideology to include the concerns of factions that were carriers of Sāsānid culture. These included, among others, Persianised Arabs and Aramaeans, Persian converts to Islam, and especially Zoroastrian Persians—at the time of al-Manṣūr still the majority of Persians—who, as a number of Persian revivalist insurrections of the time (like that of Sunbādh [*q.v.*]) indicates, had to be convinced that the Islamic conquests were irreversible. This was done by promulgating the view that the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, in addition to being direct descended from the Prophet, was at the same time the successor of the ancient imperial dynasties in Mesopotamia, culminating in the Sāsānids. As the most effective means for the diffusion of this ideology, al-Manṣūr incorporated the translation culture of the Sāsānids as part of his overall imperial ideology, and employed the same technique as the Zoroastrians did for spreading *their* millennarianism: astrological history (political astrology), i.e. accounts and predictions of dynastic reigns in terms of cyclical periods governed by the stars [see ḲIRĀN]. His court astrologer, Abū Sahl b. Nawbakht (see D. Pingree in *EIr*, i, 369), composed a book in which he incorporated the account of the transmission and preservation of the sciences from *Dēnkard* IV (mentioned above) and placed heavy emphasis on the role of translation in the renewal of knowledge as ordained by the stars for each people (fragment from the *K. al-Nahmaṭān*, quoted in the *Fihrist*, 238-9; see Pingree, *The Thousands of Abū Maʿshar*,

London 1968, 7 ff.). Astrological history performed for al-Manṣūr and his immediate successors both a political function in that it presented the political dominion of the ʿAbbāsid state, whose cycle was just beginning, as ordained by the stars and ultimately by God, and hence inevitable, and an ideological function in that it inculcated the view of the ʿAbbāsids as the legitimate successors, in the grand astrological scheme of things, of the ancient Mesopotamian empires, something which entailed translation of ancient texts as part of the renewal of sciences incumbent upon each imperial dynasty. Al-Manṣūr's adoption of this aspect of Sāsānid ideology and its culture of translation indirectly initiated the Graeco-Arabic translation movement and gave it official sanction.

The initial translations of Greek works were made from Pahlavi intermediaries or compilations (Duneau, Nallino, Kunitzsch, in *Bibl.*, section 6), and they were preponderantly of astrological character, as ʿAbbāsid interest in political astrology required. However, the translation movement was further invigorated and its role enhanced also by other causes which uniquely combined to sustain it for well over two centuries. The exigencies of religio-political confrontation played a major role. Religious debate within Islam and polemics between Islam and other religions became particularly acute after the ʿAbbāsids came to power, both because the revolution raised expectations that were bound to be thwarted and because of the universalist claims of Islam as a religion put forth by the new imperial ideology. Under al-Mahdī, attempts to resolve the conflict were on occasion violent—like his persecution of the Manichaeans who, long suppressed under the Sāsānids, re-emerged during the Umayyad period and returned en masse to ʿIrāḳ, the place of origin of their founder, Mānī [*q.v.*]—but for the most part they rested on disputation. The need to understand better the rules of dialectical argumentation prompted al-Mahdī to commission from the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I, with whom he debated, a translation of the best handbook on the subject, Aristotle's *Topics* (H. Putman, *L'église et l'Islam sous Timothée I*, Beirut 1975, 106). Within Islam, there was injected into theological discussion a cosmological element, and in particular atomism, apparently by the Manichean sects (the Bardesanites; cf. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, Berlin 1991, i, 418 ff.; A. Dhanani, *The physical theory of Kalām*, Leiden 1994, 182 ff.). The need for an alternative cosmology occasioned the translation of Aristotle's *Physics*, a work which, like the *Topics*, was to be re-translated repeatedly. Further development of such discussions eventually led, by the middle of the 3rd/9th century, to the translation, in the circle of al-Kindī [*q.v.*], of theologically significant Aristotelian and Neoplatonic texts (G. Endress, in *GAP*, ii, 428).

By the time of the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, the ideological orientation given to the ʿAbbāsid state by al-Manṣūr had won wide acceptance and the translation movement was firmly entrenched in the cultural life of Baghdād. Al-Maʾmūn, back in Baghdād as both a fratricide and regicide, made use, among other things, also of the culture generated by the translation movement in order to re-establish and expand the centralised authority of the caliph. He engaged in an intensive propaganda campaign that aimed at portraying him as the champion of Islam abroad and as the final arbiter about the true interpretation of Islam at home. In order to achieve the first objective, he initiated an aggressive foreign policy against the Byzantines, who were portrayed not merely as infidels but also as culturally benighted and inferior both to their own ancestors, the ancient Greeks, and to the Muslims, who appreciated and translated ancient Greek science. The cultural superiority of the Muslims was presented as being due to Islam itself as a religion: the Byzantines had turned their back to ancient science because of Christianity, while the Muslims had welcomed it because of Islam (cf. A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du IIe siècle*, Paris-The Hague 1975, ii, ch. 8, esp. 458-81). Anti-Byzantinism thus became pro-Hellenism. The second objective could be achieved only by divesting the criteria for religious authority from the religious and *ḥadīth* scholars among the common people and concentrating them in the person of the caliph; this in turn could be effected only by making the caliph's personal judgment in interpreting the religious texts, based on reason, the ultimate criterion, not the dogmatic statements of religious leaders based on transmitted authority. One of the public relations campaigns through which these policies were pursued was the dissemination, by his commander and right-hand man, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [*q.v.*], of the dream which al-Maʾmūn allegedly had about Aristotle (this version, earlier than that in the *Fihrist*, 243, l. 3, survives in Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ*, Cairo 1964, 213). According to this original version, the philosopher states that personal judgment (*raʾy*) is the ultimate criterion for the best [political and religious] speech, thereby promoting both the rationalist Ḥanafī orientation of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] as instituted by al-Maʾmūn and the philhellenism of his campaign against Byzantium. The effectiveness of the dream depended on the culture of Hellenism generated by the translation movement, which it presupposed; the dream was thus the consequence of the translation movement, not its originator, as the *Fihrist* would have it, while at the same time it provided further incentive for its more aggressive prosecution.

The impetus given to the translation movement by ʿAbbāsid ideology was further sustained by secondary causes generated by it, which continued to be active even after the original ideologies ceased to be relevant. The ideological campaigns of al-Manṣūr and his immediate successors achieved what they were designed to accomplish; those of al-Maʾmūn, which aimed to re-establish the caliph's political and religious authority, suffered a setback with the termination of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] under al-Mutawakkil and were subsequently rendered irrelevant by the humiliation of the office of the caliph at the hands of the Turkish military. By that time, however, the translation culture had become the fashion among the élite in Baghdād, who continued to support it well into the Būyid century (945-1055). Sponsorship was not restricted to any specific source; the sponsors came from all ethnic and religious groups that played politically and economically significant roles during the first two centuries of Baghdād: Muslim Arab aristocrats, foremost among whom were members of the extended ʿAbbāsid family; Nestorian Arabs who converted to Islam in office, like the Wahb family: secretaries, *wazīrs*, and scholars (Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 312 ff.); Zoroastrian and Buddhist Persians who converted to Islam in office, like the Nawbakht, Munadjdjim, and Barāmika families [*q.vv.*]: astrologers, literati, theologians, secretaries and *wazīrs*; Arabised Persian Muslims, like the Ṭāhirids: generals and politicians (C.E. Bosworth, *The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture*, in *JSS*, xiv [1969]), and like the Zayyāt family: manufacturers and merchants, secretaries (Sourdel, *op. cit.*, i, 254 ff.);

and Arabised Persian Nestorians, subsequently converted to Islam, like the al-Djarrāḥ family: secretaries (Sourdel, *op. cit.*, 520 ff.).

Equally as significant as the support of the political and social élite was the active sponsorship of scientists and scholars of all groups, who commissioned the translation of Greek texts for their practice and research. Noteworthy among them were Muslim Arab aristocrats like al-Kindī, scientist and philosopher (Endress, in *GAP*, ii, 428); the Gondēshāpūr medical heads, the Persian Nestorian families of Bukhtīshūʿ, Māsawayh and Ṭayfūrī (J.C. Sournia and G. Troupeau, *Jean Mésué*, in *Clio Medica*, iii [1968], 109-17); and the upstart brothers, the Banū Mūsā [*q.v.*], of questionable pedigree (see further R. Rashed, in *Bibl.*, section 6).

The translators from Greek and Syriac themselves (see the list given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 203-5) belonged to the Christian churches dominant in the Fertile Crescent: Melkites (the Biṭrīḳ father and son, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [*q.v.*]), Jacobites (ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Nāʿima al-Ḥimṣī, Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*]), and Nestorians (the family of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], Mattā b. Yūnus [*q.v.*]). Ethnically, they were preponderantly Aramaeans, in some cases Arabs (Ḥunayn). Called upon by their various sponsors to translate Greek works into Arabic, they had the pre- and early Islamic Graeco-Syriac translations to fall back on as models; however, this proved of limited usefulness. The Graeco-Syriac translations of non-Christian texts did not cover the wide range of subjects in demand for translation into Arabic, and, having been made for scholarly purposes in completely different circumstances than those into Arabic, they were not subject to the keen criticism and demand for precision. The translators, therefore, on the one hand improved their knowledge of Greek beyond the level of Syriac scholarship, and, on the other, developed an Arabic vocabulary and style for scientific discourse that remained standard well into the present century (see M. Ullmann, *Nicht nur...*, *sondern auch...*, in *Isl.*, lx [1983], 34-6; for details, see *Bibl.*, section 5). Throughout the various stages of the movement, the translations themselves were repeatedly revised with three objectives in mind: greater fidelity to the original, a more natural Arabic style, and greater accuracy in the technical terminology (see Endress, in *GAP*, iii, 3-23, and *Bibl.*, section 4). The translators, who worked as private individuals unaffiliated with any institution (the *Bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] was the ʿAbbāsid palace library whose chief function was to store Arabic translations of Sāsānid literature and history: Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *apud* G. Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften*, ii, Stuttgart 1990, 308; F. Rosenthal, in *JAOS*, cxv, 109a), invested time and effort into their work because it was a lucrative profession. According to the *Fihrist* (243, ll. 18-20), Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī said that the Banū Mūsā used to pay monthly 500 dīnārs "for full-time translation" (*li 'l-naḳl wa 'l-mulāzama*). Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, as a young man out to make his fortune, left his home town of Baʿalbakk and went to Baghdād where he translated, for pay, some of the books he had taken with him (*Fihrist*, 243, l. 18). The high level of translation technique and philological accuracy achieved by Ḥunayn's school and other translators early in the 4th/10th century was due to the incentive provided by the munificence of their sponsors, a munificence which in turn was due to the prestige that Baghdādī society attached to the translated works and the knowledge of their contents.

The translation movement was naturally transformed during the Būyid era into the Islamic scientific and philosophical tradition (Endress, *Die Wissenschaften*, in *GAP*, iii, 24-152); by the end of the 4th/10th century, the work of scholars who wrote in Arabic far surpassed, from the point of view of the society that demanded it, the scientific and philosophical level of the translated works, and royal or wealthy sponsors commissioned original works in Arabic rather than translations of Greek works. Most of the seminal Greek works had been translated; for the little that was left untranslated there was no longer any social or scholarly need.

After the end of the translation movement there are almost no recorded instances, before the modern age, of Arabic translations from the Greek. On an individual level, it was always possible to find a Greek speaker in the Islamic world for oral translation; al-Ṣafadī's informant on Greek matters, for example, the famous scholar Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī [*q.v.*], would appear to have received his information from some such source in Damascus (see *Ghayth*, Beirut 1975, 54). The only exception is the Ottoman scholar Esʿad al-Yanyāwī who lived during the Tulip Period [see LĀLE DEVRI]. Dissatisfied with the early ʿAbbāsid translations of Aristotle, he learned Greek from certain Greek functionaries in the Ottoman administration and translated anew into Arabic some Aristotelian treatises (M. Türker, *Fārābī'nin 'Şerā'iṭ ul-yaḳīn'i'*, in *Araştırma*, i [1963], 151-2, 173-4). This effort, which appears to have been short-lived, is to be seen as part of the trend for modernisation in 17th-18th century Ottoman culture through translations and compilations from European languages into Turkish (cf. V.L. Ménage, *Three Ottoman treatises on Europe*, in *Iran and Islam* [= In memoriam V. Minorsky], ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 421-33), and, within that context, in relation to the resurgent Aristotelianism among Greek intellectuals.

The particular linguistic achievement of the early ʿAbbāsid Graeco-Arabic translation movement was that it produced a scientific literature with a technical vocabulary for its concepts, as well as a high *koiné* language that made Classical Arabic a fit vehicle for the intellectual achievements of Islamic scholarship; its particular historical achievement was to preserve for posterity both lost Greek texts and more reliable manuscript traditions of those extant. On a broader and more fundamental level, the translation movement made Islamic civilisation the successor to Hellenistic civilisation. As such, not only did it ensure the survival of Hellenism at a time when the Latin West was ignorant of it and the Byzantine East busy suppressing it, but proved that it can be expressed in languages and adopted in cultures other than Greek, and that it is international in scope and the common property of all mankind.

Bibliography: Fundamental for the historical and philological study of the Arabic translations from Greek and Syriac and their legacy in Islamic scholarship is the book-length article by G. Endress, *Die wissenschaftliche Literatur*, in *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie* (*GAP*), ed. H. Gätje and W. Fischer, Wiesbaden, 1987-92, ii, 400-506 and iii, 3-152, with practically exhaustive bibliography until its appearance. This to be complemented, for a study of the translations as a social phenomenon, by D. Gutas, *Greek thought, Arabic culture. The Graeco-Arabic translation movement in Baghdād and early ʿAbbāsid society*, London 1998.

1. Sources. The only extant document on the Graeco-(Syro-)Arabic (and incipient Arabo-Syriac) translation movement from a leading participant is the autobibliographical letter (*Risāla*) by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ to ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. al-Munadjdjim (d. 275/

888) on the translations of Galenic works, ed. and revised by G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, AKM XVII, 2, Leipzig 1925, and *Neue Materialien zu Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq's Galen-Bibliographie*, AKM XIX, 2, Leipzig 1932. On the text of Ḥunayn, see also R. Degen, *Wer übersetzte... Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte der "Risāla" des Ḥunain b. Isḥāq*, in *WOr*, x (1979), 73-92; on its place in the context of Arabic philological scholarship, see F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, Rome 1947, 26-33. Only slightly less valuable than Ḥunayn's letter is the *Fihrist*, which derives its information on the translation literature from Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 974) and the Aristotelian school of Baghdād which he headed. Valuable primary sources, insofar as they do not derive from the *Fihrist*, are also the bibliographical works by Ibn *Djuldjul*, Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī [*q.vv.*]. See further, Endress, in *GAP*, ii, 474-6. The much-discussed passage by al-Ṣafadī, *Ghayth*, i, 46 (Cairo 1305) on translation techniques is translated, along with most of the other information on the subject, by F. Rosenthal, *The Classical heritage in Islam*, London and Berkeley 1975 (= tr. of *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zürich 1965), 15-23. Al-Ṣafadī's account is theoretical and does not correspond to the facts, as demonstrated by J.N. Mattock in his article in *Symposium Graeco-arabicum II* (below, section 4).

2. Translated works. The bibliography of the translated Greek works has benefited from the pioneering study by J.G. Wenrich, *De auctorum graecorum versionibus et commentariis syriacis arabicis armeniacis persicisque commentatio*, Leipzig 1842, and the classic work by M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen* (originally in various journals, 1889-96; see *GAP*, ii, 481), repr. Graz 1960, both of which have been now superseded by more recent bibliographical works, primarily those by F. Sezgin and M. Ullmann. For the various fields, see the following (in alphabetical order): (a) Agriculture: *GAS*, iv, 301-29; Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, HO, Erg. bd. vi/2, Leiden 1972, 427-39. (b) Alchemy: *GAS*, iv, 31-119; Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 145-91 [see AL-KĪMIYĀʾ]. (c) Astrology: *GAS*, vii, 30-97; Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 277-302. (d) Astronomy: *GAS*, vi. (e) Botany: Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 70-4. (f) Geography: *GAS*, x and ff., forthcoming. (g) Grammar: F. Rundgren, *Über den griechischen Einfluss auf die arabische Nationalgrammatik*, in *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*, Nova Series 2.5 (1976), 119-44, reviewed by C.H.M. Versteegh, in *BiOr*, xxvi (1979), 235-6; Versteegh, *Hellenistic education and the origin of Arabic grammar*, in *Studies in the History of Linguistics* 20, Amsterdam 1980, 333-44. (h) Literature: [i] Gnomic literature: D. Gutas, *Greek Wisdom literature in Arabic translation*, New Haven 1975; F. Rosenthal, *Fortleben/Heritage*, ch. 12. [ii] Novels: T. Hägg, *The oriental reception of Greek novels. A survey with some preliminary considerations*, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, lxi (1986), 99-131. [iii] The Alexander Romance: *Iskandar-nāma* [*q.v.*]; G. Endress, review of M. Brocker, *Aristoteles als Alexanders Lehrer in der Legende*, Bonn 1966, in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii (1968-9), 411-16; M. Grignaschi, *La figure d'Alexandre chez les Arabes et sa genèse*, in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, iii (1993), 205-34. [iv] Fables, Aesopica, popular literature: F. Rosenthal, *A small collection of Aesopic fables in Arabic translation*, in *Studia semitica necnon iranica Rudolpho Macuch... dedicata*, Wiesbaden 1989, 233-56. [v] Poetry, general: I. ʿAbbās, *Malāmiḥ yūnāniyya fi ʾl-adab al-ʿarabī*, Beirut 1977. (i) Magic: Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 364-82. (j) Mathematics and Geometry: *GAS*, v, review by D.A. King, *JAOS*, xcix (1979), 450-59. (k) Medicine, Pharmacology, Veterinary science: *GAS*, iii; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, HO, Erg. bd. vi/1, Leiden 1970. (l) Meteorology, astrometeorology: *GAS*, vii, 212-32, 308-21. (m) Military manuals: Cl. Cahen, art. ḤARB, at vol. III, 181; V. Christides, *Naval warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th centuries). An Arabic translation of Leo VI's* Naumachica, in *Graeco-Arabica* (Athens), iii (1984), 137-48. (n) Mineralogy: Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 95-102. (o) Music: R. d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, ii, Paris 1935, 257-306; H.G. Farmer, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965, pp. xi-xii, 13-21; A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings*, Munich 1979. (p) Optics: M. Blay and G. Troupeau, *Sur quelques publications récentes consacrées à l'histoire de l'optique antique et arabe*, in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, v (1995), 121-36. (q) Philosophy: Endress, *Die Arabisch-Islamische Philosophie. Ein Forschungsbericht*, in *ZGAIW*, v (1989), 1-47, also in *Contemporary philosophy. A new survey*, vi/2, Amsterdam 1990, 651-702; D. Gutas, *Pre-Plotinian philosophy in Arabic (other than Platonism and Aristotelianism). A review of the sources*, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, Part II, xxxvi/7, 4939-73. Further bibliography in *GAP*, ii, 478-81, iii, 24. For Aristotle in particular, see the entries in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, i, Paris 1989. (r) Zoology: [i] General: Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 8-18; H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in die arabische Zoographie*, Berlin 1991, 117-21 and *passim*. [ii] Hunting literature: Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 43-45. (s) For Christian Greek works translated into Arabic, see G. Graf, *GCAL*, i, Vatican 1944, and P. Peeters, *Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine*, Brussels 1950, 165-218.

3. Syriac translations. See in particular S. Brock, *From antagonism to assimilation. Syriac attitudes to Greek learning*, in *East of Byzantium. Syria and Armenia in the formative period*, ed. N. Garsoian *et al.*, Washington DC 1980, 17-34, and his other articles conveniently collected in the Variorum volume *Syriac perspectives on Late Antiquity*, London 1984; also the articles by H. Hugonnard-Roche, referred to in his study published in the volume by D. Jacquart, below, section 5. See also A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922; A.O. Whipple, *Role of the Nestorians as the connecting link between Greek and Arabic medicine*, in *Annals of Medical History*, N.S. viii (1936), 313-23; G. Klinge, Die *Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen als Vermittler der griechischen Philosophie an den Islam*, in *Z. für Kirchengeschichte*, lviii (1939), 346-86; G. Troupeau, *Le rôle des syriaques dans la transmission et l'exploitation du patrimoine philosophique et scientifique grec*, in *Arabica*, xxxviii (1991), 1-10.

4. Stages of the translation movement. Studies on the language and techniques of translation in its various stages: (a) To the oldest stage belongs the translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Euclid's *Elements*. The former is studied in the exhaustive commentary appended to the edition by M.C. Lyons, *Aristotle's Ars Rhetorica. The Arabic version*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1982; the latter is studied in a number of articles by S. Brentjes; see in particular *Textzeugen und Hypothesen zum arabischen Euklid*, in *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, xlvii (1994), 53-92. (b) Similar analyses of the translations prepared in the circle of al-Kindī in the subsequent stage, which antedates that of Ḥunayn, are offered by Endress, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen von Aristoteles'*

Schrift De Caelo, diss. Frankfurt am Main 1966, and his *Proclus Arabus*, Beiruter Texte und Studien 10, Beirut 1973. (c) Ḥunayn's translations are analysed in the pioneering study by G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ und seine Schule*, Leiden 1913. The language of Ḥunayn's nephew and collaborator, Ḥubaysh, is studied by H.H. Biesterfeldt, *Galens Traktat dass die Kräfte der Seele...*, AKM 40.4, Wiesbaden 1973. A first attempt at a "translation grammar" (*Griechisch-arabische Übersetzungsgrammatik*) of versions prepared in this school was made by H.-J. Ruland, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Sinneswahrnehmung*, in *Nachr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* (1978), no. 5, 196-202. (d) Translations of the final stage, as represented by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā's translation of Ps.-Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*, are analysed by H. Daiber, *Aetius Arabus*, Wiesbaden 1980. (e) Stage of scholarly emendation, i.e. on the basis of contents rather than original texts: H. Hugonnard-Roche, *Remarques sur la tradition arabe de l'*Organon *d'après le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 2346*, in Ch. Burnett (ed.), *Glosses and commentaries on Aristotelian logical texts*, London 1993, 19-28. (f) An illuminating comparison between two translations of the same Greek text, one from stage [b] and the other from stage [d], is given by J.N. Mattock, *The early translations from Greek into Arabic: an experiment in comparative assessment*, in *Symposium Graeco-arabicum II*, ed. Endress, Amsterdam 1989, 73-102.

5. The language of the translations; lexicography. A survey of the language of the translations at all stages and of the development of scientific Arabic is given by Endress, *Die griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen und die Sprache der arabischen Wissenschaften*, in *Symposium Graeco-arabicum II* (section 4), 103-45, revised repr. under the title *Die Entwicklung der Fachsprache*, in *GAP*, iii, 3-23. On the significance of the Graeco-Arabic translations for Arabic syntax and vocabulary, see Ullmann, *WKAS*, ii, 2, pp. ix-xi, and the references cited there. Specific studies on the development of Arabic technical terminology, on the basis of the translation literature, in the fields of logic, philosophy, astronomy, and medicine are collected in D. Jacquart, *La formation du vocabulaire scientifique et intellectuel dans le monde arabe*, in *Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du Moyen Age*, vii, Turnhout 1994. Graeco-Arabic historical glossaries are appended to a number of editions of translated Greek works. See now Endress and Gutas, *A Greek and Arabic lexicon. Materials for a dictionary of the mediaeval translations for Greek into Arabic*, Leiden 1992 ff., see especially Fasc. 1, Introduction and List of Sources.

6. The significance of the translation literature. This has been much discussed in secondary literature. Among the most important contributions are the following, listed in chronological order:

G. Flügel, *Dissertatio de arabicis scriptorum graecorum interpretibus*, in *Memoriam anniversariam... Scholae Regiae Afranae... celebrandam indicit... Baumgarten-Crusius... Rector et Professor I.*, Misenae (Meissen) 1841, 3-38; C.A. Nallino, *Tracce di opere greche giunte agli arabi per trafila pehlevica*, in T.W. Arnold and R.A. Nicholson (eds.), *A volume of Oriental studies presented to E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 345-63, repr. in Maria Nallino (ed.), *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, Rome 1948, vi, 285-303; J. Ruska, *Über das Fortleben der antiken Wissenschaften im Orient*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Mathematik, der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, x (1927), 112-35; H.H. Schaeder, *Der Orient und das griechische Erbe*, in *Die Antike*, iv (1928), 226-65, repr. in his *Der Mensch in Orient und Okzident*, Munich 1960, 107-61; W. Jaeger, *Die Antike und das Problem der Internationalität der Geisteswissenschaften*, in *Inter Nationes*, i, Berlin 1931; C.H. Becker, *Das Erbe der Antike im Orient und Okzident*, Leipzig 1931; M. Plessner, *Die Geschichte der Wissenschaften im Islam*, Philosophie und Geschichte 31, Tübingen 1931; J. Schacht, *Über den Hellenismus in Baghdad und Cairo im 11. Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 526-45; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Islam and Hellenism*, in *Scientia* (*Rivista di Scienza*), lxxxv (1950), 21-7; R. Paret, *Der Islam und das griechische Bildungsgut*, Philosophie und Geschichte 70, Tübingen 1950; B. Spuler, *Hellenistisches Denken im Islam*, in *Saeculum*, v (1954), 179-93; P. Thillet, *Sagesse grecque et philosophie musulmane*, in *Les Mardis de Dar el Salam*, 1955, 55-93; R. Walzer, *On the legacy of the Classics in the Islamic world*, in *Festschrift Bruno Snell*, Munich 1956, 189-96, repr. in his *Greek Into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 29-37; Jörg Kraemer, *Das Problem der islamischen Kulturgeschichte*, Tübingen 1959; H. Gätje, *Gedanken zur Problematik der islamischen Kulturgeschicht*, in *Die Welt als Geschichte*, xx (1960), 157-67; R. Walzer, *Arabische Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, in *Miscellanea Medievalia*, ix (1962), 179-95; S.D. Goitein, *Between Hellenism and Renaissance—Islam, the intermediate civilization*, in *Islamic Studies*, ii (1963), 217-33; A. Dietrich, *Islam und Abendland*, in *Neue Sammlung, Göttinger Blätter für Kultur und Erziehung*, v (1965), 37-53; H.L. Gottschalk, *Die Rezeption der antiken Wissenschaften durch den Islam*, in *Anzeiger der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, cii/7 (1965), 111-34; J.-F. Duneau, *Quelques aspects de la pénétration de l'hellénisme dans l'empire perse sassanide* (*IVe-VIIe siècles*), in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. P. Gallais and Y.-J. Riou, Poitiers 1966, i, 13-22; M. Plessner, *Die Bedeutung der Wissenschaftsgeschichte für das Verständnis der geistigen Welt des Islams*, Philosophie und Geschichte 82, Tübingen 1966; F. Gabrieli, *Griechentum und Islam—eine Kulturbegegnung*, in *Antaios*, ix (1968), 513-32; F. Rundgren, *Arabische Literatur und orientalische Antike*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xix-xx (1970-1), 81-124; P. Kunitzsch, *Über das Frühstadium der arabischen Aneignung antiken Gutes*, in *Saeculum*, xxvi (1975), 268-82; P. Kunitzsch, *Zur Problematik und Interpretation der arabischen Übersetzungen antiker Texte*, in *Oriens*, xxv-xxvi (1976), 116-32; S. Ṭaha, *al-Taʿrīb wa-kibār al-muʿarribīn fī 'l-Islām*, in *Sumer*, xxxii (1976), 339-89; Ch. Toll, *Arabische Wissenschaft und griechisches Erbe. Die Rezeption der griechischen Antike und die Blüte der Wissenschaften in der klassischen Periode des Islam*, in A. Mercier, *Islam und Abendland. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Bern and Frankfurt 1976, 31-57; R. Arnaldez, *L'Histoire de la pensée grecque vue par les arabes*, in *Bull. de la Société Française de Philosophie*, lxxii/3 (1978), 117-68; H. Daiber, *Anfänge und Entstehung der Wissenschaft im Islam*, in *Saeculum*, xxix (1978) 356-66; F. Klein-Franke, *Die klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam*, Darmstadt 1980, reviewed by G. Strohmaier, in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, lxv (1981), 200-2; J. Fück, *Hellenismus und Islam*, in his *Arabische Kultur und Islam im Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. M. Fleischhammer, Weimar 1981, 272-88; A. Bausani, *L'eredità greca nel mondo musulmano*, in *Contributo*, vii/2 (1983), 3-14; L.E. Goodman, *The Greek impact on Arabic literature*, in A.F.L. Beeston et alii (eds.), *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period. The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*, i, Cambridge 1983, 460-82; Daiber, *Semitische Sprachen als Kulturvermittler zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, in *ZDMG*,

cxxxvi (1986), 292-313; Ṣ.A. al-ʿAlī, *al-ʿIlm al-ighrīkī, mukawwimātuhu wa-nakluhu ilā ʾl-ʿarabiyya*, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrākī*, xxxvii/4 (1986), 3-56; A.I. Sabra, *The appropriation and subsequent naturalization of Greek science in medieval Islam. A preliminary statement*, in *History of Science*, xxv (1987), 223-43; R. Rashed, *Problems of the transmission of Greek scientific thought into Arabic. Examples from mathematics and optics*, in *History of Science*, xxvii (1989), 199-209; D.J. Wasserstein, *Greek science in Islam. Islamic scholars as successors to the Greeks*, in *Hermathena*, cxlvii (1989), 57-72; Goodman, *The translation of Greek materials into Arabic*, in M.J.L. Young *et alii* (eds.) *Religion, learning and science in the ʿAbbasid period. The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*, iii, Cambridge 1990, 477-97; G. Endress, *"Der erste Lehrer." Der arabische Aristoteles und das Konzept der Philosophie im Islam*, in *Gottes ist der Orient, Gottes ist der Okzident, Festschrift für Abdoldjavad Falaturi* (ed. U. Tworuschka), Cologne-Vienna 1991, 151-81; J.L. Berggren, *Islamic acquisition of the Foreign Sciences. A cultural perspective*, in *American Jnal. of Islamic Social Studies*, ix (1992), 310-24. (D. Gutas)

3. Translations from Middle Persian (Pahlavī).

Translations of Middle Persian books were an important vehicle of cultural influences from Sāsānid Persia, but also from India and Greece. Two principal waves of transmission can be distinguished. For one, the translations from Middle Persian to Arabic made during the early ʿAbbāsid period, first and most famously by Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ (d. *ca.* 137/755 [*q.v.*]). Then, beginning about two centuries later, we find translations of Sāsānid books, either from Arabic or directly from Middle Persian, into New Persian, notably under the patronage of the Sāmānids. Although the number of books translated in both waves must have been very great indeed, only a small portion has survived till the present, and of these only a minute number have come down to us in the original language as well. The reason for this is that the Middle Persian books that have been preserved by Zoroastrians are almost entirely of religious content, while those translated by (or for) Muslims were virtually without exception of a non-religious nature. Thus the extant corpus of Middle Persian books and that of Arabic (or New Persian) translations from the Middle Persian complement one another and overlap only to a very small degree.

The largest portion of the extant Arabic translations is represented by what can broadly be called wisdom literature (Persian *andarz*), either in the form of isolated wise maxims, or else of wisdom embedded in stories of vaguely didactic content. By far the most famous work of this genre is the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], translated by Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ from a source in Middle Persian (now lost, but largely reconstructable from an extant Syriac translation), which in turn derived for the most part from extant Sanskrit works of political science (*arthaśāstra*). Other much-read works of a similar nature are the book of *Bilawhar wa-Būdhāsaf* [*q.v.*], which derives, presumably via a lost Sāsānid work, from an Indian account of the life of the Buddha, and *Sindbād and the seven viziers* [see sindbād al-ḥakīm], of which the lost Sāsānid original would appear to have been influenced by, rather than translated from, Indian sources. All three of these books were put into Arabic verse already by Abān al-Lāḥikī (d. *ca.* 200/815 [*q.v.*]), but the extant Arabic versions of the last two are anonymous and relatively late.

But wisdom can also be dispensed without an encompassing narrative, as it is, for example, in Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ's *Kitāb Ādāb al-kabīr*, a collection of maxims presumably taken from Persian books, but not specifically attributed. Paraenetic works attributed (rightly or wrongly) to one or another of the Sāsānid kings include a "testament" (*ʿahd*) of Ardashīr and a *Kārnāmadj* of Anūshīrwān (both preserved in Miskawayh's *Tadjārib al-umam* and translated by Grignaschi; the former has also been edited by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1389/1967). A *Kitāb al-Tādj fī sīrat Anūshīrwān*, attributed to Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ, has likewise been edited and translated by Grignaschi. See also the article tansar (letter of). A very large number of didactic sayings are credited either to specified ancient Persian sages, or merely to "the Persians" in the classic Arabic *adab* collections of al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, al-Thaʿālibī, etc., and a small number of these dicta have been traced also to extant Middle Persian books. Of special interest is Miskawayh's Arabic *Djāwēdhān khiradh*, which, beside much other material, contains a collection of sayings by Ādhurbādh son of Māraspand, most of which occur, though in a different order, in two extant Middle Persian collections ascribed to the same sage, and a lengthy "memorandum" ascribed to Buzurgmihr [*q.v.*, though the information in the article is mostly wrong], this also extant in the original language. The same book contains at least two (unattributed) sayings found also in the extant Middle Persian *Handarz of Ōshnar*.

Sāsānid historical literature was represented most famously by Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ's translation of the Persian *Book of Kings*, cited in Arabic sources either with its Persian title (*Khwadhāy-nāmag*), or with the Arabic *Siyar al-mulūk*. Both the Middle Persian and the Arabic texts are now lost, but the latter is quoted frequently by Muslim authors (especially Ibn Ḳutayba) and it appears to have been the principal source for the accounts of pre-Islamic Persia that we find in the Muslim historians. Authors such as Ḥamza and al-Bīrūnī even mention various "versions" of the *Book of Kings*, but it is difficult to decide whether these were separate translations from the Middle Persian or only various reworkings and expansions of the work by Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ. A Sāsānid version of the *Life of Alexander* of Pseudo-Callisthenes still survives, not in the original language, but in a Syriac translation (as Nöldeke has demonstrated), and was clearly one of the sources of the Muslim accounts of the deeds of Dhu ʾl-Ḳarnayn.

A third genre is what the Muslim literati call *khurafāʾ* or *asmār*, that is, prose narratives without ostensible didactic pretences, often of erotic content. Ibn al-Nadīm gives a long list of works of this nature which had been translated from (Middle) Persian to Arabic, mostly without indication of author or translator. Most are presumably lost, but the book that he calls *Hazār dāstān* ("Thousand stories"), was perhaps a remote ancestor of the surviving book of *Alf layla wa-layla* [*q.v.*].

There is also evidence for Arabic translations of Greek philosophical writings, not from Syriac, but via Middle Persian. Ibn al-Nadīm and others state that Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ composed abridgements of Aristotle's works on logic, evidently referring to the extant Arabic epitomes of three sections of the *Organon* that are ascribed in the available manuscripts not to Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ but to his son Muḥammad. In either case, the works could hardly have been translated from any language other than Middle Persian and must be the oldest surviving philosophical writings in Arabic (see in detail van Ess, ii, 27).

Translations of Sāsānid writings on astronomy and astrology must have exerted considerable influence on Muslim writers, as is evident from the numerous Mid-

dle Persian technical terms occurring in Arabic works on these subjects, and it is presumably also through Sāsānid translations that Indian astronomical and mathematical theory found its way to the Muslim world. As is known, the European term "sine", Latin *sinus* "breast", is a mistranslation of Arabic *djīb* (misread as *djayb* "breast-pocket"), a transcription, presumably via a Middle Persian intermediary, of Sanskrit *jīva* "bow-string, half chord". However, the number of extant Arabic scientific works that can reasonably be claimed to be direct translations from Middle Persian is small. These include the *Agriculture* of Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus (in Arabic, Ḳusṭūs) which, as Nallino has shown, has survived in two different versions, one made directly from the Greek, the other from a lost Middle Persian translation (see also Ullmann, 433-7), and the same scholar has demonstrated that the Arabic translation (lost, but well represented by quotations) of the astrological compendium of Vettius Valens (Arabic Wālīs) similarly derives from a lost Middle Persian translation (Ullmann, 281-2; the fragments now ed. D. Pingree, Leipzig 1986). The Arabic version of the astrological *Paranatellonta* of Teucros (Arabic Tinkalūs), again known only from quotations, also seems to derive from a Sāsānid translation (Ullmann, 278-9). A treatise on the magical qualities of various gemstones, which survives as one of the chapters in the *Pahlawī Riwāyat* (ed. and tr. A.V. Williams, Copenhagen 1990, ch. 64), exists also in an Arabic translation that was pirated by at least four different Muslim authors (see Ullmann, 102-4). On the other hand, the many books on astrology, alchemy and other pseudo-sciences ascribed in Arabic manuscripts to Zoroaster (Zardusht), Djāmāsp, Buzurgmihr and other sages from Persian history and legend appear either to derive from apocryphal "oriental" writings in Greek or else to be the composition of Muslim pseudepigraphers (Ullmann, 183-6, 294-7).

The translation of Sāsānid books into New Persian began under the Sāmānid rulers in Transoxania. The "old preface" found in many manuscripts of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* mentions a Persian prose version of the *Book of Kings* sponsored by the governor of Ṭūs, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, in 346/957, prepared with the participation of four men bearing obviously Zoroastrian names; it is thus likely that the "four men" contributed material from Middle Persian books, though it would be most surprising if the authors had not also used the then well-known Arabic offshoots of the Persian *Book of Kings* (see de Blois, *Persian literature*, v, 120-2). In 339/950 the Sāmānid Nūḥ II commissioned a Persian translation of the *Book of Sindbād* by Abu 'l-Fawāris Fanārūzī; this is lost, but it was still known to the author of the oldest extant Persian *Sindbād-nāma*, Ẓahīrī Samarḳandī (*ca.* 558/1161), who claims that before that time the book had existed "in Pahlawī", apparently implying that Fanārūzī had made his translation not from Arabic but from Middle Persian; however, one must ask whether Ẓahīrī is likely to have had reliable information on this matter. In the introduction to his versification of the story of *Wīs-u Rāmīn* [*q.v.*], Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī (*ca.* 441/1050) says explicitly that his source was a book "in Pahlawī". But on the whole it would seem that Sāsānid literature made its impact on Islamic Persia indirectly, via Arabic translations.

The Zoroastrians in Islamic Persia and in India translated a large number of (for the most part) still extant Middle Persian religious writings into New Persian prose and verse. None of the surviving translations seems to predate the 7th/13th century, and they have had no resonance outside of the Zoroastrian communities.

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4. Modern translations into Arabic.

(a) The 19th century.

The 19th-century translation movement in Egypt and Lebanon was to prove as significant in the Arab renaissance (*nahḍa*) as translations from Greek had been in intellectual activity in the ʿAbbāsid period. Pre-19th-century Arab society had little concrete knowledge of the West. When the Egyptian viceroy Muḥammad ʿAlī (*r.* 1805-49 [*q.v.*]), in his desire to establish a strong and viable state with a powerful military machine, created new European-style schools, he needed textbooks and manuals. Translations of European military, medical, scientific and technical works were made and published by government presses at Būlāḳ (founded *ca.* 1821) and elsewhere. Building on a limited band of competent translators, later supplemented by graduates of educational missions to Europe, the School of Languages (*Madrasat al-Alsun*) (founded 1835), was to institute the training of translators. The field of state-sponsored translation expanded to embrace travel literature, histories of the ancient world, the Middle Ages and the Kings of France, Voltaire's lives of Peter the Great and Charles XII of Sweden, William Robertson's history of the Emperor Charles V, and Montesquieu's finest work, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence.* The peak decades of translation activity in Egypt were the 1830s and 1840s and then the 1880s and 1890s. After the educational system and the translation movement was devastated by the military and political collapse of Muḥammad ʿAlī's régime, translations were made largely on an individual initiative.

The Levant had been provided with books from Egypt and the press of the Anglican Church Missionary Society in Malta (1826-42), until the presses of the American (founded 1836) and Jesuit missionaries (founded 1848) in the Lebanon met the demand for textbooks, polemics and religious literature for the mission's schools and preaching; much of this material was translated. Much energy was devoted to the first complete translation of the Bible, accomplished by the Jesuits (1876-80) with the help of Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī, and by the Americans (1865) aided by other leading writers: Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāḳ, Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī and the Muslim Yūsuf al-Asīr. From

the 1850s and 1860s onwards, the burgeoning private presses in Lebanon and Egypt increasingly responded to growing public demands.

From the late 1840s, imported literary forms captured the public's imagination. The first wave of new fictional writing involved a process of translation, adaptation, or imitation of mainly French novels, short stories and drama. The process of altering the text to suit an Arab milieu led to liberties being taken: passages were dropped, endings changed, the narrative interspersed with Arabic verse, and in drama with music and song. In drama, the principal early adaptations were made in Syria by members of the Nakkā͟sh family, Adīb Isḥāḳ, the S͟huhaybir brothers and Aḥmad Abū K͟halīl al-Ḳabbānī, in Egypt by Yaʿḳūb Ṣanūʿ and Muḥammad ʿUt͟hmān Djalāl. The plays of Molière, Corneille, Racine, and the Italian Goldoni were an early source of inspiration.

Works of questionable literary value, sentimental stories, historical romances, science fiction, crime and detective stories were popular; Alexandre Dumas père, Jules Verne, Ponson du Terrail, Leblanc (his Arsène Lupin detective novels), and Eugène Sue were amongst the favourite authors. Later translators were to adapt Walter Scott, Conan Doyle, Wilkie Collins, Disraeli, Dickens and Thackeray. Translations ranged from Aesop's *Fables*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty*, Wyss' *The Swiss Family Robinson*, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* and the stories of Hans Christian Andersen, to the edifying literature of the Catholic priest and writer Christoph von Schmid and the Belgian Jesuit Henri Lammens. With the rise of journalism in the 1860s and 70s, newspapers and magazines in Beirut, Alexandria and Cairo, heavily dependent on translated material to fill their columns, regularly published translated western fiction.

The quality of translations showed a marked improvement early in the 20th century, when some distinguished authors with a powerful command of Arabic, but deficient in foreign languages, became involved in the process: in the free translations from French and English of Muṣṭafā al-Manfalūṭī and the poet Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm's fine translation of Hugo's *Les Misérables*. Poetry was the genre least influenced by translation; Sulaymān al-Bustānī's rendering of Homer's *Iliad* (1904) was a rare translation of literary merit. Aside from literature, some of the most thought-provoking translations to appear were Fatḥī Zag͟hlūl's renderings of Jeremy Bentham's works, including his Utilitarianist *Principles of morals and legislation* and Edmond Demolins' *À quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?* (1899), and S͟hiblī S͟humayyil's translation of Ludwig Büchner's lectures on Darwin (1884).

Nuṣayr (283-84) gives a total of 804 books translated in Egypt in the 19th century: 55% from French, 21% from English and 10% from Arabic into Turkish. Of these, 677 were translations into Arabic and 113 into Turkish. Most of the translations were in the practical sciences (159), then the social sciences, pure sciences, literature (124), and geography. In Lebanon there was a different emphasis; of a total of 542 translations, with 298 in the religious sciences and 119 in literature (Khoury, 16), 223 were from French and 160 from English (Khoury, 155). In addition to the obvious impact on terminology and vocabulary, translations helped develop a new direct, concise, and intelligible style of Arabic prose, more concerned with content and meaning, and free of traditional rhetorical embellishments and rhymed prose. In literature as in many other fields, translations were an essential precursor to creative and original activity by Arab authors. Translation was one of the principal, if imperfect, means by which western techniques, ideas and values were transmitted to the Arab world.

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(b) The 20th century. [See Suppl.].

5. In modern Persian.

The modern period of translation in Persia began with the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh Ḳādjār (1797-1834), which was contemporary with important political contacts between France and Persia and with the wars between Russia and Persia. In this period, Persians were particularly interested in learning about the military arts and weapons of war. For this purpose, they had no choice but to translate scientific and technical texts from French, English, German and Russian.

Some of the people who were assigned to translate books, reports and newspaper articles for the information of the Shah and the highest government circles, or who acted as translators in state negotiations between European powers and Persian authorities, were Armenians, and sometimes Jews, as these had learned European languages in the Ottoman Empire, in Russia and in India. Missionaries were also made use of as translators. The brothers Burgess were well-known translators from the time of Muḥammad S͟hāh (1834-48) onwards; they took part in the translation of news reports and journalistic articles in the first printed newspapers in Iran (see C. and E. Burgess, *Letters from Persia*, ed. L.B. Schwartz, New York 1942). Among the French, Jules Richard should be mentioned. He came to Persia during the days of Muḥammad S͟hāh and worked as a translator and teacher; his son followed the same occupation. The first Persian to translate books from European languages into Persian seems to have been Mīrzā Riḍā Muhandis Tabrīzī, one of the five students who had been sent to Europe at the suggestion of ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana (d. 1833). Among his works is a translation of a biography of Napoleon, although we do not know from which book it came. He also translated Montesquieu's famous book *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*. Manuscripts of these two works are extant.

Translating historical and geographical books gained momentum in the era of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh (1848-96). In addition, the necessity of having some European journals translated in order to be informed about political events and currents led to the creation, by order of Nāṣir al-Dīn, of the "Royal House of Translation" (*Dār al-tardjuma-yi humāyūnī*) within the organisation of the court; its managing director was Muḥammad Ḥasan K͟hān Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, who later received the honorific of Iʿtimād al-Salṭana (d. 1896) and studied the French language. He put a number of translators to work in that centre on the Arabic, Turkish, Urdu, and European languages. Gradually, the method and style of translating spread from that institution to others. Luckily, a large portion of the manuscripts of the translations made in that office by such translators during Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh's time is still extant in the following libraries: Salṭanatī (Gulistān), Millī,

Tehran University, Millī Malik, and ʿUmūmī Iṣfahān (collection of Ẓill al-Sulṭān); they belong to the fields of history, geography, medicine, chemistry and scientific terminology, such as that of agriculture and photography. The number of books translated into Persian in this period is probably close to two hundred titles. From among the translators of that time, the following should be mentioned by way of example: Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, Uwānis Khān, Mīrzā Raḥīm, Sayyid Ḥusayn ʿArab, Muḥammad Zakī ʿAlīʾābādī (the translator of Hammer-Purgstall's Ottoman history), ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Nadjm al-Dawla, ʿĀrif Arzurūmī and Muḥammad Kāẓim Maḥallātī.

In addition to the Royal House of Translation, the teachers at the *Madrasa-yi Dār al-Funūn* were forced, for the sake of teaching, to translate European scholarly texts; in particular, some of the lectures of the Austrian, French and Italian teachers at the *Dār al-Funūn*, which were held in German and French, were translated into Persian and printed for the benefit of the students (see Ḥusayn Maḥbūbī Ardakānī, *Tārīkh-i muʾassasāt-i tamaddunī-i djadīd dar Īrān*, i, Tehran 1354/1973).

From the time of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh's rule (1896-1907), we know of translations that were made by professors at the *Madrasa-yi ʿUlūm-i Siyāsī* (founded in 1899), such as those that were made by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Furūghī and his son Muḥammad ʿAlī Furūghī. To that category belong books on basic rights, finance, physics, and some of the historical works of Charles Seignobos. Alongside such translations that were made for teaching on all levels, some novels by Alexandre Dumas and histories of Europe were translated by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Mīrzā Ḳādjār. Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī produced a fine translation of James Morier's *The adventures of Hajji Baba*, which has the form of an adaptation, and into which he admixed Persian poetry.

From the end of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh's rule, and particularly after the adoption of the Constitution, translation activities became ever more widespread. Translation of philosophical inquiries, such as works of Plato and Descartes by Muḥammad ʿAlī Furūghī, parts of the above-mentioned book of Montesquieu by Bahāʾ al-Mulk Ḳaragözlü and also by ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, James Fraser's history of Nādir Shāh by Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Nāṣir al-Mulk, some French novels and literary texts by Yūsuf Iʿtiṣām al-Mulk, the astronomy of Camille Flamarion by Ṭālibūf [*q.v.*], and the writings of Jules Verne by Ḥasan Taḳīzāda [*q.v.*], were published. The journal *Bahār*, which was published for two years at that time under the editorship of Yūsuf Iʿtiṣām al-Mulk, paid special attention to the translation of European works.

At the beginning of Riḍā Shāh's rule (1925-41), two statesmen were especially concerned with the translation of European books. One of them was Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳīzāda, who discussed translating European scientific and intellectual texts several times in the journal *Kāwa* and in other articles of his. He considered them necessary for the intellectual and social progress of Persian society. The other person was Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*], who commissioned Naṣr Allāh Falsafī to translate F. de Coulange's book *La Cité antique*, and had it published at his own expense and distributed free of charge among lovers of learning. During the period of Riḍā Shāh, the *Kumīsyun-i maʿārif*, which was formed by several public and academic persons like Muṣaddiḳ, Maḥmūd Iḥtishām al-Salṭana ʿAlāmīr, Ḥasan Mushīr al-Dawla Pīr-niyā and Mahdīḳulī Mukhbir al-Salṭana Hidāyat, showed special interest in translation. It had several history books and also some Iranistic studies translated into Persian. The history currriculum by Albert Malet is one of their major contributions.

After the Second World War, when the activities of leftist groups began, the young turned to translating the works of socialist and communist writers and poets, essentially Russian and French ones. The journal *Sukhan*, which was published from 1323/1944 under the editorship of Dr. Parwīz Nātil Khānlarī, made a remarkable attempt to translate short stories and poems from a variety of languages.

An important step forward during this period was the foundation of the "Publications of the University of Tehran" (*Instishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*) in 1326/1946. Not only did a number of translations appear in that series but, in addition to it, the "Committee for Scientific Terminology" (*Andjuman-i iṣṭilāḥāt-i ʿilmī*) was also created, which worked to harmonise technical terms coined by translators.

In 1953 the "Institute for Translation and Publication of Books" (*Bungāh-i Tardjuma wa Nashr-i Kitāb*) was founded under the supervision of Iḥsān Yārshāṭir, and this organisation promoted translation in several categories: philosophy and theosophy, novel and poetry, drama, Iranian studies, and books for children and adolescents.

At the same time, the "Franklin Organisation for Publication" (*Muʾassasa-yi intishārāt-i Frānklīn*) under the editorship of Humāyūn Ṣanʿatī was founded. Its goal was restricted to the translation or books written by American scholars and writers. This organisation, with the help of several publishers, had scholarly and literary works translated in an efficient and far-and-wide-reaching way; from among the historical works one might mention those of Will Durant.

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6. In Turkish.

The birth of modern Turkish literature in the second half of the 19th century is directly related to European influence, and translations played a central role in introducing new literary genres such as drama, novel, journalism and literary criticism. It was only in the literature of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] that translation assumed a central position and became a primary activity.

In the spirit of the times for Westernisation, organisations founded by the government played a vital role. The "Translation Chamber" at the Sublime Porte (*Bāb-ı ʿĀlī Terdjüme Odası*) (1833) taught European languages to Muslims and trained translators of official documents (see further on this, TARDJUMĀN. 2.). The

Academy (*Endjümen-i Dānish*) (1851) organised the selection, translation and production of teaching materials in science, history and literature for the university (*Dār ül-Fünūn*). The Ottoman Scientific Society (*Djemʿiyyet-i ʿIlmiyye-i ʿOthmāniyye*) (1860) produced the Turkish *Journal of Sciences* (*Medjmūʿa-yi Fünūn*) (1862-82). All the prominent translators of the time were also prominent literary figures who worked in or for these establishment, for example Münīf Pasha, Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha (known for his translations from Molière), Shināsī, Nāmiḳ Kemāl (the first translator of Montesquieu), Aḥmed Midḥat, Muʿallim Nādjī [*q.vv.*]. These people were responsible for setting the norms for translation and in original writing affected by translations.

In 1859, the first translations, mainly from French literature, introduced new genres such as western poetry, philosophical dialogue and the novel. The *Terdjüme-yi manẓūme* "Translations of verse" by Shināsī were the first Western poetry translations into Turkish. He used *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] for his translations in order to make his translations acceptable for the Ottoman reader. Aḥmed Midḥat's translations of fiction resembled the originals in basic structure and line of action, but the stylistic features and the moral structure were supplied by him. Münīf Pasha's *Muḥāwarāt-i ḥikemiyye* "Philosophical dialogues" were a selection from Voltaire, Fénélon and Fontenelle, whilst the Grand Vizier Yūsuf Kāmil Pasha's version of Fénélon's novel *Les aventures de Télémaque* (1699) was published in 1862.

The role of the press [see DJARĪDA. iii] in transmitting new forms and ideas through translations is significant. Newspapers such as *Djerīde-yi Ḥawādith* (1840), *Terdjümān-i Aḥwāl* (1860), *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* (1862), *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat* (1878), and many others which assumed the role of informing and educating the public, made abundant use of translated literary and non-literary material. Thus in 1862, the newspaper *Rūznāme-yi Djerīde-yi Ḥawādith* published a summary of Hugo's *Les Misérables* and later serialised a translation of the same novel, but so abridged that it was reduced to a crime story; Turkish readers were not yet familiar with the full-length European novel and its characteristic features of plot and character. In 1869, Pelicco's *Mes prisons*, Chateaubriand's *Atala*, in 1870 Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*, in 1871 Voltaire's *Micromégas* and Dumas Père's *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* were all serialised. Many translations like this which appeared in newspapers and periodicals aided the simplification of the Ottoman syntax and the growth of new vocabulary; new terms, concepts, and styles were introduced.

During the 1870s, translations and adaptations dominated the Ottoman stage. Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha is well known for his translations/adaptations of French comedy, which made drama acceptable to Turkish audience. After 1908, Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar, Hamlet, Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet,* and *King Lear* were translated by ʿAbdullāh Djewdet, a prominent Young Turk [see further, MASRAḤ. 3].

By the first half of the 20th century, there was abundant native literature being produced, so that the production of translations now became a secondary activity. Under the Republic, a *Telif ve Tercüme Heyeti* "Compilation and Translation Committee" was established in 1940 which until 1958 translated and published around one thousand works from world literatures. From the 1980s onwards, Departments of Translation Studies were opened at several universities. In the 1990s, contemporary works from world's literatures are readily available, published by numerous private publishers and government agencies.

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(ÇIĞDEM BALIM)

TARDJĪʿ-BAND and **TARKĪB-BAND**, name of two specifically Persian developments of the (originally Arab) *musammaṭ* [*q.v.*] form of poetry. In older literature the term *tardjīʿ-band* (and also *tardjīʿ*) is usually also applied to *tarkīb-band* (which could therefore be considered a subdivision of *tardjīʿ-band*). The plural *tardjīʿāt* is even today used to designate both *tardjīʿ-bands* and *tarkīb-bands* as well as other forms of *musammaṭ* poetry (whereas *tardjīʿ-bandhā* in modern usage would exclude *tarkīb-bands*, etc.) With Ḥāfiẓ as one notable exception, practically all *kulliyyāts* of Classical Persian poetry have a (normally quite short) *tardjīʿāt* section.

The *tardjīʿ-band* and the *tarkīb-band* can both be described as a stanzaic poem consisting of a series of short *ḳaṣīdas* separated (or perhaps rather connected) by a series of isolated verses which mark the end of each stanza. If one and the same verse is repeated after each stanza we have (in modern usage) a *tardjīʿ-band* (or "return-tie" in the words of E.G. Browne, who also refers to the repeated verses as the "refrain"). If, however, each stanza is concluded with a new/different verse, we have a *tarkīb-band* (or "composite tie"). The isolated verses follow the *mathnawī* rhyme scheme. All parts of a *tardjīʿ* or a *tarkīb-band* must follow the same rhythm.

It follows from this that the rhyme scheme of a *tardjīʿ-band* is: *aa, ax,* ....., *ax, BB, cc, cx,* ....., *cx, BB, dd, dx,* ....., *dx, BB, nn, nx,* ....., *nx, BB* (*BB* = refrain), and that the rhyme scheme of a *tarkīb-band* is: *aa, ax,* ....., *ax, bb, cc, cx,* ....., *cx, dd, ee, ex* ....., *ex, ff, mm, mx,* ....., *mx, nn.* Each single *ḳaṣīda* part is termed *khāna* and each of the single separating verses is termed *band*, but the term *band* is also used loosely to designate each complete stanza (i.e. *ḳaṣīda* plus single verse), and this usage is more common.

The length of the single stanzas exhibit a variation similar to that of the *ghazal* (and is consequently considerably shorter than the length of an ordinary *ḳaṣīda*). The total number of stanzas may be anything from two upwards, but rarely exceeds 25.

From the time of Farrukhī Sīstanī [*q.v.*] onwards, most Classical Persian lyrical poets have tried their hand at *tardjīʿāt*. As for the content, the *tardjīʿ-band* and the *tarkīb-band* are like a *ḳaṣīda*, and this form may be considered a means of extending the *ḳaṣīda* beyond the limits which its monorhyme form imposes upon the poet. Perhaps the best-known Classical Persian *tardjīʿ-band* is the one by Saʿdī with the refrain *binshīnam u ṣabr pīsh gīram, dunbāla i kār i khwīsh gīram.* A remarkable post-classical specimen is the mystical *tardjīʿ-band* by Hātif Iṣfahānī (full text and tr. in Browne, *LHP*, iv, 284-97). Among the *tarkīb-bands*, special mention must be made of Muḥtasham Kāshānī's (d. 995/1588 [*q.v.*]) *marthiya* on the Imām Ḥusayn (Browne iv, 172-7), which has inspired numerous imitations so that *tarkīb-band* has subsequently become a favourite medium for *marthiyas*. In the *tarkīb-band* of Muḥtasham Kāshānī, each *khāna* comprises seven verses and this variety is called a *haft-band*. The *haft-band* form is particularly common in *marthiyas*.

The modern Turkish terms are *tercî-i bent* and *terkîb-i bent* (with a "spurious *izâfet*"). Sixteen specimens by various Ottoman poets are given in Fahir Iz, *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım*, i, Istanbul 1967, 479-516. The Ottoman poets, too, show a tendency to use the *terkîb-i bent* for *marthiyas*. *Tardjīʿāt* also occur in Classical Urdu poetry, but they are rather uncommon with the exception of one variety, namely, the *tarkīb-band* with two verses in each *khāna* (rhyme scheme *aa, aa, bb, cc, cc, dd, ee, ee, ff, ..., mm, mm, nn*), which is invariably used for religious *marthiyas*. In Urdu, this form is termed *musaddas* (against Persian and Arabic usage, where *musaddas* would mean a *musammat* poem with the rhyme scheme *aaaaab, cccccd, eeeeef, ..., mmmmmn*.) The main representative of this form is Bābar ʿAlī Anīs (1802-74 [*q.v.*]). The Urdu *marthiyas* are often lengthy poems. Anīs has one *marthiya* with 243 stanzas. The well-known *musaddas-i Ḥālī* [see MUSAMMAṬ. 2], which may be called a *marthiya* on Islam itself, runs to 300 stanzas.

Bibliography: The standard description of the *tardjīʿ-band* and *tarkīb-band* is given in Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī, *Funūn-i balāghat wa ṣināʿāt-i adabī*, i, Tehran 1354/1975, 180-211. ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1946-, gives copious quotations from traditional definitions and descriptions of *tardjīʿāt* s.v. See also the *Bibl.* to MUSAMMAṬ. 2.

(F. THIESEN)

TARDJUMĀN, TURDJUMĀN (A.), pls. *tarādjim, tarādjima*, appearing in Ottoman Turkish as TERDJÜMAN, interpreter. The word is of Aramaic origin, and is familiar in the form *Targum* for the Aramaic translations or paraphrases or interpretations of the Hebrew Old Testament which came into use when the use of Hebrew as a living, spoken language amongst ordinary people declined. The Arabic term, and the verb *tardjama* "to translate", was certainly in familiar usage by ʿAbbāsid times.

1. In the Arab lands in mediaeval times. We know of interpreters in the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, some of whom must have been attached to the *dīwāns* with regard to financial and diplomatic matters and correspondence, from the early 3rd/9th century onwards, such as the Sallām al-Tardjumān who allegedly travelled at this time to the barrier of Gog and Magog in Inner Asia [see AL-WĀTHIK]. The near universal take-over of military power by non-Arabs, above all Turks, throughout the central and eastern parts of the Islamic world at this time, must have necessitated the employment in Islamic administrations of persons who knew Turkish. Al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1539 (year 251/865), mentions a body of people in Baghdād who knew Turkish and who could address rioting Turkish soldiery on behalf of the caliph al-Mustaʿīn and his commanders. In the time of the Būyids, Miskawayh on more than one occasion mentions one Muḥammad b. Yināl al-Tardjumān, who acted as a liaison officer between the Turkish troops and the caliph al-Mutakkī, becoming *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* or police chief of Baghdād in 329/941 (see *The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ii, 12, tr. v, 12).

Interpreters must always have played an important part in the diplomatic and commercial relations of Islamic states with foreign, non-Arabophone, powers, but we only began to get information on this topic in the period of the Crusades and after. In mediaeval Spain, the Arabic term entered the language as *trujaman*, in Valencian dialect *torcimany* (R. Dozy and W.H. Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*, ²Leiden 1869, 351; for other Latin and Romance forms, see L. de Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1866, 189 ff., and Cengiz Orhonlu, *IA* art. *Tercüman*). *Torcimani* likewise appear in regard to treaties with the Muslim North African powers (see de Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*). Contacts between the Muslim powers and the Crusaders in the Levant must have frequently necessitated the use of interpreters and translators. The formal oaths taken at the conclusion of a peace treaty between Baybars I and the Franks in 672/1273-4 were sworn at Cairo in the presence of translators (*bi-ḥuḍūr al-tarādjima*) and formal witnesses (Ibn Nāẓir al-Djaysh [*q.v.* in Suppl.], *Tathkīf al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, ed. R. Veselý, Cairo 1987, 170-1). The diplomatic correspondence and the trade treaties between the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria and the Italian mercantile cities and states in the later Middle Ages provide information on the role of interpreters. For the conclusion of a treaty at Florence in 1487 between Lorenzo the Magnificent and the Mamlūks, the envoy sent from Cairo by Ḳāʾit Bay as negotiator and interpreter was a certain "Malfota" (? Muḥammad b. Maḥfūẓ al-Maghribī); the text of the treaty mentions *inter alia* interpreters' fees, *[ḥuḳūḳ] al-tarādjima* (see J. Wansbrough, *A Mamluk treaty with Florence*, in S.M. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford 1965, 42, Arabic text of treaty 54, Eng. tr. 64). Twenty years later, a treaty was negotiated in Venice by a well-known Mamlūk envoy, the polyglot dragoman Taghrī Berdī, described as "Ibn ʿAbd Allāh", who, despite his Turkish name, was probably a Spanish renegade, though whether of Christian, Jewish or Marrano origin is uncertain. In the document, Taghrī Berdī's titles appear as *al-Turdjumān (li-abwābinā al-sharīfa)/turziman de nostra Porta Sancta e la seraphi* (idem, *A Mamluk ambassador to Venice in 913/1507*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi [1963], 503 ff.).

The Mamlūk empire had, in fact, an internationally-ranging diplomatic correspondence. From al-Ḳalḳashandī's manual on secretaryship, the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, we get explicit information on the translation procedures in the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* when a letter arrived from e.g. the Palaeologi emperors of Byzantium or the Italian mercantile powers. The two official *tardjumāns* there in 814/1411 (sc. the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faradj [*q.v.*]) are named as Shams al-Dīn Ṣonḳor and Sayf al-Dīn Sūdūn, both obviously Turks (viii, 121, 124). The staff of the chancery were able to send out letters to the Mongol Khāns in *mughulī* language (in Uyghur script?), and the clerks specifically responsible for these in the first half of the 8th/14th century are cited from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī [*q.v.*] as Aytamish al-Muḥammadī, Ṭāyirbughā al-Nāṣirī and ʾ.r.gh.d.l.ḳ al-Tardjumān, these being succeeded by Ḳūṣūn al-Sāḳī (vii, 294). When a letter for the Mamlūk sultan arrived at Malaṭya in eastern Anatolia, on the borders of the empire, from a son of Tīmūr, written in Persian (*ʿadjamī*), the local governor himself translated it and sent the translation with the original letter on to Cairo (vii, 294). However, when an envoy arrived, via Hormuz, with a letter from the king of Ceylon (*Saylan*) in 682/1283-4, no-one in Cairo could interpret it, and the Singhalese envoy had to communicate the gist of its contents as best he could (vii, 77). See further, W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 45-6. Also, the modest genre of grammars and vocabularies of Ḳïpčaḳ Turkish written in Arabic which grew up in late Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times (7th-9th/13th-15th centuries) (see O. Pritsak, in *PTF*, i, 74-6, and ḲĀMŪS. iii) may have been meant, *inter alia*, for the use of a body of interpreters/liaison officers between

non-Arabophone Mamlūks freshly arrived from the Ḳipčaḳ steppe or Circassia (how the Čerkes newly-brought from the Caucasus, and who may not have known any Turkish, coped, is unknown).

Interpreters were an indispensable class of officials at seaports, such as Alexandria, which were accessible to foreign trade and where the European traders had *funduḳs* [*q.v.*] or factories. Nearly all commercial transactions necessarily took place through their intermediacy, for which they received fees, whose high level was at times a source of complaint. They seem to have been appointed by the local port authorities, and might be Muslims, Jews or Christians. In certain places, a special interpreter was appointed to oversee the interests of a particular foreign power. There were also interpreters to be found in such centres of Christian pilgrimage as Jerusalem. See, on the procedures at e.g. the Egyptian and Syrian ports, W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, Leipzig 1885, i, 429 ff.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

2. In the Ottoman empire.

Under the Ottomans, the rôle and functions of official interpreters at the Mediterranean and Black Sea ports remained broadly the same as in earlier times, except that the Ottoman empire, through its conquests in the Balkans and its moves against Italy, was now in much closer contact, whether through war, diplomacy or trade, with the European powers than had been the case in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times. Hence there is now much more reference in the sources to interpreters and translators (Ital. *drogman*, *drogoman*, Fr. *truchement*).

These may have existed as aides to the sultans from the time of Meḥemmed II the Conqueror, but are attested definitely in the 10th/16th century as part of the *dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*]. They formed part of the staff of the Chief Secretary, the *re'īs ül-kuttāb*, responsible, within the department of the Grand Vizier, for dealing with foreign powers. From this century onwards, we have fairly full lists of interpreters (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*[1], vii, 627), the earliest of these all being converts to Islam, mostly from Europe and including Austrians, Hungarians, Poles and Greeks. A dragoman, the *su bas̲h̲ï* ʿAlī Beg, brought the peace treaty of 908-9/1502-3 from Bāyezīd II to Venice. The Greek Yūnus Beg (d. 948/1541-2) was often sent as an emissary to Venice, and was the founder of a mosque in Istanbul, the Durug̲h̲mān Mesd̲j̲idi (*Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iv, 677; Ḥüseyin Aywansarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat ul-d̲j̲ewāmīʿ*, no. 226); his successor Aḥmed was originally a Viennese called Heinz Tulman. Another interpreter about whom we have information is the Hungarian Murād Beg, who was captured by the Turks at Mohács [*q.v.*] when he was 17, became a convert and an interpreter, wrote an apolegetical treatise for Islam and a trilingual hymn in Turkish, Latin and Magyar (published by F. Babinger, *Der Pfortendolmetsch Murad und seine Schriften*, in Babinger *et alii* (eds.), *Literaturdenkmaler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, 33-54), and translated Cicero's *De Senectute* into Turkish for presentation to Süleymān the Magnificent. Only occasionally do we hear of native-born Muslims who voluntarily learnt European languages, as opposed to learning them by mischance or misfortune or as captives. This was the case in the 11th/17th century with a Turkish cavalryman from Temes̲h̲war in Ottoman Hungary, ʿOt̲h̲mān Ag̲h̲a, who spent eleven years as a prisoner of the Austrians and learnt German in addition to the Serbian and Magyar which he already knew; after escaping, he served as interpreter to the Pas̲h̲a of Temes̲h̲war in his dealings with the Habsburgs and others (see the Ger. tr. of his memoirs by R.F. Kreutel and O. Spies, *Leben und Abenteuer des Dolmetschers ʿOsman Ağa*, Bonn 1954, and Kreutel, *Zwischen Paschas und Generalen*, Graz 1966). In the mid-17th century, in the Grand Vizierate of Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a Köprülü, two Greeks had been appointed as Chief Dragoman to the Imperial *Dīwān* (*terd̲j̲ümān-ï dīwān-ï hümāyūn*), and after this, the office became the special preserve of Christian Greek families from the Phanar/Fener quarter of Istanbul (the Phanariots), such as the Mavrogordatos, Kallimachis, Ghikas and Hypsilantis. In the course of the 18th century the function acquired a staff of several translators, whose head, the *terd̲j̲ümān bas̲h̲ï*, often rose to appointment as Voivode or governor of one of the Transdanubian principalities [see BOG̲H̲DĀN; EFLĀḲ]. It still remained rare for Turks to have any knowledge of a Western language. The first mention which we have of a Turkish diplomat with such skills seems to be that of Saʿīd Efendi, who had accompanied his father Meḥmed Efendi when the latter went as ambassador to Paris in 1721 and who apparently acquired a good facility in spoken French. Only in the early 19th century did it become reasonably common to know a European language, usually French; a forward-looking statesman like Muṣṭafā Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who had served as ambassador in Paris and London before becoming Grand Vizier, would certainly be conversant with the Western languages used there. Hence the Porte's dependence on its Phanariot Greek dragomans for the greater part of its knowledge of the Western world continued into the early 19th century, until the outbreak of the Greek Revolt in 1821 made Maḥmūd II doubt the loyalty of the Greek Chief Dragoman, Constantine Mourouzi, so that he was dismissed and executed. His successor, Stavraki Aristarchi, was likewise dismissed in 1822, but was fortunate enough only to suffer exile; never again would a Greek translator serve in the Imperial *Dīwān*. When reports and other documents from Europe then began to pile up, the sultan had recourse (and even then still to converts, what Carter Findley has called "marginal men") to the teachers of foreign languages in the Army Engineering School, the first of these being Yaḥyā Efendi (d. 1823 or 1824), followed by Isḥāḳ Efendi. A formal Translation Bureau was now set up, the *Bāb-ï ʿAlī Terd̲j̲üme Odasï*. From the 1830s, the Translation Office grew in size and prestige, as Turkey became inexorably entangled in warfare and diplomacy with Muḥammad ʿAlī on the one hand, and the European Powers on the other, making a high level of competence in French and, later, English, vital, e.g. for the correct drawing up of treaties and agreements in parallel versions in different languages. By 1841 it had a staff of thirty, and outward-looking Muslim Turks now saw it as a path to preferment, so that such notable statesmen of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period as Meḥmed Emīn ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a (d. 1871 [see ʿALĪ PAS̲H̲A MUḤAMMAD AMĪN]) and Kečed̲j̲izāde ʿIzzet Fuʾād Pas̲h̲a (d. 1869 [see FUʾĀD PAS̲H̲A]) served in it; by the mid-century it was a vital component of the Foreign Ministry (*K̲h̲ārid̲j̲iyye Neẓāreti*) which had been formally set up in 1836. Under ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II, the Grand Vizier acquired a special translator of his own, the *terd̲j̲ümān-ï ṣadāret-i ʿuẓmā*. See C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980, 91-3, 132-5, 139, 186, 243-4 and index; B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, London 1982, 77 ff., 86-7; Findley, *Ottoman civil officialdom. A social history*, Princeton 1989, 133-4, 262-3 and index.

Ottoman Turkey was not, however, alone in depending till a late date largely on renegades or even non-Muslims for their dealings with the non-Islamic outside world. Other Muslim powers seem to have relied largely on non-Muslims, some of them not even their own subjects. Thus a Moroccan ambassador to Spain at the end of the 17th century had to use an Arabic-speaking Syrian Christian who was an interpreter in the Spanish service; and as late as the early 19th century, a Persian envoy to Europe was accompanied by a Christian, probably from the Armenian community in Persia, who was his only link with an alien world (Lewis, *op. cit.*, 80).

Interpreters were also needed by the Ottoman administration in the provinces, where they were attached to the staffs of the provincial governors, and also needed, as indicated above, in the military and other technical schools established from the late 18th century onwards.

The remaining great function of dragomans in Ottoman times was as interpreters attached to foreign embassies and consulates, thus forming the channel of communication between the representatives of the European powers and the Turkish authorities, and also as interpreters and intermediaries employed by Western trading companies. The dragomans attached to foreign missions also had the function, expressly conceded in the capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT], of representing the consuls in cases before the Turkish courts in which the consul's subjects were involved. Such dragomans were expected to act as the eyes and ears of their employers, i.e. to gather intelligence. In the 16th and 17th centuries, they were usually Turkish subjects from the Levantine peoples who knew Italian, Italian being at that time the lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean basin. Despite the *berāt*s or patents of protection which they held from the Ottoman state [see BERĀT], they were often maltreated by the Turkish authorities, and were accordingly reluctant to deliver strong messages from their European employers. The system was unsatisfactory, and to circumvent it the French in 1670 began to send out boys to the convents of the Capuchins in Istanbul and Izmir to acquire a knowledge of Turkish and become interpreters. At the end of this century, a few Greeks were brought to England by the Levant Company and sent to Gloucester Hall (the later Worcester College) at Oxford to learn English, but the experiment was not a success. The trading companies depended very considerably on their dragomans; in the later 17th and early 18th centuries, the English Levant Company had four dragomans at Istanbul (and later, an additional four students, *giovani di lingua*), three at Aleppo and two at Izmir (see A.C. Woods, *A history of the Levant Company*, Oxford 1935, 225-8). It must be remembered that until the early 19th century, the British minister in Istanbul was indeed the representative of his sovereign, but had his salary paid by the Levant Company, so that merchants trading in the Ottoman empire regarded the ambassador as equally charged with their interests, if not more so. In any case, after 1804 when the British minister was instructed by the government in London to give his whole attention to political and diplomatic affairs, dependence on Levantine dragomans continued for the next three-quarters of a century; a family like the Pisanis served the British Crown almost hereditarily from the early 18th century till 1882. Some British diplomats had long wished to reduce or even end dependence on local Levantine or British dragomans in what was often highly sensitive diplomatic business (though others felt that these dragomans often gave loyal and valuable service). But it was not till the later 19th century, when it was seen that powers like Russia, French and Austria were successfully training their own people at home for service in Turkey, that Britain began to follow suit; only from 1877 were interpreters recruited from British subjects only and by civil service competitive examination in London. See A. Cunningham, "*Dragomania*". *The dragomans of the British embassy in Turkey*, in *St. Anthony's Papers*, no. 11 (1961), 81-100, repr. in his *Eastern questions in the nineteenth century. Collected essays*, ed. E. Ingram, London 1993, ii, 1-22.

By the opening of the 19th century, the issuing to Ottoman citizens of protective *berāt*s by foreign embassies and consulates, bestowing the status and privileges of dragoman, was becoming an abuse, especially as dragomans traditionally enjoyed a commission from successful petitioners for consular protection. Being a *berātlî* or *barataire* meant that D̲h̲immī subjects of the Porte were taken under consular protection and thus avoided payment of the *d̲j̲izya* and other taxes for which the *reʿāyā* were liable. Selīm III protested, and the sale of *berāt*s to Jewish and Armenian merchants by the British ambassador was stopped by the Treaty of the Dardanelles of 1809. However, the numbers of dragomans under the capitulations was now vastly exceeded, as traders and others sought dragoman status; by *ca.* 1808 the Russians were said to have enrolled 120,000 Greeks as "protected persons" [see IMTIYĀZĀT. ii, at vol. III, p. 1187]. Ottoman government restiveness again grew in face of the number of its citizens abstracted from its control and its fiscal net, and in 1863 an agreement with foreign missions was achieved by which the powers of foreign embassies and consulates to appoint dragomans were restricted. When, on the eve of the First World War, the Ottoman government unilaterally abolished the capitulations in September 1914 (they were only briefly revived 1920-3), it refused henceforth to recognise foreign diplomatic or consular officials with the title of dragoman [see *ibid.*, at vol. III, 1188b], which thereafter died out.

However, as noted above, by the later 19th century most foreign powers had begun to introduce schemes for training their own interpreters. In Britain this was done by training student-interpreters recruited to the Levant Consular Service, who studied languages at Cambridge University and then went out into the field. When the young Reader Bullard, subsequently British Minister in Tehran, went out to Istanbul in 1908, he had studied under the great Persian scholar E.G. Browne. At the Istanbul embassy, he first served as Third Dragoman under the first or Chief Dragoman G.H. Fitzmaurice and the Second Dragoman Andrew Ryan (later to publish his autobiography, Sir Andrew Ryan, *The last of the Dragomans*, London 1951). At that time, the Chief Dragoman accompanied the Ambassador on important interviews and acted as the chief intermediary with the Turkish government (see Sir Reader Bullard, *The camels must go. An autobiography*, London 1961, 44 ff.).

Bibliography: See references given in the article, including *IA* art. *Tercüman* (Cengiz Orhonlu).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬARĪ, the Arabic orthography for *tari*, a term used by Western sources together with Latin *tarenus* and Greek ταρίον, to indicate a gold coin called in Arabic *rubʿ*, *rubāʿī*, struck in Sicily by the Fāṭimids and the Kalbids, who acknowledged formally their authority. The name—deriving from the Arabic adjective *ṭarī* "fresh, new"—may have described the grade of preservation of the coins, that is "uncirculated *rubāʿī*",

with the noun dropped in the language of the native speakers. This explanation can be connected with the circulation of sealed purses containing *tarìs* whose weight and fine gold content had been previously verified by the minter.

A first attempt made by the Aghlabid *amīrs* to introduce the dīnār [*q.v.*], a gold coin of 4.25 g, in Sicily failed, and the quarter-dīnār, i.e. the *rubāʿī*, became the only gold coin in use. Under the Fāṭimids many *tarìs* were issued from the Palermo mint, but only at the time of the third Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr does the mint name appear on the coins. The analyses of fine gold content present in the *tarìs* issued by the Arab authorities in Palermo show an average from 80% to 100%, with a reduction in the last years of Arab domination that could be attributed, according to Paul Balog, to provincial mints in Sicily.

The weakening of the central power and the consequent birth of several independent principalities was followed by the Norman invasion of Sicily. During the long struggle between Arabs and Normans (444-57/1052-64), the Palermo mint kept on striking Fāṭimid coins in the name of the nominal ruler, the caliph of Egypt al-Mustanṣir. After 1064, the Kalbī *amīrs* ceased regularly issuing coins. Certain *tarìs*, which seemed to be an official product of the Palermo mint, may have been issued by the ruling rebel *amīrs* of Sicily; they show a marked diminution of the gold content (only 53%). According to P. Balog, an anonymous quarter-dīnār, on which he reads the mint name *Sīrakūsā*, could have been issued by the rebel *amīr* of Syracuse, Ibn Thumna. A further support to the existence of the provincial issues of the Arab rebel *amīrs* comes from N. Lowick's description of two anonymous quarter-dīnārs bearing the legend: "struck in Ḳalʿat Dj.rdj.nt (Girgent) in the year 468".

At first the Normans used the Arabic coinage or produced a currency resembling the stellate *tarìs* of al-Mustanṣir, of pale gold and with an imitation of the original legends in Kūfic script. After the conquest of Palermo in January 1072, Robert Guiscard issued two *tarìs*. In the issue of 466/1073-4, his name and titles are written in the centre of reverse: *bi-amr Abārt al-dūḳa al-adjall malik Ṣiḳilliyya*. In these first years of the Norman rule, Palermo recognised two chiefs, Robert and Roger, each one issuing coins in his name in the same mint. Their titles show the complex feudal relationship existing between the two brothers. The title *al-dūḳa Rudjār/Rudjdjār*, should be attributed to Robert's son, Roger Borsa, as his uncle, the Count Roger, used the title of "Comes" in its Arabic transliteration (*ḳūmis bi-Ṣiḳilliyya*, 481/1088-9) or translating it with an Arabic equivalent (*sulṭān Ṣiḳilliyya*, after 1090). Later, the Normans moulded their regal titles upon those of the Fāṭimid caliphs. After these early issues, Roger struck a series of anonymous *tarìs* with a capital T (= the Cross of St. Anthony; see ṬARĀBULUS AL-GHARB. 3.) in the centre of the obverse and the Muslim credo on the reverse. After 1081, when he received the investiture of *Magnus Comes*, his name and title were added in the obverse margin. L. Travaini has argued that the anonymous T *tarì* could have been struck until 1105, when his elder son Simon died, or even during Roger II's minority. He changed the capital T into a small tree and distinguished his name with the adjective *al-thānī* "the second". After his coronation in 524/1030, his name was directly followed by the title *al-malik* "the King", and the Muslim credo was dropped in favour of the Christian cross with the Greek legend IC/XP/NI/KA on the reverse.

A group of *tarìs* of this type have Roger's protocol in three horizontal lines on the obverse: *al-malik Rudjdjār al-muʿaẓẓam al-muʿtazz bi-llāh*. It is likely that a new type of *tarì*, bearing a circular Arabic legend on the obverse and a cross on a long staff similar to the Latin cross on the reverse, was introduced after the monetary reform (1140). The large amount of coins, and the presence of brocages (i.e. the sticking of a coin to the upper die after striking, thereby producing an impression on the reverse of the next blank, making the reverse a mirror image of the obverse) in this period, seem to prove a quick production and careless striking due perhaps to the increase of commercial activity and the need of *tarìs* of the new type. A new mint was opened in Messina and it was at the apex of its activity during the reign of William I.

The Norman Kings as well as the Hohenstaufen Emperors continued to strike *tarìs* resembling in their main features the second type issued by Roger II, with some variations according to the rulers.

The last *tarìs* following as the Arab coinage are dated 1278, when Charles I of Anjou reformed the monetary system and adopted the *carlino d'oro*. The word *tarì* indicated then a weight of account, the so-called *trappeso*, and only during the reign of the Aragonese dynasty in Sicily was it used for a silver coin. Later, it was another name for the *doppio carlino* in the Kingdom of Naples.

From the metrological point of view, the average weight till the reign of William I (1154-66) conforms to 1 g, that is, the standard weight of the quarter-dīnār and not the *trappeso* of 0.88 g, which was introduced later. The presence of heavy (the so-called multiples) or cut *ṭarīs* gives evidence that their circulation was by weight and not by number.

As regards the coinage of the mainland, the southwestern part of Italy adopted the "Sicilian *tarì*" since the beginning of the 10th century. The issues in the name of several Fāṭimid caliphs are bigger in size than the quarter-dīnārs, and show that the die-engravers were not familiar with Arabic writing. The attribution of the coins lacking the mint-date legend remain still uncertain. Many coins bear the name or initials of Norman sovereigns, who could have minted either at Salerno or at Amalfi.

The Salerno mint was closed by Henry VI, while the mint of Amalfi was active till 1222, when the Amalfitan *tarìs* stopped circulating.

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TAʿRĪB (A.), verbal noun of the form II verb *ʿarraba*, literally, Arabisation or Arabicisation.

It is used primarily as a grammatical term, in reference to the method or process by which foreign words are incorporated into Arabic; more broadly and loosely, it means the translation of foreign scientific, literary and scholarly works into Arabic.

1. In the sense of the rendering of foreign notions or words in Arabic.

Like most languages, Arabic was subject, since pre-Islamic times, to the impact of interference by other idioms, spoken by peoples with whom the Arabs had contacts. Persian and Aramaic provided the largest number of foreign words borrowed by Arabic, along with other languages such as Greek, Geʿez, Hebrew, and Coptic. Reflecting this phenomenon, the Ḳurʾān contains quite a few words of non-Arabic origin, some of which are readily identifiable while others, having been morphologically assimilated, are more difficult to trace. Islam and the Ḳurʾān rendered the Arabic language holy, with the result that Arab writers became highly sensitive to the existence of alien intruders in it. Arab philologists in the early centuries of Islam often addressed the problem, among them Sībawayhi (died *ca.* 180/796 [*q.v.*]), who devoted several chapters to the matter in his great grammar, *al-Kitāb*, and Abū Manṣūr al-Djawālīḳī (d. 539/1144 [*q.v.*]), whose *al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿdjamī* seems to have been the first systematic and comprehensive study of alien words in Arabic, both in the Ḳurʾān and elsewhere.

Classical and mediaeval Arab grammarians and writers concerned with *taʿrīb* dealt with the identification of foreign words, discussion of their standing in Arabic and of the criteria by which that standing should be determined. Purists, worried about the contamination of the language by foreign elements—e.g. al-Djawharī, author of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* (d. 393/1002 [*q.v.*]), and al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122 [*q.v.*])—were prepared to admit only those non-Arabic words that had entered Arabic in pre-Islamic or early Islamic times, namely, in the first two centuries of Islam. Moreover, in their view such words were admissible only when compatible with the paradigms (*awzān*) of the language, that is, assimilated morphologically and phonetically. Such words, identified as *muʿarrabāt* ("Arabicised"), could be treated on equal footing with "native" Arabic words, and new terms could in turn be derived from them. They were distinguished from words which entered the language at a later stage and did not conform to the paradigms; these last came to be known as *muwalladāt* ("bastardised" [see MUWALLAD. 2.]), and could not be considered as part of the Arabic lexicon. More liberal philologists, most notably Sībawayhi, were inclined to accept foreign words even without such restricting conditions. But it was the purists who won the day in defending the rigid standards in respect of borrowing, and literary Arabic thus remained largely impervious to alien intruders until the modern era. Words which became part of popular Arabic usage during centuries of contacts with other peoples and Ottoman rule remained outside the canon of the language and outside its standard lexicons.

The encounter with modernity since the early 19th century generated a need for rapid linguistic adaptation so as to permit the expression of hitherto unknown notions, in science and technology as well as in social matters. *Taʿrīb* at first seemed to be a convenient and practical response to the challenge and was employed frequently. Arabic now borrowed from French and Italian, to a lesser extent from English, either directly or via Turkish, which had faced a similar challenge somewhat earlier. Such mass resort to *taʿrīb*, dangerously amplified by another product of modernity, printing, alarmed the guardians of the language. A vivid debate developed among writers in the late 19th century and afterwards over the benefits and perils of *taʿrīb*, echoing the debates of their predecessors but with greater zeal. The leading protagonist of borrowing during the first half of the 20th century was ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī, one of the founders of the Arab Academy of Damascus, although he too advocated caution and selectivity. With the foundation of language academies in Syria, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ, these institutions became the main arenas for such debates. On the whole, Arabic displayed remarkable resilience and creativity even in the face of these formidable modern challenges, drawing linguistic solutions from its own rich resources, most typically through *ishtiḳāḳ* ("derivation" [*q.v.*]). Many of these solutions came to replace words previously adopted in haste through *taʿrīb*.

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(A. Ayalon)

2. Arabisation as a weapon of modern political policy. [See Suppl.].

TA'RĪF (a.), lit. "making known", hence "definition".

1. As a term in logic.

Ibn Sīnā appears to have been the first philosopher to use the word *ta'rīf* as a general term for definition that encompasses both "Aristotelian definition" (*ḥadd* [*q.v.*]) and descriptive definition, *rasm*, Gr. ὑπογραφή. Ibn Sīnā defines *ta'rīf* more generally as "an intentional act, by means of speech or sign, that causes the person perceiving it to conceive of the thing defined" *huwa an yaḳṣida fi'l al-shay' idhā sha'ara bihi shā'ir taṣawwara shay'an-mā huwa 'l-mu'arraf wa-dhālika 'l-fi'l ḳad yakūn kalām wa-ḳad yakūn ishāra* (*Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, 29). In logic, *ta'rīf* refers either to a word (*ism*), or to a statement (*ḳawl*) that is a definition (*ḥadd*), or to a statement that is a descriptive definition (*ibid.*, 34). Elsewhere, Ibn Sīnā describes three basic types of *ta'rīf*: 1. *t. ḥaddī* from the genus and specific differences (*fuṣūl*), e.g. man is a rational animal; 2. *t.* by means of genus and proprium (*khāṣṣa*), e.g. man is an animal capable of laughter; 3. *t.* by means of incidental properties (*a'rāḍ*) and propria, e.g. man is a biped, wide-nailed, capable of laughter by nature (*al-Djadal*, 214). The latter two are examples of descriptive definition (*rasm*), while the first is definition proper (*ḥadd*). Later authors of both logical and theological works, and their commentators, such as Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kātibī, al-Urmawī, al-Īdjī and al-Taftazānī devoted chapters of their treatises to discussions of definitions (*ta'rīfāt*), using or adapting Ibn Sīnā's basic distinctions and adding scholastic nuances of their own.

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(L.B. Miller)

2. As a term of grammar.

Here it is the fact or process of making a word grammatically definite (*ma'rifa*, contrast *nakira*, *tankīr* "indefinite, indefinition"). Definition is (i) formal, with prefixed *alif-lām* or annexation to another definite element; or (ii) semantic, i.e. proper names and pronouns. Analysis of *al-alif wa 'l-lām*, as the definite article is termed, into a phonological component (*hamzat al-waṣl*) and the defining element /l/ has led to the alternative name *lām al-ta'rīf* for this item, whose functions are further distinguished between generic (*lām al-djins*, subdivided into literal and figurative meanings, see al-Shirbīnī, § 11.741, for terminology and Simon, 166 ff., for rhetorical implications) and particularising, *lām al-'ahd* "the *lām* of familiarity". Definition is also conferred by the vocative particle *yā* and the categorical negative *lā*, though the latter is not treated as such by the Arab grammarians.

Definition (or a weaker type, *takhṣīṣ* "specialisation", cf. al-Shirbīnī, § 19.71; Gätje, 30 ff.) is a necessary property of the subject of a nominal sentence, though not of the agent of a verb; with indefinite subjects inversion must occur, e.g. *fi 'l-dāri radjul^un^*. A hierarchy of definite elements has been established: for theological reasons the name of God and pronouns referring to Him take first place, followed by personal pronouns (in the order 1st, 2nd, 3rd person), demonstratives and vocatives together, then words bearing the article and relative nouns (both pairs regarded as equally definite), and finally, nouns annexed to definite elements. The place of proper names in this sequence was disputed between Baṣrans and Kūfans (*al-Inṣāf*, problem 101).

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(M.G. Carter)

ṬARĪFA, a place in the south of the Iberian peninsula, now in the province of Cadiz, and the most southerly point of Europe, only 13 km/8 miles from the African coast.

Its name appears to come from that of Ṭarīf Abū Zur'a, a client of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], the master of Ifrīḳiya, who decided on 91/709-10 to explore the territory on the other side of the straits before embarking on its conquest. According to the *Akhbār madjmū'a*, ed. and tr. Lafuente y Alcántara, 506/18-20, and 'Arīb b. Sa'd, Mūsā accordingly sent Ṭarīf with 100 cavalry and 400 infantry on a reconnaissance trip. They crossed and touched land opposite Tangier in a place thereafter known as *djazīrat Ṭarīf*, the later Ṭarīfa, and from there undertook their incursions into nearby territory, returning with plunder and captives. Although al-Maḳḳarī, ed. 'Abbās, i, 229-30, following al-Rāzī and Ibn Ḥayyān amongst others, make much of this personage, it is strange that the eastern sources do not generally mention him. According to J. Vallvé, however (*Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España*, Madrid 1989), the true etymology may lie in Ar. *ṭaraf*/*ṭarf*, meaning *inter alia* "point, cape". This agrees with the tradition of Orosius, known to Muslim historians and geographers, and would agree with the above-mentioned fact of its being the southernmost point of the European continent.

According to al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 118, the western part of this "peninsula" touches the Atlantic, the "Sea of Darkness", and there was there a small town, i.e. Ṭarīfa, with an earth wall and with markets and baths. According to al-Zuhrī, *Dja'rāfiya*, ed. Hadj-Sadok, in *BEO*, xxi (1968), 187-8, tunny fishing was practised there, these fish being abundant in that part of the straits.

Ṭarīfa was thus the first part of Andalusian territory to be occupied by the Muslims. From its nearness to the Maghrib coast, it was on many occasions, together with Algeciras and Gibraltar, a point of embarkation and disembarkation for troops, traders and travellers between the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghrib and rest of the Islamic world. It was taken in 1292 by the Castilian king Sancho IV, temporarily recaptured by the Muslims but definitively conquered by Guzman the Good in 1294.

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(FÁTIMA ROLDÁN CASTRO)

TARIFIYT, the Berber language of the Rīf [*q.v.*], the northeastern part of Morocco, generally comprising an area from the west of Elhoceima to the Algerian border in the east, and from the coast of the Mediterranean in the north to the plains that separate the Rīf mountains from the Middle Atlas range in the south. In this region live also groups that speak Arabic, like the Oulad Settout and the Ahl Angad. The language of the Senhaja of Sraïr (Ketama region) differs considerably from other northeastern dialects and cannot be included in Tarifiyt. It is rather arbitrary to establish linguistic boundaries with some of the dialects bordering it to the south (Ait Ouarain) and to the east (Beni Snous). The main towns where Tarifiyt is spoken are Nador and Elhoceima. Many speakers of Tarifiyt have now emigrated to the Netherlands and Belgium.

Tarifiyt shows considerable dialectal variation, and mutual understanding between different variants can be difficult. Typical for most Tarifiyt forms of speech are phonetical developments like spirantisation of stops, the turning into a vowel of postvocalic *r* (*ṯammurṯ* → *ṯammuaṯ* "land"), *l* → *ṛ* (different from *r*) and *ll* → *dž*, e.g. the Arabic noun *l-lila* "night" has been borrowed as *džiṛəṯ*.

Tarifiyt is to be included in the "Zenatic" group of Berber dialects, and shares many grammatical features with dialects like Chaouia, Ouargli and Mzabite. The connections with important Berber dialects like Tashelḥīt [*q.v.*], Kabyle or Touareg [see TAWĀRIḲ] are much less pronounced.

Tarifiyt has a rich traditional oral literature, featuring short songs (*izṛan*), fairy tales (*ṯiḥuža*) and many other genres. Moreover, there is a rich culture of modern song-writing. Written literature has been slowly emerging since 1990. Poetry written in the Arabic or Latin alphabet has been published in Morocco and in the Netherlands.

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(M.G. KOSSMANN)

ṬĀRIḲ B. ZIYĀD, Berber commander of the Muslim troops who undertook the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 92/711; his birth and death dates are uncertain. At this time, he was residing in Tangier, exercising the role of governor on behalf of the *wālī* of Ifrīḳiya Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*].

As in all issues concerning the early stages of the Muslim presence in al-Andalus, it is no simple matter, considering the mass of contradictory data supplied by the Arab sources, either to draw conclusions regarding the personality of Ṭāriḳ, or to determine with any precision the circumstances of his entry into al-Andalus. The question is so tangled, that even an interpretation of events as far removed from classical conceptions as that of J. Vallvé (*Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España*, Madrid 1989), who maintains that the Muslim disembarkation took place at Cartagena, to the south-east of the Peninsula, while apparently difficult to accept in its entirety nevertheless demonstrates the existence of various obscure points necessitating a revision of certain received ideas relating to the conquest of al-Andalus.

The difficulties facing the historian of the conquest of al-Andalus result essentially from the absence not only of contemporary texts, but even of those of a period reasonably close to the events described (with the exception, however, of two Christian sources, the *Chronica byzantia-arabica* of 741 and the *Continuatio Hispana* of 754, both extremely brief). The earliest surviving sources, the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of the Egyptian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and the *Taʾrīkh* of Ibn Ḥabīb in al-Maghāmī's edition, both from the 3rd/9th century, unfortunately demonstrate a marked propensity to accept legendary accounts, or to exaggerate the quantities of booty subsequently amassed in the country. The sources available are often late works, juxtaposing material of very diverse provenance and uneven worth, the utilisation of which merits a thorough historiographical analysis, a project yet to be undertaken. Such is the case, significantly, of two anonymous texts which are fundamental for the history of the first century of the Muslim presence in al-Andalus, the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* and the *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, on which contemporary criticism is in disarray, with opinions ranging from those who believe that these involve the embryonic written version of ancient oral traditions, to those who maintain that these are simply late compilations based on summaries of earlier texts (P. Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización*, 50; L. Molina, *Los Akhbār madjmūʿa y la historiografía árabe sobre el período omeya en al-Andalus*, in *al-Qanṭara*, x [1989], 513-42, and the *Estudio* of his edition of the *Fatḥ*). All of this should not obscure the fact that the general lines of the historical record remain clearly established, and that it is appropriate to take account of them.

According to the opinion most widely held among chroniclers, Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād was a Berber client of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], having participated under the latter's orders in the conquest of the Maghrib, as commander of the vanguard. When Mūsā returned to Ifrīḳiya, he left Ṭāriḳ in charge of a contingent of troops, most of them Berber, based in Tangier. From there, he made contact with the governor of Ceuta, the legendary Count Julian. This individual, probably a Visigoth—information concerning one of his descendants gives the *nisba* al-Ḳūṭī—but at all events a dependant of the Visigothic king of Toledo, incited Ṭāriḳ to invade the Peninsula. Some versions allege that Julian's representative was none other than Mūsā himself, and that the latter succeeded in obtaining authorisation from the caliph in Damascus, but considering the later course of events, it seems more likely that Ṭāriḳ acted on his own initiative without waiting for the explicit consent of his superior. Before Ṭāriḳ's expedition, there had been one or several minor incur-

sions into the coastal region of al-Andalus, the most significant—and according to many authors, the only one—having been led by Ṭarīf, another Berber, with a small contingent of five hundred men, in 91/710. Finally, in the spring of the following year (Radjab 92/April 711), with forces virtually exclusively Berber, Ṭāriḳ crossed the Strait on boats supplied by Julian, and disembarked at the foot of a mountain which was henceforward to bear his name, Gibraltar (Djabal Ṭāriḳ). Numerous Arab sources agree in fixing the number of ships at four, and the strength of the commando force—in one or several waves—at 12,000. These figures cannot be verified absolutely, but they are probably not far from the truth, since it is unlikely that the fleet available for crossing the Strait could have been much larger, or that Ṭāriḳ's forces could have been reduced to a few hundreds, if their later successes are anything to judge by. This indicates that the crossing must have taken place at a leisurely pace, with dozens of trips for each boat, and over several days, and all of this without any serious resistance from the majority of the local inhabitants. With prompt action, the latter could have foiled the invasion with ease. In the event, the landings took place either with the connivance or the indifference of the indigenous people.

The Visigothic king Roderic, whose principal concern at this time was fighting the Basques, hastily led out his army to confront the Muslims, who in the meantime had built fortresses in Gibraltar, from where they conducted minor raids into the surrounding countryside to obtain provisions. The encounter took place at the end of Ramaḍān and the beginning of Shawwāl (July) near a river which may legitimately be identified with the Guadalete or the Barbate—not far from the lagoon of La Janda—but, in any case, in a place near to the point of landing. This means that in three months or thereabouts, the Muslims had scarcely moved at all, giving the Spanish troops time to coalesce into a powerful army, rather than exploiting the element of surprise. From a strategic perspective, this decision was ill-advised. There can be little doubt that the defeat inflicted on Roderic's army was largely due to the fact that a large contingent of his troops, traditionally identified with supporters of the family of the previous king, Witiza, contributed actively or passively to the rout and death of Roderic. Bearing in mind the behaviour of the Muslims before the battle, and of Witiza's supporters during it, it is to be doubted whether any of the protagonists could have imagined that the entire Peninsula was to fall into the hands of the Muslims: neither Ṭāriḳ's soldiers, who had just spent three months on a scrap of land with no clear idea of what to do next, nor the traitors of the Visigothic army whose sole objective was to regain power and eliminate Roderic. Nevertheless, as the result of an unexpected and uninspiring victory, Ṭāriḳ was made aware that the Visigothic state had suffered a heavy blow and that its internal cohesion was vastly inferior to what he had imagined. He now understood that he held a unique opportunity to make himself master of the country, or simply to transform what had begun as a coastal raiding expedition into a profitable campaign against the affluent cities of the interior.

The next stage of Ṭāriḳ's itinerary was Écija, where the remnants of the Visigothic army, including Witiza's supporters, had taken refuge. The battle was as hard-fought as that of Guadalete, and again, victory fell to the Muslims, who this time, according to some sources, were helped by Julian himself. The defeated army took refuge in the town of Écija, and capitulated soon after. From this time onwards, there was nothing to impede Ṭāriḳ's advance; he divided his forces into four groups, setting out for Málaga, Granada, Cordova (under Mughīth al-Rūmī) and Toledo (under Ṭāriḳ in person). The capital of the Visigothic kingdom, abandoned by its dignitaries, fell without resistance into the hands of Ṭāriḳ, who according to various sources, continued his march towards the north, reaching Guadalajara and then Astorga. The encounter between Ṭāriḳ and Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, who had in the meantime arrived in the Peninsula with a predominantly Arab army, took place at Toledo or in its vicinity. Mūsā seems to have been intent on punishing his subordinate severely, but ultimately confined himself to a harsh reprimand. From this time onwards, as a personality Ṭāriḳ fell into obscurity, decidedly overshadowed by his patron, with whom he returned to the east in 95/714. His last known action was involvement in a trial against Mūsā; still resenting the humiliation inflicted on him at Toledo, he readily joined the accusers.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 204-11; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Aguadé, 136-49; *Akhbār madjmūʿa*, ed. and tr. E. Lafuente, 3-20; *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, ed. L. Molina, 11-37; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii, 4-23; al-Raḳīḳ, *Taʾrīkh Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. Zaydān and Mūsā, 38-56; Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, *Ṣilat al-simṭ*, ed. al-ʿAbbādī, 131-62; *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed. and tr. Molina, i, 97-100; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 2-12; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, 229-90.

2. Studies. To the classic works by Dozy and Lévi-Provençal should be added those of J. Vallvé, *Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España*, Madrid 1989, and P. Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización*, Madrid 1994; on the itinerary of the Muslim forces, C. Sanchez Albornoz, *El itinerario de la conquista de España por los musulmanes*, in *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, x (1948), 21-74, and E. de Santiago, *Los itinerarios de la conquista musulmana*, in *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, iii (1971), 51-65. (L. Molina)

ṬARĪḲA.

I. The Nature and Development of the Term in Ṣūfism
II. The Term Considered Geographically
1. In the central Arab and Persian lands of the Middle East.
2. In North Africa.
3. In northeastern and eastern Africa.
4. In sub-Saharan Africa.
5. In the Turkish lands, from Anatolia to Eastern Turkestan.
6. In the Balkans.
7. In Muslim India.
8. In Indonesia.
9. In Chinese Islam.

Ṭarīḳa (Ar., pls. *ṭuruḳ*, *ṭarāʾiḳ*) is a term which can signify the "manner of behaving" (*sīra*); it thus qualifies the "method" (*madhhab*) of a person, the conduct which is typical of him and which should generally be imitated. These definitions supplied by the *LʿA* (Beirut 1988, viii, 155) accord with Ḳurʾānic usages of *ṭarīḳa* (cf. in particular, XX, 63, 104). The Ṣūfīs adapted these conceptions, viewing them from a spiritual perspective, but they were careful first of all to relate the term to its most concrete sense: that of "way" or "path". In this context, *ṭarīḳa* is synonymous with *ṭarīḳ*, and the Ṣūfīs often use either term indis-

criminately (cf. for example al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-mahdjūb*, Beirut 1980 (Arabic tr.), in numerous instances; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1351/1932, ii, 282; Ibn al-ʿArabī opts for the word *ṭarīḳ*, cf. *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1329, in particular ii, 382-4). The assimilation of the two terms is apparent in the plural *ṭuruḳ*, which the Ṣūfīs give to *ṭarīḳa* as well as to *ṭarīḳ*; only a few writers use *ṭarāʾiḳ*, cf. e.g. Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, *al-Salsabīl al-maʿīn fi 'l-ṭarāʾiḳ al-arbaʿīn* and *al-Manhal al-rawī fī asānīd al-ʿulūm wa-uṣūl al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, both Beirut 1968.

I. The Nature and Development of the Term in Ṣūfism

1. The Way. In Muslim mysticism, the *ṭarīḳa* thus denotes the way which guides man from the manifest Law (*Sharīʿa*) to the divine Reality (*Ḥaḳīḳa*), i.e. to God Himself (*al-Ḥaḳḳ*). While *Ḥaḳīḳa* represents the destination of the journey, all Ṣūfīs agree in declaring that the only means of achieving this consists in passing through the various stages of the initiatory process (*sulūk al-ṭarīḳa*); the latter were sketched by the early masters, and treatises on Ṣūfism refer to them according to different gradation [see sulūk]. For those travelling towards God (*al-sālikūn*), the *ṭarīḳa* consists in traversing the various spiritual abodes and stations (*manāzil, maḳāmāt*); this definition from ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī (*Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1981, 65) has been widely adopted, notably by al-Djurdjānī in his *Taʿrīfāt* (Beirut 1991, 154). The *ṭarīḳa* is thus not only internal perception of the hidden meaning of the Law (e.g. Isfarāyinī, *Le révélateur des mystères*, tr. H. Landolt, Lagrasse 1986, Persian text, 120); it also purports to be a total discipline aimed towards the progressive purification of the soul. While the *sālik* proceeds along the way in a manner of relative lucidity, the *madjdhūb* or "one enraptured by God" is no less required to pass through various gradations in condensed form, with the fulguration that characterises his state (al-Shaʿrānī, *Durar al-ghawwāṣ fī fatāwī al-Khawwāṣ*, Cairo 1985, 139); it is in this context that the majority of writers include the *aḥwāl* or "spiritual states" among the markers of the Way [see ḥāl]. The *ṭarīḳa* thus constitutes the "foundation" (*uṣūl*) of all spiritual progress in Islam, as is underlined by Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (quoted by Ibn al-ʿArabī in *Rūḥ al-ḳuds*, Cairo 1989); it alone epitomises the experience lived in Ṣūfism (H. al-Sharḳāwī, *Muʿdjam alfāẓ al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1987, 201, and S. al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣūfī*, Beirut 1981, 722, both using the word *ṭarīḳ*). In practice, it includes all the means (doctrines, rituals, techniques of meditation, etc.) which enable man to comprehend the profound identity of the *Sharīʿa* and the *Ḥaḳīḳa*.

2. The method. In the first centuries of Islam, the *ṭarīḳa* denotes the spiritual modality peculiar to one or other Muslim personality (for example, al-Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 270, referring to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb). This original sense never disappeared completely; thus Ibn Khaldūn states that the "People of the Bench" (*Ahl al-ṣuffa* [*q.v.*]) who had chosen to reside in the mosque of the Prophet "did not worship God in a particular manner (*ṭarīḳa*)" (cf. his *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil li-tahdhīb al-masāʾil*, Tunis 1991, 182), while Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, a biographer of the 10th/16th century, uses the word to describe the spiritual temperament of Abu 'l-Suʿūd al-Djāriḥī of Cairo (*al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, Beirut 1945, i, 48). Where it is a case of a master who has formed a school, *ṭarīḳa* abandons its aspect of individual progress to become a veritable method (al-Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 420; and mostly with the word *ṭarīḳ*: 419, 426, 442, etc.). Furthermore, the term is also used in this sense (close to that of *madhhab*) both in the context of Islamic law (G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963, 197) and in theology (L. Massignon, *La passion de Ḥallâj*, ²Paris 1975, iii, 95). It may be noted that, in symmetrical fashion, Abū Nadjīb al-Suhrawardī writes *madhhab* instead of *ṭarīḳa* to denote the Ṣūfī Way (*Ādāb al-murīdīn*, Cairo n.d., 37). The acceptance of *ṭarīḳa* as meaning a spiritual method persisted in subsequent centuries, coexisting with the connotations later to be attributed to the word. When the *shaykh*s of the Ṣūfī orders wished to summarise the teaching of their Way, they grouped together under this term various principles and precepts regarded as essential for the guidance of disciples (for the Shādhilīs, see e.g. ʿAlī ʿAmmār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1952, ii, 43). In the works of the Persian master Nūr ʿAlī Shāh, from the end of the 12th/18th century, the *ṭarīḳa* becomes a complete initiatory doctrine, encompassing numerous facets (M. de Miras, *La méthode spirituelle d'un maître du Soufisme iranien*, Paris 1973, chs. 17-18).

3. The Ṣūfī order. In the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, aspirants towards progress on the Way became ever more numerous; they were also more prone to attaching themselves to a particular master than was previously the case. Numerous spiritual families were constituted then, most of them still in existence today. These major *ṭarīḳa*s progressively gave birth to multiple branches sometimes called *ṭāʾifa*s [*q.v.*]. However, it was to remain the prerogative of the *shaykh*s to dispense initiatory instruction outside the framework of the *ṭuruḳ*. For the Ṣūfīs, the latter responded to the need to redress the loss of spirituality occasioned by the length of time that had elapsed since the Prophetic period; the role of the *shaykh* was thus to alleviate the deficiencies of individual guidance. On the historical plane, there are certain factors which explain, if not the emergence of these communities, at least the acceleration in the progress of their formation. The Mongol invasions had shattered the complacency engendered among Muslims by what was seen as a relatively homogeneous and powerful Sunnī universe. The decline and subsequent disintegration of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate led to the collapse of traditional religious structures. The authority of the Ṣūfī *shaykh*s was strengthened, at the expense of the temporal authority and the *ʿulamāʾ* class. In this atmosphere, the *ṭarīḳa* supplied an area of solidarity as well as the vision of a coherent world transcending the vicissitudes of history. Furthermore, the emergence of *ṭuruḳ* cannot be dissociated from the Sunnī revival inaugurated by the Saldjūḳs in the Middle East and later by the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks in the Syro-Egyptian region. These various régimes sought to borrow the charisma of the *shaykh*s, henceforward to be more of a unifying force than the majority of the *ʿulamāʾ*; by building *khānḳāh*s, *ribāṭ*s and *zāwiya*s [*q.vv.*] they gave to the mystical life a material foundation greatly to the advantage of the nascent orders.

In common with other Ṣūfīs, the eponymous masters of these orders were above all the trustees of an initiatory heritage. They certainly imbued the latter with the force of their personalities, thus creating the schools of spirituality which claim association with them. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases they had no intention of founding an order or even a method. This accounts for the fact that the term *ṭarīḳa* is often given as a synonym of *silsila* [*q.v.*] (cf. e.g. M. al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-asfiyāʾ bi-rafʿ salāsil al-awliyāʾ*, ms. dated

1339 A.H., private collection, fol. 2): this "chain" dating back to the Prophet guaranteed for the Ṣūfīs the authenticity of their initiatory filiation, in a culture where genealogy played a predominant role. After the manner of other Islamic sciences, Ṣūfism had recourse to "supportive lineages" (*isnād* [*q.v.*]) in order to legitimise its Muḥammadan origin. Indeed, al-Sanūsī went so far as to compare the criteria for the evaluation of initiatory transmission with those of *ḥadīth* (*Salsabīl*, 6). This perception of the *ṭarīḳa* is observed in the expression *ṭarīḳat al-khawādjagān* ("way of the masters"): it denotes a line of *shaykh*s of Central Asia in the 7th/13th century—reckoned to be the initiators of the Naḳshbandiyya—and not a constituted order (J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 62-3; L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The legacy of medieval Persian Sufism*, London-New York 1992, 312 ff.).

The true foundation of the *ṭuruḳ* is in fact to be traced back to the successors—immediate or more distant—of these eponyms. Raising their masters to the status of exemplars, they finalised or developed their teaching. Over a period stretching, in general terms, from the 7th/13th to the 10th/16th century, there was a transition from fairly casual methods reflecting the spiritual temperaments of the initiators to precise rules and exercises. A spirit of teamwork was then constituted, in varying degrees; it could be defined as the awareness of belonging to a specific group possessing its own doctrines and most of all its own rituals. The hagiographical literature [see MANĀḲIB] internal to each *ṭarīḳa* plays a predominant role in this process. In certain cases, it emanates from masters who have succeeded the eponymous *shaykh*, a factor which confers on their work the status of a founding text (e.g. the *Laṭā'if al-minan* of Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, third *shaykh* of the Shādhilī order). Such veneration for the initial masters, developed to varying degrees within each *ṭarīḳa*, constituted one of the grievances of the Islamic jurists (*fuḳahā'*) against the Ṣūfīs. In the hagiographical literature it is often evident that the initiatory lineage is henceforward perceived as a *ṭarīḳa*, in other words an organism in which members share the same spiritual references. This onset of awareness could take place several centuries after the death of the eponym (cf. D. DeWeese, *Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī and Kubrawī hagiographical traditions*, in *The legacy of medieval Persian Sufism*, 121-57).

The disciples (*murīd*, "aspirants on the Way" [*q.v.*], or *ikhwān*) sometimes led a communal way of life (*al-muʿāshara*). Besides supererogatory practices not confined to the Ṣūfīs, they applied themselves twice a day to the *wird* [*q.v.*], which comprised various forms of prayer. The latter have similar forms from one order to another, but certain very specific *awrād* (sing. *wird*) are presented as having been dictated to the master by the Prophet in the course of visions (e.g. the *awrād fatḥiyya* of ʿAlī al-Hamadānī; cf. *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, i, 107). The disciples also recite litanies (*aḥzāb*, sing. *ḥizb*), composed by the eponym of the Way or one of his successors (cf. the *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* of al-Shādhilī, well known outside Shādhilī circles). The *waẓīfa* comprises various elements of prayer which are to be said daily, but in certain cases the term refers to the session of *dhikr* [*q.v.*] of the Ṣūfīs. This session is also known as *ḥaḍra* (or "presence" [of the Prophet]), *ʿimāra* or simply *madjlis*. It takes place once or several times a week. Also practised in the mediaeval period was the *samāʿ* [*q.v.*] "collective spiritual hearing", in the course of which those attending would listen to poetry chanted with or without instruments. Spiritual retreat (*khalwa* [*q.v.*]) is exercised in varying fashion according to the orders. It is one of the mainstays of the Khalwatiyya (which takes its name from this term), while other *ṭuruḳ* advocate it without much enthusiasm and only for short periods.

The followers of a *ṭarīḳa* often congregated in a place regarded as their own, such as the *zāwiya* or the *ribāṭ*, constructed at the initiative of the *shaykh* or of a benefactor. However, certain *ṭuruḳ*, particularly those the members of which belonged to the world of the *ʿulamā'*, pursued their practices in any kind of religious establishment. From the 7th/13th century onwards, Ṣūfism was to an ever-increasing extent integrated into the Muslim city. *Shaykh*s and their disciples were admitted to the mosques, and sometimes even constructed mosques of their own. They held major sessions of *dhikr*, similar to those still performed today in certain Muslim countries.

The masters sometimes gave specific instructions to their disciples: to perform a certain rite at a particular time, to perform a certain task rather than another, etc. On occasion, they even proscribed a practice allowed within the community of Believers (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī provides numerous examples of these directives in his *Adjwiba marḍiyya ʿan a'immat al-fuḳahā' wa 'l-ṣūfiyya*, ms. Cairo) For this reason, the *fuḳahā'* accused the Ṣūfīs of instituting a law reserved for a spiritual élite and of somehow setting themselves above the *Sharīʿa*; Ibn Khaldūn refutes this accusation in his *Shifā' al-sā'il*, 237.

4. Modes and rites of affiliation. Although the terminology varies with periods and regions of the Muslim world, two overall types of affiliation to a *ṭarīḳa* may be mentioned: in the first instance, association through *irāda* ("willingness" to pass through the stages of the Way; hence the term *murīd*); the aspirant then puts himself under total obedience to a master, who takes charge of his spiritual education (*tarbiya*). The second mode (al-Zabīdī specifically uses the word *ṭarīḳa*, in the sense of "modality", to denote each of these forms of affiliation; cf. *ʿIḳd al-djumān al-thamīn fī 'l-dhikr wa-ṭuruḳ al-ilbās wa 'l-talḳīn*, ms. dated 1339 A.H., private collection, fol. 52) consists in the simple reception of *baraka* conveyed by an initiatory lineage; this constitutes *tabarruk*, a more casual and less exacting means in terms of initiation. This type of affiliation thereby affects not only the Ṣūfiyya but also numerous individuals from the most diverse backgrounds: under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans, the sultan and the humble artisan are likewise associated, closely or distantly, with a *ṭarīḳa* (cf. E. Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1995, ch. viii). It then becomes possible to speak of a mass phenomenon. The juxtaposition of spheres of association around a single initiatory source appears clearly in the case of the Shādhiliyya; in fact, while its masters advocate a close relationship between master and disciple, they also assert that only the reading of their *awrād* and *aḥzāb* admits the faithful to their spiritual family (ʿAlī ʿAmmār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1952, ii, 31). The modality of *tabarruk* allows and explains the practice of multiple affiliation, or in other words the action, on the part of a *murīd*, of "taking the Way" of several *shaykh*s, certain associations being of greater value in his eyes than others. Such an accumulation is justified by the desire to multiply ways of access to the *baraka*, "the Muḥammadan influx" mentioned above. Although multiple affiliation reached its zenith at the end of the mediaeval period, it is a constant feature of Ṣūfism; in fact, the earliest mystics of Islam used to go from one master to another, seeking "the freshest

source", as was suggested by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, Cairo 1993, 176).

Attachment to a *ṭarīḳa* is realised by the performance of initiatory rites which, in this case also, take on different meanings according to differences in space and time. The most important of these rites, at least in the Ṣūfism of the Mashriḳ, consists in the presentation of the "cloak" (*khirḳa* [*q.v.*]) by the master to the disciple. Also worth mentioning are the sealing of the pact (*akhdh al-ʿahd, bayʿa*), the teaching of sometimes personalised formulas of invocation (*talḳīn al-dhikr*, or the practice of letting the tassel of the disciple's turban hang down (*irkhāʾ al-ʿadhaba*).

5. Towards "fraternalism". The material configuration of Ṣūfism in *ṭuruḳ* and in their various decentralised networks did not come about until the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, and in very uneven fashion. In the Persian domain, for example, the pyramidal delegation of spiritual authority appeared earlier than in the Arab zone; there, masters appointed representatives (*khulafāʾ*) in regions where their authority was established (in Arab countries, use was also made of the word *muḳaddam* "one sent in advance" by the *shaykh*, or *maʾdhūn* "one authorised" by the *shaykh* to initiate others). More generally, the structuring of Ṣūfism into what are commonly called "fraternities" or "brotherhoods" did not emerge until a later stage; in the 12th/18th century, the attacks of nascent Wahhābism were not unconnected with a certain stiffening of the *ṭuruḳ*, which was to be further augmented during the 19th century. The Ottoman sovereigns attempted to institutionalise Ṣūfism by associating themselves systematically with one or with several orders, and in particular by installing a *shaykh al-ṭuruḳ* in every mayor city of the empire [see SHAYKH]. In 20th-century Egypt, this was to lead to the legal recognition of the *ṭuruḳ*, and to the inauguration of a Council elected by the *shaykh*s of different orders, with a senior figure presiding.

Later Ṣūfism is characterised by a relative exclusivism of ways, in their relations with one another, by a willingness to display initiatory affiliation (notably through the wearing of a particular colour: black for the Rifāʿīs, red for the Aḥmadīs, etc.), or by the hereditary transmission of the function of *shaykh*, a fact which often reflects shortcomings in the initiatory system.

6. The universal Way. At no time, however, has the mystical practice of Islam been reduced to "fraternalism". The term "fraternity" or "brotherhood" is in any case a misnomer, since it takes account only of the horizontal dimension of the *ṭarīḳa*, while the latter is essentially a vertical way. It should be stressed here that the proliferation of "particular initiatory ways" (the correct translation of *ṭuruḳ*) is founded on the Ṣūfī adage according to which "there exist as many paths [leading to God] as there are human beings". Thus al-Suhrawardī devotes the fourth chapter of his *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* to the various means employed by the Ṣūfīs for the accomplishment of the Way. The *ṭuruḳ* are thus one, as al-Sanūsī asserts, "since they have a single objective" (*Salsabīl*, 6). This is not simply a case of *petitio principii*. The Ṣūfīs have generally maintained a spiritual frame of reference broader than that of their order; this is furthermore attested by the practice of multiple affiliation, still functioning in certain circles. They have thus been willing, by minimising specific features, to subsume their own way within a universal Way. The expression *hādhihi 'l-ṭarīḳa* which is familiar in their writings, denotes this Way as well as those who travel by it; the *sālikūn* thus constitute a major spiritual community (cf. al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1957, 2-3; al-Hudjwīrī, 269, 419, 426; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, ed. O. Yahia, Cairo, i, 341, iii, 368; Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil*, 182-3). In the final analysis, *ṭarīḳa* has meaning for the Ṣūfīs only in terms of the relationship which it establishes with the Prophet. In fact, the *shaykh* of a *ṭarīḳa*, irrespective of its importance, never does more than represent him; he cannot guide others on the Way, let alone found an order, without the Messenger's authorisation. Besides an abstract allegiance to the latter, certain masters have claimed to have no spiritual guide other than the Prophet. In such cases, Muḥammad has initiated them in nocturnal or in waking visions. This modality is correctly called "the Muḥammadan Way" (*al-ṭarīḳ* or *al-ṭarīḳa al-muḥammadiyya*; cf. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *ʿIḳd al-djumān al-thamīn*, fol. 74), although the expression is used to cover a wide range of meanings (*ṭarīḳa muṣṭafawī* is also found, al-Muṣṭafā being one of the sobriquets of the Prophet; cf. Isfarāyinī, *Le révélateur des mystères*, Persian text, 120). Furthermore, *ṭarīḳa*, even in its sense of "particular way", is not invariably indicative of a materialised order; it often simply evokes the beneficial effect of a *spiritual influence* traversing time. This is the correct understanding of the phrase *ṭarīḳa ḥallādjiyya* (referring to al-Ḥallādj; e.g. Massignon, *Passion*, i, 84) or indeed *ṭarīḳa akbariyya*: the influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī is not confined to a specific order, but has experienced numerous modes of diffusion (see Geoffroy, *Soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie*, 222-3). Similarly in the *ṭarīḳa uwaysiyya*, initiation is transmitted through the intermediary of the "spiritual form" (*rūḥāniyya* [*q.v.*] of deceased prophets or saints, thus beyond the normal parameters of space and time (al-Sanūsī, *Salsabīl*, 31; J. ter Haar, *The Importance of the spiritual guide in the Naqshbandi Order*, in *The legacy of medieval Persian Sufism*, 312-18; J. Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims*, London-New York 1993; and see UWAYSIYYA).

It should be noted in conclusion that the various meanings of the term *ṭarīḳa* evoked in this article (spiritual temperament, method, the Way in general, initiatory lineage, a particular Ṣūfī order) very often occur side-by-side in the work of a single author.

Bibliography: Given in the text. It should be noted that each major *ṭarīḳa* is the object of an article in *EI²*. For an overall perspective on the *ṭuruḳ*, reference may be made to J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, and to the collective work entitled *Les Voies d'Allâh. Les ordres mystiques dans le monde musulman des origines à aujourd'hui*, ed. G. Veinstein and A. Popovic, Paris 1996.

(E. GEOFFROY)

II. THE TERM CONSIDERED GEOGRAPHICALLY

1. In the central Arab and Persian lands of the Middle East.

See the separate articles on the various Ṣūfī orders, and TASAWWUF. 2. Ibn al-ʿArabī and after, 3. In 19th and 20th century Egypt, and 4. In Persia.

2. In North Africa.

The emergence of fraternities or brotherhoods, as properly defined, in North Africa was preceded by two associated phenomena. On the one hand *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*], where communities of volunteers subjected themselves to devotional or ascetic practices, were proliferating; on the other, a number of solitary ascetics, plebeian or educated, adopted the mystical life on an individual basis and took responsibility for the spiritual education of close disciples. Among the most renowned of these early mystics, in the 6th/12th century, were the following Andalusians of the Almeria school: Ibn

al-ʿArīf, Ibn Barradjān and Ibn Ḳasī [*q.vv.*]. As for the Maghrib proper, still in the 6th/12th century, worthy of mention are Abū Yaʿzā, Ibn Ḥirzihim and in particular their direct disciple Abū Madyan [*q.vv.*]. Ibn al-ʿArabī, among others, was to give an account of the burgeoning of this form of the mystical life (*The Sufis of Andalusia*, tr. R.W.J. Austin, London 1971, French tr. G. Lecomte, *Les Soufis d'Andalousie*, Paris 1979; also C. Addas, *Ibn ʿArabi ou la quête du Soufre rouge*, Paris 1989, Eng. tr., *The quest for the Red Sulphur. The life of Ibn ʿArabī*, Cambridge 1993).

Little is known of the initial evolution of brotherhoods *stricto sensu*, which took place from the 8th/14th century onwards. Ṣūfism, organised around *zāwiyas* or in looser networks, became numerous in the towns, where it attracted adherents from very diverse backgrounds, including numerous scholars. It became progressively integrated into the religious culture, especially in Morocco: *taṣawwuf* was often taught there in the *madrasas*, and conversely, *fiḳh* was a part of the instruction given in *zāwiyas*. In the countryside, the *ṭuruḳ* reinforced Islamisation while introducing communal rites into which popular practices, often of magical nature, could be integrated. A "Ṣūfism of the masses" took shape there from the 9th/15th century onwards, playing the role of a powerful factor in social cohesion. Relationships between the brotherhoods and the political authorities were ambiguous and variable. The sultans usually approved of the establishment of *zāwiyas*, which effectively performed a stabilising role, a function of social centralisation which enhanced the administrative coherence of a kingdom. The strict Sunnism of the brotherhoods, their insistence on respect for the Law and their social discretion, often created a climate of confidence, while their participation in the military struggle against foreign invasions (contribution of the Shādhiliyya-Djazūliyya to the war against the Portuguese in the 15th-16th centuries) underlined the total integration of Ṣūfī affiliates into the social order of their country. Nevertheless, central authorities sometimes mistrusted the autonomous tendencies of certain *zāwiyas*, which had become rich and militarily powerful. In the 11th/17th century, the Moroccan Shādhilī *zāwiya* of Dilā' [*q.v.* in Suppl.] defeated the last of the Saʿdians and all but succeeded in taking control of the sultanate (see M. Ḥādjdjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*, Rabat 1964).

By far the most popular and widespread fraternal movement in North Africa belongs to the Shādhilī tradition [see SHĀDHILIYYA]. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī was a native of northern Morocco, where he was a disciple of ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh [*q.v.*], in his turn a disciple of Abū Madyan. He began his preaching activities in Ifrīḳiya, then settled in Egypt where he died in 656/1252. He did not found an order as such, but his successors Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. 686/1287) and then ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī [*q.v.*] organised and revitalised the Shādhilī liturgical and spiritual tradition. The latter spread in continuous fashion in Egypt and Ifrīḳiya and, in a more spectacular manner, in Morocco. The orders emanating from the Shādhiliyya do not constitute an organisation or even a clearly defined mystical current, but rather a multiplicity of sub-orders, some of them quite substantial, acknowledging the spiritual authority of Abu 'l-Ḥasan. Among the most widespread, mention should be made of the Shādhiliyya-Zarrūḳiyya, arising from the reformist activities of Aḥmad al-Burnusī, known as al-Zarrūḳ (d. 899/1494), a Moroccan scholar who toured Egypt and North Africa and gave a new impetus to the Shādhilī tradition (cf. A.F. Khushaim, *Zarruq the Sufi*, Tripoli 1976); numerous more recent brotherhoods lay claim to his spiritual heritage, including the Rashīdiyya (= Yūsufiyya, 10th/16th century) and its derivative branches, the Nāṣiriyya in Morocco, Shaykhiyya in Algeria and Shabbiyya in Tunisia (on these sub-groups, emerging in the 11th/17th century, see C. Depont and O. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1884, repr. Paris 1987; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc. Confréries et zaouias*, Paris 1951). The Djazūliyya, arising from the preaching of the saint and charismatic hermit al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*], enjoyed great success on account of the simplicity of its ritual, based around the recitation of a manual of litany prayers, the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*. It did not require any particularly rigorous personalised initiation, but simple allegiance to the *shaykh* (*tabarruk*); it marked the start of what has been referred to above as a "Ṣūfism of the masses". Several more recent brotherhoods were to claim association with the spirituality of al-Djazūlī, such as the Ṭayyibiyya, arising in the 11th/17th century and spreading through Morocco and Algeria, and the Hanṣaliyya, emerging in the 12th/18th century in Morocco ([*q.v.*]; and see also M. Morsy, *Les Ahansala: examen du role historique d'une famille maraboutique de l'Atlas marocain du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris-The Hague 1972). The Shādhilī movement continued to operate over the centuries, some branches disappearing, other more dynamic ones coming to light. Among the latter, worth mentioning is the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*], founded by the Moroccan Abū Ḥāmid al-ʿArabī al-Darḳāwī (d. 1823). Schooled in the tradition of al-Zarrūḳ, al-Darḳāwī launched a movement designed to revive the original purity of Ṣūfism, which he reckoned had been corrupted by maraboutism and superstitions. His preaching was widely disseminated, provoking the emergence of new sub-brotherhoods such as the Būzīdiyya, which included among its members the great neo-Ṣūfī master Aḥmad Ibn ʿAdjība ([*q.v.*]; see also J.-L. Michon, *Le Soufi marocain Aḥmad ibn ʿAjība et son Miʿrāj*, Paris 1973). In the 20th century, Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlīwa ([*q.v.*], also known as Ibn ʿAlawī) a product of the Darḳāwī-Būzīdī tendency, attempted in turn to revive the fraternal spirit and fraternal activities. His personal charisma and his thought attracted numerous disciples, including several Europeans (cf. M. Lings, *A Moslem saint of the twentieth century: Shaikh Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī*, London 1961, French tr. *Un saint musulman du 20e siècle, le cheikh Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī*) and his ʿAlawiyya *ṭarīḳa* spread far beyond the frontiers of the Maghrib.

Among the major brotherhoods present in the Maghrib, one of the most prominent is the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. The hagiographical account attributing its establishment in the West to two of the sons of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] is not entirely plausible, but its diffusion nevertheless seems to have been both ancient and extensive. Locally, it has lost ground to rather more dynamic tendencies, but significant groups continue even today to claim lines of initiatory descent traced back to al-Djīlānī. In Morocco, communities claiming inspiration by al-Djīlānī, known as Djīlāla, remain active, although this inspiration is sometimes rather vague; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī may be invoked as a great saint and intercessor, without any specific affiliation to a Ḳādirī *silsila*. The Khalwatiyya is also firmly implanted in North Africa, largely through the influence of the important Raḥmāniyya order [*q.v.*] which spread from Kabylia to cover the entire Algero-Tunisian region from the end of the 18th century onwards. Finally, to be noted are orders situated at the confluence of several major traditions. ʿAbd al-

Salām al-Asmar (late 18th century), the renewer of the ʿArūsiyya brotherhood, diffused principally in Ifrīḳiya, had visited Shādhilī and Ḳādirī masters, although he did not personally adopt any specific *ṭarīḳa*. More striking still is the example of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī (d. 1815), who received a Ḳādirī, Shādhilī-Ṭayyibī and Khalwatī spiritual education, but felt a vocation to propagate a new way in 1781. A proselytising organisation allowing its members no association with any other brotherhood, the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] is a fine example of an autonomous and original *ṭarīḳa*. Originating in southern Algeria, it spread principally in Morocco, in the western Sahara and in Sudanese Africa (cf. J.M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tidjaniyya, a Sufi order in the modern world*, London 1965).

Mention should also be made of various popular brotherhoods, owing as much to shamanistic sources as to the spirit of the *ṭarīḳa*. Their approach is often twofold, as in the case of the ʿĪsāwiyya [*q.v.*]: its founder, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Mukhtār (d. 931/1524), was a pious Moroccan ascetic brought up in the Shādhilī-Djazūlī tradition, but ʿĪsāwī adherents added to the usual practices of *dhikr* rites involving spectacular trances and contacts with spirits, usually with the objective of securing recovery from illness (cf. R. Brunel, *Essai sur la confrérie des Aissaouas au Maroc*, Paris 1926). Similar observations apply to the related Moroccan order of the Ḥamdūshiyya, which emerged in the 11th/17th century (cf. V. Crapanzano, *The Hamadsha. A study in Moroccan ethnopsychology*, Berkeley, etc. 1973) or to certain Moroccan Djīlāla. More marginal still are the Gnāwa, whose rites of trance for therapeutic purposes are explicitly related to a Black African tradition. They are not usually considered mystics, their objective being not union with the divine but conciliation with the world of djinns (V. Pâques, *La religion des esclaves. Recherches sur la confrérie marocaine des Gnawa*, Paris 1991).

The spirituality of the Maghribī brotherhoods is profoundly Sunnī and firmly rooted in orthodox Islam. The obligation to observe conventional cultic practice is stressed by all the great masters, and access to elevated mystical experiences does not absolve the aspirant from his fundamental duties. Severe asceticism is not encouraged, the emphasis being rather on interior detachment and spiritual effort within the framework of secular life. A frequent and fundamental element of the rituals of the brotherhoods consists in the recitation of litanies (*ḥizb*, pl. *aḥzāb*) like those composed by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. Generally, the pursuit of miracles and of states of trance is denounced, although this does not discourage the ecstatic ceremonies performed by the ʿĪsāwiyya and the Ḥamdūshiyya. Furthermore, even the generally "sober" tradition of the Shādhiliyya has embraced numerous ecstatic saints such as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb (cf. A.-L. de Prémare, *Sidi ʿAbd-er-Raḥmān El-Meǧdūb*, Paris 1985). Moreover, the multiplication of practices of a magical nature in the context of the brotherhoods is widespread. It is, in fact, very difficult to distinguish between the value attributed to a certain *ḥizb* or formula, to the presence of a living or deceased *shaykh*, and an attitude relating to pure magic. Visiting the tombs of saints is the occasion for multiple practices involving conjuration, healing of the sick, divination, etc. (cf. E. Dermenghem, *Le culte des saints dans l'islam maghrébin*, Paris 1954, repr. 1982; F. Reysoo, *Pèlerinages au Maroc*, Neuchâtel-Paris 1991).

The situation of the *ṭuruḳ* in the contemporary period is far from easy. While the accusation of collaboration with the French occupier is untenable in the majority of cases (cf. e.g. the role of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in Algeria), the brotherhoods have nonetheless remained a favourite target for the Salafī movements (which denounce them as one of the principal causes of the decadence of North African Islam) and for those of Marxist leanings (who consider them centres of obscurantism and social regression). The position of the *ṭuruḳ* in secular Tunisia or in Algeria is therefore somewhat delicate. On a more global scale, modernisation of attitudes and behaviour have weakened the appeal exerted by traditional brotherhoods. But it would be a mistake to conclude that the latter must be on the verge of disappearance: their attendances remain considerable, and in view of current disillusionment both with Western modernity and with political Islam, their role in the future is likely to be augmented.

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3. In northeastern and eastern Africa.

Before the 18th century, most Ṣūfī affiliations, mainly Ḳādiriyya and Shādhiliyya [*q.vv.*], in northeastern and eastern Africa were lineage or family-based. Towards the end of the century, new supra-lineage *ṭarīḳas* began to appear in the region that are sometimes labelled "neo-Ṣūfī". The new orders transcended lineage or ethnic boundaries, were more hierarchical in structure, and maintained themselves more self-consciously as organisations, centred on the families of their founders (see R.S. O'Fahey and B. Radtke, *Neo-Sufism reconsidered*, in *Isl.*, lxx [1993], 52-87).

The first of these new orders to appear in the region was the Sammāniyya, originating with the Medinan scholar and Ṣūfī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (1130-89/1718-75; see on his life and writings, *Arabic literature of Africa*, ed. J.O. Hunwick and O'Fahey, i, *The writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa*, Leiden 1994, 91-4; hereafter *ALA*, i). The Sammāniyya was brought to the Nilotic Sudan by the Sudanese Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib wad [= b.] al-Bashīr (1155-1239/1742-1824). The Sammāniyya, which also spread into western Ethiopia, in the Sudan split into several branches, but has been characterised until the present day (1997) by a tradition of scholarship and writing, particularly on history. The *ṭarīḳa* played a very important part in the events leading to the establishment of the Mahdist state in the Sudan under the leadership of Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1844-85 [*q.v.*]; see further *ALA*, i, 304-41), who began his career as a Sammānī *murīd* and then *shaykh*. The present outstanding representative of the tradition is Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Fātiḥ Ḳarīb Allāh, former Vice-

Chancellor of the Omdurman Islamic University (see *ALA*, i, 94-122, for his and other Sammānī writings).

The 19th century was Muslim Africa's Ṣūfī century and, as such, was dominated by two men, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī (1150-1230/1737-1815) and Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1163-1253/1750-1837 [*q.v.*]). Al-Tidjānī's way, which was dominant in Islamic West Africa, was taken to the Sudan first by the Mauritanian missionary and merchant, Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār al-Shinkīṭī (*ca.* 1820-82; see *ALA*, i, 287-8). Since his time, the Tidjāniyya have spread widely in the Sudan, especially that branch associated with the Senegalese Ibrāhīm Niasse (1900-75; see *ALA*, i, 286-303). The Tidjāniyya have spread in recent years in various parts of the Oromo country in Ethiopia, through the agency of such figures as Maḥmūd b. Sulaymān al-Tidjānī (early 20th century), a nephew of the Oromo ruler, Abbā Djifār II.

Aḥmad b. Idrīs was born near al-ʿArāʾish on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Despite his importance in the history of the 19th-century Muslim world, little is known of his life (see O'Fahey, *Enigmatic saint. Aḥmad ibn Idrīs and the Idrīsī tradition*, London 1990, and Yaḥyā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Madrasat Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Maghribī*, Beirut 1993). After studying at the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*] in Fez, where he learnt from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Tāzī, a student of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh, he moved to the East, spending time in Upper Egypt, Mecca and Medina and ʿAsīr, where he died in 1837. Ibn Idrīs himself wrote relatively little (see *ALA*, i, 124-38; see further *The letters of Aḥmad ibn Idrīs*, ed. E. Thomassen and Radtke, London 1993) and seemingly made no effort to organise an order. His importance lies in his students and their impact on northeastern and eastern Africa.

Among Ibn Idrīs's many students was the North African Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (1202-76/1787-1859), who established the Sanūsiyya order in Cyrenaica and the central Sahara (see K.S. Vikør, *Sufi and scholar on the desert edge. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī and his brotherhood*, London 1995); Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī (1208-68/1794-1852), from an old-established Ḥidjāzī family who propagated the Khatmiyya in Egypt, the Sudan, the Yemen and parts of Ethiopia and Eritrea (see J.O. Voll, *A history of the Khatmiyyah Tariqah in the Sudan*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University 1969); and Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ al-Rashīd al-Duwayhī (1813-74 [*q.v.*]), from whom, in turn, stemmed a series of orders, the Rashīdiyya, Ṣāliḥiyya [*q.v.*] and Dandarāwiyya that spread in Egypt, Somalia and Southeast Asia (mainly Malaysia). Although there were disputes among the various orders of the Idrīsī tradition (see further M. Sedgwick, *Succession and inheritance in a Sufi order: the case of Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd*, in *Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara*, ii, Paris 1997, 149-62, and Hamdan Hassan, *Tarikat Ahmadiyyah di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur 1990), they kept a common heritage in Ibn Idrīs's prayers (*awrād*) and litanies (*aḥzāb*). A more modern offshoot of the Idrīsī tradition is the Djaʿfariyya, established in Upper Egypt and Cairo by Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Djaʿfarī (1910-79, on whose writings, see *ALA*, i, 162-5).

In addition to these major orders, there are a number of smaller local orders, such as the Ismāʿīliyya established in Kordofan [*q.v.*] in the Sudan by a one-time student of al-Mīrghanī Ismāʿīl al-Walī (1793-1863; see Mahmoud Abdalla Ibrahim, *The history of the Ismaʿiliyya Tariqa in the Sudan, 1792-1914*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of London 1980). Another Sudanese tradition is associated with the Madjādhīb clan of al-Dāmar, foremost of whom was Muḥammad Madjdhūb (1795-1831; see A. Hofheinz, *Internalizing Islam. Shaykh Muḥammad Majdhūb, scriptural Islam and local context in nineteenth-century Islam*, dr. philos. thesis, Univ. of Bergen 1996). In East Africa likewise, a number of smaller orders were established in the 19th century: a *shaykh* from Brava (Barāwa) in southern Somalia, Uways b. Muḥammad al-Barāwī (1847-1909), propagated a branch of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] with links to ʿIrāḳ. Two other examples are the spread of the Yashrūṭiyya (on whom, see J. van Ess, *Libanesische Miszellen. 6. Die Yashrūṭiyya*, in *WI*, xvi, 1-103), a Lebanese order that was taken to the Comoro Islands (Djazīrat al-Ḳamar) and northern Mozambique, and the Nūrāniyya, an offshoot of the Shādhiliyya established in Zanzibar by the *ḳāḍī* and scholar, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Amawī (1834-96; see further, O'Fahey and Ann Biersteker, *The writings of the Muslim peoples of Eastern Africa*, = vol. iii of *ALA* [forthcoming]). Another Ṣūfī tradition, that of the ʿAlawiyya of the Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], was also active on the East African coast and islands.

As noted above, the 19th century was Africa's Ṣūfī one. This manifested itself in two ways; one was the resistence to imperialist occupation led by such figures as Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī in Libya against the Italians, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazāʾirī [*q.v.*] of Algeria against the French and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ḥasan (d. 1922) of Somalia, a Ṣāliḥī *shaykh* who fought against the Ethiopians, Italians and British. A longer term and, perhaps more important aspect, was the role of the brotherhoods in the Islamisation of nominal Muslims in the region through education, the writing of popular litanies and simple works of dogmatics (written increasingly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in vernacular languages, Swahili, Fulfulde or Hausa), and *daʿwa* activities.

The new orders spread spectacularly. There were two main ways; one, characteristic of the Khatmiyya and the revived Ḳādirī orders, was the incorporation of pre-existing holy lineages into the new supra-ethnic orders, where often elaborate hierarchies of *khalīfas*, *muḳaddams*, *amīns*, down to the *ḥuwārāt*, female attendants who received the donations of the female devotees, were created, where distinctions between those who administered and those who initiated were maintained. The Khatmiyya hierarchy, for example, includes a *nāʾib* who was the *shaykh*'s personal assistant, while the senior *khalīfa*, the *khalīfat al-khulafāʾ*, had his assistant, *al-nāʾib al-ʿāmm*. The local *khalīfa*s were known as *khalīfat al-balad* or *khalīfat al-nāḥiya* (see further, Ali Salih Karrar, *The Sufi brotherhoods of the Sudan*, London 1992, 130-6). The orders maintained Ḳurʾānic schools (in Sudanese Ar., *khalwa* or *masīd* [= *masdjid*]), organised the weekly *dhikr* (usually on a Thursday), had their own distinctive flags, musical instruments and regalia, and maintained the tombs of the founders of the *ṭarīḳa*s and their kin.

The other model was the implantation into hitherto infertile ground of quasi-missionary institutions that acted as foci for new economic and intellectual activity—the classic examples are the Sanūsiyya in Cyrenaica and the Ṣāliḥiyya in Somalia. The basic institution of both orders were socio-religious centres or *zāwiya*s (Somali, *cammaa*), exploiting new agricultural and commercial possibilities, appealing to new groups, offering a new kind of Islamic education and, generally, internationalising African Islam. The Ṣāliḥiyya centres in Somalia were often built on clay soil, previously not utilised by the Somalis, and attracted ex-slaves and other outcaste groups, while the Sanūsī *zāwiya*s were often sited on the boundaries between two tribes or along Saharan trade-routes.

In recent times the tendency, especially in urban areas, has been for the emergence of individual preachers, using cassettes and the like. How the *ṭarīḳas* will fare in the new dispensation remains unclear.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, *Les voies d'Allah*, Paris 1996, which provides a very full bibliographical coverage. (R.S. O'Fahey)

4. In sub-Saharan Africa.

See for this TAṢAWWUF. 9. In Africa south of the Maghrib during the 19th and 20th centuries.

5. In the Turkish lands, from Anatolia to Eastern Turkestan.

i. Orders indigenous to the Turkish lands.

(a) *The Yasawiyya (Central Asia, Khwārazm, the Kazakh steppe, the Tatar realm, Eastern Turkestan and Turkey)*

The Yasawiyya played an important role from the 12th century onwards in the Islamisation of the Turkish peoples and the sovereigns of the Golden Horde, having Yasî (or Ḥaḍrat, what is today Turkistān in modern Kazakhistān) as its centre. Certain traditions maintain that the founder, Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1162 [*q.v.*]), was probably a disciple of Abū Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 534/1140); he in turn was the successor to a tradition, which started with Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874 or 234/857), as the founder of the *ṭarīḳa-yi khwādjagān* (with its centre at Marw and Khwārazm). However, recent works show that the Yasawiyya is much more in keeping with the sect of the Mubayyiḍiyya, a group comprising the followers of Abū Muslim (A. Muminov, *Mübeyyidiyye-Yeseviyye alâkası hakkında*, in *Bir*, Istanbul, i [1994]).

The representatives and disciples of Aḥmad Yasawī, such as Ḥakīm Atā (d. 582/1183) and Saʿīd Atā (d. 615/1218), mainly preached in the regions of the Sîr Daryā, the Volga, Khwārazm, and as far as eastern Turkestan. The expansion of the order is connected with the concerns for Islamisation (cf. Fuat Köprülü, *Türk edebiyyatında ilk mutaṣavvîflar*, Istanbul 1919, and the works of Devin DeWeese). From the 13th century onwards, the *shaykh*s of this order arrived in Anatolia fleeing from the Mongols. They disappeared from there in the 16th century. In Anatolia the Yasawiyya are associated with an order of *Ḳalandar*s called Ḥaydariyya, established by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar al-Zāwayī (d. 1221), who appears to have been a disciple of Aḥmad Yasawī.

From the 16th century onwards in Central Asia, the Yasawiyya (also called Sulṭāniyya) lost its influence to the Naḳshbandiyya, with which it has often been associated, primarily with a particular sub-group of this order which was not opposed to the oral, *djahrī*, *dhikr*. At that time it was identified with the order called Djahriyya (i.e. with the Ḳādiriyya).

The principal branch of the Yasawiyya, established in the 16th century by Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAzīzān (d. 912/1507) and located in the region of Samarḳand, was known by the name of ʿAzīziyya (Muḥammad ʿĀlim al-Ṣiddīḳī al-ʿAlawī, *Lamaḥāt min nafaḥāt al-Ḳuds*, Tashkent 1909). On the other hand, the Yasawiyya gained more popular support, and this distanced it from the system of brotherhoods, now leaving its *shaykh*s only in charge of the devotions performed at the tombs of their masters. Today it is represented by the lines of *īshān*s, who possess genealogical documentation (*shadjara*) and even sometimes seals (*muhr*), who are considered the descendants of the founder or of his disciples and who mostly live in the south of Kazakhistān (Dasht-i Ḳîpčaḳ, Turkistān, Čimkent) and in some regions of Turkmenistān (see the studies of S.M. Demidov and A. Muminov).

(b) *The Naḳshbandiyya (Central Asia, Eastern Turkestan, the Tatar realm, Ādharbāydjān, the Caucasus, Khurāsān and Turkey)*

Under Bahā' al-Dīn Naḳshband (d. 791/1389) one branch of the movement of the Khwādjagān adopted the name *ṭarīḳa-yi Naḳshbandiyya*, having the town of Bukhārā as its centre. The second great figure in this order was Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 896/1490 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), who settled in Tashkent and Samarḳand. He strengthened the *ṭarīḳa* and enabled its expansion beyond Central Asia by sending out many disciples into the Ottoman Empire (Istanbul and Amasya), to Harāt, and to Ādharbāydjān (Tabrīz and Ḳazwīn; see the studies of H. Algar and of Jo-Ann Gross).

The third great representative of the order in Central Asia was Mawlānā Khwādjagī Ḳā'ānī Dakhbidī, known as Makhdūm-i Aʿẓam (d. 949/1542) at Samarḳand (see the studies of B. Babazanov). His disciple, Khwādja Muḥammad Islām Djūybārī (d. 971/1563), founded the dynasty of the *shaykh*s called the Djūybārī, which was established in Bukhārā. This group was influential in the Khānate of Bukhārā, and maintained its position in the forefront of religious power until the end of the 19th century.

It was a pupil of Islām Djūybārī who introduced the Naḳshbandiyya to Eastern Turkestan (Yārkand and Kāshghar). It was known there as the ʿIshḳiyya and Āfāḳiyya (see the studies of J. Fletcher and Niẓamüddin Ḥüsäyin, *3. Ḳabahät ʿäḳidä. yäʿni bir ḳätim Appaḳ Khodja Toghrisida*, in *Shindjang Mädäniyati* (Urumči) [1989], 113-54). In the 19th century the order was represented in the principal cities of Central Asia and in particular at Bukhārā, in Farghānā, and in Afghān Turkestan. The order was introduced to the Tatars of the Volga (Ḳāzān, Ufā) at Astrakhān, and into Siberia from Bukhārā and Afghānistān, and also from the Caucasus, where it had existed since the 18th century, and from Turkey (Muḥammad Murād al-Ramzī, *Talfīḳ al-akhbār wa-talḳīḥ al-āthār fī Ḳāzān wa-Bulghār wa-mulūk al-Tātār*, Orenburg 1908).

After the direct introduction of the order into Central Asia in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Ottoman empire welcomed two further branches of the brotherhood. The first was introduced to Istanbul from Mecca and India and was called the Indian Naḳshbandiyya Mudjaddidiyya. The second, which was of Kurdish and Indian origins, was the Khālidiyya, founded by Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1243/1827). It was first of all established in the Kurdish provinces, then at Istanbul (see the works of H. Algar, I. Gündüz, and B. Abu Manneh). At the end of the 19th century the dominant branch of the Naḳshbandiyya in the Ottoman empire was the Khālidiyya, but in Istanbul and some towns in Anatolia there were also some *tekke*s; these were encouraged by the pilgrims originating from Central Asia, who were associated with a Naḳshbandiyya which was strongly pervaded by Ḳalandarī and Yasawī practices (Th. Zarcone, *Histoire et croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul*, in *Anatolia Moderna/Yeni Anadolu* (Paris-Istanbul), ii [1991], 137-200). Despite the prohibitions by Atatürk and the persecutions of the Soviets and the Chinese, the Naḳshbandiyya is still represented in the different regions of the Turkish world; for Turkey see idem, *Les Nakşibendi et la République turque de la persécution au repositionnement théologique, politique et social (1925-1991)*, in *Turcica*, xxiv [1992], 133-51; also in Central Asia (in Uzbekistān, to the south of Ḳazakhistān, and in Tādjīkistān) and also Sinkiang (Yārkand, Urumči, Turfān and Kuča) and Afghān Turkestan.

(c) *The Ḳalandariyya (Central Asia, Khurāsān, the Kazakh steppe, Eastern Turkestan and Turkey)*

There has been evidence of wandering dervishes called *ḳalandars* in Central Asia and Anatolia from the 12th and the 13th centuries. Despite the fact that several orders of Ḳalandarīs were formed between the 12th and the 17th centuries, a large number of *ḳalandars* remained with no administrative ties but nevertheless abided by precise rules. This movement was well represented in Eastern Turkestan, for example, in the 18th century (*Ẓālilili divanī*, ed. Imīn Tursun, Peking 1405/1985). The *ḳalandars* were known by several names (*d̲j̲awlaḳī, ḥaydarī*, etc.) and existed in Anatolia and Istanbul until the 16th century (see A.Y. Ocak, *Kalenderîler (XIV-XVII. yüzyıllar)*, Ankara 1992). From this date onwards, the Ḳalandariyya disappeared from the western Turkish world, but they remained in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan until the beginning of the 20th century.

There were four separate orders of Ḳalandarīs. The first was founded in the 13th century in Persia by D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī (630/1232-3). The second originated in about the same period and was founded by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar al-Zāwayī (d. 618/1221), as cited previously, and was based at the town of Zāwa [*q.v.*] (or Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya) in K̲h̲urāsān. The third, which was founded in the 15th century by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar Tūnī (d. 830/1426), was located at Tabrīz (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāʾī, *Rawḍāt al-d̲j̲inān wa-d̲j̲annāt al-d̲j̲anān*, Tehran 1344/1965, i, 467). The fourth and last was founded by Bābā Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Ṣafā (d. 1153/1740-1) and was centred on Samarḳand (Abū Ṭāhir K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a-yi Samarḳandī, *Samariyya*, in *Du risāla dar tārīk̲h̲-i mazārāt wa d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Samarḳand*, Tehran 1367 *s̲h̲*./1982, 192) but it also had authority over other groups which were established in other towns of Transoxiana, such as Tas̲h̲kent, Buk̲h̲ārā, K̲h̲īwa, Ura-T'ube and Ḳattaḳurg̲h̲ān (A.L. Troiṯskaya, *Iz pros̲h̲logo Kalandarov i Maddak̲h̲ov v Uzbekistane*, in *Domusul'manskie verovaniya i obryadi ve Sredney Azii*, Moscow 1975, 192-223).

(d) *The Kubrawiyya (K̲h̲ʷārazm, Central Asia, the Kazak̲h̲ steppe and Turkey)*

The principal town of the Kubrawiyya is Kuhna Urgenč [see URGENČ], where the mausoleum of the founder of the order, Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/12221), is preserved. Next in order of importance is Buk̲h̲ārā, where a disciple of Kubrā, Sayf al-Dīn Bāk̲h̲arzī (d. 659/1261), formed a *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* and converted a Mongol sovereign to Islam. Another pupil of his, Bābā Kamāl D̲j̲andī (d. 672/1273), propagated Islam and the brotherhood among the nomadic Turks of the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳîpčaḳ. Later in the Tīmūrid period, ʿAlī Hamadānī (d. 786/1385) and his disciples introduced the order into Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān and into the north of Afg̲h̲ānistān. The last link of the spiritual lineage of Bābā Kamāl D̲j̲andī, Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn K̲h̲ʷārazmī (d. 958/1551), was active at the time of the S̲h̲aybānids in K̲h̲ʷārazm and in Samarḳand. Despite the fact that the Kubrawiyya declined perceptibly from the 16th century onwards, with the rise of the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya it maintained a feeble presence in Central Asia until the 19th century through certain *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* such as Mawlānā S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Pāyanday Sāktarī (or Sātaragī) in the neighbourhood of Buk̲h̲ārā, and in particular at Samarḳand around Tas̲h̲kent, at Ḥiṣār and in the Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān (see the work of DeWeese). Finally, some disciples who were separated from Kubrā fled from the Mongol invasion towards Sald̲j̲ūḳ Anatolia (Cl. Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, Istanbul 1988, 218).

(e) *Other* ṭarīḳas

The Zayniyya, which originated in K̲h̲urāsān (at the beginning of the 15th century), existed at Bursa and then at Istanbul in the second half of the 15th century, before being absorbed by the other orders in the 18th century. At the end of the 14th century the Kāzarūniyya, which originated in S̲h̲irāz, was welcomed to Bursa by the Ottoman Sultan Bāyezīd I, but it was also to be found at Edirne and also at Erzurūm.

ii. New orders appearing in Anatolia.

(a) *The Bektās̲h̲iyya (Turkey)*

This order took its name from Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bektās̲h̲ Walī (d. 669/1270-1) and originated in the heterodox religious movements of Anatolia (Bābāʾī, Abdāl, etc.) which were related to the Malāmatiyya of K̲h̲urāsān and remained under the influence of the Central Asian Yasawiyya and Ḳalandariyya. The history of the Bektās̲h̲iyya before the 19th century is not well known. It was established in the form of an order in the 15th and 16th centuries by Bālīm Sulṭān (d. 922/1516) on the basis of the ideas of its eponymous founder. Its centre was in the village of Hacıbektaş in Anatolia (see the studies of J.K. Birge, S. Faroqi and I. Mélikoff). The running of the centre was bicephalous and strongly centralised. The *čelebī* represented the ʿAlawīs (a rural and tribal form of this order); the *dede* the Bektās̲h̲īs. Although banned in 1825, the order re-established itself quietly and was very well represented at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, particularly in Istanbul; there a *tekke*, that of Merdivenköy, rivalled the mother house of Hacıbektaş (see N. Vatin and T. Zarcone on the *tekkes* of Istanbul, in *Le tekke bektachi de Merdivenköy*, in *Anatolia Moderna/Yeni Anadolu*, ii (1991), and in *Etudes sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach*, Istanbul 1995). At the beginning of this century the principal *tekkes* of the order (except for the Arab and the Balkan provinces) were in certain towns in Turkey; the most important were Hacıbektaş, and Istanbul, and the others were Bursa, Çanakkale, Elmalı, Izmir, Sinop, Tire, etc.

(b) *The Mawlawiyya (Turkey and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān)*

The Mawlawiyya was founded in the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period by Mawlānā D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Ḳonya [*q.v.*]. It was organised by his son Sulṭān Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad [*q.v.*], who determined the rituals to be performed by the order. At its beginning, the Mawlawiyya brotherhood, like several *ṭarīḳas* in Turkey, was marked by the strain of *ḳalandars*. From them the order inherited two contrary attitudes (*mes̲h̲reb*) but these have never resulted in separate constituent branches: the S̲h̲amsī (heterodox-ʿAlawī) attitude and the Waladī (orthodox) attitude. At the outset, the brotherhood was essentially concentrated on Ḳonya before spreading out in Anatolia. But there was among them from the start a *mawlawī-k̲h̲āna* at Sulṭāniyya in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān (Ahmet Eflâkî, *Ariflerin menkibeleri*, tr. T. Yazıcı, Istanbul 1973, ii, 274-98). The expansion into Anatolia and the rest of the empire took place at the time of Ulū ʿĀrif Čelebī (d. 720/1320), and especially of Dīwāna Maḥmūd Čelebī (d. 935/1529), though it never crossed the eastern borders.

The Mawlawiyya was introduced into Istanbul at the beginning of the 16th century (in the convent in Galata). Given that Ḳonya was the most important of the *mawlawī-k̲h̲ānas*, the next in order of importance were those of Ḳaraḥiṣār, of Kütahya, and of Manisa (Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevilik*, repr. Istanbul 1983, 330-40). At the end of the 19th century, almost all the cities of the empire possessed a *mawlawī-k̲h̲āna* (see S̲h̲erīf-zāde Sayyid Meḥmed Fāḍil Pas̲h̲a, *S̲h̲arḥ-i ḥaḳāʾiḳ-i ad̲h̲kār-i Mawlānā*, Istanbul 1283/1882, 420-1; on the history of the *mawlawī-*

khānas, see *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, xix [1994]). The order was very centralised and nomination was always made from Ḳonya, but the *mawlawī-khānas* also had great prestige and strongly influenced the history of the order.

(c) *The Khalwatiyya (Ādharbāydjān, the Caucasus and Turkey)*

The *khalwatiyya* appeared in Ādharbāydjān between the 14th and the 15th centuries and took its name from ʿUmar al-Khalwatī (d. 800/1397). But its true organiser was a Caucasian, Yaḥyā Shirwānī (d. 868 or 869/1463-5). The order was originally established in the Caucasus (Shirwān) and in Ādharbāydjān (Tabrīz and Bākū), with its centre at Bākū. But then it moved to Amasya (Anatolia) and Harāt (Khurāsān), though it did not remain in this last-mentioned place (Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ii, 366-7). The Khalwatiyya disappeared from the town of its origin after the 16th century and firmly settled in Amasya, where it obtained the favour of the future Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd II, who then had it transferred to Istanbul (B.G. Martin, *A short history of the Khalwati order of dervishes*, in *Scholars, saints and Sufis*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie, Berkeley etc. 1972, 275-305). Although at Amasya it was called Djamāliyya, it was subsequently known in the Ottoman capital as Sünbüliyya. Despite it being divided into multiple branches, the Khalwatiyya preserved a certain unity and demanded recognition as one of the most powerful Ottoman brotherhoods. It was to gain an introduction into most of the provinces of the empire. At the end of the 19th century in Istanbul, it dominated all the brotherhoods because of the number of its *tekkes*. Certain of its branches, such as the Djerrāḥiyya, the Sināniyya, and the ʿUshshāḳiyya still exist today.

(d) *The Bayrāmiyya and Melāmīlik (Turkey)*

The Bayrāmiyya was instituted in the 15th century at Ankara by Ḥadjdjī Bayrām Walī (d. 833/1429-30) and was the successor to a Ṣūfī tradition of Ādharbāydjānī origin, which claimed a connection with the Malāmatiyya of Khurāsān. The order spread out into all of central Anatolia (Aksaray, Göynük) but was poorly represented in Istanbul and did not enjoy the success of the other brotherhoods. More or less connected with the Bayrāmiyya were the Ḥamzawīs, the messianic revolutionary movement which took its name from Ḥamza Bālī (d. 981/1573). It developed clandestinely in Istanbul where it continued until the beginning of the 20th century. Another movement called Melāmīlik, established by Meḥmed Nūr al-ʿArabī (d. 1305/1888), and a product of the circle of Ḥamzawīs in the Balkans, made its appearance in Istanbul and Izmir at the end of the 19th century (Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, Istanbul 1931; *Melamî et Bayramî*, ed. N. Clayer, A. Popovic and Th. Zarcone, Istanbul-Paris 1997). The Melāmīlik and the Ḥamzawiyya did not suffer banning under Atatürk in 1925, and their members continued to spread their teaching throughout the Republican period.

iii. Turkish borrowings from the Arab world.

(a) *The Rifāʿiyya (Turkey and Caucasia)*

Founded in ʿIrāḳ by Aḥmad Rifāʿī (d. 578/1182), this brotherhood was attested between the 13th and the 14th centuries throughout the whole of Mongol Anatolia; there it was first known as Aḥmedilik or Baṭāʾiḥiyya (according to Eflākī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). Its main centre was in the neighbourhood of Amasya, but there were others at Izmir and Balıkesir. The Rifāʿiyya was introduced somewhat later to Istanbul in the 18th century by Muḥammad Ḥadīdī (d. 1169/1756; Ekrem Işın, *Rıfâîlik*, in *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vi, 325-30). It was marked by the practices of the *akhīs* [*q.v.*] and was often associated with the orders which were quite consonant with regard to the *sharīʿa*; in the beginning, it could be observed together with the Mawlawiyya and the Bektāshiyya, and in the 20th century with the Melāmīlik of Meḥmed Nūr al-ʿArabī (cf. the work of Gölpınarlı). It should be noted that like the Ottoman Ḳādiriyya (see further below), the Rifāʿiyya evolved without any administrative connection with the mother-house of the order situated at Wāsiṭ in ʿIrāḳ. The Rifāʿiyya were absent from the eastern Turkish world, but in the mid-14th century Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted that a successor of the founder was leading a *khānaḳāh* in the northern Caucasus (Mādjar). When invited by the Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II, Abu ʾl-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī, a Rifāʿī *shaykh*, came directly from Syria and, as the representative of a very orthodox branch of the order, established a *tekke* in Istanbul at the end of the 19th century, giving a new direction to this order (B. Abu-Manneh, *Sultan Abdulhamid II and Shaikh Abulhuda al-Sayyadi*, in *Middle Eastern Review*, xv [1979], 131-53). Today the Rifāʿiyya exist in Istanbul (see e.g. the *tekke* of ʿAlī Bābā in the Kasımpaşa quarter) and all over Anatolia.

(b) *The Ḳādiriyya (Central Asia, Eastern Turkestan, the Caucasus and Turkey)*

The presence of members of this order, which traced itself back to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (d. 561/1165-6 [*q.v.*]), is attested in Turkey (e.g. at Kastamonu) well before the Eshrafiyya branch was established at Iznīḳ. This was the first organised Turkish form of the Ḳādiriyya to be introduced from Ḥamā in Syria by Eshrafoghlu ʿAbd Allāh Rūmī (d. 874/1469). A second wave called Rūmiyya, introduced from Baghdād in the 17th century by Ismāʿīl Rūmī (d. 1041/1631-2), was to absorb the Eshrafiyya. The Ḳādiriyya-Rūmiyya, then well settled in numerous towns of Anatolia, had at its disposal a mother-house in Tusya, later removed to Istanbul. The *tekke* established by Ismāʿīl Rūmī in this town is today still the centre of the Turkish Ḳādiriyya, but it no longer preserves any connection with its mother-house in Baghdād (Seyyid Sırrı Ali, *Tuhfe-i Rûmî. Kâdiriler asitanesi'nin manzum tarihçesi. Tuhfe-i Rûmî*, Istanbul 1992; for a bibliography on the Ḳādiriyya, see Zarcone, *Un document inédit sur les tekke ḳadiri de l'Empire ottoman et du monde musulmane au XIXe siècle*, in *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin*, ed. J.-L. Bacqué-Gramont, Paris 1992, 275-83). In the middle of the 16th century the Ḳādiriyya was introduced into the Crimea from Ḥamāt (Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Rifʿat, *al-Riyāʾ al-ʿaliyya fī beyān ṭarīḳat al-Ḳādiriyya*, ms. Millet, Istanbul no. 1127, fols. 283b-284a). It was only in the 19th century that the order appeared in the Caucasus, where it still continues today. It is not known whether the Ḳādiriyya was introduced into Central Asia before the 19th century. It appeared next from India in Farghānā (the Niẓāmiyya branch) and in Eastern Turkestan (*Shadjara-yi Ḳādiriyya Niẓāmiyya*, ms. no. 3960, Institut Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR, Tashkent; Mullā Mūsā Sayrāmī, *Tārīkh-i Āminiyya*, repr. Urumči, Shindjang Khālḳ N. 1988, 362-2).

(c) *Other* ṭarīḳas

The Badawiyya appeared in Istanbul in the 19th century; the Shādhiliyya were introduced into Istanbul in the 19th century; the Saʿdiyya were introduced into Istanbul in the 18th century; and the Tidjāniyya were introduced into Turkey in the 20th century.

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6. In the Balkans.

i. *Early times and the Ottoman period.* The establishment of mystical Muslim brotherhoods in the Balkan Peninsula only really began with the Ottoman conquest of these regions. Before the arrival of the Ottomans in Europe, all that is recorded is the presence, in the 7th/13th century, of one Turkish warrior saint, a more or less mythical figure named Ṣarî Ṣalṭuḳ Dede [*q.v.*], who settled in Dobrudja [*q.v.*], with Turkish tribes originally from Sinūb, thus forming a buffer between the Byzantine Empire and the Golden Horde. Long after his death, Ṣarî Ṣalṭuḳ became the symbol of the Islamisation of the Peninsula, exploited for this purpose particularly by the brotherhood of the Bektāshīs.

If an overall view is taken of the diffusion of Ṣūfī networks in the Balkan region and the role of their members in Rumelian society, it is appropriate to divide the Ottoman era into three major periods.

(a) The period of the first conquests (14th-15th centuries) is also that of the installation of the "colonising dervishes", to borrow the expression of Ömer Lutfi Barkan: dervishes mostly of heterodox origin (Ḳalandarīs, Bektāshīs or others) who emigrated towards the newly-conquered territories and established themselves in regions deserted by Christian populations or at strategic points along the communications routes; dervishes who cultivated the land themselves, worked for the diffusion of Muslim religion and culture, participated in military campaigns or sent contingents of believers to fight on their behalf. In the eastern sector of the territories then under Ottoman control (Thrace, Deli Orman and Dobrudja), the two figures most emblematic of this intensely heterodox Ṣūfism were Sheykh Badr al-Dīn of Samāwnā [*q.v.*] (hanged at Serres in 819/1416) and ʿOthmān Baba (d. 883/1478-9), founder of a *tekke* near Khāṣṣköy (currently Haskovo, in Bulgaria). Both left a lasting imprint upon the populations known today as Ḳîzîlbāsh-Alevis, of Dobrudja, of Deli Orman, of the eastern Rhodope chain and of eastern Thrace. In the 15th century, other brotherhoods began to extend their networks as far as the Balkans, including the Bayrāmiyya (second quarter of the 15th century), the Naḳshbandiyya and the Khalwatiyya (second half of the 15th century).

(b) In the early 16th century, another period begins, characterised in particular by a policy of "Sunnitisation" of the Ottoman empire, to counter the external menace of the Ṣafawids and the heterodoxy of various ethnic groups within the empire. The reign of Selīm I (1512-20) constitutes, in this regard, a "turning-point in political and religious life" in the Balkans, as in the rest of the empire, as has been shown by I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr (*Le règne de Selīm I*[er]*: tournant dans la vie politique et religieuse de l'Empire*, in *Turcica*, vi [1975], 34-48). These changes were to result in a structuring and a renewal of control of certain heterodox groups within a reorganised Bektāshiyya, and in particular, the increase of politically and religiously more orthodox brotherhoods. Among the latter, especially worthy of mention are certain branches of the Khalwatiyya (Djamāliyya, Sunbuliyya) and the Djalwatiyya, which numbered among their adherents *sheykhs* such as Sofyalî Bālī Efendi (d. 1553 in Sofia), Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Nūr al-Dīn-zāde (d. 1574) and ʿAzīz Maḥmūd Hudāʾī (d. 1628), who denounced before the most senior authorities of the empire the heterodoxy of, among others, the followers of Sheykh Badr al-Dīn and the Ḳîzîlbāsh of Deli Orman. There was thus a development of new and essentially urban Ṣūfī networks, in most cases fuelled by foundations on the part of eminent individuals, this extending to the new frontier regions. In the latter, it is important to stress the support and even the active participation contributed by the *sheykhs* to numerous campaigns of

"holy war" against the "unbelievers". Alongside the various Khalwatī networks which became extremely close-knit at this time in the Balkan Peninsula, other *ṭuruḳ* proliferated in these regions: the afore-mentioned Djalwatiyya; the Ḳādiriyya from the early 17th century onwards, following the journey undertaken by Ismāʿīl Rūmī, founder of a new Ḳādirī network, the two principal centres of diffusion being situated in Istanbul (*āsitāne* of Topkhāne) and Edirne; the Mawlawiyya, who were established only in certain important urban centres (Pečuy/Pecs, Sarajevo, Salonica, Serres, Elbasan, Plovdiv, etc.); and probably also the Rifāʿiyya. The *Seyāḥat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebī testifies to this presence of the orders in practically all the Balkan urban centres in the mid-17th century. It should be noted that, despite the efforts of the Ottoman authorities, heterodox Ṣūfism was far from eradicated in the Peninsula; there was even the expansion of a new heterodox movement, originating in Anatolia, in the 16th century, that of the Malāmī-Bayramīs (later the Ḥamzawīs), which had adherents especially in Thrace, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the region of Belgrade and perhaps as far as Hungary.

(c) The defeat of the Ottoman armies under the walls of Vienna in 1683, followed by the Austrian and Venetian reconquests, resulted in substantial upheavals for European Turkey: a loss of territories, auguring further and even more significant losses, and a permanent fear of uprisings on the part of Christian populations. It was probably for these reasons that the Ottoman authorities undertook in the Balkans, from the mid-18th century onwards, a policy of reinforcing the Muslim element, either by means of more energetic colonisation or by encouraging the Islamisation of local populations. Although the sources make few explicit references to the role of the *ṭuruḳ* in the process, it is a fact that this was accompanied by the expansion of new networks, which contributed to the cohesiveness of the Muslim populations, both the recently-converted and the recent arrivals in these regions. These new Ṣūfī networks supplanted to some extent the older ones in the towns, but also enjoyed an unprecedented expansion in rural zones, particularly in the regions which currently comprise Albania, Macedonia, Kosovo, northern Greece and Bulgaria. New *ṭuruḳ*, or new confraternal branches, grew extensively in Rumelia at this time, and sometimes at a much later stage, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus there were the Saʿdiyya from the beginning of the 18th century (in the western sector of the Peninsula); the Malāmiyya-Nūriyya, founded in Macedonia by Muḥammad Nūr al-ʿArabī (d. 1888); the Shādhiliyya, with a few exceptional *tekkes* founded at Kosovo and in Bulgarian territory; the Tidjāniyya, who expanded *ca.* 1900 in northern Albania; also numerous branches of the Khalwatiyya, several of which were born in the Balkans (in particular the Djarrāḥiyya, members of which played an active role in the reconquest and recolonisation of the Peloponnese after 1715, the Gulshaniyya-Sezāʾiyya which came into existence at Edirne in the early 18th century, and the Ḥayātiyya, founded at Ohrid during the second half of the 18th century); and two new Naḳshbandī branches (the Mudjaddidiyya, and especially the Khālidiyya in the 19th century). Older orders also consolidated their position, including the Rifāʿiyya from the early 19th century onwards, and the Bektāshiyya who, from the second half of the 19th century, experienced a very significant expansion in southern and central Albanian territories, where they played a dominant role in the Albanian national awakening.

As in the remainder of the Ottoman empire, *ṭuruḳ* were numerous and active in the Balkan lands under Ottoman domination. They played a role there in religious life, representing more or less orthodox (or more or less heterodox) tendencies, but also on the economic and social level (through the influence of *waḳfs*) as well as in cultural, artistic and political domains.

ii. *The post-Ottoman period.* Of the fifteen or so Muslim mystical orders which were implanted during the Ottoman period in the Balkans (and in South-Eastern Europe in general) eleven were to survive (in an organised and structured form, centred around their establishments, i.e. *tekkes* and *zawāyā*) for varying periods of time after the departure of Ottoman troops. Those concerned are the Bektāshiyya, the Ḳādiriyya, the Khalwatiyya, the Malāmiyya-Nūriyya, the Mawlawiyya, the Naḳshbandiyya, the Rifāʿiyya, the Saʿdiyya, the Shādhiliyya, the Sināniyya (a branch of the Khalwatiyya) and the Tidjāniyya. There would seem to be no more than ten existing today, since the Mawlawiyya disappeared in their turn, while the Malāmiyya-Nūriyya, the Shādhiliyya and the Sināniyya have gradually declined.

For various reasons, dictated primarily by the numerical scale of the Muslim populations remaining on the ground, their survival has not been uniform in all the six countries of South-Eastern Europe, these eleven *ṭuruḳ* not having everywhere displayed the same resilience. Account must also be taken of another highly important phenomenon, the fact that the beginnings of the "post-Ottoman" period are located, according to the different regions, at dates between 1699 and 1912. From an overall perspective, the *ṭuruḳ* have survived primarily in the western sector of the Peninsula (Albania and Yugoslavia), to a lesser extent in eastern and southern regions (Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece), and not at all in the northern sector (Hungary, Croatia). This continued existence is owed to nothing other than a twofold struggle: on the one hand against, or at least on the fringes of the newly-created or reconstructed states of which these brotherhoods were henceforward to form a part (particularly during the Communist period), on the other, against or at best on the fringes of the official authorities of local Muslim communities, often hostile to the *ṭuruḳ*. In this last case, account should be taken of various attempts on the part of orders to liberate themselves from the tutelage of the official Muslim authorities by means of creating more or less independent structures, or on the contrary, through the formation of structures of the same type, but by the official Muslim community, designed to control the *ṭuruḳ* (in Yugoslavia, in the 1970s, the creation of the *ZIDRA* in Kosovo, and of the *Tarikatski Centar* in Sarajevo; in Albania, the formation of two organisations of this type in the 1930s, *Drita Hyjnore* and *Kryesija e Sekteve Alevijan*, and, especially, in an exceptional case for this region, the creation of a Bektāshi community which became an independent religious community with the same status as that of the Sunnī Muslims).

The principal items of information regarding the history of this survival, regarding the organisation and functioning of these eleven brotherhoods during the period in question, as well as thorough bibliographies, are to be found in the works and articles cited below, but the situation could be illustrated in terms of three groups of brotherhoods which functioned with varying degrees of activity in accordance with temporal and regional variations. The first group is that of the two "great" orders, comprising the Bektāshiyya (present

especially in Albania, in Kosovo and in Macedonia; also, but only for a short time, in Greece, in Thessaly and western Thrace) and the Khalwatiyya (present almost everywhere, but established most strongly in Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina). Then there are the six "medium" orders: the Ḳādiriyya (especially in Albania, in Kosovo, in Macedonia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina; also, to a lesser extent, in Deli Orman in Bulgaria); the Malāmiyya-Nūriyya (especially in Kosovo and in Macedonia and possibly also, in smaller numbers, in Deli Orman); the Mawlawiyya (which survived for a considerable time in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Kosovo and Macedonia and apparently also, to a lesser degree, in Bulgaria); the Naḳshbandiyya (mostly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to a lesser degree in Kosovo, in Macedonia, in Deli Orman and in the Bulgarian and Rumanian Dodrudja); the Rifāʿiyya (especially in Kosovo, in Macedonia and Albania and also to a small extent in Bulgaria, as well as in Bosnia-Herzegovina, this last case principally involving Albanians from Kosovo established in the city of Sarajevo); and the Saʿdiyya (mainly in Kosovo, in Macedonia and Albania). Finally, there is the group of three "minor" orders: the Shādhiliyya (in Bulgaria and Kosovo), the Sināniyya (in Macedonia and Kosovo) and the Tidjāniyya (presence recorded only in Albania). It is to be noted that the networks of these brotherhoods are in general divided into regional and even ethnic sub-networks, meaning that it is possible to observe, within a single *ṭarīḳa*, Turkish, Albanian, and Slav "networks", and even, since several decades and especially in Macedonia, Gypsy ones. As for the worship of saints, which constitutes in certain cases the only evidence for the presence of the brotherhoods in the past, this often unites the Muslim and Christian populations.

After the decline which followed the end of the Ottoman period, and that which later accompanied the arrival of the Communist régimes, a revival of certain *ṭuruḳ* has been observed in Yugoslav territories, beginning in the 1970s (in particular under the influence of the Rifāʿī *sheykh* of Prizren and his organisation known as *ZIDRA*). Another renewal has taken place since 1990, in the wake of changes to the political landscape of the Balkans. In particular, in Albania, where all forms of religious activity had been banned, the local Bektāshīs, who held their Sixth Congress in July 1993 (the previous congress had taken place in 1950), have begun to rebuild some of their *tekke*s, while other Albanian *ṭuruḳ* (Khalwatīs, Rifāʿīs, Ḳādirīs, Tidjānīs and Saʿdīs) have reappeared and have attempted to organise themselves, with varying degrees of difficulty. It is currently quite impossible to say what will remain of the mystical Muslim brotherhoods in Bosnia-Herzegovina (where the last of the great *sheykh*s died some years ago), following the end of the civil war which raged between 1992 and 1995, and the partitioning of the region into "ethnic zones" which has ensued. But here as elsewhere, it is not known precisely what kind of evolution is being experienced and is yet to be experienced by the brotherhoods, nor what may be the potential symbiosis between the two existing dynamics: revival of the ancient networks and the diffusion of new ones, emanating in particular from Turkey, a country with which the Balkan Muslims are currently in the process of renewing their links.

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(NATHALIE CLAYER-A. POPOVIC)

7. In Muslim India.

Here, different terms—*ṭarīḳa, maslak, sulūk, khānwāda, silsila, dāʾira, ṭāʾifa, ḥalḳa*—are used for mystic ways and brotherhoods, with slight variations of nuance. *Ṭarīḳa* signifies (a) any mystic path, practice or method (e.g. *ṭarīḳa-yi mudjāhada* (method of striving along the mystical path), *ṭarīḳa-yi mushāhada* (method of contemplation leading to vision)); (b) any mystic school, system or organisation (e.g. the Čishtī *silsila*, the *Ṭarīḳa-yi Khᵂādjagān*, the *dāʾira* of Shāh ʿĀlam Allāh of Rae Bareili, etc.); and (c) any minor trend in a major mystic order (e.g. the *Ṭarīḳa-yi Muḥammadiyya*, the *Ṭarīḳa-yi Zubayriyya*, etc., in the Naḳshbandī *silsila*).

The following main *ṭarīḳas* have been active in India: Čishtī, Suhrawardī, Ḳādirī, Shaṭṭārī, Naḳshbandī, Kubrawī, Madārī, Ḳalandarī and ʿAydarūsī. As these *ṭarīḳas* developed, sub-branches sprouted up, e.g. in the Čishtī order there rose the Niẓāmī, the Ṣābirī, the Gīsūdarāzī, the Ḥusāmī, the Mīnāʾī and the Fakhrī branches; the Kubrawī *ṭarīḳa* gave birth to the Hamadānī *silsila* of Kashmīr and the Firdawsī *silsila* of Dihlī and Bihār; the Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳa* gave rise to the *silsila-yi Bāḳiyya, ṭarīḳa-yi Muḥammadiyya, ṭarīḳa-yi Zubayriyya, ṭarīḳa-i Maẓhariyya*, etc.

There were some regional dimensions also of the growth of these *ṭarīḳas*. The Čishtī and the Naḳshbandī orders spread out all over the country; the Suhrawardīs worked mainly in the Pandjāb and Sind; the Shaṭṭārīs thrived mainly in Mandū, Gwāliyār and Aḥmadabād; the Firdawsī *ṭarīḳa* worked mostly in Bihār; the ʿAydarūsī order found its adherents in Gudjarāt and the Deccan; and the Madārī and Ḳalandarī orders developed mainly in parts of the Pandjāb and Awadh.

The Čishtī and the Suhrawardī *ṭarīḳas* were the first to reach India. Introduced by Khᵂādja Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥasan Sidjzī (d. 1236), the Čishtī order [*q.v.*] developed under Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ of Dihlī [*q.v.*] who gave it an all-India status, with his disciples setting up Čishtī centres all over the country. The Suhrawardī *ṭarīḳa*, introduced by Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ (d. 1262 [*q.v.*]), reached its highest watermark under Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Fatḥ (d. 1334) and Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān (d. 1386). Though both these *ṭarīḳas* looked to the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] as their guide, they differed in their organisation of *khānaḳāh* life and relations with the state. Subsequently, the Firdawsī *ṭarīḳa* was introduced into India by Shaykh Badr al-Dīn of Samarḳand. Initially, its saints worked in Dihlī, but later moved to Bihār where the order enjoyed great popularity under Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā Manērī (d. 1371).

The Ḳādirī *ṭarīḳa* was established in India by Sayyid Muḥammad Makhdūm Gīlānī (d. 1517), and flourished under Shaykh Dāwūd Kirmānī (d. 1574), Shāh

Ḳumayṣ Gīlānī (d. 1584), Miyān Mīr (d. 1635) and Mullā Shāh (d. 1661).

The Shaṭṭārī ṭarīḳa was introduced into India by Shāh ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1485), who undertook a lightning tour of the country with his disciples wearing military garb, with he himself clad in royal dress. Ultimately he settled at Mandū. Under Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwāliyār (d. 1562), the *ṭarīḳa* attained great influence. Its ideology was based on *daʿwat-i samāʾ* (control of heavenly bodies which influenced human destiny) and recommended interiorisation of religious rites.

Late in the 15th century, Sayyid Muḥammad of Djawnpūr became the centre of the Mahdawī movement and its *dāʾiras* sprang up in Gudjarāt and other places (see Niẓamī, *Akbar and religion*, Dihlī 1989, 42-51).

In the 16th century, the Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳa* was introduced by Khʷādja Bāḳī Billāh (d. 1603) and reached its high watermark under his chief disciple, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, popularly known as Mudjaddid-i Alf-i thānī (d. 1624 [*q.v.*]). For about two centuries it was the most influential and popular *ṭarīḳa* in India and many of the eminent figures of the time like Shāh Walī Allāh, Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i Djānān, Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī and others, belonged to it. Khʷādja Mīr Nāṣir (d. 1758), though associated with the Naḳshbandī *silsila*, founded a new order called *Ṭarīḳa-yi Muḥammadī*. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd of Rai Bareili (d. 1831), who also belonged to the Naḳshbandī order, introduced a new way of mystic discipline, known as *Ṭarīḳa-yi Nubuwwat*. Under Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī, the influence of the Indian branch of the Naḳshbandī order reached many other Islamic countries (Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār al-ṣanādīd*, Karachi 1966, 209); thus his disciple Khālid Kurdī played an important role in popularising the *ṭarīḳa* in Syria.

Apart from these *ṭarīḳas* which were the main spearheads of mysticism in India, some minor *silsilas* with limited impact also appeared, e.g. the Maghribī *ṭarīḳa* represented by Shaykh Aḥmad Khattū Maghribī of Aḥmadabād (d. 1447) (Nizami, *Shaykh Ahmad Maghribi as a great historical personality of medieval Gujarat*, in *Medieval India—a miscellany*, Aligarh, iii, 234-59) and the Nūrbakhshī order of Kashmīr (M. Shafīʿ, *Firḳa Nūr Bakhshī*, in *Oriental College Magazine* [Feb. 1925-Aug. 1926]).

The *ṭarīḳas* thrived in India with remarkable speed. According to al-Ḳalḳashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿsha* (Eng. tr. O. Spies, 29), there were about 2,000 *ribuṭ* and *khānaḳāhs* in Dihlī and its surroundings during the 15th century; Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz refers to 22 eminent figures of every *khānwāda* in Dihlī during the time of the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (*Malfūẓāt*, Meerut 1314, 106).

These *ṭarīḳas* has some distinguishing features: (a) Except the Naḳshbandī, almost all the *ṭarīḳas* were believers in *waḥdat al-wudjūd* [see WAḤDAT AL-SHUHŪD AND WAḤDAT AL-WUDJŪD]. The Naḳshbandīs propounded the doctrine of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (unity of the phenomenal world). (2) Except for the Čishtīs, all other *ṭarīḳas* had some contact with the rulers and the bureaucracy; the Čishtīs considered state service an impediment in spiritual progress. (3) The Naḳshbandī practices, according to Shāh Walī Allāh, were very rigorous, while the Čishtī and Suhrawardī ones, which aimed at developing the cosmic emotion, were comparatively mild. Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz compared the rigour of the Naḳshbandī practices to the discipline of the British Army (*Malfūẓāt*, 18). (4) The Čishtīs used *malfūẓāt* (table talk of saints) for the propagation of their teachings; the Naḳshbandīs used *maktūbāt* (letters) and the Ḳādirīs, poetry to propagate their ideology. (5) The Čishtī *ṭarīḳa* believed in community living, and constructed *djamāʿat khānas*; other *ṭarīḳas* constructed *khānaḳāhs* and hospices with provision for individual accommodation. (6) The Čishtīs looked upon efforts for social welfare (*ṭāʿat-i mutaʿaddī*, see *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, 13-14) as a means to spiritual progress; other *ṭarīḳas*, particularly the Naḳshbandīs, believed in rigorous individual discipline and exercises to reach God. The Čishtīs went from Man to God; the Naḳshbandīs came from God to Man. (7) The Ḳādirīs emphasised both *dhikr-i djahr* (reciting loudly the names of Allāh) and *dhikr-i khafī* (quiet recitation of the names of Allāh). (8) The Shaṭṭārīs interiorised mystic discipline and tried to work out an ideological integration of Hindu and Muslim mystic traditions. Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth's translation of the *Amritkund* as *Baḥr al-ḥayāt* paved the way for such an integration. (9) In the beginning, an individual belonged to a single *ṭarīḳa* and integrated his spiritual personality according to its principles. "Hold one door and hold it fast" was the motto of Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ, approvingly quoted by Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (*Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, 29). In subsequent centuries, entrants to the mystic path started joining several *ṭarīḳas* at a time, a practice which impaired the stability and impact of the *ṭarīḳas*. Sometimes attempts were made at reconciling conflicting points of teachings and practice. Amīr Abu ʾl-ʿUlā Akbarābādī Naḳshbandī tried to combine the practices of the Čishtīs and the Naḳshbandīs (ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *al-Thaḳāfa al-Islāmiyya fi ʾl-Hind*, Damascus 1958, 183); and Shāh Walī Allāh considered the difference between *waḥdat al-wudjūd* and *waḥdat al-shuhūd* as merely a difference of simile and metaphor.

The spiritual practices of different *ṭarīḳas* in India were discussed in a comparative framework by Shāh Walī Allāh in his *al-Intibāh fī salāsil awliyāʾ Allāh* (Dihlī 1311) and *al-Ḳawl al-djamīl* (Kānpur 1307). Almost every *ṭarīḳa* had one central book on which its ideology was based: the *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād* for the Čishtīs, the *Maktūbāt-i Imām Rabbānī* for the Naḳshbandīs; the *Djawāhir-i Khamsa* for the Shaṭṭārīs; and the *Maktūbāt* of Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā Manērī for the Firdawsīs.

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8. In Indonesia.

The first concrete examples of *ṭarīḳa* practices in Indonesia are attested in the sources from the late 16th century, hence at least three centuries after the coming of Islam to this part of the world.

The three oldest known mystics from Indonesia were all influenced by mystical ideas from India and were active in North Sumatra: Ḥamza Fanṣūrī (second half of the 16th century [*q.v.*]), his pupil Shams al-Dīn al-Samatrāʾī (d. 1040/1630 [*q.v.*]), both belonging to the Wudjūdiyya school of thought which was very much influenced by Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*]; and, finally, their opponent, the orthodox theologian Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658 [see INDONESIA. vi]). Although the first two seem to have been affiliated to a *ṭarīḳa*, the Ḳādiriyya and the Shaṭṭāriyya [*q.vv.*] respectively, only of the last-mentioned is it beyond doubt that he was an adept of a *ṭarīḳa*, the Rifāʿiyya [*q.v.*].

From the 17th century onwards, the orders in Indonesia developed under the influence of teachers in Arabia, such as the Medinan scholars Aḥmad al-Ḳushāshī (d. 1071/1660 [*q.v.*]), Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1102/1691 [*q.v.*]), and ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d. 1189/1775). In the Ḥidjāz, many Indonesian pupils, such as ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkilī (d. end of the 11th/17th century [*q.v.*]), Yūsuf al-Makassarī (d. 1111/1699) and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (d. 1190/1776 [*q.v.*]), were initiated into a number of *ṭarīḳas* which they then spread to Indonesia.

Initially, the followers of the various *ṭarīḳas* in Indonesia seem to have been restricted to court circles, where certain mystical concepts, like that of the Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil* [*q.v.*]), were used by the rulers to legitimate their power. Only from the 18th, or perhaps the 19th century onwards do the *ṭarīḳas* seem to have acquired more adherents among the common people.

Although in themselves not politically oriented, in the 19th century the *ṭarīḳas* sometimes provided the organisational networks for anti-colonial rebellions. As a result of this, in the 19th century the mystical orders were much feared by the Dutch colonial administration. However, this political function of the *ṭarīḳas* disappeared with the rise of the nationalist movements at the beginning of the 20th century.

By the turn of the century, the *ṭarīḳas* came under pressure of reformist-oriented Muslims in Indonesia, which led to fierce debates, for instance between adherents and opponents of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*]. Despite these anti-*ṭarīḳa* attitudes, around 1930 new orders were introduced into the Archipelago, sc. the Tidjāniyya and the Idrīsiyya, which were regarded as being compatible with reformism.

In addition to the *ṭarīḳas* which are known throughout the entire Muslim world, in Indonesia there are also a number of indigenous orders, which have sometimes included pre-Islamic and non-Islamic practices. This led to the establishment of the *Jam'iyyah Ahli Tarekat Mu'tabarah* in 1957. This association unites all brotherhoods in Indonesia of which the *silsila* or chain of affiliation is regarded as sound, and which do not advocate anti-*Sharīʿa* practices. This association, which has been less active in recent years, states that a person can no longer be regarded a Muslim if he participates in an order which is not officially recognised.

In present-day Indonesia, some *ṭarīḳas* have assumed new functions to provide for contemporary needs: among the most well known are the use of *ṭarīḳa* practices to overcome drug addiction and to cure certain mental diseases. Furthermore, the *ṭarīḳas* may serve as the replacement of the traditional social networks which have disappeared through migration to the cities. Although no quantitative data are available, nowadays, possibly as a result of these new functions, the orders seem to have gained a new vitality.

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9. In Chinese Islam.

See for this TAṢAWWUF. 6. In Chinese Islam.

TAʾRĪKH (A.) "date, dating, chronology, era", then also "annals, history".

I. DATES AND ERAS IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD
   1. In the sense of "date, dating", etc.
   2. Era chronology in astronomical handbooks.
II. HISTORICAL WRITING
   1. In the Arab world.
      (a) Origins to *ca*. 950.
      (b) The central and eastern lands 950-1500.
      (c) The period 1500 to 1800.
      (d) The 19th and 20th centuries.
      (e) North Africa.
      (f) Muslim Spain.
   2. In Persian.
   3. In Ottoman and modern Turkish.
   4. In Muslim India.
   5. In West and Central Africa.
   6. In East Africa.
   7. In Indonesia and Malaysia.

III. In the Sense of "Chronogram"

I. Dates and Eras in the Islamic World

1. In the sense of "date, dating", etc.

i. *Etymology.*

The non-Arabic origin of this word was recognised by the mediaeval philologists, but the often-cited derivation of the participle *mu'arrakh* "dated", from a supposed Persian compound *māh-rōz* "month-day", is naturally fanciful. In fact, it clearly belongs to the common Semitic root for "moon" and "month"; cf. Akkadian (*w*)*arḫu*, Sabaic *wrḫ*, Ethiopic *wärḫ*, Mehri *warkh*, or, with the usual Northwest Semitic sound-shifts, Hebrew *yāreaḥ* (moon), *yeraḥ* (month), Aramaic *yarḥā*. The root is strikingly absent in Arabic (where the meaning "month" is taken over by *shahr*, cognate with the South Arabian term for "new crescent") except in the words for "date", the consonantism of which indicates that they must have been borrowed from the South, not the North. Of the various Arabic forms, the oldest is perhaps the plural *tawārīkh*, which might be a borrowing of an (unattested) South Arabian word for "datings (to particular months)", from which the singular *ta'rīkh* (also, and perhaps older, *tārīkh*) and the verb *arrakha* ("to date") would be back-formations. The lexicographers also adduce a form *tawrīkh*. Ethiopic *tārīk*, "era, history, chronicle", which has occasionally been cited as the etymon of Arabic *ta'rīkh*, is, in fact, borrowed from Arabic.

ii. *Definitions.*

Calendars are basically of two types: lunar or non-lunar. Lunar calendars have months based on the cycle of the phases of the moon (the synodic month, *ca.* 29.53 days). In the Near East the beginning of the month is reckoned from the first visibility of the new crescent in the evening sky, just after sunset, and it continues until the next sighting of a new crescent, generally 29 or 30 evenings later. Provided the length of the synodic month is known, it is not difficult to construct a mathematically calculated calendar with a regulated succession of "full" (30-day) and "defective" (29-day) months (the Greeks did this in ancient times), but in fact it is impossible to say exactly when the next crescent will be visible, as this depends, among other things, on the weather. In the long run, it makes no difference whether timekeeping is based on the actual sighting of the crescent or on calculation, since the average number of days per month is in both cases the same, but in the short term there is likely to be discrepancy of a day or so between an empirical and a calculated calendar.

Twelve lunar months will total an average of about 354 days and are thus roughly 11 days short of the solar (tropical or sidereal) year. The Muslim calendar ignores this difference with the result that the months move forward fairly rapidly through all the seasons. But most of the nations of the ancient world used luni-solar calendars, where the difference between the lunar and the solar year is compensated by intercalating a thirteenth month every two to three years. (For "intercalation" Arabic uses the Aramaic loan-word *kabīsa*.)

Non-lunar calendars are based on notional "months" with a fixed number of days and make no attempt to keep pace with the phases of the moon. The oldest, and probably most elegant, calendar of this type is that of the ancient Egyptians, with twelve months of exactly 30 days each and five monthless days (epagomenai), making a vague year of exactly 365 days, with months moving forward very slowly against the solar year (about one day every four years). The Julian (reformed Roman, or "Old Style") calendar had months of a fixed length of 30 or 31 days, apart from February, which had 28 days normally, and 29 every four years. The Gregorian ("New Style") calendar, introduced in 1582 (at first only in the Roman Catholic countries) and now used throughout the world, differs from the Julian only by omitting three leap-days every 400 years.

Calendars that count years from a fixed date are said to operate with an era, the notional starting-point of the counting being the "epoch" of that era. Thus the epoch of the Christian era is 1 January A.D. 1. Here, as often, the epoch is not identical with the date at which the era was actually introduced.

iii. *The Muslim calendar.*

For determining their religious festivals and for the dating of official documents, Muslims use a pure lunar calendar, without any intercalation and thus independent of the seasons; but for the particularities of everyday life (agriculture, taxation, etc.) they have always relied on the solar or quasi-solar calendars described in the remaining sections of this article. The months of the Muslim year are:

1. (al-)Muḥarram
2. Ṣafar
3. Rabīʿ al-Awwal
4. Rabīʿ al-Ākhir (or al-Thānī)
5. Djumādā 'l-Ūlā
6. Djumādā 'l-Ākhira
7. Radjab
8. Shaʿbān
9. Ramaḍān
10. Shawwāl
11. Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda
12. Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja

For the supposed meanings of the names, see below, iv.

All schools of law (apart from the Ismāʿīlīs) agree that every month begins in principle with the actual local sighting of the new crescent and that consequently the duration of any given month cannot be predicted in advance. The only concession to calculation is the generally admitted norm (enshrined in a *ḥadīth*) that if, due to adverse weather conditions, the moon has still not been sighted on the thirtieth evening after the beginning of Ramaḍān, one is still entitled to assume that the fast has ended. In other words, Ramaḍān cannot last for more than 30 days. This is not necessarily true of the other months, and indeed texts occasionally attest months of as many as 31 days. Only the Ismāʿīlīs assigned (and still assign) a fixed length to each of the months and dispense with ocular observation of the moon, but this is rejected by all the other schools [see in detail HILĀL].

Of course, Muslim scientists were aware of the true length of the lunar cycle, and for the purposes of calendrical and astronomical computations they fixed the duration of the odd months (Muḥarram, Rabīʿ I, etc.) at 30 days and that of the even months at 29 days, and added an extra day to Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja eleven times in 30 years to keep the average length of the months in agreement with the true synodic month. They were, however, not in complete agreement as to which years of the 30-year cycle are to be treated in this way (the various possibilities are played through, from a purely mathematical point of view, in Schram). The years with one extra day are called (as al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, section 271, explains) "the leap years (*kabā'is*) of the Arabs, not that the Arabs ever actually used or use them, but the authors of astronomical tables need them when they construct tables on the basis

of the years of the Arabs". In other words, the regulated calendar is a convenient mathematical fiction and does not correspond to actual practice. There exist a large number of mediaeval and modern tables for converting Muslim into Julian or Gregorian dates and various computer programs are now available to carry out the same task, and all of these are based, as is inevitable, on this same convention. However, it is important to remember that the real calendar was based on the observation of the moon and that the conversions given in the tables are only approximate. As a rule, the dates mentioned in Islamic sources can only be converted exactly to another calendar if the source gives the day of the week as well, in which case the rough equivalent indicated by the tables can be corrected. When, for example, an author writes that he did something on Friday 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 437, and our tables equate this date with Saturday 17 May 1046 Julian, then we must assume that the author observed the new crescent one day earlier than the date given in our tables for the beginning of the month and correct the conversion to Friday 16 May. In cases like this, where the day of the week is indicated, it can be observed that the conversions given in the tables are likely to be wrong (rarely by more than one day in either direction) about half of the time, and modern historians should correct them tacitly (there is no need to call attention to the fact). Where the day of the week is not indicated we must normally content ourselves with a rough conversion.

Since the month begins with the sighting of the moon in the evening sky the Muslims reckon the civil day to begin at sunset. Thus, in the above-cited example, Friday 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda actually begins at sunset on what we would call Thursday 15 May and continues until sunset on Friday 16 May. Or at least that is how it is in theory. In practice, mediaeval Muslims, like people elsewhere, normally thought of the day as beginning at sunrise, as can be observed from the fact that in the canonical religious texts dealing with the times of prayer the liturgical day is, as a rule, reckoned to begin with the midday prayer (*ẓuhr*), the first prayer after the rising of the sun, and not with *maghrib*, the first prayer after sunset (see MĪḲĀT, where this fact is not, however, specifically mentioned).

The days (or nights) of the month can be counted consecutively from the first to the last, but in the second half of the month the Muslims (like the ancient Greeks and Romans) also counted backwards, dating events by the number of nights supposedly remaining in the month. Thus, assuming a "complete" 30-day month, typical dating formulae might be:

1st: *li-ghurrati Radjab*
2nd: *li-laylatayni khalatā min Radjab*
3rd: *li-thalāthi layālⁱⁿ khalat* (or *khalawna*) *min Radjab* (etc.)
15th: *li 'l-nisfi min Radjab*
16th: *li-arbaʿa ʿashrata laylatᵃⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
17th: *li-thalātha ʿashrata laylatᵃⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
18th: *li-'thnatay ʿashrata laylatᵃⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
19th: *li-iḥdā ʿashrata laylatᵃⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
20th: *li-ʿashri layālⁱⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
21st: *li-tisʿi layālⁱⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
22nd: *li-thamānī layālⁱⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
23rd: *li-sabʿi layālⁱⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
24th: *li-sitti layālⁱⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
25th: *li-khamsi layālⁱⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
26th: *li-arbaʿi layālⁱⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
27th: *li-thalāthi layālⁱⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
28th: *li-laylatayni baḳiyatā min Radjab*
29th: *li-laylatⁱⁿ baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
30th: *li-salkhi Radjab*

But since it is not actually known in advance how many nights the current month will have, this backward-dating is purely conventional. This is noted quite clearly by mediaeval authors, for example by al-Ṣūlī (*Adab al-kuttāb*, Cairo 1341/1922-3, 183), when he writes that "careful people" avoid dating in this way "because they do not know how many nights remain, owing to the fact that the month can be either defective or complete", i.e. it can have either 29 or 30 days. See also al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 237-8, who says that some authorities forbid backward-dating, while others permit it only on the assumption that it implies the unspoken proviso "if the month be complete". In other words, *salkh* always means "the thirtieth day"; if the crescent is sighted after 29 days, then the day "when one night remains" is followed immediately by the first of the next month. It must be stressed again that with backward-dating, as with forward-dating, a precise conversion of Muslim dates is normally only possible if the day of the week is indicated in the source.

Sometimes the month is divided into three segments of (notionally) ten nights each (*al-ʿashr al-uwal, al-wusaṭ* and *al-ukhar*), whereby we must assume that in "defective" months the last "ten nights" were really only nine. The month can also be divided into ten segments of (notionally) three nights, each segment having a special name [see LAYL AND NAHĀR]. For the contrived Ottoman system of dating by fractions, see the articles by Ritter and Dietrich.

Years are counted according to the era of the Hidjra, which is supposed to have been introduced by the caliph ʿUmar in A.H. 17/638. The notional epoch of this era (1 Muḥarram A.H. 1) falls in July A.D. 622, but there is disagreement about the precise date, the Muslim authorities fluctuating between Thursday 15 July and Friday 16 July (see, for example, al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 30, 330); the latter date is the point of departure of the printed conversion tables. Some modern scholars have made a great fuss about this question and claim that the uncertainties involved in the conversion of Muslim dates result from the parallel use of a "scientific" and a "popular" era beginning on 15 and 16 July respectively, but this is without any foundation. It should be clear that if the beginning of *every* month depends on the sighting of the crescent, then the question of whether the first month of the era begins on a Thursday or a Friday makes no difference for the conversion of dates.

iv. *Pre-Islamic and agricultural calendars of the Arabian peninsula.*

The ancient South Arabian inscriptions reveal the use of a number of local calendars, but for most of these it has not been possible to reconstruct a complete series of months. It does, however, seem that at least some of these calendars followed the luni-solar principle. Thus in Ḳatabān we find mentioned in one text the month *dbrm*, in another "former *dbrm*" and in a third "latter *dbrm*", from which one can deduce that the normal year had a single month called *dbrm*, but the intercalated 13-month year two months with this name. For the Sabaean calendar we have at least 13 different month-names, among them a "former" and a "latter" *dnsʾwr*, but it is not yet pos-

sible to determine their order. On the other hand, the names of Ḥimyarite months of the period immediately before Islam are not only attested in inscriptions, but were also still known to Yamanī authors of the mediaeval period, who list them in Arabicised forms (with variants and for the most part not vocalised, and thus cited below in Arabic script) and give a Julian equivalent for each. Some scholars have suspected that these equivalents are only approximate, but it is certainly possible that the Ḥimyarites of the monotheistic period did indeed adopt the Christian (Julian) calendar, assigning indigenous names to each of the Julian months; the fact that the inscriptions using these names have not revealed any evidence for intercalary months might be seen to support the latter hypothesis. One of these names (Mabkar for May) has survived in Yemen until today, though for the other Julian/Gregorian months the Latin or Syro-Macedonian names (see below, v) are now used. We give here the spellings found in the Ḥimyarite inscriptions (transliteration according to the system used by Sabaicists) with a specimen of the Arabicised forms and with the Julian equivalents according to the mediaeval texts; the year began (as Robin has demonstrated) with April:

1. *d̲ ṯ b t n*	ذو الثابة	(April)
2. *d̲ m b k r n*	ذو المبكر	(May)
3. *d̲ q y ẓ n*	ذو القياظ	(June)
4. *d̲ m d̲ r ʾ n*	ذو المذران	(July)
5. *d̲ ḫ r f n*	ذو الخراف	(August)
6. *d̲ ʿ l n*	ذو علان	(September)
7. *d̲ ṣ r b n*	ذو الصراب	(October)
8. *d̲ m h l t n*	ذو المهلة	(November)
9. *d̲ ʾ l n*	ذو الآل	(December)
10. *d̲ d ʾ w n*	ذو الدثاء	(January)
11. *d̲ ḥ l t n*	ذو الحلة	(February)
12. *d̲ m ʿ n*	ذو معون	(March)

In early South Arabian texts, years are not counted according to an era, but rather each year bears the name of a specifically appointed official (eponym); but from the later periods several different eras are attested, the best known of which is the so-called Ḥimyarite era, with a nominal epoch (according to the short chronology proposed by present author) in the spring of 110 B.C., though some have favoured a long chronology with an epoch in 115 B.C.

The pre-Islamic calendar in central Arabia, and specifically at Mecca, is not attested epigraphically, but is discussed in some detail by Muslim authors of the ʿAbbāsid period, whose testimony, however, requires critical scrutiny. These state that the ancient Arabs used the same month-names as the Muslims, though they also record special *d̲j̲āhilī* names (see al-Bīrūnī, *Āt̲h̲ār*, 61-2; an entirely different list is given by al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iii, 423 = § 1311). The philologists proposed etymologies for all of these, but it must be said that, apart from obvious cases like Muḥarram and D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a, the meanings of most of them can hardly be regarded as certain. For example, if D̲j̲umādā really comes from *d̲j̲amd* and Ramaḍān from *ramaḍ*, then one might ask why only two months intervene between the time of "freezing" and of "burning", and indeed the whole question of whether the central Arabian months were ever fixed to particular seasons is a vexed one.

The Muslim tradition is unanimous in stating that the Arabs of the Ḥid̲j̲āz distinguished between "permitted" (*ḥalāl*) and "forbidden" (*ḥarām*) months, i.e. months during which fighting is or is not permitted, the "forbidden" months being Rad̲j̲ab and then three months around the time of the pilgrimage (D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḳaʿda, D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a and Muḥarram). A similar (if perhaps not identical) practice is attested for North-Eastern Arabia by Procopius (*De bello persico* ii, 16, 18) when he writes that the Byzantines were confident that the Lak̲h̲mid al-Mund̲h̲ir would not attack in the summer of A.D. 541 owing to the fact that the Arabs respected an armistice of two months at the time of the summer solstice; the Muslim historians, however, do not link the "forbidden" months to particular seasons. Ḳurʾān IX, 36 says that the months are twelve, of which four are "forbidden", and the next verse states that postponement (*nasīʾ*) "is an increase in unbelief, in which are led astray those who disbelieved, in that they declare it permissible one year, and declare it forbidden one year, so as to equalise the number of what God has forbidden, and so they declare permissible what God has forbidden". Muslim authors have disagreed over the interpretation of this difficult verse. Some maintain that *nasīʾ* was a procedure by which an official (the *nāsiʾ*) connected with the Kaʿba cult at Mecca altered the distribution of "forbidden" and "permitted" months within a given year (or within two successive years), but say nothing to imply that this involved actual manipulation of the calendar. Others claim that the "postponement" of the forbidden months was the result of the fact that the pagan Arabs intercalated a thirteenth month every two years; *nasīʾ* is thus in effect the old Arabic word for "intercalation" (*kabīsa*), a practice which was abolished with the revelation of the above-cited verse. The latter interpretation has generally been accepted by Muslim astronomers (first, it seems, by the astrologer and charlatan Abū Maʿs̲h̲ar al-Balk̲h̲ī) and has been favoured by modern scholars since Moberg (who summarises his views above, s.v. NASĪʾ), but it is doubtful whether it reflects anything more than learned speculation by the ʿAbbāsid authors. The former (non-calendrical) interpretation was accepted, and the "evidence" for intercalation rejected, with arguments that still seem largely valid, by Mahmoud Effendi and Sprenger, and it is in our opinion supported by an early Sabaic inscription from Haram (CIH 547), not precisely datable, but surely from well before the Christian era. Here the authors offer their excuses to the god Ḥlfn for the fact that they had not performed a certain ritual in the month *d̲mwṣbm*, when war had forced them to flee their country, but "postponed" (*nsʾʾw*) it until the month *d̲ʿṯtr*. As a result of this impiety, the god withheld the waters during the winter and summer growing seasons, whereupon the authors promised not to repeat their transgression in future. It is quite clear from the context that in Haram, at least, the verb *nsʾʾ* has nothing to do with intercalation, but only with the moving of cultic occurrences within the calendar itself. The rather striking similarity between the religious conceptions in this ancient inscription and in Ḳurʾān IX, 37 ("postponement" is in both cases something of which the deity disapproves) makes it seem likely that this is also the meaning of Ḳurʾānic *nasīʾ*.

For the observation of the passing of the seasons the Arabs used (if the evidence of pre-Islamic poetry is regarded) not the months of their calendar, but rather the system of lunar mansions [see ANWĀʾ and MANĀZIL]. This consists of dividing the ecliptic into 28 equal segments corresponding roughly to the location of the moon on each successive night of the sidereal (not the synodic) month. The observation of the positions of the stars belonging to each lunar mansion relative to the horizon at sunset or sunrise is a simple and accurate method of charting the passage

of the year, and it continues to form the principal basis for a large number of traditional agricultural calendars in the Arabian peninsula.

v. *The Julian calendar in the Islamic world.*

The Julian calendar was introduced throughout the Roman Empire and continued to be the basis for practical timekeeping in most parts of the Islamic world. From a chronological point of view, the principal difference between the various forms of this calendar concerns the point where the year begins. In the Maghrib and al-Andalus, as in Western Europe, the year commences with January, and in modern times this form has, under Western influence, become generally accepted in the Muslim countries. The Melkite Christians (mainly in Palestine and Egypt) followed the Byzantines in beginning the year in September, while the Jacobites and Nestorians followed the Macedonian custom of beginning the year in October. Moreover, instead of borrowing the Latin names, the last-mentioned communities retained most of the month-names of the ancient Babylonian luni-solar calendar (still used, with some modification, as the religious calendar of the Jews), but they redefined these to make each one correspond to a Julian month. Thus, while Babylonian Nisannu (Jewish Nīsān) is the month beginning with the sighting of the crescent at about the time of the spring equinox, in the Christianised calendar it has become equated with April. These "Syro-Macedonian" names are still used (now for the Gregorian months) in Western Asia, but in North Africa various versions of the Latin names have been employed. We give here those found in mediaeval texts from Spain and the Maghrib, which apparently go back to an archaic Romance dialect. The Ottoman and modern Turkish forms derive in part from the Syro-Macedonian, in part from the Latin names.

Syro-Macedonian	*Maghribī*	*Modern Turkish*
Kānūn al-thānī	Yannayr	ikinci kânun (January)
Shubāṭ	Fibrayr	şubat (February)
Ādhār	Māris	mart (March)
Nīsān	Abrīl	nisan (April)
Ayyār	Māyuh	mayıs (May)
Ḥazīrān	Yūnyuh	haziran (June)
Tammūz	Yūlyuh	temmuz (July)
Āb	Aghusht	ağustos (August)
Aylūl	Shutanbir	eylûl (September)
Tishrīn al-Awwal	Uktūbar	teşrinievvel (October)
Tishrīn al-Thānī	Nuwanbar	teşrinisani (November)
Kānūn al-Awwal	Dudjanbir	birinci kânun (December)

The Eastern Christian counted years according to the Seleucid era, in the East generally, but wrongly, called the "era of Alexander" (Arabic: *ta'rīkh Dhi 'l-Ḳarnayn*), with an epoch of 1 October 312 B.C. In Egypt and North Africa, years are often reckoned according to the Byzantine fifteen-year cycle of indictions, the "first indiction" beginning in (for example) A.D. 612, 627, 642, etc. The Byzantine indictions begin on 1 September, but the cycle is used also in connection with other methods of determining the New Year. In al-Andalus we find the Spanish era (*ta'rīkh al-ṣufr*; for the name, see AṢFAR), with its epoch on 1 January 38 B.C. It should be mentioned that the so-called Christian era of Western Europe was unknown both to Christians and Muslims in the mediaeval Near East.

vi. *The Coptic calendar.*

The ancient Egyptian vague year (see above, ii) was known to Muslim astronomers from its use in Ptolemy's *Almagest* and they not rarely employed this beautifully simple calendar for their own calculations, but for everyday timekeeping it had been replaced in Egypt, long before Islam, by the so-called Coptic calendar, which is exactly identical with that of the ancient Egyptians apart from the fact that it adds a sixth epagomene every four years (more precisely, at the end of a Coptic year immediately preceding a Julian leap year), with the result that the Coptic calendar is permanently synchronised with the Julian. Thus al-Bīrūnī distinguishes between the "intercalated" (*makbūsa*) year of his Egyptian contemporaries and the "non-intercalated" year that he knew from the *Almagest.* The Arabic spellings of the Coptic month-names vary somewhat, but are in any case fairly accurate representations of the names used in the Ṣaʿīdī dialect of Coptic; the latter are transliterated in the first column of the following table, while the last column gives the Julian equivalent of the first day of each Coptic month in a common year:

1. Thoout	30 days	begins	29 August (Julian)
2. Paape	30 days		28 September
3. Hatōr	30 days		28 October
4. Kiahk	30 days		27 November
5. Tōbe	30 days		27 December
6. Mshir	30 days		26 January
7. Paremhat	30 days		25 February
8. Parmoute	30 days		27 March
9. Pashons	30 days		26 April
10. Paōne	30 days		26 May
11. Epep	30 days		25 June
12. Mesōrē	30 days		25 July
Epagomenai	5/6 days		24 August

If a Coptic year begins in the August preceding a Julian leap year, the extra epagomene immediately before the Coptic New Year means that the first seven months all begin one day later than the dates given in the table (i.e. 30 August, etc.); from Parmoute onwards the Julian equivalents are as given. The Coptic Christians express years according to the era of Diocletian, which they call the "era of the martyrs", with its epoch on 29 August A.D. 284.

vii. *In Persia.*

Islamic Persia inherited from the Sāsānids a calendar which is functionally identical with that of the ancient Egyptians: it had a vague year of 365 days, divided between 12 months of 30 days each plus five epagomenai, in Persian generally known as the "five Gāthās" (*pandj gāh*), or as the "stolen" (*mustaraḳa, duzdīdha*) days. In the early Islamic period these stood after the eighth month, but in A.D. 1007 the Zoroastrians in Western Persia moved the epagomenai to the end of the last month, a reform which was adopted, not at once but eventually, in Eastern Persia as well. The early New Persian forms of the month names are:

1. Farwardīn	30 days	
2. Urdībihisht	30 days	
3. Khurdādh	30 days	
4. Tīr	30 days	
5. Murdādh	30 days	
6. Shahrīwar	30 days	
7. Mihr	30 days	
8. Ābān	30 days	
(Epagomenai	5 days)	before *ca.* 1007
9. Ādhar	30 days	
10. Day	30 days	
11. Bahman	30 days	

12. Isfandārmudh 30 days
(Epagomenai 5 days) after *ca.* 1007

Each of the thirty days of the month had its own special name, but these are not much used by Muslim authors, who generally count the days instead. The five "stolen" days also have, at least among the Zoroastrians, names of their own. The Zoroastrians employ this calendar to determine their religious feasts, several of which continued to be celebrated by Persian Muslims, in particular Nawrōz or Nawrūz [*q.v.*] (the Persian New Year, on 1 Farwardīn), which in late Sāsānid times fell at about the beginning of summer, but by the end of the 10th century had moved forward to about the time of the spring equinox. In the early Islamic period, other festivals such as Mihragān [*q.v.*] (16 Mihr) were much observed, but later these fell into disuse among Muslims.

Different forms of the Zoroastrian calendar were current in early Islamic times in Sogdiana (around Bukhārā and Samarkand), Khwārazm, Sīstān and Ṭukhāristān; each of these had not only its own month-names, but the first two, at least, began their year five days later than the Persians (i.e. their New Year's day fell on the Persian 6 Farwardīn) and had the epagomenai after the twelfth month (not the eighth).

In Sāsānid times, years were counted from Nawrōz of the accession year of the reigning monarch; in Islamic times the Zoroastrians either continued to count the regnal years of Yazdigird III, the last Sāsānid (era of Yazdigird, begins 16 June 632), or from the year of his death (post-Yazdigird era, or "era of the Magians", begins 11 June 652). Both of these eras are used on the "Arabo-Sasanian" coins of the early Umayyad period, and the post-Yazdigird era was employed by the Zoroastrian rulers in Ṭabaristān, but the Zoroastrians of the present day have retained only the era of Yazdigird.

The Persian year, like the Egyptian, moves forwards against the solar year by about one day every four years, its first day corresponding always to 1 Choiak of the old Egyptian calendar. Muslim sources, from al-Masʿūdī onwards, claim that in pre-Islamic times the Persians used to correct their calendar by intercalating one whole month (30 days) every 120 (or 116) years, but there is no evidence that such a correction was ever actually carried out and the present author has attempted to demonstrate that this supposed intercalation is a myth invented by the Zoroastrian clergy during the Islamic period. In any event, it is uncontested that no intercalations took place after the Arab conquest. Since the beginning of the tax-year (*iftitāḥ al-kharādj*) in Persia still fell on 1 Farwardīn, the problem arose that the landholders were soon being asked to pay their taxes before their fruits had ripened and various attempts were made to rectify the situation. Thus the caliph al-Mutawakkil proposed delaying Nawrōz by 57 days, but the reform does not seem to have been carried out. Half a century later, al-Muʿtaḍid ordered that from the year 282/895 the New Year was to be delayed by 60 days until 1 Khurdādh (corresponding then to 11 June) and, moreover, that the Persian calendar was to be aligned permanently to the Julian by inserting a sixth epagomene every four years. Historians mention the celebration of "al-Muʿtaḍid's Nawrōz" for a century or so after the reform, but otherwise this calendar had little resonance. A similar, but more memorable reform was the Djalālī [*q.v.*] calendar instituted by the Saldjūkid Djalāl al-Dīn Malik Shāh in 471/1079: Nawrōz was fixed to the vernal equinox (defined as the point when the sun enters Aries), then 15 March Julian, which date is the epoch of the Djalālī era. The months had 30 days each and retained their traditional Persian names (some sources cite special fancy names for the months and days, but it is doubtful whether these were ever used), with Farwardīn beginning at the spring equinox, and five epagomenai at the end of the year (after Isfandārmudh), but a sixth epagomene was added if the sun had not yet entered Aries by noon on the 366th day from the previous New Year. Although the Djalālī era is not often used for datings, the spring Nawrōz has been accepted universally by Persian-speaking Muslims and the Djalālī months formed the basis for agricultural calendars in Persia until the recent past.

Historians of the Mongol period say that Ghazan Khān instituted an Īlkhānī era, but give us no reliable information about its particulars. The modern Persian solar *hidjrī* calendar was introduced in 1925. The year begins at the spring equinox and the months have modernised forms of the traditional Persian names (cited above); the first six months have 31 days each, the next five have 30 and the last (Isfand) has 29 in an ordinary year and 30 in a leap year, giving 365 or 366 days altogether. However, the rule for determining which years are leap years is complicated. The New Year's day (1 Farwardīn) falls in principle on 20 or 21 March Gregorian, but the discrepancy between the Persian and Gregorian systems of calculating the leap years means that some fluctuation occurs (for a table of leap years, see ʿAbd Allāhī, 373-5; Spuler's one is wrong). The same calendar was adopted in Afghānistān in 1957, but instead of the Persian month-names the Arabic names for the roughly corresponding zodiacal signs (beginning with Ḥamal/Aries) are used.

In modern Persia (and Afghānistān) years are counted according to solar years since the Hidjra and can easily be converted to *anni domini* by adding 621 or (in the last two and a half months) 622. Thus the Persian year 1376 *hidjrī shamsī* begins on 21 March 1997 Gregorian, corresponding to *ca.* 12 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1417 *hidjrī ḳamarī*. For a few years at the end of the reign of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh, this was replaced by an "imperial" (*shāhanshāhī*) era dating from the accession of Cyrus the Great (559 B.C.), but the *hidjrī shamsī* year has been re-established in the Islamic Republic.

Although the Zoroastrian vague year appears to have gone out of circulation among Persian Muslims by around the end of the 5th/11th century, it lived on, rather surprisingly, as the basis for the navigational calendar of the Arab seafarers in the Indian Ocean. This did not use the Persian month-names but simply counted the days (from 1 to 365), beginning at Nawrōz. For the moment, the oldest known attestation of this calendar is in the almanac of the Yemeni crown prince ʿUmar b. Yūsuf (later al-Malik al-Ashraf), which puts Nawrōz at 8 January (correct for A.D. 1269-72), and it is found also in Ibn Mādjid [*q.v.*], who says (again correctly) that in his time Nawrōz fell on a Friday in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 893 (14 November 1488) and in later authors. It seems that this navigational calendar was still in use until the very recent past, but European observers state (correctly?) that the point of departure of the day-count became fixed at the beginning of the sailing season and thus ceased to regress with the Persian New Year.

viii. *The tax year.*

In the ʿAbbāsid chancery, tax collection was regulated by the Persian calendar, with tax years begin-

ning at Nawrōz, but counted not according to one of the Zoroastrian eras, but by years of the Hidjra. Since the Islamic year is shorter than the Persian vague year, the counting of taxational (*kharādjī*) years lagged behind the years of the religious calendar and had to be corrected from time to time. For example, in the year of the Hidjra 241 (May 855 to May 856) Nawrōz fell on 21 April, that is to say, almost at the end of the religious year. Consequently, the authorities decided to call the tax year beginning on that date not "241" but "242", thus dropping one year from the taxational calendar; this is called *taḥwīl* ("changing" one tax year to another). We have information of several other adjustments of the same type, but also of adjustments that were not carried out when due, and of times when two years had to be omitted from the *kharādjī* calendar to make up for an earlier oversight. It is thus clear that the reconciliation of the tax year with the religious year was not automatic or regular, but sporadic and by specific order of the authorities.

In Egypt, the tax year began with the Coptic New Year (29 or 30 August) and similar attempts were made to keep the counting of tax years roughly in line with the years of the Hidjra. The Ottomans based their financial year on the Julian calendar and at first retained the Byzantine New Year on 1 September, but they moved the beginning of the year to 1 March in 1088/1677. After this time each financial (*māliyye*) year had, in theory, the same number as the *hidjrī* year during which it began, with the omission of one year in every 33, i.e. whenever the 1st of March did not fall within the religious year, the Turkish technical term for the omission being *ṣîwîsh*. Problems, however, arose from the fact that the Ottomans collected taxes according to the Julian year but paid salaries according to the lunar year, which led to difficulties with the bookkeeping whenever *ṣîwîsh* became necessary. Eventually the system broke down: the *māliyye* year 1287/1871-2 should have been followed by *māliyye* 1289/1872-3, but for some reason the year 1288 was not left out, with the result that for the remainder of its history the *māliyye* calendar was out of step with the religious year. It was officially abolished with the adoption of the Western-style Christian era in 1927.

ix. *The Turco-Mongolian calendar.*

Before entering the *dār al-Islām*, the ancient Turks adopted a form of the Chinese luni-solar calendar, either directly from China or via the Sogdians. Later, this passed from the Uyghur Turks to the Mongols, who in turn introduced it in their empire in Persia, where it was quite widely used, alongside the Islamic and Djalālī calendars. The Chinese lunar months begin not with the sighting of the new crescent, as in the Near East, but one or two days earlier with the calculated time of conjunction between the sun and the moon (the true New Moon), the year beginning with the New Moon occurring while the sun is in Aquarius. The year is kept in pace with the solar year by the periodic intercalation of a thirteenth month, which is inserted whenever two New Moons fall during the time that the sun is in one and the same zodiacal sign. The Turkish names for the first and last months derive from Sanskrit or Iranian; the other months have no proper names but are merely counted, as in Chinese ("second moon", etc.). Early Turkish forms, subsequently borrowed both into Mongolian and Persian, with their approximate Julian equivalents, are:

1. aram ay (Jan./Feb.)
2. ekinti ay (Feb./March)
3. üčünč ay (March/April)
4. törtünč ay (April/May)
5. beshinč ay (May/June)
6. altînč ay (June/July)
7. yetinč ay (July/Aug.)
8. sekkizinč ay (Aug./Sept.)
9. tokuzunč ay (Sept./Oct.)
10. onunč ay (Oct./Nov.)
11. bir yigirminč ay (Nov./Dec.)
12. djakhshapat ay (Dec./Jan.)

The intercalary month is called *shün ay*, a borrowing from Chinese *rùn*.

Years were counted according to the twelve-year cycle of Chinese astrology, where each year of the cycle takes the name of an animal. The Mongols translated the Turkish animal names into their own language, in many cases (nos. 3-5, 8-10) using words that are, in fact, borrowed from Turkish (where, in turn, some of the names derive from Iranian or Chinese); in Persian texts the Turkish and the Mongolian names are used interchangeably (with inevitable variations in the Persian spelling); we quote the underlying Turkish and Mongolian forms.

	Turkish	*Mongolian*	*meaning*
Year 1	ṣîčghan	ḳulughana	rat
Year 2	udh	üker	ox
Year 3	bars	bars	tiger
Year 4	tawîshghan	tawlay	hare
Year 5	lu	luu	dragon
Year 6	yîlan	moghay	snake
Year 7	yunt	morin	horse
Year 8	ḳoñ	ḳonin	sheep
Year 9	bečin	bečin	monkey
Year 10	taḳîghu	takiya	cock
Year 11	ît	noḳay	dog
Year 12	toŋuz	ghaḳay	pig

The animal cycle continued to be used in Persia until the beginning of the twentieth century, generally in conjunction with the months of the Djalālī calendar.

x. *Muslim India.*

It would fall outside the scope of this article to discuss the many local calendars and eras used in the Indian subcontinent; for the Muslim scholarly reception of Indian chronological theory (not practice), we refer to the extensive discussion in al-Bīrūnī's *Taḥḳīḳ mā li 'l-Hind*. The Muslim rulers in India used the Islamic calendar for official datings, but, like their counterparts further west, employed the local calendars as a basis for tax-collecting, with the ambiguous term *faṣlī* (seasonal) designating not one, but a variety of indigenous calendars. The Mughal emperor Akbar [*q.v.*], as part of his religious innovations, officially replaced the Muslim calendar by his own Ilāhī era [*q.v.* in Suppl.], with its epoch at the spring equinox following his accession, i.e. Wednesday 28 Rabīʿ II 963/11 March 1556 Julian, though the new calendar was not actually introduced until the beginning of the 29th year of his reign, when the sun entered Aries (according to the *Akbar-nāma*, tr., iii, 644) on Wednesday 8 Rabīʿ I 992 (11 March Julian = 21 March Gregorian 1584). The year began with the spring equinox, the months (and days) had the same names as the Persian (Zoroastrian and Djalālī) ones (see above, vii), but there were no epagomenai; instead, the duration of each month was fixed at 29, 30, 31 or 32 days (the details are not quite clear, but it seems that the longer months were in the spring and summer). Also, the years were counted in cycles of twelve, with the same names as the months. Thus Akbar's twelfth year is "year Isfandārmudh of the first

cycle", his thirteenth "year Farwardīn of the second cycle". The later Mug͟hals abandoned the Ilāhī calendar, but continued to use datings according to their own regnal years, alongside the Islamic calendar.

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2. Etymology. F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, ²Leiden 1968, 11-17.

3. Muslim calendar. Bīrūnī, *passim*; Ginzel, i, 238-74; H.-P.-J. Renaud, *Sur les lunes du Ramadan*, in *Hespéris*, xxxii (1945), 51-68; H. Ritter, *Philologika XII. Datierung durch Brüche*, in *Oriens*, i (1948), 237-47; A. Grohmann, *Arabische Chronologie*, Leiden-Cologne 1966 (full of serious mistakes); A. Dietrich, *Zur Datierung durch Brüche in arabischen Handschriften*, in *Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen* (1961), 27-33; F. de Blois, *Contributions to the chronology and textual criticism of the Safarnāma of Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (forthcoming).

4. Arabian calendars. Bīrūnī, *Āt͟hār*, 34-5, 60-4; Mahmoud Effendi, *Mémoire sur le calendrier arabe avant l'islamisme*, in *JA*, série v, tome xi (1858), 109-92 (with text and tr. of the passage from Abū Maʿs͟har); A. Sprenger, *Ueber den Kalender der Araber vor Mohammed*, *ZDMG*, xiii (1859), 134-75; Ginzel, i, 239-52; A. Moberg, *An-nasīʾ (Koran 9, 37) in der islamischen Tradition*, Lund 1931; R.B. Serjeant, *Star calendars and an almanac from South-West Arabia*, in *Anthropos*, xlix (1954), 433-59; A.F.L. Beeston, *Epigraphic South Arabian calendars and dating*, London 1956; idem, *New light on the Himyaritic calendar*, in *Arabian Studies*, i (1974), 1-6; Chr. Robin, *Le calendrier himyarite: nouvelles suggestions*, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, xi (1981), 43-53; F. de Blois, *The date of the "martyrs of Nagrān"*, in *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*, i (1990), 110-28; D.M. Varisco, *Medieval agriculture and Islamic science. The almanac of a Yemeni sultan*, Seattle and London 1994 (with text and tr. of an extract from *al-Tabṣira fī ʿilm al-nud͟jūm* by al-Malik al-As͟hraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf).

5. Julian-based eras. Ginzel, iii, 175-6.

6. Persian calendars. S.Ḥ. Taḳīzāda (Taqizadeh), *Gāh-s͟humārī dar Īrān-i ḳadīm*, Tehran 1316 *s͟h*./1937; idem, *Various eras and calendars used in the countries of Islam*, in *BSOS*, ix (1939), 903-22, x (1940-2), 107-32; R. ʿAbd Allāhī, *Tārīk͟h-i tārīk͟h dar Īrān*, Tehran 1366 *s͟h*./1987; F. de Blois, *The Persian calendar*, in *Iran*, xxxiv (1996), 39-54; the older literature (mostly speculative and out of date) is listed in *EIr*, iv, art. *Calendars*.

7. Indian Ocean navigational calendar. G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, 360-4; Varisco, *op. cit.*, 73-4.

8. Tax year. Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 388-90, xiii, 54-79 (with several interesting documents from the ʿAbbāsid chancery); Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha, *La réforme du calendrier*, Leiden 1893; Ginzel, i, 264-6; Taqizadeh, in *BSOS*, ix (1939), 904-16; J. Mayr, *Das türkische Finanzjahr*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1961), 264-8; H. Sahillioğlu, *Sivış year crises in the Ottoman Empire*, in *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M.A. Cook, London 1970, 230-52 (also in Turkish in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xxvii [1969]).

9. Turco-Mongolian calendars. L. Bazin, *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien*, Budapest and Paris 1991; Ch. Melville, *The Chinese-Uighur animal calendar in Persian historiography of the Mongol period*, in *Iran*, xxxii (1994), 83-98.

10. India. Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1897-1921, ii, 15-24, with the translator's notes; Ginzel, i, 393-5 (not correct concerning the Ilāhī era). (F.C. de Blois)

2. Era chronology in astronomical handbooks.

Practically all *zīd͟j*s [*q.v.*], mediaeval Islamic astronomical handbooks with tables and explanatory text, include an extensive chapter on chronology. This chapter, usually to be found at the very beginning of the *zīd͟j*, contains the chronological information needed for the calculation and evaluation of planetary positions and other astronomical data from the whole mediaeval period. Thus various calendars and eras are described and methods for converting dates from one calendar into another explained. For each calendar at least the following are given: a list of the names and lengths of the months, a method to compute from a given date the number of days elapsed since the epoch and vice-versa, and a rule for calculating the week day (*madk͟hal*). A set of numerical tables facilitates the calculations involved. In addition, many *zīd͟j*s contain lists of festivals in various calendars, mathematical tables for determining the dates of the movable Christian feasts, and regnal lists of caliphs, kings and emperors.

This article describes the aspects of era chronology that are typically found in *zīd͟j*s and explains the conversion of dates from one calendar into another step by step. More general aspects of calendars used in the Islamic world, including their historical development and the names and lengths of the months, are discussed in 1. above. Depending on the context, the word *taʾrīk͟h* as it is used in *zīd͟j*s can be translated into English as "era", "epoch", "calendar" or "date".

a. Calendars and eras. Table 1 shows which calendars are described in detail in a number of important *zīd͟j*s. For more information about the authors of these works, the reader is referred to the respective articles in this encyclopaedia or the *Dictionary of scientific biography*, New York 1970-80. It can be noted that three calendars occur in practically all *zīd͟j*s: the purely lunar Muslim ("Arabic" or "Hid͟jra") calendar, the Byzantine (*Rūmī*) calendar which is essentially equivalent to the Julian, and the Persian Yazdigird calendar with a constant year length of 365 days. The use of most other calendars discussed below is restricted to particular geographical regions or historical periods.

Table 2 displays the precise dates of the most important epochs used in *zīd͟j*s as well as the differences in days between these epochs, which are needed for the conversion of dates from one calendar into another as described below. Note that, except in the

TABLE 1

Calendars described in detail in some important zīdjs.

Author	*Title*	*Place*	*Year*[a]	Arabic[b]	Byzantine[c]	Persian[d]	Coptic[e]	Jewish	Djalālī	Uighur	various[f]
Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr	al-Zīdj al-Mumtaḥan	Baghdād	215/830	A	A	E	D	×[1]			FE[1]
al-Khwārazmī[2]	al-Zīdj al-Sindhind	Baghdād	215/830	A	A[3]	E	D				
Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib	al-Zīdj al-Mumtaḥan (?)	Baghdād	225/840	C[4]	A	E	P/A/D				K, Egyptian
al-Battānī	al-Zīdj al-Ṣābi'	Raḳḳa	285/900	A	A[5]	E	P/A				K
Kūshyār b. Labbān	al-Zīdj al-Djāmi'	Persia	390/1000	A	A	E/L					FE
Ibn Yūnus	al-Zīdj al-Ḥākimī	Cairo	395/1005	A	A	E	D				E
al-Bīrūnī	al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī	Ghazna	420/1030	C	A	E	A/D	×			KFE, Egyptian, Indian, Sogdian, Mu'taḍid
al-Khāzinī	al-Zīdj al-Sandjarī	Marw	515/1120	C	A	E/L					KFE
al-Ṭūsī	Zīdj-i Īlkhānī	Marāgha	660/1262	A	A	L		×	×	×	FE
al-Baghdādī	al-Zīdj al-Waḳibiya (?)	Baghdād	685/1285	C	A	E	A/D	×	×		KFE, Egyptian, Mu'taḍid
al-Kāshī	Zīdj-i Khāḳānī	Samarḳand	825/1420	A	A	L			×	×	F
Ulugh Beg	Zīdj-i Sulṭānī	Samarḳand	850/1445	A	A	L			×	×	F

[a] Since most of the *zīdjs* listed here cannot be dated precisely, this column contains approximate dates of compilation. [b] A: astronomical (epoch Thursday, 15 July 622), C: civil (epoch Friday, 16 July 622) [c] A: Alexander (Seleucid era) [d] E: early variant (extra days inserted after Ābān), L: late variant (extra days inserted at the end of the year) [e] P: Philip, A: Augustus, D: Diocletian [f] Besides the names of less common calendars this column contains the following abbreviations: K: regnal list of kings and caliphs, F: list of feasts and festivals, E: material on the calculation of Easter or the Great Lent.

[1] This material may not have been part of the original work. [2] Based on the Latin translation of the revision by Maslama al-Madjrīṭī. [3] The leap day is inserted at the end of December. [4] Based on an accurate value for the length of a lunation and an intercalation scheme very different from the usual ones. [5] The year starts with Aylūl (September), the tables with Ādhār (March). [6] Djamāl al-Dīn Abi 'l-Ḳāsim b. Maḥfūẓ al-Munadjdjim al-Baghdādī reworked in his *zīdj* (extant in the unique Paris ms. B.N. 2486) material of early Muslim astronomers such as Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib, Kūshyār b. Labbān, and Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzdjānī. It seems plausible that, for his extensive chapter on chronology, he borrowed from al-Bīrūnī, but this has not yet been investigated.

TABLE 2

Epochs occurring in zīdjs and the differences between them in days.

Epoch	Date in Julian calendar	Differences between the epochs in days (sexagesimal/decimal)								
Flood	Fr 18 Feb. 3102 B.C.	**Flood**	860 172	1 014 932	1 019 273	1 122 241	1 236 564	1 359 973	1 363 597	1 526 770
Nabonassar	We 26 Feb. 747 B.C.	3, 58, 56, 12	**Nabonassar**	154 760	159 101	262 069	376 392	499 801	503 425	666 598
Philip	Su 12 Nov. 324 B.C.	4, 41, 55, 32	42, 59, 20	**Philip**	4 341	107 309	221 632	345 041	348 665	511 838
Alexander	Mo 1 Oct. 312 B.C.	4, 43, 7, 53	44, 11, 41	1, 12, 21	**Alexander**	102 968	217 291	340 700	344 324	507 497
Augustus	Sa 30 Aug. 30 B.C.	5, 11, 44, 1	1, 12, 47, 49	29, 48, 29	28, 36, 8	**Augustus**	114 323	237 732	241 356	404 529
Diocletian	Fr 29 Aug. 284 A.D.	5, 43, 29, 24	1, 44, 33, 12	1, 1, 33, 52	1, 0, 21, 31	31, 45, 23	**Diocletian**	123 409	127 033	290 206
Hidjra (A)	Th 15 July 622 A.D.	6, 17, 46, 13	2, 18, 50, 1	1, 35, 50, 41	1, 34, 38, 20	1, 6, 2, 12	34, 16, 49	**Hidjra (A)**	3 624	166 797
Yazdigird	Tu 16 June 632 A.D.	6, 18, 46, 37	2, 19, 50, 25	1, 36, 51, 5	1, 35, 38, 44	1, 7, 2, 36	35, 17, 13	1, 0, 24	**Yazdigird**	163 173
Malik-Shāh	Fr 15 Mar. 1079 A.D.	7, 4, 6, 10	3, 5, 9, 58	2, 22, 10, 38	2, 20, 58, 17	1, 52, 22, 9	1, 20, 36, 46	46, 19, 57	45, 19, 33	**Malik-Shāh**

Hidjra (A) indicates the "astronomical" Hidjra epoch. In the sexagesimal numbers under the diagonal, the digits are separated by commas, e.g. 42, 59, 20 denotes $42 \times 60^2 + 59 \times 60 + 20$.

Most important variants: The above date for the epoch of Augustus, signifying his year of accession, is only found in the *zīdjs* of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib. Kūshyār b. Labbān, Ibn Yūnus and al-Baghdādī give the epoch as 13 November 30 B.C., based on the assumption that New Year in the ancient Egyptian and the Coptic calendar coincided in the time of Philip instead of Augustus. Al-Battānī uses 29 Augustus 25 B.C., possibly indicating the year of introduction of the calendar. The data in al-Bīrūnī's *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* are inconsistent and point to both the earlier epoch and the later one.

The above date for the epoch of Diocletian is given by Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr and Ibn Yūnus, whereas the Berlin manuscript of the *zīdj* of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib and Kūshyār b. Labbān use 12 November 284 A.D. A Philip epoch for the Coptic calendar is employed by Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib and al-Battānī.

examples of date conversions, the Hid̲j̲ra dates given in this article are the common "civil" dates rather than the "astronomical" ones applied in most *zīd̲j̲*s. The names of calendars and epochs used in this article are literal translations of the names occurring in *zīd̲j̲*s, which in some cases may not be the historically or linguistically most correct ones.

Arabic or Hid̲j̲ra calendar. Whereas in civil usage the beginnings of the Arabic months are determined by actual observations of the lunar crescent after new moon [see 1. above and RU'YAT AL-HILĀL], most mediaeval astronomers used the schematic calendar with nineteen ordinary years of 354 days and eleven leap years of 355 days in a thirty-year cycle. The number of days in the first *n* years of this cycle is determined by multiplying *n* by the average year length of 354 11/30 days and rounding the result to the nearest whole number. If for $n = 15$ the resulting half of a day is truncated, this leads to the set of leap years 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26 and 29. If it is rounded upwards, the fifteenth year of each cycle becomes a leap year rather than the sixteenth. The first variant seems to be more common in early *zīd̲j̲*s, the second one in later Persian *zīd̲j̲*s.

Whereas most Muslim astronomers used the "astronomical" Hid̲j̲ra era based on the mean new moon of Thursday, 15 July 622 A.D., al-Bīrūnī and some others adopted the "civil" epoch determined by the first visibility of the lunar crescent on Friday, 16 July [see HID̲J̲RA]. The early ʿAbbāsid astronomer Ḥabas̲h̲ al-Ḥāsib based his rules and tables for the Hid̲j̲ra calendar on the actual time of the above-mentioned new moon and the traditional Babylonian value for the length of a lunation, which is slightly different from that implicit in the schematic lunar calendar. Thus he arrived at a highly unusual intercalation scheme, in which the years 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 17, 19, 22, 25, 28 and 30 in the thirty-year cycle were leap years.

Persian or Yazdigird calendar. Because of its constant year length of 365 days, the Persian calendar is very convenient for calculating planetary motions during long periods of time. For this reason, it was adopted as the base calendar in many *zīd̲j̲*s. The five extra days of the Persian year are usually called *andard̲j̲a* (from the Persian *andar gāh(ān)*, "intermediate times"), *mustaraḳa* ("stolen days") or *lawāḥiḳ* ("appendages"). Various *zīd̲j̲*s describe the type of intercalation supposedly carried out in the ancient Persian calendar (see 1. above, section vii, and F. de Blois, *The Persian calendar*, in *Iran*, xxxiv [1996], 39-54), as a result of which the extra days were inserted after the eighth month, Ābān, until approximately the year 397/1007. Starting with Kūs̲h̲yār b. Labbān, more and more Muslim astronomers moved the extra days back to the end of the year (cf. Table 1). In all *zīd̲j̲*s the epoch of the Persian calendar is the beginning of the year of accession of the last Persian king Yazdigird III [see SĀSĀNIDS]; in only a few cases are the Sogdian and Khwarazmian forms of the Persian calendar described. In most *zīd̲j̲*s the names of the 30 days of the Persian months and the five extra days are listed.

Byzantine (rūmī) *or Syrian calendar.* This calendar is essentially the same as the Julian, but counts the years according to the Seleucid era, which is mistakenly named after Alexander the Great [see AL-ISKANDAR]. In *zīd̲j̲*s it usually employs the Syro-Macedonian month names listed in 1. above, section v, and has Tis̲h̲rīn I (October) as the first month of the year. Once every four years a leap day is inserted at the end of S̲h̲ubāṭ (February), leap years being those Alexander years which leave a remainder equal to three when divided by four. Most deviations from these basic characteristics were incidental, e.g. al-Battānī started the year with Aylūl (September), the Latin version of the *Zīd̲j̲* of al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī inserted the leap day at the end of Kānūn II (December), and in some tables the months were reckoned from Ād̲h̲ār (March). Occasionally transliterations of the Latin month names were given.

Egyptian or Coptic calendar (ta'rīk̲h̲ al-ḳibṭ). In some *zīd̲j̲*s this designation stands for the ancient Egyptian calendar as used by Ptolemy [see BAṬLAMIYŪS], which occurs with the Nabonassar (*Buk̲h̲tanaṣṣar*), Philip (*bylbs*, usually unvocalised in the manuscripts) and Antoninus (*'ntnns*) epochs. Mostly, however, it is used for the Alexandrian or Coptic variant of this calendar introduced by the Roman emperor Augustus (*'g̲h̲sts*), which runs parallel to the Julian calendar. The five extra days of the Coptic year (six in a leap year) are called *nasī* or epagomenai (*'bwg̲h̲mn'*). As epochs we find the beginning of the year of accession of Augustus and that of Diocletian (*dḳlṭy'nws*). In the first case, leap years are those which leave a remainder zero after division by four, in the second case those which leave a remainder three. Al-Battānī used a Philip era for the Coptic calendar (Tuesday, 29 August 324 B.C.), which he mistook for the epoch of Ptolemy's *Handy tables*.

It may be noted that New Year in the ancient Egyptian calendar coincides with that in the Coptic calendar around the time of introduction of the latter, sc. 25 B.C. However, in a number of *zīd̲j̲*s we find rules based on the assumption that New Year in both calendars coincides at the time of the Philip epoch, 324 B.C. As a result, the Augustus and Diocletian epochs in these *zīd̲j̲*s are 75 days later than the dates shown in Table 2.

D̲j̲alālī calendar. Whereas Islamic religious life was governed by the purely lunar Hid̲j̲ra calendar, for agricultural and taxation purposes a true solar calendar was found to be indispensable. In *zīd̲j̲*s the most extensive descriptions of such calendars concern the D̲j̲alālī [*q.v.*] (also called Malikī), which was introduced in the late 5th/11th century by the Great Seld̲j̲ūḳ Sultan D̲j̲alāl al-Dawla Malik-S̲h̲āh I [*q.v.*]. New Year in this calendar is defined as the day (from noon till noon) on which the sun reaches the vernal equinoctial point, to be determined by astronomical calculation rather than by a straightforward intercalation scheme. Here the method varies from *zīd̲j̲* to *zīd̲j̲* depending on solar theory and parameter values. In most cases, the times of successive vernal equinoxes are computed by repeatedly adding a constant length of the solar year to the time of the equinox of the epoch. A more accurate theory is contained in the K̲h̲āḳānī Zīd̲j̲ by the 9th/15th-century computational genius al-Kās̲h̲ī, who took into account the influence of the motion of the solar apogee on the solar equation and hence correctly obtained varying time spans between consecutive equinoxes. Al-Kās̲h̲ī constructed his sophisticated table for the computation of vernal equinoxes on the basis of intervals of 33 D̲j̲alālī years, practically equal to an integer number of days, and used parabolic interpolation to calculate the equinoxes within these intervals.

Independent of the precise method of computing the vernal equinox, in all *zīd̲j̲*s the D̲j̲alālī year ordinarily has 365 days, every fourth or incidentally fifth year being a leap year of 366 days. In some *zīd̲j̲*s the leap year following four ordinary years occurs alternately after 25 or 29 years, in others after 29 or 33 years. The beginnings of the D̲j̲alālī months are said to be defined by the entry of the sun into the

zodiacal signs, but in practice the traditional Persian months of 30 days are used, "*djalālī*" being appended to the original names and a sixth extra day being added in a leap year. The epoch of the Djalālī calendar generally is the vernal equinox of the year 471/1079. Other epochs in use for true solar calendars based on the vernal equinox are the Īlkhān era of Ghāzān Khān [*q.v.*] mentioned by al-Kāshī (Tuesday, 12 Radjab 701/13 March 1302) and the era of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] used in the *zīdj* of al-Sandjufīnī, written in Tibet in 1366 (Wednesday, 12 Shaʿbān 603/14 March 1207).

Chinese-Uighur (Turco-Mongolian) calendar. Under the Mongol Īlkhān dynasty [*q.v.*] the so-called Chinese-Uighur calendar was the commonly used one in Persia. It is prominently described in a number of *zīdjs*, mostly in Persian, the earliest of which is the Īlkhānī Zīdj by al-Ṭūsī. The calendar is a luni-solar one and is very similar to the *Revised Ta Ming li*, the calendar of the Chinese Chin Dynasty, which was adopted by Čingiz Khān after the Mongol conquest of northern China in 1215. With the *Ta Ming li*, the Chinese-Uighur calendar shares the underlying solar and lunar parameters, the era of the creation, and the general rules for determining the beginnings of years and months and the position of the leap month. Different from official Chinese calendars, in the Uighur calendar the solar and lunar equations, required for the computation of the true new moons, are calculated as parabolic functions. The determination of the lunar equation involves a period relation of ultimately Babylonian origin, which equates nine lunar anomalistic cycles to 248 days.

In the Chinese-Uighur calendar, days are counted either from the beginning of the current month or in the Chinese sexagesimal cycle. Years are grouped into three consecutive cycles of 60 years which are called by Chinese words Shang-yüan, Chung-yüan, and Hsia-yüan. In the Īlkhānī Zīdj, the epoch of the Chinese-Uighur calendar is Thursday, 30 Rabīʿ I 662/31 January 1264.

(Various technical, philological and historical aspects of the Chinese-Uighur calendar have been discussed in E.S. Kennedy, *The Chinese-Uighur calendar as described in the Islamic sources*, in *Isis*, lv [1964], 435-43*; R.P. Mercier, *The Greek "Persian Syntaxis" and the Zīj-i Ilkhānī*, in *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, xxxiv [1984], 35-60; and C. Melville, *The Chinese Uighur animal calendar in Persian historiography of the Mongol period*, in *Iran*, xxxii [1994], 83-98. The complete method of computing Uighur dates as found in the Īlkhānī Zīdj has been laid out in B. van Dalen, E.S. Kennedy and Mustafa K. Saiyid, *The Chinese-Uighur calendar in Ṭūsī's Zīdj-i Īlkhānī*, in *ZGAIW*, xi [1997], 111-52.)

Others. A number of *zīdjs* contain descriptions of the Jewish luni-solar calendar. These range from simple listings of month names and elementary properties to complete sets of rules and tables for the computation of the Tishri new moon, which determines the beginning of the Jewish year. (The material on the Jewish calendar in the unique manuscript copy of the Mumtaḥan Zīdj has been published in J. Vernet, *Un antiguo tratado sobre el calendario judío en las "Tabulae Probatae"*, in *Sefarad*, xiv [1954], 59-78, repr. in Vernet, *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia medieval*, Barcelona-Bellaterra 1979, 213-32. A treatise on the Jewish calendar by al-Khwārazmī has been analysed in: E.S. Kennedy, *Al-Khwārizmī on the Jewish Calendar*, in *Scripta Mathematica*, xxvii [1964], 55-9*.)

A couple of *zīdjs* mention the calendar of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*], a modification of the Persian calendar which fixes New Year in June and inserts a leap day once every four years. Its epoch is Wednesday, 13 Rabīʿ II 282/11 June 895. Like his monumental *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya* (tr. C.E. Sachau, *The chronology of ancient nations*, London 1879, repr. Frankfurt 1969), al-Bīrūnī's *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* contains a wealth of chronological material, which has not yet been properly investigated (cf. Kennedy, *Al-Bīrūnī's Masudic Canon*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv [1971], 59-81*). Besides the common calendars discussed above, al-Bīrūnī includes details of the calendar reform by al-Muʿtaḍid and of the Jewish, Sogdian/Khwarazmian and Indian calendars (on the last, see Kennedy, S. Engle and J. Wamstad, *The Hindu calendar as described in Al-Bīrūnī's Masudic Canon*, in *JNES*, xxiv [1965], 274-84*).

b. Days since the epoch (*aṣl*). In order to convert dates from one calendar into another, it is necessary to calculate the number of days between the epoch and a given date. This is done by summing the days of the completed (*tāmm*) years, the days of the completed months of the current (*nāḳiṣ* "incomplete" or *munkasir* "broken") year, and the day of the current month. Conversely, it will be necessary to convert a given number of days since the epoch into the corresponding date, which is done by first computing the number of completed years and then distributing the remaining days over the months of the current year.

In many *zīdjs*, the number of days in a given number of completed years is called the *aṣl* ("bases"). The computation of the *aṣl* and, conversely, of the number of completed years from a given number of days since the epoch, are discussed below, examples being given in section c., *Conversions*. Whereas in *zīdjs* all calculations are written out in words, here the following modern notation will be used: a denotes the *aṣl*, c the number of days that have elapsed in the current year (including the current day), d the total number of days that have elapsed since the epoch (including the current day), and C the number of completed years. The following subscripts will be appended to these symbols: H for Hidjra, A for Alexander (Seleucid era), and Y for Yazdigird. All divisions operate with whole numbers, usually discarding a possible remainder. When the remainder is used it will be denoted by r.

Now, for a given number of completed years C, the *aṣl* a is calculated in the following way:

Arabic calendar:

$$a_H = (C_H \times 10631 + 14)/30 \quad (1)$$

Persian calendar:

$$a_Y = C_Y \times 365 \quad (2)$$

Byzantine calendar:

$$a_A = (C_A \times 1461 + 1)/4 \quad (3)$$

It can be noted that all three operations are roughly a multiplication by the average year length. The constants 14 and 1 which are added in the calculations for the Arabic and Byzantine calendars are required in order to have the result increase by an extra day precisely when a leap year is encountered. To obtain the variant of the Arabic calendar in which the fifteenth year of each cycle is a leap year instead of the sixteenth, the constant 14 should be replaced by 15. Note that, instead of adding a constant and then discarding the remainder of the division, one may define a rounding rule for the remainder. For instance, equivalent to the above, the Arabic *aṣl* can be found as $(C_H \times 10631)/30$, where a remainder from 1 to 15 (14 if the fifteenth year of each cycle is a leap year) is discarded and a remainder from 16 (15) to 29 is made into an extra day. For the Byzantine cal-

endar, the remainder of the division (C_H × 1461)/4 should be discarded if it is equal to 1 or 2 and made into an extra day if it is 3.

In most *zīdjs* the rules for the calculation of the *aṣl* are not exact. Often the addition of a constant for the Arabic and Byzantine calendar is disregarded or the rounding rule presented is ambiguous, producing results which may be off by a day. Of the *zīdjs* listed in Table 1 only those by Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib and al-Bīrūnī take extra care to present exact rules.

After the *aṣl* has been determined, the total number of days since the epoch, *d*, can be computed by adding the lengths of the respective completed months of the current year and the day of the current month.

Conversely, in order to calculate the number *C* of years that have been completed on day *d* reckoned from the epoch, the following rules can be used:

Arabic calendar:

$$C_H = (30 \times d_H - 15)/10631 \quad (4)$$

Persian calendar:

$$C_Y = (d_Y - 1)/365 \quad (5)$$

Byzantine calendar:

$$C_A = (4 \times d_A - 2)/1461 \quad (6)$$

In this case, the operations are roughly a division by the average year length and constants are subtracted in all three calculations in order to obtain the correct answer also for the first and last day of every year. For the variant of the Arabic calendar in which the fifteenth year of each cycle is a leap year instead of the sixteenth, 16 should be subtracted instead of 15. The remaining days of the current year, *c*, can be found from the remainder *r* of the above divisions in the following way:

Arabic calendar: $c_H = r_H/30 + 1$ (7)

Persian calendar: $c_Y = r_Y + 1$ (8)

Byzantine calendar: $c_A = r_A/4 + 1$ (9)

(the remainders of the divisions by 30 and 4 are discarded). Note that the results are equal to $d - a$ if a denotes the *aṣl* corresponding to the number of completed years *C* obtained above. The rules found in *zīdjs* for the calculation of the number of completed years and the day of the current year from the number of days since the epoch generally appear to be even less exact than those for the *aṣl*.

c. Conversions. The explanation in *zīdjs* of the conversion of dates from one calendar into another varies from convenient shortcuts for particular problems, especially in early *zīdjs*, via extensive theoretical expositions as found, for instance, with Ibn Yūnus, to brief general explanations supplementing the rules for using the tables, in particular in later Persian *zīdjs*.

Using the rules presented in the previous section the conversion of dates can be performed in a general and straightforward way. First calculate the number of days from the epoch of the given calendar to the given date. Then add or substract the number of days between the given epoch and the desired epoch (Table 2) to obtain the number of days from the epoch of the desired calendar to the given date. Finally, transform these into completed years, completed months and the day of the current month in the desired calendar.

Example: Convert 24 Ramaḍān 254 Hidjra into the corresponding Byzantine date.

[1] According to formula (1), the *aṣl* of 253 completed Arabic years is (253 × 10631 + 14)/30 = 89655. (As usual, the remainder of the division is discarded.) (The same result can be obtained by taking 8 × 10631 days for the eight completed cycles of thirty Arabic years and then adding 13 × 354 for the remaining thirteen completed years plus 5 for the leap days accumulated during these thirteen years.) Since Ramaḍān is the ninth month of the Arabic year and each two months number 59 days, the given date is the (4 × 59 + 24 =) 260th day of the year 254 Hidjra. Adding this number to the *aṣl*, we obtain 89915 for d_H, the total number of days since the Hidjra epoch (including the given day).

[2] Now d_A, the total number of days from the Alexander epoch up to (and including) the given date, is determined by adding the difference in days between the two epochs as found in Table 2 to d_H: d_A = 89915 + 340700 = 430615. (We thus assume that the given Hidjra date is astronomical; in practice, this will have to be verified on the basis of the week day.)

[3] The number of completed Byzantine years is obtained according to formula (6): C_A = (4 × 430615 − 2)/1461 = 1178 (r = 1400), and the remaining days of the current year 1179 Alexander using formula (9): $c_A = r/4 + 1$ = 351. Because 1179 leaves a remainder three when divided by four, the current year is a leap year and Shubāṭ has 29 days. By noting that the first eleven months of a Byzantine leap year number 336 days (simply add the numbers of days or subtract the length of the last month Aylūl from 366), we find that the desired date is the (351 − 336)th day of the twelfth month, i.e. 15 Aylūl 1179 Alexander.

In early *zīdjs* in particular, actual date conversions were not usually carried out by the above general rule, which may involve very large numbers, but by shortcuts based on expressions for the differences between the epochs in years and days. Examples of such expressions are:

– The (astronomical) Hidjra epoch falls 932 Byzantine years and 287 days after the Alexander epoch.

– The Yazdigirdī epoch occurs 259 days after the beginning of 943 Alexander or 989 days after the beginning of 941 Alexander. Since reckoning from 943 Alexander the 1st, 5th, 9th, ... years are leap years instead of the 3rd, 7th, 11th, ..., the constant in formula (6) has to be changed to −4 in order to produce the correct number of completed Byzantine years since the beginning of 943 Alexander. When the beginning of the year 941 is used, the formula need not be changed.

Example: Convert 2 Kānūn II 1168 Alexander into the corresponding Hidjra date.

[1] The Byzantine New Year just preceding the Hidjra epoch is that of the year 933 Alexander. According to formula (3), the number of days of the Byzantine years completed since the beginning of this year is (1168 − 933) × 1461 + 1)/4 = 85834. Adding to this the number of days in the current year, 31 + 30 + 31 + 2 = 94, we obtain 85928 days from the beginning of 933 Alexander until the given date.

[2] The number of days from the (astronomical) Hidjra epoch to the given date is 287 less, i.e. 85641.

[3] The number of completed Arabic years is now found by formula (4): C_H = (30 × 85641 − 15)/10631 = 241 (r = 7144). The days of the current year are then obtained using formula (7): $c_H = r/30 + 1$ = 239. These fill up 8 completed months (4 × 59 = 236 days), leaving 3 days in the ninth month. Thus the desired Arabic date is 3 Ramaḍān 242 Hidjra.

As we have seen above, the rules used for date conversions in *zīdjs* are often not exactly formulated. Therefore it is necessary to check the result by means of the week day of the given and the calculated date (see below, d.). Note that, in order to facilitate the conversion of historical dates, many *zīdjs* contain extensive regnal lists of caliphs and other rulers indicating the beginning and duration of their reigns.

d. Madākhil. A *madkhal* (pl. *madākhil*, literally "entrance", translated as *feria*, *nota* or *signum*) is the week day of the first day of a year or month or of a particular date, represented by a number from 1 (Sunday), 2 (Monday), till 7 (Saturday). In some *zīdjs*, the number is given a separate name, *ʿalāma* ("indicator"). Most *zīdjs* contain both rules and tables for the calculation of *madākhil*, which, as we have seen, are particularly important for checking the results of date conversions.

Most simply, the *madkhal* of a given year is calculated by adding the *aṣl* of the completed years *C* to the *madkhal* of the epoch (cf. Table 2) and casting off multiples of seven. For example, for the Hidjra year 254 we add the *aṣl* of the completed years found above, 89655, to 5 (Thursday), the *madkhal* of the astronomical epoch. Discarding multiples of seven we obtain 4, signifying that 1 Muḥarram 254 Hidjra was a Wednesday.

For the Persian and Byzantine calendars we find direct methods for calculating the *madkhal* based on the fact that the number of days of an (ordinary) year is $52 \times 7 + 1$. Thus the *madkhal* of a Persian year is simply found as $(3 + C_Y) \bmod 7$ ($m \bmod n$ denotes the remainder of the division m/n; note that 3 is the *madkhal* of the Yazdigird epoch). Similarly, the *madkhal* of a Byzantine year is obtained as $(2 + C_A + (C_A + 1)/4) \bmod 7$, where the remainder of the division by 4 is discarded.

In order to obtain the *madākhil* of the following months, two and one are added alternately in the case of the Arabic calendar, two for each month and five for the extra days in the case of the Persian calendar, and the respective month lengths minus 28 in the case of the Byzantine calendar. To obtain the *madkhal* of the current date, the day of the current month minus one should be added to the *madkhal* of the current month. After each addition multiples of seven are discarded.

e. Tables. In practically all *zīdjs*, the chronological chapter contains a set of mathematical tables which facilitate the calculations described above. Among these tables the following appear to be standard:

(1) *Tables for the calculation of the* aṣl. Such tables display in three subtables, either in sexagesimal or in decimal notation, the number of days corresponding to groups of years (*al-sinūn al-madjmūʿa*), individual years (*al-sinūn al-mabsūṭa*), and months. For instance, for the Arabic calendar the number of days in multiples of 30 years and in 1, 2, ..., 30 single years will be given. Some authors of *zīdjs* combine more than one calendar in a single table by using a sexagesimal set-up with groups of 60 years. In each case, the number of days from the epoch to a given date is obtained by adding the day of the current month to the sum of the appropriate values from the three subtables.

(2) *Direct conversion tables.* From this type of table the dates in one or more calendars corresponding to a set of (often equidistant) beginnings of years in a base calendar can be read off directly. Intermediate dates can then be found readily by adding the years and days in the desired calendar corresponding to the remaining single years and months in the base calendar, which are tabulated in separate subtables, as well as the elapsed days of the current month. For instance, when converting 24 Ramaḍān 254 Hidjra into the corresponding Byzantine date, one may read directly from the table that 1 Muḥarram 241 Hidjra corresponds to the 233rd day of the year 1166 Alexander. Furthermore, one finds that the first thirteen years of the cycle of thirty Arabic years are equal to 12 Byzantine years plus 224 days, and the Arabic months before Ramaḍān to 236 days. Together with the elapsed days of the current month $(24 - 1)$ this yields the $(233 + 224 + 236 + 23 =)$ 716th day since the beginning of the year 1178 Alexander, i.e. the 351st day or 15 Aylūl of 1179 Alexander.

(3) *Tables for the calculation of* madākhil. Tables for *madākhil* make use of the fact that the same dates recur on the same week days after 210 years in the Arabic calendar, 7 in the Persian, and 28 in the Byzantine. The first step in the determination of a *madkhal* is therefore to cast off multiples of the length of the cycle concerned from the given year. For the Persian and Byzantine calendars, most *zīdjs* contain a double-argument table from which the initial week day can be read off directly for every month of every year within the respective cycles. In the case of the Arabic calendar, the initial week days of years 1, 2, ..., 210 are displayed together with a constant for every month which should be added to the initial week day of the given year. In early *zīdjs*, this type of table is often found under the name *al-djadwal al-mudjarrad*.

Besides the types discussed here, many *zīdjs* contain special tables for more complicated calendars such as the Djalālī and the Chinese-Uighur, and tables of feasts and fasts in various calendars. Islamic tables for the determination of the Great Lent and Easter have been analysed in G.A. Saliba, *Easter computation in medieval astronomical handbooks*, in *al-Abhāth*, xxiii (1970), 179-212*.

f. Various. In early *zīdjs* in particular, we find approximate methods for chronological calculations, such as tables for Arabic *madākhil* based on a cycle of eight years. In the manuscript of the *zīdj* of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib extant in Berlin, some problems are discussed of the types "Find a date for which the Alexander year is equal to the Hidjra year" or "Find an Alexander year in which Farwardīn occurs twice", whereas al-Bīrūnī presents solutions for problems of "mixed dates", in which day, month, and year are given in three different calendars.

Bibliography: Much of the information contained in this article has been obtained from an inspection of primary sources and has not previously been published. The publications already mentioned deal with specific topics related to era chronology in *zīdjs*. General literature concerning calendars in the Islamic world has been listed at the end of 1. above; the *Bibl.* below presents some additions and various works particularly useful in relation to era chronology in *zīdjs*. Entries with an asterisk were reprinted in E.S. Kennedy *et al.*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences* (*SIES*), Beirut 1983.

For more information about *zīdjs*, the reader is referred to ZĪDJ and to Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S. lxvi/2 (1956), 123-77 (repr. 1989). Many important investigations of parts of *zīdjs* are contained in *SIES*.

The standard work on general mathematical chronology is still F.K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, 3 vols. Leipzig 1906-14, repr. Leipzig 1958. A valuable overview of era chronology in the Islamic world is presented in S.H. Taqizadeh, *Various eras and calendars used in the countries of Islam*, in *BSOS*, ix (1937-9), 903-27, and x (1939-42), 107-32. Additions to Sachau's edition of al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology* can be found in K. Garbers, *Eine Ergänzung zur Sachauschen Ausgabe von al-Bīrūnīs Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 39-80.

Conversions of dates have traditionally been performed with the *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungs-tabellen*, revised B. Spuler and J. Mayr, Wiesbaden 1961, or with R. Schram, *Kalendariographische und chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig 1908. Now programs for various types of computers are available, partially from the Internet. The DOS programme *CALH* by B. van Dalen (version 1.2, 1997) includes most of the calendars and epochs described in this article.

(B. van Dalen)

II. Historical Writing

1. In the Arab world.

Ta'rīkh is the most common Arabic word (widely used in New Persian and the Turkic languages as well) for "history, historiography", in the sense of an ordered account of actual events. The word is certainly not archaic and is only clearly attested by the mid-2nd/8th century, when it first appears in the titles of works recounting past events. By the late 3rd/9th century, *ta'rīkh* had become the most common word for this genre of writing. Other terms for historiography were also current, however. Indeed, *akhbār* ("reports, narratives") may be older and in any case was very widely used down to early modern times. Until the mid-3rd/9th century, in fact, works of history were as likely to be identified by their subject matter—e.g. *sīra* (biography), *maghāzī* [*q.vv.*] (campaigns of the Prophet), *futūḥ* (conquests)—as by a word naming the literary genre or class of knowledge to which they belonged. Before the late 19th century, *ta'rīkh* seems to refer only to a kind of writing or knowledge, but in modern Arabic *ta'rīkh* (like English "history", German *Geschichte*, etc.) is equivocal, comprising both events *per se* and the verbal representation of these events.

The etymology of *ta'rīkh* is uncertain, since it is not found in other Semitic languages. Rosenthal relates it to South Arabian *wrkh* "moon" and "month", with a hypothetical derivation *tawrīkh* "determining dates by observing the moon" (it should be also noted that the *Sabaic dictionary* of A.R.L. Beeston *et alii*, 162, further gives the meaning "date" for *wrḫ*, and that the Arabic lexicographers list *tawrīkh* as a variant of *ta'rīkh*, see e.g. *LA*, s.v. *'-r-kh* and *w-r-kh*). The original denotation of *ta'rīkh* is in fact "date" or "dating" [see I. 1, above]. When it is attached to literary compositions, then, it should denote a chronologically-ordered account of events. The latter does, in fact, represent the earliest usage (occasionally in the expanded form *al-ta'rīkh 'alā 'l-sinīn*), but the word was rapidly extended to include any record of events or persons, however organised; e.g. by the mid-3rd/9th century we have al-Bukhārī's *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, an alphabetically-arranged dictionary of *ḥadīth* transmitters which contains very few dates. In view of this fluidity in language, no effort will be made in what follows to distinguish between *ta'rīkh*, *akhbār*, and other words used for historical writing.

(a) Origins to *ca.* 950.

The bulk of early Arabic historical texts (or more precisely, texts which claim to be early) have not come down to us in their original form but are only preserved as citations and paraphrases in a corpus of digests and compilations assembled between the mid-3rd/9th century and the early 4th/10th century. (The earliest biographies of the Prophet form an important exception, since they were written or redacted in their present form by the early 3rd/9th century—i.e. about half to three-quarters of a century before extant historical texts on other subjects.) It is true that much apparently archaic material can be dug out of the encyclopaedias and biographical dictionaries of later centuries, but this does not alter the nature of the problem. Given the present state of the evidence, then, we can determine what Arabic historiography had become by the end of Islam's first three centuries, but recovering the earlier phases of historical thought and writing has proved an extremely elusive problem. A mountain of research on this issue has yet to produce results which command general assent.

The historical works of the late 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries represent the culmination of historical writing in early Islam in two respects. First, they synthesised a vast corpus of narratives which had been collected and put into circulation over the previous 200 years. Second, they defined the religious and political meaning of these narratives in a manner that later Muslims found nearly definitive for many centuries. The syntheses composed around the beginning of the 4th/10th century attained such prestige that few later historians made any effort to investigate anew the first 200 years of Islamic history; they were usually content to copy and abridge the "classical" syntheses, in particular the vast chronicle of Abū Dja'far al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923 [*q.v.*]). As a result, most of the older sources ceased to be copied or read in any systematic way, though many of them were still extant and consulted (rather haphazardly) down into Mamlūk times.

There is a second reason for the "fossilisation" of historiography dealing with the first two centuries of Islam: after the mid-4th/10th century, the issues and topics (and hence the texts which embodied them) which had long been the focus of historiographic concern no longer seemed highly relevant. Since 132/750 the crucial issue for every historian had been the stance he ought to take toward the 'Abbāsids. Should they be presented as usurpers of 'Alid (or even Umayyad) rights, as legitimate successors to an unbroken caliphal succession stretching back to Abū Bakr, or as the restorers of the purity of Muḥammad's *umma*? On one's resolution of this problem rested his interpretation of Islamic history for the century and a half before the 'Abbāsid Revolution.

On a deeper level, the debate about the 'Abbāsids was a debate about the religious meaning of the whole history of the *umma* [*q.v.*]. This debate was framed in terms of a paradigm of covenant, betrayal and redemption—a paradigm which had its roots in the Ḳur'ān's oft-repeated prophet narratives, whose guiding motif is the challenge by a prophet to his people to accept the worship of the one true God and to follow his commandments. This challenge represents God's offer of a covenant (Ar. *'ahd*, *mīthāḳ* [*q.vv.*]), sc. obedience to His commandments in return for prosperity in this world and the next. The covenant is most often scornfully rejected, quickly followed by an outpouring of divine wrath. Even when it is accepted, as with the Jews and Christians, these communities quickly fall from wholehearted obedience and corrupt their religion. As the 3rd/9th-century historians understood the matter, Muḥammad's people had been offered just such a covenant in the Ḳur'ān. They had accepted it (not always without a struggle) and had been rewarded as no people before them. But soon even the Muslims had fallen prey to man's innate heedlessness (*ghafla*) and ingratitude (*kufr*); they had betrayed their covenant and now were rent by schism and bloodshed. This fall from grace compelled thoughtful Muslims to ask whether the betrayal could be repaired and the *umma* be redeemed. If so, how and at whose hands could such a redemption be won? Historians also had to ask how the betrayal of the Muḥammadan covenant had occurred and who was responsible.

The official interpretation propounded by the 'Abbāsid régime—which had to justify its claim to rule as kin of the Prophet, while preserving the legitimacy of the first three caliphs—laid the blame for the *umma*'s sufferings on the corrupt and tyrannical Umayyads. But most historians, even those with close ties to the 'Abbāsid court, concurred that the original crisis had occurred in the reign of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (24-35/644-56), though they disagreed bitterly about which persons and groups bore the guilt for the catastrophe.

The paradigm of covenant, betrayal and redemption was clearly formulated by late Umayyad times and was highly productive for nearly two centuries. But as 'Abbāsid authority was subverted in the late 3rd/9th century and collapsed in the 320s/930s, this paradigm lost much of its power. It could not bestow meaning and value on the sordid intrigues of petty dynasts and warlords. The historians of the 4th/10th century and later focused more and more on recent and contemporary events, and sought new ways of constructing and interpreting these.

Some of the late 3rd/9th-century syntheses are best characterised as digests. Key examples would be three nearly contemporary works: the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Ya'kūbī (d. 283/897), *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 281/894), and the *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* of Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889). Late examples of this group would be the *Murūdj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-djawhar* and *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf* of al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956). The authors of the digests refine the disparate materials bequeathed them by earlier collectors into a single narrative line, with the intention of offering a clear and unambiguous interpretation of Islamic history. Even so, their works preserve the historical writing of earlier generations because they present their accounts in the form of (highly selective) quotation and paraphrase of their sources.

Of these digests the most original and interesting are the works of al-Ya'kūbī and al-Mas'ūdī. Al-Ya'kūbī composed the first true universal history in the Arabic language. He draws on a wide array of materials (many clearly non-Islamic) to give a culturally and intellectually oriented tableau of the pre-Islamic nations. Then with the coming of Muḥammad he narrows his focus to the political history of Islam, organised by caliphal reign and told from a markedly pro-'Alid perspective. In its overall structure al-Ya'kūbī's digest provided the model for the universal histories of al-Ṭabarī and al-Mas'ūdī, though there is no evidence that either of these scholars used his work. Al-Mas'ūdī's two digests are late works, abridgements or adaptations of a series of far larger and more systematic histories (all now lost) which he claims to have composed earlier in his career. They combine, in a manner never successfully imitated by any other historian, serious information with the arts and graces of *adab*. Al-Mas'ūdī's Islamic history is similar in many ways to al-Ya'kūbī's, but his non-Islamic materials are far wider-ranging and clearly draw on a much richer array of sources. He is, for example, the only Muslim author to give us a serious précis of Byzantine history since the rise of Islam. It is noteworthy that Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), so severe in his judgments on many historians, identified al-Mas'ūdī as his true precursor.

Without doubt the crucial historical works of this era are the massive compilations of al-Balādhurī (d. 279/893) and Abū Dja'far al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). It is these which preserve for us the broadest cross-section of early Arab-Islamic historical writing, and hence they are our fundamental sources for the origins and early development of Islamic historiography. Al-Balādhurī left us two major histories, both dealing wholly with Islamic times: *Futūḥ al-buldān*, an account of the Arab-Islamic conquests (coming down into 'Abbāsid times), organised by region and oriented toward legal-administrative issues; and *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, a vast collection of political biographies of the caliphs and other notable figures of Islamic history, with the biographies grouped according to lineage. Al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk* is an enormous chronicle stretching from the Creation down to the last years of al-Ṭabarī's life. It is arranged by nation or people before the rise of Islam, with an emphasis on the Israelites and Persians; with the *hidjra* it follows a strict annalistic framework. It represents only one facet of the *œuvre* (in effect the retirement project) of a scholar who regarded himself chiefly as a Ḳur'ān commentator, *faḳīh* and *muḥaddith*.

In principle, the compilations of al-Balādhurī (especially the *Ansāb al-ashrāf*) and al-Ṭabarī aimed to assemble all well-attested accounts pertaining to the major events and actors in Islamic history. Both scholars used the *muḥaddith*'s tool of the *isnād* to show the provenance of each account, thereby allowing the informed reader to assess its authenticity and religious soundness. Al-Ṭabarī indeed deploys the *isnād* technique very rigorously; this and other indications suggest that he hoped to raise history to the full dignity of a religious science. But that turned out to be impossible, due at least in part to the highly disparate and uncontrollable sources which historians had to use.

In contrast to the digests, these vast compilations make no effort to construct a unified narrative of events. On the contrary, they consist of a series of discrete reports (Ar. *khabar*, pl. *akhbār*) varying in length from a line to several pages. These *akhbār* are not linked by a narrative thread; they are simply juxtaposed end to end, each being marked off from the others by its own *isnād*. A compiler might select several reports pertaining to a given event, and these could variously repeat, overlap, or contradict one another. The criteria for including some *akhbār* and omitting others are almost never spelled out explicitly; one must simply infer such criteria through context, literary structure, etc. In general, it was proper for a historian to abridge or paraphrase the *akhbār* which he found in his sources; he might even blend several accounts together into a "collective tradition" so long as he did no violence to their contents. Al-Balādhurī paraphrases quite freely; al-Ṭabarī follows the wording of his sources closely, albeit with considerable abridgment. Al-Ṭabarī also chops up what were originally extended narratives into short segments, so as to juxtapose these with contrasting or parallel versions of the events being presented.

None of the historians surveyed above ever intervenes in the narrative to explain its overall significance or to pass judgment on the actors. The reason for this reticence is partly grounded in early Islamic concepts of knowledge (*'ilm*). In this perspective, historical knowledge was constituted by statements which could be traced back to reliable authorities—ideally, to eyewitnesses of known veracity, but in any case to reputable persons who had obtained their information from good sources. The historian's task was thus simply to determine which *akhbār* were acceptable and to arrange these in a usable order. On another level, the events recorded by early Muslim historians were intensely controversial. Hence if they discussed these in their own words, they would inevitably be regarded as mere propagandists for one or another faction. Scholarly authority required a talent for self-effacement.

Insofar as they deal with the middle and later decades of the 3rd/9th century, the digests and compilations reviewed above drew, with varying skill and perceptiveness, on a variety of contemporary sources as well as personal observation. For the reigns of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs from al-Mahdī (775-85) until al-Maʾmūn (813-33), they seem to have used an official court historiography as redacted under al-Maʾmūn, supplemented by personal memoirs and other non-official accounts. The provenance of their information on these two periods raises many difficult issues, but there is no real question about the authenticity of the sources they used. That is, these sources do date from the periods which they recount, and they were composed by the authors to whom they are ascribed.

As we move into their sources for earlier periods, however, we can have progressively less confidence on this point. For the century and a half stretching between Muḥammad's call and the consolidation of ʿAbbāsid power under al-Manṣūr (*r.* 136-68/754-75), the direct sources for the "classical" syntheses were a series of *akhbār* collections (now mostly lost) compiled between *ca.* 750 and 850 by a number of scholars, of whom the most widely cited are Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 150/767), Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā (d. 157/774), Sayf b. ʿUmar (d. *ca.* 180/796), al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (207/822), Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/822), Muḥammad b. Saʿd (d. 230/845), and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī (d. 225/840). The works of the earlier collectors in this group were certainly heavily redacted in the early 3rd/9th century, and it is in this form that the classical syntheses had access to them. Even so, the essential authenticity of these collections seems uncontestable; they are, as they claim to be, substantially works compiled and edited by Abū Mikhnaf, Sayf b. ʿUmar *et al.*

The early 3rd/9th century also witnessed the emergence of two new genres which would have a very long lifespan in Islamic historiography: the earliest biographical compilations, in the form of *ṭabaḳāt* [*q.v.*] or "generations" of notable Muslims (chiefly transmitters of *ḥadīth* and other religious knowledge) from the time of the Prophet; and the annalistic chronicle, which strove to place each known event in the precise Hidjrī year in which it occurred. The first extant biographical compilations already display a considerable range of subjects and emphases: the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kabīr* of Ibn Saʿd, the terse *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt* of Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī (d. 241/855), and the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ al-djāhiliyyīn wa 'l-islāmiyyīn* by Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Djumaḥī (231/846). The biographical dictionary immediately met a critical need in a religious and literary culture which was based on the transmission of knowledge from one person to another, and which needed to determine the biographical data, religious acceptability, and reliability of each transmitter. The new form quickly branched off in many directions, and by the end of the 3rd/9th century it was producing works as diverse as al-Bukhārī's *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr* and al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf.*

Until the mid-3rd/9th century, the favoured organisational scheme for general histories was by caliphal reign; this regnal or dynastic schema continued to be very widely used as well. After Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ (*al-Taʾrīkh*), al-Ṭabarī was the next extant historian to use the annalistic structure; much of the confusion in his volumes on the earliest decades of Islam comes from the fact that his source material was not originally dated by year, and could only be located in the "right" year by context. But after al-Ṭabarī, the annalistic mode became and remained the most widely used organisational framework, at least among Arabic-language historians, down into the 13th/19th century.

The *akhbār* collections of the early 3rd/9th century differ from one another in many ways: subject matter, sources, organisation and handling of material, religio-political stance, etc. Nevertheless, they do have some important features in common. First, they all reflect the covenant-betrayal-redemption paradigm, thus demonstrating that this paradigm was already fully articulated by this era. Second, they embody predominantly ʿIrāḳī (and for the earliest decades, Ḥidjāzī) perspectives; only fragments of a Syrian or Egyptian tradition have found their way into them. This seems natural enough for ʿAbbāsid times, but obviously it implies serious distortions in their treatment of the Umayyads. Third, they are assemblages of *akhbār* relating to a given set of events rather than integrated narratives of those events. Fourth, most of them are monographic rather than synthetic—i.e. they bring together reports concerning discrete events (such as the Battle of the Camel) or topics (the Ridda wars or the conquests in Syria). (Note, however, that the earliest synthetic history of early Islamic political history was probably Ibn Isḥāḳ's *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, probably a digest rather than a detailed compilation, now lost except for a few citations in al-Ṭabarī and possibly a papyrus fragment.) Finally, these works use *isnād*s (not necessarily in a rigorous way) to link their narratives to the original reporters of the events they include. In spite of the formal structure of these collections, which implies that they are merely transmitting well-attested reports by persons close to the events in question, there is ample evidence of a strong authorial (or at least editorial) hand in many of them. For example, Sayf b. ʿUmar explicitly blends reports from several different transmitters into a single version, while al-Wāḳidī gives a level of detail and narrative elaboration which we seldom find in older accounts of the same events.

Too much attention to questions of form, structure, transmission, accuracy, etc. can be very misleading, for many works from this period exhibit a very strong folkloric tendency—an emphasis on storytelling for its own sake, the heroic, the colourful, the supernatural and fantastic. Folkloric elements were assuredly present in the very origins of Islamic historical narrative, but the early ʿAbbāsid period produced a number of larger works which are thoroughly imbued with folklore. The most notable of these is the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī (who probably flourished *ca.* 200/815, *pace* M.A. Shaban). But this period must also have seen the origins of the widely copied *Futūḥ al-Shām* sagas ascribed to al-Wāḳidī, though these emerged in their present form only during the Crusades. The narratives collected and redacted by Sayf b. ʿUmar display a distinctive combination of serious purpose and folkloric storytelling. In fact there is no clear line separating "serious history" from folklore in the materials that have come down to us; we must take both as original and integral aspects in the understanding and articulation of their past by early Muslims.

It is precisely this unmistakable editorial/authorial presence which gives us pause about the way in which the late 2nd/8th century collectors used their sources, for we have no way of checking the accuracy or good faith of these collectors. It is true that the problem differs as between two distinct periods: (a) the life of the Prophet and the first seven decades of Islam, down to the end of the great civil war of 680-92; (b)

the Umayyad domination between 692 and the 'Abbāsid Revolution (747-50). In regard to the latter period, no one contends that the late 2nd/8th-century *akhbār* collectors simply invented the stories they tell, if only because the events of late Umayyad times were too recent. On the other hand, the collectors do report these events in an intensely partisan manner—not only because some (not all by any means) had close ties to the 'Abbāsid court, which actively sought to poison the memory of its predecessors, but also because their informants were themselves the survivors of many bitter conflicts in Umayyad times. We simply cannot say how far or in what ways the *akhbār* collectors of early 'Abbāsid times may have reshaped or elaborated the stories which they gathered. The major events at least are certainly not invented out of whole cloth, but how accurately do they reflect the original accounts of those who were involved in them? We can only guess. It is not even clear how much contemporary history was actually written down under the Umayyads; the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*] gives us only a few titles dealing with the period 700-50, and these were probably composed in the early decades of 'Abbāsid rule. On the other hand, the Umayyad court was clearly intensely interested in the decades before the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, since the events of that period were clearly essential to its claims to legitimacy. Rather than a developed (or even emerging) Umayyad historical literature, then, we have been given a very disparate body of recollections and statements, some originating within the Umayyad court, many put into circulation by its opponents.

If we may assume that narratives about events under the Umayyads, however reshaped for partisan and ideological purposes, are ultimately grounded in reality and can be linked to contemporary reporters, we can be far less confident about the nature of Umayyad-era historiography on the 1st/7th century. Existing evidence indicates that formal historical study and writing began in the decades following the second civil war (680-92), and was no doubt associated with the need to recover an authentic and authoritative past from the chaos and violence of those years. Moreover, at least some of this historical work was owed to Umayyad prompting and patronage, in particular the biographical materials on the Prophet collected by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) and Mūsā b. 'Uḳba (d. after 141/758) [*q.vv.*]. It is undeniable that the Umayyad caliphs from 'Abd al-Malik on took an intense interest in emerging theological issues, in law, and in investigating and defining the early past of the Islamic community. In the light of the unrelenting challenges to their legitimacy from every quarter, they had no choice. It is now quite clear that the Umayyad caliphs claimed final (though perhaps not infallible) authority in matters of the faith. They could hardly take a slighter interest in the historical process through which they had risen to supreme authority over the community.

There was of course a counter-history of early Islam, and this clearly survives much more fully than the Umayyad version, due to the 'Abbāsid victory and their systematic purge of elements favourable to the old order. In both the pro-Umayyad and anti-Umayyad versions of Islam's beginnings, there are already clear traces of the covenant-betrayal-redemption paradigm. Having said all this, however, we simply do not know what the historical works of Umayyad-era historians looked like; we have fragments which may be more or less authentic, but these give us no idea of the whole collections from which they were drawn. Nor can we trace even these fragments back to the earlier authorities on which they based their statements with any confidence. A coherent body of historical tradition quite suddenly emerges under the Umayyads, but we cannot identify the raw materials out of which it was formed.

The primitive historiography (if we may call these accounts anything so formal as historiography) composed during the eight decades between Muḥammad's call and 'Abd al-Malik's consolidation of power poses problems which are not only far more severe but entirely different in nature. Both the accuracy and authenticity of every report attributed to this period are open to credible challenge. The problem is not that our texts are biased or partisan; it is a truism that every narrative represents events from some perspective, and hence encodes a complex body of ideologies, values, conceptual structures and cultural practices. But it is normally quite easy to decode these aspects of our texts, as Ignaz Goldziher demonstrated a century ago. The problem is rather that we do not know to what degree any given narrative transmits usable (albeit incomplete) information about the events which it claims to report—or sometimes, whether these events ever happened at all. A related problem is that of authenticity, i.e., quite apart from the issue of factuality, whether a given narrative actually goes back to its purported original reporter or whether it was first framed and circulated in a much later period. The parallels between archaic historical *akhbār* and the origins of *ḥadīth* are obvious, even though the structures and purposes of the two genres differ in many fundamental ways.

In short, we can only offer conjectural reconstructions of archaic historiography. The following comments should be taken in that light. We cannot speak of formal historical research—the systematic collecting and redacting of reports about events and persons—during the first eighty years of Islam. But Muslims must have been deeply aware of the titanic events through which they were passing, and of the profound changes in political institutions and patterns of life which these events represented. 1st/7th-century Muslims had to try to make sense of all this, and inevitably they did so through the genres of verbal expression familiar to them. First of all, they could draw on the kind of oral narrative practised among the tribes of ancient Arabia: prose recitals about memorable events, embellished and interpreted by verse (satirical, boasting or elegiac as the case might be). The point of these recitals was of course not meticulous accuracy but the values of manliness and tribal honour which they encoded. Particularly effective poetry often liberated itself from the events which had originally inspired it, and would henceforth stand on its own or be re-attached to new events. In another milieu, as Islamic practice became established among the newly converted tribesmen (and a few non-Arab converts), the mosque sermon quickly emerged as a vehicle for the interpretation of crucial events as well as a means of exhorting people to act. The themes of formal sermons were supplemented and reinforced by pious tales about the prophets and other religious heroes delivered by the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* (sing. *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*]), both officially appointed and "self-employed". The templates for historical narrative in the mid-1st/7th century were thus provided by the *ayyām al-'arab*, *ḳiṣṣa*, *wa'ẓ* and *khuṭba*, and (deployed not to narrate events but to interprete them) various genres of *shi'r*.

Such oral expression flowed spontaneously from those who had experienced the life of the Prophet,

the great conquests and the bitter civil strife of those decades. It could not be monopolised by the caliphs or any other central authorities, though these latter certainly tried to make their voice heard in the cacophony and to exert what little control they could. Some narratives seem to have been carefully composed from the outset, such as the pious exempla that demonstrate the stern morality and ardent faith of early Muslim heroes, or dramatic tableaux of confrontations between Muslim and infidel leaders. Precisely because these were effective moral tales, of course, they readily became *topoi* which could be attached to many different events by altering the protagonists and *mises-en-scène*. But even as details of fact were modified, the stereotyped plots, the lofty stylised language and the underlying religio-moral lessons would remain the same.

However, even apparently sober reportage about the conquests and civil wars is full of problems. Much of this material must have been remembered and passed on by participants in these events, but there was never a unified, official record of it; on the contrary, the original accounts were generated by thousands of men caught up in confusing situations and scattered across vast areas. Hence their stories about what they had seen or heard began to disintegrate almost as soon as they were told. By ʿAbd al-Malik's consolidation of power after 72/692, only scraps of authentic memory remained about the early conquests or the first civil war a half-century earlier. No doubt a few well-informed collectors could name the crucial events of that period, but no one could date them accurately or even specify the order in which they had occurred. As to minor or local events, it was impossible to separate fact from fiction. Often reporters could not even agree on which tribes or commanders had participated in which battles.

(It must be said that these remarks are far less applicable to the life of Muḥammad than to the events following his death. The Prophet was a uniquely significant subject, of course, but just as important, his memory was preserved among a highly self-conscious and relatively stable group—sc. the *Ṣaḥāba* or Companions and their successors in Medina—and at least in principle these could generate and transmit a coherent, reliable story about his life and teaching. Whether they actually did so is, of course, very much in dispute.)

We have so far focused on oral materials—battle stories, poetry, sermons, pious tales—as the stuff of 1st/7th century historiography. Was there any historical *writing* in this period? There is no unambiguous evidence of it, but we cannot completely exclude the possibility of informal efforts to record local or tribal accounts of major events. We can imagine but cannot confirm efforts to collect the narrative tradition of Ḥimṣ or Medina or Kūfa or Baṣra, or of the tribes of Tamīm or Kinda. It is probable in any case that efforts to build a written record (insofar as they existed) focused on the life and words of the Prophet. On the other hand, we do find some written materials (letters, treaties, administrative decrees) incorporated within the historical tradition, and a few documents (e.g. the famous "Constitution of Medina", the Ṣiffīn arbitration agreement, the substance if not the exact words of many peace treaties) are likely to be authentic. Likewise, our texts on the plan of Kūfa or the *dīwān* of ʿUmar seem to reflect real administrative arrangements from Islam's earliest decades. But in the final analysis we can say only this much. There was by the second civil war (62-72/683-92) a real and widely shared historical consciousness, including the kernel of the covenant-betrayal-redemption paradigm. However, there was as yet no coherent history of Islam's first decades nor any orderly effort to construct such a history. It would be, as we have seen, the work of Marwānid and early ʿAbbāsid times to collect and sift through accounts of Islam's beginnings, and to turn these disconnected bits and pieces into a coherent and persuasive whole.

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(b) The central and eastern lands 950-1500. The death of al-Ṭabarī does not quite spell the end of the "ancient" tradition of Arabic historiography; in the following centuries we find a few scholars who still understand and employ it, most notably the Andalusian Ibn Ḥubaysh (504-84/1110-88), who restudied the traditions on the 1st/7th-century conquests, and the Cairene (albeit of Andalusian ancestry) Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (671-734/1273-1334 [*q.v.*]), who was able to add important archaic materials to the lives of the Prophet composed by Ibn Hishām and al-Wāḳidī. But on the whole, the middle periods witness a sea change in the ways in which the past was imagined and constructed, and even in those aspects of the past which were thought to be appropriate objects of original study.

First, by the mid-4th/10th century history was beginning to be written in two languages, Persian as well as Arabic. The difference between the two is not merely linguistic; almost from the beginning each language embodies a distinctive cultural tradition and body of historiographic practices. In particular, Persian-language writers tend to draw far more heavily than their Arabic-writing counterparts on neo-Sāsānid themes, not only for rhetorical ornament or exemplary tales but for the underlying paradigms and narrative patterns which govern their accounts. Persian-language historians also focus on building a long, unified narrative, and pay relatively little attention to precisely dated chronological sequences of events (see further, 2. below). In contrast, the majority of Arabic-language writers deploy (either explicitly or very close to the surface) an annalistic framework. They are typically concerned to place each event in the right year, ideally with a precise day and month; their goal is thus a chronologically-ordered repertory of discrete and often very disparate events. In order to maintain a degree of continuity and coherence as they move from one year to the next, they rely chiefly on a few simple rhetorical devices, e.g., "as we said under the events of the preceding year. . . ."

Having noted these contrasts in approach and structure, however, we must recognise that both Arabic and Persian-writing historians were affected by the cultural changes and grave political convulsions of the early 4th/10th century. After al-Ṭabarī, only a few historians are still interested in seeking out new materials on the first 250 years of Islamic history. The crucial question confronting 3rd/9th-century historians had been the legitimacy of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate—and more broadly, the fundamental legitimacy of the religious and political evolution of the *umma* as a whole. After the political catastrophes of the caliphate of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32), however, these issues no longer seemed urgent and compelling. Henceforth, early Islamic history was typically covered through paraphrases or abridgments of al-Ṭabarī, though a few writers would supplement his compilation with other sources. For example, ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (555-630/1160-1233 [*q.v.*]) drew on al-Azdī's *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil* and al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, but both of these were roughly contemporaneous with al-Ṭabarī. Even though many of al-Ṭabarī's early sources were still extant in substantial part, Ibn al-Athīr made no effort to use them.

Rather, historians more and more turned their attention to political and moral admonition through the recounting of recent and contemporary events; history was to be philosophy teaching by example. This was, of course, the view of Classical Antiquity, but the possibility of any direct influence is problematical at best, though it should not be dismissed without examination. Clearly Arab-Muslim historians never read Thucydides, Polybius or Plutarch; on the other hand, by the mid-4th/10th century the Greek ethical-political tradition which underlay Classical historiography was well known among philosophical circles in Baghdād and elsewhere. In this regard it is pertinent to recall that the historian Miskawayh (d. 421/1030 [*q.v.*]) was also the author of a very Aristotelian treatise on ethics, the *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ*, amongst a

number of other Aristotelian treatises, such as his answers to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's *al-Hawāmil wa 'l-shawāmil.*

Typically, a historian would now copy or paraphrase (sometimes with attribution, more often without) one or a few already existing chronicles for his account of events down to the most recent decades. Once he reached his own lifetime, he would complete his source or sources by composing a "continuation" (*dhayl* [see SILA]). This segment would be based on direct observation recorded in a personal journal, oral information gathered from friends, official reports, or even somebody else's contemporary chronicle; the exact mix of sources would, of course, vary according to the writer's profession and social standing. In this way, the *dhayl* became the real focus of the historian's efforts. Historians who composed large-scale works might draw on a number of older chronicles for the earlier sections of their work, but as a rule they would cite these in sequence rather than trying to blend them into a unified synthesis. Good examples of this procedure are the *Mir'āt al-zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (582-654/1182-1256 [*q.v.*]) and the *Ta'rīkh al-duwal wa 'l-mulūk* of Ibn al-Furāt (735-807/ 1334-1405 [*q.v.*]). When carefully done (and both Sibṭ and Ibn al-Furāt were conscientious scholars) works of this sort can be invaluable, since they preserve almost verbatim major texts that are otherwise lost.

A few historians did create real syntheses, however, i.e, integrated narratives which draw on a wide variety of sources, and which reflect a consistent perspective, interpretation, and literary style—in short, an authentic authorial voice. As examples, we can cite the universal chronicles of Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil fi 'l-ta'rīkh*) and Ibn Khaldūn (732-808/1332-1406, *K. al-'Ibar*), the dynastic history of Ibn Wāṣil (604-97/ 1208-98 [*q.v.*], *Mufarridj al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*), or the remarkable compilations of Taḳī al-Dīn al-Maḳrīzī (765-845/1363-1442 [*q.v.*]) on the history of Islamic Egypt. These and some other examples are outstanding achievements of historianship on many levels, but the very skill of their authors in blending a variety of sources into a unified text often makes it very difficult to determine the provenance of their information. Moreover, their very stylistic unity may lead to serious anachronisms in administrative terminology, titles, etc. This is a particularly acute problem in al-Maḳrīzī's account of the Ayyūbids and early Mamlūks (where we can correct his anachronisms, since so many of his sources survive) and the Fāṭimids (where for the most part we cannot).

The new emphases and methods of middle-period historians led to the development of new genres. They retained the "universal chronicle" of the preceding period, but to this they added the political biography, the dynastic chronicle and local history. The former two are of course closely related in structure and approach, since both focus on the deeds of rulers, portrayed as outsized figures who dominate the political stage. On the other hand, such works are hardly cookie-cutter productions; they vary enormously in terms of size, scope, organisation, rhetoric (from a simple, almost colloquial style to an extremely florid one), and political stance (some are sycophantic, others highly critical). Naturally enough, works of this kind were often composed by bureaucrats, who both regarded dynasties as a self-evident object of inquiry and had privileged access to the sources of information needed to write about them effectively. Some of these court historians had high office in the régimes they served, like 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (519-97/1125-1201) and Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir (620-92/ 1223-92), privy secretaries to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and Baybars respectively. Others like Miskawayh were men of middling rank. In Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, a number of important dynastic histories were composed by men who had spent their careers as members of the military élite or were at least closely affiliated with it—key examples would be the retired *amīr* Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325) and Ibn Taghrībirdī (812-74/1409-70 [*q.v.*]), son of the *atābak al-'asākir* (supreme general of the army) under the sultan al-Nāṣir Faradj—but there are many others. Since these ex-soldiers were typically Turks rather than native speakers of Arabic, their literary efforts were often regarded with some disdain by the indigenous *'ulamā'* and literati; even so, their writings are richly detailed and informed by real political acumen. It must be admitted that some of the best dynastic chroniclers were *'ulamā'* by profession rather than bureaucrats, though they normally had close ties to the courts about which they wrote; here the names Ibn al-Athīr (the *Ta'rīkh al-bāhir*, on the Zangids of al-Mawṣil), Ibn Wāṣil and al-Maḳrīzī may be cited yet again.

Local history is not a genre but a focus of concern—the region (sometimes a single city and its immediate hinterland, sometimes a broad province) where a given author lived, and normally where his family had sunk roots for many generations past. The rise of local history obviously reflects a world where the fate of the *umma* as a whole, as that fate is embodied in and symbolised by the universal caliphate, is no longer the only way or most important way of envisioning things. For the writers of local history, the *umma* is most immediately embodied in the hundreds of communities that constitute it. The rise of local history had multiple causes; most fundamentally, however, it must have reflected the progress of conversion to Islam outside the few metropolitan centres where it had been established since the early caliphate, a process that was well advanced in most regions by the mid-4th/10th century.

Local history often takes the form of a political chronicle. The events recounted may stretch back into the remote pre-Islamic past, but the author's emphasis tends to be on more recent decades. Local chronicles of this sort are typically written in simple, rather conversational prose—not surprising, since they were produced outside the pomp and ceremony of the princely courts and did not aim to flatter the pretensions of dynasts. They were typically composed in cities and regions with a strong sense of identity and a tradition of local autonomy, in particular the cities of northern 'Irāḳ, the Djazīra and Syria. An important early example would be the *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil* of al-Azdī (d. 334/946), but the most impressive work in this form may well be the *Dhayl ta'rīkh Dimashḳ* of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (465-555/1073-1160 [*q.v.*]), a richly detailed and wonderfully partisan account of Saldjūḳid Damascus, with its turbulent court, factions of local notables, and popular militias. The decades after the death of the *atābak* Ṭughtigin (522/1127 [*q.v.*]) have almost the immediacy of a journal. Some decades later the Aleppan notable Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm [see IBN AL-'ADĪM] (588-660/1192-1262) composed a similar work on his native city, *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, though it embodies a more respectful, almost semi-official stance toward the Ayyūbid princes who governed the city during his lifetime. A work conceived as a regional history, but on a scale which links this modest genre to the universal chronicle, is *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira* of Ibn

Taghrībirdī, a vast survey of Islamic Egypt which begins with the Arab conquest and comes down to the mid-9th/15th century.

Apart from the chronicle form, the perspectives of local history were also embodied in the biographical dictionary. Such compilations would normally focus on the noted men of religion (with a smattering of sultans and *amīrs*) who had resided in a given city; in several cases these works are prefaced with a substantial topographical description. This genre of local history did not necessarily reflect a tradition of political autonomy but was rooted in local loyalties, the desire of urban notables to demonstrate that their native cities were major centres of Islamic piety and learning. The model for this genre was the immense *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (392-463/1002-71 [*q.v.*]), which contains some 7,800 biographical entries. His example was followed closely about a century later by Ibn ʿAsākir (499-571/1105-76 [*q.v.*]) in the *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashk*, a work which deals with a far smaller city but on an even larger scale, with more than 8,000 entries. Ibn ʿAsākir clearly knew al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's work intimately, and drew on it extensively though not slavishly for his entries on scholars who had come to Damascus from ʿIrāḳ. Apart from Muslim men of religion and rulers, Ibn ʿAsākir's work includes a number of pre-Islamic prophets; taken as a whole, it is thus a kind of sacred history of Syria, a register of those persons through whom God's revelation had been manifested and upheld in that land since the Creation.

Both Ibn ʿAsākir and al-Khaṭīb were primarily *fuḳahā'* and *muḥaddithūn*, and their compilations are narrowly focused on men of religion, with a very sparse number of entries for rulers and generals. Moreover, their entries are highly formulaic; they deal chiefly with a subject's teachers and students, the *ḥadīth*s he transmitted, and the barest facts of his life, sc. his countries of residence and date of death. Only in passing do they give us information on his career, and they contain a minimum of anecdotes (though some of those which they include are very telling). In partial compensation, Ibn ʿAsākir's dictionary does contain a substantial volume (some 800 entries) devoted to women, and from these we can glean some notion of the mode and extent of women's participation in the formal religious life of their society. In brief, these vast collections tell us a great deal about the academic life and intellectual traditions of their respective cities but give indirect testimony at best on politics and social structures. In contrast, Ibn al-ʿAdīm (a bureaucrat as well as a scholar) drew not only on biographical sources but also on a very rich body of political chronicles and geographical-administrative texts in composing his *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī ta'rīkh Ḥalab* (only partly extant). His work is thus an invaluable mirror of the political and social history of North Syria during the first six centuries of Islam. Moreover, Ibn al-ʿAdīm's habit of citing his sources by author and title gives us some sense of the extraordinary riches of Aleppo's libraries before the Mongol invasions. Ibn al-ʿAdīm's model was followed, on an equally vast scale, by al-Maḳrīzī in his *K. al-Muḳaffā al-kabīr*, an unfinished biographical dictionary of prominent Egyptians since the rise of the Fāṭimids.

Local history produced an intriguing and very original hybrid in the urban topography, which used a systematic catalogue of a city's important sites and monuments as the framework for the presentation of a wide variety of historical and biographical materials. Typically, an urban topography would proceed site by site, describing the circumstances under which a particular edifice was erected, then appending biographical sketches of the key persons associated with that monument. In this way the physical fabric of the city is linked to the men and women who created and sustained it, and embodies their purposes, values, and acts. The origins of the urban topography can be traced to the *faḍā'il al-madīna* literature (which first appears in the 4th/10th century) and to the topographical surveys attached by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and Ibn ʿAsākir to their biographical dictionaries. Only in the Mamlūk period, however, do we see the shaping of a fully developed genre. The earliest example (though in many ways still a transitional work) is found in the sections on Damascus and Aleppo of the administrative-geographical survey of ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād (d. 684/1285 [see IBN SHADDĀD]), *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarā' al-Shām wa 'l-Djazīra*. The new genre culminated in the 9th/15th century with a group of systematic and remarkably rich works on Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo and Jerusalem. Particularly impressive is ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521), *Tanbīh al-ṭālib wa-irshād al-dāris fī mā fī Dimashḳ min al-djawāmiʿ wa 'l-madāris*, a meticulously assembled compendium of Damascene historical scholarship in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk eras. More idiosyncratic is the famous *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār* (universally referred as *al-Khiṭaṭ*) of al-Maḳrīzī, which covers all of Egypt but inevitably concentrates on the city of Cairo, whose history and monuments fill at least two-thirds of the book. The *Khiṭaṭ* really transcends its genre; its immense fund of information on architecture and urban topography, administrative and military institutions, and economic life makes it as close to a "total history" of Egypt as mediaeval Islamic historiography knew how to produce.

The wealth of texts devoted to specific dynasties or regions should not obscure the continuing vitality of the "universal chronicle" throughout the Middle Periods. Indeed, many of the most characteristic and impressive works composed during these centuries fall in this category; the names of al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956 [*q.v.*], in many ways a transitional figure), Miskawayh, Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1201), Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī (673-748/1274-1348), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), and Ibn Khaldūn suffice to make the point. However, middle-period works of this kind depart from the model established by al-Ṭabarī in several ways. Many make no effort to go back before the rise of Islam, and those which do generally deal with pre-Islamic antiquity in a far more summary fashion than al-Ṭabarī had. (Al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-djawhar* and *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf*, written only a generation after al-Ṭabarī, are marked exceptions to this generalisation.) None of the middle-period chroniclers deploys al-Ṭabarī's rigorous *ḥadīth* methodology, and few cite their sources even in a general way. On the contrary, even the most scrupulous are content to paraphrase al-Ṭabarī until they reach the late 3rd/9th century, sometimes supplemented by whatever additional materials lay conveniently at hand. This practice reflects not so much intellectual laziness as a consensus (among Sunnīs if not Shīʿīs) that the crucial issues concerning the *umma*'s early history had been settled and need not be re-examined in any systematic way.

If these chroniclers bring little original content to their accounts of early Islamic history, however, they do display some important formal innovations. Ibn Khaldūn, as always *sui generis*, abandons the usual annalistic framework in favour of an analytic survey

organised by dynastic "clusters": the Caliphate; North Africa and Andalus before the Almoravids; Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia before the Saldjūḳids; the Saldjūḳids and their successors, including the Mamlūks; finally, the Berber polities of the Maghrib. This organisation undeniably makes his chronicle repetitious and confusing to use, but it also shows his grasp of the underlying structures of mediaeval Islamic political life. On what might seem a more mechanical level, Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*] (*al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rīkh al-mulūk wa 'l-umam*) tried to integrate the very disparate approaches represented by the annalistic chronicle and the biographical dictionary by appending alphabetically-arranged obituaries of notable figures (including scholars) to the events of each year. Ibn al-Djawzī's innovation clearly met a strongly felt need and was very widely used; al-Dhahabī's immense *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* and Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, to name only two examples, are perhaps as valuable for their biographical materials as for their narratives of events, important and well-crafted as these are. Formally, Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī 'l-ta'rīkh* is perhaps the most conservative of all the major universal chronicles, but it is also a superbly balanced and highly detailed survey of the history of all the lands and peoples of Islam, from the Atlantic coast to Central Asia. Ibn al-Athīr combines vast range with lucid organisation, direct and concrete diction, political astuteness and more than a touch of wit and irony. His work is certainly one of the most impressive achievements of premodern historiography in any culture.

The universal chronicle in Islam stretched back to the 3rd/9th century; the universal biographical dictionary was an innovation of the 7th/13th century, and in particular of Ibn Khallikān (d. 673/1274 [*q.v.*]). His *Wafayāt al-a'yān fī anbā' abnā' al-zamān* follows the formal conventions of the vast Arabic biographical literature that already existed by his day, but he departs from his models in many ways. First, although his documentation is very rich, he eschews the rigorous method of the registers of *'ulamā'* and *muḥaddithūn* that had been and would remain so important in the religious sciences, i.e. the kind of biography that ensured the integrity of religious knowledge by placing every scholar within a chain of masters and disciples reaching from the present back to the first generations of Islam. On the contrary, he favours snatches of verse and clever anecdotes which situate his subjects within the universe of mediaeval Islamic religious, moral, and aesthetic values. Second, he does not restrict himself to a single class of subjects, e.g. *'ulamā'* or poets or Ṣūfīs; rather, he hoped to include men of high distinction (there are no separate entries for women in his compilation) in every field which conferred cultural prestige in the 7th/13th century Islamic world: politics and war, *fiḳh*, Ṣūfism, poetry and literature. Third, he is highly selective (855 major entries in the 'Abbās edition), but he tries to include people from all corners of the Muslim world; there is inevitably some bias in favour of men from Syria and 'Irāḳ, but it is not for lack of trying. In the end, he gives us a wonderfully varied tableau of mediaeval Islamic culture as this culture was understood by one of its most characteristic figures.

Ibn Khallikān had many admirers but no real followers, in that no one else attempted his mix of solid scholarship, literary appeal, breadth and selectivity, but there were several "continuations" of his work in the 8th/14th century. Among these was Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī's *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, but perhaps the most remarkable is *al-Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt* of Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (696-764/1297-1363 [*q.v.*], the son of a Mamlūk *amīr* who made his career as a government clerk). This immense work aspires to give a biography of everyone worth remembering in the history of Islam, from the Prophet down to al-Ṣafadī's own day. Most biographical compilations have more modest goals. Ibn Taghrībirdī's *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa 'l-mustawfī ba'd al-Wāfī* contains some 2,500 lives of prominent Mamlūk *amīrs* and bureaucrats. With *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mi'a al-thāmina*, Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī (773-852/1372-1449 [*q.v.*]) created a new form, the "centenary dictionary" devoted to notables throughout the Mamlūk Sultanate who had died during a given Hidjrī century. This innovation was quickly picked up by Ibn Ḥadjar's student al-Sakhāwī (830-902/1427-97 [*q.v.*])—who flavoured it with his own pungent judgments about his contemporaries—and it continued to flourish in the Arab lands up to and during Ottoman times. These centenary works were on no small scale: al-Sakhāwī's *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' fī a'yān al-ḳarn al-tāsi'* contains almost 12,000 entries (including a volume devoted to women).

We have so far labelled the writers of historical works as historians, and it is thus important to recognise that, until well into Ottoman times at least, there was no historical profession in Islam. That is, history was not recognised as a formal science with a specific subject matter, method and technique which could be taught and transmitted; nor was there any institutionalised way for a would-be historian to acquire the knowledge and skills of his craft; nor did anyone actually expect to make a living by working as a historian. History was neither a subject in the schools nor an element in any regular curriculum. History was the work of self-taught amateurs, whose regular professions (as noted above) lay elsewhere.

It is hard to explain why history did not become a recognised science, either secular or religious, in view of the immense body of literature produced by Muslim historians and the solid religious and intellectual reputations which these enjoyed. But that is the case; many scholars regarded history as a vain and trivial pursuit, "no more than information about... occurrences of the remote past, elegantly presented and spiced with proverbs," as Ibn Khaldūn ruefully said (Ibn Khaldūn, tr. Rosenthal, i, 6). As noted above, al-Ṭabarī had tried to show that history could be studied with the same methodological tools and rigour as *ḥadīth*. But insofar as he tried to make history one of the religious sciences, he failed, or at least no one else took up the challenge after him.

Only in the late 8th/14th century did Ibn Khaldūn argue (this time from an Aristotelian perspective) that history could be treated as a valid science based on philosophical premises and methods. Historical knowledge, he asserted, was not the mere compiling of factual data about the past; rather, it should be a systematic account of the principles governing human society. These principles were not knowable *a priori* but had to be elicited from factual data by a complex process of induction and deduction. For this reason, an accurate body of fact was the precondition for historical knowledge, even though facts *per se* were not the object of historical inquiry. The problem of obtaining and evaluating factual knowledge was thus crucial to the whole enterprise, and to this problem Ibn Khaldūn devoted some very interesting though ultimately inconclusive arguments.

Ibn Khaldūn's effort to create a science of history foundered, not because of questions left unanswered by his theory, but because no one else really felt like

taking up such issues. On a practical level, however, he had a considerable impact; he was highly esteemed by 9th/15th-century Egyptian historians, who show a far greater awareness of social processes and the interactions of élite politics and society at large than had their predecessors. And in a later age, Ottoman historians turned to him for insight on the causes of the rise and decline of empires. By the time of the Ottoman conquest, then, Arabic historiography continued to be a dynamic field of study and form of literary expression. This is so not only because of the continuing volume of historical production, but even more because Arab-Islamic culture was continuing to generate new and innovative ways of perceiving and constructing its past.

Bibliography: In addition to the general references given in section (a) above (Rosenthal, Lewis and Holt, Auchterlonie, T. Khalidi), see the following: S̲h̲ākir Muṣṭafā, *al-Ta'rīk̲h̲ al-ʿarabī wa 'l-mu'arrik̲h̲ūn*, ii, Beirut 1978; Cl. Cahen, *History and historians*, in *Camb. hist. Ar. lit.*, iii, 188-233; Humphreys, *Islamic history: a framework for inquiry*, Princeton 1991, chs. 5, 8, *et passim*. Many of the most useful surveys and critical assessments are found in monographs dealing with other topics: see esp. G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'islam traditionnaliste*, Damascus 1963; N. Elisséeff, *Nur al-Din*, i, Damascus 1967; R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany 1977; C.F. Petry, *The civilian elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1981. Studies on the historiography of particular periods are still rare. On the Fāṭimids, see A. Hamdani, *Fatimid history and historians*, in *Camb. hist. Ar. lit.*, iii, 234-47. On the Ayyūbids, D. Morray, *An Ayyūbid notable and his world: Ibn al-ʿAdīm and Aleppo*, Leiden 1994. Mamlūk historians have received more attention: U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1970; D.P. Little, *Introduction to Mamluk historiography*, Wiesbaden 1970; Li Guo, *Mamluk historiographic studies: the state of the art*, in *Mamluk Studies Review*, i (1997). Understanding the cultural and political meanings of Middle-Period historical writing requires going beyond historiographic studies in the narrow sense. On the biographical dictionary, see Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice in medieval Damascus*, Cambridge 1994. On the political language of Miskawayh and his contemporaries, R.P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership in an early Islamic society*, Princeton 1980. Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide*, 2 vols., Damascus 1986-9, provides a "close reading" or "explication du texte" of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, Ibn ʿAsākir and al-Maḳrīzī. Editions of the works of particular historians, along with studies devoted to them, are given under the appropriate entries.

(R.S. HUMPHREYS)

(c) The period 1500 to 1800. [See Suppl.].

(d) The 19th and 20th centuries.

By the 1840s the now-traditional forms and perspectives of Arabic-Islamic historiography, rich and varied as they were, no longer seemed adequate in face of the radical challenges posed by Europe to every aspect of life in the Islamic world. By the beginning of the 20th century, a few historians were beginning to model their work (with mixed but not inconsiderable success) on European approaches and research methods. The early 1900s witnessed the founding of universities on the European model, and as an inevitable consequence, a growing professionalisation of history. That movement has continued down to the present, so that now (as in Europe and America) the writing of history has become largely an academic enterprise, with all the gains and losses that this implies.

A. The 19th century.

The challenge of Europe was, of course, felt most immediately in political and economic life, but that in itself might have compelled few changes in historical vision; Muslim intellectuals had faced any number of equally acute crises on this plane over the centuries, and the deeply rooted but still flexible conceptual tools and cultural resources of their societies had permitted them to address these quite effectively. The European cultural challenge cut deeper, however. Felt only by a tiny minority as late as the mid-19th century, it had become inescapable to almost everyone (at least in the major urban centres) by the beginning of the 20th. It not only threatened the political independence and economic autonomy of Muslim societies but assailed the very foundations of Muslim identity.

The rapid intellectual readjustments of the late 19th century, of course, affected historical writing as well, although the works produced in this genre do not reach the level of the political and cultural essays of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-73 [*q.v.*]), D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Afg̲h̲ānī (1839-97 [*q.v.*]), or Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905 [*q.v.*]). This is due in large part no doubt to the fact that history continued to be (as it always had been in Muslim countries) the work of amateurs, and was seldom attempted moreover by the leading intellectuals of the age. As one might expect, the shift toward new forms and approaches began in Cairo and Istanbul, the two largest cities in the region, the seats of the most ambitiously reformist régimes, and the places which were most directly and profoundly exposed to Western pressures.

As in so many spheres during the 19th century, Cairo was the first and most important centre of a changing historiography. Cairo had, in fact, produced the last great work in a traditional mould, the *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-āt̲h̲ār* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-D̲j̲abartī (1753-1826 [*q.v.*]). Al-D̲j̲abartī witnessed the catastrophic self-destruction of the Mamlūk beylicate in the late 18th century, the shock of the French occupation in 1798-1801, and the tumultuous changes forced on the country by Muḥammad ʿAlī (*r.* 1805-48 [*q.v.*]). He was an acute observer, but he regarded none of this as progress, and he was content to work within the chronicle/biographical dictionary framework bequeathed to him by the great Egyptian historians of the Mamlūk Sultanate.

Though an illiterate soldier, Muḥammad ʿAlī had much to do with the rise of an altered historical consciousness. Quite apart from his radical military, administrative and economic innovations, he took the risk of sending student missions to study in France, thereby exposing at least a few of his subjects to the thought and culture of contemporary Europe. No less important was his founding of the Translation Bureau (under the directorship of al-Ṭahṭāwī), which in spite of its many vicissitudes rendered many works of medicine, engineering, geography and even history into Turkish and Arabic. To be sure, the few historical works chosen for translation (e.g. Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, Voltaire's lives of Charles XII and Peter the Great) represented the Enlightenment, not the new scientific history of Ranke or the romantic nationalism of Michelet. Even so, they suggested fundamentally new ways of imagining and representing the past.

The first major history in Arabic to reflect new possibilities and tensions was *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-*

djadīda (20 vols., Cairo 1886-8) by ʿAlī Mubārak (1824-93), the engineer who oversaw the Khedive Ismāʿīl's ambitious revamping of Cairo. Modelled to some degree on the classic work by Taḳī al-Dīn al-Maḳrīzī, it is a remarkably rich miscellany of historical-biographical information, geographical description, and administrative data. Conceptually and structurally conservative (like al-Maḳrīzī's work, it is organised by toponym), its contents nevertheless reflect many aspects of the new order created by the Khedive and his talented director of public works. A hybrid work of this kind could not generate many successors, though the *Taḳwīm al-Nīl* (6 vols., Cairo 1916-36) of Amīn al-Sāmī (*ca.* 1860-1941) comes closest in spirit and content. Like al-Ṭahṭāwī and ʿAlī Mubārak, al-Sāmī spent his life in loyal service to the régime, chiefly as an educator. He was director of the government teachers' college (Dār al-ʿUlūm [*q.v.*]) under Tawfīḳ and ʿAbbās II, and was appointed to the Senate by King Fu'ād I.

In Egypt, the political and ideological crisis of the ʿUrābī period proved to be, in the long run, a turning point, but for a time one sees only limited results, due in large part to the stifling of political life under Lord Cromer until almost the turn of the century. An exception to this generalisation would be Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh's passionate, richly detailed, but still little studied history of the ʿUrābī Revolt, *Miṣr li 'l-Miṣriyyīn* (6 vols., Alexandria 1884), based heavily on government documents and trial proceedings. By the end of the century we can perceive a marked shift from neo-traditional to contemporary European models of historiography. Of the new historians, by far the most successful and widely read was the staggeringly prolific Syrian immigrant Djurdjī Zaydān (1861-1914 [*q.v.*]). He edited several journals and wrote in many genres; among his works the most significant in the present context is his *Ta'rīkh al-tamaddun al-islāmī* (5 vols., Cairo 1902-6). This is less an original work of scholarship than a popular synthesis derived in large part from European Orientalist scholarship. Even so, it is a very competent job, and earned the accolade of an English translation of one volume (*Umayyads and Abbasids*, London 1907) by the formidable D.S. Margoliouth. Zaydān's was thus the first Arabic work in "modern" style to address mediaeval Islamic history. It was widely read but not much emulated, perhaps because as a Christian committed to a Westernising approach, Zaydān could not address adequately the deeper issues raised by his subject for modern Muslims. Nor could he really share the aspirations and frustrations of Egyptian nationalist writers. He was, in fact, offered the position in Islamic history at the new Egyptian University in 1910, but outrage in politically-engaged circles compelled the offer to be withdrawn.

B. The Interwar period 1919-45.

World War I was the turning point in almost every aspect of Middle Eastern life; indeed, this titanic event really laid down the agenda for the entire 20th century within the region. It created vast new hopes and possibilities, and, of course, even more bitter disappointments and insoluble problems. But it is no surprise that it ushered in a new era of historical writing, one marked by several characteristics: growing, if far from complete, professionalisation (with several scholars getting doctorates in Europe, especially from Paris), with an institutional basis within the new universities of Cairo and Alexandria; a much closer approximation in form and methodology to the kinds of historical writing practiced in Europe; a definition of core subjects of inquiry. One apparently odd product of the period was a marked bilingualism among the new generation of historians, who often wrote in French or English for European audiences and in Arabic for their own countrymen, in which the cultural agendas and conflicts of their native countries came to the fore. This is a phenomenon which continues no less strongly in the present.

It would be incorrect to assume that all traces of traditional literary-historical culture disappeared during these two decades. On the contrary, some of the most significant and useful historical compositions adhered to long-established genres. Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (1876-1953 [*q.v.*]), the founder of the Arab Academy of Damascus and a prolific man of letters, composed a monumental history of Syria, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* (6 vols., Damascus 1925-9).

Although Kurd ʿAlī was well acquainted with the critical methods of Western Orientalism, this is the last great work of historical topography, a Syrian tradition that went back to Ibn ʿAsākir and flourished at least until the 18th century.

Works of more "modern" style tended to reflect in quite direct ways the central contemporary political-cultural debates of the countries in which they were written. This was, of course, true not only of works on recent history but of those dealing with the more remote past. Indeed, the segments of the past chosen for discussion provide an excellent index of these debates. In Egypt, attention was focused equally on the 19th century (especially Muḥammad ʿAlī, Ismāʿīl, and the ʿUrābī Revolt) and on the beginnings of Islamic history. On the former topic, the key works produced in this period were probably those of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī (1889-1966), Muḥammad Ṣabrī (1894-1978) and Shafīḳ Ghurbāl (1894-1961). Al-Rāfiʿī, an ardent partisan of the old National Party founded by Muṣṭafā Kāmil at the turn of the century and deeply immersed in Egypt's political struggles, was self-taught as a historian and wrote exclusively in Arabic. Ṣabrī and Ghurbāl, in contrast, were professional academics; both took doctorates from the Sorbonne, held chairs at Cairo University, and published much of their major work in French or English.

In regard to early Islamic history, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *Fī 'l-shiʿr al-djāhilī* (Cairo 1926), Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal's *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (Cairo 1934), and Aḥmad Amīn's three books on early Islamic history (*Fadjr al-Islām*, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* and *Ẓuhr al-Islām*, Cairo 1928-53) are certainly landmarks in their various ways. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] had taken a Sorbonne doctorate with a thesis on Ibn Khaldūn; his attack on the authenticity of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry was an effort (almost disastrous for him and Cairo University) to apply European text criticism to a culturally sanctified body of literature. The works of Haykal and Amīn, in contrast, were attempts to synthesise Islamic piety and "scientific" historical method. Haykal's use of modern critical methods is open to question on a variety of grounds, but his biography of the Prophet was a literary *tour de force*, a superbly integrated portrait infused with a distinctively 20th-century sensibility. Aḥmad Amīn's studies, though less accessible, have commanded broad respect since their first publication. Although he was a graduate of the School for *Ḳāḍī*s and was largely self-taught as a historian, his European colleagues at Cairo University formally recommended him for a professorial chair on the strength of his publications.

The leading historians of this period did not simply toe the official line. On the contrary, many of them were often in trouble with their governments. Nor is their work merely a coded statement of their own

ideological predilections, for the work of every writer mentioned above has proved of enduring value. Al-Rāfiʿī's books, for example, were regularly reprinted down through the 1960s. But it remains the case that all these works were shaped in the context of the political struggles of their day, including the struggle for cultural identity.

C. The Cold War and the apogee of Middle Eastern nationalisms 1945-1970.

World War II marked another watershed, as the domination of the region by Great Britain and France collapsed, to be replaced by a bi-polar world of American-Soviet rivalry. Down at least to the early 1970s, and in some arenas down to the present, intellectuals in the Arab lands and Persia tended to interpret their past within a single broad framework, as a struggle against foreign domination—England and France in the modern period, of course, but often fellow-Muslims (Mamlūk *amīrs*, Arab invaders, *et alii*) in the mediaeval past. In the revolutionary age beginning in the mid-1950s, it was inevitable that many would also begin to look seriously at Marxism [see MĀRK(I)SIYYA] as an intellectual tradition, and thus to link issues of internal class struggle with long-established concerns about imperialism.

The inevitable engagement of historians in the political struggles of the post-war years did not prevent the increasing professionalisation of historical writing. The process was rooted in the rapid growth of higher education in Middle Eastern countries: a flood of new students into the universities required more professors, and professors, of course, had to have advanced research degrees. Down to the early 1970s, credible Ph.D.s could only be obtained abroad, preferably in Paris or London (the old imperial capitals, ironically), but many students found themselves in newer and less prestigious institutions in the north of England or the American Middle West. In any case, the bilingual nature of historical research among Middle Eastern scholars continued and even increased; many of the major French and English monographs published during these years had begun life as their doctoral theses at the Sorbonne and the University of London.

Again, it would be extremely misleading to interpret scholarly production simply as a reflection of ideology and political conflict. If a test for the "pure scholarship" of a work is its usability by scholars of highly disparate political-ideological commitments, then much produced in this era must rank very high indeed. It is, for example, hard to imagine early Islamic history without the contributions of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī and Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī and colleagues of the Universities of Baghdād and Baṣra. For the more recent centuries of Ayyūbid, Mamlūk and Ottoman domination in Greater Syria (i.e. Syria, Lebanon and Palestine), we are much indebted to scholars like Kamāl Ṣalībī and Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt, with flourishing centres of historical studies at the American University of Beirut and the University of Damascus and major publications of texts and studies emanating from them. In spite of political controls placed on Egyptian scholars under the Nasser régime, the students of Muḥammad Anīs at Cairo University initiated a major body of scholarship on the social and economic history of 19th and 20th-century Egypt. And for an earlier but hardly less contested era, that of the Crusaders, Ayyūbids, and Mamlūks, Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (b. 1922) and his many students produced (and continue to do so) a major corpus of texts and studies still too little consulted among Western scholars. Even so, the free play of historical research was undeniably constrained by political pressures which far exceeded the partisanship of the previous era.

D. Since 1970.

Several of the underlying trends established during the 1950s and 60s have continued apace, in particular the burgeoning of universities and research institutes throughout the Middle East. In spite of chronic underfunding and a strong emphasis on scientific-technical training, this trend has led to an expansion of academic history. Particularly important, especially for the Ottoman period in Turkey and the Arab lands, has been a great improvement in the organisation of archives and documentation centres of all kinds. Another trend, already discernible before 1970 but much stronger since, has been the growing number of historians from the Middle East who hold permanent academic appointments in Europe and the United States. Admittedly, most of these completed their graduate studies in Western universities, but even so they bring a perspective rooted in the cultures and historical experience of the Middle East. The causes for this phenomenon are complex, but it does represent a highly significant inversion of the time-honoured pattern of student missions from the Middle East to the West.

The political climate in which historians must try to work has been variable but never easy. Apart from the pressures exerted by security-conscious régimes, the Islamic movement everywhere has increasingly affected historical inquiry and writing, as it has intellectual life in general. For example, a trend seen in the Arab world during the early 1970s, a radical critique of the nature of early Islamic society and even of the soundness of the sources, has been silenced or at least driven underground. There has been no real progress in Arabic-language works on the life of Muḥammad since Haykal's famous biography was published more than sixty years ago.

In spite of such official and cultural pressures, however, many periods and topics seem to be politically and religiously neutral, in the sense that historians are relatively free to construct their accounts of them in accordance with their own purposes and outlooks, rather than in accordance with externally dictated agendas. The Middle Periods of Islamic history (*ca.* 950-1500) have long fallen in this category, with the partial exception of the Crusades and the figure of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and we can now add the early ʿAbbāsids and Ottomans, who no longer make a useful target for Arab nationalist polemics. The social and economic history of the late 18th and 19th centuries in particular has attracted a great deal of first-rate work during the past two decades. As regards pre-modern times, the early ʿAbbāsids, the Saldjūḳids and the Mamlūks have continued to be the subject of valuable and sometimes ground-breaking studies. To name individual scholars for the last two decades is invidious, since there are now so many historians at work, and it is hardly possible as yet to identify those whose contributions will prove seminal or enduring. What can be said is that the Arab countries now possess a substantial corps of professional academic historians writing chiefly in Arabic. In this respect, the history of the region is increasingly in the hands of its own scholars—the natural state of things, we might suppose, but one which was hardly the case for most of the 19th and 20th centuries.

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(R.S. Humphreys)

(e) North Africa. [See Suppl.].

(f) In Muslim Spain.

Historical writing done in al-Andalus may be classified under two headings: chronicles dealing with the history of al-Andalus specifically and general histories of Islam. With the exception of certain very remarkable works, only the first category will be discussed here. However, there is also much historical information of great importance in works which are not chronicles, such as biographical dictionaries, geographical descriptions and *adab* works.

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/853) was the author of a *K. al-Taʾrīkh*, one of the oldest universal histories written in Arabic and the first historical work to be written in Muslim Spain. It contains a chapter on the conquest of the Iberian peninsula plus predictions of the loss and destruction of al-Andalus. It is the oldest source on the names and the chronology of the governors of Spain before the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. As the source for his redaction of the history, Ibn Ḥabīb used Egyptian traditionists, who played a most important role in the formation of the earliest historiographical tradition in al-Andalus. Yet despite the recent re-evaluation of his work and his place in Muslim Spanish culture, one cannot really consider Ibn Ḥabīb as the founder of historiography there. This place belongs in all true justice to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī (274-344/888-955), the author of *al-Istīʿāb fī ansāb mashāhīr ahl al-Andalus* and of the *Akhbār mulūk al-Andalus*. Unfortunately, al-Rāzī's works have only been preserved in citations by later writers, or in old translations into Portuguese or Castilian. His chronicle covered the whole of the history of al-Andalus, and, so far as we know of this text, it was characterised by a desire to produce written history and an effort at chronological precision and at verifying both written and oral sources.

One of his contemporaries, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥukayyim (d. 341/953), wrote a *K. fī ansāb al-dākhilīn ilā al-Andalus min al-gharb wa-ghayrihim*, which he dedicated to the caliph al-Nāṣir in 330/941-2 and which probably followed the lines of historical research delineated by al-Rāzī. Al-Ḥukayyim's text, however, fell into oblivion (only citations of it are known in Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī's biographical dictionary), whilst al-Rāzī's work continued to be used by many later historians. Al-Rāzī, indeed, became the model historian for Andalusī historical writing to follow. His son ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 379/980) continued in his father's tradition and wrote a *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, some parts of which are preserved by Ibn Ḥayyān (who was not, it seems, able to consult a complete text of the work) and by al-Makkarī.

Two other important historical works were also produced in the course of the 4th/10th century. The first belongs to the genre of universal history: the résumé (*mukhtaṣar, ikhtiṣār*) which ʿArīb b. Saʿīd (d. 370/980 [*q.v.*]) wrote of al-Ṭabarī's *History*. ʿArīb considerably enlarged the parts of al-Ṭabarī's work dealing with the history of al-Andalus, but only his text for the period 291/902 to 320/932 survives. Nevertheless, it was an important source for such authors as Ibn Ḥayyān and Ibn ʿIdhārī. The second of these chronicles is the *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (d. 367/977 [*q.v.*]), who traced the history of the province from the Islamic conquest to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's reign. It is possible that the version of the work which has come down to us is incomplete, since some citations of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya in later authors are not found in the text as we know it today. As for his historiographical orientation, some people have discerned Shuʿūbī tendencies in Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya [see shuʿūbiyya], but it seems sufficient to characterise his attitude as that of a Muslim scholar of non-Arab origin, a partisan of the Umayyads and a writer with a moralising aim. The *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* pays especial attention to the *mawālī* and the *muwalladūn*, which has been connected with the author's origins in the family of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, the descendant of one of the marriages of Sāra al-Ḳūṭiyya, who belonged to the Visigothic royal house.

The 5th/11th century can be called the golden age of history writing in al-Andalus through both its richness and also the variety of works composed during this period. At the outset, authors continued the "genealogical" approach begun by al-Ḥukayyim and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī, of which the most successful example is the *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]), an indispensable work for knowledge of the lineages of the Arabs established in Muslim Spain and those of the Berbers, as well as being a general work on genealogies. The *K. al-ʿIbar* of Ibn Abi 'l-Fayyāḍ (d. 459/1066) is known only from citations in other writers, from which it has been deduced that it was a history of al-Andalus from the conquest until, at least, the age of the Taifas. The *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār* of al-ʿUdhrī (d. 478/1085 [*q.v.*]) mixes geographical description with historical information. Around three-quarters of the original text have been lost, but the surviving part includes abundant and most interesting historical information, above all for the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries and also for the first part of the next one. Al-ʿUdhrī is a basic source for our knowledge of rebellions against the central power, to which he seems to have paid particular attention. Even so, one should not interpret this prominence of rebellions in al-ʿUdhrī's work as reflecting a special standpoint of the author, who confined himself to setting them down as events in the life and activity of a specific region in a particular historical period.

But the most important figure of the history of al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century is probably Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076 [*q.v.*]), who dominates the historical panorama of his time and of later times. Ibn Ḥayyān's work as a compiler of earlier historical sources was

enormous, and this explains the loss of many of these works, since it was easier to consult them via his compilation, called *al-Muktabis*. In this work, Ibn Ḥayyān's personal intervention is almost nil; in practice, he limited himself to gathering together everything which had been written before his time concerning the earlier centuries of Islam in Muslim Spain. The *Muktabis* has survived till today only partially. The second great historical work of Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Matīn*, must have been very different from the first. He wrote it over a period of several years, and was still at work on it in 463/1070-1. The text is above all known through the long fragments of it reproduced by Ibn Bassām in his *Dhakhīra*, a fundamental source for the end of the Umayyad state and the birth of the Taifa principalities. In his *Matīn*, Ibn Ḥayyān used oral sources plus his own personal experience, and he offered his own explanation of historical events which he had witnessed. Two other lost works of his, *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿāmiriyya* and *al-Batsha al-kubrā* (on the Banū Djahwar of Cordova) may possibly have been part of the *Matīn*.

This survey of 5th/11th-century Andalusī historical writing should not be completed without mention of a unique work within the genre, *al-Tibyān ʿan al-hāditha al-kāʾina bi-dawlat Banī Zīrī fī Gharnāṭa*, written *ca.* 488/1095 by the last of the Taifa kings of Granada, ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn. It can be classified as a classic example of dynastic history, but is also the autobiography of a dethroned prince. It is, accordingly, of doubtful objectivity; ʿAbd Allāh endeavours above all to justify his role in the events which surrounded the fall of the Zīrid dynasty. But at the same time, the *Tibyān* is the sole Arabic source which can be set at the side of Ibn Ḥayyān's information on the troubled period preceding the entry of the Almoravids into the Peninsula. Although later historians, such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, knew the *Tibyān*, it is only cited by al-Nubāhī in his *al-Markaba al-ʿulyā*, a history of the judges of al-Andalus; yet its minor significance in the historiographical tradition should not make us forget its value as a document of personal witness.

Ibn Ḥayyān's influence in historical writing can also be measured by the existence of later works which are merely résumés of his texts, sometimes directly, sometimes via intermediate sources. The so-called *Crónica anónima* of al-Nāṣir is, in fact, just a résumé of part of the *Muktabis*. The case of the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* is more complicated. The anonymous author describes the Islamic expansion through the Maghrib until the middle of the 2nd/8th century, whilst paying especial attention to al-Andalus. The work's nature and the date of its composition have been the object of lengthy discussions, without coming to any conclusive result. The text is a compilation of written sources which pays especial attention to anecdotes, whilst omitting, in general, chronological precision. According to the latest results of historiographical research, the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* is to be connected with late, North African, sources, with which the text shares a common origin, one unidentified but which would ostensibly derive from Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muktabis*. After the manner of the *Akhbār*, the work of an anonymous author which is called *Fatḥ al-Andalus* seems to be the *Ṣilat al-mughrib*, a lost work by Ibn Muzayn (d. after 471/1078-9).

At the end of the 5th/11th century, al-Andalus became a province of North African empires, first that of the Almoravids and then, shortly afterwards, of the Almohads. Historical writing reflected this political dependence, and the vigorous development of historiography during the century of the Taifas declined under the pre-eminence of Maghribī historians. In any case, the Almoravid period was too short to allow the growth of dynastic historiography comparable to what had taken shape in the Umayyad period and was to appear under the Almohads. Only a few fragments have been preserved of the Andalusī chronicler of the Almoravids, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 570/1174 [*q.v.*]). One special case, in this period, is that of Ilyasaʿ b. Ḥazm (d. 575/1179), author of *al-Mughrib fī akhbār maḥāsin ahl al-Maghrib*, a work which he wrote for the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn whilst he was staying in Egypt, but its text, which was a source for e.g. al-Dhahabī, drew the contempt of the Andalusī Ibn al-Abbār. The *Mughrib* was, in effect, a re-writing of the history of Muslim Spain with the intention of attracting the attention of the Muslims of the East to the Christian menace against al-Andalus.

During the Almohad period and until the appearance, in the 8th/14th century, of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the history of al-Andalus was written in the context of the history of the Maghrib, a fact of which the authors on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar were aware. Thus the most interesting work of Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260 [*q.v.*]) from the historical point of view, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, was dedicated to the poets from noble families of both North Africa and al-Andalus. In it, Ibn al-Abbār gave citations from earlier historians, including Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-Matīn*, but it is unknown whether he employed this text directly or via fragments copied by Ibn Bassām. In any case, the history of Muslim Spain in the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries has to be read in the chroniclers of the Maghrib, such as Ibn al-Kardabūs, Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, Ibn al-Kaṭṭān, Ibn ʿIdhārī and Ibn Abī Zarʿ. One should add to these names that of the author of *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, a work written towards the end of the 8th/14th century and attributed to Ibn Simāk, who came from Málaga. Amongst these authors, Ibn ʿIdhārī deserves special mention. The final redaction of his *Bayān al-mughrib* is dated 712/1312; to write his history of the Maghrib and Muslim Spain, he used many Andalusī sources now lost, those of Ibn Ḥayyān being notable here.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374 [*q.v.*]) probably dominates the intellectual scene in his age, during which al-Andalus was reduced to the territory of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada. Amongst his immense production, at least four works pertain to the domain of history, with nuances here which have to be made more precise. *Al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa* is, first of all, a biographical dictionary, with the aim of serving as an encyclopaedia of Granada, for which the author drew on documents from the royal chancery to which he had access. The work is thus of prime importance for his own time.

The history of the Naṣrid dynasty (up to 765/1363-4) was the subject of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's second historical work, *al-Lamḥa al-badriyya*. In his *Nufāḍāt al-djirāb*, he gave his personal memoirs for the period 761-3/1359-62, and since the author was very actively involved in the political life of his time, it is thus an important source for the history both of Granada and the Maghrib. However, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's most ambitious historical work was his *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām li-man būyiʿa ḳabl al-iḥtilām*. Written to defend the legitimacy of the claim to power of the infant son of the Marīnid sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 774/1372-3), its second part is devoted to a general history of al-Andalus, drawing upon earlier sources of which the author gives in a summary fashion. The interest of the historical material in the *Aʿmāl* becomes more marked in the work's last part, which

also includes a résumé of the history of Castile.

No historical chronicles were written during the last century of al-Andalus's existence (9th/15th century), but material on the history of this period continued nevertheless to be used by North African writers, such as the anonymous compiler of the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, which was very probably written during this century. The history of Muslim Spain was also the subject of a chronicle written in North African exile, the anonymous *Nubdhat al-ʿaṣr fī akhbār mulūk Banī Naṣr*, dating from 945/1540, which traces the history of Granada from 882/1477 to the emigration following the conquest of 1492. Finally, the monumental work of al-Makkarī (d. 1014/1631 [*q.v.*]), *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghusn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, although in the ostensible form of a biography of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, contains numerous fragments from historical texts, and in this respect can be considered as an anthology of the historical and literary production of al-Andalus.

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(MANUELA MARÍN)

2. In Persian.

Persian history falls into two well-marked periods, the pre-Islamic and the Islamic, each with their calendrical systems. In the Īlkhānate a modified version of the Chinese-Uighur duodecimal animal cycle was introduced and continued in use, with modifications, alongside the Hidjrī lunar calendar and the Hidjrī solar calendar from 1911 to 1925.

Persian histories as distinct from histories in Arabic written by Persians do not pre-date the 4th/10th century. By that time Persia had become part of the Islamic world and the surviving fragments of ancient Persian history had passed from Pahlavi into Arabic literary and historical writing. Islamic tradition was universal and all-embracing in its character, and its all-pervading nature gave a certain unity and inner consistency to Persian historical writing down to modern times. Alongside the Islamic tradition, the memory of ancient Persia survived, largely in the form of myth and legend [see KAYĀNIDS]. It was passed down in oral and written form (see E. Yarshater, *Iranian historical tradition*, in idem (ed.), *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii (1), *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian periods*, 477). In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, Persian versions of the national history emerged in prose and verse, notably in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] and thereafter the tradition of ancient Persia had a kind of "ghost existence", but it never became the dominant feature in the historical tradition. Even in the Ḳādjār period, when there was an attempt in some quarters to revive the heritage of ancient Persia (cf. Furṣat, *Āthār al-ʿAdjam*), the shah was still referred to as *shāhan-shāh-i islāmpanāh*, as he had been in Ṣafawid times.

As a result of the long wars with the nomads of Central Asia in pre-Islamic times, "Tūrān" was seen as the antithesis of "Īrān". This antagonism re-emerged in mediaeval Persia in the dichotomy between *turk* and *tādjīk* (cf. Yarshater, *op. cit.*, 396), and from the 7th/13th century in the form of a Turco-Mongol tradition. This was important in tribal and military circles, which provided the major dynasties in post-Mongol times, but it was almost totally ignored by the "men of the pen" and does not play an important part in the written tradition. This is so even in the Īlkhānate, when the writing of history flourished. In any case, after the conversion of the Mongols to Islam, it can be assumed that the Islamic tradition reasserted itself.

The role of the royal court was immensely important in the production of histories. It was largely rulers to whom historians looked for pecuniary reward. Consequently, it was customary for histories to be dedicated to contemporary princes; and some were commissioned by rulers. Apart from this, the general cultural climate tended to be set by the court. Many, if not assemblies of learned men, were centres in which learning was encouraged as, for example, the courts of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], of Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigīn [*q.v.*], the Īlkhān Ghāzān [*q.v.*] and the Tīmūrids Shāhrukh Mīrzā b. Tīmūr [*q.vv.*] and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā b. Manṣūr b. Bāyḳarā. In mediaeval times the *nadīm* [*q.v.*] or boon companion of the ruler had to be able to converse on historical subjects, and a secretary in government service was expected to have a thorough knowledge of the past (F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 46-7). Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] describes how he developed a taste for sciences in general and history in particular in the circle of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Ṭabīb [*q.v.*] (*Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran AHS 1339/1960, 2-3).

Those who wrote history were Muslims, and they inherited the presumptions which prevailed in contemporary Islamic civilisation. Many of them were government officials. Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Balʿamī [*q.v.*], the father of Persian historiography, belonged to a family from which many *wazīrs* had come and he himself was *wazīr* first to the Sāmānid ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nūḥ and secondly to his successor Manṣūr. Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaḳī [see BAYHAḲĪ], the author of the *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, was a secretary in the chancellery of the Ghaznavid Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*]. The author of the *Djahān-gushā*, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ Malik Djuwaynī [*q.v.*], and Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, who wrote the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, both held high office under the Īlkhāns. Faṣīḥ al-Khʷāfī, author of the *Mudjmal-i faṣīḥī*, served Shāhrukh Mīrzā b. Tīmūr and Bāysonghor [*q.v.*]; Iskandar Munshī, (Iskandar Beg), author of the *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, was employed for a time in the Ṣafawid chancery; and Muḥammad Taḳī Sipihr [*q.v.*], who wrote the *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, was a secretary in the *dīwān* of Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār. Mīrzā Mihdī Khān Astarābādī, who was employed in the secretariat of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], was appointed official historiographer in 1148/1736.

A number of historians were *ʿulamāʾ*. Ẓahīr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Funduḳ [see AL-BAYHAḲĪ] was for a short period in 526/1132 *ḳāḍī* of Bayhaḳ and subsequently taught in various mosques in Nīshāpūr. The Ghūrid historian Abū ʿAmr Minhādj al-Dīn Djūzdjānī [*q.v.*] was the son of a *ḳāḍī* and became *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* in the Dihlī Sultanate, whither he had fled in 623/1226 after the first Mongol invasion. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar Bayḍawī [*q.v.*], who wrote the general history *Niẓām al-tawārīkh*, and died towards the end of the 7th/13th century, was at one time *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Shīrāz. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī [*q.v.*], the author of the *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, was the son of a *ḳāḍī*. The tradition of historical writing continued among the *ʿulamāʾ* down to modern times (cf. the *Tārīkh-i Iṣfahān* of Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān Anṣārī Djābirī).

Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū (b. 938/1531-2), the author of the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, by exception, belonged to the military classes, having entered the ranks of the *ḳūrčīs* as a child. His history was planned to be in twelve volumes. Only two, the eleventh and the twelfth, in the form of annals from the accession of Shāhrukh in 807/1404 to the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl II (900-85/1495-1577) are extant. Whether the other volumes were ever written is not known.

That many, if not most, Persian histories were written by government officials and members of the ruling classes results in a rather one-sided view. Facts unpalatable to the author's patron or to the received tradition tended to be omitted, and his victories were exaggerated; dissident movements on the whole were played down. The common people received little attention and we see the mass of the population, if at all, through the eyes of the ruling classes. Against statements of prosperity, well-being and good government, must be set periods of tyranny, disorder, insecurity, drought, famine, hoarding and war.

The general disposition of Persian historians was to record not to explain. This was perhaps partly due to the assumption that divine sanction corroborated world order—that God's cause triumphs in Islam. They did not pretend to re-create the past, and for the most part they ignored the development of human character and personality. The encyclopaedist Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Āmulī, writing in 735/1334-5, states that the value of history and biography lay not in the col-

lection of stories and traditions but in admonition and warning, so that wise men might not set their hearts on this world but might concern themselves with the acquisition of eternal happiness (*Nafā'is al-funūn*, ed. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sha'rānī, Tehran 1377/1958, ii, 170). In fact, the general belief that history corroborated the Muslim view of the world tended towards the "anecdotalism" of history. Provided the anecdotes were "useful", authors were not unduly particular about their authenticity.

The purposes which impelled Persian historians to write history were various. Rosenthal's emphasis on the utilitarian approach of Muslim historians (*op. cit.*, 47) applies also to Persian historians. First and foremost they were Muslims and as such their concern was to contribute to stability and to further right religion. The problem of power did not arise for them: the function of the state as they conceived it was to create conditions in which the good life could be lived. Histories were therefore composed partly in order to illustrate this. Almost all start with a section in praise of God. The views of Mīrkhwānd [*q.v.*], the author of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'* who died in 903/1498, are fairly typical of earlier and later writers. He held that useful lessons were to be learnt from history and that its function was to admonish and warn. The preservation of the good name of the just was another motive which induced authors to write. Djuwaynī states that he had been urged by a group of his friends to write his history as a memorial to the excellence of the ruler (*Djahān-gushā*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, London 1912, i, 2-3). Ibn Funduḳ was in part inspired to write his history by a belief in the pre-eminence of learning (*Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran AHS 1317/1938, 5-6), but he was also concerned with the "usefulness" of history as a yardstick with which to judge the events of the present (10). Somewhat exceptionally he also regarded the study of history as in itself interesting (8-9). In the case of those who wrote local histories an important factor was local pride (see further below).

The sources at the disposal of Persian historians were written and oral traditions, the works of earlier writers, and their own personal experiences. Those who were state officials had access to material in state chanceries; *mustawfīs*, such as Ḥamd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī, probably had in their possession tax records. Although no state archives are extant prior to the modern period, various collections of state documents exist such as the *'Atabat al-kataba* of Muntadjab al-Dīn Badī' al-Kātib Djuwaynī belonging to the Saldjūḳ period, *al-Tawassul ilā 'l-tarassul* of Bahā' al-Dīn Baghdādī for the Saldjūḳ and Khwārazmshāhī periods, and the *Dastūr al-kātib* of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjiwānī for the late Īlkhānid and Djalā'irid periods. Innumerable state documents also survived in historical and literary works (see B.G. Fragner, *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden*, Freiburg im Br. 1980) or in private hands and were available to later writers. This archival material is sporadic—continuous series do not exist until modern times. A few personal letters have survived from earlier periods independently or in collections of documents. Some of the documents in literary collections are "model" documents, presumably based on current theory or practice.

Biographical literature as part of historical literature exists, but is of a rather special kind. The copious lives of Ṣūfī saints and holy men are in large part hagiography. Typically, biographical material is found in *ṭabaḳāt* literature and in *wafayāt* in chronicles at the end of each year or reign, with predominance given to the religious classes. The biographical material in the *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'abbāsī* of Iskandar Beg Munshī, written in the early 11th/16th century, is exceptional in that a balance is preserved between the military, religious and bureaucratic classes, which would seem to correspond, in some measure, to the actual distribution of power in the state. Biographical dictionaries devoted to the religious classes are common but rare in the case of other groups except poets. Exceptionally, the *Āthār al-wuzarā'* of 'Aḳīlī, who lived at the court of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, and the *Dastūr al-wuzarā'* of Khwāndamīr [*q.v.*], are devoted to the lives of *wazīrs*. That such works are much rarer than those devoted to the religious classes suggests that the contribution of the individual Muslim to the transmission of Islam was regarded as more important than his contribution to the building-up of the state. However, in dynastic and local histories space is devoted to members of the ruling house, their officials and those who were thought to have contributed to local development (see further A.K.S. Lambton, *Persian biographical literature*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 141-51). Full-length biographies such as are known in the West do not exist in Persian until modern times. In recent years an increasing number of personal reminiscences and memoirs, written to record events in which the authors had participated and sometimes to justify that participation, or simply for personal diversion, have been published (see further Fragner, *Persische Memoirenliteratur als Quelle zur neueren Geschichte Irans*, Wiesbaden 1979).

There are also some rather unusual works which are part of historical literature but do not fit exactly into the category of either history or biography. One such is the *Rustam al-tawārīkh* of Rustam al-Ḥukamā' (ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī, Tehran AHS 1348/1969), begun in 1193/1779-30 and finished in 1199/1784-5. It is a strange jumble of fact and fiction, parable and reality, but it contains a good deal of information on political, administrative and social conditions (see Lambton, *Some new trends in Islamic political thought in late 18th and early 19th century Persia*, in *SI*, xxxix, 101 ff.).

History written in Persian begins with Bal'amī, who was commissioned by Manṣūr b. Nūḥ I [*q.v.*] in 352/963 to prepare a Persian translation of the *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa 'l-mulūk*, written in Arabic by Muḥammad b. Djarīr al-Ṭabarī, which begins with the creation of the world. Bal'amī's work is not simply a translation of al-Ṭabarī's history. As various scholars have pointed out, it abbreviates al-Ṭabarī's text but also in parts supplements it and includes unique information not to be found in al-Ṭabarī's history or, in some cases, in any other source (D.M. Dunlop, *Arab civilization to A.D. 1500*, London 1971, 90-1, and cf. B. Spuler, *Die historische Literatur Persiens bis zum 13. Jahrhundert als Spiegel seiner geistigen Entwicklung*, in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Leiden 1980, 341). Elton Daniel, in a recent article, examines in detail the mss. and editions of Bal'amī's translation (*Manuscripts and editions of Bal'amī's Tarjamah-i Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, in *JRAS* [1990], 282-321). He states that the chapter on the death of Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] is not found in al-Ṭabarī and that various sections "are explicitly described as amplifications of Ṭabarī's text" (284); also, that there are "scattered throughout the text attributions of material either to personal observation, specific sources or 'sources other than Muḥammad b. Jarīr'" (284-5). Bal'amī "not only added material to Ṭabarī, he frequently disagreed with him, pointing out errors and inconsistencies in Ṭabarī's accounts and offering alter-

natives to them" (285). Like Zeki Velidi Togan (*Völkerschaften des Chazarenreiches im neunten Jahrhundert*, in *KCsA*, iii [1940], 54), Daniel considers that Bal'amī's history should be regarded as an independent work, albeit based on al-Ṭabarī, "important in its own right as the oldest extant historical work in the Persian language and the model for much of later Persian historical prose" (*ibid.*, 286). He suggests that the decision to translate al-Ṭabarī was part of a larger programme that also led to the translation of al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* and the catechism known as the *Sawād-i a'ẓam* and "almost certainly constituted an effort to propagate a state-sanctioned, 'official' ideology of Islamic history and dogma, presumably in defence of the Sāmānid régime".

Bal'amī set the pattern, and once set, the general tendency was to follow it, though the *ḥadīth* mentality characteristic of al-Ṭabarī weakened with the passing of time. Typically, Persian history is embodied in the general or "universal" history. These general histories begin with creation and are compounded of legendary, semi-legendary and historical elements. They are not world histories. With the rise of Islam the interest of the writers became limited to the spread of Islam and to the boundaries of the political structure within which the writer lived, and so "universal" history became little more than a summary introduction to dynastic or provincial history (H.A.R. Gibb, *EI*[1], art. *Ta'rīkh*). Their authors copied and abridged the work of their predecessors with or without acknowledgement. They can be regarded as primary sources only when they come to relate contemporary or near-contemporary events. Some, though not all, are annalistic, but the narrative frequently breaks the bounds of a given year. Many contain eye-witness accounts of the happenings which they record. An interesting feature of general histories, which perhaps bears witness to a sense of the continuity of history among their writers, is the composition of numerous *Dhayls* or continuations of existing histories, such as the *Dhayl* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū [*q.v.*] to the *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn.

One of the earliest general histories in Persian is the *Zayn al-akhbār* of Gardīzī [*q.v.*]. A rather later example is the anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh wa 'l-ḳiṣaṣ* (ed. Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, Tehran AHS 1317/1938-9). The author, writing in 520/1126, mentions by name the sources he had consulted. The book starts with the creation and has sections on the kings of ancient Persia, India, the Turks and eastern rulers, the caliphate and Persian dynasties down to 520/1126.

The tradition of composing general histories continued down to the 19th century (cf. the *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh* of Sipihr mentioned above), but alongside them dynastic histories without a "universal" element began to be written. One of the earliest, if not the earliest, is the work of Bayhaḳī, which starts in 409/1018-19. Only that portion relating to the reign of Sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd is extant. It contains a detailed account of events during his reign and life at his court. Under the Great Saldjūḳs, although Arabic was still the main language for historical writing and Arabic sources were mainly used, a tradition of dynastic histories in Persian, probably using Persian sources, also grew up. The memoirs of Anūshirwān b. Khālid (d. 532/1137-8 or 533/1138-9 [*q.v.*]), which apparently went up to 528/1133, have been lost but survive in the Arabic version of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*], the *Nuṣrat al-fatra*, finished in 579/1183, and in the recension of al-Bundārī [*q.v.*]. According to Cl. Cahen, Anūshirwān's work was "neither exclusively personal memoirs nor yet a complete chronicle, but something in between, 'memoirs as a contribution to the history of their time'" (*The historiography of the Seljuqid period*, in Lewis and Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, 67). Among the earliest dynastic histories of the Saldjūḳs were the *Saldjūḳ-nāma* of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī and the *Malik-nāma*. Neither is extant. The former was used by Rāwandī in the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*. It comes down to the accession of Ṭoghril III, the last of the Great Saldjūḳs, and is brought down to the fall of Ṭoghril by Rāwandī. The *Malik-nāma* is preserved in the *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūḳiyya* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Nāṣir Ḥusaynī. Important histories have survived, whole or in part of the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān and their succession state, the Ḳara Khitay Ḳutlugh-Khānids [*q.v.*]. As the conquests of the Saldjūḳs and later Turks and Mongols spread westwards to Anatolia and eastwards to India they took with them the Persian language, and in both regions a rich Persian historical literature developed.

With the spread of the Mongol conquests there was a revival of the general or "universal" history, possibly because of, or in reaction to, the concept of world empire among the Mongols. The *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* of Djūzdjānī, written mainly in 657/1250 and 658/1260, starts with the patriarchs and prophets and continues with the caliphs down to the Mongol invasion. Baydāwī's general history, the *Niẓām al-tawārīkh*, starts with Adam and continues down to the Mongols, ending in 674/1275. The first part of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh* is a general history of the world from earliest times to 700/1300-1. The *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ḳāshānī, compiled in the reign of Öldjeytü (703-16/1304-16) is a general history from Adam to the fall of Baghdād. Similarly, the *Rawḍat ūlī 'l-albāb fī tawārīkh al-akābir wa 'l-anṣāb* of Banākatī is a general history from Adam to Abū Sa'īd's accession in 717/1317.

The tradition continued under the Tīmūrids. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, among his many works, wrote a universal history entitled *Madjma' al-tawārīkh*, which starts with Adam and continues to 830/1426-7. The last part, with the title *Zubdat al-tārīkh-i Bāysonghorī*, is a history of Tīmūr and Shāhrukh. The *Mudjmal al-faṣīḥī* of Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Khʷāfī, who was a contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, is another universal history of the traditional type. It has a *muḳaddima* from Adam to the Prophet and then consists of annals from 1/622 to 845/1441-2.

The Mongol period is commonly regarded as the high point in Persian historical writing. It is remarkable for its bulk and also for the wide-ranging interests of some of the historians of the period (D.O. Morgan, *Persian historians and the Mongols*, in idem (ed.), *Medieval historical writing in the Christian and Islamic worlds*, London 1982, 110). Much of Persia was devastated by the first Mongol invasion and for the first time for six centuries Persia was ruled by non-Muslims. This must almost certainly have disturbed the Islamic view of the world. Djūzdjānī refers to Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] as *mal'ūn*, accursed, and saw the invasion as an assault upon Islam. He maintains that numerous traditions made it clear that the end of the world would be heralded by the coming of the Turks, i.e. the Mongols. Djuwaynī, who spent most of his life in the service of the Mongol rulers of Persia, visited Möngke's court in Mongolia in 650/1252-3, travelled widely within the Mongol empire, and writes highly of the justice and security in those regions. Nevertheless, he differs little from Djūzdjānī in his description of the

disasters inflicted by the Mongol invasion of Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ. He saw the Mongols as the instruments of God's judgement on his sinful people, as a punishment and warning. However, in the eyes of Djuwaynī the coming of the Mongols was not all catastrophe, for Hülegü destroyed the Assassins whom Djuwaynī regarded as a greater menace to Islam than the Mongols. It is significant that he does not record the sack of Baghdād by Hülegü [*q.v.*] and the death of the last caliph, which he could hardly have condoned (*ibid.*, 111 ff.). By the time Ghāzān Khān asked Rashīd al-Dīn to write the history of the Turkish and Mongol peoples, some eighty years had passed since the first Mongol invasion and the rule of the Īlkhāns was firmly established. As deputy and later joint *wazīr*, Rashīd al-Dīn had access to official records and his work, commissioned as it was by Ghāzān Khān, is thus an "official" history. That part of it known as the *Tārīkh-i ghāzānī*, which he presented to Öldjeytü, the brother and successor of Ghāzān, after the latter's death, is an extremely valuable account of the reign of Ghāzān and contains information not available elsewhere. It includes the text of many decrees (*yarligh*) issued during Ghāzān's reign, though unfortunately not all are dated. The work suffers somewhat from the fact that Rashīd al-Dīn appears to have been at pains—not unexpectedly—to emphasise the success of the administrative reforms which he attributed to his patron (and which he himself probably had a large part in drawing up) and so exaggerated the extortion and incompetence prevailing under earlier Īlkhāns (see further Morgan, *Rašīd al-Dīn and Ġāzān Khān*, in D. Aigle (ed.), *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, Paris 1997). Öldjeytü asked Rashīd al-Dīn to add to his work a history of those peoples—the Chinese, Indians, Jews, Franks and others—with whom the Mongols had come into contact. It seems that Rashīd al-Dīn had already been studying the history of the Mongols (*Histoire des Mongoles de la Perse*, ed. and tr. Quatremère, Paris 1836, 80-1) and he set to work assiduously to gather material from Mongol chronicles, which he had interpreted to him, and from oral information from Mongols, including Ghāzān, who, he states, was a great authority on Mongol tradition, and whatever foreigners who could be intercepted as they passed through Persia. In this part of his work, Rashīd al-Dīn also preserves information concerning Mongol history not extant elsewhere (see further Morgan, *The problems of writing Mongol history*, in S. Akiner (ed.), *Mongolia today*, London 1991, 1-8). Rashīd al-Dīn views the Mongols in their world context: Islam was a part of this, but not the essential framework, though by the time he was writing Islam had, with the conversion of Ghāzān, again become dominant. Rashīd al-Dīn refers to him as *pādishāh-i islām*. Rashīd al-Dīn is exceptional. But he did not found a "school of history": there were no more world histories. This may conceivably have been partly because, with the conversion of the Mongols to Islam, the former perspective of history was restored.

The *Tadjziyat al-amṣār wa-tazdjiyat al-aʿṣār* of Waṣṣāf, commonly known as the *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, one of the most important histories of the Mongol period, is of a rather different order to Rashīd al-Dīn's history. Waṣṣāf was born in Shīrāz in 663/1264-5. He was one of Rashīd al-Dīn's circle and was at one time in government service in Fārs as a *mustawfī*. He began to write his history in 697/1297-8, and in 702/1302-3 presented part of it to Ghāzān Khān, who had set out on his Syrian campaign, and nine years later, in 712/1302-3, he presented the remainder to Öldjeytü in Sulṭāniyya. Waṣṣāf states in his introduction that it had come to his mind to continue Djuwaynī's *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā* from the sack of Baghdād in 656/1258 onwards. He brings his history down to 728/1327-8, in the middle of the reign of the last Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd. It starts with a brief account of the Great Khāns as a summary introduction to the history of the Īlkhāns. Its general plan is somewhat confused and contains many digressions, including sections on the history of Egypt and India. Much of what he writes is from personal experience and observation and from what he learned from his contacts with government officials, both civil and military, and contains many valuable insights. His description of contemporary affairs in Fārs is detailed and contains much information on taxation and economic affairs. Although his interests spread beyond the confines of Persia, he is not concerned with the Mongols in a world context. What is important for him is the history of those dynasties which succeeded the Saldjūḳs in Fārs and the neighbouring regions, and happenings in Fārs under the Īlkhāns. What he is, perhaps, telling his readers is that the local history of Fārs is what is important, not the history of the Mongols, and that these local dynasties had had an independent existence before the Mongol conquest. If this is the case, it may be that it is this emphasis, among other things, which gave importance to his history for later writers, many of whom quote him.

Under the Tīmūrids historiography flourished; its form was broadly that of traditional historiography. Several histories on the life and exploits of Tīmūr [*q.v.*] were written. The oldest is the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī. He was in Baghdād when it fell to Tīmūr in 795/1392-3. In 804/1401-2 Tīmūr ordered him to write a history based on the official records of his reign. Under Tīmūr's successors, Samarḳand and Harāt became flourishing cultural centres. A favourite form of historical writing was the "universal" history, though not all authors adopted this model. The *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* of Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī is a general history coming down to the death of Tīmūr. Muʿīn al-Dīn uses earlier sources but adds unique information on the history of Central Asia and Fārs. In the case of his information on Central Asia, some of it may have been obtained from Turco-Mongolian *amīrs* who had served ʿUmar Shaykh and his sons and were still in Shīrāz when Muʿīn al-Dīn was at the court of Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh until 817/1414, prior to joining Shāhrukh's court at Harāt (see J. Aubin's introd. to that part of the text of the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* which he published in Tehran in AHS 1336/1957). The greatest of the Tīmūrid historians was undoubtedly Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, who in the breadth of his interests and scholarship can be compared to Rashīd al-Dīn (see further J.E. Woods, *The rise of Timurid historiography*, in *JNES*, xlvi [1987], 81-108).

After the Tīmūrids, the centre of interest moved back from eastern Persia to western Persia. Modifications occurred in the perceptions of historians but they were not such as to lead to wholly new turns in the tradition of historical writing. The conversion of the Ṣafawids to Shīʿism clearly affected their interpretation of early Islamic history and the Sunnī-Shīʿī hostility prevailing between the Ṣafawid empire and both the Ottoman empire and the Özbegs was a factor influencing their relation of contemporary events. In recent years an increasing number of Ṣafawid historical texts have been published. Some of them narrate not only events of a political kind but also incidents in daily life.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the interpretations put upon the facts of history by Persian historians tended to be coloured by a new nationalism and a heightened sense of separation from the rest of the Islamic world. At the same time, their approach was more critical and their attitude towards Islam more sceptical (see further Firuz Kazemzadeh, *Iranian historiography*, in Lewis and Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, 430-4, and Hafez Farman Farmayan, *Observations on sources for the study of nineteenth and twentieth-century Iranian history*, in *IJMES*, v [1974], 32-49, also in *Farhang-i Īrānzamīn*, xx, [AHS 1353], 1-34. See also KASRAWĪ TABRĪZĪ).

Other than general and dynastic histories, there is a remarkable continuity in the production of local histories in which geography and history are closely connected. In the early centuries these histories were written in Arabic. Some of them were later translated into Persian. From the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries down to modern times, there has been a stream of histories centred not on the great empires but on the province, town, village or tribe. It is not unlikely that local histories represent a particular element in the conscious or unconscious orientation of society. The rhythm of Persian history was marked by the rise and fall of great empires. Their establishment was accompanied by an increase in centralisation; their break-up took place along geophysical lines. Because of the nature of power in Persia centralisation was resented in the regions; and the cultivation of local history may be in part at least a reaction against the centralising tendency of the great empires. The main motive of those who wrote local histories appears to have been local pride and the belief that the contribution of the regions was worthy of record and, perhaps, that their histories—rather than the histories of larger political units—represented or reflected the vigour and strength of Muslim society and built up the history of the community as a whole.

Most local histories start with a doxology and follow with a geographical description of the region or district. Most relate the circumstances, legendary or otherwise, of the foundation of the main city or cities of the region. Nearly all narrate the deeds of local rulers and government officials who have lived and worked in the district and contain biographical notices of local notables. Some include autobiographical details. Not all are purely local histories. In some the distinction between local and dynastic history is blurred. The various histories of Kirmān, for example, are of the nature of dynastic histories rather than purely local histories. Similarly, the *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Harāt* of Sayfī Harawī and the *Rawḍat al-djannāt fī awṣāf madīnat Harāt* of Muʿīn al-Dīn Isfizārī, although they contain a great deal of local information, are also political histories of eastern Persia. The former runs from 618/1221 to 721/1321 while the latter, completed in 899/1493-4, which is partly dependent on Sayfī Harawī's work, is a somewhat disjointed general history of eastern Persia from the Islamic conquest up to the reign of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, to whom it is dedicated.

The royal court played a less important part in the production of local histories than in the case of general histories, though there are exceptions, notably the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn Balkhī, which was composed at the behest of the Great Saldjūḳ sultan Muḥammad b. Malikshāh (498-511/1104-117 [*q.v.*]). It contains the earliest independent account in Persian of the ancient kings of Persia, followed by an account of the Arab conquest of Fārs, a description of the province and brief mention of its history under the Būyids and Saldjūḳs. It also includes agricultural, fiscal and tribal information not found in other sources and an account of the ḳāḍīs of Fārs. Although many of the local histories were dedicated to local rulers, no doubt in the hope of pecuniary reward, the main stimulus tended to be *pietas* and the encouragement of learned men in the locality.

Fārs, Ḳum (see Hosein Modarressi Tabataba'i, *Kitāb-shināsī-i āthār marbūt bi-Ḳum*, Ḳum AHS 1353/1974-5 for an annotated bibl. of works on Ḳum), Yazd (see Īradj Afshār, *Yādigārhā-yi Yazd*, Tehran AHS 1348/1970, i, 25-32 *bis* for a list of the histories of Yazd), Kirmān (see Bāstānī Pārīzī's introduction to his edition of ʿAlī Aḥmad Khān Wazīrī's *Tārīkh-i Kirmān* (*Sālāriyya*), Tehran AHS 1340/1961, pp. xliv ff., for an account of the histories of Kirmān), and the Caspian provinces are particularly rich in local and provincial histories; but many towns, districts and provinces also have their histories. The authors of these works, because of their personal experiences and links with local tradition, almost certainly felt more closely related to those about whom they wrote than did the writers of general histories, and they yield occasional glimpses of a social reality different from that of the ruling classes. They reveal details not only of the lives of famous men but also of the common people and details of the local administration, which show how the regions were differentiated both from each other and from the central administration of the great empires. They include details of economic affairs, taxation and land tenure and accounts of natural disasters, floods, earthquakes, famines, scarcities, plagues and diseases seldom found in the general histories. There is much they do not tell and much that we cannot know, but certain tentative conclusions relating to changes in society and in the way men saw themselves at different periods and in different places can be drawn from their accounts (see further Lambton, *Persian local histories*, in B.S. Amoretti and L. Rostagno (eds.), *Yād-nāma. In memoria di Alessandro Bausani*, Rome 1991, i, 227-38).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 3rd ed., London 1968, 1-58; B. Spuler, *The evolution of Persian historiography* (126-132), J.A. Boyle, *Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn as sources on the history of the Mongols* (133-7) and Mujtaba Minovi, *The Persian historian Bayhaqī* (138-40), all three in Lewis and Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*; J. Aubin, *L'Avènement des Safavides reconsideré*, in *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien*, v (1988), 1-130; A.H. Morton, *The date and attribution of the* Ross Anonymous. *Notes on a Persian history of Shāh Ismāʿīl I*, in C. Melville (ed.), *History and literature in Iran*, 1990, 179-212; J.S. Meisami, *The past in service of the present: two views of history in medieval Persia*, in *Poetry Today*, xiv/2 (1993), 247-75; Parwīz Adhkā'ī, *Tārīkhnigarān-i Īrān*, Tehran AHS 1373/1994; Sholeh A. Quinn, *The historiography of Safavid prefaces*, 1-25, and A.H. Morton, *The early years of Shah Ismāʿīl in the* Afżal al-tawārīkh *and elsewhere*, in Melville (ed.), *Safavid Persia. The history and politics of an Islamic country*, London and New York 1996, 53-78.

(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

3. In Ottoman and modern Turkish.

The development of historical writing in the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey falls roughly into four principal eras:

i. Beginnings, to *ca.* 1500

ii. The dynastic/state phase, to *ca.* 1700

iii. The late imperial phase, dominated by the office of the *waḳʿa-nüwīs* ("official historian" [*q.v.*])

iv. Modern historical writing, from *ca.* 1909.

While constraints of space make it possible to mention only the more significant Ottoman and modern Turkish historians, it is regrettable that there are no major studies on the general development of post-1500 historiography to which further reference can be made. It is also the case that only a handful of Ottoman histories have been published in modern critical editions. Many major histories are still used in often unreliable 19th-century prints, and the vast majority of minor works exist in manuscript only. The standard references are F. Babinger's *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (1927), expanded entries on major writers in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara 1940-88), and recent work on all writers in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1989 onwards).

i. *Beginnings, to* ca. *1500*

The earliest surviving historical account of the Ottomans is the brief verse section, *dāsitān*, in praise of the dynasty by the poet Aḥmedī (d. *ca.* 1412 [*q.v.*]), dating from the 1390s and appended to his longer didactic poem, the *Iskender-nāme.* Its survival is fortuitous, for no other 14th-century histories are known except as echoes in later compilations, and no major historical texts survive from the first half of the 15th century, probably because of the prolonged political instability of the state following the civil war between the sons of Bāyezīd I (1389-1402 [*q.v.*]). However, from the later part of Murād II's reign (1421-44, 1446-51 [*q.v.*]) onwards, three main types of historical work appear, ranging from basic annals, through more descriptive and entertaining chronicles, to the learned and rhetorical histories commissioned by Bāyezīd II (1481-1512 [*q.v.*]).

The stimulating political and cultural context of the period which furthered the development of Ottoman literature generally [see ʿOTHMĀNLĪ. III. Literature] equally encouraged the writing of history. Chronicles of the early Ottoman era are known from the mid-15th century onwards: notably, in Ottoman Turkish, the works of ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde, Rūḥī, Neshrī (whose Ottoman history, *Djihānnümā*, was the last and only surviving part of a six-volume universal history) and Urudj [*q.vv.*], and the *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān* (the so-called Anonymous Chronicles); in Persian, the universal history by Shükrullāh, with its final section on the Ottomans; and in Arabic, the short account devoted to the dynasty by the *nishāndji* [*q.v.*] Ḳaramānī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*].

The material for such compilations was derived from three main types of source: *taḳwīms*, *menāḳib-nāmes* and *ghazā-nāmes*, and personal recollection. The *taḳwīm*, or retrospective calendar of events (usually drawn up by court astrologers on the pattern "it is X years since . . .") provided a basic, though chronologically unreliable source. The earliest surviving Ottoman *taḳwīm* dates from 1421 but was clearly based on earlier lists. *Menāḳib-nāmes*, the often semi-legendary tales of the worthy exploits of significant political or religious figures, were incorporated by chroniclers into the annalistic framework supplied by the calendars. A similar type of exemplary tale, the *ghazā-nāme*, dealing more specifically with military exploits in frontier regions, was also frequently utilised. *Menāḳib-nāme* and *ghazā-nāme* sources could be either written or oral. One of the earliest Ottoman examples, the "*menāḳib* of Yakhshī Faḳīh" compiled in the late 14th-early 15th century appears to have been used directly or indirectly by a number of 15th-century chroniclers, particularly ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde, but is not extant. *Ghazā-nāmes*, by virtue of their probable immediate origin as morale-boosting campfire tales told amongst the Ottoman soldiery, were more likely to have been oral sources, at least initially. However, with the increasing emphasis upon sustained military success and the sultan's leadership role under Meḥemmed II (1444-46, 1451-81) and later under Selīm I (1512-20) and Süleymān (1520-66) [*q.vv.*], the writing of *ghazā-nāmes* became an established literary-historical genre. An early distinctive text is the anonymous *Ghazawāt-i Sulṭān Murād ibn Meḥemmed Khān* (ed. H. İnalcık and M. Oğuz, Ankara 1978), an eye-witness account of Murād II's Varna campaign of 1443-4.

The reign of Meḥemmed II quickly became the subject of literary-historical texts by several writers associated with the Ottoman court. The cultural prestige of Persian language and literature stimulated works in the *sheh-nāme* style by poets such as Muʿālī, Kāshifī and Shehdī. Written in Persian verse in imitation of Firdawsī's [*q.v.*] *Shāh-nāma*, such works have often been belittled as mere panegyric of the sultan but may nevertheless contain much historical information. The strong Persian influence upon Ottoman court historiography—both the language and the much-admired histories of Djuwaynī and Waṣṣāf [*q.vv.*]—continued well into the 16th century until absorbed into the Ottoman *inshāʾ* [*q.v.*] style of rhetorical prose. The latter had also originated as a literary style in the late 15th century: Tursun Beg [*q.v.*], author of a history of Meḥemmed II, is usually considered its first major historiographical exponent.

Historical writing was given special encouragement by Bāyezīd II, in whose reign most of the above chronicles were compiled. He appreciated the value of historiography as a political support for himself and for the dynasty, and promoted the writing of works both in simpler Turkish for a "popular" audience, and in rhetorical prose for élite court consumption. Significantly, several works originally ended *ca.* 1484-5, showing Bāyezīd securely enthroned after the politically controversial later years of Meḥemmed II and the succession conflict between Bāyezīd and Djem [*q.v.*]. By *ca.* 1500 the various strands of 15th-century historiography appeared to coalesce in Neshrī's *Djihānnümā*, which became the principal source used by subsequent historians for the early period of Ottoman history. Bāyezīd also commissioned two major literary histories, one in elaborate Persian prose by the scholar and *münshī* Idrīs-i Bidlīsī [*q.v.*], the *Hasht bihisht*, much referred to by later historians, and one in Ottoman *inshāʾ* prose from the future *sheykh ül-Islām* Kemāl-pasha-zāde [*q.v.*], which remained little used until modern times.

Bibliography: V.L. Ménage, *The beginnings of Ottoman historiography*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 168-79; H. İnalcık, *The rise of Ottoman historiography*, in *ibid.*, 152-67; O. Turan, *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler*, Ankara 1954; C.H. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 1-4 and *passim*, and idem, *The Ottoman dynastic myth*, in *Turcica*, xix (1987), 7-27.

ii. *The dynastic/state phase, to* ca. *1700*

After *ca.* 1500, Ottoman historical writing increased rapidly in volume over a greater range of forms, producing a richly diverse and accomplished literature which comprises one of the most distinctive Ottoman cultural achievements.

Of universal histories, the best-known is the *Künh ül-akhbār* of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī [see ʿĀLĪ, Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmed], which quickly became a principal source for later historians, above all the fourth and final *rükn* on the

Ottoman state (see J. Schmidt, *Pure water for thirsty Muslims: a study of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli's Künhü' l-aḫbār*, Leiden 1991; C.H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman empire: the historian Mustafa Ali, 1541-1600*, Princeton 1986). The *Ṣaḥā'if ül-akhbār* of Münedjdjim-bashî (d. 1702 [*q.v.*]) was written first in Arabic but translated almost immediately into Ottoman and widely used. Among other world histories are those in Arabic by Djenābī (d. 1590) and that based upon it by Kātib Čelebi (d. 1657 [*q.v.*]); in Ottoman, the *Zübdet ül-tewārīkh* by Loḳmān (d. *ca.* 1601 [see LUḲMĀN, Seyyid]), and works by Meḥmed b. Meḥmed (d. 1640), Ḳara-Čelebi-zāde ʿAbdülʿazīz (d. 1658) and Ḥüseyin Hezārfenn (d. 1691); and in Persian by Lārī (d. 1572) [*q.vv.*].

The positive momentum generated by the military and political successes of Selīm I and Süleymān stimulated pride in the dynasty's achievements whilst providing a wealth of new subject matter for historical compositions. Histories of the dynasty from ʿOthmān up to the author's own time, such as that attributed to Luṭfī Pasha (d. 1564) and those by Ramaḍān-zāde (Küčük Nishāndjî, d. 1571) and later by Ṣolāḳ-zāde (d. 1657) [*q.vv.*] remained popular. Much admired for its style was the *Tādj ül-tewārīkh* of Khodja Saʿd ül-Dīn (d. 1600 [*q.v.*]), a reworking of Ottoman history to the end of Selīm I's reign.

Other dynastic histories are more selective. The *Ṭabaḳāt ul-memālik we deredjāt ul-mesālik* by Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā (d. 1567 [*q.v.*]), *nishāndjî* under Süleymān, is the most detailed and authoritative contemporary account of the period 1520 to 1557, and is highly regarded as a model of Ottoman *inshā'* prose (P. Kappert (ed.), *Geschichte Sultan Suleyman Kanunis von 1520 bis 1557...*, Wiesbaden 1981). A group of works on Selīm I, known generally as "*Selīm-nāmes*" and mostly composed early in Süleymān's reign at the latter's behest, were designed to exonerate Selīm I from charges of arbitrariness and severity unworthy of the sultanate (cf. A. Uğur, *The reign of Selīm I in the light of the Selīmnāme literature*, Berlin 1985; M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, *Selim-nameler*, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, i [1970], 197-230). Innumerable histories, long and short, exist on events in the reign of Süleymān, particularly in the *ghazā-nāme* style on his military conquests. Of these, an unusual work is *Beyān-i menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn* by Maṭraḳčî Naṣūḥ (d. *ca.* 1564 [*q.v.*]), detailing the stages of the ʿIrāḳ campaign of 1534-6 and illustrated with precise drawings and plans of towns and fortresses. In contrast, ʿĀrif (or ʿĀrifī, d. 1562) wrote his *Süleymān-nāme*, a "monumental work" in Persian verse on the *sheh-nāme* model, as a court history commissioned by Süleymān. Of another type is Eyyūbī's *Menāḳib-i Sulṭān Süleymān* (ed. M. Akkuş, Ankara 1991), a short work in Turkish verse describing the sultan's worthy qualities. A late *Süleymān-nāme* presented to Murād IV (1623-40 [*q.v.*]) is by the *sheykh ül-Islām* Ḳara-Čelebi-zāde. (For an extended discussion, see A. Özcan, *Historiography in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent*, in [Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ankara], *The Ottoman empire in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent*, ii, Ankara 1988, 167-222.)

The active patronage of sultans and leading state officials, particularly under Süleymān, Selīm II (1566-74) and Murād III (1574-95) [*q.vv.*], meant that 16th-century writing was largely court-oriented and often composed in an elaborate literary style. In the 1550s, Süleymān established an official post of *shehnāmedji* [*q.v.*], "writer of *sheh-nāmes*", as a type of court historiographer, to ensure the portrayal of a proper image of the ageing sultan towards the end of his reign. Its principal incumbents, ʿĀrif, Loḳmān and Taʿlīḳī-zāde (d. 1599), together produced a series of almost continuous court chronicles covering *ca.* 1520 to 1595, though these remained in the sultan's possession and did not enter the mainstream of Ottoman historiography. They deserve serious study, especially Loḳmān's *Shehinshāh-nāme*, a three-volume illustrated history in Persian verse of his principal patron Murād III.

In the pre-modern era, when many "historians" also wrote poetry and other types of literary work, literary style often dominated historiographical form; histories entirely in verse were common, as were the conventions of *inshā'* prose. Many court histories were also richly illustrated with miniature paintings and have contributed a great deal pictorially to knowledge of the late 16th-century empire (see N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974). While universal and dynastic histories were still produced, most works dealt with recent or contemporary events, often witnessed personally by the author. While many lesser works by minor government officials may have been principally intended to demonstrate their authors' literary skills and thus to serve as career currency in the search for patronage and promotion, their content and the values expressed are equally deserving of study.

From the 1590s, a significant change of focus is discernible in the major histories. The political turmoil of the late 16th-early 17th centuries, together with less active patronage by the sultans, resulted in the development of a more broadly-based "state" (as opposed to "dynastic") approach, concentrating less upon the sultan and more upon the military-administrative and judicial officials of state. Moreover, several writers—notably Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, but also the *shehnāmedji* Taʿlīḳī-zāde and others—expressed open political criticism, akin to that found in the closely-related genre of advice literature/political treatises (*naṣīḥat-nāme/risāle*) which features prominently in early 17th-century Ottoman writing [see ḲOČU BEG].

Few reign histories as such appear among the major historical works of the 17th century, again reflecting the changing role of the sultanate and its greater insecurity. Paradoxically, one of the few to survive is the *Nuṣret-nāme* of Silāḥdār (d. 1723 [*q.v.*]) on the controversial reign of Muṣṭafā II (1695-1703 [*q.v.*]) and its aftermath. Mention must also be made of Ṭūghī's short work on the deposition of ʿOthmān II (1618-22 [*q.v.*]) (F. İz, *Hüseyin Tûğî: Vak'a-ı Sultan Osman Han*, in *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* [1967], 119-64). Attempts by Murād IV to revive the *shehnāme* genre to celebrate his eastern conquests bore little fruit.

The major 17th-century histories are not those of court-oriented literary historiographers or major state officials, but generally those by middle-ranking members of the scribal professions. The history by Selānikī (d. 1599 [*q.v.*]) is an almost daily diary of events centred upon the imperial council, *dīwān-î hümāyūn* [*q.v.*], full of references to lower ranking individuals. Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Künh ül-akhbār* includes for each reign sections of biographical data on viziers, *ʿulemā'*, *sheykhs*, poets and others, a practice followed by, amongst others, Kātib Čelebi in his *Fedhleke*. The early 17th-century histories by Ḥasan Bey-zāde and Pečewī [*q.vv.*] concentrate on Ottoman history from 1520, and are both particularly valuable for their authors' observations on the 1590s onwards. Pečewī is also credited with being the first major Ottoman historian to make critical use of non-Ottoman sources (in this case, Hungarian; see B. Lewis, *The use by Ottoman historians of non-Ottoman sources*, in Lewis and Holt, *Historians*, 185-6). Wedjīhī (d. 1661 [*q.v.*]) chronicled the period *ca.* 1638 to 1661,

a period also covered in the lost history of Shāriḥ al-Manār-zāde (d. 1657 [*q.v.*]). Taken together, the *Fedhleke* of Kātib Čelebi (covering 1591 to 1656) and the history by Silāḥdār conceived as a continuation of it (covering *ca.* 1655 to 1695) chronicle virtually the entire 17th century. The *Weḳāyiʿ-nāme* by the *nishāndji* ʿAbdī Pasha (d. 1695) complements these for the period 1648 to 1682.

Short works of various types proliferated throughout the period *ca.* 1500 to 1700, the *ghazā-nāme* genre in particular remaining popular across a range of literary levels and styles, focussing in the absence of the sultan upon the Grand Vizier or other commander-in-chief (cf. A.S. Levend, *Gazavatnameler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey' in Gazavatnamesi*, Ankara 1956). *Sūr-nāme* works, describing imperial weddings and circumcision feasts, feature from the later 16th century onwards, reflecting the dynasty's more sedentary lifestyle: e.g. the anonymous *Sūrnāme-yi hümāyūn* describing the 1582 circumcision festival for the future Meḥemmed III.

Works devoted entirely to non-Ottoman history are rare, except insofar as they are translations, usually from Arabic or Persian on earlier periods of Islamic history. Geographical works, such as the *Kitāb-i baḥriyye* (*ca.* 1521) of Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*], and the 17th-century geographical and naval compilations by Kātib Čelebi used some non-Islamic sources and extended their focus beyond the Islamic world. The *Seyāḥat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] (1670s-80s), an extended travelogue with commentary, accumulates a wealth of miscellaneous material from both Ottoman and non-Ottoman sources. An historico-geographical work by Seyfī (d. after 1590 [*q.v.*]) details 16th-century Central Asian and Indian rulers. The *Taʾrīkh-i Hind-i Gharbī* (an account of the conquest of the New World) and a history of France, both translations from western sources, date from the 1580s. Ḥüseyin Hezārfenn used Greek and Latin sources for his universal history. Otherwise, serious historical interest in the non-Islamic world develops only later in the 18th century.

Ottoman bio-bibliographical compendia and works of reference first appear in this second phase of historiographical development. Both Sehī's [*q.v.*] *tedhkere* [see TADHKIRA. 3] of poets of 1538 and Ṭashköprülü-zāde's [*q.v.*] *Shekāʾiḳ-i nuʿmāniyye* of 1558 on the lives of the Ottoman *ʿulemā* were products of Süleymān's reign; each initiated a long Ottoman tradition of compiling biographical dictionaries on their respective subjects (J.R. Stewart-Robinson, *The Ottoman biographies of poets*, in *JNES*, xxiv [1965], 57-74; R.C. Repp, *The mufti of Istanbul*, London 1986, *passim*). A biographical work on a less commonly treated subject group is Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Menāḳib-i hünerwerān* on painters and calligraphers. The major Ottoman bibliographical reference work is Kātib Čelebi's *Keshf al-ẓunūn*, a listing in Arabic of *ca.* 14,500 works in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Also considered an historical reference work is the *Münsheʾāt ul-selāṭīn*, Ferīdūn Beg [*q.v.*]'s collection of correspondence and decrees of the Ottoman sultans up to the time of Selīm II.

Historical works of a more local nature appear in the later 17th century. The *Enīs al-müsāmirīn* of Ḥibrī (d. 1676 [*q.v.*]) is a history of Edirne detailing the major buildings and prominent citizens of its Ottoman era, 1359-1633. Naẓmī-zāde (d. *ca.* 1723)'s *Gülshen-i khülefā* is a history of Baghdād to 1718, of particular value for the Ottoman period.

iii. *The late imperial phase*

By the end of the 17th century, the need to come to terms with Ottoman defeats in Europe after the failed siege of Vienna in 1683, together with the desire for an authoritative interpretation of Ottoman history after the *hidjrī* millennium (1000 = A.D. 1591-2), contributed to the establishment of the post of *waḳʿa-nüwīs* "official historian", which dominates the third principal stage of historiographical development, and continued formally until 1922. From the mid-19th century a new historiographical trend also emerged, stimulated by the new influences upon Ottoman intellectual life generally during the *Tanẓīmāt* era.

(a) Official histories. Naʿīmā (d. 1716 [*q.v.*]) is generally considered the first *waḳʿa-nüwīs*, although the series of consecutive appointments to a formal post as official historian began only with his successor Rāshid (d. 1735 [*q.v.*]). Based on government documents and subject to the sultan's approval, *waḳʿa-nüwīs* histories were intended for a relatively wide readership, those of Naʿīmā (in 1734), Rāshid and Küčük-Čelebi-zāde ʿĀṣim (d. 1760 [*q.v.*]) (both in 1741) being among the few early publications of the Müteferriḳa press [see MAṬBAʿA. 2]. Sāmī (d. 1733), Shākir (d. 1744), Ṣubḥī (d. 1769) and ʿIzzī (d. 1755 [*q.v.*]) then contributed to a continuous official history up to 1752 (Sāmī-Shākir-Ṣubḥī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1198/1783; *Taʾrīkh-i ʿIzzī*, Istanbul 1199/1784).

Although Naʿīmā conceived his history as a "guide to what to do" for Ottoman statesmen, using his sources with care and prefacing his work with a discussion on the nature of historiography (cf. L.V. Thomas, ed. N. Itzkowitz, *A study of Naima*, New York 1972), the narratives produced by some of his later 18th-century successors were little more than pedestrian compilations of the documentary evidence upon which they were based. By the reign of Selīm III (1789-1807 [*q.v.*]), the office had lost prestige and was no longer considered to be producing worthwhile accounts. Short-term appointments, complaints about the inaccessibility of important documents, and the confusion caused by some historians' re-writing of their predecessors' work are indicative of this. Enwerī (d. 1794 [*q.v.*]) and Aḥmed Wāṣif (d. 1806) had five and four terms respectively as official historian, and are together responsible for a history of most of the period 1752-1805. Standard histories were then produced by the early 19th-century official historians, ʿĀṣim (d. 1819 [*q.v.*]) for the period 1803-1808, Shānī-zāde (d. 1826) for 1808-21, and Esʿad Efendi [*q.v.*] for 1822-25, although the latter remained in office as *waḳʿa-nüwīs* until his death in 1848. At the request of Maḥmūd II (1808-39 [*q.v.*]), Esʿad Efendi also wrote *Üss-i ẓafer*, an official account of the destruction of the Janissary corps in 1826.

By far the most important 19th-century Ottoman history is that by Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha (d. 1895 [*q.v.*]), *waḳʿa-nüwīs* 1855-66, covering 1774 to 1825, published in twelve volumes between 1855 and 1884, and almost immediately republished in a second edition. Drawing upon a variety of sources, including previous official histories but also other documents and some western sources, Djewdet Pasha adopted a critical approach unusual for his time, albeit within a generally traditional chronological framework (cf. İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa semineri 27-28 Mayis 1985*, Istanbul 1986). By contrast, his successor Luṭfī Efendi (d. 1907, in post 1866-1907 [*q.v.*]) chronicler of the period 1826 to 1879, was much criticised for his lack of analysis and for his reliance upon material from the official gazette, *Taḳwīm-i weḳāyiʿ*, of which he was also for a time editor. The last Ottoman official historian, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref (d. 1925, in post 1909-22) published no major chronicle, but played an important role both in the popularising of histor-

ical knowledge through his writing of well-informed school textbooks and also in the modernising of academic historical research in Turkey as first president of the Ottoman Historical Society, *Ta'rīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni*, founded in 1909. (On official historians, see B. Kütükoğlu, *İA* art. *Vekāyinüvīs*, on which the above is based.)

(b) Non-official historians of the 18th and pre-*Tanẓīmāt* 19th centuries tended less towards the writing of narrative history, especially recent or contemporary. Notable exceptions are the universal histories by Shemdānī-zāde (d. 1779) to 1777 and Ferā'idi-zāde (d. 1835) to 1774, the *ghazā-nāme* by [Novi'li] ʿÖmer [*q.v.*] on Ḥekīm-oghlu ʿAlī Pasha's 1736-9 Bosnian campaigns, Ahmed Resmi's (d. 1783 [*q.v.*]) account of the 1768-74 Russo-Ottoman war (see V. Aksan, *An Ottoman statesman in war and peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783*, Leiden 1995), and the histories of the Crimean khānate by Seyyid Meḥmed Riḍā (d. 1756) and Ḥalīm Girāy (d. 1823). Wehbī (d. 1736)'s *Sūrnāme* on the circumcision feast of 1729 is as well known for its illustrations as for its text.

Otherwise, the important historical works of this era are biographical compendia. Aside from the continuing series of *tedhkeres* of poets, and biographical dictionaries of the *ʿulemā'* by ʿUshāķī-zāde (d. 1723 [*q.v.*]), Sheykhī (d. 1736) and Müstaķīm-zāde (d. 1787 [*q.v.*]), new professional groups are documented: Grand Viziers in the *Ḥadīķat ül-wüzerā* of ʿOthmān-zāde Aḥmed Tā'ib (d. 1724 [*q.v.*]), and the *dheyl* to it by Aḥmed Djāwīd (d. 1803); *re'īs ül-küttābs* in the *Sefīnet ül-rü'esā* of Aḥmed Resmī; Mewlewī *sheykhs* in the *Sefīne-yi Mewlewiyye* by Muṣṭafā Thāķib (d. 1735); musicians in the *Tedhkere-i khānendegān* of Meḥmed Esʿad (d. 1753 [*q.v.*]); and, eventually, historians in the *Āyīne-yi ẓürefā* of Djemāl ul-Dīn Meḥmed Ķarṣlī-zāde (d. 1845) (republished in 1896 as *ʿOthmanlî ta'rīkh ve müwerrikhleri*, with a continuation by Djewdet Pasha). Another significant work of data compilation (with two 19th-century continuations) is the *Ḥadīķat ül-djewāmiʿ* of Ḥüseyin b. Ismāʿīl [Aywansarāyī] (d. 1786), effectively an architectural history of the mosques and other religious buildings of Istanbul and its environs. Also worthy of note is the first translation into Ottoman of the *Muķaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, the first two-thirds by Pīrī-zāde Meḥmed Ṣāḥıb (d. 1749 [*q.v.*]), completed and published in 1858-60 by Djewdet Pasha.

At the turn of the 20th century, two major biographical compilations appeared: Meḥmed Thüreyyā [*q.v.*]'s *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī* (publ. 1890-9), a composite listing across a range of professional groups, and Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir [*q.v.*]'s *ʿOthmānlî mü'ellifleri* (publ. 1916-24), on Ottoman authors generally, including poets, historians and theologians. The culmination of the Ottoman tradition of biographical compendia came in the Republican era, in the work of İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal (1870-1957), whose *Son asır Türk şairleri* (publ. 1930-41) and *Osmanlı devletinde son sadrazamlar* (publ. 1940-53) were conceived as *dheyls* to earlier works on poets and Grand Viziers respectively.

(c) "*Tanẓīmāt* historiography". From the mid-19th century, increased opportunity for Ottomans to study foreign languages and to travel in western Europe, plus the development within the empire of a new educational system and different tastes in reading, combined to produce a flurry of historical works catering for demands for wider knowledge. Readily published by an expanding press, these varied from school textbooks, through historical romance to detailed scholarly tomes, and could be of equally varied quality (cf. M.H. Yınanç, *Tanzimattan meşrutiyete kadar bizde tarihçilik*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 573-95).

Of the many translations and adaptations of European works, the best known are Aḥmed Ḥilmī (d. 1878 [*q.v.*])'s six-volume universal history of 1866, based on Chambers' *Universal history*, and the fourteen volumes of histories of European states abridged from French originals by Aḥmed Midḥat (1841-1912 [*q.v.*]). Late Ottoman writers were also influenced by western historiographical methodology. An attempt to break away from the dominant chronicle format was the Ottoman history by Khayrullāh (d. 1866), one of several drawing heavily upon von Hammer's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Pest 1827-35, later translated into Ottoman by Meḥmed ʿAṭā [*q.v.*], publ. in 10 vols., from 1912). Especially noteworthy is Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha (1824-90)'s *Netā'idj ül-wuķūʿāt*, which divides Ottoman history into five chronological eras, concluding each part with discussion of military, financial and other state institutions. Attention was turned to categories of historical evidence other than literary and archival, including the study of coins and seals and the preparation of catalogues of such collections (E. Kuran, *Ottoman historiography of the Tanzimat period*, in Lewis and Holt, *Historians*, 422-5).

European Turcology, with its emphasis upon the particular historical and linguistic heritage of the Turks before and beyond the Ottoman empire, gave a new turn to Ottoman historical studies. In 1899 appeared Nedjīb ʿĀṣim (1861-35)'s *Türk ta'rīkhi*, a history of the Turks of Central Asia, also translated from a French original, which acquired an important place in the emerging Turkish nationalist historiography (B. Lewis, *History and national revival in Turkey*, in *Middle Eastern Affairs*, iv/6-7 [1953], 221 ff.).

iv. *Modern historical writing*

The foundation of the Ottoman Historical Society in 1909, in the wake of the restoration of the Ottoman constitution in 1908 and the removal of Ḥamīdian censorship, gave a tremendous boost to the development of modern Turkish historiography. It fostered a heightened professionalism amongst historians, and published the first major Ottoman/Turkish historical journal, *Ta'rīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni Medjmūʿasî*, which appeared in 18 volumes from 1910 to 1931 (repr. Istanbul 1988). Contributors to the journal, who included Nedjīb ʿĀṣim, Meḥmed ʿĀrif, Aḥmed Tewḥīd and Aḥmed Refīķ [Altinay, 1881-1937; see AḤMAD RAFĪĶ], based much of their work on Ottoman archival documents, but with less emphasis upon a narrative of political events and more upon institutional and cultural history.

Interest in pre-Ottoman Turkish history grew during the First World War and the 1920s, and was subsequently promoted by Atatürk [*q.v.*] as a means of strengthening a new Turkish national identity; this was parallelled by his encouragement of the study of the pre-Ottoman history of Anatolia, the geographic base of the new Republic. Largely for political reasons, therefore, the original Ottoman (from 1923, Turkish) Historical Society was wound up in the late 1920s, to be succeeded in 1932 by a new Turkish Historical Society, *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, under Atatürk's patronage. Anatolian archaeology (reported from 1937 in the new journal *Belleten*) and Saldjūķ Anatolia were two principal areas of study to benefit. A prolific researcher in both was Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938), director of the Istanbul Museum of Antiquities, who published widely on pre-Ottoman coins, seals and architectural inscriptions.

The outstanding Turkish historian of the early Republican era was Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (1890-

1966 [*q.v.*]), whose several hundred academic publications between 1912 and 1950 ranged over literary, institutional, social and political history. In one of his most influential works, *Les origines de l'empire Ottoman* (Paris 1935, Turkish tr. Ankara 1954, English tr. New York 1992), he located the principal elements of Ottoman success in the social and political conditions of the 13th- and 14th-century Anatolian Turkish emirates, thus mounting a strong challenge to the hitherto prevailing Western notion that the strengths of the Ottoman state derived mainly from their control of the Balkans. Widely respected outside Turkey, Köprülü's views on the nature of mediaeval Anatolian society both stimulated and gave credibility to the new Republican generation of Turkish historians.

Other historians inspired by the topics of the "Atatürk era" include Mükrimin Ḥalil Yınanç (1898-1961), Osman Turan (1914-77) and İbrahim Kafesoğlu (1914-84) on the Saldjūḳs of Rūm and other Anatolian Turks; and Zeki Velidi Togan (1890-1970), a Bashkir emigré after the fall of the Russian empire, who wrote on both the history of the Turks of Central Asia (2 vols., 1946-47) and historical method (*Tarihde usul*, 1950). A study of Ottoman intellectual history, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, was published by Abdülhak Adnan-Adıvar (1882-1955) in 1940. The latter was also first editor-in-chief of the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, a Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* published under the auspices of the Ministry of Education.

With the declining emphasis upon Turkish national and Anatolian history after Atatürk's death, Turkish historians' interests broadened. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (1888-1977)'s multi-volume *Osmanlı tarihi* and his accompanying studies of Ottoman administrative institutions, dating from the mid-1940s onwards, symbolise the rehabilitation of the study of Ottoman history. Wider scope and differing approaches to historical writing were further encouraged by the freer political climate of the 1960s, the increasing interest shown by Western scholars, and the greater use made of the Ottoman archives. Attention focussed first on the successful early Ottoman state up to *ca.* 1600, and on the 19th-century *Tanẓīmāt* reforms as background to the development of the Republic. By the 1990s study of the relatively "dark ages" of the 17th and 18th centuries had also come into vogue. In what follows there is room to mention only a handful of the most distinguished of the many important Turkish historians of the later 20th-century. The vast majority of modern Turkish historical writing is on Ottoman/Turkish/Islamic subjects; work outside these areas is rare.

Ömer Lutfi Barkan (1902-79) pioneered the modern study of Ottoman socio-economic history, a field which has dominated recent historiography in Turkey and has produced a lively debate on the nature of Ottoman "feudalism". Barkan's studies on early Ottoman land law, *ḳānūn* collections, the *tīmār* system, colonization, financial "budgets", *waḳf* endowments, etc., culminated in a major two-volume study on the building of the Süleymaniye mosque, *Süleymaniye cami ve imareti inşaatı* (Ankara 1972, 1979).

Halil İnalcık (b. 1916) has published prolifically on virtually all fields and periods of Ottoman history, but especially on political and socio-economic aspects of the pre-modern empire. Much of his work has been published in English and has been particularly influential. *The Ottoman empire: the classical age, 1300-1600* (London 1973) is a standard introduction to the subject; much of his later work is encapsulated in Part I of *An economic and social history of the Ottoman empire, 1300-1914* (ed. H. İnalcık and D. Quataert, Cambridge 1994, 11-409).

Notable historians of the early empire include M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ (1918-83), M. Tayyib Gökbilgin (1907-81), and Cengiz Orhonlu (1927-75); prominent scholars studying the 19th century include M. Cavid Baysun (1899-1968) and Münir Aktepe. Ottoman historiography was the province of Bekir Kütükoğlu, and architectural history that of Semavi Eyice. Late Ottoman and early Republican intellectual history has been studied by the sociologist and historian Şerif Mardin, and post-1800 political and social history by Kemal Karpat.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(Christine Woodhead)

4. In Muslim India.

It is often said, though inaccurately, that history came to India with the Muslims. The existence of Indian dynastic annals is attested in the epigraphic *praśastis* from the 4th century A.D. onwards; and Bāṇa's *Harshačarita* of the 1st/7th century and Kalhana's *Rājatarangini* (6th/12th) represent important landmarks of the pre-Islamic historical tradition. But so far as we can judge, this tradition existing mainly in Sanskrit did not exercise any traceable influence on the Muslims' pursuit of history-writing in India, such as, let us say, the *Shāh-nāma* tradition exercised on Perso-Muslim historiography.

The Islamic phase of history-writing in India began with a remarkable work, an Arabic work of unknown title and authorship, its Persian translation made, *ca.* 613/1216-17, by ʿAlī b. Ḥamīd Kūfī, now known as the *Čač-nāma* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The work consists essentially of two parts, an account of the Brahman dynasty of Sind preceding the Arab conquest, and a narrative of the Arab conquest 92-5/710-14. The former part is seemingly a translation of a local dynastic chronicle, and the latter and larger portion, a collection of narratives of the nature of those contained in al-Ṭabarī's great history, with the Arab and tribal biases of individual narrators being fairly well manifest. Except for one interpolation, at the end, the original Arabic text seems to have been completed during the 3rd/9th century, though some material may indeed be much earlier.

Indo-Persian historiography proper begins with Ḥasan Niẓāmī's very ornate work, the *Tādj al-maʾāthir*, completed in 614/1217, dealing with the first two sultans of Dihlī. But the first major work is Minhādj b. Sirādj Djuzdjānī's [*q.v.*] *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, completed in 657/1259, a history of Islamic dynasties, but very rich on the Ghūrid dynasty, the early sultans of India and their nobles and on the contemporary Mongol empire, for which too it constitutes a valuable contemporary record.

A series of historical works by the poet Amīr Khusraw (d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]), sc. the *Ḳirān al-saʿdayn* (688/1289), *Miftāḥ al-futūḥ* (690/1291), *Khazāʾin al-futūḥ* (711/1311-12), *Duwal Rānī Khaḍir Khān* (715/1316), *Nuh-sipihr* (718/1318) and *Tughluḳ-nāma* (720/1320), give rather uneven glimpses into the history of the period, especially of the Khaldjī dynasty (689-720/1290/1320). Despite their contemporariness to the events they describe, the poet's proneness to complex verse, stylistic digressions, words with double meanings and complicated rhetoric, deprive his works of much substance, and flattery overshadows genuine insight and truth.

A totally different kind of work, and one perhaps, entitled to be treated as a true history under any definition, is Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī's [*q.v.*] *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz-*

Shāhī, completed in 758/1357, treating of the history of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] from Balban's accession in 664/1265 to Fīrūz Tughluḳ's early years. Baranī has a definite theory of history, in which the sultan's natural urge to aggrandise is seen as a threat to the stability of the nobility, since political stability must in his view, be based on respect for station according to birth. Baranī is masterly in his sketches of character, brilliant in his insights on complicated economic situations and administrative measures. His fluent and trenchant style, unaffected by any attempt at ornateness, makes him one of the great Indian masters of Persian prose.

Compared to Baranī, the other two histories of the Dihlī sultans, 'Iṣāmī's [*q.v.*] versified *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn* (750/1349-50) and Yaḥyā Sirhindī's *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (838/1434) are prosaic works, though furnishing us with much information derived independently of Baranī. Shams-i Sirādj 'Afīf has left us a history of Fīrūz Shāh (r. 752-90/1351-8), written after Tīmūr's invasion (801/1398), which manages to be factual (though somewhat weak in dates) despite much rhetoric.

The 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries saw the production of a few histories of provincial dynasties, such as the anonymous *Tārīkh-i Muẓaffar Shāhī* (889/1484) and the *Ḍamīma-yi ma'āthir-i Maḥmūd Shāhī* (916/1511), relating to Gudjarāt, and Shihāb Ḥakīm's *Ma'āthir-i Maḥmūd Shāhī* (completed before 906/1500), relating to Mālwā. Rather surprisingly, no history of the two Afghān dynasties, the Lodīs (854-932/1450-1526) and the Sūrs (945-62/1540-56) was written during the period of their rule. For the Lodīs, there is the later *Wāḳi'āt-i Mushtāḳī*, by Rizḳ Allāh "Mushtāḳī" (d. 989/1581), a work of an anecdotal character but the main source for later accounts of the Lodīs; and for the Sūrs, 'Abbās Sarwānī's *Tuḥfa-yi Akbarshāhī* (written after 987/1579) remains the main source.

The establishment of the Mughal dynasty, with Bābur's victory at Pānīpat (932/1526 [*q.v.*]), inaugurated a new era in history writing. Bābur (d. 937/1530) continued the writing of his Turkī memoirs in India, so that he has given us a fascinating account of India and a frank description of the events of a large part of his four years' reign in India. These memoirs were translated into Persian with commendable accuracy by 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān (998/1589-90).

With Yazdī's *Ẓafar-nāma* setting the model for Tīmūrid history writing, the greatest historical work, which took it for its model, but undoubtedly went much beyond it, is Abu 'l-Faḍl's *Akbar-nāma*, first text completed in 1004/1596. This official history of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar not only used a large amount of archival material, but also a number of specially-commissioned memoirs, among which only a few survive, such as those of Gulbadan Begam and Bāyazīd Bayāt, as well as historical narratives especially sponsored to provide material, of which 'Abbās Sarwānī's above-mentioned work is one. Abu 'l-Faḍl has a much larger vision of history than one of mere annals, and he therefore appended to his narrative history what came to be considered as a separate work, the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, containing massive fiscal, financial and social data, a detailed provincial gazetteer and a cultural history of India. It is remarkable in being without any religious bias and in treating Indian culture as a composite one to which both Hindu and Muslim traditions have contributed.

Akbar's reign saw the production of the first general history of India, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (1002/1593-4). Especially notable was his endeavour to reconstruct the history of provincial dynasties as part of the general political history of India. He was followed by Ḳāsim Hindū-Shāh "Firishta", who, in his *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* (1015/1606-7), gave a still more detailed history of the country, and showed considerable critical sense in using his sources. 'Abd al-Ḳādir Badā'ūnī [*q.v.*] completed his *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* in 1004/1595-6, another history of India, which draws much of its information from Niẓām al-Dīn's work. But he concentrates on Akbar's reign, of whose events he gives a trenchantly critical interpretation from an orthodox Muslim point of view. His biographical sketches of scholars and other celebrities in his concluding portion form a special feature of his work.

Djahāngīr (r. 1014-37/1605-27) followed Bābur in writing his own memoirs. These are in Persian and appear to have begun to be written like a diary soon after his accession and continue up to 1034/1624. Djahāngīr writes in simple and literary prose with a surprising degree of frankness; and his deep interest in art and in natural history, as well as the life of ordinary people, particularly enliven his memoirs for the modern reader.

With his successor Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-58) begins another series of official histories. First, Muḥammad Amīn Ḳazwīnī was commissioned to write the *Pādshāh-nāma*, based on official records. His account covered the first ten years of Shāh Djahān's reign. A shift from the solar to lunar calendar for dating events, and perhaps other reasons, led Shāh Djahān to commission 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī to write the history of these ten years afresh. Lāhawrī ultimately produced a very detailed account of the twenty years (lunar) of Shāh Djahān's reign, also under the title *Pādshāh-nāma*. The account of the third decade was prepared, as a continuation, by his pupil Muḥammad Wārith. Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1659-1707) had the history of the first ten years of his reign, written by Muḥammad Kāẓim, entitled the *'Ālamgīr-nāma*. All these official histories have some features in common. They are accurate as to dates and details, for which official records are their main source; they pay much attention to geography; and their authors are anxious to convey to the reader the imperial view, whether in commendation or criticism of individuals or in assessment of causes and consequences of various events. Their model for the narration of events was Abu 'l-Faḍl, though they obviously do not share his views on religion (now no longer the official ones), nor his very large vision of history that had embraced, as we have seen, the full range of economic and cultural life.

Since Awrangzīb did not allow any further official history to be written after 1079/1668, the era of private histories now began. The most notable was Abu 'l-Faḍl Ma'mūrī's untitled history, which was almost entirely incorporated in Khāfī Khān's well-known *Muntakhab al-lubāb* (1144/1731), a general history of India. Ma'mūrī's critical approach was shared by Bhīm Sen, a Hindu commander, whose *Nuskha-yi dilkushā* (1120/1709) is a combination of history and memoirs, written with much candour and insight (e.g. his discussion of the agrarian roots of the Marāthā uprising). Sāḳī Musta'idd Khān's *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī* (1122/1710-11) is designed to provide an ostensibly official history of Awrangzīb's reign, and therefore follows the style of such histories, but is much briefer. Awrangzīb's reign is also marked by the appearance of Hindu historians writing in Persian: besides Bhīm Sen, we have Isardās Nāgar and Sudjān Rāy Bhandārī [*q.v.*].

Historical works in Persian became still more numer-

ous in the 12th/18th century. Khāfī Khān's history has already been mentioned. An anonymous work, the *Tārīkh-i Shīvādjī*, written before 1191/1777, consciously presents the Marāṭhā point of view on Shīvādjī, which is based on a Marāṭhī narration or *bakhar*.

Perhaps the most interesting historical work of this late phase is Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabā'ī's *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* (completed in 1195/1781), covering the period from 1118/1707 onwards in great detail. Its close account of the English East India Company's conquests and government, and its strong criticism of the practices of that system of government assured it of a large readership, especially through Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā's celebrated translation (1789). It belongs partly to the genre of works produced under English patronage, such as Ghulām 'Alī Khān's *'Imād al-sa'ādat* (completed in 1223/1808), relating to Awadh [*q.v.*], and Lačhmī Narāyan "Shafīḳ's" *Bisāṭ al-ghanā'im* (1214/1799), a history of the Marāṭhās down to 1174/1761.

Modern historiography began to exercise its influence in the 13th/19th century. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*] wrote the *Āthār al-ṣanādīd* in Urdu in 1847 on the buildings of Dihlī; and his young friend Dhakā' Allāh produced the first history of India in Urdu, containing the results of modern research and first published in 1316/1898.

A discipline which followed a tradition distinct from history was that of biography. The biographical notices of 25 slave commanders of Sultan Iltutmish (*mamlūk-i Shamsī*) that Djuzdjānī gave in the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* finds no sequel in historical works of the succeeding generations. But with the Mughals, a new tradition of bureaucratic biography began. On 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān was written a long biographical work, the *Ma'āthir-i Raḥīmī* by 'Abd al-Bāḳī Nihāwandī in 1025/1616; and Ni'mat Allāh included in his *Tārīkh-i Khān Djahānī* (1021/1613), a full biography of his patron Khān-i Djahān Lodī, another commander of Djahāngīr's. The pioneering step towards compiling a comprehensive biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobility was taken by Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī in his *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn* (1060/1650), the result of extensive reading and collection of oral information. Much of his work was incorporated, along with other extensive data independently collected from other histories, epistolary collections and records, in the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* of Shāh Nawāz Khān, Āzād Bilgrāmī and 'Abd al-Ḥayy (finally completed in 1194/1780), which contains over 730 biographies. A much smaller work of a similar kind, but earlier in date, had been Kewal Rām's *Tadhkirat al-umarā'* (1140/1727-8).

The biographical literature on religious divines begins with Mīr Khwurd's *Siyar al-awliyā'* (completed before 790/1387), a fairly detailed and reliable narrative of the lives of the Indian Čishtī saints from Mu'īn al-Dīn Čishtī (d. 638/1236) onwards. A subsequent work on fourteen Čishtī saints, the *Siyar al-'ārifīn* of Shaykh Djamālī (d. 942/1536), is less reliable but obtained considerable popularity. With 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ's *Akhbār al-akhyār* (999/1591) began the tradition of compilation of biographical dictionaries of Indian saints without distinction of mystical affiliation. Ghawthī Shaṭṭārī's *Gulzār-i abrār* (1022/1613) is a similar but much more comprehensive work, beginning with saints of the 7th/13th century, in which the compiler showed great care and industry.

Ṣadīd al-Dīn 'Awfī's [*q.v.*] *Lubāb al-albāb*, with biographical notices of some 300 poets, technically belongs to India since it was written (618/1221-2) under Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳubāča, the ruler of Sind. But the first major work of this genre was 'Alā' al-Dawla Kāmī's *Nafā'is al-ma'āthir* (begun in 973/1565-6), written under Akbar, giving notices of some 350 poets, all of his own century (the 10th/16th). Subsequent biographical dictionaries of poets include Shīr Khān Lodī's *Mir'āt al-khayāl* (1102/1690-1), Brindābandās's *Safīna-yi khwushgū* (1147/1734-5), Āzād Bilgrāmī's *Sarw-i āzād* (1166/1752-3) and Luṭf 'Alī Beg's *Ātishkada* (begun in 1174/1760-1). They are poetry selections as well, since each biographical notice is invariably followed by the author's selection of verses from that poet. It was partly by reliance on such biographical dictionaries of poets, besides information personally collected, that the *Āb-i ḥayāt* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād came to be written (1296/1880), combining the biographical dictionary form with a truly historical treatment of the Urdu language and literature.

Among more general biographical dictionaries covering scholars, mystics, theologians and poets, possibly the most noteworthy is that of Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ, the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Shāhdjahānī* (1046/1637), containing the lives of some 871 celebrities. A different kind of work is Mīrzā Muḥammad's *Tārīkh-i Muḥammadī* (completed in 1190/1776) giving obituary notices of prominent men in a chronological sequence according to the years of their deaths.

Modern Indo-Muslim historiography. With the introduction of the results of modern Indological and Orientalist researches into Indian historiography, it now becomes very difficult to demarcate the Indo-Muslim stream from the general stream of South Asian historiography. Two trends may, however, be identified: the Indian nationalist one, which has emphasised the Muslim contribution to a composite Indian culture, and the separatist one, which has insisted on the study of the Muslim community as an independent political, social and cultural entity. The nationalist point of view found early expression in Mohammad Habib's *Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn* (1342/1924), a critical tract on that conqueror, and in Tara Chand's *Influence of Islam on Indian culture* (1340/1922). The most comprehensive statement of the nationalist viewpoint perhaps occurs in M. Mujeeb's *Indian Muslims* (1386/1967). The opposite school came to be represented particularly in the writings of Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, especially in his *The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent (610-1947)* (1381/1962). The debate continues at various levels of historical writing in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, with the Aligarh School of historians in particular making a lively and significant contribution.

Bibliography: A major work of translated extracts from Indo-Islamic historical works remains H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, 8 vols., London 1867-77. The sources in Persian are surveyed in Storey, i, parts 2-3. Other relevant works include P. Hardy, *Historians of medieval India*, London 1960; Mohibbul Hasan (ed.), *Historians of medieval India*, Meerut 1983; Harbans Mukhia, *Historians and historiography during the reign of Akbar*, New Delhi 1976. See also M. Athar Ali, *The use of sources in Mughal historiography*, in *JRAS*, 3rd series, vol. v/3 (1995) 361-73.

(M. Athar Ali)

5. In West and Central Africa.

Our knowledge of the art of chronicling in sub-Saharan Africa is as yet rudimentary. What is currently known may be classified under three headings: (1) conventional chronicles by named authors; (2) biographical dictionaries; and (3) anonymous local chronicles and king-lists. It should be emphasised, however, that there are numerous unpublished works, and there

may yet be more manuscript material in the hands of local scholars.

(1) *Conventional chronicles.* The earliest chronicles in the region date from the late 10th/16th century. In Bornu, the Chief Imam (*al-imām al-kabīr*) Aḥmad b. Furṭuwā (or Furṭū) wrote a chronicle of the first twelve years (1564-76) of the reign of his patron, the *sulṭān* Idrīs Alōma (ed. and tr. D. Lange, *A Sudanic chronicle: the Borno expeditions of Idrīs Alauma (1564-1576)*, Stuttgart 1987), but says his work was inspired by an earlier chronicle, apparently written in the opening years of the century. He also wrote an account of his patron's expeditions against Kānem (Arabic text, Kano 1932, tr. H.R. Palmer, in *Sudanese memoirs*, Lagos 1928, i, 15-74). Because they are contemporary, and often eye-witness, accounts, they are especially valuable, despite their obvious biases; the same circumstance no doubt explains their lack of chronology apart from occasional phrases like "in the following year".

In the middle of the following century, two large chronicles were written in the Middle Niger region: the *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saʿdī [*q.v.*], and the *Ta'rīkh al Fattāsh* of Maḥmūd Kaʿtī [*q.v.*], edited and added to by his maternal grandson Ibn al-Mukhtār. Both of these works principally chronicle the history of the Songhay empire [*q.v.*] from the mid-9th/15th century until the Saʿdian conquest of 1000/1591, though the *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* continues its account to 1065/1655-6. The history of the *pashalik* of Timbuktu deriving from the Saʿdian conquest, from 1000/1591 to *ca.* 1150/1737-8 is recounted in the anonymous *Dīwān al-mulūk fī salāṭīn al-Sūdān* (ms. B.N., Paris, fonds arabe, 5259, fols. 88-152), which was subsequently (1164/1751) re-arranged by an unknown hand as a biographical dictionary of the pashas under the title *Tadhkirat al-nisyān fī akhbār mulūk al-Sūdān* (ed. and tr. O. Houdas, Paris 1899-1901). The cycle of chronicles is completed by the work of Mūlāy Ḳāsim b. Mūlāy Sulaymān covering the years 1160/1747 to 1215/1800-1 (text and tr. in M. Abitbol, *Tombouctou au milieu du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1982).

The area of southern Mauritania and the Senegal river valley also has a tradition of chronicle writing as yet only very partially explored. Most of these historical works seem to have been written in the 19th and 20th centuries. Chronicles of Walāta (Oualata) and Niʿma (Néma) have been published in translation (tr. Paul Marty, Paris 1927), and a number of smaller works were published in Ismaël Hamet (tr.), *Chroniques de la Mauritanie sénégalaise*, Paris 1911; one of these deals with the *djihād* of the 11th/17th-century Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Yadālī, and another with genealogies, a popular genre in Mauritania, where claim to Arab, and especially Sharīfian, ancestry, is of paramount social importance. A very extensive chronicle and encyclopaedia of the populations of the Senegal river valley was written by the Tukulor *shaykh* Mūsā Kamara (d. 1945), *Ẓuhūr al-basātīn fī ta'rīkh al-sawādīn*. French translations of some parts have already been published, and the bulk of the rest is to appear in four volumes under the direction of Jean Schmitz.

The 19th and 20th centuries witnessed a proliferation of historical writing associated with the *djihād* of Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye (d. 1232/1817 [see ʿUTHMĀN B. FŪDĪ]) and the Islamic state which arose out of it (sometimes, misleadingly, called the "Sokoto Caliphate"). The earliest of these is the *Infāḳ al-maysūr fī ta'rīkh bilād al-Takrūr* of Shaykh ʿUthmān's son and military commander Muḥammad Bello [*q.v.*]; this is an account of the *djihād* campaigns, with valuable material on the history of Islam in the central *bilād al-Sūdān* written in 1227/1812 (ed. C.E.J. Whitting, London 1951). Shaykh ʿUthmān's brother ʿAbd Allāh, who had written much poetry celebrating the victories of the *djihād* and elegising the dead, collected his poems together and wove an historical account around them, completing in 1228/1813 his *Tazyīn al-waraḳāt* (ed. and tr. M. Hiskett, Ibadan 1963), a work in the tradition of Ibn Hishām's *Sīra*. Another early account is that of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. al-Muṣṭafā (d. 1280/1864, see *ALA* II, 221-30), the so-called *Rawḍāt al-afkār*, which also contains a unique account of Gobir history in the 18th century (tr. H.R. Palmer, in *J. African Soc.*, xv [1915-16], 261-73). The annals of the dynasty founded by Shaykh ʿUthmān were largely written by the viziers of the succeeding sultans (see D.M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, London 1967; idem, *Arabic source material and historiography in Sokoto*, in *Research Bull.* [Centre of Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan], i/2 [1965], 3-19, i/3 [1965], 1-7). These are detailed in *ALA* II, 184-212, the most comprehensive being the *Ḍabṭ al-multaḳaṭāt min al-akhbār al-mutafarriḳa fī 'l-mu'allafāt* of the late vizier Djunayd b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (Arabic text publ. Sokoto n.d.; Hausa tr., *Tarihin Fulani*, Zaria 1957). Less well known are the *Taḳāyīd mimmā waṣala ilaynā min aḥwāl umarā' al-muslimīn salāṭīn Ḥawsa* of al-Ḥādjdj Saʿīd, an outsider to the institution, covering the period down to 1854 (part 2 only ed. and tr. O. Houdas, *Histoire du Sokoto*, at end of his tr. of *Tadhkirat al-nisyān*); and the unpublished *Kanz al-awlād wa 'l-dharārī* of Muḥammad Sambo b. Aḥmad al-Kulawī, written in 1234/1818-19, a long and rambling work of general Islamic history, pious biography and Fulani genealogy and history, not well regarded by Sokoto scholars and hence neglected (see *ALA* II, 230-1). Of local accounts of the *djihād* and its aftermath, two deserve mention, both unpublished: the *Taḳyīd al-akhbār* of Muḥammad Zangi on Kano (written in 1284/1868, see *ALA* II, 342), and the *Ta'līf akhbār al-ḳurūn* of Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr called Ọmọ Ikokoro, on Ilorin (written 1330/1912, see *ALA* II, 447).

(2) *Biographical dictionaries.* There are few works of this genre, but the following deserve mention: the celebrated collection of biographies of Mālikī scholars of North and West Africa and Andalusia, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-dībādj* by Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī (d. 1036/1627 [*q.v.*]), publ. on the margins of Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab*, to which it forms a supplement (Cairo 1351/1932-3, see also A. Cherbonneau, *Essai sur la littérature arabe au Soudan d'après le Tekmilet ed-Dibadje d'Ahmed Baba le Tombouctien*, in *Annales de la soc. arch. de Constantine*, ii [1854-5], 1-42); Aḥmad Bābā also wrote (1012/1603) an abridgement, *Kifāyat al-muḥtādj li-maʿrifat man laysa fī 'l-dībādj*, which remains unpublished. In 1214/1799-1800 a scholar of Walāta, Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ al-Barritaylī (or al-Bartilī) wrote *Fatḥ al-Shakūr fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamā' al-Takrūr* (ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Kattānī and Muḥammad Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1401/1981), which provides biographies of scholars and saints of southern Mauritania and Middle Niger region. It was complemented by the *Minaḥ al-rabb al-ghafūr fī mā ahmalahu ṣāḥib Fatḥ al-Shakūr* of Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Walātī (d. 1917), the single known manuscript copy of which is preserved in the Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Ahmad Baba (CEDRAB) at Timbuktu, ms. no. 669. In fact, the work goes beyond the simple compass of a biographical dictionary and merges this genre with the genre of annals (*ḥawliyyāt*), and in so doing provides much valuable information on the history of southern Mauritania

and northern Mali in the 19th century. Preserved in the same collection are the *Izālat al-rayb* of Aḥmad Bu 'l-Aʿrāf, and *al-Saʿādat al-abadiyya* of Aḥmad Bābēr al-Arawānī, the first broadly covering Mauritania and the Middle Niger, the second memorialising Timbuktu scholars.

(3) *Anonymous local chronicles and king-lists.* There is a considerable local literature of such material in central Sudanic Africa (especially within present-day Niger and Nigeria, see *ALA* II, ch. 14). Most of these materials are in Arabic, but there are items in Hausa, Nupe and Kanuri (the *girgams*, published in translation by H.R. Palmer in *Sudanese memoirs*, Lagos 1928). The best known are the chronicles of Agadès, which together cover the period 809-1307/1406-1890 (see J. Urvoy, *Chroniques d'Agadès*, in *J. Société des Africanistes*, iv [1934], 145-77), and the chronicles of Kano. There are several extant king-lists of Kano recorded in the 19th century, at least one of which contains narrative material (see J.O. Hunwick, *Not yet the Kano Chronicle: king-lists with and without narrative elaboration from nineteenth-century Kano*, in *Sudanic Africa*, iv [1993], 95-130). These list rulers of Kano, beginning with Bagauda (putatively 11th century), with regnal lengths, but no absolute chronology, down to the date when the particular list was recorded to writing.

In the late 19th century, an anonymous writer, perhaps a court official, wrote was has come to be known as "The Kano Chronicle". The basis of it is king-list material; hence it has only regnal lengths and no absolute chronology. It covers the history of Kano, from its legendary origins (putatively in the 5th/11th century), down to the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Bello (*r.* 1883-92). On to the king-list has been grafted material on the administration of Kano sultanate, the history of Islam and Kano's external relations. This material appears to be largely oral in origin, and is written in an idiosyncratic style reflecting its compiler's Hausa background (see Hunwick, *A historical whodunit: the so-called "Kano Chronicle" and its place in the historiography of Kano*, in *History in Africa*, xxi [1994], 127-46; P. Lovejoy *et alii*, *C.L. Temple's "Notes on the history of Kano" [1909]: a lost chronicle on political office*, in *Sudanic Africa*, iv [1993], 7-76). No Arabic text has ever been published, but it was translated into English by Palmer (*Sudanese memoirs*, iii, 92-132) and into Hausa under the direction of Rupert East (*Labarun Hausa da Makwabtansu*, Zaria 1933, ii, 3-58, with additional material covering the period down to 1926). Material of a similar nature was used by Ādam Na-Maʿadji in his *al-Iʿlān bi-ta'rīkh Kanū* (1352/1933-4). A Hausa chronicle of Kano from *ca.* 1819 down to the 1950s was written by Abubakar Dokaji, *Kano ta Dabo Cigari*, Zaria 1959.

A similar king-list tradition existed in Katsina (see *ALA* II, 584-5), though no elaborated form comparable to the "Kano Chronicle" emerged. The same is true in Bornu (see *ALA* II, 568-73) where a king-list was maintained going back to the 5th/11th century (see D. Lange, *Le Dīwān des sultans du (Kānem)-Bornu*, Wiesbaden 1977), and many brief anonymous, and generally undated, historical accounts have been written, some under the stimulus, or at the request, of colonial officials. Neighbouring Mandara also has its chronicles (see *ALA* II, 588-9; chronicles published in Eldridge Mohammedou, *Le royaume du Wandala ou Mandara au XIXᵉ siècle*, new ed., Tokyo 1982).

Farther west in what is now the Republic of Ghana, there is a tradition of local chronicle writing in Arabic that goes back to the mid-12th/18th century. Several of these items were published in Ivor Wilks *et alii*, *Chronicles from Gonja*, Cambridge 1986. Other brief chronicles of polities in northern Ghana were published in Wilks, *Wa and the Wala*, Cambridge 1989. Hausa chronicles concerning the late 19th-century Zabarma invasions of northern Ghana under Babatu have been published by S. Pilaszewicz, *The Zabarma conquest of Northern Ghana and Upper Volta*, Warsaw 1992 (but see Wilks in *Sudanic Africa*, iv [1993], 213-22).

In the area of western Sudanic Africa, there are also local anonymous chronicles for areas such as Futa Djallon and Futa Toro (see *Catalogue des manuscrits de l'IFAN*, Dakar 1966: fonds Brevié, fonds Gaden, fonds Veillard): and for 19th-century Mali, these latter materials being largely preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see Noureddine Ghali *et alii*, *Inventaire de la bibliothèque ʿUmarienne de Ségou*, Paris 1985; David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, Oxford 1985), and at CEDRAB, Timbuktu (see *Sudanic Africa*, iii [1992], 173-81; *Fihris makhṭūṭāt markaz Aḥmad Bābā li 'l-tawthīk*, i, ed. Sidi Amar ould Ely, London 1995).

In the Middle Niger region and southern Mauritania, there is a tradition of recording obituaries and significant events (*ḥawādith*, *wakā'iʿ*), which is first evident in the later chapters of al-Saʿdī's *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān*, but which also has an independent existence.

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(J.O. Hunwick)

6. In East Africa.

South of the plains below Ethiopia [see SOMALI], Islam had not penetrated the hinterland before the 19th century. Even our knowledge of the history of the coast is at best fragmentary. Agatharchides of Cnidus, Strabo, Pliny, Cl. Ptolemy, Cosmas Indicopleustes make tantalisingly brief references, which become only more extensive in *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of *ca.* A.D. 50.

The first Arab author to make a historical statement was al-Djāḥiẓ, with some brief statements on the people of Pemba and Zanzibar. He was possibly a native of the former. Mediaeval Arab references are summarised in the art. SOFĀLA, and in detail by J.S. Trimingham, and sources for China by P. Wheatley. The most important accounts are of al-Idrīsī, al-Masʿūdī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, with the anecdotal references of Buzurg b. Shahriyār al-Rāmhurmuzī.

The earliest local document is preserved only in Portuguese by João dos Barros, the *Crónica dos Reyes de Quiloa*. This history is an account of the foundation of the sultanate of Kilwa [*q.v.*] and its sultans from the 10th century until *ca.* 1505, when the succession was contested. It was originally in Arabic. The *Kitāb al-Sulwa fī akhbār Kulwa*, B.L. ms. Or. 2666, a 19th-century copy of a history of the dynasty up to *ca.* 1550, was presented to Sir John Kirk by Sultan Barghash in 1877. It relates the history of the dynasty with, like the Portuguese document, some *lacunae*. Later, its fortunes in the 18th century are related in the 1770s by a French slave-trader, Morice, preserved in Rhodes House, Oxford, and in the Archives de France.

In the Lamu archipelago, a traditional Swahili *Habari za Pate* ("History of Pate") claims that the sultanate was founded in A.H. 600. It has the unusual feature of citing the full male descent of each sultan until 1224/1809. Additions were made by two further hands up to the end of the century when the sultanate foundered. Two traditional histories in Arabic, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya* (unpublished) and the *Kitāb al-Zunūdj* (ed. E. Cerulli) are compilations from precedent Arabic accounts of a confusing nature and of slender historical value other than as examples of what passed

for history. They are currently being edited by J.McL. Ritchie, who has also edited *The history of the Mazrui dynasty of Mombasa* by the former Chief Ḳāḍī of the Kenya Coast, Sh. al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿī, written from family papers *ca.* 1945. Brief fragments, in Swahili, refer to Lamu and to Kua, and the Mafia Is., while oral traditions of the Tanzanian coast were collected at the end of the 19th century by C.G. Büttner and by C. Velten. In the 1930s, many oral traditions in Swahili were collected in Tanganyika in "District Books" on government orders, and relate to the whole interior. Sir John Gray's *History of Zanzibar* also contains traditional Swahili material relating to Zanzibar and Pemba. Farther south, no local documents have been reported from Mozambique, but a number of traditions from the Comoro Islands, in Arabic and in Swahili, have been published or listed by C. Allibert, Mayotte. All this literature is preoccupied with dynasties and the fortunes of rulers, with only occasional glimpses of commerce, trade or economic traditions.

For the Swahili-speaking peoples, "literature" consists rather of poetry, epic, historical as well as lyric, the latter often with an underlying political purpose. Much has been published by W.H. Whiteley, J. Knappert, H.E. Lambert and others. In the 1960s J.W.T. Allen photographed a very substantial number of Swahili and Arabic mss. in private hands, returning them to their owners. The results of his research are preserved in Dar es Salaam University Library, with copies in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, which fill nineteen large volumes. They contain matter of every description, and have received little attention from scholars. The Zanzibar Archives are known to contain some 300 mss. in Arabic from the library of the former sultans. They have never been studied, let alone even listed.

The historian of the area in pre-colonial times is greatly assisted by advances in archaeology, which can explain even some of the problems of the documents. John Walker, in articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1936, 1938, established the coinage of the Sultans of Kilwa; coinages from Zanzibar and from Mogadishu have been established by the present writer in the same journal, and for Pemba by H.W. Mitchell Brown. Excavations at Mtambwe Mkuu, Pemba Is., Shanga Is. off Lamu, and on Tumbatu Is. off Zanzibar, by M.C. Horton, have eventuated in a clearer historical chronology. Ceramics show firm Sāsānid-Islamic connections, and the coins have connections with 8th-century Amīrs of Sind and with 10th- and 11th-century Fāṭimid Cairo. What is possibly a wreck find of Fāṭimid dinars of the same period has been found recently (1995) off Madagascar. The historical chronologies based on archaeology of both J.S. Kirkman in Kenya and of H.N. Chittick in both Kenya and Tanzania have now had to be revised, with the result that the penetration of Islam into the area is now certain by the 8th century, not three or four centuries later. Commercial connections with Sīrāf and Persia are well demonstrated by Sāsānid-Islamic pottery at no less than twenty sites in the Lamu area alone. These advances also sustain verisimilitude to the late evidence for the histories of Kilwa and Pate.

For Mozambique, we know little from archaeology and nothing from numismatics. The principal sources are the Portuguese accounts of the 16th and following centuries, much of which is owed to the massive work of the late A. da Silva Rego. Arab Sofala was ultimately demolished to furnish masonry for Beira cathedral. Its hinterland was the source of the gold, which, with ivory and to a lesser degree slaves, were the staples of the prosperity of Kilwa and of Ḳanbalū on Pemba Island. There in its heyday the remains of a mosque capable of accommodating 600 worshippers show the wealth of an entrepôt serving as a stop from Sofala for trade being carried as far away as Peking (Beijing).

In the mid-19th century, Islam followed trade routes from Zanzibar into the interior, reaching Uganda and the court of Kampala, and westwards into the Congo, later Zaïre. In southern Tanzania, when the Benedictine missionaries were interned as German enemy aliens in World War I, many catechumens Islamised. They form a substantial proportion of the population to this day. This success of Islam over Christianity was not accomplished by spontaneous conversions, but rather by the work of members of Islamic ṭarīḳas or fraternities, of which B.G. Martin has given a detailed account. To the writer's personal knowledge, these were still active in the 1950s. There is no reason to suppose that their work ceased with the coming of independence, for the membership of fraternities gave the sense of belonging to a wider world. There is a widely distributed pamphlet literature of a popular nature which has not received scholarly attention.

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MANDA; MAZRŪʿĪ; MOMBASA; MOZAMBIQUE; MTAMBWE MKUU; PATE; PEMBA; SHUNGWAYA; SIŪ; SOFĀLA.

(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

7. In Indonesia and Malaysia.

Among a multitude of local languages, the great literary traditions of Indonesia and Malaysia are in Javanese and Malay. Javanese is the older and more richly elaborated, while Malay became the foremost vehicle for Islamic writings and the basis of the modern national languages of Indonesia and Malaysia [see INDONESIA. iii. Languages].

Javanese historiography of the pre-Muslim period (8th to 15th centuries) reflects the Indic culture of the courts in viewing history as the cyclic succession of four ages of declining morality, and appraising kings accordingly. The subject of dynastic succession is foremost, for example in the *Pararaton* ("Book of Kings", 15th century), a narrative of the rulers of East Java dated with chronograms in the Indic Śaka era. The rise of Islamic commercial centres like Demak on the north coast of Java in the 16th century spurred an interest in history writing. Great changes in the social order, the introduction of Islam and the demise of the old Indic agrarian kingdom of Madjapahit required historical explanation. With Islam came a new historical treasury: the stories of the prophets (*Sĕrat Anbiya*), the Amīr Ḥamza cycle (Ménak, an analogue of the older heroic-romantic legends of the Pañjī cycle and elaborated into a whole genre of literature and theatre), the popular traditions of Yusuf (Yusup), and the life of the Prophet celebrated in Mawlid (Maulud) recitations. The Iskandar legends, so widely used for political legitimation, become in Java the stories of Baron Sakènḍèr's conflicts with the Dutch.

The challenge of this alternative historical framework is confronted in the 17th century formulations of a new kind of universal history, known as *Sĕrat Kanḍa* ("Narratives"), which conflated Islamic traditions with indigenous and Indic mythical elements, all as the foundation for Javanese dynastic histories. Miracle stories of early rulers, prominent in the *Pararaton* etc., were now woven around the nine saints (*wali sanga*) credited with the establishment of Islam in Java, some of whom were rulers of North Java principalities. Their lives and descent became a staple of the new histories. Thus, while accommodating new foreign elements, these writings remained almost wholly focused on Java. The culmination of this genre is the *Babad tanah jawi* ("The settlement of Java"), a cluster of texts celebrating the Mataram dynasty which under Sultan Agung united most of Java in the early 17th century. In them, Nabi Adam is made the first ruler of Java, but within four generations his descent becomes a line of wholly Javanese culture heroes who mingle with Hindu gods. The achievement of Mataram (and its historiography) was to re-unite this senior, left-hand line with the junior, right-hand line of descent running through the Javanese *walis*. The profound localisation of Islam inherent in this historiography is mirrored by the Javanese calendar, which after 1633 adopted the Muslim months and lunar year but continued to number the years according to the Indian-derived Śaka era and, generally, to express dates in chronograms.

Of other regional historiographies, Balinese and Sundanese are pre-Islamic and later offshoots of the Javanese tradition respectively. A significant independent tradition flourished among the Bugis and Makasar peoples of South Sulawesi, based on chronicle-keeping, meticulously dated, using both the Christian and Muslim eras, but leaning to the former. All these literatures used pre-Muslim scripts.

Malay-language historiography is, by contrast, recognisably Islamic in form and content. No historical writing in Malay, nor indeed Malay literature of any kind, pre-dates the adoption of Islam in the 14th century. Malay then became the major vehicle through which Islamic civilisation penetrated the archipelago, and the literary and intellectual language of Islamic communities. Consequently, we find an array of local histories of very varied nature and focus covering the whole maritime world of the archipelago from Aceh to Ternate, including the north Java coast. Before the 19th century, all were written in the Arabic script, and employed the Muslim calendar (if they gave dates at all). The most influential of these local histories was that of the powerful Melaka sultanate, entitled *Sulālat al-salāṭīn* ("The race of kings"), popularly *Sejarah melayu* ("Malay genealogies"), written about 1612. It places Malay genealogy and anecdotal history in a Muslim framework by integrating it with the Perso-Indic Iskandar legend. Like the *Babad tanah jawi*, the *Sejarah melayu* spawned many local variants updated to record the history of related branches of the royal house. Other regional histories particularly worthy of mention are the *Hikayat Iskandar Muda* ("Romance of Iskandar Muda") of Aceh, supposed to be modelled on Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*; and the *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* (Romance of Merong Mahawangsa), from Kedah, which conflates the Iskandar legend with the Rāmāyana. Though they are by no means analytical or moralistic works, these local histories typically include accounts of the local adoption of Islam, which—to a significantly greater degree than the Javanese histories—acknowledge it as fundamental in the development of state and society.

Beside these traditional dynastic histories there has been more self-reflective historiography. The earliest example is Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's *Bustān al-salāṭīn* ("Garden of kings"), in seven books, written in Aceh in 1638-43, which presents chapters on Melaka and Aceh in the context of a truly universal moral history of Islamic civilisation. The impact of al-Rānīrī's synthesis was lost, however, as portions of his integrated books were transmitted as separate manuscripts. Major advances in historiographical method were made by Raja ʿAlī Ḥādjī in his histories of Riau. His synthetic history, *Salāsilah melayu dan bugis* ("The Malay and Bugis lineages," 1865), expounds a new method of source criticism in which the principles for judging the strength of *aḥādīth* are adapted to judging competing historical accounts.

A modernist successor to al-Rānīrī's universal history is *Sejarah umat islam* ("History of the Muslim community") by Hamka (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah), the son of a renowned Muslim scholar. Published in 1961 and frequently reprinted in both Indonesia and Malaysia, this four-volume history of Islam begins with the life of the Prophet and concludes with the resistance of Indonesia's Islamic kingdoms to European incursions in the 17th century. It is markedly deferential to Western authorities, reproducing European testimonials to the greatness of the Prophet, relying heavily on colonial scholarship on Indonesian Islam, and applying its a priori methods for sifting fact (*fakta*) from myth and legend in a scientific (*ilmiyah*) manner. Hamka's history countered the Java-centred nationalist histories which glorified Indonesia's pre-Muslim antiquity, such as the writings of his fellow Minangkabau, Muhammad Yamin.

In 1974 the quasi-secular Indonesian government published its pervasively influential official national history, *Sejarah nasional Indonesia*. This seven-volume work

cautiously acknowledges the adoption of Islam by most peoples of Indonesia as a step forward in the nation's social and cultural development, but down-plays the role of Islam as a unifying political force. It sees the adoption of Islam as but a prelude to the defining narrative of Indonesia's national identity: that is, heroic opposition to colonial rule.

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(I. Proudfoot)

III. In the Sense of "Chronogram"

This is a device much used in Persian and Turkish poetry to indicate the date of some event by means of the sum of the numerical values of the letters that make up a word or phrase. A simple example is the verse inscribed on the tomb of Ḥāfiẓ:

ču dar kh̲āk-i Muṣallē sākh̲t manzil
bidjō tārīkh̲-ash̲ az kh̲āk-i Muṣallē

"Since he made his home in the earth of (the place called) Muṣallā, seek then its date from (the words) 'earth of Muṣallā'", where the value of the letters in *kh̲āk-i Muṣallē* indicates the date of the poet's death, 791/1389. This is an explicit chronogram, where the reader is told very clearly which words need to have their letters counted, but things are not always so easy, many chronograms having more the character of elaborate riddles.

Sometimes the date of composition of a poetic work is indicated by a chronogram, generally in the last verse, though such verses have not infrequently been added, or tampered with, by copyists. But more commonly, as in the example cited above, the chronogram is in a separate short poem composed expressly to date some important event, though in this case, too, the chronogram can only be considered as sound historical evidence if it can be demonstrated that the author was a contemporary, and arithmetically competent, witness.

For comparable phenomena in Arabic, see ḥisāb al-djummal.

Bibliography: Browne, *LHP*, ii, 76-7; Gibb, *HOP* (see the index, s.v. "Chronograms").

(F.C. de Blois)

TARIM, a river in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China (Eastern Turkestan). It is formed at the confluence of the Kāsh̲gh̲ar and Yarkand rivers, and flows through the northern part of the Tarim basin until it reaches, on the east, the Lob Nor lake. The river's historical importance lies chiefly in the name associated with this unique area.

The Tarim basin, an elevated ellipsoid depression (1280 km/800 miles from east to west, 640 km/400 miles from north to south) bordered by massive mountain complexes (Kunlun, Altyntagh and Nanshan on the south, Pamir on the west, Tianshan on the north), consists of three or more distinct segments: the Takla Makan desert as its core, the string of mostly piedmont oases surrounding this desert, and the Lob Nor lake, the eastern limit of the basin; the smaller but deep Turfan depression on the north-east is included by some in the Tarim basin. The important cities of Kāsh̲gh̲ar in the west and Turfan in the east [*q.vv.*] can be viewed as its longitudinal brackets.

Agricultural civilisation, nourished by irrigation derived from streams or underground conduits (*kārīz* [see ḳanāt] descending from the mountains, has flourished in the oases of the Tarim basin since antiquity, and the population used to speak chiefly Indo-European languages: the *satem* group in the southwest and west (Iranian Kh̲otanese), and the *kentum* group in the north and northeast (Tocharian of Turfan). Today, most autochthonous inhabitants speak Turkic languages, mainly Uygh̲ur. This has resulted from a penetration of pre-Islamic Uygh̲ur and Islamic Ḳarakh̲ānid dominance that started in the 9th century, and linguistic transformation may have been completed by the time of the Mongol conquests (13th century). The attendant influx of nomadic Turkic groups, however, remained below a degree sufficient to change the predominantly sedentary agricultural lifestyle of the inhabitants. Conversion to Islam of the mostly Buddhist population accompanied Turkicisation in the case of Kh̲otan [*q.v.*] and other oases of the west, but occurred only later in Turfan (14th-15th centuries), where the pagan or Manichaean Uygh̲urs had first converted to Buddhism. In the latter case, a body of both lay and religious (Buddhist and Manichaean) literature had come into being, and is now a precious source for the study of pre-Islamic Turkic.

Another facet of the Tarim basin's historical importance is its unique geographical position between China, India, the Middle East, and the European and Mediterranean West. The lofty mountains surrounding it could be crossed through numerous passes, thus enabling merchant caravans and pilgrims to use the basin as a corridor leading to their destinations. Commodities of high value and small weight or bulk were the choice articles of this trade, above all, silk, whence the term Silk Road for this network of trade routes.

The oases functioned as so many way-stations in this traffic, but several absorbed portions of the cultural and religious values carried by it to the point where they became centres of exquisite spiritual and artistic creativity. This occurred, however, chiefly in their pre-Islamic past. Unlike its neighbour, Western Turkestan, the Tarim basin of Eastern Turkestan failed to produce much cultural florescence since its Islamisation, and the Silk Road traffic abated with the rise of competitive sea routes and restructuring of world trade in the 16th century. Moreover, the Turkic and Muslim identity of its population is now integrated in the political, social and economic structure of the People's Republic of China, with a massive influx of Chinese-speaking residents as one of the results (40% for the entire province; most Chinese, however, live in the northern, Dz̲hungarian part of Sinkiang, and the percentage must be considerably lower for the Tarim basin). For Chinese influences in the region, and its modern positon within China, see sinkiang.

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(S. Soucek)

TARĪM, a well-known town in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], situated about 40 km/25 miles from Sh̲ibām, east, slightly north, and about 25 km/15 miles from Say'ūn [*q.v.*] in the same direction (see

H. von Wissmann, map, *Southern Arabia, RGS*, London 1958). The town marks where Wādī Ḥaḍramawt ends and where Wādī al-Masīla begins. In Arab tradition, the name comes from Tarīm b. al-Sukūn b. al-As̲h̲ras b. Kinda or from the name of the one who first settled there, Tarīm b. Ḥaḍramawt b. Saba' al-As̲g̲h̲ar. The name is attested in the pre-Islamic inscriptions: *trm* in Iryani 32 and *trym* in Jamme 547. The town is renowned for its learning and scholarship and is the home of the Āl Bā ʿAlawī. Its *d̲j̲āmiʿ* dates from the 4th/10th century.

Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa* 87, refers to Tarīm as "a great town" and other early sources mention time after time its fame for learning and list the scholars who came from it. In particular, two upright scholars, Abū Kadr/Akdar and Abū Bukayr, are mentioned, both killed as martyrs in Tarīm in 575 or 577/1179 or 1181 by the Ayyūbid deputy, ʿUt̲h̲mān al-Zind̲j̲ārī, who had seized Ḥaḍramawt from Aden. Another version of the story is that, when the latter heard of the arrival in the Yemen from Egypt in 579/1183 of the second Ayyūbid sultan in the Yemen, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz Ṭug̲h̲tigīn b. Ayyūb, and that he had seized Zabīd [*q.v.*] and its environs, al-Zind̲j̲ārī fled in fear to Ḥaḍramawt and killed all learned men there.

On occasions in later history, the other major Ḥaḍramī town of Say'ūn [*q.v.*] took over as a centre of Islamic learning temporarily from Tarīm, but it is the latter town which has the much greater reputation in this field to this day. The town remains also the centre of many large private family manuscript libraries.

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(G.R. Smith)

al-ṬARḲ bi 'l-ḤAṢĀ [see k̲h̲aṭṭ].

ṬARK̲H̲ĀN, also *tark̲h̲ān*, a high-ranking Inner Asian title of considerable antiquity. It probably entered Arabic from Sog̲h̲dian *trg̲h̲'n* or Middle Pers. *trk̲h̲'n* < Turk. *tarḳan* (pl. in Mongolian *tarḳat*), which appears to have been part of the imperial titulature that the Türks inherited from the Jou-jan empire. Its etymology is unclear. Attempts have been made to link it with the Hsiung-nu *Shan-yü* (Archaic Chin. **dân-hwâh*), the title of their supreme ruler (Pulleyblank, 91). It is also noted among the Hephthalites, another pre-Türk polity deriving from the same groupings as the Jou-jan. It is recorded as a title and personal name in virtually all the languages and sources of the neighbours of the Inner Asian nomads, from the Eastern Mediterranean to China. In the pre-Islamic Turkic states, it denoted a high dignity, probably somewhat below the *s̲h̲ads* and *tégins* [*q.v.*] of the royal clan. In Maḥmūd al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī's day (*Dīwān lug̲h̲āt al-turk*, tr. Dankoff, i, 329) it was considered "a pagan word meaning *amīr*" in the Arg̲h̲u dialect. By the Čing̲g̲isid era, as D̲j̲uwaynī reports (ed. Ḳazwīnī, i, 27, tr. Boyle, i, 37-8), it had come to denote "those who are exempt from compulsory contributions, and to whom the booty taken on every campaign is surrendered; whenever they so wish they may enter the royal presence without leave or permission." In Modern Mongolian, *dark̲h̲an* means "artisan, craftsman," as well as one exempt from taxes. It also signifies an "area set aside for religious reasons and therefore inviolable". The Dark̲h̲ad (pl.) tribe in Mongolia was "charged with the cult of Činggis K̲h̲an" in the Ordos (Lessing, 236; Jaghchid and Hyer, 287-8).

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(P.B. Golden)

TARKĪB-BAND [see tard̲j̲īʿ-band].

ṬARRAKŪNA, the mediaeval Arabic form of the name of the town of Tarragona on the coast of Catalonia in northeastern Spain.

The town's importance in Roman times was the starting-point for the descriptions of the Arab geographers, who call it an ancient, well-fortified town, with tide-water mills (Ibn G̲h̲ālib, Ibn Saʿīd, al-Maḳḳarī, the *D̲h̲ikr*) or wind-driven ones (al-Ḥimyarī). It comprised many districts and strongholds, and had a strategic situation on the *Via Augusta*. It produced many walnuts, hazelnuts, chestnuts, pistachios and grapes.

Some sources attribute the Muslim conquest of Tarragona to Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], and the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* notes its destruction, which must, however, have been only partial, since some Roman buildings remained, praised by the geographers (Ibn G̲h̲ālib and al-Bakrī, in al-Maḳḳarī; al-Ḥimyarī), and also, significantly, its walls "of marble" (al-Idrīsī, al-Ḥimyarī). It was an important seat of the Visigoths, with coins minted there in the name of Ak̲h̲ila around the year 711. Al-Idrīsī calls it "the town of the Jews" (*madīnat al-yahūd*).

In the second half of the 8th century, Tarragona would certainly have been included in the territory, with its capital at Narbonne in the first place and then further south, which extended as far as Tortosa (Ṭurṭūs̲h̲a [*q.v.*]), and which was entrusted by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I to the governor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUḳba, according to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya. Then control of Tarragona must have oscillated between al-Andalus and Barcelona; it may have been occupied by the Christians immediately after the fall of Barcelona (801), since the Muslim chroniclers (Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, al-Maḳḳarī) note attacks by the Franks on Tortosa towards 192-3/807-9. Despite Muslim expeditions against Barcelona throughout the 10th century, it probably remained under Christian control into the first years of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir's reign, since Ibn K̲h̲aldūn and al-Maḳḳarī record "certain envoys of Mug̲h̲īra b. S̲h̲unyer, ruler of Barcelona and Tarragona" arriving in Cordova. But it must have been ultimately reconquered by Muslim counter-attacks during the caliphal period, since there is evidence for attacks by the fleet of al-Andalus along the Llobregat river valley, at least in 323/935. Its return to Muslim control seems to be commemorated in an inscription recording the restoration of the congregational mosque of Tarragona in 349/960-1. Being in Muslim territory once again, Tarragona became exposed to Christian raids, which became more acute in the reign of

Ramón Berenguer I (1035-76) until the reconquest by the Catalans in the time of Ramón Berenguer III and its definitive re-population by the Christians after the fall of Tortosa to Ramón Berenguer IV in 1148. The neighbouring town of Tortosa took over the leading role, political, cultural and economic, which Tarragona had had in Roman and Visigothic times. Although al-Idrīsī and the *Dhikr* call it a city or large town (*madīna*), this must be a reflection more of its glorious pre-Islamic past, since under Islam it played no great role and lacked any significant cultural activity; Yāḳūt calls it a small town (*balda*) only.

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(María J. Viguera)

ṬARRĀR (A), a pickpocket. The word is derived from the action of swiftly cutting an object. The *ṭarrār* is also called *khālis*, *mukhtalis* or *nashshāl*, each of which indicates acquisition of other people's property in a public place. *Mukhtalis*, however, places greater emphasis on secrecy, while the newer term, *nashshāl*, indicates swiftness in picking the object (Ibrāhīm Anīs *et alii*, *al-Muʿdjam al-wasīṭ*, Cairo 1972, i, 249, ii, 554, 923). Although, according to Ibn al-Athīr, there is a *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Shaʿbī stating that a *ṭarrār* is liable to amputation, Muslim scholars disagree over this as his punishment. This seems due to the disagreement (*khilāf*) in accepting this *ḥadīth*, as well as a loophole in understanding the concept of safekeeping (*ḥirz*). Al-Sarakhsī explains that, if the pickpocket lifts the object while it is kept inside a pocket in the sleeve of a garment, he becomes liable to amputation. However, if the money is kept outside the sleeve, without adequate *ḥirz*, then the thief is not liable for this punishment. Abū Yūsuf in fact gave preference (*istiḥsān*) to amputation in all cases.

Bibliography: *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth* by Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, ed. M. al-Ṭanāḥī, Cairo 1963, iii, 118; Sarakhsī, *Mabsūt*, Beirut 1986, ix, 160; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1990, xii, 436.

(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

ṬARSH (A.), the term for an engraved block used for printing. First identified by J. Karabacek (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung*, Vienna 1894, 247-50), more than a hundred mediaeval Arabic blockprints on paper and parchment have been identified in museums and private collections, and a few have been recovered from the ruins of Fusṭāṭ in Egypt. Most are long, narrow strips, sometimes printed from several blocks, and were intended as amulets.

The term *ṭarsh* appears in two poems devoted to the practices and jargon of the Banū Sāsān [*q.v.*], the informal mediaeval guild of beggars and confidence men. Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī, writing in Persia in the 4th/10th century, glosses the term as follows: "The engraver of *ṭarsh* is he who engraves (*yaḥfiru*) moulds (*ḳawālib*) for amulets (*taʿāwīdh*). People who are illiterate and cannot write buy them from him. The seller keeps back (*ḥafiẓa*) the design (*naḳsh*) which is on it [the *ṭarsh*], so that he exhausts his supply of amulets on the common people (*nās*) and makes them believe that he wrote them. The mould is called the *ṭarsh*." (R.W. Bulliet, *Medieval Arabic ṭarsh: a forgotten chapter in the history of printing*, in *JOAS*, cvii/3 (1987), 430, Arabic text in C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld: the Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, ii, 201.)

An 8th/14th century Syrian poem by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*] intimates that some of the blocks may have been made of tin, and physical characteristics of a few surviving specimens seem to confirm the possibility that, in addition to woodblocks, tin plates were made by pouring molten metal on an inscribed clay mould (Bulliet, 433-5). This peculiarity suggests a technological origin independent of Chinese influence, as does the apparent restriction of *ṭarsh* to the company of beggars compared with the universal acceptance of the Chinese technology of papermaking. Though *ṭarsh* technology seems not to have survived the 8th/14th century, and was forgotten by later Muslim society in the Middle East, the appearance in that century of blockprinting in Europe may be attributable to Arab example, possibly in the form of playing cards (Italian *tarocco*).

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(R.W. Bulliet)

TARṢĪʿ (A.), a figure of speech in Arabic (later also Persian, Turkish, etc.) rhetoric.

General notion

Non-technically *tarṣīʿ* means "the act of setting, fixing, or putting together (jewels, precious stones, etc.); the act of making (a thing) according to a measure; the act of forming (it) by the inserting of one part within another" (cf. Lane, s.v. *r-ṣ-ʿ*). *Tarṣīʿ al-ʿiḳd*, according to the rhetoricians, means "that the same pearls are on one side of the necklace as are on the other" (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal*, i, 361).

Description, definition, and examples

Tarṣīʿ is a stylistic feature of word combination based on the principle of equivalence of sound. It is attested in Arabic literature from the earliest stages and can be found in Ḳurʾān, *Ḥadīth*, poetry, and

prose. A figure of style explicitly called *tarṣīʿ* was described for the first time, as far as we know, by Ḳudāma b. Dja'far [*q.v.*] (*Naḳd*, 14 ff.). He considers it a phenomenon pertaining to *wazn* (metre, rhythm). Al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] and his school regularly include the figure in the chapter on *ʿilm al-badīʿ* and classify it as a subcategory of *sadj*ʿ "rhymed prose" [*q.v.*].

The definition of *tarṣīʿ* among Arab scholars is by no means homogeneous. Al-Ḳazwīnī defines it in his *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (*apud* Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 90 [text], 168 [tr.]) as follows: "If what is found in one of the two phrases (or cola [*ḳarīna*]) (which form this figure of speech) is, in its metre (or word pattern [*wazn*]) and rhyme (*taḳfiya*), exactly like that which corresponds to it in the other phrase, then this is *tarṣīʿ*." This definition holds the golden mean between very comprehensive definitions, like that of Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, *Naḳd*, 14, who only requires agreement in metre or rhyme and who allows assonance instead of pure rhyme, and very restrictive ones, like that of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal*, i, 361, who requires the strictest correspondence in word pattern as well as pure rhyme and, in addition, prohibits the repetition of identical words.

The ideal form of the figure is represented, e.g., by an oft-quoted utterance of Abū ʿAlī al-Baṣīr [*q.v.*]: *ḥattā ʿāda* taʿrīḍuka taṣrīḥ^{an} *wa*-tamrīḍuka taṣḥīḥ^{an} "until your allusion turns into explicitness and the care for you into recuperation" (see e.g. al-Khafādjī, *Sirr*, 182). Here the corresponding parts of the two phrases agree completely in their word patterns and, in addition, display a strict rhyme. The number of phrases need not be two; in a frequently quoted verse of al-Khansāʾ there are three: *ḥammālu alwiyat*^{in}—*shahhādu andjiyat*^{in}—*ḳaṭṭāʿu awdiyat*^{in}. At the same time, this example shows the frequent case, explicitly permitted by Ḳudāma, that not all corresponding parts rhyme; in the present case, only the second parts rhyme, whereas the first parts display only the assonance of identical word patterns. Ḳudāma even adduces cases in which the first parts are only metrically equivalent to each other, while the second parts show nothing but assonance: *alaṣṣu ʾl-ḍurūsi*—*djanīyu ʾl-ḍulūʿi* (Imruʾ al-Ḳays; see *Naḳd*, 14). Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 390, and Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ii, 26, 29, follow him in this. According to Ḳudāma and some of his followers, *tarṣīʿ* may also consist of one part per phrase; two examples of this variant occur one after the other in a hemistich by Imruʾ al-Ḳays quoted as proof by Ḳudāma: *mikhashsh*^{in}—*midjashsh*^{in}, *muḳbil*^{in}—*mudbir*^{in} *maʿan*. The examples for one-term *tarṣīʿ* adduced by al-Bāḳillānī, *Iʿdjāz*, 95-6 (tr. von Grunebaum, 35-6), are of a different kind: He includes the hemistich-final rhyme in initial verses of poems (*taṣrīʿ*) and the rhyme of the Ḳurʾānic *fāṣila*, provided, of course, that the metre (or word pattern) of the rhyme words is identical. Thus for him Sūra LXVIII, 2-3, contains a *tarṣīʿ*: *mā anta bi-niʿmati rabbika bi*-madjnūn—*wa-inna laka la-adjr*^{an} *ghayra* mamnūn; the correspondence is restricted to the last word each in the two *āyas*, i.e. the *fāṣila*. Usāma b. Munḳidh, *Badīʿ*, 116, follows al-Bāḳillānī in this view. In addition, al-Bāḳillānī adduces cases in which the two phrases forming the *tarṣīʿ* occur in two consecutive lines of poetry in such a way that the corresponding parts occupy the same metrical position.

Distinction from similar figures

If one allows assonance alongside strict rhyme as the criterion for *tarṣīʿ*, as Ḳudāma does, the borderline to a figure called, by later rhetoricians but not yet Ḳudāma, *muwāzana* (metrical or word-formational equivalency between the final words of both phrases) or *mumāthala* (total or nearly total equivalency of the two phrases) becomes fuzzy; cf. e.g. Sūra LXXXVIII, 15-16: *wa-namāriḳu maṣfūfa*—*wa-zarābiyyu mabthūtha* (cf. for these two figures, al-Ḳazwīnī, *Talkhīṣ*, 91 = Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 169-70).

Abū Hilāl adduces the one-term type of *tarṣīʿ* which, in one place, he has expressly defined as *tarṣīʿ* to serve, in another place, as an example for *muṭābaḳa* (*ṭibāḳ* [*q.v.*]), in this case Imruʾ al-Ḳays's *mikarr*^{in}—*mifarr*^{in}, *muḳbil*^{in}—*mudbir*^{in} *maʿan* (*Ṣināʿatayn*, 321). This overlap results from the fact that the antithetical terms of the *ṭibāḳ* are often identical in their word pattern. Some rhetoricians do not strictly distinguish between *tarṣīʿ* and *tasmīṭ* [see MUSAMMAṬ] (cf. van Gelder, *Two Arabic treatises*, 32).

Evaluation of the figure by indigenous critics

Ḳudāma asserts that this figure of style does not always impress as beautiful, and that on the contrary it must fit the context where it is applied. Frequent occurrence or even inclusion in each and every line of a poem is normally a sign of *taʿammul* "artificiality", and *takalluf* "constraint". However, Ḳudāma does allow exceptions to this rule. Abū Hilāl, al-Khafādjī and Ibn Rashīḳ basically follow Ḳudāma's views. A more detailed critique of individual lines is offered by Abū Hilāl, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 393-4.

Ibn al-Athīr considers *tarṣīʿ* to be artificial *per se* and consequently contests its occurrence in the Ḳurʾān and in ancient poetry. This is only possible due to his very restrictive definition of the figure. On the other hand, the late author Ibn Maʿṣūm, *Anwār*, vi, 163-4, quotes with admiration six lines from a poem by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ which contains a *tarṣīʿ* in each of its forty lines. Some critics put *tarṣīʿ* first in their treatment of *badīʿ* figures.

Observations of modern scholars

The first European scholars dealing with *tarṣīʿ* (N. Rhodokanakis, *al-Ḫansāʾ*, 38; I. Goldziher, *Bemerkungen*, 313) noticed that *tarṣīʿ* (or *tasmīṭ*, see above) is particularly frequent in the *rithāʾ* "dirge" [see MARTHIYA] and that it occurs predominantly in the *basīṭ* metre. Goldziher considered the former feature to be an echo of the *sadj*ʿ of the earlier laments (*niyāḥa*) from which, according to him, the *marthiya* had developed. The frequency of *basīṭ* is explained by Rhodokanakis by the fact that "mit seinen scharfen Einschnitten" (i.e. its clear segmentation) no metre is as suitable for *tarṣīʿ* as this one (*op. cit.*, 44). A. Ambros, in his *Beobachtungen zu Aufbau und Funktionen der gereimten arabischen Buchtitel*, in *WZKM*, lxxx [1990], 13-57, has noted the great popularity, in book titles, of *tarṣīʿ* with the rhyme scheme *abab*, as e.g. *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid wa-manbaʿ al-fawāʾid* or *Ḳaṭr al-sayl fī amr al-khayl* [*op. cit.*, 52 ff.]).

Tarṣīʿ *in Persian rhetoric*

The Persian rhetoricians, in their rather homogeneous definitions, require exact agreement in metre and rhyme between the corresponding parts of the phrases involved (al-Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān*, 7 ff.; Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, *Ḥadāʾiḳ*, 3 ff.; Shams-i Ḳays, *Muʿdjam*, 335 ff.; see also Rückert-Pertsch, 88 ff.). In Persian examples the figure often has three or more parts per phrase. The oldest-quoted poet seems to be Rūdakī [*q.v.*]. Al-Rādūyānī and Waṭwāṭ list *tarṣīʿ* as the first figure of style at the beginning of their works.

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ṬARSŪS, the Arabic form of the name of the city of Tarsus in Cilicia, situated on the classical River Cydnus, the Nahr Baradān of early Islamic times and the contemporary Turkish Tarsus Çay, in the rich agricultural plain of the modern Çukurova.

The ancient city appears first firmly in history under the Assyrian kings, then as being in the Persians' sphere of influence, then as disputed by the Seleucids and Ptolemies, being for a while styled Antioch-on-the-Cydnus in honour of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.). After 67 B.C. it became the capital of the new Roman province of Cilicia and an important intellectual centre. In early Christian times it had the distinction of having been the birthplace of Saul or St. Paul (Acts, xxii, 3), and bishops and metropolitans of Tarsus are frequently mentioned in the Acts of the various Councils of the early Church. Administratively, under the Byzantines it became the capital of Cilicia Prima, with Anazarbus (the later Islamic ʿAyn Zarba [*q.v.*]) forming the capital of the corresponding eastern half, Cilicia Secunda (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enzyclopädie*, new ed., IV.A/2. cols. 2413-24; Sir William Ramsay, *The cities of S. Paul, their influence on his life and thought*, London 1907, 85-244; C.E. Bosworth, *The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers in early and middle ʿAbbāsid times*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 268-9).

Tarsus must have been threatened as the Arabs advanced towards the Taurus during the caliphates of ʿUmar and ʿUthmān and reached the zone of frontier fortresses later known as the *thughūr* [*q.v.*] or *masāliḥ* "garrisons". It is unclear when it was first captured by the Arabs, but in any case, control of the city seems to have oscillated between the Greeks and the Arabs and it long remained in the front line of attack from both sides. In 25/646 Muʿāwiya, the governor of Syria, raided as far as Amorion, and found the zone between Antioch and Tarsus empty, hence placed garrisons of troops from Syria and al-Djazīra there. In 93/712 al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik raided into the zone and captured Tarsus.

During the early decades of ʿAbbāsid rule, when the Muslims held Tarsus they made it into a strongly-fortified concentration-point for *ghāzīs*, volunteer fighters for the faith, with the city marking the western end of an arc of fortresses stretching eastwards to Malaṭya [*q.v.*], the zone of the *ʿawāṣim* [*q.v.*]. Much money from the taxation of Syria and al-Djazīra and from the central funds of the caliphate was poured into the construction and manning of these fortresses, in addition to the pay allowances provided by tribal chiefs leading their own contingents (see M. Bonner, *Jaʿāʾil and Holy War in early Islam*, in *Isl.*, lxviii [1991], 45-64). In 162/778-9 the commander al-Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥtaba al-Ṭāʾī, after rebuilding and refortifying the *ʿāṣima* of al-Ḥadath [*q.v.*], was charged with undertaking similar work at the then ruinous site of Tarsus. This restoration was, however, only done later, in Hārūn al-Rashīd's caliphate, by Faradj b. Sulaym, and Tarsus now became a rallying-point for volunteers from as far away as Khurāsān and Transoxania as well as for the troops of the regular army (see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 269-73).

Nevertheless, it must have been regained by the Greeks towards the end of the 8th century A.D. or the beginning of the 9th one, and during the period of internecine warfare in the caliphate between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn it seems to have remained in Byzantine hands. But the Emperors were themselves preoccupied by internal revolts and the threat from the Bulghars in the Balkans, and near the end of his life, al-Maʾmūn turned his attention to the Byzantine frontiers. In 215/830 he penetrated via Tarsus into Cappadocia, and in 218/833 used it as a base for his last expedition, being buried there after he died on active service. In subsequent decades, it was generally under Muslim control, and there are mentions of a *faḳīh* and a *ḳāḍī* of Tarsus during these years. The governor of Egypt Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn attempted in 265/878-9 to take over Tarsus as a base for *ghazw* against the Christians, but was repulsed by the garrison there under the eunuch Yāzmān, loyal to the caliph al-Muʿtamid. The Ṭūlūnids did nevertheless briefly have control of Tarsus when al-Muʿtaḍid made over the governorship of Syria to Aḥmad's son Khumārawayh [*q.v.*], and the latter used it as the base for a Ṭūlūnid expedition into Anatolia. But after Khumārawayh's death in 282/896 it reverted to direct ʿAbbāsid control of the marches until this passed in the mid-4th/10th century to the Ḥamdānids. During all this time, we have a series of coins minted by the governors of Tarsus, caliphal, Ṭūlūnid, Ikhshīdid and Ḥamdānid, from 172/788 to the mid-4th/10th century (see G.C. Miles, *Islamic coins from the Tarsus excavations of 1935-1937*, in *The Aegean and the Near East. Studies presented to Hetty Goldman*, New York 1957, 297-312; S.M. Stern, *The coins of Thamal and of other governors of Tarsus*, in *JAOS*, lxxx [1960], 217-25). These governors were active in both land and in sea operations from the port of Tarsus. Thus the eunuch commander Thamal al-Dulafī in 309/921-2 led a naval expedition to Egypt to fend off invasion by the Fāṭimids, and in 312/924 he endeavoured to concert maritime operations against the Byzantines with the Bulghars.

But the military strength of the resurgent Byzantines was now growing. Sayf al-Dawla's expedition of 339/950 into Anatolia, in which 4,000 men of Tarsus participated, was ultimately a disaster, and the Strategus Basil Hexamilites won a crushing victory over a Muslim fleet that had set sail from Tarsus to harry the Byzantine coasts. The culmination of this revanche for Tarsus was the recapture of the city, with al-Maṣṣīṣa and Adana, in 354/965 by the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas and the Domesticus John Tzimisces. After futile appeals for help from Egypt and Baghdād,

the city was surrendered by Sayf al-Dawla's representative on a promise of *amān*, so that any Muslim could leave with whatever he could carry, including weapons, but had to leave behind property. Many of the inhabitants became Christian; a small number of Muslims remained, but many others departed for Antioch and, according to al-Muḳaddasī, 160, eventually settled at Bāniyās [*q.v.*] in northern Palestine. The Friday mosque of Tarsus was either torn down or turned into the imperial stables. See Canard, *H'amdanides*, 822-3; Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 278-80.

We possess valuable accounts of the last years of Muslim rule in Tarsus from such 4th/10th century sources as the geographical writers al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ḥasan al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*], and an author who was himself of Tarsus origin, Abū ʿAmr ʿUt̲h̲man al-Ṭarsūsī (preserved in the much later *Bug̲h̲yat al-ṭalab* of Ibn al-ʿAdīm) (all but the first of these sources were written after the city had actually passed out of Muslim control). There is in them much information on the fortifications, topography and social structure of Tarsus, showing the atmosphere of bellicose piety which characterised the city, with its throngs of *g̲h̲āzī*s from as far afield as K̲h̲urāsān and Sīstān and the numerous *dār*s and *ribāṭ*s for their residence. See Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 281-4; idem, *Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān al-Ṭarsūsī*'s Siyar al-t̲h̲ughūr *and the last years of Arab rule in Tarsus (fourth/tenth century)*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, v (Athens 1993), 183-95.

Tarsus was under Christian rule for the next three centuries. The Crusaders seized it in 1097 on their march through Byzantine territory in 1097. In the 12th century it came within the Rupenid kingdom of Little Armenia based on Sīs. In 673/1275 the lowland regions of Adana and Tarsus were raided by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars, and in the next century, in the third reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, it finally passed into Mamlūk hands. Soon afterwards it came within the buffer-state, between the Mamlūks and the Ḳaramānids and their supplanters the Ottomans, of the Ramaḍān-og̲h̲ullarï [*q.v.*]. In the 9th/15th century K̲h̲alīl al-Ẓāhirī mentions it as a fine town, with walls and a fortress. In the next century it was gradually absorbed fully into the Ottoman empire, at first within the *eyālet* or province of Aleppo, then in 1571 as a *sand̲j̲aḳ* within the *eyālet* of Cyprus, and then in 1608 as part of the *sand̲j̲aḳ*, later an *eyālet*, then a *sand̲j̲aḳ* again, of Adana, in 1867 becoming a *ḳaḍā'* of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* (see A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 110, 137, 139, 238).

By the end of the 19th century Tarsus itself was little more than a ruinous village in the malarial swamplands of the Tarsus Ẓay (see V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890-5, ii, 44-50), but in Republican Turkey, the swamps have been drained, and Tarsus is now a flourishing commercial centre in the *il* or province of İçel.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 132-3. (C.E. Bosworth)

ṬARSŪSĪ [see abū ṭāhir ṭarsūsī].

al-**ṬARSŪSĪ**, Marḍī (or Murḍā) b. ʿAlī b. Marḍī, enigmatic writer in Arabic on military topics. His dates are unknown, but he flourished in the later 6th/12th century and seems to have lived in Alexandria.

He composed for the Ayyūbid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] a treatise, *Tabṣirat arbāb al-albāb fī kayfiyyat al-nad̲j̲āt fi 'l-ḥurūb min al-aswā' wa-nas̲h̲r aʿlām al-iʿlām fi 'l-ʿudad*, extant in the Bodleian unicum Hunt 264 (extracts ed. and tr. Cl. Cahen, *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, xii [1947-8], 1-47, 150-63). It deals with weapons such as the sword, bow, lance, mace, etc., and equipment like the shield and cuirass [see on these ḳaws; silāḥ in Suppl.], and devices used in the field such as caltrops (*mut̲h̲allat̲h̲a*, with three spikes, and *musaddasa*, with six). But it is especially valuable for its information on siege weapons like missile-hurling engines and battering-rams [see ʿarrāda; mand̲j̲anīḳ] and on techniques of siege-craft, including the use of Greek Fire [see ḥiṣār; naft. 1 and 2], especially as the manuscript contains drawings of the contrivances in question. The whole work richly merits a critical edition and commentary.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

TARTĪB (a.), a word derived from the root *r-t-b*, the primary sense of which is "to become fixed, stand upright", whence the derived meanings of "to arrange, stop, put in order or in rank". It is the term employed by the Moroccan *Mak̲h̲zan* to denote the reforms (*tartībāt*) which it was obliged to undertake during the second half of the 19th century under European pressure, with connotations similar to those of the word *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] in the Ottoman empire. The term is still applied, however, to the fiscal reforms initiated ineffectively by Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1873-94) and revived by his son and successor Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1894-1907) in the least favourable of circumstances and only brought to a conclusion by the Protectorate.

The first *tartīb* emerged from decisions taken at the conference convened in Madrid in the spring of 1880, which had the object of restricting the anarchic development of consular protection in Morocco, it being largely a device to avoid taxation, depriving the *Mak̲h̲zan* of its most active subjects and consequently of the best taxable goods [see imtiyāzāt]. The conference adopted several resolutions relating to patronage and decided that European entrepreneurs as well as the protected persons of the consuls should pay the same taxes as Moroccans as a whole, these being *zakāt*, *ʿus̲h̲ūr* and also harbour duties. A "special regulation" or *tartīb* was to determine the procedures to be followed (arts. 12 and 13 of the Convention). In exchange, the Europeans were granted the right to possess property in Morocco (art. 11). In March 1881, a first *tartīb* was promulgated, distinguished by three novel features: it extended *zakāt* and *ʿus̲h̲ūr*, albeit these were purely Ḳur'ānic obligations, to the Europeans; it gave to the consular services the right to oversee Moroccan fiscal administration; and the tax could be paid in cash on the basis of prices in the market closest to the site of the particular enterprise. This experiment fell short of its objectives. The consuls were willing to apply it only in exchange for recognition of property rights. Mawlāy al-Ḥasan was not at all inclined to make this step and furthermore, he hardly appreciated consular mediation in the assessment and levying of revenues. But the sultan did not lose sight of his objective, which was to deliver a body-blow to consular protection. In 1884, a second *tartīb* was promulgated with the intention of putting an end to the abuses to which the *ḳā'id*s charged with the management of taxes were partial and which were, according to the Europeans, the principal reason for recourse to protection. Population census (*iḥṣā'*), assessment (*k̲h̲arṣ*) and collection (*d̲j̲ibāya*) were entrusted to *umanā'* appointed directly by the *Mak̲h̲zan*. They were obliged to compile an inventory of taxable property and to convey it to it in such a way as to establish in cen-

tralised fashion the quotas beyond which deductions needed to be made, in kind for *zakāt* and *ʿus̲h̲ūr* and in cash for the revenues of the crown (levies for the three religious festivals). Over and above these deductions, they obtained a percentage to be shared on an equal basis with the *ḳāʾids*, now confined solely to their public order functions. Otherwise, all franchises were suspended. But this attempt at reform likewise misfired. Applied cautiously in certain provinces such as the Dukkala, it was opposed by too many local usages and entrenched interests and was doomed to be quickly forgotten.

In 1901, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, poorly advised and lacking experience, revived the *tartīb* in a more systematic manner. Gripped by an "itch for reform", in the words of a contemporary commentator, and not knowing whether the fiscal shortfall derived from the discontent of his subjects or rather from the abuses practised by the *ḳāʾids* (*ẓahīr* of 26 August 1901), the sultan revived and reinforced the measures taken by his father. The *ḳāʾids* were removed from fiscal administration, entrusted once more to the *umanāʾ*, assisted by *ʿudūl* or notaries and required to compile a census of the greatest possible precision, a copy of which was submitted to the *Mak̲h̲zan*; a receipt was also delivered to each taxpayer, detailing his goods and his liability. A new feature was that payment could no longer be paid except in money, with the option of paying in two instalments per year. Still more draconian, while the former obligations related only to the totality of annual revenue, the new *tartīb* transformed them into contractual taxes levied on capital, calculated for arable cultivation according to the number and quality of ploughs possessed, and for animals and trees according to their number. Furthermore, the *umanāʾ* and their assistants were to be paid by the central *Mak̲h̲zan*, and like *ḳāʾids* they were obliged to swear to abstain from any form of corruption. As a final and outstanding demonstration of political incompetence, it was decided that levying of the former taxes should be suspended even before the new system had been set in operation. The latter could only be applied if endorsed by the Europeans, since the objective of the *Mak̲h̲zan* was always that of imposing restrictions on consular protection. It was not until November 1903 that a measure of agreement was reached, but in the meantime Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz found himself in an unstable position. Accused by his subjects of being in the pay of foreigners and compelled, furthermore, to restrict government borrowing, the sultan abandoned the *tartīb* to revert to the old methods. However, the Algeciras Conference retained the basic notion, article 59 stipulating that European nationals should submit themselves to the "tertib" (as it was henceforward to be written in European sources), as soon as it was applied to Moroccan subjects.

This dilemma which was at the root of the reform, to compel Europeans and their protected persons to pay taxes as a means of extinguishing consular protection, or to put an end to all forms of fiscal evasion by introducing more order and justice into the system, could be resolved only by the Protectorate. The *tartīb* was established under the cover of occupation troops which had behind them their long experience of Algeria and Tunisia, and which had had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Moroccan taxpayer in S̲h̲āwiya and in the province of Ud̲j̲da, occupied since 1907. *Zakāt* and *ʿus̲h̲ūr* were levied there until 1912 with certain modifications. The *ḳāʾids* were assisted in their fiscal functions by commissions working *coram publico*. Assessments were made according to ploughs or areas of land under cultivation, payments made in cash. The term *tartīb* was avoided.

It did not reappear until after the establishment of the Protectorate. In November 1912, Sultan Mawlāy Yūsuf addressed a special message to the *ḳāʾids* of the Atlantic littoral, imposing upon them the procedure to be followed for its application. In July 1913 a diplomatic regulation was promulgated on the basis of that of 1903, cancelling the liability of European subjects to the *tartīb*. Nationals of countries which did not renounce their exterritorial privileges (including Great Britain until 1937 and the United States until 1952), would continue to pay it through consular channels. In 1914, another special instruction enlarged its sphere of application. Finally, the two great institutional *ẓahīrs* of 10 and 11 March 1915 were promulgated in the form in which they were to function throughout the duration of the Protectorate, if no regard is taken of texts of application, annual fixing of tariffs and partial reorganisation subsequently undertaken, such as the *ẓahīrs* applying to the *tartīb* on fruits and vines (May 1939), those of 1952 extending it to certain hitherto neglected products (cotton, rice, bananas, market gardening, etc.) or even the *ẓahīrs* of November 1924 and March 1933 on methods of roofing and construction.

In general, the *tartīb* evolved according to the trail blazed by previous experience, while conforming to the developing profile of the Protectorate. The *ḳāʾids*, standard-bearers of pacification, retained their fiscal prerogatives, deducting a percentage for their remuneration, although they were subject, in an increasingly rigorous fashion, to the control of officials of the colonial administration. Procedures of census and assessment were conducted in the most public manner possible: in the spring, valuation of annual crops and produce of trees; in the autumn, that of seasonal produce and animals. Numerous categories of production were distinguished, five in 1915, nine in 1956. Valuations were conducted with ever-increasing precision, such that they amounted to a form of land-survey, applied to the colonists at first, by which the mass of the peasantry remained unaffected, relying on valuation by ploughs or by *mudd* which subsequently needed conversion into produce, in quintals to the hectare. Annual crops paid 5% calculated on the basis of current prices. Trees were at first taxed in lump sums according to units and species, but in 1939 they were taxed according to overall production valued in terms of the market. A distinction was then drawn between vines in regular cultivation and vines in irregular cultivation, the profitability in the two cases not being comparable. As for animals, they were subject, after weaning, to a *zakāt* which took account neither of their commercial value nor of Ḳurʾānic scales. The management of all these levies was progressively entrusted to a distinct administration comprising controllers and inspectors acting independently of one another but not of the political control to which they remained subordinate in all respects.

The fact is that the *tartīb* was not only a tax which on average supplied to the Protectorate more than half of its direct fiscal receipts. It was also, and especially, a means of penetration and of pacification, utilised in such a way that it never served as a springboard for Moroccan resistance. Thus it became confused with colonisation in both its positive and negative aspects. It could be said that it was an instrument for the integration of the Moroccan countryside, a factor of unification and a decisive lesson in solidarity and discipline (Jouannet). But, on the contrary, it

could also be said that it filled the coffers of the colonial régime, financing its new towns and infrastructures, and built on the backs of a peasantry which was defenceless, crushed by conquest and delivered into the power of the *ḳā'id*s, with hands and feet tied in a manner unprecedented in the history of Morocco. The nationalist movement, from the time of its earliest inception, did not miss the opportunity to criticise it in the 1934 programme of reforms. In 1951 the Istiḳlāl Party was able to show that the Moroccan peasant paid to the *tartīb* 24% more than was paid by the colonist, who also benefited from numerous subsidies and refunds, not to mention credit facilities and the means of having grievances heard. In 1934 a French lawyer had shown that the *tartīb* weighed most heavily on the least privileged strata of the peasantry.

For all these reasons, in the aftermath of independence this levy could only be seen as a relic of colonisation. But initially, the legislation which controlled it in the French zone was extended to the former Spanish zone (*ẓahīr* of 8 March 1958) and to the former international zone of Tangier (*ẓahīr* of 15 January 1959). The Spanish had begun by applying the *tartīb* on the basis of the diplomatic regulation of 1913, and it was only institutionalised by a caliphal *ẓahīr* dated 12 January 1927, followed by a vizierial decree which extended the levy to the entire zone. Thereafter, and until 1956, various texts were published, fixing the tariffs as well as the commissions paid to *ḳā'id*s and others appointed to collect the tax, and even setting out the measures to be taken against evaders. The administration of the tax remained constantly in the hands of "interventores", the equivalent of the civilian controllers and officials of Indigenous Affairs in the former French zone. As for the international zone of Tangier, the *tartīb* was not levied there following the promulgation of its statute in December 1923.

But independent Morocco was always intent on reforming the basis of revenue. The *ẓahīr* of 2 November 1960 substituted for the simple rate of tax levied at 5% a rate varying between 2 and 10% for primary crops, thus charging a heavier rate on higher outputs and exempting outputs of less than four quintals per hectare. At a stroke, more than 50% of the cultivated land was freed from tax. Once the *tartīb* ceased to apply to the peasant masses, it was no longer a system yielding high returns. Thus on 6 June 1961 King Ḥasan II proclaimed its abolition, describing it as "an unjust and sterile tax, established on illogical foundations, a weapon of exploitation in the hands of despots and an obstacle on the road to economic development, social justice and the development of the country". The truth is that in the meantime, independent Morocco had inherited from the colonial past a whole range of new taxes which excused it not only from continuing to charge the impecunious peasant, but also from levying what was originally only a simple Muslim charity; there was now no question of charging it upon non-Muslims.

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(Brahim Boutaleb)

ṬARṬŪS or Tortosa, earlier Anṭarṭūs, frequently Anṭarsūs (by analogy with Ṭarsūs), a town on the Syrian coast, the ancient Antarados opposite the island of Arados (Ar. D̲j̲azīrat Arwād, also written Arwād̲h̲; now Ruwād; concerning the Arab conquest of the island, see L.I. Conrad, *The conquest of Arwād: a source-critical study in the historiography of the early medieval Near East*, in Averil Cameron and Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East. I. Problems in the literary source material*, Princeton 1992, 317-401). Under the Roman empire, Antarados was called Constantia, but the old name remained alongside of this and in the end drove the latter out again.

The Muslims took the fortress of Ṭarṭūs under ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit in 17/638. The town was destroyed and remained for a long time uninhabited. Muʿāwiya rebuilt it, fortified it and settled there and in Maraḳiyya and Bulunyās soldiers to whom he allotted lands. It was only after the conquest of Cyprus that Muʿāwiya was able to take the island of Arwād also from the Greeks (al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, tr. Mehren, 186; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. de Boor, 344). The Ḳur'ān of the Caliph ʿUt̲h̲mān is said to have been kept in Ṭarṭūs. Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih includes the district (*kūra*) of Ṭarṭūs in the territory of Ḥimṣ; according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 325, tr. Wiet, 172, the people of the town belonged to the tribe of Kinda.

When in 357-8/968 the Byzantines under Nicephorus Phocas conquered Northern Syria, the strong defences of the town protected it from capture by the enemy, according to the evidence of the contemporary Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. Kramers, 176-7, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 173-4). On the other hand, about a generation later, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd of Anṭākiya reports that the Emperor took Ṭarṭūs, Maraḳiyya and Ḥiṣn D̲j̲abala (Yaḥyā, ed. Kračkovskiy and Vasiliev, in *Patrol. orient.*, xviii, 816). In 386/995-6 the emperor Basil II took the town (Yaḥyā and D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn b. Ẓāfir, in Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xliv, 32, 35-6, 241; Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine*, ii; 95-6, who wrongly distinguishes Ṭarṭūs from Tortosa). At the beginning of the year 1099, the Crusaders took Ṭarṭūs but soon afterwards lost it. It was not till 495/1102 that they finally attained possession of it under Raimund of Toulouse. After Raimund's death, Count William of Cerdagne was given Ṭarṭūs and D̲j̲abala as a fief. By the treaty of Devol (Sept. 1108), Arwād and Ṭarṭūs among other places were promised to the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. Bonn, ii, 241.) The town later passed into the possession of the Count of Tripoli. From a poem dedi-

cated to Usāma b. Munḳidh by the Egyptian vizier al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Abu 'l-Ghārāt Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*], it is evident that the town must have already been in the hands of the Templars before 1158 (Derenbourg, *Ousâma*, 293).

In Djumādā I 584/July 1188 the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn advanced on the town and found it deserted by its defenders, as they had retired into two strong towers on the city walls. He occupied the town in less than an hour; one of the towers was stormed by his vassal, the lord of Irbil, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had it destroyed and the ruins thrown into the sea. The other, which was built of large hewn stones and surrounded by a well-watered garden, was so bravely defended by the commander of the Templars that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn raised the siege and contented himself with destroying the walls and famous Church of the Virgin. The earthquake in May 1202, which devastated the whole Syrian coast, is said also to have affected Ṭarṭūs but to have spared the Church of the Virgin, which had been rebuilt in 1188. This edifice, celebrated for the miracles and cures wrought in it, and which contained a valuable image of the Virgin, was considered her oldest sanctuary in Syria (al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 208); al-Idrīsī apparently already knew it (he wrote in 1154 or later, although he seems wrongly to transfer it to the island of Arwād). In the year 611/1214-15, Count Raimund of Tripoli, son of Bohemund IV of Antioch, was murdered by Ismā'īlīs; in revenge, the prince led an expedition against the Assassin fortress of Khawābī (Kamāl al-Dīn, tr. Blochet, in *ROL*, v, 48; Ibn Furāt, in Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, 271 n. 1, 715 n. 4). The Church of the Virgin lay within the area of the sanctuary of the apostle Andrew, as appears from a letter from Pope Clement IV to Bishop William of Tortosa of 26 April 1265.

In the treaty of 626/1229 between the Emperor Frederick II and al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*], Ṭarābulus, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, Ṣāfīthā, Marḳab, Ṭarṭūs and Anṭākiya were not included; the Emperor had to pledge himself to remain neutral in case of a war between these lands and the Muslims (Röhricht, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, i, 41, 77-8; idem *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, 785).

When the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars in 666/1267-8 was advancing on Antioch via Ṭarābulus, envoys from the Templars of Ṣāfīthā and Anṭarṭūs appeared before him with presents and 300 Muslims, lately prisoners, and thus succeeded in having their territory spared (al-Maḳrīzī, in Quatremère, *Hist. des sultans mamlouks*, i/2, 52; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, 953. An attack by the Mamlūk ruler on Ṭarṭūs and other towns in 669/1270-1 met with no success of note (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i/2, 84; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. orient.*, xii, 528). Later, however, the Templars found themselves forced to conclude a treaty with him by which their territory and that of Marḳab and Bāniyās was divided between them and the sultan (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i/2, 151; al-Mufaḍḍal, *op. cit.*, xii, 536, xiv, 445; Röhricht, 953). The Master of the Templars, William of Beaujeu (de Bellojoco), in 681/1282 concluded a truce with al-Malik al-Manṣūr for Ṭarṭūs and the district around for ten years and ten months (from 15 April 1282), and the possessions of the two parties were accurately delimited. To Ṭarṭūs belonged 37 districts of the region round 'Arayma (now Ḳal'at 'Arayme) and Mī'ār (now Burdj Mī'ār). After the conquest of 'Akkā', Ṭarṭūs was taken from the Franks by Sultan Khalīl, being one of the last towns to fall, on 5 Sha'bān 690/3 August 1291.

The Templars succeeded temporarily in establishing themselves again in Ṭarṭūs in 1300-2 from the island of Arwād. The island was not taken until 702/1302-3 in the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn; the Christians there were put to death or enslaved and the defences razed to the ground (al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des sultans mamlouks*, ii/2, 195; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, v, 180; al-Idrīsī, in Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 400; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iv, 256).

Henceforth Ṭarṭūs was a little district under the *nā'ib* of Ṭarābulus (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā'*, in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, 116, 228; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Ta'rīf*, 182, in R. Hartmann, in *ZDMG*, lxx [1916], 36, n. 14). The town declined more and more, the castle of the Crusading period serve the few inhabitants of Ṭarṭūs as a dwelling place up to the early 20th century.

The modern revival of Ṭarṭūs came with the later years of the French Mandate and with Syria's attainment of independence after the Second World War [see AL-SHA'M. 2 (b), (c)], a process stimulated by the loss of Alexandretta [see ISKANDARŪN] to Turkey in 1939 and the consequent need for Syria to develop other ports as outlets for her trade. The modern town of Ṭarṭūs (lat. 34° 55' N., long. 35° 52' E.) is now a centre for fisheries, the focus of a rich agricultural hinterland and (until recent interruption) the terminus of an oil pipe line from 'Irāḳ. All these activities have made it Syria's second most important port after Latakia [see AL-LĀDHIḲIYYA]. Since the early 1970s Ṭarṭūs has been the chef-lieu of a governorate (*muḥāfaẓa*) of the same name. In 1981 the town had a population of 52,589 and the governorate one of 443,290. The town is mainly Muslim but with a significant minority of Greek Orthodox Christians. The Church of the Virgin, in its later form, still survives, as do the Templar fortifications.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Khurradādhbih, 76; Ḳudāma, 230, 255; Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *ZDPV*, viii (1885), 20-2; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i, 388 (s.v. *Anṭarṭūs*), iii, 529 (s.v. *Ṭarṭūs*); Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, i, 98 (*Ant.*), ii, 201 (*Ṭarṭūs*); Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, 229; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 394-5, 544; G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre*, Paris 1883, 69 ff., 211 ff., pls. viii, xx; R. Dussaud, in *Rev. archéol.* (1896), i, 315 (1897), i, 331 ff.; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1913-15, i, 320-34; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 116, 228 n.; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 121-5; J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Alouites*, Tours 1940; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, index; Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Syria*, London 1943, 60-2, 316-17, 417; Hachette World Guides, *The Middle East*, Paris 1966; 433-7; T.S.R. Boase, *Castles and churches of the Crusading kingdoms*, London 1967; E. Wirth, *Syrien, eine geographische Landeskunde*, Darmstadt 1971, index; Boase, ch. *Military architecture in the Crusader states in Palestine and Syria*, in K.M. Setton (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, iv, Madison 1977, 157; T.E. Lawrence, *Crusader castles*, revised ed. D. Pringle, Oxford 1990.

(E. HONIGMANN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

TĀRŪDĀNT, conventionally Taroudant, a town in the Sūs region of southern Morocco situated in lat. 30° 31' N., long. 8° 55' W. at an altitude of 250 m/820 feet. It lies 4 km/2½ miles from

the right bank of the Wādī Sūs and some 83 km/51 miles from Āgādīr [*q.v.*] and the Atlantic coast. The old town is enclosed by a lengthy, high, early 18th-century crenellated wall with five gates.

Tārūdānt was an important town in mediaeval Islamic times. It formed part of the Almoravid empire from 421/1030 onwards, but a century later was conquered by the Almohads. It was at Tārūdānt that the Saʿdian sultan Aḥmad al-Aʿradj (d. 950/1543) established his power, but the Sūs region as a whole was frequently in rebellion against the authority of Marrakech. Tārūdānt was a centre for the pretender to the Sharīfian throne Aḥmad al-Hība [*q.v.* in Suppl.] from 1912-13 onwards, but French troops finally established their authority there in May 1917. By the mid-20th century, Tārūdānt was being surpassed by the expanding port of Āgādīr as the main centre of the Sūs, but has remained important as an agricultural marketing focus. In 1950 it had a population of almost 12,900, including 900 Jews who lived in a *mellāḥ* [see MALLĀḤ] but who have now almost all emigrated; by the early 1980s the population had reached 24,000. For further details on the town's history, see AL-SŪS AL-AKṢĀ.

Bibliography: See that to AL-SŪS AL-AKṢĀ, to which should be added: Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Morocco*, London 1941, i, 214-16, ii, 64-5, 283-4 and indices; Guides Bleus, *Maroc*, Paris 1954, 210-11; *Taroudant, cité du Sousse*, joint publication, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines d'Agadir 1993. (ED.)

ṬĀRUM, ṬĀROM, the name of two places in Persia.

1. The best-known is the mediaeval Islamic district of that name lying along the middle course of the Ḳīzīl Üzen or Safīd Rūd river [*q.vv.*] in the ancient region of Daylam [*q.v.*] in northwestern Persia. Adjoining it on the east was the district of Khalkhāl [*q.v.*]. There are, at the present time, two small towns or villages bearing the name Ṭārum, one of them on the right bank of the Ḳīzīl Üzen between Wanisarā and Kalladj.

According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 65, 217-18, tr. 69-70, 209-10), the district of "the two Ṭārums" (*Ṭārumayn*) was divided into an upper and a lower Ṭārum, with chief towns at Ḳalʿa-yi Tādj and Shamīrān respectively; the population at that time (8th/14th century) were Shāfiʿī Sunnīs. Ṭārum lay off the main communication routes, and the limited amount of traffic between Ardabīl and Zandjān had to cross the Ḳīzīl Üzen either at the only bridge or, more directly, by means of inflated rafts (*keleks* [*q.v.*]). Though the district was very mountainous, Mustawfī mentions its excellent crops and fruit, and according to Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 6, s.v. *Ṭāram*), high quality silken garments were produced there. Some four centuries previously, the Arab traveller Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*] had mentioned famous mines for iron sulphate, alum and borax (*Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, text § 11, tr. 74).

One of the most famous places in Ṭārum was the fortress of Shamīrān, which was visited by Abū Dulaf, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Yāḳūt. The site of Shamīrān has not been discovered, but the itinerary of Nāṣir-i Khusraw enables it to be fixed with sufficient accuracy. The traveller coming from Ḳazwīn arrived at Kharzawīl (below Mandjil); from there after a descent of 3 *farsakhs*, he arrived at Brzalkhyr (?), a dependency of Ṭārum. He then came to a village of Khandān on the Shāh Rūd near its mouth. At Khandān a toll for crossing (*bādj*) was levied by the Amīr (of Ṭārum). From here to Shamīrān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw reckons it 3 *farsakhs*. In reality, the distance from Kharzawīl to the Shāh Rūd in a direct line is not over 8 km/5 miles. In the more open country to the west of the Shāh Rūd, 3 *farsakhs* would be the equivalent of a longer distance in miles. According to Yāḳūt, Samīrān (Shamīrān) was "on a large river"; all these details enable us to locate Shamīrān near Darband. Indeed, Rawlinson mentions the ruins there of a "large and very strong fort" (5 km/3 miles below Giliwān) and the Russian map shows the "ruins of a fortress" on the cliff on the left bank (*ca.* 12 km/7 miles above the mouth of the Shāh Rūd). The strategic importance of Shamīrān was that it guarded at its narrowest point the entrance to Ṭārum by the valley of the Ḳīzīl Üzen, while the fort of Ḳalāt commanded the entrance from the Zandjān side.

History. We do not know who were the early inhabitants of the district of Ṭārum. Rawlinson located in this part of the Ḳīzīl Üzen the ancient people of the Cadusii and relied for this on the authority of al-Djayhānī (*Ashkāl al-ʿālam* ?) who still (5th/11th century ?) calls all this district Ḳādūstān (?). The wild and remote country of Ṭārum-Khalkhāl only played a part in history in the period of the Musāfirid dynasty [*q.v.*] which, with Shamīrān as its capital, ruled Ādharbāydjān, Arrān, Gīlān and the country as far as Rayy. As early as 316/928 we find Sallār b. Aswār lord of Shamīrān; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 142. Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil (*loc. cit.*) speaks of 2,850 large and small buildings in Samīrān (Shamīrān). From the interesting letter of the Būyid vizier al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād al-Ṭālaḳānī, quoted by Yāḳūt (s.v. *Samīrān*), it seems that Ṭārum was at first under Ḳazwīn, from which it was detached by Muḥammad b. Musāfir, who coveted the district for its fortress. The Ṣāḥib pays a high tribute to the importance of Shamīrān by calling it "sister of the fortress of Alamūt" (al-Muḳaddasī, 360) and mentions the ornamentation of the fortress of Samīrūm (*sic*) in the form of lions in gold, the sun and the moon. In 379/989 the Būyids acquired Shamīrān by a matrimonial alliance, but after the death of Fakhr al-Dawla, the Musāfirid Ibrāhīm seized Zandjān, Abhar, Sardjihān (a district to the north of Abhar near Ṣā'in-ḳalʿa = the old Ḳuhūd) and "Shahrizūr" (reading uncertain, but the place must be identified with "Sharzūrlard, Sharūzlar" which the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 65, tr. 70, mentions among the dependencies of Lower Ṭārum). Shamīrān is not explicitly mentioned among these domains, but in 438/1046 Nāṣir-i Khusraw found at Shamī-rān (Samīrān) a Musāfirid prince and a garrison of 1,000 men. The traveller says that the fortress on a cliff commanded the town (*ḳaṣaba*); it was surrounded by a triple wall; a subterranean passage (*kārīz*) going down to the river enabled water to be procured. According to Yāḳūt, the fortress was destroyed by the Ismāʿīlīs in circumstances which are still unknown. Ḳalāt in the time of Yāḳūt was occupied by the lord of Alamūt.

Under the Mongols, especially when the capital was transferred to Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*], Ṭārum gained in importance and the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (740/1340) gives evidence of the exact knowledge then possessed of this district. Under Öldjeytü, Ṭārum was ruled by a certain *Shiḥna* Girāy (?) who is mentioned as sending the expedition into Gīlān in 700/1307 (Dorn, *Auszüge*, 139). Under the Tīmūrids, the *khāns* of Khalkhāl and of Ṭārum (Shaykh Zāhid Ṭārumī; Dorn, *Auszüge*, 229, 231, 234, 382) played a role of some importance. Shamīrān also must have been rebuilt, for the historians

of Gīlān tell how after the death of Yaʿḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (896/1490), the *Kār-kiyā* Mīrzā ʿAlī seized the fortress by a stratagem. Later, a certain Mīr Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Ṭārumī rebelled against Mīrzā ʿAlī but without success. In the reign of Rustam Beg Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (898-902/1493-7), his general Dede Beg with 10,000 men recaptured the "fortress of Ṭārum" but later during the struggle between the Aḳ Ḳoyunlus Alwand and Muḥammadī (904-6/1500-1), the general of *Kār-kiyā* Mīrzā ʿAlī "freed Ṭārum from Turkish rule" (cf. *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, i, 236).

Under the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I, Ṭārum was on the most convenient route between the lands of the *Kār-kiyā*, where the young monarch was in hiding and Ardabīl, the ancestral home of his family. The route followed in 905/1479-1500 by Ismāʿīl in his famous march was by Ṭārum-Barandaḳ-Nasāz-Kūʾī-Ḥifẓ-ābād-Abaruḳ-Ardabīl (cf. E.D. Ross, *The early years of Shāh Ismāʿīl*, in *JRAS* [1895], 332). Ṭārum is several times mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā* as the place where the Ṣafawids spent the winter of 921/1515-16 and hunted (1002/1593-4, 1003/1594-5) and from where they sent expeditions against Gīlān.

The Turkish elements gradually absorbed the Iranian (Daylamī and Gīlānī) elements. Under Nādir Shāh, the Amarlu Kurds were settled in Mandjīl and in the Pusht-i Kūh of Ṭārum. According to Rawlinson, they were of the Lūlū tribe (Lōlō ?, traces of which are still found in Upper Syria (Le Coq), near Tehran (Brugsch), etc.), but in his time they had already become Turkicised. Rabino, however (*RMM*, xxxii, 261), distinguishes between the Rishwand Kurds (of Sulaymāniyya) settled near Mandjīl by Shāh ʿAbbās I and the ʿAmarlu Turks (?) who came in the time of Nādir. In any case, according to Fortescue (1924), Ṭārum had a Turkish population; after Giliwān the peasants did not understand Persian. In the toponymy also, a Turkish layer gradually obscures the old Iranian names (cf. Pardalīs from *prd "bridge", Nimahil, Niyāb, Gulčīn, etc.). A study of the old Iranian toponymy in Ādharbāydjān has still to be made, but it is evident that the local dialects belonged to the group called "Northwestern".

According to the *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, i, 335, the Ḳādjārs made Ṭārum a separate domain and gave it as a fief (*iḳṭāʿ wa-tiyūl*) to Muḥammad Khān Dawalu, to his son Allāh-yār Khān Āṣaf al-Dawla, etc. After the accession of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī (1925), a punitive expedition was sent to Khalkhāl and several local Khāns (Rashīd al-Mamālik, etc.) were hanged.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): For older bibl. and travellers' accounts, see *EI*[1] art. See also Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ṣaniʿ al-Dawla, *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, Tehran 1294/1877, i, 334-7; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 170, 225-6; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 736-9; L.S. Fortescue, *The Western Elburz and Persian Azerbaijan*, in *JRGS* (1924), 301-18; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1983, 232.

2. A town of Fārs (Yāḳūt: Ṭirm; *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange: Tār(u)m) situated at the extreme east of the province of the Kirmān side. The town seems to correspond to Tāravā in the land of the Yautiyā mentioned in pre-Islamic inscriptions. Ṭārum is now a village and rural district of the province of Kirmān, in the *shahrastān* of Bandar ʿAbbās.

Bibliography: Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran 1314/1896-7, 217-18; Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, i, 338; Le Strange, *Lands*, 292-5; Schwarz, *Iran*, 107-8; *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Irān-zamīn*, viii, 274. On the linguistic situation, see Ehsan Yarshater, *The Tati dialects of Ṭārom*, in M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (eds.), *W.B. Henning memorial volume*, London 1970, 451-67.

(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

TARWIYA (a.), is the name for the day 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (*yawm al-tarwiya*). The Islamic Ḥadjdj begins on this day; on it the pilgrims go from Mecca to Minā and as a rule after a short stay there go on again to be able to pass the night at ʿArafa. The chief focus on the "Day of *Tarwiya*" in the *Ḥadīth* (and later law books) is what the pilgrim should properly do and say on that day, especially with respect to performance of ritual prayers and assumption of *iḥrām*: see e.g. al-Bukhārī, 4 (*Wuḍūʾ*), 30; 25 (*Ḥadjdj*). 26, 33, 36, 145, etc.; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15 (*Ḥadjdj*). 25, 136, 138, etc.; Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, *al-Risāla*, Ar. text with Fr. tr. L. Bercher, [6]Algiers 1975, 144-5; cf. Ibn Rushd, *The distinguished jurist's primer* [*Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*], tr. I.A.H. Nyazee, Reading, U.K. 1994, 409). In Muslim works, the term *yawm al-tarwiya* is usually explained from the fact that the pilgrims on this day give their animals a plentiful supply of water in preparation for the ride through the waterless area or from their taking with them a supply of water for themselves. However, since *tarwiya* properly means "pouring" rather than "watering" animals or "taking water with one", it has been suggested that the expression goes back to some kind of sympathetic raincharm with which the rite of the pilgrimage was introduced in the oldest period. With this one might compare the pouring and sprinkling of the sacred water of Zamzam as observed by Ibn Djubayr in Shaʿbān 579/November-December 1183 among the Meccans, and by al-Batanūnī among the Bedouin during the pilgrimage in 1909. See also ḥadjdj.

Bibliography: *LA*, xix, 65; *TʿA*, x, 59; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, ii, 113; Lane, 1195; Wensinck, *Concordance*, ii, 322a; R. Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, Leipzig-Haarlem 1864, 110-15 (the explanation from the Hebrew here is no longer accepted); M. Th. Houtsma, *Het Skopelisme en het steenwerpen te Mina*, in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, 4th ser., 6th part. (1904), 185-217, 211-12; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden 1880 (*Verspreide geschriften*, i, 1 ff.), 126-8; A.J. Wensinck, in *AO*, i (1923), 164; idem, *Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles*, in *Verh. Akd. Wiss. Amsterdam*, Letterk., N.R., xxv, 2 (1925), 28; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 101, 236, cf. 83-5, 88; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*, [3]London 1927, 231-2; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 139-40; Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥidjāziyya*, 104; Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Pasha, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn*, Cairo 1344/1925, i, 35, 313; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ghafūr ʿAṭṭār, *Ḳāmūs al-Ḥadjdj wa 'l-ʿUmra*, 257-60.

(R. Paret-[W.A. Graham])

al-**ṬĀSA** (a.), the term used in mediaeval Islamic scientific texts for the magnetic compass. The earliest references to the magnetic compass in the Islamic written sources have been surveyed by E. Wiedemann in maghnāṭīs. 2. to which see also the addenda in volume IX. To these sources may now be added:

1. A treatise on the magnetic compass (called *ṭāsa*) used for finding the *ḳibla*, compiled by the Rasūlid Yemeni Sultan al-Ashraf *ca.* 690/1290 (first studied by P. Schmidl in 1994); see Pl. V. There is no mention of any deviation of the compass needle from the meridian, but we cannot be sure what that deviation might have been in the Yemen at that time. The

instrument, which is a bowl with a scale around the rim divided in degrees, is called *ṭāsa* and is to be filled with water, on which the needle floats.

2. A short description of a circular compass-box (called *ḥuḳḳ al-ḳibla*) with a needle attached at the centre (see Pl. VI) in a treatise on astronomical timekeeping by Ibn Simʿūn, who worked in Cairo *ca.* 700/1300 (this section was studied by Schmidl in 1994 and the whole treatise is currently being investigated by M. Castells). There is no mention of any magnetic deviation.

3. A treatise on a compendium or multi-purpose instrument by the mid-8th/14th-century Damascus astronomer Ibn al-Shāṭir, in which a magnetic compass is fitted in order to align the instrument in the cardinal directions (published by D.A. King and L. Janin in 1977). There is no mention of any deviation of the compass needle from the meridian, but we cannot be sure what that deviation might have been in Damascus at that time.

4. A treatise on a universal equatorial sundial by the mid-9th/15th-century Egyptian astronomer ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Wafāʾī (published by S. Tekeli in 1960). In this the author presents a value for the declination of the magnetic compass from the meridian.

5. Various later treatises in which a compass is mentioned, such as the treatise on *dāʾirat al-muʿaddil* of Seydī Reʾīs (studied by R. Lorch *et alii* in 1976). In this, al-Wafāʾī's value of the deviation is adopted, but the treatise was compiled much later in Istanbul, and the value of the declination was surely different.

6. A ceramic water-bowl compass made in Syria *ca.* 922-6/1516-20 by a craftsman named Thābit has survived. It was made for the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I and bears inscriptions purporting to give the *ḳibla* values of some 40 localities, mainly in Persia (see Pl. VII, Fig. 1). However, the information is so corrupt that it is seldom other than worthless. The instrument was clearly copied from another; indeed, it is at the end of a long process of transmission, the data being further corrupted each time a new instrument was made. It appears probable that the "original" compass that inspired the series was made in Persia in the 7th/13th century. Several of the few *ḳibla* values that are intelligible contain the same errors found in an extensive Tīmūrid geographical table that is preserved in ms. London B.L. Or. 7489, fols. 53a-58b (on this, see the addenda and corrigenda to AL-SAMT).

7. Magnetic compasses are found on two world-maps centred on Mecca that have survived from late-Ṣafawid Persia. See AL-SAMT on the first, rediscovered in 1989, especially Pl. LXVIII; the other came to light only in 1995; see now the important addenda and corrigenda to that article in volume IX and Pl. VIII.

8. Magnetic compasses are also found on various late-Ṣafawid astrolabes (see Pl. VII, Fig. 2) as well as on a late Syrian quadrant (illustrated in RUBʿ, Pl. XXXIV) and on countless late Persian *ḳibla* indicators.

Our knowledge of the transmission within the Islamic world of the various scientific notions regarding the magnetic compass is still very fragmentary, and we can be confident that more textual sources and instruments remain to be discovered in libraries and museums and private collections around the world.

Bibliography: In addition to MAGHNĀṬĪS. 2, see the addenda to that article. On various manuscripts and instruments featuring a magnetic compass, see D.A. King, *Mathematical astronomy in medieval Yemen. A bio-bibliographical survey*, Malibu, Calif. 1983, 29, and pl. VII, and now P. Schmidl, *Two early Arabic sources on the magnetic compass*, forthcoming; L. Janin and King, *The* Ṣandūq al-yawāqīt *of Ibn al-Shāṭir. An astronomical compendium*, in *Jnal. of the Hist. of Arabic Science*, i (1977), 187-256, repr. in King, *Islamic astronomical instruments*, London 1987, 1995, XII; S. Tekeli, *The equatorial armilla of ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Wafāʾī and the torquetum*, in *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, xviii (1960); W. Brice, C. Imber and R.P. Lorch, *The Dāʾire-yi Muʿaddel of Seydī ʿAlī Reʾīs*, in *Seminar on early Islamic science* (University of Manchester), i (1976). On the ceramic *ḳibla* bowl, see Sophie Cluzan *et alii* (eds.), *Syrie. Mémoire et civilisation*, Paris 1993, 440-441, no. 336 (preliminary description prepared before the inscriptions had been interpreted). On the Mecca-centred world-maps, see in addition to AL-SAMT the addenda and corrigenda to that article.

(D.A. KING)

TAṢAWWUF (A.), the phenomenon of mysticism within Islam. It is the *maṣdar* of Form V of the radical *ṣ-w-f*, indicating in the first place one who wears woollen clothes (*ṣūf*), the rough garb of ascetics and mystics. Other etymological derivations which have been put forward in Western and, especially, Islamic sources, are untenable. Hence a mystic is called *ṣūfī* or *mutaṣawwif*, colls. *ṣūfiyya* or *mutaṣawwifa*.

1. Early development in the Arabic and Persian lands.
2. Ibn al-ʿArabī and after in the Arabic and Persian lands and beyond.
3. In North Africa [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 2].
4. In 19th and 20th-century Egypt.
5. In Persia from 1800 onwards.
6. Amongst the Turks.
   (a) The Turkish lands from Anatolia to Eastern Turkistān in the pre-modern period [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 5].
   (b) The Balkans [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 6].
   (c) The Ottoman Turkish lands and Republican Turkey in the 19th and 20th centuries.
7. In Muslim India.
   (a) The pre-1800 period [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 7].
   (b) In the 19th and 20th centuries.
8. In Chinese Islam.
9. In Africa south of the Maghrib during the 19th and 20th centuries.

1. Early development in the Arabic and Persian lands.

Already among the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad there were persons who wanted more than just to strive after the outward observance of the religious law and of the usages founded by the Prophet. At the same time, while fulfilling their religious duties, they paid attention to what was happening to their souls, and tried to harmonise these internal experiences with the external observances by means of renunciation of the world and asceticism. Here, they knew that many characteristics of the Prophet's message favoured this, whilst the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries brought about a certain secularisation of life and luxury, contrary to the ideals of the original Islamic community, and from which the truly God-fearing person could save himself only by withdrawing from the world.

The representatives of the ascetic movement, which strove after giving depth to life and renouncing the world, were often called *nāsik*, pl. *nussāk*, corresponding to the Latin *viri religiosi*. As an outward sign, they wore rough woollen cloth in order to react against

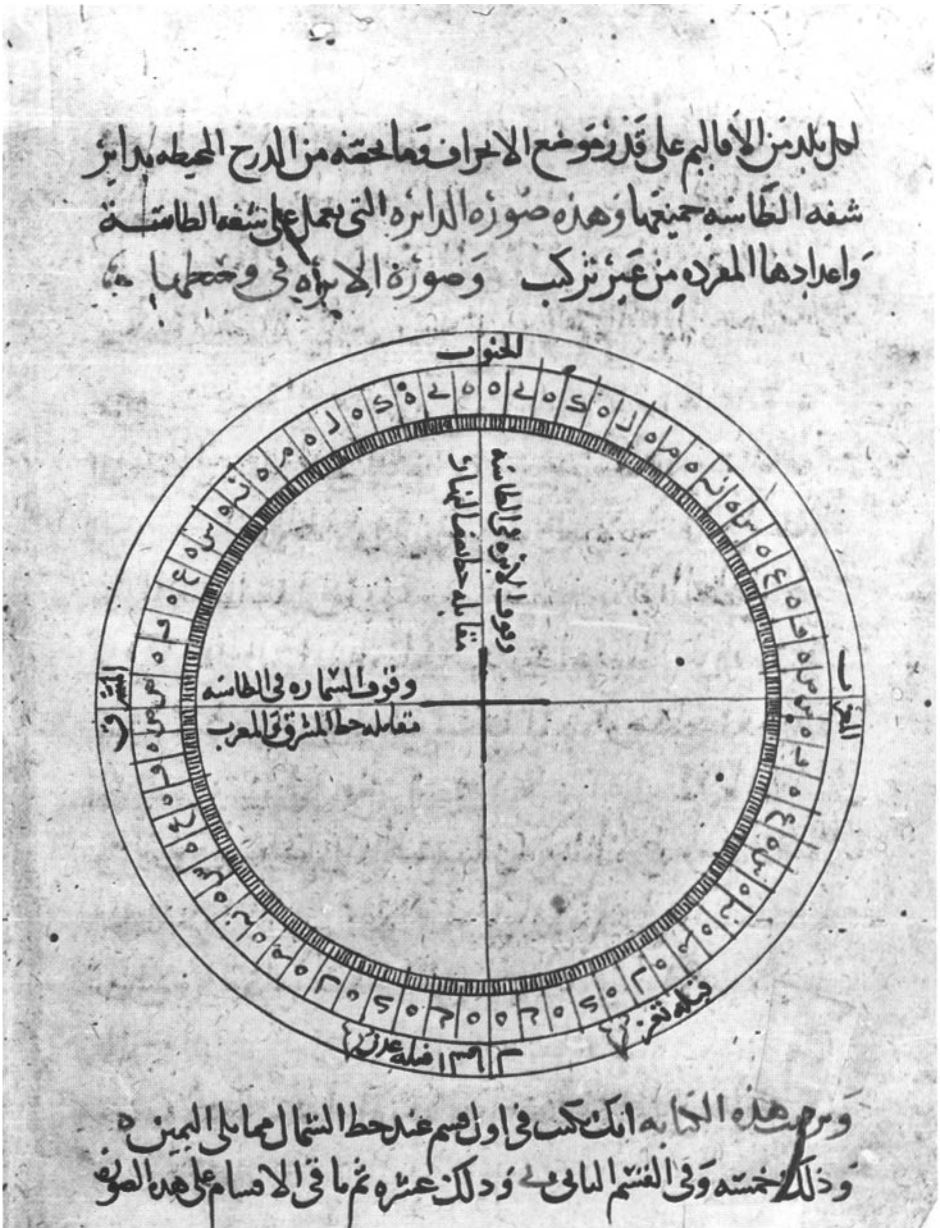

Extract from ms. Cairo Taymūr *riyāḍa* 105 of al-Ashraf's treatise. Courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.

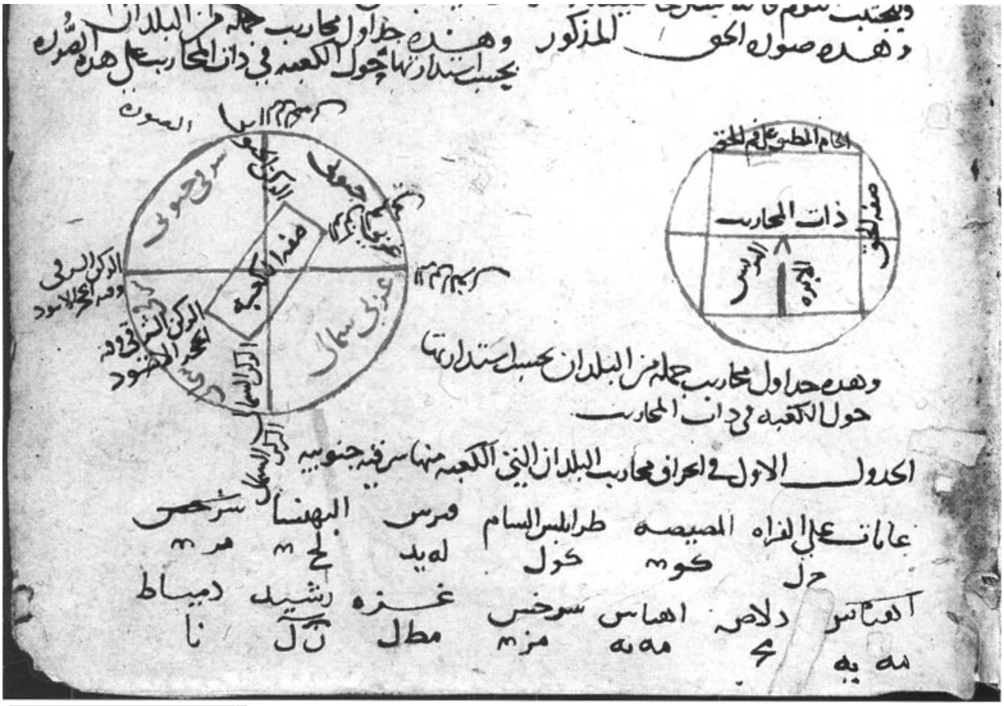

Extract from ms. Leiden Or. 468 of Ibn Simʿūn's treatise. Courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden.

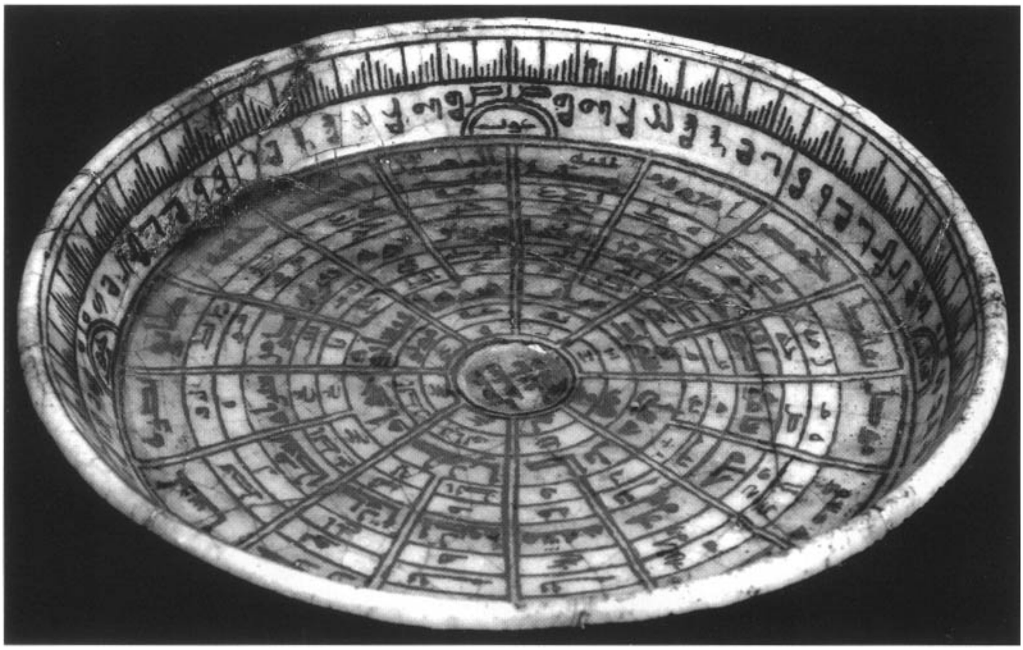

Fig. 1. The ceramic bowl made for Sultan Selīm I. Photo courtesy of the Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, and the archives of the Institut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, Frankfurt am Main.

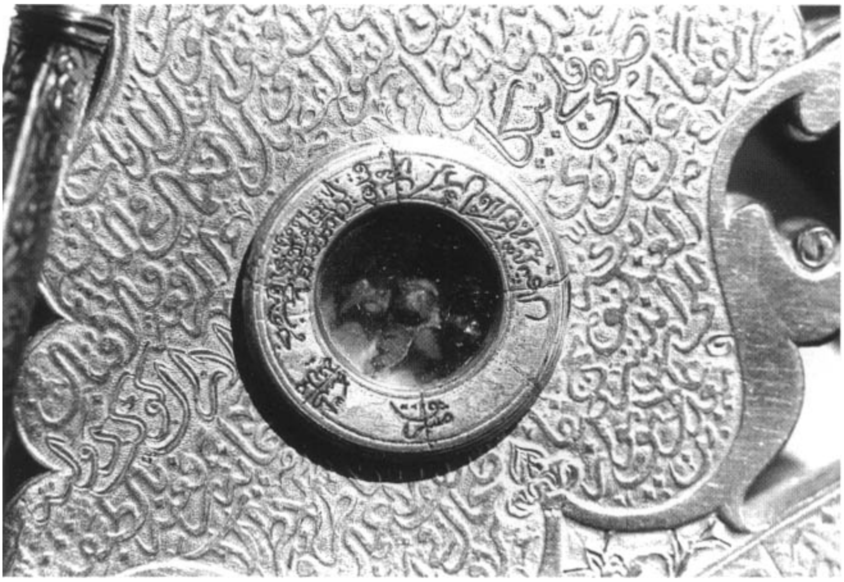

Fig. 2. A compass about 15 mm in diameter on the throne of an astrolabe made by Muhammad Mahdī *ca.* 1050/1650. Photo by D.A. King, courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

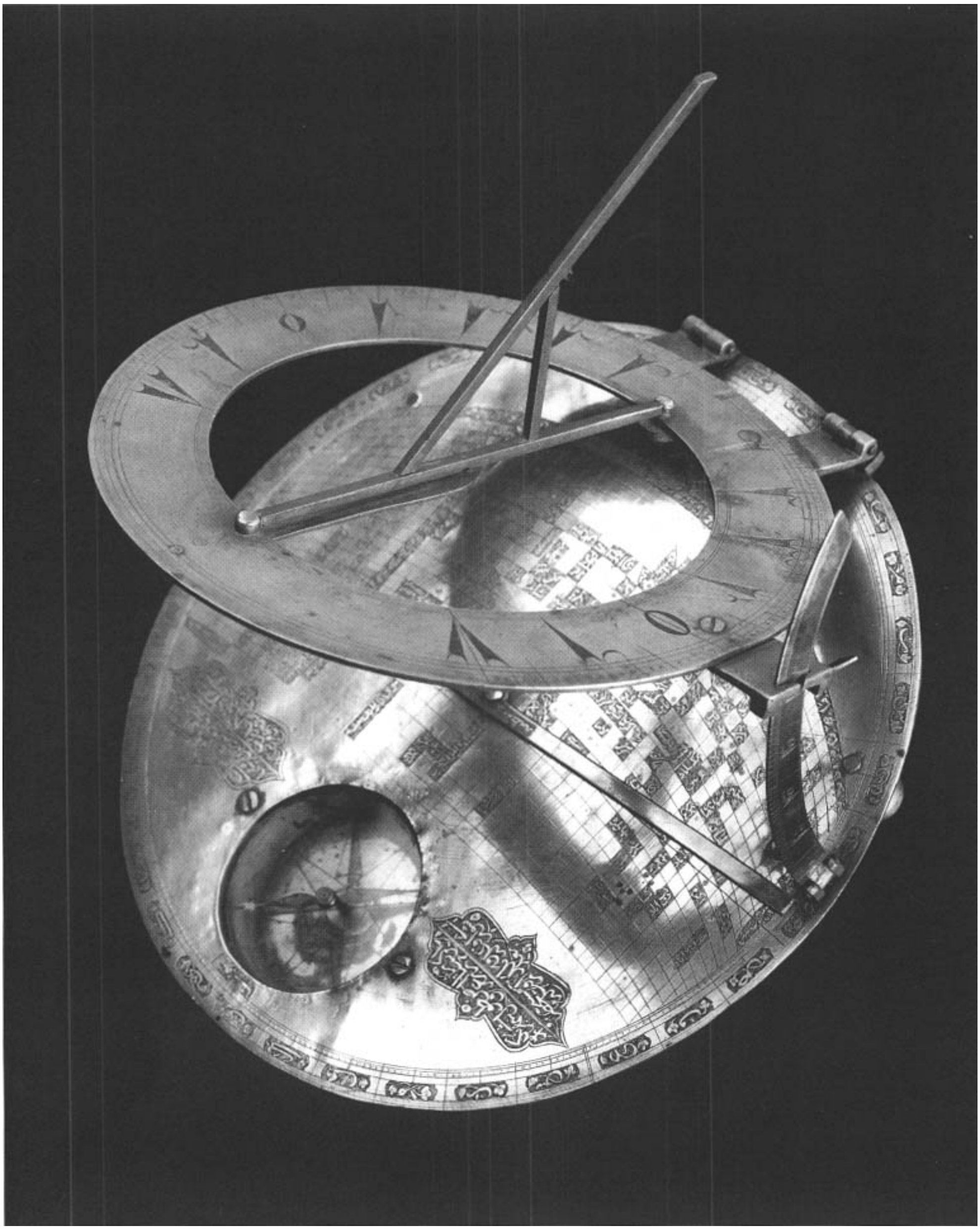

The magnetic compass and European-style sundial on the second Persian world-map, rediscovered only in 1995. Photo by Christie's of London, courtesy of the owner.

the people wearing more luxurious dress, and possibly also in imitation of the dress of Christian monks and ascetics.

A fringe group of the movement was called *Ṣūfiyya* in the 2nd/8th century. As opposed to the *religiosi*, antinomian, antisocial and anti-governmental tendencies became noticeable among them. This is in any case reported by sources which were ill-disposed towards the *Ṣūfiyya* and therefore cannot lay claim to unconditional trust. The *Ṣūfiyya* tried to achieve a sensitive relation with God. They developed views about the love of God, and for this they could quote Ḳur'ān V, 54: "He loves them, and they love Him". They also had a means to intensify this relation and to give it an artistic expression by playing music and wordly poetry, in particular love poetry, and by listening to this (*samāʿ* [*q.v.*]). For the *Ṣūfiyya*, the beloved who was celebrated in these poems was God, and the love relation described in them was their relation to God. The "hearing" often put them in a state of ecstasy (*wad̲j̲d*) brought about in particular by the dance which was connected with the hearing. Another exercise was the *d̲h̲ikr Allāh*, on which see below. Notwithstanding the fact that the *religiosi* in general rejected these practices, the word *Ṣūfī*, which in the 2nd/8th century still had been an expression for a somewhat disreputable fringe group, had been adopted for the entire mystical movement in the course of the 3rd/9th century for reasons which are not clear. On the whole, however, the name never succeeded in imposing itself universally. In the East, in K̲h̲urāsān and in Transoxania, mystics were for a long time called *ḥakīm*, pl. *ḥukamā'*, and besides this the term, "knower of God" (*ʿārif*, pl. *ʿārifūn*) was often used.

The Ṣūfī was poor (A. *faḳīr*, P. *darwīs̲h̲*). He had renounced the world as a *zāhid* (pl. *zuhhād*) and devoted himself to the ardent service of God. However, he was not only contending with the world and its seductions, but also with himself, his own base self (*nafs*), experienced as the seat of all evil lusts, which impeded real renunciation of the world and exclusive surrender to God. It was therefore his task to look into himself and exercise self-training, with the aim of doing away with the self and all the impulses of the will emanating from it. For as long as the self was enduring, true Islam, true surrender to God's will was not possible. The final obliteration of personal activity was experienced as an absorption, a cessation of being, in God (*fanā'* [*q.v.*]). A road (*ṭarīḳ* or *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*], pl. *ṭuruḳ*, the later word for "dervish order"), along which the mystic travelled (*sulūk*), led to this. In the internal experience it led across a number of way stations (*manāzil*), locations (*maḳām*, pl. *maḳāmāt*) and situations (*ḥāl*, pl. *aḥwāl*), for which in later times classification systems were established in the handbooks (see below). Already in early times, many interpreted this road as a journey towards God through the macrocosmos.

The Ṣūfīs strove to procure a coherent foundation of their theory and practice. Their guiding principles were the Ḳur'ān and Sunna, the "orthodox" custom of the Islamic world which consolidated itself in the 3rd/9th century. The science thus formed was called *ʿilm al-bāṭin*, knowledge of the inner self or internal knowledge. They opposed it to the traditional sciences, namely, tradition (*ḥadīt̲h̲*) and jurisprudence (*fiḳh*), which they designated as knowledge of the perceptible or the perceptible knowledge (*ʿilm al-ẓāhir*). The Ṣūfīs considered the status of their knowledge of the inner self as being superior to the perceptible sciences, yet they thought the latter to be indispensable for leading a God-fearing life. Rendering mysticism "orthodox" and coherent entailed the elimination of many of the attitudes of earlier times, especially those of the circles of the *Ṣūfiyya*. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the designations *Ṣūfī*, *Ṣūfiyya*, became socially acceptable in the 3rd/9th century.

The endeavour to get at a mental elucidation, at an intellectualisation, at a "rendering orthodox", is also found in Ṣūfī literature which originated in the 3rd/9th century. At the outset, there are collections of sayings by local leaders, which were then moulded into thematically-arranged collections. To these rather unassuming writings were added, in this same century, treatises by the great mystical scholars of that time, who pushed forward the development of the *ʿilm al-bāṭin*. Unfortunately, many of these writings have been lost. As authors one might mention al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857 [*q.v.*]), who worked in Baṣra and in Bag̲h̲dād. His name *al-Muḥāsibī*, i.e. he who takes himself to task, who settles accounts with himself, alludes to the contents of his writings. In the latter, a science of scrupulous introspection of great subtlety is being developed, one which was unequalled by all who came later.

At this same time, a centre of intellectual mysticism developed in the capital Bag̲h̲dād after the leadership of the movement had first been at Baṣra, in the circle and among the pupils of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. The leader of the school of Bag̲h̲dād was al-D̲j̲unayd b. Muḥammad (d. 298/910 [*q.v.*]), to whose authority almost all later Ṣūfism refers. Other authors and scholars of the ʿIrāḳ and Bag̲h̲dād schools were Abū Saʿīd al-K̲h̲arrāz (d. 279/892 or 286/899 [*q.v.*]), Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907) and Aḥmad b. ʿAṭā' (d. 310/922). To Baṣra belongs Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]). From al-D̲j̲unayd's circle also came Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (d. 320/932), but he was mainly active in the east, in K̲h̲urāsān. A solitary and a special case was the famous al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallād̲j̲ [*q.v.*] who by his exaggerated and challenging sayings provoked the state authorities and was finally executed in Bag̲h̲dād in 310/922.

In the East, Naysābūr [see NĪS̲H̲ĀPŪR] and the region around Balk̲h̲ and Tirmid̲h̲, on the upper Oxus, were centres of Ṣūfism. As the main author one should mentioned al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmid̲h̲ī (d. *ca.* 300/910), whose work is the most comprehensive of what has survived of classical Ṣūfism ("classical" here indicates the period between the 3rd/9th and the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries). The famous Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. probably in 261/874-5 [*q.v.*]) was also active in the East.

The 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries were a period of consolidation, in which there appeared the great collections and text-books which gave Ṣūfism its final orthodox tone. One may mention Abū Naṣr al-Sarrād̲j̲ (d. 378/988 [*q.v.*]) and his *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996 [*q.v.*]) and his *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*; al-Kalābād̲h̲ī (d. 380/990 [*q.v.*]) and his *al-Taʿarruf li-mad̲h̲hab ahl al-taṣawwuf*; Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1022 [*q.v.*]), who in numerous comprehensive writings collected information about Ṣūfism and Ṣūfīs; al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī (d. 465/1074), the author of the well-known *Risāla*; and the anonymous author of the textbook *Adab al-mulūk*, probably composed towards the end of the 4th/10th century.

Classical Ṣūfism found a certain culmination in the activities of Muḥammad al-G̲h̲azālī (d. 555/1111 [*q.v.*]). Originally a theologian, he was converted to mysticism after a crisis in his life. In his main work, the *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, he accomplished a synthesis of theological science and mystical *ʿilm al-bāṭin*, and continued the

endeavours of his Ṣūfī predecessors of the 4th/10th century. In lengthy passages, the *Iḥyāʾ* is simply a revision of the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, and, to a lesser extent also, of the *Risāla* of al-Ḳus͟hayrī.

Increasingly, the Persian language was also used in Ṣūfī literature, which until far into the 4th/10th century was only written in Arabic. Anṣārī of Herat (d. 481/1089) wrote mainly in Persian. With his *Kas͟hf al-maḥd͟jūb*, ʿAlī b. ʿUt͟hmān al-D͟jullābī al-Hud͟jwīrī (d. towards 1080 [*q.v.*]) composed the first Ṣūfī handbook in Persian. Sūfism was to be of particular importance for Persian poetry, in connection with which one should mention the poets ʿAṭṭār (d. *ca.* 615/1220), D͟jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) and D͟jāmī (d. 898/1492) [*q.vv.*], and later, the other languages of the Islamic world, Turkish, Urdu etc., were to follow.

If on the one hand Ṣūfism was confined in the straightjacket of Islamic theology, it experienced on the other hand enrichment and enlargement by admitting non-Islamic ways of thinking and worldviews, above all those of Classical Antiquity, mainly Neoplatonism, mixed with Aristotelian elements, which had become known to the Islamic world through translations since the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. There are also influences from Iranian religions and ways of thinking. Vague influences from non-Islamic doctrines can already be detected in the writings of the scholars of the 3rd/9th century. Above all, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmid͟hī should be mentioned, since he developed an early theosophical system. However, it was only very much later that a broad influence set in, the main exponents of this tendency being Yaḥyā b. Ḥabas͟h al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191 [*q.v.*]) from Persia and Ibn al-ʿArabī from Spain, who spent the second half of his life in Syria and Asia Minor, and died in Damascus in 638/1240 [*q.v.*]. Al-Suhrawardī joined mystical experiences with older Iranian traditions. Ibn al-ʿArabī drew up a Neoplatonic-Gnostic system, which is dominated by the idea of the unity of all beings (*waḥdat al-wud͟jūd* [see WAḤDAT AL-S͟HUHŪD AND WAḤDAT AL-WUD͟JŪD]). Early classical Ṣūfism had directed its attention to the fact that God operates everything, that God is the only real agent, to whose will and action man should submit with no will or self of his own. Post-classical Ṣūfism, whose beginning is to be dated in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, made God not only into the only agent but even into the One who exists all alone. Later, there arose, in the person of Ibn Taymiyya (d. in Damascus 728/1328 [*q.v.*]) and others, opposition against aspects of Ṣūfism which Ibn Taymiyya considered as abuses. Among other things, his criticism was aimed at the monism of being of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

In addition to non-Islamic ways of thinking, later Ṣūfism had also to integrate further elements. Through exercises and practices—above all through *d͟hikr* [*q.v.*]—the mystic could place himself in situations in which he had visionary experiences (*mukās͟hafāt* "unveilings") which he interpreted as information coming from higher worlds, even from God Himself. A system of classification and interpretation of the visions was developed. Here mention should be made of Nad͟jm al-Dīn al-Kubrā from K͟hīwa in K͟hʷārazm (d. 620/1220 [*q.v.*]), in whose school attention was given in particular to the visionary element. Already in the 5th/11th century, al-Ḳus͟hayrī began to incorporate this element into the doctrinal system of Ṣūfism, and it is found in its entirety in the last classical handbook of Ṣūfism, the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* of Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 635/1234 [*q.v.*] in Bag͟hdād). It went through a Persian translation and adaptation in the 8th/14th century, and has remained a standard work of Persian mystics until the present day.

Mystic life was increasingly cultivated in the orders (*ṭuruḳ*), and these have been its characteristic home until the present day. If nowadays Islamic mysticism is mentioned, in general, gatherings like those of the orders are meant. These last originated in the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, during which Ṣūfī groups were formed with fixed rules and hierarchically-arranged leadership, but gatherings must have existed already earlier. Al-Hud͟jwīrī enumerates ten traditions of schools. But it is not yet a question of orders proper, if indeed one understands by order a Ṣūfī gathering, with a hierarchical organisation, fixed rules and rituals.

In the early days, well into the 4th/10th century, the pupil-teacher relation was a very loose one. The pupil (*murīd*) often visited several teachers (*s͟hayk͟h*, pl. *s͟huyūk͟h*) in order to seek instruction about the path. Later, the typical teacher giving instruction was called *s͟hayk͟h al-taʿlīm*. From the end of the 3rd/9th century onwards, in fact, at first in eastern Persia, a change became visible in this relationship. Next to mere instruction came personal education by the teacher, who took the pupil much more under his wing so that the relationship became closer. The customs which developed from these teacher-pupil relations were the foundation of the later rules of orders. After the instruction of the novice was finished, he obtained from his teacher an authorisation (*id͟jāza* [*q.v.*]) and, as an external sign, a rough cloak (*k͟hirḳa*). To his outfit also often belonged a prayer rug (*sad͟jd͟jāda*), a rosary (*misbaḥa*) and a beggar's bowl (*kas͟hkūl*).

The most important orders are the Ḳādiriyya, the Kubrawiyya, the Naḳs͟hbandiyya, the K͟halwatiyya and the S͟hād͟hiliyya [*q.vv.*]. As a rule, the orders have fixed, written rules, which usually deal with the following points:

1. They give the order's affiliation (*silsila*), which is traced back from the present leader to the Prophet Muḥammad. It may comprise 30-40 degrees. These affiliations are frequently not very historical; in the various orders, they often coincide from the Prophet onwards till the foundation of the specific order in the 7th-9th/13th-15th centuries, but after that date, differentiation appears.

2. The conditions and rituals for admission into the order. Some orders take men and women, some only men. The novice owes the *s͟hayk͟h* unconditional obedience (*perinde ac cadaver*), one which refers also to the affairs of everyday life.

3. Instructions about the use of the formulas for the *d͟hikr*. They deal with the regulation of breathing, with rhythms in which these formulas must be recited, and with the different speed in which this has to be performed.

4. Instructions regarding seclusion (*k͟halwa*). The Ṣūfī often withdraws for a length of time, which may span weeks, in special, screened-off small rooms, in order to devote himself to *d͟hikr* exercises. As a rule, very precise instructions are given for these; they deal with the site and the arrangement of space, the length of the seclusion, the sequence of the formulae and litanies, the prescriptions for posture, and practical points like maintenance and questions of cleanliness.

5. Often advice is also given concerning the relation of the members of the order among themselves.

The most important practice of the Ṣūfīs and of the Ṣūfī communities is the remembrance of God (*d͟hikr*), and with some orders also listening to music and dance. These were rejected by the theologians, as well as by Ibn Taymiyya and his school; others,

like al-Ghazālī, accepted just *samāʿ*. In early times, even during the Prophet's lifetime, *dhikr* could consist of the picturing of God in the mind and of thinking of Him, to which aim meetings were held. The early *Ṣūfiyya* recited certain formulas in common. Later, and up to the present time, it means to have God's name (*Allāh*) always present and to pronounce it while paying attention to certain breathing techniques. This recital of God's name could lead to ecstatic situations, which were accompanied by visions. At times, the schools or orders developed specific methods for remembering God. At the admission into the order these methods were "implanted" into the novice by the teacher (*talḳīn al-dhikr*).

Many prominent teachers and personalities of Ṣūfism attained an odour of sanctity soon after their death, some even during their lifetime. Supernatural knowledge and the power to work wonders were ascribed to them, and their tomb often became a place of pilgrimage (*ziyāra* [*q.v.*]). Soon a garland of stories and legends around their person and their doings came into being, thus forming the basis of hagiographies. The first were written in Arabic, but unfortunately these have survived only in Persian translations.

The example of wonder-working saints was the Prophet Muḥammad himself, to whom supernatural features were ascribed by the Ṣūfīs. Already for the oldest Ṣūfīs, the Prophet's life (*sīra*) and sayings and doings (*sunna*) were the example. The Ṣūfī should not only follow him with body and soul (the *imitatio Muhammadi*) but also exert himself to keep Muḥammad himself always present in thoughts and feelings. This representation could be intensified to such an extent that Ṣūfīs thought they had Muḥammad in person before their eyes, who communicated with them by words and advice, for they were and are convinced that Muḥammad after his death lives on in a transformed existence. In later times the term "Muḥammad's path" (*ṭarīḳa muḥammadiyya*) was used in this context.

The mystical path is in principle open to every Muslim. According to the Ṣūfīs, therefore, anybody can arrive at higher forms of religious knowledge, even if this must be achieved under the guidance of a *shaykh*. These achievements are promised to the novice as fruits of the path. The Shīʿa, on the other hand, for which religious authority and knowledge must always be connected with blood percentage with the Prophet Muḥammad through the Imāms, were and are still hostile to this "democratic" idea of knowledge upheld by the Ṣūfīs.

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2. Ibn al-ʿArabī and after in the Arabic and Persian lands and beyond.

i. *The present state of research.* Judgements here have to be made with caution, since this period is far less known and far less studied than the first one. There is little doubt, however, about its importance, and Marshall Hodgson was probably right when he wrote "Once the Ṣûfîs came to espouse a distinctive metaphysic, that metaphysic became the most influential form of speculation among Muslims generally... Ṣûfism, especially the new intellectualizing expressions of it, served more than any other movement to draw together all strands of intellectual life" (*The venture of Islam*, Chicago 1974, ii, 230). The teachings of Ibn al-ʿArabī (560-638/1165-1240 [*q.v.*]) were without doubt pervasively influential, but the exact nature of this needs exploration, as do the works of his followers and commentators; also, several of his contemporaries were authors of major importance who established lines of teaching and influence that extended for centuries to come.

There is the further problem of defining Ṣūfism/*taṣawwuf* in this period. Authors known as Ṣūfīs may or may not have applied the term to themselves. All through the period one finds a broad spectrum of attitudes, beliefs and practices that have been labelled as Ṣūfism by both Muslims and outside observers. One is also overwhelmed by the sheer mass and diversity of material, in various forms of art, a vast range of devotional material, popular stories, hagiographies, handbooks on *adab*, collections of sayings or *malfūẓāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], etc. The Ṣūfī orders [see ṬARĪḲA] display its social and political aspect, but Ṣūfism continued to be transmitted by other channels also; Ṣūfī texts became part of the curriculum for any well-educated scholar.

ii. *The Ṣūfism of Ibn al-ʿArabī.* If Ibn al-ʿArabī came to be known as *al-s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-akbar*, "the Greatest Master", this is because he offered enormously erudite and challenging explanations of all the basic issues of Islamic theory and practice. However, given the complexity, profundity, prolixity, and diversity of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings, it is difficult if not impossible to make categorical statements about his views on any important theoretical issue. Certainly the attempts that have often made to categorise his thinking—such as calling it "static" as opposed to "dynamic" (Massignon and Gardet)—have little basis in his writings. Although we are told everywhere in the later literature, both Islamic and Western, that Ibn al-ʿArabī established the perspective of *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd*, he never employs this expression, which has a complex history among both his followers and his critics, meaning different things to different authors (see Chittick, *Rūmī and waḥdat al-wujūd*, in *Poetry and mysticism in Islam*, Cambridge 1994, 70-111). It is misleading to say without qualification that Ibn al-ʿArabī believes in any specific doctrine. On any given issue, his position depends on the standpoint he chooses to adopt in the context, and he acknowledges the conditional validity of every standpoint. This relativity of standpoints does not negate the fact that some standpoints are more true than others, or that immediate happiness after death can only be achieved by following the prophets, which, in Islamic terms, means observing the *s̲h̲arīʿa*.

Once we treat generalisations with caution, we can say that certain notions play central roles in Ibn al-ʿArabī's thinking, such as *wud̲j̲ūd* (existence, being, finding), the divine names, God's self-disclosure (*tad̲j̲allī* [*q.v.*]), and imagination (*k̲h̲ayāl*). Probably the most basic of these notions, however, is the perfect human being (*al-insān al-kāmil*), who is looked upon as integrating of all reality, since he is the origin and goal of the universe, the model and criterion for human development, and the guide on the path to God. Several of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works, such as his famous *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, his monumental *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, and his short *al-ʿAbādila*, are structured in terms of various modalities of human perfection. These modalities in turn are viewed as manifestations of the multiform reality of the Ḳur'ān (see Chodkiewicz, *Ocean*, ch. 2), and every standpoint of his starts from the Ḳur'ān and the basic hermeneutical principle that God intends every sense that can be understood from his Word without distorting the plausible meanings of the Arabic language.

Instead of attempting to summarise Ibn al-ʿArabī's worldview, it may be useful to suggest how his perspective might help us understand the place of Ṣūfism in Islamic history. It is well to keep in mind, however, that Ibn al-ʿArabī would probably not call himself a "Ṣūfī" in any limiting sense, since he rarely employs the term, and, in a tripartite division of the Men of God (*rid̲j̲āl Allāh*), he places the Ṣūfīs in an intermediate category, above the ascetics (*zuhhād*) to be sure, but below the Blameworthy (*malāmiyya*), who are also called the Realisers (*muḥaḳḳiḳūn*). In this highest category, he numbers the Prophet and the greatest friends of God (*awliyā'*), including himself. Their basic activity is *taḥḳīḳ*, which Ibn al-ʿArabī understands in terms of the Prophet's command, "Give everything that has a *ḥaḳḳ* its *ḥaḳḳ*". Everything in existence has a *ḥaḳḳ*—a truth, a reality, a right, an appropriate claim—or else God would not have created it. The function of the Realiser is to discern a thing's *ḥaḳḳ* and act accordingly, and Ibn al-ʿArabī sets out principles in terms of which every *ḥaḳḳ* can be discerned and acted upon.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings are intimately tied to the Ḳur'ān in diverse ways, both obvious and hidden. His writings attempt to show how the Ḳur'ān manifests the reality of God in its every chapter, verse, word and letter. On a doctrinal level, his governing idea is *tawḥīd* or the assertion of God's unity, to be understood from two basic points of view, which can be labelled by the two primary names of the Holy Book—*ḳur'ān* and *furḳān*. According to one traditional under-

standing, *ḳur'ān* means "bringing together" (*djam'*); hence it represents a perspective that is complementary to *furḳān*, which means "separation" and "differentiation". The Ḳur'ān differentiates all the phenomena of the universe in keeping with God's knowledge and wisdom, but it also brings all things together under the umbrella of God's unitary creativity. Reality's differentiation is prefigured in God's external knowledge of creation, and its unity derives from the divine oneness. God is one through his Essence (*dhāt*) and "many" through his differentiated knowledge. His oneness pertains to *wudjūd*, and his manyness to the things, which, *qua* things, have no *wudjūd*. The unifying principles of the many things are known as the "divine names". This is what Ibn al-'Arabī means when he says, as he often does, that God is the One/the Many (*al-wāḥid al-kathīr*)—He is one through His Essence and many through His names. For its part, the Holy Book, as God's eternal speech, designates both the oneness and the manyness of reality. Its two names, *ḳur'ān* and *furḳān*, signify the two basic principles in terms of which God creates the universe and reveals himself in the "signs" (*āyāt*) that are found in the three fundamental domains of manifestation: the universe, the soul, and the Book.

Sa'īd al-Dīn Farghānī (d. *ca.* 695/1296 [*q.v.*]), who is probably the first follower of Ibn al-'Arabī to use the term *waḥdat al-wudjūd* in a technical sense, employs it to designate the side of *ḳur'ān*, and he contrasts it with *kathrat al-'ilm*, "the manyness of [God's] knowledge", which designates the side of *furḳān*. For him as for many other members of Ibn al-'Arabī's school, the goal of knowledge and practice is to establish a happy balance between *furḳān* and *ḳur'ān*, both in the soul and in human interactions. In later Islamic history, especially in the debates over Ibn al-'Arabī that raged in the Indian subcontinent, the perspective of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* was said to assert that "All is He" (*hama ūst*), whereas the opposing view, labelled *waḥdat al-shuhūd* by Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1604 [*q.v.*]), was said to maintain that "All is from Him" (*hama az ūst*) or "All is through Him" (*hama bidūst*).

If we examine the *Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, we see that Ibn al-'Arabī's basic approach is to deal with any Ḳur'ānic verse, *ḥadīth*, or intellectual issue in terms of these two perspectives. He often refers to the two as *tanzīh* and *tashbīh*, the assertion of God's incomparability and the declaration of His similarity, or, loosely, transcendence and immanence. He sees the first standpoint expressed plainly in the divine names of majesty (*djalāl*) and wrath (*ghaḍab*), while the second appears more clearly in the names of beauty (*djamāl*) and mercy (*raḥma*). He associates the first with the rational faculty and its activities (*'aḳl, naẓar, fikr*), and the second with imagination (*khayāl*) and direct vision (*kashf, shuhūd, dhawk, futūḥ*—unveiling, witnessing, tasting, opening). In his view, these are the two basic standpoints of Islamic thought, represented roughly by the philosophers, theologians, and jurists on the one hand and the Ṣūfīs on the other. In contrast, the standpoint of *taḥḳīḳ* acknowledges the limited truth and rightfulness of every standpoint. Ibn al-'Arabī affirms the necessity of both modes of knowing and criticises any attempts to limit knowledge to one mode or the other. Hence he asserts both the oneness of God's *wudjūd* and the manyness of His knowledge, the unity of His Essence and the multiplicity of His names, *ḳur'ān* and *furḳān*, *tashbīh* and *tanzīh*, *khayāl* and *'aḳl*, "He" and "not He". On the human side, these two perspectives are the "two eyes" (*'aynān*) with which people see their way to God. Ignoring the vision of either eye yields a distorted view of things, valid within its own limits, but inadequate as a guide to God and as a judge of other viewpoints.

What then is the role of the *sharī'a*? Ibn al-'Arabī employs the term *sharī'a* (and *shar'*) generally to signify the whole range of teachings that have come through the prophets, more specifically to designate the teachings that have come in the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna, and most specifically to mean the *aḥkām* or revealed legal rulings as contrasted with the *akhbār* or revealed reports. The function of the *sharī'a* in all these meanings is to bring about the return to God in a mode that guarantees felicity (*sa'āda*), that is, salvation. Hence, the *sharī'a*, including all the specific *aḥkām*, is the indispensable guide.

Ibn al-'Arabī drew from all the Islamic sciences in his works, especially *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, grammar, *fiḳh*, and *kalām*. Methodologically, what differentiates him from masters of all these sciences is his reliance on *kashf* and *khayāl* as the corrective to *'aḳl*. *Kashf* or unveiling is a type of vision that sees the presence of *al-wudjūd al-ḥaḳḳ*, the Real Being, manifest in God's signs. The importance of unveiling, which discerns invisible realities in their images, comes out clearly in Ibn al-'Arabī's theory of imagination, and no discussion of his teachings can afford to ignore the centrality of this term to his vocabulary. *Khayāl*, he tells us, is the centrepiece of the necklace of knowledge, the integrating factor. It is the human cognitive faculty that sees connections and sameness, and as such it is contrasted with *'aḳl*, which sees difference and otherness. By nature *khayāl* inclines toward *tashbīh*, and by nature *'aḳl* tends toward *tanzīh*. If knowledge is left in the hands of *'aḳl*, there can be no understanding of God's presence in the world, and if it is left in the hands of *khayāl*, there can be no understanding of God's distance, transcendence, and unity. *'Aḳl* easily grasps God's inaccessibility and majesty, but it cannot understand, save theoretically, His nearness and beauty, and the direct perception of God's presence can only be achieved through imagination.

Khayāl, then, is the human cognitive faculty that perceives the object in its mirror image, or the signified in its signifier. More broadly, the term designates the notion of an "image", which is neither the thing that it images nor completely different from it, and in this sense it may be treated as a synonym for *barzakh* [*q.v.*] or "isthmus", which refers to any intermediate reality. Thus the term *khayāl* can designate the universe itself (*al-'ālam*), which is an intermediary between God and absolute nothingness (*al-'adam al-muṭlaḳ*), since it is neither the one nor the other, though it is the image of both. On a lower level, *khayāl* refers to the world of imagination or *mundus imaginalis*, which is the intermediary between the angelic world of pure spirits and the sensory world of pure bodies, hence the locus of visionary events and the resurrection. Microcosmically, *khayāl* can designate the human self or soul (*nafs*), which bridges spirit and body, light and darkness, knowledge and ignorance, awareness and unconsciousness. Because the soul is imaginal, it is never purely spiritual or purely bodily, so it can never be pure light or pure darkness. Like the universe itself, it undergoes constant development, change, and transmutation through the new creation (*al-khalḳ al-djadīd*), the never-ending process whereby the universe emerges from the infinite light of God and returns to it. Since nothing has true and permanent *wudjūd* but God, and since God's mercy prevails over His wrath, felicity will ultimately reach all the people of the Fire. The principle of the pre-

dominance of mercy over wrath, asserted explicitly in the *ḥadīth* literature and implicitly in the Ḳur'ān, determines the final end of everything. *Ḳur'ān* will eventually triumph over *furḳān*, since light is more real than darkness, and the oneness of *al-wudjūd al-ḥaḳḳ* is more basic to reality than the manyness of the things, though the traces of manyness will never disappear on any level. From the standpoint of human welfare and ultimate felicity, *furḳān*, *tanzīh*, and *ʿaḳl* remain vital and inescapable.

With this extremely brief overview of Ibn al-ʿArabī's overall perspective, we can suggest that, if he is accepted as the *shaykh al-akbar* of the "Ṣūfīs", then "Ṣūfism" involves seeing with both eyes, discerning the *ḥaḳḳ* of each thing on the basis of the Ḳur'ān and the *ḥadīth*, and giving each thing its *ḥaḳḳ* through practice according to the *sharīʿa*, the Sunna, and the example of the People of God (*ahl Allāh*). The importance of the *sharīʿa* in Ibn al-ʿArabī's own writings cannot be overstated. The idea that Ibn al-ʿArabī's *waḥdat al-wudjūd* devalues or overthrows the *sharīʿa*, though popular among his critics (and some fans), is untenable; as he often insists, the *sharīʿa* is inseparable from the *ḥaḳīḳa*.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's Ṣūfism clearly remains inaccessible to almost everyone, a point that he acknowledges when he calls himself the "seal of the Muḥammadan friends of God", but it remains the ideal against which numerous Ṣūfī teachers have judged themselves and others. For him and them, Ṣūfism in its highest sense is *taḥḳīḳ* in both theory and practice. On the level of theory, both *ḳur'ān* and *furḳān* must be given their proper due. Theory relates primarily to the *akhbār*, the reports from the prophets, not to the *aḥkām*, the prophetic rulings.

Since the discussion of the *aḥkām* pertains to the second half of the *shahāda*, it is weighted in favour of *furḳān*, not *ḳur'ān*. The specific standpoint of the legal rulings is the Muḥammadan perfection, which is asserted in relation to human salvation and damnation, and here Ibn al-ʿArabī leaves less room for manœuvre. He asserts *ḳur'ān* only by acknowledging the correctness of every *madhhab* and every *mudjtahid*, but this does not allow for a diminution of the *sharīʿa*'s authority.

The *sharīʿa* was established by God with certain specific aims, and these cannot be achieved unless it is observed. The fact that God has established other *sharīʿa*s for other segments of humanity pertains to the domain of *akhbār*, not *aḥkām*, so it has no relevance to the specific acts that Muslims are required to perform as followers of Muḥammad.

This then may suggest something of what "Ṣūfism" involves for Ibn al-ʿArabī. In a more limited understanding of the word *taṣawwuf*—and it is this understanding that corresponds more closely to the views of sympathetic outside observers—it denotes a type of Islamic religiosity that usually stresses the first term in the following complementary pairs: *ḳur'ān* and *furḳān*, *tashbīh* and *tanzīh*, *kashf* and *ʿaḳl*, mercy and wrath, *ḥaḳīḳa* and *sharīʿa*, intoxication (*sukr*) and sobriety (*ṣaḥw*), intimacy (*uns*) and awe (*hayba*), meaning (*maʿnā*) and form (*ṣūra*), spirit and letter. In contrast, *sharīʿa*-minded Islam stresses the second term in all these pairs. In the lived reality of Islam over history, these pairs can be taken as designating the extreme limits of various spectra according to which Muslims understand their religion and put it into practice. As for groups such as *bī-sharʿ* Ṣūfīs or the Ḥurūfiyya [*q.v.*], one needs to keep in mind that the accounts often derive from critics and that modern scholars (and, for very different reasons, politicised Muslims of all sorts) are constitutionally predisposed to propagate negative reports. If it is found that the reports are indeed correct, then such groups would represent a total rupture of the balance between *furḳān* and *ḳur'ān*, if not an outright rejection of the normative Islam that is established in the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna. In the same way, modern "fundamentalism" can be seen as a rupture of balance in the direction of *furḳān* (cf. M. Woodward, *Islam in Java: normative piety and mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, Tucson 1989).

iii. *Ibn al-ʿArabī's contemporaries.* Ibn al-ʿArabī appears as a watershed in the history of Ṣūfism partly because he solidifies a certain shift in focus that had gradually been occurring in Ṣūfī writings. Before his time, most authors of theoretical works had devoted their efforts to issues of practice, morality, ethics, and "spiritual psychology" (the stations and states—*maḳāmāt* and *aḥwāl*), but from his time onward, Ṣūfī works commonly deal with topics that had been discussed in detail only in *kalām* and *falsafa*, such as *tawḥīd*, *nubuwwa*, and *maʿād*, even though writing on the earlier topics continues unabated. The Ṣūfī works differ from those of other disciplines by their stress on *ḳur'ān* over *furḳān*, which means, among other things, that *kashf* predominates over *ʿaḳl* as a means to understand the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna.

Within the writings of authors known as Ṣūfīs, this same spectrum of thought and practice can be discerned, and the 7th/13th century is a highpoint of Islamic history in terms of the diversity and richness of the Ṣūfī spectrum. Compared to most other Ṣūfī authors, Ibn al-ʿArabī appears as the most prolific and profound of the masters of *furḳān*, which helps explain why Western scholars have often spoken of his "systematisation" of Ṣūfism. In a certain sense, his writings are systematic, especially when contrasted with masters of the other extreme, such as Ḥāfiẓ or Yūnus Emre, but not when compared to the works of theologians, philosophers, and jurists.

Authors who stand on the *furḳānī* side of the Ṣūfī spectrum write relatively systematic works in which they differentiate and discern on the basis of a sober evaluation of all things' distance from God, but those who stress the *ḳur'ānī* side are drawn toward benevolent inattention to distinctions and an intoxicated celebration of the oneness of all being. *Furḳān* is the domain of knowledge and intelligence, *ḳur'ān* the realm of love and union. The knowers strive to achieve the differentiated vision of each thing in the context of the divine reality, but lovers try to overcome all difference so that nothing remains except the eternal Beloved.

If the natural vehicle of *furḳānī* discourse is technical prose, the most effective vehicle for *ḳur'ānī* language is poetry and its performance. Poetry is able to bring God's presence into the direct awareness of the listener without the intermediary of rational analysis, which by nature removes God from the stage. The two greatest masters of explicitly Ṣūfī poetry are contemporaries of Ibn al-ʿArabī—Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235 [*q.v.*]) in Arabic and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273 [*q.v.*]) in Persian, as is another great Ṣūfī poet of Persian, Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 618/1221 [*q.v.*]). Poetry's function is made most explicit in Rūmī's works. "God is beautiful", as the Prophet said, "and He loves beauty", so everything beautiful is lovable and, in the last analysis, all beautiful things take their beauty from God. Why, Rūmī asks, do you take water from the drainpipe? You should recognise that all beauty is God's beauty, all love is love for God,

and every intermediary disintegrates and disappears. Poetry's evocation of beauty is evocation of God. Reminding people of beauty stirs up love in their hearts, and all love redounds on God. Nonetheless, *furḳān* cannot be abandoned, for without it, love will remain forever misguided.

Although Rūmī stands on the side of *ḳur'ān* when contrasted with Ibn al-ʿArabī, his dialectic of love presents us with the same complementarity between *ḳur'ān* and *furḳān*. Ibn al-ʿArabī differentiates in the technical language of the *ʿulamā'* between the eye that perceives *tanzīh* and the eye that sees *tashbīh*, but Rūmī describes in the language of the common people the experience of separation (*firāḳ*) and union (*wiṣāl*). Union is to live in God's presence, beauty and gentleness (*luṭf*), and separation is to suffer His absence, majesty and severity (*ḳahr*). But mercy prevails over wrath, so every cruelty (*djafā'*) of the Beloved is in fact an act of faithfulness (*wafā'*). In showing their sincerity, God's lovers welcome the pain (*dard*) of the dregs (*durd*) along with the joy of the wine. In this poetic discourse, rooted in images, symbols, and signs of the transcendent, bold expressions of paradox—"All is He!," "I am the Beloved!"—are standard fare.

No one doubts that Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Rūmī were great Ṣūfī poets, but questions have been raised concerning the Ṣūfī content of the works of many important poets during this whole period. For some observers, Ḥāfiẓ (d. *ca.* 792/1390 [*q.v.*]) appears as the greatest of all Persian Ṣūfī poets, but for others he is simply a genius who employed the available imagery. Amīr Khusraw (d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]) was the foremost Indo-Persian poet and a disciple of the great Ṣūfī master Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]), yet, we are told, there is little trace of Ṣūfism in his poetry. The poems of Ibn al-ʿAfīf al-Tilimsānī (d. 688/1289 [*q.v.*]), it is said, should probably not be given a Ṣūfī interpretation, even though his father was a famous disciple of Ibn al-ʿArabī and was violently attacked by Ibn Taymiyya. The Awadhī poetry of Malik Muḥammad Djāyasī (d. *ca.* 949/1542 [*q.v.*]) deals almost exclusively with "secular" topics, yet he is recognised as a great Čishtī saint. Discussions of this sort miss an important point: What conveys the basic message of *ḳur'ān* is not so much the explicit content as the psychological impact on the listener. The single most important feature of Ṣūfī poetry is its beauty, a beauty that entrances and intoxicates. In Ṣūfī theoretical works, authors write about intoxication, but readers stay sober. Ṣūfī poetry (and, in fact, any good poetry well sung) conveys intoxication, as most who have attended sessions of the musical recitation of poetry known as *ḳawwālī* in the subcontinent will attest. As for someone like Ḥāfiẓ, he is a Ṣūfī poet not only because of his repeated references to Ṣūfī teachings but also because, within the tradition, it is inconceivable that any but a great friend of God could transmute language with such alchemy. For the modern scholar, whose radical *furḳān* leaves no room for "mysticism", Ḥāfiẓ's title *lisān al-ghayb* ("the tongue of the unseen") is simply a poetical way of saying that he was remarkable; for the Ṣūfī tradition, it means that the invisible, divine master of the universe used Ḥāfiẓ as His tongue, just as He used Rūmī as his reed. The metaphor is the reality.

Although, in the domain of *furḳānī* Ṣūfism, Ibn al-ʿArabī may indeed deserve the appellation *al-shaykh al-akbar* that his followers gave to him, there are many other important figures whose lifetimes overlapped with his and who deserve much more attention than modern scholarship has given to them. In Ibn al-ʿArabī's own view, the greatest of his contemporaries was Shuʿayb Abū Madyan (d. 594/1197 [*q.v.*]), who left behind disciples like Ibn Mashīsh (d. 625/1228 [*q.v.*]), the master of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), the eponym of the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] (see V. Cornell, *The way of Abū Madyan. Doctrinal and poetical works of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī*, Cambridge 1996). Among other important contemporaries in the *furḳānī* domain were the philosophers Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl (d. 587/1191 [*q.v.*]) and Afḍal al-Dīn Kāshānī (7th/13th century), both of whom have a Ṣūfī orientation in some of their writings. Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 669/1270 [*q.v.*]), born like Ibn al-ʿArabī in Murcia, displays a highly sophisticated and articulate philosophical mind, so much so that some scholars have considered him a Peripatetic, but the practical implications and Ṣūfī orientation of his teachings becomes obvious in his *rasā'il* and his *Budd al-ʿārif*. He seems to be the first author to have used the term *waḥdat al-wudjūd* in anything like a technical sense, and his understanding of this expression (along with the polemical attack on it by Ibn Taymiyya) probably resulted in the idea that *waḥdat al-wudjūd* is equivalent to the Persian expression *hama ūst*. Also of interest are Ibn Sabʿīn's students and fellow-Andalusians, Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Hūd (d. 699/1300) and the poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī (d. 668/1269). Awḥad al-Dīn Balyānī (d. 686/1288) of Shīrāz seems to be following in Ibn Sabʿīn's footsteps in his famous *Risālat al-aḥadiyya*, which was long attributed wrongly in Western sources to Ibn al-ʿArabī (see M. Chodkiewicz, *Awḥad al-Dīn Balyānī. Epître sur l'unicité absolue*, Paris 1982).

Ibn al-ʿArabī himself had several disciples who wrote significant works and exercised a determining influence in the way the tradition was to interpret him; these include al-Badr al-Ḥabashī (d. *ca.* 618/1221), Ibn Sawdakīn (d. 646/1248), ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291), and especially Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūnawī (d. 673/1274 [*q.v.*]). Both al-Tilimsānī and Ḳūnawī were independently minded in their readings of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works. The former sometimes employs his commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* to criticise his master's positions, and both were far more inclined toward *falsafa* than Ibn al-ʿArabī. Ḳūnawī's direct students included three major transmitters of his teachings—the Persian poet Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī (688/1289 [*q.v.*]), author of the short prose classic *Lamaʿāt*; Saʿīd al-Dīn Farghānī, author of the first commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'iyya*; and Mu'ayyid al-Dīn al-Djandī (d. *ca.* 700/1300), author of the most influential of the more than one hundred commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ*. Perhaps pertaining also to Ḳūnawī's circle is one Naṣīr or Nāṣir al-Dīn Khū'ī, who is probably the author of a widely-read Persian work that helped popularise some of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings, *Tabṣirat al-mubtadī* (see Chittick, *Faith and practice of Islam. Three thirteenth century Sufi texts*, Albany 1992). Also connected with Ibn al-ʿArabī's circle was Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. 635/1238 [*q.v.*]), a well-known author of Persian quatrains. Ibn al-ʿArabī entrusted Ḳūnawī's training to him for a period of time, but there is no apparent trace of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings in his poetry. The idea that Rūmī was a student of or influenced by Ibn al-ʿArabī, propounded by Nicholson and others, has no textual basis. Other authors of great importance in this period include Rūzbihān Baḳlī (d. 606/1209) and Rūmī's father Bahā' Walad (d. 628/1231), both of whom exposed the reality of love in extraordinarily beautiful Persian prose. Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221 [*q.v.*]), the eponym of the Kubra-

wiyya, has been noted for his psychology of colours. His theoretical and practical interests were developed in various directions by his disciples. Thus Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥammūʾī (d. 649/1252 [*q.v.*]) writing in both Arabic and Persian, and the latter's disciple ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī (d. before 700/1300) writing in Persian, manifest the general tendency of the period to deal much more explicitly with metaphysical and philosophical issues, though Ḥammūʾīs works are obscure, and he delights in expounding the symbolism of letters and numbers, while Nasafī wrote relatively popular expositions of the different metaphysical and cosmological teachings of various schools of Ṣūfism and philosophy (though it is usually difficult to determine which historical figures he has in mind; see H. Landolt, *La paradoxe de la "face de dieu". ʿAzīz-e Nasafī (VIIᵉ/XIIIᵉ siècle) et le "monisme ésotérique" de l'Islam*, in *SI*, xxv [1996], 163-92). Kubrā's disciple Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (d. 654/1256 [*q.v.*]) wrote the Persian classic *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, which has been a mainstay of the teaching of both theory and practice in the Persian-speaking orders. Another important author of the period, S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [*q.v.*]), nephew of the eponym of the Suhrawardiyya [*q.v.*], wrote the Arabic classic *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, a work that has been widely influential in the organisation and practical teachings of the orders.

iv. *From the late 7th/13th to the 12th/18th century*. This period of four centuries is marked by an enormous proliferation of works on Ṣūfism, but the problem of surveying these works is made doubtly difficult by the increasing geographical spread of Islam and the use of local languages. The best regional survey of Ṣūfism is provided by Rizvi's two-volume *History of Sufism in India* (Delhi 1978-83), but a short tour through Indian manuscript libraries was able to turn up several important authors of Ṣūfī theoretical works whom Rizvi does not mention, such as the inventive author of Persian treatises on Ibn al-ʿArabī's perspective K̲h̲ūb Muḥammad Čis̲h̲tī (late 10th/16th century), the prolific Ḳādirī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥammad Mak̲h̲dūm Bīd̲j̲āpūrī Ṣāwī (*fl.* 1108-23/1696-1711), the sophisticated Ḳādirī metaphysician Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Fak̲h̲rī Naḳawī (late 12th/18th century), the essayist Irādat K̲h̲ān Wāḍiḥ (12th/18th century), and the stylist Muḥtaram Allāh (12th/18th century) (see Chittick, *Notes on Ibn al-ʿArabī's influence in India*, in *MW*, lxxxii [1992], 218-41). In the small number of cases in which Ṣūfī authors of this period have been studied, they have often been chosen for reasons that can best be called political or ideological. One example is S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*], who has been the object of several monographs, even though it is easy to argue that his works—in contrast to his claims—hardly stand out among those of his contemporaries. The reason for his fame seems to be that among Muslims of the subcontinent, he has taken on mythic proportions as the precursor of a certain type of modern political consciousness, since he defended an Islamic particularism that overcame the heritage of Akbar and led politically to the triumph of Awrangzīb over Dārā S̲h̲ukūh [see HIND v.(b)] (for general remarks on the distortions introduced by ideology in the Indian context, see C. Ernst, *Eternal garden. Mysticism, history, and politics at a South Asian Sufi center*, Albany 1992).

Scholars have frequently observed that Ṣūfism was instrumental in the spread of Islam in diverse cultural contexts. On a doctrinal level, one of the primary reasons for its spread is the flexibility that is provided by the perspective of *ḳurʾān*. Once it is recognised that "All is He", alien beliefs and practices can easily be read as expressions of Islamic truths. The intellectual figures in India who actively studied the theory and practice of Hinduism had Ṣūfī predilections. Dārā S̲h̲ukūh [*q.v.*], with works such as *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-baḥrayn* and his translation of the Upanishads, is a prime example. Another is the S̲h̲aṭṭārī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Muḥammad G̲h̲awt̲h̲ of Gwalior (d. 970/1563 [*q.v.*]), who was an important supporter of Bābur and wrote several works that show both originality and mastery of the perspective of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school; one of these, the Persian *D̲j̲awāhir-i k̲h̲amsa*, was widely read not only in the original but also in an Arabic translation. He also translated into Persian, with many modifications and additions, an earlier Arabic translation of the Yogic text *Amritkund* (see Ernst, *Sufism and Yoga according to Muhammad Ghawth*, in *Sufi*, xxix [1996], 9-13; according to an oral report from Bruce Lawrence, the Arabic is still read today in a Ṣūfī order in Syria). The two most important Muslim authors writing in Chinese, Wang Daiyu (d. 1657 or 1658) and Liu Chih (d. *ca.* 1736 [*q.v.*]), adopt a *ḳurʾānī* perspective in theoretical issues. Wang makes little reference to Arabic or Persian terminology, but skilfully explains Islamic metaphysical, cosmological and psychological doctrines with the help of terminology drawn from Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. He is sympathetic toward the Chinese traditions, especially Confucianism, but *furḳān* occasionally comes to the fore, and then he offers judicious criticisms to illustrate Islam's superiority, and he consistently describes the details of right activity in terms of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*.

In order to provide some idea of the vast range of material waiting to be studied, one may cite the names of a few representative authors, divided into three main categories (ignoring, despite their social and historical importance, many major Ṣūfī masters not known primarily as authors): (a) poets; (b) authors rooted in the metaphysical perspectives established by Ibn al-ʿArabī and others; and (c) authors primarily concerned with spiritual, psychological, ethical and practical teachings.

(a) Throughout this period, poetry is the most important literary vehicle for the wide dissemination of Ṣūfī teachings, especially the *ḳurʾānī* view of things. Poetry incites love and, in the *mat̲h̲nawī* form, excels at story-telling. Persian Ṣūfī poets of the first rank include Saʿdī (d. 691/1292 [*q.v.*]), whose love poetry is preferred by some even to Ḥāfiẓ and whose prose classic *Gulistān* reflects a Ṣūfī concern for practical morality. Bīdil (d. 1133/1721 [*q.v.*]) is considered by many Persian speakers (at least among the Afg̲h̲āns) to be the greatest of all poets. In his case, there can be no doubt as to his Ṣūfī perspective, since he was a master of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school of thought, as comes out clearly, for example, in his *mat̲h̲nawī* called *ʿIrfān*. Among the many other Persian Ṣūfī poets who deserve special mention are Maḥmūd S̲h̲abistarī (d. 718-20/ [*q.v.*]), Awḥadī Marāg̲h̲aʾī (d. 738/1338), and Kamāl K̲h̲ud̲j̲andī (d. 803/1400-1 [*q.v.*]). In Turkish; besides Yūnus Emre one can mention Mīr ʿAlī S̲h̲īr Nawāʾī (d. 906/1501 [*q.v.*]), writing in Čag̲h̲atay Turkish, and Nesīmī (d. 820/1417-18 [*q.v.*]), Lāmiʿī (d. 938/1531-1 [*q.v.*]), and Nāẓim (d. 1139/1726 [*q.v.*]) writing in Ottoman. Also deserving mention is Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*], sultan of Sivas for eighteen years until his death in 800/1398. Although he has been called a poet of "profane love", this judgment should be tempered by the fact that he was a master of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school, as proven by his highly original *Iksīr al-saʿādāt fī asrār al-ʿibādāt* (see Chittick, *Sultan Burhān*

al-Dīn's Sufi correspondence, in *WZKM*, lxxiii [1981], 33-45). Outstanding poets of other languages who deserve special mention include Maẓhar (d. 1195/1781 [*q.v.*]), Dard (d. 1199/1785 [*q.v.*]), and Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī (d. 1223/1810 [*q.v.*]) in Urdu; Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 1165/1752) in Sindhi, Bāyazīd Anṣārī (d. 980/1572-3 [*q.v.*]) in Pashto, Bullhe Shāh (d. after 1181/1767-8) in Panjabi; and Ḥamza Fanṣūrī (d. *ca.* 1008/1600) in Malay.

(b) Authors with a metaphysical orientation. The importance of a continuing tradition of debate over the exact significance of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings becomes obvious in the large number of commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. Several of these were written by prolific authors whose works are begging for serious study. These include ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kāshānī (d. 730/1330 [*q.v.*]), Dāwūd al-Ḳayṣarī (d. 751/1350), Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī (whose commentary is in Persian; d. 786/1385 [*q.v.*]), the Shīʿī thinker Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (d. 787/1385), ʿAbd al-Karīm Djīlī (d. 832/1428 [*q.v.*]), ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Mahāʾimī (d. 835/1432), Ṣāʾin al-Dīn ʿAlī Turka Iṣfahānī (d. 835/1432), Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Iznīḳī (d. 885/1480), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī (d. 898/1492 [*q.v.*]), Bālī Khalīfa (d. 960/1553), Ismāʿīl Anḳarawī (whose commentary is in Turkish, d. 1041/1631-2 [*q.v.*]), ʿAbd Allāh Busnawī (two commentaries, one in Arabic and one in Turkish, d. 1054/1644), Muḥibb Allāh Ilāhābādī (two commentaries, one in Arabic and one in Persian, d. 1058/1648), and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1730 [*q.v.*]; for a list of *Fuṣūṣ* commentaries, see O. Yahia's Arabic introduction to *Sayyed Haydar Amoli. Le texte des textes*, Tehran and Paris 1975). Of all these, Kāshānī has been the most studied, but far from thoroughly (notable is T. Izutsu's partial analysis of his *Fuṣūṣ* commentary in *Sufism and Taoism*, Berkeley 1984, and P. Lory's *Les commentaries ésotériques du Coran d'après ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī*, Paris 1981). Djīlī, who has often been singled out as Ibn al-ʿArabī's chief follower—perhaps because his *al-Insān al-kāmil* has remained popular among Arab Ṣūfīs until recent times—is a good example of an original thinker who appears superficially to be a mainstream member of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school. Sophisticated support for Ibn al-ʿArabī's positions is found in the numerous works of Ṣafī al-Dīn Ḳushashī (d. 1071/1660-1 [*q.v.*]) and his disciple Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690 [*q.v.*]). The Algerian *shaykh* Aḥmad b. Adjība (d. 1224/1809 [*q.v.*]) demonstrates that theorising in the line of Ibn al-ʿArabī continued in the Arabic-speaking countries into the 19th century.

The Persian treatises, numbering over 100, of the poet Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī (d. 834/1430-1), eponym of the Niʿmat-Allāhiyya [*q.v.*], are firmly grounded in the writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his commentators, especially Kāshānī and Ḳayṣarī. More widely influential among Persian readers, however, has been *Sharḥ-i gulshan-i rāz* by Muḥammad Lāhīdjī (d. 912/1506 [*q.v.*]), which is a far more fluent and readable interpretation of the same sources. The Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] are sometimes said to have been hostile to Ibn al-ʿArabī, perhaps because of Sirhindī's critique of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, but in fact many Naḳshbandīs, early and late, supported his teachings, such as Khʷādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 842/1419), Khʷādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 896/1490), and Djāmī, who was not only a learned commentator on Ibn al-ʿArabī, but also an extremely influential populariser of his teachings through his seven *mathnawīs* (known as *Haft awrang*), his *dīwān*, and his short Persian treatises such as *Lawāʾiḥ*. Mullā ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī (d. 896/1491), a disciple of Aḥrār, was the first major propagator of the Naḳshbandiyya in Turkey and popularised Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas with works in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; he is sometimes confused with another disciple of Aḥrār, Mullā Aḥmad Ilāhī of Bukhārā, who settled in Bursa and translated Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūnawī's *Miftāḥ al-ghayb* into Persian at the command of Mehemmed II Fātiḥ in the year 880/1475-6 (M. Kara, *Molla Ilāhī: un précurseur de la Nakşibendiye in Anatolie*, in *Naqshbandis*, 316-18 [see also ṢADR AL-DĪN ḲŪNAWĪ]). Khʷādja Kalān and Khʷādja Khurd, the two sons of Bāḳī Billāh (d. 1012/1603 [*q.v.*]), who introduced the Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳa* into India, both wrote works supporting *waḥdat al-wudjūd* and criticising, if indirectly, the position of their father's disciple Sirhindī. The poet Mīr Dard, who founded a branch of the Naḳshbandīs, appears as a follower of Ibn al-ʿArabī in many metaphysical issues in his long Persian work, *ʿIlm al-kitāb*. Shāh Walī Allāh (d. 1176/1762 [see DIHLAWĪ]) was also not opposed to Ibn al-ʿArabī. Like Sirhindī, he has taken on mythic proportions among modern-day Indian Muslims, who respect him not only for his scholarship but also his political ideas. His sophisticated handling of metaphysical, theological, and psychological issues is demonstrated in several works, especially his Arabic *Ḥudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha*; in one well-known treatise he attempts to demonstrate that there is no fundamental contradiction between the views of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Sirhindī. The great Egyptian *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565 [*q.v.*]) was a famous and prolific defender of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Many members of the Čishtiyya [*q.v.*] were known for their support of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings, including ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Gangohī (d. 944/1537) and Kalīm Allāh Djahānābādī Čishtī (d. 1142/1729 [*q.v.*]), though Masʿūd Bakk (d. *ca.* 789/1387) should not be considered Ibn al-ʿArabī's follower, since his writings demonstrate little awareness of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school and instead are reminiscent of the perspective of ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadānī (d. 525/1131). The works of the latter, who offered a sophisticated theological standpoint as well as a subtle theory of love, were widely read in this period. Numerous other Ṣūfīs in India devoted themselves to Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings, foremost among them the above-mentioned Muḥibb Allāh Ilāhābādī, who was probably the best-informed of all the Indian authors concerning the contents of the *Futūḥāt*. Maḥmūd Khʷush-dahān Čishtī (d. 1026/1617), author of *Maʿrifat al-sulūk*, employs the terminology of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school in an original revisioning of relationships that seems to represent the teachings of his master Shāh Burhān al-Dīn b. Mīrāndjī Shams al-ʿUshshāḳ (d. 1005/1597) of Bidjapur. An interesting if unknown author is Ḳamar al-Dīn b. Munīb Allāh b. ʿInāyat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Awrangābādī, who apparently flourished in the 12th/18th century. His Arabic *Maẓhar al-nūr*, on which his son Nūr al-Hudā wrote a long commentary, is a history of Islamic ideas on light, classifying major schools of thought in terms of their understanding of light and concluding with support for *waḥdat al-wudjūd* as the best of these perspectives. A significant line of Ibn al-ʿArabī's intellectual influence extends through figures who are not known as Ṣūfīs, such as Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (908/1502-3 [*q.v.*]; see, for example, his unpublished *Sharḥ-i rubāʿiyyāt*), the philosopher Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640 [*q.v.*]), and the broad-ranging Shīʿī scholar Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1090/1679 [*q.v.*]). Other lines of theoretical writing are clearly present during this period, though once again, it is difficult to disentangle them from Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas. Kubrawī authors such

as ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (d. 736/1337 [*q.v.*]) showed hostility to certain of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings, and he, along with the important and prolific Čis̲h̲tī master Gīsū Darāz (d. 825/1422 [*q.v.*]), are often claimed as precursors of Sirhindī. Theoretical writers of special importance in Indonesia include Ḥamza Fanṣūrī, Nūr al-Dīn Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658), and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Singkilī (d. after 1104/1693) [see INDONESIA. vi].

(c) Despite the numerous authors who wrote books concerned specifically with the fine points of metaphysics, theology, cosmology, and psychology, by far the most common genre of Ṣūfī writing during this period is category (c), especially when we remember that most if not all the authors of works in category (b) also wrote books pertaining to it. Among authors of special importance here one can mention Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309 [*q.v.*]), a major theorist of the S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya who wrote the famous collection of aphorisms known as *al-Ḥikam*; ʿIzz al-Dīn Kās̲h̲ānī (d. 735/1334-35), who composed among other works the Persian *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya* (which is not, contrary to some reports, a translation of Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, though it was certainly inspired by it); Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]), the most important student of Ibn Taymiyya; and the Firdawsī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Mak̲h̲dūm al-Mulk Manīrī (d. 782/1381 [*q.v.*]) and the S̲h̲ād̲h̲ilī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1390 [*q.v.*], both of whom are famous for their letters to disciples.

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(W.C. Chittick)

3. In North Africa. See ṬARĪḲA. II. 2.

4. In 19th and 20th-century Egypt.

In Egypt, the 19th century witnessed the emergence and institutionalisation of central authority over the Ṣūfī orders and the institutions linked with the orders: *zawāyā* [see ZĀWIYA], *takāyā* [see TAKIYA], and the shrines of saints. This position of central authority was granted to the *shaykh al-sadjdjāda al-bakriyya* [see BAKRIYYA] in a *firmān* proclaimed by Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], the then Ottoman governor of Egypt, in 1812. State agencies became active in support of al-Bakrī's administration of the Ṣūfī orders from the 1840s, and the *shaykh al-Azhar* was excluded from interference in the affairs of the orders in 1847. These developments allowed for a more specific actualisation of the somewhat diffuse authority granted in the *firmān*, and contributed to an increased administrative importance of the office of *shaykh al-sadjdjāda al-bakriyya*. In the second half of the 19th century, the principle of right of *ḳadam* (i.e. priority) became central to the administration of the Ṣūfī orders. This principle implied the exclusive right of a Ṣūfī order to proselytise and to appear in public in an area, if it could be proved that it had been the first to do so, i.e. that it had *ḳidam* (seniority). The rise of the principle of right of *ḳadam* was a development in conjunction with the abolition of the *iltizām* [*q.v.*] system, and possibly the result of this abolition, by Muḥammad ʿAlī between 1812 and 1815. Since the administration of the Ṣūfī orders under the *shaykh al-sadjdjāda al-Bakriyya* was instrumental in consolidating the positions of the majority of the heads of the orders and safeguarded their established interests, its legitimacy went largely unchallenged. It functioned effectively until early 1881, when the then *shaykh al-sadjdjāda al-Bakriyya* was pressured by the Khedive Tawfīḳ to initiate reforms pertaining to ritual practice, and to encroach upon the internal autonomy of the heads of the orders. Moreover, in consequence of the increased efficiency of the state's administration, following its reorganisation in the wake of the British occupation in 1882, the administration of the Ṣūfī orders lost much of its significance for the state and its agencies. These ceased to act fully in support of the orders, even when adequate maintenance of rights of *ḳadam* was at stake. Inadequate maintenance of these rights allowed for the rise and spread of a number of new Ṣūfī orders and for the secession of others, some of which obtained official status as independent Ṣūfī orders in their own right. In consequence, most of the heads of the established Ṣūfī orders and many of the heads of the *takāyā* tended towards self-containment and distanced themselves as much as possible from the *shaykh al-sadjdjāda al-bakriyya*. The decline of the authority of this official was reversed with the promulgation of the Regulations for the Ṣūfī Orders (*Lā'iḥat al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya*) by khedivial decree in 1895. These Regulations, which were revised in 1903, provided a new legal base for the office of supreme head of the Ṣūfī orders, i.e. for the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya* (this term seems to become current only after 1880, and is not used in official communications and documents until 1892), whereas the members of a council, known as *al-madjlis al-ṣūfī*, and chaired by the *shaykh mashāyikh*, represented the heads of the orders in the central decision-making process. The regulations strengthened the position of the *shaykh al-sadjdjāda al-bakriyya* in his capacity of supreme head of the orders (the heads of the *takāyā* and the *zawāyā* were placed under the authority of the *Dīwān al-Awḳāf*). In conjunction with the Internal Regulations for the Ṣūfī Orders (*al-Lā'iḥa al-dākhiliyya li'l-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya*) which came into force in 1905, it provided the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya* with an unprecedented high degree of specificity and autonomy of the authority allotted to it, while it gave a self-sufficiency and distinctiveness to the administration of the Ṣūfī orders in its totality, unmatched at any previous stage. The two sets of regulations, of 1903 and 1905, were the constitution for the Ṣūfī orders until 1976.

A number of paragraphs in the regulations prohibited and regulated certain aspects of ritual and belief. These, however, were not enforced and were probably included in response to the principal challenge the Ṣūfī orders were facing at the time: the increasing call for *iṣlāḥ* [*q.v.*] of the reformists and the current rumours casting doubt on the righteousness of belief of some heads of the orders. Reformist criticism of *taṣawwuf* became more intense and frequent in the first half of the 20th century, and notably from the 1920s onwards, when three organisations, *al-Djamʿiyya al-Sharʿiyya* (headed by Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb al-Subkī), the *Djamāʿat Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya* (headed by Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī), and the *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* [*q.v.*]; (headed by Ḥasan al-Bannā), turned against the orders. In the 1930s, the *shaykh al-Azhar*, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, in line with his notions of *iṣlāḥ*, consistently worked for a re-organisation of Islamic institutions in Egypt and their incorporation into one single organisational structure supervised by al-Azhar. This structure was to include the Ṣūfī orders, which were to be supervised by the *hay'at kibār al-ʿulamā'*, while the heads of the orders would have to be Azhar-trained scholars. These plans met with much opposition and never materialised.

Reform-minded Azhar circles triumphed in 1947, when King Fārūḳ deposed the then *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya*, Aḥmad Murād al-Bakrī. He was to be the last *shaykh al-sadjdjāda al-bakriyya* to hold the office of supreme authority over the Ṣūfī orders in Egypt. Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, an Azharī scholar without Ṣūfī background, was appointed in his stead. He took a

variety of failed initiatives aiming at reform of the Ṣūfī orders. Yet, these initiatives eventually resulted in an *iṣlāḥ* movement among the heads of the orders under his authority. The reforms they advocated pertained mainly to ritual practice, and implied strict prohibitions of certain forms of self-mortification, public displays of mystical ecstasy, and the trading of *idjāzas* [see KHALĪFA]. This movement continued to have an impact after al-Ṣāwī's abdication in 1957, and eventually left its traces in the Law on the Ṣūfī Orders of 1976, and the Regulations of 1978 (see below).

Involvement of Ṣūfī orders in Egyptian party politics was limited throughout the first half of the 20th century. Available data point toward an increasing politicisation of the realm of the Ṣūfī orders in the years immediately preceding the revolution of 1952. This limited involvement in politics would seem to reflect the decline of the Ṣūfī orders in the first half of the 20th century in conjunction with the emergence of secularising trends, as well as with the rise of voluntary associations of a different nature operating out of a non-mystical or anti-mystical conception of Islam. After 1952, considerations of domestic and foreign policy seem to have induced the new régime to take an interest in the Ṣūfī orders and to stimulate their revival. Mystical Islam and the administrative organisation of the Ṣūfī orders could be used by the régime to combat opposition inspired by the *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, as well as to strengthen and widen its own base of support by stimulating and favouring the adherents of conceptions of Islam that were rooted in and partly identical with some of the central conceptions in popular Islam. In conjunction with objectives in the realm of foreign policy, and notably the consolidation of ties with Syria, the Sudan, and Morocco, a number of Ṣūfī orders were coached, supported and stimulated. In addition, *shaykhs* of Ṣūfī orders from Nigeria, Mali, Senegal and Ghana, together with a number of heads of Ṣūfī orders in Egypt, were involved in the preparations for a World Ṣūfī Conference to be convened in Cairo. The plan, which was launched in 1961 on the occasion of the visit of the Senegalese Tidjānī *shaykh* Ibrahima Niass to Cairo, never came to fruition. The official visit of this *shaykh*, who was received by Egypt's president Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, reflects the importance attached by the régime to the Ṣūfī orders and their leaders in the realm of foreign policy.

Apart from the increased visibility of Egyptian Ṣūfī orders abroad, the revival of the orders in Nāṣir's Egypt manifested itself in several ways: their number increased, as did their membership; they were given a prominent role at official religious celebrations; and more *mawālid* [see MAWLID] were celebrated and on a larger scale then had been the case in the decade before 1952. As a rule, the Arab Socialist Union, from its creation in 1962 onwards, was involved in the organisation of these celebrations, which were used for making propaganda for the régime in a variety of ways. This increased involvement of the A.S.U. with the Ṣūfī orders, brought about an increase in the number of orders who distanced themselves from the Ṣūfī Council and refused to recognise its authority. Thus in the early 1970s, Ṣūfī orders which functioned outside the formal administrative framework of the Ṣūfī Council, and who were known as *ṭuruḳ ḥurra* (free Ṣūfī orders), were more numerous than those who *de facto* recognised its jurisdiction, and who were known as *ṭuruḳ rasmiyya* (official Ṣūfī orders).

The revival of *taṣawwuf* in Nāṣir's Egypt from the end of the 1950s continued and broadened in the Egypt of Anwar al-Sādāt, where the régime seemed to arm itself against the anti-mystical religiously-inspired opposition by means of further cultivating the Ṣūfī orders. The Law on the Ṣūfī Orders (*Ḳānūn al-Ṭuruḳ al-Ṣūfiyya*) adopted by the Egyptian Parliament in 1976, and the supplementary set of regulations known as *al-lāʾiḥa al-tanfīdhiyya*, issued by Presidential decree in 1978, and which replaced the regulations of 1903 and 1905, were to better serve this purpose. The detailed and precise formulations in the Law and the Regulations constituted a new legal framework for *taṣawwuf* in Egypt. They aimed at bringing all the Ṣūfī orders in Egypt under the control of the state, and provided institutional prerequisites allowing for an effective exercise of authority. In conjunction, policies of cultivating and favouring the orders were conducted in a quest for optimal legitimacy, and with the obvious aim to make them instrumental to strengthening the position of the régime in its struggle against the religiously-inspired opposition. These policies were essentially continued after the murder of Anwar al-Sādāt in 1981, and account for the pre-eminent position of the approximately seventy Ṣūfī orders which were recognised by the state in Egypt in 1997.

Bibliography: For historical studies of the Ṣūfī orders in Egypt from a comprehensive perspective, see F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-opposition in 20th-century Egypt*, in F. Rundgren (ed.), *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies* (= *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar. Filologisk-filosofiska serien* 15), Stockholm-Leiden 1975, 84-96; idem, *Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth century Egypt. A historical study in organizational dimensions of Islamic mysticism*, Leiden 1978; idem, *Aspects of the political involvement of Sufi orders in 20th-century Egypt (1907-1970). An exploratory stock-taking*, in G.R. Warburg and U.M. Kupferschmidt (eds.), *Islam, nationalism and radicalism in Egypt and Sudan*, New York 1983, 183-212; idem, *The Ṣūfī orders in Egypt during the ʿUrābī insurrection and the British occupation (1882-1914): some societal factors generating aloofness, support, and opposition*, in *Jnal. of the American Research Center in Egypt*, xxi (1984), 131-9; idem, *Les confréries mystiques musulmanes du Machreq arabe: centres de gravité, signes de déclin et de renaissance*, in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein (eds.), *Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam. Cheminements et situation actuelle*, Paris 1986, 205-43; and P.-J. Luizard, *Le rôle des confréries soufies dans le système politique égyptien*, in *Monde arabe: Maghreb Machrek*, cxxxi (1991), 26-53.

For studies of individual orders, see E. Bannerth, *Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdāšiyya-Sufis in Cairo*, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 116-33; idem, *La Rifāʿiyya en Egypte*, in *MIDEO*, x (1971), 1-35; idem, *Aspects humains de la Shadhiliyya*, in *MIDEO*, xi (1972), 237-52; idem, *La Khalwatiyya en Egypte. Quelques aspects de la vie d'une confrérie*, in *MIDEO*, viii (1964-66), 1-75; M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in modern Egypt. An essay in the sociology of religion*, Oxford 1973 (mainly on the Ḥāmidiyya Shādhiliyya; see also the review in *JSS*, xix/2 [1994] 322-8); F. de Jong, *The Naqshbandiyya in Egypt and Syria. Aspects of its history, and observations concerning its present-day condition*, in M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic and T. Zarcone, *Naqshbandis*, L'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul (= Varia Turcica, XVIII), Istanbul-Paris 1990, 589-601; and J. Johansen, *Sufism and Islamic reform in Egypt. The battle for Islamic tradition*, Oxford 1996 (on the Muḥammadiyya Shādhiliyya). For a study of living Ṣūfism in Egypt in the 1980s based on fieldwork, see V.J. Hoffman, *Sufism, mystics, and saints in modern Egypt*, Columbia, S.C. 1995. To

the Arabic studies referred to in these publications, the following should be added: ʿĀmir al-Nadjdjār, *al-Ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1990; and Yūsuf Muḥammad Ṭāhā Zaydān, *al-Ṭarīḳ al-ṣūfī wa-furūʿ al-Ḳādiriyya bi-Miṣr*, Beirut 1991. See also ABU ʾL-ʿAZĀʾIM, AL-ʿAFĪFĪ, AL-ASMAR, AL-BAKRĪ, DEMIRDĀSHIYYA, KHALWATIYYA, AL-ḤIṢĀFĪ, and MARWĀNIYYA.

(F. DE JONG)

5. In Persia from 1800 onwards.

The history of Ṣūfism (*taṣawwuf*) in Persia in the 19th and 20th centuries has mainly been dominated by two Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa*s, the Niʿmatullāhiyya and the Dhahabiyya. In contrast to other orders in Persia, whose impact has been more on popular than on "high" culture, these two orders have made the most important contributions to the mystical intellectual tradition in Persia in respect to *ḥikmat*, *ʿirfān* and *taṣawwuf*.

i. *Other Persian Ṣūfī sects and orders: Ḳādiriyya, Naḳshbandiyya and Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ.*

Aside from these two orders, few other *ṭarīḳa*s have featured in the religious topography of Persian Islam with any permanence or prominence during this period. Although the Naḳshbandiyya "arose among Persian-speakers and virtually all its classical texts are in the Persian language", its impact on Persian culture "has been relatively slight" [see NAḲSHBANDIYYA, 1. In Persia]. Naḳshbandīs in Iran today are mainly confined to the region of Kurdistān where their members are overwhelmingly drawn from rural folk society. Similarly, the followers of the Persian-based Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ or ʿAlī-Ilahī quasi-Ṣūfī sect were, up until the 1950s when they started to acquire urban-based followers, "largely tribespeople and peasants, or poor urban migrants, with no link to centres of power" (Ziba Mir-Hosseini, *Redefining the truth: Ahl-i Haqq and the Islamic Republic of Iran*, in *BRISMES Bulletin*, xxi/2 [1994], 213). The fact that adepts of this sect "neither observe Muslim rites, such as daily prayers and fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, nor share its sacred space, such as sanctity of the mosque and pilgrimage to Mecca" (*ibid.*, 213), and that their theology combines Shīʿī extremism (*ghulāt*) with a belief in metempsychosis also puts them beyond the pale of orthodox Islamic Ṣūfism. There have been recent efforts to reorient Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ theology in accordance with Shīʿī orthodoxy, but such modernist and universalistic interpretations are rejected by the majority of the old-school Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ members within Persia. Besides formidable theological differences, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ's alienation from the mainstream of modern Persian spirituality is literary and linguistic as well; until recently their sacred language was Gūrānī rather than Persian or Arabic, in which tongues the intellectual life of Persian Ṣūfism in this period found their predominant expression. Likewise, while the founder of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Djīlānī (d. 528/1134) hailed from the province of Gīlān, the impact of his order on Persian *taṣawwuf* in the 19th and 20th centuries has been rather insignificant.

ii. *The Niʿmatullāhī revival: Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh to Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāh (1770-1898).*

The period from approximately 1750-1980 in the history of Persian Ṣūfism represents an attempt to recreate, albeit in newfangled Shīʿī garb, the political and cultural glory which Ṣūfism enjoyed in pre-Ṣafawid times. External movements in Persian political history and incidents in the intellectual universe of the Niʿmatullāhiyya provide three distinct periods into which the historical development of Ṣūfism in Persia may be roughly divided during the 19th-20th centuries: (1) 1770 to 1898, (2) 1898 to 1978, and (3) 1978 to the present day.

It was with the death of the 34th Niʿmatullāhī Ḳuṭb, Riḍā ʿAlī Shāh Dakkanī, *ca.* 1800, and with the advent to Persia of Sayyid Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh in 1184/1770—which generated what has been dubbed "the Niʿmatullāhī renaissance" (N. Pourjavady and P.L. Wilson, *Kings of love: the history and poetry of the Niʿmatullāhī Sufi Order of Iran*, Tehran 1978, 93)—that the real history of Ṣūfism in modern Iran begins. By the middle of the 19th century, the fame and fortunes of Ṣūfism had declined to their lowest ebb in the entire history of post-Islamic Persia. Writing in the early 1840s, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī reported that "in the whole land of Iran there is neither abode nor site where a dervish can lay his head.... In the rest of the inhabited quarter of the world among all its different races and peoples, hospitals for the sick and *khānaḳāh*s for the dervishes are built—except in Iran, where there is neither *khānaḳāh* nor hospital" (*Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siyāḥa*, Tehran 1348/1929, 258).

The Shīʿī clerical establishment felt threatened by the enthusiasm with which the Niʿmatullāhī revival in Persia was received. Writing in the early 1800s, Sir John Malcolm reported that "the progress of Soofeeism has of late been very rapid in Persia", with adherents of Sayyid Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh and Nūr ʿAlī Shāh numbered in tens of thousands, though he admitted that such calculations were only guesswork (*Hist. of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 292 ff.). The former was assassinated in 1211/1795 by the fanatical Shīʿī cleric Āḳā Muḥammad Bihbahānī, who thus acquired his notorious sobriquet of *Ṣūfī-kush* "Ṣūfī killer"; but this killing and those of other Niʿmatullāhīs only served to fan the flames of Ṣūfī revival in Persia.

In the late 18th century, Sayyid Maʿṣūm and Nūr ʿAlī Shāh had travelled extensively through Persia, setting up *khānaḳāh*s in various towns and reviving an interest in Ṣūfism, which had been ruthlessly suppressed in the late Ṣafawid period. Amongst his disciples was Mushtāḳ ʿAlī Shāh, an illiterate *madjdhūb* who nevertheless became a legend in the annals of Persian Ṣūfism and whose charisma has been compared to that of Shams-i Tabrīzī or Ḳāsim-i Anwār, inspiring several literary works. Muẓaffar ʿAlī Shāh (see below) adopted "Mushtāḳī" as his pen-name and composed a *dīwān* in his honour, the *Dīwān-i Mushtāḳiyya* after Mushtāḳī's martyrdom at the hands of fanatical mullahs in Kirmān in 1206/1792 (see W.R. Royce, *Mīr Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh and the Niʿmat Allāhī revival 1776-7 to 1796-7. A study of Sufism and its opponents in late eighteenth century Iran*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ. 1979, unpubl.). The Niʿmatullāhīs had benefited in the 1770s from the liberal intellectual and stimulating atmosphere during Karīm Khān Zand's reign, but after the latter's death in 1779, they were exposed to the taunts and assaults of the exoteric *ʿulamāʾ*, their leaders fleeing from Iṣfahān and in the end finding refuge in Ottoman ʿIrāḳ, where Nūr ʿAlī Shāh was well received by the governor Aḥmed Pasha and was able to write in Baghdād the first two chapters of his immense Ṣūfī epic poem *Djannat al-wiṣāl* (ed. Dj. Nūrbakhsh, Tehran 1348 *sh.*/1969).

In Kirmān, near to which Shāh Niʿmatullāh's tomb lay, the revival scored its greatest successes amongst the local ruling élite, including the adherence of the physician and *ʿālim* Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī, better known by his Ṣūfī sobriquet of Muẓaffar ʿAlī Shāh (later, in 1800, poisoned at Bihbahānī's prompting). It also attracted the sympathy of the governor for the Zands, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Bīglarbaygī, the 42nd Imām of

the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, the two groups having sympathetic relations (see H. Algar, *The revolt of Āgā Khān Mahallatī and the transference of the Ismāʿīlī Imamate to India*, in *SI*, xxi [1969], 55-81; N. Pourjavady and P.L. Wilson, *Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs*, in *SI*, xli [1975], 113-35). Bihbahānī's anti-Ṣūfī measures led to further deaths authorised by the Ḳādjār régime and to an anti-Ṣūfī polemic literature, with treatises such as Bihbahānī's *Risāla-yi Khayratiyya* and Muḥammad Rafīʿ Tabrīzī's *Ḳaṭʿ al-maḳāl fī radd ahl al-ḍalāl*. Niʿmatullāhī devotees were, for their part, active in composition, and Muẓaffar ʿAlī Shāh attempted in his prose works to integrate Peripatetic, Illuminationist and Akbarian (Ibn al-ʿArabī's) philosophical doctrines into a complicated theomonism expressed in Shīʿī theosophical terms but interiorised along traditional Ṣūfī lines. Although the literary and poetic works of the Niʿmatullāhī Ṣūfīs at this time rarely come up to the achievements of the great classical Persian poets (cf. Browne, *LHP*, iv, 220-1), these were part of the great intellectual and physical efforts, achieved not without bloodshed, to renew the covenant with the classical Ṣūfī past.

In the early 19th century, Ḥusayn ʿAlī Shāh became head of the order in both Persia and India, and then in 1817 Madjdhūb ʿAlī Shāh, but after his death in 1823, the order split into three branches, the main branch under the dominant figure of the Niʿmatullāhiyya in the 19th century, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, called "Mast ʿAlī Shāh", while two derivative branches, Kawthariyya and Shamsiyya have not attracted much notice aside from *Shams al-ʿurafāʾ* (d. 1935; on which see M. Humāyūnī, *Tārīkh-i silsilahā-yi ṭarīḳa-yi Niʿmatullāhī dar Īrān*, London 1992, 105-58; 159-67; R. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Erster Teil. Die Affiliationen*, Wiesbaden, 1965, 43-50). He had a prodigious literary output, comprising three large travel accounts of his travels and adventures throughout the Islamic world, from North Africa to Bengal, which show us a warm personality with universal concerns and a fascination with religious diversity, and a broad-minded, cosmopolitan humour. Most of his life was spent in forced exile, wandering under threat of execution and in the shade of *fatwā*s demanding his death. But with the accession of Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār in 1834, the circumstances of the Ṣūfīs improved greatly under the influence of the Grand Vizier Mīrzā Āḳāsī, a Niʿmatullāhī leader and associate of Mast ʿAlī, so that many Niʿmatullāhī *shaykh*s now secured royal stipends, although he and Mast ʿAlī subsequently became rivals for the leadership of the order. But there was no striking shift of influence at this time from the *ʿulamāʾ* to the Ṣūfīs (Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and renewal. The making of the Babi movement in Qajar Iran*, Ithaca and London 1989, 79). After Mast ʿAlī's death in 1837, he was succeeded by Raḥmat ʿAlī Shāh, who now became royal deputy-governor of Fārs, so that the same Shīʿī mullahs of Fārs, wrote Raḥmat's son later, "who had previously insisted that Raḥmat's hookah first be washed and purified before others smoke it, now vied with each other for the blessing of drinking the dregs of his tea cup" (Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ed. M.Dj. Maḥdjūb, Tehran 1345 *sh.*/1966, iii, 392). Raḥmat's achievements included the diffusion of the order by sending representatives as far as India and Turkey, and the composition of the first volume of the *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, completed after his death by his son Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh (Humāyūnī, *Tārīkh*, 191), the most important and impartial history of Ṣūfism ever written in Persian in modern times. A year before his death in 1861, Raḥmat left the affairs of the order to his uncle Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Muḥammad, called Munawwar ʿAlī Shāh, but soon afterwards, two other branches split off, the Gunābādīs and the Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāhīs.

(a) The Gunābādīs. The schism here arose from the refusal of the *shaykh* appointed by Raḥmat to Iṣfahān, Saʿādat ʿAlī Shāh, to follow Munawwar, to the point of founding his own order. Very soon, the headship of this sub-order became exclusively hereditary and confined to the family of Sulṭān ʿAlī Shāh Gunābādī (d. 1909). W.M. Miller, during his sojourn amongst this sub-order in the 1930s, reported that they had some 10,000 adherents throughout Iran, including several members of the *Madjlis* and the prime minister Ḳawām al-Sulṭana (*Shiʿah mysticism, the Sufis of Gunābād*, in *MW*, xiii, 346-7). The Gunābādiyya continue today under the leadership of followers of the recently-deceased *ḳuṭb* Riḍā ʿAlī Shāh Tābanda. In the 1980s, Tābanda warmly endorsed the Islamic Republic's war with ʿIrāḳ, declaring the Gunabādīs's willingness to become martyrs. In 1997 a near relative, Dr. Nūr ʿAlī Tābanda, became head, after his predecessor had, according to a leading Iranian newspaper in London, suffered harassment from the Islamic Republic police on the grounds that, *inter alia*, the dervishes were engaging in "immoral activities" (*lahw wa lahb*). But notwithstanding Dr. Tābanda's previous participation in Mihdī Bāzargān's Freedom Movement and his present quietist rhetoric, the Gunābādī Ṣūfīs remain active supporters of the fundamentalist ideology of the Islamic Republic.

(b) The Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāhīs. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Iṣfahānī, called Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1898) was undoubtedly the foremost Niʿmatullāhī poet—and perhaps the foremost Persian Ṣūfī poet—of the 19th century. His ample *Dīwān* has been frequently reprinted, and he wrote several prose works and a two-volume versified Ḳurʾānic *tafsīr* in the same metre as that of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*. He broke his allegiance to Munawwar in 1877, and after his death his disciple, the Ḳādjār prince ʿAlī Ẓahīr al-Dawla, brother-in-law of Muẓaffar Shāh Ḳādjār [*q.v.*], turned the sub-order into an *Andjuman-i ukhuwwat* "Fraternal Society" with the aim of combining Ṣūfism and politics, in the atmosphere of the time of numerous secret societies and lodges founded on Masonic principles (see A.K.S. Lambton, *Secret societies and the Persian revolution of 1905-6*, in her *Qajar Persia. Eleven studies*, London 1987, 300-19; H. Algar, *An introduction to the history of freemasonry in Iran*, in *MES*, vi [1970], 291; and FARĀMŪSH-KHĀNA, in Suppl.). The *Andjuman* also reflected its founder's support for the constitutional movement, and many of the members of this quasi-*ṭarīḳa* were, like himself, high-ranking statesmen. It also had many social and charitable activities, and by 1964, some 34,000 members had been admitted to the society. But with the triumph of the fundamentalist Islamic Revolution in 1979, the *Andjuman* was forcibly renamed, its building became used primarily as a mosque and the remaining members of the sub-order seem to have caved in to government pressure to participate in formalities unrelated to Ṣūfism.

iii. *The main branch of the Niʿmatullāhī order from 1861 to the present day.*

As noted above, Munawwar succeeded Raḥmat in 1860, and his quarter-century's headship of the order was marked by the Gunābādī and Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāhī schisms (see above, ii. a, b). Although the Dhahabiyya masters had made hereditary succession an essential feature of their administration of their order during the early 19th century, signs of such spiritual patrimonialism did not appear amongst the Niʿmatullāhīs

till the end of that century. Munawwar's son ʿAlī Āḳā Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn, called Wafā ʿAlī Shāh, succeeded him, effectively meaning that, for four generations—from Raḥmat ʿAlī Shāh to Mu'nis ʿAlī Shāh, excluding Ṣādiḳ ʿAlī Shāh's four-year tenure 1918-22—filial affiliation and consanguinity determined spiritual sovereignty, so that the main branch was transformed into what Pourjavady and Wilson have called a virtual "Family of Poles" centred on Shīrāz. Finally, in the 1910s, the Gunābādī sub-order transformed hereditary succession into what is probably today the only unwritten socio-political dogma of modern Persian Ṣūfism (this principle being in contrast to the position in Egypt, where inheritance of such leadership positions was often implicit, rather than prescriptive as in Persia).

Mu'nis ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1953) was called Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn from his mastery of the exoteric sciences of Islam as well as the esoteric ones. In 1936 he moved from Shīrāz to Tehran and established there his Čahār Sūḳ *khānakāh*, which became one of the most important Ṣūfī centres in Tehran of its time. After his death, the control and the office of *ḳuṭb* exercised by one family for almost a century came to an end with the coming of a talented and educated medical student, Djawād Nūrbakhsh, who had already attained the rank of *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* "Supreme Shaykh" in Mu'nis's last years and had been designated by the latter his "sole spiritual son" (*farzand-i rūḥānī yigāna*), indicating his appointment as future *ḳuṭb* and head of the order. During the 1950s, Dr. Nūrbakhsh (he had graduated M.D. at Tehran University in 1952) managed to secure the allegiance of most of the order's *shaykhs* (Pākalʿa'ī of Isfahān was an exception). As well as being active writing in his professional field of psychiatry, Dr. Nūrbakhsh has been active in publishing Ṣūfī works from his "Khānakāh Niʿmatullāhī Publications" and writing his own works on Ṣūfism. By 1978, he had founded 60 *khānaḳāhs* in Iran, and in the 1970s, responding to the wishes of American disciples, several Niʿmatullāhī centres were founded in North America. In 1983 he moved to Britain, where he now resides, and now (1997) there are 21 *khānaḳāhs* in extra-Islamic lands, ranging from the U.S.A. and Canada to West Africa and Australia, each with anything from 25 to 75 full-time members. Within Iran of the Islamic Republic, the order has maintained itself and its 60 *khānankāhs* with considerable difficulty. Since 1995, the acceptance of new initiates has been forbidden to local directors on pain of imprisonment or worse. In 1994 the Ministry of Islamic Guidance banned, without explanation, all new publications and the reprinting of old Niʿmatullāhī works. Thus although the order has apparently successfully established itself in the West, in the face of a concerted campaign of interference and intimidation in Iran, the survival of this major Ṣūfī order into the 21st century there seems uncertain.

iv. *The Dhahabiyya.*

The revival of this order in more recent times within Persia began earlier than with the Niʿmatullāhīs in the person of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Nayrīzī (d. 1173/1759), the 32nd master of the order (on the origins of the order, see D. DeWeese, *The eclipse of the Kubraviyah in Central Asia*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxi/1-2 [1988], 62-9). Nayrīzī was a fine scholar in the traditional sciences, an admirer of Ibn al-ʿArabī, author of numerous Arabic and Persian *rasā'il*, and at the end of his life, we are told, when resident in Nadjaf he gave lectures to all members of the main four Sunnī *madhhabs* as well as the Djaʿfarī Shīʿa (Iḥsān Allāh ʿAlī Iṣṭakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, Tehran 1338/1959, 443); and his travels throughout Persia and ʿIrāḳ were ultimately to lead to a revival of the Dhahabī *ṭarīḳa*. From Nayrīzī's time onwards, familial relationship was linked to spiritual headship, with new masters having married daughters of their predecessor, so that the order became a family dynasty based on patrilineal succession. The Dhahabī *ḳuṭbs* enjoyed the support of the Zands in Shīrāz but were also quick to give support to Āghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār at Tehran in the early 1780s. However, they suffered, like other Ṣūfīs, under Bihbahānī's persecutions and the dominance of the *ʿulamā'* during Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's reign (1797-1815).

From 1815 to 1869 the master of the order was Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Shīrāzī, who had the pen-name of Rāz for his poetry, the 35th Dhahabī *ḳuṭb*, "most prolific of all Dhahabī masters" (Asad Allāh Khāwarī, *Dhahabiyya. Taṣawwuf-i ʿilmī, āthar-i adabī*, Tehran 1362/1983, 380, 575-680), the first master since pre-Ṣafawid times to build a formal *khānaḳāh* for Dhahabī *fuḳarā'*, who had formerly gathered in private houses in Shīrāz. As a poet, Rāz attained considerable renown, composing some "half a million couplets, thirty thousand of which belonged to his state of *djadha* and the rest written from the quietude of spiritual attainment" (Khāwarī, *Dhahabiyya*, 380; also see 575-680 for a lengthy discussion of his literary works and theologico-poetic contribution to Persian Ṣūfism). He was also known for his tutelage of famous *shaykhs*, among whom may be mentioned the *mudjtahid* Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm Rāyiḍ al-Dīn Zinghānī (known as ʿUdjūba and ʿĀrif ʿAlī Shāh, d. 1882). He also assumed custodianship in 1851 of the Shāh Čirāgh complex, the third most important shrine and pilgrimage centre in Persia, thus increasing his personal prestige. He lauded his son Djalāl al-Dīn, who subsequently became the 36th *ḳuṭb*, as a saint and immaculate from the womb. By such speculations, Rāz reinforced the nepotism now firmly enshrined in this *silsila*, ensuring that the pattern of paternal inheritance went unquestioned and that all property (especially the wealthy Shāh Čirāgh complex) and power over disciples would remain the birthright of his descendants; indeed, such favouritism was diametrically opposed to earlier Dhahabī masters' views on spiritual succession. Rāz's fourth son Madjd al-Ashrāf was master of the order 1869-1913. Under his leadership, Dhahabī teachings spread throughout Khurāsān, Iṣfahān and Fārs (Iṣṭakhrī, *Uṣūl*, 528, and he was the first Dhahabī to realise the value of the new Western techniques of printing, so that by his death at the age of 85, he had published over 40 of the works of the classical Ṣūfīs. During the upheavals of the Constitutional Revolution, he adopted a conservative and quietist stance, unlike his fellow Shīrāzī townsmen the Niʿmatullāhī *ḳuṭbs* Wafā ʿAlī and Mu'nis ʿAlī Shāh; his earlier writings had indicated his strongly pro-Ḳādjār royalist stance, successfully achieving Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh's support for his continuing custodianship of the Shāh Čirāgh.

On his death in 1913, the order was thrown into confusion, with many members uncertain about the succession, causing the first major schism within the Dhahabiyya, with a serious and effective challenge to the patrilineal right of inheritance for the *ḳuṭbiyyat*, the office of *ḳuṭb*; in the end, the majority of the Dhahabiyya abandoned the family line of Madjd al-Ashrāf and followed Waḥīd al-Awliyā' and, later, his successor Ḥubb-i Ḥaydar. A considerable polemical literature grew up amongst the Dhahabīs over this question, almost all of it biassed in some direction or other, but it is clear that a spiritual office had become entangled with the temporal concerns of a self-perpetuating

family loyalty, and this last could not long survive in the revolutionary, anti-monarchical climate of early 20th-century Iran. Nevertheless, the Sharīfī family kept their position as custodians of the Shāh Čirāgh until 1978, when they fled the country and the mausoleum was seized by the Islamic revolutionaries.

Despite the fact that the Sharīfī family considered Waḥīd al-Awliyā' as a usurper and mere pretender to the *kuṭbiyyat*, the majority of Dhahabīs today consider him to have been the 37th Master and rightful spiritual successor of Madjd al-Ashrāf. Waḥīd al-Awliyā' was a Tabrīzī by birth, famed for his expertise in *ʿirfān* and a prolific author, who also revived and reprinted a good number of Ṣūfī classics. In addition to his vigorous publishing activities, his learned *shaykhs* such as Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Muḥsin (*alias* "ʿImād al-Fuḳarā' Ardabīlī") and Dr. Iḥsān Allāh ʿAlī Iṣtakhrī made considerable literary contributions to Dhahabī spirituality, the former composing some 18 books, including Persian translations of Arabic Ṣūfī works, while the latter's attractive, if hagiographical, exposition of the "principles of Ṣūfism" from a Dhahabī perspective, called *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf* (Tehran 1379 A.H./1959) represents (together with Khāwarī's work *Dhahabiyya*) the best general account of this order from its earliest days to the early 1960s. On his death in 1955, he was succeeded by one of his elect disciples, Ḥubb-i Ḥaydar, unconnected with his family in any way, but responsible for constructing his master's large mausoleum in Shīrāz. There have been many active scholars and publishers of Dhahabī and other classics among Ḥubb-i Ḥaydar's followers, and it is clear that the order, like the Niʿmatullāhiyya, is quite intellectually active. Hence Hamid Algar's assertion that "most contemporary adherents of the Dahabīya appear to be merchants and civil servants with little knowledge of the theoretical bases of Sufism" is inaccurate. Nor is there any indication today that the order is but "a degenerate parody of the Sufi tradition, rather than an actual continuation of it" (*EIr*, art. *Dahabīya*, at vol. vi, 580).

When Ḥubb-i Ḥaydar died in 1962, he was succeeded by Dr. Abu 'l-Ḥamīd Gandjawiyān, a professor of dermatology at Tabrīz University as the 39th *kuṭb*. With an extensive Western educational background and a formidable specialist output, he currently resides in Southampton, England, as a British subject. This background and experience, and the presence of numerous disciples in North America and England, will probably ensure that, like the Niʿmatullāhīs, the future spiritual tradition of the Dhahabīs will be as much the product of the secular university as of the religious *madrasa*.

v. *Dhahabī-Niʿmatullāhī relations.*

Although the Dhahabīs have always been less widespread than the Niʿmatullāhīs, being mainly confined to Fārs, their contribution to the development of 19th and 20th-century Persian spirituality has been no less significant. The fact that Niʿmatullāhī sources (e.g. Shirwānī, *Ḥadā'iḳ al-siyāḥa*, 251) deride the Dhahabiyya only reflects the narrow-minded, sectarian, intra-*ṭarīḳa* rivalry still permeating relations between the two groups. Yet philosophically speaking, their approach to theosophical questions was much the same, centred on the Shīʿa in their mystical theology and with a common intellectual universe still largely defined by the *waḥdat al-wudjūd* doctrines of Ibn al-ʿArabī as interpreted by his Persian followers like Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūnawī.

vi. *Numbers and geographical distribution of Persian Ṣūfīs in the 19th-20th centuries.*

Like Malcolm in the early 19th century, Richard Gramlich in the later 20th century has acknowledged the impossibility of any accurate calculation here. Perhaps because of the more informal nature of Persian Ṣūfism—with many persons affiliated to several orders at once, whilst others may be affiliated to one order but rarely visit its *khānaḳāh*—there are no precise figures for those in *khānaḳāhs* in pre-1979 Persia, unlike in Ottoman Turkey, where precise figures were recorded in government records (see S. Anderson, *Dervish orders of Constantinople*, in *MW*, xii [1922], 53-61). Gramlich's review of the three main orders—Khāksar, Dhahabiyya and Niʿmatullāhiyya—led him to conclude that the latter was, by the 1960s, by far the largest Persian Ṣūfī order, anything from 20 to 100 times larger than the other two put together (*Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. I. Die Affiliationen*, Wiesbaden 1965, 89-90). The Gunābādī branch of the latter order is now considered to be the larger branch in Iran. For statistics of the present distribution of the Niʿmatullāhiyya and their centres, see above, section iii, at the end. Up to the 20th century, the Dhahabiyya were concentrated on Shīrāz, with small branches in other Persian cities under *shaykhs* of the *kuṭb*. In the early 1950s, the Tehran *khānaḳāh* was endowed as a religious charity, and after Waḥīd al-Awliyā''s death, his house and mausoleum in Shīrāz were converted into a *khānaḳāh*, subsequently expanded into a large complex. There are at present (1997) seven official Dhahabī *khānaḳāhs* in Iran, with gatherings of members in private houses in other towns. None of the *khānāḳāhs* has so far been confiscated by the Islamic Republic régime, nor has there been any persecution of members, and the publication of Ṣūfī works by the order has proceeded unimpeded. Outside Iran, the only official *khānaḳāh* is in Southampton, England, where the order's head resides, although there are gatherings in private houses in three cities of the USA.

vii. *Key features of Persian Ṣūfism in the 19th and 20th centuries.*

From the above survey, it is evident that in its social transformations and adaptation to the exigencies of modern religious and political changes during the 19th-20th centuries, Ṣūfism has developed certain features which render it substantially different from the mystical Islam of the high classical period in Saldjūḳ, Mongol or Tīmūrid Persia. Since the metaphysical and spiritual reality (*ḥaḳīḳat*) of Ṣūfism does not permit quantitative analysis on the basis of social, historical or political transformations, whether or not these features embody a "decline" is not in question. However, in the light of these—basically six—features outlined below, it is evident that modern Persian Ṣūfism has failed to maintain, indeed, in many senses, has fallen far away from, the high ethical standards previously attained during the renaissance of Ṣūfism in the 12-13th centuries (on which see L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The legacy of mediæval Persian Sufism*, London 1993).

(a) *Institutionalisation.* During the 19th-20th centuries, each initiatic chain of succession (*silsila*) and "Path" (*ṭarīḳa*) tended vigorously to maintain its own separateness and difference, distinguishing—often to the point of sectarian discrimination—its teachings from others. As in classical Islam, the *khānaḳāh* institution with its various duties—ranging from services (*khidmat*) to musical liturgy (*samāʿ*)—became once again the central social focus of the various orders. Ṣūfī *khānaḳāhs*, up to recently, could be found in every major city and town in Iran. In the beginning of the 20th century, just when the signs of modernisation were becom-

ing visible everywhere in Tehran, "one could find *khānaḳāhs* outside all ten gateways leading into Tehran, within each of which dwelled a *pīr* serving as a spiritual guide, sought after by numerous pilgrims whether in pursuit of the soft drink of divine Unity or the wine of spiritual guidance" (Dja'far Shahrī, *Tārīkh-i idjtimā'ī-yi Tihrān dar ḳarn-i sīzdahum*, Tehran 1369 *sh.*/1990, vi, 419). In post-1978 Tehran, institutional Ṣūfism is still flourishing despite—if not because of—the pressures upon and persecution of its leaders by the Islamic régime.

(b) *Intra-*ṭarīḳa *rivalry*. Just as the orders are now firmly distinguished from each other in separate institutional forms, the differences between, rather than unity among, the contemporary Persian *silsilas* are emphasised in the literature. Consequently, the chaste attitude of universal charitable tolerance (*ṣafā'*) maintained by the classical Persian mystics was, in this period, replaced by rivalry for positions of leadership and power over disciples, bitter jealousy between, and irreconcilable schisms among the leaders of the modern Persian *ṭarīḳas* (e.g. the rancour roused in Ni'matullāhī ranks by the Ṣafī 'Alī Shāh schism, and the vitriolic polemics written by Dhahabī Ṣūfīs opposed to Waḥid al-Awliyā').

(c) *Ṣūfī religious exclusivism*. Gramlich's observation (*Die Schiitischen Derwischorden*, ii, 146) that the Persian Shī'ī Ṣūfī orders generally tend to identify the *ḳuṭb* as belonging exclusively to their particular *ṭarīḳa* conveys a fundamental tendency of contemporary Persian Ṣūfism rarely found elsewhere in the Islamic world. Whereas, according to most contemporary Sunnī Ṣūfism, the spirit of the *ḳuṭb* can only be seen at Mecca, at the Ka'ba, which is his *maḳām* [see ḲUṬB], in orders such as the Ni'matullāhiyya and Dhahabiyya, the head of the *ṭarīḳa* is considered the supreme *ḳuṭb*, the sole and unique Pole of the Muslim saintly hierarchy, so that his cosmological role is physically and politically temporalised. One socio-political consequence of this doctrine has been that every Persian *murshid* is considered not only an absolute monarch over his disciples—quite in accordance with ordinary *pīr-murīdī* tenets and teachings found in other areas of the Islamic Ṣūfī world—but also the only genuine ruler in the invisible and visible worlds of being. W.M. Miller's observation (*art. cit.*, 344) that the *ḳuṭb* is the "central doctrine" of the Gūnābādī Ṣūfīs may generally be said to apply to *ḳuṭb* doctrines rife in the Dhahabiyya as well as the various branches of the Ni'matullāhiyya.

Probably influenced by the Ismā'īlī doctrine of the infallibility of their Imām, Ni'matullāhī Ṣūfīs of the early Ḳādjār period such as Nūr 'Alī Shāh and Muẓaffar 'Alī Shāh reoriented the Shī'ī *wilāya* doctrine to imply that they were in direct communication with the hidden Imām (Amanat, *Resurrection*, 73-5), while among the Dhahabiyya an identical doctrine appeared as well (e.g. the Dhahabī *ḳuṭb* Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn-i Sharīfī is explicitly called in one source "the special representative of the Imām of the Age", *Nāyib-i khāṣṣ-i imām-i 'aṣr*). Such esoteric speculations gradually effected the "peculiar" assimilation "of the *Quṭbī* and *Imāmī* conceptions" in Shī'ī Ṣūfī orders, as Trimingham has termed it: "With Twelver Ṣūfīs, the *Quṭb* is the representative of the Imām on earth; hence the hatred of the *mujtahids* for the Ṣūfīs. The first principle of the Gūnābādī branch of the Ni'matullāhiyya is *walāya* or 'allegiance' to the *Quṭb*, who is the actual present head of the order, even though through him all things subsist" (*The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1973, 164).

Though speculations on the doctrine of the *ḳuṭb* and the Imām, there has been gradual vulgarisation in the classical doctrine of *ḳuṭbiyya*, causing not only the cosmological but the political "polarisation" of *taṣawwuf*. Hence *ma'rifa* is understood to be the exclusive intellectual property of a particular Ṣūfī order, implicitly excluding all other spiritual orders, masters, religions, and mystical paths from the divine plan of salvation and self-realisation (for further discussion of the Shī'ī Ṣūfī *ḳuṭb* doctrine, see al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣila bayn al-taṣawwuf wa 'l-tashayyu'*, Cairo 1969, 463; idem, *Sufism and Shi'ism*, London 1991, 75 ff.; Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shi'ites. The Ghulat sects*, Syracuse 1988, 111; D.M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933, 14; on Ni'matullāhī attempts to resolve the exclusivism occasionally caused by this doctrine, see Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden*, i, 49). Whether such a polarised (a literally *ḳuṭb*-centric) approach to mysticism has been ultimately conducive to Ṣūfism's final goal of theocentric consciousness is questionable. What is *prima facie* evident, however, is that the exclusivism of the Persian Shī'ī Ṣūfī *ḳuṭb* doctrine provides little constructive groundwork for ecumenism, creative religious pluralism or inter-faith dialogue—in a modern world where religious diversity is an inescapable fact of life.

(d) *Ṣūfī patrimonialism or dervichisme*. Jean Aubin coined the term *dervichisme* to describe an essential component of a type of hereditary Ṣūfism passed down by lineages of "sacred families" during the Mongol period, so that "spiritual authority and material management was transmited, hand to hand, hereditarily, with their morally privileged status and their ancestry assuring the social position of the inheritors" (*La propriété foncière en Azerbaydjan sous les Mongols*, in *Le Monde iranien et l'Islam*, iv [1976-77], 128). During the Mongol period, hereditary succession in both civic and religious matters was the norm in Persian society, as Marshall Hodgson has observed: "Even the head of a Ṣūfī order, who designated his successor from among his disciples, was encouraged to designate a son if one had become a disciple. But such family loyalty was pragmatic rather than prescriptive" (*The venture of Islam*, Chicago 1977, ii, 112). Eventually, however, as a consequence of such Ṣūfī dynasticism, what was from the start "an originally charismatic leadership was institutionalized" (*ibid.*, ii, 217).

By the early Ṣafawid period, the hereditary principle in Ṣūfī orders such as the Nūrbakhshiyya and Ni'matullāhiyya in Persia had become virtually prescriptive. The Ni'matullāhiyya, for instance, originally began as a *ṭarīḳa* designed to offer spiritual guidance, but by waging war against the Ottomans, currying patronage and forging links of marriage with the ruling Ṣafawid family, this *silsila* became a *dūdmān* (family dynasty) dedicated to the acquisition of royal power, and based exclusively on hereditary succession ('Abd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla-yi djustudjū dar taṣawwuf-i Īrān*, Tehran 1362 *sh.*/1983, 232-6). Indeed, such *dervichisme* became enshrined in most Persian *ṭarīḳa* doctrine, for all the Ṣūfī orders which wished to survive or succeed in Ṣafawid Persia were forced to make the position of *shaykh* hereditary, if only in emulation of "the Safavids themselves who had insisted that *pidar-farzandī*, that is, the dynastic principle, was the sole criterion to be used to determine the succession, and not *naṣṣ*" (R.M. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980, 25).

Following the Ni'matullāhī revival in the Ḳādjār period, similar dynastic pretensions reappeared among leaders of certain branches of the Ni'matullāhiyya in the middle, and the Dhahabiyya at the end, of the 19th century. As worldly dynastic interests took prece-

dence over otherworldly spiritual attainment, all quest for genuine and individually realised spirituality was set aside, as most of the Ṣūfī orders, seeming to lose sight of the basic spiritual principles of their practice, treated the position of *ḳuṭb* as hereditary—the Gunābādī branch of the Niʿmatullāhīs, the Dhahabiyya in the 19th century, and the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, in particular, have generally made hereditary succession and *dervichisme* their fundamental social pillar.

(e) *Ṣūfism and Persian poetry.* Sir John Malcolm's observation that "the very essence of Soofeism is poetry" (*History*, ii, 279) highlights an enduring characteristic of *taṣawwuf* in Persia: that spiritual guidance and mystical understanding remain linked to lyrical expression and poetic inspiration. However, by the 19th century, the Persian poetico-mystical tradition had considerably declined due to various factors. A sort of separation between literature and *taṣawwuf* occurred in Persia in the late Ṣafawid period, both of which, anyway, were experiencing a waning (on the literary slump, see Bahār, *Sabk-shināsī*, iii, 311-18). By the Zand and Ḳādjār periods, one finds that most of the *ghazals* and *mathnawīs* composed by the Persian *ṭarīḳat shaykhs* were to a large extent a means by which those who possessed some literary talent could confirm their spiritual authority by creating poetic utterances capable of integration into their followers' *samāʿ* liturgy. The central political motif in most Ṣūfī poetry produced during this period is what DeWeese has termed "*ṭarīqa*-solidarity"—in the present Persian context constituting a sense of the distinctness of the Niʿmatullāhī (or Dhahabī) *silsilas* as constituting a bona-fide, self-conscious Ṣūfī order amongst other Islamic brotherhoods. Walter Feldman's remark that 18th-century Turkish Ṣūfī poets tended to speak of themselves "primarily as enlightened mürşids" in contrast to the earlier classical Turkish Ṣūfī poets such as Yūnus Emre who had usually humbly "cast themselves as seekers on the Path" (*Mysticism, didacticism and authority in the liturgical poetry of the Halvetî Dervishes of Istanbul*, in *Edebiyât*, NS iv/2 [1993], 263), and Asad Allāh Khawārī's observation that the composition of poetry by Dhahabī *shaykhs* had less an aesthetic than a utilitarian function, being "considered as one of the necessary conditions of *ḳuṭbiyyat*" (*Dhahabiyya*, 685), also applies to the 19th-century Persian Ṣūfī poets. In their verse one finds less and less the wine of "ecstasy divine": a scent of rosewater perhaps, but the fragrance of the rose has fled.

To the present day, Persian Ṣūfīs still continue to compose and publish *mathnawīs* and *ghazals* filled with all the ancient and timeless symbolism and imagery of rose and nightingale, beloved and lover, prince and pauper. However, even if contemporary Iran is the inheritor of the world's most venerable tradition of mystical poetry, there has been no Ṣūfī bard during the entire modern period, with the notable exceptions of Nūr ʿAlī Shāh in the early 19th century, Furūghī Basṭāmī (d. 1274/1857; a follower of the Čishtiyya *silsila*) at the end of the 19th, and Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāh in the early 20th century, whom any contemporary Iranian literary historian has acknowledged to have combined spiritual gifts and poetico-literary genius with any of the same competence or literary success shown by his mediaeval forebears. Hence literary historians usually regard the Ṣūfī contribution to modern Persian literature as largely insignificant (see M.T. Bahār, *Sabk-shināsī*, iii; Browne, *LHP*, iv; and Y. Aryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā. Tārīkh-i 150 sāl adab-i fārsī*, Tehran 1357/1978).

(f) *Loss of self-confidence caused by the marginalisation of mysticism in the intellectual milieu.* In the mid-19th century, the anxiety of the Persian Ṣūfīs in face of encroaching Europeanisation is reflected in the nostalgic comment of the Niʿmatullāhī leader Mast ʿAlī Shāh (penned in the early 1830s): "In truth, these Europeans (*ḳawm-i firang*) in affairs of government, politics and cultivation of their lands are extremely skillful and do not neglect even the least minutia in the art of war, nor of the means of overcoming enemies and cultivating friends" (*Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siyāḥa*, 348-9; also cf. similar comments by Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, iii, 521-2; J.I. Cole, *Invisible occidentalism. Eighteenth-century Indo-Persian constructions of the West*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxv/3-4 [1992], 3-16. For a discussion of similar circumstances in Turkey, see Nuray Mert, *Children of a "defeated civilization". The sad face of Westernization in Turkey*, in *Turkey: the pendulum swings back*, London: Islamic World Report, i/3 [1996], 69-70).

During the 20th century, with Shīʿism in the *madrasas*, and secular rationalism the idol of the intellectual élite in the universities, Ṣūfism was denigrated by both groups and in this process fell by the wayside, ceasing to be part of the mainstream of Persian religious and intellectual life. The main Persian 19th-century political reformers, such as Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-97), Ākhundzāda (1812-78), Mīrzā Malkum Khān (1833-1908) and Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī (1854-96; who had rebelled against his Ṣūfī origins—his father being affiliated with the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ), castigated Ṣūfī mysticism for its alleged passivity and advocacy of *taḳlīd*. Their attack was continued by the radical Iranian secular intellectuals of the early 20th century such as Aḥmad Kasrawī (1891-1946 [*q.v.*]), who condemned Ṣūfism "as one of the deep-rooted and greatly misguided beliefs to have appeared in Islam" (see his *On Islam and Shiʿism*, tr. M.R. Ghanoonparvar, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1990, 79).

Kasrawī's opinions of Ṣūfism were later repeated by Iranian secular intellectuals in the 1960s-1970s, most of whom toed the Marxist Tūdih party's atheist-materialist line on the social irrelevance of religion. As a consequence, the more moderate voices of both European Persianists who considered Persian Ṣūfism to be a chief cause of cultural advancement in Islam such as R.A. Nicholson and F. Meier (*Soufisme et déclin culturel*, in R. Brunschvig and G.E. von Grunebaum, *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1957, 217-41), as well as Iranian savants such as Mudjtabā Mīnuwī, who considered the Ṣūfī movement to be the apex of human ethical thinking and the sole champion of religious tolerance in Islam (see his *Āzādagī wa tasāmuḥ*, in *Iranshenasi*, vi/1 [1992], 174-85) have been all but drowned out by the louder cries of the secular and religious fundamentalists.

Refutations of Ṣūfism based on its perceived incongruence with Shīʿī doctrines continued as in Zand and Ḳādjār times to be written during the 20th century by extremist Iranian clerics (such as Sayyid Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-Riḍā, known as ʿAllāma Burḳaʿī) (cf. his *Ḥaḳīḳat-i ʿirfān*, [2]Tehran n.d., which reproduces texts, 161-2, of four *fatwās* in condemnation of early 19th-century Niʿmatullāhī masters purportedly issued by 19th-century clerics—Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Muḥammad Mahdī Shahristānī and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳumī). At present, most of the Iranian Shīʿī clergy "regard it [Ṣūfism] as nothing more than an illegitimate competitor in the marketplace of religious values" (Y. Richard, *Shi'ite Islam*, tr. A. Nevill, London 1995, 54).

To the present day, although the dervish ideal (*darwīshī*) remains, on the one hand, an indelible trait

of Iranian national character (see M.C. Bateson *et alii*, *Ṣafā-yi bāṭin. A study of a set of Iranian ideal character types*, in Brown and Itzkowitz (eds.), *Psychological dimensions of Near Eastern studies*, Princeton 1977, 257-73), on the other hand, institutional or *khānaḳāh*-based Ṣūfism continues to be frequently attacked by both Iranian intellectuals in exile and modernist and traditional religious thinkers within Iran proper. In Iranian newspapers published in the West, the cultural and political significance of Ṣūfism remains a hotly-debated topic whose relevance to modern philosophies of life is frequently contested or vindicated (see e.g. Dāryūsh Humāyūnī, *Imrūz zamān az madrasa bih khānaḳāh raftan nīst*, in *Nīmrūz*, year 8, no. 390, Djumʿa 11, Ābān 1375 *sh*., 15e, and Riḍā Ḥaḳḳdjū's pro-Ṣūfī riposte to Humāyūnī, *Ham madrasa wa ham khānaḳāh*, in *Nīmrūz*, year 8, no. 393, Djumʿa 2 Ādhar, 1375 *sh*., 33) by supporters for and against. Though beleaguered at the time of writing by the atmosphere of the religious intolerance prevailing in the Islamic Republic of Iran, and in the West, where traditional *taṣawwuf* is challenged by the anti-mystical "secular fundamentalism", Persian Ṣūfism will doubtless survive this crisis.

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Personal communications from high-ranking Niʿmatullāhī authorities outside Iran, including Dr. Djawād Nūrbakhsh, Master of the Munawwar ʿAlī Shāhī branch of the Niʿmatullāhiyya; Prof. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Gadjawiyān, Master of the Dhahabiyya; Dr. Muhammad Isa Waley, Dr. Shahrām Pāzawkī, Muḥammad Riḍā Djūzī, Mihdī Tafrishī and Muṣṭafā Shafāfī are gratefully acknowledged.

(L. Lewisohn, shortened by the Editors)

6. Amongst the Turks.

(a) The Turkish lands from Anatolia to Eastern Turkistān in the pre-modern period. See ṬARĪḲA. II. 5.

(b) The Balkans. See ṬARĪḲA. II. 6.

(c) The Ottoman Turkish lands and Republican Turkey in the 19th and 20th centuries.

i. *The Ottoman period.*

The history of Ṣūfism in the Ottoman empire of the 19th and early 20th centuries reflects, in the first place, the consequences of the liberal reforms of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] and the discovery of European philosophical thought. Also, up to 1925, and even under the Republic, although in a different way, Ṣūfism remained closely linked with the Ṣūfī brotherhoods (*ṭuruḳ*), except for a few exceptions, themselves not without interest.

Two Ṣūfī orders imposed their mark, the Bektāshiyya and the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.vv.*]. The Bektāshiyya were forbidden in 1825 together with the Janissaries but reconstituted themselves some years later, becoming a mystical and philosophical current, notably in the great cities of the empire (Istanbul, Izmir and Salonica). The Bektāshīs of the countryside, less and less accepted by their co-religionists of the towns, who were offended by their ignorance, were progressively absorbed by the ʿAlewīs. As a general rule, the Bektāshiyya espoused the movement for liberal reform, against Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd (1876-1909) and in favour of restoration of the constitution abolished in 1878. This is explicable by, amongst other things, their suppleness in religious matters, even their lack of respect for the *Sharīʿa*, which they placed after the *ṭarīḳa* (the brotherhood and its exoteric rules), the *ḥaḳīḳa* (truth) and *maʿrifa* (gnosis), in accordance with their doctrine of the so-called "four doors" (*dört ḳapi*); this was regarded as a sign of the supremacy of the *bāṭin* (hidden doctrine, Ṣūfism) over the *ẓāhir* (the exoteric sciences, those of the *medreses*). Bektāshī Ṣūfism was nevertheless very poor on the level of the mystical techniques of contemplation.

The Bektāshiyya were strongly attacked by the Sunnī *ʿulamā'* for what these last considered their heretical beliefs. In particular, in 1874 the *ʿālim* Isḥāḳ Efendi attacked their closeness to the Ḥurūfiyya [*q.v.*] in his *Kāshif ül-esrār wa-dāfiʿ ül-eshrār* (German tr. G. Jacob, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens des Bektaschis*, Berlin 1908). The response to this took the form of an apologia for the Bektāshiyya which is one of the best expositions of Bektāshī doctrine, of a quality rarely seen previously (Aḥmed Rifʿat, *Mir'āt ül-maḳāṣid fī dāfiʿ ül-mefāsid*, Istanbul 1876). The doctrine was then subsequently fixed through several other works, in particular, by Aḥmed Rifḳī (in his *Bektāshī sirri*, Istanbul 1910), who accentuated the order's heterodox and political dimension and brought its doctrine into the heretical Balkans current of the Ḥamzawīs (see below) and the liberal movements opposed to ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II. Bektāshī thought was further set forth in several poetic collections signed by its most brilliant representatives of the 19th and 20th centuries: Turābī (d. 1868), Meḥmed Ḥilmī Dede (1842-1907), Edīb Kharābī (1852-1915) and Riḍā Tewfīḳ (1868-1949 [see BÖLÜKBASHĪ, RIḌĀ TEWFĪḲ, in Suppl.]).

In opposition to this form of Ṣūfism, there was that of the Naḳshbandiyya, an order which enjoyed a pro-

found renewal at the beginning of the 19th century amongst the Kurds of the empire's eastern provinces. This renewal of the Naḳshbandiyya, called Khālidiyya from the name of Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (1776-1827), who had studied with the Naḳshbandīs of India at Dihlī, strongly echoed the teachings of the Indian Naḳshbandiyya Mudjaddidiyya but made certain innovations. The Khālidiyya made compulsory retreat (*khalwa erbaʿīniyya*) for new initiates and made the doctrine of the *rābiṭa* (the spiritual link of the *sheykh* with his disciple) the order's great rule (B. Abu-Manneh, *Khalwa and Rābiṭa in the Khālidī suborder*, in M. Gaborieau *et alii* (eds.), *Naqshbandîs. Cheminement et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulmane*, Istanbul 1991). It invariably opposed the use of music and dancing. Very soon, with some exceptions, the Naḳshbandiyya of the whole Ottoman Empire adopted the Khālidiyya form. Believing that the mystical way was primarily to be achieved through a profound knowledge of the Ḳur'ān and Sunna, and by scrupulous respect for the prescriptions of the *Sharīʿa*, the Naḳshbandiyya set themselves firmly against the liberal-type reforms of the *Tanẓīmāt* era, reforms which *inter alia* gave rights similar to those of the Muslims to the infidels of the Empire. Their form of Ṣūfism, with its ensemble of very potent contemplative techniques, was practised strictly within the framework of the *Sharīʿa* (Th. Zarcone, *Expérience de la mort et préparation à la mort dans l'Islam mystique. Le cas des nakşibendî de Turquie*, in G. Veinstein (ed.), *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanences et mutations*, Leiden 1996). Unlike the Bektāshiyya, the Naḳshbandiyya supported the Ḥamīdian régime; Gümüshkhānawī Aḥmed Ḍiyā (1813-93), the order's main *sheykh*, had numerous disciples amongst the Palace staff. He linked the study of *ḥadīth* with his mystical teaching, a tradition which has maintained itself amongst his disciples to the present day. After the constitutional revolution of 1908-9, the Naḳshbandiyya were to be generally found on the conservative wing of the Young Turk movement. Being both a Young Turk and a Naḳshbandī, the *Sheykh ül-Islām* Mūsā Kāẓim (1850-1920) attacked heterodox Ṣūfism (i.e. the Bektāshiyya) and went so far as to preach the absorption of the *tekke* by the *medrese*, convinced that Ṣūfism had to be taught with the other Islamic sciences and not elsewhere.

In the 19th century, other Ṣūfīs, linked with mystical currents originating in the Arab world, like the Shādhilī Muḥammad Ẓāfir al-Madanī (1829-1903) or the Rifāʿī one Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī (1850-1909 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), held, like the Naḳshbandiyya, that Ṣūfism should range itself alongside Islamic orthodoxy. In other respects, the 19th and 20th centuries were notable for another interpretation of Ṣūfism which adopted a philosophical dimension close to Arabic Neoplatonism according to the commentary of several controversial mystics, such as Ibn al-ʿArabī, and even of those who had been condemned to death, such as Badr al-Dīn b. Ḳāḍī Samāwnā (1358-9 to 1416 [*q.v.*]), with a complete lack of interest in the structure of the *ṭarīḳa*; one could cite the Malāmī movement of Muḥammad Nūr al-ʿArabī (d. 1888) which rose out of the Ḥamzawī milieux of the Balkans and was very quickly introduced into Istanbul. The devotees of other orders were also marked by this rejection of the external aspects of Ṣūfism (the *tekke*, ceremonies, special garments, headgear, etc.) in the name of a return to a purified mysticism, but also under the influence of ideas of progress. One might mention here the name of Ḳushadalî Ibrāhīm Khalwatī (1774-1845) who rejected the *tekke* and proclaimed himself against celibacy and renouncement of the world (*terk-i dünyā*), two aspects of the mystical life which have often divided Ṣūfīs (Zarcone, *Pour ou contre le monde. Une approche des sociabilités mystiques musulmanes dans l'Empire ottoman*, in F. Georgeon and P. Dumont (eds.), *Vivre dans l'Empire ottoman. Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIII*ᵉ*-XX*ᵉ *siècle)*, Paris 1997). At the end of the 19th century there arose from Naḳshbandī circles Bedīʿ ül-Zamān Saʿīd Nūrsī (1876-1960 [*q.v.*]), founder of the Nurcu movement [see NURCULUK], and he likewise opposed the system of *ṭuruḳ* in the name of a return to the faith and to pure Ṣūfism.

The tradition of commentaries on the writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī and the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī continued, with innovations appropriate to the age. Modernist Ṣūfīs and Ottoman intellectuals like Meḥmed ʿAlī ʿAynī, Riḍā Tewfīḳ, Ismāʿīl Fennī, Ferīd Ḳam and Aḥmed Ḥilmī Shehbenderzāde, showed a great interest in these two thinkers whose doctrines favoured a rapprochment of Islam with the ideas of the Age of the Enlightenment and even with such European philosophers then in vogue as Herbert Spencer in Britain and Henri Bergson in France. The old dispute over the orthodoxy or not of Ibn al-ʿArabī, specifically on the doctrine of the unity of existence attributed to him, *waḥdat al-wudjūd* [see WAḤDAT AL-SHUHŪD], continued and gave rise to lively debates between the Ṣūfīs and the *ʿulamā'*, going beyond the strict framework of religion and involving the Turkish philosophers affected by the Western schools of thought. The main commentator at this time on Ibn al-ʿArabī was Aḥmed ʿAwnī Ḳonuḳ (1868-1938) (his commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. M. Tahralı and S. Eraydın, 3 vols. Istanbul 1987). Regarding the *Mathnawī*, it continued to be studied within the framework of the special institutions for this (*dār ül-methnewī*) or by members of the Mawlawiyya; the most famous *dār ül-methnewī* was that founded at Istanbul by the *sheykh* Murād al-Bukhārī (d. 1848). It is characteristic of certain commentaries written on the *Mathnawī* in the 19th and early 20th centuries that they consider Rūmī's Ṣūfism in relationship to modern thought and Western science; such authors were ʿĀbidīn Pasha (d. 1907) (his commentary in 6 vols. Istanbul 1887-8), Ṭāhir ül-Mewlewī (1877-1928) (*Methnewī*, 14 vols. Istanbul 1963) and Kenʿān Rifāʿī (*Sherḥli Methnewī-yi sherīf*, Istanbul 1973). Furthermore, the interest in the press in general drove Ṣūfīs of all tendencies to found journals and to set forth their thoughts in a new literary manner (the journals *Muḥibbān, Ḥikmet, Djerīde-yi Ṣūfī, Taṣawwuf, Maḥfil*, etc.); in these can be found commentaries on the *Mathnawī*, biographies, historical texts, philosophical essays, mystical commentaries on the Ḳur'ān, etc.

One of the main conflicts between Ṣūfism and Islamic theology at the opening of the 20th century set the *sheykh* Ṣafwet (*Taṣawwufun ẓaferleri*, Istanbul 1924) against the theologian Izmirli Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī (1868-1946) (*Ḥaḳḳîn ẓaferleri*, Istanbul 1922) concerning the question of *ḥadīth*, the crux being whether the *ḥadīths* cited by the Ṣūfīs to justify their doctrines were reliable. Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, himself a member of the Shādhiliyya and under al-Ghazālī's influence, some time later distinguished, in a new elaboration of Islamic theology (*Yeñi ʿilm-i kelām*, Istanbul 1923-4, 151-2), between two forms of Ṣūfism, one linked with the Ḳur'ānic tradition and the other departing from it.

ii. *The Republican period.*

The creation of the Republic (1923) and the abolition in 1925 of the orders, involving the closing of the *tekkes*, led Ṣūfism, if it was to survive, into either bypassing the structures of the *ṭuruḳ* or going under-

ground, a situation which, in both cases, had consequences for the development of the practice of mystical doctrines. It was only in the 1950s, with a relaxation of state anti-religious measures, that some Ṣūfis were able to publish their writings. In general, Nakshbandīs remained faithful to their orthodox line. This was set forth by Mehmed Zâhid Kotku (1897-1980) and his son-in-law Mehmed Esat Coşan, who today directs the "Iskenderpaşa community" in Istanbul (it inherits the *tekke* of Gümüshkhānawī Aḥmed Ḍiyā); by Abdülhekim Hüseynî (1902-72) and his son Mehmed Reşid Erol (1929-96), founder of the "community of Menzil Köyu" at Adıyaman in Anatolia; and by several other *sheykhs* stemming from the eastern parts of Anatolia (H. Algar, *The Naqshbandi order in Republican Turkey*, in *The pendulum swings back*, London 1996). It is important to note that many of these maintained unofficial *medreses* in which Ṣūfism had a major part. ʿAbd ül-Ḥakīm Arwāsī/Abdülhakim Arvasi (1864-1943), another Nakshbandī, vigorously brought into prominence the teachings of Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*], the founder in India of the Nakshbandiyya Mudjaddidiyya, and proponent of al-Ghazālī and his Ṣūfism, at the same time combatting the Shīʿa and the radical Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*]. His pupils and successors, the main ones being the writer Necip Fazil Kısakürek (1905-83), with his *O ve ben*, 6th ed. Istanbul 1990, and Hüseyn Hilmi Işık (b. 1911), founder of the Işıkcı movement, remained faithful to his thought but broke with several minor Nakshbandī practices and the system of *tekkes*.

Already in existence at the end of the Ottoman period, the Nūrdju movement of Saʿīd Nūrsī, a former Nakshbandī, can be classed as a crypto-Ṣūfī movement, despite its rejection of the *ṭarīka* and the *sheykh*'s authority, since it continues to venerate and to follow the teachings of such grand masters of Ṣūfism as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī and Aḥmad Sirhindī and since it describes itself as a return to pure Ṣūfism. This aspect had been reinforced by the Nurcu Fethullah Gülen, who fiercely defends a revolutionary view of instruction, proposing a harmonisation of the old *medrese* system with that of the secular schools (Lâtif Erdoğan, *Fethullah Gülen Hocaefendi "Küçük dünyam"*, Istanbul 1995; Eyüp Can, *Ufuk tur, Fethullah Gülen Hocaefendi ile*, Istanbul 1996 or 1997). On the other hand, in the last decade, certain Nurcus, called Aczmendî, have considered that it is time to re-establish the *tekke* system (*Risale-i Nur'da usûl ve program. Aczmendlik*, Istanbul n.d. [1996 or 1997]).

Ṣūfīs linked with other currents have contributed to the development of an Islamic mysticism during the time of the Republic, like the Khalwatī Muzaffer Ozak (1916-85), who attached central importance to music and dance movements. Like the Ḳādiriyya and Rifāʿiyya, he kept up the link between mystical doctrine and dancing, a link which became lost amongst the Mawlawiyya. Other Ṣūfīs, already only very loosely attached to the *ṭarīka* system, adapted immediately to the situation under the Republic, such as the Melāmīs, who kept up, at Istanbul, the tradition of Muḥammad Nūr al-ʿArabī: Ḥādjdjī Maḳṣūd Khulūṣī (d. 1929), Hasan Lutfī Susut and Mahmud Sadettin Bilginer (1909-83), Khulūṣī's son. Alevî doctrines were favoured by the Kemalist régime, and the Alevîs took over Bektāshī *tekkes* and for many years caused a grave confusion by identifying the Ṣūfī doctrine and practices of the Bektāshiyya with their own system, this despite the protests of a small group of Bektāshīs led by Bedri Noyan (1912-97), one of whose chief members was Turgut Koca (1921-97), who incarnated this tradition. Amongst the Alevîs, Bektāshī doctrine enjoyed a popularisation and acquired a folkloric nature which has profoundly deprived it of its real nature. Having almost totally disappeared within Turkey itself, the tradition of commentaries on the *Mathnawī* and on Ibn al-ʿArabī had a brilliant representative in Sarajevo in the person of Fayḍ Allāh/Fejzulah Hadžibajrić (d. 1990), who gave life to the last *dār ül-methnewī* of the Ottoman world.

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7. In Muslim India.

(a) The pre-1800 period. See ṬARĪḲA. II. 7.

(b) In the 19th and 20th centuries.

i. *The study of Ṣūfism in colonial and post-colonial South Asia.*

The term and category "Ṣūfism" was first coined for European languages by British Orientalists based in India, particularly Sir William Jones (*The sixth discourse, on the Persians*, and *On the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus*, in *Works*, London 1807). While European travellers had previously remarked upon "dervishes" and "fakirs" only as exotic curiosities, Orientalists applied the term "Ṣūfī" largely to the literary phase of Ṣūfism, particularly as expressed in Persian poetry. These European scholars were persuaded that the elegant poems of Ḥāfiẓ and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.vv.*] could have nothing to do with the Islamic ("Mahometan") religion, and therefore they unanimously believed it to be derived from Indian sources; this position was reinforced by the anti-Ṣūfī attitudes of Shīʿī *mudjtahids* in Persia (Sir J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, ii, 382-3; Lt. J.W. Graham, *A treatise on Sufism, or Mahomedan mysticism*,

in *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, i [1819], 89-119). British colonial officials, who were the main source of European studies of Ṣūfism in the 19th century, thus maintained a double attitude toward Ṣūfism: its literary classics (part of the Persian curriculum required by the British East India Company until the 1830s) were admired, but its contemporary social manifestations were considered corrupt and degenerate in relation to what was perceived as orthodox Islam (R.F. Burton, *Sindh*, London 1851, 198-231). This "golden age" ambivalence toward Ṣūfism was soon mirrored by the attitudes of Muslim reformists and fundamentalists (see below), creating a situation in which Ṣūfism quickly became a contested term, the meaning of which remains hotly disputed today. In Urdu, *taṣawwuf* still generally means a prescriptive ethical and spiritual ideal as it did in early Islamic texts, though sometimes it functions as a generic equivalent of mysticism. The English word "Ṣūfism" describes a variety of practices and doctrines with a debatable relationship to Islam (C. Ernst, *The Shambhala guide to Sufism*, Boston 1997).

Colonial officials encountered contemporary Ṣūfism primarily in the context of government regulation of the many shrines and saints' tombs found in India; under their administration, active Ṣūfī circles were no longer attached to major shrines, though *k͟hānḳāhs* continued to function, particularly in the Pand̲j̲āb and Sind. British officials settled disputes over the administration of shrines as *waḳf* properties under Anglo-Mohammedan law (cf. G. Kozlowski, *Muslim endowments and society in British India*, Cambridge 1985). This was an issue particularly for large shrines, such as the tomb of K͟hʷād̲j̲a Muʿīn al-Dīn Čis̲h̲tī at Ad̲j̲mēr, or that of Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Gand̲j̲-i S̲h̲akkar at Pākpaṭṭan [*q.vv.*] (D. Gilmartin, *Shrines, succession and sources of moral authority in the Punjab*, in *Pakistan. The social sciences' perspective*, ed. A.S. Ahmed, Karachi 1990, 146-64). Some Ṣūfīs, e.g. the Čis̲h̲tī leader Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Imdād Allāh (d. 1899), fought against the British during the 1857-8 uprising, and groups such as the Ḥurr (followers of the Pīr Pagārō in Sind) continued resistance up to 1947 (H.T. Lambrick, *The terrorist*, London 1970). But colonial policy reinforced the position of many hereditary *sad̲j̲d̲j̲āda-nis̲h̲īns* as rural landlords and notables, particularly in the Pand̲j̲āb. The process of legal regulation and dispute resolution of Ṣūfī shrines has continued in post-colonial India and Pakistan (S.K. Rashid, *Wakf administration in India*, New Delhi 1978).

There is considerable proto-anthropological material on Ṣūfī saints and shrines compiled by colonial officials in the Indian district gazetteers and surveys of the "castes and tribes" variety, often drawn from local oral tradition; most of these accounts regard Indian Ṣūfī practice as a Hinduised deviation from a supposedly pristine Islam (T.W. Arnold, art. *Saints and martyrs, Muhammadan, in India*, in *ERE*, xi, 68-73). Some Hindu scholars went so far as to interpret Ṣūfism in terms of Vedanta (L. Ramakrishna, *Panjabi Sufi poets*, London 1938). Politically-oriented studies of Ṣūfī saints and orders have focussed upon their relationship with the colonial government (Sarah Ansari, *Sufi saints and state power. The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947*, Cambridge 1992) and the Pakistan movement (D. Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam. Punjab and the making of Pakistan*, Berkeley 1988). There is an increasing body of anthropological literature on Ṣūfī practice in Pakistan and India, both on the part of government officials (Census of India, *Beliefs and practices associated with Muslim pirs in two cities of India [Delhi and Lucknow]*, New Delhi 1966) and Euro-American researchers (K.P. Ewing, *Sufism and desire in Pakistan*, Durham 1997).

Post-colonial governments in Pakistan, under the impulse of modern nationalism, have promoted publications that focus on Ṣūfī literature (especially poetry in local languages) as the manifestation of national identity. The Folk Heritage Institute in Islamabad (*Lōk Wirt̲h̲a*) publishes a "Sufi Poets Series" consisting of editions and Urdu translations of prominent Ṣūfīs who wrote poetry in the regional languages of Pakistan (Pas̲h̲tō, Pand̲j̲ābī, Balōčī, Brāhuī, Hindkō, Sindhī). The Department of Charitable Trusts (*Maḥkama-i Awḳāf*), which controls the revenue of major shrines, publishes officially sanctioned biographies of Ṣūfī saints in Urdu that accord with the Islamic "Pakistan ideology," and high-ranking provincial and national officials regularly preside at the *ʿurs* anniversaries of Ṣūfī saints (Ewing, *The politics of Sufism: redefining the saints of Pakistan*, in *Journal of Asian Studies*, lii [1983], 251-68). Hagiographies organised along provincial or all-Pakistan lines also receive official sponsorship. The Government of India, in contrast, sponsors literature and films that identify Ṣūfīs as "secular nationalists" having more in common with Hindu bhaktī than with Islam (M. Jotwani, *Sufis of Sindh*, New Delhi 1986).

Although British historians largely ignored Ṣūfī writings, the post-colonial era has seen the growth of new scholarship in South Asia, initially at Aligarh Muslim University, focused on the history and literature of Ṣūfism of the "medieval" period. The studies of the Čis̲h̲tī order by K.A. Nizami have demonstrated how it is possible to follow the continuities in a *silsila* through the oral discourses (*malfūẓāt*) and letters (*maktūbāt*) that continued to be written in Persian up to the 20th century (Nizami, *Tārīk͟h-i mas̲h̲āyik͟h-i Čis̲h̲t*, Delhi 1953; see also C. Ernst and B. Lawrence, *Burnt hearts. The Chishti Sufi order*, London 1998). Biographical and historical studies of particular Ṣūfī saints and orders have been written in the history departments of South Asian universities, while Persian and occasionally Arabic text editions of Ṣūfī writings have been produced in language and literature departments. Particularly prized Persian writings by famous *s̲h̲ayk͟hs* of the Čis̲h̲tī and Naḳs̲h̲bandī orders have been printed for devotional use in Pakistan as recently as the 1960s. "Classical" Ṣūfī works in Arabic and Persian, from the 13th up to the 19th centuries, are widely available for popular use through modern Urdu translations in India and Pakistan, and occasionally in other languages as well. The vast majority of South Asian Ṣūfī texts in Persian still remains in manuscript, however (for a comprehensive list, see Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i mus̲h̲tarak-i nusk͟hahā-yi k͟haṭṭī-yi Fārsī-i Pākistān*, Islamabad 1984-, esp. vols. iii [*ʿIrfān*] and xi [*Zindagī-nāma-yi pīrān*]). Only rarely have contemporary Ṣūfī writings in Indian languages been translated (C. Shackle (tr.), *The teachings of Khwaja Farid*, Multan 1978; idem (tr.), *Fifty poems of Khwaja Farid*, Multan 1983).

ii. *Ṣūfism and modern ideologies.*

Ṣūfī *pīrs* of the 20th century, despite their entrenched positions as landholders in the colonial system, were crucial to the support of the Pakistan nationalist movement because of their large followings, and Ṣūfī leaders have generally found nationalism to be a congenial doctrine. But the ideological proponents of modernism and Islamic fundamentalism have both seen Ṣūfism as a major opponent. Modernists like Iḳbāl [*q.v.*], in a critique similar to that of Orientalists, denounced institutional Ṣūfism for fatalism, passivity, and a false notion of the absorption of humanity in unity with God. Although Iḳbāl's writings invoke Ṣūfī figures such as Ḥallād̲j̲ and Rūmī [*q.vv.*], his concepts of terms

such as *khudī* and *ʿishḳ* [*q.v.*] owe as much to Bergson and Nietzsche. Secularised intellectuals and Muslim modernists alike saw Ṣūfī practice as mediaeval superstition and as a drug that stupefies the masses. Ṣūfī apologists have responded to this criticism by appropriating the rhetoric of science and announcing that Ṣūfism attains the goal of truth that science can only dream of (Wāḥid Bakhsh Siyāl, *Mushāhada-i ḥaḳḳ: islāmī rūḥānī sā'ins* [*science*], Karachi 1974).

Fundamentalists (echoing Orientalists and colonial officials) criticised Ṣūfism as Hindu-influenced idolatry of human beings, amounting to abandonment of "pure" Islam. Reformers like Ḥādjdjī Sharīʿat Allāh (d. 1840), founder of the Farā'iḍī movement in Bengal, and Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī (d. 1831 [*q.v.*]) in the Pandjāb, were militantly opposed to certain forms of Ṣūfism, Shīʿism, and local adaptations of Islam; for this reason, the British regarded them as "Wahhābīs," although some reformers were trained in Ṣūfī orders. Abu 'l-ʿAlā' Mawdūdī (d. 1979), founder of the fundamentalist Djamāʿat-i Islāmī, rejected Ṣūfī practice despite his upbringing in a Čishtī family, though his authoritarian leadership style has been interpreted as an extension of the master-disciple relationship (S.V. Nasr, *Mawdudi and the making of Islamic revivalism*, Oxford 1996). Defenders of Ṣūfism argue that Ṣūfism is the spiritual essence of Islam, and at the same time they refute earlier Orientalist theories of the non-Islamic origins of Ṣūfism (W.B. Sial Rabbani, *Islamic Sufism. The science of flight in God, with God, by God, and union and communion with God, also showing the tremendous Sufi influence on Christian and Hindu mystics and mysticism*, Lahore 1984). Naḳshbandī groups concerned about Islamisation have apparently de-emphasised meditation practices (the *laṭā'if*) but have redefined discipleship as a basic Islamic religious duty (A. Buehler, *Masters of the heart. Naqshbandi Sufism in colonial India*, Columbia, S.C. 1997).

The debate over Ṣūfī doctrine and practice in South Asia has crystallised around two North Indian *madrasas* founded in the colonial period, the *ḥadīth*-oriented Deoband school [*q.v.*] and the devotional Barēlwī school. Although the founders of Deoband were largely drawn from the Ṣābirī branch of the Čishtiyya, they rejected practices such as *samāʿ* [*q.v.*], and *ziyārat* as well as excessive veneration of the Prophet or Ṣūfī masters (Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic revival in British India. Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton 1982). The Barēlwīs, followers of Sayyid Aḥmad Riḍā Khān (d. 1921) of Ray Bareilly, emphasise the necessity of intercession by the Prophet and, secondarily, the Ṣūfī *shaykh*; as in other Muslim regions, the issue of saintly mediation has thus become highly controversial (U. Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and politics in British India. Ahmad Riza Khan Barelwi and his movement, 1870-1920*, Oxford 1996). Pietistic missionary groups such as the Tablīghī Djamāʿat [*q.v.*] founded by Muḥammad Ilyās (d. 1944) have appropriated the ethical emphasis of Ṣūfism while rejecting ritual, metaphysics, and sainthood (M.A. Haq, *The faith movement of Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas*, London 1972). Polemics and apologetics from these different perspectives dominate modern discussions of Ṣūfism in Urdu and in English.

iii. *Ṣūfism in print*.

Probably the greatest social transformation in modern Ṣūfism derives from the introduction of print to South Asia early in the 19th century, principally in the form of calligraphed lithography (movable Arabic type was preferred by the British). As in other regions, Ṣūfī orders were among the first to make use of the new technology to distribute teachings of contemporary teachers and to preserve the classical texts of the past. The revolution entailed by printing Ṣūfī texts lay in the possibility of mass distribution of inexpensive books to the middle-class public, in place of the restricted access to manuscripts and oral teachings among a privileged few. Printing of Ṣūfī texts in India was carried out principally in the northern cities of Dihlī, Kānpūr, and Lak'hnaw, often at presses (such as Nawāl Kishōr in Lak'hnaw) run by Hindu *munshīs*. The number of Persian texts printed in India in the 19th century was considerably higher than the total printed in Persia or Central Asia. Leaders of Ṣūfī orders such as the Čishtiyya, Naḳshbandiyya, Ḳādiriyya and Suhrawardiyya orders [*q.vv.*] commissioned publication of both early and contemporary Ṣūfī texts, initially in Persian but increasingly in Urdu translation (C. Ernst, *The study of Sufism in Pakistan*, unpubl. paper for American Institute for Pakistan Studies Workshop, 1996). Their publications included periodicals, and *shaykhs* like the Naḳshbandī leader Djamāʿat ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1951) sometimes required their disciples to subscribe (Buehler). Some Ṣūfīs (the Čishtī leaders Dhawḳī Shāh, d. 1951, and Ḥasan Niẓāmī, d. 1955) were trained in modern universities and made use of the press and European literary genres such as the novel to communicate their insights in Urdu and English to wider audiences.

Beyond the Gangetic basin, the Pandjāb, and the Urdu-speaking centres of the Deccan (U. Khālidī and M. ʿAḳīl, *Dakan kā ʿahd-i islāmī, 1300 tā 1950, ēk bunyādī kitābiyyāt*, Watertown, Mass. 1993, 58-65), very little scholarly work has been done on Ṣūfī activities in the modern period, such as the transmission of Ṣūfī orders from Kerala [see MAPPILA] to Ceylon in the 19th century. While Urdu has been an important medium for disseminating the full range of Ṣūfī literature, Indian languages that employ non-Arabic scripts (Bengali, Tamil, Malayalam) have also been used for Ṣūfī publications. In the Tamil country, tombs like that of Shāh al-Ḥamīd (d. 1558) at Nagore are still centres of pilgrimage for Muslims, Hindus, and Christians, and hagiographies in Tamil remain popular (V. Narayanan, *The Ẓamẓam in Nagore: worshipping Shahul Hamid in a Tamil landscape*, unpubl. paper). The Mā'idjbhandārī Ṣūfī order, founded in Chittagong by Sayyid Aḥmad Allāh (1826-1906) with links to the Ḳādiriyya, has engaged in extensive proselytisation and publication of biographies and songs in Bengali, with support from the ruling circles of contemporary Bangladesh (M.A. Latif, letter of 1992). The tantric bards known as the Bāuls gained cultural respectability after the 1920s when Rabindranath Tagore popularised the Bengali songs of Lālan Fakir (d. 1890); despite their religious ambiguity, the presence of Ṣūfī symbolism in their writings is unmistakeable (C. Solomon, *Bāul songs*, in D. Lopez, (ed.), *The religions of India in practice*, Princeton 1996, 187-208).

iv. *The internationalisation of South Asian Ṣūfism*.

Devotion to Indian Ṣūfī saints spread to the Malay peninsula, South Africa and the Caribbean in the 19th century as the British exported indentured laborers to those regions from India. In the 20th century, Europeans were exposed to visiting Indian Ṣūfī teachers such as ʿInāyat Khān (d. 1927), who was trained as a Čishtī but presented Ṣūfism as a universal religion detached from normative Islam. His teachings have been perpetuated by Americans (Rabiʿa Martin, Samuel Lewis) as well as family members (Pir Vilayat Khan) in Europe and America. Bawa Muhaiyaddeen (d. 1986), a Tamil Ṣūfī from Sri Lanka, acquired a significant following (both Muslim and non-Muslim)

after moving to the U.S.A. in 1971, and his tomb outside Philadelphia has now become a place of pilgrimage. South Asian Muslim immigrants and students in England, Canada, and the U.S.A. have established branches of the Čis͟htiyya and the Naḳs͟hbandiyya in their new homes along traditional lines. European and American converts to Islam have also joined South Asian Ṣūfī orders; the principal ḵh̲alīfa of D͟hawḳī S͟hāh in Pakistan was S͟hahīd Allāh Farīdī (d. 1978), an Englishman formerly named Lennard, whose Urdu writings have been published in Karachi. The principal ideological change for Ṣūfism in the modern period is the option of Ṣūfism without Islam, something barely conceivable before the 20th century. This new possibility is partly the result of the efforts of Western scholars and fundamentalists, both of whom regard Ṣūfism as separate from "pure" Islam, but it is partly the natural effect of ecumenism and the modern search for spirituality. Ṣūfī groups in Europe and America also give a much more prominent and public role to women than was previously customary in South Asia. Cultural products of Ṣūfism have attained great popularity in the West, from not only the Middle East (the Whirling Dervishes and Rūmī's poetry) but also South Asia (*ḳawwālī* music by the Sabri Brothers and Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan). At the end of the 20th century, South Asian Ṣūfism has found large new audiences through electronic communications on an international scale.

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(C. Ernst)

8. In Chinese Islam.

It is likely that the Muslims from the Middle East or Central Asia, drawn to China in the 13th-14th centuries by the Mongol emperors of the Yüan dynasty, brought with them Ṣūfī practices. But this is only a supposition since, in our present state of knowledge, we know nothing about the religious life of the Muslims of China before their complete sinicisation. We have to wait till the middle of the 17th century and the upheavals which mark the end of the native Ming dynasty and its replacement by the Manchu dynasty of the Ch'ing (or Qing) in order to find a specifically Islamic Chinese literature, which from then onwards is rich, mature and self-assured.

i. *Literary Ṣūfism.*

As a general rule, the great Muslim thinkers of the 17th-19th centuries adopted a uniform approach. They give an exposition for their coreligionists and compatriots, in Chinese, of the complete foundations of the faith, beginning with a sacred history which places the mystical and ancient past of China within the continuity of the enfolding of Biblical history. They continue with a dogmatic system of morality set out in Confucian terms and with the believer's obligations set forth in a clear language which is quasi-vernacular. Finally, they set forth a mysticism which is undeniably Ṣūfī.

If speculative theology shows itself as being consistent from the time of the first works composed, sc. the time of those of Wang Tai-yü (Wang Daiyu, *ca.* 1580-1658?), published between 1642 and 1657, this theology nevertheless evolves from one author to another over the course of the two succeeding centuries whilst remaining, so far as it seems, not rooted in any particular time and with no sectarian links. In order to acquire prestige, this theology often claims to stem from the translation of some Arabic or Persian work. Sometimes such originals are imaginary; but even when these actually exist and are as famed as the *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* of Nad͟jm al-Dīn Rāzī Dāya [*q.v.*] or the *Lawāʾiḥ* of D͟jāmī [*q.v.*], works which were highly valued in Chinese Islam, the alleged translation implies a total re-writing and remodelling in order to translate the philosophical notions and concepts of Ṣūfism into an acceptable Chinese mode of thought. From this, an original literature has resulted, one unknown to Islamic specialists for want of being studied by Sinologists.

The great Chinese *ʿulamāʾ* were actually forced to use as best they could the lexicographic and conceptual material at their disposal—Neo-Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist. The believer's journey towards "absorption" with the divine (*ho-hui, ho-ch'i*), which is a "return to origins" (*kuei-pen, fan-pen, hai-yüan*) is made, they explain, by "transformation" (*hun-hua*) through attaining the "Perfect Way" (*chih-tao*) or "Vehicle of the Truth" (*chen-ch'eng*, i.e. *ḥaḳīḳa*)—*tao* being the basic concept of Taoism and *ch'eng* that of Buddhism. The postulant seeking illumination has first of all followed, at a lower level, the "Usual Way" (*ch'ang-tao*) or the "Vehicle of the Rites" (*li-ch'eng*) or "Vehicle for Religion" (*chiao-ch'eng*, i.e. the *S͟harīʿa*) in order to understand the letter of the "Five meritorious acts" (*wu-kung*, i.e. *al-arkān al-ḵh̲amsa*); then he follows the "Middle way" (*chung-tao*) or "Vehicle of the Way" (*tao-ch'eng* or *ṭarīḳa*) which allows him to discover the spirit of the five meritorious acts, all this under the direction of a "Head of the Way" (*tao-chang* or *s͟hayḵh̲*), a "Ship of compassion on the sea of illusions", according to the Buddhist formula normally applied to Kuan-yin, the Chinese avatar of Avalokiteçvara. The journey of the believer is comparable to the search for "personal perfection" (*hsiu-shen*) recommended by Confucius and Mencius and set in the centre of the Neo-Confucian ethics of the 16th-17th centuries. For "he who knows himself knows his God" (*jen-chi jen-chu*). As a 19th-century author, Ma K'ai-k'o (Ma Kaike), from Yunnan, sets forth, by following the way of gradual attainment of perfection, the believer "acts as in Confucianism, but progresses to a supplementary degree" (*Ta-hua tsung-kuei* "The general return [to God] of the great transformations", 1865, ed. Peking 1922-3, ii, 46). This supplementary degree is attained thanks to the ascetic practice of the thirty "levels" (*p'in*, the "stations", *maḳāmāt*), described in detail by the *Chen-kung fa-wei* "The secret unveiled of truly meritorious acts" (whose author and date are problematical: the end of the 17th or the end of the 18th century ?).

In the thread of written discourse, the Arabic terms—or more exactly, Arabo-Persian ones, since the influence of the great religious centres of Central Asia was strongly felt in Chinese Islam—are not only translated but also transliterated phonetically, so far as the Chinese characters allow. Thus *d͟hikr* is written phonetically as *ch'i-k'e-erh*, and the *s͟hahāda* is written and recited as *lio-i-lio-he-ying-lan* (= *lā [ilāh] illā 'llāh*) and, at the end of the formula, *Mu-han-me-te-la-liu-lun* (= *Muḥammad rasūl [Allāh]*). Since Chinese Muslims pronounce Arabic in a manner much deformed by Chinese phonetics, it is not surprising that, as pilgrims to Mecca, they have been looked down upon by Arabic-speakers and have had the reputation of following a bastardised form of religion. However, their literature proves that this is not the case: the use of a terminology and a juggling with images borrowed from Chinese culture has not resulted in a degenerate syncretism. The message, the Ṣūfī one in particular, has remained distinctively Muslim. According to a Chinese historian of world religions (Li Xinhua, 1983, 76), Naḳs͟hbandiyya adherents are said to be recognisable by their preference for Neo-

Confucian thought, whilst the partisans of the Ḳādiriyya are said to incline towards a choice of Taoist and Buddhist terms; but this is, for the moment, merely a working hypothesis.

The fate of the works of literary Islam, so strongly marked by Ṣūfism, is curious. Those which emanate from the most prestigious thinkers—foremost amongst which is the Nanking scholar Liu Chih (Liu Zhi, *ca.* 1662-70 to *ca.* 1730-6), whom one of his 19th-century admirers, Ma Lien-yüan, considered as the Chinese Ibn al-ʿArabī—have been constantly republished up to the present time, and in the most varied circumstances: in the midst of civil war in the 19th century, on the occasion of the modernist movement of the 1920s and in the period of relaxation and re-Islamisation of the post-Maoist years, and in Taiwan. They symbolise a feeling of identification amongst the community, even—and above all—for adherents of the Ikhwān movement, close to the government in the Republican period as also in the Communist period. In former times published by the mosques and spread by them alone (at the present time, in continental China, in rivalry with the institutes of Islamic studies), they were accessible to all the faithful of the mosque who were sufficiently literate. Also, the fact that in 1993 the most typical work and the one most appreciated by believers, "The Arabian philosophy", *T'ien-fang hsing-li* of Liu Chih (*ca.* 1704), has been "translated" into the spoken language, shows a continuance of interest in speculative Islamic literature.

ii. *The Ṣūfism of the brotherhoods.*

In China, the popular Ṣūfism of the brotherhoods has its historical bases in the northwestern part of the country, where the intercontinental trade route which we call the "Silk Road" comes out. The late Joseph Fletcher (1934-84) showed in a magisterial way how this Ṣūfism was connected with the movements of worldwide Ṣūfism and attached itself to various *silsilas* of the Middle East and Central Asia. From the 15th century onwards, Naḳshbandī activists from the Altis̲h̲ahr or "Six cities" of the Tarim basin (in the southern part of modern Sinkiang), themselves shaped by the Naḳshbandīs of Transoxania, came to preach in the western part of China; and, in the same way, in the second half of the 17th century, the grandson of Makhdūm-i Aʿẓam (the ancestor of the Khodjas of the Altis̲h̲ahr [see KHODJAS in Suppl.]), Muḥammad Yūsuf, and also, above all, the latter's son, Hidāyat Allāh, called Khōdja Āfāḳ (d. 1694), the founder of the Āfāḳiyya spiritual lineage. At the end of the 17th century, three Chinese spiritual lineages, the best known of which was to become that of Ma Lai-ch'ih (1673-1753) at the head of the "Flowery Mosque", *Hua-ssu*, claimed descent from Khodja Āfāḳ and, through him, from the Naḳshbandiyya. The founder of the oldest known Chinese *ṭarīḳa*, a Ḳādirī one, Ch'i Ching-i (1656-1719), was equally influenced by him.

In the second half of the 18th century, the propagator of the Naḳshbandī revival, who had been trained in Yemen and advocated a strict enforcement of the *Sharīʿa* and the abandonment of the cult of sacred tombs, Ma Ming-hsin (1719-81 [*q.v.*]), founded an indigenous *ṭarīḳa* called the Djahriyya (*Che-he-lin-yeh*) with *dhikr* uttered out loud. This was called by outside observers the "New Religion", *Hsin-chiao*, in contrast to the earlier movements derived from the Āfāḳiyya, called Khufiyya (*Hu-fei-yeh*) with *dhikr* formed within the mind only, or, seen from the outside, the "Old Religion" (*Lao-chiao*). (It should be noted that, in the 19th-20th centuries, the New/Old Religion dichotomy embraced a set of realities which varied according to circumstances.) It was from the rivalry between these two Naḳshbandī trends of thought that there resulted, on several occasions, the bloody troubles which culminated in the putting to death of Ma Ming-hsin in 1781 and the execution in 1871 of his fifth successor, Ma Hua-lung (1810-71 [*q.v.*]), together with the depopulation of whole Muslim regions of Shensi, Ningsia and Yunnan [*q.vv.*] by the Chinese imperial armies which exterminated or deported masses of population. From the last quarter of the 19th century onwards, the centres of authority of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods were brought together within a restricted area, in comparison with the immense size of China, one not more than 350 km/220 miles from north to south between the 35th and 38th parallels and 500 km/310 miles from east to west between Kansu, Ningsia and west of the Ch'inghai. Nevertheless, from this time onwards, they swarmed forth across the whole of China, in the wake of commercial enterprises which were linked with missionary work.

The *ṭuruḳ* introduced into China—the Ḳādiriyya, Naḳshbandiyya in their various forms, and Kubrawiyya—after the second or third generation of spiritual masters, split into small groups called *men-huan*: a *men-huan* is at one and the same time the hereditary line of a *shaykh*, the group of faithful under the domination and authority of that line, the considerable ensemble of goods and lands owned by it, worked and protected for it by the faithful, and finally, the holy places which bear its charisma. The *men-huan* re-appeared after the Cultural Revolution. A Djahrī master of the eighth generation, Ma T'eng-ai, was from 1980 till his death in 1991 the deputy-governor of Ningsia and manager of a commercial house trading with the Near East. But in the 1990s, the survival of the *men-huan* is threatened as much by the fundamentalism of the Ikhwān, which is becoming more and more powerful, as by the course of rivalries within the *men-huan* themselves.

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islāmiyya fi 'l-Ṣīn. Waḥdat al-wudjūd wa-naẓariyyat al-insān al-kāmil 'ind Līw Tshī [Liu Chih], in *Etudes orientales*, nos. 13-14 (1994), 72-111 of the Arabic section; Fletcher, *The Sufi "Paths"* (ṭuruq) *in China*, in *ibid.*, 55-69; idem, *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*, Variorum, Aldershot 1995; Aubin, *Les ordres mystiques dans la Chine*, in A. Popovic *et alii* (eds.), *Les Voies d'Allah. Les ordres mystiques dans le monde musulman des origines à aujourd'hui*, Paris 1996, 262-7. See also KANSU; MA HUA-LUNG; MA MING-HSIN; PANTHAY; AL-ṢĪN. (FRANÇOISE AUBIN)

9. In Africa south of the Maghrib during the 19th and 20th centuries.

For the sake of convenience, Ṣūfism will be examined here under the following headings: (i) doctrinal developments, (ii) missionary Ṣūfism, (iii) Ṣūfī involvement in the political sphere, and (iv) opposition to Ṣūfism.

i. *Doctrinal developments.*

Two major trends are discernible, not mutually exclusive. Chodkiewicz has pointed out the pervasive influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings in the 19th century, amounting to an "Akbarian" revival, and this is as true in Africa as elsewhere. Whether by direct reading of *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* or filtered through secondary sources of Akbarian ideas, such as the writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 963/1565) and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731) [*q.vv.*], the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī have been diffused in many parts of Africa. This influence is particularly evident in the teachings of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī and his major West African disciple *al-Ḥādjdj* ʿUmar b. Saʿīd (d. 1864). But it is also evident in the writings of such diverse figures as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazāʾirī, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn al-Ḳalḳamī, Muḥammad Aḥmad the Mahdī of the Sudan, Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī al-Darḳāwī, and ʿAbd al-Salām al-Fītūrī, founder of the Libyan ʿArūsiyya.

Familiarity with Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought is also to be found in Aḥmad b. Idrīs, though he is more typically representative of the second trend, that is, the *ṭarīḳa Muḥammadiyya*, which stresses imitation of the Prophet in word and deed and seeing him in a waking state. His anti-madhhabist teachings, which advocate individual resort to Ḳurʾān and Sunna in matters of personal conduct, are reflected in the writings of one of the most important 19th-century Ṣūfī personalities in Africa, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*]. Al-Sanūsī quotes the definition of the *ṭarīḳa Muḥammadiyya* of Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Ḥasan al-ʿUdjaymī (d. 1113/1702): "This Way is the inward immersion of the adept in the contemplation of Muḥammad's person, whereby he imitates the Prophet in word and deed, occupies his tongue with pronouncing blessings upon him at all times, whether in retirement or when appearing in public, so that honouring the Prophet dominates his heart to such an extent and penetrates his interior so deeply that when he merely hears the Prophet's name, he begins to shake, his heart is overwhelmed beholding him, and the physical appearance of the Prophet manifests itself before the eye of his inner vision" (*al-Manhal al-rawī*, in *al-Madjmūʿa al-mukhtāra*, Beirut 1968, 49-50, tr. B. Radtke in his *Ijtihād and Neo-Sufism*, 915). An important influence on Aḥmad b. Idrīs and his school was the teaching of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh (said to be inspired directly by al-Khaḍir) as reported in the *K. al-Ibrīz* of Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak al-Lamaṭī; it was also extensively quoted in the Tidjānī manual *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm* of *al-Ḥādjdj* ʿUmar.

A third trend, quite unrelated to the two previous ones, may also be noted: that is, the increased incorporation into certain "popular" Ṣūfī orders, such as the ʿĪsāwiyya and Ḥamādsha of Morocco, of rituals of blood sacrifice, spirit exorcism and trance, at least partly under the influence of freed slaves of West African origin. Another manifestation of the amalgamation of Ṣūfism and African spirit cults is to be observed in phenomena such as the "*dīwāns* of Sīdī Bilāl" of Algeria, the rituals of the Gnāwa of Morocco, the Stambali of Tunisia and the Ṭumbura of the Sudan (also found among African slaves in Mecca, according to C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mecca in the latter part of the 19th century*, Leiden 1931, 11-12).

ii. *Missionary Ṣūfism.*

In the course of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, Ṣūfī teachings were disseminated over wide areas of the continent through the activities of certain brotherhoods, and in many cases they were the conduit for conversion to Islam. The Tidjāniyya gained a considerable number of adherents in Morocco and Algeria, and *zāwiya*s were established in Egypt and the Sudan. But it is in Mauritania and West Africa that its spread has been most noteworthy. In southern Mauritania it was taken up by the Idaw ʿAlī under the influence of Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1247/1830), and from there it spread into Senegal and Guinea. *Al-Ḥādjdj* ʿUmar b. Saʿīd (d. 1865 [*q.v.*]), was made a *khalīfa* of the order by Muḥammad al-Ghālī and subsequently initiated a *djihād* in Guinea and Mali which led to conversion to Islam and a short-lived Tidjānī "empire". His nephew, Muḥammad al-Hāshimī b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, known as Alfa Hāshim (d. 1349/1931), fled French colonialism and established a base in the Ḥidjāz, which catered to African Tidjānīs, but also, because of its location in the lands of pilgrimage, led to the propagation of the Tidjāniyya among Muslims from other areas of the world (e.g. Indonesia, ʿIrāḳ and the Balkans). In the 20th century, the chief African propagandist for the order has been the Senegalese *shaykh* Ibrāhīm Niasse (d. 1975), who has made the Tidjāniyya an order of mass participation, not only in Senegal but also in northern Nigeria and Ghana. His teachings, which emphasise spiritual tutelage (*tarbiya*), have also found favour in Mauritania, Chad and the western Sudan.

Brotherhoods based on the teachings of Aḥmad b. Idrīs have also spread far and wide. The Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] established a network of *zāwiya*s in eastern Libya and throughout Chad to as far as Kano in northern Nigeria. The Khatmiyya, founded by Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī (d. 1268/1852), a Meccan who went to the Sudan to propagate the teachings of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, gained many adherents in the Sudan and Eritrea [see MĪRGHANIYYA]. Another Idrīsian brotherhood, the Rashīdiyya-Ṣāliḥiyya, was also successful in the Sudan, and in Somalia, where it was propagated by the anti-colonial leader Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān [*q.v.*].

Older brotherhoods also enjoyed increased influence in the 19th century and were agents for conversion to Islam. The Ḳādiriyya enjoyed considerable success in West Africa through its Mukhtāriyya branch deriving from the Kunta scholars [see KUNTA] of the late 18th and 19th centuries. Disciples of the Kunta *shaykh*s carried their teachings to the savannah and forests, and were proselytisers for the faith. Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye [*q.v.*], the Fulani *mudjāhid* (d. 1232/1817), traces one of his *ṭarīḳa* lines through the Kunta *silsila*. Through Shaykh ʿUthmān, the Ḳādiriyya became the quasi-official *ṭarīḳa* of the state he founded in northern Nigeria, and through his *djihād* many were converted to Islam. Aḥmad

Lobbo (also known as Seku Aḥmadu, d. 1260/1844), the Fulani *mudjāhid* of Masina (Mali), also had a Ṣūfī affiliation to the Ḳādiriyya-Mukhtāriyya. In Senegal, Aḥmad Bamba (d. 1927) founded an entirely new order derived from the Ḳādiriyya, the Murīdiyya [*q.v.*], which, by preaching a doctrine of *laborare est orare*, has played an important role in developing agriculture, and with its economic success has come powerful national political influence. There has also been a Ḳādiriyya revival in Nigeria in recent years led by Muḥammad al-Nāṣir b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Kabarī of Kano (locally known as Nasiru Kabara, d. 1996). Sometimes Ṣūfī brotherhoods have been agents of "reconversion"—the diffusion among rural or nomadic Muslims of normative urban Islam; such was the case with the Ḳādiriyya-ʿUthmāniyya in Nigeria, the Sanūsiyya in Libya and Chad, and the Madjdhūbiyya-Shādhiliyya in the eastern Sudan. Many Ṣūfīs of sub-Saharan Africa were also scholars of *fiḳh*, notably the Kano Tidjānīs of the Ṣalgha tradition.

iii. *Ṣūfī involvement in the political sphere.*

In addition to what has been noted above, Ṣūfī movements worked, on the one hand, to resist colonial penetration, and on the other, at least in some cases, to establish a working relationship with colonial régimes. Some of the more striking examples of Ṣūfī involvement in armed struggle in opposition to colonialism are as follows: resistance to French penetration of Algeria led by the Ḳādirī *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazāʾirī; resistance to Italian penetration of Chad by the French and later Libya by the Italians, spearheaded by the Sanūsiyya brotherhood; resistance to French penetration of Mauritania led by the Ḳādirī *shaykh* Māʾ al-ʿAynayn [*q.v.*] (who founded a new branch the ʿAyniyya); and resistance to British colonialism in Somalia from 1900 to 1920 led by Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān. During the colonial period, relationships between brotherhoods and colonial régimes were in some cases good, even close, while in others they were cold or downright hostile. In North Africa, the Tidjānī leaders were on amicable terms with the French, as was in Senegal Seydou Nourou Tall, who became a virtual mouthpiece of the French colonial order in West Africa. On the other hand, the Ḥamālliyya Tidjānīs were fiercely opposed to the French, while the Tidjāniyya leadership of Kano was under constant British surveillance. The French exiled both Ḥamallāh and the Murīdiyya leader Aḥmad Bamba. In the Sudan, the Khatmiyya under Sayyid ʿAlī al-Mīrghanī developed its own political party, the National Unionist Party (*ḥizb al-ittiḥād al-waṭanī*) in opposition to the Umma Party of Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mahdī, who organised his Anṣār along *ṭarīḳa* lines. In Tanzania, the Ḳādiriyya brotherhood has played a significant role in national politics since independence.

iv. *Opposition to Ṣūfism.*

The most vigorous opposition to Ṣūfism in Africa has been that directed against the Tidjāniyya brotherhood. Attacks were directed against Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's claims that he had received direct authorisation for his teachings from the Prophet Muḥammad, that he was the *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb*, that reciting certain Tidjānī litanies (notably the *ṣalāt al-fātiḥ*) brought more merit than reciting the Ḳurʾān, and that those who see him or serve him would enter paradise without judgment. There has been a virtually constant stream of polemic in Mauritania since soon after the brotherhood reached there. An attack by the poet Idyaydj al-Kumlaylī (d. 1854) was responded to by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr b. N'būdja in his *al-Djaysh al-kafīl bi-akhdh al-thaʾr mimman salla ʿalā ʾl-shaykh al-Tidjānī sayf al-inkār.* This was then attacked by Muḥammad al-Khaḍir b. Māyābā (d. 1925), a Ḳādirī adept, in his *Mushtahā ʾl-khārif al-djānī fī zalaḳāt al-Tidjānī al-djānī*, which was attacked by several scholars, most importantly by Muḥammad Niasse (d. 1959) in his *al-Djuyūsh al-ṭullaʿ bi ʾl-murhafāt al-ḳuṭṭaʿ ilā Ibn Māyābā akhī ʾl-tanaṭṭuʿ*. In Nigeria in the 1970s and 1980s, both Tidjānīs and Ḳādirīs came under attack in sweeping denunciations of Ṣūfism led by a neo-Wahhābī scholar Abū Bakr Gummi (d. 1994), whose *al-ʿAḳīda al-ṣaḥīḥa bi-muwāfaḳat al-sharīʿa* (publ. Beirut 1392/1972) drew numerous responses. More specifically directed against the Tidjāniyya were the writings of an ex-Tidjānī adept, Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir Mai Gari, whose attacks elicited rebuttals from two Mauritanian scholars as well as from Nigerian Tidjānīs (see *Arabic literature of Africa* (*ALA*), ii, ch. 13, for an account of the Nigerian polemical literature).

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TASBĪḤ [see SUBḤA].

TASHAHHUD (A.), verbal noun of form V of *sh-h-d*, the recitation of the *shahāda* [*q.v.*], especially in the *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*]. It must, however, be kept in mind that in this case *shahāda* comprises not only the *kalimatānⁱ*, but (1) the following formula: "To God belong the blessed salutations and the good prayers"; (2) the formula "Hail upon thee, O Prophet, and God's mercy and His blessing; hail upon us and upon God's pious servants"; and (3) the *shahāda* proper, consisting of the *kalimatānⁱ*.

The above form of the *tashahhud* is in keeping with a tradition on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās, beginning thus: The Messenger of God used to teach us the *tashahhud*, just as he used to teach us a sūra from the Ḳurʾān (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 60). In the corresponding tradition on the authority of Ibn Masʿūd (*loc. cit.*, trad. 56; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 422) in the formula under (1), the word "blessed" is lacking; in Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī's tradition it runs "To

God belong the good salutations, the prayers".

According to al-Nawawī, in his commentary on Muslim, *loc. cit.*, the learned scholars admit the three forms of the *tashahhud*. The *madhhabs* do not agree, however, on the question which is the best one.

The *tashahhud* occurs twice in the *ṣalāt*: at the end of each pair of *rakʿas* and at the end of the whole *ṣalāt*. In the latter case, it may be followed by personal prayers and is concluded by the twofold *taslīma*.

Bibliography: Books on *fiḳh*, e.g. Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, Beirut n.d., i, 117-18; the passages in the books of tradition in Wensinck *et alii*, *Concordance*, s.v., 193-5, cf. especially the references to Tirmidhī; more recent practice described in Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. iii, Religion and Laws; and Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim devotions, a study of prayer manuals in common use*, London 1961, 64, 126-51. (A.J. Wensinck-[A. Rippin])

TASHBĪH (a.), literally "the act of comparing, comparison".

1. In rhetoric.

"Simile" or "(explicit) comparison" is one of the most important literary techniques in all literatures. It is especially frequent in pre- and early Islamic Arabic poetry, where metaphor [see istiʿāra] is less common than in ʿAbbāsid poetry, but it remained a central figure of speech, forming the main "point" of innumerable lines and epigrams. When describing objects, persons or events, classical poets are not content with "factual" description but feel compelled to produce similes, often in rapid succession and taken from disparate semantic fields. Although, already in the earliest period, there are many standard comparisons and conventions (hero: lion; generous man: sea; teeth: camomile or hailstones; etc.), the originality and creativity of a poet is often judged on the basis of his striking new similes or subtle variations on existing ones. The importance of *tashbīh* is reflected in literary criticism and theory: it is called one of the four "pillars" (*arkān*) of poetry (al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, Cairo 1965, 273) and is listed together, somewhat incongruously, with basic modes such as panegyric and love poetry by Thaʿlab [*q.v.*] in his *Ḳawāʿid al-shiʿr* (Cairo 1966, 37) and Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*] in his *Naḳd al-shiʿr* (Leiden 1956, 23). The several anthologies of similes, thematically arranged according to the *primum comparationis*, of which that by Ibn Abī ʿAwn [*q.v.*] is the earliest, give a useful insight into the "poetic universe" of Arabic literature.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], himself famous for the similes in his poetry, incorporated *ḥusn al-tashbīh* among the figures of *maḥāsin* [*q.v.*] in his seminal *K. al-Badīʿ* (London 1935, 68-74). The figure is subsequently discussed in every work on literary criticism and theory [see balāgha; bayān; al-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān], among which those by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] are particularly important, above all his *Asrār al-balāgha* which analyses in considerable depth and detail the various kinds and functions of *tashbīh* and its relationships with other figures such as metaphor, *tamthīl* and *takhyīl* [*q.vv.*]. Usually, the critics do not limit themselves to poetry and also deal with simile in prose, naturally giving much attention to Ḳur'ānic similes [see iʿdjāz]. In the school of al-Sakkākī and al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.vv.*], *tashbīh* forms part of *ʿilm al-bayān* and is discussed from various angles: the *primum* and *secundum comparationis* (*al-mushabbah* and *al-mushabbah bihi*, respectively; they may be *ḥissī*, perceivable by sense perception, or *ʿaḳlī*, conceivable only by the intellect) and their relationship (the *wadjh al-shabah*, classified in a number of ways), the syntactic form (the employ of the *adāt al-shabah*: particles like *ka-*, *ka'anna*, *ka-mā*, *mithl*, or genitive constructions) and the purpose or function (*gharaḍ*). In a normal simile such as "the caliph's face is like the sun" the *mushabbah bihi* (here, the sun) usually possesses more clearly or to a higher degree the quality implied by the comparison (here, some form of "brightness"). Exceptionally, this may be reversed with some effect ("The sun is bright like the caliph's face").

Poets and critics alike were fond of concision, of similes expressed in one line, or even an accumulation in one line; thus Ibn Ḥazm takes pride in his own "unsurpassable" line ("I, she, the cup, the wine, and darkness were/like earth, and rain, and pearls, and gold, and jet", *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1980, 110). Although this often results in rapid shifts to wholly unconnected spheres of imagery, a certain harmony is appreciated, as in a much-admired line by Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*] that likens swords flickering in the dust stirred up in battle to shooting stars in a dark night. Similes spanning more than one line are found but receive less attention and appreciation from critics. Especially in early Arabic poetry, one finds extended similes in some ways reminiscent of "epic" or "Homeric" similes, which form episodes in which the *primum comparationis* temporarily disappears from sight. Thus in the early *ḳaṣīda*, long sections may be found describing an oryx or onager, to which the poet's camel is compared.

Partly as a reaction against traditional practice and theory, *tashbīh* has lost much of its status in modern Arabic poetic criticism.

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2. Secondary studies. Renate Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, Wiesbaden 1971, esp. 115-27, 153-67; T. Bauer, *Altarabische Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1992, esp. 181-204; W. Smyth, *Some quick rules* ut pictura poesis: *the rules for simile in* Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm, in *Oriens*, xxxiii (1992), 215-29; P. Kunitzsch and M. Ullmann, *Die Plejaden in den Vergleichen der arabischen Dichtung*, in *SBBayer. Ak.* (1992); Suʿād al-Mānīʿ, *"Ka'anna" bayn al-tashkhīṣ wa 'l-tashbīh*, in *Alif* (Cairo), xii (1992), 178-99; H. Ritter, *Über die Bildersprache Niẓāmīs*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927; B. Reinert, *Probleme der vormongolischen arabisch-persischen Poesiegemeinschaft und ihr Reflex in der Poetik*, in G.E. von Grunebaum (ed.), *Arabic poetry: theory and development*, Wiesbaden 1972, 71-105. On *tashbīh* in the Aristotelian tradition, see e.g. G. Schoeler, *Der poetische Syllogismus. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der "logischen" Poetik der Araber*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxiii (1983), 43-92. On modern Arabic poetics, see S.K. Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, 706-9. (G.J.H. van Gelder)

TASHBĪH wa-**TANZĪH**, two terms of Islamic theology which stand for different discourses about God, *tashbīh* roughly meaning "anthropomorphism" and *tanzīh* "transcendentalism" (Greek ἀφαίρεσις). They are, however, not used on the same level; *tanzīh* has a positive connotation whereas *tashbīh*, together with

its derivatives *mushabbih* and *mushabbiha* (denoting a person or a group practising *tashbīh*), is used in polemical language, as a derogatory term. The negative equivalent to *tanzīh* is *ta'ṭīl*, divesting God of his attributes; as the positive pendant to *tashbīh*, *ithbāt* is sometimes used, the affirmation of the divine attributes by analogy. The origin of all these terms has still to be clarified. They are not found in the Ḳur'ān; when *tanzīh* appears in a *ḥadīth* (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, vi, 423) it is part of an explanatory remark which seems to have been added later on and reflects already independent theological usage.

The problem itself reached Islam in a late and derivative form. Islam does not know anthropomorphism on the immediate level of religious consciousness, as mythology, for instance, and rejects, under the notion of *ḥulūl* (*q.v.* = ἐνοίκησις), the form of anthropomorphism typical for Christianity, namely, incarnation. *Tashbīh* means "making similar" and can be understood either as "producing something similar to creation", i.e. images (which are forbidden in *Ḥadīth* under the expression of *shabbaha bi-khalḳ Allāh*) or as "assimilating God to His creature" (creature always meaning man, never animals as in Ancient Egyptian theriomorphism). In the latter sense, which is the only one used in Islamic theology proper, it aims at the problem of how to interpret the anthropomorphic discourse in the Scripture, i.e. at the exegetical level. Here, the closest parallels outside Islam are found in Judaism. If, however, it is contrasted with *tanzīh*, the term also opens up the systematical question of how the personalist aspect of the divine presupposed by all theistic religions has to be dealt with. What influenced Islamic thinking most in this regard was Neoplatonic philosophy, especially in the form it had assumed in Christian theology.

The Ḳur'ān is by intention strongly transcendentalist; it does not, however, avoid anthropological language as a symbolic reference to God's actions and qualities. This was not in the beginning felt as a tension or contradiction. When Islam, however, expanded into the lands of the civilisations of the Ancient World, both transcendentalist and anthropomorphist tendencies were sharpened by the religious ideas prevailing in the new environment. *Ḥadīth*, therefore, contains many anthropomorphist sayings, some of which are obviously exegetical whereas others go far beyond this. Early *tafsīr* works were sometimes so strongly anthropomorphist that they had to be purged in later recensions (cf. e.g. Muḳātil b. Sulaymān). Theologians, either Sunnī and starting from *Ḥadīth* (e.g. Dāwūd al-Djawāribī) or Shī'ī and taking up the spirit of Kūfan circles (Hishām al-Djawālīḳī or Hishām b. al-Ḥakam), gave this development a systematic turn by speculating about how God may be ascribed a shape or a form (*ṣūra*), whether He has or is a body (*djism*), how His speech (*kalām*, i.e. revelation) proceeds from Him, etc. The transcendentalist pattern, on the other hand, did not pass through *Ḥadīth*, but was expressed in theological terms right away, with Dja'd b. Dirham and Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.vv.*], later on with the Mu'tazila. The Mu'tazilīs took transcendentalism to be a necessary prerequisite of *tawḥīd*. But the anthropomorphists did not see any contradiction between their standpoint and *tawḥīd* either; they wrote books under this title and made it clear in their theology that they did not want to "assimilate" God to man or understand Him as a composite entity.

As far as the aspects of Islamic anthropomorphism are concerned, we can differentiate between (a) anthropomorphism proper, concerning God's outward appearance, His shape (μορφή); (b) God's actions like speaking, sitting, etc.; (c) His feelings like wrath, satisfaction, etc., so-called anthropopathisms; and (d) "passive" anthropomorphisms inasmuch as God may be the object of human perception: when He is seen, heard, etc.

(a) *Anthropomorphism proper.* The Ḳur'ān mentions God's face (*wadjh*), His eyes (though never in the dual, only in the plural and in the singular), His hands, in a certain way His side (*djanb*; sūra XXXIX, 56), and possibly His leg (LXVIII, 42). But all the passages involved had a primarily metaphorical meaning; in the two last cases, the connection with God had even intentionally to be established first. Some of them were further elaborated in *Ḥadīth*. Sūra XXXVIII, 75 which implied God's having created Adam "with His own hands" was filled out by saying that He kneaded Adam's clay for forty days; XXXIX, 67, "the earth altogether shall be His handful on the Day of Resurrection", was made more concrete by asking which part of it will be on each finger; when, in VII, 143, God was supposed to have made Mount Sinai "crumble to dust", people thought that He achieved that by merely putting out the tip of His little finger. In this way, even a new limb was added; since, according to L, 30, Hell is going to ask "Are there any more (sinners) to come?", one could imagine God putting his foot (*ḳadam*) into the fire in order to quench its heat. The most important addition, however, was the statement of Gen. i. 27, according to which God created Adam in His image (*'alā ṣūratihī*); this was not found in the Ḳur'ān and became now, via *Ḥadīth*, the basis of theological speculation. The word *ṣūra* (for Hebrew *d'mūt*, which simply meant "likeness") referred to sūra VII (*ṣawwarnākum* "We shaped you"), and LXIV, 3 (*aḥsana ṣuwarakum* "He shaped you well"); the question then was how man's beautiful shape reflected God's own appearance.

The question had two sides. One could speculate about the similarity in man; then one could say, e.g., that Adam, as long as he was in Paradise, had been a lot taller than later human beings since God is immensely big. But normally, one concentrated on the similarity in God: He looks like the blessed in Paradise, young and with curly hair, perhaps 32 years old (like Jesus!), perhaps only about 15, like a youth who has not yet grown his beard. His size is seven spans, as said Muḳātil b. Sulaymān and afterward Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, ideal spans which were not necessarily identical with human ones. In order to link these popular conceptions with the Ḳur'ān, the theologians discovered the enigmatic attribute *ṣamad* in CXII, 2. They understood it as "solid, massive" and saw in it the description of a bodily constitution which guarantees unity (the topic of the entire sūra). God is not hollow or porous, as said Muḳātil b. Sulaymān; only man is hollow, and he is porous because he consists of clay. Man has a cavity (*djawf*), namely, his chest and his belly; God does not. God therefore does not need food; He has neither digestion nor sexuality. He "does not beget nor has He been begotten" (CXII, 3). But He speaks and He thinks, for He is wise. This is why Dāwūd al-Djawāribī pretended, in contrast to Muḳātil, that God can only be massive in His lower part. He has to be hollow from His waist upward, since His speech, i.e. revelation, comes forth from His mouth and His wisdom, namely, the Ḳur'ān, from His heart, i.e. from His chest. Shī'ī theology tried to attenuate this approach by conceiving God as a luminous being which has a different and much more subtle matter than man. Hishām al-Djawālīḳī, though still thinking of God as having a "form", imag-

ined Him to consist of white light which only changed into black when His profuse hair had to be described. Hishām b. al-Ḥakam then gave up the *ṣūra* concept altogether and merely ascribed to God an ideal geometrical shape which he called a "body" (*djism*) in the philosophical sense of the word (like σῶμα in Stoicism). While Hishām al-Djawālīkī still assumed that God had senses, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam conceived God as a regularly-shaped mass of light which emits rays as means of perception. This could no longer be called anthropomorphism, but since he used the word *djism* which, under a perspective different from his, evoked God's being composite, he was labelled a corporealist (*mudjassim*).

(b) *God's actions.* Among those divine actions which were mentioned in the Ḳur'ān many could immediately be linked to God's body: seeing, hearing, speaking, creating (like shaping Adam out of clay, anything except *creatio ex nihilo*). Most important was God's sitting on the throne, the symbol of His majesty and power. Only one action was explicitly denied: sleeping; "slumber seizes Him not, neither sleep" (II, 255, in the throne verse; cf. Ps. cxxi. 4). Sleeping would have been the negation of His acting, a period of rest during His creation which the Ḳur'ān, in contrast to the Bible, deemed unworthy of God. In *Ḥadīth* we then get reflections about *how* God is sitting on His throne (leaning back, one leg put upon the other) or whether He allows somebody to sit at His side in order to honour him or to even let him partake in His power (e.g. the Prophet when he practices intercession, *shafā'a* [*q.v.*]). In Jerusalem, people believed that God had left His footprint on the Rock of Mount Zion because His throne had been standing there in the earthly paradise before He got up and ascended to Heaven. This idea was combined in the Umayyad period with Muḥammad's night journey (*isrā'*), which led him to Jerusalem and made him encounter God in the garden which was located in the precincts of the "Solomonic" (i.e. Herodian) Temple. God was sitting there on His throne in the shape of a beardless youth with a crown on His head and golden sandals on His feet. He could even be imagined to touch the Prophet then with His hand, as a gesture of intimacy, when He conveyed a secret or a message to him. But He could also be thought to appear at Mecca, during the Pilgrimage, "at the eve of 'Arafa", when He used to come down from Heaven riding on a camel in order to accept the supplications or the repentance of the believers. This was not a symbol of His power then but of His compassion and mercy.

(c) *Anthropopathisms.* Among God's feelings and passions, His mercy was most prominent in the Ḳur'ān. But it was never felt to be anthropomorphic; it was simply part of His essence. Similarly, His wrath (*sakhaṭ, ghaḍab*) and His satisfaction (*riḍā*) were considered by many early theologians as His main and only attributes, expressing the polarity of His nature. The anti-Islamic treatise attributed to Ibn al-Muḳaffa' criticised the common tendency to ascribe grief and mourning to God; in *Ḥadīth*, it could be said that God wept about the annihilation of mankind by the Flood. The only attributes which became problematic in the long run were those which seemed to injure God's sovereignty or perfection: His cunning (*makr*, cf. III, 54, and IV, 142), His mockery (II, 15, and IX, 79), His forgetfulness (IX, 67) or His patience (*ṣabr*, which could also mean "enduring"). A special case was divine love; it was rejected by theologians and jurists (who thought compassion to be more appropriate), accepted, however, and frequently glorified by the mystics.

(d) *"Passive" anthropomorphisms.* According to certain *ḥadīths*, God may touch man. But He can never be touched Himself. He can be heard, though, and He can also possibly be seen. His being heard was never questioned; only the mode was a matter of dispute. Moses was mentioned in the Ḳur'ān as the one who had been spoken to by God directly (IV, 164); in contrast to him, Muḥammad heard the revelation only through an intermediary, i.e. Gabriel. When the Ḥanbalīs later on called the pronunciation (*lafẓ*) of the Ḳur'ān uncreated, they assumed that, during the act of recitation, everybody hears the Speech of God as such. The vision was more problematic. The two visions of Muḥammad alluded to in the Ḳur'ān (LIII, 5-12, and 13-18) did not mention God explicitly; they could as well be interpreted as referring to Gabriel. When the Prophet met God during his *mi'rādj* [*q.v.*], many people doubted that he had seen Him in person; they thought that he had only heard Him speak from behind a veil. The Ḳur'ānic basis for the beatific vision in Paradise was weak; the doctrine was rejected by the Mu'tazila but finally accepted by the majority, at least in Sunnism [see RU'YAT ALLĀH].

Unrestricted anthropomorphism did not withstand the onslaught of the Mu'tazilīs; their theology in this respect shaped the Islamic identity until today. Before their time, transcendentalism had a precarious stand; Dja'd b. Dirham and Djahm b. Ṣafwān were both executed, though probably for political rather than dogmatical reasons. At that time, in the late Umayyad period, part of Islamic theological thinking may still have been tinged by a Neoplatonic spirit. Dja'd b. Dirham pretended that God could never have taken Abraham as His "friend" (*khalīl*; cf. IV, 125) or have spoken to Moses; possibly he also denied Muḥammad's having seen God during the *mi'rādj*. Djahm b. Ṣafwān rejected God's being heard or seen, too; for him, God was simply the absolute Power. God is not only beyond any form, but also beyond being as such; he is not anything (*shay'*). This was more than the Mu'tazilīs later on admitted. They were not against calling God *shay'*, insofar as He exists, and they did not deny God's speech altogether but accepted it as long as it was created in an earthly substratum (the burning bush, e.g.). The Ḳur'ānic argument which they used against anthropomorphism was that of XLII, 11, *laysa ka-mithlihī shay'*, which was understood now as meaning absolute and not only relative otherness. God could then be described as *shay' lā ka'l-ashyā'*. This turned out to be a suitable expression which spread far beyond the Mu'tazila. Amongst the Mu'tazila themselves, other definitions of otherness had been tested: God as *khilāf al-'ālam* "the (absolute) divergence from the world" (Abu 'l-Hudhayl), or simply as *ghayr* "the Other" ('Abbād b. Sulaymān). In the earliest phase, theologians like Ḍirār b. 'Amr had expressed the same idea by saying that only God's existence (*anniyya*) is accessible to the human mind, not his essence (*māhiyya*); this position, however, was given up when Abu 'l-Hudhayl and others after him started elaborating a doctrine of attributes.

Talking about attributes meant mitigating the concept of *tanzīh*. The radical position held by Djahm b. Ṣafwān was never repeated again except by the Ismā'īlīs in Eastern Persia. They developed a consistent *theologia negativa* on the basis of Neoplatonic philosophy where God was beyond being and therefore ineffable, neither *shay'* nor not *shay'*. According to Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, He was not even the creator; creation (*ibdā'*) was effected by the first Intelligence, whereas God was severed from the world

and remained unknown. According to the view of the Islamic majority, such ideas were sectarian. Even Muʿtazilī *tanzīh* was soon denounced as *taʿṭīl*. Ultimately, it survived only in Imāmī and Zaydī Shīʿī thought. In Sunnī Islam, the Ashʿarī reaction led to a readjustment of the fronts. The anthropomorphisms were incorporated into God's essence (*dhāt*), as *ṣifāt khabariyya*, i.e. attributes based on the evidence of Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth* which should be understood *bi-lā kayf*. This latter formula was to have a long history. It could mean "without further comment"; this is how it was used by the Ḥanbalīs and other *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* who were close to them. The relevant traditions were then collected and interpreted in books like Ibn Khuzayma's *K. al-Tawḥīd wa-ithbāt ṣifāt al-Rabb*, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaḳī's *K. al-Asmāʾ wa 'l-ṣifāt* or Ibn al-Djawzī's *Dafʿ shubhat al-tashbīh*. Theologians, however, used *bi-lā kayf* rather in the sense of "without qualifying God in a way only to be applied to His creation"; they presented it as a middle course between a literal acceptance of the anthropological statements in the Scripture (= *takyīf*, *tashbīh*) on one side and their metaphorical interpretation in the Muʿtazilī sense (*taʾwīl* = *taʿṭīl*) on the other. Even Ibn Taymiyya adopted this attitude. Among those who kept aloof from it were al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd (in his *Kashf ʿan manāhidj al-adilla*); they rather differentiated between *tashbīh* (*bi-lā kayf*) and *tanzīh* (= figurative interpretation, *taʾwīl*) according to a social criterion, by contrasting the discourse of lay people (*ʿawāmm*) with that of the experts (*khawāṣṣ*). The question of whether man cannot talk about God unless in anthropological language anyway, his discourse inevitably being metaphorical (*madjāz*), was rarely asked since the Ḳurʾān was thought to be the speech of God Himself (*kalām Allāh*) and therefore veritative (*ḥaḳīḳī*) by definition.

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(J. VAN ESS)

TASHELḤĪT (TASHLḤIYT), a dialect of Berber.

1. Linguistic region.

Tashelḥīt or Tashlḥiyt is the most important Berber dialect of Morocco, both by the number of its speakers and by the extent of its area. The space within which it is used as a first language comprises an area within a line in the north connecting Essaouira (Mogador) and Tanant in the High Atlas, a line following the eastern slopes of the High Atlas towards the region of Ouarzazate, a southern line following the course of the Wadi Dra and western one represented by the Atlantic coast from the mouth of the Wadi Noun to Essaouira.

From the point of view of physical geography, this is a region of comparative contrasts: mountain zones of the High and Anti-Atlas, the Haha plateau in the north-west and the Aït Baâmrane one in the south-west, the plains of the Sūs and of Tiznit [*q.vv.*], valleys in the upper levels and pre-desert zones in the south-east and south-west of the region. It is populated by sedentaries practising a traditional agriculture on the plateaux and mountains (cereals and the rearing of sheep and goats), whereas modern agriculture predominates on the plains (citrus fruits, banana groves and market gardening).

Because of very many difficulties, the most important being the precariousness of the economy and demographic pressure, the region has been characterised by both an internal and an important external migration. Migration of labour towards France and Belgium was considerable during the period 1960-70; the rural exodus is still a large-scale one, towards the urban centres, with the people of the Sūs, notably those originally from the Anti-Atlas, being mainly concerned with trade in foodstuffs. Finally, it is also a region for tourism, with the beach resort of Agadir, the historic town of Taroudant and the picturesque countrysides of Tafraout and Ouarzazate.

2. Language.

The structure of Tashelḥīt.

The population of this region is for the most part Berber-speaking, but with Arabic-speaking communities implanted on the plains (Oulad Teima, Oulad Berrehil, Oulas Boutayeb, Oulad Jerrar, etc.). The idiom used by the Berber-speaking population is Shluḥ, in Berber *tashlḥīt* (*tashlḥiyt*), and the native speaker of this is called *ashlḥi* (or *ashlḥiy*), pl. *ishlḥiyen*. The dialect is relatively homogenous, despite some divergencies in the spoken varieties.

In phonology, Tashelḥīt is considered to be an "occlusive" dialect. The consonant system includes the labials *b*, *m*, *f*; the apicals *t*, *d*, *n*, *l*, *r*, *s*, *z*, *sh*, *j*; the dorsals *k*, *g*, *y*, *w*, *kh*, *gh*, *ḳ*; the pharyngeals *ḥ*, ʿ; the laryngeal *h*; and the emphatics *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṣ*, *ẓ*, *j̣*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*. All consonants can be geminated (lengthened), except *gh*, *h* and *d*, which are realised as *ḳ* and *t* in the geminated state. It should, however, be noted that in the speech of the communities of the High Atlas, spirants are substituted for the occlusives *b* > *ḇ*, *k* > *ḵ*, *g* > *g̱*; further, in the communities of the Anti-Atlas, sibilants are substituted for the dentals (*t* > *s*, *d* > *z*). Vowels are reduced to *i*, *a*, *u*; in contrast to other Berber dialects, Tashelḥīt admits syllables with a consonantal core, e.g. *ml* "to show", *krz* "to work", *bzg* "to puff out, dampen", *bdd* "to get up, stand". Accent is not distinctive in Berber; in Tashelḥīt the tonic accent is on the heavy syllable counting from the end of the word; in the absence of such a syllable, the final syllable is accented.

In its main features, the verbal morphology of Tashelḥīt does not differ from other Berber dialects. Words are built up from roots, usually comprising consonants, generally three (e.g. *mgr* "to harvest"), but sometimes two (e.g. *fl* "to let, leave") or even five (e.g. *frskl* "to crack"). The root consonants are always present in the word, and give a basic semantic aspect to all words derived from that root; the root, joined to a vocalic melody, completes a scheme whose form and substance vary according to the prosodic structure of the word. The most simple verbal form is the aorist (e.g. *krf* "to shackle"); the complex forms stem from a process of derivation whose nature seems to be regulated by the structure of the radical. The intensive aorist expresses habitual or continuous action, and is derived by (1) the prefixing of *tt* (e.g. *amẓ* > *ttamẓ* "to take, hold"); (2) gemination of the first radical

(e.g. *krf* > *kkrf* "to shackle"); (3) gemination of the first radical and infixing of *a* (e.g. *fl* > *ffal* "to leave, let"); or (4) gemination of the second radical and the infixing of *a* (e.g. *kl* > *klla* "to spend the day"). The causative-factitive form is derived by prefixing a voiceless sibilant, simple or geminated according to the structure of the root (e.g. *bdd* > *sbdd* "to make stand up", *lkm* > *sslkm* "to make arrive, reach"); this sibilant becomes assimilated to another sibilant within the radical (e.g. *k<u>sh</u>m* > *<u>shsh</u>k<u>sh</u>m* "to cause to enter", *nz* > *zznz* "to cause to sell"). The passive form is derived by prefixing (1) *tt* (e.g. *ut* > *ttut* "to be beaten"; (2) *ttu* (e.g. *krf* > *ttukraf* "to be shackled"; or (3) *tti* (e.g. *ags* > *ttiagas* "to be wounded"). The reciprocal-reflexive form is derived by prefixing (1) *m* (e.g. *<u>sh</u>awr* > *m<u>sh</u>awar* "to consult together"); (2) *mm* (e.g. *zr* > *mmzr* "to see each other"); or (3) *nn* (e.g. *fk* > *nnfk* "to exchange"). There also exist super-derived forms combining two derived forms starting from the same radical (e.g. *rwi* "to mix up, put into disorder" > *smmrwi* "to turn completely upside-down").

The noun varies in gender (e.g. *afrux* "boy" > *tafruxt* "girl") and in number (e.g. *argaz* "man" > *irgazn* "men", *tam<u>gh</u>art* > *tim<u>gh</u>arin* "women"). It is likewise subject to variation in its state. The placing of the free-state noun into the construct state is accompanied by changes which modify the structure of the noun's initial syllable; these changes follow from determined syntactical contexts, as is the case with Berber in general (e.g. *argaz idda* > *idda urgaz* "the man left", *tam<u>gh</u>art tk<u>sh</u>m* > *tk<u>sh</u>m tm<u>gh</u>art* "the woman has entered"). The verbal noun is most of the time derived from an attested root; the noun of agent is formed by the prefixing of *a* and infixing of *a* or *am* (e.g. *krz* "to plough" > *amkraz* "ploughman"). The noun of action is obtained by several processes, of which the most widespread are (1) prefixing and infixing of *a* in the case of a masculine noun (e.g. *zug* "to go into exile" > *azwag* "exile"; (2) infixing *ta* and suffixing *i* in the case of a feminine noun (e.g. *las* "to shear, clip" > *talusi* "shearing, clipping"). Finally, the noun of instrument is formed by prefixing *as* (e.g. *krz* "to plough" > *askrz* "plough-share").

Regarding syntax, the surface structure is of the VSO type (verbal syntagm + nominal syntagm), e.g. *ikrz umkraz igr* "the ploughman has ploughed the field". There are two types of predicate, the verbal one (e.g. *idda* "he left") and the non-verbal one (e.g. *dari inbgiwn* "I have with me some guests"). One of the characteristics of the phrase in Ta<u>sh</u>elḥīt is the predicative construction with the verbal copula *g* "to be, to put", e.g. *g argaz* "be a man!" In general, the syntax of the phrase is paratactic, with propositions being juxtaposed, e.g. *ibdd iff<u>gh</u>* "he stood up; he went out", or else hypotactic, with co-ordinated propositions, e.g. *ik<u>sh</u>m ntta d tm<u>gh</u>art ns d mas d tarwa ns* "he came in, he *and* his wife *and* his mother and his children". However, complex propositional constructions are frequent, both nominal and verbal. The first type could be (1) a relative subject, e.g. *argaz lli yussm* "the man who is old"; (2) an appositive relative, e.g. *illa mad ur iṭṭafn amya* "there are some who have nothing; (3) a direct relative, e.g. *afrux lli izrin* "the boy who has just passed". As for a proposition with a verbal predicate, it can take the form of a direct expansion with a subordinating word, e.g. *mnan ad mmuddun* "they thought of travelling", and *ur iddi ayllig<u>h</u> i<u>sh</u>sha* "he did not go out until he had eaten". The nominal group displays several types of construction, notably (1) the genitive construction, e.g. *adar n usrdun* "the mule's hoof"; (2) the topicalised construction, e.g. *ifis i<u>sh</u><u>sh</u>a a<u>gh</u>yul* "the hyaena has eaten the ass"; (3) the dislocated, twisted construction, e.g. *a<u>gh</u>yul i<u>sh</u><u>sh</u>a-t ifis* "the ass, the hyaena has eaten it"; (4) the focussed construction, e.g. *a<u>gh</u>yul ad i<u>sh</u><u>sh</u>a ifis* "it is the ass which the hyaena has eaten".

The socio-linguistic position of Ta<u>sh</u>elḥīt.

The dialect is used as a vernacular idiom within rural communities, and its spheres of usage extend to the family circle and to relations outside that circle in which Berber-speaking speakers are involved. Ta<u>sh</u>elḥīt is the Berber dialect which has the greatest diffusion outside the Berber-speaking regions; in towns, it is found in a situation of linguistic contact, notably with colloquial and standard Arabic, but also at times with French and Spanish. This contact leads Ta<u>sh</u>elḥīt-speakers to borrow words from these languages, but the number of borrowings in Ta<u>sh</u>elḥīt is less than in the other Berber dialects of Morocco. Berber-speakers residing in towns are *ipso facto* subject to a transitional bilingualism or multilingualism in which Ta<u>sh</u>elḥīt is in a position of becoming weakened, despite a feeling of conscious identity, especially in the circles of urban élites.

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3. Literature.

Ta<u>sh</u>elḥīt (Ta<u>sh</u>lḥiyt) is the only Berber language which has a long and continuous written tradition. This tradition goes back at least nine centuries, and can be divided into three periods.

(i) *Mediaeval period.* We know from the works of several historians that Berber texts were written during the Middle Ages. Most famous among these was the *Mur<u>sh</u>id* composed in Arabic and Berber by the *Mahdī* Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*]. As far as is known, neither this text nor any other longer, coherent text from this period has been preserved. However, the sparse materials that have survived are sufficient to show that Berber texts were indeed being written during the Middle

Ages, and that this was done in a consistent, specially designed orthography using the Maghribī Arabic script.

The most important source for our knowledge of mediaeval Berber and its orthography is the *Kitāb al-Asmā'* "Book of nouns", an Arabic-Berber dictionary containing 2,500 bilingual entries which was composed in the year 540/1145 by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Ḳaysī, also known as Ibn al-Ramāma or Ibn Tūnārt (478-567/1085-1172). Several copies of this dictionary are preserved in the library of Leiden University. The same library possesses a fragment of a mediaeval manuscript containing a text on ethics entirely written in Berber. Another important source are the Berber phrases that are found in the anonymous *Kitāb al-Ansāb* and in the memoirs of al-Baydhaḳ, a companion of Ibn Tūmart (ed. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928). These two texts contain a wealth of Berber names of persons, tribes and places. Berber place-names are also found in the work of Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (ed. de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1857) and other works on geography and history. All these Berber materials are written down in a highly consistent orthography. The earliest examples of the use of this orthography are found in the numerous Berber names of plants and other *materia medica* found in pharmacological manuals such as the works of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī (Albucasis, d. 404/1013 [see AL-ZAHRĀWĪ]) and Ibn Biklārish (d. after 500/1106 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). The Berber language recorded in these sources is closely related to Tashelḥīt, and is probably an archaic form of it.

(ii) *Pre-modern and modern period.* More than two hundred texts in Tashelḥīt dating from the 16th century to the present have been preserved in manuscripts. In scope and volume, this literary tradition is comparable to other African vernacular literatures in the Arabic script, e.g. Fulani, Hausa and Swahili.

The large majority of the texts deal with religious subjects, especially theology (*ttawḥid*), ritual obligations (*lʿibadat*), and accounts of Judgment Day and the Hereafter (*lahwal n-likhrt*). A special genre is formed by the texts called *nnṣaḥt* "advice" (Ar. *naṣāḥa* or *naṣīḥa*), whose purpose it is to provide the illiterate population with information on orthodox Islamic practice, as opposed to unorthodox or un-Islamic practices (*lbidaʿ*). In addition to these, there are panegyric poems on the Prophet and well-known, popularised stories such as the *Lḳiṣt n-Yusf* "Story of Joseph" and the *Lghazawat n-Bn Zhaʿfar* "Raids of Ibn Djaʿfar". Tashelḥīt texts usually have titles in Arabic.

All these texts are composed in verse, using Berber metres. Prose texts are less common. Examples include bilingual vocabularies, anthologies of *ḥadīth* and manuals on medicine. Tashelḥīt is not ordinarily used in letters or documents.

The earliest preserved, long Tashelḥīt text was written by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣanhādjī, commonly known as Aẓnag (d. 1005/1597). Around 1590 he composed a work entitled *ʿAḳāʾid al-dīn* or *Lʿḳayd n-ddin* "Chapters on religion". This is a text-book for the Islamic sciences which constitute the curriculum in a traditional college (*lmdrst*). Another early author is ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Ḥāḥī (d. 1012/1602-4), who composed a text on the Hereafter (mentioned in the *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, ed. Houdas, 210, tr. 343).

From the middle of the 17th century we have an Arabic-Tashelḥīt vocabulary containing 900 bilingual entries by ʿAbd Allāh b. Shuʿayb al-Hīlālī.

The most famous author is Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Hawzālī, known as Awzal (d. 1162/1749). He composed an admonition (*lmawʿiḍa*) entitled *Baḥr al-dumūʿ* "Ocean of tears" which includes an account of the Hereafter, and a manual of Mālikī law entitled *al-Ḥawḍ* "The reservoir" which is still widely used by Tashelḥīt-speaking *fuḳahāʾ*. An extensive commentary on *al-Ḥawḍ* entitled *al-Mandjaʿ* "The pasture" was written in Tashelḥīt prose by al-Ḥasan b. Mubārak al-Tamuddiztī (d. 1316/1899). This is the longest extant text in Tashelḥīt.

Other *fiḳh* manuals were composed by Dāwūd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamsawtī (d. after 1166/1753), Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Tīzakhtī (d. *ca.* 1275/1858-9) and by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Darḳāwī (d. 1328/1910).

The most prolific authors of "books of counsel", "pieces of advice", are Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Timlī, known as Imml (d. 1327/1909) and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Hanāʾī (d. 1295/1878). A lengthy *Kitāb al-Bidaʿ* "Book on heresies" was written by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Irazānī (d. 1308/1890-1).

The most famous panegyric of the Prophet is *al-Ḳaṣīda al-būshikriyya* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Būshikrī (d. 1282/1865-6). An adaptation of al-Būṣīrī's famous *Ḳaṣīdat al-Burda* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥāmidī (18th century) is often recited on festive occasions.

The Tashelḥīt literary tradition remains alive today. Old texts are still being (photo-)copied, and new texts are being composed.

(iii) *The present day.* Since the 1970s, a small modern literature has sprung up. This literature is composed by European-oriented literati, who on the whole have little or no knowledge of the older tradition. Publications include bundles of poetry by Muḥammad Mustāwī, among them *Iskraf* "Shackles" (Casablanca 1976), *Tadsa d-imttawn* "Laughter and tears" (*ibid.* 1979) and *Asays* "Dance floor" (Rabat 1988), by Ibrāhīm Akhiyāṭ (*Tabratt* "Letter", Rabat 1989) and by Muṣṭafā Bīzrān (*Ifrawn* "Leaves", Casablanca 1987) as well as a play entitled *Ussan smmiḍnin* "Cold days" by Mu'min ʿAlī al-Ṣāfī (Casablanca 1983). Ibrāhīm Akhiyāṭ is also the editor of the periodical *Amud* "Seeds" ("Revue de création en Tamazighte", first issue Rabat 1990). A noteworthy feature of this new literature is the use of neologisms; most publications contain an explanatory list of the neologisms used in the text.

Writers from this group are involved in publications devoted to Tashelḥīt orality. Muḥammad Mustāwī is the editor of a series devoted to oral literature entitled *Tifawin* "Lights" (first issue Rabat 1985), and he has edited a collection of proverbs (*Nnan willi zrinin* "The forebears said", Casablanca 1980).

All these modern publications use the Arabic script to record Tashelḥīt. From the 1980s onward, the Latin script is used as well, especially in Tashelḥīt texts published in the Moroccan newspaper *Al Bayane*. A translation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* in Latin script was published by Ahmed Adghirni (Rabat 1995).

Script.

a) The mediaeval materials are written in fully-vocalised Maghribī Arabic script in which the *fatḥa* represents the vowel *e* (schwa) and the *ḥurūf al-madd* represent the vowels *a*, *i* and *u*. The Berber consonant *g* is represented either by *djīm* or by *kāf* and the consonant *zh* by *djīm* or by *shīn*. The letter *ṣād* represents the consonant *ẓ*. Words are generally separated.

b) The traditional Tashelḥīt orthography uses an adapted form of the Maghribī Arabic script. The alphabet (*id-lif*) is recited in the usual Maghribī order, except that *ẓāʾ* and *ḍād* have exchanged places. The consonant *zh* is written with *djīm* and two additional letters have been formed, *ṣād* and *kāf* with three dia-

critical points, to represent the consonants ẓ and g respectively. These two letters are not part of the recited alphabet. The script is always fully vocalised, with the vowel signs *fatḥa*, *kasra* and *ḍamma* representing the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* (the schwa of the mediaeval language has been lost in pre-modern and modern Ta**sh**elḥīt). The *ḥurūf al-madd* are used in verse texts to represent the vowels that have metrical stress. Words are written in clusters. The core of a cluster is usually a noun or a verb, with various pronominal affixes, preverbials, prepositions and the like connected to it, e.g. *ur illi mad d ingadda* "there is nothing like it" is written as *urilli maddingadda*.

c) The modern literature uses a newly-designed, unvocalised Arabic orthography in which the *ḥurūf al-madd* represent the vowels and in which the words are separated. The Persian *zhe* is used to represent ẓ and *gāf* is used to represent *g*.

d) The Latin orthography for Ta**sh**elḥīt, propagated by the Moroccan magazine *Tifawt* since the 1980s, has been designed with typographical simplicity in mind. Thus, *c* is used for *sh*, *j* for *zh*, *à* for *ʿayn* and *x* for *kh*. The subscript point used in scholarly transcriptions has been replaced with a circumflex placed on an adjacent vowel, e.g. Muhâmmad for *Muḥammad*, azûr for *aẓuṛ*.

Bibliography: The only comprehensive study is N. van den Boogert, *The Berber literary tradition of the Sous*, Publication of the De Goeje Fund, 27, Leiden 1997. An edition and translation of the *Baḥr al-dumūʿ* by Muḥammad Awzal is included in this study. An edition in the original orthography is B.H. Stricker, *L'océan des pleurs. Poème berbère de Muḥammad al-Awzalī*, Publication of the De Goeje Fund, 19, Leiden 1960. J.-D. Luciani, *El H'aoudh. Texte berbère (dialecte du Sous) par Meh'ammed ben Ali ben Brahim, publié avec une traduction française et des notes*, Algiers 1897, is an edition in transcription with translation of Awzal's *al-Ḥawḍ*. Another edition of the same text in modernised Arabic orthography is ʿAbd Allāh al-Raḥmānī, *al-Ḥawḍ fī 'l-fiḳh al-mālikī bi 'l-lisān al-āmāzīghī li 'l-shaykh Mḥemmed u ʿAlī Awzāl*, Casablanca 1397/1977. An edition of the Berber materials in al-Hilālī's vocabulary as well as several other vocabularies is van den Boogert, *Révélation des énigmes. Lexiques arabo-berbères des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Travaux et documents de l'IREMAM, Aix-en-Provence 1998. Bio-bibliographical data on many of the authors of manuscript-texts are found in the works of Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Sūsī, in particular *Ridjālāt al-ʿilm al-ʿarabī*, Tangier 1989, and *Sūs al-ʿālima*, 2nd impr. Casablanca 1984.

(N. van den Boogert)

TAṢḤĪF (a.), mistake in writing, synonymous, in spite of sporadic artificial attempts to make a distinction, with *taḥrīf* (without, however, the specialised use of the latter, [*q.v.*]). While its meaning is unambiguous, the derivation of the word is less so. Its connection with *ṣ-ḥ-f* in the (originally South Semitic) meaning of "to write" [see muṣḥaf] can be considered certain; the negative connotation may reflect a negative attitude toward all writing as against orality, rather than a privative use of the second form of the verb. It is not excluded that *taḥrīf* may have influenced the formation. Note also *ṣaḥafī/ṣuḥufī* (Lane, 1655a) "one who commits mistakes in writing," presumably from "one being concerned with written sheets (?)."

Muslim scholars were fully alert to mistakes as the ever-present bane of writing and discussed them in minute detail. It was always stressed that the character of the Arabic script provided unusual opportunities for mistakes to be made, a subject also systematised in *muʾtalif wa-mukhtalif/mukhtalif wa-muʾtalif* works. The extraordinary importance of proper names in Muslim culture and the central position of poetry, with its manifold problems of comprehension and interpretation, added to the widespread concern with *taṣḥīf*. Above all, the need for accuracy in the transmission process of *ḥadīth* and the religious/legal sciences created a vital interest in potential mistakes, even among those who were convinced of the superiority of writing over memory (see e.g. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya*, 245 ff., or Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, ch. 35). Understandably, in a climate where no distinction was usually made between sound and written symbol, a distinction between miswriting and misreading could not be maintained. Thus reading mistakes with regard to vocalisation, something not normally indicated in writing at all, found much attention, and *taṣḥīf* increasingly included all kinds of linguistic errors.

In the manuscript age, it made no sense to trace mistakes to particular, identifiable manuscripts. Occasional references are found, in particular in the commentary literature. To a large degree, literary *taṣḥīf* works are filled with anecdotes whose authenticity cannot be proved and is usually somewhat irrelevant. These anecdotes were often used in the bitter fights among philologists, with the purpose of ridiculing the individual to whom a mistake was ascribed. Very commonly they were invented just to add to the stock of humorous and entertaining material. This is most obvious in the many "intentional" miswritings that challenge the addressee to discover, through changing the diacritics, a message different from what the written words originally seem to suggest. Rarely, a serious historical background may be discerned, as in the famous *taṣḥīf* of the command *aḥṣi* "count, register!" to *ikhṣi* "castrate!" (see E.K. Rowson, in *JAOS*, cxi [1991], 691).

Although Muslim scholars no doubt discussed writing mistakes since the earliest times, it was the 4th/10th century that saw the composition of monographs with *ṣaḥḥafa/taṣḥīf* in their titles, apart from the apparently lost and brief *Taṣḥīf al-ʿulamāʾ* in the list of works of the 3rd/9th-century Ibn Ḳutayba, see *Fihrist*, 77. The treatise on the mistakes of Kūfī philologists by al-Ṣūlī, *Mā ṣaḥḥafa fīhi al-Kūfiyyūn*, is partly recoverable from al-Ṣafadī, *Taṣḥīḥ*, while little is known of al-Dāraḳuṭnī's *Taṣḥīf al-muḥaddithīn* (bibliographical references in the introduction of the edition of his *al-Muʾtalif wa 'l-mukhtalif*, 44 n. 5). Three full-length monographs are preserved and have been edited. They illustrate different approaches to the subject. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] brilliantly probes the suspected reasons for the occurrence of writing mistakes; he goes also far afield, considering such interesting topics as the various Persian scripts and other writing systems and including the cherished *jeu d'esprit* of riddles [see lughz; muʿammā]. In his large work, the roughly contemporary Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī ([*q.v.*], see also Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 181-2) put greater stress on the purely literary aspects, and he occasionally admits that his material may go beyond any proper definition of what constitutes writing mistakes. Much later, al-Ṣafadī [*q.v.*] devoted much attention to the theoretical possibilities of mistaking words and to their supposedly correct forms and usages in contrast to "common" practice; he presents his material in alphabetical order and indicates the sources he used, thus creating a useful specialised dictionary.

The subject of *taṣḥīf* was hardly consolidated into a distinct scholarly discipline. However, Ṭashköprüzāde

[*q.v.*] cannot be blamed for reserving a place for it among his numerous *ʿulūm*. He presumably got a good laugh out of the story of the destruction of al-Baṣra by the Zandj, misspelt *rīḥ* "wind", and attributed anachronistically to the caliph ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīf*, ed. M.Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, Baghdād 1387/1967, and M. Asʿad Ṭalas, Damascus 1388/1968; Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī, *Sharḥ mā yaḳaʿ fīh al-taṣḥīf wa 'l-taḥrīf*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Aḥmad, Cairo 1383/1963, and al-Sayyid Muḥammad Yūsuf, Damascus 1981, also idem, *Taṣḥīfāt al-muḥaddithīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Mīra, Cairo 1402 (not seen); Ṣafadī, *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf*, facs. ed. of two mss., Frankfurt 1985; Suyūṭī, *al-Taṭrīf fi 'l-taṣḥīf* (restricted to *ḥadīth*), ed. ʿAlī Ḥusayn al-Bawwāb, ʿAmmān 1409/1988, also ed. Rabat 1397/1977 (not seen); Ibn Makkī, *Tathḳīf al-lisān*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar, Cairo 1386/1966, 48-73. Further, e.g., al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 227-8; Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Ḥaydarābād 1329-56, i, 227-8, excerpted by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 411; F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, Rome 1947, 14-15, 24-5; *EI*[2], art. LAḤN AL-ʿĀMMA; Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 24-5, also viii, 181-2, 200, ix, 98, 166-7; Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, introd. to his ed. of Dāraḳuṭnī, *al-Muʾtalif wa 'l-mukhtalif*, Beirut 1406/1986, i, 57-68. (F. ROSENTHAL)

TASHKENT, usually written *Tāshkend* or *Tashkend* in Arabic and Persian manuscripts, a large town in Central Asia, in the oasis of the Čirčik, watered by one of the right bank tributaries of the Sīr Daryā [*q.v.*] or Jaxartes now, since the break-up of the USSR, in the Uzbekistan Republic (lat. 41° 16' N., long. 69° 13' E.).

1. History till 1865.

Nothing is known of the origin of the settlement on the Čirčik. According to the Greek and Roman sources, there were only nomads on the other side of the Jaxartes. In the earliest Chinese sources (from the 2nd century B.C.), mention is made of a land of Yu-ni, later identified with the territory of Tashkent; this land is later called Čö-či or Čö-shi or simply Shi. The corresponding Chinese character is used with the meaning of "stone", and this is connected by E. Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 140) with the later Turkish-Sogdian hybrid name (*tash* "stone" and *kend* "town with a moat and rampart" = "stone town"). The Chinese transcription must certainly correspond to the native name Čāč, known in the Islamic period; the Arabs here, somewhat unusually (since *č* is usually rendered by *ṣ*) rendered the sound *č* by *sh*. The Arabic form al-Shāsh gradually drove the original name out of use in the written as well as the spoken language. Whether and how the modern Turkish name, first found in the 5th/11th century, is connected with Čāč or Shāsh, is still doubtful. The etymology (Tāžkent = town of the Tāžik, i.e. the Arabs) proposed by E. Polivanov (*ʿIḳd al-djumān*, Festschrift for W. Barthold, Tashkent 1927, 395) will hardly find favour.

Details of the land of Čāč and its capital, the circumference of which was about 10 *li* (less than 5 km/3 miles), are first found in Chinese sources of the 3rd century A.D. In the time of Hiuen-Tsang (*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentaux*, tr. St. Julien; i, Paris 1857, 16), there was no ruler in Čāč to whom the whole country was subject, as in other countries. The separate towns were under the suzerainty of the Turks. In the history of the wars of conquest of the Arabs in the 2nd/8th century, there is frequent reference to a "king (*malik*) of Shāsh"; his capital is given by al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, 421, and al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1517, 1521, as the town of Ṭārband, not otherwise mentioned in the Arabic geographical literature; that we have here, as the editor D.H. Müller assumed, a contracted form of Ṭurārband (al-Muḳaddasī, 61 l. 20), is more than doubtful. The ruling family was presumably of Turkish origin. The suzerainty of the Turkish Kaghans was at times replaced by that of the Chinese. In 133/751 the Chinese governor of Ḳuča, the Korean general Kao Sien-chih, executed the prince of al-Shāsh, and his son appealed for assistance to the Arabs. Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, sent by Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], inflicted a severe defeat on the Chinese in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 133/July 751 (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, v. 344) on the Talas river [see ṬARĀZ for details], and Kao Sien-chih was killed in the battle. This battle established the political supremacy of Islam in Central Asia, and no further attempts were made by the Chinese to dispute it.

Under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, the territory of al-Shāsh was regarded as the frontier of Islam against the Turks; the settled lands were protected from the raids of the nomads by a wall, remains of which still exist (see below). Nevertheless the land was conquered by the Turks, probably for a short period only, in 191/806-7. A "prince (*ṣāḥib*) of al-Shāsh with his Turks" is mentioned as an ally of the rebel Rāfiʿ b. Layth [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 712). Under al-Maʾmūn, al-Shāsh again belonged to caliphal empire; when in 204/819, members of the Sāmānid family became governors of various districts in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, one of them, Yaḥyā b. Asad (d. 241/855), was granted al-Shāsh [see SĀMĀNIDS]. In 225/840 the eldest of the brothers, Nūḥ b. Asad, the senior governor of the lands entrusted to the Sāmānids, by conquering Isfīdjāb (the modern Sayrām) succeeded in advancing the frontier further north. About the same time, a canal in al-Shāsh, which had become silted up in the early days of Islam, was restored. The caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42) contributed 2,000,000 dirhams towards the work on these canals (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1326).

In the geographical sources of the 4th/10th century, Čāč/al-Shāsh appears not as the name of a town but as that of a district, essentially the valley of the Parak river (the later Čirčik) which rose, according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, "from behind the mountain of the Khallukh/Ḳarluḳ" and flowed into the Sīr Daryā (tr. Minorsky, 72). From the proximity of the region to the great river, the Sīr Daryā is often called in the geographical literature "the river of Shāsh". The region was closely linked with that of Īlāḳ, the district to the south, in the valley of another right-bank affluent of the Sīr Daryā, the Āhangarān river (modern Anguen), also flowing down from the mountains of Farghāna (see *ibid.*, tr. 72, 117, comm. 356).

The same sources describe the district of Čāč/al-Shāsh as extensive and prosperous, full of enthusiastic fighters for the Muslim faith, the local speciality being bows and arrows of *khadang* (probably birch) wood (*ibid.*, tr. 118; cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 325). The main urban centre was Binkath, which had at this time many walls and gates, with these walls protecting a *madīna/shahrastān* with a citadel (*ḳalʿa, arg*), and inner and outer suburbs (*rabaḍ, bīrūn*) with gardens and orchards. Water was plentifully supplied by canals, and the whole area protected by a wall, built by the ʿAbbāsid commander ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd (b. Ḳaḥṭaba, governor of Khurāsān in 159/776) to protect the town from the pagan Turks (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 480-3; Barthold,

Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 172-3). Al-Bīrūnī, in his *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, says that Binkath was called in Turkish and Greek "stone tower" (*burdj al-ḥidjāra*), apparently alluding to the popular Turkish etymology and to the Ptolemaic *lithinos pyrgos* (for another "stone tower", *burdj-i sangīn*, in Central Asia, but further east on the borders of China, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 85, comm. 357). From an examination of the distances between settlements in the district given by the geographers, Barthold thought that the subsequent Tashkent is quite possibly on the site of the ancient Binkath. Coins were minted at Binkath from early ʿAbbāsid times onwards, but normally have the regional designation "al-Shāsh", only rarely with the addition of "Binkath" (see E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 80, 156-7). The tomb of a celebrated *faḳīh*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ḳaffāl al-Shāshī (d. 365/975-6), called by al-Ḥakīm al-Naysābūrī Ibn al-Bayyiʿ the greatest Shāfiʿī scholar of his age in Transoxania, is mentioned by Kāshgharī as a well-known feature of Tashkent (where his tomb was still visible in the early 20th century, according to Barthold).

Whether the name Tashkent was in use before the Turkish conquest (before the final collapse of the Sāmānid dynasty, the whole Sīr Daryā territory had been ceded to the Turks in 386/996) is doubtful. So far as we know, the name "Tāshkend" is first found in al-Bīrūnī (*Taḥḳīḳ mā li 'l-Hind*, ed. Sachau, 149, tr. idem, i, 298); from the etymology of the name, al-Bīrūnī wrongly identifies it with the λίθινος πύργος of Ptolemy (see above, and J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, 155). Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, tr. Atalay, i, 443, iii, 150, mentions "Terken" (otherwise unknown) as a "name of Shāsh" in addition to Tāshkend. The name Tashkent first appears on coins in the Mongol period. In the second half of the 5th/11th and in the 6th/12th century, coins were struck in Banākath, Fanākath or Banākit, which lies quite close to it on the right bank of the Sīr Daryā; it is possible that this town at this time was of greater importance than Tashkent. In Djuwaynī's account of the Mongol campaign against Fanākath and Khudjand (tr. Boyle, i, 91 ff.), Tashkent is not mentioned; only the taking of Banākath is recorded. Under Mongol rule, Tashkent, for reasons unknown to us, had a better fate than Banākath. Tashkent continued to exist as a town and was occasionally visited by the Khāns; on the other hand, Banākath, although it had not offered resistance to the Mongols, was in ruins at this date, and it was not till 794/1392 that Tīmūr rebuilt it under the new name of Shāhrukhiyya.

After the decline of the Čaghatayids [*q.v.*], Tashkent belonged to the empire of Tīmūr and the Tīmūrids; in 890/1485 the town with the lands belonging to it was ceded to the Turco-Mongol Khān Yūnus, who died there in 892/1487 (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. Ross, 114-15). His tomb is in the mosque of Shaykh Khāwand-i Ṭuhūr (popularly Shaykhantawr), a local saint; on his period (8th/14th century), see A. Semenov, in *Protokolî Turk. Kužka Ljub. Arkh.*, xx [1915], 29. Khān Yūnus was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd Khān; after 908/1503, Tashkent belonged to the kingdom of the Özbegs, who had, however, to give it up only a short time after the death of the founder of this kingdom, Shībānī Khān [*q.v.* and SHĪBĀNIDS]. During the centuries following, Tashkent was sometimes under the rule of Özbegs, sometimes under the Ḳazaḳs, and in 1135/1723 it was conquered by the Kalmucks [*q.v.*], but not at once occupied by them; the town continued to be governed by a prince of Ḳazaḳ descent who was now a vassal of the rulers of the Kalmucks. Sometimes its rule passed into the hands of the Khodjas, the descendants of the local saint (see e.g. F. Teufel, *Quellenstudien zur neueren Geschichte der Chânate*, in *ZDMG*, xxxviii [1884], 311).

During these centuries, the possession of Tashkent was frequently the cause of heavy fighting. Some of the accounts of these battles are of importance for the understanding of the topographical conditions of the period. The records of the battles of Tashkent in the time of the Shībānid ʿAbd Allāh Khān b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] clearly show that the town of Tashkent had not yet assumed its present form. It is not till the 12th/18th century that the division of the town into four quarters (Kukča, Shaykhantawr, Sibzar and Besh Aghač), with a common bazaar, is mentioned. Occasionally, each quarter had a chief (*ḥākim*) of its own; each quarter formed an entity by itself and was very often at war with the others.

About 1780, Yūnus Khodja, the chief of the Shaykhantawr quarter, succeeded in combining the whole town under his rule. Yūnus Khodja fought successfully against the Ḳazaḳs, but suffered a severe reverse at the hands of the Özbegs of Khoḳand under ʿĀlim Khān; after his death, in the time of his son and successor Sulṭān Khodja, in 1809, Tashkent had to submit to the rule of the Khāns of Khoḳand, who used it as a springboard for expansion into the Ḳazaḳ steppes. For its history in this period, see KHOḲAND.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, Leiden 1956-62, i, 130, 143, 156, 160, 163, iii, 94-5, 135; *EIr*, art. *Central Asia*, v (B. Spuler), vi (R.D. McChesney), vii (Y. Bregel).

(W. BARTHOLD-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. From 1865 to the present.

Situated at the heart of a huge cotton-growing oasis, a regional and international communications centre, the city of Tashkent experienced a considerable demographic and economic development at the end of the 19th century and became the most important urban centre in Central Asia. The major turning-point in the town's history was its submission to Russian rule, achieved in June 1865 by General Tcherniaev, one of the major protagonists of Tsarist expansion towards India. Following the conquest, the colonial town was constructed to the east of the original city, made up of traditional quarters (*maḥalla* and *daha*) and outside the walls of the latter—an illustration of the concern of the Tsarist authorities to avoid direct confrontation with local populations. Two years later, the Governorship-General of Turkestan was constituted, with Tashkent as the seat of power and General von Kaufmann (1867-81) as the first Governor. Henceforward, there was a surge in political, economic and cultural activity (appearance in 1902 of the first clandestine Marxist circles, uniting Muslim reformists and nationalists fleeing the repression to which they had been subjected in Bukhārā, publication of the first newspaper in the Uzbek language, *Turkistan Vilayatining Gazeti*, first Russo-indigenous secular establishment) (Azadaev, 1967). Its population increased from 56,000 inhabitants in 1868 to 156,000 in 1897. The Transcaspian railway reached Tashkent in 1898, and in 1901 work began on the Trans-Aral line which would connect it to Orenburg. Numerous enterprises, banks and scientific institutions were established by the civilian and military Russian colonists who, in spite of strong reservations on the part of the colonial authorities, preoccupied with threats of a *djihād*, also obtained permission to build Orthodox churches (Dobromyslov,

1912). However, it was not until 1912, at a time of general internal unrest, that the first, and ephemeral, so-called "anti-Muslim" mission was opened in Tashkent; its results in terms of proselytism were to be insignificant. Besides the popular demonstrations of 1892 against sanitary measures taken by the Russians during a cholera epidemic, reckoned as contrary to Islam (*Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, i, 131), the mutiny of Tsarist officers in 1905 and the 1916 anti-labour conscription revolt, also affecting the capital of Russian Turkestan, were the principal events preceding the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917 (Tursunov, 1962).

The revolutionary activities witnessed in Tashkent corresponded to those unfolding in Moscow and Petrograd, with some specifically local features. The town lost its status as capital to the benefit of Samarkand; June 1917 saw the overthrow of the Turkestan Committee of the Provisional Government created on 7 April and, in parallel, the appearance of a counter-revolutionary front formed by the Military Organisation of Tashkent and the "Association of interpreters of the Sharīʿa", the latter created in the old city by the leaders of the nationalist bourgeoisie. On 20 October (10 November) 1917, the Bolsheviks established the REVKOM or Soviet of Tashkent, with the unexpected support of Russian colonists perturbed by Muslim pretensions to sovereignty. From 19 to 22 February 1918, the army of this Soviet bombarded the "Autonomous state of Khokand", an ephemeral Muslim counter-power founded in the Farghāna valley. This event marked the beginning of civil war in Turkestan (1918-22), which saw the whole of this zone cut off from the central regions by General Dutov's White Army and the population decimated by famine. It was also the arena for years of warfare between the Red Army on the one hand and Basmači [*q.v.*] rebels and foreign interventionists on the other (Pulatov, Rashidov, 1972). Besides the armed insurrection of 9 January 1919 led by Ossipov, a former officer of the Tsarist army, 6 April 1919 saw the constitution of the Musbyuro, specifically designed for ideological propaganda in Muslim circles on behalf of the Russian Communist Party, directed by T. Ryskulov, J. Aliev, J. Ibragimov, A. Muhitdinov and N. Khodyaev, reformist leaders who had opted for the Bolsheviks (*Tashkent*, 1983, 212). This organisation having proposed the formation of a Turkish Republic and of a Turkish Communist Party, and faced by the extortions perpetrated by the Tashkent Soviet on the Muslim population, Lenin decided to re-establish his control, sending in the Turkkomissiya led by Frunze (*Istoriya kommunističeskikh organizatsiy*, 1967). In 1924, Tashkent entered the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, of which it once again in 1930 became the capital at the expense of Samarkand, regaining its central position in politics and culture. There are currently 105 scholastic establishments, for 20,000 pupils (in 1917, the town possessed 19 schools for 8,000 pupils) (Pougatchenkova, 1983, 24).

As the face of Tashkent has undergone profound changes during the decades of Soviet domination, the history of its urban development cannot be dissociated from the political events of which it was the theatre. From the beginnings of nascent Bolshevik power, the principle of division between traditional town and new town was rejected. The task of Soviet urban architects was defined as twofold: on the one hand, reconstruction of the ancient quarters, damaged by the civil war and the destruction that had accompanied the imposition of the Soviet régime; on the other, the realisation of officially-sanctioned ideological objectives in the form of social buildings: construction of a network of cultural centres, libraries, theatres, educational, recreational, medical and social infrastructures. Several phases may be identified in this evolution (*Uz. SSR*, 402-8).

(i) *1917-41.* As elsewhere in the USSR, this period belongs under the heading of electrification (first central system in 1923) and industrialisation. The end of the 1920s marks a phase of intensive construction of public and residential buildings in eclectic styles, neo-classical or constructivist (House of the Supreme Soviet, and that of Economic Affairs). The 1930s witnessed an acceleration in industrial construction, also residential quarters (*sočgorod*), parks and gardens. The overall scheme for the urbanisation of Tashkent, adopted in 1938, was inspired by that adopted for Moscow in 1935. It left the centre unchanged, built around the enormous Lenin Square (currently Independence Square) (Kadyrova, 1976), to allow extended construction as far to the east as to the west of the old city, which remained of only marginal interest to the planners. However, numerous religious buildings which were a feature of the *mahallas* (Bulatova, Mankovskaya 1938) were destroyed or converted for other purposes such as factories, warehouses and printing presses.

(ii) *1941-54.* The entry of the USSR into the Second World War caused substantial upheavals in the capital of Uzbekistan, to which numerous factories, offices, universities and whole populations were evacuated from the western front (50 business enterprises, 300,000 persons in all, including 100,000 children and several thousand Ashkenazi Jews). The population doubled, rising to a million inhabitants. On 20 October 1943, the Spiritual Board of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan was established in Tashkent (after the independence of Uzbekistan it took the name of Spiritual Board of the Muslims of Mawarannahr). Architecture became monumental and pompous.

(iii) *1955-65.* This was a decade of intense urbanisation, corresponding to the introduction of new technologies in construction (foundations in reinforced concrete). Entire quarters of the old city gave way to modern multi-storey constructions, surrounding communal green spaces. Efforts were made to accommodate residents of the same *mahalla* together in the new apartment blocks, so as to preserve familial solidarity and traditional social habits. The area of the city increased considerably.

(iv) *1966-91.* In the aftermath of the earthquake of 26 April 1966, which claimed nearly 400,000 victims (a third of the total population) and destroyed 95,000 homes, with lethal after-shocks continuing for a whole year, the reconstruction of the town took place according to a new plan which favoured the creation of peripheral residential quarters (*mikroraion*) and the principle of asymmetrical development (*Uz. SSR*, 405). Architectural trends were a blend of modern techniques of construction and "Uzbek national styles" (arcades, galleries, open verandahs, mosaics and panelling). In addition to the opening of the Imām al-Bukhārī Higher Islamic Institute in 1971 (the second in the USSR after that of Bukhārā), 7 November 1977 saw the inauguration of the first underground railway line.

The Brezhnev period (1964-83) was marked by intense diplomatic activity directed towards the Muslim countries with which the USSR was seeking reconciliation. In its role as showcase of socialism in Asia, Tashkent was the site of numerous peace conferences, at least until 1979, the date of the Iranian revolution

and of the Soviet intervention in Afghānistān.

In the course of a *perestroika* instigated by various nationalist or religious demonstrations (new nationalist parties, Birlik, Erk, Party of the Islamic Renaissance and Tatars of the Crimea, between 1987 and 1991), Mikhail Gorbachev attempted one last anti-Muslim campaign which did not, however, succeed in stemming the ever more visible manifestations of religious renewal (in 1989, the Spiritual Board of Tashkent retrieved the "Ḳur'ān of ʿUthmān" which had been kept in the Ermitage Museum for its own library, and numerous mosques were renovated or restored to their congregations) combined with a campaign against the "cotton mafia" which aggravated rancour towards Moscow and induced the ruling élite to assume an independence which had not been envisaged at the outset. On 1 September 1991 Tashkent became the capital of the independent Republic of Uzbekistan which took its seat at the United Nations on 2 March 1992.

A new era began, marked by the changing of hundreds of street names, in spite of a perceptible continuity in the management of the administrative, economic and social problems, imposed by the post-Soviet transition, on the part of the rehabilitated élites of the former régime. Tashkent today comprises 2.1 million inhabitants (or 10% of the total population of the Republic). It is twinned with Tripoli, Tunis, Marrakesh, Patiala (India), Seattle, Skopje and Karachi, and is intent on forging new diplomatic, economic and strategic alignments.

Bibliography: A.L. Dobromîslov, *Tashkent v proshlom i nastoyashčem* ("Tashkent, past and present"), vyp. i, Tashkent 1912; *Istoriya Uzbekskoy S.S.R.* ("History of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan"), i, Tashkent 1956, ii, Tashkent 1967-8; M.G. Vakhabov, *Tashkent v periode trekh revolutsii* ("Tashkent during three revolutions"), Tashkent 1957; F. Azdaev, *Tashkent vo vtoroy polovine XIX v.* ("Tashkent in the second half of the 19th century"), Tashkent 1959; Kh.T. Tursunov, *Vosstanie 1916 goda v Sredney Azii i Kazakhstane* ("The revolt of 1916 in Central Asia and Kazakhstan"), Tashkent 1962; *Istoriya kommunističeskikh organizatsiy Sredney Azii* ("History of the Communist organisations of Central Asia"), Tashkent 1967; T.F. Kadyrova, *Arkhitektura tsentra Tashkenta* ("The architecture of central Tashkent"), Tashkent 1976; Yu. Buryakov and M.I. Filanovits, *Stanovlenie gorodskoy kul'turî i etapî ee razvitya na territorii Tashkenta* ("The appearance of an urban culture and the stages of its development in the territory of Tashkent"), in *Obshčestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane*, 1979; *Uzbekskaya Sovetskaya Socialističeskaya Respublika*, Tashkent 1981, 402-9, 464-6; V.L. Bulatova Mankovskaya, *Pamyatniki zodčestva Tashkenta, XIX-XX* ("The architectural monuments of Tashkent"), Tashkent 1983; G. Pougatchenkova *et alii*, *Tashkent a 2000 ans*, UNESCO, Paris 1983; *Srednyaya Aziya, spravotsnik-putevoditel* ("Central Asia, a guide"), Moscow 1983, French ed., UNESCO, Paris; G. Pulatov and G.R. Rashidov, *Tashkent v pervîkh godakh sovetskoy vlasti (noyabr' 1917-1920)* ("Tashkent in the first years of Soviet power"), Tashkent 1972, in *Tashkent Entsiklopediya*, Tashkent 1983. (Catherine Poujol)

ṬASHKÖPRÜZĀDE, the name of a family of Ottoman Turkish scholars who stemmed from the village of Ṭash Köprü ("stone bridge") near Ḳasṭamūnī [*q.v.*] in northern Anatolia. Famous members of the family include:

1. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā, preceptor of Sultan Selīm I [*q.v.*].

He was born at Ṭash Köprü in 857/1453, and died on 12 Shawwāl 935/19 July 1529 in Istanbul. He studied in Bursa and Istanbul under celebrated scholars, and then progressed through a series of *medreses* at Bursa, Ankara, Skopje, and Edirne. Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] appointed him preceptor (*khodja*) of his son Selīm, who was then governor of Trebizond, but when the prince showed more interest in administrative matters than in learning, he was transferred to teaching positions at Amasya, Bursa, and Istanbul. As sultan, Selīm I appointed his former teacher as judge of the newly-conquered city of Aleppo, but he returned to the teaching profession and eventually settled at the Ṣaḥn-i thamān [*q.v.*]. He wrote poetry under the *makhlaṣ* of Ḥilmī. His son was ʿIṣām al-Dīn Aḥmed (see 2. below).

Bibliography: For a full biography, see M. Münir Aktepe, art. *Taşköprü-zâde.* 2., in *İA*.

2. ʿIṣām al-Dīn Aḥmed b. Muṣṭafā b. Khalīl, Abu 'l-Khayr, the fourth in the line, theologian and biographer, d. 968/1561.

Life. He was born at Bursa on 14 Rabīʿ I 901/2 December 1495, the son of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*]. He was taught by his father, then studied at Ankara, Bursa, and Istanbul under celebrated scholars and became a member of the learned profession, teaching first in 931/1525 at a *medrese* at Dimetoḳa [*q.v.*] and being promoted to Istanbul in 933/1527. From there he was transferred to Skopje/Üsküb in 1530, then taught in *medreses* in Istanbul; in 945/1539 he was appointed to the Üç Şerefeli Medrese at Edirne [*q.v.*]. He was then promoted to the Ṣaḥn-i thamān [*q.v.*] where he taught till 951/1544. He went on to teach at the *medrese* of Bāyezīd II at Edirne. In 952/1545 he left *medrese* teaching to hold the office of *ḳāḍī* of Bursa, but in 954/1547 he was dismissed and reinstated as Ṣaḥn professor. In 958/1551 he took up the office of *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, but had to resign in 961/1554 because of failing eyesight. He devoted the following years to dictating his works. He died in Istanbul on 30 Radjab 968/13 April 1561. One of his sons was the historian Kemāl el-Dīn Meḥmed (d. 1030/1621, see 3. below); a younger son, Ebū Ḥāmid, a judge, died in 1005/1597.

Works. ʿIṣām al-Dīn Aḥmed wrote more than nineteen theological and encyclopaedic works in Arabic. He is celebrated for his biographical *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawlat al-ʿUthmāniyya*, which he dictated down to 965/1558. It is divided into ten classes, *ṭabaḳāt*, corresponding to the reigns of ten Ottoman sultans and culminating in the reign of Süleymān. From the fourth class onwards, one chapter is devoted to religious scholars and one to dervish *sheykhs*, and from the seventh class onwards a third chapter on physicians is added. For the notices of earlier mystics, ʿIṣām al-Dīn Aḥmed, a Khalwetiyye [*q.v.*] member, relied on Lāmiʿī's [*q.v.*] enlarged Turkish recension of Djāmī's [*q.v.*] *Nafaḥāt al-uns*. Translations into Turkish were begun by ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi [*q.v.*]; the most important ones are those by Medjdī and ʿAṭāʾī [*q.vv.*]. For the illustrated translation by Meḥmed Belghrādī presented to ʿOthmān II, see Esin Atıl (ed.), *Turkish art*, New York 1980. Among the continuations in Arabic, that by ʿAlī b. Bālī, nicknamed Mīnīḳ (d. 997/1569), entitled *al-ʿIḳd al-manẓūm fī dhikr afāḍil al-Rūm* has been translated into German by O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1934. Other works include the *Nawādir al-akhbār fī manāḳib al-akhyār*, a collection of biographies completed at Üsküb in 938/1532. The encyclopaedia *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda* has been translated into German by Rescher, Istanbul 1934.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 425-6, S II, 633-4; *GOW*, 84. For a detailed biography and bibliography, see M. Aktepe, art. *Taşköpri-zâde. 4.*, in *İA*. Printed editions of the *Shaḳā'iḳ*: Būlāḳ 1299/1881-2 (in the margin of Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*); Beirut 1395/1975; Ahmed Subhi Furat, *Eş-Şeka'iku n-nu'-maniye fi 'ulema'i d-devleti l-'osmaniye*, Istanbul 1985; German tr. Rescher, *Eş-Şaqa'iq en-No'manijje von Taşköprüzade. Mit Zusätzen und Anmerkungen aus dem Arabischen übersetzt*, Constantinople-Stuttgart 1927-34, repr. Osnabrück 1978. Behcet Gönül, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde al-Şakā'ik al-nu'mānīya tercüme ve zeyilleri*, in *TM*, vii-viii (1945); Ali Uğur, *Taşköprî-zâde Ahmed Efendi*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, vii-viii (1988), 419-37; B. Flemming, *Glimpses of Turkish saints: another look at Lāmi'ī and Ottoman biographers*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, xviii (1994), 59-74. (Barbara Flemming)

3. Kemāl al-Dīn Meḥmed, historian (959-1030/1552-1621).

Son of the better-known scholar Aḥmed b. Muṣṭafā (see 2. above), Kemāl al-Dīn Meḥmed was born in Istanbul in 959/1552 where his father held the post of ḳāḍī. From 984/1576 he served as a *müderris* in several *medreses* in the capital before transferring to a judicial career in 999/1591 as *ḳāḍī* of Selānīk (Salonika). Thereafter he held major *ḳāḍīlīḳs* in Üsküdar, Aleppo, Damascus, Bursa, Cairo and Ghalaṭa before himself becoming *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul in 1011/1603. Between 1012/1604 and 1018/1609 he was three times appointed *ḳāḍī 'asker* [*q.v.*] of Anatolia; between 1021/1612 and 1030/1621 he held three times the post of *ḳāḍī 'asker* of Rumeli. In the latter year he set out with 'Othmān II (1618-22 [*q.v.*]) on the campaign against Poland, but turned back due to ill-health and died at Isḥāḳče (Isakči, in Rumania) on 4 Shewwāl 1030/22 August 1621. He was buried next to his father at the 'Āshiḳ Pasha mosque in Istanbul (New'ī-zāde 'Aṭā'ī, *Ḥadā'iḳ al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, Istanbul 1268/1852, 641-2; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1267/1851, ii, 6; *GOW*, 148-9; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv, 80; M.M. Aktepe, art. *Taşköprüzade Kemaleddin*, in *İA*, xii, 44-6).

Under the title *Ta'rīkh-i ṣāf* (also known as *Tuḥfat al-aṣḥāb*) he compiled a brief history of the Ottoman empire down to the reign of Aḥmed I (1603-17 [*q.v.*]), to which was added a history of the 'Abbāsids and brief accounts of other Muslim dynasties (publ. 3 parts in 1 vol., Istanbul 1287/1870). The work was written during the latter part of the reign of Aḥmed I, to whom it was dedicated. According to 'Aṭā'ī, Ṭashköprüzāde was commissioned by 'Othmān II to compose a *shehnāme* (probably on the Polish campaign), but his death obviously precluded this ('Aṭā'ī, 642). His translations into Ottoman Turkish include his father's encyclopaedic work in Arabic, *Mawḍū'āt al-'ulūm* (publ. 2 vols., Istanbul 1313/1895-6), and a treatise in Persian by Ḥusayn Wā'iẓ Kāshifī [*q.v.*] (unpubl.). In addition to various minor works and translations, he also wrote Arabic and Ottoman poetry under the *makhlaṣ* of Kemālī ('Aṭā'ī, 642; *'OM*, i, 347-8).

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(F. Babinger-[Christine Woodhead])

TASHLÎDJALÎ YAḤYÂ, modern Tkish. Taşlıcalı Yahya (d. 990/1582), an important Ottoman poet of the period of Süleymān II [*q.v.*] and a member of the North Albanian Dukagjin family (Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 116 ff.), sometimes identified as Dukaginzāde Yaḥyā Beg.

Conscripted under the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*], he was educated and given military training, rising to high rank in the Janissaries and taking part in most of the 16th-century campaigns. Concurrently he pursued the career of poet under important patrons, including the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*]. Especially pleased by a satire Yaḥyā wrote against the rival poet Khayālī [*q.v.*], Rüstem appointed him administrator of several pious foundations. However, as a result of Yaḥyā's well-known elegy for Süleymān's son Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*], a poem well received by Muṣṭafā's admirers among the Janissaries, Rüstem (implicated in the prince's execution) sought but failed to have the poet put to death. He did, nevertheless, obtain Yaḥyā's dismissal from office, and the latter spent his last years on a fief in Bosnia, and is reputed to have become deeply involved in Islamic mysticism (Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, *İA* art. *Yahyâ Beg, Dukagin-zâde*).

In addition to a *dīwān* (Çavuşoğlu, *Yahya Bey Divanı*, Istanbul 1977), Yaḥyā's works include two *shehr-engīz* for Edirne and Istanbul, and a *Khamsa* [*q.v.*], sc. five *mathnawīs* that gained him a solid reputation, both for their construction and (as with his poetry in general) for the clarity and purity of his language.

Bibliography: There is a full bibl. in Çavuşoğlu's *İA* article, and recent doctoral studies by B. Çağlayan, İ. Doğanyiğit and D. Sabahat at Gazi, Erciyes and Marmara Universities respectively. See also Abdülkadir Karahan, *Les poètes classiques à l'époque de Soliman le Magnifique*, Ankara 1991, 76-7; İ. Güven Kaya, *Dükaginzâde Taşlıcalı Yahyâ Beğ'in şiirlerinde cinsellik*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, xiv (1990), 273-81.

(Kathleen R.F. Burrill)

TASHOZ (Tkish. form of the Greek Thasos), an island in the northernmost part of the Aegean Sea near the coast of Greece, not far from the port city of Kavala [see KAWĀLA]. Its round shape and large size (area 393 km^2; population 13,000) give Thasos a distinctive identity, enhanced by a fairly mountainous wooded interior (Ipsari, the highest peak, 1,123 m/3,683 feet). The administrative centre is a port city of the same name, also called Limenas, facing the mainland.

Thasos, like Lesbos [see MIDILLI] and Lemnos [see LIMNI], was a fief granted to the Genoese family of Gattilusi by the last three Byzantine emperors, a grant renewed for a brief period after the fall of Constantinople to Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] in 1453. Despite intermittent Venetian threats, at the conclusion of a war between Turkey and Venice (1463-79) Thasos passed under definitive Ottoman control. It was usually governed by a *voyvoda* sent by the *sandjak beyi* of Kavala. Turkish overlordship lasted until, in the First Balkan War, the Greek navy landed there on 18 October 1912; Greek possession was ratified by the treaty of Bucharest in August 1913.

Between 1813 and 1902 a unique interlude occurred in the history of Thasos, for in 1813 the Ottoman sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] granted it as a personal fief to Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha [*q.v.*] of Egypt. The latter, a native of Kavala, was said to have spent part of his childhood on the island, and had therefore a sentimental attachment to it which manifested itself in a grant to it of considerable internal autonomy. This situation continued under Muḥammad 'Alī's successors; but after 1874 the relationship soured, until in 1902 the inhabitants demanded and obtained a re-establishment of Ottoman rule.

During the centuries of life in the *Dār al-Islām*, the people of Thasos remained chiefly Greek-speaking and Orthodox, except for the small Turkish settlements at Theologos and Kasaviti up to 1821. Prosperity on this naturally rich island fluctuated because of external factors, the principal one being piracy afflicting the Aegean especially during the 17th, 18th and

the first half of the 19th century. It forced the Thasians to leave the fertile coastal area for the wooded mountainous interior and to erect watch towers for early warning.

A noteworthy episode was the occupation of Thasos by the Russians in 1770-4, when after the victory of Çeshme [*q.v.*], their fleet dominated this part of the Mediterranean. The Russians then carried out some of their ships' repair and construction on Thasos, which had extensive stands of fine timber exploited for shipbuilding.

Bibliography: For the classical period, see Pauly-Wissowa, 2nd ser., v (1934), cols. 1310-27 s.v. Thasos; for the Turkish period, A.E. Bakalopoulos, *Thasos: son histoire, son administration de 1453 à 1912*, Paris 1953 (École Française d'Athènes, *Études thasiennes*, 2), and the bibl. there, or its Greek original *Historia tes Thasou, 1453-1912*, Thessalonike 1984; see also the *Bibls.* of LIMNI and MIDILLI.

(S. SOUCEK)

TASHRĪʿ (A.), a technical term of Islamic law-making.

1. *Definition and historical context.*

Tashrīʿ, in the modern context, signifies statutory legislation incorporating elements from the *sharīʿa*. In theory, legislative authority is alien to Islam. In the Middle Ages, temporal legislation by caliphs and rulers based on *siyāsa sharʿiyya* [*q.v.*] was a common practice. This took place, however, within the framework of a theocracy, the underlying concept of which was the sovereignty of the *sharīʿa* assumed to reflect the revealed will of Allāh on earth through His authorised interpreters. Today, in contrast, the parliament is the declared source of sovereignty, and it sets bounds to the *sharīʿa*.

2. *The impetus for* tashrīʿ.

This was the desire to adapt the *sharīʿa* to the changing requirements of a modern society. The method to this end has been inspired by the West: the adoption of the institution of the legislature and the concept of codification. The Young Ottomans, the first Islamic constitutional movement, introduced these innovations in the second half of the 19th century, and the trend with respect to codification (*taknīn*), was followed in Egypt by the liberally-oriented modernist movement founded by Muḥammad ʿAbduh. He advocated the codification by the *ʿulamāʾ* (rather than the legislature) of *sharʿī* law pertaining to *muʿāmalāt* (with special reference to matters of personal status and *wakf* [*q.v.*]) to be imposed on the *sharīʿa* courts by the state. Yet it was Western-trained lawyers who took the leading role in advancing *tashrīʿ* by promoting ideas such as statutory legislation, codification along European patterns and modernisation of the court system. Conservative sectors, mainly the religious establishment, opposed this trend. The government took a middle position.

In Egypt during the 1930s, attempts by the emerging Islamic political groups, especially the Muslim Brothers, to revive the *sharīʿa* through statutory legislation failed. In the 1970s these attempts were renewed (see below). The attempts were rejected mainly by secularised Muslim intellectuals, while the government again took a middle position.

Traditionalist *ʿulamāʾ* consider *tashrīʿ* a means of secularising the *sharīʿa*. Conformist *ʿulamāʾ* support the technique (and have even prepared legislative proposals, as in Egypt during the 1970s) for various reasons: they fear jeopardising their economic, social and political position; their integration into the political establishment enables them to better understand the interests of the state and to cooperate from inner conviction; they identify the good of the state with their own good; they fear that the alternative to moderate reformist policy via *tashrīʿ* may be a radical one outside their control; and finally, the reforms have not been carried out in the name of a declared anti-religious ideology.

In Saudi Arabia, the cooperation between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *umarāʾ* has a theoretical basis in the political doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], according to which the *sharīʿa* depends on the ruler for its application while the state needs the *sharīʿa* for its legitimation.

3. *Codification of the* sharīʿa.

Legal reform in the 19th-century Ottoman Empire started with adoption of European codes (such as commercial and criminal) in their entirety, but soon shifted to codification, along Western patterns, of various domains of the *sharīʿa*. The most important codification of the 19th century was the *Medjelle*, the Ottoman civil code [*q.v.*]. Towards the end of the 19th century, the Egyptian jurist Muḥammad Ḳadrī Pasha compiled three codes pertaining to obligations and contracts, personal status, and *wakf*. Similarly to the *Medjelle*, these too were based on selection (*takhayyur*) from the Ḥanafī school. In contrast to the *Medjelle*, however, they were not endorsed officially as state laws, though due to the author's prestige they were sometimes resorted to by courts both in and outside of Egypt.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, codification has been extended to matters of personal status and succession (which are the core of the *sharīʿa*), and to *wakf*. Following the Ottoman Family Rights Law of 1917, most Middle Eastern and North African countries have promulgated reformist statutes in these domains. The impetus for the reforms was the desire to adapt *sharīʿa* norms to the features of the nuclear family and to strengthen the position of women [see NIKĀḤ; ṬALĀḲ; MĪRĀTH].

The Egyptian jurist ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī compiled the Egyptian civil code of 1948, which was based on the French-inspired Egyptian codes of 1875 and 1883, national court decisions, and (to a lesser extent) the *sharīʿa*. In the event of a lacuna, the court shall decide in accordance with (1) customary law, (2) adequate principles of the *sharīʿa*, and (3) the principles of equity. The Egyptian civil code was adopted with some variations by Syria (1949) and Libya (1954). Al-Sanhūrī was also the architect of the civil code of ʿIrāḳ (1953), which is strongly inspired by the *Medjelle*, and that of Kuwait (1961). The Sudanese Transactions Act of 1984 is based mainly on the Jordanian civil code of 1976, which in turn is also based on the *Medjelle*. The Iranian civil code of 1939 is a combination of *sharʿī* and French legal principles. This applies also to the Tunisian Code of Obligations and Contracts of 1906.

The juristic basis for accommodating the *sharīʿa* via codification has been provided by a wide range of methods, some of which were provided by the modernists, such as *takhayyur* and *talfīḳ* [*q.v.*], *siyāsa sharʿiyya*, *maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*] and neo-*idjtihād* [see MAḤKAMA. 4. xiii].

No legislature in the strict sense of the term has so far been introduced in Saudi Arabia. The King's power to issue administrative orders (*marsūm* rather than *ḳānūn*) is in the best tradition of *siyāsa sharʿiyya*. In the wake of Ibn Suʿūd's unsuccessful attempt to codify the *sharīʿa*, six books by well-known Ḥanbalī jurists were designated as authoritative sources to be relied on (in a certain order) in the *sharīʿa* courts.

4. *Reinstating the* sharīʿa *via* tashrīʿ.

Since the early 1970s, there has been an increasing tendency towards the Islamisation of various domains of the law, especially the penal law, in countries such as Libya, Iran, the Sudan and Pakistan. This too has proceeded by means of codification and statutory legislation, as well as by national court decisions making the validity of statutory provisions conditional on the extent of their conformity to the *sharīʿa*.

In Egypt, attempts in the 1970s towards reviving the *sharīʿa* have not yielded any substantial results, the only exception being the prohibition (1976) on the consumption of alcohol in public places, which has had a minimal effect. In the early 1980s a parliamentary committee drafted six *sharīʿa*-inspired codes pertaining to civil and penal codes, and codes of procedure, evidence, maritime commerce, and commerce. These were aborted, however, before they were given life.

5. *The courts' attitudes towards* tashrīʿ.

In Egypt, *ḳāḍīs* resisting personal status reforms interpreted them narrowly. Many other *ḳāḍīs* applied the reforms either technically—in the spirit of the *ʿulamāʾ*'s traditional obedience to the ruler's decrees—or out of ingenious support for the aims of the reforms. Some *ḳāḍīs* have even interpreted the reforms quite broadly. Generally speaking, it seems that many *ḳāḍīs* have been attentive to social change and encouraged by the statutory legislation to adopt a more innovative legal approach. As a whole, they did not obstruct the application of the reforms.

The Egyptian national courts, whose jurisdiction has been extended to matters of personal status since the abolition of the *sharīʿa* courts (1955), apply statutory reformist provisions without inhibitions. When there are lacunae, however, they do not hesitate to adopt legal norms of the Ḥanafī or any other school of law. They apply Ḥanafī, alongside civil, rules of evidence and procedure.

A few Egyptian judges of the civil courts, invoking Article 2 of the 1980 Constitution (according to which the *sharīʿa* is the main source of legislation), refused to apply statutory provisions contradictory to the *sharīʿa*, usually referring the case to the Supreme Constitutional Court to obtain a ruling with regard to the constitutionality of the provisions concerned. In a 1985 decision, the Supreme Constitutional Court rejected the appeals of such judges by ruling that Article 2 was not applicable to legal enactments in force prior to the adoption of the 1980 Constitution.

6. *Evaluation of* tashrīʿ.

From the strictly orthodox *sharʿī* point of view, mere codification inevitably implies the transformation of the *sharīʿa* from jurists' to statutory law. Statutory provisions have an autonomous existence based on state-imposed sanctions, and the *sharʿī* elements are to be interpreted strictly within the framework of the national-territorial statutes. In other words, on the level of the basic norm (which represents the primary legal norm in any given country) codification results in a complete departure from the religious-legal literature (unless, in the event of a lacuna, the court is directed by the legislator to resort to the *sharīʿa*). On the level of interpretation, however, the court is not debarred from consulting religious-legal literature (or any other source) provided the court does not contradict statutory provisions, as Egyptian *ḳāḍīs* were prone to do prior to the abolition of the *sharīʿa* courts.

Moreover, codification brings about total disruption of the *sharʿī* legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]) (without a new doctrine taking its place), the corpus of the *sharʿī* positive law as consolidated in the schools of law (*madhāhib*) and the legal professional class of the *fuḳahāʾ* and *muftīs*, the authorised exponents of the *sharīʿa*. In Libya and the Sudan, the selective incorporation of *sharʿī* norms into statutory legislation, within the policy of the Islamisation of the legal system, has in many cases caused deviations from the *sharīʿa*, to the point of distorting it. In Iran under Khumaynī, jurists' law was not restored, the Madjlis did not cease to exist, and not all the statutes contradictory to the *sharīʿa* were abolished.

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(A. Layish and R. Shaham)

TASHRĪFĀT [see marāsim. 1; nīshān].

TASHRĪḤ (a.), a technical term for anatomy. Early dictionaries give only two meanings: the cutting of flesh from the bones and slicing it very thin prior to cooking (referring to preparation of animal meat for food), and the expounding upon a question and thus exposing an obscurity (e.g. *LA*, √ *sh-r-ḥ*); in the second sense it is similar to *sharḥ* [*q.v.*]. The

medical definition occurs in later lexicons (e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, cols. 408-9; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1853-62, 735) where it is used for both anatomy as a description of the human body and for the empirical science of dissection.

Knowledge of anatomy in mediaeval Islam was firmly based on the anatomical writings of the Greek physician Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS], who flourished in the 2nd century A.D., and who to a large extent argued from analogy with animal structures. Galen's writings were available in the Islamic world through the translations of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ al-ʿIbādī [*q.v.*] and his collaborators. Galen presented the material in a highly teleological manner, with constant emphasis on structure and function demonstrating the design of the Creator, and this approach found a receptive audience amongst Islamic philosopher-physicians.

All the major Arabic and Persian medical encyclopaedias had sections on anatomy describing the bones, muscles, nerves, arteries, veins, and the compound organs which included the eye [see ʿAYN], the liver [see KABID], the heart and the brain. The relevant sections from the *K. al-Manṣūrī* (*maḳāla* 1, *bābs* 1-26) by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], from the *Kāmil al-ṣināʿa* (*djuzʾ* I, *maḳāla* 2, *bābs* 1-16, on homogenous parts including the bones, nerves, blood-vessels, cartilages, membranes, ligaments, hair, nails; and *maḳāla* 3, *bābs* 1-37 on heterogenous parts consisting of the muscles and compound organs) by ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī [*q.v.*], and from the *Ḳānūn fi ʾl-ṭibb* (*kitāb* I, *fann* 1, *taʿlīm* 5, *djumlas* 1-5 on bones, muscles, nerves, arteries and veins; and scattered passages in *kitāb* III, *fanns* 1-22 on compound organs) by Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] have been published and translated into French by de Koning. Such works summarised the Galenic anatomical concepts and were occasionally illustrated with schematic diagrams of the eye, the cranial sutures, or the bones of the upper jaw. Debates arose regarding the total number of bones and muscles in the human body.

Ocular anatomy was discussed in treatises concerned with ophthalmology or optics, such as those by Khalīfa b. Abi ʾl-Maḥāsin [*q.v.*] or al-Ḥasan b. al-Haytham, which often included illustrations of the eye. Anatomy was also a topic in non-medical writings such as the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūkāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawdjūdāt* by al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*], where there is a discussion of the human body as one of the wonders of the world. In the early 8th/14th century, Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb [*q.v.*] had translated into Persian for his world history an illustrated Chinese anatomical treatise (*Tanksūḳ-nāma-yi īlkhānī*, coll. works, Tehran 1971, ii), which appears to have had no subsequent influence upon Islamic anatomical thought.

No anatomical illustrations of the entire body are known to have been produced in the Islamic world before those that usually accompany the *Tashrīḥ-i Manṣūrī* by Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Ilyās, whose Persian-language treatise, often called "Manṣūr's Anatomy" was dedicated to a grandson of Tīmūr and ruler of Fars from 796-812/1394-1409. The treatise consists of an introduction followed by five chapters on the "systems" of the body: bones, nerves, muscles, veins and arteries, each illustrated by a full-page diagram with numerous Persian-Arabic labels. A concluding section on compound organs and the formation of the foetus is usually illustrated with a diagram showing a pregnant woman.

A similarity has been noted between the first five illustrations accompanying the *Tashrīḥ-i Manṣūrī* and a set of anatomical illustrations that appeared in earlier Latin medical treatises. This similarity is particularly evident in the diagram of the skeleton, which in both the Latin and Islamic versions is viewed from behind, with the head hyperextended so that the face looks upward. All the figures are in a distinctive squatting posture. The earliest Latin set dates from the 12th century A.D. while the earliest dated Islamic set was completed on 4 Muḥarram 894/8 December 1488 (Bethesda, Md., NLM ms. P 18).

The origin of this anatomical series remains a puzzle. It clearly predates the Tīmūrid treatise by Ibn Ilyās, with which about two-thirds of the nearly 70 perserved sets of Islamic diagrams are associated. The remainder are more recent renderings, usually unlabelled, that circulated independently or were inserted into copies of other treatises. The sixth figure in the Islamic series, the pregnant woman, has no parallel in the earlier Latin series and was probably a contribution by Ibn Ilyās himself. It was constructed from the arterial figure, without the labels, over which there was superimposed an oval gravid uterus having the foetus in a breech or transverse position.

Systematic human anatomical dissection was no more a pursuit of mediaeval Islamic society than it was of medieval Christendom. It seems clear from the available evidence, however, that there were no explicit legal or religious strictures banning it. Indeed, many Muslim scholars lauded the study of anatomy, primarily as a way of demonstrating the design and wisdom of God. Typical of such sentiments is a saying attributed to Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*]: "Whoever has been occupied with the science of anatomy has increased his belief in God" (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, Cairo-Königsberg 1882-4, ii, 77). What is meant by the "science of anatomy" (*ʿilm al-tashrīḥ*) in such statements is not the dissection of an animal in order to determine its structure, but rather the elaboration of the ideas of Galen regarding structure and function. There are, however, some references in scholarly and medical writings to dissection, though to what extent these reflect actual practice it is impossible to say.

What is certain is that mediaeval Islamic writers made two noteworthy contributions to the knowledge of anatomy. One was the result of chance observation: following the discovery of some skeletons during a famine in Egypt in 597/1200, the scholar and physician ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*] improved the description of the bones of the lower jaw and the sacrum.

The second was the description of the movement of the blood through the pulmonary transit by the Syrian physician Ibn al-Nafīs [*q.v.*], who composed a commentary on the *Ḳānūn fi ʾl-ṭibb* of Ibn Sīnā in which Ibn al-Nafīs criticised Ibn Sīnā for spreading his discussion of anatomy over several different sections, for which reason Ibn al-Nafīs subsequently prepared a separate commentary on just the anatomical portions (*Sharḥ tashrīḥ al-Ḳānūn*, ed. S. Ḳaṭāya and B. Ghalyūndjī, Cairo 1988). A subject of debate among historians is whether Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary on the anatomy was available through translation to European physicians. In his commentary, preserved in a copy completed in 640/1242 some 46 years before his death (Los Angeles, UCLA Biomedical Library, ms. Ar. 80), Ibn al-Nafīs described the movement of blood through the pulmonary transit, explicitly stating that the blood in the right ventricle of the heart must reach the left ventricle by way of the lungs and not through a passage connecting the ventricles, as Galen had maintained. This formulation of the

pulmonary circulation, sometimes called the "lesser" circulation, was made three centuries before those of Michael Servetus (d. 1553) and Realdo Colombo (d. 1559), the first Europeans to describe the pulmonary circulation. It is known that Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary on the last part of the *Ḳānūn*, concerned with compound remedies, was translated into Latin by the Renaissance physician Andrea Alpago (d. 1522), who had also prepared a new translation of Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn*. The translation of Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary on compound remedies was not published until 1547, when it was printed at Venice, but the possibility remains that other parts of Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary might have been transmitted through unpublished translations. Within the Islamic world, Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary on Ibn Sīnā's anatomy remained relatively unknown. However, two 8th/14th century writers knew of his theory of pulmonary circulation, the 10th/16th-century physician ʿImād al-Dīn Maḥmūd S͟hīrāzī wrote two anatomical treatises dependent upon it, and passages from it are not infrequently encountered as marginalia in Arabic manuscripts.

While Galenic anatomy remained otherwise unchallenged in the Islamic world until the 17th century, in Europe new ideas on the subject emerged in the 16th century. Andreas Vesalius's Latin treatise *De humani corporis fabrica*, printed in Basel in 1543, signified a break with the classical Greek reliance on the application by analogy of animal anatomy to the human body, for in it he undertook systematic human dissection in an attempt to re-evaluate traditional Galenic anatomy. By the 17th century it is evident that Vesalius's treatise was known in the Ottoman and Ṣafawid empires. Illustrations from the *Fabrica* influenced the drawings of individual parts of the body included in the anatomical treatise by S͟hams al-Dīn ʿItāḳī. In his Turkish treatise, *Tas͟hrīḥ-i abdān wa tard͟jumān-i ḳabāla-yi faylasūfān*, dedicated to Murād IV [*q.v.*] in 1033/1623, ʿItāḳī intermingled renderings of the Vesalian woodcuts illustrating the brain, skull, vertebral column, eye muscles, uro-genital systems and bones of the legs, feet and hands with schematic diagrams in the tradition of Ibn Ilyās.

Evidence of Persian interest in Vesalian anatomy is found in anonymous Persian manuscripts of the late 17th to mid-19th century which contain ink sketches of the skeletal and muscular figures, and some individual organs, based on diagrams in the *Fabrica*, as well as a large Ḳād͟jār oil painting apparently intended for didactic purposes. In western India, the continued blending of mediaeval/Galenic anatomy with early modern concepts is evident in a 19th-century copy of the Persian manual by Ibn Ilyās, accompanied by 24 unusual illustrations mixing the two anatomical traditions (Edinburgh University library, ms. Or. 416).

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(Emilie Savage-Smith)

TAS͟HRĪḲ (a.), a special name for the last three days of the Muslim Ḥad͟jd͟j (11-13 D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja: *Ayyām al-Tas͟hrīḳ*), during which the pilgrims, having finished their regular rites with the sacrifice on the 10th, stay in Minā and have to throw seven stones daily on each of the three piles of stones [see d͟jamra; ḥad͟jd͟j] there. Legally, these stoning rites comprise one of the obligatory pilgrimage duties (*wād͟jibāt*) according to the four Sunnī schools (*al-Fiḳh ʿalā al-mad͟hāhib al-arbaʿa*, Cairo 1967, 649-51; cf. Ibn Rus͟hd, *The distinguished jurist's Primer* [*Bidāyat al-mud͟jtahid*], tr.

I.A.H. Nyazee, Reading, U.K. 1994, 414-18). According to the Ḥadīth, fasting is not allowed on these days, for they are "days of eating and drinking", *ayyām akl wa-sharāb* (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13 [*Ṣiyām*], 144, 145; Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 20 [*Ḥadjdj*], 44, 134-7; al-Nasāʾī, 47 [*Īmān*], 7; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 229, iii, 401, 460, iv, 335, v, 75-6, etc.). With reference to Ḳurʾān II, 184, these days are also said to be days that are to be devoted in addition to *dhikr Allāh* (Mālik b. Anas, *op. cit.*, 20, 44, 135). They are identified traditionally as *al-ayyām al-maʿdūdāt*, "the numbered (i.e. few) days" (Lane, 1971c; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13 [*ʿĪdayn*], 11).

In the early period of Islam, the name *tashrīḳ* was also given to the solemn *ṣalāt* on the morning of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. The term is probably a survival from the pre-Islamic period and therefore could no longer be explained by the Muslims with certainty. For example, the obvious explanation which derives the term from "cutting into strips and drying" the sacrificial meat left over on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, is doubtful. An isolated tradition derives *tashrīḳ* from the recitation of the words *ashriḳ thabīr kaymā nughīr* [see TAHLĪL; TALBIYA; TAKBĪR]. One would therefore have to assume that this formula was originally used not only, as we are told, on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja before sunrise but also at the lapidation on the following days, and that as an essential element it later became the name for the whole ceremony. In Islam, this lapidation is accompanied by *takbīr* (pronouncing *Allāhu akbar*) among other exclamations. This is perhaps why Abū Ḥanīfa explains *tashrīḳ* as *takbīr* (*TʿA*, vi, 393). See also ḤADJDJ.

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(R. PARET-[W.A. GRAHAM])

TĀSHUFĪN B. **ʿALĪ** b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, third Almoravid sovereign, ruled over the Maghrib and al-Andalus 537-9/1143-5.

During his father's reign, Tāshufīn served as governor of al-Andalus (522-32/1128-38) where he led several raids and counter-raids, mostly successful, against Christian strongholds and marauders in the regions of Toledo, Badajoz, Seville and Cordova. In 524/1130 he captured the fortress of Azeca, north-west of Toledo. Four years later, he beat off raiding parties in the vicinity of Badajoz, stormed Idania castle and Escalona, and at Albacar, north of Cordova, he narrowly escaped a surprise attack by a Castilian detachment of horsemen.

Growing jealous of Tāshufīn's popularity, Sīr, his half-brother and heir-apparent, prevailed upon his father to recall Tāshufīn to Marrakesh (early 532/1138). Following Sīr's death a few months later, Tāshufīn was enthusiastically acclaimed by Almoravid elders as heir-apparent and, upon his father's death, Tāshufīn succeeded him as *amīr al-muslimīn* on 8 Radjab 537/27 January 1143.

In Morocco, meanwhile, the power of the Almohad rebels, led by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], was growing apace. At an encounter outside Tlemcen, the Almoravids, led by Tāshufīn, were routed and had to retreat to Oran. In the course of his retreat towards the coast where he had arranged for vessels from the fleet stationed in Almería to arrive in order to transport him to al-Andalus, should the need arise, Tāshufīn fell from his horse off a cliff and died (27 Ramaḍān 539/23 March 1145).

Taking advantage of Tāshufīn's preoccupation with fighting the Almohads in the Maghrib, Alfonso VII of León seized a number of key Muslim strongholds, including Oreja, Coria and Mora, while Andalusian rebels rose against the Almoravids in the Algarve and at Cordova (539/1144-5).

In Morocco, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin proceeded to capture Fez and the Almoravid capital Marrakesh, the latter's fall, after a two-year siege, on 17 Shawwāl 541/22 March 1147, marking the end of the Almoravid dynasty in the Maghrib and al-Andalus.

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(AMIN TIBI)

TASILI, conventionally TASSILI (Tamasheḳ Berber "plateau"), used by the Tuareg as a generic term for the sandy and rocky ensemble of plateaux of the central Saharan massif: Ahnet and Imidir in the north-west, Tassili N'Ajjer in the north-east, Tassili Tin Missao in the south-west and Tassili N'Ahaggar in the south.

They form an enceinte of heights, ringing at some distance the Ahaggar [*q.v.*] massif with its central position, with their rocky, impressive escarpments rising up to face it like posts for attack round a besieged town. They correspond to a primary geological layer (Ordovician and Devonian sandstones) set down on an ancient shelf of the African shield, which has been buckled under the impact of a great curving movement, pushing up in its centre the Ahaggar massif and leaving between this last and the scarps of the Tassilis a vast, ring-shaped depression. The symmetry of this phenomenon is, however, far from perfect, since the enceinte is at present composed only of the remaining reliefs, although that on the north is quasi-continuous. It is the north-east which is the most regular and which has the highest altitudes (1,700 m/5,100 feet, and even 2,100 m/6,300 feet in the volcanic massif of the Adrar), and which is accordingly a little more humid and a little more favourable to life; this is the region of Tassili N'Ajjer.

The Tassili N'Ajjer lies mainly within modern

Algeria, but stretches into Libya (lat. 26° 30' N to 24° N., long. 5° 30' E. to 10° 30' E.). It comprises two successive series of plateaux, ending in the south in several imposing escarpments, and growing lower towards the north and north-east by vast edges. The whole is gashed by water-made and wind-made erosion: whence the astonishing and grandiose topography, the existence of ramparts, canyons, towers, pinnacles and jagged and ruin-like sites. The altitude of the whole region and the sandy nature of the terrain are conducive to intermittent torrents in the wadis, permit watercourses at high levels and explain the presence of certain local species: the pools preserve various species of fish; a small crocodile was killed in 1924 in the wadi Ihérir; and several hundreds of the Tassili cypress (*cupressus dupresianus*), thousands of years old, survive in certain hollows (Tamrit).

The region owes its name to the Kel Ajjer, a confederation of Tuareg nomads, cousins and enemies of the Kel Ahaggar at the end of the 19th century. At that time they were organised in a very hierarchical society, made up of noble tribes (Oraren, five sections) and vassal tribes paying tribute (Imrad, twelve sections). At the beginning of the 20th century, the region, explored by Henri Duveyrier who has left some remarkable descriptions, was the subject of dispute between the Turkish power in Tripoli and the French army in Algeria. Today, the border leaves G͟hāt in Libya and D̲janet in Algeria.

Prehistory has left the Tassili a fabulous legacy. Over a long period stretching from 8,000 to 2,000 B.C., when conditions were somewhat wetter, the peoples of these massifs painted or incised on the rocky faces the episodes which made up their life, and above all, the wild animals which they hunted. They have accordingly created one of the finest open-air museums in the world. The sites of Wadi D̲jerat, of Séfar, of Tamrit and of Jabbaren offer works which are quite beautiful, and now famous throughout the world; the name of Henri Lhote is linked with the recording of these discoveries. More than 10,000 of these paintings and carved drawings have been counted, making the Tassili one of the finest permanent records of the Sahara. The Libyan parts also contain sites with rock illustrations (the D̲jebels Messak and Akakus).

Today, the massif has a small population of some 20,000 Tuaregs, nomads who either live off their herds or are grouped in small localities where they act as guides for tourists. G͟hāt, D̲janet and Ihérir have small palm groves. D̲janet in the south and Illizi in the north are two lively centres in Algerian territory. G͟hāt, the traditional capital of the Tassili and an important stage along the caravan routes, is now in Libyan territory and suffers a little from its frontier position. Because of the rugged terrain, the massif is difficult to cross: Illizi and G͟hāt are accessible by road, and D̲janet by aeroplane.

In 1982 Tassili was classified by UNESCO as a "world heritage" region. Since 1972 it has been organised by Algeria into a National Park, reorganised in 1987 over an area of 72,000 km^2. The Tassili National Park Department, like that of the Hoggar, is dependent on the Ministry of Culture. It has the task of studying the cultural and ecological heritage which makes up the whole, and at the same time of controlling the influx of tourists which, for a decade now, has alighted at D̲janet in order to ascend the plateau and find out about the rock paintings.

Bibliography: H. Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du Nord*, Paris 1864; Lt. Ardaillon, *Notes sur les Touareg Ajjer*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie d'Alger*, xvi (1911); R. Capot-Rey, *Le Sahara français*, Paris 1953; G. Gardel, *Les Touareg Ajjer*, Algiers 1963; G. Arduz, *La situation économique de Djanet en 1965*, in *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, 105-27; H. Lhote, *A la découverte des fresques du Tassili*, Grenoble 1973; idem, *Les gravures rupestres de l'Oued Djerat*, Algiers 1975. See also AHAGGAR. (M. CÔTE)

TASʿĪR (A.), verbal noun from the form II verb *saʿʿara* which means, according to Lane, "to assign a known and fixed price"; hence *siʿr* is "that upon which the value (*t͟haman*) is established". The particle "that" gives *siʿr* a wider breadth than the concept of monetary value. In fact, a similar usage of "that" was included in the UAE Civil Code defining "price", which is presumably *t͟haman* and not *siʿr*, as follows: "that which the parties have agreed in consideration of the sale, whether it is greater or less than the [true] value" (art. 503).

In Islamic law, the distinction between *siʿr* and *t͟haman* appears subtle, owing to the proximity of the two concepts, and can easily be confused. However, it is clearer when one considers the verbal noun forms of the two words. *Tat͟hmīn* refers to estimating the value, *ḳīma*, of the subject-matter, whereas *tasʿīr* is concerned with the commodity's fixed price. The Prophet is reported to have declined to fix the price of goods on the grounds that "the one fixing the price, *musaʿʿir*, is God". The *LA* accordingly states that "no-one should fix prices". However, both ʿUmar and ʿAlī are reported to have advocated price fixing during their reigns, although the former's view was said to be merely a meritorious advice that he gave when he saw a tradesman selling his raisins at a price so low that it could have damaged the prices in the market (Ibn Ḳudāma). This apparently contrasting view led to conflicting opinions regarding the validity of *tasʿīr* even within the same school of law. Al-Mud̲jaylidī (a Mālikī scholar, d. 1094/1683), in his unique treatise on *tasʿīr*, bases its principle on the grounds of public interest (*maṣlaḥa*), postulating that it can only be practised on commodities of weight or measure. This principle had been accepted by other scholars like al-S͟hāfiʿī and Mālik. It is relevant to state here that, though *tasʿīr* is inherently a practical market device, the *muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA] is not allowed to fix it himself. The fixing of prices requires a political decision, whereby "the Imām would gather and consult the leading figures (*wud̲jūh*) of the market who deal in the commodity in question". Once the price is fixed by the Imām, all sale contracts according to it are valid and the Imām or the *muḥtasib* can punish the person who does not obey the ruling by discretionary punishment (*taʿzīr* [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: *LA*, ed. Dār Ṣādir n.d, vi, 365; Lane, *Lexicon*, 1336; Aḥmad Sāmiḥ al-Mud̲jaylidī, *al-Taysīr fī aḥkām al-tasʿīr*, ed. Mūsā Liḳbāl, Algiers 1970, 51; Ibn al-Uk͟huwwa al-Ḳuras͟hī, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, London 1938, Ar. text 64-6, Eng. tr. 21, ed. M. Shaʿbān and S. Muṭayʿī, Cairo 1976, 120-1; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mug͟hnī*, Beirut 1984, vi, 303-4; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī wa-adillatuh*, Beirut 1985, vi, 401-3; S.E. Rayner, *The theory of contracts in Islamic law*, London 1991, 143.
(MAWIL Y. IZZI DIEN)

ṬASḲ [see K͟HARĀD̲J].

TAṢLIYA (A.), the invocation of God's blessing upon the Prophet Muḥammad.

The word has many applications, but commonly refers to the section of the *tas͟hahhud* [*q.v.*] in the ritual *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*], following the *taḥiyya* ("greeting") and

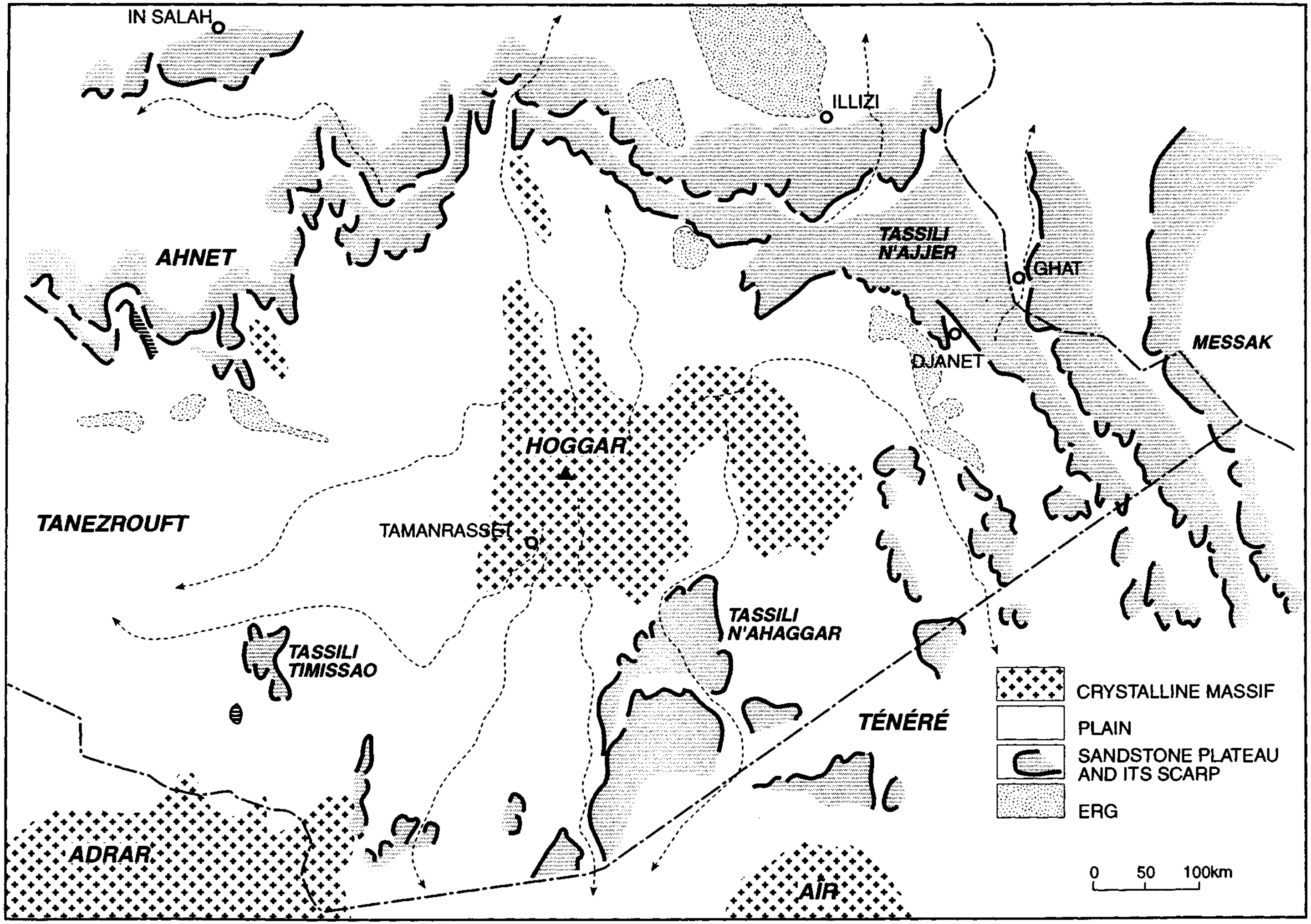
IN SALAH
ILLIZI
AHNET
TASSILI N'AJJER
GHAT
DJANET
MESSAK
HOGGAR
TANEZROUFT
TAMANRASSET
TASSILI N'AHAGGAR
TASSILI TIMISSAO
TÉNÉRÉ
ADRAR
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CRYSTALLINE MASSIF
PLAIN
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s͟hahāda [*q.v.*], in which the worshipper recites the *ṣalāt ʿalā ʾl-nabī* (*taṣliya* being derived from this sense of "performing the *ṣalāt*", perhaps). One typical formulation of the *taṣliya* is known as *al-ṣalawāt al-ibrāhīmiyya*, see ṢALĀT. III. B. A *taṣliya* is also a part of the response to the *ad͟hān* [*q.v.*], also known as the *duʿāʾ al-wasīla* the "prayer of mediation": "O God, send your blessing (*ṣalli*) on our Lord Muḥammad and on the family of our Lord Muḥammad and greet them with peace! O God, the Lord of this completed call and of the prayer about to commence, give to our Lord Muḥammad mediation, merit and a high rank, and that praiseworthy station which You have promised him" (see prayer manuals commonly in use, e.g. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, *Salat or Islamic prayer book*, Lahore 1971 etc., 18-19). The term *durūd* is used to refer to the *taṣliya*, especially in India and Pakistan; *ḳunūt* ([*q.v.*]; see also S. Bashear, Qunūt *in* tafsīr *and* ḥadīth *literatures*, in *JSAI*, xix [1995], 36-65) also overlaps with the term in some contexts (e.g. the *witr* prayer), in which supplications are inserted into the *ṣalāt*, frequently being invocations of Muḥammad.

More broadly, *taṣliya* can be understood as (but, as a term, is not usually understood to be derived from) the repetition of the phrase *ṣallā ʾllāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*, "May the prayers and peace of God be upon him" (and variations thereon), a phrase which, in later theory, is limited in application as a eulogy to Muḥammad alone (and thus consistent with *taṣliya* being understood as *ṣalāt ʿalā ʾl-nabī*) but, in fact, has been used widely in a variety of contexts throughout history.

The origin of the practices and phraseologies of the *taṣliya* is traced to the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt͟h*. The Ḳurʾānic statement in XXXIII, 56, "God and His angels bless (*yuṣallūna*) the Prophet. O believers, bless him (*ṣallū*) and pray for peace for him (*sallimū taslīm*[an])", is cited in this regard, although the implications of God "blessing" Muḥammad in the way in which individual Muslims "bless" him did raise a number of concerns, leading to glosses of *ṣallā* here as "forgive" or "praise" when spoken of as the action of God. Similarly, statements of invocation are not conceived of as "intercession" by the believer on behalf of Muḥammad, who is certainly not thought of as being in need of intercession on his behalf. Rather, they are understood as pleas that Muḥammad's intercession be accepted by God on behalf of his followers.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Über die Eulogien der Muhammedaner*, in *ZDMG*, 1 (1896), 97-128 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, iv, 37-68); E. Calverly, *Worship in Islam being... al-G͟hazzālī's Book of the Iḥyāʾ on worship*, Madras 1925, 4-6; Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim devotions. A study of prayer-manuals in common use*, London 1961, repr. Oxford 1996, 152-72; Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri. II. Qurʾanic commentary and tradition*, Chicago 1967, 88 and refs. there; F. Meier, *Die segenssprechung über Mohammed im bittgebet und in der bitte*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxvi (1986), 364-401, repr. in his *Bausteine—Aufsätze zur Islamwissenschaft*, 3 vols., Istanbul and Stuttgart 1992, ii, 837-75; K. Nakamura, *Al-Ghazālī. Invocations and supplications*, Cambridge 1990, 46-50 (= *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1397/1978, i, 311-13), which brings together many of the *ḥadīt͟h* reports on the subject.

(A. RIPPIN)

ṬASM, name of one of the legendary extinct tribes of the Arabs, *al-ʿarab al-bāʾida*. These tribes are genealogically directly linked up to Biblical genealogies and thus precede the split into Northern and Southern Arabs, symbolised by the eponyms ʿAdnān and Ḳaḥṭān. According to one of our earliest sources, Ibn al-Kalbī [*q.v.*], Ṭasm's relationship to the other tribes (in small capitals) is as follows:

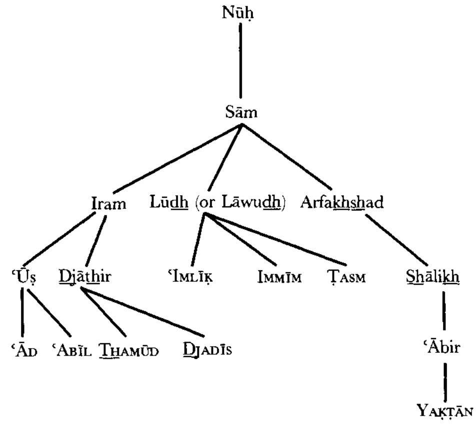

(see W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, i, 40, which see also for the vocalisation of "Immīm"; and cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 384; Ibn Ḥazm, *D͟jamhara*, ed. ʿA.M. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 486, and, with variations, al-Ṭabarī, ed. M.A.F. Ibrāhīm, i, 203-9 (mainly based on Ibn Isḥāḳ), tr. W. Brinner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ii, *Prophets and patriarchs*, Albany 1987, 12-20; the translator renders ʿAbīl, Immīm, and D͟jadīs as ʿUbayl, Umaym, and D͟judays, for which there seems to be no authority).

These tribes were the first to speak Arabic after the confusion of tongues at Babel and are, therefore, called *al-ʿarab al-ʿāriba*, in contradistinction to *al-ʿarab al-mutaʿarriba* (sometimes *al-mustaʿriba*), referring to the descendants of Ismāʿīl who learned Arabic by settling among the "true" Arabs (there is, however, much fluctuation among the sources with regard to the application of these terms).

When the tribes moved into the Arabian Peninsula, Ṭasm settled in the Yamāma, where they were later joined by D͟jadīs. The most famous story is set in this situation. Its main elements are the following: Ṭasm under their king ʿImlīḳ erect a tyrannical rule over D͟jadīs. An estranged couple from D͟jadīs with their young son come before the king asking that he act as an arbiter in their custody battle (a migratory anecdote); the king, however, treats them atrociously. The woman gives vent to her frustration in a poem. The king, greatly angered, institutes the *ius primae noctis*, though pertaining only to the virgins of D͟jadīs. One of the victims manages to shake D͟jadīs out of their fearful lethargy. Her brother, in a leadership position within the tribe, invites Ṭasm (i.e. the king and his court) to a large banquet, where they are all treacherously massacred, this against the advice of his sister who wanted a more manly procedure. A single Ṭasmī escapes and succeeds in persuading the King of Ḥimyar, Ḥassān, to mount a campaign of revenge against D͟jadīs. He informs the king that he has a sister (the famous *kāhina* Zarḳāʾ al-Yamāma [*q.v.*]) married among the D͟jadīs who has an extremely far-reaching sight and might warn D͟jadīs of the approach of the army. They use the "march of Birnam wood" ruse (as in *Macbeth*); consequently, the abstruse report of Zarḳāʾ al-Yamāma meets with little credence among the D͟jadīs. They are taken by surprise and

wiped out, and only the regicide escapes. He goes to the Two Mountains of Ṭayyi', before even Ṭayyi' [*q.v.*] has settled there. The story of the migration of Ṭayyi' from the South is intercalated here. When they arrive in their new territory, they find this single giant-like and fear-inspiring man in possession of the area. They have one of their youngsters kill him (a David and Goliath motif).

The story seems thus to have attracted a number of well-known motifs. A close study of the variants in the various sources might prove fruitful.

Bibliography: The earliest attestation of the story is presumably in 'Ubayd ('Abīd) b. Sharya, *Akhbār al-Yaman*, ed. F. Krenkow, as an appendix to his ed. of Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tīdjān*, Ḥaydarābād 1347/1928-9, 311-492, here 483-7 (incomplete at the end due to defective mss.); see also *Aghānī*[3], xi, 164-9; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat Ibn 'Abdūn*, Cairo 1340/1921-2, 62-8; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, i, 351-4 (he dates 'Imlīḳ to the time of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* after Alexander); Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xv, 339-44; A.P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847-8, i, 28-30; R.A. Nicholson, *A literary history of the Arabs*, Cambridge 1930, 4, 25.

(W.P. Heinrichs)

TASMIYA [see basmala].

TAṢNĪF (a.), lit. "sorting out, distinguishing, classifying s.th.", whence "putting in order, composing a book, etc.", and then as a common noun "orderly presentation or classification". See inshā'; kitāb, and the *Bibl.* to this last article, to which should be added G. Bosch, J. Carswell and G. Petherbridge, *Islamic bindings and bookmaking. Catalogue of an exhibition*, The Oriental Institute, Chicago 1981; J. Pedersen, *The Arabic book*, Eng. tr. G. French, Princeton 1984.

The associated noun form *muṣannaf* has a technical usage in Islamic religious literature for the arrangement of items of religious learning, e.g. *ḥadīths*, in a structured arrangement of chapters or other subdivisions; for this sense, see muṣannaf. (Ed.)

TASNĪM (a.). 1. The name of a fountain in Paradise, occurring in the Ḳur'ān, LXXXIII, 27, where it is said that its water will be drunk by the *muḳarrabūn* "those who are admitted to the divine presence" and that it will be mixed with the drink of the mass of the inhabitants of Paradise. The commentaries are uncertain whether *tasnīm* is a proper name—which, according to the *Lisān al-'Arab*, is inconsistent with its being a diptote—or a derivative from the root *s-n-m*, a root conveying the meaning of "being high" (cf. *sanām* "camel's hump"). In the latter case, the meaning of the verse would be: "and it (sc. the drink of the inhabitants of Paradise) will be mixed with water which is conducted to them from a high place". Al-Ṭabarī mentions a third explanation, sc. "hidden things gladdening the inhabitants of Paradise".

There seems to be no obvious etymology from other languages (see Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 91-2); Nöldeke (*Sketches from Eastern history*, 38) thought that it was an invention by Muḥammad himself.

Bibliography: Bukhārī, *Tafsīr* on sūra lxxxiii; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 59; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, vi, 502, and the other commentaries on the Ḳur'ān; *Lisān al-'Arab*, xvi, 199.

2. The verbal noun of form II of *s-n-m* "raising graves above the level of the earth". It is said that Muḥammad's grave was *musannam* (al-Bukhārī, *Djanā'iz*, *bāb* 96). On the other hand, it is said that Muḥammad ordered that graves should be levelled (Muslim, *Djanā'iz*, trads. 92, 93; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vi, 18 bis, 21). Al-Shāfi'ī's opinion was that graves should be raised only so much that they could be recognised as such, lest people should sit or walk on them (al-Tirmidhī, *Djanā'iz*, *bāb* 56). The Mālikīs, however, preferred *tasnīm* (al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii, 344). See also ḳabr.

(A.J. Wensinck*)

TAṢRĪF, in Classical Arabic grammar, the term for one of the two main divisions of linguistic theory, the other one being *naḥw* [*q.v.*] in the sense of "syntax". *'Ilm al-taṣrīf* is the science that studies the alterations of words, excluding the declensional endings (*i'rāb*). According to the analysis of Bohas and Guillaume (1984, 15-21 and cf. Owens 1988, 98-104), *taṣrīf* is divided into two parts, which are roughly equivalent to the modern domains of morphology and morphonology. The first part studies the meaningful alterations of words, e.g. the changes in verbal measures, the plural patterns of nouns, or the diminutives. The second part analyses the morphonological changes in words (*'ilal*), e.g. the changes weak verbs undergo. Most definitions of *taṣrīf* emphasise its non-declensional character, for instance, that by al-Astarābādhī (*Sharḥ al-Shāfiya*, i, 1.15-16), *'ilm bi-uṣūl tu'rafu bihā aḥwāl abniyat al-kalim allatī laysat bi-i'rāb* "knowledge about rules by which one recognises the state of the patterns of words that are not declension". Others define *taṣrīf* in opposition to *naḥw*, for instance when Ibn Djinnī (*Munṣif*, i, 4.13-14) states that it is the *ma'rifat anfus al-kalim al-thābita* as against *naḥw*, which is the *ma'rifat aḥwāl [al-kalim] al-mutanaḳḳila*, where *aḥwāl* indicate the three cases of the word that alternate as the result of the action of an *'āmil*.

The origin of the term *taṣrīf* is unknown. The lexical meaning of both *ṣarafa* and *ṣarrafa* is "to send away, to avert, to inflect", as in the expression *tuṣarrif al-kalima 'alā wudjūh shattā* (Ibn Djinnī, *Munṣif*, i, 3.18). Form V of the verb means "to move freely", or in a legal sense, "to have the free disposition of finances". Applied to grammar this term is used for the free syntactic behaviour of some words (Versteegh 1990, 284). A similar meaning is manifest in other terms from the same root, e.g. *munṣarif (mutaṣarrif)* "fully declinable". In Classical grammar, this term is applied to the triptote nouns, but it also has a wider application meaning all words that occur in several forms (e.g. adverbials such as *ladun*) or words which may occur in several constructions. As a synonym for *taṣrīf*, the term *ṣarf* [*q.v.*] is used in later grammar; in modern Arabic publications this has become the usual term for "morphology". Originally, this term was used for a "divergence" between constituents in a sentence, which brings about a change in the endings, e.g. in the expression *lā ta'kul al-samaka wa-tashraba 'l-labana* (cf. Carter 1973).

In the translations of Greek philosophical and logical writings, *taṣrīf* is used as a general term for morphological changes of nouns and verbs, including declensional endings. Ibn Sīnā, for instance, uses it to translate the Aristotelian *ptōsis* (*Shi'r*, 191.24). Ibn Suwār (d. 408/1017) states that *taṣrīf* is *lafẓ yuzādu 'alā 'l-ism bi-ḥaraka 'alā istiḳāmatihi*... *wa-aṣnāf al-taṣārīf khamsa* "an expression that is added to the nominative of the noun in the form of a vowel... and there are five different *taṣārīf*", clearly referring to the five cases of Greek grammar (Georr 1948, 372.4-7 and cf. Versteegh 1977, 64-67). On the other hand al-Fārābī (*Sharḥ*, 32.15; 36.8; 42.21) assigns inflection to both nouns and verbs, perhaps reflecting a connection with the Greek *klisis*, which etymologically means approximately the same thing as Arabic *taṣrīf*.

In Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, the term occurs only three times; once (ii, 315.6-7) *taṣrīf* denotes the procedure of the

analysis of words by means of the formal notation with the radicals *f-ʿ-l* (cf. Talmon 1982, 22). He ascribes this to the *naḥwiyyūn*, the preceding grammarians. In the other two passages it probably means the structure or pattern of a word (i, 341.14; i, 460.12). In al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* the term is more frequent; usually it means "structure" (e.g. *ʿAyn*, i, 326; i, 361.7). Once (*ʿAyn*, ii, 210.5) al-Khalīl refers to the *aṣḥāb al-taṣrīf*, who have a certain theory about the structure of a word. According to the Arabic tradition, the "invention" of *taṣrīf* was the work of the grammarian Muʿādh al-Harrāʾ (d. 187/802), who was the first to use the notation with *f-ʿ-l* (cf. Abbott 1972, 6; al-Suyūṭī, *Iḳtirāḥ*, 84).

In the early period of Arabic grammar *taṣrīf*, therefore, was the term for a procedure of finding out the structure of a word, or the term for that structure itself. In later grammar this meaning of the term is still present, for instance when the grammarians define the function of *taṣrīf* as that of separating the radicals of a word from the additional consonants (Ibn Djinnī, *Munṣif*, i, 2.3-4 *bihi tuʿrafu uṣūl kalām al-ʿArab min al-zawāʾid al-dākhila ʿalayhā*). Because of its importance in the curriculum, it came to denote a separate domain of linguistics or a discipline *sui generis*. Where Sībawayhi had incorporated morphology in his *Kitāb*, dealing with it after the section on syntax and before the section of (mor)phonology, al-Māzinī (d. 248/862 [*q.v.*]) was the first to dedicate a monograph to this field; his *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* has been preserved in the extensive commentary on it by Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*] (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 75). Other grammarians followed this example and wrote separate handbooks on morphology and syntax, for instance Ibn ʿUṣfūr, who wrote a *Kitāb al-Mumtiʿ fi ʾl-taṣrīf*, or al-Astarābādhī [*q.v.*], who wrote a commentary on Ibn al-Ḥādjib's [*q.v.*] *Shāfiya fi ʾl-taṣrīf*.

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(C.H.M. Versteegh)

ṬASSŪDJ (A., pl. *ṭasāsīdj*), a territorial division, a loan word in Arabic from the MP *tasōk* ("one quarter"). According to Frye, *tasōk* had been used under the Sāsānids for a subdivision of the city of Nīshāpūr [*q.v.*], but in the Arabic sources *ṭassūdj* is normally used for the rural subdivision of a *kūra*, mainly in the Sawād [*q.v.*] of ʿIrāḳ. There are said to have been 60 such subdivisions in ʿIrāḳ sometimes corresponding to canal districts. A *ṭassūdj* was sometimes equivalent to a *rustāḳ* [*q.v.*] (pl. *rasātīḳ*) or a *nāḥiya*, although the presence of a further subdivision at the village level might be reflected in the use of any of these terms as the subdivision of one of the others. Yāḳūt's account, following Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, that each *kūra* was divided into *rasātīḳ*, each *rustāḳ* into *ṭasāsīdj*, and each *ṭassūdj* into a number of villages, appears to be overly schematic. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih, the *ṭasāsīdj* of the *kūra* of Ardashīr Bābakān in the Sawād were divided into *rasātīḳ*.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 6-11; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, i, 39-41, cf. Wadie Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yaqut's Muʿjam al-buldan*, Leiden 1959, 58; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 164-6; R.N. Frye, *Sasanian clay sealings in the collection of Mohsen Foroughi*, in *Iranica Antiqua*, iii (1968), 122, 131; idem, *Sasanian seal inscriptions*, in *Festschrift Franz Altheim*, Berlin 1970, 80-1; M. Morony, *Continuity and change in the administrative geography of late Sasanian and early Islamic al-ʿIrāq*, in *Iran*, xx (1982), 4, 6.

(M. Morony)

TAṢWĪR (A.), verbal noun from the form II verb *ṣawwara* "to form, fashion", then "depict, represent, illustrate". It is the principal term used in Arabic for both the representational arts including painting, drawing, sketching, engraving and photography (on which see 2. below) and the process of their creation. It is often contrasted to *timthāl* (sculpture) and synonymous with *ṣūra* and the rarer *taṣwīra* or their respective plural forms *ṣuwar* and *taṣāwīr*. Other synonyms of *taṣwīr* widely used in Persian texts are *naḳsh* (A.) and *nigār* (P.). Although in the usage of a particular author, period or region, *taṣwīr* and its synonyms may acquire more restricted or differentiated meanings, these terms remain virtually interchangeable. However, in a manuscript an individual painting, technical diagram, scientific illustration or map is more often labelled as *ṣūra* or *naḳsh* than *taṣwīr*.

1. In painting and other representational arts.

Although the art forms with which *taṣwīr* is usually associated are largely two-dimensional, Ḳurʾānic usage of the related verb *ṣawwara* suggests it had a primary meaning of giving form or shape to a person or thing (XL, 64; LXIV, 3; VII, 11; III, 6). The well-known strictures against idolatry in Islam inhibited the development of sculpture, so that the term *muṣawwir* which in the Ḳurʾān is applied to God as the fashioner of forms (LIX, 24), is normally used as the equivalent of "painter, draughtsman" when applied to a person. In Persian, *muṣawwir* is used as a professional epithet, as in "Mīr Muṣawwir", but in other contexts the terms *nigāranda* and *naḳḳāsh* are more often used for "painter, designer or engraver". In Ottoman Turkish, *naḳḳāsh* is the customary title for a painter.

There is no Ḳurʾānic interdiction of painting or the other representational arts, but reservations about their legality seem to appear in the theological literature from the late Umayyad or early ʿAbbāsid times. Widely-circulated *ḥadīth*s mention the reluctance of angels to enter a house which contains either a dog or a painting and predict dire punishment for a *muṣawwir* on the Day of Judgement when he will be held accountable for his inability to bring to life creatures which he has depicted. There are, however, countervailing *ḥadīth*s which narrow the focus of these

interdictions, such as the one describing how the Prophet ordered the destruction of all images in the Kaʿba except for one of the Virgin and Child. Some of the religious objections appear to spring from an aversion to idolatry, but others suggest a fear that images possessed quasi-magical powers (see further, ṢŪRA. 1).

The degree to which the concerns of theologians affected the practice of representational art, or shaped its character, appears to have varied considerably from region to region and period to period. Such strictures seem to have had the greatest impact in the Maghrib, where depictions of living creatures are rarely encountered, whereas in Persia and adjacent regions the objections of theologians seem to have been largely ignored. Nevertheless, an aversion from mixing worship with images ensured that, in Islamic communities, painting developed within the private sphere, and particularly in the context of the court. Its use in that setting could be compared with the patronage of music and the drinking of wine which often flourished, in private, despite criticism from the religious establishment.

A dichotomy between private and public spheres in the use of figural representations had already developed in the Umayyad period. The decoration of mosques with images of trees, vines and fruit in Damascus and Medina was counterbalanced by use of figural sculpture, painting and mosaic in luxurious private residences such as Khirbat al-Mafdjar and Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.vv.*]. This distinction continued under the ʿAbbāsids when figural wall-paintings, mentioned in texts, were also discovered in private areas of the Dār al-Khalīfa excavated at Sāmarrā'. This figural art used in early Islamic palaces is largely indebted to a widely diffused Greco-Roman idiom with some elements taken from the repertoire of Sāsānid art.

Although the dubious religious status of figural imagery did not prevent its use in a private context, such criticism probably lowered the social prestige of the profession and discouraged its growth. Moreover, comments in Islamic sources suggest that painting was a skill cultivated by non-Muslims, for they often praise Rūmī (Greek or Christian) and Čīnī (Chinese) painters. Thus Yāḳūt, in his description of the Sāmarrā' palaces, attributes their wall paintings to Rūmī painters.

The active pursuit of Greek learning in early ʿAbbāsid ʿIrāḳ also led to the importation of Byzantine illustrated manuscripts. The imprint of their paintings can be found in Arabic manuscript illustrations on subjects ranging from pharmacology and the antidotes to snake bites to the diseases of horses. There is, however, a curious chronological gap between the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries when Greek texts were translated, and the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries dates of their Arabic illustrated versions.

The most important Arabic illustrated text of the latter period was, however, the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, and its illustrators drew upon the mood and setting of individual episodes to create images which portray many facets of life in ʿIrāḳ. The tendency to illustrate Arabic literary texts also spread to the Maghrib. The romance of Bayāḍ and Riyāḍ is known from a version illustrated in North Africa or Spain in the 6th/12th or 7th/13th centuries. The novelty of its paintings is suggested by the fact that each is labelled and described. The production of Arabic illustrated books declined in ʿIrāḳ after the Mongol invasions but continued in Damascus and Cairo into the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries.

Persia was, however, the region where painting found its most congenial home, especially during the post-Mongol period when the patronage of painters became a standard feature of court life. During the first Islamic centuries, intellectual and cultural developments were largely focused on Khurāsān and Transoxania, the latter an area previously dominated by Soghdian principalities. Excavated buildings from Soghdian cities such as Afrāsiyāb and Pandjīkant show an extensive use of figural wall-paintings and sculpture in both temples and private dwellings. The most important legacy of Soghdian painting in the Islamic period was its use of images in conjunction with story-telling, a feature which may have been developed through contact with India, where itinerant story-tellers, who used portable images in their performances, were well established.

The linking of story-telling with pictures was carried into the Islamic period by the popularity of both moralising fables, such as the collection known as *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], and heroic epics, notably the cycles included in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*. Although evidence for the use of didactic or epic paintings in the early Islamic period is mainly literary rather than physical, such paintings are mentioned in both historical and poetic texts. The *Shāh-nāma* itself contains references to wall-paintings, including some with epic themes. One of the Sāmānid viziers is said to have owned an illustrated copy of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.

The habit of decorating the walls of a palace with various kinds of paintings evidently continued during the period of Ghaznawid and Saldjūḳid domination. References in court poetry suggest that Ghaznawid pavilions were decorated with both figural and non-figural paintings, and excavated palaces in both Ghazna and Lashkar-i Bāzār [*q.vv.*] have yielded portions of wall paintings and figural relief sculpture. The most explicit reference to a connection between the recital of poetry and the use of wall-paintings comes in Ibn Isfandiyār's description of the palace of a ruler in the Caspian area. That ruler, who was particularly fond of the *Shāh-nāma*, arranged for its recital in a room, the walls of which were covered with paintings illustrating the stories themselves.

Illustration of themes from the *Shāh-nāma* appears to have been an important catalyst in popularising the use of both wall-paintings and book illustrations in Persia and adjacent regions. By the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries, the *Shāh-nāma*'s popularity had spread to Saldjūḳ Anatolia, where it inspired the illustrations of a story detailing the travails of two lovers, Warḳa and Gulshāh. Later, the Ottomans were to use the *Shāh-nāma* as a model for the composition and illustration of their own dynastic epics.

The Mongol invasions were an important watershed in the development of painting within the Islamic Near East, since they introduced several new factors. The one most often mentioned by scholars is the incorporation of landscape features derived from Chinese painting into the repertoire of the Persian painter. This physical change, however, was also accompanied by other shifts in the scope and character of painting even more important for future developments. The preference of the Mongols and their successors for a peripatetic life encouraged the growth of a separate court culture at the expense of traditional cities. Gradually, the courts became centres for both the production and consumption of many luxury goods, including illustrated manuscripts.

Under the Mongols, the range of themes with which painters concerned themselves also expanded to include religious history. The development of didactic imagery

intended to illustrate important themes of Islam's history may have been stimulated by requests from the Mongols themselves, who were familiar with both Buddhist and Christian religious imagery. This avenue of development led to the creation of illustrative cycles devoted to themes such as the *Miʿrādj-nāma*, or epics which describe the exploits of ʿAlī. By the 19th century, this increased interest in religious imagery produced a genre of popular paintings celebrating important Shīʿī themes that acquired an almost iconic quality in commemorating the events depicted.

The most significant innovation of the post-Mongol period, however, was the use of painting as an instrument of dynastic prestige. This trend was initiated by the production of Rashīd al-Dīn's [*q.v.*] *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, in which the achievements of the Mongols were integrated into a chronicle of world-wide scope. Although this text was written at the request of Ghazan Khān, the production of illustrated copies was entrusted to the author himself. This example of an illustrated dynastic chronicle was to provide a stimulus to the Tīmūrids, Mughals and Ottomans to have their own deeds illustrated. Although the stress varied from dynasty to dynasty, these illustrated histories helped further to expand the range of pictorial imagery and challenged painters to depict specific events in a recognisable setting. These books not only provide a kind of visual record of major accomplishments of a given ruler but also reveal that ruler's values and self-conception.

Among the successor dynasties of the Mongols, the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*] hold a special place in the development of painting, particularly because of the close connection that they established between painting and court life. Scenes depicting their palaces and courtiers were included not only in historical texts but also in poetic epics. This development created paintings which had a dual purpose: they both illustrate a text and refer obliquely to the manuscript's patron and the circumstances of his life. This innovation, which helped to create the pictorial equivalent of panegyric verse, also stimulated the inclusion of the ruler's portrait in the guise of a poetic hero.

The Tīmūrids were especially influential in their sponsorship of illustrated books. They made particular use of royal portraits placed in a book's opening pages, and one of the most impressive shows Sultan Ḥusayn with his drinking companions in a palace enclosure. A copy of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī's *Ẓafar-nāma*, which chronicles the life of Tīmūr, illustrated for Ḥusayn, later belonged to the Mughals and served as a model for their own dynastic histories. The Tīmūrid pictorial tradition was also influential in both Ṣafawid Persia and Ottoman Turkey.

The incorporation of painters into the entourage of rulers helped to increase the prestige of both painters and painting. This new prominence is signalled by a rise in the popularity of *murakkaʿ*s [*q.v.*] or albums containing choice specimens of painting and calligraphy, and also by the appearance of texts which chronicle the lives of painters. Although both genres existed in the Tīmūrid period, they were fully developed only under the Ṣafawids. The enthusiasm both for *murakkaʿ*s and for writing about the lives of painters soon spread to Mughal India and Ottoman Turkey. *Murakkaʿ*s prepared for members of the Mughal dynasty are among the most lavishly decorated of all Islamic books.

Although some paintings in *murakkaʿ*s were originally intended for inclusion in manuscripts, many others were made specifically for such compilations. Thus the increased popularity of albums is paralleled by a decline in the number of illustrated books. Many single-page paintings produced from the 10th/16th century onwards are figure studies; during the 11th/17th century the attention of painters turned increasingly to portraiture. In Persia, the portraits were usually idealised, but in Ottoman Turkey and Mughal India court painters emulated the European style of individualised portraiture. In Turkey, the primary focus was on portraits of individual Ottoman sultans which were collected in *murakkaʿ*s. At the Mughal court, however, painters also recorded the appearance of notable court personalities, and these studies were used to create both single-page paintings and composite group portraits.

The rate at which importation of European prints and even the presence of European painters at royal courts changed the approach of painters at Muslim courts varied from place to place, but by the 12th/18th century hybrid styles existed in Turkey, Persia and India. The introduction of photography during the mid-19th century provided a new standard of verisimilitude which undermined the idealised approach used by the Muslim painter, effectively ending a distinctive tradition.

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(Priscilla P. Soucek)

2. In the sense of photography.

Here we have, as well as simple *taṣwīr*, also *taṣwīr shamsī* or *ḍawʾī*, *fūtūghrāfiyā*; Ott. Turk. *taṣwīr*; mod. Turk. *fotoğrafçılık*; Persian *ʿakkāsī*, *fōtōgherāfī*.

This was introduced into Muslim lands soon after its invention in 1839. It was immediately reported in the Ottoman press (*Takwīm-i weḳāʾiʿ*, 15 August 1841). The first known photograph was of Ra's al-Ṭīn Palace in Alexandria (7 November 1839). The first book on photographic techniques was Sarkīs Der Torosyān's *Risāle-yi fōtōghrāfyā* (Istanbul 1866), in Turkish with Armenian script. Others followed. Brought by West European travellers, scholars and artists, the spread of photography was encouraged by rising incomes in the West and increasing curiosity about the East—scientific, cultural, religious, political, commercial, or simply romanticising. Steady technical improvement, chiefly the invention of the inexpensive hand-held Kodak camera in the 1890s, fostered dissemination. In many books and albums, photographs more-and-more frequently replaced paintings, drawings and sketches; if less attractive, they presented realistic precision and authentic detail.

In the Muslim sphere, photography was first motivated by the European search for the roots of Western civilisation and culture. French and British visitors

focused on Egypt and Palestine, then on Syria, Lebanon, Persia and Turkey, photographing temples, inscriptions and archeological remains; a few visitors recorded Islamic architecture (e.g. J.-Ph. de Prangey, *Monuments arabes d'Egypte, de Syrie, et de l'Asie Mineure*, 1846). Artists photographed mainly landscapes and city panoramas, concentrating on Jerusalem and Istanbul. Subsequently, ethnologists and anthropologists increasingly documented their findings with street scenes and festivities, and with people of all ages, crafts, tools and wares, both in towns and villages.

Scientific missions to the East promoted photography, first employing foreign, then local photographers, both amateurs and professionals. The number of local professionals grew slowly. Due to economic constraints, they had to live off the tourist trade, selling photo-postcards or photographic equipment. Because of Jewish and Islamic religious opposition to creating images, almost all professionals were Christians (Armenians, Greeks and others) or converted Jews; some were associated with local churches or missions. Except in Persia, where native photographers catered to wealthy customers, Muslim exponents were rare until the early 20th century: in 1910, Raḥmī-zāde Bahā' ül-Dīn opened a studio in Istanbul and in 1914 the first Ottoman Photographic Society was founded.

By then, initial Islamic opposition had diminished. In 1839-40, Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt had been impressed by photography, but considered it "the work of the devil". Later, however, the Ottoman and Persian rulers, as well as the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, had their own court photographers. Maḥmūd II was the first Ottoman Sultan to have his portrait displayed publicly, thus breaking the taboo on human representations. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was a patron of photography. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II commissioned photographic records of the social, educational and military modernisation of his empire. This did not prevent him from issuing an *irāde* (1900), forbidding the sale of photographs of the Kaʿba, other holy buildings, or unveiled women. As S͟hīʿīs are, in practice, less opposed than Sunnīs to physical images, Persia may have been the first Muslim state to encourage photography officially. Among the early practitioners were European teachers and military instructors, since 1844, followed later by local photographers. A department of photography was established at Tehran's *Dār al-funūn* in *ca.* 1860, and a court photographer nominated in 1280/1863. Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh collected 20,000 photographs of all aspects of Persian life, including his court and family; this interest was pursued by Muẓaffar al-Dīn S͟hāh.

Patronage of Sultan and S͟hāh notwithstanding, religious opposition to photography continued in some Sunnī regions like Turkestan and India. In Egypt, too, Muḥammad Ras͟hīd Riḍā issued a *fatwā* against *ṣuwar al-yad wa 'l-ṣuwar al-s͟hamsiyya* (*al-Manār*, xi/4, 30 May 1908, 277-8), as did the S͟heyk͟h ül-Islām in Istanbul in 1920. During the 1920s, however, and later, photography became accepted amongst all but the most traditional groups. One argument condoned photography since it did not create new images, but merely recorded shadows. Another declared that two-dimensional photographs were permissible, since they cast no shadows; see the *fatwās* in *Mad̲j̲allat al-Azhar*, vi (1936), 171, vii (1937), 327, xi (1940), 163-4. In the post-Second World War era, photographs of people and objects (but less of mosques) have become commonplace, even in Saudi Arabia.

Bibliography: Photographs of Muslim countries may be found in numerous libraries and museums, like Istanbul University (ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's albums); the Albōmk͟hāna of the Gulistān Palace, Tehran; the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; The Semitic Museum, Harvard University; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and Musée de l'Homme, Paris. See also G. Grant, *Middle Eastern photographic collections in the United Kingdom*, Durham 1989. For a specialised bibliography, Seyit Ali Ak and A. Modiano, *Türkçe fotograf yayınları katalogu, 1971'den 1993'e*, Istanbul 1993. Local periodicals: *Turkish Photography Year Book* (Istanbul) and *Mad̲j̲allat al-taṣwīr al-ḍawʾī* (Kuwait). Many useful studies in *History of Photography* (London, quarterly).

See also M. Du Camp, *Egypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie. Dessins photographiques recueillis pendant les années 1849, 1850 et 1851*, Paris 1852; Auguste Salzmann, *Jérusalem, étude et reproduction photographique*, Paris 1856; Francis Frith, *Egypt and Palestine*, i-ii, London 1858-60; J. Andrieu, *Catalogue historique et descriptif des vues stéréotypiques de Palestine, Syrie et d'Egypte*, Paris 1869; *Alboum du Musée Boulaq, photographié par Délié et Bouchard*, Cairo 1872; Felix Bonfils, *Catalogue des vues photographiques de l'Orient*, Alais (Gard) 1876; *al-Fūtūg͟hrāfiyā al-Sūriya*, in *al-Muktaṭaf*, i/12 (1877), 284; *al-Fūtūg͟hrāfiyā*, in *ibid.*, vii (1882), 95-7, 155-8, 225-30, 270-2; J.M. Landau, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958; J. Pardoe, *Yabancı gözü ile 125 yıl önce İstanbul*, Istanbul 1967; S. Abou and R. Chamussy, *Un photographe et son métier*, in *Travaux et Jours*, xxxiv (Jan.-March 1970), 51-6; A. Piemontese, *The photograph album of the Italian diplomatic mission to Persia (summer 1862)*, in *East and West*, N.S., xxii/3-4 (Sept.-Dec. 1972), 249-311; W.J. Naef, *Early photographers in Egypt and the Holy Land, 1849-1870*, New York 1973; R. Desmond, *Photography in India during the nineteenth century*, London 1974; J. Scarce, *Isfahan in camera*, London 1976; A.D. Weinberg, *Majestic inspirations, incomparable souvenirs*, Waltham, Mass. 1977; Badrī Atābāy, *Fihrist-i albomhā-yi kitābk͟hāna-yi salṭanatī*, Tehran 2537/1978; E. Schiller (ed.), *The first photographs of Jerusalem*, i-ii, Jerusalem 1978; Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *İstanbul anıları*, Istanbul 1979; D.W. Haas, *Early photographers of the Near East*, Boston 1979; Landau, *Abdul-Hamid's Palestine: rare century-old photographs*, London 1979; R.H. Allshouse, *Photographs for the Tsar*, New York and London 1980; E.G. Matson, *The Middle East in pictures*, i-iv, New York 1980; E. Onne, *The photographic heritage of the Holy Land, 1839-1914*, Manchester 1980; P.E. Chevedden, *Ahammiyyat takdīm al-suwar ka-dalīl hāmm li-dirāsat ta'rīk͟h sūr Dimas͟hk*, Damascus 1980; idem, *The photographic heritage of the Near East*, Malibu, Calif. 1980; Engin Çizgen, *Photography in Turkey 1842-1936*, Istanbul 1981; L. Vaczek and G. Buckland, *Travelers in ancient lands*, Boston 1981; C.E.S. Gavin, *The image of the East*, Chicago 1982; Chahryar Adle and Yahya Zoka, *Notes et documents sur la photographie iranienne et son histoire*, in *St. Ir.*, xii/2 (1983), 249-80; D. Stein, *Early photography in Iran*, in *History of Photography*, vii/4 (Oct.-Dec. 1983), 257-91; W. Allen, *The Abdul Hamid II collection*, in *ibid.*, viii/2 (April-June 1984), 119-45; Chevedden, *Making light of everything*, in *MESA Bulletin*, xviii/2 (Dec. 1984), 151-74; Walid Khalidi, *Before diaspora*, Washington, D.C. 1984; Muḥammad Nabhān, *al-Taṣwīr wa 'l-ḥayāt*, Kuwait 1984; N.N. Perez, *L'Orientalisme dans la photographie française*, Paris 1985; T.N. Gidal, *Das heilige Land*, Munich and Lucerne 1985; Y. Nir, *The Bible and the image*, Philadelphia 1985; A.M. Abu Hakima, *Eastern Arabia: historic photographs*, i-ii, London 1984-6; C.E.S. Gavin, *Imperial self-portrait. The Ottoman Empire as revealed in*

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(J.M. Landau)

3. Modern painting in the Arab world.

"Modern painting", (fann) al-taṣwīr/al-rasm al-ḥadīth/al-muʿāṣir, designates a Western-influenced form of art, the practice of which began at the end of the 19th century, eventually replacing Islamic art. Western art was introduced by Orientalist painters travelling to the East (exhibitions of Orientalist painting in Cairo since 1891; Salon Tunisien, since 1894). The founding of art schools contributed to the spread of Western art: Cairo, 1908; Algiers, 1920; Tunis, 1923; Beirut, 1937; Baghdad, 1941; Damascus, 1959. Museums of modern art were also opened, the oldest in Cairo in 1931 (Wizārat al-Thaḳāfa, Matḥaf al-fann al-miṣrī al-ḥadīth, Cairo 1992). With its several galleries, Beirut was to become an important art centre in the 1960s and 70s.

Despite regional differences, some general trends can be pointed out. The first painters (ruwwād) were influenced by Western Orientalism, Impressionism and landscape painting. Through its art school, directed by European academic artists until 1937 (Guillaume Laplagne, Gabriel Biessy, Camillo Innocenti), and the yearly Salon du Caire (instituted in 1922), academic painting took root in Egypt. Maḥmūd Saʿīd (1897-1964), Muḥammad Nādjī (1888-1956), Rāghib ʿAyyād (1892-1980) and Yūsuf Kāmil (1891-1971) concentrated on life in the countryside and in the poor city areas (B. Abū Ghāzī, Mahmud Saʿīd, Cairo 1972; idem, Yūsuf Kāmil, Cairo 1978; Muḥammad Nādjī, al-fannān al-ta'thīrī al-miṣrī/Mohammed Naghi, un impressionniste égyptien, Cairo 1988). In Lebanon, painting first appeared at the end of the 19th century, when painters trained in the West such as Dāwūd Ḳurm (1852-1930), Khalīl al-Ṣalībī (1870-1928) and Ḥabīb Surūr (1860-1938) opened portrait studios in Beirut (S. al-Ṣalībī, Khalīl al-Ṣalībī, muṣawwir min Lubnān/Khalil Saleeby, a painter from Lebanon/Un peintre du Liban, Beirut 1986). The writer Djibrān Khalīl Djibrān (1883-1931) [q.v.] also produced pictorial works in a symbolist style (W. Kayrouz, Gibran in his museum, Jounieh 1995). Genre painting began in the 1920s and 1930s with Muṣṭafā Farrūkh (1901 or 1902-57), Ḳayṣar al-Djumayyil (1898-1954) and ʿUmar al-Unsī (1901-69), all of whom had studied in Europe (M. Farrūkh, Ṭarīḳī ilā 'l-fann, Beirut 1986; César Gemayel, le pinceau ardent/The ardent brush, Beirut (?) 1985; Omar Onsi, le jardinier des apparences/The gardener of epiphanies, Beirut (?) 1985). Their themes were chiefly Lebanese landscapes and folk scenes. In ʿIrāḳ, the first painters were students at the Istanbul Military School; in the 1930s Akram Shukrī (b. 1910), Fā'iḳ Ḥasan (1914-92), ʿAṭā Ṣabrī (b. 1913), Ḥāfiẓ al-Durūbī (1914-91) and Djawād Salīm (1919-61) were sent to Europe to study painting. Besides landscapes, the Syrian artists Tawfīḳ Ṭāriḳ (1875-1940) and Saʿīd Taḥsīn (1904-86) depicted historical motifs (Gh. al-Khālidī, Saʿīd Taḥsīn, ʿindamā yuṣbiḥ al-fann... ta'rīkh[an], Damascus 1994). In Tunisia, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Djilānī (1890-1961) was the first Muslim to be admitted to the Salon Tunisien in 1912; Yaḥyā Turkī (1901-68) is considered the pioneer of modern painting, together with the artists of the Ecole de Tunis founded at the end of the 1940s. In Algeria, only Muḥammad Rāsim (1896-1975) [see dinet, alphonse, in Suppl.], a painter of miniatures, was admitted to the Algiers Academy (Mohammed Racim, miniaturiste algérien, exhibition catalogue, Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris 1992). Elsewhere, painting was to develop later.

After World War II, modern Western styles were adopted, accompanied by the search for authenticity (aṣāla). Authenticity could be expressed through elements of the popular arts, calligraphic signs, or pre-Islamic styles, all together forming the "heritage" (turāth). In Egypt, ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Djazzār (1925-66) and Ḥāmid Nadā (1924-90), members of the Djamāʿat al-fann al-ḥadīth (founded 1946) crudely depicted the life of the Cairo poor, drawing colours and symbols from the popular tradition (A. and C. Roussillon (eds.), ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Djazzār, fannān miṣrī/Abdel Hadi al-Gazzar, une peinture égyptienne/An Egyptian painter, Cairo 1990). In ʿIrāḳ, the Djamāʿat Baghdād li 'l-fann al-ḥadīth, founded in 1951 by Djawād Salīm, issued two manifestos (1951; 1955) asserting that ʿIrāḳī art had to accept Western (stylistic) modernity while seeking inspiration from local traditions (for the original texts of the manifestos published in ʿIrāḳ, see Sh. Ḥ. Āl Saʿīd, al-Bayānāt al-fanniyya fī 'l-ʿIrāḳ, Baghdād 1973).

First examples of committed art (al-fann al-multazim) are to be found after the Suez crisis in Egypt; social concern was shown by many artists in the two following decades and often dominated figurative painting. As exemplified in the work of the two originators of this genre, Ismāʿīl Shammūṭ (b. 1930) and his wife Tamām al-Akhal (b. 1935), the struggle and the longing for the lost country is a central theme in Palestinian painting. In ʿIrāḳ, the idea of commitment was first expounded in the manifesto Naḥwa al-ru'ya al-djadīda (1969), as a reaction to the 1967 defeat. In the seventies and eighties, an officially sponsored "Arab realism" emerged; figurative and realistic, it did not conform to a specific style. In Algeria, a nationalist form of painting resorted to Orientalist patterns developed in the 1980s.

Abstraction (tadjrīd) as practised in the West asserted itself in the 1960s; the Lebanese Shafīḳ ʿAbbūd [Chafik Abboud] (b. 1926), and Yvette Ashḳar [Achkar] (b. 1928), but also, partly, the Moroccan Muḥammad Mulayḥī [Melehi] (b. 1936), are representative of this trend. Most Arab abstract artists, however, attempted to establish a connection to the local non-figurative traditions. Examples of this can be seen in the work of the Lebanese Ṣalībā al-Duwayhī [Saliba Douaihy] (1915(?)-94), the Moroccan Farīd Bilkāhiyya [Belkahia]

(b. 1934), and the Algerian Muḥammad Khadda (1930-91) (M. Bouabdellah (ed.), *Mohamed Khadda, une vie pour une œuvre*, Algiers 1994). The Lebanese artists Ḥusayn Māḍī (b. 1938) and Samīr al-Ṣā'igh (b. 1945) practice an abstract or semi-abstract art combining Islamic concepts of art with Western techniques.

The manifesto *al-Bu'd al-wāḥid* (Baghdād 1971) theorised the use of Arabic letters as a mere formal element allowing to arabise abstraction. The movement, called *ḥurūfiyya*, has followers throughout the Arab world. It takes its inspiration from Western artists such as Paul Klee more than from Islamic calligraphy [see KHAṬṬ]. Some of its main representatives are the Tunisian Nadjā Mahdāwī [Mahdaoui] (b. 1937), the Palestinian Kamāl Bullāṭa (b. 1942), the Algerians Rashīd Ḳurayshī (b. 1947) and Maḥdjūb b. Bīllā [Ben Bella] (b. 1946), the Egyptians Aḥmad Māhir Rā'if (b. 1926) and Muḥammad Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (b. 1929), the Sudanese Aḥmad Muḥammad Shibrayn (b. 1932), the Syrian Maḥmūd Ḥammād (1923-88), the 'Irāḳīs Djamīl Ḥammūdī (b. 1924), Madīḥa 'Umar, Shākir Ḥasan Āl Sa'īd (b. 1926) and Rāfi' al-Nāṣirī (b. 1940) (Sh. Dāghir, *al-Ḥurūfiyya al-'arabiyya, fann wa-huwiyya*, Beirut 1990; S. Naef, *L'art de l'écriture arabe, passé et présent*, Geneva 1992, 33-65).

Since the 1980s, figurative as well as abstract trends (*ḥurūfī* or not) continue to co-exist, but formal research has gradually replaced the political commitment of previous decades. The concern for local materials and styles is still an important issue.

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AL-TASYĪR (A.; in the West: atazir, ataçir, athacir, directio, prorogatio, ἄφεσις, théorie aphétique) a procedure used in astrology of artificial continuation of a planet or of an astrological house or any other definite part of the heavens to another star or its aspects, or other houses with the object of ascertaining the equatorial degree situated between these two places, the figure of which is used, by converting it into a definite period of time, to prognosticate the date of a future happening, either good or evil.

The astrological magnitude ascertained by this process played a very prominent part among the ancients as well as among the Arabs and in the West, for on the one hand, it made possible a *judicium speciale* (i.e. definitely laid down the time of fulfilment of statements made in the *judicium generale* of a nativity about future good or ill fortune, and in particular enabled the length of life to be calculated or the choice of particularly auspicious days (*al-ikhtiyār*) for beginning a journey, for holding weddings, for founding a city, for beginning a reign, etc.), and on the other hand, it was distinguished by special complexity in the method of its calculation.

The astronomical calculation of the arc of special importance for our task (we call it briefly the *tasyīr* arc) is not particularly difficult, once the limits of the places in the heavens defining the arc, the "advancing" planet or place (*al-mutaḳaddim, al-haylādj*, significator) and the "succeeding" or second (*al-thānī*, promissor) are ascertained. In Fig. 1 (and 2) A is the significator, B the promissor, P the visible pole of the celestial sphere, NBS (NAS) the circle of the promissor (significator), C the intersection of the circle parallel to the circle of position drawn through A (B). The circles of declination drawn through A (B) and C cut out the *tasyīr* arc *ac* (*bc*). The *tasyīr* arc is thus the curve of the equator, which in general does not exceed 90°, which crosses over the circle of position during the period in which the significator (promissor) is transferred by the apparent daily revolution of the celestial sphere on its parallel circle to the circle of position of the promissor (significator), assumed to be fixed within this period (for further information on the concepts that occur, see 'ILM AL-HAY'A).

According to the respective positions of the significator and promissor, two kinds of *tasyīr* are distinguished:

a. Direct *tasyīr* (*directio directa*), when the significator precedes the promissor in the order of the signs of the zodiac. Here, the significator is the place to be "directed", the promissor regarded as fixed (Fig. 1).

b. Indirect *tasyīr* (*directio conversa*), when the significator precedes the promissor in the order of the daily motion of the celestial sphere. In this case, the promissor is moved to the circle of position of the significator which is assumed to be fixed.

A special form for application of the calculation of the *tasyīr* (a kind of inversion of the process) was developed in choosing days in this way that the position of only one star was given and also a definite time or what is the same thing on account of the conversion of periods of time into degrees of the equator, a definite number of *tasyīr* degrees. The problem is to find the degree which corresponds to the end point (the "goal") of the *tasyīr* arc. *Judicia* could then be deduced from the conjunction of planets occurring at this degree.

The mathematical calculation is a problem in spherical trigonometry and goes back to simple formulae with equinoctial time as the basis. In the equation *tasyīr* $a\ c = b\ a - b\ B' - B'\ c$ (Fig. 1), the right side is known, for $b\ a$ = right ascension B—right asc. A and

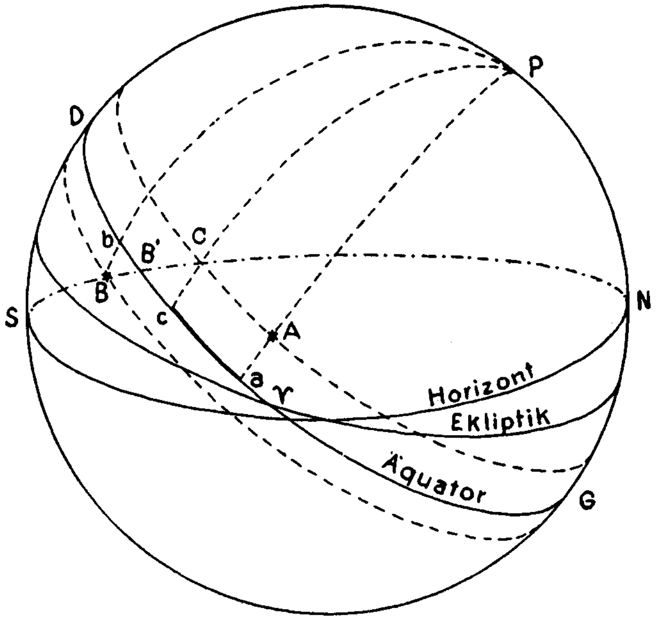

Fig. 1

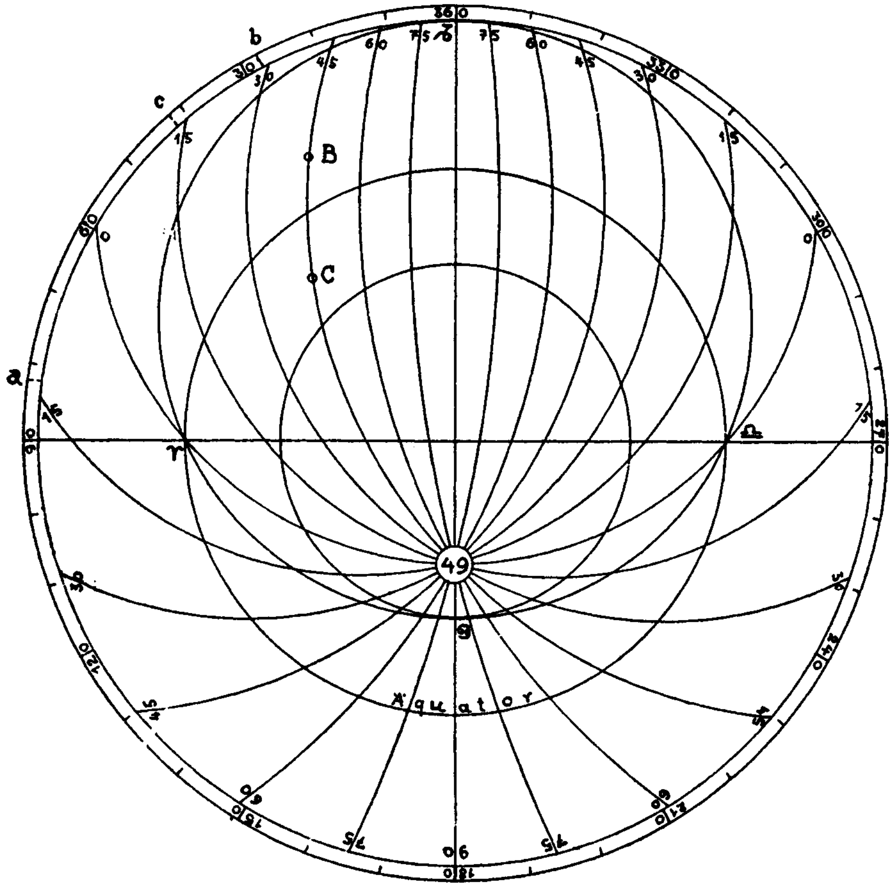

Fig. 3

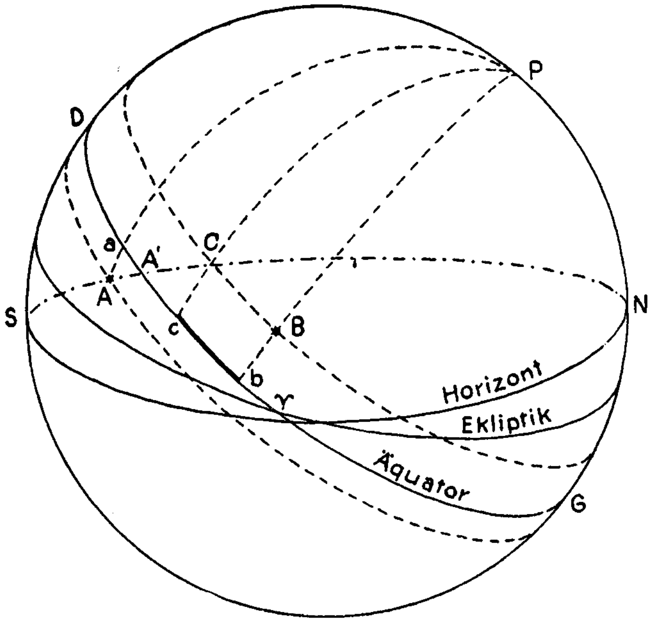

Fig. 2

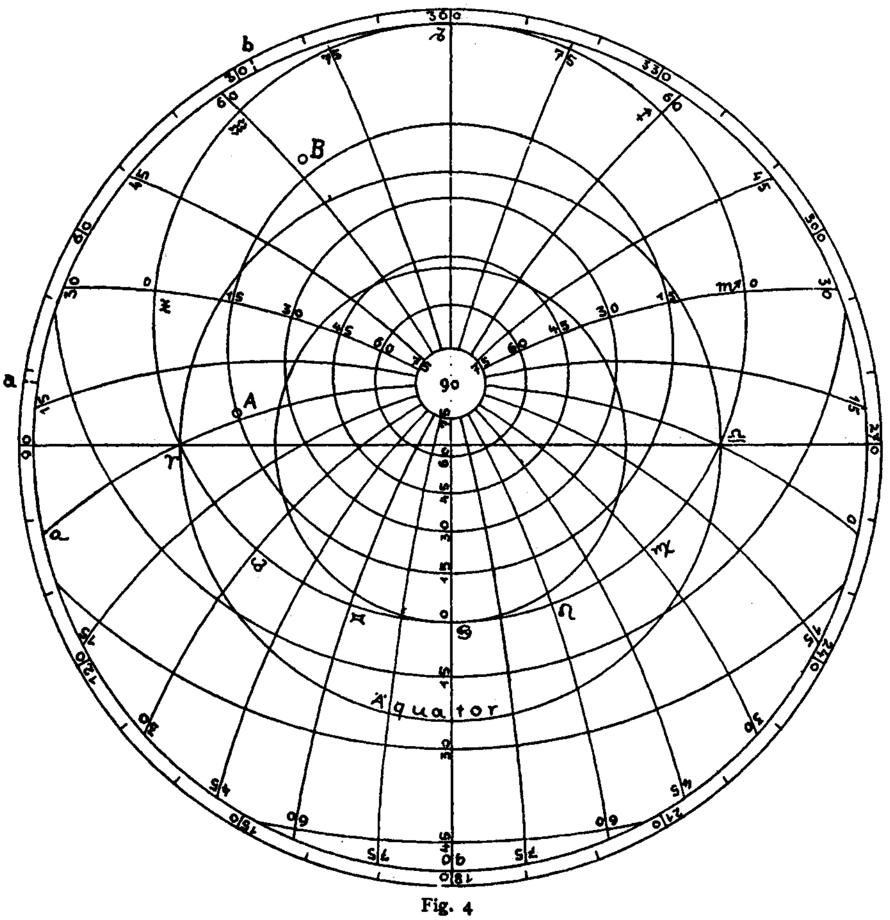

Fig. 4

the magnitudes $b\ B'$ and $B'\ c$ are found from the formulae:

I. $\cos B' = \sin (\measuredangle\ D\ S\ B') \cos S\ D.$
II. $\sin b\ B' = \operatorname{tg} B\ b \operatorname{cotg} B'.$
III. $\sin B'\ c = \operatorname{tg} c\ C \operatorname{cotg} B'.$

The Arabs, however, used other approximative methods of calculation based on hours of mean time (*zamāniyya*) which are given in the following formulae:

I. (According to al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī etc.):

number of *tasyīr* degrees:

$$= \left| \alpha \pm (\alpha\text{-}\beta) \frac{\text{dist. } B \text{ from upper [lower] culm. point}}{\text{half day [night] arc } B} \right|,$$

where

α = right asc. A — right asc. B,
β = obl. asc. A — obl. asc. B.

The signs ± before the round bracket depend on whether α is greater or less than β, the expression in the square brackets are used when B is below the horizon.

Special cases:

a. B in the meridian: *tasyīr* = |right asc. A — right asc. B|.
b. B in the horizon: *tasyīr* = |obl. asc. A — obl. asc. B|.

II. (Second rule of al-Battānī):

Number of *tasyīr* degrees =

$$= \left| \frac{\text{dist. } B \text{ from upper [lower] culmin. point} \times}{\text{half day [night] arc } A} \pm \right.$$

(right asc. A—right asc. of the upper [lower] culm. point),

where the—before the round bracket is for the case when A and B belong to the same hemisphere, the + when A and B belong to different hemispheres. The expressions in the square brackets are used for the western hemisphere or for the case when the lower meridian lies between A and B.

In both cases, the total result is positive in direct and negative in indirect *tasyīr*. For indirect *tasyīr, B* and A in the above formulae are to be interchanged. The number of degrees in the *tasyīr* arc thus obtained was converted into a period of time in this way: if it was a question of length of life, for example, 1° was equated to a solar year, 5' = 1 month, 1' = 6 days, in other cases 1° = 1 day.

The difficulty, continually emphasised by the Arabs, of calculating a *tasyīr* is on the one hand due to the regard paid to astrological demands, and on the other, particularly, to the amount of separate necessary astronomical calculations and measurements, which it would take too much time to detail here fully. The necessary knowledge of the different methods for accurately calculating the time of birth and the astronomical significance of the different times of being born, of the different houses of the heavens of the signs of the zodiac, of the seven planets and their aspects, of the most important fixed stars, first in themselves, then with respect to one another and with regard to their special positions (house, degree of elevation, triplicity, injury, fall) taking into consideration the very many rules for the strength, weakness or moderation, the beneficial or dangerous influence of the various planets and their aspects, of the houses and the arrow of fortune (*sahm al-saʿāda*), the calculation of larger, smaller or medium numbers of years for length of life according to the position of the influential planets, the choice of a lord of birth and of the horoscope after definite rules (ascendant, *al-ṭāliʿ* [*q.v.*]), of an interpreter of life (significator), of a foreteller of death or misfortune (promissor), of a giver of years (*al-kadkhudā*), the knowledge of the great, little or medium effect of definite direction, of auspicious or inauspicious directions and other things, demanded a perfect command of the astrological knowledge of the period. In addition, considerable skill in the carrying out of the necessary astronomical calculations was necessary, the reduction of the time to the meridian on which the Ephemerid tables were based; the longitude, latitude and declination of the most important fixed stars, the planets and their aspects and the application of their values to the time of birth, the astrological houses in the heavens and the signs of the zodiac and planets in them; the arrow of fortune, the circles of position of significator and promissor, etc. Simply for the calculation of the curve of the *tasyīr* after ascertaining its termini, there are necessary: right asc. of A and B, their distance from the meridian, their declination and half-day or half-night curve, the elevation of the pole over the circle of position (distance of the intersection of circle of position and equator from the meridian).

To simplify the long and tiresome process and to carry out an observation without calculation, the Arabs used mechanical (nomographic) aids, either single planes ("plane of the *tasyīr*" in al-Bīrūnī) which were placed in the astrolabe or a special instrument ("estrumente del leuantamiento" in Alfonso X of Castile) which was mainly used to obtain the *tasyīr* but also facilitated other calculations. The essential part of this instrument was a plane which contained on the front the projections of as many circles of position as possible or of hours for the latitude of the point of observation concerned (it is the same plane as the plane of the *tasyīr* in al-Bīrūnī; cf. Fig. 3), and on the back the projections of the circles of longitude and latitude according to the system of the ecliptic (Fig. 4). On the axis of the instrument, common to the two sides, was an undivided alhidade with two movable pointers placed as required on the front or back and kept in position by a fastener ("cavallo", *al-faras*). On the back could also be put the net ("spider") with the projections of different positions of fixed stars which is made exactly as in the astrolabe.

The mechanical calculation of the *tasyīr* curve was carried out as follows, when latitude and longitude of the places in the heavens A and B (cf. Figs. 1, 3 and 4) were known:

1. Place the moveable pointer of the alhidade on the place B on the back, and then read the degree of the equator b to which the alhidade now points.

2. Move the alhidade to the front, place it on the degree of the equator b, and then ascertain the circle of position (from B) on which the moveable pointer falls.

3. Place the moveable pointer at the place A on the back, and then read the degree of the equator a.

4. Move the alhidade to the front, place it on the degree of the equator a, and turn the alhidade until the pointer running through the parallel circle from A points to the circle of position of B (in C).

5. Read the degree of the equator C through which the alhidade now points: the curve $a\ c$ is the *tasyīr* curve desired.

Works in Arabic on the *tasyīr* or the plane of the

tasyīr were composed by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Farrukhān (H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen der Araber* etc., in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, xlv, Heft 10 [1900], no. 34); al-Battānī (Suter, no. 89); Abū Djaʿfar al-Khāzin (Suter, no. 124); and al-Bīrūnī (Suter, no. 218). But the complete astrological works of the former have not survived. The "Book of the Ataçir" in the astronomical works of Alfonso X is by Rabi Çag de Toledo (Isaak ibn Sid), the editor of the Alfonsine Tables, but seems to be merely a translation of an Arabic original.

In Ibn al-Ḳifṭī's *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, the following astronomers are honorably mentioned for their particular ability in calculating the *tasyīr*: al-Ḥasan b. Miṣbāḥ (163); al-Marwazī (170, Suter, no. 22); al-Khāḳānī (181, Suter, no. 206); Sind b. ʿAlī (206, Suter, no. 24); al-ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd al-Djawharī (219, Suter, no. 21); Ibn Yūnus (203, Suter, no. 178); Ibn al-Aʿlam (235, Suter, no. 137); Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī (270, Suter, no. 1); Muḥ. b. Khālid al-Marwarrūdī (281, Suter, no. 46); Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr (357, Suter, no. 14); Yaḥyā b. Sahl al-Sadīd Abū Bishr al-Takrītī (365); Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Yāmīn (426).

Bibliography: Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, mss. London, B.L. Or. 1997 and Berlin, Cat. Ahlwardt, no. 5667; idem, *Kitāb al-Istīʿāb*, Leiden, no. 1066 (both tr. E. Wiedemann); A. Bouché-Leclerq, *L'astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899; M. Delambre, *Histoire de l'astronomie du Moyen-âge*, Paris 1819; J.G. Job, *Anleitung zu denen curiösen Wissenschaften*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1747; C.A. Nallino, *al-Battânî, sive Albatenii opus astronomicum*, Milan 1903-7; D. Manuel Rico y Sinobas, *Libros del saber de astronomia del Rey D. Alfonso X. de Castillia*, Madrid 1863-7; M.L.P.E.A. Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des Tables astronomiques d'Oloug-Beg*, Paris 1853; E. Wiedemann, *Zur Geschichte der Astrologie*, in *Weltall*, Berlin-Treptow (1922-3); idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften XLVII, Über die Astronomie nach den Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erl*, xlvii (1915). See also the more recent studies on a related topic in mathematical astrology: E.S. Kennedy and H. Krikorian-Preisler, *The astrological doctrine of projecting the rays*, in *Al-Abḥāth*, xxv (1972), 3-15, repr. in Kennedy *et alii*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 372-84; and J.-P. Hogendijk, *The Mathematical structure of two Islamic astrological tables for "casting the rays"*, in *Centaurus*, xxxii (1989), 171-202. (O. Schirmer)

TAT (T.), a term used in earliest Turkish with the general meaning of "alien, non-Turk", but speedily coming to be applied par excellence to the Persians as opposed to the Turks, in any case with a somewhat contemptuous nuance of meaning, as likewise with the term *tādjīk* [*q.v.*]. It is clearly not in origin a proper noun, and Schaeder rightly dismissed the suppositions in Minorsky's outdated *EI*[1] art. *Tāt* of origins from such names as that of the Tangut or that given by the Voguls and Ostiaks of western Siberia to the river Irtish [*q.v.*]. Schaeder suggested, rather, that *tat* is a meaningless onomatopoeic word (*Schallwort*) analogous to Greek *barbaros*, used by the Turks opprobriously to designate non-Turkish speakers who stammered or who were generally incomprehensible; connected with it would be the root *tatmak* "to taste" and such derivatives as *tatïgh* "taste" and *tatlïgh* (Ottoman *tatlï*) "tasty, sweet", from the pleasurable clicking of the tongue in anticipation of something tasty.

1. Historical development of the term.

The first attestation of *tat* is in the Orkhon [*q.v.*] inscriptions (KT S 12 and BK N 15), where one finds the phrase *on oḳ oghlïña tatïña tägi bunï körü biliñ* "see this [writing] and know this, [all of you], up to the progeny of the On Oḳ and their subjects (*tat*)". Here, the "Ten Arrows" are the remnants of the first Western Turk empire who had dwelt from north of the Tien Shan westwards to the Sïr Daryā [*q.v.*] and the Caspian Sea (see D. Sinor, in *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*, i, Cambridge 1990, 309 ff.), and the Tat must have been the people of various urban settlements in the lands of the Western Turks, essentially Sogdians who were subject to the Ḳaghans; thus *tat* was already coming to refer to Iranians (see the passages from the inscriptions in Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkish*, Bloomington 1968, 232, 246, tr. 263, 281).

Tat does not occur in the Uyghur material from the 9th century onwards recovered from Eastern Turkestan, nor in such "high", courtly, early Islamic Turkish literature as the *Ḳutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*] of Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib (later 5th/11th century), in whose prose introduction it is the *īrānlïḳlar* who are contrasted with the *tūrānlïḳlar*, or in the Khʷārazmian, Middle Turkish *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* of Rabghūzī (d. 710/1310 [*q.v.*]), which has *tāzī* and *fārsī* for "Arab" and "Persian". Nevertheless, use of the term *tat* had clearly continued on the popular level during the Ḳarakhānid period, as attest various mentions in the *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī [*q.v.*], including the verbal derivative *tatlamaḳ* "to behave like a Persian" (ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bey, iii, 217), corresponding to the "high" Ḳarakhānid form *tāzhiklämäk* of iii, 251. Elsewhere, he states that all the Turks call the Persians *tat*, but qualifies this by saying that, in particular, the Turkish tribes of the Tukhsï and Yaghma (by the 5th/11th century living, respectively, north of the Ču river, and in the region of Kāshghar and south of the Narïn river in the Semirečye, see W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 75) used the term for the *kafara uyghur* "infidels of the Uyghur" (i, 378, ii, 224, Eng. tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 241, ii, 103). These last were probably the Iranian and "Tokharian" Manichaean subjects of the Uyghur Ḳaghan in the Eastern Turkestan oasis cities. *Tat* further occurs, with a clearly contemptuous sense, in some proverbs which al-Kāshgharī quotes and, significantly, in the jingling verbal coupling *tat tawghač* which, he says, can mean "Persians and Turks" but which he personally prefers to interpret as "Uyghur and Chinese (*ṣīnī*) (i, 378, Eng. tr. i, 341). Here we should interpret "Uyghur" as the non-Turkish subjects of the Uyghur Ḳaghans (see above) and "Chinese" as the people of the lands lying beyond the eastern half of the Ḳarakhānid confederation, the eastern khānate of Kāshghar, Yārkand and Khotan [*q.vv.* and ILEK-KHĀNS]. The phrase *Malik al-Ṣīn* is familiar in Ḳarakhānid titulature, including on their coins, as is *Tabghač/Tamghač Khān*, both the Arabic and the Turkish titles expressing the claim of suzerainty over lands stretching as far as northern China proper.

In the westwards expansion of the Turks into the Middle East from the 5th/11th century onwards, spearheaded by the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*], *tat* continues to apply exclusively to the Persians, and there is no evidence from this time that *tat* was ever applied e.g. to the Arabs or Armenians or Greeks whom the Turkmen invaders encountered in Anatolia and the northern Djazīra and Syria. In a mixed Turkish-Persian verse, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī lists the Persian (*tat*), the Greeks (*rūm*) and the Turks (*turk*), and in his Turkish verses, Mawlānā's son Sulṭān Walad [*q.v.*] often contrasts *tatdja* "Persian" with *türkdje* "Turkish" (see E.J.W. Gibb,

HOP, i, 150). *Tat/tatdja* were thus clearly the standard renderings in 7th/13th century Saldjūḳ Anatolia for "the Persians/Persian language". They continue to be attested in the early 8th/14th century, e.g. in the Turkish *methnewī* called *Süheyl ü Newbehār* of the poet Mesʿūd b. Aḥmed, where *tat u mughal* = "the [non-Turkish] Persians and Mongols". Thereafter, however, *fārsī* for "Persian" seems to gain the upper hand in literary usage amongst both the Southwestern Turks and in Čaghatay Turkish; cf. for the latter, the works of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], who always uses either *fārsī* for the people and the language, or else *sart ulusī* and *sart tili* for the Persian people and their language respectively (see the discussion in Schaeder, 5-8, and also SĀRT). Schaeder did, however, note a survival of the usage of *tat* in its ancient Orkhon Turkish social rather than ethnic sense in a citation from the anonymous Čaghatay-Ottoman dictionary, compiled in 967/1560, called after its first word *Abushka* or, more properly, *al-Lughāt al-nawāʾiyya wa ʾl-istishhādāt al-djaghatāʾiyya*, where *tat* = the personal following of a chief or leader, assembled out of subject races (*ibid.*, 8). Also, from its ethnic usage in Southwestern Turkish, *tat* seems to have lingered on in provincial Anatolian dialects right up to modern times but with such meanings as "stranger" and "dumb, speaking unintelligibly" (Jäschke, quoted in *ibid.*, 33), whilst Minorsky in his *EI*[1] art. noticed that the Ḳashḳāʾī of Fārs used *tat* in the sense of "non-Turks", as also the Turks of Transcaspia (i.e. what is now part of the Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan Republics) and possibly the Turkish-speaking Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] of Ādharbāydjān.

Other usages cited by Minorsky, *loc. cit.*, of *tat* = other peoples in addition to the Persians, are much more doubtful. Schaeder discussed passages which Minorsky adduced from the travel account of the Ottoman captive Hans Schiltberger (early 15th century), and he showed that the reading of some mss. of the *Reisebuch*, the language *Kuthia* "called by the heathens *That*", should really be *Churin* = the people of the northeastern Caucasus, in what is now southern Dāghistān [*q.v.*], the Kürin or Lezgin [see LEZGH], who would at that time have been near neighbours of the still-subsisting Iranian Tats of the Baku and Apsheron peninsula region [see below, 2. Language]. The correct reading *Churin* can thus have no connection with the remnants of the Goths (the putative *Kuthia*) in the Crimea, as asserted originally by W. Tomaschek. On the other hand, Schiltberger correctly located a group of Tats in the Crimea, the inhabitants of Karkery/Karkeri (= Ḳïrḳ yer, the name in later times for the "Jewish settlement" Čufutḳalʿe near Bāghče Saray) and Sutti/Suti (= the ancient Alan settlement on the southeastern coast of the Crimea, Grk. Sougdaia, Ital. Soldaia, Sodaia, etc., in Islamic rendering Sughdāḳ [*q.v.*], modern Sudak). Schiltberger's *Thatts* could not, however, have been Crimean Goths but were probably Greek-speaking Christians; *tat* was used over three centuries later by the Crimean Tatars for Greek Christians who migrated between 1775 and 1778 from the southeastern coast of the Crimea to Mariupol (modern Zhdanov) on the northern shore of the Sea of Azov and who spoke both a Neo-Greek dialect and Turkish (which they wrote in Greek characters). The considerable ethnic mixture of the Black Sea shores region, with various peoples there becoming Turkicised over the centuries, may be reflected in the titulature of a Crimean Tatar khān, Djānī Beg Giray, described in a *yarlīgh* of his from 1037/1628 as *tat bilā tawghačnïñ ulugh pādishāhï*, where the coupling *tat tawghač* is a survival from Ḳarakhānid times (see above): a piece of bombastic phraseology which nevertheless probably shows that a part of the mixed population of the Black Sea coastlands was still known as Tat (see Schaeder, 10-14).

The conjecture of Tomaschek, given hesitatingly by Minorsky, that the Magyar name for the Slovaks, *Tót*, came from *tat*, is rejected by Schaeder, 33, citing J. Melich, in *Magyar Nyelv*, xxv (1929), 326-8, that the older pronunciation, attested from 1240, was *tout*, originally also **taut*, and derived from the Thracian tribe of the Tauti, attested in the Roman province of Dacia Ripensis in the 4th century.

Finally, one should note a usage of *tāt* in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish sources for the military and social history of Syria after the conquest of that province by Selīm I in 922/1516. Here, *tāt* was used for foreign troops in Syria, those neither Arab nor Rūmī (i.e. Anatolian Turks), sc. Kurds, Albanians, Turkmens living within the Arab lands, etc.; hence within the Janissary garrison troops of a city like Damascus, the *tāt* are distinguished from the *yerlü*, i.e. locally-recruited troops (see Abdul Karim Rafeq, *The local forces in Syria in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp (eds.), *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, London 1975, 277-8; and YERLIYYA).

Bibliography: Given in the article; the outstanding study, much used here, is H.H. Schaeder, *Türkische Namen der Iranier*, in G. Jäschke (ed.), *Festschrift F. Giese* (= Sonderband der *WI*), Leipzig 1941, 1-16.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Language.

Tātī is the name given to New Western Iranian dialects surviving in language islands in the eastern Caucasus region, mainly in the extreme northeast of the former Azerbaijan S.S.R. (now the independent Republic of Azerbaijan) and the Daghistan A.S.S.R. of the Russian federation. According to the 1970 census, there were 17,000 speakers of these. (These dialects are not to be confounded with the Ādharbāydjān Iranian dialects of northwestern Persia, supposed to be descendants of the indigenous Northwest Iranian languages spoken there before the spread of Ādharī Turkish [*q.v.*], which are also called Tātī by the local population.) Historically, Tātī belongs to the Southwestern branch of the New Iranian languages, showing a close relationship with the dominant language, New Persian.

The two main dialects of Tātī reflect religious differentiation. Northern Tātī (N) is spoken by the Jews of Dāghistān (Derbend) and northeastern Caucasus (Ḳuba, Vartashen). Southern Tātī (S) is spoken by the Muslims and, to a lesser extent, by Armeno-Christians in northeastern Ādharbāydjān (Diviči, Lakhidj, etc.).

Tātī dialects display some archaic features together with innovations (especially S) due to Turcophone (mainly Ādharī Turkish) interference. In phonology, note the preservation of initial Old Ir. **v* as opposed to New Persian *b*, or the rhotacism of Old Ir. **t* > New Persian *d*, Tātī *r* (**vata-* > New Persian *bād*, S Tati *vār*, N Tati *vor*). Morphology shows inflecting and agglutinating features. There is no gender. The noun can be followed by different suffixes indicating plural (N *khune-ho*, S *khuna-hā* "houses", N *kuk-un* "sons", S *mard-um* "people"), definite object (N- *r(e)*, S *-(r)a*), instrumental-comitative (N *-(r)evoz*, S *-(r)āz(ā)*, *(r)āvāz*). There are three possibilities of expressing possession: (1) the Persian-type *iḍāfa* without the connecting vowel except after final *-e* (N), *-a*, *-ā* (S), e.g. *khahar Khanon* "Kh.'s sister" (N); (2) the same construction with a possessive particle (N *en*, S *an*), e.g. *khahar en Kh.* (N); and (3) an inverse possessive construction with the

possessor first supplied with the suffix—*(r)a*, followed by the possessive determiner plus the pronoun correlating with its possessor: *pyar-a khuna i* "the father's house (his)" (only in S Tātī, an innovation).

In adjectival constructions, the adjective comes first supplied with the vowel *-e* (N), *-a* (S): *khub-e khune* (N), *khub-a khuna* (S) "good house". Pronouns (only stressed) can take the same morphemes as nouns: sing. 1. acc. N *me-re*, S *man-a*, instr.-comit. N *me-revoz*, S *man-āz*, poss. N *en-men*, S *al-man* or *al-man-kin* (borrowed from Ādharī). Reflexive pronouns: N *khishte(ni)*, S *khishtan*. Numerals have vigesimal formations (*sa-bist* "60") along with regular forms (*shast*).

Verbal forms are based on two stems: present (present-future, present or aorist, imperative, optative) and past (preterite, iterative past); on the past participle (perfect, past perfect and, only in N, past conditional); and on the infinitive (present, imperfect and, only in S, past conditional). The verbal endings are the same in the present and the past except sing. 3 (ø). There is in N an optative with special endings (S *-om*, *-osh*, *-o*, pl. *-oum*, *-oshit*, *-oshut*). Two verbal prefixes (durative *mi-* and perfective *ba-*) can be attached to certain forms displaying nuances of aspect and mood (e.g. the verb "to weave" in S, present-future *mi-bāf-um*, aorist *bāf-um*, iterative past *mi-bāft-um*, perfect *bāftā-m*, present *ba-bāftan-üm*, imperfect *ba-bāftan bürüm*). The verbal nouns are gerundive and absolute.

Bibliography: I.M. Oranskij, *Die neuiranischen Sprachen der Sowjetunion*, The Hague 1975, 163-9; A.L. Gryunberg and I.Kh. Davidova, *Tatskii yazïk*, in V.S. Rastorgueva (ed.), *Osnovï iranskogo yazïkoznaniya. Novoiranskie yazïki*, Moscow 1982, 231-86; P. Lecoq, *Les dialectes tati*, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, 297-8.

(Éva Jeremiás)

TATAR, the name of a Mongolic tribal grouping.

Their earliest attestation is in the 8th century Orkhon Türk inscriptions in which the *Otuz Tatar* ("Thirty T.") are noted (KT, e14, s1) together with other Proto-Mongolian peoples (the Ḳitan, Tatabï) as rebellious subjects of the Türk Empire. Elsewhere (BḲ, e35), the *Tokuz Tatar* ("Nine T.") are reported as allies of the Oghuz who were defeated by Bilge Ḳaghan (Tekin, *Orhon yazıtları*, see also runic fragments from Tuva and Khakasia, Vasil'ev, *Korpus*, 33-4; Kljaštornyj, *Das Reich*, 75) and in the late 740s by the Uyghurs. Attempts to connect the Otuz Tatars to the people called Shih-wei in Chinese sources are problematic (Gumilev, *Drevnie tyurki*, 31; Viktorova, *Mongolï*, 156). The colophon (*ca.* 825-32) of the Manichaean *Maḥrnāmag* mentions an official *Tatar Apa Tekin* (Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt*, 9; Kljaštornyj, *Das Reich*, 78). The earliest Chinese reference to the *Ta-ta* is recorded in a letter of 842 (Pelliot, *Comans*, 143). Tenth-century Chinese documents from Tunhuang place them around Suchou, indicating a polity in the Kansu-East Turkistan region. Ninth-10th century Khotanese Saka sources also report the involvement of the *ttāttarä/ttattara* and *kūysa ttattara* [Kuz Tatars] in Uyghur and Northern Chinese affairs in the Kansu region (Bailey, *Culture*, 80, 85-7; idem, *Khotanese texts*, vi, 92-3). On occasion, they accompanied Uyghur embassies to China (e.g. in 958), offering assistance, in 996, against the Hsi Hsia/Tanguts (Pinks, *Die Uiguren*, 30, 107; Hamilton, *Les Ouïgours*, 89, 138; Malyavkin, *Uygurskie gosudarstva*, 75). A 10th-century Chinese embassy to the Uyghurs also notes the *Chiu-tzu Ta-tan* ("Nine T.") with whom the Kao-ch'ang Uyghurs had close ties (Pelliot, *Comans*, 147-48; İzgi, *Çin elçisi*, 48-50). This close connection is reflected in the early notices in Islamic sources. Thus the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 94, reports that the "Tatār too are a race (*djins*) of the Toghuzghuz".

Some of the Tatar groupings appear to have come under the control of the Ḳitan/Liao (907-1125) who vied for control of Northern China with the Sung (960-1279). The Chinese sources of this era make frequent reference to the Tsu-pu (cf. Tibet. *Sog-po* "Mongol"), a tributary tribal confederation of the Ḳitan/Liao, whom Wittfogel and Fêng, *Hist. Chinese soc.*, 50, 101, 102) view as either identical with or closely related to the Tatars. Viktorova (*Mongolï*, 163-4), argues, however, that *Sog-po* derives from the designation for Soghdian (now expanded to other peoples) and suggests that the Sung authors used *Tatar* as a collective term for the Inner Asian steppe nomads. The Tangut ruler Yüan-hao claimed in 1039, that the *T'a-t'a*, among others in the Kansu region, had submitted to him (Kičanov, *Očerk*, 134). Chinese sources of the 13th century use the term *Hei-Ta(-ta)* "Black Tatars" to designate all the Mongols, and *Pei Ta-ta* "White Tatars" to signify the Önggüd, a Turkic people (Olbricht and Pinks, *Meng-ta Pei-lu*, 4, 6).

Gardīzī (ed. Ḥabībī, 258), in his account of Kimek [see KIMÄK] origins (this people being an important Turkic or Turkicised tribal confederation in Western Siberia which had extensive trade relations with Muslim merchants), derives their ruling house from the *mihtar* of the Tatārs. Moreover, a tribe named "Tatār" constituted one of the seven core tribes of this union. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (Dankoff, i, 82-3, 312) considers the Tatārs "a tribe of the Turks", but notes them among the distant, Inner Asian nomadic peoples near China, the Ḳāy, Yabāḳū and Basmïl who each have "their own language but they also know Turkic well". According to the anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, 421, the "Pādishāh of the Tatār is called *symwn bywy hyār*".

With the overthrow of the Liao, the Tatars were forced to send hostages to the Djurčen/Chin who supplanted the Ḳitan. There then began a complex relationship with the Chin in which the Tatars until *ca.* 1190 alternately policed the Mongolian steppes for them or themselves revolted against Djurčen overlordship. At this time, they were located south of the Mongol tribe/union in Northeastern Mongolia. Rashīd al-Dīn, i, 159 ff. ed. Karīmī, i, 57 ff., in an extensive report on them, mentions two Tatar habitats, one on the Būyir Nor and the other on the Angara ("Anḳūra") river in South Siberia, the latter a memento, perhaps, of an earlier alliance with the Ḳirghïz (on this, see Kljaštornyj, *Das Reich*, 76). They were reportedly a bellicose, strife-ridden people famous for fighting with knives (*kārd-zanī*), who possessed a land rich in silver. Although "an *īl* and a subject people who paid tribute to the Pādishāhs of Khatāy", they frequently rebelled. Had they been more constant in their unity, he maintains, "the other tribes of the Khatāys and others would have had no success in resisting them". Nonetheless, they were more often than not victorious over their neighbours. As a consequence of their grandeur (*ʿizzat*) and magnificence (*hashmat*), other tribes "made themselves famous with their name and are all called Tatār". Herein, as Rashīd al-Dīn notes, i, 163, lies the origin of the widespread usage of this name as a general designation of the Mongol-speaking tribes and others of the Činggisid era. He further remarks that the name "Mughūl (Mongol) spread in much the same fashion", and names (i, 165) six Tatar tribes divided into three groupings: Tūtūḳlīyūt and Kūyīn, Alči and Tarāt,

Čag̲h̲ān and Barḳūy, with the Tūtuḳlīyūt (< Turk. *tutuḳ*, a title of Chinese origin + Turk suffix *-li* + Mong. pl. *-ut*), having the highest standing. The Tatārs had a long-standing blood feud with the Mongol tribe dating to the era of Ḳabul K̲h̲ān (mid-12th century) who was the ruler "of the multitude of Mug̲h̲ūl". A Tatār shaman who failed to cure Sāyīn Tegin, a Ḳung̲h̲rāt and the brother-in-law of Ḳabul K̲h̲ān, was murdered by his now deceased patient's brothers. The Mongols were obliged to make common cause with the Ḳung̲h̲rāt because of this marital tie and the two sides "repeatedly warred. On both sides, each time the opportunity presented itself, they killed one another and caused devastation". During the course of these struggles, the Tatārs captured Hambaḳāy (Mong. Ambag̲h̲ay) K̲h̲ān, a successor of Ḳabul K̲h̲ān, and turned him over to Altān K̲h̲ān (the "Golden Emperor" = Chin) who subjected him to a grisly death (Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, i, 166-9, 485, repeats several variants of this tale, cf. also ed. Karīmī, i, 142, 188). The dying Ambag̲h̲ay called on his people "till the nails of your five fingers disappear through wear ... strive to avenge me" (see *The Secret History*, tr. Cleaves, 11). The Tatārs also captured Ökin Tartāḳ, a son of Ḳabul K̲h̲ān and the Kereyid leader, Sariḳ K̲h̲ān/Marg̲h̲ūz (Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, i, 195-6, 260), both of whom underwent the same fate in Chin captivity. This enmity, undoubtedly enflamed by the Chin's policy of divide and conquer in the steppe, continued up to the late 12th century, when the tribes of Mongolia were being organised by Temüd̲j̲in (named after a Tatar foe slain by his father), soon to be the Čінggis K̲h̲ān. It was the latter who "made sword-fodder (*ʿalaf-i s̲h̲ims̲h̲īr*) of the whole of the tribes of the Tatār and the Emperor of K̲h̲atāy" (Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, i, 171). In May-June 1196, Činggis K̲h̲ān and his allies attacked the Tatārs, who had now fallen afoul of the Chin, and came away with great booty for "at that time the Tatār tribes were the most blessed with bounty (*munʿamtarīn*) and wealthiest (*mutamawwiltar*) of all those who live in the steppe". In 1202, at a battle near the K̲h̲alḳ̲h̲a river, the Mongols utterly routed the Tatārs. Činggis K̲h̲ān, as a consequence of their long-standing hatred, "ordered that they be completely slaughtered and not one be left alive to the extent that the *yasaḳ* allows, that women and little ones also be killed and the bellies of pregnant women be torn asunder completely. No one was permitted to give them sanctuary" (Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, i, 172-3, 175). Many Tatārs, however, had intermarried with Mongols and in this way sizeable numbers survived and not a few of their descendants later became important personages in the Činggisid empire. Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, i, 189, mentions among others Abis̲h̲ḳa (Abus̲h̲ḳa Noyan of Perso-Turkish sources), a descendant of a Tatār orphan taken in by one of Činggis K̲h̲ān's Tatar wives, who ruled Rūm, and his nephew, Bektut, was the commander of the Ḳarāūnas, the Turco-Mongol group found in the region of Transoxania and Afg̲h̲ānistān in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries.

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(P.B. Golden)

TATAR PAZARCIK, a town of central Bulgaria, on the upper reaches of the Marica, 120 km/75 miles from Sofia and 36 km/22 miles from Plovdiv. It had 88,000 inhabitants in 1991; since 1934 it has been officially known as Pazard̲j̲ik (Пазарджик).

Situated on the great Belgrade-Istanbul axis, only a short distance from Plovdiv (Filibe [*q.v.*]), Tatar Pazarcik could only emerge as an urban centre in the imperial Ottoman context. After the conquest of Bosnia (1463), a caravan route was established between Sarajevo and Istanbul, via Priština, Skopje, Kjustendil and Samokov. At the junction of the two routes Tatar Pazarcik was founded in 1485, around a Tatar colony from Bessarabia, of which little is known. Regional centre of a *ḳaḍā* from the 16th century onwards, the town suffered from the proximity of Plovdiv, a traditional regional metropolis. It was nevertheless a flourishing commercial centre: iron from Samokov, wood from the Rhodopes, and rice, cultivation of which had been introduced in the 16th century; all of these were sent down the Marica by raft as far as Edirne or the Aegean Sea. In the 19th century, commerce in roughly-spun cloth (*aba*) and in corduroy (*gaytan*) was predominant; the fair of Maraš was held each year from 30 June to 15 August. In 1873, railway connections were established with Istanbul and Dedeag̲h̲ač.

Located on a major axis, Tatar Pazarcik was described by numerous travellers, who hesitated to call it a village (Scheper, 1533), a *palanka* (Schweiger, 1577) or a town (Kuripešič, 1530; Vrančić, 1567). In 1578, Gerlach counted no more than 30 houses belonging to Christians, who had no church or resident priest. All admired the fine caravanserai constructed in 1574 by Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a and its elegant fountain. Ewliyā

Čelebi enumerated 16 *maḥallas* and 870 houses. Quiclet mentions a clock-tower in 1664 (the current clock-tower dates from 1741). In 1718, Driesch found houses larger and more attractive than those of Niš or of Sofia.

The Bulgar population only began to grow from the 18th century onward. The town seems to have been spared the anarchy of the years between 1790 and 1815, being controlled at this time by a powerful family of *aʿyāns*, who entertained visitors in sumptuous style (Galt, 1811; Lamartine, 1833). Zahariev provides a detailed description of the place as it was in the 1860s: it comprised 33 *maḥallas* and 3,420 houses, 1,200 shops, 19 mosques, 6 churches, 1 synagogue and 4 public baths. There were 8 Turkish schools with 500 pupils, 6 Bulgar schools with 530 pupils, and Jewish, Vlach and Armenian schools. The population is said to have amounted to 25,000 inhabitants, of whom Bulgars comprised 57% and Turks 28.5%.

In January 1878 the town was burned and pillaged in the course of Süleymān Pas̲h̲a's retreat (a moving description in de Lonlay's account). The majority of the Turkish population emigrated at that time, while the prohibition of rice-growing between 1879 and 1884 was intended to ruin the Beys. In the context of Eastern Rumelia (1878-85), then of the Principality of Bulgaria, Tatar Pazarcik managed to survive: in 1900 it comprised 17,000 inhabitants, including 2,000 Turks and 1,000 Muslim Gipsies. In 1923 it still largely retained its Ottoman appearance, although only four mosques remained; an assistant *muftī* was in residence there. At the present day, the Muslim presence is assured by a significant Gipsy community (Horohan and Kalajdži groups) and, unobtrusively, by Pomaks [*q.v.*] originally from the neighbouring mountains.

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(B. Lory)

TAṬARRUF (A., verbal noun of form V of *ṭ-r-f*), at present the usual Arabic word for extremism, radicalism. Metaphorically, the term is understood as the opposite of "moderate". The latter meaning is connected with the topos of the "the golden mean" between two extremes, which has been current since Antiquity and has served as a definition for the concept of moderation (A. *tawassuṭ*, *iʿtidāl*). After World War II the concept of extremism found its way into academic literature, and since the 1970s has been specifically used in Islamic and Orientalist literature for the phenomenon of militant religious-political groups. *Inter alia*, the term is applied to mark the difference between those groups and other ones for whom a number of more comprehensive neologisms such as "Islamists" (*islāmiyyūn*) and "fundamentalists" (*uṣūliyyūn*) appear to be appropriate. On the other hand, the concept of *taṭarruf* is also used as a synonym of the older concept of *g̲h̲uluww* [see G̲H̲ULĀT] as well as that of *taʿaṣṣub*, *tanaṭṭuʿ*, *tazammut* or *tas̲h̲addud* "fanaticism, rigorism".

The concept of extremism, unless its contents are carefully defined, is problematic, for it can easily be politicised and used indiscriminately. In the Western world, the "democratic constitutional state" usually counts as the antithesis to "extremism", but in the Islamic world such a consensus is missing, as is clear from a quick glance at the literature. Here the existing state power, legitimised democratically only in rare cases, determines what political extremism is. It is even more difficult to determine *al-taṭarruf al-dīnī* and to define it against the *wasaṭiyya*—a concept often claimed by Muslim authors for their religion (usually with reference to Ḳurʾān II, 143, 185, and IV, 28), but in general without much elaboration. While many Muslims view the (militant) Islamists as extremists, the latter tend to apply that term to both their secular-minded co-religionists as well as to religious fringe groups (such as the Aḥmadiyya, the Bahāʾīs or the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.vv.*].

Basically, the word "extreme" may refer to: 1) Ideas and actions by groups of various types (among them circles of theorists, individual [isolated] activists, terrorist groups, merger movements, vanguard parties). They may be distiguished from one another according to the importance they attribute to doctrine, organisation and action, but are similar with regard to their aim to overthrow the established social order. 2) Countries and régimes which want to undermine the political authority and legitimacy of other states and régimes. 3) States which try to modify the existing power relations within the international system. In spite of the various aims and strategies, the term "extreme" always refers to movements or régimes which want to bring about a change in the *status quo*, occasionally with all possible means, and to counteract in the region the interests of the "Westerners", in particular those of the USA and of Israel.

The extremist doctrine is in general marked by the following structural patterns: claims to know the absolute truth, dogmatism, utopianism, friend-enemy stereotypes, conspiracy theories, fanaticism and activism. To its most important functions belong interpretation and explanation (but not the search for understanding) of what is going on in the world. In the case of religious extremism, there is also the certainty of salvation, which is connected, especially in the S̲h̲īʿa, with the idea of martyrdom and of messianic or millenarian expectations. Next to this, the doctrine also serves to indicate the way of action and to formulate the aim, to integrate members or to isolate alleged enemies. Further, it functions to both legitimate and justify action on the political level.

The particular nature of religious-political extremism lies in its claim to religious legitimacy and divine guidance; its followers consider themselves as possessors of the absolute truth, sanctioned by God. The specific dimensions of this extremism are:

1. Striving for the expansion of religious law; in this process, the *S̲h̲arīʿa* is indeed explained and accentuated in different ways, but is in general interpreted rigorously and selectively (idealisation of the early *Umma*, "founding myths").

2. Social isolation and the set-up of a counter-society serving as a model for the future. This implies among other things that during missionary activities precautionary measures are taken in order to prevent the dangers which may arise from contact with those who are not like-minded.

3. Rejection of cultural forms and values that are not perceived as indigenous to the religious tradition (the phenomenon of counter-acculturation or "defensive culture"). The unique nature of Islam is emphasised in comparison to all other existing ideologies and social systems.

The long-term aim is to destabilise and replace the present régimes, experienced as un-Islamic, illegitimate and unjust, by an ideal Islamic state, in which the *Sharīʿa* dominates public and private life. However, this objective presupposes the creation of a *homo islamicus* and must therefore be considered utopian. This aim is legitimised by the concepts of the *ḥākimiyya* (divine sovereignty) and of the contemporary *djāhiliyya*, influenced by Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ Mawdūdī (1903-79) and Sayyid Ḳuṭb (1906-66) [*q.vv.*].

As a result of the more or less inevitable failure of this aim, and because of the suppression by the state power, there occur controversies about strategy inside the extremist groups, which can lead to further schisms and increasing radicalisation.

In order to convert aims into practice, the following methods, which correspond to the "prophetical model", are applied: *daʿwa* (mission), *hidjra* (emigration), and (offensive) *djihād* [*q.vv.*]. These strategies can be pursued successively, but also separate from one another, depending on the method followed/utilised to seize power: a "gradualist approach" (including the undermining of the existing system with legal means), a "tendency towards withdrawal" or "a tendency towards conquest". Both dimension and intensity of the resort to violence depend on the political context and on the scope of the concept of *takfīr* [*q.v.*], used for sanctioning violence.

As in other cultures, extremist movements in Islamic societies have always found their origin in socio-economical, political, cultural and psychological crises during periods of upheaval and transition. These movements have been successful at mobilising the lower and middle strata of society which have been marginalised politically as well as socially. Their successes can be traced back mainly to the fact that such movements emphasise the (Islamic) ideal of equality and justice, and recently also to the broad supply of free social assistance, made possible through foreign support. However, the élite character of the movements, expressed in doctrine and organisation (centralised structure, charismatic form of leadership), contradicts this idealised picture.

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TATHLĪTH (a.), the verbal noun of *thallatha*, means literally "to make or call three". It is the normal Muslim designation for the doctrine of the divine Trinity, in the same way as *tawḥīd* [*q.v.*] is used to designate the divine Unity. Its form expresses the Muslim understanding that the Christian doctrine entails plurality within the Godhead, and indicates that it has never been accepted in Muslim religious thought.

Condemnations of Christian beliefs about God start with the Ḳurʾān. In addition to denying that Jesus is identical with God (e.g. V, 17, 72), or taken by God as his son (e.g. IX, 30-1, XIX, 35), it warns Christians against saying God is three (IV, 171) or one of three (V, 73), and clears Jesus of claiming divinity for his mother and himself besides God (V, 116). Though the forms of belief which these verses may be refuting in their immediate historical context could well be heretical (discussions in G. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qurʾan*, London 1965, 134-7; N. Robinson, *Christ in Islam and Christianity*, London 1991, 20-1), it is definite that, from the earliest times, Muslims construed them in the light of such verses as XXIII, 91, XXV, 2 and CXII, 3-4, as rejections of all forms of Trinitarian belief. This understanding is expressed as early as 71/691 in the composite Ḳurʾānic inscription around the inner face of the arcade of the Dome of the Rock, which includes verses condemning Christian beliefs about Jesus and the Trinity (text in C. Kessler, *ʿAbd al-Malik's inscription in the Dome of the Rock: a reconsideration*,

in *JRAS* [1970], 4-6, incorporating IV, 171). These verses had particular force in a building intended to convey to Christians the potency of Islam [see KUBBAT AL-ṢAKHRA and AL-KUDS. B].

The first Arab Christian accounts of the Trinity written in the Islamic era, which date from the 2nd/8th century, reveal that their authors were fully conscious of the challenge of plurality. In reply they regularly used explanations and arguments inherited from patristic sources, among the most popular of which were numerical proofs based on the perfection of the figure three and analogies from the phenomenal world, e.g. the sun's disc, heat and rays, which intimate that the hypostases are in fact three functions of the one reality (see the anonymous *Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid*, from the mid-2nd/8th century, ed. and tr. M.D. Gibson, *On the triune nature of God*, in *Studia Sinaitica*, vi, London 1899, 74-8 (Arabic) (on the dating see S.K. Samir, *The earliest Arab apology for Christianity (c. 750)*, in *Christian Arabic apologetics during the Abbasid period (750-1258)*, ed. S.K. Samir and J.S. Nielsen, Leiden 1994, 57-114, though others suggest a slightly later date), and the debate between the Nestorian patriarch Timothy I and the caliph al-Mahdī, which took place in about 165/781, in A. Mingana, *The apology of Timothy the Patriarch before the Caliph Mahdi*, in *BJRL*, xii [1928], 159 ff., 198 ff.; Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Warrāḳ [*q.v.*], *al-Radd ʿalā al-thalāth firaḳ min al-Naṣārā*, ed. D. Thomas, *Anti-Christian polemic in early Islam*, Cambridge 1992, 149). These arguments remained integral parts of the debate as it developed in the classical period, though they never proved as cogent in the new context as they had in the old.

By the time the first surviving sustained Muslim attacks appeared at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century the main issues in contention had become clear. The outlines of explanation employed by the main Christian denominations were well known to Muslims, and, more significantly, they were being presented in a shared Arabic vocabulary which served to focus the debate even more sharply upon the question of plurality. For the terms employed, usually *djawhar* (less often *ṭabīʿa*) for "substance" (οὐσία) and the Syriac borrowing *uḳnūm* (pl. *aḳānīm*) for "hypostasis" (ὑπόστασις), and the ways they were glossed, emphasised the differentiations within the Godhead and made it relatively easy for Muslim polemicists to argue that there must be more than one eternal.

There is considerable variety in the detail of Muslim attacks at this time, and three of the main surviving works exemplify the differences in approach. One of the earliest comes from the Zaydī Imām al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī's *al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā* (I. di Matteo, *Confutazione contro i Cristiani dello zaydita al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm*, in *RSI*, ix [1921-2], 301-64), where among other arguments the author identifies the hypostases as *ashkhāṣ* "separate individuals" (an identification supported at this time by such Christian authors as Theodore Abū Ḳurra and Ḥabīb b. Khidma Abū Rāʾiṭa) who are distinct and equal and are one in *ṭabīʿa*, nature (314.23-316.3), and employs the essentialist proof that since the titles "Father" and "Son" derive from the act of begetting they designate a contingent relationship rather than the eternal actuality of God (318.15-319.13). Following a more established form of logic, the philosopher Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī [*q.v.*] employs the Aristotelian categories enumerated in Porphyry's *Isagoge* (A. Périer, *Un traité de Yaḥyā ben ʿAdī*, in *ROC*, xxii [1920-1], 3-21, where portions of al-Kindī's *al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā* are quoted). He describes the hypostases as *ashkhāṣ*, individuals, each with its own *khāṣṣa*, individuating property, and shows that as such they cannot be eternal for three reasons: the description itself indicates they are composite (4.12-7); since they can be treated as Aristotelian predicables they must each include a number of categories within themselves (6.18-10.8); and, according to Aristotle, the proposition that they are both one and three, if not absurd, entails them being part of a species or genus (11.3-12.4). Each of these severely philosophical proofs relies on the principle that what is composite must derive from an anterior cause and so is not eternal. Adopting yet another approach, the Shīʿī theologian Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Warrāḳ, who in his *Radd ʿalā al-thalāth firaḳ min al-Naṣārā* (ed. Thomas, *Polemic*) composed one of the fullest and most influential attacks on the doctrine in the whole of the early period of Islam, accepts the explanations presented by the main Christian denominations without placing interpretative glosses on them, and subjects all aspects of them to a long and searching enquiry, from which he concludes that they are either incoherent or inconsistent with accepted norms of reason. He allows his opponents to speak for themselves, though like his two contemporaries al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm and al-Kindī, he treats the constituents of the Godhead as a series of discrete and separate entities, and so can repeatedly demonstrate that the doctrine is in actuality *tathlīth*, making God three.

As the arguments of these Muslim thinkers show, the problem with the doctrine for Arabic speakers was that, in the form in which it was expressed, it represented a plurality of real existences within the Godhead. Christian theologians did not find a means of overcoming this, although they employed many strategies. An innovation in the 3rd/9th century was to formulate the doctrine according to the logic of the *kalām*, which was, of course, the common ground of theological discourse for Muslim and Christian Arabic speakers, in which the hypostases were presented as *ṣifāt*, attributes of the divine essence, or something similar (see e.g. S. Griffith, *The concept of* al-Uqnūm *in ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī's apology for the doctrine of the Trinity*, in *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes (Goslar, septembre 1980)*, ed. S.K. Samir, Rome 1982, 169-91; idem, *The* Kitāb Miṣbāḥ al-ʿAql *of Severus Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: a profile of the Christian creed in tenth century Egypt*, in *Medieval Encounters*, ii [1996], 15-42). Typically, this took the form of saying that the Son and Holy Spirit are respectively the *ʿilm* or *nuṭḳ*, reason, and *ḥayāt*, life, of the Father, two irreducible attributes by which he is *ʿālim* or *nāṭiḳ*, endowed with reason, and *ḥayy*, living, meaning that the three realities can be distinguished from one another formally but are in actuality identical, since, according to *kalām* understanding, the divine attributes were not distinct from the being of God. This attempt to explain the doctrine in a manner familiar to Muslims may have been ingenious but it proved unsustainable, not least because there was no compelling reason to limit the *ṣifāt* to these two, or, according to Muʿtazilī thinking, to consider them distinguishable from the being of God in any way. Muslim theologians made short work of refuting the doctrine in this form (see e.g. Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī [*q.v.*] quoted in ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, v, ed. M. Khuḍayrī, Cairo 1958, 80, 91-5; al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar [*q.v.*], *K. al-Awsaṭ fi ʾl-maḳālāt*, in *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 87 [Arabic]).

Intellectually, the 3rd/9th century marks one of the most fruitful periods of encounter between Muslims and Christians, and many of the arguments employed

against the Trinity by the *mutakallimūn* at that time greatly influenced polemicists in the next century, such as the Ash'arī Abū Bakr al-Bāķillānī [*q.v.*] and the Mu'tazilī 'Abd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] (see Thomas, *Polemic*, 42 ff.). Against what seem to be increasingly desperate opponents, these theologians employed many arguments which had stood the test of time to show that the separate itemisation of realities within the Godhead must entail plurality of eternals. Of course, there were new arguments: al-Bāķillānī refutes the proposition that God can be *djawhar* on the grounds that, according to *kalām* classifications (as opposed to the Aristotelian categories of the Christian opponents), if He were, He would have to be a substrate for accidents (*K. al-Tawḥīd*, ed. R.J. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 75 ff.). But the main approach appears to have been generally agreed, and 'Abd al-Djabbār's arguments, for example, which are substantially borrowings from earlier polemicists (*Mughnī*, v, 86-113), serve as a convenient summary for the forms of proof employed against the doctrine up to the end of the 4th/10th century. The same can be said of the situation in al-Andalus, where at about the same time Ibn Ḥazm's [*q.v.*] attack on the Trinity bears close similarities to earlier arguments, though true to his Ẓāhirī sympathies, the latter curtly observes that if the three hypostases are all one then each must be the other, and also questions the justification for identifying God's attribute of *'ilm* as His Son, something not commented on previously (*K. al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal*, Cairo 1317, i, 50). In the following centuries Andalusian Christians also employed methods which had appeared in earlier *kalām* debates in the east to defend the doctrine (see T. Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200*, Leiden 1994, 163-72). The issue remained that Christians argued for a unity which differed from the absolute, dense oneness of Islamic doctrine. They continued to insist upon what may be called an open oneness in terms which retained connections with Greek philosophical triads, and for this reason had no difficulty in accepting the form *tathlīth* for the doctrine with its implication of triple reality. Their conception of divine Unity could not be accommodated in a definition with which Muslims would agree.

Despite the fact that Christians habitually cited scriptural authority for their doctrine (particularly Gen. i. 26 and Matt. xxviii. 19), the Biblical sources were not discussed in most Muslim responses, presumably because any text which sanctioned a violation of *tawḥīd* must be corrupt [see TAḤRĪF]. One of the exceptions to this attitude was Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], who in his *al-Djawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ*, Cairo 1905, ii, 87-156, places the whole debate in the context of revealed teachings and argues that, since none of the prophets would have taught anything other than divine Unity, the Trinity must be based upon misinterpretation of the Bible. He dismisses the philosophical terminology discussed so hotly by his predecessors as unwarranted jargon, though he touches the same theme as they, that the Christian doctrine does not conform to what God has revealed, whether this is found in the study of scripture or rational enquiry. M. 'Ata ur-Rahim, *Jesus, a Prophet of Islam*, London 1979, 9 ff., makes exactly the same point as he, and supports it with the tried argument that the doctrine resulted from the introduction of Christian beliefs into the world of Greek philosophical concepts.

Maybe the most thorough and influential refutation of the doctrine in modern times was that made by Raḥmat Allāh b. Khalīl al-Kayrānawī in his *Iẓhār al-ḥaķķ*, Constantinople 1867 (reissued many times and translated into many languages), which he wrote in the years following the debate in Agra in 1854 between himself and other Indian Muslims and the German missionary C.G. Pfander. In this he uses the Bible to show that there is no strong scriptural basis for the Trinity (i, 263-83), and logical arguments inherited from earlier times, supplemented by others inferred from such teachings as transubstantiation, to show that there is no rational validity in it (i, 283-8). Like all his predecessors in the succession from the Ķur'ān, he demonstrates that it inescapably signifies a plurality in the Godhead which violates *tawḥīd*. It cannot be supported in reason and should not be accepted in faith.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the article): R. Caspar *et alii*, *Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien*, in *Islamochristiana*, i (1975) and onwards, for authors mainly from the early period; R. Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes (750-1050)*, Paris 1985, for Christian authors and themes; Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Épitre sur l'Unité et la Trinité*..., ed. and tr. M. Allard and G. Troupeau, Beirut n.d., for an account of early Christian positions. See also 'ĪSĀ. X, XV, and INDJĪL.

(D. THOMAS)

TA'ṬĪL [see TASHBĪH WA-TANZĪH].

ṬĀ'ŪN [see WABĀ'].

TAWĀBIL [see AFĀWĪH, in Suppl.].

TAWADDUD (A.), the title of one of the tales from the *Thousand and One Nights* (no. 387, according to Chauvin). The son of a wealthy merchant, having squandered his heritage, finds himself without any possession other than a young female slave, Tawaddud, who is well versed in all branches of knowledge. On the latter's advice, he introduces her to the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd who, wishing to put her to the test, organises a disputation (*munāẓara*) between her and ten scholars, including the renowned Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*], presented here as the most eminent man of his time. One by one, Tawaddud defeats each of her adversaries, stripping them of their *ṭaylasān*, insignum of their rank; charmed, the caliph showers her master with presents, gives him back his slave and makes him a member of his inner circle.

The narrative element, reduced to its simplest form, belongs to a type of tale abundantly represented in the *Nights* (cf. e.g. *Anīs al-djalīs*, no. 58, according to Chauvin); it also evokes "stories with riddles", a genre well known in international folklore, and in particular, those where it is a woman who finds the solution, thus proving her superiority over men. It is, however, the content and the nature of the questions addressed (about 200) which have most of all excited the interest of specialists. In reference to the religious disciplines, discernible here is an ideological hard core which clearly belongs in the context of the "Sunnī restoration" of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries: the defeat of al-Naẓẓām, a famous Mu'tazilī—and a poor loser to boot—in confrontation with Tawaddud, who explicitly evokes Sunnism and the Shāfi'ī law school, is eloquent in this respect. It would, however, be a mistake to exaggerate the homogeneity of the whole, which bears the marks of successive additions, and which combines, with questions of deep doctrinal importance others which relate to a more "popular" vision, favouring spectacular erudition and spicy or sensational subjects, and sometimes taking the form of riddles.

The tale is also known in a Spanish adaptation, *La Doncela Teodor*, of which the earliest version dates back to the 13th century and which, in an enlarged form, became from the end of the 15th century onwards a classic of itinerant story-telling, before providing inspiration for a comedy by Lope de Vega (1617).

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(J.-P. Guillaume)

ṬAWĀF (a.) verbal noun of *ṭāfa* with *bi* of place, "encircling"; in the language of religious cults the running round or circumambulation of a sacred object, a stone, altar, etc.

There are traces of the rite having existed among the Israelites, cf. especially Ps. xxvi. 6, and the ceremony of the feast of booths in the time of the Second Temple, where the altar is circumambulated once in the first six days and seven times on the seventh. The rite, however, was also found among Persians, Indians, Buddhists, Romans and others and is therefore very old. It played a very important part in the religious ceremonial of the ancient Arabs. We find the synonymous *dawār* (from *dāra*) also used. Thus Imru' al-Ḳays, *Muʿallaḳa*, 63, compares the wild cows with young women in long trailing robes, who perform the circumambulation (*duwār*).

In Mecca, the Kaʿba which enclosed the Black Stone, sacred from very ancient times, used to be circumambulated, and Muḥammad adopted this old custom when he established the rites of his religion and centred them round the Kaʿba. When, in the year 8/630, he made his victorious entry into his native town, he is said by Ibn Hishām, 820, and al-Ṭabarī, i, 1642, to have performed the *ṭawāf* riding on his camel, touching with his crooked staff the *rukn* (the eastern corner of the Ḳaʿba where the stone was). This was, however, exceptional, and according to Ibn Hishām, it was only shortly before his death at the time of the "farewell pilgrimage" that he laid down the authoritative rules for the circumambulation. It may, however, be assumed with certainty that he observed ancient traditional forms ("handed down from Abraham": Ibn Hishām, 51, l. 20) so that we can deduce from Muslim practice what the ancient pagan custom was; one feature of the latter was that the circumambulation had to be performed seven times in succession (see above on the feast of booths), the first three at a greater speed, beginning and ending at the Black Stone and keeping the Kaʿba on the right at all times; one should make a special effort to kiss the stone or at least touch it (*taḳbīl, istilām*). However, if Wellhausen is correct, it was an innovation that the *ṭawāf* which previously took place only at the *ʿumra* [*q.v.*] was inserted by Muḥammad in the great *Ḥadjdj* when the pilgrims visited Mecca. This suggestion is nevertheless disputed, see ḤADJDJ in *EI*[1], at II, 199, where sūra III, 91, is quoted against it (but the expression *ḥadjdj al-bayt* is hardly decisive, since Muḥammad may have decided on the expansion of the rites of the *ḥadjdj*, if the expression was not inserted in the text later). The following are certainly Muslim innovations: the *ṭawāf al-taḥiyya* or *al-ḳudūm* (circumambulation of greeting or arrival) and the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ* (circumambulation of departure, cf. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, 284), which are, it is worth noting, not obligatory. Of the old pagan customs, one at least was strictly forbidden by the Prophet, sc. making the *ṭawāf* naked; see sūra VII, 29; Ibn Hishām, 921; and cf. Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 6, l. 12, where there is a reference to a wooden object at the Kaʿba, where the heathen laid their clothes at the circumambulation. The pavement surrounding the Kaʿba on which the course was run is called *al-maṭāf*. At the al-Ḥaṭīm wall [see KAʿBA] they run close to the outer side of it, not as usual alongside the Kaʿba.

The *ṭawāf*, except for the special forms mentioned above, is strictly compulsory and therefore it became an important factor in Islam. When the rule of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr made the visits of the faithful to Mecca difficult, the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, is said to have proclaimed that a *ṭawāf* around the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem would have the same value as that around the Kaʿba (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 35). The complete omission of this rite would have meant a serious gap in early Islamic religious practice, but doubts about the whole story have been raised [see ḲUBBAT AL-ṢAKHRA]. In any case, if there really had been such an innovation, it must have soon disappeared with its cause, and in orthodox Islam any *ṭawāf* except that around the Kaʿba became more and more pointless. That the old ritual custom survived in the lower strata of Arab life is revealed in an interesting fashion by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUdjaymī al-Makkī, d. 1113/1702 (*Ihdāʾ al-laṭāʾif min akhbār al-Ṭāʾif*, cf. J. Horovitz, in *MSOS*, x [1907], 33, and Brockelmann, S II, 536), who says that the Bedouin endeavoured to perform the *ṭawāf* not only around the graves of their ancestors but also around the tomb of Ibn al-ʿAbbās in al-Ṭāʾif.

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(F. Buhl*)

ṬAWĀʾIF [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF].

TAWAKKUL (a.), verbal noun or *maṣdar* of Form V of *wakala* "to entrust [to someone], have confidence [in someone]", a concept in Islamic religious terminology, and especially that of Ṣūfism, with the sense of dependence upon God. Tor Andrae pointed out that the verb *tawakkala* meant "to trust someone in the same way as I would trust my *wakīl*", i.e. the person whom I have chosen to be my procurator or *homme d'affaires*, to look after my business and to govern and dispose on my behalf. Here he was drawing largely on al-Ghazālī's etymological analysis of *tawakkul* in his *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 223, where he states that it is derived from *wakāla*, power of attorney or deputyship, "hence one says that one entrusts one's affairs (*wakala*) to someone, i.e. one

relies on him. The one to whom one consigns one's affairs is called an agent or trustee (*wakīl*). With respect to the one in whom one trusts, one says that one abandons oneself to one's agent. Thus one entrusts one's soul to him and depends firmly on him... Hence *tawakkul* expresses the heart's confidence in the One Trustee (*al-wakīl al-wāḥid*)" (sc. God).

In the earliest Ṣūfī writings is found just such a conception of "religion as *tawakkul*", the sum of all acts of pious devotion, the essence of the feeling of "absolute dependence", which, as Schleiermacher observed, itself is religion. In the Ḳur'ān and *Ḥadīth* trust in God is a central topic. In the Ḳur'ān, *tawakkul* is mentioned some 60 times (II, 256, 283, III, 75, 122, 159-61, etc.), with such typical admonitions as "So put your trust in God, if you are believers" (V, 23). In *Ḥadīth*, we find e.g. "If you trust in God Almighty as it truly demands, He will certainly supply your daily bread just as He provides the birds who fly forth with empty stomachs in the morning but return surfeited at dusk" (*Iḥyā'*, iv, 211).

In early Ḳur'ānic exegesis, in al-Sulamī's recension of the *Tafsīr* ascribed to Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*], his description of the interior topography of the heart anticipates later Ṣūfī conceptions of *tawakkul* as an inner spiritual attitude rather than an external practice (ed. P. Nwyia, in *MUSJ*, xliii/4 [1967], 181-230); and early debates in Ṣūfism on the propriety of *tawakkul* in the spiritual life often focussed on the exegesis of Ḳur'ānic verses, e.g. Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]) on XI, 6, "As long as one who trusts in God (*al-mutawakkil*) perceives secondary causes (*al-asbāb*), he is a false claimant".

From early Islamic times onwards, there were heated debates about the respective virtues of "earning a living" (*kasb, takassub, iktisāb* [see KASB]) versus pure trust in God (*tawakkul*) (summary of these in Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Beirut n.d., ii, 5-6). Like other technical terms in Islamic thought, these discussions partook of the parity phenomenon, where ideas were discussed in terms of linguistic pairs of opposites representing contrary philosophico-mystical or mystico-theosophical positions, so that *tawakkul/kasb* was often paired with *djabr/ikhtiyār*, determinism vs. freewill (see e.g. the tale of the lion and the beasts of the chase in Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, ed. and tr. Nicholson, i, vv. 900-1200, 1263-1371). It was the 'Irāḳī school of Baghdād, followers of al-Djunayd (d. 298/910 [*q.v.*]) and his reliance for sustenance on God's Providence alone, who became the main exponents of the doctrine of *tawakkul* in early Islam, whereas the Khurāsānian school of Nīshāpūr, following the teachings of Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr al-Bisṭāmī (d. 260/874 [*q.v.*]) based their doctrine on *malāma*, blame, and advocated the virtues of *kasb*. But these were general tendencies rather than clear-cut divisions, and we find individuals who did not fit easily into this categorisation; thus Abū Turāb Nakhshabī (d. 245/859), although a member of the Khurāsān school, was also famed for his *tawakkul* (Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, Tehran 1370/1991, 49). Those fearful, like the Baghdādī Ruwaym (d. 298/310), of reliance on excessive *tawakkul*, stressed the Prophet's *sunna* on the virtues of *kasb*, and debates on the limits of *tawakkul* abounded in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries. According to Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, tr. Nicholson, Leiden and London 1911, 146, Abū Ḥamza al-Khurāsānī, an early advocate of *tawakkul*, reportedly fell into a pit and refused to call out to be rescued by a party of travellers lest he be thought to have committed himself to anyone but God (cf. further, Nicholson, *The mystics of Islam*, London 1914, 41 ff.). Perhaps the best-known advocate of *tawakkul* within the Baghdādī school was Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ (d. 290/903), who carried the idea of self-abandonment to God to its extreme; al-Djunayd commented on his death that "the expanse of *tawakkul* on the surface of the earth has been rolled up" ('Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Tehran 1362/1983, 348). But most Ṣūfīs by now were increasingly aware of the subtlety of the *tawakkul* doctrine, literal interpretation of which they tended to regard as naive. Thus al-Ḥallādj found it objectionable that al-Khawwāṣ based his entire mystical doctrine on *tawakkul*, taking it as "real faith" (Hudjwīrī, *Kashf*, 290). A subtle point was raised in such critiques as this and others: the sincerity of one's own devotion is blemished by consciousness of one's own reliance, and the annihilation of self (*fanā'* [*q.v.*]) must underlie true realisation of *tawakkul*. It is clear that most Baghdādī Ṣūfīs acknowledged the subtle connection of the two.

It was not long before many mystics began to criticise the classical doctrine of *tawakkul* as wanting in spiritual sophistication, especially those Khurāsānians who had little regard for the concept anyway. Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (d. 320/931) considered it, with *zuhd*, renunciation, *riḍā*, contentment, and *taslīm*, submission, as one of the four stations which he regarded as unbefitting of true wisdom (*ma'rifa*), i.e. it was suitable only for dull pedestrians along the Ṣūfī path.

But the dominant attitude which prevailed amongst the mystics was that it was the interior reality, not the external paraphernalia, of *tawakkul* which really mattered. The great Ṣūfī poet Bābā Ṭāhir (*fl.* 5th/11th century [*q.v.*]) devoted the 26th chapter of his *Aphorisms* (*Kalimāt-i ḳiṣār*, ed. Dj. Mashkūr, Tehran 1354/1975) to the topic of trust, and voices the idea paradoxically: *al-tawakkul nafy al-tawakkul* "trust in God is the negation of trust in God", explained by a commentator as "the one who truly trusts in God denies himself any attachment to *tawakkul* in the sense that he has neither confidence in, nor pays attention to, his own trust". Here, the poet approaches al-Wāsiṭī's view that *tawakkul* is unbefitting of wisdom. It was also recognised that *tawakkul* and *tawḥīd* were interconnected and involved the attainment of perfect inner peace, as emphasised by al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyā'*, iv, 210 (cf. A. Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1975, 119).

Whilst there were debates about the degrees and authenticity of *tawakkul*, the classical Ṣūfīs nonetheless generally concurred that there was a moral quality which involved abandonment of freewill and volition whilst beholding God as the supreme source of causality, as the definitions cited by 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 338, show; in these last, human force and will are negated in favour of absolute divine Providence and Power. Thus *tawakkul* came to be considered a key component, a pillar of faith, *īmān*, as by al-Ghazālī, who devoted over 40 pages of his *Iḥyā'* to the subject of *al-tawḥīd wa 'l-tawakkul* and who laid down four degrees of *tawḥīd* revealed through the *'ilm al-mukāshafa*, science of mystical unveiling. A similar schema of four degrees, with *tawakkul* corresponding to one of them, was laid down by the 8th/14th century author Maḥmūd Shabistarī [*q.v.*] in his short Persian philosophical treatise *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* (Tehran 1365/1986, 310-11), and nearly all the Ṣūfī manuals, whilst enumerating the "stations" (*maḳāmāt*) in different orders, list *tawakkul* as amongst the initial stages of the Ṣūfī way, preceded by *zuhd* (cf. e.g. Hudjwīrī, *Kashf*, 181). Al-Ghazālī further discerned three degrees of trust: (1) that of the confidence (*thiḳa*) of a client in his legal agent; (2) a

stronger kind, like the absolute reliance of an infant on its mother, which is however unconscious and lacks any deep knowledge of her abilities; and (3), the highest degree, when the devotee trusts in God "like a corpse in the hands of the corpse-washer", but is nevertheless conscious that his soul is being moved by the Eternal Will of the Divine Power. This tripartite typology of *tawakkul* proved, in fact, very popular in later Ṣūfī expositions, such as that of the great Čis̲h̲tī saint Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]).

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(L. Lewisohn, shortened by the Editors)

TAWAKKUL b. BAZZĀZ [see ibn al-bazzāz al-ardabīlī, in Suppl.].

TAWALLUD (a.), essentially indicating "cause and effect without intermediate point of volition", also means the generation of plants and animals directly from inanimate matter. Next to *tawallud*, this process may also be referred to as *tak̲h̲alluḳ al-ḥayawān min g̲h̲ayr al-ḥayawān* or *kawn min tilḳā' nafsihi.*

The idea that living beings could come into existence not only from parent individuals but also directly from inanimate matter was as widespread in Islamic culture as it was in ancient Greece and mediaeval Europe, and references to it can be found in a wide variety of texts. A rare reference to people who denied the possibility of spontaneous generation is found in al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 348-9.

The underlying notion is that, given the right circumstances, the four elements can, of their own accord, not only produce mineral substances but also plants (see e.g. *De Plantis*, §§ 113, 176, 205) and live animals, possibly including even human beings. It is then a matter of discussion how far transcendent powers need to be involved in this process. The matter was extensively discussed by Aristotle; well-known instances are *De Anima*, 415.a.26, *Historia Animalium*, 539.a.18-25, and *De Generatione Animalium*, 715.b.25 ff., 762.a.20 ff.

Within the context of Islamic philosophy, the problem of spontaneous generation is a side issue in the general discussion about generation (including sexual generation) in the sublunar world, a discussion which centres upon the role of the celestial world. The main point was that the movement of the celestial bodies, was supposed to act upon sublunar substances, causing movement and thus engendering processes of interaction between the elements that could eventually lead to the formation of animate creatures. Apart from causing movement, the celestial bodies did, in Neoplatonic view, also emanate soul-powers, which acted on, and fused with, earthly substances.

That spontaneous generation could take place in a more or less mechanistic way is the view set forth, for instance, in Ibn Waḥs̲h̲iyya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya.* This also seems to be the implicit view of many authors referring to the subject, many of whom apparently were not fully aware of the philosophical problems involved. There is usually a strong emphasis on the decisive influence of the natural environment, since conditions of climate (which implicitly depended on the celestial bodies) and soil decided the nature of the mixture involved in the process of generation, and thus also of the plant or animal that emerged from it. This implied that generation of specific life forms was often bound exclusively to particular places on earth; this is emphasised, for instance, by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā in his description of the generation of the Medina or Guinea worm, *Medical regime*, 72-6.

Animals that were generally supposed to come into being by spontaneous generation were, in general, anything that came under the heading of *hawāmm wa-ḥas̲h̲arāt*, crawling and swarming creatures (usually also including mice, rats, hedgehogs, lizards and snakes). Some of these could also come into being by sexual generation (*tawālud*). In case of *tawallud*, they originated either directly from earthy matter, often fermenting matter, or from organic substances. As proof of the first are usually cited half-formed field-mice, see for instance al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 348-9 (also mentioned by many other authors). Some amount of humidity was considered essential for the generative process: cf. Aristotle, *De Gen. An.*, 736.b.30 ff.: moisture contains *pneuma*, which, activated by heat, becomes the principle of life which acts upon the available matter. Examples include generation of snakes from hairs dropped in water, al-Bīrūnī, *Āt̲h̲ār*, 228; idem, bees from the flesh of oxen, and wasps from rotting meat; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḥayawān*, 76, about lobsters possibly generating from the eggs of other crustacaeans; gnats and worms generating in animal bellies, cf. Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān*, 88. Animals could also be generated by plants: al-D̲j̲ayhānī, quoted by al-Bīrūnī, *loc. cit.*: leaves turning into bees, and scorpions formed out of figs and basil. See on all these topics, Kraus, *D̲j̲ābir*, ii, 107, and Ullmann, *Naturwissenschaft*, 54-6.

Some people also allowed for the possibility that larger animals, such as camels, could be generated spontaneously. The Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafā' (*Rasā'il*, ii, 155) say that originally all the "complete" (*tāmmat al-k̲h̲ilḳa*) animals, male and female, including man, originated from clay, under circumstances of perfect equilibrium which enabled matter to receive the ever-present form. Then they mated, brought forth and dispersed over the earth. The idea of a possible spontaneous generation of man is also brought up by Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mabāḥit̲h̲*, ii, 218-19, who discusses it in the context of the recreation of life after total extinction by deluge. The idea was pursued, mostly as an intellectual problem, by philosophers such as Ibn Ṭufayl and, in his wake, Ibn al-Nafīs. Ibn Ṭufayl describes the spontaneous generation of Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān out of mud as a result of the perfect equilibrium of the mixture and ideal constellation of the celestial bodies; this allowed the creature to form and to join with the emanated celestial soul, "the spirit which is God's". Ibn al-Nafīs, who used the idea in a treatise justifying Mamlūk rule, the *Risāla Kāmiliyya*, presents it in a more orthodox version by leaving out the emanated soul; his creature, Kāmil, is generated simply by an autonomous chain reaction set off in a perfectly-balanced mixture of inorganic matter. For the possibility that the generation of living beings could also be brought about by man, see takwīn.

It was a matter of dissent whether the same species could come into being both by *tawallud* and by *tawālud*, sexual procreation. Aristotle does not allow for this possibility, but Ibn Sīnā, followed by many others, thought it perfectly possible. He cites (*Ḥayawān*, 385 ff.) a certain occurrence in K̲h̲urāsān: as a result of copious rain, a large number of silkworms suddenly appeared, obviously produced by the rain. From their cocoons butterflies emerged that laid eggs. Because of the poor quality of the silk, however, peo-

ple did not want to breed from those eggs, and left them unheeded. Had they taken care of them in the usual manner, Ibn Sīnā says, caterpillars would very likely have emerged, thus proving that spontaneously generated animals can indeed continue to breed in the usual manner.

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(Remke Kruk)

al-TAWʾAMĀN [see minṭaḳat al-burūdj].

ṬAWĀRIḲ, Arabised form of the original Berber Twāreg, conventionally in French and English Touareg, Tuareg, a Berber tribal people of the Inner Sahara, living in what is now Algeria, Libya, Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso.

1. Ethnography.

The Tuareg society is a society of nomadic cattle breeders organised in tribes and confederations of tribes. It is, moreover, a society strongly divided into classes or castes. The uppermost class are the nobles (*imazhəghăn, imushay*; in the Hoggar: *ihăggarăn*). These have apparently come from outside and imposed themselves as rulers by subjecting an already existing society. Second come the maraboutic tribes (*inəsləmăn*), who by virtue of their religious status do not participate in warfare and depend on the nobles for their defence. Almost equal to these are the vassals (*imghad*), Tuareg tribes who have had to accept the supremacy of the nobles. In the fourth place come the artisans, traditionally called blacksmiths (*inăḍăn*). Lowest-ranking are the negro slaves (*eklan*), owned by all four of the former castes. A particular status is that of the peasants of the oases, the so-called Hartanis [see ḥarṭānī] (*izeggaghăn*), who till the oases for the Tuareg owners of the soil. Intermarriage between the castes was traditionally rare.

Each tribe has an elected chieftain (*amghar* [*q.v.*]). The tribes were traditionally organised into 9 big confederations, each comprising up to 100 tribes, with an elected supreme chief called the *amănokal* [see aménokal]. His power was limited in times of peace, but he was the leader in time of war and decided on foreign affairs. The confederations corresponded to the main dialectal areas mentioned in 2. below plus a particular *amănokal* for the Udalăn of Burkina Faso. Since the times of colonial rule, the power of the *amănokal* has been extremely reduced. Chieftainship was traditionally inherited by the son of a sister of the old *amănokal*. This was formerly viewed as a vestige of an earlier matriarchical society, but modern anthropologists tend to be more reluctant to draw such farfetched conclusions. It is remarkable that the Tuaregs have never been able to unite into one supreme Tuareg state; tribes and confederations have never consented to delegating power to such a superior unit. A partial exception is the sultan of Agadez.

Tuareg economy is based on cattle and camel breeding. In the Hoggar [see ahaggar], only goats, short-haired sheep and camels are bred. In Niger, Mali and Udalăn, besides these, large herds of zebu cattle are also kept. Nomadism is of the small-scale type, each tribe having its own territory. In the Hoggar, the sheep and goats are successively taken to places of recent rainfall. The camels were regularly taken to pastures in the Tamăsna (Niger). In the south, where regular annual rains are prevailing, a transhumance of cattle towards the salty pastures at the height of Ingal (Niger) and back again is performed every autumn after the rainy season, and is a great occasion of interchange of goods and news. In the Ayr mountains of Niger [see aïr] small irrigated terraced garden plots are cultivated with date palms, cereals and vegetables, and even tobacco.

Caravan trading is another basic feature of Tuareg economy and has never been totally replaced by lorry transport. Salt, medicinal plants and hides are brought to the south from where millet, sorghum and cloth are brought home.

In former times, guiding Arab caravans through Tuareg territory against payment of duties for protection gave another boost to the economy. There was also looting of the black farmers in the south, including capture of slaves (as well as intertribal razzias), which have come to a standstill since colonial rule.

The Tuaregs live in mobile red skin tents, except for the Ayr and Geres people of Niger who have mat tents. In modern times, canvas tents tend to price out the above. Permanent straw huts and banco buildings in the towns and villages are also known. The main piece of furniture is the conjugal bed, dismountable and often richly ornamented. Other equipment includes riding gear: a variety of camel and horse saddles, special women's saddles with a canopy above, as well as pack-saddles. Moreover, there are kitchen utensils, including decorated calabashes, earthenware jars and wooden bowls and spoons. Among arms must be mentioned a large sword, the best ones being of European make and still cherished as a traditional male attribute; daggers; lances; spears; and the now obsolete antelope-hide shield, and in modern times, of course, rifles. Bows and arrows are still in use among boys for hunting small game. Women's jewellery consists principally of huge silver ornaments, richly engraved. Gold is much less favoured. Both sexes, including children, wear amulets for protection, often with inlaid Ḳurʾānic verses (*tirăwt*).

Clothing consists for both sexes of a large, loose tunic with sleeves (*tekătkăt*), often dark indigo-coloured. Under it men wear large trousers with a low crotch, women a skirt. To these are added the famous head-veil with which the man covers his entire face, except for the eyes (*tăgulmust*). The veiled nomads were already

known to the Arabs (first mentioned by al-Yaʿḳūbī, end of 9th century). Numerous hypotheses as to the original function of the veil have been suggested (protection against dust and dessication, or against evil spirits?). What is certain is that today it is closely connected with sexuality and common decency. A grown-up man does not show his face to members of the elder generation, especially not his parents-in-law, and does not eat or drink in their presence. The veil is adopted during puberty and is a sign of readiness to marry.

For water supply, the Tuaregs depend on wells and waterholes in their arid or semi-arid country.

The Tuareg diet is monotonous. It consists principally of milk, cheese and millet porridge, supplied with dates when in season. Meat from slaughtered cattle is not an everyday food, but meat from hunting game gives a nice supply, and even the boys hunt smaller animals and fowl. Famous and indispensable is the Tuareg tea ceremony, with a large variety of green teas taken with huge amounts of sugar.

The tent is pitched opening to the west, so that one sleeps with one's head to the east, in the direction of Mecca, the man to the north and his wife to the south. It is divided into two halves by the conjugal bed, placed in the middle. The children sleep on the sand, boys to the north and girls to the south. Likewise, the husband's affairs are deposited to the north, the wife's to the south. Women enjoy great independence. They have their own property, including livestock, and traditionally tend the sheep and goats near the camp. They sell the offspring of sheep and goats, as well as cheese and milk, and dispose of their income. The tent is the woman's property and she takes it with her in case of divorce, which frequently occurs.

The girls stay in their parents' tent until marriage, while the boys leave the tent at the age of seven to learn to provide for themselves from their father and older comrades. Unmarried young people have free social intercourse and hold grand parties (*ăhal* or *tende*) for themselves. It is, however, expected of them not to beget children out of wedlock.

When a young couple takes a special liking to each other, the young man begins to visit his fiancée secretly at night in her parents' tent. When they have agreed to marry, the young man approaches his own parents, who again contact the young woman's parents in order to get the consent of both families. When general agreement is obtained, a bride-price (*taggalt*) is paid by the young man's father to his fiancée's father, as a token of the common responsibility assumed for the offspring of that union. Then the young man gathers up the nuptial gifts (garments), and his fiancée gathers together the tent and the household utensils. The wedding takes place thereafter, preferably in the autumn after the rainy season when everything abounds. The ceremonies include a very summary Islamic rite performed by a marabout and a very elaborate traditional feast. A special nuptial tent is pitched, where the young couple stay for some days.

Normally, the marriage is not consummated until the third day as a token of the bridegroom's love and respect for his bride.

Children are born in the matrimonial tent. The father is not present during birth and stays away from his wife for about 40 days after birth. The new-born child is the object of many precautions, as it is supposed to be specially exposed to the pursuit of evil spirits until it has received its Islamic (Arabic) name, given to it by the father under the guidance of a marabout. In addition, it will receive a pet name from its mother and the women of the family. The latter is often a traditional Tuareg name.

At the age of 7, boys are circumcised by a marabout. Girls are not circumcised in Tuareg society.

The bodies of the dead are washed according to a traditional routine and buried in the bush, the grave being covered by 7 slabs and thorny branches. Graves are not regularly visited. It is believed that the spirits of the dead haunt the dwellings of their living relatives until such time when they have passed out of general memory. Tuareg women have, however, a custom of sleeping on the tumuli of the ancients in order to get news and instructions from the dead.

The Tuaregs definitively converted to Islam rather late (*ca.* 15th century), and many pagan beliefs still exist among them. Under the influence of the Sokoto sultanate in the 19th century, they greatly progressed towards orthodoxy.

The Tuaregs possess an alphabet of their own, consisting of geometrical consonantal characters called *tifinagh*; see further, 2. below, and TIFINAGH. The immense literature of folktales, poems, proverbs and riddles is purely oral. New poetry is still regularly composed, although the quality of the greater poets is said to be in decline. The metres, like the Arabic ones, are built on the opposition of short and long syllables. There is also music for the monocord violin (*imẓad*) and the flute (*tasənsəq*), which is of great variety, with new pieces still being composed.

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2. Language.

The Tuaregs speak a Berber dialect, or rather a separate Berber language, as it is not immediately mutually intelligible with northern Berber of Morocco and Algeria. The name Tuareg derives from Bedouin Arabic *Ṭwārəg*, a pl. of *Ṭārgi*, which is held to be a *nisba* adjective from Targa, the Berber name of the province of Fazzān [*q.v.*] in Libya, thus meaning a man from Fazzān. This dialectal form has been transposed into standard Arabic as *Ṭāriḳī*/*Ṭawāriḳ*. Several popular etymologies connecting it with the Arabic roots *t-r-k* and *ṭ-r-ḳ* must be discarded. This Arabic designation has given rise to the European name for the people and the language, originally Eng. Targi/Tuareg, Fr. Targi/Touareg. Modern scholars discard the original singular, using Eng. Tuareg, Fr. Touareg as a singular with a full European inflection: Pl. Tuaregs, Touaregs, fem. Touarègue(s).

The Tuaregs' name for their language is Tămažəq (Niger), Tămašăq (Mali), Tămahăq (Hoggar, Algeria), varying according to local dialect. Tamashek has become a general designation for the language in local African circles, e.g. the Literacy Services. The name is cognate with *tamaziɣt* [see TAMAZIGHT], the designation for central Moroccan Berber, which today has become a general designation for the Berber language. It is the fem. of *amaziɣ*, a central Moroccan Berber or a Berber in general. In Tuareg, Əmažəɣ means a Tuareg of the noble class or a Tuareg in general. The ordinary Tuareg designation for the people is Kel-Təmažəq, people of Təmažəq language, including all classes who speak Tuareg, even the slaves.

Tuareg is characterised by several, and partially

archaic, traits which distinguish it from northern Berber. The language has seven vowel phonemes: two short (*ə ă*) and five long ones (*a e o i u*), as opposed to three in northern Berber (*a i u*). A system of seven vowels is also established for the non-Tuareg dialect of Ghadāmis. Spirant plosives are unknown, except *ḍ*, which is spirant in the dialect of Ghāt and Djanet (*ð̣*). The number of Arabic loanwords is much fewer than in northern Berber. On the other hand, it has many loanwords from Hausa, Fulani, Songhay, etc. Tuareg has developed a special intensive perfect, e.g. *yəfrâs* "he has cut", as opposed to simple perfect *yəfrăs* "he cut".

Berber constitutes a separate branch of the Hamito-Semitic language family and is that branch which is closest akin to Semitic. The relationship is still easily perceptible in the grammatical system, including in Tuareg. Thus verbs and nouns have a consonantal skeleton of mostly 3 or 4 consonants, conveying the basic meaning, while vowels change during inflection. The verbs distinguish by vocalisation two basic tenses as in Semitic, imperfect and perfect: (*ad-*)*yəfrəs* "he will cut" or "he usually cuts", and *yəfrăs* "he cut". In addition, Berber has an intensive imperfect, characterised in the 1st conjugation by a gemination of the middle radical (cf. Akkadian *iparras*), and in Tuareg by an additional lengthening of the first vowel: *yəfarrăs* "he cuts (now or usually)". The nouns have both external and internal (broken) plurals like Arabic. Like Semitic they have 4 different feminine endings: *-t*, *-ăt*, *-a*, *-e*.

A special Berber, and Tuareg, trait is the state prefix of the nouns, which is held to be an original demonstrative. It varies according to the two numbers, the two genders, and the two states, called the free or absolute and the annexed state. The latter is the form of the subordinate phrase member and of the postposited verbal subject. In Tuareg, the initial *w-* (*y-*) of the masculine has been lost. Tu. *amγar*, ann. *ămγar* corresponds to Kabyle *amγar*, *wəmγar* "old man", pl. *imγarăn*, ann. *əmγarăn*, fem. *tamγart*, *tămγart*/*timγaren*, *təmγaren*.

The Tuaregs still use a form of the ancient Libyan alphabet, a system of geometrical signs. They call their letters *tifinaγ* (sg. *tafinəq*), which has also become the European name for the alphabet, *tifinagh* [see BERBERS. VI. Literature and art; and TIFINAGH]. Every second Tuareg seems to be able to use it, especially the women, for short messages and inscriptions on weapons and utensils.

Tuareg may be divided into eight main dialects, situated in the following regions: (1) Hoggar (Algeria), (2) oases of Djanet (Alg.) and Ghāt (Libya), (3) Adghagh (Mali), (4) Timbuktu-area (Mali and vassals of the Udalăn, Burkina Faso), (5) Western Iwellemmedăn (Meneka area, Mali, and noble Udalăn, Burkina Faso), (6) Eastern Iwellemmedăn (Azăwagh area, Niger), (7) Ayr (Niger), (8) Kel-Geres (Niger). The main dialectal cleavage separates nos. 7-8 from 1-5, no. 6 being an area of dialectal mixture.

Since 1966 Tuareg has enjoyed the status of national language (except in Algeria), selected for literacy campaigns in a modified Roman alphabet. Even before that, Christian missionaries used Roman transcriptions of the language for their Bible translations, etc.

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(K.-G. PRASSE)

ṬAWĀSHĪ [see KHĀṢĪ. I].

TAWĀTUR, verbal noun of form VI of a verb meaning "to come one after another". This article is meant as an extension of the art. MUTAWĀTIR [*q.v.*], the participle of the same verb.

Tawātur is a technical term in the science of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], which means roughly "broad authentication". It is often adverbially used. It indicates that a historical report or a prophetic tradition is supported by such a large number of *isnād* strands, each beginning with a different Companion or other ancient authority, that its authenticity/truthfulness is thereby assumed to be guaranteed. The reasoning behind this was that a sizeable number of people engaged in transmitting one and the same text would never by sheer coincidence, or indeed collusion, all relate a falsehood. As far as historicity is concerned, something transmitted *tawātur*[an] is considered unassailable by mediaeval *ḥadīth* scholars. Although the term was already in existence, *ḥadīth* theoreticians such as al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. 360/971 [*q.v.*]) and al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014 [*q.v.*]) did not make use of it in their handbooks. Later in the Middle Ages the term began to be applied on a wide scale, but in a somewhat loose manner. As from the time of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245 [*q.v.*]), the concept was studied in more detail and definitions as to what precisely the word stood for became refined by a subdivision, in which *tawātur lafẓī*, i.e. the verbatim *mutawātir* transmission of a text, became distinguished from *tawātur maʿnawī*, i.e. transmission according only to the gist or one salient feature of a given text. Examples of the latter type are the custom to use the *siwāk* [*q.v.*], the tooth stick, or the concession (Ar. *rukhṣa* [*q.v.*]) of *masḥ ʿalā 'l-khuffayn* [*q.v.*], i.e. wiping the shoes instead of washing the feet as part of the minor ritual ablution (*wuḍūʾ*). The many different traditions dealing with both issues do not individually meet the criterion of *tawātur lafẓī* by a long shot, but references to the issues in all of Islam's earliest written sources, when viewed together, allow the practices to be seen as having originated in early times. It is generally believed that the number of traditions supposedly transmitted *tawātur*[an] *maʿnawiyy*[an] far outnumber those transmitted *lafẓiyy*[an].

Collections comprising both types of *mutawātir* traditions are relatively late. The work entitled *al-Azhār al-mutanāthira fi 'l-akhbār al-mutawātira* of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]) seems the first such collection, that is, according to what he himself said at least. The *ca.* one hundred traditions in it are arranged according to the *fikh* chapters to which they belong. This arrangement was copied by an early 20th-century author, Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī (1857-1927), but he succeeded in gathering together many more, altogether some 310 traditions allegedly transmitted *tawātur*[an], which he dug up out of all sorts of relatively late sources.

When the number of *isnād* strands, or *ṭuruḳ*, is mentioned, which a certain tradition must be supported by to deserve to be classified under the qualification *tawātur*, figures differ considerably: from four or five to several hundred, cf. al-Tahānawī, *Dict. techn. terms*, ii, 1472. Perhaps the best-known *mutawātir* tradition

of all times is the saying ascribed to the Prophet transmitted *lafẓiyy^an^: man kadhaba ʿalayya mutaʿammid^an^ fal-yatabawwaʾ maḳʿadahu min al-nār*, "He who deliberately tells lies about me should seek for himself a place in Hell". Its earliest proliferation can on good grounds be attributed to the Baṣran traditionist Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/776 [*q.v.*]).

A well-known tradition generally held to be weak in spite of its multiple strands is *ṭalab al-ʿilm farīḍa ʿalā kulli muslim*, i.e. "searching for knowledge (sc. of traditions) is incumbent upon every Muslim", but the message couched in this tradition is approved by all, and that is why it is quoted whenever the phenomenon of *tawātur* is discussed. Another famous tradition *innamā ʾl-aʿmāl bi ʾl-niyyāt* (or *ʾl-niyya*), i.e. "actions are to be appraised by the intention(s) behind them", is likewise often adduced when *tawātur* is dealt with, but it is almost invariably relegated to the lesser status of *mashhūr*, "well-known" rather than *mutawātir*, because it is supported by one single *isnād* strand, which only branches off into multiple sub-strands reminiscent of *tawātur* at the fourth *ṭabaḳa*. These strands sprouting forth from one central "knot" in the *isnād* bundle supporting *innamā ʾl-aʿmāl* produce perhaps the clearest example in the entire Islamic tradition literature of what is called the *madār*, i.e. "pivot". This crucially important technical term is already found in the works of mediaeval Muslim scholars such as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī (d. 365/976), as well as that of modern scholars like al-Kattānī and Aḥmad M. Shākir (d. 1958 [*q.v.*]). In this term *madār* we may discern these scholars' equivalent of what is called among certain western scholars the "[seeming] common link". Responsible for the proliferation of the quoted *mashhūr* tradition is this same *madār*, who is in all likelihood none other than Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Ḳays al-Anṣārī (d. 143-6/760-3 [*q.v.*]). It is indeed astonishing that, although Muslim *ḥadīth* scholars used both technical terms, *tawātur* as well as *madār*, they never seem to have adduced the latter as the indispensible yardstick for the former to be valid, or to have illustrated features or uses of each in connection with the other in one and the same *ḥadīth* context.

Bibliography: For a generally accepted definition, see Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1848, 74, 210; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, *al-Muḳaddima* [sc. *fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth*], ed. ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, Cairo 1974, 389-94; Suyūṭī, *al-Azhār al-mutanāthira*, Leiden Univ. Library ms. Or. 474 (6), printed Cairo 1302/1885; idem, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ Taḳrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1966, ii, 176-80; Kattānī, *Naẓm al-mutanāthir fī ʾl-ḥadīth al-mutawātir*, Aleppo 1328/1910; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 147-52; for discussions on *tawātur* among early theologians, see J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, iii, 266-8, v, 453, vi, 180 ff. 479-82.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

TAWĀZUN AL-SULUṬĀT, FAṢL AL-SULUṬĀT (A.), two terms of modern Arabic political terminology meaning respectively "the balance of powers" and "the separation of powers". For concepts of authority or government in the pre-modern Islamic world, see SALṬANA and SULṬĀN. Amongst many other terms with the connotations of power and authority, the word *shawka* has the particular one of physical, coercive power, irrespective of any legitimacy.

The ideas of the Enlightenment and the main principles of modern democracy were transmitted to the Middle East mainly by the translations and accounts of European political theories and institutions, written by Muslim students in Europe [see IṢLĀḤ]. The same is true of the notion of "separation of powers", which is particularly associated with Montesquieu's (1689-1755) *magnum opus, L'Esprit des lois* (1748); this Western concept was taken up in the Muslim world from the second third of the 19th century. It was the Egyptian Shaykh al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] who named separation of powers *faṣl al-ḥukm* or *infiṣāl al-ḳuwwa al-ḥākima* in his *Manāhidj al-albāb*. Today, the term *faṣl (bayn) al-suluṭāt* is generally accepted. Like other reformers of the first generation, such as Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī [*q.v.*], al-Ṭahṭāwī was not a constitutionalist and held an élitist concept of state and government; he himself favoured an "enlightened absolute monarch" and laid emphasis on the limits imposed on the ruler by the existence of moral norms.

In the 1870s and 1880s, the three classical powers (legislative, executive and judicial) were translated into Arabic by loan translations (compounds) or paraphrases; in doing so power was rendered *sulṭa* or *ḳuwwa*, rarely *saṭwa, sulṭān*, and *wilāya*. The contemporary commonly used words, *al-sulṭa al-tashrīʿiyya, al-sulṭa al-tanfīdhiyya* and *al-sulṭa al-ḳaḍāʾiyya*, are attested in the Arabic press as early as 1909. In the 1870s, the leaders of the Young Ottoman movement, above all Nāmiḳ Kemāl, and Persian reformers (like Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān and Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān) were influenced by the ideas of separation of powers and popular sovereignty. With the call for the introduction of constitutionalism, parliamentary government, and the guaranty of civil rights and liberties [see MADJLIS; DUSTŪR; ḤURRIYYA] since the mid-19th century, reformist circles and statesmen tried to impose some form of restraints on the ruler's absolute power, which now was conceived as despotic. In an official document of 14 September 1879, the Egyptian President of the Council of Ministers, Sharīf, demanded for the first time a redefinition of the public powers (A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern!*, Zürich-Freiburg i. Br. 1973, 152). However, the first constitutions turned out to be purely nominal; they were mainly promulgated from above to facilitate the administrative streamlining of the states. The reformers paid more attention to how reasoning on popular sovereignty or similar ideas might justify national self-determination. A decisive break with the Islamic past took place with the proclamation of the Provisional Constitution of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 20 January 1921, in which all essential principles of democratic constitutions were embodied. Despite the subsequent spread of constitutionalism and of different democratic conceptions, a close examination of the contemporary political thought and state systems in the Muslim world demonstrates that, in most cases, traditional Islamic attitudes toward authority and power are still much in evidence, though arguments may have European roots. The instruments for the limitation and the balance of powers (*tawāzun al-suluṭāt*) remain insufficient.

In classical theory, the concept of separation of powers was, of course, unknown. The Prophet Muḥammad himself had concentrated the three powers of government in his hands. As the political leader of the believers and as a military commander, he held the executive power; as the promulgator of the divine law, the legislative power; and as a settler of disputes he also exercised the judicial power. Moreover, his charismatic authority was manifested in his religious and spiritual leadership. After the charismatic leader's death the complexity and totality of his authority had

to be segmented into different spheres. Whereas the Shīʿīs aspired to the preservation and perpetuation of the comprehensive and all-inclusive Muḥammadan charismatic authority on a lower scale [see SHĪʿA], the Sunnīs began, in a general and gradual process, to divide it into a number of different constituencies. The caliph inherited only a part of the Prophet's functions and powers. He appropriated the political authority, and delegated further governmental functions to other groups of the religio-political core élite and/or institutions.

In theory [see KHALĪFA; IMĀMA] true sovereignty in the *Umma* rested with God. He was the source of all authority. Rulers, like other men, were not independent agents but the channels through which God worked. As His vicegerents on earth they were obliged to supervise the application of the divine law. Power was conceived as a delegation of God (*wilāya*). The *Sharīʿa* was supreme in society, and the sphere of legislation was in principle removed from the competence of the ruler. The caliph possessed neither God's power of making laws nor the Prophet's function of proclaiming them. Later, an interpretive function was, however, gradually vested in the body of *ʿulamāʾ* and, in the ideal case, the caliph was supposed to be a *mudjtahid* [*q.v.*]. Theoretically, the caliph inherited only the judicial and executive power. It was never questioned that the executive and judicial power were united in his hands. As a residuary of the Prophet's spiritual power, the caliph was the religious leader of the community and was entitled to lead the prayer. Most Muslim jurists held that the unity of the *Umma* implied a unity of political authority. By analogy with the case of trusteeship, they generally interpreted the Ḳurʾānic principle of authority, which goes back to sūra IV, 59, as being exercised by the trustee in a "general trust". In the last resort, the ruler was responsible to God and to his conscience alone. The idea of choice of the ruler, symbolised by the ceremony of *bayʿa* [*q.v.*], was always preserved, but even in theory it was rather a recognition than a process of election. In theory, obedience was only obligatory as long as the caliph ordered nothing contrary to the *Sharīʿa*, but no efficient mechanisms of control or peaceful means for dethronement were provided.

All mediaeval Muslim political thinkers (jurists and theologians as well as philosophers and authors of "Mirrors for princes") agreed on the principle that government should be in the hands of one or a few, although they had different views on the regime's size and functions and on the preconditions a ruler should possess (family lineage, moral virtue, practical wisdom, intellectual excellence, etc.). "State" and authority" *per se* were not discussed in their writings until very recently. Several parallels can be indicated between classical and mediaeval Western political thought on the one hand and mediaeval Islamic political thought on the other, despite differences in approach and even differences in opinion about the role of divine providence in human affairs. But there is nothing within Islamic history comparable to the radical break with the past effected in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries, then refined into a doctrine of liberal democracy in succeeding generations so that the notion of popular sovereignty became an unquestioned principle (Butterworth, 91). The caliph-imām was portrayed as the representative of God on earth, the trustee for the revealed law and the one charged to carry out God's commands. In later thought, obedience tended to become an absolute duty, and even a despotic ruler was regarded better than none at all. This development shows the pessimistic view of what humans are capable of if left to their own devices. In contrast to Montesquieu, who regarded depotism as the supreme evil, the traumatic experience of *fitna* [*q.v.*] in the 1st century A.H. resulted in the fear of the turbulence of people much more than in the dread of despotism; the longing for social cohesion and ideal harmony, allegedly having existed in the golden age of Islam, was predominant.

Thus it is no surprise that, with the disintegration of political unity, the caliph's authority was transferred to another absolute ruler, the sultan; the caliph continued—for reasons of religious legitimation—to exist as a shadow, but the real power lay in the hands of the new military élite. As long as the caliph/sultan was able to manage the established strategies for the preservation of the always precarious balance of power, he continued to be the centre of the system. Only in the period of weak rulers could the result be a struggle for influence between various groups or the shifting of the centre of power to another person of the core élite (the *wazīr*, etc.); but as long as the latter's appointment and dismissal depended on the caliph's/sultan's will, his power was inherently weak.

With the gradual prevalence of Turco-Persian governmental practices, secular law-making by the actual sovereign increased significantly; as a matter of form only, the ultimate infallibility of the *Sharīʿa* in all matters was still acknowledged. Although this discretionary power to apply and to complete the sacred law had existed before [see SIYĀSA], the Ottoman sultans, particularly, assumed the legislative power. A body of public law was thereby created, known by the name of *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*], and only matters pertaining to private law were eventually left to the *ʿulamāʾ* to decide in the light of the divine law. In essence it was natural kingship [see MULK] or even military dictatorship, i.e. government overtly based on mere force, tempered by respect for Islam, for the caliph and the religious élite, and indeed deriving from this its moral claim.

Following the Weberian typology of traditional political systems, the pattern of leadership dominant throughout most of Middle Eastern history has often been described as an authoritarian-patrimonial one. The patrimonial form of rule is an extension and expansion of the patriarchal system. The strength of this pattern had fluctuated greatly, but in general, Islam fostered patrimonial patterns through ideals and by stressing relations of emanation.

The Western impact served to modernise the patriarchal-patrimonial society and culture by producing new social and cultural forms and institutions which were modelled on Western experience and mediated through Westernised native élites. The traditional system and dependency joined together gave rise to a particular socio-political structure which has been described as neopatriarchal or neopatrimonial. H. Sharabi's concept of neopatriarchy refers equally to macro-structures (society, state, economy) and to microstructures (family, individual personality). It offers an explanation for the stability and continuity of traditional authority patterns. Sharabi characterises neopatriarchy by the following attributes: social fragmentation, authoritarian organisation, absolutist paradigms, and ritualistic practice. From the micro-structure to the macro-structure the values and attitudes of heteronomy are nurtured. The result is an individual who is forever afraid of life and of authority and thus permanently creates anew the possibility that masses of people can be governed by a handful of powerful individuals.

I. Harik presents a more differentiated typology

of the traditional Arab states according to the bases of their authority. The origins of the Arab states are different and can be traced back in most cases to a period before the 19th century. He identifies the following types: (1) In the "imām-chief system" the authority is invested in a sanctified leader; this system comprises dissenter communities like the Zaydī state of Yemen, the Ibāḍī Sultanate of ʿUmān and mainstream orthodox communities in the Ḥidjāz and Morocco. (2) In the "alliance system of chiefs and imāms", authority lies in the hand of a tribal chief, whose legitimate authority beyond the confines of his tribes originates in his identification and/or alliance with a prominent religious leader and his teachings. The prototype of this category is Saudi Arabia. (3) In the "traditional secular system" authority belongs to a dynasty free from religious attributes (e.g. Ḳaṭar, Baḥrayn, Kuwayt). (4) In the "bureaucratic-military oligarchy" authority originates in urban-based garrison commanders, who gradually develop an extensive bureaucratic apparatus; this group includes countries like Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. (5) The fifth category, the "colonially-created state system" emerged in the Fertile Crescent after 1920 at the hands of the colonial powers. With the exception of the last type, these states were in general locally rooted and enjoyed legitimacy in the eyes of their people; they had at least a core territory where their authority endured through the vicissitudes of time.

Nearly all modern Islamic constitutions have adopted the principle of separation of powers (for the Arab constitutions, see in detail al-Ṭamāwī, 51 ff.) and have created specific legislative, executive and judicial organs. But, apart from the aforementioned reasons, the far-reaching powers of the heads of state have quite often distorted the meaning of this democratic principle. A striking example is offered by the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran from 1979. Article 57 first acknowledges the separation of powers by enumerating them (*ḳuwwa-yi muḳannina, ḳuwwa-yi mudjriya, ḳuwwa-yi ḳaḍāʾiyya*) and underlining their independence from each other, but then restricts it by conceding their supervision to the *wilāyat-i amr* and *imāmat-i ummat*. The "*rahbar*" has the right to interfere directly or indirectly in all classical functions of the state. This article is symptomatic of the whole Iranian constitutional order; it is a combination of two political systems in the course of which the constitutional institutions are subordinate to the "Shīʿī-theocratic" ones.

Apart from the secularist, liberal democratic approach, modern Islamic political thought shows two main tendencies concerning the question of separation and balance of power: (1) The majority of the traditionalists and fundamentalists reproduce the classical Islamic political theory, although they often use democratic rhetoric to explain their monolithic conception. According to their view, the state leader (either named President, Caliph or Imam) possesses absolute, unrestrained power. Moral norms constitute the only check on him. The control of the executive power through the legislative ("consultative") council would be only effective in the case of the ministers ("assistants"), who are appointed by the head of state. The legislative power is restricted nominally to the right to issue such administrative regulations as will enable the *Sharīʿa* to be enforced. The absolute sovereignty belongs to God, not to the people. Thus the Ḳurʾān and the authentic teaching of the Prophet and the whole or a part of the corpus of mediaeval jurisprudence is the source of legislation. The judicial power is not independent, pluralism cannot be accepted. The fundamentalist criticism of the principle of separation of powers points to a widespread misunderstanding of what Montesquieu had in mind: What the latter had intended was not the total isolation of the three powers, but a separation sufficient to prevent anyone from monopolising governmental power and a balance to deter its abuse, i.e. a system of interlocking and mutually-checking interests and powers. First and foremost, this principle involves the absolute independence of the judiciary from all agencies of government. In the fundamentalist and traditionalist theory, the democratic principle is replaced by the monism of power, including, however, a separation of functions. This is a logical consequence of this concept, because in a nomocracy a system of checks and balances does not make any sense, for this is a purely secular, mechanical arrangement originating in the idea that, in making laws and carrying them out, man has no way of looking to precise, absolute norms.

(2) The liberal modernist position admits the separation and balance of governmental powers, either by arguing in an apologetic way that it had already existed in early Islam, or by using a well-known reformist argument: because the divine law did not prohibit the principle, it is allowed to be applied, provided that it is in the public interest [see MAṢLAḤA]. The human legislative power is extended, because the principles and/or the spirit of the *Sharīʿa* should be the major source of legislation. The sovereignty of the people is accepted and should be exercised by popularly-elected assemblies and in some cases also by referendum. According to their conception, the government is accountable to the parliament, the presidential power restricted, and potential excesses of statesmen can be checked effectively. But in the last resort, the modernist position is not convincing either; it remains often vague and ambiguous in its expressions and details.

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TAWBA (A.), "repentance", verbal noun of *tāba*, "to repent, return (sc. from one's sins), be converted" to God (cf. Rabbinic *teshuba*). The definitive teachings on repentance in Islam are found in the Ḳurʾān, the *Ḥadīth*, and in the literature of piety, especially of the Ṣūfī type. The root *t-w-b* occurs frequently in the Ḳurʾān, mostly in Medinan passages, with the forms *tawba* ("repentance") and *tawwāb* ("oft-turning, relenting", of God) being exclusively Medinan. Verbal forms (e.g. *tāba, yatūbu*) often take *ilā* when referring to human repentance towards God; when God is the subject, *ʿalā* is used, as in II, 37 *rabbuhu . . . fa-tāba ʿalayhi innahu huwa al-tawwāb al-raḥīm* ("his [sc. Adam's] Lord turned towards him; for He is Oft-Returning, Most Merciful").

The Ḳurʾān's vocabulary of repentance is varied and nuanced. Two roots—almost exclusively of Meccan origin—are: *ʾ-w-b*, with the forms *awwāb*, "frequent in returning, or repenting" (e.g. L, 32), *iyāb*, "return" (e.g. LXXXVIII, 25), and *maʾāb*, "place of return" (e.g. XXXVIII, 55, where it means Hell as the final stop for sinners); and *n-w-b*, Form IV (with *ilā*): as in *munībīna ilayhi* "[people] turning toward Him" in repentance (XXX, 31). A third, infrequent, repentance root is *n-d-m*, meaning "remorse, regret" for sin (for fear of punishment as much as a positive turning towards God), as in *nadāma* (XXXIV, 33) "repentance"; a second form is *nādimīn* (XLIX, 6) "[people] full of repentance" for harm inadvertently done to others. *T-w-b* dominated the Ḳurʾānic discourse on repentance by Medinan times, folding into itself the meanings contained in the terms just introduced. These other terms would later be used—especially by Ṣūfīs—in making distinctions within the semantic field of repentance. Hudjwīrī (d. 469/1077) asserts that "*tawbat* is to return from great sins to obedience; *inābat* is to return from minor sins to love; and *awbat* is to return from one's self to God" (*Kashf*, 295).

The *Ḥadīth* contains a variety of teachings on repentance and, as in the Ḳurʾān, often links it with seeking God's forgiveness (*istighfār*). The Prophet declared (according to Abū Hurayra): "God is my witness, that I seek forgiveness of God and turn to Him (*atūbu ilayhi*) more than seventy times a day" (al-Bukhārī). Ibn ʿUmar reported the Prophet as saying that: "God accepts the repentance (*tawba*) of a servant so long as the death rattle has not occurred (*mā lam yugharghir*)" (Ibn Mādja). Anas reported that Muḥammad said: "All of Adam's offspring are sinners, but the best of sinners are those given to repentance (*al-tawwābūn*)" (al-Tirmidhī).

Repentance discourse was well developed by the 4th/10th century, when it was widely considered to be the first station (*maḳām*) on the Ṣūfī path. Hudjwīrī defines *tawba* as "(1) remorse for disobedience, (2) immediate abandonment of sin, and (3) determination not to sin again" (*Kashf*, 294). He adds that contrition (*nadāma*) "may be due to three causes: (1) fear of Divine chastisement and sorrow for evil actions, (2) desire of Divine favour and certainty that it cannot be gained by evil conduct and disobedience, (3) shame before God" (*ibid.*, 295). Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) included a detailed chapter on *tawba* in his *Iḥyāʾ*, holding that repentance is a free act, obligatory on every Muslim as a life-long spiritual discipline.

Early Ṣūfīs debated whether the sins of a true penitent should be remembered or forgotten. Hudjwīrī relates that Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]) held that "repentance consists in not forgetting your sins, but always regretting them . . . so that you will not be pleased with yourself on that account . . . [because] one who never forgets his sins will never become conceited. Al-Djunayd (d. 297/910 [*q.v.*]) and others [argued that] . . . repentance consists in forgetting the sin . . . . for remembrance of sin is a veil between God and those who contemplate Him" (Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 296).

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TAWBA B. AL-ḤUMAYYIR, Abū Ḥarb, an Arab poet, accounted of ʿAdnān or the North Arabs and a scion of the Banū Khafādja branch of the ʿUḳayl of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa group.

He was born shortly before the advent of Islam near Medina, where his forebears had settled; he is said to have died, not in 85/704 or 76/695 or 75/694 or 71/690 as indicated by some ancient and modern sources (see introd. to his *dīwān*), but in the time of the caliph Muʿāwiya (41-60/661-80), according to Nallino (*Letteratura*), on the basis of a dubious anecdote related by al-Iṣfāhānī (*Aghānī*), according to which said caliph is said to have held a conversation with Laylā al-Akhyaliyya [*q.v.*] after the death of Tawba. The editor of Tawba's *dīwān* is more precise, placing his death in the year 55/674 or shortly after. Tawba appears in posterity in the guise of a dual personality: on the one hand, he was one of the first representatives of ʿUdhrī [*q.v.*], amorous poetry among the Bedouin, proclaiming his unhappy love for a kinswoman, Laylā al-Akhyaliyya, whom he was unable to marry; on the other, Tawba revealed himself as a bandit chieftain or brigand, a *ṣuʿlūk*, stealing camels and leading numerous incursions against neighbouring tribes hostile to his own. He is said to have met his death in the course of one of his incursions against the Banū ʿAwf b. ʿĀmir.

Tawba has left behind a *dīwān* which is said to have been compiled by Niftawayh (d. 323/934) and which al-Ḳālī allegedly took with him on his journey to al-Andalus. It was on the basis of a probable manuscript of this *dīwān* which apparently dates from the 6th/13th or the 7th/14th century (now in Fatih library, Istanbul) that Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya edited the *dīwān*; this is presented in the form of 92 verses, divided between one short fragment of 2 verses and 4 poems comprising respectively 8, 14, 19 and 49 verses, to which should be added 6 other fragments totalling 12 verses, gleaned by the editor from ancient sources, in particular, the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, the *Amālī* of al-Ḳālī and the *Aghānī* of al-Iṣfahānī, and six other verses of dubious attribution which may be disregarded.

It may be noted that, in addition to the poetic corpus, the editor also includes *Akhbār Laylā wa-Tawba*, cited by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 167). The current state of the *dīwān* permits nothing more than general and entirely relative comments on the content and form of Tawba's poetry. The metres used by the poet are *ṭawīl* (8 times), *radjaz* (twice) and *kāmil* (once) and the rhymes *rāʾ* (three times), *hāʾ* (twice) and *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *fāʾ*, *lām*, *mīm* and *yāʾ* (once). Furthermore, it cannot be said to what degree the poet would have respected the tripartite structure of the classical *ḳaṣīda*, since the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] or amorous prologue features in only two of the eleven pieces considered. With his style and characteristic language Tawba shows himself to be an archaic, Bedouinising poet. The genre most frequently addressed is, naturally, amorous poetry or *ghazal*, where the important themes are the chastity of the poet and his fidelity to his loved one. Elsewhere, the poetry of boasting (*fakhr*), although decidedly less important, shows Tawba roaming the desert and facing all kinds of danger, testifying to his almost legendary warlike temperament. It may be noted finally that the fame of Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir also owes much to his love for Laylā al-Akhyaliyya, who composed numerous odes dedicated to him.

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AL-ṬAWFĪ, NADJM AL-DĪN [see AL-ṬŪFĪ].

TAWFĪḲ (A.), the verbal noun of the form II verb *waffaḳa* "to facilitate, make easy, direct aright", a term of Islamic theology. Here, *tawfīḳ* means "facilitating, helpfulness, predisposing towards", used especially of God's grace and help towards mankind. In Ḳurʾān, IV, 65/62, it is used by the Hypocrites of their own intentions; in XI, 90/88, by Shuʿayb [*q.v.*] for his hope from God of success in his prophetic mission amongst Midian; in IV, 39/35, of God's bringing harmony and peace amongst disputants. It is usually regarded by the Islamic theologians as being, with *hudā*/*hidāya* "God's guidance", the opposite of *khidhlān* [*q.v.*] "God's forsaking or abandoning a hardened sinner and withdrawing His grace from him".

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TAWFĪḲ AL-ḤAKĪM, modern Egyptian writer, d. in Cairo 1987.

As the most significant figure in the development of modern Arabic drama as a literary genre, al-Ḥakīm played a major role in the cultural life of his native Egypt and of the Arabic-speaking world in general. Besides his activities in the realm of theatre, he also made major contributions to fiction and was a vigorous participant in his homeland's cultural politics throughout his life.

Born into a wealthy Alexandrian family (probably in 1898, although other sources list 1902), al-Ḥakīm moved to Cairo to complete his secondary education and then enrolled, like so many of his literary contemporaries, in the prestigious School of Law. However, he was already deeply involved in the theatre; while still a student he composed a series of plays for the ʿUkāsha Brothers' troupe (although, to avoid parental opprobrium, he used the pseudonym "Ḥusayn Tawfīḳ"). When the results of al-Ḥakīm's final exams in law proved mediocre, his father was persuaded to send him to Paris to obtain a doctorate in law there. This was to be a transforming event in his life: instead of immersing himself in legal studies, al-Ḥakīm devoted himself to a thorough investigation of European, and especially French, culture and most notably the theatre. He went to performances of plays by Shakespeare, Maeterlinck, Ibsen and Pirandello, for example, and felt inspired to write compositions of his own, both dramas and works of fiction, some of which were to be completed and published later. In 1928, al-Ḥakīm was summoned back to Egypt by his father and began a career as a public prosecutor in the Delta region of Egypt. The 1930s also see the beginning of his fame as a littérateur: the publication in 1933 of both his important contribution to the development of the novel, *ʿAwdat al-rūḥ* (1933; *Return of the spirit*, 1990), and his pioneering drama, *Ahl al-Kahf* (*The People of the Cave*, 1933) based on the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (a version of which is found in Ḳurʾān, sūra XVIII), was followed by a number of other important contributions to both fiction and drama. Thereafter, al-Ḥakīm combined the career of littérateur with that of civil servant and journalist: he worked in turn for the Ministries of Education and Social Affairs, and became the head of

the National Library (Dār al-Kutub) in 1951. In 1954 he was elected a member of the Arabic Language Academy, and that status (and the award of the State Prize for Literature in 1961) ensured that he remained until his death a senior figure on the Egyptian literary scene. During the presidency of Anwar al-Sādāt, he caused a stir with his pamphlet (later, a book), *ʿAwdat al-waʿy* (1974; *The return of consciousness*, 1985), in which he expressed his opinions about the course of the Egyptian revolution under Sādāt's predecessor, Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser). The final days of his public career were spent working as a columnist for the Cairo newspaper *al-Ahrām*.

The play *Ahl al-Kahf* was greeted by the great Egyptian critic, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (d. 1973 [*q.v.*]) as a major milestone in Arabic literary history, in that its treatment of a serious universal theme and its attention to the stylistic demands of language were such as to place it firmly into the milieu of literature (as defined by the critical tradition). It was to be followed by other multi-act dramas based on themes culled from a variety of cultural sources, among the most famous of which are: *Shahrazād* (1934; *Shahrazad*, 1981), *Pygmalion* (1942), and *al-Malik Ūdīb* (1949; *King Oedipus*, 1981). While admired for their literary merits, these and other plays like them confronted two major problems connected with the dramatic genre in Arabic at the time: the lack of an indigenous tradition for the training of actors and directors; and, above all, the features of Arabic itself where the literary language is not the medium of habitual conversation. Al-Ḥakīm's initial reaction to these issues was to suggest that his plays were intended as *masraḥ dhihnī* (a translation of the French term, "théâtre des idées"), plays to be read but not necessarily acted on stage. During the 1940s, al-Ḥakīm was presented with the opportunity to write a series of shorter one-act plays, initially published in newspapers and journals, and later as two collections, *Masraḥ al-mudjtamaʿ* (1950) and *al-Masraḥ al-munawwaʿ* (1956). "Ughniyyat al-mawt" ("Death song," 1973, 1977) from the former collection, a wonderful evocation of an Upper Egyptian village in the throes of a blood feud, is an excellent example of al-Ḥakīm's mastery of dramatic tension.

These experiments in the shorter-length drama demanded by the press medium allowed al-Ḥakīm to hone his skills to good effect. Elected to the Arabic Language Academy and assured by the personal admiration of President Nasser of a favoured position in the cultural life of his country, al-Ḥakīm now extended his dramatic purview. Certain plays composed following the 1952 Revolution may be seen as commentaries on aspects of changing Egyptian social and political realities: *al-Aydī al-nāʿima* (*Soft hands*, 1954) is clearly a gesture of support for the egalitarian instincts of the earliest stages of the process of change; *al-Sulṭān al-ḥāʾir* (1960; *The Sultan's dilemma*, 1973, 1974, 1977), a well-crafted drama about the issues surrounding the manumission of a Mamlūk sultan, can also be seen as a subtle questioning of the nature of law and just rule in contemporary, as well as former, times. While these and many other plays like them continue the process of furnishing the Arabic literary tradition with a repertoire of dramas that take on large philosophical and historical topics, other plays by al-Ḥakīm set out to be more experimental and innovative. With *al-Ṣafḳa* (*The deal*, 1956) he explores further the problems associated with the language of drama; in a play that reflects Egypt's concerns at the time with land reform, al-Ḥakīm attempts to fashion what he terms a "third language" placed along a spectrum between the implied norms of the literary and colloquial registers of Arabic. This concern with the impact of dialogue on audience was also much in evidence in a later play, *al-Warṭa* (*The fix*, 1966), which concerns a university teacher conducting research into criminality. Experimental in an entirely different way was *Yā ṭāliʿ al-shadjara* (1962; *The tree climber*, 1966), an interesting essay in absurdist drama. It is perhaps ironic that this play seems to have been one of al-Ḥakīm's most successful performance texts, in that his continuing search for solutions to the issues of language became irrelevant; in the world of the absurd, the literary language provided a splendid medium for the conveyance of the concept of irreality.

The 1930s were, as noted above, a significant decade in the development of the Arabic novel in Egypt, and al-Ḥakīm was a prominent participant in the process. The autobiographical element is especially evident in his earliest essays in the novel form: *ʿAwdat al-rūḥ* (1933; *Return of the spirit*, 1990) recounts the tensions of a Cairo family as seen through the eyes of Muḥsin, a young boy who has been sent by his parents to live with his relatives in the capital city. The time is that of the political and social turmoil of 1919, and into the fabric of the narrative is woven the then popular theme of Pharaonism, with its celebration of the continuities of Egyptian history. The resulting work is not a little diffuse, but there is no denying the efficacy with which al-Ḥakīm's dramatic sense permits him to create a vivid and authentic family environment. In *ʿUṣfūr min al-sharḳ* (1938; *Bird from the East*, 1966), the same character, Muḥsin, travels to France. The meeting and confrontation of cultures is here handled with an excessively heavy symbolism which makes this work one of several early novelistic essays on a topic that finds more accomplished expression among writers of the next generation. With *Yawmiyyāt nāʾib fi 'l-aryāf* (1937; *The maze of justice*, 1947, 1989), however, al-Ḥakīm provides one of the classics of the early Arabic novel, as a public prosecutor finds himself forced to apply completely alien legal principles on unsuspecting peasants who persist in adhering to their time-honoured customs and beliefs. The resulting work is a masterly portrait, full of character and incident and narrated with an attractively ironic humour. Alongside these and other novels, al-Ḥakīm also published a small repertoire of short stories.

Al-Ḥakīm's role as something akin to a cultural statesman is reflected in his contributions to other forms of writing. He wrote about the problems of theatre and published two works of autobiography: *Sidjn al-ʿumr* (1965; *The prison of life*, 1992) about his earlier life and *Zahrat al-ʿumr* (*The flower of life*, 1943)—a series of letters to a friend—about later years. As *ʿAwdat al-waʿy* (mentioned above) clearly shows, he regularly inserted himself into the public controversies of his homeland, and his broad reputation as one of Egypt's, indeed the Arab world's, most illustrious intellectuals guaranteed his opinions a ready audience. His many works in dramatic and novelistic form can be seen as an eloquent testimony to the struggles and difficulties faced by writers during the earlier stages of the long process of generic development in modern Arabic literature, and his major monuments in both genres will clearly endure.

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(1933); *Yawmiyyāt nā'ib fi 'l-aryāf* (1937); *'Usfūr min al-sharḳ* (1938). (c) Other works. *Zahrat al-'umr* (1943); *Sidjn al-'umr* (1965); *'Awdat al-wa'y* (1974).

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3. Studies. Muḥammad Mandūr, *Masraḥ Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm*, Cairo 1960; 'Alī al-Rā'ī, *Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm: fannān al-furdja wa-fannān al-fikr*, Cairo 1969; J. Fontaine, *Mort-Resurrection: une lecture de Tawfiq al-Hakīm*, Tunis 1978; R. Long, *Tawfiq al-Hakīm, playwright of Egypt*, London 1979; J. Brugman, *An introduction to the history of modern Arabic literature in Egypt*, Leiden 1984, esp. 276-88; Ismā'īl Adham and Ibrāhīm Nādjī, *Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm*, Cairo 1984; Nādjī Nadjīb, *Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm wa-usṭūrat al-ḥaḍāra*, Cairo 1987; P. Starkey, *From the Ivory Tower: a critical study of Tawfiq al-Hakīm*, London 1987; Mustafa Badawi, *Modern Arabic drama in Egypt*, Cambridge 1987, esp. 8-87. (R.M.A. Allen)

TAWFĪḲ PASHA, Muḥammad, Khedive of Egypt 1879-92.

Born in 1852, he was the eldest son of the Khedive Ismā'īl Pasha b. Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] and, it is said, one of the women of the harem. Despite the dubious circumstances of his birth he was nevertheless heir-apparent and rather suffered from that position. His half-brothers were sent abroad to be educated while Tawfīḳ had to remain at home, being taught by traditional Muslim teachers. His father allowed him no role in public affairs and showed him very little affection as a child. He was rather shy and retiring and gave the impression to those who met him that he would rather have retreated to his estates than ascend the throne. He was cowed by his father as long as the latter reigned and never quite shook off the terror his father had inspired. Bearing this burden, he has been described as a weak person, vindictive and rather pathetic, being all the things his father was not. Yet it was his fate to be called to rule Egypt during one of the most decisive periods of its history, and, in a sense, to reap the whirlwind his father had sown.

Tawfīḳ became Khedive on 26 June 1879 after his father Ismā'īl had been deposed by the Ottoman Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] on the insistence of the European powers, representatives of which were at the time in Egypt attempting to straighten out the financial chaos caused by Ismā'īl. Tawfīḳ had already been president of the Council of Ministers under his father, appointed again on the insistence of Britain and France, who saw him as a pliable young man whom they might be able to control. He fell prey to the struggle between Ismā'īl and his European ministers and was soon dismissed. He had, however, had early experience of being trapped in the disputes between the Europeans and Egypt.

Although the Sultan had deposed Ismā'īl, real power in Egypt lay with the British and French. When the former tried to reassert Ottoman authority in Egypt, it was pointed out to him that the privileges of the Khedive were held under Anglo-French guarantees and that he could only rule over Egypt in co-operation with the European financial controllers. So Tawfīḳ had to attempt to govern a bankrupt, insolvent Egypt under foreign financial control and, in addition, had to face an increasingly rebellious army. Discontent had been growing among Egyptian officers who felt they were discriminated against in favour of the Turco-Circassians. Colonel Aḥmad 'Urābī [*q.v.*] emerged as their leader; young, dynamic and Egyptian, he soon came to the fore and was able to articulate the army's grievances. In February 1882 Tawfīḳ was forced to appoint him Minister of War. To the Egyptians, 'Urābī was leading a national movement of protest against the Khedive's policies; to the British and French he was the leader of a "mutiny" against the Khedive's authority. Tawfīḳ could exert little influence, and found himself both the captive and enemy of the revolt led by the army. Britain and France announced that they intended to support him, and in May a joint naval squadron appeared off Alexandria. The powers demanded the banishment of 'Urābī from Egypt. The government resigned, but Tawfīḳ was forced by popular pressure to reinstate 'Urābī as Minister of War.

The British in particular were disturbed by this move and, on the pretext of restoring order, bombarded Alexandria in July. This caused the final break between Tawfīḳ and 'Urābī. Tawfīḳ sought the protection of British troops in Alexandria and dismissed 'Urābī, while the latter proclaimed himself head of a movement of national resistance which moved to depose the Khedive. The British then invaded Egypt in support of the "legitimate authority", and after defeating 'Urābī's army restored the Khedive to the throne. In Egyptian eyes, he now held office thanks to the military might of the British army and he himself felt beholden to a foreign conquering power. From then on (1883) until his death in 1892 he was very much the flexible puppet of Lord Cromer (British Consul-General in name but the exerciser of British authority in practice).

The British were there to stay, and Tawfīḳ had to work with them, despite being considered a traitor to Egyptian nationalism. He co-operated with the British in restoring Egyptian finances, and reorganised the government, the judiciary and some parts of education, notably in law and agriculture. British control was tightened in most aspects of government with the appointment of British advisers and technical experts.

Tawfīḳ's relations with the nationalists were tense but he failed in his vindictive attempt to have 'Urābī hanged, the latter being eventually exiled. Viewed as a weak ruler and British puppet, Tawfīḳ could not have acted otherwise as long as he wished to avoid the fate of his father. Unless he abdicated, he had either to co-operate with the British or face exile and deposition. In co-operating, however, he was forever

tarred with having accepted British domination and having surrendered Egyptian independence to a foreign power.

Bibliography: E. Dicey, *The story of the Khedivate*, London 1902; J. Berque, *Egypt, imperialism and revolution*, London 1972; J.C.B. Richmond, *Egypt 1798-1952*, London 1977; P.J. Vatikiotis, *The history of modern Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Mubarak*, London 1991. (D. Hopwood)

TAWḤĪD (a.), in the true sense of the term, the act of believing and affirming that God is one and unique (*wāḥid*), in a word, monotheism. For the Muslim, it is believing and affirming what is stated by the first article of the Muslim profession of faith: "there is no other god but God" (*lā ilāha illā llāh*). Often, this first *s͟hahāda* is specifically called *kalimat al-tawḥīd*, just as the name *sūrat al-Tawḥīd* is sometimes given to sūra CXII (*al-Ik͟hlāṣ*) which declares that God is *aḥad*, and that He has no equal (cf. al-Ṭabrisī's commentary).

While the term *tawḥīd* is itself absent from the Ḳur'ān (as is the verbal form *waḥḥada*), the principle that God is single is definitely proclaimed there in many instances. To cite only a few examples, 13 times God is described as "sole divinity" (*ilāh*^{un} *wāḥid*), and 29 times it is said of Him *lā ilāha illā huwa* "[there is] no divinity other than He" (not to mention other formulae of identical meaning). This is most often expressed in refutation of polytheist "associators" [see s͟hirk] but also, sometimes, in refutation of the Christians (IV, 171; V, 73; IX, 31), of the Jews (IX, 31) or of the Dualists (XVI, 51).

This oneness of God is something which the theologians, not content with invoking the above-mentioned verses, are at pains to demonstrate rationally, their major argument being that of "reciprocal hindrance" (*tamānuʿ*). If there were two gods, they assert, there would inevitably arise between them, at one time or another, a conflict of wills. Since it is impossible that their two contrary wills could be realised simultaneously, then either one of the two would admit himself powerless in this instance, or both would do so; now, a powerless being could not be a god (cf. D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ashʿarī*, Paris 1990, 252-4, with references included). It is also claimed that the premisses of this argument may be observed in Ḳur'ān XXI, 22: "If there were numerous gods instead of one, [the heavens and the earth] would be in a sorry state".

The profession of monotheistic faith being characteristic of Islam, it should come as no surprise that certain authors have defined the totality of Muslims by the expression *ahl al-tawḥīd*: thus, among others, the Sunnī traditionalist Ibn K͟huzayma (*K. al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Harrās, Beirut 1973, 306, 325, 327, 329), the Imāmī al-S͟hayk͟h al-Mufīd (*Awā'il al-maḳālāt*, Nadjaf 1973, 117, 119, 120, 124, 127, 128; variant, *al-muwaḥḥidūn, ibid.*, 118, 121, 123, 125, 131), also al-As͟hʿarī (*Maḳālāt*, Wiesbaden 1963, 146, 326, 571). However, certain movements in Islam have claimed to represent strict monotheist orthodoxy better than others and have therefore reserved the expression for themselves; such is the case with the Muʿtazilīs, who called themselves *ahl al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ʿadl* [see muʿtazila] and sometimes simply *ahl al-tawḥīd* (cf. al-Pazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Cairo 1963, 35; Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī, *al-Tabṣira*, Damascus 1990, 200) or indeed the Muwaḥḥidūn [*q.v.*], the Almohads, disciples of the *mahdī* Ibn Tūmart.

In Ṣūfī literature, the notion of *tawḥīd* has given rise to intense speculation; from a simple concept, it is transformed into a spiritual experience. A well-known text of al-Djunayd distinguishes four steps, starting from the simple attestation of unicity which is sufficient for ordinary believers, and culminating in the highest rank reserved for the élite, when the creature totally ceases to exist before his Lord, thus achieving *al-fanā' fī 'l-tawḥīd* (cf. R. Deladrière, *Junayd, enseignement spirituel*, Paris 1983, 150-2). In the *Iḥyā'* (Cairo 1968, iv, 305), al-G͟hazālī proposes a categorisation which is in part comparable. On the Ṣūfīs' views of *tawḥīd*, see in particular the *Risāla* of al-Ḳus͟hayrī, Cairo 1974, 581-8.

The importance in Islam of the dogma of divine unicity—although it is actually only *one* of the characteristics of God, among others—accounts for the fact that the word *tawḥīd* has, in certain cases, been invested with a much broader meaning. In the work of certain theologians, it has come to denote the totality of discussion of God, His existence and His various attributes: thus with the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār (cf. *al-Mug͟hnī*, v, 259, l. 1: *tamma al-kalām fī 'l-tawḥīd*), but also with the Ḥanbalī Abū Yaʿlā (*al-Muʿtamad*, Beirut 1974, §385). Going yet further, in the titles of certain books, it is sometimes the totality of the "principles of religion" (*uṣūl al-dīn*), as defined by the various theological schools, which the word ultimately represents. Such is the case, among others, of the *K. al-Tawḥīd* of al-Māturīdī, of the work of the same title by the Imāmī Ibn Bābawayh, or, more recently, of the *Risālat al-Tawḥīd* by Muḥammad ʿAbduh. Finally, in current usage, the expression *ʿilm al-tawḥīd* (or *tawḥīd* alone) denotes theology in general, and constitutes the modern equivalent of *ʿilm al-kalām* [*q.v.*] (cf. Gardet-Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, index of technical terms, s.v. *tawḥīd*).

Bibliography: For further information regarding the proofs of divine unicity proposed by theologians, see in particular S͟hahrastānī, *Nihāyat al-aḳdām*, Oxford 1934, 90-102; Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Madjmūʿ fī 'l-Muḥīṭ*, i, Beirut 1965, 215-16; Djuwaynī, *al-S͟hāmil*, Alexandria 1969, 345-401; Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī, *al-Tabṣira*, Damascus 1990, 81-98.

(D. Gimaret)

ṬAWĪL, lit. "the long one", an Arabic metre, the first metre in al-K͟halīl's metrical system [see ʿarūḍ]. Its most frequent type, *ṭawīl*-2, runs as follows:

/⏑–⏓/⏑–––/⏑–⏓/⏑–⏑–/

/⏑–⏓/⏑–––/⏑–⏓/⏑–⏑–/

(⏓ = either short or long syllable). The two other types differ only with respect to the last foot of the line (⏑––– for *ṭawīl*-1; ⏑–– for *ṭawīl*-3), and, exceptionally, with respect to the last foot of the first hemistich in lines with internal rhyme, as the rhyming feet must be metrically identical. In ancient poetry, the second foot of either hemistich sometimes has the form ⏑–⏑–. An occasional feature, mainly restricted to first lines of ancient poems, is *k͟harm*, the absence of the line's initial short syllable.

Data on metrical variations within this metre are given in G.W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 129-31, 161-78, and W.F.G.J. Stoetzer, *Theory and practice in Arabic metrics*, Leiden 1989, 147-8. Statistical data on the use of *ṭawīl* as compared with other metres are given in J. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, ²Paris 1989, 203-27 (with data from Bräunlich and Vadet); D. Frolov, *Klassičeskiy arabskiy stik͟h*, Moscow 1991, 171-84; and B. Paoli, *Aux sources de la métrique arabe*, in *BÉt.Or.*, xlvii [1995], 183-215. For Andalusian poets, see D. Frolov, *Notes on the history of ʿArūḍ in al-Andalus*, in *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* vi [1995], 87-110.

Although in ancient Arabic literature poems in *ṭawīl* outnumber those in any other metre, *ṭawīl* is rare in modern Arabic (but see e.g. Nizār Ḳabbānī's poem *Uktubī lī*, in *Ḳālat lī 'l-samrā'*, [5]Beirut 1964, 48-52).

In *nabaṭī* [*q.v.*] poetry (vernacular poetry from Nadjd) *ṭawīl*-like metres do occur: 10 out of al-Dindān's 31 poems published by P.M. Kurpershoek in *Oral poetry and narratives from Central Arabia*, i, *The poetry of ad-Dindān*, Leiden 1994, have a *ṭawīl*-like structure. The frequent *nabaṭī* pattern /——˘———˘——/ is often explained as an acephalous catalectic *ṭawīl* (A. Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien*, iii, Leipzig 1901, 58-64; S.A. Sowayan, *Nabaṭi poetry*, Berkeley etc. 1985, 162; H. Palva, *Artistic colloquial Arabic*, Helsinki 1992, 150 ff.; idem, *Quantitative or accentual? Metrical problems of the contemporary Bedouin qaṣīda*, in L. Johanson and B. Utas, *Arabic prosody and its applications in Muslim poetry*, Uppsala 1994, 91-7; P.M. Kurpershoek, *Oral poetry and narratives from Central Arabia*, ii, *The story of a desert knight*, Leiden 1995, 131-2).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(W. Stoetzer)

ṬAWĪL, Banū, also called the Banū Shabrīṭ, an indigenous family of the Iberian peninsula, integrated into Andalusī society as *muwallads*, converted to Islam at some time near the first Muslim conquests, and playing a distinguished role in political life from the end of the 2nd/8th century until the 4th/10th one.

They originated from, and had their sphere of action in, the Upper March (*al-thaghr al-a'lā*) of al-Andalus, in particular, the region of Huesca [see washḳa], from where they extended their power to other parts of the march, including Barbastro. Like other great *muwallad* families of the Upper March, they began by collaborating with the Umayyad *amīrs* of Cordova, until their rise in fortunes allowed them to set themselves up against the central power from the middle of the 4th/10th century onwards, thereby beginning a period of autonomous authority in the Upper March, and disputing power there with other *muwallad* families. They even, in pursuit of this aim, had relations with the Christian lines dominant in Pampeluna and the Pyrenean enclaves, allying with them, if need should arise, against both Carolingian and Umayyad control.

They had a common ancestor, called Sh . . . h, according to the geographer of Almeria al-'Udhrī, thus transcribing a non-Arab name. This same author, who provides the most information about the Banū Ṭawīl, cites amongst members of the family, in chronological order, a Shabrīṭ (end of the 2nd/8th century and beginning of the next one), his two sons 'Abd Allāh and Mūsā; and 'Abd al-Malik and Walīd (both sons of 'Abd Allāh). A son of this 'Abd al-Malik was the famous Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl ("the Tall", a nickname which became applied to the whole family), who married Sancha, daughter of Aznar Galindo II of Aragon and who fell in 301/913 during an expedition against the lands of Barcelona, leaving behind a daughter and six sons: 'Abd al-Malik (d. 306/918), 'Amrūs (d. 323/935), Fortún (d. 327/939), Mūsā (d. 434/954), Yaḥyā (d. 340/951) and Lubb (d. 344/955). The sources further mention the names of two succeeding generations, including a nephew of this Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl called al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. Notable amongst them is the use of the Romance name Fortún.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, tr. M.J. Viguera and F. Corriente, *Crónica del Califa 'Abd al-Raḥmān III*, Madrid-Saragossa 1981, index, 414; 'Udhrī, *Nuṣūṣ 'an al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ahwānī, Madrid 1965, tr. F. de la Granja, *La Marca Superior en la obra de al-'Udrī*, Saragossa 1966, 71-87; C. Escó *et alii*, *Arqueología islámica en la Marca Superior de al-Andalus*, Huesca 1988; C. Laliena (ed.), *Huesca. Historia de una ciudad*, Huesca 1990; E. Manzano, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas*, Madrid 1991; Laliena and Ph. Sénac, *Musulmans et Chrétiens dans le Haut Moyen-Age, aux origines de la Reconquête aragonaise*, Montrouge 1991; Sénac (ed.), introd. by P. Bonassie, *Frontières et espaces pyrénéens au Moyen Age*, Perpignan 1992; J.A. Souto, *Cronología y gobernadores de Huesca omeya*, in *Homenaje al Prof. J.M. Fórneas*, Granada 1994, 857-65; M.J. Viguera, *El Islam en Aragón*, Saragossa 1995, *passim*. See also washḳa.

(Maria J. Viguera)

TA'WĪL (a.), verbal noun of the form II verb *awwala* (derived either from *awl* "return" or from *iyāla* "putting into right condition, managing properly"), signifies explanation, exposition, or interpretation as it is literally related to the notion of "returning to its origin or source". The word occurs in the Ḳur'ān seventeen times. In XII, 6, 21, 36, 37, 44, 45, 100, 101, and XVIII, 78, 82, it implies explanation or interpretation of a dream or an event. In III, 7 (occurs twice), it also means interpretation; in VII, 53 (occurs twice) and X, 39, it is used to denote the occurrence of a forewarned event, which implies foretelling or divination. However, in IV, 59, and XVII, 35, it indicates the end, result, or final sequel of a thing, hence it is similar in meaning to *'āḳiba*, *ma'āl* or *maṣīr*. The compilers of the *Mu'djam alfāẓ al-Ḳur'ān al-karīm* (Cairo 1409/1988, i, 103), have taken *ta'wīl* in these two verses in its general meaning of explanation (*tafsīr*).

The word *tafsīr* [*q.v.*], on the other hand, occurs only once in the Ḳur'ān (XXV, 33) and connotes explanation or interpretation. Since the latter is also used as a technical term for the exegesis of the Ḳur'ān, there is considerable discussion in Arabic sources concerning the precise meaning of both *ta'wīl* and *tafsīr* and their relationship to each other (see A. Jeffery (ed.), *Muḳaddimatāni fī 'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān: wa-humā muḳaddimat Kitāb al-mabānī wa-muḳaddimat Ibn 'Aṭiya*, Cairo, 1954, 172-3; al-Zarkashī, *al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl, [2]Beirut 1972, ii, 146-53; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itḳān fī 'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl, Beirut 1988, iv, 167-73). From what we know of the early history and development of *tafsīr*, it seems that in the beginning both words were used synonymously. There is no hard evidence to suggest that *ma'ānī* (meanings) was the earliest term used for the titles of works on Ḳur'ānic interpretation and that *ta'wīl* was introduced late in the 3rd/early 10th century and was supplanted in the following century (J. Wansbrough, *Quranic studies. Sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, Oxford 1977, 117-246; the historical sequence of five categories of *tafsīr*: narrative, legal, textual, rhetorical, and allegorical, suggested by him is open to debate; A. Rippin, art. *Tafsīr*, in *Encyl. of Religion*, ed. M. Eliade; F. Rahman, *Approaches to Islam in religious studies. Review essay*, in *Approaches to Islam in religious studies*, ed. R. Martin, Tucson 1985, 198-202). Both al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944) use the word *ta'wīl* in the very title of their Ḳur'ān commentaries: *Djāmi' al-bayān 'an [wudjūh] ta'wīl āy al-Ḳur'ān* (ed. Maḥmūd Shākir and Aḥmad Shākir, Cairo 1954-69; abridged tr. J. Cooper, *The commentary on the Qur'ān*, Oxford 1987); and *Ta'wīlāt al-Ḳur'ān* (ed. Ibrāhīm and S. 'Awaḍayn, *Tafsīr al-Māturīdī al-musammā ta'wīlāt ahl al-sunna*, Cairo 1971, one volume only published), respectively. It should be noted that

the terms *ta'wīl* and *ahl al-ta'wīl* are used more profusely as synonyms for *tafsīr* and *ahl al-tafsīr* by al-Ṭabarī in his commentary. Al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915) in his *Sunan* (Beirut n.d.), whose main concern is legal and who does not devote any *kitāb* (book) to *tafsīr*, very often devotes a whole chapter to explain a Ḳur'ānic verse related to the issue. All those chapters are entitled *ta'wīl ḳawl Allāh*. Even much later, al-Nasafī's (d. 701/1301-2), al-Bayḍāwī's (d. *ca.* 716/1316), and al-Khāzin's (d. 741/1340) commentaries are also entitled *Madārik al-tanzīl wa-ḥaḳā'iḳ al-ta'wīl* (Cairo 1330/1912), *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl* (ed. Fleischer, Leipzig 1846-8), and *Lubāb al-ta'wīl fī ma'ānī al-tanzīl* (Cairo 1321/1903), respectively.

'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān (*al-I'djāz al-bayānī li 'l-Ḳur'ān*, ²Cairo 1987, 210 ff.; eadem, *al-Tafsīr al-bayānī li 'l-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1962; and I. Boullata, *Modern Qur'ān exegesis. A study of Bint al-Shāṭi''s method*, in *MW*, lxiv [1979], 103-13), on the other hand, has shown that the Ḳur'ān chooses its vocabulary meticulously and that no word can be replaced by what some philologists call a synonym, even when it is derived from the same root. In his *Tafsīr* (ed. 'Abd Allāh Shiḥāta, Cairo 1969, i, 4-5), Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) implies a clear distinction between *tafsīr*, as what is known on the human level, and *ta'wīl*, as what is going to happen in the future and is known to God alone. Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) also draws a fine distinction between the two terms, as his book on Ḳur'ānic rhetoric is entitled *K. Ta'wīl mushkil al-Ḳur'ān* (ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1373/1954), while his philological commentary on uncommon words is entitled *K. Tafsīr gharīb al-Ḳur'ān* (ed. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1378/1958).

In his *K. al-Zīna* (ms. Hamdani collection, fols. 254-5; a portion of it is edited by H. al-Hamdānī, Cairo 1956-8), which deals with the etymology of Islamic nomenclature, the Ismā'īlī Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934-5), states that the philologists disagree with regard to the meaning of *ta'wīl*. One group maintains that it is exactly the same as *tafsīr* while the other asserts that it is different from the latter. When al-Rāzī asked Tha'lab (a philologist, d. 291/904) about the meaning of *ta'wīl*, the latter stated on the authority of Ibn al-A'rābī (a philologist and a *rāwī*, d. *ca.* 231/845-6) that *ta'wīl*, *tafsīr* and *ma'nā* are virtually all one; however, he added that *ta'wīl* means knowledge of the true state of affairs (*ma'rifat al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*), which is the source (*al-'ayn*), the reality (*al-ḥaḳīḳa*) and the end (*al-'āḳiba*). Al-Rāzī further states that those who contend that *ta'wīl* and *tafsīr* are different things affirm that *tafsīr* is what the commonality (*al-'āmma*), i.e. the Sunnīs, relate from the exegetes (*mufassirūn*), while *ta'wīl* signifies [discovery] of subtle, hidden meaning known only to the outstanding scholars (*al-'ulamā' al-mutḳinūn*). He then illustrates the difference between *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl* as follows: A man has a dream and goes to an interpreter (*mu'abbir*). The interpreter happens to be an Arabic-speaking person while the man who had a dream does not speak Arabic. Hence a translator (*mutardjim*) has first to translate the man's dream for the interpreter. The speech of the man is thus about his dream, while the utterance of the translator is called *tafsīr* and the interpretation of the interpreter is called *ta'wīl*.

A close scrutiny of a multitude of definitions of the two terms in a wide variety of sources reveals that, what was at stake in this debate, concerned the ways in which traditional material could be used for exegetical purpose. *Ta'wīl*, in the understanding of most scholars, was based upon reason and personal opinion (*ra'y*), whereas *tafsīr* was based upon material transmitted from the Prophet himself or his Companions or the Successors in the form of *ḥadīth* (or *athar*); hence the former is generally defined as *tafsīr bi 'l-ra'y* (interpretation by the use of reason), while the latter as *tafsīr bi 'l-ma'thūr* (interpretation according to what has been handed down). *Tafsīr* is thus appropriately described as concerned with *riwāya* (transmission of reports), while *ta'wīl* with *dirāya* (to know the meaning by a sort of artifice or cunning skill). Al-Zarkashī's *al-Burhān* and al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itḳān*, therefore, enumerate various qualifications of a *mufassir* and list the most important sources of *tafsīr*.

When one examines the question of exegetical methodology in al-Ṭabarī's *tafsīr*, which is quite tradition-oriented and regarded as an exemplary example of *tafsīr bi 'l-ma'thūr*, it becomes obvious that the verse III, 7, was decisive to the development of Ḳur'ānic hermeneutics, as he refused to recognise the respective *muḥkam* or *mutashābih* character of constituent verses, because it can lead to distortion (J. McAuliffe, *Quranic hermeneutics. The views of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr*, in *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Rippin, Oxford 1988, 46-62).

The dispute over *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl* (or *tanzīl* and *ta'wīl* in Shī'ī parlance), as these terms evolved over a period of time, can be traced back to the earliest sectarian disputes, especially between the Sunnīs and the Shī'īs wherein sūra III, 7, plays a crucial role. The original text of the Ḳur'ān, being without punctuation marks, does not indicate stops and pauses, hence grammatically it is also possible to read the phrase beginning with the conjunction *wāw* (and) and the substantive *al-rāsikhūna fī 'l-'ilm* (those firmly-rooted in knowledge) in the above verse as the second subject of the preceding phrase. Thus it means that both God and *al-rāsikhūna fī 'l-'ilm* share a portion of *ta'wīl* (al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, ed. A.A. al-Ghaffārī, i, 213 ff.; al-Ḳummī, *Tafsīr al-Ḳummī*, ed. Ṭayyib al-Mūsawī al-Djazā'irī, Beirut 1991, i, 124; al-Ḳāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im al-islām*, ed. A.A. Fyzee, 3rd ed. Cairo 1969, 22; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Aḥmad al-'Āmilī, Beirut n.d., ii, 400; al-Ṭabrisī, *Madjma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. al-Rasūlī and al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Tehran 1379/1959, ii, 410). With such a reading, the task of interpretation was not merely linguistic or involving lexical concerns, but the door was opened for sectarian, allegorical, and esoteric *tafsīr*. Therefore, as long as *ta'wīl*, as it developed separately from *tafsīr*, did not contradict the obvious literal meaning of the Ḳur'ān or *ḥadīth*, the growing Sunnī orthodoxy had no reason to deny it its right to exist. However, when it diverged widely from the traditional sources and various groups used it as a suitable device to justify their claims and doctrines by interpreting the Ḳur'ānic verses, the situation was changed and *ta'wīl* became a technical term for the allegorical, esoterical exposition of the Ḳur'ān, especially with the Shī'īs (the Imāmīs or Twelvers [see ITHNĀ 'ASHARIYYA] and the Ismā'īlīs [*q.v.*]) and the Ṣūfīs, and formed a valuable and necessary supplement to the more external philological exegesis which now became distinguished as *tafsīr*.

Both the Shī'īs and the Ṣūfīs developed their own style of exegesis wherein they emphasised the difference between *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl*. The foremost principle of Shī'ī *tafsīr* is that the Ḳur'ān has an outer dimension (the *ẓāhir*) and an inner dimension (the *bāṭin*); the elucidation of the inner dimension, called *ta'wīl*, is derived directly from the Imāms, the ultimate authority in matters of interpretation of the Ḳur'ān, as they are the repositories of special knowledge (M. Ayoub,

The speaking Qur'ān and the silent Qur'ān. A study of the principles and development of Imāmī Shīʿī tafsīr, in *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qur'ān*, 177-98). *Taʾwīl* not only plays an important role in the Shīʿī-Ismāʿīlī formulation of a synthesis of reason and revelation based on Neo-platonism and Shīʿī doctrine, but it is also considered a science *par excellence* (I. Poonawala, *Ismāʿīlī* taʾwīl *of the Qurʾān*, in *ibid.*, 199-222). For the Ṣūfīs, *taʾwīl* was a kind of spiritual realisation of the meaning contained in the Ḳurʾān and could be achieved through following the disciplines laid down by the Ṣūfī masters. The *tafsīr* of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) exemplifies the Ṣūfī trend of exegesis known as *al-taʾwīl al-kashfī* (illuminating, unveiling). Thus there emerged two distinct approaches to the Ḳurʾānic exegesis known as *tafsīr* and *taʾwīl*: the former could be accomplished by anyone who had the proper qualifications as it concerned the exoteric meaning, while the latter could be performed only by the Imāms or the Ṣūfī master since it involved knowledge of a special kind to interpret the esoteric meaning.

Bibliography (in addition to the references cited in the article): Djawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ghafūr ʿAṭṭār, [4]Beirut 1990, iv, 1627-8; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-ʿulūm*, ed. al-Ḳāḍī ʿAbd Allāh al-Djarāfī, Beirut n.d., i, 113-14; Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, Cairo 1977; Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, ed. ʿĀdil ʿAbd al-Mawdjūd *et alii*, Beirut 1993, i, 1-121; Fīrūzābādhī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1913, iii, 331; *LA*, xi, 32-6; *TA*, vii, 215; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 334; Zurḳānī, *Manāhil al-ʿirfān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1995; Lane, i, 125-8; I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920 (although now dated in important respects, still a comprehensive work); Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 19-49; Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa 'l-mufassirūn*, [6]Cairo 1416/1995, i, 15-24 (presents the modern orthodox Sunnī view); *al-Muʿdjam al-kabīr*, Cairo 1970, i, 615-19; P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique: nouvel essai sur le lexique technique des mystiques musulmans*, Beirut 1970; J. Smith, *An historical and semantic study of the term "Islām" as seen in a sequence of Qurʾān commentaries*, Missoula, Mont. 1975; G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam. The Qurʾānic hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī*, New York 1980; A. Rippin, *The present status of tafsīr studies*, in *MW*, lxxiv (1982), 224-38 (contains a useful survey of the most important recent literature).

(I. Poonawala)

ṬAWĪLA [see larin].

al-**ṬAWĪLA**, a town and district (*ḳaḍāʾ*) lying to the north-west of the main town of Yemen, Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*], about 55 km/34 miles as the crow flies, and at the summit of Djabal al-Ḳarāniʿ at the height of 2,400 m/7,870 feet. It overlooks the area of al-Maḥwīt to the west and Ḥarāz to the south. Josef Werdecker (*A contribution to the geography and cartography of North-West Yemen*, in *Bull. de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte* [1939], 139) placed the town in 15° 30' latitude and 43° 42' longitude.

Wilson (*Gazetteer*, 223-4) can find no reference to the town before 607/1210. He suggests that it may have been first developed as a stronghold by the Zaydī Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (583-614/1187-1217). Al-Ṭawīla was visited by Eduard Glaser in late 1883 during his famous expedition to northern Yemen. He says (see Werdecker, 38) that "the little town, which is not without walls, is only made noteworthy by its fairly large market-place". It is now quite a sizeable town and the administrative centre of the *ḳaḍāʾ*.

Bibliography: Apart from Werdecker's study based on Glaser's expedition notes, see also Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Waysī, *al-Yaman al-kubrā*, Cairo 1962, 63; R.T.O. Wilson, *Gazetteer of historical North-West Yemen*, Hildesheim 1989, 223-4.

(G.R. Smith)

TAWḲĪʿ (a.), the verbal noun of the form II verb *waḳḳaʿa* in the sense of "to indite, register the decree of a ruler", hence with the meaning of a document with a signature or device (*ʿalāma*), equivalent to the ruler's signature.

1. As an administrative term.

From the meaning given above, *tawḳīʿ* comes to acquire the general sense of "edict, decree of the ruler" and its being drawn up in a written form. More particularly, it has the special meaning of the titles of the ruler (roughly equivalent to the *ṭughrā* [*q.v.*] of the Ottoman sultans) to be inscribed in the chancellery, which gives the document validity, in contrast to *ʿalāma*, the mark or device of the ruler put on it with his own hand, which was regarded as his signature. The use of the two words is, however, to some extent indiscriminate, for *tawḳīʿ* was also used for motto.

In the *inshāʾ* [*q.v.*] literature, edicts (*tawḳīʿāt*) of the Sāsānid emperors are mentioned. Under the Umayyads is said to have arisen the custom—no doubt really an old Oriental one—of the caliph himself deciding (*waḳḳaʿa*) in public audience on petitions (*ḳiṣaṣ*) brought to him; the secretaries had then to put the caliph's *tawḳīʿ* into writing. For the ʿAbbāsid period, Ḳudāma mentions a special *dīwān al-tawḳīʿ* (office for edicts). It may be considered an important increase in the power of the vizier under the ʿAbbāsids that Hārūn al-Rashīd for the first time entrusted the Barmakī Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā with the right of dealing with petitions (*al-tawḳīʿ ʿalā 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*). According to Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, there was in the Fāṭimid *dīwān* a special secretary for dealing with petitions. This secretary for the *tawḳīʿāt ʿalā 'l-ḳiṣaṣ* was one of the highest in rank. Under the Mamlūks, the private secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) received the right of *tawḳīʿ ʿalā 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*. As a general rule, however, the sultans exercised it themselves here also.

Amongst the Turkish dynasties which began to enter the Islamic world from the late 4th/10th century onwards, the use of emblems—these being probably brought by the Turks from their tribal, steppe past, as in the case of the *tamgha* [*q.v.*]—became notable. Such emblems were later to assume a specifically Islamic Turkish form in the ruler's stylised signature, the *ṭughrā*. But alongside this form of validation of documents, Turkish rulers followed the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in the use of pious personal mottoes (which the sources call variously *ʿalāma* or *tawḳīʿ*) likewise affixed to official documents.

The Fāṭimids in Egypt had adopted the practice of using a motto from the ʿAbbāsids. There is a paucity of information concerning ʿAbbāsid usage in this field, but one might mention a document given *in extenso* by the Ghaznawid historian Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī. In this, the new ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳāʾim announces the death of his father al-Ḳādir and his own succession to the throne (422/1031), and the beginning of the letter mentions al-Ḳāʾim's "exalted signature" (*al-tawḳīʿ al-ʿālī*), *iʿtiḍādī bi 'llāh* "my request for aid is sought from God" (*Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 295). The Fāṭimids tended to use for this the term *ʿalāma* (*q.v.*; this article, however, contains nothing about the *ʿalāma*

as used east of the Maghrib, and deserves S.M. Stern's dismissal of it as "slapdash", *Fāṭimid decrees, original documents from the Fāṭimid chancery*, London 1964, 123 n. 1) rather than *tawḳīʿ*, which seems to have been more current in the lands further east. According to al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270/1853, i, 403, the *ʿalāma* or motto of all the Fāṭimid caliphs was *al-ḥamdu li llāh rabb al-ʿālamīn* (cf. Stern, *op. cit.*, 124 ff.).

The Ghaznawids in the eastern Persian lands, in many respects heirs to the ʿAbbāsid administrative tradition, thus followed what was by now a well-trodden path. The anonymous general Persian history, the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh* (written 520/1126), contains a list of what the author calls *alḳāb wa kunyat wa tawḳīʿ-i Maḥmūdiyān*, giving Maḥmud of Ghazna's motto as *wa 'llāh huwa 'l-maḥmūd*, that of his son and successor Muḥammad as *tawakkaltu ʿalā 'llāh*, and so forth (ed. M.S. Bahār, Tehran 1318/1939, 428). It then gives a similar list for all the Great Saldjūḳs, beginning with Ṭoghril Beg's *iʿtimādī ʿalā 'llāh* (whose attribution to this ruler is, however, dubious, see Stern, *op. cit.*, 146 and n. 1), and there is similar information on the sultans—with some discrepancies—scattered through Rāwandī's history of the dynasty, the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* (see the discussion in Stern, *op. cit.*, 143-7). Even some Saldjūḳ viziers, on the evidence of al-Bundārī, had their mottoes. The practice was transmitted to the dynasties who succeeded the Ghaznawids and Saldjūḳs in the east. Thus the historian of the Khwārazm Shāhs, al-Nasawī, gives mottoes (*ʿalāmāt*) for ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and his son Djalāl al-Dīn (*ibid.*, 148-9).

One thus discerns a distinct confusion between the uses of *tawḳīʿ* and *ʿalāma*, whilst, amongst Turkish dynasties, *ṭughrā* subsequently appears as a third designation, although this last is more usually used for an emblem, the successor to a tribal mark (see further, DIPLOMATIC, at vol. II, 303a, 311b; H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselğūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 34-6, who notes that, in some documents of the Khwārazm Shāhs, *tawḳīʿ* also means "seal"). For *tawḳīʿ* = seal (gradually to be replaced by *muhr*) in Turkmen dynasties and Ṣafawid documents, see H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 51.

In the Mamlūk administrative system, *tawḳīʿ* was also used as the name of particular classes of diplomas of appointment, and according to Ibn Faḍl Allāh, it was applied to the diplomas of all officers, the lower as well as the upper, up to the great governors (*nuwwāb*), and therefore became the word most used for appointment generally. A little later it came into use for the appointments of "turban-wearers" (*mutaʿammimūn*), i.e. the *ʿulamāʾ* and *dīwān* officials. According to al-Ḳalḳashandī in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, *tawḳīʿ* was the fourth and lowest as well as the most extensive group of diplomas of appointment (*wilāyāt*).

In the Ottoman empire, the imperial edicts were dealt with by a special official, the *nishāndjī* [*q.v.*] or *tewḳīʿī*, who was responsible for the documents bearing the sultan's style and titles. He was one of the highest officials in the kingdom (the *Erkān-i dewlet*) and a member of the imperial *dīwān*. A device written by the sultan himself was no longer in use here; in Ottoman diplomatic *ʿalāmet*, like the Persian word *nishān*, means the imperial sign-manual (the *ṭughrā*), the style of the sultan drawn in the chancery of the *nishāndji* by a special assistant, the *ṭughrākesh*. *ʿAlāmet* was in this case synonymous with *tawḳīʿ*.

Bibliography: See also W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 152 ff. and index; F. Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1921, 18 ff.; and the *Bibls.* to DIPLOMATIC and NISHĀNDJĪ.

2. As a type of script.

The script known as *tawḳīʿ* came into use in the *dīwāns* of the Mamlūks, the Turkmen dynasties and the Ṣafawids, as well as in those of the Ottomans. In it, the letters were compressed and rounded, often with many of the letters not usually joined to a following one, in fact joined up. From the 10th/16th century onwards, it was ousted in the Ottoman administrative departments by the so-called *dīwān* script. See KHAṬṬ. ii. In Persia, and iii. In Turkey, with an illustration of the *tawḳīʿ* script at Pl. XXXV, 4.

Bibliography: See also Kraelitz, *op. cit.*, 8; L. Fekete, *Einführung in der osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest 1926, p. xx. (F. BABINGER-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

TAWḲĪT [see MĪḲĀT].

TAWRĀT (A.), Ḳurʾānic spelling *Twryh*. There are linguistic problems connected with the term, but it is certainly not from Hebr. *Torah*. It may represent a "crossbreed" between Hebr. *Torah* and Aramaic *Ōriyyah*. The term *Twryh*, appears in the Ḳurʾān 18 times, all in sūras from the Medinan period (of these, 13 times in sūras III and V). In half of these verses the word appears together with *Indjīl* [*q.v.*], and both designate two of the pre-Islamic heavenly Scriptures revealed to Jews and Christians respectively. The *Tawrāt* was revealed after the time of Ibrāhīm and Isrāʾīl (III, 65, 93), contains the law of God (V, 48) which the "People of the Book" [see AHL AL-KITĀB] should obey in order to be rewarded in Paradise (V, 65, 66, 67). Those who do not apply the law imposed upon them by the *Tawrāt* are "like an ass carrying books" (LXII, 5); The *Tawrāt* was confirmed by Jesus (see ʿĪSĀ and III, 48, V, 46, LXI, 6) and contains a prediction of the coming of *al-nabī al-ummī*, i.e. Muḥammad (VII, 157). Only one other Biblical book is mentioned explicitly in the Ḳurʾān, the Psalms of David [see ZABŪR], from which one verse is quoted exactly (cf. XXI, 105, with Ps. xxxvii. 29). Other pre-Islamic revelations mentioned include the *Ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm* and *Ṣuḥuf Mūsā* (LII, 36, and LXXXVII, 19), the latter perhaps being another term for *Tawrāt*.

Actual quotations from the Torah in the Ḳurʾān are very few and inexact (cf. V, 45 with Exod. xxi. 25-6, and III, 87, with Gen. xxxii. 33). Some are taken from other books of the Hebrew Bible (cf. XLVIII, 29, with Ps. i. 3, lxxii. 16, or xcii. 14) and from the Mishna (see v. 32, which gives the original version of Sanhedrin iv. 5). This fact proves that the word had the wide meaning of the whole corpus of Jewish Scriptures, as Torah in ancient Jewish literature itself (see Bacher, *Exegetische Terminologie*, i, 197 ff.), but only late Muslim authors differentiate explicitly between "the wider and the specific meaning" of *Tawrāt* (see Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*, Beirut n.d., 176-7). Some Ḳurʾān commentators and dictionaries acknowledge the foreign origin of the term (see al-Zamakhsharī, to III, 2, and *TʿA*, s.v. *w-r-y*, and cf. A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 95-6).

The Ḳurʾān contains, however, a large amount of repeated Biblical material together with Midrashic elaborations and other additions and adaptations, based on the laws and stories of the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets of the Hebrew Bible (the Later Prophets are unknown to the Ḳurʾān) as well as material from the New Testament, usually without

mentioning an exact source. These were later elaborated upon in Ḳur'ān commentaries, historiographies and in the literary genre of Tales of the Prophets [see ḲIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀ'], all of which contain very few exact quotations from the Hebrew Bible but a large amount of Biblical material. The contradictions between the Ḳur'ānic and Biblical stories, and the denial of both Jews and Christians that Muḥammad was predicted in their Holy Scriptures, gave rise to the Ḳur'ānic accusation of the falsification of these last by Jews and Christians respectively [see TAḤRĪF]. Also, according to Muslim theologians, the *Tawrāt* was abrogated and superseded first by the *Indjīl* and then by the Ḳur'ān [see NASKH].

The term *Tawrāt* was apparently known in pre-Islamic times (see the verse attributed to the unknown Jewish poet al-Sammāk, quoted by Ibn Hishām, 659, tr. J. Horovitz, *Jewish proper names*, in *HUCA*, ii [1925], 194, and the verse of Kulayb b. Rabī'a, in Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 80), but it occurs seldom in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry (see e.g. Ibn Hishām, 712: Ḥassān b. Thābit; *Aghānī*,[3] xiii, 265: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥakam). The term *Zabūr* [*q.v.*] also occurs in poetry as a general term for pre-Islamic Holy Scriptures.

In the *Ḥadīth*, the term appears frequently, and the *Tawrāt* is usually quoted by well-known personalities such as 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās and his disciples or Abū Hurayra, as well as by Jewish converts to Islam or by people of Jewish descent like 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, Ka'b al-Aḥbār and Wahb b. Munabbih. The *Tawrāt* is considered to be the holy scripture revealed to Mūsā, but again, very few quotations are actually based on verses from the Pentateuch or the Hebrew Bible or on sayings from Jewish lore (cf., e.g., al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Tafsīr*, on sūra XVII, trad. 12, with Prov. iv. 2). According to a widespread *Ḥadīth*, Muḥammad instructed his followers neither to accept sayings from the *Tawrāt* (translated for them by the *Ahl al-Kitāb*) nor to consider them untrue, but to stick to their own belief (al-Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, e.g. book 97, *Tawḥīd, bāb* 51, or book 65, *Tafsīr* on sūra II, *bāb* 11). Nevertheless, some traditionists are said to have read the *Tawrāt* every week, stating that each time the reading is finished God's mercy comes down (Ibn Sa'd, vii/1, 161).

Most quotations from the *Tawrāt* are not based on any known text, a phenomenon which became more and more widespread in mediaeval Muslim literature and has continued thus up to our times. Muslim authors explain that these unknown, often Ḳur'ānic-like quotations are taken from the "true", unfalsified *Tawrāt*. One can find even whole reconstructions of the "true", uncorrupted *Tawrāt*—sometimes called *Munādjāt Mūsā*—or of the Psalms (see Sadan, in *Bibl.*). On the other hand, Muslim authors used exact or almost exact translations of Biblical verses to prove that Muḥammad was indeed predicted in the Hebrew Bible (and in the New Testament), as stated in sūras VII, 157, and LXI, 6. This theme was apparently developed in Muslim literature by Christian converts to Islam and modelled after the Christian *Testimonia* as an answer to early polemics by Christians. In the *Ḥadīth* literature, the examples are few (see one which echoes faintly Isa. xlii. 2-3, in al-Bukhārī, book 34, *Buyū'*, trad. 50, or book 65, *Tafsīr* on sūra XLVIII, *bāb* 3). An early list of Biblical predictions of the coming of Muḥammad is to be found in the *Risāla* of Ibn al-Layth (*Djamharat rasā'il al-'Arab*, ed. A.Z. Ṣafwat, iii, 308-13), which he composed for Hārūn al-Rashīd and which was directed to the Byzantine emperor, urging him to embrace Islam. Approximately at that time a specific literary genre appeared in Arabic literature called *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa* or *A'lām al-nubuwwa* ("Proofs or signs of prophethood"), which became very popular from the 3rd/9th century onwards. Books belonging to this genre tried to prove the authenticity and validity of Muḥammad's message through stressing the miracles he performed, his unique personality, his worldly success, etc., and the Biblical predictions of his coming. Two of the earliest existing examples of this literature, which contain many Biblical verses explained typologically, are the converted Nestorian 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī's [*q.v.*] *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla* (written *ca.* 855, ed. and tr. A. Mingana, *The book of religion and empire*, Manchester 1922, 1923), and Ibn Ḳutayba's *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, which has survived only partially in Ibn al-Djawzī's *al-Wafā bi-aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, Cairo 1966, i, 62-72 (see tr. of Ibn Ḳutayba's list of Biblical predictions by C. Adang, *Muslim writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible*, Leiden 1996, 267-77). Later Muslim authors follow them with shorter lists of repeated Biblical verses (esp. from Genesis, Deutero-Isaiah and the Psalms), which are taken to predict not only the epithets and the coming of Muḥammad but also the rise and conquests of Islam, its way of worship, the *Ḥadjdj*, etc. (see H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined worlds. Medieval Islam and Bible criticism*, Princeton 1992, 75-110).

It is unclear whether mediaeval Muslim authors had direct access to an Arabic translation of the Hebrew Bible. Muslim authors (Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Ḥazm) knew about early Bible translations—the Samaritan and the "Christian" Septuagint—as well as about Jewish and Christian Arabic translations (Ibn al-Nadīm mentions *inter alios* Saadia and his translation, see *Fihrist*, 23, tr. Dodge, i, 43-5; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 112 ff., mentions Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, Abū Kathīr of Tiberias and others). They even used them; Mālik b. Dīnār of 2nd/8th century Baṣra visited the library of a Christian monastery for this purpose (see Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā*, ii, 375, 381). Most of their information, however, seems to have been gathered orally from Jews, up to the 9th/15th century, with the exception of a few Muslim authors like Ibn Ḳutayba and Ibn Ḥazm, who may have had at least parts of the Hebrew Bible in full translation before them (Lazarus-Yafeh, *op. cit.*, 111-29). Only with Burhān al-Dīn al-Biḳā'ī (d. 885/1480) do Bible quotations become exact and lengthy and the whole context of the quoted verses clear (see his 22-volume Ḳur'ān commentary, *Naẓm al-durar fī tanāsub al-āyāt wa 'l-suwar*, Ḥaydarābād 1969-84). On Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī's Biblical scholarship, see AL-ṬŪFĪ.

The ambivalent attitude to the *Tawrāt* is apparent also in contemporary Arabic literature. Modern studies still try to prove, with the help of linguistic scholarship, the prediction of Muḥammad in the Bible (e.g. Ḥusām Arshad, *al-Bishāra bi-Muḥammad fī 'l-Tawrāt*, Cairo 1986, based on Ps. lxviii. 5); other studies use modern Bible scholarship to prove that the Pentateuch is composed of different layers and has thus been falsified [see TAḤRĪF].

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2. Studies. K. Ahrens, *Christliches im Qoran*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxiv (1930), 20-1; E. Algermissen, *Die Pentateuchzitate Ibn Ḥazms*, Münster 1933; C. Adang, *Some hitherto neglected biblical material in the work of Ibn Ḥazm*, in *al-Masāq. Studia-Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea*, v (1992), 17-28; C. Brockelmann, *Ibn Ǧauzī's Kitāb al-Wafā bi-Faḍā'il al-Muṣṭafā*, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischer Sprachkunde*, ii (1898), 1-59; I. Cardillo (Ḥardilū), *al-Tawrāt fī fikr Ibn Ḥazm*, Khartoum 1984; L. Cheikho, *Quelques légendes islamiques apocryphes*, in *MFOB*, iv (1910), 33-56; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Bonn 1833 (tr. F.M. Young, *Judaism in Islam*, Madras 1898); I. Goldziher, *Ueber muhammedanische Polemik gegen Ahl-al-Kitāb*, in *ZDMG*, xxxii (1878), 341-87 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii, 1-47); idem, *Ueber Bibelcitate in muhammedanischen Schriften*, in *ZATW*, xiii (1893), 315-21 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii, 309-15); Graf, *GCAL*, i; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926; A. Jeffery, *A Muslim Torah from India*, in *MW*, xv (1925), 232-39; M.J. Kister, *Ḥaddithū ʿan banī isrā'īla walā ḥaraja*, in *IOS*, ii (1972), 215-39; G. Lecomte, *Les citations de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans l'œuvre d'Ibn Qutayba*, in *Arabica*, v (1958), 34-46; D. Masson, *Monothéisme coranique et monothéisme biblique*, Paris 1976; F. Rosenthal, *The influence of the Biblical tradition on Muslim historiography*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 35-45; J. Sadan, *Some literary problems concerning Judaism and Jewry in medieval Arabic sources*, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of David Ayalon*, Jerusalem 1986, 370-98; M. Schreiner, *Zur Geschichte der Polemik zwischen Juden und Muhammedanern*, in *ZDMG*, xlii (1888), 591-675 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, 75-159); idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibel in der arabischen Literatur*, in *Semitic studies in memory of A. Kohut*, Berlin 1897, 495-513 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, 347-65); H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Grafenhainichen 1938, repr. Hildesheim 1961; C.C. Torrey, *The Jewish foundations of Islam*, New York 1933; G. Vajda, *Judaeo-Arabica. 1. Observations sur quelques citations bibliques chez Ibn Qotayba*, in *REJ*, xcviii (1935), 68-80. (Hava Lazarus-Yafeh)

TAWRĪḲ (a.), the verbal noun from the form II verb *warraḳa*, literally, "the act of putting forth leaves, branches", used as a term of art and architecture in the sense of arabesque, pattern of vegetal adornment and decoration. *Al-tawrīḳ* was taken into mediaeval Spanish usage as *ataurique*, whence Pedro de Alcala's definition *pintura de lazos morisca*, tavrîq (Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*[2], Leiden 1869, 214). See further, arabesque. (Ed.)

TAWRIYA (a.), also called *īhām*, roughly "double entendre", "Doppelsinnwitz", a frequently discussed figure in Arabic literary theory. Based on *ishtirāk*, homonymy, the figure depends on the "nearer" meaning (*maʿnā ḳarīb*) of a noun, adjective, or a verbal form "hiding" (*warrā*) the "farther" meaning (*maʿnā baʿīd*) intended by the poet. Personal names and place names may also hide this farther meaning. The *tawriya* is also known by a confusing number of other names: *tawhīm*, *takhyīl* [*q.v.*], *tawdjīh*, *mughālaṭa maʿnawiyya*, etc.

Probably the first scholar to devote a monograph to the *tawriya* was al-Ṣafadī (696 or 697-764/1296-7-1363; see S.A. Bonebakker, *Some definitions of the Tawriya and Ṣafadī's Faḍḍ al-xitām ʿan at-tawriya wa-'l-istixdām*, The Hague 1966 (here abbreviated *B.*). Al-Ṣafadī distinguishes four types: the *tawriya mudjarrada* or "bare *tawriya*" where the context of the homonym does not show "adjuncts", "attributes" (*lawāzim*; others: *ḳarā'in*, *B.* 15 ff., 57, 60, 75), i.e. elements in the context which point to either of the two meanings of the term on which the *tawriya* is based; the *murashshaḥa*, which contains attribute(s) supporting the *maʿnā ḳarīb* (or *al-muwarrā bihī*), which is *not* intended by the poet; the *mubayyana* supporting the meaning that is actually intended (*maʿnā baʿīd* or *al-muwarrā ʿanhu*); and, finally, the *muhayya'a*, which contains what is needed to discover the *tawriya* which would otherwise not be clear.

Al-Ṣafadī's theories and his four subdivisions were apparently not fully shared by other scholars, as appears, for instance, from Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik (d. 686/1287), *Miṣbāḥ*, Cairo 1341/1923, 119-20; *B.* 55, which actually preceded al-Ṣafadī's work, and from studies by later authors such as al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338-9), *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*, in *Shurūḥ al-talkhīṣ*, Cairo 1317-9/1897-1901, iv, 332-6 (*B.* 57-9); [al-Ruʿaynī] al-Andalusī's (d. 779/1377) commentary on Ibn Djābir *apud* al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ ʿuḳūd al-djumān*, Cairo 1358/1939, 115 (*B.* 15-6 n. 17); ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731), *Nafaḥāt al-azhār*, Cairo 1341, 76-7 (*B.* 104); this is best illustrated by discussions on the rationale of al-Ṣafadī's theory of the *tawriya mudjarrada*, see W. Heinrichs, in *Oriens*, xx [1968-9], 399-403, see also 403-7 (important review of the *tawriya* theory); and *B.* 15-7. See also Ibn Maʿṣūm, *Anwār al-rabīʿ*, ed. Sh.H. Shukr, Nadjaf 1388-9/1968-9, v, 5-15 who takes issue with several of his predecessors.

The first author to deal with the *tawriya* may have been Usāma b. Munḳidh (d. 584/1188), *al-Badīʿ fi 'l-badīʿ*, ed. ʿA.ʿA. al-Muhannā, Beirut 1407/1987, 97-8, but he does not discuss the figure in great detail. The same is true of the Persian-Arabic *Ḥadā'iḳ al-siḥr* by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (d. 578/1182-3), ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, 39-42, who uses the term *īhām*. Both authors offer interesting examples.

Some scholars tried to find examples of the *tawriya* in ancient poetry or interpreted as *tawriya*s examples from the Ḳur'ān, such as *al-Raḥmānu ʿalā 'l-ʿarshi 'stawā*, (Ḳur'ān XX, 5) where *istawā* is supposed to have the meaning of "dominating", "possessing", not "settling in a place", ruled out since this would lead to anthropomorphism, see Ibn Ḥidjdja (d. 837/1434), *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1304/1886-7, 240; *B.* 24-7, see also 101-3.

A related figure is the *istikhdām* (*B.* 18-20, 30-1), based on a compound sentence where the main clause and the subordinate each "make use of" one of the double meanings of the term on which the figure depends, e.g. *waswās* "confusion, perplexity" and "jingling" of ornaments, in *wa-idhā mashat tarakat bi-ṣadrika ḍiʿfa mā bi-ḥuliyyihā min kathrati 'l-waswāsī* where "confusion" applies to the heart, and "jingling" to the ornaments (*ḥuliyy*).

The *tawhīm* (false suggestion) and the *ibhām* (amphibology; *B.* 20, 22, 52-3) in their proper sense stand, strictly speaking, in no relation to either the *tawriya* or the *istikhdām*, but are often mentioned in connection with it. There exists, however, a *tawhīm al-tawriya* or *īhām al-tawriya* (*B.* 22, 29-30) "suggesting a *tawriya*" where the poet falsely creates the impression that his line of poetry contains a *tawriya*. This possibility suggests implicitly that the critics did not accept a *tawriya* or *istikhdām* that was not clearly supported by the context.

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Nuri Soudan, Wiesbaden 1980, 255-66, see also 242-55; Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī, *al-Ṭirāz*, Cairo 1332/1914, iii, 63-6 (*mughālaṭa maʿnawiyya*); A.F.M. (von) Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, repr. Hildesheim 1970, see index; F. Rückert-W. Pertsch, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, Gotha 1874, 279-85.

(S.A. Bonebakker)

ṬĀWŪS, Ṭāʾūs (a.), masculine substantive (pls. *ṭawāwīs, aṭwās*) drawn from the Greek ταώς and denoting the peacock (*Pavo*) of the family of the Phasianidae, originally from Asia and comprising four species: (a) the blue peacock (*Pavo cristatus*); (b) the spiciferous peacock (*Pavo muticus*); (c) the Congo peacock (*Afropavo congensis*); and (d) the black peacock (*Pavo nigripennis*).

1. In Muslim lore.

This attractive and majestic large-tailed bird, an attribute in Greek and Latin Antiquity of the goddess Hera/Juno, was of no interest to the Arabs other than in the magnificence of its plumage, since it was regarded as maleficent and inauspicious; according to some beliefs, it is said to have been the cause of the entry of the Devil into Paradise and of the expulsion of Adam, with the injunction that he was never to return there for the whole duration of the terrestrial world; for this reason, the keeping of peacocks was not recommended. Furthermore, according to al-Damīrī, it is said that when Adam planted the vine, Satan came, cut the throat of a peacock over the plant and drank the bird's blood. When the vine-stock sprouted foliage, the devil slaughtered a monkey there and drank its blood. When the grapes appeared, the demon slaughtered a lion there and drank its blood. When, finally, the grapes reached maturity, Satan slaughtered a pig there and drank its blood; this explains why one who is addicted to wine acquires the attributes of these four animals. Thus when he begins to drink he is soon crawling on hands and knees, his complexion becomes bright and he acquires the beauty of the peacock. But as the first symptoms of intoxication become evident, he waves his arms and dances like a monkey; as his intoxication increases, he adopts the behaviour of a lion, roaring and incapable of following a consistent line of thought. Finally, when thoroughly inebriated, he wallows like the pig, helpless and drifting into sleep.

Two proverbs summarise the Arab world's opinion of this beautiful bird; one is *azhā* or *aḥsan min ṭāwūs* "more magnificent than a peacock!", while the other introduces a gloomy prophecy with *ashʾam min ṭāwūs* "more ill-omened than a peacock!".

In his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, as quoted by al-Damīrī, al-Djāḥiẓ gives some observations of the behaviour of peacocks. The peahen begins laying at three years of age; her clutch may be from five to twelve eggs. The male, driven by erotic fever and jealousy, may go so far as to break the eggs with violent pecking; he also often entrusts the clutch to a hen until the hatching of the chicks. Mating takes place in the spring. The peacock, justly nicknamed *Abu 'l-washy* "he of the splendid coat", loses its livery in the autumn and regains its brilliant plumage in the spring, thus following the cycle of the leafing of trees.

In the Middle Ages, by contrast with Muslim opinion, Christianity showed a high regard for the peacock, calling it "the noble bird" and considering its meat "the food of the valiant"; thus, when carving the roasted bird, the knight enunciated the "vow of the peacock" or "vow of courage" or even "vow of love". In heraldry, the peacock was represented as "rouant", i.e. "making a wheel" or "peacocking" with the spreading of the variegated fan of its tail. In decorative art, the peacock was a motif often reproduced as an adornment on objects and for Christians it was a symbol of the Resurrection. In gastronomy, as it had been among the Romans, the meat of the peacock was considered a choice dish; Muslim opinion was somewhat divided as to the permissibility of consuming this meat, but as a general rule it was allowed in Sunnī circles.

Despite these disagreements, Arab naturalist authors who wrote on the subject attribute to the peacock certain specific qualities. Thus the peacock willingly kills venomous snakes and begins to dance, spreading wings and tail, when it senses a poisoned dish. The flesh of the peacock, which doctors proscribed on account of its heaviness, needed soaking in vinegar; it was reckoned to be an aphrodisiac and a treatment for maladies of the joints. The marrow of the bones mixed with honey was believed to cure colic and other stomach ailments. Similarly, the blood mixed with honey, gall and vinegar was a remedy for abdominal complaints and, mixed with salt, it was an effective ointment for the healing of purulent boils. Finally, the excrement of the peacock, when roasted and pulverised, constituted a powder effective in the removal of freckles from the face.

In oneiromancy, seeing a peacock in a dream would foretell an advantageous marriage with a stranger; it would also guarantee successful progeny.

On the description of the peacock in poetry, see e.g. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, x, 216-17. On Malak Ṭāwūs, the Peacock Angel, see yazīdiyya.

From the same root (*ṭ-w-s*) is derived the word *ṭāwūsiyya*, denoting, from the family of Saturnidae, the greater peacock moth (*Saturnia pyri*) and the lesser peacock moth (*Saturnia pavonia*) and from the family of Nymphalidae, the peacock butterfly (*Vanessa io*).

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938-45, i, 194, 199, 288, ii, 243-7, 344, iii, 183, v, 472; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1928-9, ii, 88-91; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* (on the margins of Damīrī), ii, 274-5; A. Malouf (Amīn Maʿlūf), *Muʿdjam al-ḥayawān. An Arabic zoological dictionary*, Cairo 1932, 185, s.v. Peacock/*Pavo*; H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in der arabische Zoographie*, Berlin 1990, index s.v. Pfau.

(F. Viré)

2. In art.

The splendid plumage of the male peafowl, whose colourful tail can be expanded erect like a fan, was a recurring motif in Islamic art since its very beginning. Taken over from Persian Sāsānid representations, particularly textiles and precious metals, the bird was depicted in nearly all media, and is always recognisable by its crest of three dots on short stems and its tail. In the majority of cases, the bird is shown either single or in antithetical pairs. In the last case, the long necks may be intertwined. The beauty of the tail, which often had royal or paradisiacal connotations, is enhanced in configurations in which the bird is shown *en face* with the tail deployed. Because of its symbolic meaning, the tail was also attached to other creatures like al-Burāḳ [*q.v.*], the Sīmurgh [*q.v.*] or a harpy.

The beauty of the bird made it particularly suitable for decorative purposes. Single peacocks with raised, ovoid tails covered with "peacock eyes" occupy the inside of some 9th to 10th century Mesopotamian lustre painted bowls or fill the centre of the medallions of a 10th century Spanish textile fragment. They figure on Eastern Iranian and Sāmānid pottery, on 12th century North Persian champlevé dishes, on pot-

tery vessels manufactured in 12th to 14th century Persian workshops; in Turkey it remained a popular ornament as late as the 18th to 19th centuries. Similarly antithetical peacocks, facing a central design or linked by their necks, begin to decorate art objects from *ca.* the 9th century onwards. On one of the earliest examples—a Persian bronze ewer in the Hermitage on which they form its sole decoration—they face a palm tree, pick at one of its leaves and deploy their tails as if to reveal all their beauty. Often shown with intertwined necks they were a popular motif on Spanish Umayyad ivories, Ṭā'ifa period stone carvings and Almoravid silks. The most impressive of the latter is a chasuble in Toulouse, the Basilica of St. Sernine, on which the deployed tails of each pair form roundels which, horizontally aligned, are woven in different colours.

Since among all the birds only the male peafowl can expose its colourful tail feathers in a complete fan, Hispano-Islamic, and particularly Persian artists also depicted this ostentatious display. On the ivory pyxis of al-Mug̲h̲īra (357/968), this pose occurs twice, once in the upper register between the main medallions on the body of the pyxis, and again on the domed lid. On the body, the stately peacock, seen *en face*, is flanked by two peahens, while on the domed lid two peacocks with deployed tails face each other.

In Persia, the earliest examples are paintings on the inner walls of the K̲h̲arrāḳān tomb tower, dated 460/1067-8. A gold coin of the founder of the Ḳād̲j̲ār dynasty, Ag̲h̲a Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, minted in Iṣfahān in 1210-11/1795, ranks among the latest specimens which portray the bird *en face*.

In mediaeval Islam, the peacock was associated with (a) royalty; (b) the prophet Sulaymān [*q.v.*], and (c) light and paradise. Al-Damīrī, in his dream interpretation, refers to al-Maḳdisī, according to whom the [peacock] indicates a "foreign" (Persian) king, and a dream about friendly relations with peacocks promises brotherly relations with the king of Persia. Thus many Persian 12th to 13th century ceramics depict an enthroned royalty with one or two peacocks in front or behind his throne. The same idea recurs in illustrated manuscripts. On the frontispiece of Sa'dī's *Bustān* in the Bodleian Library (ms. Fraser 73, fol. 2a, *ca.* A.D. 1515), one of the two genii who hovers over the canopy of an enthroned prince carries a peacock. Or, in a fragmentary *S̲h̲āh-nāma* manuscript from *ca.* 1590-1600 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Cat. no. 277), the picture of a peacock with deployed tail is shown above the seat of Farīdūn. A striking example of the close relation between Persian kingship and the bird is the gold coin of Ag̲h̲a Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, mentioned above, that shows a peacock with a huge deployed tail on its obverse. Finally, one is reminded of the famous "Peacock Throne" in Tehran, which almost certainly received its name from its precious stones, that suggested the plumage of the peacock [see further, TAK̲H̲T-I ṬĀWŪS].

The connection between the peacock and the throne of Sulaymān is referred to already by al-T̲h̲a'labī, who describes his throne as being surrounded by four golden palm trees, on the branches of which sit golden peacocks and eagles. In particular, 15th to 16th century S̲h̲īrāz manuscripts show Sulaymān enthroned like a Persian king, with an angel holding a peacock over his head, or with peacocks sitting in front of or behind his throne.

The association of the peacock with light, paradise and the Afterlife is suggested by paintings which depict the bird in conjunction with motifs that conjure up similar ideas. In the wall paintings inside the K̲h̲arrāḳān Tomb Tower, for example, peacocks enclosed in sundisk-like medallions that alternate with six- and eight-pointed stars, were almost certainly meant to convey wishes for a heavenly abode. This also seems to explain the peacocks at the portal of the tombchamber of Hārūn-i Wilāya at Iṣfahān. Similarly, in numerous *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* manuscripts, large, colourful peacocks in assembly with other birds represent the "search for God".

Bibliography: A monograph on the peacock remains to be written. For numerous examples, see Ingeborg Luschey, *The pictorial tile cycle of Hašt Behešt in Isfahan and its iconographic tradition*, Rome 1978, 159-69. For the peacock tail, see Eva Baer, *Sphinxes and harpies in medieval Islamic art*, Jerusalem 1965, index. (EVA BAER)

ṬĀWŪSIYYA, a heterodox S̲h̲ī'ī sect of the later 19th and early 20th centuries in Persia. It is named after a certain Ag̲h̲ā Muḥammad Kāẓim Tunbākū-furūs̲h̲ of Iṣfahān, known as *Ṭāwūs al-'urafā'*, "Peacock of the (Ṣūfī) initiates" from his elegant dress, who broke away from the Ni'mat-Allāhiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order. On the death of Raḥmat 'Alī S̲h̲āh S̲h̲īrāzī, who represented the Ni'mat-Allāhīs in Iṣfahān, Ṭāwūs refused to recognise his successor there, and, on his expulsion from Iṣfahān in 1281/1864-5, moved to Tehran, dying there in 1293/1876.

He was succeeded as *ḳuṭb* of the group which had formed around him by one Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mullā Sulṭān Gunābādī, who may be considered as the real founder of the Ṭāwūsiyya. He had studied at Mas̲h̲had and the *'atabāt* of 'Irāḳ; he had taught at Tehran, but had fallen under suspicion for alleged Bābī sympathies; and then later, he joined Ag̲h̲ā Muḥammad in Iṣfahān. Dying in 1327/1909, he was succeeded by his sons Nūr 'Alī S̲h̲āh and Ṣafī 'Alī S̲h̲āh.

Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mullā Sulṭān's Ṣūfī doctrines involved three stages of teaching, from initiation to perfection, on the evidence of his disciple Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ 'Abbās 'Alī Kaymān (whose works, including the *Kitāb-i rāz-gus̲h̲ā ki pāsuk̲h̲-i pand̲j̲āh pursis̲h̲ ast*, written in Tehran in 1350/1931-2 and published there around the same time, are an important source for the sect). In the first, he merely regarded himself as a learned man, to be imitated as a *mard̲j̲a' al-taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]; in the second, he claimed the imāmate; and in the third stage he claimed, by allusion and suggestion rather than directly, quasi-divine powers as the appointed representative of God on earth, designated for every age, the *muk̲h̲-tār-i muṭlaḳ* "Supremely Chosen One", who is called *payg̲h̲ambar, imām, ḳuṭb, g̲h̲awth*, etc. The degrees of initiation amongst the Ṭāwūsiyya were certainly Ṣūfī in nature, but Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mullā Sulṭān himself claimed to synthesise the religions of the whole world.

As for Ṭāwūsī ritual, it presents certain features which relate it to the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*]. Notably, during the ceremony of initiation (*tas̲h̲arruf*) in the presence of the *dalāl*, initiator, followed by *bay'at* of the *murīd* alone with the *ḳuṭb*, the initiate contracts several obligations: obedience, charity, secret of the *d̲h̲ikr*, service for 12 years; presentation of the *dīg-i d̲j̲ūs̲h̲* (boiling pot), and offers five things: nuts, a ring, a coin, a piece of cloth and sweet-meats (which have acquired a particular virtue). The custom of *dīg-i d̲j̲ūs̲h̲* (boiled meat presented by the *murīd*, who carries the boiling pot on his head to the *ḳuṭb* who distributes it to his guests) exists, says S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Kaywān, among the 'Alī-Ilāhīs. "It is the custom for them to carry once a week the boiling pot to their superior, to make up for prayer omitted and as soon as the superior

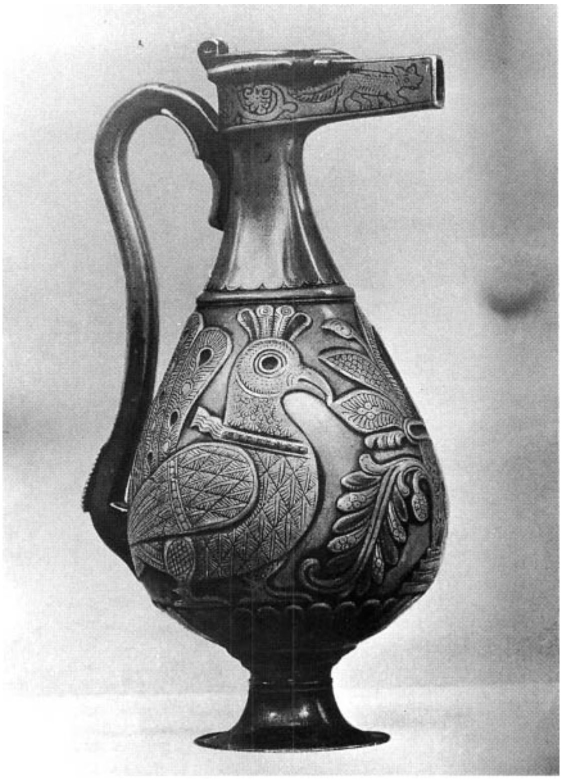

1. Peacocks facing palm tree. Bronze ewer, 9th to 10th century. Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

2. Peacocks with intertwined necks. "Pila of Jativa". Spain, *ca.* mid-11th century.

3. Peacock with deployed tail. Detail from frontispiece of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*, painted about 1600. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

4. Burāḳ with peacock tail. From dispersed manuscript, Tabrīz or Baghdād, 1380-90. Istanbul, Topkapı Saray.

5. Peacocks in front of princely throne. Persian dish, *ca.* beginning of 13th century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

says "thy gift is accepted", the omitted prayer becomes accepted by the Lord. They call this custom *niyāz*, offering, as distinct from *namāz*, prayer. Hast thou said thy prayer? No, but I have offered *niyāz*." Among the Ṭāwūsiyya the custom of *dīg-i djūsh* seems to be connected with the custom, called *'akīka* [*q.v.*], on the seventh day after the birth of a child, when the parents sacrifice a lamb and give the meat to the poor. Here we have the comparison between the new-born child and the initiate, the latter receiving a new soul.

As to the term *niyāz*, the Ṭāwūsiyya have it also, but it is applied to an assembly in which there is no offering but which has a very elaborate ritual, not only of participation in preparation but also the actual ceremony itself, of which Kaywān refuses to give the real significance. He says, among other things, that the 'Alī-Ilāhīs and the Ṣūfīs "are in the same valley". The former, observing *ḥaḳīḳat*, are, however, superior to the latter who stop at *ṭarīḳat*. Formerly, the rite of "breaking the nut" (*djūz shikastan*) was performed by the superior of the 'Alī-Ilāhīs alone and the Ṣūfī *ḳuṭbs* had to give him for this purpose the nuts received from the disciples. Connections with the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ must not be neglected, in spite of the differences which are also to be noted, remembering the part played by Bābā Ṭāhir among the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, as one of the divine manifestations, and the fact that Mullā Sulṭān 'Alī Gunābādī is the author of commentaries in Arabic and Persian on the work of Bābā Ṭāhir [*q.v.*]. F.M. Stead, in *MW* (1932), 184-9, even mentions "one of the branches of the 'Alī Ilāhī Cult, known as the Tausi or Peacock sect . . . venerates the devil", but this would suggest rather a connection with the Yazīdīs [see YAZĪDIYYA], of which we have been unable to find any indication. The Ṭāwūsī teaching has, on the contrary, so far as we can judge, been strongly influenced by Bābī conceptions (the charge made against Ḥādjdjī Mullā Sulṭān was perhaps not entirely without foundation), and in consequence affords us a typical example of modern heterodox syncretism in Shī'ī circles, which has assimilated in its own way Ṣūfī, 'Alī-Ilāhī and Bābī ideas.

Bibliography: The above is based essentially on the works of Shaykh Kaywān. (B. NIKITINE*)

TAWWĀBŪN (A.) "penitents", the self-imposed title of an early Shī'ī movement that arose in response to the defeat and martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn and his companions at Karbalā' in 61/680. The movement was led by five former close associates of 'Alī, chief of whom was Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, whose honorific *shaykh al-shī'a* suggests his prestige among his fellows, mostly elderly Arab males of Kūfa. This cohort of one hundred men over sixty felt a profound sadness and guilt for not having either been able or sufficiently willing to support Ḥusayn and his comrades at Karbalā'. Scholarly consensus holds that the *Tawwābūn* were a genuinely religious society who vowed revenge for Ḥusayn's blood or death as martyrs in the process of atoning for the ignominious loss of their hero at the hands of the Umayyads.

For three years the movement remained underground, but with the death of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd in 64/683 and the political confusion that followed, Sulaymān b. Ṣurad saw a chance for action. He gathered his followers and persuaded many new people to join the movement. Although 16,000 volunteers pledged support, when the time arrived for battle against the 30,000 troops of the Umayyad governor in 'Irāḳ, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] (who had been responsible for the Karbalā' massacre), only 4,000 (all Arabs, with no *mawālī*) gathered at Nukhayla near Kūfa in Rabī' II 65/November 684 in support of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and his leadership circle, pledging "revenge for the blood of Ḥusayn." Soon the force was reduced by absentees to 3,000. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad led the *Tawwābūn* first to Karbalā', where great lamentation was raised (and the ritual visit to Ḥusayn's burial place was instituted). Sulaymān b. Ṣurad's forces then advanced, finally engaging the Umayyads at 'Ayn al-Warda, near the Syrian border. A three-day battle broke out on 22 Djumāda I 65/ January 685 with the *Tawwābūn* crying "Paradise! Paradise for the Turābīs!" (al-Mas'ūdī, ed. Pellat, iii, § 1980; Jafri, 231-2, 234; "Turābīs" = followers of 'Alī, whose *kunya* was Abū Turāb). Sulaymān b. Ṣurad was the first of the leaders to fall and at the end only a few *Tawwābūn* survived.

Bibliography: The main source, quoted at length by al-Ṭabarī, is the respected 'Irāḳī historian Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774). See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 204 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 497 ff., tr. G.R. Hawting, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xx, Albany 1989, 80-97, 124-59; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, iii, §§ 1976-82; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, in *Abh. der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F. v. 1, 71 ff., Eng. tr., *The religio-political factions in early Islam*, Amsterdam 1975, 121-4; S.H.M. Jafri, *Origins and early development of Shī'a Islam*, London 1979, 222-34. On Abū Mikhnaf's *K. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad wa-'Ayn al-Warda* and its sources, see Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, Leiden 1971, 108 (no. 23). (F.M. DENNY)

TAWWADJ, TAWWAZ, a town in the western part of the mediaeval province of Fārs in Persia. It lay on or near the Shāpūr river midway between Kāzarūn [*q.v.*] and the Gulf coastland, but the place fell into ruin by later mediaeval times and its site is no longer known for sure. For further details on the town, see SHĀPŪR, river, to whose Bibl. should be added Sir Arnold Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, London 1926, 74-5; J. Markwart-G. Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 94-5; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 163. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

TAWZAR [see TŪZAR].

AL-**ṬAYĀLISĪ**, ABŪ DĀWŪD SULAYMĀN b. Dāwūd b. al-Djārūd, famous Baṣran collector of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], nicknamed "the mountain of knowledge", who died in 203 or 204/819-820 at the age of *ca.* seventy years. He was a *mawlā* of the clan of al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām [*q.v.*] and originally hailed from Persia. He is said to have owed his *nisba* to his custom (?) of wearing a certain Persian upper garment or hood (*ṭaylasān*, pl. *ṭayālisa*), a scarf-like wrapper worn around the head and neck, but the *nisba* more obviously relates to a maker or seller of *ṭaylasāns*, the cowl worn by scholars. He was renowned for his memory; he boasted that he could recite 30,000 traditions without pause. He was especially acclaimed for the many traditions he said that he had learned with Shu'ba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/776 [*q.v.*]), the greatest Baṣran traditionist of his time. Al-Ṭayālisī died after drinking a medicine made of the semecarpus anacardium nut (*balādhur*, cf. Steinschneider in *WZKM*, xi [1897], 319, no. 315).

Al-Ṭayālisī is particularly famous for his collection of traditions, called the *Musnad*. It is preserved in an ancient Ḥaydarābād edition of 1321/1903 which contains 2,768 traditions, some two dozen of which strike one by their remarkable length. Since this number is positively modest in comparison with the figures of tens of thousands of traditions which all the sources

agree in attributing to him, it could be maintained that what we have in that *Musnad* does not constitute the entire collection but is only that part comprising solely prophetic traditions transmitted with more or less uninterrupted *isnād* strands by Companions, the so-called *musnad* [*q.v.*] strands. When his *Musnad* is compared with the collections entitled *Muṣannaf* made by his younger colleagues ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827 [*q.v.*]) and Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849 [*q.v.*]), each of which does indeed contain several tens of thousands of reports, the surmise is tenable that al-Ṭayālisī's *Musnad*, as we have it now, is a collection from which all the reports supported by less well-attested *isnād* strands have been removed according to the *isnād* criteria of post-classical times: it does not contain Companion reports (*mawḳūfāt*), hardly any Successor reports of the type called *mursal* [*q.v.*] and no personal opinions of early *fuḳahāʾ* that go by the term *aḳwāl*, all three categories occurring in abundance in the *Muṣannafs* mentioned. Although this is not substantiated in the Ḥaydarābād edition or anywhere else as far as can be ascertained, al-Ṭayālisī's *Musnad* as we have it now may be an anonymously abridged version of an original corpus several times the size of the present *Musnad*, a corpus that is apparently no longer extant. But what this presumably larger collection may have contained in addition to the Ḥaydarābād *Musnad* is not entirely lost: Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf* quotes dozens of reports on the authority of al-Ṭayālisī which cannot be traced in his *Musnad* and which may therefore conceivably have been part of the massive original. Since he allegedly relied so heavily on his memory, a certain number of mistakes he made in *isnāds* were imputed to him (only ten out of 40,000, according to some authorities), but they did not damage his overall reputation too much.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325, iv, 182-6; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, ed. R.ʿA. Maʿrūf, xi, 401-8; for some of al-Ṭayālisī's mistakes, see ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī al-Djurdjānī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-ridjāl*, ed. Beirut 1988³, iii, 278-81, and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* ix, 24-9. His *Musnad* was edited again with the traditions arranged according to *fiḳh* chapters by Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bannā al-Sāʿātī as *Minḥat al-maʿbūd fī tartīb musnad al-Ṭayālisī Abī Dāwūd*, 2 parts in 1, Cairo 1372/1952.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

AL-ṬAYĀLISĪ, DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD [Ghulām Thaʿlab] b. Djaʿfar [b. Ḥātim al-Wāsiṭī], a philologist, who lived in the middle of the 4th/10th century. A pupil of the Kūfan and Baṣran schools of philology, he probably was a son of the *ghulām* Thaʿlab Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar (d. 327/938-9; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 464). He was connected directly with Ibn Durustawayh (d. 346/957 [*q.v.*]) and to Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid [al-Zāhid al-Muṭarriz] (d. 345/957), another close pupil (*ghulām*) of Thaʿlab's [*q.v.*].

His small work *Kitāb al-Mukāthara ʿinda 'l-mudhākara* shows al-Ṭayālisī as a talented beginner. In a short introduction, he explains that it is his intention to present poets with similar names (*ism*) or surnames (*laḳab*) (87 of the former and 32 of the latter from pre-Islamic and Islamic times) with the purpose of distinguishing them from well-known bearers of this name or surname. He begins with the famous al-Aʿshā Maymūn b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] and adds 15 other bearers of this *laḳab*, together with verses and anecdotes, but omits, for example, the well-known Aʿshā Hamdān [*q.v.*]. The number of verses given by him which are otherwise unknown is not without importance. In the course of the work, the articles become shorter, to end as simple lists of names. The longest article is that on ʿUmāra (no. 56), a great-grandson of the poet Djarīr [*q.v.*]; it contains information on Wāsiṭ [*q.v.*] and on poems by Jews. A first, inadequate, edition after a modern copy (1317/1899) of an old manuscript (614/1217), was published by R. Geyer in *SB AK. Wien*, cciii (1927), Abh. 4; M. Tāwīt al-Ṭandjī published a second edition, based on the old manuscript and on an even older one (523/1129), in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* (Ankara), i (1956), Appendix.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 43, 184; Sezgin, ii, 97, 101, 247. (R. SELLHEIM)

TAYAMMUM (A.), the recommendation or permission to perform the ritual ablution with sand instead of water in certain cases, is based on two passages in the Ḳurʾān, IV, 43/46 and V, 7/9. The latter passage runs as follows: "And if you are in a state of impurity (*djunub*^an^) purify (*fa-ṭṭahharū*) yourselves. But if you are ill, or on a journey or if you come from the privy or you have touched women and you find no water, take fine clean sand (*ṣaʿīd*^an^ *ṭayyib*^an^) and rub your faces and hands with it." Sūra IV, 43/46, is nearly identical except that the phrase "with it" is lacking from the sentence "and rub your faces and hands with it". According to the Shāfiʿīs (see al-Bayḍāwī on IV, 46), "with it" means that there must be some sand in the hand. The Ḥanafīs, on the other hand, consider the rite valid even if the hand has only been touched by a smooth stone. The word seems to have as its root-meaning "intention, desire" (see Lane, s.v. *ʾ-m-m*), and is regarded as "weaker" than either the *ghusl* or the *wuḍūʾ* (al-Ḥalabī, *Multaḳā al-abḥār*, Beirut 1409/1989, i, 30, commentary).

Drawing from the *Mīzān al-kubrā* of al-Shaʿrānī (Cairo 1279, i, 143 ff.), the points of difference between the *madhhabs* may be summed up as: *a*) the material (earth, sand, etc.); *b*) the obligation to look for water; *c*) the question how far face and hands are to be rubbed and into what legal categories these rubbings fall; *d*) the question what one should do if one finds water after he has already begun the *ṣalāt*; *e*) the question whether a single *tayammum* suffices for two *farḍ* rites; *f*) the question whether one who has performed the *tayammum* before his *ṣalāt* may act as *imām* for a person who has performed the ablution with water; *g*) the question whether *tayammum* is permitted before the *ṣalāt* at festivals and for the dead, if one is not on a journey; *h*) the question whether one who is not travelling, and has difficulty getting water for a *ṣalāt*, the legal time for which is about to expire, should repeat the *ṣalāt* performed after *tayammum* as soon as he has found water; *i*) the question whether it is permitted to use the little water one has for a partial washing and do *tayammum* for the rest; *j*) the question of what is to be done in cases of injury; *k*) the question whether the *ṣalāt* is to be repeated in four cases in which it has been performed after *tayammum*.

There is agreement among the *madhhabs* on the point that *tayammum* is only performed for the face or hands, regardless of whether the Muslim is *muḥdith* [see ḤADATH] or *djunub*; whether it occurs in place of a washing of all or any parts of the body is a matter of indifference (al-Nawawī, on Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, i, 406).

In the Talmud (*Berakot*, fol. 15a), a permit to use sand in case of want of water similar to that of the Ḳurʾān is given, and Cedrenus, *Annales*, ed. Hylander, Basle 1556, 206, tells how on an occasion in a journey

through the desert, Christian baptism was performed with sand.

Bibliography: See also the commentaries on sūra IV, 46, and V, 9; Nöldeke-Schwally, *G. des Q.*, i, 190; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, 86; Th.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, etc. Leiden 1925, 58; A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan traditions*, s.v. Tayammum; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazīrī (d. 1360/1941), *al-Fiḳh ʿalā ʾl-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Beirut n.d., i, 148 ff.; Muḥammad Djawār, *al-Fiḳh ʿalā ʾl-madhāhib al-khamsa*, Beirut n.d., 76 ff.; A.K. Reinhart, *Impurity/no danger*, in *History of Religions*, xxx/1 (1990), 1-24.

(A.J. Wensinck-[A.K. Reinhart])

ṬAYBA [see al-Madīna].

ṬAYF al-KHAYĀL (a.), "the vision of the beloved", a motif of classical Arabic poetry. The two terms are explained as synonyms denoting an "apparition" or "phantom" coming in sleep. *Ṭayf* is derived from *ṭ-y-f/ṭ-w-f* "to move" or "move around". *Khayāl* (rarely *khayāla*, pl. *khayālāt*), from *kh-y-l* "to surmise" or "create" an image in one's fancy of a thing, basically means "an incorporeal form or image" (Lane, ii, 385c), anything seen indistinctly like a shadow. The terms occur separately, as a rule. Their combination first appears in Islamic texts and is sometimes reversed (*khayāl al-ṭayf*).

The original structure of the motif in the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] of the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] appears to be as follows: The poet on his desert journey rests at night. His companions are asleep, but he keeps awake or is awakened and suddenly perceives the fleeting image of his beloved, whose tribe dwells far away. He is startled, even frightened, and ponders how she was able to cross the mountains and deserts separating them. Emotions of longing and sorrow are evoked, but eventually he recovers and sends the *ṭayf al-khayāl* back. Mediaeval and modern scholars alike explained the *ṭayf al-khayāl* as a vision in a dream. However, several elements in the narrative, e.g. the poet's reaction and the deceptive character of the phenomenon, suggest that originally the *ṭayf al-khayāl* was conceived as an apparition confronting the poet in the external world (cf. R. Jacobi, *The Khayāl motif in early Arabic poetry*, in *Oriens*, xxxii [1990], 50-64). This interpretation agrees with the etymological evidence and with the function of the pre-Islamic *nasīb*, to free the poet from his emotional involvement in a past love affair.

Since the early Islamic period, the *ṭayf al-khayāl* is described by poets as a vision in a pleasant dream. The motif is favoured in Umayyad poetry and elaborated in accordance with a new ideal of love, i.e. constancy after separation. In the *nasīb* of the panegyrical *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] the original narrative is changed in several ways. Poets now dwell on the beauty of the "vision", the pleasures of love enjoyed while asleep, and the disenchantment in the morning. They sometimes introduce elements of the *raḥīl* [*q.v.*] to the patron or use the motif as a transition (*takhallus*) to the following section of the ode [see nasīb]. *Ghazal* [*q.v.*] poets, on the other hand, concentrate on its psychological aspects and praise the *ṭayf al-khayāl* as the only means of communication between lovers kept apart.

This last aspect is developed with added sophistication in ʿAbbāsid poetry. The narrative structure of the motif is dissolved, but traditional elements are still alluded to, e.g. the *ṭayf al-khayāl*'s perilous desert journey. Poets reflect on the nature of the phenomenon, its causes and effects, the relation between the beloved and her "vision". Occasionally the roles are reversed, the poet's *ṭayf al-khayāl* visiting the beloved. The meeting of "two visions" (*ṭayfān/khayālān*) is a variant employed with ingenuity by several poets, e.g. Abū Nuwās and al-Buḥturī [*q.vv.*] (cf. R. Jacobi, *Al-Khayālāni—a variation of the Khayāl motif*, in *JAL*, xxvii [1996], 2-12). The motif never lost its appeal to later poets, and is also discussed by mediaeval critics. Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 430/1044) in his monograph *Ṭayf al-khayāl* (ed. Ḥ.K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1381/1962) contrasts praise (*madḥ*) and blame (*dhamm*) of the *ṭayf al-khayāl*, illusion and reality (5 ff.). Evidently, love in a dream had its attractions in a society where the meetings of lovers must have been both dangerous and difficult.

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(Renate Jacobi)

TAYM ALLĀH b. Thaʿlaba, an Arab tribe belonging to the branch of the Rabīʿa b. Nizār (tribes of ʿAdnān) and forming part of the great ethnical group of the Bakr b. Wāʾil. Genealogy: Taym Allāh b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba b. Ṣaʿb b. ʿAlī b. Bakr b. Wāʾil. We also find it mentioned under the form Taym Allāt, which may be the correct name, for a Muslim (or Christian) alteration of the name Allāt to that of Allāh is not at all unlikely, while the opposite is hardly conceivable.

This tribe, as usual with so many other tribes of Arabia, formed an alliance (*ḥilf*) with the sister tribe of the Banū Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, and each of them was closely associated with the Banū ʿIdjl and the Banū ʿAnaza. This confederation bore the name *al-Lahāzim* (the word *lihzima*, according to the lexicographers, signifies the mastoid bone, and similar expressions are not unusual to indicate the solidity of an alliance); it was afterwards extended to the Banū Māzin b. Ṣaʿb and even, it appears, to the two great Bakrī subdivisions, the Banū Dhuhl and the Banū Shaybān. After Islam the Banū Ḥanīfa, another Bakrī tribe, also entered the alliance (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 276, 1-2; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 47, 10, 305, 9, 764, 9, and, especially, 725, 15. Wüstenfeld, misled probably by the statement in Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 48, thought that the name *al-Lahāzim* referred only to the Taym Allāh; cf. also Reiske, *Primae lineae*, 253 n. *f*, 255 n. *h*). The Taym Allāh took part with their allies in the wars of the Bakr b. Wāʾil against the Tamīm, and we find them specially concerned with the battles of Zubāla, Nibādj, Taythal, Djadūd and al-Waḳīṭ (the last two fall within the Islamic period). It does not appear, however, that they distinguished themselves by any particular exploits or that they numbered among their leaders any person of note. In the two latter expeditions, the command was held by al-Ḥawfazān b. Sharīk and by Abdjar b. Djābir, both of the Banū ʿIdjl. At a more remote period, the Taym Allāh had fought with the rest of the Bakrīs against the Lakhmid tribes of al-Ḥīra: they are mentioned in the stories of the *Yawm Uwāra*.

The Taym Allāh were Christians, like almost all the Bakr b. Wāʾil (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2032 ult.), but they were early converted to Islam and we find them fighting in the wars of conquest and the civil wars; one of them, for example, Iyās b. ʿAbla, took part in the murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 918 ff.). But it was mainly in the history of the eastern provinces that the Taym Allāh played a part in the first two centuries of the Hidjra; among the members of this tribe who made a mark in his-

tory, the best-known is 'Aws b. Tha'laba b. Zufar b. Wadī'a, who is also known as a poet (notice in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, i, 82, quoted from the *Ṭabaḳāt al-shu'arā'* of Di'bil and the *Mu'djam al-shu'arā'* of al-Marzubānī; verses in Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 830, with reference to two ancient statues at Palmyra) and was governor of Khurāsān; during the civil war of 65/684-5 he valiantly defended Harāt against the troops of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, commanded by 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzin and held out for a whole year, with the support of all the Bakr b. Wā'il of Khurāsān, until he fell (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 484-90; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, 414-15). Another poet of the Taym Allāh, Nahār b. Tawsi'a (who was called the best poet of the Bakr in Khurāsān) took part in the campaigns of Ḳutayba b. Muslim, whom he had once satirised but finally joined (Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, 342-3; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 431-2; *Naḳā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, 359-60, 364-5, 368; al-Ṭabarī, ii, *passim*; al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii, 201-12, etc.).

There were several other tribes, especially in the south, called Taym Allāh or Taym Allāt; Ibn al-Kalbī mentions the following: T. b. Asad b. Wabara; T. b. Zahw (?) b. Marr b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth b. Ṭayyi'; T. b. Ḥikāl... b. Māzin b. al-Azd; T. b. Rufayda b. Thawr b. Kalb; T. b. 'Āmir al-Adjdār... b. Kalb; T. b. al-Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ; T. b. Wadm b. Wahballāt... b. Kalb.

A fraction of the Banū Taym Allāh installed itself in the high valley of the Wādī Taym (Allāh), which bears its name in Syria, at the foot of the Djabal al-Shaykh; this was one of the places of origin of the Druze during the 5th/11th century and numerous heretical groups still lived there in the 7th/13th century (see Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1987, i, 368-759, ii; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, index).

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(G. Levi Della Vida)

TAYM b. MURRA, a subdivision of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] whose pedigree is Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr.

All of the important figures among the Taym before Islam and in its early days belonged to the genealogical line of 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym. They included Abū Bakr [*q.v.*], Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh [*q.v.*] and Ṭalḥa's paternal uncle, Ma'mar b. 'Uthmān (cf. M. Lecker, *Biographical notes on Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā*, in *SI*, lxxxi [1995], 71-100, at 77-83, 96-7; Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] was reportedly a *mawlā* of the Taym; on p. 263a of the entry about him read, instead of Ḥumayr, Ḥimyar; M.J. Kister, *The massacre of the Banū Qurayẓa: a re-examination of a tradition*, in *JSAI*, viii [1986], 61-96, at 77-9). The central figure among the Taym on the eve of Islam was 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān [*q.v.*] (b. 'Amr b. Ka'b); "during his lifetime the Taym were like the members of one family and were fed by him".

In pre-Islamic Mecca the Taym were part of the coalition of Muṭayyabūn [see LA'AḲAT AL-DAM] and, later, of the coalition of Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl [*q.v.*] which was established in the court of 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān.

The rise of Islam gave the former merchant, Abū Bakr, precedence over more prestigious Ḳurashīs. The leading families of the Taym accumulated in early Islam great fortunes, much of which came from agriculture. Abū Bakr received from the Prophet an orchard in Medina which had formerly belonged to the Banu 'l-Naḍīr [*q.v.*] and developed it by planting in it palm-shoots. Ṭalḥa, who was the first to sow wheat in Medina, had fabulous revenues from his estates in Arabia and 'Irāḳ and is said to have supported all the destitute Taymīs.

Few Taymīs held positions of authority in early Islam. One of them was governor of Mecca under 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*] was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's [*q.v.*] governor in Egypt; and Ṭalḥa's son, who was the cousin of Mu'āwiya I [*q.v.*], was put by this caliph in charge of the *kharādj* of Khurāsān.

The Taym rose to some prominence under 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], himself a grandson of Abū Bakr on his mother's side. A grandson of Ṭalḥa was then in charge of the *kharādj* of Kūfa (where his family owned a large estate); a great-grandson of 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān was Ibn al-Zubayr's *ḳāḍī* and *mu'adhdhin*; a grandson of Ma'mar was governor of Baṣra; and another grandson was governor of Fārs. In the 'Abbāsid period, several Taymīs officiated as judges, mainly in Medina and Baṣra, and as commanders of the *shurṭa* in Kūfa.

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(M. Lecker)

TAYMĀ', an ancient oasis settlement of northwestern Arabia, now in Saudi Arabia (lat. 27° 37' N., long. 38° 30' E.). According to the mediaeval Islamic geographers, it lay in the region called al-Mahadjdjāt, and was four days' journey south of Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*]; al-Muḳaddasī, 107, 250, 252, localises it at three stages from al-Ḥidjr [*q.v.*] (in fact, Taymā' is some 110 km/70 miles from al-Ḥidjr/Madā'in Ṣāliḥ), four stages from Tabūk [*q.v.*] and four from the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā [*q.v.*]. It lies in a depression, the length of which J.A. Jaussen and R. Sauvignac put at 3.2 km/2 miles, with a breadth of 460 m/1,500 feet. The subterranean waters collected and burst forth into a well 12-14 m/40-45 feet deep and about 18 m/60 feet in diameter, according to the same two travellers (*Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Paris 1909, ii, 133-63, Tables lxi-lxiv).

A Taymanite caravan is mentioned on a cuneiform tablet of *ca.* 740-730 B.C. and then in inscriptions from the time of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (7th century B.C.) (Akkad. *Te-ma*, *Te-ma-a*, *Te-ma-'*), and in the Old Testament (Hebr. *Tēmā'*, *Tēmā'*) as a major caravan town and oasis (Isa. xxi. 14; Jer. xxv. 23; Job vi. 19), apparently associated with Tema, "a son of Ishmael" (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chron. i. 30). Together with Dedan, it was the major urban centre of North Arabia. In early Christian times it came within the Nabataean realm. Various inscriptions in Imperial Aramaic and in the early North Arabian language Taymanite (formerly called Thamudic A; see THAMUDIC) and then, from later times, in Nabataean, have been found there (see R. Degen, *Die aramäische Inschriften von Taimā' und Umgebung*, in *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphie*, ii, Wiesbaden 1974, 79-90; F.M. Cross Jr., *A new Aramaic stele from Taymā'*, in *Catholic Biblical Qtly.*, xlviii [1986], 387-94; A. Livingstone and K. Beyer, *Die neuesten aramäischen Inschriften aus Taima*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxvii [1987], 285-96).

Taymā' appears in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, as in Imru' al-Ḳays, *Mu'allaḳa*, v. 76: "it (the rain storm) does not leave a palm-tree in Taymā' nor a house unless it is built of stone". Like other oases in North Arabia, it was settled by immigrant Jews or Jewish proselytes. Among them was al-Samaw'al b. 'Ādiyā [*q.v.*], the lord of the citadel of al-Ablaḳ al-Fard, mentioned by al-A'shā and other poets. The Jewish inhabitants were not inclined to be friendly to Muḥammad, but when they learned how their co-religionists in the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, who had resisted, had been treated, they voluntarily submitted and were thus allowed to retain their lands on payment of a yearly tribute (*djizya*) (*ca.* 7/628); nevertheless, they were expelled from the land, like the other Jews in Arabia, by 'Umar (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 34-5). In the 4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawḳal describes it as more thickly populated than Tabūk and as the market and provisioning centre for the Bedouin of the surrounding area (*mumtār al-bādiya*) (ed. Kramers, 34, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 33). Al-Hamdānī says that, in his time, the region of Taymā' was in the territory of the Banū Ṭayyi' (*Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, i, 131). Al-Muḳaddasī (*loc. cit.*) gives a more detailed picture of its situation in a well-watered, wide depression with a spring, many wells, some of which have fallen in, fine gardens, and many palm trees with excellent dates; on the other hand, he censures the avarice of the inhabitants and laments the lack of distinguished scholars from this town. In the next century, al-Bakrī refers to its wealth in dates, figs and grapes (ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 208-9). The densely populated town had a wall, a *farsakh* in length, running along a brook.

Of modern travellers, Doughty was in Taymā' in 1877, when the settlement had recently peacefully recognised the authority of Ibn Rashīd of Ḥā'il [*q.v.*], but was still paying an annual *khuwwa* [*q.v.*] or protection money to the older masters of the region, the Banū Ṣakhr. He describes the famous well-pit, al-Ḥaddādj, which irrigated the palm groves of the central one of Taymā''s three quarters (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, new ed., London 1921, i, 285-300 and index). Huber and Euting were there in 1884, and it was then that Huber purchased the famed 6th century B.C. stele, now in the Louvre. Euting gives a good description of the town, with its narrow streets and houses surrounded by orchards. Of antiquities, he found the ruins of temples and a quadrangular building with towers at the corners. Of the citadel of al-Ablaḳ, the ruins of which, according to Yāḳūt, were still visible in his time, he could find no traces; Jaussen and Savignac describe some peculiar round tumuli, the sides of which in the form of stairs led up to a small square building (J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, Leiden 1896-1914, ii, 148 ff., 199 ff.).

Philby visited Taymā' in 1951, just after its semi-independent chieftain 'Abd al-Karīm of the Rummān family had been assassinated, with full Su'ūdī control for the first time exercised over it. He found Taymā' a "once prosperous, and now wretched, locality" (*The land of Midian*, London 1957, 72-103), but in recent decades Taymā', benefiting from its position on the main Jordan-Tabuk-Medina highway, has become more populous and prosperous. In 1413/1992 the population was 18,088, made up of 15,129 Saudis and 2,959 non-Saudis.

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(F. Buhl-[C.E. Bosworth])

AL-ṬAYR [see AL-ṬĀ'IR].

ṬAYYI' or **ṬAYY**, *nisba* Ṭā'ī, an Arab tribe, which like others such as al-Azd and Kinda, emigrated from the Arabian south and settled in the north, in the plateau of Shammar [*q.v.*], which contained the two ranges Adja' and Salmā, called after the tribe Djabalā Ṭayyi'. As a result of their occupation of Shammar, the north Arab tribe of Asad lost some of its territory but the two tribes fraternised and were called "the two allies", al-Ḥalīfān. The two main subdivisions of the tribe were al-Ghawth and Djadīla, part of whom lived on the mountain, called Djabaliyyūn, part on the plain, called al-Sahliyyūn, and the third on the sands, called al-Ramliyyūn.

Ṭayyi' played an important role in pre-Islamic times, and its name became the generic one for the Arabs in the Syriac sources, *Ṭayyāyē* (West Syriac pronunciation, *Ṭayōyē*). It had important relations with Persia and its clients, the Lakhmids of 'Irāḳ; and with Byzantium and its clients, the Ghassānids of al-Shām. One of them, Ḥassān, lent his horse to Khusraw Parwīz, when the latter fled from Bahrām Čūbīn, and the last Lakhmid king, al-Nu'mān [*q.v.*], married two women from the tribe, which, however, refused him *djiwār* when he fled from Khusraw. After the death of al-Nu'mān, Iyās b. Ḳabīṣa settled with some of his tribesmen from Ṭayyi' in al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] and became its governor, A.D. 602-11; he also commanded the Perso-Arab troops against the tribe of Bakr at the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*]. Ṭayyi''s relations with the Ghassānids were chequered, but they improved when after the Ḥarb al-Fasād, the Fasād War, between al-Ghawth and Djadīla, the latter, who were Sahliyyūn, left for Syria and settled near Aleppo-Ḳinnasrīn, where they had a *ḥāḍir*, known as Ḥāḍir Ṭayyi'. The tribe adopted Christianity, but some of them obviously remained pagan, since these are known to have worshipped two idols, al-Fils and Ruḍā, the former of which was destroyed by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib at the command of Muḥammad.

Ṭayyi' continued to play an important role in Islamic times. It sent a delegation to Muḥammad in Medina and adopted Islam. One of them, Rāfi' b. 'Amīra, was the guide of Khālid b. al-Walīd during his famous march from 'Irāḳ to Bilād al-Shām. That part of Ṭayyi' that had moved to Aleppo-Ḳinnasrīn in the 6th century fought with Byzantium, and Abū 'Ubayda found them in their *ḥāḍir* in 17/638, when some of them adopted Islam while others did not. Those of the Ṭayyi' that remained in Bilād al-Shām formed part of the Umayyad *adjnād* and fought under Ḥābis b. Sa'd with Mu'āwiya against 'Alī at Ṣiffīn in 37/657. Some members of the tribe distinguished themselves in this early Islamic period: al-Ṭirimmāḥ, the Khāridjite poet; 'Urwa b. Zayd al-Khayl, who took part in the conquests, in Rayy and against the Daylamīs; and Ḳash'am, who fought and killed Dāhir, the Indian king. They did well in 'Abbāsid times also: Ḳaḥṭaba, the prominent leader of the *da'wa* for the 'Abbāsids in Khurāsān, was one of them, and so was al-Haytham b. 'Adī, the well-known *akhbārī*, as well as two of the foremost poets, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī. The one, however, who entered the annals or world literature was the proverbially-generous pre-Islamic

poet Ḥātim, after the foremost poet of the German language assumed his name in the *West-östlicher Diwan*.

For the very important rôle the Ṭayyiʾ played in Syria in the 4th/10th century during the Crusades, see e.g. Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1987-9, index s.v. Ṭayy and s.v. Banū Djarrāḥ [see DJARRĀḤIDS].

Like some of the Arab tribes in Bilād al-Shām, a part of the Ṭayyiʾ emigrated to Umayyad al-Andalus; since then, vague recollection of their Arabian provenance is still echoed in the Arabia of the 20th century, in the region of Shammar.

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(IRFAN SHAHÎD)

AL-ṬAYYIBIYYA, a branch of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] with several subdivisions. The Ṭayyibiyya split off from the rest of the Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlīs soon after the death in 524/1130 of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh, recognised as the twentieth *imām* of the Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlīs. The official Mustaʿlī *daʿwa* organisation in Cairo recognised al-Āmir's cousin and successor on the Fāṭimid throne, al-Ḥāfiẓ, and the later Fāṭimids as the rightful *imāms*. However, some Mustaʿlī groups in Egypt and Syria as well as the majority in Yaman acknowledged the rights of al-Āmir's infant son al-Ṭayyib to the imāmate, rejecting the claims of al-Ḥāfiẓ and the Mustaʿlī Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa*. These Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlīs were initially known as al-Āmiriyya, but later, after the establishment of the independent Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman, became designated as al-Ṭayyibiyya.

In Yaman, which remained the chief stronghold of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism for several centuries, the cause of al-Ṭayyib was originally championed by al-Malika al-Sayyida al-Ḥurra, the effective ruler of Ṣulayḥid Yaman, who like her predecessors in the Ismāʿīlī Ṣulayḥid dynasty [*q.v.*] had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids. The queen al-Sayyida had earlier sided with the Mustaʿlī camp in the Nizārī-Mustaʿlī schism. By the final years of al-Āmir's rule, however, al-Sayyida had drifted apart from the Fāṭimid régime; and the Ḥāfiẓī-Ṭayyibī schism in Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlism provided the opportunity for al-Sayyida to assert her independence. The Ṣulayḥid queen now became the official leader of the Ṭayyibī community in Yaman, severing her ties with Cairo. Al-Sayyida's decision was fully endorsed by the *dāʿī* al-Dhuʾayb b. Mūsā al-Wādiʿī, the then administrative head of the Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Yaman. Due to close relations between Ṣulayḥid Yaman and Gudjarāt, the Ṭayyibī cause was also upheld in western India, which was eventually to account for the bulk of the Mustaʿlī Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs, known there as Bohras (Bohorās [*q.v.*]).

Nothing is known about the fate of al-Ṭayyib, who seems to have been murdered in his infancy. However, it is the belief of the Ṭayyibīs that al-Ṭayyib survived and went into concealment, and that the Ṭayyibī imāmate subsequently continued secretly in his progeny, during the current period of *satr* initiated by al-Ṭayyib's own concealment. At any rate, until her death in 532/1138, al-Sayyida made every effort to consolidate the *daʿwa* on behalf of al-Ṭayyib. It was soon after 526/1132 that al-Sayyida declared al-Dhuʾayb as *al-dāʿī al-muṭlaḳ*, or the *dāʿī* with absolute authority empowered to conduct the *daʿwa* activities on behalf of the hidden Ṭayyibī *imām*. This marked the foundation of the independent Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* (*al-daʿwa al-Ṭayyibiyya*) in Yaman. Having earlier broken her relations with the Fāṭimid state, she had now also made the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* independent of the Ṣulayḥid state, which ensured the survival of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism after the downfalls of both the Fāṭimid and Ṣulayḥid states.

On al-Dhuʾayb's death in 546/1151, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*] succeeded to the leadership of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* as the second *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. Ibrāhīm (d. 557/1162) introduced the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* into the religious literature of the Ṭayyibī community in Yaman, and also formulated a new synthesis in the doctrinal domain, combining the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī's cosmological system based on ten separate intellects as expounded in his *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl* with mythical elements. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī's major work, *Kitāb Kanz al-walad* (ed. M. Ghālib, Wiesbaden 1971), provided the basis of the distinctive Ṭayyibī gnostic *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* system and was used as a model for later Ṭayyibī writings on the subject. The Ṭayyibī *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* found their fullest description in the *Ẓahr al-maʿānī* (ed. M. Ghālib, Beirut 1991) of Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468), the foremost Ṭayyibī historian and the community's nineteenth *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. In both Yaman and India, the Ṭayyibīs have preserved a good portion of the Ismāʿīlī religious literature produced during the Fāṭimid and later times.

In Yaman, Ḥarāz remained the traditional stronghold of he Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*. In general, the Ṭayyibīs of Yaman maintained peaceful relations with the Ayyūbids, Rasūlids and Ṭāhirids, but their hostile relations with the Zaydīs were often marked with open warfare. Meanwhile, the growth of the Ṭayyibī community of western India was closely supervised by the *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* in Yaman who regularly appointed the heads of the Ṭayyibī Bohra community there. Large numbers of Hindus converted to Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism especially in Cambay, Patan, Sidhpūr and, later, in Aḥmadābād, where the headquarters of the Indian *daʿwa* were established. In 946/1539, the position of *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* passed to an Indian, and in 974/1567 the twenty-fifth *dāʿī* Djalāl b. Ḥasan transferred the central headquarters of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* from Yaman to Gudjarāt. On the death of Dāʾūd b. ʿAdjabshāh, the twenty-sixth *dāʿī*, in 999/1591 (or less probably in 997/1589), his succession was disputed, causing the Dāʾūdī-Sulaymānī schism in the Ṭayyibī community. The great majority of the Ṭayyibī Bohras, comprising the bulk of the Ṭayyibī community, acknowledged Dāʾūd Burhān al-Dīn b. Ḳuṭbshāh (d. 1021/1612) as their twenty-seventh *dāʿī*; henceforth they became known as Dāʾūdīs. A small group of the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs, too, supported the Dāʾūdī cause. On the other hand, a minority, consisting of the bulk of the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs and a small group of Ṭayyibī Bohras, upheld the succession of Sulaymān b. Ḥasan (d. 1005/1597), the deputy of Dāʾūd b. ʿAdjabshāh in Yaman. These Ṭayyibīs became designated as Sulaymānīs. Henceforth, the Dāʾūdīs and Sulaymānīs followed different lines of *dāʿīs*. In both cases, the office of *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* soon became hereditary, each *dāʿī* designating his successor by the rule of the *naṣṣ*.

The forty-second Dāʾūdī *dāʿī* Yūsuf Nadjm al-Dīn (1200-13/1785-98), transferred the headquarters of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* to Sūrat, where the famous seminary known as the Sayfī Dars was founded by his brother

and successor ʿAbd ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn (1213-32/1798-1817). The administrative headquarters of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* were established in Bombay, at the Badri Mahal, in the time of the fifty-first *dāʿī*, Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (1333-85/1915-65), the father of the present *dāʿī* Sayyidnā Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn. In India, several groups split off at various times from the Dāʾūdī Bohra community. The total size of the Dāʾūdī community is currently estimated at around 800,000. Since 1088/1677, the position of the *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the Sulaymānī Ṭayyibīs has remained in the Makramī family of the Banū Yām, with minor interruptions. After being expelled from Ḥarāz in 1289/1872 by the Ottomans, the Sulaymānī *dāʿīs* established their headquarters in Nadjrān [*q.v.*], in northeastern Yaman, now in Saudi Arabia. There have been no schisms in the Sulaymānī community, currently numbering to about 50,000 persons who live mainly in the northern areas of Yaman. There are only a few thousand Sulaymānī Bohras in India.

Bibliography: The main sources for the early history of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman are Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan's *Nuzhat al-afkār*, 2 vols., and his *ʿUyun al-akhbār wa-funūn al-āthār*, vii, which are still in manuscript form. The later history of the Ṭayyibiyya, in Yaman and India, is covered in Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Sulaymāndjī, *Muntazaʿ al-akhbār* (unpubl.), relating the events until 1240/1824, and in Muḥammad ʿAlī Rāmpūrī's *Mawsim-i bahār* (Bombay 1301-11/1884-93), iii, completed in 1299/1882. Full bibliographical references to the literature of the Ṭayyibiyya are to be found in I.K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 133-250.

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(F. DAFTARY)

TĀZĀ, a town of northeastern Morocco (lat. 34° 16' N., long. 4° 01' W.) about 100 km/60 miles east-north-east of Fās [*q.v.*] (Fez). It lies in a trough between the Rīf [*q.v.*] massif and the northern spurs of the Middle Atlas which is drained by the Wadi Inaouene (Innāwen), an affluent of the Wadi Sebou. This trough carries the historic highway from Fez and Meknès to Oujda, Tlemcen and northwestern Algeria, and is also the route of the railway likewise connecting these points. Tāzā, situated at a gap between the mountains some 3 km/2 miles wide only, thus marks the rough boundary between the central Maghrib and the Extreme Maghrib (*al-maghrib al-aḳṣā*) [see AL-MAGHRIB. I, II]. The great importance of the east-west route through this depression, and the strategic and economic advantages secured by occupation of the site of Tāzā, in part defended by the steep ravine of the Wadi Tāzā flowing northwards to the west of the town, must have early encouraged a foundation of some significance there. Traces of habitation from Neolithic times have been found, although the role of the place in Classical Antiquity, including Roman and Byzantine times, is unclear.

In early Islamic times (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries), Tāzā was the most important settlement in the region occupied by one of the groups of the Miknāsa, semi-nomadic Berbers. According to Ibn Khaldūn, it was they who founded the *ribāṭ* of Tāzā. This statement is evidently inaccurate in this form. Tāzā was not yet reckoned a *ribāṭ*. It must nevertheless have played an important part in the defence against the Idrīsids as partisans of the Fāṭimids of Ḳayrawān, then against the Fāṭimids as partisans of the Umayyads of Cordova. Tāzā, however, as a fortified town and a *ribāṭ*, was properly a foundation of the Almohads. In 528/1133 ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, having made himself master of the High and Middle Atlas, had arrived in the depression of Tāzā. There the conqueror seems to have suspended his advance. It was not till later that he tackled the ranges of the Rīf and did not yet attempt to descend into the plains to meet Almoravid forces. He seems, however, to have felt the necessity of holding the important strategic point, of building a citadel there and placing a garrison it it. Those who held this frontier post of the Almohad dominions were naturally assimilated to the men of the *ribāṭs* (we know that the struggle against the Almohads had the attractions of a holy war). To call the new fortress a *ribāṭ* was giving it the value of a pious work. As a matter of fact, Tāzā never played the religious rôle of a *ribāṭ*. It remained, as before, a military post guarding the road to Fās. A great part of the ramparts built by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin seems to have survived. It is a curtain of rubble flanked by towers unequal in size, with the remains of an outer wall in front of it at places.

For lack of defenders, Almohad Tāzā hardly made any resistence to the Marīnids, who took it in 613/1216. Its new lords also devoted attention to its defences; they restored the great mosque on two occasions (693/1294 and 754/1353) and endowed it with *madrasas*. In their time, Tāzā for once at least did its duty in guarding the pass when it was attacked by the ʿAbd al-Wādid sultan of Tlemcen, Abū Ḥammūd II, who besieged it for a week in 784/1382 and was forced to retrace his steps.

At the beginning of the 16th century, we have a description of Tāzā by Leo Africanus. He regards it as the third town of the kingdom; it was administered as a kind of appanage allotted to the second son of the Waṭṭāsid sultan of Fās. The population, which numbered about 5,000 householders, including many Jews, lived under a continual menace from the mountaineers around.

To secure control of the springs which watered the town, and to protect himself against the attacks of the Turks of Algiers, a Saʿdian Sharīf—perhaps Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in the late 10th/16th century—provided it with a *bastiyūn*, which still stands in the southeastern corner of the enceinte. It is noteworthy, however, that, as a result, this fortress of Tāzā never served as a defence against enemies from the east, but rather became "a citadel ready at hand for every pretender who rebelled in those regions against the *Makhzen* who had built it" (H. Basset and Campardou). This was the case in 1004/1596 when al-Nāṣir, a nephew of al-Manṣūr, rebelled against the sultan and made Tāzā his base of operations, and again in 1074/1664 when the first of the ʿAlawid sultans al-Rashīd made it his headquarters for his attack on Fās, and in 1084/1673 when Aḥmad b. Muḥriz held out there against his uncle, Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl erected various religious buildings in the town, but Tāzā was by now becoming a place of secondary importance only. In 1844 Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān led the Ghiyāṭa tribesmen of the Tāzā region against the French general Bugeaud, but the

Moroccan forces were defeated at the Wadi Isly. It was also from Tāzā that Mawlāy al-Ḥasan in 1874 led a punitive expedition against these same Ghiyāṭa. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz despatched thither a powerful *maḥalla* [*q.v.*] or expeditionary force in 1895 in order to strengthen his authority there; but in 1902 the pretender Bū Ḥmāra [*q.v.*] (Abū Ḥimāra) seized power at Tāzā and proclaimed himself sultan there, and was not finally dislodged and captured till 1909. The town was much damaged in the unrest and fighting of 1903-5; the Jewish quarter or *mellāḥ* [see MALLĀḤ] was destroyed, and its inhabitants fled to Melilla, Debdou and Tlemcen, only in part returning after the French occupation.

Tāzā was occupied by French troops on 10 May 1914, and used as a base for operations in the Rīf and in the mountains to the south against the Ghiyāṭa and Wazāʾīn, who were not finally reduced until 1928. Under the Protectorate, Tāzā grew in population. On the uppermost terrace, at an altitude of 585 m/1,920 feet, lay the old town, with its walled medina. On the middle terrace, at an altitude of 500 m/1,640 feet, there was laid out in 1914 the military encampment and, from 1920 onwards, a new town, which eventually acquired a population of several thousand Europeans. The railway station was on the lowest terrace, at an altitude of 445 m/1,460 feet. With a population of around 35,000 before the Second World War, by the 1980s Tāzā had a population of 108,000. It is the administrative centre of the *muḥāfaẓa* or province of Tāzā, which in the 1980s had a population of 616,000.

The monuments of the very interesting medina of Tāzā include walls of Almohad construction, strengthened by the Marīnids; a Great Mosque, founded in the 6th/12th century by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin before that of Tinmal [*q.v.*]; the mosque of the Andalusīs, with an Almohad minaret; the Dār al-Makhzan palace, probably by Mawlāy al-Rashīd in the 11th/17th century, now almost wholly in ruins; and the massive, square Basṭiyūn, in the ancient *ḳaṣba* (see above).

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(G. Marçais*)

TĀZARWĀLT, Tāzerwālt, conventionally Tazeroualt, a district of the extreme southwest of Morocco, within the Anti-Atlas mountains.

The region was probably originally occupied by Masmūda [*q.v.*] Berbers, but it only became of general significance in the history of Morocco with the career and charisma of the Idrīsid *sharīf* [see SHURAFĀʾ] Aḥmad ū-Mūsā (d. 971/1563 [see ḤMAD U-MŪSĀ]). Aḥmad's *ḳubba*, containing also the tombs of some of his descendants, became the site of a major twice-yearly pilgrimage and fair (*mawsim*, or *amuggār* in the Berber Tashelḥit dialect) located at Sīdī Aḥmad ū-Mūsā (44 km/27 miles to the east of Tīznīt). Political power in Tāzarwālt was acquired by the saint's great-grandson, the marabout ʿAlī Abū Damīʿa (often referred to as Abū Ḥassūn), who became head of the *zāwiya* there in 1022/1613 and who fortified the town of Īlīgh in 1034/1625, making it his capital, from where he ruled until his death in 1070/1659. Taking advantage of the weakening of the Saʿdian dynasty after the death of Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (1012/1603), ʿAlī was able to monopolise the western Saharan trade, with the help of Jewish traders who were attracted to Īlīgh and who established a *mellāḥ* [see MALLĀḤ]. ʿAlī also secured vast territories in the Atlas and Saharan regions by the mid-11th/17th century. During this period, a new ruling dynasty emerged from the ʿAlawī *shurafāʾ* of the southeastern district of Tāfīlālt [*q.v.*], which brought an end to Tāzarwālt's political power when Mawlāy al-Rashīd destroyed the fortress of Īlīgh in 1081/670 and dispersed ʿAlī's heirs into the Sahara.

Political power in Tāzarwālt was revived in Īlīgh at the end of the 18th century by the maraboutic family of Abū Damīʿa under the *sharīf* Hāshim b. ʿAlī (murdered 1825) and, especially, by his son Ḥusayn (d. 1886). Utilising the *mawsims* and a growing Jewish community in Īlīgh to conduct trade, Tāzarwālt became the most important commercial emporium in southwestern Morocco, linking European commerce from the port of Essaouira [see AL-SAWĪRA] with the trans-Saharan trade. Although recognising the sovereignty and the spiritual authority of the ʿAlawī sultans over all Morocco, Tāzarwālt constituted a virtually independent maraboutic principality until the late 19th century.

Following the expeditions of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan I in 1882 and 1886 to the Sūs, Īlīgh was brought under the authority of the sultan, and the town of Tīznīt became the centre of *Makhzen* authority in southwestern Morocco. A new mausoleum was built at Sīdī Aḥmād ū-Mūsā in the years between the two royal expeditions. The Tāzarwālt region, like the Sūs in general, was disturbed during the resistance from 1912 of the pretender Aḥmad al-Hība [*q.v.* in Suppl.] at the onset of French rule, and Īlīgh's trade was largely cut off from the coastal ports. The Sūs as a whole and the region of Tāzarwālt were not finally brought under control by the French Protectorate authorities until 1934. A census taken in 1936 counted 1,906 Muslim and 220 Jewish inhabitants in Tāzarwālt.

After Moroccan independence in 1955, Sīdī Aḥmad ū-Mūsā became the central government's administrative centre for Tāzarwālt, and its shrine continued to be the site of a major pilgrimage and fair (approximately 67,000 pilgrims came to the *mawsim* in summer 1981). Īlīgh's commercial and political significance was eclipsed when the government closed its weekly market and when, at the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s, the remnants of the Jewish population emigrated, mainly to Israel.

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(D. Schroeter)

TAʿZĪR (a.), a term of Islamic law meaning discretionary punishment, e.g. by the *kādī*, for the offences for which no *hadd* [*q.v.*] punishment is laid down. It appears to be one of the *addād* [*q.v.*], words with opposing meanings, since it means both showing respect (*taʿzīm*) and disrespect by disciplining (*taʾdīb*) the person concerned.

Although the word does not occur in the Kurʾān and Sunna, both of them seem to contain practical examples of *taʿzīr* which involve the unspecified punishment of crimes that are not subject to textual punishments (*hudūd*). An example would be the case of a recalcitrant wife (*nāshiz*). In Kurʾān, IV, 34, the concept of "discretion", which is the bedrock of *taʿzīr*, seems to be underlined in such words as "And those [women] you fear may be rebellious, admonish them to their beds apart and beat them. If they then obey, do not look then for any way against them". In the Sunna, *taʿzīr* can also be traced in similar cases that are not subject to *hudūd*, such as in the Prophetic statement that, if a person does not give *zakāt*, he should be disciplined by taking part of his wealth in addition to the *zakāt*. Verbal reprimand (*tawbīkh*) is recorded in a few traditions, including one in which the Prophet said about a person who was being punished for drinking, "reprimand him (*wabbikhūh*)". *Taʿzīr* as a conveniently-executed punishment plays a major rule in the practice of the *muhtasib*, since it can easily be applied at his discretion in the market place [see hisba]. The distinction between *hadd* and *taʿzīr* is summarised by Muhammad b. ʿIwad al-Sunāmī, an Indo-Muslim scholar (d. 734/1333), in the following way. *Hadd* is specified by the text, unlike *taʿzīr* which is at the discretion of the *Imām*; *hadd* lapses if based on suspicion (*shubha*), whereas *taʿzīr* is obligatory if there are grounds for suspicion. *Hadd* is not applicable to a minor (*sabī*), while *taʿzīr* can be applied to minors. He also observes that *taʿzīr* cannot be seen as a purifying punishment (*tathīr*) (see further, *EI*[1] art. s.v.) when applied to a *dhimmī*, since the concept is only valid for Muslims.

The amount of *taʿzīr* should be lower than the lowest *hadd*, at least in theory. The Prophet is reported to have said, "he who extends the punishment of a non-*hadd* offence to that of *hadd* is a transgressor". This principle is seen by Schacht in his *Origins* as an early principle based on an abstract arbitrary decision rather than a positive doctrine, a principle evidently ignored by the modern penal laws in some Muslim countries. One example of this is the Egyptian law, which allows the death sentence to be implemented for *taʿzīr* crimes (article 77 and following). The Hanafīs accept this *taʿzīr* capital punishment which they term "killing as an act of punishment for the sake of upholding public order" (*al-katl siyāsat^an*). Although *taʿzīr* can be executed in many ways, as also *hadd*, al-Sunāmī records the following instruments, which indicate that *taʿzīr* normally falls within the area of minor offences: the hand, whip, stick, and *dirra*, which is a whip of ox-hide, or made of strips of hide on which date-stones have been stitched.

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TAʿZIYA (a.), verbal noun from form II *ʿazzā* "to mourn, console, express sympathy with", the Shīʿī passion plays, the only form of serious drama ever to have developed in the Islamic world before the early modern period (for subsequent developments, see masrah; to the *Bibl.* of section 1. here should be added P.C. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian theatre in the nineteenth century, 1799-1882*, London 1996; S. Moreh and Sadgrove, *Jewish contributions to nineteenth century Arabic theatre. Plays from Algeria and Syria, a study and texts*, Oxford 1996). The *taʿziya* is mostly performed in Persia and, to a certain extent, amongst the Shīʿī communities of the western Gulf shore and in Lebanon.

It re-enacts the suffering and death of the Prophet's grandson al-Husayn [*q.v.*], third Imām of the Shīʿa, in a rebellion against the Umayyad caliphate at Karbalāʾ (61/680 [*q.v.*]). This battle actually took place on ʿĀshūrā day, 10 Muharram; this is now regarded as a martyrdom mourned vicariously by Shīʿīs worldwide. In Persia, the rituals of mourning for al-Husayn came under royal patronage when Shīʿī Islam was established as the state religion in the 16th century under the Safawid dynasty. On the Indian subcontinent, *taʿziya* signifies the bier and mausoleum of al-Husayn carried in procession during Muharram (see below).

The *taʿziya* as a form of ritual theatre stems from the mid-18th-century fusion of ambulatory and stationary rites that had coexisted for over a millennium. At first, *taʿziya* plays were performed at crossroads, in market places and town squares; later they were performed in the courtyards of inns and private houses. Finally, special structures called *takiyas* or *Husayniyyas* were built for their staging; some by the well-to-do as a pious public service; others with contributions from the citizens of the local district. Some *Husayniyyas* were large, seating thousands of spectators, others were only large enough for family and friends. Many *takiyas* were temporary, erected by members of the community especially for the services from Muharram into the following month of Safar, when the fortieth-day observances for the dead would take place.

The most famous *taʿziya* theatre was Takiya Dawlat, the Royal Theatre in Tehran, built in the 1870s by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, of whose splendour many Western visitors speak; but the building's structure was fundamentally weak, and the entire edifice had to be torn down in 1946.

Although the *takiya* became a major feature in Persian towns in the second half of the 19th century, a distinct *takiya* architecture did not evolve. There are, however, characteristics common to almost all *takiya* that preserve and enhance the dramatic interplay between actors and spectators. This is theatre-in-the-round. The main performing space is a stark, curtainless, raised platform in the centre of the building or courtyard. The shape of this central stage may vary from round to rectangular. The stage is surrounded by a broad circular strip which is covered by sand. This latter space is used for battles on foot and on horseback, as well as for sub-plots and action representing journeys, the passage of time, and changes of scene, the latter being indicated when performers jump from the stage and circle it. The actor may announce to the spectators that he is going to a certain place; when he climbs back on to the stage, it means that he has arrived there.

The action extends from the stage, through the sand-covered circle and into the audience. In unwalled *takiya*s, skirmishes often take place behind the audience. This centrifugal movement of the action, from the stage in the centre out to the *takiya*'s periphery and back, envelops the spectators and draws them into the play's action. The audience itself often becomes an actor outright.

Stage décor in the *taʿziya* is minimal, as the setting is meant to evoke the desolate, bleak desert of Karbalāʾ. The few props are symbolic as well: for example, a basin of water represents the Euphrates River; the branch of a tree stands for a grove of palms.

In the Takiya Dawlat during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, the costumes were rich and splendid, though no attention was given to their historicity. To this day, the costumes are designed above all to help the audience identify and recognise the characters and their nature. The heroes dress predominantly in green; the villains wear red. Green symbolises Paradise and the family of the Prophet and thus Islam; red symbolises bloodshed, cruelty and oppression. The male actors who play women are dressed in baggy black garments covering them from head to toe, and their faces are veiled; thus even bearded men can play female roles as long as their voices do not give them away. When a protagonist drapes a white sheet of cloth over his shoulders which represents a burial shroud, it indicates that he is prepared to give up his life and will shortly be killed.

In addition to the colours of the costumes, there is another clear division between the protagonists and antagonists in the *taʿziya*. The protagonists sing their parts in the classical Persian modes (*dastgāh*); the antagonists speak theirs. All parts, heroic or villainous, are in rhymed verse.

The singers are accompanied by drums, trumpets, *nay* (reed flutes), large brass cymbals, and the *karnā*, a six- to eight-foot long piece of hollow bamboo with a cow's horn at the end. The instrumental music also serves to introduce battle scenes, as background music to scenes without dialogue such as travel scenes, and is played during pauses in the action.

In the past, actors were chosen in accordance with their physical suitability for a role, but those playing protagonists also had to have good singing voices. Both amateur and professional actors used to read their lines from folded scripts small enough to hold in the palms of their hands, although professional actors knew their lines by heart. Holding a script in one's hand also indicated that the actor was only a role-carrier, in other words, that he was not the character he portrayed. Nowadays, the members of professional troupes know most of their lines by heart, or if not, they pretend to and avoid referring to their scripts in a conspicuous manner. Frequently the antagonists are made to appear ridiculous and grotesque by their role-carriers, who deliberately "out-herod Herod", exaggerating their gestures and shrieking their lines at the top of their lungs.

The traditional attempt to distance the actors from the characters they portray is often swept aside in recent productions of *taʿziya*. Under the influence of films and television, the actors identify with the personages they represent to such a degree that they are carried away by their roles, as may also be their audience, with potentially explosive consequences.

The *taʿziya* director is at the same time the producer, music director, stage manager, public relations coordinator, and prompter. He is responsible not only for the music and *mise-en-scène* but for all props, arrangements with the local authorities, and financial returns.

The core of the *taʿziya* repertory is the plays devoted to the Karbalāʾ tragedy and the events surrounding it. The passage of al-Ḥusayn from Medina via Mecca to his martyrdom and those of his sons and followers is represented in some ten plays in as many days. In these plays, a hero singlehandedly fights the entire enemy army, allowing the rest of the protagonists, grouped on the central stage, to reflect on their state and to engage in discourse of a philosophical and religious nature. There is only one fixed day and play in the Muḥarram repertory: the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn on ʿĀshūrāʾ. The other plays may be performed in varying order. Usually the sequence starts on the first day of the month of Muḥarram with a play devoted to the death of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*], al-Ḥusayn's emissary to Kūfa. This is followed in daily sequence by the martyrdom of two of Muslim's children, and then by plays about the martyrdom of various members of al-Ḥusayn's family and his companions. On the sixth of Muḥarram, *The martyrdom of Commander Ḥurr* is usually performed (al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd [*q.v.*] left the forces of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I and went over to al-Ḥusayn). On the seventh, *The martyrdom of Ḳāsim the Bridegroom* is reenacted; on the eighth, *The martyrdom of ʿAlī Akbar* (the eldest and favourite son of al-Ḥusayn); and on the ninth, *The martyrdom of ʿAbbās* (one of al-Ḥusayn's half-brothers; ʿAbbās was his standard-bearer). The basic repertory of the *taʿziya* does not necessarily end with al-Ḥusayn's death. The performances may continue after ʿĀshūrāʾ to include the tragic lot of al-Ḥusayn's womenfolk, who were taken as captives to Damascus.

The Shīʿī cult of martyrology caused new plays about other Shīʿī martyrs before and after Karbalāʾ to be added to the *taʿziya* stock. Since the mid-19th century, plays based on the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, and even current events have been written and performed. However, such plays retain their ties to the Karbalāʾ tragedy through the employment of the *gurīz*, or "digression", a direct verbal and pictorial reference to the events of Karbalāʾ shown through the staging of a short episode from al-Ḥusayn's passion in the form of a tableau, a panoramic vista or a brief scene. This expansion of the repertory was followed by the

expansion of the performing time from the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar to the entire year.

The *taʿziya* troupes of today are often family businesses, although they depend only partially on the income from performances. Nowadays, professional troupes usually stay in one place for ten days to two weeks, giving a different play every day. Sometimes there are two performances a day, one in the evening. A play can last from two to five hours.

In the 1930s, Riḍā Shāh's government, considering the *taʿziya* a backward ritual, imposed restrictions on its performance in urban areas, and the *taʿziya* retreated to the countryside. Āyatullāh Khumaynī (Khomeini), however, used the *taʿziya* and other popular Shīʿī rituals and beliefs as a means of mass mobilisation for the Islamic Revolution. During Iran's eight-year-long war with ʿIrāḳ, the heroism depicted in the *taʿziya* was enlisted to increase the fighting spirit of the Iranian combatants and to bring solace to those who had lost their loved ones.

In Muḥarram processions in the Indian subcontinent, *taʿziya* signifies the bier on which al-Ḥusayn's headless body was carried from the battlefield to its final resting place; it also stands for his tomb. The sizes and shapes of these portable *taʿziyas* vary greatly, from small, coffin-like structures to immense floats which are either carried by a crowd of men on their shoulders or moved along on wheels. *Taʿziyas* of whatever size are made of papier-mâché, coloured paper and bamboo. Usually it resembles neither the cenotaph nor the mausoleum of al-Ḥusayn it purports to be. Even in this age of photography, film and international travel, when artists and artisans have the opportunity to become acquainted with al-Ḥusayn's actual tomb, the original is seldom depicted, as the builders of the *taʿziya* believe the artistic creation itself is a form of piety and of homage of al-Ḥusayn. The *taʿziya* more often resembles the architecture of a standard Indian mosque than it does al-Ḥusayn's mausoleum. Large and small *taʿziyas* in their thousands are carried in the Muḥarram processions. Those who take part in the processions like to touch the *taʿziyas*, as they are alleged to possess healing powers. Quite frequently, after the procession is over, the *taʿziyas* are buried or submerged in water, the latter doubtless a Hindu influence on this Muslim ritual.

In the mid-19th century, the *taʿziya* was brought to the Caribbean basin by East Indian indentured labourers. On the island of Trinidad, *taʿziyas*—called *tadja*, due to phonetic transformation—are still being built, paraded, and immersed in water during the month of Muḥarram.

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TAZWĪR (a.), verbal noun of the form II verb *zawwara*, stemming from *zūr*, defined in the lexica as *kadhib*, *bāṭil*, i.e. falsehood, falsification, embellishment of the truth (cf. Ḳurʾān, XXII, 31/30, XXV, 5/4, 72, and LVIII, 2). *Tazwīr* can therefore be used for the falsification or forgery of a document or piece of writing.

All three categories of manuscripts, that is, official documents, codices and single leaves (usually calligraphs or miniatures), have been objects of falsification. That forgery was known in the early years of Islam may be attested by the fact that, according to Arabic sources, Hārūn al-Rashīd substituted the use of paper for parchment in the chancery as it was more difficult to erase a text written on paper or to scratch it out without this being noticed. Also, before paper was introduced into the government offices some caliphs preferred papyrus to parchment for their correspondence for the same reason. In order to prevent the counterfeiting of documents certain measures were developed. One such measure used in the drafting of contracts was to write out the original figure in question in the form of two equal parts instead of the full amount. Also, any erasures (*kashṭ*) and cancellations (*ḍarb*) had to be marked as such and the number of lines, as well as the number of sheets (*waṣl*) forming the document had to be accounted for (see e.g. *Djawāhir al-ʿuḳūd* of Muḥammad al-Asyūṭī, Cairo 1955, i, 12-13).

Forgeries relating to authorship in the Middle Ages and earlier may not have been common, most probably because of the extensive use of certificates of audition (*samāʿ* [see samāʿ. 2.]) and the widespread knowledge of the author's works, the chains of their transmitters and the memorisation of their contents by many; however, there are many pseudo-works (not always intentional), and, especially in the occult sciences, many misattributions of works, e.g. to al-Ghazālī or Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Forgeries involving the arts of the book, such as calligraphy, were certainly widespread. The favourite targets were master calligraphers. D.S. Rice, for example, discovered five faked colophons with attributions to Ibn al-Bawwāb [*q.v.*] and it is well known that Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī's [*q.v.*] calligraphy was in such great demand that this led to the production of many facsimiles (not always acknowledged as such) and/or forgeries. The problem here is nevertheless somewhat complicated due to the prevalent and well-known phenomenon of imitation (*taḳlīd*). Thus it is not always possible to state whether the forgery was intended or not and whether it was intended for financial profit, since imitation constituted a fundamental element of the calligrapher's training and a form of admiration for the master. Islamic literature has recorded a number of cases of imitation involving such famous cal-

ligraphers as Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*], Ibn al-Bawwāb, Yāḳūt and Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh. It is said, for example, that Ibn al-Bawwāb copied one of the thirty volumes of the Ḳur'ān previously executed by Ibn Muḳla. The volume in question was missing from the royal library, and the Būyid Bahā' al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] ordered that it be completed. The result was such that when the newly-executed volume was presented to him, he could not distinguish it from the others and the set was retained as being in the hand of Ibn Muḳla. Yāḳūt al-Musta'ṣimī is said to have imitated the work of Ibn al-Bawwāb, whilst Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh imitated that of Yāḳūt.

Forgery for financial profit thrived among book collectors. Pieces of calligraphy signed by famous masters would fetch quite a lot of money and were often forged. Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī in his *Irshād al-arīb* relates a number of stories involving counterfeits. That these were not isolated cases is evident from the fact that the famous treatise *'Umdat al-kuttāb* (see *RIMA*, xvii, [1971]) of al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] has a section on how to make paper look old (*ta'tīḳ*). A number of cases of some very notorious forgers have come down to us. One of them was Muḥammad al-Aḥdab (d. 371/981), who came to be known as al-Muzawwir (i.e. "the forger"). He is reported to have been able to forge the hand of any calligrapher. The existence of quite a number of forgeries in this field can be confirmed when investigating extant illuminated codices in various collections around the world. As an example, a collection of 18 Ḳur'ānic codices and 13 fragments preserved at McGill University Library contains two evident cases of forgery: one involving a Mamlūk Ḳur'ān attributed to Ibn Muḳla (*ḥarrarahu Ibn Muḳla al-Wazīr al-A'ẓam*) and the other, a single parchment leaf supposedly from the famous *Muṣḥaf al-Ḥāḍina* ascribed to 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Warrāḳ, 410/1020.

Because of the great appeal and value of single images, one-page paintings and illuminated folios were particularly subject to forgery. The famous 10th/16th century painting of the "Seated scribe" by Bihzād [*q.v.*] and many 11th/17th century drawings of Riḍā 'Abbāsī [*q.v.*] were often faked. Closer to our times, a number of cases of outright forgeries involving the alteration of images have come to light. The production of these fakes was done purely for commercial reasons and was aimed at collectors, who often failed to pay attention to the compatibility of text and image. The alterations involved, for example, the shaving of damaged images and pasting them on to folios from other manuscripts, adding an extra folio to create a bifolio, and separating illustrations from the verso and recto.

One should also mention here a number of early codices of the Ḳur'ān ascribed to the caliphs 'Uthmān and 'Alī, as well as to some Imāms and Companions of the Prophet. The codices ascribed to 'Uthmān and 'Alī are most certainly not authentic and belong to a much later period. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid put forward a suggestion that the reason for their ascription to the two caliphs was political and/or religious. F. Déroche believes that the misattributions were possible "because the scripts used in these Qur'ans looked so ancient to the Muslims of later periods that they believed they could only have been made in the 1st century." He and many other scholars are also of the opinion that a high proportion of the few surviving examples of colophons from the first centuries of Islam are nothing more than fakes.

Finally, one should note the existence of modern forgeries for the Western market, one notorious example being that of a forged manuscript of Kay Kāwūs's [*q.v.*] *Ḳābūs-nāma*.

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(A. GACEK)

TAZYĪF (A.), forgery of coins. There are many words associated with counterfeit coins: *tazyīf*, forgery, from *zāfa*, to be adulterated, forged, hence *zā'if* and *zayf*, pl. *zuyūf*, false coin, and *muzayyif*, forger; *zaghala*, to adulterate, counterfeit, hence *zaghal*, counterfeit coin; *ḳalaba*, to change, transform, hence Arabic *ḳallāb*, a counterfeiter, Arabic, Persian and Turkish *ḳalb*, false, base, impure, *ḳalpazan*, counterfeiter, from the Persian *ḳalb-zan*; *ḳallada*, to falsify, hence *taḳlīd*, counterfeit, and *muḳallad*, counterfeited. The term *bahradj*, counterfeit money, appears also in Arabic. Pejorative terms for coins include *bāṭil*, false, unsound, currency cancelled or withdrawn from circulation, *radhī*, bad, corrupt; *saiṭūḳ*, *suttūḳ*, base coins coated with gold or silver, *maghshūsh*, adulterated, alloyed, base coin, *ḳarḍ*, clipping coins with scissors. Laudatory terms are *ibrīz*, purified gold, *djayyid*, good, excellent, *khāliṣ*, *khāṣṣ*, *ṣafī*, *ṣurāḥ*, pure unmixed (metal), and *ṣaḥḥ*, the paraph or official mark on an 'Othmānli gold coin testifying to its authenticity.

The chief motivation behind forgery, both ancient and modern, is to realise the material benefits derived from cheating people for gain, although forgery may also be used as an economic and political weapon in war, either to destabilise an enemy currency or to supplement the existing monetary stock to pay an army advancing through enemy territory. The falsification of precious metal currency used to be the main area of forgers' activities, but now that coins have no more than nominal values, the forger has turned to paper currency, other financial instruments and objects, and even brand-name items as a way to achieve riches. For the purpose of this article, however, the forgers' arts will be examined as they were traditionally practised in the Islamic world.

Despite repeated injunctions in the Ḳur'ān to deal fairly in commerce by giving full weight in exchange for both money and goods, several commonly used ways of exploiting public trust by falsifying the coinage and public weight standards are mentioned in Arabic, Persian and Turkish records. One was to roll or hammer out blanks from base metal, usually copper, which was both common and close in weight to silver, then plate it within thin sheets of gold or silver, strike it

into coin with official dies, mix the false pieces with the good and place the result in circulation. When well made by mint operatives, such pieces were hard to detect, because their outer skins were of virtually pure metal. Over time, however, the high points on the lettering and the edge wore away, leaving dark areas that revealed their core material. The skill needed for this method of counterfeiting required the complicity of the mint administration, if not the government authorities themselves, but a simpler process could be practised by a wider group, although it yielded poorer results at much higher risks of detection. This involved making a mould of a genuine coin and using it to cast counterfeits which could be rubbed in quicksilver to give a silvery appearance to dirhams [*q.v.*] or gold dust for dīnārs [*q.v.*]. Because the manufacturing process demanded little skill and no access to genuine dies, it was ideal for freelance counterfeiters who could quickly move from place to place with a minimum amount of equipment to escape detection and capture. It is said that the first type of counterfeit was often accepted in commerce but refused by the treasury. Today such pieces are regularly found in hoards of gold and silver coins, where they went undetected until surface corrosion revealed the corruption within. The second type was accepted only by the gullible.

The well-deserved distrust of coins by merchants and exchange dealers led to the frequent disfigurement of the thick fabric of Mughal muhurs and rupees by "test marks" (small drillings into the surface or edges of the flan). The common practice of clipping the edges of thinner coins may also have been a way of detecting counterfeits while illegally acquiring a stock of precious metal. The widespread persistence of clipping may have been the main reason why the ʿAbbāsids abandoned a strict, fixed weight standard for their coinage early in the 3rd/9th century. The careful manufacture and regular weight of the dīnār and dirham under the Umayyads and early ʿAbbāsids had permitted payments by tail (numbers of actual coin), but clipping made this difficult to enforce, thus payment by weight (mass of metal) became the rule in Egypt, Syria and Iran for many centuries.

Another common way of cheating the public was to adulterate or debase the alloy of the coinage. In theory, Islamic dīnārs and dirhams were made from virtually pure gold and silver, but in practice the mint and government could, and frequently did, find it easy and profitable to adulterate the metal and pass off the results as coins of good alloy. These did not fool the experts, moneychangers and receivers for the treasury, but they often went undetected by the public. Similarly, oppressive régimes could force bad money on the people they ruled, which, once beyond their sway, was discounted to reach its real worth in precious metal. Moneychangers would maintain elaborate charts of cross-rates between the coinages of different governments which they altered in line with intelligence received on current minting practises.

Yet another way of counterfeiting was to strike more coins from a given weight of metal than the regulations allowed, and pocket the difference. This was the usual method of forgery under the Ottomans, where the government established the total number of *akčes* [*q.v.*] to be struck from a 100-dirham weight of silver. With a multiplicity of mints under loose governmental control, it was relatively easy to adulterate the silver and thus illegally and unobtrusively to expand the money supply.

There are two modern approaches to the forgery of Islamic coins. First, imitations of trade coins are produced to satisfy the demands of a mass market for gold in the Middle East. For instance, copies of popular gold bullion coins of the 19th and 20th centuries can bring the manufacturers profit from the small premium of coined over uncoined gold. The widespread faking of gold coins of the Ottoman ruler Meḥemmed V Res̲h̲ād (r. 1327-36/1909-18 [*q.v.*]) during the 1950s and 60s was due to the exaggerated premium, often 50% or more, over the price for similar pieces of other sultans, willingly paid by country people in Turkey. This demand was met by jewellers in Syria and Lebanon as a sideline of their usual business. There was no faking of Islamic coins to satisfy the collector market until the mid-1980s, when the high prices paid for certain coins, especially Umayyad dinars of the year 77 A.H. and those bearing the mint name *Maʿdān Amīr al-Muʾminīn bi ʾl-Ḥid̲j̲āz* attracted the attention of well-known counterfeiters of classical Greek and Roman coins. The usual technique is to make moulds and casts using dentistry equipment. Another way is to select coins with common mint names such as *Miṣr* and *Wāsiṭ*, then to tool the letter forms to resemble rare or more popular mints like *Makka* and *Filasṭīn*. The commonest trick is to alter the unit *tisʿa* into *sabʿa* to transform a common Umayyad dīnār of the year 79 into the rare date 77. Unfortunately the growing interest in Islamic coins is certain to increase the number of counterfeits produced to meet this demand.

Bibliography: H. Sauvaire, Section 13, articles 1, 8, 26, 38, 53, 60, 63, 76, 99, 102, 110, 117, 125, 161, 171, in *La numismatique et la métrologie musulmanes*, Paris 1882. On the economic and religious problems of counterfeit money and debased currency, see Asadī, *al-Taysīr wa ʾl-iʿtibār wa ʾl-taḥrīr wa ʾl-ik̲h̲tibār*, ed. ʿA.A. Ṭulaymāt, [Cairo] 1968, 115 ff.

(R.E. Darley-Doran)

TEBESSA, written by Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut, ii, 13, as Tabissa, the Theveste of classical times, a town of eastern Algeria, situated 235 km/146 miles south of ʿAnnāba or Bône and 19 km/13 miles west of the modern Tunisian frontier (lat. 35° 21' N., long. 8° 06' E., altitude 850 m/2,790 feet).

The site of the town, on an elevated plain, has been inhabited since prehistoric times, as the dolmens at Gastel, petrographs on the rocks of Saf-Saf, *inter alia*, show, and legend attributed the foundation of the town to Hercules. It was a dependency of Carthage from the 7th century B.C. and passed under Roman domination after the Third Punic War (149-146 B.C.); Vespasian's stationing there the *Legio III Augusta* gave Theveste, now a *municipium*, a great boost, thanks also to the rich surrounding plain, and under Hadrian (117-38) it had 50,000 inhabitants. Septimius Severus erected it into a *colonia* and gave its people Roman citizenship. It furnished Rome with much of the *annona*, and received magnificent buildings, attested by the surviving ruins: an amphitheatre for 7,000 people, the Temple of Minerva, the Arch of Caracalla, and other buildings.

Christianity appeared there from the opening of the 3rd century, and the town produced such martyrs as St. Crispin (A.D. 305). There was also a Manichaean presence, and a Donatist council was held there, although Donatism did not take deep root. With Christianity made the official cult under Theodosius I (379-95), there was erected just north of Theveste the basilica of St. Crispin, the finest of Christian North Africa. But decline began with the Vandal occupation, and, during the Byzantine re-occupation, the town was

reduced to the citadel, a rectangle of 320 m by 280 m surrounded by a strong rampart with three gates.

It is not known exactly when Theveste passed under Arab domination, but this must have been by 84/703 when the Maghrib was definitively conquered. It now became part of the domains of successive dynasties, from the Aghlabids to the Ḥafṣids. Having lost its strategic importance, its history in mediaeval times was relatively untroubled until the Hilālian invasion (443/1052 [see HILĀL, BANŪ]), in which it suffered severely. Its name appears nowhere in Ibn ʿIdhārī's *Bayān*. It passed under Shīʿī Fāṭimid control without a struggle, and after 294/907 was used as a base for completing the conquest of Ifrīḳiyā from the Aghlabids; under the Fāṭimids it became the chef-lieu of a *kūra*. The Nukkarī Abū Yazīd, the "Man on the Donkey", seized it in 332/944 and demolished part of the wall. In 390-1 the Zīrid Bādīs had to intervene to save Tebessa from the attacks of rebels. In the time of the Ḥafṣid Abū Bakr (718-46/1318-46), the town enjoyed a semi-independence under a local *shaykh*, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūn, until 739/1339. In 1573 there was a Turkish garrison there, stationed in the locality of the present church. Intermarriage with local women produced the element of the *kulughlīs* [see KUL-OGHLU], which became dominant and spread the Ḥanafī *madhhab* at the expense of the traditional Mālikism. After Constantine fell into French hands in 1837, the Turkish garrison withdrew to Tunisia, and to fill the political void and protect the town from nomad attacks, some of the local notables appealed to the French.

Hence French occupation began in 1842 but was not definitive till 1851. In 1865 the troops of the Tunisian rebel Ibn Ghidhāhum [*q.v.* in Suppl.] were crushed on the heights of Tebessa. In the general revolt of 1871, Muḥyī al-Dīn, son of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, tried unsuccessfully to seize the town on 25 May, and was afterwards disavowed by his father. In 1881 it functioned as an important military base for the submission of southern Tunisia. In 1957 the "Ligne Morice", an electrified fence meant to cut off Algerian *mudjāhidūn* from their bases in Tunisia, stretched 200 km/125 miles from Bône to Tebessa. Since Algerian independence, Tebessa has been the chef-lieu of a *wilāya* or province and it now has a population of 67,000.

The decline of Tebessa's prosperity since classical times may have resulted from desertification and also from changes in the axes of trade; during the Arab period, there was no more prosperity from olive trees. It was not a major stage on trade routes, and is first mentioned, very briefly, by al-Muḳaddasī amongst the geographers (partial tr. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident musulman au IVe-Xe siècle*, Algiers 1950, 18/19). But on the evidence of al-Bakrī, who mentions its fruit and walnut trees and its role as a centre for the caravan trade (*Masālik*, Tunis 1992, § 1389), it enjoyed a revival of prosperity until the Hilālian invasions. The threshing of corn was done, as elsewhere, by animal power motivating sharp stones and iron blades, the *djarūsha*, the ancient *tribulum* (Brunschwig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 208), a technique not entirely disappeared today. But decline accelerated in the 6th/12th century, and Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, noted the extensive ruins and the Arab *ṣaʿālīk* there, i.e. the Banū Hilāl; the only manufacture was carpet weaving, carpets for use in tents, which has lasted until the present time. At the end of the 19th century, Pierre Castel noted the manufacture at Tebessa of carpets with a short pile and quite handsomely produced (*Tébessa, histoire et description d'un territoire algérien*, Paris 1905, i, 132). For Leo Africanus, the ruins of Tebessa recalled the Coliseum at Rome, but he found the inhabitants gross and rebellious and the land there infertile (*Waṣf Ifrīḳiyā*, Beirut 1983, ii, 63-5).

In the colonial period, Tebessa benefited from peace and security, and Castel noted the speedy increase of population, which included a Jewish element (*ibid.*, ii, 166). In the present century, Tebessa has been linked by narrow-gauge railways with Oued Kébérit and the standard-gauge line to Bône, and with Constantine via Ouled Rahmoun and continuing into Tunisia; it has also become an important road junction. The phosphate and iron mines of the region are especially valuable, the latter producing 60% of Algeria's iron ore (J. Despois, *L'Afrique blanche*, i, *L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1958, 431).

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TEGÜDER, AḤMAD, third Īl-khān in Persia [see ĪL-KHĀNS], seventh son of Hülegü [see HÜLĀGŪ] and the eldest surviving at the time of his accession, ruled 680-3/1282-4.

He was the first Īl-khān to be converted to Islam, at which time he received the additional name Aḥmad. It was no doubt as a result of his conversion that he attempted to put an end to the long-standing hostilities between the Īl-Khānate and the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria; but his embassies were received without enthusiasm by the Mamlūk sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]. He had been the majority preference for the succession over Arghun, the son of his brother and predecessor Abaḳa, but relations between Tegüder and Arghun deteriorated throughout the reign. In mid-1284 Tegüder managed to take Arghun into custody, but neglected to have him executed. Within a matter of a few weeks the tables were turned: the *amīr* Buḳa, a former supporter of Tegüder, changed sides and released Arghun. Tegüder was captured and executed in Djumādā I 683/August 1284. It seems unlikely that it was Tegüder's espousal of Islam which cost him the support of the Mongol *amīrs*: his fall is more plausibly attributable to lack of vigour and competence and an unwise disposition towards clemency.

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(D.O. Morgan)

TEKĀLĪF (t.), the Ottoman Turkish form of the pl. of the Arabic verbal noun *taklīf* "the act of imposing something [on someone]", in this case, taxation. In Ottoman Turkish usage, *tekālīf* was used in the general sense of taxes, more or less synonymously with other terms like *resm* [*q.v.*]. Writings on fiscal topics distinguished *tekālīf-i sherʿiyye*, canonical taxes in accordance with the *Sharīʿa* (e.g. the *zakāt*, *ʿushr*, *kharādj* and *djizya*) from *tekālīf-i fewḳalʿāde* "extraordinary ones", which could include *ʿörfī* ones, those imposed by the sultan and his servants according to custom, also called *ʿawāriḍ* "accidentally arising taxes" [*q.v.*], and *tekālīf-i shāḳḳe* "oppressive, onerous" ones.

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TEKE-ELI "the country of the Teke", a region in southern Anatolia around the Gulf of Antalya. Roughly corresponding to the classical areas of Lycia and Pamphylia, which constituted the western and eastern parts of Teke-Eli respectively, it took its name from the Teke *beys* who, as leaders of the Teke-oghullarî [*q.v.*] Türkmen, established a principality there in the 8th/14th century. Except for the alluvial plains at the mouths of, and along, several rivers, especially those to the east of Antalya [*q.v.*], Teke-Eli was a rugged, mountainous country traversed by north-south branches of the Taurus range. In the Lycian part of the country, the Bey Dağları mountains rise to 3,070 m. In the 8th and 9th/14th and 15th centuries, the most important city in this region was the port of Antalya. Others of note were Finike, Elmalı [*q.v.*], İstanoz (Korkuteli), and Ḳarā Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*] (Perge).

This region, the coast of which was densely settled in Byzantine times, suffered severely from Türkmen raids in the first half of the 7th/13th century. These raids, which had begun in the previous century, seem to have intensified after Kay Khusraw I, the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm, conquered Antalya in 603/1207 and made it the home port for his Mediterranean fleet. The Türkmen presence in Lycia and Pamphylia also increased significantly after the Mongols invaded central Anatolia and defeated the Sultanate of Rūm in 641/1243. At the end of the 7th/13th century, the Türkmen family of the Ḥamīd-oghullarî [*q.v.*] established a principality in Pisidia immediately to the north of Pamphylia and quickly took control of Antalya and the coastal plain. By 721/1321, Antalya was in the hands of a branch of this family, the Teke-oghullarî, who proceeded to acquire the rest of Pamphylia as well as Lycia, thus founding their own principality. This state, the capital of which was either Elmalı or Antalya, survived more or less for about a hundred years. During this time, Teke-Eli was rather thoroughly Turkified. By the early 9th/15th century, the metropolitan seats of Antalya, Perge, and Side had disappeared. Nevertheless, the former city retained Greek and Jewish quarters, and pockets of Byzantine-Greek speaking populations survived in remote parts of Lycia as late as the 19th century. Turkification appears to have contributed to the nomadisation of the region and a decline in agriculture. The upper mountains and valleys provided excellent pasture for sheep. In particular, Teke-Eli became well known for camel raising.

The Türkmen groups who settled in Teke-Eli were closely bound to their old traditions and customs. Heterodox beliefs, expressed above all in various forms of Ṣūfism, were rife among them, as were varieties of ʿAlawī beliefs. The Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*] took root in this region shortly after the death of the patron of the order, Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh in 660/1270. The shrine of Abdāl Mūsā (*fl.* 8th/14th cent.), considered by some to be the second master of the Bektāshiyya, was located in Elmalı. Ḳalandarīs [*q.v.*] were also common and, as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who was in Antalya in 732/1332, testifies, the *akhīs* [*q.v.*] were well organised there. The Teke *beys* patronised these groups and endowed many of their lodges (*tekkes*, *zāwiyas*), which were found in all the major towns.

In 762/1361, the Lusignans of Cyprus captured Antalya. It remained in their hands until 774/1373. In 792/1390, Bāyezīd I took the city. He lost it briefly to the Ḳaramān-oghullarî [*q.v.*], but retook it and its coastal plain in 800/1397. After Tīmūr defeated Bāyezīd at Ankara in 804/1402, his son Shāh Rukh plundered Teke-Eli and restored the Teke-oghullarî to some degree. In 826/1423, however, during the reign of Murād II, all of Teke-Eli fell permanently under Ottoman rule, becoming a *sandjaḳ* of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans reaffirmed all the privileges (*berāt*, *nishān*, etc.) that the Ḥamīd-oghullarî and Teke-oghullarî had granted the local notables. Thus the *sipāhīs* and others retained their positions.

Nevertheless, there was later much religious ferment in this region directed against the Ottoman state. The Türkmen there were attracted to various Shīʿī or ʿAlawī movements. In 1500, some of them visited Ardabīl as *murīds* of Shāh Ismāʿīl. Indeed, many Teke Türkmen joined Shāh Ismāʿīl and went on to play an important role in the founding of the Ṣafawid state. In 1511-12, in Teke-Eli itself, Shāh Ḳulu Bābā Tekeli led an uprising of these Türkmen. Before their revolt was crushed, there was much destruction and loss of life. According to the Ottoman cadastral surveys, the cities of Teke-Eli suffered a significant drop in population because of this uprising and Bāyezīd's subsequent deportation of many of its supporters.

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TEKE-OGHULLARÎ, a Türkmen dynasty that ruled a principality located around the Gulf of Antalya from *ca.* 708/1308 to 826/1423.

The origin and date of appearance of the Teke-oghullarî are obscure. According to Yazîdjî-oghlu ʿAlī, they were descended from the Igdir Türkmen who were one of the tribes constituting the *üč oḳ* branch of the Oghuz (*Taʾrīkh-i āl-i Saldjūḳ*, written 827/1423-4 or 840/1436-7 and based on Ibn Bībī's *al-Awāmir al-*

ʿAlāʾiyya, Turkish text ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1902, 88, 322). When Kay Khusraw I, the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm, conquered Antalya in 603/1207, he settled the Igdir in that region and gave it to them as winter quarters. Yazĭdjĭ-oghlu adds that the *ketkhudā* (chief) of the Igdir had a son named Teke, who appears to have lived in the last quarter of the 8th/14th century.

After the Saldjūḳ Sultanate of Rūm was defeated in 641/1243 by the Mongols and transformed into a shadow state, it gradually dissolved into a number of Türkmen principalities, or *beyliks*, that were subject to the Mongol governors of Anatolia. Near the end of the 7th/13th century, one of these principalities was founded by the Ḥamīd-oghullarĭ [*q.v.*] in the classical region of Pisidia. At the beginning of the following century, they also controlled Antalya to the south. Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ states that Falak al-Dīn Dündar Bey of the Ḥamīd-oghullarĭ captured Antalya and gave it to his brother Yūnus (*Taḳwīm al-buldān*, Dresden 1846, 210). This probably occurred no earlier than 708/1308, when the Saldjūḳ Sultanate of Rūm disappeared. Up to then, the coast of Antalya appears to have belonged to the Saldjūḳs of Rūm. The descendants of Yūnus conquered all the territory around Antalya, the classical regions of Lycia to the west and Pamphylia to the east, and thus established their own principality.

Yūnus' son Maḥmūd succeeded him in Antalya, and another son Sinān al-Dīn Djālis (or Djālish) Khiḍr (Sinān al-Dīn Djālis and Khiḍr may have been two different brothers) ruled in Istanoz (Korkuteli), while his slave Zakariyyāʾ held Ḳarā Ḥiṣār (Perge) and several other towns (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Taeschner, *Al-ʿUmarīs Bericht über Anatolien nach den Masālik al-abṣār*, Leipzig 1929, i, 48). Maḥmūd was a close associate of the Mongol governor Demirtash. When the latter revolted against the Il-Khānid ruler Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khān in 727/1327, Maḥmūd was forced to flee with him to the Mamlūk court in Cairo, where he was imprisoned. Khiḍr then took control of Antalya. According to al-ʿUmarī, he had 12 cities and 25 fortresses. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met Khiḍr in Antalya in 732/1332 (tr. Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, Cambridge, 1958-71, ii, 421). Al-Ḳalḳashandī reports that Khiḍr was succeeded by his son Dadī. Maḥmūd's son Mübāriz al-Dīn Meḥmed subsequently replaced him (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, viii, 17).

Meḥmed was the most dynamic member of the dynasty. He was undoubtedly the Teke mentioned by Yazĭdjĭ-oghlu. He appears to have used the title Teke Bey, which was then applied to both his dynasty and the territory that they ruled, Teke-Eli [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, v, 346, viii, 17). Indeed, the chronicles of the Lusignan dynasty of Cyprus, against which Meḥmed spent much of his life fighting, often refer to him as the *amīr* of Taka/Takka. In 762/1361, Peter I took Antalya by storm. Meḥmed failed to retake the city. Although he later raided Cyprus, he eventually paid homage to Peter. After Peter was murdered in 770/1369, Meḥmed attacked Antalya again, probably in 771/1370, but failed once more. Finally, as a result of their difficulties with the Genoese, the Lusignans negotiated the return of Antalya to Meḥmed in 774/1373. The latter, who had the title *sulṭān al-sawāḥil*, died at some time after 779/1377. In that year, he built a *türbe* in Antalya for his son ʿAlī. This is the only significant surviving Teke structure, which is in the traditional style of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm.

Meḥmed was succeeded by his son ʿOthmān Čelebi who resided in Istanoz, leaving Antalya to his own son Muṣṭafā. During this time, the principality lost its former importance. In 792/1390, it was conquered by Bāyezīd I, and Muṣṭafā fled to Egypt. When the Ottoman governor of the region, Fīrūz Bey, was transferred to Menteshe-Eli [*q.v.*], the region fell under the influence of the Ḳarāmān-oghullarĭ [*q.v.*]. In 800/1397, Bāyezīd returned to defeat the Ḳarāmān-oghullarĭ and re-incorporated the region in his empire. In 804/1402, after Tīmūr defeated Bāyezīd at Ankara, he sent his son Shāh Rukh on an expedition to Teke-Eli. He restored much of the principality, minus Antalya, Ḳarā Ḥiṣār, and other cities, to ʿOthmān who remained in Istanoz. ʿOthmān subsequently formed an alliance with the Ḳarāmān-oghullarĭ in an attempt to take Antalya, but he was killed by the Ottoman *subashĭ* (constable) of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār in 826/1423. This ended the dynasty and marked the final absorption of its remaining territory into the Ottoman Empire. Although the Teke-oghullarĭ founded a *de facto* independent state, no coinage struck by them has been positively identified.

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(G. Leiser)

TEKFUR, Tekvur, a title used in late Rūm Saldjūḳ and early Ottoman times. It is most probably of Armenian origin (< *taghavor* "crown bearer", MP *tāg-āwāra* (see Hubschmann, *Armenische Grammatik. i. Armen. Etymologie*, Leipzig 1897, s.v.; I. Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le Destān d'Umūr Pacha*, Paris 1954, 47 n. 6, and index, 144b) or, less likely, from the Greek name Nikephoros > Nikfor > Tekfur (see Zenker, *Türk.-arab.-pers. Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1866, s.v.; E. Zachariadou, *Hist. and legends of the early sultans 1300-1400* [in Gk.], Athens 1991, 215). It was employed by historians in Persian and Turkish mainly to denote Byzantine lords or governors of towns and fortresses in Anatolia (Bithynia, Pontus) and Thrace. It often denoted Byzantine frontier warfare leaders, commanders of *akritai*, but also Byzantine princes and emperors themselves (whence the 13th-century *tekvurs* of Trebizond, and the late 13th-century "Emperor's Palace", Tekfur Sarayĭ, in Constantinople (refs. in C. Mango, art. s.v. in *The Oxford dict. of Byzantium*, Oxford 1991, 2021-2; cf. P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*, Istanbul 1934, 39).

Ibn Bībī [*q.v.*] refers in the 13th century to the first emperor of Trebizond, Alexius I Grand Comnenus (1204-22), as "Kir Aleks, *tekvur* of Djānit (= Pontus)" (see German tr. H.W. Duda, Copenhagen 1959, 64 ff.; Gk. tr. A. Savvides, in *Archeion Pontou*, xxxix [1984], 185 ff.), and to the ruler of Cilician (Little) Armenia as *tekvur* (Duda, 238-9, 336 n. 220). In the *Dede Korkud* epic, there is reference to the Grand Comnenus *tekfur* of Djānit in *ca.* 1352, i.e. Alexius III (1349-90), who subjected the Türkmen *amīr* of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*], Turalĭ Khān, to the task of performing three miraculous feats to gain the hand of his daughter (ed. Fahrettin Kırzıoğlu, Istanbul 1952, 117-18, ed. E. Rossi, Vatican City 1952, 180-1; Eng. tr. G.N. Lewis, Harmondsworth 1974, 119; cf. A.A. Bryer, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxix [1975], 134-5, and in *Byz. and Modern Greek Studies*, xi [1987], 197 ff.).

Several powerful Muslim equivalents of *tekfurs*, like Köse Mīkhāl [see mīkhāl-oghlu, and cf. H. İnalcık, in *SI*, ii [1954], 103-4; A. Failler, in *Rev. Etudes Byzantines*, lii [1994], 110), were at times allies or vassals of ʿOthmān I [*q.v.*], when the latter was bey of a semi-nomadic Türkmen band in conflict with the

tekfurs who controlled summer and winter pasture in northwestern Anatolia (see İnalcık, in *Camb. hist. of Islam*, i, 267). In 710/1308 Meḥmed Bey of the Aydïn Oghlus accepted the surrender of the Byzantine *tekfur* of Keles or Kilas in the Aydïn amīrate's territory (Mélikoff-Sayar, *op. cit.*, 47 ll. 29-32). Between 761-2/1359-61, according to Yakhshï Faḳīh, in ʿĀshïḳ-pasha-zāde, German tr. R. Kreutel, Graz 1959, 80, Gk. tr. in Zachariadou, *op. cit.*, 192-3 and n. 201, the *tekfurs* of Thracian Messene or Misini and Didymoteichon or Dimetoka [*q.v.*] surrendered their fortified towns to Orkhān (and not to Murād I; cf. İnalcık, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, iii [1971], 196 n. 45, 197) (see P. Schreiner, *Byz. Kleinchroniken*, ii, Vienna 1977, 289-91; P. Soustal, *Thrakien, tabula imperii Byzantini*, 7, Vienna 1991, 242-3; T. Gregory, art. *Didymoteichon*, in *Oxford dict. of Byz.*, 620).

Finally, Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ's conquests after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 show him as a perceived reviver of the Byzantine empire under Muslim rule, in that Kemāl-pasha-zāde states (facs. ed., Ankara 1954, 186, 613) that he sought to leave "no-one amongst the Byzantine Greeks who could be named *tekfur*", thus eliminating in turn the Despotate of the Morea [see MORA; MEZISTRE in Suppl.] in 1460-1 and the Empire of Trebizond [see TRABZON] in 1461, and annexing the semi-autonomous Greek states of Thessaly [see TESALYA] between 1454-70 and of Epirus by 1479.

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(A. SAVVIDES)

TEKIRDAGH, modern Turkish TEKİRDAĞ, the former RODOSTO, a town and port of Turkey, on the European coast of the Sea of Marmara (eastern Thrace), named after the schistous massif of the Tekir Dağ or Tekfur Dağı (924 m/3,030 feet) which skirts the coast to the southwest, and also the administrative centre of the province (*il*) of the same name.

The town stands on the site of the ancient Bisanthe (Βισάνθη), later Rhaidestos (Ῥαιδεστός). In *ca.* 759/1357 it fell to the Ottomans after they crossed the Straits (see von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 147). The old Ottoman chronicles give details of the ruse used by the general Evrenos Beg [*q.v.*] in order to gain control of the fortress (see on this, Johannes Leunclavius, *Hist. musul. turc.*, Frankfurt 1591, cols. 224, 43 ff.). Under the Ottoman empire, the town, then part of the *wilāyet* of Edirne and the seat of a Greek archbishop, did not play any significant role in politics, but it was the home for several notable figures in the intellectual history of Turkey, such as Nāmïḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*], who was born there in 1840. A certain Aḥmed Luṭfī b. Ḥādjdjī Ḥasan in 1160/1747 compiled a list of the contemporary poets originally from Tekfūr Daghï (see Babinger, *GOW*, 284 n. 1, and on this topic, R. Hartmann, in *OLZ* [1929], n. 1, col. 43 n. 1).

Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], Grand Vizier to Süleymān the Magnificent 951-60/1544-53, had the architect Sinān [*q.v.*] construct there a fine mosque (the present Rüstem Paşa Camii), a covered market (*bedesten*) and a hospice for the poor, where travellers passing through the town were fed and sheltered gratis (see von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 61). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa [*q.v.*] describes the place Rodosdjïḳ, as he calls it, towards the middle of the 11th/17th century, as being a town strongly fortified, coming within the *sandjak* of Gallipoli, with fine streets, a capacious *ʿimāret* for the poor, baths and caravanserais. The house where the hero of Hungarian independence Francis II Rakoczi died on 8 April 1735 after 18 years of exile with several of his companions, including Count Anton Eszterhazy, has now been made into a museum (see the inscriptions in the Roman Catholic church at Rodosto published by von Hammer as an appendix in his *Umblick auf einer Reise von Constantinopel nach Brussa*, Pesth 1818, 198 ff.). Other travellers in the early 19th century like Lord Keppel (1829, see his *Narrative of a journey across the Balkan*, London 1831, i, 68, 126 ff.) described Rodosto as a miserable place, but the town, having developed as far as the surrounding intensively-cultivated market gardens and extensive vineyards, had grown to around 40,000 inhabitants, at least half of whom were Greeks, by the beginning of the 20th century.

The town and its *sandjak*, like the greater part of Thrace, were invaded by the Bulgarians at the time of the First Balkan War of 1912, but in the end restored to the Ottoman empire. It was attached to Greece, together with the whole of eastern Thrace, by the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) and occupied by the Greek army until its recapture by the Turkish army in October-November 1922. The exchange of Greek and Turkish populations provided for by the Treaty of Lausanne (14 July 1923) brought the town's population—it was now the centre of a *wilāyet* and henceforth officially called Tekirdağ—down to 14,387 at the first census of Republican Turkey in 1927. Since then, the town has grown once more from its role as the commercial and administrative centre of the province and as an industrial centre processing the products of a rich, mechanised agriculture and viniculture (the first wine factory in the country was there) and accommodating the spill-over from the industrial growth of greater Istanbul. In 1990 it had a population of 80,442.

The *il* of Tekirdağ (6,218 km^2) comprises nine districts (*ilçe*): Tekirdağ Central, Çerkezköy, Çorlu, Hayrabolu, Malkara, Marmara Ereğlisi, Muratlı, Saray and Şarköy. Its rich agriculture includes the mechanised cultivation of cereals and sunflowers on the plateaux and hillsides of the Ergene basin and vines in the coastal districts of Tekirdağ and Şarköy. Crossed by the railway, the road and the motorway from Istanbul to Edirne which links Turkey with western Europe, the province has vigorously developed varied industries (agricultural and food processing, textiles, mechanical and chemical industries), including in the extensive industrial estate of Çerkezköy. Its population increases regularly, leaping from 132,122 in 1927 to 468,842 in 1990.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see on Rodosto's commercial role, W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1885, i, 243, 257, 285, 431, 512, ii, 177; A. Boué, *Recueil d'itineraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Vienna 1854, i, 145; Aḥmad Rifʿat, *Lughat-i taʾrīkhiyye we djoghrāfiyye*, ii, Istanbul 1299/1882, 270 ff.; Sāmī Bey Frāsheri, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iii, 1661 ff. See also the historical works of the local scholar Hikmet Çevik, *Tekirdağ tarihi araştırmaları*, Istanbul 1981; the monograph of Osman Yalçın, *Tekirdağ*, Istanbul 1981; and the art. *Tekirdağ* in *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, ix, 6964-7000, x, 7007-61, very full on the province and with many useful references for the town.

(F. BABINGER-[M. BAZIN])

TEKISH B. IL ARSLAN, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Tādj al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, one of the Khʷārazm Shāhs of Anūshtigin's line, reigned 567-96/1172-1200. The name (thus vocalised in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, tr. Atalay, i, 368) means something like "confronted, attacked, struck [in battle]"; see Hikmet Bayur, *Harizmşah Alâü'd-Dîn "Tekiş" 'in adı hakkında*, in *Belleten*, xiv, no. 56 [1950], 589-95.

Tekish had been governor of Djand [*q.v.* in Suppl.] during his father's lifetime, and only succeeded to the throne after a struggle with his younger brother Sulṭān Shāh, who was supported by his mother Terken Khātūn [*q.v.*]. Although Tekish owed his throne to help from the Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*], he came to chafe against their demands for tribute; however, he successfully repelled a Ḳara Khitay invasion of Khwārazm under the Gurkhān Fu-ma (576/1181) and subsequently, in 578/1182, led an expedition into Transoxania and temporarily occupied Bukhārā. Tekish's wife, another Terken Khātūn, was a Ḳanghlî or Ḳîpčaḳ [*q.vv.*] princess, and connections with the steppes to the north of Khwārazm, the Dasht-i Ḳîpčaḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], enabled the Shāh to recruit large numbers of Ḳîpčaḳ tribesmen into his armies (not all of these were necessarily Muslims, and the Khwārazmian troops in Persia were later to achieve an unenviable reputation for their violence and barbarity). Nevertheless, he had on various occasions to lead expeditions against recalcitrant steppe peoples, e.g. in 591/1194-5 against Djand and Sîghnāḳ [*q.v.*].

Tekish's rival Sulṭān Shāh had established himself at Marw, and the Shāh became involved in a three-cornered struggle in northern Khurāsān with his brother and the Ghūrids [*q.v.*], who were endeavouring to extend their power westwards. In this tortuous warfare, Tekish was on one occasion allied with the Ḳara Khitay against the Ghūrids, but the Khwārazmians were not finally victorious against the Ghūrids here until after Tekish's own death. In the last decade of his life, Tekish also saw the possibility of expansion into northern and western Persia, where the last Great Saldjūḳ sultan, Ṭoghrîl III b. Arslan [*q.v.*], was at odds with the Eldigüzid Atabegs of Ādharbāydjān [see ELDIGÜZIDS]. In 588/1192 a Khwārazmian army advanced as far as Rayy, and two years later, Tekish defeated and killed Ṭoghrîl there. He could then occupy the whole of Djibāl as far as Hamadhān, and the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] had willy-nilly to invest him with the governorship of Khurāsān, Turkistān and western Persia. But in 591/1195 the Khwārazmians defeated a caliphal army, and relations were always uneasy; the news of Tekish's death in Ramaḍān 596/July 1200 was the signal for a general massacre of Khwārazmian troops in Djibāl.

Tekish had expanded his original province of Khwārazm into a vast empire, which was now handed on to his second son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, only to fall prey within two decades to the ferocity of the Mongols.

Bibliography: The main primary source is Ibn al-Athīr, to be supplemented by information from such other sources as Rāwandī, Djūzdjānī, Nasawī and Djuwaynī. Of studies, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 337-49; İ. Kafesoğlu, *Harezmşahlar devleti tarihi* (*485-617/1092-1229*), Ankara 1956, 84-146; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 163-4, 181-3, 188-92. See also KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

TEKKE, TEKIYYE or TEKYE (T.), from Arabic *takiyya* pl. *takāyā*, derived, via *takīʾa*, from form VIII of the root *w-k-ʾ*, which signifies "to rely on", "receive support", and, in the nominal forms *takiyya* and *muttakaʾ*, "place or thing on which one relies, where one rests" (R. Blachère *et al.*, *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais*, Paris 1970, ii, 1062-3). The term (in its Turkish form *tekke* or *tekiyye*, Pers. *takiya* or Ar. *takiyya*), conventionally denotes an establishment belonging to a group of Ṣūfīs, where the latter gather around a *shaykh*, perform their ritual (*dhikr*) and their devotions, etc. It is thus similar in meaning to such words as *ribāṭ*, *khānḳāh*, *dergāh*, *zāwiya* and *āsitāne*, also used to refer to various types of dervish convent (see, in particular, the views of J. Chabbi on the *ribāṭ* as an establishment for mystics and its relations with establishments of the same order, *khānḳāh*, *zāwiya* and *tekke*, in RIBĀṬ).

No study has apparently yet been undertaken which would make it possible to determine in definitive fashion under what circumstances the word *tekke/takiyya* was, or is, employed in preference to the other terms cited, according to times and regions. It seems that its use was first developed in an Ottoman context, from the 10th/16th century onwards. It was at this time that the *zāwiya*, an institution corresponding to establishments formed of cells adjoining a prayer-hall and designed for a "mobile" Ṣūfism (i.e. for the accommodation of dervishes and transient guests), was losing its importance. The development of the *tekke* would thus be associated with the rise of an organised Ottoman network of brotherhoods, controlled by the state and responding to the needs of mystical communities more stable and more permanent than was previously the case (cf. Semavi Eyice, *İlk osmanlı devrinin dini-içtimai bir müessesesi. Zâviyeler ve zâviyeli-camiler*, in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xxiii/1-2 [Ekim 1962-Şubat 1963], 3-80; A.Y. Ocak-S. Farûki, art. *Zâviye*, in *İA*; M. Kara, *Din, hayat, sanat açısından tekkeler ve zaviyeler*, ³Istanbul 1990). In fact, in the central provinces of the Ottoman empire (Anatolia and Rumelia), the term *zāwiya* continued to be used as a synonym of *tekke*, the latter often (although not invariably) bearing the implication of a smaller scale. In *waḳf* documents, as well as in biographical collections, it is the term *zāwiya* which remains the most often found, at least until the 18th century. In the works of Ṭashköprüzāde and Medjdī, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyye*, Istanbul 1985, and *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1989, composed in the second half of the 10th/16th century, it seems that only the term *zāwiye* is used. In the same period, in the *Menāḳib-i sherīf ve ṭarīḳatnāme-yi pīrān we meshāyikh-i ṭarīḳat-i ʿaliyye-i khalwetiyye* of Yūsuf Sinān, Istanbul 1290/1873, the word *khānḳāh* is used for important establishments, whereas centres founded in *ḳaṣabas* are called *zāwiye*; in the *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of ʿAṭāʾī ([*q.v.*], written in 1633-4, Istanbul 1989), it is still *zāwiye* which is most often encountered, but it should be noted that the author writes (603) of a certain Hōdja Khusrew organising the building, in Istanbul *ca.* 994/1585-6, for the *sheykh* Ramaḍān, of a mosque and a *khānḳāh*, known by the name of Bāzergān Tekyesi, and subsequently he states (608) that in the Rūmeliḥiṣār quarter there existed the *zāwiye* of ʿAlī Baba "currently called Durmush Dede tekyesi" or "Bektāshīler tekyesi". A logical conclusion to be drawn from this could be that contemporary usage preferred to use *tekke* as a generic term, rather than the more technical terms *zāwiye* and *khānḳāh*. Thus Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*], who wrote in a Turkish very close to the spoken language, most often uses the word *tekke* in his *Seyāḥat-nāme* when he supplies the number of dervish establishments in the towns and cities which he has traversed and when he cites some of them by name (although he still uses, occasionally, the words *zāwiye*, *khānḳāh* and *āsitāne*). A study which would clarify these hypotheses has yet to be undertaken.

Since the end of the Ottoman period, in Anatolia and in the Balkans, it has essentially been scale which distinguishes a *tekke* from a *zāwiye*. A *tekke* is a building, or a complex comprising several buildings, specifically designed for the confraternal life, whereas the *zāwiye* is a place where dervishes congregate, in a building

which is not necessarily exclusive to them (usually a section of a residential house or a mosque). As for the *āsitāne*, they are the principal centres of certain brotherhood networks, the term *dergāh* also being common (and perhaps the preferred usage when the tomb of a major saint is associated with the establishment). The *tekke* generally comprises a section for ritual (*semāʿkhāne* or *tewḥīdkhāne*), a room reserved for the tombs of the *sheykhs* (*türbe*) (on the spatial relationship between these two entities, cf. B. Tanman, *Settings for the veneration of saints*, in R. Lifchez, *The dervish lodge*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1992, 130-71), a *ḥarem* (accommodation for the *sheykh*'s family), a *selāmlīḳ* (reception rooms and units for the lodging of dervishes and transient guests), a kitchen, sometimes a mosque, a niche intended for spiritual retreats, etc. (on this subject see especially Lifchez, *The lodges of Istanbul*, in *ibid.*, 73-129, and M.B. Tanman, art. *Tekkeler*, in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1994). The word *tekke* has also become a generic term denoting Ṣūfī establishments; whence the expressions "*tekke* literature", "*tekke* music", etc.

In the Arab provinces, the term *tekke/takiyya* (sometimes considered a Turkish word) only appears in the Ottoman era [see e.g. AL-ḲĀHIRA]. According to G. Delanoue (*Moralistes et politiques musulmans (1798-1882)*, Cairo 1982, i, 249), in Cairo the *takāyā* were distinguished from the *zawāyā* because they were "convents for Turkish and Persian Ṣūfīs". In fact, among the *takāyā* of Cairo, some were intended specifically for non-Arab dervishes, others were establishments linked to *ṭuruḳ* imported from the Turkish provinces: the Mawlawiyya *takiyya*, the Gulshaniyya *takiyya*, the Demirdāshiyya *takiyya*, the Ḳaṣr al-ʿAynī *takiyya* (of the Bektāshiyya), the Uzbak *takiyya*, the Bukhāriyya *takiyya*, the Ḥasan al-Rūmī *takiyya*, etc. In Alexandria, too, there was a "*takiyya* of Turkish Ḳādirī dervishes" (F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, 77-86, 120). However, according to this same author (29-30), around the end of the 19th century the distinction between the two terms *zāwiya* and *takiyya* does not seem to have been very consistent. The larger establishments, having substantial revenues deriving from *awḳāf* and sheltering a community of Ṣūfīs administered by a *shaykh*, were in general called *takāyā*, whereas *zawāyā* tended to be institutions of more modest scale but also eligible to receive financial subsidies. In Damascus, the terms utilised to denote Ṣūfī establishments were primarily those of *ribāṭ*, *khānḳāh* and *zāwiya*. According to E. Geoffroy (*Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans. Orientations spirituelles et enjeux culturels*, Damascus 1995, 166-75), *khānḳāhs* were associated with a controlled and subsidised Ṣūfism, whereas the *zawāyā* accommodated an "unofficial" Ṣūfism, compatible with the principle of spiritual poverty and unselfishness. The Ottomans, for their part, constructed *zawāyā and tekiyyes* but not *khanḳāhs*. As in Egypt, the word *tekke* is thus applied to establishments of dervishes associated with the Ottomans or with Turkish *ṭuruḳ* such as the Mawlawiyya; e.g. *takāyā* of the Mawlawiyya in Damascus, but also in Ḥimṣ, Antioch, Lattakia, Tripoli and Aleppo (see de Jong, *Les confréries mystiques musulmanes au Machreq arabe*, in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, *Les ordres mystiques musulmans dans l'islam. Cheminements et situation actuelle*, Paris 1985, 214). In short, it seems that in the Arab provinces, *tekkiye/takiyya* would have denoted Ṣūfī establishments which conformed to one or more of the following three criteria (these criteria often going in pairs): association with Ottoman authority and/or Turkish dervishes, a relatively large scale, and support from fairly substantial *waḳfs*.

Outside the Ottoman domain, use of the word does not seem to have been widespread. In Persia, according to R. Gramlich (*Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Dritter Teil: Brauchtum und Riten*, Wiesbaden 1981, 2), only old-style Khāksārs called their "convent" a *takiyya*, the term having been subsequently replaced by that of *khānḳāh*, the word customarily used in these regions. In India, *takiyya* seems to apply only to small-scale dervish establishments (M. Gaborieau, *Les modes d'organisation*, in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, *Les voies d'Allah*, Paris 1996, 207).

It should be noted finally that today, in certain regions where the brotherhoods have virtually disappeared, such as Greece, the term *tekke* (in Greek, *tekkés*) is frequently employed to denote a *türbe* (saint's tomb). It may be supposed that, in the majority of cases, this shift in meaning derives from the fact that such tombs were often associated in the past with a *tekke*.

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(NATHALIE CLAYER)

TELINGĀNA or TILANG, a region of the mediaeval Deccan, i.e. South India. The name comes from *telingā*, *trilingā*, referring to the three lingams of Śīva, the region being noted in ancient India for three famous temples there dedicated to the godhead. It lay in the northeastern part of what later became Ḥaydarābād State and the adjacent part of Madras, extending to the shores of the Bay of Bengal and bounded on the northeast by the Godivari river, beyond which lay the other Hindu kingdoms of Kalinga and Orissa.

Telingāna figures frequently in accounts of the Khaldjī and then Tughluḳī Dihlī Sultans as they endeavoured to extend their authority into the eastern Deccan, and then in those of their successors in the south, the Bahmanīs [*q.v.*], likewise extending their power; its Hindu rulers at times submitted to the Muslims, but equally often fought off Muslim control.

Bibliography: See *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxiii, 275-6, vii, 367. (ED.)

TELKHĪṢ, from the form II Arabic verb *lakhkhaṣa* "to make a précis", meant in the official language of Ottoman Turkey a document in which the most important matters are summed up for presentation to the sultan. The officials who had these papers prepared and presented them to the sultan were the Grand Vizier and the *Shaykh al-Islām*. On account of its change of significance, *telkhīṣ* is included among the *ghalaṭāt-i meshhūre* [*q.v.*] "popular solecisms", cf. Muḥammad Ḥafīd, *al-Durar al-muntakhaba al-manthūra fī iṣlāḥ al-ghalaṭāt al-mashhūra*, Istanbul 1221/1806, 115; Pakalın, iii, 449; *IA* art. *Telhis* (Cengiz Orhonlu). (J.H. KRAMERS)

TELKHĪṢDJI, or in the official style, TELKHĪṢĪ, was the individual of the Ottoman Turkish administration appointed to prepare the précis called *telkhīṣ* [*q.v.*] and to take it to the palace, where it was handed over to the chief of the eunuchs. The *telkhīṣdji* was therefore an official of the Grand Vizier's department; in addition to preparing the *telkhīṣ*, he took part in several official ceremonies. The *telkhīṣdji* of the *Shaykh al-Islām* was not—at least in the later period—in direct communication with the palace; documents presented by him had to pass first of all through the hands of the Re'īs Efendi and of the Grand Vizier.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, ii, 260, iii, 343; von Hammer, *Des osmani-*

schen Reiches Staatsverfassung, i, 31, 475; *İA*, art. *Telhisci* (Cengiz Orhonlu). (J.H. Kramers)

TELL [see tall].

TELL BĀSHIR [see tall bāshir].

TELL el-**KEBĪR** [see al-tall al-kabīr].

TEMESHWĀR, Tīmīshwār (?), the Ottoman rendering of Magyar Temesvár, Romanian Timişoara, a town and centre of a *wilāyet* in Ottoman Hungary, belonging to Romania since 1919.

First mentioned in an 1177 charter, Temesvár acquired regional importance as the seat of a county; even the royal court functioned here between 1315 and 1323. Situated near the Ottoman-Hungarian border, it gained strategic significance. In *ca.* 1480 a captainship-in-general was created around Temesvár in order to organise the defence of the eastern frontiers; the fortress resisted an Ottoman attack in 1551.

Although the Turkish sources mention the *sandjak* of Temesvár as early as 1542, this is merely a sign of political ambitions. The creation of a *beglerbegilik* of lower rank and a *liwā* of this name was possible only after the capturing of the town by the forces of the second Vizier Aḥmed Pasha on 27 July 1552. The seat of the *wilāyet* was in Lippa (Lipova) between 1555 to *ca.* 1557-8, and alternatively in Jenö (Yanova, Rom. Ineu) from 1658 until 1693. The often-changing territory of the province was divided into six *sandjaks* in 1568, into five around 1632, and into eight in 1658. Besides, the timariots of three *liwās* in Rūmeli were also subordinated to Temesvár in the 16th century. The number of *kaḍā*'s amounted to twelve in 1664 and ten after 1699. By and large, this latter administrative scheme was taken over by the Habsburg authorities after 1716-17, when Prince Eugene of Savoy led his successful campaigns against the region.

The financial balance of the treasury of the *wilāyet* showed a large deficit until 1567, while a considerable surplus can be witnessed from 1569 onwards, by means of which the shortfalls of the Buda treasury were partly covered.

There were some 4,000 paid soldiers in the castles and approximately 3,000 timariots, together with their *djebelüs* in the province throughout the Ottoman rule.

The first *ṭapu defteris* in the province were finished in 1554, and renewed in 1567-69 and 1578-79 (several studies based on the 1579 register of Temesvár were published by Tibor Halasi-Kun; for details, see his bibl. in *Acta Or. Hung.*, xlvii [1994], 13-4). The relevant volumes testify to great population movements in Temesvár. While the ratio of the Hungarian element constituted two-thirds of all Christians in 1554, it diminished to less than one half of them by 1578, with an even more radical numerical decrease. Immigrating Muslims took their place, keeping the town among the most populous cities in Ottoman Hungary with some 7-8,000 souls. The rest of the settlements of the *wilāyet* had almost completely lost their Hungarian inhabitants by 1554, presumably mainly due to earlier Ottoman incursions. Comparing 16th century *mufaṣṣal defteris*, a *djizye* list of 1711, and a Habsburg house register of 1717, a slight population growth between the 16th and the 18th centuries can be ascertained, which gave way to stagnation at the level of 180 to 200,000 people for the years before and after the reconquest.

Bibliography: Sztefan Andreev, *Török iratok Temesvár XVII-XVIII. századi történetéröl a szófiai Nemzeti Könyvtárban* ("Turkish documents concerning the 17-18th century history of Temesvár in the National Library in Sofia"), in *Levéltári Közlemények*, xlviii-xlix (1978), 195-213; Géza Dávid, *Adalékok a Temesvári ejálet 18. századi történetéhez* ("Data on the 18th century history of the *eyālet* of Temesvár"), in *Keletkutatás*, 1993/2, 42-55 (to be published also in English in the volume *The Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century*); Pál Fodor, *Finanz- und Militärwesen an der osmanischen Grenze: die Temeschwarer* wilayet *im 16.-17. Jahrhundert*, in *Südost-Forschungen* (in the press). (G. Dávid)

TEMUČIN, TEMÜDJIN [see čingiz-khān].

TENEDOS [see bozdja-ada].

TEPEDELEN [see ʿalī pasha tepedelenli].

TEPTYAR, the Russian rendering of Tat. Bashk. *Tiptär*, a social term and subsequently ethnonym, the "people of the register" (< Pers. < Arab. *daftar* "book, record, register" ult. Gr. διφθέρα), used of a grouping speaking a Tatar dialect (influenced by Bashkir) in Bashkortostan/Bashkiria.

It denoted populations of Volga Tatar, Mishär, Bashkir, Čuvash and Volga Finnic origins which were allowed to settle on and farm Bashkir lands after the Russian conquest of the Tatar Volga khānates (mid-16th century). The Finnic element, in the early 19th century, was estimated at 20-25%. Initially obliged to pay part of the *yasak* (tribute) due from their Bashkir overlords, the Teptyar, in 1737, because of their support of the Tsarist government, were given their lands and their fiscal obligations were mitigated and regularised. Further legislation in the early 19th century created eight cantonments with the obligation of military service. Having begun as a social class, which subsequently acquired certain privileges, the Teptyars were in the course of the 19th century transformed into a distinct ethnic grouping in which the Turkic (Tatar and Bashkir) elements predominated. In the middle years of that century, there were still distinctions between the increasingly Sunnī Muslim majority and pagan minority (largely Finnic), some of whom were being converted to Islam by Tatar and Bashkir missionaries. Sizeable numbers were absorbed into the Bashkir people. The 1858 census appears to indicate that some 300,000-350,000 of the one million Bashkirs were Teptyars. In the 1927 census, only 27,387 persons listed themselves as Teptyars without any other ethnic designation.

Bibliography: G.N. Akhmarov, *Teptyari i ikh proiskhoždenie*, in *Izvestiya obshčestva arkheologii i etnografii pri imperatorskom Kazanskom Universitete*, xxiii (1907-8), 340-64; A. Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Tatarları*, Ankara 1966, 58, 75, 109, 110; N.I. Vorob'ev and G.M. Khisamutdinov, *Tatarï srednego Povolž'ya i Priural'ya*, Moscow 1967; A.S. Donnelly, *The Russian conquest of Bashkiria 1552-1740*, New Haven 1968, esp. 32-3, 108; D.I. Iskhakov, *Teptyari. Opït etnostatističeskogo izučeniya*, in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, iv (1979), 29-42; B.G. Akhmetshin, *Predanie o proiskhoždenii bashkirskikh teptyarey*, in *Vsesoyuznaya sessiya po itogam polevikh etnografičeskikh issledovaniy 1980-1981gg.* Nal'čik 1982; S. Akiner, *Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union*, London 1983, 65, 101-2; R.G. Kuzeev, *Narodï Srednego Povolž'ya i Yužnogo Urala*, Moscow 1992, esp. 266-71. (P.B. Golden)

TERAKKĪ-PERVER DJUMHŪRIYYET FİRKASİ (Progressive Republican Party), the first opposition party of the Turkish Republic. It was founded on 17 November 1924 by a number of leading members of Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk)'s People's Party (Khalk Firkasi). Among the founders of the party were a number of military and civilian figures who had played a leading role in the national resistance movement out of which the republic was

born: Kāẓim Ḳarabekir (the party chairman), ʿAlī Fuʾād (Cebesoy), Refʾet (Bele), ʿAdnān (Adıvar) and Ḥüseyin Raʾūf (Orbay [*q.v.*]). The reasons for their leaving the People's Party were both personal and political. They objected to the growing autocratic tendencies of Muṣṭafā Kemāl and to their own gradual marginalisation, but they also favoured a slower pace of reforms. At first, they had tried to influence policies from within the ruling party, but when that turned out to be impossible, they started preparations for a new party during the summer of 1924. The actual split took place in November over the government's alleged mishandling of the population exchange with Greece.

In the immediate aftermath of the split, Muṣṭafā Kemāl adopted a conciliatory line, replacing prime minister ʿIṣmet (İnönü) [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who was considered a hard-liner, with the moderate Fetḥī (Okyar [*q.v.*]). In this way he managed to limit the number of defections to 32, far less than expected. From the end of 1924, however, the hard-liners in the People's Party, led by Redjeb (Peker) became more influential. When a Kurdish revolt broke out in February, they forced Fetḥī out of office and reinstated ʿIṣmet. The new government was given dictatorial powers with the "Law on the Maintenance of Order" on 4 March, under which political opposition became almost impossible. The P.R.P. was closed down by the government on 3 June for encouraging religious reaction. This was a pretext, since both the behaviour of its representatives in parliament and the two official publications of the P.R.P., its manifesto and its 58-article programme published on 18 November 1924, made it clear that the party was moderate, rather than reactionary. It was in favour of decentralisation, separation of powers and liberal economic policies, but supported the basic Kemalist tenets of republicanism, nationalism and secularism.

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TERDJĀN, present-day Tercan, is an *ilçe* (*kaza*) of the *il* (*vilâyet*) of Erzincan [see ERZINDJAN], in eastern Turkey, on the Tuzla branch of the Euphrates between Erzurum [*q.v.*] and Erzincan.

Terdjān, in the frontier territory between Byzantines and Armenians, then between Byzantines and Muslims, and later between Ottomans and Russians, was called variously Tertzan, Deržan and Terghān under Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] domination. Also known as Mama Khātūn, from the nearby tomb of a reputed princess of the Turkish principality of the Saltūḳids [see SALTUḲ-OGHLU], Terdjān was in Ottoman times a *sandjaḳ* of Erzincan, itself part of the *eyālet* of Erzurum. The area was described as largely Armenian by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who also encountered Turkish-speaking Muslims. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Selīm I [*q.v.*] received the news of the submission of the Kurdish tribes while on the plain of Tercan during the Čāldirān campaign in 920/1514, and it is at this time that the area was incorporated into Ottoman territory. The victory of Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] over Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] in 878/1473 (also according to Ewliyā Čelebi) is sometimes called the Battle of Tercan, evocative of its strategic position as part of the continually contested borderlands of eastern Anatolia.

Bibliography: *İA* arts. *Erzurum* (Besim Darkot, M. Halil Yınanç, H. İnalcık) and *Erzincan* (Darkot); M. van Bruinessen and H. Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakır*, Leiden 1988, 117, 119; R. Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*, Leiden 1990, 57.

(Virginia Aksan)

TERDJÜMĀN (A., T.).

1. In the sense of "dragoman, interpreter" [see TARDJUMĀN. 2.].

2. In mysticism.

Here it is a technical term used by the members of *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] groups and also by the Turkish dervish orders of the Mawlawiyya and Bektāshiyya [*q.vv.*], for speech utterances, generally in verse, recited during the ritual, or, outside this, during the accomplishment of some piece of work or some particular act. These formulae, which are made up of a prayer, are theoretically pronounced in order to seek pardon for some offence. This term can also denote a sum of money or a sacrifice made in order to secure pardon for an offence.

In practice, the Bektāshīs and Mawlawīs often mix up the term *terdjümān* with that of *gül-bank* or *gülbenk* [see GÜLBĀNG], in principle reserved for longer prayers, in prose (sometimes recited in unison). According to Birge, amongst the Bektāshīs, the *terdjümāns* are recited by persons like the *mürshid* or the *rehber*, who occupy a precise function during the ritual (*aynidjem*); the words recited correspond to the reciter's function as well as to the situation in the course of the ritual. One should note that, amongst the ʿAlawīs-Bektāshīs, there exist *terdjümāns* in prose (*dār terdjümānī*, *meydān terdjümānī*, etc.).

Bibliography: J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London-Hartford, Conn. 1937, 166-7; and above all, the very full art. *Tercüman* in *İA* (Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı). (Nathalie Clayer)

TEREK, a large river of the northeastern Caucasus region (length 600 km/373 miles, with a breadth in some places of up to 547 m/1,500 feet). It rises from the glaciers of Mount Kazbek in the central Caucasus, and cuts its way through spectacular gorges, eventually into the Noghay steppe to a complex delta on the western shore of the Caspian Sed. Even the lower course through the plains is too swift for navigation to be possible on it, but much water is now drawn off for irrigation purposes.

During the golden period of Arabic geographical knowledge (4th/10th century), the land of Terek must have belonged to the kingdom of the Khazars [*q.v.*]. This portion of the Khazar dominions is not described by Arab geographers, and the Terek is not mentioned. The name seems to appear for the first time in the history of the fighting between the Golden Horde Khān Berke [*q.v.*] and the Il Khānid Hülegü or Hūlāgū [*q.v.*], at the beginning of 661/Nov.-Dec. 1262, in Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongoles*, 394). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions the Terek (ed. Le Strange 259, tr., 250: Turk) along with the Itil (Volga) as a river in Dasht-i Ḳipčaḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The lands of the Terek at that time belonged to the kingdom of the Golden Horde, and the peoples there probably adopted Islam at the same time as the latter in the 8th/14th century. A few years after the conquest of Astrakhān [*q.v.*] in 1554, Russian Cossacks began to appear on the Terek and formed the "Terski Cossack army" (*Terskoe kazačye voisko*); at first independent of Moscow, it was afterwards incorporated in the Russian empire. For much of the 19th century, the line of the Terek represented the frontier of Russian settlement in the Caucasus, and the Cossack fortified villages then established on its northern bank formed the setting for Tolstoy's novel *The Cossacks*.

For the political life of the Muslim world, the Terek lands have never been of great importance; even the

fortress of Ḳizlar on the north bank of the Terek (the modern city of Kizlyar) was, in spite of its Turkish name, built by the Russians in 1735.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the text, see E. Weidenbaum, *Pudevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888; *BSE*³, xxv, 470.

(W. Barthold-[C.E. Bosworth])

TERENGGANU, a state of Malaysia, located on the east coast of the Malay peninsula. The first evidence of a Muslim ruler is provided by the Terengganu Stone, one of the most important Islamic finds in Southeast Asia and the earliest example of Malay written in Jawi, the modified version of the Perso-Arabic script. The partly illegible date has been read as between 702/1303 and 789/1387. The content deals with debt relationships and punishments for perjury and sexual transgressions.

Terengganu was under Malacca [*q.v.*] and its successor Johor until 1186/1722, when an independent ruler was installed. From about 1188/1775, Terengganu came under Siamese overlordship, which may have sharpened Islamic feelings, especially when combined with periodic British intervention. The first *Muftī* was appointed in the early 19th century and Sultan Omar (1255-93/1839-76) gave greater attention to the enforcement of *Sharīʿa* law, with members of the local Sayyid community gaining prominence in religious affairs. By the beginning of the 20th century, Terengganu was known as a centre for Islamic studies. Although there was little Islamic organisational structure, a network of Muslim schools provided an effective channel for communication. Terengganu's *ʿulamāʾ* wielded considerable influence among the largely Malay population, and their leadership was enhanced after the inception of British rule in 1919. A peasant revolt between 1922 and 1928 was led by *ʿulamāʾ*. In recent times, rural Malay poverty has resulted in some electoral support for the Islamic party PAS, although this only succeeded in gaining control of government between 1959 and 1961.

Bibliography: M.B. Hooker, *The Trengganu Inscription in Malayan legal history*, in *JMBRAS*, xlix/2 (1976), 127-31; Shaharil Talib, *After its own image. The Trengganu experience 1881-1941*, Singapore 1984; Barbara Watson Andaya, *The making of a tributary state: Siam and Terengganu in the eighteenth century*, in *Anuson Walter Vella*, ed. R.D. Renard, Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu 1986. (Barbara Watson Andaya)

TERKEN KHĀTŪN, the name of the wives of various Turkish rulers of the eastern Islamic world in mediaeval (essentially pre-Mongol) times. In old Turkish, *terken* was a royal title, often but not invariably applied to females, and in these cases being roughly equivalent to "queen". It may be a loan word in Turkish, being found, according to G. Doerfer, amongst the Kitan or Western Liao, the later Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*] of Central Asian Islamic history (see his *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-7, ii, 495-8 no. 889; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 544). *Khātūn*, on the other hand, derives from Sogdian *xwt'yn* "wife of the lord or ruler", and is already used in the Orkhon inscriptions for the wife of a Kaghan; it is spelt by Kāshgharī as *ḳātūn* in Turkish and *khātūn* in Arabic (tr. Atalay, i, 410; cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, iii, 132-41 no. 1159; Clauson, *op. cit.*, 602).

In the history of the Saldjūḳs and Khʷārazm Shāhs, Terken as applied to a male appears as a component in the name of one of the sons of the later Kirmān Saldjūḳ *amīr*, sc. Terken Shāh b. Ṭoghrïl Shāh. However, much more frequent are queens bearing the name Terken (usually written T.rkān) Khātūn. These include a wife of the Khʷārazm Shāh Il Arslan, mother of the claimant to the throne Sulṭān Shāh, and then a wife of Il Arslan's other son Tekish [*q.v.*] and mother of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 337, 349, 350, etc.; İ. Kafesoğlu, *Harezmşahlar devleti tarihi* (*485-617/1092-1229*), Ankara 1956, index). But the most celebrated Terken Khātūn was the Saldjūḳ queen (originally a Kara Khānid princess), the wife of Malik Shāh [*q.v.*], who played a leading role in the political life of the court during that sultan's reign and thereafter. Her own household was a focus of opposition to the powerful vizier Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], and she vigorously promoted the interests of her own sons as future heirs to Malik Shāh's authority. When her husband died in 485/1092, she endeavoured, from her base at Iṣfahān, to place her four-year old son Maḥmūd on the throne against Berk-yaruḳ and his support from most of the Niẓāmiyya [*q.vv.*]; however, she could not make much headway against Berk-yaruḳ, and both she and the young Maḥmūd died in 487/1094 (see C.E. Bosworth and A.K.S. Lambton, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 76-7, 82, 103-5, 220-1, 255, and the *Bibl.* to malik shāh).

Bibliography: Given in the article, to which should be added M.F. Sanaullah, *The decline of the Saljūqid empire*, Calcutta 1938, 8-13.

(C.E. Bosworth)

TERNATE, the most northerly one of a chain of volcanic islands west of Halmahera, in northeastern Indonesia. On it is located the chef-lieu of the Kabupaten (residency) Maluku Utara (Northern Moluccas). The island has a population of 78,000, most original Ternateans being Muslim, but a number of newcomers (officials, teachers, service personnel, etc. from neighbouring islands) are Christians. Its area is 64.39 km².

Known in older times for its spices, especially nutmegs and cloves, Ternate had once been a member of the "alliance of the four [volcanic] mountains", besides Tidore [*q.v.*], Jailolo and Bacan, but in the 15th-16th centuries Ternate rose to especial power and prominence. Muslim traders had appeared in the area whilst the Hindu Javanese empire of Mādjapahit still exercised its influence (sc. before 1478), calling the region "the royal islands" (*djazīrat al-mulūk*). Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, son of Kaicil Gapi Baguna, who reigned 1486-1500, is said to have adopted the Islamic title of *sulṭān* and to have been the first Muslim ruler in the region and to have studied under a famed scholar of Java, Sunan Giri. Closeness to the Javanese tradition facilitated Ternate's acquiring a grip on nearby areas such as southeastern Sulawesi, formerly in the Javanese sphere of influence. Eventually, Halmahera was subdued and Ternate's influence extended to Buru, the Banggai islands, parts of north and central Sulawesi and the islands of Sangihe and Talaud; at times, even parts of Mindanao, the Sulu Islands and northern Borneo came within its sphere.

In 1522 the Portuguese obtained permission to build a factory and some forts in Ternate and the areas under its control, but their efforts to monopolise the spice trade and, to some extent, their Christian evangelising zeal, caused strained relations with Ternate, though many inhabitants, and even some local rulers, preferred the Portuguese to the cruel and exploitatory rule of the Ternate sultans. Baabullah (1570-83), after the killing of his father by the Portuguese, waged

a violent war against indigenous Christians, killing and forcibly converting thousands of them. The Portuguese were expelled from Ternate, but in 1578 got permission to build a fort on Tidore island. By now other European powers, including England, the Netherlands and Spain, were competing in the region, and the latter were able to exert pressure from Manila so that sultan Modafar (Muẓaffar) allowed reconstruction of the old Portuguese fort of São Paolo, which was used by Spain till 1666, including as a centre for Roman Catholic missionary work.

In 1606 the Dutch made an agreement with the sultan concerning the return of converts between Islam and Christianity and vice-versa to their respective territories, with the Dutch thereby acknowledging the political independence of Ternate. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) gradually acquired a monopoly of the spice trade, although the local chieftains or *sangajis*, who ruled under the sultan's supreme suzerainty, resisted this in order to retain their own trading relationships. But the Dutch were able to take advantage of internal strife in the region, and in return for aid to the Sultan Mandarshah in 1650-2, the ruler agreed that all clove trees outside the areas directly controlled by the Dutch should be cut down. The VOC's supremacy in the spice trade was officially acknowledged by Ternate in 1683 and by the Sultan of Tidore in 1687. Pensions were paid to the ruling families to compensate for their loss of income, but the actual growers were impoverished, causing unrest, insurrections and an increase in piracy.

Nevertheless, Ternate still resisted Dutch control successfully when king William IV was an exile in England from the French-dominated Batavian Republic and suggested that the Dutch possessions should be placed under British custody, and it did not surrender until 1810. The end of its history came in 1915, when, after an abortive revolt, Sultan Uthman was exiled to Java and his territory placed under direct Dutch rule, with a "council of the *sangaji*" to care for the interests of the residency.

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(O. Schumann, shortened by the Editors)

TERSĀNE (t.), "dockyard, maritime arsenal". The word seems to derive from the Genoese *tersana*. In the Ottoman period, the term referred in particular to the Ottoman Imperial Arsenal—the *tersāne-yi ʿāmire*—on the eastern side of the Golden Horn, at Galata, opposite Istanbul.

The dockyard at Galata [see ghalaṭa, in Suppl.] was not the first Ottoman naval installation. The Sultans had maintained a fleet at Gallipoli [see geli-bolı̊], probably from the time of its reoccupation in 779/1377. During the 1390s it was the base from which Bāyezīd I's [*q.v.*] fleet raided the coasts and islands of the Aegean, and was to retain its place as the largest Ottoman dockyard until the extension of the arsenal at Galata in the second decade of the 10th/16th century. Documents from this century also record the existence of small naval arsenals at Iznikmid (Izmit) and Sinop. However, although Sinop was a regular site of naval construction, it does not appear to have had any storage facilities for equipment, or permanently employed craftsmen or administrators.

After his conquest of Galata in 1453, Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] inherited the naval installations of the Genoese, and established the Ottoman arsenal, presumably on the site of the Genoese *vetus tersana*, on the Golden Horn. Selīm I's [*q.v.*] plans to enlarge the fleet led to a major extension of the arsenal during the last years of his reign, with work continuing during the early years of his successor. It seems to have been at this time that Galata superseded Gallipoli as the largest Ottoman naval dockyard, with 123 docks by 1557. The 1526 map of Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*] shows the arsenal as stretching along the eastern side of the Golden Horn from ʿAzab Ḳapı̊si almost to Hasköy, and containing, apart from the docks, a storehouse for oars, the administrative offices (*Dīwān-khāne*) of the Admiral (*Ḳapudan Pasha* [*q.v.*]), a depot and the arsenal garden. During his tenure of the admiralty between 1546 and 1549, Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] built a warehouse behind each dock to house the equipment of each galley, and walled off the area to make it invisible from the land.

Before the late 11th/17th century, Ottoman warfleets consisted almost entirely of oared galleys. Since the construction of these ships was within the capacity of any skilled shipwright, the Ottoman government frequently ordered the construction of hulls at coastal and river sites, especially around the shores of the Black Sea and on the Sakarya river, bringing them to Galata or Gallipoli only for fitting out with rigging and artillery. With the introduction of galleons as the standard warship in the late 11th/17th century and with steamships and ironclads in the 19th century, this practice was no longer possible. Galleon-building became the preserve of the arsenals. However, the destruction of the Ottoman fleet by the Russians at Çeşme in 1184/1770 emphasised the shortcomings of Ottoman warships, leading the Admiral Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] to undertake naval reforms, which included the construction of an engineering school (*Mühendis-khāne-yi baḥrī-yi hümāyūn*) at the Galata Arsenal in 1190/1776, and to introduce new shipbuilding techniques under the supervision of the French engineers, Le Roi and Durest. The first steamship was built in the Galata arsenal by the American Foster Rhodes in 1254/1838. An arsenal, building and repairing ships, still exists on the same site.

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(C. Imber)

TESALYA or Teselya, the Ottoman name for Thessaly, the geographical part of central Greece between Greek Macedonia on the north, Sterea Hellas on the south, Epiros on the west and the Aegean Sea on the east. Its cardinal strategic and economic importance resulted in a series of raids and settlement throughout the late mediaeval period by Franks, Catalans, Navarrese, Serbs and Albanians, until the initial stages of the Ottoman conquest in the late 14th century, heralded by raids on the part of the Aydı̊noghlu Turcomans of Umur Beg [*q.v.*] between 1336-41 (see Enweri, ed. Mélikoff, 87 v. 1159; cf. P. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydı̊n*, Paris 1957, 157).

The gradual Ottoman annexation by a series of non-violent capitulations occurred in three phases: 1386-7, *ca.* 1392/3-1396/7 and *ca.* 1414/23 onwards, until the period 1454-70 (detailed refs. in A. Savvides, *Problems on the Ottoman conquest and the expansion of the conqueror in the Thessalian area* [in Greek], in *Th.H.*,

xxviii [1995], 33-64). A steady source of cereal provisioning of Venice and, since the 15th century, of the Ottoman Empire (H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire... 1300-1600*, London 1973, 134, 145; idem, *The Ottoman economic mind and aspects of Ottoman economy*, in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, Oxford 1970, 214), Tesalya administratively became a *sandjak* with its seat at Tirhala [*q.v.*] within the massive *wilāyet/eyālet* or *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli [*q.v.*], whose chef-lieu was at Manastır [*q.v.*] (A. Kurat-J. Bromley, in Cook (ed.), *A history of the Ottoman Empire to 1730*, Cambridge 1976, 178). The sparsely-populated area made the conqueror bring in settlers from Anatolia, especially from Konya (the "Konyalis" or "Koniarēdes" in Greek), who settled in the valleys together with the descendants of the conquerors (the *ewlād-i Fātiḥ*), while local Christian resistance moved to the mountainous regions of Olympos and Kissabos on the north, Pindos on the west and Pelion in the east. Tesalya was thus distributed in *tīmārs* and *ziʿāmets* [*q.vv.*] to Muslims, to Islamicised ex-Christian *sipahīs* [*q.v.*] and Jewish communities, or in *wakfs* [*q.v.*] or pious foundations, while the ruling house retained some privileged areas as crown lands (see N. Beldiceanu, *Timariotes chrétiens en Thessalie 1454-5*, in *Südost-Forschungen*, xliv [1985], 45-81; cf. idem, *Une acte sur le statut de la communauté juive de Trikala, 1497*, in *REI*, xl/1 [1972], 129-38). The Ottoman tax registers (*taḥrīr defteri*) for 1454-5 and 1506 give important information on early Ottoman Tesalya (see Beldiceanu and P. Nasturel, *La Thessalie entre 1454/5 et 1506*, in *Byzantion*, liii [1983], 104-56). Of particular importance were the privileges granted to Christian ecclesiastical/monastic institutions, like the Meteora monasteries of Kalampaka, destined to become an outpost of Orthodoxy in the early Tourkokratia (see J. Alexander, *The monasteries of Meteora during the first two centuries of Ottoman rule*, in *Jahrbuch d. österr. Byzantinistik*, xxxii/2 [1982], 95-103; D. Sophianos, in *Trikalina*, xi [1991], 101-34 and xiv [1994], 37-68; idem, in *Mesaionika & Nea Hellenika*, iv [1992], 177-282) and the monastery of Dousikon near Trikala, founded by the Larissa metropolitan St. Bessarion (1527-40) (cf. Alexander, *The Ottoman Turkish documents of the holy monastery of Dousikon: the monastery until the mid-16th century* [in Gk.], in *Trikalina*, xiv [1994], 101-20; Th. Nemas, *ibid.*, 129-48, on the contribution of Meteora and Dousikon in the development of the Trikala area in the Tourkokratia).

The gradually deteriorating conditions of banditry in the area, however, necessitated the institution of autonomous enclaves known as *armatoliks* [see MARTOLOS], firstly applied here and most notably at Agrapha, probably since Meḥemmed II's years, later recognised by Süleymān II Ḳānūnī in 1525 (cf. E. Mpoukouvālas, *The armatolik of Agrapha* [in Gk.], Athens 1980) and then spread throughout the Greek territories with extensive grants, salaries and privileges (*ulūfe*) to the *martoloi*. In 1570 a Venetian force raided the area of Phanarion-Karditsa/Fenarbekir, while the following period witnessed a series of Greek abortive insurrections: in 1600-1 led by the Larissa/Yeñishehir [*q.v.*] metropolitan; in 1612 fomented by the Duke of Nevers, who had laid claims to the lost Byzantine imperial title; in the late 17th century (during the Turco-Venetian war of 1684-99) in Agrapha, Pharsalos/Čataldja, Karditsa/Fenarbekir and Tyrnabos (see G. Drongoules, *Tyrnabos and its region in the first years following the Turkish conquest* [in Gk.], in *Acts 1st Congr. of Tyrnabian Stud.* [1991]); and in 1769 led by the Larissean landlord Gregory Papazōgles. Moreover, Thessaliotes based on Olympos and Chasia participated in the Turco-Russian war of 1769-74, although Albanian troops of the Porte quelled the insurgents once more.

By mid-17th century the prevailing banditry, in combination with the decline in Ottoman provincial administration and military effectiveness, had resulted in the transformation of the Thessalian *tīmārs* and *ziʿāmets* to *čiftliks* [*q.v.*], as in the characteristic case of Aghia-Ayia/Büyük-Köy, north-east of Larissa, the main occupation of the inhabitants in the plains being cattle-raising and agriculture (cotton production) as opposed to the thriving mountainous guilds (*synetairismoi* in Greek), like that of Agrapha (with a distinctive development in handicrafts and dyes) and the female guild of Tirhala. A rapid growth of the area's major commercial centres took place since the 17th century, with notable local fairs and markets, like those at Larissa/Yeñishehir (a city visited by the sultan Meḥemmed IV himself in 1668: see C. Spanos, in *Makedoniko Hemerologio* [1972], 349-52; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1 [1983[3]], 415-16), Elasson, Trikala/Tirhala, Ampelakia, Zagora, Halmyros/Ermie, Tyrnabos, Kalampaka, Karditsa/Fenarbekir, Pherrai, Velestinon/Ferendjik, the birthplace of the precursor of Greek independence, Rhēgas Pheraios, and Livadi, north of Elasson (on which see recently, B. Spanos, in *Th.H.*, xxvii [1995], 145-68). On the prevailing conditions see [in Gk.]: D. Tsopotōs, *Land and farmers in Thessaly during Turkish domination*, Athens 1974[2], N. Pantazopoulos, *Communal life in Thessalian Magnesia during Turkish domination*, Thessalonika 1967; L. Arseniou, *Thessaly during Turkish domination*, Athens 1984; on the main settlements see R. Lawless, *The economy and landscapes of Thessaly during Ottoman rule*, in F. Carter (ed.), *An historical geography of the Balkans*, London-New York-San Francisco 1979, 501-33; C. Spanos, *Thessalian settlements... 1613/14-19th century* [in Gk.], *Th.H.*, xxiii [1993], 81-112 and xxiv [1993], 112-80.

Of major importance were the various Ottoman monuments in Tesalya, like the *tekke* of Ḥasan Baba in Tempe valley (see A. Vakalopoulos, *The fortresses of Platamon and Oriā of Tempe and the tekke of Hasan Baba* [in Gk.], Thessalonika 1972), the mosque of ʿÖmer Bey in Larissa [see YEÑISHEHIR], the Bektāshī *tekke* in Pharsalos (see ČATALDJA and L. Vairakliotes, in *Th.H.*, xxx [1994], 239-40), the pious foundations in Karditsa/Fenarbekir/Fener (see Beldiceanu-Nasturel, in *Byzantion*, liii [1983], 112) and, above all, the celebrated *medresse* of ʿOthmān b. Turalī (d. 1567), governor of Trikala, a work of the famous architect Sinān [*q.v.*] according to Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 172, viii, 203-4) and Ibrāhīm Pečewi (*Tārīkh*, i, 45) (refs. in TIRHALA, also in *EI*[1]). Valuable pertinent information is drawn from the accounts of various travellers in the area like Kātib Čelebi, Ewliyā Čelebi (his visit in Larissa in 1668), and the English doctor Edward Brown (*Rélation de plusieurs voyages*, Paris 1674) in the 17th century; Paul Lucas (*Voyage... fait par ordre du roi dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macédoine...*, i-ii, Amsterdam 1714), the English theologian Richard Pococke (*Voyages en Orient..., la Grèce, la Thrace etc.*, i-iv, Paris 1772), the Swedish orientalist Jacob Jonas Björnståhl (*Briefe auf seinen ausländischen Reisen...*, Rostock-Leipzig 1777-83) in the 18th; François-Charles Pouqueville (*Voyage de la Grèce*, i-vi, Paris 1826-7[2], Gk. tr.-comm. N. Molpheta, Athens 1995) between 1798 and 1801; and, finally, in the 19th, William M. Leake (*Travels in Northern Greece*, i-iv, London 1835, repr. Amsterdam 1967, cf. iv, 261-328) in 1809, David Urquhart (*The spirit of the East*, i-ii, London 1839) in 1830 and Léon Heuzey (*Excursion dans la Thessalie turque en 1858*, Paris 1927).

ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Tepedelenli [*q.v.*] was appointed *derbend-nāẓir* of Rumeli in 1780 and his rule in Tesalya, following his Albanian chieftains' liquidation of the 1808 local uprising, resulted in the privatisation of state land, which heralded the period of the private *čiftliks* (cf. C. Spanos, in *Th.H.*, xviii [1990], 97-118). ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a's attempts, however, to impose heavy taxation on the thriving commercial centres resulted in the latter's decline, while the population declined, too, estimated at *ca.* 200,000 in 1820 on account of the 1813 plague (in 1688, too, a plague had decimated the inhabitants of Bathyrema at Aghia/Büyük-Köy; see D. Agraphiotes, in *Acts 1st Congr. of Larissean Studies* [1992], 155-75 [in Gk.]).

In the Greek War of Liberation (1821-30), in spite of the hesitant attitude of the local *kod̲j̲abas̲h̲īs*, Tesalya initially participated in actions at Pelion, Magnesia (1821), in Olympos and Chasia (1822) as well as in Karditsa/Fenarbekir and Halmyros/Ermie, but all these attempts were crushed by Meḥmed Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a (the "Kioutachēs") and Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a (the "Drāmales") [*q.vv.*] (see S. and E. Shaw, *Hist. of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey*, ii, Cambridge 1978, 18). The predominant rôle of Larissa/Yenis̲h̲ehir as seat and passing-point of Ottoman armies constantly moving to and from Southern Greece and the Peloponnese [see MORA] proved a negative factor in the Tesalyan rebellion's success.

Following the creation of the Greek Kingdom (1830), Tesalya became the Ottoman Empire's frontier zone with the Greeks and new abortive uprisings occurred in 1841, in 1854 during the Crimean War (southern and western Thessaly) and, especially, in 1877-8 during the Turco-Russian war (Magnesian Pelion), where a provisional government was temporarily established. In the 19th century during the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] era, the Porte took measures to improve social and economic conditions for Christians (*K̲h̲aṭṭ-i S̲h̲erīf* of Nov. 1839, *K̲h̲aṭṭ-i Humāyūn* of Febr. 1854), yet the continuation of the *čiftlik* system resulted in a real predicament of the farmer workers in the field (the "kollēgoi"), who thus became completely dependent on their landlords, to whom they were forced to deliver half of their produce, with the lamentable result that in 1881, the year of Greek annexation of Tesalya, most of the land belonged to a few magnates. In the second part ot the 19th century about 460 villages out of 658 farm estates/*čiftliks* were owned by great landlords (İnalcık, *Land problems in Turkish history*, in *MW*, xlv [1955], 227).

The same era, however, witnessed the beginning of a new upsurge in the development of Tesalya's urban centres, the notable new addition being Volos/Golôs, near Byzantine Demetrias (see J. Kordatos, *Hist. of Volos and Aghia province*, Athens 1960; D. Tsopotos, *Hist. of Volos*, Volos 1991 [both in Gk.]; and WOLOS). By 1880 the entire area's population was estimated at *ca.* 285,000 Greeks, *ca.* 40,000 Turks and *ca.* 40,000 Jews. The 1878 Treaty of Berlin allocated Thessaly to Greece and the annexation occurred on 26 June 1881, except for the Elasson territory, north of Larissa and Tyrnabos. Edhem Pas̲h̲a briefly recaptured Tesalya in the 1897 Greco-Turkish war (Shaw, ii, 190, 196, 206-7) but soon afterwards the 1881 treaty's items were slightly modified and adhered to until, in 1912, Greek troops finally annexed the Elasson region as well.

Bibliography: Mostly given in the article; see also BĀYAZĪD I; ČATALD̲J̲A; EWRENOS G̲H̲AZI; EWRENOS OG̲H̲ULLARĪ; TIRHALA; TURAK̲H̲AN; WOLOS; YENIS̲H̲EHIR. General accounts (in Greek): N. Georgiades, *Thessaly*, Volos 1894[2], repr. Larissa 1995; B. Dousmanes, *History of Thessaly*..., Athens 1925; A. Valtadoros, *Hist. of Thessaly... until 1947*, Athens 1984; Th. Papakonstantinou, *Enlightenment and social evolution in Thessaly 1453-1821*, Athens 1984. Detailed bibliographies on the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods in A. Savvides, *Thessaliko Hemerologio* [= *Th.H.*], xxiii (1993), 33-68, xxiv (1993), 101-5, xxvii (1995), 77-80, xxix (1996), 280-88. (A. SAVVIDES)

TES̲H̲RĪFĀT [see MARĀSIM. 4].

TEWFĪḲ BEY [see EBÜZZİYA TEVFİK].

TEWFĪḲ FIKRET (originally named Meḥmed Tewfīḳ, Fikret being the pen-name which he assumed), late Ottoman Turkish poet, b. 1867, d. 1915 in Istanbul. He was the son and the second child of Ḥüseyin Efendi, from a Čerkes family of notables of Çankırı, and the governor of ʿAkkā, and of K̲h̲adīd̲j̲e Refīʿa, from the island of Chios. He started his elementary education in the Aksaray Maḥmūdiyye Wālide Rüs̲h̲diyyesi, and moved to Galatasaray Lycée at nine. His mother died in 1879, after which he and his sister were brought up by his grandmother and uncle's wife. At Galatasaray, he was taught literature by the leading authors of the time, such as Muʿallim Nād̲j̲ī, Muʿallim Feyḍī and Red̲j̲āʾī-zāde Ekrem, and started writing poetry himself under their influence. Eventually he became, in 1898, a civil servant in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1890, he began to teach French at the Gedikpas̲h̲a Tid̲j̲āret Mekteb-i ʿĀlīsi, and during the same year, married his uncle's daughter Nāẓima, who was studying to be a teacher.

In 1892, he won a poetry competition run by the Journal *Mirṣād*, and in 1894, began to teach Turkish literature at the Galatasaray Lycée, editing the journal *Maʿlūmāt* with his friends Ḥüseyin Kāẓīm and ʿAlī Ekrem. In 1895, his son K̲h̲alūḳ, who became the subject of many of his poems, was born, but in this same year, he left Galatasaray and began teaching at Robert College. By this time, Fikret was a recognised poet, and in 1896 he was appointed to edit the literary journal *T̲h̲erwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] around which the literary movement known by the name of the journal or as *Edebiyyāt-ı d̲j̲edīde* [*q.v.*] was taking shape with the contributions of young authors such as K̲h̲ālid Ḍiyā, D̲j̲enāb S̲h̲ehābeddīn, Meḥmed Raʾūf and Süleymān Naẓīf. He had by this time become familiar with the work of such French poets as François Coppé, Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire, Verlaine, etc. In 1900, Fikret published his collection of poems under the name *Rübāb-i s̲h̲ikeste*; during this period, his poems express his rebellion against the oppression of the Ḥamīdian regime, and his love for freedom of speech and liberty. Also, the Ottoman defeat in the Graeco-Ottoman War of 1898 impelled him to write his patriotic poems. In 1901, he ceased editing *T̲h̲erwet-i Fünūn*, and later the journal closed down. By now he had become well-known with his poems *Sīs* (written in 1901, but not published until 1908) and *Tārīk̲h̲-i ḳadīm* (written in 1905), again in revolt against the social and political trends of the time. After the restoration of the Constitution (1908), Fikret wrote *Rüd̲j̲ūʿ* and *Dog̲h̲an günes̲h̲e* reflecting his hopes for a brighter future, and began to publish *Ṭanīn* newspaper with his friends Ḥüseyin D̲j̲āhid and Ḥüseyin Kāẓīm. He was offered the post of Minister of Education, but refused, and became instead Director of Galatasaray, which was going through a period of decline, and which he tried to revitalise; but following a dispute with the conservative Ministry of Education, he resigned and went back to teach at Robert College. In 1910, he published an enlarged edition of *Rübāb-i s̲h̲ikeste*, and in 1911,

Khalūḳʾun defteri in his own handwriting, whose poems had the themes of love, optimism for the future of humankind and hope, and idealism. He believed that human beings were capable of changing the world for the better with their intelligence, as long as they set themselves free of ancient traditions and superstitions. During this period, his poems and articles which criticised religion, society and the government (especially the Committee of Union and Progress) [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ] produced a reaction which attacked his personality and beliefs. Meanwhile, his son Khalūḳ became a Christian in Glasgow, and emigrated permanently to the United States, causing further criticism of Fikret. When *Ṭanīn* became the semi-official newspaper of the C.U.P., he left it, and also resigned from several of his societies. In 1912, following the closure of the Ottoman parliament, he wrote his famous poems *Doḳsan beshe doghru* and *Khān-ī yaghmā*. Fikret opposed Turkey's participation in World War I, and his satirical poem *Sandjaḳ-ī sherīf ḥudūrunda* reflected his bitterness. His unpublished poem *Tārīkh-i ḳadīm* (1905) was circulating in manuscript form and became very popular, but this led the eminent poet Meḥmed ʿĀkif [*q.v.*] to accuse Fikret of being anti-Islamic and corrupting the younger generation; Fikret replied in *Tārīkh-i ḳadīme dheyli* (1914), this time denying all organised religion, and repeating his belief in secularism as the only way of progress. Fikret's poems of this era, for example *Khān-ī yaghmā*, satirise the way the country was being impoverished by corrupt administrators and bureaucrats. They are powerful in language and style, and contain many memorable lines, such as

Eat, gentlemen eat; this tasty feast is yours:
stuff yourselves until you gag and burst

and became popular even before they were actually published. In 1914, he also published his collection of children's poems *Shermīn*, which he wrote in syllabic metre [see PARMAḲ ḤISĀBI] using simple syntax and lexicon, and it is the best early example of children's poetry in Turkish.

On 18 August 1915, Fikret died after a long illness of chronic diabetes in Istanbul. Following his will, he was later buried (1961) in Aşiyan, on the grounds of his home on the Bosphorus, which is now a museum. Following his death, as during his lifetime, much was written about his personality, political and social beliefs; while he was criticised at the time for being a materialist by more religious elements, he has been celebrated as a humanist by his admirers.

Although Fikret wrote many articles on art, literature and society, and translated poems from Western languages, which were published in journals and newspapers, he is best known as a poet. One of the innovations he brought to Turkish poetry is his introduction of dialogues and natural conversations to his poems which made them closer to prose (for example in *Khasta čodjuḳ* and *Balïḳčïlar*). He used quantitative metre, *ʿarūḍ/aruz*, masterfully, and his careful choice of patterns reflected the topic and the mood of his individual poems. His command of the Turkish language helped to make his verses visually vivid and memorable. Fikret succeeded in showing that poetry, like other forms of art, had to be meticulously composed, and that the language of poetry had to be refined and educated. Fikret is remembered and often quoted for his firm belief in freedom of thought and speech, which he expressed in his memorable line:

I am a poet, my thoughts are free, wisdom free, conscience free.

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TEWFĪḲ MEḤMED [see ČAYLAḲ TEWFĪḲ].

TEWFĪḲ PASHA [see TAWFĪḲ PASHA].

THĀʾ, the fourth letter in the Arabic alphabet. In the *abdjad* order [*q.v.*] it has a numerical value of 500.

The phoneme represented by this letter may be defined as the voiceless member of the apico-interdental triad of fricatives, as opposed to the voiced /dh/ [see DHĀL] and the "emphatic", i.e. velarised, /ẓ/ [see ẒĀʾ]. Sībawayh (ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1395/1975, iv, 433) describes the point of articulation for the triad as "between the tip of the tongue and the tips of the incisors" and he is followed herein by—*inter alios*—Ibn Djinnī (*Sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb*, ed. Ḥ. Hindāwī, Damascus 1405/1985, 47; and cf. M.H. Bakalla, *Ibn Jinni: an early Arab Muslim phonetician*, London and Taipei 1402/1982, 76), al-Zamakhsharī (*al-Mufaṣṣal*, Cairo 1323/1905-6, 394), and al-Sakkākī (*Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. Nuʿaym Zarzūr, Beirut 1403/1983, 12). This is also true for their modern standard pronunciation. Strangely, however, al-Khalīl calls these sounds *lithawī*, because, according to him, their point of articulation is the gums (*litha*), in which case they are clearly "gingivals" (more commonly called alveolars) rather than interdentals (*al-ʿAyn*, ed. M. al-Makhzūmī and I. al-Sāmarrāʾī, n.p. [Baghdād] 1400/1980, i, 58). It seems, then, that al-Khalīl describes a different realisation of these sounds. This pronunciation is also corroborated by the description of Ibn Sīnā in both versions of his treatise on phonetics (*Asbāb ḥudūth al-ḥurūf*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Ṭayyān and Y. Mīr ʿAlam, Damascus 1403/1983, 79-80, 122; cf. the tr. of the second version in Kh. I. Semaan, *Arabic phonetics. Ibn Sīnā's Risālah on the points of articulation of the speech-sounds*, Lahore 1963, 44). He describes it as essentially a fricative /t/, thus as a dental or alveolar fricative. Writing as a physician and physicist outside the tradition and terminology of the grammarians and orthoepists, his testimony carries special weight. The term *lithawī* continued to be used, even by phoneticians who clearly describe interdentals (see e.g. Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, *al-Daḳāʾiḳ al-muḥkama fī sharḥ al-Muḳaddima al-Djazariyya fī ʿilm al-tadjwīd*, ed. N. Nishāwī, Damascus 1400/1980, 36). Scholars have noted the discrepancy (Bravmann, 74-5; Cantineau, 40-1; Fleisch, 213-14), though without much comment. G. Wallin (*ZDMG*, xii [1858], 618) observed the pronunciation of /th/ among the Arabian Bedouins and describes it as articulated with the tip of the tongue against the rim of the upper gums; this accords well with the term *lithawī*. If this should be the original Arabian pronunciation of this sound, the interdental realisation may have developed later (under Aramaic influence?). Since al-Khalīl and Sībawayh were contemporaries, both pronunciations must have been current at the time.

The phoneme /th/ occurs only as a radical, never as a derivational affix. It belongs to the "sun letters" (*al-ḥurūf al-shamsiyya*), which require assimilation of the /l/ of a preceding article, though in pronunciation only, not in spelling. For optional assimilations, see Cantineau, 42-3.

There are a number of cases in which words containing /th/ have variants with /f/ in its place: *djadath/djadaf* "grave", *lithām/lifām* "veil", *thūm/fūm* "garlic" (*fūm* attested in Ḳur'ān, sūra II, 61). The explanation for this is that the auditory impressions of /th/ and /f/ are barely distinguishable (cf. S.H. al-Ani, *Arabic phonology. An acoustical and physiological investigation*, The Hague and Paris 1970, 34; both appear as "random noise", the /th/ a little weaker than the /f/). The converse has happened with the word *fam* "mouth", which must have developed into **thu/im(m)* to account for the modern dialect forms *thəm* (Oman, cf. A. Brockett, *The spoken Arabic of Khābūra*, Manchester 1985, 69), *thəmm* (Mardin, cf. O. Jastrow, *qəltu-Dialekte*, 39), *ithim* (Dēr iz-Zōr, *ibid.*), and the well-known *təmm* in Syrian Arabic.

In loan-words and foreign names, /th/ represents pretty regularly the post-vocalic spirantised /t/ (= /th/) of Aramaic: *kummathrā* > *kummathrā* "pear", *karrāthā* > *kurrāth* "leek", and likewise the Greek /θ/: θεολογία > *uthūlūdjiyā*, Πυθαγόρας > *Fīthāghūras*.

In Neo-Arabic, /th/ and the other interdentals (/dh/ and /ẓ/ [= ḍ]) are, according to a rule of thumb, preserved in the dialects of the Bedouins and former Bedouins, while shifted to the dentals (/t/, /d/, and /ḍ/) in those of sedentary populations. However, there are sizeable exceptions to the second part of the rule (see W. Fischer and O. Jastrow (eds.), *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, Wiesbaden 1980, 50, 104-5, 142, 174, 208, 251; for details of the complex situation in Mesopotamian Arabic, see Jastrow, *qəltu-Dialekte*, 34-9; and for 'Umān, see C. Holes, *The Arabic dialects of South Eastern Arabia in a socio-historical perspective*, in *ZAL*, xxxi [1996], 34-56, esp. 43-4): the interdentals are preserved in various Palestinian, Syrian, Mesopotamian, Tunisian, and 'Umānī rural and some Algerian and Mesopotamian urban dialects; they are shifted to the sibilants (/s/, /z/, /ẓ/) in certain Mesopotamian dialects and in Uzbekistan; and to the labiodentals (/f/, /v/, /ṿ/) in the Siirt group of Mesopotamian dialects. The shift of the interdentals to dentals is attested already in pre-Islamic times in transliterations of Arabic names in Greek inscriptions: *Αρετας* for *al-Ḥārith* and *Ḥāritha*, *Γαυτος* for *Ghawth*; however, spellings with /θ/ are also attested (Cantineau, 41).

Speakers of sedentary dialects in which the interdentals have been shifted to dentals use another sound-shift, when borrowing words from Standard Arabic: they try to imitate the interdentals by using the equivalent sibilants. This often leads to root-splitting: *talāte* "three" vs. *musallas* "triangle" (the root *th-l-th* engenders two new roots: *t-l-t* and *s-l-s*). In addition, the three representations of Standard Arabic /th/, i.e. /th/, /s/, and /t/, are often used for stylistic purposes to characterise the formality of a speech situation. For details on this highly complex and regionally varying situation, see T.F. Mitchell, *Pronouncing Arabic*, ii, Oxford 1993, 265-70.

For a similar substitution of /th/ by the dental affricate /ts/ amongst Maghribī Arabic speakers, see Cantineau, 41.

The grapheme for /th/ was originally identical with that for /t/, a fact that results from the "cognate principle" of Nabataean spelling: since Aramaic /t/ etymologically corresponds to both /t/ and /th/ in Arabic, both these phonemes are represented by the Nabataean grapheme for /t/ (see W. Diem, *Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie. II. Die Schreibung der Konsonanten*, in *Orientalia*, N.S. xlix [1980], 67-106). Thus the name *Ghawth*[un] appears as *'wtw* in Nabataean inscriptions. The three dots on top that serve as a diacritical mark to distinguish the grapheme for /th/ from other "one-tooth" letters is attested for the first time on the dam inscription of al-Ṭā'if, dated 58/677-8. On the early palaeographic development of the grapheme for /th/, see Beatrice Gruendler, *The development of the Arabic scripts*, Atlanta, Ga. 1993, 40-3.

In Persian and the "Persianate", i.e. those languages affected culturally by Persian, languages, the letter /th/ in Arabic loan-words is pronounced /s/.

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AL-THA'ĀLIBĪ, 'Abd al-'Azīz (b. Tunis 1876, d. 1 October 1944), Tunisian political figure and founder of the Liberal Constitutional Party (*al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr al-Dustūrī*), commonly called the "Vieux-Destour" as opposed to its successor in 1934, the "Néo-Destour".

Of Algerian origin, he studied at the Zaytūna Mosque, but was early attracted to politics and journalism, and in 1896 founded a cultural weekly, *Sabīl al-rashād*, suspended a year after its first appearance. He made several journeys within the Maghrib and to Crete, Greece and Turkey, in which last place he came into contact with 'Abd ül-Ḥamīd II's *imām* and adviser Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī. In Egypt, he was in touch with the leading figures of Arab nationalism in exile there, including Rashīd Riḍā, Muhammad Kurd 'Alī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī [*q.vv.*], etc., as well as Muḥammad 'Abduh and 'Alī Yūsuf, chief editor of the newspaper *al-Mu'ayyid*.

Returning to Tunis in 1902, he became known for his strongly nationalist and reformist views, as a disciple of Shaykh Sālim Bū Ḥādjib and of Bashīr Ṣafar, who was a graduate of the Ṣādiḳiyya [*q.v.*]. Between 1904 and 1912, he took part, in person or by his pen, in all the great movements of resistance to the French presence, notably the "Jeunes Tunisiens" of 'Alī Bāsh Ḥamba, until in March 1912 the French authorities, in accord with the Bey, expelled al-Tha'ālibī, Bāsh Ḥamba and five others; but after an amnesty he returned in August 1913 and then travelled widely in the Near East, Yemen, India and Southeast Asia, returning home when the First World War broke out. On Bāsh Ḥamba's death in 1918, he was in the forefront of the formation of the "Jeunes Tunisiens" and in 1920 founded *al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr al-Dustūrī*. It had a directing committee and cells scattered throughout the Regency, and, unusually, was open to Tunisian Jews as well as Muslims. Its financial backing came from rich bourgeois of Tunis, Djerba, etc. Its initial strategy was to isolate the French Residency and the ruling group by arousing public opinion in France and loosening links with the Beylical palace. Its demands included a constitution, election of a parliament and responsible government.

In July 1919 al-Tha'ālibī left for France, and had contacts with President Herriot, head of the Radical

Party and with members of the parties of the left. In December 1919 he published, with his fellow-party member Aḥmad Saḳḳā', a violently anti-French pamphlet called *La Tunisie martyre*. In March 1920 *al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr al-Dustūrī* came into the open, and decided to send a delegation to France and one of 40 notables to the Bey, but on 23 June 1920 al-T͟haʿālibī was arrested in Paris for plotting against state security and imprisoned in Tunis. Two delegations sent to Paris achieved nothing, whilst the delegation to the Bey suffered harassment from the Resident-General, but al-T͟haʿālibī, freed and in June 1921 granted an amnesty by the Bey, had some successes, including publication of the opinion of two French jurists that the 1861 Constitution granted by the Bey was incompatible with the law of the Protectorate established in 1881; hence the Bey, in collaboration with the French authorities, should re-introduce the Constitution. At the same time, the Resident-General Lucien Saint helped create dissensions within the Destour Party. A new, very moderate party, the "Reform Party", was formed under Ḥasan Gellātī; a Ministry of Justice was created and entrusted to Ṭāhir K͟hayr al-Dīn, son of the general K͟hayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]; and the Bey Nāṣir gave an interview to a newspaper correspondent in which he was reported to have denounced the actions of the Destour, one which later, under pressure from the Destour, he denied; nevertheless, he was forced to abdicate. Demonstrations were organised on 5 April 1922 in front of the palace. The Party maladroitly charged the Bey with defending its demands before the Resident-General; the latter promised to satisfy them, but made the Bey revoke his abdication and publish a denial.

In July 1922, Lucien Saint by-passed the Party by creating a Grand Council and councils of the caïdate, and adopting the role of strong supporter of reforms. The Party's representative in Paris, Farḥāt Ben ʿAyyād, returned to Tunis and accepted a high post in the Tunisian administration, and his defection, and that of others, had deleterious effects on the Party's evolution. The dislocation of the Party and the new Bey Ḥabīb's hostility to al-T͟haʿālibī drove the latter into exile in July 1923 for fourteen years. From 1925 onwards he taught philosophy at the Āl al-Bayt University in ʿIrāḳ. In 1930 he settled in Cairo, and in 1931 organised, with al-Ḥād͟jd͟j Amīn al-Ḥusaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], *muftī* of Jerusalem, the Islamic Congress in Jerusalem (7-17 December).

Returning to Tunis in 1937, he found the Party sunk in lethargy. It had split in 1933, and on 2 March 1934 the Néo-Destour had been founded. The new party gave an enthusiastic welcome to the old leader of the Destour, but after timid efforts at conciliation, it hooted the old S͟hayk͟h off the stage when he returned from the Sahel in September 1937. It even made attempts on his life at the time of the Mateur incidents.

Al-T͟haʿālibī then retired from political life and devoted himself to study, publishing in 1938 a life of the Prophet (see *Bibl.*). After the bloody events of 9 April 1938, the Liberal Constitutional Party ceased all political activity, and only its weekly *al-Irāda* continued to appear until after Independence in 1956, al-T͟haʿālibī himself having died in 1944.

He left behind a varied and abundant oeuvre. In addition to his press work, he published *L'esprit libéral du Coran* (in French, with C. Banattar), Paris 1905; *La Tunisie martyre* (see above, also in Arabic, *Tūnis al-s͟hahīda*, Beirut 1984); and *Muʿd͟jiz Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*, 2 vols. Tunis 1938, also Beirut 1984. Various works of his have appeared at Beirut recently, most of them edited by Ḥ. Saḥlī, including *Mas'alat al-manbūd͟hīn fi 'l-Hind* (1984); *Rūḥ al-taḥarrur fi 'l-Ḳur'an* (1985); *Muḥāḍarāt fi 'l-ta'rīk͟h al-ḳadīm* (1985); *Ta'rīk͟h S͟himal Ifrīḳiyā* (1987); *K͟halfiyyāt al-Mu'tamar al-Islāmī bi 'l-Ḳuds* (1988); *Riḥla Yamāniya*, in press.

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(MONCEF CHENOUFI)

AL-T͟HAʿĀLIBĪ, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD b. Mak͟hlūf al-D͟jazā'irī, Abū Zayd, Mālikī theologian and Ḳur'ānic scholar of North Africa (786-873/1384-1468).

Born in Algiers, he studied in the eastern Mag͟hrib and Cairo, and made the Pilgrimage, before returning to teach in Tunis, where he died. His main work is a Ḳur'ānic commentary, *al-D͟jawāhir al-ḥisān fī tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān* (printed Algiers 1323-8/1905-10), but he wrote several other works on aspects of the Ḳur'ān, on the Prophet's dreams, on eschatology, etc., most of them still in manuscript.

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AL-T͟HAʿĀLIBĪ, ABŪ MANṢŪR, the author of a history in Arabic, the *Ta'rīk͟h G͟hurar al-siyar* or *al-G͟hurar fī siyar al-mulūk wa-ak͟hbārihim*, which he dedicated to the G͟haznawid Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr b. Sebüktigin, governor of K͟hurāsān, d. 412/1021. According to Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, tr. Flügel, iv, 319 no. 8592, this universal history comprised four volumes, going from the Creation to Maḥmud of G͟hazna [*q.v.*] in the author's own time. From the first part, H. Zotenberg published a text and French translation, *Histoire des rois de Perse*, Paris 1900. It is especially valuable in that al-T͟haʿālibī used the same sources for early Persian national history as Firdawsī in the *S͟hāh-nāma*, in many places using them more accurately than other Arabic historians like al-Ṭabarī. The author seems to have used the New Persian *Book of Kings* prepared *ca.* 950 for the local ruler of Ṭūs, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ. A section on the years of the early Islamic period 75-158/694-775 is also extant in manuscript.

This author was given a separate entry in *EI*¹ by C. Brockelmann under the heading "al-T͟haʿālibī, Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Marg͟hanī" (see

also his *GAL*, S I, 581-2), since he thought it unlikely that this al-Thaʿālibī could be identical with the much more celebrated *adīb* and philologist of Nīshāpūr Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik al-Thaʿālibī. However, F. Rosenthal noted that Brockelmann's full name for the author was taken from one manuscript only, and could have been a copyist's addition. All we firmly know from the text of the *Ghurar al-siyar* is that the author was called Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī *tout court*. On stylistic grounds, and from the appearance of certain characteristic locutions, Rosenthal originally followed Zotenberg and G. Gabrieli in identifying the author with the great Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik al-Thaʿālibī (*From Arabic books and manuscripts: III. The author of the Gurar as-siyar*, in *JAOS*, lxx [1950], 181-2). In this case, one should consult the following article. However, Rosenthal no longer regards this identification as at all firmly established (personal communication), and the whole question remains open.

(C.E. Bosworth)

AL-THAʿĀLIBĪ, Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl (350-429/961-1038), prominent connoisseur and critic of Arabic literature and prolific author of anthologies and works of literary scholarship.

Born in Nīshāpūr, he spent his entire life in the eastern Islamic world, participating in and above all documenting the extraordinary cultural efflorescence which in his generation was making of the city and region a serious rival to Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ. Despite his considerable fame, biographical notices in later sources offer few details about his life, and can be supplemented only modestly by information gleaned from his own writings. His family background was apparently undistinguished, and of his education we know only that he studied *adab* with the famous Arabic stylist Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī [see AL-KHWĀRAZMĪ]. We are told that he worked for a time as a schoolmaster, but he also seems early in his life to have forged ties with the Mīkālīs [*q.v.*], the most prominent family in Nīshāpūr, and especially with the cultured littérateur Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Mīkālī, who was to remain a close friend throughout his life, as well as Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr b. Sebüktegin, the governor of Khurāsān and brother of the reigning Ghaznawid monarch Maḥmūd. An early journey to Bukhārā, during the death throes of the Sāmānid dynasty which Maḥmūd was to supersede, was followed by at least two sojourns in Djurdjān, where he stayed with members of the city's leading family and dedicated a series of works to the ruling *amīr*, Ḳābūs b. Wushmgīr [*q.v.*], whom he had probably met during the latter's long exile in Nīshāpūr before recovering his throne. From Djurdjān, al-Thaʿālibī was invited by the Khwārazmshāh Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn to his court in al-Djurdjāniyya; during his stay there he dedicated works to both the Khwārazmshāh and his vizier, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāmidī, and enjoyed the illustrious company of such fellow protégés as Ibn Sīnā and al-Bīrūnī [*q.vv.*]. He then moved on to Ghazna, capital of the recently established Ghaznawid dynasty, residing there for some time before returning, probably by way of Harāt, to Nīshāpūr, where he spent his later years and died at an advanced age.

The bibliography of al-Thaʿālibī's works is extensive and presents numerous problems, which modern scholarship is only gradually managing to unravel. The longest of several lists of titles compiled by mediaeval biographers is that of al-Ṣafadī (*Wāfī*, xix, 194-9), which numbers eighty-six but which certainly includes a number of duplications as well as erroneous attributions. A total of approximately thirty authentic works have been printed. Virtually all of them consist of compilations of Arabic poetry and artistic prose, philological discussions, or collected anecdotes from Islamic political and cultural history. Al-Thaʿālibī did not aspire to contribute seriously to any of the intellectual debates of his day, either religious or secular, except to a limited extent in the field of literary criticism; his primary objective was to celebrate the aesthetic possibilities of the Arabic language and its literature and to retail, rearrange, and preserve the legacy of that literature for his contemporaries and later generations.

By far his most celebrated work is the *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr* (recent ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1956-8), a four-volume anthology of poetry and artistic prose intended as a comprehensive survey of the entire Arabic-Islamic world in the second half of the 4th/10th century. The arrangement is geographical, ranging from Andalusia (sketchily covered) to Khurāsān and Transoxania (the fourth and richest volume of the book). A total of 470 poets and writers are included, with individual sections extending to fifty or a hundred pages for such major figures as al-Mutanabbī, Abū Firās, the Būyid viziers Ibn al-ʿAmīd and Ibn ʿAbbād, and Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī [*q.vv.*]. Critical comment, while not completely lacking, occupies a relatively minor position in the work, as does biographical information, the bulk being given over to poetic and prose selections. Late in his life, al-Thaʿālibī composed a supplement to this work, the *Tatimmat al-yatīma* (ed. A. Iḳbāl, 2 vols., Tehran 1353/1934), following the same principles of organisation and including writers who had emerged to prominence during his own adult lifetime. The obvious attractiveness and utility of the *Yatīma*, and the example of the author's own *Tatimma*, encouraged the production over the following centuries of numerous sequels, of which the most important are the *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* of al-Thaʿālibī's own student al-Bākharzī and the massive *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr* of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [*q.vv.*].

Al-Thaʿālibī's enthusiasm for anthologising may have been initially encouraged by his friend Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī, as suggested by an early collection of poetry from all periods, arranged by genre, *al-Muntaḥal* (ed. Aḥmad b. Abī ʿAlī, Alexandria 1321/1901), which is attributed in various manuscripts to both men (see also Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 77-8, where it is called *al-Muntakhab al-Mīkālī*), and may represent a revision by al-Thaʿālibī of his friend's work. Later in his life he was repeatedly asked to extract his particular favourites from the material which he had collected, with a decided emphasis on recent and Eastern poets, in a number of slim anthologies, dedicated to various patrons, such as *Aḥsan mā samiʿtu* (ed. A.ʿA. Tammām and S. ʿĀṣim, Beirut 1989) and *Man ghāba ʿanhu al-muṭrib* (ed. N.ʿA. Shaʿlān, Cairo 1984). A more specialised collection of descriptive erotic poems on young men, the *K. al-Ghilmān*, remains in manuscript. Other works concern themselves as much with prose as with poetry, such as *al-Iʿdjāz wa 'l-īdjāz* (ed. M. al-Ṭūndjī, Beirut 1992; French tr. O. Petit, *La beauté est le gibier des cœurs*, Paris 1987), which begins with examples of rhetorical figures in the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth* and proceeds to offer prose selections and anecdotes from a wide range of political and literary figures, balancing these in its second half with verses by major poets from the pre-Islamic era to the author's own day. A similar combination of prose and poetry appears in

the *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ* (ed. M.M. al-Djinān, Beirut 1994), a virtual epitome of a number of al-Thaʿālibī's earlier works.

More in the tradition of collections of prose *fuṣūl*, brief sentences or paragraphs in rhymed prose arranged by topic and intended as a reference for aspiring prose stylists and epistolographers, are two early works, *al-Mubhidj* (Cairo 1322), which is dedicated to Ḳābūs, himself a noted stylist, and the more ambitious *Siḥr al-balāgha* (ed. ʿA. al-Ḥūfī, Beirut 1984), which was rewritten three times, each time dedicated to a different dignitary, the final version being intended for the library of Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī. The material in both these works is presented without attribution (except for the final chapter of the *Siḥr al-balāgha*, excerpting phraseology from the writings of such figures as Badīʿ al-Zamān and Abū Bakr al-Khʷārazmī), and may thus be considerable more "original" than what we find in al-Thaʿālibī's more straightforward anthologies—albeit only to a limited degree.

Another group of works, while essentially compilations, focus on one or another rhetorical principle or trope. For example, both *al-Ẓarāʾif wa 'l-laṭāʾif* and *al-Yawāḳīt fī baʿḍ al-mawāḳīt* present poetry and prose in paired "praise and blame" of various things; these two works survive in a single combined edition put together by al-Thaʿālibī's younger contemporary Abū Naṣr al-Maḳdisī and entitled (confusingly) *al-Laṭāʾif wa 'l-ẓarāʾif* (Cairo 1300, and other editions). Similar material appears in *Taḥsīn al-ḳabīḥ wa-taḳbīḥ al-ḥasan* (ed. Sh. al-ʿĀshūr, Baghdād 1981), "making the bad seem good and the good seem bad", and *al-Kināya wa 'l-taʿrīḍ* (or *al-Nihāya fī fann al-kināya*, ed. M.F. al-Djabr, Damascus 1994), on euphemisms. All sorts of elegant examples of quoting from the Ḳurʾān are collected and discussed in *al-Iḳtibās min al-Ḳurʾān al-Karīm* (ed. I.M. al-Ṣaffār, 2 vols., al-Manṣūra 1992). Paronomasia is treated in *al-Mutashābih*, also known as *Adjnās al-tadjnīs* (ed. I. al-Sāmarrāʾī, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb, Djāmiʿat Baghdād*, x [1967], 33-6), and is also the subject of *al-Anīs fī ghurar al-tadjnīs* (ed. H. Nādjī, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*, xxxiii [1982], 369-80), whose authorship, however, is somewhat problematical. A related trope, the use of two or more semantically related terms in a single figure (*talfīḳ*), is the subject of *al-Tawfīḳ li 'l-talfīḳ* (ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ, ²Damascus 1990). Examples of the rhetorical exercise of recasting verses in elegant rhymed prose are collected in *Nathr al-naẓm wa-ḥall al-ʿiḳd* (Cairo 1317, and other editions).

More broadly philological are three of al-Thaʿālibī's most popular works. The first half of the two-part *Fiḳh al-lugha wa-sirr al-ʿarabiyya* (ed. M. al-Saḳḳā, I. al-Abyārī and ʿA. Shalabī, Cairo 1938) is lexicographical, grouping vocabulary by semantic field, while the second half, cribbed primarily from the *Fiḳh al-lugha* of Ibn Fāris [*q.v.*], discusses a variety of grammatical and lexicographical topics. *Al-Tamthīl wa 'l-muḥāḍara* (ed. ʿA.M. al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1961) is a comprehensive collection of proverbial and quasi-proverbial expressions, culled from the widest variety of sources. Equally rich, despite its apparently narrower base, is the *Thimār al-kulūb fī 'l-muḍāf wa 'l-mansūb* (ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1965), an alphabetically-arranged lexicon of two-word phrases and clichés, which teems with recondite and fascinating lore.

Some further collections of miscellaneous information are less tied to formal linguistic characteristics. The *Mirʾāt al-murūʾāt* (Cairo 1898, and other early editions, all defective) assembles more anecdotal material under the rubric *murūʾa*, "honour, virtue", than one might expect, and the *Bard al-akbād fī 'l-aʿdād* (Istanbul 1325) does the same under the numbers two to ten. The *Laṭāʾif al-ẓurafāʾ* (facs. ed. Q. al-Samarrai, Leiden 1978; also edited as *Laṭāʾif al-luṭf* by ʿU. al-Asʿad, Beirut 1980) is a straightforward collection of entertaining anecdotes, while the delightful *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif* (ed. I. al-Abyārī and H.K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1960; English tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968) would appear to assemble bits of historical lore purely for their entertainment value.

A unique excursion into serious historiography which may have been made by al-Thaʿālibī is represented by the *Ghurar al-siyar* or *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-furs wa-siyarihim* (other variants also), a universal history from the creation to the author's own time of which only the first half, up to the caliphate of Abū Bakr, is extant, and of which only the section dealing with pre-Islamic Persian history has been published; see the preceding article regarding the question of its authorship. While the published section of this work is of unquestionable importance for elucidating the background of the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*], it is striking that neither here nor anywhere else does the putative author al-Thaʿālibī ever make reference to his illustrious Persian contemporary. He was, in fact, a consistent and strident supporter of the Arabic language and its literature, and, despite his occasional references to bilingual poets and Arabic translations of Persian verse, his works are essentially silent about the extraordinary efflorescence of New Persian literature that was taking place, especially at the Ghaznawid court, during his lifetime.

Two other apparently uncharacteristic works by al-Thaʿālibī are the Fürstenspiegel which he composed at the Khʷārazmian court for the *amīr* Maʾmūn and his vizier al-Ḥāmidī, *Ādāb al-mulūk* (ed. Djalīl al-ʿAṭiyya, Beirut 1990), and *Tuḥfat al-wuzarāʾ* (ed. Ḥ. al-Rāwī and I.M. al-Ṣaffār, Baghdād 1977), the text of the latter apparently representing a re-working by a much later author, the title of al-Thaʿālibī's original work being uncertain. A number of other works in manuscript may eventually be shown to be his as well, and some of the many preserved titles of lost works are certainly also authentic. Several works attributed to him in print are, however, to be rejected, including in particular *al-Djawāhir al-ḥisān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* (Algiers 1985), a Ḳurʾānic commentary by his much later namesake ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Thaʿālibī (d. 873/1468-9), and *al-Farāʾid wa 'l-ḳalāʾid* (Cairo 1317, in the margin of *Nathr al-naẓm*, and, with quite a divergent text, Cairo 1327, under the title *al-Amthāl al-musammā bi 'l-Farāʾid wa 'l-ḳalāʾid*), which is to be assigned rather to the rather obscure Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī, although yet another version, published with the title *Aḥāsin al-maḥāsin* and attributed to the equally obscure Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Rukhkhadjī (in *Madjmūʿat khams rasāʾil*, Istanbul 1301) probably represents a case of plagiarism by the latter author.

Scattered through al-Thaʿālibī's various works are quite a number of his own verses, which are on the whole quite unremarkable. His student al-Bākharzī reports having a volume of these in his possession (*Dumyat al-ḳaṣr*, ed. S.M. al-ʿĀnī, Baghdād and Nadjaf, 1971, ii, 226), but no *dīwān* has come down to us. Al-Bākharzī, the son of one of his closest friends, was the most prominent of his students; he and several others are generously accorded publicity by their master in his *Tatimmat al-yatīma*.

Bibliography: In addition to references cited in

the article, see Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, indices; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, iv, ii, 560-83; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, Baghdād 1959, 250; Ibn Khallikān, ed. 'Abbās, iii, 178-80; Kalā'ī, *Iḥkām ṣan'at al-kalām*, Beirut 1966, 232; Brockelmann, I, 284-6, S I, 499-502; Q. al-Samarrai, *Some biographical notes on al-Tha'ālibī*, in *BiOr*, xxxii (1975), 175-86; E.K. Rowson and S.A. Bonebakker, *A computerized listing of biographical data from the Yatīmat al-dahr by al-Tha'ālibī*, Malibu 1980; eidem, *Notes on two poetic anthologies: Tha'ālibī's* Tatimma *and Bākharzī's* Dumya, Paris and Los Angeles 1982; M.A. Djādir, *al-Tha'ālibī, nāḳid^{an} wa-adīb^{an}*, Baghdād 1976 (including a very full discussion of bibliographical problems); M.H. Bakkā'ī, *Mu'djam wa-dalīl Fiḳh al-lugha wa-sirr al-'arabiyya li 'l-Tha'ālibī*, [2]Beirut 1988; Ḥ.I. Khaṭīb, *al-Tha'ālibī nāḳid^{an} fī Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo 1988; *Dīwān al-Tha'ālibī*, compiled by M.'A. al-Djādir, [2]Beirut 1990; Abū Mūsā al-Ḳurashī al-Umawī, *Farīdat al-'aṣr fī djadāwil Yatīmat al-dahr*, Calcutta 1914. (E.K. Rowson)

THABĪR, a mountain outside Mecca, on the north side of the valley of Minā [*q.v.*]. Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 72-4, enumerates several mountains of this name, and also gives a tradition that Thabīr was, with Ḥirā' [*q.v.*] and Thawr, one of the three most significant mountains outside Mecca. It seems to have played a role in the ceremonies of the pre-Islamic *ḥadjdj* or pilgrimage outside Mecca. In Umayyad times, in the early 8th century A.D., the governor of Mecca Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], on the orders of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, piped water from a spring on Mount Thabīr to the courtyard of the Great Mosque in the centre of Mecca.

Bibliography: See also Azraḳī, *Akhbar Makka*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad Djamāl, Madrid 1385/1965-6, ii, 107; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pélerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 74-5. (Ed.)

THĀBIT, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, (modern Tkish. Sabit), Ottoman poet born at Užice in Bosnia *ca.* 1060/1650, died at Istanbul 11 Sha'ban 1124/5 September 1712. Thābit had his early education locally, but then moved to Istanbul. He showed early aptitude for poetry, but entered the ranks of the scholarly and judicial hierarchy, serving in a series of posts across the Empire. His *dīwān* includes many poems written to men in power soliciting posts or bemoaning his financial straits between appointments.

Classified by Gibb (*HOP*, iv, 15) as a Traditionalist, between the Classical and Modernist periods, Thābit ranks second only to Nābī [*q.v.*] among 11th/17th-century poets, and himself influenced such men as Nedīm and 'Izzet Molla [*q.vv.*]. Described as possessing an original but undisciplined poetic temperament (J. Rypka, *Beiträge zur Biographie, Charakteristik und Interpretation des türkischen Dichters Sabit*, Prague 1924), Thābit brought innovation to the literary tradition with wide use of the popular language, proverbs and popular sayings, but his frequently ribald humour tended to be considered "below the dignity of poetry" (Gibb, iv, 16; and see Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Divan şiiri. XVII. yüzyıl*, Istanbul 1954, 22).

In addition to his *dīwān* (Turgut Karacan, doctoral diss. Atatürk Üniversitesi 1981) and a translation and commentary on the *Ḥadīth-i arba'īn*, Thābit's works include the following *mathnawīs*: (1) *Zafer-nāme* ("Book of Victory"), twice printed by the Ebüzziya Tevfik Press, also referred to as *Ghazā-nāme* or *Selīm-nāme*, a work of some 426 *bayts* relating in epic tones the participation of the Crimean Khān Selīm Giray [*q.v.*] in Süleymān III's [*q.v.*] Austrian campaign. It includes a description of Selīm's reception by Süleymān and of his victory over the Russian-Polish army at Perekop. (2) *Edhem ü Hümā* ("Edhem and Hümā"), the story of a pious young man of Balkh who falls in love with his ruler's daughter but, convinced that he cannot win her, immediately dies, giving up his life for love. (3) Three short *mathnawīs* entitled *Berber-nāme* ("The Barber Book"), *Dere-nāme* ("The Valley Book", also known as *Ḥikāye-yi Khodja Fesād* "The Story of Hodja Fesād"; see Karacan, *Derename*, Sivas 1990), and *'Amr-i Layth*.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article and their bibls., see J. Rypka, *Sābit's Ramazānijje, herausgeben, übersetzt und erklärt*, in *Islamica*, iii (1927), 435-78; idem, *Über Sābits romantisches Epos Edhem ü Hüma*, in *ArO*, i (1929), 147-90; idem, *Les Müfredât de Sâbit*, in *ArO*, xviii (1950), 444-78, xx (1952), 347-50; Akün's art. s.v., in *Türk Ansiklopedisi*; Th. Menzel, *EI*[1] art. s.v.; A. Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969. (Kathleen R.F. Burrill)

THĀBIT b. ḲURRA, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Zahrūn al-Ḥarrānī, outstanding mathematician and scientist, born probably in 21/826 at Ḥarrān [*q.v.*], died at Baghdād on Thursday, 26 Ṣafar 288/19 February 901 aged 77 lunar years (see R. Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitesimales*, 139-45). His maternal language was Syriac, he knew Greek very well, and wrote his scientific work in Arabic. Famed primarily as a mathematician, he wrote original works in all the practical sciences of his age.

Originally a money-changer in Ḥarrān, his meeting with the eldest of three famous mathematicians and astronomers, the Banū Mūsā [*q.v.*], was a turning-point in his career and his life. When he met Thābit, Muḥammad b. Mūsā appreciated his intelligence and linguistic skills so much that he decided to take Thābit back with him to Baghdād. It was under the Banū Mūsā that Thābit received his education in mathematics, astronomy and also philosophy. He succeeded the Banū Mūsā as head of their school and himself founded a veritable dynasty; there were many famous scholars amongst his descendants, including his grandson Ibrāhīm b. Sinān, a mathematician of genius.

Thābit's scientific output was divided between translations and research work. The names are known of a considerable number of Greek texts which he rendered into Arabic, and which included as well as Archimedes' *The sphere and the cylinder*, or Books V-VII of Apollonius's *Conics* (in fact, lost in the original Greek), Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Introduction to arithmetic*. He further revised many translations made by others, such as Euclid's *Elements*, Ptolemy's *Almagest* and others.

His work in astronomy is important. The ancient Arabic bio-bibliographical works list between 30 and 40 titles in this subject, only nine of which have come down to us under his name. These treatises have been edited, with translations and commentaries, but out of these one should omit the *Book on the solar year*, falsely attributed to him. We thus possess just eight complete works and a few fragments of others on which to work in order to pronounce on his contribution to astronomy. The great interest of this last rests on three crucial points: the connection between observation and theory, Thābit himself being more of a theoretician than an observer; the mathematisation of astronomy; and the conflicting relationships between "physical astronomy" and "mathematical astronomy".

All through his work is to be found a very clear exposition of the link between theory and continuous observation of the stars. Moreover, if Ptolemy had preserved in his work a large share of empiricism,

Thābit nevertheless took up a certain number of pieces of reasoning and geometrical models from Ptolemy, treating them then in a rigorous mathematical way and reducing this part of the empiricism in them. Finally, Thābit placed the accent—we find this above all in the sparse fragments of his work—on the conflict between a global conception of the universe and a purely theoretical and mathematical analysis of the movement of each of the bodies in that same universe. This conflict would subsequently become one of the driving forces for the progress of research in astronomy all through the history of the development of Arabic astronomy.

Thābit's mathematical work, the part not directly linked with mathematical astronomy or statics, is also considerable. It embraces both geometry and also geometrical algebra and the theory of numbers. Thus he wrote three magistral treatises on "infinitesimal mathematics". In the first, *The measure of the section of a cone, called a parabola,* he gives the area of a part of a parabola by using a method different from that of Archimedes. In the second, *The measure of paraboloids,* he calculates the volumes in a manner different from that of Archimedes in his *Conoids and spheroids*—which moreover had no more been rendered into Arabic than Archimedes' studies on the parabola. Finally, in his *On the sections of the cylinder and on its lateral surface,* he determined the area of an ellipse and of elliptical segments. It was in this treatise that he developed the new geometrical methods elaborated by the Banū Mūsā.

Furthermore, the study of infinitesimal processes runs through Thābit's work in various parts. In astronomy, he had recourse to procedures meant for examining the problem of the visibility of the crescent moon, as also in his study *How the movement of the ecliptic appears to be held back, accelerated or retained at a midpoint according to the place of the eccentric where it is produced.* In the field of statics, Thābit equally applied infinitesimal processes in his book *al-Karastūn.*

Many other spheres were covered by his activity, including the theory of numbers with the first theorem on amicable numbers which bears his name.

Thābit, a talented translator, was thus also one of the outstanding mathematicians of all time. His fame both in the Islamic East and the Islamic West, the Latin translations of certain of his works and the Hebrew ones of others, bear adequate witness to this. In the history of Arabic mathematics, leaving out the name of Thābit b. Ḳurra means not being able to understand the history of the mathematical sciences between the 9th and 12th centuries.

Bibliography: This is vast. For a list of his works (respectively in medicine, mathematics, astronomy, astrology and meteorology), see Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 260-3, v, 264-72, vi, 163-70, vii, 151-2, 269-71. For secondary literature, see *Dict. of scientific biography*, xiii, New York 1976, 288-95. On his work as a translator, see e.g. W. Kutsch, *Thābit b. Qurra's arabische Übersetzung der* Arithmetikè Eisagogè *des Nikomakos von Gerasa zum ersten Mal herausgegeben*, Beirut 1959. On his mathematical works, see especially R. Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales entre le IXᵉ et le XIᵉ siècle*, i, London 1996, 139-673, and also B.A. Rosenfeld and A.P. Yousschkevitch, *Thabit matematičeskie tractari*, Moscow 1984. On his astronomical works, see R. Morelon, *Thābit ibn Qurra, œuvres d'astronomie*, Paris 1987, and idem, *Thābit ibn Qurra and Arab astronomy in the 9th century*, in *Arab Sciences and Philosophy. A Historical Journal*, iv (1994), 111-39. On his works in the field of statics, see W.R. Knorr, *Ancient sources on the medieval traditions of mechanics*, Florence 1982 (= Suppl. agli Annali dell'Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza, fasc. 2). On his influence in the medieval Latin world, see e.g. F.J. Carmody, *The astronomical works of Thābit b. Qurra*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1960; also F. Buchner, *Die Schrift über der* Qarastūn *von Thābit b. Qurra*, in *Sb. phys.-med. Sozietät in Erlangen*, lii-liii (1920-1), 141-88; A. Björnbo, *Thābit's Werk über Transversalensatz*, in *Abh. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, vii (1924).

(R. Rashed and R. Morelon)

THĀBIT ḲUṬNA, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Thābit b. Kaʿb b. Djābir, of the Banū Asad b. Ḥārith of Azd or one of their clients, minor poet of the Umayyad period (b. in Baṣra at an unknown date, probably in the 640s, d. 110/728).

He was mainly notable for his participation in expeditions on the eastern frontiers of Khurāsān, and even became governor of one of its component provinces. He had close ties of friendship with the governor Yazīd b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, and remained faithful to him until his death at al-ʿAḳr in ʿIrāḳ in 102/720 when he tried to seize power from the Umayyads by attacking Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a policy in which he was encouraged by Thābit [see muhallabids]. In the course of one of his campaigns with Yazīd he was wounded in the eye and henceforth wore a kind of cotton pad over the eye, whence his nickname Thābitᵘ Ḳuṭnaᵗᵘⁿ. But after Yazīd's death, he rallied to the Umayyads and took part in expeditions against Transoxania under Ashras b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sulamī, in the course of which he was killed in 110/728.

His *dīwān* existed in ancient times (see Sezgin, ii, 377), but has not survived; however, Mādjid Aḥmad al-Sāmarrāʾī has tried in his *Shiʿr Thābit Ḳuṭna al-ʿAtakī* (Baghdād 1390/1970) to reconstitute it, basing himself on al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*; the *Aghānī*; Ibn al-Athīr; and al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*. Apart from a few doubtful verses, the *dīwān* is made up of 13 poems and 27 fragments with a total of 221 verses, in seven metres, mainly *ṭawīl* (14 times), *basīṭ* (9 times) and *wāfir* (8 times). Since short fragments make up two-thirds of his known work, it is not possible to say how much Thābit respected the conventions of the classical *ḳaṣīda*. His language is rather archaic, and is to be grouped with old, and especially, Bedouin poetry in general. He uses the usual genres: personal and tribal *fakhr*, and satires against persons like the minor poet Ḥādjib al-Māzinī or against a family or clan, like the Banu 'l-Kawwāʾ al-Yashkuriyyūn, who were opponents of his friend Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. Most of his poetry is, in fact, connected with this latter person, including encomia, exhortations to battle and elegies.

But most important is the heresiographical aspect of Thābit's poetry. There is a poem in his *dīwān* which at its beginning expresses the ideas of the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*]: abstention from judgement on the Rightly-Guided Caliphs and the Umayyads and their actions, since God alone is competent to judge; these questions are clearly connected with the dominating topic for early Islam, the nature of the caliphate or imāmate.

Bibliography: See also Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 82; Wahhābī, *Marādjiʿ*, ii, 128; Nallino, *Letteratura*, tr. Pellat, 199-214; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 376-7, ix, 282; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin and New York 1991-7, iv, index (esp. i, 166-71).

(T. El Achèche)

THĀDJ, an ancient pre-Islamic walled site in northeastern Arabia, some 90 km/56 miles

almost due west of the port of Djubayl on the Arabian Gulf (see General map, Potts, *Arabian Gulf*, xx). Located in Wādī al-Miyāh, the site covers an area of about 990 m by 825 m and lay on the trans-Arabian route linking southern Arabia with ʿIrāḳ, and in Islamic times both al-Hamdānī and Ibn Khurradādhbih mention the route, called by the 7th/13th century traveller Ibn al-Mudjāwir (214) *Ṭarīḳ al-Raḍrāḍ*, the "Gravel Road". It has in recent years been suggested that the ancient emporium of Gerrha was Thādj (see e.g. Beeston, *Observations*, 7 n. 5, and Potts, *Thaj*, 87-91). The published Hasaitic inscriptions (written in the Monumental South Arabian script, but in the north Arabian language) are listed by Potts, *Arabian Gulf*, 70-1.

Potts (*Arabian Gulf*, 34-5, after Mandaville, *Thaj*, 15-19) also lists in neat chronological order the mention of Thādj by the pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets and in the Arabic works of geography and travel. Water and stone structures are commonly alluded to as being found at the settlement: "the flowing wells of Thādj" of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm (pre-Islamic), Rashīd b. Ḳays b. Shihāb al-Yashkurī's "a castle of stone" (pre-Islamic), etc. Thādj is variously described in these works as being in the area of al-Yamāma (al-Aṣmaʿī, 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century), on the outskirts of al-Baḥrayn (Abū ʿUbayda, 3rd/9th century), a village in al-Baḥrayn (al-Bakrī, 5th/11th century) and a spring several nights' journey from al-Baḥrayn (Yāḳūt, 7th/13th century). Abū ʿUbayda adds that the taxes of Thādj were sent to al-Yamāma and that it belonged to Banū Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba and ʿAnaza b. Asad.

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(G.R. SMITH)

THAGHR [see AL-THUGHŪR].

AL-**THAGHRĪ**, ABŪ SAʿĪD YŪSUF b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāʾī, ʿAbbāsid commander of the middle decades of the 3rd/9th century, who presumably derived his professional *nisba* from service along the Byzantine frontiers (*thughūr* [*q.v.*], sing. *thaghr*; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 136-7, gives two scholars with this same *nisba*, connected respectively with Tarsus and Adana). Nothing is known of him beyond the fact that he was the patron of his fellow-Ṭāʾī, the poet al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*]. (ED.)

THAILAND (formerly Siam), Islam in. Thailand is now and has always been overwhelmingly Buddhist (about 90% of the population). Islam is the second largest religion, although data on numbers are difficult to establish with certainty. The best estimate seems to be that there are about a million and a half or perhaps more in Thailand. Of these about half are ethnic Malay-Muslims, concentrated in the four southern provinces [see PATANI]. The remainder is made up of a number of disparate groups, of which we may identify the following. First, the Muslim-Thai, i.e. those who are ethnically Thai and culturally Thai in all respects except that they are Muslim. Second, the Cham [see ČAM] from western Cambodia, who are mainly concentrated in the east coast districts and in Bangkok. Their numbers have increased from the 1970s with the refugee exodus from Cambodia. Third, the West Asian group, comprising Persians and Arabs. This group is prominent in business and also in Muslim administration, having close ties with government and government officials. Fourth, there is a heterogeneous group of South Asians, mainly from the Pandjāb and Bengal. Finally, there are the Thai-Malay, i.e. ethnic Malays who have acculturated themselves into Thai society, speaking Thai and taking Thai wives. Over the course of time, they will probably assimilate with the Muslim-Thai. Apart from the Persians, the great majority are Sunnī Shāfiʿīs, though the Ḥanafī school also has adherents.

Thailand is often described as a "bureaucratic polity," and this is demonstrated in the national system for the administration of Islam. There is a three-tier system of control.

(i) The Mosque Committee. The functions of the Committee are specified in fairly detailed legislation (the Mosques Acts of 1947, 1955, and Regulations of 1948, 1949). The main duties are to manage the mosque and its property according to Islamic and state law, to ensure the proper observance of Islam, and to provide for and maintain the registration of the mosque. Registration is not compulsory, but without it a mosque is not entitled to government financial aid. The great majority of mosques (well over 2,000) are registered.

(ii) The Provincial Committee for Islamic Affairs. Each of the provinces of Thailand has such a Committee. Primarily, it has two functions: first to supervise the competence and practice of the mosque committees, and, second, to act as adviser to and liaison with the secular provincial authorities.

(iii) The Central Committee for Islamic Affairs. This Committee, located in Bangkok, is the apex of the Islamic administration system. It is headed by the Chulamontri (Sheikhul Islam), the King's adviser on matters relating to Islam. He is appointed directly by the King, on the advice of the Minister for the Interior, and can only be removed by the King. His tenure is for life. The Committee is located jointly in the Ministry of Interior (Dept. of Local Authority) and Ministry of Education (Dept. of Religious Affairs). The Committee has responsibility for the overall supervision of mosques, provincial committees, and for the allocation of finance. It also has attempted a number of translations from Arabic to Thai with variable success. However, its primary function is to incorporate Islam and the Muslims into the state administration, again with varying degrees of success, especially in the south [see PATANI].

The main problem for Muslims, or for any other minority in Thailand, lies in government policy. This oscillates between integration and assimilation. While a good degree of religious freedom has always been permitted, a plurality of culture has never been accepted. So far as Islam is concerned, it will be of little concern to the Thai authorities, provided that individual Muslims have achieved a reasonable degree of assimilation. On the other hand, where Islam is identified with a non-Thai culture, as in the Malay-Muslim south, then conflict is inevitable.

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AL-**THĀʾIR FI 'LLĀH**, ABU 'L-FAḌL DJAʿFAR b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Shāʿir, Zaydī ʿAlid ruler of Hawsam [*q.v.*] 319-50/931-61.

His mother was a daughter of his paternal grand-

father's brother, the Zaydī imām al-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥaḳḳ [see AL-ḤASAN AL-UṬRŪSH], who had been active in Hawsam teaching Zaydī Islam among the Gīlīs and the Daylamīs before conquering Āmul and Ṭabaristān. As Zaydī 'Alid rule collapsed in Ṭabaristān, al-Thā'ir was able to establish it further west in Hawsam on a durable basis. Following the example of al-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥaḳḳ, he repeatedly invaded Ṭabaristān, seizing Āmul, but was never able to hold the town for more than a few months. The first time, in 320/932, he was allied with the Daylamī Mākān [*q.v.*]. In three further invasions between 337/948 and 341/953, he was first allied with the Ustandār of Rūyān, then with the Ziyārid Wushmgīr, and finally with the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla. He died in 350/961 and was buried in Miyān Dih, 30 km/20 miles east of Hawsam (Rūdisar), where his tomb still exists. His descendants, several of whom adopted his regnal name al-Thā'ir fi 'llāh, continued to rule in Hawsam, at times in competition with descendants of al-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥaḳḳ and other 'Alids. When Lāhīdjān in the 6th/12th century replaced Hawsam as the centre of Zaydī scholarship in eastern Gīlān, a branch of the family was active there.

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(W. MADELUNG)

AL-**THAḲAFĪ**, IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD, Abū Isḥāḳ, Shī'ī writer and scholar, b. at an unknown date around the beginning of the 3rd century A.H., d. 283/896.

His ancestors, from the Thaḳīf, had always been faithful partisans of the 'Alids, and his great-grandfather, the Companion Sa'd b. Mas'ūd, had been governor of al-Madā'in for 'Alī, with his loyal qualities displayed at the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] in 37/658 (al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 144). Regrettably little is known of Ibrāhīm's life and intellectual development, but he was brought up in Zaydī Shī'ī circles in Kūfa, showing a tendency, however, when he grew up for a moderate Imāmism. His vast knowledge and talents were appreciated by his contemporaries (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, Tehran 1350/1971, 279; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 294-5). His moderation and objectivity caused him to leave his natal town under pressure from extremist Shī'īs after having difficulties with the dissemination of his *al-Ma'rifa fi 'l-manāḳib wa 'l-mathālib* (sc. of the *Ahl al-Bayt*), and despite receiving offers from colleagues in Ḳumm, he preferred to move to the freer atmosphere of Iṣfahān, where he lived till he died.

Al-Thakafī was a fertile author. According to Abū Dja'far al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, Nadjaf 1380/1961, 27-8, he wrote some 50 works, mainly on Imāmism and 'Alid history, fields in which he was a recognised authority. One may mention particularly the *K. al-Imāma al-kabīr*, *K. al-Ashriba*, *K. al-Ru'yā*, *K. al-Ta'rīkh* (a universal history), *K. Ṣiffīn*, *K. al-Djamal* (i.e. the Battle of the Camel), *K. Maḳtal Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (sc. 'Alī), *K. Maḳtal al-Ḥusayn*, *K. Rasā'il Amīr al-Mu'minīn wa-akhbārihi*, etc. From all this rich production, only one work has survived, the *K. al-Ghārāt* or *al-Istinfār wa 'l-ghārāt* (ed. 'Abd al-Zahrā' al-Khaṭīb, Damascus-Beirut 1410/1990), dealing with the conflict of 'Alī and Mu'āwiya and stressing the latter's raids into the lands controlled by 'Alī after Ṣiffīn and the arbitration at Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*]. The Mu'tazilī Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd gives long passages from it in his *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha* (Cairo 1385-7/1965-7, ii, 6, 9-15, 85-8, 113-25, 286, 291, 294, 301; iii, 127-48; iv, 34-53, 57, 80, 83-7, 89-92, 94, 96-100, 106; vi, 56-1010, 128, 136-7; vii, 46-7) used by the editor al-Khaṭīb to supplement the unique Ẓāhiriyya ms. of the *K. al-Ghārāt*.

Bibliography: See also Sam'ānī, iii, 137; Ṣafadī, vi, 120-1; Abū 'Alī al-Astarābādhī, *Muntahā al-maḳāl*, Tehran 1302/1884, 25-6; Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *Dharī'a*, v, 62, 64-5; 'Āmilī, *A'yān al-Shī'a*, v, 414-23; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, 2; Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, i, 45, 355; al-Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *Ta'sīs al-Shī'a*, Kāẓimiyya 1370/1951, 72; Brockelmann, S I, 225; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, i, 56; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifīn*, i, 95, 109; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 321; 'Abd al-Zahrā' al-Khaṭīb, *Maṣādir Nahdj al-balāgha*, Nadjaf 1386/1966, i, 62-4; idem, introd. to ed. of the *K. al-Ghārāt*, 3-8.

(MOKTAR DJEBLI)

AL-**THAḲAFĪ**, YŪSUF B. 'UMAR, governor of 'Irāḳ between 120/738 and 126/744 under the Umayyad caliphs Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walīd II b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. His father, 'Umar, was a cousin of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], both being grandsons of al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'Aḳīl of the B. Sa'd b. 'Awf of Thaḳīf. As governor, his residence was in al-Ḥīra rather than in al-Kūfa, the more usual gubernatorial seat.

Before his appointment over 'Irāḳ, Yūsuf had been governor of Yemen, where he had been installed by the caliph Hishām, probably in 106/725. Reports about his activities there mainly concern his suppression of various Khāridjite rebellions. There is also a tradition that he was responsible for the death of Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*] during his governorate in Yemen.

Hishām commanded him to go to 'Irāḳ in 120/738 in order to depose and take over from Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*]. Much of the material relating to Yūsuf in the sources concerns the circumstances of his takeover from Khālid and his subsequent prolonged and interrupted attempts to extract from the latter the wealth he had accumulated during his lengthy governorship over 'Irāḳ. After the death of Hishām, al-Walīd b. Yazīd is reported to have sold the former governor to Yūsuf for a considerable sum of money, and Khālid died under Yūsuf's torture at the beginning of 126/late 743. The other major event connected with Yūsuf's period of office was the revolt of Zayd b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī [*q.v.*] in al-Kūfa in 121-2/739-40, which was suppressed by him.

The coming of Yūsuf to 'Irāḳ was associated with an intensification of the rivalry between Yemen and Muḍar and with a shift from Yemeni to Muḍarī dominance. Thaḳīf were part of Ḳays (Muḍar), and Yūsuf replaced the Yemeni governors and officials with men of his own. There are accounts in the sources of Yūsuf's maltreatment and torture of several of Khālid's appointees. It is not clear how far he was responsible for the appointment of Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] over Khurāsān. Naṣr is generally portrayed as owing his appointment to the caliph Hishām, but some reports have Yūsuf playing a part (others show him as being opposed to Naṣr), while al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1665) cites a verse which claims that Yūsuf himself chose Naṣr for the job.

His own fall from office followed the murder of al-Walīd II and the succession of Yazīd III b. al-Walīd as caliph (Djumādā II 126/April 744). When

the latter sent Manṣūr b. Djumhūr al-Kalbī to replace him as governor over ʿIrāḳ, Yūsuf fled to the Balḳāʾ, where he was subsequently captured. Imprisoned in Damascus, as Marwān b. Muḥammad advanced towards that town late in 744 or early in 745 in the aftermath of the death of Yazīd III, Yūsuf was killed in his prison, together with the two sons of al-Walīd II who were also prisoners there. The sources refer both to Yūsuf's stupidity and his cruelty, and to his lavish public displays of generosity.

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(G.R. Hawting)

THAḲĪF, a tribe of the so-called Northern Arabian federation Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*], more precisely, of the Hawāzin [*q.v.*]. Before Islam the Thaḳīf controlled the walled town of al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*]; groups of the Thaḳīf, some settled and some nomadic, still live in al-Ṭāʾif and its vicinity.

In the early Islamic period, the Thaḳīf were divided into two rival subdivisions, the less prestigious Aḥlāf or "allies" and the Mālik. The Aḥlāf included the ʿAwf branch of Thaḳīf as a whole and a group from the Djusham branch, while the Mālik were the descendants of Mālik b. Ḥuṭayṭ b. Djusham. Although there is evidence of fighting between the two subdivisions before Islam, they probably neutralised each other, thereby safeguarding internal peace in al-Ṭāʾif. The division of the Thaḳīf was reflected, e.g., in the battle of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] shortly after Muḥammad's conquest of Mecca, where each subdivision fought under its own banner.

The relationship between the Thaḳīf and the Ḳuraysh was a matter of major importance in Islamic history. Already before Islam the two tribes were trade partners, while at the same time competing for agricultural land in the fertile area surrounding al-Ṭāʾif. Intermarriages were commonplace. For example, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] was married (at different times) to three daughters of Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Thaḳafī (Ibn Umm al-Ḥakam), whom Muʿāwiya I [*q.v.*] appointed governor of al-Kūfa [*q.v.*], was the caliph's nephew. Abu 'l-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya, the grandfather of Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ, had four daughters who married prominent Thaḳafīs. Obviously, when the Marwānids [*q.v.*] came to power, their Thaḳafī in-laws were their natural partners.

The Thaḳīf were among the staunchest Arabian tribes in their opposition to Muḥammad. After his unsuccessful siege of al-Ṭāʾif in 8/630—supported by Ḳurashīs who feared a Thaḳafī takeover of their estates near al-Ṭāʾif—Muḥammad changed his tactics. He played against the Thaḳīf their Bedouin allies who, under Mālik b. ʿAwf [*q.v.*] al-Naṣrī, blockaded their town. The Thaḳīf delegation who under this pressure came to Medina to negotiate conversion to Islam managed nonetheless to secure for the tribe some significant concessions (M.J. Kister, *Some reports concerning al-Ṭāʾif*, in *JSAI*, i [1979], 1-18, at 1-11). Muḥammad's peaceful victory for evermore established the supremacy of the Ḳuraysh over the Thaḳīf.

The Thaḳīf were soon to occupy in the Islamic state a position befitting their cultural level and prestige and their share of power was larger than that of many stronger tribes. The conquests opened up for them new economic horizons, especially in ʿIrāḳ, and they benefited from the liberal policy of the rulers with regard to economic activities by the governors. Their success made them a popular target for inter-tribal polemics and Shīʿī propaganda, and hostile claims concerning their origin abounded. For instance, the Thaḳīf were said to have descended from the Thamūd [*q.v.*] (Kister and Plessner, *Notes on Caskel's Ǧamharat an-nasab*, in *Oriens*, xxv-xxvi [1977], 48-68, at 60-1).

During the "golden age" of Arabic philology, detailed attention was given to the Thaḳīf. For example, al-Madāʾinī compiled *Akhbār Thaḳīf* ("Accounts about the Thaḳīf") and *Man tazawwadja fī Thaḳīf min Ḳuraysh* ("The Ḳurashīs who married into the Thaḳīf"), Ibn al-Kalbī compiled *Mathālib Thaḳīf* ("The faults of the Thaḳīf") and al-Zubayr b. Bakkār dedicated a monograph to the pre-Islamic poet Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt [*q.v.*]. Several monographs dealt with the famous governors Ziyād b. Abīhi and al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.vv.*].

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(M. Lecker)

THAʿLAB (A.), masculine substantive (pls. *thaʿālib*, *thaʿālⁱⁿ*) denoting the fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), carnivore of the canine tribe, belonging to the class of Canidae and the family of Vulpinae; in Persian *wāwi*, *rūbāh*, and in Turkish *tilki*. The vixen is called *thaʿlaba*, *thuʿala*, *thurmula*, *thuʿlubān* and the fox-cub is *hidjris* and *tanfal*. Furthermore, the fox bears the nicknames of *Abu 'l-Ḥuṣayn*, *Abu 'l-Nadjm*, *Abu 'l-Nawfal*, *Abu 'l-Wathab*, and *Abū Hinbiṣ*, while the vixen is *Umm ʿUwayl*.

The guile which is the dominant feature of the fox is acknowledged by the expressions *amkar min thaʿlab* "more cunning than a fox" and *arwagh min thaʿlab* "more crafty than a fox". Guided by innate mistrust, it uses numerous ploys when in search of food; thus it only approaches prey furtively and indirectly (*thaʿlaba*, *tathaʿlaba al-radjah*, *rawaghān*), preferring hard and dry ground (*tawbīr*) so as to avoid leaving footprints and, finally, feigning death (*tamāwut*), inflating itself to the maximum and lying with paws in the air, resembling a corpse several days old. By this means it catches the porcupine (*shayham*) which it devours gladly. To repel potential enemies such as the wolf, it leaves particularly vile-smelling droppings (*sulāḥ*) in its wake. To rid itself of infestation by fleas, the fox goes and wallows in a swamp, leaving only the end of its muzzle out of the water and holding between its fangs a ball

of vegetal material on which all the fleas seek refuge; once it is covered with these parasites, the fox throws the ball into the water, thus drowning its occupants. A country where foxes abound is called *mut͟haʿlib*. The Arabophone countries know only the geographical forms of the fox *pallidus* and *niloticus*.

According to al-Damīrī, the fox has certain properties which counterbalance its reputation. The quality of its pelt has always made it a highly-prized item of clothing, supplying both warmth and elegance. Its head, placed in a dovecote, drives away all the pigeons. One of its fangs, fastened to an infant, suppresses the pain of teething; applied to an epileptic it brings rapid relief, as does the gall when dried, pulverised and inhaled through the nostrils. Its flesh is beneficent in the treatment of elephantiasis (*d͟jud͟hām*), although Islamic law prohibits its consumption. Its fat is a useful ointment in the treatment of gout (*niḳris*) and otitis (*iltihāb al-ud͟hun*). One of its testicles, hung on an infant, has the same effect as its fang in soothing teething pain. One of its ears, when applied to a neck affected by scrofula (*k͟hanāzīr*), suppresses them rapidly. Its testicles, pulverised and dissolved in boiling liquid, have an aphrodisiac property; its excrement, applied to the penis in the form of a lotion, has the same effect. The blood of the fox, smeared on an infant's head, causes the hair to grow, even if the child has scabies (*d͟jarab*). Finally, holding its testicles in the hand dispels all fear of dogs.

In oneiromancy, seeing a fox presages an affectionate spouse and a happy conjugal life. The term *t͟haʿlab* occurs in the expression *dāʾ al-t͟haʿlab* "fox disease", applied to alopecia and baldness, while *ʿinab al-t͟haʿlab* "fox grape", denotes the currant. In astronomy, *al-t͟haʿlabiyyāt* applies to several stars of the Great Bear. Finally, *t͟haʿlab* is, in the context of the date-palm, a synonym of *fasīl*, secondary growth which needs to be pruned away.

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(F. Viré)

THAʿLAB, Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. Sayyār al-S͟haybānī (*mawlā* of the Banū S͟haybān), famous grammarian and philologist of the so-called "Kufan school". He was born in 200/815-16 in Bag͟hdād, where he lived and worked throughout his entire life. T͟haʿlab died, old and deaf, in a road accident on 13 D͟jumādā I 291/2 April 904 and was laid to rest in Bag͟hdād's Bāb al-S͟hām cemetery.

T͟haʿlab was, we are told, a Ḥanbalī, pious and trustworthy, famous for his reliability in Arabic, ancient poetry, Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt͟h*. Even his alleged Baṣran rival al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*] credited him for being the most learned of all the Kūfans. Due to his reputation, T͟haʿlab attained a prominent position in high places. He was the friend of the Ṭāhirid governor of Bag͟hdād, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], and he was responsible for the education at court of the governor's children.

According to T͟haʿlab himself, he commenced studying Arabic at the age of sixteen. Within ten years he had memorised all known books by al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*] whom he had never personally met. T͟haʿlab learned grammar from al-Farrāʾ's pupil Salama b. ʿĀṣim (d. *ca.* 240/854) and lexicography from al-Kisāʾī's pupil Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Aʿrābī [see ibn al-aʿrābī]. T͟haʿlab's pupils include al-Ak͟hfas͟h al-Aṣg͟har [see al-ak͟hfas͟h], Ibn al-Anbārī (Abū Bakr) and G͟hulām T͟haʿlab [*q.vv.*]. T͟haʿlab taught al-Farrāʾ's famous *K. al-Ḥudūd* in Bag͟hdād, where he subsequently became known as the *imām al-Kūfiyyīn* in the field of Arabic grammar and lexicography.

T͟haʿlab wrote over 40 books on Ḳurʾānic studies, lexicography, and poetry, but his main contribution was to the field of grammar. Among his extant published grammatical works are *K. al-Faṣīḥ* (ed. ʿĀṭif Madkūr, Cairo 1984) on *laḥn al-ʿāmma* [*q.v.*] and *al-Amālī* or *K. al-Mad͟jālis* (ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 2 vols., Cairo 1969), a collection of reports on philological discussions which provide valuable insights into the academic culture of the 3rd/9th century [see mad͟jlis].

As an ardent defender of Kūfan linguistic views against the Baṣrans, T͟haʿlab was deeply involved in the traditional rivalry between the so-called ʿIrāḳī schools of grammar [see naḥw]. He had little affinity with Baṣran grammatical theories, but he read the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi [*q.v.*] apparently to keep pace with al-Mubarrad, to whom he had already lost several of his most promising students (notably Abū Isḥāḳ al-Zad͟jd͟jād͟j [*q.v.*]). The apogee of the Baṣran/Kūfan dichotomy is conventionally considered to be the many disputes between T͟haʿlab and al-Mubarrad. It is from these debates that the significance of T͟haʿlab as a grammarian becomes manifest since, contrary to his opponent al-Mubarrad, he emphasised *samāʿ* rather than the use of *ḳiyās* and *ʿilla* [*q.vv.*] in grammatical issues (e.g. al-Zad͟jd͟jād͟jī, *Mad͟jālis*, 94-7).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, Cairo 1955, 95-6; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 139-41; D͟hahabī, *Siyar*, 9Beirut 1993, xiv, 5-7; Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, 4 vols. Beirut n.d., i, 83-4; Ibn K͟hallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 536-54; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Cairo 1929, 110-1; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, 4 vols. Cairo 1986, i, 173-86; Marzubānī, *Nūr al-ḳabas*, Wiesbaden 1964, 334-7; Suyūṭī, *Bug͟hya*, i, 396-8; *Taʾrīk͟h Bag͟hdād*, v, 204-12; Zad͟jd͟jād͟jī, *Mad͟jālis*, ed. Hārūn, 2Cairo 1983; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1973, 141-50.

2. Studies. S͟h. Ḍayf, *al-Madāris al-naḥwiyya*, Cairo 1968, 224-37; A. al-Layt͟hī, *al-Naḥw fī Mad͟jālis T͟haʿlab*, Cairo 1991; M. Mak͟hzūmī, *al-Dars al-Naḥwī fī Bag͟hdād*, 2Beirut 1987, 51-6; M. Mak͟hzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa*, 3Beirut 1986, 144-61; Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 14, 140-2; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 267.

(Monique Bernards)

THAʿLABA, a common old Arab proper name (more rarely T͟haʿlab) and eponym of a number of subdivisions of the larger tribal divisions of ancient Arabia. Thus we have the T͟haʿlaba b. ʿUḳāba of the great tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾil (Yamāma as far as Baḥrayn); the T͟haʿlaba b. Saʿd b. D͟hubyān of the tribe of G͟haṭafān in the Nafūd region; the T͟haʿlaba b. Yarbūʿ of the tribe of Tamīm; the T͟haʿālib Ṭayyiʾ clans of the Ṭayyiʾ [*q.v.*]. A T͟haʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. Mud͟jālid is mentioned as the first phylarch of the G͟hassānid dynasty [see g͟hassān]. The "Roman Arabs of the house of T͟haʿlaba" mentioned by Joshua Stylites as taking part in the wars with the Lak͟hmids [*q.v.*] are either of G͟hassānid origin (Nöldeke) or belong to the Bakrī T͟haʿlaba (G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899). Amongst the South Arabian tribes, we have Azdī and Kinānī T͟haʿlaba. A T͟haʿlaba clan of the Aws in Yat͟hrib and a T͟haʿlaba

b. al-Fiṭyawn of the Jewish Ḳaynuḳāʿ may also be mentioned. A member of this clan, called Mukhayrīḳ, distinguished for his learning and generally hostile to the Prophet, is said to have adopted Islam and fallen at Uḥud (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1424; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 24 ff.).

Bibliography: Ibn Durayd, *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Ṭabarī, index, s.v.; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen, B,* and *Register*, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, i, Tafeln, no. 128, ii, Register, 547-53; I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century*, i/2, Washington 1995, 832. (H.H. Bräu)

AL-THAʿLABĪ, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Isḥāḳ al-Nīsābūrī, Ḳurʾān exegete and collector of stories, d. Muḥarram 427/November 1035. Al-Thaʿlabī is famous today for two works. His massive *tafsīr, al-Kashf wa ʾl-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, remains unpublished except for the bibliographical introduction (ed. I. Goldfeld, *Quranic commentary in the Eastern Islamic tradition of the first four centuries of the hijra: an annotated edition of the preface to al-Thaʿlabī's "Kitāb al-kashf wa ʾl-bayān ʿan Tafsīr al-Qurʾān"*, Acre 1984). The work raised concerns in the past for its reliability: its sources include those traditionally deemed untrustworthy within the *tafsīr* tradition (e.g. Muḳātil b. Sulaymān; Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī [*q.vv.*]), and this probably accounts for its being ignored for publication down to today. The *Maʿālim al-tanzīl* of al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122 [*q.v.*]) is said to be a condensed version of al-Thaʿlabī's work.

The second famous work by al-Thaʿlabī is his book on the stories of the prophets [see ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ], *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis fī ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, which gives a taste of the character of his *tafsīr*. Printed many times (Būlāḳ 1286 probably being the earliest) and available in several inexpensive mass editions, it is a work of popular imagination designed for education and entertainment. Organised according to the historical sequence of the prophets, many of the accounts are elaborations from the same sources used by al-Ṭabarī (see the analysis in T. Nagel, *Die Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ. Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Bonn 1967, 80-102). It has become the standard source of Islamic prophet stories, alongside the work of al-Kisāʾī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa ʾl-mufassirūn*, ²Cairo 1967, i, 227-34; see Goldfeld's edition, 9, for other biographical sources; Nöldeke, *GdesQ*, ii, 173-4; Brockelmann, I, 350; an English tr. of *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis* is expected soon. (A. Rippin)

AL-THAʿLABĪ (or al-Taghlibī), Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith, little-known Arab prose writer, quite possibly of Persian descent, who wrote around the middle of the 3rd/9th century the extant mirror of princes *K. Akhlāḳ al-mulūk* [see naṣīḥat al-mulūk] for al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān (killed 247/861 [*q.v.*]), favourite of the caliph al-Mutawakkil.

In the existing late and undated mss. this work is wrongly attributed, if at all, to al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*]. In one of the mss. it bears the false title *K. al-Tādj*; in another one it is called, still not quite correctly, *K. al-Tādj fī akhlāḳ al-mulūk*. Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, consequently, published the work in his edition under al-Djāḥiẓ's name and with the title *K. al-Tādj fī akhlāḳ al-mulūk*. At the same time, Zakī spent much effort in the introduction to his edition to prove the authorship of al-Djāḥiẓ. Several European scholars followed his arguments. However, the best experts on this great prose writer, O. Rescher, Ḥ. al-Sandūbī, and Ch. Pellat (as well as G. Richter and J. Fück) categorically denied al-Djāḥiẓ's authorship, *inter alia* because of the "decidedly Iranian worldview" ("entschieden iranischen Einstellung", Rescher, *Excerpte*, 266) of the author of *K. Akhlāḳ al-mulūk*, which is exactly the opposite of that of the anti-Shuʿūbī al-Djāḥiẓ. J. Fück (*ʿArabīya*, Berlin 1950, 72) and Ch. Pellat (*Couronne*, 14-15) had already assumed al-Thaʿlabī to be the true author of the book, since a work with the title *Akhlāḳ al-mulūk* is ascribed to an author of that name both in al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj al-dhahab* (ed. Pellat, i, Beirut 1965, 13-14) and in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, i, 148); al-Masʿūdī expressly states that this book was dedicated to al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, and Ibn al-Nadīm establishes a connection between the author and al-Fatḥ also.

The definitive identification of the author with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Thaʿlabī was made possible through the discovery of a later mirror for princes entitled *K. Ādāb al-mulūk* (cf. Schoeler, *Verfasser*, 223 ff.; idem, *Arabische Handschriften*, no. 159). So far, two manuscripts of this compilation have surfaced; in one of them (Berlin ms. or. oct. 2673, dated 630/1233) it is ascribed to an otherwise unknown Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī (?) b. Razīn al-Kātib (?) (cf. Schoeler, *loc. cit.*); in the other (Ankara [?], dated 847/1444) to Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/899 [*q.v.*]), the well-known disciple of the philosopher al-Kindī (cf. Rosenthal, *From Arabic books*..., XVI, 150 ff.). This *K. Ādāb al-mulūk* is based for the most part on a *K. Akhlāḳ al-mulūk* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Thaʿlabī (or al-Taghlibī; the diacritics vary), a work that is mentioned as a source already in the foreword and quoted repeatedly with its author's name. Comparisons between these quotations and the corresponding passages in the printed so-called *K. al-Tādj* (cf. Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften*, no. 159, p. 159, and pl. no. 39; Rosenthal, *loc. cit.* 109, appendix) prove unambiguously the identity of both works.

The decidedly Persian mentality of al-Thaʿlabī and his strong interest in the Persian past (F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xi [1926-8], 292-305, and A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides*, ²Copenhagen 1944, have both attempted to reconstruct from his book Sāsānid court etiquette and mores) emerge quite clearly from this work and suggest that its author was of Persian descent. By the author's own testimony in the foreword to the *K. Akhlāḳ al-mulūk* (*K. al-Tādj*, 3) we know for certain that he has written another book with the title *Akhlāḳ al-fityān wa-faḍāʾil ahl al-biṭāla* "The mores of the *fityān* [see futuwwa] and the virtues of the mountebanks". In addition, Ibn al-Nadīm attributes to him a collection of *Rasāʾil* and a *K. al-Rawḍa* "Book of the Garden". Otherwise nothing is known about him. He is not identical with the singer and musician Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith b. Buskhunnar (or Bashkhīr) who was active under the caliphs al-Maʾmūn, al-Wāthiḳ, and al-Mutawakkil (thus a contemporary of al-Thaʿlabī) and who is the object of two short articles in the *K. al-Aghānī* of Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (³xii, 48-53, xxiii, 176-80).

Bibliography: (Ps.-)Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tādj fī akhlāḳ al-mulūk*, ed. A. Zakī Pasha, Cairo 1322/1914, French tr. Ch. Pellat, *Le Livre de la Couronne*, Paris 1954; O. Rescher, *Excerpte und Übersetzungen aus den Schriften des... Ǧāḥiẓ*, i, Stuttgart 1931; G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1932; F. Rosenthal, *From Arabic books and manuscripts. XVI. As-Sarakhsī (?) on the appropriate behavior for kings*, in *JAOS*, cxv (1995), 105-9; G. Schoeler, *Verfasser und Titel des dem Ǧāḥiẓ zugeschriebenen sog.* K. al-Tādj, in *ZDMG*, cxxx (1980), 217-25; idem, *Arabische Handschriften* (VOHD, Bd, xvii, Reihe B, 2), Stuttgart 1990. (G. Schoeler)

AL-THAʿLABIYYA, a station on the Kūfa to Mecca Pilgrimage route, the so-called Darb

Zubayda [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. It lay in Nadjd in what is now the northeastern corner of Saudi Arabia, towards the ʿIrāḳī border, in approx. lat. 28° 50' N., long. 43° 20' E. some 180 km/112 miles north-north-east of Fayd [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. It is mentioned by such geographers as Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn Rusta, Ḳudāma and al-Muḳaddasī, and such pilgrims as Ibn Djubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through it. It was the birthplace of the 2nd/8th century poet Ibn Muṭayr [*q.v.*]. Today, the site of al-Thaʿlabiyya is in the shallow valley and grazing ground of Shaʿīb al-Bidʿ, and its remains include a *birka* or cistern.

Bibliography: A. Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, New York 1928, 27; S.A. Al-Rashid, *Darb Zubaydah. The Pilgrim road from Kufa to Mecca*, Riyād 1980, 85-6 and *passim*, Pl. xv at 377. (Ed.)

THALLĀDJ (A.), the seller of snow or ice (*thaldj*) in the mediaeval caliphate (the *nisba* al-Thaldjī, known for a certain number of traditionists, relates to the Banū Thaldj, a branch of Kināna; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, i, Table 280, ii, 553; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 144-5; for traditionists with the *nisba* of al-Thallādj, see *ibid.*, iii, 156-8). *Thaldj* is mentioned in *ḥadīth*, there being attributed to the Prophet the sayings *Allāhumma barrid ḳalbī bi 'l-thaldj* "O Lord, cool my heart with snow!" and *Allāhumma aghsil khaṭāyāya bi 'l-mā' wa 'l-thaldj wa 'l-barad* "O Lord, wash away my sins with water, snow and hail (or *bard* "coolness")!" (Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 298-9).

Snow and ice, probably derived from the Zagros Mountains region adjacent to the plains of Mesopotamia, were commodities sold at high prices in ʿIrāḳ during the caliphate, being used medicinally as a treatment for some forms of illness and for cooling drinks. Al-Tanūkhī tells how a *thallādj* of Baghdād made his fortune by selling ice to the Ṭāhirid governor of Baghdād, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 300/913 [*q.v.*]), who paid 10,000 dirhams for a *raṭl* of ice for treating his ill slave girl Shādjī (see *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, ed. Abood Chalchy, Beirut 1391-3/1971-3, i, 125-7). According to Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, the vizier Ibn al-Furāt, on his re-appointment to office in the early 4th/10th century, entertained his partisans by offering drinks made with 40,000 pounds of ice (*K. al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz as *The Historical remains*, Leiden 1904, 63). The Būyid vizier Ibn Baḳiyya [*q.v.*] was able to supply his master ʿIzz al-Dīn Bakhtiyār with 30 *raṭls* of ice, and Miskawayh records that when Ibn Baḳiyya fell from power and was arrested, 6,000 *raṭls* of ice were found in his wine store ready for a feast he was going to give to the army leaders (*The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ii, 374, tr. v, 410).

Concerning sources of supply, the mountain regions of western Persia and Kurdistan were sources for the urban centres of ʿIrāḳ, but occasionally there was bitter winter weather on the plains when hail stones or ice could be gathered (cf. mention of such weather in Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 33, 118-19). Al-Samʿānī mentions that the grandfather of a certain Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Thallādj, ʿAbd Allāh al-Thallādj, used to gather snow for himself at Ḥulwān, but came to supply it for the Regent al-Muwaffaḳ when the latter was seeking for it (*Ansāb*, iii, 156-7). In Syria, the mountains of the western part of the province, the peaks of which retained their snow cover for virtually all the year (cf. the name Djabal al-Thaldj given to Mount Hermon), supplied snow for Syria and for export to Egypt; cf. Muḥ. Saʿīd al-Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-shāmiyya/Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, Paris-The Hague 1960, i, 72-3. On the Persian plateau, the people of Sāwa and Āba in Djibāl let water freeze in pits during the winter and then used the ice in summer (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 66, 68). It must have been ice from the frozen rivers of Khwārazm in the severe winters there or snow which was used to pack the leaden containers in which the famous *bārandj* ("coloured") melons of Khwārazm were exported to the ʿIrāḳ of al-Maʾmūn and al-Wāthiḳ, each container, if it arrived safely, being valued at 700 dirhams (al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 142).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ed. Hārūn, v, 67-70; Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. M. ʿAbduh, Beirut 1908, 66; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 16, 79, 419; Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, Eng. tr. 97, 380; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, *Economic foundations*, Berkeley, etc. 1967, 115, 424-5; J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The medico-philosophical controversy between Ibn Buṭlān of Baghdad and Ibn Riḍwān of Cairo*, Cairo 1937.

(M.A.J. Beg)

THĀLNĒR, a town of the northwestern Deccan or South India, situated on the middle course of the Tāptī River in lat. 21° 15' N., long. 74° 58' E. (see the map in GUDJARĀT, at Vol. II, 1126).

Its fame in mediaeval Indo-Muslim history arises from its being the first capital of the Fārūḳī rulers [see FĀRŪḲIDS] of Khāndēsh [*q.v.*] before they later moved to Burhānpūr [*q.v.*]. It had been a centre of Hindu power in western India when Malik Rādjā Aḥmad chose it towards the end of the 8th/14th century. It was captured in 914/1509 by the Gudjarāt Sultan Maḥmūd Begaṙhā [*q.v.*], who installed his own candidate on the Fārūḳī throne there. In 1009/1600-1 it fell into Mughal hands and then in 1730 into those of the Marāṫhās [*q.v.*], from whom it was captured after a fierce struggle by Sir Thomas Hislop and incorporated into British India. At present, it is only a small settlement in the Jalgaon District of Maharāshtra State of the Indian Union.

Thālnēr has notable tombs of the first four Fārūḳī rulers and also their palace; see on these, HIND. vii, at Vol. III, 446b, and MAḲBARA. 5, at Vol. VI, 127b.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxiii, 287; M. Habib and K.A. Nizami, *A comprehensive history of India. V. The Delhi Sultanat (A.D. 1206-1526)*, Delhi-Ahmedabad-Bombay 1970, index. See also the *Bibl.* to FĀRŪḲIDS. (C.E. Bosworth)

THAMISṬIYUS, the Arabic rendering of the Greek name Themistius (*ca.* A.D. 317-88), identified by Ibn al-Nadīm as "a scribe of Julian the Apostate", for whom he was noted as having written a book *On Administration* (*Kitāb fi 'l-Tadbīr*), together with a *Risāla* (critical ed. by C. Prato and A. Fornaro, *Epistola a Temistio/Guliano Imperatore*, Lecce 1984). He was known to the Arabs chiefly as an Aristotelian commentator, being credited with commentaries on the following works: *Categoriae; Analytica priora; Analytica posteriora; Auscultatio physica; De coelo et mundo; De generatione et corruptione; Metaphysics Lambda; Ethics; Topics; De Anima*, possibly to be identified as the *Kitāb al-Nafs* listed by Ibn al-Nadīm as one of Thamisṭiyus's own works. To these ʿA. Badawī adds a commentary on the *De Animalibus*, attributed to Themistius by its manuscript but not by the bibliographers (*Commentaires sur Aristote perdus en grec et autres épîtres*, Beirut 1986). M. Steinschneider (*Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, repr. Graz 1960, 100) refers to a translation by Mattā b. Yūnus [*q.v.*] of the *Iʿtibār al-ḥikam*

wa-ta'aḳḳub al-mawāḍi', also assigned to Themistius. Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ composed a work on the *Categories* "in accordance with the doctrine of Themistius", and Ibn al-Nadīm notes a commentary on the *Poetics*, adding that its attribution to Themistius has been considered false.

For the relationship between Islam and philosophy, the most important question addressed by Themistius was that of the intellect. A.F. al-Ahwānī rejects Yūsuf Karam's view that because of his views on the *intellectus agens* and the *intellectus materialis* Themistius can claim Ibn Rushd as one of his followers, while Ibn Sīnā follows Alexander Aphrodisiensis (*Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-Nafs li-Abi 'l-Walīd b. Rushd*, Cairo 1950, introd. 54). The topic has been covered by F.M. Schroeder and R.B. Todd (*Two Greek Aristotelian commentators on the intellect*, Toronto 1990). In turn, it is affected by the point touched on by Bruno Colpi, where he notes the various identifications of Themistius as a philosopher, an orator, a sophist and an eparch (*Die παιδεία des Themistios*, Bern 1987, 13). For the Arab translators, and later for the philosophers who used their works, it must be thought that the primary importance of Themistius lay in his recasting of obscurities rather than in his development of ideas.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, i, 253; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamā'*, Leipzig 1903, index; G.M. Browne, *Ad Themistium Arabum*, in *Illinois Classical Studies*, xi (1986), 223-45; M.C. Lyons, *An Arabic translation of Themistius' commentary on Aristotle's De Anima*, London 1973.

(M.C. LYONS)

THAMŪD, an old Arabian tribe that flourished in ancient times but had disappeared from the ethnographic map of Arabia before the rise of Islam.

References to it in the non-Arabic sources from the Assyrian inscription of Sargon II in 715 B.C. to the *Geography* of Ptolemy (A.D. 136-65) attest both its antiquity and its Ḥidjāzī location; otherwise they are not informative. But a bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription of the 2nd century, found in Ruwāfa in the northern Ḥidjāz, indicates that the tribe had entered the Roman cultural and political orbit and had intimate connections with Rome: *inter alia*, it erected a temple for the two Augusti, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The *Notitia dignitatum*, a 5th century Byzantine military document, lists two Thamūdī units as serving in the Byzantine army, one in Palestine and the other in Egypt. But after this, the Thamūdīs disappear from the extant sources, and so apparently does the tribe, but it is not clear exactly when and how. The Arab poets of the century before the Hidjra already knew Thamūd as a thing of the past, and so did the genealogists, who consequently relegated it to the tribal limbo that included such groups as Ṭasm [*q.v.*] and Djadīs.

A new lease of life was granted Thamūd with the rise of Islam, when the Ḳur'ān resuscitated it from oblivion and gave it prominence in 21 sūras. Since then it has continued to live in the consciousness of the Arabs and the Muslims till the present day. The Ḳur'ān provided a view of Thamūd from the Arab perspective, with many significant details. It presented Thamūd as a godless people, a group of unbelievers who consequently were visited with condign punishment; their abode was located in al-Ḥidjr [*q.v.*] in central Ḥidjāz, and the name of their Prophet was Ṣāliḥ. When they hamstrung the "camel of God," his miracle, they were overtaken by a *ṣayḥa* or *radjfa* or *ṣā'iḳa*, ("cry", "earthquake", "thunderbolt") which destroyed them and their abode, al-Ḥidjr, the name of which was later Islamised as Madā'in Ṣāliḥ. It became an accursed spot and a place of ill-omen even during Muḥammad's lifetime, and as such, it was treated during his march against Tabūk in 9 A.H. when he forbade his soldiers to refresh themselves at its wells. The secular arm of Arabic literature was not slow to avail itself of Ṣāliḥ and Thamūd, and the two appear in mediaeval Arabic poetry in the appropriate contexts.

In modern times, the usage of Thamūd in its adjectival derivation, Thamudic [*q.v.*], has been given as an umbrella title to thousands of inscriptions found in central and northern Arabia, left behind by various tribes, but actually to connect it with the tribe of Thamūd is very hazardous [see THAMUDIC, first paragraph]. All these inscriptions are conceived in Arabic but written in a variety of the Sabaic script, a clear indication that these tribes moved in the Sabaean orbit, the dominant one in the Peninsula in ancient times, when the caravans of the latter traversed Arabia, especially along the *via odorifera*, on a segment of which one of these tribes, Thamūd, lived.

Bibliography: For the Roman/Byzantine connection, see D. Graf, *The Saracens and the defence of the Roman frontier*, in *BASOR*, ccxxix (1978), 9-10, and Irfan Shahîd, *Rome and the Arabs*, 57, n. 28, 60, n. 37; A. van den Branden, *Histoire de Thamoud*, Beirut 1966; L. Cheikho, *Shu'arā' Naṣrāniyya ḳabl al-Islām*, Beirut 1967, 471; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb al-'Arab*, Cairo 1962, 486; Ḳur'ān, many sūras, esp. VII, XI, XV, XVI, XLI, LIV; Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, ed. J.M. Jones, London 1966, iii, 1006-8; J. Stetkevych, *Muḥammad and the Golden Bough. Reconstructing Arabian myth*, Bloomington and Indianapolis 1996 (deals with the Thamūd legend).

(IRFAN SHAHÎD)

THAMUDIC, a modern misnomer applied to all those texts in Ancient North Arabian scripts which have not yet been classified more precisely as Taymanitic, Dedanitic (previously "Dedanite" and "Liḥyanite", see under LIḤYĀN), Hasaitic, Hismaic, or Ṣafaitic [*q.v.*]. It is therefore a *Restklassenbildung*, or "undetermined" category, and does not refer to a particular script or dialect. The name is purely conventional and there is no evidence that the inscriptions were in any way connected with the tribe of Thamūd [*q.v.*].

Writing was endemic in pre-Islamic Arabia, both among the sedentaries and especially among the nomads, who covered the rocks of the desert with their informal inscriptions and drawings. From possibly as early as the 8th century B.C. to at least the mid-3rd century A.D., numerous North Arabian alphabets were in use throughout the peninsula, though, at present, inscriptions are relatively rare on the Gulf coast. Texts in the various "Thamudic" scripts have been found as far north as the Syrian Ḥawrān, as far south as the Ramlat al-Sab'atayn in central Yemen, and from western 'Irāḳ to upper Egypt.

J.R. Wellsted (*Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, ii, 189) and T.G. Carless (*JBBRAS*, ii [1845], 273-5, pl. xxii) copied some Thamudic inscriptions on a rock near Wadjh in 1831, and G.A. Wallin transcribed a few more in Wādī 'l-'Uwaynid, north of Tabūk, in 1848 (*J.R.Geog.S.*, xx [1850], 311-13). In 1858 J.G. Wetzstein also copied a handful of Thamudic (e.g. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, v, 3558-9, 3575), together with many Ṣafaitic inscriptions in southern Syria, though these remained unpublished until 1929. It was only after C.M. Doughty, C. Huber and J. Euting had recorded large numbers of Thamudic texts in northern Arabia in the 1870s and 1880s that

a partial decipherment was possible (see J. Halévy, in *Revue sémitique*, ix [1901], 316-55, and E. Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der thamudenischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1904). A few years later, A. Jaussen and M.-R. Savignac published more reliable copies of some 760 inscriptions, again from northwest Arabia (*Mission*, i, ii). In 1936 and 1950-1, H.St.J.B. Philby copied 2,000 Thamudic texts in southern and northern Arabia, but he took no photographs and his copies are so careless that they are worse than useless. In 1951, G. and J. Ryckmans, on the Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens expedition to central and south-western Saudi Arabia, recorded 9,000 graffiti which could not be classified as South Arabian, Dedanitic, Hasaitic or Ṣafaitic and were therefore labelled "Thamudic", thus vastly increasing the range of script-types and different dialectal and onomastic features covered by this rubric (see below, "*Southern Thamudic*"). In 1952 G.L. Harding published over 500 inscriptions from southern Jordan and in the 1980s thousands more were recorded in the same area (see below, *Hismaic*).

The study of Thamudic has been characterised by two different approaches. The first, espoused by H. Grimme (*Die Lösung des Sinaischriftproblems*, Münster 1926) and A. van den Branden (e.g. in *St. Isl.*, vi [1957], 5-27), ignored the fact that the category was a modern creation and assumed that there was a single "Thamudic" script, explaining differences in letter-forms and ductus as the result of chronological, and isolated geographical, developments. However, their arguments were based on comparisons of single letter-forms extracted from undated texts known only from hand-copies of dubious accuracy, and have failed to convince. In 1950, Van den Branden published a collected edition of the 2,000 Thamudic inscriptions then known (*Les inscriptions thamoudéennes*), and in 1956 a further 2,000 copied by Philby (*Les textes thamoudéens de Philby*). However, the intractability of the material, the poor quality of most of the copies, and severe faults in the editor's methodology, mean that little reliance can be placed on the readings or interpretations in these works.

A second approach was initiated by F.V. Winnett in 1937 (Winnett, *A study*). He accepted the miscellaneous nature of the category and recognised that, before the texts could be interpreted, they had to be sorted into groups on the basis of the type of script employed, and then the values of the signs within each group established. Winnett's systematic analysis identified five such groups, to which he gave the neutral labels A, B, C, D, and E, and established the values of most of the letter-forms within each. Although numerous problems remained, Winnett's study laid the foundations for all later work on the subject.

In 1970, he revised his classification, using geographically-based names: Nad̲jdī (for the former Thamudic B), Ḥid̲jāzī (for C and D) and Tabūkī (for E) (Winnett and Reed, *Ancient records*, 69-70, and pl. 1). However, these names are misleading since none of these groups is restricted to the region after which it was named, and the former alphabetic labels have generally been retained. Subsequently, it has been possible to identify "A" and "E" as separate scripts, thus removing them from the "Thamudic" category. The remaining types, and the 9,000 texts from south-west Arabia, await more detailed analysis.

Taymanitic (formerly "Thamudic A")

Winnett's detailed (but largely unpublished) studies of his former "Thamudic A" convinced him that the features of its script and orthography were sufficiently clear for it to be removed from the "Thamudic" *Restklassenbildung*. Since virtually all the known texts in this script had been found in the vicinity of Taymā', he named it Taymanite (now "Taymanitic"). Its principal features are: the introductory particle *lm*, *b* for *ibn* in genealogies, possibly a third non-emphatic unvoiced sibilant, /s^3/ (see M.C.A. Macdonald, in *JSS*, xxxvi [1991], 11-35), the use of the same letter for /d̲h̲/ and /z/, an asterisk-like sign for /t̲h̲/ and the common, but not invariable, use of word-dividers. Taymanitic is probably one of the earliest of the Old North Arabian alphabets and may be referred to as "the Taymani script" in an 8th century B.C. hieroglyphic Luwian text from Carchemish (see Macdonald, *Reflections*, and references there).

Hismaic (formerly "Thamudic E" or "Tabūkī Thamudic")

G.M.H. King has shown that this is a distinct Ancient North Arabian script which can therefore be removed from the Thamudic category. Over 3,000 inscriptions of this type have been found in southern Jordan in the Ḥismā, the sand desert which stretches from Wādī Ramm into northwestern Saudi Arabia (editions by Harding (1952) and King, plus the largely unpublished collections of W.J. Jobling and D. Jacobson). Thus Hismaic is a more appropriate label than Winnett's "Tabūkī Thamudic" since, so far, only a few hundred of these texts have been found in the region of Tabūk. E.A. Knauf has also suggested calling them "South Ṣafaitic", but they are clearly distinct from Ṣafaitic and this label is misleading and should be avoided.

The most remarkable feature of the Hismaic script is the representation of the phonemes /g/ and /t̲h̲/ by signs which in other South Semitic scripts have quite different values.

{ /g/ in Hismaic
  /t̲h̲/ in Thamudic B, Ṣafaitic and South Arabian

{ /th/ in Hismaic
  /ḍ/ in Thamudic B and Ṣafaitic
  /d̲h̲/ in South Arabian

The phoneme /ḍ/ is represented by two concentric circles in Hismaic (as occasionally in Ṣafaitic, and possibly also in Thamudic D).

In contrast to Ṣafaitic, long genealogies are rare in the texts, many of which are declarations of love, sexual braggadocio, and accounts of hunting. However, as in Ṣafaitic, other texts are "artists' signatures" referring to adjacent drawings. Most inscriptions are introduced by the particle *l* followed by the author's name, but some, particularly the "artists' signatures", begin *w* N *k̲h̲ṭṭ* "And N is [the] inscriber". Relatively few social groups are mentioned, most of them only once. Affiliation to a social group is introduced by the phrase *d̲h̲ 'l*, as in Ṣafaitic, though there is one example of *mn 'l* as in Nabataean. No example of the *nisba* has yet been identified.

There are frequent prayers to *lt* (especially in the form *d̲h̲krt lt* N, "may Lt be mindful of N", also found in Nabataean texts from this area), Dushara (usually in the etymologically correct form, *dhs^{2}ry* [see DHU 'L-SHARĀ]) and *ktby*, all of whom were also worshipped by the Nabataeans in the same region. There are prayers to *lh* (also invoked in Ṣafaitic texts), who was not worshipped by the Nabataeans (at least under this name), but whose name occurs frequently in their theophoric names. A suffix particle *-m* is used with the names of the deities *lt* and *lh* at the beginning of certain prayers, suggesting a parallel with Arabic *allāhumma*.

Among the names attested in this script there are a number of "basileophoric" compounds using the

names of Nabataean rulers (e.g. *tm-ʿbdt* = Taym-ʿUbādat, *ʿbd-ḥrṯt* = ʿAbd-Ḥāri̱that, *ʿbd-šklt* = Abd-Shakīlat), which is hardly surprising given the geographical proximity of these texts to Petra. These names are at present the only dating evidence available for these inscriptions.

Thamudic B

Texts in this category are more numerous than in any other type of Thamudic, and though the largest concentrations have so far been found in Nadjd and the area between Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ and Taymāʾ, scattered examples have been recorded in Yemen, Egypt, the Negev, Jordan and Syria. The values of most of the signs are fairly securely established, except that for /ẓ/. Names are introduced by the particles *l* and *nm* (a dialectal variant of the particle *lm* used in Taymanitic). The definite article and vocative particle are *h* (as in Ṣafaitic). The deities invoked in the inscriptions are *lh*, *dṯn*, *rḍw* (all of whom are also found in Ṣafaitic), *ʿtrs¹m*, and *nhy* (possibly a dialectal variant of *-lhy* in Nabataean theophoric names, see J. Starcky, in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vii, Paris 1966, col. 985). The last three correspond to the deities *Ruldaiu*, *ʿAtarsamain*, and *Nuhai* in the Assyrian Annals (see J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern texts*, ³Princeton 1969, 291-2; and Ephʿal, *The ancient Arabs*, Leiden 1982, 118-23), whose images were carried off by the Assyrian king Sennacherib between 691 and 689 B.C., from their sanctuary at Dūma, modern al-Djawf [see DŪMAT AL-DJANDAL].

If, as seems likely, the chariot shown in a rock-drawing from the Tabūk region, with a caption in Thamudic B, represents an Assyrian or Babylonian vehicle, the inscription could date from any time between the invasions of Tiglath-Pileser III, *ca.* 733-2 B.C., to those of Nabonidus, *ca.* 552-42 B.C. (see Macdonald, *Hunting, raiding and fighting*. . . .).

Thamudic C

Relatively few texts in this script have been recorded so far, and most are known only from unreliable copies. A number of letters have not yet been satisfactorily identified, notably those for /dh/, /ṣ/, /ḍ/, /ṭ/ and /ẓ/. Furthermore, the texts which Winnett (*A study*, 34-7, pl. V), placed in this category probably represent two different scripts. In one of these (C1), mainly from Khashm Ṣanaʿ north of Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, /r/ is represented by a straight line and /n/ by a zig-zag, while, in the other (C2), mainly found at Aṣābiʿ and Djabal Djildiyya, east of Ḥāʾil, /r/ appears to be represented by a shallow curve and /n/ by a straight line. As in Hismaic and Thamudic D, a large number of texts are declarations of love.

Thamudic D

There are still doubts about the form of /dh/, /z/, /ṣ/ and /ẓ/ in this script and about the values of the line with a circle at either end and the grid. There is some evidence that the sign of two concentric circles represents /ḍ/, at least on some occasions. The letter /s²/ is a rayed circle, which is radically different from any of the signs representing the same phoneme in the other North Arabian scripts.

Many of the inscriptions begin with a formula usually interpreted as "*zn* (or *dhn*) N" "This is N" (see the discussion in Winnett and Reed, *Ancient records*, 108). In other contexts, however, the initial sign cannot be read as /z/ or /dh/, and is almost certainly /ʾ/ (see already Littmann, *Entzifferung*, 32-4). This suggests that the formula should be read "ʾ*n* N" and translated as "I am N", a type of signature also found in Thamudic B and Hismaic.

There are still considerable difficulties in the interpretation of the longer texts in this script, but some appear to be declarations of love, *mḥb* and *ʿs²k* being the most common words. A Thamudic D text (JS Tham 1), written vertically beside the Arabo-Nabataean inscription JS Nab 17 (dated to A.D. 267), repeats the name and patronym of the deceased.

"Southern Thamudic"

As expected, these texts are very different from those in the north and share some features of script, morphology and onomastics with South Arabian. They are not yet published, but see the excellent survey of their content by J. Ryckmans (*Aspects nouveaux*).

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(M.C.A. Macdonald and G.M.H. King)

THĀNĀ, a town of western peninsular India, 21 km/15 miles from the Arabian Sea coast and 32 km/20 miles to the north-north-east of Bombay (lat. 90° 14' N., long. 73° 02' E.; see the map in GUDJARĀT, at Vol. II, 1126).

Thānā was in pre-Muslim times the centre of a great Hindu kingdom, but was conquered in 718/1318 by the Sultan of Dihlī Mubārak Shāh Khaldjī. It soon afterwards became an outpost of the Bahmanid sultanate of the Deccan, but was at times disputed by the Sultans of Gudjarāt, who seized it, e.g. in 833/1430 (see HIND. iv, at Vol. III, 418b). By 1529 it was tribute to the Portuguese, then twice sacked by them until in 1533 it was made over to the Portuguese by treaty, remaining under their rule till 1739, when the colonial power also lost the nearby fort of Bassein; a fort and a cathedral remain from this period of Thānā's history. When there were fears of a Portuguese fleet setting out from Lisbon to retake their former possessions, a British force occupied Thānā in 1774. It is now the chef-lieu of a District of the same name in Maharāshtra State of the Indian Union, largely

Marāṭhī-speaking but with the linguistic boundary with Gudjarātī beginning just to its north.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xxiii, 289-304. (C.E. Bosworth)

THANĀ'Ī, the pen-name of Khʷādja Ḥusayn, Indo-Persian poet of the 10th/16th century, d. 996/1587-8.

Born in Mashhad, Thanā'ī, writing about himself in the introduction to his *dīwān*, states that, despite having talent, he initially lacked perseverance and that he took up the poetic vocation following a dream which offered him the requisite guidance. He eventually found for himself a generous patron in the person of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, governor of Khurāsān, who was a poet in his own right using Djāhī for his pen-name. Thanā'ī's association with him lasted until 984/1577, when Ibrāhīm Mīrzā was executed by Shāh Ismā'īl II. After the death of his patron, Thanā'ī reportedly tried to enter the Ṣafawī court, but a *ḳaṣīda* of his was received unfavourably. Thanā'ī decided to leave Persia and go to India, where his fame was already known. Upon his arrival, therefore, he entered the ranks of poets at the court of Emperor Akbar, and received much favour, but apparently it did not satisfy his expectations as he left the imperial service to attach himself to various Mughal dignitaries, eventually to 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān (d. 1036/1626-7 [*q.v.*]), with whom he remained until his death.

During his literary career, Thanā'ī entered into several literary contests and confrontations with fellow-poets, such as Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳulī Khān Maylī, Mīrzā Muḥammad Walī Dasht Bayāḍī, Ghazālī Mashhadī, Fayḍī, and 'Urfī. It is reported by Badā'ūnī that Thanā'ī, after coming to India, lost the esteem which he enjoyed previously in intellectual circles, and fell victim to the jealousies of fellow-poets. The same source, however, also tends to suggest that the poet retained a popular appeal since, he states, copies of Thanā'ī's *dīwān*, as those of 'Urfī's, could be found in every market-place and bookshop, and were much sought after.

Thanā'ī's *dīwān*, with an estimated total of some 5,000 couplets, comprises poems in such verse-forms as *ḳaṣīda*, *ghazal*, *rubā'ī*, *ḳiṭ'a* and *mathnawī*. Though he wrote many *ghazals*, he is known essentially as a writer of *ḳaṣīdas*; these are addressed mainly to the patrons for whom he worked, but some of them are also directed at the Shī'ī Imāms. The poet displays tendencies indicating a departure from the traditional style. Possibly because of this he has been blamed by his critics for being abstruse and incomprehensible. Thus the author of *Ātashkada* states that "either no one understands the meanings of his verses or his verses have no meanings". On the other hand, the poet was praised lavishly by his admirers, among whom 'Abd al-Bāḳī Nihāwandī, who pays him the generous tribute that he invented meanings and ideas so strange and startling as one could hardly find in ancient or later poets.

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(Munibur Rahman)

THANAWIYYA (a.), in Arabic heresiography, the dualists.

The word does not appear in the Ḳur'ān or in Tradition, but a *K. 'alā 'l-thanawiyya* had been written by Abu 'l-Hudhayl (d. 227/841 ?) and a *K. risālatihi fī 'l-radd 'alā 'l-thanawiyya* by al-Kindī (d. ca. 256/870), according to the *Fihrist* (ed. Tadjaddud, 204 l. 27, 318 l. 24). One finds the same word also in e.g. al-Nāshi' al-Akbar, and it became current in the 4th/10th century. However, this abstract, technical term seems to have been preceded by another one, to be found in *al-Radd 'alā aṣḥāb al-ithnayn*, the identical title for two treatises by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795 ?) and Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām (d. 231/845 ?) respectively, as well as in the *Iḳtiṣāṣ madhāhib aṣḥāb al-ithnayn wa 'l-radd 'alayhim* of Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāḳ (according to the *Fihrist*, 224 l. 2, 206 l. 13, 216 l. 11). The expressions *ahl al-ithnayn* (e.g. in 'Abd al-Djabbār) and *ahl al-tathniya* (in al-Bāḳillānī) are also found.

These different names for the "dualists" cover several religious and sectarian groups. Three of them were at the centre of Muslim scholars' interest: (1) the Manichaeans; (2) the Bardesanites [see daysāniyya; kumūn], disciples of the Syriac thinker Bar Daysan (A.D. 154-222); and (3) the Marcionites (*marḳiyūniyya*), adherents of the celebrated Marcion, a Christian from Bithynia who lived for several years in Rome and was condemned by the Church in A.D. 144. The constant appearance of this triad has an historical origin; grouping the three doctrines together as connected with each other, already done in the 4th century by Ephrem of Edessa and the bishop Maruta of Maipherkat (see Drijvers, 106-7, 123-4; Teixidor, 70-1, 141 ff.), was traditional in Syriac writings and became introduced into Arabic by authors like Abū Ḳurra, bishop of Ḥarrān. Muslim authors usually present the three groups in the order as given above, but many of them knew that this was not the chronological order.

However, other religions or sectarian movements became added to the above ones. A good example is the following passage "In his *K. al-Ārā' wa 'l-diyānāt*..., al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā mentions, amongst the sects of the dualists, the Manichaeans (*mānawiyya*), sometimes called *manāniyya*, the Mazdakites, the Bardesanites, the Marcionites, the Māhānians and also the Mazdaeans" ('Abd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, v. 9). Al-Ḥasan al-Nawbakhtī (d. at the beginning of the 4th/10th century) depends on Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāḳ (d. 247/861 ?) so closely that we certainly have there one of the oldest Muslim lists of the dualists.

The Mazdaeans or Zoroastrians [see madjūs] are explicitly included there, as they were to be by al-Māturīdī and al-Khʷārazmī; but most authors, often hesitatingly, class them separately. The character of Mazdaeism as a national religion in the former Sāsānid

empire must have determined this special treatment. Possibly account was also taken progressively of the monotheistic aspects of Mazdaean doctrine, at least in the form in which these were expressed in the great works written down in the post-Islamic period.

The Mazdakites [see MAZDAK] are considered by al-Nawbakhtī as related to the Manichaeans, whence their place in the list. Likewise, the Māhānians (*māhāniyya*) follow the Marcionites because they seem to be a special sect of the latter. Other Islamic authors mention some additional groups as dualist, the most notable being the Kantaeans (*kantawiyya*), a Mandaean sect, on which see the article of Madelung cited in the *Bibl.*, 221-4.

Amongst these dualist doctrines, Manichaeism has premier place in all respects, hence will be further considered here.

Mani, son of Patteg, was born in A.D. 216 in the northern part of Babylonia, near Ctesiphon, and probably died in 277 [see MĀNĪ B. FATTIK]. In 240 he abandoned the Elkesaite sect of "baptisers" and devoted himself to spreading his message of hope: travels in India and Persia, the writing of nine works (the seven main ones in Syriac) and the organising of the "Church of Light". In the course of a history extending over a millennium, Manichaeism was to extend from the western limits of the Mediterranean to the island of Formosa. It has been possible to say of it that "this oecumenical (i.e. universal) religion, a missionary one by right and in fact, is in the end—and this is the third characteristic aspect of it—a religion of the Book" (H.-Ch. Puech, *Le manichéisme. Son fondateur, sa doctrine*, Paris 1949, 66).

In the course of its own expansion, Islam was to encounter Manichaeism early. The latter faith may possibly have left some traces amongst the Arabs of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] (having been implanted there during the reign of ʿAmr b. ʿAdī). At all events, it had not disappeared from nearby Mesopotamia nor from Khurāsān. It was in ʿIrāḳ, the heart of the ʿAbbāsid empire, that it was finally to awaken the attention of the Muslims.

The first written notice of it apparently goes back to 110/728, if it is true that Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ had already finished, towards the age of thirty, his book *al-Alf masʾala fi ʾl-radd ʿalā ʾl-mānawiyya* (or, according to another source, *al-manāniyya*). In the 3rd/9th century, three works were likewise explicitly concerned with refuting the Manichaeans, but some fifteen or so were likewise aimed at them, under the generic term of the Dualists (of which they were the major part) or else under the ambiguous title of Zanādiḳa [see ZINDĪḲ]. In these early times, the Manichaeans' name took three differing forms. *Mānawiyya* has remained the usual one up to the present day. *Manāniyya* is, in form, placed at the side of the *Ḥarrāniyya*, "Ḥarrānians", by al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 37. These two words are sometimes used indistinguishably in the same work, e.g. in the *Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal* attributed to Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (see Monnot 1974, 290-1) or in ʿAbd al-Djabbār's *Mughnī*. The term *māniyya* is found in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1356-66/1937-47, iv, 81, and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §§ 211, 3447, *inter alios*.

Some of the authors just mentioned belong to the 4th/10th century. There are preserved for us Muslim writings or compilations from this time onwards which give a precise and at times detailed description of Manichaeism. Four names stand out here: the systematic expositions of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, of Ibn al-Nadīm above all, and of al-Shahrastānī, which are completed by the pieces of information, to the point and of great interest, given by al-Bīrūnī.

The greater part of these texts were already utilised in the 19th century by such scholars as G. Flügel and K. Kessler. The great Islamic authors did, in fact, have a remarkable knowledge of Manichaeism. Ibn al-Nadīm gives a long account of its founder's life which the Manichaean codex of Cologne, a Greek text discovered in Egypt several decades ago, was to confirm. Ibn al-Nadīm again and al-Bīrūnī remain basic sources concerning Mani's works, their titles and contents (with citations). The Muslim authors give a careful exposition of Manichaeism's central doctrine, sc. the eternal existence of two opposing principles; al-Shahrastānī, in a celebrated table with two columns, outlines their antithetical properties. The mixture of light and darkness, and then the salvation of the luminous particles and the role played in this by the "column of glory" are described according to the corresponding myths. The organisation of the Manichaean church is only rapidly alluded to, but the ritual of its prayers and its moral code are set down. Concerning the prophetic system, ʿAbd al-Djabbār, in particular, throws a vivid light. The divisions, schisms and sequels of Manichaeism are set forth by various authors, notably Ibn al-Nadīm. In sum, these presentations of the faith are on a level with those of the Syriac authors or of St. Augustine, and form one of the most successful episodes of Muslim history of religions.

In fact, this last developed out of preoccupations completely pragmatic in origin. As we have seen, the first writings on the dualists were refutations. The great works of dialectical theology continued this polemic, but this fight did not always have the same character.

At the outset, the struggle against dualism was indissolubly linked with the repression of *zandaḳa*. The subject will be treated in ZINDĪḲ, but one may note there that the Arabic word comes from a Middle Persian term which already had, along with the meaning of "heretic" in a broad sense, the very precise one of "Manichaean". The Arabic word retained this ambivalence. At times it clearly denotes Mani's disciples, but sometimes it betrays a much more fuzzy dualist tendency, in sum, all types of strongly deviant thought felt as subversive of the Islamic order. The *zindīḳs* are reported to have spread their pamphlets even as far as the caliphal capital. In 163/779 al-Mahdī unleashed against them a persecution which continued till the death of his successor al-Hādī in 170/786. According to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 3447, the former caliph is said to have commissioned disputants and controversialists (*djadaliyyūn*) to carry on a parallel campaign by means of the pen. The most celebrated work of this genre is *al-Intiṣār* written a century later by al-Khayyāṭ against Ibn al-Rāwandī.

In parallel with this general fight against the *zindīḳs*, Muslim authors early applied themselves to the detailed refutation of dualism proper. In what has come down to us of the relevant writings, the doctrines of the Bardesanites and the Marcionites are sometimes treated separately. It is, however, Manichaeism which is at the centre of this polemic, and it is this which is attacked almost continuously, even when not explicitly named. The dialectical struggle with the dualists was launched by the Muʿtazila, and these and others carried it on energetically for three centuries. But incontestably, the most developed and most trenchant refutation is that of ʿAbd al-Djabbār.

He never cites the Ḳurʾān. Only isolated and late authors saw a condemnation of the dualists in VI, 1, "Praise to God who has created the heavens and the earth, and established the darknesses and the light,

after which the unbelievers ascribe equals to their Lord!". Sūra XVI, 51, would appear more relevant: "God has said, Do not take for yourselves two gods. He, God, is a unique god; to Me, then, show reverence and fear!", but the commentators are content to see here merely a condemnation of *shirk* (al-Rāzī specifies, in the abstract, of duality, *ithnayniyya*) without any allusion to the dualists. Another passage contains an idea which polemics were later to bring forward, that is, the existence of a supplementary god at the side of God would lead to a competition between them. This is in XXIII, 91, "God has not taken for Himself any offspring, and there is no other god alongside Him; for in that case, each god would have gone off with what he had created, and each one would have tried to dominate the other". But, in fact, it was elsewhere, namely, in connection with XXI, 22, "If there were any other gods in the heavens or on the earth except God, the heavens and the earth would collapse into ruin . . .", that Muslim exegesis set forth the argument of mutual prevention (*tamānuʿ*): if there were two gods, each one would prevent the other from realising his will, to the point that neither of the two would have the all-powerfulness without which there is no divinity. Al-Rāzī, in his *Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo 1352/1933, repr. Tehran n.d., xxii, 150-4, gives several variations on this argument, in which he discerns a *ḥudjdja tāmma fī masʾalat al-tawḥīd* (151).

This *tawḥīd*, the doctrine of the One, is the foundation-stone of Muslim theology. The *mutakallimūn* also fought bitterly against the dualist cosmogony of their adversaries. They made the attack above all from three viewpoints. First, the argument of *tamānuʿ* just mentioned. Then they asserted that the transcosmic light and darkness of Manichaeism were only bodies (ʿAbd al-Djabbār) or accidents (al-Bāḳillānī). And finally, they exploited in all senses the contradictions inherent in the theory of the three moments (separation, mixing and return to the separation of the two principles).

The refutation equally attacked what one might call "ontological dualism", sc. the cleaving of the universe into two opposing series of realities, good and bad by nature. The Muʿtazilī scholars of the 3rd/9th century already had ready in regard to this a complete arsenal of arguments, which later *ʿilm al-kalām* was to preserve: the ambivalence of the night (whose darkness may be beneficial), arguments of avowal, forgetfulness and repentance, and much more. All this shows that the same substance can successively receive opposing accidents, and that the same subject can successively set up contrary actions. These last actually emanate from one and the same agent, "the living ensemble" (*al-djumla al-ḥayya*). ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who upholds this formula, goes much further. He does not limit himself to uphold in this way, after the unity of God, the unity of man. He realises that the problem of evil is at the root of the debate, and intends to prove that physical evil (and especially, pain) must be dissociated from moral evil. Finally, he adds insistently that ontological dualism will make praise and blame (*al-dhamm wa ʾl-ḥamd*) linked to the observance or breaking of the commandments. In the end, one comes back to the fight against *zandaḳa*. Just as the Muslim authors defended the conception of God, the ultimate guarantee of the Prophetic revelation, they defended the idea of the Law, the imminently binding force of the Community, in order to protect this last against the erosion of dualism.

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ṮHĀNESAR, ṮHĀNESWAR (meaning "place of the god"), a town of northern India, especially notable in accounts of the raids of the Ghaznawids and Ghūrids [*q.vv.*]. It is situated in the eastern Pandjāb on the banks of the Saraswati River, some 32 km/20 miles north of Karnāl, in the direction of Ambāla (lat. 29° 59' N., long. 76° 50' E.). In the mediaeval Islamic sources (e.g. al-ʿUtbī, Gardīzī), the name usually appears as Tānīsar or Tānīshar.

Mentioned by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, it was famed for its Hindu shrine, with a bronze idol Čakraswāmi "lord of the wheel", hence was the object of a plunder raid in 405/1014-15 by Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], in the course of which a Hindu army was defeated on the banks of the Sutlej River, Ṯhānesar sacked and the idol carried off. Al-Bīrūnī says that, in his time, the idol was on public

display in the *maydān* of Ghazna together with the *lingam* of Mahādēva brought from Somnath (see his *India*, tr. E. Sachau, London 1910, i, 117, and for the details of the raid, M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 103-4). But no lasting Ghaznawid control was established there, for in 435/1043-4, a confederation of Hindu rulers, including the Paramāra king of Mālwā, Bhoja, recaptured Ṫhānesar, Hānsī, Nagarkot, etc. from Mawdūd's governor (Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay*, Edinburgh 1977, 32-3). It must have remained under Hindu control till the end of the 6th/12th century, when in 588/1192) the Ghūrid sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad [see MUḤAMMAD B. SĀM] defeated Pṛithvī Rādjā III at the second battle of Tarain or Tarāwari near Ṫhānesar (see R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people, V. The struggle for empire*, Bombay 1957, 110-15), after which the Ghūrids and their commanders and then the Sultans of Dihlī brought it within their territories. Even thereafter, the shrine remained, such was its sanctity; the Dihlī Sultan Sikandar Lōdī planned to despoil it, and Awrangzīb desecrated the shrine. Ṫhānesar also has the most impressive *madrasa* surviving from Mughal times, that of Shaykh Čille (see Subhash Parihar, *A little-known Mughal college in India. The Madrasa of Shaykh Chille at Thanesar*, in *Muqarnas*, iv [1992], 175-85). Ṫhānesar later passed under Sikh control and then, in 1850, into British hands.

The modern town is now called, after the ancient name for its district, Kurukshetra, and is in the Karnāl District of Haryana State of the Indian Union.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see *Imperial gazeteer of India*², xxiii, 305.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṪHĀNESARĪ, the *nisba* of three Indo-Muslim scholars connected with the town of Ṫhānesar [*q.v.*] in the eastern Pandjāb.

1. MAWLĀNĀ AḤMAD, one of the many disciples of the Čishtī saint Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyā, called Čirāgh-i Dihlī (d. 757/1356 [*q.v.*]), achieved a reputation for piety and learning, and wrote a celebrated *Ḳaṣīda dāliyya*. He is said to have engaged in a dispute with a descendant of the great Ḥanafī legal scholar ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī [*q.v.*] before Tīmūr when the latter was in Dihlī, but to have subsequently retired to teach at Kālpī [*q.v.*], where he died in 820/1412.

Bibliography: See that to *EI*¹ art. s.v. (M. Hidayet Hosain). (ED.)

2. DJALĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD (d. at Ṫhānesar 989/1582), eminent scholar of the Islamic sciences and a major figure in the Ṣābiriyya branch of the Čishtiyya and the chief disciple and *khalīfa* of the holy man ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Gangōhī (d. 944/1537 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). His family had moved to Balkh from India; his biographers mention his descent from the second caliph ʿUmar and a spiritual affiliation to the Čishtī saint Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar [*q.v.*].

The Mughal emperor Akbar visited Djalāl al-Dīn whilst on his way to quell the revolt in Kābul of his half-brother Muḥammad Ḥakīm. Djalāl al-Dīn also met and was praised by the historian Badāʾūnī [*q.v.*], but his great connection was with Gangōhī, and 18 out of 54 letters in the Shaykh's collection *Muntakhab-i maktūbāt-i ḳuddūsiyya* (Dihlī 1313/1895) are addressed to Djalāl al-Dīn, in some of which he addressed Ṫhānesarī as *shaykh al-islām* and *ahl al-kamāl*. The legacy of Djalāl al-Dīn was carried on through a succession of his *khalīfas*, several of whom played a prominent role in events in 19th and 20th century India, including Muḥammad Ḳāsim Nānōtawī (d. 1880) and Rashīd Aḥmad Gangōhī (d. 1905), who were founders of the *Dār al-ʿUlūm* at Deoband (in 1867), and their successors (Iʿdjāz al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḳuddūsī, *Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Gangōhī awr unkī taʿlīmāt* [a basic work], Karachi 1961, 540-73). Djalāl al-Dīn's works include his *Maktūbāt*; a mystical treatise, *Irshād al-ṭālibīn*; and *Taḥaḳḳuḳ arāḍī ʾl-Hind*, in which he defended the ownership rights of Muslim settlers on land granted to them by the state (ed. and Urdu tr. S.S.A. Nadwī, Karachi 1963) (*ibid.*, 539; Storey, i, 17, 1198; Storey-Bregel, i, 141).

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(SAJIDA S. ALVI)

3. NIẒĀM AL-DĪN B. ʿABD AL-SHAKŪR, the nephew, son-in-law and *khalīfa* of 2. above. He incurred Djahāngīr's displeasure through his contacts with the emperor's rebellious son Sulṭān Khusraw, hence had to leave India for Balkh, where he settled and died in 1035/1626 or the next year. He wrote a commentary on the *Fātiḥa* and the last two *ḥizb*s of the Ḳurʾān, probably called the *Riyāḍ al-ḳuds*, and his *Malfūẓāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] are also extant.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 18; Storey-Bregel, i, 144.

(ED.)

THAʾR (A.), blood revenge. The present entry deals with the practice as it has existed among Arab villagers and Bedouin in modern times; for the practice in pre-modern times, see ḲIṢĀṢ. In these societies, if Killer kills Victim, then it is in many circumstances legal for a member of the group to which Victim belongs, or under whose protection Victim stands, to kill a member of Killer's group (and in particular, Killer himself). The effect of such retaliation will usually be to wipe out any claims that Victim's group had on Killer's group as a result of the original homicide.

The groups involved (vengeance groups) consist only of men (women and children being generally under the protection of the group to which their closest adult male agnates belong), and they function in essentially the same way with respect both to homicides and to bodily injuries. Such groups will almost always include the closest adult male agnates of killer and victim. There is a great deal of variability as to who else belongs to the vengeance group, and generally the sources provide few details. But we know, for instance, that among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica and the Western Desert of Egypt the vengeance group (called the *ʿamār al-dam*) may number from several score to several hundred men (Safia Mohsen, *Quest for order among Awlad Ali*, diss. Michigan State University 1970, unpubl., 43-4; Peters 60, 87). The vengeance group in this area may sometimes consist of all and only the adult male descendants in male line of a single male ancestor; but in other cases it may include the men of several patrilineal descent groups, some of which are agnatically unrelated to others, or some of whose members have adult male relatives outside the vengeance group who are closer to them agnatically than some of the men who are in it. The *ʿamār*, like most vengeance groups, also functions as a blood-money group, and has explicit rules regulating such matters as the distribution among its members of blood-money received (whether for homicide or for bodily injury) and the circumstances under which

members are to contribute to blood-money payments [see DIYA]. Among the Aḥaywāt Bedouin of central Sinai and their neighbours, essentially the same system obtains, but here the vengeance and blood-money group is called a *damawiyya* or *khamsih*, and is much smaller, averaging perhaps as few as five or ten members.

The composition of the vengeance group does not only vary from one community to another; it often also varies in the same community according to the relationship between killer and victim, or between their respective groups. As a rule of thumb, it may be said that the greater the social distance between the two, the larger the vengeance groups are likely to be (cf. Peters, 59-83). Thus the Aḥaywāt follow the rule that if a man from one tribe kills a man from another, then, all else being equal, any man of the killer's tribe is a legitimate object of vengeance (cf. J.L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, London 1831, i, 320-1); though the Aḥaywāt also have (oral) treaties with certain neighbouring tribes which provide that between the parties an inter-tribal killing is treated as if it were intra-tribal, i.e., the only groups involved are the *damawiyya*s of killer and victim.

Arab customary law usually recognises circumstances in which a retaliatory killing is not permitted (so that if it does take place, the original victim's group will be liable to the original killer's group). Among certain tribes of Transjordan, for instance, this is the case if the victim is killed while sexually interfering with the mother or sister of the killer (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1908, iii, 359); and a similar rule probably exists on the Middle Euphrates (Farīḳ al-Muzhir Āl Firʿawn, *al-Ḳaḍāʾ al-ʿashāʾirī*, Baghdad 1941, 24-5).

The law also recognises circumstances in which, even if the victim's group kills a member of the killer's group in retaliation, this will not clear the killer's group of all liability arising from the original homicide. Among the Bedouin of central Sinai, for instance, a woman's life is valued at four times as much as a man's life (at least if she is killed by a man); so that if the victim's group were to kill a man of her killer's group, this would still not settle the account.

The law is such that most homicide disputes could, in principle, be settled by blood revenge; and the desire to take revenge on one side, and the fear of such revenge on the other, are often very real; but probably in most communities only a small minority of cases actually are settled in this way. This has been remarked, for instance, of the ʿAnaza (Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 152), of the tribes of Northern Yemen (P. Dresch, *Tribes, government, and history in Yemen*, Oxford 1989, 49) and of the tribes of southern ʿIrāḳ (Muṣṭafā Muḥammad Ḥasanayn, *Niẓām al-masʾūliyya ʿind al-ʿashāʾir al-ʿirāḳiyya al-muʿāṣira*, Cairo 1967, 198; H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*[2], London 1951, 528; Dickson claims that it is otherwise "in the desert and in Najd proper"). It is supported by the most detailed study to date of homicide among the Bedouin: out of 36 cases that occurred between 1910 and 1963, and in which either killer or victim or both were Bedouin of the Faḍl tribe, only four killers were substantially motivated by the desire to avenge an earlier homicide (all four earlier homicides being included among the 36); but at least two of the four revenge homicides were illegitimate, in that there had earlier been a settlement of the original killing (Fadl al-Faour, *Social structure of a Bedouin tribe in the Syria-Lebanon region*, diss., University of London 1968, unpubl., Table XXI and 242, 325 n. 96, 360). Occasionally the reason why revenge is not taken is that the victim's group has no inclination to seek it (for instance, if the killing was clearly an unhappy accident); more often because the killer's vengeance group succeeds in fleeing. Above all, *thaʾr* is uncommon because law and custom, while ready in the proper circumstances to countenance blood revenge, do not generally encourage it, and instead offer a variety of institutions whose effect is to produce a peaceful settlement. Among these may be mentioned blood-money, asylum, various devices which allow some members of the killer's vengeance group to gain immunity from retaliation, and mediators.

Bibliography: F.H. Stewart, *Tribal law in the Arab world: a review of the literature*, in *IJMES*, xix (1987), 473-90, lists most of the earlier literature. For Yemeni customary law, see ṬĀGHŪT. Recent publications on regions other than the Yemen include Aḥmad ʿUwaydī al-ʿAbbādī, *Djarāʾim al-djināyāt al-kubrā ʿind al-ʿashāʾir al-urdunniyya*, ʿAmmān 1986; idem, *al-Ḳaḍāʾ ʿind al-ʿashāʾir al-urdunniyya*, ʿAmmān 1988; Shabetai Levi, *Ha-Beduim be-midbar Sinai* ("The Bedouin of the Sinai Desert"), Jerusalem 1987; Stewart, *Texts in Sinai Bedouin law*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1988-90; Kamāl al-Ḥulw, ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥulw and Saʿīd Mumtāz Darwīsh, *al-Ḳaḍāʾ al-ʿurfī fī shamāl Sīnāʾ*, n.p. 1989; idem, *Customary law in North Sinai*, n.p. 1989; Sulayman N. Khalaf, *Settlement of violence in Bedouin society*, in *Ethnology*, xxix (1990), 225-42; Muḥammad Ḥasan Abū Ḥammād Ghayth, *Ḳaḍāʾ al-ʿashāʾir fī ḍawʾ al-sharʿ al-islāmī*, Jerusalem 1990; Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt, Amīn al-Ḳuḍāt and Aḥmad al-ʿAwāyisha (eds.), *al-ʿUrf al-ʿashāʾirī bayn al-sharīʿa wa ʾl-ḳānūn*, ʿAmmān 1990; E.L. Peters, *The Bedouin of Cyrenaica*, Cambridge 1990; Sasson Bar-Zvi, *Masoret ha-shiput shel Beduey ha-Negev* ("Jurisdiction among the Negev Bedouins"), n.p. 1991; Aḥmad Abū Zayd, *al-Mudjtamaʿāt al-ṣaḥrāwiyya fī Miṣr: al-baḥth al-awwal: shimāl Sīnāʾ: dirāsa ithnūdjrāfiyya li ʾl-nuẓum wa ʾl-ansāḳ al-idjtimāʿiyya*. Cairo 1991; idem (ed.), *al-Insān wa ʾl-mudjtamaʿ wa ʾl-thaḳāfa fī shamāl Sīnāʾ*, Cairo 1991; G. Kressel, *Ascendancy through aggression: the anatomy of a blood feud among urbanized Bedouin*, Wiesbaden 1996; J. Ginat, *Blood revenge*[2], Brighton 1997. (F.H. STEWART)

ṮHAṬṬĀ, in Persian orthography *T.t.h*, conventionally Thatta or Tatta, a town of lower Sind, situated by the Indus some 100 km/60 miles from its debouchment into the Indian Ocean and about the same distance to the east of Karachi (lat. 24° 44' N., long. 67° 58' E.). In mediaeval Islamic times, it was a city of considerable political and commercial significance, but is now a small town, the chef-lieu of a district of that name in the Haydarābād Division of Sind in Pākistān.

1. History.

The actual name seems to have the general connotation of a settlement on the bank of a river. Ṯhaṭṭā's rise and decline has been linked with its position vis-à-vis the lower Indus channels, being most important when it was near to the river, as in the time of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*], when a channel of the Indus apparently separated it from the Maklī hill [*q.v.*]; its site clearly moved several times. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa does not mention it in his account of his sailing down the Indus (734/1333-4), but it seems to have existed by then, on the evidence of its mention by the poet Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.v.*]; it was near Ṯhaṭṭā that Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] died in 752/1351. After the mid-8th/14th century, it was ruled by the independent Djāms of the Sammā dynasty [*q.v.*]; in 926/1520 it was annexed by the Arghūns [*q.v.* and ḤUSAYN SHĀH ARGHŪN] and ruled by them and their epigoni

the Tarkhāns. In 1555 it was sacked by the Portuguese. The great commander, the Khān-i Khānān [q.v.] ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, seized it for the Mughals in 1003/1595, and from 1021-1150/1612-1737 it came within the *ṣūba* of Multān in the Mughal empire, with a succession of 58 governors during this period.

At this time, Ṭhaṭṭā was highly flourishing, and in the middle decades of the 17th century, the English East India Company had a factory there. Capt. Alexander Hamilton in 1699 described it as the emporium of Sind, and as being two miles from the Indus and linked to it by a network of canals. But plague and drought later caused a decline, especially as the Kalhōra chiefs and then the Tālpūr Mīrs, who controlled Lower Sind after the Mughals, moved their capital elsewhere [see SIND. 1.], although from 1772 to 1775 the East India Company once more had briefly a factory there, with a further attempt in 1799. In 1155/1742 Nādir Shāh was there with his army. In 1831 Alexander Burnes estimated its population at only 5,000, with less than 40 merchants there. The present town is on the mound of the old city, with streets higher than the floor level of the older mosques of the city.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xxiii, 254-6; H. Cousens, *The antiquities of Sind*, in *ASI*, xlvi, Imperial Section, Calcutta 1929; Shamsuddin Ahmad, *A guide to Thattah and the Makli Hill*, Karachi 1952, 1-10; A.H. Dani, *Ṭhaṭṭā. Islamic architecture*, Islamabad 1402/1982; and see the historical works listed in the *Bibl.* to SIND. 1.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Monuments [see Suppl.].

THAWBĀN B. **IBRĀHĪM** [see DHU 'L-NŪN, ABU 'L-FAYḌ].

AL-**THAWR** [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ].

THAWRA (A.), uprising, revolt, or revolution, from the root *th-w-r* "to rise/arise" or "to stir/be stirred up" (Turkish *inkilap*; Persian *inḳilāb*). In the 20th century, *thawra* has come to imply a praiseworthy venture, a quest for political liberation and socio-economic justice. In earlier times, however, the term and the notion it expresses went through certain vicissitudes of import.

Revolt against a ruling authority, known in Islamic political experience from the outset, was at first regarded with ambivalence. It was condemned—often, though not always, by those in power and their supporters—as a potential source of dangerous schism and disorder, *fitna* [q.v.]. It was also commended, as a legitimate and even essential means to remove a sinful ruler, who should not be obeyed by the believers. This last principle was quoted e.g. by the ʿAbbāsids in justification of their forceful seizure of power from the allegedly irreligious Umayyads. But the lack of a prescribed and recognised procedure for replacing evil-doing rulers, and the instability that often followed such violent transfers of power, led to the subsequent abandonment of this principle. As anarchy proved to be the worst of all political options, the duty to resist bad government gradually gave way to a more quietist acceptance of any authority provided it was Islamic. Sunnī jurists and thinkers of the late ʿAbbāsid period (notably al-Māwardī [q.v.] in the 5th/11th century, and others) echoed this change of concept by prescribing that effective rule was vital to the community's proper functioning and that popular obedience was vital to assuring such effectiveness. This view seems to have prevailed in Muslim political thinking until the 20th century. And while violent rivalries for power and revolts against those wielding it did occur in Islamic states, as often as elsewhere, they were widely regarded with distinct disfavour, as being perilous to the community and the faith.

The view that revolt and rebellion were evil was reflected in reactions by Arab writers to revolutionary events in the West, of which they became aware from the late 18th century onwards. Thus early Arab reaction to the French revolution was outright condemnatory. The Egyptian historian al-Djabartī [q.v.] noted with disdain how the French, who "rebelled against their *sulṭān* and killed him", thereby became a people with "no religious faith (*dīn*), comprising no religious community (*milla*)" (*Taʾrīkh muddat al-faransīs bi-Miṣr*, ed. S. Moreh, Leiden 1975, 11; idem, *Mazhar al-taḳdīs*, Cairo 1969, 22). His compatriots ʿAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Suʿūd and Ḥasan Ḳāsim, both of whom wrote accounts of the French Revolution in the 1840s, vehemently condemned it as a calamitous assault by the bloodthirsty riffraff on the legitimate monarch (ʿAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Suʿūd, *Naẓm al-laʾālī*, Būlāḳ 1841, 182-96; Ḥasan Ḳāsim, *Taʾrīkh mulūk faransā*, Būlāḳ 1847, 223-70, *passim*). In Arabic writings until the last quarter of the 19th century, the French Revolution was frequently referred to as *al-fitna al-faransāwiyya*. Other anti-government outbursts in Europe and elsewhere—from the 1830-1 revolutionary wave in France and Belgium, through the Italian War of Independence and the 1857-8 Indian Mutiny, to the Irish anti-British protest action of 1881—were decried in similar terms. In Arabic accounts of these events, derogatory terms such as *ʿiṣyān* (disobedience), *shaghab* (disturbance), *fasād* (disorder) and *shiḳāḳ* (trouble), in addition to *fitna*, were used regularly.

Thawra and verbs derived from the same root, seldom occurring in such contexts prior to the mid-19th century, became more popular thereafter. Like its counterparts, *thawra* had traditionally carried unfavourable associations and its use thus reflected an unmistakably negative attitude. "This [word] *thawra*", one Lebanese writer suggested in 1879 in a discussion of the French Revolution, implied "the disturbances (*idṭirābāt*) that took place in the year 1792 among the people, their killing of their king Louis XVI... his wife and sister... and their staining the glory of their great civilisation by this beastly cruelty and their notorious atrocities (*fawāḥish*), vices (*radhāʾil*) and terrible *fitna*" (Nawfal al-Ṭarābulusī, *Zubdat al-ṣaḥāʾif*, Beirut 1879, 428). A contemporary multivolume encyclopaedia, al-Bustānī's *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, offered this definition for the term: "A *thawra* in political jargon is what the Arabs call *fitna*. It means a big change and a serious unrest... [leading to] conspiracy, then to disturbances; finally.... the foundations of government are shaken, much blood is shed, and complete upheaval prevails" (vi, Beirut 1882, 337-8). As late as 1908, Rashīd Riḍā, congratulating the Young Turks on their ascent to power, praised them for reinstating the constitution "without bloodshed and without involving the country in the anarchy (*fawḍā*) of a *thawra*, nor in anything similarly distasteful and repugnant" (*al-Manār* [July 1908], 68).

During the last third of the 19th century, a few open-minded writers in Egypt, Lebanon and the Ottoman capital began to express a more favourable view of revolution, especially as associated with another increasingly popular idea, the quest for political freedom (*ḥurriyya* [q.v.]). Adīb Isḥāḳ [q.v.], e.g., writing in Cairo, hailed "the French *thawra*" which "shook the foundations of despotism and ... split the liver of oppression with the arrow of light and truth" (*al-Durar*, Cairo 1909, 103, 159). According to another con-

temporary account, "the remarkable *thawra* of 1789" led the French to "the peak of learning, science and civilisation" (*al-Djanna*, Beirut [19 May 1871]). Such acclamatory use of *thawra*, though made by just a handful of writers, gradually lent some balance to the term, which thus acquired a complimentary sense along with (not yet instead of) its derogatory implications. Its broadening range of reference rendered it applicable to all revolts and revolutions including, eventually, one's own.

Yet what made *thawra* an attractive notion was its association not with civic and political freedom but with another idea, clearer and easier to appreciate: the struggle against alien domination. It was used in this sense already in the 1880s, to describe Aḥmad ʿUrābī's [*q.v.*] revolt in Egypt and that of the Mahdī [see AL-MAHDIYYA] in the Sudan, but it became widely popular only after World War I, as applied to the protest movements that arose in countries of the Middle East against the foreign tutelage imposed on them, as well as against Zionist settlement in Palestine. In such contexts, *thawra* acquired the meaning of a wrathful outburst against the community's oppressor, i.e. a quest not for individual but for national liberation. The revolts in Egypt (1919), ʿIrāḳ (1920) and Syria (1925-7) were all thus described. *Thawra* remained a political battle cry, even after formal independence had been achieved in much of the region, resounding especially in slogans of nationalist movements still striving for self determination.

Once the battle for national liberation was won, and popular attention in the Arabic-speaking countries shifted to domestic affairs, the revolutionary idea was expanded further still. Leaders of military *coups d'état* that recurred throughout much of the Middle East from the late 1940s onwards purported to introduce a new brand of change which they termed *thawra*—a total transformation of the old order that would eliminate political corruption and weakness, remedy socio-economic ills and restore national glory. Thus the officers who took power in Egypt in 1952 claimed that "revolution is the only means to a better Arab future, free of the elements of oppression and exploitation"; seizing power was the "first step in the march toward a social revolution (*thawra idjtimāʿiyya*), a process of fundamental rehabilitation "until social justice is achieved for the nation" (*al-Mīthāḳ al-waṭanī*, Cairo 1962; Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, *Falsafat al-thawra*, Cairo n.d., 23-6). Similarly, the officers who carried out the 1969 coup in Libya announced that "the dream of freedom, socialism and unity has been realised . . . we have executed a *thawra* which will secure your dignity, restore the usurped homeland and raise high the Arab nation's banner" (*al-Ahrām* [1 September 1969], 1). Employed in this way in every coup and counter-coup, the term acquired the meaning of a forceful attempt to reform the unacceptable existing order, in addition to its earlier sense of an angry revolt against foreign control. It represented a promising alternative to everything deplorable in the community's past and present. As a consequence, revolutionary leaders found it expedient to identify themselves directly as "the *thawra*", the very embodiment of the ideal, using the word to mean the actual governing authority which could make decisions, execute policies, even be assaulted by its enemies.

Thawra thus came to signify a rather broad and somewhat imprecise idea, denoting at once an urge for a change, the change itself, and even those who executed it. Having previously meant an undesirable development, the term was transformed by historical circumstances to imply a desirable one—so much so that in the later part of the 20th century it came to be employed in juxtaposition, previously inconceivable, with Islam: *thawra islāmiyya*, namely, revolution designed to restore the good old order of early Islam. At one time viewed as a threat to the faith and the community, *thawra* thus became an attractive political option, a preferred tool not merely for installing a novel order but also for rejuvenating an ancient one.

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(A. AYALON)

THERWET-I FÜNÜN, literally, "Riches of the arts", a late Ottoman Turkish literary movement named after the journal with the same title which ran from 1896 until its closure in 1901. (The movement has also been referred to as *Edebiyyāt-ī djedīde*).

When Tewfīḳ Fikret [*q.v.*] became the editor of *Therwet-i Fünūn* in 1896, the journal was transformed from a scientific journal into an artistic and literary one, publishing the works of a group of authors who reflected the belief in "art for art's sake". After the journal was closed, the members of the group continued to write, but the movement lost its momentum and died away.

In poetry, the movement broke with the established traditions of *Dīwān* poetry, such as the sacred unity of the couplet and replaced it by the unity and overall beauty of the composition. All forms of *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] were used for e.g. the *müstezād* (the rhymed addition to each half-line), and new forms such as the sonnet were introduced to Turkish literature. Rhyme ceased to be "for the eye only", and words which did not rhyme when written but which rhymed when pronounced were used. Under the influence of the French Parnassians and Symbolists, in order to express their innermost feelings and sensations, the poets borrowed heavily from Persian and Arabic, and either constructed compound words with new meanings or attached new meanings to words in order to create descriptive phrases like "jasmine-coloured hours" or "the colourless state of dying". They also used non-standard syntactic structures without verbs of action, or short, half-finished sentences. They made abundant use of metaphors, similes and various forms of symbolism, as opposed to the dominant "simplicity of expression" movement among their contemporaries. They were interested in the real, physical world and in nature, as opposed to the metaphysical dimension of life. Thus observation and description of everyday events became important as subject matter.

In novel and short story writing, under the influence of realism and naturalism, the authors introduced observation and detailed descriptions of human feelings to Turkish literature, as well as female characters, who were thinking, feeling, strong individuals like their male counterparts. This contrasted with the inferior status of females dominant in the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period prose.

The authors of the *Therwet-i fünūn* knew foreign languages and western literatures well. Most of them were university graduates and came from the prestigious Ottoman schools. The more traditional literati of the times accused them of being too westernised

and of adopting a totally secular approach to literature; while their more populist contemporaries accused them of introducing foreign words into Turkish contrary to the prevalent movement of the nativisation of vocabulary, and of not addressing the social problems of the common folk and of snobbery.

The better known authors of the movement are Khālid Ḍiyā or Ziyā (Uşaklıgil) (1867-1945), Tewfīḳ Fikret (1867-1915), ʿAlī Ekrem (Bolayır) (1867-1937), Ḥüseyin Suʿād (Yalçın) (1867-1942), Aḥmed Ḥikmet (Müftüoğlu) (1870-1927), Süleymān Naẓīf (1869-1927), Djenāb Shihābeddīn (1870-1934), Ḥüseyin Sīret (Özsever) (1872-1959), Aḥmed Reshīd (Rey) (1870-1955), Meḥmed Sāmī (1866-1917), Ḥüseyin Djāhid Yalçın (1875-1957), Meḥmed Raʾūf (1875-1931), Fāʾiḳ ʿAlī (Ozansoy) (1867-1950), Djelāl Sāhir (Erozan) (1883-1935), and Ismāʿīl Ṣafā (1867-1901).

The movement came into being when the Ottoman empire was in the process of dismantlement, when there was uncertainty about the future of the state and heavy censorship under ʿAbdülḥamīd II, and although the authors were attacked by their contemporaries, the changes which they introduced into late Ottoman literature (both in poetry and prose) were long-lasting. The movement should be seen within the context of the westernisation of Ottoman Turkish literature after 1860.

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THIḲA (A.), pl. *thiḳāt*, qualification used in the science of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] to describe a transmitter as trustworthy, reliable.

Through over-use it gradually lost this positive meaning and, more often than not, it is a virtually meaningless epithet. When not used alone, the term appears often in strings of qualifications which, taken at first sight, seem to be contradictory. The biographical dictionaries of *ḥadīth* transmitters abound in examples of people mentioned as *thiḳa* as well as *ḍaʿīf* "weak", or *matrūk* "to be ignored". More or less the same phenomenon can be observed in the case of another degenerated qualification such as *ṣāliḥ* [*q.v.*] "pious", or *ṣadūḳ* "veracious". The *ridjāl* [*q.v.*] literature contains multi-volume collections of transmitters depicted in these withered terms, more than anything else reflecting the overall ignorance on the part of the *ridjāl* critics as to the (de)-merits of the transmitter they describe as *thiḳa*. The *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl* of Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327/938) and the *K. al-Thiḳāt* of Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965 [*q.v.*]) are among the best-known of such collections. The latter also wrote a *K. al-Madjrūḥīn*. In this lexicon, the term *thiḳa* is used to indicate transmitters who are definitely not "reliable", e.g. in a special chapter (76-80) he distinguishes several categories of traditions transmitted by *thiḳāt* which may not be admitted as evidence, such as those by *thiḳāt* who continuously make simple mistakes, habitually transmit traditions on the authority of weak or mendacious transmitters, and obscure their identities by calling them by their *kunya*s instead of their names and vice-versa, or resort to other forms of the deceit called *tadlīs* [*q.v.*]. Ibn Ḥibbān mentions several famous transmitters as exponents of every category. Among these *thiḳāt* are listed the best-known traditionists of all times such as Sufyān al-Thawrī and al-Aʿmash [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *K. al-Thiḳāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1973-83; idem, *K. al-Madjrūḥīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Bey, Ḥaydarābād 1970; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1952-3; for more references, see the *Bibl.* to ṢĀLIḤ. (G.H.A. Juynboll)

AL-**THUGHŪR** (A.), pl. of *thaghr*, one of whose basic meanings is "gap, breach, opening", a term used for points of entry between the Dār al-Islām and the Dār al-Ḥarb [*q.vv.*] beyond it.

It is more specifically used in the plural for the lines of fortifications protecting the gaps along such frontiers as that in south-eastern Anatolia between the Arabs and Byzantines (see 1. below) and for the march lands in al-Andalus between the Arabs and the Christian kingdoms to the north (see 2. below). But it is not infrequently employed by the Islamic geographers and historians in reference to other regions on the peripheries of the Islamic lands, such as those of the Caucasus, Central Asia and eastern Afghānistān facing the various peoples of the Caucasus, the Turks of the steppelands and others. Thus the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* styles Dihistān [*q.v.*], to the south-east of the Caspian Sea, a *thaghr* against the Oghuz; Tiflis one against the infidels (sc. the Georgians, Alans, etc.); and Aswān one against the Christian Nubians (tr. Minorsky, 133, 144, 152). Furthermore, it was used in reference to those coastlands of the *Dār al-Islām* open to maritime attack, e.g. for ports along the North African coast, bordering the Mediterranean or Atlantic, so that Alexandria, vulnerable to Greek naval attacks in the early centuries of Islam and to Frankish ones in the Crusading and Mamlūk periods, is sometimes called the *thaghr al-Iskandariyya*. Aden, facing the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean beyond, and strongly fortified, is similarly described in the title of the work of the 9th/15th century local historian Abū Makhrama, *Taʾrīkh thaghr ʿAdan* (Brockelmann, S II, 239-40); the author lived into the time when the Portuguese were appearing on the coasts of East Africa and were about to enter Arabian coastal waters.

1. In the Arab-Byzantine frontier region.

Here, the *thughūr* were the forward line of fortresses in a region sometimes called the *ḍawāḥī* or *ḍawāḥī 'l-Rūm* "outer lands [of the land of the Greeks]", constituting a kind of no-man's-land; behind the *thughūr* lay the line of fortresses in the rear, the *ʿawāṣim* [*q.v.*] or "protecting [strongholds]". In such a Greek source as Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De caeremoniis*, the *thughūr* are styled τὰ Στόμια (ed. Bonn, i, 657), and Syriac historians speak of "the land of the Tagrā", as in Michael Syrus (ed. Chabot, iii, 20-1, 467) and in Barhebraeus, *Chronicon* (ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, 339-40). The later Arabic historians like al-Balādhurī and the geographers posit a neat two-tier system of the forward *thughūr*, bases for raids and conquest, and the rearward protecting *ʿawāṣim*, a zone of settlement, and attribute its formation to Hārūn al-Rashīd, who entrusted these last to members of the caliphal family like ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ and his own son al-Ḳāsim, aiming to associate the ʿAbbāsid family personally with the *djihād* against Byzantium; but M. Bonner has recently suggested that the system of Hārūn's time was really the culmination of a long evolutionary process.

The *thughūr* formed an arc running from Tarsus [see ṬARSŪS] in Cilicia along the line of the Taurus Mountains to Marʿash [*q.v.*] (the Syrian *thughūr*) and then on to Malaṭya [*q.v.*] (the Djazīran or Mesopotamian *thughūr*). Al-Iṣṭakhrī (early 4th/10th century) mentions in this connection the fortresses of Malaṭya,

al-Ḥadath, Marʿash, al-Hārūniyya, al-Kanīsa (al-Sawdāʾ), ʿAyn Zarba, al-Maṣṣīṣa, Adhana and Ṭarsūs (55-6). Slightly later, Ibn Ḥawḳal makes the point that all the *thughūr* are administratively dependent on the province of Syria, and the Djazīran ones are only so-called because the *ribāṭs* there are manned by the men of Mesopotamia (ed. Kramers, 165, 168, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 163, 164-5). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) borrows largely from al-Iṣṭakhrī, but re-arranges the fortresses of the *thaghr-hā*, and ends them in the south-west with Awlās (Eleusa), as being the last town of Islam on the coast of the Sea of Rūm (tr. 148-9). Al-Dimashḳī (8th/14th century) lists the Mesopotamian *thughūr* as Malaṭya, Kamakh, Shimshāṭ, al-Bīra, Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, Ḳalʿat al-Rūm, al-Ḥadath al-Ḥamrāʾ and Marʿash, and those of Syria as Ṭarsūs, Adhana, al-Maṣṣīṣa, al-Hārūniyya, Sīs and Ayās (ed. Mehren, 214). But by the time this latter author was writing, the *thughūr* had ceased to have any significance as outposts against the infidels, for the embattled Rupenid kingdom of Little Armenia, which alone of the former Christian powers of the region survived Mamlūk pressures until 776/1375 [see SĪS], was no serious military threat to the Muslims. The terms *ʿawāṣim* and *thughūr* lingered on in Mamlūk administrative geography, but anachronistically, as when al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iv, 228-9, lists the *niyābas* of the *thughūr* and *ʿawāṣim* and adjoining lands: eight along the Syrian march (Malaṭya, Dabragī (Diwrigī), Daranda, Abulustayn (Elbistan), Ayyās, Ṭarsūs and Adhana, Sirfandakār and Sīs) and three in the Mesopotamian lands to the east of the upper Euphrates (al-Bīra, Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar and al-Ruhā or Edessa).

During the five centuries or so of confrontation and warfare between the Arabs and Byzantines, and then with the Franks and Armenians also, the fortunes of war swung backwards and forwards, so that fortresses of the zone of the *thughūr* might be abandoned by one side, left desolate and then rebuilt and repeopled by the other side; this process can clearly be seen in the history of such points as Malaṭya and Tarsus [*q.vv.*]. Life in these march regions bred a tough and self-reliant people, and on the Muslim side, volunteers (*muṭaṭawwiʿa* [*q.v.*]) were attracted as *ghāzīs* or fighters for the faith from as far away as Khurāsān and Transoxania, settling in their own *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*]. We possess a specially valuable documentation for this way of life and its exponents in such geographers as Ibn Ḥawḳal and from the surviving extracts from the later 4th/10th century work of a local writer of Tarsus (see C.E. Bosworth, *The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers in early and middle ʿAbbāsid times*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 268-86; idem, *Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān al-Ṭarsūsī's* Siyar al-thughūr *and the last years of Arab rule in Tarsus (fourth/tenth century)*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, v [Athens 1993], 183-95).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 79-81, s.v. *al-Thaghr*, and above all, the *Bibl.* to ʿAWĀṢIM, which notes such especially important references as Le Strange, *Eastern lands of the Caliphate*, 128 ff., Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, and Canard, *H'amdanides*, i, 241-86, with maps I and IX facing pp. 240, 248. See also now M. Bonner, *The naming of the frontier: ʿAwāṣim, Thughūr, and the Arab geographers*, in *BSOAS*, lvii (1994), 17-24. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In al-Andalus.

In the context of the mediaeval history of the Iberian Peninsula, the term *al-thughūr* has, in addition to its general sense, a specific meaning applicable to what English-speaking historians of Muslim Spain normally render as "the Marches". In the absence of any direct or indirect indication to the contrary, this expression is to be taken as the designation of three major frontier zones brought into existence by the Hispano-Umayyads, viz. the Upper, the Middle and the Lower. In the earliest days of Umayyad rule these *thughūr* seem to have amounted to little more than outlying bands of sparsely populated, or even uninhabited, territory dividing Muslim forces from entrenched indigenous Christians determined to resist subjection. Garrisoned in a line of strategically placed castles and fortresses, the Muslim troops were detailed to consolidate Islam's position in the territory it had gained and to form an effective barrier against possible enemy incursions. Just as their mission was military, so was the command under which they operated. As time passed, these early fortified lines assumed increasingly greater proportions and developed into sizeable regional entities, governed from what were, in effect, regional capitals dominating not only a well-organised system of fortifications, but also a greater or lesser spread of towns, villages and hamlets. The inhabitants of the latter were sustained by the produce of surrounding cultivable land—from which, however, one should not infer a density of population, with all that that implies, comparable to that characterising the southern heartlands of al-Andalus. Whatever geographical, political and administrative variables there may have been in the history of the *thughūr*, their essentially military character remained a constant.

Of the original three marches, the most northerly and accordingly the most remote from Umayyad Cordova was the Upper March (*al-thaghr al-aʿlā*), which, probably because of its remoteness from the capital, was also designated the Farther March (*al-thaghr al-aḳṣā*), an expression which, in an appropriate context, has a narrower sense applicable only to the very northern reaches of the March, centred on Huesca and Barbiṭāniya (see below). Two other names known to have been given to the Upper March are the Great March (*al-thaghr al-akbar*) and the Supreme March (*al-thaghr al-aʿẓam*).

Like all other *thughūr* in al-Andalus of whatever kind of whatever period, the Upper March was never a region bounded by immutable, neatly drawn frontiers, but, rather, a variable entity expanding and contracting with the vicissitudes of war waged by Muslims and Christians in their efforts to gain or maintain the upper hand. Thus, in the earliest days of its existence, the Upper March covered, in theory, an area comprising territory north of the Pyrenees. However, the Christian conquest of Pamplona (Banbalūna [*q.v.*]) in 183/799 and Barcelona (Barshalūna [*q.v.*]) in 185/801 marked the start of a new era during which the Upper March was to emerge as a much more durable and, at the peak of its development, a somewhat more clearly identifiable entity. As such, it is said to have comprised, in broadly descending order from the north-east to the south-west, the areas, or zones (*aḳālīm*), centred on Barbiṭāniya (an area between present-day Boltaña in the north and Barbastro (Barbashturu [*q.v.*]) in the south), Huesca (Washka [*q.v.*]), Tudela (Tuṭīla), Saragossa (Saraḳusṭa [*q.v.*]), Lérida (Lārida [*q.v.*]), Calatayud (Ḳalʿat Ayyūb [*q.v.*]) and Bārūsha (precise location uncertain, but situated south of Daroca (Darūḳa) and including today's Molina de Aragón (Mulīna). Add to which the region of Tortosa (Ṭurṭūsha)—omitted from the foregoing list only because of its limited scope precluding inclusion of a centre well to the south-east of Saragossa on the

lower reaches of the Ebro. Viewed at a later period on a lesser scale and from a different perspective, the Upper March is seen as comprising only its lands to the west of Lérida, its eastern parts constituting a separate regional grouping designated the Eastern March (*al-thaghr al-sharkī*). In the 4th/10th century, this *thaghr* took a southward course from Lérida through Fraga (Ifrāgha [*q.v.*]), eventually reaching Tortosa and continuing thence to the Mediterranean coast. Whatever changes, administrative or otherwise, may have accompanied the emergence of this Eastern March, one change that did not take place was the removal of supreme command from Saragossa, which from the outset had been the capital, or mother city (*umm*), of all territories constituting the Upper March.

For the Umayyads, the Upper March was to prove both a source of strength and a source of weakness. It was a source of strength in that its strong defences enabled the central government to maintain as secure a hold as possible on its southern heartlands, but a source of weakness in that Cordova's rulers had only too often to devote much time and energy to devising means of coping with the ambitions of those of their commanders for whom, as for certain local overlords also, subordination to Cordova stood in the way of their realising their aspirations to autonomy.

Since much of the history of the Upper March is inseparable from that of Saragossa, which is well adumbrated in M.J. Viguera's article [see SARAKUSṬA], and is also intertwined with the geographical and political history of the Spanish Aragon so capably unravelled in P. Chalmeta's article on this province [see ARAGHŪN in Suppl.], only one or two points remain to be noticed here. First, immediately following the demise of the Umayyads, the northern reaches of the old realm enjoyed a greater degree of stability than most parts of al-Andalus, thanks to power already acquired in Saragossa by those who had long sought absolute independence. These were, first, the Tudjībids and, secondly, the Hūdids, their successors, who held on to their *ṭā'ifa* kingdom [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀ'IF] until the occupation of Saragossa by the Almoravids (al-Murābiṭūn [*q.v.*]) in 503/1110. Despite Almoravid intervention, the city was to fall to Alfonso I of Aragon in 512/1118, and by mid-century Christian control of all the territories of the old Upper March was virtually complete. Though now subject to Christian rule, the vast majority of the Muslim population of those territories chose not to emigrate but accept Mudéjar [*q.v.*] status and to stay put. The origins of this stratum of society were not to be forgotten, for in the Spanish *tagarinos*—a term used particularly in 17th-century European sources (Fr. "Tagarins") to denote primarily the Moriscos of Aragon, but also those of Valencia and Catalonia—we find a clear echo of *thaghr*/*thaghrī* (adj.).

That in early Umayyad times there were three major *thughūr*, viz. the Upper, the Middle (*al-awsaṭ*) and the Lower (*al-adnā*), is an undisputed fact. Precisely when this tripartite division came into being is unclear, but there is no doubt that it existed in the 3rd/9th century. Originally, the Muslim line of defence for the Lower March was based on Mérida (Mārida [*q.v.*]) and ran westward through Badajoz (Baṭalyaws [*q.v.*]) over part of the Estremadura and part of central Portugal down to the Atlantic coast. The Middle March, which began more or less where the old Upper March ended in the region of Bārūsha (see above), descended in a south-westerly direction, passing, by the end of the reign of Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86), through a chain of fortified towns and cities, including Madrid (Madjrīṭ [*q.v.*]), Talamanca (Ṭalamanka), Canales (Kanālish), Olmos (Wulmush) and Calataifa (Kal'at al-Khalīfa), towards its seat of government, Toledo (Ṭulayṭula [*q.v.*]) and thence to territories bordering on the Lower March.

As times and situations changed, so did the *thughūr*. In the reign of the great 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (al-Nāṣir) (300-50/912-61 [*q.v.*]), whose tireless and conspicuously successful military activities firmly secured his realm against Christian encroachment, we find mention of just two major *thughūr*, of which one is designated *al-akṣā* and the other *al-adnā*. Of the former nothing need be added here to what has already been said. The latter, however, calls for comment, for the Lower (or Near/Hither) March had come to denote a modified Middle March. Control of this *thaghr*, a bulwark against Castile and the Kingdom of Leon, was removed from Toledo to Medinaceli (Madīnat Sālim [*q.v.*]), a town situated well to the north on the verge of the Upper March and transformed on the orders of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III into a heavily fortified base for *ṣawā'if* (sing. *ṣā'ifa* [*q.v.*]). And so, before or around the middle of the 4th/10th century, *al-thaghr al-adnā/awsaṭ* denoted a vast area which it is best to describe here only in the loosest and most general terms with reference to places that can be easily located on modern maps of Iberian Peninsula. So, if we take Toledo on the Río Tajo as our starting-point, the *thaghr* ascended northward through Madrid in the direction of the Sierra de Guadarrama and the Río Duero (Portug. Douro). In the north-east it took in, among other places, Uclés, Cuenca, Huete, Santaver, Guadalajara and Medinaceli, while in the north-west it ran through Talavera, Coria and Coimbra.

Until the end of the 4th/10th century no major changes took place in the general pattern of these frontier zones as it stood at the time of al-Nāṣir's death in 350/961, but not long before 400/1009 the caliphate that he had instituted began to lose control of al-Andalus, and, as disintegration set in, the Christians turned Muslim disunity to whatever advantage they could whenever they could. Not surprisingly, then, major changes in the configuration of the border territories took place in the period running from the definitive conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile in 478/1085 to shortly after the mid-6th/12th century, by which time the long Christian follow-up to the taking of Saragossa was very near its end. Following the disappearance of the territories once controlled from Toledo and Saragossa, no defensive system comparable to that represented by the *thughūr* as devised and developed by the Umayyads emerged to replace it. Accordingly, it was only a matter of time, once Ferdinand III of Castile and Leon had taken Cordova (633/1236) and Seville (646/1248), before Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula was eliminated from all but the small kingdom of the Naṣrids [*q.v.*] of Granada.

Relevant to the subject of *thughūr* in al-Andalus are one or two terms on which comment may be helpful. First, there is reason to believe that *al-thaghr al-sharkī* and *al-thaghr al-djawfī* (adj. "northern", but to be taken as applying in particular to the north-west), which occur in a 7th/13th-century text, are terms which had, as Muslim frontiers receded, come to replace *al-thaghr al-akṣā* and *al-thaghr al-adnā*, respectively. Secondly, *al-thaghr* and *bilād al-thaghr*, when unqualified, almost always denote the old Upper March. For further and better particulars Bosch Vilá's *Algunas consideraciones* (see *Bibl.*), though in need of updating, is useful.

One final point: the complex subject of the place of the *thughūr* in the administrative system of al-Andalus has been felt to be beyond the scope of this article.

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2. Secondary sources: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, index *svv.* "Marche(s)" (5 separate entries) see also map, i, 192; J. Bosch Vilá, *Algunas consideraciones sobre "al-ṯagr" en al-Andalus*, etc., in *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, 23-33, esp. 24-40; idem, *Historia de Albarracín musulman*, Teruel 1955; E. Manzano, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas*, Madrid 1991; idem, *La Marche Supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'Occident chrétien*, Madrid 1991; Mª J. Viguera, *Aragón musulmán*, ²Saragossa 1988 (containing maps and excellent bibl.); L. Molina and Mª L. Avila, *Sociedad y cultura en la Marca Superior*, in *Historia de Aragón*, iii, Saragossa 1985; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia*, 3 vols., Valencia 1970; *Colloque la Marche supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'Occident chrétien*, Casa de Velasquez and the University of Saragossa, Madrid 1991; C. Laliena and Ph. Sénac, *Musulmans et chrétiens dans le Haut Moyen Âge. Aux origines de la reconquête aragonaise*, n.p. [Paris] 1991; *Colloque de Toledo a Huesca. Sociedades medievales en transicion, a finales del ciglo XIᵉ, 1080-1100*, University of Saragossa 1998.

(J.D. LATHAM)

THULĀ, an historic, walled town of about 4,000 people (al-Waysī, 65, published in 1962) situated at about 45 km/28 miles from the main town of the Yemen, Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*], and placed by Werdecker (139), after Glaser, in 15° 36' latitude and 43° 53'. The town is overlooked by an impregnable fortress perched on the mountain above which can be seen from very great distances all around. Tradition tells us that the town takes its name from a certain Thulā b. Lubākha b. Akyān b. Ḥimyar al-Asghar. It is also the centre of a district (*kaḍāʾ*) of the same name.

The town is undoubtedly of ancient origin. Al-Hamdānī (107), writing in the 4th/10th century, simply states that it is a stronghold (*ḥiṣn*) and a village belonging to the Marrāniyyūn of Hamdān, and it is clear that the town took on more political and military importance during the Ayyūbid (569-626/1173-1228) and Rasūlid (628-845/1230-1441) periods and particularly under the later Zaydī Imāms. The town is associated in particular with the Zaydī Imām al-Muṭahhar b. Sharaf al-Dīn who died in 980/1572. His tomb lies inside the *madrasa* of his son, Sharaf al-Dīn, within the walls of Thulā (see Golvin and Fromont, *Thula*, 42-6, and photographs 30-5, pp. 196-8). The major architectural features of the town, mosques, *madrasas*, tombs and gates, of the latter, nine in all, can all be seen in Golvin and Fromont, 17, fig. 2, which is a general plan, and the work as a whole is an excellent study of the architecture of Thulā.

Thulā was visited by both Niebuhr in the 18th century and Glaser in December 1883. The latter wrote a particularly detailed account of the town (see both Grohmann's art. *Thulā*, in *EI*¹, and Werdecker, 38-9, both written from Glaser's manuscript account). Glaser reckoned Thulā to be the second largest town in the Yemen after Ṣanʿāʾ, and its narrow streets were flanked with regularly-built houses in yellowish-red stone. Glaser first thought the ascent to the citadel to be impossible, but he was assisted by local climbers and a strong rope. He calculated the *ḥiṣn* to be of some antiquity. He mentions cisterns and about twenty granaries called *madāfin*, cone-shaped structures made out of sandstone and about six or seven metres deep. He also mentions caves hewn out of the rock called *djurūf*.

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(G.R. SMITH)

THULUTH [see KHAṬṬ].

THUMĀMA B. ASHRAS, ABŪ MAʿN AL-NUMAYRĪ, Muʿtazilī theologian, d. 213/828.

Of Arab descent (and proud of it), he entered upon a secretary's career. He served under the Barmakids and was put under arrest after their downfall in 186/802. However, in 192/807 his reputation had so far been restored that Hārūn al-Rashīd had him join his expedition to Khurāsān. When, one year later, the caliph died at Ṭūs, Thumāma stayed in the East with al-Maʾmūn, obviously as one of his administrative advisers. In 201/817 we find him among those who, by their signature, bore witness to the document where al-Maʾmūn proclaimed ʿAlī al-Riḍā as his successor. Yet he never held a high official post, neither at Marw where al-Maʾmūn resided until 202/818 nor later at the court of Baghdād when the caliph had returned to ʿIrāk in 204/819. Publicity was much greater, though, in the old capital than it had been in Khurāsān; he therefore became the hero of numerous anecdotes in *adab* literature. People saw in him a kind of *éminence grise*, influential in a way but mainly famous for his wit and his detached and liberal irony. His feeling for Arabic style and his interest in eloquent speech made him a typical representative of the state bureaucracy.

As a theologian he did not write as much as did most of his Muʿtazilī colleagues, nor does he seem to have had the ambition of developing an overall "system". He agreed with Muʿammar [*q.v.*] in assuming that all beings have a "nature" (*ṭabīʿa*), but at the same time he was convinced that those who really act are only God and man. Man is distinguished among all creatures by his will; this is what he has in common with God. By his will he may direct nature, or rather, the natures, i.e. his own one as well as that of other beings. This does not, however, exclude the fact that beings, whether living or inanimate, also function by themselves. Effects are not caused by a personal originator (*muḥdith*) as he said, rejecting by that the concept of *tawallud* developed by his contemporary Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir [*q.v.*]. The consequences of his theory come out most clearly in his epistemology. Knowledge is not acquired but spontaneous, and man becomes responsible for it only when he wills it. An unbeliever therefore deserves punishment only when he consciously rejects the truth; pagans who have never heard about Islam are not subject to any retribution, positive or negative, but simply become dust when they die (a fate which, according to sūra LXXVIII, 40, the real unbelievers would be happy

to undergo instead of Hell). There is, of course, the juridical difference between believers and unbelievers, but this only concerns their treatment as long as they are alive. Internal convictions cannot be ascertained by the external appearance.

In law, Thumāma no longer found the *idjtihād* as developed by the old Kūfan school sufficient. He aspired after a more systematic method, perhaps deductive reasoning, but we lack any precise information. In political theory, he took up Ḍirār's idea that a non-Arab, even somebody as despised as a Nabaṭī in ʿIrāḳ, deserves more respect for having accepted Islam than a member of Ḳuraysh who profited from it, and that he should therefore be preferred as a candidate for the caliphate in the (somewhat theoretical) case that both of them should enter into competition. With this doctrine, as well as with his epistemology and the corresponding definition of the unbeliever, Thumāma may have influenced al-Djāḥiẓ.

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(J. VAN ESS)

THÜREYYĀ, MEHMED, Ottoman biographer (1261-1326/1845-1909).

Meḥmed Thüreyyā was born in Istanbul, the son of Meḥmed Ḥüsnü Bey, an Ottoman civil servant. In 1863 he joined the translation office of the Bāb-i ʿĀlī, and for some time was also on the staff of the newspaper *Djerīde-yi Ḥawādith*. He was appointed in 1886 to the Council of Education, where he served until his death in 1909. He was buried in the Ḳaradja Aḥmed cemetery at Üsküdar (Ö.F. Akün, art. *Süreyya*, in *IA*, ix, 247).

He wrote or compiled more than forty volumes, said to include a multi-part Arabic-Persian-Ottoman-Chagatay-Tatar dictionary, four novels, and several volumes on Ottoman and Islamic history. Most of these apparently perished during a major fire in 1916 (Akün, 248). Only two of his works were published. The first of two volumes of *Nukhbetü 'l-wakāyiʿ* ("Selected events"), an annotated register of government appointments from 1831 to 1875, appeared in 1876 (the second volume remained unpublished). His principal work, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, a biographical dictionary of famous Ottomans, appeared in four volumes (1308-16/1890-9). Previous Ottoman biographical compendia, each specialising in a certain professional or social group, constituted Thüreyyā's main sources, in addition to government records and surviving tombstones. Combining data from these various sources, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī* was intended to provide a comprehensive listing of Ottomans from all professions and ranks, from the earliest Ottoman period up to 1316/1899. Despite the brevity of its entries and the now proven unreliability of some of these, it immediately became, and remains, a standard work of reference, an Ottoman "national biography". It is especially valuable for lower-ranking Ottomans not sufficiently prominent to appear in other compendia or in major historical sources. The first volume of an incomplete modern Turkish edition, *Osmanlı devletinde kim kimdi?* ("Who was who in the Ottoman state?"), appeared in 1969, but has not been continued.

Bibliography: Akün, art. *Süreyya*; Babinger, *GOW*, 385-87; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOM*, iii, 36-7; G. Oransay (ed.), *Osmanlı devletinde kim kimdi?*, i, Ankara 1969, 7-9. (CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

ṬIBĀʿA [see MAṬBAʿA].

ṬIBĀḲ (A.), a rhetorical figure mostly translated "antithesis" and consisting in the inclusion, in a verse or colon, of words of opposite meaning, as in *ḥulamāʾu fī 'l-nādī idhā mā djiʾtahum—djuhalāʾu yawma ʿadjādjatⁱⁿ wa-liḳāʾi* "restrained in the tribal council, when you come to them,—unrestrained on the day of a dust-cloud and battle" (Zuhayr).

Synonymous terms are *muṭābaḳa* and, especially in earlier theorists, *muṭābaḳ* (from *ṭābaḳtu bayna 'l-shayʾayn* "I made the two things congruent" [see Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Badīʿ*, 36]). From the same root one also finds *taṭbīḳ* (attested first in Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī [d. 395/1005]), which seems to be a secondary formation in the sense of "to create a *muṭābaḳ*". In later writings one encounters also *taḍādd* and *mutaḍādd*. Al-Yazdādī (d. after 403/1013) says that he called (*sammaytuhu*) this figure *mutaḍādd*; at about the same time one finds Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī (d. 466/1074) using *taṭādd* and *mutaḍādd* as terms in his definition of *muṭābaḳ*.

The earliest terminology is rather inhomogeneous. Thaʿlab (d. 291/904 [*q.v.*]) calls this figure, quite sensibly, *mudjāwarat al-aḍdād* "juxtaposition of opposites", whereas he uses the term *muṭābaḳ* in the sense of *tadjnīs* [*q.v.*]. This same "aberrant" use of *muṭābaḳ* is also found in Ḳudāma (d. 320/932 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Wahb (1st half 4th/10th century; he prefers the form *muṭābaḳa*). Al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/998 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) reports a discussion between al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d. 315/927 [see AL-AKHFASH. iii]) and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967 [*q.v.*]), in which the latter asks about the two meanings of *muṭābaḳ* and al-Akhfash sets the record straight according to the majority view (Bonebakker, *Materials*, 38). Ḳudāma does discuss antithesis as well, calling it, however, by the idiosyncratic name of *takāfuʾ* "balancing". Ḳudāma's deviation from the consensus—with regard to both terms, *muṭābaḳ* and *takāfuʾ*—is much talked about in later sources (with great sophistication by al-Sidjilmāsī [*q.v.*]), mostly with the general tenor that in principle a quarrel about terminology is pointless. Strangely, however, the term *takāfuʾ* is revitalised later by some to denote a specific type of *ṭibāḳ*, one in which one term (thus Nadjm al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr [d. 737/1337]) or both terms of the antithesis (thus Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ [d. 654/1256]) are figurative.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908 [*q.v.*]) is the first to use *muṭābaḳa* as a term to denote "antithesis". He includes it among the five figures that he singles out as constituting the *badīʿ* [*q.v.*] phenomenon. He probably does so because *muṭābaḳa* shares with the other *badīʿ* figures two characteristics: (a) it creates two (sometimes more) poles in a line (in this case the two antithetical words), and (b) it is often, particularly in *muḥdath* poetry, combined with the first and most important *badīʿ* figure, the loan metaphor (*istiʿāra*, cf. W. Heinrichs in *ZGAIW*, i [1984], 190-1). The first theorist to use the form *ṭibāḳ* seems to have been Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*].

The main topics discussed by the theorists are the following:

1. The nature of the opposition. Whereas most definitions of *ṭibāḳ* are based on the word *ḍidd* "opposite" and exemplified by pairs such as "black" vs. "white" and "laugh" vs. "weep", there is some discussion whether a mere difference within the same category, such as e.g. "red" vs. "green", would also constitute a *ṭibāḳ*. Some subsume it under the *muṭābaḳa* category (thus e.g. Ḥāzim al-Karṭādjannī), others establish a separate category parallel to *muṭābaḳ(a)* under an overarching heading (*mukhālif* under *taḍādd* in Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī). The use of various colours in one

line acquires the status of a separate figure, mostly as a subcategory of *ṭibāḳ*, under the name of *tadbīdj* "brocading" (see Mehren, 99).

2. The combination of *ṭibāḳ* with other figures, most prominently the metaphor. Since a simple antithesis is rather artless, it is frequently interwoven with metaphorical structures, especially in "modern" poetry. Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ distinguishes between antitheses with *ḥaḳīḳa* words and others with *madjāz* words; for the latter he revives the Ḳudāmian term *takāfuʾ* with this new meaning. An example would be Ibn Rashīḳ's line: *wa-ḳad aṭfaʾū shamsa 'l-nahāri wa-awḳadū nudjūma 'l-ʿawālī fī samāʾi ʿadjādji* "they extinguished the sun of day and they lit the stars of the lances in a sky of whirling dust". The author adds that this metaphorical antithesis would be an example of the "combination of figures" which he had discovered as a "figure" in its own right and termed *muḳārana* (for the latter see *Taḥbīr*, 603-6). Interestingly, Nadjm al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, though also introducing the term *takāfuʾ*, restricts it to cases in which only one of the opposites is metaphorical, as in Diʿbil's line: *lā taʿdjabī yā Salma min radjul^in—ḍaḥika 'l-mashību bi-raʾsihī fa-bakā* "don't be amazed, O Salmā, at a man, on whose head hoariness is laughing, whereas he is all tears", where, obviously, only *ḍaḥika* is metaphorical, while *bakā* is real. Ibn Maʿṣūm, who likewise introduces the distinction between *ṭibāḳ ḥaḳīḳī* and *ṭibāḳ madjāzī*, says that, ordinarily, the latter is defined as an antithesis based on words used figuratively. He finds this unsatisfactory and stipulates further that the actually intended meanings of the figuratively used words must be antithetical; otherwise, one is dealing with an *īhām al-ṭibāḳ*, a "make-believe antithesis". From this point of view the lines already quoted do not pass muster: neither Ibn Rashīḳ's "blotting out the sun" vs. "raising the lances and letting their heads glisten" nor Diʿbil's "being bright" vs. "weeping" are real-life opposites. The example for *ṭibāḳ madjāzī* that Ibn Maʿṣūm adduces is a line by al-Tihāmī (d. 416/1025 [*q.v.*]): *la-ḳad aḥyā 'l-makārima baʿda mawt^in wa-shāda bināʾahā baʿda 'nhidāmi* "he brought the glorious deeds to life after [a period of] death, and he [re]built their structure after [a period of] ruin". Here the two metaphorical antitheses "bringing to life/death" and "rebuilding/ruin" reflect a real-life opposition "existence/non-existence". From this point of view, the "make-believe antithesis" is a much greater frequency and vibrancy in "modern" poetry than the more pedestrian *ṭibāḳ madjāzī* of Ibn Maʿṣūm.

3. Observations on the literary history of *ṭibāḳ*. There are two vantage points from which one might view this history: "prose and poetry" and "Ancients and Moderns". As for the first, it is clear that *ṭibāḳ* was a prominent feature of early (and later) sayings (*ḥikam*) and speeches (*khuṭab*); it moulded their style and argument. Al-Bāḳillānī goes so far as to say that most of the speeches of eloquent people are *taṭbīḳ*. Small wonder that the scribes took a great interest in this figure and developed their own terminology: al-Khʷārazmī says that what the critics of poetry called *muṭābaḳa*, the scribes term *mukāfaʾa* (in view of Ḳudāma's *takāfuʾ* this reading is preferred to the *mukāfāt* of the ed. van Vloten). A large percentage of the *shawāhid* adduced to exemplify *ṭibāḳ* are sayings and aphorisms.

As for the second perspective, the critics agree that already the ancient Arabs produced a fair amount of *ṭibāḳ* in their poetry, maybe more than any other figure of speech (al-Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, i, 171; Ibn Aflaḥ, *Muḳaddima*, 7), although they sometimes missed a chance that later poets would not have (see Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal*, iii, 181; and al-Muẓaffar al-Ḥusaynī, *Ighrīḍ*, 101, on the "modern" improvement by Abu 'l-Shīṣ on a well-known "ancient" line by ʿAmr b. Kulthūm). As with all *badīʿ* figures, the "Moderns" had a great predilection for *ṭibāḳ*. Some critics even say that it is the best of all the *badīʿ* figures (Ibn Wakīʿ, *Munṣif*, i, 49). Abū Tammām was particularly keen on it, with mixed results (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal*, iii, 175). Al-Mutanabbī is surprisingly credited with comparatively few (*ibid.*, 178). As already hinted at, the "modern" poets combined their *ṭibāḳs* with other figures of speech, metaphor first and foremost. Ibn Maʿṣūm gives a list of various combinations with examples. He also points out that the more "recent" poets, such as Ibn Makānis (d. 794/1392), Ibn Nubāta (768/1366 [*q.v.*]), and Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1211 [*q.v.*]), have a penchant for combining *ṭibāḳ* and *tawriya* "double entendre".

Finally, *ṭibāḳ* is not specifically Arabic, as Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr points out: the pre-Islamic Persians used it and the Greeks as well. As Hippocrates said at the beginning of the "Aphorisms": *al-ʿumru ḳaṣīr^un wa-'l-ṣināʿatu ṭawīla* "vita brevis, ars longa".

Bibliography: *Ṭibāḳ* is dealt with in almost all works on rhetoric and poetics. Only substantive passages are listed below: Thaʿlab, *Ḳawāʿid al-shiʿr*, ed. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1966, 62-4 (*mudjāwarat al-aḍdād*); Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *K. al-Badīʿ*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1935, 36-47 (*muṭābaḳa*); Ḳudāma, *K. Naḳd al-shiʿr*, ed. S.A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956, 78-81 (*takāfuʾ*); idem, *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, repr. Beirut 1399/1979, 7; Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana bayn shiʿr Abī Tammām wa 'l-Buḥturī*, ed. al-S.A. Ṣaḳr, 2 vols., Cairo 1380-[1384]/1961-5, 14-18, 271-75; Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, repr. 1968, 73 (*mukāfaʾa*), 94 (*muṭābaḳa*); Ḥātimī, *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, ed. Hilāl Nādjī, Baghdād *ca.* 1977, 40-3 (*muṭābaḳa*), cf. also S.A. Bonebakker, *Materials for the history of Arabic rhetoric from the* Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara *of al-Ḥātimī* (= *Supplemento n. 4 agli ANNALI—Vol. 35 [1975], fascicolo 3*), Naples 1975, 38-43; al-Ḳāḍī al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa-khuṣūmih*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm and ʿA.M. al-Bidjāwī, [3]Cairo n.d., 44-6 (*muṭābaḳa*); Ibn Wakīʿ, *Kitāb al-Munṣif li 'l-sāriḳ wa 'l-masrūḳ minhu fī iẓhār sariḳāt Abī 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī*, ed. M.Y. Nadjm, Kuwait 1404/1984, i, 47-50 (*muṭābaḳa*); Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Kitab al-Ṣināʿatayn al-kitāba wa 'l-shiʿr*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Bidjāwī and M.A. Ibrāhīm, [2]Cairo n.d. [1971], 316-29 (*muṭābaḳa*); Bāḳillānī, *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. al-S.A. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1963, 80-3 (*muṭābaḳa*); Yazdādī, *Kamāl al-balāgha wa-huwa rasāʾil Shams al-Maʿālī Ḳābūs b. Wushmgīr*, ed. M. al-Khaṭīb, Baghdād and Cairo 1341, 21, 24 (*mutaḍādd*); Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda fī maḥāsin al-shiʿr wa-ādābih wa-naḳdih*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols., [3]Cairo 1383/1963-4, ii, 5-12 (*muṭābaḳa*); Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī, *Sirr al-faṣāḥa*, ed. ʿA. al-Ṣaʿīdī, Cairo 1389/1969, 191-7 (*mutaḍādd, muṭābaḳ*); Rādūyānī, *Kitāb Tardjumān al-balāgha*, ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949, 31-5 (*mutaḍādd, muṭābaḳ*); Moshe b. ʿEzra, *K. al-muḥāḍara wa 'l-mudhākara*, ed. and tr. Montserrat Abumalham Mas, 2 vols., Madrid 1985-6, i, 255-7 [text], ii, 272-4 [tr.] (*muṭābaḳa*); Ibn Aflaḥ, *al-Muḳaddima*, ed. G.J. van Gelder, in *Two Arabic treatises on stylistics*, Istanbul 1987, 7-10 (*taṭbīḳ*); Usāma b. Munḳidh, *al-Badīʿ fī naḳd al-shiʿr*, ed. A.A. Badawī and Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Cairo 1960, 36-40 (*taṭbīḳ*); Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir fī adab al-kātib wa 'l-shāʿir*, ed. A. al-Ḥūfī and B. Ṭabāna, 3 vols., [2]Riyāḍ 1403/1983, iii, 171-94 (*muṭābaḳa*);

Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba', *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr fī ṣinā'at al-shi'r wa 'l-nathr wa-bayān i'djāz al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Ḥ.M. Sharaf, Cairo 1963, 111 ff. (*ṭibāḳ*); al-Muẓaffar b. al-Faḍl al-'Alawī [al-Ḥusaynī], *Naḍrat al-ighrīḍ fī nuṣrat al-ḳarīḍ*, ed. N.'Ā. al-Ḥasan, Damascus 1396/1976, 97-103 (*muṭābaḳa*); Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī, *Minhādj al-bulaghā' wa-sirādj al-udabā'*, ed. M. al-Ḥ. Ibn al-Khūdja (Belkhodja), Tunis 1966, 48-51 (*muṭābaḳa*); Sidjilmāsī, *al-Manza' al-badī' fī tadjnīs asālīb al-badī'*, ed. 'A. al-Ghāzī, Rabat 1401/1980, 370-81 (*muṭābaḳa*); Nadjm al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥalabī, *Djawhar al-Kanz—Talkhīṣ Kanz al-barā'a fī adawāt dhawī 'l-yarā'a*, ed. M.Z. Salām, Alexandria n.d. [1974], 84-90 (*ṭibāḳ wa-muḳābala*); Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī, *al-Talkhīṣ fī 'ulūm al-balāgha* [i.e. *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*], ed. 'A. al-Barḳūḳī, n.p. n.d. [Beirut 1982], 348 ff. (*muṭābaḳa*); Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-'Alawī, *al-Ṭirāz al-mutaḍammin li-asrār al-balāgha wa-'ulūm ḥaḳā'iḳ al-i'djāz*, 3 vols., Cairo 1914, ii, 377-91 (*taṭbīḳ*); Ibn Ma'ṣūm, *Anwār al-rabī' fī anwā' al-badī'*, ed. Sh.H. Shukr, 7 vols., Najaf 1968, ii, 31-58 (*al-ṭibāḳ*).

Reference works. F. Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, ed. W. Pertsch, Gotha 1874, 356 (*taḍādd, īhām al-mutaḍādd*); J. Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1893, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 78-84 (*muṭābaḳa*); A.F.M. von Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen and Vienna 1853, repr. Hildesheim and New York 1970, 97-100 (*ṭibāḳ, muṭābaḳa*).

(W.P. Heinrichs)

ṬIBB (A.), medicine.

1. Medicine in the Islamic world.

Medical care in the Islamic world was pluralistic, with various practices serving different needs and sometimes intermingling. This medical pluralism allowed pre-Islamic traditional and magical practices to flourish alongside medical theories inherited from the Hellenistic world and drug lore acquired from India and elsewhere. The medical practices of pre-Islamic Arabia appear to have continued as the dominant form of care into the early days of the Umayyad caliphate. The nature of this medical care is known primarily through various *ḥadīths*, which later formed the basis of a genre of medical writing called *al-ṭibb al-nabawī* (see below).

Sources tell us virtually nothing about the medical care extended to the four Orthodox Caliphs and little about the medical care outside the court. There is a story of an Arab named al-Ḥārith b. Kalada [*q.v.* in Suppl.] who is said to have held learned discussions with the Sāsānid ruler Khusraw Anūshirwān, to have studied medicine at Gondēshāpūr (see below), to have been sufficiently known for his care that the Prophet referred sick people to him, and who, according to some traditions, was connected with the final illnesses of Abū Bakr and 'Umar [*q.vv.*]. The therapy that he advocated, according to later biographical literature, reflects traditional practices of using locally available plants rather than the Hellenistic tradition generally associated with Gondēshāpūr. The accounts of al-Ḥārith b. Kalada were elaborated over time and include conflicting elements making it difficult to assess the historical figure. For similar reasons, it is difficult to determine the authenticity of reports regarding Ibn Abī Rimtha, who was supposed to have been a contemporary of the Prophet and to have practised surgery. It is evident that a need was felt to justify and defend the use of medicine by appealing to accounts which showed the Prophet and early members of the Muslim community having recourse to doctors.

Only a few meagre details emerge regarding the physicians serving the early Umayyad caliphs. The first Umayyad caliph, Mu'āwiya [*q.v.*], is said to have employed a Christian physician of Damascus, Ibn Uthāl. The physician to the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99-101/717-20) is said to have been 'Abd al-Malik b. Abdjar al-Kinānī, a convert to Islam who reportedly studied at the surviving medical school in Alexandria. One of the few Umayyad physicians known by extant writings, and possibly the first to translate a medical treatise into Arabic, is Māsardjawayh [*q.v.*], sometimes called Māsardjīs, a Judaeo-Persian physician living in Baṣra. While some accounts have Māsardjawayh living at the end of the 2nd/8th or the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, others state that, for either the caliph Marwān I or 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, he translated into Arabic from Syriac the medical handbook (*kunnāsh*) of Ahrun [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a 7th-century physician of the Alexandrian medical school.

Modern historians have usually assigned a prominent role in the development of Islamic medicine to the city of Gondēshāpūr [*q.v.*], in southwestern Persia, which in the 6th century was an outpost of Hellenism. It has been asserted that Gondēshāpūr had an important hospital and medical school which supported the translation of Greek and possibly Sanskrit texts into Middle Persian and Syriac, but this interpretation has been challenged by recent historians. There seems to be no evidence that there was a hospital in Gondēshāpūr or a formal medical school. There may have been a modest infirmary where Greco-Roman medicine was practiced and a forum where medical texts could be read, as was the case in other towns such as Susa nearby to the west. The alleged prominence of Gondēshāpūr as a medical centre with hospital was possibly due to the dominance of Nestorian Christians amongst the early physicians at the 'Abbāsid court who wished to claim the hospital as their idea and to establish a history to support their medical authority. Certainly, the Nestorian monopolisation of early medicine in Baghdād meant that the medicine they advocated, based upon Greek texts, was promoted over the rival practices of Zoroastrians and Indians or the native medicine of Arabia.

The influence of Gondēshāpūr upon early 'Abbāsid medicine (if our sources are reliable) is evident in the prominent role given the Bukhtīshū' [*q.v.*] family of Nestorian Christian physicians. For eight generations, from the mid-2nd/8th well into the second half of the 5th/11th century, twelve members of the family served caliphs as physicians and advisers, often sponsoring the translation of texts and composing original treatises. In 148/765 the caliph al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], suffering from a stomach complaint, called Djurdjīs b. Djibrā'īl b. Bukhtīshū' to Baghdād from Gondēshāpūr, where he had been the leading physician and author of a Syriac medical handbook. He eventually returned to Gondēshāpūr, where he died after 151/768, but his son was called to Baghdād in 171/787, where he remained until his death in 185/801, serving as physician to the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. The subsequent generations of Bukhtīshū' remained in Baghdād. The court physician to the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil, the Christian physician Sābūr b. Sahl [*q.v.*], was also said to have practised medicine in Gondēshāpūr before coming to Baghdād.

Early in the 'Abbāsid caliphate, interest was directed toward medical and scientific works from older cultures, especially Greek—no doubt encouraged by the Christian court physicians who spoke or read Syriac and Greek. After translation was undertaken on a major scale, the Hellenistic and Byzantine medical

theories and practices were completely accepted and integrated into the learned medical thinking of the day. The most influential of the Greek writings to be translated into Arabic were the compendium on *materia medica* by Dioscorides [see DIYUSḲURIDĪS], various treatises by Rufus of Ephesus [see RŪFUS AL-AFSĪSĪ], the surgical chapter from the Greek encyclopaedia by Paul of Aegina working in Alexandria in the 7th century, and especially the voluminous medical writings and exposition of humoral medicine by Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS]. The Hippocratic writings [see BUḲRĀṬ, in Suppl.], while extensively used by some Islamic physicians, were not in general as direct a formative influence as the Galenic writings.

Early in the 3rd/9th century a foundation called *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*], the House of Wisdom, was established in Baghdād for promoting the translation of foreign texts. The most productive translator (though his relationship with the enterprise called *bayt al-ḥikma* is unclear) was Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ al-ʿIbādī [*q.v.*], another Nestorian Christian but originally from al-Ḥīra in southern ʿIrāḳ. He translated into both Syriac and Arabic, often working in collaboration with others, including his son Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] and his nephew Ḥubaysh [*q.v.*], the latter sometimes translating into Arabic the Syriac version made by Ḥunayn. Ten years before his death Ḥunayn recorded that of Galen's works alone, he had made 95 Syriac and 34 Arabic versions. Ḥunayn also composed original medical writings, including the very influential *K. al-Masāʾil fi ʾl-ṭibb li ʾl-mutaʿallimīn* and the ophthalmological treatise *K. al-ʿAshr maḳālāt fi ʾl-ʿayn*. Ḥunayn and other translators, such as the Melkite Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [*q.v.*], had access to the court as advisers and learned men, and through their translations, as well as original compositions, their work was fundamental to the establishment of the classical Arabic scientific and medical vocabulary.

There are a number of early physicians who are not known to have made translations themselves but whose writings reflect the very early period of adaptation of foreign material. Foremost amongst this group was another Nestorian Christian, Ibn Māsawayh [*q.v.*], whose father had been a physician in Gondēshāpūr before coming to Baghdād. Ibn Māsawayh composed a considerable number of Arabic medical monographs, on topics including fevers, leprosy, melancholy, dietetics, eye diseases and medical aphorisms. It was reported that Ibn Māsawayh regularly held a *madjlis* or assembly of some sort, where he consulted with patients and discussed subjects with pupils, amongst them Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ. At times, Ibn Māsawayh apparently attracted considerable audiences, having acquired a reputation for repartee. Another important figure was ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*], who died not long after 240/855. He not only summarised Greco-Roman practices in his compendium *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, dedicated in 235/850 to the caliph al-Mutawakkil, but also devoted a separate chapter to Indian medicine. Neither he nor subsequent writers, however, really tried to integrate the Indian material with Greco-Roman medicine. Approximately thirty other physicians who practiced before the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century are known by name and some by extant writings. By the end of the century the humoral system of pathology, particularly as had been advocated by Galen, formed the basis of nearly all the learned Arabic medical discourses.

Also in the 3rd/9th century there arose a genre of medical writing called *al-ṭibb al-nabawī*, or prophetic medicine, intended as an alternative to the exclusively Greek-based medical systems. The authors were clerics rather than physicians, and they advocated the traditional medical practices of the Prophet's day and those mentioned in the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth* over the medical ideas assimilated from Hellenistic society, sometimes blending the two approaches. One of the earliest examples is the 3rd/9th-century Shīʿī collection *Ṭibb al-aʾimma*. At about the same time, Ibn Ḥabīb al-Andalusī [*q.v.*] composed *Mukhtaṣar fi ʾl-ṭibb* based upon *ḥadīth*s concerned with medicine, while in the next century Ibn al-Sunnī (d. 364/974) compiled a treatise on the subject that was used by later writers. In the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, the genre became quite popular and it remains so today. The treatises by the historian al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*], the Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.v.*], and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]) are still available in modern printings. Treatises on prophetic medicine flourished for centuries alongside those of the Greek-based humoral tradition. We know of a considerable number of treatises on *al-ṭibb al-nabawī*, but we do not have the names of any who were known for practising this type of medicine. The reason for this may be that our written sources are for the most part skewed toward the Greek-based system and omit details of other practices. It would seem that treatises on *al-ṭibb al-nabawī* were not considered detrimental to, or competitive with, medical practices based primarily upon Hellenistic humoral medicine. Islamic plague tracts also had as their primary focus the collecting and interpreting of various *ḥadīth*s considered relevant to the concepts of contagion and transmissibility of disease and the proper reaction to such occurrences [see WABĀʾ]. Plague tracts also attempted medical explanations and remedies for plague, and sometimes a history of plagues up to the time of composition.

Following the rather rapid appropriation of Greek medicine (with a few Persian and Indian elements) that occurred in the 3rd/9th century, the organisation of the vast body of knowledge into a logical and accessible format became a primary concern. In the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries, four comprehensive Arabic medical encyclopaedias were composed that proved to be particularly influential. Yet no modern critical editions or translations of these encyclopaedias are available. Two of these fundamental works were written by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī [*q.v.*]: *K. al-Manṣūrī fi ʾl-ṭibb* and *K. al-Ḥāwī*. The former, dedicated in 290/903 to the Sāmānid prince Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Manṣūr b. Isḥāḳ, governor of Rayy, is a relatively short general textbook, while the latter was assembled posthumously from his working files of readings and personal observations. The *Ḥāwī* is a unique type of work in the history of medicine, and, even though it was so enormous that few could afford copies and was not tightly structured as mediaeval encyclopaedias usually were, it was frequently used by later physicians. It was not without its critics, however, for the *K. Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya* by ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī [*q.v.*] was written in part as an attempt to redress the lack of proper organisation and insufficient attention to anatomy and surgery that is evident in the *Ḥāwī*. Al-Madjūsī dedicated his only treatise to the Būyid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla Fanā Khusraw [*q.v.*], and it is one of the most comprehensive and well-organised medical compendia of early medical literature. Its division into two discrete parts, theoretical and practical, established a format common to later mediaeval medical writings. The fourth medical encyclopaedia of fundamental importance was *K. al-Ḳānūn fi ʾl-ṭibb* by Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*]. Composed

over a lengthy period of time as he moved westward from Gurgān to Rayy and then to Hamadān, the compendium consisted of five books: (1) general medical principles; (2) *materia medica*; (3) diseases occurring in a particular part of the body; (4) diseases such as fevers that are not specific to one bodily part; and (5) recipes for compound drugs. The first book sometimes circulated by itself under the title *al-Kulliyyāt*. Unlike al-Rāzī or al-Madjūsī, Ibn Sīnā did not name the sources from which he drew his material. These four attempts at collecting and systematising the rather unorganised Hellenistic and Byzantine medical literature were enormously successful in producing a coherent and orderly medical system. Their sheer size tended to emphasise their authoritative nature, reinforced by titles such as *al-Ḳānūn*.

The *Ḳānūn* was, however, not greeted everywhere with praise. In Spain, when Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr, who died in 525/1130 [see IBN ZUHR. III], was presented with a copy of the *Ḳānūn*, he so disliked it that he refused to put it in his library, preferring to cut off its margins for use in writing prescriptions for patients. He also wrote a treatise criticising the *materia medica* in the *Ḳānūn*. His students, like those of al-Rāzī before him, compiled his therapeutic procedures and case histories into a book, *K. al-Mudjarrabāt*, following his death in Seville. His son, Abū Marwān b. Zuhr [see IBN ZUHR. IV], wrote several important works, including *K. al-Iḳtiṣād* intended for a general audience and *K. al-Taysīr* concerned with therapeutics. His compatriot Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*] wrote *K. al-Kulliyyāt*, which became one of the most influential medical writings from Spain. It remains to be investigated whether Islamic medicine in Spain developed with less dependence upon the ideas of Ibn Sīnā than elsewhere. Available evidence suggests that the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā had little influence in ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt until the second half of the 6th/12th century, when Ibn al-Tilmīdh [*q.v.*], a physician at the ʿAḍudī hospital in Baghdād who died in 560/1165, wrote a marginal commentary in a copy he transcribed (in part from Ibn Sīnā's autograph copy) of the *Ḳānūn*; portions are extant in Cambridge, Browne ms. P 5(10), and Los Angeles, UCLA Biomedical Library, Coll. 1062, ms. 108. The influence of the *Ḳānūn* is detectable in the *K. al-Mukhtārāt fi 'l-ṭibb* written in Mawṣil in 560/1165 by Ibn Hubal [*q.v.*]. In Persia, the *Ḳānūn*'s influence is evident earlier, for the Persian handbook *Dhakhīra-yi Khwārazmshāhī* by Djurdjānī [*q.v.*], dedicated to the Khwārazmshāh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (490-521/1097-127), is highly dependent upon the *Ḳānūn*.

Both al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā also wrote essays on individual topics. Al-Rāzī wrote an influential monograph on smallpox and measles, though the earliest essay on the subject was by Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*]. Amongst al-Rāzī's other essays was one on colic (*K. al-Ḳūlandj*) and one criticising Galen's medical philosophy (*K. al-Shukūk ʿalā Djālīnūs*). Some of his case histories are contained in his *K. al-Ḥāwī*, but many more (nearly 900) were recorded and assembled posthumously by his students under the title *K. al-Tadjārib*. Ibn Sīnā's medical monographs included essays on colic, on cardiac drugs and on bloodletting, as well as a didactic medical poem (*Urdjūza fi 'l-ṭibb*) that was especially popular (judging from the large number of extant manuscripts and commentaries, including one by Ibn Rushd). The 4th/10th-century writings of Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī [*q.v.*], particularly that on fevers, were widely read, as were the writings of his pupil, the Tunisian physician Ibn al-Djazzār [*q.v.*]. The court physician to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī, composed at Cordova an encyclopaedia of 30 books entitled *K. al-Taṣrīf li-man ʿadjiza ʿan al-taṣnīf* that had particular influence through its final book, which was devoted to surgery. In the second half of the 4th/10th century, Akhawaynī Bukhārī, a student of a pupil of al-Rāzī, composed the earliest medical compendium in Persian, *Hidāyat al-mutaʿallimīn fi 'l-ṭibb*. The general Arabic textbook, *K. al-Muʿāladjāt al-buḳrāṭiyya*, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, court physician to the Būyid ruler Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*] is preserved in many manuscript copies and merits further attention from historians, while several of the treatises by the court physician to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Muḳtadī and al-Mustaẓhir [*q.vv.*], Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh (d. 495/1101), deserve detailed attention, especially his *K. al-Mughnī fī tadbīr al-amrāḍ* and his medical-philosophical essay *Fī khalḳ al-insān*.

In the 5th/11th century an acrimonious debate occurred between two important physicians. ʿAlī b. Riḍwān [*q.v.*] was a self-taught physician, burdened by an enormous ego and a quick temper. He was appointed chief physician by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*], and attained great political power in Egypt, where he also wrote several treatises including *K. Dafʿ maḍārr al-abdān bi-arḍ Miṣr*, a discourse on climatological features of Egypt and their relation to public sanitation and disease, particularly plague. When Ibn Buṭlān [*q.v.*], a Nestorian Christian from Baghdād educated under the leading physician of the day, arrived in Fusṭāṭ in 441/1049 and challenged Ibn Riḍwān's position, an exchange of ten increasingly vitriolic essays took place. The debate ostensibly centred upon an issue in Aristotelian biology, but was in fact motivated by enmity and the desire to acquire social status or to protect it. Ultimately, Ibn Buṭlān was forced to leave, but rather than return to Baghdād he went first to Constantinople and then to a monastery, where he became a monk. Ibn Buṭlān composed a medical manual for the use of monks, a tract on how to detect illnesses in slaves that were for sale, a satirical piece exposing the shortcomings of a physician and other medical personnel (*Daʿwat al-aṭibbāʾ*), and the extremely popular *K. Taḳwīm al-ṣiḥḥa*, which in the course of 40 charts presents 210 plants and animals and 70 other items and procedures useful for maintaining good health. Neither Ibn Buṭlān nor Ibn Riḍwān appear to have been aware of the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā.

Perhaps with Ibn Buṭlān's *Taḳwīm* as a model, synoptic charts became a common didactic element in Arabic medical literature. Such charts are found, for example, in the therapeutic handbooks of Ibn Djazla [*q.v.*] and Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh, and in the treatises on *materia medica* of Ibrāhīm b. Abī Saʿīd al-ʿAlāʾī al-Maghribī (*fl.* mid-6th/12th cent.) and Ḥubaysh b. Ibrāhīm al-Tiflīsī (*fl.* end of 6th/12th century). As early as the 3rd/9th century, branch diagrams were used to illustrate the relationship between ideas or between related diseases. Ibn Māsawayh appears to have been amongst the earliest to employ them, though branch diagrams are also found in some Arabic copies of summaries (*djawāmiʿ*) of Galenic treatises. Another popular format for medical discourse was that of questions and answers. Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ employed the technique in his *al-Masāʾil fi 'l-ṭibb li 'l-mutaʿallimīn* and also in *al-Masāʾil fi 'l-ʿayn*. Others followed suit, such as Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr al-Masīḥī (d. 589/1193), court physician to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*], in his introductory guide to medicine, *K. al-Iḳtiḍāb*. Didactic medical poetry was also a common device,

though given little attention by modern historians.

The Ayyūbid and Mamlūk dynasties were noted for their patronage of physicians and hospitals. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir I Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb (Saladin) [*q.v.*] was said to have had no less than 18 physicians in his service, eight of them Muslim, five Jews, four Christians, and one Samaritan. These included the well-known Jewish physician and philosopher Maimonides (Ibn Maymūn [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Djumayʿ [see IBN DJĀMIʿ]. The latter had a number of students, including Ibn Abi 'l-Bayān al-Isrāʾīlī [*q.v.*], the author of a formulary *Dustūr al-bīmāristān* for use in the Nāṣirī hospital.

Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī [*q.v.*] had founded a hospital in Damascus which was named after him the Nūrī hospital, and al-Malik al-Nāṣir I (Saladin) followed his example by founding in 567/1171 a hospital in Cairo called the Nāṣirī hospital. The development of urban hospitals was a major achievement of mediaeval Islamic society [see BĪMĀRISTĀN]. The relation of their design and development to earlier poor and sick relief facilities offered by some Christian monasteries has not yet been fully delineated, but it is evident that the mediaeval Islamic hospital was a more elaborate institution with a wider range of functions.

The Islamic hospital served several purposes: a centre of medical treatment, a convalescent home for those recovering from illness or accidents, an insane asylum, and a retirement home giving basic maintenance needs for the aged and infirm who lacked a family to care for them. It is unlikely that any truly wealthy person would have gone to a hospital, unless they were taken ill while travelling far from home. Except under unusual circumstances, all the medical needs of the wealthy and powerful would have been administered in the home. Though Jewish and Christian doctors working in hospitals were not uncommon, we do not know what proportion of the patients would have been non-Muslim. An association with a hospital seems to have been highly desirable for a physician, and some teaching occurred in hospitals, especially in Baghdād and later in Damascus and Cairo, but most medical instruction was probably acquired through private tutoring and apprenticeship.

The association of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd I [*q.v.*] with the establishment of the first hospital in Islam has been demonstrated to be unjustified, and the formative role of Gondēshāpūr in their development has been overemphasised. Available evidence suggests that the first Islamic hospital was founded in Baghdād by order of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The most important of the Baghdād hospitals was that established in 372/982 by ʿAḍud al-Dawla and we possess the fullest information about the great Syro-Egyptian hospitals of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries.

Following the death in 560/1165 of the head of the ʿAḍudī hospital in Baghdād, Ibn al-Tilmīdh, several physicians left Baghdād for Damascus and the Nūrī hospital. One of Ibn al-Tilmīdh's students to emigrate was Ibn al-Muṭrān (d. 587/1191), a Christian who converted to Islam and found in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn a generous patron, enabling him to develop a personal library said to contain 10,000 volumes. Ibn al-Muṭrān's major writing, *K. Bustān al-aṭibbāʾ wa-rawḍat al-alibbāʾ*, consists of numerous quotations from earlier authorities interspersed with his own comments, somewhat in the style of al-Rāzī's *Ḥāwī* but on a smaller and more organised scale. The leading figure in the teaching of learned medicine in Syria and Egypt in the 7th/13th century was Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī, known as al-Dakhwār (d. 628/1230), who had studied medicine with Ibn al-Muṭrān and in turn taught many students in Damascus, where he was associated with the Nūrī hospital. He established upon his death a *madrasa* [*q.v.*] which was devoted solely to instruction in medicine. The school opened in 628/1231, about a month after al-Dakhwār died, and it was still in existence in 820/1417 when it underwent repairs.

His two most famous students were Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and Ibn al-Nafīs. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.v.*] was born into a family of Damascene physicians and in his day was a noted oculist practicing at the Nūrī hospital. Today his name is more readily associated with his *K. ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, in which he gives the biographies of over 380 physicians and scholars. His work greatly expands the earlier bio-bibliographic accounts given by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī [*q.v.*].

Ibn al-Nafīs [*q.v.*], usually referred to in Arabic sources by his *nisba* al-Ḳurashī, was a noted jurist as well as a prolific writer of medical tracts. He undertook an enormous medical compendium called *K. al-Shāmil fi 'l-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, which was projected to extend to 300 volumes, of which he completed only 80 (portions are preserved in nine manuscripts, one of which is an autograph [Palo Alto, Stanford University, Lane Medical Library, ms. Z 276]). He also wrote on ophthalmology and produced a commentary on *K. al-Masāʾil fi 'l-ṭibb* by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ.

While the earliest epitome of the *Ḳānūn* seems to have been that by al-Īlāḳī (*fl.* 460/1068), a pupil of Ibn Sīnā, it was not really until the late 6th/12th century that a serious need was perceived for aids to understanding the *Ḳānūn*. The Egyptian Jewish physician Ibn Djumayʿ, who died in 594/1198, composed possibly the earliest commentary on the *Ḳānūn*. In the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, commentaries and epitomes followed in rapid succession, and it was this industry of glossing and condensing the *Ḳānūn* that assured the encyclopaedia its pre-eminent position in mediaeval medicine.

The most widely read of all abridgements of the *Ḳānūn* was that titled *K. al-Mūdjiz* written by Ibn al-Nafīs. He also composed a commentary on the entire *Ḳānūn* that became an authoritative work in its own right, and in it he criticised Ibn Sīnā for, amongst other things, spreading his discussion of anatomy over several different sections of the *Ḳānūn*. Ibn al-Nafīs then prepared a separate commentary on the anatomy which is preserved in several copies, one completed in 640/1242 some 46 years before his death (Los Angeles, UCLA Biomedical Library, Coll. 1062, ms. 80), and in it Ibn al-Nafīs described the movement of blood through the pulmonary transit (the pulmonary circulation) some three centuries before it was described by Europeans [see TASHRĪḤ]. Ibn al-Nafīs spent much of his life in Cairo, where he died in 687/1288 bequeathing his house and library to the recently-constructed Manṣūrī hospital there.

In Damascus, an important pupil of both Ibn al-Nafīs and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa was the Christian physician Ibn al-Ḳuff [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who taught medicine in Damascus and composed what appears to be the only mediaeval Arabic treatise devoted solely to surgery. This manual (*K. al-ʿUmda fī ṣināʿat al-djirāḥa*) covered all aspects of surgical care except ophthalmology, which he considered to be a speciality with its own technical literature.

Only two areas of medicine developed their own extensive specialist literature: ophthalmology and pharmacology. Nearly every medical compendium had chapters on both subjects, but the most comprehensive

coverage was to be found in the large number of monographs devoted solely to eye diseases or simple and compound remedies.

Ophthalmology was a topic in which mediaeval Islamic writers displayed considerable originality [see ʿAYN and RAMAD]. Early in the 3rd/9th century, both Ibn Māsawayh and his student Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ wrote influential monographs on the subject. Though based to a large extent upon Greek sources, they already show considerable advancement in knowledge over that in the extant Greek writings, including knowledge of some previously unrecognised pathological conditions such as pannus (*sabal* in Arabic), for which intricate surgical procedures soon developed. One of the most highly-regarded ophthalmological manuals was that covering 130 eye ailments written by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] who practised in Baghdād in the 4th/10th century, the *Tadhkirat al-Kaḥḥālīn*. A near-contemporary of his was ʿAmmār al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*], who was originally from ʿIrāḳ but moved to Egypt where he dedicated his only writing, a treatise on eye diseases, to the Fāṭimid ruler al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*]. ʿAmmār's treatise discusses only 48 diseases, but contains some interesting clinical cases and a claim to have designed a hollow cataract needle for the removal of the cataract from the eye by suction. This method of removal was attributed by al-Rāzī in his *K. al-Ḥāwī* to a Greek physician, Antyllus, of the 2nd century A.D.; others, such as al-Zahrāwī, said they had heard of such a procedure, but had not seen it performed. The history and efficacy of this supposed method of cataract removal has been the subject of recent studies. The method of cataract treatment undoubtedly widely practiced since antiquity, was that of couching, in which the opaque lens (or "crystalline humour") is not removed but rather pushed to one side. There is evidence that in some locales there were people who did nothing but couch cataracts; they were probably itinerant and not highly trained in other medical matters. For example, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] wrote in 682/1283 in his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn* that he carried out procedures such as bloodletting, suturing, the surgical removal (*laḳṭ*) of the eye conditions pannus and pterygium, but would not undertake couching of cataracts (*ḳadḥ*) as not befitting him.

For reasons as yet unknown, there was during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries an unprecedented interest in composing Arabic treatises on ophthalmology. In Spain, Muḥammad b. Ḳassūm b. Aslam al-Ghāfiḳī [*q.v.*], of whom essentially nothing is known, wrote *K. al-Murshid fī ṭibb al-ʿayn*, consisting of nine chapters covering all aspects of the medical, surgical, and pharmaceutical treatment of the ocular disorders then recognised. The first chapter is of particular interest for its discussion of the ethics of oculists and a paraphrase of the Hippocratic oath. In Cairo, Fatḥ al-Dīn al-Ḳaysī (d. 657/1258) dedicated his ophthalmological manual to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ II Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb [*q.v.*]. His treatise, *K. Natīdjat al-fikar fī ʿilādj amrāḍ al-baṣar*, consists of seventeen chapters dealing with the anatomy and physiology of the eye and with the causes, symptoms, and treatment of 124 eye conditions, some apparently described here for the first time. About a decade later, another comprehensive ocular manual was composed in Syria by Khalīfa b. Abi 'l-Maḥāsin [*q.v.*], who meticulously cited the previous writers on the subject from whom he drew material. Al-Ḳaysī is not among them, and so we are left to conclude that al-Ḳaysī's treatise was not yet available in northern Syria, where Khalīfa apparently worked. The manual by Khalīfa includes a considerable amount of novel material, including diagrammatic charts of ophthalmological instruments and the first recorded instance of the use of a magnet to remove a foreign object from the eye—in this case a piece of a needle that had broken while couching a cataractous eye.

Another important 7th/13th-century ophthalmological treatise was *K. Nūr al-ʿuyūn wa-djāmiʿ al-funūn* whose author is commonly referred to as Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Yūsuf al-Kaḥḥāl al-Ḥamawī; it has been demonstrated, however, that the treatise was composed by one Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Abi 'l-Radjā' (see G. Schoeler, in *Isl.*, lxiv [1987], 89-97). This particular manual is unusual in examining at length the optical explanation of vision, and it also has illustrations of instruments and an interesting diagram showing a quarter section of an eye along two different planes. A very thorough and systematic explication of 7th/13th-century ophthalmological knowledge was presented by Ibn al-Nafīs in his *K. al-Muhadhdhab fī ṭibb al-ʿayn*. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, in his biographical dictionary, devoted two chapters to his contemporaries in Syria and Egypt, and yet al-Ḳaysī was the only one of the Syrian-Egyptian oculists contemporary with him to receive his attention. It is curious that he omitted to mention Ibn al-Nafīs or Khalīfa or Ibn Abi 'l-Radjā' (ps.-Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), though there is one manuscript copy, now in Damascus (Ẓāhiriyya ms. 4883 *ṭibb*, fol. 104b), of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *K. ʿUyūn al-anbā'* which has a paragraph at the end of the treatise concerning Ibn al-Nafīs, but it appears to be an addition to a recent copy. In the following century, the Egyptian scholar Ibn al-Akfānī [see IBN AL-AKFĀNĪ. 3, in Suppl.] wrote an ophthalmological text, *K. Kashf al-rayn fī aḥwāl al-ʿayn*, and then prepared an abridgement of it. Later in the 8th/14th century Ṣadaḳa b. Ibrāhīm al-Shādhilī composed his *K. al-ʿUmda al-kuḥliyya fī 'l-amrāḍ al-baṣariyya* which contains some interesting evidence of the level and frequency of ocular surgery in his day. The decline in originality characteristic of the majority of medical compositions after the 8th/14th century can be seen in a manual written in the 9th/15th century by the Egyptian oculist Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Munāwī, for it actually consists of the abridgement which al-Akfānī wrote of his own treatise, alongside of which al-Munāwī placed the text of al-Akfānī's longer manual as well as the relevant passages from Ibn al-Nafīs's treatise on ophthalmology.

In pharmacology, Islamic writers surpassed their earlier models, primarily because their broader geographic horizons brought them into contact with drugs unknown to earlier peoples. Knowledge of medicinal substances was based initially upon the approximately 500 substances described by Dioscorides [see DIYUSḲŪRĪDĪS]. From the formularies of Sābūr b. Sahl and al-Kindī [*q.vv.*], and a treatise on the medical régime for pilgrims to Mecca (*R. fī tadbīr safar al-ḥadjdj*) written by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, it is evident that by the 3rd/9th century many medicaments were being used that were unknown in Hellenistic medicine, including camphor [see KĀFŪR], musk [see MISK], and sal-ammoniac [see AL-NŪSHĀDIR], as well as commodities previously unknown to Europe, such as cotton [see ḲUṬN]. For other formularies, see AḲRĀBĀDHĪN. Numerous treatises were composed on *materia medica*, often with extensive philological interests [see NABĀT and ADWIYA]. Most influential of all was the manual by Ibn al-Bayṭār [*q.v.*], which was an alphabetical guide to over 1,400 medicaments in 2,324 separate entries, taken from his own observations as well as over 260 written sources which he quotes. His enormous manual formed the basis of

many subsequent guides to medicinal substances. New equipment was also developed for pharmaceutics. "Albarello" is the name given today in Europe to drug jars having a contracted waist, the earliest examples of which were made in Syria in the 6th/12th century. There was also a large and varied industry of mortar and pestle design and production.

The topic of poisons was of great interest in both antiquity and in mediaeval Islam. Snake and dog bites as well as the ill effects of scorpions and spiders and other animals caused much concern, while the poisonous properties of various minerals and plants, such as aconite, mandrake, and black hellebore, were exploited. A particularly important Arabic treatise on antidotes was written in 669/1270 in Syria by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Anṣārī (unique copy, Bethesda, Md., National Library of Medicine, ms. A64). It not only describes plants found in Syria at the time, but incorporates extensive quotations from other treatises, including some otherwise lost today, such as a treatise on antidotes by the Egyptian physician al-Tamīmī (d. 370/980) and an illustrated herbal by the Syrian Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn al-Manṣūr b. al-Ṣūrī (d. 641/1243) [see further, SUMM].

Other topics were sometimes the subjects of monographs, but they did not generate a large specialist literature. Such topics included anatomy [see TAS̲H̲RĪḤ], colic, haemorrhoids, skin diseases, forgetfulness, headaches, melancholia, fevers, bloodletting [see FAṢṢĀD, in Suppl.], embryology [see ʿARĪB B. SAʿD AL-KĀTIB AL-ḲURṬUBĪ], and care of children [see ṢAG̲H̲ĪR]. In the case of surgery [see D̲J̲ARRĀḤ and K̲H̲ITĀN], Ibn al-Ḳuff's book on it was not as influential as the surgical chapter from the encyclopaedia by al-Zahrāwī, which was illustrated with drawings of instruments and often circulated independently from the encyclopaedia. A Turkish version of al-Zahrāwī's surgical chapter was prepared for Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ [*q.v.*], but human figures were introduced into the illustrations, reducing the instruments to insignificance; it was probably never intended as a guide to a physician but rather as an entertaining present to a ruler. Other topics, such as leprosy [see D̲J̲UD̲H̲ĀM, in Suppl.] and malaria [see MALĀRYĀ] were discussed in encyclopaedias and have interested modern scholars, but were not themselves the subjects of monographs.

In certain regions the functioning of medical practioners was overseen by a *raʾīs al-aṭibbāʾ* and/or a *muḥtasib*. Though little is known about the actual duties of the former, a number of manuals were written as guides for the latter [see ḤISBA]. Prior to the 6th/12th century, the manuals only briefly mentioned the medical profession, and then mostly in relation to drugs, weights, and measures. Al-S̲h̲ayzarī (d. 589/1193), a physician working in Aleppo, wrote a manual requiring that the Hippocratic oath be administered to physicians, oculists examined for their knowledge of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's *K. al-ʿAs̲h̲r maḳālāt fi ʾl-ʿayn*, bone setters tested with the Arabic version of Paul of Aegina's surgical chapter, and surgeons required to know a particular book by Galen. Later manuals repeated these requirements, but there is little evidence as to what extent such examinations were actually conducted. It has also been asserted that a mediaeval Islamic physician was granted a license (*id̲j̲āza*) following the completion of his education. There is, however, no evidence for a uniform, standardised, or controlled system of medical education, though there are preserved today a number of signed statements at the end of treatises that a student has read and understood a given text in the presence of the author or established physician. Such certifications are not equivalent to licensing a physician upon completion of an approved period of training, nor is the term *id̲j̲āza* found in such documents.

Magical and folkloric practices, as well as astrological medicine, also formed part of the medical pluralism. One of the most obvious uses of charms and incantations was to protect against epidemics, whose occurrences were devastating, unpredictable and little understood, but they were also used to protect against every sort of disease and misfortune as well as the evil eye. Certain verses of the Ḳurʾān were considered especially beneficial, and magical alphabets and other sigla were combined to form amulets, which (after the 6th/12th century) might include magic squares [see WAFḲ]. That such practices were not the sole domain of the poor is evident in the magic-medicinal bowls made for Ayyūbid and Mamlūk rulers. Large numbers of magic-medicinal bowls are preserved today, engraved with magical symbols and Ḳurʾānic verses. According to inscriptions on the early specimens, they were thought useful for a variety of ailments, including stomach complaints, headache, nosebleeds, scorpion stings, bites of snakes and mad dogs, and would assist in childbirth. Curiously, neither the magic-medicinal bowls nor the talismanic shirts (of which a considerable number of Ṣafawid, Ottoman and Mug̲h̲al examples are recorded) are mentioned in the written literature that has been so far examined. The writings of learned physicians, such as al-Rāzī, are not entirely devoid of sympathetic magic, for occasional references are found to sympathetic remedies involving magical principles. Throughout the society, in varying degrees, there was room for popular explanations and cures alongside the more learned approaches.

Early modern European influences can be seen in Ṣafawid medicine [see ṢAFAWIDS. IV. ii. 1]. The earliest treatise on syphilis (*ātis̲h̲ak*) appears to be a Persian essay written in 977/1569 by ʿImād al-Dīn Maḥmūd S̲h̲īrāzī, who also wrote a separate tract on China Root (*čub-i čīnī*), the rhizome of an Old World species of Smilax advocated for syphilis and as a general panacea. This new drug for treating a new disease was rapidly incorporated into Arabic medical writings. For example, Dāwūd al-Anṭākī [*q.v.*] included in his *Tad̲h̲kira* a similar description of syphilis and China Root. Al-Anṭākī also relied heavily upon medieval Islamic writers and earlier Greek sources, for which he learnt Greek so as to study them directly.

At the Ottoman court of the 11th/17th century, the early-modern European concept of "chemical medicine" was introduced through the writings of the court physician to Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*], Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣr b. Sallūm, who translated into Arabic several Latin writings by Oswald Croll (d. 1609), professor of medicine at the University of Marburg, and Daniel Sennert (d. 1637), professor of medicine at Wittenberg. Both men were followers of Paracelsus (d. 1541), who employed mineral acids, inorganic salts and alchemical procedures in the production of remedies. Many of the medicaments required distillation processes and plants that were indigenous to the New World, such as guaiacum and sarsaparilla. Ibn Sallūm's treatises not only reflected the new "chemical medicine" but also described for the first time in Arabic a number of "new" diseases, such as scurvy, anaemia, chlorosis, the English sweat (a type of influenza) and plica polonica (an East European epidemic of matted and crusted hair caused by infestation with lice). By the 17th century it is evident that Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica* printed in Basel in 1542 was known in the Ṣafawid and Ottoman empires [see TAS̲H̲RĪḤ]. At the same

time, at the Ottoman court there was a revival of interest in *terra lemnia* (an ancient Greek medicinal earth) as a remedy for plague.

In the early 18th century, there was continued Ottoman interest in Paracelsian medicine, though there was also opposition from practitioners of mediaeval humoral medicine. When plague befell Istanbul, Muṣṭafā III [*q.v.*] ordered a Turkish translation to be made of two treatises by Hermann Boerhaave (d. 1738), a Dutch medical reformer. These versions, made by the court physician Ṣubḥī-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in collaboration with the Austrian interpreter Thomas von Herbert, attempted through explanations and glosses to harmonise the European medicine with the traditional medicine.

In the 19th century, profound changes occurred in the teaching of medicine, and as European medicine was introduced on a large scale, many European texts were translated into Arabic and Persian. In 1828 a medical school near Cairo was established at which French, Italian, and German professors taught European medicine, and in 1850 a military medical school, the Dār al-Fūnūn, was founded in Tehran where instruction was given in French by professors from Austria and Italy. Yet medical pluralism remains even today, with traditional and folkloric practices and treatises on *al-ṭibb al-nabawī* still forming part of the spectrum of medical care.

In the 5th/11th century, Arabic medical theories and practices began to filter into Europe. One of the earliest to be translated was an abbreviated version of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's *K. al-Masāʾil fī ʾl-ṭibb*, known in Latin as the *Isagoge*, which was fundamental in establishing the basic conceptual framework of medicine in Europe. The major writings of al-Madjūsī (Haly Abbas), al-Rāzī (Rhazes), and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) were all translated into Latin by the mid-7th/13th century. The name Mesue was associated with several influential Latin treatises, only some of which were actually written by Ibn Māsawayh. The writings of Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī and Ibn al-Djazzār had considerable circulation through Latin versions, as did the *K. al-Kulliyyāt* (*Colliget*) of Ibn Rushd (Averroes). The surgical chapter by al-Zahrāwī (Abulcasis) enjoyed great popularity in Europe, as did the *Taḳwīm al-ṣiḥḥa* of Ibn Buṭlān, known as *Tacuim* or *Tacuinum sanitatis*. With only a few exceptions, no Islamic medical writers who lived after Ibn Buṭlān are represented by Latin translations of their writings. A subject of debate is whether a Latin translation of Ibn al-Nafīs's description of the pulmonary circulation was available in the 16th century [see TASHRĪḤ].

In the 16th century, Europeans again became interested in medical practices in the Islamic world. For example, Leonhard Rauwolf travelled in Syria, Iraq, and Palestine from 1573 to 1575 to collect plant specimens and record customs. Before travelling there, he had read Latin translations of Avicenna, Rhazes and Averroes. In the next century, Joseph Labrosse (Fr. Angelus of St Joseph) went to Rome in 1662 to study Arabic for two years and then travelled to Iṣfahān to study Persian, where he used medicine as a means of propagating Christianity. Upon return to France he published in 1681 the *Pharmacopoea persica* which consisted of a Latin translation of the *Ṭibb-i shifāʾī* by Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Shifāʾī (d. 974/1556) with comments by Labrosse. In the 18th century, two Latin translations of al-Rāzī's treatise on smallpox and measles were made at a time when there was much interest in inoculation or variolation for smallpox following the description around 1720 of the procedure in Turkey by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of the Ambassador Extraordinary to the Ottoman court. Pharmacopoeias in European vernacular languages continued to show the influence of Islamic pharmacology until the beginning of the 19th century.

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(EMILIE SAVAGE-SMITH)

2. Medical exchanges between China and the Islamic world.

It has been often assumed that the battle near Talas in July 751, where Western Turks and Arabs destroyed the Chinese army, marks the end of direct Chinese influence in Central and Western Asia, but this assumption must be revised.

The two main channels of contact between the Chinese and the Muslim peoples during the Middle Ages were the continental Silk Road leading westwards from north-west China. The other one, the "Oceanic Silk Road", connected the south-west coast of China with India and Persia. This latter route especially served the exchange of herbal drugs and medical knowledge from both sides. This is evidenced, inasmuch as China is concerned, by the work *Hai yao ben cao* ("Materia medica from the Oceanic route"), written by Li Xun, a Persian who knew Chinese well and became famous also as a Chinese poet. He lived in the 9th/10th century A.D. Many kinds of herbs which were imported from Persia and other Muslim countries, as well as the names of Chinese herbs which were exported to these countries, have been recorded in the work *Song Hui Yao* ("Historical records of the Song dynasty"). The widespread use of Chinese herbal medicine by Muslim physicians is attested already by al-Kindī (3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]) in his pharmacopoeia.

Chinese medicine soon gained increasing influence. In his *Canon of Medicine*, Ibn Sīnā listed and recommended 17 medical herbs which, as he added, were "imported from China" (*yu'tā bihā [tudjlab] min bilād al-Ṣīn*). This is another piece of evidence of Sino-Arabic exchange of herbal drugs at that time. While the Muslim physicians generally followed Galen (Djālīnūs [*q.v.*]), Ibn Sīnā's pulse theory and pulse diagnosis followed more closely the Chinese pulse diagnosis, displayed e.g. in Wang Shu-he's book *Mai jing* ("Classic of pulses", 2nd century A.D.). There are many similarities between Ibn Sīnā's *Canon* and Chinese medical theories, e.g. in regard to the holistic understanding of the human body, the principles of combining medical herbal formulae, the process of aging and the rôle of the body fluids, alimentary therapy, etc.

Chinese medicine was especially promoted by the great historian Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Ṭabīb (*ca.* 645-718/*ca.* 1247-1318 [*q.v.*]), who served three Īlkhān rulers as Grand Vizier. Being himself also a physician, Rashīd al-Dīn was interested in Chinese medicine. He had contacts with Chinese physicians and ordered one of his pupils to go to China and collect Chinese medical books. He had them translated into Persian and edited them, together with an extensive preface of his own, under the name *Tansuḳ-nāma*, "Book of precious information"; the subtitle given by Rashīd al-Dīn is "The Īlkhān's treasure book of Chinese sciences". Of this book, divided into 4 parts, only one part, together with Rashīd al-Dīn's preface, has been preserved in a unique Istanbul manuscript.

Its main part has been identified as commentary of a commentary on the *Mai jue*, i.e. "Pulse poem", which was very popular in China during the Song and the Yin-Yüan dynasties (12th-14th centuries). At that time, the *Mai jue* was by mistake attributed to Wang Shu-he. This mistake was repeated also by Rashīd al-Dīn, although the correct name *Mai jue* is also mentioned in the *Tansuḳ-nāma*. The quotations from the *Mai jue* have been embodied into the *Tansuḳ-nāma* in its original Chinese version, transliterated into Arabic letters, together with explanatory remarks. The manuscript of the *Tansuḳ-nāma* contains also several drawings of high quality displaying inner organs, the circuit of life-energy (*Qi*) and astronomical computations. Thus although this work is only fragmentarily preserved, it is of great significance for the history of Chinese medicine being the first version, known so far, of Chinese medical literature transmitted to the Islamic West.

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(F. Klein-Franke and Zhu, Ming)

TIBBAT al-KHURD [see baltistān].

TIBBU [see tubu].

TIBESTI, a mountain massif of the central Sahara, forming part of the elevated land running from the Adrar of the Ifoghas [see adrar] in northeastern Mali to the Nuba mountains of Sudan.

It lies roughly between lats. 23° and 19° 30' N. and longs. 16° and 19° 30' E., being about 480 km/300 miles long and up to 350 km/200 miles wide, and includes the highest peak of the Sahara, the volcanic summit Emi Koussi (3,415 m/11,200 feet). Three great, deeply-cut dry wadis indicate, as elsewhere in the Sahara, a formerly more humid climate. There are oases, mainly in the north and centre of the massif, the chief one being Bardai. Most of Tibesti now falls politically within the Chad Republic, with its northeastern outlier in Libya and its westernmost tip on the frontier with Niger. The sparse population, mainly nomadic but with some sedentaries, is that of the Teda branch of the Tubu [*q.v.*] "people of Tibesti". The region was traversed and partly explored by Gustav Nachtigal in 1869, and more fully described by Col. Jean Tilho in the early 20th century, but it was not really pacified for France until 1930 or after. For the recent political history of the region, see the Appendix II "Tibesti since Nachtigal's visit", in Nachtigal, tr. Fisher, i, 423-33; čad, in Suppl.; and tubu. 2.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

TIBRĪZ [see tabrīz].

al-**TIBRĪZĪ**, Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. [Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vii, 286)] Bisṭām al-Shaybānī, *imām ahl al-adab* (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i, 823; *al-khaṭīb* is incorrect, see Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iv, 22), celebrated Arab philologist (421-502/1030-1109). Born a son of the *khaṭīb* of Tabrīz [*q.v.*], the talented young man embarked on the *ṭalab al-'ilm* at an early age. He did not give it up until his appointment at the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] al-Niẓāmiyya (inaugurated 459/1067) in Baghdād as professor of the *adab* sciences, above all *naḥw*, *lugha*, *'arūḍ*, and *ḳawāfī*. Becoming in addition also the librarian, he died in the ninth decade of his life on Tuesday, 28 Djumādā II 502/2 February 1109.

Al-Tibrīzī's extended journeys for the sake of study give us, through his teachers and their *riwāyāt*, information about the sources and tendencies of his own works. As an inpecunious youth of *ca.* 22 years of age he travelled, with al-Azharī's [*q.v.*] *Tahdhīb al-lugha* in his backpack, from Tabrīz to Syria to join the great blind scholar Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī [*q.v.*]. After two years he moved on to Egypt, where Ibn Bābashādh (d. 469/1077; Brockelmann, I², 365, S I, 529), an erstwhile merchant from Daylam now working as a *naḥwī* and *lughawī* at the *dīwān al-inshā'* [*q.v.*] in Cairo, was introduced by the young man to the latest discussions of questions in Arabic philology. Probably following a *ḥadjdj*, al-Tibrīzī continued his studies of grammar and lexicography in Baghdād, and from there made a brief journey to Baṣra to study with the well-known al-Faḍl al-Ḳaṣabānī (d. 444/1052; Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 115). After his return to Baghdād, he set out toward the West and joined, in Ṣaydā [*q.v.*], the son of Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*], 'Ālī (d. 457 or 458/1065), who as a philologist had specialised in *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, and above all Shāfi'ī law, and in Ṣūr [*q.v.*] or Tyre, Sulaym b. Ayyūb al-Rāzī (d. 447/1055). It is no surprise that among al-Tibrīzī's teachers other traditionists are also mentioned, e.g. the famous al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*]. When in 456/1064 the two men met in Damascus and engaged in disputations, the latter did not hesitate to acknowledge his being a disciple of the much younger al-Tibrīzī (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 255, vii, 286). When later al-Tibrīzī himself had become a famous professor, he in turn liked to call himself a disciple of his much younger colleague, the Shāfi'ī jurisconsult Ibn Barhān (d. 520/1126) who was much admired for his sharp mind. At what time he visited the great analyst of language, 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Gurgān, which the latter is said never to have left, is not easy to determine. For further, at times contradictory, information on his journeys, teachers, etc., see Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳabāwa's introduction to his edition (based on the autograph of 486/1093) of al-Tibrīzī's *sharḥ* on the *Ikhtiyārāt al-Mufaḍḍal*, 4 vols. Damascus 1388-92/1968-72.

Among al-Tibrīzī's numerous (*djamm ghafīr*) students, the following may be listed: al-Djawālīḳī [*q.v.*] who studied with him for seventeen years and followed him in his position at the Niẓāmiyya; Ibn Nāṣir al-Salāmī (d. 550/1155) through whom al-Tibrīzī is often quoted; Sa'd al-Khayr al-Anṣārī from Valencia (d. 541/1146) who as a merchant traveled as far as China; Abū Ṭāhir al-Sindjī (d. 548/1153 in Marw), one of the teachers of al-Sam'ānī [*q.v.*]; and Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī [*q.v.*], who survived him the longest. Much was told about the great master, even that he habitually drank wine (cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 253!), that he wore silk and a turban of gold brocade, and that he had an interest in boys. He also posed as a poet; however, he never filled the position of *ḳāḍī* in Baghdād (read *ḳāṭin* in al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, s.v.; cf. Ibn Khallikān, s.v.).

Al-Tibrīzī's works were standard textbooks in *adab* instruction. They are (a) commentaries to classic works of poetry; (b) revised versions of, and glosses on, lexicographical monographs; (c) commentaries on introductions to syntax and on grammatical problems, also on the Ḳur'ān; and, finally, (d) a handbook on metrics and rhyme. *In toto* they consist of the following extant, and mostly printed, works:

(a) *Sharḥ* on the seven, or ten, *Mu'allaḳāt* [*q.v.*], see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 51, ix, 256 (ed. 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥūfī, Beirut 1405/1985); *sharḥ* on *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* [*q.v.*] or *Ikhtiyārāt al-Mufaḍḍal*, see *GAS*, ii, 54, ix, 257 (cf. S.A. Bonebakker, in *BiOr*, xii [1965], 245-7); the middle *sharḥ* on *al-Ḥamāsa* [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, ii, 71, ix, 259 (cf. Brockelmann, II², 658); *sharḥ* on the *Dīwān* of al-Nābigha [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, ii, 112 (for the one on Imra' al-Ḳays see O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxviii [1914], 63); *sharḥ* on the *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab* of al-Shanfarā [*q.v.*],

see *GAS*, ii, 135; *sharḥ* on *Bānat Suʿād* of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, ii, 231, ix, 272 (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Yūsuf al-Djamal, Cairo 1410/1990); *sharḥ*, with the title *al-Mūḍiḥ*, on the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, ii, 494, ix, 293; *sharḥ*, with title *al-Īḍāḥ*, on the *Dīwān* of Abū Tammām, see *GAS*, ii, 556 (cf. 555; viii, 132), ix, 299; *sharḥ* on *Saḳt al-zand* (*Dīwān*) of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, see Brockelmann, I[2], 296, S I, 452 (ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, in *Shurūḥ Saḳt al-zand*, 5 vols. Cairo 1364-8/1945-9.

(b) *Tahdhīb* of *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, viii (1982), 131-2 (ed. Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳabāwa, Beirut 1403/1983; Fawzī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Masʿūd, 2 vols. Cairo 1406/1986-7); *tahdhīb* of *al-Alfāẓ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt, see *GAS*, viii, 133; glosses on *Tādj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya* of al-Djawharī [*q.v.*], see *ibid.*, 216; cf. *tahdhīb* of *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* of Abū ʿUbayd [*q.v.*], *ibid.*, 87.

(c) *Sharḥ* on *al-Lumaʿ fi 'l-naḥw* of Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, ix, 175 (cf. Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iv, 24); *sharḥ* on *al-Maḳṣūra* of Ibn Durayd, see *GAS*, ix, 86 (ed. Ḳabāwa, Aleppo 1398/1978); *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī iʿrāb al-Ḳurʾān*, see Brockelmann, I[2], 331 (G. Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture*, Paris 1956, i [596], cf. Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 519).

(d) *al-Kāfī fi 'l-ʿarūḍ* (or *fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūḍ*) *wa 'l-ḳawāfī*, see Brockelmann, I[2], 331; S I, 492 (ed. al-Ḥassānī ʿAbd Allāh, in *MMMA*, xii/1 [1386/1966], 1-250) = *al-Wāfī*, etc. (ed. Ḳabāwa, Aleppo 1390/1970, [4]Damascus 1407/1986); for *al-Badīʿ* which forms the last part of *al-Kāfī/al-Wāfī*, see *GAS*, ii, 107.

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AL-TIDJĀNĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH b. Muḥammad, Arabic author who lived and worked in what is now Tunisia, born between 670/1272 and 675/1276, last mentioned in 711/1311. The family was of Moroccan origin; his great-great-grandfather Abu 'l-Ḳāsim had reportedly come to Tunis with the troops of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN] under ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī (d. 558/1163 [*q.v.*]).

1. *Life*. From that time till the disappearance of the last known member of the family, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tidjānī, d. 869/1464, the descendants of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim distinguished themselves for over three centuries in administrative and cultural life, notably under the Ḥafṣid dynasty [*q.v.*].

He was educated by his father and several notable scholars, such as the Moroccan Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-ʿŪfī, the Andalusī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Kalāʿī, author of *al-Sīra al-kalāʿiyya*, and the Tunisian Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar. He had access to the rich library of the Ḥafṣids, and is known to have had in his personal possession numerous books, including the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ, Yaḥyā b. Sallām's Ḳurʾān commentary and Ibn Rashīḳ's *ʿUmda*. From his youth onwards, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh followed his father and other family members into the Ḥafṣid chancery and met many eminent secretaries, literary men, etc. He began his career under Sultan Abū ʿAṣīda Muḥammad II (694-709/1295-1309), but was soon brought by the prince Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Liḥyānī into his own personal circle as a secretary. Al-Tidjānī accompanied him, as his chief secretary, on his expedition of 706/1306 against the Spanish in Djerba/Djarba [*q.v.*], though when his master set off for the Pilgrimage, al-Tidjānī, perhaps for health or political reasons, returned from Tripoli to Tunis in Ṣafar 708/July-August 1308. Abū Yaḥyā al-Liḥyānī returned nearly three years later, and was hailed as sultan with the honorific al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh in Radjab 711/November 1311, nominating al-Tidjānī as head of his chancery. In 717/1317 al-Liḥyānī left Tunis for a tour of his dominions, leaving his power in the hands of his son Muḥammad, whose power was then contested by a rival member of the Ḥafṣid family, with a battle near Siliana to the northwest of Tunis in 718/1318. Whether al-Tidjānī was killed in this is unknown, but he now disappears from recorded history.

2. *Works*.

(a) Works now lost. These include a 1,000-verse commentary, *Adāʾ al-lāzim*, on Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī's poem in praise of the caliph al-Mustanṣir; an *Aḥkām al-nikāḥ*; *al-Durr al-nāẓim fi 'l-adab wa 'l-tarādjim*, on poets and littérateurs of the Ḥafṣid age; notes on the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim; *Nafaḥāt al-nisrīn*, a collection of letters between himself and the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Shibrīn, whom he knew in Tunis; and *ʿAlāmat al-karāma fī karāmat al-ʿalāma*, on the merits of secretaryship and on famous secretaries of the Ḥafṣid period.

(b) Work in manuscript. His *al-Wafāʾ bi-bayān fawāʾid al-Shifāʾ* is a commentary on the *Shifāʾ bi-taʿrīf ḥuḳūḳ al-Muṣṭafā* by the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] (2 vols., ms. Zaytūna 1321), valuable for al-Tidjānī's biography and background.

(c) Published works.

(i) *Tuḥfat al-ʿarūs wa-nuzhat (mutʿat) al-nufūs*, first published Cairo 1301/1883 after a bad French tr. by A. Rousseau, *Touhfat el arous ou le cadeau des époux*, Algiers and Paris 1848, and, most recently, at London-Nicosia 1992, with an introd. by Djalīl al-ʿAṭiyya. This is far from being a pornographic work of the *Rudjūʿ al-shaykh ilā ṣibāhu* type, but is "a compendium on love and marriage ... it gives advice on the choice of a wife with very full description of the marks of beauty arranged according to parts of the body and on their treatment, and on married life with means to heighten its enjoyment, all in the form of traditions and extracts from writers, roughly in chronological order" (M. Plessner, *EI*[1] art. s.v.). In it, the author tries to present the canon of beauty and of conjugal happiness amongst the Arabs.

(ii) *Riḥla*. This is the work by which al-Tidjānī became famous, early attracting the attention of Western orientalists. M. Amari translated extracts in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, ch. 45; A. Bel also gave an extract and its tr. in his *Les Benoû Ghânya*, Algiers 1903; and a partial tr. of the whole was given by Rousseau in *JA* (1852-3). But the choice of extracts was arbitrary and none of the translations fully reliable (cf. Plessner, *loc. cit.*). The official press at Tunis in 1927 printed a French translation by W. Marçais, but this was never published, and the text was only satisfactorily edited and published in 1377/1958 by Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, with useful introduction and indices.

In it, al-Tidjānī relates his journey from Tunis to Tripoli and back, lasting two years and eight months during which the lengthy halts and delays had enabled him to record "everything that was of any interest in a comparatively small stretch of country... The *Riḥla* thus became a regular mine of geographical, scientific and particular historical information about the country passed through; extracts are also given in it from authors whose original works must now be regarded as lost, and copies of documents" (Plessner, *loc. cit.*). It is especially valuable for the literary historian of mediaeval Ifrīḳiyā, since it includes poems and fragments from the works of poets of Tunis and its vicinity, the Sahel of Sfax and southern Tunisia; the whole work was much used by R. Brunschwig for his *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides* (Paris 1940-7), H.R. Idris for his *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides* (Paris 1962) and Ch. Bouyahya in his *La vie littéraire en Ifriqiya sous les Zirides* (Tunis 1972).

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(M. PLESSNER-[TAÏEB EL ACHÈCHE])

AL-**TIDJĀNĪ**, AḤMAD B. MAḤMAD b. al-Mukhtār (1150-15 Shawwāl 1230/1737-21 September 1815), founder of the Ṣūfī order (*ṭarīḳa*) called Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] after him. The appellation Tidjānī comes from the name of the Algerian Berber tribe Tidjān or Tidjāna and was acquired by Aḥmad's family when one of his forefathers married a woman from this tribe. Some time after launching his *ṭarīḳa*, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī claimed descent from the Prophet Muḥammad, tracing his genealogy to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib via Mawlāy Idrīs, the patron saint of Fās. Thereafter he called himself Aḥmad al-Tidjānī al-Ḥasanī.

The only detailed account of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's life we have is the *Djawāhir al-maʿānī* which was composed by his trusted companion ʿAlī Ḥarāzim b. al-ʿArabī Barāda and completed in April 1800. Born in ʿAyn Māḍī in Algeria, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī had, according to ʿAlī Ḥarāzim's account, pious parents who died of the plague when he was sixteen years old. Five years after his parents' death Aḥmad left ʿAyn Māḍī in search of learning. After a stay in Fās, he went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1186/1772-3. On the way to Mecca, during a stay in Medina, and on the way back to the Maghrib he met holy persons who recognised his Ṣūfī promise. In Egypt he was appointed *muḳaddam* of the Khalwatiyya *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] by Maḥmūd al-Kurdī. After returning from the *Mashriḳ* in 1191/1777-8, he went to Fās, then to Tlemcen in Algeria. From there he moved to the oasis of Abī Samghūn. There he launched his *ṭarīḳa* in 1196/1781-2 when he announced that the Prophet Muḥammad appeared to him when he was awake, authorised him to start *tarbiya* ("Ṣūfī" education), and taught him the *awrād* (litanies) of his *ṭarīḳa*.

The turning point in Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's standing as the head of a Ṣūfī order was his emigration in 1789 from Abī Samghūn to Fās. Conflict with the Turkish authorities, whose exact nature is not known, seems to have caused him to leave Algeria and settle in Fās (al-Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣā'*, Casablanca 1954-6, viii, 105). The sultan of Morocco Mawlāy Sulaymān (1792-1822), a reformist ruler who undertook a "renewal of the scholarly élite" of his capital, amongst other things through encouraging scholars from outside Fās to settle in it (El Mansour, *Morocco in the reign of Mawlay Sulayman*, 155), welcomed the learned refugee from Algeria. He gave Aḥmad al-Tidjānī a house, granted him a regular salary, enabled him to build his own *zāwiya*, and made him a member of his learned council. The prominent scholars of Fās reacted to the Algerian intruder with hostility. One of them, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zayānī (d. 1249/1833-4), echoes this hostility in his book *al-Turdjumāna 'l-kubrā* (al-Muḥammadiyya 1967) which he completed in 1233/1817-18, some two years after Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's death. In this book (461-2), al-Zayānī describes Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's teachings as *bidʿa* [*q.v.*] and the followers whom he had in Fās as a band of evildoers.

In Fās, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī embarked on a formulation of his teachings in a way which would enable him to gain acceptance in a community in which the veneration of *sharīf*s was a central element of religious as well as political life. ʿAlī Ḥarāzim relates that shortly after he arrived in Fās, the Prophet instructed Aḥmad al-Tidjānī to put the latter's teachings in writing for the guidance of later Ṣūfīs. Thereupon Aḥmad ordered ʿAlī Ḥarāzim to destroy the record he had kept of his sayings, justifying this order with the change which occurred in his circumstances and his *ḥāl* (mystical state) after he came to Fās (*Djawāhir*, i, 45). The record which ʿAlī Ḥarāzim made of the course of his master's life and of his teachings, as he heard them from him, was the *Djawāhir al-maʿānī*. Not being a man of much education with experience in the composition of books, ʿAlī Ḥarāzim drew heavily in composing *Djawāhir al-maʿānī* on the biography of the Moroccan *walī* Aḥmad b. Maʿn al-Andalusī by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḳādirī entitled *K. al-Maḳṣad al-aḥmad*, copying its preamble, chapter divisions, and the descriptions of learning and piety used in it. Aḥmad al-Tidjānī did not apparently notice this plagiarism and approved the work on 28 Shaʿbān 1216/January 1802 after ʿAlī Ḥarāzim had read it to him (*Djawāhir*, ii, 282).

This plagiarism became known in Morocco only after Salafī critics of the Tidjāniyya drew attention to it in the 1920s and had the *K. al-Maḳṣad* printed in 1932. In the first decade of the 19th century, the *Djawāhir al-maʿānī* achieved its prupose of providing an idealised picture of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's life, and an account of his teachings which highlighted his claim to descent from the Prophet and to having received guidance directly from him. This claim, together with the support which Aḥmad al-Tidjānī received from the sultan, enabled him to build up his prestige as a Ṣūfī *shaykh* and as the head of a new *ṭarīḳa*. He could also win numerous followers and initiate into his *ṭarīḳa* learned Muslims from other parts of the Maghrib and West Africa, who contributed towards its expansion. After Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's death

in 1815, his *zāwiya* in Fās, in which he was buried, became a shrine visited by Tidjānīs coming from distant lands.

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(JAMIL M. ABUN-NASR)

TIDJĀNIYYA, a Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa* which was founded by Aḥmad al-Tidjānī [*q.v.*] in the oasis of Abī Samghūn in Algeria in 1196/1781-2. Aḥmad al-Tidjānī settled in Fās in 1789, where he developed a local following and initiated into his *ṭarīḳa* Muslims from other parts of the Maghrib and West Africa, through whom it spread in these regions. The papers presented at the Paris conference of 1982 on the present state of the Ṣūfī orders, which were published by A. Popovic and G. Veinstein as *Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam. Cheminements et situation actuelle*, document the presence of Tidjānīs in all countries of North and West Africa, in the Sudan and Ethiopia, in most countries of the Near East, in Indonesia as well as in Albania. The Tidjāniyya has now great influence in West Africa, especially in Senegal and Nigeria.

Shortly after arriving in the religious and political centre of Morocco in 1789, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī had his close companion ʿAlī Ḥarāzim b. al-ʿArabī Barāda write *Djawāhir al-maʿānī*, a book containing an account of his life and teachings which he himself approved. Tidjānī teachings which are contained in this book were elaborated by later scholars of the *ṭarīḳa*, especially by ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī (d. 1864 [*q.v.*]) in his *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-Raḥīm* (printed in the margin of the *Djawāhir*), but their central elements, whose acceptance distinguishes a believing Tidjānī from other Ṣūfīs, remained unchanged, to wit, the belief that the Prophet Muḥammad appeared to Aḥmad al-Tidjānī when he was awake, informed him that he was the *khatm al-awliyā'* and *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb*, and taught him the *awrād* of his *ṭarīḳa*. Through describing himself as *khatm al-awliyā'*, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī claimed that he embodied *wilāya* in the same complete form as the Prophet Muḥammad, as *khatm al-anbiyā'*, embodied prophethood. The Tidjānīs do not insist that no *awliyā'* would appear after their master, but they contend that all the *awliyā'*, including those who would come after him, derive spiritual sustenance from him. The title *ḳuṭb* ("pole") means in the Ṣūfī terminology the holder of the highest rank in the hierarchy of Ṣūfī saints. In the *Djawāhir*, the *ḳuṭb* is described as *ṣāḥib al-waḳt*, i.e. he who dominates the universe during his lifetime, to whom is entrusted *ism Allāh al-aʿẓam* (God's most exalted name). Being *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb*, and as such the chief of the holders of the highest rank in the Ṣūfī hierarchy, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī claimed to be God's viceregent; nothing can reach the creatures from God and God from the creatures except through him (*Djawāhir*, ii, 80).

Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's belief in his ascendancy over all other *awliyā'* led him to forbid his followers from joining any other *ṭarīḳa* besides the Tidjāniyya. In this way, he broke with a Ṣūfī tradition which he had accepted before launching his *ṭarīḳa* through joining several *ṭuruḳ* at the same time. This religious exclusiveness is based on Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's statement (cf. *Djawāhir*, i, 44) that his followers have a higher spiritual rank than the followers of other *awliyā'*. It was further developed by ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī (cf. *Rimāḥ*, ii, 18) who asserted that, because Aḥmad al-Tidjānī was the channel of all emanations from God, the spiritual rank of an ignorant Tidjānī is higher than that of a great non-Tidjānī *walī*.

The Tidjānīs' sense of spiritual superiority to other Ṣūfīs, offensive as it is in itself, has been held to be especially reprehensible religiously, because it is related to the Tidjānīs' belief that the recitation of the *awrād* which their master taught them was more efficacious as a means of attaining salvation even than reciting the Ḳur'ān. In the *Djawāhir* (i, 114), Aḥmad al-Tidjānī is quoted as having said that reciting *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* (see below) once is more efficacious than reciting the Ḳur'ān 6,000 times. Furthermore, the Tidjānīs' belief in the great efficacy of their *awrād* led them to belittle *zuhd* [*q.v.*] as a means of salvation. While in Fās Aḥmad al-Tidjānī made no effort to affect austerity and was known to have worn sumptuous clothes and enjoy good food. ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī defined the notion of *zuhd* accepted by the Tidjānīs in a way which undermines its usual sense of asceticism. He says that true *zuhd* (*zuhd al-kamāl*) does not consist of the emptiness of the hand from the goods of the world, but of not attaching any value to what one possesses. He adds that, in the sense of emptiness of the hand, *zuhd* may be nothing more than the inability to earn one's living, a condition acceptable for women but not reconcilable with true manhood (*Rimāḥ*, ii, 42-3). The Tidjānīs justify turning their back on asceticism through the doctrine of the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*], which emphasises that a true believer does not make his virtues known to others (cf. al-Kansūsī, *al-Djawāb al-muskit*, Algiers 1913, 14).

Criticism was directed against these and other aspects of Tidjānī teachings already during Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's lifetime. Since the 1920s Moroccan and Algerian reformers of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*] school attacked the Tidjāniyya on account of its teachings as well as on account of the cooperation of its leaders with the French colonial authorities (Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya*, London 1965, 176-81). In Indonesia, the teachings of the Tidjāniyya have been denounced by reformist Muslims as *bidʿa* [*q.v.*] since the 1930s (Abdurrahman, *Die Tijaniyya in Indonesien...*, Hamburg 1990, 130-44). The attacks of religious reformers in Nigeria against the teachings of the Tidjāniyya since the 1970s, as well as the emphasis which Nigeria's Muslim leaders placed on Muslim religious unity as a means of securing political power in a religiously-divided country, have prompted *Shaykh* Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ b. Yūnis al-Ḥusaynī, Nigeria's most prominent Tidjānī scholar, to attempt a revision of his *ṭarīḳa*'s teachings (Loimeier, *Islamische Erneuerung*, Münster 1993, 112-209). Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ has defended his *ṭarīḳa* in two books, *al-Takfīr akhṭar bidʿa* (Cairo 1982) and *al-Mughīr* ([Beirut] 1986). In the latter book (65-70) he tried to retract some of the Tidjānī convictions which are held to be reprehensible by other Muslims, such as claiming that reciting the *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* was more efficacious than reciting the Ḳur'ān, by asserting that some of the statements attributed to Aḥmad al-Tidjānī in the printed edition of the *Djawāhir*, which was first published in Cairo in 1927, contained many falsifications. He claims to have in his possession the original copy of this book in ʿAlī Ḥarāzim's handwriting, which Aḥmad al-Tidjānī approved and which does not contain these falsifications.

In spite of the controversy surrounding its teachings, the Tidjāniyya expanded rapidly, at first in the Maghrib and West Africa. In Algeria, the Tidjāniyya *zāwiya* in ʿAyn Māḍī headed by the founders' two sons was sufficiently strong in the 1830s to be able to challenge the authority of the Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], the main leader of Algerian Muslim opposition to French colonial occupation. As a result, friendly relations developed between the Tidjāniyya and the French colonial authorities in Algeria, which were reinforced after the founder's grandson, also called Aḥmad, married a Frenchwoman, Aurélie Picard, in 1870 (Abun-Nasr, *op. cit.*, 74-6). In Tunisia, the Tidjāniyya was introduced into the capital and acquired great prestige through Ibrāhīm al-Riyāḥī (d. 1266/1849-50), Tunisia's most prominent scholar in his time. Ibrāhīm al-Riyāḥī met Aḥmad al-Tidjānī in Fās and was appointed by him as *muḳaddam* of the Tidjāniyya in 1804.

Since the middle of the 19th century, the Tidjāniyya has experienced its greatest expansion in West Africa. It was first introduced into Mauritania by Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ of the Idaw ʿAlī tribe. He met Aḥmad al-Tidjānī in Fās and was appointed by him *muḳaddam* of his *ṭarīḳa*. The Tidjāniyya was spread into the Senegambia by Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ's favourite disciple Mawlūd Fāl. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad al-Nāḳil from Futa Djallon, who was initiated into the Tidjāniyya by Mawlūd Fāl, passed it on to the distinguished scholar and holy warrior ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī. Under ʿUmar b. Saʿīd's leadership, the Tidjāniyya emerged as a serious rival for the allegiance of the Muslims in West Africa to the much older Ḳādiriyya. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Tidjāniyya had *zāwiya*s spread across West Africa from Senegal to Bornu and as far south as Ghana, where it was introduced by Hausa traders (Hiskett, *The development of Islam in West Africa*, 256). The Tidjāniyya expanded its religious influence in West Africa further during the colonial period, especially in Senegal. In this country its two leading centres, led by the Sy family of Tivaouane and the Niasse (Anyās) family of Kaolack, cooperated with the French colonial authorities. In this way the Tidjāniyya came to appeal not only to the simple peasants but also to the Muslim urban middle class which owes its existence to the colonial system (Coulon, *Le Marabout et le prince*, 89). At present, about half of the Muslims of Senegal, who make up about 94% of the total population, are Tidjānīs (Villalón, *Islamic society... in Senegal*, 71).

A revivalist movement from within the Tidjāniyya, which was initiated by the Senegalese Ibrāhīm Niasse (1900-75), has led to a rapid expansion of this *ṭarīḳa* since the Second World War in West Africa and the Republic of the Sudan. In 1348/1929-30 Ibrāhīm Niasse declared that Aḥmad al-Tidjānī told him in a vision that he was the *ṣāḥib al-fayḍa*, i.e. the channel of the infusion of grace which the Tidjānīs receive from their master (Maigari, *al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm Anyās al-Sanighālī*, 82-5). Thereafter, Ibrāhīm Niasse referred to his followers as *Djamāʿat al-Fayḍa* ("Community of Grace") and to himself as *Ghawth al-Zamān* ("Saviour of the Age"). He contributed towards the revival of the Tidjāniyya through developing *tarbiya* ("Ṣūfī" education) in a way which enabled Muslims who had not received an Arabic-Islamic education to be taken into the *ṭarīḳa*. Ibrāhīm Niasse started to acquire influence outside Senegal after he met the Amīr of Kano Abdullahi Bayero in 1937 during the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Although it is said that Bayero recognised Niasse as his *shaykh* at this time, it was only after the latter made several visits to Nigeria after 1945 that its leading Tidjānī religious personalities submitted to his spiritual authority. Since then, the Tidjāniyya has spread widely amongst the simple urban Muslims in Nigeria and has started to play an important role in local party politics.

The rites which the Tidjānīs are required to perform in addition to the religious obligations incumbent upon all Muslims are three: (1) Performing the *wird* of the Tidjāniyya in the morning and the evening. The *wird* consists of reciting *astaghfiru 'llāh* ("I beg forgiveness of God") 100 times, saying a prayer for the Prophet, preferably in the form of *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* 100 times, and reciting the *haylala* (*lā ilāha illā 'llāh*) 100 times. *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* is not said to have been taught to Aḥmad al-Tidjānī by the Prophet but to have been delivered from Heaven to the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 952/1545 [*q.v.*]) on a tablet of light. The Prophet is said, however, to have informed Aḥmad al-Tidjānī of its great efficacy in the remission of sins and assigned it as part of the Tidjānī *wird*. (2) Performing the *waẓīfa* at least once in the morning. The *waẓīfa* may be performed a second time in the evening. It consists of reciting *astaghfiru 'llāh* 30 times, reciting *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* fifty times, saying the *haylala* 100 times, and reciting the prayer called *djawharat al-kamāl* 12 times. Tidjānīs believe on their master's authority (cf. *Djawāhir*, i, 105) that when they have reached the seventh recitation of *djawharat al-kamāl* in the *waẓīfa*, the Prophet and the four Orthodox Caliphs join their circle and remain there unseen as long as it is being recited. (3) The *ḥaḍra*, also called the *dhikr*, which takes place on Friday after the Tidjānīs have communally performed *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* and the *waẓīfa* which follows immediately after it. The Tidjānī *ḥaḍra*, like that of the other Ṣūfīs, consists mainly of repeating in unison *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, or merely *Allāh, Allāh*. Since Aḥmad al-Tidjānī did not give specific instructions as to how many times this formula was to be repeated, many variations have appeared in the usage of the Tidjānīs, but the majority of the Tidjānīs recite the *haylala* 1,000 or 1,600 times in the *ḥaḍra* (Abun-Nasr, *op. cit.*, 50-7).

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(Jamil M. Abun-Nasr)

TIDJĀRA (a.), "trafficking, trade, commerce".

1. Introductory remarks.

The term is taken in the Arabic lexica to be the *maṣdar* or verbal noun of *tadjara* "to trade". Like many of the terms in the Arabic commercial vocabulary, this is a loanword from Aramaic and Syriac. Jeffery thought (*pace* earlier authorities as cited in Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 181-2, who derived *tidjāra* from an original noun *tādjir* "merchant", Syriac *tagārā*, verb *ʾettagar* "to trade", cf. *ʾagrā* "wage, fee, hire, reward") that *tidjāra* should be derived directly from Aramaic and Syriac, in which *tiggārā* and *tāgūrtā* respectively mean "*mercatura*, trading activity", with Arabic *tadjara* as a denominative verb and *tādjir* as its active participle, "one who trafficks, trades" (see his *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 90-1). The root is first attested in ancient Mesopotamia: in Akkadian we have *t/damk/gāru* "merchant, importer, commercial agent, etc.", and in Sumerian *damgàr* (see W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, iii, 1314-15). A corresponding derivative has not so far been found in Epigraphic South Arabian, nor does it appear in classical Ethiopic; in W. Leslau's *Comparative dictionary of Geez, 571*, the headword is merely assumed, and the derivatives in modern Ethiopic languages probably go back to mediaeval times and cultural contacts with the Arabs.

The terms *tidjāra* and *tādjir* were known in pre-Islamic Arabian times, as North Arabian inscriptions and mentions in pre-Islamic poetry (Zuhayr, al-Aʿshā, etc.) attest. Early Islamic authorities noted that *tādjir* was said to be synonymous with *khammār* (see e.g. Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa ʾl-athar*, ed. al-Zāwī and al-Ṭannāḥī, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 181), i.e. this figure was especially connected with the wine-trade [see khamr. 2]; doubtless many of the first Aramaic-speaking merchants with whom the Arabs came into contact were dealers in the wine of Syria and ʿIrāḳ. That the terms were foreign ones may be shown by uncertainty amongst the Arab philologists over the broken plurals of *tādjir*; as well as the regularly-formed ones *tudjdjār, tidjār, tudjur, tadjr* (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.), we also find *tudjār* listed by Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.*

Tādjir does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, but *tidjāra* appears in nine places (II, 15/16, 282, IV, 33/29, IX, 24, etc.) with the sense of "merchandise" and sometimes with that of "trafficking", this last perhaps a derived sense.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

2. The attitude to merchants and trading in Tradition and in ethical works.

That Muḥammad, who himself belonged to the merchant class, was favourably disposed to trade was natural in a commercial republic like that of Mecca, whose prosperity depended to a fair extent at least on trade. At least, so we must interpret one of the oldest sūras of the first Meccan period, CVI, the time of the origin of which is just before the conflict with the Meccan aristocracy: "As often as the Ḳuraysh equip their winter and summer caravans, they shall worship the Lord of this House (i.e. the Kaʿba)". But even in this period, Muḥammad raises a warning voice against the evils which were beginning to be associated with trade; trade is to be conducted according to law and justice. "Woe to those who give short measure, who, when they receive good measure from other men demand the full measure and when they measure out or weigh out to them, defraud" (LXXXIII, 1 ff., cf. LV, 6-8; and from the third Meccan period, VI, 153, VII, 83). At a later period, this attitude of the Prophet underwent a certain change, which must date from the Meccan period, although there is only evidence of it in the Ḳurʾān from the Medinan period. Under the influence of Christian ascetic ideas, his attitude to trade was modified; he does not condemn it, it is true, but he now sees in it something which may detain believers from the worship of God and from performing the *ṣalāt*. This is most strongly marked in the description of the monastery in the Medinan sūra XXIV, 37: "Men whom no trade nor purchase keeps from the thought of God, from performing the *ṣalāt* and from paying the *zakāt* from fear of the day on which hearts and eyes shall be full of trouble." In any case, one can deduce from this passage that the Prophet was fully conscious of the deleterious influences of trade on religious life. The result of this train of thought was in the Medinan period an express prohibition of trading during the Friday service, in LXII, 9-11: "O ye who believe, when ye are called to the *ṣalāt* on Friday, hasten to the worship of God and cease trading; this is better for you, if ye knew it; and when the *ṣalāt* is over, then disperse yourselves in the land and strive after the benefits given by God and think often of Him that ye may prosper, and when they see trading and empty chatter, they turn to it and leave thee standing. Say: What is with God is better than chattering or trading and God is the best provider." On the other hand, the Prophet in the latest Medinan period expressly permitted trading during the Pilgrimage (II, 194). And yet he emphasises at the same time once more that family and clan, goods and chattels and stock in trade are not to be preferred to God and his Prophet (IX, 24). To this late period also belong the well-known Ḳurʾānic regulations for the conclusion of agreements (II, 282 ff.).

This attitude, on the whole well disposed to trade, is also that of Tradition, although it attacks with the greatest vigour speculation and other dishonest dealings. Trade is regarded as profitable and honourable, more remunerative than cattle-rearing or manual labour (al-Suyūṭī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, ii, nos. 2411, 4227, 4742). The honourable merchant enjoys great esteem; "the trustworthy, just, and believing merchant shall stand at the Day of Judgment among the witnesses of the blood", we are told in one tradition (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 1); he enters Paradise. The dishonest merchant, on the other hand, must expect punishment: "On the day of resurrection the merchants will be classed with the liars, except him who has trusted in God and has been pious and righteous", we are told in another tradition (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 3).

The prejudice of certain pious circles against the merchant class is even more sharply expressed in another tradition, which is, however, quite isolated: "The Prophet said: Merchants are liars. Then someone said to him: O Messenger of God, has not God permitted buying and selling? He replied: Certainly, but they talk and lie, they swear and do wrong" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 428, cf. 444). On the other hand, it is regarded as pleasing to God to gain profit from trading for the support of one's family; thus in one tradition in Zayd, *Madjmūʿ al-fikh*, ed. Griffini, no. 539 (cf. no. 544), we read: "If thou makest a profit from what is permitted, it is a *djihād* (i.e. like fighting in the path of God) and if thou usest it for thy family and thy relations, it is alms (*ṣadaka*); and truly a permitted dirham which comes from trade is better than ten otherwise gained." In trading, it is recommended to be generous and conciliatory; one should give full weight and measure and in weighing, give overweight. The morning is recommended as particularly blessed and profitable for trading. One should be careful to avoid deceit and deception, which cancel the blessing (*baraka*) that rests upon trade. Defects in the goods should be pointed out to the purchaser. "If anyone sells defective goods without pointing this out, God will hate him for ever and the angels will for ever curse him" (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 45). But if one has been guilty of such faults in trading, he can atone for it by almsgiving (*ṣadaka*). The Prophet is further said to have condemned the adulteration of goods, especially the adulteration of foodstuffs.

Trade is to be carried on by mutual agreement, but never under compulsion. An agreement already made can only be cancelled if buyer and seller have not yet separated; in this period it can also be cancelled by tacit agreement (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 536). A further sale can only be effected when one has obtained possession of the goods (*kabḍ* or *istīfāʾ*; the traditions in this connection speak only of foods (*taʿām*), but we are told by commentators that foods are only taken as examples, and in fact one tradition talks of a *bayʿ* in quite general terms (*ibid.*, iii, 402). If in disputes between the contracting parties neither is able to prove his point, the purchase either remains valid and the assertion of the seller is taken as authoritative, or both must abandon the transaction. If there are two claimants to be the purchaser, the first is held to be the actual purchaser.

The traditions in general have nothing to say against business being arranged for a definite date or on credit (*nasīʾatan*). But no increase of price must take place nor is a reduction allowed if payment is made at an earlier date (Mālik, *Buyūʿ*, tr. 81). The making of a deposit on a credit transaction is also allowed, as the Prophet once purchased provisions on credit and left his mailed coat as a pledge.

Tradition frequently objects to a practice of traders of protesting the quality of their articles with oaths; e.g. one tradition says: "Swearing furthers the disposal of goods but diminishes their blessing" (al-Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 26). According to another tradition, sūra III, 71, was revealed in this connection; this verse has, however, nothing to do with the swearing of oaths when selling; its associations are other and are purely religious.

A series of articles are excluded by Tradition from buying and selling: firstly, all that is not one's own property (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 189, 190); and secondly, those articles the use of which is forbidden or which are considered unclean—wine, swine, dogs, cats, idols (*aṣnām*) and *mayta* [*q.v.*] and also water; water according to a tradition is one of the three things which are *res communes*, the price of which is *ḥarām* (Ibn Mādja, *Ruhūn, bāb* 16).

Tradition strongly condemns a practice still very prevalent in the East, sc. haggling or bargaining; in selling also, one should not outbid one's fellows. Tradition also condemns the raising of prices (*nadjsh*) and speculation in or holding up of foodstuffs (*iḥtikār*; on this expression, cf. Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, 189). Anyone who holds up food supplies and thus raises prices "is a sinner" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 351). "Him who holds up food supplies, God will punish with leprosy and bankruptcy" (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 6); "the speculator is accursed" (*ibid.*); according to other traditions, he "will be thrown into the deepest hell-fire" (al-Ṭayālisī, 928). On the other hand, the Prophet is said to have declined as an injustice to fix prices for foodstuffs in a time of scarcity (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 27, etc.). Generally speaking, however, Tradition condemns any speculation in foodstuffs. It is forbidden to buy or sell provisions wholesale without fixing weights and measures (*djuzāf*); food should not be sold again in the same place as it is purchased but only in the particular market-place intended for the purpose. One should not go out to meet caravans to purchase goods (*talakkī*), and the townsman should not purchase from the man from the desert in order to sell again in the town at a profit; brokering (*simsar*) is therefore condemned.

Finally, there may be mentioned a whole series of branches of business and practices which are described by Tradition as forbidden:

1. The conclusion of two transactions in one contract, e.g. one portion of the goods on credit and another for cash (see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 398).

2. *Bayʿ al-ʿurbān*, a form of sale in which an earnest-money (*ʿurbān* or *ʿurbūn* < Hebr. *ʿērābōn* < ἀρραβών; see Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 190) is given which belongs to the vendor if the transaction is not carried through (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, however, considers earnest-money permissible; cf. Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v.).

3. Auction (*bayʿ al-muzāyada*), which in three cases, however, is permitted: in direst poverty, in sickness or when deeply in debt.

4. *Bayʿ al-muzābana* (presumably also of Aramaic origin; see Fraenkel, 189), i.e. when any goods the weight, size or number of which is not known is sold in bulk for a definite measure, weight or number of another commodity, e.g. the still green fruit of a palm-tree for a definite measure of dates or the seed for a definite amount of provisions. The unreal and speculative in this transaction is seen by Tradition in the fact that the yield which cannot yet be defined may bring the purchaser more or less than he has given for it (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 64). This rule is in the direction of the prohibition of profiteering. But according to one tradition of the Prophet, an exception was allowed, the *bayʿ al-ʿarāyā*; according to this, a poor man who does not possess a palm-tree of his own, in order to procure for his family fresh dates may purchase for dried dates the fruit of a palm on the tree, but it has to be valued. In the opinion of several traditionists, this transaction is limited to cases where not over five *wask* are involved, while ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ transmits a tradition according to which the Prophet prohibited even this (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 183).

5. *Bayʿ al-muʿāwama*, the purchase of the yield of palm-trees for two or three years in advance. This is a question of the sale of things which are not yet in existence at the time of the contract.

6. *Bayʿ al-munābadha*. In this, the exchange is irrevocably concluded by the two parties handing over the goods without seeing or testing them beforehand. Another form of this transaction is *bayʿ al-ḥaṣāt* (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v.) or *bayʿ ilkāʾ al-ḥadjar* (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 59, 68, 71) when, as a sign of the conclusion of the agreement, a small stone is handed over in place of the goods (see al-Muṭarrizī, *Mughrib*, s.v. *nabadha*).

7. *Bayʿ al-mulāmasa*. In this, the transaction is also concluded without the goods being seen or examined beforehand, the covered goods being simply touched with the hand.

8. *Bayʿ al-gharar* "dangerous or hazardous trading". For this kind of transaction the traditions give a series of examples, e.g. the milk in the udder, an escaped slave, booty before its division, fish in the water, etc. (see e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 302, 388, iii, 42). The commonest example is the very complicated case of *bayʿ ḥabal al-ḥabala*, namely, the sale of a pregnant she-camel for slaughter with the prospect that it may produce a female young one, which will again bear young.

All these transactions are condemned by Tradition on account of the element of uncertainty in them. On money-changing (*ṣarf*) and the prohibition of profiteering (*ribā*), see ṢARRĀF, in Suppl., and RIBĀ. The above transactions are in all the older collections; a still larger number with a great wealth of detail are given in the later collections, e.g. *Kanz al-ʿummāl* (cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, vii [1917], 28 ff., where a series of such traditions is translated).

In the traditions of the first three centuries, an open and honourable attitude in business is demanded of the merchant; he is to treat his customers "like his brother" and refrain from cheating them in any way. Tradition therefore also condemns any business in which there is an element of uncertainty, in which chance can play any part, so that no one may suffer injury. These fundamental principles of Muslim commercial ethics have found their classical expression in al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1326, ii, 48 ff. According to al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), one should strive to earn one's living with a view to the next world. To him the acquisition of a livelihood is a means of attaining bliss; the world is a field sown, a preliminary to the next world. But al-Ghazālī does not regard trade as absolutely better than any other means of earning one's living. "Through trade," he says, "one can either attain a sufficiency or wealth and superfluity." He condemns the accumulation of wealth, in so far as it is not applied to good purposes. But if the merchant obtains a sufficient livelihood for himself and his family, it is at any rate better than begging. However, certain types of men do well to refrain from such activities, for example, the pious, mystics, the learned, and officials. Al-Ghazālī then gives his views on the ethics of commerce, of which only a brief résumé can be given here.

Even if a business is legal and irreproachable, yet it may be immoral and injurious to others, for not every prohibition makes the agreement invalid. Al-Ghazālī then distinguishes two kinds of business, those that injure the community and those that only injure the individual. To the first group belong speculation in foods, especially in corn (*iḥtikār*), and the putting into circulation of false coins [see TAZYĪF]. In the case of false money, the merchant has to pay attention to the following points: 1. If he takes false money, he should throw it down a well. 2. He must acquire a thorough knowledge of the coins current in the country. 3. If he pays another false money with the latter's consent, he is not free from guilt, as the other may put them into circulation again. 4. If he takes false money to oblige someone, he will only participate in the blessing which rests upon a good feeling in trade if he does it with the intention of throwing the false money into a well.

Al-Ghazālī then deals with the conduct of business which is only injurious to the individual. The guiding principle in trade is that one should only do to a fellow-Muslim as he would be done by. Therefore: 1. The seller should not praise the wares and not emphasise his statements by oaths; he must only emphasise such qualities in the goods as the customer cannot know without further trial, e.g. the capability of a slave. 2. He should tell all the faults of the goods, for example not show only the good sides of a material, nor should he exhibit materials in a dark room, etc., for this is deception and neglect of the "good counsel" to which his brother is entitled. The merchant must remember two things: firstly, that though he can dispose of his goods by concealing defects, he thereby loses the blessing which rests upon trading, and secondly, that the benefit of the goods of this world ceases with the end of life and that only the injustice and sin remain which were committed in trading. 3. The merchant must give just and full weight and measure. 4. He must quote the correct price of the day.

Al-Ghazālī then deals with the showing of little kindnesses and civilities in trading, i.e. one should allow the other an advantage which he is not strictly compelled to do. Such little civilities are: 1. If the seller refuses a price offered which is much above the market price. 2. If the purchaser allows himself to be charged too much when the vendor is a poor man. 3. If in the collection of arrears, one allows a remission or prolongation of the period. 4. If the debtor brings the money to his creditor to save him the trouble of coming for it. 5. If at his request the contracting party is allowed to annul an agreement to purchase that has been concluded. 6. If one sells to the poor on credit and only demands the payment when it is possible for them to pay, or keeps no record in one's books of the debt and leaves the payment completely at their discretion.

In his pursuit of profit, however, the merchant should not neglect the salvation of his soul. The merchant should therefore 1) begin his transactions with good intention (*niyya*) and good faith (*ʿaḳīda*); 2) he should conceive of trade as a "social duty", as a *farḍ al-kifāya*, as his trade is only a part of the complicated system of the whole; 3) he must not let the market of this world distract him from the markets of the next world, i.e. from visiting mosques and performing the *ṣalāts*; 4) in entering the market and in it itself he must often think of God; 5) he must not be too eagerly set on the market and trading, not be the first to enter it and the last to leave it, and must not cross the sea; 6) he must not only avoid what is forbidden, but also avoid all doubtful and suspicious business; he should enquire after the origin of goods and not deal with notorious swindlers or thieves; and 7) he must carefully watch his words and deeds in business, as on the Day of Judgment he will be called to account for them.

According to al-Ghazālī, the market for the merchant is the scene of his *djihād*, his "holy war", where he has to wage a war against his own self in his intercourse with his fellow-men. Since for al-Ghazālī, commerce is a preliminary and a preparation for the

next world, he therefore discards the ascetic ideal of fleeing from the world for the ordinary mortal as an evasion of the struggle.

Similar views, although not always of such high moral worth as in al-Ghazālī, are found throughout *adab* and *akhlāk* literature. For example, Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, the biographer of the Shāfiʿī jurists (d. 771/1370), in his *Muʿīd al-niʿam* discusses the merchant in several passages. In these he no doubt takes typical cases of his age. Thus the paper merchant should give preference to him of whom he knows is buying the paper for the preparation of scholarly works (*kutub al-ʿilm*). On the other hand, he should not sell paper to anyone he suspects will use it for the preparation of heretical works, false documents, increases of taxation, etc. (ed. D. Myhrmann, London 1908, 188, tr. O. Rescher, Constantinople 1925, 138). The bookseller must not sell religious works (*kutub al-dīn*) to people who will destroy or criticise them. He furthermore must not deal in works by heretics or by astrologers nor in imaginative works like the *Sīrat ʿAntar*, nor must he sell copies of the Ḳurʾān or works on Tradition and Law to unbelievers (cf. thereon al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, iv, 132, and W. Heffening, *Fremdenrecht*, 49, n. 5, where the "keine" should be deleted before "hanaf. Werke"). Lastly, the dealer in land must take care that he does not sell *waḳf* estates (ed. Myhrmann, 205, tr. Rescher, 150-1).

A more selfish morality, on the other hand, is championed in the book (ed. and tr. by Ritter) *K. al-Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra*, by Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Dimashḳī (5th-6th/11th-12th centuries), see *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, in *Isl.*, xvii (1917), 1 ff. The book consists of two parts, one dealing with the merchant and the other with his goods. On the subject of merchandise there are many other works, some independent and some in the well-known Muslim encyclopaedias, on which see Ritter, *op. cit.*, 17 ff. Here we are mainly concerned with the sections on the merchant. The classes of merchants distinguished are: 1. The wholesaler (*khazzān*). He endeavours to purchase his goods under the most favourable conditions in order to sell them again when there is a scarcity of them and the price has gone up. He must therefore keep accurately informed about the position of the market at the places of production and the security of the roads thither, so that he does not let the best time for buying and selling pass him by. A purchase of larger consignments is recommended to be carried through in four instalments at intervals of 15 days so that no loss may be suffered by a sudden change in price or by some other unforeseen circumstance. The wholesaler must also take account of the state of the government of the country, whether it is just and strong or if it is just but weak or tyrannical. 2. The travelling merchant (*rakkāḍ*). He must take special heed as to what goods he buys and must exercise great caution, for his journey may be prolonged or some unforeseen accident may happen to him, like danger on the road, which will delay him so that he must again sell the goods in the place where he has purchased them and thereby suffer considerable losses. He must also know the average prices which the goods he is buying will attain in his native land as well as the tariffs, lest he throw away his profit even before purchasing in a foreign country. He should also look out for a reliable agent and a suitable warehouse, etc. at his destination. 3. The exporting merchant (*mudjahhiz*). Here we have to deal with agencies. He must have a reliable agent in the place to which he is exporting; to him he sends the goods under reliable care; the agent then has to sell the goods and buy others, sharing the profit.

Besides much other valuable advice for the merchant and warnings against swindlers and deceivers, al-Dimashḳī's work also contains discussions of questions of economic theory such as the fixing of the market price, the "average price" about which the merchant must keep himself accurately informed.

Ibn Khaldūn in the chapters on trade in his *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 272 ff., Eng. tr. Rosenthal, ii, 309 ff., expresses himself in similar terms. He also classifies his observations under the heads of the wholesale and the travelling merchant, while he apparently omits the export merchant. He defines commerce as the art of increasing one's fortune by buying goods and selling them again at an increased price, either by storing them and awaiting an increase of price, or by taking them to another country where the price is higher.

Ibn Khaldūn's verdict on merchants in general is of interest; for the trade of merchant, one requires much skill, and the ability to praise his goods unduly and to deal cunningly and stubbornly with his customers, all things which affect a man's sense of honour and justice and unfavourably influence his character. It is the small trader who succumbs more readily to this influence as he has to deal with his customers day in and day out. It is otherwise with the merchant who, through some favourable circumstance, has risen rapidly to wealth and fortune and has attained a position of esteem; he is protected from the evil influences of trading as he can leave the actual dealing to his employees and has only to supervise them and give them general directions.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, 30-3, s.v. Barter; A.K.S. Lambton, *The merchant in medieval Islam*, in W.B. Henning and E. Yarshater (eds.), *A locust's leg. Studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 121-30. See also ṢINĀʿA on ethical attitudes towards craftsmen and their trades. (W. HEFFENING*)

3. Economic history and legal aspects.

The complete picture of the economic history of Islamic trade between the 7th and 16th centuries is hampered by the selective provenance and non-archival nature of the sources, but this does not detract from our view of its magnitude and structures. The standard source material available for the study is literary in nature and lacks statistical evidence, which makes a quantitative analysis difficult. The findings of the Geniza [*q.v.*] letters concerning Jewish merchants greatly enhance our knowledge of details, but should, ideally, be used together with the Arabic sources. For the later Middle Ages, we benefit from the use of European archives, which permit a limited form of quantification. On the other hand, numerous collections of Islamic coins and other items, together with the excavations of seaports and trading stations, compensate somewhat for the lack of archives in the study of the nature and patterns of trade. In contrast to the general haphazardness of the sources, several regions, such as Egypt, and to some degree also, Spain, have yielded an adequate amount of source material. This makes a continuous history of trade there feasible, but we cannot assume that the economic history of one region was identical to another.

There are three chronological units in the economic history of the Islamic trade, defined by economic factors, such as supply and demand, legal and technical tools, monetary and market conditions, by type of

sources, and by dynastic and political shifts. An early period, 7th-10th centuries, concerned the trade with Asia and the Far East, and the main source of information is the geographers' works and merchant's guides. Politically and geographically, the shift to inland ʿIrāḳ, a region aligned towards the East, and away from the Mediterranean oriented Syria, was manifested by the ʿAbbāsid caliphate replacing the Umayyad dynasty. This period also saw the formation of the legal structures relating to Islamic trade, and with Islamic seafaring at its height, established Bag̲h̲dād as a far more influential national and international centre of trade than Damascus had ever been. The second period, 11th-13th centuries, coincided with the changing regional and international conditions in the Far East and Southern Europe which triggered an economic, political and geographical shift away from the East back to the Mediterranean and to Mediterranean trade patterns. Under the political dominance of the Fāṭimid and the Ayyūbid dynasties in Egypt, we note the consolidation of trade in domestic production and port cities in Sicily, Tunisia, Muslim Spain and Egypt, converging into a tight trading Mediterranean network, largely portrayed by the Geniza documents. A third phase, 14th-16th centuries, saw the European merchants become dominant in the Levant trade, a process which had started in the 12th century, shipping items acquired through transit in the Islamic lands or grown and semi-finished there, to Europe as well as to other Islamic regions, in European ships. The Italian, French and Catalan archives reveal that Muslim traders were relegated to fulfilling a mainly intermediary role of supplying the transit trade, and minimal export of raw materials and semi-finished goods was left in their hands. The subsequent outline and annotated bibliography will follow this chronological division, and use it as a framework for presenting the development and structures of Islamic trade, focusing on the economic features and organisational dimensions as they become apparent in the sources. It will address what was particularly Islamic about this trade, and evaluate its performance, the sophistication of its tools and its role in the economic progress of the Islamic societies.

We have little solid historical evidence about the organisation of the Islamic trade during its first phase. However, thanks to the numerous geographical works written in the 9th and 10th centuries, and excavations in the port cities of the Persian Gulf, Red Sea and Indian Ocean, we know a great deal about the long-distance trade routes stretching over continents, linking the caliphate with Inner Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe. The main eastward overland route followed the ancient "Silk road", connecting Bag̲h̲dād, through the Persian highlands, with Transoxiana and Inner Asia, while a maritime route linked Baṣra and its adjacent ports of Sīrāf and Ubulla, as the main point of entry for the short-distance maritime trade between East Africa and the Red Sea ports, and for the long-distance route through the Indian Ocean to India and China. Routes to and from Europe traversed the Rhone valley and the Mediterranean, embarking either in Byzantine territory or Frankish France, and landing in Antioch or Egypt. The overland European routes were either from northern Europe through al-Andalus and into North Africa, or through the land of the Slavs, the southern part of Russia and into Bag̲h̲dād. The trade with Africa was conducted from two areas, one the *Bilād al-Zand̲j̲*, i.e. East Africa, and the other, *al-Sūdān*, i.e. West Africa, through five axes, all ending in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and sending products to ʿIrāḳ, China and India. Merchants who settled in the southern Mag̲h̲rib did reach G̲h̲āna and the Western Sudan, but the developing trade with West Africa, and the trans-continental African trade as a whole, had to be managed and directed from commercial centres, some in the southern Mag̲h̲rib or the northern Sahara oases, such as Sid̲j̲ilmāsa, Nafzāwa, Tuwāt, Wargala and Darʿa. In subsequent times, the terminus of this section of the Saharan trade moved to Mediterranean North Africa.

The trading patterns which developed in the Islamic East were not merely a continuation of Roman and Persian trade patterns. Since both maritime and land itineraries were unchangeable and determined by geographical conditions, the Islamic urban development, the legal apparatus with the formulation of the contractual and financial instruments, and above all, the scale of production which underpinned Islamic trade, showed major differences. The Romans and Persians permitted incoming and outgoing Eastern trade to pass through certain cities only, and they imposed high duties on incoming goods and limited export to agricultural products and some manufactured goods. In comparison, Islamic duty rates on numerous and varied items were lower, with many exit and entry points, pointing to a far more comprehensive, sophisticated and intensive trading pattern. In fact, the domination of Islamic trade by Asian luxury imports was of short duration. The nature of this trade, as specified by the traders' manual of the pseudo-al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ and the travellers's guides, included slaves, furs, spices, rare metals, luxurious textiles, foodstuffs, precious stones, and even rare animals, luxury items imported to satisfy a demand created by individuals, who were a wealthy clientèle, concentrated in the palace. As more evidence surfaces and a more perceptive analysis can be applied to it, this image, while not inaccurate, is seen to be nonetheless misleading. A correct reading of the items traded shows that they originated in all parts of the Islamic regions and consisted of local raw materials, mined ores or manufactured metal utensils, agricultural products and foodstuffs, and products of the textile and leather industries, which were manufactured and finished in the eastern and northern regions of the caliphate, especially in Persia. As early as the 9th century, Islamic trade was already fuelled by regional production, handling locally manufactured items. Cloth came from eastern and northern Persia, silk and silk products, and carpets from Samarḳand, Marw and Nīs̲h̲āpūr. Rayy and Yazd were also important centres of cotton manufacturing, while skins and hides were traded from Transoxania, Hamadān or K̲h̲ʷārazm, soap was manufactured in Balk̲h̲ and perfumes came from Fārs and Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān. Persia also supplied the caliphate with non-perishable food stuffs, honey, sesame oil, grease, dried fruit and dried fish. Precious metals were traded, silver more than gold, and wood from the Caspian forests as well as minerals, sal-ammoniac and petroleum from Bākū.

However, Persia, which probably had a manufacturing infrastructure in place earlier but nonetheless benefitted from the other changes brought by the coming of Islam, was not the only region to show patterns of trade linked to local production. Early and strong evidence of this trade is also found in Egypt, where the 9th-century papyri documents reveal the organisation of local trade in items manufactured to order for export, a pattern later confirmed by the Geniza documents. The limited archaeological evi-

dence of luxury imports along the overland road also contradicts the perception of the luxury trade. Even though excavations imply that it was largely supplied by the maritime road, they also suggest that demand for foreign items never developed in the Islamic regions and that local artisans quickly learned to produce similar-looking items. Only those items that were judged indispensable and could only be found outside the Islamic lands, such as slaves, who were used for labour, domestic and military service, and certain metals such as silver or timber, which the Islamic regions did not have in sufficient amounts, were imported. What is called international trade was more regional in nature, conducted between Europe, Byzantium and the neighbouring Islamic areas, and largely with locally-produced items. Russia, for instance, traded with Central Asia and not with the Near East, as the hoards of Sāmānid coins, rather than those of the caliphate, found in the Baltic and Russian areas, show. By the same token, Yemen and the Persian Gulf traded with countries in the Indian Ocean region, East Africa, Malaysia and China, rather than with the Mediterranean countries. North Africa and Spain traded with Western Europe rather than with the Islamic East. The lack of monetary unity within the Islamic lands during this first period also contributed to and prolonged this pattern of trade, with ʿIrāḳ, Central Asia and Spain remaining mono-metallic silver, and Egypt, Syria, Arabia and the Maghrib, mono-metallic gold. The hoards of Islamic coins found in Europe, which date from this period but which disappear later, indicate intensive monetary circulation, but also decentralised, independent regional mints in the Muslim regions, and point to trade patterns linked to market fluctuations in prices and supply, which could provide opportunities for quick profits.

A new cycle in the organisation of the Islamic trade can be detected during the second phase, that of the Fāṭimids and the Ayyūbids. The Asian trade did not disappear, but the centre of trade moved from ʿIrāḳ to Egypt and from the Far East to the Mediterranean, while its fundamental character, regional and manufacturing-oriented, intensified. Tunisia and Sicily, which served as the point of contact with Europe, slowly ceded their position to the Italian merchant cities in the 12th century. Despite the unification of the monetary system, regional specie did not disappear, as coins of one region were easily converted into coins of another without hampering the circulation of goods or payment for services. However, trade did suffer from the deterioration and dissipation of silver coins which occurred from the 11th century onwards and which was responsible for strong fluctuations in the rate of exchange of the dirham to the dīnār in all the Mediterranean regions. This fluctuated between 12 and 40 dirhams to the dīnār during the Geniza period, and was also affected by manipulations of its silver content by the mint. The balance of payments in Egypt and North Africa was probably compensated by a rise in quality of the gold coins, which was a testimony to the strength of the Saharan gold trade during the reign of the Fāṭimids but evidence of its decline under the Ayyūbids. The continuous minting of Islamic coins after the appearance of the Crusaders and by the Christian rulers in Spain was an acknowledgment of the role this money played in international transactions, requiring good-quality gold and silver coins.

The main features of the organisation of Islamic trade, especially the whole array of legal arrangements, investment contracts and financial instruments, as well as government institutions and the identity of traders, came into full view during the second period, and were mainly, but not exclusively described in the Jewish merchants' letters and accounts of the Cairo Geniza. Using Islamic legal arrangements for trading transactions, the Jewish documents show above all how Islamic law provided a congenial environment for the promotion of trade and other economic transactions. The contracts permitted investment of capital, gold, silver and currency in trade, regulated the practical aspects and legitimised the gain from financial dealings. Investment in trade could be silent, commenda (*ḳirāḍ* [*q.v.*]), and/or sharing trading transactions with partners (*s̲h̲irka* or *s̲h̲arika* [*q.v.*]). An investment partnership could comprise any size of capital investment, shares of the different participants, duration, whether a single venture or multiple ventures, all possibilities of investment shares, and division of profit between the investor(s) and the trading agent. Investment in trade could be made on credit, using instruments like the *ḥawāla* [*q.v.*], transfer of debt, and the *suftad̲j̲a* [*q.v.*], letter of credit, while credit sales could consist of deferred payments for goods sold as well as advances for future delivery. All legal provisions were used in tandem or independently. They were probably used by Arab merchants in the period predating Islam and were certainly in practice from the 8th century onwards, and as demonstrated in the *fatwās* from the Mālikī West, they displayed a great degree of flexibility in implementation. The significant dimensions of the monetary circulation gave rise to two financial institutions which met the needs of the large commercial network and credit transactions of trade. The first, money changing, was needed because of the variety of coins in circulation, and the lack of unity in the systems of minting and payment. The second, merchant banking, which extended credit, helped in financing, assisted in the transfer of funds, and provided guarantees [see further, ṢARRĀF, in Suppl.]. In addition to investment in trade, the legal system regulated travel on the open sea and along the coast, ship leasing contracts, seasonal leasing, sharing profits and losses from wreckage, piracy and enemy attack, misconduct, jettison and salvaged goods.

Explicit and continuous sources on the elaborate system of taxes and customs imposed on trade are available for Egypt, covering most of the period between the 11th and 16th centuries with varied degrees of consistency, but intermittent information is also available for other regions. In addition to taxes on merchandise, there were tolls for passage, the Islamic state's taxes for the poor, and wages for porters, custom officials, weighers, brokers and criers. The rates for each of the categories, except for the canonical *ʿus̲h̲r* or tenth, fluctuated in response to market conditions, supply and demand, labour shortages, local and political conditions, prices of merchandise and availability of precious metals and coins. On the whole, the structure of the taxation system shows remarkable stability over hundreds of years. The place and timing of payment of the different categories also varied. Tolls and taxes had to be paid on arrival or departure at the gates, but payments for services were due when the service was rendered and completed. Goods arriving by the maritime route could be assessed at sea, where registration of prices, merchandise and identification of merchants took place. The cargo was taxed after it was unloaded and weighed in front of the port officials in the agency building, *dār al-wakāla*. Some ships were taxed based on the total value of merchandise carried. Others, and probably most

commonly, were taxed according to the identity of the merchandise, which had a variety of rates. Tax was collected from the 2% paid to the brokers by the buyer. Items of local provenance, traded in territorial, small scale markets were also taxed, and many of the taxes were known to have been collected by tax-collectors, *ḍāmins*. Local traders who rented stores paid a monthly tax to the government in addition to their rent [see further, MAKS]. The staff involved in the activities surrounding the merchants at the port of arrival and departure, weighers, messengers of the customs' house, revenue officers, registrar, packers, inspectors of the workshops, warehousemen, mosque janitor, porters, watchmen, sealer and herald, were paid last. The Fāṭimid author al-Dimashḳī describes three prototypes of Islamic institutional merchants, differentiated by the nature of their mercantile activity: the hoarder, who stores goods and sells them when the price is high; the peregrinator, who transports wares from one country to another; and the shipper, who is stationary but sends shipments abroad (see in more detail, above, 2.). The occupational classification methodology of numerous sources from the three periods offers a better analysis of the different activities involved with trade. It appears that the largest group of commerce occupations were those selling raw materials grown, extracted or gathered in the countryside and brought unprocessed into the city. The second group of occupations were the middlemen, whose specialised occupational terms revealed a significant internal division by location, enumeration and selling techniques. The transport occupations, crucial to the maintenance of trade, were numerically less important but had a division of labour as specialised as the other groups. The riders of camels, mules, donkeys and horses, and the mariners, were respectively involved in the shipment over land and the maritime transport of bulk commodities over long distances, with porters and couriers moving smaller items in smaller quantities over short distances. Caravans, ranging from several animals to 500 camels, departed from urban centres, where camel owners, camel drivers and other organisers and participants, were also to be found. In spite of the general tendency to minimise the level of Muslim navigation, particularly in the Mediterranean, the use of navigational devices, the Arabic navigation manuals, the different kinds of boats and the variety of boat building occupations in port cities indicate the existence of maritime industries and a significant commercial fleet, which reached a peak in the 9th-10th centuries [see MILĀḤA; SAFĪNA]. Merchants who owned lighter boats also contributed to the development of river transportation, but the growth in ship building had come to an end in the 11th century, caused by factors ranging from lack of wood and monopolisation of the arsenals by the state, and by the use of forced labour corvée, notoriously the weakest link between production and trade. The diversified occupational structures of the commercial and industrial sectors, which provided the linkages for the economic activities of trade, were matched by the diversified scales of the markets. Daily and weekly markets which provided fresh food and locally produced items, were held in the city's quarters and outside the city's walls. A permanent larger-scale central market, selling larger quantities, of greater variety, higher value and luxury merchandise, some produced locally but most imported from regional markets, was located near the mosque [see further, SŪḲ]. The prices at this level responded to fluctuations in the exchange rate, new mints, offer and demand from local and distant producers, and availability of items. A seasonal or yearly market was held for the diffusion of merchandise, shown in inns and warehouses [see FUNDUḲ; KHĀN; WAKĀLA] and consisting of imported foreign manufactured goods or transit goods, brought by foreign merchants, which were items in demand in Islamic regions or European destinations.

How Islamic was Islamic trade? The nature of the merchants' alliances, and their religious and ethnic identity, were all significant for the performance of the Islamic trade, even though distinct groups in trade activities moved in and out of the scene according to the sources used. Jews, for instance, were fully delineated in the Geniza documents but completely ignored by al-Makhzūmī [*q.v.*], an important contemporary observer. The participation of Persians and Christians, prominent in the first phase, was enhanced by that of the Jewish Rādhānites (see AL-RĀDHĀNIYYA, and add to its Bibl., Ch. Verlinden, *Les Radaniya. Intermédiaires commerciaux entre les mondes Germano-Slave et Gréco-Arabe*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, (Athens), vi [1995], 111-24), Khāridjī traders, in particular those of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] subsect, and Armenians, but different ethnic groups were also subject to changes in the kind of trade they conducted, from one period to another, and from one region to another. Slaves, wheat and arms, all disappeared as items of Jewish trade in the 11th century. They became a major commodity handled by Muslim traders, carried in Muslim-owned boats and financed by large capital investment from Muslim princes and dignitaries. Jewish merchants were driven from the trade with India in the 12th century, leaving the lucrative spice trade in the hands of the Muslim Kārimī [*q.v.*] merchants, and by the beginning of the 13th century they could only be found in local trade. Muslim merchants lost the importation of slaves for the Mamlūk dominions to Genoa in the 14th century. The Jewish merchant of the Geniza documents based the decision whom to employ in his service, and with whom to establish trade partnership, upon social and family connections. Such patterns can be explained by the nature of the investment transactions in trade, which required personal trust and guarantees, better provided by blood or marriage alliances. Since the merchants originating in the Muslim regions, whether Muslims or not, used the same financial and legal tools, the chance of this pattern being repeated throughout is very likely. On the other hand, it also shows that the framework provided by the law for the conduct of trade, was not sufficient to generate institutional, impersonal, anonymous local, regional or international co-operation.

The most striking change in Islamic trade during the third period was the massive penetration of Islamic markets by foreign Christian merchants. This brought in its wake changes not only in patterns of trade but also in production, since the two were always linked. The presence of Christians, either Byzantine or Sicilians, was already noted in the Egyptian ports in the 11th and 12th centuries, through the instructions issued by the administration on how to handle their embarkation, taxation and buying of merchandise. But the lack of references in al-Makhzūmī to their presence in the Red Sea ports, which later became the focus of their interest, appears to indicate that, if they participated in the commerce on that stretch of the route, then either there were not many of them or they were held in complete equality with Muslims. Historically, the status of foreign merchants and foreign vessels in Islamic territories was legally organised by the awarding of a license to travel or engage in trade,

a safe-conduct *amān* [*q.v.*]. Such standard safe conducts could be issued by the *imām* or any legally-qualified Muslim, for a year or longer, and guaranteed safe passage for the merchandise, the rate of taxes the merchant had to pay, where he could sell his commodities, and how long he could stay, testamentary rights, freedom of worship, burial, dress, ship's repair, emergency rations, aid against attack by corsairs, and permission to address complaints to the head of the Muslim community. There was no distinction between local and foreign merchants. Each was given a *barā'a* [*q.v.*], proof of payment of the dues, and the Islamic state had the right to confiscate merchandise in times of civil war, or war between states, a general financial crisis, or if the merchant was unable to pay tariffs. The port and its premises, ships and sailors was subject to state jurisdiction and inspection, as were the goods in the port's warehouses and in the holds of vessels anchored in the harbour. The Crusades were greatly held responsible for changing the patterns of the Italian cities' trade with the Levant, but in fact, the structures of Islamic trade in the Mediterranean were being eroded and modified because of the impact and appeal of the growing European markets, to which it had never previously had access. Pisa, Genoa and Venice were participants and sometime partners of the Islamic trade of the Far and Near East before and during the Crusades, but their instrumental role in the transportation and naval warfare of the Crusaders, gave them beneficial status in the cities they conquered, especially the port cities of Jaffa, Ascalon, Caesarea, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut and Antioch. Their privileges, which included preferred tax-rates on trade transactions, also provided for quarters for any prolonged stay, internal legal freedom and the right to engage in importing and exporting activities. After the liquidation of the Crusading states, the Italian merchants' familiarity with the region's trade, and the foothold they had in the local markets, enabled them to make the link with the growing markets in Northern Europe, which now demanded and could afford oriental spices and other Eastern products. Thanks to their superiority in the Mediterranean shipping, they were also able to seize the regional Islamic trade proper and to increase the scale of their trading activities in the Islamic lands. Changing political conditions in the area favoured their penetration as well. The Mongol conquest of Persia and 'Irāḳ caused a shift in the Far Eastern trade, especially in spices, which had moved away from inland 'Irāḳ to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, where Egypt was a stable outlet. They became a permanent feature of the Islamic port with their consuls and their notaries. Muslim traders failed to notice the evolving markets in Northern Europe because they were never involved in European trade and were never in competition there. As a result, when European traders began to exploit the Levant trade products to feed their own markets, Muslim traders experienced not only the loss of the opportunity to trade the imported spices with the new markets but also lost their own regional markets, which acquired these spices as well as other products. The access of the European merchants to ports in the Western Mediterranean was regularised in the 12th century, when the Almohads, after conquering Tunisia, signed treaties with Pisa, establishing regular trade tariffs. Italian cities contributed to the development of the ports of Tunisia and Algeria, whereas Marseilles conducted active trade with Ceuta in northern Morocco, in addition to Bougie in Algeria, from the 13th century onwards. The Catalans and Portuguese focused their activities on the Atlantic ports of Morocco, where other factors played a similar role, benefitting the growth of the European economy. There, gold from the Sahara, arriving through Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*], stimulated trade with the Atlantic ports such as Arzila, Anfa and Salé. Merchants from Marseilles who visited Bougie and Tlemcen were paid in gold dust for importing, glass, copper utensils, perfumes and spices, which were then traded across the Sahara. The great gold surplus in Morocco was reflected in the regular and lavish payments in gold, metal and coins which the Marīnids [*q.v.*] made for hiring Castilian cavalrymen and Aragonese ships in the 13th and 14th centuries. From the 14th century onwards, the Provençal and Aragonese archives, together with the acts of notaries from Majorca and Barcelona who resided in the Moroccan and Tunisian ports, reflect the same vigorous penetration by European merchants into Andalusian and North African markets. The Western Mediterranean trade, which was dominated by the Catalan ships, also displayed similar patterns of regional trade, re-exporting pepper, ginger, silk sugar, cotton, gallnuts, sumac and indigo, bought in Egypt or Syria. The only sector of the Islamic trade left in Muslim hands was that of the inland routes and the local markets.

The history of Islamic trade has been described as one of early success and later decline, resulting from the general impoverishment of the Islamic lands in the later Middle Ages, the decline in population, agricultural production, manufacturing, scarcity of resources and technical stagnation, all aggravated by the state's exploitation of producers and merchants, over-taxation, the monopolisation of sales and the discouragement of private initiative. Some historians have blamed the nature of the Islamic mercantile economy, which did not encourage production for export purposes and which distanced the merchant class from the state's political apparatus, all these being obviously at variance with the Italian case. This estimate, however, fails to take into account the role played by Islamic trade in the context of its own economy and society and to grant it its just place as a vigorous economic agent and as a catalyst of growth and prosperity for rural and urban centres. Trade fulfilled an economic role by stimulating the economy, encouraging production for existing markets and creating new ones, and by integrating the different manufacturing areas, thereby working as a double catalyst, by providing raw materials and manufactured items for finishing or for local specialisation, and by creating demand and markets for import products. The manufacturing sector of the Islamic economy had a large, diversified and well-structured system of production. Division of labour was prevalent and extensively developed, and industrial productivity was much greater than it had been before Islam; and this remained pretty much constant throughout. Trade played a historical role by integrating these sectors of productivity and generated industrial productivity by stimulating production and by relaying orders for markets, which had been identified or created for specific merchandise. The textile industry is a good example of how this mechanism worked. Merchants in the cities placed orders with weavers in the rural areas, or shipped locally-grown dyeing and tanning materials such as indigo, sumac, and gall-nuts from and through Egypt to other regions. This is well documented in the Geniza letters, and the Islamic *fatwās*, too, speak about linen cloth and indigo imported from Egypt and

bought by the dyeing workshops of Tunis. The stimulating aspect is also visible in the diffusion of raw material needed by the industries, or the moving of semi-finished items to urban centres for finishing, as is shown in the regular exchange of olive oil and textiles between Egypt and Tunisia. The integrational role of trade also contributed greatly towards the balance of payments in the regional economies. As long as regional trade functioned, the transit trade did not throw the regions out of balance, but in the last phase, the integrational role of trade failed because the economies of the participating regions fell out of balance. The buying of slaves, which became the main pillar of Egypt's political régime, constituted a major drain on its precious metal resources, and since parts of the spice cargoes in transit were consumed locally, trade in them did not provide as much revenue. Islamic trade promoted economic growth based not on markets abroad but on internal growth and regional integration. It was supported by a full range of industrial services, including wholesale and retail commerce occupations, marketing and financing and a developed transport system, which made up the largest and most diversified group of occupations in the urban centres. The link with the industrial sector is displayed by the fact that commercial occupations follow the division of labour in the manufacturing sector, and diversify according to the raw materials used in manufacturing. The key to an accurate evaluation of Islamic trade is to judge it by the role it played in integrating the different sectors—agriculture, manufacturing and services—in a model of peripheral/regional integration, rather than a model of centre/international integration. Based on regional exchange, it brought together neighbouring or remote regions rather than serving solely as contact between centre and peripheries. Through the integration of the different sectors into a fully-balanced economic system, it performed a central role in the urbanisation process and in the economic progress of Islamic societies during the period studied.

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(MAYA SHATZMILLER)

TIDORE, a small volcanic island to the west of Halmahera belonging to the North Moluccan islands, now in northeastern Indonesia, part of the Administrative District of Halmahera Tengah (Central Halmahera) and administered as a *kecamatan*. Its *ca.* 38,000 inhabitants are mostly Muslims.

In the 13th century, the *kolano* or king of Tidore started to extend his kingdom, thus initiating continuous conflict with neighbouring Ternate [*q.v.*]. These two islands formed part of the original "Spice Islands", the home of cloves and nutmegs. Around 1430, a Muslim trader, called according to tradition Shaykh Manṣūr, began teaching Islam, and in *ca.* 1495 the ruler of Tidore, whose predecessors had used the Hindu title of *rādjā*, is said to have been converted and to have called himself *sulṭān*, with the honorific of Djamāl al-Dīn. As eager proponents of the new faith, subsequent rulers carried Islam as far as the shores of Irian or New Guinea. In 1521 some survivors of Fernando Magelhaes' expedition harboured at Tidore, and in 1522 the Portuguese were allowed to open a factory there. They soon clashed with the Sultan of Tidore, who rejected the Portuguese claim to a trade monopoly, and Tidore found here support from Spain, whilst Ternate supported the Portuguese. However, with the union of the two Iberian kingdoms in 1580, both Spaniards and Portuguese were established on Tidore, until in 1607 the Dutch United East India Company (VOC), backed by Ternate, conquered Tidore. Subsequently, the Dutch not only tried to prevent outside trading but also sought to prevent uncontrolled production of nutmegs and cloves by destroying trees, thereby impoverishing the traditional society of the North Moluccas.

At the end of the 18th century, with British assistance, a prince from the ruling family of Tidore, Nuku, tried to reassert his sultanate's power, and defeated the Dutch fleet in 1799; but after his death in 1805, Tidore lost all importance. After 1905, the throne became vacant and in 1909 the sultanate's autonomy was ended; the sultanate of nearby Jailolo on Halmahera had already disappeared from history when its last ruler was in 1832 exiled.

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(O. SCHUMANN, shortened by the Editors)

T'IEN WU, a Chinese-speaking Muslim (Hui-min) religious teacher and commander from Yen-ch'a-ting district in Kansu province, Northwest China. He was a disciple of the Chinese Nakshbandī-Djahriyya Ṣūfī order founder, Ma Ming-hsin [*q.v.*], also known as Ibrāhīm Wiḳāyat Allāh (1718-81). He was also *ahung* (*imām*) of a local mosque in the Hsiao-shan area. His birth date is not recorded in the official sources, but he died in a Muslim uprising in 1784.

On his return from T'ien-fang, sc. Arabia, Ma Ming-hsin started to propound new teachings and to train many *khalīfa* disciples (T'ien Wu included) to spread his teachings in the Northwestern provinces. This was to reform the Hua-ssu Men-huang, the so-called Ke-di-mu Lao-chiao (Ar. *Ḳadīm*), a Nakshbandī-Khufiyya Ṣūfī order founded by Ma Lai-ch'ih, whose Islamic name was ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm (1681-1766). Ma Ming-hsin's reform was to purify the Ke-di-mu Lao-chiao's syncretised religious traditions and rituals. Because his followers performed *dhikr* in a loud voice, Ma Ming-hsin's group was called Che-ho-lin-yeh, the Djahriyya, to distinguish them from Hu-fei-yeh, the Khufiyya group of the Hua-ssu Men-huang. His fundamentalist reforms attracted a great number of poor Salar Muslim followers of the Hua-ssu Men-huang around the Hsün-hua area. This enraged the Khufiyya; quarrels started in 1769, and eventually armed fighting broke out in September 1780. In the course of these conflicts, local Imperial Manchu governors, who regarded the Djahrīs as heretics, sided with the Khufīs. In July 1781 the Khufīs, supported by Manchu forces, defeated the Djahrīs. Leading figures, together with their *pīr* Ma Ming-hsin, were all executed, and a massacre of the Djahrīs by the Manchu government followed. The families of the Djahrī dissenters were forced into exile to remote uncultivated lands in the East Turkestan (Hui-chiang, nowadays Hsin-chiang [= Sinkiang] province), Yunnan and Tibet borderlands. Through exile, the Djahriyya was thus spread more widely, and Djahrī exiles later took part in Muslim rebellions in these regions.

After its failure in the Hsün-hua and Ho-chou areas, the Djahriyya *djihād* movement was carried on by T'ien Wu. Since 1769 T'ien Wu had been actively preaching Ma Ming-hsin's teachings in the Yen-ch'a-ting, Wei-yüan, Chin-yüan, Ku-yüan-chou, and Kuan-ch'uang areas. On 30 May 1784, T'ien Wu, together with Ma Ming-hsin's nephew Chang Wen-ch'ing *ahung*, openly took up arms. According to the official Manchu Imperial court report, T'ien Wu's uprising was to avenge Ma Ming-hsin and Su Ssu-shih-san (Ma's would-be successor)'s martyrdom. However, in reality, it was rather a continuation of Ma Ming-hsin's reform calling for *djihād* against corrupt Khufīs and Manchu infidels. Shortly afterwards, on 8 June, T'ien Wu was wounded in battle and died.

On T'ien Wu's death, Chang Wen-ch'ing, other leading *ahungs* and their Djahrī followers made Shih-feng-pao in the Siao-san region their headquarters and continued their *djihād*, and from Shih-feng-pao the movement spread rapidly throughout Kansu province.

A vigorous fighting spirit helped the Djahrīs defeat the Manchu army in almost every battle, but some Djahrīs were suborned, so that the Djahrī forces disintegrated and suffered several defeats. Eventually the Manchu army captured Shih-feng-pao, and brutal massacre followed, with reportedly more than 11,000 Muslim dissidents were killed. The Djahrī remnants were either imprisoned or sent into exile, with captured women and children sold to Han Chinese as slaves and dispersed all over China. From then on, the Djahriyya order was totally banned by the Imperial government. Nevertheless, the Djahriyya movement did not come to an end with this suppression, and later, between 1862 and 1874, its militant spirit instigated the great Chin-chi-pao rebellion led by Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*].

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AL-TĪFĀSHĪ, Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās AḤMAD B. YŪSUF al-Ḳaysī, Egyptian scholar and man-of-letters (580-651/1184-1253).

Al-Tīfāshī is the author of a few works on sexual hygiene, the most well-known and quite representative being the *Kitāb Rudjūʿ al-shaykh ilā ṣibāh fi 'l-ḳūwa ʿalā 'l-bāh* (tr. into English by an anonymous writer under the title *The old man young again*, Paris 1898) which is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the physiology of the sexual organs and beneficial and noxious aspects of sexual intercourse, provides a large number of both simple and compound drugs which serve as aphrodisiacs, and describes magical practices to increase sexual potency; the second part deals with the secrets of women, their physiognomy, cosmetics, again aphrodisiacs, how to practice coitus, and teems with anecdotes and poems of a rather obscene nature.

Al-Tīfāshī, however, is particularly famous for his main work on mineralogy entitled *Azhār al-afkār fī djawāhir al-aḥdjār* "The blooms of thoughts about the precious stones". In 25 chapters, al-Tīfāshī describes 25 stones according to the following system: etymology, etiology, mines, quality and purity, medical and magical properties, value and price, defects, and substances which are supposed to improve or dull the shine of a stone. Al-Tīfāshī, who quotes his sources with great accuracy, drew upon a variety of both Greek and Arabic works on this and on related subjects, and his thorough compilation with its clear disposition thus became the most widespread and popular Arabic stone book.

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TIFINAGH, the name of the indigenous writing system of the Berberophone Touareg people (Algeria, Niger, Mali). The name is a Touareg plural noun meaning "Phoenician letters" (sg. *tafinekk*).

Origin. The Tifinagh script is a descendant of the old Libyan-Saharan script, which in turn is a restyled and adapted version of the Phoenician-Punic script [see LĪBIYĀ. 2.]. The Touareg themselves ascribe the invention of the script to a legendary hero, variously known as Aniguran or Amamellen.

Traditional usage. The traditional Tifinagh script, known as *tifinagh ti-n-elesel* "original T.", exists in several regional versions. The "classical" Tifinagh alphabet is the version of the Hoggar region (southern Algeria) [see table in BERBERS. VI.].

Traditional Tifinagh is a consonant script, like its Semitic ancestor, but a dot (named *tégherit*) is used to indicate any word-final vowel, while /y/ and /w/ are sometimes used to write word-final *i/é* and *u/o*. The direction of writing is not fixed: texts may be written horizontally, vertically and in boustrophedon. Words are usually not separated. Various ligatures of two letters are used. In the Hoggar version, the letters have names which are formed by prefixing *yă-* to the represented consonants, e.g. *yăb* "letter b", *yăd* "letter d", *yăḍ* "letter ḍ" (Aïr *eba, eda, eḍa*). There is no fixed alphabetical order in which the names of the letters are recited.

Knowledge of traditional Tifinagh is widespread among the Touareg. Almost all children are given instruction in the script, a task traditionally undertaken by the women. Among some groups, about half of the women and one-third of the men are reportedly able to write Tifinagh without hesitation.

Tifinagh is used for short inscriptions on rocks (almost invariably of the type "X was here"), on tombstones, and on objects such as bracelets and weapons. It is also used for short letters and notes written on paper, leather or animal bones. Tribal chiefs and traders use it for simple administrative purposes. A few Christian religious texts have been published in traditional Tifinagh as well as a translation of *Le petit prince*. The script continues to be used in small government-sponsored publications in Niger.

Modern usage. The absence of vowel-signs has been felt as a serious shortcoming by some Touareg users of Tifinagh, and various schemes were developed to remedy this.

In the region of Timbuktu, Arabic vowel signs are used in conjunction with Tifinagh, with *tégherit* serving as "chair" for a word-initial vowel. (Touareg texts written entirely in vocalised Arabic script are also known from this area.)

Another system for writing vowels was developed in 1973 by a certain Ibrahim of Tamanrasset, nicknamed Mao. In this system, known as *tifinagh n-ăzzăman* "modern T.", a new sign in the shape of an hourglass representing *e* (schwa) has been added. Two diacritics are used in combination with /e/ and /y/ to form signs for the other vowels. The consonant letters of modernised Tifinagh are based on the traditional script of the Aïr region in Niger which, unlike that of Hoggar, does not distinguish the emphatic consonant phonemes from their unemphatic counterparts. In addition to this, the vowel *o* is not distinguished from *u*. The modernised Tifinagh is consistently written horizontally, from left to right.

I. Tifinagh (Touareg, modernised)

1	2	3
ⴲ, ⴱ	b	
ⴷ	d	
ⴹ	ḍ	
ⴼ	f	
ⴳ	g	
ⵗ	gh	γ
ⵂ	h	
ⵋ	j	ž
ⴾ	k	
ⵆ	kh	x
ⵍ	l	
ⵎ	m	
ⵏ	n	
ⵈ	q	ḳ
ⵔ, ⵔ	r	
ⵙ, ⵙ	s	
ⵚ ⵚ	ṣ	
ⵛ, ⵛ	sh	š
ⵜ	t	
ⵟ	ṭ	
ⵓ	w	
ⵢ	y	
ⵣ	z	
ⵥ	ẓ	
ⴰ	a	
ⴻ	ə	e
ⴻ̈	e	é
ⵉ	i	
ⵓ̈	o	
ⵓ	u	

II. Neo-Tifinagh (Riffian)

1	2	3
ⴱ	b	
ⵛ	c	sh, š
ⵞ	č	ch
ⴷ	d	
ⴸ	ḏ	
ⴹ	ḍ	dh, ð
ⴺ	ḏ̣	ð̣
ⴼ	f	
ⴳ	g	
ⴳⵯ	g	ḡ
ⴵ	ǧ	dj
ⵀ	h	
ⵃ	ḥ	
ⵊ	j	zh, ž
ⴽ	k	
ⴽⵯ	ḵ	ç
ⵍ	l	
ⵎ	m	
ⵏ	n	
ⵒ	p	
ⵖ	γ	gh
ⵇ	q	ḳ
ⵔ	r	
ⵕ	ṛ	
ⵔ̌	ř	(< l)
ⵙ	s	
ⵚ	ṣ	
ⵜ	t	
ⵝ	ṯ	th, θ
ⵟ	ṭ	
ⵡ	w	
ⵅ	x	kh
ⵢ	y	
ⵣ	z	
ⵥ	ẓ	
ⵄ	ε	ᶜ
ⴰ	a	
ⴻ	e	ə
ⵉ	i	
ⵓ	u	

III. Neo-Tifinagh (Kabyle)

1	2	3
ⴱ	ḃ	*b*
Δ, Δ	b	β
ⵛ	c	sh, š
ⵞ, ⵞ	ç	ch, č
ⴷ	ḋ	*d*
ⴸ	d	dh, ð
ⴹ	ḍ̇	ḍ
ⴺ	ḍ	ð̣
ⴼ, ⴼ	f	
ⴳ	ġ	*g*
ⴳ	g	ḡ
ⵀ	h	
ⵃ, ⵃ	ḥ	
ⵊ	j	zh, ž
ⴵ	j̧	dj, ǧ
ⴽ, ⴽ	k̇	*k*
ⴿ, ⴿ	k	ç
ⵍ	l	
ⵎ	m	
ⵏ	n	
ⵖ	γ	gh
ⵇ	q	ḳ
ⵔ	r	
ⵙ	s	
ⵚ	ṣ	
ⵜ	ṫ	*t*
ⵝ	t	th, θ
ⵜⵙ	ţ	ts
ⵟ, ⵟ	ṭ	
ⵡ / ⵓ	w	
ⵅ	x	kh
ⵢ / ⵉ	y	
ⵣ	z	
ⵥ	ẓ	
ⵄ	ε	ᶜ
ⴰ	a	
ⴻ	e	ə
ⵉ	i	
ⵓ	u	

I. 1. Tifinagh
2. Touareg Latin orthography
3. Alternative transcriptions

The Latin orthography presented here is the standard of Niger, based on the orthography adopted by Unesco in 1968. The vowel phoneme *ǎ*, difficult to discern even for native speakers, is represented either by *a* or by *ə* in Tifinagh as well as in Latin orthography.

II. 1. Tifinagh
2. Riffian Latin orthography
3. Alternative transcriptions

Standardised Latin, Arabic and Tifinagh orthographies for Riffian were adopted at an international conference held in Utrecht (Netherlands) in November 1996.

III. 1. Tifinagh
2. Kabyle Latin orthography
3. Alternative transcriptions

The conventional Kabyle Latin orthography is based on the transcription devised by J.-M. Dallet. The superscript dots which are used to indicate non-spirantised consonants are usually omitted in modern publications. Undotted *k* represents a voiceless palatal fricative ("Ichlaut") and undotted *g* represents a voiced palatal fricative.

Modernised Tifinagh has gained some currency among young Touareg in Algeria. One of its best known users is the French-domiciled Touareg poet Hawad, who also developed a cursive version. A bilingual French-Touareg edition of poems by Hawad using modernised Tifinagh was published recently (*Buveurs de braises*, Saint-Nazaire 1995). The modernised script is also used in a small Touareg magazine entitled *Amnas ihgawgawen* "The stammering camel" (first issue December 1991).

Neo-Tifinagh. In the early 1970s, a group of modern Kabyle scholars and students, united in the "Académie berbère" (founded 1967 in Paris), invented a script commonly known as Neo-Tifinagh (Kabyle: *tifinagh tiynayin*). This script is based on the traditional Tifinagh script of the Touareg and is used for the writing of Berber languages, in particular Kabyle (Taḳbaylit) and Riffian (Tarifiyt), which have no tradition whatsoever of being written in Tifinagh. Letters were added in Neo-Tifinagh to represent consonant phonemes not found in Touareg, as well as signs for the vowels. Various typographical changes were made to existing letters. The result is a script which resembles the traditional Tifinagh, but which is in fact incomprehensible to a literate Touareg.

Neo-Tifinagh is frequently used as a cultural icon in headings of magazines and the like. Although the Neo-Tifinagh script has acquired a cult status among young educated Berberophones, most of whom would support its adoption as the official Berber script, very few, if any, are able to read or write it at speed. Those who know the script were already fully literate in at least one other script (Arabic or Latin) before they learned Neo-Tifinagh: there are no Berberophones literate exclusively in Neo-Tifinagh. In addition to this, the technical problems involved in printing the script as well as government discouragement have prevented the publication of more than a handful of texts in Neo-Tifinagh (e.g. poems and a translation of the Gospel of St. John).

Bibliography: For extensive bibliographies, see BERBERS, LĪBIYĀ and the article *Écriture* in the *Encyclopédie berbère*. Also M. O'Connor, *The Berber scripts*, in P.T. Daniels and W. Bright (eds.), *The world's writing systems*, Oxford 1996, 112-16; F. Coulmas, *The Blackwell encyclopedia of writing systems*, Oxford 1996, s.v. *Tifinagh*. An excellent survey of the Touareg tradition is provided by M. Aghali Zakara and J. Drouin, *Recherches sur le tifinagh*, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, xviii-xxiii (1973-9), 241-71, 279-92. A table showing the regional variants of the traditional Tifinagh script as well as information on its use are found in K.-G. Prasse, *Manuel de grammaire touarègue*, 3 vols., Copenhagen 1972-4, i, 145-57. Information on modernised Touareg Tifinagh is provided by H. Claudot-Hawad, *Tifinar'. Du burin à la plume*, Dauphin 1985, and idem, *Tifinay. De la plume à l'imprimante*, in *Travaux du LAPMO*, Aix-en-Provence 1988. Vol. xi of *Études et documents berbères* (1994) contains articles on the various writing systems employed for the Berber languages, including (Neo-)Tifinagh. (N. VAN DEN BOOGERT)

ṬIFLĪ, AḤMED ČELEBI (d. 1071/1660-61), Ottoman poet and storyteller, born the son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in Trabzon according to most sources, the only exceptions being Sheykhī Meḥmed Efendi (*Waḳāʾiʿ al-fuḍalā*, i) and Meḥmed Thüreyyā (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, 252) who claim that he was born in Istanbul. He began producing poetry as a child and so took the pen-name of Ṭiflī ("Child"). He was also called "Leylek (the Stork) Ṭiflī", because of his long neck.

In his day he was more famous as a storyteller (*maddāḥ* [*q.v.*]) and boon-companion of the sultan (*nedīm*) than as a poet. A member of the inner circle of Sultan Murād IV [*q.v.*], he, at one time or another, held the official positions of *Shāhnāmedji* [*q.v.*] and *ḳiṣṣakhān* (storyteller), which brought him some prosperity and a comfortable life. Nefʿī [*q.v.*], in his famous satire with the *redīf*... *a köpek* ("O dog"), lampoons him for associating with the Grand Vizier Gürdjü Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] by reviling his reading of the *Shāh-nāme*. It is also said that he belonged to the Malāmiyye branch of the Bayrāmiyya [*q.v.*] dervishes and was an accomplished calligrapher. Ṭiflī was buried in Istanbul, and several poets, including Nāʾilī [*q.v.*], wrote chronograms (*tārīkh*) commemorating his death.

Ṭiflī's rather small *dīwān* exists in a number of manuscripts but has never been published in a printed edition. He has *ḳaṣīde*s to Sultan Murād and the viziers Mūsā Pasha and Djaʿfer Pasha and, in a prose story (Istanbul University, TY 250) called *Ḥikāyet-i Khʷādje Saʿīd veya Ṣañsar Muṣṭafā Ḥikāyesi*, both Ṭiflī and Sultan Murād appear as characters. Another prose tale of his, *Khandjerli khanim* ("Woman with a dagger"), was published by the Djerīde-yi Ḥawādith Press and summarised by Ibnülemin Maḥmūd Kemal İnal in *TOEM*, xcvi (1928). There is no published study on Ṭiflī or his work, although there is at least one dissertation (Kaşif Yılmaz, Atatürk Univ. in Erzurum, 1983) and two recent (1991) master's theses (Berrin Uyar Akalın, Hacettepe Univ.; and Vicdan Özdingiş, Selçuk Univ.).

Bibliography: For a detailed list of sources, see *İA* art. *Ṭiflī* (Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad). See also Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Meddahlar*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuasi*, i, 31-4; Abdulbaki Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve melâmîler*, Istanbul 1992, 130-5; Belīgh, *Nukhbet al-āthār*, Ankara 1985, 294-9; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 671; Riḍā, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1316, 63; *Tedhkire-yi Sālim*, Istanbul 1315, 568.

(MEHMET KALPAKLI and W.G. ANDREWS)

TIFLĪS, the form found in Islamic sources for the capital of Georgia, Tiflis or modern Tbilisi. The city is situated on hilly ground in the Kura river valley [see KUR] (lat. 41° 43' N., long. 44° 49' E.), and has a strategic position controlling the routes between eastern and western Transcaucasia which has ensured it a lively history.

The city is an ancient one, being founded in A.D. 455 or 458 when the capital of Georgia was transferred thither from nearby Mtskheta. For the subsequent history of the city, from Byzantine and Sāsānid times through the long period of political, military and cultural contacts with e.g. the Muslim powers of Arrān, Ādharbāydjān and Armenia, to the absorption of the Georgian monarchy into Imperial Russia and the period of Communist rule, the history of Tiflis is largely inseparable from that of Georgia as a whole; hence see for this, AL-KURDJ. One need only note, in supplementation of this, that on 9 April 1991 Georgia became an independent republic, with its capital at Tbilisi.

Tiflis in Islamic descriptions. The Islamic geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries give few details about Tiflis. It was in Muslim hands froin the mid-1st/7th century until it was recovered as the Georgian capital by the Georgian king Bagrat IV (r. 1027-52), but according to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 65 = § 498, Muslim prestige and authority there had weakened after al-Mutawakkil executed the local governor of Tiflis, Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḳurashī, in 238/852. It is described as large, with a double wall pierced by three gates. It spilled out across the river, and the

two parts were connected by a bridge of boats. The geographers especially mention its thermal springs, which supplied the baths with constant hot water. On the Kur river were water-mills (*ʿurūb*). Tiflis was an outpost of Islam, surrounded by *dār al-kufr*, and Abū Dulaf was unable to visit an interesting cave nearby, presumably because the countryside was in the hands of infidels. Al-Balādhurī has the interesting detail that the houses of Tiflis were built of pine wood (*sanawbar*). For the information of the geographers, see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 181; also *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, 35, § 14, comm. 73, and *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 144.

In the Il-Khānid period, Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳazwīnī tells us that, on the one bank of the Kur at Tiflis could be heard the call of the *muʾadhdhin*, and on the other, the peals of the Christian *nāḳūs*. The Christians were in the majority. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes the houses of Tiflis as built one above the other, the roofs of the one being the courtyard of the next.

From the 17th century, we have the Turkish descriptions of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (his brief narrative refers to the years 1630-5, *Djihān-numā*, 394) and Ewliyā Čelebi (in 1648, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 315-19), and also the first detailed description by a European (Chardin, 1673, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, ii, 72-88). Ewliyā gives many details of the citadels. The larger (that on the right bank of the Kur) was 6,000 paces in circumference and its walls were 60 ells (*dhirāʿ*) high. It had 70 towers and a garrison of 3,000 men. There was no protective ditch. There was a tower fitted up to supply the fortress with water (*ṣuluḳ ḳule*). In the large citadel there were 600 houses roofed with clay. In the smaller citadel (on the left bank) there were only 300 houses, but it was very strong on account of its walls. Pl. iii of Chardin's *Atlas* gives a general view of Tiflis, in which the traveller shows the 19 principal features (churches, palace, etc.).

For the 18th century, we have the descriptions by Tournefort (1701, *Relation d'un voyage au Levant*, Paris 1717, ii, 307-20, with a view, 314), and in Prince Wakhusht's *Geography* (the difficulties in which have now been cleared up by Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, i, 180). A panoramic plan of Tiflis was published by De l'Isle, *Avertissement sur la carte générale de la Géorgie*, Paris 1766 (the editor had received it during his sojourn in Russia from the "prince of Georgia"). The gazetteer by P. Iosselian (1866) is valuable, since it locates ancient buildings.

Old Tiflis consisted of four quarters, of which three lay on the right bank of the Kur (which here bends from north to south to north-west to south-east): 1. *Kala* or *Kalisi* (= Arabic *ḳalʿa*), the old quarter *intra muros* (between the streams Sololaki and Daba-khāna which flow into the Kur), with the citadel Narin-kala. 2. The town properly called Tbilisi, which grew up around the hot springs (according to Brosset, i/1, p. lxxx, it was founded by Armenian inhabitants). The town was situated on the bank of the Kur opposite and below the Kala. The Ṣafawid Shāh Ṣafī had settled a colony of Sayyids on the heights of Tʿabor (to the east of Daba-khāna), whence the Persian name of this district Sayyidābād. 3. The outer quarter Garetʿ-ubani near the race-course (*asparez*), above and to the north of the first two quarters. 4. The quarter on the left bank opposite the Kala was called Isani or Nisani (later Awlabar) and had the heights of Makhatʿa to the north of it. Isani corresponds to the Ṣughdabīl of the Arabs. It is the cemetery Sagodebel, in Georgian "place of groanings", mentioned in the *Life* of St. Abo; cf. Brosset, *Additions*, 136, and Schulze, *Das Martyrium d. hl. Abo von Tiflis, Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1905, xiii/4, 35. The same name occurs twice in the Georgian Chronicle (cf. Brosset, i, 407, 633).

Three citadels have to be distinguished at Tiflis: 1. The old citadel of Tʿabor (*Korči-ḳalʿa*) on the hill on the right bank of the Daba-khāna destroyed in 1618, in 1725, and finally in 1785; it defended the southern gate of the Kala, called the Gandja Gate. 2. The citadel Narin-Ḳalʿa on the hill of Kala. Before Islam, this fortress seems to have borne the name of Shuris-tsikhe (Wakhusht). It was dismantled in 1818 (cf. the picture in Gamba's *Atlas*). 3. The citadel of the left bank (Isani) served as a bridge-head; in 1728 the Turks began to fortify this place for the last time but left the work unfinished.

As to the royal palaces, the oldest was that of Metekhi on the left bank in front of the old bridge. In 1638 the Muslim king Rostom built a palace about 400 feet in length along the Kur in Tbilisi. Here Chardin was received by Shāh-Nawāz. A little farther to the south, King Wakhtang VI built a palace very richly adorned in the Persian style; it was destroyed by the Turks in 1725, see P. Iosselian, *Opisaniye drevnoshey Tiflisa*, Tiflis 1866 (on the mosques, see 239).

From the nature of the site, compressed between the Kur and the heights of the right bank, Old Tiflis attained no considerable extent (cf. Chardin). In the 19th century, the town began to extend far beyond its ancient limits, developing subsequently especially on the left bank along which run the railway lines (Tiflis-Bākū, Tiflis-Batum, Tiflis-Djulfā and Tiflis-Kakhetʿia).

Modern Tbilisi is a major cultural centre, the seat of the Georgian Academy of Sciences and possessor of a university and several other colleges. Its flourishing economy is based on such activities as engineering, textile, wine-making and food processing. A road and rail system links it with Sukhumi of the Black Sea, with Baku on the Caspian and with Erivan or Yerevan in Armenia and Kars in Turkey.

Population. In 1783, after the prosperous reigns of Tʿeimuraz and Erekle, the town had 4,000 houses with 61,000 inhabitants. In 1803, it had only 2,700-3,000 with 35,000 inhabitants. This was the result of Agha Muḥammad Ḳādjār's invasion in 1795, traces of which could everywhere be seen even in Gamba's time. The more exact figures for 1834 (Dubois de Mantpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, Paris 1839, iii, 225-75) give 3,662 houses, 4,936 families and 25,290 inhabitants, not including Russians. The population grew rapidly: in 1850 34,800, in 1865 70,000, in 1897 160,605. Of the last figure, the Armenians formed 38.1%, the Georgians 26.3% and the Russians 24.8%. The census of 1922 gave 233,958 inhabitants for Tiflis, of whom 85,309 were Armenians, 80,884 Georgians, 38,612 Russians, 9,768 Jews, 3,984 Persians, 3,255 Ādharbāydjānī Turks, 2,457 Germans, etc.; cf. the *Zakavkazye*, Tiflis 1925, 156-7. The population in 1991 was 1,271,440.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): See that for AL-KURDJ.

(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-ṬIGHNARĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Murrī, leading member of the school of agronomists in al-Andalus which reached its peak in the 5th/11th century and flourished until the middle of the 8th/14th one. Unlike other agronomists of his age, such as Ibn Baṣṣāl, Abu 'l-Khayr and Ibn

Ḥadjdjādj, we have a few, if limited, biographical details on him. He stemmed from a Granadan family of noble Arab lineage at the time of the last Zīrids, but neither the exact date of his birth nor of his death is known.

According to his main biographer Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he came originally from a village of the Granadan Vega, now disappeared, called Ṭighnar. With the arrival of the Almoravids, he moved from Granada to Seville, where it is related that he pursued his studies in 494/1100. He then travelled to various towns of al-Andalus, North Africa and the East. He must have made the Pilgrimage, since Ibn al-ʿAwwām cities him in his treatise on agronomy as *al-Ḥādjdj al-Gharnāṭī*. He was a fine writer, but except for his treatise on agronomy, we possess only fragments of his poetry and prose. Despite the brevity of these last, they reveal a very terse and spare style. It could be inferred that he was also a physician, in light of the detailed knowledge of medicine shown in his treatise, but we have no sure indications that he ever practiced this skill.

His work on agronomy, the *K. Zuhrat al-bustān wa-nuzhat al-adhhān*, brought him considerable fame. It was written *ca.* 504/1110 and dedicated to the Almoravid governor of Granada Abū Ṭāhir Tamīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn. The original text, known only in an incomplete unicum (no. 2163, National Library, Algiers) had 12 *maḳālāt* or books and 360 *abwāb* or chapters, according to Ibn Luyūn [*q.v.*], who had a copy of it. Whatever the case, there exist as many as eleven copies of a résumé of the work, which include the first part, lacking in the original. The contents of al-Ṭighnarī's treatise are largely similar to the other Andalusian works on agriculture. He begins by considering different soils, fertilisers and hydrology, and follows this up with a series of practical counsels on domestic economy. Then there are chapters on plant growth: planting, sowing and grafting (an important and widespread practice), the treatment of diseases, and other agricultural tasks. It is possible that the last *maḳālāt*, certainly numbering more than three, lacking in all the mss., were devoted to the rearing of animals, as is the case in the treatises of Ibn al-ʿAwwām and Ibn Wāfid, but we do not know for sure.

Al-Ṭighnarī cites numerous sources, but does not limit himself to reproducing them: he uses a rigorous analysis to sift them and to verify them with a critical sense often associated with practical agricultural experience. Al-Ṭighnarī was, in his turn, used by other authors such as Ibn al-ʿAwwām and Ibn Luyūn. His treatise is probably the most systematic of the Andalusian ones, being on many points more detailed and precise than the others. Moreover, he includes many elements of a local nature on agricultural practice and the various types of plants characteristic of the various regions of al-Andalus, which makes the treatise both a highly original text and, at the same time, a specifically Andalusian one. Despite all the above, this unique text from al-Andalus remains unedited, apart from short published extracts; the present writer is at work on a critical edition.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1398/1978, i/2, 805-8; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ed. ʿInān, Cairo 1394/1974, ii, 282-4; Brockelmann, S I, 1033 (who, following other biographers, identifies him with Ḥamdūn al-Ishbīlī); M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden-Köln 1972, 446; E. Garcia-Sanchez, *El tratado agrícola del granadino al-Ṭignarī*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, v-vi (1987-8), 278-91; E. Garcia, *Al-Ṭignarī y su lugar de origen*, in *Al-Qanṭara*, ix (1988), 1-11.

(EXPIRACION GARCIA-SANCHEZ)

TIGIN, TAKĪN (T.), in the oldest known Turkish *tégin*, an ancient Turkish title with the original meaning of "prince".

In the early Türk empire, it denoted the legitimate son or grandson of the Supreme Ḳaghan. It appears as such in the Orkhon [*q.v.*] inscriptions, one of which is known as that of Kül Tigin (literally "the younger brother [of Elterish Ḳaghan], the crown prince"), cf. Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington 1968, 237. G. Doerfer (*Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-7, ii, 533-41, no. 922) and Sir Gerard Clauson (*A dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 483) have surmised that the word came into Turkish from some earlier, non-Turkish language; Doerfer suggests (*op. cit.*, ii, 541) that it came from the (unknown) language of the Juan-Juan who followed after the Huns and preceded the Türk empire. Since royal princes usually held high military and administrative office in the Türk empire, the title gradually became detached from the necessity of royal descent to becoming one of function, and its eminence as a title diminished.

Tigin retained its meaning of "prince" amongst the eastern Turks, e.g. amongst the Uyghurs, amongst local rulers of Farghāna such as Ṣuwār Tigin, and amongst the Ḳarakhānids or Ilek Khāns [*q.vv.*]; thus amongst the onomastic of the latter rulers we find e.g. ʿAlī Tigin [*q.v.*], Arslan Tigin and Toghan Tigin. Further west, however, it decreased in status and could be applied to any Turkish military leader, even if the latter were a slave, as was the case with the founder of the Ghaznawids, Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] and the eunuch Saldjūḳ commander Sāwtigin. By the time of the Mongol invasions, it seems to have fallen out of use. It is almost unknown in Mongolian.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also C.E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 7.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

TIGRE [see DJABART].

TIGRIS [see DIDJLA].

AL-**TĪH**, properly Faḥṣ al-Tīh, the name in mediaeval Islamic usage for the desert forming the frontier zone between Palestine and Egypt and spanning the Sinai Desert.

The name itself is not found in the Ḳur'ān (which in sūra XXIII, 20, uses Sīnā', and in II, 60/63, 87/93, IV, 153/154, etc., Ṭūr, for the Sinai peninsula), but the verb from which it is presumably derived occurs as *yatīhūn* "they wander about in a confused, lost manner" (V, 29/25), said of the Children of Israel, condemned by God to wander distractedly through the Sinai Desert because of their refusal to Moses to enter the Holy Land.

Hence the mediaeval Arab geographers also call the Sinai Desert "the Desert of the Banū Isrā'īl". As early as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* we find the legend *Desertum ubi quadraginta annis errauerunt filii Israel ducente Moyse*, and on the map of Mādabā ἔρημcς [ὅπου] τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἔσωσ [εν] ὁ χαλκοῦς ὄφις and ἔρημος Σὶν ὅπου κατεπέμφθη τὸ μάννα καὶ ἡ ὀρτυγομήτρα. In the desert there was a fortress of the same name (De Guignes, *Perle des merveilles*, in *Notices et extraits*, ii, 31); there is a Wādi 'l-Tīh in the eastern part of it (Quatremère, *Mémoire sur l'Égypte*, i, 186). The desert of al-Tīh, which formed the most southerly district of Filasṭīn [*q.v.*], was 40 *farsakhs* long, about as much broad, and stretched from the district of al-Djifār (the region of al-Faramā', al-ʿArīsh and al-Warrāda) to the mountains of Sinai (Ṭūr Sīnā'); in the west, it was bounded by the Egyptian province of al-Rīf (Maspéro-Wiet, in

MIFAO, xxxvi, 101-2), in the east by the districts of Jerusalem and southern Palestine. According to the description of the Arab geographers, it consisted partly of stony and partly of sandy soil, contained also salt-marshes and red sandstone hills, a few palm-trees and springs. In the desert districts of Tīh Banī Isrāʾīl, al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī mentions the Jewish towns of Ḳadas (Ḳades̲h̲ Barnea), Ḥuwayrik, al-K̲h̲alaṣa (Elusa), al-K̲h̲alūṣ (Lyssa), al-Sabaʿ (Beers̲h̲eba) and al-Madura. He had already mentioned al-Tīh among the districts of the kingdom of al-Karak, by which he seems to mean the lands that had once belonged to Reynaud of Châtillon. From the desert of al-Tīh one went down through the ʿAḳabat Busāḳ to Ayla (Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, i, 610); this road was first made passable for the pilgrim caravans in the time of the Ṭūlūnid K̲h̲umārawayh (270-82/884-96). It was two stages' ride from Ayla right through the desert to the sea of Farān. When in 652/1254-5 the Baḥrī Mamlūks fled from Cairo, a body of them wandered for five days in the desert; on the sixth, they discovered a great abandoned city with walls and marble halls, buried in the sand. They found vases and articles of dress, but these fell to dust at the first contact; there was also a reservoir with ice-cold water. When they reached al-Karak on the next day and paid for goods with dīnārs which they had found in the buried city, they learned that they belonged to the time of Moses and that they had been in the "green city of the Israelites".

The caravan and military road from Cairo to Syria ran in normal times through al-D̲j̲ifār, without touching the desert of al-Tīh; only in the period when this was interrupted by the Frankish occupation did the route straight through the desert gain a certain strategic importance, as we see in the campaigns of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and in the building of the fortress of Ṣadr (now Ḳalʿat Gindī). For the Sinai Desert in more recent and modern times, see SĪNĀʾ.

Bibliography: Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 53; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 14, 158, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 142, 156; Muḳaddasī, 179; Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *ZDPV*, viii/1, 21, tr. 119, 139; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, i, 912; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, i, 123; Dimas̲h̲ḳī, ed. Mehren, 213; Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 213, tr. Bouriant, in *MMAF*, xvii (1900), 631; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 27-30; R. Weill, *La presqu'île du Sinai*, in *Bibl. de l'école des haut. étud.*, clxxi, 1908; 114-16 and *passim*; R. Hartmann, in *ZDMG*, lxiv, 679-83; J. Maspéro and G. Wiet in *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 62; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 6, 8, 129; A. Miquel, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm ... La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces*, Damascus 1963, 150 n. 30, 189. On Ṣadr, see Barthoux and Wiet, in *Syria*, iii, 44-65, 145-52.

(E. HONIGMANN*)

TIHĀMA, also not infrequently appearing as al-Tahāʾim in mediaeval sources, the area of the Red Sea coastal plain stretching from ʿAḳaba in the north to the Bāb al-Mandab in the south of the Arabian Peninsula, some even claiming that it extends further along the southern Indian Ocean coast. Today, inhabitants of the Ḥid̲j̲āz [*q.v.*] divide Tihāma into three: Tihāmat al-Ḥid̲j̲āz from the north as far south as al-Layt̲h̲, Tihāmat ʿAsīr from al-Layt̲h̲ to D̲j̲īzān/D̲j̲āzān and, from the latter south, Tihāmat al-Yaman. Historically, it is the second and third areas that are of great importance here, and during the zenith of Rasūlid power in the Yemen (628-845/1230-1441 [see RASŪLIDS]), say in the late 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, Tihāma would have reached north to include the whole of ʿAsīr; in fact, Tihāma then would have meant the combined areas of Tihāmat al-Yaman and Tihāmat ʿAsīr.

As for the origin of the word, the root *t-h-m* is common in Semitic languages: e.g. the Hebrew plural *tᵉhōmōt̲* (e.g. in Exod. xv. 5, see Brown, Driver and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English lexicon*, Oxford 1962, 1063) appears to refer to the depths of the sea, in particular the Red Sea, and other languages have the word in the same meaning. In Arabic the root covers such connotations as "foul odour", "stench", "intense heat" and "unwholesomeness". *Taham* and *tihāma* carry a primary meaning of "land descending to the sea" (see Lane, i, 319-20). In the pre-Islamic Sabaic, the word is attested as a proper name THMT (for example CIH 537/6 and 596/6) and with a meaning in antithesis to that of *ṭwd* (which signifies "mountain"), i.e. "plain" (e.g. CIH 540/3 and 541/8).

1. *History*. Nothing much can be said in specific terms of the history of Tihāma before Islam and little more can be written of the early Islamic period, since the Islamic governors were posted only to Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*], Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] and al-D̲j̲anad near Taʿizz [*q.v.*] in the highlands. Hearing of a rebellion in Tihāma of two Arab tribes, al-As̲h̲āʿir and ʿAkk, the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] despatched to the Yemen a protégé of his *wazīr*, Faḍl b. Sahl, a man called Muḥammad b. Ziyād. Ibn Ziyād arrived in Tihāma in 203/819 and, having quelled the rebellions and generally pacified the coastal plain, he built a capital, Zabīd [*q.v.*], as he had been directed by the caliph, a town which was to become of huge importance in mediaeval times and which remains to this day, albeit much reduced in size and significance. Ibn Ziyād thus brought into being in Tihāma the earliest dynastic state in the Yemen, the Ziyādids. It is not possible to unravel the meagre and confused accounts of this early dynasty; suffice it to say that it appears to have lasted for about two centuries, controlling much of Tihāma and even beyond. The last firm date which we have for it is 409/1018.

Still extremely scant is our knowledge of the successor state in Tihāma, that of the Nad̲j̲āḥids (412-551/1021-1156 [*q.v.*]) who were black Abyssinian slaves. The reader is referred to the article s.v. for what historical information it is possible to collect. The year 551/1156 saw the killing of the last Nad̲j̲āḥid slave minister by the Mahdids [*q.v.*] and thus the dynasty passed into oblivion.

Before mention of the Mahdids, it is necessary to deal briefly with the Sulaymānids, Ḥasanī *s̲h̲arīfs* originally from Mecca, who ruled over an area of Tihāma to the north centred on Ḥaraḍ during the period *ca.* 462-569/1069-1173. Apart from their incessant squabbles with the Nad̲j̲āḥids to the south, very little is known of these Sulaymānī *s̲h̲arīfs*. In 560/1164 ʿAbd al-Nabī b. Mahdī had brought an end to Nad̲j̲āḥid rule in Zabīd and southern Tihāma and had marched north and heavily defeated a Sulaymānī army under Wahhās b. G̲h̲ānim. The latter was killed and his brother, Ḳāsim, is said to have appealed for help from the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*] in Egypt. When the Ayyūbids did arrive in Tihāma in 569/1173, an alliance was formed between them and the Sulaymānīs against the Mahdids. The former did continue in Tihāma, but it can be said that with the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen an end was brought to the effectual participation of the Sulaymānīs in the affairs of the land.

For the Mahdids (554-69/1159-1173), the Ayyūbids (569-626/1173-1228) and the Rasūlids (626-858/1228-1454), see also Smith, *Political history*, 130-8, where a

detailed account of the dynasties, including their activities in Tihāma, can be found. The Ayyūbid conquest brought a swift end to the Mahdids, and the Yemen province of the empire centred in Egypt was created. The Ayyūbids in just 57 years brought peace and stability by force to the southern highlands and Tihāma. Their successors, the Rasūlids, were able to build on the hard-won military conquests of the Ayyūbids to form a southern Yemen and Tihāma of unparalleled political stability and administrative and intellectual development. Zabīd became an educational and religious centre of tremendous importance in the Yemen and its fame spread far and wide throughout the Islamic world. Particularly under the Rasūlids' successors, the Ṭāhirids (858-923/1454-1517 [*q.v.*]), the town assumed political importance also, for the Ṭāhirid court moved from the southern highlands to Zabīd each year when it became the winter capital. Little is heard of Tihāma for some two centuries. When we read the detailed account of much of Tihāma written by Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, etc., Amsterdam and Utrecht 1776, i, 235-96), the lone survivor of the 18th-century Danish expedition, it is clear that the real heyday of the area had long passed. Thereafter, in fact, the region became a rather loose appendage of Zaydī authority centred in the northern highlands of the Yemen.

2. *Geography and agriculture.* Despite its oppressive climate (temperatures up to 45° C and a relative humidity of 70-90% in summer), Tihāma, approximately 30-60 km/48-160 miles wide, with its several wadis in which flood water runs down from the mountains westwards, is a major agricultural area. The important wadis are, from north to south, Wādī Ḥaraḍ, Mawr, Surdud, Sahām and Rimaʿ. The main agricultural products are cotton, sorghum, millet, sesame, watermelon, mango, banana, okra and tomato.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1951-4, esp. 58-91; Francine Stone (ed.), *Studies on the Tihāmah*, Harlow 1985, *passim* (on the whole an excellent study, see G.R. Smith, *Studies on the Tihāmah*, in *JRAS*, 1986/1, 30-40, a review article); Smith, *The political history of the Islamic Yemen down to the first Turkish invasion (1-945/622-1538)*, in W. Daum (ed.), *Yemen: 3000 years of art and civilisation in Arabia Felix*, Innsbruck and Frankfurt [1988], 129-40; Francine Stone, art. *Tihāma*, in Aḥmad Djābir ʿAfīf *et alii*, *al-Mawsūʿa al-Yamaniyya*, i, Ṣanʿāʾ 1992, 286-9.

(G.R. Smith)

al-**TIHĀMĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (d. 416/1025), Arab poet. His *nisba* points to the Tihāma [*q.v.*], the coastal plain on the Red Sea coast of Arabia, or to Mecca, which is sometimes synecdochically called "Tihāma". Ibn Khallikān (iii, 381) admits his ignorance as to which of these two locations is intended. He is said to have come from the lower classes (*min al-sūḳa*, al-Bākharzī, i, 188-9). The poet spent most of his life in Syria, where he attached himself in particular to the Djarrāḥids [*q.v.*], who tried, with limited success, to consolidate their little principality in Palestine, with al-Ramla as its centre. It is probably on their behalf that he was appointed, at an unspecified date, *khaṭīb* of al-Ramla. In 416/1025 he served as a secret messenger of the Djarrāḥid prince Ḥassān b. Mufarridj to the Banū Ḳurra Bedouins in Egypt, who had already a history of revolt against the Fāṭimids, but was intercepted, identified as al-Tihāmī, locked up in the Cairene Flag Arsenal jail (*khizānat al-bunūd*) on 25 Rabīʿ II/6 July 1025 and unceremoniously killed there on 9 Djumādā I/19 July of the same year. The nature of Ḥassān's scheme is not spelled out.

Al-Tihāmī's poetry was collected into a small *dīwān* which, according to Ibn Khallikān (iii, 379), consisted mostly of "selections" (*nukhab*). This is not clearly borne out by the existing editions of the *Dīwān*. Al-Bākharzī (i, 188) characterises al-Tihāmī's poetry as "more delicate than the religion of a sinner and more tender than the tears of a lover" (*adaḳḳu min dīni 'l-fāsiḳ—wa-araḳḳu min damʿi 'l-ʿāshiḳ*).

As for genres, the lion's share is taken up by panegyrics. Among his more than thirty *mamdūḥ*s we find princes of the various Bedouin dynasties that had sprung up at the time: the ʿUḳaylid Ḳirwāsh (d. 391/1001; three poems, 66-8, 130-7, 283-7), the Djarrāḥids Mufarridj b. Daghfal (d. 404/1013; four poems, 62-6, 218-25, 324-30, 360-6) and his son Ḥassān (d. after 433/1041-2; three poems, 240-50, 262-6, 375-82), and also the Kurdish Marwānid Naṣr al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Marwān (d. 401/1011 [see naṣr al-dawla]; one poem, 333-50). The others are lesser luminaries: viziers (among them al-Wazīr al-Maghribī [*q.v.*], 82-96), *ḳāḍī*s, *kātib*s, and one fellow-poet, one Abū ʿAlī Ibn Nāfiʿ al-Ramlī (138-40). Other genres are poorly represented. Of note are four *sidjniyyāt*, written during his arrest in Cairo (104-12, 311-14, 424-7, 429-31) and three dirges written on the death of his little son (461-73 [inc. the three lines on 477], 478-86, 490-1). The first of these, some ninety lines in *kāmil* with the rhyme *-ārī*, is the most famous of his poems, often quoted or alluded to, and still well known at the present time (see ʿAṭawī's introd. to his ed. of the *Dīwān*, 5, and Brockelmann (see *Bibl.*) on an early modern commentary on it by Maḥmūd al-Sharīf).

Bibliography: The *Dīwān* has not yet been critically edited, although the number of extant mss. is quite considerable, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 478-9. The ed. Alexandria 1893 (not seen) is clearly the only basis of that of Muḥ. Zuhayr al-Shāwīsh, Damascus 1384/1964, as well as that of ʿAlī Nadjīb ʿAṭawī, Beirut 1986 (quoted in the article).—Biographical and anthological sources. Thaʿālibī, *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*, ed. Mufīd Muḥammad Ḳamīḥa, Beirut 1403/1983, 48-53; Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iv/2, Beirut 1399/1979, 537-49; Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr*, ed. Sāmī Makkī al-ʿĀnī, i, Baghdād 1390/1970, 188-99; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 378-81; Brockelmann, S I, 147; Kaḥḥāla, iii, 278, vii, 219.

(W.P. Heinrichs)

TIHRĀN, the name of two places in Persia.

I. Tihrān, a city of northern Persia.
  1. Geographical position.
  2. History to 1926.
  3. The growth of Tihrān.
    (a) To *ca.* 1870.
    (b) Urbanisation, monuments, cultural and socio-economic life until the time of the Pahlavīs.
    (c) Since the advent of the Pahlavīs.

II. Tihrān, the former name of a village or small town in the modern province of Iṣfahān.

I. Tihrān, older form (in use until the earlier 20th century) Ṭihrān (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 51, gives both forms, with Ṭihrān as the head word; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 103-7, had given only the form al-Ṭihrānī), conventional European renderings Tehran, Teheran/Téhéran, etc., a city of northern Persia, a town of only moderate size and fame in earlier Islamic times, but since the end of

the 18th century the capital city of Persia (modern Iran). For speculations on the etymology of the name (none of them convincing), see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. *Teheran*, at the beginning.

1. *Geographical position.*

It lies in lat. 35° 40' N., long. 51° 26' E. at an altitude of 1,158 m/3,800 feet, in a depression (*gawd*) to the south of the outer, southern spurs of the Elburz range [see ALBURZ], with the fertile Warāmīn [*q.v.*] plain, traditionally the granary of Tihrān, stretching southwards from the town's centre. To the east of the plain, a southern spur of the Elburz chain, the *Sih pāya* "tripod", forms a low barrier, and at the southern end of this lies the little town of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm [*q.v.*]. The ruins of the great pre-Islamic and mediaeval Islamic city of Rhages or Rayy lie between Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm and the historic centre of Tihrān [see AL-RAYY]. The villages on the Elburz slopes to the north of Tihrān, such as Ḳulhak (Golhak), Tadjrīsh and Shamirān, have traditionally provided summer retreats for the people of Tihrān, avoiding the summer heat which forms part of the town's continental climate; and in the 19th century Shamirān also provided Tihrān's water supply (and supplies much of it today), by means of subterranean channels (*ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], *kārīz*). All these settlements, once separate, are now however within the vast urban sprawl of contemporary Tihrān (see below, section 3b).

For all its undeniable strategic position in the corridor connecting western Persia with Khurāsān, Tihrān's geographical position is not obviously one for a capital city; other cities of Persia, in the western highland region and south of the great central deserts, have had much more significant roles in political and military affairs and in the economic and commercial life of the country. Certainly, the choice of the hitherto undistinguished town of Tihrān by Agha Muḥammad Khān in 1200/1786 as his capital (see below, section 2), in order that he might be in close touch with the Ḳādjārs' Turkmen tribal followers in the Māzandarān-Gurgān plains region, did not immediately improve either the status or the amenities of the town. All early Western travellers describe early Ḳādjār Tihrān as mean and insignificant, lacking in public buildings, with a poor water supply, and extreme climate and an eccentric position in regard to the main roads crossing northern Persia. In any cases, centrifugal forces in the country, and the ancient traditions of provincial autonomy, were still strong at this time. Only towards the middle of the 19th century did Tihrān's position improve. With regard to communications, for connections with Māzandarān and the Caspian coast a road passable only by horses and mules was built by the Austrian engineer Gasteiger Khān in 1875. Between 1883 and 1892 a carriage road was begun by the Persians and finally finished by the English company of Lynch Brothers (150 km/95 miles). Communication with Russia used to be by Ḳazwīn-Tabrīz-Djulfā-Tiflīs. In 1850 a regular line by Russian steamers began to run between Bākū and Anzalī. Although, as the crow flies, the distance between Tehran and the Caspian is only 110 km/70 miles, the passage of the Alburz was always very difficult. In 1893 the Russians obtained the concession to build a carriage road from Rasht to the capital (it was opened as far as Mandjīl on 1 January 1890 and to Tihrān on 15 September 1899). Henceforth, the great majority of travellers took this route, which also became of considerable commercial importance. Only in the 20th century did Tihrān acquire the usual modern transport services by means of motor roads, airlines and railways (see below, section 3b).

Bibliography: Naval Intelligence, Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 39, 538-40 and index; *Camb. hist. of Iran*, i, 445-61; W.C. Brice, *A systematic regional geography. VIII. South-West Asia*, London 1966, index; W.B. Fisher, *The geography of the Middle East*[7], London 1978, 318-20.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. *History to 1926.*

It is uncertain when the name Tihrān first appears in geographical and historical literature. De Goeje, in his edition of al-Iṣṭakhrī, 209 n. *k*, proposed to identify with Tihrān the B.h.zān, B.h.tān or B.h.nān mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 379, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 369; and al-Muḳaddasī, 375. But according to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 515 (although late and not very explicit), the place Bihzān, which represented the old site of Rayy, lay 7 *farsakhs* (?) from this latter town, while the same geographer places Tihrān, as one would expect, one *farsakh* from Rayy. The earliest reference to Tihrān is provisionally that of Ibn al-Balkhī's *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 134 (written before 510/1116); its author talks highly of the pomegranates of Tihrān, also mentioned by al-Samʿānī (in 555/1160), ix, 103. But independently of these references, the village of Tihrān must have existed before the time of Iṣṭakhrī (in 340/951-2), for al-Samʿānī mentions his ancestor Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Ṭihrānī al-Rāzī, who died at ʿAskalān in Palestine in 261/874. According to Rāwandī's *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* (written in 599/1202), ed. Iqbāl, 293, in 561/1166, the mother of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Arslān, who was on her way from Rayy to Nakhčiwān, made the first stop (the regular *naḳl-i maḳām* of the Persians) "near Ṭihrān". The sultan himself occasionally stayed near Dūlāb (the name of a place to the south-east of Tihrān, where the Russian cemetery now is). Ibn Isfandiyār in his history of Ṭabaristān (written in 613/1216; abridged tr. Browne, 19), narrating the wars of the kings of the Persian epic, says that Afrasiyāb's camp was pitched at the place where "Dūlāb and Ṭihrān" now are. Eight years later, Yāḳūt gave a brief note on Tihrān which he had visited just before the Mongol invasion. It was a considerable town, with 12 quarters. As the dwellinghouses in Tihrān were built underground, and the gardens around the town had very dense vegetation, the town was well protected and the government in its dealings with the inhabitants preferred to be tactful with them. Civil discord raged to such an extent in Tihrān that the inhabitants tilled their fields with the spade out of fear lest their neighbours should steal their animals. Zakariyyāʾ al-Ḳazwīnī (674/1275) compares the dwellinghouses in Tihrān to the holes of jerboas (*ka-nāfiḳāʾi 'l-yarbūʿ*), and confirms Yāḳūt's account of the character of the inhabitants; cf. his *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 228.

All later writers note the subterranean dwellings, but only Ker Porter (*Travels*, i, 312) says in this connection that 200-300 yards from the Ḳazwīn gate he saw inside the town "an open space full of wide and deep excavations or rather pits", which served as shelters for the poor and stables for the beasts of burden (cf. pl. 57 in Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage*). This must be a reference to the old *darwāza-yi naw* (*pā-ḳāpuk*), to the south of which the quarter is called Ghār ("caves"). This name was also applied to the whole district stretching to the south of Tihrān. As to the troglodyte life in the vicinity of Tihrān, see Eastwick, *Journal*, i, 294: a village to the east of the

bridge of Karadj, and Crawshay-Williams, *Rock-dwellings at Rainah*, in *JRAS* (1904), 551, (1906), 217.

The growth of Tihrān was the result of the disappearance of other large centres in the neighbourhood. The decline of Rayy dates from its destruction by the Mongols in 617/1220. In the Mongol period, Tihrān is occasionally mentioned in the *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*: in 683/1284, Arghūn, after the victory gained near Aḳ-Khʷādja (= Sūmīḳān, see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 173) over al-Yanaḳ, Aḥmad Takūdār's general, arrived at "Ṭihrān of Rayy" (see Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *Ṭihrān*, 38). In 694/1294 Ghāzān, coming from Fīrūzkūh, stopped at "Ṭihrān of Rayy" (Dorn, *Auszüge*, 138). According to the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (written in 740/1340; 55), Tihrān was a considerable town (*muʿtabir*), with a better climate than Rayy. Formerly (*mā ḳabl*), the inhabitants of Tihrān were very numerous. The last remark may support the hypothesis of the identity of Tihrān with B.h.zān (?).

In the Tīmūrid period, the village of "Ṭihrān of Rayy" is mentioned in 806/1403 as the place where the Shāh-zāde Rustam spent 20 days to assemble the troops with whom he marched against Iskandar-Shaykh Čalāwī (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 572 = ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*; Dorn, *Auszüge*, 175). About the same time (6 July 1404), Tihrān (*ciudad que ha nombre Teheran*) was visited for the first time by a European traveller, the Spanish Ambassador Clavijo (ed. St. Petersburg 1881, 186, tr. Le Strange, London 1928, 166). At this time, the province of Rayy was governed by Tīmūr's son-in-law, the Amīr Sulaymān-Shāh (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 591; Clavijo, 189, 351: Zuleman or Cumalexa Mirassà). He lived in Warāmin (Vatami). The town of Rayy (Xahariprey) was not inhabited (*agora deshabitada*). In the tower of Tihrān was a representative of the governor, and there was a house where the king stopped on his visits (*una posada onde el Señor suele estar quando allì venia*). Tihrān had no walls.

The Ṣafawids. Under the Ṣafawids, the capital was moved in turn from Ardabīl to Tabrīz and then to Ḳazwīn and finally to Iṣfahān. The district of Rayy was no longer of great importance. There were only two towns of note in it: Warāmin, which after a brief spell of glory under Shāh Rukh had rapidly declined, and Tihrān. According to Riḍā Ḳulī Khān (*Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*), the first visits of the Ṣafawids to Tihrān were due to the fact that their ancestor Sayyid Ḥamza was buried there near Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm. The prosperity of the town dates from Ṭahmāsp I, who in 961/1554 built a bazaar in it and a wall (*bāra*) round it which, according to the *Zīnat al-madjālis*, was a *farsakh* in length (Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mirʾāt al-buldān*: 6,000 *gām* "paces"). The wall had four gates and 114 towers, the number of the sūras of the Ḳurʾān (on each of the towers a sūra was inscribed). The figure of 114 towers is still given in Berezin's plan (1842). The material for the construction of the citadel was procured from the quarries of Čāl-i Maydān and Čāl-i Ḥiṣār, which have given their names to two quarters. Aḥmad Rāḍī, himself belonging to the district of Rayy, talks in laudatory terms of the incomparable abundance of the canals and gardens of Tihrān and the delights of the plateau of Shamīrān, and of the neighbouring district of Kand and Sulaḳān (ms. Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers., no. 357, fols. 436-67, the greater part of which is devoted to the great men of the old town of Rayy). According to the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn* of Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī, the village of Sulāghān was founded by the celebrated Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, founder of many religious movements, who died in 869/1464 [see NŪRBAKHSHIYYA].

In 985/1577, Tihrān was the scene of the execution of Prince Mīrzā, whose enemies had accused him to Shāh Ismāʿīl II of aiming at the throne. In 998/1589 Shāh ʿAbbās I, going against the Uzbek ʿAbd al-Muʾmīn Khān, fell severely ill at Tihrān (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 275, tr. R.M. Savory, *History of Shah ʿAbbās the Great*, Boulder, Colo. 1978, ii, 589), which enabled the Uzbeks to seize Mashhad. It is said that this gave Shāh ʿAbbās a great dislike for Tihrān. It is, however, from his time that the building of the palace of Čahār Bāgh dates, the site of which was later occupied by the present citadel (*ark*). Pietro della Valle visited Tihrān in 1618 and found the town larger in area but with a smaller population than Kāshān. He calls it the "town of plane trees". At this time, a *beglerbegi* ("gran capo di provincia") lived in Tihrān; his jurisdiction extended as far as Fīrūzkūh. In 1627 Sir Thomas Herbert estimated the number of houses in Tihrān at 3,000.

The Afghāns. On the eve of the Afghān invasion, Shāh Ḥusayn Ṣafawī made a stay in Tihrān and it was here that he received Dürri Efendi, the ambassador of the Ottoman Sultan Aḥmed III [*q.v.*] (at the beginning of 1720; *Relation de Dourri Efendi*, Paris 1810). Here also was dismissed and blinded the grand vizier Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Iʿtimād al-Dawla ("Athemat" of the Europeans), which precipitated the debacle; see Krusinski (publ. by Du Cerceau), *Hist. des révolutions de Perse*, Paris 1742, i, 295. Shāh Ḥusayn only returned to Iṣfahān (1 June 1721; La Mamye Clairac, *Histoire de la Perse*, Paris 1750, i, 200) to lose his throne. Ṭahmāsp II made a stay in Tihrān in August 1725, but, on the approach of the Afghāns, he fled to Māzandarān. European writers say that Tihrān resisted and Ashraf lost many men (Krusinski, *op. cit.*, 351; La Mamye Clairac, *op. cit.*, ii, 250; Hanway, *Historical account*, ii, 234). Some time afterwards, Tihrān fell in spite of the feeble attempt by Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Ḳādjār to relieve the town (see Olivier, *Voyage*, v, 89 and *Mirʾāt al-buldān*). According to this last source, the *Darwāza-yi Dawla* and *Darwāza-yi Ark* gates date from this period, for the Afghāns everywhere showed themselves careful to secure the ways of retreat. The reference is, of course, to the old gates of those names.

After the defeat of Ashraf at Mihmāndūst (6 Rabīʿ I 1141/20 September 1728), the Afghāns in Tihrān put to death the notables and left for Iṣfahān. The inhabitants fell upon the impedimenta which they had left and, through negligence, a powder magazine was exploded (*Histoire de Nadir Chah*, tr. Jones, London 1770, 78). Ashraf himself was soon driven out of Warāmin, and Shāh Ṭahmāsp II returned to Tihrān.

Nādir Shāh. In 1154/1741, Nādir gave Tihrān as a fief to his eldest son Riḍā Ḳulī Mīrzā, who had hitherto acted as ruler of all Persia. The nomination to Tihrān was preliminary to the fall and blinding of the prince; see Jones, ii, 123; Hanway, ii, 357, 378; ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mekke*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1825, 93.

During the fighting among the successors of Nādir, ʿAlī Shāh ʿĀdil (1160/1747) took refuge in Tihrān but was seized and blinded by Ibrāhīm's supporters (*Taʾrīkh-i baʿd-i Nādiriyya*, ed. O. Mann, 34). After the fall of the Nādirids, Tihrān passed into the sphere of influence of the Ḳādjārs, rivals of Karīm Khān Zand.

Karīm Khān. In 1171/1757-8, Sultan Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār, after an unsuccessful battle with Karīm Khān near Shīrāz, retired to Tihrān where his army was disbanded. Having learned that he had

withdrawn from Tihrān, Karīm Khān sent his best general Shaykh ʿAlī Khān there with an advance-guard. With the help of Muḥammad Khān Dawalū, Muḥammad Ḥasan Ḳādjār was killed and Karīm Khān with his army (*ordu*) arrived at Tihrān in 1172/1759. The head of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was buried with all honour at Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm. The next year, the order was given to build at Tihrān a seat of government (*ʿimārat*) "which would rival the palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon", a *dīwān-khāna*, a *ḥaram* and quarters for the bodyguard; cf. Ṣādiḳ Nāmī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gītī-gushā*, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers., no. 1374, fol. 29. Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla added to these buildings the Djannat garden, and he says that Karīm Khān intended to make Tihrān his capital. It was to Tihrān that Āḳā Muḥammad Ḳādjār, captured in Māzandarān, was taken to Karīm Khān, who treated him generously, for which he was very badly requited later. In 1176/1762-3, however, Karīm Khān decided on Shīrāz, to which he moved the machinery of government. Ghafūr Khān was left as governor in Tihrān.

The rise of the Ḳādjārs. Karīm Khān died on 13 Ṣafar 1193/2 March 1779. By 20 Ṣafar, Āḳā Muḥammad was in Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, and the next day he ascended the throne (*djulūs*) in the vicinity of Tihrān (*Mirʾāt*, i, 525). Tihrān, however, passed into the sphere of influence of ʿAlī Murād Khān, half-brother of Djaʿfar Khān Zand (ʿAlī Riḍā Shīrāzī, *Taʾrīkh-i Zandiyya*, ed. E. Beer, Leiden 1888, 8, 13, 25). In 1197/1783, Āḳā Muḥammad Khān made a first attempt to get possession of Tihrān, but the governor Ghafūr Khān Ṭihrānī managed to procrastinate, and an outbreak of plague forced Āḳā Muḥammad to withdraw to Dāmghān (*Mirʾāt*). After the death of ʿAlī Murād Khān (1199/1785) the town was besieged by Āḳā Muḥammad's troops. The inhabitants did not wish to surrender the fortress (*ḳalʿa*) before Āḳā Muḥammad had taken Iṣfahān. The news of the advance of Djaʿfar Khān Zand from Fārs caused Āḳā Muḥammad's troops to disperse. He was, however, received with open arms by the chiefs of Tihrān (*ḥākim wa ʿummāl*) and henceforward the town was his capital (*maḳarr-i salṭanat*, *dār al-salṭana* and later *dār al-khilāfa*), from which he led the expeditions which united all Persia under his rule. According to the *Maʾāthir-i sulṭānī*, tr. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, 18, Tihrān became the capital in 1200/1786 and the foundations of the palace were laid then. After the capture of Shīrāz, all the artillery and munitions of the Zands were taken to the new capital. The last Zand ruler, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān, blinded and kept prisoner in Tihrān, was put to death there in 1209/1794-5 and buried in the sanctuary of the *imām-zāde* Zayd; *ibid.*, 25, 30, 76, 82, 101.

After the assassination of Āḳā Muḥammad Shāh (21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1211/16 June 1797), his brother ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān appeared before the capital, but the chief minister Mīrzā Shafīʿ would not allow him to enter. In the meanwhile, the heir to the throne Bābā Khān (= Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh) was able to reach Shīrāz, and after the defeat of the second claimant Ṣādiḳ Khān Shaḳāḳī, was crowned in mid-1212/the beginning of 1798. The Shaḳāḳī [*q.v.*] prisoners were employed to dig the ditch of the capital (cf. Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Fatḥ ʿAlī Schah und seine Thronrivalen*, in *Sitz. A.W. Wien* [1864] ii, 1-31).

During the period of Anglo-French rivalry, a series of ambassadors visited Tihrān: on the one side Sir John Malcolm (1801 and 1810), Sir Harford Jones Brydges (1807), and Sir Gore Ouseley (1811), and on the French side, Gen. Romieu (d. at Tihrān in 1806), A. Jaubert (1806), and Gen. Gardane (1807). The Russians concentrated their efforts on Tabrīz, the residence of the Persian Crown Prince. It was only after the treaty of Turkmančay [*q.v.*] in 1828 that the Russian minister A.S. Griboedov paid a short visit to the capital. Just before his return to Tabrīz, Mīrzā Yaʿḳūb, one of the Shāh's chief eunuchs, an Armenian of Eriwān forcibly converted to Islam, presented himself at the Russian legation and asked to be repatriated by virtue of article 13 of the treaty.

This "apostasy" provoked an attack on the Russian embassy, and on 11 February 1829, 45 members of it were massacred (Griboedov, his secretaries, Cossacks and servants). The tragedy took place in the legation's quarters (house of the *zambūrakčibashi* near the old Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm gate; now the street called Sar-pūlak in the Zargarābād quarter). On the death of Griboedov, celebrated in the annals of Russian literature, see *sub anno* Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣiri*, Tihrān 1274/1858; Mīrzā Taḳī Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳādjāriyya*, Tihrān 1273/1857, i, 221; Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Taʾrīkh-i muntaẓam-i Nāṣiri*, iii, Tihrān 1301/1883, 144; *Relation des événements qui ont précédé et accompagné le massacre de la dernière ambassade russe en Perse*, in *Nouv. Annales des voyages* [1830], part 48, 337-67; Bergé, *Smert' Griboedova*, in *Russ. Starina* [1872], viii, 162-207; Malyshinsky, *Podlinnoye delo*, in *Russ. vestnik* [1890], vi, 160-233; Žukovski, *Persidskiye letopistsī*, in *Novoye Vremya* [1890], no. 5068; Allahverdiants, *Končina Griboedova po armianskim istočnikam*, in *Russ. Starina* [1901], no. 10, 44-68; V. Minorsky, "*Tsena krovi*" *Griboedova*, in *Russ. Mīsl.* (Prague 1923), iii, 1-15; D.P. Costello, *The murder of Griboedov*, in *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, viii [1958].

When the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (19 October 1834) became known in the capital, his son ʿAlī Mīrzā Ẓill-i Sulṭān proclaimed himself king under the name of ʿĀdil Shāh and struck coins. But the heir to the throne Muḥammad Mīrzā arrived from Tabrīz, accompanied by representatives of Britain and Russia, and entered the capital without striking a blow on 2 January 1835. ʿĀdil Shāh only reigned for six weeks (cf. Tornau, *Aus. d. neuesten Geschichte Persiens*, in *ZDMG* [1849], 1-15). The succession of the next three Shāhs took place without incident [see ḲĀDJĀR] (even after the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh on 1 May 1896). The history of Tihrān under these Shāhs is that of all Persia. The tranquillity of the town was only disturbed by epidemics and the periodical migrations caused by famine; cf. the rioting on 1 March 1861, described by Eastwick, *op. cit.*, and Ussher, *Journey from London to Persepolis*, London 1865, 625.

Among the more important events may be mentioned the persecution of the Bābīs [*q.v.*], especially in 1850 after the attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's life. The movement against the concession of a tobacco monopoly to the Tobacco Monopoly Corporation in 1891 also started in Tihrān; see E.G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910, 46-57.

The Constitutional Revolution. After the Persian Revolution, the capital, previously somewhat isolated from the provinces, rapidly became the political and intellectual centre of this country. The chronology of the events of the period was as follows: The *bast* [*q.v.*] of the merchants in the *Masdjid-i Shāh*, December 1905. The *bast* of the constitutionalists at the British legation from 20 July to 5 August 1906. The opening of the Madjlis in the palace of Bahāristān on 7 October 1906. The heir to the throne Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā signs the constitution on 30 December 1906. Death of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh on 8 January 1907. The assassination of the Atābeg Amīn al-Dawla

on 31 August 1907. Counter-manifestations by the "absolutists" from 13-19 December 1907. Bombardment of the Madjlis on 23 June 1908. Capture of Tihrān by the nationalist troops commanded by the Sipahdār-i Aʿẓam of Rasht and the Sardār-i Asʿad Bakhtiyārī on 13-15 July 1909. Abdication of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh on 16 July; accession of Sultan Aḥmad Shāh on 18 July 1909. See Browne, *The Persian Revolution*; D. Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt*, London 1910, 82-116; Vanessa A. Martin, *Islam and modernism. The Iranian revolution of 1906*, London 1989; and the *Bibls.* of DUSTŪR. iv, and *EIr*, art. *Constitutional Revolution*, ii (Vanessa Martin). On the events of 12 May 1911 to 11 January 1912, information can be found in Morgan Shuster, *The strangling of Persia*, London 1912. In 1915, Tihrān became involved in the First World War. The representatives of the Central Powers nearly carried Aḥmad Shāh off to Ḳum with them. The capital was outside of the zone of military operations proper, but on several occasions movements of troops took place in its vicinity (skirmish on 10 December 1915 near Rabāṭ-Karīm between Russian Cossacks and the Amīr Ḥishmat's gendarmes, who were on the side of the Central Powers; cf. Emelianov, *Persidskii front*, Berlin 1923). Down to 1917, Russian troops controlled the region between the Caspian and Tihrān. From 1918 British troops took their place; cf. L.C. Dunsterville, *The adventures of Dunsterforce*, London 1920. The division of Persian Cossacks commanded by the old Russian instructors was also employed to protect Persia against a possible offensive from the north. The Russian officers were dismissed on 30 October 1920. The greater part of the division was stationed at Ḳazwīn, where a British force under General Ironside was still quartered. On 21 February 1921, 2,500 Persian Cossacks, who had come from Ḳazwīn under the command of their general Riḍā Khān, occupied the capital. Sayyid Ḍiyā' al-Dīn formed the new cabinet (24 February-24 May) and Riḍā Khān was appointed commander-in-chief (*Sardār Sipah*; cf. J.M. Balfour, *Recent happenings in Persia*, London 1922). Towards the end of 1923, Aḥmad Shāh left the country, at the same time as the prime minister Ḳawām al-Salṭana (from 4 June 1921), who was accused of intriguing against the Sardār Sipah. The latter remained master of the situation and was finally crowned on 25 April 1926 [see RIḌĀ SHĀH].

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(V. MINORSKY*)

3. *The growth of Tihrān.*

(a) To *ca.* 1870.

Yāḳūt's account of the houses of Tihrān suggests that the oldest part of the town is in the south (the Ghār quarter) and that it developed from south to north (i.e. from the desert to the mountain and to the springs). There is little left in Tihrān of the Zand period. The modern town has been entirely created under the Ḳādjārs. On its antecedents, see Chahriyar Adle, *Le jardin habité ou Téhéran de jadis, des origines aux*

Safavides, in idem and B. Hourcade (eds.), *Téhéran capitale, bicentenaire*, Paris-Tehran 1992, 15-37.

Olivier, who visited Tihrān in 1796, says that the town, which looked entirely new or rebuilt, was in the form of a square of a little more than 2 miles (?), but only half of this was built upon. The population did not exceed 15,000, of whom 3,000 were soldiers, and Olivier remarks with justice that "the gold scattered around the throne" did not fail to attract inhabitants. The palace in the citadel was built in the time of Āḳā Muḥammad Shāh. In the *Tālār-i takht-i marmar* were placed the pictures, glass and marble pillars taken from the palace of Karīm Khān in Shīrāz. Under the threshold of a door were buried the bones of Nādir Shāh so that the Ḳādjār prince could trample over them every day (Ouseley). On the accession of Riḍā Shāh, the bones were taken away.

According to General Gardane (1808), only the poor remained in Tihrān in summer, but in winter the population reached 50,000.

Morier (1808-9) says that Tihrān was 4½-5 miles in circumference. Kinneir, about the same time, put the summer population at 10,000 and the winter at 60,000. The town was surrounded by a strong wall and a great ditch with a glacis, but the defences were only of value in a country where "the art of war was unknown".

Ouseley (1811) counted 6 gates in Tihrān, 30 mosques and colleges and 300 baths; he put the population in winter at 40-60,000. Ker Porter (1817) mentions 8 (?) gates, before which large round towers were built (cf. his plan) to defend the approaches and control the exits. In winter, the population was from 60-70,000.

Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had considerably improved the town, but towards the end of his reign it passed through a period of neglect. According to Fraser (1838), there was not another town in Persia so poor-looking; "not a dome" was to be seen in it. Under Muḥammad Shāh, things were improved a little.

Berezin has given a particularly detailed description of the palace (*ḍarb-i dawlat-khāna*) with its four courts and numerous buildings (Dawlat-khāna, Daftar-khāna, Kulāh-i firangī ["pavilion"], Sandūḳ-khāna, Zargar-khāna, ʿImārat-i Shīr-i Khurshīd, Sarwistān, Khalwat-i Shāh, Gulistān). The same traveller gives a plan of the palace and of the town, very important for the historical topography of Tihrān. At this date (1842), the town within its walls measured about 3,800 Persian *arshīn* (roughly yards) from west to east and 1,900-2,450 from north to south, i.e. occupied an area of about 3 square miles (J.E. Polak's calculation, in *Topogr. Bemerkungen z. Karte d. Umgebung und zu d. Plane v. Teheran*, in *Mitt. der K.K. Geogr. Gesell.*, xx [1877], Vienna 1878, 218-25 (with a map 1:108,000 and a plan of 1:20,700 made by Comm. Krziž in 1857-8), at p. 223, as 83,750 m^2 is obviously wrong). The citadel (*ark*) was in the shape of a parallelogram (600 *arshīn* west to east by 1,175 north to south, i.e. a fourth of the whole town). The north side of the *ark* touched the centre of the northern face of the outer wall. Gardens occupied the parts of the town next to the wall. The most animated quarter was that which lay to the south-east of the citadel in the direction of the Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm gate. Only five gates are marked on this plan. The only open space, the Maydān-i Shāh close to the citadel on the south side, was not large (cf. the plate in Hommaire de Hell). Among the mosques, that of the Shāh and the *imām-zāda* of Zayd and Yaḥyā alone are of any importance. Gardane had seen the *Masdjid-i Shāh* being built in 1807. Its inscription, from the hand of the court calligrapher Muḥammad Mahdī, is dated 1224/1809, but according to Schindler, the mosque was not finished till 1840 (cf. Fraser, above).

The plan by Krziž (publ. Tihrān 1857) much resembles that of Berezin, but around the town he marks by dotted lines the bounds of a new extension of the town, which according to an explanatory note by Dr. Polak, had been begun considerably before 1857. Polak himself in 1853 had built a hospital to the north of the north gate of the town. These new buildings were few in number and not built under any regular scheme. In 1861 the town was still within the old square; the population was 80,000 in summer and 120,000 in winter (Brugsch).

Bibliography: See the references listed in the *Bibl.* to section 2 above, and, for the last years of the period dealt with above, Mansoureh Ettehadieh, *Patterns in urban development: the growth of Tehran (1852-1903)*, in C.E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran. Political, cultural and social change 1800-1925. Studies presented to Professor L.P. Elwell-Sutton*, Edinburgh 1983, 199 ff. (V. MINORSKY)

(b) Urbanisation, monuments, cultural and socio-economic life until the time of the Pahlavīs.

(i) *Urban development*

Despite the political role evolved by the Ḳādjārs, Tihrān retained the appearance of a traditional Persian Islamic township until the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48). Urban activity was centred *intra muros*, around the royal citadel of the Arg (or Ark) and the lanes of the Bāzār quarter, site of the ancient village of Tihrān, as far as the Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm [*q.v.*] gate. Huge gardens were laid out in the very interior of the eastern quarters (ʿAwdlādjān, Čāla Maydān) and the western (Sangiladj). Besides the Arg, the town contained few large buildings. The only open public space was the small square, Maydān-i Shāh, between the Bāzār and the Arg, where the Russian legation was accommodated, while that of Great Britain was situated close to the Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm gate (see Moghtader, 43, and Bérézine's plan from 1842-3 [Moscow 1852]: adapted and reprinted with captions by J. Calmard [1974], 124-6; redrawn, with quarters identified by Moghtader, extra-textual plate I).

Until the mid-19th century, the majority of European observers considered Tihrān a dismal township which, with its unhealthy climate, lack of water provision and dearth of prestigious monuments could never rival the ancient Persian capitals such as Tabrīz, Iṣfahān and Shīrāz, and could even be supplanted as capital by other sites of royal residence.

The real promotion of the city to the status of capital was owed to the initiatives of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1848-96 [*q.v.*]). But transformation was very gradual. The Islamic town is still clearly visible in the plan drawn by Krziz, published in December 1858 (not in 1857) (partially inaccurate and incomplete document; see Gurney, 56, no. 21; redrawn by Moghtader, extra-textual plate II and Plan of the Arg according to Krziz, 45). This colour-coded map supplies abundant information on the nature of buildings (mosques, businesses, residences, gardens, etc.). It indicates a first step towards urbanisation, as is confirmed by the earliest register of houses (not a true census) made at the Shāh's behest by an anonymous individual in 1269/1852 (Ettehadieh [1983], 200; *Āmār*, 37-345). The town is divided into five quarters (*maḥalla*): Ark, ʿAwdlādjān, Bāzār, Sangiladj and Čāla Maydān. This document gives information on the social, commercial

and professional infrastructure of the quarters, especially regarding their socio-religious aspect. Buildings are divided between: houses (those of officials, *nawkars*, those of subjects, *ra'āyās*, commoners and minorities); official edifices (palace or house in the service of the crown or of the civil service, *madrasas*, numerous *takyas* (Persian *tekyes*, communal places, primarily for the celebration of Shī'ī mourning rituals); commercial premises (those that are in operation, those that are closed or abandoned). Each quarter is divided into *pātuk* (on this term, signifying primarily the place where Shī'ī funereal flags are stored, see Calmard [1972], 36) and *gudhar* (passage). This register gives the names of the owners of buildings or of tenants, if the property is part of a *wakf*, etc. One section (336-45) relates to zones in the process of urbanisation beyond the five gates of the city.

The first projects of urbanisation, in the years 1851-2, related to the quarters of the Arg and the Bāzār and included the renovation of the public square, the Sabza Maydān, formerly the Maydān-i Shāh (Gurney, 52). But the sovereign was still intent on the construction of prestigious buildings *extra muros*, as is illustrated in particular by the erection, in 1856, of the first state-run *takya/tekye*, the Tekye Dawlatī of Niyāwarān which was to replace the *tekye* of Muḥammad Shāh's vizier Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āķāsī (Calmard [1976-7 A], 157-162). The Shāh, the court and the nobility continued to flee the unhealthy atmosphere of the town, especially in the summer and in particular during the cholera epidemics which had afflicted Tihrān since 1823 (see X. de Planhol, *EIr*, art. *Cholera. I. In Persia*). The diplomat Arthur de Gobineau, who spent two periods of time in Tihrān (1855-8 and 1862-3), reckoned that one-third of the inhabitants of the city died of cholera in 1856 (*Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, repr. Paris 1922, ii, 234). He noted, however, that in 1862, as a result of the Shāh's efforts, the city was embellished and "augmented by two substantial quarters"; the *bāzārs* were abolished and the majority of the ruins replaced by attractive buildings (A.D. Hytier, *Les dépêches diplomatiques du Comte de Gobineau en Perse*, Geneva-Paris 1959, letter dated 28 February 1862, 169).

However, during the 1850s, the city began to expand *extra muros*, as is shown by Polak's comments on another map of Tihrān and its surroundings established by Krziz. This extension took place principally towards the north, mainly in the direction of the summer palaces. Garden suburbs (Bāgh-i Sardār and Nigāristān) flanked the road leading from the Shamirān Gate to the Ķaṣr-i Ķādjār. From the Dawlat Gate, another road led to this palace via the garden-boulevard of Lālazār. Alongside another road were situated military installations, "proto-industrial" premises, a new hospital, etc. (Gurney, 56-7). Affluent new buildings were located in these zones, as well as poorer ones to the south, near the clay quarries and the brickworks. As is also noted by Polak, the city itself was choked within its delapidated walls, some quarters, such as that of Čāla Maydān, becoming unwholesome places to live (Moghtader, 44).

In the specific context of Ķādjār Persia, the modernisation of Tihrān required at the very least expansion, to be achieved by the destruction of the ancient walls. While the motivation and procedure of the project remain obscure, the decision was taken in December 1867, when Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh had been in power for almost twenty years (Gurney, 51-2). Among the motives leading to this decision, the following have been evoked:

1. Demographic changes. According to a critical study of European testimony, the population of Tihrān, during the summer months, had increased from 15,000 inhabitants in the 1790s to 100,000 at the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Din Shāh (thesis of J. Brown, Durham 1965, quoted by Gurney, 54-5). Without supplying precise figures, the report of the census of 1269/1852-3 indicates urban development close to the gates: Muḥammadiyya and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aẓīm to the south; Shamirān to the north, in the extra-mural zones of Bāgh-i Sardār, properties of the Kalāntar, the Takht-i Khān, the Maḥalla-yi Barbarihā and immigrants from Afghānistān (Gurney, 55).

Some fifteen years later, the report of the (incomplete) census of 'Abd al-Ghaffār (Nadjm al-Mulk, later Nadjm al-Dawla) compiled at the very beginning of the changes, in February 1868, shows an expansion of the quarters of Čāla Maydān and Sangiladj, to the detriment of the gardens, and in particular a significant increase in the number of extra-mural houses, where some 15% of the population then lived, including numerous immigrants. It was also there, in the residential zones to the north of the ancient wall, that the Europeans and their embassies were to be installed (Gurney, 56 ff.).

2. Security needs. The establishment of the new quarters, especially the affluent ones to the north, required protection, to be supplied by a ditch, a rampart and twelve new gates guarded day and night. This also provided the means to control the populace, in the event of threats of revolt, tribal raids and cholera epidemics, as well as facilitating the levying of taxes on merchandise (Gurney, 59).

3. Flooding and its consequences. The new needs of urbanisation also required the development of carriageable roads and provision of water. This was problematic since, besides earthquakes and epidemics, this city, being situated on the plain at the foot of a mountain range, was subject to flooding. The catastrophic flood of May 1867 caused much damage in the north, affecting the access road to the palace, the new quarters, the gardens, the summer residence of the Russian legation, etc., as well as numerous quarters and roads extending as far as the sanctuaries of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aẓīm. The network of *ķanāts* [*q.v.*] supplying the city with water having also been damaged, and with a cholera epidemic claiming numerous victims in August, the Shāh, who had been making the pilgrimage to Mashhad, delayed his return to the city until mid-October. By this time, the ravages of the flood had been repaired and new architectural projects partially realised (see below). But the warning had been drastic.

4. Foreign influences. The introduction of new ideas and techniques, including photography, from the 1840s onward, the creation of the Dār al-Funūn (1851-2), where teaching was given by Europeans, the multiplication of contacts with Europe, especially through the creation of new embassies, were also factors of change. Besides the demolition of the ancient walls, the modernisation of Tihrān was first imposed on the Arg quarter, to the north-east of which a large square was created, the Maydān-i Tūp-khāna, centre of the renovated capital. A new gate, Darwāza-yi Nāṣirī or Shams al-Imāra, breaching the wall of the Arg, and a new avenue (the future Khiyābān-i Nāṣirī) linked the citadel to the Bāzār. Among architectural projects realised during the 1860s, the Shams al-Imāra palace shows a European influence, as does the Bāgh-i Gulistān garden, transformed by a French gardener. As for the new rampart, it was designed by the French polytechnic engineer Alexandre Buhler, a teacher at

the Dār al-Funūn, on the model of the first system of fortifications of Vauban. The 1860s were the decade of modernisation of great capitals, including Istanbul and Cairo. Major architectural achievements were displayed at the prestigious universal exhibition held in Paris in 1867, where the moderniser of Egypt, Ismāʿīl Pasha, was able to visit renovated Paris, guided by Baron Haussmann. This exhibition and the renovation of Paris influenced the urbanisation of Cairo, Istanbul and, indirectly, that of Tihrān. The reformist Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla [see MUSHĪR AL-DAWLA], ambassador of Persia in Istanbul, attempted to persuade Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh to participate. Some Persians, including courtiers, had seen Paris and the exhibition. Photographs, paintings, engravings and other documents, sent to Tihrān, showed the changes being undertaken in the major capitals. These diverse factors may have influenced the decision of the Shāh (Gurney, 64 ff.).

Solemnly proclaimed, the decision of December 1867 was not implemented by the reformer Mushīr al-Dawla and his supporters, who came to power in December 1870. Begun before and at the time of the floods of 1867 with the renovation of the Arg, the modernisation of the city (and dealing with the related problems of property ownership) was entrusted to conservative officials already in office: Mustawfī al-Mamālik, minister of finance, and Mīrzā ʿĪsā, vizier of Tihrān. Projects of expansion, the construction of a rampart (which had no military or defensive function) and of the twelve gates, lasted some four years, until 1288/1871-2 (Gurney, 53, 67 ff.). As is shown by the plan of ʿAbd al-Ghaffār (published in 1892), the initial intention was to mark out the new quarters with rectilinear avenues flanked by trees and streams. The most prosperous quarter was the Maḥalla-yi Darwāza Dawlat, also called Dawlat, although it was never to become the quarter occupied specifically by administrative agencies of the state nor a European or foreign enclave. In fact, the northern residential zone predominantly remained the affluent quarter, the site of diplomatic winter residences. Examination of the 1892 map, in conjunction with the registrations of 1900 to 1902-3, shows that in the new quarters, of initially modern aspect, there were created sub-quarters of traditional structure, most of them centred around the palaces of princes and of dignitaries. At the end of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, these new quarters were still property mostly held by the descendants of Mustawfī al-Mamālik and of Mīrzā ʿĪsā, thus illustrating the traditional social inequalities which were intensified with the growth of financial speculation (Gurney, 70-1; for the register of Akhḍar ʿAlī Shāh, begun in 1317/1900 and concluded in 1320/1902-3, see Ettehadieh [1983], 200; and comparative table with preceding registers, 204 ff.; *Āmār*, 353-651).

In spite of governmental and private initiatives, modernisation remained limited. Always problematical, the supply of water was still operated by means of *ḳanāts* and water drawn from the Karadj river, transported by a promenade-canal to the north of the city (from the 1840s onward). Public facilities appeared gradually: horse-tramways and street-lighting, with oil or gas (1880); carriages for hire (1891); steam railway, Tihrān to Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm (1888-93); electrification, in the palace (1887) then in the city (1908; eight years after Mashhad!). The creation of a modern police-force (1879) was followed by the promulgation of the first rules regulating urban policy and utilisation of public highways (1896). The first motor cars appeared *ca.* 1900 (initially in the service of the Shāh). Lorry transport, organised by the Russians, began to reach Tihrān in 1910. It was also after the tumult of the Constitutional Revolution (1905-6) that, to alleviate the congestion of Tihrān, regulations were enacted for the operation of carriages. With the intensification of carriage and then of motorised traffic, during and after the First World War, other measures were taken (see Moghtader, 48; Floor, 176 ff.) Public lighting remained poor, on account of deficiencies in the gas-works installed in 1880. In spite of the introduction of electricity (1908), until 1926 lighting was predominantly supplied by oil-lamps rather than by electric bulbs (Floor, 193). The chief of the new police force (1879), the Austrian "Count Monteforte", established an office for the control of prices and a section entrusted with maintenance of the highways and the removal of horse-dung. However, the condition of the streets remained deplorable; strewn with excrement and generally unpaved, they were muddy in winter and dusty in summer. Funds allocated to paving, raised by a tax on vehicles, effected little improvement. But despite their limited effects, the initiatives taken under the Ḳādjār government in respect of urbanisation, traffic management and public hygiene, laid the foundations of an urban infrastructure worthy of a modern city (Floor, 194 ff.).

Although its appearance had changed little under the successors of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, it seems that Tihrān experienced a relatively slow growth in population until the time of the Pahlawīs. But the figures are unreliable, particularly on account of seasonal migrations, fluctuating numbers of immigrants, temporary residents, etc. According to testimonies and the interpretation of reports, estimates vary. From the first "census" (ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, 1868), a population of 155,736 inhabitants has been estimated (Moghtader, 46, quoting N. Pakdaman [1974]). ʿAbd al-Ghaffār's estimate (in 1890-2) of 250,000 inhabitants, half of them living *extra muros*, is exaggerated (Moghtader, 48). A recent study has supplied more reliable numbers: 106,482 in 1883; 160,000 in 1891; 210,000 in 1922; and 310,000 in 1932. An increasing proportion of the population lived outside the walls or outside the administrative district of Tihrān. The figure of one-and-a-half million was not exceeded until 1956 (H. Zandjani, *Téhéran et sa population: deux siècles d'histoire*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 251-66, 251-2).

(ii) *Built-up space and monuments*

Compared with that of prestigious former capitals of the Persian world, the architectural appearance of Tihrān remains rather disappointing. On account of their lack of interest, through negligence or arbitrary decision, few ancient constructions have survived, as is shown by the chronology of architectural projects sketched below.

Although benefiting by the destruction of Rayy by the Mongols (1220), the decline of Warāmīn and the attention of certain potentates, this large agricultural village, "garden of troglodytes", only became an important town under the last Ilkhānids in the 8th/14th century. According to Clavijo, ambassador to the court of Tīmūr, in 1404, the "city" (*ciudad*) possessed one residential palace. There were also at least two other palaces and some mausolea (Adle, 23 ff.; localisation of the residential palace in the Tīmūrid park, 31). The mausolea were situated within or on the periphery of the Tīmūrid town: Buḳʿa-yi Sayyid Ismāʿīl, Imāmzāda Yaḥyā, Imāmzāda Zayd and Imāmzāda Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn (Adle, 32-3, with localisation and current state of the monuments). Under the Ṣafawids, in 1554, Ṭahmāsp I was responsible for the construction of

a Bāzār (partially covered) and a perimeter wall furnished with four gates and 114 towers (see above); frequently repaired, this wall survived until its demolition in 1868. Despite his contempt for Tihrān, Shāh ʿAbbās I had a Čahar Bāgh (garden-promenade) laid out, and constructed a palace-citadel (Arg). Shāh Sulaymān was responsible for the building of a *dīwān-khāna* where Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn received the Ottoman ambassador Dürrī Efendi in 1722 (Dhukā, 2-3; Karīmān, 120 ff.).

Despite these architectural projects, the proportion of open space broadly exceeded that of the buildings. In the 17th century, Tihrān retained its appearance of an "inhabited garden" (Adle, 35). The bone of contention between various potentates, the town and its inhabitants suffered during the Afghan interlude (1722-9), and also during the reigns of Nādir Shāh (1736-47) and of his successors, with the rivalry between the Ḳādjār tribal chieftains and Karīm Khān Zand (see above). The latter took the city from Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār in 1759 and intended to make it his capital. In 1772 he had the walls restored and built structures (*ḥaram, khilwat-khāna, dīwān-khāna*) in the Ṣafawid Arg (Karīmān, 181 ff.). It was probably he who first provided the Arg with a rampart and a ditch, apparently non-existent in the Ṣafawid period. He entrusted this work to Ustād Ghulām Riḍā-yi Tabrīzī. Unable to maintain his position in the north, he established his capital at Shīrāz in 1176/1762-3 (Dhukā, 4 ff., 17).

Āghā Muḥammad Khān was well acquainted with Tihrān where, as a very young man, he had been sent, as a prisoner, to Karīm Khān (see above). Since his return to the north and his long struggle for power, he had organised the construction of palace-gardens at Māzandarān, at Astarābād (1791) and at Sārī, with a reception-hall opening on a *tālār* (monumental porch) with columns in the style of the Ṣafawid palaces. When making Tihrān his capital (1200/1786) he laid the foundations of the monumental complex of the imperial palace of the Arg, the Kākh-i Gulistān of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and his successors. He enlarged the Zand palace (Dīwān-i Dār al-Imārā), incorporating into it elements from the palace of the Wakīl (Karīm Khān), brought back from Shīrāz, and had the Arg surrounded by a ditch. To the north-east of Tihrān, beyond Damāvand, he had a garden-pavilion constructed (Dhukā, 45 ff., 111 ff.; Karīmān, 187 ff.; Scarce [1983], 333-4). But the true founders of the metropolis of Tihrān were Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and his great-grandson Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, their way of life and manner of government being reflected in the style of their capital. Unlike his uncle Āghā Muḥammad, a traditional tribal khān, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had a taste for luxury and ostentatious ceremonial and he maintained an extensive *ḥaram*. To satisfy his peripatetic predilections, appropriate to the way of life and political interests of his tribal family, in relation to Tihrān and its environs, he constructed and maintained extra-mural palatial gardens close to the northern fringes of the town (Nigāristān, 1810; Lālazar) or further afield (Sulaymāniyya, at Karadj, and in particular Ḳaṣr-i Ḳādjār in the Shamirānāt, 1807, which survived until the 1950s). Through piety or the need for prestige, he also endowed Tihrān with its first public buildings: the Masdjid-i Shāh, built according to the principles of traditional Persian architecture, near the northern entrance of the Bāzār, between 1808 and 1813; North Gate of the Bāzār on the Sabza Maydān adjacent to the Maydān-i Shāh; and Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Gate, the southern entrance to the city. Also owed to him are other more modest religious edifices: Masdjid Sayyid ʿAzīz Allāh (1824); Madrasa-yi Khān-i Marwī (1830); see Moghtader, 41-2, Scarce [1992], 75 ff. As for the citadel of the Arg, it seems that, from 1806 onwards, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had set about transforming or renovating, with additions, the constructions of Karīm Khān and Āghā Muḥammad Khān. These changes were modified in their turn by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in the course of the modernisations commenced in 1867. Among these architectural projects, which borrowed especially from the *tālārs* with columns of Iṣfahān, notable are: the monumental gate called Darb-i Saʿādat, also known as ʿĀlī Ḳāpū or ʿImārat-i Sardar, which opened on the garden of the throne room, Aywān-i Takht-i marmar, a monumental *tālār* sheltering an impressive marble throne, also called Takht-i Sulaymāniyya or Dīwān-khāna, serving as a reception room, much influenced by the architecture of Shīrāz under Karīm Khān; the ʿImārat-i Bādgir (palace with wind tower). Some of these constructions, as well as the Khilwat-i Karīm Khānī, were progressively incorporated into the palatial complex of the Kākh-i Gulistān, the biggest monumental structure of the Arg; the stages of the latter's construction remain uncertain. The Gulistān served as an administrative and residential centre, in winter, for Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, his extensive family and his allies (Dhukā, 47 ff.; Scarce [1983], 335 ff.; Karīmān, 201 ff.; Scarce [1991], 910 ff.; eadem [1992], 78 ff.).

Under Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48), with the *extra muros* development, the vizier Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī had residences and gardens built in the north (Muḥammadiyya, ʿAbbāsābād). He had a 42 km-long canal dug to convey to Tihrān some of the waters of the Karadj river. In the Arg, he built an arsenal and a *takya*, near the Russian legation, for commemorations of Muḥarram and staging of *taʿziyas* [*q.v.*]. Religious buildings were also built in Tihrān: Masdjid Ḥādjdjī Riḍā ʿAlī, Imāmzāda Ismāʿīl in the *bāzār* (Karīmān, 212; Moghtader, 42; Calmard [1974], 100 ff.). Muḥammad Shāh and Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā also founded the quarters of the New Gate (Maḥalla-yi Darwāza-yi naw/ Darvāza Muḥammadiyya) and ʿAbbāsābād, which would be populated by immigrants from Ādharbāydjān and from khānates which had fallen into Russian hands (Karīmān, 210-11).

Like Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was an energetic builder. He maintained the Ḳādjār custom of abandoning or adapting the constructions of his predecessors. His migrations to summer residences were less wide-ranging, being concentrated essentially in the Shamirānāt. The development of contacts with Europe and the travels of the Shāh, from 1873 onwards, led to innovations in the architectural projects undertaken, with the renovation of Tihrān since 1867 (see above). The three-phase renovation was applied first of all to the constructions of the Arg and the Gulistān palace, which was redesigned between 1867 and 1892, according to a plan maintaining segregation between public and private zones. In the first phase (1867-73), he was responsible for the erection of the Shams al-ʿImāra, the first five-storey building seen in Persia. Commissioned at the same time, the Takya Dawlat, a large circular edifice covered with a *velum* during religious or civil ceremonies, was built later (completed in 1873?). An *andarūn* was built behind the Takht-i Marmar. In the second phase (1873-82), he obliterated the constructions undertaken by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh to the north of the palace, with the exception of the Takht-i Marmar. In their stead, he had built the imposing two-storey façade of the Gulistān palace, the

entrance hall of which, decorated with multiple mirrors, led to a large staircase of two flights, giving access to a massive rectangular chamber with alcoves. This Tālār-i Salām or Uṭāḳ-i Mūza (Museum) accommodated the S̲h̲āh's collections of heterogeneous objects. An orangery (Nārand̲j̲istān) was built and the walls of the palace decorated with ceramic tiles. In the third phase (1888-92), he ordered the construction of a new *andarūn*, the rooms of which opened on a courtyard, a private building in European style (K̲h̲ʷābgāh) and a small palace, Kāk̲h̲-i Abyaḍ. In the S̲h̲amirānāt, above and below the Ḳaṣr-i Ḳād̲j̲ār, he had built, in 1888, the palaces of ʿIs̲h̲ratābād (K̲h̲ʷābgāh) and Salṭanatābād, its architectural style resembling that of the Gulistān palace. Other summer palaces were built, the northernmost being the Ṣāḥibḳirāniyya at Niyāwarān, after the obliteration of the palace constructed by Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh and adapted by Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (Scarce [1991], 921 ff.; eadem [1992], 88 ff.).

Despite the sometimes ostentatious piety of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh (cf. his pilgrimages to S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm where he was assassinated), his reign marks an overall decline in religious constructions. He seems to have confined himself to restoring or embellishing the constructions of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (Masd̲j̲id-i S̲h̲āh, S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm). He had two small *madrasas* built: S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn (1862); the old Madrasa-yi Sipahsālār in the Bāzār-i Marwī (1866). But the most prestigious monument, the Masd̲j̲id-Madrasa-yi Sipahsālār, was financed and constructed by two of his viziers, Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān and his brother Mīrzā Yaḥyā K̲h̲ān, between 1879 and 1890. Erected to the north-east of the new town, it constitutes one of the most successful examples of the Persian architecture of the 19th century. Although it is of classical square design, with four *aywāns*, in a break with tradition its recessed main entrance, flanked by two minarets, opens on a vestibule giving access to a huge courtyard surrounded by arcaded loggias. The façade of the southern *aywān* is dominated by four imposing minarets. Although of classical crafting, the decoration with ceramic tiles shows European influences. Numerous secular buildings were also constructed in Tihrān under Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh by princes or members of the nobility. In 1878, his eldest son Masʿūd Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān had a palace constructed close to the site of the Masd̲j̲id-i Sipahsālār. Although this building has been converted to become the Ministry of Education, its entrance façade remains a fine example of Ḳād̲j̲ār style (D̲h̲ukā, 122 ff. and index; Karīmān, 212 ff.; Scarce [1983], 338 ff., eadem [1991], 921 ff.; eadem [1992], 82 ff.).

The summer palace of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh constitutes the apogée of civilian architecture under the Ḳād̲j̲ārs. Among his successors, only Muẓaffar al-Dīn S̲h̲āh (1896-1907 [*q.v.*]) also undertook architectural projects, and this to a very limited extent. Decorations with ceramic tiles representing Persian motifs in a Euro-Persian style were effected in the Gulistān palace (1899). A lover of Persian gardens, he had a garden-palace constructed to the east of Tihrān, at Dus̲h̲ān Tepe, a country retreat especially favoured by Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh (Scarce [1983], 341). The Ḳād̲j̲ār style, influenced to an increasing extent by Europe, recurs in numerous private or public buildings (*takyas*, in particular) erected at the expense of princes, dignitaries, merchants or other individuals or groups. Revived in public or private construction projects, these architectural vestiges have gradually disappeared, especially since the 1960s, the destruction of Ḳād̲j̲ār urbanism ultimately rendering the 19th-century city unrecognisable.

(iii) *Cultural and socio-economic life*

Like the city of Rayy on which it was dependent, Tihrān must have accommodated, at a very early stage, a S̲h̲īʿī community. Its inhabitants were also renowned for their belligerent, quarrelsome and rapacious nature; rebellious towards political authority, they were particularly reluctant to pay taxes (Adle, 27 ff., criticising Karīmān, 100 ff.).

The earliest known inhabitant of Tihrān is apparently, in the 3rd/9th century, the *muḥaddit̲h̲* Muḥammad b. Hammād Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭihrānī al-Rāzī, ancestor of al-Samʿānī (Adle, 21, and above). Other *ʿulamāʾ*, as well as numerous scholars, poets, politicians, etc., have been natives of Tihrān, especially since the Ṣafawid period and under the Ḳād̲j̲ārs. Besides the *nisba* Ṭihrānī or Ṭihrānī Rāzī, they are often known by the names of the villages or quarters which ultimately constituted the extended area of Tihrān: D̲j̲aybāynī, Dulābī, Durus̲h̲tī/Turus̲h̲tī, Kanī, Ḳaṣrānī, Nārmakī, etc. (see Karīmān, 455 ff.). Since the Ḳād̲j̲ār period, increasing numbers of immigrants, especially from the Caspian provinces, have become Tihrānīs, but use of the *nisba*, including that of adoption, has generally disappeared.

Cultural life developed with the establishment of the political power and the court of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh in Tihrān, at least during the winter period. Influenced by Europe since the mid-17th century, painting was in overall decline. But alongside the production of paintings in oil on canvas according to the European technique, a reversion to Ṣafawid models is observed, especially in the miniature, painting on lacquered papier-mâché or on glass, the art of the book and ceramics. The most attractive Ḳād̲j̲ār paintings are those effected on lacquered or enamelled objects. In addition to traditional designs featuring flora and fauna, the art of the portrait—of the sovereign and of leading courtiers—occupies a significant position in this pictorial corpus, especially in the decorations of palaces. Interesting productions are supplied by architecture and its related décor, in secular as well as religious buildings, and by the arts of metalwork and of textiles (produced in traditional centres, marketed and used to a certain extent in Tihrān): see B.W. Robinson, *Persian painting under the Zand and Qajar dynasties*, in *CHIr*, vii, 870-89, at 874 ff.; Scarce [1983, 1991, 1992]. But it was in particular the literary revival (*bāz gas̲h̲t-i adabī*), beginning in Iṣfahān and S̲h̲īrāz in the 18th century, and the neo-classical poetry of the court which gave the greatest lustre to the Ḳād̲j̲ār dynasty (see Īrān. vii. Literature, D). However, the poets of the Ḳād̲j̲ār period were for the most part residents of towns and provinces where literary production continued to be highly prized, and Tihrān lagged far behind Kās̲h̲ān, S̲h̲īrāz, Kirmān, Tabrīz, etc. (Ettehadieh [1992], 128, 136). The literary revival coincided with an upsurge in western influence in Persia, new ideas first penetrating the court of the prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā in Tabrīz, defeated militarily by the Russians (1813, 1828). After the premature death of this reforming prince (1833), cultural life was concentrated rather in Tihrān, which assumed a predominant role largely through the development of techniques of printing (typography, more aesthetic lithography, then return to typography [see maṭbaʿa. 3.]) and modern methods of education, particularly following the creation in Tihrān of the Dār al-Funūn, on the initiative of the vizier Mīrzā Taḳī K̲h̲ān "Amīr Kabīr" in 1268/1851 (see J. Gurney and N. Nabavi, *EIr*, art. *Dār al-funūn*).

These modern methods were to facilitate access to

numerous ancient and contemporary texts, including travel literature, memoirs, history, etc. which were at that time widely distributed. Also assisted by this development was to be the publication of translations of works into European languages which, undertaken under ʿAbbās Mīrzā in Tabrīz, would be continued in Tihrān on the initiative of the vizier Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī. Under Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, Muḥammad Ḥasan K̲h̲ān T̲h̲ānī al-Dawla (later known as Iʿtimād al-Salṭana), trained at the Dar al-Funūn and then in France, was to be responsible for a department of translations. It was also in Tihrān in 1253/1837 that the first Persian newspaper appeared, the *Kāg̲h̲az-i ak̲h̲bār*, published by Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ. It lasted no more than a year or two. In 1851, Amīr Kabīr was responsible for the appearance of a kind of official periodical, published weekly, the *Wāḳayiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya* which became, in 1860-1, the *Rūznāma-yi dawlat-i ʿāliyya-yi Īrān*, then the *Rūznāma-yi Īrān* published by Iʿtimād al-Salṭana [see DJARĪDA. ii].

Other titles followed and publishing houses proliferated in Tihrān, as well as intellect/ual and educational activities, particularly for the benefit of women and especially in the wake of the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-6. Under the Ḳādjārs, it was in Tihrān that the greatest number of books and journals was published, Tabrīz coming in second place (Ettehadieh [1992], 129 ff.) On literature and the press under the Ḳādjārs, see in particular B. Fragner, *Persische Memoiren-literatur als Quelle zur neueren Geschichte Irans*, Wiesbaden 1979; Y. Aryanpur, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, 2 vols., Tihrān 1354/1974-5; P. Avery, *Printing, the press and literature in modern Iran*, in *CHIr*, vii, 815-69; M. Edjtehadi, *Zerfall der Staatsmacht Persiens unter Nāṣir ad-Dīn Schah Qāǧār (1848-1696)*, Berlin 1992; articles on Persian journals feature alphabetically, under their titles, in *EIr*).

Even before the appearance of the Persian opposition press (published abroad) criticising the autocratic power of the Ḳādjārs, poets and other scholars had used their writings for the cautious expression of discontent and of demand for reforms. Criticisms of the court of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh were formulated by a noted courtier, Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, in his memoirs (*Rūznāma-yi k̲h̲āṭirāt*, ed. I. Afs̲h̲ār, Tihrān 1345-50/1966-71, and in a more virulent form in his polemical work intitled *K̲h̲alsa* or *K̲h̲ʷāb-nāma* (ed. Tihrān 1348/1969; see Calmard [1976-77 B], 172 ff.; Edjtehadi, *op. cit.* above; B. Alavi, *Critical writing on the renewal of Iran*, in *Qajar Iran*, 243-54, at 249-50). Originating from all quarters, criticism intensified with the constitutional movement (see below).

In an effort aimed at the centralisation of secular and religious powers, Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh attempted to attract certain important Imāmī *mud̲j̲tahids* to Tihrān. But it was Iṣfahān which remained a kind of religious capital until the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, numerous Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* also residing in other religious centres in Persia and especially in the *ʿatabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; see Algar, 51 ff. When Sayyid Ḥasan Wāʿiẓ S̲h̲īrāzī established himself in Tihrān, with the approval of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, he had *takyas* converted into *madrasas* (*ibid.*, 51). However, it was with the development of popular religion, especially of S̲h̲īʿī rituals, and the spread of *takyas* designed for performances of *taʿziya-k̲h̲ʷānī* or *s̲h̲abīh-k̲h̲ʷānī* that the Tihrānīs, of diverse origins regained their social cohesion (Calmard [1976-7 B], 189). With the taste for ceremonial and diverse spectacles (popular story-tellers, clowns, puppets, theatre of traditional comic improvisation, or that inspired by or based on European models, etc.), places of such entertainment increased in Tihrān. But the Takya Dawlat, which enjoyed great success from the 1870s onward, rapidly became a symbol of the ostentatious bad taste of the Ḳādjārs. Abandoned after the Constitutional Revolution, this site of religious and secular ceremonies was destroyed in 1325/1946-7 (see Calmard, *Mécénat*, ii, 141 ff.; F. Gaffary, *Les lieux de spectacle à Téhéran*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 141-52; P. Chelkowski, *Popular entertainment, media and social change in twentieth-century Iran*, in *CHIr*, vii, 765-814). With its composite character, the population of Tihrān was the reflection of a Persian society that had been in crisis since the end of the Ṣafawid period. Although the introduction of new ideas and competition for political or religious power often took place elsewhere, it was in Tihrān that conflicts were resolved, and it was there that the often confused aspirations for change gained solid expression. Messianic themes, variously articulated among *uṣūlī* and *ak̲h̲bārī* Imāmīs, among S̲h̲ayk̲h̲īs and Ṣūfīs, and in popular religion, found their full expression in the Bābism which was firmly repressed under the government of Amīr Kabīr (1848-51) and especially in Tihrān, after the failed Bābī insurrection against Nāṣir al-Dīn (15 August 1852), followed by the schism between disciples of Ṣubḥ-i Azal [*q.v.*], designated successor of the Bāb (the Bābī Azalī movement), and supporters of Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] (the Bahāʾī movement, with modernist and universalist themes): see D. MacEoin, *EIr*, arts. *Babism* and *Bahai faith or Bahaism*.

Despite the mistrustful attitude of Imāmism towards temporal power and reforms, certain Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* collaborated with the Ḳādjār administration. This was especially evident in regard to the attribution of the post of *Imām d̲j̲umʿa* of Tihrān to a trusted ally of the monarchy (Algar, 161-2). But in general, the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*, who were then consolidating and politicising their leadership, were opposed to the politics of modernisation and objected in particular to the granting of concessions in the Persian economy to foreign firms, initially British ones, and then Russian or European ones after 1872. This struggle against foreign influence took concrete shape in the revolt against the granting of the monopoly on Persian tobacco to a British concessionaire after the S̲h̲āh's third visit to Europe (1889). Agitation began after the ruthless eviction of the reformist Asadābādī, known as al-Afg̲h̲ānī, from the sanctuary of S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm in January 1891. Promoted by discontented merchants and certain *ʿulamāʾ* at the *ʿatabāt*, the general boycott of the consumption of tobacco, effective throughout Persia, including in the S̲h̲āh's *andarūn*, led to the cancellation of the concession in early 1892. Agitation was maintained in Tihrān by the most respected chief of the *ʿulamāʾ*, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Ās̲h̲tiyānī, acting on behalf of the *mard̲j̲aʿ-i taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] Mīrzā Ḥasan S̲h̲īrāzī, in his letter denouncing the monopoly (N.R. Keddie, *Religion and rebellion in Iran. The Iranian tobacco protest of 1881-1892*, London 1966, index, under "Tehran"; Algar, 211 ff.).

Maintained in Tihrān by certain *ʿulamāʾ* and reformist or radical elements grouped into various associations (see M. Bayat, *EIr*, art. *Anjoman. i. Political*), agitation culminated under Muẓaffar al-Dīn S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] in the so-called Constitutional Revolution of 1905-6. In this huge socio-religious movement there were found in Tihrān all the elements of the struggle against Ḳādjār autocracy: conflicting attitudes of the pro- and anti-constitutionalist *ʿulamāʾ*; activism blended with conservatism on the part of the merchants and the "petite bourgeoisie"; ambiguity of demands, rang-

ing from an *ʿadālat-khāna* ("house of justice") to a constitution (*mashrūtiyyat*) and the establishment of an elected assembly, *madjlis*; expanded role of the press, of tracts (*shab-nāmas*); increasing presence of crowds; protests undertaken in the religious or diplomatic sanctuaries (*bast* [*q.v.*] and see also Calmard, *EIr*, art. *Bast*); etc. After the granting of a constitution and of a *madjlis*, the efforts of the constitutionalists were countered by a reaction, as much royalist as religious, under Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (1907-9 [*q.v.*]). Two religious leaders, bearing the honorific title of Āyat Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] supported the constitution: Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī, in favour of the reforms, and Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Bihbahānī, allied to the leading merchants, opposed to customs and fiscal reform. Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī [*q.v.*] opposed the constitution. The stances adopted by political and religious leaders led to a virtual civil war between pro- and anti-constitutionalists (June 1908-July 1909, entry into Tihrān of northern revolutionaries commanded by the *Sipahdār-i aʿẓam* and of Bakhtiyārīs from Iṣfahān; and execution of Shaykh Faḍl Allāh). Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh had organised the suppression of the insurrection in Tihrān by the Cossack Brigade and ordered the closure of the Madjlis; this was re-opened by his successor Aḥmad Shāh (1909-25 [*q.v.*]) in November 1909. This second legislature was marked by disagreements within the assembly, the continuation of the civil war, principally in the north but extending as far as Tihrān, and attempts at reform (by American financial experts led by Morgan Shushter). The Russian military threat caused the departure of Shushter and the fall of the Second Madjlis (December 1911) and of the revolutionary movement, parliamentary functions passing henceforward into the hands of the bureaucracy and of landowners (see Vanessa Martin, *Islam and modernism. The Iranian Revolution of 1906*, London 1989; E. Abrahamian, *Iran between two revolutions*, Princeton 1982, 69 ff.).

The weakness of Persia was clearly evident during the First World War. Occupied by Russian and Turkish troops, the land was the object of rivalry between the major powers (Russia, Turkey, Germany and Great Britain) which fomented local seditions. The sovereignty of Tihrān was much reduced. Russian revolutionary movements had more effect on Ādharbāydjān (Tabrīz) or Gīlān (the Djangalī movement [*q.v.*]) than on Tihrān, where foreign domination, especially Russian and later British (Anglo-Persian Accord of 1919, never implemented) was strongly resented. The *coup d'état* of the Cossack colonel Riḍā Khān in Tihrān (February 1921) was presented by the latter as intended to save the monarchy from revolution (Abrahamian, *ibid.*, 102 ff.). The too often fickle or opportunistic character of the Tihrānī population, as revealed at the time of the dramatic events of the Constitutional Revolution and its aftermath, have sometimes been severely criticised by intellectuals. This was notably the case of the eminent poet, writer, journalist and professor Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār (1886-1951). Scion of a family of wealthy merchants from Kashān, established in Khurāsān, he set out at a very early age for Tihrān where he became both an activist and a critical observer of events. A fervent patriot, in numerous poems he expresses his hatred of Tihrān (often called Rayy in poetry), the urban milieu and the Tihrānī population, whom he accuses of weakness, immorality, inconsistency, perversity, lack of patriotism, etc. (see H. Saraj, *La notion de patrie "Vatan" a travers la poésie de Mohammad Taqi Saburi dit Bahâr Malek al-Šoʿarâ (1886-1951)*, diss. University of Paris III, June 1997, 181 ff., 419 ff.).

Although promoted to the status of capital, in the 1840s Tihrān occupied only the second or the third place in commercial activity, after Tabrīz (report of the British consul Abbott, in Ch. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran, 1800-1914*, Chicago 1971, 118). However, although the city was then above all a distributive centre for merchandise, diverse factors were to facilitate the development of its economy. As had been the case with Iṣfahān or Shīrāz, Tihrān benefited by the centralisation common to the great Persian capitals: concentration of governmental revenues ("despotic capitalism"); population movements (rural exodus); the attraction of élites, of landowners and of tribal chiefs. These factors were to enable it to emerge in the 20th century as a place of economic importance in world commerce (see E. Ehlers, *Capitals and spatial organization in Iran: Esfahan, Shiraz, Tehran*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 155-72).

Bibliography (and abbreviations): On the numerous primary and secondary sources in Persian and in European languages, see the *Bibls.* of the works listed below:

C. Adle, *Le jardin habité ou Téhéran de jadis des origines aux Safavides*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 15-37; *Āmār* = S. Saʿdwandiyān and M. Ittiḥādiyya (Ettehadieh), *Āmār-i dār al-khilāfa-yi Tihrān*, Tihrān 1368; Calmard [1972] = J. Calmard, *Les étendards funéraires shiites et leurs désignations turco-mongoles*, in *Traditions religieuses et para-religieuses des peuples altaïques*, Paris 1972, 27-40; Calmard [1974] = idem, *Le mécénat des représentations de taʿziyé. I. Les précurseurs de Nâseroddin Châh*, in *Le monde iranien et l'islam*, ii (1974), 73-126; Calmard [1976-77 A] = idem, *Le mécénat des représentations de taʿziyé. II. Les débuts du règne de Nâseroddin Châh*, in *ibid.*, iv (1976-7), 133-62; Calmard [1976-77 B] = idem, *L'Iran sous Nâseroddin Châh et les derniers Qâjârs*, in *ibid.*, iv (1976-7); 169-94; *CHIr* = *Cambridge history of Iran*; Dhukā = Y. Dhukā, *Tārīkhā-yi sākhtumānhā-yi Arg-i salṭanatī-yi Tihrān* . . ., Tihrān 1349/1970; Ettehadieh [1983] = M. Ettehadieh, *Patterns in urban development: the growth of Tehran (1852-1903)*, in *Qajar Iran*, 199-212; Ettehadieh [1992] = M. Ettehadieh Nezam-Mafi, *The emergence of Tehran as the cultural center of Iran*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 127-39; Floor = W. Floor, *Les premières règles de police urbaine à Téhéran*, in *ibid.*, 173-98; Gurney = J.D. Gurney, *The transformation of Tehran in the later nineteenth century*, in *ibid.*, 51-71; Karīmān = H. Karīmān, *Tihrān dar gudhashta wa ḥāl*, Tihrān 2535 *shāhānshāhī*/1976; *Qajar Iran* = E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran. Political, social and cultural change 1800-1925*, Edinburgh 1983; Moghtader = M.-R. Moghtader, *Téhéran dans ses murailles (1553-1930)*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 39-49; N. Nadjmī, *Dār al-khilāfa-yi Tihrān*, 2nd ed. Tihrān 1362/1983; idem, *Tihrān-i ʿahd-i Nāṣirī*, Tihrān 1364/1985; Scarce [1983] = J.M. Scarce, *The royal palaces of the Qajar dynasty: a survey*, in *Qajar Iran*, 329-44 (15 extra-textual plates); Scarce [1991] = eadem, *The role of architecture in the creation of Tehran*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 73-94; Dj. Shahrī, *Tārīkh-i idjtimāʿī-yi Tihrān dar ḳarn-i sizdahum*, 6 vols. Tihrān 1367-8/1988-9; *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire* = C. Adle and B. Hourcade (eds.), *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, Paris-Tehran 1992.

(J. Calmard)

(c) Since the advent of the Pahlavīs.

On the accession of Riḍā Shāh, in 1925, the structure of Tihrān had not changed since the construction of new defensive walls during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The development of the city proceeded to the detriment of gardens and the region outside

the walls, particularly to the south of Darwāza Kār where an impoverished population lived in close proximity to the municipal brickworks. Despite the enlargement of certain streets, there were no modern buildings or avenues appropriate to the status of a capital city.

With the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī, the structures of the city were radically transformed and Tihrān became in truth the capital of the country. In 1930, the Law of the Municipality (*kānūn-i baladiyya*) led to the realisation of the first urbanisation plan with the construction of major avenues (Law of 1312/1933), crossing the ancient urban fabric or the line of the defensive walls (Habibi, 200). Iran was also endowed with a proper government (first national budget in 1933), which entailed the hasty construction of buildings for various ministries (Foreign Affairs, War, Finance and Justice) and public services (post, rail station and archaeological museum constructed by Godard, 1936) on the old parade ground (Maydān-i Mashk) and to the north of the quarter of Sangiladj which was completely demolished to be replaced later, in 1950, by the Pārk-i Shahr.

The city was henceforward organised on the basis of large rectilinear avenues, oriented north-south or east-west, fringed by trees. This chequer pattern definitively shattered the cultural and social logic of the quarters of the old Islamic town; henceforward, cultural and social differentiation was determined on the basis of sectors bordered by the major avenues, the more affluent living at a higher altitude, towards the north, and the poorer towards the south, at a level where the water of the numerous *djūbs* was polluted. The urban landscape was radically transformed by the creation of a new public space, around numerous squares (*maydān*) and along avenues flanked by services (banks and administrative premises) and shops with display-windows open on the street.

For the first time, Tihrān was endowed with modern buildings, constructed by foreign professional architects (André Godard, Maxime Siroux and Nicolai Marcoff) and especially by Iranians (Mohsen Forughi, Vartan Avasessian, Gabriel Guevrekian, Ali Sadegh and Iraj Moshiri) (Marefat, 104-22). The new dominant architecture broke with tradition. It was characterised by a monumental European style, especially German (the station) combined with a "national style" of neo-Achaemenid inspiration (Ministry of Justice) and Ḳādjār elements which remained dominant in individual houses. These urbanisation projects entailed the destruction of a vast quantity of ancient monuments, in particular most of the ancient royal palaces of the Arg (with the exception of that of Gulistān and of Shams al-Imāra), of the famous Dawlat *takiyya* and of the twelve monumental gates (photographs in Bahrambeygui, 25-7).

The city was then bordered to the south by the Shūsh avenue, the railway and the station (constructed in 1938), to the east by the Shāhbāz avenues (17 Shahrivār), to the west the Simetri avenue and to the north by the major Shāh Riḍā avenue (now called Khiyābān-i 17 Shahrivār, formerly Kh.-i Inḳilāb) which today cuts the city in two and then marked the start of the modern quarters, notably including the University of Tihrān, of which the foundation-stone was laid in 1935. Tihrān was split into two parts, with a traditional centre around the bazaar, and a modern centre between Ṭūp Khāna square (Sipāh), Lālazar avenue and the new sector of embassies and banks to the north of Embassy avenue (Firdawsī).

Riḍā Shāh abandoned the Gulistān palace for the Marble Palace, construction of which began in 1935. In summer he resided in the palaces of Saʿdābād at Tādjrish, thus contributing to the accelerated development of these aestival quarters (*yaylāḳ*) of Shamirān in the foothills of the Elburz mountains, where wealthy citizens of Tihrān had long been accustomed to seeking refuge from the heat of summer. To the east of the old Shamirān road, the avenues of Kākh and Pahlavī (Filasṭīn and Walī ʿAṣr) were constructed, fringed by plane-trees, to link these two palaces and the two parts of the city, some 10 km/6 miles apart. Towards the south, the sanctuary of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm [*q.v.*] and the lower-class town of Rayy remained separated from Tihrān by ancient clay quarries and brickworks which had been relocated towards Warāmīn, at Ḳarčak and Ḳatumābād.

Despite the opening of an international airline by the German company Junkers between 1927 and 1932, then by Lufthansa from 1938 onward (Fleury, 214, 250), Tihrān remained in 1941 an incomplete and still quite mediocre capital, poorly connected with the rest of the world. Despite the excavation in 1930 of a new canal 52 km/32 miles in length, diverting water from the Karadj river towards what is now the site of the Kishāvarz boulevard (its predecessor was constructed in 1845), the traditional areas of the town were still supplied with water by *ḳanāt*s and the modern quarters by wells. Running water was not to be installed until after the inauguration of the barrages of Karadj in 1961 and of Latyān (Djādj Rūd) in 1967 (de Planhol, 62). The population of the city nevertheless increased rapidly, from 210,000 in 1922 to 540,000 in 1940, although the area of the city grew only marginally, from 24.7 ha (area enclosed within the defensive walls of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh) to 32.2 ha.

Under the reign of Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlavī, the Iranian capital became a major international metropolis, with average annual growth in excess of 6%: 1.5 million inhabitants in 1956, 3 millions in 1966 (including Tādjrish and Rayy), 6 in 1986 (Zandjani, 252). In 1996, Greater Tihrān embraced some 10 million inhabitants including 7.5 for the city itself, henceforward surrounded by a massive suburban area. Since the 1960s, Karadj has developed very rapidly (15,000 inhabitants in 1956, 500,000 in 1991) with the influx of migrants seeking work in the new industrial zone (Bahrambeygui, 158). New towns have appeared like Islāmshahr (350,000 in 1991), Mihrshahr, Radjdjāʾīshahr and Ḳarčak, while ancient cities such as Warāmīn have expanded more slowly (Hourcade [1997], 168). The arrival in Tihrān, since the Ḳādjār period, of a substantial population originating from Ādharbāydjān has made Tihrān the biggest Azeri-speaking town of Iran. Since the 1970s, the origin of migrants has been more diverse, with the influx of numerous Kurds, especially in Karadj.

In 1972, Tihrān covered an area of 210 km^2, with a continuation of urban space between Tādjrish and Rayy, and was marked by a decisive social segregation between the affluent north and the impoverished south (Hourcade [1974], 36-40; Seger [1978] and [1992]. Towards the south, where many migrants congregated, development was blocked by industrial zones and by prohibitions on construction imposed by the urbanisation plan. Development of the city therefore took place towards the north, accelerated by the expansion of a new middle class and the installation of modern heating systems in houses, meaning that the summer quarters to the north of the city could be inhabited throughout the year. This movement engendered substantial property speculation which brought wealth to a new bourgeoisie (Vieille, 1970). The bazaar quarter,

inhabited by the many migrants from the provinces, rapidly became the centre of lower-class Tihrān; at the same time, what had been the modern centre at the beginning of the century was gradually abandoned by the affluent classes, while retaining its administrative function. To the north of the modern centre of the Nādirī-Istanbul avenues there developed, from 1960 onward, an American-style centre between Takht-i Djamshīd avenue (Ṭālikānī), site of the headquarters of the Iranian National Oil Company (NIOC) and Elizabeth II boulevard. A new modern centre was subsequently constructed between ʿAbbāsābād avenue and Vanak square. By leaving the Marble Palace and transferring to the new palace of Niyavārān in 1962, the royal family reinforced this new social geography of the city which resulted in prodigious daily shifts of population between the residential north and the centre.

The first urbanisation plan, realised in 1969 by the Victor Gruen and Farmānfarmāyān partnership, set the limits of the city (*maḥdūda*) for a period of 25 years (Hourcade [1992b], 211). To block the development of the capital towards the south, several urban clusters were envisaged in the direction of Karadj, along the piedmont. On the model of the Pārs quarter of Tihrān built in 1956 with Parsi funds from Bombay (de Planhol [1962], 71), or the programme of popular habitation of *Čahār ṣad dastgāh*, in 1947, numerous developments (*shahrak*) were constructed using public or cooperative funds: large hotels, museums, office buildings or luxury apartments, as well as more modest building projects near to the airport (Ektabān) and at Lavizān. Movement of transport within the city was guaranteed by a network of freeways, modelled on that of Los Angeles.

With the increase in oil prices in 1974, there was a new impetus to the expansion of the capital: a metro scheme was undertaken, and of particular importance was the sovereigu's decision to construct the *Shāhistān-i Pahlavī*, a new administrative, cultural and political district of international status on 554 ha of vacant, formerly military land between ʿAbbāsābād and Shamirān, according to plans drawn up by the British firm of surveyors Llewellyn Davis International. This very ambitious project threatened the development of other quarters of the city, abrogating the urbanisation plan of 1969 and exacerbating the housing crisis. In the south of the city illegal popular constructions proliferated for the accommodation of the huge numbers of new immigrants.

The Islamic Revolution, which began in provincial cities, reached Tihrān on 4 September 1978 (the day of the *ʿĪd al-fiṭr*) with the demonstration called by Āyatullāh Ṭālikānī between the Ḳaytariyya park to the north of the city and the University of Tihrān. Over more than three years, public demonstrations assembling on Shāh Riḍā Avenue (renamed Inḳilāb "Revolution") were much larger and more frequent than those which had accompanied the nationalisation of oil and the coup d'état against Muṣaddiḳ (Mosaddegh) in 1951-3, and contributed significantly to a change in the relationship between the city and its inhabitants. Although the north-south social segregation characterising the capital was not abolished, the population of the south became familiar for the first time with the modern centre and the northern quarters (visits to the residence of Āyatullāh Khumaynī at Djamārān) and changed the attitude towards public space which characterised the Islamic city (Hourcade [1980], 34). The relocation of the main political bodies and institutions (Directorate of the Islamic Republic, Presidency, Prime Ministry, Parliament and Justice) in the same quarter, around the Marble Palace, with Parliament (*Madjlis-i shūrā-yi islāmī*) in the former Senate and the Prime Minister's office in Pasteur Avenue, also revitalised the urban centre.

The Islamic Republic soon legalised the illegally constructed "revolutionary habitat" (1982), and demolished slums and shanties erected in former quarries (*gawd*) to the south of the city (Hourcade and Khosrokhavar), but major urbanisation projects, including the Shāhistān-i Pahlavī and the metro, were abandoned. The nationalisation of vacant urban land in 1981, then the introduction of a new urbanisation plan in 1992, marked the inception of a new urban policy. The construction of urban motorways was pursued, and a massive programme for the renovation of southern districts of the city was launched, with the construction of cultural centres (Bahman Centre in the former abattoirs) and sport facilities (Amir-Ebrahami [1998]), the improvement of public services and the opening in 1997 of the monumental Nawāb Avenue, giving access to the motorway leading to Ḳum and the new international airport. The destruction of old buildings in the ancient centre continues (Anwār), while the creation of numerous parks and public gardens favours the development of new public space. In the north of the city (Ilāhiyya, Niyāvarān) the construction of large tower-blocks has revolutionised the urban landscape of quarters, the social composition of which has also changed with the departure of the old imperial bourgeoisie and the arrival of new Islamic cadres. Since 1980, private cars have been banned from the city centre, between the bazaar and ʿAbbāsābād. This situation has accelerated the departure of residents and their replacement by offices, businesses, administrative premises and government agencies (*Atlas d'Iran*, 146). This new centre is the hub of the "Greater Tihrān" as defined by the new urbanisation plan of 1992, which includes the new suburbs and extends over more than 120 km from Abyak to Rudehen, and 30 km from Tādjrish to Ribāṭ Karīm; Ḳazwīn and Ḳum may now be considered suburbs of the capital (Hourcade [1997]).

With 14% of the total population of the country, Tihrān is not a city of inordinate size on the national scale, but its economic, administrative and cultural weight is excessive, since the capital accounts for a half of Iran's students, administrators and doctors and three-quarters of all industrial production (Khalīlī-Arāḳī, 54-6; Hourcade [1998], 20).

Tihrān remains a capital poor in public monuments. The infrastructure has only been developed since the 1960s and in particular since 1970, with the development of the industrial zone of Karadj, the construction of the first major hotels, modern hospitals, auditoria (Rūdakī Opera [Waḥdat]) and public buildings such as the Millī University (Shāhid Bihishtī) to the north of the city. Their architecture, sometimes original (carpet museum by Ḥasan Fatḥī), rarely benefits from a good environment and despite numerous statues in public squares, decorative monuments are rare. Those representing the Pahlavī sovereigns were demolished in 1979, often being replaced by modern sculptures (Filasṭīn Square) or those representing major historical figures (such as the statue of Rāzī erected on Kārgār Avenue in 1995). The Shāhyād Tower, constructed in 1972 near Mihrābād airport to mark the 2,500th anniversary of the foundation of the Persian Empire, has paradoxically become very popular as a symbol of Tihrān under the name of Āzādī ("freedom") Tower.

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II. The former name of a village or small town in the modern province of Iṣfahān, in the *bakhsh* of Nadjafābād, lying to the west of that city in lat. 32° 41' N., long. 51° 08' E. in the lower Karwan district.

Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 103-6 (cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 52), knew of this Ṭihrān as "a large village at the gate of Iṣfahān", although he says that it is less known than the Ṭihrān of al-Rayy. He nevertheless lists several *ʿulamāʾ* from this Ṭihrān, the oldest of whom being the traditionist Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿUḳayl b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭihrānī, d. 258/872. In more recent times, the name of this place has become Tīrān, cf. Sir A. Houtum Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irák*, London 1896, 124, 127, 131, who mentions a Tīrān canal which brings water to certain suburbs of Iṣfahān. In *ca.* 1950 Tīrān had a population of 6,100 (*Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, x, 52).

Bibliography: See also Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 659. (C.E. Bosworth)

AL-ṬIHRĀNĪ, Āghā Buzurg, Twelver Shīʿī scholar and bibliographer (born Tehran 11 Rabīʿ I 1293/6 April 1876, died Nadjaf 13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1389/20 February 1970. He stemmed from a merchant family. From 1315/1898 onwards he studied at Nadjaf. After the death in 1329/1911 of his teacher Shaykh Muḥammad Kāẓim Khurāsānī [*q.v.*], Āghā Buzurg went to Kāẓimayn and shortly afterwards to Sāmarrāʾ in order to study under Muḥammad Taḳī al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*]. Only in 1354/1936 did he return to Nadjaf, where he remained until his death. Āgha Buzurg's renown as a man of learning is based mainly on the following two reference books:

1. *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, so far the most comprehensive and complete bibliography of works written by Shīʿīs. The new edition of Beirut 1983 is in 25 parts, contained in 28 volumes. According to the often transmitted "foundation myth", the composition of the *Dharīʿa* was provoked by the *Taʾrīkh Ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* (4 vols., Cairo 1910-3) by the Lebanese Christian Djirdjī Zaydān [*q.v.*]. In this work the contribution of the Shīʿa to Arabic literature had allegedly not been properly appreciated. Consequently, Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ṣadr (d. 1354/1935), Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ (d. 1373/1953-4) and their student Āghā Buzurg agreed to refute Zaydān's statements through appropriate publications about the Shīʿa and their culture.

While Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ composed a detailed criticism of Zaydān's work (see the note in *GAL*, S III, 407—*al-Murādjaʿāt al-rayḥāniyya* and *al-Nuḳūd wa 'l-rudūd*, part ii), and Ḥasan al-Ṣadr occupied himself with the part taken by the Shīʿa in the foundation and development of Islamic learning (*Taʾsīs al-shīʿa li-ʿulūm al-islām*, Kāẓimiyya 1951; original title *al-Shīʿa wa-funūn al-islām*, Sidon 1912-13), Āghā Buzurg promised to draw up an index of Shīʿī works. For this purpose, he not only used memoirs, biographies, juridical works, library catalogues, handwritten lists of the inventories of private libraries, but also took advantage of his travels and pilgrimages to Persia (four times between 1931 and 1963, especially to Mashhad) and to Mecca in order to visit public and private libraries. On the occasion of his journey to Persia in 1931, his family name *Munzawī* ("the ascetic") was registered for the first time (cf. *al-Dharīʿa*, xv, 128); however, only his sons are known under this name.

The *Dharīʿa* contains *ca.* 70,000 Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Urdu titles of works composed by Shīʿī authors (according to some critics the assignment of certain works to the Shīʿa is not always justified, cf. ʿAlī Naḳī Munzawī, 1971, p. *lām*). The works are arranged alphabetically according to their titles; apart from bibliographical indications, each work usually comprises a summary of the contents, information about the author and, in the case of larger thematic units, introductory remarks.

In order to have this work printed, Āghā Buzurg, after returning to Nadjaf, founded the Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿāda. Because of unfavourable political circumstances, he was, however, forced to sell the printing office. The first three volumes appeared in Nadjaf between 1936 and 1938, while the following ones, with the exception of volumes xiii and xiv which were also published in Nadjaf, were published in Tehran by his two eldest sons ʿAlī Naḳī and Aḥmad Munzawī.

2. *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-shīʿa*. This work, a by-product of the *Dharīʿa*, contains biographies of Shīʿī scholars, arranged alphabetically according to centuries and names of the authors. During al-Ṭihrānī's lifetime, there appeared in Nadjaf two volumes on the 13th century A.H., and four volumes on the 14th century A.H. and part of the 5th century A.H. up to Shaykh Ṭūsī. The volumes on the 4th-10th centuries A.H. were published in Beirut or Tehran by ʿAlī Naḳī Munzawī between 1971 and 1984.

In addition to these works in several volumes, numerous other published and un-published writings by Āghā Buzurg have survived, including:

– *Hadiyyat al-rāzī ilā 'l-mudjaddid al-Shīrāzī*, a biog-

raphy of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], Nadjaf 1392/1972, Persian tr. Tehran 1362/1983; Āghā Buzurg's father Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī had already written in Persian a work on the tobacco protest, which included Mīrzā-yi Shīrāzī's *fatāwā* (see *Dharīʿa*, iii, 252).

– *Muṣaffā 'l-maḳāl fī muṣannifī ʿilm al-ridjāl*, Tehran 1337/1958. This work contains the biographies of some 600 Shīʿī traditionists; an abridgement was published in Nadjaf in 1356/1937.

– *Tawḍīḥ al-rishād fī taʾrīkh ḥaṣr al-idjtihād* (*Dharīʿa*, iv, 493), on the restriction of *idjtihād* in Sunnī Islam.

– *al-Naḳd al-laṭīf fī nafy al-taḥrīf ʿan al-Ḳurʾān al-sharīf.* This work is, among other things, a defence of Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taḳī al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī's view, represented in *Faṣl al-khiṭāb fī ithbāt taḥrīf al-kitāb* (Tehran 1298/1919) about the "forgery" [see TAḤRĪF] of the Ḳurʾān. Notwithstanding the sympathy for Āghā Buzurg and the appreciation for this work, the publication was forbidden in a *fatwā* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ "because of the prevailing circumstances".

Āghā Buzurg established in 1954 as a *waḳf* [*q.v.*], together with a part of his house, his library with some 5,000 printed volumes and 200 manuscripts, according to Amīnī (1990), among which were a number of rare ones. Notwithstanding multiple reverses of fortune, among others the early death of his first wife, then of his first-born son and of a grandson at an early age, the imprisonment and assassination of his son Muḥammad Riḍā as a result of the fall of Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*] in February 1955 (see for this event, his father's remarks in *al-Dharīʿa*, x, 166-7), Āghā Buzurg pursued "with iron discipline" until the end of his days his scholarly work and other activities (such as those of *imām al-djumʿa*).

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ṬIHRĀNĪ, ḤĀDJDJĪ MĪRZĀ ḤUSAYN KHALĪLĪ (1236-1326/1821-1908), Persian *mudjtahid* noted for his role in supporting the constitutional movement of 1906-8.

He was born in Nadjaf and educated there. He began teaching at Nadjaf in the mid-1860s and rose to prominence in 1312/1894 with the death of Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī, the principal *mudjtahid* of the day. From then until his death in 1908, he presided over the conglomeration of *madrasas* that made up the teaching institution in Nadjaf and was accepted as *mardjaʿ al-taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] by Shīʿīs in Persia, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and India.

The question of constitutional rule in Persia only came to the fore during the last two or three years of Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥusayn's long life, although there had been signs of political engagement on his part as early as 1903, and in the autumn of 1905 he began writing to influential acquaintances in Tehran, urging the dismissal of Amīn al-Sulṭān, the minister whom he held responsible for the growth in Russian influence and for other related ills (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh-i mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, i, 32). His activities on behalf of the constitutionalist cause were mostly carried out in collaboration with two other influential *mudjtahids* resident in Nadjaf, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Māzandarānī (d. 1330/1912) and Ākhūnd Muḥammad Kāẓim Khurāsānī (d. 1329/1911); the trio were collectively designated as the *ʿulamā-yi thalātha* ("the three scholars"). The first message of support they collectively sent from the relative safety of Nadjaf came during the migration to Ḳum of constitutionalists from Tehran in July 1906, and in January 1907 he signed a joint *fatwā* with his colleagues declaring it religiously incumbent (*wādjib*) for constitutional government to be established in Persia and for all Persians to obey measures passed by the Madjlis. In spring 1908, Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (d. 1909 [*q.v.*]), an influential religious leader of the capital, began agitating against the constitutionalist cause, with the result that the three scholars of Nadjaf, responding to an appeal by their colleagues in Tehran, declared it forbidden (*ḥarām*) for Nūrī, as a "worker of corruption" (*mufsid*), to be permitted any say in affairs; thus anathematised, Nūrī retorted by declaring the trio in Nadjaf to be unbelievers. As Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] was preparing to suppress the constitutional movement by force, he sent Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥusayn and his colleagues in Nadjaf a telegram appealing to them to abandon their support of the movement because of its alleged dominance by Bābīs, but they rejected this, and on 19 June 1908 sent a message of support and encouragement to the two principal leaders of the constitutionalists in Tehran, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Bihbihānī and Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī. Their communications reached the capital two days before the bombardment of the Madjlis and the dispersion of the constitutionalists.

Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Husayn died in Kūfa on 6 November 1908. When the news of his death reached Tehran three days later, there were riotous scenes of grief: the bazaar was closed and massively-attended mourning ceremonies were held in the Masdjid-i Shāh. Given the tense political situation, it was perhaps inevitable that rumours of foul play should arise, although Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥusayn had been ninety lunar years old when he died. It is in any event possible that his support for the constitutionalist cause was beginning to weaken precisely at the time of his death. Commenting on his passing, Nāẓim al-Islām Kirmānī wrote, "It is true that this great man was a supporter

of the constitution, but he was not at all pleased with this anarchy, and if he had become aware of the goals of the Europeanisers (*farangī-ma'āb-hā*), corrupt and malevolent people, he would never have given his consent and agreement to constitutionalism" (*Tārīkh-i bīdārī-yi Īrāniyān*, ii, 238), but such reports may have been inspired by a desire posthumously to exonerate him at a time when many *ʿulamā'* had come to regret their support of constitutionalism.

Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥusayn was not a prolific author; his whole output appears to have been restricted to a few treatises on *fikh*. His legacy consisted primarily of six sons and numerous students, some of whom went on to become noted scholars in their own right; and he built two mosques in the ʿAmmāra district of Nadjaf and a canal carrying drinking water to the city.

Bibliography: E.G. Browne, *The Persian revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910, 421-2; ʿAbbās Ḳummī, *Fawā'id al-Ridjāl*, n.p. 1327 *sh*./1948; Mahdī Malikzāda, *Tārīkh-i inkilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, Tehran 1330 *sh*./1951, iii, 30-2, v, 111-13; Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Tārīkh-i muʿāṣir yā ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, Tehran 1331 *sh*./1952, ii, 358-65, iii, 32; Muḥammad Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ridjāl fī tarādjim al-ʿulamā' wa 'l-udabā'*, Nadjaf 1383/1964, i, 276-82; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1785-1906. The role of the ʿUlamā' in the Qajar period*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969; Nāẓim al-Islām Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i bīdārī-yi Īrāniyān*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Saʿīdī-Sīrdjānī, Tehran 1361 *sh*./1982; Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Tārīkh-i mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1363 *sh*./1984; Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, ²Tabrīz n.d., ii, 159-60.

(H. ALGAR)

TIK WA-TUM, a technical term in Arabic music, corresponding to the learned term *tā'*; also used in Arabic dialectic metres for the *zadjal*. It means the note struck, sharp and heavy: *a.* on the edge of the tambourine, sometimes on the little cymbal that is fixed there; *b.* on the back of the closed left hand when the hands are beaten; *c.* with the left foot on the ground when dancing.

It is one of the two terms of the fundamental metrical dualism of the popular songs in Arabic dialects (called *muwashshaḥāt* [see MUWASHSHAḤ], where between the pauses there only follow a pair of antithetic values (like the iambic of classical metres, except that the antithesis depends not on the length but on the intensity): *tā'* (usually *tik*) and *dīh* (usually *tum*); the first being the sharp and heavy blow and the latter, *dīh*, the dense and sonorous. The latter is struck on the stretched skin: *a.* at the centre of the tambourine; *b.* on the centre of the open left palm if the hands are beaten; *c.* with the right foot on the ground when dancing.

Just as classical prosody built up a series of metres by arranging long and short in varying order, so the popular Arabic prosody of the *muwashshaḥāt* built up the series of special rhythmic types (called *ḍurūb*) on differentiated series of *tā'āt* and *dīhāt* with pauses between. The *maṣmūdī* rhythm, for example, may be thus written:

k, *m*, *s* / *k*, *s* / *m*, *m*, *s* /
(where *k*= *tā'*, *m*= *dīh*, *s*=silence and /=caesura).

So that the phrases in the song may coincide with the series of characteristic beats of the rhythm selected, the following rules are observed: 1) each syllable must correspond to at least one beat (*nakra*); 2) one or more *tā'āt* may be intercalated (intercalation = *ribāṭ*) in the rhythmic series; 3) but certain pauses must not be interfered with, intangible caesuras, characteristic of the rhythm (first by pause after a *dīh*, otherwise short pause after a *tā'*); 4) contrary to Arabic classical metre, we may have open syllables when the time is strong and closed when the time is weak. Martin Hartmann was therefore wrong in trying to reduce the rhythm of the *muwashshaḥāt* to the *tafāʿīl* of the Arabic classical metres. Several Oriental musicians have given tables of identification, confusing intensity and duration, so as to force the Arabic *ḍurūb* to correspond with European musical notations.

Bibliography: Kāmil Khulaʿī, *Mūsīkī sharkī*, Cairo n.d., 64-77; idem, *Aghānī ʿaṣriyya*, Cairo 1921; anon, *Maghānī miṣriyya*, Cairo 1911; M.O. Guindi, *Rawḍ al-musirrāt*, Cairo 1313; Shaykh Shihāb, *Safīnat al-malak wa-nafsiyyat al-falak*, Cairo 1309 (and many other editions), 9-16; the note published in *RMM*, xxxix (1920), 146-50; and see *REI* (1928), 526.

(L. MASSIGNON)

TIKRĪT [see TAKRĪT].

TILANGĀNĪ, KHĀN-I DJAHĀN [see KHĀN-I DJAHĀN MAKBŪL].

TILIMSĀN, or, according to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 44, Tinimsān, conventionally TLEMCEN, a town of western Algeria, situated in lat. 34° 53' N., long. 1° 21' W. between Oran/Wahrān [*q.v.*] to the north-east (138 km/86 miles away), Sidi bel Abbès/Sīdī Bu 'l-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] to the east (91 km/56 miles) and the Moroccan frontier (63 km/40 miles). It is at the junction of the great national route linking Tunis with Oujda/Wadjda [*q.v.*] and the "Gold and Ivory Road" connecting the Mediterranean (ports of Hunayn [*q.v.* in Suppl.] to the west and Rachgoun, the ancient Arshakūl, to the east) with Tīzīl and then Sidjilmāsa and the gates of the Sahara. At the back of the town lie the Tlemcen Mountains, which rise in stages from north to south to 1,842 m/6,040 feet, and they turn towards the sea, which is visible from the higher parts of the town at 50 km/31 miles' distance through the trough of the Tafna through the coastal chain of the Traras. The town dominates, from its altitude of 827 m/2,712 feet, the plains of Hennaya to the north and Maghnia to the east, which form the vast territory of the Haouz, watered by the Tafna, the Isser and their affluents as well as by numerous streams which cascade down from the mountain massif and which, with their perennial flow, nourish in that region olive groves, vines, large-scale and small-scale cultivation, woods and pastures.

Tilimsān is "the town of springs", sc. ʿAyn al-Ḥadjar, ʿAyn al-Ḥūt, the waterfalls of El Ourit, the underground river of the Ghār, ʿUyūn Abu 'l-Muhādjir Dinār (the vanquisher of the Berber chief Kusayla [*q.v.*]), just near Tilimsān, etc. A plausible, if not certain, etymology derives the town's name from *tilmisān*, pl. of Berber *tilmas* "spring, water-hole", and there is another one from the Zanāta words *talam* "junction" and *sān* "two", i.e. the town which brings together two opposites, the desert and the mountain (Moubarak Mili, *Hist. de l'Algérie ancienne et moderne*, Constantine 1932, ii, 348). Muslim travellers (e.g. al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. Van Leeuwen and Ferré, Tunis 1992, § 1250; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, Beirut 1989, i, 248) speak frequently of its baths and its water-mills. It has had other names, after the time of Roman Pomaria ("the Orchards"), such as Agādīr, on the site of the Roman city, where in 174/790 Idrīs I built a mosque, of which there only remains, to the east of the present town, the minaret added by the first ʿAbd al-Wādid or Zayyānid Yaghmurāsan b. Zayyān. This then became the capital of the Zanāta Banū Khazar and Banū Yaʿlā,

and was conquered by the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, who in 474/1081 founded, to the west of Agādīr, the town of Tākrārt (Berber "camp"). Out of the fusion of Agādīr and Tākrārt arose the present town of Tilimsān, which the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin surrounded by a strong wall in 540/1145 (al-Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, Casablanca 1954, ii, 65, 95; Mili, *op. cit.*, ii, 350). The Marīnids subjected it to a long siege (699-707/1299-1307), and for this siege founded an encampment-town, al-Manṣūra ("the Victorious"), to the west of the town, of which substantial vestiges remain. Tilimsān is yet again called Madīnat al-Djidār or Arḍ al-Djidār ("town, land of the Wall"), alluding to the wall in Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 76/77, 81/82, where Moses met al-Khaḍir (see al-Warthilānī, *Nuzha*, ed. Ben Cheneb, 290), and these names with *djidār* could be reflections of the name Agādīr, which is itself probably derived from Punic *gader* = Ar. *djidār*. But out of all these names, only Tilimsān has survived today.

The Zanāta Berber dynasty of Yaghmurāsan (r. 633-81/1236-83 [*q.v.*]) (see above) was the goal of attempted conquests by the Ḥafṣids of Tunis and the Marīnids of Fās. The thirty or so princes who succeeded him in Tilimsān had various fortunes in their attempts to maintain their power, allying themselves with one or another of their rivals, fighting against the Hilālī tribes but in case of need allying with them, and finally appealing to the Turks of Algiers against the Spaniards in Bougie/Bidjāya, Bône/al-ʿAnnāba, Mers el-Kebir/Marsā al-Kabīr and Oran, and agreeing to pay the Turks tribute. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad VII al-Thābitī (910-23/1504-17) had in 912/1506 to give them 12,000 ducats a year, twelve assorted horses and six falcons (Mili, *op. cit.*, ii, 365). The Turks of Algiers, under Ṣalāḥ Reʾīs, deposed the last ʿAbd al-Wādid Abū Zayyān IV al-Ḥasan and annexed Tilimsān in 962/1555, ending 319 years of the town's independence. For three centuries, Tilimsān decayed under the rule of the Beys of Algiers, years marked by struggles in the town between the indigenous Arab and Berber Ḥaḍar (who also included *Andalusiyyūn* who had fled before the Christian *Reconquista* of Spain) and the Turkish Ḳul-oghlu [*q.v.*] troops, whose unions with the local womenfolk left a permanent element in the town's demography. Then came the French occupation of Algeria, with Tilimsān first captured in 1836, returned to the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] by the Treaty of the Tafna of 30 May 1837 between him and Bugeaud, followed in 1842 by a second, definitive occupation which was to last 120 years.

Amongst the remarkably fine Islamic monuments of Tilimsān and its vicinity, one may mention the remains of the ancient walls of Agādīr, Tākrārt and al-Manṣūra; the Great Mosque of Tilimsān with its 7th/13th-century minaret; the minaret of the Great Mosque of Agādīr; the Mosque of Sīdī Bel Ḥasan, now the Museum of Islamic Art; the citadel of Mashwar, the fortified palace built by Yaghmurāsan; and the great basin (now dry) of the Ṣahrīdj (200 m × 100 m × 3 m) dug out by Abū Tāshufīn I (718-37/1318-37) allegedly to please his daughter but more probably to irrigate his gardens. The stone minaret of the mosque of al-Manṣūra is impressive, 40 m in height and with polychrome tile work, reminiscent of such great Almohad buildings as the Giralda of Seville, the Kutubiyya of Marrakesh and the Ḥasan Tower at Rabat. To the east-south-east of Tilimsān is the mosque and mausoleum of Sīdī Bū Madyan [see ABŪ MADYAN], the famous Andalusī mystic and patron saint of Tilimsān (d. in the town 594/1197), built by the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan; the saint's tomb still today remains an object of great popular devotion. Finally, to the north of the town and at the very foot of its wall is the mosque of another Andalusī mystic, Sīdī al-Ḥalwī, built by the Marīnid Abū ʿInān Fāris in 754/1353 and in construction related, in several details, to that same sultan's Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* at Fās.

During the French Protectorate, Tilimsān became in 1854 a *commune de plein exercice* and in 1858 the chef-lieu of an *arrondissement*. In the 1920s it had a population of *ca.* 30,000 Muslims, 6,000 Jews and 4,000 Europeans. In the present-day Algerian Republic, the population is entirely Muslim, the Jewish and European population having all emigrated to France, Israel, etc. It is today the chef-lieu of a *wilāya* or governorate of the same name, covering 8,067 km^2, with five *arrondissements* and half a million people. In 1987 the town itself had *ca.* 140,000 inhabitants, a population constantly rising by 3.4% annually, in part from the prosperity arising from special development programmes and the creation of institutions of higher learning (including the Imāma University, with over 5,000 students in its five institutes). Industrial development involves factories for olive oil, tanneries, spinning and manufacture of silk textiles, manufacturing gas cylinders and telephone equipment, etc., permanently employing some 4,500 people. The industrial and new housing zones have considerably expanded the town's limits and encroached upon the cultivated area of the Haouz/Ḥawz which nevertheless continues to provide employment for 2,000 people.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see the *EI*[1] art. *Tlemcen* of A. Bel, to which should be added the standard histories of Islamic North Africa by Julien, Abun-Nasr, etc.; Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Algeria*, London 1943-4, ii, 109-12; *al-Aṣāla*, Algiers, no. 26 (1975) (= special number devoted to Tilimsān); G. Michell (ed.), *Architecture of the Islamic world, its history and social meaning*, London 1978, 219; M.L. Bates, *The Ottoman coinage of Tilimsān*, in *ANS Museun Notes*, xxvi (1981), 203-14; anon. (Ibn Mahshara?), *K. al-Istibṣār*, ed. Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Casablanca 1985; R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic architecture, form, function and meaning*, Edinburgh 1994, index at 624. See also ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS.
(A. BEL-[M. YALAOUI])

AL-**TILIMSĀNĪ**, *nisba* from the Algerian town of Tilimsān [*q.v.*], to which numerous authors and scholars are attributed. Kaḥḥāla, in his *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, lists no fewer than 37 persons called (Ibn) al-Tilimsānī, usually with a more defining *nisba*, e.g. al-ʿUbbādī, al-ʿUḳbānī; or a function, al-Ḳāḍī; a specialisation, al-Faraḍī, al-Manṭiḳī; or simply, a *laḳab, kunya* or family name. Hence many of these persons should be sought under their more particular name, e.g. the historian al-Maḳḳarī, the *faḳīh* Ibn Zakrī, or the families of Ibn Marzūḳ or al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī [*q.vv.*].

Some authors can nevertheless be conveniently grouped together under the *nisba* al-Tilimsānī:

1. IBN ZĀGHŪ, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān AL-MAGHRĀWĪ AL-KHAZRĪ, Mālikī *faḳīh*, b. 782/1380, d. of plague at Tilimsān in 845/1441. The Andalusī author al-Ḳalṣādī (d. 891/1486 in Tunisia) had followed his courses in Tilimsān, and gives him a eulogistic notice in his *Riḥla*, celebrating his piety, modesty and asceticism, plus his vast erudition in all branches of knowledge: exegesis (he wrote a commentary on the *Fātiḥa*), Mālikī *fiḳh* (a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ), mysticism (glosses on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ*), the division of inheritances (a commentary on the *Tilimsāniyya* of no. 2 below), etc. He

also gave legal decisions and thus figures in the great collections of *nawāzil* such as al-Wansharīsī's *Mi'yār*.

Bibliography: Ḳalṣādī, *Riḥla*, ed. Boulajfan, Tunis 1978, 102; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, in margins of Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 78 (reproduces Ḳalṣādī); Kaḥḥāla, iii, 116; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr*, Cairo 1349/1931, 254 no. 921. (M. YALAOUI)

2. IBRĀHĪM B. ABĪ BAKR b. 'Abd Allāh AL-ANṢĀRĪ, Mālikī *faḳīh*, from a family originally of Washshāḳ (Huecas, in the region of Toledo in al-Andalus), born at Tilimsān in 609/1212, died 690/1291 or 699/1300 at Ceuta, where he had settled after studies in Malaga. At the age of 20 he composed his *urdjūza* on the division of inheritances (*farā'iḍ*), which became celebrated as the *Tilimsāniyya*, stimulating the writing of numerous commentaries. He was also versed in grammar, as a student of the famous Abū 'Alī al-Shalawbīn [*q.v.*], and in prosody, on which he composed another versified treatise. He also wrote edifying eulogies of the Prophet and Companions.

Bibliography: Ibn Farḥūn, 90; al-Wādī'āshī, *Barnāmadj*, ed. Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ, Beirut 1982, 114; Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'ārifīn*, i, 13; Kaḥḥāla, i, 16; Makhlūf, 202 no. 695; Brockelmann, I², 482, S I, 666.

3. SULAYMĀN B. 'ALĪ b. 'Abd Allāh ... b. Yāsīn (? Yātīnann) AL-KŪMĪ (from a Berber tribe, the Kūmiya [*q.v.*] living in the coastland near Tilimsān, and not al-Kūfī), 'AFĪF AL-DĪN, usually known as AL-'AFĪF AL-TILIMSĀNĪ, born at Tilimsān or Damascus in 610/1213, died at Damascus in 690/1291.

He was a poet, with mystical tendencies—he had lived in the Ṣūfī *khānaḳāh* of Sa'īd al-Su'adā' in Cairo—and was accused of heterodox views, including as a "*zindīḳ* of the Ṣūfīs" (al-Dhahabī), a partisan of *ittiḥād* (Ibn al-'Imād), and even of the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*] or of mainstream Shī'ism (the latter, according to the modern Shī'ī author Ḥasan al-Ṣadr). Nevertheless, there are hardly any spiritual traces to be discerned in the poetry of his cited by his biographers. However, as well as his *dīwān*, collected by al-Ṣafadī and published at Cairo in 1308/1889, he is said to have written commentaries on several mystical works, including Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, al-Niffarī's *Mawāḳif*, al-Anṣārī al-Harawī's *Manāzil al-sā'irīn* (published at Tunis), a gloss on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *tā'iyya* called *Naẓm al-sulūk*, and *al-Kashf wa 'l-bayān fī ma'rifat al-insān* on a poem on the soul by Ibn Sīnā. Al-'Afīf was equally skilled in grammar, prosody and the religious sciences. He occupied various official positions in Syria, including that of inspector of *mukūs*, market dues, in Damascus under the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], clashing with the latter's representative over the withholding of his accounts.

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *'Ibar*, v, 367, year 690; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, v, 412-13; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, year 690; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ed. 'Abbās, ii, 72-6 no. 179; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xv, 408 no. 557; Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *Ta'sīs al-Shī'a*, Beirut 1981, 129; Brockelmann, I², 300, S I, 458.

4. MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN, Shams al-Dīn, son of no. 3, called *al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf* "the Elegant, Witty Youth", also a poet, born at Cairo in 661/1263. He predeceased his father by two years, dying in 688/1289 at Damascus, where he was an official in the treasury. For his life and works, see IBN AL-'AFĪF AL-TILIMSĀNĪ, to the *Bibl.* of which should now be added *Dīwān al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf*, ed. Shākir Hādī Shakr, Nadjaf 1967 (373 pieces, totalling 2,247 verses).

(F. KRENKOW-[M. YALAOUI])

TILSAM, also *tilsim*, *tilism*, *tilasm*, etc. from the Greek τέλεσμα, a talisman, i.e. an inscription with astrological and other magic signs or an object covered with such inscriptions, especially also with figures from the zodiacal circle or the constellations and animals which were used as magic charms to protect and avert the evil eye. The Greek name is evidence of its origin in the late Hellenistic period and gnostic ideas are obviously reflected in the widespread use of such charms.

The sage Balīnās or Balīnūs [*q.v.*], i.e. Apollonius of Tyana (*fl.* 1st century A.D.), is said to have been the great master of talismans (*ṣāḥib al-tilasmāt*). According to tradition, he left in many towns charms for protection against storms, snakes, scorpions, etc., and there is extant a Paris manuscript of a *K. Talāsim Balīnās al-Akbar* (see BALĪNŪS, at Vol. I, 995a, and add to the *Bibl.* there Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 77-91). Many rules for preparing talismans are also ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, i.e. Hirmis or Hirmīs, Harmis, etc. (see HIRMIS, and add to the *Bibl.* there, Sezgin, iii, 31-44).

One of the most widespread uses of talismans was in the form of amulets, often worn on or close to the human body, and used for protective purposes. Early Arabic poetry and other literature shows that the use of amulets was found amongst the pre-Islamic Arabs, in whose poetry is mentioned e.g. the amulets (*tamā'im*, sing. *tamīma*, or *ta'āwīdh*, sing. *ta'wīdh*) hung round children's necks to ward off the evil eye (see G. Jacob, *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen nach den Quellen geschildert*, ²Berlin 1897, and 'AYN).

The use of amulets in these and similar circumstances was absorbed into the religious life and folklore of the early Muslims, with both Islamic religious and magical elements combined in these (see below). Dervishes and beggars often did a good trade in amulets for which they claimed special efficaciousness. Thus the 4th/10th century author Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*] mentions beggars who wrote out talismanic charms (*ḥarraza*, i.e. wrote out *aḥrāz*, sing. *ḥirz*) and who sold to credulous Shī'īs little clay tablets allegedly made from the earth on the tomb of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā'; these would doubtless be used for amulets (C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, i, 86, 87-8, 90, ii, 192, 198-9, 221, 243: the *munfidh al-ṭīn*). In the shadow-play [see KHAYĀL AL-ẒILL] *'Adjīb wa-Gharīb* of Ibn Dāniyāl (later 7th/13th century [*q.v.*]), the man who writes out amulets is called 'Awwādh al-Sharmāṭ (*ibid.*, i, 128). In the next century, the 'Irāḳī poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*] lists the *naffādh* or seller of amulets and images as a well-known figure amongst the swindlers who preyed on the credulous (*ibid.*, ii, 297, 319).

In more recent times, the terms most frequently used for "amulet" have been such words as *ḥurz* (Class. *ḥirz*) in the Maghrib; *ḥidjāb* in Egypt; *ḥimāla* (cf. Dozy, *Supplement*, i, 327), *ḥāfiẓ*, *'ūdha*, *mi'w adha* amongst the Arabs of the Mashriḳ; *yafta*, *nuskha* and *ḥimāla* amongst the Turks; and *tilism* amongst the Persians.

Amulets are often carried in little bags, lockets or purses, which are worn round the neck or fastened to the arm or turban. Among rich people they are of gold or silver. Children are given these amulets as soon as they are forty days old; the crudest articles may be used as amulets, such as a shell, a piece of bone, sewn into leather and fastened under the left arm (see Sayyida Salme/Emily Ruete, *An Arabian princess between two worlds. Memoirs, letters home, sequels to the memoirs, Syrian customs and usages*, ed. with intro E. van Donzel, Leiden 1993, 202-3). Bedouin girls have an amulet which they call *ḥurz* and prize highly; it is a book of prayers 7 cm long and 4-5 cm broad

enclosed in a gold or silver box, and is worn as a brooch.

The prayers, signs and figures on these talismans are of very different origin and their investigation offers great difficulties. We find on them divine names, names of angels, verses from the Ḳur'ān, astrological symbols, Kabbalistic letters, magic squares, signs of geomancy, figures of animals and men [see DJADWAL]. According to Muslim tradition, God has 99 names, which in reality are only epithets, such as "the Great", "the Wise", "the Knowing", "the Merciful"; some authors like al-Tirmiḏhī and Ibn Mādja enumerate them all. (They are also given in Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique au Nord*, 200; see also J.W. Redhouse, in *JRAS* [1880], and AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ.) These names may be used as one pleases or arranged according to the numerical value of the letters composing them. Besides these, God has a name not to be spoken, which men do not know but which is revealed only to prophets and saints.

The names of the angels are also numerous. The best known are those of the four archangels Mīkhā'īl, Djabrā'īl, 'Azrā'īl and Isrāfīl, which are found on many amulets. Besides these, there is a host of others, which are given in the angelologies. There are several works of this kind in Arabic which are ascribed to suppositious authors like Andrūn or Andahriush; they contain a doctrine, which is derived from the notion of the Gnostic aeons. There are angels who preside over the planets; others preside over the months or the days of the week. Seven are given for each day; their names, barbaric in their sound, frequently appear in pairs, e.g. Ṭalīkh and Ilīkh, Ḳayṭar and Mayṭar, Ḳinṭash and Yāḳintash, a kind of combination such as we find in the Gog and Magog of the Bible and the Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj [*q.v.*] of Arab tradition. An angel very prominent in the world of magic, who presides sometimes over the planet Jupiter and sometimes over Mercury, and whom the Arabs seem sometimes to have confused with Mīkhā'il, is Meṭaṭron. He is one of the great figures in Kabbalistic literature. We find him also in the Zohar, where he fills the part of a kind of demiurge. Two other angels, who have a history of their own and are also mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, likewise appear on talismans, namely, Hārūt and Mārūt [*q.v.*]. Besides the angels, several mythical beings are also invoked, notably the seven sleepers (*Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* [*q.v.*]).

Of the verses of the Ḳur'ān, the most efficacious as amulets are the short sūras CXIII and CXIV: "Say: I take refuge (*a'ūdhu*) in the lord of the dawn, etc.— Say: I take refuge in the lord of men, the king of men, etc". These two sūras are called *al-mu'awwidhatān'* ("the two who preserve"). In the first, the evil women are mentioned "who blow upon knots", it is believed that it is particularly efficacious against the ills of the flesh; the other is credited with more power against psychic afflictions. Besides these, the sūra *Yā-Sīn* is highly esteemed by pious Muslims. This is also true of the *Fātiḥa*, the *Āyat al-Kursī* (II, 256) and the throne-verse, *Āyat al-'Arsh* (IX, 130). Other verses than these are also used in special circumstances.

The astrological signs, the signs of the planets and of the zodiac are well-known; they are naturally used for talismans. We often find quite peculiar signs which may be traced to different Kabbalistic alphabets; these frequently turn out to be transformations or corruptions of Hebrew or Kūfic letters. Kabbalistic alphabets are given by Ibn al-Waḥshiyya in his *K. Shawḳ al-mustahām*. Small circles, or rings or ornaments are often found behind the Hebrew letters; these scrolls are called "little moons" or "crowns". According to the *Sefer Yetsīrā*, every letter in a talisman ought to have its crown (*Sepher Yetsira*, tr. M. Lambert, 114).

Geomantic figures formed by points arranged in different groups are also sometimes used. Geomancy, the Arabic *'ilm al-ramal*, is divination from points formed in sand. Four lines are drawn in the sand, points marked at regular intervals and some of them wiped out at random. The remainder form definite figures to which names and different meanings have been given. These figures are used on talismans; for further details, see RAMAL.

Magic squares (*wafḳ*, *wifḳ* [see WAFḲ]) are also often met with. They consist of 9 or 16 compartments. Usually, the same number is added to each of the 9 or 16 numbers of which they consist. This gives the thing a more learned look. Thus they begin with 9 instead of 1 and run from 9 to 24 instead of 1 to 16. Instead of numbers, letters are often written in the squares, e.g. the four letters of the name Allāh, *allh*, four times in different order. The problem of magic squares has been thoroughly studied by the Arabs, for we see from the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' that squares of 9 columns were known.

Forms of men and animals are rarely found in North Africa on talismans; but in the East we find them on amulets and charms, which have been produced under the influence of Persian art. Looking-glasses, cups and seals to which magic power is ascribed, are often adorned with them. For this purpose, figures of angels or animals, particularly griffins with human heads or the signs of the zodiac are used. A talisman which Reinaud saw represented a man drawing something out of a well; this talisman had the peculiar property of helping to locate hidden treasure. Several other examples are given in G.A. Herklots, *The customs of the Musulmans of India*, 339.

The human hand is a very popular symbol among Muslims. It is carried around the neck, cut out of gold or silver or engraved on a medallion; it is said to avert the evil eye. This charm is usually called "the hand of Fāṭima". The Shī'īs interpret the five fingers as the five saints: Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.

To sum up, it may be said that the subjects used, except the verses from the Ḳur'ān, may for the most part be traced back to Gnostic or Talmudic sources. According to Arab tradition, Adam himself discovered or rather revealed the talisman. According to the *Akhbār al-zamān*, of unknown authorship, (tr. Carra de Vaux, *L'Abrégé des merveilles*, Paris 1898, 142), 'Anāḳ, the son of Adam, stole from Eve, while she slept, the charms she used to conjure spirits; but he made bad use of them. Solomon was a great magician, according to Muslim belief; his ring plays a great part in Talmudic legends and Arabian tales. The *djinnī*, who appears in the story of the fisherman in the "Arabian Nights", was confined in a vase, which had been sealed with Solomon's ring. The talisman, still known as Solomon's seal and worn by Muslims and Jews alike, represents a six-pointed star. The Berbers also, according to the *Abrégé des merveilles*, were very skilled in magic and, when they threw their talismans into the Nile, they were able to bring numerous plagues upon Egypt.

In Arabic literature, there are various treatises on the science of talismans. The most celebrated writers on this subject are Maslama al-Madjrīṭī (*ca.* 398/1007 [*q.v.*]), who brought the ideas of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' to Spain, Ibn al-Waḥshiyya, the author of the *Nabataean agriculture*, and al-Būnī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. A number of

amulets preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are ascribed—certainly wrongly—to the great theologian al-Ghazālī.

Muslim theology, which prohibits black magic and sorcery [see SIḤR], tolerates the use of amulets. They are usually prepared by dervishes, who belong to various orders, and are only of value when they are received from their hands.

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(J. RUSKA and B. CARRA DE VAUX-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

TĪMĀR (P.), literally "care, attention", Tkish. equivalent *dirilik, dirlik* "livelihood", a term denoting non-hereditary prebends to sustain a cavalry army and a military-administrative hierarchy in the core provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The system of *tīmārs* was not only the underpinning of the military-administrative organisation of the empire but also the determining factor for its *mīrī* [*q.v.*] land system and for the peasants' status and taxation, as well as for its agrarian economy in the classical age, 1300-1600.

1. *Origins.*

The earliest documentary reference to the *tīmār* system dates back to Sultan Orkhan's time. *Tīmārs* distributed by ʿOthmān I to his comrades-in-arms (ʿĀshık-Pasha-zāde, 105) appear to be rather appanages or types of *yurd*, similar to *tiyul* or *ulka* (*ülke*) in the Turcoman states of eastern Anatolia. The terms *ulka* and *yurd* survived in the same area under the Ottomans in the sense of hereditary appanage. However, already in Persia under the Saldjūkids and in Egypt under the Mamlūks, certain characteristics of the Ottoman *tīmār* can be seen. The number of the auxiliary cavalry to be brought to the field by the *iḳṭāʿ*-holder was to be in proportion to the amount of his *iḳṭāʿ*, a practice found in the Ottoman *tīmār* system and, earlier, in the Byzantine empire. It seems that in Anatolia under the Saldjūkids there were appanage-type *tīmārs* as well as military prebends similar to the Ottoman *tīmār*. Generally speaking, in a state in which a cash economy and a central treasury were not adequately developed, and the soldiery consisted mainly of cavalry, a feudal or prebendal system imposed itself as a necessity. The cavalry's needs could be met only in a rural environment, and tithes on grain as the main source of the state revenues could be collected and turned into cash only in a local market. Conditioned by these basic factors, such a system became prevalent in ancient Persia, the Byzantine empire, Western Europe, the Islamic states, and the Turco-Mongol states (cf. Doerfer, s.vv. *tiyul, nutug, yurd*). The Ottoman state developed its distinct *tīmār* organisation, apparently borrowing in its successive periods of expansion elements from each of these feudal systems.

In general, the horse and armour were the principal features distinguishing the professional *sipāhī* class from people engaged in economic activities subject to taxation. It was a strict rule that these two classes did not mix with each other, this being believed to be the principle of good order in society. In the Balkans, the Ottomans found a class of professional armoured cavalry in possession of *pronoïa* or *bashtina*; and considering them *sipāhīs* or a military élite, different from the tax-paying *reʿāyā*, they incorporated them into their own timariot army without any discrimination, expecting their loyalty to the sultan. In sum, *sipāhīlik*, the *sipāhī* profession and class was a prevalent idea with the Ottomans until the use of hand guns made it necessary to resort to mercenaries during the war against the Habsburgs in 1593-1606 (see İnalcık, *Transformation*). Armoured cavalry, of a type known in ancient Persia, made up the select divisions in the Il-Khānid, Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu and Ṣafawid armies in Persia. Such terms in the Ottoman timariot army as *djebe* and *gedjim*, all from Mongolian, may be taken as a proof of the prevalent influence. The influence of the Byzantine *pronoïa* system may also be discerned in the later development of the Ottoman *tīmār* system, being the exact translation of the Greek *pronoïa*. On the other hand, the Ottomans came into direct contact with the Mamlūks and they must have been familiar with the *iḳṭāʿ* system.

2. *The developed system.*

As the *tīmār idjmāl* registers drawn up under Murād II demonstrate, the Ottoman *tīmār* system was already fully developed in all its basic principles and features as described in the 16th-century regulations. The typical Ottoman province was one where the *tīmār* system was in force. Those provinces whose revenues were not distributed as *tīmārs*, sc. Egypt, Baghdād, Yemen, Ḥabesh, Baṣra, Lahsā (al-Ḥasā), Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis, were *sālyāneli*. A province under a *beylerbeyi* [see EYĀLET] was divided into *sandjaks* under a *sandjak-beyi*, and each *sandjak* into *subashīlıks* or *ziʿāmets* under a *subashi* or *zaʿīm*. One of the *zaʿīms* was chosen and was given the title of *alay-beyi* to be responsible for all matters concerning the *sipāhīs* in the *sandjak*. All of these were commanding officers bearing the title of *beg/bey*. In fact, the *sandjak* was the basic administrative and military unit, but the territory of a *beylerbeyilik* could be changed by adding or taking away *sandjaks*. It was a basic rule that a *sipāhī* had to stay within his initial *sandjak* and changes in

his *tīmār* has to be implemented only in this *sandjak*. Transfer from one *sandjak* or *beylerbeyilik* to another was exceptional. When the campaign season started, as a rule in March or April, *čeri-bas͟hīs* rounding up the *sipāhīs* in the *ziʿāmet* joined the *subas͟hī*. *Subas͟hīs* then met the *sandjak beyi*. Uniting the *sipāhīs* from the *sandjaks* under his command, the *beylerbeyi* reviewed his troops before arriving at the meeting place with the imperial army.

A reliable source, Idrīs-i Bidlīsī, in his *Has͟ht bihis͟ht*, estimated the timariot army of Anatolia at 20,000 and that of Rumili at 24,000 in 1473. In these figures, obviously the auxiliary *djebelüs* (see below) were included. In the official account of 933-4/1527-8, the timariot army numbered 37,521 (for the distribution among the *beylerbeyiliks*, see Table I).

Out of 37,521 *tīmār*-holders, 9,653 were *ḥiṣār-eri* or guards in the fortresses and the rest *es͟hkündji* or cavalry participating in the campaigns. Excluding the revenue from Egypt, where the *tīmār* system was not applied, almost half of the public revenues was allocated to *tīmārs*. Each *tīmār*, *ziʿāmet* and *k͟hāṣṣ*-holder had to bring with him a number of *djebelü* or fully-armed auxiliary horsemen to the campaign commensurate with the amount of his *tīmār* (see Table II).

Although the *Ḳānūnnāme* of ʿAlī Čawus͟h is dated 1653, his sources must be of the period 1560-80.

The figures in Table II suggest that, in general, the number of *djebelüs* was twice as many as that of the *tīmār*-holders. It is difficult to determine the exact number of the *djebelüs* which the *tīmār*-holders had to equip and bring to the field as their retinue (see Beldiceanu, *Timar*, Tables I-III). In accordance with the regulations, a *djebelü sipāhī* enjoying small *tīmārs* as low as 730 *aḳčes* had to wear a *djebe*, a simple armour perhaps made of metal plates, but after 3,000 *aḳčes* he would wear a *bürüme* or coat of mail consisting of linked steel rings (see the photo in *Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute*, 85, 90) apparently a more efficient and expensive armour.

In the *tīmār* organisation, categories were distinguished on the basis of function and heredity. Functionally, *tīmārs* were essentially divided into three categories: *k͟hāṣṣ*, *ziʿāmet* and *tīmār*. The *k͟hāṣṣ* (pl. *k͟hawāṣṣ*) were of two types, *k͟hawāṣṣ-i hümāyūn*, and *k͟hawāṣṣ-i wuzerāʾ* and *umerāʾ*. *K͟hawāṣṣ-i hümāyūn* or imperial revenues, belonging theoretically to the sultan but actually within the public treasury, were basically distinguished from all the other categories. The richest and most reliable sources of revenues were reserved for this category, although it was possible to transfer them to other categories at any time. *K͟hawāṣṣ-i wuzerāʾ* and *umerāʾ* were reserved for the members of the government and provincial governors, *sandjak-beyis*/*mīrliwās* and *beylerbeyis*/*mīrimīrāns*. In the Arvanid register of 835/1432, *tīmārs* are seen categorised only as *k͟hāṣṣ* and *tīmārs*. *Subas͟hīs*' prebends were either called *tīmār* or *k͟hāṣṣ*, obviously in deference to their rank in the military hierarchy rather than the amount of the *tīmār*. Only later, those *tīmārs* recorded in the *idjmāl* as 20,000 *aḳčes* are referred to as *ziʿāmet*, and their recipients as *subas͟hī* or *zaʿīm*, i.e. commanding officer who bore the title of *beg*/*bey*. A *ziʿāmet* could go up to 100,000 *aḳčes* by additions through promotions. *K͟hāṣṣ* was supposed to start from 100,000 *aḳčes*, reserved for *sandjak-beyis* and *beylerbeyis*. Toward 1609, the lowest *k͟hāṣṣ* of a *sandjak-beyi* was that of the Kurdish bey of Egil, 96,750, and the highest that of Kilis in Bosnia, 642,500. The highest *k͟hāṣṣ* for a *beylerbeyi* was that of Diyarbekir, 1,200,660, and the lowest, that of Kıbrıs (Cyprus), 600,000 *aḳčes*.

The surveyor, responsible for drawing up the *idjmāl* register, so arranged each *k͟hāṣṣ* and each *ziʿāmet* unit that its components, villages or shares, were dispersed in various parts of the *sandjak* or *ziʿāmet* territory. So the *sandjak-beyi* or *zaʿīm*, responsible for security, felt a personal interest in visiting various parts of his *sandjak* or *ziʿāmet*. Shares in the ordinary *tīmār* were also dispersed in different villages. In addition to security, this arrangement must have been motivated by the state's concern to prevent the *tīmār*-holder from turning the village into a personal estate. So *k͟hāṣṣ*, *ziʿāmets* and *tīmārs* made up a mosaic throughout the *beylerbeyilik*. The *sandjak-beyi* and *zaʿīm* had to make regular tours in their area of jurisdiction, looking for wrongdoers and punishing them after obtaining a verdict from the local *ḳāḍī* by due process of law. A contingent of *sipāhīs* was left behind for security when the soldiery went to a campaign. The distribution of the fines [see RUSŪM] between these three gave rise to frequent disputes, so that the Porte had to arrange the shares in special regulations.

A *tīmār* registered in the *idjmāl* register constituted an indivisible fiscal and military unit called *ḳılıdj*, which had boundaries coinciding with those of the villages included in the *tīmār*. Also, the registered peasant households within the boundaries were legally the *tīmār*-holder's *raʿiyyet*. The uncultivated land or *k͟hālī* or waste land, and all other natural resources within the *tīmār*, could be exploited by the *tīmār*-holder, who allowed farmers from outside to settle on such lands. All of the incumbent taxes belonged to the *tīmār*-holder until a new survey or *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*] was made. So, when the *tīmār*-holder had one whole village or a cluster of villages as his *tīmār*, one can speak of a *tīmār* territory. The *tīmār*-holder was called *ṣāḥib-i arḍ*, or the lord of the land, and *ṣāḥib-i raʿiyyet*, or the lord of the peasants in his *tīmār*, because he had exclusive jurisdiction over the land and peasantry there with full authority to implement the stipulations of the regulations concerning *mīrī* land and *reʿāyā*. If he transgressed these laws, he was subject to investigation and dismissal. Usually peasants from a neighbouring *tīmār*-holder came to cultivate.

In this case, the law-maker ruled that personal taxes such as *čift-resmi* and *ispendje* [see RUSŪM] were paid to the *ṣāḥib-i raʿiyyet* and tithes to the *sipāhī* who had jurisdiction over the cultivated land. In case of non-payment of the tithes, he had to pay a compensation called *čift-bozan resmi* or a second tithe. The attachment of the peasant to the land was secured by the law stipulating that the *tīmār*-holder was empowered to bring back a fugitive peasant within ten (in later regulations, fifteen) years. This stipulation was designed to ensure productivity and *tīmār*-holder's income. Later on, *ḳānūns* gave more freedom in this respect. In principle, the Ottoman régime was against exploitation of peasant labour by the local authorities as well as the establishment of personal ties between the military and peasants. A *raʿiyyet* was *ḥurr*, independent in the sense that he was free to organise his productive activities, and the *tīmār*-holder could not impose any tax or forced labour against the stipulations of the law. It was true that the state maintained some pre-Ottoman feudal corvées deemed necessary for the *sipāhī* to provide hay for his horse, to work on a *sipāhī*'s *k͟hāṣṣa čiftlik*, to build his house and to carry tithes to the market place, to mention only the main *angaryas* or corvées. However, most of these services were converted into cash payments under the Ottomans. As in the Byzantine-Balkan context, the Ottoman *tīmār* was also a fiscal unit. The *ḥāṣil*, or the grand total

TABLE I

Revenues allocated to tīmārs *in the budget of 933-34/1527-28* (*in million* aķčes)

Province	Total Revenue million *aķčes*	Imperial *Khāṣṣ* percentage	*Ewķāf* and *Emlāk* percentage	*Khāṣṣ; zi'āmet* and *tīmārs* for *beys* and *sipāhīs* percentage	number
Rumeli	198.2	48	6	46	17.288
Anadolu, Karaman, Dhulkadriyye, Rum	129.6	26	17	56	16.468
Diyarbakir	22.7	31	6	63	1.071
Syria (Aleppo and Damascus)	51.8	48	14	38	2.694
Egypt	135.4	86	14	-	-
Total	537.7	51	12	37	37.521

(Based on Ö.L. Barkan, *İA*, art. *Timar.*)

TABLE II

Ķilīdj *or* tīmār *units and* djebelüs *by* beylerbeyilik/eyālet *according to 'Alī Čawush of Sofia*

Beylerbeyilik	Foundation Date	Number of *Sandjaks*	Number of the *Tīmār*-Holders	Number of *Djebelüs*	
1. Rumeli	*ca.* 1362	24	10,187	24,813	
2. Bosna	1580	7	1,980	5,010	
3. Budin	1341	17	2,864	8,136	
4. Temeshvar	1552	6	310	2,190	
5. Anadolu	1395	14	8,619	16,381	
6. Karaman	1468-1512	7	2,500	3,500	
7. Mar'ash (Dhulkadriyye)	1522	4	2,869	3,631	
8. Sivas (Rum)	1413	7	3,937	4,063	
9. Trabzon	*ca.* 1578	2	554	1,446	
10. Kefe	1568	1	-	-	for the reference to *tīmārs*, see Beldiceanu-Steinherr *et alii, La Crimée*
11. Diyarbekir (Amid)	1515	22	4,017	13,983	see Kurdish *odjaķlïķ* and *yurdluk tīmārs* below
12. Sham	1516	11	1,250	2,750	
13. Haleb	1516	6	1,150	2,950	
14. Erzurum	1533	11	5,618	4,382	
15. Čïldïr (Akhisar)	1578	13	556	1,444	
16. Kars	1580	6	819	1,681	
17. Van	1548	13	1,215	1,785	
18. Rakka and Ruha (Urfa)	1515	7	1,100	1,400	
19. Shehrizol (Shehrizor)	1560 (?)	19 (6)	590	2,410	see Mehdi Ilhan, *Shehrizol*, 184-6
20. Musil (Mawsil)	-	5	610 (?)	2,390 (?)	
21. Trablus-Sham	1516	5	610 (?)	2,390 (?)	
22. Baghdad	1535	20	980	3,520	
23. Kıbrıs	1570	8	1,800	3,200	
24. Djeza'ir-i Bahr-i Sefid	1533	13	2,320	4,680	
		248	56,455	118,135	

of the *tīmār* revenue put at the end of each *tīmār* in *idjmāl*, indicated the *tīmār* itself.

In general, the relationship between the *tīmār*-holder and villagers was an uneasy one, since each party tried to exploit to the maximum, or tried to escape the obligations. The *reʿāyā*'s rights vis-à-vis the *sipāhī* were detailed in the *ḳānūnnāmes* [*q.v.*], the stipulations of which were enforced by the local *ḳāḍī*, and the *reʿāyā* were also free to take their complaints directly to the sultan.

Ottoman law-makers took various measures to keep the territorial and fiscal unity of the *tīmārs* so that the number of *sipāhīs* remained stable. Each *tīmār* unit, called *ḳîlîdj*, was recorded as a separate item in the *idjmāl* register, and these units were kept unaltered as much as possible. In order to preserve the *tīmār* organisation and the number of *ḳîlîdj* units, as settled in the *idjmāl* register, the state declared certain rules. A *tīmār* unit as recorded in the register could not be partitioned and bestowed as *ḥiṣṣe*, or shares, or added in its entirety to another unit; at the death of a *tīmār*-holder the *ḥiṣṣes* could be taken away and added to other units; a *sipāhī*'s son could not get a *tīmār* in his father's lifetime except in certain special cases; in the transfer or *farāgh* of the *tīmār* to a son, only the original *ḳîlîdj* unit could be transferred. In principle, a *ḳîlîdj* unit could not be held by more than one *sipāhī*. But in practice, as may be observed in the registers of Murād II and in later ones, a *tīmār* was given *mushterek*, jointly, to more than one *sipāhī*. In that case, they went to campaigns together or each in turn (*be-newbet*). The practice of *mushterek* appears to be the result of the pressure by those waiting for *tīmārs*, as well as of the Porte's need of more men in the field.

One of the main characteristics of the Ottoman *tīmār* system, distinguishing it from western feudal practices, was that a *tīmār* was not a patrimony inherited by the heirs. However, the Ottoman law recognised the right of the son to a part of the deceased father's *tīmār* in proportion to a beginner's *tīmār*, or, to the sons jointly, to the father's *tīmār* in its entirety, a practice commonly found in the early registers (for the sons eligible for *tīmārs* in each rank, see the table in Howard, *Ottoman administration*, 97-8, 110-12).

Following their policy of *istimālet* or conciliation, the Ottomans applied modified forms of the *tīmār* system in the conquered lands. For instance, during the Balkan conquests, the Ottomans left many former Christian *pronoïa*-holders or feudal lords of the pre-Ottoman régime in their former *pronoïa* or estates as Ottoman *tīmār*-holders. Conversion to Islam was not a prerequisite to be an Ottoman *sipāhī*. The number of Christian timariots reached as high as 35% of the total *sipāhīs* in some *sandjaḳs*. In Anatolia, in the Ḳaramān and Dhulḳadriyye *sandjaḳs*, members of the *sipāhī* class were bestowed *tīmārs* whenever they declared loyalty to the Ottoman dynasty. It appears that for the Ottomans, *sipāhīlik* was a universally inheritable quality. Sons of the established military families were called *odjak-zāde*.

To ensure their loyalty in his struggle against the Türkmens and Ḳîzîlbash, Selīm I recognised *mülkiyyet* or freehold rights on their *yurdluḳ* land, and *odjaḳlîḳ*, *ḥukūmet* or internal autonomy to the nine Kurdish *sandjaḳ-beys* in the *beylerbeyilik* of Diyarbekir. Lesser tribal chiefs, *ʿashīret beyleri* treated as *zaʿīms*, also enjoyed *yurdluḳ* and *odjaḳlîḳ* status. Their *ziʿāmet* and *tīmārs* were inheritable among the family members. The *yurdluḳ-odjaḳlîḳ* system was applied in other *beylerbeyiliks*, to eight *sandjaḳs* in Van, one *sandjak* in Ḥaleb, four *sandjaḳs* in Čîldîr and one *sandjaḳ* in Shehrizol, and in some areas in northern ʿIrāḳ. *Yurdluḳ odjaḳlîḳ* was applied also among the Yörük tribes in the *beylerbeyilik* of Konya. Over the course of time, *odjaḳlîḳ tīmārs* came into being in Bosnia, too. From the end of the 16th century, because of the constant threat of invasion by the Habsburg armies, the Porte had to accept the Bosnian *sipāhīs*' demand that their *tīmārs* or *ziʿāmets* should pass in heredity not only to the sons but, in the absence of a son, to other male members of the family; such *tīmār*-holding families were known as *odjak* and their *tīmārs* as *odjaḳlîḳ*. The decision granting the privilege appears to go back to the reign of Aḥmed I (1603-17), confirmed by Ibrāhīm in 1644.

On the other hand, a category of *tīmārs* called *serbest* enjoyed certain immunities. All *khāṣṣ* and *ziʿāmets* belonging to *ḍābiṭs*, or those who had police authority in their jurisdiction, including *beylerbeyi*, *sandjak-beyi*, *alay-beyi*, *zaʿīms*, *čeribashî* (*ser-ʿasker*), *dizdār* and *čawush*, were of this category. They did not share with other authorities the tax revenue accruing from fines, marriage tax and income from the sale of runaway slaves [see RUSŪM]. All *yurdluḳ-odjaḳlîḳ tīmārs* enjoyed the same immunity.

Tīmārs and *ziʿāmets* of the *arpalîḳ*, *ḥukūmet* and *odjaḳlîḳ* types were distinguished from the ordinary *tīmārs* and *ziʿāmets* by the fact that they enjoyed some kind of autonomy under the so-called *mafrūḍ al-ḳalem* and *maḳṭūʿ al-ḳadem* status. That is, the taxes in their prebends were "excluded from the registers" and "the interference of the local authorities are cut" as far as the pursuit of wrong-doers and the collection of fines were concerned.

Tīmārs and *ziʿāmets* of the heads of groups organised in *odjaḳs*, such as *yaya*, *musallam* (*müsellem*), *yörük*, *aḳîndjî* and *voynuḳ*, as well as commanders in the fortresses, were also registered under the same category of *arpalîḳ* since headship was transferable only within the group. *Tīmārs* bestowed on religious functionaries, including *ḳāḍīs*, *imāms*, metropolitans and bishops appear to have been of the *arpalîḳ* type, too, since they often succeeded in the same function with the same *tīmār*.

Other forms of the Ottoman *tīmār* adapted to local conditions were *mālikāne*, *eshkindjilü*, *be-newbet* and *mushterek tīmārs*. In need of additional troops, Meḥemmed II required those in possession of the *yurd*-like freehold or *mulk* land to equip and send auxiliary soldiery called *eshkündji* to his campaigns. These were included in the *idjmāl* registers. He was also responsible for a large-scale land reform abrogating many useless *ewḳāf* and *emlāk* lands in order to create *tīmārs* for *sipāhīs*.

A regulation determined, on the basis of the amount of the *tīmār*, the type of the equipment and the number of *djebelü*, or fully-equipped armoured horsemen and *oghlan/ghulām* or esquire a *tīmār*-holder had to bring with him to a campaign. Already towards 835/1432, these rules were fully in force. For instance, all *tīmār*-holders enjoying a *tīmār* from 1,000 or less up to 2,000 had to be present in the campaign with a *djebe*, armour, but he had to bring with him a *ghulām* when promoted to 2,000. An *oghlan/ghulām* was usually a slave captured or bought by the *sipāhī*. Apparently after a certain period of service, a *ghulām* was promoted to the *djebelü* position. Runaway *ghulāms* are often mentioned in the sources. A simple *sipāhī* had to equip one *djebelü* for each extra 3,000 *aḳčes* of his *tīmār*, but the commanding officers, *subashîs* and higher, enjoying a *tīmār* over 20,000 brought one *djebelü* for each 5,000 *aḳčes*. Thus the Ottoman *sipāhī* army was altogether an armoured cavalry force. But

when confronted by its eastern rivals, Turkmen, Persian or Mamlūk armoured cavalry armies, the Ottomans secured military superiority mainly thanks to fire-power of artillery and muskets. The *sipāhī* with 3,000 *akčes* of *tīmār* had himself to wear a *bürüme* and bring a *djebelü* with him. The one with 5,000 had to wear a *bürüme* and bring one *djebelü*, one *ghulām* and a small tent.

Over the course of time, the *sipāhīs* undoubtedly became impoverished. A *sipāhī* had to take with him all he needed in equipment and food for a campaign. In addition to the decrease in the real value of *tīmārs*, high prices for necessary equipment must have made it difficult or impossible for a timariot to participate in a distant campaign. The final blow came with the 100% inflation in the period after 1584, whereas the rate of the *tīmārs* remained unchanged (see İnalcık, *Transformation*). Ottoman archival sources speak of an increasing number of *sipāhīs* involved in exactions from their peasants and of many joining brigand bands.

It was a strict rule not to allow anybody of *reʿāyā* status to become a member of the *sipāhī* class and to get a *tīmār*. However, volunteers or *gönüllü* [*q.v.*] and *gharīb-yigids* of *reʿāyā* origins who came to participate in the campaigns as fighters, as well as *akïndjïs* [*q.v.*] and members of the fortress garrisons, might be recommended by commanders for *tīmārs*. The pressing demand for more men during the long wars against Persia and the Habsburgs in 1578-1618 made field commanders more tolerant in this matter, and thousands of Anatolian Turks, Kurds and other elements of the *reʿāyā* found their way into the privileged class of *sipāhīs*. The complaints against *ecdjnebīs* or outsiders were spelled out already in the imperial orders under Süleymān I. Further strict rules were then introduced to verify the *sipāhī* origin of applicants. Besides those who were legally eligible for *tīmārs*, there were *mulāzims*, that is, *maʿzūls* or dismissed *sipāhīs*, and the young sons of the *sipāhīs* who participated in the campaigns with the hope of getting a *tīmār* as well as *eli-emīrlüs* (see below). Thus those claiming *tīmārs* constituted an impatient, tumultuous host ready to join any rebellious movement against the central government. All these, and discontented *sipāhīs*, joined rebellions, such as those of Sheykh Bedr al-Dīn in 1416, Shāhḳulu in 1511 and the Ḳïzïlbash uprisings in the 16th century. Rival Ottoman princes struggling to succeed their father under Bāyezīd II and Süleymān I promised *tīmārs* to those who supported them, and finally the *Djelālī* bands in Anatolia [see DJALĀLĪ, in Suppl.] in 1593-1609 comprised similar elements.

The reasons for dismissal from a *tīmār* included in the first place failure to participate in a campaign. A *yoklama* or roll-call was made by the *beylerbeyi* during the campaign and the register of absentees was sent to the Porte [see ISTIʿRĀḌ, ʿARḌ, at Vol. IV, 268a]. ʿAynī ʿAlī emphasises the crucial importance of these registers in determining which *tīmārs* became vacant and in preventing double assignments and disputes. Among other reasons for dismissal were committing a grave crime such as murder or robbery or engaging in oppressive acts against the *reʿāyā*. A *maʿzūl* timariot had to participate in the campaigns under the *beylerbeyi* in *mülāzemet* or "attendance" in order to be eligible for a *tīmār* again. If he did not join the army in campaign within seven years after his dismissal, he lost his eligibility and became a simple *raʿiyyet*, subject to taxation. So *sipāhīlik*, too, was not strictly hereditary. *ʿAzl* or dismissal was frequently practiced by the Porte, obviously in order to provide vacancies for a host of pressing candidates and to encourage the *tīmār*-holders to be present in campaigns. However, many *sipāhīs* were unenthusiastic for distant campaigns which were too expensive for their *tīmār* income. Those Anatolian *sipāhīs* who were not present at the crucial imperial campaign of 1596 were dismissed permanently from *sipāhīlik*, which caused grave disorders in the empire. There is no evidence that, to find jobs for many *sipāhīs* waiting for vacancies, the Porte introduced a rotation system through *mülāzemet*. Discouraged because of the widespread practice of bribery and favouritism in the last decades of the 16th century, many *maʿzūls* joined other discontented or rebellious groups. At the same time, following their growing inefficiency in the field when faced with the increasing fire-power of the Habsburg armies, *sipāhīs* were replaced by the increasing number of Janissaries and *sekbān we sarïdja* mercenary troops in the campaigns, so that the *tīmār* system declined and the government channelled most of the *tīmār* revenues into the central treasury, or else these ended up in the hands of palace favourites as sinecures, or as *tīmārs* and *ziʿāmets* of influential people such as *čawushes*, *müteferriḳas* or *kātibs* at the Porte (see Table III).

The same source tells us that in the campaign of 1030/1621, 2,882 *čawush* and sons of *čawush*, 94 *gedikli čawush*, 681 *müteferrika* and their sons, and 522 secretaries at the Porte were in possession of *tīmārs*. This confirms the complaint that a great number of *tīmārs* went to people outside the *sipāhī* army.

Bibliography: 1. Ottoman archives and document publications. The bureaus dealing with *tīmār* affairs were (1) *defterkhāne* where the *mufaṣṣal* and *idjmāl taḥrīr* registers were located; (2) the *taḥwīl ḳalemi* where *taḥwīl tedhkires* or memos for bestowal were delivered; (3) then, *taḥwīl tedhkires* were dis-

TABLE III
Timariot sipāhīs *in seventeenth-century campaigns*

Beylerbeyilik/ Eyālet	The campaign of 1025/1616	The campaign of 1030/1621	The campaign of 1065/1655
Anadolu	3,864	3,447	1,897
Karaman	814	974	639
Sivas	1,250	1,558	471
Rumeli	4,633	4,157	2,696
Others	4,306	4,922	349
Total	14,867	15,058	6,052

(Source: Barkan, *Timar*, 327.)

patched to the *beglidji kalemi*, where the final *berāt* or *nishān* or imperial diploma was prepared and delivered to the recipient of the *tīmār*. The 91 registers of the *tahwīl kalemi* cover the period 1024-1335/1615-1916. The *tīmār tahwīl* or *rūznāmče* registers number about 2,000 from Bāyezīd II's time, to be found in the Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, see D.A. Howard, *The BBA rūznāmče tasnifi*, in *TSAB*, v/10 (1985), 11-19; N. Göyünç, *Timar rûznâmçe defterleri*, in *Belleten*, lx (1996), 127-38, which contains most comprehensive documents on *tīmār* since it summarises the complete procedure of bestowal before issuing the *tedhkire* for the delivery of the final *berāt*.

The basic sources for the *tīmār* system are the *Defter-i khakānī* registers, *idjmāl defterleri* in particular, see *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi katologlar rehberi*, Ankara 1995: *Tapu tahrir defterleri*, 118-23, 253-4; *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi rehberi*, Ankara 1992, 126-42, 186-230; *idjmāl* is a register drawn up to show the distribution of the revenues among the holders of *khāṣṣ*, *zi'āmet* and *tīmār*, arranged on the basis of *tīmār* units. The earliest *idjmāl* registers in the Osmanlı Arşivi belong to the reign of Murād II; see *Hicrî 835 tarihli sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, ed. H. İnalcık, Ankara 1954. Also V. Velčov *et alii*, *Fontes turcici historiae bulgaricae*, xx, Sofia 1974; *Hüdavendigâr livâsı tahrir defterleri*, i, ed. Ö.L. Barkan and E. Meriçli, Ankara 1988, 47-115, at 92-104, 112-15; F.M. Emecan, *XVI asırda Manisa kazası*, Ankara 1989, 288-97, 326-90; N. Beldiceanu, *Le timar dans l'état Ottoman*, Wiesbaden 1980, 13-17, 102-4; S. Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistremi të sanxhakut të shkodrës i vitit 1485*, 2 vols. Tirana 1974; H. Šabanović, *Kragjiste Isa-Bega Ishakovića zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455 godine*, Sarajevo 1964; D. Bojanić, *Vidin i Vidinskijat Sandjak prez 15-16 vek.*, Sofia 1975; *Timar tezkire defterleri*, Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul MM 17893 (Bāyezīd II's reign); *Timar ve zeâmet tevcih ve yoklama defterleri kataloğu*, 2 vols., *Fon* 10/1 and 10/2, covering the period 923-1079/1517-1668, *Divan-i Hümayun tahvil kalemi*, Kâmil Kepeci classif.; other vols. in the same collection: *Ahkâm tezkire kayıdları*, no. 2924/377, Ali Emîrî classif.; *Timar ve zeamet*, *Fon* 1/2, covering the period 918-1058/1512-1628; edicts and laws on *tīmār* in the *sandjak kānūnnāmes*, collected by Barkan, *XV ve XVIinci asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, *I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, esp. the *Kānūnnāme* of Niğebolu, 267-71; A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı kanunnameleri ve hukukî tahlilleri*, 8 vols., Istanbul 1990-4, which includes the *sandjak kānūnnāmes* and the general *kānūnnāmes* with chapters on *tīmār*.

The edicts and *kānūns* on *tīmārs* may be found in the *munsha'āt* collections of Istanbul libraries and the B.N., Paris. For other collections, see 'Aynī 'Alī, *Kawānīn-i Āl-i 'Othmān der khulāṣa-yi medāmīn-i defter-i dīwān*, Istanbul 1269/1853; Hamid Hadzibegić, *Rasprava Ali Čauša iz Sofije timarskoj organizaciji u XVII stoljecu*, in *Glasnik Zemalskog Muzea*, ii (1947), 39-205; *Sofyalı Ali Çavuş kanunnamesi*, ed. Midhat Serroğlu, Istanbul 1992; *3. numaralı mühimme defteri*, Ankara 1963; *5. numaralı mühimme defteri*, Ankara 1994; *6. numaralı mühimme defteri*, Ankara 1995; *438. numaralı muhasebe-i vilâyet-i Anadolu defteri* [937/1530], i, Ankara 1993; D.A. Howard, *Ottoman administration and the Timar system. Sūret-i kānūnnāme-i 'Osmānī berāy-i tīmār dāden*, in *In Memoriam Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, hatıra sayısı*, ii, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, xx (1996), 46-124; İ. Şahin, *Timar sistemi hakkında bir risâle*, in *TD*, xxxii (1976), 906-35; N. Göyünç, *Timar tevcihleri hakkında*, in *Osmanlı türk diplomatiği semineri*, Istanbul 1995, 67-74; idem, *Timar rûznâmçe defterlerinin biyografik kaynak olarak önemi*, in *Belleten*, lx (1996), 127-38; C. Römer, *Drei Urkunden Murads III. zu Timarengelegenheiten*, in *Jnal. of Ottoman Studies*, xii (1992), 289-306.

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TIMBUKTU or Tinbuktu, in earlier writings Timbuctoo (Fr. Tombouctou), a city of commerce and learning in West Africa, situated at lat. 16° 46' N., long. 3° 01' W., and now the administrative headquarters of the sixth region of the Republic of Mali. The earliest recorded form of the name is "Tunbuktū" (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 430), or in European sources "Tenbuch" (Catalan Atlas of 1375). Al-Saʿdī (*Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, 21), glosses the name with *al-ʿudjra*, "protuberance" or "knot", and says that "in their language" (presumably Znaga) it was the name of the slave woman who was guardian of the first nomadic camp there; later writers have glossed this as "she of the enlarged navel". However, the name may more plausibly be derived from the Znaga root *b-k-t* meaning "to be distant or hidden" (R. Basset, *Mission au Sénégal*, Paris 1909, 198), and the feminine possessive particle *tin*.

The city lies about seven miles from the main bed of the river Niger, but only some four miles from the town of Kabara which is reached by the rising waters of the Niger between September and April, and was linked year round to a creek of the Niger by a canal in former times. During the years of greatest flood, water from the Niger reaches to the heart of Timbuktu through a meandering channel that begins a little east of Kabara. At the time of its occupation by the French in 1894, the area of permanent settlement was approximately half-a-mile from north to south and 700 yards from east to west at its widest point; the fixed population was estimated at 7-8,000, with a floating seasonal population. In 1853 Barth estimated the settled population at 13,000, and the seasonal influx at an average of 5,000. He estimated that, at its height in the 16th century, it was perhaps twice the size, but there is as yet no archaeological evidence to indicate its fullest extent. Late 18th and early 19th-century accounts speak of low walls and gates, but by Barth's day these had disappeared. Houses were (and still are) mainly made of adobe with flat roofs, often of two storeys.

Historically, Timbuktu has been a point of exchange for caravan traffic of the Sahara and waterborne traffic that reaches downstream into present-day Nigeria, and upstream through the inland delta of the Niger into the heart of Mali. Its population has always been mixed. Founded by Ṣanhādja Berbers, it was settled by Arabs from various Saharan oases (Walāta, Tuwāt, Ghadāmis), by Soninke and Dyula merchants and scholars, by Songhay initially as conquerors, and by Fulbe and Tuareg as temporary occupiers. In the early 16th century, Leo Africanus considered it a Songhay-speaking city, and Songhay is still the dominant tongue, though Arabic and Tamadjak are widely used.

Al-Saʿdī places the origins of the city at the end of the 5th century of the *Hidjra*, or *ca.* 1100, but it was clearly of little importance during its first two and a half centuries of existence, as it earned no mention in the external Arabic sources until Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it. He described it as mainly inhabited by Masūfa, one of the component groups of the Ṣanhādja of the veil (*al-mulaththamūn*). It was probably Masūfa who first settled the area, moving southwards and eastwards from their Saharan ranges at a time when others of their group moved northwards with the Almoravid movement into the Maghrib and Andalusia. Indeed, Masūfa moved farther east in the late 5th/11th century to intervene in the affairs of Kawkaw (Gao [*q.v.*]) and eventually migrated into the Takidda region [*q.v.*].

When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Timbuktu, the city was under Malian domination, as it had been for probably half-a-century. In about 1325, the Malian ruler *mansā* Mūsā [*q.v.*] visited the city on his way back from the pilgrimage to Mecca, and had in his company an Andalusian notary and man of letters Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Sāḥilī, known as al-Ṭuwaydjin. The latter, who was from Granada, had met *mansā* Mūsā in Mecca and was persuaded to accompany him back to Mali. Although his chief attraction to the *mansā* was no doubt his knowledge of Mālikī jurisprudence, he evidently had architectural skills, for he is credited with building for Mūsā a residence in Timbuktu, as well as the Djingere-Bēr (Great Mosque).

By the end of the 8th/14th century the power of Mali was in decline, and by 837/1433-4 the city had come under the domination of a group described as "Maghsharan" Tuareg (al-Saʿdī, 22), who installed a Ṣanhādja governor. In 877/1468 the Tuareg were driven out and the city was incorporated into the rising Songhay empire under Sunni ʿAlī. Many of the Ṣanhādja *ʿulamāʾ* of Timbuktu fled to Walāta, and harsh measures were taken against some of the non-Ṣanhādja *ʿulamāʾ* who stayed behind. Timbuktu remained part of the Songhay empire from this time until 1000/1591. From 899/1493 Songhay was ruled by Askiya *al-ḥādjdj* Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*] and his descendants, and Timbuktu entered upon a period of prosperity and growth, its *ʿulamāʾ* generally respected by the rulers and in some cases shown material marks of favour.

In 1000/1591 Timbuktu again changed masters when Songhay suffered defeat at the hands of a force sent by the Saʿdian ruler of Morocco, Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. In the preceding century it had enjoyed some measure of autonomy, since the capital of the *askiyas* was at Gao. Under the *bāshās* (the military title retained by the new rulers), the capital was Timbuktu, and again the *ʿulamāʾ* suffered. Several members of the Masūfa Aḳīt family, the leading jurisprudents of the city, whose members had filled the office of *ḳāḍī* under the *askiyas*, were exiled to Marrākush. Other scholars left volontarily. Intellectually, and to a large extent economically, Timbuktu now entered into a long period of decline. Over a period of some forty years the military oligarchy gradually shook off its ties to the Saʿdians, who were themselves in political disarray after the death of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 1603. Thereafter and until the early 19th century, the *bāshās* maintained a weak state around the Niger river from Djenne to around Bamba (in the early days, to a little beyond Gao), with their headquarters at Timbuktu. Arabic sources refer to them as *rumāt* ("arquebusiers"), and with the passing of time, their descendants evolved into a distinct social class and their name passed into Songhay as *arma*.

The state they ruled over was weak and a prey to attack by Tuareg of the Sahara, and later, in the 18th century, by Bambara from the south-west and by Fulbe. Members of the Moroccan and Andalusian divisions that made up the *rumāt* quarrelled among themselves and there were frequent changes of *bāshā* and subordinate officers; between 1591 and 1832 there were no less than 242 holders of the office, some individuals having multiple tenures. The 18th century was marked by ecological stress producing famines and epidemics which spawned a scramble for scarce resources. Late in that century, the Bambara kingdom of Segu [*q.v.*] harrassed the western reaches of the Bāshalik, but could not hold any part of its territory. Similarly, the Kel Tadmekkat Tuareg har-

rassed Timbuktu on several occasions, most notably in 1770-1 when a siege of the town was only lifted after the intervention of the Ḳādiriyya *shaykh* and scholar al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī [see KUNTA].

In 1826 the rising Fulbe state of Masina under Shaykh Aḥmad Lobbo [*q.v.*] took control of the city, but in 1844 the Tuareg forced them out temporarily. Two years later, having used their power to deny grain imports to Timbuktu from the inland delta region, the Fulbe regained control, but the agreement brokered by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Bakkā'ī, grandson of al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī, while involving tribute, stopped short of military occupation. When the Tukulor Tidjānī conqueror al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar [*q.v.*] defeated the Fulbe of Masina in 1862, al-Bakkā'ī defended the independence of Timbuktu, and in 1864 he besieged Ḥamdullāhi together with Fulbe forces. His clan continued to dominate the affairs of Timbuktu for a while, but by the time of the French occupation in 1893-4 they had withdrawn to the Azawād, leaving various Tuareg groups in control of the city's hinterland, and the city itself an easy prey.

French rule lasted until Malian independence in 1960, and Timbuktu was the headquarters of a *cercle*. Though trans-Saharan trade atrophied, salt caravans (*azalai*) continued to come in from Taoudeni. Since 1960 the city has survived mainly as a tourist attraction, though drought and a long Tuareg rebellion, ended only in 1996, have taken their toll. An archive and research centre, the Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Ahmad Baba, was established there in the early 1970s and has collected over 6,000 Arabic manuscripts (see J.O. Hunwick in *Sudanic Africa*, iii [1992], 173-81).

In European writing, Timbuktu became a fabled city based on its role in the gold trade. While gold was an important item in trans-Saharan trade, especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, the more prosaic staples of Timbuktu's prosperity were salt, cloth, grain and slaves, and in the 19th century, ostrich feathers. The principal desert routes led to Ghadāmis, Ghāt, Warghla, Tuwāt and the Darʿa valley. These in turn led on to North African cities such as Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Tlemcen, Fās and Marrākush, the first three of which were ports of entry for European manufactured goods such as paper, cloths, metalware and glassware. To the south, Timbuktu's principal trading partner was Djenne, whence routes led into central Mali and down to the savannah and forest lands of what are now Ivory Coast and Ghana. It was from these distant lands—the Bure region of Mali and the Akan forests of Ghana—that gold dust (*tibr*) was obtained. Gold dust was the principal medium of exchange for external trade, while smaller local transactions were conducted in cowries (*wadaʿ*). Timbuktu's reputation made it the European explorer's prize in the early 19th century. The British officer Major Alexander Gordon Laing was the first to reach the city in 1826, but he was murdered in the Sahara while on his way back. The first traveller to survive the trip and bring back an account of the city was the Frenchman René Caillié in 1828. An earlier account of Timbuktu by the shipwrecked American sailor Robert Adams (published in London, 1816), though full of difficulties, is probably genuine.

Timbuktu was also, in the 10th-12th/15th-17th centuries, one of the major centres of Islamic learning in West Africa. The Sankore mosque and the quarter of that name in the north-east of the city were the focus of the teaching tradition, the older Djingere-Ber and the 9th/15th-century Sīdī Yaḥyā mosque being better known for devotional recitations. Two Ṣanhādja familes who intermarried provided most of the imāms of Sankore and the *ḳāḍīs* of the city in the period 1450-1650: the descendants of Anda-Ag-Muḥammad (*fl.* 1450) and his contemporary ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Aḳīt. From the latter family came the celebrated Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1036/1627 [*q.v.*]), who gained wider fame during his exile in Marrākush 1002/1594-16/1608, when he taught at the Djāmiʿ al-shurafā'. Other notable scholarly families of the period were the Dyula Baghayogho (Muḥammad Baghayogho (d. 1002/1594) was the principal teacher of Aḥmad Bābā), the descendants of the Fulbe scholars Muḥammad Gidado (d. *ca.* 1577) and of Muḥammad Gurdo (d. 1065/1655-6), and the descendants of Aḥmad Mughyā (d. 1002/1593). In the 13th/19th century, Arab scholars of the Kunta revived the city's scholarly tradition for a period, and in the 14th/20th century the families of Ḥaydara and Bu 'l-Aʿrāf have upheld it. The French also established a *madrasa* in Timbuktu in 1911 where Islamic sciences were taught in Arabic and select secular subjects were taught in French.

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TIMSĀḤ (a., pl. *tamāsīḥ*), masculine substantive denoting the Nile crocodile (*Crocodilus vulgaris*) of the class of reptiles (*zaḥḥāfāt*) and the order of saurians (*ʿaẓāliyyāt*); it is the only crocodile known in the Arabophone countries. The name appears to be derived from the Coptic *ʾimsaḥ*.

According to ancient authors, this crocodile is said to have been formerly present in the waters of the Jordan and the Euphrates. A carnivore, it devours all kinds of meat and fish. Of naturalists writing in the Arabic language, al-Damīrī (see *Bibl.*) is the only one to have dealt at length with the crocodile; he mentions all of its particular features, most of his information being borrowed from Aristotle (see *Bibl.*). The crocodile has as its avowed enemies the lion, the hippopotamus (*faras al-māʾ*), the otter (*kalb al-māʾ*) and the weasel (*ibn ʿirs*); the latter gains access to the interior of the crocodile's belly by way of the open mouth, and devours its liver. The only effective defensive weapon at the crocodile's disposal is the violent thrashing of its tail, which can fell a man or an ox. It spends most of the time submerged; however, being oviparous it leaves the water to lay its eggs in soft soil and cover them.

In Islamic law, the consumption of the flesh of the crocodile is formally prohibited, the animal being a carnivore.

On the other hand, this saurian presents several specific qualities. Thus one of its eyes worn by a rheumy-eyed person (*ramad*) cures him rapidly, whether this be the left eye for the left or the right for the right. To carry one of its teeth about one's person has an aphrodisiac effect and, if it is from the left side, it dispels any kind of shivers (*kashaʿrīr*). Its fat is a beneficial ointment for treating otitis and its gall makes an effective eye-wash for the treatment of albugo. When dried, pulverised and used in fumigation, its liver alleviates epilepsy (*ṣarʿ*) and its dung, extracted from the intestine and applied as a lotion to the affected skin of the leper (*bayāḍ*), makes the disease disappear. In spite of all this, the crocodile remains, in the opinion of most, an exceedingly harmful beast, as is shown by expressions such as *aẓlam min timsāḥ* "more tyrannical than a crocodile". As against this, there is a small bird which profits by association with the aquatic monster, this being the Egyptian plover (*Pluvianus aegyptius*) called *ṭayr al-timsāḥ* "crocodile bird" and also known as *saḳsāḳ, zaḳzāḳ* or *tawram*; it enters the open mouth of the saurian and, with its sharp-pointed beak, feeds on the morsels of meat stuck between the teeth.

In botany, there is the *ḥabḳa al-timsāḥ* "crocodile basil" which is the common calamint (*Clinopodium vulgare* or *Calamintha clinopodium*), a labiate member of the Melissa genus.

In oneiromancy, seeing a crocodile in a dream presages the defeat of an enemy.

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TIMSĀḤ, Lake, one of the series of swamps and lagoons in the Eastern Nile Delta region of Egypt (now administratively in the *muḥāfaẓa* of Ismāʿīliyya) through which the Suez Canal passes on its way from Port Saʿīd south to Suez. The Canal enters the Lake at the 80th kilometre. On the northern shore lies the town of Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*]. The Lake is about 6 sq. miles in area, although before the construction of the Canal it was brackish and reedy. Now it is very picturesque, with its bright blue waters and the background of desert hills. The name means "Crocodile Lake" [see the preceding art.], being once upon a time the haunt of that creature. Archaeologists are undecided as to the part it played in historic times. Wallis Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, v, 131-2) supposes that it was somewhere in its neighbourhood that the Israelites crossed during their flight from Egypt. He identifies it with the *yam-sūp* or Sea of Reeds mentioned in Exod., xiii. 18.

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(J. Walker)

TIMTHĀL [see ṣanam].

TĪMŪR LANG ("Timur the Lame") b. Taraghay Barlas, the founder of the Tīmūrid dynasty [*q.v.*] which ruled in Central Asia and eastern Iran from 1370 to 1507. The birthdate commonly ascribed to Tīmūr, 25 Shaʿbān 736/8 April 1336, is probably an invention from the time of his successor Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*], the day chosen for astrological meaning and the year to coincide with the death of the last Il-Khān (Manz, *Tamerlane and the symbolism of sovereignty*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxi/1-2 [1988], 113-14 n.) Tīmūr rose to power in the Ulus Čaghatay, a tribal confederation forming the western section of the Mongol Čaghatay Khānate [*q.v.*] He was a member of the Barlas of the Kish region. This was an important Mongol tribe within the Ulus, tracing its leadership back to Činggis Khān's commander Ḳaračar, who shared a common ancestor with Činggis, and was later attached to his son Čaghatay. Tīmūr descended from Ḳaračar but was not of the chiefly lineage, and gained power through skilful politics and the help of a personal, non-tribal following.

1. His career.

The histories first mention Tīmūr on the invasion of the Eastern Čaghatayid Khān Tughluḳ Tīmūr in Rabīʿ II 761/February-March 1360. Ḥādjdjī Beg, chief of the Barlas, fled the Ulus, and Tīmūr obtained appointment to his place. He forged an alliance with Amīr Ḥusayn Ḳaraʾunas, nephew of the former tribal ruler of the Ulus. During the next ten years Tīmūr campaigned and intrigued, first in alliance with Ḥusayn against the Eastern Čaghatayids, and after Ḥusayn's

seizure of the Ulus in 767/1366, usually in competition with Ḥusayn. He frequently had to take refuge in Khurāsān and Māzandarān. According to contemporary histories, it was at one of these times, in a campaign for the kings of Sīstān, that Tīmūr received the wound which deformed his right arm, but examination of his skeleton suggests that this was in part due to illness.

In 771/1369 Tīmūr gathered the tribal aristocracy behind him and defeated and killed Sulṭān Ḥusayn. Since he was not descended from Čingis Khān, Tīmūr ruled through a puppet khān from the Ögedeyid branch, while posing as an upholder of the Čaghatayid order. He took for himself a Čingisid wife (Saray Malik) and assumed the title of *güregen* "royal son-in-law", making his capital at Samarkand, which he embellished and fortified. On 12 Ramaḍān 771/9 April 1370 he had his government formally reaffirmed by the members of the Ulus Čaghatay. Nonetheless, he found the tribal leaders of the Ulus quick to react against any assertion of power. For the first twelve years of his reign he suffered numerous tribal uprisings and desertions, which he put down largely without force, especially in his first years of rule.

Tīmūr soon began to lead his armies outside the Ulus Čaghatay. In 772-3/1370-2 he began campaigning in the Farghānā Valley, and over the next several years gradually expanded his claims into the Eastern Čaghatayid regions, where the seizure of power by tribal leaders in 1369 offered opportunities for interference. By 777/1375 he had installed a governor in Andīdjān, and in 779/1377-8, in Kāshghar. These claims required effort to maintain, and Tīmūr stretched his forays as far as the Irtysh and Yulduz. Tīmūr's first attack on Khwārazm came in 773-4/1372-3, after its ruler refused to cede to him the cities of Kath and Khīwa, to which he laid claim. This also embroiled Tīmūr in a set of continuing campaigns, culminating in the seizure and sack of Urganč in 789/1387.

In 777/1376 Tīmūr espoused the cause of Tokhtamīsh or Toktamīsh [*q.v.*], a pretender to the throne of the Djočid Blue (or in some sources, White) Horde north of the Syr Darya, and helped him to power in 778/1377. By 1382, Tokhtamīsh had taken control over the Golden Horde with the Russian lands, and re-imposed tribute over Lithuania. During this time, Tīmūr was active in Persia. In 782/1380 he appointed his third son, Mīrān Shāh [*q.v.*] governor of Khurāsān, and in winter 1380-1, began his Persian campaigns. Over the next years, Tīmūr campaigned in Khurāsān, Sīstān and in Māzandarān. In Shawwāl 786/Nov.-Dec. 1384, he took Māzandarān and re-installed Lukmān b. Toghāy Tīmūr, last of the pretenders to the Il-Khānid throne (though descended from Čingis Khān's brother). From here Tīmūr proceeded to the Il-Khānid city of Sulṭāniyya.

It seems likely that Tīmūr was aiming at a restoration of the Mongol Empire; he had by now collected three Čingisid khāns beneath him (as he hoped): an Ögedeyid puppet khān, and "clients" from the Djočid and Il-Khānid Uluses. Tokhtamīsh, however, now revived the Golden Horde-Il-Khānid rivalry, attacking Tabrīz in winter 787/1385-6. The duel between the two men lasted almost ten years. In spring 788/1386 Tīmūr set out for his "Three-year campaign" to Luristān, Ādharbaydjān and the Caucasus. When Tokhtamīsh again prepared to attack Ādharbaydjān in early 789/1387, Tīmūr's army defeated him; Tīmūr then campaigned against the Turkmen Kara Koyunlu [*q.v.*] and the Muẓaffarid [*q.v.*] dynasty of Fārs. At the end of 789/1387 he learned that Tokhtamīsh had pillaged Transoxania and gained the support of the Khwārazmian local dynasty and the Eastern Čaghatayids. Tīmūr spent the next four years campaigning in the east. In autumn 792/1390 he set out for a major offensive against Tokhtamīsh, and in June 793/1391 defeated him on the Kondurcha River near Samara. By 1394 Tokhtamīsh had recovered the Golden Horde, again forming an alliance with the Mamlūks against Tīmūr, and in autumn 796/1394 he raided Ādharbaydjān. Tīmūr counter-attacked and soundly defeated him on the Terek River on 23 Djumādā II 797/15 April 1395. He waged a systematic campaign of destruction in the Don and Volga regions up to Yelets, pillaging trading cities and nomad centres; Tokhtamīsh could not again challenge Tīmūr's power.

During this period, Tīmūr also campaigned in Persia. On 6 Ramaḍān 794/27 July 1392 he began his "Five-year campaign". In spring 795/1393 he destroyed the Muẓaffarid dynasty, and put southern Persia under his son ʿUmar Shaykh. He appointed Mīrān Shāh as governor of western Persia and set out to wrest the region from the Djalāyirids of Baghdād and the Kara Koyunlu. The Ak Koyunlu [*q.v.*], less powerful, he recruited as allies, and this started their rise to power. In summer 798/1396 Tīmūr returned to Samarkand and spent about a year there, then in spring, 800/1398 he went against India, sacking and burning Dihlī in Rabīʿ II 801/December 1398.

In the spring of 801/1399, Tīmūr returned to Samarkand, and in early 802/September 1399 set out for his "Seven-year campaign" to the west. He reasserted his power in Georgia and Baghdād, and again fought the Kara Koyunlu. Tīmūr's involvement in the politics of the Arab, Kurdish and Turkmen dynasties of eastern Anatolia had brought him into conflict with the Mamlūks and Ottomans. Since 1395 he had been considering war against the former. At that time, he had still been friendly with the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], but relations changed in 800/1398 with the deaths of the Mamlūk sultan Barkūk and of the Kāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, ruler of Sīwās (Z.V. Togan, *Timurs Osteuropapolitik*, in *ZDMG*, cviii [1958], 279-98). The resulting confusion attracted both Tīmūr and Bāyezīd, and their relations as a result rapidly deteriorated. In autumn to winter 803/1400-1 Tīmūr campaigned in Syria, after the Mamlūks had murdered his ambassadors and given refuge to his enemies. In spring 804/1402 he set out against the Ottomans, whom he defeated near Ankara on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 804/20 July 1402. He took Yïldïrïm Bāyezīd captive but treated him well. His armies campaigned through the Ottoman territories, collecting tribute from their cities, but left the Ottoman dynasty in place.

Tīmūr now returned to Samarkand, where he staged a major convocation (*kuriltay* [*q.v.*]), attended by foreign ambassadors, including the Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo. Chinese ambassadors were also present, but were publicly humiliated. In late autumn 807/1404 he set out with an enormous army against China, planning to winter in Utrār, but died there on the eve of 17 Shaʿbān 807/18 February 1405.

2. The method and purpose of his campaigns.

The Turco-Mongolian population of the Ulus Čaghatay, known as Čaghatays, formed the core of Tīmūr's army, decimally ordered and led by his family and personal following. He also levied contingents from the regions he conquered, whom he used in campaigns close to their place of origin. Thus the

composition of Tīmūr's army changed and conformed to the needs of specific expeditions. As Tīmūr appointed his sons and followers governors over new dominions, he assigned armies to them, each containing commanders from a variety of tribes and from the families of Tīmūr's personal followers.

Taking Činggis Khān as model, Tīmūr offered a choice of submission with safety or complete destruction; he carried off the skilled artisans and spared the religious classes, sometimes amusing himself by matching them in disputation and in chess. Even from submissive cities he extorted a massive ransom. His campaigns included displays of spectacular ferocity, sparingly used, and almost always intentional. The ravages of his army were considerable but frequently followed by the restoration of agriculture. On his first expedition to a region, Tīmūr simply extracted submission and taxes, returning later to punish insubordinate vassals and install governors. He destroyed only the larger dynasties within his dominions, notably the Karts [*q.v.*] of Harāt and the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] of Fārs; small dynasties continued in place, providing hostages and troops.

Tīmūr incorporated only part of his conquered territory into his domains, sc. regions combining a strong agricultural base and largely Persian-speaking population with a significant nomad Turco-Mongolian stratum. This corresponded approximately to the Il-Khānid and western Čaghatayid territories. Tīmūr may originally have intended to restore the entire Mongol empire, and have changed his mind when he found steppe regions more difficult to control and less rewarding financially than settled ones. By the mid-1390s, he had probably decided not to incorporate the steppe into his domain; he chose simply to destroy the cities of the Golden Horde and to leave the nominal rulership to a Djočid protégé, whom he left without support. Tīmūr's campaigns into regions outside the Mongol empire seem to have been aimed to show that he was supreme also within the Islamic world. He installed no administration in India, Syria or Anatolia. One region Tīmūr tried to hold and failed, Ādharbaydjān, was ruled by Turkmen nomads whom he could defeat but not destroy. Although it was nominally within Tīmūr's realm, he held it only briefly.

3. The organisation of Tīmūr's realm.

Tīmūr installed a *dīwān* system on the model of earlier nomad dynasties, but during his lifetime it was probably not highly articulated. Persian bureaucrats appear to have held rather low status, especially in central government. The central *dīwān* (*dīwān-i aʿlā*), responsible for financial administration, was staffed largely with Persians, but Čaghatay *amīrs* were also active within it. Provincial governors were either princes or close followers; city governors (*darūghās* [*q.v.*]) were appointed personally by Tīmūr from among his followers or tribesmen. Tīmūr controlled his governors through periodic changes in provincial appointment, and by demanding their presence on campaigns.

In 805/1403 he reorganised his dominions into four sections, each under the family of one of his sons: Mīrān Shāh's family in the west; ʿUmar Shaykh's sons in southern and central Persia; Djahāngīr's son in the southeast; and Shāh Rukh with his sons in Khurāsān and the regions to the east and north. In planning for succession, Tīmūr favoured the line of his second son, Djahāngīr, born of a free wife, but he died early; later, Tīmūr appointed as successor Djahāngīr's son by a Činggisid wife, Muḥammad Sulṭān. Muḥammad Sulṭān died in 805/1403, and it was not until just before his own death that Tīmūr appointed Pīr Muḥammad b. Djahāngīr, who failed to take power.

4. Foreign relations.

Tīmūr maintained active relations with both neighbouring and distant states. His initial contacts with China were friendly; in October 1394 his ambassadors arrived at the Chinese court with a letter whose Chinese version expressed submission. The Chinese reply of 1395 alerted Tīmūr, however, to the Emperor's understanding of the relationship. He detained the ambassadors, and from this time remained unfriendly to China, beginning as early as 800/1398 to plan a campaign against it. The same year, he welcomed a pretender from the dynasty of the Northern Yüan, who remained in his following, making up part of his projected China expedition in 807/1405.

Common enmity to the Ottomans attracted Tīmūr and the Christian powers, and during his later years he exchanged embassies with the Paleologi rulers of Constantinople, the Venetians, Henry IV of England, the Genoese of Ghalaṭa, Charles VI of France, Martin I of Aragon and Catalonia, and finally Henry III of Castile and León, whose ambassador, Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, has left a valuable record of his embassy to Samarḳand in 1404-6.

5. Literary and artistic patronage.

Tīmūr was an active patron of religion, monumental architecture and historical writing. He had both Ṣūfīs and *ʿulamāʾ* in his suite; in belief, he was Sunnī, with a strong reverence for the family of the Prophet. In architecture, Tīmūr favoured the monumental. In 771/1370 he began to turn Samarḳand into a royal capital, and about 775/1373-4 he started building at his second capital of Kish (Shahr-i Sabz) [*q.v.*], adding fortifications, and the Aḳ Sarāy palace in 781/1379-80 after his conquest of Khʷārazm, whose craftsmen he transported to work there. He continued his building programme in Samarḳand, erecting garden palaces around the city, many designed for his wives. After his decisive defeat of Tokhtamïsh, Tīmūr undertook more grandiose building projects, including the shrine complex for Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] in Yāsī/Turkistān in 799/1396-7, and, on his return from India, the huge Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ (the Bībī Khānum). After his campaign against the Mamlūks and Ottomans, he ordered the building of canals and a bazaar at his winter quarters of Ḳarabāgh, and apparently a new bazaar for Samarḳand (Clavijo, *Narrative of the Spanish Embassy to the court of Timur at Samarkand in the years 1403-1406*, tr. G. Le Strange, London 1928, 278). It is notable that, during Tīmūr's lifetime, the patronage of large-scale architecture was reserved for him, royal women, and his heir-apparent Muḥammad Sulṭān.

Tīmūr also commissioned historical writing. Ibn Khaldūn, who met him, considered him highly knowledgeable in this area. Sources mention several contemporary chronicles of his reign, prose and verse, Turkic and Persian, most now lost. One commissioned work survives: the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī [*q.v.*], completed in 1404, which served as a major source for later Tīmūrid historians. Tīmūr's "memoirs", the *Tuzūk-i tīmūrī*, are a later fabrication.

Tīmūr's concern for his reputation was well rewarded, and he was remembered for centuries as a supremely charismatic figure, still invoked for legitimation in the 18th century by Nādir Shāh Afshār, and in the 19th by the Ming dynasty of Khoḳand.

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(Beatrice F. Manz)

TĪMŪRIDS, a dynasty of Persia and Central Asia (771-913/1370-1507) founded by the conqueror Tīmūr Lang [*q.v.*], who rose to power within the Ulus Čaghatay, a tribal confederation covering Transoxania and much of what is now northeastern Afghanistan. This was controlled by Turco-Mongolian military aristocracy, known as "Čaghatay", faithful to Mongol traditions but Muslim and living in close contact with the settled population.

1. History.
2. Literature.
3. Art and architecture.
   (a) The arts of the book and painting.
   (b) Architecture.
   (c) Ceramics.
   (d) Metalwork.
4. Numismatics.

1. History.

Tīmūr assumed leadership on 12 Ramaḍān 771/9 April 1370, and spent the first years of rule in campaigns against Khwārazm and the eastern Čaghatayid Khānate. In 777-8/1375-7 he installed a Čingisid protégé, Tokhtamīsh [see TOKTAMĪSH] on the throne of the Blue (or White) Horde north of the Syr Darya. Tokhtamīsh soon took over the Golden Horde, and began a contest for power with Tīmūr which ended only with Tokhtamīsh's defeat on the Kondurcha River near Samara in 793/1391. In 782/1380-1 Tīmūr began campaigning in Persia, whose conquest he completed in 795/1393. In his campaigns to India (800-1/1398-9), Syria (803/1400-1), and Anatolia (804/1402), he achieved suzerainty but installed no administration. In the east, he incorporated Khwārazm, the cities just north of the Syr Darya and the Farghānā Valley. He established forts near the Issyk Kul and claimed Kāshghar, but we do not know what level of control he held there. In Persia he created a regular administration, and he attempted to do the same in Arab ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbaydjān, but here his hold remained insecure.

Tīmūr ruled through a Čingisid puppet khān, and acquired Čingisid wives both for himself and for several of his sons, gaining the right to the title of *güregen* or "royal son-in-law", held by several of his descendants. At the same time, he patronised Islamic institutions and scholars.

Tīmūr left his realm divided into four sections, each under the family of one of his sons, ʿUmar Shaykh, Djahāngīr, Mīrān Shāh and Shāh Rukh. His death on the eve of 17 Shaʿbān 807/18 February 1405 unleashed a struggle for supreme power and struggles for supremacy within each of his sons' regions. Khwārazm reverted to the Golden Horde, and Ādharbaydjān fell to the Turkmen Ḳara Ḳoyunlu in 810/1408. The victor in this succession struggle was Tīmūr's fourth son Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*], governor of Khurāsān. Shāh Rukh took Transoxania from his nephew Khalīl Sulṭān b. Mīrān Shāh and installed his own son Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] as governor in Samarḳand on 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 811/13 May 1409. In 815/1413 he re-took Khwārazm, and in the course of two expeditions in 817/1414 and 818/1415 asserted control over Fārs and installed his son Ibrāhīm Sulṭān as governor. Kirmān, Sīstān and Khuzistān also had to be regained through force. In Dhu 'l Ḳaʿda 823/November 1420 Shāh Rukh wrested Ādharbaydjān from the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, but for him, as for Tīmūr, it proved easier to conquer than to hold. He had to mount two more expeditions, in 832/1429 and 838/1435, and contented himself with the installation of Ḳara Ḳoyunlu vassals of his own choosing.

For some time, Shāh Rukh held Tīmūr's domain and maintained formal suzerainty over the Ottomans and the sultans of Dihlī, Bengal and Mālwa in India. At first, he and Ulugh Beg pursued an aggressive policy against the eastern Čaghatayids and Djočids, welcoming in his lands rival khāns, but after a defeat on the Syr Darya in 830/1427, Ulugh Beg ceased to campaign, and the balance of power changed. The

eastern Čaghatayids re-took Kāshghar in 1435; in the 1440s Abu 'l-Khayr Khān Uzbek took the northern Syr Darya region, and repeatedly raided Transoxania.

Towards the end of Shāh Rukh's life, the death of several sons and major *amīrs* and his own illness weakened central control. Due in part to disagreement with his wife Gawharshād, he was unable to choose a successor, and after his death on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 850/13 March 1447, rival Tīmūrid princes ravaged Khurāsān and killed each other, damaging the prestige of Shāh Rukh's line. The event which aroused the greatest disapproval was the murder of the ruler Ulugh Beg by his son ʿAbd al-Laṭīf in Ramaḍān 853/Oct.-Nov. 1449.

The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djahānshāh, Shāh Rukh's governor in Ādharbaydjān, expanded his power and by summer 856/1452 held ʿIrāḳ and central and western Persia, with the Tīmūrids limited to Khurāsān, Abarḳūh, Kirmān and Transoxania. Within the Tīmūrid dynasty, a new figure emerged, sc. Mīrān Shāh's grandson Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*], who had served Ulugh Beg on the Syr Darya borders. With the help of Abu 'l-Khayr Khān he took Samarḳand from Ulugh Beg's line in Djumādā I 855/June 1451. In 862/1458 he profited from confusion in Khurāsān to take Harāt, and in 863/1459 made it his capital. He now held Transoxania, Khurāsān and Māzandarān, fending off attacks from the Uzbeks and from Ḥusayn Bayḳara, a descendant of ʿUmar Shaykh operating from Khʷārazm under Uzbek protection. In Shaʿbān 872/end February 1468, Abū Saʿīd undertook a campaign against Ādharbaydjān, hoping to retake the province and to halt the rise of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. This expedition was badly planned, and despite initial successes, Abū Saʿīd was captured by the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and put to death on 22 Radjab 873/5 February 1469.

Khurāsān was now contested between Ḥusayn Bayḳara and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, promoting a Tīmūrid protégé, a descendant of Shāh Rukh called Yādgār Muḥammad. Ḥusayn took Harāt in 873/1469, lost it to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, and retook it permanently in Ṣafar 875/August 1470, inaugurating a period of great cultural florescence there. His realm included Balkh in the east; to the west, Bisṭām and Dāmghān; to the north Khʷārazm; and to the south, Ḳandahār and Sīstān. The northern Tīmūrid lands remained with Abū Saʿīd's sons. The eldest, Sulṭān Aḥmad, held highest place, in Samarḳand and Bukhārā. A younger brother, ʿUmar Shaykh, was centred on Farghānā. Tashkent and the border regions were contested between these two and the Eastern Čaghatayids. Badakhshān, Tirmidh, Čaghāniyān, and Ḥiṣār were held by another brother, Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The boundaries between the two parts of the Tīmūrid realm remained relatively stable until near the end of Sulṭān Ḥusayn's life, despite attempts by both sides to gain territory.

In 902/1497 Sulṭān Ḥusayn's son Badīʿ al-Zamān, governor of Balkh, rebelled, and despite an initial defeat by Sulṭān Ḥusayn, his power increased until he controlled much of southern Afghānistān and was strong enough to threaten Harāt in 903/1498. In the same year, Sulṭān Ḥusayn faced rebellions from two other sons and had to cede the region of Balkh to Badīʿ al-Zamān.

The death of Abū Saʿīd's sons in 899-900/1494-5 inaugurated a power struggle in Transoxania, in which contending princes pulled in allies from the Eastern Čaghatayids and the Uzbeks under Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān [*q.v.*]. Shaybānī Khān was related to the Tīmūrids by marriage, and spent the next several years contesting the region with them, most notably ʿUmar Shaykh's son Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur [*q.v.*]. In 1505-6 Shaybānī Khān crossed the Oxus. Ḥusayn Bayḳara set off against him, but died on 11 Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 911/5 May 1506; Shaybānī took Harāt on 8 Muḥarram 913/20 May 1507, and soon thereafter much of Khurāsān.

Shaybānī's death at the hands of the Ṣafawids in Ramaḍān 916/December 1510 allowed Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur to regain power, but he was unable to hold Transoxania, and in 920/1514 left permanently for Kābul. The Uzbeks retook Transoxania and Balkh that year, but Badakhshān remained until *ca.* 1550 in the possession of Bābur's line.

Government and administration

Tīmūr's campaigns inflicted serious damage, but he restored many of the cities affected and he opened some new areas to agriculture; later succession struggles caused new ravages. Princes lacking cash allowed their soldiers to loot, even in their own provinces, and punished insubordinate rulers by devastating their regions. Sīstān and Kirmān suffered significantly in this way after Tīmūr's death. For Khurāsān, the Tīmūrid period was a prosperous one, athough it suffered in the disturbances after Shāh Rukh's death. Shāh Rukh, Abū Saʿīd and Sulṭān Ḥusayn, along with many of their leading *amīrs*, organised large-scale irrigation projects here. Transoxania, while actively developed under Tīmūr, later declined in relation to Khurāsān.

Tīmūr entrusted the highest government posts to the members of his personal, non-tribal following, who intermarried with his family, developing into a tight ruling élite. Their descendants continued to hold high positions up to the end of the dynasty. While the power of the tribes within the Ulus Čaghatay had been reduced under Tīmūr, it seems to have recovered thereafter, and by the end of the dynasty the Barlas, Djalāyir, Arghun and Tarkhan appear prominently. Tīmūrid administration—financial and military—was organised in two spheres, the Persian and the Turco-Mongolian, employing two sets of scribes, Persian and Čaghatay. Persian bureaucrats, relatively powerless under Tīmūr, increased their strength under later rulers, but Čaghatay *amīrs* usually held supervisory positions even within financial administration.

Most provinces of the Tīmūrid realm were governed by princes, usually sons or grandsons of the ruler. Tīmūr controlled his governors closely, and reserved to himself both major campaigns and ostentatious cultural display. The later Tīmūrid state was more decentralised. Shāh Rukh maintained effective control over the military activities of his governors, but allowed greater fiscal and personal independence. The courts of Shīrāz, Yazd and Samarḳand now became centres of major cultural activity. Thus began a period of active princely patronage of architecture, calligraphy and miniature painting, and the development of a new literature in "Čaghatay" Turkic, written sometimes in Uyghur script but more often in Arabic.

Shāh Rukh began the granting of large *soyūrghāls* [*q.v.*], landholdings with tax immunity, and he and his wife Gawharshād established major *waḳfs* for religious establishments. Under Sulṭān Ḥusayn both *waḳf* and *soyurghal* properties multiplied, leaving the dynasty without a secure tax base. Taxation was a contentious issue, expressed often as a conflict between Turco-Mongolian and Islamic practice (*yasa* and *sharīʿa*). Several rulers outlawed taxes not permitted by the *sharīʿa*, but most of these seem to have reappeared. Sulṭān Ḥusayn attempted a centralising tax reform in

SIMPLIFIED GENEALOGY OF TĪMŪRID RULERS

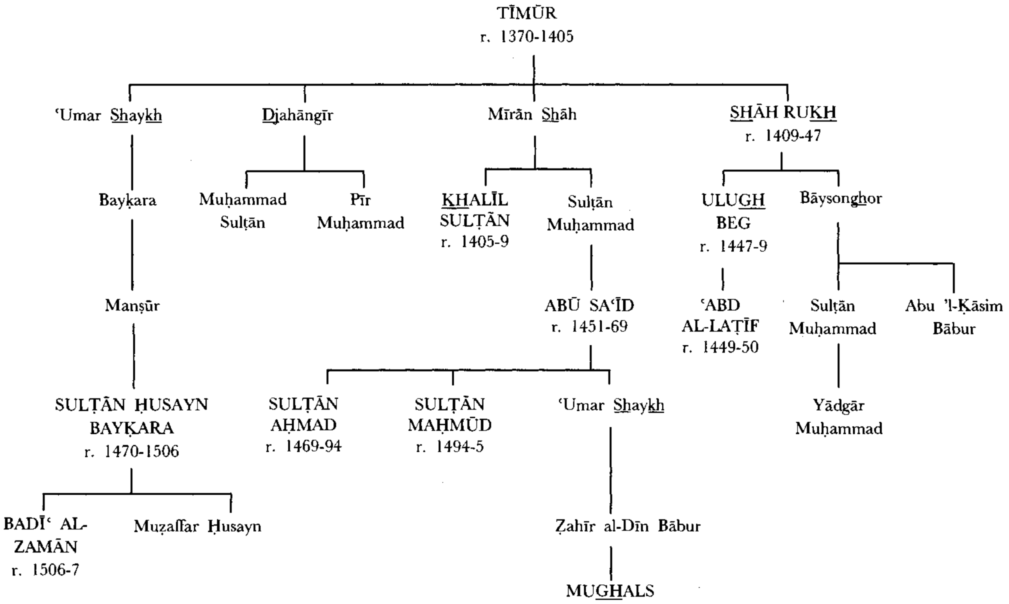

the name of Islam, but failed to achieve it. In Khurāsān, this decentralisation fuelled cultural florescence, with a wealth of competing patrons among *amīrs* and bureaucrats (M. Subtelny, *Socio-economic bases of cultural patronage under the later Timurids*, in *IJMES*, xx [1988], 479-505). Sulṭān Ḥusayn's court achieved lasting fame for its brilliance, especially in poetry and the arts of the book. Two towering figures presided here. One was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī [*q.v.*], head of the Naḳshbandiyya in Harāt and a famed Persian poet. The other was Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], companion and official to Sulṭān Ḥusayn, who became the supreme arbiter of poetic taste in Harāt and is probably the greatest Čaghatay poet.

The Tīmūrid period was important also in religious history. The two *ʿulamāʾ* patronised by Tīmūr and Shāh Rukh, Saʿd al-Dīn Taftazānī (d. 793/1390 [*q.v.*]) and Sayyid Sharīf Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413 [*q.v.*]), produced commentaries widely used thereafter in *madrasa* curriculums. The great shrine complexes which the Tīmūrids patronised, at Mashhad, Turkistān, Gāzurgāh and Mazār-i Sharīf, continued to dominate the landscape and to attract pilgrims for centuries to come. Royal patronage contributed to the spectacular rise of the Naḳshbandiyya, founded by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband (d. 791/1389 [*q.v.*]). Later Khʷādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 895/1490 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) acquired enormous wealth and power through dynastic favour, along with systems of economic patronage.

The Tīmūrids fell to the Ṣafawids and Uzbeks near the height of their cultural splendour, and the calligraphers, literati, and miniaturists of Harāt, seeking new patrons, carried Tīmūrid styles and prestige to the surrounding regions, including India, where Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur founded the later Tīmūrid or Mughal dynasty [see MUGHALS] in 1526.

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(Beatrice F. Manz)

2. Literature.

During the Tīmūrid period, three languages, Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, were in use. The major language of the period was Persian, the native language of the Tajik (Persian) component of society and the language of learning acquired by all literate and/or urban Turks. Persian served as the language of administration, history, belles lettres, and poetry.

The first member of the dynasty to show great interest in literature and the arts of book production was Shāh Rukh's son Prince Bāysonghor, whose edition of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* was the standard for centuries until modern critical editions. The sumptuously illustrated volumes produced for Bāysonghor's library are still treasured by museums and private collections.

This period, which began with the death of Ḥāfiẓ and ended with the death of Djāmī [*q.vv.*], saw the great flowering of the *ghazal* and the decline of the erudite, formalised court *ḳaṣīda* based on Arabic models. After the contributions of the great 6th/12th- and 7th/13th-century didactic poets of Ṣūfism, Sanā'ī, 'Aṭṭār, and Rūmī, who imbued the amatory vocabulary of Persian poetry with mystical significations, and with the influence of Sa'dī, who did so much to give the *ghazal* its classical form, the language of the *ghazal* and the language of mysticism became so intertwined that by the 9th/15th century it was nearly impossible to extricate the mystical threads from the non-mystical. This ambiguity becomes, from the Tīmūrid period on, a hallmark of the Persian *ghazal*. Also during the period certain "baroquisms" and affectations are noticeable, primarily a marked tendency to use abstractions, a penchant for forms like the chronogram (*tārīkh* [*q.v.*]) and the *mu'ammā* [*q.v.*] (an enigmatic anagram of a name), and displays of technical proficiency in composing poetry, such as using only two-letter words in one line, three-letter words in the next, four-letter words in the next, etc.

A major contribution to Persian literary history, and a work that had lasting influence, is Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'* (completed *ca.* 892/1487). This "memoir" of poets, containing biographical sketches and selections, did much to fix the canon of classical Persian poetry, and Djāmī's having become known as the "last classical Persian poet" is probably due more to the fact that he is mentioned toward the end of Dawlatshāh's work than to any objective assessment of literary history.

Three other works produced during the period that achieved lasting fame are Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Wā'iẓ Kāshifī's *Rawḍat al-shuhadā'* and *Anwār-i Suhaylī* and Ibn-i Ḥusām's *Khāwarān-nāma*. The *Rawḍat al-shuhadā'*, a martyrology of the Shī'ī imāms, is still today the primary text recited in Persia in sessions called, after the work, *rawḍa-khwānī*. The *Anwār-i Suhaylī* is a reworking of Naṣr Allāh's Persian translation of Ibn al-Muḳaffa''s Arabic setting of the Bidpai fables, and the familiar and well-loved stories are cast into a fluid Tīmūrid prose interspersed with lines of poetry. Ibn-i Ḥusām's *Khāwarān-nāma* is a poetic "epic" on the exploits of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and it reflects not only the heroic legends that had accrued to the "Lion of God" over the centuries but also the blending of Sunnī and Shī'ī strains into a synthesis that is a distinguishing feature of the religiosity of the period, and one that was ruptured forever by Ṣafawid Shī'ism.

Persian historiography was patronised as never before, and the period is rich in historical literature. The tone of the period was set by Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī's *Sharaf-nāma*, which was taken to be the model of refined history writing. Yazdī's style may strike the modern reader as florid and verbose, but he is restrained in comparison with the highly rhetorical style of his predecessor, the Il-Khānid historian Waṣṣāf al-Ḥaḍra, or with the laborious style of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh*, and he intersperses his prose with poetry in order to reinforce or highlight a point, a technique that can be seen in earlier works but which was used to great effect by Yazdī and his successors. The style was continued by Mīrkhwānd (*Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*); Khwāndamīr (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*); and other historians of the period, like Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the author of *Madjma' al-tawārīkh*, Faṣīḥ Khwāfī, author of *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, and Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, author of the *Maṭla'-i sa'dayn* (a history from the Il-Khānid Abū Sa'īd to the Tīmūrid Abū Sa'īd). To this should be added Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāṣifī's gossipy *Badāyi' al-waḳāyi'* (ed. A.N. Boldyrev, 2nd ed. Tehran 1349), an interesting source that provides much information on the *madjlis* setting in which much of late Tīmūrid literary culture was conducted.

What is now called Čaghatay Turkish, which was then called simply *türki*, was the native and "home" language of the Tīmūrids throughout the period, and it was used sporadically as a literary medium also. It was written initially in the Uyghur script, a survival from the Mongol period, and later in the Arabic script. Surviving from the early years of the dynasty is a poetic anthology produced in 835/1431 in Yazd for Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūzshāh that contains poetry in Turkish written in the Uyghur script. The splendid *Mi'rādj-nāma* (Paris, B.N., Suppl. turc 190), also ascribed to Shāh Rukh's reign, is similarly in Turkish written in the Uyghur script. Turkish poetry was much in vogue in Harāt during Sulṭān Ḥusayn's reign, and poets like Sakkākī, Luṭfī, Shaykhīm Suhaylī, the prolific 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī, and Sulṭān Ḥusayn himself produced highly Persianate poetry in Čaghatay Turkish. Clearly, at the time of the "Harāt renaissance" Turkish was thought to be in need of patronage, for, as Sulṭān Ḥusayn says of 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī in his *Apologia*, "those whose names have been mentioned and descriptions penned have banqueted in the assembly of Persian poetry and exhibited their ability to swim in the sea of Persian, but until today no one has clothed those virgins of meaning with a Turkish garb, and these musk-scented *élégantes* have remained veiled in their nakedness in the oblivion of poetical talent, and these angelic beauties have not been able to manifest their charm because of their lack of raiment. . . .

He has infused life into the dead body of the Turkish language with his messianic breath. He has clothed those revivified ones with embroidery and silks woven with a Turkic warp and woof." A useful anthology of Turkish poetry produced during the period is to be found in ʿAlī-S̲h̲īr Nawāʾī's own *tad̲h̲kira*, the *Mad̲j̲ālis al-nafāyis*.

Although others wrote Čag̲h̲atay prose (notably Sulṭān Ḥusayn and ʿAlī-S̲h̲īr Nawāʾī), the great monument of Čag̲h̲atay prose is Bābur's memoirs, the *Bābur-nāma*, fittingly produced by the last scion of the dynasty in Central Asia. While Sulṭān Ḥusayn's and ʿAlī-S̲h̲īr Nawāʾī's prose is a calque on very ornate and rhetorical Persian models, Bābur's writing records a simple, straightforward Turkish as it must have been spoken.

As it had been prior to the Tīmūrids and continued to be after them, Arabic was the language *par excellence* of science, philosophy, theology and the religious sciences. Much of the astronomical work of Ulug̲h̲ Beg and his co-workers ʿAlī Ḳūshī and G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd Kās̲h̲ī is in Arabic, although they also wrote in Persian. Theological works, like those of Masʿūd b. ʿUmar Taftāzānī, are generally in Arabic.

Bibliography: For a general survey of the Čag̲h̲atay literature of the period, with further references, see TURKS. III. Literature, and for Persian literature, Browne, *LHP*, iii, 159 ff., and Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, 279-90, and the bibl. at 767 ff. (W.M. THACKSTON)

3. Art and architecture.

(a) *The arts of the book and painting.*

Patronage of the arts by the Tīmūrid ruling house, an activity whose primary objective has been explained as political legitimisation and cultural assimilation, centred mainly on the production of books. The cumulative result of this wholesale sponsorship, with its refined visual canon and idiom, was to establish a benchmark for excellence but also criteria for the judgment of artistic quality and achievement. Conceptual, formal, and technical developments in secular and religious books, encompassing calligraphy, painting, drawing, illumination and binding, had an enduring impact on subsequent production, and, more broadly, visual culture. The court patronage model established by such enlightened Tīmūrid patrons as S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲, Bāysong̲h̲or and Ḥusayn Bayḳara, provided the model for Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Ottoman, Ṣafawid, and Mug̲h̲al patrons that endured long after the house of Tīmūr had faded away.

Despite textual references to his acquisition of artists and craftsmen from cities in western Persia, there is no evidence that Tīmūr sponsored the production of illustrated manuscripts in Samarḳand. Accounts written by the contemporaries Ibn ʿArabs̲h̲āh and S̲h̲araf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī testify to the practice of figural wall-painting during his reign, but these too are uncorroborated by physical evidence.

The earliest documented visual record of Tīmūrid patronage is a corpus of illustrated books commissioned by Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, governor of Fārs between 1409 and 1413. These twelve manuscripts are dedicated to him, and most of their colophons contain calligraphers' signatures, mention places such as S̲h̲īrāz and Iṣfahān, and have dates ranging between 1410 and 1413. Other manuscripts attributed to his patronage suggest that it began as early as 1397; however, S̲h̲īrāz had been an important centre for book production before Tīmūrid political hegemony, as evidenced by manuscripts associated with Muẓaffarid patrons. Some continuity between these traditions is apparent in Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲'s manuscripts, particularly in their format, spatial construction, organisation and illumination. Following the ruler Aḥmad D̲j̲alāyir's death in 1410, artists who had worked for him in Bag̲h̲dād may have moved to S̲h̲īrāz seeking patronage from Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, thus providing him with access to developments in painting formulated under the D̲j̲alāyirids.

Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲'s manuscripts are mainly anthologies by various authors, essentially didactic in tone, and, with rare exceptions small (*Anthologies*: Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation dated 813/1411; London, BL, dated 813-14/1410-11; Istanbul, TSK dated 816/1413). The recently developed *nastaʿlīḳ* script was used in all of them. Illustrations range from straightforward narrative illustration to charts and diagrammatic depictions, and marginal narratives unconnected to the text. Most striking is a series of illuminated full-page designs that mark structural divisions in the book, illuminated thumb-pieces, and tinted drawings, often based on Chinese motifs, that exceed any textual requirement, and display extraordinary inventiveness.

Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ was taken prisoner by S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ in 816/1413, at which time S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ acquired the treasury's contents, no doubt including its manuscripts. The impact of Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲'s manuscripts was manifest throughout the 15th century, as both components and entire compositions are copied repeatedly. Presumably S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ also employed calligraphers and artists who had worked for Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ because the painting practised in S̲h̲īrāz during the subsequent governorship of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān (1414-35) largely returns to the illustrative traditions associated with the Muẓaffarids, and is markedly different from that in Harāt. The best-known manuscripts commissioned by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān are a *S̲h̲āh-nāma* of Firdawsī *ca.* 1435 (Oxford, Bodleian) and the *Ẓafar-nāma* (dispersed), the earliest illustrated panegyric of his grandfather Tīmūr.

Harāt became and remained the pre-eminent centre of patronage, but satellite artistic centres grew up at S̲h̲īrāz, Samarḳand and other places as a result of the Tīmūrid custom of appointing princes as regional governors. Support for poets, historians, calligraphers and artists—driven by the royal tradition of patronage and participation in poetry and calligraphy—established a network of competing cultural centres that encouraged the movement of artisans between courts. Calligraphic exercises written by Bāysong̲h̲or and Ḳurʾāns copied by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān survive, and both princes designed epigraphic programmes for architecture as public expressions of piety. Contributing to the complexity of patronage networks during S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲'s rule and later, was a broadening patronage base, one made possible by socio-economic change resulting from a freer distribution of the *soyūrg̲h̲āls* [*q.v.*].

Important for the production of new historical, poetic, scientific and epic manuscripts was the collecting of books and loose materials comprising calligraphies, drawings, and paintings made under the Īl-K̲h̲āns, Muẓaffarids, Mamlūks and D̲j̲alāyirids which could act as models and offer a constant point of return in the development and refinement of new stylistic vocabularies and repertoires. The diversity of models available is manifest in the group of manuscripts commissioned by S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ in the course of his reign. Among these are historical works written by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. One of the earliest is the *Kulliyyat-i tārīk̲h̲*, dated 818-19/1415-16 (Istanbul, TSK); its illustrations are evidence for the transfer of artists from Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲'s atelier at S̲h̲īrāz to Harāt. A second

work by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the *Madjmaʿ al-tawārīkh* dated 829/1425 (Istanbul, TSK), is characterised by its large numbers of illustrations, their horizontal rectangular format and their spare appearance, all features connected to an early 14th-century prototype, the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb. These Tīmūrid paintings have been labelled as displaying the "historical style". Two volumes of poetry made for Shāh Rukh show an aesthetic different from illustrations in his historical manuscripts. The first, Niẓāmī Gandjawī's *Khamsa* dated 1431 in Harāt (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage), is illustrated by paintings much like those made for his son Bāysunghur. The second, ʿAṭṭār's *Sitta*, is dated 841/1438 in Harāt (Istanbul, TIEM) and combines an extensive programme of illumination with polished, coloured Chinese papers painted with gold landscapes, patterns of flowing water, pomegranates, vines, and bird and flower subjects.

The *Sitta* manuscript signals one of many instances of the renewed impact of Ming dynasty Chinese vocabularies and forms in Tīmūrid painting and illustration. There were numerous exchanges between the Tīmūrid and Ming courts until *ca.* 1425. For example, in 822/1419, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Nakkāsh, a painter in Bāysonghor's retinue, joined an embassy to Peking and recorded his observations during the journey.

Although Bāysonghor's patronage is attested as early as 1411, the majority of manuscripts made for him are dated between 1426 and 1433; many of them are illustrated poetic texts. Two calligraphers, Djaʿfar al-Tabrīzī and Muḥammad b. Ḥusām, dominate this production. The most important of these manuscripts are an *Anthology* (Florence, I Tatti) and a *Gulistān* of Saʿdī (Dublin, CB) both completed in 830/1426-7, a *Kalīla wa-Dimna* of Abu 'l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh dated 833/1429 (Istanbul, TSK), and a *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī dated 833/1430 (Tehran, Gulistān Library). This group evinces a unity of conception, a consistently high quality of paper, ink and pigments, and harmony between image, illumination and calligraphy, and a technical execution of a level rarely equalled. Further refinements are made to the Djalāyirid pictorial tradition—in some instances direct restatements of Djalāyirid paintings—probably resulting from Bāysonghor's acquisition of manuscripts and practitioners after his capture of Tabrīz in 1420. The paintings expand to fill the page with a minimal amount of relevant text; compositions are strictly controlled and depict an abstracted and idealised realm, an effect heightened by radiant colour and minute attention to detail and surface that allows each item to be completely legible.

According to the sources, Djaʿfar directed production at Bāysonghor's *kitāb-khāna* [see MAKTABA], and one document, the *ʿardadāsht*, lists the projects underway there. Analysed in conjunction with the manuscripts and a vast array of drawings and designs bound into albums (Istanbul, TSK H. 2152; and Berlin, SPK Diez A. fols. 70-3), the design process of codification and distillation used at the workshop can be reconstructed. Artists followed a series of strict conventions and idioms that, in turn, were governed by the final context of the drawing or painting.

Production at Harāt continued after Bāysonghor's death. Manuscripts made for members of the Tīmūrid house include a *Shāh-nāma* for Muḥammad Djūkī *ca.* 1444 (London, RAS), and a *Khamsa* for ʿIṣmat al-Dunyā dated 849/1445-6 (Istanbul, TSK). Little is known about production between *ca.* 1447 and 1470, when numerous attacks on Tīmūrid Khurāsān and occupations of Harāt led to the migration of artists to Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu courts in western Persia.

Harāt once again became a high-level centre of book production under the last Tīmūrid ruler, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara (*r.* 875-912/1470-1506 [*q.v.*]), and the statesman, poet, and man of letters Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*]. A *Ẓafar-nāma* dated 872/1467-8 (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University) is the earliest manuscript associated with Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara; its paintings are invested with political overtones.

In Harātī painting of the late 15th century, compositions from earlier in the century are re-used, and much like the rhetorical complexity of contemporary poetry, the relationships between new and old paintings become increasingly intricate. The formal, static qualities of painting under Bāysonghor are replaced by freer compositions in which figural interaction and the activities of everyday life are emphasised. The temporal aspects of the narrative are also reintroduced and many of the texts chosen for illustration are mystical or Ṣūfī in nature. These developments in painting are clearly seen in a *Bustān* of Saʿdī dated 893/1488 at Harāt (Cairo, General Egyptian Book Organisation) made for Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara and a *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī commissioned by Amīr ʿAlī Fārsī Barlās, dated 900/1494-95 (London, BM). The formal qualities of painting take on the role of content. Some techniques are further perfected, notably filigree (*munabbat-kārī*), used for the doublures of bindings (e.g. *Mathnawī-i maʿnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, dated 887/1483 [Istanbul, TIEM]), and *découpage* used in manuscripts (*Dīwān* of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara *ca.* 1490 [Istanbul, TIEM]) and single-page calligraphies.

Developments in late 15th-century painting previously attributed to Bihzād [*q.v.*], on the basis of comments made by his contemporaries and 16th-century writers, now seem to have been the inspiration of several artists. In particular, the late Tīmūrid period is important for historiography and at this time biographical notices on artists and calligraphers—Shāh Muẓaffar, Ḳāsim ʿAlī, Mīrak Nakkāsh, and Sulṭān ʿAlī Mashhadī—begin to appear in contemporary chronicles, marking the increased value attached to painting and painters, and the beginnings of art history writing as a genre.

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(b) *Architecture.*

Tīmūrid architecture has been investigated on many levels and is well documented (early accounts are valuable for the photographic record, but for most complete documentation on individual monuments, see Pugachenkova 1981, O'Kane 1987, Golombek and Wilber 1988). Some 300 monuments are noted in publications and hundreds of others are mentioned in contemporary texts. Architecture during the period of Tīmūrid rule may be divided into three phases: (1) Imperial Tīmūrid (1390-1405); (2) Metropolitan Tīmūrid (1410-1445); and (3) Provincial styles (primarily, second half of 15th century).

(1) *Imperial Tīmūrid.*

This age was dominated by the *persona* of the dynasty's founder, Tīmūr. Aware of architecture's powers, Tīmūr built impressive monuments in both Samarḳand [*q.v.*, for descriptions of monuments], his chosen capital, and Shahr-i Sabz [see KISH], home of the Barlās tribe. These projects were characterised by mammoth scale, lavish glazed tile exteriors and painted interiors, tall, often ribbed, elliptical "double" domes, and experimental vaulting. The grandiosity of this style may be attributed to Tīmūr's self-image as Čingizid heir. Innovation resulted from the mingling of craftsmen from the many regions conquered by him.

At Shahr-i Sabz Tīmūr constructed a mausoleum near his father's tomb for his fallen heir-designate Djahāngīr (777-806/1375-1404) and the Aḳ Sarāy palace (781-98/1379-96) (Masson and Pugachenkova 1978), built with craftsmen from Tabrīz and Gurgandj [*q.vv.*]. The Aḳ Sarāy portal, the only element remaining (50.93 m wide with an arch spanning 22 m), could be seen from a distance of 7 farsangs. According to Clavijo (tr. Le Strange, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406*, London 1928), the vast courtyard lying behind this portal was surrounded by many rooms, including harem apartments, a dining hall, and other reception areas, as well as a vast garden. Of the mausoleum of Djahāngīr (Dār al-Siyāda, "Ḥaḍrat Imām") only the imposing left pylon of the entrance block and a magnificent stone-lined crypt remain. Russian scholars reconstruct the mausoleum as a rectangle (50 m × 70 m), with a square courtyard (or covered hall) in the centre and a tomb-chamber over the crypt at the rear, similar to the shrine of Khᵂādja Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*]. Built by Tīmūr at Turkestan in 799-801/1397-99, the Yasawī shrine (65.5 m × 46.5 m) is as impressive as the buildings of Shahr-i Sabz. It consists of a monumental portal, followed by a large square domed hall, leading into the mausoleum of the *shaykh*. This axis is flanked by a series of rooms of different shapes, some with designated functions (*masdjid*, kitchen, dining hall). Because of its excellent state of preservation and the rich documentation, it provided L.Yu. Man'kovskaya (1985) with important insights into the craft of the architect, such as the dimensions of the *gaz* (see DHIRĀʿ; Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1336/1957-8, ii, 16) and the geometrical analysis of plan, elevation, and decoration (see also Bulatov 1978). Calling it a "museum" of vaulting technology, G.A. Pugachenkova (1981) saw these experiments as critical to the invention of the vault on intersecting arches in the next phase by Ḳiwām al-Dīn Shīrāzī. Architects associated with Shīrāz, either natives or their descendants, were particularly prominent in the Tīmūrid court. Two architects with Shīrāzī *nisbas* signed the tilework at Turkestan. Craftsmen from Tabrīz and Iṣfahān cast a huge bronze cauldron and other artifacts for the shrine (A.A. Ivanov, *O bronzov'ikh izdeliyakh kontsa XIV v. iz mavzoleya Khodža Ahmeda Yasevi*, in *Srednyaya aziya i ee sosedi v drevnosti i srednevekov'e*, ed. B.A. Litvinskiy, Moscow 1981, 68-84).

But it was in Samarḳand that Tīmūr chose to make his mark (for descriptions of specific monuments, see SAMARḲAND). Prior to his return from the Indian campaign, Tīmūr's building activities here were limited to the citadel and two suburban gardens, described by texts as exceedingly beautiful, of the *čahār-bāgh* type, divided into four sections by axial canals, with a pavilion at the intersection. They were built for his wives but used for the reception of ambassadors and other occasions (L. Golombek, *The gardens of Timur: new perspectives*, in *Muqarnas*, xii [1995], 137-47). A series of cube-like mausoleums, notable for exquisite tilework, were erected along the lane leading up the slope of the old city to the shrine of Ḳutham b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] (the "Shāh-i Zinda") by female members of his family and prominent *amīrs* (Nemtseva 1977). Tīmūr's *masdjid al-djāmiʿ* ("Bībī Khānum"), founded on 14 Ramaḍān 801/21 May 1399 (Yazdī, ii, 144-7) at the north end of the city, borrows many features from imperial architecture: colossal scale (109 m × 167 m), impressive towering façade, flanked by towers, and "green" tiled domes, signifying imperial power. An earthquake in 1897 destroyed much of what had already fallen in ruins, but the four axial

units around the courtyard remained, and the mosque has been fully restored. Minarets spring from the four corners and pairs of minarets flank both entrance portal and *ḳibla-īwān*. A large elliptical dome set on a cylindrical drum rises over the cruciform *miḥrāb* hall. The bulk of this *miḥrāb* hall, which is roofed by a second, shallower dome on squinches, is so enormous that it dwarfs the adjoining columned halls (once supported by some 480 stone columns). Smaller domed halls behind the side *īwān*s provide visual accents to the lateral axis. In addition to the other usual decorative techniques, unglazed terracotta was used on the *ḳibla-īwān* for the foundation inscription (801/1399), repeating the genealogy above the stone entrance portal (806/1403-4), which links Tīmūr to Čingiz Khān. When Tīmūr reviewed the progress of the project in 807/1404, he considered the scale too modest, had it torn down and rebuilt, and executed the supervisors.

In 805/1403 the heir-presumptive, Muḥammad Sulṭān, had died and was brought to Samarḳand for burial in his *madrasa-khānaḳāh* complex. This was one of the first Tīmūrid ensembles planned around a mutual courtyard. In 807/1404 Tīmūr commissioned a mausoleum to adjoin this courtyard, today known as the Gūr-i Mīr, which eventually became his own tomb (later burials include Shāh Rukh and Ulugh Beg [*q.vv.*]) (*Les mosquées de Samarcand*, 1905). Although not of mammoth scale, its melon-shaped turquoise ribbed dome evokes grandeur and elegance.

Decoration. Tīmūr's major buildings were lavishly reveted in glazed tile: carved and glazed terracotta, *haft-rangī* (a technique similar to *cuerda seca* in which the design is incised and/or drawn with a greasy substance to separate colours), mosaic tile (tiles of different colours are cut into shapes to form patterns), and *hazār-bāf* (lit. "thousand-weave", also known as *bannā'ī*, "mason's" technique, simulating the pattern of masonry, consisting of glazed bricks or ends of bricks, set into a matrix of unglazed bricks to form geometric and epigraphic patterns to cover large surfaces). Plastered interiors were often painted with gold and lapis designs, and vaults were filled with cascades of *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*], dados of hexagonal glazed tiles, turquoise or green, lined walls.

(2) *Metropolitan Tīmūrid.*

During the reign of Shāh Rukh, major building projects were undertaken by his wife Gawhar Shād and several of his powerful viziers and *amīrs*, such as Pīr Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ al-Khʷāfī and Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (O'Kane 1987; Allen 1981). Near the citadel within the old walled city, Shāh Rukh built a *madrasa-khānaḳāh* complex (non-extant) and rebuilt the chief bazaars in fired brick. Gawhar Shād undertook two major projects, both designed by the brilliant architect Ḳiwām al-Dīn b. Zayn al-Dīn Shīrāzī. These were the *masdjid al-djāmi'* of Mashhad [*q.v.*] (819-21/1416-18; Bāysonghor b. Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] signed the inscription on the *ḳibla-īwān*) and the *masdjid al-djāmi'* and *madrasa* ensemble (later designated as the "Muṣallā") west of the old city of Harāt [*q.v.*] (820-41/1417-38). While the mosque at Mashhad has a classic four-*īwān* plan, the *madrasa*, only fragments of which remained after the destruction of the "Muṣallā" in 1885, must have shown the same innovative features as three other *madrasas* built at the same time but still preserved: at Samarḳand and Bukhārā (simultaneously by Ulugh Beg, 820-3/1417-21) and at Khargird (the Ghiyāthiyya, by the vizier Pīr Aḥmad al-Khʷāfī, completed 848/1444-5). The latter was also built by Ḳiwām al-Dīn but completed by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Shīrāzī after the master's death in 842/1438. The shrine of Khʷādja 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] at Gāzur Gāh, built by Shāh Rukh in 829-32/1425-9, resembles a *madrasa* but is actually a monumentalised funerary enclosure (*ḥaẓīra*), the religious proscription against mausoleum, yet allowing for an awe-inspiring structure (Golombek 1969). All of these buildings stress symmetry and rationality, with impressive façades, corner towers or minarets (at Samarḳand all four corners have minarets), and a well-defined entrance block, accessed through a polygonal vestibule, leading laterally to two public halls for lectures or prayer. The Khargird *madrasa* has two domed halls, a *masdjid* with its dome resting on recumbent arches, and a lecture hall with an extraordinary lantern dome on intersecting arches. This innovative design repeats and improves on Ḳiwām al-Dīn's mausoleum for Bāysonghor in the Harāt mausoleum. The transition from square walls to circular dome is effected not by squinches bridging the corners, as had been the practice for centuries, but by opening the walls to form arches, intersecting in the corners. Plaster ribs rise from the arched recesses to create a sense of flotation in space.

Major monuments continue the same decorative techniques except for carved and glazed terracotta, which disappears, and *haft-rangī* tilework becomes less prominent. Inset technique is further developed (composite mosaic tiles are set into larger designs). Plaster *muḳarnas* ornament in vaulting gives way to the arch-net (a network of intersecting plaster ribs, forming stellate patterns).

(3) *Provincial styles.*

During the second half of the 9th/15th century, quality and quantity of major projects declined in Khurāsān. Most buildings were poorly constructed and sparsely decorated (except for royal sponsorship). Economical *haft-rangī* tilework resumed popularity. Complex vault construction gave way to simple corbelling, concealed by fancy plasterwork. Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara [see ḤUSAYN (b. Manṣūr)] and Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī [*q.v.*] were the major patrons, although many officials and aristocracy built minor constructions, such as funerary enclosures, *ḥaẓīra*. Most notable were the royal *madrasa* and dynastic mausoleum of Sulṭān Ḥusayn in Harāt and the Ikhlāṣiyya complex of Nawā'ī, which included a *masdjid al-djāmi'*, a *madrasa* and *khānaḳāh*, a *dār al-ḥuffāẓ* (place for Ḳur'ān reading), a hospital, and a bath (M. Subtelny, *A Timurid educational and charitable foundation: the Ikhlāṣiyya complex of 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī in 15th-century Herāt and its endowment*, in *JAOS*, cxi/1 [1991], 38-61). Only four minarets of Sulṭān Ḥusayn's *madrasa* remain, and nothing of Nawā'ī's complex. Nawā'ī's extensive patronage is eulogized by Khʷāndamīr [*q.v.*], but only his restoration of the Kartid mosque of Harāt and several caravanserais testify to his building activity. Outside the walled city on the east new suburbs were encouraged through the digging of the Djūy-yi Naw by Abū Sa'īd [*q.v.*], which enabled the creation of many garden estates, including Sulṭān Ḥusayn's famous Bāgh-i Djahān-Ārā.

The provinces benefited from the attention of local Tīmūrid governors or their Turkmen replacements. Yazd under Mīr Čaḳmāḳ Shāmī developed new suburbs with superb monuments, and Ṣūfī orders (e.g. the Ni'mat-Allāhiyya [*q.v.*]) acquired magnificent *khānaḳāhs* and mausoleums (in Yazd, Taft, Bundarābād, Maybūd and Abrandābād; see Afshār 1969). The characteristic Tīmūrid mosque in this region incorporated adaptations of the long transverse halls found in the old *masdjid al-djāmi'* of Yazd (late 8th/14th century

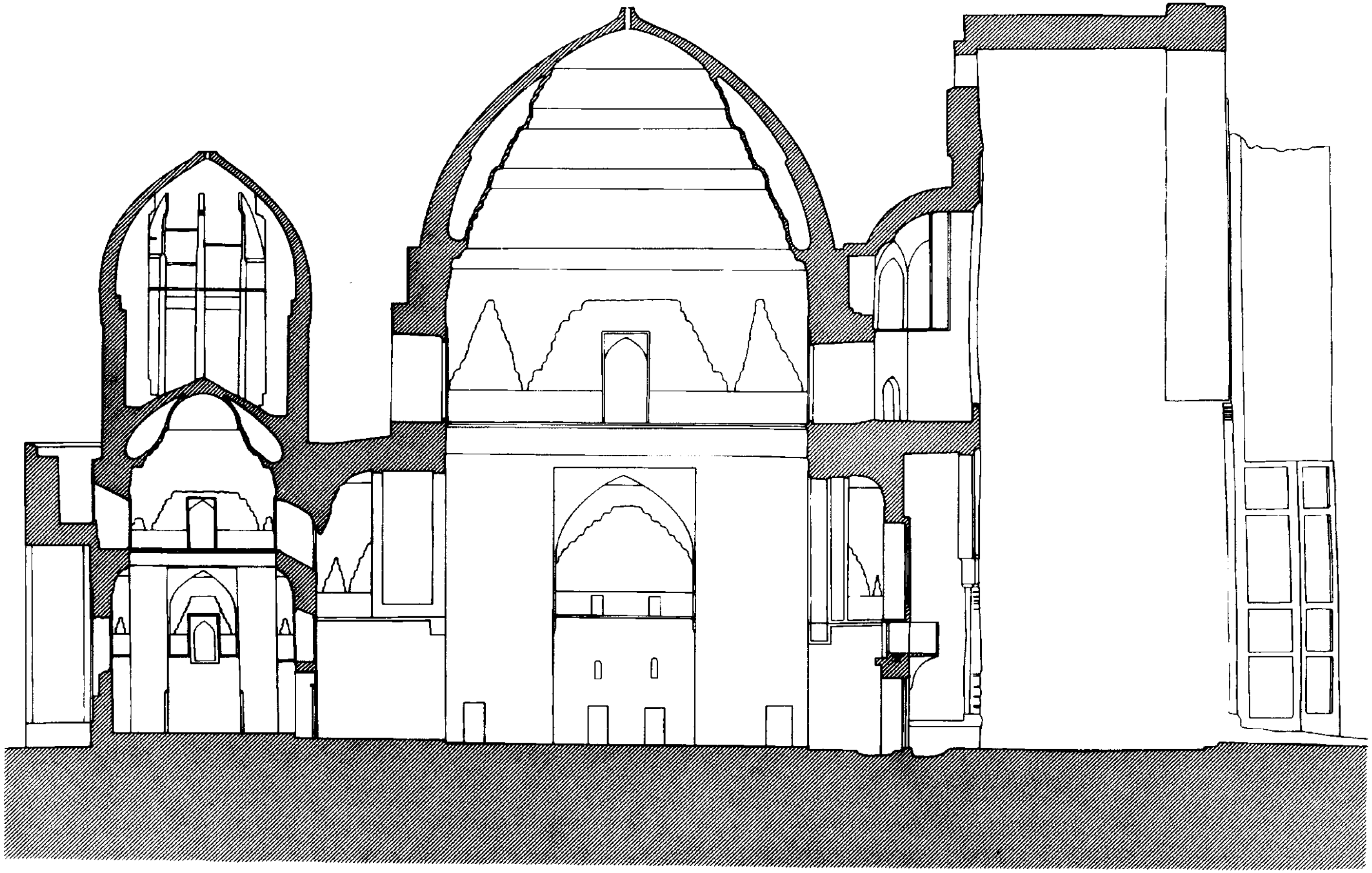

Shrine of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Yasawī, Turkestan, longitudinal section. After drawing by L.Yu Man'kovskaya.

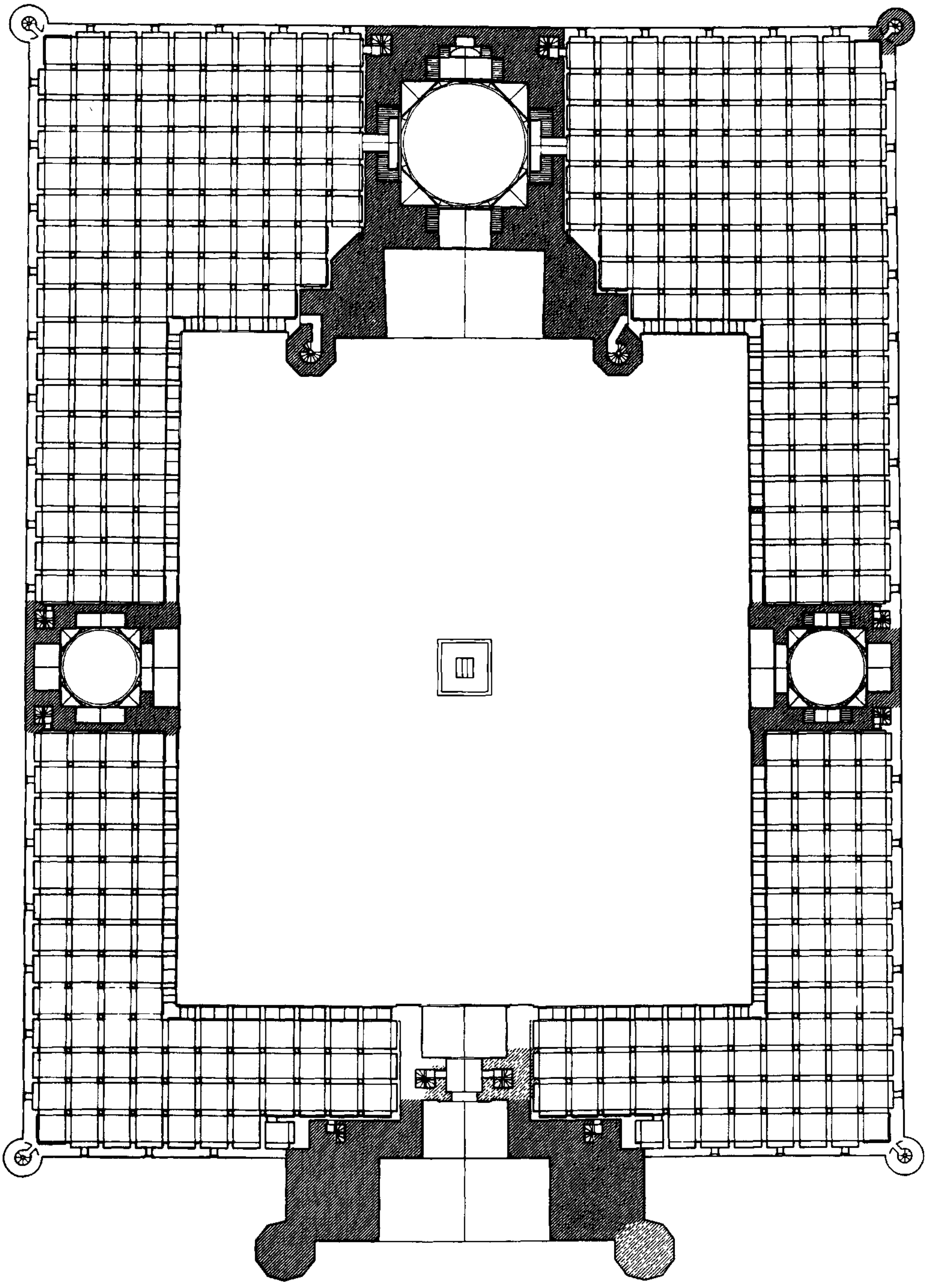

Masdjid al-Djāmiʿ of Tīmūr, Samarkand, ground plan.

additions), either flanking the *ḳibla* dome or as a "winter" mosque unit. Little remains of Turkmen construction at Tabrīz, except for the "Blue Mosque" (Muẓaffariyya, 1465), a multi-purpose institution, with a central dome, surrounded by arcades and followed by a small domed *masdjid*, possibly with crypt below. Its type relates to such complex mausoleums as the ʿIshrat-khāna of Samarḳand (*ca.* 869/1464; M.E. Masson, *et alii, Mavzoleĭ Ishratkhana*, Tashkent 1958), built by Ḥabība Sulṭān Begum, the wife of Abū Saʿīd. At Ḳumm and throughout Māzandarān, new mausoleums were erected at Shīʿī shrines, mostly tomb towers of modest scale (B. O'Kane, *Timurid stucco decoration*, in *AI*, xx [1984], 61-84). Architecture in Shīrwān (Palace of the Shīrwānshāhs at Bākū; Bretanitskiy 1966) continues the fine stone masonry tradition of this region, untouched by the Tīmūrid "Metropolitan" style.

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(c) *Ceramics.*

Ceramic production in this period was strongly influenced by imported Chinese blue-and-white porcelains, travelling primarily by sea but also with embassies over land. The idea of painting in cobalt under a clear glaze, and initially the cobalt itself, was imported by the Chinese from the Middle East to suit the taste of the many foreigners (Muslims) employed by the Mongols. These wares were highly successful in the Muslim West, where they began to appear in Syria and Egypt in the late 14th century (P.J. Riis and V. Poulsen, *Hama: les verreries et poteries medievales*, iv/2 of *Hama, Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-38*, Copenhagen 1957). Large quantities of Chinese porcelain were amassed in the collections of the Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul (R. Krahl (ed.), *Chinese ceramics in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum*, London 1986) and in the Porcelain House of Shāh ʿAbbās at the shrine of Ardabīl (J.A. Pope, *Chinese porcelains from the Ardebil shrine*, Baltimore 1956). They were widely imitated in the Islamic world thereafter, and much confusion has beset attempts to differentiate production centres on the basis of decoration alone. The following discussion incorporates findings based on petrographic analyses (study of the mineralogy and technology of the body fabric in thin-section; Mason and Golombek 1990; for results of recent studies, see Golombek, Mason, and Bailey 1996).

The Tīmūrids' passion for Chinese blue-and-white is attested in miniature paintings, in Clavijo's report, and accounts of gifts requested by Muslim visitors to the Ming court (E. Bretschneider, *Chinese intercourse with the countries of Central and Western Asia in the fifteenth century*, in *The China Review*, v/1-4 [1876-7], 13-40, 109-32, 165-82, 227-41). However, imports could not satisfy local demand. In 1402 Tīmūr brought home potters from Damascus (Clavijo, tr. Le Strange, 287-8), where they were already making fine imitations of Chinese porcelain. They introduced Samarḳand potters to stonepaste (frit-ware) technology and the repertory of Yüan motifs. Although no kilns of this period have been found at Samarḳand, petrographic analysis of dozens of sherds unearthed in the Tīmūrid citadel indicate a single source of origin in the region. The use of sand for quartz, which constitutes the bulk of the stonepaste fabric, also points to Syrian practice, as does the frequent occurrence of a spiky blossom peculiar to Syrian blue-and-white wares.

Ulugh Beg's edict of 814/1411 (J.E. Woods, *Timur's genealogy*, in *Intellectual studies on Islam: essays written in honor of Martin B. Dickson*, ed. M. Mazzaoui and V.B. Moreen, Salt Lake City 1990, 115) permitting foreign craftsmen and others to return home dispersed this technology and repertory to other pottery-producing centres in Persia, while still others returned to Damascus and Anatolia. Prior to the Mongol conquest, Nīshāpūr had a long history as a centre for pottery production (C. Wilkinson, *Nishapur: pottery of the early Islamic period*, New York 1973). In response to new demands from the court at Harāt for luxury pottery, Nīshāpūr production was revived. In the second half of the century, this city produced wares resembling Cizhou pottery, painted in black under a transparent turquoise glaze. Four of these bear dates (1468-95; see Lane 1957, pl. 20A; Reitlinger 1958, fig. 12) and are characterised by scrollwork scratched through the black pigment. Nīshāpūr was the chief producer of this style, as revealed through comparison with sherds found at a Nīshāpūr kiln (unpublished), but others were made at Mashhad. Imitations have been found in Khurāsān, Sīstān, Central Asia and Anatolia ("Miletus" ware; J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Sarachane in Istanbul*, ii, *The pottery*, Princeton 1992). The dominant line of production at Nīshāpūr consisted of imitations of Chinese blue-and-white, particularly of the Xuande period. Large dishes, bordered with Chinese wave-and-crest motifs, have floral designs with groups of peonies, chrysanthemums, or lichees, or animals in vegetation. The cobalt is often "heaped-and-piled" (applied in light and heavy tones, sometimes in relief) affecting the Chinese manner. A second blue-and-white group features interlaced stellate patterns with scale-fill or hatching. Both types bear the hallmark of the Nīshāpūr pottery on the exterior, a scroll made up of double volutes ("double-scroll" motif), sometimes with foliate elements. The city continued to make fine pottery into the Ṣafawid period, as attested by a dish dating to 929/1522-3 and naming Nīshāpūr as its place of manufacture (Golombek and Mason 1995).

The Mashhad workshop has been identified through sampling of two dated pieces: a small green-painted pot (848/1444-5, Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, no. 1888.570; Grube 1974) and a blue-painted floral

dish similar to the Nī<u>sh</u>āpūr "peony" group (878/1473-4, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, no. VG2650; A.A. Ivanov 1980). Ma<u>sh</u>had dishes often use a wave-and-crest border for the rim which resembles a caterpillar. Possibly also from Ma<u>sh</u>had come the series of deep bowls and handled mugs bearing sinuous dragons (Grube 1988-9). The founding of a workshop in Ma<u>sh</u>had was probably in response to the increased pilgrimage trade resulting from <u>Sh</u>āh Ru<u>kh</u>'s build-up of the city.

A minor workshop in an unidentified region supplied blue-and-white pottery of inferior quality to ports on the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, as pots of the same petrofabric were found at Sīrāf [*q.v.*] and in East Africa.

Toward the end of the 9th/15th century, the Turkmen dynasties founded a pottery in the Tabrīz region, importing potters from <u>Kh</u>urāsān for this purpose. The geology of the region did not easily support stonepaste production, and a glassy substitute gave poor results (Mason and Golombek 1990). Nevertheless, potters initially made finely-painted wares in the <u>Kh</u>urāsān style and, later, mass-produced wares. The first phase is characterised by very precise drawing and resembles early Iznik blue-and-white pottery (for example, dish in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, illus. in Reitlinger 1938, fig. 33). Some of these potters were probably among those named in Ottoman documents as having worked on a building in Istanbul (G. Necipoğlu, *From international Timurid to Ottoman: a change of taste in sixteenth-century ceramic tiles*, in *Muqarnas*, vii [1990], 136-70). The second phase, which continued into the 10th/16th century, comprises a wide-footed (with comma-like motifs on the exterior) and a narrow-footed group (with water-weed design on the exterior). Designs copy earlier Tīmūrid models or contemporary Chinese imports. A large quantity of these survive in the Dā<u>gh</u>istān village of Kubāča and show much duplication (Lane 1939; Golombek 1993). How they arrived there is not known, but the assemblage includes Nī<u>sh</u>āpūr and Ma<u>sh</u>had wares, as well, and large quantities of 16th-17th century pottery from an unknown kiln source. The Tabrīz workshop also produced celadon-like wares. A small production in lustre-wares, particularly tiles, continued, probably at Kā<u>sh</u>ān (O. Watson, *Persian lustre ware*, London 1985, 157-63).

In this period not only did Chinese designs come to dominate but pottery shapes also followed Chinese models. Unlike European potteries, which fell under the same spell a century later, the Tīmūrid kilns were unable to reproduce true porcelain. Chinese porcelain had an impact on Persian pottery far outlasting the Tīmūrid period, for subsequent generations of potters scarcely deviated from Chinese models.

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(d) *Metalwork.*

The earliest examples are part of a group of seven objects—a large cauldron and six tall oil lamps—from the shrine complex of <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Aḥmad Yasawī (see (b) above). All but one lamp carries an Arabic inscription indicating that it was made by order of Tīmūr, while the cauldron's inscriptions specifically state that it was made for the shrine in 801/1399. These first Tīmūrid wares represent the coalescing of a number of distinct artistic trends and metalwork techniques from within and outside of the Persian world, a fusion that came about as a direct result of the Tīmūrid invasions of central and western Asia in the late 14th and early 15th centuries.

Apart from the objects from the shrine, which date or are datable to this same period, there are more than twenty examples that bear inscribed dates from the 15th or early 16th century. These represent two basic types of metalwork: brass inlaid with precious metal; or brass or copper that is frequently tinned, producing a silvery surface. Along with their dated inscriptions, these wares are further distinguished from earlier Persian metalwork in terms of their shape, technique, decoration and/or epigraphy. Numerous other metal objects can likewise be ascribed to the Tīmūrid period based on analogies with the dated examples.

The most common shape is a type of small pot-bellied tankard with a dragon-shaped handle. Other vessel types include a shallow dish whose prototype may be found in 14th-15th century Chinese pottery and a large hemispherical bowl. There is a bucket with wide shoulder that gradually tapers towards the base and a very similarly-shaped vessel with a spout. The characteristic candlestick has a chamfered shoulder; the base gradually tapers outward toward the wide, splayed bottom, and the socket is often in the form of a pair of entwined open-mouthed dragons. The tankard occurs among inlaid and non-inlaid wares, while other shapes are restricted to non-inlaid wares. Such metalwork is depicted in Tīmūrid painting, although it is unclear whether or not they represent objects made of precious metal that have not survived.

Among the inlaid wares, the technique is much finer than in earlier periods and is restricted to small-scale decoration, while for the first time tinned brass and copper, with bold, large-scale designs, are pro-

duced as a luxury ware. The decoration virtually excludes figural representation and instead relies on floral and vegetal motifs, as well as geometric and abstract ornament. Inscriptions in *naskh*, *thulth*, and occasionally *nastaʿlīḳ* often have a prominent role in the decoration. Inscriptions quote from Persian poetry, including the work of Ḥāfiẓ, Ḳāsim-i Anwar, Ṣāliḥī and Djāmī; the three latter poets were all active in Khurāsān in the 15th century.

Most objects have been ascribed to Khurāsān, and, for the inlaid wares, its capital Harāt. Evidence for such attributions is provided, in part, by signed examples where the artist's *nisba* is formed after a place-name in eastern Persia. One inlaid tankard, in the British Museum, is inscribed with the name and titles of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara. Some brass candlesticks carry a particular verse by the contemporary poet Ṣāliḥī, whose work seems not to have been well-known outside eastern Persia, suggesting that such wares are products of Khurāsān. The decorative repertoire and style of the inlaid and non-inlaid wares is in keeping with that of other Tīmūrid arts, particularly manuscript illumination.

Bibliography: A.A. Ivanov, *A group of Khurasanian coppers and bronzes of the 15th century*, in *Trans. of the State Hermitage*, x (1969), 157-67 (in Russian); idem, *On bronzes from the late 14th century from the shrine of Khodja Ahmad Yasawi*, in *Central Asia and its society*, ed. B.A. Litvinskiy, Moscow 1981, 68-84 (in Russian); A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic metalwork from Iranian lands, 8th-18th century*, London 1976; L. Komaroff, *The Golden Disk of Heaven: metalwork of Timurid Iran*, Costa Mesa, Calif. and New York 1992; eadem, *Persian verses of gold and silver. The inscriptions on Timurid metalwork*, in *Timurid art and culture*, ed. L. Golombek and M. Subtelny, Leiden 1992, 144-57.

(LINDA KOMAROFF)

4. Numismatics.

The Tīmūrids based their currency on a monometallic system of silver coinage for the entire period of their rule. A gold coin exists, however, struck by the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu in Baghdād dated 849 in the name of Shāh Rukh as evidence of Tīmūrid overlordship of ʿIrāḳ al-ʿarabī. Quarter-ashrafī gold coins were also struck in Badakhshān by Sulaymān Mīrzā and Shāh Rukh during the reigns of their Mughal cousins Humāyūn and Akbar in India. An occasional copper coinage is also known in the names of Tīmūr and his son Shāh Rukh, but little of this has been published. It may be presumed that foreign gold coinage (mostly Venetian ducats and Mamluk ashrafīs which were treated as a commodity) was readily available in dealings between important traders and merchants. Equally, it is likely that the authorities of important towns issued a plentiful anonymous copper coinage to facilitate the daily purchases of their inhabitants.

It is obvious from examination of the coins themselves that the origins of the Tīmūrid tanka [*q.v.*] and its subdivision the dirham lie in the coinage issued by the Čaghatayid Khāns of Transoxiana, Tīmūr's immediate predecessors and later his theoretical overlords in Samarḳand. This was never part of the Il-Khānid coinage system established by Maḥmūd Ghazan in 696/1296-7, where the currency was based on a silver dīnār divided into six dirhams, and 10,000 dīnārs were equal to one tuman (the principal unit of account). Because the Tīmūrids had no central government bureaucracy to organise a unified coinage for their territories, they tended to continue the coinage standards of the states they had conquered, resulting in a multiplicity of silver coins of varying weights. This decentralised system was the rule both before and after the time of Shāh Rukh, except for a period between 827 and 850/1424-46 when a generally uniform tanka weighing approximately 5.2 grams circulated throughout his lands. This tanka, which was issued in huge quantities, received the popular name of Shah Rukhī, and became a unit of account in its own right in Eastern Persia, Afghānistān and early Mughal India.

The obverse on nearly all Tīmūrid coins contains the Sunnī *kalima*, with the names, and frequently the epithets of the four Orthodox Caliphs in the margin, although three conciliatory-minded rulers, Abū Saʿīd, Ḥusayn Bayḳara and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur used the Shīʿī *kalima* or the names of the Twelve Imāms when their mint towns were located in strongly Shīʿī areas. Occasionally the name of the mint was inscribed in a central cartouche in the centre of the obverse die. The reverse inscriptions carried the names and titles of the rulers, followed by a benedictory formula and frequently the names of the mints and dates in which they were issued. The usual title was *al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam*, but Tīmūr himself never took a title higher than *Amīr* or *Amīr al-Muʿaẓẓam* on his coinage.

Tīmūr struck most of his coinage in the name of his nominal Čaghatayid overlords: Soyūrghatmish, between 771 and 790/1370-88, Maḥmūd from 790-806/1388-1404, and finally in his name alone in the last year of his life, 806-7/1404-5. None of the other Tīmūrids struck coinage in the name of a Čaghatayid overlord, but Ulugh Beg, Abū Saʿīd and Aḥmad continued Tīmūr's custom of naming himself *Kūrakān* or *Küreken* (son-in-law). The inclusion of this word provided evidence that the ruler had married a princess of the royal Čaghatayid house, thus continuing the line of Čingiz Khān through their children. In addition, Tīmūr, Ulugh Beg and Abū Saʿīd placed a *tamgha*, formed of three circles arranged in a triangle, as the dynastic mark on their coinage. Most of the other Tīmūrids described themselves as Bahādur Khān, a title made popular by the Il-Khān Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khān.

One feature of the later Tīmūrid coinage, also found on that of their contemporaries the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, was the widespread practise of countermarking coins once, twice or even several times. This custom, which spread rapidly throughout the Iranian lands in the latter part of the 9th/15th century, was probably a way of generating income by charging a fee for validating coins in circulation. The table (see below) summarises the principal members of the family who struck coins both in their own names and by countermarking those of others. While the coins of Tīmūr, Shāh Rukh and Ḥusayn Bayḳara are abundant, and others such as those of Abū Saʿīd are scarce, most of them are rare to extremely rare, which suggests that when the numismatic resources of museums in the former Soviet Union are examined the coinages of other minor rulers may either come to light or become much better known.

The chief Tīmūrid mints were located in the capital cities Samarḳand and Harāt, but, as might be expected in such a decentralised régime, mints operated in nearly every other town of note. It is unfortunate that the superb artistic heritage left by the Tīmūrids did not extend to their coinage, whose dies varied widely in quality. Like those of the Čaghatayids, some were surprisingly crude, while others attempted to uphold the higher artistic standards of the western Persian mints. Their actual striking was, more often

TABLE

Chief Ruler of Dynasty	Area of Rule	Dates	In own name	Countermarks
Tīmūr Gūrkhān b. Taraghay	With capital in Samarḳand or Harāt	771-807/1370-1405	AR & AE	
Khalīl Sulṭān b. Mīrān Shāh	"	807-11/1405-9	AR	
Shāh Rukh b. Tīmūr	"	807-50/1405-1447	AV & AR	AR
Ulugh Beg b. Shāh Rukh	"	851-3/1447-9	AR	
ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Ulugh Beg	"	853-4/1449-50	AR	
ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Shāh Rukh	"	854-5/1450-1	AR	
Abū Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Mīrān Shāh	"	855-73/1451-69	AR Sunnī and Shīʿa	AR
Aḥmad b. Abī Saʿīd	"	873-99/1469-94	AR	AR
Maḥmūd b. Abī Saʿīd	"	899-900/1494-5	AR	AR

Lords of Transoxiana	Dates	In own name	Countermarks
Bāysonghor b. Maḥmūd	900-3/1495-8	AR	AR
ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd	900-5/1495-1500	AR	AR
Bābur b. ʿUmar Shaykh	903 and 906/1497 and 1500	AR	AR
Lords of Khurāsān			
ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla b. Bāysonghor b. Shāh Rukh	851/1447	AR	
Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Bābur b. Bāysonghor b. Shāh Rukh	851-61/1447-57	AR	
Shāh Maḥmūd b. Bābur b. Bāysonghor	861-3/1457-9	AR	
Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b. Rukn al-Dīn b. Bāysonghor	861/1457	AR	
Yādigār Muḥammad b. Mīrān Shāh b. Bāysonghor	873-5/1469-70		AR
Ḥusayn Bayḳara b. Manṣūr b. Bayḳara b. ʿUmar Shaykh	873-913/1469-1508	AR Sunnī and Shīʿa	AR
Muẓaffar Ḥusayn b. Ḥusayn Bayḳara	911-2/1506	AR	
Badīʿ al-Zamān b. Ḥusayn Bayḳara	911-4/1506/8	AR	AR
Lords of Djurdjān and Māzandarān			
Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Bābur	851-61/1447-57	AR Shīʿa	
Shāh Maḥmūd	861-3/1457-9	AR	
Ḥusayn Bayḳara	862-4/1459-60	AR	
Maḥmūd b. Abī Saʿīd	864-900/1460-95	AR	AR
Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd	899-906/1494-1500	AR	AR
Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayḳara	903-6/1498-1501	AR	AR
Farīdūn b. Ḥusayn Bayḳara	912/1506	AR	
Muḥammad Zamān b. Badīʿ b. Ḥusayn Bayḳara	920-3/1514-7	AR	
Lords of Ādharbāydjān and Gīlān			
ʿUmar b. Mīrān Shāh b. Tīmūr	807/1405	no coinage known	
Abū Bakr b. Mīrān Shāh b. Tīmūr	807-9/1405-7	AR	
Shāh Rukh b. Abī Saʿīd, in Gīlān	896-9/1490-1	AR	
Lords in al-Djibāl and ʿIrāḳ			
Mīrān Shāh b. Tīmūr	807-10/1405-8	no coinage known	
Rustam b. ʿUmar Shaykh	*ca.* 807-17/1405-15	AR	
Pīr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Shaykh	810/1408	AR	
Other princes until 818/1418		no coinage known	

Lords of Fārs and Sidjistān	Dates	In own name	Countermarks
Pīr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Shaykh	807-12/1405-10	no coinage known	
Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh	812-7/1410-5	AR	AR
ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Shāh Rukh	838-50/1434-47	no coinage known	
Muḥammad Mīrān Shāh b. Bāysonghor	850-5/1447-51	AR	AR
Lords of Kābul, Ḳandahār, Ghazna and, finally, India			
Ḳaydū b. Pīr Muḥammad b. Djahāngīr b. Tīmūr	812-20/1409-17	no coinage known	
Soyurghatmish b. Shāh Rukh b. Tīmūr	821-30/1418-27	no coinage known	
Masʿūd b. Soyurghatmish	830-43/1427-39	no coinage known	
Karatshar b. Soyurghatmish	843-65/1439-61	no coinage known	
Ulugh Beg b. Abī Saʿīd	873-907/1468-1501		AR
Bābur b. ʿUmar Shaykh b. Abī Saʿīd	910-37/1504-1530	AR	AR
Lords of Balkh and Badakhshān			
Pīr Muḥammad b. Djahāngīr b. Tīmūr	807-8/1405-6	AR	
Ḳaydū b. Pīr Muḥammad	808-11/1406-9	AR	
Ibrāhīm b. Shāh Rukh	812-7/1409-14	no coinage known	
Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Djūkī	851/1447	AR	
Lords of Uzkand and Farghānā			
Aḥmad b. ʿUmar Shaykh b. Tīmūr	812-7/1409-14	no coinage known	
Masʿūd b. b. Soyurghatmish	830-43/1427-39	no coinage known	
ʿUmar Shaykh b. Abī Saʿīd	870-99/1465-94	no coinage known	
Bābur b. ʿUmar Shaykh	899-903/1494-7	AR	AR

than not, very careless. The coins were usually dated in ciphers which, to the exasperation of numismatists and collectors, are all too frequently missing from the flan. These numismatic shortcomings may be a contributory factor to the dearth of published material on the dynasty, a regrettable lack because a thorough examination of the Tīmūrid coinage would throw a much clearer light on the history of the rulers who issued it.

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TIMURTĀSH B. IL-GHĀZĪ, second Artuḳid ruler of Mārdīn, was born probably *ca.* 487/1094 (Ibn al-Athīr, 418). On Il-Ghāzī's death in 515/1122, Timurtāsh took Mārdīn without opposition (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 47; *Anon. Syr. Chron.*, 89; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 208; *Kāmil*, x, 426; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, 209; Michael the Syrian, 218), whilst his brother Sulaymān ruled at Mayyāfāriḳīn. In the service of his energetic cousin, Balak, Timurtāsh was present at Balak's siege of Manbidj in 518/1124. That same year, Timurtāsh took possession of Aleppo (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, 220; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 50).

After a short, disastrous rule at Aleppo, Timurtāsh withdrew to Mārdīn, thus ending the intermittent interest of the Artuḳids in Aleppo, which had begun seven years earlier. Thereafter, Timurtāsh furthered his own modest territorial ambitions in the Djazīra, rejecting the life of virtually ceaseless campaigning adopted by his father and grandfather. Timurtāsh's abandonment of Aleppo is roundly condemned by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, the chronicler of Aleppo (*Zubda*, 225; *Bughya*, 204-7). On Sulaymān's death in 518/1124, Timurtāsh took Mayyāfāriḳīn, which he was to rule jointly for thirty years (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 48).

It was Timurtāsh's political misfortune to encounter the tough expansionist policies of Zangī in the Djazīra. There was also local rivalry between Timurtāsh and his more bellicose cousin, Dāwūd, the ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā since *ca.* 502/1108-9. After Zangī had defeated the combined Artuḳid forces in 524/1130 (Ibn al-Athīr, *Atābegs*, 38-9; Michael the Syrian, 240; *Kāmil*, x, 467), Timurtāsh became "Zangī's vassal" (al-ʿAẓīmī, 408). From 530/1135-6 onwards, Timurtāsh played a pragmatic game of shifting alliances with Zangī and Dāwūd, outliving both of them. After the deaths of Dāwūd in 539/1144-5 and Zangī in 541/1146, Timurtāsh enjoyed a brief period of genuine, if modest, power in the Djazīra.

The pro-Zangid Ibn al-Athīr castigates Timurtāsh for a life given over to pleasure (*Atābegs*, 79). However, Ibn al-Azraḳ, the local chronicler of Mayyāfāriḳīn, who worked for Timurtāsh, views his achievements more favourably and provides some glimpses, not found in other sources, of the social and economic life of the time and of Timurtāsh's increasing commitment to the area. An Artuḳid family tomb was constructed at Mārdīn, and the Karamān bridge, begun in 541/1146-7, was "one of the marvels built in this age" (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 110, 115). Towards the end of his reign, a copper mine was discovered north of Mayyāfāriḳīn (*Kāmil*, x, 215) and Timurtāsh minted copper coins for local trade (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 120; Spengler-Sayles, 71-8). Timurtāsh's exact religious allegiance is impossible to determine, although his warm reception of an Ismāʿīlī *shaykh* is described in

Fig. 1. Aḳ Sarāy palace, S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz, entrance portal. Photograph: Lisa Golombek.

Fig. 2. Masd̲j̲id al-D̲j̲āmiʿ of Tīmūr ("Bībī K̲h̲ānum"), Samarḳand, *ḳibla-īwān* and dome (before reconstruction). Photograph: Lisa Golombek.

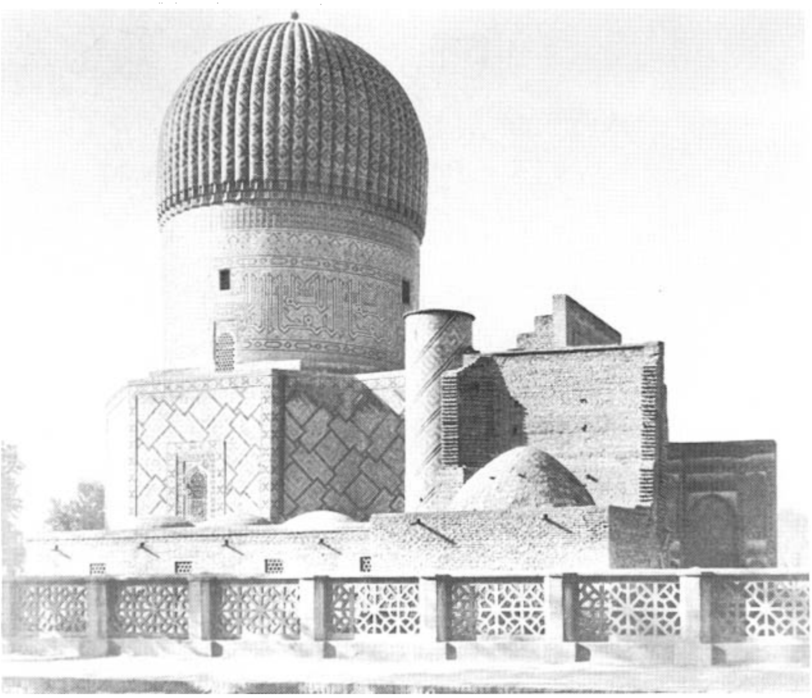

Fig. 3. Gūr-i Mīr (tomb of Tīmūr), Samarḳand. Photograph: Donald Wilber.

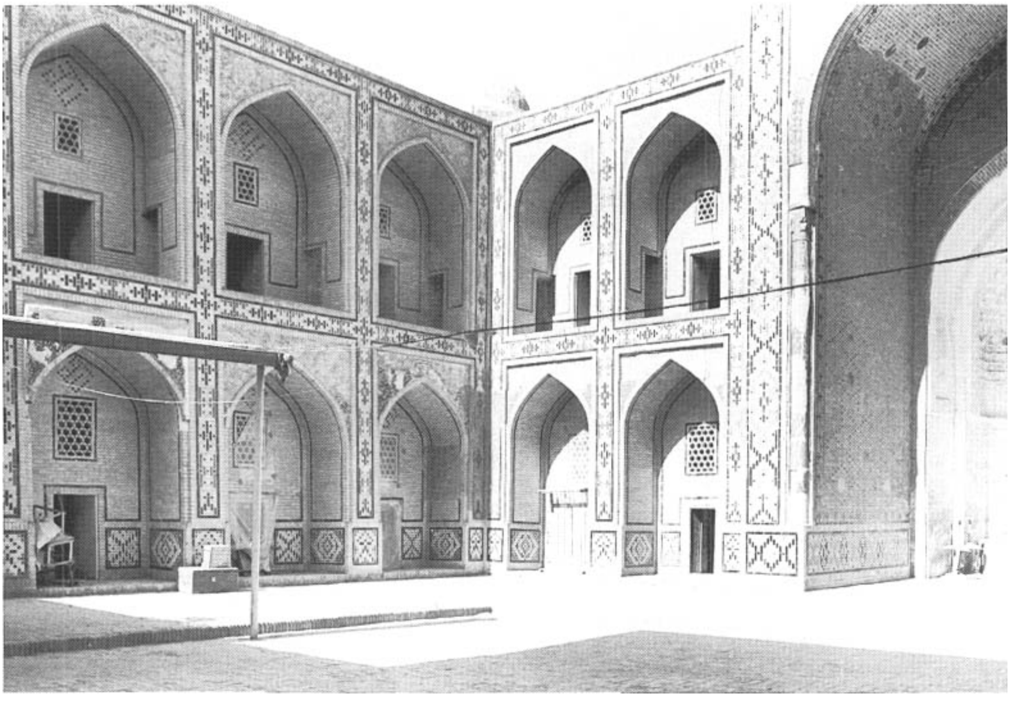

Fig. 4. Madrasa of Ulugh Beg, Bukhārā, courtyard. Photograph: Lisa Golombek.

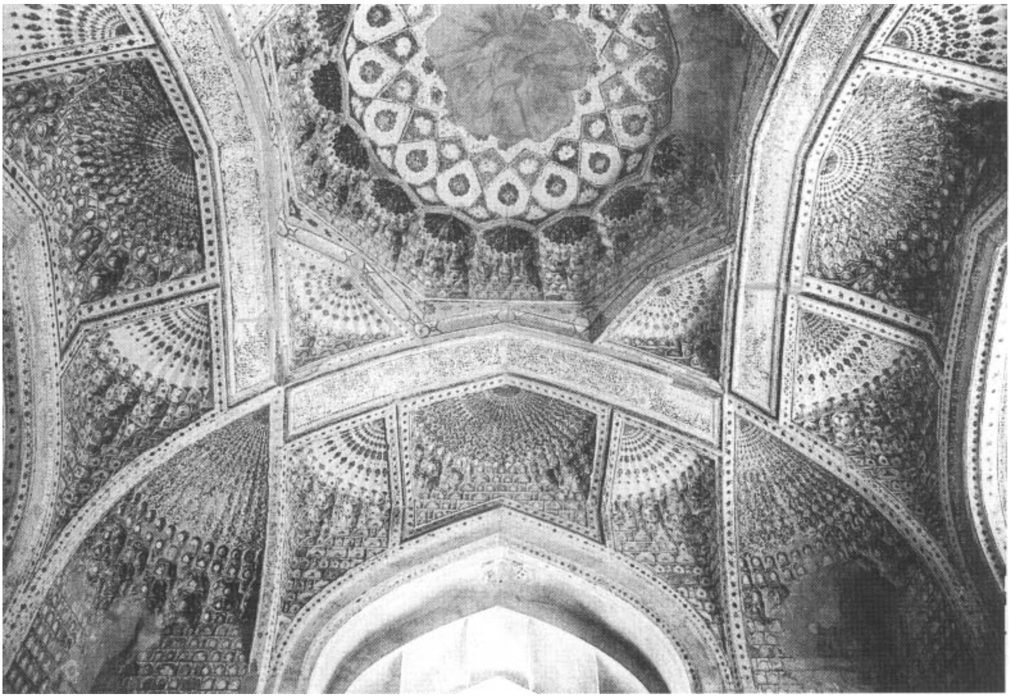

Fig. 5. Madrasa at Khargird, lantern dome on intersecting arches in lecture hall. Photograph: Lisa Golombek.

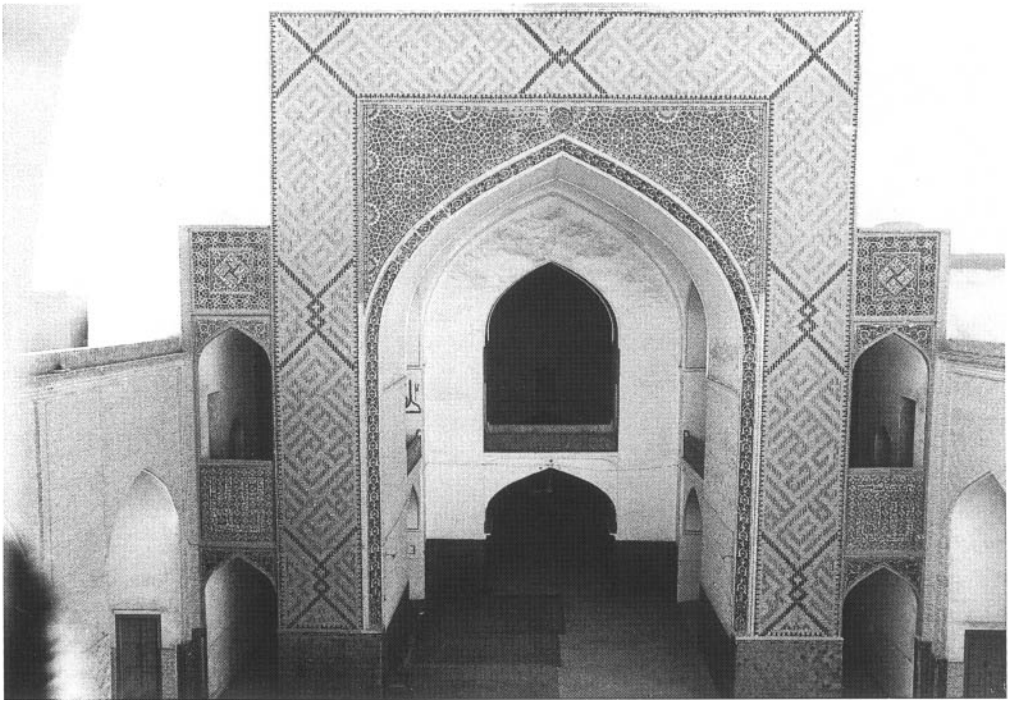

Fig. 6. Masdjid al-Djāmiʿ of Mīr Čaḳmāḳ Shāmī, Yazd, *ḳibla-īwān*. Photograph: Lisa Golombek.

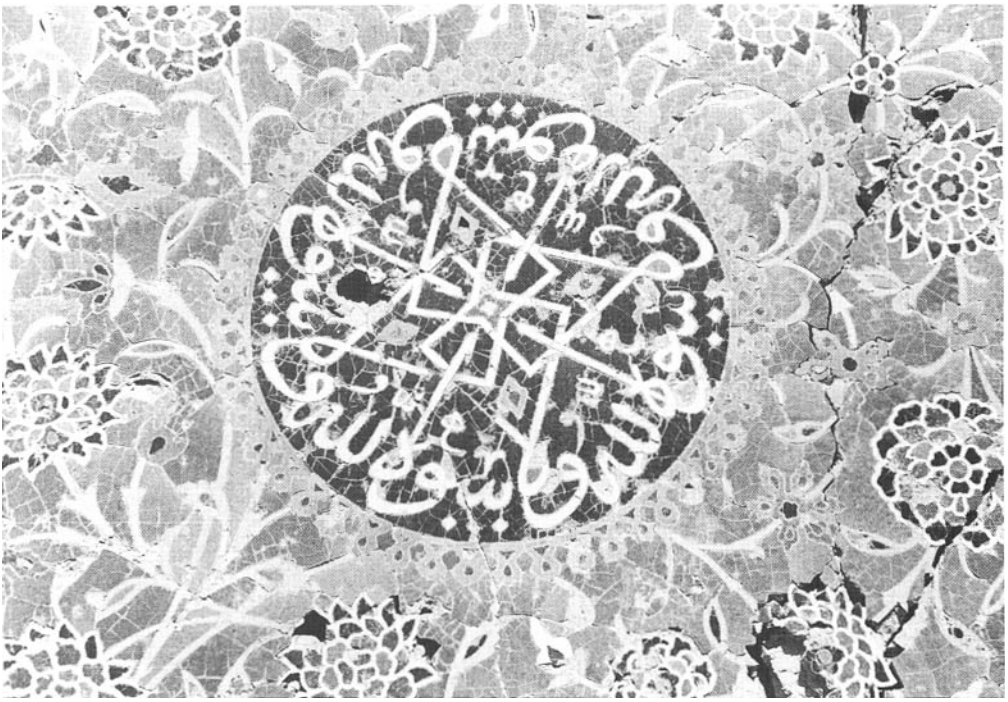

Fig. 7. Muẓaffariyya ("Blue Mosque"), Tabrīz, tile mosaic. Photograph: Donald Wilber.

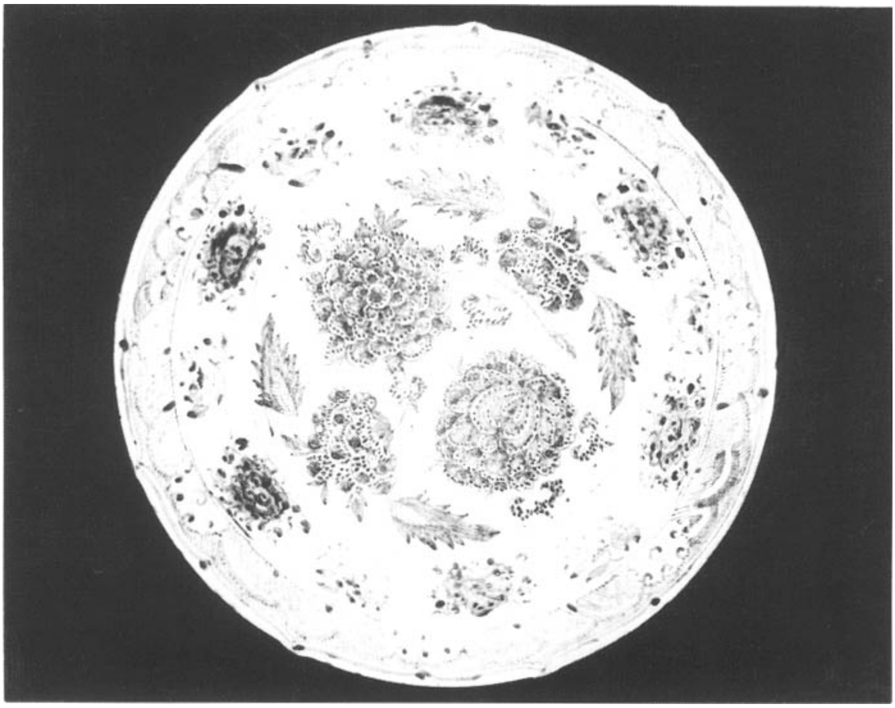

Large dish, painted in cobalt blue under clear glaze, "peony group", Nīs̲h̲āpūr workshop, *ca.* 1460. Courtesy of the British Museum, London (no. 1965 7-29,1).

Large dish, painted in cobalt blue under clear glaze. Inscribed with date and place of manufacture (878/1473-4, Mas̲h̲had). Courtesy of the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (no. VG 2650).

detail by Ibn al-Azraḳ (112). Michael the Syrian states that Timurtās̲h̲ did not treat his Christian subjects well (311). Caliphal recognition of Timurtās̲h̲'s rule arrived in 547/1152-3, only a year before his death (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 134), perhaps an indication that only then did he enjoy genuine local power in the D̲j̲azīra. He died in 548/1154 (*ibid.*, 141; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 329; al-Bundārī, 244; Sibṭ, 218-9; *Atābegs*, 106).

Timurtās̲h̲ may have lacked the panache and frenetic energy of his father, but his more limited horizons and adaptable style of government over thirty years at Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriḳīn laid the foundations for Artuḳid Turcoman rule in the D̲j̲azīra until the early 9th/15th century. Broadly speaking, his successors retained the local emphasis of his polity.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. ʿAẓīmī, tr. Cl. Cahen, in *La chronique abrégée d'al-ʿAẓīmī*, in *JA*, ccxxx (1938), 353-448; *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, tr. A.S. Tritton, in *JRAS*, (1933), 69-101, 273-305; Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. M.T. Houtsma, Leiden 1889; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bug̲h̲yat al-ṭalab*, ed. A. Sevim, Ankara 1976; idem, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1954; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-dawla al-atābakiyya*, ed. A. Ṭulaymāt, Cairo 1963; idem, *Kāmil*, x; Ibn al-Azraḳ, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Mayyāfāriḳīn*, partial ed. and tr. C. Hillenbrand, in *A Muslim principality in Crusader times: the early Artuqid state*, Leiden 1990, 49-70, 127-47; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *D̲h̲ayl taʾrīk̲h̲ Dimis̲h̲ḳ*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Leiden 1908; Michael the Syrian, ed. and tr. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1899-1914; Sibṭ Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, viii/1, Ḥaydarābād 1951.

2. Studies. Cl. Cahen, *Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, in *JA*, ccxxvii (1935), 219-76; C. Hillenbrand, *The establishment of Artuqid power in Diyar Bakr in the twelfth century*, in *St. Isl.*, liv (1981), 129-53; W.F. Spengler and W.G. Sayles, *Turkoman figural bronze coins and their iconography*, Lodi, Wisc. 1992; O. Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk devletleri tarihi*, Istanbul 1973; G. Väth, *Die Geschichte der artuqidischen Fürstentümer in Syrien und der Ǧazīra 'l-Furātīya*, Berlin 1987. See also ARTUḲIDS.

(Carole Hillenbrand)

TĪMŪRTĀS̲H̲ OG̲H̲ULLARÏ, a family which flourished in the service of the early Ottoman sultans in the 8th/14th and early 9th/15th centuries, the most celebrated of its members being the general and *wezīr* Tīmūrtās̲h̲ b. Ḳara ʿAlī Beg, d. 806/1404. In the early Ottoman historical sources, it is called the Āl-i Tīmūrtās̲h̲.

Ḳara ʿAlī Beg's father Ayḳut Alp (d. 725/1325) had been in the service of the somewhat shadowy founding figures of the Ottoman dynasty, Ertog̲h̲rul and ʿOt̲h̲mān I [*q.v.*]. In the first year of Ork̲h̲an's reign (726/1326), Ḳara ʿAlī Beg took the fortress of Hereke on the Gulf of Nicomedia and displayed particular bravery at the siege of Aydos, when he removed with his own hand an arrow that had pierced his eye. Of the origin of the family very little is known, as is also the case with the other noble families of the early Ottoman empire, viz. the D̲j̲andarlï, the Ewrenos and the Mīk̲h̲āl-og̲h̲lu [*q.vv.*]. Tīmūrtās̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a is mentioned for the first time, when he continued the sultan's conquests along the Tund̲j̲a valley in Bulgaria by Murād I's order with the help of Lālā S̲h̲āhīn Pas̲h̲a [see SHĀHĪN, LĀLĀ]. In 767/1365 he took Yeñid̲j̲e Ḳïzïlag̲h̲ač (see Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, tr. J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 49-50, where the date is given as 768/1366-7) and Yānbolï (*ibid.*, 53-4, with the same date) in the plain of the Tund̲j̲a. The sources tell us nothing of his activities during the next decade. When Lālā S̲h̲āhīn died towards the end of the Serbo-Bulgar War (777/1375), Tīmūrtās̲h̲ succeeded him as *Beglerbeg* of Rūm-eli. In this capacity he distinguished himself in the first place by organising the army, including creating the *voynuḳs* [see WOYNUḲ], which consisted mainly of Bulgarian Christians who were chiefly used as drivers (see von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 181-2). It appears that it was at Tīmūrtās̲h̲'s instigation that the felt caps (usually made in Biled̲j̲ik), since the time of Ork̲h̲an worn generally, were limited to the army and that red was decided on as the colour for the headdresses of the Begs and officers (see von Hammer, *op. cit.*, i, 89-90). Tīmūrtās̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a again came into prominence when he took the fortress of Monastir (the modern Bitolj), Prilep and Is̲h̲tip (the modern Štip) (the date given is 784/1382; see Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, 92, 96-97, and also his *Taḳwīm al-tawārīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1146/1733-4, 97. Tīmūrtās̲h̲ crossed the Vardar, invaded the south of modern Serbia and conquered there three strongholds for the sultan. Ḳārlï-eli, viz. Aetolia and Acarnania, the land of the "King of the Epirotes" Carlo II Tocco (d. July 1429), was also hard pressed by him on this occasion. In 787/1385 Tīmūrtās̲h̲ is said to have undertaken a campaign against the Arta (not far from the Ionian Sea), who were showing separatist tendencies (cf. *Epirotica*, ed. J. Bekker, Bonn 1849, 229,22 and Jorga, *GOR*, i, 273), so that he was sometimes here, sometimes there, in Thessaly and in Epirus, districts in which Ṭurak̲h̲ān Beg [*q.v.*] also fought with success. In 788/1386 Ṭurak̲h̲ān Beg suddenly appeared in Anatolia. In the battle which Murād fought on the plain of Ḳonya against his most dangerous opponent, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī of Ḳaramān, he commanded the rearguard of the Ottoman army, and it was his intervention that put the ruler of Ḳaramān to flight and thus decided the battle in favour of the Ottomans. As a reward, he was given the greater part of the plunder and the title of vizier, i.e. a Pas̲h̲a with three tails, which he bore as the first *Beglerbeg* of the kingdom. When in the following year (789/1387) Murād was again preparing for a campaign in Europe, Tīmūrtās̲h̲ remained in Anatolia and administered the district of Germiyān-eli [*q.v.*] in the absence of prince Yaʿḳūb. in 792/1390 Tīmūrtās̲h̲ again appears in the Balkans. In this year, according to Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa's *Taḳwīm al-tawārīk̲h̲*, he took Kratovo (Turkish Ḳaraṭowa) east of Üsküb, famous for its mines of silver and copper. In the next year (793/1391) he was taken prisoner in Bursa during a Ḳaramānid raid on it and on Anḳara, was released and revenged himself by defeating the Ḳaramānid on the plain of Aḳčay (in Germiyān-eli), when he hanged him without ceremony, although he was the brother-in-law of Bāyezīd I. From Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im-bas̲h̲ï, who probably drew on Idrīs Bitlīsī (*Has̲h̲t bihis̲h̲t*, iii, 311), we learn of the further history of Tīmūrtās̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a that he conquered Čanḳïrï [*q.v.*] in Anatolia by order of Bāyezīd I in (799/1396-7), and in the following year (800/1397-8), Athens (cf. *Chronicon breve*, in Ducas, ed., Bonn, 516 (Μουρτάζης), and J.H. Mordtmann, in *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, iv [1923], 346 ff.) with the surrounding lands, also Behesnī or Besni [*q.v.*] and Malaṭya [*q.v.*] from the Turkomans, Dīwrigī from the Kurds, Dārende and Kemāk̲h̲ [*q.v.*] (cf. also Saʿd el-Dīn, i, 150), and was busy with warlike enterprises, sometimes in Europe and sometimes in Asia Minor (see von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 248-9). In the battle of Anḳara (19 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 804/20 July 1402), he with his son Yak̲h̲s̲h̲ī shared the fate of Bāyezīd I and passed as a prisoner into Tīmūr's hands. When the treasures accumulated by Tīmūrtās̲h̲ were discovered in Kütahiya [*q.v.*], Tīmūr heaped

The geneaology of the Tīmūrtāsh Oghullarī

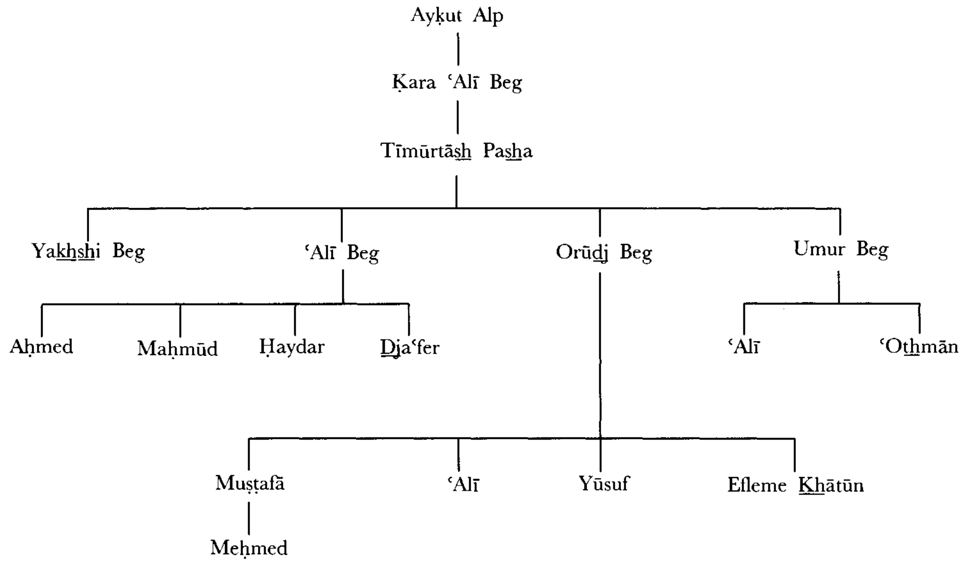

reproaches upon him and at first refused him his liberty (see von Hammer, *op. cit.*, i, 330, following Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tr. Petis de la Croix, v, 54, p. 1). He only survived the collapse of the Ottoman kingdom for a short time. While lending an army for prince ʿĪsā in the battle of Ulubāṭ (Asia Minor), he was treacherously murdered by one of his own servants in Ramaḍān 806/March 1404. Sultan Meḥemmed I sent the head of the old warrior to his brother Süleymān as a token of victory. His body was taken to Bursa and buried there in a *türbe* by the mosque founded by him, the tomb bearing his name as *Malik al-Umarāʾ Tīmūrtāsh b. ʿAlī Beg.*

He had four sons, who rose to distinction as commanders and *wezīrs*, scholars and ambassadors. Yakhshī Beg fought in the Balkan wars, including at the taking of Nish [*q.v.*] in 788/1386 and at Kosovo, and the battle of Ankara. Orūdj and ʿAlī Begs played roles in the events revolving round Düzme Muṣṭafā and Izmīr-oghlu Djunayd [*q.vv.*]. Umur Beg (d. 865/1461) was a scholar who established *ewkāf* for the mosque in the quarter named after him at Bursa, with an inscription surviving (see Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, no. 13, ii, 868 ff.), and was a source for the historian ʿĀshīk-pasha-zāde. Of the next generation, Umur Beg's son ʿAlī Čelebi was *defterdār*, to the prince Muṣṭafā, and another son ʿOthmān Čelebi is said to have been killed in 832/1428-9 at the siege of Varna as *sandjak-begi* of Germiyān-eli.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see the sources for early Ottoman history (ʿĀshīk-pasha-zāde, Neshrī, Idrīs Bidlīsī, Rūḥī, ʿĀlī, Saʿd el-Dīn, Kemāl-pasha-zāde, Ferīdūn Beg, Ismāʿīl Belīgh) in the bibl. to *İA* art. *Timurtaş* (M.C. Şehâbeddin Tekindağ); İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1961, index; C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, index.

(F. Babinger-[C.E. Bosworth])

TĪN (a.), the common fig (*ficus carica*) and, after Lane, the tree of the *balas*; or, the tree and the fruit itself. Another tree and fruit resembling the *tīn* is called *djummayz*, the sycamore fig, a name included in some lists of simples and treated along with *tīn* (Ibn al-Kuff, 338; al-Rāzī, 43). Widespread throughout the Mediterranean from antiquity, it is mentioned in both the Hebrew Bible and the Kurʾān (together with the olive, XCV, 1). There are dozens of species and hundreds of varieties, both cultivated and wild, covering a wide spectrum of flavour, sweetness, size and colour. The common fig needs no pollination and is seedless, while other varieties which produce seeds (e.g. Smyrna figs) require pollination with the aid of a species of small wasp. Figs are described as hot and dry, and any ill effects to the stomach may be avoided by washing out the mouth after eating them and drinking *sakandjabīn* (the classical oxymel). Apart from their known laxative property, they are said to dissolve phlegm, purify the kidneys and open obstructions in the liver and spleen. The juice of cooked figs (together with other ingredients) appears in several medical recipes mentioned by Abū al-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr (d. 525/1130). The fruit was apparently eaten most commonly unaccompanied, fresh or dried. One culinary preparation recommends how the dried fruit, filled with honey and saffron and steamed in a sieve over boiling water, creates the effect of a freshly tree-picked fig.

Bibliography: Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *Manāfiʿ al-aghdhiya wa-dafʿ maḍarrihā*, Cairo 1305/1887; Ibn al-Kuff al-Karakī, *Djāmiʿ al-gharaḍ fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa wa-dafʿ al-maraḍ*, ed. S. Hamarneh, ʿAmmān 1989; Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr, *Kitāb al-Mudjarrabāt*, ed. C. Álvarez Millán, Madrid 1994; *Kanz al-fawāʾid fī tanwīʿ al-mawāʾid*, ed. M. Marín and D. Waines, Bibliotheca Islamica, xl, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993.

(D. Waines)

ṬĪN (a.), mud, clay.

1. In the Kurʾān, it is said that God created man from base clay (contrasted with the superior fire from which Iblīs [*q.v.*] boasts he has been made), and *ṭīn* is the most commonly used word here for "clay" (together with e.g. *turāb*, *ḥamāʾ*) See e.g. sūra VI, 2, VII, 11/12, XVII, 63/61, XXIII, 12, XXXII, 6/7). *Ṭīn* is further used as the substance from which Jesus

will create a live bird (III, 43/49, V, 110). On the general topic of creation from these materials, see KHALḲ, at IV, 981b, and further, ṬĪNA.

2. As the potter's material. See for this, KHAZAF. One might also note that the Ḳur'ān, LV, 13/14, speaks of man being created from clay such as potters use (*ṣalṣāl ka 'l-fakhkhār*).

3. Edible clay or earth. This was a diatomaceous earth or kieselguhr, made up of the siliceous remains of minute marine organisms, and was found in various parts of Persia in mediaeval Islamic times. Al-Thaʿālibī in his *Laṭā'if al-maʿārif*, tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 128, 131-2, mentions edible earth (here called *nukl*) from Sīrāf [*q.v.*] on the Persian Gulf coast, but above all, from Khurāsān, the districts of Nīshāpūr, Ḳā'in and Zawzan. This last was highly prized, exported all over the Islamic world and given as a present to *amīrs* and kings. This commerce is confirmed by Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 446-7, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 432, who styles it *ṭīn nadjāḥī* "successful, auspicious, valued clay".

Bibliography: See also Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 410-1, Eng. tr. 436. The whole subject of earth eating was exhaustively treated by B. Laufer in his monograph *Geophagy*, Field Museum of Natural History Publications, 280, Anthropological Ser., vol. xviii/2, Chicago 1930, 101-98, cf. 150-5 on earth eating in the Islamic world. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬĪNA (A.), "matter", originally "a piece of earth", *ṭīn* "earth, clay" [*q.v.*] being the Ḳur'ānic term for the material of creation, and specifically of man (III, 49; V, 110; VI, 2; VII, 12; XXIII, 12; XXVIII, 38; XXXII, 7; XXXVII, 11; XXXVIII, 71, 76; cf. Wensinck *et alii*, *Concordance*, s.v. *ṭīn*, on *ṭīnat Ādam* in the Ḥadīth; Lane, s.v., hence *ibn al-ṭīn* for "man"). In philosophical allegory, the term occurs in direct reference to the Ḳur'ānic *ṭīn*, as in Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān* (ed. Gauthier, 27) where the spontaneous generation of a human being from a "fermented mass of clay" is depicted as an allegory for the creation of man.

As a technical term of philosophy, *ṭīna* is used in some early Arabic translations from the Greek, and in the first period of Arabic philosophical writing, to render the basic meaning of Greek ὕλη, Ar. *hayūlā* [*q.v.*], as "matter, material substrate" (synonymously with *mādda*), especially in the sense of the Aristotelian Prime Matter, the substratum of the forms of the primary bodies or στοιχεῖα (*usṭuḳussāt*, *ʿanāṣir*), while *hayūlā* renders the general use of ὕλη in Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's introduction to the *Organon* (*al-Manṭiḳ li-Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ*, ed. M.T. Dānishpazhūh, Tehran 1978, 4, 4) as of "matter relative to form". See e.g. *ṭīna* for ὕλη in an early version of Aristotle's *De anima*, 403b18, ed. ʿA. Badawī, *Arisṭūṭālīs fi 'l-nafs*, Cairo 1954, 7.13, 31.4; al-Kindī's definition of *ʿunṣur* ("elementary body", "material cause") in his *Risāla fī ḥudūd al-ashyā' wa-rusūmihā* (ed. D. Gimaret, *Al-Kindî, Cinq épîtres*, Paris 1976, 15 no. 9) as *ṭīnat kull dhī ṭīna* "material of everything that has material"; cf. M. Guidi and R. Walzer, *Uno scritto introduttivo allo studio di Aristotele* (*Studi su al-Kindi*, I), Rome 1940, 394 (V 5), 397 (VI 44-6), 403 (XI 8-10); al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 136.4 (explaining *hayūlā*). Ibn Sīnā, in the *Physics* of his *Shifā'* (*al-Samāʿ al-ṭabīʿī*, ed. Saʿīd Zāyid, Cairo 1983, 14-15), explains *hayūlā* qua "prime matter" partaking in all the forms as *mādda wa-ṭīna*, in distinction from *ʿunṣur* "matter" (relative to form) as a general principle of all composition, and from *usṭuḳuss* as a primary element of compound matter (viz. one of the four elements).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Soheil M. Afnan, *A philosophical lexicon in Persian and Arabic*, Beirut 1969, 166. (G. ENDRESS)

AL-**TINBUKTĪ** [see AḤMAD BĀBĀ].

TINDŪF, conventionally TINDOUF, a small town in the southwestern part of modern Algeria, in the governorate (*wilāya*) of Saoura and at the southwestern end of the Hamada of the Dra near where the modern borders of Algeria, Morocco, the former Spanish Sahara and Mauritania meet (lat. 27° 42' N., long. 80 10' W.). It is now on the road connecting western Algeria with Mauritania, with an airstrip, and has recently acquired economic and political importance because of the proximity of iron ore deposits at Gara Jubeilat just to the south of Tindūf; it was around Tindūf that fighting took place in 1963 between Algeria and Morocco. In *ca.* 1980 the population of the town was 6,500. (ED.)

TINMAL, TINMALLAL (in Berber, denoting terraces for agriculture on a mountain side, though other etymologies have been put forward), the name of a mountain and a village on a plateau in the High Atlas, on the road to the col of Tizin-Test, which was the centre for the Almohad expansion. Surrounded as it is by high peaks (around 3,000 m/ 9,800 feet), with steep access routes, the site is almost impregnable. It had of old a sacred character, where the mountain tribes made agreements and took oaths, explaining, in part, the choice there of the future Almohad Mahdī, with whose dynasty Tinmal was closely linked. It came within the territory of the Hazmīra who provided Ibn Tūmart with a refuge during his campaigns against the Almoravids.

Once installed at Tinmal after his *hidjra*, the future Mahdī formed around himself a community formed of various tribal elements: Hargha, Hinṭāṭa, Gadmīwa and Ganfīssa. Fearing the power of his hosts there, Ibn Tūmart pitilessly had them massacred. Tinmal now became the bastion of the *ahl Sūs* against the power of Marrākush. The town was ringed with walls topped by towers, access was by a single bridge, and al-Idrīsī affirmed that four men could defend the capital Tinmal. The Mahdī's own house and mosque formed the core of this embryonic state. The Almohad campaigns and the influx of booty and captives gave the region considerable prosperity. After the destruction of the Almoravid fortress of Tasghimūt in 526/ 1132, its gates were brought, with great pomp, to decorate the Bāb al-Fakhkhārīn at Tinmal. It is possible that Tinmal had a mint at this time. It was here that Ibn Tūmart set forth the main lines of the new order and perfected his strategy against the Almoravids.

On his death there, his heir and successor ʿAbd al-Mu'min transformed Tinmal into a pilgrimage centre, praying at Ibn Tūmart's tomb before making any great decision and endowing the shrine with *awḳāf*; the cult of the Mahdī was in fact to survive the demise of his dynasty. The caliph continued building works at Tinmal, including a remarkable mosque. On his death, he was buried with Ibn Tūmart, and henceforth Tinmal became the official necropolis of the Almohad caliphs; thus the remains of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, killed at the siege of Santarem, were brought back there. Exchanges between Marrākush and Tinmal remained important during the Almohad period, and after the fall of Marrākush and the victory of the Marīnids, the remnants of the Almohads rallied at Tinmal. But the governor of Aghmāt, Abū ʿAlī al-Milyānī, seized Tinmal in 674/1275 and despoiled the tombs of the Almohad caliphs. Even so, the region retained a certain prosperity, and Leo Africanus, *De-*

scription, 113, described Tinmal as very populous, with a fine mosque. From the recent edition of the ms. of al-Zarhūnī, we have information on the place at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries. The great Almohad mosque was still functioning, but was shortly to be abandoned on account of its incorrect *ḳibla* orientation. It was still a pilgrimage centre, even though there were only sixty families there. The memory of the Mahdī was still alive, and Almohad coins, brought to the surface by rain storms, were considered as valuable talismans. But the abandoned mosque fell into ruins, and Tinmal fell into oblivion. In the 19th century, the *ḳā'id* al-Gundāfī tried unsuccessfully to restore it.

The archaeological excavations of the present century have shown the importance of the monuments of Tinmal in the history of Maghribī art and architecture. In 646/1248 ʿAbd al-Mu'min announced, in his *Risālat al-Fuṣūl*, the beginning of work on his splendid mosque, replacing the modest building of Ibn Tūmart. The walls of Tinmal had been built within the Almoravid tradition, but the mosque reveals the new Almohad style, with its construction from concrete instead of stone and its use of brick mainly to decorate the doorways, merlons, window surrounds and the walls supporting the four domes. There was a great profusion of stucco decoration, although calligraphic decoration was relatively rare; the dome interiors had *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*] work. Many of the mosque's decorative features were innovations which became points of reference in the future art of the Maghrib. Restoration is in progress, but the limits of the little town at its apogee are still unknown, since its ruins are now partly subsumed under cultivated land.

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(HALIMA FERHAT)

AL-**TINNĪN** (A.), lit. "dragon". In astronomy and astrology, this is (1) the Arabic name for the constellation Draco (the third of the 21 northern constellations according to Ptolemy). It contains 31 stars. It became known to the Arabs through translations of Greek astronomical texts, especially Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and is mentioned by this name throughout the Arabic astronomical and astrological literature. The north pole of the ecliptic is situated in this constellation; (2) the Arabic name for the figure of a mythological dragon, or serpent (not of Greek origin), which was assumed to cause solar and lunar eclipses. Its head (*al-ra's, ra's al-tinnīn, caput* [*draconis*]) marked the point of the ecliptic at which the moon's orbit crosses the ecliptic towards the north, its tail (*al-dhanab, dhanab al-tinnīn, cauda* [*draconis*]) the point of its crossing towards the south. At these points eclipses are liable to occur. Arabic and—following them—mediaeval European astrologers treated these two points as pseudo-planets and included them in their casting of horoscopes. These two points of the ecliptic, called in Greek astronomy the ascending and the descending nodes (*al-ʿuḳdatān*), respectively, have a retrograde movement along the ecliptic of *ca.* 19½° per year; a full revolution is completed in *ca.* 18.6 years.

Bibliography: *ad 1*, see P. Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*..., Wiesbaden 1974, 172.—*ad 2*, see AL-DJAWZAHAR; cf. also AL-KAYD (with further literature).

(P. KUNITZSCH)

TINNĪS, a town of the eastern part of the Nile Delta of Egypt, in Antiquity called Tenessos. The medieval town of Tinnīs was situated in the fourth climate of the Muslim geographers, occupying almost all of a small island in the Lake Manzala or the Lake of Tinnīs, at the confluence of the waters of the Tanaitic branch of the Nile with the Mediterranean ones, some 30 miles behind the chain of lagoons.

At the time of the Muslim expansion, Tinnīs was governed for the Byzantines by a Christian Arab, one Abū Thawr, but in 20/641, just after the fall of Damietta, it was conquered by force (*ʿanwat^an^*) by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's forces, probably explaining why the main church was transformed into a mosque. The city's population continued to grow up to the 11th century, according to the figures of various chroniclers, even though these are probably much exaggerated. At the time of the conquest, the Byzantine governor had 20,000 men to oppose the Arabs. When the Patriarch of Antioch Dionysius of Tell-Mahré passed through Tinnīs in 832, he counted 30,000 Christians; and in 1048 Nāṣir-i Khusraw estimated its male population at 50,000. At least until the 4th/10th century, it remained essentially a Christian city, of Copts but also of some Melkites; Tinnīs was in fact one of those rare places where Melkite bishops maintained themselves after the Islamic conquest, although there seem to have been tensions between the two Churches. This strong Christian presence in a coastal city posed problems for the Muslim rulers. After a Byzantine raid which temporarily captured Damietta [see DIMYĀṬ] in 238/853, they decided to reinforce the Muslim element of the population. The Christians suffered persecution, moreover, from the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim, who in 403/1012-13 ordered the destruction of most of the churches there (72 destroyed, according to Ibn Bassām); this brought about much Christian emigration, including one of textile industry workers to the Byzantine lands. The progressive Islamisation of Tinnīs was signalled by the building of numerous mosques; in the 6th/12th century, Ibn Bassām again mentions a great mosque and 160 oratories. The Jewish population seems to have been very small; Benjamin of Tudela counted it at this time as some 40 only.

The main problem for the city in mediaeval times was its food supply. The island could not produce enough food for the population, which lived essentially on fish, trapped aquatic birds and a small number of milk-yielding cows. Other provisions arrived from outside, thanks, so Nāṣir-i Khusraw says, to a fleet of small boats which loaded supplies from larger ships touching in at the port or from the mainland. The supply of water was, it seems, even more difficult, since the lake waters were only potable for part of the year, during the summer, when the high Nile waters pushed back the salt waters of the Mediterranean. During the winter, drinking water was stored

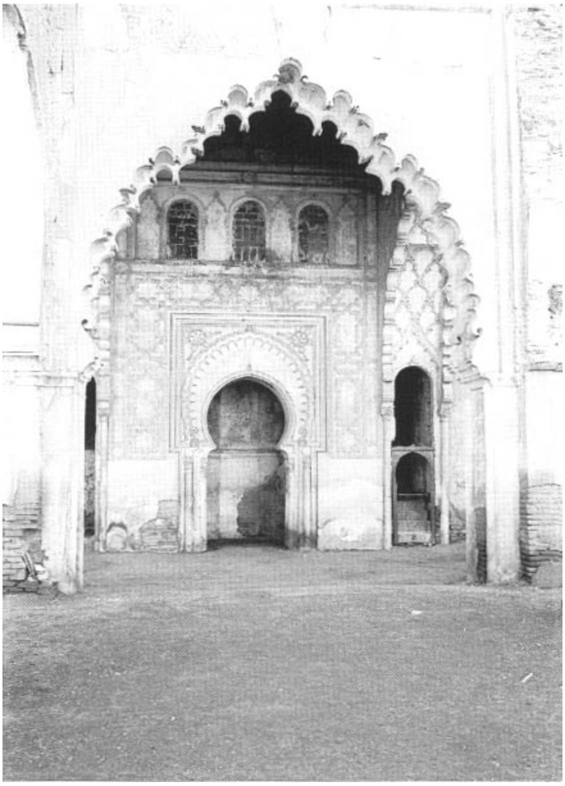

Miḥrāb of the Great Mosque.

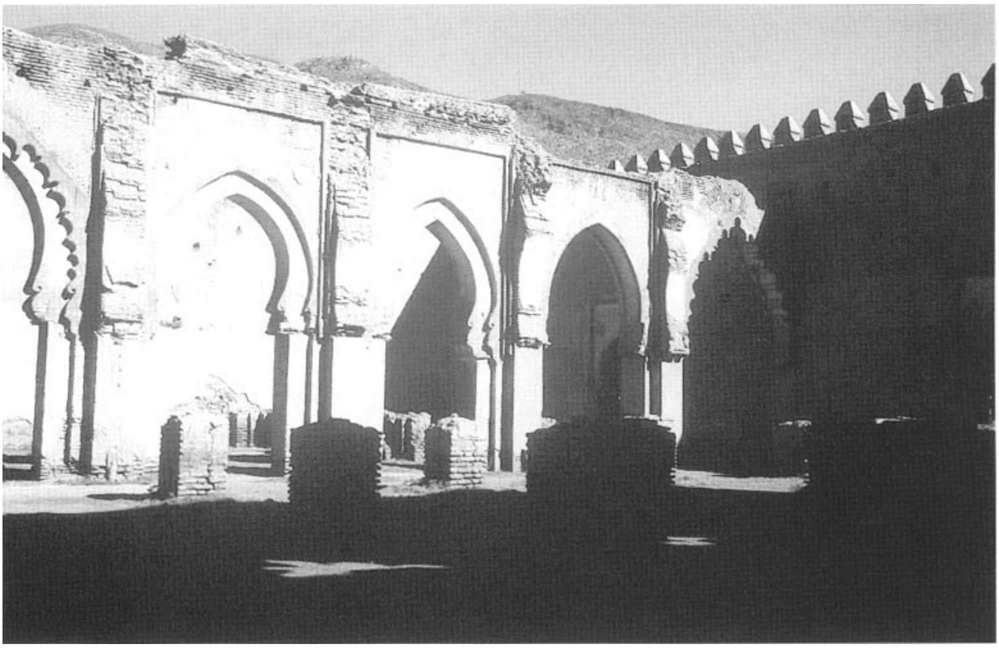

Arcading of the prayer hall of the Great Mosque.

up in underground cisterns, called "those of the *amīr*" since they were hewn out after Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn's visit to Tinnīs in 269/882-3; some of these were rediscovered in the 1980s by excavations carried out by the Egyptian Antiquities Service.

In the Crusading period, Tinnīs was the third port for Egyptian commerce in the Mediterranean after Alexandria and Damietta, and it had especially strong commercial connections with the Syrian ports and then with the Northern Italian trading states. It imported the raw materials for its textile industry such as wool, silk, and gold and silver thread, but the city was also a port of entry for more strategically-valuable materials such as wood, iron and pitch. The textile industry seems to have flourished at Tinnīs since Antiquity, but it was under Islam that it formed, with Damietta, Dabīḳ and some fifteen other less important sites in the Delta, the main centre for linen textiles in the whole Muslim empire. This activity was favoured by the nearby production of flax in the Delta, the presence of still waters for retting or steeping the flax, and a particularly humid climate guaranteeing suppleness of the thread and thus spinning and weaving. The main material used there was flax, spun by women and woven by men. The Egyptian Delta was especially noted for the fine linen cloth known as *ḳaṣab*, that of Tinnīs being coloured whilst that of Damietta was white. Silk thread was imported into the city, probably from Syria, and gold thread was used notably for weaving *dabīḳī* cloth, made essentially from linen and often stitched with gold or silk. This product, of international repute, was at first woven only in the nearby city of Dabīḳ, but production gradually spread to other neighbouring centres of the Delta. Tinnīs had a particularly high place amongst these textile production centres of the Delta in that it had a caliphal workshop (*ṭirāz* [*q.v.*]) working essentially for the Baghdād court of the ʿAbbāsids and then, from the end of the 4th/10th century, for the Fāṭimids in Cairo. Amongst robes made for the Fāṭimid caliphs, the chroniclers mention a seamless robe, the *badana*, made from linen and gold thread. The Tinnīs workshops also produced a cloth especially prized by the court in Cairo, *būḳalamūn*, coloured (violet, red and green) and with a moiré, watered-silk effect, copied from Byzantine models. Finally, the veil of the Kaʿba, the *kiswa* [see KAʿBA] was for most of the mediaeval period woven in workshops of the Delta, and notably at Tinnīs, where detailed mentions of its production there for the years 159/776 and 162/779 exist.

It was apparently in the 3rd/9th century that the eastern shores of the Delta began to be the target of maritime raids. The city was fortified in 230/844 under al-Wāthiḳ and finished in 239/853-4 under al-Mutawakkil, who also ordered the nearby cities of Damietta and Pelusium to be fortified. In the 6th/12th century, Tinnīs's wall had 19 gates. From the second half of this century, raids against the Egyptian Mediterranean ports by Christian ships increased. The Normans attacked Tinnīs in 1151 and again in 548/1154, pillaging the city for three days and carrying off many inhabitants into slavery. In 571/1175, forty Norman ships launched a fresh attack on the city, but retreated after two days' of fighting. However, an attack two years later took the garrison by surprise, and the city was in Norman hands for several days, and was plundered and burnt. In 577/1181-2 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had to order the building of a citadel and the repairing of the city walls. The Third Crusade had led to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's fleet becoming weakened, and fresh expeditions against the Egyptian coasts were feared. Hence the sultan in 588/1192 evacuated the civilian population of the city and left there only the citadel's garrison. Frankish threats continued into the first decades of the 7th/13th century and assumed firm shape at the time of the Fifth Crusade in the occupation of Damietta. The Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*] drew a lesson from this episode, and in 624/1227 decided to destroy Tinnīs in order to prevent a new descent and occupation of the region by the Franks. It nevertheless seems that a small town maintained itself for some time amid the city's ruins; but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the town in ruins in 726/1326, and the French traveller Gilbert de Lannoy, who was there in the 1420s, found the same situation.

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TIPPU TIP [see AL-MURDJIBĪ].

TĪPŪ SULṬĀN, ruler of the south Indian state of Mysore (Mahisūr [*q.v.*]) from 1782 until his death in 1799, was probably born in 1760. His father, Ḥaydar ʿAlī Khān Bahādur [*q.v.*], was a military commander who in 1761 took control of Mysore from the descendants of the dynasty of Hindū rulers that had built up the state from early in the 17th century.

Mysore under Ḥaydar ʿAlī and later under Tīpū was in constant contention with the Marāthās [*q.v.*] and with those who claimed to exercise Mughal authority in southern India, the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] and the Nawwābs of Arcot [*q.v.*] or the Carnatic, as well as with the British East India Company. At Tīpū's succession in 1782, Mysore was locked in a war with the British in which its troops had been more than able to hold their own.

Following peace in 1784, Tīpū built up a well-equipped and trained army of over 60,000, supported by a strong and relatively centralised state administration. Revenue yields were enhanced by eliminating intermediaries between the peasantry and the state and by increasing the levels of taxation. Tīpū also tried to levy resources for the state from commerce, taking some trades under direct government management. Any internal challenge to the ruler was ruthlessly repressed. Tīpū took the title of *Pādishāh*, seeking confirmation from the Ottoman Khalīfa and thus rejecting Mughal authority. He stressed the Islamic nature of his régime without active persecution of his Hindū subjects.

Tīpū's Mysore was drawn into repeated wars: against the Niẓām and the Marāthās and against the British at the head of Indian coalitions from 1789 to 1792 and again in 1799. In the first of the two wars, Tīpū was able to hold the British at bay until the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, defeated him near his capital at Seringapatam [see ŚRĪRANGAPAṬṬANAM] in 1792 and forced him to make large cessions of territory. In 1799, a new Governor-General, the future Lord Wellesley, launched an invasion of Mysore. Seringapatam was stormed and Tīpū died in the fighting. The Hindū dynasty displaced by Ḥaydar ʿAlī was restored under British domination.

Myths attached themselves to Tīpū, both in his lifetime and since. He is seen in modern India both as a secular nationalist and as an enemy of Hindus. To the British, he appeared to be a cruel and implacable foe, bent on expelling them from India with French aid. A more realistic interpretation would be that his efforts to maintain a strong and independent state alarmed the British, who sought first to reduce his power and then to eliminate it altogether.

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TIRAN, the Ottoman Turkish name for TIRANA, the capital of the modern Albanian Republic.

It is situated on a plain at the foot of Mount Dajti (1,610 m/5,280 feet) some 40 km/25 miles from the port of Durrës [see DRAČ], with the Lana river running through it. It is a relatively recent foundation, of the Ottoman period, from the opening of the 17th century when there was built a mosque, an oven (or *ʿimāret*), a *ḥammām* and shops by Süleymān Pas̲h̲a (Berkīn-zāde or Bargjini, from a nearby village, d. 1024/1616 during a campaign in Persia, buried in his own mosque). The date of the mosque's construction, 1023/1614-15, is generally taken as the foundation date for the town. The name Tirana comes from that of a pre-existing village on the site, and not, as legend has it, from Ṭihrān/Tehran in Persia, because Süleymān Pas̲h̲a had been in Persia (cf. Kaleshi, *IA*, art. *Tiran*).

For roughly two centuries, during which the town grew gradually, it remained under the governorship of Süleymān's descendants from father to son: Aḥmed Muk̲h̲tār (who built the minaret on his father's mosque); Ibrāhīm Bey (executed by the Ottomans); Aḥmed Bey; and finally, Ḳahramān Pas̲h̲a. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, who was there in 1072/1661-2, Tirana was at that time a *ḳaṣaba*, a *voyvodalïḳ* of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Ohrid [see OK̲H̲RĪ] and seat of a *ḳāḍī* (but this last point does not seem accurate; see Kiel, *Ottoman architecture in Albania, 1385-1912*, 249-50). It was in the 18th century that it developed most. Ibrāhīm Bey had a fortress built, but it still remained primarily a market town, the centre of an agricultural area, with *ca.* 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants around 1700, all Muslims except for one Roman Catholic family which had been installed there almost from the start. After the struggle with Ḳurt Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a of Beirut, in which the Orthodox population of the plain had contributed to the defence of the town, Ibrāhīm Bey offered them land along the Lana where the church of St. Procopius was now built; some of these Orthodox now became traders or small manufacturers in the town itself. In *ca.* 1800, Tirana had around 480 shops and 2,000 houses. In 1208/1793-4 Mollā Bey, a descendant of Süleymān Pas̲h̲a, built a new mosque, completed three decades later by his son Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Edhem Bey when he was temporarily in control of the town.

On the death of Ḳahramān Pas̲h̲a, the male line of beys from Süleymān Pas̲h̲a came to an end. At this time, the end of the 18th and the opening of the 19th centuries, the region was very troubled by various struggles amongst the notables (Ibrāhīm Bus̲h̲atlï of S̲h̲kodra [see ISHKODRA, in Suppl.], Ḳaplan Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a Toptani of Kruja, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a of Tepedelen [*q.v.*], etc.). The town, whose population had been reduced by these wars, finally fell definitively to the Toptanis of Kruja, sons of Ḳaplan Pas̲h̲a (d. 1816) having married, moreover, the four sisters of Ḳahramān Pas̲h̲a, and Ḳaplan Pas̲h̲a himself had become installed in Tirana. His son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pas̲h̲a (d. 1837) gave Tirana a new *medrese* and a library, restored the ancient mosque and laid out the town in six quarters. His prudence allowed the family to survive, unlike others, *vis-à-vis* the central Ottoman government, even though the fortress was demolished by the authorities in 1830-1. It was in the time of Aḥmed Bey b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān that the Roman Catholic cathedral (*Kïsha e së Madhes virgjin*), financed by Austria-Hungary, protecting power of the religious interests of Albanian Catholics, was built (1856). In the atmosphere of the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms, a *rüs̲h̲diyye* school was built in 1862 and also a post and telegraph office. In 1873, a new and more splendid Orthodox cathedral was built (*Kïsha e vangjelismos*). Two bridges were built over the Lana. As part of the administrative reforms of 1864-5, Tirana became the centre of a *ḳaḍā*, with about 100 villages, almost all Muslim, of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Durrës in the *wilāyet* of S̲h̲kodra. On the plain, almost all the lands were *čiftliks* [*q.v.*] belonging to the Toptani family.

According to the Austrian consul J.G. von Hahn, *ca.* 1850 the town had 2,000 houses, including 100 Orthodox (almost all Vlachs) and 6 Catholic. This would give a population of about 10,000. The population lived to a considerable extent off their beasts of burden, and the *kirad̲j̲ïs* (purveyors of caravan transport) of Tirana were famed throughout Rumelia. At the opening of the 20th century, the population rose to around 15,000, including 900 Orthodox Vlachs and a handful of Albanian Catholics, to which a certain number of gypsies living in a quarter on the periphery should probably be added. The assertion of the French consul A. Degrand that the Muslims of Tirana were at that time in general Bektās̲h̲īs and adherents of the Rifāʿiyya must be corrected; in fact, the people were entirely linked with the *medrese* and its three *müderris*. There were 19 mosques, great and small, and a *namāz-gah*, and a dozen *tekke*s belonging to the Ḳādiriyya and the K̲h̲alwatiyya. Only three or four families in the town were linked with the Bektās̲h̲īs (probably with the Bektās̲h̲ī establishments of Kruja).

The upheavals consequent on the demise of the Ottoman empire affected Tirana, and in 1920, because of its central position, it was chosen as the provisional capital of the Albanian state, whose independence had been recognised in 1913 by the Great Powers. This choice was confirmed in 1925, to the detriment of more important towns like S̲h̲kodra and Korča [*q.v.*]. Tirana has thus been the capital of the Republic, then the Kingdom (1928-39), then Fascist Albania (1939-44), then the Communist People's Republic (1944-92) and now the new Republic. Population growth was

slow in the inter-war period, but more rapid under Communism (108,200 in 1955; 225,700 in 1989). With the fall of the Communist régime and the possibility for the first time for peasants to move around, population has grown greatly, to 300-400,000 now. The religious proportions have changed, but it is difficult to assess precisely these proportions. The first new arrivals were Muslims in 1919-20 from the town of Dibra, allotted then to Yugoslavia. With the Communist régime and the foundation of Tirana University in 1957, Albanians of all localities and confessions have come to the capital, but in the absence of data on religious confession in censuses, no estimates can be given.

In the 1920s, the religious communities took their place in the new state, in general, with central organisations in Tirana. The Sunnī Muslim community held its first congress there in 1923, a higher *medrese* (*Medrese e naltë*, thereafter *Medrese e përgjithshme*) was founded in that decade for the training of religious cadres. Regarding the Bektās̲h̲īs, it was only in 1929 that a congress on the outskirts of Korča decided to set up a seat of the head of the community (*Kryegjyshata*) in the suburbs of Tirana, with Salih Niyazi Dede (an Albanian by origin), the last chief of the Bektās̲h̲īs in Turkey, as this head. Since the *ṭuruḳ* were now banned in Turkey, the new *tekke* became the "world centre of Bektās̲h̲īs". In the 1930s, two organisations were founded in Tirana grouping together the *ṭuruḳ*: the "Divine Light" (*Drita hyjnore*) for the Ḳādirīs, Rifāʿīs, Saʿdīs and Tid̲j̲ānīs, and the Directorate of the "ʿAlevī sects" for the K̲h̲alwatīs, D̲j̲alwatīs, Guls̲h̲anīs and Malāmīs.

In the Communist period, religious activity was much impaired, especially after 1967 when all places of worship were closed and all religious groups dissolved. The *Kryegjyshata* became an old folks' home, and several mosques and *tekkes* were destroyed or transformed into storehouses, museums (like the mosque of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Edhem Bey), etc., as elsewhere in the land. Since the end of 1990, the Albanian government reauthorised religious practices, with a consequent reorganisation of the various communities. The first act of worship in the Edhem Bey mosque was held on 18 January 1991, two months after the re-opening of the "Lead Mosque" at S̲h̲kodra, followed by three other mosques. The Bektās̲h̲ī *Kryegjyshata* re-opened on 22 March 1991. The K̲h̲alwatī *tekke* of Pazar is being repaired, and the *türbe* of the Ḳādirī Derwīs̲h̲ K̲h̲ātid̲j̲e is visited again. *D̲h̲ikrs* have been held in the Ḳādirī *tekke* of S̲h̲eh Dürri and in a Rifāʿī *zāwiye*. A *medrese* has been provisionally opened near the Kokonozi mosque. Links with the outside Muslim world are numerous, and some fifteen Arabo-Islamic organisations have an office in Tirana.

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(Nathalie Clayer)

TĪRĀN [see tihrān. II.]

TIRANA [see tiran].

ṬIRĀZ (a., pl. *ṭuruz*), a Persian loan word (cf. Pers. *tarāz* "adornment" or "embellishment" and *tirīz* "gusset" or "gore") originally meaning "embroidery" or "decorative work" (*ʿalam*) on a garment or piece of fabric. It later came to mean a *k̲h̲ilʿa* [*q.v.*], a robe of honour, richly adorned with elaborate embroidery, especially in the form of embroidered bands with writing upon them. In the earliest centuries of Islam, such a garment was worn by rulers and members of their entourage (*aṣḥāb al-k̲h̲ilʿa*). *Ṭirāz* (and *dār al-ṭirāz*) also came to designate the workshop in which such fabrics or robes were manufactured. A secondary development from the meaning "embroidered strip of writing" is that of "strip of writing", border or braid in general, applied not only to inscriptions woven, embroidered, or sewn on materials, but also to any inscriptions on a band of any kind, whether hewn out of stone, done in mosaic, glass or faience, or carved in wood (see e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 79: *al-ṭirāz al-manḳūs̲h̲ fi 'l-ḥid̲j̲āra*). Until about the middle of the 4th/10th century, when the production of papyrus [see ḳirṭās; raḳḳ] ceased in Egypt, the word *ṭirāz* sometimes also designated the inscriptions officially stamped with ink upon the rolls of papyrus in the factories. This usage of *ṭirāz* was in turn extended to indicate the factories themselves (see J. von Karabacek, *Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde. II. Die arabischen Papyrusprotokolle*, in *SBAW*, clxi/1 [1908], 8-10; A. Grohmann, *Corpus papyrorum Raineri*, i/2, Vienna 1995, nos. 175, 204, 214, 265, 270).

1. Origins of the institution.

The production of certain luxury textiles was an imperial privilege in both the Byzantine and Sāsānid empires and had antecedents in the earlier Roman and Persian states. The Byzantine emperors established royal weaving ateliers or *gynacea* (literally, "women's quarters"), in various places throughout their domains, including in Egypt, where there developed a distinctive Coptic style marked by embroidered decorative patches (either squares or roundels) and bands (*clavi*) that continued for nearly seven centuries into the Islamic era (see A. Baginski and A. Tidhar, *Textiles from Egypt, 4th-13th centuries C.E.*). Some scholars surmised that such establishments were probably taken over by the Umayyad caliphs, who were known to have had a *dār al-ṭirāz* in Alexandria (al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā'*, iv, 7) and adapted to their special needs and tastes (E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, *Catalogue of dated tiraz fabrics: Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid*, 1). Ebersolt has proposed a connection between the *ṭirāz* bands and the Roman *clavus*—the sign of the senatorial and knightly rank—which is ultimately traced to an Etruscan origin. It is worth noting that, in Muslim fabrics also, the band of writing was often embroidered or woven in red silk. The preference for red in embroidery is likely due to the fact that the wearing of red was considered to be a caliphal prerogative (Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Rusūm dār al-k̲h̲ilāfa*, Bag̲h̲dād 1964, 75). The privilege of the *Princeps* to grant the *latus clavus* to the senators and the reservation of purple for the use of the ruler and, from A.D. 369, the limitation of the production of gold braid to the *gynacea*,

at least, afford parallels to the sovereign right of the Muslim caliphs to the *ṭirāz* and its presentation.

In contradistinction to the scholars who have looked to Byzantium and Rome for the source of *ṭirāz* as object and institution, others, most notably Serjeant, following the testimony of many mediaeval Arab historians, have been of the belief that the *ṭirāz* system had its origin in Sāsānid Persia and that during the Umayyad period it expanded westward to Egypt, North Africa, and Spain (R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, 9). Ibn Khaldūn, for example, states outright that "the pre-Islamic Persian kings (*mulūk al-ʿadjam*) used to make that *ṭirāz* with the images and likenesses of monarchs or other images and likenesses specifically designated for that use, and later the Islamic monarchs substituted for that the inscribing of their names together with other words of good omen or praises of God" (*Muḳaddima*, ii, 57-9, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 65-7). Ibn Khaldūn's remarks concerning garments with royal insignia in Sāsānid times are corroborated by the much earlier testimony of the Talmud (*BT Shabbat* 58a, where it is mentioned that the robes of scholars associated with the house of the Exilarch bore some sort of badge with his seal). (S.D. Goitein, *Petitions to Fatimid caliphs from the Cairo Geniza*, in *JQR*, NS, xlv [1954-5], 34-5, has suggested that the custom was borrowed by the Jewish Exilarchs from the Sāsānid court at which they served.)

The truth concerning the origins of the *ṭirāz* system, it would seem, combines both views. The institution of royal ateliers was so widespread throughout the ancient and early mediaeval Near East that its adoption by the Muslims, who were decidedly eclectic, need not be attributed to a single source. The name of the system is clearly Persian, but on the other hand, it is an established fact that the Umayyads, based as they were in the former Byzantine province of Syria, were at first far more under the influence of Eastern Roman rather than of Persian culture, as the Dome of the Rock, the great mosque of Damascus, and the numerous desert chateaux in Syria, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan bear ample witness.

2. Development of the *Ṭirāz* institution.

i. *Historiographical considerations.* In addition to debates over the origins of the institution, scholarship on the development of the *ṭirāz* institution has followed several different trajectories. Considerable attention has been paid to the content of the inscriptions themselves. Since most known *ṭirāz* are held in museum collections, catalogues of dated or datable *ṭirāz* fabrics have dominated scholarly publication in the field (see *Bibl.*). Considerably less is known, therefore, about *ṭirāz* fragments which cannot be dated or about uninscribed textiles, though these represent by far the majority of recovered fragments. The catalogues of *ṭirāz* fabrics, which have emphasised the content and style of inscriptions themselves, have formed a major source for students of Arabic calligraphy and epigraphy. Historians have shown particular interest in the content of their caliphal inscriptions for the obvious reason that they provide documentary evidence about titulature, which is a central element of the political culture of mediaeval Islamic dynasties, and have used them primarily in conjunction with literary evidence, which includes sometimes detailed descriptions of textiles. In spite of the relative abundance of both literary and material evidence, however, not a single known *ṭirāz* fabric has ever been matched to a description provided in a literary source.

Furthermore, in spite of the abundant literary evidence about the function of *ṭirāz*, almost no information has been preserved about the uses or the original dimensions and style of the actual textiles that are known. This situation is the consequence both of the emphasis on the content of inscriptions themselves (leading to the practice of cutting out only the inscribed portion of a textile and discarding the rest) and of earlier excavation priorities and practices, which largely excluded textiles from being considered as important archaeological finds. Thus there are almost no inscribed textiles whose original or even last uses are documented (see J.A. Sokoly, *Between life and death. The funerary context of Ṭirāz textiles*, in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters. Aktuelle Probleme*, 1997, 71-8; Suʿād Māhir Muḥammad, *al-Nasīdj al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1977).

New directions in research and standard archaeological practice are changing this situation. As Lisa Golombek and Veronika Gervers note, "The interest in *ṭirāz* studies has paralleled that of numismatics, where the content of the inscription was initially the leading concern. The object itself, either coin or textile, was of secondary importance. More recently, numismatists have turned to the study of the intrinsic qualities of coins" (*Tiraz fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum*, 82-3; Sokoly, *Towards a model of early Islamic textile institutions in Egypt*, in *Islamische Textilkunst*, 115-21). New documentary evidence (most notably from the Cairo Geniza [*q.v.*]) has provided information about the production, distribution and uses of a wider variety of textiles, thereby creating greater interest in documenting the technical characteristics and actual uses of inscribed textiles. One trajectory in this newer research situates *ṭirāz* fabrics within the history of the public uses of writing by Islamic rulers from early Fāṭimid times onwards (Irene A. Bierman, *The art of the public text: medieval Islamic rule*, in *World art. Themes of unity in diversity*, ed. I. Lavin, ii, 283-8). Finally, recent archaeological excavations have yielded textiles, many of them in funerary settings (R.-P. Gayraud *et alii*, *Istabl ʿAntar (Fostat) 1994: Rapport de Fouilles*, in *AI*, xxix [1995], 2-24). The full implications of these new directions and evidence will no doubt be borne out in the years to come.

ii. *The institution under the Umayyads.* The earliest regular production of Arabic-inscribed *ṭirāz* probably goes back to the time of the reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik, when not only did Arabic become the official chancery language but it was henceforth inscribed on all coins and was used for the stamp (also called *ṭirāz*) on papyrus. Although the earliest Muslim historians, such as al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī, mention only the coinage and papyrus, al-Bayhaḳī claims that the reforms included inscriptions on garments (*thiyāb*) and tapestries (*sutūr*) (*K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. F. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 498). The first Umayyad caliph who is specifically mentioned in the Arabic sources as having had *ṭirāz* factories was ʿAbd al-Malik's son Hishām (al-Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1983, 60), who was known as a dandy and a great lover of fine robes, textiles and carpets (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 466; also Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ii, Cairo 1331/1913, 338). He is also said to have worn silk garments with what may have been embroidered bands (*al-khazz al-raḳm*: al-Masʿūdī, *loc. cit.*), but the term is somewhat ambiguous and could also merely indicate striping. Hishām's successor, al-Walīd II, is reported to have worn "caliphal garments" (*thiyāb al-khilāfa*: *Aghānī*[1], vii, 83). This term was later synonymous with *ṭirāz* robes, although it is not clear whether al-Walīd's royal garments actually had the embroidered bands or were simply designated caliphal because they were white, the Umayyad official colour.

One of the oldest surviving *ṭirāz* fabrics, which has

a red silk ground with designs in several colours and an inscription in yellow silk, exists in three pieces, all discovered in Egypt, and bears the name of the caliph Marwān. The question is which Marwān—Marwān I (64-5/684-5) or Marwān II (127-32/744-50)? Most scholars prefer the latter on historical grounds, since one piece bears the inscription "in the *ṭirāz* factory of Ifrīḳiya," and it seems unlikely that the Maghribī province was secure enough in the earlier reign to have such an establishment (R. Guest and A.F. Kendrick, *The earliest dated Islamic textiles*, in *Burlington Magazine*, lx [1932], 185-6; G. Wiet, in *RCEA*, i, no. 36; Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, 13). F.E. Day, on the other hand, has pointed out that from a stylistic point of view, the inscriptions look more like 1st/7th century, rather than 2nd/8th century (*The ṭirāz silk of Marwān, passim*, but esp. 52-61). Another very early *ṭirāz* fragment of wool tapestry has a partial inscription "[commander of the] faithful Ma[rwān]" that also appears to come from the reign of Marwān. Its Sāsānid ground design of cocks on pedestals enclosed in roundels again points stylistically to the time of Marwān I; yet again, most scholars favour attributing the piece to Marwān II on the grounds that the reign of the former was too brief to make any attribution to him likely. In any event, it seems clear that by late Umayyad times, the *ṭirāz* system extended across the caliphate.

There is one dated *ṭirāz* fragment from the Umayyad period, an Egyptian linen turban cloth with an inscription giving the date of Radjab 88 (June 707) and the name Shamū'īl b. Mūsā (M.A.A. Marzouk, *The turban of Samuel ibn Musa, the earliest dated Islamic textile*, 143-51). This was probably a privately-commissioned piece made for a wealthy Jew or Christian. It mentions neither the caliph nor the factory and was not, therefore, an official *ṭirāz* cloth. However, in later periods, private *ṭirāz* production for the bourgeoisie became increasingly common (see below).

iii. *The development of the institution under the 'Abbāsids.* The *ṭirāz* system continued to flourish in the Muslim East under the 'Abbāsids. Hārūn al-Rashīd is reported to have entrusted the *ṭirāz* operations (*dūr al-ṭuruz*) to his famous vizier Dja'far al-Barmakī (al-Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 249), and control of the *ṭirāz* factories was considered one of the most important of administrative responsibilities, along with oversight of the mints, the post and the bureaux of taxation, and only individuals of high rank and the most trusted individuals among their freedman were given this office. Al-Rashīd made regular presents of *ṭirāz* garments and fabrics to his favourites. His Christian physician Bukhtīshū' b. Djurdjīs received every Muḥarram an allotment of garments, furs and textiles that included twenty garment-sized pieces (*shiḳḳa*) of royal *ṭirāz* linen shot with gold or silver thread (*al-ḳaṣab al-khāṣṣ al-ṭirāzī*) and a like number of pieces of *mulḥam ṭirāzī* (a combination fabric of silk warp and woof of another material with embroidered bands) (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, ed. Müller, i, 136). Certainly from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd onwards, the symbolic importance of *ṭirāz* as a caliphal prerogative was well established and was accepted, then and later, as a medium for extending the prestige of the court to favoured individuals. The importance of *ṭirāz* and in this connection was subsequently described by Ibn Khaldūn:

> It is part of royal and governmental pomp and dynastic custom to have the names of rulers or their peculiar marks [*'alāmāt*] put on [*tursam*] on the silk.... The writing is brought out by weaving a gold thread or some other coloured thread of a colour different from that of the fabric itself into it. [Its execution] depends upon the skill of the weavers in designing and weaving it. Royal fabrics are embellished with such a *ṭirāz*, in order to increase the prestige of... those whom the ruler distinguishes by bestowing on them his own garment when he wants to honor them or appoint them to one of the offices of the dynasty (tr. Rosenthal, ii, 65-6).

Supervision of the *ṭirāz* factories was so important to the caliph because it was considered one of his royal prerogatives to have his name on the textiles produced in them, just as it was to have his name on the *sikka* or coinage and pronounced in the *khuṭba*. Omission of the ruler's name from any or all of these was tantamount to rebellion. For example, al-Ma'mūn dropped his brother al-Amīn's name from the *sikka* and the *ṭirāz* when he began his revolt in 194/809-10 (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Juynboll and Mattes, i, 551-2), and Ibn Ṭūlūn dropped the regent al-Muwaffaḳ's name from the *ṭirāz* and the *khuṭba* in 269/882-3, when he broke relations with Baghdād (Ibn al-Athīr, Būlāḳ 1290, vii, 143). This latter act was of particularly far-reaching consequence since the annual caliphal gift of an inscribed covering to the Ka'ba (*kiswa*) was produced in the *ṭirāz* factories of Egypt, and the absence of the regent's name would be seen by pilgrims from all around the *dār al-islām*. Serjeant has suggested that it was perhaps at this time that Ka'ba coverings began to be produced in the East, although it is only three generations later that Tustar (Shustar) in Persia is first mentioned as the place where the coverings were produced (*Islamic textiles*, 20, 42; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 92).

Despite the political importance of caliphal inscriptions on the Ka'ba coverings, it is by no means clear that such inscriptions featured prominently on *khila'* distributed by the caliph during the first century of the 'Abbāsid period. Bierman has pointed to the universal silence of the numerous texts describing the bestowal of robes of honour at this time (*Art and politics*, 20-1), whereas for the later Fāṭimid period such descriptions frequently include details on the political inscriptions. On the other hand, the literary sources do mention that, starting with the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, when the Persian secretarial class were the trendsetters in all matters of high culture and good taste with their polite educational ideal of *adab* [*q.v.*], it became the fashion to have verses of poetry embroidered onto the garments. The poet Abu 'l-'Atāhiya presented al-Rashīd on the occasion of the Nawrūz festival with a perfumed *thawb* with verses embroidered on its borders (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 203). The *adīb* al-Washshā' (d. 325/936 [*q.v.*]) devotes a chapter of his book *On elegance and elegant people* to "What [verses] may be found [inscribed] on shirt tails [*dhuyūl al-aḳmiṣa wa 'l-a'lām*] and on pieces of embroidery on cloaks and sleeves (*wa-ṭuruz al-ardiya wa 'l-akmām*)," another to the verses on headdresses and head bands (*karāzin wa-'aṣā'ib*) and a third to the verses on belts, pantaloon drawstrings and scarves (*zanānīr wa-tikak wa-manādīl*) (*K. al-Muwashshā aw al-ẓarf wa 'l-ẓurafā'*, Cairo 1362/1953, chs. 42-4, pp. 219-30).

iv. *The institution under the Fāṭimids.* The Fāṭimids had adopted the use of inscribed textiles even in North Africa, and clearly brought a number of these fabrics produced in Ifrīḳiya with them when they came to Egypt, as is attested by the presence of *ṭirāz* fabrics dating from the North African period in a Fāṭimid funerary site in Fusṭāṭ (Gayraud, 1995). In the North African period, a man had asked for a garment (*thawb*) of the caliph's to use as a funeral shroud because of its *baraka* (*Sīrat al-Ustādh Djūdhar* [*Djawdhar*], 138),

although there is no indication that the textile was inscribed. The evidence (which is admittedly meagre) suggests that the mass production of textiles inscribed with the caliph's name and given as a robe of honour (*kh̲ilʿa*) may have developed as the demand for robes of honour increased and the caliph abandoned the practice of giving a piece of his own clothing in favour of bestowing a garment that had been produced in the *ṭirāz* factories. Already in the reign of al-Ẓāhir, a man who aspired to both a larger *iḳṭāʿ* and greater prestige requested a robe and skullcap from the caliph, specifying not only garments that were the caliph's own (*th̲iyāb min th̲iyābihi... wa-s̲h̲ās̲h̲iyya min s̲h̲awās̲h̲īhi*) but that the caliph had actually worn (*th̲iyāb min th̲iyāb mawlānā ... allatī yalbisuhā*) (al-Musabbiḥī, *Akh̲bār Miṣr*, 57-8).

The flourishing of the *ṭirāz* industry under the Fāṭimids is attested both by the large number of surviving inscribed textiles and by the literary and documentary records. The chronicles and administrative histories which survive establish that *ṭirāz* production was an integral part of the Fāṭimid bureaucracy. There is little information on the structure of the *ṭirāz* administration for the earlier Fāṭimid period, but for the later period we have not only the accounts of Ibn Mammātī and al-Makh̲zūmī but also the excerpts from Ibn al-Ṭuwayr preserved by al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī and al-Maḳrīzī. The head of the *ṭirāz* institution was a high-ranking court official, the only one to receive his *kh̲ilʿa* in a private ceremony according to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, who devotes a section in his chapter on the Fāṭimid *dīwāns* to the *ṭirāz* (*Nuzhat al-muḳlatayn fī akh̲bār al-dawlatayn*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1992, 101-4).

The sums spent in the *ṭirāz* were apparently quite large, though the sparse information in the chronicles makes systematic tracking of the expenditures impossible. Ibn al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī reports that the expenditures for costumes (including gold thread) in the year 516/1122 were nearly 20,000 dīnārs (*Akh̲bār Miṣr*, ed. Sayyid, 48 ff.). Ibn al-Ṭuwayr put the amount spent on costumes for various court occasions at 10,000 dīnārs a year (*Nuzhat al-muḳlatayn*, 75, 104).

The management of the *ṭirāz* was closely related to that of the mint (*dār al-ḍarb*) for two reasons. First, *ṭirāz* involved the same prerogative of inscribing the caliph's name as *sikka*. Indeed, the inscription of textiles (*ṭirāz*) is mentioned alongside the minting and inscription of coins (*sikka*) among the prerogatives that the *wazīr* al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī restored to the caliph al-Āmir after the fall of the *wazīr* al-Afḍal b. Amīr al-Dj̲uyūs̲h̲. Second, the *ṭirāz* factories used large quantities of gold, which was spun into thread under the careful supervision of the mint. The close association of the mint and *ṭirāz* is clear in both Ibn Mammātī (*Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, 330-3) and al-Makh̲zūmī (*Kitāb al-Minhādj fī ʿilm kh̲arādj Miṣr*, 30-3), who describe the mint (*dār al-ḍarb*) and the *ṭirāz* sequentially. The production of gold thread is specifically mentioned under the discussion of each institution. The elaborate inventory preserved in Ibn al-Maʾmūn records not only the amount of gold in each garment, but also the labour charges for spinning the gold thread.

Abundant material from the Cairo Geniza (particularly business letters, marriage contracts and trousseaux) documents the vitality of the textile industry that was the cornerstone of the Egyptian economy (S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, Berkeley, etc. 1967, 101 ff.; Gladys Frantz-Murphy, *The agrarian administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans*, 1986). Fāṭimid Egypt had five major *ṭirāz* centres: Alexandria, Tinnīs, Dimyāṭ (Damietta), Dabīḳ and the Fayyūm. These were not just centres of *ṭirāz* but also more generally of textile production. The overwhelming majority of *ṭirāz* fabrics with dated or datable Kūfic inscriptions are from Egypt, and nearly all are of linen or other light-weight fabrics. Egypt was especially famous during the Fāṭimid period for its flax cultivation and finished linen textiles; Goitein and Stillman identified 22 different varieties of linen, mostly named after localities, rulers, or type, in the Geniza documents (Goitein, *op. cit.*, i, 104-5; Y.K. Stillman, *Female attire of medieval Egypt, according to the trousseau lists and cognate material from the Cairo Geniza, passim*). The *ṭirāz* institution under the Fāṭimids was not merely a court institution but was integrally connected to the economy as a whole. This is particularly true in view of the fact that fine clothing was a valuable commodity in the mediaeval Mediterranean economy, and high-quality textiles, even after having been worn, had considerable cash value. Textiles of various kinds often constituted a major portion of bridal trousseaux. *Ṭirāz* textiles were classified as either *kh̲āṣṣa* (exclusively for the court) or *ʿāmma* (available for public purchase). The sale of *ṭirāz* textiles to the public was a significant source of revenue for the Fāṭimid caliphs. In the late 4th/10th century, the largest *ṭirāz* factories apparently provided an income of more than 200,000 dīnārs each day. Income from the *ṭirāz* for the later Fāṭimid period is not reported, but must have been considerable, given the dramatic increase in *ṭirāz* production at court and the penchant of the middle and upper classes for imitation.

The wealthier classes imitated the court by wearing garments with inscribed bands just as they addressed each other respectfully by their *kunyas* or used the honorific titles that had become commonplace by the 5th/11th century. In a 12th-century Geniza document, the Jewish India trader Abraham b. Joseph b. Abraham b. Bundār b. Ḥasan ordered a *ṭirāz* turban with his son's name embroidered on it as a gift for the latter (Stillman 1972, 18). The fashion of élite imitation of the court resulted ultimately in the production of fake *ṭirāz* with pseudo-inscriptions, i.e. of textiles with decorative bands that merely create the appearance of an inscription (Gervers, *Rags to riches*, 28). The *ṭirāz* institution by the late 6th/12th century, then, had developed far beyond its original political uses at court into a widespread social and economic phenomenon. This is confirmed by the oft-quoted passage in al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī's *K. al-Is̲h̲āra ilā maḥāsin al-tidj̲āra* (later 6th/12th century), in the section devoted to the two fine linens, *dabīḳī* and *s̲h̲arb*, which often formed the ground fabric for *ṭirāz*: "People's tastes vary in regard to the *ṭirāz* borders and the ornamented embroideries, but they are agreed in the preference of that which is of the finest thread, and closest of weave, of the purest white, of the best workmanship, red, and golden" (tr. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, 140).

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(YEDIDA K. STILLMAN and PAULA SANDERS)

3. The term's use in architecture.

Ṭirāz came to architecture from textiles at an unknown date, but no earlier than the Fāṭimid period (10th-12th centuries), and seems to have remained in use until the early Ottoman period in Egypt and Syria. Oddly, no Arabic dictionary records the architectural application of the term, which nonetheless frequently appears in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk *waḳf* [*q.v.*] documents and in Mamlūk primary sources such as al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (noted in *EI*¹, art. *Ṭirāz*). Like its prevailing meaning for textiles as an epigraphic band embroidered on the sleeves of robes of honour, *ṭirāz* in architecture designates any inscription band. It may appear on the inside or the outside of the building: as a frieze running along a wall, on the side of doors, above or around a window, or around the drum of a dome. It may be executed in different media: carved in stone, moulded in stucco, or painted or gilded on wood. A *ṭirāz* may include Ḳurʾānic verses, the name and titles of the patron and the superintendent of construction (*shādd*), the date of building, sometimes the name of the master builder or decorator, and in a few instances, poetic citations or an abbreviated text of the building's *waḳf* document (Laila Ibrahim and M.M. Amin, *Architectural terms in Mamluk documents*, Cairo 1990, 76).

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(NASSER RABBAT)

TĪRE, modern Turkish Tire, a town of southwestern Anatolia, in the southern part of the Küçük Menderes valley, 67 km/40 miles south-east of Izmir (lat. 38° 64' N., long. 27° 45' E., altitude 108 m/350 feet), in early Turkish times a town in the *beylik* of the Aydïn-oghullarï [see AYDÏN; AYDÏN-OGHLU].

The present town presumably occupies the site of the ancient Arcadiopolis, later called Teira (i.e. "town", e.g. in Thya-teira; cf. W.M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, 104, 114). In the Byzantine period the town appears as Thyrea (Θύρεα) and Thyraia (Θύραια: cf. Ducas, 38, 73, 97, 109,

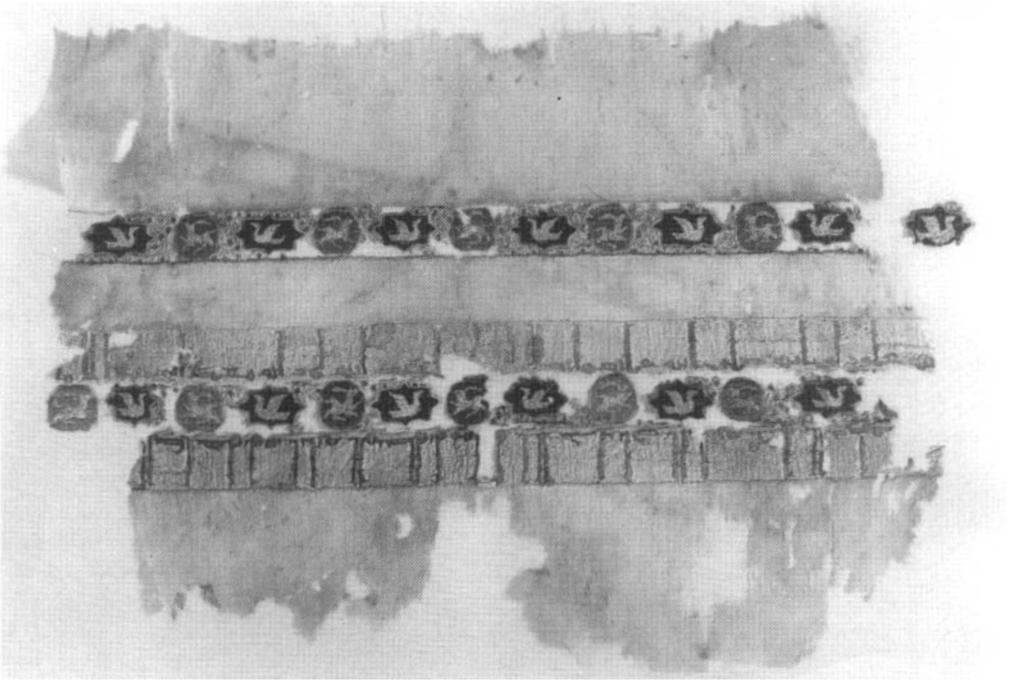

Fragment of linen with inscriptions, birds and four-legged animals in two embroidered bands. Egypt, 450-2/1058-60, time of the Fāṭimid vizier Abu 'l-Faradj. Courtesy of the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg.

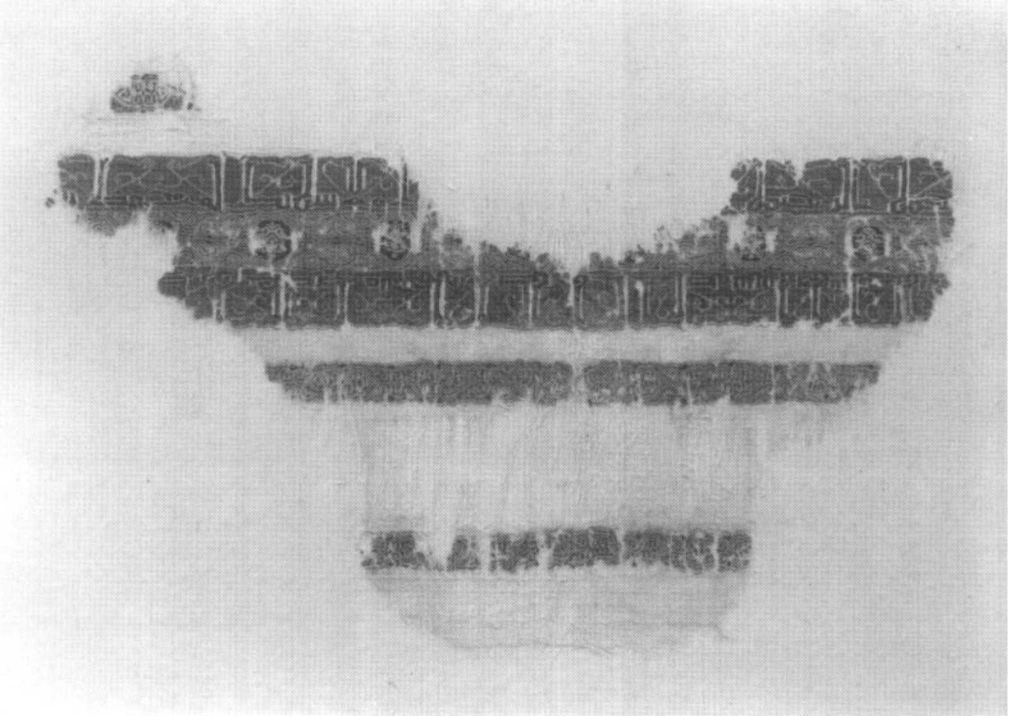

Fragment of a filmy cloth with embroidered diagonal bands. Egypt, 424/1033. Courtesy of the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg.

Ṭirāz bands on sleeves, ms. *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, B.N. arabe 5847, fol. 58b. Probably ʿIrāḳ, 634/1237. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

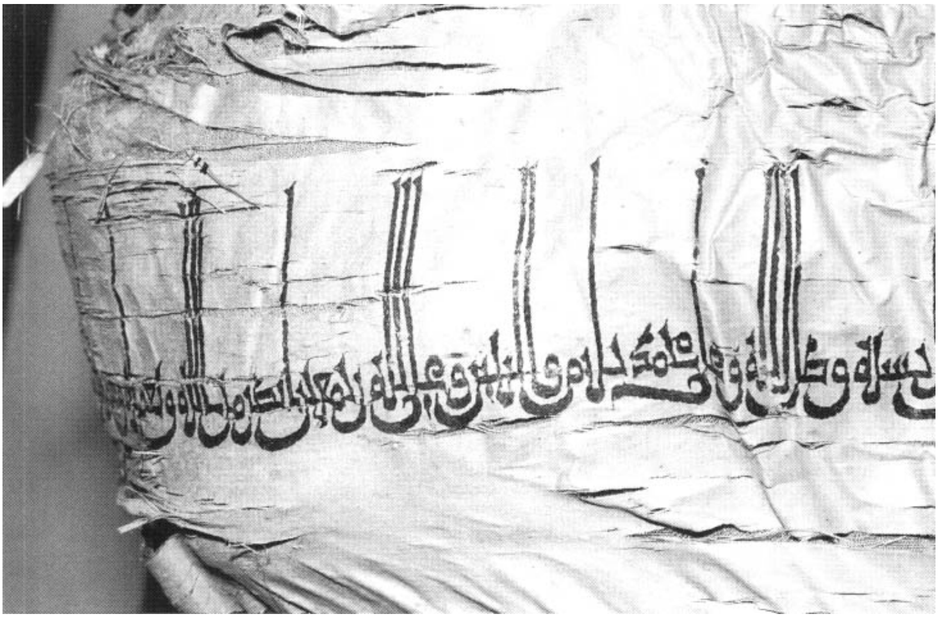

Ṭirāz used as shroud, Iṣṭabl ʿAntar, Fusṭāṭ. Courtesy of Roland-Pierre Gayraud, IFAO Cairo.

175, 196) and repeatedly plays a part in history. Travellers like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 307-8, tr. Gibb, ii, 444), who went via Bīrge to Tīre, which lay in the midst of orchards, gardens, and streams in the land of the "Sultan of Bīrge", i.e. of the Aydîn-og̲h̲lu, or the adventurous Catalonian chronicler Ramon Muntaner (sect. 25), passed through Tīre. When in 1403 Tīmūr advanced against the town, the inhabitants fled to Izmir (cf. Ducas, 38, 97, 109). After the Ottoman annexation of the principality of the Aydîn-og̲h̲lu in 830/1426, Tīre became the capital of a *sand̲j̲aḳ* of the empire. It plays no particular part in later history; it was a mint down to the 10th/16th century and is occasionally mentioned in connection with risings (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 398 n., v, 50 n.). In Tīre is the tomb of the celebrated scholar ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Firis̲h̲te (Ar. Ibn al-Malak, Turk. Firis̲h̲te-og̲h̲lu, d. according to the *Sālnāma* of Aydîn of 1302, 239, in 799/1396), known as the author of a once much-used Turkish dictionary in verse (*Lug̲h̲at-i Firis̲h̲te-og̲h̲lu*) and of a commentary on the principles of jurisprudence, *Manār al-anwār* of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*]. He taught there in a *medrese* which bears his name and is still in use. Tīre was also the birthplace of several Ottoman authors, e.g. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥaydar b. Saʿd Allāh and Molla Naṣr Allāh al-Rūmī, and the scene of activity of *ḳāḍīs* who also played a part in literature (F. Babinger, *GOW*, 146: D̲j̲arrāḥ-zāde). Tīre is also mentioned as a place of banishment; the versatile historian S̲h̲ānī-zāde, for example, ended his life here (cf. *ibid.*, 346).

The earlier European travellers rarely visited Tīre. The chaplain of the English factory in Smyrna, Edmund Chishull (d. 1733), is one of the few who visited Tīre (cf. *Travels in Turkey and back to London*, London 1747, 19, and Thos. Smith, *Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum notitia*).

It was then thought that Tīre represented Thyáteira (= Aḳ-ḥiṣār), one of the "Seven Churches of Asia". Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] describes Tīre in his *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, Istanbul 1935, 159 ff. The town does not seem to possess any antiquities. Mention may be made of the library of 1,325 volumes (including the holograph of the above-mentioned commentary of Firis̲h̲te-og̲h̲lu), presented by Ned̲j̲īb Pas̲h̲a, governor of Bag̲h̲dād. Down to the Turko-Greek exchanges of population after the First World War, Tīre had about 15,000, mainly Greek, inhabitants (see V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 508 ff.), who were mainly occupied in carpet-weaving and the cultivation of the vine.

Present-day Tire is the chef-lieu of an *ilçe* in the *il* or province of Izmir; its population *ca.* 1970 was 28,000.

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(F. Babinger*)

TIREBOLU, a town on the Black Sea coast of Turkey, in the province (*il*) of Giresun, and also the centre of a county (*ilçe*). The town lies 80 km/50 miles to the west of Trebizond in lat. 41° 01' N., long. 38° 49' E.

Originally a Milesian colony of the 7th century B.C. and called Tripolis, it has had little importance because of the port's lack of shelter and difficult communications with the interior, along the steeply-rising sides of the Harşit valley (ancient Philabonites). From 1204 it was a personal fief of the Great Comneni, emperors of Trebizond [see ṬARABZUN]. It was mentioned by Clavijo, and captured by Meḥemmed II at the time of the conquest of Trebizond in 1461. After the Ottoman conquest, the town, called Driboli in documents, came within the *nāḥiye* of Kürtün, settled by the Čepni Turkmen tribe, which had occupied the hinterland of Tirebolu from the 14th century onwards. The census of 891/1486 (BBK, Tapu tahrir no. 828, p. 592) enumerated for the *ḳalʿa* of Tirebolu 67 Christian hearths (and 5 widows) but no Muslim ones. In 921/1515 (*ibid.*, no. 52, pp. 609-13) there were 211 older and 60 new Christian hearths (plus 6 bachelors and 4 widows) and 4 Muslim hearths, but no Christian villages in the hinterland. Finally, in 961/1553 (*ibid.*, no. 288), there were 320 Christian hearths and 15 Muslim ones. When Ewliyā Čelebi passed through in 1050/1640, he found an ancient rectangular fortress and a very flourishing town inhabited by Greeks (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 80). Tournefort (1701) called it a village; it seems to have been the seat of an *aʿyān* when local disputes of petty chiefs rent the region at the opening of the 19th century. W.J. Hamilton estimated the population in 1834 at 400 Muslim families and 100 Christian ones (*Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 253-7), and Hommaire de Hell in 1846 estimated 450 Muslim families and 150 Christian ones (*Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris 1859). Cuinet gives for the early 1890s 8,000 inhabitants (5,600 Muslims, 2,000 Greek Orthodox, 400 Gregorian Armenians (*La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 53). At that time the town had 8 mosques, 2 Greek churches and one Armenian one, 350 booths and shops, 2 *k̲h̲āns* and a *ḥammām* (*ibid.*, i, 54-5). The region produced an average of 5,000 tons of nuts. During the First World War, the Russian advance of 1916 reached the right bank of the Harşit river and caused the Muslim population to flee, followed by the deportation of the Greek population from 29 November 1916 to Şebinkarahisar. In the 1927 census, Tirebolu had a mere 3,375 inhabitants, and it was only in the 1980s that it passed the 1914 figure. Today, the town is the centre of an agricultural region in which tea planting has partially replaced nut growing.

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(St. Yerasimos)

TIRḤĀLA, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Greek town of Trik(k)ala in western Thessaly [see TESALYA].

The Byzantine citadel of Trikala is built on the acropolis of ancient Trikki on the Lithaios river, in the northwest of the Thessalian plain; not far from it was the oldest shrine of Asclepios known in Greece. The town prospered in early times from its situation at a crossway for communications. Procopius mentions

the restoration of the town's walls in Justinian's time. The ancient name Trikki survived in ecclesiastical geography, with the bishopric of Trikki attached to the metropolitanate of Larissa from the 4th century onwards. The form Trikkala first appears in the 12th century in Anna Comnena's *Alexiad.*

The town probably fell into Ottoman hands in the time of Bāyezīd I in 1395-6. The presence of Ewrenos Beg in the conquest of Thessaly is not certain, even if the sources refer to one of his descendants, Aḥmed Ewren-oghlu, as *sandjak beg* of a large *sandjak* of which Tirḥāla was the capital [see EWRENOS OGHULLARI]. In the 14th century it had been the flourishing capital of the Greco-Serbian state of Western Thessaly under Simeon Uresis, half-brother of Stefan Dušan, and it formed part of the domains of the great noble Turkish family of the Turakhān-oghlu.

Turakhān Beg (d. 860/1456 [*q.v.*]) settled Muslim colonists on the plains and granted privileges to the Greek population. As an administrative and commercial centre, the town attracted a Turkish population, and in 1520 Tirḥāla was one of the twelve towns of the hinterland with an annual revenue above 100,000 *akčes*. From the works of Turakhān Beg and his son ʿÖmer (d. 889/1484), the town acquired the appearance of a typical Ottoman town, with mosques, *medreses*, a *ḥammām*, *ʿimāret*, *khān* and *karwānsarāy* extending beyond the citadel and the Varoussi (Varosh) quarter which remained Christian. The market, with workshops and booths, stretched further eastwards to where was constructed in the mid-9th/15th century the Turakhān Beg or Pazar Djāmiʿi adjacent to the great cemeteries.

In the census of 859/1454-5 Tirḥāla had *ca.* 2,453 inhabitants (251 Muslim families and 9 widows, and 212 Christian families and 73 widows). In 912/1506, 3,100 persons were counted, including 260 Muslim families, 310 Christian ones and 19 Jewish ones, their first appearance here, although Byzantine sources of the 14th century mention Jews in the outskirts of Tirḥāla, and Turakhān Beg's testament of 850/1446 mentions a Jewish quarter of Y(ah)ukdi outside the town. Between 926/1520 and 945/1538, 301 Muslim families were counted, 343 Christian ones and 181 Jewish ones.

The oldest description of the Ottoman town is that of Ewliyā Čelebi in the later 11th/17th century, who noted 16 Muslim quarters and 8 Christian ones, with a total of 2,300 houses. He mentions eight mosques, the oldest being that of Ghāzī Turakhān Beg (built in 895/1489-90 according to its inscription), and the most important one that of ʿOthmān Shāh Beg, of unknown date but which must have been built by the famous architect Sinān [*q.v.*] around 1550-60. Ḳara ʿOthmān Shāh was Süleymān the Magnificent's nephew and governor of Thessaly, and died at Tirḥāla in 974/1567, being buried in a mausoleum by the mosque. The latter has been restored and is the sole one remaining in the town today. Ewliyā gives what is probably an exaggerated number for the shops, 1,000, and does not mention the *bezesten*; yet old authorities describe an imposing stone building, locked and guarded at night, which corresponds to the *bezesten* demolished at the beginning of the 20th century. There were also four *ḥammāms*, six *tekkes* and many fountains. Famous persons connected with Tirḥāla included the Turkish historian Aḥmed Para Para-zāde, buried there in 968/1560, and its *ḳāḍīs* included ʿAṭāʾī and Weysī. In 1601 the bishop of Trikki was Dionysios the Philosopher, head of an abortive attempt at rebellion by the Christians of Yannina.

The town was destroyed by a great fire in 1749. In 1771, during the rising of Christians at the time of the 1768-74 Russo-Turkish war, 4,000 Albanian irregulars sacked the town and burnt down the market and 500 shops. At this time, the town had 25,000 inhabitants, the same figure given by Pouqueville at the time of the Greek Revolt. Ami Boué visited Tirḥāla just before 1840 and attributed to it 10,000 inhabitants, comprising Muslims, Greeks, Gypsies and a few Albanians. On the basis of the descriptions of numerous 19th century travellers, plus cartographical material from 1885, the plan of the 19th century town can be reconstructed: it had seven mosques (four of them mentioned in the *sāl-nāme* of the *wilāyet* of Yānya (1288/1871), a synagogue, six *tekkes*, etc.

The last Ottoman census (1294/1877-8) listed 25,000 inhabitants and 2,500 buildings for the *sandjak* of Tirḥāla. From 1881, the town became part of Greece, and a census then numbered 5,563 persons in the town itself. An urban plan of European type was put into force in the 1930s, numerous old buildings were destroyed, and the town has now lost its mediaeval character. From 20,200 inhabitants in 1926, the town had over 50,000 in 1991.

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(ALEXANDRA YEROLIMPOS)

TIRHUT, often referred to as Mithila in Indian epic, historic name of the northern tract of the present Indian state of Bihar (lat. 25° 28'-26° 52' N., long. 84° 56'-86° 46' E.; roughly 6,343 sq. miles) bordering Nepal, comprising Darbhanga (Persian *Dār-i-Bang* "gateway to Bengal"), Muẓaffarpur and the adjoining districts, sometimes extended as far eastwards as the river Mahananda (Purnabvaba) in Bengal. Located in the present district of Champaran, Simarāon was one of the oldest capitals of the region. The Pala empire (*ca.* 750-1161) of Bengal dominated the area from time to time. Several Hindu dynasties ruled the Kingdom of Mithila, such as the Karṇāta 1087-1325, the Oinwāra 1325-1532 and the Khaṇḍawāla (founded by Maheśa Thākura in 1556), who took Bhoura as their capital.

Because of its strategic location on the central route

between North India and Bengal, the green, fertile land of Tirhut (known as the granary of Bihar) was one of the earliest regions in Eastern India to be known to the Muslims. Its south-eastern part came under Muslim sway when Bengal was conquered by Bakhtiyār Khaldjī in 1204. Narasimhadeva (*ca.* 1188-1227), the third king of the Karṇāta dynasty, agreed to pay tribute to this newly-emerged power, but this did not save Tirhut from further military pressure from the Muslim rulers of Bengal, Bihar, Oudh and Dihlī. Islamic inscriptions in Tirhut, such as a citadel inscription dated 692/1292 from Maheśwara, Mungher or Mungīr [*q.v.*] (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 23-5), suggest that Muslim settlement began in this region as early as the 13th century. Though Tirhut was annexed to Muslim territory from time to time, its Hindu kingdom remained as a tributary vassal state for centuries until the transfer of the Dīwānī to the East India Company in 1765, when it lost its power completely. Though a large number of Muslims from Tirhut emigrated to Pakistan after 1947, a sizeable Muslim population still exists in the region.

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(MOHAMMAD YUSUF SIDDIQ)

AL-ṬIRIMMĀḤ, meaning in Arabic "tall", or "proud", the name of at least four persons from the 1st century of the Hidjra. On the basis of al-Āmidī's (d. 370/980) *Muʾtalif*, Cairo 1381/1961, ʿIzzat Ḥasan's Introduction to the *Dīwān* of al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm (²Aleppo and Beirut 1414/1994) and, above all, Salīm al-Nuʿaymī's article *al-Ṭirimmāḥ*, in *Publics. of the Arab Academy*, Baghdād (1964), 401-22, four persons of this name can be disentangled:

1. AL-ṬIRIMMĀḤ AL-AKBAR, or Ḳaʿḳaʿ b. Nafr or Ibn Ḳays al-Ṭāʾī, the paternal uncle of al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Ḥakīm or rather, his father's uncle. According to al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, and al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, in al-Nuʿaymī, 412, he is said to have been born in Syria, migrated to Kūfa, where an old man from the Banū Taym Allāh b. Thaʿlaba reportedly initiated him into Khāridjism and where he is finally said to have written a poem wrongly attributed to al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Ḥakīm (*Dīwān*, 201-2, no. 22).

2. AL-ṬIRIMMĀḤ B. ʿADĪ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-DJUBAYRĪ, also called al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Akbar. According to Ibn ʿAsākir, *T. Dimashk*, vii, 53, in al-Nuʿaymī, *loc. cit.*, he is also said to have been a Khāridjite. However, in al-ʿAshshāsh, *Ashʿār al-tashayyuʿ*, Beirut 1997, 223-4, he has been rightly placed amongst the Shīʿī poets.

He is said to have been al-Ḥusayn's guide and to have fought at Karbalāʾ in 61/680, and several ancient authors (Abū Mikhnaf, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Shahrāshūb and Ibn Kathīr) rank him amongst al-Ḥusayn's faithful partisans. A *radjaz* poem attributed to him (al-ʿAshshāsh, 223-4) confirms his Shīʿī allegiance. Al-Nuʿaymī also adds three verses which he is said to have composed against al-Farazdaḳ, and thus denies the poetic exchange and satires between al-Farazdaḳ and al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Ḥakīm, even though in the *Dīwān* of the latter is a long poem (257-8) in the same rhyme and metre.

3. AL-ṬIRIMMĀḤ B. DJAHM AL-ṬĀʾĪ or AL-SINBISĪ, from the Banū Sinbis of Ṭayyiʾ or al-Uḳdī from a woman, Uḳda, also of the latter tribe. He is also called al-Aʿwar, the one-eyed, and al-Shinnī (not to be confused with another poet, Bishr b., Munḳidh al-Shinnī, d. 50/670). Al-Āmidī attributes to him, *Muʾtalif*, 48, a poem in *basīṭ* metre and a *radjaz* poem.

4. AL-ṬIRIMMĀḤ B. ḤAKĪM b. Ḥakam b. Nafr b. Ḳays ... b. al-Ghawth b. Ṭayyiʾ, generally known as al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭāʾī, the best-known of the four. He stemmed from a well-known family, the Thuʿal, of the Yemeni tribe of Ṭayyiʾ [*q.v.*], and his forebear Ḳays was a maternal cousin of the famed Ḥātim of Ṭayyiʾ [*q.v.*], said also to have come to the Prophet at Mecca in 9/630-1 to render homage, hence counted amongst the Companions.

(a) *Life.*

His exact birth date is unsure, but must have been *ca.* 45/660 in al-Shām (and not in the Sawād of ʿIrāḳ, as Blachère, *HLA*, 530, correctly pointed out). Al-Nuʿaymī, 413, however, basing himself on Ibn Ḳutayba and al-Marzubānī, thought that it was al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Akbar who was born in Syria. In any case, it seems to be generally agreed that al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Ḥakīm was amongst troops sent by ʿAbd al-Malik against rebels in ʿIrāḳ, probably *ca.* 70/689, then staying in Kūfa to study, where he became a noted poet and orator. Several of his biographers state that he became affected by Khāridjism *ca.* 65/684, some of them assigning him precisely to the Azāriḳa or Ṣufriyya [*q.vv.*]. Yet al-Nuʿaymī, basing himself on internal criticism of the poems and on external biographical information, seems to be correct in querying or denying his Khāridjism. At all events, he then worked at Kirmān and Rayy in Persia, reportedly in the latter place as a school master (*muʾaddib ṣibyān*, cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 257).

Like most of the great Umayyad poets, al-Ṭirimmāḥ frequented certain of the Umayyads' governors, notably the Muhallabids [*q.v.*], including Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, governor of Khurāsān for ʿAbd al-Malik and Sulaymān; he relates in his verses Yazīd's combats in Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān and mourns his death. He was also connected with Yazīd's son Makhlad, also appointed governor of Khurāsān, this time by ʿUmar II in 100/718, but who died shortly afterwards. His relationship with the Muhallabids, of Yemeni stock like himself, made him the mouthpiece of Yemeni aspirations and attacker of Ḳaysī groups like the Tamīm, especially on the killing of Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] by Ḳaysīs in Khurāsān, contrasting these with the faithful Yemenis (cf. Blachère, *HLA*, 531). He was further connected with the governor of ʿIrāḳ during 105-20/724-38, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], also Ḳaḥṭānī in *nasab* and a fierce opponent of the Khāridjites. All these connections confirm that al-Ṭirimmāḥ can hardly have been himself a Khāridjite, but was, rather, a tribal poet. Also, the fall of Yazīd b. Muhallab, in part through Tamīmī treachery, put him in opposition to al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*], from Mudjāshīʿ of Tamīm, though it seems that after a trenchant satire by al-Ṭirimmāḥ (*Dīwān*, 66-8), al-Farazdaḳ abandoned the fight. Al-Ṭirimmāḥ was also connected, by a great friendship, with the Shīʿī poet al-Kumayt [*q.v.*], and is said to have had links with the *radjaz* poet Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj (d. 145/762 [*q.v.*]), but, as pointed out by Krenkow in his *EI*¹ art., followed also by Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 351, al-Ṭirimmāḥ died before Ruʾba acquired his fame.

We lack firm information on the poet's last years and date of death. A *khabar* given in the *Aghānī* states that the *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa Ibn Shubruma (d. 144/763), apparently a friend of al-Ṭirimmāḥ's, saw the latter's

funeral cortège, but no date is given. Sezgin thought that a probable date was 126/743. The editor of his *Dīwān* states, without supporting reference, that he died at Kūfa. Of the poet's family, we know of his wife Salm(ā), his three sons and a grandson Amān b. Ṣamṣāma, also a poet and grammarian and in the service of the Muhallabids in Ifrīḳiya until Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab thrust him aside there, probably because of his grandfather's satires on Tamīm.

(b) *Poetry*.

Al-Ṭirimmāḥ's *dīwān* is said by Ibn al-Nadīm to have had several recensions, notably by Ibn al-Sikkīt, Thaʿlab [*q.vv.*] and al-Ṭūsī (d. after 250/864); al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*] introduced it to al-Andalus when he arrived in Cordova in 330/941; and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa lists it. F. Krenkow was the first to publish it (GMS, London 1927), with an English translation, after a Spanish ms. with al-Ṭūsī's recension in a Kūfan transmission. Using this and a Turkish ms. of the 7th-8th/13th-14th century, ʿIzzat Ḥasan republished it at Damascus in 1385/1968 and then in Beirut-Aleppo in 1414/1994. This scholarly satisfactory edition has a good introduction on the life of the poet and a thematic analysis of his poems, and, at pp. 107-303, his *dīwān* with 1,443 verses (against 800 in Krenkow's ed.), plus a *dhayl* (305-31) of some 40 verses gleaned from other sources by the editor, but it lacks an index of rhymes. In this edition there is one *radjaz*, seven short fragments of 2 to 6 verses, and 29 poems, some very long, with 118, 92, 84, 81 and 77 verses (nos. 25, 20, 13, 7 and 12). Blachère suggested, *HLA*, 332, that the length of these poems suggests the hypothesis of an early fixing of the text, or even of a written, and not oral, transmission.

Al-Ṭirimmāḥ uses nine metres, sc. *ṭawīl* (15 times), *kāmil* (6), *basīṭ* and *wāfir* (5), *khafīf* (2) and *sarīʿ*, *radjaz* and *mutaḳārib* once each, showing the poet's classicism in this respect, and regarding his rhymes, the rarity of those in *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *fāʾ* and *ḳāf* is surprising given the frequency of these in classical poetry. His rather Bedouin style has often been remarked upon, whilst his use of rare words and difficult turns of phrase explain the pedantic allure of his verses, but a careful reading of his work shows a certain heterogeneity in style and language which are, taking everything into account, traditional.

Likewise his genres and themes. Khāridjite touches are very few, only in one poem and two short fragments, and Blachère, *loc. cit.*, concluded that, as might have been expected, everything which had the mark of militant Khāridjism has disappeared; but as noted at the outset, al-Nuʿaymī thinks it improbable that he was ever a Khāridjite anyway. The second genre to be discerned is personal and tribal satire, above all against al-Farazdaḳ and Tamīm (notably no. 4, in 53 verses). Then there is panegyric poetry, again personal and tribal, devoted to Yemen and the Muhallabids, above all, to Yazīd (in particular, no. 25, in 118 verses, is dedicated to him). *Fakhr* poetry is naturally frequent, as is poetry descriptive of Bedouin life (e.g. no. 12, in 77 verses). There is an elegy on Yazīd, and wisdom and *zuhd* poetry. Finally, one may note that, if *ghazal* poetry properly speaking is absent, there is one piece, no. 7 of 81 verses, expressing in lyric style his nostalgia and affection for his wife Salmā, whom he left in Kūfa when he went to Kirmān and Khurāsān.

In conclusion, in his *dīwān*, al-Ṭirimmāḥ shows himself as a tribal poet, like so many of his contemporaries, in the service of Yemen and of the Muhallabids without, however, forgetting his own family, wife and children. But the tradition is ancient and firmly stated, that many authors, fairly old ones and also modern and contemporary ones, classify him amongst the great poets of Khāridjism.

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned above, such as Blachère, *HLA*, 530-4; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 351-2, ix, 280, with recent bibl.; and al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Ṭirimmāḥ*, see works in general on politico-religious poetry of the period, and especially those on Khāridjite poetry: Khalīl Mardam, *al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Ḥakīm*, in *RAAD*, xii (1942), 48-56, 119-27; Suhayr al-Ḳalamāwī, *Adab al-Khawāridj*, Cairo 1945; Nāʾif Maḥmūd Maʿrūf, *al-Khawāridj*, Beirut 1983; Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Shiʿr al-Khawāridj*, ²Beirut 1984.

(F. KRENKOW-[TAÏEB EL ACHÈCHE])

TIRMIDH, a town on the north bank of the Oxus river [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ] near the mouth of its tributary, the Surkhān river (lat. 37° 15' N., long. 67° 15' E.), now the town of Termez in the southernmost part of the Uzbekistan Republic.

As Samʿānī, who spent 12 days there, testifies, the name was pronounced Tarmīdh in the town itself (*K. al-Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābad, iii, 41) which is confirmed by the Chinese Ta-mi (e.g. Hüan Tsang, tr. St. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, i, 25). Russian officers in 1889 also heard the pronunciation Termiz or Tarmiz (*Sbornik materialov po Azii*, lvii, 393, 399).

Tirmidh does not seem to have been touched by Alexander the Great and is not mentioned in Antiquity, although its foundation was afterwards ascribed to Alexander the Great. According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (text by Barthold in *al-Muẓaffariyya*, St. Petersburg 1897, 20), not only Tirmidh but also Burdāghūy, not far from it on the river, was built by Alexander; Burdāghūy is said to be a Greek word and to mean "inn" (*mihmān-khāna*) (? Greek παραδυχεῖον?).

At the time of the Muslim conquest, Buddhism was predominant in Tirmidh; there were 12 monasteries and about 1,000 monks there (Hüan Tsang, *loc. cit.*). Tirmidh was then under an important ruler who bore the title Tirmidh-Shāh (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1147; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 39); there was a powerful fortress on the bank (al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*). In the year 70/689-90, Tirmidh was conquered by Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, who had thrown off allegiance to the Muslim government, and was ruled for 15 years by him (cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 417; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1145). Only towards the end of 85/704 did ʿUthmān b. Masʿūd, by order of the governor al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab, succeed in taking the town for the government. In this fighting and in later sieges and bridge-building, the island at Tirmidh, called in the Arab period Djazīrat ʿUthmān, played an important part; in the Özbeg period, the island was called Orta Aral or Orta Arali ("middle island") (J. Senkowski, *Supplément à l'histoire générale des Huns* etc., St. Petersburg 1824, text, 20, and the passages quoted from manuscripts in Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914). The worship of the prophet Dhu 'l-Kifl (al-Muḳaddasī, 291) mentioned as early as the 4th/10th century in Kālif, was transferred here; after this cult, the island is now called Aral Payghambar ("island of the prophet").

On geographical conditions in the 4th/10th century, see especially al-Iṣṭakhrī, 298, and al-Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.* Tirmidh was an important port on the Oxus; boats were built and exported from there (al-Muḳaddasī, 325). Like Balkh, Tirmidh was noted for its soap (*op. cit.*, 324). Two natives of Tirmidh attained fame in Muslim literature: the author of the famous collection of traditions Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892 [*q.v.*]) and the traditionist and

mystic Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Tirmidhī (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]); cf. Brockelmann, I², 169-70. The latter's tomb, probably erected in the 9th/15th century, is now the finest building in the ruins of Tirmidh and one of the most beautiful in Central Asia. The inscriptions give us in part what we are told about Muḥammad b. ʿAlī in the *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* (*Pers hist. texts*, v, 93) of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], and in the *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (lith. Calcutta 1859, 77) of Djāmī [*q.v.*]; we are further told that he studied under the same scholars as al-Bukhārī, which al-Samʿānī (iii, 42) refers to Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.

Tirmidh afterwards shared the political history of Khurāsān and Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, sometimes, as at the present day, the Oxus frontier and sometimes the connection with Balkh being of greater importance. Under Maḥmūd of Ghazna and his immediate successors, Tirmidh, like other dependencies of Balkh north of the Oxus, belonged to the empire of the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*]. When as a result of the battle in the desert of Ḳaṭwān near Samarḳand (5 Ṣafar 536/9 September 1141) rule over Transoxania passed to the Ḳara Khiṭāy [*q.v.*], Tirmidh remained in the hands of the Saldjūḳs, as is shown by the fact that Sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*] sought refuge here in 551/1156. Tirmidh was later in the possession of the Ḳara Khiṭāy, from whom it was taken in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 601/June-July 1205 by ʿImād al-Dīn ʿUmar, governor of Balkh for the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 135). ʿImād al-Dīn's son Bahrām Shāh (the name occurs in al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, 39) was appointed governor of Tirmidh. The very next year it was taken by the Khʷārazmshāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, then allied with the Ḳara Khiṭāy, and handed over to the latter; according to Ibn al-Athīr (xii, 152), this news provoked great indignation against the Khʷārazmshāh throughout the Muslim world. According to Djuwaynī (ii, 64), the town was surrendered by the governor on the advice of his father to ʿUthmān, Khān of Samarḳand; in Mīrkhʷānd (*Hist. des sultans du Khorezm*, ed. Defrémery, Paris 1842, 51) the Khʷārazmshāh is mentioned in place of the Khān. After the fall of the empire of the Ḳara Khiṭāy, Tirmidh belonged to the empire of the Khʷārazmshāh; in the autumn of 617/1220 it was taken and completely destroyed by the Mongols. In Djuwaynī's narrative (i, 102) of the conquest, it is mentioned that half of the city walls are in the middle of the river.

A few years earlier, we have the first reference to the Sayyids of Tirmidh, whose importance was not affected even by the Mongol conquest. When the Khʷārazmshāh Muḥammad had quarrelled with the caliph al-Nāṣir, he proclaimed through the learned men of his empire that the ʿAbbāsids had appropriated by unjust means the power, which really belonged to the descendants of ʿAlī. ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk, one of the great Sayyids (*az sādāt-i buzurg*) of Tirmidh, was appointed caliph (Djuwaynī, ii, 97, 122). The appointment had no further consequences, and we know nothing of the life or end of this anti-caliph. In the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* of Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (ed. Browne, 496) he is called Sayyid ʿImād al-Dīn Tirmidhī.

In the next century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 48, tr. Gibb, iii, 565) records happenings in the Čaghatayid [see ČAGHATAY KHĀNATE] kingdoms. ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk Khudāwand-zāde, a descendant of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Tirmidh, is mentioned. He is said to have thrust himself upon the Khān Khalīl Allāh at the head of 4,000 Muslims and to have been appointed vizier by him. The members of his house are also called Khudāwand-zāde in later times (in the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 210, *passim*, and in the *Bābur-nāma*, facs. Beveridge, fol. 208, contracted to Khān-zāde. The full form is found in the oldest recensions of the *Ẓafar-nāma*, composed in Tīmūr's time, *Teksti po istorii Sredney Azii*, St. Petersburg 1895, 131, 199). In the *Ẓafar-nāma*, the "Khān-zāde" Abu 'l-Maʿālī and his brother ʿAlī Akbar are mentioned several times; in 772/1371 Abu 'l-Maʿālī was banished for his share in a campaign against Tīmūr (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 231), but his exile was not of long duration; in the very next year we find him taking part in Tīmūr's campaign against Khʷārazm (*op. cit.*, i, 241). A Khān-zāde ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk is again mentioned later; Tīmūr stayed at his home on his return from his Indian campaign in 801/1399 and from the campaign in the west in 807/1404 (*op. cit.*, ii, 190, 593). In 892/1487 Aḥmad Mīrzā married a wife of the house of the Sayyids (*Bābur-nāma*, fol. 206).

In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, when Balkh was still in ruins, Tirmidh had already recovered from its destruction by the Mongols; the town was not rebuilt on its old site but two Arab miles from the river; it was a fine large town with prosperous inhabitants (iii, 56-7, tr. Gibb, iii, 570-1). Among the ruins of this town is the mausoleum described by A.A. Semenov (*Protokoli turk. kružka lyub. arkh.*, xix, 3 ff., with pictures) with the tombs of the Sayyids now called Sultan Sadat (probably *Sulṭān-i Sādāt*). The descendants of the Sayyids now live in the village of Ṣāliḥābād near Tirmidh. A. Semenov obtained from them a manuscript genealogy and history of their house ending on 4 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1046/29 April 1637. According to this ms., the Sayyid Ḥasan al-Amīr, son of the *amīr* Ḥusayn, came to Samarḳand in 235/849-50 and thence went to Balkh and Tirmidh in 246/860-1. We are told something of his relations with the Sāmānids, with a number of anachronisms; for the rest, the genealogy only contains names (Sulṭān Sādāt occurs in it as a woman's name) without facts or historical associations.

In the *Ẓafar-nāma* (i, 57) "Old Tirmidh" (*Tirmidh-i kuhna*) is mentioned alongside of Tirmidh. In literary works, including the ms. just mentioned, and on coins, Tirmidh after the Mongol period is frequently called "The Men's Town" (*madīnat al-ridjāl*). After Tīmūr's death, the Oxus frontier again came into prominence for a brief period. Khalīl Sulṭān, who had seized Samarḳand, could only hold the territory north of the Oxus. During the preparations for war between him and Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*], Khalīl Sulṭān in 810/1407 restored old Tirmidh, and Shāh Rukh, the defences of Balkh (Ibn ʿArabshāh, ed. Egypt, 205-6). It is to this period that probably belongs the memorial to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Tirmidhī.

From the 10th/16th century Tirmidh, and as a rule Balkh also, belonged to the kingdom of the Shībānid [*q.v.*] Özbegs. During the fighting for Balkh between the Özbegs and the Indian prince (later emperor) Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] in 1056-7/1646-7, Tirmidh was occupied by Indian troops under Saʿādat Khān (Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii, 79).

In the early years of the 18th century, Tirmidh was in possession of Shīr ʿAlī of the Ḳungrāt family, the founder of the town of Shīrābād (*ZDMG*, xxxviii, 276). A distinction was made at this time between the "great citadel" (*ḳalʿa-yi ḳalān*) of Tirmidh and the "citadel of the village" (?) where the bulk of the inhabitants (of Tirmidh?) lived. The unsettled condition of the following decades brought about the complete ruin of Tirmidh as of many other towns. In 1758 the Mangit *Atalïḳ* Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān rebuilt the town (Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St.

Petersburg 1914, 74); it was afterwards destroyed once more.

In the second half of the 19th century, there was nothing near the ruins of the old town of Tirmidh except the insignificant village of Patta Ḥiṣār (with 1,257 inhabitants) and Ṣāliḥābād (see above). Patta Ḥiṣār acquired more importance when it was made the starting point of the Russian steamships on the Oxus. In 1894 the Russian fort of Termez was built 5 miles from the ruins and gradually became a town, but with a predominantly male population. In 1916 the Bukhārā-Ḳarshī-Termez railway was opened; during the Russian Revolution it was destroyed but has since been rebuilt.

The modern town of Termez, on the Ḳarshī-Dushanbe railway, has some light industries and serves as a port on the Oxus. In 1970 it had a population of 35,000. Archaeological excavations there have yielded, *inter alia*, Buddhist remains.

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(W. Barthold)

AL-**TIRMIDHĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm, eminent mystic.

Numerous dates have been suggested for his birth and death; according to any of these he would have lived more than one hundred years. He was probably born in the first decade of the 3rd/9th century, in Tirmidh [*q.v.*] (where Buddhism and Manichaeism in particular had preceded Islam). The most plausible date for his death is located between 318/936 and 320/938. The little that is known of his life mostly derives from his *Badʾ shaʾn al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī* which, rather than being an autobiography, represents his spiritual itinerary. His first teacher was his father. Leaving home at the age of 27 to perform the Pilgrimage, he spent time in Baṣra engaged in the study of *ḥadīth*. On his return, he acknowledged his vocation and commenced his mystical itinerary.

Ca. 261/874, accused of speaking of love, of corrupting the public and of claiming the gift of prophecy, he was summoned to Balkh to appear before the *wālī* (according to al-Dhahabī, two of his writings, *Khatm al-awliyāʾ* and *ʿIlal al-sharīʿa*, formed the basis of the charges against him). After proceedings which lasted several years, his enemies were obliged to flee from Tirmidh and he himself, rehabilitated, was enabled to return to his home. In 269/883, a dream experienced by his wife confirmed that he had just acceded to the rank of the forty *ṣiddīḳs*. In 285/898, he is said to have made his way to Nīshāpūr. After this date, nothing more is known of his life.

Doctrinal tendencies. A traditionalist, he adopted numerous themes characteristic of the *Ahl al-ḥadīth*, refused to accept discussion of the Ḳurʾān and of the *Sunna*, repudiated *kalām* and controversies, rejected reason and personal opinion (*raʾy*), and showed clear sympathy for the Ḥanbalīs, and also for the Umayyads rather than the ʿAbbāsids. However, he scorned the exoteric and preached esoteric knowledge interpreting Ḳurʾānic verses in the most fantastical manner, and approving of the in-depth interpretation of *ḥadīth* and even of the Law. As was later to be the practice of the Ashʿarīs, he accepted the condensing of the hundred names of Allāh into ten attributes. Furthermore, he denounced philosophy, at least that of others, and accepted the cognomen of al-Ḥakīm, evidently in the sense of monotheist and Muslim philosopher. He borrowed numerous themes from the Shīʿīs, and used them against them. These contradictions reflect the multiplicity of tendencies which then co-existed and the degree of freedom present in religious thought, still in something of a state of flux. Clearly influenced by the scientific, alchemical and philosophical thought of his time, he separated their various strands. His work retained numerous vestiges of it, most often employed as elements of a lyrical expression of his mystical sensibility, without concern for logic, coherence or compatibility: earth deriving from water and light from the refinement of water; absence of fire in man, but the earth of which he is composed capable of blazing with the fire of his passion; the heart of an initiate becoming, after its evil tendencies "have been melted", "an ingot of pure silver"; etc. Also found were numerous reflections of neo-Platonist and Pythagorean thought, widespread at that time among a certain élite of Muslim society, in the East as in the West. He called God the One and Only, grouped the sciences into three categories (assessed, however, from an essentially religious point of view), and, finally, he assimilated the mystical grades to levels of reason, and while paying no heed to the "Fall", attached primordial importance to the ascent following upon it.

Pre-formation of man. Around several Ḳurʾānic verses, al-Tirmidhī constructed a veritable myth of Adam and of Iblīs, which replaces the "fall of souls" with the "casting of divine light". Here, transcendence and anthropomorphism are not easily separated, and the same applies to the material and the spiritual. God created other beings, in the service of man, by His Word, *kun*, but He created man by His own hand. Before man's arrival on the earth, there were three preparatory phases:

(1) *The "Day of Destinies" (yawm al-maḳādīr)*. God has "sown" men in the earth and has determined their status as believers or infidels by sprinkling them with His light, simultaneously at random and according to His will. According to the quantity of light received, men are to be divided into three groups: infidels, hypocrites and believers (among these last being the mystical "saints" whom God has touched with His right hand).

(2) *The Formation of Adam*. 50,000 years later, God kneads a fragment of earth with the "water of His mercy", makes the dough rise with the "light of gnosis", adds the "five things" or components of intelligence and provides the finest physical forms, by virtue of which Adam is close to Him ("light of proximity"). Then God insufflates there, with gnosis, the "light of life" and the spirit (which regulates speech) and, by virtue of the combination in him of gnosis and of the "light of gnosis", Adam "acknowledges his Lord" and recites the *shahāda*. Form, light of gnosis and spirit constitute the "light of destinies" (*nūr maḳādīrī*). Every one of his future descendants has his part of all this.

(3) *The "Day of the Pact" (yawm al-mīthāḳ)*. God brings forth all men from the loins of Adam. He asks them "Am I not your Lord?" and all reply "Yes"; the evil reply out of fear, and the demons lead them towards unbelief; the believers reply out of love and conviction, and God rewards them with His alliance. "Proximity of form", vision of God in His light and divine speech (or "Word") constitute the "light of the pact" (*nūr mīthāḳī*), and the five components of intel-

ligence recognise it by analogy with the "light of destinies" which are a part of them.

Transgression. Iblīs had refused to bow before Adam, whose body and soul were made from a soil which he himself had trampled underfoot. He tempted Adam to prove his superiority over him. God granted that Iblīs should rule only over the wicked, leading them by appetites of the soul supplemented by a hundred traits of Satanic nature. But he accepted the repentence of Adam, promised to send prophets who will be bearers of revelations to the believers, to subordinate their soul to their heart, supported by a hundred traits of virtuous character (deriving from the divine attributes), through reason, gnosis and the five components of intelligence.

Human organism and faculties. Based on a fundamental duality (the heart and the soul) there is a somewhat anarchic multiplicity of organs and faculties. The following are identified: the exterior soul (which is nothing other than the body with its members and organs and which, by means of its senses, already has embryonic knowledge); the inner soul (located in the lungs, made from soil trampled underfoot by Iblīs); the heart (both organ and faculty); reason (located in the brain); the spirit (located in the head, below the ears); then the five components of intelligence (located in the chest): intelligence proper (*dhihn*), faculty of memory (*hifẓ*), understanding (*fahm*), penetration of spirit (*dhakā'*; almost non-existent role) and knowledge (the immediate perceptions of awareness; cf. Gobillot, 617). All the faculties which God gave to Adam and his descendants on the "Day of the Pact" constitute the *fiṭra* (on the subject of the *fiṭra*, cf. Gobillot, 611 ff., FIṬRA and MĪTHĀK).

Believers and infidels. All men are thus endowed at the outset with "natural reason" (*'akl al-fiṭra*) which should make them into Muslims, and their duty would be to use this in combination with the five components of intelligence. Then, *dhihn*, assisted by understanding (*fahm*), receives exterior knowledge (sensible awareness) in bulk, conveys it to the breast, on the lining of which each idea leaves a shadow of its form. Then *dhihn* entrusts all this to the memory (also located in the breast). When the heart has need of a particular thing, it looks at the memory (illuminating it with the "light of life" which is in it) and the latter shows it the thing which is sought. It is a purely external, utilitarian and concrete knowledge "which has no solidity in the heart". But from the outset, there is rivalry between the heart and reason on the one hand, and the inner soul on the other. Charged with lesser functions, such as satisfying appetites, licit or illicit, the latter has no knowledge, only appetites. Appetites are a soft breath, created from the fire of Hell, located in a thin vesicle between heart and lung and distributed throughout the body by the blood-vessels (like the demons); they bring delight to the inner soul and are the acolytes of Iblīs. Men whose appetites dominate heart and reason and who do not feel the need to love God (on the love of God, cf. Gobillot, *passim*), thus those to whom God has refused "alliance" because of their disregard for the "Day of the Pact", are the prey of the demons and the latter lead them to polytheism or to infidelity. On the other hand, God has given to the believer the privilege of the "light of reason" which, through the door of the brain which opens onto the breast, illumines that which the eyes of the heart wish to see; and the latter can classify the objects of awareness and also distinguish between the fair and the ugly (evil actions leave a black stain on the heart). Furthermore, God has added to the "light of life", in his heart, the "light of monotheism", and with the eyes of his heart seeing this, man acknowledges God and proclaims His uniqueness. Then "natural reason" is replaced by "reason of faith". Despite their love of God, simple believers have nothing more than utilitarian and concrete knowledge and they retain their appetites, which co-exist with the heart and with reason. But believers, even those of a relatively higher level, must beware of being swamped by their appetites, for these accumulate in the breast—according to whether they are more or less excessive or illicit—clouds, dust or even smoke, and prevent the imprisoned heart seeing the shadows of knowledge on the lining of the breast. Eventually, faith will give way to the domination of passion.

Spiritual ascent. For a certain type of believer who has already acquired a well-organised awareness of the exterior world, the knowledge which is accumulated in the chest and seen by the eyes of the heart becomes "knowledge of the heart" (abstract), and his faith is strengthened. But he will soon be in a position to aspire to a higher level. The heart, observing the breast, discovers in itself and in the creatures of this inferior world attributes which they owe to the divine Omnipotence. Gradually, it will thus ascend towards the divine Unity and the awareness of God. There, finally, is the highest level accessible to man, and the heart will bring back to the chest the quintessence of an incomparable knowledge. Heart, reason and *dhihn* together illuminate the chest, the "light of gnosis" and that of "monotheism" shine forth and, in the illumined chest, all these lights become a single one, the "light of certitude" and of the love of God (Gobillot emphasises, 578 ff., that all lights corresponding to the divine attributes are derived from the divine light), for the heart is like a mirror where heaven and the other world are reflected, extending as far as the "Throne", and there eyes see the Majesty of God. It seems (yet to be confirmed) that the echelons of reason correspond to these stages (a decidedly muffled echo of the concepts of Plato and of Aristotle): above "reason of faith" there are "reason of knowledge and of perception (*idrāk*)", "reason of right guidance (*hidāya*)" and "reason of gnosis and of insight (*baṣīra*)". But mystical grades are also superimposed here.

The mystical grades. Al-Tirmidhī does simple believers the honour of according them a "grade", that of the *awliyā' al-tawḥīd* who, as has been seen, are permitted to retain the appetites of the soul. Above them come: (1) *The ṣādiḳs*. Despite their love of God, the mundane life constantly brings them back to concrete realities. They are required to exert the extenuating effort of ceaseless struggle with the soul, with the aim of cleansing it of appetites and of the hundred traits of diabolical nature; achieving the passivity of members, the instrument of the soul, and at least overseeing their actions; and avoiding acts of obeisance not required by the Law, for fear that the soul will interfere. Finally, they plead for the divine mercy which will transport them directly to the higher level.

(2) *The aḥrār kirām*. The lights of "proximity" and of "divine grace" are interposed between them and their soul, which cannot threaten the heart. But it survives with its appetites and this grade should not be left, nor anything done, without the permission of God, Who then guarantees the safeguarding of the heart. Finally, passion extinguished and the soul submissive, one may pass to the next grade.

(3) *The "forty" ṣiddīḳs.* Despite the soul, there is nothing in them other than the love of God. They benefit from the *madjālis al-nadjwā* which include inspiration, physiognomy and *ṣiddīḳiyya* (revelation through dreams). They can now progressively assimilate, by means of the divine *minna*, ten virtues deriving from the divine attributes; each of the ten is acquired by the traversing of a "kingdom".

(4) *The munfarid.* The man who reaches the tenth "kingdom", that of the divine Unity, has attained the highest of all grades and the deepest point of esotericism. He is then caliph of God on His earth. He is *muḥaddath*: besides the three modes of inspiration of the *ṣiddīḳs*, he is a beneficiary of *ḥadīth* (*ḳudsī*). His level is much closer to that of the prophets than to that of the *ṣiddīḳs*: he is introduced to a third, even to half and more, of the practices associated with prophecy, of which the "veracious dreams" (an idea borrowed from the Shīʿīs) are one forty-sixth of revelation.

Ahl al-ṣidḳ and ahl al-minna. The former are those who are obliged to make the extenuating effort to escape the slavery of the inner soul. The *ahl al-minna* easily traverse the echelons because *minna* and the divine creative will have predisposed them to it naturally through their fine traits of character. It is their vocation to accede to *infirād*.

The seal of the saints. Al-Tirmidhī no doubt borrowed from the Shīʿīs this notion of a seal of the saints, at the end of time, parallel to the seal of the prophets, Muḥammad, and much closer to him than any other saint.

It may be noted, in conclusion, that the influence of al-Tirmidhī remains perceptible among later mystics (especially ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*]; *Ghunya*, 160-2); furthermore, borrowing from Shīʿism and representing a first wave of Neo-Platonism in Islamic mysticism, he is in this sense a precursor of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*].

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AL-TIRMIDHĪ, ABŪ ʿĪSĀ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿĪSĀ b. Sawra, great collector of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], the author of one of the Six Books, *al-kutub al-sitta*. He is said to have been born in 210/825 near the town of Tirmidh [*q.v.*]. He travelled widely in search of traditions through Khurāsān, ʿIrāḳ and the Ḥidjāz. He was among others a pupil of al-Bukhārī [*q.v.*]. Later in life he became blind, allegedly as a result of excessive weeping, and he died in Tirmidh in 279/892.

He is famous in the first place for his *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, a collection generally considered to hold the fourth rank after those of al-Bukhārī, Muslim and Abū Dāwūd [*q.vv.*]. In the edition of Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir *et alii*, Cairo 1937-65, it contains 3,956 traditions. Like his predecessors, al-Tirmidhī included in his collection many dozens of traditions, which he provided with single strand *isnād*s, for which he may solely be held responsible. These traditions can be identified by consulting *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf* of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341 [*q.v.*]) where they are easily recognised by a single Arabic *tāʾ*. At the end of his *Djāmiʿ* (v, 736-63) an extremely important early theoretical work on common defects (*ʿilal*) is appended: his *Kitāb al-ʿIlal*. In this chapter, al-Tirmidhī defines his methods in *ḥadīth* classification (*ṣaḥīḥ-ḥasan-gharīb*), three technical terms which he often used in seemingly contradictory combinations. These methods met with some criticism as well as bewilderment on the part of his fellow-traditionists. For a detailed survey of these, see the important commentary of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Radjab al-Ḥanbalī (d. 795/1393), *Sharḥ ʿilal al-Tirmidhī*, ed. Ṣubḥī Djāsim al-Ḥumayd, Baghdād 1396, 287-91. Al-Tirmidhī also made a collection of traditions solely comprising the Prophet's characteristics entitled *K. al-Shamāʾil*; for editions and commentaries, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 156-9. It was probably modelled on the latter part of the biography of Muḥammad by Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845 [*q.v.*]) in *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kabīr*, i/2, 87-186.

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TIRMIDHĪ, SAYYID BURHĀN AL-DĪN AL-ḤUSAYN MUḤAḲḲIḲĪ, also known as Sayyid Ḥusayn or Sayyid Sirdān, disciple of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad and spiritual master of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.vv.*], *fl.* in the first half of the 7th/13th century.

Born at an unknown date and originally from the town of Tirmidh [*q.v.*] on the Oxus, where he already had a circle of disciples, he became the disciple and then successor of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad. He went to

join his master at Ḳonya, but Bahāʾ al-Dīn had died a year previously (628/1231) and his son Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī had succeeded him in teaching the religious sciences. Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn took charge of Djalāl al-Dīn's education and became his spiritual master, with Rūmī studying under him for nine years. They set off together for Syria, but Burhān al-Dīn settled at Ḳayṣariyya [*q.v.*] whilst Rūmī went on to Aleppo. Burhān al-Dīn is said to have retired to Ḳayṣariyya and to have been there at the time of the Mongol invasion of Anatolia. The Saldjūḳ governor of Ḳayṣariyya, Shams al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, was at the same time protector and disciple of Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn. It is possible that the latter died in 638/1240; according to Djāmī he was buried there, but there exists also at Ḳonya a *turba* traditionally referred to as being his.

Attributed to him is a large work in Persian called the *Maḳālāt-i Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Muḥaḳḳiḳ-i Tirmidhī*, bearing witness to the breadth of his knowledge of the theological sciences and the intellectual currents of his time. In it he cites various mystical poems, including those of Sanāʾī, whom he loved as much as Djalāl al-Dīn loved Shams-i Tibrīzī [*q.v.*], and he also discusses various questions pertaining to Ṣūfī mysticism, covering Ismāʿīlī doctrines, the topic of the Mahdī and theological problems. For Burhān al-Dīn, the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] were the highest grade of the mystics, whilst the philosophical scholars did not have access to the real truth.

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(P. BALLANFAT)

TİRNOWA, the Ottoman name of a town in northern Bulgaria, capital of the Bulgarian rulers from the 12th to the 14th centuries, called until 1965 Tarnovo, now Veliko Tarnovo.

It is situated on the River Yantra, whose waters have cut into the limestone hills where the town is situated. It was fortified by the Romans and Byzantines, until in 1185 the local feudal lords Assen and Peter rose up against the Byzantines, and Tarnovo became the capital of the restored Bulgarian monarchy. The mediaeval town had some 40 churches and five monasteries, a *Frenk* town for Western European traders and a Jewish quarter. In 795/1393 it was besieged and captured by the Ottomans, with severe reprisals against the town; the Tsar's palace and the fortress walls were demolished, the Bulgarian Patriarch exiled and many local dignitaries executed. Tirnowa now became the centre of a *ḳaḍā* within the *sandjaḳ* of Nīkbūlī [*q.v.*] or Nicopolis, and a *khāṣṣ* of the sultan or the *sandjaḳ-beyi*. In 1864, after the formation of the Tuna or Danube *wilāyet*, Tirnowa became the chef-lieu of a *sandjaḳ*. In 1877, during the Russo-Turkish War, the town was entered by Russian troops and since 1878 has formed part of Bulgaria.

After the Ottoman conquest, part of the population was massacred and others subjected to forced deportation (*sürgün*). According to the taxation registers of the later 15th and the 16th centuries, Tirnowa had about 4,600 inhabitants, about one-third of them Muslims. In the mid-17th century, the two communities of Christians and Muslims were almost equal and totalled *ca.* 5,000. In the second half of the 19th century, it had *ca.* 12,000 inhabitants, one-third of them Muslims; in 1900 there were 11,628 Bulgarians, 748 Turks, 52 Armenians, and 23 Gypsies and others; in 1976 the town had 58,096 inhabitants.

It seems that the development of the town was marked, for the Orthodox Bulgarians, by their memories of its past glories as a royal capital and its continued role as the seat of an archbishop under the Greek Oecumenical Patriarch. By the end of the 18th century there were in the town eight churches and three monasteries, and in the next century, twelve Orthodox churches served by a considerable number of priests. It was probably significant that it was in Tirnowa that plans for links with the European Powers for the ejection of the Ottomans were hatched. On the other hand, the concentration of Muslim religious functionaries in the town was relatively high, and in the 17th century there were between 29 and 35 of them. The sizeable colony of Catholic Ragusan merchants of the 16th century was by the 17th century ousted by Armenians, who came to use the former Catholic church of the Ascension. There were also a Jewish community and Albanians, these last living in the satellite settlement of Arbanassi.

The strong religious feelings between the communities may explain why so few Islamic monuments have been preserved there compared with other Bulgarian towns. In 839/1435-6 the Ḥiṣār mosque was built by the greatest benefactor of the town of that time, Fīrūz Bey, whose *wakf* also supported a monumental mosque which survived until 1957 (its inscription is preserved in the Tărnovo Historical Museum), an *ʿimāret*, a *medrese*, a caravanserai, a *mesdjid* in the bazaar, a *ḥammām*, a *mekteb*, etc. The Muslim part of the town was sharply divided off from the Christian one, and held the administrative buildings plus the most imposing mosque of the town, the Ḳurşum one, with a *medrese*, seven fountains and a library (whose building was destroyed when Russian troops entered the town in 1877 and its books scattered; no information exists today on their whereabouts). According to the *sālnāme* of 1872-3, the town had 22 mosques (*djāmiʿ*s and *mesdjids*), of which 13 survived in 1912, a *tekke*, seven *medreses*, etc. At some point in the later 15th century, the Ḳawaḳ Baba *tekke* had been established round the former church of the Forty Martyrs by a *wakf*, and places of pilgrimage included the tomb of one Maḥmūd Fātiḥ, believed to have conquered the town. In the Ottoman period, commercial activity was brisk in Tirnowa, seen in the fact that by the 19th century there were 1,008 *dukkāns*, nine *khāns*, 120 warehouses, three *ḥammāms* and 35 fountains.

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(SVETLANA IVANOVA)

ṬIRS [see RAḲḲ 1].

TIRYĀḲĪ, ḤASAN PASHA [see MEḤMED PASHA, TIRYĀḲĪ].

TISHRĪN, the name of the first two months of the Syrian calendar. It is found as early as the Palmyrene inscriptions and there means only one month, namely the first (in the Jewish calendar, the seventh) while the next was called Kānūn. In the calendar of the Syriac church, however, we find this name applied to two months, the third and fourth Syrian = ninth and tenth Jewish, Kislēw and Ṭēbhēth, while the original Kānūn was replaced by a second Tishrīn month. As a stage in the development of the four first Syriac names of months from four different to two pairs, A. von Gutschmid recognised the calendar of Heliopolis, the first four months of which bore the names Ag, Thorin, Gelōn and Chanu. The last three names correspond to Tishrī, Kislēw and Kānūn. The development from Gelōn to Kānūn is explained by a change of letters, while the replacement of Ag by Tishrī might be due to Jewish influence. The Syrians distinguished the two Tishrīns by the epithets *ḳᵉdēm* and *ḥrāy* (so al-Bīrūnī) for which the Arabs used *al-awwal* and *al-ākhir* or *al-thānī*.

In time, the two months coincide with the October and November of the Roman calendar and have 31 and 30 days. In the two months, the four first stations of the moon set and the 15th to 18th and the rise. The days on which this happens are, according to al-Bīrūnī, 10 and 23 Tishrīn I, and 5 and 18 Tishrīn II; according to al-Ḳazwīnī, 18 and 31 Tishrīn I, and 13 and 26 Tishrīn II. In 1300 of the Seleucid era (= A.D. 989), according to al-Bīrūnī, the stars of the four stations rose or set on 22 Tishrīn I and on 5, 18 and 31 Tishrīn II.

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TĪṬ, TĪṬT AN FIṬR and ʿAYN AL-FIṬR, the name of a place on the Atlantic coast of Morocco to the south of Casablanca, the modern Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh. It lies some 12 km/7 miles southwest of al-Djadīda [*q.v.*].

The chroniclers explain this toponym by the linking of a Berber word with an Arabic one; there was on the beach a sacred spring (*tīṭ*) covered by the sea at high tide, from which the mythical founder of the *ribāṭ* there drank to break his fast (*fiṭr*). This last word, however, comes more likely from Berber *anfṭār*, a vessel used for measuring turns of water allocation. The presence of springs on this Atlantic coastal plain, which normally lacks them, favoured an early human settlement, and there are traces, connected with some Punic tombs, showing that this littoral has been inhabited since Antiquity. Tīṭ was, however, most famous for its *ribāṭ*, founded by the Ṣūfī family of the Banū Amghār, which had a role beyond its immediate vicinity all through mediaeval times. Originating from the Gudāla, a section of the Ṣanhādja [*q.vv.*], the Banū Amghār settled in this region at some unknown date but certainly before the conquest of their Almoravid cousins. The chroniclers list their miracles and their merits but give little information on the small urban settlement of Tīṭ or on the function of its fortified *ribāṭ*.

The most important historical source on Tīṭ is late, and somewhat suspect from its hagiographical nature, the *K. Bahdjat al-nādhirīn wa-uns al-ʿārifīn* of ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Zammūrī, written *ca.* 900/1494-5 (and not in the 8th/14th century, as is sometimes said), so far unpublished. The author gives a series of decrees, the oldest from the prince Tamīm b. Zīrī b. Yaʿlā of the Banū Īfran from Rabīʿ I 409/July-August 1018. The series of letters, Almoravid, Almohad and Marīnid, confirm the fiscal and spiritual privileges granted by the central power to the *ribāṭ* of Tīṭ, but there are false dates and doubtful facts which render them suspect. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm adopts a current procedure and asserts that the Banū Amghār, of Idrīsid origin, had become Berberised through contacts and marriage alliances with the Ṣanhādja, the founder, Ismāʿīl b. Amghār having left Medina in the 4th/10th century and settled at Tīṭ, with his descendant Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad making the *ribāṭ* renowned. The *sharīfī* genealogy of the Banū Amghār was strongly denounced by Ibn al-Ḳāḍī [*q.v.*] at the opening of the 11th/17th century, but in the 6th/12th century the family's role in religious life and its reputation for sainthood was incontestable; it seems to have been involved also with the teaching of Mālikī *fiḳh*.

Situated as it was on a rich, cereal-growing plain, the *ribāṭ* of Tīṭ was occupied by the Portuguese at the beginning of the 16th century and made tributary, but the small town there seems to have profited by the situation to become involved in trade exchanges. In order to frustrate the Portuguese, the Moroccan ruler in Fās decided to dismantle Tīṭ and the population was transferred to the plain of Sāʾis, whilst the family of the famous ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb settled at Miknās. The abandoned town fell into ruins, even if the *ribāṭ* managed to carry on a modest religious life. Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh tried unsuccessfully to revive the port. The village there acquired a certain vitality in the 19th century thanks to the efforts of the *ḳāʾid* of Dukhāla, Muḥammad al-ʿArūsī. The name Tīṭ was forgotten, and the modern village there bears the name of its presumed founder, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh.

The ruins of Tīṭ were excavated by H. Basset and H. Terrasse. The area uncovered is quite large, that of a small town. The strong fortifications of the *ribāṭ* were meant to defend it from attack by sea. The hypothesis of struggles with the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] could explain the defensive system; the kingdom of these last does not seem to have gone beyond the Umm al-Rabīʿ and hardly anything is known of their maritime activities. The walls of Tīṭ, of cement on a stone base, much resemble other Almohad fortresses. Of its two mosques, a sole minaret remains, that of the more recent mosque stemming from the 7th/13th century and including the *zāwiya* of Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh. One of the most important *mawsims* in Morocco celebrates each summer the founder of Tīṭ. As an ensemble of buildings created by a family and not by a ruling dynasty, Tīṭ is a unique exception in Morocco's urban history.

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(Halima Ferhat)

TĪṬṬĀWĪN, the Berber name for Tétouan, the Tetteguin of Leo Africanus, *Description*, tr. Épaulard, i, 267, a town on the Mediterranean coast of northern Morocco. It lies on the flanks of the Djabal al-Darsa, part of the Rīf [*q.v.*] chain at the mouth of the Martil river (the Wād Rās and Wād Madjaksa of the mediaeval texts).

The region was Romanised, and the *oppidum* of Tamuda (mentioned by Pliny, and later the seat of a bishop, *Tamudensis episcopus*) is 8 km/5 miles from the modern town. Tīṭṭāwīn's history before the 15th century is only imperfectly known, with few sources and uncertain chronology. Its actual Berber name ("the springs", a quarter of the town still being known as al-ʿUyūn) is first mentioned at the death of Idrīs II in 213/828, probably with reference to a simple fortified place rather than a true city. Its military and strategic function is confirmed by al-Bakrī, who mentions its *kaṣaba*, and in al-Idrīsī's geography (ii, 531), who calls it a *ḥiṣn* but not a *madīna*. Between the 4th/10th and 7th/13th centuries, the region had an important economic and urban growth, thanks to its connections with al-Andalus, but Tīṭṭāwīn itself stagnated and is hardly mentioned, unlike the remarkable fortunes of Sabta [*q.v.*] some 34 km/16 miles away. Not till 685/1286 does the name of Tīṭṭāwīn appear again in the chronicles, when the Marīnid sultan Yūsuf b. Yaʿkūb al-Nāṣir "founded" the fortress (*kaṣaba*) of Tīṭṭāwīn plus a mosque; whether this was a true foundation or simply a restoration, is unclear. In 708/1308 Abū Thābit ʿAmr b. Yūsuf set up there a fortified camp, Afrāg [*q.v.*], against the Naṣrids of Granada, who had occupied Sabta. The 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries are obscure, but after Sabta fell into Portuguese hands, Tīṭṭāwīn seems once again to have played a military role, although the Portuguese chronicler Azurara states that the Portuguese of Ceuta in 1437 dismantled its new fortifications, and the abandoned town apparently remained deserted till 889-90/1484-5.

Around the time of the fall of Granada, the ruler of Shafshāwan [*q.v.*], the Sharīf ʿAlī b. Rāshid al-ʿAlamī, welcomed Andalusī refugees and let them partly restore the place, with a further, more important restoration in 898/1493 by one of the last defenders of Granada, ʿAlī b. Manẓarī, considered in oral tradition as the true founder of the town; his family retained power there for several generations. The cordial relations with the ruler of Shafshāwan were crowned by the marriage of Ibn Rāshid's successor with the famous Sayyida al-Ḥurra. With some breaks, she led Tīṭṭāwīn from 931/1525 to 948/1541, organising corsair raids against the Portuguese whilst nevertheless developing relations with the Iberian powers. These activities and the town's richness attracted envoys from Lisbon, Madrid and Fās, who negotiated with her. But the victory of the Saʿdians in Morocco ended the rule of the Manẓarī family, which gave way to the Naksīs, feudatories of the new dynasty. The history of Tīṭṭāwīn is indeed narrowly linked with its great families, those of Manẓarī, Naksīs, ʿAshʿāsh and Riffī, who built many public edifices, and who, whilst still linked with the central power in Morocco, maintained a considerable degree of autonomy.

From the 11th/17th century into the next one, the town enjoyed great prosperity, and most of its great buildings date from this period. As a commercial centre, it had linen, cotton and silk production, gold and silver work, tanning, the manufacture of slippers, pottery, and arms, sending these wares to other regions of Morocco and exporting part of them. A rich bourgeoisie built impressive houses and invested in agriculture outside the town walls.

But signs of crisis appeared at the end of the 18th century. European envoys abandoned Tīṭṭāwīn for Tangier, and the founding of the port of al-Suwayra/Mogador adversely affected it. The revolt in the town of 1821-2 showed up the division between the threatened world of commerce and the ruinous financial demands of the Moroccan central government. External events, like the bombardment of Tangier in 1844, aggravated this trend, culminating in the war of 1859-60 between Morocco and Spain, the War of Tétouan or of Africa, with Spain occupying the town early in 1860 after its victory for 27 months, till 2 May 1862. The disaster revealed the feebleness of Morocco's social cohesion and its military power, whilst within Tétouan, Muslims who felt threatened vented their rage on the local Jews, accused of connivance with the enemy, so that the Jewish community left the town for Tangier, Gibraltar or Orania (although at a later date, many Jews returned to the town and in 1925 they formed one-sixth of the population). The Muslim traders left a ruined town to carry on their trade in the Atlantic ports, whilst the traditional artisanal activities decayed under competition from European imports. The silk industry, previously a great feature of the local economy, fell into oblivion. After the establishment of the French and Spanish protectorates over Morocco, Tétouan in 1913 became the capital of "Spanish Morocco", with a *khalīfa* of the Sultan of Morocco at the side of the Spanish authorities. After Moroccan independence, the town lost this status as part of the increased state centralisation.

Tīṭṭāwīn represents a special case amongst Moroccan towns. Moriscos expelled from Spain rebuilt the town and profoundly affected its culture, seen in patronyms, jewelry, embroidery, cuisine and vocabulary, so that the town appeared as a happy synthesis of Andalusī and Maghribī traditions. Jews, installed there after the fall of Granada, made up one-tenth of the population till the War of Tétouan. After the French occupation of Algiers, refugees from Oran and Tlemcen settled there, bringing in Turkish influences which are discernible in the minor arts. Yet despite the richness of its past Tétouan is now undergoing a serious economic and social crisis, marginalised by its site and the poverty of its agricultural hinterland, and badly affected by smuggling activity. The proximity of Ceuta and Gibraltar, with their special statuses, encourages this traffic. However, the present University of Tétouan is endeavouring to recover the proud Moroccan-Andalusī heritage of the town's past, and there are in the town numerous valuable libraries, private and public.

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TĪTŪ MĪR or **MIYĀN**, Sayyid Mīr Nit͟hār ʿAlī (1782-1831), anti-colonial Islamic activist and leader of peasant uprisings in Bengal.

Born into a noble family in Chandpur, Bashirhat subdivision in the district of 24 Parganah in West Bengal, Tītū Mīr studied Arabic, Persian and various Islamic subjects in a local *madrasa*. He was also a renowned wrestler in his time. He entered the service of local Hindu *zamīndārs* (landlords), but was subsequently imprisoned for defying feudal power (Colvin report, Bengal Judicial [Criminal] Consultation of 3 April 1832). In 1822, while accompanying a member of the royal family of Dihlī on the Ḥadjdj, he met Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*] in Mecca, who initiated him into the *Ṭarīḳa-yi Muḥammadiyya*, a religious school of thought influenced by Ibn Taymiyya and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Returning to Bengal in 1827, Tītū Mīr called for a revival of the original teaching of Islam stripped of influences from local culture and religious practices (*al-bidʿa wa 'l-s͟hirk wa 'l-tawassul*). He inspired the peasants to rise up against the oppression of the *zamīndārs*, both Hindu and Muslim, and colonial indigo planters, and also garnered support from armed resistance groups of *faḳīrs* (e.g. Miskīn S͟hāh) and even some Hindus (e.g. Zamīndār Manōhar Rāy of Bhusna). Alarmed by his growing influence, a number of *zamīndārs* led by Kris͟hna Dēv Rāy imposed ruinous taxes to punish and humiliate those who wore the Islamic beard or constructed new *masdjids*. After failing to achieve justice through legal means, Tītū Mīr gravitated towards armed resistance, eventually leading to confrontation. His idea of erecting a fort of bamboo made him a popular hero, but the fort was demolished by the artillery of the East India Company, and Tītū Mīr, together with a large number of his followers, perished on 19 November 1831. A pioneer of the Bengali egalitarian *ʿulamāʾ*, Tītū Mīr called for a kind of class struggle (completely misunderstood by Karl Marx in his *Notes on Indian history*, Moscow n.d., 152) based on Islamic ideology (sometimes referred to as the *Mawlawī Movement*), which was continued by his disciples Muns͟hī Muḥammad Yāsīn and Muns͟hī Fayḍ al-Dīn Muk͟htār, leaders such as Ḥādjdjī S͟harīʿat Allāh and his son Dūdū Miyān in the 19th century [see FARĀʾIḌIYYA], and most recently by Mawlānā Bhasani (d. 1976).

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TIYŪL, TUYŪL (T.?), a term denoting a grant of money or land in pre-modern Persian lands. The word is not attested before the 9th/15th century [see SOYŪRG͟HĀL]. Doerfer suggests that it is a misspelling of the Čaghatay Turkish word *yatul*, "land, domain" (ii, 667-9, no. 1014). Minorsky distinguished the *tiyūl* from the *soyūrg͟hāl*, as being a temporary grant of the right to collect government taxes while the latter was a hereditary grant (*A soyūrg͟hāl of Ḳāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-Qoyunlu (903/1498)*, in *BSOS*, ix [1938], 960; see also *EI*¹, art. *Tiyūl*). The term appears to have been in use under the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu. Abū Bakr Ṭihrānī states that Djahāns͟hāh summoned the *amīrs* and the holders of *tiyūls* (*tiyūldārān*) from the provinces in 871/1466-7 to take part in his expedition against Bag͟hdād (*Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, ii, ed. Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer, Ankara 1964, 371). After Djahāns͟hāh's death in 872/1467-8, those of the army leaders who had remained in their *ulkās* and *tiyūlāt* left them and joined Abū Saʿīd b. Ḳarā Yūsuf (*ibid.*, 517). In the latter case, if not in the former, it would seem that the *tiyūl* was a district or province.

In the Ṣafawid period, references to *tiyūl* are frequent, though the exact nature of the grant and the terms on which it was given varied. In the early years of Ṭahmāsp's reign (930-84/1524-76) it occurs in conjunction with the term *ulkā*, a district or region held by a tribal group. It is not clear from the textual references whether the two terms were synonymous, though the presumption is that the *tiyūl* was probably a grant of the right to collect taxes in the *ulkā* of the holder or a grant of immunities within the *ulkā*. Ḥasan Rūmlū records that in 931/1524-5 the *tiyūls* which belonged to the Ustadjlū *amīrs* were cut off (*ḳaṭʿ gardānīdand*) (*Aḥsan al-tawārīk͟h*, ed. and tr. C.N. Seddon, Calcutta 1931, Persian text, 189), and that because of this they began to oppose the shah in the following year (*ibid.*, 191). Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳumī states that Ṭahmāsp, in the sixth year of his reign (936/1529-30), gave an *ulkā* and *tiyūl* to each of the Ustadjlū *amīrs* who had been in Gīlān and had come to his court (*K͟hulāṣat al-tawārīk͟h*, ed. Iḥsān Is͟hrāḳī, Tehran AHS 1359/1980, i, 195); and he records that, having received permission in 938/1531-2 to return to their *ulkās*, they set out for the places (*maḥāll*) where they held *tiyūls* and *iḳṭāʿs* (*ibid.*, 218). In 977/1569, because of the tyranny committed by some of the *amīrs*, Ṭahmāsp ordered changes to be made in their *tiyūls*, and Ḳāḍī Aḥmad mentions some of the changes made in their *ulkās* also (*ibid.*, 563).

As the structure of the Ṣafawid empire changed, the great *amīrs* were given provinces rather than *ulkās* as *tiyūls*. The term *tiyūl* thus appears to have been used in a somewhat similar sense to the Saldjūḳ "provincial" *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] and virtually to have superseded the term *iḳṭāʿ*, though references are occasionally found in the sources to *iḳṭāʿs* (e.g. Iskandar Beg, *Tārīk͟h-i ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, Tehran AHS 1334/1956, i, 322, 352, ii, 1060, and Iskandar Beg and Muḥammad Yūsuf, *D͟hayl-i tārīk͟h-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, ed. Suhayl K͟hʷānsārī, Tehran AHS 1317/1938-9, 286).

Tiyūls were granted on state (*dīwānī*) land and crown lands (*k͟hāliṣadjāt*) and also on private property and, less commonly, on *wak̲fī* land. Prior to the 19th century,

the holder of a *tiyūl* (the *tiyūldār*) was usually an *amīr* or a tribal or military leader. In return for the grant of a *tiyūl* he was expected to provide a military force on demand. In some cases, the number of men to be provided was stipulated in the document granting the *tiyūl* (*tiyūl-nāmača*) [see KHARĀDJ. iv, Iran. at Vol. IV, 1044a-1045b, and see Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 124-5). Immunity from the entry and interference of government officials in the district or region on which the *tiyūl* was granted was frequently given in the document granting the *tiyūl*. In effect, the *tiyūldār* often thus had full administrative control of the district where his *tiyūl* was held. Consequently, in practice, if not in theory, the *tiyūl* came to be regarded as a grant of land. On the death of the ruler, the *tiyūl* fell in, unless confirmed by his successor. In the case of a powerful *tiyūldār*, the holder usually retained possession, with or without the payment of a fee. Certain dues were paid by the *tiyūldār* on the grant of his *tiyūl* and sometimes annually (see *Landlord and peasant*, 124-5). Practice, however, varied. In the event of the *tiyūldār* dying, his heir or heirs were frequently able to secure the regrant of the late holder's *tiyūl* in their favour. As in the case of the earlier *iḳṭā*ʿ, there was a tendency for *tiyūls* to become hereditary and to be assimilated to private property.

It is difficult to arrive at reliable figures for the extent of land held as *tiyūl*. It varied at different times and in different provinces. Under Nādir Shāh there was apparently an attempt to resume *tiyūls* and *soyūrghāls* or, at least, to exert stricter control over them. He ordered all the *tiyūlāt* and *mawḳūfāt* of Fārs to be resumed in 1151/1738-9, but it is unlikely that this order was fully implemented (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi nāṣirī*, lith., Tehran 1984-6, i, 181; Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 129). Under the Ḳādjārs, large areas of the country were alienated from the control of the central government as *tiyūls* whether given as grants to collect the taxes of a given district, or given to government officials in lieu of salary (*ibid*., 139-40). H.C. Rawlinson calculated that about one-fifth of the whole revenue of Persia was thus alienated in the form of *tiyūl* from the crown towards the middle of the 19th century (*Notes on a journey from Tabriz through Persian Kurdistán to the ruins of Takhti Soleïmán*, in *JRGS*, x [1841], 5 n.). One of the first actions of the National Assembly after the grant of the Constitution was to abolish the *tiyūl* (*Landlord and peasant*, 179).

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TĪZNĪT, a town of southwestern Morocco (lat. 29° 43' N., long. 9° 44' W., altitude 224 m/735 feet above sea level), in a Tashelḥīt [*q.v.*] Berber-speaking area. It is today on the highroad RP 30 that passes by Agadir [*q.v.*] and runs roughly parallel to the coast towards the Western Sahara. Its position in the plain of the Sūs [see AL-SŪS AL-AḲṢĀ], between the Atlantic Ocean 15 km/9 miles to its west, the High Atlas to the north (90 km/56 miles) and the Anti-Atlas to the south and east, has given it a role of a crossroads town.

Before the 19th century, nothing is known of it apart from a legend that its foundation was due to a certain prostitute, who became thereafter a saint; oral tradition recounts that her dog found the first spring, *Iʿin aḳdīm* ("the ancient spring") of Tīznīt. Tīznīt was besieged by the Sharīf [see SHURAFĀʾ] Hāshim u-ʿAlī (murdered in 1825), and because of its constant opposition to the hegemony of Tāzerwālt [*q.v.*], it was fortified in 1883. The expedition of the sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan I [*q.v.*] in 1886 strengthened the position of the *Makhzan* [*q.v.*] in the region. The town now attracted many Jews from the so-called *Bilād al-Sībā*. It probably had *ca.* 1,000 inhabitants in 1882, according to Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne*, 56; by 1936 the population had reached 4,662, including 357 Jews and 132 Europeans.

Chased from the Sahara at the beginning of the 20th century, Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn [*q.v.*] took refuge at Tīznīt in 1909. His son Aḥmad al-Hība [*q.v.* in Suppl.] succeeded in mobilising the surrounding tribes and launched a *djihād* against the forces of the French Protectorate. When he proclaimed himself sultan in 1912, al-Hība made Tīznīt his capital until he was defeated near Marrākush. From that time until the decolonalisation of the Spanish Western Sahara took place in 1975, Tīznīt remained a small town from which the Spanish enclave of Ifni [*q.v.*] was supervised. In 1982 it had 23,000 inhabitants, with increasing importance as the chef-lieu of the province of the Sūs.

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(ABDERRAHMANE LAKHSASSI)

TOBOL, the name of a river in Western Siberia from which *Toboliḳ*, the ethnonym of a sub-grouping of the Siberian Tatars derives, as does also the name of the Russian city Tobol'sk built (1587) near Sibir, the capital of the Sibir Khānate [see SIBIR]. The Tobol Tatars, together with the *Tümenli*, constitute one of the principal subgroupings of the Siberian Tatars along with the Tara, Baraba, Tomsk and Bukharliḳ groupings. The Toboliḳ presently number about 50,000 and live interspersed among Russian, Siberian Bukhārān and Ḳazan Tatar settlements along the Irtish river, from Tara to Tobol'sk and on the Tobol. They descend from the Ḳipčaḳ Turkic and Turkicised population of the eastern regions of the *ulus* of Djoči (the White and Blue Hordes of the territories of Orda and Shiban) which in the late 15th century formed the Khānate of Sibir. These Tatars mixed, to varying degrees, with the local Ugric (Khanti/Ostyak) tribes that had been brought under Tatar rule. Some of their tribal components are reflected in the names of administrative units: Ḳurdaḳ, Ishtek (a Turkic term for Ugric groups, cf. Ostyak, the Ḳazaḳs often refer to the Siberian Tatars as *Üshtek*, Tomilov, *Ėtničeskaya ist.*, 32), Toghus in the Uvat district (who are also called *Sas Ḳalḳi* "swamp people"), Yasḳalbi, Nanga and Tsavaltsiḳ. Included among them are also descendants of Bukhārān merchants who settled in the region (15th-16th centuries) as are also the linguistically more closely related Volga Tatars. The language of the latter serves as their literary tongue. They are Sunnī Muslims, and Islam has served as one of their primary sources of identity. They are

largely engaged in agriculture, fishing and hunting.

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(P.B. Golden)

ṬŌḌAR MAL, Hindu finance minister to the Mughal emperor Akbar (d. 998/1589).

Of the Khatri caste, probably a native of the Pandjāb, he rose early under Akbar (acceded 964/1556). In 971/1563-4 he was appointed to serve under Muẓaffar Khān, and to organise the revenue administration and soon afterwards he received the title of *rādjā*. In 981/1573-4, after the conquest of Gudjarāt, Ṭōḍar Mal was assigned the task of settling its revenues. He was then sent to serve with the armies operating in Bihār and Bengal, where he worked hard to suppress the rebellion that broke out in 988/1580-1. He was appointed *Dīwān* of the Empire in 990/1582-3 and occupied this office till his death. In 993/1585 he was promoted to the high *manṣab* [*q.v.*] or rank of 4,000. As *Dīwān* he introduced important financial reforms, obtaining in later tradition a high reputation as the architect of Akbar's revenue reforms, although much spade work had been done by his predecessors Muẓaffar Khān and Shāh Manṣūr. Contemporaries saw him as loyal, competent and harsh. His memorandum on revenue administration, 990/1582, preserved in B.L. ms. Add. 27,247, fols. 331b-332b, bears out this assessment. The formulation of the *dastūrs* or cash revenue rates, for different localities for each crop, was largely the work of Shāh Manṣūr, but Ṭōḍar Mal certainly gave the arrangements their final form. According to later tradition, he made Persian the official language of accounts at all levels.

Ṭōḍar Mal left behind palatial buildings in Jhusi near Allāhābād. He was personally an orthodox Hindu, and was, on this account, regarded as narrow-minded (*muta'aṣṣib*) at Akbar's court; but Akbar never wavered in his appreciation of his loyal service, and grieved at his death.

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(M. Athar Ali)

TOGHA TEMÜR (d. 754/1353), last Mongol Īl-Khān [*q.v.*] of Persia. He was descended from Čingiz Khān's younger brother Djoči Khasar. His father Suday had received permission from the Īl-Khān Abū Sa'īd to enter Khurāsān, but died in 733/1332-3, and Togha Temür settled in Sarakhs. In the winter of 736/1335-6, following Abū Sa'īd's death, he was raised up as sovereign by the *amīrs* of Khurāsān, led by Abū Sa'īd's governor of the province, Shaykh 'Alī b. 'Alī Ḳūshčī, in opposition to the successive puppet *khāns* enthroned in 'Irāḳ. In 738/1337-8, he advanced into north-western Persia at the instigation of certain *amīrs* there, only to be defeated near Tabrīz by Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg, the founder of the Djalāyirid [*q.v.*] dynasty, and his *khān* Muḥammad, and forced to retreat. When a similar invitation came in Radjab 739/January-February 1339, this time from Ḥasan-i Buzurg himself, Togha Temür again moved westwards and was courted in the vicinity of Sulṭāniyya by representatives of all the competing factions. But his ambitions were foiled by a stratagem on the part of Ḥasan-i Buzurg's rival, the Čūbānid [*q.v.*] Shaykh Ḥasan-i Küčük, which produced a league against Togha Temür, and he was obliged to withdraw yet again.

Togha Temür was largely successful in overcoming recalcitrant Mongol *amīrs* within Khurāsān. Following his first abortive westward advance, he was for a time a prisoner of Arghūn Shāh and 'Alī-yi Mīkā'īl, who had earlier deserted him on the march and who now put to death his principal supporter Shaykh 'Alī. But subsequently they rallied to Togha Temür and enthroned him a second time in Nīshāpūr. Within a short time, however, Togha Temür was confronted by a more formidable threat to his authority in the shape of the Sarbadārids [*q.v.*], who greatly reduced his sway in Khurāsān and against whom he struggled almost until his death. He sent against them an army under his brother Shaykh 'Alī Ke'ün, who was routed and killed near Bayhaḳ (Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Cinq opuscules*, 23-4), probably in 742/1341-2. From 752/1351-2 the Sarbadār leader Yaḥyā Karāwī reversed his predecessor's policy and submitted to Togha Temür, but only as a prelude to a treacherous attack on his camp in the course of negotiations, in 754/1353. Togha Temür, unprepared and unguarded, was cut down and his troops dispersed.

Togha Temür did not receive any permanent recognition outside Khurāsān and Māzandarān, although coins were episodically minted in his name elsewhere. According to Faryūmadī (320), Mu'izz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, the Kart [*q.v.*] ruler of Harāt, submitted to him; but Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (*Cinq opuscules*, 32) claims that the two men were merely on friendly terms. Despite the restricted size of his kingdom and the upheavals that characterised his reign, Faryūmadī (327) nevertheless credits Togha Temür with all the kingly qualities and worthiness to occupy the throne of Čingiz Khān, and comments on his justice. He was the last Čingizid to reign as Īl-Khān, although his son Luḳmān, who escaped from the Sarbadārid attack in 754/1353, was later set up as client ruler in Astarābād by Tīmūr.

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(P. Jackson)

ṬOGHRİL (T.), a designation in Old Turkish for a bird of prey, described by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī

as larger than a *sonḳur*; a possibility is the Crested Goshawk, *Astur trivirgatus*. It was certainly used for hunting purposes [see for this, BAYZARA].

Its chief importance, however, in early Turkish history and culture, from Uyghur times onwards, was as a frequent personal name. In Islamic times, its most notable holder was Ṭoghrïl Beg [*q.v.*], co-founder with his brothers Čaghrï Beg [*q.v.*] and Bighu (whose names are also those of avian raptors) of the fortunes of the Great Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*]. It remained common in Saldjūḳ onomastic and in that of the early Ottomans, e.g. the Er-toghrïl of the 8th/14th century and a son of Bāyezīd I at the end of that century; but thereafter it fell out of use. The Turkish word may have given Magyar *turul* "a kind of falcon or eagle".

Bibliography: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wisebaden 1963-75, iii, 346-8, no. 1345; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 472. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬOGHRÏL (I) BEG, ABŪ ṬĀLIB MUḤAMMAD B. MĪKĀ'ĪL (b. towards the end of the 10th century A.D., d. 455/1063), leading figure of the Saldjūḳ family and, with his brother Čaghrï Beg Dāwūd [*q.v.*], founder of the Great Saldjūḳ Sultanate in Persia and ʿIrāḳ.

Ṭoghrïl and Čaghrï must have been born when the Oghuz tribe [see GHUZZ] was still in the Central Asian steppes to the north of Khwārazm and Transoxania, and after their father's death were apparently brought up in the Djand [*q.v.* in Suppl.] region by their grandfather Saldjūḳ b. Duḳāḳ, eponymous founder of the Saldjūḳ line. This part of the Oghuz apparently became at least nominally Muslim around this time, and in the first three decades of the 11th century A.D. the Saldjūḳ family became drawn into the military and political affairs of the Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS] of Transoxania in the service of such rulers as ʿAlītigin b. Boghra Khān [*q.v.*]. They moved into Khwārazm in the early 1030s, but in face of the hostility of a rival Oghuz ruler, Shāh Malik of Djand, were compelled in 426/1035 to transfer to Ghaznawid Khurāsān under the leadership of Ṭoghrïl, Čaghrï, Mūsā Yabghu and Ibrāhīm Ināl. In 429/1038 Ṭoghrïl was temporarily in control of Nīshāpūr, making the *khuṭba* in his own name (though perhaps at the side of that of the Ghaznawid sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd) and assuming the title of *al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam* "Most Exalted Ruler". The Saldjūḳ take-over of Khurāsān and all the Ghaznawid possessions west of Balkh was sealed by Ṭoghrïl's victory at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 431/1040 (for details of all these events, see SALDJŪḲS. II.).

Exactly what was the relationship at this time between Ṭoghrïl and his brother Čaghrï is not clear, but R.W. Bulliett concluded that they were in fact equal in status, at least at the outset (see his *Numismatic evidence for the relationship between Tughril Beg and Chaghrī Beg*, in D.K. Kouymjian (ed.), *Near Eastern numismatics, iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles*, Beirut 1974, 289-96). In practice, Čaghrï took over the eastern lands of the new Saldjūḳ state whilst Ṭoghrïl expanded through northern Persia. He reduced the Ziyārids [*q.v.*] of the Caspian provinces to tributary status in 433/1041-2 and acquired control of Rayy, dislodging the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār Fanā-Khusraw b. Madjd al-Dawla from the citadel of Ṭabarak in 434/1042-3, and he started to mint coins there, making it his capital (see G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 196-7). Operations were carried out against the Kākūyids [*q.v.*] in Hamadhān, with Ṭoghrïl in 437/1045-6 despatching Ibrāhīm Ināl against its ruler Abū Kālīdjār Garshāsp; this Saldjūḳ commander drove out the Kākūyids and led his bands into Kurdistān and against the Christian Abkhāz of Transcaucasia (440/1048). In 438/1046-7 Ṭoghrïl launched his first attack on Iṣfahān and made the Kākūyid Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz his tributary, returning to the city in 442/1050. It was a measure of the inexperience of the Oghuz bands when faced with the necessity for siege warfare that the siege took a year; Farāmurz only surrendered in early 443/1051 when his supplies ran out. He was given Yazd and Abarḳūh as *iḳṭā*ʿs in compensation for Iṣfahān, which Ṭoghrïl restored and rendered prosperous. He transferred his capital from Rayy to Iṣfahān and made it his chief residence for the remaining twelve years of his life [see IṢFAHĀN. 1.].

The process of overcoming the more powerful Būyid dynasty in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ took longer, and was not completed until 454/1062 in the case of their rule in Fārs [see BUWAYHIDS]. When the three Saldjūḳ leaders had crossed the Oxus in 426/1035 they had styled themselves "clients of the Commander of the Faithful", and Ṭoghrïl had established diplomatic relations with the ʿAbbāsid al-Ḳāʾim [*q.v.*] during his first occupation of Nīshāpūr. Ṭoghrïl had been conducting raids into Ādharbaydjān (successfully) and into eastern Anatolia (unsuccessfully) in 446/1054 when he was invited to intervene in ʿIrāḳ by the caliph's vizier Ibn al-Muslima [*q.v.*], at a period when the Būyid amīrate of ʿIrāḳ had fallen into chaos and when the security of the caliphate seemed threatened by the Turkish soldiery under Arslan Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], who was suspected of pro-Shīʿī, pro-Fāṭimid sympathies. Hence Ṭoghrïl assembled troops at Hamadhān, Dīnawar, Kirmānshāh and Ḥulwān, and in Ramaḍān 447/December 1055 entered Baghdād. It was not, however, until he paid a second visit to Baghdād at the end of 449/beginning of 1058 that the caliph actually received Ṭoghrïl, bestowing on him the *laḳab*s of *Rukn al-Dawla* and *Malik al-Mashriḳ wa 'l-Maghrib* and allowing him to be addressed formally as Sultan (as now begins to appear on his coins), and it was not until the end of 451/beginning of 1060 that the threat to the capital from Basāsīrī was dispelled. Although Ṭoghrïl seems to have exulted in his role of deliverer of the caliphate from the Shīʿī Būyids, al-Ḳāʾim was perceptibly less enthusiastic at exchanging the chaotic but weak Būyid presence in his capital for the strong, potentially restrictive one of the Turkish Saldjūḳs. This coldness was seen in 452/1060 when Ṭoghrïl aspired to marry a daughter of the caliph's; in 448/1056 al-Ḳāʾim had married one of Čaghrï Beg's daughters, but the union of an ʿAbbāsid princess with a rough Turkmen was a different matter. The caliph at first refused, and only yielded under duress two years later, after Ṭoghrïl had threatened to confiscate the caliphal *iḳṭā*ʿs in ʿIrāḳ; even then, Ṭoghrïl did not see his bride until his visit to Baghdād in 455/1063 and the marriage was never consummated (see G. Makdisi, *The marriage of Tughril Beg*, in *IJMES*, i [1970], 259-75). The Great Saldjūḳs were, in fact, always to have an uneasy relationship with the ʿAbbāsids [see e.g. MALIK SHĀH].

Ṭoghrïl died aged around 70 on 8 Ramaḍān 455/4 September 1063. He was childless, and it was assumed that the sons of Čaghrï would succeed to the Great Saldjūḳ Sultanate after him. Before he died, Ṭoghrïl proclaimed as his heir Čaghrï's son Sulaymān, by a wife whom Ṭoghrïl took over just after Čaghrï's death in 452/1060, but a comparative nonentity; hence it

was not difficult for the more able Alp Arslan b. Čaghrî [*q.v.*] to assert his dominion over the whole Saldjūḳ empire. All the subsequent Great Saldjūḳ sultans, and the heads of the existing branch of the family in Kirmān and, later, that in Syria [see SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 3-4], were descendants of Čaghrî.

The achievements of Ṭoghrïl were remarkable for one who started out as an illiterate nomad chief, and he emerges from the sources as a full-scale, lively figure at the side of his more sketchily-described brother Čaghrî. He had survived attempts at seizing power by Ibrāhīm Ināl and other Saldjūḳs holding to a more patrimonial view of power rather than the Perso-Islamic view of it as a monolithic, authoritarian concept, probably because he was viewed by the Turkmen rank-and-file of his following as a supremely successful military leader. Also, he skilfully used the talents of his Persian advisers and administrators, such as the expertise of his vizier the ʿAmīd al-Mulk Kundurī (*q.v.*; see also H. Bowen, *Notes on some early Seljuqid viziers*, in *BSOAS*, xx [1957], 105-10) to embark on constructing the fabric of a typical Perso-Islamic state, a process developed more fully by his two successors Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh. This he was able to do together with, as noted above, generally keeping the allegiance of the Oghuz tribesmen who still essentially made up his military backing; it was fortunate that Ṭoghrïl's reign was one of steady expansion, with raids into rich territories which provided a stream of plunder. Ṭoghrïl was thus to lay the foundations of an empire which was to endure, though with lessening effectiveness, for some ninety years.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see the *Bibls.* to SALDJŪḲIDS. II, III. 1-2, in which articles the political, social, constitutional and religious trends of the early Saldjūḳ period are considered. There is a biography of Ṭoghrïl in Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, v, 63-8, tr. de Slane, iii, 224-9, and a connected narrative of events of the time by C.E. Bosworth in *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 18-23, 38-49. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬOGHRÏL (II) b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, brother of the Saldjūḳ sultan in the West, Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], and himself briefly ruler in ʿIrāḳ under the patronage of his uncle Sandjar b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*], sultan in the East and head of the Saldjūḳ family (ruled 526-9/1132-4).

Born in 503/1109, he received as Atabeg or guardian from his father Sultan Muḥammad the *amīr* Shīrgīr and received as his fief a large part of the province of Djibāl with the towns of Sāwa, Ḳazwīn, Abhar, Zandjān, Ṭālaḳān, etc. On the death of his father (511/1118), the Atabeg Shīrgīr was thrown into prison and his place taken by the *amīr* Kündoghdî, who was on bad terms with Sultan Maḥmūd, Ṭoghrïl's brother. With Kündoghdî he took part in the unfortunate campaign against the Georgians in 551/1121 and was in a serious position when his Atabeg died in the same year and his relations with his brother, never very good, became still worse. In these straits he was easily persuaded by the Mazyadid Arab Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa [see MAZYAD, BANŪ] that it would be easy to seize the province of ʿIrāḳ and get rid of the ʿAbbāsid caliph and the sultan. The enterprise failed, however, and the two sought refuge with Sandjar, who took up their cause and began negotiations on their behalf with Maḥmūd in Rayy (end of 522/1128). Some years later (525/1131), Maḥmūd died and his son Dāwūd was summoned to the throne temporarily until Sandjar had finally decided the succession. The latter declared for Ṭoghrïl, but in the meanwhile another brother, Masʿūd, had claimed the throne and was approaching with considerable forces. In the battle that followed at Dīnawar (526/1132) between Sandjar and Masʿūd, the latter was defeated and sent back to his province of Gandja, while Ṭoghrïl was installed as sultan. Sandjar then departed and left his nephew to enforce his recognition upon his opponents. He was successful in routing Dāwūd's adherents, but the latter himself escaped to Baghdād. Masʿūd was soon in power there, and was able to persuade the caliph to mention him in the *khuṭba* and designate Dāwūd as his successor (527/1132). Ṭoghrïl was not a match for his brother and, after wandering about a great deal, sought refuge with the Bāwandid Ispahbad of Ṭabaristān, where he spent the whole of the winter of 557-8/1132-3. In the following year, fortune was rather more favourable to him and he succeeded in again taking the capital Hamadhān, but, on arriving there, he fell ill and died early in 529/October-November 1134. His widow later married Ildegiz [*q.v.*], who raised Ṭoghrïl's son Arslan to the Saldjūḳ throne (555/1161).

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Bundārī, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, Rāwandī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, Ibn al-Djawzī and Ibn al-Athīr. Of secondary sources, see C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 12-5. See also SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 2 and its *Bibl.* (M.T. HOUTSMA*)

ṬOGHRÏL (III) b. Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl (II), Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, last Great Saldjūḳ ruler in the West, reigned 571-90/1175-94.

Born in 564/1168-9, when still a boy he was raised to the throne by the Ildegizid Atabeg Nuṣrat al-Dīn Pahlawān [*q.v.*], after his father had been poisoned to thwart his endeavour to escape the burdensome tutelage of the Atabeg (cf. Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saldjuks*, in *AO*, iii, 140-1). It was only on the death of Pahlawān in 581 or 582/1186 that Ṭoghrïl, now grown up, who had enjoyed a careful education and was distinguished by physical and intellectual gifts—he composed a number of short Persian poems—showed that he was not at all inclined to do as his father had done, and be content with the mere name of sultan. He was assisted by the fact that Pahlawān's successor, Ḳïzïl Arslan, had quarrelled with the widow of his deceased brother and their two sons, so that he was able to make arrangements with a number of Turkish *amīrs* and seize the Saldjūḳ capital Hamadhān. In order to be more sure of completely disposing of his dangerous opponent, Ḳïzïl Arslan asked the caliph to send him troops from Baghdād while he himself advanced from Ādharbāydjān, but the incapable leader of the Baghdād army, the vizier Ibn Yūnus, attacked Ṭoghrïl at Dāymarg (584/1188) and suffered a terrible defeat from the impetuous bravery of his opponent. Little, however, was won thereby for Ṭoghrïl's cause, for Ḳïzïl Arslan was coming nearer and the caliph was equipping a new army. To add to his troubles, the young sultan quarrelled with his own people and on his return to Hamadhān hanged several of his most prominent supporters. The result was that he could not hold out in his capital, which was very soon taken by Ḳïzïl Arslan; he spent some time ravaging the region of Urmiya, Khōy and Salmās, endeavoured in vain to win the caliph to his side, applied without success to several Muslim princes, including the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, for help, and had finally to surrender to Ḳïzïl Arslan, who imprisoned him in the castle of Kahrān near Tabrīz in 586/1190. Ḳïzïl Arslan then himself occupied the throne of the Saldjūḳs

but, when he was murdered the following year at the instigation of the widow of his brother, Ṭoghrïl succeeded in escaping and found an asylum with the Banū Kafshūd in Zandjān.

The lack of unity among the sons of Pahlawān, now the rulers of Ādharbāydjān, gave him the opportunity of coming again to Hamadhān and marrying Pahlawān's widow, only, however, to put her to death. He also took Iṣfahān and Rayy and sacked the stronghold of Ṭabarak near the latter town (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 507-8), but this brought upon him the enmity of the powerful Khʷārazm Shāh Tekish, who only a short time before had taken Rayy. He was not inclined to lose this city, and sent troops there to take it from the Saldjūḳ sultan. The wise course would have been to avoid their superior numbers, but Ṭoghrïl felt it a point of honour to defend the Saldjūḳ claims on ʿIrāḳ even at the cost of his life, calmly awaited the approach of the enemy in spite of the advice of his friends, then threw himself with a few faithful followers on the foe and was immediately slain (29 Rabīʿ I 590/25 March 1194).

Ṭoghrïl is praised in the sources for his martial qualities and his scholarly attainments. His death marked the end of the Great Saldjūḳ line and the partition of western Persia between the Ildegizids in the north and the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] in the south, whilst eastern Persia fell briefly, before the Mongol onslaught, into the hands of the Khʷārazm Shāhs.

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Bundārī, Rāwandī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, Nasawī, Ibn al-Athīr and Djuwaynī. Of secondary sources, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 346-7; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 180-2; Angelika Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1225). Politik, Religion, Kultur in der späten ʿAbbāsidenzeit*, Berlin-New York 1975, 72-5. See also SALDJŪḲIDS. III, 2 and its *Bibl.*

(M.T. HOUTSMA-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

ṬOGHRÏL SHĀH b. Ḳïlïdj Arslan II, Mughīth al-Dīn, minor prince in eastern Anatolia from the family of the Saldjuḳs of Rūm [see SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 5].

When the old king Ḳïlïdj Arslan II [*q.v.*] divided his kingdom among his many sons, Ṭoghrïl Shāh received the town of Elbistan. In 597/1200-1 his brother Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān conquered Erzerūm, which he handed over to Ṭoghrïl Shāh, while he himself took Elbistan. A few years later, Balaban, lord of Khilāṭ (Akhlāṭ), was attacked by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Awḥad Ayyūb b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. As he was unable to defend himself alone, he appealed to Ṭoghrïl Shāh for help and they attacked and routed al-Awḥad with their combined forces. Ṭoghrïl Shāh who also coveted Khilāṭ, then had Balaban treacherously murdered, but when he tried to seize the town he met with a vigorous resistance, so he turned his attention to Malāzgird [*q.v.*]. Here also he was defeated, and there was nothing left for him but to return to Erzerūm. The people of Khilāṭ then turned to al-Awḥad, who occupied the town in 604/1207-8. Ṭoghrïl Shāh was unable to defend himself against his neighbours, the Georgians; he had to pay tribute to King Giorgi III Lasha in Tiflis, and show himself his vassal in other respects also. Finally, a son of Ṭoghrïl Shāh adopted Christianity and married the sister of Giorgi, Rusudan, who succeeded him on the throne [see AL-KURDJ]. Ṭoghrïl Shāh died in 622/1225 and was succeeded by his son Rukn al-Dīn Djahān Shāh, who in 627/1230 was dethroned by his cousin ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I [*q.v.*]. According to another, undoubtedly incorrect, story, Ṭoghrïl Shāh died as early as 610/1213-14 after an unsuccessful attempt to seize the kingdom of his nephew Kaykāwūs I [*q.v.*], being taken prisoner and put to death by him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 58, 134, 180, 271, 279, 295, 318; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv, 249, 251; *RHC, Historiens orientaux*, i, 84, 87, ii/1, 69, 97-8, 172-3; Ibn Bībī, in Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii, II, 27-8, 57, 59-60, 99, 102, 104-5, 187; iv, 5, 9, 21-3, 40-3, 84, 148; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 143-4. See also the *Bibl.* to SALDJŪḲIDS. III, 5.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

TOGHUZGHUZ (Turkic *Toḳuz Oghuz* "the Nine Oghuz"), the name of a Turkic tribal confederation that was used in often chronologically confused Muslim accounts as the general designation of the Uyghurs until the late 5th/11th century.

Chinese sources, in which they are first attested in 630, invariably translate rather than transcribe this name as *Chiu hsing*, the "Nine Surnames", i.e. clans or tribal groupings. The ethnonyms Uyghur and Toḳuz Oghuz were not, strictly speaking, coterminous. The Uyghurs (consisting of ten tribes or clans) were one of the constituent tribal confederations that formed part of the Toḳuz Oghuz and had earlier been components of the T'ieh-lê (**Tegreg* "wagon", i.e. "people of the wagon", cf. Chin. *Kao chü/Kao-ch'e* "the High Carts", an earlier, 5th-6th century designation for the Uyghurs), a tribal confederation that in the 6th century stretched across Eurasia and included the Oghur (the Oghuric form of *Oghuz*) tribes of the Pontic steppes. The other eight tribes were: Buḳu(t), Ḳun/Hun, Bayïrḳu, Tongra, Sïḳar, Ch'i-pi, A-pu-ssu and Ku-lun-wu-ku (Liu, *Chin. Nachr.*, ii, 392; Pulleyblank, *Remarks*, 35-9; Hamilton, *Toquz Oγuz*). The Shine Usu Inscription, N3 (*ca.* 759) notes the *On* ("ten") *Uyghur, Toḳuz Oghuz* over whom the Uyghur Ḳaghan ruled for 100 years (Orkun, i, 164). Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Rawshan and Mūsawī, i, 138-40, provides some interesting data on their early history deriving from Uyghur informants and based on their extensive, written accounts. These historical traditions (*ḥawādith*) go back to their pre-imperial period when the Uyghur-Toḳuz Oghuz were living in the Orkhon-Selenge river region of Mongolia, in which Ḳara Ḳorum, the Čingisid capital, was subsequently constructed. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the "On Uyghūr" and "Toghūz Uyghūr" (*sic*), were living along a system of ten rivers, the On Orghun (the Orkhon and various tributaries) noted as: ʾyylshlk, Ötnkr (= * اوتيكر *Ötīkär, cf. Hu-tu-ko = *Uturḳur), Būḳīz (for بوقوت *Būḳūt, *Boḳut*, Chin. Pu-ku, see Hamilton, *Toquz Oγuz*, 26, 42, 45), Ūzḳndr, Tūlār, Tārdār, ʾdr (= * ادز *Ädiz), Ūč, Tābīn, Qamlāndjū and Ūtīgān (Ötigän, cf. Old Turk. *Ötükän*, the sacred refugium of the Kök Türks, Mong. *etügeni* "shamanist goddess of the earth"). These names, however, can only partially be matched with the Uyghur clan names known in Chinese and Khotanese sources (Yaghlaḳar, *Uturḳar, Kürābir, Boḳasïḳïr/Boḳsïḳït, Avučagh, Ḳasar, Hu-wu-su, Yabutḳar, Ayavïr [Ḳayamur]; for these see Hamilton, *Les Ouïgours*, 3-4, and his *Toquz Oγuz*, 41-9). In their early period, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, these tribes possessed neither "kingship (*pādshāhī*) nor sovereign power (*sarwarī*). At any time, a person from each tribal grouping could become ruler of his own tribe through the use of force (*ba-taghallub*)". Deciding at a congress (*kengäč*) that "for us an absolute monarch whose authority extends to all is necessary", they established a dual rulership with Mängü Bay of the ʾyyshlk/ʾyylshlk (clearly not the Yaghlaḳar, the ruling clan of the

Uyg͟hurs for much of their pre-imperial and imperial periods), who was given the title of *īl īltabar* (Turk, *il el teber*, cf. Bilge Ḳag͟han inscription, E, 37 *uyg͟hur elteber*) and another person, of the Ūzḳnd(r) who was chosen as *kül irkin* (an old Turkic title held by tribal chiefs, Clauson, *ED*, 225). "They made the two of them the king of the people and tribes. Their clan (*urug͟h*) ruled for a period of 100 years". In recent times, the ruler was called Īdī Ḳūt, which Ras͟hīd al-Dīn translates as "possessor of fortune" (*k͟hudāwand-i dawlat*), an accurate rendering of the Turkic *Volksetymologie: idi* "master, owner" + *ḳut* "heavenly good fortune". Actually, the term comes from Turk. *id͟huḳ* ("heaven-sent") *ḳut*, a title associated with the Basmïl, whom the Uyg͟hurs toppled in 744 to form their Ḳag͟hanate in Inner Asia and who were associated with the Toḳuz Og͟huz.

Chinese sources, before the accession of the Uyg͟hurs to the Ḳag͟hanate in Mongolia, note the Toḳuz Og͟huz as nomads who sold horses to the Middle Kingdom and fashioned armour from horse hides. They were unruly and often rebellious subjects of the Kök Türks, as they had earlier been of the Jou-jan. The Uyg͟hur grouping, located at this time on the Ork͟hon-Selenge rivers, near the Türk core lands, was the dominant element in the union. The other Toḳuz Og͟huz were in the Altai-T'ien-shan region. Their relationship to the ruling house of the Türks is unclear. The Ork͟hon inscriptions (Kül Tegin, N4, Bilge Ḳag͟han, E29) refer to them as "my own people" who had become enemies. The Uyg͟hurs and Ḳarluḳs [*q.vv.*] assisted the Basmïl overthrow of the Türks in 742. Two years later, when the Uyg͟hurs seized the Ḳag͟hanate, their one-time allies fled. The Muslim authors came to know them during the latter stages of their imperial period (744-840) in Mongolia. Their capital Ordu Balïḳ ("army/royal camp city") or Ḳara Balg͟hasun was established in the traditional nomadic imperial precincts in the Ork͟hon-Selenge region. Other cities, such as Bay Balïḳ on the Selenge, were constructed as well by Chinese and Sog͟hdian craftsmen. The latter figured prominently in Uyg͟hur diplomacy, cultural, religious and commercial life, introducing religions (most notably Manichaeanism, which became the state religion in 762) and script systems, while China was the principal source for the much-desired goods of the sedentary world. Uyg͟hur involvement in T'ang affairs, often to prop up the dynasty in the face of internal rebellions, became a source of considerable wealth in the form of payment for Uyg͟hur assistance and often unequal exchanges of barely serviceable steppe ponies for hundreds of thousands of pieces of Chinese silk. The Ḳïrg͟hïz [*q.v.*], able to take advantage of mounting Uyg͟hur internecine strife, overran Ordu Balïḳ in 840 and ended the empire. The Uyg͟hurs formed a number of smaller, diaspora states in Eastern Turkistan based on the earlier Tok͟harian and K͟hotanese Saka city-states, whose populations, over time, were absorbed and Turkicised. One such centre was located in the Tarim Basin, centering on Bes͟hbalïḳ ("Five Cities" = Pand͟jīkat͟h, Chin. Pei-t'ing). According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 94, Pand͟jīkat͟h, earlier associated with the Basmïl, was the summer residence of the "king of the Tog͟huzg͟huz" and on this basis has been viewed as the centre around which the actual Toḳuz Og͟huz tribes clustered. Another centre formed in the Turfan region at Hsi-chou/Kao-ch'ang/Ḳara K͟hod͟ja/Ḳočo. The winter residence of the Eastern Turkistānī Toḳuz Og͟huz located in the Turfan region is identified with the ruins of Idiḳut S͟hahri ("City of the Idiḳut"), the Čīnānd͟jkat͟h ("Chinese City") of the Muslim authors. It was also an important commercial and religious centre. Another diaspora kingdom was established at Kan-chou in Kansu [*q.v.*], which by 902 came under the rule of scions of the Yag͟hlaḳar, the one-time imperial clan.

The earliest references to the Toḳuz Og͟huz in the Muslim sources date from the their Ork͟hon-Selenge imperial period. Al-Yaʿḳūbī reports that the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) sent emissaries to the rulers of the eastern lands, including the "k͟hāḳān of the Tug͟huzg͟huz", inviting them to submit. He further remarks that Rāfiʿ b. al-Layt͟h [*q.v.*], who led a revolt in the East in 190/806, brought in the "Tug͟huzg͟huz" among others to aid his cause (*Ta'rīk͟h*, ed. Beirut, ii, 398,435). Al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1044, *s.a.* 204/821, reports that they had penetrated Us͟hrusāna. The father of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, who came as a *g͟hulām* into ʿAbbāsid service in the early 9th century from the Buk͟hārā region, is reported by later sources (al-Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 313) to have been a Toḳuz Og͟huz. Our most important notices stem from the travel account of Tamīm b. Baḥr [*q.v.*] who journeyed to Ḳarā Balg͟hasun *ca.* 821, i.e. in the late imperial period. He entered the country through a system of relay horses sent by the "K͟hāḳān" that is reminiscent of the Mongol *yam*. He found a land of "villages lying close together and cultivated tracts". Most of the population consisted of fire-worshipping Magians and Manichaeans. The capital itself was "a great town, rich in agriculture and surrounded by *rustāḳ*s full of cultivation... populous and thickly crowded and has markets and various trades. Among its population, the Zindīḳ religion prevails". Much of this is repeated by al-Idrīsī, ed. Bombaci, *et alii*, 510-11, who calls the capital *tntbg͟h*, perhaps for بيبلغ *Baybalïg͟h*, بيشبلغ *Bes͟hbalïg͟h* or خنبلغ *K͟hanbalïg͟h*). The ruler also possesses a gold tent which can hold 100 men. He is related to the ruler of China (al-Ṣīn) who "is sending him yearly 500,000 (pieces of) silk". Surrounded by an army of "some 12,000 strong" (apparently a reference to the imperial guard, al-Marwazī, ed. and tr. Minorsky, 18/29, reports that this guard corps, the *s͟hākirī*, number 1,000, along with 400 female servants), "there is no one stronger than they among all the Turkish tribes". The K͟hāḳān had "seventeen chieftains (*ḳā'id*) each having 13,000" troops. These form a huge encircling presence around the ruler. The latter was also the sole possessor of the magical rain-stone (Turk. *yat tas͟hï*, Tamīm/Minorsky, Arabic text 278-82/tr. 283-5; see YADA TAS͟H). The later 6th/12th century anonymous *Risālat fī 'l-aḳālim* (Köprülü Library, N. 1623, fols. 210a-b, see R. Şeşen, *Hilâfet ordusunun menkıbeleri ve Türkler'in faziletleri*, Ankara 1967, 33-35, Arabic text and Turk. tr.) depicts him as a sacral ruler possessing 360 slaves "according to the number of days in the year" who appears only once a year to the populace who prostrate themselves before him.

The pre-eminence of the Toḳuz Og͟huz among the Turks is illustrated by Ibn al-Faḳīh (*K. al-Buldān*, 329), who calls them the "Arabs of the Turks". Al-Masʿūdī, in several notices (*Murūd͟j*, ed. Pellat, §§ 155, 161-2, 190) conflating data from the pre- and post-imperial periods, remarks that they are the "masters of the city of Kūs͟hān (Kao-ch'ang?) and considers them to be the most powerful of the Turkic peoples. "Their king is *Uyg͟hurk͟hān (* ايغر خان, ms.: اير خان, ار خان) and their religion is the sect (*mad͟hhab*) of Mānī. There are no others of the Turks who adhere to this religion", (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān*, 329, however, who says that a "majority of the Turks are adherents of the Zanādiḳa", equally an exaggeration). In another reference, unconfirmed elsewhere, al-Masʿūdī reports

that "as long as the king of China is a *sāmānī* of the faith of animal sacrifices, there will be ongoing war between him and the ruler of the Turks, *Uyghurkhān. But when he is a Manichaean, they rule jointly". The *Ḥudūd*, tr. Minorsky, 94-5, clearly referring to their post-840 situation, notes Čīnāndjkath as the capital but comments that the "kings of the whole of Turkistān in the days of old were from the Toghuzghuz" and describes them as warlike, heavily-armed pastoral nomads.

The Uyghur and other Tokuz Oghuz tribes played a crucial role in the Turkicisation of Eastern Turkistan. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (tr. Dankoff, i, 83) makes the interesting comment that the Uyghurs "have a pure Turkic language and also another language which they speak among themselves". The latter tongue was most probably the Iranian and/or Tokharian languages of the settled population of Eastern Turkistan. Under influences stemming from the latter, Manichaeanism was replaced by Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity. Having gradually become sedentarised, the Uyghurs/ Tokuz Oghuz became important players in the international caravan trade and culture-bearers throughout the Inner Asian steppes, especially among the Mongolic peoples (the Kitan and later the Mongols themselves).

In 1028-36, the Kan-chou state and neighboring statelets of the Kansu corridor were conquered by the Tanguts. Their descendants are the Buddhist "Yellow Uyghurs" (Sarïgh/Shera Yughurs). The Kao-ch'ang Uyghurs were opponents of the Muslim Karakhānids and their struggles are reflected in the martial poetry recorded by al-Kāshgharī/Dankoff, i, 243, 270, 327. The Karakhānids expanded their borders and Islamic influence into Eastern Turkistān. By the 1130s, however, significant parts of the region came under the control of the Buddhist Kara Khitay, although it is not clear how much actual authority the latter exercised in Turfan. In 1209, the Idikut, Barčuk Tegin, assassinated a representative of the Gürkhān's authority and pledged his allegiance to the newly-created Činggisid empire. The Uyghurs became ubiquitous as officials and bureaucrats in the Mongol state. Their writing system, derived from the Syriac alphabet brought to them by the Soghdians, was adopted by the Mongols (and from them passed on to the Manchus).

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(P.B. Golden)

TOGO, Islam in the West African Republic of Togo.

The Islamisation of what is now the Republic of Togo dates from the beginning of the 18th century, through the activities of traders and the settlement of Islamised population groups. Islam has been weak there, but has constantly progressed, whilst affecting different regions and groups in a variable manner. On 27 September 1963, what had been previously completely unstructured saw the formation of the Muslim Union of Togo (UMT), breathing into its structure a new dynamic as part of the one-party state of the *Rassemblement du peuple togolais*.

1. Demography and geographical distribution.

The censuses of 1970 and of 1981 (the latest) show that Islam increased in Togo from 11.6% to 12.2% (i.e. some 330,000 persons), behind Christianity (from 26.7 to 28.4%) and animism (now in decline, from 61.7 to 59%). Thus in ten years Islam achieved only a minute advance of 0.6%, and it is uncertain if it has perceptibly increased since then.

The Muslim population is distributed, according to the latest census, amongst the five regions of the country as follows: Central region, 39%; the Kara, 18%; the Plateaux region, 16.8%; the Savannah region, 14%; and the coastal region, 12.2%, this last region being in the first rank for Roman Catholicism (53.1%) and animism (38.2%). In regard to ethnic divisions, a dozen or so groups lead the field: the Hausa, through whom Islam first appeared in Togo, 96%; the Kotokoli, 95.5%; the Tchamba, 95.2%; the Peul, 86%; the Yoruba, 79%; the Mossi, 71.6%; the Nago, 66.9%; the Yanga, 54.3%; the Tchokossi, 41.1%; and the Bassar, 16.2%. The other ethnic groups vary between zero for the Adja and 13.1% for the Ana.

According to Raymond Delval, Togo has three main urban centres of Islam: Lomé, considered its intellectual and spiritual capital, from its mosques, Kur'ān schools, *madrasas* and zongo which play an important role in the diffusion of the faith; Sokodé, the "historic capital" because of the antiquity and numerical importance of its Islam; and Kpalimé, the "centre of regional spreading forth", where the Islamised population enjoys, in this region of agricultural lands rented out, a certain measure of material prosperity.

2. The framework of Islam and its social practices.

Islam in Togo does not have a strong representation of the Ṣūfī orders, and those which exist are not characteristic of its nature. Orders like the Ḳādiriyya, Ṭarabiyya and Aḥmadiyya are virtually non-existent, and the only *ṭarīḳa* really implanted there is that of the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*], introduced mainly by Hausas, who have given Togolese Islam a special mark. Islam there is thus deeply affected by Hausa, which is the religious language of the land. The religious leaders, who include few *imāms*, theologians or competent directors, hardly bother to explain the basic doctrines of Islam, and the mass of faithful do not even know about their linkage with the Tidjāniyya.

Religious education in the Kur'ān schools generally consists of a wearisome repetition of prayers and learning the writing and reading of Arabic. Even though there has been since the 1970s a real effort to send qualified students to universities in Egypt, Morocco, Kuwait, etc., the rarity of teachers and

qualified leaders, much more than the lack of great mosques, bears witness to the superficial character of Islam in Togo, where old social practices and local beliefs, especially in regard to the rites of birth, marriage and funerals, overlap with the faith, resulting in a syncretism which is not always well viewed by orthodox Islam. The tendency is much more to keep the easier aspects of Islam than its constraints on behaviour. Hence one can be a good polygamist performing the worship, Pilgrimage and fasting, whilst Islamic orthodoxy, preaching an exemplary lifestyle and an exigent faith, considers these practices as superficial, especially as the practice of giving alms is generally ignored whilst the Muslim festivals are followed with enthusiasm.

Since they only see Muslims who have reached a certain standard of prosperity through their commercial activities, the Togolese have come to view Islam as assuring, more successfully than others, the social success of its adherents, even though at the same time, the mass of Muslims, being peasants, have a standard of life more or less identical with the rest of the population. Notwithstanding this popular view, many Togolese are not ready to take the step of conversion, as the population figures seem to indicate.

Islam in Togo remains dependent on outside. Teachers coming more and more from the Arab lands and also from neighbouring lands like Nigeria and Ghana will have much to do if their aim is to install orthodox Islam. It will also depend on financial subsidies from countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya for the construction of mosques, Ḳur'ān schools and *madrasas*, as well as the sending of teaching materials. Egypt usually confines its efforts to providing scholarships for students at al-Azhar.

3. The UMT: a reformed or a politicised Islam?

Delval considers that the *Union musulmane du Togo* has become the impulse for a modernising current in Islam, aided by the less important *Association de la Jeunesse Musulmane du Togo*. The UMT aims to combat deviations from Islam, especially maraboutism, reinvigorate Ḳur'ānic teaching, take charge of organising the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and the festivals of the two ʿĪds and to develop links with outside, especially with Libya. But because of internal resistance and external constraints of many kinds, the achievements of this modernisation programme have been very limited after 30 years of the UMT's existence.

Nevertheless, one should acknowledge that, since its formation in 1963, the UMT has successfully organised the previously diffuse Togolese Islam and has made it part of the country's power structure, being since 1969 an annex of the ruling single party. A dominant personality here has been al-Ḥādjdj Fousséni Mama, who has been involved in the various stages of Togolese politics from the 1950s, including minister of the interior in the government of Nicolas Grunitzky 1963-7 and a minister under the President Eyadéma who then assumed power.

Instead of renewing Islam as its statutes proclaim, the UMT has become in practice the mouth-piece of the one-party government, with a pro-establishment attitude aimed at keeping the government in power. The worship led by Fousséni Mama and various *imāms* often includes prayers for the continuance of the government in power. The UMT's internal structure is a reflection of that of the one-party state, just as its links with Libya are in line with the foreign policy of Eyadéma. When democracy was restored in October 1990 but followed by the bloody restoration of authoritarian rule in 1991, the UMT remained silent, probably not having any doctrine or political discourse suitable to the events.

Morever, the Tidjānī way, the majority in Togolese Islam, which, as elsewhere, preaches submission to state authority as much as to God, serves the different religious interests and established political rule by putting the Muslim community outside all political agitation. But this comforting reassurance for the powers that be neglects the fact that, amongst those demonstrating in the streets in October 1990 against the Eyadéma régime, were members of all the religious confessions of the land. Things may also change from the fact that it is in the main towns (Lomé, Kpalimé and Sokodé) that younger people are more mobilised for challenging the ruling power.

4. Summary.

Islam progresses slowly in Togo, where it is numerically the smallest of the three faiths there, touching regions and groups unequally, certain of these being resistant to it. Togolese Islam contains ancient popular beliefs and practices which the modernist current embodied in the UMT wishes to eradicate. Whilst not succeeding here, it has made Islam, including the Tidjānī current which preaches submission to the powers that be, a constituent part of the present régime. Its silence at the time of the democratisation process is thus explicable by its choice of Tidjānī attitudes which younger, more challenging Muslims may in the future contest, involving a possible political radicalisation.

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(Comi M. Toulabor)

TOḲAT, modern Tkish. Tokat, a town of northern Turkey in the interior of the Pontic region (lat. 40° 20' N., long. 36° 35' E.), now the chef-lieu of an *il* or province of the same name.

It is situated in the north to south-running valley of the Toḳat Suyu, enclosed between two mountains before debouching into the Yeşil Irmak [see yeshil irmaḳ], the Iris of Antiquity, whose upper course also has the name of Tozanlı Su. The *il* is also watered by the Yeşil Irmak's two main affluents, the Kelkit and the Çekerek Çayı. Their valleys separate three mountain ridges, the Canık Dağları in the north, the Yaylacık Dağı in the centre and the Deveci Dağı in the south. From its intermediate position between the Pontic littoral and the Anatolian interior, the region has a transitional climate, with a perceptibly smaller rainfall than the coast (455 mm/18 inches per annum at Toḳat).

The first signs of human settlement in the region, at Maşat Höyük and at Kayapınar Höyüğü, go back to the Chalcolithic period, with several sites then inhabited during the older Bronze Age (3rd millennium B.C.). In the 2nd millennium, Maşat Höyük was an important town on the northern borders of the Hittite kingdom and was called Tapigga. The region passed successively to the Phrygians, Cimmerians, Medes and Persian, to Alexander and his Diadochi before becoming an important part of the kingdom of Pontus, conquered from Mithridates by the Romans in 66 B.C. Towns now multiplied in Polemonic Pontus, including Zela (modern Zila), from where Julius Caesar,

victorious over Mithridates' son Pharnaces in the year 47 B.C., addressed to the Senate his famous message *veni, vidi vici*; Gazioura (Turhal); Sebastopolis of Pontus (Sulusaray); Nea-Caesarea (Niksar); and above all, Comana Pontica, together with Amaseia the main city of Pontus, situated in the main valley 8 km/5 miles north-east of the site of Toḳat, now occupied by a citadel called Dazimon (Ramsay).

The name Toḳat, found in the Arab geographers from the time of Yāḳūt (i, 188), is said by Vivien de St.-Martin (i, 188, repeated in Cuinet, i, 712), to derive from the Armenian form of the name of the Empress Eudoxia, mother of Theodosius; but numerous other etymologies have been proposed (see *Yurt ansiklopedisi*, x, 7077), none convincingly. In any case, it was after the Turkish conquest that the town developed in a side valley at the foot of the citadel, where the *amīr* Dānis͟hmend G͟hāzī, founded the town's first mosque in 1074 and established the centre of the petty Dānis͟hmendid principality, attached to the Sald͟jūḳ sultanate of Rūm in the reign of Ḳilid͟j Arslan II [see DĀNIS͟HMENDIDS]. The Sald͟jūḳ (1175-1304) and Il-K͟hānid periods (1304-35) saw its monuments multiply, of which the most remarkable in the first period were the Gök Medrese (the modern Museum), the mausoleum of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ṭūsī, the *zāwiye* of Sünbül Baba and a stone bridge of four arches over the Yeşil Irmak, and in the second one the mausoleum of Nūr al-Dīn S͟hentimur. Nīksār [*q.v.*] also has several important monuments from the Dānis͟hmend period (the Ulu D͟jāmiʿ, the mausoleum of Melik G͟hāzī, *medrese* of Yag͟hbasan) and from the Sald͟jūḳ one (the mausoleums of Ḥād͟jd͟jī Čiḳriḳ and Ḳirḳ Ḳizlar).

After being dependent on the *amīrs* of Sivas, Bāyezīd II incorporated Toḳat into the Ottoman empire in 1392. Toḳat now developed perceptibly, with the building in the early 15th century of the mosques of Ḥād͟jd͟jī ʿIwaḍ Pas͟ha and Ḥamza Bey, the *medrese* of Emīr Ḥiṣār, the mausoleum of K͟horozog͟hlu and the *ḥammām* of Yörgüč Pas͟ha, so that according to the census of 1455 it had 2,888 families, of which one-third were Christian, divided into 54 quarters, though this development was brutally interrupted in 1471 when the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] pillaged and destroyed the town. But once it was again within the Ottoman boundaries, it developed rapidly out of its ruins all through the 16th and 17th centuries, despite some ups and downs due to revolts or fires. The mosque and baths of ʿAlī Pas͟ha were built in 1572 and the Great Mosque rebuilt in 1679, but the main monuments of this period were the covered market (*bedesten*) and some caravanserais which completed the layout of the town, the Voyvoda K͟hānī of 1631 (now called Taşan "of stone") and the K͟horozog͟hlu K͟hānī of the 18th century. Toḳat was at that time an important commercial centre, situated as it was on the great west-east caravan route connecting Istanbul with Erzurūm, Tabrīz and Persia, and at the junction of three other routes, the northwestern one connecting with the maritime traffic of Sinop [see SĪNŪB], that going west-south-west to Izmir, and that going south-eastwards to Sivas and Diyārbakir, Mawṣil and Bag͟hdād. The caravan traffic also supplied important manufactures and crafts in the town: silk cloths, coloured linen cloths, leather from hides and copper vessels.

Tavernier in 1632 and then Pitton de Tournefort in 1701 visited the town at the height of its activity, and the latter gave the population as 24,400 families (20,000 Turks, 4,000 Armenians and 400 Greeks). Yet despite its importance, Toḳat was dependent administratively on the Pas͟ha of Sivas and had within its own bounds only an *ag͟ha* and a *ḳāḍī*.

In the 19th century, the town entered a period of decline, linked with the general decline of manufacturing activity within the Ottoman empire and aggravated by an earthquake in 1825. For long it remained simply the centre of a *ḳaḍā* within the *merkez sand͟jaḳ* of the *eyālet*, then *wilāyet*, of Sivas, before being raised in 1883 to be the centre of a new *sand͟jaḳ*, with four *ḳaḍā*s (Toḳat-Merkez, Erbaʿa, Nīksār and Zīle), 45 *nāḥiye*s and 1,155 villages. According to Cuinet, this *sand͟jaḳ* had 202,800 inhabitants, of which 101,200 were Sunnī Muslims, 50,600 S͟hīʿī Muslims, 37,879 Armenians, 12,681 Greeks and 400 Jews, whilst the town of Toḳat itself had 29,890 inhabitants, including 17,500 Sunnī Muslims and 10,450 Armenians. The *sand͟jaḳ* was enlarged in 1918 by the addition of a fifth *ḳaḍā*, that of Res͟hādiyye in the east, and then raised to the status of a *wilāyet* under the Republic.

The present *il* keeps the same boundaries, with an area of 9,958 km^2 and a population in 1990 of 719,251. The number of component *ilçe*s or counties rose to eight by the addition of Artova and Turhal in 1944 and Almus in 1954, then to twelve in 1990 with the four new *ilçe*s of Yeşilyurt (formerly Arabacımusa), Başçiftlik, Pazar and Sulusaray (cited by Bazin as an example of gradual rise to urban status). The main economic activity remains agriculture, which employed 75% of the active population in 1990, but this has been modernised, and yields are obtained above the national average, including *inter alia* 250,000 tonnes of corn and 750,000 tonnes of sugar beet, processed in the Turhal refinery founded in 1934. The food industry sector retains the main role in a still limited industrial sphere of activities; it includes the mineral waters of Niksar, bottled and marketed all over Turkey. The warm, sulphurous waters at Çermik, near Sulusaray, supply a modest watering-place. Placed over the middle-sized towns of Turhal (pop. 68,384 in 1990), Zile (46,090), Niksar (35,201) and Erbaa (33,554), Toḳat has strengthened its functions as administrative and commercial centre of the *il* by adding some new manufacturing activities to its traditional one of coloured linen cloths, and its population reached 83,058 in 1990. Whilst stretching out towards the Yeşil Irmak valley to the north, the town has retained an important architectural and urban heritage, with, in addition to the monuments mentioned above, numerous traditional houses of the 19th century which have benefited by some restoration works.

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TOḲMAḲ, a town in the modern Kirghizistan Republic (lat. 42° 49' N., long. 75° 15' E.), on the left bank of theČu river [*q.v.*], near the Ala Tau mountain chain and 60 km/37 miles to the east of Bis̲h̲kek [see PIS̲H̲PEK].

It is near the ancient site of Suyāb (Su yek in Chinese sources) where the Turkic tribes of the Western Turkish kag̲h̲anate (603-704) (notably the Kag̲h̲an's own clan) had their winter quarters and carried on trade with the Chinese. These last destroyed the kag̲h̲anate when in 748 the Chinese army marched westwards for its final confrontation with the Arab army at Talas [see ṬARĀZ] and its defeat by Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ [*q.v.*] in 133/751, opening up the region from the south for the Muslim troops (V.I. Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy kray*, St. Petersburg 1913, 279). The town must have been rebuilt some time later, further to the north. Suyāb was also the residence of the Türges̲h̲, and especially of their kag̲h̲an Su-lu (d. 738) (W. Barthold, *Hist. of the Semirechyé*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956, 84-5), who founded the Türges̲h̲ kag̲h̲anate (704-56) and subsequently moved to Talas, and who was involved in warfare with the Arabs and Chinese.

As well as the "stone women" funerary stelae found at the foot of the Ala Tau, there are some Nestorian Christian cemeteries with Syriac inscriptions from the 11th and 13th-14th centuries, attesting the survival there of Christianity and Manichaeism well after the region's Islamisation (Masal'skiy, 319, 768, and see PIS̲H̲PEK). The K̲h̲āns of K̲h̲okand [*q.v.*] built a fortress there in the first third of the 19th century as part of their expansion into the lands of the Kirg̲h̲iz and Kazak̲h̲ tribes, said to have been founded in 1832 by Las̲h̲ker, *kos̲h̲-begi* [*q.v.*] of Tas̲h̲kent, at the same time as the fortresses of Merke, Pis̲h̲pek and Atbas̲h̲î (Yu.A. Sokolov, *Načalo voenniḵh deystvii protiv Kokandskogo ḵhanstva*, Tas̲h̲kent 1969). In reality, the date of its foundation is uncertain. The Uzbek historian Kh. Ziyaev asserts, *Urta Osië va Sibir XVI-XIX asrlar*, Tas̲h̲kent 1962, 162, that Pis̲h̲pek and Toḳmaḳ were fortified under Muḥammad ʿUmar K̲h̲ān, hence before his death in 1822, whilst N.A. Aristov held that neither existed before 1847, since they are unmentioned in the stories of the fighting between the Kirg̲h̲iz and the Kazak̲h̲ supporters of the revolt of Kenesarî Kasimov and only appear in the report of 1848 of the Kazak̲h̲ Abdullah Ačurov (V.M. Ploskik̲h̲, *Kirgizî i Kokandsii ḵhanstva*, Frunze 1977, 139). The Russian envoy M.I. Venyukov described Toḳmaḳ in 1859 as a fortress with four walls 5 m high and 60-70 m long, able to hold 150-200 soldiers. V. Radlov, *Kratkiy očerk o poezdke v Semirečenskuyu oblast' i na Issîk Kul letom 1869*, in *Izvestiya RGO*, iv, no. 3 [1870], 96, visiting it ten years later, described its strategic position at the mouth of a defile. In the mid-19th century, the local Kirg̲h̲iz raised cereals to supply the fortresses, providing thereby a stimulus to local food production, and they also had a salt mine. Toḳmaḳ was conquered by the Russians in 1860 together with other fortresses forming the line Pis̲h̲pek—Auliyé-Ata—Čimkent—Tas̲h̲kent, and with Russian colonisation, a village of some 3,000 people grew up in its vicinity.

With industrialisation in the Soviet period, Toḳmaḳ acquired two car repair factories, sugar refineries, mills, glass, packaging and reinforced concrete factories, and a co-operative for producing meat and woollen and felt goods for the yurts (B.S. Čormonov, *Gorod Tokmak*, Frunze 1973). It had 19,000 inhabitants in 1939, 52,000 in 1975 but less than 50,000 in 1990.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also PIS̲H̲PEK; YETI SU. (CATHERINE POUJOL)

TOḲTAMÎS̲H̲ (in the sources most often thus, but occasionally "Tok̲h̲tamîs̲h̲" and less frequently "Tog̲h̲tamîs̲h̲;" his coins assign him the *laḳabs* "Nāṣir al-Dīn", "G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn", and evidently "D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn"), *k̲h̲ān* (r. *ca.* 780-97/1378-95) of the Mongol successor state known as the *ulus* of D̲j̲öči (D̲j̲üčī) or "Golden Horde" [see BATU'IDS]. His reign saw the reunification of the Golden Horde after the internecine struggles that followed the murder of Berdi Beg K̲h̲ān *ca.* 761/1360. His struggle with his erstwhile patron, Tīmūr [*q.v.*], however, ended in disaster for himself and for Činggisid power in a united Golden Horde: Toḳtamîs̲h̲ himself spent the last years of his life as a fugitive as power in the D̲j̲öčid *ulus* devolved first upon Činggisid princes supported by Tīmūr, and soon upon powerful tribal chieftains such as Edigü. Činggisid power was restored only in separate k̲h̲ānates that emerged, alongside the Nog̲h̲ay [*q.v.*] tribal confederation that traced its roots to Edigü, as the Golden Horde's successor states.

Toḳtamîs̲h̲ was the first Činggisid ruler from the "left hand", i.e. the eastern half, of the D̲j̲öčid *ulus*, who managed also to dominate the western parts of the Golden Horde for an extended period. His Činggisid lineage was traced through Toḳay Tīmūr, usually counted as the thirteenth son of D̲j̲öči b. Čingīz K̲h̲ān; Toḳtamîs̲h̲, indeed, first appears on the historical scene in Central Asia, in the southeasternmost regions of the Golden Horde, as a rival of Urus K̲h̲ān, the Činggisid ruler (also a Toḳay Tīmūrid) who consolidated his power in the eastern half of the D̲j̲öčid *ulus* around 1374-5. Toḳay Tīmūrid dominance in the eastern part of the Golden Horde followed that of the descendants of D̲j̲öči's eldest son Orda, and preceded the rise there of the descendants of the fifth son, S̲h̲ībān.

Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s full genealogy first appears in the *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, a genealogical compendium compiled for S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ in 830/1426-7 (ms. Paris, A.F. pers. 67, fols. 25b-26a; cf. Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik*, ii, 59, 61-2), in this form: D̲j̲öči > Toḳāy Tīmūr > Ürüng-bās̲h̲ > Sārîča > Könček > Ḳutluḳ-k̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a > Toy-k̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a > Toḳtamîs̲h̲. The view maintained in some studies (e.g. Spuler, *Horde*^{2} and BATU'IDS, Grekov and Yakubovskiy) that Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s father Toy-k̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a was a brother of Urus K̲h̲ān and that both were descendants of D̲j̲öči's eldest son Orda, appears to be based upon a misunderstanding of Naṭanzī's garbled genealogy of Urus K̲h̲ān (Kafalı, though allowing that both were Toḳāy Tīmūrids, cites Ötemis̲h̲ Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī in affirming that Toḳtamîs̲h̲ was Urus K̲h̲ān's cousin, but the accessible manuscript

of Ötemi<u>sh</u> Ḥā<u>dj</u>dj<u>ī</u>'s work does not confirm this, and the corresponding passage from ʿAbd al-<u>Gh</u>affār Ḳîrîmī's work might be construed as implying only a more distant kinship; the *Muʿizz al-ansāb* shows Urus <u>Kh</u>ān and Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> sharing an ancestor in the fifth generation). The form "Tūlī-<u>kh</u>ʷā<u>dj</u>a" adopted as the name of Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s father by Bartol'd, *EI*[1] art. *Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>*, and Spuler is based on one copy of Naṭanzī's work; the form "Tūy-<u>kh</u>ʷā<u>dj</u>a" is well-established in a wide range of early sources.

The Tīmūrid historical works that are our earliest sources on events in the Da<u>sh</u>t-i Ḳîpčāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] during the latter 14th century, however, say almost nothing of Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s ancestry or the specifics of his Čingisid lineage; his father, Toy-<u>kh</u>ʷā<u>dj</u>a, is named, among narrative histories, only by Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī. Naṭanzī is likewise alone in affirming that Toy-<u>kh</u>ʷā<u>dj</u>a was the governor of Māngḳî<u>sh</u>lāḳ (on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, near the traditional homeland of the Ḳungrāts, the tribe of Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s mother), and that the enmity between Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> and Urus <u>Kh</u>ān resulted specifically from Toy-<u>kh</u>ʷā<u>dj</u>a's execution following an unsuccessful rebellion against Urus <u>Kh</u>ān. Other Timurid sources ignore this prelude and note only Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s arrival at Tīmūr's court, soon after Tīmūr's return from an inconclusive campaign against Ḳamar al-Dīn, the powerful *amīr* of the Dū<u>gh</u>lāt [*q.v.*] tribe dominant in Mo<u>gh</u>olistān [*q.v.*], most likely in 777/1375-6 (the chronology of Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s repeated flights to Tīmūr remains unclear).

According to the earliest account, that of Niẓām al-Dīn <u>Sh</u>āmī, Tīmūr welcomed Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> and installed him as ruler over the region of Utrār [*q.v.*] and Sawrān along the middle Sîr Daryā [*q.v.*]. That region was often a hostile frontier between the <u>Dj</u>öčid and Ča<u>gh</u>atayid realms, and if, as <u>Sh</u>araf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī writes, Tīmūr stipulated Sî<u>gh</u>nāḳ [*q.v.*] as well among the towns given to Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>, the move was clearly a direct challenge to Urus <u>Kh</u>ān; Sî<u>gh</u>nāḳ was the traditional residence of the rulers of the "left hand" of the <u>Dj</u>öčid *ulus* and was Urus <u>Kh</u>ān's base before, and possibly even after, he succeeded in establishing his power in the Golden Horde's "capital" Sarāy [*q.v.*]. Once installed in that region, Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> was attacked by an army led by Urus <u>Kh</u>ān's son Ḳutlu<u>gh</u>-Bu<u>gh</u>ā, who was killed in the battle even as Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> was defeated and forced to seek refuge once more with Tīmūr. Tīmūr re-equipped him and sent him back; this time another son of Urus <u>Kh</u>ān, Toḳtā Ḳiyā, inflicted a humiliating defeat upon him. Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> fled alone and escaped with difficulty. <u>Sh</u>āmī's account of this episode suggests Tīmūr's doubts about his protégé's abilities, and the versions in most Tīmūrid sources combine condescension toward the hapless Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> with an emphasis upon Tīmūr's solicitude.

After this defeat, according to <u>Sh</u>āmī and the later Tīmūrid sources, Urus <u>Kh</u>ān sent envoys to Tīmūr demanding that he hand over Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> and threatening war if he refused; in response Tīmūr, accompanied by Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>, led his army to Utrār, Urus <u>Kh</u>ān's forces came to Sî<u>gh</u>nāḳ, and the two armies faced each other for three or four months, each unable to gain advantage during an exceptionally harsh winter (evidently that of 1376-7). After some successes by Tīmūr's commanders broke the stalemate, we are told, Urus <u>Kh</u>ān died; his son Toḳtā Ḳiyā succeeded him but soon died as well. Tīmūr again installed Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> as ruler on the Sîr Daryā frontier and returned to Samarḳand, but yet another (apparent) son of Urus <u>Kh</u>ān, Tīmūr Malik, soon challenged Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>; and after yet another defeat Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> had to make his way alone back to Tīmūr.

News came, however, that Tīmūr Malik was alienating his subjects with excessive drinking and lassitude. Tīmūr therefore supplied Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> with a large army and several of his commanders, whom he instructed to install Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> as ruler in Sî<u>gh</u>nāḳ; they did so, and evidently aided Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> soon thereafter in decisively defeating Tīmūr Malik in the latter's winter quarters at Ḳarātāl. Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> sent word of his victory to Tīmūr, and then in the spring began the conquest of the rest of the Golden Horde, seizing Sarāy and preparing to deal with his chief remaining rival in the <u>Dj</u>öčid *ulus*, the chieftain Mamāy (in the Tīmūrid sources "Mamāḳ"), of the Ḳîyāt tribe, based in the Crimea. The only date provided by <u>Sh</u>āmī for these events is the year 780, which began in April of 1378: it was then that Tīmūr sent his army to Sî<u>gh</u>nāḳ with Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>, after the death of Urus <u>Kh</u>ān, and <u>Sh</u>āmī's account implies that Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s campaign against Mamāy did not begin until yet another winter had passed, i.e. in the spring of 1379. According to <u>Sh</u>araf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, however, Tīmūr's army installed Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> as ruler in Sî<u>gh</u>nāḳ during the Year of the Snake (which began in March 1377) late in 778 (which ended in early May 1377), evidently placing Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s victory over Tīmūr Malik as well in the late winter or spring of 1377.

Not only the chronology, but the details as well, of Tīmūr's war with Urus <u>Kh</u>ān and his sons, and the establishment of Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s power, are handled somewhat differently even in the various Tīmūrid sources; Naṭanzī, for instance, identifies the <u>Dj</u>öčid ruler finally defeated by Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> at Ḳarātāl as "Tīmūr Bek <u>Kh</u>ān b. Muḥammad <u>Kh</u>ān" (*Muntak<u>h</u>ab*, ed. Aubin, 93-4).

Perhaps the most divergent account, though the only "internal" one, is that of Ötemi<u>sh</u> Ḥā<u>dj</u>djī in his *Tārī<u>kh</u>-i Dūst Sulṭān*, compiled *ca.* 1555 for a Čingisid ruler of the <u>Kh</u>ʷārazmian Özbeg "ʿArab<u>sh</u>āhid" dynasty [see <u>KH</u>ʷĀRAZM], who does mention Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s dependence upon Tīmūr during his struggle with Urus <u>Kh</u>ān, but presents also an apparently independent narrative recounting Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s rise to power. According to this version (Yudin, 115-8, 142-5), Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> gathered around himself the young men of the <u>Sh</u>īrīn, Barīn, Ar<u>gh</u>ūn, and Ḳîpčāḳ tribes, which were his hereditary peoples (*els*); this, incidentally, marks the only suggestion we have, aside from the Ḳungrāt connections implied by Naṭanzī, of a particular tribal base for Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s power (Tīmūrid sources often identify the tribal origins of specific commanders in Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s armies, but refer collectively to his people only by the generic designations "Özbeg" or "Toḳmāḳ"). When these tribes appealed to Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> that Urus <u>Kh</u>ān was oppressing them because of their ties with him, he arranged to lead the four tribes away from Urus <u>Kh</u>ān during a planned migration to summer pastures. As the plan unfolded, Urus <u>Kh</u>ān realised what was afoot and set off with a small force to pursue the disaffected tribes, but after initial success against Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>, Urus <u>Kh</u>ān's force was defeated, and the <u>kh</u>ān himself killed, in a counterattack led by Toḳtamî<u>sh</u>'s son <u>Dj</u>alāl al-Dīn and by other youths who had been sent off to safety. Following this victory, Toḳtamî<u>sh</u> sought support for his campaign against Mamāy; the <u>Sh</u>ībānid Ḳān-bāy agreed but then changed his mind, while another <u>Sh</u>ībānid, ʿArab-o<u>gh</u>lān (called elsewhere "ʿArab-<u>sh</u>āh", ancestor of the <u>Kh</u>ʷārazmian Činggisids whom Ötemi<u>sh</u> Ḥā<u>dj</u>djī

served, and evidently identical with the ʿArab-s̲h̲āh whose coins bear dates from 775/1374-5 and 779/1377-8), gave complete support to Toḳtamîs̲h̲, who went to Sarāy, made himself *k̲h̲ān* there, and led the campaign that ended with Mamāy's defeat and death.

None of these particulars is reflected in the Tīmūrid sources, which lose interest in Toḳtamîs̲h̲ until his wars with Tīmūr; as a result, we know little of the internal situation in the Golden Horde during much of Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s reign. His consolidation of power served not only to reunite the Dj̲öčid *ulus* (numismatic evidence has been interpreted as indicating a conscious attempt to unify the Golden Horde economically as well), but also to re-establish control over frontier regions where vassals of the *k̲h̲āns* had become essentially independent; these included not only areas in which his efforts led inevitably to his clash with Tīmūr, but more westerly regions as well, beginning with the Russian principalities. Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s battle with Mamāy evidently came soon after the latter was defeated by the Russians at Kulikovo in September 1380; that victory led the Russians to defy the new *k̲h̲ān*'s demand for submission the following year, and in 1382 Toḳtamîs̲h̲ ravaged Russia, pillaging and destroying Moscow and re-imposing Dj̲öčid control. Toḳtamîs̲h̲ also sought, it seems, to revive the old pattern of diplomatic and commercial ties between the Golden Horde and Mamlūk Egypt; Mamlūk sources record the arrival of ambassadors from Toḳtamîs̲h̲ in 786 and 787/1384-5, and again in spring 796/1394, in the latter case bearing an invitation from Toḳtamîs̲h̲ to join in a war (already not his first) against Tīmūr.

The reasons for Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s turn against Tīmūr, whom sympathetic sources portray as a quite indulgent patron, are treated in personal terms in the earliest accounts. S̲h̲āmī credits several close companions of Toḳtamîs̲h̲ with counselling loyalty to Tīmūr; but after their death, a group of "Māngḳūt idiots" (i.e. of the Mang̲h̲ît [see MANGÎT] tribe) turned Toḳtamîs̲h̲ from the path of concord and gratitude. Naṭanzī claims that the Dūg̲h̲lāt Ḳamar al-Dīn, fleeing from Mog̲h̲olistān, intrigued with Toḳtamîs̲h̲ against Tīmūr, and K̲h̲ʷāndamīr says plainly that it was Ḳamar al-Dīn who induced Toḳtamîs̲h̲ to rebel against Tīmūr. Ibn ʿArabs̲h̲āh and Ibn Ḥadj̲ar al-ʿAsḳalānī even claim that Toḳtamîs̲h̲ broke with Tīmūr in anger over the latter's treatment of Amīr Ḥusayn (Tīmūr's former ally in the Čag̲h̲atāyid realm and eventual victim). It is clear, however, that in his challenges to Tīmūr, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ was pursuing traditional claims and interests of the Dj̲öčid *k̲h̲āns* in regions—Ād̲h̲arbāydj̲ān, K̲h̲ʷārazm, the middle Sîr Daryā valley—where Tīmūr had already sought to extend his influence. The first such challenge may have been in K̲h̲ʷārazm, which Tīmūr conquered, after several years of tolerating a local dynasty inclined to intrigue and rebellion, in 781/1379; in the same year, however, and indeed through much of the 1380s, coins of Toḳtamîs̲h̲ were struck in K̲h̲ʷārazm, which evidently quickly reverted to the hands of local rulers inclined to prefer Dj̲öčid suzerainty over that of Tīmūr.

Similarly, soon after Tīmūr installed a compliant ruler in Ād̲h̲arbāydj̲ān in 787/1385, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ invaded the region and ravaged Tabrīz, prompting Tīmūr to lead a campaign into Persia and the Caucasus during 788/1386; Toḳtamîs̲h̲ again led an army into Ād̲h̲arbāydj̲ān in the spring of 789/1387, but his forces were dispersed by those of Tīmūr, who sent him a warning not to repeat such an act. Unable to reassert his claims there, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ moved next in Central Asia, sending armies from K̲h̲ʷārazm and the Sîr Daryā frontier into Transoxania late in 789/1387-8; his forces reached as far as the Amū Daryā, besieging Buk̲h̲ārā and plundering the surrounding countryside, forcing Tīmūr to return to Central Asia. Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s armies retired to the steppe as Tīmūr approached early in 790/1388; later the same year Tīmūr destroyed K̲h̲ʷārazm for its support of Toḳtamîs̲h̲, but as winter came Toḳtamîs̲h̲ led an army from the steppe to challenge Tīmūr along the middle Sîr Daryā. His initial thrust toward Yasî, Sawrān, and Zarnūḳ was repulsed, but once again the armies of the Dj̲öčid *ulus* and Tīmūr faced each other through the winter along the Sîr Daryā frontier; in the spring of 791/1389 further successes by Tīmūr's forces induced Toḳtamîs̲h̲ to withdraw into the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳîpčaḳ.

Persuaded by his commanders to deal first with Ḳamar al-Dīn and other threats in Mog̲h̲olistān, Tīmūr delayed his punitive expedition against Toḳtamîs̲h̲ until late winter 793/1391; he set off then with his army from Tashkent, rebuffed envoys bringing apologies from Toḳtamîs̲h̲, marched deep into the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳîpčaḳ, left an inscription at Ulugh Tagh (Ulutau) commemorating the purpose of his campaign, and finally, in mid-Radj̲ab 793/mid-June 1391, at Ḳandîrča (Ḳunduzča ?), a site near present-day Orenburg, inflicted a crushing defeat upon Toḳtamîs̲h̲. Tīmūr's forces marched further west, as far as the Volga, then turned back, crossed the Yayîḳ/Ural river, passed by Sawrān, and crossed the Sîr Daryā near Utrār, reaching Samarḳand in Muḥarram 794/December 1391.

In the aftermath of this campaign's decisive battle, Tīmūr showed favour to Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s enemies in the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳîpčaḳ, the Čingisids Künče Og̲h̲lān and Tīmūr Ḳutlugh (the son of Tīmūr Malik), and the Mang̲h̲ît chieftain Edigü, who had earlier fled from the k̲h̲ān and taken refuge with Tīmūr; he directed them to "win over, gather up, and bring their peoples" (*els*) to him, evidently intending at least the eastern half of the Dj̲öčid *ulus* to submit to him through these grateful protégés. All of them quickly ignored their patron's wishes and pursued their own power in the Dj̲öčid *ulus*, and due as much to their activities as to the immediate effects of Tīmūr's expedition, Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s sphere of activity was ironically limited, for several years, to the western parts of the Golden Horde. Even there his prestige suffered from his defeat, but his efforts to reassert control in the west apparently succeeded; one product of this effort was his decree (*yarlîḳ*) to the Polish king Wladislaw II Jagiello noting the setbacks occasioned by the treachery of several conspirators (Edigü among them) who had incited Tīmūr against him and had then evidently abandoned the *k̲h̲ān* in battle, but affirming also that he had succeeded in regaining control and was thus in a position to demand tribute (the *yarlîḳ*, written in Uyg̲h̲ur script, was sent from Tana/Azov in Radj̲ab 795/May 1393).

By the summer of 796/1394, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ felt strong enough to challenge Tīmūr again, this time in the Caucasus; his attacks reached as far as Darband and S̲h̲īrwān; again, news of Tīmūr's approach led Toḳtamîs̲h̲ to withdraw, but in the spring of 797/1395 Tīmūr began a second campaign into the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳîpčaḳ that would prove the final blow to the *k̲h̲ān*'s power. Toḳtamîs̲h̲ was defeated in a battle near the Terek river on 23 Dj̲umādā II/15 March; Tīmūr's forces pursued him northwards, and soon, his army scattered, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ himself "abandoned *k̲h̲ān*-ship" and fled, to "Būlar" (possibly referring to Bulg̲h̲ār, but more likely to Poland), according to Yazdī, or, according to Mamlūk sources, "to the lands of the

Russians", or to "L.b.kā" or "L.b.tā" (no doubt referring to Lithuania [see LIPKA]) according to Naṭanzī. Meanwhile Tīmūr's army marched deep into the Golden Horde through the summer of 1395, reaching nearly as far as Moscow and then sacking the Horde's major cities, Sarāy and Ḥādjdjī Tarkhān (Astrakhān), during the winter and returning to Persia via Darband in the spring of 798/1396.

Tīmūr's destructive campaign is typically regarded as the death-blow to the Golden Horde's unity and prosperity; it clearly marked the effective end of Toktamîsh's rule as *khān* of the Djöčid *ulus*. He lived another ten years as an adventurer, and in his continuing efforts to reclaim his throne he ranged with his followers throughout the territory of the Golden Horde, seeking a suitable arena in which to base his power, and a willing patron to facilitate his return to rule. The notice in Mamlūk sources, for Djumādā II 799/March 1396, that Toktamîsh had had gathered an army and was besieging the "Genoese Franks" at Kaffa in the Crimea must reflect one such attempt; no doubt with the same aim he sought refuge in Kiev with the Lithuanian prince Vytautas (Witold), who refused the demands of the new *khān*, Tīmūr Kutlugh, to hand over the fugitive Toktamîsh and set out against him. According to Russian sources, Tīmūr Kutlugh feared Witold's enormous army and was inclined to make peace, but his ally, the *amīr* Edigü, strengthened the *khān*'s resolve; their forces were victorious over Toktamîsh and his latest patron in a battle at the Vorskla river in August 1399. As far as the sources reveal, the final ally sought by Toktamîsh in a bid to reclaim his throne was none other than Tīmūr, who just weeks before his death in Utrār in Shaʿbān 807/February 1405 received envoys from the fugitive *khān* seeking reconciliation and aid in restoring his rule in the Djöčid *ulus*. According to Yazdī, Tīmūr agreed to assist Toktamîsh upon returning from his intended campaign against China; not only the rapprochement between Tīmūr and Toktamîsh, but also its aim—opposing Edigü, by then the real ruler of the Djöčid *ulus* through a succession of puppet Činggisids—were mentioned by the Castilian envoy Clavijo.

In all likelihood, Toktamîsh did not long outlive Tīmūr. The earlier version of Naṭanzī's work says that Toktamîsh died a natural death in the region of "Tūl.s" (var. "Tūlīn", no doubt to be read as referring to Tyumen in western Siberia) in 800/1397-8 (a date precluded by his alliance with Witold and by his final embassy to Tīmūr), but the later version was corrected to state that he was killed by Edigü in 807 (which ended in June 1405), in the same region. The latter account accords reasonably well both with a Russian source affirming that Toktamîsh was killed in battle with forces of Shādī Bek Khān, near Tyumen, in 1406 (Edigü was the *de facto* ruler in the Golden Horde during Shādī Bek's reign), and with Ibn ʿArabshāh's claim that Toktamîsh was killed in the last of 16 battles he fought against Edigü.

Even before Toktamîsh's death, several of his sons were prominent players in the struggle for power in what remained of the Golden Horde, with Djalāl al-Dīn, Djabbār Berdī, Karīm Berdī and Kebek customarily ranked among those who reigned briefly as *khān* during the first quarter of the 15th century; they continued their father's struggle with Edigü, whom another son of Toktamîsh, Kadîr Berdī, was credited with killing in 822/1419. The struggles between Toktamîsh and Edigü, and their sons, ensured a prominent place for Toktamîsh as a character in the extensive oral epic tradition that developed around the heroic figure of Edigü/Idige; versions of this epic tale have been preserved among the Noghāys, Bashkirs, Kazaks, Karakalpaks and Özbegs.

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(D. DeWeese)

TŌLĀ, a weight used in India (Skr. *tulā*, Hindi *tōlā* "balance, scales") for both gold and silver. In earlier times, 1 *tōlā* = 96 *rattīs*, the *rattī* being the old Indian unit of weight, according to E. Thomas = 1.75

grains. In British India, by a regulation of 1833, the *tōlā* of 180 grains, being also the weight of the rupee [see RŪPIYYA], was established as the unit of the system of weights, with 3,200 *tōlās* = 1 *man* or maund.

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(ED.)

TOLUY, the fourth son of the founder of the Mongol empire, Čingiz K͟hān [*q.v.*] by his chief wife, Börte, and father of the Great K͟hāns Möngke and Ḳubilay [*q.vv.*], as well as Hülegü (Hūlāgū [*q.v.*]), who established the Īl-K͟hānid state [*q.v.*] in Persia. The name derives from the Mongolian word for mirror (G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-75, i, 274-6).

Toluy was probably born in the late 1180s (P. Pelliot and L. Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, Leiden 1951, 375), and was known for his personal bravery and military leadership. He first came into prominence as a commander in the early Mongol campaigns into northern China in the early 1210s. Toluy and his brothers joined their father in the campaign against the K͟hʷārazm-s͟hāh [*q.v.*] ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad in 615/1219. He accompanied Čingiz in the conquest of Buk͟hārā, and was subsequently dispatched with part of the army to subdue western K͟hurāsān, involving the bloody destruction of Nīs͟hāpūr and Marw (D̲juwaynī-Boyle, i, 150-2). Toluy thereupon rejoined his father in Afg͟hānistān, and participated in the pursuit of the new S͟hāh D̲jalāl al-Dīn, returning in 1223 to the east with Čingiz and the main Mongol army and subsequently participating in the punitive campaign against the Tangut. Čingiz ordered that after his death, Toluy, as youngest son (*otčigin/ottegin*), was to be given his camp, personal property and the original Mongolian homeland, as well as the vast majority of the Mongolian army (Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, *D̲jāmiʿ al-tawārīk͟h*, ed. Karīmī, i, 399). After Čingiz's death in 1227, and in accordance with his instructions, Toluy played an important role in the accession of his brother Ögedey [*q.v.*] to the throne in 1229, and joined the latter in the campaign against the Chin emperor in northern China. It was during these operations, apparently in 1332, that Toluy met his death, probably from overdrinking (D̲juwaynī-Boyle, ii, 549), although according to both the *Secret history of the Mongols* (§ 272) and Ras͟hīd al-Dīn (in E. Blochet, *D̲jami el-Tévarikh*, ii, 23-4, 220-1 = J.A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, 38-9, 167-8), he died after having taken on Ögedey's illness, by drinking the water with which the latter had been washed by the shamans. Toluy was posthumously referred to as Ulug͟h or Yeke Noyan "great commander" in Turkish and Mongolian respectively, and Jui-tsung "wise emperor" in Chinese. His main wife, Sorḳaḳtani Beki, whose wisdom and moderation are lauded in the Persian sources, succeeded over the next few years in laying the groundwork for the rise to power of her son Möngke, who replaced the line of Ögedey as Great K͟hāns. Toluy is likewise praised for his virtues, but—as with his wife—this is doubtless coloured by the fact that both D̲juwaynī and Ras͟hīd al-Dīn were employed by the Īl-K͟hānid descendants of this couple.

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(R. AMITAI)

TONK, a former Native State of British India, when three of its component districts fell within Rād̲jpūtānā and three in Central India, with its centre in the town of the same name (lat. 26° 10' N., long 75° 50' E.). The former Tonk State is now a District of Rād̲jāsthān in the Indian Union.

Tonk was founded by Amīr K͟hān (d. 1834 [*q.v.*]), a Pathan from Bunēr who rose, first in the service of the Rohillas [*q.v.*] and then in the army of D̲jaswant Singh Holkar (1798). He submitted to the British in 1817. During the Sepoy Mutiny, his son Wazīr Muḥammad K͟hān remained loyal and repulsed attacks on the Tonk fort. His son was deposed by the British in 1867, but Tonk was restored to the family three years later. Nawwābs continued to rule there until the state became part of the first Rād̲jāsthān Union in April 1948.

Bibliography: See that to AMĪR K͟HĀN, and also *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xxiii, 407-18.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬOP (T.), the term used in Ottoman Turkish military terminology for cannon, with *ṭopd̲ju* denoting a member of the corps of artillerymen and Ṭopk͟hāne being the name for the central arsenal in Istanbul. The Ṭopk͟hāne Gate there has given its name, in popular parlance, to the adjacent imperial palace; see ṬOPḲAPÎ SARĀYÎ. The word *tob/top* originally in Turkish denoted "ball", hence cannon-ball; it appears in almost all the Turkic languages and passed into the usage of Persian, the Caucasian and the Balkan languages, etc. See Doerfer, *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, 596-60 no. 948; Clauson, *A dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 434. See for the use of artillery by the Ottomans, BĀRŪD. iv.

(ED.)

ṬOPAL ʿOT͟HMĀN PAS͟HA, the name of two prominent Ottoman figures.

1. Grand Vizier (1663-1733).

Born in the Peloponnese of a family originally from Konya, ʿOt͟hmān Pas͟ha joined the *od̲jaḳ* of the *ḳozbekči* (body of officials performing various services on the sultan's behalf), then that of the *pandūl* (*pandūr*, a militia recruited in the Balkans among the free peasants and entrusted with duties of local security). According to von Hammer, he reportedly became *beylerbeyi* at 24 years of age and was sent to Egypt by Muṣṭafā II; taken prisoner in the open sea off the Egyptian coast by a Spanish corsair, he was wounded and taken to Malta. Through the good offices of Vincent Arnaud, commandant of the port, he was freed in exchange for a ransom, made his way to Damietta and then to Istanbul, where he was nicknamed *Ṭopal* ("the lame") on account of his injury. He took part in the Prut expedition in 1711, was subsequently honorary *ḳapîd̲jî bas͟hî* [*q.v.*], and then appointed leader of the *martolos* [*q.v.*] of Rumelia. During the war for the reconquest of the Peloponnese (1714-15), he performed exploits which earned him promotion to *pas͟ha* with two *tūg͟hs* or "horse-tails [*q.v.*] and governor of the *sand̲jaḳ* of Tirḥāla. During the war aimed at the reconquest of

Hungary in 1716, he organised the victualling of the troops; he was subsequently entrusted with the task of suppressing revolts in the Peloponnese, was promoted *pas̲h̲a* with three *tūg̲h̲s* and appointed *serʿasker* of the Peloponnese (1716-17), a province which he defended successfully against the Venetians. Governor of Bosnia in 1720, then of Rumelia in 1721, he retained this post until 1727, at which date he again became governor of Bosnia and commandant of the post of Nis̲h̲, where he entertained Vincent Arnaud in lavish style.

Re-appointed governor of Rumelia in 1729 and of Bosnia in 1730, he was charged with the task of eliminating the partisans of the rebel Patrona K̲h̲alīl [*q.v.*] who had taken refuge in Rumelia and, in particular, in Albania (May 1731). As governor of Rumelia once again, he was appointed Grand Vizier on 18 Rabīʿ I 1144/10 September 1731. He held this post for only six months, during which he engaged in the suppression of revolts, took measures aimed at stabilising the cost of living and ensuring the victualling of Istanbul; he also gave to Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a Bonneval [*q.v.*] the opportunity of reforming and developing the corps of the *k̲h̲umbarad̲j̲īs* [*q.v.*]. Governor of Trebizond, then of Tiflis and finally *serʿasker* of Anatolia, he won a victory over Nādir S̲h̲āh and the Persians who had invaded ʿIrāḳ (19 July 1733). He was then the recipient of honours awarded by the sultan Maḥmūd I, but while resisting a Persian attack in the north of ʿIrāḳ met his death near Kirkūk. ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a was buried in a *türbe* in the precincts of the Imām Ḳāsim mosque at Kirkūk. To him is owed the construction of a mosque at Tripolitsa in the Peloponnese.

His son Aḥmed Rātib Pas̲h̲a married a daughter of Aḥmed III, ʿĀʾis̲h̲e Sulṭāne, and was the great-grandfather of the Young Turk writer and journalist Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*].

A consummate servant of the Ottoman state, Ṭopal ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a showed in all the various posts which he occupied great conscientiousness, professionalism and eminent qualities, in his administrative functions as well as in his military activities.

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2. Governor and statesman (1804-74).

Born in 1219/1804 in a village in the vicinity of Izmir, ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a was known initially hy the nickname of S̲h̲erīf on account of his father's name, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī S̲h̲erīf Ag̲h̲a, then by that of *Topal* following an accident which constrained him to walk with a limp, and it was under the name of Ṭopal ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a that he acquired a substantial reputation, especially when he held the post of *wālī* (governor) in Bosnia.

Joining the navy, he served with distinction and successively held the posts of *ḳapudan*, *patrona* and *riyāle* [*q.v.*]. At the time of the conflict between Maḥmūd II and the governor of Egypt Muḥammad ʿAlī, Ṭopal ʿOt̲h̲mān Bey was serving in the Mediterranean under the command of Aḥmed Fewzī Pas̲h̲a. In July 1839 the new sultan ʿAbd ül-Med̲j̲īd ordered the Ottoman fleet to return to Istanbul, but Aḥmed Fewzī, perturbed by the promotion to senior posts of his political adversaries, concluded a personal agreement with Muḥammad ʿAlī and led the fleet to Alexandria, supported in this action by his officers, including ʿOt̲h̲mān Bey (July 1839). Following the London Conference which resulted in reconciliation between Istanbul and Cairo, the Ottoman fleet returned to Turkey (December 1840). On returning to Istanbul at the beginning of 1841, ʿOt̲h̲mān Bey was at first dismissed, but then pardoned and appointed deputy governor of Izmit, which contained one of the Ottoman navy's most important arsenals (1842) where he remained in office until 1849. He subsequently served in administrative posts at Karesi, at Biga and in 1855 in Cyprus. He acquired wide renown in the course of his defence of Belgrade, one of the few strategic points retained by Turkey after the recognition of the political autonomy of Serbia (1856-61).

In January 1861 he was appointed *wālī* of Bosnia and acquired the title of *pas̲h̲a*. In the seven years that he spent as ruler of this province, he introduced numerous reforms and administrative, social and economic measures: reorganisation of the province, now divided into seven *sand̲j̲aks*, institution of a council composed of representatives of all faiths (1866), limitation of the influence of the great landowners, and improvement of the lot of the peasants and the labourers, whose trust he gained. He developed public education, in particular with the establishment of secondary schools (*rüs̲h̲diyye*) and a School of Law at Bosna Saray (Sarajevo), where he also founded a library and a printing-press, producing the first local newspapers in Turkish and in Serbian as well as academic books. He also worked hard to improve communications between Bosna Saray and the principal towns of the province, in particular the Bosna Saray-Mostar and Trebinje-Duhrovnik roads. Also owed to him are constructions in the capital, for example the palace known by the name of Cengić-villa.

He may have taken as his model Muḥammad ʿAlī, whose reforming activity he had observed in Egypt, as well as that of Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in the province of the Danube, of which ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a was appointed *wālī* in January 1869. But he had made such an impact in Bosnia that the population demanded his return, and in fact the governorship of the province was restored to him without delay and he returned

to Bosna Saray on 9 March 1869 amid popular acclaim. But he had enemies within the central government, who spread the rumour that he was intent on declaring the independence of the province. He was dismissed on 27 May 1869, and he withdrew to his home on the Bosphorus, where he died on 25 July 1874, being buried in the cemetery located behind Ḳāsîm Pas̲h̲a, on the Golden Horn.

A major figure, the skilful developer of Bosnia, Ṭopal ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a exemplifies those reformers of the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* who were committed to the renewal of the Ottoman empire.

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(R. MANTRAN)

ṬOPD̲J̲U [see ṬOP].

ṬOPḲAPÎ SARĀYÎ, the name of the great palace complex in Istanbul.

After the conquest of Constantinople on 29 May 1453, Meḥemmed Fātiḥ [*q.v.*] II returned to his new *sarāy* at Edirne within three weeks. In 1454 orders were given for the building of a residential complex on the Third Hill. A high wall made clear that it was for his harem. This *sarāy* was completed, insofar as palaces are ever completed, between 1455 and 1458. Meḥemmed found it unfit to be a majestic centre of government, and in 1459 ordered the building of a new *sarāy* (*sarāy-î d̲j̲edīd-i ʿāmire*, or Yeñisarāy). Late in the 18th century, it became known as Ṭopḳapî Sarāyî after the Cannon Gate at Sarāyburnu, where the Golden Horn (K̲h̲alīd̲j̲) enters the Marmara Sea. The site had been that of the Acropolis and supplied useful spolia (see the map in ISTANBUL, at Vol. IV, 232). It belonged to Hagia Sophia (Aya Sofya), which was now the chief mosque of the city, and there were few inhabitants to be moved. The area was walled in and covered to an extent of 5.9 km^2. Builders were recruited from Syria and Persia as well as from the Ottoman territories in the Balkans. Italian engineers, who had completed the fortress at the Golden Gate, may also have contributed. The only architect whose name is recorded was Murād K̲h̲alīfe, who may have had overall authority.

The two courts planned were completed before 1468. The first was for the government and the second for the sultan, his immediate family and the school of the pages (*ič og̲h̲lans*), founded by Murād II at Edirne. The site was large enough to use for hunting, and trees were shipped from Izmit. The Byzantine walls were repaired, not to keep an enemy out but the animals in. These included deer and foxes, but lions and wolves and such were kept in two menageries. The walls created a new inner space, which was soon filled and became the First Court. The struggle to extend within limited space forms the architectural history of the Sarāy. There were still chapels and buildings round the Hippodrome which had to be taken over by tentmakers, tailors, for stables and for much else. The royal gate would have been that of the Second Court (*Bāb ül-Selām*) which became the Middle Gate (*Orta Ḳapî*) after the building of the Gate of Majesty (*Bāb-î Hümāyūn* [*q.v.*]). Hagia Irene (Aya Iren) became the armoury and subsidiary buildings included the pages' hospital, woodyards, bakeries, and eventually the mint which was rebuilt in 1727.

The *Bāb-î Hümāyūn* lost an upper pavilion in the 19th century, which now distorts its proportions. The surviving stone towers contain stairs and modest barrack rooms for 50 guards. It was the traditional gate of justice, and heads of criminals were hung on it. The Middle Gate was restored by Murād III in the late 16th century, but the twin towers were not altered. In the 18th century broad eaves were added all over the Sarāy, and were painted with rural scenes under flamboyant Ottoman rococo decoration.

Silence was enforced in the Second Court, which had colonnades on all four sides and only two buildings. The Tower of Justice (*ʿAdālet Kulesi*) was built like that of the camp as an observation point for the sultan. The Dīwān Hall (*Dīwān Odasî*, *Ḳubbe Altî* [see ḲUBBE WEZĪRI]) was first built against the wall of the Third Court, but proved too small and moved to its present position to be rebuilt by Süleymān I Ḳānūnī between 1515 and 1529. The three domed halls were for the muniments, the clerks of court and the Council of State itself. It was united with the tower so that the sultan could look down through a grille window unseen. The Dīwān has often been redecorated but remains fundamentally that built by Süleymān; however, after a major restoration in 1820 by Maḥmūd II, the present classical columns were added after 1850. When the Dīwān met, the household sat on benches in the colonnades in kaftans, which were in effect uniforms. Trees were walled round as protection against gazelles and peacocks, and on great occasions the columns were polished and rich brocades were hung. When the Dīwān rose, its members then feasted in the same hall, while the common folk washed and drank at the fountains, of which three survive, and were then served with a modest bowl of stew.

Parallel with the Second Court is that of the kitchens, which were two domed halls, but Bāyezīd II added six more [see MAṬBAK̲H̲. ii]. Cinders from their chimneys caused a fire in the harem in 1574; Sinān [*q.v.*] heightened them and added lead caps which were removed in the early 20th century. The court is long and narrow, stretching from the supply gate and waterworks past store-rooms, cellars and *mesd̲j̲ids* with barracks for the staff facing them. Originally, one cookhouse was set aside for the sultan and another for the Wālide Sulṭān [*q.v.*], and a line of servitors passed trays from hand-to-hand to wherever the meals were served. The kitchens are now the museum of porcelain, in which the Chinese ware is of exceptional importance.

On the right of the Dīwān Hall is the Carriage Gate (*ʿAraba Ḳapîsî*) to the Harem area and beyond that is the barrack of the Halberdiers (*zülüflü*), who were harem porters and cleaned several state rooms. The Barrack Hall is the last one surviving in its 16th-century Ottoman form. It was rebuilt by Dāwūd Ag̲h̲a in 1586 when that built for Süleymān became too small. Behind the barracks are coachhouses and stables of the sultan and the 17th-century mosque of Bes̲h̲īr Ag̲h̲a totally restored.

The Third Court is reached through the Gate of Felicity (*Bāb ul-Saʿādet*) which has been much restored and altered, particularly in the 18th century. Here the sultan received ministers and ambassadors in his

outer throne room or Hall of Petitions (*ʿArḍ Odasî*). Built for Meḥemmed II but rebuilt by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn for Süleymān by 1527, its wooden colonnade was replaced by marble. Cuerda seca panels of tiles each side of the entry and the fountain date from Süleymān's restoration. The hall was gutted in the fire of 1856. Meḥemmed II built two other royal pavilions in this court. The present Treasury Museum (Fātiḥ Köshkü) now occupies his apartments facing the sea with a series of fine rooms, one of which is domed, and a loggia with a fountain more robust in design than those that followed. The cellars of this kiosk formed the original Treasury Within as opposed to the Treasury Without built by Meḥemmed II next to the Dīwān Hall. With eight domes and formidably strong, this is now the Arms Museum. Opposite the Treasury Museum is Meḥemmed II's formal residence (*Khāṣṣ Odalîlar Ḳoghushî*) which is also strong. Its spacious domed inner court is clad with late Iznik ceramics in large panels of second quality, but the innermost room, once the bedchamber, has panels of unsurpassed design and colour. This now holds the mantle and the standard of the Prophet [see KHIRḲA-YI SHERĪF] and the whole pavilion houses the treasures that Selīm I brought back from Cairo. The complete refurbishment was due to Murād III late in the 16th century.

Beyond it, the *Aghalar Djāmiʿi* is set at an angle so that the *miḥrāb* faces Mecca. It is now the all-important Museum library which incorporates the latticed bay for the harem and the sultan's chamber (*Khünkār maḥfile*). In front of this pavilion is the library built by Aḥmed III in 1719 which is reached by twin flights of stairs over an ornate, repainted drinking fountain. The slim portico is an introduction to French baroque influence that rapidly became a style of its own. The rest of the court was built to house the pages and the white eunuchs (*aḳ aghalar*) who taught them. Buildings gutted in the fire of 1856 include the Small (*Küčük*) and the Large (*Büyük*) Halls (*Oda*) either side of the Gate of Felicity. A great *ḥammām* was restored sumptuously in 1527 and even more richly by Selīm II in 1572, but was demolished and restructured as the Campaign Hall (*Seferli Ḳoghushî*) by Aḥmed I for senior pages who accompanied the sultan when with the army. It is now the Costume Department. Soon after the earthquake of 1509, the original building was monumentally buttressed before it slid down the escarpment. The domed disrobing chamber (*djāmakān*) is a twin to that of the Treasury Within and has survived. The porphyry colonnade of the Campaign Hall meets that of the Treasury Museum with capitals of disputed origin from a pre-Islamic monument of distinction.

Turning left one faces the Hall of the Commissary (*Kilerli Ḳoghushî*), now the directorate of the museum, and across a path is the hall of the treasury students (*Khazīne-yi Hümāyūn Khadameleri Ḳoghushî*), who were the most senior of all. It is now the Gallery of Miniatures. Originally, the halls were spacious and lined with daises shared between some six or more pages and used for both sleeping and study. There were also galleries and washing facilities which could include a small *ḥammām*. The eunuchs slept in the same dormitories, but by the 17th century the three senior halls were run by mature students. When they graduated, the elect served the sultan personally in the royal pavilion before being promoted to the highest offices of the state.

Behind the senior halls is the so-called Fourth Court. In 1852, ʿAbd ül-Medjīd built a large kiosk facing the sea which sits on the foundations of two smaller kiosks of Meḥemmed II. It is typical of the work of the Balyan family, who dominated royal building during most of the 19th century with the pomp and plaster of the École des Beaux Arts' most flamboyant style. The lower gardens await restoration, but the terraces of the hanging gardens are in good repair. The Pavilion Court (*Sofa Awlusu*) was a personal royal garden. Its kiosk has remarkably large windows for its period, all of clear glass. One divan looks out onto the terraced garden and the one opposite looks over the city and the sea. The kiosk was first built in the 17th century and was redecorated in particular by Aḥmed III during the so-called "Tulip period" (*Lāle dewri* [*q.v.*]). Past a giant fountain of the 19th century, steps ascend to the large terrace rebuilt by Süleymān and then by Ibrāhīm I in 1640. The original belvederes were built on Byzantine tower foundations, to be replaced by Süleymān and then by Murād IV. The only original one remaining is the tower of the physicians which was also that of the royal tutors and the soothsayer (*Bash Lāla Köshkü*). However, it has lost its wooden belvedere, with its echoes of Venice.

Murād IV built two unique kiosks to celebrate his victories. Their architect may have been Ḥasan Agha, although Ḳodja Ḳāsim was court architect at the time. Both pavilions are cruciform in plan, but the first one to be built, the Rewān Köshk of 1634, is the smaller and has been redecorated. The Baghdād Köshkü of 1639 is the grander of the two because of its appointments—the inlay, the noble dome, the lofty head of the fireplace (*odjaḳ*) and the tiles, are of the finest quality, and its proportions give it the claim to be the finest Ottoman room. It is surrounded by a verandah with incomparable views, essential features of the ideal Ottoman kiosk. Ibrāhīm I was responsible for the Sundown Kiosk or meal-taking bower (*Ifṭāriyye Ḳaṣrî*) with the crests of its four corner columns curiously out of alignment with the shafts beneath. Ottoman architects were committed to structural truth. Ibrāhīm also rebuilt the Circumcision Kiosk (*Sünnet Odasî*) to serve as his personal *mesdjid*. The earlier masonry remains as the foundations and undercroft. The varied tiles that match each other on either side and over the door, form a museum of Ottoman ceramics, including the tall blue and white panels that appear to have been copied by those in the Baghdād Köshkü, with romantic *saz* leaves, an image of the Magic Wood, and gazelles and peacocks in the branches.

The pool and fountain with a throne projecting over the water was built for Süleymān I, while the lofty arcade behind is a projection of the pavilion housing the relics of the Prophet (*Khirḳa-yi Saʿādet Rewāḳî*). The wall behind carries the decoration used for the Prophet's Hall in Cairo. It is composed of ribs of marble cut in slithers from columns in the Mamlūk style. Originally, the capitals were gilded and the columns polished.

The sultan entered the harem through a door at the end of the terrace which opened on to the Golden Road. The Carriage Gate (*ʿAraba Ḳapîsî*) in the second court leads to the black eunuchs' mosque (*Ḳara Aghalar Djāmiʿi*) fitted with good woodwork and with one of several late panels depicting Mecca to be found in the Sarāy. The tiles throughout the harem mostly date from the rebuilding under Meḥemmed III after the fire of 1665. They are dull in colour, but designed with a flourish which is novel. The calligraphic tiles are coarse but are in the established tradition. The Court of the Black Eunuchs (*Ḳara Aghalar Tashlîghî*) has a handsome colonnade, behind which is the barracks with large cells each side of a narrow hall and a large fireplace. The ablutions are astonishingly

luxurious. The Princes' School, on the first floor next to them, is tiled but also bedecked with rococo work. The apartment of the Chief Black Eunuch (*Ḳîz Aghalar Dā'iresi*) has a large window from which he could check on everyone who entered or left the harem through the main entrance.

The harem is arranged round two courts. The Wālide court (*Wālide Tashlîghî*) is dominated by a block of apartments which were once assumed to be the lodgings of the four mothers of princes. The other rooms were for the princes who were over six or seven years old, to which in adulthood they would be confined (the *Ḳafes* or "Cage"), although only a few suffered this quasi-imprisonment. It is a warren of service rooms and staircases. The court once had colonnades on all four sides, but these were filled in and converted into rooms because of lack of space and also because of the increasing cost of carrying out extensions over the escarpment. The need for space grew because the sultans abandoned their own pavilions for the harem. The other court (*Djāriyeler Dā'iresi*) is long and narrow, with dormitory space sufficient to lodge 70 girls with difficulty. Kitchens, a *ḥammām* and other service rooms, together with three pretty kiosks, one domed, face the view over the hospital for the girls, mainly dating from the 17th century. The lodgings are claimed to be those of the first three consorts, but the earlier belief that they were for the three senior ladies of the establishment (*ustālar*) has some claim to validity.

The Wālide apartments (*Wālide Sulṭān Dā'iresi*) were rebuilt in 1665 under the supervision of Khadīdje, widow of Ibrāhīm I and mother of Meḥemmed III, and while some panels of older Iznik tiles were re-used, most are full of the panache of the period. The bedchamber and oratory are lit by skylights like a *ḥammām*: an example of the consequences of overcrowding. Above these original rooms, Selīm III built the late-18th and early-19th century apartments of his mother, Mihrishāh Wālide. Ottoman rococo is taken to its limits: in between the flamboyant plasterwork and mirrors are touchingly simple frescoes of pavilions above pools in formal gardens, but beyond, there are vistas of free woodlands and the sea.

The sultans from Aḥmed I onwards built themselves rooms next to the Wālide's apartments which have been vulgarly repainted, but 'Othmān III built himself a large kiosk supported on piers over what had been the harem garden only just in time for his death in 1757. He added a broad terrace and formal garden. Inside, *trompe l'oeil* was introduced to Istanbul. From the Wālide's apartments, a passage lit by bottle glass leads to the two *ḥammāms* of the Wālide and the sultan. These were completed in 1585 by Dāwūd Agha and refurbished during the 18th century. Beyond these is the Throne Room Within (*Khünkār Ṣofasî*), which is the largest room in the harem. It is attributed to Sinān but is more likely to have been built by Dāwūd. It was used by the harem and by the sultans' male guests, but because the sexes never mixed it was not a true *mābeyn* [*q.v.*]. The gallery above the Ṣofa was added by 'Othmān III, as was much of the present decoration. The tiles may have been Italian copies of Delftware. The dome and its pendentives have been completely restored, and the work is much more convincing than was the mutilated baked red paint of the 19th century. There are three fountains, and much 19th-century furniture and large vases. The painting on the doors is pretty 18th-century work. One of these leads into a small room which was built by Aḥmed III and which is famous for its panels of bowls of fruit that have given it the name of dining-room. The other door leads into the Hall of the Hearth (*Odjaḳlî Ṣofasî*) and then into that of the fountain (*Česhmeli Ṣofasî*). Both rooms are dismantled of their hangings and carpets. The hearth is particularly lofty, and the frame of the fountain (*česhme*) is notably so, since it only surmounts one faucet. It is the symbolism here and all over the Sarāy that matters.

Beyond these is the anteroom to the chamber of Murād III which, until the 19th century, divided harem and *selāmlîḳ* [*q.v.*]. The room was distorted in the 17th century when a pavilion was added for the heir to the sultanate. The wall on the corridor side was moved inwards and the tiling dishevelled, including part of a 16th-century Iznik tile arcade of great quality. Murād III's room has been damaged by an extension built by Aḥmed I, which blocked windows and their view and destroyed the throne. The wide recess with its fountain, the great hearth and the inlaid woodwork remain, as does the unique tilescape. The dome and pendentives have been sensitively restored in order to complete the noblest 16th-century room. The hall of the apartment of the heir (*Weli-'ahd Dā'iresi*) has a unique dome, which had been covered by a false ceiling in the 19th century protecting the early 17th-century paintwork. It is witness to the quality of paintwork once found all over the Sarāy. The inner room has a fine fireplace and the skirting under the raised floor reveals fine tiles. The 20th-century windows are unfortunate. It is unclear when the pavilion was clad in blue and white tiles externally or when the eaves were extended, unless these were done at the same time.

The kiosk looks onto the city and the terrace of the chosen girls (*Iḳbāllar Tashlîghî*) above Murād III's garden with its large pool, and in the undercroft of his hall is a winter pool, rather than a *ḥammām*, served by an immense boiler. 'Abd ül-Ḥamīd I built the row of apartments over the Golden Road 1774-89. The apartments for the sultan at the far end enlarged an existing kiosk.

The Sarāy Within was surrounded by the Sarāy Without. There were barracks for the Janissary guards in the towers set 150 m apart along the walls. The Procession Kiosk (*Alay Köshkü*) was a royal box from which to watch the guild processions or from which to address crowds. It was built on top of a Byzantine tower and extensively rebuilt by Maḥmūd II. Dilapidated or ruined churches were turned into a menagerie and also into barracks for the soldier-gardeners (*bostāndjîlar* [see BOSTĀNDJÎ]), who were divided into nine companies, one of which tended the profitable market garden, first planted by Meḥemmed II. From the Stable Gate (*Akhîr Ḳapîsî*) there were the stables themselves, the aviary, the fish trap, the Pearl Kiosk (*Indjirli Köshkü*), of which the foundations survive and which must have been the grandest of summer pavilions, quays—now the highway—and the kiosks on and beyond Sarāyburnu. These are all gone, along with the summer *sarāy* and its gardens except for the rebuilt Basketmakers' Kiosk (*Serpetdjiler Köshkü*), elevated on a Byzantine tower and stretch of walls, and attributed to Ḳodja Ḳāsîm Agha, rebuilt as a press office in the 1980s. The intrusion of the railway in the 19th century destroyed a number of lesser buildings. The workshops round the Hippodrome fell gradually into disuse and were built on during the course of the 19th century.

The most important building of them all, the Tile or Glass Pavilion (*Čînili* or *Śîrdja Sarāyî*), survives in spite of the fire of 1737 that destroyed the wooden

portico, which was then rebuilt in stone. The little palace is not Ottoman in spirit, but is a fine example of the pavilions of the Saldjūḳs in Persia. The glazed brickwork with its inscriptions was either made by potters from Tabrīz on the spot or possibly imported. A central dome lights the interior, along with fine windows, including the seven-sided bow in which the sultans sat in state. Beyond are the modest private rooms glazed with Bursa-style tiles but with a veritable peacock of a fountain installed by Murād III. The lateral recesses were glazed over when the kiosk became the Tile Museum, and this deadens the original play of light. Otherwise, it is astonishing how little damage has been done, although its sports ground has been built over by the Archaeological Museum.

The Sarāy was built as a symbol, but function subdued this aspect stage-by-stage for it to become, as it now is, a catalogue of styles and workmanship extending over 500 years.

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ṬOPKHĀNE [see bārūd. vi; ṭop].

TÖREGENE KHĀTŪN (Tūrākīnā in Muslim sources), Mongol princess and regent. She was the wife of the second Great Khān Ögedey (1229-41 [*q.v.*]), and mother of his eventual successor, Güyük (1246-8), acting as regent for the entire Mongol empire in the interregnum.

According to Rashīd al-Dīn, she was from the Merkit people, and had been married to one of its leaders before being given to Ögedey after the Merkits' defeat *ca.* 1204-5, but the *Yüan Shih* accords her Naiman origins. In accordance with Mongol tradition, she assumed the regency after Ögedey's death until a new Great Khān could be named at a *ḳuriltay* [*q.v.*]. In spite of later efforts by pro-Toluid authors (particularly Rashīd al-Dīn) to besmirch her, Töregene appears to have been—in the words of one modern scholar—"an able and determined ruler". Her primary aim was to prevent the realisation of Ögedey's wish to be succeeded by his grandson Shiremün, the son of Köčü, and instead have her eldest son Güyük elected as Great Khān. Batu [*q.v.*], the Djöčid ruler of the Golden Horde, was able to forestall her plan for four-and-a-half years.

Töregene hounded her deceased husband's senior officials. Činḳay and Maḥmūd Yalawač [*q.v.*], the chief minister of the Empire and the administrator of northern China respectively, fled to another son of Ögedey for safety. Maḥmūd's son Mas'ūd Beg [*q.v.*], Mongol governor in Central Asia, found it necessary to seek protection with Batu. During Töregene's regency, Baydju, the commander of Mongol forces in Persia, defeated the Saldjūḳ sultan Kay Khusraw II [*q.v.*] at Köse Dāgh [*q.v.*] in 1243, thereby reducing the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm to a Mongol dependency.

Finally, in 1246, in spite of Batu's foot-dragging, Töregene was finally able to convene a *ḳuriltay* with representatives of all branches of the Mongol royal house, and Güyük was acclaimed as ruler. It was at this time that she met the papal envoy John of Plano Carpini, whom she graciously received (C. Dawson (ed.), *The Mongol mission*, London 1955, 61, 65, 82). In spite of the contradictory information conveyed by Rashīd al-Dīn, Töregene seems to have died several months after Güyük's accession.

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ṬORGHUD, a Turkish tribe that was prominent in central Anatolia between the 8th-10th/14th-16th centuries.

The origin of the Ṭorghud is obscure. The earliest documentary sources say they were Turks. Nevertheless, their first recorded appearance in Anatolia was in the late 7th/13th century when that region was occupied by the Mongols; thus they may be linked with the Mongol tribe of the same name. According to a legend, the mystic Dedigi Sulṭān of Khurāsān, a descendant of Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1166 [*q.v.*]), sent his brothers Ṭorghud and Bāybūrd from Khurāsān to Anatolia in the early 7th/13th century. They and their nomadic kinsmen apparently first went to the steppe between Aḳ Shehir and Aḳ Sarāy. We know that by the early 8th/14th century, they were in the region of Aḳ Shehir and were known for their horses. Shikārī (10th/16th century) states in his popular chronicle that Ṭorghud and Bāybūrd were Oghuz or Türkmen who were allied with Nūra Ṣūfī (*ca.* 654-60/1256-61), whose son Ḳaramān founded the Ḳaramānid dynasty [see ḳaramān-oghullarî]. In this way, there began a very close and continuous relationship, often reinforced by marriages, between the Ṭorghud

and Ḳaramānids. Shikārī adds that the Ḳaramānid Meḥmed Beg (660-77/1261-78) gave half of the plain between Ḳonya and Ankara to Ṭorghud Beg and half to Bāybūrd Beg. Consequently, these two areas eventually became known in the 10th/16th century as Ṭorghud Eli [*q.v.*] and Bāybūrd Eli. He also says that the Ṭorghud assisted the Ḳaramānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg (753-83/1352-81) in successful campaigns against the Banū Eretna and the Germiyān.

In any case, the Ṭorghud tribe was a major element, perhaps the most powerful, in the Ḳaramānid state. It helped the Ḳaramānids fight against the Ottomans on several occasions, notably against Murād I (761-91/1360-89) and Murād II (824-48/1421-44, 850-5/1446-51). One of its most outstanding leaders, Pīr Ḥusayn Beg, had the title *malik al-umarāʾ muḳaddam al-ʿasākir* and may have been the *beglerbegi* of the Ḳaramānids. He constructed a number of buildings in and around Ḳonya. He built his own tomb in that city in 835/1432. When Meḥemmed II decided to put an end to the Ḳaramānid state once and for all, in a series of expeditions that ended in 880/1475, he specifically set out to break the power of the Ṭorghud. As a result, many took refuge with the Mamlūks. When Meḥemmed died, some of them joined the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Later, in 893-4/1487-8, the Ṭorghud assisted the Mamlūks against the Ottomans. As late as 906/1500, the Ṭorghud revolted against the Ottomans in the name of Ḳaramān. Afterwards, some joined the Ṣafawids. Altogether, the Ṭorghud were difficult to pacify. They maintained their political significance until the Djalālī uprisings [*q.v.* in Suppl.] between the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries, as a result of which they finally lost their power. By the 19th century, the Ṭorghud were limited to the area between the towns of Turgut and Cihanbeyli west of Tuz Gölü.

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ṬORGHUD, according to tradition, one of the military commanders of ʿOthmān I, founder of the Ottoman dynasty, *fl.* in the first third of the 14th century.

He was one of several military leaders in the company of ʿOthmān [*q.v.*], and subsequently his son Orkhān [*q.v.*], who had the title *alp* [*q.v.*]. There is strong evidence, however, that he was not an historical figure but the creation of folk etymology (C. Imber, *The legend of Osman Gazi*, in *The Ottoman emirate (1300-1389)*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou, Rethymnon, Crete 1993, 71-2). He first appears at ʿOthmān's conquest of Yār-Ḥiṣār southeast of Nicaea (İznik). He then attacked Angelokoma (İnegöl) to the southwest. These events presumably occurred in 699/1299. Angelokoma fell when reinforcements arrived and its Christian ruler "Aya Nikola" (*sic*) fled. ʿOthmān gave Angelokoma to Ṭorghud Alp. Afterwards this region was called Ṭorghud Eli [*q.v.*], the land of Ṭorghud. ʿOthmān later ordered Orkhān to capture Adranos (Orhoneli), to the west. He sent Ṭorghud Alp and Köse Mīkhāl to conquer it. The fall of Adranos (1317?), combined with that of Yār-Ḥiṣār and Angelokoma, gave the Ottomans control of virtually all the land approaches to Bursa [*q.v.*] and facilitated its conquest in 726/1326.

Ṭorghud Alp was an intimate of the dervishes, especially Geyikli Bābā, who lived near Keshīsh daghi (lit. "Monk mountain", i.e. Mt. Olympos, Uludağ) between Angelokoma and Adranos. Indeed, he seems to have become a *pīr* under his direction. In addition, he introduced Orkhān to his dervish associates.

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ṬORGHUD ELI, the name of three districts of Anatolia in early Ottoman times.

1. In 699/1299-1300, ʿOthmān I b. Ertoghrul gave his commander Ṭorghud Alp [*q.v.*] the district of Inegöl just to the east of Bursa. The name Ṭorghud Eli appears in the early historians ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde and Neshrī, but disappears by the 10th/16th century.

2. A place in the Tashlïḳ Silifke area on the southern coast of Anatolia in Ḳaramānid times.

3. A place in the steppe lands of Aḳ Shehir and Aḳ Sarāy in the hands of the Ṭorghud Bey family during the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

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ṬORGHUD REʾĪS, Turkish corsair, naval commander and governor (b. early 16th century near Muğla, western Anatolia, d. 1565 in Malta; better known as Dragut in European literature).

The maritime career of this son of a peasant began when he joined the Levends, Turkish mariners operating off the Aegean coast [see LEWEND]. It was as commander of Levend ships that he participated in the battle of Prevesa (1538). His subsequent area of operation was the central and western Mediterranean, where in the wake of Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa's successes [see KHAYR AL-DĪN PASHA], Turkish seamen and Janissaries played a crucial role in the confrontation with Christian powers, especially Spain and her dependencies. While greasing his ships on Corsica in 1540, he was captured by Andrea Doria's nephew Gianettino, but regained freedom three years later after Khayr al-Dīn, who was visiting with the Ottoman fleet French ports, had demanded his release and threatened to sack Genoa in case of non-compliance.

Like Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa a generation earlier, Ṭorghud then used Djerba [see DJARBA] as his base and Tunis as the place to sell the spoils of his raids on Christian shipping and coasts. This led to a see-saw sparring with the Ottomans' main rival, Spain, and her naval proxy, the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria. Ṭorghud's capture of Mahdiyya in 1544 proved of short duration, and he himself narrowly escaped another capture early in 1551 when, cornered by Doria on the eastern side of the Kantara causeway between Djerba and the mainland, he cut a channel and slipped through to the other side. He then returned to the Aegean waters and offered his services to the Ottoman government, which was planning new naval campaigns. He participated in an attack on the Knights Hospitallers of Malta and on Tripoli, led in the summer of 1551 by the *Ḳapudan Pasha* Sinān Pasha. Disagree-

ments between this commander, no seaman but a brother of the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], and Ṭorg̲h̲ud may have contributed to the failure before the main target of the campaign, Malta, but Tripoli was taken. After returning to the Ottoman capital, Ṭorg̲h̲ud was appointed *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi* of Karlī-eli with Prevesa as its main harbour, while several captains of his suite also received official appointments as commanders of *mīrī* (imperial) galleys; one of these was the future *Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a* Ḳilīd̲j̲ ʿAlī [see ʿULŪD̲J̲ ʿALĪ]. Ṭorg̲h̲ud was eventually given a post he had coveted since 1551, the *beylerbeyilik* of Tripoli (1555).

The final years of Ṭorg̲h̲ud's life were marked by two memorable events, the battle of Djerba (1560) and the siege of Malta (1565). Both were major enterprises conceived in Istanbul and led by the *Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a* Piyāle Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], but they had opposite results: at Djerba, the Turks triumphed over the Christian, chiefly Spanish forces; at Malta, they were thwarted by the determined defence of the Knights Hospitallers, and the failure was made worse by a mortal wound suffered by Ṭorg̲h̲ud. He was buried in a *türbe* by the mosque he had erected at Tripoli.

Like Kemāl Reʾīs, Selmān Reʾīs, and K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn Barbarossa before him, and ʿUlūd̲j̲ ʿAlī, Ḥusayn Pas̲h̲a Mezzomorto and D̲j̲azāʾirli G̲h̲āzī Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a after him, Ṭorg̲h̲ud represents the special brand of Ottoman naval commanders who first proved their worth as privateers but then, recruited by the Ottoman government, led the imperial fleet to signal victories or made it recover its effectiveness. Ṭorg̲h̲ud's case, however, also illustrates a frequent dilemma of this class whose recruitment as a rule differed from that of the administrative and military élite (theoretically, the sultan's slaves, in fact, his choice retinue), and therefore often received less recognition and chance to assert itself than it may have deserved.

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(S. SOUCEK)

TOROS DAĞLARI, the Modern Turkish designation of the Taurus Mountains, the southern and southeastern bordering-mountain chain system of the Anatolian plateau in Turkey. This is part of the young Tertiary folded mountain belt and rich in deposits of workable ores. Away from the basins and valleys, it is sparsely populated and extensively used by small livestock farming. Higher parts formerly used as summer resorts by Yürük nomadic tribes have recently been filled by small permanent forest farmer dwellings.

The southern flanks to the Mediterranean and the inshore parts are distinguished by a Mediterranean climate and vegetation (often maquis). In spite of uncontrolled woodcutting, clearing for cultivation and overutilisation as pastures, the Taurus mountains are often still covered with xerophytic forest residues of pine, juniper, oak and cedar.

The Western (Lycian) Taurus mountains start in the Mediterranean coast regions of western Anatolia with the Gölgeli Dağları, which are more than 2,000 m high. They form an assemblage of mountain ranges and massifs of Mesozoic Palaeogene limestones, flysch sediments and crystalline rock formations with important chrome ore deposits. This region, which includes parts of the Isaurian-Pisidian lake district, is rich in basins and poljes set into the longitudinal mountainous depressions. In the ranges of the Bey Dağları west of the Gulf of Antalya, with its new winter sport centre and national park, the Western Taurus mountains reach over 3,000 m.

In the hinterland north of this gulf, the wide-bowed bend of the Central Taurus, composed mostly of Palaeozoic limestones, begins. It stretches eastward to the "bulwark" of the High Bolkar Dağları and ends beyond the Cilician Aladağ (3,756 m, the Armenian Taurus) at the deep and striking depression of Kahramanmaraş. In its western parts, where the "Curve of Isparta" with parallel mountain ranges encloses further sections of the lake district, striking turns from southwest-northeast to northwest-southeast, and leads over to the Neogen limestone plateau of Taşeli. This slightly tilted and upfaulted table is full of caves, intensively karstified and canyon-shaped, and dissected by the Göksu river and its tributaries. The eastern section of the Central Taurus, the Cilician Taurus, is formed by the high wall of the Bolkar Dağları (3,524 m). Here in the hinterland of Tarsus, the chains are crossed by the Ecemiş depression, with the most famous ancient pass region of the Cilician gateway. Eastward, in the environs of the Ala Dağlar, one finds heights of more than 3,750 m. In former times the centre of the Kingdom of Little Armenia [see SĪS], these regions were settled by Armenians until their persecution and banishment in the early 20th century. They have recently been inhabited by Yürük and resettled Alevi Kurdish minorities.

From here two parallel mountain range systems, the Taurus and Anti-Taurus, turn northeastward, flanked by impressive intermontane basin lines. The outer southeastern ranges including the famous Nemrut Dağı of Commagene lead to the glacierised Cilo (Djilo) Dağı around Hakkâri which is the mountainous nucleus of Turkish Kurdistan and over 4,000 m high. The inner parts, following the Seyhan river system, are intertwined with the eastern Pontic chains of historic High Armenia and disappear under the cenotypal of the northeast Anatolian Ararat upland lava plateaus.

Bibliography: H. Grothe, *Meine Vorderasienexpedition 1906 und 1907*, ii, Leipzig 1912; R. Brinkmann, *Geology of Turkey*, Stuttgart 1976; N. Güldalı, *Geomorphologie der Türkei*, Beihefte zum TAVO Reihe A Nr. 4, Wiesbaden 1979.

(V. HÖHFELD)

TOSḲ [see ARNAWUTLUḲ. 4).

TOUBA [see ṬŪBĀ].

TOUGGOURT [see TUGGURT].

TOURKOPO(U)LOI or TURCOPLES, Christianised ex-Muslim mercenaries of Turkish origin in Byzantine and Oriental Latin armies in the Balkans, the Middle East, Cyprus and Rhodes from the late 11th century onwards, especially the late 12th, 13th and 14th centuries (on the term's etymology, see C. Amantos, in *Hellenika*, vi [1933], 325-6; H. Diament, *Can toponomastics explain the origins of the Crusader French lexemes Poulain and Turcople?*, in *Names. Jnal of the American Name Soc.*, xxv [1977], 183-204). They are sometimes erroneously associated by older Greek

scholars with the early Ottoman institution of the *dew*s͟h*irme* [*q.v.*] and the Janissary corps [see YEÑI-ČERI]. Their ancestors had been "Persian" (i.e. Sald͟jūḳ and Turcoman) mercenaries of Byzantium (Pachymeres, ed. Bonn, ii, 523-4); Crusader chroniclers define the latter's offsprings as *Turcopoli enim dicuntur, qui vel nutriti apud Turcos, vel de matre Christiana patre Turco procreantur* (Raymund of Aguilers, in *RHC, Occid.*, iii, 246), or as *Turcopoli gens impia et dicta Christiana nomine, non opere, qui et Turco patre et Graeca matre procreati* (Albert of Aix, in *ibid.*, iv, 380).

The earliest mention of the term appears in a Byzantine document referring to an Athonite monk Sergios Tourkōpoulos, probably an ex-Muslim (A.D. 1082); certainly the most celebrated Turcople in Byzantium (*ca.* 1078-*ca.* 1099/1103) was Tatīkios, who according to Anna Comnena (refs. in B. Skoulatos, *Personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade*, Louvain 1980, 287-92) distinguished himself in the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus' service against Normans, Sald͟jūḳs of Rūm, Pečenegs (Patzinaks), Ḳïpčaḳs (Cumans) and the knights of the First Crusade, though he finally abandoned the siege of Antioch [see ANṬAKYA] in 1098 and thus Byzantium missed a possible lucrative recapture (refs. in J. France, *The departure of Tatikios from the crusading army*, in *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, xliv [1971], 137-47; A. Savvides, *Taticius the Turcople*, in *Jnal. Or. Afr. Stud.*, iii-iv [1991-2], 235-8); even after that, Alexius I continued using Turcoples against the Sald͟jūḳs, and also providing the Crusaders with more Turcople regiments (*Alexiad*, ed. Leib, iii, 12; Albert of Aix, 575 ff.).

A detailed picture of Turcoples in Byzantine service appears in George Pachymeres and Nicephorus Gregoras; the latter reports (ed. Bonn, i, 229) that the Turcople descendants of the Rūm Sald͟jūḳ sultan Kaykāwūs II [*q.v.*] distinguished themselves in the service of the Palaeologi emperors Michael VIII (1259 or 1261-82) and Andronicus II (1282-1328) against the Catalan raiders and the semi-autonomous rulers of Thessaly [see TESALYA] between *ca.* 1268-*ca.* 1275 and as late as 1330-4. Turcoples had also participated on the Byzantine side in the Graeco-Latin war of 1263-4 in the Morea [see MORA]. In the late 13th century, Turcoples were installed in central and northwestern Greek Macedonia, in the area of the Vardar (Axiōs) river (see E. Zachariadou, in *Makedonika*, vi [1964-5], 62-74; S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley, etc. 1971, 441-2), while in the early 14th century, several among them settled in the western Thracian Rhodōpe, following their participation in Catalan raids against Byzantium (1305-6), their abandonment of the marauders (1307-8) and their eventual partial departure to Serbia. In Trebizond, too, an A.M. 6841 (A.D. 1305-6) inscription mentions a Geōrgios Torkōpoulos (see A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, Washington 1985, i, 228 n. 354, correcting F. Uspensky's dating of 1203/4 or 1210/11).

Many Turcoples are also attested in the Christian Orient during the Crusading period (12th-13th centuries), either as fighting troops against Muslims (as in the case of the fifth Crusade of 1217-21, when those sent by Hugh I Lusignan of Cyprus occupied a conspicuous place in the Crusading army), or in the service of the military orders (Usāma Ibn Munḳid͟h, ed. Hitti, 79; other refs. in Savvides, 1993, 123-4, 126-30; Zachariadou, *Tourkopouloi*, in *Oxford dict. of Byzantium*, Oxford 1991, 2100b). Jean Richard has stressed that, in the Orient, Turcoples were employed in imitation of the Byzantine Tourkōpo(u)loi (*La Papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age, 13ᵉ-15ᵉ s.*, Rome 1977, 7-8; idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Amsterdam 1979, 140; idem, in *Bibl.*).

Following the fourth Crusade of 1204, Turcoples arrived to strengthen the armies of the Latin Empire of "Romania" at Constantinople, and also participating in the latter's war against the Bulgarians (see Villehardouin, ed. Faral, ii, Paris repr. 1963, §§ 136, 438). On Cyprus [see ḲÏBRÏS], Turcoples appear in Latin service from the late 12th century onwards, following the end of Byzantine rule there, by Guy I Lusignan; he distributed fiefs among Turcople mounted mercenaries, who under their captain (*Grand Turcopolier*) assumed the island's protection. Henceforth, the term is closely associated with lightly-armed archers (as a police force) in the Latin sources (refs. in Sir George Hill, *Hist. of Cyprus*, repr. Cambridge 1972, ii, 40, 54; P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, Cambridge 1991, 17, 122; Th. Papadopoullos, in *Hist. of Cyprus* [in Greek], iv/1, Nicosia 1995, 765, on their social status). From the 14th century onwards, they were drawn from local populations in the late Frankish and Venetian periods, 15th-16th centuries, when they feature in Greek vernacular sources like Leontios Machaeras and George Bustrōnios as Tourkopoûloi, Tourkopouliēredes, Tourkopoulīzai, etc. (refs. in Hill, *op. cit.*, ii, 773-4, with chart on eponymous cases, also in diplomatic connection with the Tekke, Ḥamīd and Ḳaramān amirates, as well as the Mamlūks of Egypt; other eponymous cases in Edbury, *op. cit.*, 169-70, 173, 175; Savvides, 1993, 135-6; *Prosopogr. Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, fasc. xii, Vienna 1994, nos. 29098, 29176-84).

Finally, on Rhodes Turcoples participated in the Hospitaller Knights' conquest of the island between 1306-10 [see RODOS, and A. Savvides, in *Byzantinos Domos*, ii [1988], 220, 227-9, with n. 142]; henceforth the *Turcop(o)lieri/Turcupellerii* (light cavalrymen) were extensively used by the Knights with the duty of patrolling the island's coasts and guarding its maritime populations (refs. in A. Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291-1440*, London 1978, no. I, 278, 283; E. Kollias, *The city of Rhodes and the palace of the Grand Master*, Athens 1988, 33, 37; Z. Tsirpanles, *Rhodes and South Sporades... 14th-16th centuries* [in Greek], Rhodes 1991, 276 nn. 8-9; idem, *Unpublished documents on Rhodes and the South Sporades*, 1421-53 [in Greek], Rhodes 1995, 192, 629-30, 739-40, with Latin documents from the Malta archives).

Bibliography: Mostly given in the article; sources in G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, ³Leiden 1983, 327-8; detailed analysis in J. Richard, *Les turcoples au service des royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre: musulmans convertis ou chrétiens orientaux?*, in *REI*, liv (1986), 259-70, and A. Savvides, *Late Byzantine and western historiographers on Turkish mercenaries in Greek and Latin armies: the Turcoples/Tourkopouloi*, in R. Beaton and Ch. Roueché (eds.), *The making of Byzantine history. Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, Variorum, Aldershot 1993, 122-36; idem, *The Turks and Byzantium*, i, *Pre-Ottoman tribes in Asia and the Balkans* [in Greek], Athens 1996, 152-5 and 220-21 (bibl.).

(A. SAVVIDES)

TRANSJORDAN or **TRANSJORDANIA** [see AL-URDUNN].

TRANSYLVANIA [see ERDEL].

TRAVNIK, a town of central Bosnia, situated to the north-west of Sarajevo, in the narrow valley of the Lašva (a tributary of the river Bosna), located at an altitude of 504 m/1,653 feet between the mountains of Vlašić (1,943 m/6,373 feet) to the north, and of Vilenica (1,235 m/4,050 feet) to the south.

As is proved by numerous known archaeological sites, the neighbourhood of Travnik was occupied first by Neolithic and then by Illyrian populations. Many traces remain of the Roman period, but none at all from the first five centuries which followed the arrival of Slav populations in the Balkans (7th-12th centuries). Historical evidence reappears from the 13th century onwards: on the one hand, the remains of two churches and of five castle-fortresses, on the other, a number of mediaeval tombs and necropoles. One of these castle-fortresses, that of Travnik (dating from the early 15th century and renovated on numerous occasions since) is associated with the foundation of the town, the first mention of which dates from 1463-4, on the occasion of the visit to this place by sultan Meḥemmed II during his campaign against Bosnia. Subsequently, first a market was formed beneath the citadel, then an Ottoman *ḳaṣaba*, which became the seat of the *nāḥiye* of Lašva and (after 1528) of the *ḳāḍīlïḳ* of Bosna-Brod. The development of the town was, it seems, initially rather slow, then (from the second half of the 16th century) more rapid, since it is estimated that by the end of the 17th century its population had risen to 3,000-3,500 inhabitants. Ewliyā Čelebi visited Travnik in the summer of 1660 (see his *Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, 442 ff., and especially the translation into Serbo-Croat (with important annotations) by H. Šabanović, *E.Č., Putopis, odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama.* Sarajevo 1967, 127-9). According to the renowned traveller, the town was at that time the *k̲h̲āṣṣ* of the *pas̲h̲a* of Bosnia, the seat of a *voyvode* and a *ḳāḍīlïḳ* with 150 *akčes*. He describes the fortress and the town, which according to him consisted of eleven *maḥalles*, with 2,000 solid houses (figures which H. Kreševljaković and D.M. Korkut, *Travnik u prošlosti 1464-1878*, Travnik 1961, 14, amend to seven *maḥalles* and 600-700 houses at the most), seventeen mosques, numerous elementary schools (*mekteb-i ṣibyān*), a *k̲h̲ān*, a *ḥammām*, two *türbes*, and the *čars̲h̲ï*. In K. Papić's scholarly monograph (*Travnik, grad i regija*, Travnik 1975, 102-12) which collates all the known documentation, can be found a detailed description of the development of the town and of its population during this early period (1463-1699), with prosperity naturally linked to the military situation of the Ottomans in this region.

In a totally unexpected manner, the time of Travnik's greatest success was set during the period of the empire's decline in South-Eastern Europe. This is readily explained by the fact that the seat of the Ottoman vizier was transferred in 1699 from Sarajevo to Travnik [see SARAJEVO], where it remained until 19 June 1850 (with two brief interludes, in 1827-8 and 1832-6 [or 1839]). The urban prosperity which resulted from this was accompanied by that of craftsmanship and of commerce, and was responsible for more than doubling the population figures of the town, which by the mid-19th century had risen to more than 7,000 persons (who are said to have included, according to the secretary of the French Consulate of Travnik, Amédée Chaumette des Fossés, a large majority of Muslims, about 1,000 Orthodox Christians, 500 Roman Catholics, 300 gypsies and 60 Jews), promoting Travnik from the status of *ḳaṣaba* (large village) to that of *s̲h̲ehir* (town). In the early 19th century, and for a relatively short period, Travnik also became the seat of the very first European consulates in this part of the Ottoman empire, these being the French Consulate (from 1806 to 1814) and the Austrian Consulate (from 1808 to 1820), events described magisterially by Ivo Andrić (Nobel Prize for Literature in 1961) in his novel *Travnička hronika* (1st ed. Belgrade 1945; latest French tr., *La chronique de Travnik*, Paris 1996). (On this period in general, cf. Papić, *op. cit.*, 112-40.) Naturally, it is from the 18th-19th centuries that the most important monuments of Ottoman architecture in the town date (several mosques and *k̲h̲āns*, two *bedestens*, three *ḥammāms*, two clock-towers, three *medreses*, numerous bridges, *türbes* and fountains, a *tekke*, etc.) the majority of which have been subsequently restored and renovated, some of them destroyed (see anon., *Kulturno-istorijski spomenici-vlasništvo IVZ [Travnik]*, in *Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starješinstva u FNRJ*, Sarajevo, ii/4-6 [April-June 1951], 159-67, ii/7-9 [July-September 1951], 298-301; M. Mujezinović, *Turski natpisi u Travniku i njegovoj okolini*, in *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, Sarajevo, xiv-xv [1964-5 (1969)], 141-87, and xvi-xvii [1966-7 (1970)], 213-306; *Blago na putevima Jugoslavije*, Belgrade 1983, 327-9). Also available are several descriptions of the town made by western travellers from the early 19th century onward, such as that of F.C.H.L. Pouqueville in 1806, that of A. Chaumette des Fossés (*Voyage en Bosnie dans les années 1807 et 1808*, Paris 1816) and, most thorough of all, that of Ami Boué, from 1836-38 (*Recueil d'itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Vienna 1854, ii, 228-30), who was astonished at the dilapidated state of the Ottoman vizier's residence and who supplies numerous interesting details regarding the condition of the town's inhabitants, particularly Muslims and Catholics.

The definitive transfer, in 1850, of the vizier's seat to Sarajevo, marked the beginning of Travnik's decline, which continued throughout the last years of Ottoman power (1850-78) (cf. Papić, *op. cit.*, 140-7). The population of the town diminished perceptibly, to such an extent, that according to the first Austro-Hungarian census, that of 1879, it numbered no more than 5,887 inhabitants (comprising 3,482 Muslims, 1,455 Catholic Christians, 576 Orthodox Christians and 374 Jews; cf. *Ortschafts- und Bevölkerungs-Statistik von Bosnien und Hercegovina. Aemtliche Ausgabe*, Sarajevo 1880, 61). This period was also marked by the construction of a Catholic church and an Orthodox church, as well as by the opening (in addition to a *rüs̲h̲diyye* intended for pupils of all religious persuasions, but with instruction given in Turkish), of a Catholic primary school and an Orthodox primary school, and most of all by the construction of a large Franciscan monastery (with a church and a secondary school) at Guča Gora (in the immediate vicinity of Travnik), a monastery which, with other establishments of the same kind, was subsequently to play a very significant role in the religious, cultural and political life of the Catholic population of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

During the forty years of Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878-1918), the Ottoman town experienced many transformations, particularly after the great fire of 1903, in the course of which the entire historic centre of the city, where all the building (shops and residential properties) were made of wood, disappeared for ever. Then the first modern constructions appeared. The following table, constructed according to the four official censuses carried out by the authorities at the time (cf. Papić, *op. cit.*, 148-86, and esp. 151), shows the demographic changes:

Year	*Total pop.*	*Mus.*	*Cath.*	*Orth.*	*Jews*	*Others*
1879	5,887	3,482	1,455	576	374	-
1885	5,933	3,042	1,889	559	425	18
1895	6,261	2,983	2,179	651	426	22
1910	6,647	2,750	2,732	674	472	19

The principal Muslim dignitaries of Travnik (*begs* and *ʿulemāʾ*), as well as those of other places in

Bosnia-Hercegovina, took an active part in the political struggles which accompanied the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian occupation (see e.g. on this subject, R.J. Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle. The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina 1878-1914*, Boulder, Colo. 1981, 68-89 and *passim*). It may be added that the local scene was confused in the extreme as a result of the power-plays of the other leading elements of the population: the Catholic element (which was ultimately to declare itself Croat) and the Orthodox (which on account of its belonging to a national church could do nothing other than feel and proclaim its Serbian loyalties). It may be said, finally, as regards the Muslim population of Travnik in this period, that it had at its disposal, in the cultural sphere, eight *mektebs*, one *rüs̲h̲diyye* and three *medreses*, the oldest of which, that of Elči Hadži Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a (see A. Bejtić, *Elči Ibrahim pašin vakuf u Travniku*, in *El-Hidaje*, nos. 7-12, Sarajevo 1942), was replaced in 1894-5 by a new building, constructed in the "Moorish" style, the renowned "Fejzija" of Travnik, where among others, several members of the illustrious Korkut family were teachers (cf. A. Bejtić, *Derviš M. Korkut kao kulturni i javni radnik*, Sarajevo 1974).

There is little to say on the history of the town of Travnik in the 20th century, other than that the population has grown significantly, from 6,334 inhabitants in 1921 to more than 14,000 in 1975. But on account of its past, the old city of Travnik remains, if only on the cultural plane, the principal urban centre of the valley of the Lašva. It may be said in conclusion that at the time of writing (January 1997), the precise consequences for the town of Travnik of the civil war of 1992-5 remain unclear.

Bibliography: In addition to the references cited in the text, see M. Mandić, *Vezirski grad Travnik nekada i sada*, Zagreb 1931; M. Jokanović-K. Papić, *Travnik*, in *Encyclopedija Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1971, viii, 359-60; *Travnik u vrijeme vezira (1699-1851)*, Travnik 1973.

(A. Popovic)

TRIBENĪ (lat. 22° 59' N., long. 88° 26' E.), in Sanskrit *Tri-veṇī* or "Three braids" referring to the convergence of the Bhagirathi, Jamuna and Saraswati rivers, a place in the district of Hooghly, West Bengal, India, an ancient place of Hindu pilgrimage and Sanskrit learning, mentioned in classical Greek (e.g. Pliny's *Natural history*), Sanskrit (e.g. Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta*), Bengali sources (e.g. *Cvandimangala*), and early European travel accounts.

Conquered by Ẓafar K̲h̲ān G̲h̲āzī towards the end of the 7th/13th century, Tribenī (also known by the Muslims as Fīrūzābād after the Bengal Sultan Fīrūz Shāh, r. 1301-22) and its neighbourhood (e.g. Sātgāon and Pāndu'ā [*q.vv.*]) prospered under Muslim rule, as evidenced by the impressive architecture of the period which was influenced by Islamic and local traditions. Arabic inscriptions from the Ẓafar K̲h̲ān *masdjid* and *madrasa* (earliest one dated 698/1298; see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 27-30) suggest that, in addition to holding an important commercial and political position in south-west Bengal, the area was a notable Islamic educational and cultural centre. With the emergence in the 16th century of the new port city of Hooghly after the advent of European traders, and later of Calcutta further south, Tribenī and its surrounding towns lost their importance and urban character and declined to the status of villages in the rural landscape of Bengal.

Bibliography: Bipradās, *Manasā Mangala* (16th-century Bengali ms. [Ga 3530] in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta); *Bhakti ratnākara*, ed. Rama Nārāyana Vidyāratna, Berhampore 1887, 538-9.

(Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq)

TRUCIAL COAST [see al-imārāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muttaḥida, in Suppl.; ʿumān].

TSAK̲H̲UR, a Lezgian people of eastern Caucasia, Sunnī Muslims and numbering about 25,000. Their self-designation is Yik̲h̲bi, but others call them after the Ts'äk̲h̲ village. That name dates back to the 7th century, when the Tsak̲h̲ur probably formed part of Arrān [*q.v.*] (Caucasian Albania). They accepted Islam in the 10th-11th centuries. Their societies united into a sultanate in the 15th century. This *Elisuyskoe sultanstvo*, as it was called in the 18th century, ended in the next century with its incorporation into Tsarist Russia.

The Tsak̲h̲ur, whose main occupation has been transhumant sheep pastoralism, have traditionally lived in the isolated upper Samur valley in south-west Dāg̲h̲istān and on the other side of the watershed of the Great Caucasus, in present-day Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. At present, about two-thirds of the Tsak̲h̲ur live in the latter region, with most of the remaining third in Dāg̲h̲istān, i.e. in Russia.

Life used to be organised in patrilinear families that were often bilocational, living partly in the mountains, partly on the southern slopes in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, with the herds moving with the seasons. Clan-ties among the endogamous Tsak̲h̲ur are strong. Their calendar is marked by a large number of Islamic and older festivities.

The Tsak̲h̲ur language belongs to the Lezgian subgroup of the Daghestan branch of the East Caucasian linguistic phylum. There are Tsak̲h̲ur inscriptions that date back to the 13th century. General literacy came with Soviet times; in the mid-1930s Tsak̲h̲ur was used at school, soon to be replaced by Azeri, and after 1952 by Azeri and Russian respectively. Since the early 1990s attempts have been made at revitalising traditional culture and at reintroducing Tsak̲h̲ur as a written language. Language retention is high, though Tsak̲h̲ur town-dwellers are more fluent in Azeri than in Tsak̲h̲ur.

Bibliography: S.P. Tolstov (ed.), *Narodî Kavkaza* ("The peoples of the Caucasus"), i, Moscow 1960; G.K̲h̲. Ibragimov, *Tsak̲h̲urskiy yazîk* ("The Tsak̲h̲ur language"), Moscow 1990; V.A. Tis̲h̲kov (ed.), *Narodî Rossii* ("The peoples of Russia"), Moscow 1994.

(H.J.A.J. Smeets)

TU WEN-HSIU, Chinese Muslim military leader and head of the Panthay [*q.v.*] sultanate (1855-73) in western Yunnan, South-west China, d. 1873. Tu Wen-hsiu was born into a Yang family of Muslim father and Han mother in the Yung-ch'ang area in western Yunnan on 18 December 1826 (the 6th year of the reign of the Emperor T'ao-k'uang). He was originally called Yang Hsiu, with the Muslim name of Sulaymān. At the age of 13, when he passed the local public examination on the Confucian Classics with an excellent grade, the Han examination official, displaying discrimination against Muslims, ordered him to adopt his Han mother's family name, and renamed him as Wen-hsiu, meaning "of literary accomplishments and fine manners". However, he prefered to be called Sulaymān Yang amongst his fellow-Muslims. He then entered the local Ḳur'ānic school, and was educated under an *ʿālim* from the Ching-yang area in Shensi province [*q.v.*] called Man An-kuo who was probably a Nak̲s̲h̲bandī-D̲j̲ahrī Ṣūfī *murs̲h̲id*, studying for 6 years and qualifying as an *Ahund* in 1843. Later, he went to Kung-ming, the capital of Yunnan province, for further studies for a

short period, under the well-known great Muslim scholar Ma Fu-ch'u, who was the then spiritual leader of Muslim rebellion in eastern Yunnan.

In 1856, after his parents and relatives were all killed by Han militia in a Han-Muslim clash, Tu openly joined the Muslim rebellion in the T'a-li region, being elected *de facto* leader of the T'a-li rebels by virtue of his literacy and justice (but some Muslim legends attributed it to his *karāma* [*q.v.*]). Tu then assumed the title of *Ḳāʾid d̲j̲amīʿ al-Muslimīn* ("The leader of all [Yunnanese] Muslims") or *Chung-t'ung P'ing-ma Ta-yüen-shuai* ("Generalissimo of all armed forces and cavalry"); but he was known to the Westerners as "Sultan Sulaymān". After Tu took complete control of the rebel group and set up its headquarters in T'a-li, the sultanate then took shape. Within a few years, the whole of western Yunnan was brought under T'a-li authority.

Most of Tu's writings have not survived except for some poems, couplets and a few essays on Confucian ethics. However, according to some recently-published manuscripts of court documents of the sultanate, part of his religio-political ideology becomes comprehensible. In principle, Tu intended to set up an Islamic government; thus the *S̲h̲arīʿa* and Islamic education systems were imposed, but applied to Muslims only. Because half of his subjects were Han and other aboriginal minorities, Tu had to adopt the Ming dynasty's system for non-Muslims in order not to cause grievances. By showing a positive image of Islam to his non-Muslim subjects, he hoped indirectly to encourage conversions to Islam. The documents also indicate that he hoped eventually to assimilate Muslims and non-Muslims into a syncretised culture. However, Tu died before his ideal materialised. The sultanate was subdued in 1873; Tu Wen-hsiu submitted to the Manchus, but committed suicide in order to secure lives of his followers from massacre. It is said that one of his daughters escaped from the Manchu massacres to Burma after the fall of the sultanate, with her offspring surviving to the present time.

Bibliography: Chang Shih-ch'ing *et alii* (eds.), *Tu Wen-hsiu Shuai-fu Mi-lu* ("Secret court documents of Generalissimo Tu Wen-hsiu"), i, Ch'eng-t'u, Such'uang Jenmin Publisher 1995; and see the *Bibl.* to PANTHAY. (CHANG-KUAN LIN)

TUAREG [see TAWĀRIḲ].

ṬŪBĀ, conventionally TOUBA, a simple hamlet of the Baol in Senegal which has become the sacred city and capital of the Murīdiyya [*q.v.*] dervish order. It lies 190 km/120 miles to the east of Dakar [*q.v.*] and is in process of becoming the second city of Senegal. It should have 200,000 inhabitants by the end of the 20th century, and every year it receives two millions of the faithful from all over the country for an annual pilgrimage (the Great Magal). Ṭūbā is a sacred enclosure, and has been for a long time an autonomous zone outside the authority of the state's agents and controlled solely by a "*k̲h̲alīfa*-general", his helpers and a militia of the order, the Bāy Fall.

Ṭūbā derives its importance from the initiatory mystical vision of the founder of the Murīdiyya, Amadu Bamba, probably in the late 1880s. Various etymologies have been current for the name; it most likely stems from a reference to *ṭūbā* "blessing" rather than to *tawba* "repentance".

In the last years of his life, between 1924 and 1927, Amadu Bamba conceived the project of a great mosque there and chose it as the site of his own tomb. After some hesitation, the French colonial authorities in 1926 agreed to this, but the misappropriation of the original funds gathered for this held back construction. Work began again under the direction of the founder's son and successor, Mamadu Mustafā Mbacke, although progress was very slow. The foundations were not completed till 1932, and the building work, halted in 1939, was resumed in 1947 until its inauguration in 1963. The monument is made up of a giant minaret 96 m/315 feet high, four other minarets, fourteen domes and two ablutions chambers. The building is 100 m/330 feet long and 80 m/262 feet wide. The site's importance is underlined by the presence there of Amadu Bamba's and Mamadu Mustafā's tombs. A library of 160,000 volumes illustrates the intellectual dimension which the order wishes to give to the shrine.

It was in 1928, at the first anniversary of his father's death, that Mamadu Mustafā Mbacke organised a meeting of all the Murīds at Ṭūbā, this being the first Magal (a Wolof term meaning "festival, anniversary"). It became an annual event, and from 1945 onwards, the pilgrimage to the founder's tomb became a growing institution. After the death of the first *K̲h̲alīfa* in 1945, his brother and successor Falilu Mbacke in 1946 postponed the date of the Great Magal by a month, to 18 Ṣafar, henceforth commemorating the exile of Amadu Bamba to Gabon. A Lesser Magal nevertheless remains for the anniversary of the founder's death. The Great Magal lasts for four days and is the occasion for a gathering of devotees from all parts of the country and beyond. It also marks a firm point in time in relations between the Senegalese state and the order; a numerous official delegation marks on these occasions the state's recognition of the existence of the Murīds.

The quasi-extraterritoriality which Ṭūbā enjoys within the Republic of Senegal has made this religious centre also one for trade, a free trade zone, where products brought in from neighbouring Gambia escape state taxes. Under a very modern apparent exterior, one thus finds an ancient form of Senegalese, indeed, West African, Islamic life: the constituting of "maraboutic villages", enclaves which bring together the most keen devotees and which, through the force of the charisma of their directors, are able to escape from the exactions, pressures and constraints of the warrior and temporal authorities.

Bibliography: D.B. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, Oxford 1971; C. Coulon, *Touba, lieu saint de la confrérie mouride*, in *Lieux de l'Islam. Cultes et cultures de l'Afrique à Java*, Paris 1996.

(J.L. TRIAUD)

TUBBAʿ (pl. Tabābiʿa), a term used by Muslim writers as a dynastic title (comparable with Firʿawn/Farāʿina for the Pharaohs, Kisrā/Akāsira for the Sāsānids, etc.) for those Ḥimyarite rulers who, between the late 3rd century and the early 6th century A.D., controlled the whole of Southwest Arabia. For two or three centuries before that, Ḥimyarites centred on Ẓafār and Sabaeans centred on Mārib had struggled for supremacy, often both simultaneously claiming the title "king (*mlk*) of Saba and the Raydan" [see ḤIMYAR; SABAʾ]. But shortly before A.D. 300 S̲h̲ammar Yurʿis̲h̲, "the first Tubbaʿ", eliminated both the Sabaean dynasty and the independent kingship of Ḥaḍramawt, and marked this by assuming the title "king of Saba and the Raydan and of Ḥaḍramawt and *Ymnt*" (the last area not securely identifiable, but perhaps the coastal regions as distinct from the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt). Towards the end of the 4th century, the most famous of all the Tabābiʿa, Abūkarib Asʿad, pushed his military expeditions far into central Arabia, and expanded S̲h̲ammar's title-formula by adding "and of their Arabs (bedouin) in *Ṭwd* ("Highland", synony-

mous with Nadjd [*q.v.*]) and Tihāma" [*q.v.*]; this expanded title was passed on to his successors. In later times, a legendary epic clustered round the name of this king, attributing to him fantastic exploits similar to, and perhaps inspired by, those of the Alexander romance [see ISKANDAR-NĀMA]. It is not clear how the Muslim writers came to envisage Tubbaʿ as a title; for though *Tbʿkrb* occurs as the individual name of a king of an earlier dynasty, the Tabābiʿa themselves used only the style *mlk* as title. The last to employ the long title mentioned above was Abraha [*q.v.*], but he was not a native South Arabian at all; his predecessor Yūsuf Asʾar [see DHŪ NUWĀS] was possibly a member of the Ḥaḍramite clan Yazan [*q.v.*], and it is doubtful whether he was regarded as a Tubbaʿ. If not, then the last of the dynasty would have been Maʿdikarib Yaʿfir, epigraphically attested as reigning in the summer of the Ḥimyarite year 631 (either A.D. 516 or 521). Though almost all the Tabābiʿa mentioned by the Muslim scholars, particularly al-Hamdānī [*q.v.*], can be validated by contemporary epigraphic evidence, the latter contains lacunae, and Arabic traditions are sometimes mutually contradictory; hence it has not been possible to compile a fully definitive list of the Tabābiʿa.

Bibliography: A.F.L. Beeston, *Hamdani and the Tabābiʿah*, in Yusuf M. Abdullah (ed.), *Hamdani, a great Yemeni scholar*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1986, 5-15.

(A.F.L. BEESTON)

TUBBAT, TIBBAT, TIBAT, the most frequent vocalisations in the medieval Islamic sources for the consonant ductus *T.b.t* denoting the Inner Asian land of Tibet (with *Tubbat*, e.g. in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 10, also preferred by Minorsky in his *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 92-3, and his edition and tr. of Marwazī, see below).

The origin of the name has recently been examined by L. Bazin and J. Hamilton in a very detailed and erudite study, *L'origine du nom Tibet*, in *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, xxvi [1991], 244-62, repr. in Bazin, *Les Turcs, des mots, des hommes*, Paris 1994. They believe that the Perso-Arabic, hence Western forms for the name can be traced back to the oldest attestation of the Chinese name for the land, *T'ou-fan*, for **Töpän* (beginning of the 7th century A.D.), to the Orkhon Turkish form *Tüpüt* (mid-8th century) and to Sogdian and Middle Iranian forms of the 9th century representing **Töpät*, all of which go back to Old Turkish *töpä* or *töpü* "height", with an early Turco-Mongol plural suffix *-t*, hence "the heights, highlands", the equivalent of the modern "Roof of the World". The geminated *-tt-* of the Arabic form would be an attempt to render the *p* by a language which did not possess this sound; the alternation *u/i* for the first syllable would be an attempt to render the *ö* of **Töpät*; and the final vowel would probably be pronounced *ä* or *e* in Persian, as in Marco Polo's *Tebet*. The Chinese and Turks could have received the toponym from the apparently Altaic T'ou-yu-houen people, who lived in the Koko Nor-Tsaidam region, i.e. northern Tibet, until their defeat and expulsion northwards by the Tibetans in 633.

1. The history and geography of Tibet in Islamic sources of the pre-modern period.

The first information on Tibet in mediaeval Arabic geographical and historical sources must have come through Central Asia via the Turks, at the time in their Mongolian homeland near-neighbours of Tibet on its north, so that the land is mentioned in the Bilge Kaghan inscription of the Orkhon [*q.v.*] as Tüpüt. Given its remoteness from the Islamic heartlands, it is not surprising that there were many fanciful and legendary touches in Islamic knowledge of Tibet. The fancied resemblance of *T.b.t* to Tubbaʿ [*q.v.*] gave rise to tales of a Yemeni origin of the kings of Tibet and of a pre-Islamic colony of Ḥimyarite Arabs there (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 685-6; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1948, 263). A story first found in Ibn Khurradādhbih, 170, and repeated in many later sources, stresses the great happiness of the people of Tibet and the fact that any stranger going there becomes immediately full of laughter and joy.

At the time of the Arab conquests in Central Asia (1st-2nd/later 7th-8th centuries), the kingdom of Tibet was often at war with China, in the later 7th century seizing the so-called "Four garrisons" in the Tarim basin from China, and the Chinese annals often mention the Tibetans and the Arabs as being allies against the Chinese empire, presumably in Kāshgharia and what was later Sin-kiang [*q.v.*] (see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 291; R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, [4]Paris 1951, 150-1, 155, 164, Eng. tr. *The empire of the steppes. A history of Central Asia*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1970, 103, 107, 114-15). The early Arabic historians mention the appearance of the Tibetans at times in Transoxania during the period of the Arab conquests. The rebel Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim was attacked during his rule at Tirmidh in ʿAbd al-Malik's caliphate by the Hayāṭila [*q.v.*] or Hephthalites, the Turks and the Tibetans, according to al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1153 (year 85/704). In al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 362, and idem, *Buldān*, 301, tr. Wiet 124, the governor of Khurāsān Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh received, in the reign of ʿUmar II (99-101/717-20), an embassy from Tibet requesting the despatch of missionaries to teach Islam there, and in idem, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 479, the king of Tibet is mentioned among those rulers submitting to al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85). It is further alleged, *op. cit.*, ii, 550, that the king of Tibet adopted Islam in the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) and sent to Khurāsān as a token of his conversion a golden idol set on a throne; but in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 815, "al-Khāḳān, king of Tibet", figures as one of al-Maʾmūn's enemies with whom he had to come to terms before he could attack al-Amīn. For all these stories, see D.M. Dunlop, *Arab relations with Tibet in the eighth and early ninth centuries A.D.*, in *Islâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, v [1973], 301-18.

It seems clear from these various mentions that the Arabs of that time generally understood by "Tibet" the region to the south of the Karakorum Mountains lying between Gilgit [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ladākh [*q.v.*] on the Indus headwaters, sc. Baltistān [*q.v.*], often called *Tubbat-i khurd* "Little Tibet" and Bolor, the *Pulu* of such Chinese sources as Hiuen Tsang (Marco Polo traversed Bolor; see *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. Yule and Cordier, [3]London 1903, i, 172, 178-9 and map). There were difficult but possible routes to it southwards from Kāshghar and Khotan [*q.vv.*] (including that of the modern Karakorum Highway) and eastwards from Badakhshān via Wakhān [*q.vv.*] and across the Pamirs, and these are mentioned by the Islamic geographers. There is an account of the route from Badakhshān in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 92-3, comm. 255-6, also in Gardīzī, 264-5, al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, 271, and Marwazī, ed. and tr. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, § 42, tr. 27-8, comm. 89-90, all going back to a common source, possibly the Sāmānid vizier al-Djayhānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. A "gate of the two Tibets", *bāb al-Tubbatayn* (presum-

ably of Little Tibet and Tibet proper), lay between Badakhshān and the upper Oxus or Pandj river, with a guard post where the Tibetans levied an entry due of 2.5% on goods, and the danger of mountain sickness when crossing the high passes is mentioned (whence, says al-Bīrūnī, the Tibetans call it "the mountain which poisons", *djabal al-samm*). At a village called Samarkandāk (probably with the sense "little Samarkand") at the farthest limit of Transoxania lived Indians, Tibetans, Wakhānīs and Muslims (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 121, comm. 309; it lay, in Minorsky's surmise, in the modern Sarḥadd district of Wakhān [*q.v.*], over which traffic goes to Gilgit and neighbouring areas).

These routes were important for the import into the Islamic world of the highly-prized, best-quality musk of Tibet [see MISK], where the musk-ox was raised, and this musk is mentioned in all the Muslim accounts of Tibet (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 352-6 = §§ 390-4; al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. Abyārī and al-Ṣayrafī, 225, tr. Bosworth, 142; Marwazī, 28-9, comm. 91-2). The other famous product of Tibet was gold nuggets, concerning which there is retailed the legendary detail that they were guarded by ants (a story found also in Herodotus and the *Mahābhārata*); W. Tomaschek conjected that the Issedones of the Eurasian steppe in pre-Christian times had got their famous gold for export from the Pamirs region and northern Tibet (*Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten über den Skythischen Norden*, in *SBWAW*, cxvi [1888], 752-3; cf. *PW*, ix/2, cols. 2235-46, art. *Issedoi* (Herrmann)).

But after the initial period of the sporadic Arab-Tibetan contacts in Transoxania and its eastern fringes the Muslims acquired some knowledge of Tibet proper. They correctly placed it between China, India and the land of the Turks, and knew that it had its own king and language. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 93, comm. 258, states that Lhasa (transcribed remarkably faithfully as *Lhāsā*) had numerous idol temples plus a mosque serving the few Muslims there; this is the first mention of the Tibetan capital in Islamic sources. Other names mentioned seem identifiable with the Koko Nor and Tsaidam regions of northern Tibet, whilst the place Zāb on a huge river which marks the eastern frontier of Tibet suggests a dim awareness of Tibet's borders with Szechwan and the upper Yangtse river basin.

The actual name Tibet (in such forms as William of Rubruck's and Marco Polo's *Tebet*) probably reached Christian Europe independently of the Muslims, brought by the European travellers across Eurasia to Mongolia in the 13th century, although the late 12th-century traveller Benjamin of Tudela (who himself never went further east than Baghdād) mentions it as *Tubbot* (tr. M.N. Adler, *The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907, 59).

Rashīd al-Dīn's [*q.v.*] world-history, the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, contains some references to Tibet. Tibet did not start to become Buddhist until the 7th century, but from the Mongol period onwards it was an important centre for the diffusion of that faith, and Rashīd al-Dīn expressly states that the Buddhist monks of Tibet (*bakhshīs*) enjoyed the greatest prestige (cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, ii, 24-5).

Once the Muslims had invaded northern India and had penetrated across the Gangetic plain to Bengal and Assam, i.e. by the late 6th/12th century, there was the possibility of raids into Tibet proper, uninviting though the land must generally have seemed. The commander of the Ghūrids Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī (d. 602/1205-6 [*q.v.*]) from his base in newly-conquered Bengal, mounted a campaign against Bhutan and Tibet from Assam, but failed to make headway and had to return to Bengal (see Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, i, 560 ff.). Once Islam was established in Kashmīr [*q.v.*] (i.e. from the mid-8th/14th century), raids were made into Baltistān or Little Tibet. Towards the end of the 9th/15th century Tibet was invaded by Muslim rulers under pretext of a holy war, Little Tibet in particular. At this time, all the lands of Bolor and Tibet between Badakhshān and Kashmīr were subjected by Mīr Walī, general of the ruler of Kāshghar of the house of Dūghlāt, Abū Bakr (Muḥammad Ḥaydar Mīrzā Dūghlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and tr. Elias and Ross, 320, 403). When Abū Bakr was overthrown by Saʿīd Khān (in 920/1514) the fortresses built in Tibet (in Ladakh) were abandoned by their garrisons and with their treasures seized by the Tibetans. Under Saʿīd Khān (920-39/1514-33), Tibet, Ladakh and the adjoining territories were invaded, first in 923/1517 by Mīr Mazīd and in 938/1532 by the Khān himself, accompanied by the historian Ḥaydar Mīrzā [*q.v.*] (*op. cit.*, 417 ff.). In 939/1533 Ḥaydar Mīrzā tried to reach Lhasa, which he calls Ursang, where the largest temples were, but was forced to turn back at Askābrak (454), only a week's journey from Lhasa. Ursang is probably the Gursāng of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, where there were large temples of idols (tr. 94, comm. 262-3). That Gursāng is also mentioned separately from Lhasa is no evidence against this identification: the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* is almost entirely compiled from written sources so that the same name often occurs twice in different forms, apparently from different sources. Later, as governor of Kashmīr (after 947/1540) Ḥaydar Mīrzā in 955/1548 undertook a campaign against Ladakh and Baltistān.

All this seems to show that Baltistān in the 10th/16th century was included in Tibet (according to the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, 436 it lay "between Tibet and Bolor") and was not yet a Muslim country. The idea adopted by Cunningham and later writers, including A. Francke (*A history of Western Tibet*, 90), that Baltistān was converted between 1380 and 1400 by the ruler of Kashmīr, Sikandar b. Hindal But-shikan (792-816/1390-1413 [*q.v.*]), must be rejected.

By the second half of the 10th/16th century, Islam was already a political force in Little Tibet. The ruler of Kapulu, ʿAlī Mīr Shīr Khān, succeeded in uniting all Baltistān under his rule; the land was cleared of idols and other remains of Buddhism. He later succeeded in conquering Ladakh also, but only temporarily. He was also the founder of Skārdū, capital of Baltistān; in the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (405), Askārdū is only mentioned as the name of a pass on the road from Kashmīr which now no longer exists. Baltistān remained the only Muslim land inhabited by Tibetans, and since 1841 has been under the suzerainty of Kashmīr. There are said to be historical works in the language of the Baltīs. They also use a script of their own supposed to date from the time of their conversion to Islam; the characters, probably of Tibetan origin although influenced by Arabic, are written from left to right (Grierson, *Linguistic survey of India*, iii, 32-3; Francke, *op. cit.*, 89-90). The Baltīs from the first professed Shīʿism; but we learn from the *Baḥr al-asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (text in *ZVOIRAO*, xv, 235) that in the early years of the 11th/17th century the Sunna gained the upper hand, probably for a short time only. The king (his name is not recorded) who was converted to the Sunnī faith had his father and

brothers slain as heretics. Sunnī scholars were sent for from Kāshghar. Thirty years later, in 1044/1634-5, news of these events was brought to Balkh by a certain Ḥasan Khān, who was related to the ruling house.

In *ca.* 1682, when Central Tibet was under the rule of the Kalmucks [*q.v.*], the celebrated Khodja Apak (his tomb is still revered in Kāshghar), who had quarrelled with his Khān Ismāʿīl (1081-93/1670-82), went to Lhasa, which he calls "town of Djō" (*Djū shahrī*) after a great statue of the Buddha. At his request, the Dalay Lama (in a Turkish manuscript we have the plural form: *Dalaylamalar*) gave him a letter of safe conduct to the Khān of the Kalmucks, Galdan Boshoktu. At the head of an army, which included the Khodja, the Khān invaded Kāshgharia. Ismāʿīl Khān was carried off a prisoner, and the rule given to the Khodja (M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, i, 210, 212, 321, 326; *ZVOIRAO*, xv, 250).

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(W. Barthold-[C.E. Bosworth])

2. Recent and contemporary history and ethnology.

Tibet (which the Muslims living there call *Tibbat* when they express themselves in Persian or Urdu) is a cultural region on the borders of India and China (between lats. 27° to 38° N., longs. 74° to 103° E.) The people speak Tibetan languages (of the Tibeto-Burmese group) and are steeped in Lamaist Buddhism. At the present time, this region is politically divided. It comprises, on the one hand, Tibet proper, now the Autonomous Province of Tibet in the People's Republic of China. On the other hand, it stretches out in two directions. It stretches extensively on the east and northeast towards the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Gansu, Qinqhai and Yunnan, which give a home to 2 million Tibetans, i.e. as many as are in the Autonomous Province. In the other direction, it stretches up to the political area controlled successively by the Mughals and then by British India, but now divided. Several hundred thousands of Tibetans live there. In the west, across the Karakorum chain, Tibetans are to be found in northern Kashmīr [*q.v.*], divided amongst a Pakistani-controlled zone which is totally Islamised [see baltistān; hunza; and gilgit, in Suppl.] and an Indian-controlled zone, about 48% Muslim [see ladākh]. In the south, across the Himalayas, the region of Tibetan culture, remaining totally Buddhist, extends into the north of Nepal [*q.v.*], Bhutan and the upper valleys of India (incl. Sikkim) situated on each side of these countries.

Tibet proper was progressively unified with the help of the Mongols of the 15th-17th centuries under the authority of a head with both spiritual and temporal powers, the Dalai Lama. After 1720, it passed effectively under Chinese control. After the Younghusband military expedition of 1904, the British imposed a Resident in Lhasa who functioned there till 1949. In practice, Tibet was independent between the proclamation of the Chinese Republic in 1911 and the Red Army's seizure of power in 1949. The Communist régime spread its effective control over the autonomous province of Tibet in 1959, involving the flight of the Dalai Lama, his government and a part of the country's élite, to India. In order to consolidate their control, the Chinese encouraged the planting of Chinese colonies in Tibet on a massive scale. Religious persecution was frequent, especially during the Cultural Revolution, which affected, amongst others, the Muslims.

Modern Tibetan society, within Tibet proper and on its margins alike, is very largely Buddhist. It is traditionally organised around clans, of which some are nomadic and some sedentary. It is hierarchical in structure. The noble clans making up the aristocracy dominate the peasants and nomads who form the commonalty. Artisans and those providing services, such as smiths, potters, butchers, fishermen, musicians, beggars, etc., make up classes regarded as inferior, forming something like castes. A remarkable feature is polyandry, which forms part of a social system of the type called "that of houses", the "house" being the basic unit whose property is indivisible; the brothers have to set up a single household round a single spouse in order to enjoy this property. This lay society was capped by a religious class, a sort of church made up of monks recruited through vocation and spread amongst several orders; they made up about one-fifth of the population.

Up against this Buddhist majority, there exists a very small minority of "Tibetan Muslims". This manner of referring to them covers several diverse populations: in Tibet proper, they are often made up of groups with outside origins. In the west, in Baltistān and Ladākh, are to be found peoples of Tibetan origin and culture converted to Islam; in the northeast, within Chinese territory, one comes across both Tibetans converted to Islam and Muslims of Chinese culture. Below, we shall treat of the Muslims of Tibet proper, who may be divided into three groups: the Kashmīrīs, the Chinese, and the Gharīb, the class regarded as inferior (for the other Muslims, see the *Bibl.*).

The Kashmīrīs are the oldest-attested group and the best known. In Tibetan they are called *Kha-čhe* (< Pers. *khʷādja*, in the sense of trader, and perhaps also, Ṣūfī), and by extension, this denotes all Muslims. The Kashmīrīs trace their arrival in the land to the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama (1642-82), the organiser of modern Tibet. According to an oral tradition gathered at the end of the 19th century, a certain Khayr al-Dīn, after a competition in magic with the Dalai Lama, obtained permission for Muslims to settle in Tibet; this tradition recalls the hagiographic accounts of the famous Khʷādja Afak, or Khodja Apak (see above, 1.), of Kāshghar, which also mention a magical contest with the Dalai Lama. The first Christian Roman Catholic missionaries who ventured into Tibet attest the presence of Muslim merchants in Lhasa and the main towns of central and western Tibet from the first half of the 17th century onwards, and these merchants were in competition with other Indian, Nepali and Armenian traders. Sometimes they came directly from Kashmīr via Ladākh, but more often they were part of a network of merchants who traded between India and China. Setting out from Benares and Patna in India, they had set up colonies in Kathmandu [see nepal] and, within Tibet, at Kuti, Gyantse, Shigatse and Lhasa, and as far as Sining in China. Their presence is also attested at Gartok in western Tibet. They traded in both large and small objects, such as the making of clothes and of personal adornments, and they also acted as bankers for the monasteries. Within them, there were three status levels: a majority of *zāʾīda* "those born" in Tibet to old-established families, held the highest place; then came a rich and influential minority, the *Lada-kha-čhe*, who had come from Ladākh, who had the highly-lucrative monopoly of leading the *lop-čhak*, the caravan which every three years brought tribute from the Māhārādja of Kashmīr to the Dalai Lama; and thirdly, the *Siring-pa*, who came from other regions of India and were relegated to the lowest rank. The Kashmīrīs enjoyed a wide degree of autonomy for running their

mosques and cemeteries, and also regarding justice, having for this a community chief called *'go-pa* or *dpon-po*, recognised as such by the Dalai Lama's government and supervised by the finance department (*rčis-khaṅ las khuṅ*). When the Chinese regained control of China in 1959, these Kas͟hmīrīs numbered at most a few thousands. Most of them then fled to India, where they claimed Indian nationality in vain, and, as stateless persons, they were dumped in a refugee camp at Srinagar in Kas͟hmīr where there is still a considerable number at the present time. The best-educated and most fortunate have found jobs in India, Pakistan and even Saudi Arabia; a few hundreds remained in (or in some cases, went back to) Tibet, where they continue to maintain their places of worship.

The second group is that of the Chinese Muslims, called *Ho-pa-ling Kha-če*, from the name of the quarter in Lhasa where they live, or rather, *Gya* (?) *Kha-če*, or finally, *Hui*, the general term in China for Muslims of Chinese language [see AL-ṢĪN]; they claim to have arrived at the beginning of the 18th century. Their presence is attested at Lhasa, at Shigatse and along the roads of the northeast leading to China. They traditionally kept eating-houses and were butchers; they also had land where they grew vegetables and reared animals for butchering. They likewise had religious and legal autonomy under a head, the *Ho-pa-ling dponpo*, who was responsible to the department of agriculture (*so-nam las khuṅ*). Since they were considered to be Chinese citizens, they remained in their homes in 1959. Their number at that time is unknown. All that is known is that, since the 1980s, there has been a new influx of Chinese Muslims into Tibet. In fact, the Muslims of western China, profiting by the liberalisation of the economy, have invested in the Tibetan economy; today, according to the lowest estimate, there are 5,000 Chinese Muslims in the single town of Lhasa alone (some authorities give figures of 20,000 to 30,000). These new traders get along with difficulty with the old-established Chinese Muslims; they also have tense relations with the Buddhist population, who consider them as exploiters.

There remains a third, very intriguing small group, considered socially inferior, the G͟harīb, here in the sense of "poor". They were more numerous in the 19th century, but in 1959 there were only a dozen families. It seems that these were the group corresponding to the *ragyapa* amongst the Buddhists, persons degraded socially for their crimes, and their descendants. They begged, and they acted as police and took charge of the guard and the punishment of condemned persons for the head of the Kas͟hmīrīs. They also had their own head, who was officially recognised as a kind of chief of police over all the Muslims; they received an annual subvention from the Tibetan government.

Adapted to Tibetan life, often married to converted Tibetan wives, speaking Tibetan as their maternal language, these Muslims had adopted Tibetan customs; but faithful to the law of Islam, they rejected polyandry. Under the Dalai Lama's government, the Muslim communities enjoyed their own religious and legal autonomy, and they were officially represented in the Dalai Lama's palace at the time of the celebration of the New Year. In general, these Muslims were largely tolerated by the Buddhist majority, who nevertheless used to consider them to be of inferior and impure status because of their practice of a non-Buddhist religion and because some of them followed the trade of butcher, which belonged to castes considered inferior. After 1959, these Muslim communities have had various fortunes; that of the Kas͟hmīrīs has been reduced; that of the Chinese Muslims continues to grow; what has happened to the G͟harīb is unknown.

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(M. GABORIEAU)

ṬUBNA, conventionally Tobna, the Roman Thubunae, a historic town of the central Maghrib, now in northeastern Algeria, situated 4 km/2.4 miles south of modern Barika (between Barika and Bitham). Being at the extreme eastern end of the Shoṭṭ Ḥodna and the Belezma mountains, it commanded all the eastern part of the Ḥodna basin, just as Zabi/Msīla commanded the western part. The waters of the Bitham permitted irrigation there.

These advantages were of significance at two epochs, the Roman and the Arab ones. The Romans built the town of Thubunae, which became a *municipium* under Septimius Severus and with its citadel, it was able to protect the countryside from nomads. According to the itineraries, Ṭubna was a day's march from Makkara and from Ngāwus, two days' march from al-Ghadīr, Msīla and Biskra, and five days from Bāghā. In A.D. 427 the Count Boniface stayed there, during which time he had a meeting with St. Augustine. The Byzantines made it the chef-lieu of a district and built a vast fortress there. Nevertheless, the Arabs conquered it, probably at the beginning of the 8th century. For the next two centuries, under various Arab powers, Ṭubna had a great strategic importance. It had a garrison (*djund*) and new walls, and was the strongest *point d'appui* for the central power when suppressing revolts of the Berber Khāridjites or repelling the Shīʿī Kutāma. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, governor of Ṭubna, set out from here to conquer the province of Ifrīḳiya and to found the Aghlabid line of governors. Later, it belonged to the Fāṭimids, then the Zīrids and then the Ḥammādids.

During all this time, Ṭubna was a prosperous and populous place. Al-Bakrī calls it the greatest town of the Maghrib between Ḳayrawān and Sidjilmāsa, and says that it was surrounded by a brick wall, with monumental gateways, and flanked to the south by a stone-built fortress crowned by vaulted chambers, with cisterns and accommodation for officials. Inside the town was a street lined with shops and markets. Outside the wall extended the suburbs, a cemetery, and irrigated gardens and fields. The fertile lands had many cotton plants. However, with the westwards movement brought about by the Umayyad power in Cordova, it was preferred to exercise local power from a stronghold created further to the west, Msīla [see MASĪLA], to which Ṭubna was attached. The town thus lost some of its splendour, but retained its military role.

In the mid-11th century, the arrival of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] dealt a decisive blow to its prosperity. According to Ibn Khaldūn, "after having reduced the towns of Ṭubna and Masīla to ruins, and having expelled their populations, they fell on the caravanserais, farms and towns, razed them to the ground and made the area a vast desert". Ṭubna was never able to recover completely after this. Its importance declined whilst Biskra benefited, and it soon disappeared completely. Today, the site of Ṭubna stretches out as a vast open space, with extensive ruins, traces of a wall 950 m by 930 m, and remains of the Byzantine fortress. Thus a whole slice of the history of the Maghrib lies within this site, one hardly as yet explored.

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TUBU, written in Arabic script as Tūbū, a people of the eastern Sahara.

They are distributed over an immense territory lying between the Libyan Desert, on the fringes of Egypt and Libya, in the east; the Ahaggar massif [*q.v.*] of southern Algeria in the west; the Fezzan [see FAZZĀN] region of southern Libya in the north; and the northern half of Chad [see ČAD, in Suppl.] and the adjacent fringes of Sudan in the east. In Fezzan, they constitute the greater part of the district of Gatrūn, and a few are still found in the Kufra oasis [*q.v.*]. The plateau of Djado [see DJĀDŪ], connecting the Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer [see TASSILI] with Tibesti, the massifs of Tibesti and Borkou [*q.vv.*] and the plateau of Ennedi, form a mountainous heartland for the Tubu, but they spread far southwards across the desert through strings of oases like those of Kawar [see KAWĀR and BILMA], through Bodele to Kanem [*q.v.*], hence along the course of the wadi of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl almost to Lake Chad, and eastwards to Wādāy [*q.v.*].

The name Tubu or Tibbu was given by Europeans to all these peoples, but the various groups call themselves by particular names. Tubu is applied more particularly to the natives of Tibesti; in the Kanuri [*q.v.*] language, it means the people of Tū or Tibesti; the latter call themselves Tēda; in the same way are distinguished the Amma Borkuā (Borkū), the Kreda, Norea, Cheurafade in Wādāy and the Koeherda in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl. From the linguistic point of view, two groups may be recognised, speaking dialects very different in vocabulary: the Tēda of Tibesti, and the Dazā settled in the southern districts. The Arabs give the latter the name of Gouran.

1. Social and religious organisation.

The Tubu are very distinct from the black Sudanese on the one hand, and the Arabs and Berbers on the other. They are as a rule of small stature, with a lean and slim body, dark skin, straight nose, sometimes aquiline, thin lips, and smooth hair. These physical characteristics are particularly strongly defined in the Tēda, who have remained isolated in their mountains. They are found scattered through the Dazā who are more or less mixed with negro blood. The poverty of their country dooms them to a wretched existence. Some are nomads, others sedentary. The main supplies come from the cultivation of the palm-tree and cereals in the *ennedi* or valleys with water, the rearing of goats in Tibesti and of cattle in the Chad region.

The Tēda also used to make some money by hiring out their camels: they acted as guides to caravans but were particularly given to brigandage whenever an occasion arose. This mode of life developed in them an extraordinary power of resistance to fatigue and privations, but also made them treacherous and cruel robbers, as European travellers from Nachtigal, who was the first to study them, onwards, are all agreed. The settled Tubu are found in groups, not as a rule large. They either dwell in little stone houses, covered with palm-branches, or in huts of wattle with roofs of thatch, or even in caves roughly furnished. The gardens adjoining the huts were cultivated by slaves, while the Tubu themselves fought and herded the flocks.

The Tubu are divided into two classes: the nobles or *maina* and the common people. Among the Tēda, the tribes are divided into suzerain and servile tribes. The former are three in number, the Thomāghera, the Gūnda, who have almost all emigrated to Fezzan, and the Tuzaba. The Sultan of Tibesti, the Derde or Dardai, who rules the country with the help of a council of nobles, is necessarily elected among the Thomāghara. Among the Tubu, on the other hand, as among the Sudanese peoples, the *Ḥaddād* (smiths and fishers and hunters) form a distinct caste, regarded as inferior and despised by all.

The Tubu are Muslim, but up to the 19th century their Islam seems to have been very nominal. It was from the efforts of the revivalist movement of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] that the Tubu received a much stronger awareness of their religion, so that Tubu elders often refer to their pre-Sanūsī period as their *djāhiliyya*. Sanūsī influence remained strong until the mid-20th century, and in the early part of this century provided the religious impetus for Tubu resistance to French and Italian colonial penetration of the eastern Sahara. Nevertheless, at least until recent decades, Tubu have been lax in observing some of the precepts of Islam; fermented liquors were drunk, and the *diya* [*q.v.*] or blood-money was not accepted in compensation for homicide.

2. History.

We have only incomplete and fragmentary notes on the history of the Tubu. The Arab authors up to al-Maḳrīzī make no mention of them. Relying on a passage by this author reproduced by Leo Africanus, they were for long regarded as Berbers and they have been identified with the Bardoa, mentioned by both these geographers. Barth tried to reconcile this view with the fact ascertained by him of the affinity of the Tubu and Kanuri languages. On the other hand, it is now agreed that the Tubu originally lived in the Sūdān and were then driven into the Sahara. In any case, they seem to have played a fairly important role in the history of Kanem. Some of their clans took part with the Kanembon in the foundation of this kingdom. Down to the end of the 12th century the sultans of Kanem kept up the custom of marrying wives from the Tubu. A certain number of Tubu had settled in Kanem, which the tribes who had remained in Tibesti came to attack in the 13th century. Sultan Dūname II (618-57/1221-59) was forced into a seven years' war with them, out of which he emerged victorious but with the resources of his kingdom exhausted. In the 14th century the Tubu were the allies of the Būlaba and helped the latter to conquer Kanem. Settled in the lands around Lake Chad, they shared the fortunes of their neighbours [see BORNŪ; KANEM].

As for the Tubu of Tibesti, nothing precise is known about them till the 17th and 18th centuries, when they were raiding Fezzan and southwards to Bornū [*q.v.*]. The Tubu in Kufra were largely displaced *ca.* 1730 by invading Zāwiya and Ḥassūna Arabs from Tripolitania. In 1842 the Tubu in Tibesti had to defend themselves against the Arab Awlād Sulaymān, who had been expelled from Fezzan by the Ottomans and who now migrated to the region north of Kanem. The expansion of the Sanūsiyya southwards along the Benghazi-Kufra-Wādāy trade route took them through the heartlands of the Tubu, and a centre of the order was established 1899-1902 at Kūrū/Gourou in Borkou. The Sanūsiyya were the religious driving-power behind Tubu resistance to the French in Chad, who did not finally establish their control over the Tubu till 1920. For most of French rule (sc. until 1960), the Tubu of the far north of Chad remained under military rule. The Derde of the Tubu and other traditional rulers like the sultan of Wādāy co-operated with the colonial power and retained, or even increased, their political and religious authority. But the proclamation of the Republic of Chad in 1960 upset the balance of power within the country, one previously regulated by the French. It now tipped slightly in favour of the Bantu peoples of the south, whilst more radically-minded Muslims educated outside the country have been less sympathetic to the maintenance of traditional rulers' powers. For the ensuing conflicts and instability affecting the northern part of Chad, see ČAD, in Suppl.

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3. Language.

Tubu is the name proposed by Nachtigal and introduced by J. Lukas for the language called usually in the French tradition (and also by J. Greenberg) Téda. It is spoken in the Republic of Chad and in adjacent parts of Nigeria and the Niger Republic (in Niger, also in the Kawar oasis, Chigaa group, and in the north, Brawia group) and in Libya. There is no general name for either the people or the language, which is divided into two main groups of dialects, those of the south and those of the north. In the related Kanuri language, the name Tu-bu ("people of Tibesti, since *-bu* is the pl. of the agent noun) designates only tribes speaking the southern dialect. The name Dazza (*dazza-ga* "the Dazza language") used for the southern dialects (e.g. by Le Coeur) is incorrect, insofar as it is used in the south to designate only a part of

the southern tribes, such as the Kaširda, Dugorda, Medeliya, Kumasálliya, etc.; cf. Lukas, 1953, p. XV. The name Tuda (vars. Téda, Toda) which also means "people of the Tu or Tibesti", in which the Tubu suffix *-da* is used to make an ethonym (cf. Lukas, *op. cit.*, 41), is only used for the northern group of dialects. The Arabs call certain Tubu tribes Gorʾān (in French usage, one sometimes finds "Goranes") and use the name "Amma (people of) Borkwa" for the Tubu living in Borku. In the 1930s it was estimated that there were *ca.* 200,000 Tubu speakers. Amongst the southern dialects one meets e.g. the dialect of Kašir-da of the Dazza group and that of Karada/Karra (Kre-da).

Certain religious and historical texts were written down in Arabic script. As everywhere, there exists a literature orally transmitted.

Tubu—or, more correctly, Tubu-Tuda—is amongst those African languages which have not yet been properly studied. Heinrich Barth gathered the first lexical and grammatical material in 1862, followed soon afterwards by Gustav Nachtigal, whose manuscript material was used by Johannes Lukas (1953). Gerhard Rohlfs gathered a certain number of words of the northern dialect; Henri Carbou published a dictionary and a certain number of phrases (1912); and P. Jourdan gave the first concise grammatical analysis of the language plus some texts (1935). The basic grammar is that of Lukas (1953), who studied the languages in the field in 1932-4 in the Bornu province of Nigeria with informants speaking the southern dialects; he also published a small collection of texts (1953-5). In 1950 Ch. Le Coeur published his *Dictionnaire* and in 1956 Ch. and M. Le Coeur produced their *Grammaire et textes Teda-Daza* on the northern dialects, a basic work.

Tone has a distinctive function in Tubu: *ámmà* "man" vs. *ámmá* "mankind", *búr* "to construct", *bùr* "to jump"; according to Le Coeur, the tonal system is simplified in the northern dialects.

Noun pls. are most often formed with *-a*, e.g. *bi* "land", pl. *bía*. Of cases, there are nom. in *-yi*, *-ye*, acc. in *-ga*, *-nga*, gen. in *-u*, *-ū*, *-o*, and dative in *-do*, *-du*, *-ru*; the case endings are originally postpositions.

The pronouns are:

S. 1. tobre, tare, tane, taní
2. nubre, nore, inta, enda, əanda, ənta
3. mure, mere, sígən, šigəni
Pl. 1. tobra, tara, tentá, tantái
2. nubra, nara, nentá, nentái
3. mura, mara, səgənta

The numerals in the Kaširda dialect are 1. *turón*, 2. *čū*, 3. *akkuzū*, *aguzū*, 4. *tuzzō* (< 1+3), 5. *fōū*, 6. *dessī*, 7. *túdusū* (< 4+3), 8. *wússū* (< 5+3), 9. *yisī* (cf. 6.), 10, *múrdem*, *múra*.

There are three conjugations: (a) with prefixes: 1. sing./pl. *ti*, 2. sing./pl. *ni*, 3. ø; (b) with suffixes and prefixes: 1. sing./pl. *-ər*, 2. sing./pl. *em*, 3. sing./pl. *ye-*; and (c) a periphrastic conjugation with an auxiliary verb *n* "to speak, think, be", belonging to the second conjugation treated as a suffix. The aorist has no affix: sing. 1. *ti-re* "I arrive", 2. *ni-re*, 3. *lli*, pl. 1. *ti-r-o*. 2. *ni-r-o*, 3. *ll-o*, *lli-du*. The perfect has the desinence *-de* (northern dialects) and *-d* (southern dialects): *la-n-ər-de* "I have seen", 2. *la-n-əm-me*, 3. *la-ye-n-ne*, etc. The progressive has *-i*, *-e* in the north and *-gi* in the south: 1. sing. *la-n-r-ę*, 2. *la-n-i*, 3. *la-yi-n-i*, etc.

Negative forms of the verb are *-o* in the north and *-ni*, *-ne* in the south, e.g. *la-n-ro* "I have not seen".

The prefix *t-/d-* forms passive and pronominal derived verbs, and *su-* forms causative verbs.

The normal word order for syntactic groups is SOV. Already in 1853 Barth discovered not only the close relationship of Tuda and Tubu but also a relationship between Tubu-Tuda and Kanuri. Reinisch, who later became a specially eminent scholar in the field of Cushitic languages, published in 1873 a study attempting to prove the monogenesis of the languages of the world, beginning from, amongst others, Tubu-Tuda. The thesis is unsustainable, but many scholars up to the present have investigated as a hypothesis genetic links between the Saharan languages and the Hamito-Semitic ones (e.g. Petrácek). In comparison with Kanuri, Tubu-Tuda retains certain archaisms, including the third conjugation with pronominal prefixes which links up with Béri/Zaghawa, e.g. Tuda 1. pl. *ti-n*, 2. pl. *-ni* and Zaghawa 1. pl. *te-*, 2. pl. *le* < **ne*, but it also shows some innovations, *inter alia*, in regard to the consonants. Together with Béri (Zaghawa), Berti and Beli (Bideyat), Tubu-Tuda and Kanuri form the language family earlier called "eastern Saharan languages" (Lukas 1939, i, 1951-2), later changed to "central Saharan" (Greenberg 1954). In regard to contacts with Arabic and Berber, borrowings from these are relatively few.

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(A. Zaborski)

TUDJĪB, Banū, an Arab family, several members of which achieved distinction in Muslim Spain both under the Umayyads and in the period of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*], when two *taifas* led by them emerged, the Banū Hās͟him of Saragossa and the Banū Ṣumādiḥ of Almeria.

Ibn Ḥazm in his *Djamhara* classifies the tribe of Tudjīb as part of Ḳaḥṭān or Yemen, established since the Arab conquest in the regions of Saragossa, Calatayud and Daroca, i.e. in the north-east of the peninsula, the Ebro valley, the "Upper Frontier" (*al-thaghr al-aʿlā* [see THUGHŪR. 2.]. The *nisba* al-Tudjībī survived the reconquista amongst the Mudéjares; thus in Arabic legal documents of the 12th century from Huesca or its district (Huesca had been reconquered in 491/1096 [see WASHKA]), a good number of the Muslim witnesses have this *nisba*.

It seems that this northeastern region, with its capital at Saragossa, was largely settled by Arabs accounted Yemeni in genealogy, from the time when the leader of the opposition against the Syrian Ḳaysī Baldj [*q.v.*] in 124/742 was a certain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlḳama of Lakhm. It was a region held only with difficulty by the *amīrs* in Cordova, one frequently in rebellion, with the Yemeni chiefs at times intriguing with the Franks, as when Charlemagne was tempted to send an expedition against Saragossa in 778. From this same century members of the Banū Tudjīb are mentioned. According to Ibn Ḥazm, the Tudjībids who assumed power in the Upper March from the 4th/10th century onwards issued from a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muhādjir, whose brother had entered Spain with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in 93/712; and before this century, another branch of Tudjībids, the Banū Salama, had for a while held local power at Huesca, until a rising provoked by their cruelties had in 182/798 put an end to their rule.

The Arab preponderance in the March came largely to an end at the close of the 8th century, when *muwallad* families like the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*], originally from the eastern part of the March, around Arnedo and Tudela, rose to prominence, Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Ḳasī being recognised as governor of Saragossa in 237/852. The *amīrs* in Cordova never ceased to intervene in the region, supporting faithful governors, trying to re-assume control of various towns or to attack the Christians, but the history of the region during the 3rd/9th century is one of confusion, local revolts, changes of governors, etc., probably with important lines of the Arabs continuing even though *muwallads* held the centre stage there. It may possibly be that the central government wished to rely more on pure Arab support against the *muwallad* strength, for in the 870s the *amīr* Muḥammad attached the Banū Tudjīb to his service (*iṣṭanaʿa*), confirming their chief, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, over his own *ḳawm*, restoring to him several places in the March, notably Daroca and Calatayud, and entrusting to them the task of fighting for the central power against a payment of 100 dīnārs for each campaign. This alliance seems to have achieved the eclipse of the Banū Ḳasī, for after 276/889-90 the Tudjībids held the governorship of Saragossa, until 312/924 under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's son Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad, called al-Aʿwar or al-Anḳar.

The family's power was now solidly enough established for it to survive the centralising policies of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who launched expeditions of 323/935 and 325/937 with the aim of asserting direct central power over Saragossa and reducing the Tudjībids to obedience, especially as their head had recently allied with the Christian monarch of Leon, Ramiro II. The two Tudjībids ruling in Daroca and Calatayud were executed, but some fifty other members of the family were amnestied; Muḥammad b. Hāshim in Saragossa submitted and was allowed to retain his governorship on the favourable conditions that he broke off relations with the Christians, remained faithful to the caliph and paid tribute. A *ḳāḍī* of the town, Maʿn b. Muḥammad, who was a Tudjībid, is mentioned, and may have been a distant connection of the Banū Ṣumādiḥ branch, important in the 5th/11th century and amongst whom the unusual name Maʿn was common.

Shortly afterwards, Muḥammad b. Hāshim was captured temporarily by the forces of Leon at their victory of Simancas in 327/939, and after this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ceased to intervene personally in the March, leaving it to the great aristocratic military families there and conceding a considerable degree of autonomy to them. Amongst these families were the two branches of the Tudjībids at Saragossa and Daroca, Muḥammad b. Hāshim having received, before his death in 338/950, the titles of *wazīr* and *ḳāʾid* of the Upper March. Under al-Ḥakam II, the Tudjībids appear frequently in the pages of the extant part of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis*, especially detailed on life at the court and in the central government for the years 360-5/971-5; it seems that the caliph, not wholly sure of their fidelity, tried to divert them into posts at court or into participation in the expeditions to the Maghrib.

It is difficult to follow the fortunes of the Tudjībids in the time of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir. In the latter's struggle of 369/980 with Ghālib, governor in Medinaceli, Tudjībids were found on both sides. One member of the family, Maʿn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, called *fāris al-ʿArab* "champion of the Arabs", was especially close to al-Manṣūr, who nevertheless eventually had him executed. The by now very numerous Tudjībids apparently kept their control of the March, although details of who filled which governorship there are lacking. They even extended their power, so that in 396/1006, a Tudjībid, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣumādiḥ, of a branch different from the main one, had managed to supplant at Huesca the *muwallad* Banū Shabrīṭ, who had held it for most of the 4th/10th century.

The same obscurity surrounds the circumstances of the beginnings of the Tudjībid *taifa* at Saragossa during the final crisis of the Umayyad caliphate, except that it was the branch which went back to Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of Daroca, executed by the caliph in 325/937, which now came to power in the Ebro valley. This last had been one of al-Manṣūr's generals latterly and had been much involved in the intrigues and fighting of the various claimants and pretenders in the last days of the caliphate, possibly receiving from the first Ḥammūdid caliph ʿAlī al-Nāṣir (405-8/1015-18) the titles and honorifics of *al-Ḥādjib*, *al-Manṣūr* and *Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn*. He established a strong power on the March, expelling from Huesca Muḥammad b. Ṣumādiḥ, who retired to Valencia and whose son Maʿn founded a little later a *taifa* at Almeria [see ṢUMĀDIḤ, BANŪ, in Suppl.]. He surrounded himself with famous secretaries and nominated governors for secondary towns (including Sulaymān b. Hūd, future founder of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa [see HŪDIDS], now found first at Tudela and then at Lerida). He felt the pressure of Sancho the Great of Navarre, and it was probably this which led to an alliance with the Counts of Barcelona and with Castile, sealed by a matrimonial alliance between the two dynasties, apparently celebrated at Saragossa under the presidency of the Tudjībid *amīr*.

Al-Mundhir I's son Yaḥyā succeeded him briefly 414-20/1023-9, also with the title of *Ḥādjib* and the honorific of al-Muẓaffar, on the ʿĀmirid model, and was the first *taifa* ruler (apart from the Ḥammūdids) to mint his own coins, with his simple *ism* and title of *Ḥādjib*, and recognising as suzerains such figures

as the Ḥammūdid al-Ḳāsim al-Ma'mūn and the Umayyad caliph Hishām III al-Muʿtadd, established in Cordova in 420/1029. Yaḥyā's son and successor al-Mundhir II (420-30/1029-39) also minted dīnārs and fractional dīnārs, with his *laḳab* "of delegation", Muʿizz al-Dawla, and acknowledging Hishām III, to whom he gave protection at Lerida after his expulsion from Cordova in 422/1031 till his death there in 428/1036 and who served as a legitimising authority for his rule. Hishām's disappearance meant that a dirham of 430/1038-9 has al-Mundhir's own name plus a *laḳab* of caliphal resonance, al-Manṣūr.

These changes certainly had a political significance. In that same year, al-Mundhir II was assassinated by another Tudjībid, a military commander called ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam, on the pretext that al-Mundhir had refused to recognise the "false caliph" Hishām II who had been proclaimed at Seville by the ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*] in 427/1035 and who had been theoretically recognised by various other heads of *taifas*. This ʿAbd Allāh belonged to the branch of the governors of Saragossa in the 4th/10th century, Muḥammad al-Ankar, etc., with a common ancestor of the two lines in the later 3rd/9th century. Leaving aside the question of the recognition of the "false" Umayyad caliph of Seville, the incident seems to point to internal rivalries within the Tudjībid family, at the side of their tribal cohesion; the *Bayān al-mughrib* states that other Tudjībids had reproached al-Mundhir II for being the son of a Berber mother, from the lineage of the Dhu 'l-Nūnids of Toledo, leading one to think that the Tudjībids remained generally endogamous and considered Yaḥyā's marriage as a misalliance.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam, in line with his apparent "political programme", minted money (dirham of 430/1039) in the name of the Umayyad caliphal claimant Hishām al-Mu'ayyad, with his own name appearing merely as *al-Ḥādjib* ʿAbd Allāh. But the murder of his predecessor seems to have provoked a reaction and even a rising against him in Saragossa. The *amīr* of Toledo, Ismāʿīl b. Dhi 'l-Nūn, maternal uncle of the dead man, and Sulaymān b. Hūd, a commander, also of Yemeni lineage and one who appears to have been the most influential person in the amīrate, marched on Saragossa, and after a twenty-eight days' reign, the last Tudjībid had to flee for refuge in the fortress of Rueda de Jalón, and at an uncertain date, probably in Muḥarram 431/October 1039, the second *taifa* dynasty at Saragossa began, that of the Banū Hūd.

The subsequent fate of ʿAbd Allāh is unknown, although the Banū Ṣumādiḥ subsisted in Almeria, and it may be that certain members of the family from Saragossa reached the Almeria court. According to the *Bayān*, when the first ruler there, Maʿn b. Ṣumādiḥ, died in 443/1052, "his cousins the Tudjībids" replaced him by his son Muḥammad. We have no information on the Tudjībid family members in the Ebro basin, although as we have seem, the *nisba* survived there widely. Also, at least one other family of prominence, the Banū Abī Dirham, *ḳāḍīs* at Huesca for almost the whole of the 5th/11th century, claimed membership of the Banū Tudjīb.

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AL-TUDJĪBĪ, ʿAlam al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Balansī al-Sabtī (b. at Ceuta *ca.* 670/1271, d. *ca.* 730/1329), North African scholar and author of a *Bārnāmadj*.

He studied in Ceuta with Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ, al-Ḳabtūrī, Ibn al-Murahhal and Ibn al-Shāṭ. He travelled to the East and to al-Andalus, studying with famous masters, especially in the field of *Ḥadīth*. He wrote several works, including a *taḳyīd* on the *Muʿdjam mashā'ikhihi fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Mu'min b. Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī al-Tūnī (d. 705/1306) and another work called *al-Targhīb fi 'l-djihād* dedicated to the Marīnid sultan Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān; but the works which made his reputation were a *riḥla* called *Mustafād al-riḥla wa 'l-ightirāb* (publ. by ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Manṣūr, Libya-Tunis 1395/1975), of which only the second part is extant, and a *Bārnāmadj* or *Mashyakha* (publ. by idem, Libya-Tunis 1981), studied by A. Ramos.

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A. Ramos, including in *Arabica*, xxiv (1977), 291-8, in *Awrāq*, iii (1980), 32-43, and in *Al-Qanṭara*, vii (1986), 107-34. (MARIBEL FIERRO)

TUDMĪR, a *kūra* or province in the south-east of al-Andalus in the Umayyad period. The name is derived from that of Theodemir (or Theudimer), the last Visigoth governor, who delivered the province into the hands of the invading Muslim troops.

The province of Tudmīr has been identified with Aurariola, which is mentioned in the anonymous author of Ravenna (7th century), one of the eight provinces which make up the *Spanorum patria*. The capital of the province appears to have been Orihuela [see URYŪLA], where Theodemir lived in earlier times. However, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, it passed to Murcia which was itself founded in 210/825 (R. Pockington, *Precisiones acerca de la fecha de la fundación de Murcia*, in *Hom. Prof. Torres Fontes*, Murcia 1987, 1327-32). With the fall of the Umayyad state the region lost the "official" name of Tudmīr and adopted the name of Murcia, its principal town. Nevertheless, the name Tudmīr seems to have been used occasionally to refer to the region as a geographical entity.

In this regard, much light can be found from evidence produced from biographical dictionaries. In the Umayyad period there was a preference for the name of the province rather than that of the town to indicate a place of origin for the individuals cited; see e.g. the *Akhbār al-fukahā'* of Ibn al-Ḥārith (d. 361/971), where we find Tudmīr three times, but never Murcia; or again the *Ta'rīkh* of Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1012), where Tudmīr appears twenty times and Murcia twice; in the *Takmila* of Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260) the name Tudmīr had almost completely disappeared (only seven people are reported to have come from Tudmīr), though by contrast Murcia is mentioned more than 110 times, this name being used not only to designate the town but also the region or the district.

Very little is known for certain about the character of Theodemir. Attempts have been made to identify him with a certain Theodemir who is mentioned in the Acts of the Sixteenth Council of Toledo, but it is impossible to know whether that is the same person. Elsewhere, in a passage in the *Crónica mozárabe del 754*, he is reputed to have put to flight a Byzantine expedition during the joint reign of Egica and Witiza (700-2). However, this particular passage, which also contains an allusion to the treaty with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and other interesting information, appears to be an interpolation, and this throws its reliability into question. Finally, an Arab source like Ibn Ḥabīb (ed. J. Aguadé, 137) presents him as the lieutenant of the last Visigothic king, Roderic, mentioning him in connection with the Muslim landing in Spain.

The only fact which is historically reliable is that Theodemir at the time of the Muslim conquest was the governor of a region to which he was to give his name, and that he surrendered to the invading troops by concluding a treaty with them. This pact, concerning whose terms see the bibliography below, has been preserved in four different versions in Arab sources, as well as in translation in a Spanish source. They all agree on the fact that the Pact of Tudmīr was concluded in the month of Radjab 94/April 713, between Theodemir and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the son of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*].

Since the historicity of this text is generally acknowledged, no-one seems to have noticed that the Arab chroniclers provided another account of the event which in no way confirms the authenticity of the Pact of Tudmīr. In fact, there are in existence two different versions of this affair. The first probably originated in the work of Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955) and is reproduced in numerous Arab chronicles such as *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, the *Nafḥ* of al-Makkarī, the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* or the fragment attributed to Ibn Abi 'l-Fayyāḍ; it is even in Christian sources like the *De rebus Hispanie* of Jiménez de Rada and the *Crónica de 1344* (which recapitulates passages of the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*). This version is the most detailed and consistently indicates that the conquest of Tudmīr was led by a contingent of the army which had disembarked with Ṭārik [*q.v.*] in 92/711, and that after having dislodged Theodemir in the open country they surrounded him in Orihuela, where he ended up surrendering on reputedly favourable terms. The second version, attributed to Muʿāwiya b. Hishām al-Shabānisī (4th/10th century) and transmitted by Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076 [*q.v.*]), identifies the conqueror of Tudmīr as a son of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr by the name of ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, and not ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Ibn ʿAskar, in J. Vallvé, *Une fuente importante de la historia de al-Andalus*, in *And.*, xxxi [1966], 244-5; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, i, 100; al-Makkarī, *Nafḥ*, i, 275).

Within an historical narrative the Pact of Tudmīr is only mentioned twice. It occurs in the *Tarṣīʿ* of al-ʿUdhrī (4, tr. E. Molina López, *La cora de Tudmīr según al-ʿUḏrī* (*s. iv*), in *CHI*, iii [1972], 53-60), and in the *Crónica de 1344* (153-4). In both these instances it seems clear that the text of the Pact has been interpolated *a posteriori* in favour of the use of a pre-existing narrative, which not only did not contain this passage but which also set out the facts in a form which is incompatible with the established facts of the Pact: in the *Tarṣīʿ*, and also in the *Crónica*, it is a question of the narrative of Aḥmad al-Rāzī, clumsily modified with the deceptive intention of making it accommodate the terms of the Pact. The difference between al-ʿUdhrī and the *Crónica de 1344* lies in the place chosen for the interpolation. Whereas the geographer of Almeria kept the chapter given over to the conquest of Tudmīr by the forces of Ṭārik, the translators of the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, from which the *Crónica de 1344* was incontestably taken, preferred the passage where ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz appeared for the first time, when he was sent by his father from Mérida to reconquer Seville. However, as already observed, the modifications made were not very successful in that al-ʿUdhrī, the only one to reproduce the paragraph about the conquest of Tudmīr, forgot to suppress the sentence of al-Rāzī. In this he indicated that after the capture of Orihuela, the Muslims had written to Ṭārik to give him an account of the victory without realising that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz would logically have had to write to his father, who at that time was in Andalusia, where he was thought to have concluded the Pact. The *Crónica de 1344*, on the other hand, adopted the entire narration of al-Rāzī on the conquest of the Iberian peninsula by the Muslims, without realising that the region of Tudmīr, thanks to the interpolation, appeared to have been conquered twice, the first time by the forces of Ṭārik and the second time by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā, who suddenly reappears on the scene having been sent by his father to Seville, fighting against the people of Orihuela. Whether or not it is authentic it is clear that the Pact of Tudmīr is a document which does not completely tally with what the Andalusian chroniclers relate about the Muslim conquest.

As for Theodemir, we see him subsequently marrying off his daughter to a client of the Umayyads,

ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Khaṭṭāb, who came to Andalusia with the troops of Baldj in 123/741. He in turn, after living for a time in Cordova, moved to Tudmīr, where he married the previously-mentioned daughter of Theodemir. His descendants, the Banū Khaṭṭāb, formed one of the richest and most important families of the region, but it is not certain that the eponym Khaṭṭāb b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār was the outcome of the marriage of his father with the daughter of Theodemir (L. Molina, *Los Banū Jaṭṭāb y los Banū Abī Ŷamra (siglos ii-viii/viii-xiv)*, in *EOBA*, v [1992], 289-307). For the general history of the region, see MURSIYA.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The text of Theodemir's Pact is given in ʿUdhrī, *Tarṣīʿ*, 4-5; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 675; Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, 62-3; Gharnāṭī, *Rafʿ al-ḥudjub*, ii, 167; *Crónica de 1344*, 153-4.

2. Studies. J. Vallvé, *La división territorial en la España musulmana. La Cora de Tudmir (Murcia)*, in *And.*, xxxvii (1972), 145-89; E. Llobregat, *Teodomiro de Oriola, su vida y su obra*, Alicante 1973; E. Molina López, and E. Pezzi, *Últimas aportaciones al estudio de la cora de* Tudmīr *(Murcia)*, in *CHI*, vii (1975-6), 83-110; Vallvé, *El reino de Murcia en la época musulmana*, in *RIEEI*, xx (1979-80), 23-64; P. Balañá, *La fecha exacta de la capitulación de Tudmīr, un error de transmisión*, in *Awrāq*, iv (1981), 73-7; J. García Antón, *Los árabes en Murcia. Siglo VIII*, in *Historia de la región murciana*, iii, 109-31; idem, *Sobre los orígenes de Todmir*, in *Del Conventus Carthaginiensis a la Chora de Tudmir*, Murcia 1985, 369-83; M.J. Rubiera, *Valencia en el pacto de Tudmir*, in *Sharq al-Andalus*, ii (1985), 119-20; Vallvé, *Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España*, Madrid 1989; Molina López, *Noticias geográficas y biográficas sobre Tudmir en el* Iqtibās al-anwār *de al-Rušāṭī*, in *Homenaje al profesor Juan Torres Fontes*, Murcia 1987, ii, 1085-98; S. Gutiérrez Llorte, *La formación de Tudmīr desde la periferia del estado islámico*, in *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ*, iii (1991), 9-21; A. Carmona, *Una cuarta versión de la capitulación de Tudmīr*, in *Sharq al-Andalus*, ix (1992), 11-17; P. Chalmeta, *Invasión y islamización*, Madrid 1994, 214-17. (L. MOLINA)

ṬŪFĀN [see NŪḤ].

TUFANG [see BĀRŪD. v.].

ṬUFAYL B. **ʿAWF**, or b. Kaʿb, b. Khalaf, Abū Ḳurrān, al-Ghanawī (Ghanī being a clan of Ḳays ʿAylān), also designated al-Muḥabbir and Ṭufayl al-Khayl on account of the prominence which he accorded the horse in his descriptive verses, pre-Islamic poet, apparently of a middle Djāhilī floruit, and of an age with Aws b. Ḥadjar. He often vies with this latter for originary status of the "inter-tribal chain of *ruwāt*" (for which designation, see J.E. Montgomery, *The deserted encampment in ancient Arabic poetry: a nexus of topical comparisons*, in *JSS*, xl [1995], 283-316), which stretched in an unbroken line of succession to at least Kuthayyir ʿAzza, if not al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*]. According to Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 210, on the authority of Abu 'l-Faradj in the *Aghānī*, his death is to be dated to after *ca.* A.D. 608, as indicated by a threnody for Huraym b. Sinān. Krenkow (*Tufail al-Ganawī*, in *JRAS*, [1907], 816-20) established a connection between a *bāʾiyya* by the *mukhadram* [*q.v.*] Zayd al-Khayl (chieftain of a clan of Ṭayyiʾ [*q.v.*]), in celebration of a victorious raid inflicted upon the ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], whose confederates the Ghanī were, and the splendid *bāʾiyya* of 77 verses which Ṭufayl dedicated to a punitive raid on the Ṭayyiʾ. This flyting is the first *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] in al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar's anthology *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārayn* (ed. Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳabāwa, Damascus 1974) [see MUKHTĀRĀT. i]. It is this version of the poem (it contains three more verses than the version recorded in Ṭufayl's *Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Aḥmad, Beirut 1968) which Krenkow (*op. cit.*) mistakenly identified as "a poem from the Aṣmaʿiyyāt in the recension and with the comments of Ibn al-Sikkīt", a mistake which persists in his incomplete edition and translation of the *dīwān* (*The poems of Ṭufail ibn ʿAuf al-Ghanawī and aṭ-Ṭirrimāḥ ibn Ḥakīm aṭ-Ṭāʾyī*, London 1927).

Ṭufayl's surviving works are occasional, predominantly celebrating the bellicose achievements of his tribe, especially those inflicted on the Ṭayyiʾ. Their occasional nature attests to the perseverance, in his poems and those of al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī [*q.v.*], of a tradition in contradistinction to the camel cult which dominates much of late Djāhilī verse, a tradition persisting in the celebration of the horse as aristocratic and cultural emblem.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J.E. MONTGOMERY)

ṬUFAYLĪ (A.), in mediaeval Arabic literature an uninvited guest and/or a social parasite, whose behaviour constitutes *taṭfīl*.

The *ṭufaylī* was one of the most popular character types in the Arabic *adab* genre. This genre, designed to be at once informative and entertaining, possessed a distinctive discourse in which verse and prose co-existed with materials ranging from the legal to the philosophical, but where the anecdote reigned supreme. *Adab* works extended from the monographic (dealing with one subject or character type) to the encyclopaedic (with various subjects and characters), through the intermediate (with one character trait displayed in a variety of social types).

The *ṭufaylī* appears in all these *adab* texts, taking his place alongside other character types, such as misers and wise fools. In the encyclopaedic and intermediate *adab* collections, which tend to be organised in a descending hierarchical social order, these types appear at the end of the works with other marginal persons like women.

The monographic books, dedicated as they are to one character type, in this case the *ṭufaylī*, are more comprehensive in their vision. The classic text, that of the polymath al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), treats the reader to a variety of materials describing the *ṭufaylī*. This view is confirmed by the encyclopaedic volumes as well as by *al-Ḳawl al-nabīl bi-dhikr al-taṭfīl* of al-Aḳfahsī (d. 808/1405).

Taṭfīl in the mediaeval Arab-Islamic imagination was broadly-based. In the anecdotal literature, it could cover a variety of actions, with the *ṭufaylī* being someone who abused a situation of hospitality. The actions could range from coming uninvited to social functions, to consuming more than one's share of food or drink, or even to overstaying one's welcome. This more social component of the act combines with a psychological element manifested in the *ṭufaylī*'s obsessive attachment to food.

The anecdotal data is enriched by lexicographical information. In addition to the derivation of the word (either a *nisba* referring to Ṭufayl, a man of Kūfa who attended receptions without an invitation, or as a noun derived from the verbal root *ṭ-f-l*), the lexicographical materials make a distinction between someone who comes in uninvited while people are eating (*wārish*) and one who comes in uninvited while people are drinking (*wāghil*). Other terms define the act of taking out food or treat of greediness or overeating. These terms appear to be restricted to the

lexicographical domain, while the generic term of *ṭufaylī* covers all these acts in the anecdotal literature.

Like many other *adab* categories, *taṭfīl* features a prototypical character who embodies the values inherent in the category: Bunān. Bunān serves not only as a hero of anecdotes but as an eloquent spokesman, justifying *taṭfīl* and giving advice to the potential *ṭufaylī*.

But an uninvited guest could find comfort in the fact that the Prophet Muḥammad himself brought uninvited guests along with him to functions to which he had been invited. *Ḥadīth*s mentioning this endow *taṭfīl* with a morally ambiguous flavour, itself tied to the high value of hospitality in Arab culture. This moral ambiguity permits the *ṭufaylī* to be a ludic character who can play with, among others, legal and theological materials. The wit inherent in such games brings the *ṭufaylī* close to many of his textual neighbours in classical Arabic literature.

Bibliography: Aḳfahsī, *al-Ḳawl al-nabīl bi-dhikr al-taṭfīl*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1989?; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Taṭfīl wa-ḥikāyāt al-ṭufayliyyīn wa-akhbāruhum wa-nawādir kalāmihim wa-ashʿāruhum*, ed. Kāẓim al-Muẓaffar, Nadjaf 1966; Fedwa Malti-Douglas, *Structure and organization in a monographic Adab work: al-Taṭfīl of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, in *JNES*, xl (1981), 227-45; eadem, Maqâmât *and* Adab: "*Al-Maqâma al-Maḍīriyya*" *of al-Hamadhânî*, in *JAOS*, cv (1985), 247-58. (Fedwa Malti-Douglas)

AL-ṬUFAYLĪ, Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān, called Ibn Darrādj, a client of the Yemeni tribe of Kinda, a fantastic character, something of a poet, who lived in the time of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (early 3rd/9th century).

He was one of various people with this nickname of al-Ṭufayl(ī) "parasite, intruder at a feast", the first said to have been a Kūfan called Ṭufayl al-ʿArāʾis (or al-Aʿrās), from the Banū ʿAbd Allāh of Ghaṭafān, who lived in Umayyad times [see ṭufaylī]. Like others of this class, Ibn Darrādj was a shameless intruder at feasts to which he had not been invited; and as an *adīb* and poet of some talent, he was numbered amongst the wittiest of the parasites. In the notice on him in the *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub, xvi, 251-3), Ahu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī gives several amusing anecdotes about this amusing character, even buffoon. Concerning how he would act if he were forbidden to enter a house where a feast was taking place, he replied, "I would kick up such a noise with my lamentations that the master of the house would see this as an evil augury and, in the end, let me in". He related that, one day, in the company of his son, he met a funeral cortège in which was a woman, weeping in these terms, "They are taking him to a place where he will have neither bed, nor carpet, nor hospitality, nor bed covering, nor bread and wine". His son said to him, "Father, they must be leading this cortège to our own house!".

Ibn Darrādj was clearly proud of his role as a *ṭufaylī*, since two verses lauding *taṭfīl* (the status of parasite) are attributed to him:

"O joy of being a parasite, may you last for ever, become rooted within me and never leave me,

For it is you which fulfils my wishes and consoles me in my cares".

Bibliography: See also *LA*, s.v. *ṭ-f-l*; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1348/1949, iii, 221; Fouad Boustany, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 57. (A. Ben Abdesselem)

TUFFĀḤ (a.) is the apple, *Pyrus malus, Rosaceae*. It descends from the asiatic Pyrus species and has spread in numerous varieties and cultivated forms, which have their centre of frequency in the Caucasus and in Turkestan. Most authors name the Syrian apples as the best ones, e.g. al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, ed. de Jong, 95: "To Syria's particularities belong the apples. They are proverbial because of their beauty and scent. Every year 3,000 crates of these apples are delivered to the caliphs. It is said that those of ʿIrāḳ have a stronger scent than those of Syria"; and *ibid.*, 132: "The widely-travelled Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī declares in a disputation that he could not wish for himself anything better than Syrian apples. The caliph al-Maʾmūn is said to have declared: 'The apple combines gleaming yellow, golden red and silvery white. The senses enjoy it: the eye because of its beauty, the olfactory organ because of its scent (*ʿarf*), the sense of taste because of its goût'" (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, i, 250, ll. 11-13). Numerous poetic verses on the apple are given by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 162-7.

The next-best varieties, according to the geographers, were *al-tuffāḥ al-iṣfahānī*, *al-ḳūfānī* (from Bayt Ḳūfā near Damascus, and thus a variety of the Syrian apple), then *al-malaṭī*, *al-miskī*, *al-dāmānī* (from Dāmān in Mesopotamia). For these names, see de Goeje's glossary in *BGA*, iv, 197. The last-mentioned variety is also praised hy Yāḳūt: it is said to be proverbial because of its redness. For the excellent culture of apples in Persia, see Schwarz, *Iran*, 879-80, where a long list of places of origin is given. Because of their long storage life, these apples could be transported over long distances. The fact that they were given as valuable presents in Baghdād is also an indication of their great value. It is said that, at Iṣṭakhr, apples were grown whose one half had a sweet taste, the other a sour one.

In Egypt, on the other hand, the indigenous apples were said to be small and bad, and to have been but little cultivated (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Ifāda*, ed. de Sacy, Paris 1810, 36, 117). In former days, it must have been as it is now: the Egyptian apples ripen early and quickly and therefore are not tasty (M. Schnehel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Munich 1925, 314). It seems, however, that the cultivation of apples in Egypt was quite important in the early Islamic period, e.g. in the monastery of St. Antony, see Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, tr. Evetts, Oxford 1895, 160; for references from Arabic papyri, see A. Grohmann, in *ArO*, xiv, 213. In the *funduḳ Dār al-Tuffāḥ* of the fruit market in Cairo, the imported apples were stored, auctioned and resold (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270/1853-4, ii, 89, 102-3). The list in Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 118, shows that the word *tuffāḥ* can also indicate quite different plants.

In pharmacology, it was mainly the skin that was used. The carrier of the scent of ripe apples is the ethereal oil in the skins. The leaves, blossoms and twigs are astringent, the unripe fruit more so than the ripe ones. The juice squeezed from the leaves is useful against poisons, while the blossoms strengthen the brains "in a miraculous way". Sābūr b. Sahl, *al-Aḳrābādhīn al-ṣaghīr*, ed. O. Kahl, Leiden 1994, describes some preparations: fruit purée of apples (*djawārish al-tuffāḥ*), no. 255, apple juice (*sharab al-tuffāḥ*), no. 318, and apple sauce (*rubb al-tuffāḥ*), no. 327.

Bibliography: Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī, *K. al-Aghdhiya*, Frankfurt 1986, ii, 186-90 (almost wholly citations from Galen); Ibn Samadjūn, *Djāmiʿ al-adwiya al-mufrada*, Frankfurt 1992, iv, 163-4; Idrīsī, *al-Djāmiʿ li-ṣifāt ashtāt al-nabāt*, Frankfurt 1995, ii/2, 476-7; A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, i, 86, 87, with many examples.

(A. Dietrich)

AL-ṬŪFĪ, NADJM AL-DĪN ABU 'L-RABĪʿ SULAYMĀN B. ʿABD AL-ḲAWĪ B. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ṣarṣarī al-Baghdādī (b. 675/1276-77 [?], d. Radjab 716/Sept.-Oct. 1316), Ḥanbalī legal scholar, especially in *uṣūl*, known in modern times particularly for his *maṣlaḥa* (public interest) theory. The vocalisation "al-Ṭawfī", used in Brockelmann and a number of other Western sources, is incorrect (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, 249).

He was born in an otherwise unattested town Ṭūfā, near Ṣarṣar, which in turn is not far from Baghdād. He had his first education in grammar and Ḥanbalī *fiḳh* in his home town and in Ṣarṣar. In 691/1282-3 he moved to Baghdād, where he continued his study of grammar and *fiḳh* and also attended courses in *ḥadīth* and other fields, including logic. After an interlude in Damascus, where he arrived in 704/1304-5 and studied with *inter alios* Ibn Taymiyya and the *ḥadīth* scholar al-Mizzī [*q.vv.*], he moved on to Cairo in 705/1305-6 (Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, ii, 367; the date 707/1307-8, given by Ibn Maktūm *apud* Taḳī al-Dīn al-Fāsī, *Muntakhab*, 59, is incorrect), where he studied *ḥadīth* with ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Khalaf (d. 705/1306 [see AL-DIMYĀṬĪ]), law with the Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥārithī (d. 711/1312), and grammar with Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344 [*q.v.*]). Al-Ḥārithī appointed him as *muʿīd* in the al-Manṣūriyya and al-Nāṣiriyya *madrasas*. In Radjab 711/Nov.-Dec. 1311 he found himself in jail, as we know from some of the colophons of the ms. Berlin, Landberg 752, a collection of short treatises by al-Ṭūfī. From the biographical sources we know that he had been accused of Shīʿī leanings (*rafḍ*, including *sabb al-ṣaḥāba*) and that he had a fall-out with Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥārithī, although which of these two events came first is unclear in the sources. At any rate, his case was referred to the authorities and he was subjected to a series of correctional punishments, including a few days in jail. It is almost certain that these two jailings are one and the same, especially since one of the pieces he wrote in the Sidjn Raḥbat Bāb al-ʿĪd was an *ʿaḳīda*—a common procedure for persons who wanted to demonstrate their "orthodoxy". He was also banned from Cairo to Damascus, where, however, due to a invective he had written against the Damascenes, he could not go. So he went instead to Damietta and then to the town of Ḳūṣ in Upper Egypt, a strongly Christian town in his time. There he read, as al-Adfuwī tells us (*apud* Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, 250), most of the books available in the local libraries, and there he also wrote a number of his own books. At the end of 714/March 1315 he went on his pilgrimage, stayed in Mecca and Medina for the year and repeated the *ḥadjdj*. In Medina he sought the acquaintance of al-Sakākīnī, the foremost Imāmī scholar there (as reported by the historian of Medina, al-Maṭarī (d. 741/1340), *apud* Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, ii, 370). From there he travelled to the Holy Land where he died in the city of Hebron.

From among the more than fifty known works of al-Ṭūfī, nineteen have been preserved, and of these nine have been printed. The bulk of his literary output is in the field of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, but as a polymath he wrote in many other fields, as well. His published works include: (1) *al-Bulbul fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* (Riyāḍ 1383 [1983] and reprints), a summary (*mukhtaṣar*) of *Rawḍat al-nāẓir wa-djunnat al-munāẓir* of Ibn Ḳudāma al-Maḳdisī (d. 620/1223 [*q.v.*]); (2) *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍa* (ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, 3 vols., Beirut 1407/1987), his commentary on his own summary; (3) *K. al-Taʿyīn fī sharḥ al-Arbaʿīn* (ed. A.Ḥ.M. ʿUthmān, Beirut 1998), an excerpt of which has been published earlier several times (most recently as *Risālat al-Imām al-Ṭūfī fī taḳdīm al-maṣlaḥa fī 'l-muʿāmalāt ʿalā 'l-naṣṣ* [annot. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī al-Dimashḳī, ed. Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, Cairo 1966]), because in it al-Ṭūfī uses the tradition *lā ḍarar*^{a} *wa-lā ḍirār*^{a} as a legal maxim from which he constructs a bold theory of utility (*maṣlaḥa mursala*) which, he says, can supersede textual proofs; (4) *ʿAlam al-djadhal fī ʿilm al-djadal* (ed. W. Heinrichs, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1408/1987), a treatise on the art of disputation, in which the largest chapter is devoted to a technical treatment of all disputations contained in the Ḳurʾān; (5) *al-Iksīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Ḥusayn, Cairo 1977), on the various disciplines, mainly linguistic, that contribute to a correct interpretation of the Ḳurʾān; (6) *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī kashf shubah al-Naṣrāniyya* (ed. Aḥmad Ḥidjāzī al-Saḳḳā, as *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī ʿilm muḳāranat al-adyān*, Cairo 1983), a refutation of a Christian attack on the Ḳurʾān; (7) *Mawāʾid al-ḥays fī fawāʾid Imriʾ al-Ḳays* (ed. Muṣṭafā ʿUlayyān, ʿAmmān 1414/1994), an original literary critique of the poetry of Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*]; (8) *al-Ṣaʿḳa al-ghaḍabiyya fī 'l-radd ʿalā munkiri 'l-ʿarabiyya* (ed. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Fāḍil, Riyadh 1997); (9) *Tafsīr Suwar Ḳāf, al-Ḳiyāma, al-Nabaʾ, al-Inshiḳāḳ, al-Ṭāriḳ* (ed. ʿAlī Ḥusayn al-Bawwāb, Riyadh 1992).

The strangest feature of al-Ṭūfī's life was that he, a Ḥanbalī jurist, was accused of Shīʿī leanings. One possible explanation would be that he really was a Shīʿī and practiced Ḥanbalī jurisprudence out of *taḳiyya*. This is not very likely, for three reasons: (a) Shīʿī scholars who practiced Sunnī law usually opted for the Shāfiʿī school; (b) he is not mentioned in the Shīʿī biographical literature before al-Kh^{w}ānsārī (d. 1313/1895) (*Rawḍāt*, iv, 89-90), who takes his information from al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, i, 599-600) and expresses doubts about al-Ṭūfī's Shīʿism; and (c) some of the pieces of evidence adduced to prove his *tashayyuʿ* are clearly misattributed to al-Ṭūfī (cf. Heinrichs, *Ǧadal*). It seems to be closer to the truth if we see al-Ṭūfī as someone who is pained by the rifts in the Muslim community and tries to "rethink" Islamic history in order to rectify, at least mentally, the mistakes that were made in the past. He is, after all, part of the Ḥanbalī renaissance that flourished as a religious and intellectual rallying-cry within, and against, the general climate of anxiety following the Mongol catastrophe. In his endeavour to do justice to other points of view he may have appeared too lenient to the more narrow-minded. His tendency to look for common ground is evident also from the fact that, in contradistinction to his teacher Ibn Taymiyya, he wrote a defence of logic and *kalām*, *Dafʿ al-malām ʿan ahl al-manṭiḳ wa 'l-kalām* (not extant, quoted in *al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya* [see below], ms. Cairo, Dār, 687 *tafsīr*, fol. 195b). His "Christian" work is also of note in this respect. He is one of the few Muslim scholars who actually read in both the Old and New Testaments and, before he embarked on the above-mentioned refutation of a Christian polemic, he wrote critical annotations on the four Gospels, *al-Taʿālīḳ ʿalā 'l-anādjīl al-arbaʿa* (mss. Istanbul, Köprülü 795, 2, and Şehit Ali 2315, 4) which also contain an appendix with notes on Isaiah, Daniel, Jeremiah, and the twelve minor prophets. Although he is obviously intent on proving the incorrectness and internal contradictoriness of the Christian religion, he does suggest in another place the strange idea that Jesus might have been an angel rather than a prophet and that it was for this reason that his followers took him for a god (*ʿAlam al-djadjal*, 154).

One of his methods to insure the legitimacy of cer-

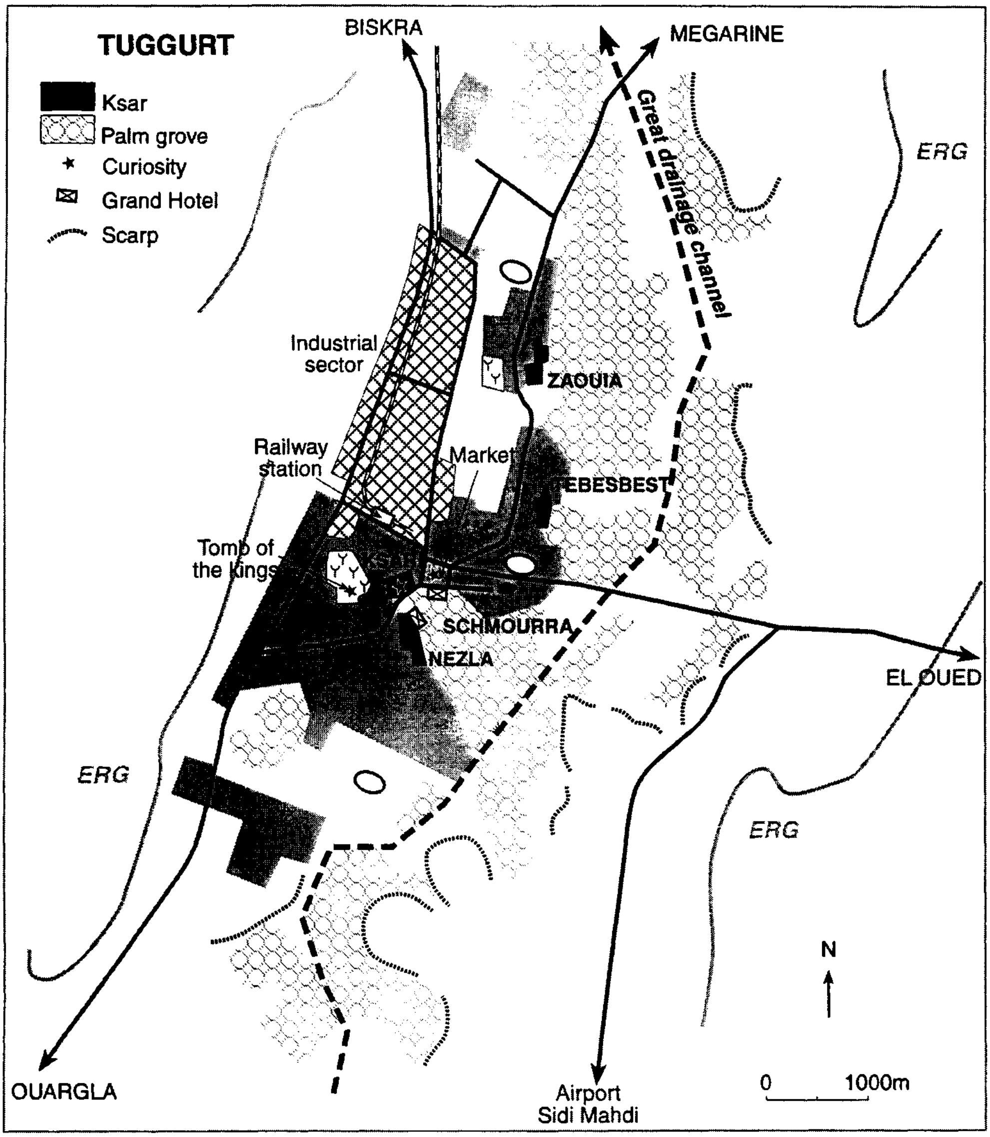
TUGGURT
Ksar
Palm grove
Curiosity
Grand Hotel
Scarp
BISKRA
MEGARINE
Great drainage channel
ERG
Industrial sector
ZAOUIA
Railway station
Market
TEBESBEST
Tomb of the Kings
SCHMOURRA
NEZLA
EL OUED
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OUARGLA
Airport Sidi Mahdi
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tain intellectual pursuits is to anchor them in the Ḳurʾān. He does so in his work on disputation (see above) and also in his last great work, *al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya ilā ʾl-mabāḥith al-uṣūliyya* (mss. Istanbul, Damad Molla 30, 2; Rağıp Paşa 23; Cairo, Dār 351 *tafsīr Taymūr*; Dār 687 *tafsīr*; Aleppo, Aḥmadiyya 758; Escurial 1372), where he passes the whole Ḳurʾān in review to identify passages of relevance for both *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *uṣūl al-dīn*.

As a legal scholar, he insists on his own *idjtihād* and shows considerable originality (for the *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍa*, cf. W. Hallaq, *Uṣūl al-fiqh*, 194). He is best known for his audacious understanding of *maṣlaḥa* (utility, public interest), which made him famous among the early modernists. Rashīd Riḍā published the relevant text (see above) in his journal *al-Manār*, ix (1324/1906), 745-70, and it has been reprinted several times since (cf. Muṣṭafā Zayd, *Maṣlaḥa*, and M.H. Kerr, *Islamic reform*, 81-3, 97-102).

One source describes al-Ṭūfī as wearing Ṣūfī garb (*fī ziyy ahl al-faḳr*, Ibn Maktūm *apud* Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl* ii, 369), and in one place he mentions *fuḳahāʾ aṣḥābinā al-Djīlāniyyīn* (*ʿAlam al-djadhal*, 53), so that it would seem possible to identify him as a Ḳādirī.

Bibliography: 1. Other important works in ms. *Darʾ al-ḳawl al-ḳabīḥ fī ʾl-taḥsīn wa ʾl-taḳbīḥ*, Istanbul, Şehit Ali 2315, 2; *Mukhtaṣar al-Tirmidhī*, Cairo, Dār 487 *ḥadīth*.

2. Biographical sources. Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, vol. containing the letter *sīn*, ms. Istanbul, Nuru Osmaniye 2720/3, fol. 165 a-b [not in the printed ed.]; idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr*, facs. ed. F. Sezgin, 4 vols., Frankfurt 1990, i, 400-1; Ibn Radjab, *al-Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. Muḥ. Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, 2 vols., Cairo 1372/1952-53, ii, 366-70; Taḳī al-Dīn al-Fāsī, *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ Baghdād al-musammā Muntakhab al-Mukhtār* [sc. of Ibn Rāfiʿ], ed. ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, Baghdād 1357/1938; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ed. Muḥ. Sayyid Djādd al-Ḥaḳḳ, 5 vols., Cairo 1385/1966-67, ii, 249-52; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, ed. Muḥ. Abu ʾl-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2 vols., Cairo 1384/1964-65, i, 599-600; Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, ed. Asad Allāh Ismāʿīliyān, Tehran n.d., iv, 89-90.

3. Studies. Muṣṭafā Zayd, *al-Maṣlaḥa fī ʾl-tashrīʿ al-islāmī wa-Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1384/1964; M.H. Kerr, *Islamic reform*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966; W. Heinrichs, *Ǧadal bei aṭ-Ṭūfī. Eine Interpretation seiner Beispielsammlung*, in *ZDMG*, Supplement III, 1, Wiesbaden 1977, 463-73, W.B. Hallaq, *Uṣūl al-fiqh: beyond tradition*, in *Jnal. of Islamic Studies*, iii (1992), 172-202; idem, *A history of Islamic legal theories*, Cambridge 1997, 128-9, 150-3.

(W.P. Heinrichs)

TUGGURT, conventionally Touggourt, a town in the Algerian Sahara situated 160 km/100 miles to the north-east of Ouargla (Wargla), 100 km/62 miles south-west of El-Oued and 208 km/128 miles south of Biskra (lat. 33° 08' N., long. 6° 04' E.).

1. History. According to Ibn Khaldūn, a splinter of the Berber tribe of the Rīgha gained control of all the region between Biskra and Ouargla, where it became mingled with other Zanāta Berber elements. There were also Jews in the region. The town was for long dependent on the princes ruling the Maghrib or on the governors of Biskra, but, from the 14th to the 18th centuries, it was the capital of a vast region ruled by the Banū Djellāb. A Moroccan prince, Sulaymān b. Djellāb, related to tbe Marīnid family, halted at Tuggurt on his return from the Pilgrimage to Mecca, founded a mosque there and, with the aid of the local nomads, became recognised there as sovereign ruler. The line of the Banū Djellāb, whose tombs can still be seen in the "royal cemetery" of the town, ruled for four centuries, amongst various vicissitudes, partly due to dissensions amongst the local great families and partly from outside intervention by the Turks. In the 16th century, the Beylerbeyi Ṣalāḥ Reʾīs plundered the town and exacted an annual tribute of 15 slaves. In the 18th century, the Banū Djellāb recognised the suzerainty of the Beys of Constantine, but without paying any tribute to them. Hence the Beys tried at various times to replace them by their own nominees, the Banū Gana of Biskra. Tuggurt was twice besieged, by Ṣalāḥ Bey in 1788 and by Aḥmad Mamlūk in 1821, but in vain. At the time of French colonial advance, Sulaymān b. Djellāb allied with the Sharīf of Ouargla against the new enemy. A French column occupied Tuggurt in 1854 and installed a garrison there. In 1871, the garrison was massacred at the time of a revolt, although this last was rapidly suppressed. Tuggurt is now, in independent Algeria, part of the Territories of the South.

2. Economic role. Tuggurt is the local capital of the Oued Rīgh, a vast trough of the Lower Sahara which benefits from artesian wells for irrigation and a great dryness of atmosphere favourable of high-quality dates, the Deglet Nour variety. Thus, with some 50 large villages and two million palm trees, the Oued Rīgh is the leading date-producing region of the Sahara.

The town also profits from its position on the Constantine-Biskra-Tuggurt-Ouargla axis, which has always been an important route; in mediaeval times, it was the departure point for the trans-Saharan caravan route connecting Ouargla with Agadès and Gao. In the French colonial period, the railway was constructed as far as Tuggurt, originally for the date trade (with a train leaving each night, in the season, laden with dates for the north); its role has become diversified today. But Tuggurt has always benefited from its position as the trans-shipment point from the railway or road and its role as distribution point for the products of the north over a large expanse of the Sahara. In 1960, the town was more important than Ouargla.

Tbe coming of independence for Algeria damaged this regional role, but the town has been able to adapt. Whilst Ouargla has received a strong impulse from state direction, Tuggurt lives off its own private enterprise and dynamism: wholesale and service industries, an important date market, and diverse industrial undertakings. It now has 85,000 inhabitants.

3. The town. On the east, there are the palm groves and the rim of the plateau, and on the west, sand dune massifs. The heart of the town is made up of the *ḳṣar*, Mestāwa, dominated by the great mosque from the 18th century. Built of earth, plaster and palm trunks, the town has the peculiarity of a concentric, radiating pattern, with streets covered for hundreds of metres, very pleasant in the hot season. Originally circular, half of its area was razed by the French army at the end of the 19th century; the remaining half has been at the present time damaged by rains (1990) and mutilated by decisions of the public authorities.

The population is white, but there are nuclei of villagers who are black cultivators, the *Ḥashāshna*. The most important of these nuclei, Nezla, is on the site of the first town of Tuggurt, i.e. that existing before the 16th century.

The whole tends now to be drawn together by new quarters, which are progressively filling up the

space between the palm groves and the *route nationale* (large groupings and industrial zone). The palm groves, which encompass the town on the east, have been regenerated by the Great Canal (150 km/95 miles) intended to drain the whole of the Oued Rīgh.

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TUGH (T.), amongst the early Turks an emblem of royal authority, a standard or a drum (the former being used as a battle-flag and a rallying-point on the battle-field), known from the time of the Türgesh or Western Turks in Transoxania (see below) and of the Uyghurs.

1. In older Turkish usage.

The traditional old Turkish standard was a horse's tail or a bunch of horse hair on a pole, or, in the regions of Inner Asia adjacent to Tibet, the tail of a yak (*kuṭās*). A great ruler would be described as having nine *tughs*, the maximum (*tokuz tughlugh khan*). Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, iii, 127, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, ii, 213, defines *tūgh* as (1) a drum beaten in the ruler's presence, i.e. as what would in later Islamic times be described as the *nawba* [see NAKKĀRA-KHĀNA and ṬABL-KHĀNA] (such great drums, *körgä*, were later used by the Mongols as rallying-points in battle, see Doerfer, i, 473-5 no. 339); and (2) an *ʿalam*, with the ruler's nine standards made of brocade or orange silk. This last definition must reflect Chinese influence. In fact, Clauson takes *tugh* to be a loan word from Chinese *tu* "banner". Middle Chinese *dok*, and the borrowing must have taken place early. The historian al-Ṭabarī speaks of the *ṭūkāt al-turk*, those of the Khāḳān of the Turks which Arab scouts saw (*ʿāyana*) when the commander Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh was campaigning in Khuttal in the upper Oxus region [see KHUTTALĀN] in 119/737 (ii, 1598, cf. also 1611, 1616). Whether the meaning here is flags or horse tails' emblems does not emerge from the context with certainty, but al-Ṭabarī's source might have been expected to have used the familiar term *aʿlām* if ordinary flags had been intended.

The word passed from the various Turkish languages into Mongolian as *tukh/tuk* in the sense of "battle-flag" and even as far as Tibetan (as *thug*) and Tungusic languages. Regarding Mongol usage, Marco Polo states that a corps of 100,000 of the Great Khān's troops is called a *tuc*, just as one of 10,000 is called a *toman* [see TŪMĀN. 1.] (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ²London 1903, i, 261, cf. 263-4). Finally, one may mention that Turkish soldiers brought the term into the history of the Indian Subcontinent in that the commander Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ (*tughluk* "the man with the *tugh*") was in the early 8th/14th century the founder of the Tughluḳid line [*q.v.*] of Dihlī Sultans (see A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Namen und Titel in Indien*, in *Aus Indiens Kultur. Festgabe R. von Garbe*, Erlangen 1927, 2).

Bibliography: See on the early usage of *tughs* and on the linguistic aspects, Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, 618-22 no. 969; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 464. See also *İA* art. *Tuğ* (Bahaeddin Ögel) (mainly concerned with early usages, and does not cover the Ottomans).

2. In Ottoman usage.

Under the early Ottomans, the *tugh* continued to be an emblem of royalty and viceroyalty, with the sultans themselves campaigning under their banners (sometimes having on them a crescent moon emblem, amongst several others, see HILĀL. ii, at Vol. III, 383b-384a and Figs. 17-19) and as many as seven or nine *tughs*, horse tails suspended from a pole surmounted by a golden ball. Those to whom royal authority had been delegated had a lesser number of *tughs*. *Sandjak beyis* and *mīr-liwās* had one *tugh*; *beylerbeyis*, two; viziers, both the *kubbe wezīrs* [*q.v.*] of the Imperial *Dīwān* and provincial ones, three; and the Grand Vizier, five.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see *EI*¹ art. s.v. (Cl. Huart); also Pakalın, iii, 522-5; Gibb and Bowen, i, 139-40. (C.E. Bosworth)

TUGHLUḲ TEMÜR (d. 764/1363), Čaghatayid [*q.v.*] *khān* in Central Asia. The fullest source of information, though largely concerned with his conversion to Islam, is the 10th/16th-century *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, who reproduces a Mongol tradition that his ancestor, the *amīr* Puladči, had brought Tughluḳ Temür from the Ḳalmaḳ country and enthroned him as *khān* of Čaghatay's *ulus* at the age of eighteen (*ca.* 752/1351). But whereas Ḥaydar names as his father the *khān* Esen Buḳa (d. *ca.* 718/1318), which is chronologically impossible, a 9th/15th-century genealogical work, the *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, makes Tughluḳ Temür the son of Esen Buḳa's younger brother Emil Khʷādja (Ḳoča). Tughluḳ Temür ruled over the eastern tracts of Čaghatay's *ulus*, the region still dominated by nomads and barely touched by Islam, and known as Jata or Mogholistān [*q.v.*] to distinguish it from Mā warāʾ al-nahr [*q.v.*], which was governed by other Čaghatayid *khāns*; the division of the *ulus* into two rival khānates dated from not long before Tughluḳ Temür's own accession. Tughluḳ Temür's conversion may not have been as complete as Ḥaydar suggests: he is known to have sent to Tibet for a Buddhist teacher at some time after 1360 (*The Blue Annals*, tr. G.N. Roerich, Calcutta 1949-53, ii, 504).

Tughluḳ Temür twice invaded Mā warāʾ al-nahr, in Rabīʿ II 761/March 1360 and in Djumādā I 762/March 1361: on both occasions he received the submission of local *amīrs*, including the future conqueror Tīmūr (Temür), whom he appointed as governor of Kish (Shahr-i Sabz). On the second expedition, Tughluḳ Temür advanced as far as Ḳunduz and the Hindū Kush before retiring again to Mogholistān. His harsh conduct, and that of his commanders, in Mā warāʾ al-nahr had in any case alienated Tīmūr among others. Tīmūrid chroniclers differ as to the date of Tughluḳ Temür's death, Yazdī (ed. Ilahdad, 87; ed. Urunbaev, fol. 107b) implying 765/1364, while Naṭanzī (125) confirms the year 764 supplied by Ḥaydar. He was buried in Almaligh [*q.v.*]. His son Ilyās Khʷādja, whom he had left as his deputy in Mā warāʾ al-nahr, was recalled to succeed him, but was himself murdered, together with most of his brothers, by the Dughlāt *amīr* Ḳamar al-Dīn. The later *khāns* of Mogholistān claimed descent from Khiḍr Khʷādja, allegedly an infant son of Tughluḳ Temür who had escaped the massacre.

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M.M. Ilahdad, Calcutta 1885-7, i, 43-9, 57-60, 87, and facs. ed. A. Urunbaev, Tashkent 1972, fols. 81b, 95b-97a, 99b-100a, 107b; Naṭanzī, *Muntak̲h̲ab al-tawārīk̲h̲-i Muʿīnī*, partial ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 114, 117-19, 123-5; W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, ed. Th. Menzel, Berlin 1935, repr. Hildesheim 1962, 208-9; idem, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, Leiden 1956-62, i, 137-9. (P. Jackson)

TUG̲H̲LUḲIDS, the longest-lived dynasty to rule over the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*], from 720/1320 to 815/1412.

1. History.

The founder of the dynasty, G̲h̲āzī Malik Tug̲h̲luḳ, was probably an immigrant belonging to the Turco-Mongol group of the Ḳara'unas, who nomadised in the borderlands between India and Central Asia (see R.C. Jauhri, *Ghiyāthu 'd-dīn Tughluq—his original name and descent*, in H. Krueger (ed.), *Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf commemoration volume*, Wiesbaden 1966, 62-6), and under the last two K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī [*q.v.*] sultans had fought regularly against the Mongols as *muḳtaʿ* of Dīwpālpūr in the Pand̲j̲āb. When the Indian Nāṣir al-Dīn K̲h̲usraw S̲h̲āh murdered Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak S̲h̲āh K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī and usurped the throne (720/1320), G̲h̲āzī Malik, encouraged by his son Muḥammad, who held the rank of *amīr-i āk̲h̲ūr* at court, rebelled against him. The usurper was overthrown and G̲h̲āzī Malik became sultan as G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Tug̲h̲luḳ (720-5/1320-5 [*q.v.*]). During his reign Muḥammad, now as heir-apparent styled Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān, headed two campaigns to subdue Tilang or Telingāna [*q.v.*] (*ca.* 721-3/1321-2); Maʿbar [*q.v.*] was reduced to submission at around the same time; and the sultan himself brought Bengal back under the authority of Dihlī (724/1324). On his sudden death in an accident outside Dihlī following his return from Bengal, G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn was succeeded by Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ (724-52/1324-51 [*q.v.*]), under whom the Sultanate reached its peak.

Muḥammad's reign began with a successful campaign against the Mongols of the Pes̲h̲awar region and with the suppression of revolts in Multān, the Deccan and Bengal. The contemporary chronicler Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī [*q.v.*] alleges that the government exerted a closer control over a greater number of provinces than at any previous time in the Sultanate's history (*Tārīk̲h̲-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī*, 468). In *ca.* 729/1328-9 the Sultanate successfully weathered the last major invasion from the Čag̲h̲atay k̲h̲ānate [*q.v.*] in Central Asia prior to that of Temür or Tīmūr [*q.v.*], led by the k̲h̲ān Tarmas̲h̲irin (P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the Delhi Sultanate in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq*, in *CAJ*, xix [1975], 118-57). Muḥammad's generosity towards foreign immigrants, which became a byword, was partly designed to secure immunity from further Mongol attacks by means of the enormous wealth and patronage at his disposal; he may also have aimed to broaden the base of support enjoyed by a dynasty that had come to power mainly with the aid of elements from the Pand̲j̲āb.

Muḥammad is perhaps the most enigmatic and certainly the most controversial of the Dihlī sovereigns. In his personal devotions and his view that "religion and the state are twins", which led him to press Ṣūfīs into the state service and produced strained relations with many of the *ʿulamā'*, he may have been influenced by the ideology of Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], one of whose disciples visited his court: his philosophy was misunderstood by contemporary authors like Baranī and ʿIṣāmī, on whom we depend for accounts of the reign (K.A. Nizami, *The impact of Ibn Taimiyya on South Asia*, in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, i [1990], 125-34). But Muḥammad certainly overreached himself. His plan to establish a second capital at Dēōgīr (renamed Dawlatābād) in the Deccan in 727/1327, in order to accelerate Muslim colonisation of that territory, was effectively abandoned by 735/1334. Another ambition, to reduce the Mongols of present-day Afg̲h̲ānistān and Transoxiana (the so-called "K̲h̲urāsān project"), was aborted within two years. The sultan is much criticised in the sources, as also by modern scholars, for this and other disastrous projects, such as the enhancement of the revenue demand in the Doāb region, east of the D̲j̲amnā [*q.v.*] (Jumna), which provoked a widespread insurrection by the cultivators, and the introduction in 730/1329 of a low-denomination bronze coinage, which had to be recalled after two years. It is possible, nevertheless, that all these measures formed part of a coherent policy, and that their failure was due to circumstances beyond the sultan's control.

The revolt of the Doāb cultivators (*ca.* 732/1331-2), which subsided within two years or so, was followed by risings elsewhere and by the secession of the more distant provinces of Maʿbar (734/1333-4), Bengal (*ca.* 735/1334-5) and Kampīla and Tilang (*ca.* 736/1335); and the outbreak of plague and a seven-year famine prevented Muḥammad from recovering these territories. Although the sultan seems to have enjoyed a respite from *ca.* 741/1340, and successfully sought a diploma of investiture from the ʿAbbāsid caliph at Cairo in 744/1343, revolts by the military officer class in the Deccan and Gud̲j̲arāt from 745/1344 onwards absorbed his energies during the last few years of his reign. The Deccan broke away under the Bahmanid [*q.v.*] dynasty, and although Muḥammad personally reduced Gud̲j̲arāt, the rebel leader, a Turkish slave officer named Tug̲h̲ay, took refuge with the Sumerā rulers of T̲h̲aṭṭā [*q.vv.*] in lower Sind. He was finally eliminated only after the sultan's own death on the Indus in 752/1351 while preparing for an attack on the Sumerās.

Muḥammad's troops enthroned his cousin Fīrūz S̲h̲āh b. Rad̲j̲ab, who had served him loyally as viceroy and chamberlain (*nā'ib bārbeg*), and despite opposition from the late sultan's *wazīr* K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a D̲j̲ahān Aḥmad b. Ayāz, who proclaimed a reputed son of Muḥammad in Dihlī (Sir Wolseley Haig, *Five questions in the history of the Tughluq dynasty of Delhi*, in *JRAS* [1922], 365-72), the new sovereign was able to enter the capital in triumph. The era of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh (752-90/1351-88 [*q.v.*]) is often taken to have been one of recovery and consolidation, though in all likelihood the comparison with the chaos of Muḥammad's reign or with the disasters that followed Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's death has distorted the perspective of our sources. The reign admittedly witnessed only one revolt, that of S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Dāmg̲h̲ānī in Gud̲j̲arāt (782/1380-1), and was relatively free of Mongol attacks. Fīrūz S̲h̲āh received a series of diplomas from successive ʿAbbāsid caliphs, recognising his authority over the entire subcontinent and islands as far afield as Java. Nevertheless, the sultan was obliged to acquiesce in the loss of the Deccan and the far south, and his few military exploits were undistinguished. Campaigns against Bengal, in 754/1353 and 760/1359, and against D̲j̲ād̲j̲nagar (Orissa) in 761/1360 achieved little, and his only successes were the reduction of the *rād̲j̲ā* of Nagarkōt (Kāngrā) to tributary status and the submission of T̲h̲aṭṭā in *ca.* 767/1365, which thus avenged Muḥammad's humiliation. The burden of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's domestic policy was to increase donations to Ṣūfī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s and other charitable causes and to conciliate the nobility, thus

Genealogical Table of the Dynasty

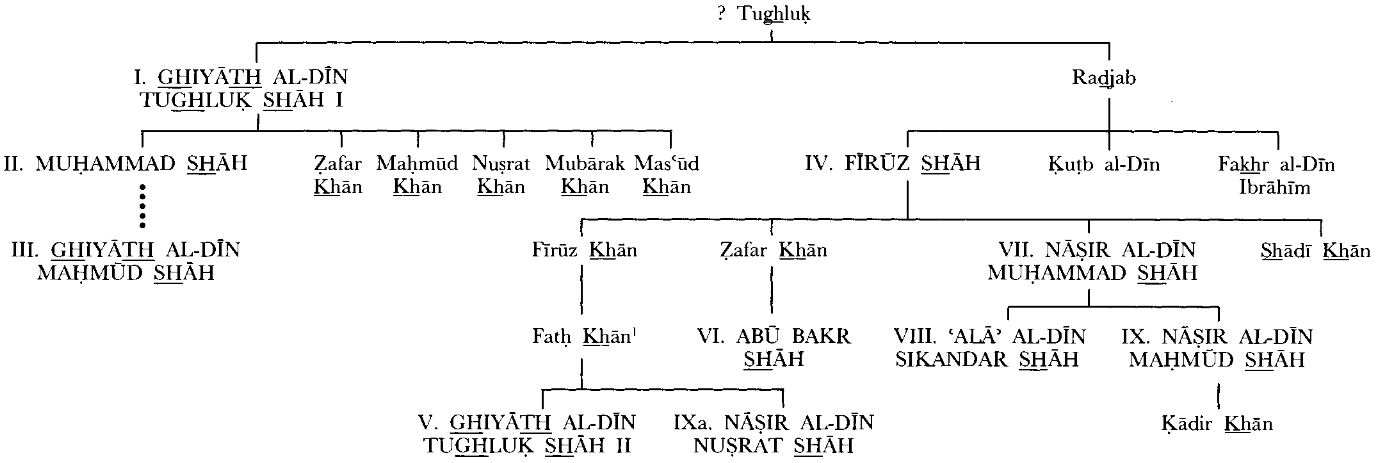

N.B. That Fath Khān, who usually appears in the secondary literature as a son of Fīrūz Shāh, was in fact the offspring of the sultan's eldest son Fīrūz Khān is clear from Bihāmadkhānī, *Tārīkh-i Muhammadī*, fol. 416b (tr. Zaki, 20), and from Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 527 (text corrupt: the phrase that follows, *a'nī sultān muhammad*, belong to Muhammad Khān, i.e. the later sultan Nāsir al-Dīn Muhammad Shāh, whose name has dropped out); cf. also 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 65, where Fath Khān is said to have been born in Fīrūz Khān's house. It has helped to confuse matters that Fath Khān was in fact virtually a year older than his uncle Muhammad, for whose birth (in 753/1352) see Sirhindī, *Tārīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, 123.

forestalling revolts of the kind that had characterised Muḥammad's era; but the effect of the sultan's concessions was to relax the central government's control over revenue and the provincial administration. It may be that the military and fiscal capacity of the Sultanate, already diminished since the early years of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ, was gravely impaired.

In Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's last years, real power was in the hands of the *wazīr* K̲h̲ān D̲j̲ahān, who was hostile to his only surviving son Muḥammad and ousted the prince from the succession in favour of the old sultan's great-grandson Tug̲h̲luḳ S̲h̲āh II (790-1/1388-9). Over the next few years the situation was dominated by Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's large slave establishment, with whose aid both Tug̲h̲luḳ S̲h̲āh and his cousin and successor, Abū Bakr S̲h̲āh (791-2/1389-90), strenuously resisted Muḥammad's attempts to occupy the Dihlī complex. He was able to do so only when a sufficiently large number of the slaves deserted to him. Once in power, however, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (792-6/1390-4) acted swiftly to destroy this powerful corps. His reign was largely taken up with struggles against Hindu chiefs in Alwar and the Doāb, and in the west the Khōkhar chief sacked Lahore just prior to Muḥammad's death. Muḥammad's elder son, ʿAlā' al-Dīn Sikandar S̲h̲āh, died after a reign of little more than a month (796/1394) and was succeeded by his younger brother, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd II (796-815/1394-1412 [*q.v.*]).

Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh, who came eventually under the tutelage of Mallū Iḳbāl K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*], presided over the final stage in the disintegration of the Sultanate. From 797/1395 an ousted court faction, headed by Tatar K̲h̲ān, son of the governor of Gud̲j̲arāt Ẓafar K̲h̲ān, maintained at Fīrūzābād a rival Tug̲h̲luḳid sultan, Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat S̲h̲āh. Both candidates were swept aside during the invasion of northern India by Tīmūr, who in 801/1398 sacked Dihlī. In the provinces power had by now passed to men to whom, as his principal lieutenants, Muḥammad S̲h̲āh had delegated considerable authority. Thus K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a D̲j̲ahān Sarwar, the effective creator of the S̲h̲arḳī dynasty at D̲j̲awnpūr [*q.vv.*], was to all intents autonomous in the entire region east of the D̲j̲amnā as far as Bihār; Ẓafar K̲h̲ān founded his own dynasty in Gud̲j̲arāt; and K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān had secured Tīmūr's recognition as his deputy at Multān. After Tīmūr's withdrawal, Nuṣrat S̲h̲āh briefly reoccupied Fīrūzābād, but soon died. Mallū Iḳbāl K̲h̲ān thereupon re-established himself at Dihlī, but Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh, whom he invited to join him there in 801/1404, shortly deserted him and took refuge at Ḳannawd̲j̲ [*q.v.*], which he had wrested from the S̲h̲arḳīs. After Mallū's overthrow by K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān near Ad̲j̲ūdhan in 808/1405, Maḥmūd returned to Dihlī, where he reigned until his death in 815/1412 over an empire that consisted of little more than the eastern Pand̲j̲āb and parts of the Doāb. His son Ḳādir K̲h̲ān seems to have perished in conflict with the S̲h̲arḳīs around this time, and Maḥmūd was briefly succeeded by one of his *amīrs*, Dawlat K̲h̲ān, who in the following year was vanquished by K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān, founder of the Sayyid [*q.v.*] dynasty.

The Tug̲h̲luḳid era was one of high cultural achievement. The poets Badr-i Čāčī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Muṭahhar of Kara flourished in the eras of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ and of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh respectively, and the latter reign was notable for a crop of juridical works (Zafar ul-Islam, *Works of legal nature of Firuz Shah's reign*, in Devahuti (ed.), *Bias in Indian historiography*, Delhi 1980, 329-37). The sultans were enthusiastic builders (see below, 2. Architecture), especially Fīrūz S̲h̲āh, who was responsible for many new towns and fortresses which are listed by ʿAfīf (*Tārīk̲h̲-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī*, 329-33) and who also constructed a number of canals.

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2. Studies. M. Habib and K.A. Nizami (eds.), *The Delhi Sultanat A.D. 1206-1526*, Delhi 1970, 445-629; A. Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq dynasty*, Calcutta 1963; idem, *The rise and fall of Muhammad ibn Tughluq*, London 1938; Ishwari Prasad, *A history of the Qaraunah Turks in India* (vol. i only), Allahabad 1936; S. Conermann, *Die Beschreibung Indiens in der "Rihla" des Ibn Battuta*, Berlin 1993; J.M. Banerjee, *A history of Firuz Shah Tughluq*, Delhi 1967; K.S. Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, Bombay 1963, repr. Delhi 1980; G.R.G. Hambly, *The twilight of Tughluqid Delhi: conflicting strategies in a disintegrating imperium*, in R.E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Delhi through the ages*, Oxford and Delhi 1986, 45-62. (P. Jackson)

2. Architecture.

The three major Tug̲h̲luḳid rulers were enthusiastic patrons of architecture and concentrated their building activity in Dihlī. The major architectural undertaking of sultan G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Tug̲h̲luḳ S̲h̲āh was the massive citadel of Tug̲h̲luḳābād, 7 km/4 miles to the east of the late 12th-early 14th century D̲j̲āmiʿ mosque in old Dihlī. The earliest extant Sultanate town, it has stone walls 9 to 15 m high, enclosing an area of about 162 ha;,water was provided through elaborate dams, sluice gates, and cisterns that created an artificial lake in which the sultan built a fortified necropolis to house his own tomb (Pl. XX, fig. 1) (see N. and M. Shokoohy, *Tughluqabad, the earliest surviving town of the Delhi Sultanate*, in *BSOAS*, lvii [1994], 516-50). Further to the north and closer to the D̲j̲amnā River, the powerful Čis̲h̲tī leader, Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', oversaw the construction of his great *dargāh*, the best preserved of a number of such Ṣūfī centres built in the Dihlī area during the Tug̲h̲luḳid period (see Z. Hasan, *Guide to Nizamuddin*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 10, Calcutta 1922; M. Ara, *Dargāhs in medieval India*, Tokyo 1977 [in Japanese]).

Sultan Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ [*q.v.*] had a well-developed aesthetic sense and sustained a broader range of building activity. In the Deccan he established a second capital at Dawlatābād. In south Dihlī he built the imposing Sātpulāh (Pl. XX, fig. 2), a fortified dam and sluice gate that was part of 8 km/5 miles of walls linking the older centres of Sirī and Lāl Kōt with the sultan's new residence of D̲j̲ahānpanāh (see A. Welch, *Hydraulic architecture in medieval India: the Tughluqs*, in *Environmental Design. Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, Rome, ii [1985], 74-81). This royal quarter contained a splendid D̲j̲āmiʿ mosque (the Begampur Mosque), attributed to the royal architect Ẓāhir al-Dīn al-D̲j̲ayus̲h̲, who used a classic Persian four-*īwān* plan with domed arcades and four domed chambers around a large inner court (Pl. XXI, fig. 3). The main entrance on the east side, approached by an imposing flight of stairs, regally dominates the street below. Forty-two miles to the north are the ruins of the Dār Sarā palace (Bid̲j̲ay Mandel), described at length by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who especially praises the palace's Dīwān-i ʿĀmm (*Hazār Ustūn* or "Thousand Pillars").

The contemporary chronicler S̲h̲ams al-Dīn ʿAfīf marvels at Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's passion for architecture and credits him with hundreds of cities, forts, palaces, mosques, *madrasas*, gardens, cisterns, and dams. In his own memoirs (*Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz-S̲h̲āhī*) the sultan (752-90/1351-88) refers to the vast sums spent on building projects and to his conscientious restoration of his predecessors' buildings. His patronage was supported by an effective bureaucracy, and his buildings display ingenuity, daring experimentation, and open-minded eclecticism, whether in incorporating pre-Islamic Indian architectural styles or trying out new architectural types. Royal irrigation canals made possible the rapid expansion of cities like Ḥiṣār in the Pand̲j̲āb, where the sultan built some of his most imaginative garden architecture (for the Tug̲h̲luḳid monuments of Ḥiṣār, see M. and N. Shokoohy, *Hisar-i Firuza. Sultanate and early Mughal architecture in the District of Hisar, India*, London 1988; for a study of Sultanate gardens, see A. Welch, *Gardens that Babur did not like*, in J.L. Wescoat and J. Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds.), *Mughal gardens. Sources, places, representations, and prospects*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. 1996, 59-93). He had a passion for hunting and built a number of *mahalls* (small hunting lodges) on the outskirts of Dihlī (Pl. XXI, fig. 4). On the banks of the D̲j̲amnā river 11 km/7 miles to the north of D̲j̲ahānpanāh he also established a new, elaborately fortified royal residence named Fīrūzābād (see J.A. Page, *A memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, Dihlī*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 52, Delhi 1937). Among other structures the citadel contained three gardens, a palace, an audience hall, and a circular step well. In the courtyard of its *d̲j̲āmiʿ* mosque was a domed pavilion inscribed with the text of the sultan's *futūḥāt*, one of the few instances of monumental epigraphy under Tug̲h̲luḳid patronage. On the mosque's north side was the remarkable Mīnār-i Zarrīn (Pl. XXII, fig. 5), a three-tiered, stepped pyramid rising more than 14 m and supporting a massive Aśokan pillar, an impressive reminder of India's pre-Islamic past transformed into a *mīnār* that dominated the surrounding area (see A. Welch, *Architectural patronage and the past: the Tughluq Sultans of Dihlī*, in *Muqarnas*, x [1993], 311-22). Fīrūz S̲h̲āh also incorporated "Aśokan" pillars into a palace in west Dihlī and a mosque in Ḥiṣār (Pl. XXII, fig. 6).

Mosque types are many and evince a spirit of experimentation: the *ca.* 1352 Fīrūzābād mosque had four arcades three bays deep around a central courtyard; the *ca.* 1351-4 K̲h̲irkī mosque (Pl. XXIII, fig. 7) is a cross-axial mosque with four small courtyards letting light into the multi-domed interior; its impressive east gate at the top of a long flight of steps is flanked by *mīnārs* whose wedge-shaped flanges make explicit reference to the great Ḳuṭb Mīnār built in the late 12th and early 13th centuries by the first two sultans of Dihlī, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak and Iltutmis̲h̲ (Pl. XXIII, fig. 8). A number of other mosques consist essentially of open courtyards with modest prayer halls (see Welch and H. Crane, *The Tughluqs: master builders of the Delhi Sultanate*, in *Muqarnas*, i [1983], 123-66). Situated outside the walls of Fīrūzābād, the *dargāh* of Ḳadam S̲h̲arīf consisted of three arcades around an open pavilion that sheltered the tomb of the sultan's son Fatḥ K̲h̲ān and the relic of the Holy Footprint (see Welch, *The shrine of the Holy Footprint in Delhi*, in *Muqarnas*, xiv [1997]).

Built along the south and east sides of a large reservoir (*ḥawḍ*), the *madrasa-yi Fīrūz S̲h̲āh* (now known as the Ḥawḍ K̲h̲āṣṣ) contained teaching halls, residences, a mosque, and gardens (Pl. XXIV, fig. 9) and was famed for the quality of its faculty and students. At the juncture of the two sides was the founder's tomb, a square, domed structure, whose *miḥrāb* provided passage between the *madrasa*'s two sides (Pl. XXIV, fig. 10). A broad flight of stairs led from the tomb down to the reservoir's water, while at the north end of the east side the *madrasa*'s mosque had an open *miḥrāb* from which stairs descended to the water below (see Welch, *A medieval center of learning in India: the Hauz Khas Madrasa in Dihlī*, in *Muqarnas*, xiii [1996], 165-90). This close association of water and architecture is also found in many of the great step wells built in and around Dihlī that used forms and technology predating Islam in India.

There is no extant evidence of building activity during the remaining decade of Tug̲h̲luḳid rule after the death of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh, but the Tug̲h̲luḳid architectural achievement earned Tīmūr's admiration when he conquered Dihlī in 801/1398, and it looks forward in significant ways to the structures and patronage of the Mug̲h̲al emperors [see MUG̲H̲ALS. 7.].

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): Among primary sources, the most valuable for any study of Tug̲h̲luḳid architecture are Baranī's *Tārīk̲h̲-i Fīrūz-S̲h̲āhī*, ʿAfīf's *Tārīk̲h̲-i Fīrūz-S̲h̲āhī*, the anonymous *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-S̲h̲āhī*, and Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's own *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz S̲h̲āh*. The great Urdu scholar Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān wrote his *Āt̲h̲ār al-sanādīd* in 1847, and it is still an essential source (Eng. abridgement by R. Nath, *Monuments of Delhi*, New Delhi 1979). Zafar Hasan, *List of Hindu and Mohammadan architecture of Dihlī Province*, Delhi 1916-19, is a basic catalogue of monuments, including many that no longer exist. M.A. Husain, *A record of all the Qur'anic and non-historical epigraphs on the protected monuments in the Delhi Province*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 47, Calcutta 1936, is a basic source for any study of Sultanate architectural epigraphy. J. Burton-Page's arts. DIHLĪ and HIND. vii. Architecture, provide an overview of Sultanate architecture, as does R. Nath, *A history of Sultanate architecture*, New Delhi 1978. T. Yamamoto, M. Ara and T. Tsukinowa, *Delhi. Architectural remains of the Sultanate period* (in Japanese), 3 vols., Tokyo 1968-70, offers stunning photographs and ground plans as well as meticulous historical and geographical analysis of every significant Sultanate structure in Delhi. These and other primary and secondary

sources are discussed in Welch and Crane, *The Tughluqs: master builders of the Delhi Sultanate*, see above.

(A. Welch)

TUGHRA (t.), in mediaeval Arabic and Ottoman Turkish orthography, *ṭughrā*, a calligraphic emblem of Turkish rulers, from the time of the chiefs of the Oghuz to the Saldjūḳs and succeeding rulers in Persia, the Mamlūks and the Ottoman sultans. Under the latter, in particular, it became a highly stylised and artistic representation of the name and titles of the ruler or of princes from the royal family. Indeed, in Ottoman practice it became in effect the emblem of the state, being placed as a heading on official documents such as *fermāns* [see farmān. ii] but also on legal documents like property deeds, *wakfiyyes*, inscriptions on official buildings, coin legends, identification documents like passports, postage stamps [see posta, at Vol. VIII, 327b], goldsmiths' marks, etc. It corresponds more to Pers. *nishān* "the ruler's sign manual" than to *tawḳīʿ* [*q.v.*], which corresponds more to Tkish. *tamgha* [*q.v.*], this last derived from Turkish totemistic symbolism.

1. Origin of the term.

The oldest mention of the word is in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, fol. 232, tr. Atalay, i, 462, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 346: "the *tughragh* is the seal (*ṭābiʿ*) and signature (*tawḳīʿ*) of the king; Oghuz dialect (*ghuzziyya*) and not known to the [Western] Turks; I do not know its origin". From this, there emerges that *tughragh* (with final *gh*) is the old, eastern Oghuz form from which came *tughra* in the Western Oghuz language of the Saldjūḳs. Thence it was borrowed into Persian and re-borrowed into Ottoman and Čaghatay Turkish as a loan word. In Saldjūḳ usage, the initial unvoiced dental acquired the orthography *ṭ* under the influence of the word's back vowel harmony. In the Arabic used by chroniclers and secretaries during Mamlūk times, it acquired the Arabic sound plural *ṭughrāwāt*, on analogy with *aghāwāt*, *bāshāwāt*, etc., and there evolved the form II verb *ṭaghghara* "to affix the *ṭughrā* on a document". From Ottoman, the word spread into Serbian and Bulgarian as *tugra* and into Romanian as *tura*. Its etymology remains as mysterious today as it was in al-Kāshgharī's time. Various fanciful suggestions of the sources were reviewed by Deny in his *EI*[1] art.; Doerfer surmised that it might have been borrowed from some pre-Turkish culture. See idem, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, 342-6 no. 1344; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 471.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

2. History.

(a) In the central Islamic lands before the Ottomans.

The rulers of the first two great Turkish empires of the Middle East and the eastern Iranian lands, the Saldjūḳs and the Khᵂārazm Shāhs (virtually nothing is known of Ḳarakhānid chancery practice) seem to have used the terms *ṭughrā* and *tawḳīʿ* more or less interchangeably for the sultan's emblem or monogram. The sources for Saldjūḳ history tend to use the word *tawḳīʿ* for the emblem of Ṭoghrïl Beg and subsequent sultans (sc. the Ḳïnïḳ tribal emblem of the bow and arrow used by the first Saldjūḳ tribal chiefs—Temür Yaligh being allegedly the cognomen of the eponymous ancestor, Saldjūḳ's father Duḳāḳ—and known from Saldjūḳ coins if not from actual documents, and the club or mace, *čumāk*, mentioned by Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 98, as also being Ṭoghrïl Beg's emblem). The Khᵂārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [*q.v.*] had as part of his *ṭughrā*, according to al-Nasawī, *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu*, ed. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Ḥamdī, Cairo 1953, 324, and Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 349, the motto *ẓill Allāh fi 'l-arḍ* "the shadow of God on earth", and it is recorded that official documents and investiture patents from his chancery bore his *ṭughrā* (*ibid.*, i, 154, 329); but his son and successor Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*] refused, in his reduced state, to use such a grandiloquent formula (al-Nasawī, *loc. cit.*). In the surviving collections of *inshāʾ* from the Saldjūḳ and Khᵂārazm Shāhī periods, the term *ṭughrā* does not appear on the documents themselves, but there are mentioned in them the *dīwān-i ṭughrā* and the official charged with drawing it, the *ṭughrāʾī* (first known in the person of Ṭoghrïl's *ṭughrāʾī*, the Turkish *amīr* Khumārtigin, but most notably this was the professional title by which the famous Saldjūḳ official, poet and stylist Muʾayyid al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d. probably in 515/1121 [see al-ṭughrāʾī]), who filled this office in the reign of Malik Shāh, was always known, even though he went on to become a vizier; cf. S.M. Stern, in his very thorough study of the signature in documents, 123-65, at 149 n. 1). It does seem reasonable to assume, with S.M. Stern, that, as Saldjūḳ and Khᵂārazm Shāhī chancery practice was elaborated, the *ṭughrā* of these rulers reduced the tribal mark element to stylised lines, dropped the pious mottos of each ruler (as detailed by Rāwandī) and incorporated the ruler's titles in a stylised pattern with elongated shafts of letters, foreshadowing later developments which were to culminate in Ottoman practice. See on the general topic of the *ṭughrā* during this period, Cl. Cahen, *La ṭugrā seljukide*, in *JA*, ccxxxiv (1943-5), 167-72; Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees. Original documents from the Fāṭimid chancery*, London 1964, 143-52; H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselğūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 35-6.

It seems very probable that such dynasties which arose out of the decaying great Saldjūḳ empire as the Zangid Atabegs and then the Ayyūbids took over the use of the *ṭughrā* from the Saldjūḳ chancery. The Ayyūbid sultans had, like their Fāṭimid predecessors in Egypt and southern Syria, pious royal mottos as part of their *ʿalāma* [*q.v.*], and presumably a signature with the names and titles of the monarch. In the absence of actual documents with representations of the *ṭughrā* in them, Stern surmised that the graphic form was in the style of the *ṭughrā*, with elongated shafts to the letters and possibly also some vertical lines to set them off (*Fāṭimid decrees*, 154-5; cf. also his *Two Ayyūbid decrees from Sinai*, in idem (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford 1965, 15-17). Further snippets of relevant information come from mentions of the *ṭughrā* in the manual on secretaryship of Ibn Shīth al-Ḳurashī (d. 625/1228; see on him W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 34-6), the *Maʿālim al-kitāba*, Beirut 1913, 43, and in the brief annals of Ibn Abi 'l-Dam (d. 642/1244 [*q.v.*]), in which he gives a model diploma of al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt for his own patron al-Malik al-Muẓaffar of Ḥamāt which, he says, ended with a *ṭughrā* (cited by Cahen, *La correspondence de Ḍiyā ad-Dīn ibn al-Athīr. Liste de lettres et textes de diplômes*, in *BSOAS*, xiv [1952], 42-3).

It should be noted that, around this time, we begin to find the word *ṭughrā* confused in Arabic literary and popular usage with the similar Arabic word *ṭurra*, literally "border of a piece of cloth", "upper border of a document", obviously arising from the part of the document where the *ṭughrā* was normally affixed; already Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 190, defines the *ṭughrā* as "the *ṭurra* which is written with a

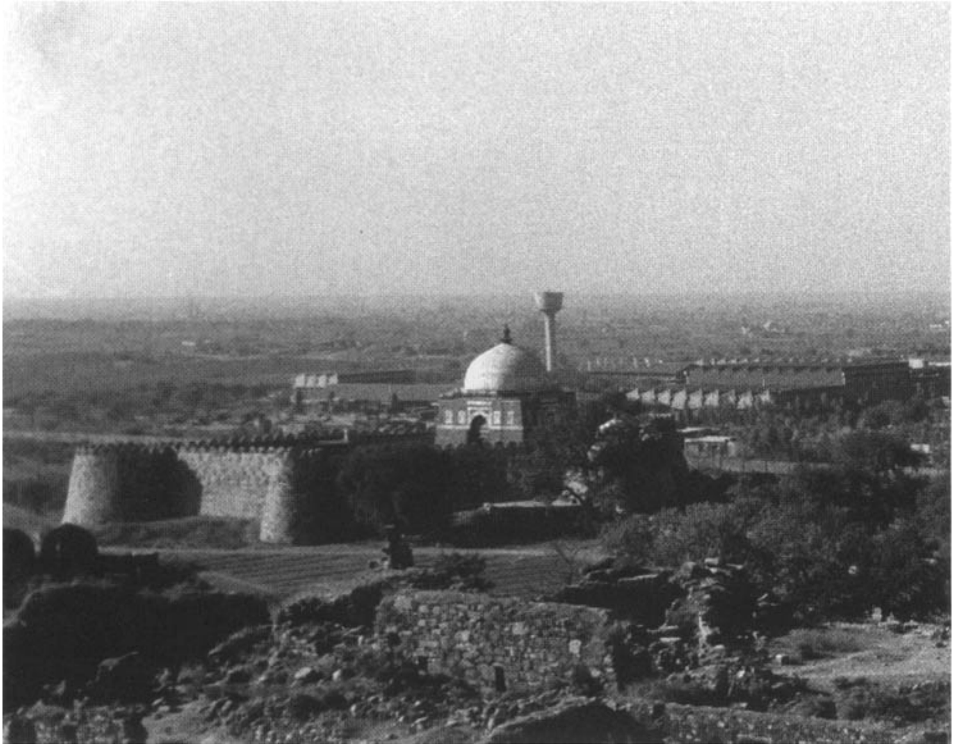

Fig. 1. Tug͟hluḳābād, walled tomb of G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn, *ca.* 1325.

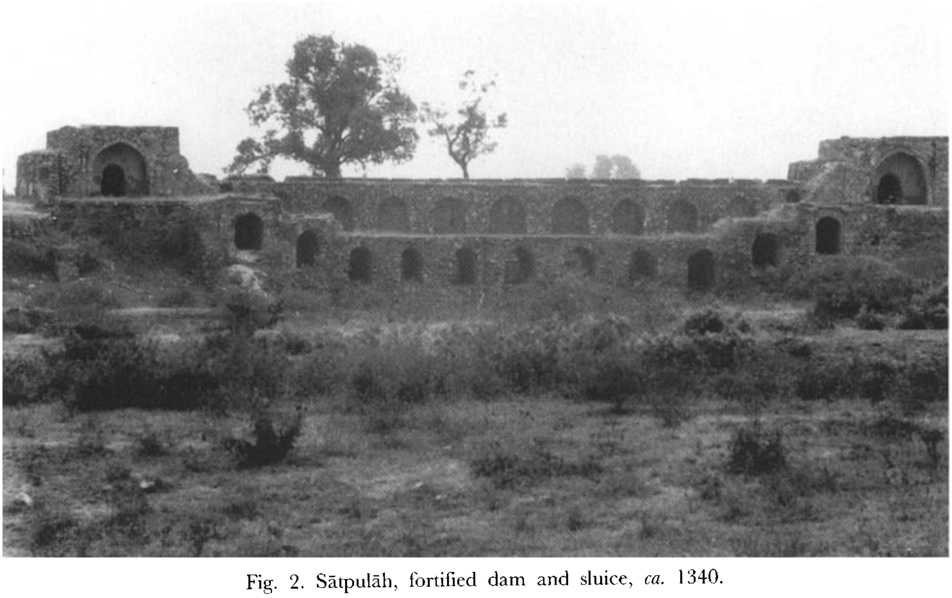

Fig. 2. Sātpulāh, fortified dam and sluice, *ca.* 1340.

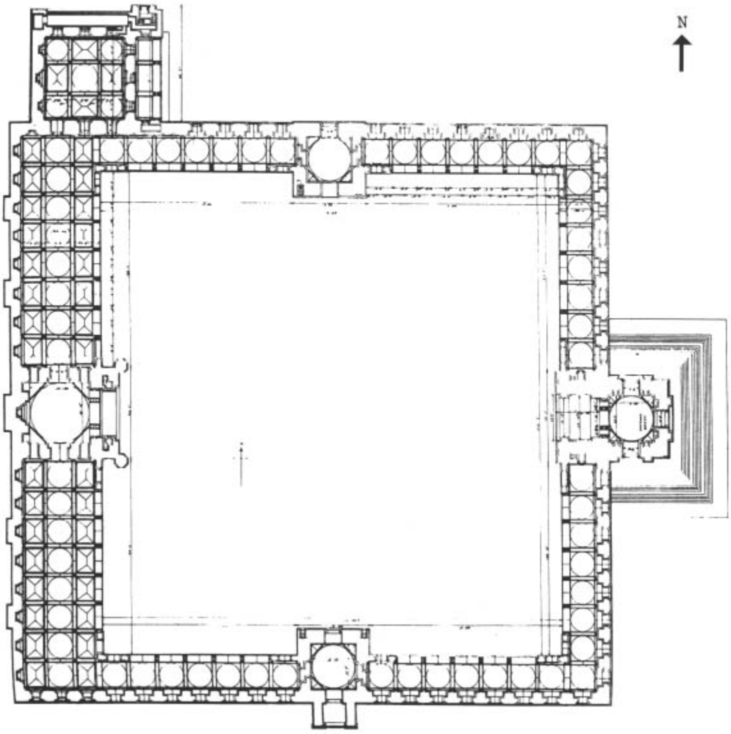

Fig. 3. Mosque of D̲j̲ahānpanāh, *ca.* 1343: ground plan.

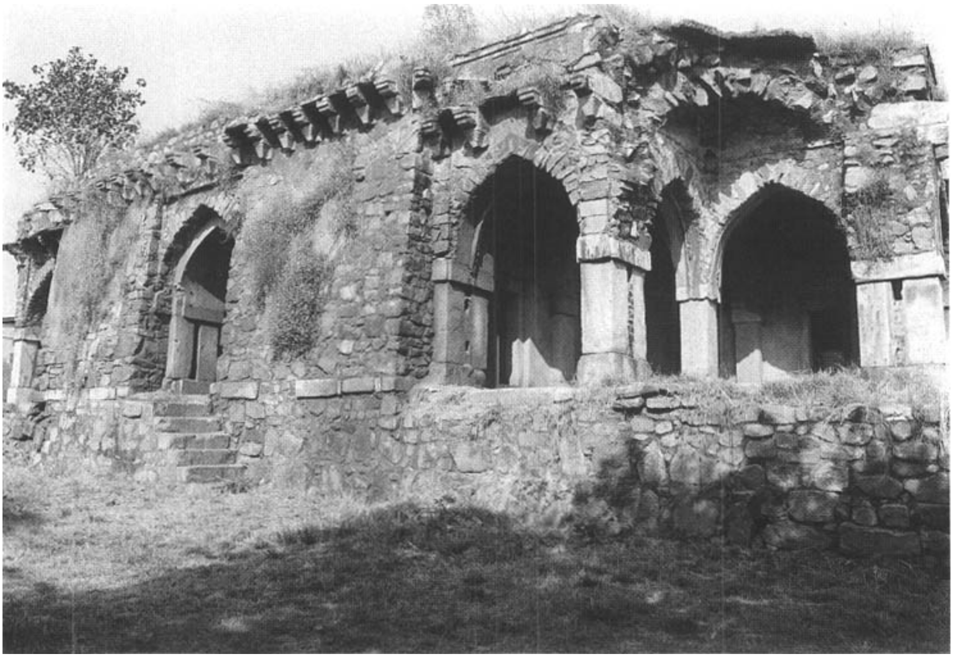

Fig. 4. Malča Maḥall, *ca.* 1360, west side.

Fig. 5. Mīnār-i Zarrīn of mosque of Fīrūzābād, *ca.* 1354.

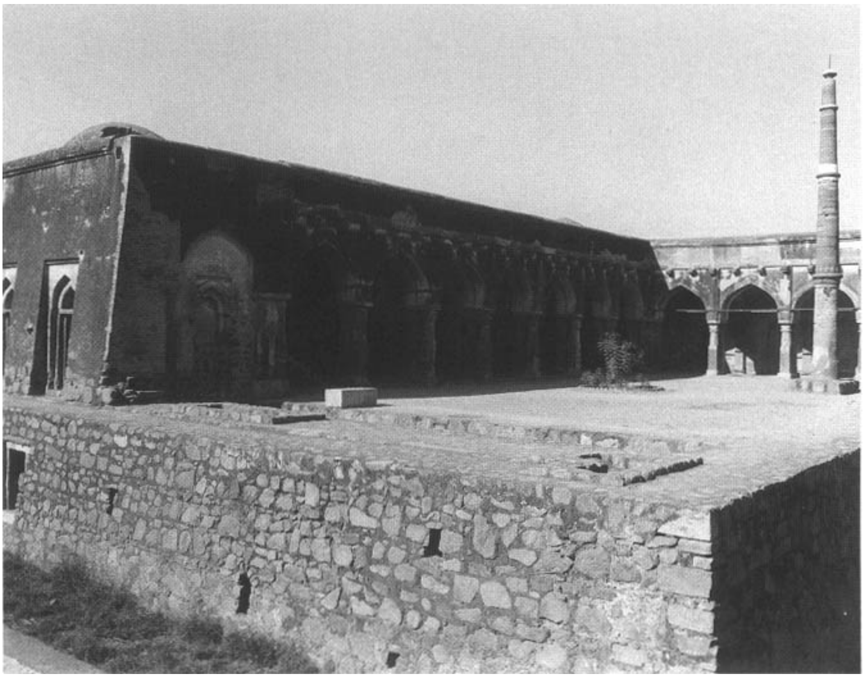

Fig. 6. Mosque of Fīrūz S͟hāh in Ḥiṣār: courtyard and *mīnār*.

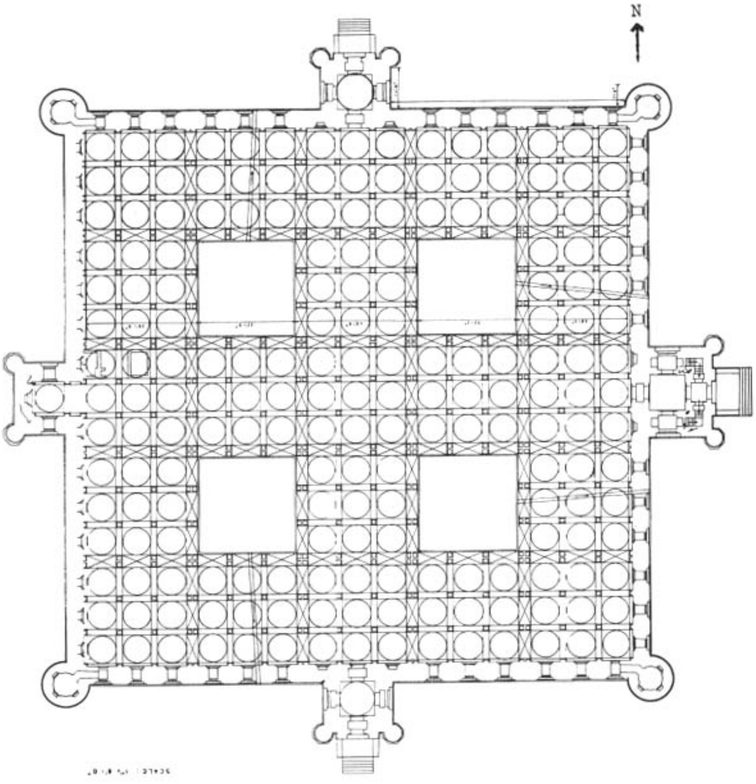

Fig. 7. Khiṙkī mosque, *ca.* 1352, ground plan.

Fig. 8. Khiṙkī mosque, east entrance.

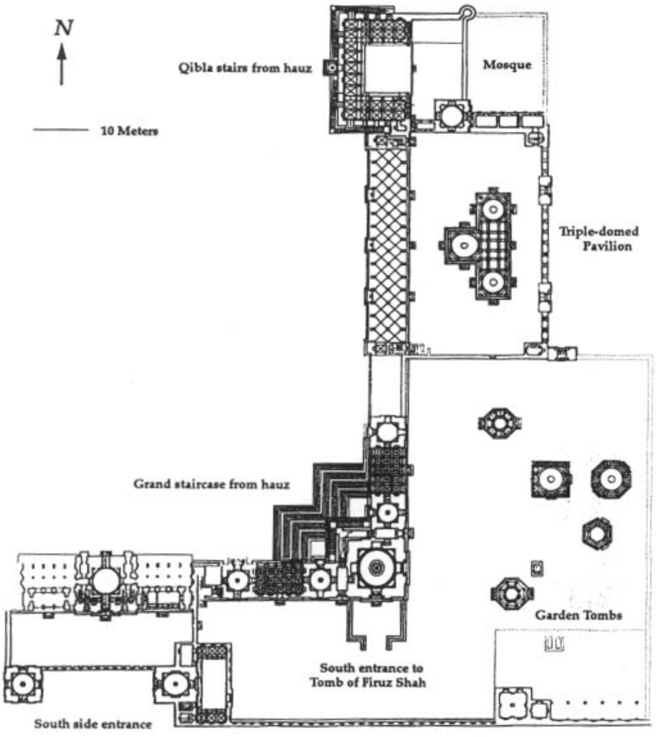

Fig. 9. Madrasa-yi Fīrūz S̲h̲āh (Ḥawḍ Ḵh̲āṣṣ *madrasa*), 1352-88: ground plan.

Fig. 10. Madrasa-yi Fīrūz S̲h̲āh (Ḥawḍ Ḵh̲āṣṣ *madrasa*): view toward southeast. (Photo: Jennifer Lort)

thick pen at the top of documents above the *basmala*", and *ṭurra* became the commonly-used form in later Egyptian popular parlance.

From the Ayyūbids, the use of the *ṭughrā* passed to their supplanters, the Mamlūks. A full description of Mamlūk practice here is given by al-Ḳalḳashandī in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xiii, 162-6, cf. Björkman, *op. cit.*, 44, 168, illustrated by two drawings of the *ṭughrā*s of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn and his grandson al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān b. Ḥusayn [*q.vv.*]. According to al-Ḳalḳashandī, the *ṭughrā* was not used after Shaʿbān's reign (764-78/1363-77), confirmed by al-Maḳrīzī's (d. 845/1442) information in his *Khiṭaṭ* that it was no longer used in his time. Al-Ḳalḳashandī gives considerable detail on the usage and the exact format of the *ṭughrā* used on *manshūr*s or investiture patents for high military commanders. When the *ṭughrā* was complex, containing many strokes, a fine (*djalīl thulth*) pen had to be used; when there were fewer strokes, the larger type of script called *mukhtaṣar al-ṭūmār* was used. A specially-appointed person in the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* prepared the *ṭughrā*s, and the secretaries then inserted them in spaces left blank for them in the *ṭurra* or upper part of the document above the *basmala*. The *ṭughrā* was composed of the sultan's honorifics, or his name and his honorifics, written on one line, with highly-prolonged upright strokes (*muntaṣibāt*) to letters like *ṭāʾ*, *ẓāʾ*, *kāf*, *lām*, etc. In al-Nāṣir's *ṭughrā*, the 35 upright strokes are alternately single and in groups of two strokes, necessitating some re-arrangement for artistic purposes of certain letters in the words, and below the line of titles is the prayer *khallada Allāh sulṭānahu* "may God prolong his dominion!" (see Pl. XXV, fig. 1). In that of Shaʿbān, the 45 upright strokes are in groups of two, again with the prayer for long life beneath the line of the sultan's titles, but also with his name Shaʿbān b. Ḥusayn in large script (*ḳalam al-ṭūmār*) written across the central verticals (see Pl. XXV, fig. 2).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

(b) In the usage of the Ottomans.

The Ottoman *tughra*, though derived in all probability from the Saldjūḳ model, differed markedly, at least in appearance, from the Mamlūk one.

One of the oldest Ottoman *tughras* known is that on the coins of the prince Süleymān Čelebi [*q.v.*], ruler in Rūmili 806-13/1403-13. This already contains the principal features of the emblem as it later developed.

1. The verticals to the number of three, which are taken from the *alifs* in the name of the prince and his father. The words *Amīr Süleymān* are surmounted by *(i)bn*, in turn surmounted by Bāyezīd. In a *tughra* of Meḥemmed (I) (i)bn Bāyezīd (cf. Khalīl Edhem, *Müze-i humāyūn meskūkāt-i ʿothmāniyye*, Istanbul 1334, i, 31), there are four verticals, but this number is exceptional and is only found, for the sultans, at a comparatively remote period.

2. The oval or elliptical curves, not closed, to the number of two, which meet in the lower part of the name of the prince and which turning first to the left, ascend, then turn to the right to cut the verticals in their upper parts and then disappear on the right. Exceptionally, we find one or three curves. The number two at quite an early period became sacred for the sultan's figure.

These curves seem originally to have been prolongations of the letters *nūn*, which occur in the word *(i)bn* and in the name of the prince or of his father or in the *tughra* of prince Süleymān, in that of Murād I, in that of Meḥemmed I, where the second *nūn* is supplied by the word *sulṭān* (cf. Khalīl Edhem, *loc. cit.*) or in the later *tughra* in which, according to Fekete, the *nūns* of the word *ibn* and *khān* have been prolonged. It is true that they are found very early, even when the names do not supply a second *nūn*; cf. the *tughras*, incomplete it is true, given by Khalīl Edhem, 44, 48, 55, 65, 67, 68.

At first, the names and the patronymic were placed in the escutcheon, circumscribed by the curves, but in the later development of the *tughra* this space was left partly vacant. At first only the name of the sultan was left there; the name of his father and later the two names were placed quite at the bottom of the verticals, where they formed a crowded group of intersecting lines, forming a more or less geometrical figure called *sere* which means "the little palm, space between the finger and the thumb" (properly "spreading out" = gerundive of the verb *ser-mek*; cf. the saying *ser-e serp-e, sele serpe*; the word is found with the same meanings in Kirghiz, cf. W. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv, 458).

Between the *sere* and the escutcheon is inserted the word *al-muẓaffar* "victorious" with the addition of *dāʾim^an^* "always", which is placed in the form of a very conventional seal in the centre of the escutcheon. The final *alif* of the word *dāʾimā* (*dāʾim^an^*) is lengthened and, turning sharply round to the left, cuts through the curves. These words appeared for the first time according to I. Ghālib Edhem (*Catalogue*, p. *zāy* and 206 n.) on the coins of Ibrāhīm II, whose reigu began in 1049/1640.

The two extremities to the right of the curves are given an elongated and more elegant form. They have become one more characteristic feature of the modern *tughra*, of which they form the arms (*tughra ḳollarī*). From the tops of the three verticals descend three broken lines like floating flames. As to the word Khān, after having figured at the end of the name of the sovereign's father, it was added to that of the sovereign from the time of Maḥmūd I (1143-68/1730-54).

In the field to the right of the *tughra* was frequently placed a flower. In the same place the sultans later put their title of *ghāzī* when they had the right to it (Maḥmūd II put his poetic nom de plume *ʿAdlī* there, cf. Pl. XXVI, fig. 8). For the other modifications in detail undergone by the *tughra*, cf. L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik*, Budapest 1926, p. xliv, n. 1.

The form of *tughra* which we have just described was often imitated by private individuals, who used to substitute for the name of the sultan religious formulae in order to make *lawḥas* or calligraphic plaques to hang up in mosques, libraries, cafés or private houses. In Egypt, we even find tradesmen's signs of this kind, but they are now disappearing and it was quite recently allowable to commission a *khaṭṭāṭ* or a maker of faience to make a *tughra* in one's own name (cf. Pl. XXVII, figs. 12, 13).

The official use of the *tughra* ceased in Turkey with the dethronement of the last sultan Meḥemmed VI [*q.v.*].

If we now compare the Ottoman *tughra* with the Mamlūk one in order to ascertain the graphic element which is common to both, we find that this element reduces itself to the uprights of the vertical letters. We are thus led to conclude quite naturally that the essential feature of the *tughra* is a certain number—not fixed—of upright strokes.

Although supplied later by the method of writing the words, the decorative motif represented by the

verticals must be older than the use of the Arabic script among the Turks.

The symbol of the tughra. If we suppose the *tughra* is not simply a conventional mode of writing, what symbol does it represent?

We have already mentioned that some see in it the figure of a bird. Others have gone so far as to see in it a horseman galloping at full speed (Tychsen), but the most popular theory is that which owes its fame to von Hammer (*Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman*, i, 231). According to him, the *tughra* was the imitation of the mark left by the hand of sultan Murād I (761-91/1360-89), who, not being able to write, dipped his hand in ink (!) and stamped it instead of a signature on the treaty concluded with the Ragusans. This explanation, which seems to overlook the fact that the sultan in question had a chancellery, is taken by von Hammer from Engel (*Gesch. des Freystaates Ragusa*, Vienna 1807, 141), who does not give any authority. It is not known in the east and is clearly a legend, which originated no doubt in Ragusa itself. It nevertheless had a great vogue; Barbier de Meynard accepted it (*Rec. des hist. des Croisades*, iv, 138 n.), and it was defended quite recently by arguments taken from the antiquity of the use of finger prints.

Looking at the primitive form of the *tughra* (see above), all the hypotheses which we have just given fall apart at once. It is interesting to note that Fekete came to the same negative result, starting from the design of the Ottoman *tughra*, which is, however, more complicated. Later interpretations being based on more elaborate forms of the *tughra* are of little importance.

This is why the fact that the *tughra* or the *pençe*, which is the imitation of it [see PENČE], is sometimes given the form of a bird in Turkish decorative art (a specimen of the year 1181/1767-8 is given in Pl. XXVII, fig. 14). Similarly, the fact that *pençe* means "claw" and *sere* "palm" is not an argument in favour of von Hammer's theory, who, however, did not think of quoting it (the French word "griffe" is used also with the meaning of "stamp for a signature").

In thus simplifying the problem, one is led to ask if the hooks of which we have spoken have not some symbolical significance. One question arises which is put forward with all reserve: do not these verticals represent the *tugh* [*q.v.*], a word which we know was applied by the Turks to the horse or yak tails floating on the end of a pole, or earlier to flags in general? The main argument that can be produced against the suggestion is the rarity of the denominative verbal suffix *-ra*, from which we should have to derive *-ra-gh* (in *tughragh*) by a formation parallel to the well-known suffixes *-la* (*-la-gh*). See on this suffix Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, and more especially, in *L'Anthropologie*, xxxiii [1923], 174.

As to the argument that one might be tempted to draw from the flames floating at the top of the *tughra* or from the fact that, in the *pençe*, the custom became established of very often drawing two verticals for the *pashas* of two tails and three for the *pashas* of three tails or *wezīrs*, these are all intepretations *a posteriori* which prove no more than those rejected above (as a curiosity there is given in fig. 15 (Pl. XXVII) a signature in which the words *khāliṣ al-fu'ād* are arranged in three verticals of a *tugh*, although they refer to a woman). It is also to be noted that numismatists sometimes seem to take the word *tughra* in the larger meaning of "*motif* of decoration by letters" (*JRAS*, ix [1848], 300, 381).

It was noted in (a) above that the Saldjūḳ and Mamlūk rulers had officials whose special duty was to draw the *tughra* (in Turkish, *tughra čekmek*, in Persian, *tughra kashīdan*). Similarly, the Ottomans had the *nishāndji* or *tewkīʿī*, and this official made up, with the three *defterdārs* and the *defter emīnī*, the five high officials at court, the *khʷādjegān* (d'Ohsson, iii, 350; von Hammer, xvii, 54; see further on this official, NISHĀNDJĪ).

It was the duty of this official and his staff, in the early and middle periods of the Ottoman empire, to examine and control all documents presented to him for marking with the sultan's *tughra*. According to the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of the *tewkīʿī* (*nishāndji*) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (of 1087/1676-7, *MTM*, 515), the following were the formalities to be gone through: When a *firmān* is promulgated requiring official authorisation (*taṣḥīḥ firmānī*), the law requires that the *tughra* be executed by the Grand Vizier himself. On receiving this *firmān*, the *nishāndji* inscribes on the reverse the words *defteri gele* "let its register be brought" (in which is the precedent to be examined) and sends it to the *defter emīnī*. The latter at once sends back the *firmān* with the required register through the *kisedār* (official in charge of the registers) of the archives (*defter-khāne*). After finding the required reference, the *nishāndji* verifies it and keeps the *firmān* ordering it.

He also receives in a sealed bag (*memhūr kise*) the *berāt* issued by the *ḳāḍī-ʿasker*, writes on the register opposite the names of the beneficiaries of these *berāt* the word *ṣaḥḥ* "verified, seen, approved", again seals the bag and sends it by its *kisedār* to the *kāghad emīnī* (who collects the chancellery dues).

According to the *ḳānūn* of Meḥemmed II, the *nishāndjis* had to be recruited from the *müderrisīn* of the grade of *dākhil* and *ṣaḥn*, i.e. from among lawyers (evidently on account of the qualifications demanded by them as regards legislation) and also from the *defterdārs* [see DAFTARDĀR] and the *reʾīs ül-küttāb* [*q.v.*]. The early *defterdārs* ranked on this occasion as equal to the *beylerbeyis*, the early *reʾīs al-küttāb* only ranked equal to the *sandjak-beyi*.

The *reʾīs al-küttāb* became more important, and the *nishāndjis* gradually saw their functions reduced to the calligraphy of the *tughras*. Among their duties, however, they retained the control of the registration of transfers of *tīmārs* [*q.v.*] and of the *waḳf* villages (*Ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II, ed. Meḥmed ʿĀrif, 14, n. 5, suppl. to *TOEM* [1330/1912]).

According to the same *ḳānūn-nāme*, in the *dīwān-i hümāyūn*, the *nishāndjis* occupied the place of honour (*ṣadr*) along with the *wezīrs*, the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskers* and the *defterdārs*.

With the expansion of the empire, the *nishāndjis* were obliged to call in other officials for help; the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II contains provisions for the *nishāndji* to be aided by the *kubbe wezīr*, who became called the *tughrakesh wezīr*, and commanders-in-chief (*serdār*) also had the privilege of affixing the *tughra*.

The work of the *nishāndjis* was somewhat lightened by the fact that the orders of the Porte destined for the capital did not have a *tughra*; only *firmāns* sent to the provinces were *tughralī* ("supplied with a *tughra*") (Mouradja d'Ohsson, Bianchi and Kieffer, under the word *ṭughralī*).

In conclusion, it may be added that the high officials and even the governors of the second class in tracing their *pençe* frequently gave it a form very like that of the *tughra*. See photographs of orders issued by the former *wālīs* of Egypt (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 16-17) in which the *pençe* resembles the sultan's *tughra*. Instead of (in the *pençes* of 1061 and 1062/1051-2 side-by-side with) *muẓaffar*, two, and later three, elliptical circles

are found. With the three shafts, they form letters *ṭā'* which, apparently, are an *a posteriori* reminiscence of the initial of the word *ṭūgh*. Instead of *dā'ima*, *ṣaḥḥ* is found. Instead of being at the top of the document, they were put on the margin of the right side and perpendicular to it.

When the *nis̲h̲āndj̲ī* disappeared with the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms, officials called *tug̲h̲rakes̲h̲* were kept to draw the *tug̲h̲ra*.

Bibliography: For older Bibl., see *EI*[1] art. Of more recent literature, see Pakalın, iii, 525-30; Gibb and Bowen, i, 124 ff.; J. Reychman and A. Zajączkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman Turkish diplomatics*, The Hague and Paris 1968, 141-3. (J. Deny*)

(c) In later Turco-Mongol and Persian usage.

For this—in Persia, lasting up to the time of Nādir S̲h̲āh and the Ḳād̲j̲ārs—see diplomatic. iii and its *Bibl.*

(d) In Indo-Muslim usage.

Shortly after its appearance at the Sald̲j̲ūḳ court some time in the 11th or 12th century, the *ṭug̲h̲rā* gradually found its way to South Asia, most likely through the calligraphers who fled conflicts elsewhere in the Islamic world and took refuge in India. Unlike the Ottoman *ṭug̲h̲rā* which served as an imperial signature or monogram (*ʿalāma/s̲h̲iʿār*), the South Asian *ṭug̲h̲rā* evolved as a decorative style of writing resembling the Mamlūk *ṭug̲h̲rā* in Egypt, particularly in the regular repetition of the elongated vertical letters (e.g. the *alif*) drawn from the horizontal band of the calligraphic programme and the symmetrical arrangement of those verticals. This essential feature of the *ṭug̲h̲rā* is visible in a number of inscriptions in Islamic architecture in South Asia, such as the invocations, *al-mulk li 'llah* and *Allāh Kāfī*, inscribed on medallions at Rad̲j̲a ki-Bain Masd̲j̲id *ca.* 912/1506 and Ḳilʿa-i-Kuhna Masd̲j̲id (*ca.* 948/1541) in Dihlī and in the early 17th-century mausoleum of S̲h̲āh Dawlat in Manēr, Bihār (Pl. XXXIII, fig. 1); a Persian inscription of the ʿĪdghāh in Jalor, Rad̲j̲asthān (*ca.* 718/1318); an Arabic inscription over the east gateway of the D̲j̲āmiʿ Masd̲j̲id of Aḥmadābād, Gud̲j̲arāt, dated 827/1424 (Pl. XXXIII, fig. 2); and the tomb inscription of Muḥammad Amīn, the Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī ruler in Golconda, dated 1004/1595-6.

It was in Bengal, however, where the *ṭug̲h̲rā* flourished and dominated architectural calligraphy during the 14th, 15th and early part of the 16th centuries. Because of its distinctive ornamental style, this regional variety can aptly be called the Bengali *ṭug̲h̲rā*. The Miyāna Dar inscription (dated 871/1466-67) in Gawr presents a fascinating example of this regional development. On it, the surface has been divided into thirty-two calligraphic panels, each alternating *ṭug̲h̲rā* and monumental *t̲h̲ulth* styles (Pl. XXXIII, fig. 3). Interestingly, only in this inscription does the calligraphy resemble the Ottoman *ṭug̲h̲rā*. In monumental Bengali *ṭug̲h̲rās*, the convoluted uprights (*muntaṣibāt*) of the vertical letters are highly stylised (Pl. XXXIV, fig. 4a), often bearing the characteristics of the letter *alif* of *t̲h̲ulth* with distinctive features of *zulf*, *badn* and *sayf* (Pl. XXXIV, fig. 4b). While the crescent-like undulating curves represented by the oval letters such as *nūn* and *yā'* (Pl. XXXV, fig. 5), and in some cases the upper horizontal stroke (*s̲h̲ākila*) of the letter *kāf* (Pl. XXXIV, fig. 4c) and the word *fī* (Pl. XXXV, fig. 6), are superimposed on the extended uprights of the vertical letters, the main body of the text clusters very thickly at the bottom rendering an extremely intricate pattern of writing (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *An epigraphical journey to an Eastern Islamic land*, in *Muqarnas*, vii [1990], 83-108). The calligraphers thus ranged freely in producing different forms and patterns of *ṭug̲h̲rā*, using their creative imagination. However, it is not difficult to find a rhythmic pattern in the movement of the letters and the flow of lines in Bengali *ṭug̲h̲rās*, which often contained a metaphorical expression of life, nature, and the environment of Bengal in abstract forms ranging from the bow and arrow of Bengali hunting life (fig. 5) to the swan and reeds of riverine rural Bengal (fig. 6). Though the *ṭug̲h̲rā* lost its popularity in Bengal in the mid-16th century, it continued to appear in some South Indian Muslim kingdoms such as Golconda, Bid̲j̲apur, and Ḥaydarābād (see Siddiq, *al-Ṭug̲h̲rā wa 'stik̲h̲dāmuhā fi 'l-Bangāl*, in *al-Fayṣal*, no. 148 [May-June 1989], 95-100).

The *ṭug̲h̲rā* was used in some cases on coins during the Sultanate and Mug̲h̲al periods (e.g. on some coins of the Emperor Akbar) in Dihlī and also in the east by the sultans of D̲j̲awnpur [*q.v.*]. It was also occasionally used on *farmāns* (e.g. the *farmān* of the Mug̲h̲al Empress Nūr D̲j̲ahān and Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh, the Bahmanid sultan of Gulbaraga in the Deccan). Among the rulers, however, the last Mug̲h̲al emperor Bahādur S̲h̲āh Ẓafar (d. 1862) is best known for his charming little calligraphic pictures of faces and flowers in *ṭug̲h̲rā* style. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, zoomorphic patterns of the *ṭug̲h̲rā*, often in the form of lions, horses, camels, or birds usually containing a S̲h̲īʿī invocation, became popular. The *ṭug̲h̲rā* is still popular for calligraphic designs in South Asia, particularly in Pakistan, where it is widely used for official and institutional monograms, for example, on postage stamps, coins, medals and legal deeds. Quite often, these monograms resemble the late Ottoman *ṭug̲h̲rā* in their appearance.

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(Muhammad Yusuf Siddiq)

TUG̲H̲RĀ, MULLĀ, 17th-century Indo-Persian poet, died *ca.* 1078/1667 (see Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, Add. 16,852).

According to most accounts, he was a native of Mas̲h̲had, but Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, who was his contemporary, mentions him as a Tabrīzī, stating at the same time that he heard the poet being called Mas̲h̲hadī (*Tad̲h̲kira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1361/1982, 339). Tug̲h̲rā went to India towards the end of D̲j̲ahāngīr's reign or in the beginning of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān's time. His first employer there was Mīr Muḥammad Saʿīd Mīr D̲j̲umla (d. 1663), prime minister of ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh of Golconda. Later, he served as secretary for S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān's youngest son Murād Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ (d. 1661). He accompanied the latter in his expedition to Balk̲h̲ (1646), and travelled widely in the Deccan, finally settling in Kas̲h̲mīr, where he died.

Tug̲h̲rā's poetic output comprises *g̲h̲azals*, *ḳaṣīdas*, *ḳiṭʿas*, *mat̲h̲nawīs* and other similar conventional verse forms. Among the *mat̲h̲nawīs* is his *Sāḳī-nāma*, "Book of the cup-bearer", a lengthy work of some 10,000 couplets, composed by him after Ẓuhūrī's poem in the same genre (see Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Kārwān-i Hind*, i, Mas̲h̲had 1369/1991, 816). In those poems

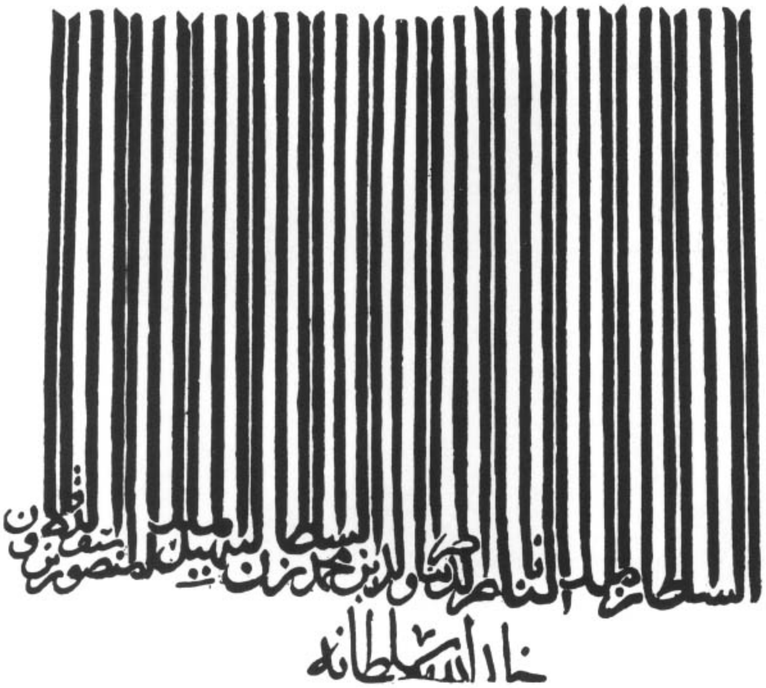

Fig. 1

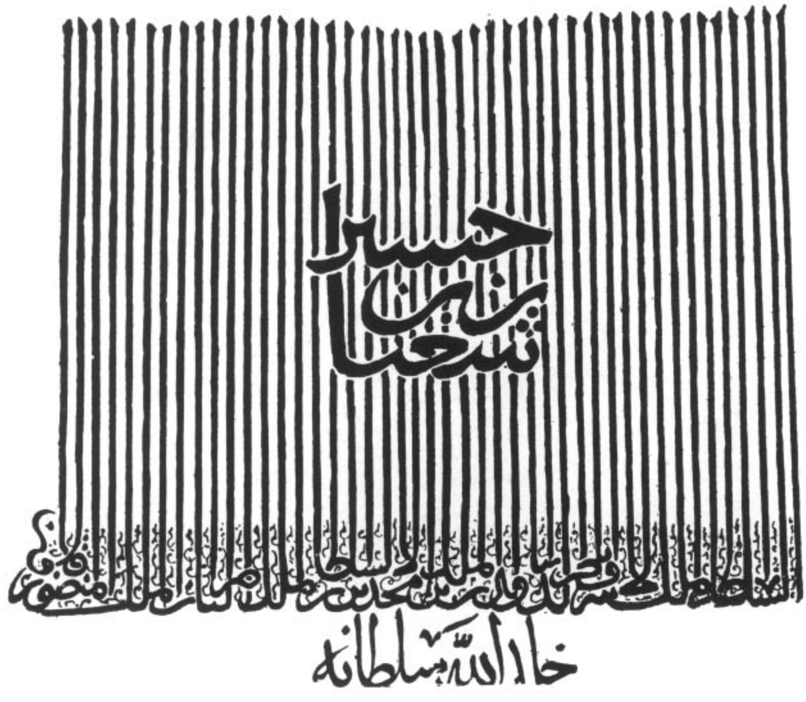

Fig. 2

Fig. 3
Tughra of the *amīr* Süleymān (1403-13).

Fig. 4
Tughra of Meḥemmed III (1595-1603).

Fig. 5
Tughra of Ibrāhīm I (1640-48).

Fig. 6
Tughra of Maḥmūd I (1730-54).

Fig. 7
Tughra of Muṣṭafā III (1757-73).

Fig. 8
Tughra of Maḥmūd II (1808-39).

Fig. 9
Tughra of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-76).

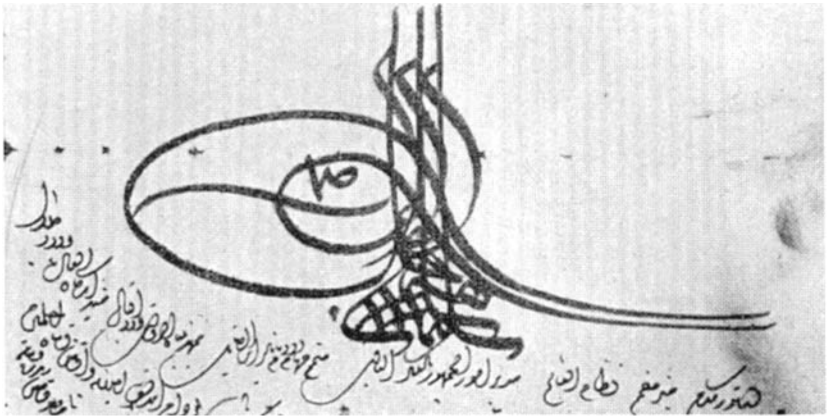

Fig. 10
Tughra of Sultan Süleymān II (III) b. Ibrāhīm on a *firmān* of the first ten days of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1099/28 August-6 September 1688

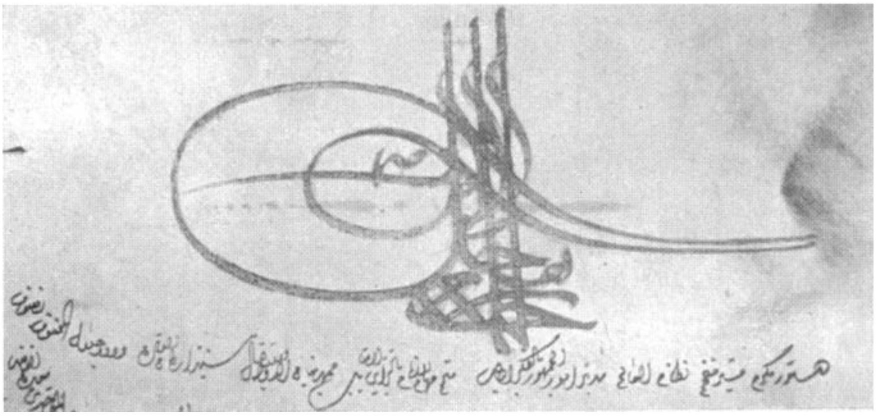

Fig. 11
Tughra of Sultan Aḥmad II b. Ibrāhīm on a *firmān* of the second ten days of Djumādā II 1104/16-25 February 1693

Fig. 12
A merchant's name arranged in a *tughra*

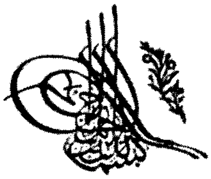

Fig. 13
Basmala tughra in a menu of a restaurant in Cairo

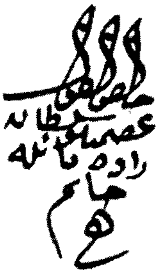

Fig. 15

Fig. 14
Owner's mark on a signboard from Marʿash

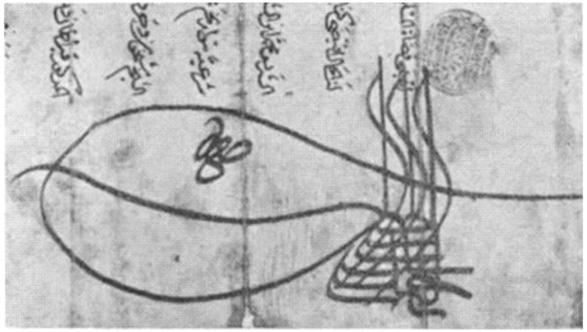

Fig. 16. *Nishāndjī* Aḥmed Pasha
10 Rabīʿ II 1026/17 April 1617

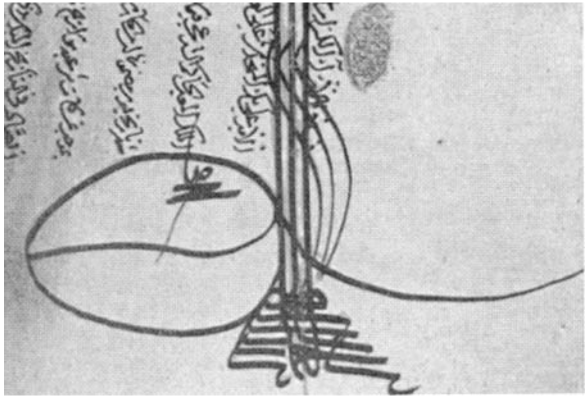

Fig. 17. *Tarshundjī* Aḥmed Pasha
7 Shawwāl 1060/4 October 1650

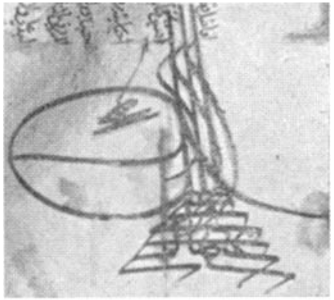

Fig. 24. *Boshnak* ʿOthmān Pasha
9 Rabīʿ II 1093/17 April 1682

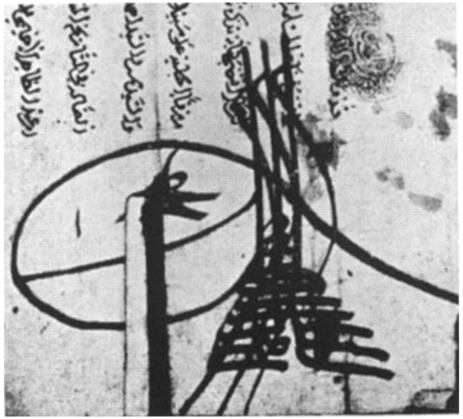

Fig. 18
Khādim (*Khadum-beyāzī*) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha
18 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1061/2 November 1651

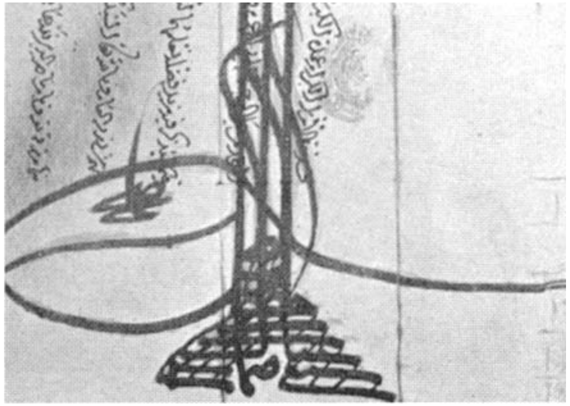

Fig. 19
Khādim (*Khadum-beyāzī*) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha
17 Muḥarram 1062/30 December 1651

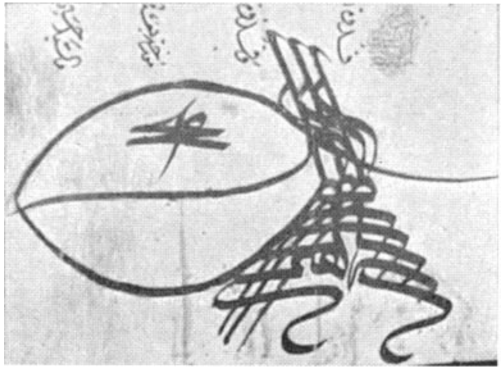

Fig. 20
(Dāmād) Malik Ibrāhīm Pasha
10 Rabīʿ I 1072/3 November 1661

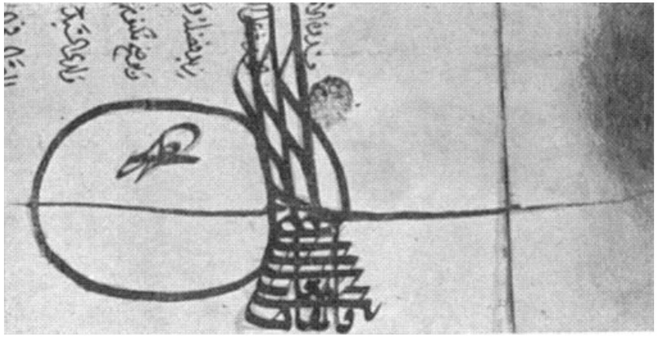

Fig. 21
Kenʿān, *ḳaymaḳām* (of the *wālī*) 19 Radjab 1080/3 December 1669

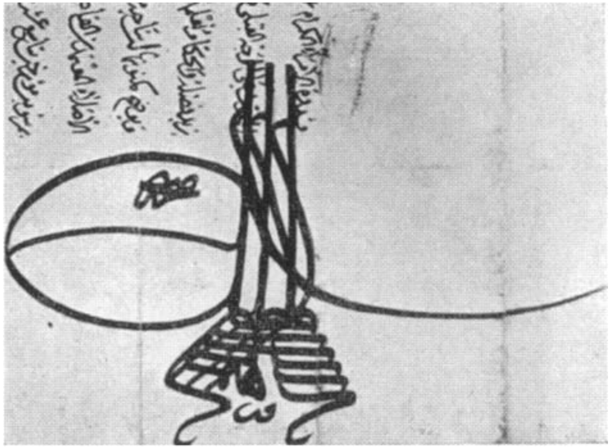

Fig. 22
Ḳara Ibrāhīm Pasha, 14 Shaʿbān 1081/27 December 1670

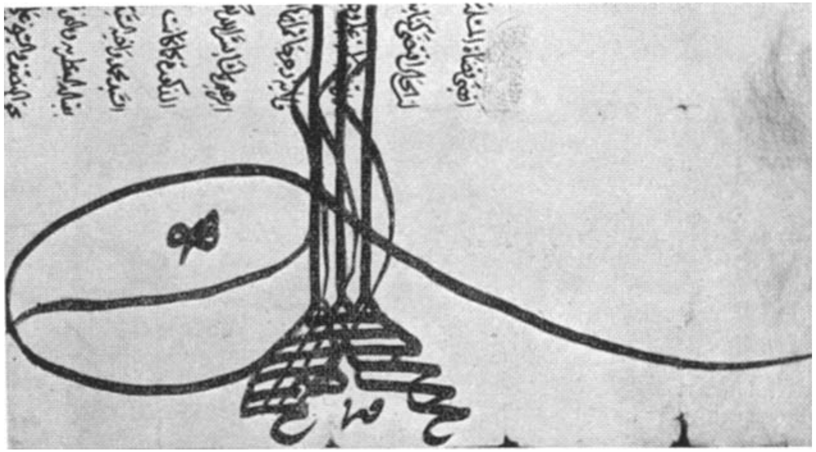

Fig. 23
Ḳara Ibrāhīm Pasha, 14 Muḥarram 1083/12 May 1672

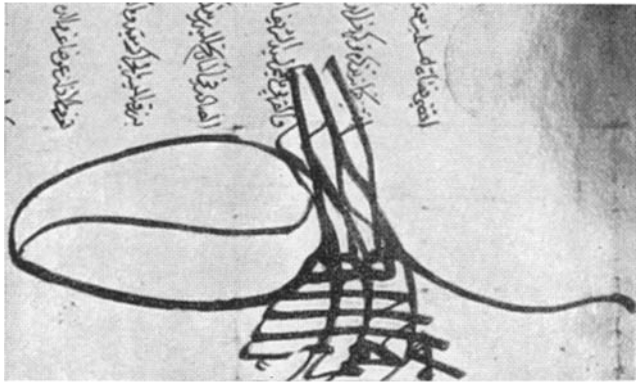

Fig. 25
Ḥamza Pasha, 25 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1096/24 November 1685

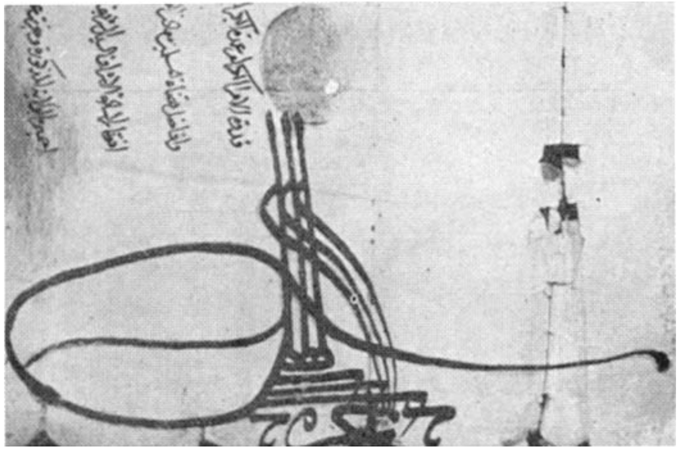

Fig. 26. Ḥamza Pa<u>sh</u>a, Rabīʿ II 1098/14 February 1687

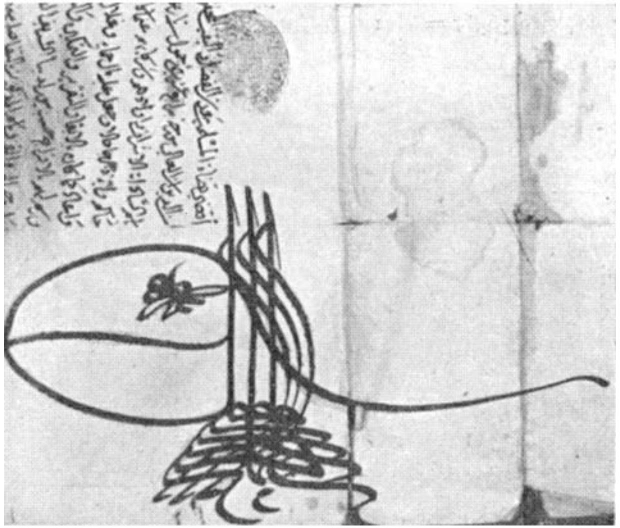

Fig. 27. *Serk<u>h</u>o<u>sh</u>* Aḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a
29 <u>D</u>jumādā II 1101/15 April 1688

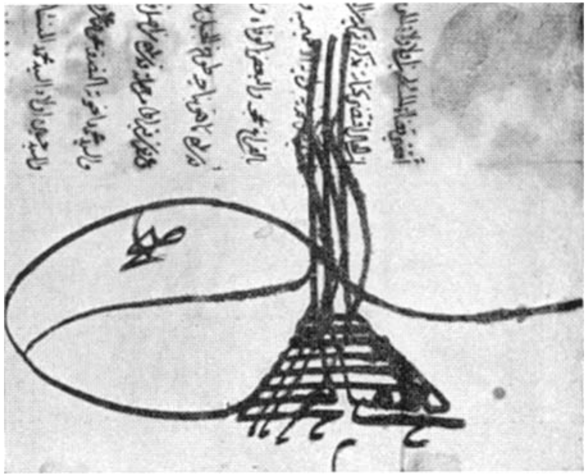

Fig. 29. Čelebi Ismāʿīl Pa<u>sh</u>a
15 <u>D</u>jumādā I 1108/10 December 1696

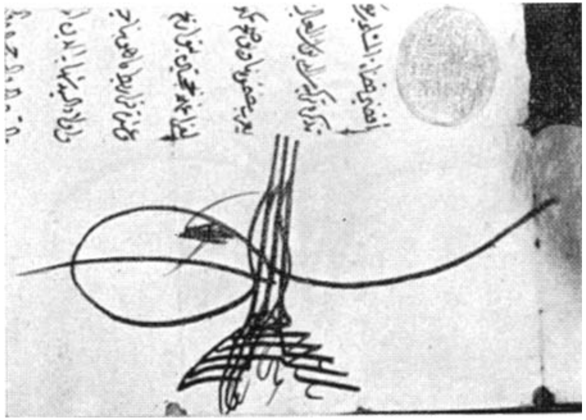

Fig. 28. *Moralī* or *<u>Kh</u>aznadār* ʿAlī Pa<u>sh</u>a
17 Ramaḍān 1103/2 June 1692

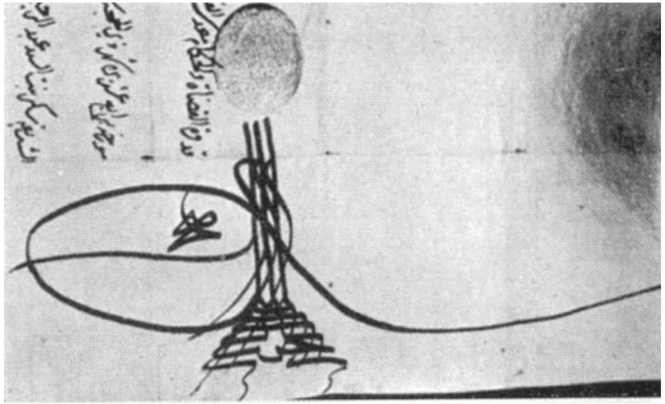

Fig. 30
Dāmād Ḥasan Pa<u>sh</u>a, 24 <u>Dh</u>u 'l-Ḥi<u>didj</u>a 1120/6 March 1709

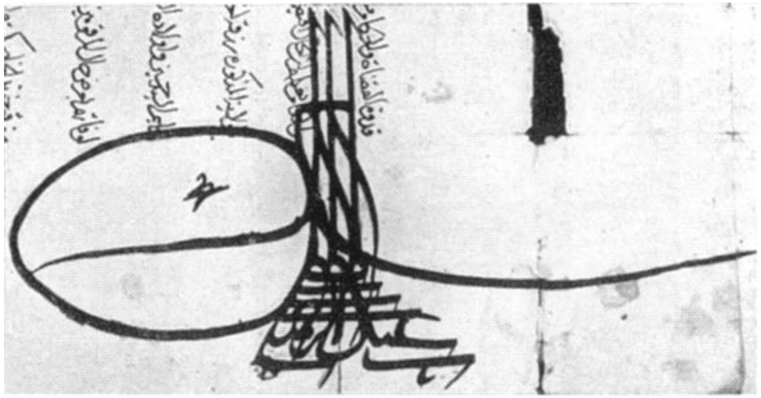

Fig. 31
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pa<u>sh</u>a, 10 Rabīʿ II 1089/1 June 1678

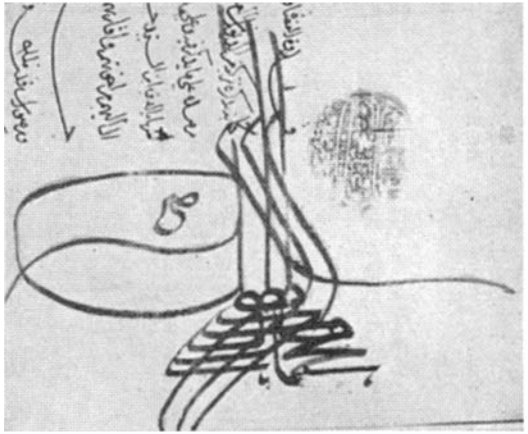

Fig. 32
Ṣadr-i̊ Sābiḳ Ni<u>sh</u>ān<u>dj</u>i̊ Meḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a
14 <u>Sh</u>aʿbān 1137/28 April 1725

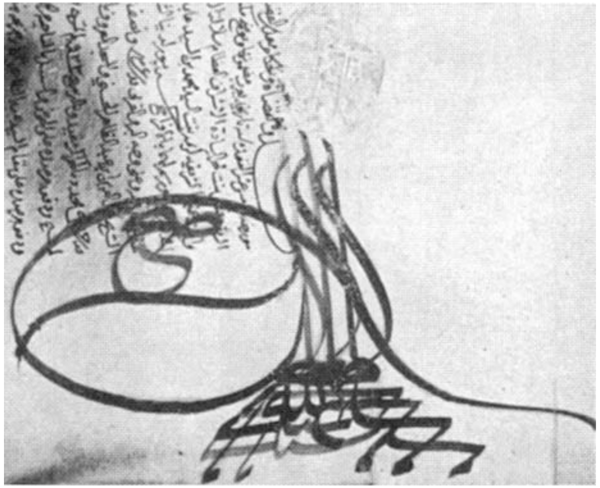

Fig. 33. *Boynu-eyri* Ḥasan-Pa<u>sh</u>a-Zāde ʿAbd Allāh Pa<u>sh</u>a
15 <u>Dh</u>u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1165/24 September 1752

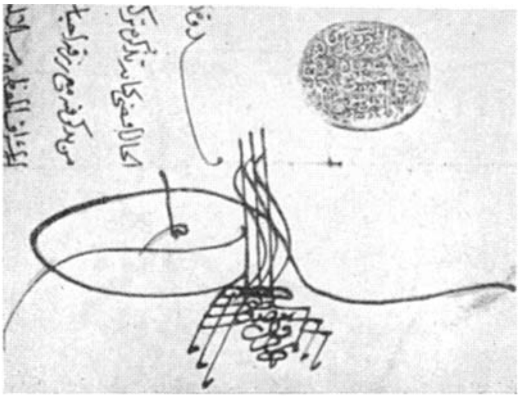

Fig. 34. Nābulusī Muṣṭafā Pasha
12 Radjab 1188/18 September 1774

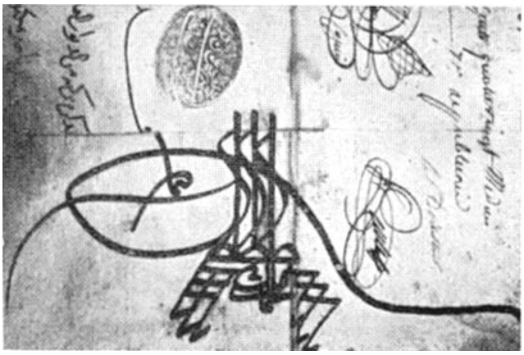

Fig. 35. *Silihdār* Meḥemmed Pasha
Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1195/18 November 1781

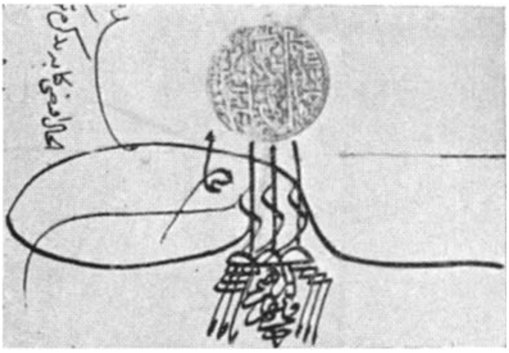

Fig. 36. Ibrāhīm Bey, *kaymakām*
19 Djumādā II 1199/29 April 1785

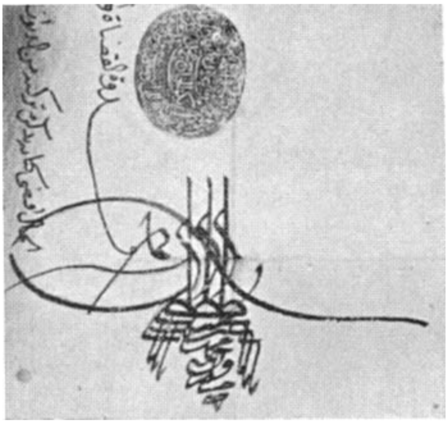

Fig. 37. Yegen Meḥemmed Pasha
13 Radjab 1200/12 May 1786

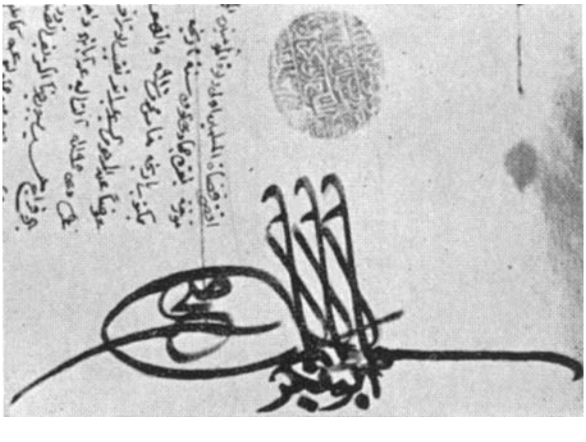

Fig. 38. Lokmadjī (Abū) Bakr Pasha
1 Djumādā I 1212/1 November 1797

where the poet's pen-name Tug̲h̲rā did not scan in the metre, he has employed S̲h̲īfta as his pen-name. A conspicuous element in his poems is the occurrence of Hindī words, in the use of which one discerns a deliberate effort on the part of the author.

Although Tug̲h̲rā's poetry was reportedly much admired during its time, it was his prose writings that won greater exposure and recognition in wider circles. He was the author of a number of treatises (*risālas*) that include descriptions of places, eulogies of individuals, discussion on mysticism, collection of metaphors from music and medicine, poetical application of the names of the planets, letters, praise of Zulālī K̲h̲ʷānsārī's (d. *ca.* 1025/1616) seven *mat̲h̲nawīs*, as well as some other subjects. Seventeen of these treatises were published at Kānpūr (1871, 1903) and Lakhnaw (1885), and formed part of the curriculum used previously in *madrasa* education.

Bibliography: See also *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, iii, Calcutta 1912, no. 333; ʿAlī Ḳulī K̲h̲ān Wālih Dāg̲h̲istānī, *Riyāḍ al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, Pers. mss., no. H.G. 51/3, Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University; Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Natāʾid̲j̲ al-afkār*, Bombay 1336/1957; G̲h̲ulām ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-i āzād*, Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) 1913; Mīr Ḥusayn Dūst Sanbhalī, *Tad̲h̲kira-yi Ḥusaynī*, Lakhnaw 1875; Muḥammad Afḍal Sark̲h̲us̲h̲, *Kalimāt al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, ed. Ṣādiḳ ʿAlī Dilāwarī, Lahore 1942; Ḥusām al-Dīn Ras̲h̲īdī, *Tad̲h̲kira-yi s̲h̲uʿarāʾ-yi Kas̲h̲mīr*, ii, Karachi 1968; M.L. Rahman, *Persian literature in India during the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan*, Baroda 1970; Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Tad̲h̲kira-yi paymāna*, Mas̲h̲had 1359/1980; D̲h̲abīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīk̲h̲-i adabiyyāt-i Īrān*, v/3, Tehran 1372/1993; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian literature*, Delhi 1995. (MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

AL-ṬUG̲H̲RĀʾĪ, MUʾAYYID AL-DĪN ABŪ ISMĀʿĪL AL-ḤUSAYN b. ʿAlī al-Muns̲h̲īʾ al-Iṣbahānī, secretary, Arabic poet and alchemist.

He was born in 453/1061 at Iṣfahān, and his poems give ample testimony of his lasting attachment to his native town. He entered the service of Seld̲j̲ūḳs at the time of Malik S̲h̲āh and went on to become chief secretary under that ruler's son, Muḥammad I, with the titles *muns̲h̲īʾ*, *mutawallī dīwān al-ṭug̲h̲rāʾ* and *ṣāḥib dīwān al-ins̲h̲āʾ*; in short, he was the second most senior official (after the *wazīr*) in the civil administration of the Sald̲j̲ūḳid empire. The sources praise the excellence of his style, as well as his beautiful handwriting, but none of his official letters seems to survive. In 513/1119, not long after the death of Muḥammad I, the prince Masʿūd b. Muḥammad rebelled against his brother Maḥmūd III and declared himself sultan, at the instigation, it is said, of al-Ṭug̲h̲rāʾī, whom he made his *wazīr*. When Masʿūd was routed the following year, the victorious Maḥmūd pardoned his brother, but al-Ṭug̲h̲rāʾī was accused of being an apostate (*mulḥid*, presumably meaning an Ismāʿīlī), and executed (in the unanimous opinion of the historians, unjustly) by order of Maḥmūd's *wazīr*, al-Simīrumī; the best sources put this in Rabīʿ I 515/1121. His death was avenged in Ṣafar 516/1122, when one of his former slaves assassinated al-Simīrumī in Bag̲h̲dād; this circumstance invalidates the date 518/1124 which some authors give for al-Ṭug̲h̲rāʾī's execution.

Al-Ṭug̲h̲rāʾī's Arabic *dīwān* (critical edition by ʿAlī D̲j̲awād al-Ṭāhir and Yaḥyā D̲j̲abūrī, Bag̲h̲dād 1396/1976) contains odes to Malik S̲h̲āh's minister Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], his chief secretary Muʿīn al-Mulk Muḥammad b. Faḍl, the sultans Muḥammad I and Masʿūd [*q.vv.*] and to various other persons, but also many private poems and incidental pieces. In two short poems (nos. 28, 127) he declares his S̲h̲īʿī sympathies, but on the whole his verse does not have a strongly religious flavour. Through some quirk of fate, a single one of his poems has eclipsed all the others, namely a longish *ḳaṣīda* bewailing his ill-treatment at the hands of his contemporaries, commonly known as the *lāmiyyat al-ʿad̲j̲am*, a name which it owes to a superficial resemblance with the much earlier *lāmiyyat al-ʿarab* of al-S̲h̲anfarā [*q.v.*]. It has been the subject of various commentaries, the earliest, it seems, by al-ʿUkbarī (d. 616/1219), but the most famous is the gargantuan *G̲h̲ayt̲h̲ al-musad̲j̲d̲j̲am bi-s̲h̲arḥ lāmiyyat al-ʿad̲j̲am* by al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]; printed several times in Cairo); for other commentaries, supercommentaries, *tak̲h̲mīsāt*, etc., see Brockelmann. It was first printed, with a Latin translation by Golius, in Leiden in 1629, and, again with a Latin version, by Pococke, Oxford 1661, probably the first major work of Arabic poetry to be made known in the West. An English translation is contained in J.D. Carlyle, *Specimens of Arabic poetry*, Oxford 1796.

Al-Ṭug̲h̲rāʾī was also a famous and prolific author on alchemy. Of his extant works on that subject (listed, with a brief indication of their contents, in Ullmann; none of them is available in print) the most interesting appears to be the *Kitāb Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-istis̲h̲hād* of 505/1112, a response to Ibn Sīnā's refutation of alchemy. The famous philosopher had maintained that each mineral belongs to a separate species, with its own "specific difference" (*faṣl*), and that consequently the transmutation of one mineral to another is impossible. Al-Ṭug̲h̲rāʾī accepted that each mineral has its own "specific difference", but claimed that the alchemist could "prepare" one substance for a divine intervention which would transform it to another, citing as a decidedly unfortunate parallel the supposed spontaneous generation of scorpions from a mixture of dust and straw. Some three centuries later, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn summarised and rejected the arguments of both sides and defended a position which comes close to that of modern science: the minerals are all composed of the same basic elements and are thus, in principle, capable of transmutation, but the possibility of effecting the change surpasses the limits of human knowledge.

Bibliography: Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xii, 453-4, s.v. al-Muns̲h̲īʾ; idem, *Mud̲h̲ayyil taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād* (ms.); Nīs̲h̲ābūrī, *Sald̲j̲ūḳ-nāma*, Tehran 1332 *S̲h̲.*/1953, 54, 65; Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Abu 'l-Rad̲j̲ā al-Ḳummī, *Tārīk̲h̲ al-wuzarāʾ*, Tehran 1363 *S̲h̲.*/1984, 226-9 (quoting the *Naft̲h̲at al-maṣdūr* of al-Tug̲h̲rāʾī's contemporary, Anūs̲h̲irwān b. K̲h̲ālid); ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Nuṣrat al-fatra* (partially contained in al-Bundārī's abridgement, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1889, 110, 116, 132-3, 174; likewise derived from Anūs̲h̲irwān, but does not overlap with Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn); idem, *K̲h̲arīdat al-kasr* (ms.); Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, London 1921, 225, 239-41; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 51-60 (derives, according to al-Ṭāhir, mainly from ʿImād's *K̲h̲arīda*); Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 395-6; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 185-9; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xii, no. 387; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Mukaddima*, iii, 234-5, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 273-4; Brockelmann, I², 286-8, S I, 439-40; *EI*¹ art. *al-Ṭug̲h̲rāʾī* (F. Krenkow); ʿAlī D̲j̲awād al-Ṭāhir, *al-Ṭug̲h̲rāʾī ḥayātuhu s̲h̲iʿruhu lāmiyyatuhu*, Bag̲h̲dād 1963; idem, *al-S̲h̲iʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāk wa-bilād al-ʿad̲j̲am fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-sald̲j̲ūḳī*, ²Beirut 1405/1985, 101-30 (the best study, with detailed list of primary and secondary sources); M. Ullmann,

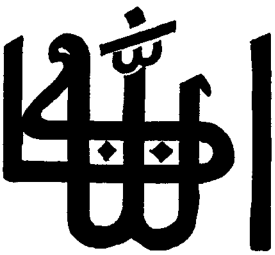

Fig. 1. *Allāh Kāfī* inscribed on a medallion in the early 17th century mausoleum of Shāh Dawlat in Manēr in Bihār.

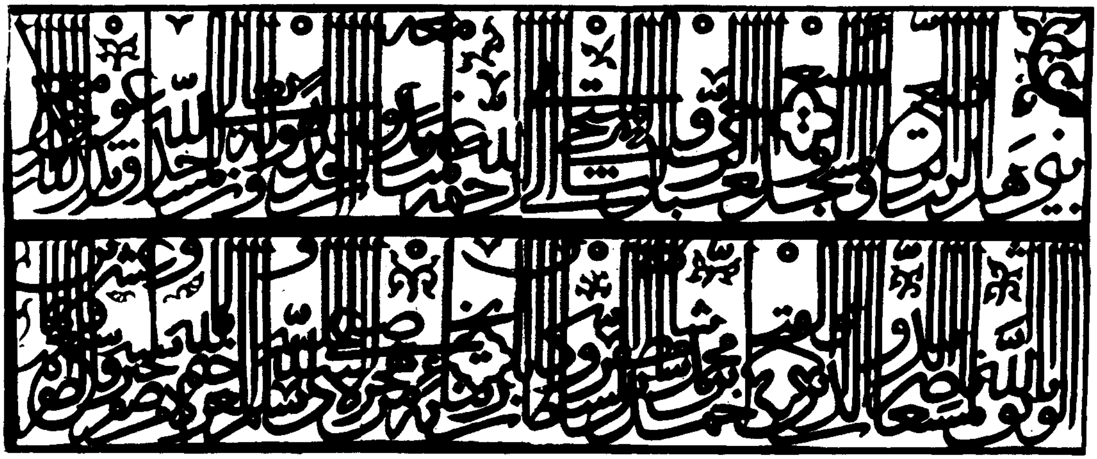

Fig. 2. An Arabic inscription dated 827/1424 from the reign of Sultan Aḥmad Shāh over the east gateway of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid in Aḥmadābād in Gudjarāt.

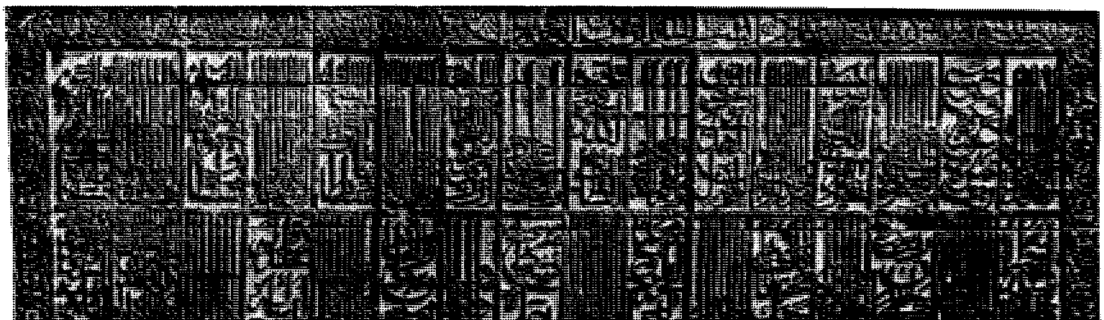

Fig. 3. Miyāna Dar inscription dated 871/1466-7 from the reign of Sultan Bārbak Shāh of Gawr, Bengal, now preserved in the University Museum, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

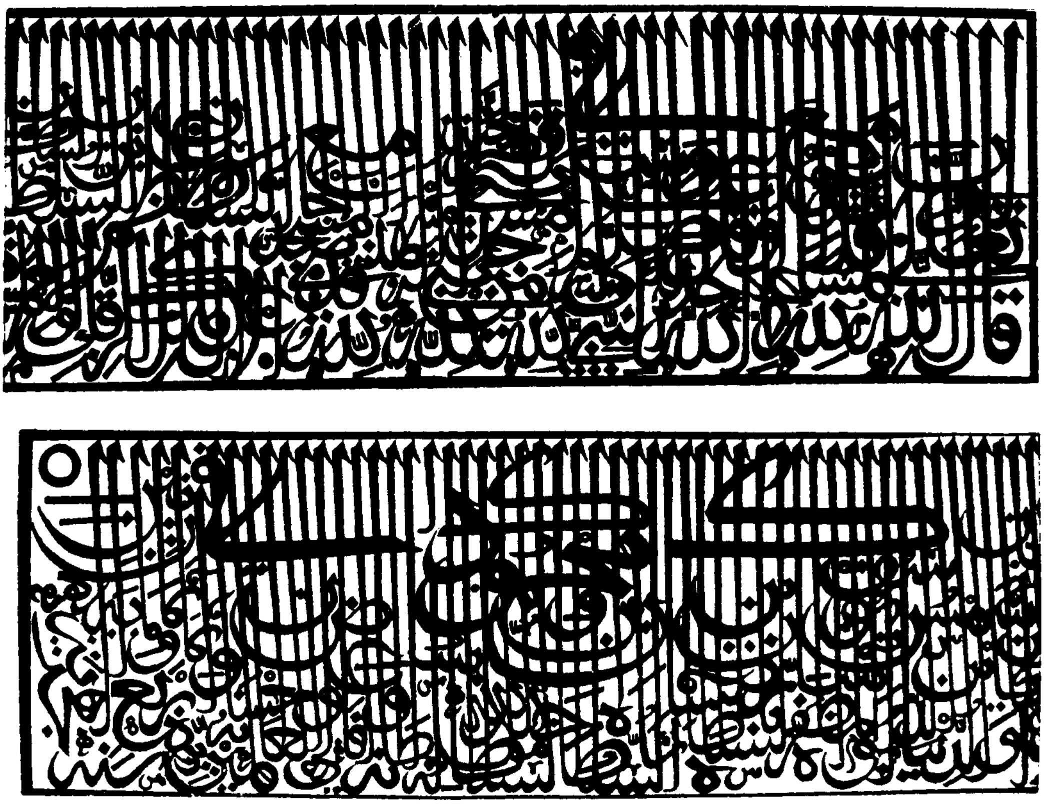

Fig. 4a. Darsbārī Masdjid inscription dated 884/1479-80 from the reign of Sultan Yūsuf Shāh of Gawr, Bengal, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Fig. 4b. The letter *alif* in the Darsbārī Masdjid inscription, with distinctive features of *zulf, badn* and *sayf.*

Fig. 4c. The upper horizontal stroke (*shākila*) of the letter *kāf* superimposed on the elongated uprights of the vertical letters in the Darsbārī Masdjid inscription dated 884/1479.

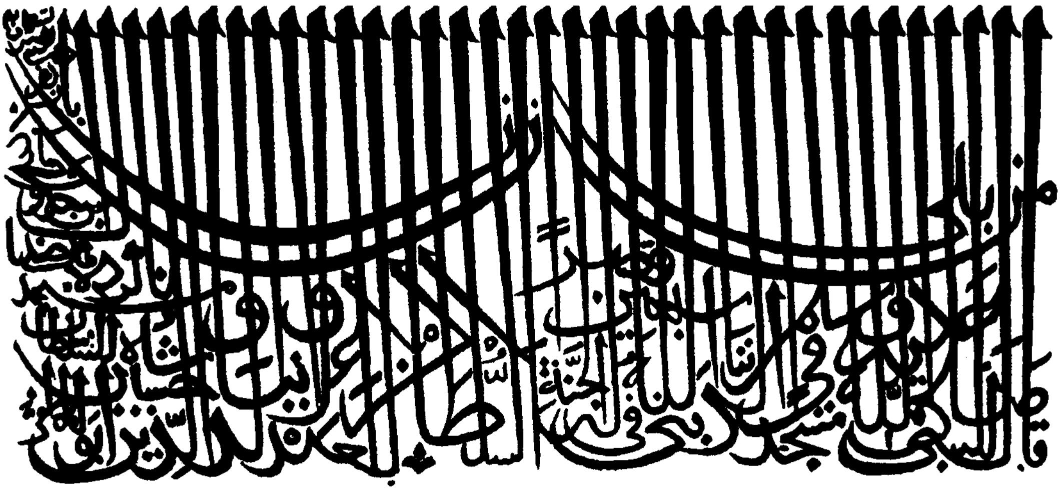

Fig. 5. The bow-arrow variety of *tughrā* in the Kusumba Masdjid inscription in Rajshahi, Bangladesh, dated 904/1498, from the reign of Sultan Ḥusayn Shāh of Gawr, Bengal.

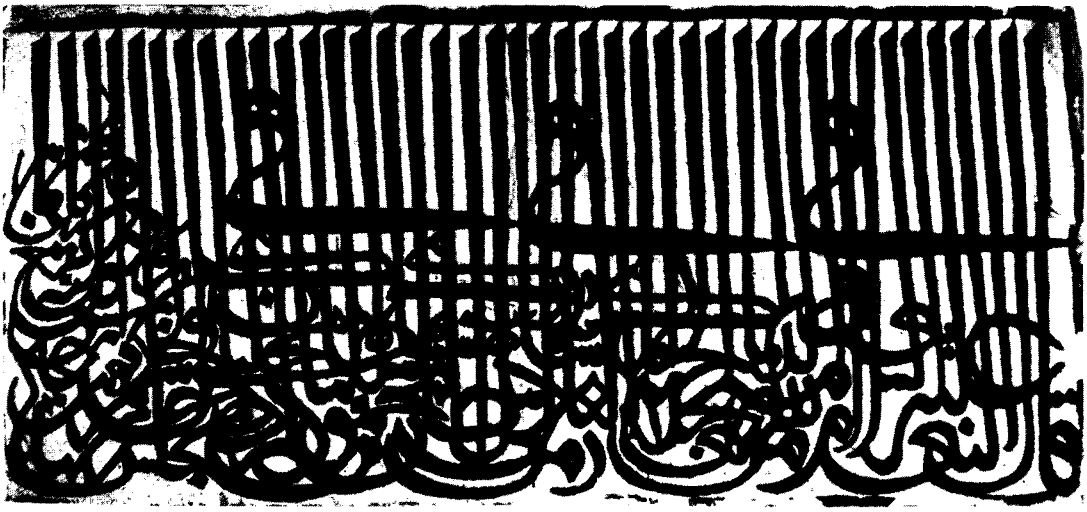

Fig. 6. The swan-reed variety of *tughrā* in a tomb inscription in Peril, near Dhaka, dated 869/1465, from the reign of Sultan Bārbak Shāh of Bengal.

Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam, Leiden 1972, 229-31, 252-3. (F.C. DE BLOIS)

ṬUGHTIGIN, ẒAHĪR AL-DĪN ABŪ MANṢŪR (d. 522/1128), Atabeg of Duḳāḳ, son of the Saldjūḳid Tutush [*q.v.*] and founder in Damascus of the Atabeg dynasty of Būrids or Börids (497-549/1104-54 [see BŪRIDS]). He was a Turkish freedman of Tutush, who appointed him governor of Diyār Bakr and Atabeg of Duḳāḳ before giving to him in marriage Duḳāḳ's mother, Ṣafwat al-Mulk. When Tutush died in battle in 488/1095, he became regent for Duḳāḳ in Damascus, but his real reign did not begin till the death of the young Saldjūḳ prince in 497/1104.

Ṭughtigin at first strove to preserve his power by refusing to give back Damascus to Riḍwān [*q.v.*], Duḳāḳ's brother and prince of Aleppo, and by installing on the throne there a brother and then a young son of Duḳāḳ, called Ertash and Tutush respectively. Within a few months, Ertash's flight and Tutush's death allowed the Atabeg to assume sole power. He recognised Riḍwān's suzerainty in the *khuṭba* and *sikka*, but this recognition later disappeared whenever relations between Aleppo and Damascus became tense. Within a few years, Ṭughtigin managed to impose his authority on all the lands between the Ḥawrān in the south and Ḥamāt in the north, so that henceforth he appeared as the most powerful ruler in Syria.

Unlike Riḍwān, who showed no enthusiasm for *djihād* [*q.v.*], Ṭughtigin led several expeditions against the Franks to preserve the food supply of Damascus and communications with Egypt and Arabia. He combatted the Franks of Jerusalem in the regions of the Sawād and of Lake Tiberias, but the truces which followed these fights allowed the Crusaders to levy taxes on a part of the harvests of that region, which gradually passed under their control. He made similar agreements with the Count of Tripoli which gave the Franks a third of the harvests of the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*], at the same time losing several fortresses in Mount Lebanon. Despite his efforts, he was unable to save Tripoli in 1109 or Tyre in 1124, and towards 519/1125, Damascus itself was threatened for the first time. Ṭughtigin had insufficient forces and power to resist the Crusaders alone, and help from nearby principalities, themselves weak and divided, was insufficient and useless. Despite these checks, Ṭughtigin gradually acquired, in Muslim eyes, the image of a fighter for the faith, as attest his titulature and the poetry written in his praise after 513/1119. Nevertheless, when his interests were threatened, as in 509/1115 when he felt menaced by the Great Saldjūḳ sultan, he did not hesitate to ally with the Franks.

His relations with Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] were, in fact, difficult until 509/1116. Muḥammad probably reproached Ṭughtigin with having impelled Duḳāḳ to support his brother and rival Berk-yaruḳ [see BARKYĀRUḲ] and with having usurped power in 1104. The Atabeg tried on several occasions to regain the sultan's confidence. In 503/1109-10 he even had the intention of going to Baghdād, but rumours of the sultan's desire to remove him from power led him to renounce this. When Mawdūd, *amīr* of Mawṣil, was assassinated in the great Mosque of Damascus by Ismāʿīlīs, Ṭughtigin was suspected of being behind the plot. Feeling threatened, he allied with the *amīr* Il-Ghāzī [*q.v.*], who was also on bad terms with the sultan. Then in 509/1115 Muḥammad sent an army into Syria under the command of the governor of Hamadhān, Bursuḳ b. Bursuḳ, with instructions to combat the two *amīrs* and then turn to attacking the Franks. Ṭughtigin and Il-Ghāzī preferred to ally with the Crusaders rather than lose their own power. The sultan's army was in the end defeated by the Crusaders without the intervention of the two *amīrs*, but in the next year, Ṭughtigin, regretting his attitude and disturbed by the Franks' advance, travelled to Baghdād and obtained the sultan's pardon and recognition of the government over his territories.

Within Damascus, Ṭughtigin's reign was marked by the rise of the Bāṭiniyya or Ismāʿīlīs under their Persian *dāʿī* Bahrām. The Atabeg allowed them to have a centre for propaganda (*dār al-daʿwa*) in the city and in 520/1126 handed over the fortress of Bāniyās [*q.v.*] to the south of Damascus to them. It remains obscure why he favoured this Shīʿī sect; he probably thought that their support might be useful against the Franks and Saldjūḳids. The Atabeg's death in 522/1128 coincided with Zangī's arrival in Aleppo, and from this time onwards it was northern Syria which was to be ahead of Damascus in the fight against the Crusaders. Ṭughtigin was buried near the *muṣallā* [*q.v.*] to the south of Damascus. His fighting skill and bravery made him, like Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn after him, a legendary figure in the epic Frankish literature of the 13th century. As the hero of the *Ordene de chevalerie* under the name of Huon of Tabarié, he was represented as a Muslim prince converted to Christianity who was said to have fought at the side of the Jerusalem Franks (J. Richard, *Huon de Tabarié*, in *La chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien. Mélanges R. Louis*, Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay 1982, 1073-8).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, Eng. tr. Gibb, London 1932, Fr. tr. Le Tourneau, Damascus 1952; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Wulāt Dimashk fī ʾl-ʿahd al-saldjūkī*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1949; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Vienna AF 117, i; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, x; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. S. al-Dahhān, Damascus 1954, ii; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 296; M.A. Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient*, Berlin-New York 1991; J.-M. Mouton, *Damas et sa principauté sous les Saljoukides et les Bourides, 468-549/1076-1153*, Cairo 1994. (ANNE-MARIE EDDÉ)

TUKARŌʾĪ or MUGHALMĀRĪ, a place near Midnapūr in the southern part of West Bengal, the site of a battle in 982/1574 between Akbar's finance minister and commander Rādjā Ṭōḍar Mal [*q.v.*] and the young ruler of Bengal, Dāwūd Khān Kararānī [*q.v.*], who had repudiated Mughal suzerainty. Dāwūd Khān was beaten by a ruse [see ḤARB. vi, at Vol. III, 202b] and forced to flee, allowing Akbar formally to annex Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

Bibliography: See that to DĀWŪD KHĀN KARARĀNĪ, and also J.F. Richards, *The Mughal empire* (= *The New Camb. hist. of India*, I. 5), Cambridge 1993, 33. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬUKHĀRISTĀN, the name found in earlier mediaeval Islamic sources for the region along the southern banks of the middle and upper Oxus river, in the wider sense of the term (see below), with the ancient of the Balkh as the centre of its western part and such towns as Ṭālaḳān, Andarāb and Walwālīdj [*q.vv.*] as its centres in the narrower acceptation of the term, sc. the eastern part. It comprised in its wider sense the modern Afghān provinces of Fāryāb, Djūzdjān, Balkh, Sanangān, Ḳunduz, Takhār and Badakhshān.

The name of the region obviously preserves a memory of the people known to the Hellenistic Greek historians and geographers as *Tokharoi*, who may have pushed into this upper Oxus region from the Inner

Eurasian steppes as well as into what later became Eastern Turkistān. The Tokharians of Bactria or the upper Oxus region apparently used languages of the Indo-Iranian Saka group; see for these last, J. Harmatta (ed.), *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, ii, *The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations, 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*, UNESCO, Paris 1994, chs. 16-17, and for the history of the Tokharians of Bactria, B.A. Litvinsky (ed.), *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, iii, *The crossroads of civilizations A.D. 250 to 750*, UNESCO, Paris 1996, index, snn. "Bactria", "Tokharistan". But by the time of the coming of the Arabs to the region (sc. the second half of the 7th century), it is dubious whether the local people thought of themselves as in any way "Tokharians", unless perhaps we take into account al-Balādhurī's mention (*Futūḥ*, 408) of Balkh (in connection with al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*], who raided into the region in the 650s) as *madīnat Ṭukhārā*. It is also true that the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang mentions lands of the T'u-hu-lo in both the desert east of Khotan (sc. the Takla Makan) and on the Oxus (*Mémoires sur les contrés occidentales*, tr. St. Julien, Paris 1857-8, i, 23, ii, 247). In his time, the western land of T'u-hu-lo was divided into 27 petty principalities, extending northwards across the Oxus as far as the "Iron Gate", sc. the Buzgala defile on the road from Tirmidh to Nakhshab and Kishsh and thence to the Kashka Darya and Sogdia.

What we do know is that the language of the pre-Islamic inhabitants of Ṭukhāristān survived there well into Islamic times on the evidence of the recently-discovered hoard of documents, mainly in the Middle Iranian Bactrian language, written in a cursive script derived from the Greek alphabet (thus confirming Hsüan-tsang's description of the writing system of the people of T'u-hu-lo, cf. Abdur Rahman, *The last two dynasties of the Śāhīs*, Islamabad 1979, 232 ff.), but with some also in Arabic. It seems that we have here the royal archive of a petty prince of Simindjān and Rūb in southeastern Ṭukhāristān (cf. for Simindjān, al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1219, year 91/710; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 63, 108-9, comm. 338), whose latest document stems from 549 of the Bactrian era, probably to be equated with A.D. 781, hence from the early ʿAbbāsid period. It is in these documents, one dating from the later 5th century A.D., that we find what is apparently the first mention of Ṭukhāristān as such; one single person is described as "the Hephthal *yabghu*, the *khar* [= "ruler"] or Rōb, the scribe of the Hephthal lords, the judge of Tukhāristān and Gharčistān".

In the Islamic period, Ṭukhāristān in its wider sense included all the highlands dependent on Balkh, right and left of the upper course of the Oxus. According to Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii, 518), there were two Ṭukhāristāns, Upper (*al-ʿulyā*) and Lower (*al-suflā*), but he does not seem to have had any exact idea of this division. Upper Ṭukhāristān was said to be east of Balkh and west (according to modern maps south) of the Djayḥūn (Oxus); Lower was also west of the Djayḥūn but more to the east than Upper Ṭukhāristān. The latter is also mentioned in Ibn Khurradādhbih and Ibn Rusta, and in al-Ṭabarī. According to Ibn Rusta, Upper Ṭukhāristān, as was to be expected from the physical features of the country, lay north of the Oxus; on 292, 8, the high-lying territory on both sides of the Upper Oxus is included in Upper Ṭukhāristān, along with Badakhshān and Shughnān. In Ibn Khurradādhbih, 34, on the other hand, it is assumed, as in Yāḳūt, that Upper Ṭukhāristān lies east of Balkh and south of the Oxus. In al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1589, 1612) the expression Upper Ṭukhāristān twice occurs without its situation being defined. In another passage (ii, 1180), we are told that the lands of Shūmān and Akharūn (north of the Oxus on the Upper Kāfir-nihān) were in Ṭukhāristān, without the qualification *al-ʿulyā*. Al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 289, 290, calls the district of the town of Bāmiyān [*q.v.*] "the first" (*al-ūlā*) or "the nearest" (*al-dunyā*) Ṭukhāristān. Bāmiyān was the "first of the districts (*mamālik*) in the nearest, western Ṭukhāristān". Ibn Khurradādhbih assumes that Ṭukhāristān extends far to the northwest, including Zamon, the modern Kerkī (36), as well as to the south, where the frontier lands (*thughūr*) of Ṭukhāristān are said to be Zābulistān (35) and Kābul (37).

The frontiers of Ṭukhāristān in the narrower sense are given most accurately by al-Iṣṭakhrī (270); they were the lands east of Balkh, west of Badakhshān, south of the Oxus and north of the main ridge of the Hindū Kush; the most important towns besides the capital Ṭālaḳān or Ṭāyaḳān were Walwālīdj and Andarāb.

When the Arabs made their first raids against Balkh and Ṭukhāristān in ʿUthmān's caliphate, they found various local princes like the above-mentioned *yabghu* or Djabghūya ruling there, but the most powerful single force there was that of the ruler of the northern kingdom (sc. that north of the Hindu Kush) of the Hephthalites (Ar. Hayāṭila [*q.v.*], sing. Hayṭal (for *Habāṭila, sing. *Habṭal). The Hephthalites appear as such for the first time in al-Ṭabarī's history of the Sāsānids during the struggle for the Persian throne amongst his sons after the death of Yazdagird II in 457. They had conquered Ṭukhāristān shortly before (al-Ṭabarī, i, 873, 4; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 119); from whom we are not told. During the Arab wars with the native princes, the last Sāsānids and the Turks, for the possession of Ṭukhāristān, a Djabghū (*djabghūya*, al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1206) is mentioned as king (*malik*) of Ṭukhāristān; he was a prince of the Turkish people of the Kharlukh (Ḳarluḳ); the expressions *djabghūya al-Ṭukhārī* (ii, 1604, 1612) and *djabghūya al-Kharlukhī* (1612) are used promiscuously by al-Ṭabarī, although in one passage (1591) he does make a distinction between Ṭukhāristān and the land (*arḍ*) of the *djabghūya*.

The conquest of Ṭukhāristān was difficult and prolonged for the Arabs. Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], governor of the East for Muʿāwiya, was concerned for the safety of the eastern fringes of Khurāsān and feared the possibility of a revanche, with Chinese or Hephthalite aid, of the Sāsānid claimant Fīrūz, son of Yazdagird III. In 47/667 his commander al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-Ghifārī raided into lower Ṭukhāristān and Gharčistān, crossing the Oxus into Čaghāniyān and driving Fīrūz back to Chinese territory, and in 51/671 al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī conquered Balkh and again crossed into Čaghāniyān (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 109-10, 155-6; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 16-17). The tribal conflicts in Khurāsān and the upheavals within the caliphate of the 680s and early 690s were not conducive to an extension of Arab power, and the Arabs faced a redoubtable foe in the Hephthalite ruler Ṭarkhān Nīzak [*q.v.*], and it was not until 91/709-10 that the governor of Khurāsān Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] was able to overcome the resistance of Nīzak and his ally the Djabghūya, killing Nīzak by an act of treachery. From now onwards, Arab control in lower Ṭukhāristān was reasonably secure, and Balkh developed into a centre of Arab power (see Gibb, *op. cit.*, 36-42), although the caliphal grip was temporarily shaken by the revolt in 116/734 of al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], who controlled Balkh

for a while and who was supported by the local princes of Ṭukhāristān; these last continued to send embassies to the Imperial Chinese court, requesting help against the Arabs, even after the decisive Arab victory at Talas in 133/751 over the Chinese army. Al-Ḥārith had latterly allied with the Khāḳān of the Türgesh or Western Turks, and Turks seem to have continued to be an ethnic constituent of the (otherwise mainly Iranian) population of Ṭukhāristān; the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) mentions Khallukh (= Kharlukh) Turks as living in its steppe lands.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, Balkh and Ṭukhāristān were at first governed by commanders sent out from ʿIrāḳ, but in the early 3rd/9th century they came within the vast governorship of the East allotted to the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*]. In practice, Ṭukhāristān was left largely to local dynasties, most notably the Abū Dāwūdids or Bānīdjūrids [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who controlled the silver mines of Andarāb and Pandjhīr, issuing their own coins, and whose *amīr* Abū Dāwūd Muḥammad was ruling in Balkh as late as 286/899; what may have been a parallel branch of the family ruled north of the Oxus in Khuttal [see KHUTTALĀN] well into the 4th/10th century.

The history of Ṭukhāristān henceforth forms part of that of the great powers of the East which dominated northern Afghānistān—the Sāmānids, the Ghaznawids and the Saldjūḳs. Under the dynasty from central Afghānistān of the Ghūrids Ṭukhāristān and Badakhshān at the end of the 6th/12th and beginning of the 7th/13th centuries came within the territories of the subordinate branch of the Ghūrids centred on Bāmiyān. The Ghūrid historian Djūzdjānī frequently uses the term Ṭukhāristān in his sections on the Ghūrid sultans and the irruption of the Mongols, but after that time it seems to have dropped out of use.

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(W. BARTHOLD-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

TUKULOR, a name given to the branch of the Fulbe [*q.v.*] (Fulani) people who live in Futa Toro, the middle valley of the Senegal River, and are closely associated with Islamic practice and Islamisation in the wider region. Tukulor (French Toucouleur) is derived from Takrūr [*q.v.*], the name of a town and kingdom in the same middle valley. The derivation probably came from the Wolof language and people who were the western neighbours of the Tukulor; from the Wolof it passed into French colonial practice and from there into widespread usage in European and African ethnographies of Senegal and West Africa.

Over the 20th century, the Tukulor have adjusted to this designation, but they much prefer to call themselves *hāl pulār* "speakers of Pular" (Fulfulde, Fulani), the language common to the Fulbe people who have spread across the Sahelian belt of West Africa. By this term they link themselves to the larger ethnic expression; they also create a context for emphasising the "Fulbe *djihāds*" which occurred in Futa Toro, Futa Jalon (the mountains of Guinea), Masina (the Middle Delta of the Niger) and most spectacularly, in Hausaland under the leadership of ʿUthmān dan Fodio [see ʿUTHMĀN B. FŪDĪ] in the 18th and 19th centuries.

There is no written record of the use of the term Tukulor before the early 19th century. This fact reinforces the probability of derivation from Wolof to French to more general usage, and the close association of the term with Islamic learning, practice and militancy in the middle valley. In late 18th-century Futa Toro, a group of Muslims organised themselves against the depredations of nomadic raiders from the north and the inability of the local Fulbe régime (the Satigis of the Deniyanke dynasty) to provide for their security. Under the leadership of Sulaiman Bal and then Abdul Qadir Kane, they succeeded in defending themselves, mobilising the peasantry and finally in establishing a régime which they called an imāmate or Almamate. These very committed Muslims received the name of *tōrōḍbe* or "seekers of alms" from the Deniyanke, and transformed it into the name for themselves and, ultimately, into the designation of the ruling class of the new order. *Tōrōḍbe* origins were quite diverse ethnically and linguistically (Fulbe, Soninke, Malinke, Wolof, Hassaniyya, etc.). Their ancestors were attracted to the middle valley, largely because of its agricultural productivity, based upon two growing seasons (one rainfed, one floodplain) per year.

Abdul Qadir became the first Almamy (*ca.* late 1770s-1807). Not only did he seek to establish a truly Islamic culture at the village level, in place of the diverse practice of the Deniyanke; he also sought to "export" the Islamic vision and revolution to the west and east of the middle valley. He ultimately failed in his effort, and was assassinated by a coalition of insiders and outsiders exhausted by his militancy and righteousness. His successors in the position of Almamy survived until the French colonial conquest at the end of the 19th century, but they never combined the power and zeal of Abdul Qadir.

The vision of Almamy Abdul Qadir did persist, however, as the ideal of a Muslim leader and state. It also emerged in the word Tukulor, as a way of referring to the inhabitants of the middle valley, or at least many of them, who made Islamic culture into a kind of badge of ethnic identity. At least, so thought the Wolof, and the French after them. Many of the inhabitants of the middle valley who migrated to the west, and especially to St. Louis, the French colonial capital at the mouth of the Senegal River, communicated a sense of superiority in Islamic practice. Most of tbose who led *djihāds* in western Senegal in the late 19th century, or who emerged as leaders of the Muslim brotherhoods of Senegal in the 20th century, were of Tukulor origin or claimed such an origin for themselves.

One person who gave strong impetus to the association of Tukulor and Islamic militancy was al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar Tal [*q.v.*]. Born in the western confines of Futa Toro in the late 18th century, ʿUmar led a holy war against the Malinke and Bambara regimes of the western parts of modern Mali in the mid-19th century. To accomplish his purposes he recruited on a massive basis throughout Senegambia, and particularly in the middle valley. He enlisted perhaps as many as 40,000 people in the year 1858-9, and his son and principal successor, Aḥmad Shekhu, continued recruitment in Futa until his defeat by the French in the 1890s. The people who left their farms and homesteads in the middle valley to fight and settle in Nioro, Segu, Bandiagara and other bastions of the east were identified in various ways: *mudjāhid*, Futanke, and of course Tukulor.

Those who came back to the middle valley and lived in colonial Senegal reinforced the links between

Futa Toro, Islamic militancy and the designation Tukulor. Seydu Nuru Tal, a grandson of ʿUmar, helped to seal these links during the middle and later years of French colonial rule (*ca.* 1920-60). He used his grandfather's prestige, as the symbol of pre-colonial Islamic practice and militancy, to reinforce colonial authority and to undermine newer forms of Islamic reform.

These identifications have faded somewhat in the last few decades with the diversification and deepening of Islamic practice, the variety of kinds and origins of Islamic reform, the expansion of literacy in Pular and other West African languages, and the absence of any obvious central Islamic authority. The associations of the word Tukulor nonetheless survive, as well as some confusion between Tukulor and *tōrōḏbe*, the dominant class of the middle valley.

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(D. Robinson)

ṬULAḲĀʾ (a.), the pl. of *ṭalīḳ*, which means "a person loosed, set free, e.g. from imprisonment or slavery" (Lane, 1874). The plural becomes a technical term in earliest Islam for denoting the Meccans of Ḳuraysh who, at the time when Muḥammad entered Mecca in triumph (Ramaḍān 8/January 630), were theoretically the Prophet's lawful booty but whom he in fact released (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1642-3: *ḳāla ʾdhhabū fa-antum al-ṭulaḳāʾ*. Cf. *Glossarium*, p. CCCXLII, and Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, ed. al-Zāwī and al-Ṭannāḥī, Cairo 1383/1963, iii, 136).

It was subsequently used opprobriously by opponents of the Meccan late converts, such as enemies of the Umayyads, the clan of Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] who had previously led the Meccan opposition to Muḥammad. In the exchange of letters between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān during the Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] negotiations (whether the correspondence is in fact authentic is doubtful), ʿAlī denounces his challenger as *ṭalīḳ ibn ṭalīḳ*, and declares that the *ṭulaḳāʾ* could never be accounted amongst the emigrants from Mecca before its conquest, the prestigious *muhādjirūn* [*q.v.*], since the Prophet had declared the *bāb al-hidjra* to be closed at the surrender of Mecca; hence no member of Umayya was entitled to participate in a *shūrā* [*q.v.*] convoked to choose a new caliph, but only the Muhādjirūn and the Anṣār. See al-Minḳarī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, 29-30, 201; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii/1, ed. Maḥmūdī, 279-82; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3278; al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin wa ʾl-masāwī*, ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1380/1961, i, 82; and cf. W. Madelung, *The succession to Muhammad. A study of the early caliphate*, Cambridge 1997, 194, 231.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṬULAYḤA b. **Khuwaylid** b. **Nawfal**, from the Bedouin Banū Faḳʿas, a part of the tribe of Asad, one of the false prophets who arose in Arabia during the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad and afterwards.

Details of Ṭulayḥa's life and activity before Islam are virtually unknown. Whereas certain clans of the Asad were connected with the religious and economic institutions of pre-Islamic Mecca, Ṭulayḥa's clan, Faḳʿas, had no such links. Neither does it seem to have taken a side in the struggle between Mecca and Muḥammad until the last phase of the Prophet's life. Muḥammad's raid on Ṭulayḥa and his clan at the place called Ḳaṭan, in the year 4/625-6, was most probably initiated by the Prophet rather than provoked by Ṭulayḥa (the former version is suggested by some sources, but the latter is favoured by many). Some sources relate that an unspecified number of Asadīs, headed by Ṭulayḥa, participated in the expedition led by the Meccans against Medina (al-Khandaḳ) in the year 5/627. Even if this information is true, it may be suggested that the Asadīs joined the siege in order to gain booty rather than achieve political ends (see Landau-Tasseron, *Asad*, 7-11, 20-2). Thus there is no unequivocal evidence that Ṭulayḥa was inimical to Islam during the Medinan period. Muslim traditions relate that he came to see the Prophet in the year 9/631, was converted to Islam but apostatised shortly afterwards. These accounts are doubtful, first, because they duplicate reports about another false prophet, Musaylima, and, secondly, because they may be biased: they may have been invented in order to justify the actions taken by the caliph Abū Bakr against Ṭulayḥa and his supporters during the Ridda [*q.v.* in Suppl.] wars (*ibid.*, 16).

Muslim historical tradition portrays Ṭulayḥa as an opportunist and a false prophet or rather, as a ludicrous imitator of Muḥammad. Yet it may be learned from the same tradition that Ṭulayḥa was actually a genuine Djāhilī soothsayer (*kāhin*) as well as a tribal chief. Descriptions of him as a poet, an orator, a composer of rhymed prose and an expert on genealogy probably relate to his religious function (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1968, i, 359; see a typical example of his functioning as *kāhin* and his rhymed prose in al-Wāḳidī, *K. al-Ridda*, Paris 1989, 50). References to his valour and his visits to the Persian court in pre-Islamic times indicate his role as a tribal chief (but the reference to him as "Lord of Khaybar" should not be taken seriously, for it merely duplicates the genuine reference to Musaylima as Lord of Yamāma, see Ibn Ḥubaysh, 14, and al-Ṭabarī, i, 1796-97).

Ṭulayḥa acted as both a soothsayer and a tribal chief when he was leading a group of clans opposing Islam during the so-called apostasy (*ridda*) wars. He started the opposition movement while the Prophet was still alive, apparently thinking that by this act he was protecting the independence and honour of his Bedouin supporters (see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, iii, 66; Ibn Aʿtham, 20, and the poem in al-Wāḳidī, *op. cit.*, 50). His supporters in their turn do not seem to have believed in his prophethood; rather, they wished to avoid paying taxes to the Muslim state (see al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, iii, 319). Ṭulayḥa was defeated by a Muslim contingent sent by the first caliph, Abū Bakr, in the battle of Buzākha [*q.v.*] (a place in Nadjd), in the year 11/632. He publicly repented in the time of ʿUmar, the second caliph, and his previous sins were altogether forgiven. He joined the Muslim armies and participated in important battles in ʿIrāḳ. He excelled in fighting and died a heroic death as a *shahīd* [*q.v.*] in the battle of Nihāwand in the year 21/642.

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(Ella Landau-Tasseron)

ṬULAYṬULA, Toledo, a town of Spain situated not far from the geographical centre of the Iberian peninsula, 71 km/44 miles south-south-west of Madrid. Built 568 m/1,863 feet above sea-level on a granite hill, and surrounded on three sides by a bend of the Tagus [see TĀDJUH], which has dug out its bed along a deep geological fault, it commands in its immediate vicinity a fertile *vega* which runs to the north-east and the north-west along the river, with the denuded plain of Castile beyond it.

It is today, in the framework of provincial autonomy in existence since 1975, the seat of the regional government of Castile-La Mancha, the old New Castile, now severed from the province of Madrid. The town remained fairly sleepy till the 1930s, as Lévi-Provençal described it in his *EI*[1] art., but since the end of the Civil War it has, over the half-century, enjoyed a certain development, with expansion beyond its original site, so that most of its population now resides no longer in the historic centre of the town but in new suburbs built along the plain. The traditional town centre, despite some decay and decline—although partly hidden behind the well-preserved facades and doorways, and explicable by the necessary adaptation to modern life—still preserves much of the remains of its past, and each day sees files of tourists on day-trips from Madrid.

The Arab geographers who describe the Peninsula all give descriptions, of varying lengths, of Toledo. Al-Idrīsī puts it in the *iklīm* of al-Shārāt [*q.v.*] (= Las Sierras). In his time, it had already been taken from the Muslims. He describes its excellent strategic position, its ramparts and the gardens which surround it, intersected by canals from which the water is raised for irrigation by means of norias. Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ also praises the beauty of its orchards, among the trees of which were pomegranates with enormous flowers. According to Yāḳūt, the cereals grown around Toledo could be kept for 70 years without deterioration and its saffron was of excellent quality.

Livy (*Hist.*, xxxvii. 7) is the first to mention the Iberian town of *Toletum* which was taken, not without difficulty, in 193 B.C. by the proconsul M. Fulvius. It remained very prosperous under Roman rule, and when Christianity was introduced into Spain, it soon attained great importance as a centre of religion. In A.D. 400 a council of 19 bishops met there for the first time. Toledo was taken in 418 by the Visigoths and in the 6th century became the capital of their kingdom in the Peninsula. In 567 Athanagilda made it his capital and when the king Reccared was converted to Christianity in 587, the Visigothic capital again became the religious metropolis of Iberia, on an even grander scale. The Roman Catholic clergy began to interfere in the political control of the country and to display their activity in numerous councils.

It is in Toledo that is laid the scene of the legendary episode of king Roderic and Florinda, daughter of Count Julian of Ceuta, and in the town the spot is still pointed out on the bank of the Tagus where she was bathing when the Visigothic prince saw her and fell in love with her (*Baños de la Cava*). The invader Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] took Toledo in 92/714. He found it almost empty; only a few Jews had remained in it. Ṭāriḳ enrolled them in his army, which was soon rejoined in Toledo by the force he had sent to take Granada and Murcia. It is also in Toledo that the Muslim chroniclers locate the meeting of Ṭāriḳ and Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*]. The Arab leader only remained a short time there and continued his advance to the north of the Peninsula, going to Saragossa, which he seized.

The Arab writers who deal with the history or geography of al-Andalus almost all record fascinating but legendary stories which circulated in the early centuries of the Hidjra about the fabulous wealth which the Muslim invaders found in Toledo when they took the city. The best known story is that of the "closed house of Toledo"; the sources containing it were studied by René Basset (*La maison fermée de Tolède*, in *Bull. Soc. géogr. Oran* [1898], 42-58).

The name of Toledo recurs frequently in the chroniclers of Muslim Spain in the period of the governors and especially after the establishment of the Umayyad amīrate of Cordova. According to the accounts which they give and which are confirmed by the Christian chroniclers, the town very soon became a hot-bed of sedition and a continual centre of rebellion against the government.

It is certain that, in the time of Muslim domination, part of the population remained Christian, with their traditional faith and Visigothic law. But it seems impossible to evaluate exactly what proportion remained that has traditionally been called "Mozarab" [*q.v.*] within the general urban framework and, especially, in relation to the converts or *muwallads* [*q.v.*]. It is also doubtful whether the frequent revolts in Toledo against the Umayyad central power were mainly the work of the Mozarabs.

It was in Toledo that the great Berber rising of 122/740 found most support, and it was near it on the banks of the Wādī Salīt (Guazalete) that the rebels were crushed by the troops sent from Cordova. It was again in Toledo a little later, after ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I had deprived him of his governorship, that Yūsuf al-Fihrī sought refuge, and he was killed near the town in 142/759.

From the reign of the first Umayyad *amīr* to that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, there was not a ruler

to whom Toledo was not a matter of care and anxiety, sometimes grave. In 147/764 Hishām b. ʿUdhra rebelled there, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I had to send his two generals, Badr and Tammām b. ʿAlḳama, against the town. On the accession of Hishām I (172/788), his brother and rival Sulaymān had himself proclaimed in Toledo and the *amīr* was forced next year to besiege the town, from which he had to retire after two months without success. In 181/797, soon after the accession of al-Ḥakam I, a new rebellion broke out in Toledo, stirred up by an individual named ʿUbayda b. Ḥumayd. But the Umayyad prince was not long in severely punishing the Toledans for their habitual insubordination.

Their spirit of rebellion at this time was fanned by the verses of one of their townsmen, who was very popular with them, the poet Ghirbīb. On the latter's death, al-Ḥakam appointed to the government of Toledo a convert (*muwallad*) named ʿAmrūs, a native of Huesca, who, by arrangement with the *amīr* of Cordova, after gaining their confidence, lured the notables of the town into a trap in which they were all slain. This was the famous "day of the ditch" (*waḳʿat al-ḥufra*) at an uncertain date (181/797-8 or 191/806-7). This has sometimes been considered as a literary topos, but it nevertheless reflects the severe repression by the Umayyad central government of the permanent inclinations towards autonomy of the ancient Visigothic capital.

This repression did not prevent further revolts in Toledo. In 199/814-15 al-Ḥakam himself marched against Toledo, and by a stratagem succeeded in entering it; he then burnt all the higher part of the town. In 214/829 Toledo was again the starting point of a rebellion raised by a *muwallad* named Hāshim al-Ḍarrāb ("the smith") and it took two years to suppress it. During the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, an expedition was sent against Toledo under prince Umayya in 219/834. The next year, the *amīr* of Cordova laid siege to the town and it was taken by assault, after being invested for some months, in Radjab 222/June 837. Toledo remained subject to the Umayyads, to whom it gave hostages, until 238/852, but in this year, on the accession of the *amīr* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam, it rebelled once more. The intolerance of the *amīr* had exasperated the Toledans, and the latter, led by one of their number, Sindola, deposed their Arab governor and declared themselves free of Umayyad rule. Not only did they drive the representatives of the Cordovan government out of their town, but they organised an army which in Shawwāl 239/May 854 defeated the troops of the *amīr* Muḥammad near Andujar. Then, in order to resist the force sent against them from Cordova, they made an alliance with the king of Leon, Ordoño I, who sent an army under Gaton, Count of Bierzo, against them. But the resultant battle was disastrous for the Toledans, who lost 20,000 men. In 244/858, Muḥammad, giving the town no rest, inflicted another disaster on it by mining the bridge over the Tagus; it collapsed when crowded with soldiers. Toledo had to beg for *amān* in the following year, and Muḥammad appointed a governor there. From this time down to the reign of ʿAbd Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, the Arab historians hardly ever mention Toledo. We only know that, in 259/873, its citizens obtained a treaty by which, if they agreed to pay tribute to Cordova, their political independence would be practically recognised.

The final subjection of Toledo was to be the work of the great Umayyad ruler al-Nāṣir. Before tackling it, he had to wait until all the other hot-beds of rebellion in his dominions had been exterminated. Once Badajoz had been taken, the caliph in 318/930 sent to Toledo a deputation of *faḳīhs* to make the citizens understand that their liberty was no longer compatible with the authority of the government of Cordova. This peaceful effort having failed, he at once laid siege to the town and came himself with a large army to direct operations. He pitched his camp at the stage (*maḥalla*) of Djarankas—probably corresponding to the modern Zalencas—and made it clear that he would not withdraw his troops until Toledo was taken by erecting some buildings and a bazaar which were given the name of Madīnat al-Fatḥ ("town of victory"), opposite the invested city. The blockade was continued into 320/932, and Toledo had finally to surrender. A strong Umayyad garrison was placed in the town and its capture had a great moral effect throughout Spain. Henceforth, it was the capital of the Middle Frontier (*al-thaghr al-awsaṭ*) and the office of governor of Toledo was one of the most important military offices of the Umayyad *dīwān*. Among the principal holders of this office were Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudayr, the *ḳāʾid* Aḥmad b. Yaʿlā and, in the reign of al-Ḥakam II, the general Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣirī, the father-in-law of the famous *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] Ibn Abī ʿĀmir.

During the period of troubles which ended with the fall of the caliphate of Cordova and in the dismemberment of the Umayyad state in Spain, Toledo no longer played an important part in politics. On several occasions it served as headquarters or as a refuge for rival rebels, but it does not seem to have itself taken advantage of these occasions to rebel, as it had so often done before. It was for several years the base of operations of the general Wāḍiḥ, and between his two reigns Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār found refuge there. Soon afterwards, when petty Muslim kingdoms [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF. 2.] were founded in the Peninsula, it became the capital of an independent *taifa*, that of the Banū Dhi ʾl-Nūn.

The Banū Dhi ʾl-Nūn [*q.v.*] were nobles of Berber origin who, in the reign of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, had obtained certain military commands. They were settled in the region of Shantabariyya (Santaver, in the modern province of Cuenca). It was to them that the Toledans appealed when, on the fall of the Cordovan caliphate, they wished to give themselves a chief. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Dhi ʾl-Nūn, lord of Shantabariyya, sent them his son Ismāʿīl, who took command of the town and the territory belonging to it and appealed to the experience of a notable of Toledo, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥadīdī, to administer it for him. According to several Arab chroniclers, Ismāʿīl b. Dhi ʾl-Nūn was not the first king of Toledo but succeeded other chiefs of other families, Ibn Masarra, Muḥammad b. Yaʿīsh al-Asadī and his son Abū Bakr Yaʿīsh; other names are also mentioned: Saʿīd b. Shanẓīr and his son Aḥmad, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. M.n.y.w.h and his son ʿAbd al-Malik. The new ruler of Toledo, the beginning of whose reign is usually put in 427/1035-6, took the *laḳab* of al-Ẓāfir and was only a few years on the throne, dying in 435/1043-4.

His son Yaḥyā succeeded him and took the title of al-Maʾmūn. On his long reign, see DHU ʾL-NŪNIDS. On the death of Yaḥyā al-Maʾmūn at the end of 467/1075, the kingdom of Toledo, now considerably increased passed into the hands of his grandson Yaḥyā b. Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā, who took the *laḳab* of al-Ḳādir. The great incapacity of this prince brought a period

in which decadence became more and more marked after the brilliant and prosperous long reign of al-Ma'mūn. Left to himself by the old Muslim allies of his grandfather, especially by the prince of Seville, he had to seek the alliance of the king of Castile and Leon, Alfonso VI. The latter granted him his protection, but in return demanded increasingly larger payment of tribute. To meet his engagements, al-Ḳādir had to oppress his subjects with taxation and the latter ended by rebelling. Al-Ḳādir retorted by more rigorous measures and had several notables of the town executed, along with his first minister Ibn al-Ḥadīdī. This only exasperated the Toledans against him still more, and he had to abandon his capital and seek refuge at Huete. The kingdom of Toledo was then offered to the Afṭasid king of Badajoz, al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*], who in 472/1077 took possession of it. Alfonso VI retook Toledo soon afterwards for his Muslim ally, but this was only a pretence: on 27 Muḥarram 478, 25 May 1085, the king of Castile, after a treaty concluded between him and al-Ḳādir, which the latter could not escape signing, entered Toledo on his own account, thus making an important step in the progress of the Reconquista. The taking of Toledo had a great moral effect on Christians as well as Muslims. It, more than anything, determined the first invasion of Spain by the Almoravids in the next year.

But despite the initial successes of Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲fīn and the Almoravids, and then those which their successors the Almohads were able, on occasion, to secure during their fight for the defence of al-Andalus against the Reconquista from the north, Toledo was never again to pass into Muslim hands.

Nevertheless, it remained for over a century one of their armies' main objectives. It was besieged, with the troops of Islam beneath its walls, several times, but never successfully. In 492/1099 Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲fīn encamped before Toledo at San Servando, before taking Consuegra on his journey homewards. Ten years later, a year after the battle of Uclès, the great expedition of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲fīn, the so-called campaign of Talavera, achieved the capture of the latter town and a siege of Toledo lasting several days. In 508/1114, raids mounted against Sagra and Sisla, the lands to the north and south of the town, were accompanied by a siege of Toledo. After the capture in 507/1113 of Oreja by the Almoravid governor of Cordova, there was a permanent presence of the veiled Ṣanhād̲j̲as on the Tagus a mere 50 km/30 miles from the town until 533/1139. Probably in this same year, the Christians recaptured Oreja, and Mora, 30 km/18 miles from Toledo, became the advance bastion for attacks on the town for a short period until 538/1144. After this, the enfeeblement of Almoravid power in the Peninsula and the Christian advances into al-Andalus removed the threat of an Islamic "reconquest" of Toledo until the consolidation of Almohad presence in the Peninsula, notably with Alfonso VII's capture of Calatrava [see ḲALʿAT RABĀḤ] mid-way between Toledo and Cordova, in 542/1147. The Almohad victory at Alarcos in 592/1195 enabled them to recover Calatrava and allowed them to push on as far as Madrid and Guadalajara, but without their effective control ever going beyond the defile and the tower of Guadalerza some 50 km/28 miles south of Toledo. In any case, the Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa/al-ʿIḳāb [*q.v.*] (mid-Ṣafar 609/17 July 1212) put an end to any possibility of the Muslims recovering Toledo.

After passing into Christian hands, Toledo long retained a strong Arabo-Muslim imprint. This imprint was not because of the small minority of Muslim faithful who remained there; the greater part of the Muslim population seems to have emigrated immediately after, or even before, the Christian reconquest. Lévi-Provençal's words in the *EI*[1] art. "Having been a town of Mozarabs under Islam, it remained a town of Moriscos for quite a long time after its return to Christianity", may now be criticised on several counts. The first is, that if there were Mozarabs in Toledo before 1085, they must only have been a minority of very limited influence. Second, the term "Moriscos" is now reserved by historians for those Muslims remaining in the Iberian Peninsula in the 16th century, officially Christians because baptised, whilst continuing in practice to remain Muslims. Lévi-Provençal really meant for this time the Mudéjars, Muslims under the Christian power and recognised as such by that power. There is hardly a trace of these, in practice, until the mid-13th century. The desecration of the Great Mosque, described in a contradictory fashion by Christian authors (e.g. Jiménez de Rada) and Muslim ones (e.g. Ibn Bassām), may have arisen because of something in the migration of the Muslim population or possibly because of the presence of the Almoravids at the town's gates in the succeeding years. It was the great advance southwards of the Reconquista in the 13th century which enabled the Christians to bring back to the Tagus valley a number of captives, eventually freed without any obligation to convert to Christianity but with no possibility of returning to Islamic territory. The small Mudéjar community of Toledo in the 14th and 15th centuries was part of the intellectual élite of the Muslims of Castile, which allowed them to continue to exist with this status until the royal decree of 1502 which gave them no choice except baptism or exile.

The Arab imprint on reconquered Toledo arose really through the Mozarabs, whose number grew remarkably, and through the Arab-speaking Jews, with the arrival in the Tagus valley of the *d̲h̲immī* minorities of Andalusia and even from the Mag̲h̲rib, in the mid-12th century in the face of the appearance of the Almohads. The theory that some of the Muslims in Toledo were allegedly converted to Christianity immediately after 1085 and became "Neo-Mozarabs", rests on very fragile and disputable foundations. Whatever the case, the old and new Mozarabs of Toledo gave their tone to the place, at least until mid-13th century, assimilating for a while the immigrants coming from the north, Castilians and Franks, and imposing the use of their language, the Hispanic Arab dialect, including also for writing. Numerous traces of Islamic civilisation filtered through by means of the Mozarab influence, and are still perceptible today in what remains of traditional urban structures and habitats. The "Arabised" ambience of Toledo in the 12th and 13th centuries explains its role as a centre for translation from Arabic into Latin and then Castilian and as a bridge between cultures.

There is not much visible of the town's Islamic past. However, one may mention the little mosque of Bāb al-Mardūm, which became part of the church of Cristo de la Luz and which is the only survival from the caliphal period (built Muḥarram 390/December 999-January 1000 by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥadīdī), and the mosque of the *calle de las Tornerías* or *del Solarejo*, perhaps from the period of the Taifas, which served as the Muslims' place of worship till 1502. Certain authors attribute this last to the 13th century, but it is difficult to think of a new place of Muslim worship being

built in Christian Toledo, even to replace the old ones which had been confiscated, at a time when the Mudéjars were so few. The foundations of the present buildings may contain some surprises.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL-[J.P. MOLÉNAT])

AL-**ṬULAYṬULĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ b. ʿĪsā al-Tudjībī al-Ḳurṭubī, *faḳīh* of al-Andalus in the 4th/10th century.

He was originally from Toledo, where he studied with Wasīm b. Saʿdūn, and then at Cordova with various masters, including ʿUbayd Allāh, son of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī, and Aḥmad b. Khālid. Ibn Muṭāhir, the author of a lost *Taʾrīkh Fuḳahāʾ Ṭulayṭula wa-ḳuḍātihā*, says that he was a pious ascetic who practiced the precept of *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* to the point of drawing on himself condemnation by the people of Toledo. He then retired to a *ḳarya* where he cultivated his own garden, which he refused to leave even when the caliph al-Ḥakam II tried to drag him out of his retreat. He owes his fame to a *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-masāʾil* [*fi 'l-fiḳh*], praised by the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, even though he points out that certain of the questions treated were open to criticism. The work had a great vogue, since it appears in the bibliographical repertories of Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ (d. 497/1104), Ibn Khayr (d. 575/1179 [*q.v.*]), Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ (d. 688/1289) and al-Tudjībī (d. 730/1329 [*q.v.*]) which remained in use till the time of the Moriscos. A total of 16 mss. survive, eleven in Arabic and five in Aljamiado, from which M.J. Cervera is preparing a critical edition. Commentaries were written on the *Mukhtaṣar* by the Andalusīs Ibn al-Fakhkhār (d. 723/1323) and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Karsūṭī (d. 755/1354). A versified version was made by Abū Ḥātim al-Ḍarīr (d. before 658/1260).

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(MARIBEL FIERRO)

ṬULB (pl. *aṭlāb*), a term applied to a squadron or battalion of cavalrymen, used mainly in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods. The word appears to be unconnected to the Arabic root *ṭ-l-b*, and may be of Turkish origin. Al-Maḳrīzī, the only contemporary writer to attempt a definition, states (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Bulāḳ, i, 86, ll. 26-7): "A *ṭulb* in the language of the Oghuz/Ghuzz (*bi-lughat al-ghuzz*) is a commanding *amīr* who has a standard attached [to a lance], a trumpet which is sounded, and the number of 200, 100 or 70 horsemen" (cf. the tr. in Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 51, following Quatremère: "dans la langue des Curdes"). The term, however, is not found in any of the dictionaries of old Turkish. Also, from the context of the many examples of this term in the sources, it is clear that it should invariably be translated as a cavalry unit and not the officer commanding it. The *ṭulb*, whose size varied, was the basic parade and field unit of the Ayyūbid army, but appears to have been an *ad hoc* formation. In the Mamlūk period, it is used both for an *amīr*'s entourage of personal *mamlūks* as well as the larger unit under his command. At times it appears to be a generic term for any unit of horse-soldiers, and is also applied to the cavalry formations of the enemies of the Muslims, such as the Franks and Mongols. The verb *ṭallaba* is derived from this noun, meaning "to arrange cavalry in formation, or in a squadron", and the verbal noun *taṭlīb* and the participle *muṭallab* are found.

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TULBAND, the common Turkish pronunciation of Persian DULBAND, a sash or wrapper for the head, thence turban, the typical form of traditional headdress in the eastern Islamic lands, the Iranian world, and the Muslim and Sikh parts of the Indian subcontinent. The *turban* of English, French and German, the *turbante* of Spanish and Italian, etc., come via forms like *tulband*, *tulbant*; in French and Italian the word is attested from the later 15th century, and in English from the mid-16th century. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson. A glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases*², London 1903, 943-4.

It should be remembered, however, that the word *dulband* is by no means so widely disseminated in the east as one would have expected from the general use of the word turban in Europe, but is limited to the Persian (and to a smaller extent Turkish) speaking area, and even here is not the only name in use. The commonest word in Arabic is *ʿimāma*, which properly means only the cloth wound round the cap and then comes to be used for the whole headdress, and in Turkish *ṣarïḳ* is the usual name for the turban. Besides these, however, there are a large number of other names for what we often loosely call turban and for its parts in different Muslim countries; these are given in a preliminary list at the end of the article.

The origin of this form of headdress ought probably to be sought in the Ancient East; a turban-like cap seems to be found represented on certain Assyrian and Egyptian monuments (cf. Reimpell, *Geschichte der babylonischen und assyrischen Kleidung*, 40; J. von Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel*, in *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, lxii [1918], 87-8, and von Hammer, *GOR*, vii, 268, and *Staatsverfassung*, 441). In ancient Arabia, the pre-Islamic Bedouins are said to have worn turbans, and it has been supposed that the high cap is the Persian and the cloth wound round it the true Arab element of the turban (G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, 44, 237).

In Islam, in course of time the turban developed a threefold significance, a national one for the Arabs, a religious one for the Muslims and a professional one for civil professions (later divided into religious and administrative offices, *waẓāʾif dīniyya wa-dīwāniyya*) in contrast to the military ones.

Many details about the Prophet's turban have been handed down by Tradition, but most of these *ḥadīth*s bear obvious traces of a late date. They therefore prove nothing for the time of the Prophet, but only show what later ages wanted to believe. To the latter, the turban, as succinctly expressed in a *ḥadīth*, signified "dignity for the believer and strength for the Arab", *waḳār li 'l-Muslim wa-ʿizz li 'l-ʿArab*, and the Prophet to them is the owner of the turban par excellence (*ṣāḥib al-ʿimāma*). The makers of turbans in Turkey (*dulbenddjiyān*) actually chose the Prophet as their patron saint, for he is said to have traded in turbans in Syria before his call and to have exported them from Mecca to Boṣrā (Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 590). The only reliable *ḥadīth* is negative: the *muḥrim* is not allowed to wear the turban, nor *ḳamīṣ*, *sarāwīl*, etc. This *ḥadīth* is also found in al-Bukhārī in the *bāb al-ʿamāʾim* (*libās*, *bāb* 15) contrasted with the following, mostly weak, *ḥadīth*s. According to one, for example, Adam is said to have worn a turban which Gabriel wound round his head on his expulsion from Paradise; previously he wore a crown (*tādj* [*q.v.*]). The next was Alexander, Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, who wore a turban to conceal his horns. A much-quoted *ḥadīth* says that "turbans are the crowns of the Arabs" (*al-ʿamāʾim tīdjān al-ʿArab*), which is variously explained to mean either that turbans are as rare among the Arabs as crowns among other peoples, for most Bedouins only wear caps (*ḳalānis*) or no headdress at all, or that the Arabs wear turbans as the Persians wear crowns, so that the turban would be a national badge of the Arabs as the crown of the Persians. A similar *ḥadīth* says "wear turbans and thus be different from earlier peoples" (*iʿtammū khālifu 'l-umam ḳablakum*).

Still more numerous are the *ḥadīth*s which describe the turban as a badge of Muslims to distinguish them from the unbelievers; turbans are a mark of Islam (*al-ʿamāʾim sīmā al-Islām*); the turban divides the believers from the unbelievers (*al-ʿimāma ḥādjiza bayn al-kufr*

wa 'l-īmān or *bayn al-Muslimīn wa 'l-mushrikīn*); the distinction between us and the unbelievers is the turban on the cap (*fark mā baynanā wa-bayn al-mushrikīn al-ʿamā'im ʿala 'l-kalānis*); or the Prophetic tradition "my community will never decay so long as they wear turbans over their caps" (*lā tazālu ummatī ʿala 'l-fitra mā labisu 'l-ʿamā'im ʿala 'l-kalānis*); and on the day of judgment a man will receive light for every winding of the turban (*kawra*) round his head or round his cap. Thus "to put on the turban" came to mean "to adopt Islam". Nevertheless, the stage was never reached where it was a religious duty (*fard*) to wear the turban; it was, however, recommended (*mustahabb, sunna, mandūb*) and a general recommendation runs "wear turbans and increase your nobility" (*iʿtammū tazdādū hilm^an*).

Especially at the *salāt* and on going to the mosque or tombs is the wearing of the turban recommended and it is said that two *rakʿa*s (or one *rakʿa*, or the *salāt*) with a turban are better than seventy without; for it is not proper to appear before one's king with head uncovered. Alternatively, God and the angels bless him who wears a turban on Fridays. In great heat and after the prayer, however, it is permitted to take off the turban, but not during the prayer itself; on the other hand, the lack of a turban is no reason for absenting oneself from prayer. At other times also—in great heat or at home or while washing—the turban may be removed, and as a rule the Arabs always wore the turban "until the ascension of the Pleiades", i.e. until the beginning of the great heat. Even in later times, the turban played an important rôle in the spreading of Islam, e.g. in the Sudan (cf. A. Brass, in *Isl.*, x, 22, 27, 30, 33; *MSOS, As. Studien*, vi, 191-2).

It has not always been the custom in Islam for none but Muslims to wear turbans. The later regulations for dress demand, it is true, that only believers should wear turbans, while unbelievers are only to wear a cap (*kalansuwa* [*q.v.*]). But in earlier times, unbelievers were only to wear turbans of another colour or with some distinguishing mark. Rulers who were not generally well disposed to members of other faiths were always zealous concerning strict regulations about dress; but with a change of attitude, the observation of the prescriptions became slacker until it again became necessary to enforce them more strictly. In later days, appeal was frequently made to an alleged dress regulation by the caliph ʿUmar I, which is however probably a later invention and was probably transferred from ʿUmar II to ʿUmar I. The latter is said to have been the first to forbid Christians to wear the turban or dress resembling that of the Muslim (cf. A.S. Tritton, *Islam and the Protected Religions*, in *JRAS* [1927], 479-84). Further laws about dress are attributed to Hārūn al-Rashīd who, like ʿUmar II, is said to have issued a general order forbidding Christians to wear the same dress as Muslims. Al-Mutawakkil is said to have prescribed yellow for the unbelievers, including the turbans if they wore any, and the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim black because this was the colour of the hated ʿAbbāsids. At one time, Christians were forbidden to wear red, at another, any one who wore white was to be punished by death. In Egypt and Syria in the 8th/14th century, Christians wore blue, Jews yellow and the Sāmira red, and they might also wear silk, turbans, and neck-veil (*harīr, ʿimāma, taylasān*) of these colours (al-Kalkashandī, *Subh al-aʿshā'*, xiii, 364; see also GHIYĀR).

Turkish Anatolia had a whole series of dress regulations of its own: the earliest was enforced by ʿAlā' al-Dīn Pasha (d. 732/1331) in the reign of Orkhan. He introduced a cone-shaped cap of white felt but only for officials in the sultan's service; other subjects apparently had freedom of choice in their dress. In the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, further laws about rank, titles and dress of the officials were issued. Under Süleymān the Magnificent, ranks and professions were carefully graded as described in the *Shamā'il-nāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* of Lukmān b. Seyyid Ḥüseyn, *ca.* 1580 (von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 17; Karabacek, 4). Süleymān also regulated the use of the turban, hitherto apparently quite arbitrary, and issued regulations about the trade of turban-makers, *sarïkdjïlar* (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 443). Unbelievers were given red, yellow and black, while white was restricted to the Ottomans. *Ca.* 1683 in the reign of Murād IV, only the Turks of Istanbul wore white turbans; the Arabs in Egypt various colours; and the people of Barbary, white with gold. Jews and Christians in the east in those days wore blue (*Voyage d'Horace Vernet en Orient*, ed. M. Goupil Fesquet, Paris 1839-40) and, according to Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1774, Christians wore a blue stripe on their caps so that the tax-collector could at once readily recognise them.

In other countries also, the colour of the turban was not at all uniform, and for every colour authority was given from alleged *hadīth*s about the life of the Prophet, these traditions about turbans being of course all weak. A pious Muslim like al-Kattānī deduces from the contradictory description of the shape and colours of the Prophet's turban that he allowed himself considerable liberty and sometimes wore the turban without the cap and sometimes the cap without the turban, and sometimes both together; in the house or when visiting the sick, he put off both, but never when addressing the community, when he wished to make an impression on the people.

The commonest colour for the turban is white. The Prophet is said to have been fond of this colour, and it is considered the colour of Paradise. There is not actually a *hadīth* telling us that the Prophet's turban was white, but this is probably only because white was the normal colour. The angels who helped the believers at Badr are said to have worn white turbans.

If now the following references speak of turbans of other colours, they are not in direct contradiction with white, for the colours in question are connected with the events and have therefore a special reason. For example, another tradition says that at Badr the angels wore yellow turbans with the object of encouraging the fighting Muslims. According to another story, only Gabriel had a yellow turban of light, the other angels white, and others again reconcile the various statements about the angels at Badr by ascribing to some white, others green, black, red, etc. turbans. The Prophet is said to have at first liked the colour yellow but later to have forbidden it.

The Prophet is said to have worn a black cloak and a black turban on entering Mecca and at the speech at the gate of the Kaʿba, also on other occasions at sermons from the *minbar*, on the day of Ḥudaybiya and during his illness. In black, there is said to be a subtle allusion to sovereignty (*su'dad*) and, besides, black is the foundation of all colours. The ʿAbbāsids claimed that the black turban of the Prophet worn at the entry to Mecca had been handed down to them, and in a tendentious *hadīth* in which Gabriel prophesies the coming of the ʿAbbāsids, he of course wears a black turban. Turbans of black silk (*khazz*) are said to have been at first permitted but later forbidden by

the Prophet; the so-called *ḥarkāniyya* turbans are black (the derivation of the word is uncertain, according to al-Suyūṭī from *ḥ-r-ḳ*, to burn), and the Prophet is said to have worn them on his campaigns. Many great men in Islam are also said to have worn black turbans, such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn al-Zubayr, Muʿāwiya, etc. and al-Suyūṭī wrote a whole book on black dress (*Thaladj al-fuʾād fī lubs al-sawād*). Later writers often claim the black turban as the special headdress of the *khaṭīb* and the *imām*.

The Prophet is said to have at first liked to wear blue but then forbade it because the unbelievers wore it. On behalf of red, it is urged that the angels at Uḥud (or also at Ḥunayn) wore red turbans. According to others, Gabriel wore red at Badr and on one occasion appeared to ʿĀʾisha in a red turban. The so-called *ḳiṭriyya* turban which the Prophet wore is also said to have been red. Sometimes also striped material has been used as turban cloth, e.g. yellow and red or green and red (Fesquet).

In the history of religion the green turban is important, as the well-known badge of the descendants of Muḥammad. Tradition is unanimous that the Prophet never wore a green turban, and there is no support for the colour green in law or tradition. But green is the colour of Paradise, and it is also said to have been the Prophet's favourite colour; some say that the angels at Ḥunayn (or also at Badr) had green turbans. The green turban as a badge of the *sharīfs* is, however, of much later origin: the ʿAbbāsid al-Maʾmūn in Ramaḍān 201/April 817 is said to have clothed the eighth Shīʿī Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā in green when he designated him his successor; the latter died before he could succeed, the ʿAbbāsids went back to black and there were even persecutions to compel the ʿAlids to wear black (see Ibn ʿAbdūs, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Märk, 395-6). They seem, however, for a period at least to have worn a piece of green cloth in the turban as a special badge (*shaṭfa*) and to have been fond of wearing green, especially in times of liberty of conscience. In 773/1371-2 the Mamlūk sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān ordered that the turban cloths (*al-ʿaṣāʾib ʿalā ʾl-ʿamāʾim*) of the ʿAlids should be green, and from 1004/1595-6 the whole turban became green by order of the Ottoman governor of Egypt, al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Sharīf. This fashion spread from Egypt to other Muslim countries, at first regarded as a late innovation and sometimes disputed, but has now become generally approved. It is now regarded as a law that no non-ʿAlid should wear the green turban nor strictly anyone who is only connected with the Prophet on the mother's side, but this last point is frequently disregarded.

Not only the colour but other *ādāb* of the turban are regulated by religion: 1. When should a boy be first given a turban? When his beard begins to grow, when he reaches maturity, or at the age of, say, 7 to 10 years? One should go by the practice of the country; but in any case it shows shamelessness to wear a turban before one's beard begins to grow. 2. How should a turban be wound? Here again the answer is given by stories of how the Prophet wound his. It should be wound standing (trousers on the other hand are put on sitting), with the right hand, twisted to the right around the head and not simply laid upon it and in doing this, one should act according to the sunna, as regards pulling under the chin (*taḥnīk*) the loose end (*ʿadhaba*) and the size of the turban. As in putting on any other garment, one should utter a *basmala*, while the *ḥamdala* is only used for new articles of clothing. A new turban should if possible be put on for the first time on a Friday. It should be carefully done before a looking-glass, but one should not spend too much time over it. People of position may have their turban wound by two servants. There are countless ways in which a turban may be wound; 66 are mentioned, but these are not all. 3. The question whether gold and silver ornaments may be worn in the turban is usually answered in the negative. In the course of the development of the headdress, it was the women in particular who adorned their turban-like headdress in this way. Silk, on the other hand, is allowed with certain restrictions. 4. The turban has also acquired considerable religious significance as a symbol of investiture, since there is no crown or coronation proper as symbols of sovereignty in the Muslim East. The prototype is again an act of Muḥammad's; he is said to have put a turban on ʿAlī at the pond of Khumm [see GHADĪR KHUMM] and again when in Ramaḍān of the year 10 he appointed him governor of the Yemen; he is next said to have wound the turban on every governor in order to teach him fine manners (*tadjammul*) and to give him dignity. Following this example, the caliphs, the successors of the Prophet, put the turban on their viziers and later on sultans. For example, al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 280-1, describes the investiture of the Egyptian Mamlūk sultan Abū Bakr b. al-Nāṣir in 742/1341-2 by the Egyptian ʿAbbāsid caliph Ḥākim II. The caliph wore a black neck-veil (*ṭarḥa*) with white stripes (*marḳūma bi ʾl-bayāḍ*) and placed on the head of the sultan a black turban (*ʿimāma sawdāʾ*) with white stripes round the edge (*marḳūmat al-ṭaraf bi ʾl-bayāḍ*). Then we have a description of the investiture of al-Nāṣir Faradj by al-Mutawakkil in 801/1398-9, where we are told *ʿimāma sawdāʾ marḳūma, fawḳahā ṭarḥa sawdāʾ marḳūma*. The turban is also an essential feature of the robe of honour (*khilʿa* [*q.v.*]) which Muslim rulers used to bestow upon their viziers and *amīrs* (there is a poetical description of a turban, for example, in Mihyār al-Daylamī, d. 428/1037 [*q.v.*], *Dīwān*, i, 242; a description of a robe of honour of the Mamlūk period in al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 52-3), and this is the origin of the differences in the turbans of the different classes, which were such that the initiated could at once tell an individual's profession by his turban. In general, it may be said that the largest turbans belonged to the highest and most respected ranks, especially of the clerical profession, and the differences in sizes of the turban are, according to some, more important than those of colour. With this is connected the endeavour to give oneself as large a turban as possible, and against this religion has had to fight: a warning is uttered against wearing too large a turban, since it is an extravagance—but not among learned men; on the contrary, they ought to be recognisable at once by some external feature to attain success in their labours. Hence the dress of the scholar is not a censurable innovation (*bidʿa*), although earlier men of learning did not wear it. All other statements about the sizes of turbans, including definite lengths like seven or ten ells, are again defended from the example of the Prophet.

To mention a few isolated examples, we have in al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 280, the description of the turban of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿīn, who in 815/1412 was for a period independent sultan of Egypt; his turban was round, of pleasing appearance (*laṭīfa*), with a tail hanging behind (*rafraf*) 1/2 × 1/3 ells in length. The Coptic Christian patriarch also had a larger and more regular shaped turban than the other priests. The dress of the Sultan of Morocco is described, e.g., in the *Masālik al-abṣār* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī

(*Waṣf Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Andalus*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis n.d. [*ca.* 1923]), 31, as not too large with *taḥannuk* and *ʿadhaba*; cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, v, 203: with a long, narrow turban. The head-dress of the Ottoman sultans is frequently described. The turbans of dead sultans were kept in their tombs, e.g. in the mausoleums in Bursa (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 446), and in other places we find them modelled in stone on the tombs.

The turban, generally speaking, as noted above, became the badge of the civilian professions. Turban-wearer (*ṣāḥib al-ʿimāma*: Ibn Shīth, *Maʿālim al-kitāba*, 34 or *rabb al-ʿimāma*) is synonymous with civilian and there is the expression "he abandoned the turban of men of the law and assumed in its stead the cap (*sharbush*) and the dress of the *amīrs*" (al-Maḳrīzī-Blochet, 335 n.). Al-Ḳalḳashandī often uses *al-mutaʿammimūn* in this sense, e.g. xi, 114: *al-m. min arbāb al-waẓāʾif al-dīniyya wa 'l-dīwāniyya* and *al-m. dūna arbāb al-suyūf*. To distinguish the various officers, the officials in Turkey under the old régime had different badges on their turbans, clusters of feathers and egrettes (*süpürge* and *balïḳdjïl*), and soldiers wore on them decorations awarded for bravery (*sor ghuč* and *čelenk*; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 446). Fesquet says that secretaries and scholars wore the turban high with many windings, merchants and artificers wore it loose and broad, and slaves very small.

It is on this point that we find the differences in the different countries and especially between the Muslim East and the West. This is noticeable in the description of western dress in al-Ḳalḳashandī and in the *Masālik al-abṣār*, and vice-versa in the accounts of eastern customs as given by the Moroccan al-Kattānī. In Muslim Spain, very few turbans were worn at all; the neck-veil (*taylasān*; *Masālik*, 42; al-Ḳalḳashandī, v, 271) was rather worn instead; the loose end (*ʿadhaba*) and the chinstrap (*taḥnīk*) are, originally at least, apparently western fashions. In 1004/1596 we find the Turks being struck by the narrow turban of striped silk worn by the Persian ambassador (*GOR*, iv, 275).

In modern times the wearing of turbans has declined in some Muslim societies, although conservative and traditionalist circles have denounced tbe *bidʿa* implied in this and declared that contempt for the turban is heresy and unbelief. This trend attacked in a number of special treatises on the turban mentioned below, notably by al-Kattānī (see *Bibl.*) and according to them, anyone who succeeds in restoring the turban to a country acquires the merit of reviving a good tradition (*iḥyāʾ al-sunna*). In 19th century Ottoman Turkey the turban was officially replaced by the fez, which in its turn had to give way in 1925 to the modern European hat (*shapḳa*) just as in Persia under the Pahlawīs the turban was temporarily driven out by the *kulāh*.

The turban could also be used for many purposes other than that for which it was primarily intended. Thus in Saʿdī, *Būstān*, a man in the desert giving water to a dog dying of thirst uses his cap (*kulāh*) to get water out of the well and his turban-cloth (*dastār* or *mayzar*) as a rope. The turban was often used as a pocket, and also as a rope to tie up criminals, or to tie firmly in the saddle or to strangle. In 1032/1623 the rebel Turkish *ʿulamāʾ* chose the turban of Sheykh Aḳ Shams al-Dīn as their standard (*GOR*, iv, 590). In Mamlūk coats of arms [see RANK] *ʿiṣāba* means the cross or long bar, and in European heraldry a turban is the sign of a Crusader (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer*, 272). Some mussels of the genera of *turbo* and *clanculus* are called turban: Persian turban = *turbo cidarus*; Pharaoh's turban = *clanculus Pharaonis*; Turkish turban = *balanus tintinnabulum* (*Grande Encyclopédie*), and Turkish loans used to be known in the 19th century as "turban stock", and "turban lotteries" the shares of the Banque Ottomane, which were of very uncertain value.

As a survey of the many names for the turban and its parts, we give below an alphabetical list with short notes. The merit of first making a classification possible is due to Dozy, who in his *Dictionnaire des vêtements* and in his *Supplément* has collected ample material, which should generally be consulted. There are also the more recent works by Karabacek, Brunot and al-Kattānī.

ʿAdhaba is the end of the turban-cloth which usually hangs behind from the turban "between the shoulders". When this form of turban first came into use cannot be ascertained exactly; it is of course said to have been worn by the Prophet and by the angels at Badr and according to Ibn Taymiyya, Muḥammad had a dream in this connection in which God pointed to the place between the shoulders; but many of the orthodox regard this dream as anthropomorphism. The leaving of one end hanging down is recommended, and a turban without tails and *taḥnīk* is said to be *bidʿa*. On the position and length of the tail, there are differences of opinion; the most usual is four fingers long between the shoulders. The Ṣūfīs wear the tail on the left because the heart is on that side; wearing the tail behind the right ear was a privilege of the Ḥafṣid sultans of Tunis; the legists of the Imāmiyya are said to have left two tails hanging down, one before and one behind, and the so-called Baghdād turban had two tails. Form VIII of the verb *ʿ-dh-b* means "to wind the turban leaving a tail hanging".

ʿAḳāl, a cord of brown camel hair, which the ʿAneze wear instead of a turban cloth wound two or three times round their head-dress, which is called *kūfiyya*.

ʿAmāma, turban, another form of *ʿimāma*. According to the dictionaries, the pronunciation with *a* is wrong, but according to L. Brunot, *Noms de vêtements masculins à Rabat*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, i, 121, this was the pronunciation in Algiers. It was there an unwound turban, and was also given as a present to the *walī* of the woman one wished to marry.

ʿArakiyya, perspiration-cap, a little cap of some light material which is worn below the turban-cap, to collect the perspiration, and which often peeps out below it. The Turks called it *ṣarïḳ ʿaraḳiyyesi*. The name *maʿraḳa* is also found; some wrote *ʿarāḳiyye* and would connect the word with ʿIrāḳ (Brunot, 120; al-Kattānī, 33). In everyday language, the word is said to mean ordinary cap (*kalansuwa*) and in earlier times in Syria it was a sugar cone-shaped cap adorned with pearls worn by women.

ʿAṣb[a] = *ʿiṣāba*, bandeau. Al-Bukhārī (*Libās*, *bāb* 16) says that the Prophet once wore a black *ʿiṣāba*. Among the Mamlūks, *ʿaṣba* was the double camel hump-like erection on the *ṭurṭūr* worn by men and women (Karabacek, 71), and in early 19th century Egypt it was a square black silk kerchief worn by women (Lane, *Manners and customs*, ch. 1).

ʿAẓāba (another form of *ʿiṣāba?*) seems to be a head-dress with pearls and gold worn in Morocco and Egypt.

Bayḍa is properly an iron helmet but, according to al-Kattānī, 3, may also mean a turban.

Bughṭāḳ or *Bughṭāḳ* or *Bukhṭāḳ*, from *Bughluṭāḳ*, etc. may mean turban and especially the high headdress worn by Mongol princesses and ladies of rank, adorned with gold and pearls.

Burnus, barnūs, was in earlier times not a cloak but a high cap and in this sense it is used in al-Bukhārī, *Libās, bāb* 13. Of later writers, for example, al-Ḳalḳashandī, v, 204, still uses it in this sense: the Sultan of Morocco wore a high white *burnus.* The corresponding verb is *tabarnasa.*

Burṭul[la], a high cap, with the pronunciation *barṭala*, a low skull-cap; in modern parlance it means the *tādj* of a bishop. Persian has *pertele* from it.

Danniyya (perhaps from *danīna*), the "pot-hat" of the *ḳāḍīs*, called *ʿurf* in Turkish.

Dastār (Pers.), turban-cloth; *dastār bandān*, the "turban-wearers", are learned men, dervishes, etc.

Dhuʾāba, the tail = *ʿadhaba.* This word seems to occur usually in Egyptian writers. In the dress of the Fāṭimid caliph and officials, an end of the turban cloth was left hanging down with or without a *taḥnīk* (cf. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Bahgat, introd.). According to al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 43, Ṣūfī *Shaykhs* had a small *dhuʾāba* at the left ear. According to al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara*, ii, 226, scholars and *ḳāḍīs* wore a *shāsh* with ends hanging down between the shoulders.

Dulband (Pers.) is perhaps the original of our word turban; cf. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, 442, and *GOR*, iii, 17. *Dulband-dārān* are the turban-wearers, Turkish *dulbend aghasî*, the keeper of the sultan's turbans.

Farūdiyya, a square kerchief worn by women who make a kind of *rabṭa* with this and the *ṭāḳiyya* and *ṭarbūsh.* Two or three pieces of cloth used to be used, which formed a kind of small turban but quite distinct from that worn by men. The turban proper is distinctly a man's headdress, but women have occasionally had similar fashions. The vigour with which theologians attacked women who wore turbans or otherwise aped men's dress, quoting *ḥadīths* to support their strictures, shows only too clearly the existence of such practices (cf. al-Kattānī, 42, 112).

Fez, the red cap originally belonging to Fās in Morocco, was replaced in Turkey in 1925 by the European hat (*shapka*), while it continued to be worn, e.g. in Egypt.

Fidām, turban, also a mouth-veil worn by the Parsīs and a kind of muzzle for camels and oxen.

Findjān seems to have been a headdress worn by women in Cairo and Syria, gilt below and decked with pieces of silver.

Ghifāra in early times was a kind of *ṭāḳiyya* for women, a red cloth with which they protected their veil from the oil on the hair. In Muslim Spain, it was the name of a similar cap for men, who usually wore not turbans but *ghafāʾir* of red or green wool, whilst Jews wore a yellow one. It would therefore perhaps correspond to the cap often called *shāshiyya* in the Maghrib which was worn under the turban.

Gulūta (Pers. pronunciation of the Arabic *kallawta*), a cap worn by women and children.

Hen(n)in (French), a high headdress worn by women in France and Burgundy, a 15th century fashion influenced by the East, which still survived in Germany in the 16th century. The form changed and was sometimes shaped like a sugar loaf or dome, sometimes like a roller or a truncated cone; sometimes it had two peaks, like the double henin worn by Queen Isabella of Portugal (Karabacek, ii, 67 ff., 84; there it is explained from the Arabic *ḥanīnī* "tinkling" [from the metal pendants on it?] which occurs once in the *Arabian nights*).

Ḥarfiyya is a name for the cap of the turban; cf. Brunot, 105.

Ḥunṭūz was a headdress worn by women in Morocco, triangular in shape, made of linen, three inches long and broad and a span high, with silk and silver, the whole looking something like a camel's hump; cf. al-Kattānī, 112.

ʿImāma, the most general Arabic word for the turban cloth and also for the whole turban; other forms are *ʿamāma, ʿimma*, pls. *ʿamāʾim* and *ʿimām.* The verb is *ʿ-m-m* in forms II, V, VIII, X. Details and variations according to colours, profession, and countries are mentioned above. Among special kinds may be mentioned the *ʿimāma Yūsufī* and *ʿimāma Sūsī* from Sūs in Morocco.

ʿImma is properly the style or form of winding the turban, then the turban itself. Al-Kattānī, 4: *ḥasan al-ʿimma = ḥasan al-iʿtimām.*

ʿIṣāba, turban-cloth like *ʿaṣba*, in more recent times also a headdress for women, as in the *Arabian nights: ʿaṣāʾib muzarkasha* of women and an *ʿiṣābat al-ḥuzn.* The *ʿaṣāʾib sulṭāniyya* under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks in Egypt (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 46; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 110) were the flags of the sultan in the public processions (*mawākib* [*q.v.*]), for the flags enveloped the head of the lance like a turban (al-Ḳalḳashandī, ii, 128; cf. al-Kattānī, 12-13, 36).

Ḳalansuwa [*q.v.*], a high headdress.

Ḳalewī or *kal(l)ewī* in Ottoman Turkey was a state turban which was worn in the capital by the Grand Vizier, the High Admiral (*Ḳapudan Pasha*) and the chief eunuch (*ḳîzlar aghasî*) and in the provinces by the *pashas* of three tails; cf. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 440, 444, and *GOR*, iii, 17, vii, 268, viii, 191.

Kalfa, pl. *kalfatāt*, a high cap, another form of *kallawta.*

Kallawta, kalūta, pl. *kalāwit, kalūtāt*, a cap. The word is perhaps connected with the French *calotte*, Pers. *gulūta*, and perhaps even with the Latin *calantica, calautica, calvatica*; in Syriac, *kalwā* is found with the meaning of tiara, mitre. This name was particularly common under the Turkish dynasties of Egypt; under the Ayyūbids, the sultan, the *amīrs* and the soldiers wore yellow *kalūtāt* without turbans (*ʿamāʾim*), with *dhawāʾib* hanging down behind (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 39; al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 98). In the reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl b. Ḳalāwūn, caps embroidered with gold were introduced (*kalūtāt al-zarkash*; al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*); according to another source (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*), they were red with *ʿamāʾim*; from the time of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān they were worn larger. The *amīr* Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī introduced a special form, the so-called *kalūtāt yalbughāwiyya* which were large, but under al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ, still larger *kalūtāt čerkesiyya* appeared (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*). In those days, a set of robes of honour included a *kalūta zarkash* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 52-3).

Ḳalpaḳ [see LIBĀS].

Ḳamṭa, a red cloth, adorned with pearls, which Egyptian women twisted round their *ṭarbūsh.*

Ḳawuḳ [see ḲAWUḲLU].

Keffiyye, popular pronunciation of *kūfiyya.*

Kelle push, a small white or red cloth cap, around which the turban can be twisted.

Khurāsānī in Ottoman Turkey was the round turban worn by viziers and other officials who were no longer in active service and therefore did not wear the *mudjewweze* (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 444). According to d'Ohsson, ii, 135, ʿOthmān I is said to have worn a cap of a red material, which was called *tādj-i khurāsānī* and was worn by the Tatars and the Čaghatay Turks.

Ḳināʿ, pl. *aḳniʿa*, also *miḳnaʿ(a)* was a cloth which men and women wound on the head, like the *ʿiṣāba* and the *kūfiyya.* Sometimes also it seems to mean a woman's veil of silk embroidered with gold, then again

to be the same as *ṭaylasān* (al-Kattānī, 12, 106). From *al-kināʿ* came the Spanish *al-quinal.* Al-Bukhārī has a *bāb al-taḳannuʿ.*

Kisāʾ, properly a general word for garment, is a piece of flannel worn by learned men in North Africa, around the body and head. In earlier times every one wore it and called it *ḥayk*, which was the name for a woman's veil (cf. Brunot, 133-4).

Konfil, a cap worn by women in Algiers and Tunis.

Ḳubʿ, pl. *aḳbāʿ*, was in Egypt the name for the innermost cap of the turban, which could be kept on, even when sleeping, while the turban proper was taken off and put on a special turban stand, *kursī al-ʿimāma*; the *ḳubʿ* thus corresponds in a way to the later *ṭāḳiyya* and *ʿaraḳiyya.* The Egyptian texts of the *Arabian nights* have *ḳubʿ* for *ṭāḳiyya. Ḳubʿ khaṭāʾī azraḳ* is a similar cap of blue Chinese silk. According to al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 105, there was a market called *sūḳ al-aḳbāʿiyyīn* in Cairo. *Ḳubbaʿa* (= Syr. *ḳūbʿā*, Hebr. *ḳōbaʿ*) is also said to have been a kind of cap or turban, but it also means the capital of a column.

Kūfiyya, popularly *keffiyye*, pl. *kawāfī*, is in Arabic probably a loanword from the Italian *(s)cuffia*, 6th century Lat. *cofea*, Span. *(es)cofia*, Port. *coifa*, Fr. *coiffe*, Eng. *coif*, to which the Turkish *uskuf(iyya)* is also said to be traced. It is a rectangular piece of cloth worn by the Bedouin and their women in Egypt, Arabia and ʿIrāḳ on their heads, of linen or silk in various colours, almost a yard square. The cloth is folded diagonally, the ends hang down or are tied below the chin and above it the Bedouin sometimes, and townsmen usually, wind a turban. This form, which was already known in Egypt in the Mamlūk period and is mentioned in the *Arabian nights*, came into prominence again as part of the dress of the Wahhābīs.

Kūdj is a headdress worn by women, along with an *ʿiṣāba.* The word is perhaps a corruption of *seraghūdj, serakūdj*, which is said to mean a Tatar cap.

Ḳūḳa, a Persian word, is applied in Turkish to the plumed headdress worn by the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia and by the Aghas of the Janissaries (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 444).

Kulāh is the general Persian word for the cap, which replaced the turban in Persia. In Ottoman Turkey it meant more particularly the sugar-loaf-shaped headdress of the cooks, confectioners and wood-cutters of the Palace, and also a white felt headdress worn by the Janissaries = *keče* and one of red cloth worn by the *bustāndjis* = *baretta. Surkh kulāhān* was the Persian name for the Shīʿī Persians corresponding to the Turkish *ḳizilbash*; cf. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi, 81.

Kulōta (cf. *kallawta*) means in Persian a veil worn by women or a child's cap = *gulūta.*

Kumma, kimma, pl. *kumām* is a little tight-fitting cap; cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iv, 232, l. 5; al-Kattānī, 40.

Kurziyya, karziyya, kursiyya. The word seems to be a loanword in Arabic and Berber and to come from the Persian; it is found mainly in the Maghrib and Spain and was there applied to a man's headdress of white wool or strips of wool which the Berbers wound round their heads like a turban cloth. But now it seems to mean a cloak; cf. Brunot, 132-3.

Lāṭiʾa (supply *ḳalansuwa*) means a small, tight-fitting (*lāṣiḳa*) cap, but is probably not a proper name for it; see al-Kattānī, 37, 40, 43.

Libda, lubbāda, a small cap of brown or white felt (*libd*) which the common people in Egypt wore under the *ṭarbūsh.* The very poor wore it alone, without *ṭarbūsh* and turban.

Lithām, a mouth-veil for men [*q.v.*].

Mandīl [*q.v.*], *mindīl*, a loanword from the Latin *mantile*, is applied to cloths generally, but may also mean the turban, especially in Turkish and Persian. It is found in this sense also in Arabic authors, like al-Thaʿālibī and al-Maḳrīzī, but they probably took it from the Persian.

Mayzar means in Persia the turban, probably derived from *miʾzar*, which, however, means a veil.

Maʿraḳa, a parallel form for *ʿaraḳiyya*, perspiration-cap.

Mighfar, also pronounced *miḥfar*, the helmet, is a network of iron worn to protect the head in battle under the cap (*ḳalansuwa*): the Prophet is said to have worn one at the entry into Mecca. Soldiers wore a turban around the helmet, not only when fighting, but also in times of peace (Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber*, Heidelberg 1921, 59). Thus the Ottoman Murād IV, who was continually in the field, used to wind his turban cloth around his helmet (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 443). Hence the phrase "to slacken the turban" = to live in peace and security (al-Kattānī, 4) while "the turban on the neck" (*fī ʿunḳihi mindīl* or *ʿimāma*) is a sign of submission.

Miḳnaʿa is the same as *ḳināʿ*, a head-cloth but the former is usually smaller. The *miḳnaʿa* of women is also called *ghifāra.*

Mikwar(a), mikwāra is a word for turban, and *mukawwir* thus came to mean the same as *mutaʿammim*, i.e. theologian, man of learning, and in Muslim Spain, the officials and jurists, because these alone wore the turban there.

Mishmadh, mishwadh, mishwādh, mishwash, are rarer words for turban.

Mudjawwaza, Arabic, but apparently only found in Turkish as *müdjewweze*, a barrel- or cylindrical-shaped cap, which was worn with the turban cloth from the time of Süleymān's dress edict, as the proper court and state headdress. Süleymān is said to have been the first sultan himself to wear it (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 442; Pečewī, i, 4: *M. surkh*); the *müdjewweze* was previously the military cap, the red top of which peeped out from the turban cloth. Meḥemmed II is said to have worn his turban over a spiral *tādj*, like the *müdjewweze* of scholars, and the turban of his son Bāyezīd II, like his father's, resembled the type worn by learned men (Karabacek, 15; von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 17, vii, 268, viii, 191).

Muḳla, a large turban worn by learned men of unvarying shape, but also the headdress of Coptic priests with a long narrow band.

Nuṣṣ raʾs "half the head", was a small helmet or cap worn by seamen in the Maghrib; the name was also found in Egypt. In Morocco the *ṭarbūsh* was also called "*niṣf al-raʾs*" because it covered half the head, tightly fitting; cf. Brunot, 117-18.

Parīshānī, the "untidy turban", was the name of the turban worn by the common people in the reign of Süleymān I; *GOR*, iii, 17.

Pertele, Pers. pronunciation of *burṭulla.*

Rabṭa of women consisted of the *ṭāḳiyya, ṭarbūsh* and *farūdiyya*; together they made a kind of woman's turban, but it was very different from that worn by men.

Ruzza was a small turban for young people in Morocco (cf. Brunot, 105-6).

Sādj was a green or black *ṭaylasān*; cf. al-Kattānī, 106.

Salīmī, a special variety of the kind of turban called *Yūsufī*, called after Selīm I, who is said to have preferred it, as did Selīm II also; *GOR*, iii, 17, vii, 268.

Sharbūsh, sharbush, pl. *sharābīsh, sharābish*, probably from the Persian *sarpūsh*, but the latter is a woman's headdress. In Syriac we find *sarfūshā* in Bar Hebraeus.

The *sharbūsh* was the headdress of the *amīrs* under the Mamlūks in Egypt; according to al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 99, it resembled the *tādj*, was three-cornered, worn without a turban, and one formed part of a set of robes of honour. It had a markedly military character, and the *sharbūsh* of the *amīrs* is contrasted to the turban of the jurists (al-Maḳrīzī-Blochet, 335). In Cairo in those days, there was a special market for sellers of *sharbūsh*, in which, however, in al-Maḳrīzī's time only robes of honour were sold, and in Damascus there was a *madrasa* called *al-Madrasa al-Mālikiyya al-Sharābishiyya*. Under the Circassian Mamlūks, the *sharbūsh* fell into disuse (and was replaced by the *kalūtāt čerkesiyya*?).

Ṣarïk also *ṣarghï*, a bandage, was the usual Turkish name for the turban. *Ṣarïklï* = turban-wearer, e.g. *ṣarïklï khodja* = cleric with the turban, *ṣarïkdjï* = turban-maker; *ṣarïkdjï bashï*, the sultan's turban-keeper. The first guild regulation of the turban-makers dates from Süleymān I's time, when their shops were first opened, and regulations about the wearing of turbans were drawn up (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 443).

Shadd, the turban-cloth, then the whole turban, a name used particularly in North Africa and Egypt. The Egyptian texts of the *Arabian nights* have *shadd* for *ʿimāma*. Sometimes *shadd* was particularly the white-and-blue striped turban of the Copts, while that of the Muslims was called *shāsh*; the *shadd baʿlabakkī* was particularly well known. The *shadd tādj al-khalīfa* at the court of the Fāṭimids was the office of the turban-winder to the caliph; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 484.

Shāl. The word has passed into the languages of Europe, "shawl", etc., and means the turban-cloth or whole turban, especially in Egypt, sometimes also kerchiefs worn by women, e.g. in Arabia and North Africa.

Shapka/ṣapka is the Turkish word for the modern European hat, which was made compulsory in Turkey by law in 1925. Only clerics already wearing turbans (*ṣarïklï khodja*) were allowed to retain their turbans. A number of publications appeared at the time on the hat question (*shapka mesʾelesi*).

Shāsh, from which we get the English word "sash", meant the turban-cloth in Egypt, Syria, Arabia and Persia. Under the Ayyūbids, the *ḳāḍīs* and learned men wore turbans with large *shāshāt*; some let a tail (*dhuʾāba*) hang down between the shoulders or wore the neck-veil in addition (*taylasān*; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 42; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 98, and al-Suyūṭī, ii, 226). The *shāsh*, however, also meant a cap (= *shāshiyya*) and formed part of a set of robes of honour; e.g. al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 52-3: *shāsh rafīʿ, mawṣūl bihi ṭarafᵘⁿ min ḥarīr abyaḍ*. From 780/1378 we also find the *shāsh* as part of a woman's dress; it is the cloth embroidered with gold and pearls, thrown over the double *ṭurṭūr*; cf. Karabacek, 67 ff.

Shāshiyya in Egypt was a cap, around which the turban-cloth was wound; it was of silk and might be trimmed with pearls and gold. On the other hand, however, it was the name given to the paper cap, put upon criminals, and also to iron helmet-like caps. To put on the *shāshiyya* meant "to adopt Islam." In early 20th century Morocco, it was a black cap for young people in the form of the *ṭarbūsh*, also a headdress in the form of a sugar-loaf, which the Darḳāwa dervishes wore, in Algiers a woman's cap (Brunot), in the oasis of Sīwa it was pronounced *shāsha*. *Shāshiyya* seems originally to have been the turban-cloth made of *shāsh* muslin; cf. *ZDMG*, xxii, 161.

Shemle was in Turkey in the reign of Süleymān I a carelessly wound turban-cloth, worn by the common people (*GOR*, iii, 17). In North Africa it was a cloth, still sometimes wound over the turban (*ʿimāma*); see Brunot.

Shimrīr = Span. *sombrero*, was the name given in Morocco to the European hat, sometimes also called *ṭarṭūr*; see Brunot.

Sīdāra is a skull-cap like the *ṭāḳiyya* worn under the *miknaʿa* and *ʿiṣāba*.

Sikka was the name for the Turkish dervish cap; cf. Jacob, *Die Bektaschijje*, in *Abh. Bayer. Ak. Wiss.*, 1. Kl., xxiv, no. 3 (Munich 1900), 40.

Sudūs, *sadūs* is a green *ṭaylasān* worn by women, especially in winter time as a protection from cold.

Tādj [*q.v.*], "crown", also turban.

Taḥnīk [*al-ʿimāma*] is a special adjustment, in which the turban-cloth is brought under the chin as a protection against heat and cold or its two ends tied under the chin. This form was found particularly in the Maghrib and those who used it defended it intolerantly and described all other forms of the turban as innovation (*bidʿa*), as the dress of the devil or of the Copts, or as a survival of the turbans of the followers of Lūṭ (al-Kattānī, 70). The opposite of *taḥnīk* is *iktiʿāṭ* or *iʿtidjār* (even letting the ends hang down is also wrong, in contrast to it), while other rare synonyms for the *taḥnīk* are *talaḥḥī* or *iltiḥā*. From the Maghrib, the Fāṭimids seem to have brought the *taḥnīk* to Egypt, and the *ustādhūn muḥannakūn* were the chief *amīrs* (eunuchs) at the Fāṭimid court who held the highest offices in the personal service of the caliph (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 484; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Bahgat, introd.). Farther east, also, the *taḥnīk* was occasionally found; e.g. even al-Ṣūlī is said to have recommended it. But it is no *sunna* with the Shāfiʿīs, while, for example, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.v.*] recommended it.

Ṭaylasān, neck-veil of the *ḳāḍīs*.

Ṭāḳ, a green *ṭaylasān*, a name of very rare occurrence.

Ṭāḳiyya, pl. *ṭawāḳī*, is originally a Persian word, and in Persia was the turban or a high cap. French *toque* and Spanish *toca* are perhaps connected with it. The name seems to be first found in Mamlūk Egypt in the 8th/14th century, when it was a round cap with flat top in various colours, worn without the turban-cloth. Under al-Nāṣir Faradj, it was extended in height from 1/6 to 2/3 ells and swollen out like a cupola (perhaps under the influence of old Egyptian models) and called the Circassian *ṭāḳiyya*. Egyptian women are said to have imitated this for erotic or other reasons, and this form then made its way to the East. The *ṭāḳiyya* was stiffened with paper, and in a Fāṭimid cap, similar in shape, of the 5th/11th century have been found fragments of papyrus with writing upon them. These headdresses were quilted and had a rippled appearance. Other forms were evolved from them, such as the bottles, barrels, cones and the so-called unicorns (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 104; Karabacek, 73; cf. *ṭurṭūr*). In more recent times *ṭāḳiyya* has been used as a synonym for *ʿaraḳiyya*; cf. Brunot, 116-17; al-Kattānī, 98.

Ṭals, parallel form for *ṭaylasān*.

Ṭarbūsh, probably, like *sharbūsh*, going back to the Persian *sarpūsh*, only found in Arabic from the 10th/16th century, was a tight-fitting cap, in Egypt usually of red wool, with a tassel of black or blue silk. Around this cap, men of rank wore the turban-cloth and under it the small *ṭāḳiyya* or *ʿaraḳiyya*. In Syria and in ʿIrāḳ, the *ṭarbūsh* had sometimes a peak, which hung behind or at the side and was kept in position by a piece of cloth. In Egypt this cap used to be called *shāshiyya* (in Morocco we still find both

terms in use side-by-side), in Spain *ghifāra*. *Ṭrābshī* is a name given in Morocco to a young man, who does not yet wear the turban (Brunot, 118). The *ṭarbūsh* there was always imported from Europe; the *shāshiyya*, on the other hand, was made in the country itself.

Ṭarḥa = *ṭaylasān*.

Ṭasākhīn is also a kind of *ṭaylasān*.

Ṭurṭūr, *ṭarṭūr* (*a*), *ṭanṭūra*, *ṭanṭūra*, in Arabic a loan-word of unknown origin (the Latin *turrita*, tower-shaped, has been compared), a high cap round which the turban can be wound. *Ṭarṭūra* seems to be found as early as a papyrus of the 2nd/7th century (Karabacek, 67), and in the 4th/10th century it was a popular headdress in Ḳayrawān (Karabacek, 68). The *ṭurṭūr* at a later date seems to have been a headdress of the Bedouin (they swore by it, *wa-ḥaḳḳ' ṭurṭūrī*; there is a saying "he fell at the first blow like the *ṭurṭūr* of a Bedouin") and to have gone out of fashion with the denizens of the towns. A *ṭurṭūr* of paper used to be put on the heads of criminals and prisoners captured from the enemy, and it was worn also by the "prince of the New Year" (*nawrūz*) at a popular festival in Cairo, which was prohibited in the reign of Barḳūḳ. The pointed *ṭurṭūr* was in the 8th/14th century, with or without the turban, the headdress of the common people in Egypt and the countries adjoining it (Karabacek, 68); at a later date, dervishes in Egypt wore sugar-loaf-shaped *ṭurṭūrs* with trimmings (Lane, *Manners and customs*, ch. I); in Turkey, it was worn by the volunteer corps of the Delis, in Algiers by the Dey's *čawushs*, in Morocco by the black soldiery. The name is found wherever Arabic is spoken, and *ṭurṭūr* in Arabic seems to have corresponded to *tādj* in Turkish and Persian. *Ca.* 780/1378, the double *ṭurṭūr* with two peaks like a camel's hump, and the *shāsh* above them, appears as a lady's fashion in Egypt and was taken to Europe (Karabacek, 71), and in more recent times the Druse and Maronite women of the Lebanon wore a *ṭurṭūr* plated with gold or covered with horn like the horn of a unicorn. In Fās, Algiers and Tunis also, the name was given to certain forms of women's headdress (see Brunot, 119; Karabacek, 80).

Ukrūf, *ukhrūf*, a high cap common in the Maghrib, which could be made either quite simply or of valuable material.

ʿUrf was in Ottoman Turkey a large globe- or pad-shaped turban worn by learned men, corresponding to the Arabic *danniyya* and the Persian *kulāhi-ḳāḍī*. Meḥemmed II was fond of wearing the *ʿurf* embroidered with gold; see von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 444, and *GOR*, vii, 268, viii, 191.

Urṣūṣa, *arsusa*, *russa* is said to be a melon-shaped hat.

Uskūf, also *uskūfiyya*, from the Italian *scuffia* = Arabic *kūfiyya*, was a peaked cap embroidered with gold, which the officers of the Janissaries and some Palace officials like the Baltadjis wore, also called *kūka*. Süleymān Pasha, son of Orkhan, is said to have invented it; he is said to have introduced it out of affection for Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] and even to have worn it. It came into general use in the reign of Murād I, and became a kind of ruler's crown; see von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 444, and *GOR*, iii, 17.

Yūsufī, *ʿimāme-i Yūsufī*, is an old name for the Turkish turban; it is said to have been originally invented by Joseph and to be called after him. Selīm I and II wore these *Yūsufīs*, which were then called *Selīmīs* after them; see von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 422, and *GOR*, iii, 17.

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No. 14 is the most detailed monograph on the turban and has been much used for the above article. Of other writings, al-Kattānī mentions nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, but himself only saw and used no. 8.

(b) Of European literature, in addition to the works of Dozy, Karabacek and Brunot cited in the text, one may mention a few general works on costume: Rosenberg, *Geschichte des Kostüms*, 5 vols., plates with brief descriptions, pl. 297 on the turban; J. von Falke, *Kostümgeschichte der Kulturvölker*, A. Kretschmer, *Die Trachten der Völker, Katalog der Lipperheideschen Kostümbibliothek*.—16 forms of turban are illustrated by Fesquet, 44 different ones by Niebuhr, and no less than 286 are given by Michael Thalman, *Elenchus librorum or. mss.*, Vienna 1702, vi, 29-30, on Cod. turc. vii, Bologna; cf. Victor Rosen, *Remarques sur les mss. orientaux de la Collection Marsigli à Bologne*, in *Atti della Real Acc. dei Lincei*, cclxxxi (1883-4), 182.

(W. Björkman*)

ṬULKARM, a town of western Palestine, lying on the coastal plain just below the rise to the mountains of Samaria, some 18 km/11 miles to the east of the modern Israeli port of Netanya, in lat. 32° 19' N., long. 35° 02' E. at an altitude of 105 m/330 feet. The district around Ṭulkarm is fertile agricultural land, with an annual rainfall of *ca.* 600 mm, and famed for such agricultural produce as citrus fruits, olives, watermelons, etc.

Ṭulkarm is not mentioned by the classical Islamic geographers and travellers, and the first solid mention of it comes from early Mamlūk times, when at some time before 663/1264-5 Sultan Baybars divided it equally as *iḳṭāʿs* between two of his *amīrs*, Badr al-Dīn Basarī al-Shamsī al-Ṣāliḥī and Badr al-Dīn Baylik al-Khaznadārī. In records from this time and later,

the name appears at Ṭulkarm, possibly from an Aramaic predecessor Ṭūr Karmā. From the 10th/16th to the 19th centuries, the Ottoman *tapu defteris* mention it as a village in the *nāḥiya* of Ḳāḳūn in the *liwā'* of Nābulus [*q.v.*]. In 955/1548-9, it had 190 households plus three bachelors, but at the end of this century, the number of households had fallen to 156 whilst the numbers of bachelors had increased to 20. There are no references to any mosques or *imāms* at this stage of its history. Of Ṭulkarm's taxes, one-third was the ruler's *khāṣṣ*, and part of the rest went to the upkeep of *madrasas* outside the town and to the complex of al-Ẓāhir Baybars in Cairo. The sources are silent about the town from the 11th/17th to the 19th centuries, except for a reference to a learned Ḥanbalī scholar, Marʿī b. Yūsuf al-Karmī (d. 1033/1623-4) who lived there but who had been born in Jerusalem; a number of his writings survive in manuscript.

Ṭulkarm began a more flourishing stage of its history at the end of the 19th century when in 1892 it was separated from the Ḳāḳūn *nāḥiya* and added to that of Banī Saʿb, becoming the seat of a newly-created *ḳaḍā'* in the *sandjaḳ* of Nābulus. It is depicted in travellers' accounts, *sharīʿa* court registers and the Ottoman *sāl-nāme* as a steadily expanding, stone-built town, with piped water, several government offices and schools, including vocational ones. Towards the end of the First World War, in which Ṭulkarm had been the headquarters of the Eighth Ottoman army, and during the ensuing Mandate, Ṭulkarm benefited from its position on the standard-gauge Lydda-Haifa railway, being the junction for the 3 feet, 6 inches-gauge branch line to Nābulus. From 1948 to 1967 it was part of the West Bank of the Hashimite kingdom of Jordan. Its population has grown steadily in the 20th century, the 1937 population of 6,000 being subsequently swollen by Palestinian refugees. The town is in majority Sunnī Muslim, with a small Christian population.

Bibliography: See the *tapu defteris* for 953-4, 955, nos. 258, 296, 522 (Istanbul), and for 1005, no. 549 (Ankara); also *Sāl-nāme-yi wilāyat-i Bayrūt*, 245-6, 457; H.C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach (eds.), *The handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*, London 1930, 173, 209-9, 296-7, 313; Admiralty Handbooks. *Palestine and Transjordan*, London 1943, 339, 346, 351, 367, 369-70; Iḥsān al-Nimr, *Ta'rīkh djabal Nābulus wa 'l-Balḳā'*, Nābulus 1961; M.M. Sharrāh (ed.), *Muʿdjam buldān Filasṭīn*, Damascus-Beirut 1967, s.v.; W.-D. Hütteroth and K. Abdulfattah, *Historical geography of Palestine, Trans-Jordan and southern Syria in the late 16th century*, Erlangen 1977; *al-Mawsūʿa al-Filasṭīniyya*, Damascus 1984, iii, s.v.; *Mawsūʿat al-mudun al-Filasṭīniyya*, Damascus 1990, s.v.

(M.ʿA. AL-BAKHĪT)

ṬULUMBADJI (T.), the Ottoman Turkish term for fireman, firefighter (< *ṭulumba* pump for firefighting < Ital. *tromba* with lambdacism and possibly with contamination from Tkish. *tulum* "waterskin", see H. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The lingua franca in the Levant. Turkish nautical terms of Italian and Greek origin*, Urbana, Ill. 1958, 448-9).

Water pumps appeared in Italy in the 15th century and spread around the Mediterranean shores. They are mentioned—already as *ṭulumba*—in the 1560s in connection with the building of the Büyük Čekmeče bridge near Istanbul (R. Anhegger, *Eyyūbī'nin menâḳıb-i Sultan Süleyman'ı*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, i/1 [1949], 119-38), and in the next century Ewliya Čelebi mentions a gild of *ṭulumbadjiyān* (7 stalls and 80 members) who had the task of pumping water out of ships (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 547-8). The firefighting pump was actually introduced into the Ottoman empire by a renegade Frenchman, who is only known by his convert's name, Gerček Dāwūd Agha, installed at Istanbul in 1128/1716 after a stay in the Netherlands and a Muslim convert shortly afterwards as the result of conflict with the Genevan jeweller Jacob Marchand. He constructed a pump after the fire at the Arsenal of 26 March 1718 and before the fire at the factory for making muskets (*tüfeng-khāne*) on 17 July 1718, and was appointed head of the company of firemen, *ṭulumbadji bashi*, within the Janissary corps, after the fire at the cannon foundry (*top-khāne*) of 16 January 1720.

From this time onwards, the *ṭulumbadjis* comprised a company (*odjak*) of the Janissaries; after the abolition of the latter in 1826 they were attached to the newly-created units of the *ʿasākir-i manṣūre* and, after 1846, to the new gendarmerie. A specialist brought from Hungary, one Zichny, modernised the organisation in 1874, founding a battalion of firefighters, supplemented by two more in 1890 and a fourth in 1908. In 1925 the whole organisation was taken over by the municipality.

The personage of the *ṭulumbadji* was a major figure in Istanbul folklore of the 19th and early 20th centuries, projecting the image of a swaggering, ill-behaved fellow. The group had a common, precise method of dressing, frequented specific coffee-houses, organised races and had their own songs.

Bibliography: See essentially the detailed *İA* art. of Cengiz Orhonlu; also Turgut Kut, *Ülkemizde yangın tulumbasını ilk kez imal eden Gerçek Davud'un ve bazı tulumbacıların mezar taşları*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxxii (1979), 771-88. For the folklore aspect, see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *İstanbul tulumbacıları*, Istanbul 1981. For a visual impression of *ṭulumbadjis* at the end of the 19th century, see photographs nos. 56-9 in C.E.S. Gavin (ed.), *Imperial self-portrait. The Ottoman empire as revealed in the Sultan Abdul Hamid II's photographic albums presented as gifts to the Library of Congress (1893) and the British Museum (1894)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1988 [= *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, xii].

(ST. YERASIMOS)

ṬŪLŪNIDS, governing family of Egypt from 254/868 to 292/905, the date of the brief restoration of direct ʿAbbāsid rule over the province.

A history of the family centres on the careers of its first two members, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] and his son, Khumārawayh [*q.v.*], who succeeded his father in 270/884. Ibn Ṭūlūn was sent as resident governor by Bāyakbāk (d. 256/870), himself appointed over Egypt by the caliph al-Muʿtazz in 254/868 (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 615). Ibn Ṭūlūn and Bāyakbāk were both members of the largely Central Asian Turkish guard formed initially in Baghdād then settled in Sāmarrā' upon its establishment by al-Muʿtaṣim. A successful ten-years' reign enabled Ibn Ṭūlūn to present his appointed heir, Khumāramayh, with a seasoned military, a stable economy, and a coterie of experienced commanders and bureaucrats. Despite significant diplomatic and territorial gains by Khumārawayh, financial exhaustion, political infighting and strides by a revitalised ʿAbbāsid state set the stage for Ṭūlūnid ruin some short years after Khumārawayh's assassination in 282/896. His son, Djaysh, was deposed by the Ṭūlūnid military command in 283/896 while his successor, and brother, Hārūn, was assassinated in 292/905. Shortly thereafter, an invasion by ʿAbbāsid forces under the command of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, with naval support from frontier forces based in Ṭarsūs,

brought an end to the reign of Shaybān b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, the last of the Ṭūlūnids.

The Ṭūlūnid period must be studied against the backdrop of a caliphate struggling with a growing loss of legitimacy, regional disturbances (including Coptic and ʿAlid-led movements in Egypt), a violent struggle principally in ʿIrāḳ between the caliphate and the Turkish command backed by allies within the administration, and a widening imperial financial crisis. The immediate external factors shaping Ibn Ṭūlūn's tenure in office included the emergence of Abū Aḥmad (b. al-Mutawakkil) al-Muwaffaḳ (d. 278/891) as the *de facto* ruler of the empire, and so rival to his brother al-Muʿtamid (d. 279/892), and the extended and costly revolt of the Zandj [*q.v.*] in southern ʿIrāḳ. Summoned from exile in Mecca by al-Muʿtamid (in 256/870), specifically to suppress the uprising, al-Muwaffaḳ quickly emerged as a power broker. His standing assumed formal status with the succession arrangement announced by al-Muʿtamid in 261/875, according to the terms of which Djaʿfar (b. al-Muʿtamid) al-Mufawwiḍ and al-Muwaffaḳ were to succeed to the caliphate in turn and each was to govern half of the empire, with al-Muwaffaḳ assigned over the eastern provinces (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1890). The sum of these developments was the opportunity presented to Ibn Ṭūlūn to expand the authority wielded, up to that point, by governors of Egypt. As such the Ṭūlūnids can be counted among other 3rd/9th century families, including the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] and Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*], wielding regional power largely unhindered by imperial will (Grabar, 51-8).

A central problem of Ṭūlūnid history concerns the extent to which the family sought, and achieved, independence from the imperial centre. The most plausible interpretation (Frantz, 13, 29-30; Grabar, 37, 56-8; Kennedy, 310-12) relies on both the physical (coins, papyri, *ṭirāz* inscriptions, and weights) and literary evidence (see *Bibl.*). While fragmentary and on occasion ambiguous, the evidence suggests a careful balancing act on the part of Ibn Ṭūlūn and his heirs in a complex political environment. Various developments, on the one hand, indicate a move towards autonomy on their part. Among Ibn Ṭūlūn's achievements was the assertion of control, by 257-8/870-2, over much of the financial administration of Egypt. In 257, Yārdjūkh, the new apanagist of Egypt, granted Ibn Ṭūlūn authority over Alexandria and Barḳa, then, in the more significant appointment the following year, the *kharādj* of Egypt and authority (*wilāya*) over the Syrian *thughūr* (Ibn Saʿīd, 80, 84; al-Balawī, 72-3; al-Kindī, 216-17). Ibn Ṭūlūn thus achieved a position of financial strength as well as a victory over Ibn al-Mudabbir [*q.v.*], the head of the finance office and member of the imperial bureaucratic élite.

Also of note in this context were Ibn Ṭūlūn's efforts at creating an autonomous military and navy, a native Egyptian bureaucracy, and a network of financial and ideological support composed largely of high-level religious figures and merchants. The initial step towards the creation of a Ṭūlūnid army came with the revolt of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh, governor of Palestine, in 256/870. Terse reports indicate that Ibn Ṭūlūn exploited the occasion to create an army composed of Sudanese and Greek slaves (al-Balawī, 51). Ibn al-Dāya (Ibn Saʿīd, 80) refers to large numbers of "Reds" and "Blacks" (*al-ḥumrān wa 'l-sūdān*) which may be a reference to the two groupings (although "Reds" more often refers to the Persians). The sources also mention élite guard units surrounding the persons of Ibn Ṭūlūn (slave troops from the region of Ghūr in Afghānistān: Ibn Saʿīd, 78) and Khumārawayh (Arabs of the Ḥawf region of Egypt: al-Maḳrīzī, iii, 819). The first of these may have been the core around which Ibn Ṭūlūn built the larger army (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2080). In a ceremony held in 258/871, Ibn Ṭūlūn had his forces swear personal allegiance to him (*al-bayʿa li-nafsihi*); the report (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 624) refers to the regular army, the Shākiriyya and the slave troops (?) (*al-djund wa 'l-shākiriyya wa 'l-mawālī*). Defections by high-ranking commanders, particularly that of Luʾluʾ in 269/883 to al-Muwaffaḳ and a mixed record of achievement by Ṭūlūnid forces in the field suggest persistent problems of securing such allegiance, perhaps a measure of Ṭūlūnid failure to secure an abiding basis of legitimacy.

One has also to contend with efforts at extending Ṭūlūnid rule over Syria, Palestine and the frontier zone with Byzantium (*al-thughūr*). A failed campaign in 269/883 to control Mecca and Medina was probably an attempt by Ibn Ṭūlūn to secure greater political appeal (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2083-4). Though perhaps tied to Ibn Ṭūlūn's personal experience among the holy warriors of Ṭarsūs (Hassan, 278), the concerted efforts to control the frontier zone should probably also be understood in this manner. The initial steps towards rule over Syria and the *thughūr* included two campaigns by Ibn Ṭūlūn, in 265/878 and 269/882, in which he secured the allegiance of the military governors of the major Syrian cities, although Ṭarsūs eluded his control. Following his father's death, Khumārawayh faced the invasion of Syria by armies sent by al-Muwaffaḳ as well as the defection of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī, long a key member of Ibn Ṭūlūn's inner circle. Political as well as military gains enabled the younger Ṭūlūnid to extend Egyptian authority into the Djazīra, and, finally, over Ṭarsūs by 277/890. Two treaties negotiated with the ʿAbbāsid state in this period suggest the extent of Khumārawayh's prominence on the Near Eastern political stage. The first, with al-Muwaffaḳ in 273/886, recognised formal Ṭūlūnid authority over Egypt and the regions of Syria for a thirty-year period. The second treaty, reached with the new sovereign, al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 289/902), in 279/892, largely confirmed the terms of the earlier accord. Despite rather vague reports in the sources, however, both accords also contained provisions apparently seeking to confirm the status of the Egyptian governor as a vassal of the caliphal family (Haarmann, 49). The extraordinary dowry of some 400,000 dīnārs brought by Khumārawayh's daughter, Ḳaṭr al-Nadā, to her wedding in 279/892 with al-Muʿtaḍid, may have been an attempt to drain the Ṭūlūnid treasury (Frantz, 67).

On the other hand, numismatic and inscriptional evidence, weighed with compelling anecdotal material, points to an abiding concern on the part of the Ṭūlūnid administration not to distance itself unduly from the ʿAbbāsid state (Kennedy, 311). Coins and *ṭirāz* inscriptions which bear the name and title of the Egyptian governor, and thus read as marking a desire for autonomy, only date from 265-6/878-9. Among them is the inscription of 265/878 marking the foundation of Ibn Ṭūlūn's new congregational mosque. These are arguably best understood in the context of al-Muwaffaḳ's dominance over the caliphate (Grabar, 39-48). In this sense, these and other key measures on Ibn Ṭūlūn's part, such as the fashioning of the Egyptian army, the creation of an intelligence network and even the efforts at territorial expansion, were as much the means by which imperial interests were protected against the ambitions of al-Muwaffaḳ and his (largely Turkish) military coterie in ʿIrāḳ as they

were efforts to secure Ṭūlūnid authority.

No less significant a measure of service to the empire is that, on at least two occasions, in 257/871 and 262/875-6, Ibn Ṭūlūn remitted considerable sums of revenue, along with gifts, to the central ʿAbbāsid administration. The extended conflict with al-Muwaffaḳ would then have been an obstacle to more regular such payments (Frantz, 54-8). For al-Muwaffaḳ, the issue was, early on, to secure Egyptian revenue for the campaign against the Zandj, then to limit the growing presence of the Ṭūlūnid house. The pressing need for revenue and perhaps troops, inevitably drew al-Muwaffaḳ's attention to the considerable wealth of Egypt. Resistance by Ibn Ṭūlūn to such pressures, reflected, for example, in the letter sent in 263/877 by the Egyptian governor to al-Muwaffaḳ in which Ibn Ṭūlūn pointed out that al-Muwaffaḳ had no formal jurisdiction over Egypt, fuelled their escalating conflict.

Ṭūlūnid administration of Egypt bore several features of note. The literary evidence points to a highly centralised and pitiless style of rule joined to consistent attempts to win the backing of Egypt's commercial, religious and social élite. Ibn Ṭūlūn is reported to have replaced ʿIrāḳī officials with an Egyptian bureaucracy (Ibn Saʿīd, 83) and to have relied on the powerful merchant community for both financial and diplomatic support. Maʿmar al-Djawharī, a leading member of the Egyptian merchant community, served as Ibn Ṭūlūn's financier and maintained a network through which funds and intelligence made its way between Egypt and ʿIrāḳ. Concern over legal and religious sanction is suggested by Ibn Ṭūlūn's appeal, to an assembly of Egyptian and Syrian religious authorities convened in Damascus (269/882-3), for approval of his position against al-Muwaffaḳ. The need for such appeals is underscored by the refusal, on the part of the Egyptian chief *ḳāḍī*, Bakkār b. Ḳutayba, and two other jurists, to side with Ibn Ṭūlūn (al-Kindī, 226).

Fragmentary evidence does not permit a thorough assessment of Ṭūlūnid economic and financial policies. Important evidence points, however, to a stable and prosperous economy closely administered by the Egyptian bureaucracy and propitious levels of agricultural production blessed by consistent high flooding (Frantz, 267). The political stability of Egypt is a *sine qua non*. Recurrent revolts among the Copts and on the part of Arab nomadic communities along the upper Nile, were perhaps largely a response to more efficient Ṭūlūnid fiscal practices. The strength of the Ṭūlūnid economy is attributable to a complex of long-term socio-economic factors and more immediate reforms on the part of both Ibn al-Mudabbir in the period just prior to Ibn Ṭūlūn's appointment and the Ṭūlūnid administration itself (Frantz and Morimoto). The measures in question include changes in the tax assessment and collection system, an expansion in the use of tax-contracts (itself the source of an emergent land-holding élite in this period), and investment and repairs in the agricultural infrastructure. The key sector of production, investment, and participation in Mediterranean-wide commerce, was textiles, linen in particular (Frantz, 281-5).

Public works projects initiated by Ibn Ṭūlūn reflected practical and ideological concerns alike. The establishment of the new quarter of al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ, and the replacement of the mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ with a new congregational mosque, were a response to overcrowding, particularly with the influx of new regiments. The well-known tower of the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque probably combines features borrowed from Samarran architecture and more local patterns. In addition to prodigious sums spent on military matters, the expenditures on Khumārawayh's part toward palaces, gardens and sumptuous social and artistic gatherings are said to have contributed to the alarming condition of the Ṭūlūnid treasury following his tenure in office.

Bibliography: The articles AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN (Z. Hassan) and KHUMĀRAWAYH B. AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN (U. Haarmann) should be consulted, along with the *EI*[1] art. *Ṭūlūnids* (H.A.R. Gibb).

1. The largely hagiographical biography of Ibn Ṭūlūn by Ibn al-Dāya [*q.v.*] preserved in Ibn Saʿīd's *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib* (Cairo 1953) provides a near-contemporary account of his reign, complemented by a second valuable work, *al-Mukāfaʾa* (Cairo 1941). The *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn* of al-Balawī [*q.v.*], while largely based on Ibn al-Dāya, is a credible elaboration of that life story. The chronicles of al-Kindī, al-Ṭabarī and al-Yaʿḳūbī all contain valuable information on the Ṭūlūnid period. The earlier works are the principal sources for later authors, principally Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Maḳrīzī and al-Nuwayrī.

2. Studies. C.H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, Strassburg 1902, ii, 180-98, and Z.M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, Paris 1933, offer somewhat dated information and opinion. More recent scholarship includes O. Grabar, *The coinage of the Ṭūlūnids*, ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs 139, New York 1957; G.M. Frantz, *Saving and investment*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor, Michigan 1978; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London and New York 1986, 309-13, K. Morimoto, *Fiscal administration*, Kyoto 1981, and E.W. Randa, *The Tulunid dynasty*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Utah 1990, unpubl. Frantz and Morimoto rely, in good part, on the extensive surviving papyri, and Frantz cites the earlier such research of N. Abbott and A. Grohmann.

(M.S. GORDON)

TUM [see TIK WA-TUM].

ṬUʿMA, ILYĀS, Abū Faḍl al-Walīd, minor Arabic poet of the Mahdjar [*q.v.*] and of Lebanon, b. 1889 in Ḳurnat al-Ḥamrāʾ, Lebanon, d. 1941.

As the child of well-to-do parents, he received an excellent education at the ʿAyn Ṭūra school (1899-1903) and at the Madrasat al-Ḥikma in Beirut in 1905. His penchant for poetry manifested itself already during his school years in ʿAyn Ṭūra, where he composed poems in both flawless Arabic and French. He emigrated to Argentina in 1908 and went from there in 1910 to Brazil. He converted to Islam in 1916 and adopted the name Abū Faḍl al-Walīd. In 1920 he returned to Lebanon, where he lived until his death in 1941.

During his stay in Rio de Janeiro, he published a newspaper, from 1913 to 1917, named *al-Ḥamrāʾ* after the village where he was born and the Alhambra in Spain. From 1915 onwards he began to collect his poetry. The first volume came out in 1915 with the title *al-Gharībāt* ("Curiosities"), republished in Beirut in 1931 with the title *Aghārīd fī ʿawāṣif* ("Songs in storms"). Three more volumes followed: *al-Anfās al-mulahhiba* ("Kindling breaths"), Brazil 1917; *Rayāḥīn al-arwāḥ* ("Basil-scented souls"), Brazil 1918; and *al-Ḳaṣāʾid* ("Odes"), Rio de Janeiro 1921. The last volume was reprinted in Beirut in 1934 with the title: *Nafakhāt al-ṣuwar* ("Breaths of the pictures"). One prose work appeared from his hand in Rio de Janeiro in 1921, sc. *al-Ḳaḍiyyatayn* ("The two decisive issues"), about Eastern and Western politics.

After his return to Lebanon, he published a book on Arab history, *Aḥādīth al-madjd wa 'l-wadjd* ("Tales of fame and passion"), n.p. 1929; and *al-Mālik* ("The ruler"), n.p. 1932, on science, art and society. A volume of his essays on the Arabic language, poetry, prose and wisdom, appeared at Beirut in 1934 as *al-Tasrīḥ wa 'l-taṣrīḥ* ("Commission and permission"). He wrote three plays in prose, *Asrār Baghdād* ("The secrets of Baghdād"), *Nakbat al-Barāmika* ("The tragedy of the Barmakids"), and *Aḥmad wa-Wilāda* ("Aḥmad and Wilāda"), and one play in verse, *Ghāfir wa-Lubāna* ("Ghāfir and Lubāna"), 1932. He also translated poetry by Lord Byron which he published with the title *Zawāl al-ḥubb wa 'l-mulk* ("The end of love and power"), n.p. 1932.

Bibliography: Walīd Mashūḥ, *Abū Faḍl al-Walīd, al-shāʿir al-mudayyiʿ*, Damascus 1985. See also the *Bibl.* to MAHDJAR. (C. NIJLAND)

TŪMĀN, usually written thus in Arabic and Persian contexts, and pronounced *tümen* in Turkish and Mongolian ones, a term used in the eastern Islamic lands in mediaeval times with military, financial and administrative connotations.

The term appears to have entered Turkish from the Tokharian languages of what became Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, with the meaning of "10,000", but may be of Chinese origin (see Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 507; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-75, ii, 641-2). Kāshgharī, however, translates it as "many" (*kathīr*), although he gives *tuman mink* as "a thousand thousand" (*alf alf*), i.e. a million (Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, Ankara 1941, 202 = Eng. tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-5, i, 306). Both the general and more precise meanings of 10,000 are found in other early Turkish sources.

1. As a unit in the Mongol armies theoretically of 10,000 men, and as an administrative district in Mongol-controlled territory.

In the Mongol empire, *tümen* clearly refers to a division numbering—at least in principle—10,000 men, which was further broken up into units of 1000, 100 and 10. The decimal organisation of Inner Asian armies has a long history, going back at least to the Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu) who fielded units up to 10,000 (Sima Qian [Ssu-ma Ch'ien], *Records of the grand historian of China*, tr. B. Watson, ²Hong Kong and New York 1993, ii, 136-7), and was certainly found among the Mongols' more direct predecessors in the eastern Eurasian steppe, the Khitans, who founded the Liao dynasty in northern China and subsequently the Ḳara Khiṭāy state [*q.v.*] in Turkestan (D. Morgan, *The Mongols*, Oxford 1986, 89-90). Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] already had a *tümen* of guards in 1206, although at this early stage the basic field unit appears to have been that of 1,000 soldiers (*Secret history of the Mongols*, §§ 202, 226; see § 106 for an even earlier usage of the term). *Tümen* is frequently mentioned in Persian and Arabic sources as the standard formation of the Mongol army in battle and elsewhere, both during the period of the united Empire and in the successor states. In the Ilkhānate, at least, it would appear that when Mongol commanders were mentioned in the pro-Mongol sources, these can be taken to be *tümen* commanders, thus giving us a suggestion as to the size of the particular army (J.M. Smith, *Mongol manpower and Persian population*, in *JESHO*, xviii [1975], 276). Whether *tümens* actually had a full complement of 10,000 troops remains an open question. In Mongol China, at least, there is evidence that these divisions had between 3,000 and 7,000 troopers in them (C. Hsiao, *The military establishment of the Yuan dynasty*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 170-1 n. 27). It may be assumed that a similar situation prevailed in the Ilkhānate, certainly because of the difficulty of keeping these units up to full strength given their frequent participation in campaigns. Besides divisions of Mongol and Turkish cavalrymen, the mainstay of the Mongol army, *tümens* of local troops of sedentary origin were formed, who joined the Mongols on their campaigns, including those against other Mongol rulers.

The expression *tümen* is also used to refer to administrative districts within the Ilkhānate. It may be possible that on occasion this usage was derived from the fact that the districts in question had to provide an actual *tümen* of local troops for the Mongol army (cf. Smith, *Mongol manpower*, 290-3, who argues that this was the case). In general, however, this seems unlikely, although it is also possible that it may be referring to those districts which provided the revenues for supporting a *tümen*. It appears that, on the whole, *tümen* was a general and indiscriminate term for an administrative district in the Ilkhānate (Morgan, *The Mongol armies in Persia*, in *Isl.*, lvii [1979], 89-91). *Tümen* as a label for a large military formation and an administrative region continued to be used in post-Ilkhānid Persia.

Bibliography: Besides the references cited above, see Doerfer, *op. cit.*, ii, 632-42, for an extended discussion with many examples; T.T. Allsen, *Mongol imperialism*, Berkeley, etc. 1987, 193-4, 209; P. Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan. His life and legacy*, tr. T.N. Haining, Oxford 1991, *passim*. (R. AMITAI)

2. As a unit of measure in accounting and numismatics used in Persia Central Asia and India, subsequently becoming a coin issued by the Ḳādjārs of Persia.

In the sense of a "heap [of money]", the word passed into Persian after the Mongol conquest and the early Ilkhānid rulers were said to have kept their treasuries as separate heaps of coins in the open air concealed under felt coverings, so that they could be physically picked up and moved about. Finding this practise too imprecise and informal for the needs of the state, Maḥmūd Ghazan [*q.v.*] decided to lock his treasury up, and to entrust bookkeepers with the task of determining exactly what, and numerically how much it possessed, rather than merely estimating the collective heights of piles of coins.

Maḥmūd Ghazan's coinage reform of 696/1297-8 was predicated on a change of attitude towards the official largesse that had formerly governed fiscal affairs to a more businesslike approach to financial management. The background to these financial reforms was recorded by Ghazan's court historian and *wazīr* Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who stated that in the past there had been no one universal standard for the fineness of gold and silver. This caused trade to be distorted, and resulted in much individual loss and hardship. As a remedy, Ghazan ordered that a uniform design be adopted for his coinage dies, and that the coinage alloy be as pure as possible. The weight of the dirham coin was officially fixed at a half-*mithḳāl*, *ca* 2.16 gr, and the people were directed to exchange 3.5 *mithḳāls* of old silver coins for 3 *mithḳāls* of the newly-minted, purer silver coinage. Rashīd al-Dīn provides no extended description of the coinage itself, but the above agrees with numismatic evidence that one dirham

Table 1

Ruler and dates	Metric weights			Traditional weights	
	Dīnār in gr	Tūmān in kg	Tūmān in gr	Tūmān in mit͟hk̲āl	Tūmān in nuk͟hūd
Maḥmūd G͟hazan	12.96 gr	129.6 kg	129,600 gr	30,000	720,000
Öld͟jeytü					
703-12	12.96	129.6	129,600	30,000	720,000
713-17	11.88	118.8	118,800	27,500	660,000
Abū Saʿīd					
716-17 A	11.88	118.8	118,800	27,500	660,000
717-19 B	11.88	118.8	118,800	27,500	660,000
717-23 C	10.80	108.0	108,000	25,000	600,000
722-4 D	10.80	108.0	108,000	25,000	600,000
723-8 E	10.80	108.0	108,000	25,000	600,000
723-8 F	10.80	108.0	108,000	25,000	600,000
729-34 G	9.72	97.2	97,200	22,500	540,000
734-6 H	8.64	86.4	86,400	20,000	480,000
Arpā K͟hān	8.64	86.4	86,400	20,000	480,000
Mūsā K͟hān	8.64	86.4	86,400	20,000	480,000
Muḥammad	7.56	75.6	75,600	17,500	420,000
Sati Beg	6.48	64.8	64,800	15,000	360,000
Tog͟hā Tīmūr					
739-40	6.48	64.8	64,800	15,000	360,000
741-9 ʿIrāḳ	4.32	43.2	43,200	10,000	240,000
Sulaymān	4.32	43.2	43,200	10,000	240,000
Anūs͟hirwān					
745	4.32	43.2	43,200	10,000	240,000
757	3.24	32.4	32.400	7,500	180,000
Ind͟jūid					
745	4.32	43.2	43,200	10,000	240,000
756	2.88	28.8	28,800	6,660	160,000
Muẓaffarid					
755	3.24	32.4	32,400	7,500	180,000
796	0.54	5.4	5,400	1,250	30,000
D͟jalāyirid					
762	2.16	21.6	21,600	5,000	120,000
792	0.72	7.2	7,200	1,666	40,000

weighed a half-*mit͟hk̲āl*, a double dirham one *mit͟hk̲āl*, and six dirhams, or three double dirhams, three *mit͟hk̲āls*, the coin which was known as the silver dīnār. To facilitate financial management, 10,000 silver dīnārs became the Ilk͟hānid unit of account to which the book-keepers gave the name *tūmān*. In this it was analogous to the Arabic *badra*, the skin of a lamb or goat capacious enough to contain a large sum of money. The usual amount reckoned as a *badra* was 10,000 dirhams, as the figure 10,000 was considered by the Arabs to represent both the perfection and the ultimate limit of numeration (Sauvaire, 136). In the *Tād͟j al-ʿarūs*, the *badra* is defined as a sack containing 1,000 or 10,000 dirhams, or 7,000 dīnārs. The equivalency of the last two figures is illuminating because it corresponds to the traditional ratio of ten silver dirhams *s͟harʿī*, each weighing 2.97 gr, being equal to seven gold dīnārs struck at the weight of the coinage *mit͟hk̲āl*, 4.25 gr. It would thus appear that initially the *badra*, and later the *tūmān*, were considered to constitute the perfect unit of account having the mass of 10,000 coins of similar weight and fineness.

Under G͟hazan's reform gold did not form an official part of the new monetary system, and there was no standard weight for the gold coinage unit, although in practice gold coins were struck at roughly a quarter, half, one, two and three *mit͟hk̲āls*. As a result, no regular exchange rate could be established between the fixed weight silver coins and the variably weighted gold. It was undoubtedly a wise decision on the part of Ras͟hīd al-Dīn to establish a mono-metallic coinage system sustained by an abundant supply of silver, where gold was treated as a commodity, held and traded in by means of coin-type ingots of standard purity but with a freely fluctuating value against silver.

There was no precedent in the western Islamic world which could have influenced G͟hazan's coinage reform, but the monetary system of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] bore such striking similarities to that of the Ilk͟hāns that G͟hazan must have looked eastward for his inspiration. In India, the standard coin of the Sultanate was the heavy silver *tanga* [*q.v.*], also named the dīnār, weighing between 11.09 and 11.21 gr (H.N. Wright, 395). At the time of G͟hazan's reform, the Dihlī silver tanga/dīnār followed both a trinary and quaternary notation. Under the former system, the tanga/dīnār was divided into 6 dirhams, the notation adopted by the Ilk͟hāns, probably because it was compatible with multiples and fractions of the Persian *mit͟hk̲āl*.

Unlike the tanga/rupee system in Sultanate and Mug͟hal India, the *tūmān* underwent a series of devaluations which reduced its original value of approximately 129.6 kg of pure silver under G͟hazan's reform

Table 2

Ruler and dates	mithkāl per Tūmān	nukhūd per Tūmān
Shāh Ismā'īl I		
907-23	200	4,800
924-30	160.75	4,050
Shāh Ṭahmāsp I		
930-7	160.75	4,050
937-46	133.3	3,200
948-53	112.5	2,700
954-84	100.0	2,400
Ismā'īl II	100.0	2,400
Muḥammad Mīrzā	100.0	2,400
Shāh 'Abbās I		
996-1004	100.0	2,400
1005-38	83.3	2,000
Shāh Ṣafī I	83.3	2,000
Shāh 'Abbās II		
1052-4	83.3	2,000
1054-77	80.21	1,925
Shāh Ṣafī II or Sulaymān Shāh	80.21	1,925
Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn		
1105-23	80.21	1,925
1123-29	75	1,800
1129-35	58.3	1,400
Shāh Ṭahmāsp II	58.3	1,400
Shāh 'Abbās III	58.3	1,400
Nādir Shāh	58.3	1,400
'Ādil/Ibrāhīm	50	1,200
Shāh Rukh	50	1,200
Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān	50	1,200
Karīm Khān	50	1,200
'Alī Murād Khān	41.6	1,000
Dja'far Khān	41.6	1,000
Āghā Muḥammad Khān		
1193-1209	33.3	800
1210-1211	20	480

to only 41.45 gr of silver at the outset of the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī [*q.v.*]. Under Ghazan and his immediate successors, the most common Ilkhān coin was the double dirham. Silver dīnārs came into common use in Khurāsān under Öldjeytü [*q.v.*], while dirhams, halves and even quarters were commonly found in Anatolia and western Persia. The fractional denominations gradually faded from the Ilkhānid monetary system as the depreciation of the *tūmān* made them too light in weight for use as currency. In the West, their place was taken by the *akče* [*q.v.*]. In the East, the silver dīnār dominated the coinage system until the introduction of the Tīmūrid tanga [*q.v.*]. The Ṣafawids continued to use the *tūmān* as their unit of account, and assigned dīnār values to their silver coinage with the *shāhī* [*q.v.*] valued at 50 dīnārs, the *muḥammadī* at 100 dīnārs and the *'abbāsī* at 200 dīnārs. Under Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], the rupee was valued at 500 dīnārs. Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh introduced the *riyāl* of 1,250 dīnārs, and later the *ṣāhibkirān* or *kirān* of 1,000 dīnārs. Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh and his successors also issued fractions and multiples of the gold *tūmān*, while Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh issued commemorative silver one-*tūmān* coins in 1301, 1307 and 1313 A.H. Although the *tūmān* ceased to be the official unit of account in 1932, the word continues in popular

Table 3

Ruler and dates	nukhūd per Tūmān AR	Dates	nukhūd per Tūmān AV
Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh			
1212	480	1212-16	32
1212-8	432	1220-4	30
1219-32	432	1224-7	28
1232-41	384	1227-9	25
1241-50	360	1230-46	24
		1241-50	18
Muḥammad Shāh			
1250-1	360	1250-64	18
1251-2	330		
1252-5	300		
1255-64	280		
Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh			
1264-72	280	1264-93	18
1271-93	260		
1293-1344	240	1293-1344	15

use today with 10 *riyāls* spoken of as one *tūmān*. The tables record the vicissitudes of the *tūmān* from the time of its creation until its ultimate extinction, except for one murky period between the end of the Ilkhānids and the advent of the Ṣafawids, when it underwent what must have been a series of chaotic and obscure devaluations.

Bibliography: H. Sauvaire, *La numismatique et le métrologie musulmanes*, Paris 1882, s.v. 18 *Badra* and 34 *Touman*; W. Barthold, *EI*[1] art. *Tuman*; H.N. Wright, *The coinage and metrology of the Sulṭāns of Dehlī*, Delhi 1936; J.M. Smith and S. Benin, *In a Persian market with Mongol money*, in D. Kouymjian (ed.), *Near Eastern numismatics, iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles*, Beirut 1974, 431-42; Judith N. Kolbas, *Mongol money. The role of Tabriz from Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu 616-709 AH/1220-1309 A.D.*, diss., U.M.I., Ann Arbor 1992.

(R.E. Darley-Doran)

ṬŪMĀN BĀY (al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Naṣr min Ḳānṣawh al-Nāṣirī), the last Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, r. 922-3/1516-17.

Born *ca.* 878/1474-5, he was purchased as a *mamlūk* by his paternal uncle Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*], and presented to the reigning sultan, Ḳā'it Bāy [*q.v.*], by whose son and successor, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad [*q.v.*] he was manumitted. During Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī's sultanate his career prospered. Appointed *dawādār kabīr* in 913/1507, he became in effect the sultan's chief minister, acquiring also the great offices of high steward (*ustādār al-'āliya*) and *kāshif al-kushshāf*. At this time of weakened governmental control over the provinces, he led five punitive expeditions to Upper Egypt, the granary of Cairo, to extort taxes in cash and kind, and to terrorise the local authorities. Disorders caused by Arab tribal raiding in Lower Egypt were met by him with severe, if ultimately ineffective repressive measures. Ṭūmān Bāy was appointed *amīr al-ḥādjdj* for the Pilgrimage of 917/1511-12, and in 920/1514 he served as regent *ad interim* (*nā'ib al-ghayba*) while the sultan paid a state visit to Alexandria.

He was again appointed regent in Rabī' II 922/May 1516, when Ḳānṣawh led his army to Syria for the fatal battle with the Ottomans under Selīm I at Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] (25 Radjab 922/24 August

1516). When the Mamlūk *amīrs* reassembled in Cairo, Ṭūmān Bāy unwillingly accepted election as sultan on 13 Ramaḍān 922/10 October 1516. As the Ottomans approached Egypt, Ṭūmān Bāy endeavoured to take the initiative and advance to the frontier. His plans were overruled by the *amīrs*, and he fell back on organising a line of entrenchments and a camp at al-Raydāniyya (north of Cairo) fortified with the cannons which had been cast in Ḳānṣawh's reign. His defences were overrun by the Ottomans, who were far superior in fire-power, on 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 922/22 January 1517, and Ṭūmān Bāy fled. With some supporters he succeeded in briefly reoccupying part of Cairo, but was again forced to flee, and made his way to al-Bahnasā on the west bank. A settlement with Selīm granting him autonomous but tributary status was rejected by the *amīrs*, and Ṭūmān Bāy's forces were finally defeated near al-Djīza on 10 Rabīʿ I 923/2 April 1517. He was betrayed to the Ottomans by an Arab *shaykh* of the Buḥayra, with whom he had sought asylum. Selīm decided that he could not be allowed to live, and Ṭūmān Bāy was hanged at the Zuwayla Gate of Cairo on 22 Rabīʿ I 923/14 April 1517. His corpse received honourable burial in the *madrasa* founded by his uncle. As an official and a ruler, he is viewed favourably by the contemporary Egyptian chronicler, Ibn Iyās, but he clearly lacked the strength of will and ruthlessness to dominate the Mamlūk *amīrs*. This hampered him in his operations against the Ottomans, as did his lack of military experience apart from desert skirmishing. There were also underlying causes for his failure, notably the impoverishment of the sultanate, the inveterate insubordination of the Royal Mamlūks, and the obsolescence of Mamlūk tactics and armament.

Bibliography: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, 2nd ed. Mohamed Mostafa, Wiesbaden 1961, iv, v. The account of the reign begins at v, 102, but for the numerous earlier references consult *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr, al-Fahāris*, Wiesbaden 1986, i/2, 106-8, Fr. tr. G. Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, 2 vols., Paris 1955, 1960. Cf. D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom*, London 1956.

(P.M. Holt)

TUMBĀK [see tutun].

TUMBATU (Swa. Tumbatu, Ar. Tunbatū in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, only, iv, 366), an island of East Africa, *ca.* 5 miles long and 1 mile broad, and lying *ca.* 1/2 m northwest of Zanzibar in lat. 5° 50' S., long. 39° 13' E.

Yāḳūt says that people from Landjuya (sc. Zanzibar) had recently crossed to Tumbatu, where the inhabitants are Muslims. Manuscript histories of the island in Swahili, now lost, summarise the foundation legend of the settlement. The founder was Yūsuf b. ʿAlawī, of the Aḥdalī or ʿAlawī tribe (*sic*) according to Ingrams, having come from Tūsī, near Baṣra, in 600/1203-4. His eldest son became Sultan of Tumbatu, and his grandson Sultan of Kilwa, a tradition unsubstantiated by the Kilwa [*q.v.*] histories. Gray names the founder Yūsuf b. ʿAlawī, of the ʿAbdalī or ʿAlawī tribe; for Tūsī he writes Tūdī. The place-names are unidentified. The *nisbas* Aḥdalī, Aḥdal and ʿAbdalī still exist in Yemen, and should not be confused, as does Chittick, *Kilwa*, i, 239, with the Mahdalī of Yemen, the *nisba* of the second dynasty of Kilwa.

M.C. Horton's excavations describe a large site extending half-a-mile along the seashore, with numerous houses, a palace, two large mosques, one having two separate *muṣallās*, one perhaps for women. Occupation dates from *ca.* 1100 and terminates abruptly *ca.* 1350. The *miḥrābs*, and some surviving windows, are in the Sīrāf style of the Kizimkazi [*q.v.*] mosque; their inscriptions are in the same plaited Kūfic Sīrāfī style of 500/1106. It is evident that the carved elements come from earlier constructions, as at Shanga and elsewhere. The site was deserted precipitously, with coins left scattered on the floors, and bodies left unburied. The sudden evacuation was perhaps caused by bubonic plague, still endemic on the mainland. This suggests a date *ca.* 1350. The present villages of Gomani and Jongwe date only from the 17th or 18th century, their Swahili dialect having been recorded by Whiteley.

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TÜMEN, Russ. Tyumen', the name of a town, previously called Čimgi-Tura on the Tura river in Western Siberia and of a subgrouping, the *Tümenli*, of the Siberian Tatars (who in 1926 numbered 22,636). The toponym derives, probably, from the Činggisid administrative-fiscal unit *tümen* (< Turk. *tümen* "10,000" < Tokhar. A. *tmān*, B. *tmāne*, an early borrowing in Mongol where it came to designate a military unit of 10,000 (Clauson, *Dictionary*, 507-8; Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 303, 333, 377; Nasonov, *Mongolī*, 98 ff. [see tūmān 1.]). This region had been largely inhabited by Uralic peoples, in particular the Ugric Khantī/Ostyak and Mańsi/Vogul peoples who had been undergoing displacement and assimilation by successive Turkic polities in the region (the Kimek Ḳaghanate, known to the 9th century Islamic geographers, and its heir the Ḳïpčaḳ confederation, early 11th century-1230s).

The region, an important centre of the fur trade, was incorporated into the Djočid *ulus*, forming elements in the territories of Shiban and Orda, brothers of Batu. With the fragmentation of the Djočid *ulus* in the late 14th century, Tay Bugha, a quasi-legendary figure of possible Noghay origins (see Frank, *Siberian chronicles*, 8-12), is associated, perhaps inaccurately, with the founding of the "Tümen khānate", from which the later "Khānate of Sibīr" would develop [see sibīr], with its initial political centre at Čimgi-Tura. Its early history is murky. Buffeted by the Noghay wars of Tokhtamïsh (who took refuge in this region and then faded from view after his defeat on the Vorskla in 1399) and the subsequent state-building activities of Abu 'l-Khayr (d. 1468), founder of the Özbek confederation, the Shibānid Ibaḳ (d. 1493 or 1495), appears to have taken power in parts of the region well before he and his Noghay allies despoiled the rapidly-fading Great Horde and killed its *khān* Aḥmad in 1481.

Ibaḳ (Ibrāhīm) expanded his holdings around the Tobol and established marital ties with "Mar" ('Umar ?) the Taybughid ruler of Čimgi-Tura. Although he murdered his Taybughid brother-in-law, Mar's grandson, Muḥammad (Mamat/Makhmet/Magmetuk), took his revenge subsequently, killing Ibaḳ and then shifting the capital of the Tümen khānate from Čimgi-Tura to Sibīr/Isker/Kashlïḳ, which may have been an old

Ostyak political centre (*PSRL*, xxxvi, 47; Armstrong, 66-7; Frank, *Siberian chronicles*, 12-14). Ibaḳ's brother, who made a bid for power in the Great Horde (1496), continued to hold some of the Tümen territory. "Kulluk Saltan" of the Russian sources was the last of the S̲h̲ibānids to retain a foothold here. By the early 16th century, the region was under Taybug̲h̲id control. This may be considered the formal end of the Tümen k̲h̲ānate, now completely absorbed into the K̲h̲ānate of Sibīr. The borders of neither of these states are clear. They appear to have included some Ugric "principalities".

The S̲h̲ibānids returned in the person of Küčüm K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] who, backed by the Özbeks now dominant in Transoxiana, seized power here in 1563, holding it until the Russian conquest of Sibīr in 1582. Küčüm may have also accounted for the migration here of some Volga Tatar groupings, although the strongest influx of Volga-Ural Tatars to this region came in modern times (latter half of 19th-early 20th century, see Tomilov, *Etničeskaya istoriya*, 17). The Russian city of Tyumen' was founded in 1586 near Čimgi-Tura. Other urban centres of the Tümen statelet were Ḳïzïl-Tura and D̲j̲angi-Tura (Kyzlasov, *Pis'mennïe*, 47, 59).

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(P.B. Golden)

TŪN, a town of the mediaeval region of Ḳuhistān [*q.v.*] in northeastern Persia. It lay some 80 km/50 miles west-north-west of the main town of the region, Ḳā'in, and was often linked with it; Marco Polo speaks of *Tunocain* (Yule and Burnell, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ²London 1903, i, 83, 86), and Tūn wa Ḳā'in still figures in the *Bābur-nāma* (tr. Beveridge, 296, 301).

Tūn has no known pre-Islamic history, but was a flourishing town in the 4th/10th century, when the geographers describe it thus, mentioning especially its strong fortress. Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw was there in 444/1052, and describes much of the town as in ruins, though still reportedly with 400 carpet workshops (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 126, Eng. tr. Thackston, 100-1). At the end of this century, Tūn and other places in Ḳuhistān were taken over by Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs* from Alamūt, and the region became, and remains today, a centre for Ismāʿīlism. Tūn's reputation here attracted the attention of the Il K̲h̲ān Hülegü. After first attacking it in 651/1253, his commanders three years later besieged it for a week, sacking it and dismantling the citadel (D̲j̲uwaynī-Boyle, ii, 615-16). It nevertheless revived enough for Mustawfī to describe it a century later as prosperous, with a rebuilt citadel and fertile agricultural lands (*Nuzha*, 143-4, tr. 142). After that time, it played little part in historical events.

Today, the mediaeval Tūn has become the town of Firdaws (lat. 34° 00' N., long. 58° 09' E.), the chef-lieu of a *bak̲h̲s̲h̲* in the *s̲h̲ahrastān* of the same name, and with a population in *ca.* 1950 of 9,829 (*Farhang-i d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, ix, 282-3).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṬUNA, in Ottoman orthography Ṭūna, the Turkish name for the Danube/Donau river, and also, from 1282/1864, the name of a *wilāyet* under the new provincial reorganisation of that time, comprising five *sand̲j̲aḳ*s in the northern part of what became in 1878 Bulgaria [*q.v.*, and A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 82].

Ṭuna as a frontier region and its economic aspects.

Two contradictory logics have shaped the destiny of the Danube. Geography makes it the second longest river in Europe (2,857 km/1,775 miles) and gives it the role of a unifying factor between southern Germany and the Black Sea, whereas history has continually counterbalanced this by dividing its vast basin amongst antagonistic states. Thus the battle front between the Ottoman empire and the Christian world for long adversely affected the Danubian route's value.

However, the Danube does not present, geographically, a homogeneous course. Its upper basin comes within the Germanic cultural area, whilst its middle stretches come within the great Pannonian plain, dominated by Hungarians and Serbs. The Iron Gates defile (in Serbian, *Derdap*, from Turco-Persian, *girdāb* "whirlpool") forms a barrier difficult to get through, isolating the lower, Rumano-Bulgarian basin. The lower Danube valley has an assymetrical profile: the southern bank is an elevated one, and holds the main cities, whilst the northern one, low and liable to flooding, was, until recent decades, covered with thick, marshy forest land (*lunca*). This last formed a real barrier parallel to the river itself, and contributed considerably to the autonomy of Wallachia and Moldavia *vis-à-vis* Ottoman power [see eflāḳ and bog̲h̲dān]. Finally, the mouths of the Danube form a special stretch since, being accessible to sea-going shipping, they are orientated towards the Black Sea and the Straits.

Although known to Arabic geographers, the river did not really enter the Islamic sphere till the Ottoman conquests. The southern bank of the lower Danube was taken over towards the end of the 14th century (Nikopol [see nīkbūlī] 1393, Vidin [see widin] 1396). Above the Iron Gates, the capture of Smederevo (1459) was not decisive, so long as the strategically-situated fortress of Belgrade resisted (sieges in 1440, 1456). The mouths of the Danube, an important commercial crossroads, long controlled by the Genoese, were conquered at the end of the 15th century (Chilia 1484). Once the military barrier of Belgrade was lifted

(1522), the whole middle basin of the river was open to the Turks (Mohács [*q.v.*] 1526, definitive occupation of Buda [see BUDĪN] 1541).

From Komárom to the Black Sea, two-thirds of the Danube were Ottoman-controlled for a century and a half, yet this domination had hardly any effect in stimulating river traffic. Apart from the maritime section of the Danube, below Brăila, which had an active role in supplying Istanbul with food, the river remained a very regional line of communication, unable to compete with the great land axis Istanbul-Sofia-Belgrade. On the other hand, it played an important military role for transporting troops or frontier-harrying operations, with the help of *ṣaykas*, small, flat-bottomed gunboats.

From 1684 to 1739, the Danube formed the major axis for the Austrian military operations in Central Europe (Mohács 1687, Slankamen 1691, Senta/Zenta [*q.v.*] 1697, Petrovaradin [see WARADĪN] 1716). By the Treaty of Passarovitz/Požarevac [see PASAROVČA] in 1718, the Habsburgs gained Bosnian Posavina, northern Serbia as far as the Timok river, the Banat and Oltenia. This spectacular advance along the Danube was halted by the Treaty of Belgrade (1739), which left them only the Banat. Until 1878, the frontier along the Save and Danube (along its section Belgrade-Orşova) separated the two empires.

A genuine revolution took place from 1830 onwards, when steam navigation appeared and the waters (especially at the Iron Gates) were regulated by works undertaken by Count Széchenyi. After this, regular traffic, increasingly swift and growing in volume, was possible on the Danube, and it became the axis for Austrian commercial penetration of the Ottoman empire. Travellers for Istanbul passed through Vienna, and railways from Cernavoda to Constanţa [see KÖSTENDJE] (1860), and then Ruse-Varna (1866) gave the prospect of shortening the route. Under the impulse of Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], Ruse/Rusçuk [see RUSČUK], capital of the province of the Danube (*Ṭuna wilāyeti*), became a showcase of Ottoman reformism. Russia, which had a Danubian frontier since 1812 and had then become controller of the Delta in 1829, tried in the 1840s to counter this penetration in order to strengthen its commercial hegemony in the Black Sea. But after its defeat in the Crimea, it was ousted from the Delta. At that point, freedom of navigation was proclaimed and an international commission took charge of regulating the Delta.

The Ottoman Empire's positions along the Danube continuously fell back. In 1829 it had to renounce its enclaves on the Wallachian shore (Brăila, Giurgiu, Turnu Severin), and in 1867 the garrisons in Belgrade, Smederovo and Kladovo had to withdraw. The Treaty of Berlin of 1878 ended the whole of its control over Serbia and Rumania. It retained a theoretical control of the Bulgarian shore until 1908, but held until 1913 only the tiny island of Ada kale, below the Iron Gates, paradoxically forgotten until then by the international treaties [see ADA ḲALʿE].

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ṬUNB, the name of two small islands (the Greater and the Lesser Ṭunbs) in the Persian Gulf situated to the west of the Straits of Hurmuz (lat. 26° 15' N., long. 55° 17' E.), whose modest history has been linked in recent times with that of the island of Abū Mūsā to their southwest (lat. 25° 52' N., long. 55° 00' E.). All three islands have been the subject of disputes between the ruling power in Persia to the north and the *shaykhs* of the Arab shores of the Gulf, those now forming the United Arab Emirates [see AL-IMĀRĀT AL-ʿARABIYYA AL-MUTTAḤIDA, in Suppl.].

The Ṭunbs are mentioned by the Portuguese author Duarte Barbosa in his description of the Inner Gulf (*ca.* 1518) as Fomon (read Tomon = Ṭunb) as amongst those islands dependent on the nominal Arab ruler in Hurmuz [*q.v.*]. Persia had a shadowy historical claim to the islands, but with the appearance of British naval power in the Gulf from the late 18th century onwards [see AL-ḲAWĀSIM], it was in general content to leave the islands under the control of local Arab *shaykhs*. However, in the later 19th century Persia steadily worked for the reduction of Arab influence on the Persian Gulf coast, and also in the 1860s revived earlier claims to al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*]. Arab traders having been squeezed out of Linga [*q.v.*] on the coast of Fārs and having moved to Abū Mūsā, in spring 1904 Persian customs officials landed on the three islands, hauled down the flag of the *shaykh* of Sharjah (al-Shāriḳa [*q.v.*]) and hoisted the Persian one; but British diplomatic pressure compelled the Persians to withdraw. In the ensuing decades, Britain recognised the general right of the *shaykh* of Sharjah over Abū Mūsā and of the *shaykh* of Raʾs al-Khayma [*q.v.*] over the Ṭunbs. Just one day before the final withdrawal of Britain from the Gulf, Iranian forces on 30 November 1971 occupied the Ṭunbs and Abū Mūsā, doubting the abilities of the *shaykhs* to defend the islands in such a vital waterway as the Gulf, and they have remained in Iranian hands ever since then.

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ṬUNBŪR (A.), pl. *ṭanābīr* (vars. *ṭanbūr(a)*, *ṭanbūridja*, *ṭanpūr(a)*, *dambūra*, *dombra*, with other terms such as *buzuk*, *buzuki*, *bizik*, *baghlama*, *djura*, *sāz*, *dotār*, *setār*, etc.), denotes the pandore and various types of long-necked musical instrument. It is generally to be distinguished from the lute [see ʿŪD] by its smaller sound-chest and longer neck.

1. History of the instrument and its usage.

The pandore was known in ancient Egypt (Sachs, *Die Musikinstrumente des alten Ägyptens*, 54), Assyria (Engel, *Music of the most ancient nations*, 54), and Persia (terracotta from Susa in the Louvre, Paris). In Egypt, it appears to have been known as the *nefer*, which some scholars equate with the Hebrew *nebel*. The instru-

ment exists with but little change in the *gunbrī* of North Africa, the name of which carries, in its consonants *n-b-r*, a trace of the old Egyptian word.

The *gunbrī* (dim. *gunībrī*), in its most primitive form, with a gourd, shell, or wooden sound-chest, a skin or leather belly, and horsehair strings without tuning pegs, is the earliest form of the pandore known to us, and is to be found among the rural populations of North Africa from the Atlantic to the Nile. The sound-chest is constructed in many shapes and sizes, pear-shaped, ovoid, hemispherical and rectangular. The better type of instrument, which is used by the professional musician in art music, has tuning pegs, and is generally very artistically adorned with colours. It is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in his *Riḥla*, iv, 406, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, 959. For a full description of the instrument, see Farmer, *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*, 39-49.

The *ṭunbūr, ṭinbār, tunbūr* (vulg. *ṭanbūr*) is the classical name for the pandore in the East. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, viii, 90 = § 3214) attributes its invention to the iniquitous peoples of Sodom and Gomorra, hence perhaps the popular etymology (*ṭann* = "musical sound" + *būr* = "one destined to perdition"), although the lexicographers derive the word from the Persian *dum* or *dunba* ("tail") and *bara* ("lamb").

We first read of the *ṭunbūr* in Arabic literature in the 1st/7th century (*Aghānī*[1], v, 161). The instrument was already the most favoured instrument in Persia, in al-Rayy, Ṭabaristān and al-Daylam (*Murūdj*, viii, 91 = § 3215) and by *ca.* 900 it became so popular with the Arabs as to threaten the supremacy of the *ʿūd* (lute). Two books on the lives of famous pandorists were written at this period (*Fihrist*, 145-6). In the 4th/10th century two distinct types were known: the *ṭunbūr mīzānī* or *ṭunbūr baghdādī* which was attributed to the Ṣābians, and the *ṭunbūr khurāsānī*. The former, which retained in its frets the scale of pagan times, was used in ʿIrāḳ and to the south and west of it. The latter was favoured in Khurāsān and to the north and east of it. Both were generally found with two strings, although the *ṭunbūr khurāsānī* was sometimes mounted with three. These pandores are fully described by al-Fārābī. The identity of these particular types of pandores is lost after this and, indeed, the *ṭunbūr* is merely mentioned by name by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), Ibn Zayla (d. 1048), and Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 1294). It is not described in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (8th/14th century) although Ibn Ghaybī gives details of several types, three of which bear the name. The *ṭunbūr-i shirwānī* had a deep pear-shaped sound-chest (*kāsa*) and two strings. It was favoured by the people of Tabrīz. The *ṭunbūra-yi turkī* sometimes had three strings but more generally two. Its sound-chest was smaller than the preceding instrument, although it had a longer neck (*saʿid*). Both of these instruments were played with the fingers. In the *nāy ṭunbūr*, which was also mounted with two strings, a plectrum (*miḍrāb*) was used. Examples of the *ṭunbūr* in varying types crowd into Persian painting of the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries. Ewliyā Čelebi and Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa mention it among the Turkish instruments in the 11th/17th century. The former says that the *ṭunbūr* was invented at Marʿash. It was evidently mounted with gut strings, as he mentions the *tel ṭunbūr*, probably a wire strung instrument, the invention of which he attributes to a certain Efendi Oghlī of Kütāhiya. It was smaller than the other *ṭunbūr* and was popular with the women-folk.

The *sharḳī* mentioned by him is probably identical with the *ṭunbūr sharḳī*. He says that it resembled the *čārtār* and was played by Turkomans. In late Ṣafawid Persia, as we know from Le Mans, Chardin and Kaempfer, the *ṭunbūr* or (and) *ṭunbūra* was still favoured. The latter shows it with three strings but says that four or more were also found in use. Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1776) says that *ṭunbūra* was the generic name for all the wire or metal-stringed instruments. He mentions three kinds of pandore: the *ṭunbūr* or *icitali*, the *sawuri*, and the *baghlama*. The *ṭunbūr*, which, he says, the Greeks of the Archipelago and Egypt called the *icitali* (? *īkītalī* < Tkish. *īkī* = "two" + τέλι "wire string", hence the modern Greek κίτελις), had two "wire strings". The *sawuri* is likened by Villoteau (*Descr. de l'Égypte*), who wrote a quarter of a century later, to the *ṭunbūr buzurk* ("grand pandore"), and so the name may probably have been *suwwārī* ("grand"). The *baghlama* was a smaller *ṭunbūr* of three strings, and Niebuhr says that this was the name given it by the Greeks of Cairo. All these instruments of Niebuhr have pear-shaped sound-chests. Villoteau, who gives designs and a full description of the pandores of Egypt, says that he saw them only in the hands of the Turks, Greeks, Jews and Armenians in Egypt. He names five of them; except for the first named instrument, which had a round sound-chest and four double strings, they all possessed a pear-shaped sound-chest with three strings, some of which were doubled.

In Lane's time (*The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, 1836, ch. XVIII) the *ṭunbūr* still continued to be ignored by native musicians in Egypt, and was only to be found in the hands of Greeks and other foreigners. In Syria and Palestine the *ṭunbūr* was favoured by native musicians in various forms. In Turkey, the most popular type was known as the *meydān sāzî* strung with three double strings, of which the smaller varieties take the older names of *buzuk* and *baghlama* (Lavignac, *Encycl. de la musique*, v, 3018). In Persia the type finds expression in the *sitār, čārtār*, and such-like instruments. It was the most important instrument in Khʷārazm and Turkistān, as well as in the Caucasus and the Balkans. It is the *tan-pou-la* of China, the *tumburu* of India, the *domra* of Russia, and the ταμπουρας of Greece. The St. Médard Evangel (8th century), the Lothair and Notker Labeo Psalters (9th-10th centuries), and the Apocalypse of St. John (Bibl. Nac., Madrid: 11th century) show the early influence of the *ṭunbūr* on Western Europe.

The *tār* is a long-necked pandore with an elongated vault-shaped sound-chest and curvatures at the waist. We probably see the type in ancient Hittite art. It is clearly delineated in the frescoes at Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra (early 8th century), and it frequently occurs in later Persian painting. It was to be found in the early 20th century in Persia and Central Asia, and Europe has borrowed the type in the *chitarra battente*. A tutor for the modern *tār* has been published in Persian (*Dastūr-i tār* by ʿAlī Naḳī Khān Wazīrī). As the word *tār* means "string", quite a number of differently strung instruments bear this word. The *yaktār* is a one-stringed instrument, better known in India. The *dūtār* is a two-stringed *ṭunbūr* with a pear-shaped sound-chest in Central Asia, and is mentioned by Ḥāfiẓ in his *Mughannī-nāma* (ed. Jarrett, 225). The *sitār* was originally a three-stringed instrument, but today it is more generally mounted with four strings. We see it in constant use in India with even more strings, where it is distinguished from the *tumburu* (= *ṭunbūr*) by being fretted and played with a plectrum. Its invention here is attributed to Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī (d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]). The *čārtār* or *čahārtār* is a four-stringed instrument. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, it was invented by

the Ṣafawid Shaykh Ḥaydar (d. 1488). It is unknown in Turkey or Persia today but is still in use in India (Shahinda, *Indian music*, 78). The *pančtār*, a five-stringed instrument, is known in Afghānistān. The *shashtār* or *shashtā*, a six-stringed instrument, is said by Ewliyā to have been invented by a certain Raḍī al-Dīn of Shīrwān. Ibn Ghaybī (d. 838/1435) describes it at length, and mentions three different types, one of which had fifteen double sympathetic strings in addition. Its pear-shaped sound-chest was half the size of that of the lute (*ʿūd*) but its neck was long. It is praised by the Turkish poet Aḥmed Pasha (d. 901/1496) as one of three favoured instruments (Gibb, *HOP*, no. 77).

Other instruments of the pandore type are the *ḳaradūzan*, *yūnkār*, *yaltuma*, *čūgūr*, *čashda* and *sūndar*. The *yūnkār*, a smaller instrument of three strings, was invented by Shamsī Čelebi, the son of the Turkish poet Ḥamdī Čelebi (d. 915/1509). The *yaltuma* was also invented by him. It was also a small three-stringed instrument with a waisted sound-chest like the *tār*. The *čūgūr* was invented by Yaʿḳūb Germiyānī of Kütāhiya. It had five strings with a wooden belly, and was used by the Janissaries. The more recent Turkish instrument is a long-necked pandore used by the minstrels known as *sāz shāʿirleri*. The *čashda*, says Ewliyā, was invented by Banklīshāh of Salonica. It was a small instrument with a hemispherical sound-chest (cf. the *čahazda* mentioned and delineated by Kaempfer). The *sūndar* of the Kurds resembled the *čūkūr*, but had twelve metal strings (see Ewliya Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i/2, 235-6).

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2. Technical aspects.

The *ṭunbūr* of Baghdād (described by al-Fārābī in the 4th/10th century) must have realised an acoustic system of division of the string into forty equal segments producing unequal consecutive intervals capable of integration with those of the harmonic system. It could only interpret melodies of a narrow range restricted to a few very close degrees, such as are found in certain liturgies of Upper Mesopotamia or in the *maḳām* [*q.v.*] *mukhālif* of ʿIrāḳ.

The *ṭunbūr* of Khurāsān (also described by al-Fārābī) must have realised a Pythagorean acoustic system with intervals of commas (531441/524288), of limmas (2a minor 256/243), of dilimmas (2a neutral, 3a Pythagorean diminished 65536/59049) and of tone (2a major 9/8) on a range of one-ninth per course. This system was to be revived and perfected by Ṣafī al-Dīn (7th/13th century).

Ṭanbūras are characteristic of the popular music of Upper Mesopotamia among the Kurds and the Aramaeans (Nestorians, Chaldeans, Jacobites, Syriacs). The strings are plucked.

The Levantine *buzuk* has been perpetuated by the Nawar gypsies. It realises a system of quarter-tones (demitone, three-quarter tone, tone) or a Pythagorean system of seventeen frets per octave, hence twenty-seven frets per course. The courses are two to three in number, inter-tuned with fourth and octave intervals. The strings are plucked with a plectrum.

The Turkish *ṭanbūr* displays a hemispherical box some 35 cm/13.5 inches in diameter consisting of lunes and a wooden board with a bridge. The neck measures 78 cm/30.5 inches on average. The eight strings, about a metre in length, cover two octaves and are grouped in four courses, inter-tuned and usually with fourth and octave intervals. The frets (39 to 62) embody a Pythagorean system embellished by Ṣafī al-Dīn and the process of evolution in Turkey, giving a potential maximum of thirty-one degrees to the octave. The strings are plucked with a plectrum or scraped with a small bow (*yay*). The effects of *glissando* or of *vibrato* (by oscillation of the neck) are appreciated.

Differentiation—illustration of an acoustic system

The Ottoman Turkish differential evolution has enriched the Pythagorean systems of the *ṭunbūr* of Khurāsān and the Ṣafī al-Dīn system. Henceforward, standardised on the *ṭunbūr* is a system (irreducible in quarter-tones) which is illustrated, in Turkey, in Upper Mesopotamia, in Aleppo and by the Baghdād School of the lute, with thirty-one degrees to the octave.

The following is given in explanation of Table 1:

Column 1: 31 degrees of the scale on string tuned in *yegāh*. The terms are of Irano-Sanskrit origin, or are Turkish variants on Arabic; *yegāh* derives from *yekgāh*, position 1; it is the bass "open" string. The seven constitutive degrees of the *Yegāh maḳām* mode are in capitals with 6a neutral-7a diminished (*segāh*) and 7a minor (*čargāh*).

Column 2: equivalent Latin notes when *yegāh* (tonic sol-fa called "re"), is in "la" at 220 hertz. The alterations indicated conform to the *arabesques* code (nine marks per major tone, cf. pattern in margin).

Column 3: (in Italian according to usage) Pythagorean intervals. To be noted is the identity of neutral and Pythagorean intervals in application of the calculations of Ṣafī al-Dīn, neglected outside Turkey.

Column 4: values in cents (1200/octave, 200/equal major tone).

Column 5: approximative equivalence in commas of Holder, worth 22, 64 cents (53/octave, 9/major tone, 5/apotome, 4/limma).

Column 6: concordance with the "JCC" code applied by the author. He defines the twenty-four and thirty-one potential degrees by numerical and alphabetical indices from 0.A to 24.Z within the octave, with a view to facilitating transpositions-confrontations of pitches and systems by an invariable and transposable definition *of maḳāms*. The *Yegāh maḳām* has the formula AEHKORTZ and the *Rāst maḳām* the formula AEHKOSVZ, irrespective of the pitch of the *rāst* key-tone or of the acoustic system (Pythagoro-commatic, quarter-tones, empirical).

Column 7: equivalent Latin notes with so-called *arabesque* alterations when *rāst, tonic*, called *sol*, is in *ré* of 293,34 hertz, according to usage.

Column 8: 31 degrees of the scale on string tuned in *rāst*. The terms are of Irano-Sanskrit origin, or are Turkish variants on Arabic; *rāst* signifies "right"; *dūgāh, segāh, čargāh*: positions 2, 3, 4; *evič* or *evdj* is the Ottoman-Turkish-Latin evolution of *awdj*, the acme. The seven constitutive degrees of the *Rāst maḳām* (in *rāst*) are in capitals with 3a neutral-4a diminished (*segāh*) and 7a neutral-8a diminished (*evič*). These neutral degrees are thus higher than they would be in a quarter-tone system. They are separated from limitroph major degrees (*buselik* and *mahur*) only by a comma. Thus the Turkish-style *Rāst* evokes a major harmonic mode.

DEGRÉS DE L'ÉCHELLE VIRTUELLE TURQUE SUR LES CORDES DU TANBUR
DEGREES OF THE POTENTIAL TURKISH SCALE ON STRINGS OF THE TANBUR

grad/scal/yegâh 07/24/31/ottava yegâh=220 hertz	equi nota	intervall Pythagore	Cents:1200/ott	Holder C:53/ott	JCC-cod:31/ott	equi nota	gr/sca/râst 07/24/31/ot râst=293 hz
YEGAH	LA.♮	a vuoto	0000.0	00	0.A	RE.♮	RAST
(d-yegâh)	la.+	comma Pyt	23.5	1	0+A	ré.+	(d.râst)
				2			
		limma)		3			
k-n-hisar	si.♭	2a minor	90.2	4	1.B	mi.♭	n-zirgüle
k- hisar	la.ǂ	1a aumen)	113.7	5	2.C	ré.ǂ	zirgüle
		apotomé		6			
		dilimma)		7			
k-d-hisar	si.d	3a dimin	180.5	8	3.D	mi.d	d-zirgüle
AŞIRAN	SI.♮	2a magJon	203.9	9	4.E	MI.♮	DÜGAH
(d-aşiran)	si.+	2a mag+c.	228.4	10	4+E	mi.+	(d.dügâh)
				11			
				12			
acem-aşiran	do.♮	3a minore	294.1	13	5.F	fa.♮	kürdi
d-acem-aşiran	do.+	2a aument	317.6	14	6.G	fa.+	d-kürdi
				15			
		3a neutr)		16			
IRAK	DO.H	4a dimin	384.4	17	7.H	FA.H	SEGAH
geveşt	do.ǂ	3a mag.2T	407.8	18	8.I	fa.ǂ	buselik
	ré.ď	3a mag+c.	431.3	19	8+I	solď	
				20			
d-geveşt	ré.d	4a giu-c.	474.5	21	9.J	sol d	d-buselik
RAST	RE.♮	4a giusta	498	22	10.K	SOL♮	ÇARGAH
(d-râst)	ré.+	3a aumen)	521.5	23	10+K	sol+	(d.çargâh)
		4a giu+c.		24			
				25			
n-zirgüle	mi.♭	5a diminu	588.3	26	11.L	la.♭	n-hicaz
zirgüle	ré.ǂ	4a aum.3T	611.7	27	12.M	solǂ	hicaz
				28			
		5a neutr)		29			
d-zirgüle	mi.d	6a dimin	678.5	30	13.N	la.d	d-hicaz
DÜGAH	MI.♮	5a giusta	702	31	14.O	LA.♮	NEVA
(d-dügâh)	mi.+	5a giu+c.	725.5	32	14+O	la.+	(d.neva)
				33			
				34			
kürdi	fa.♮	6a minore	792.2	35	15.P	si.♭	n-hisar
d-kürdi	fa.+	5a aument	815.6	36	16.Q	la.ǂ	hisar
				37			
		6a neutr)		38			
SEGAH	FA.H	7a dimin	882.4	39	17.R	si.d	d-hisar
buselik	fa.ǂ	6a maggio	905.9	40	18.S	SI.♮	HÜSEYNİ
	solď	6a mag+c.	929.4	41	18+S	si.+	(d.hüseyni)
				42			
d-buselik	sol d	7a min-c.	972.6	43	19-T	do.d	
ÇARGAH	SOL♮	7a minore	996.1	44	19.T	do.♮	acem
(d-çargâh)	sol+	6a aument	1019.6	45	20.U	do.+	d-acem
				46			
		7a neutr)		47			
n-hicaz	la.♭	8a dimin	1086.3	48	21.V	DO.H	EVİÇ
hicaz	solǂ	7a maggio	1109.8	49	22.X	do.ǂ	mahur
				50			
		8a neutr)		51			
d-hicaz	la.d	9a dimin	1176.5	52	23.Y	ré.d	d-mahur
NEVA	LA.♮	8a giusta	1200	53	24.Z	RE.♮	GERDANİYE
		ottava					

abr:c=comma;k=kaba=ottava inf;n=nim=grado inf;d=dik=grado sup

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modèle déposé.arabesques.Paris

Le code d'altérations arabesques confronte les code arabe, iranien, turc, les quarts-de-tons et commas. Assimilant 1 quart à 2 commas, il reprend de nombreux signes déjà utilisés sur portées orientales et en crée quelques nouveaux pour situer des altérations touchant les 9 commas du ton majeur.

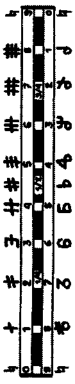

Code d'altérations arabesques avec division du ton en 4 quarts - 9 commas © J.C. Chabrier, 1978.

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(J.-C. CHABRIER)

TUNDJELI (modern Tkish. Tunceli), a province (*il*) and town of eastern Anatolian Turkey. The *il*, replacement of the old *sandjak* of Dersim, was created in 1936 and the town, also called Kalan (lat. 39° 07' N., long. 39° 34' E.), was founded at the same date as its new chef-lieu on the site of the village of Mameki.

The very mountainous *il* (7,774 km²) is drained by the Munzur Suyu and the Peri Çayı, affluents of the Murat Su, the eastern branch of the Euphrates [see AL-FURĀT], which marks its southern boundary, whilst its northern boundary is made up of the Munzur Dağları which separates it from the valley of the Karasu, the western branch of the Euphrates.

The site of Pulur Höyük, excavated before its submersion by the lake formed by the Keban dam (Koşay 1976) was occupied in the late Neolithic or early Bronze times. At numerous points in its history, the region was a border one: between the Hittite empire and the Hurrian kingdom of the Mitanni in the 2nd millennium B.C. under the name of Isuva; between Media and Cappadocia in the Persian empire; and then between the Romans and the Parthians. Taken by the Arabs in 18/639, it was disputed by the caliphs and the Byzantine emperors until in 480/1087 it passed under the domination of the Saldjūḳ Turks and then in 641/1243 under that of the Mongols. In the 8th/14th century it was disputed by the Banū Eretna [*q.v.*] and Mutahharten, ruler of Erzincan, and then by the Ottomans and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in the next century. It was incorporated in the Ottoman empire by Meḥemmed II in 878/1473. In the 11th/17th century Ewliyā Čelebi described the citadel of Pertek, and Kātib Čelebi described Çemişkezek as the chef-lieu of a flourishing *ḳaḍā*. In the 19th century, the region made up the *sandjaḳ* of Dersim, with its centre Khozat (Hozat), dependent on the *wilāyet* of Maʿmūret ül-ʿAzīz, except during 1880-8 when it formed an ephemeral *wilāyet*. It then had nine *ḳaḍās* and 533 villages with a total population of 63,430, made up of 15,460 "Muslims" (i.e. Turks), 12,000 Kurds, 27,800 Ḳîzîl-Bash and 8,170 Armenians who resided in the main urban centres, which were in fact only small places, except that Khozat reached a population of 5,600.

Shaken by the revolt of Ḳočgiri in 1921 and then divided between the *wilāyets* of Elâziğ and Erzincan at the outset of the Republic, the region of Dersim in 1936 became once more a separate administrative unit, a *vilayet* with the name of Tunceli, and was again shaken by the revolt of Seyit Rıza in 1937. This comprised eight of the nine former *kazas* of Dersim: the central one of Tunceli, which was the old *kaza* of Pah with a new centre at Tunceli or Kalan on the banks of the Munzur Suyu, Mazgirt, Pertek, Çemişkezek, Hozat, Ovacık (whose centre changed its location nine times after 1878), Nazimiye (the former Kızıl Kilise) and Pülümür. Its population was made up of Turks, peasants and town-dwellers, and Kurds, still in part semi-nomadic, who were the majority with 55% of the whole according to the 1950 census. The *il* is one of the most backward of the whole country, with a poor agriculture of cereals grown by wet farming and an almost non-existent industry (two units for the agriculture-food industry listed in 1991). It has suffered much rural emigration, which has hardly helped its chef-lieu Tunceli, a small town of 24,449 inhabitants in 1997, so that the *il*'s population, having reached a maximum of 157,974 in 1980, with a density of 20 persons per km², had fallen in 1997 to 86,268.

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(M. BAZIN)

TUNGANISTAN, DUNGANISTAN, a name coined by Western scholars and travellers (W. Heissig, Ella Maillart) for an ephemeral régime, hardly to be called a state, in the southern part of Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang [*q.v.*] 1934-7. The name stems from the Dungan or Tungan [see TUNGANS] troops, Hui, i.e. ethnic Chinese, Muslims who formed the military backing of Ma Hu-shan, styled "Commander-in-Chief of the 36th Division of the Kuomintang" and brother-in-law of Ma Chung-ying [*q.v.*], best-known of the five Muslim Chinese warlords who controlled much of northwestern China in the later decades of Kuomintang rule (sc. up to 1949).

Ma Hu-shan's fief of Tunganistan stretched along the southern rim of oases of the Tarim basin [*q.v.*], along what the local Uyghur Turks called "the lower road" (*ashtin yol*), the southern arm of the historic Silk Route from Transoxania to northwest China, being bordered on the south by the Kun Lun mountains and northern Tibet (map in Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims*, at 129). It was essentially a warlord's base, transplanted from Kansu [*q.v.*] or Gansu to the remote west of China as an outpost of Chinese colonialism. Ma Hu-shan ruled from his capital Khotan [*q.v.*] as an autocrat, called *pādishāh* "king" by his Turkish subjects, and his policies of financial exploitation weighed heavily on these last. Local revolts by them hastened the end of Tunganistan, and in 1937 Ma's military power dissolved and the area of Tunganistan fell to the Soviet-backed warlord already controlling northern Sinkiang, Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Ma retreated to British India, and thence made his way back to

The Turkish musician Necdet Yasar playing the *ṭunbūr* (1990).

China. He later led anti-Communist guerilla groups in Kansu, but was captured and executed at Lanchow in 1954.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

TUNGANS, Dungans, in Chinese, T'ung-kan, the Turkic name given to those Hui (i.e. ethnically Chinese Muslims) settled within Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang [*q.v.*], especially in the northern Sinkiang regions of Dzungaria and Kumul, but numerous also in the northwestern provinces of China proper such as Kansu [*q.v.*] (Gansu), Ninghsia [*q.v.*], Shensi [*q.v.*] (Shaanxi) and Tsinghai.

The Tungans in Sinkiang were estimated at 92,000 in the mid-1940s, and played a considerable political and military role there during the Chinese Republican or Kuomintang period (1912-49). From the time of the last Ch'ing or Manchu governor in Sinkiang, Yüan Ta-hua, and the first Republican one, Yang Tseng-hsin (1912-28), successive governors and warlords there relied on Tungan troops from Kansu as the most effective military force in the region. Although co-religionists of the Turkic Muslims of Sinkiang, the Tungans were the allies of the Han Chinese Kuomintang during the 1920s to 1940s, and inimical to the Turkic population. Thus they formed the essential backing of Ma Chung-yu in the 1930s and firmly suppressed for him various Turkic Muslim risings in Sinkiang. They were the mainstay of Ma Hu-shan's "Tunganistan" [*q.v.*] in the southern part of the Tarim basin 1934-7, and opposed the advance of the Chinese Communists up to 1948, almost the end of Kuomintang rule in mainland China.

Tungans from Kansu and Shensi had also been settled in the upper Ili valley region of northern Sinkiang, the area round Kuldja [*q.v.*], by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung (Zianlong) (*r.* 1735-96), In the later 19th century, there were further migrations, including a mass flight in 1877 after the collapse of Yaʿkūb Beg's [*q.v.*] secessionist movement in Kashgharia. As a result of these movements, there has been a considerable community of Tungans living first in Imperial Russia and then Soviet Russia (Russian *Dungane*), comprising Tungans in the present Kirghizia Republic and those from Shensi in the Kazakh Republic. There are small urban groups in Bishbek (former Frunze) and Alma Ata, but most are settled farmers in the Chu valley. They have a strong sense of ethnic identity and of their Sunnī, Ḥanafī Islam. They use the Kansu dialect of Chinese as their official medium of communication, since the mid-1950s written in a script based on the Cyrillic one with five additional characters (the present, post-1990 status of this is unclear), though most Tungans are bi- or trilingual (i.e. with a Turkic language plus Russian). By 1980, the community numbered almost 100,000.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

al-**TŪNĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD** [see al-dimyāṭī].

TŪNIS, in Ar. also Tūnus, Tūnas, sc. Tunis, the capital of modern Tunisia. Like ancient Carthage, it is situated at the base of a large gulf, sheltered from northerly and north-westerly winds, at the junction of the western and the eastern Mediterranean. Like the capital of Punic and of Roman Africa, it was located at the intersection of natural routes serving the diverse regions of the country. But although the location of Tunis is often confused with that of Carthage, the two cities were constructed on two distinct sites. While Carthage, founded in the 9th century B.C. by seafarers from Tyre, was situated on the coast, Tunis, founded at the end of the 7th century A.D. by the Arab conquerors, is set back from the coast, on the landward side of a low-water lagoon, situated on a hill which slopes gently towards the east but towers over the Sedjoumi *sabkha* to the west.

Arab Tunis was not created *ex nihilo*; it took the place of a more ancient city, Tunes, and adopted its name. It is generally agreed that this name is of Berber origin. The three radicals *t.n.s.*, which are encountered in other toponyms of North Africa, are said to signify "halt", "bivouac" or "encampment" in the Berber language (G. Mercier, *La langue libyenne et la toponymie antique de l'Afrique du Nord*, in *JA* [October-December 1924], 298-9; A. Pellegrin, *Essai sur les noms de lieux d'Algérie et de Tunisie*, Tunis 1948, 108-9). If the name is indeed Berber, a reasonable inference would be that the city was founded by the indigenous population. The notion that Tunes is actually more ancient than Carthage is credible, although the earliest evidence regarding the former dates from a period during which Punic Carthage was already a major city. The existence of Tunes is attested at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. In fact, according to Diodorus of Sicily, in 395 B.C., 200,000 Libyans rose in revolt against Carthaginian rule and seized control of Tunes (Diodorus, *History*, xiv. 77). The name of the city often recurs in the writings of Greek and Roman historians tracing the history of Carthage. It was successively occupied by Agathocles in 310, Regulus in 256, the Libyans of Matho in 240, Scipio Africanus in 203 and Scipio Aemilianus in 146 (S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913-27, iii, *passim*). It is known that Tunes derived its strength both from its natural location and from the fortifications with which it had been endowed (*locus quum operibus tum suapte natura tutus*, Livy, *History*, xxx. 9), and it seems logical to place this city, from which Carthage could be seen and which could be seen from Carthage, on the hill which would later be occupied by the Arab *kaṣba*. Having made common cause with Carthage, Tunes was destroyed at the end of the Third Punic War. But the smaller city was to be reborn. In an Africa which had passed under Roman domination, the existence of Tunes was still attested. It features in fact on the 4th century map of Castorius, better known as Peutinger's Table, under the name of Thuni, which could be a copyist's error for Thunis. Christianised, the city was an episcopal see, and the names are known of the bishops who represented the church of Tunes at the Conference of Carthage in 411 and at the Council of Constantinople in 553 (J. Mesnage, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Algiers 1913, 164-5). But although the foundation of Tunes dates back to remote antiquity, and although the city succeeded in maintaining itself for centuries, it never played more than a modest role, in the shadow of the major metropolis which was successively the capital of Punic and of Roman Africa.

When the Arabs, at the end of the 7th century,

had completed the conquest of eastern Barbary with the capture of Carthage, they did not establish themselves there. Fearing lest a Byzantine fleet would arrive suddenly and retake the city, they decided to destroy it: demolishing its walls, cutting off the aqueducts which supplied it with water, filling in its harbours and devastating its agriculture. Judging that their security would thus be better served, they established themselves at the base of the lagoon, at the outskirts of Tunes, and the small town, occupied by troops and with new buildings proliferating, soon became a city which could easily be taken for an Arab foundation. The development of Tunis is closely linked with the destruction of Carthage. In fact, Arab historians date its birth to the year 80 of the Hidjra which began on 9 March 699, thus barely two months after the end of the year 698 which was fatal to Carthage, and attribute its foundation to Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], who took possession of the great ancient city (cf. Ibn Abī Dīnār, *K. al-Mūnis*, tr. J. Magnin, in *IBLA*, [1952], 156, 158). Having established himself in Tunis, on the orders of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān created an arsenal there, and a thousand Coptic labourers from Egypt were soon to be employed there in the building of ships, in order that the Rūm, i.e. the Byzantines, could be opposed on both land and sea (al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, tr. de Slane, Algiers 1913, 84). It is sometimes stated in the works of Arab authors that Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān, or one of his successors, brought the sea to Tunis. It should not be inferred from this that he dug a canal through the lake, a project which was to be realised at the end of the following century. In all probability, he dug a canal through the littoral strip separating the lake from the sea at the place called Ḥalḳ al-Wādī, i.e. La Goulette (cf. P. Sebag, *Les travaux maritimes de Ḥassān b. Nuʿmān*, in *IBLA*, [1970], 41-56). Thus the city at the base of the lagoon came to be linked with the shores of the gulf, and ships constructed in the arsenal of Tunis had access to the open sea.

In the early period of its existence, Arab Tunis assumed a military function. Troops were garrisoned there on a permanent basis, in readiness to oppose an enemy landing on the coast, or to take to the sea and raid the coasts of the Christian countries. Of the numerous maritime expeditions mounted by the Arabs in the 8th century, several were launched from Tunis (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. A. Gateau, ²Algiers 1948, 115). The presence of hundreds and thousands of soldiers boosted the development of the city. Arabs blended there with the Berbers who were converted to Islam, either willingly or by force, and a new people was forged from the association of the races.

Tunis was for a long time a secondary city in relation to al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*], the capital, seat of the governors appointed by the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs and, from the 9th century onward, of the Aghlabid *amīrs* who were to succeed in imposing their authority on eastern Barbary. But the officers and soldiers who constituted the *djund*, the militia of Tunis, did not always follow the orders of those to whom they owed obedience. On more than one occasion, at the initiative of an ambitious chieftain, the militia of Tunis rose in revolt, only to be crushed sooner or later by forces dispatched from al-Ḳayrawān. It was to these frequent revolts, the most important of which was that of Manṣūr al-Ṭunbudhī in the first half of the 9th century, that Tunis owed its reputation as a "factious city" (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, 87). It was none the less the object of solicitude on the part of the central power. The *amīr* Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (240-9/854-63) undertook the construction of a new Great Mosque, replacing the one which dated back to the early years of the Arab conquest. An inscription dates the prayer hall and the cupola before the *miḥrāb* to the year 250/864 (S.-M. Zbiss, *Inscriptions de Tunis et de sa banlieue*, Tunis 1955, 28-9). The defences of the town were then improved, with the reconstruction of the ramparts, and the first *ḳaṣba* was established (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 160).

Towards the end of the 9th century, the *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad (262-89/874-90) installed himself there on a permanent basis and made it the seat of his government. But Tunis was not yet the country's first city. With the end of the Aghlabid dynasty, the choice of the last *amīrs* was called into question.

The Fāṭimid princes, of Shīʿī persuasion, who had been brought to power by a revolt at the beginning of the 10th century, then installed themselves in al-Ḳayrawān, before acquiring a new capital with the city of al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] which they created *ex nihilo*, on the eastern coast, whence al-Muʿizz b. Ismāʿīl departed for Egypt in 362/972. On leaving Ifrīḳiya, he entrusted its government to his loyal lieutenant Buluggīn b. Zīrī, who succeeded in transferring power to the members of his family, thus founding the dynasty of the Zīrid *amīrs*, who by turns had al-Mahdiyya and al-Ḳayrawān as their capital, at the end of the 4th/10th and beginning of the 5th/11th century. In the meantime, Tunis continued to develop. The Arab geographer al-Bakrī has left us the first detailed description. It was then "one of the most illustrious towns of Ifrīḳiya". The Great Mosque, Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna, was situated in the centre. The building, constructed in the 3rd/9th century, was the object of renovation under the Zīrids, who added to it a narthex-gallery, a cupola at the entrance to the main axial nave and porticos on three sides of the courtyard, which on the basis of inscriptions *in situ* may be dated from the end of the 4th/10th century (Zbiss, *op. cit.*, 33-4). All around the Great Mosque were located the city's *sūḳs*, where manufacturing and commercial activity was concentrated. They were surrounded by residential quarters, with fine houses, their doors framed in marble, baths and caravanserais. The town was encircled by a wall with five gates, as follows: Bāb Ḳarṭādjanna, or Carthage gate, to the north-east; Bāb al-Saḳḳāʾīn, or Water-carriers' gate, to the north; Bāb Arṭa, to the south-west; Bāb al-Djazīra, gate of the Cap Bon Peninsula, to the south, and Bāb al-Baḥr, gate of the Sea, to the east. Outside the last-named was situated the arsenal, *Dār al-ṣināʿa*, established at the time of the foundation of the city. Further to the east, on the shores of the lake, was the port of Tunis, reduced to a single jetty where ships were berthed. It is on the littoral, at the mouth of the man-made canal that the Castle of the Chain, Ḳaṣr al-Silsila, described by al-Bakrī, should be located. The city was a hive of multiple activities, industrial, commercial and agricultural, and it was also a major educational centre. Judged on the basis of its *ḥammāms*, fifteen in number, its population was one-third of that of al-Ḳayrawān, which had forty-eight, but it was undoubtedly more important than the towns of Bizerta, Sousse, Sfax or al-Mahdiyya (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, 85-9). At this time Tunis could well be described as the second city of Ifrīḳiya.

Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Zīrid *amīr* al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs repudiated the Shīʿī doctrine and rejected the sovereignty of the Fāṭimid

caliph of Cairo, professing allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād. The response was not slow in coming. The caliph of Cairo unleashed on Ifrīḳiya the unruly Arab tribes of the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Sulaym [*q.vv.*], then encamped in the Delta. They invaded the country, emerged victorious from all their battles, succeeded in capturing and sacking al-Ḳayrawān, and forced the Zīrid *amīr* to withdraw to al-Mahdiyya. Then, throughout the extended territory, the Hilālians installed themselves as masters and, taking advantage of the general anarchy, a multiplicity of local powers took over the space vacated by an enfeebled central power. To ensure their defence, the population of Tunis appointed as governor an officer by the name of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān, who administered the town for many years and on his death bequeathed his power to his son who in turn bequeathed it to his descendants. Thus, for almost a century, Tunis was to be a small, independent principality, governed by the Banū Khurāsān [*q.v.*]. It is the most remarkable representative of this dynasty, Aḥmad b. Khurāsān (500-23/1106-28), who deserves credit for having restored the city's walls and for building within the walls a castle, the memory of which is perpetuated by a mosque, Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr. Under the Banū Khurāsān, the population of Tunis increased, as many Muslim families from al-Ḳayrawān arrived to take refuge there (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, i, 36). The small Jewish community which had been established in the 4th/10th century was swelled by emigrants from al-Ḳayrawān and al-Mahdiyya. At the gates of the city, merging with the *Madīna*, began the quarters which were to be the suburbs of Bāb al-Djazīra and of Bāb al-Suwayḳa (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 31). Tunis also developed its industries and its dealings with other countries. A letter from ʿAbd Allāh b. Khurāsān to the archbishop of Pisa, dated 552/1157, lays down the condition of commerce between the two cities (A. Sayous, *Le commerce des Européens à Tunis*, Paris 1929, 50-2). Under the Banū Khurāsān, Tunis succeeded in eluding the clutches of the Normans from Sicily who, taking advantage of the anarchy afflicting the land, managed to take control of all the towns of the eastern coast. But it was to fall into the hands of the Moroccan ʿAbd al-Muʾmin who, having embraced the Almohad doctrine, wasted no time in making himself master of all North Africa, taking Tunis in 554/1159.

Before returning to his capital Marrakesh at the other extremity of the Maghrib, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin entrusted the administration of eastern Barbary to one of his sons, who took up residence in the *Ḳaṣba* of Tunis (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 154). At the same time, after three centuries during which the leading role had been played by al-Ḳayrawān or al-Mahdiyya, Tunis found itself promoted to the status of capital of Ifrīḳiya. The Almohad sultans were soon obliged to confront the enterprises of the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*], who succeeded in obtaining a foothold in the eastern Maghrib and even in taking control of Tunis in 600/1203. But their efforts were ultimately unavailing and the land, maintaining its allegiance to the Almohads, regained stability under the rule of a governor named ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ. Designated to succeed him on his death, his son Abū Zakariyyāʾ rejected the hegemony of the Almohads and proclaimed his independence in 625/1227. He thus founded the dynasty of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*], whose princes later awarded themselves the title of caliphs and who presided over the destinies of eastern Barbary for almost three centuries, with Tunis for their capital.

Shortly after asserting his independence, Abū Zakariyyāʾ undertook to remodel the *Ḳaṣba* of Tunis according to new plans (al-Zarkashī, *Chronique des Almohades et des Ḥafṣides*, tr. E. Fagnan, Constantine 1895, 35). This citadel comprised the palace in which the Sultan convened his council and gave audiences and the palace in which he and his family resided, as well as a congregational mosque, the building of which, undertaken in 629/1231, was completed in 633/1235 (*ibid.*, 35-6). It was encompassed by a high and strong wall with two gates, one of them, Bāb al-Ghadr, overlooking the countryside and the other, Bāb Intadjmī, opening on the town.

Under the reigns of Abū Zakariyyāʾ and of his successors, the *Madīna* of Tunis retained the structure which had been imposed upon it in the early Middle Ages, with its quarter of *sūḳs* in the centre, surrounded on all sides by residential quarters, but with new constructions enriching its monumental ornamentation. On more than one occasion, the Great Mosque was the object of restoration work which did not change its appearance (al-Zarkashī, *op. cit.*, 57, 93, 257). To respond to the needs of a burgeoning population, the *Madīna* was endowed with a new congregational mosque, the Djāmiʿ Bāb al-Baḥr, in the vicinity of the Gate of the Sea, in 682/1283 (*ibid.*, 67). More numerous creations affected the colleges or *madrasas* through which the Ḥafṣid sultans took pains to diffuse Sunnī orthodoxy and to train competent and committed functionaries. The first was the Shammāʿiyya (i.e. candle-makers') *madrasa* founded by the sultan Abū Zakariyyāʾ. It was followed by the Maʿāriḍiyya *madrasa* in the 7th/13th century, by the ʿUnḳiyya *madrasa* in the 8th/14th century, and by the Muntaṣiriyya *madrasa* in the 9th/15th century (*ibid.*, 73, 106, 214). The *madrasas* were supplemented by *zāwiyas*, and inscriptions *in situ* allow the dating in the 9th/15th century of the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Aḥmad b. ʿArūs and that of Sīdī al-Ḳalay. Among other foundations with which the *Madīna* was endowed under the Ḥafṣids, worth mentioning is the *māristān*, a hospital, which was built in the Sūḳ al-Ṣaffārīn (i.e. of the coppersmiths) under the reign of the sultan Abū Fāris (796-838/1394-1434), and the *mīḍaʾa*, monumental hall for ablutions, which was built in the Sūḳ al-ʿAṭṭārīn (i.e. of the perfumers) under the reign of the sultan Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān (838-93/1435-88). The surrounding wall of the *Madīna*, reconstructed under the Ḥafṣids, was pierced by seven gates: to the north, Bāb Ḳarṭadjanna, Bāb al-Suwayḳa (which replaced Bāb al-Saḳḳāʾīn) and Bāb al-Banāt; to the south, Bab al-Djazīra, Bāb al-Djadīd and Bāb al-Manāra (which replaced Bāb Arṭa); and to the east, Bāb al-Baḥr, the city's principal gate.

Tunis was no longer identical with the *Madīna*, being flanked to the north by the suburb of Bāb al-Suwayḳa and to the south by the suburb of Bāb al-Djazīra; these two suburbs, the existence of which is attested as early as the 6th/12th century, underwent large-scale development to accommodate an ever-increasing population. Of a semi-rural nature at the outset, they were gradually urbanised. In the southern suburb the sultan Abū Zakariyyāʾ had created, in the proximity of the Horse Market, a *muṣallā al-ʿĪdayn*, an oratory for the celebration of the two festivals of the Muslim year (al-Zarkashī, *op. cit.*, 33). His wife ʿAṭf had founded, near the Sheep Market, a congregational mosque known as the Djāmiʿ al-Hawā or Djāmiʿ al-Tawfīḳ, as well as the Tawfīḳiyya *madrasa*, attached to the mosque (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 382). The southern suburb was endowed with two other mosques: the Djāmiʿ Bāb al-Djazīra in the

7th/13th century, and the Djāmiʿ al-Ḥuluḳ, outside the Bāb al-Djadīd, in the 8th/14th century. Among Ḥafṣid constructions, also worthy of note is the *zāwiya* of Sīdī al-Djalīzī which dates from the end of the 9th/15th century. It was in the southern suburb, outside the Bāb al-Manāra, that a quarter was assigned for the garrisoning of the Christian militia which served the Ḥafṣid sultans (A. Adorne, in R. Brunschwig, *Deux récits de voyage en Afrique du Nord au XVe siècle*, Paris 1937, 190-1). In the northern suburb, a congregational mosque, the Djāmiʿ Abī Muḥammad, was built by an Almohad governor at the beginning of the 7th/13th century. The following century, a second such mosque was erected there, the Djāmiʿ Sīdī Yaḥyā, as well as the *madrasa* adjoining it and sharing its name (M. Bel-Khūdja, *Taʾrīkh Maʿālim al-tawḥīd fi 'l-ḳadīm wa-fi 'l-djadīd*, Tunis 1939, 76-7, 184). Yet another such mosque, the Djāmiʿ al-Tabbānīn, was built in the 9th/15th century (al-Zarkashī, *op. cit.*, 235). The proliferation of congregational mosques, three in number in the southern suburb as in the northern, is a reliable indicator of the growth in the population of Tunis and of the expansion of the city under the Ḥafṣids.

For a long time the suburbs remained unprotected. It was only in the 8th/14th century that it was judged necessary to provide them with a surrounding wall, a construction which was completed under the reign of the sultan Abū Isḥāḳ (750-70/1350-69) (Ibn al-Shammāʿ, *al-Adilla al-bayyina al-nūrāniyya ʿalā mafākhir al-dawla al-ḥafṣiyya*, Tunis 1931, 131). It had virtually the same outline as that which was to be constructed at the end of the 18th century. It was pierced by three gates to the north: Bāb al-Khaḍrāʾ, Bāb Abī Saʿdūn, Bāb al-ʿUlūdj; and by four gates to the south: Bāb Khālid, Bāb al-Ḳurdjānī, Bāb al-Falla and Bāb ʿAlīwa. Under the Ḥafṣid sultans, Tunis already had the overall structure which would last until the eve of colonisation. To the south, the surrounding wall encompassed the cemetery of al-Ḳurdjānī, but it was outside the walls that the new cemetery was located, that of al-Djallāz, at the foot of the hill of Sīdī Ben Ḥasan.

To the east, outside the Bāb al-Baḥr, there was development of another suburb which consisted of *funduḳs* [see KHĀN] where Catalan, Venetian and Genoese Christian merchants had their residences and their warehouses. Further to the east was located the arsenal which continued to operate in Ḥafṣid times. It was not far removed from the jetty, used by the boats which transported merchandise and travellers between the town, at the base of the lagoon, and the harbour on the coast (Adorne, *op. cit.*, 186 ff.).

Far from the city, the Ḥafṣids acquired luxurious residences. The sultan al-Mustanṣir (647-75/1249-77) had built for himself, in a place called Rās Ṭābiyya, a fine palace in the middle of a park, linked to the *Ḳaṣba* by an avenue flanked by high walls (al-Zarkashī, *op. cit.*, 47). It was the same al-Mustanṣir who created not far from the Ariana the splendid residence of Abū Fihr, which was to be the object of enthusiastic descriptions (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 339-40). More recent is the palace of Bardo (from the Spanish *prado* = garden), the creation of which dates from the reign of Abū Fāris and which was destined to survive to the present time (al-Zarkashī, *op. cit.*, 207). The Ḥafṣid sultans also attached their names to important hydraulic projects. Hitherto, the supply of water to the population had been assured by cisterns where rainwater was stored or by various wells sunk both within and outside the town. In the 7th/13th century, al-Mustanṣir undertook the restoration of the aqueduct which used to carry the water of Djabal Zaghwān to Carthage, adapting it to supply water to Tunis by constructing two diversions; one of them delivering water to a large reservoir situated close to the Great Mosque, the other delivering water to the residence of Abū Fihr, for the irrigation of gardens and orchards and for supplying the requirements of fountains and pools. In the 9th/15th century, Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān (838-93/1435-88) increased the quantity of water supplied by the aqueduct by means of bore-holes created in the style of Saharan foggaras in a place called Kūm al-Uṭā, near Tunis (M. Solignac, *Travaux hydrauliques ḥafṣides de Tunis*, in *RAfr.*, [1936], 517-80). The chroniclers of the time also mention cisterns, watering-troughs and fountains owed to the munificence of the Ḥafṣids (al-Zarkashī, *passim*).

Promoted to the status of capital of Ifrīḳiya, Tunis experienced development in all kinds of activity, with urban industries becoming ever more diversified. Chronicles and accounts of journeys afford a glimpse of the trade guilds dedicated to the working of textiles, leather, wood and metals as well as those contributing to the construction and decoration of houses and palaces: masons, potters, plasterers and sculptors. The city had its luxury industries, too: jewellery, wrought gold and perfumes, while the more mundane requirements of the population were supplied by mills, bakeries and *ḥammāms*. Tunis was also an important commercial centre, conducting exchanges with the Christian countries by sea, and with the lands of the Levant and Black Africa by caravans. Finally, intellectual activities were developed to an unprecedented extent. With its Great Mosque, the libraries of which had been enriched by the Ḥafṣids, and its *madrasas*, Tunis became the major intellectual centre of the land. Scholars and academics displaced from Spain by the Christian reconquest and taking refuge in the Ḥafṣid kingdom made a considerable contribution to the success and prosperity experienced by the sciences and literature.

The population of Tunis was increasing, and was not composed solely of Muslims. After the upsurge of intolerance which had marked the Almohad conquest (on capturing the city, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had compelled Jews and Christians to choose between conversion and death), the Ḥafṣid sultans adopted the traditional attitude of Sunnī Islam towards the People of the Book. Christians were permanently established—soldiers in the southern suburb, merchants outside the Bāb al-Baḥr—as were the Jews, who had their own quarter (*ḥāra*) within the walls of the *Madīna*. As for population numbers, the figure of 100,000 seems a reasonable estimate judging by the extent of the city, already approaching the dimensions which would take it into the modern age.

In the early 10th/16th century the corsair Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who had taken control of Algiers and proclaimed his allegiance to the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul, sought to extend his domination to eastern Barbary. With a combination of guile and force, he succeeded in taking Tunis in 941/1534. With the aim of regaining his kingdom, the Ḥafṣid Mawlāy Ḥasan appealed to the Emperor Charles V who, anxious to restrain Turkish expansion in the Mediterranean, came to the rescue of the dethroned sultan. At the beginning of summer 1535, at the head of a powerful armada, he made his way to Tunis, expelled the Turks from the city and restored Mawlāy Ḥasan to the throne. Under the terms of a treaty which imposed quasi-protectorate status on eastern Barbary, the Spanish occupied La Goulette where they undertook the con-

struction of a powerful fortress to protect the land from sea-born assault (L. Poinssot and R. Lantier, *Les gouverneurs de la Goulette durant l'occupation espagnole (1535-1574)*, in *Rev. Tunisienne*, [1930], 219-52). This limited occupation did not prevent the *beylerbey* of Algiers, ʿUlūdj ʿAlī [*q.v.*], from taking possession of Tunis in 976/1569. The Spanish response was not slow in coming. In the autumn of 981/1573, Don Juan of Austria expelled the Turks from Tunis and, to forestall a counter-offensive by Ottoman troops, left behind an armed force of 8,000 men, who constructed a new fortress, *Nova Arx*, between the walls of the city and the shores of the lake, comprising six bastions joined by curtains, covering an area of more than ten hectares (P. Sebag, *Une ville européenne à Tunis au XVIe siècle*, in *CT*, [1961], 97-107). The arsenal, still shown on printed maps from the first half of the 16th century, disappeared at about this time. But the following year, the Turks returned in strength, laying siege to La Goulette and Tunis and forcing their garrisons to capitulate (Rabīʿ II 981/August 1574).

With the conquest of 1574, Ifrīḳiya became a province of the Ottoman empire, administered by a governor who bore the title of *pasha* and was supported by a 3,000 strong Turkish militia. Within a few years, power had passed from the *pasha*, representing the sultan in Istanbul, to the chiefs of the militia (1591) and from the chiefs of the militia to a *dey*, who recognised Ottoman sovereignty but governed the country in an absolute manner (1595). But there was a gradual increase in the power of the military chief, the *bey*, who twice a year, at the head of a mobile camp, *maḥalla* [*q.v.*], set out to collect taxes in the hinterland. One such commander, Murād Bey, bequeathed his responsibility to his son who bequeathed it in turn to his descendants, thus founding the dynasty of Murādī *beys*. Princes of this dynasty would succeed in the second half of the 17th century in supplanting the *deys*, ultimately reigning as sovereigns in their own right. Through all these vicissitudes, the city which was the seat of the "powers of Tunis", *pasha*, *dey* and *bey*, maintained its status as capital of the country.

During the 17th century, the population of Tunis was transformed by numerous ethnic arrivals. These were Turks recruited in various provinces of the Ottoman empire and constituting the militia whose strength, 3,000 men at the outset, had increased to 4,000, concentrated in the capital. They formed the bulk of the mobile camp commanded by the *bey* and supplied contingents of armed men who took part in privateering (J. Pignon, *La Milice des janissaires de Tunis*, in *CT*, [1956], 301-26). "National Turks" were supplemented by "professional Turks", the latter denoting those who had abandoned Christianity and embraced Islam in order to live among the Turks as Turks.

More numerous were the Moors who, expelled from Spain in 1609 by Philip III, found a haven in Ifrīḳiya. Some settled in the hinterland where they put the land to good use, bringing prosperity to the villages which they populated; others were installed in Tunis, playing their part in the manufacturing and commercial activities of the city and forming clusters of Andalusian population in the *Madīna* (*Zuḳāḳ al-Andalus*) and in the northern suburb (*Ḥūmat al-Andalus*) (J.D. Latham, *Towards a study of Andalusian immigration and its place in Tunisian History*, in *CT*, [1957], 203-52). Among the new ethnic arrivals, also worth mentioning are the Jews from Leghorn/Livorno. For the most part, these were Jews of Spanish origin, forced to emigrate by the rigours of the Inquisition and given permission by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand II to live and work in the port of Leghorn. Having forged commercial links with the lands of the Maghrib, a number of them established themselves in Tunis where, henceforward, a distinction would be drawn between Tunisian Jews, the *Twānsa*, and those from Leghorn, the *Grāna* (M. Eisenbeth, *Les juifs en Algérie et en Tunisie à l'époque turque (1516-1830)*, in *RAfr.*, [1952], 155-63), Furthermore, benefiting from concessions awarded by the Sublime Porte or from treaties of peace and commerce which the European powers had signed with the *deys* and the *beys*, small mercantile colonies, principally French and British, were well established and active. Finally, thousands of Christian slaves, natives of all the Mediterranean lands, added to the diversity and the markedly cosmopolitan nature of the population of Tunis.

In this same century, Tunis continued to be the greatest industrial centre of the country. Andalusians were in the forefront of the development of the manufacture of *shāshiyyas* or caps, an industry which soon employed a considerable work-force. With techniques that they introduced, the Andalusians also contributed substantially to the renovation of other industries such as silk weaving, metal-casting and ceramics. This was also the golden age of privateering [see ḳurṣān]. Sailing galleys and galliots fitted with rams, or in other sailing ships like polacres and galleons, the corsairs of Tunis attacked merchant ships at sea or mounted raids on the coasts of Christian countries, returning from their cruises with ample booty. Merchandise was sold to traders who resold it at a profit. Men and women were reduced to slavery, only to be freed if they could raise the money for their redemption. The trade in plunder and the ransoming of captives laid the foundations for vast fortunes. "There are in Tunis, as there are in Algiers, men of great wealth who do not know the extent of the sums that they have amassed" (J.-B. Salvago, *Africa overo Barbaria*, ed. A. Sacerdoti, Padua 1937, 80). However, piracy was not an obstacle to peaceful relations with a number of countries. French merchants controlled commerce with Marseilles; contacts with Leghorn were handled by immigrants from that locality. Maritime traffic was mirrored by overland traffic: a caravan route linked Tunis with Morocco, another linked Tunis with Mecca and a third gave access to Black Africa, beyond the Sahara (N. Beranger, *Correspondance*, in P. Grandchamp, *La France en Tunisie au XVIIe siècle*, Tunis 1920-33, ix, x). Exchanges by sea and by land made the capital of the *deys* and the *beys*, according to one observer, "Barbary's most commercial city" (E. Plantet, *Correspondance des beys de Tunis et des consuls de France avec la Cour*, Paris 1893-99, i, 164).

At this time, Tunis retained its overall structure, with its *Madīna* flanked by two suburbs, but the Murādī *deys* and *beys* erected some new buildings. Under the reign of the Dey Yūsuf (1019-47/1610-37), the city was endowed with new *sūḳs*: Sūḳ al-Truk, for the tailoring of Turkish-style garments, Sūḳ al-Bashāmikiyya, for shoemakers specialising in the manufacture of pumps, Sūḳ al-Djerāba, for merchants from Djerba, and Sūḳ al-Birka for the sale of negro slaves. The same Dey built the mosque with octagonal minaret which bears his name, with the *madrasa* attached to it, as well as the *turba* which would be his final resting-place. Also owed to him is the construction, in the tailors' *sūḳ*, of the hall of ablutions, *mīḍaʾa*, which would be transported to the Belvedere at the end of the 19th century, as well as the city's first coffee-house (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *K. al-Mūnis*, Tunis 1286/1869, 194-5). The *dey* Muḥammad Lāz (1057-63/1647-53)

built the minaret of the Ḳaṣr mosque as well as the *turba* which would be his mausoleum. The *bey* Ḥamūda b. Murād (1040-76/1631-66) who was without doubt the most remarkable prince of the Murādī line, endowed the Great Mosque with its first minaret, to be replaced in 1894 by the current one. It was also his reign which saw the building of the double gallery which constitutes its eastern façade: an inscription *in situ* dates it to the year 1047/1637 (G. Marçais, *Architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, 467). Also owed to him are the splendid mosque with octagonal minaret which was built in the vicinity of the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Aḥmad b. ʿArūs, the *turba* in which he was buried, as were all the princes descended from him, and a hospital which was erected on the site of the first Ḥafṣid *māristān* (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 225-6). Opposite the *Ḳaṣba*, where the *dey*'s palace was situated, Ḥamūda Bey had the Dār al-Bey constructed to serve as the official residence of the *beys*. To his son, Murād b. Ḥamūda (1076-86/1666-75), belongs credit for the construction of a college, al-Murādiyya, in the *sūḳ* of cloths and fabrics. After a long war of succession which ravaged the country for more than ten years, Muḥammad b. Murād (1097-1107/1686-96) undertook the construction of two *sūḳ*s, the Great and the Small, devoted to the making of *s̲h̲ās̲h̲iyya*s, as well as the fine mosque with cupolas, commonly called the mosque of Sīdī Muḥriz, which was completed under the reign of his brother Ramaḍān b. Murād (1107-10/1696-99); the plans were drawn up by the French architect F. Amelot (Ph. de la Motte, *Etat des Royaumes de Barbarie*, Rouen 1703, 131).

In addition to constructions owed to the initiative of the *deys* and *beys*, there were numerous private buildings which have been the object of an exhaustive study (J. Revault, *Palais et demeures de Tunis (XVIe et XVIIe siècles)*, Paris 1967). Their siting affords a glimpse of the spatial distribution of the various ethnic groups. While Moors, Turks and Andalusians were concentrated in the upper city, non-Muslims were quartered in the lower one. Jews continued to inhabit the old *ḥāra*; European merchants were installed near the Bāb al-Baḥr, the Gate of the Sea. Initially accommodated in houses leased from the Moors, they subsequently settled in *funduḳ*s set at their disposal by the Powers of Tunis, where their residences and warehouses were located. When the Chevalier d'Arvieux visited Tunis in 1666, there were three *funduḳ*s: one allotted to the French, another to the British and the Dutch, and the third to the Jews of Italian origin (*Mémoires*, ed. J.-B. Labat, Paris 1735, iv, 15). Also concentrated in the lower part of the *Madīna* were the bagnios or slave prisons, each known by the name given to its chapel. In the second half of the 17th century there were thirteen of them, for which a list of names exists (de la Motte, *op. cit.*, 127).

There is little to be said of the suburbs, which continued to be populated by the lower orders. There were few new constructions. In the southern suburb, the mosque of Bāb al-Ḏj̲azīra was restored under the reign of Yūsuf Dey (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 196). In the northern suburb, the Moors established there were endowed with a congregational mosque, the Ḏj̲āmiʿ Subḥān Allāh, as well as a college, the al-Andalusiyya *madrasa* (Bel-K̲h̲ūd̲j̲a, *op. cit.*, 82-5, 186-7). Beyond the first and second perimeter walls were the necropolises: the Muslim cemetery outside the Bāb ʿAlīwa, the Jewish one outside the Bāb Ḳartād̲j̲anna and the Christian one outside the Bāb al-Baḥr, with a chapel dedicated to St. Antony. Here free men and slaves alike were interred. To the north-west of Tunis the Bardo, promoted to the status of royal residence by the last Ḥafṣids, was highly regarded by the *bey* Ḥamūda b. Murād, who restored and expanded it, embellishing both the palace and its gardens (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 227). Travellers have left enthusiastic descriptions of the place (d'Arvieux, *op. cit.*, iv, 47-8). During the 17th century the city, enclosed within the perimeter wall surrounding the *Madīna*, and its suburbs, did not expand, while its population, ravaged on more than one occasion by plague, varied considerably. It never reached the figure of 100,000 inhabitants.

In the early years of the 18th century, an officer of the militia who had organised the successful defence of the country when it was invaded by the Algerians, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Turkī, was appointed to the supreme magistrature with the title of *bey* and succeeded in bequeathing his power to his descendants. He thus founded the dynasty to which he gave his name and, as it had been the capital of the Murādī *beys*, Tunis now became that of the Ḥusaynid *beys* [see ḤUSAYNIDS].

During this century, the population of Tunis was not affected by new incoming ethnic groups. The armed forces of the country still comprised numerous Turkish soldiers and officers, natives of the various provinces of the Ottoman empire. Over the years, new recruits replaced those who were leaving on the expiration of their term of service, but a number of the latter married and settled in the country. The children born of Turkish fathers and Moorish mothers were called "coloughlis" (Tkish. *ḳulog̲h̲ullarî* = sons of slave soldiers), blending gradually into the urban population [see ḲUL-OG̲H̲LU]. A similar evolution applied to the Andalusians established in the city. Although loyal to their origin and fond of asserting their special identity, they married local women in increasing numbers, thus contributing to the mix of races. As it had in the past, the population of Tunis included, alongside the Muslim majority, Jewish and Christian minorities. Although they were both subjects of the *beylik* and subject to the status of *d̲h̲immī*s, from 1710 onwards Italian and Tunisian Jews were divided into two distinct communities, each with its own rabbinical court, its synagogues, schools and cemetery (Eisenbeth, *op. cit.*, 161-2). The Christians continued to be represented by small European mercantile communities, the French one being the most significant. As for Christian slaves, they were less numerous than they had been in the 17th century, although their number was to rise suddenly around the year 1800, with a final upsurge in piratical activity. All ethnic groups included, the population of Tunis increased by virtue of an 80-year absence of epidemics, from 1705 to 1785. However, it was reduced by a recurrence of plague which three times, in 1785, in 1794 and in 1818, ravaged the capital and, indeed, the whole country. The excessive estimates of certain travellers should be treated with caution; around 1830, the population of Tunis certainly did not exceed 80,000 inhabitants (A. Gallico, *Tunisi e i consoli sardi*, Bologna 1935, 189).

Tunis continued at this time to be a vibrantly active city. Accounts of journeys are full of detailed descriptions of its industries. The *s̲h̲ās̲h̲iyya* industry was by far the most important, employing a large work-force, 15,000 persons according to the traveller-naturalist J.A. Peyssonnel, no doubt including the thousands of women who spun the wool and knitted the hats. Other trade guilds were devoted to the weaving of wool, of silk and of cotton, the tanning of hides and the manufacture of various types of footwear, working of wood, iron and precious metals, as well as all those involved

in construction: masons, potters, sculptors and plasterers (L. Filippi, in Ch. Monchicourt, *Relations inédites*..., Paris 1929, 118 ff.). The freedom of action of privateers was curtailed, following the signing by the *beys* of treaties of peace and trade with a number of the European Powers and the United States of America, which, to guard themselves against attacks by corsairs, were resigned to paying the Barbary States a kind of "tribute". Privateering was henceforward directed only against the principal states of the Italian peninsula, with Tunisian pirates attacking their merchant shipping and raiding their coasts. Privateering enjoyed a spectacular revival in the last years of the century, thanks to the distractions caused by the Revolutionary and Imperial wars in Europe (P. Grandchamp, *Documents concernant la course*..., in *CT*, [1958], 269-340). But following the resolutions of the Congresses of Vienna (1815) and of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), the European Powers compelled the kingdom of Tunis to renounce piracy definitively. The capital of the Ḥusaynid *beys* remained the principal commercial hub of the country. At the end of the 18th century, the port of La Goulette was the object of substantial improvements under the direction of the Dutch engineers Homberg and Frank (P. Sebag, *La Goulette et sa forteresse*..., in *IBLA*, [1967], 13-34). Some exporting was conducted by other ports, but all imports passed through La Goulette. Maritime trade was conducted with Marseilles, Leghorn and the ports of the Levant. Other commerce was performed by caravans which linked Tunis with other lands of the Maghrib, with Mecca and with Black Africa. Reliable information is availahle concerning the caravan-route which brought ostrich feathers, gold dust and black slaves from the lands beyond the Sahara (L. Frank, *Tunis. Description de cette Régence*, Paris 1850, 116 ff.).

In the course of the 18th century, no changes are observable in the structure of the city, which retained virtually the same boundaries and the same area. However, successive *beys*, on acceding to power, lent their names to new buildings. As in the past, it was the central *Madīna* which benefited from the greatest number of creations. The founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (1117-48/1705-35) endowed it with a new congregational mosque, al-Djāmiʿ al-Djadīd, the New Mosque, in the Street of the Dyers, its construction completed in 1139/1726. Also owed to this ruler is the building of three *madrasas*, one of which adjoined the new mosque, while the other two were known by the names of al-Nakhla and al-Ḥusayniyya al-Ṣughrā, as well as the *turba* in which he was to be buried (al-Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, *Mashraʿ al-malikī*, Fr. tr. Tunis 1900, 14-15). ʿAlī I b. Muḥammad (1148-70/1735-56) constructed four new colleges: al-Bāshiyya, in the Street of the Libraries, al-Sulaymāniyya, in the Kashāshīn *sūk*, the ʿĀshūr street *madrasa* and the Bīr al-Ḥidjār *madrasa*. He also erected the *turba* which would be his mausoleum and that of members of his family (*ibid.*, 231-2). Succeeding his elder brother, who reigned barely three years, ʿAlī II b. al-Ḥusayn (1172-96/1759-82) lent his name to the construction of a college, al-Ḥusayniyya al-Kubrā, of a hospice, *takiyya*, designed for the sick and destitute of both sexes, and of the monumental tomb, Turbat al-Bey, which would be his last resting-place and that of all the *beys* who would reign after him (M. Ben Achour, *Tourbet el-Bey*..., in *IBLA*, [1985], 45-84). Ḥamūda b. ʿAlī II (1196-1229/1782-1814), having taken up residence in the Dār al-Bey, undertook to enlarge and embellish it, giving it the form which it would retain for a long time (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān bi-akhbār mulūk Tūnis*, Tunis 1962-8, iii, 76). On one side of it was the Sūk al-Bey, allocated for the sale of expensive fabrics. Wishing to improve the living conditions of the Janissaries, this ruler constructed five barrack buildings for their use: Kashlat al-ʿAṭṭārīn, Kashlat al-Bashāmikiyya, Kashlat al-Zanaydiyya, Kashlat al-Wuzār and Kashlat Sīdī ʿAmīr (*ibid.*, iii, 38).

In addition to these public buildings, which have been mentioned by Tunisian chroniclers and have attracted the attention of historians of Muslim architecture, there are numerous private ones which have likewise heen the object of study (Revault, *Palais et demeures de Tunis (XVIIIe et XIXe siècles)*, Paris 1971). Their siting gives the impression that the spatial distribution of the various ethnic groups remained unchanged from one century to another. While Turks and Coloughlis, Andalusians and Moors inhabited the upper city, the minorities were quartered in the lower city. The Jews, whether Tunisian or Italian, occupied the *ḥāra*, which may have been extended. As for the Christians, they thronged the approaches to the Bāh al-Baḥr. Freemen were accommodated in the *funduks* and neighbouring houses. Slaves who did not lodge in the homes of their masters were confined overnight in the bagnios, less numerous than in the 17th century, most of them situated in the lower city. It was there that, in 1723, Spanish Trinitarians opened a hospital for the relief of the hardships of the captives (P. Ximenez, *Colonia Trinitaria de Tunez*, ed. I. Bauer, Tetouan 1934, 169 ff.).

The suburbs flanking the *Madīna* to the north and south continued to be occupied by the less privileged classes, and were also the destination of all those who arrived over the years from the hinterland. In the suburb of Bāb al-Djazīra, the only construction worthy of mention is the *zāwiya-madrasa* built in memory of the Kabyle mystic Sīdī al-Bashīr and owed to the *bey*, al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd (1240-51/1824-35) (Bel-Khūdja, *op. cit.*, 211-12). On the other hand, the suburb of Bāb al-Suwayka was endowed with some significant structures. Yūsuf Ṣāḥib al-Ṭābiʿ, the all-powerful minister of the *bey* Ḥamūda b. ʿAlī, built there a fine congregational mosque with octagonal minaret and two adjoining *madrasas*, as well as a *turba* to accommodate his mortal remains (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *op. cit.*, iii, 59). Successive *beys*, on coming to power, improved the supply of water to the two suburbs by building fountains, drinking-troughs and *fiskiyyas* to collect and conserve rainwater (*fiskiyya* of Bāb-al-Falla and *fiskiyya* of Bāb Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām, attributed to ʿAlī I b. Muḥammad Pasha). In the northern as in the southern suburb, wealthy dignitaries had attractive homes built for them, a development testifying to veritable urbanisation.

To the east, on land traversed by open sewers (*khandak*) whereby the city's effluent was discharged, a new quarter took shape around the tanneries which, situated for many years within the *Madīna*, were moved outside the walls in the course of the 18th century (A. Raymond, *Le transfert des tanneries*..., in *Rev. d'Hist. Maghrébine*, [1977], 192-200). This new quarter was known by the name of that of the Dabbāghīn ("tanners") (Filippi, *op. cit.*, 80). But this was of little significance; Tunis remained essentially confined to the triptych formed by the *Madīna* and its two major suburbs.

At the turn of the century, the *bey* Ḥamūda b. ʿAlī II decided to improve the city's defences by means of renovation of its ramparts. The works completed under the supervision of the Dutch engineer O. Homberg gave to the second perimeter wall the

outline which it was to retain virtually until the last years of the protectorate, with, to the south, the gates known as Bāb ʿAlīwa, Bāb al-Falla, Bāb al-Ḳurdjānī, Bāb Sīdī Ḳasim and Bāb Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh; and to the north, the gates known as Bāb al-Khaḍrā', Bāb Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām, Bāb Abī Saʿdūn and Bāb al-ʿUlūdj. The walls of this second perimeter were flanked at long intervals by bastions, the construction of which is dated by inscriptions to the first years of the 19th century (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *op. cit.*, iii, 36; Plantet, *op. cit.*, iii, 491). The second perimeter wall which enveloped the city to the south, the west and the north, was interrupted to the east, leaving the suburbs partially exposed. No doubt it was reckoned that, on this side, the lake of Tunis constituted adequate defence. It should also be noted that the approaches to the city were defended by a number of forts either constructed or renovated by ʿAlī I Pasha. These were, to the south the *burdj* of Sīdī b. Ḥasan; to the west the *burdj* of the Rābiṭa and the Flifel *burdj*; and to the north the Ṭaḥūnat al-Rīḥ ("Windmill") *burdj* (al-Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, 346; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *op. cit.*, ii, 144; Filippi, *op. cit.*, 91-2).

To the north of the city, the Bardo had grown in importance. The *beys* of the Ḥusaynid dynasty had added further constructions and had turned it into a small town with its palaces and gardens, within a perimeter wall flanked by round towers at the four corners (al-Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, 227-30; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *loc. cit.*).

After 1830, Tunisia was opened on a broader basis to European influences. On coming to power, successive *beys* undertook to modernise and to reform the country [see TUNISIA. II. (c)]. The Great Powers assisted this process through the participation of their technicians and industrialists. In this new context, Tunis experienced numerous changes.

The major factor here was the development over several decades of the foreign colonies. The Christian population, which since the suppression of piracy had consisted only of free individuals, was swollen by an influx of new arrivals fleeing the poverty of their native lands—Malta, Sicily, Sardinia and southern Italy—in the hope of finding employment and livelihood in the land of the *beys*. Furthermore, by virtue of a codicil dated 2 November 1846 to the Tuniso-Tuscan treaty of 11 October 1822, Jews of Leghorn who had settled in Tunisia in the course of the 19th century, whatever the duration of their residence, retained their original nationality and constituted part of the Italian colony (C. Masi, *La fixation du statut des sujets toscans israélites*... in *Rev. Tunisienne*, [1938], 155-79, 325-42). Thus the European population of Tunis may have approached or even exceeded a total of 15,000 on the eve of the French protectorate.

The development of foreign colonies gave a new impetus to urban activities. French, Italian or other business concerns controlled maritime exchanges: the exporting of grain, oil, wool, skins, wax, and the importing of textiles, metals, wood and colonial products such as sugar, coffee, rice and spices (Ch. Cubisol, *Notices abrégées sur la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1867). Despite competition from imported manufactured goods, the trade guilds of the capital continued to supply traditional commodities to the Tunisian population: hats, fabrics, clothing, footwear, jewellery, etc. But the European influence was responsible for some innovations, such as the creation in 1277/1860 of the first Tunisian printing-press, leading to the publication of an Arabic-language official Tunisian newspaper (A. Demeerseman, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en Tunisie*, in *IBLA*, [1956], 275-312; and see MAṬBAʿA. 1.B.5). European expatriates also created the first modern industries, with machinery powered by steam.

The city, of which the first detailed map was drawn up in 1859 by the French engineer J. Colin, still retained the overall structure which it had had since the late Middle Ages. There were few new buildings in the *Madīna*, besides a few *zāwiyas* of Ṣūfī mystics. Old buildings were assigned to new purposes. The palace which for years had been the seat of the *Dīwān* of the militia, restored by the bey Muḥammad II b. al-Ḥusayn (1855-9), was converted into the Tribunal of the Sharʿ (1856). The Ṣādiḳī College, founded by the minister Khayr al-Dīn in 1875, was installed in the former Ḳashlat al-Zanaydiyya [see ṢĀDIḲIYYA]. The old *māristān* was transferred to the former Ḳashlat al-Bashāmiḳiyya and renamed the Ṣādiḳī Hospital as a mark of respect to the reigning sovereign, Muḥammad III al-Ṣādiḳ. New buildings were more numerous in the suburbs, these being for the most part new *madrasas* and *zāwiyas*. In the suburb of Bāb al-Djazīra, the most important new construction was that of a barracks designed for the beylical infantry, on the site of a former Ḥafṣid *muṣallā*, close to the Square of the Horses, which was completed under the reign of the *bey* Muṣṭafā b. Maḥmūd (1835-37) (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *op. cit.*, iii, 191). His successor, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā (1837-55), had a barracks block built outside the walls, to the north of the city, designed for the beylical artillery (*ibid.*, iv, 30).

The most significant changes took place to the east in the lower city. The continuing development of the foreign colonies took the form of a substantial extension to what was still called the "Frank Quarter". The Europeans had begun by leasing houses owned by Tunisians, then, having acquired the right to obtain real estate, they set about building houses conforming to their needs and their tastes, with windows opening on the street. At the ground floor level of these houses, shops proliferated, catering for all the multifarious needs of the population. Around the small square to which access was by the Gate of the Sea, consulates of the Powers represented in Tunis were concentrated. The *bey* al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd (1824-35) authorised the construction of a church, on the site of the former Trinitarian Hospital, bearing the name of Sainte-Croix. After the first European school founded in 1845 by the Abbé François Bourgade, others were opened by the Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne, for boys (1855), and by the Sœurs de Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition, for girls (1845). In 1843, with the collaboration of the Sœurs de Saint-Joseph, the Abbé François Bourgade founded a hospital bearing the name of Saint-Louis for the benefit of the European population (M. Gandolphe, *La vie à Tunis (1840-1881)*, in Ch.R. Dessort, *Histoire de la ville de Tunis*, Algiers 1926, 157-79). Under the pressure of numbers, the Frank Quarter ultimately exceeded the limits of the *Madīna*, extending towards the east, beyond the Gate of the Sea. The construction in 1861 of a new French consulate to replace the former, situated in the Fondouk des Français, increased the market value of land situated between the city and the shores of the lake, where building activity now accelerated. Shortly afterwards, the ramparts which had enclosed the *Madīna* were demolished. Henceforward, nothing would separate the old Frank quarter from the new buildings constituting the nucleus of the modern city of the future.

Under European influence, and that of the French consul Léon Roches, Tunis became a chartered muni-

cipality, but the city, even in its European sector, continued to suffer numerous deficiencies, such as open sewers and badly-paved streets congested with filth. However, the restoration of the Roman aqueduct from Zaghouan to Carthage, undertaken under the supervision of the French engineer J. Colin and completed in 1862, considerably improved the supply of water to the population. The installation by a British company of a gasworks provided the city with its first public lighting.

To the north-west of the city, the Bardo continued to enjoy the favour of the *beys*, who continually added to the constructions both inside and outside the complex. It was there that, during the reign of Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā, a Polytechnic School was founded for training officers of the Tunisian army, and a mint for the striking of currency. On the coast, to the north, between La Goulette and La Marsa, and to the south between Radès and Hammam-Lif, *beys*, princes, senior officials and dignitaries constructed palaces and homes to serve as their summer residences (Revault, *Palais et résidences d'été de la région de Tunis (XVIe-XIXe siècles)*, Paris 1977). This was the nucleus of what would one day become a suburb of Tunis. In the seventies, a British company undertook the construction of a railway connecting the capital with La Goulette, with La Marsa and with the Bardo, ceding the franchise to an Italian company in 1880, but it was a French company which obtained the franchise for lines linking Tunis with the Algerian frontier and with the cities of the Sahel. Thus on the eve of the French Protectorate, Tunis had two railway stations: an Italian station to the north, and a French station to the south.

The institution of the French protectorate in 1881 marked a turning-point in the history of Tunis. A rapid increase of the European population is then observable. From year to year, successive waves of migrants swelled the membership of the various colonies, and in the city alone, in 1911, there were 17,875 French, 44,237 Italians, 5,986 Maltese and 1,381 Greeks, Spaniards and others, amounting to some 70,000 Europeans. At the same date, the indigenous population, which was yet to be counted, could not have exceeded 85,000: 65,000 Muslims and 20,000 Jews, and the city comprised some 150,000 inhabitants on the eve of the First World War.

The growth of the European population corresponded to the development of all the functions assumed by the capital city. The installation of a modern administration led to an increase in officials and state employees. The effort towards progress was represented by the creation of railways and roads which improved the links between Tunis and the hinterland. A modern port was constructed below the city, connected to La Goulette and the open sea by a canal 10 km/6 miles in length passing through the waters of the lagoon. The port, completed in 1897, became a centre for the exportation of phosphates and of iron and lead ores, as well as the agricultural products of northern Tunisia, while also handling almost all the importation of combustibles, machines and manufactured products. The installation of credit establishments, banks and subsidiaries, aided the development of import-export commerce. Alongside the traditional professional guilds, severely tested by competition from imported manufactured goods, modern industries grew in number, using machinery powered by steam, among which the most prominent were consumer goods (flour-mills, pasta factories, distilleries) and construction materials (brick-works, tile-works, lime production).

The city continued to develop, actually becoming a double city. Alongside the ancient city, which retained the features of an Arab town, a new city came into being having the characteristics of a European city, with its methodical planning, chequered pattern and the straight lines of its arteries. Houses accommodating Europeans grew in number, but there was also an increasing number of Tunisian Jews who abandoned the *ḥāra*, overcrowded and insanitary as it was. From year to year, the number of streets viable for traffic increased. The new city expanded towards the east, where the establishment of the port of Tunis opened up the land in the vicinity of the lake. The city was also extended towards the south and towards the north. Standing out from the whole was the city centre, traversed from west to east by Marine Avenue, where the former French consulate had become the Residence-General of France, with its cathedral, offices, banks, commercial premises, theatre, hotels and cafés. On either side were mixed zones where residential buildings alternated with industrial enterprises, whereas further out, at the borders of the town, were the attractive residences of the ruling class and the villas of the affluent. The extension of the city was accompanied by the construction of a network of subterranean sewers to replace the ancient open drains, the development of a water supply, of gas and of electricity after the construction in 1908 of a power station at La Goulette. One of the most positive achievements was the laying out of the Belvedere Park, covering an area of close on 100 hectares. In the enlarged city, transport was provided by a network of tramways, using animal traction at first before conversion to electric power. Rail links with the northern and southern suburb accelerated the growth of a number of centres revolving in the orbit of Tunis. Finally, the city benefited from a socio-cultural infrastructure comprising schools, colleges, dispensaries, hospitals, and research institutes, facilities designed for the use of Europeans but by no means barred to Tunisians.

During the inter-war period, Tunis experienced new developments. The population of the town increased, as did that of the suburban area. The growth of the Muslim population, Tunisian and non-Tunisian, was still at a meagre rate (1921: 88,800; 1936: 110,000); that of the Tunisian Jewish population was stronger (1921: 22,600; 1936: 32,300) as was that of the European population (1921: 81,400; 1936: 115,600), within which the French had become as numerous as the Italians. During these years, the population of the city increased from 171,600 to 219,500 and that of the suburban area from 21,300 to 38,500. Commercial activities, as evidenced by importing and exporting via the port of Tunis, had been in a state of full expansion in the aftermath of the First World War, but contracted as a result of the worldwide recession, recovering only at the end of the 1930s. Traditional industries experienced increasing stagnation (R. Plissard, *L'artisanat en Tunisie*, Geneva 1936), but within the limits imposed by a system of customs union with France, modern industries made some progress (notable creations include those of a cement works, a lead foundry and a superphosphates factory). The old city constituted by the *Madīna* and the two major suburbs flanking it showed few changes. The first Tunis management plan adopted in the 1930s was at pains to preserve the special characteristics of the Arab town by subjecting new buildings to standards, both in architecture and in decoration (G. Eloy, *La ville de Tunis à l'Exposition coloniale*, Tunis 1931). But the modern city developed more. The city centre was bedecked

by new constructions: public, such as the Municipal Casino or the Consular Palace, or private ones, such business offices, hotels and prestigious buildings. The urban impetus was directed towards the east, the south and the north. State aid to companies building inexpensive homes was reflected in the creation of a group of satellite cities: to the north, Franceville, El-Omrane, Mutuelleville and Beau-Site: to the west, Taoufik and Najah; and to the south, Bellevue and La Cagna. At the same time, building increased in the suburban zone where some centres comprised more than 5,000 inhabitants in 1936: La Goulette, 10,800; La Marsa, 5,600; Hammam-Lif, 6,700; and Ariana, 5,500. New projects helped the improvement of the supply of water with a dam on the Oued Kebir (1924), of urban gas with a new plant at Franceville (1925) and of electricity with a new power-station at La Goulette (1927). A combined concern for sanitation and ornamentation led to the creation on the edge of the lake of a fine esplanade covering twenty hectares, with avenues flanked by trees, lawns and playgrounds. Education was boosted with the construction of schools and of colleges.

During the Second World War, Tunis, occupied by the Axis armies and exposed to Allied aerial bombardment, suffered serious damage. Destruction was inflicted not only on harbour installations, on commercial and civilian railways and factories, but also on numerous residential buildings, whose unfortunate occupants required re-housing. Once hostilities were ended, efforts were directed towards repairing the ruins left behind by the war and responding to the needs of a population which had in the meantime expanded.

In the conurbation of Tunis, from one census to another, an increase in population is noted, of Europeans (1936, 115,600; 1946, 145,000; 1956, 160,500); of Tunisian Jews (1936, 32,300; 1946, 42,400; 1956, 38,900); of non-Tunisian Muslims (1936, 12,800; 1946, 23,200; 1956, 23,200). The growth in the Tunisian Muslim population was on a larger scale, doubling and then trebling over twenty years (1936, 97,300; 1946, 238,100; 1956, 338,400). This accelerated growth is explained by the rupture of demographic equilibrium observed at this time in the country. A reduction in rates of mortality, while the birth-rate remained very high, led to over-population of the countryside, and thousands of indigent families arrived to swell the population of the capital, where they hoped to find work and subsistence. Tunis thus found available to it a work-force surplus to the requirements of reconstructing and modernising the infrastructure. Despite the projects of industrialisation undertaken in the post-war years, many of those who had flocked to the city were unable to gain regular employment and were compelled to engage in marginal activities which barely enabled them to survive. Including all the constitutive elements, the population of the city doubled (1936, 219,500; 1946, 364, 500; 1956, 410,000) and that of the suburban area more than trebled (1936, 38,500; 1946, 85,200; 1956, 151,100). The population of the conurbation had risen to a little over half a million by 1956.

The growth of the urban population led to a new extension of the built-up area; the modern city experienced new developments. There was an increase in density of construction in certain zones where there was still vacant land, and urban pressure was directed towards the north with the founding, beyond the Belvedere, of the new quarter of al-Manza. But the major development was the appearance around the old city of a belt of "shanty-towns" (D̲jabal Laḥmar, Mallāsīn, etc.); these "towns" were composed of improvised constructions, erected without prior authorisation, on land illegally occupied, without any communal facilities, and they were the handiwork of the thousands of rural families who had converged on the capital. Their population, which already stood at more than 50,000 in 1946, had risen to more than 100,000 in 1956. These new suburbs ultimately constituted a third city on the cusp of the old and the modern city. This tripartite division is also found in numerous suburban "parishes" which, sandwiched between old Arab villages and the European quarters, were constituted by shanty-towns of greater or smaller extent. To respond to the needs of an enlarged population, production of gas and of electricity was raised, and the supply of water was improved by the construction of a new dam on the Oued el-Lil. But there was stark contrast between the wealth of a few and the poverty of large strata of the population of Tunis.

Following Tunisia's achievement of independence, in 1956, Tunis has experienced major changes. Decolonisation led to the evacuation of the various European colonies which had accounted for a high proportion of the city's population; French, Italians and other Europeans were induced to leave the country to settle in France or in Italy. In the urban area of Tunis, within a few years they had lost nine-tenths of their strength (1956, 162,700; 1966, 21,600; 1970, 18,800). Tunisian Jews, although the new State proclaimed the equality of all nationals irrespective of religion, were subject to discrimination, in fact if not in law, and they too felt obliged to leave the country to settle in France or in Israel (1956, 38,900; 1966, 13,200; 1970, 6,700). Despite the exodus of the various national or religious minorities, the population of the conurbation increased solely on account of the growth of the Tunisian Muslim population, brought about by a surplus of births in relation to deaths and an influx of elements from the hinterland (1956, 561,100; 1966, 679,600; 1975, 873,500).

The Arabisation of the population was accompanied by that of all the sectors of urban activity, in which Tunisian nationals took the place of those who had left. Within a few years, the capital city was asserting its diverse functions. The new State promoted management, services, bureaucracy, employing greater numbers of officials and agents. Sheltered by customs arrangements which guaranteed them a monopoly over the internal market, manufacturing industries prospered: among others, the textile industry, the plastics industry and mechanical and electrical industries. The development of modern higher education, with faculties of literature, sciences, law, medicine and theology and numerous specialised schools, gave Tunis a cultural function of the first rank.

The city itself has changed. The new administrators were not slow in eliminating statues which were seen as symbols of the colonial order. They also set about "Tunisifying" the urban toponymy, substituting, for the names of Residents-General, of French military achievements, of French provinces and cities, those of Tunisian thinkers, leaders of the nationalist movement or heroes of the Third World. These superficial changes were accompanied by more profound ones. The exodus of the minorities was followed by a redistribution of the Muslim population within the urban area. All the families having the means had abandoned the "Arab" city to settle in the "European" city, renting apartments in the centre or buying villas and detached houses in the periphery. The new municipal administration was at pains to remodel the colonial

city in the interests of sanitation, air quality and improving the circulation between all its constitutive elements. The walls of the second perimeter which still enclosed the old city were dismantled, the ancient *Kaṣba*, occupied under the Protectorate by the French army, was destroyed, insalubrious quarters were demolished; the cemeteries, long disused, were landscaped and converted into public gardens or recreation grounds. At one time there were plans to run a thoroughfare through the *Madīna*, from west to east, but fortunately this project, which would have done irreparable damage to the historical nucleus of the city, was not pursued. In spite of the exodus of the minorities whose accommodation could now be occupied by nationals, it was necessary to build thousands of new residential units to respond to the demands of a population which was growing incessantly. Although the central authorities undertook the creation of "people's cities" to re-house the population of the shanty-towns, it was private enterprise, supported by credit arrangements, which succeeded in constructing tens of thousands of individual houses or apartments in communal buildings. Within a few years, the built-up area increased by several hundreds of hectares, with extension of the city towards the south, the west and the north. Development of the al-Manza quarter, inaugurated in the last years of the Protectorate, had been such that it had been necessary to give numerical order to its successive extensions, straddling the neighbourhoods of Tunis and of Ariana. The twelve suburban neighbourhoods, the population of which had doubled (1956, 151,100; 1975, 323,100), saw their built-up area increasing at a higher rate than that of the city. At the same time that it was being extended, the city was covered with a new generation of constructions, some public (administrative buildings, hospitals and educational establisbments), others private (banks, company offices and tourist hotels), all of them drawing inspiration from the models and canons of international modern architecture. It is only in the affluent villas of the new bourgeoisie that traditional Islamic architecture is to be found, with its cupolas, horse-shoe arches and frameworks of sculpted stone.

The whole constituted by the city and its suburbs, Greater Tunis, has surpassed the figure of one million inhabitants (1984, 1,082,000, comprising 596,000 for the city and 486,000 for the suburbs; 1994, 1,259,000, comprising 674,000 for the city and 585,000 for the suburbs). The recent development of the capital of the Tunisian Republic reflects the transformation of the former European city. Constructions of the colonial period have been replaced by taller buildings, including skyscrapers. The city centre has been continually absorbing neighbouring zones and is now extending over land reclaimed from the lake, the shores of which are being pushed forward.

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(P. SEBAG)

AL-TŪNISĪ, MAḤMŪD BAYRAM (4 March 1893-5 January 1961), poet known for his corpus of Arabic strophic vernacular poetry (*zadjal* [*q.v.*]), prose satirist, song composer, playwright and writer of radio and film scripts. Bayram is remembered for bringing *zadjal* to a level of modern artistry that earned colloquial Arabic poetry new respect among the literati and prepared the way for the rise of a new colloquial poetry in the 1950s and 1960s.

Born in Alexandria to a family of third-generation Tunisian immigrant silk weavers, young Maḥmūd Bayram turned a failing career as a grocer into an informal education by reading the contents of his wrapping paper (finding, notably, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*). Attending lectures at the nearby mosque and frequenting literary cafes, he began to write poetry. Publishing his early (1916-18) narrative poems of social criticism (in standard literary Arabic) in the Alexandrian daily *al-Ahālī*, he became an instant local hero with "al-Madjlis al-baladī" (25 March 1917) which satirically laid bare the interests of the élite group at the centre of city politics. Already showing a populist stance that supported the emergence of a secular nationalism but criticised its leadership for self-interestedly ignoring the needs of most Egyptians, Bayram turned to colloquial poetry as the nationalist confrontation with Britain came to a head in 1919. His denunciations apparently drew the ire of the Palace, and this, plus his founding (without a license) of two popular-satirical organs for his anti-government writings earned him banishment by France (as a Tunisian under the Capitulations, he was a "protected subject" of France) as a political troublemaker on 21 October 1919. After a brief spell in Tunisia, he was expelled to France where he became one of thousands of itinerant North African labourers, working in construction, silk manufacturing, and iron smelting, according to essays which he sent to the weekly Cairene newspaper *al-Shabāb* beginning in 1921. Until 1925 he filled this newspaper with *zadjals*, satirical *maḳāmāt*, and the extended colloquial prose dialogues popular in their book form as *Muntakhabāt al-Shabāb. I. is-Sayyid w'imrātuh fī Bārīs* (Cairo, 1923) and *Muntakhabāt al-Shabāb. III. is-Sayyid w'imrātuh fī Maṣr* (Cairo 1925). These and a collection of poetry (*Muntakhabāt al-Shabāb. II*, Cairo 1923) were his first published volumes. In his poetry of this period, Bayram transformed familiar genres of Egyptian oral expressive culture such as the *mawwāl* and *sīra shaʿbiyya* [*q.vv.*] into vehicles of social criticism and political criticism.

Moving around France, he continued into the 1930s to write for Egyptian publications and tried his hand at writing plays. Around New Year, 1933, he moved to Tunis, where he challenged the dominance of an ensconced cultural élite; he and others of the *taḥt al-sūr* group founded popular oppositional periodicals closed successively by the authorities. Bayram's Tunisian colloquial poetry and prose demonstrate his linguistic versatility and his intimacy with the local political scene, and the local authorities acknowledged the power of his pen by banishing him on 17 April 1937. Sent to Damascus by way of Beirut, Bayram continued his efforts to return to Egypt while writing for local newspapers and composing song lyrics, poetry, and plays for Egyptian consumption. He reached Port Saʿīd in early April 1938, as a fugitive, whose presence

was officially ignored by the Egyptian government. (He would receive citizenship only in 1954.)

The last two decades of his life finally brought Bayram a measure of financial and social stability, as he wrote regularly for a succession of major newspapers and became a sought-after contributor to newer media. He wrote lyrics for Umm Kulthūm and other leading singers, and produced the popular "Ramaḍān riddles", while his versions of popular oral epics (notably, *al-Ẓāhir Baybars*) held Egypt's expanding radio audience to their sets. He earned a State Prize for Literature in 1960.

His *Dīwān* was published in two parts (Cairo, 1943, 1948) during his lifetime, the only version of his pre-1940s works to emerge under his own supervision. Volumes of his *Complete works* continue to appear from the General Egyptian Book Organisation (*al-Aʿmāl al-kāmila li-Bayram al-Tūnisī*, Cairo 1975-), although these are not critical editions that take into account discrepancies between first and later serial publication of his texts. Many partial collections of his poetry and *maḳāmāt* have appeared, as have numerous biographies and memoires written or edited by his friends, and also some of his later audiovisual media scripts. His writings in Tunis are collected in Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Djābirī, *Maḥmūd Bayram al-Tūnisī fi 'l-manfā. Ḥayātuh wa-āthāruh*, 2 vols. Beirut 1987.

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(MARILYN BOOTH)

AL-TŪNISĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR b. Sulaymān, Tunisian author of the 19th century (1204-74/1789-1857).

He stemmed from a family of scholars in Tūnis, his grandfather having been a manuscript copyist who had gone on the Pilgrimage to Mecca and had then settled at Sennar [see SINNĀR] in the Sūdān, thus establishing a family connection between that region, Cairo (where Muḥammad's father became *naḳīb al-riwāḳ*, i.e. superintendent of the Maghribī students at al-Azhar) and Tūnis.

Muḥammad was born in Tūnis in 1204/1789, and after studying at al-Azhar, made his way to the Sūdān, where his father ʿUmar had been at the court of the local ruler of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad, and spent seven and a half years there. He then moved to the adjacent region of Wadāī [*q.v.*], and the court of its sultan, Sābūn, at Wāra, spending a year and a half there before returning to Tūnis, after a ten years' absence, via Tibesti, Fezzān [*q.vv.*] and Tripoli, arriving home *ca.* 1228/1813.

He subsequently moved to Cairo and entered the service of the governor Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], serving as a preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) with an infantry regiment of Ibrāhīm Pasha's army in the Morea during the Greek Revolt. He then became a translator of European medical works at the veterinary college established by the ruler at Abū Zaʿbal to the north-east of Cairo, and there met the French scholar Dr. Perron, after 1839 Director of the Ḳaṣr al-ʿAyn medical school, where Muḥammad al-Tūnisī then became chief reviser of translations. Alfred von Kremer, who first came to Egypt in 1850, commends him warmly as one of his teachers in Arabic, and states that he was also engaged in the editing and publication of various classical Arabic texts, such as the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī and the *Mustaṭraf* of al-Ibshīhī. He also undertook revision of the Calcutta text of 1230/1817 of the *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī, then printed at Būlāḳ in 1274/1857. In his later years he lectured on *ḥadīth* at the Zaynab mosque, dying at Cairo in 1274/1857, according to von Kremer.

At Perron's instigation, al-Tūnisī's experiences in the Sūdān and his observations on the land, its people and customs, were written down in Arabic in two comprehensive works, which Perron then translated into French:

1. *Voyage au Darfour par le Cheikh Mohammed Ebn Omar el-Tounsy . . . traduit de l'Arabe . . .*, Paris 1845, with its Preface by Jomard published separately as *Observations sur le Voyage au Darfour, suivies d'un vocabulaire de la langue des habitants et de remarques sur le Nil-Blanc supérieur*, Paris 1845. Cf. the detailed review of Perron's work by Sédillot, in *JA*, sér. 4, vol. vii (1846), 522-43. The Arabic text was published by Perron in his autograph as *Tashḥīdh al-adhhān bi-sīrat bilād al-ʿArab wa 'l-Sūdān*.

2. *Voyage au Ouadây, par le Cheikh Mohammed Ebn Omar el-Tounsy, traduit de l'Arabe*, Paris 1851, again with a long Preface by Jomard. The Arabic text, which Perron intended to publish, never appeared, and has since disappeared.

Al-Tūnisī also translated/wrote two works on botany and medicine, see Brockelmann, S II, 749.

Muḥammad al-Tūnisī was the first to give us full and reliable information about important parts of the eastern Sūdān. On Dār Fūr, we had before his time only the scanty notes of the explorer W.G. Browne and on Wadāī a little information gleaned by Burckhardt. It was not until several decades later that H. Barth and G. Nachtigal were able to visit these lands and describe them in more detail in their books. There is no reason to doubt al-Tūnisī's reliability; Perron checked his statements with the help of a number of people from Dār Fūr and Wadāī settled in Cairo and obtained complete confirmation of them. It cannot, however, be denied that there were certain defects in the Shaykh's description. A certain lack of order in the arrangement of the material, the lack of any approach to a regular system, a fondness for digression and a disposition to believe much too readily statements about the popular Islam of the country (e.g. especially about magic) are not as serious defects as the fact that he gave no exact geographical, topographical, statistical and meteorological data (cf. thereon the criticisms by Barth, in *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Centralafrika*, iii, Berlin 1859, 525 ff., and Nachtigal, in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteil.*, xxi [1875], 176, and in *Sahara und Sudan*, Leipzig 1889, iii, p. viii). Nevertheless, al-Tūnisī's two works form an important source for the ethnographical, cultural, and political conditions in the lands of the eastern Sūdān through which he travelled. In conclusion, it should be emphasised that the Shaykh's two books supplement one another; the much larger work on Wadāī also contains a good deal of information about Dār Fūr.

Bibliography: The main source for Muḥammad al-Tūnisī and his family is his own two travel books, esp. his autobiography in ch. 1 of his *Voyage au Darfour*, 1-25. See also Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, i, 408; von Kremer, *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1863, ii, 324; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*, n.p. 1683; Brockelmann, II², 643,

S II, 748-9; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, in *Bull. Fac. of Arts, Cairo Univ.*, ii (1944), 179-221; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifīn*, xi, 82-3; Ziriklī, *A'lām*², vii, 209.

(M. STRECK*)

AL-TŪNISĪ, SHAYKH ZAYN AL-'ĀBIDĪN, Tunisian scholar (*fl.* in the first half of the 19th century) who travelled in the Sūdān and wrote on Dār Fūr and Wadāī [*q.vv.*].

He was an Azharī by training who in 1818 or 1819 set out for the Sūdān and spent some ten years there. From Sennar [see SINNĀR] and Kordofān [*q.v.*] he went to Dār Fūr and Wadāī, returning eventually via Fezzān to Tūnis. He recorded his experiences and observations there in an Arabic work of modest length which was translated into Turkish and thence into German by G. Rosen as *Das Buch des Sudan oder Reisen des Scheich Zain el-Âbidîn in Nigritien*, Leipzig 1847 (cf. *ZDMG*, ii [1848], 482).

The importance of his book lies in the description of the state of civilisation and organisation of society in Dār Fūr and Wadāī. We are told of the court life, of the soldiers, a campaign, the natives, slaves and negroes, of trade, superstitions, a wedding, etc. These interesting notes are an important supplement to the far fuller description of Muḥammad al-Tūnisī [*q.v.*]. Noteworthy is an account of excavations made by Zayn al-'Ābidīn with the permission of the sultan of Wadāī in ruins near the capital (47-9, 61-75). Zayn al-'Ābidīn left Wadāī just as a change on the throne took place; the name 'Abd al-'Aẓīm given in Rosen's translation for the new ruler (108) should be emended to 'Abd al-'Azīz (cf. G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, Leipzig 1889, iii, 284, where an 'Abd al-'Azīz, grandson of Sābūn, ruler of Dār Fūr, is mentioned).

Bibliography: See that to AL-TŪNISĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. 'UMAR.

(M. STRECK*)

TUNISIA, a region of the northeastern part of the Maghrib. In mediaeval Islamic times it comprised essentially the province of Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*]. Under the Ottomans, the Regency of Tunis was formed in the late 10th/16th century, continuing under local Beys with substantial independence from Istanbul until the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1881, which in turn gave way in 1957 to the present fully independent Tunisian Republic.

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I. GEOGRAPHY, DEMOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY.

(a) Geography.

Tunisia, situated between 6° and 9° degrees of longitude east, and between 32° and 37° degrees of latitude north, has an area of 162,155 km². Bordered by Algeria (Department of Constantine) the full length of its western frontier, it is bounded to the south by the Sahara and, in the far south-east, by Libya (Tripolitania). The Mediterranean washes its northern and eastern coasts, which are low-lying for the most part. The climate is generally moderately hot, but levels of precipitation vary considerably according to the region and even from year to year; in a country sandwiched between the sea and the Sahara, variations in latitude, and to an even greater extent in altitude, are a determinant factor in the fluctuations of rainfall. The relief is in fact very varied, although average altitudes are relatively low; the chains of mountains, continuation and conclusion of those of Algeria, impose a general south-west/north-east orientation.

To the north-west, towards Algeria, the mountains of Khroumiria [see KHUMAYR] and the Mogods, limestone and sandstone, rarely exceed 1,000 m/3,280 feet in altitude; subject to heavy rainfall, covered with oaks or with scrub, they contain zinc and iron mines (Douaria). They follow the coast where they blend, beyond the little port of Tabarka [see TABARḲA] into the dunes of the Nefza, Cap Nègre and the little peninsula of Cap Serrat. To the east, they fall away gradually towards the hills surrounding the alluvial plains of Bizerta and of Mateur, both well irrigated and sustaining abundant corn-crops. The lake of Bizerta, connected to the sea via a channel, constitutes an ideal deep water roadstead *vis-à-vis* the nearby island of Sicily. Further to the east, the Ra's Sīdī 'Alī al-Makkī, above Porto Farina (*Ghār al-milḥ*), is the northern limit of the Gulf of Tunis, which is silted up by the alluvial deposits of the Medjerda and Wadi Miliane. The peninsula of Carthage, formerly an island, is joined to the continent by an isthmus which separates the Sebkha el-Riana from the lake of Tunis; the lake, below which is situated the capital, Tunis [see TŪNIS], is connected to the sea via the channel of La Goulette (*Ḥalḳ al-Wād*).

The Medjerda, which traverses northern Tunisia from west to east, is Tunisia's only genuine river; while the water level is low in the summer, from November to April the river is in flood, deep and muddy. Its lower course (Medjez el-Bāb, Tebourba) is separated by the gorges of Testour from its middle course, where it drains the broad alluvial basin of the Dakhla (region of Souk el-Arba and of Souk el-Khemis), as rich in cereals and pasturage as the nearby limestone hills of Beja. Its valley is bounded to the north by the calcareous mountains of Bejaoua and of Teboursouk, while to the south the very uneven relief of central and western Tunisia features alternation of calcareous outcrops and great plains, a continuation of the Saharan Atlas of Algeria. Tributaries of the Medjerda (Wadi Mellegue, W. Tessa, W. Siliana) and W. Miliane (plains of the Fahs and of Mornag), discharge directly or indirectly into the Gulf of Tunis.

To the south of the Haut-Tell is situated the most striking mountainous feature: the "Tunisian Dorsal" extends from the outskirts of Tebessa [*q.v.*] to Dj. Zaghouan (1,293 m/4,240 feet, 45 km/27 miles from Tunis) and as far as Dj. Reças and Bou-Kornine; it includes the highest summits: Chambi (1.544 m/5,064 feet) and Semama in the Byzacène range, the massif of Mactar, the Serdj, the Bargou, the Fkorine in the Zeugitane range. But it permits relatively easy communication with the south, via numerous cols or passes, in particular the major Ksour-Sbiba corridor; however, the watercourses which flow along the southern versant, such as Wadis Merguellil, Zeroud, El Hatob (which irrigates the plain of Gamouda), subject to a very irregular, even intermittent, climatic régime, tend to lose such water as they contain in the salt basins known as Sebkhas [see SABKHA]: S. Kelbia and S. Sidi El-Hani for example, in the plain of Kairouan, where the steppe-land begins. Its only urban areas besides Kairouan [see AL-ḲAYRAWĀN] are situated at the outlets

to the passes of the Dorsal: Sbeitla, Kasserine and Feriana. But, still more desert-like towards the south on account of increasingly meagre rainfall, it comes to an end, after Gafsa [see ḲAFSA] and the rich phosphate deposits of Metlaoui and Redeyef, in the depression of the Chotts [see SHAṬṬ] (Ch. El-Gharsa at -25 m/-82 feet, Ch. El-Djerid, Ch. El-Fedjedj enclosed by the Dj. Cherb and the Dj. Tebaga), at the oases of the Djerid (Tozeur, Nefta), a rich date-producing area, and at those of Nefzaoua (Kebili, Douz), where the Sahara begins. Further to the south-east, the limestone Dj. Dahar (400/600 m/1,300 to 1,970 feet), with the massif of Matmata [see MAṬMĀṬA], is just the eastern rim of a vast Saharan basin.

(R. BRUNSCHWIG)

(b) Demography and economy.

Tunisia is the smallest of the states of the Maghrib. In terms of population (8,785,700 inhabitants according to the census of 1994; see further below), it is ranked third among the countries of the region, after Algeria and Morocco but before Libya and Mauritania. A land of plains, hills and mountains, Tunisia is nevertheless the least mountainous state of the Maghrib. It is also less well endowed than Algeria with reserves of oil and natural gas, and much poorer than Morocco in terms of fluvial hydraulic resources.

But in other respects Tunisia enjoys numerous advantages, in particular its openness towards the Mediterranean world and Europe and its rate of literacy which is the highest in the Maghrib, more than 90% in the towns and more than 70% in the countryside. Investment in education has facilitated the formation of a substantial élite of cadres in all areas; some have gone in search of employment to the countries of the Gulf, or have settled in Europe or North America, as employment opportunities for intellectuals have become perceptibly fewer over recent years.

Furthermore, unlike Algeria and Morocco, and on account of its much less uneven and less mountainous terrain, Tunisia experienced waves of foreign penetration by the Phoenicians and then the Romans, followed by total Islamisation and Arabisation. This occupation by Mediterranean civilisations is also related to the importance of Tunisia's maritime frontages, especially that which extends from Bizerta to Djerba. This accounts for the fact that the eastern frontage is more densely populated than all the rest of the country, even though it is less humid than north-western Tunisia, or than the Haut-Tell.

Estimated at 1,200,000 inhabitants in 1881, with an average density of 7.3 per square km, the population of Tunisia has increased sevenfold, reaching a figure of 8,785,700 in 1994 with an average density of 53.6 inhabitants to the km^2. Annual growth in population, which reached 2.6% in 1966, has been reduced as a result of family planning policy, and was calculated at 1.7% in 1994.

The distribution of the population is very uneven: densities are higher in the more humid north than in the central steppes or in the Sahara to the south. But the more rapid development of the eastern littoral regions, in all respects, is responsible for the increase in population density there, and for the evolution of the country's major cities: the urban population represented 61% of the total population in 1994. The densely populated eastern littoral has reached an average of 90 inhabitants to the km^2, and comprises most of the country's towns, including the largest: Tunis, Sfax, Bizerte-Menzel-Bourguiba, Sousse, Gabès, etc. The Tunisian interior, much less urbanised, less populated and more rural, with densities varying between 30 and 60 inhabitants to the km^2, was formerly a land of semi-nomadic tribes; completely sedentarised today, it has become an agricultural region where orchards and market gardens predominate. Saharan Tunisia, formerly a region of nomadism and transhumance, is likewise currently fully sedentarised, deriving income primarily from oasis agriculture centred on the date-palm; from mining, especially of phosphates; and from the development of tourism. At the apex of the urban pyramid stands Tunis, the capital, with more than three times the population of the country's second city, Sfax [see SAFĀḲUS].

On account of demographic growth and meagre progress in agricultural productivity, Tunisia, once dubbed the "granary of Rome" is now permanently deficient in cereals, meat and dairy products. Commodities such as olive oil, dates and citrus fruits are in surplus, but even the production of these is subject to major fluctuations on account of variations in rainfall. The exportable surplus of citrus fruits is in decline (which is not the case in Morocco, for example), on account of urban and touristic development at the expense of orchards, the insufficiency of underground reserves of water and the lack of adequate dams. Levels of livestock do not cover the country's needs, and Tunisia imports dairy and meat derivatives on a regular basis. Fishing, concentrated on the eastern littoral, and especially at Sfax, in the Gulf of Gabès and in the Sahel, having reached and exceeded 100,000 tonnes in the mid-1980s, has declined and is in a state of continuing stagnation, having fallen to a figure of 84,000 tonnes in 1993. This decline is due in particular to over-exploitation of marine resources and to chemical pollution, resulting from the discharge of industrial waste and sewage into the sea. In all, agricultural exports represent no more than two-thirds of the level of food imports. Furthermore, despite the inadequacy of food production, what is being seen is a constant decline of the rural population which accounted for 70% of the total population in 1936, but only 39% according to the 1994 census.

Industry remains weak, despite recent progress, and remains concentrated in the urban centres of the eastern littoral, in particular at Tunis, at Bizerta-Menzel-Bourguiba, in the cities of the Sahel, Sfax and Gabès, etc., as well as in some less-centralised locations in the interior such as Beja, Kasserine and Kairouan.

The industrial base is feeble and inadequate; mineral resources are certainly diversified, but are limited, and in decline where metallic minerals are concerned. Only the phosphates of the Gabès region are in relatively abundant supply, but this industry is suffering as a result of stagnation of the international trade in phosphates: production has declined from 6 million tonnes in the mid-1980s to 4.3 millions today. Tunisia is attempting to compensate for this stagnation by developing sub-contracting industries such as textiles and leather, but even in this field competition is intense.

The development of the tourism sector, since the early 1960s, has afforded a partial compensation for industrial stagnation. Tunisian tourism is almost entirely resort-centred and is concentrated on the littoral from Cap-Bon to Nabeul-Hammamet, in the Sahel of Sousse and of Monastir, at Djerba and in the oases. The sector has experienced uninterrupted development: in 1994 the 152,933 tourist beds were split between 53,000 in the Sahel of Sousse and of Monastir, 40,000 in the region of Nabeul-Hammamet, 30,000 to 32,000 in the south-east, at Djerba and at Zarzis, 60,000 in the oases of the south-west, plus some 6,000 beds in the north, especially at Tabarka and Bizerte. Tourism

has led to the proliferation of airports in the vicinity of tourist centres, including Tabarka; but while the airports of Tunis, of Monastir and of Djerba are very profitable, the same does not apply to Tabarka, which does business only in the summer season.

Economic development and mobility of population have led to increased dynamism in the movement of merchandise and of people. It is a fact that railways have experienced little expansion since Independence and remain virtually dormant, with the exception of the Sfax-Gafsa-Gabès commercial routes, but the network of tarred roads has been substantially developed and links all regions of the country: a single dual-carriageway autoroute has been constructed from Tunis to Msaken, a distance of some 150 km/93 miles, the Tunis-Bizerta autoroute project is in the planning stage and there is talk of extending the north-south highway from Msaken to Sfax, although this is unlikely to be seen in the near future.

All in all, Tunisia has experienced major changes since Independence. Education has become universally available both in towns and in the countryside, for boys and girls alike (see VI. below); and a network of roads has made the majority of areas accessible. Industry, tourism and various services have experienced significant development almost everywhere. Although this development has not yet succeeded in erasing regional or social disparities, there can be no doubting the fact that Tunisia is a country on the move.

Bibliography: For older bibl. see *EI*[1] art. s.v., and also Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Tunisia*, London 1945; Guides Bleus, *Tunisie*, Paris. More recent works include P. Birot and J. Dresch, *La Méditerranée et le Moyen-Orient. I. La Méditerranée occidentale*, Paris 1953; J. Despois, *La Tunisie, les régions*, Paris 1961; idem and R. Raynal, *Géographie de l'Afrique du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1967; A. Kassab and H. Sethom, *Géographie de la Tunisie: le pays et les hommes*, Tunis 1980; eidem, *Les régions géographiques de la Tunisie*, Tunis 1981; Sethom, *Pouvoir urbain et paysannerie en Tunisie*, Tunis 1993.

(Hafedh Sethom)

II. History.

(a) The pre-Islamic period.

The Berbers and Carthage. Tunisia was a gateway to the Maghrib for peoples of the Mediterranean coastlands, and in the early historical period was populated by nomadic and sedentary Berbers tribally organised. Its coastlands early attracted Phoenician voyagers, lured by possibilities of commerce with the West, and these founded ports and trading posts. It seems that they established themselves on the site of Utica towards the end of the first millennium; then, in 814 B.C. according to the Greek tradition, Carthage was founded by men from Tyre. Recent archaeological investigations have, however, tended to reduce the gap between this early date and that of the oldest remains so far found (see M. Vegas, *op. cit.* in Bibl., 213-14).

In the 6th century B.C. Carthage controlled the sea routes and dominated the Western Mediterranean. Before annexing southern Spain, its empire stretched as far as Sardinia and Corsica, the Balearic Islands, Malta and western Sicily, where there was incessant warfare in the 5th and 4th centuries with the Greek colonies of eastern Sicily. In the Maghrib, Punic colonies dotted the length of the coast, and around Carthage, its aristocracy held estates in the hinterland as far as Cape Bon and the Tunisian Sahel. It was control of the Mediterranean which was the pivot of the Punic-Roman warfare and which made the name of Hannibal famous. Abandoning Sicily in 264 B.C., the Carthaginians fell back in three phases, ending with the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. Yet despite the transformation of Carthaginian territory in northeastern Tunisia into a Roman province, for a century, Rome showed hardly any real interest in the Maghrib.

The Roman province. The fall of Carthage did not affect the advance of civilisation and there spread a mixture of cultures, beliefs, technical and artistic trends of Semitic, Egyptian, Greek and Hellenistic origin. A good number of towns continued to be administered by Suffetes and the Roman population there continued to worship Baʿal Hammon and Tanith, although the first deity was assimilated to Saturn and the second to Juno. The language of culture, Punic, co-existed with the Libyan vernacular of the province as also in the Numidian kingdom of Massinissa and Micipsa, dominant there and in southern Tunisia in the 2nd century B.C.; the two languages persisted in the countryside till the end of Roman domination, and a number of techniques inherited from the Punic period, notably in architecture, remained long after the Muslim conquest.

In 46 B.C. Julius Caesar inaugurated a new policy, annexing the Numidian kingdom and creating a Roman colony at Carthage. This soon became the capital of the Roman province of Africa, the richest and most important of the provinces of the Maghrib. Once colonies were founded, from the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., Roman municipal institutions were conferred upon the indigenous towns, favouring, with the spread of education, the integration of peoples. This century also saw a great economic advance, as in the production of ceramics and in agriculture, so that the province for long supplied Rome with part of its corn and exported olive oil in quantity. Social mobility allowed the descendants of decurions, notables of varying degrees of richness on whom the prosperity of the towns depended, to rise into the nobility; as knights, they took part in the Empire's administration and as senators, they sat in the Senate at Rome and attained the highest civil and military positions. Finally, urbanisation grew considerably, as the ruins of innumerable towns attest, many of Punic or Numidian origin and with names hardly changed much today, e.g. Carthage, Dougga, Bulla Regia, Mactor and Sbeitla. Towards the end of the century, the rise of the African dynasty of the Severi (193-235) marked the province's apogee.

It probably felt the effects of the great crisis of the Roman world (235-85), but was spared in large measure the troubles and problems of the Later Empire. The restoration of monuments and the manufacture in large quantities of mosaics which adorned the houses of the rich in the 4th century show that the province still retained a great deal of its economic prosperity. At the same time, the spread of Christianity and the richness of Christian literature in Latin showed both the power of the Church and the vitality of Romano-African culture, one to which the personality and work of St. Augustine gave a last brilliant flame. There were, however, some religious problems, notably that of the Donatist schism, and the western part of the province, especially, was affected by social troubles.

The period from Rome to the appearance of Islam. In 429 the Vandals pushed ahead of the other Germanic peoples who overran the eastern parts of the Roman Empire, establishing themselves in Spain and then embarking for Africa under their king Genseric, who was both vigorous and intelligent. They finally settled in the eastern part of the Maghrib, annexed the islands

and dominated the Western Mediterranean. The cultural contribution of the Vandals was very modest, but archaeology does not confirm the bad reputation of their name, since neither the commerce nor the agricultural prosperity of the province showed any obvious decline. The unwise actions, incompetence and anti-Catholic excesses of Genseric's successors contributed, together with successive waves of attack by nomadic and mountain-dwelling Berbers of the south and west of the province, to the fall of the Vandal kingdom.

An expedition launched in 533 allowed the Emperor Justinian, considering himself as the heir of Rome, to "reconquer" Africa. The Byzantines endeavoured to restore the administrative structure and to reinvigorate the economy, but the permanent menace of the Berber tribes forced them to adopt a defensive military policy and construct numerous fortresses which commanded possible invasion routes. The burden of taxation, numerous administrative or military failures and official corruption, provoking tensions and outbreaks, prepared the way for the ruin of the province, helped on by the Arab invasion of 647, although it was not until 698 that the incomers took control of Carthage.

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(b) The Islamic period up to *ca.* 1500.

In early Islamic times, the land known only since the post-Regency period as Tunisia was known as Ifrīḳiya; see therefore IFRĪḲIYA on the origin of the term and the geographical extent of the region in early Islamic times.

As a part of Africa with an advanced civilisation, the presence of man is attested there from very early times, with various names in historic times for the inhabitants: Lebu and *Libyes* or *Barbaroi* for the Greeks, whence the name Berbers, and *Mauri* and *Numidii* for the Romans; the Berbers themselves called themselves *Imazighen* (sing. *Amazigh*) "proud ones" or "proud ones of the West". The Arabs retained the term Barbar and called the whole of North Africa the *Bilād al-Maghrib* [see AL-MAGHRIB]. Three Arab texts on the Berbers have recently been edited, a compendium (*madjmūʿ*) comprising, in chronological order, the *K. Shawāhid al-djilla wa 'l-aʿyān fī mashāhid al-islām wa 'l-buldān* by Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1149), the *K. al-Ansāb* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm (8th/14th century) and the anonymous *K. Mafākhir al-Barbar* (probably 8th/14th century) (ed. Muḥ. Yaʿlā, Madrid 1996). The work of M. Shatzmiller [see MAFĀKHIR AL-BARBAR] seems to close a long-standing controversy over the identity of the work's author. The conquering Arabs also found Rūm, i.e. Byzantine Greeks and Hellenised elements, and Afāriḳa, romanised Berbers and Jews, who had possibly made their way westwards after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 73.

The Arab invasions

At the moment when the Arabs appeared, Ifrīḳiya was one of the last Byzantine provinces, and the most western one, to fall into Arab hands. The new invaders arrived, however, by the land route linking Egypt with North Africa; they had the same way of life as the Berbers, and unlike the preceding rulers, the Byzantines, first installed themselves in the interior of Tunisia, whilst the coastlands remained still in Byzantine hands.

The conquest of Ifrīḳiya was slow and full of turns of fortune and reverses. The Arabs were far from their home bases, and the caliph ʿUmar is reported to have been reluctant to embark on the campaign, the dangers of this distance being expressed in the phrase *Ifrīḳiya tufarriḳ*, whilst a spurious *ḥadīth* said that "the Berbers have taken nine-tenths of humanity's stock of anger" (cf. Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, iv, 61, after al-Maḳdisī and Ibn al-Faḳīh). Whereas the campaigns in the Near East had been completed in a dozen or so years, the pacification of North Africa took 50 years to accomplish. ʿUthmān took up the attack again, and entrusted ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Abī Sarḥ [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAʿD] with the task, who won a great victory over the Patricius Gregory at Ṣubayṭila (Sufetula) in 28/647; the latter was killed, and the Arabs exacted a tribute of 300 gold talents. But this was a hollow victory, given the tenacity of Berber resistance; the Arabs led further expeditions, but always withdrew afterward to Tripolitania.

In 45/665 Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudaydj left Egypt with a force of 20,000 men and joined up with the troops in Tripolitania under ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], but despite successful raids on Hadrumeta (Sousse), Hippo Dyarrithus (Bizerta) and Djarba, the Arabs did not remain. In 50/670 another expedition by ʿUḳba ended with the foundation of al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*], the first point of anchorage in a hostile environment. In 62/681 ʿUḳba returned to the West, and reportedly reached the distant ocean, but on his return was attacked and killed at Tahuda near Biskra by Kusayla [*q.v.*] or Kasīla, chief of the Awrāba of the Barānis [*q.v.*] confederation. Kusayla held firm for several years, but was finally killed by an army under Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī in 67/686. The Berbers submitted, but by no means finally.

Resistance was now taken up by a woman, Dahiya or Dihya, etc., called in the Arabic sources the Kāhina [*q.v.*] or "priestess", from the tribe of Djarāwa, a tribe of the Berber Zanāta related to the Butr confederation in the eastern Aurès. This heroine's identity has been much discussed: pagan, according to Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Jewish, according to H.Z. Hirschberg, *A history of the Jews of North Africa*, i, Leiden 1974, and P. Sebag, *Histoire des juifs d'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1991; or Christian, as M. Talbi tends to believe, a Romanised Berber, see his *EI*[2] art. and *Un nouveau fragment de l'histoire de l'Occident musulman (62-196/682-812), l'épopée d'al-Kāhina*, in *CT*, lxxiii [1971], 19-52. She would accordingly have been Christian rather than Jewish, even though her tribe may well have been Judaised, as Ibn Khaldūn affirms, and converted to Christianity, a reflection of the racial and religious diversity of North Africa. This is how Abdelmajid Hannoum has set forth his theory in *Historiography, mythology and memory in modern North Africa*, in *SI*, lxxxv [1997], 85-131 and *Myth and mythmaking in French historiography of North Africa*, in *Hespéris-Thamuda* (1996). He concludes that we have here a myth regarding North African origins which has played an important role in building up Maghribī nationalism.

The crises in the East of the caliphate delayed the Arab reaction, but Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], after some checks, finally expelled the Byzantines in 79/698

and defeated the Kāhina. The question of the revolts of the Berber tribes has evoked the question whether it is possible to group them according to their modes of life, attempted by R.W. Bulliett in his *Botr et Barānes: hypothèses sur l'histoire des Berbères*, in *Annales ESC*, xxxvi/1 [1981], 104-16, suggesting that the Butr were camel nomads and the Barānis sedentary mountain people, a brilliant reconstruction which brings out the relationship between their appellations—relating to their clothing—their technological level and their religious tendencies.

After the Kāhina's defeat, the Berbers themselves went on to participate in the conquest of the rest of the Maghrib and then of Spain. Though master of Carthage, Ḥassān preferred to lay out a *miṣr*, a military encampment-town, at Tūnis [*q.v.*], a small, nearby Numidian town, more sheltered by the sea; but for the moment, this was overshadowed by Ḳayrawān, the uncontested capital of the new province of the Arab empire.

Ifrīḳiya in the age of the Arab governors

Governors were sent out from the Umayyad capital of Damascus and then by the ʿAbbāsids from ʿIrāḳ, with 22 of these in almost a century (84-184/705-800). One of these, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], was to complete the overrunning of the Maghrib, whilst his lieutenant Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] began the conquest of Spain. See on the period in general, Hichem Djaït, in *Hist. de la Tunisie*, ii, *Le Moyen-Age*, Tunis 1960, 11-97, repr. in *La wilāya d'Ifrīḳiya au IIe/VIIIe siècle*, in *SI*, xxvii [1967], 77-121, xxviii, 11-97, and idem, *L'Afrique arabe au VIIIe siècle*, in *Annales ESC*, xxviii [May-June 1973], 600-11.

Amongst the many studies on the Arabisation and Islamisation of Ifrīḳiya and the rest of the Maghrib, see the older article by W. Marçais, *Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée?*, in *AIEO Alger*, iv [1938], 1-22, and more recently, M. Brett, *The spread of Islam in Egypt and North Africa*, in idem (ed.), *Northern Africa, Islam and modernization*, London 1973, and Bulliett, *Conversion to Islam in the medieval period, an essay in quantitative history*, Cambridge, Mass. 1979.

As for Ḳayrawān, this needs to be placed in a wider context, as the fourth garrison city founded, after Baṣra, Kūfa and Fusṭāṭ in the East, on the model of the Prophet's installation at Medina, so that it became, like them, a *dār al-hid̲j̲ra*, in which Muslims could follow, in complete security, the precepts of the faith. Firstly, the site of the mosque and the *dār al-imāra* were chosen, and then lots of land, *k̲h̲iṭaṭ*, distributed to the various tribes making up the army. These provisional arrangements of the *miṣr* developed into a genuine city, and the difficulties encountered and endured explain why it soon became considered as the fourth holiest city of Islam after Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. According to the chroniclers, a high number of famous Successors settled there, which increased its prestige and aura of sanctity. The Umayyad governors had difficulty establishing their authority over the province, but an administration on the model of Damascus gradually evolved and links with the capital of the empire were kept up through the forwarding of part of the land tax and of slaves, much appreciated in the East.

This first phase of Ifrīḳiyan history lasted for almost a century, punctuated by politico-religious outbreaks and struggles, especially as the Berbers became partisans of K̲h̲āridjism, which entered the province from Tripolitania and the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa, with outbreaks between 123/740 and 155/771. These egalitarian rigorists, expelled from Ḳayrawān, founded dissident states in the central and farther Mag̲h̲rib. See especially, on K̲h̲āridjism as it developed on the isle of D̲j̲arba [*q.v.*] and the southern zone of the Mag̲h̲rib, AL-IBĀḌIYYA and ṢUFRIYYA. 2.

The Ag̲h̲labid amīrate

One of the last governors sent out from the East, al-Ag̲h̲lab b. Sālim al-Tamīmī, was at the origin of the first autonomous dynasty in Ifrīḳiya, that of his son Ibrāhīm, appointed governor by Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd in 184/800. His family benefited from their distance from the capital Bag̲h̲dād, as had the lines of the Fihrids, and especially the Muhallabids, before them.

The Ag̲h̲labid principality flourished. The *amīrs* were great builders, and Ḳayrawān became one of the most brilliant centres of the Muslim West. The Great Mosque of ʿUḳba was enlarged and surrounded by ramparts, whilst its water supply, in basins, excited the admiration of the geographers and of travellers. The ʿIrāḳī model was followed in other places. Ibrāhīm I founded al-ʿAbbāsiyya, recalling his allegiance to the caliphs, 3 km/2 miles from Ḳayrawān, on the model of al-ʿAskar, the royal residence near Fusṭāṭ in Egypt (133/750), whilst the second Ag̲h̲labid capital founded at al-Raḳḳāda [*q.v.*] in 263/876 echoed the Ṭūlūnid one of al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ in Egypt. Caliphal institutions were copied—a vizier, *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲āb*, *ʿummāl*, *kuttāb*, often Christians, formed the administration and collected revenues. The *amīr* had a personal guard of black slaves, analogous to the caliph's Turks. A mixed society grew up in the towns, comprising Berbers, the *Rūm*, the *Afāriḳa*, Arabs from Syria and ʿIrāḳ, Persians from K̲h̲urāsān, etc., whilst Jews and Christians continued to form part of this society (cf. J. Cuoq, *L'église d'Afrique du nord des origines au XIIe siècle*, Paris 1974).

The Ag̲h̲labids attracted scholars and literary men to their court and founded a *bayt al-ḥikma* on the Bag̲h̲dād model. Physicians from the East founded a local school of medicine in Ḳayrawān. Mālikism became the dominant legal school there, with such leaders as Asad b. al-Furāt (d. 214/829) and Saḥnūn (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]). The latter's *Mudawwana* became "the Vulgate of North African Mālikism"; cf. MĀLIKIYYA and Saʿd Ghrab, *Ibn ʿArafa et le malikisme en Afrique du nord*, 2 vols. Tunis 1992-6.

The Ag̲h̲labid *amīrs* were equally active outside their capitals, and towns like Tunis, Sousse, Monastir and Sfax benefited from their works. Thus the great mosque of Tunis was enlarged, the ramparts strengthened and palaces built *extra muros* to the north and west of the town. The coastal defences were strengthened by the building of *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*], the best preserved today being those of Monastir and Sousse. Assured of their hold on the country, the *amīrs* undertook the conquest of Sicily from 212/827 onwards [see ṢIḲILLIYA] and Sardinia [see SARDĀNIYA], secured a foothold on the coast of southern Italy and even raided Rome in 232/846. Ifrīḳiya was thus prosperous during their century's rule, but it could not stand aside from the Sunnī-S̲h̲īʿī struggles of the ensuing period [see further, AG̲H̲LABIDS].

The Fāṭimid caliphate

The *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sanʿānī won over the Kutāma [*q.v.*] Berbers of Kabylia to the cause of his master, the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh, who claimed to be a descendant of the seventh S̲h̲īʿī Imām Ismāʿīl. In 297/909 the Mahdī seized Ḳayrawān and expelled the last Ag̲h̲labid Ziyādat Allāh III, whose reputation had already been sullied through his cruelties. ʿUbayd Allāh, now styled *amīr al-muʾminīn*, henceforth controlled the central and eastern Mag̲h̲rib and, especially, the trans-Saharan routes which conveyed gold from the West African sources, thus being able to build up a

powerful army and navy. Two years after his appearance in Ifrīḳiya, ʿUbayd Allāh founded a maritime capital, al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], as a base for his intended Mediterranean policy, and during his 24-year reign carried on warfare against the Byzantines and the two caliphates of Cordova and Baghdād. A fine palace, a *sūḳ* and an arsenal were built within the ramparts, and the court of al-Mahdiyya attracted scholars, physicians, poets and littérateurs.

But Shīʿī proselytising activities provoked a resurgence of North African Khāridjism, with various revolts, the gravest of which was that of Abū Yazīd "the man on the donkey", a native of the Djarīd and representative of the Nukkāriyya [see AL-NUKKĀR] sect amongst the Zanāta Berbers, which affected the region between the Aurès and Ḳayrawān in 323-34/934-45. With peace restored, Ismāʿīl al Manṣūr returned to Ḳayrawān and founded nearby his new residence of Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya [*q.v.*] in 337/948, which assumed the role of capital, previously supplanted by al-Mahdiyya.

Still aiming at the conquest of the East, al-Muʿizz made his power felt throughout the Mediterranean. An army from Ifrīḳiya conquered as far west as Fās, and in 359/969 his freedman Djawhar [*q.v.*] seized Egypt and founded al-Ḳāhira [*q.v.*] to the north of Fusṭāṭ. Al-Muʿizz left Ifrīḳiya and entrusted its government to his lieutenant Buluggīn b. Zīrī. See further, FĀṬIMIDS.

The Zīrids

For the first time since the Arab conquest, Ifrīḳiya was now governed by Berbers, the Zīrids being Ṣanhādja [*q.v.*] Berbers from the central Maghrib who had helped crush the revolt of Abū Yazīd. For some time they resided in their own centre of Ashīr [*q.v.*], then left for Ḳayrawān and then al-Mahdiyya. The land had revived after the Khāridjite revolts, and Ḳayrawān functioned once more as the intellectual and economic capital of the province. But Zīrid power was weakened by military operations required against the pro-Umayyad Zanāta and the pro-Fāṭimid Kutāma, and their cousins of the Banū Ḥammād [see ḤAMMĀDIDS] created their own principality in eastern Algeria, with its own capital of Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād [*q.v.*]. Mālikī pressure from within Ḳayrawān led the Zīrid *amīr* al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs *ca.* 442/1050 to break with Cairo and renew allegiance to Baghdād at a moment when Shīʿism in the East was being rolled back by the Saldjūḳs. The Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] reacted by unleashing Arab tribesmen against the Maghrib, led by the Banū Hilāl. See further, ZĪRIDS.

The Banū Hilāl: history and epic

These were Arab nomads who had long before left their native Arabian peninsula and settled in Upper Egypt. They were allegedly, so the sources say, incited by a Fāṭimid vizier to migrate to the North Africa of the rebellious al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs. It does seem to have marked an increase in nomadism in the Maghrib and a setback to urban life (cf. the reflections of Cl. Cahen on the phenomenon of nomadism).

After its sacking by the Hilāl, Ḳayrawān lost its former role permanently, and the countryside saw an increase in pastoralisation; our accounts of the catastrophic effects here are, however, all from city-dwelling chroniclers, hostile *ipso facto* to Bedouin and nomads. What does seem certain is that the land of Tunisia now became deeply Arabised and thus achieved an ethnic and cultural coherence. Popular memory retained the story of the invasions and made out of them a tribal epic, with very long poems on the migration to the West, the love of Djāziya, the roles of Abū Zayd al-Hilālī and Dhiʾāb, etc. (see HILĀL. part 2, and add to the *Bibl.* there, ʿAmr Abu ʾl-Naṣr, *Taghrībat Banī Hilāl wa-rāḥilihim ilā Bilād al-Maghrib*, Beirut n.d.; M. Galley and Abd al-Rahman Ayoub, *Histoire des Beni Hilāl*, Paris 1983; L. Saada, *La geste hilalienne*, Paris 1985).

The whole question has aroused strong controversy. What J. Berque has called "the received historical view" of the damaging effects of the Hilālian devastations was given by W. Marçais, H. Terrasse and H.R. Idris. More recently, others have expressed a more nuanced view: J. Poncet and Cl. Cahen, *Quelques mots sur les Hilaliens et le nomadism*, in *JESHO*, xi [1968], 130-3; Berque, *De nouveau sur les Béni Hilāl?*, in *SI*, xxxvi [1972], 99-111, repr. as *Les Hilaliens au Maghreb*, in *De l'Euphrate à l'Atlas*, i, 55-88; M. Brett, *The military interest of the battle of Ḥaydarān*, in V. Parry and M.E. Yapp (eds.), *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, London 1975, 78-88; idem, *The Flood of the Dam and the Sons of the New Moon*, in *Mélanges offerts à Mohamed Talbi*, in *CT* [1993], 55-67; R. Daghfous, *De l'origine des Banū Hilāl et des Banū Sulaym*, in *CT* [1975], 41-68; idem, *Contribution à l'étude des conditions de l'immigration des tribus arabes (Hilāl et Sulaym) en Ifrīqiya*, in *CT* [1977], 23-50; idem, *Maʿrakat Ḥaydarān wa ʾl-ṣirāʿ al-Zīrī al-Hilālī*, in *CT*, clxix-clxx [1995], 11-26.

The towns which resisted, like Tunis, Sfax, Tozeur, Gabès and Tripoli, sought protection from Arab or Berber tribal chiefs. These petty city-states were governed by autonomous lines like the Banu ʾl-Ward at Bizerta, the Banu ʾl-Rand at Ḳafsa, the Banū Malīl at Safāḳus and the Banu ʾl-Djāmiʿ at Ḳābis. Mahdiyya remained in Zīrid hands until the middle of the 6th/12th century. In particular, Tunis enjoyed a certain security for a century under the rule of the Banū Khurāsān [*q.v.*]; the town was defended, the suburbs developed and the Jews were able to install themselves *intra muros*. The *amīrs* built a palace and a mosque to the southwest of the Zaytūna (see A. Daoulatli, *Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*, Tunis 1966), thus moving the town's centre of gravity and preparing it for becoming the third capital of Ifrīḳiya.

During this 5th/11th century, pressure on Tunisia appeared with the advent of the dynamic and dangerous element of the Normans in the Western Mediterranean, only just installed in southern Italy and Sicily but soon attacking the coasts of Ifrīḳiya, at al-Mahdiyya, the Kerkenna Islands [*q.v.*] and at Djarba. These were the prelude to several centuries of attacks, later by Angevins, Catalans and then by Spaniards and corsairs, whilst on the more peaceful level, Italian, Frankish and Catalan merchants traded at the Maghribī ports and negotiated commercial treaties. As part of a reaction within North Africa, whereas the Fāṭimids and Zīrids had tried to unify North Africa from Ifrīḳiya, new Berber dynasties like the Almoravids and Almohads appeared from southern Morocco and moved eastwards in attempts to unite the Maghrib and al-Andalus. The Almohads combatted the Banū Hilāl and proclaimed holy war against the Normans, who had taken advantage of the disorders to seize al-Mahdiyya, Safāḳus and Djarba. The Almohads nominated a governor for Tunis, chosen as capital of the province, whilst they themselves were besieging Marrakesh.

The Ḥafṣids

ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ, from the Moroccan tribe of the Hintāta [*q.v.*], was a great *shaykh* of the Almohads who was given the governorship of Ifrīḳiya in 603/1206-7, at a time which was troubled by the pretensions of the rulers of Majorca and those of Ḳarāḳūsh [*q.v.*], the lieutenant of the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ

al-Dīn. The distance of the Almohad rulers allowed the governor Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥafṣ to break with them in 627/1229 and affirm his autonomy, giving birth to a new dynasty which was to reign there for over three centuries. Abū Zakariyyā' simply styled himself *amīr*, but his son Abū 'Abd Allāh called himself *amīr al-mu'minīn* and in 650/1253 assumed the caliphal *laḳab* of al-Mustanṣir. This line of development was, however, stifled by the rise and the success of the Mamlūks in Egypt, with the installation of an 'Abbāsid caliph in Cairo.

After the French king Louis IX (St. Louis) had been checked in Egypt, he turned his attention more westwards, and had the idea of seizing Ifrīḳiya as a preliminary to marching against Egypt by land, impelled thus by his brother Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, who wished to revive the former Norman ambitions in North Africa; but St. Louis died at Tunis in August 1270 and was buried on the hill at Carthage. The danger was over, for this was the last attempt at a crusade in the West.

In the mid-8th/14th century, the new power in Morocco of the Marīnids [*q.v.*] seriously threatened Tunis and the Ḥafṣids, with the capital Tunis twice occupied temporarily, in 748-50/1348-50 and in 758/1357. The Ḥafṣids nevertheless survived, and in the next century enjoyed a renaissance under rulers like Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz (796-837/1394-1434) and his son 'Uthmān al-Manṣūr (839-93/1435-88). Tunis was now the intellectual and economic capital of the province, and a period of fine building and development ensued. The palace of the Ḳaṣaba, with its mosque, became the new centre of the city. The Zaytūna was enlarged, a new basin for ablutions, the *mīḍa'at al-sulṭān*, was built, and the Roman aqueduct restored. The population increase was signalled by the need to construct a second city wall comprehending the new suburbs. New religious buildings—mosques for newly-laid out quarters, *madrasas* and *zāwiyas*—were constructed, with an artistic style reflecting the double influence of the East and of al-Andalus. See further, ḤAFṢIDS.

The skies were, however, clouding for the Ḥafṣids as Europe was taking the decisive steps towards modernity, with the "crusade for Africa" menacing the coasts of Ifrīḳiya after the reconquest of Granada in 898/1492, whilst in the east, the power of the Ottomans was rising. Spaniards and Turks were henceforth to dispute control of the Mediterranean. The corsairs who had occupied Algiers since 922/1516 seized Tunis in 941/1534 and expelled the Ḥafṣid sultan. Charles V's armies occupied Tunis in 942/1535 and restored him. A fortress was built at La Goulette to defend the port entrance. The corsairs called in Ottoman help, and took definitive control of Tunis in 982/1574, thus closing the classical period of the history of Ifrīḳiya and heralding the period of the Regency.

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al-Furāt, Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, Ibn Djazzār and al-Ḳābisī (cf. H.R. Idris, *Deux juristes kairouanais de l'époque zīride: Ibn Abī Zaid et al-Qābisi*, in *AIEO*, xii [1954], 173-98). Maghribī scholars produced *fahāris* or *barāmidj*, the equivalents of the *mashyakhas* of the East, in which the names of their masters are noted, as with the *Fihrist* of al-Raṣṣā', Tunis 197?. For collections of *fatwās* and *nawāzil*, see the works of Burzulī and Wansharīsī mentioned in NĀZILA, and also Māzarī, *al-Mu'lim bi-fawā'id Muslim*, Tunis 1988; Maghīlī, *al-Durra al-maknūna fī nawāzil Mazzūna*, still in ms. but studied by Berque, *En lisant les nawāzil Mazzūna*, in *SI*, xxxii [1970], 31-9; H. Touati, *En relisant les nawāzil Mazouna, marabouts et chorfas au Maghreb central au XVe siècle*, in *SI*, lxxvii [1993], 75-94); other ms. works exist by Ibn Shabbāt and Ibn al-Rāmī. The formularies of notaries are valuable for the light which they throw on private life: Ibn Munāṣif, *Tanbīh al-ḥukkām fī 'l-aḥkām*, Tunis 1977; al-Ḳāḍī 'Iyāḍ and his son Muḥammad, *Madhāhib al-ḥukkām fī nawāzil al-aḥkām*, Beirut 1990; Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī', *Mu'īn al-ḥukkām 'ala l-ḳaḍāyā wa 'l-aḥkām*, Beirut 1989. Hispano-Maghribī *ḥisba* treatises include Ibn 'Umar, *Aḥkām al-sūḳ*, Tunis 1975; see also Abū 'Ubayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl*, Beirut 1988.

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(MOUNIRA CHAPOUTOT-REMADI and RADHI DAGHFOUS)

(c) The period from *ca.* 1500 to 1881.

What might be called "the modern period"—a European historical concept, but nevertheless pertinent here—in Tunisian history, began in Ifrīḳiya around the opening of the 16th century, with a severe crisis, involving the break-up of the old-established Ḥafṣid state, the collapse of urban and sedentary societies and the recovered autonomy of the tribes (cf. Leo Africanus, tr. Epaulard, ii, 374-94). The deeply-troubled land now became a military and political vacuum attracting the great powers of the Mediterranean basin, the Spaniards and the Ottomans. The struggle between these latter two powers lasted some forty years, ending with the Ottoman victory of 1574, supported by the majority of the local inhabitants, or, at least, of the town-dwellers (see Ibn Abī Dīnār, *al-Mūnis fī akhbār Ifrīkiya wa-Tūnis*, Tunis 1967, 160-3).

Tunis now became an Ottoman province, like Algiers and Tripoli, with the sultan represented there by a *pasha* or governor, a handful of secretaries, a *ḳāḍī efendi* at the head of the judicio-legal institution, and above all, a militia of 3,000 Janissaries and a *dīwān* closely connected with this militia and forming the governor's council. It was a régime of military occupation which, in fact, intervened little in the daily lives of the people, except for questions connected with the maintenance of public order, obedience to the new masters and taxation, apart from these leaving the subjects alone with their traditional institutions, religious or customary, which the régime was content to control or at least utilise to its own profit. Although the hand of the régime was light, it nevertheless had significant consequences for the land: it made it into an entity distinct from its neighbours, the future framework for the state and then the nation of Tunisia, and it introduced there a certain "modernity". This last took the form of a more modern type of army; a central, paper-shuffling bureaucracy, however rudimentary; and relations with lands across the seas—the Ottoman empire, from which the régime

derived its legitimacy, its Janissaries and secretaries and which offered an immense unified commercial market, and Christian Europe, from which came manpower, such as slaves, who might become powerful *mamlūks*, adventurers and merchants, bringing goods and precious currency, acquired from around 1580 onwards by privateering [see KURṢĀN. i.] and then, from the 17th century onwards, by trade. With this process taking place, there took shape within Tunisia a kind of split between a Mediterranean outlook, marked by links with the outside world and the means for dominating the rest of the land, and a hinterland, devoted to traditionalism and stagnation.

Towards the end of the 16th century, the government of the province (*iyāla*) evolved into what was in effect a régime autonomous of Istanbul, paralysed by a prolonged crisis: the Turks, permanently installed in Tunis, seized power by means of the junior officers of the militia, the *deys*, who surrounded and invested the *dīwān* in 1591 (R. Mantran, *L'evolution des relations entre la Tunisie et l'empire ottoman du XVIe au XIXe siècle*, in *CT*, xxvi-xxvii [1959], 319-33). The province took on thereafter, in European eyes, its "barbaresque" denomination and permanent characteristics: privateering activity (with its golden age in the first half of the 17th century); the enslavement of Christians (a real phenomenon, although widely exaggerated); and an internal "tyranny", which, as well as being something rather strange and barbarous, was valid for the whole of the Maghrib (L. Valensi, *Le Maghreb avant la prise d'Alger*, Paris 1969, 15-17, 94-112). In practice, the internal situation, political and social, continued to evolve. One of the Deys, ʿUthmān, "seized complete control of decision-making" (*infarada bi 'l-kalima*) in 1595 or 1598 and set up a kind of principate which, whilst perpetuating the Turkish and military dominance and whilst benefiting from the proceeds of corsair activity (at this time at its apogee), did not hesitate to rein in the excesses of the soldiery and encouraged the peaceful activities of the local people and of emigrants coming in from outside. Thus the Moriscos [*q.v.*], expelled from Spain in 1609, now came to play an important role in the increase in artisanal and agricultural activity characterising this period (see J.D. Latham, *Towards a study of Andalusian immigration in Tunisian history*, in *CT*, xix-xx [1957], 203-52); the Jews of Leghorn were natural intermediaries between the two shores of the Mediterranean; and finally, European merchants were installed at Tunis under the terms of treaties imposed, but in part warmly welcomed by one element of the ruling class, including the Dey (see P. Sebag, *Tunis au XVIIe siècle. Une cité barbaresque au temps de la course*, Paris 1989, 173; T. Bashrūsh, *Djumhūriyyat al-dāyāt fī Tūnis 1591-1675*, Tunis 1992, 63, 78, 107; J.M. Abun-Nasr, *The beylicate in seventeenth-century Tunisia*, in *IJMES*, vi [1975], 70-7).

This régime of the preponderance of the Deys, efficacious in Tunis and other places where there was a Turkish presence, progressively gave way to the predominance of the Murādī Beys from the middle of the 17th century onwards. These descendants of Murād, who had originally been a *mamlūk* of Corsican origin, were, as beys, commanders of the fiscal military organisation (*maḥalla* [*q.v.*]), and they now succeeded in breaking the resistance of the warrior tribes (Awlād Saʿīd, Awlād Shannūf, etc.) and in extending, within certain limits, the control of Tunis over the country's interior after some fifteen years of fighting (from 1628 onwards). They could thus now draw fresh resources from it and form new means of support, largely indigenous, thus enabling them to counterbalance the "Turkish" military institution and that of its representative, the Dey. Furthermore, responding to the demands of the local milieu, they re-established links with the earlier Ḥafṣid monarchical traditions. They founded a hereditary dynasty, and organised a royal court at Bardo, outside Tunis and away from the Janissary barracks; there at Bardo they brought together their military and civil "household", with their clients and their apologists and propagandists (see Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 229-42). They did not, however, renounce at this time their "Turkish" or Ottoman allegiance, since they continued to depend on the services of the Janissaries and on privateering. But, thanks to local support, they managed to bend the Deys to their own authority and to frustrate by force the several attempts to restore the latter's power (in 1673, 1685-6 and 1694-5, on this latter occasion with the support of the Dey of Algiers to the "Turks" of Tunis). In regard to the latter, the Murādī Beys would figure as "Arab princes", unfaithful to their Ottoman suzerain (Plantet, *op. cit.*, 416-30); thus the Dey of Algiers would intervene at Tunis with the aim of putting an end—without, however, great success—to an evolution which could have been contagious, as much as by a desire for plunder. For other reasons, the Murādī line disappeared in 1702, the victim of a concatenation of internecine conflicts and the excesses of its last Beys, in addition to the discreet intervention of the Ottoman Porte. A Turkish officer who came back from Istanbul overthrew the Bey and then eliminated the rest of his family. He tried to restore the Turkish preponderance, but without success; at the first reverse which he suffered at the hands of the forces of Algiers, in July 1705, his attempt to turn back the clock collapsed leaving no trace, a sign of the irreversibility of the land's political evolution in the course of the 17th century.

It fell to his successor adeptly to take advantage of the "monarchical" experience begun by the Murādīs. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (I), a *kulughlī* [see KUL-OGHLU] and leading member of the ruling class, appointed to the functions of Bey by the authorities and notables of Tunis, succeeded in repelling the invaders from Algiers (October 1705) and in rapidly eliminating rivals. He utilised at one and the same time support from the Janissaries, the *mamlūks*, and above all, the forces of the local notables of the land (caïds-*lazzām*, the *shaykh*s of local communities, local military groups, religious leaders, etc.). He concentrated all power into his own hands, whilst maintaining the old institutions (the Dey, the *dīwān* and the council), which willingly submitted to his will rather than to the inevitable Ottoman allegiance. In order to increase the resources at his disposal, he encouraged local production and commerce, but intervened in economic affairs to ill effect. He had recourse to the *mushtarā* (gathering together cereals at a low price and re-selling them to the benefit of Christian merchants) and developed tax-farming (*lizma*) at all levels, measures which were consonant with the growth of European commerce (M.-H. Chérif, *Pouvoir et société dans la Tunisie de Ḥusayn bin ʿAlī, 1705-1740*, Tunis 1984, i, 119-50, 184-9, 195-204). For various reasons, internal as much as external, the land suffered a long series of troubles between 1728 and 1762: civil war between the supporters of the Bey and those of his nephew ʿAlī (1728-9, and then 1735-40), the despotism of ʿAlī Bāshā (1740-56), and invasions from Algiers supporting one side or the other (1735, 1756, on the last occasion involving the sack of the capital, with distressing excesses which the population were slow to forget) (Plantet, *op. cit.*, ii, 500-5).

When peace returned in 1762, the Ḥusaynid régime benefited from more than half a century of stability and consolidation, internal as well as external, in the reigns of ʿAlī Bāy (1759-82) and Ḥammūda Bās̲h̲ā (1782-1814). These successful policies were explicable by the closer alliance of the dynasty with local notables (not, however, excluding allegiance to the Ottomans and the ruling classes' connection with the "Turks") and by skilful exploitation of favourable internal circumstances (*ca.* 1760-75) and external ones (the wars of the French Revolutionary period and the Empire). The increase of European commerce in Tunis during the second half of the 18th century likewise benefited from this atmosphere, securing profit for the persons involved, the state and its associates and clients (Abun-Nasr, *The Tunisian state in the eighteenth century*, in *ROMM*, xxxiii [1982], 33-61; D. Panzac, *La Régence de Tunis et la mer à l'époque de Hammouda Pacha Bey (1782-1814)*, in *CT*, clxv [1993], 65-84).

Society in Tunis, for its part, belonged undoubtedly to the late Arab-Islamic civilisation, marked by its conservatism, even devotion to the past, on the material, social and mental levels, and characterised by unchanging techniques, the segmentation into patrilineal families, in separate communities (as well as the age-old rivalry between towns and countryside), submission to "patriarchal" authority (in the sense used by Hisham Sharabi, *Le néo-patriarchat*, Fr. tr. Paris 1996), etc. The "Tunisian" land was, moreover, distinguished by a massive presence of tribes in the countryside and by a relatively homogeneous culture, overwhelmingly Arab and Mālikī Sunnī. In modern times, rural society did not change appreciably (Valensi, *Fellahs tunisiens, l'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes aux 18ᵉ et 19ᵉ siècles*, Paris-The Hague 1977, 365-8) except for interventions by the beylicate, which had several consequences. It broke the power of the great tribes; consolidated the position of a class of notables (e.g. caïds, *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s and marabouts with a wide following), which became its clients; and it favoured an economy of money circulation through its direct or indirect functions and its initiatives (*mus̲h̲tarā*, the farming out of its dues, creation of souks, etc.). Yet all things considered, this "progress" was limited because of numerous blocking factors, technological, demographic, mental and political. It is more on the level of the towns that one should seek change as a result of borrowings from the Andalusī immigrants, the Ottomans and others, which were felt in the spheres of food, habits, music and architecture, at least in Tunis itself, from the 17th century onwards. European influences on society showed themselves somewhat later, in the 19th century, but in a deeper and more lasting manner. The body of *ʿulamāʾ* expanded progressively from this century onwards and became hierarchically differentiated. As a result, they functioned as allies of the central power which gave them a privileged position, but they maintained a certain distance, especially in cases of conflict between Muslims (e.g. the war with Tripoli 1793-4; cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān bi-ak̲h̲bār mulūk Tūnis wa-ʿahd al-amān*, Tunis 1964, iii, 23-4) or when reforms inspired by modernism were in the air, *ca.* 1860 (A. Ben Achour, *Catégories de la société tunisoise dans la deuxième moitié du XIXᵉ siècle*, Tunis 1989, 443-4). The new ideas flourished more amongst the local scholars connected with the *Mak̲h̲zan* or with the lands outside; this was the case with the apologia for "progress" and an opening-up for commerce presented by the minister-secretary Ḥammūda Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz *ca.* 1775 (Chérif, *Ḥammūda Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wa-afkāruhu "al-takaddumiyya"*, in *Rev. Hist. Maghreb.*, lvii-lviii [1990], 211-19), or further, with the modern notion of the fatherland [see WAṬANIYYA] set forth by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf and his imitators in the 19th century (see A. Demeersman, *Formulation de l'idée de patrie en Tunisie (1837-1872)*, in *IBLA*, cxiii [1966], 35-71, cxiv-cxv [1967], 109-42; A. Abdesselem, *Les historiens tunisiens des XVIIᵉ, XVIIIᵉ et XIXᵉ siècles, essai d'histoire culturelle*, Paris 1973, 122-3). Artisans and traders who were in contact with the outside world, the great caïds-*lazzām* and the exporters of the products of the land, were, in their fashion, the vehicles for modernity, despite a traditional way of life and culture. The trade of manufacturing *s̲h̲ās̲h̲iyya*s or chéchias, headgear introduced first by Morisco refugees and then taken up by indigenous craftsmen [see LIBĀS. i and ii, Glossaries], is an example of an activity of a capitalist type, in the sense of the term for that time (Valensi, *Islam et capitalisme: production et commerce des chéchias en Tunisie et en France aux 18ᵉ et 19ᵉ siècles*, in *Rev. Hist. Moderne Contemporaine*, xvii [1969], 376-400). At the beginning of the 19th century, a certain Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Yūnis al-D̲j̲irbī handled business on a Mediterranean scale (Panzac, *op. cit.*, 80), and *ca.* 1840-50, the trading and other activities of one Ben ʿAyyād brought to mind, through his ways of conduct and his mentality, the entrepreneurs and captains of industry of overseas lands (L.C. Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey 1837-1855*, Princeton 1974, 342-3). But in the end, this was only an aborted "bourgeoisie", because of the traditionalism with which it was imbued, its non-evolving, imported techniques, the patrimonialism of the state and, finally, because of its dependence *vis-à-vis* the European capitalism with which it had to operate, in particular after 1815.

The 19th century was the age of European expansion, which became irresistible in all spheres and which provoked in Tunisia an upsetting of the earlier political and social state of balance, as elsewhere outside Western Europe. The expedition of 1815-16 of Lord Exmouth proclaimed to the Mag̲h̲rib the new relationship involving force, and it brought about, more than the ending of corsair activity (by now moribund anyway), a liberty of commerce on the best possible conditions. The Bey of Tunis bowed to the exigencies coming now from Europe, on this occasion and on otbers, but soon found himself in a state of financial difficulty, whose burden he now placed on the shoulders of his subjects, whence the discontents of these latter, headed by the notables, and revolts (Chérif, *Expansion européenne et difficultés tunisiennes, 1815-1830*, in *Annales ESC* [May-June 1970, no. 3], 714-45). In 1830, the French installed themselves in Algiers, and in 1835 the Ottomans at Tripoli. In Tunis, Aḥmad (I) Bey (1837-55), faced with such threats, had recourse to an audacious policy of reforms. Out of this came a further step towards the feeling of the régime's Tunisian national identity (although it never ceased to proclaim its faithfulness to the Ottomans); the consolidation, in a certain sense, of the structures of state; the appearance of a core of men at court won over to the idea of reform; but also, the abortiveness of several ill-framed measures, unsurmountable financial problems, and sources of abuses and discontent (Brown, *op. cit.*, 348-56; Kh. Chater, *Dépendance et mutations précoloniales. La Régence de Tunis de 1815 à 1851*, Tunis 1984, 560-83).

Under Aḥmad's successors, reforms were accelerated under pressure from European consuls but also in response to a group of Tunisian reformers grouped round the person of K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]: in particular, the grant of guarantees to the subjects in 1857

and a constitution in 1861. At the same time, extensive public works—of doubtful utility—were begun, juicy contracts were concluded with unscrupulous intermediaries, and finally, heavy outside loans were obtained on catastrophic conditions (extravagant commissions obtained over wine-bibbing, even downright fraud). The Bey was driven to raise taxes to intolerable levels, provoking a near-general revolt in 1864, that of ʿAlī b. Ghidhāhum [see IBN GHIDHĀHUM, in Suppl.], followed by merciless repression which left the land in ruins and permanently irreconciled. At the end of this infernal cycle, aggravated by the natural calamities of 1867-8, the beylicate announced its bankruptcy. An international financial commission was then in 1869 charged with overseeing the country's revenues in order to secure repayment of the debt (J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959, 177-402). The defeat of France, the main pressuriser of the Tunisian government, in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, gave Tunisia a momentary breathing-space, used by Khayr al-Dīn, now prime minister, to put affairs in order and to apply realistic reforms. But in 1877 he fell from power, and the descent to the abyss was resumed to France's profit, who succeeded in setting aside its rival Italy and in installing itself comfortably in Tunis under the Treaty of Protectorate imposed on the Bey on 12 May 1881. This was the logical outcome of a relationship based on force unfavourable for Tunisia for decades, but it was also the launching-pad for the new policy of colonial expansionism.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also H. Cambon, *Histoire de la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1948; B. Tlili, *Les rapports culturels et idéologiques entre l'Orient et l'Occident en Tunisie au XIXe siècle, 1830-1880*, Tunis 1974; and for a list of the Ḥusaynid Beys and a brief sketch of their history, C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties, a chronological and genealogical manual*, Edinburgh 1996, 55-6 no. 22.

(MOHAMED-HÉDI CHÉRIF)

(d) The period of the Protectorate and the establishment of independent Tunisia.

This period involved struggles for the achievement of national identity and then of national independence, led first by the reformist movement on the eve of the Protectorate and then by the nationalist movement during the Protectorate.

The situation before the imposition of the Protectorate

European penetration of Tunisia had begun in the mid-19th century as the balance of forces between East and West increasingly tipped in favour of the latter, favoured by the almost universal decadence of the Regency, permitting first commercial and financial penetration and then political and military by the outside forces. Commercial penetration was seen in the unequal treaties imposed on Tunisia by Britain in 1863 and 1875 and by Italy in 1868. By the terms of these, the Tunisian government could not forbid or limit the import of British and Italian goods, which were only to pay an 8% entry tax and be free of all internal dues to which the indigenous Tunisian products were subject. France profited equally from these arrangements by virtue of her most-favoured-nation status. There was also a financial penetration, aided by the policies of the Tunisian government in the 1860s of borrowing from the European powers. Once the Bey became unable to keep up interest payments, France, Britain and Italy intervened to place the country's finances under their tutelage and to protect their interests, so that under their pressure, the Bey Muḥammad (III) al-Ṣādiḳ (1859-82) set up in 1869 the *Commission financière internationale*, made up of Tunisians and foreigners, which acted until 1884 as in effect the real ministry of finance in Tunis.

This financial and economic control limited considerably Tunisian sovereignty in these spheres, and increased in the 1870s. Western Europe entered a period of economic depression in the period 1873-96, involving a shrinkage of the European internal market, resulting therefore in the piling-up of industrial products and capital. In order to find outlets and fields for investment outside Europe, France embarked on a policy of colonial expansion which was to lead, in Tunisia, to its occupation and the establishment of the Protectorate.

The Protectorate

Hence on 24 April 1881 a French army of 35,000 men invaded the Regency of Tunis from Algeria. At the same time, the Naval Division of the Levant sailed from Toulon, and on 1 May the Brigades of Mourant and Bréart landed at Bizerta. On 8 May General Bréart marched on Tunis and on the 12th appeared at the beylical palace of Bardo with a contingent of troops. The Bey bowed to *force majeure* and signed the Treaty of Bardo establishing French hegemony in Tunisia. The act of 12 May, euphemistically called a treaty, was in fact a French *diktat* imposed on Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ. It did not deprive the Bey of all powers but merely ensured French preponderance in Tunisia to the exclusion of all other European powers. It deprived the Bey of freedom of external action, since he was now unable to treat with any outside power without the consent of the French government.

It was only by the Convention of La Marsa imposed on ʿAlī (III) Bey (1882-1902) on 8 June 1883 that France established a real protectorate over Tunisia. The Treaty of Bardo had just reserved control of external affairs to France, but by this convention, the Bey's internal control of affairs was encroached upon without, however, it being suppressed altogether. Nevertheless, by promising to implement the administrative reforms which France judged useful and to contract no loans for the Tunisian state without the sanction of the French government, the Bey in fact placed himself within the hands of the French Republic.

In the period which followed, the Bey was little more than a decorative figure-head justifying the Protectorate in the eyes of French, Tunisian and European public opinion. He lost all his prerogatives to the Minister Resident, elevated in June 1885 to the status of Resident-General, who now became the real master within the Regency. Some Tunisian ministers were admittedly retained in the government, but their number was reduced to two (as against five French ones); the prime minister and the "minister of the pen", who were chosen by the Resident-General, hence could only function under his orders. Their role, wrote the Resident Paul Cambon, was limited to "putting into effect through local officials decisions taken by the Bey at the behest of the heads of the different administrative departments and after the Resident's previously-bestowed assent". The two Tunisian ministers were in any case under the oversight of a French official, the Secretary-General whose functions, as laid down in February 1883, made him the real director of the Tunisian administration. The Protectorate provided, it was true, that local administration should remain in the hands of indigenous Tunisian *ḳāʾids*, *khalīfas* and *shaykhs*, but a body of French officials, called civil controllers, was set up in

1884 to supervise them; their role was thus comparable to that of the Resident-General *vis-à-vis* the Bey and the Secretary-General *vis-à-vis* the Tunisian ministers.

Economic change

This political and administrative tutelage obviously created favourable conditions for an economic tutelage, seen, in an agricultural economy, in land colonisation. This last process, begun before 1881, increased in intensity with the Protectorate. In the period 1881-92 the French government opened up Tunisia to capitalists investing in land colonisation, a private system of colonisation. The Protectorate administration contented itself with assuring these capitalists of "perfect security, good administration and a satisfactory development of a communications system". But after 1892, a system of official colonisation was instituted side-by-side with the private one. This official system involved centralising as much land as possible into the hands of the state so that it could be granted out at moderate charges and with facilities for repayment to French nationals. Also, whilst the private system was concerned with *milk* land on more or less legal conditions, the state system was concerned with "dead" lands, collective lands, forest lands and habous (*ḥubūs* = *awḳāf* [see WAḲF]).

In this way, French-owned land which had amounted to some 114,000 hectares on the eve of the Protectorate, by 1892 amounted to 443,000 ha and in 1914 to 560,000 ha. If one adds to these the lands acquired by the Land Service which were not yet allocated, and those acquired by other Europeans, especially Italians, amounting to over 130,000 ha, nearly one million hectares passed from Tunisian ownership to that of European nationals. These lands were usually situated in the most fertile and well-watered regions and had constituted the best territories of the Regency. This foreign grip on this preponderant economic sector led to a decline in other sectors such as stock rearing, artisanal activities and commerce directly or indirectly linked with them.

The situation by the nature of things provoked a reaction against European penetration, at first from the native Tunisian élite and then by wide sections of the population against French domination.

The reformist movement and resistance to penetration

The promoters of the patriotic movement saw themselves as protectors of the sovereignty of their land against the European powers. Fascinated by the rise and development of Western Europe, they themselves sought to learn from it the means and power of resisting European influences.

The movement first appeared in the 1840s with Aḥmad (I) Bey (1837-55), an enlightened ruler who was inspired by Western ideas to embark on a programme of reforms. His army was reorganised with French aid and on the French model, with a polytechnic college founded in 1840 at Bardo to train competent officers. It was the first modern educational institution in Tunisia, and formed for its students a real window on science, civilisation and Western methods. In 1846 the Bey abolished slavery in the Regency before making an official visit to France which confirmed him in his modernist convictions, and the officials who accompanied him, headed by K͟hayr al-Dīn Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], and these last, with the support of graduates from the polytechnic college formed the new reformist movement, so that it continued after Aḥmad's death in 1855 under his successor Muḥammad (II) Bey (1855-9). The latter promulgated on 9 September 1857, mainly under pressure from the consuls of outside powers but also from that of internal reformists, the Fundamental Pact which, as in modern states, guaranteed rights to all inhabitants of the Regency irrespective of religion and nationality, in effect, security of life and private property, equality before the law, equality of tax burdens and freedom of worship. It envisaged the grant of a constitution, in fact proclaimed by Muḥammad (III) al-Ṣādiḳ Bey (1859-82) on 21 January 1861. This document limited the powers of the Bey and his ministers and, in theory, ended absolute power. It was the basis for a new political system involving a separation of powers, with a legislative assembly, the Grand Council, and court with judges who could not be removed. Despite its suspension in 1864 during a politically troubled period in Tunisia, the reformist movement remained attached to a modernist and democratic programme. Its chief, K͟hayr al-Dīn Pas͟ha, who resigned in 1862 his presidency of the Grand Council in protest against the violation of the constitution by the Prime Minister, occupied himself with strengthening the reformist current by providing it with a theoretical basis in his book of 1867, *Aḳwam al-masālik fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik* "The most straightforward of ways for knowing the state of the lands". In it he attributed the decadence of the Islamic countries to their arbitrary and unjust systems of governance, and advocated the adoption of Western-type political systems based on liberty, justice and the respect for laws, which would bring about the appropriate intellectual and cultural climate for scientific and technological progress which would benefit the Islamic lands; the Western system of democratic and constitutional government was in no way contrary to Islam, and both systems shared a common origin in the ancient world (for further analysis, see K͟HAYR AL-DĪN PAS͟HA, at Vol. IV, 1154b).

He became Prime Minister in 1873, but was unable to introduce a parliamentary system into Tunisia or even to restore the 1861 constitution. He had to be content to lay the foundations for a state based on law by codifying laws and determining the duties of state officials in order to transform the state from an instrument of exploitation to one which would serve the people. He aimed at reconciling the people with the state, to guarantee their persons and property, hence stimulate them to work and develop the resources of the land. Such a policy also implied modernisation of the educational system in order to produce persons capable of carrying out such policies. Hence in 1875 he created the Ṣādiḳī college, parallel to the Polytechnic created at Bardo in 1869, with teaching provided in the natural and human sciences and in foreign languages, and utilising the services of foreign, above all French, instructors with their modern pedagogical techniques. Thus the College became a symbol of modernism and a link between the Arabo-Muslim and the Western civilisations, and its products formed a link between the reformist movement and the nationalist movement which grew up soon after the establishment of the Protectorate (see further on the college, AL-ṢĀDIḲIYYA).

The beginning of the nationalist movement

This manifested itself as a continuation of the reformist trends, with a continuity of personages from K͟hayr al-Dīn through ʿAlī Bās͟h Ḥamba and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-T͟haʿālibī up to Bourguiba, and following essentially the policies set forth by the reformists before 1881, sc. constitutional institutions based on justice, freedom and equality before the law, and an educational system necessary for the renaissance and independence of Tunisia.

These ideas of an élite were far from the level of feelings of the mass of population, who reacted rather to the economic and social contradictions of the Protectorate régime as they touched their own basic interests; but it was the handful of reformers who led the movement of the creation of a national spirit, hence the foundations for a national movement. This last comprised, from the opening of the 20th century to 1956, three successive phases, those of the Young Tunisian movement, of the liberal constitutional Destour (*Dustūr*) party and then the Néo-Destour.

The *Mouvement Jeunes-Tunisiens* rose out of a journal, *Le Tunisien*, founded in 1907 by ʿAlī Bās̲h̲ Ḥamba, advocating a programme of economic, political and social measures within a modernist and nationalist framework. In the economic sphere, it mainly advocated the modernisation of agriculture and local industries through the provision of credit facilities, professional training and fiscal reforms aimed at combatting foreign competition. In the social sphere, the possibility of providing land for small Tunisian cultivators, re-acquiring lands allotted to foreign colonists, local control of public works, free and compulsory primary education and access to a secondary one, availability of higher education to the Tunisian élite and the right of Tunisians to all administrative posts on the same conditions as French persons. In the political sphere, the adoption of modern principles of rights and duties of governments and citizens would mean the participation of Tunisians in public life where such matters as taxation and their specific interests were involved. A reorganisation of the Tunisian judicial system was envisaged, on the basis of a separation of powers in the state and the codification of laws. The Young Tunisians did not therefore demand Tunisia's independence but simply a share in their country's government, and even set forth their programme as "un concours loyal à la France pour l'aider dans sa mission civilatrice". Nevertheless, by revealing the economic, social and political antagonisms with which large sections of the Tunisian population lived, they fostered the emergence of a public spirit which created conditions favourable to the emergence of a broader nationalist party.

This was the *Parti Libéral Constitutionel* founded in March 1920 under the leadership of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-T̲h̲aʿālibī [*q.v.*], better known as the Destour Party. This grew out of the former movement, but went beyond its élitist character to become a party open to the masses and with, for the first time, a structure, a formal programme and means of action linking all its members. In the long term, this programme envisaged the ending of the Protectorate and the achieving of independence, but in the short term it aimed at a constitutional régime enabling the Tunisian people to govern themselves, with only the conduct of external affairs reserved to the French government.

In order to realise its aims, the Party had during the 1920s to mobilise all classes of society and acquire a wide popular constituency. By 1924, the Protectorate authorities estimated its adherents at 45,000 without counting a much larger number of sympathisers not officially registered as members. During this period, it had about 60 branches. Even so, the Party remained moderate in its demands, limited to reforms within the framework of the Protectorate, and in its methods of action. Its leadership rejected violence and was suspicious of mass movements for fear of being outflanked or compromised. Hence it came into conflict with a group of young nationalists, who had returned from study in Paris at the end of the 1920s, familiar with the techniques of mass action and the mobilisation of the masses employed by European Communist and Fascist parties. In 1932 they grouped themselves under Ḥabīb Bū Ruḳayba (Bourguiba) around a French-language journal, *L'Action Tunisienne*, which immediately began to reflect the radicalisation of the nationalist movement in Tunisia.

The Néo-Destour and the radicalisation of the nationalist movement

The leaders of *L'Action Tunisienne* took advantage of the economic and social crisis gripping Tunisia in the 1930s to lead the masses into political action. Thus it drew them into a struggle against the burial of Tunisians who had become naturalised French citizens in Muslim cemeteries. Hence the Destour Party congress in Tunis of May 1933 decided unanimously to associate the *Action Tunisienne* team with its own Executive Committee. The team manoeuvred to capture the whole of the party by an extraordinary congress held at Ḳaṣr Hilāl in the Sahel in March 1934, which resolved to dissolve the old Destour Party's Executive Committee and replace it by a new Political Bureau, led by Dr. Maḥmūd Māṭirī and with Ḥabīb Bū Ruḳayba as its Secretary-General (for details, see ḤIZB. i. at Vol. III, 524). In reality, the divergency of the so-called *archéos* and *néos* was largely one of methods of achieving similar programmes, but the Néo-Destour was now more in tune with the aspirations of the Tunisian masses and accelerated its demands. The Liberal Constitutional Party, the old Destour, lingered on until the violent events of April 1938, al-T̲h̲aʿālibī having been contemptuously rejected by the new party in the previous year (for details, see AL-T̲H̲AʿĀLIBĪ).

After the Second World War, the Néo-Destour became much more radicalised, with its resistance to French control taking on the character of an armed struggle in the early 1950s, leading to the achievement of internal autonomy on 3 June 1955 and full independence on 20 March 1956.

Bourguiba and the constructing of the modern state of Tunisia

This involved completing the country's independence, providing it with a constitution, developing a modern system of education and adapting Islamic legislation to the exigencies of modern times. The achieving of complete sovereignty involved further conflict with France until on 17 June 1958 French troops evacuated bases in Tunisia, with the evacuation of the naval base at Bizerta following on 15 October 1963. On 12 May 1964 Bourguiba nationalised the lands formerly granted out for colonisation.

The new Tunisian government proceeded to elect a constituent assembly (25 March 1956), which abolished the monarchy and proclaimed a republic (25 July 1957) and on 1 June 1959 promulgated a constitution. This last established a political system based on the separation of powers, equality before the law and the guarantee of liberty of opinion and freedom of association yet this remained a dead letter, since public liberties were suspended in 1963. However, although Bourguiba did not think Tunisia yet ready for democracy, he undertook its modernisation, attacking where necessary traditionalist currents reflecting what he considered as retrograde Islamic religious attitudes. Thus on 13 August 1956 he introduced a code of personal status which deeply modified certain dispositions of the religious law. In fact, the new code abolished polygamy, gave women guarantees against unilateral divorce and regulated divorce proceedings. He laid special stress on education for transforming fixed mental attitudes within the population and for

bringing about the emancipation of women. Hence over a quarter of the national budget was reserved for the education of both sexes, spread over all the regions and forming a means of social advance (see further on the position of women, section VI, below) This mode of political development, embodying the will of a good part of the Tunisian élite to modernise their land in order to protect its independence and sovereignty, forms a prominent thread in the history of contemporary Tunisia, but as is delineated in section (e) below, by no means the only one.

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(ALI MAHJOUBI)

(e) Bourguiba and after.

As noted in the preceding section, Bourguiba confronted several Islamic religious practices head on, but his publicly avowed aim was to reform Tunisian Islam by bringing it more within the control of the state and by correcting corrupt and decadent practices which had crept into the faith and especially in the sphere of popular religion. Thus, as outlined above, Tunisia was the first Islamic country formally to abolish polygamy. Also, the *Sharīʿa* courts were abolished. The *ḥubūs* were nationalised, thereby bringing the *ʿulamāʾ* who had drawn their income from them into the state patronage nexus. The Zaytūna [*q.v.*] was incorporated into the University of Tunis. Pilgrimages and festivals at saints' tombs were controlled, and some shrines even demolished, and the Ṣūfī orders or *ṭuruḳ* [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 2.] viewed unenthusiastically. All these measures were aimed at controlling Islam by bringing it further within the ambit of the state apparatus. Yet the government actually increased steeply the number of mosques in Tunisia, with a three-fold increase during the period 1960-87. Bourguiba's ostensible attitude was that Islam had to be modernised in order the better to withstand contamination by Western values, and he denied the claims of local fundamentalists that they were the sole focus of Tunisia's religious identity. Yet Bourguiba's attempt in 1960 to abolish fasting [see ṢAWM] as deleterious for Tunisia's economic development backfired and had eventually to be abandoned.

Politically, Tunisia became for over twenty years a single-party state, with Bourguiba elected by the 1974 party congress as President for life. Economic development was at first pursued by long-term planning, the formation of co-operative societies (especially in the agricultural sector) and an initially moderate attitude towards private enterprise after the economic boycott by France after the nationalisation of French colonists' lands in 1964 had been eventually surmounted. A move towards more radical, collectivist policies began in 1969 when it was decreed that all private lands and private businesses and industrial concerns were to be formed into co-operatives. These policies proved highly unpopular and were abandoned in 1970, with their leading exponent, the minister Aḥmad Ben Ṣalāḥ, dismissed. Thereafter, Tunisia evolved into a mixed economy with the private sector playing a dominant role.

Nevertheless, discontents mounted within the country from 1971 onwards, with political repression of those demanding a more democratic and less autocratic political system, and in a climate of economic stagnation, strikes and riots increased, particularly in 1978. Rival political groups to the government grew up, from the Islamic Tendency Movement (though its leaders ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Mūrū and Rāshid al-Ghannūshī were temporarily jailed) to a Social Democratic trend under Aḥmad Mastīrī and a Communist party under Muḥammad Harnal. After the riots of January 1984, the government of Muḥammad Mazālī made approaches to the Islamists and Social Democrats, and the Communists were allowed to function as a legally-permitted party.

The riots were a watershed for Bourguiba's régime, warning of the dangers of economic austerity measures and the formation of a parallel state within the state by the Islamists (after 1988 called the *Ḥizb al-Nahḍa* "Party of Renaissance" in order to comply with a government decree that no party should incorporate the term "Islam" in its title). The aged Bourguiba himself continued as President until toppled from power in November 1987. His successor as President, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Ben ʿAlī, made various concessions to the Islamists aimed at giving religion a more prominent role in public life, increasing the size and budget of the Islamic Religious Council and establishing the Zaytūna as a separate university. But conciliation of extremism proved impossible, and in the early 1990s Ben ʿAlī's stance hardened, so that the public manifestation of the *Ḥizb al-Nahḍa* had been largely destroyed by 1993.

Externally, Tunisia's diplomatic position remained uneasy amid the sharp North African regional rivalries. In 1983 Algeria offered a twenty years' treaty of peace and reconciliation, but this weakened Tunisia's relations with Morocco, since it apparently implied support for Algeria's position over the Western Sahara problem. Relations with its eastern neighbour Libya continued to be potentially explosive, especially after the abortive attempt at political union in 1974 and accusations of Libyan interference in the economically less advanced, hence more discontented, southern regions of Tunisia, seen in the January 1980 rebellion at Gafsa (Ḳafsa [*q.v.*]); in 1985 Libya expelled over 30,000 Tunisian emigrant workers, mostly involved in the oil industry. On the wider scene of Middle Eastern conflict, Tunisia became involved through the transfer in 1982 of the headquarters of the PLO to Tunis and also that of the Arab League after Egypt made peace with Israel.

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III. Religious Life.

From the 5th/11th century at least, Tunisia took over Mālikī Sunnī Islam [see mālikiyya]. The island of Djarba [*q.v.*] is a special case; formerly the population was three-fifths Khāridjite [see al-ibāḍiyya] occupying two-thirds of the island, but is now about one-third (*ca.* 35,000 out of 110,000 inhabitants), spread over Adjīm, Guellala, Tlāt, Sedouikech and el-Māy (see Muḥammad Khūdja, *Rasā'il al-Shaykh Sulaymān al-Ḥilātī*, Beirut 1998). But the distinctions are tending to become blurred: the mosques with square or tapered minarets welcome indifferently Sunnīs and Ibāḍī faithful, and even marriages between the two communities are no longer exceptional. This retreat of Ibāḍism has been due firstly, to the renewed vigour of Mālikism since Ḥafṣid times, despite the latter's origins from the Muwaḥḥidūn (see Brunschvig, *Hafsides*, ii, 286 ff.), and secondly, to proselytism by ascetic *faḳīhs* like al-Djimminī (Sīdī Brāhīm al-Djomnī, d. 1134/1722), whose knowledge of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ's [*q.v.*] *Mukhtaṣar* of Mālikī *fiḳh* was so great that the Murādī ruler built for him a *madrasa-zāwiya* at Houmt-Souk, where he trained missionaries to go forth and preach the virtues of Mālikism (see Ḥusayn Khūdja, *Dhayl Bashā'ir ahl al-īmān*, ed. T. Mamouri, Tunis n.d., 130). In the region of the Djarīd [*q.v.*], a marabout called Abū 'Alī al-Sunnī or al-Naftī took up the same mission. Even in Tunis itself, the Ibāḍī men from Djarba had a mosque, the Djāmi' Hintātī, in the heart of the medina. These moderate Khāridjites—often called al-Khawāmis in order to approximate them to the main four orthodox *madhāhib* and perhaps, too, to differentiate them from more radical Khāridjite groups like the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] and Nukkariyya [see al-nukkār]—seem to be the remnants of the great Berber Khāridjite movements whose revolts characterised the history of North Africa from the 2nd/8th to the 4th/10th centuries (see al-Raḳīḳ, *T. Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. M. al-Ka'bī, Tunis 141 ff.; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, i, 69; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā*, ed. M. Yalāwī, Beirut 1992, iii, 697).

Stages of Islamisation

The Islamisation of Tunisia was not achieved so quickly as the governor 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī affirmed to the caliph al-Manṣūr. "It is today entirely Muslim and there is no more *saby* (i.e. no captives of war to forward to the capital)" (Ibn 'Idhārī, 167). The Ten Successors were said to have been sent by 'Umar II *ca.* 100/719 to teach the natives there the basics of the Ḳur'ān and Tradition, and the dogmas and rites of the new faith. The lists of these men in the *Ṭabaḳāt* literature, e.g. Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh al-Mālikī's (d. after 460/1067) *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, ed. B. Bakkūsh, Beirut 1992, 99, show that these *faḳīhs* were above all transmitters of *ḥadīths* concerned with day-to-day practice; juridical controversies and theoretical debates would come later, beginning under the Aghlabids who, through their allegiance to Baghdād, professed Ḥanafism. This was given an impulse by Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*], who implanted it for a while at Ḳayrawān before his *Asadiyya* was supplanted by the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn and Ibn Abī Zayd's [*q.v.*] *Risāla*. Neither the views of the Aghlabid *amīrs*, nor the persecutions—in fact, much exaggerated—by the Fāṭimids, silenced the great Mālikī voices (see Yalāwī, *al-Ḥayāt al-adabiyya bi-Ifrīḳiya fi 'l-'ahd al-fāṭimī*, Beirut 1986, 41), whose teaching and works spread all through the Maghrib and Muslim Spain (H.R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, ii, 687 ff.). Under the Ḥafṣids, the *Mukhtaṣar fī fiḳh al-madhhab* of Ibn 'Arafa [*q.v.*] had the same fortune as the *Mudawwana* (Saad Ghrab, *Ibn 'Arafa et le Malikisme en Ifriqiyya au VIIIe/XIVe siècle*, Tunis 1992, i, 369; M. Maḥfūẓ, *Tarādjim al-mu'allifīn al-tūnisiyyīn*, Beirut 1984, iii, 368).

Ḥanafism

This cannot have re-appeared in Tunisia until the arrival of Ottoman troops in 982/1574 sent against the occupying Spanish, and it became implanted through the régime of the Deys and Beys who remained vassals, whether nominally or actually, of the Porte up to the French occupation of 1881. It survives today in islets in certain coastal towns: Bizerta, Kélibia, Sousse and Monastir, and in some towns of the interior: Béja, Le Kef and Zaghouan, sc. in the *thughūr* [*q.v.*] where the Turks had garrisons, and above all, in the capital, where the groups close to the Beylical power—military, civil and religious dignitaries—followed the *madhhab* of the court [see ḥusaynids]. But here also, the differences have tended to be attenuated: octagonal minarets no longer mark Ḥanafī mosques solely. Of the seven Ḥanafī mosques in Tunis (see Muḥammad Bel Khōdja, *Ma'ālim al-tawḥīd fi 'l-ḳadīm wa fi 'l-djadīd*, ed. Ben Ḥādjdj Yaḥyā Sahlī, Beirut 1985, 153 ff.), only two have a Ḥanafī *imām*. In general, Ḥanafism has lost its importance, never great, to the general dominance of Mālikism throughout the land. In the first place, the abolition of the Ḥusaynid ruling power contributed to this, with Tunisia becoming on 25 July 1957 a Republic with a parliament. Adhesion to the Ḥanafī law school no longer had any justification in the achieving or carrying out of any public office.

Justice

Secondly, there was the suppression in 1956 of the religious *Shar'* tribunal, set up in Tunis a century earlier under the name of the *Dīwān*. This supreme tribunal had two chambers: a Ḥanafī one, headed by the *Shaykh al-Islām*, and a Mālikī one, under the *Bāsh Muftī*. Both chambers were competent to consider, according to the litigants, cases relating to personal law—civil status, marriage, divorce, guardianship and succession. The *shar'ī* tribunals (*madjālis*) in the provinces were also suppressed and now attached to the civil courts. These last accordingly enlarged the sphere of their competence and were provided by the legislature with codes (*madjallāt*) in various areas: for commercial law, investment and finance, maritime law, real property, insurance, and above all, personal law, the watchword of the liberation of the Tunisian woman, to the point that the anniversary of the code's promulgation (13 August 1956) has become the Celebration Day of Women. All these documents, which laicised in some degree justice, were inspired by Mālikī, Ḥanafī or other decisions, and opted for a liberalisation of justice, e.g. in the handing-over to the sole surviving daughter of the whole of an inheritance (art. 143 bis, l. 2) instead of, as previously, just a half (a decision inspired by a legal provision attributed to the Shī'ī Imām Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ (cf. al-Ḳāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im al-islām*, ed. Fyzee, ii, 378 nos. 1359-60; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā*, iii, 103, notice on Djawhar).

The teaching at the Zaytūna

The unification of the legal system and abolition

of the distinctions between the *madhāhib* inevitably brought about a shrinkage in the opportunities for teaching *fiḳh* in the two law schools, especially as the institution concerned with the training of future religious lawyers had this branch of its activities ended, and the Great Mosque, the Zaytūna, which had taught both Ḥanafī and Mālikī law, was now reduced to becoming a place for religious worship only. The educational function, at least on the secondary level, was ended (law of 4 November 1958), and higher education assigned to a "University of the Zaytūna" [*q.v.*] under the Minister for Higher Education. At present, it has two institutes for higher education plus a research centre: (1) the Higher Institute for Theology (for training teachers in this field); (2) the Higher Institute for Islamic Civilisation (open to students from outside Tunisia); and (3) the Centre for Islamic Research, situated in Ḳayrawān. As for the Higher Institute of Religious Sciences (meant for training and refresher courses for *imāms* and preachers), this was no longer part of the Zaytūna University, but after January 1997 was attached to the Ministry of Religious Affairs, itself set up in 1992. This is now ultimately responsible for all religious activities: teaching, the cult, training of *imāms* and preachers, organising of the Pilgrimage, exhibitions and commemorations, organising of cultural associations, congresses, colloquia, etc.

Suppression of the awḳāf

The *ḥubūs*/habous were likewise suppressed. Property in mortmain was restored to the original owners or, in case of the disappearance of these, became state lands. Hence there was no further need for administrators (*wukalāʾ*) responsible for superintending the *awḳāf* and of the procedures which had allowed the practice of enzel or *inzāl* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the perpetual leasing of properties at a low price or in return for disproportionate benefits.

The question of the "Arabic" numerals and calendar reform

The new Republic took another audacious, but in the end accepted, decision: the replacement of the so-called "Indian" numerals, used in the East in all works of religion and scholarship by the so-called "Arabic" ones. The Gregorian calendar and its nomenclature was adoped side-by-side with the Hidjrī one in official publications, if not in practical life. Astronomical computation was now used to fix the beginning and end of the Ramaḍān fast (from Ramaḍān 1380/March 1960), but since the results of such calculations were not unanimously recognised, even in neighbouring countries, after the political changes of 7 November 1987, a mixed method was adopted: visual observation of the crescent moon by the *Muftī* of the Republic, an important person in the power hierarchy, holding the rank of Secretary of State. The creation of this office (decree of 28 February 1958) had *ipso facto* meant the suppression of the posts of *muftī* in the provinces, these having existed since the replacing of the Grand Judge (*Ḳāḍī al-Djamāʿa*) in 1856 by various subordinates (e.g. the *Ḳ. al-Ahilla*, charged with observing the crescent moon; the *Ḳ.* of the Bardo, in the beylical palace; the *Ḳ. al-Maḥalla*, who accompanied the annual tax-collecting expedition (the last two abolished under the Protectorate); the *Ḳ. al-Farāʾiḍ*, for the division of inheritance; the *Ḳ. al-Ankiḥa*, for civil status and marriage; and the *Ḳ. al-Muʿāmalāt*, for transactions). This return to observation of the heavens was supplemented by astronomical computation, entrusted to the staff of the National Meteorological Office (decree of 8 April 1988).

Ramaḍān and the Pilgrimage

Another of the measures of the first President of the Republic, Habib Bourguiba, this time one less well received, was aimed at combatting the idleness and carefreeness of the period of the month of fasting. Each citizen was in future to carry out scrupulously his normal daily task, without absenteeism and loss of productivity, a necessary initiative in a developing country, and a measure put forth with the best of intentions, but sometimes badly carried out and arousing the opposition of a part of the population. It nevertheless had positive results in the long run: it guaranteed freedom of conscience for citizens and forbade anyone to act as judge and meddle in the religious behaviour of his neighbour, whilst maintaining the requirements of punctuality and serious fulfilment of work obligations; nevertheless, some ameliorations of hours were foreseen, as in regard to Friday afternoons, always regarded as to be free from work in order to allow the faithful to fulfill their obligations of community worship. In this connection, the State continued to resist those who demanded a holiday for the whole of Friday. It argued with reason that, if the whole of Friday was added to Saturday as a holiday for financial institutions, and with Sunday as a universal holiday also, the effective work week would be reduced to four days. It has also resisted demands for more religious programmes, more Ḳurʾān recitation, more sermons, etc., on the state-controlled radio and television networks, although it has conceded the interruption at times of football matches by the *adhān* or call to worship.

Other measures have tended to bring more order into religious practice, e.g. to reduce the number of pilgrimages for which citizens received state aid, to the one Pilgrimage, as prescribed by the religious law, whilst leaving the faithful to use, at their own expense, patterns of procedure other than the state-sponsored one.

Ṣūfī orders, marabouts and zāwiyas

In the earliest centuries of Islam in North Africa, Ṣūfism was merely a particular attachment to orthodoxy and personal renunciation of the world and its goods, as with such persons as Buhlūl b. Rāshid (d. 183/799) and al-Rabīʿ al-Ḳaṭṭān (d. 333/944). The biographical dictionaries of authors like al-Khushanī [*q.v.*], the al-Mālikī mentioned above, and al-Dabbāgh's *Maʿālim al-īmān*, are merely the *vitae* of Ḳayrawānī saints, who despite their devotion to spiritual aims, did not hesitate to take up arms to defend their faith when it was menaced by the Fāṭimid intruders, or to take part in the massacre of the last Shīʿīs, like Muḥriz b. Khalaf, the patron saint of Tunis (see Idris, *Zīrīdes*, ii, 695). Under the Ḥafṣids and their successors, Ṣūfī asceticism became a kind of boisterous and noisy mysticism, associated with thaumaturgic practices aimed at attracting the masses and at stimulating pilgrimages to saint's tombs, transformed into centres for the Ṣūfī orders, and enriched by the offerings of the faithful. Certain of these *ṭuruḳ* [see ṬARĪḲA] limited themselves to sessions of *dhikr* [*q.v.*], like the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*], followers of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī on the hill of the same name at Tunis, and the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*], introduced by the great religious lawyer and preacher Sīdī Brāhīm al-Riyāḥī (see his *Dīwān*, ed. Sahlī and Yalāwī, Beirut 1990, 8). Others, such as the Aysāwiyya or the ʿArūsiyya-Sulāmiyya, had more extravagant manifestations, generally disapproved of if not condemned. Today, there remain only the Ḳādiriyya, in various localities of the interior, the *zāwiya* of al-Sayyida ʿĀʾisha al-Mannūbiyya, frequented above all by women, those of Sīdī Muḥriz, Sīdī al-Ḥalfāwī at Tunis, etc. The increase in education, urbanisation

and opposition to obscurantism, have inexorably alienated the urban, and even the rural, populations from these marabouts; certain sagacious promoters have tried to take advantage of such ecstatic celebrations as the *Ḥadra*, *Mīʿād*, etc., by mounting, with varying success, spectacular shows which are half-folkloric and half-cultural.

Mālikism also shows its strength in the persistence of ancient traditions from the Ḥafṣid period, like the ceremony of the *akhtām* (pl. of *khatm*) "closing" of public readings (*riwāya*), with or without commentary (*dirāya*), of the canonical collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim and of the *Shifāʾ* of al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*], readings which finish on 27 Ramaḍān in the Great Mosque in the presence of the Head of State himself. Likewise, the Mawlid [*q.v.*] is marked by readings of the Prophet's *Sīra* (*mawlidiyya*) in the mosques, and, at Tunis, by the chanted recitation of the 400 verses of the *Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. This attachment to the *Sīra* and the Tradition is such that the women of Tunis continue to swear jointly "*bi 'l-Shifāʾ wa 'l-Bukhārī*".

Religion and modernity

To sum up, Tunisia, if it has kept itself within the fold of Islam by a skilful formulation of itself, in the first article of the Constitution, as ". . . an independent state whose religion is Islam . . .", has nevertheless made great steps towards the way of rationality. The Republic's first leaders did not disguise their admiration for Kemal Atatürk, and many of the legislative measures taken since 1956 bear the seal of modernity and have a progressive and sensible tendency towards the secularisation of state institutions, that of public life and society generally preceding the inauguration of state measures. In this way, the attempts of certain religio-political groups to "re-Islamise" the country and lead it back to an alleged original purity, have been frustrated by the public authorities and condemned by almost all the population.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ṣādiḳ Rizḳawī, *al-Aghānī al-tūnisiyya*, Tunis 1967, 101; Buhlī al-Nayyāl, *al-Ḥaḳīḳa al-taʾrīkhiyya li 'l-taṣawwuf al-islāmī*, Tunis n.d.; Ḥashāʾishī, *al-ʿĀdāt wa 'l-taḳālīd al-tūnisiyya*, ed. Dj. Ben Ḥādjdj Yaḥyā, Tunis 1994, 207.

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IV. Languages.

Before the arrival of the Arabs in Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*], in this region of the eastern Maghrib which was later to be called after its capital Tūnis, and its Islamisation, the linguistic situation there was already particularly complex and has in fact never ceased being so since its emergence on the stage of recorded history some three millennia ago, notably with the founding of the Phoenician trading posts and the birth of Carthage.

The oldest known language, that of the indigenous people called by the Romans Berbers, is Libyan, from which various local Berber tongues apparently derive [see Lībiyā. 2.; also tifinagh]. It was rarely written, but is known to us from several hundred inscriptions, with one of them, a Libyco-Punic bilinguis, stemming from 138 B.C.; others are Libyco-Latin bilingues, that is, the oldest pieces of linguistic evidence already show the co-existence of at least two languages. With the foundation of the Carthaginian empire by Phoenicians from Tyre (814-146 B.C.), Punic became the official language, imposed on the local Numidian kingdoms, as their coins attest. For more than six centuries after the destruction of Carthage by the Romans, Punic continued to be used, even in the countryside whilst gradually giving place to Latin.

The period of Byzantine conquest (533-698) involved a Roman restoration after the interval of the Germanic Vandals. Roman civilisation, deeply Hellenised, allowed Greek to leave traces which are still perceptible.

Arabisation and its context

It can be said that the Arabisation of the land, following on the appearance of the Arabs in 647 until the fall of Carthage in 698, operated in a multilingual context, and these languages were subsequently to form a substratum which has left traces until the present day in toponomy, onomastic and the varieties of Arabic dialects (cf. the place names stemming from Punic, such as Ḳarṭādj, Utīk, Binzart, Ḳābis, Ḳafsa, Ḳirḳna, etc.; from Latin, such as Hergla, Rādis, Lamṭa, etc.; and from Greek, such as Ḳlībya, Ḳurbuṣ, Mistīr, etc.).

Latin continued to be the Arabs' language of administration, as contemporary coins show. For the four centuries up to the invasions of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*], Arabic co-existed with the previously-mentioned languages. We can put together an ethno-linguistic picture of this period from information in the Arabic geographers and historians, such as al-Yaʿḳūbī in the 3rd/9th century, through al-Bakrī up to Ibn Khaldūn [*q.vv.*] in the 8th/14th century; alongside the town-dwelling Arabs there was a more numerous class of *ʿadjam*, indigenous and non-indigenous peoples.

The first of these, called *ʿAdjam al-bilād*, comprised the great mass of Berbers, now Muslim but using their own Berber language; the *Rūm*, probably descendants of the Byzantines; and the *Afāriḳa*, apparently descendants of Romans or Latinised Berbers, Christians using the Latin language, as certain funeral epitaphs of the 11th century from Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*], the new capital of the province, show. These last two groups are also mentioned as existing in the towns of the Djerid. Other *ʿAdjam* comprised mainly Persians, in the military followings of the governors.

In the 11th century, *Afāriḳa* are only mentioned at Gabès/Ḳābis [*q.v.*] and Munastīr ʿUthmān [see monastir]. The *Rūm* are no longer mentioned and, like the Persians, had probably been assimilated. Instead are mentioned Arab Bedouin tribes besides Berber tribes in the vicinity of Ḳayrawān. It thus appears that Arab-Berber bilingualism was dominant at the time of the Hilālian invasions (1051-2), which were to accelerate and deepen the Arabisation of the land. The Arabs already settled in Ifrīḳiya used various dialects, according to their tribal and group connections (Ḳuraysh, Rabīʿa, Ḳaḥṭān, Ḳuḍāʿa and, especially, Tamīm, the tribe of the Aghlabid dynasty [*q.v.*]). With the Hilālian invasions, the Berber majority became progressively assimilated to the Arab tribesmen, by being in their company as pastoralists in their migrations. Ibn Khaldūn records precisely the gradual and irreversible substitution of Arabic for Berber, by then confined to various speech islands, most of these bilingual. At the present time, Berber, still spoken within the family by older people using Arabic for purposes of their daily life, is in process of extinction in its surviving pockets in southern Tunisia and on the island of Djerba [see djarba].

As for the evolution of Arabic, this took place in the context of a progressive cleavage between official, literary Arabic and the dialects, which came to form two groups, an urban one and a Bedouin one. Ibn Khaldūn describes their peculiar features, notably on the phonological level. Already, the famed velar occlusive /q/ of Arabic became distinguished in Bedouin speech by being voiced and in the urban one by being unvoiced, features which have continued until

the present day to distinguish the two speech groups (cf. his *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 302-5, tr. F. Rosenthal, iii, 348-51).

New linguistic features

The Arabo-Berber bilingualism which has marked the following centuries soon began to receive further, more numerous and more complex, outside linguistic influences, especially from the Romance languages of Europe and from Turkish. Already in the 12th century, the Normans, after conquering Sicily, seized several of the coastal towns of Tunisia between Susa and Gabès between 1148 and 1160. These contacts, despite commercial relations with the Genoese and Venetians, were more often on the military level: the Crusade of St. Louis (1270), attacks by the Aragonese (1284-1335) and by the Franco-Genoese (1390), and the growth of corsair activity in the Mediterranean [see ḲURṢĀN. i.]. The great conflict over control of the Mediterranean, with Christians (especially those of Spain) opposing the Muslim Turks, ended with Tunisia firmly within the orbit of the Turkish empire from the end of the 14th century to the end of the 19th. Thus these exchanges, whether military or commercial, and especially after the Turkish conquest of Tunis in 1574, brought about movements of peoples and linguistic contacts involving not only Turkish but also various Romance languages of Europe.

Turkish linguistic influence

From the Turkish conquest until 1933 (the date of the last Tunisian document written in Turkish), Turkish was the main language of administration. It was also the means of communication in the army between Turkish officers and the Janissaries who came from the different regions of the Ottoman empire, and was used at court. The descendants of the Ḳulughlīs [see ḲUL-OGHLU] became integrated with the mass of population, especially on the coastlands, leaving visible traces in personal nomenclature (*bās̲h̲ā, bay, kāhya, s̲h̲awīs̲h̲, bās̲h̲, zmantar, bayram, s̲h̲albī, zarkūn*, etc.) and in the lexicon of Tunisian Arabic, in which some hundreds of words are still current in the spheres of administrative and military terminology and in those of the kitchen (dishes, utensils, tools), dress and music. Tunisian Arabic has also borrowed the Turkish suffixed morpheme *-d̲j̲i* for names of professions, etc., e.g. *ḳahwād̲j̲ī* "maker/server of coffee".

Spanish influences

Apart from military conflict (along the coastlands, where several places were temporarily occupied by the Spanish), the main impact here certainly came from the extensive emigrations of the Moriscos [*q.v.*] from the Iberian Peninsula after the *reconquista* (12th-16th centuries). These Moriscos spoke Aragonese, Castilian and Catalan; many of them no longer used Arabic. This Muslim group also included a strong minority of Jews, equally expelled from the Peninsula.

Several dozen family names, still in use today, stem from this period: Blānku, Bunatīru, Burīga, Katalān, Karabāka, Mālḳi, Merrīs̲h̲ku, Mnāra, Mnakkbi, Nīgru, Ḳabādu, Ṣāns̲h̲u, Zaʿfrān, etc. Some quarters of Tunis acquired Spanish names: Murkāḍ (Mercado), Bīga (Vega), Bārdu (Pardo), etc. Complete towns were peopled with Moriscos, including near Tunis (D̲j̲dayda, Ṭburba, Md̲j̲ēz-l-bāb, Testūr); near Bizerta (Metlīn, El ʿAlya, Rās ed̲j̲-d̲j̲bel, Rafrāf, Porto Farīna, etc.); at Cape Bon (Grumbālia, Slimān, Niānu, Turki, Belli); and there are also a score of names in northeastern Tunisia (Ḳalʿat-l-andlus, Māter, Zag̲h̲wān, etc.).

Spanish was still spoken in some localities up to the 18th century. New crafts and industries were introduced, with their technical vocabularies (manufacture of the chéchia = *s̲h̲ās̲h̲iyya*, a red felt cap), and several hundred words from ordinary vocabulary were integrated into Tunisian Arabic: *karrīta* < *carreta* "pony trap", *kardūn* < *kardon* (a variety of thistle), and the well-known *hindī* (*opuntia ficus indica*). Amongst complete lexical fields entering Tunisian Arabic, the most original is that of playing-cards, with e.g. *s̲h̲kubba* < *escoba*, also extending to other games, e.g. *dimīnu* "domino".

The intensifying of linguistic contacts and borrowings

Especially from the 19th century onwards, these contacts with Turkish and Spanish gave place to contacts with other European languages, notably Italian and French. Certain influences are difficult to define clearly since they stem from a common Romance stock, one of whose aspects is the Mediterranean *lingua franca*; names of fish and the complete vocabulary of seafaring are clear examples.

Italian influence

This was especially clear in the later 19th century, with several hundred Italian terms firmly integrated in the Tunisian vocabulary, since colonisation by Italians was strong at this time. In 1870, these colonists amounted to 7,000, three-quarters of them Sicilians. A year later, there was an immigration of several thousand Livornese Jews. The establishment of the French Protectorate in 1881 did not stem its growth, and *ca.* 1926 it stabilised at *ca.* 90,000, more than the French colonist population (70,000 at that time) despite 45 years of French colonisation. Lexical borrowings from Italian are diverse, and cover in particular the spheres of industry, building, agriculture, fishing and the arts.

The Maltese

In the 19th century, several thousand Maltese emigrated to Tunisia, settling especially in Tunis, Porto Farina (G̲h̲ār-l-milḥ), Sfax and Susa, where the Maltese, mainly from the working class, took up the trade of driving coaches, with several thousand of them holding a virtual monopoly, and with Tunisians also involved in the trade using Maltese too, since, as an Arab tongue, it had many affinities with Tunisian Arabic. At present, the Maltese amount to only a few hundreds, mainly old persons.

The Arabic of Tunisian Jews

The Tunisian Jews who had adopted Arabic whilst retaining their Jewish faith were more numerous before Tunisian independence in 1956, with those who had become naturalised Frenchmen choosing thereafter to emigrate to France. Their speech was an Arabic with certain peculiarities, which have been in general well studied. One should mention also the existence of a Jewish Tunisian literature written in Hebrew characters.

The influence of French

The progress of imperialism in the 19th century and the rivalry between France and Italy over Tunisia was sealed with the French Protectorate of 1881 (see II (d), above), which brought about a new linguistic situation involving a veritable Arabic-French bilingualism, bringing various borrowings and various forms of linguistic interference. Human contacts, commercial exchanges and an economic penetration had preceded the Protectorate, and thus French became the official language of public administration and education. At the present time, it is French which has supplied the greatest number of loanwords, several hundreds, into Tunisian Arabic, covering all fields and more or less integrated, and its influence continues to mark the linguistic situation in contemporary Tunisia, even after forty years of independence.

The present situation

From what has preceded, it emerges that the linguistic situation in Tunisia has been one of continuous contacts with outside tongues, culminating in an Arabic-French bilingualism, grafted on to a diglossia of literary language and dialects, with a clear division here; hence a fluctuating, continually evolving linguistic situation.

Diglossia

The literary level is essentially a written one, but it is nevertheless spoken in educational teaching and in official discourse, political and religious. It is considered as "superior" and appears in a neo-classical form in the sermons at Friday worship and certain literary works, and in a modern and functional form above all in the language of the media.

As for the dialect, the spoken tongue of all Tunisians, this is rarely written, but is used above all in the theatre, cinema and songs, as well as in popular poetry, of Bedouin origin and called *malḥūn* [*q.v.*]. It possesses various regional varieties with phonological and lexical distinctions none of which prevents mutual comprehension. Two levels can also be distinguished within it, one for familiar usage expressing daily needs, and the other, of a more intellectual tinge since it draws on the literary level, used above all by literate persons and in radio and TV broadcasts. One can thus say that there is a division of domains of each form of the language, but these are seen mainly as complementary rather than concurrent or opposed to each other.

All levels present certain common phonological points, such as the lack of an opposition *ḍ* – *ẓ*. The former, considered as an archetypal feature of the Arabic language by ancient scholars (the *lughat al-ḍād*), is never pronounced according to the prescriptions of the classical Arabic philologists; in Tunisia, it is everywhere merged with the voiced interdental emphatic as /ḏ̣/ except at Mahdiyya, where the three interdentals are merged with the dentals. The phoneme *dj* is realised as a voiced prepalatal spirant. The question of the opposition *ḳ/g* has already been mentioned, but it should be noted that the pronunciation *g*, of Bedouin origin, is solely dialectical and functions as a regional variant. On the urban speech level, on the other hand, the palatal *g* functions at times as an expressive variant and sometimes as a distinct phoneme; but the opposition here is not very productive at all, being favoured rather in loanwords, especially in those from French.

On the level of the vowels, as well as the basic three, with two degrees of openness (open *a*; closed front *i* and back *u*), the Tunisian Arabic system, whilst partly preserving the ancient short-long opposition, has become enriched with intermediate vowels, notably the front semi-closed *e* and semi-open *ɛ*, as well as the back semi-closed *o*, with its semi-open variant *ɔ*.

Regarding syllable length, the four syllables of the literary tongue are found (CV, CV̄, CVC, CV̄C), but the system has become enriched by the frequent elision of short vowels, notably in the case endings; one may mention, in particular, the syllables CCVC, CCV̄C, CVCC, CV̄CC. The syllable having the accent in the literary language is generally the third from the end of the word or the penultimate one if it is long; in Tunisian dialect, it is the last if it is long, otherwise the penultimate. Consequently, the morphological structure of words emerges as quite different from that of the literary language.

The lexicon remains basically Arabic despite thousands of speech units derived from the substratum or from the superstratum as mentioned above, although the semantic field of these units is considerably modified in all senses (restriction, enlargement of meaning, displacement, etc.).

Regarding syntax, the loss of the case endings of the literary language has resulted in the position of the speech units in the sequence of discourse becoming more functional, hence less free. Tunisian Arabic has nevertheless evolved its own grammatical instruments, e.g. the unvoiced "hushing" sound which functions as the morphophoneme of interrogation (when prefixed) and of negation (when postfixed).

The dual of the literary language is only used now in frozen forms, being replaced by the syntagm "pair + plural".

The role of French

French still functions in Tunisia as a language of culture and of opening to the modern world, hence it is less a foreign than a second language, fully recognised as such. Therefore what is in practice bilingualism has become since the 1960s a political choice within the framework of *Francophonie*, even though in certain of its applications it is a factor causing difficulties at the school level amongst a youth which feels less and less at home in it. All primary education is now in Arabic, and French has the status of second language from the third year onwards. Despite this, the dominance of French at the secondary level, at which all the scientific disciplines continue to be taught in French, has favoured on the level of the school system and even in the administration, the persistence at the level of daily, discursive speech, of a hybrid spoken Arabic, dotted with words and phrases from French, involving a language with code mixing or code switching, although the basis remains Arabic. Beyond the level of particular motivations, this mixture is less a *lingua franca* than an idiolectal form favoured by the bilingualism of the educational and administrative systems. In this way French, despite the fears which it raises, still retains the essential nature of its prestige, which is nevertheless not proportional to the degree of its mastery.

It is undeniable that people's linguistic habits are determined by their education, the official language policy and the dominant linguistic usage in the administrative or professional milieu involved. If a Tunisian is more or less bilingual, certainly the case with all educated people, surveys have shown that he or she will be more likely to use Arabic in dealings with such departments of state as those of justice, the interior or defence; on the other hand, he or she will be more likely to write out a cheque or postal order in French (1,894 persons against 20 using Arabic, according to the present author's observations).

Within the different forms of the media, there is more or less a balance between usage of Arabic and French.

At the university level, French remains solidly established in the scientific disciplines, whilst it is retreating slowly but irreversibly in the fields of the human and social sciences. These same phenomena are observable in the literary expression of research and educational endeavour—theses, mémoires, articles in learned journals, etc., emanating from various educational and university establishments.

At the present moment, even though bilingualism is no longer explicitly put forward as a political and cultural choice, it continues to characterise the linguistic situation of Tunisia. Despite this, Arabisation continues slowly but surely, without being part of any official plan. Its future at the university level will determine

the eventual linguistic situation of the country.

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See also *EI*[1] art. *Tunisia. 6. Language* (R. Brunschvig), now outdated, with bibl. up to 1925; *EI*[2] arts. ʿARABIYYA. (iii) The vernaculars (3) The western dialects (Ph. Marçais); BERBERS. V. Language (Galand); D. Cohen, art. *Arabe: langue arabe*, in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, Paris 1993, ii, 707-14; L. Galand, art. *Berbères: la langue et ses parlers*, in *ibid.*, iii, 1033-4. (TAÏEB BACCOUCHE)

V. MODERN LITERATURE.

The birth of modern Arabic literature in Tunisia is intricately connected, as is the case in other Arab lands, to the reformist movements of the 19th century. Maḥmūd Ḳābādū (1812-71), who was clearly influenced by the reformist ideas of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha (1820?-89 [*q.v.*]), is credited with having first introduced contemporary themes, such as anti-colonialism, nationalism and social justice, into Tunisian poetry. The first decades of the 20th century witnessed a more progressive poetry that rejected a rigid submission to classical canons, such as the panegyric, elegy and invective, and adopted socially-conscious themes as poets began to identify more openly with the rising partisan political movements. Muḥammad al-Shādhilī Khazandār (1881-1954), born to an aristocratic family and raised in a classical Arabo-Islamic milieu, best represents a new generation of poets who embraced literary and social reforms, advocating a populist and nationalist approach to literature.

However, it was the emergence of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shābbī (1909-34 [*q.v.*]) that would give Tunisia its first truly modern poet and its one literary giant whose impact reached the far corners of the Arab world. In his short and troubled life, al-Shābbī was able to fashion a revolutionary poetics that embraced modernity in its fullest sense. Steeped in the aesthetics of romanticism, and perhaps influenced by the Lebanese-American poet Khalīl Djubrān, al-Shābbī's poetry is denuded of the stock phrases and hackneyed images of classical Arabic poetry. It possesses a deep lyricism which has the capacity, in the words of the Arab critic Salma Khadra Jayyusi, "to swing in equal measure between thought and emotion". His poems, posthumously collected and published in one volume in Cairo in 1955, entitled *Aghānī al-ḥayāt* ("Songs of life"), celebrate change through positive action and denounce any form of human stagnation. Not merely a practitioner of poetry but a theoretician as well, al-Shābbī professed his ideas in a series of controversial lectures, which he delivered in 1929 on *The poetic imagination of the Arabs*. In them he criticises classical Arabic poetry as a mere literary craft, devoid of any true poetic feeling, and asserts that it was only when the Arabs moved to an urban milieu and interacted with other civilisations that they developed a truly poetic sensibility.

Al-Shābbī's radical views, along with his brilliantly innovative poetry, had a profound impact on the generation of Tunisian intellectuals of the 1930s, who would become in essence the architects of modern Tunisian literature. Taking the name of the cafe they frequented in the popular quarter of Bāb Suwayḳa in the old medina of Tunis, the Taḥt al-Sūr group included artists and intellectuals who all shared in the political mission of resistance to the French Protectorate and social equality, and who were committed to the creation of a popular literature to promote social advancement.

Two essential features must be mentioned in the formation of this group and its literary output. First, the passion for and commitment to journalism were keys to the content and dissemination of its ideas. Especially in the aftermath of the Protectorate government's lifting of press censorship on 6 August 1936, a plethora of journals exploded onto the cultural scene, producing poems, anthems, short stories, literary reviews, satirical sketches, and *maḳāmāt*, a traditional Arabic literary genre of rhythmic prose [see MAḲĀMA] once more made popular by the brilliant and acerbic Egyptian exile Maḥmūd Bayram (1893-1961) [see AL-TŪNISĪ], who spent the better part of the 1930s in exile in Tunis. These journals uniformly expressed the collective social and political views of the group in a register of Arabic and in artistic media that were accessible to the growing urban readership.

Secondly, the polymath quality of the group's members pointed to a wide range of cultural stimuli that impacted upon the group. It was a period of rich cross-fertilisation and experimentation, where poets and writers of the classical Arab literary heritage (*turāth*), as well as representatives of French, Russian and American literature, provided guidance and inspira-

tion. The charter members of the Taḥt al-Sūr group opened themselves to the latest trends in creative writing, painting, photography, cinema, theatre, music and literary criticism.

Ironically, as this fertile decade of the 1930s came to an end, its most illustrious members would go on to be identified with one particular genre. For example, Muṣṭafā Khurayyif (1909-67) would emerge as a prominent national poet, whose poems came to be less songs of love and passion and more celebrations of national and regional events, e.g. Tunisia's independence, the bitter Algerian war for independence, the events of 1948 in Palestine. Collected into a grand anthology entitled *Shawḳ wa-dhawḳ* ("Longing and taste", 1965) Khurayyif's poems reflect closely modern Tunisian history and the poet's commitment to social causes, features common to much of post-independence Tunisian poetry until the rise of the avant-garde school of the late 1960s, led by poets such as al-Ḥabīb al-Zannād (b. 1946) and Faḍīla al-Shābbī (b. 1946).

ʿAlī al-Dūʿādjī (1909-49) emerged from the group and became known as the father of the Tunisian short story. His stories, posthumously collected into one volume, *Sahirtu minhu al-layālī* ("It kept me up at night", 1987) reflect the author's experimentation with different narrative forms, styles and language registers, as well as his remarkable ability to capture the many facets of the Tunisian personality through a wide range of humorous as well as bleak human situations.

Al-Bashīr Khurayyif (1917-83), like his older brother Muṣṭafā and others of the Taḥt al-Sūr group, experimented in various literary genres, but his literary trajectory would also follow a more narrow path, that of the novel. His first, *Ḥubbak ḍarbānī* ("Your love has brought me down," 1958), is a semi-autobiographical tale of a young man's amourous adventures amidst theatrical circles in 1920s Tunis. *Barḳ al-layl* ("Night lightning," 1960) is a historical novel set in the Ḥafṣid state of the 16th century. However, he is best known for his grand epic, *al-Digla fī ʿarādjīnhā* ("Dates on their stalks," 1969). The novel, thoroughly grounded in social realism, narrates the struggles of the impoverished and exploited workers of Tunisia's rural south, and breaks new ground with his vivid details of daily life and the use of the regional dialect in the dialogue, greatly enhancing the realistic mode of the novel.

However, it is Maḥmūd al-Masʿadī (b. 1911), peripherally connected to the Taḥt al-Sūr generation, who enjoys the highest critical acclaim as Tunisia's premier novelist. His literary projects, most important of which are *al-Sudd* ("The dam," 1955), a romance written in the form of a play, and *Ḥakā Abū Hurayra waḳāl* ("Thus Abu Hurayra narrated," 1973), a novel written in the form of *ḥadīth*, combines modern themes of existential angst and alienation of the individual from society with the legends, language, and narrative forms of the early Islamic period. His work extends beyond the borders of the Tunisian landscape and touches upon universal themes that were treated by both European and Arab writers in the years immediately following the Second World War.

In the period of post-independence (since 1956), journalism continued to play a vital role in the fostering of a national literature, with *al-Fikr* replacing *al-ʿĀlam al-adabī* (1930s) and *al-Mabāḥith* (1940s) as the periodical of prestige, and the concept of literary commitment (*iltizām*) continued to be the guiding force for a new generation of writers. Naturally, the story of colonial oppression and the national struggle for independence dominated post-independence prose and poetry. The 1950s witnessed a proliferation of short stories by such writers as al-Ṭayyib al-Tarīkī (b. 1920), al-Ṭāhir Ḳayḳa (b. 1922) and Rashīd al-Ḥamzāwī (b. 1934), who wrote of social injustice and class conflict, poverty and ignorance. Perhaps Tunisia's most prolific chronicler of historical events and their devastating impact on the masses is Muḥammad al-ʿArūsī al-Miṭwī (b. 1920) whose anti-colonial novels, *Wa min al-ḍaḥāyā* ("Among the victims," 1956), *Ḥalīma* (1964) and *al-Tūt al-murr* ("Bitter mulberries," 1967), focussed attention on the plight of the rural population, of women and the downtrodden. In his more recent work, al-Miṭwī's shifts from novel to short story, from the village to the city, from colonial rule to post-colonialism and from epic romances of good vs. evil to a more complicated, modern fiction.

A new generation of Tunisian writers, emerging since 1969, has succeeded in bringing Tunisian literature away from the preoccupations of history and society as protagonists and towards the individual and the quest for identity and personal freedom. There has also been a break with traditional literary themes, tampering with generic boundaries, and shifting away from the familiar modes of narration and the predictable Tunisian hero-type, and a more conscious effort to break the rules of literary canonicity, to construct complex anti-heroes, and to apply modern techniques of stream-of-consciousness, surrealism, allegory and irony. This generation is also responsible for the development of a modern Tunisian theatre whose bold, vernacular language and delvings into the Tunisian psyche have produced a highly popular art form with tremendous social impact.

ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Madanī (b. 1938), whose versatility and productivity are reminiscent of the Taḥt al-Sūr generation, chose historical themes to write plays that reflect the modern Tunisian's quest for the self, alienation from society and disappointment with what is viewed as the neo-colonialism of the Tunisian élite. His first novel, *al-Insān al-ṣifr* ("Zero man," 1967-71) reflects the absurdist vision of modern man's inability to communicate. His later collections of short stories mix reverie and reality in narrating the human condition.

Similarly, Ḥasan Naṣr (b. 1937), who may be considered as Tunisia's most successful master of the short story (*Layālī al-maṭar*, "Rainy nights," 1968; *52 layla*, "52 nights," 1979), frequently employs fantasy and surrealism, mixing tragedy and comedy, in writing about the conflicts between tradition and modernity, alienation and emigration that disrupt contemporary life and create an inverted world of chaos.

The decade of the 1980s throughout the Arab world has been frequently referred to as the "era of the novel". Despite the large number of poetry and short story anthologies, it is the novel which has drawn the most attention. In Tunisia, as elsewhere, it is a novel with a strong social dimension in which society's concerns are embodied in the individual's search for meaning to his life. Writers such as Ḥasan Naṣr and ʿArūsiyya al-Nālūtī (b. 1950), long identified with the short story, have in their more recent work turned to the novel. Perhaps the most prolific of Tunisian novelists, Muḥammad al-Hādī Bin Ṣāliḥ (b. 1945), published his seventh novel, *Min ḥakḳihi an yaḥlum* ("A right to dream") in 1991, in which he deals with the problematic role of the intellectual and literary commitment in a developing nation such as Tunisia. In contrast to the strong local emphasis in Bin Ṣāliḥ's novelistic project, Hishām al-Ḳarawī (b. 1955) has

produced two novels that deal with regional Arab issues, with the Lebanese civil war and the occupation of Beirut (*Aʿmidat al-djunūn al-sabʿa*, "The seven pillars of madness," 1985) and the desperate situation of Arab politics (*al-Nasr wa 'l-ḥudūd*, "The eagle and the borders," 1989).

The flight of the rural population to the city, widespread unemployment, emigration to Europe, the breakdown of the family, the rise of the police state, and the emergence of Islamic movements as political opposition, have all found their truest expression in the contemporary novel. The bread riots of 1984 serve as a haunting background to Muḥammad Riḍā al-Kāfī's (b. 1955) stunning novel, *al-Ḳināʿ taḥt al-djild* ("The veil beneath the skin," 1990), which narrates the withdrawal of the protagonist amidst a series of personal, financial and social setbacks. Journalist, short story writer and novelist, Riḍā al-Kāfī belongs to a long continuum of Tunisian writers which began with the Taḥt al-Sūr generation of the 1930s, dedicated to the creation of a new literature that is committed to society, its needs and its advancement, these being the basic principles that have defined and shaped modern Tunisian literature.

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VI. The Status of Women.

Tunisian society has undergone many transformations over the last century, and the place of women in society, and the relations of men and women, are one of the most significant indicators.

The sphere of work is especially notable here. Until the 1920s and 1930s, the essential unit of production was the family, in which both sexes participated, but with the rule that extra-familial tasks were the province of men. In both urban and rural milieux, women are mainly responsible for processing basic foodstuffs, spinning, making clothes, carpets, hangings, etc. Certain researches on urban artisanal production have demonstrated the importance of the non-visible work of women in certain fields of production considered as male ones.

For many reasons, including its colonial status, Tunisia came late to the industrial revolution and the changes in systems of production which inevitably brought with them upheavals in social relations, including the relationship between the sexes. It was only after independence that women really appeared on the labour market, the outcome of a long process, begun with the *Nahda*, in which the idea gradually took shape that the future of society would depend on the role women would play in it. Discussion at first revolved round the education and schooling of girls, and Khayr al-Dīn Pasha, Shaykh al-Sanūsī and the *Jeunes Tunisiens* all raised their voices on this topic. The debates became more spirited in the 1930s with the emergence of the national movement for independence, and Ṭāhir Ḥaddād's *Imraʾatunā fi 'l-sharīʿa wa 'l-mudjtamaʿ* and the controversies which followed it were all notable factors here.

From the beginning of the 20th century, certain families had sent their daughters to school, and some women's associations were founded. But at the same time, the seclusion of women and the difference in their status compared with European women were raised by some nationalists into identity symbols. Discussion of this question of identity, the daily sight of European women wbo worked and were freely concerned with their occupations, the school enrollment of an increasing number of girls, the share of women in the national struggle, all stimulated reflection and discussion on such topics as the role of girls' education, wearing the veil, choice of spouse and women's share in the world of labour.

It was in this context that politicians, headed by Bourguiba, worked towards a more equal treatment of women and men (Personal Status Law of 13 August 1956 which forbade polygamy, forbade unilateral divorce, fixed the legal age for marriage, allowed women to sue for divorce like men, and made daughters the sole heirs of their parents in the absence of brothers; and the text of the Constitution) and stimulated a broad movement for an accelerated entry to school education for girls, for such educated girls to enter the labour market, for renunciation of wearing a veil, and for changes in the relationship of married couples. Since then the movement has gone forward, though not without hesitations and controversies, sometimes even violent, as in the 1986-7 Islamic fundamentalist polemics, which might have placed the advances in jeopardy if it had not been for the vigilance of women's groups and the political will of the ruling state power to guarantee, in the interests of Tunisia's development, male and female equality: the amendment to the Personal Status Law of August 1992, and the ratification of international conventions aimed at eliminating discrimination between sexes, not to mention action in the educational sphere, health (family planning), in the labour sphere and in the mass media.

Recent statistics are significant here: 83.2% of girls aged between six and thirteen are in school (89% of boys), whilst in 1995-6 47% of the children in primary schools were girls, and 48% of those in secondary schools and 44% of students are female. Women represent *ca.* 20% of the active working population. They thus have their place today in all spheres of education and the world of work.

Inequality nevertheless remains, above all in rural areas. Unemployment affects women more than men. Even if girls sometimes have better school results than boys, they still tend to choose less prestigious and appreciated careers. Women are poorly represented in the scientific and technological spheres and have few managerial functions; there are very few of them in politics, trade and professional unions and associations (except women's ones). Public life remains still

mostly a male preserve. All these reflect a latent resistance to social developments and an identity concept which looks more at the past than to the future.

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AL-ṬŪR (a.), a word with the basic sense of "mountain".

It occurs ten times in the Ḳur'ān (II, 60/63, 87/93; IV, 153/154; XIX, 53/52, etc.), on two occasions (XXIII, 20; XCV, 2) expressly coupled with Sīnā'/Sīnīn, specifically meaning Mount Sinai. Virtually all its occurences in the Ḳur'ān are connected with the wanderings of the Children of Israel in the Sinai Desert [see banū isrā'īl; sīnā'; al-tīh]. It was early recognised by the Arabic philologists as a loan word from Hebrew or Aramaic (cf. Hebr. *ṣūr* "rock" > "cliff", Aram. *ṭūrā* "mountain"), more proximately, from Syriac (see A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 206-7).

1. Dj̲abal al-Ṭūr, Mount Sinai.

The Arab geographers (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 557; Abu 'l-Fidā', tr. Reinaud, 65; cf. A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur le Palestine*, Paris 1951, 135) locate the mountain as not far from the Red Sea (Baḥr Ḳulzum) and say that it was climbed from al-Amn (Elim ?), where the children of Israel once encamped. In the vicinity was the Wādī Ṭuwā, where Moses spoke with God before he was sent to Pharaoh (Ḳur'ān, XX, 12; LXXIX, 16; Yāḳūt, III, 553; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 213).

On the north side of the mountain (now Dj̲abal Mūsā) in what is now called the Wādī S̲h̲u'ayb (valley of Jethro) at a height of 5,000 feet is the monastery of Catherine, on the site of the castle built by Justinian I probably between A.D. 548 and 562 to protect the monks of Sinai. According to the Book of Monasteries (*Kitāb al-Diyārāt*) of al-S̲h̲ābus̲h̲tī, the "Church (*kanīsa*, for which Yāḳūt, ii, 675, writes *dayr*) al-Ṭūr" was on the top of the mountain, built of black stone and strongly fortified; there was a spring outside and another inside the building. The monastery was inhabited by monks and much visited on account of the miracles wrought there (ed. G. 'Awwād, Bag̲h̲dād 1386/1966, 310, 426-9). In this description, the Christian church of the Mother of God (Θεοτόκος), which was built also by Justinian on the slope of the mountain, probably on the site of the present Chapel of Elijah (see below), is confused with the monastery at its foot.

The monks of the monastery possess a copy of an alleged letter from Muḥammad granting protection (Pococke, *Description of the East*, i, 268-70; Moritz, in *APAW* [1918], Abh. 4, pp. 6-8), and a number of genuine documents of the time of the Mamlūk sultans Inal, K̲h̲us̲h̲ḳadam and Ḳā'itbay (Moritz, *op. cit.*, 25 ff.). They mainly deal with the protection of the Christian monks from the raids of the marauding Bedouin of the country round, but seem to have been regarded by the latter as empty threats, as their frequent renewal shows (Ḳā'itbay issued no fewer than 22 *firmāns* for the monastery during the 30 years of his reign!). The monastery was frequently stormed, set on fire, its gardens robbed and pilgrims and merchants plundered; sometimes the monks even had to seek refuge in the monastery of the village of al-Ṭūr (see below) (Moritz, *op. cit.*, 28).

Within the monastery "between the church and the dwellings on the northern part of the buildings" there is still a mosque, the pulpit of which was, according to an inscription, presented by Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr Anūs̲h̲takīn al-Āmirī in Rabī' I 500/November 1106 in the reign of the caliph al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh (Moritz, 50-2). The monastery of Sinai in this inscription is called the "upper monastery" (*al-dayr al-a'lā*) to distinguish it from monasteries in al-Ṭūr (Ῥαιθοῦ) and Fārān. According to another inscription, this same Anūs̲h̲takīn founded three *masādjid* (places for prayer) on the Munādjāt Mūsā, a mosque on the hill of the monastery of Fārān and another below Fārān al-Dj̲adīda, and a lighthouse on the shore of the coast (al-Sāḥil). By Munādjāt Mūsā is certainly meant the traditional Sinai, now Dj̲abal Mūsā (Moritz, 54); it was only in the 14th century that the name was transferred to a smaller hill east of the monastery of St. Catherine, which is now called (like a hill near Fīrān) Dj̲abal Munādja. Of the three *masādjid*, only two could have been on the top of Dj̲abal al-Ṭūr, namely, the Christian church built in A.D. 364 by St. Julian and a small mosque, also mentioned by al-Idrīsī; the third place of prayer no doubt lay on a small plateau 500 feet below the summit on which now stands a chapel of Elijah erected at a later date. The mosque on the "hill of the monastery of Fārān" is perhaps to be sought on the Dj̲abal al-Muḥarra, that of new Fārān in the oasis of Fīrān, in the gardens of which the inhabitants of the "city of the Amalekites" Fārān later settled (al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 188; Moritz, 56). Moritz supposes the lighthouse (57) to have stood at that point on the coast where the Wādī Fīrān enters the sea and there is a poor anchorage.

In a Syriac description of the seven climes of the 13th century A.D., the mount of Sinai (*Ṭūrā de-Sinai*) forms the centre of the crescent-shaped map in the second clime (Chabot, *Notice sur une mappemonde syrienne*, in *Bulletin de géogr. hist. et descript.* [1897], 104, and pl. iv.).

The library of St. Catherine's has proved to be of unique value for its preservation, *inter alia*, of important manuscripts and archival documents in Arabic. The former are important for Christian Arabic literature, and the latter significant for both mediaeval Islamic history and Arabic diplomatic [*q.v.*], given that original documents, as opposed to texts copied into later works, such as manuals of secretaryship, have been so sparsely preserved in the pre-Ottoman Islamic Middle East. As Stern noted, it can hardly be coincidental that these administrative documents have been preserved by a monastery, which had a sort of corporate existence lacking in Islamic institutions (*Fāṭimid decrees*, 4). B. Moritz was the pioneer in 1914 in drawing the attention of the scholarly world to all

this Arabic material (in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Sinaiklosters im Mittelalter nach arabischen Quellen*, in *APAW* [1918], Abh. 4; cf. also C. Schmidt and Moritz, *Die Sinai-Expedition im Frühjahr 1914*, in *SBPAW* [1926], 26-34). More recently, S.M. Stern studied archival material in his *Fāṭimid decrees. Original documents from the Fāṭimid chancery*, London 1964, see esp. ch. 1; *Petitions of the Ayyūbid period*, in *BSOAS*, xxvii [1964], 1-32; and *Two Ayyūbid decrees from Sinai*, in Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chanceries. First series*, Oxford 1965, 9-38. Cf. also E. Khedoori, *Charters of privileges granted by the Fāṭimids and Mamlūks to St. Catherine's Monastery (ca. 500-900 A.H.)*, diss., Univ. of Manchester 1958, unpubl. For the material from the succeeding Mamlūk period, see also H. Ernst (ed. and tr.), *Die mamlukische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters*, Wiesbaden 1960; and for the Ottoman one, K. Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters in türkischer Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1970, and R. Humbsch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des osmanischen Ägyptens, nach arabischen Sultans- und Statthalterurkunden des Sinai Klosters*, Freiburg 1976. For catalogues and publications relating to the Arabic mss. of the Library, see the *Bibl.* below.

The little town of al-Ṭūr lies to the south-west of the Djabal Mūsā on the Gulf of Suez, about 50 miles from Rās Muḥammad, the most southern point of the Sinai peninsula. In the early years of the 20th century, it was in regular caravan communication with the monastery of St. Catherine, some of whose monks usually staying in the town (Weill, *La presqu'île du Sinai*, 82). It lies at the only spot on the west coast of the peninsula which is completely free from coral reefs and has therefore an anchorage. As al-Ṭūr is further excellently supplied with water, and has large palm-groves in the vicinity, it has always been the most important harbour in the peninsula. In ancient times, it was called Ποσείδιον (Agatharchides, in Strabo, xvi, 776 and Diodorus, iii, 42) and later (from the Arab tribe of the ʿΡαϊθηνοί) ʿΡαϊθοῦ (ʿΡαηθώ in Suidas); probably the monastery there dated from the pre-Arab period.

Al-Ḳalḳashandī already knows al-Ṭūr as the most important Egyptian harbour for the ships of the pilgrims to Mecca, until about 450/1047 when ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*] took its place. It was not till 780/1378-9 that the harbour of al-Ṭūr was restored and the pilgrims henceforth again took the northern route (Weill, *op. cit.*, 92-4). After the discovery of the sea-route to India by the Portuguese, al-Ṭūr gradually lost its importance and sank to be a mere fishing-village, until in the second half of the 18th century a quarantine station was put there for pilgrims returning from Mecca and the place began to flourish once more. Sultan Murād built the fort of Ḳalʿat al-Ṭūr near the old monastery, but both are now completely in ruins.

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī, iii, 179; Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *ZDPV*, viii, 2; *Kitāb al-Kawākib*, ed. Ibn al-Zayyāt, Cairo 1907, 12; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, ii, 509; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 231; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1893, 43; Ḳalḳashandī, *Die Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten*, tr. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1879, 100, 169; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, i/1, 79 n. 112; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 73, 547; R. Weill, *La presqu'île du Sinai* (*Biblioth. de l'école d. haut. études*, fasc. clxxi), Paris 1908, 93, and *passim*; Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, i (*MIFAO*, xxxvi), 122, s.v. *al-Ṭūr* and *Ṭūr Sīnāʾ*; G.H. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, the Church and Fortress of Justinian*, Ann Arbor 1965.

For the Arabic mss. of St. Catherine's, see M.D. Gibson, *Cat. of the Arabic manuscripts in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Cambridge 1894; S.L. Lewis, *Forty-one facsimiles of dated Christian Arabic manuscripts*, Studia Sinaitica, xii, Cambridge 1907; A.S. Atiya, *A handlist of the Arabic manuscripts of Mount Sinai... and scrolls microfilmed at the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*, Baltimore 1955; Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden 1970; Z. Vesela, *Sur les possessions du monastère de Ste. Catherine de Sinaï et de leurs employés*, in *Rapports tchéch. IV. Congr. Assoc. Internat. des Etudes Sud-Est européens 1979*, 477-85.

2. ṬŪR ZAYTĀ or DJABAL ZAYTĀ, the Mount of Olives, east of Jerusalem [see AL-ḲUDS. A.], height 2,680 feet, still called DJABAL AL-ṬŪR. According to tradition, 70,000 prophets died there of starvation and are buried there. The Ascension of Jesus, according to an old tradition, took place from the Mount of Olives. Between it and the town ran the Wādī Djahannam (vale of Kedron, now Wādī Sittī Maryam with the well of Siloam, Arabic ʿAyn Sulwān) over which ran the bridge of al-Ṣirāṭ. The village of Kafr al-Ṭūr now stands on the hill.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 558; Ṣafī al-Dīn, ii, 215; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 101; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud, 69; Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *ZDPV*, viii, 8; Muḳaddasī, 171; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 124, tr. Gibb, i, 79; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 26; Mudjīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-djalīl*, Būlāḳ 1283, ii, 412; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 72, 74, 162, 211, 218-20; H.C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, *The handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*, London 1930, 125; Marmardji, 134-5; Kay Prag, *Blue Guide. Jerusalem*, London 1989, 254-64.

3. AL-ṬŪR, the hill of Tabor (still called DJABAL AL-ṬŌR). At the spot where Jesus revealed himself to his disciples, the monastery of Dayr al-Ṭūr or Dayr al-Tadjallā stood on the hill. In the Crusading period there was a fortress on the top, which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn captured and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had restored in 608/1212. The Crusaders tried in vain to recapture it in 614/1217. Baybars in Djumādā II 661/April-May 1263 used the fortress as a base of operations for his raids against ʿAkkā.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, ii, 649, 675; Ṣafī al-Dīn, i, 426, 434; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud, 69; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii, 438, 440, iv, 46-7; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 75, 434-5; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 124 n. 4; Luke and Keith-Roach, 137-8; Marmardji, 134.

4. AL-ṬŪR, the hill of Gerizim, height 2,849 feet, above Nābulus, the sacred mountain of the Samaritans. Jewish tradition makes it the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac. The hill is still called Djabal al-Ṭōr or al-Djabal al-Ḳiblī to distinguish it from the Djabal al-Shamālī or Islāmiyya (Ebal) to the north of the town.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 557; Ṣafī al-Dīn, ii, 214; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 74, Luke and Keith-Roach, 6, 129; Marmardji, 134.

5. ṬŪR HĀRŪN, the hill of Hōr (5,600 feet) west of Petra, called after Aaron, who according to an old tradition, is buried there (Josephus, *Antiquities*, iv. 4, 7). When the children of Israel accused Moses of having slain him, he showed them on the top of the hill the bier on which Aaron lay. In al-Masʿūdī, the hill is called Djabal Maʾāb in the district of al-Sharā; he also mentions the caves in the mountain. On the east-

ern peak (5,200 feet) of the Djabal al-Nabī Hārūn is Aaron's grave (Ḳabr Hārūn), which is still a place of pilgrimage for the Bedouin.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 559; Ṣafī al-Dīn, ii, 215; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 93-4 = §87; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, 429-30; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 74; Dalman, *Petra*, 1908, 15, 42, 168; idem, *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, 1912, 2, 8, 26.

(E. HONIGMANN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

ṬŪR ʿABDĪN, "mountain of the [Christian] devotees", a mountainous plateau region of northern Mesopotamia, in early Islamic times coming within the province of Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*] and now, in the Turkish Republic, coming within the *il* of Mardin. It has been notable throughout the Islamic period for the survival—at least until the later 20th century—of a vigorous Syriac Christianity, with many churches and monasteries.

1. Geography.

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn stretches roughly from Mārdīn [*q.v.*] in the west to Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar [*q.v.*], the modern Turkish town of Cizre, in the east. To its north and east, the Tigris forms the boundary up to the point where it is joined by the Batman Su. In its northwestern part lies the Koros Dağı. In the south, the borders of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn are well marked where the wall of the tableland slopes steeply, often precipitously, to the North Syrian plain, with the tableland looking from the desert like a strong barrier. Below this wall runs the historic road from Mārdīn to Naṣībīn [*q.v.*] (modern Nusaybin) and thence to northern ʿIrāḳ. Together with Ṭūr ʿAbdīn are usually included the mountains around Mārdīn, with the Mazı Dağı to its west and, separated by a pronounced depression, the basalt ridge of the Karaca Dağı. Its two modern urban centres are Mardin and Midyat (Aramaic: Midhyadh).

The average height of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is in its central portion about 3,000-3,500 feet above sea-level. In the district between Midyat and Ḥiṣn Kayfā [*q.v.*] on the Tigris and in the mountains of Mārdīn, individual peaks reach 4,300 feet. In general, however, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn lacks any marked heights and looks everywhere like an undulating plain which is cut by deep and broad wādīs. The largest is the Wādī Khaltān, which flows into the Tigris at Finik (to the northwest of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar).

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn consists almost entirely of limestone, often with beds of marl. In places, however, we find angular basalt blocks scattered, which are of volcanic origin. Such outcrops of basalt are found especially in the east, towards Djazīra, where the basaltic Elimdagh rises as a continuation of the southern wall of limestone of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, and also west of Mārdīn where the lava from the Karadja-Dagh flowed out. To the nature of the rock composing it, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn owes its many caves, which are often, as in ancient times, used as dwellings. Such caves are numerous, for example in the region of Midyat (mentioned as early as the Assyrian inscriptions), and notably at Ḥiṣn Kayfā, which is the regular troglodyte capital.

The eastern and western part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is in general characterised by an absence of trees, but in its centre, east of Midyat, a strip of forest runs from north to south. Here we have many small hills overgrown with stunted trees (dwarf oaks) and shrubs. As a result of the scarcity of forests and the fact that most of the rainfall sinks into the porous limestone, there is a serious scarcity of water in a large part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. For watering the cattle, water is collected in cisterns, often very old, and large ponds. The south has the most plentiful supply of water; there we find numerous springs and countless little streams running southwards through the hills, usually to disappear in the sands of the Mesopotamian plain at no great distance from the foot of the mountains. The streams that flow from the southern side of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn enter the river Djaghdjagh, which divides into two arms above Naṣībīn. The southern slopes of the Karadja Dagh, as well as the Mārdīn mountains, are drained by the Khābūr [*q.v.*] which receives the waters of the Djaghdjagh at al-Ḥasaka in northeastern Syria.

In spite of many barren patches and the generally unfavourable irrigation conditions, there are many stretches of ground which grow cereals well and excellent pastures, especially in the hollows which hold the fertile reddish-brown earth, and on the slopes of the little hills, which are preferably used for the vine. At the monasteries we find well cared-for vineyards. Terraces to which the soil has been carried have also been built to grow the vine and fruits. The people are exceedingly skilled in irrigating their fields. In addition to cereals (usually barley) and the vine, cotton and all kinds of fruits (especially very fine apricots) are grown. In the wooded portions of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn oak galls and manna resin are gathered, and are found in large quantities. A ridge west of Mārdīn, the Djabal al-ʿAfṣ, takes its name from the plentifulness of oak galls there (*ʿafṣ*). On the wines and other products of the soil of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, see E. Prym and A. Socin, *Der neuaramäische Dialekt des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, Göttingen 1881, i, p. viii, and Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 429.

Bibliography: For 19th and early 20th-century travellers who journeyed through the interior of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, from Shiel (1836) to de Beaufort, Sandreczki, Goldschmid, Socin, Sachau, Lehmann-Haupt, Sir Mark Sykes, Gertrude Bell, etc., and the reports of American missionaries, see *EI*[1] art. *Bibl.*, and note A. Socin, *Zur Geographie des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, in *ZDMG*, xxxv (1881), 237-69. Of recent studies, see Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks. *Turkey*, London 1942, ii, 477-8, 572-3; W.C. Brice, *A systematic regional geography. South-West Asia*, London 1966, 136-7. (M. STRECK*)

2. History.

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was already known to the Assyrians as the Kasiyari mountains; it is found thus called in the inscriptions of Adad-nirari I (1308-1275 B.C.) and Šulman-ašarid (Shalmaneser) I (1275-45). In Assyrian inscriptions we find, as well as Kasiyari, two other names apparently referring to parts only of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn: Ni-irbu, probably the central part of the massif, and Izala, the southern fringe and the Mārdīn region (whose name is also mentioned), the Syriac Īzəlā and Arabic Djabal Izal. The whole region corresponds roughly to τὸ Μάσιον ὄρος, Masius, of later Greek geographers like Arrian and Ptolemy.

The Aramaic name Ṭūr ʿAbdīn stems from the period when the massif had become a flourishing centre of Eastern church life and monasticism. The name appears in a Syriac *Lives of the Saints* from the time of the Emperor Julian (*r.* 351-63). Byzantine sources also note many fortresses in the region, built to face the frontier with Sāsānid Persia; these are listed e.g. in the *Descriptio orbis romani* of George Cyprius (beginning of the 7th century). In Byzantine sources we find the ethnicon Τουραβδηνός. The name appears in the Armenian geography of Moses Khorenacʿi as Turabdin, apparently, however, denoting a restricted area, the southern fringes of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 141, 158), perhaps Izala.

In mediaeval Arabic sources we also find the name Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. For the pre-Islamic period we have it in verses of the poet Abū Duʾād al-Iyādī, which tell us that the legendary founder of the kingdom of al-Ḥaḍr [*q.v.*], Sāṭirūn, also ruled the land of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (see Ibn Khurradādhbih, vi, 95, ll. 11-12 = Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 559, l. 5, and cf. also Yāḳūt, ii, 284, ll. 13-14). Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is also mentioned in a poem, the subject of which is Khusraw and Shīrīn: see Ibn al-Faḳīh, 159, l. 19 f.; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 54, l. 1, mentions that in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn remnants of the Aramaeans still survive. Ibn Rusta, 90, l. 8 and al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 175, l. 12, point out that the Hirmās, a tributary of the Khābūr [*q.v.*], rises in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. We may also mention that the Arab geographers (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. de Goeje, 73, l. 3, and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Paris, 282) also have the special name Djabal Māridīn for the southern borders of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, the district of Naṣībīn and Dārā. The Modern Syriac pronunciation of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (one also hears Ṭūr al-ʿAbedīn) is ū-Ṭūro daʿ-ʿĀbōde. The name Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is locally not unknown, especially in Christian circles, but belongs to the literary rather than to the spoken language. This hill-country is called in Arabic *al-Ṭūr*, also *al-Djabal* and *Djabal Ṭōr*, or *Djabal al-Ṭūr*; cf. Prym and Socin, *op. cit.*, i, pp. i, ii, and Sachau, *Reise in Syrie und Mesopotamien*, Berlin 1883, 387.

The district of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn passed with the rest of Mesopotamia (al-Djazīra) into the hands of the Arabs in the years 18-19/639-40, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 176, ll. 3-5 = Yāḳūt, iv, 390, ll. 15-16, and Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, iv, 36, 156. The Ṭūr belonged to the Mesopotamian province of Diyār Rabīʿa under the caliphs.

As regards its political history after the conquest, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn generally shared the fortunes of the adjoining districts forming the rest of al-Djazīra. Concerning the interior, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn proper, there is comparatively little in the Arabic sources. On the other hand, important towns on its borders like Mārdīn, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Naṣībīn are frequently mentioned. There is important material for local history in Syriac literature, particularly in chronicles and hagiographic texts. Valuable information for the history of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in the 9th/15th century, especially for the period of Tīmūr's campaigns, is contained in a continuation of the *Chronicon Syriacum* (of profane history) of Barhebraeus (Abu 'l-Faradj) by anonymous monks (one of whom belonged to a monastery in Bāsebrīna); see Baumstark, *Gesch. der syrisch. Literatur*, Bonn 1922, 328. In mediaeval times and up to the present day the history of the Kurdish tribes in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and the country round it is of importance. The history of the Kurdish dynasties of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and Ḥiṣn Kayfā is of special importance in this connection; cf. the account based on the Kurdish chronicle *Sharaf-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī [*q.v.*] given by H.A. Barb, in *S.B. Ak. Wien*, xxx [1859], 117 ff., and see also KURDS, KURDISTĀN. iii. B.

In the redistribution of territory which followed the First World War, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was left to the Turks. In the administrative division of the Ottoman empire as it existed down to that War, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn belonged to the *wilāyet* of Diyārbakr and to the *sandjaḳ* of Mārdīn, which was divided into five *ḳaḍās*: Mārdīn, Djazīra, Midyat, ʿAwīne and Naṣībīn; see Cuinet, *op. cit.*, 412, 496-7. As noted above, it is now in the *il* of Mardin.

In the early Byzantine period and the first centuries of Islam, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was probably inhabited almost entirely by Christian Aramaeans. Later, more and more Muslims (mainly Kurds) settled there, so that with the gradual decline in the numbers of Christians, the result of frequent persecutions by the Muslims, the proportion altered more and more in favour of the latter down to the First World War. According to Cuinet's statistics, not, however, too reliable (*op. cit.*, 412, 496-7), the *sandjaḳ* of Mārdīn, which in area at least was larger than Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in the wider sense, had in 1890 in all 194,072 inhabitants, viz. 122,522 Muslims, 67,970 Christians, 1,500 Yazīdīs, 1,500 Gypsies and 580 Jews: the Christians were thus a third of the whole population. In the two *ḳaḍās* which were almost entirely within Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, those of Midyat and ʿAwīne, Cuinet, 513, 517-18, gave the population in 1890 as 31,920 Christians and 37,712 Muslims. In the central *ḳaḍā* of Midyat the numbers were about equally balanced: 22,632 Muslims and 22,186 Christians, the majority Jacobite in theology, with a few thousand Uniate Catholics and a few hundred Protestants.

In 1882 the Ottoman government granted the Christians *millet* [*q.v.*] status, but this has not been maintained by its recognition as a minority under the Turkish Republic, with its state policies of Turkification. The 20th century has accordingly brought much violence and persecution for the Syriac Christian community, as it did for the Armenian Christians of the Ottoman Empire. Extensive emigration began after the persecutions of 1915 in eastern Turkey. Violence against the Christians, above all from the surrounding Kurds, exacerbated by central and local Turkish officialdom's failure to protect the Christians, was unleashed in the disturbed, post-First World War years before the new Turkish Republic established its authority in the eastern provinces of the realm. In 1924 the Jacobite Patriarch, Ignatius Elias III, was driven from his residence at Dayr Zaʿfarān to the east of Mardin, and migrated, with 3,000 to 4,000 of his followers, to the safety of French-mandated Syria (see H.C. Luke, *Mosul and its minorities*, London 1925, 113).

With the internal insecurity which characterised Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s, persecution and violence against the Christians by unrestrained Muslim Kurds increased, especially with the return to Ṭūr ʿAbdīn of Kurds from Beirut after the Lebanese Civil War broke out in 1975, who now wrought their vengeance on the local Christians. Internal emigration to Turkish cities like Istanbul (with a community there estimated in 1985 at 12,000), Ankara, Diyarbakır, Elâziğ and Malatya, increased, as did external emigration to Germany, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium and the United States, where there are now substantial communities. The restoration of order within Turkey by the military régime after 1980 improved the condition of the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn Christian community, but the future remains uncertain for it, especially with the present resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism within Turkey, and emigration continues.

The focus of the Christian community, in the 1980s numbering some 10,000, remains the town of Midyat, in whose vicinity 33 villages were still inhabited by Christians in 1983; of the 80 monasteries known in mediaeval times (see below, 3.), six remain with resident monks and nuns (Anschütz). The community in Midyat comprises traders and craftsmen, such as gold and silversmiths, dyers and tailors, plus what might be called a proletariat which has come in from the countryside and is en route for Istanbul or Europe. Outside the town, the villagers still use largely

primitive agricultural and stock-rearing methods.

Bibliography: Older sources are detailed in *EI*[1] art. s.v.: notable there are Gertrude L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, 296-322; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1911-20, *passim*; Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, London 1915, 354-7, 578; W.A. Wigram, *The Assyrians and their neighbours*, London 1923. A classic recent study is H. Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo. Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, 3 vols. Beirut-Wiesbaden 1967-71, with material of historical and demographic as well as of linguistic interest. For the recent situation in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, see Gabriele Yonan, *Assyrer heute. Kultur, Sprache, Nationalbewegung der aramäischsprechenden Christen im Nahen Osten*, Hamburg 1978, and the works of Helga Anschütz, especially her monograph *Die Syrischen Christen vom Tur ʿAbdin*, Das östliche Christentum, N.F. 34, Würzburg 1984, and see her essay *Christliche Gruppen in der Türkei*, in P.A. Andrews and R. Benninghaus (eds.), *Ethnic groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Beihefte zum TAVO, Reihe B, no. 60, Wiesbaden 1989, 460-4, also *ibid.*, 161-3.

(M. Streck-[C.E. Bosworth])

3. Religious complexion.

Christianity spread from Edessa into Ṭūr ʿAbdīn at an early date. At the Council of Chalcedon (451) there is mentioned a bishop of Ciphas/Ḥiṣn Kayfā, and in the *Notitia Antiochena* of 570 a bishop of Turabdin, whose seat may have been at Ḥāḥ, is listed. From the time of the great Christological controversies until the 20th century, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn has been the citadel of the Jacobites; nowhere do or did they exist until recent times in such solid masses as in these highlands and in Mārdīn and its vicinity. Ṭūr ʿAbdīn proper originally seems to have been a single Jacobite bishopric; *ca.* 1089 it was divided into two dioceses, the bishops of which lived in Ḳarṭamīn and Ḥāḥ respectively. Later, in the 13th century, other sees were created in the chief towns of the district. In the middle of the 14th century differences between the patriarch of Mārdīn and the Bishop of Ṣalāḥ (2 hours' journey north of Midyat) led to a schism, in the course of which the bishops of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn cast off the authority of the patriarch and chose the bishop of Ṣalāḥ as patriarch of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and Ḥiṣn Kayfā. This split lasted for over a century.

In addition to Jacobites, there were in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in mediaeval times, and even later, communities of Nestorians. The oldest monastery there, that of Mār Awgen, was for long in their possession (see below). These Nestorians were won over to Rome in the 16th and 17th centuries and henceforth called themselves Chaldaeans (*Kaldāniyyūn*), as a religious community with their own ritual. The members of this so-called Chaldaean church settled in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn had in the early 20th century at their head two bishops (in Mārdīn and Djazīra); according to a native Chaldaean cleric, they numbered in 1914 8,070 souls. According to Cuinet, there were in 1890 in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn about 4,000 Syrians (*Suryāniyyūn*), i.e. Jacobites in union with Rome, who were under a Patriarch of Mārdīn and a bishop of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar. According to Cuinet, there were in the administrative district of Mārdīn also 28,666 Armenians, of whom one half professed to belong to the Orthodox Church, the other half in fairly equal portions to the Roman Catholic and to the Protestant churches. The Armenian Protestant community is a creation of the activity of American missions. The prosperity caused by the civilising influence of the American missionaries, who had their main centres in Mārdīn and Midyat, spread practically over the whole of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, but ceased with the First World War. Finally, Cuinet gives from about 1890 as further Christian inhabitants of the *sandjak* of Mārdīn 6,730 Greeks (who had to leave Turkish territory after the War), and mentions 580 Jews.

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn plays a very important part in the history of eastern monachism. According to a tradition in Nestorian circles, St. Eugenius came from Egypt in the 4th century and founded a monastery in the southern part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, and thus laid the foundation of the monastic system which developed to such an extent in Mesopotamia. St. Eugenius, who had many followers, is said after his death in 363 to have been buried in the monastery built by him. Certainly, by mediaeval times Ṭūr ʿAbdīn had become a regular monks' citadel like an eastern Mount Athos. When Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1778, ii, 387-8, was told that there were over 70 ruined monasteries in this mountain land, one need not think this is an exaggeration. Great churches, for the most part of the 7th-10th centuries, are still to be seen. These monuments of mediaeval ecclesiastical architecture of the east are of considerable importance for the history of Christian art.

Amongst the monasteries, many of whose ruins still dot the region's landscape, important has been the mother house of all the monasteries of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, that of Mār Awgen, situated 13 miles east of Mārdīn. In mediaeval times it was the centre of the Nestorians of the west, but in more recent ages was inhabited by Jacobite monks. The monastery of Abraham, often referred to in Syriac literature as "the great monastery [on Mount Īzlā]", was founded by the creator of Nestorian monachism, Abraham of Kaskar (d. 588). Dayr al-Zaʿfarān, one hour's journey east of Mārdīn, was the seat of the Jacobite Patriarch till his removal in 1924 to Aleppo (see above, 2.). In the early 20th century the principal monastery and goal of pilgrimage for Jacobites was Ḳarṭamīn, 12 miles southeast of Midyat. This was perhaps the most celebrated one of the Jacobites of Western Asia, with some 300 monks in its mediaeval heyday; it is still functioning on a small scale, and is usually known locally as Mār Gabriel after its celebrated abbot, d. 667.

The Muslim part of the population of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn consists mainly of Kurds. They have spread more and more widely into the heart of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in recent centuries, and the Christian peasants with whom they have been constantly warring are being driven more and more from the southern slopes of the mountains towards the plains. The followers of the Yazīdī religion in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn are also Kurds, but their numbers are insignificant. The most important Yazīdī tribe there is called Djilkī (Tshelkī), hence *čalkōyo* = Yazīdī in the Ṭūrōyo language.

Arab Bedouin also encamp occasionally in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn especially on its southern outliers; for the names of some of them see J.G. Taylor, *Travels in Kurdistan*, in *JRGS*, xxxv [1865], 54-5, and M. von Oppenheim, *Von Mittelmeer zum Persische Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii, 68. A special position is occupied by the large tribe of the Mḥallamī (Muḥallamīya) whom we find as early as the already mentioned anonymous continuation of the *Chronicle* of Barhebraeus (year 1407). They are the result of the intermarriage of Arabs and Kurds (with Arab influence predominant), and are said to have renounced Christianity over 300 years ago. They dwell mainly in the part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn running west of Mārdīn to the Tigris.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in 2. above, see Gertrude L. Bell, *The churches and the monasteries of the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, new ed. by M.M. Mango, London 1982 (orig. Heidelberg 1911); G. Wiessner, *Christlische Kultbauden im Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, i-ii, Wiesbaden 1981-3; A. Palmer, *Monk and mason on the Tigris frontier. The early history of Tur ʿAbdīn*, Cambridge 1990.

(M. Streck*)

4. Languages.

Three indigenous languages (here in the sense of dialect clusters) are spoken in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn: Mārdīn Arabic, Ṭūrōyo, and Kurmāndjī. Of these the first two are peculiar to the area (though with some overspill into the plain south of Mārdīn in the first case), whereas Kurmāndjī is, of course, the language of the northern Kurds in general, of which the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn variety represents just one distinctive dialect. The distribution of the three languages is roughly as follows: Arabic in the Western part and Kurmāndjī in the Eastern, while the Ṭūrōyo-speaking villages are grouped in a large oval around Midyat, the centre of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. Two important Arabic-speaking towns are, however, situated in the Eastern part: Ḳarṭmīn (Yayvantepe) and Āzəkh (İdil). It should be noted that there is much interpenetration of the language areas, not only geographically, but also in the sense that there are, or were, a number of villages with a linguistically-mixed population, which also meant that many people were polyglot. Speakers of Ṭūrōyo are often quadrilingual in Ṭūrōyo, Mārdīn Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish. Other languages of importance are the official state and school language Turkish and, among the Christians, Classical Syriac in its Western variety, used not only as a church language, but also as a medium for serious writing for the community; it is thus not entirely a dead language.

(i) Mārdīn Arabic is a member of the Anatolian group of the northern Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialects, the others being the Diyarbakır, Siirt, Kozluk and Sason dialect groups (see Jastrow, *Qəltu-Dialekte*, i, 2). The *qəltu* dialects are characterised by a number of isoglosses, chief among them the ending *-tu* for the 1st person sg. perfect, as in the shibboleth *qəltu* "I said", and the umlaut *imāla*, conditioned by an adjacent /i/, as in *bəsētīn* (Mārdīn) "gardens". The Anatolian dialects in turn are distinguished from the Euphrates and Tigris groups by the following main isoglosses: (a) the development of a copula from the independent personal pronouns, as in *bayti gbīr-we* (Mārdīn) "my house is big" (with some overspill into the Tigris group); (b) /n/ rather than /m/ in the following pronominal forms: *hənne* "they", *baytən* "their house", *əntən* "you (pl.)", *djītən* "you (pl.) came", and *baytkən* "your (pl.) house" (Mārdīn forms); (c) the negation *mō* for the imperfect, as in *mō tbīʿ* (Āzəkh) "you (m. sg.) do not sell" vs. *mā tbīʿ* in the Euphrates dialect of Dēr iz-Zōr. The Mārdīn group is distinguished from the other Anatolian groups by certain features that must be called conservative, prime among which is the preservation of the interdentals (with the exception of the villages of Djawze, Ḳəlləf, and Āzəkh), whereas the Diyarbakır dialects have dentals, Siirt labiodentals, and Kozluk and Sason sibilants instead. For further isoglosses see Jastrow, *Qəltu-Dialekte*, i, 28-29.

Mārdīn Arabic is, in turn, divided into six dialects which, from west to east, are as follows: Plain dialects (outside Ṭūr ʿAbdīn proper; 9 villages), Mārdīn city and vicinity (partly outside the Ṭūr; Mārdīn plus 6 villages), Kōsa (tribal name; 16 villages), Mḥallami (tribal name; 19 villages), Ḳarṭmīn, and Āzəkh. For a list of towns and villages in which these dialects are spoken, together with their official Turkified and their historical names and their population according to the census of 1965, see Jastrow, *Qəltu-Dialekte*, i, 6-15. Cf. also the language map of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in Anschütz, *Die syrischen Christen*, no. 7 (in back pocket), where additional villages are indicated as Arabic-speaking.

Most of the speakers of Mārdīn Arabic are Sunnī Muslims (mostly Shāfiʿī). Only Mārdīn, Ḳəlləf (Dereiçi) in the Mḥallami area, and Āzəkh (İdil) have sizeable Christian, mostly Syrian Orthodox, communities. Other villages, too, are listed by Anschütz as having small Christian populations, but the emigration of Christians in recent years has been so intensive that little can be said about the present situation.

Mārdīn Arabic is not a written language in any of its dialects (for an interesting private attempt of writing the dialect of əṣ-Ṣawr [Savur], transitional between Mārdīn proper and Kōsa, see Sasse, *Mḥallami*, 282). There is also no diglossia situation, since Standard Arabic is unknown to the speakers of Mārdīn Arabic.

(ii) Ṭūrōyo (*nisba* of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, denoting the language as well as the inhabitant) is one of the four Neo-Aramaic languages that form an archipelago of remnants of the ancient Aramaic language, once dominant in the Fertile Crescent (for an overview see Heinrichs, *Studies*, pp. x-xv). Although historically belonging to Eastern Aramaic, Ṭūrōyo is so different from the Northeastern Neo-Aramaic group (to which Modern Assyrian belongs) that it has been assigned separate status as Central Neo-Aramaic (Tsereteli, *Klassifikation*, and Jastrow, *Mīdin*, p. xx). To this would also belong the rather aberrant and almost extinct dialect of Mlaḥsô (see below).

Ṭūrōyo is characterised by a certain conservativeness in its phonology vis-à-vis the Northeastern group; it preserves the pharyngeals /ḥ/ and /ʿ/ (*ḥalwo* "milk", *ʿaṣro* "ten") as well as the fricative variants /f/, /w/, /th/, /dh/, /kh/ and /gh/ of the stops /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/ and /g/ (though as phonemes and not as conditioned allophones as in the ancient Aramaic languages) and the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/. Phonological innovations are the unconditioned shift of /ā/ to /ō/ (*mōro* "lord") and the loss of ancient gemination with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (*šāto* "year"). On the morphological level the most striking innovations are: (a) the development of a definite article from the ancient pronouns of the third person (*ū-malko*, "the king", *ī-malaktho* "the queen", *am-malke* "the kings", and likewise *am-malakyōthe* "the queens;" the article always carries the stress); (b) the development of a copula (e.g., *ōno harke-no* "I am here", *hiye/hiya harke-yo* "he/she is here"); (c) the restructuring of the verbal system, i.e. the abandonment of the old Semitic prefix and suffix conjugations and recreation of the tenses on the basis of participles, as follows (the forms in parentheses give the Classical Syriac [CS] equivalents; the latter is, however, not the immediate forerunner of Ṭūrōyo):

	present	*preterite*
First form (equivalent to CS Pʿal and Etpʿel)		
active	*gōrəš* (*gāreš*)	*grəšle* (*grīš-leh*)
	"he pulls"	"he pulled"
passive	*məgrəš* (*metgreš*)	*griš* (*grīš*)
	"he is pulled"	"he was pulled"
Second form (equivalent to CS Paʿʿel and Etpaʿʿal)		
active	*mḥāləḳ* (*mḥalleḳ*)	*mḥālaḳle* (*mḥallaḳ-leh*)
	"he throws"	"he threw"
passive	*miḥāləḳ* (*methallaḳ*)	*mḥāləḳ* (*mḥallaḳ*)
	"he is thrown"	"he was thrown"

Third Form (equivalent to CS Afʿel and Ettafʿal)

active	*maʿməd* (*maʿmed*) "he baptises"	*maʿmadle* (*maʿmad-leh*) "he baptised"
passive	*mitaʿməd* (*mettaʿmad*) "he is baptised"	*mtaʿməd* (not in CS) "he was baptised"

In addition to verbs that have *grəšle* in the first form preterite active, there are "intransitive" ones that have the form *dāməx* "he slept," *damixo* "she slept" (CS *dammīk[ā]*). All forms ending in *-le* are ergatively inflected: *grəšle* (lit. "pulled [m.] by him") "he pulled" or "he pulled him", *grišōle* (*grīšā-leh*) "he pulled her", *grišile* (*grīšīn-leh*) "he pulled them".

Tenses formed from an infinitive, such as they exist in Modern Assyrian (*bə-grāša ʾīle*, lit. "in pulling he is", "he is pulling"), are not found in Ṭūrōyo. The passive is formed from the old passive participles and those of the t-stems, and not periphrastically as in Modern Assyrian.

The main dialect split in Ṭūrōyo is between the town dialect of Midyat (Midyōyo) and the village dialects. Mutual comprehension is never hampered.

The majority of speakers are Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite), with a smattering of Uniates and Protestants. The last thirty years have seen an ever increasing exodus of the Christian population from Ṭūr ʿAbdīn mainly due to Kurdish pressure. As a result of this there are now large Ṭūrōyo-speaking communities in a number of Western countries, especially in Germany, the Netherlands, the USA and Sweden. The total figure of speakers is not precisely known, but is likely to be in excess of 50,000.

Ṭūrōyo was not written for most of its history. Some attempts were made in the 1870s, at the instigation of the American missionaries in Mārdīn, to write Ṭūrōyo in the Syriac script (see Heinrichs, *Written Ṭūrōyo*). But this did not in the least rival the success of the Eastern Neo-Syriac (> Modern Assyrian) standard language devised by the American missionaries in the 1830s in Urmia, the reason being that (a) the Ṭūrōyo speech community was much smaller and (b) the Jacobites, when not writing in Classical Syriac, preferred Arabic and Turkish Karshūnī. When H. Ritter launched the revival of Ṭūrōyo studies in the 1960s, a simplified version of his (non-phonemic) transcription, using Roman letters and diacritics, was taken up by some of his informants. But it was only in Sweden in the 1980s that an official standard was created by Yusuf Ishaq and his collaborators (see Ishaq, *Ṭūrōyo*), again based on the Roman alphabet with only a few diacritics. This was done primarily for elementary school education, pursuant to a 1976 Swedish law requiring that children be instructed in their mother tongue. The first primer *Toxu qorena* ("Come [pl.], let's read!") came out in 1983. The language chosen was not one of the dialects, but a mixed town-village form which is now becoming increasingly used (cf. *qorena*, "let's read", with *qurena* in Midyat and *qorina* in the villages). The new standard has since been widely adopted also for other publications. Since 1987 the journal *Nsibin* (Södertälje) has appeared regularly in Ṭūrōyo and Turkish; the publishing house of the same name has also produced a fair number of monographs in Ṭūrōyo (educational materials, poetry, history). The total number of Ṭūrōyo speakers in Sweden was estimated at 18,000 in 1987 (Ishaq, *Ṭūrōyo*, 190), of which 4,000 to 5,000 then resided in Södertälje, south of Stockholm. But the reading public for Ṭūrōyo publications goes far beyond Sweden, as letters to the editor in *Nsibin* show.

The hierarchy in the Syrian Orthodox church has not been very sympathetic to the use of the vernacular in Roman letters, advocating instead the use of the classical language. This is indeed used in other journals, e.g. *Bahro Suryoyo* (Södertälje 1979-), which, however, also publishes texts in Ṭūrōyo (often poetry), but in Syriac letters. The semi-official (?) publication by G. Büyükbalık *et al.*, *Hej Midyat! Šlomo Midyat!* (Södertälje n.d. [*ca.* 1993]), contains the same Ṭūrōyo stories in both Roman and Syriac letters (and Swedish translation).

Related to Ṭūrōyo, but sufficiently different to make mutual comprehension difficult if not impossible, is the former dialect of the village of Mlaḥsô (now Yünlüce) near Lice in northern Diyarbakır province. Almost all of the Christian inhabitants of the village became victims of the Armenian massacres in 1915. O. Jastrow found the last survivors and collected texts from them, on which he based his grammar (see *Bibl.*).

In the important town of Cizre (see IBN ʿUMAR, DJAZĪRAT) on the margin of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, there used to be a Jewish community that spoke a Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Eastern variety (see Nakano in *Bibl.*).

(iii) Kurmāndjī [see KURDS, KURDISTĀN, v. Language], the language of the northern Kurds, is spoken in a specific Ṭūr ʿAbdīn dialect, according to Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, p. xxxiv. In addition to the Kurds who are Shāfiʿī Sunnīs, there are also Syrian Orthodox Christians and Yazīdīs who speak Kurmāndjī as their mother tongue. The Christians live(d) mostly in mixed Muslim-Christian villages north and east of Midyat, the largest concentration being in Karbōrān (Dargeçit) (34 km/21 miles north-east of Midyat). The switch from Aramaic to Kurdish must have occurred a few centuries ago, since there exists a small Christian literature in Kurmāndjī in Syriac script, the most famous product of which is the *Lāvidj* ("Song") in sixty stanzas on the terrors of the Day of Judgment, composed by Mafriyān Shamʿūn, who died in 1740 (see Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo*, A, i, 347-55, on the martyrdom of Mafriyān Shamʿūn and the occasion of the composition of the song). Mss. of the *Lāvidj* exist in several libraries.—The Yazīdīs live in eight villages southeast of Midyat (see Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo*, A, i, *15*).

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(ii) Ṭūrōyo. E. Prym and A. Socin, *Der neu-aramaeische Dialekt des Ṭûr ʿAbdîn, I. Die Texte, II. Übersetzung*, Göttingen 1881 (dialect of Midyat); A. Siegel, *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts des Ṭûr ʿAbdîn*, Hanover 1923, repr. Hildesheim 1968 (based on Prym-Socin); H. Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo, die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr ʿAbdîn*, A. *Texte*, 3 vols., Beirut and Wiesbaden 1967-71 (texts and facing German tr.), B. *Wörterbuch*, facs. ed. R. Sellheim, Beirut and Wiesbaden 1979, C. *Grammatik*, ed. R. Sellheim, Stuttgart 1990 (covers the town dialect of Midyat and a number of village dialects); O. Jastrow, *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Mīdin im Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, 4th ed., Wiesbaden 1993; idem, *Lehrbuch der Ṭuroyo-Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1992 (teaching grammar, interspersed with well-selected readings); Y. Ishaq, *Svensk-turabdinskt lexikon—Leksiqon Swedoyo-Suryoyo*, Stockholm 1988; W. Heinrichs (ed.), *Studies in Neo-Aramaic*, Atlanta 1990; idem, *Written Ṭūrōyo*, in *Studies*, 181-8; Y. Ishaq, *Turoyo—from spoken to written language*, in *Studies*, 189-99; K. Tsereteli, *Zur Frage*

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(iii) Kurmāndjī. Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen. Erzählungen und Lieder in den Dialekten des Ṭūr ʿAbdîn und von Bohtan*, St. Petersburg 1890; Ritter, *Kurmānci-Texte aus dem Ṭūrʿabdîn, 1. Kärboran*, in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii (1968-9), 1-135, 2. *Yeziden*, in *ibid.*, xxv-xxvi (1976), 1-37.

For the distribution of the languages, see the listing of villages in Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo*, A, i, *10*-*15*; Helga Anschütz, *Die syrischen Christen vom Tur ʿAbdîn*, Würzburg 1985, 60-158 (and map no. 7); Jastrow, *Qəltu-Dialekte*, i, 6-15; P.A. Andrews, *Ethnic groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Wiesbaden 1989 (explaining the map by idem, *Republik Türkei. Ethnische Minderheiten im ländlichen Raum*, TAVO Nr. A VIII 14, in two sheets, Wiesbaden 1987).

(W.P. Heinrichs)

TURABA, the name of a wadi and of a settlement in western Arabia, and also of a settlement in northern Arabia.

1. The wadi.

This runs in a northeasterly direction from the mountains of the Sarāt [*q.v.*] to the south of al-Ṭāʾif and past the settlement of Turaba, when it becomes the Wādī Ṣubayʿ. It flows through a region of *ḥarras* [*q.v.*] through the Ṣubayʿ [*q.v.*] country and disappears into the ʿArḳ al-Ṣubayʿ of Nadjd. The mediaeval Islamic geographers describe it as being three nights' journey long and as having date palms, trees, fruits and cultivation. They place it variously in tribal territory of the Hilāl, ʿĀmir and Ḍibāb (see al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, ed. M.ʿA. al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥiwālī, Riyāḍ 1394/1974, 63, 296, 312; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 21). Modern travellers like Philby have noted a considerable flow of water in the wadi after heavy rains.

2. The settlement in western Arabia.

This is located in lat. 21° 15' N., long. 41° 34' E. at 125 km/78 miles to the east of al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*] in what was regarded as the western borderlands of Ḥidjāz, being normally controlled in mediaeval times by the power ruling at Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. It existed, however, in pre-Islamic times, and the Sabaic inscription of the well of Murayghān (Ry 506) describes how forces of Kinda and Saʿd-Murād, allies of the Abyssinian viceroy of South Arabia Abraha [*q.v.*], defeated hostile Bedouin, apparently part of Maʿadd, on the route through *T.r.b.n* in 662 Himyarite era/probably A.D. 552-3. See A.F.L. Beeston, *The well of Mureighan inscription*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 391-2; S. Smith, *Events in Arabia in the 6th century A.D.*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1956), 435-6; M.J. Kister, *The campaign of Ḥulubān. A new light on the expedition of Abraha*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxviii (1965), 425-6.

In 1813, the walled town of Turaba was strenuously defended by the Wahhābīs of the local Buḳūm tribe against the invading Egyptian army of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's brother-in-law Muṣṭafā Bey, but had to capitulate in 1815 to Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces (see G. de Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, London 1951, 200, 208-11, 223, 228-9, 239). In summer 1918 the Sharīf Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Mecca claimed control of Khurma, 90 km/56 miles further down the wadi from Turaba and awarded to him by the British government in its endeavour to settle territorial dispute between the Sharīf and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd of Nadjd and his Wahhābī supporters. But in May 1919 Ḥusayn's second son ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] was decisively defeated at Turaba by Ibn Suʿūd's Ikhwān, leaving al-Ṭāʾif and Mecca vulnerable to Suʿūdī attack, even though this did not in fact come until 1924 (see H.St.J. Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, London 1922, i, 168-70, 177, 180-1, 301, ii, 22-3; idem, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London 1928, 40, 101-2, 319; idem, *Arabian jubilee*, London 1952, 195, 200). Turaba is now a medium-sized provincial town of Saudi Arabia in the *imāra* or province of Mecca with road connections and an air field.

Bibliography (in addition to references given above): Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 29, 281, 296; Zaki M.A. Farsi, *National guide and atlas of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, Jeddah 1989, maps A3 and 44.

3. The settlement in northern Arabia.

This small place, also spelt Turba, is located in lat. 28° 18' N., long. 42° 56' E. at 150 km/95 miles north-east of Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*] in the *imāra* of Ḥāʾil.

Bibliography: See Farsi, *National guide and atlas*, maps A1 and 115.

(C.E. Bosworth)

TURAKHĀN BEG, an Ottoman general, conqueror of Thessaly and warden of its marches, d. 860/1456.

The hitherto obscure origin of Turakhān Beg is now explained in his last will and testament of Djumādā I 850/August 1446 (in a certified Greek translation in Epam. G. Pharmakidis, Ἡ Λάρισα, Volo 1926, 280-7), where he calls himself son of the "late Pasha Yigit Bey" (τοῦ μακαρίτου Πασσᾶ Γηγὴτ Βέη). Accordingly, his father was the well-known Pasha Yigit Beg (called by the Serbians and Italians Pasaythus, Basaitus, etc.; cf. C.J. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien*, iv, 7, n. 5) who conquered Üsküb (Skoplje) on 6 Jan. 1392 and governed a part of Bosnia after 791/1390 in the modern southern Serbia as Ottoman warden of the marches. He must have died about 816/1413 in Üsküb. There his tomb (*türbe*) is still shown; see Gliša Elezović, *Turski spomenici u Skoplju*, Skoplje 1927, 5, with an illustr. There is no support for the statement of the *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i, 37, that he did not die till 835/1431; nor for the statement that the Grand Vizier Isḥāḳ Pasha had been his "slave" (*ḳōle*). This is obviously due to confusion with Isḥāḳ Beg, the first governor of Bosnia, whose "lord" (*efendi*) he is called in a curious gloss in the *Altosman. anonymen Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, 28,3 (which is probably followed by Ṣolaḳzāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 52). Nor was Yigit Beg the son of Isḥāḳ Beg, as has been stated in Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, ii/1, 127 (probably following Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm. Turc.*, 315, 13), but obviously his father, as is evident beyond doubt from the Arabic inscription on the mosque of Ghāzī Isḥāḳ Beg at Skoplje of the year 842/1438-9 (see text in Elezović, *op. cit.*, 11, below). When therefore Isḥāḳ Beg appears in Č. Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive*, Sarajevo 1911, 200, as the son of Pasha Yigit Beg ("Pašait-beg"), this is quite correct, although his epithet there, Hranušić, is an unnecessary Slavisation (see 192, below). It is therefore evident that Isḥāḳ Beg and Turakhān Beg were sons of Pasha Yigit Beg, i.e. were brothers. We do not know when and where Turakhān was born. The meaning of the name also is uncertain, if it is not to be connected with the old Turkish title *Tarkhān* (as in Astrakhān), mentioned in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 410; its pronunciation is assured by the Byzantine form Τουραχάνης in G. Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondyles, in the *Chronicon breve*.

Nothing is known of the early career of Turakhān

Genealogical tree of the descendants of Pas̲h̲a Yigit Beg

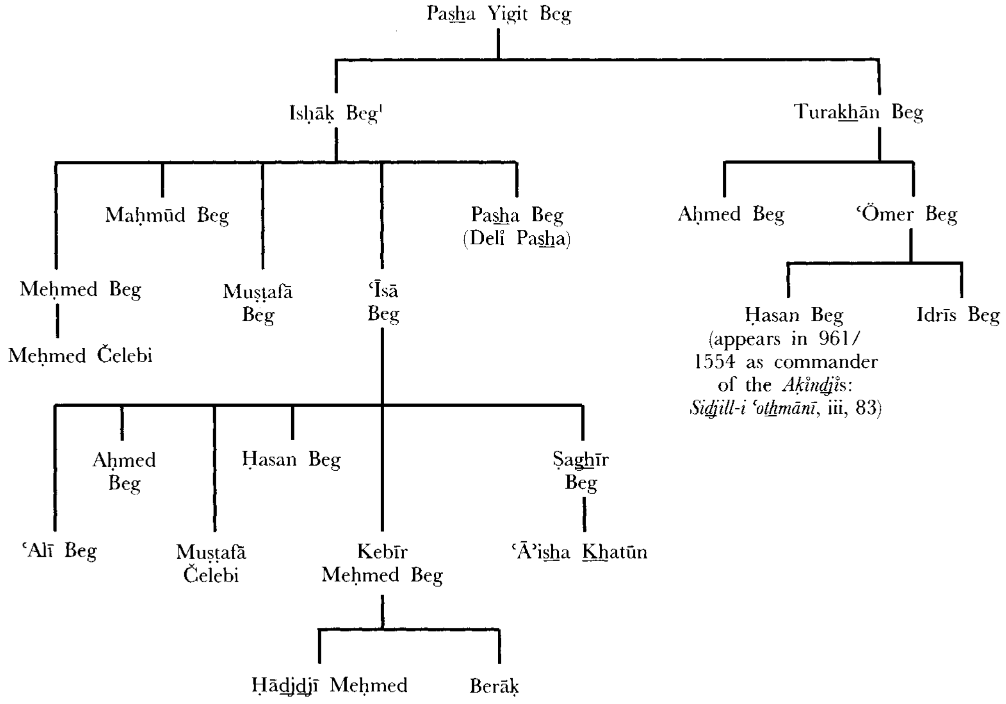

1) The left part of the genealogical table is taken from Cl. Elezović, *op. cit.*, 121. It requires to be checked, as there might be confusion with the descendants of an Ewrenos-og̲h̲lu, among the sons of ʿĪsā Beg at least. See also Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, iv, 8 n. 1, where attention is called to such possible confusions.

Beg. His name is found for the first time in May 1423, when he appeared in command of the cavalry in the Peloponnesus, broke through the ruined trenches of the Isthmus at Hexamilia, took most of the defences recently restored by the Emperor Emanuel on this tongue of land and, meeting no resistance, ravaged the interior of the country. He attacked a number of Byzantine towns like Mistra, Leondári, Gardhíki, Dabiá (*Chronicon breve*, in the Bonn ed. of Ducas, 199) and subdued the Peloponnesus for the Ottomans as far as the lands held by the Venetians. This whole campaign (Phrantzes, 117; Chalcocondyles, 238) was most probably intended as a reconnaissance against Venice. Soon afterwards, Turak̲h̲ān appeared, if Ducas reports correctly, with his cavalry on the Black Sea (50). He also took the field against the Albanians and inflicted a decisive defeat on them (Chalcocondyles, 239, 252) and reappeared in the Peloponnesus, where from Naupaktos he prevented the despot Constantine from taking the town of Patras (Phrantzes, 150). At the end of 1431 he again destroyed the walls of the Isthmus of Corinth, besieged Thebes in the summer of 1435 and conquered it in a few days (Phrantzes, 157-159). At this time, the Byzantine historian Georgios Phrantzes made his acquaintance in Thebes (160-1). At the beginning of Nov. 1443, Turak̲h̲ān Beg commanded one of the Ottoman corps in the battle against John Hunyadi and his Vlach allies in southern Serbia. His peculiar conduct in the battle of Izlādī (*Altosman. Chron.*, ed. Giese, 58, tr. 90) was held to be responsible for the defeat (Katona, xiii, 253: *Twrhambeg*; Chalcocondyles, 315) and he was sent in custody to the state prison of Bedewī Čardaḳ at Toḳat. Nothing is recorded of the next ten years of his life. In the early days of October 1453, Meḥemmed II sent Turak̲h̲ān with his two sons Aḥmed and ʿÖmer with a large force to the Peloponnesus, where he again took the outer defences of the Isthmus, invaded Arcadia plundering and burning, and ravaged and burned the whole Gulf of Messene passing via Ithóme (i.e. Messene). When the difficulties of communication made it necessary to divide his army, Aḥmed was captured in the pass of Dervenaki between Mycenae and Corinth by the brother-in-law of Matthaeus Azanes, the despot Demetrius of Sparta (cf. Phrantzes, 235; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, 426), but was liberated in December 1454 by his brother ʿÖmer (*ibid.*, 383-4). In October 1455 Turak̲h̲ān appeared with his sons in Adrianople (Phrantzes, 385-6). He died in the middle of 1456, probably at a great age (Phrantzes, 386).

His official residence as governor was at Larissa in Thessaly (Turkish: Yeñis̲h̲ehr-i Fanār [*q.v.*]), the lands of which he held as a fief. There he built a mosque and numerous other buildings for charitable purposes; even a Christian church, in Tirnovo (Greek Tyrnawos) not far from Larissa, which is still standing, was built by him. His tomb, a chapel-like *türbe*, is in Larissa

on the north-east edge of the town. The cemetery around it with a monastery has now disappeared. Turakhān Beg had two sons, Aḥmed and ʿÖmer, who accompanied their father on his campaigns. ʿÖmer, who appears as Ottoman warden of the marches in the Peloponnesus, while his brother Aḥmed succeeded his father in Thessaly, was left in 1456 by Meḥemmed II on the Peloponnesus with an army (Phrantzes, 388 ff.), in 1463 acquired the country round Naupaktos and in 1467 after an initial reverse inflicted a defeat on the Venetians (Phrantzes, 425; a fuller account of ʿÖmer, Ὀμάρης [Phrantzes always writes Ἀμάρης], is given by Chalcocondyles, see Index, s.v. Omares). On the further life of the two brothers, of whom Aḥmed, like his father, had made the Pilgrimage, not much is known. ʿÖmer seems to have been the more active of the two. In 1477 he fought on the Isonzo against the Venetians (J. von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 151), next year defeated the Albanians (*ibid.*, ii, 157), and was still alive in 1484, as his will dated Muḥarram 889/ February 1484 shows (Pharmakidis, *op. cit.*, 287-303, 307-10). He had two sons, one of whom, called Ḥasan Beg, is known from his will written in Shawwāl 937/May 1531 (Pharmakidis, 310 ff.), while the other, Idrīs Beg, made a name in his day as a poet and excellent translator of Hātifī's *Khosrew u Shīrīn* and *Laylā u Madjnūn* into Turkish (see Sehī, *Tedhkire*, 36-7).

The family of the Turakhān Oghullari̊, which was established around Larissa and owned extensive estates until quite modern times, later played no important part in history. A certain Fāʾiḳ Pasha, recorded as a late descendant of Turakhān Beg, by his extortions as governor of Rūm-eli made his name hated; he was beheaded in the court of the Palace at Istanbul, aged 70, in March 1643 (see von Hammer, *GOR*, 322, from Naʿīmā; Zinkeisen, *GOR*, iv, 535). J. Ph. Fallmerayer in 1842 saw "at the chief mosque [of Larissa] a biography of Turchan-Beg preserved there" (*Fragmente aus dem Orient*[2], 1877, 381 ff.), but this seems to have since disappeared (like the ms. biography of the Ewrenos-Oghullari̊ [*q.v.*] mentioned by Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce*, i, 117).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, index; and MORA; TESALYA; YEÑISHEHIR.

(F. BABINGER)

TŪRĀN, a geographical-ethnic term in the *Shāh-nāma*.

In Firdawsī's epic, *Tūrān* refers to the land to the north-east of Īrān, the border between the two countries being the River Oxus (called by Firdawsī the Djayḥūn). The term is assumed by the poet to derive from that of a son of Farīdūn named Tūr, the area covered by the name being designated as his apanage. The first occurrence of *Tūrān* in the *Shāh-nāma* (apart from a formulary reference in the panegyric to Maḥmūd of Ghazna) specifically links Tūr and Tūrān (*digar tūr-rā dād tūrān zamīn*; "then he gave Tūr the land of Tūrān"; i, 90, 183). In Firdawsī's version of events, king Farīdūn divides the world between his three sons, Salm receiving the west ("Rūm"), Tūr receiving Tūrān, and the youngest, Iradj, receiving Īrān. Much of the first half of the epic is taken up with recurrent warfare between Īrān and Tūrān, and this is traced to the fratricidal slaying of Iradj by his older brothers Salm and Tūr, and the revenge taken on them by Iradj's grandson Manūčihr.

The enmity between Īrān and Tūrān as it is presented in the *Shāh-nāma* has been seen by some (e.g. A.M. Khazanov) as a reflection of rivalry between the sedentary world of Īrān and the nomadic world of southern central Asia. Firdawsī's text lends some support to this theory: Tūrān raids Īrān much more often than Īrān raids Tūrān, which fits presuppositions concerning nomadic raids on sedentary areas; the border area is described as covered in the tents (*khargāh*) of the Tūrānians (iii, 7, 24), implying they are a nomadic population, and the wealth of Pīrān-i Vīsa, the chief advisor of the Tūrānian king, is described as consisting partially of flocks of sheep (iii, 81, 1256). However, Firdawsī shows little concern to characterise the conflict according to this nomadic/sedentary scheme, and the mode of life of both peoples is presented as virtually identical (e.g. Pīrān-i Vīsa and his king live in palaces, as the Iranian aristocracy does, not tents). In so far as the societies differ, this is largely for ethical reasons, (though Firdawsī places ethically admirable and contemptible characters in both camps), with the Tūrānians being seen as, generally, the more culpable.

For Firdawsī, "Tūrānian" is virtually synonymous with "Turk"; this reflects the omnipresent Sāsānid influence on the essentially prehistoric material which forms the opening sections of the *Shāh-nāma*, as the area designated Tūrān was probably at least partly occupied by Turkish tribes during the Sāsānid period. Though Tūrān's southern border is clear enough (the River Oxus, the crossing of which by Tūrānian troops signals the renewal of war, and the forcing of such troops back beyond which signifies Īrānian victory) its other borders are left nebulous. In the opening stories of the poem Tūrān sometimes seems by implication to include "Čīn" (China, e.g. the first time the name is used, i.90.183), and it is said to stretch as far as "the Sea of Čīn" (iii, 75, 1159-60). Later in the poem, however, Tūrān is clearly differentiated from "Čīn", and characters move from one to the other (vi, 260, 715), or the name appears in a list of countries that also includes "Čīn" (e.g. vii, 105, 1791; ix, 276, 3784). In the quasi-historical closing section (especially during the reign of Anūshirwān the Just) "Čīn" largely replaces Tūrān as Īrān's major Asian rival.

Bibliography: *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Bertels *et alii*, 9 volumes, Moscow 1966-71; W. Barthold, *A historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984; Davoud Monchi-Zadeh, *Topographischen-historische Studien zum iranischen Nationalepos*, Wiesbaden 1975; A.M. Khazanov, ch. "The early states among Eurasian nomads", in *Oikumene. iv. Studia ad historiam antiquam classicam et orientalem spectantia*, Budapest 1983. (D. DAVIS)

ṬŪRĀN (or Ṭuwārān?), the mediaeval Islamic name for the district around Ḳuṣdār [*q.v.*] or Ḳuzdār in the east-central part of what is now Balūčistān, the territory in British Indian times of the Khānate of Kalāt [see KILAT].

According to al-Ṭabarī, i, 820, the kings of Ṭūrān and of Makurān (Makrān) submitted to the Sāsānid Ardashīr (224-41). The Paikuli inscription only mentions the Makurān-Shāh. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 38, thought that these princes at first owned the suzerainty of the Sakas, and their submission to Ardashīr was the result of the conquest of Sakastān (= Sīstān) by this monarch.

Al-Balādhurī does not mention al-Ṭūrān. According to one of his sources, al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] appointed Saʿīd b. Aslam to Makrān and "(all) that frontier". Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 171, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, 226, among the inhabited places in Ṭūrān mention Madjāk, Kīzkānān, Sīwī and Ḳuṣdār (or Ḳuzdār). Ibn Ḥawḳal, 232, says that Ṭūrān is a valley with a fortified town (*kaṣaba*) also called al-Ṭūrān and in its centre is a fortress

(*ḥiṣn*) commanded by a certain Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baṣrī. He also mentions Ḳuzdār separately from the *kaṣaba* of the same name. Ḳuzdār was the town (commercial?) of Ṭūrān, possessing "a district and several towns". A certain Mughīr (or Mu'īn or Mu'tazz) b. Aḥmad had seized Ḳuzdār and only recognised the direct authority of the 'Abbāsid caliph.

The town of Ḳandābīl, five farsakhs (more accurately 5 *marḥals*) from Ḳuzdār, is outside of Ṭūrān and is the capital of the district of the Budhas (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 436: Zuṭṭ al-Budha). Ḳandābīl, lying in the plain, is identified with Gandāwa (75 miles north-east of Khuzdar, to the north of the Indus, at a height of 314 feet above sea level).

The position of Kīzkānān, the residence of the already mentioned Mu'īn b. Aḥmad (chief of Ṭūrān according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, or of Ḳuzdār, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal), is unknown. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 192, 275-6, connected Kīzkānān with Ḳīkān (cf. al-Balādhurī, 432), and sought it at Kalāt. In this case, Kīzkānān = the *kaṣaba* al-Ṭūrān. The land between Kīzkānān and Ḳandābīl, inhabited by Budhas and possessing vines, bore the name of its chief Ayl (or Utl?).

Yāḳūt, iii, 557, reckons Ṭūrān (the *kaṣaba* of which is Ḳuṣdār and which has several *rustāk*) among the *nāḥiya* of Sind. He also mentions a *nāḥiya* of Ṭūrān in Madā'in and a village of Ṭūrān belonging to Harāt.

Bibliography: Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topogr. Persiens*, i, 56, thought that the name Ṭūrān might come from the Iranian term Tūra, which means "enemy, non-Iranian countries"; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 31-3, 187, 190; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 332; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 123; C.E. Bosworth, *Rulers of Makrān and Quṣdār in the early Islamic period*, in *St. Ir.*, xxiii (1994), 199-209.

(V. Minorsky*)

TŪRĀNSHĀH b. AYYŪB, al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam Shams al-Dawla Fakhr al-Dīn, older brother of the famous Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], the Saladin of European writers, conqueror of the Yemen in 569/1173 and founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty there [see ayyūbids].

Tūrānshāh first appears on the historical stage in the year 564/1168-9 after his arrival in Egypt from Syria with a number of members of the Ayyūbid house to strengthen the hand of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, still technically the vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph there. Tūrānshāh was soon in action, assisting to suppress a rebellion of black slave guards who were attempting to return power into the hands of the Fāṭimids with the connivance of the Franks. He succeeded in banishing the guards to Upper Egypt. In 567/1171-2, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn finally put aside all pretence that he was merely the vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph. He put an end to the mention of the caliph in the *khuṭba*. Further trouble from the slave troops in Upper Egypt in 568/1172 necessitated the despatch of a large army from Cairo. Tūrānshāh was the logical choice as commander of the army. He pursued the fleeing Sudanese, firstly to Aswān and from there into Nubia. Arriving at Ibrīm, the Ayyūbid army under Tūrānshāh defeated the local Nubians and plundered the town, taking prisoner all men, women and children. The church of this Christian community was converted into a mosque by him, the cross destroyed and the *adhān* made from the dome. The place abounded in pigs, and these were slaughtered at the command of Tūrānshāh. The local bishop was thrown into the fortress along with the other prisoners. He left a garrison in Ibrīm and gave it as a fief to one of his *amīrs*. He returned north to Egypt, bringing with him much booty, mainly slaves, and reported to his brother Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on the barrenness of the land and its oppressive climate.

In 569/1173 Tūrānshāh led a massive army up the Nile, across the Egyptian desert, across the Red Sea and down into Tihāma [*q.v.*], the coastal plain, and into the Yemen. Ḥaraḍ was taken, and Zabīd, and then the army crossed over to the Ta'izz area [*q.v.*], before turning southwards to Aden [see 'adan]. Having dealt with Aden, he moved north and halted for a while in al-Dumluwa and Dhū Djibla before marching on the important town of Dhamār which he took over. He then stood at the gates of Ṣan'ā' [*q.v.*]. This in essence is the sum total of the military achievements of Tūrānshāh in the Yemen. By the time he left the country to return to Egypt in 571/1176 (for he never felt at home there), he had virtually rid the Yemen of the Sulaymānī *sharīfs* ruling in northern Tihāma, the Mahdids [*q.v.*] based in Zabīd, and the Ismā'īlī Zuray'ids of Aden.

The reasons for the conquest of the Yemen by the Ayyūbids from Egypt in 569/1173 can be briefly summarised as follows. It may well have been that the Ayyūbids were looking to expand their strategic and economic interests by their military action at the southern end of the Red Sea. There are certainly suggestions in the primary sources that the internal affairs of the Yemen and, in particular, the strong Fāṭimid influence there, perturbed the Ayyūbids greatly, not to mention tales of religiously disaffected dynasties like the Mahdids in Zabīd, rumoured to be Khāridjites. Tūrānshāh is supposed to have been subjected to strong pressure from the Ayyūbid court poet 'Umāra al-Ḥakamī, himself a Yemeni, to invade his native land which, he claimed, was weak and divided and in need of Ayyūbid domination. There are reports, too, of an invitation from the Sulaymānī *sharīfs* to rid the area of the Mahdids. Perhaps the strategic and economic reasons were the strongest, but it should also be borne in mind that the powerful and restless character of Tūrānshāh may well have been instrumental in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's agreeing to his expedition to the Yemen, for it would seem it was at the former's instigation that the conquest was undertaken. Tūrānshāh's sitting idly in Cairo for any length of time at the head of a numerous army was a dangerous situation which his brother was eager to avoid.

Tūrānshāh was offered the governorship of Damascus on his return to the north from the Yemen in 571/1176. He went as governor to Alexandria in 574/1178 and it was there that he died in 576/1180. He was buried in Damascus.

Bibliography: 1. The following two primary sources are particularly useful in tracing the main events described above: Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 196-8, 213-15, 220-31, 240-5; Muḥammad b. Sālim Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, ed. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1953, i, 137-40, 148-52, 155-86, 200-03, 221-32, 237-43; see also al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tarwīḥ al-ḳulūb fī dhikr al-mulūk Banī Ayyūb*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1971, 48.

2. Modern sources and studies. G.R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London 1978, ii, 27-47, with a comprehensive study of the reasons for the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen at 50-80; M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin. The politics of the Holy War*, Cambridge 1982, 33, 35, 44, 60, 65, 102.

(G.R. Smith)

TURBA (a.), a term which comes to acquire the sense of tomb, mausoleum, in Islamic funerary architecture.

1. General meaning of the term.

Turba (sing. and coll. *turāb*, pl. *turab*) in its basic meaning as "earth", "dust" and "soil", is widely mentioned in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections (Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, Leiden 1936, i, 268-68). Here, *turba* is designated as the material from which the earth and mankind was formed (*wa 'l-nās banū Ādam wa-khalaḳa llāhu Ādam min al-turāb*, al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, Ḥimṣ 1965, ix, 21). As part of pious elaborations on the physical appearance of Paradise, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Ḥanbal report traditions describing the composition of the soil (*turba*) in Paradise consisting of saffron and musk (Wensinck, i, 268), based on the Prophet's saying about the pure and scented quality of the soil in Paradise (al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, ix, 84). Outside the context of the *ḥadīth*, discussions take place in *adab*, historical and legal literature concerning the healthy or unhealthy quality of the soil (*turba*) of a region (al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], i, 207; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 41), the problem of the contamination of the soil on a cemetery with the flesh of the deceased and its inherent consequences for its suitability as a place for the ritual prayer (al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-ḳārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Cairo 1308/1890, viii, 222) or the miraculous or healing effects of the soil from places like Karbalā' or Nadjaf (Ibn Ḳuluyya, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, Nadjaf 1356/1937-8, 280-5). In mediaeval works on agriculture, however, different qualities of soil were not discussed under the term *turba*, but under *ṭīn*, *ṣaʿīd* or *arḍ*.

Finally, *turba* is legally acceptable as a substitute to perform the ritual ablutions (*wuḍū'*) in the case of lack of water and this procedure is known as *tayammum* [*q.v.*]. Based on Ḳur'ān, IV, 43, and V, 6, al-Shaʿrānī discusses the opinions of the four Sunnī schools on the similarities of pure *turāb* or *raml* with water (*al-Mīzān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1313/1896, i, 144-5). The permissibility of *turba* for the performance of *tayammum* is again supported by the conviction that *turba* was the material God used when he created the earth.

2. *Turba* in the funerary context.

Turba is frequently associated with the funerary context by association with dust into which the dead body turns after death (*wa-anā bayt al-turāb wa-anā bayt al-dūd* (al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vii, 167). *Turba* acquires the meaning of "tomb" in inscriptions on mausolea in combination with other terms designating certain architectural forms (R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic architecture*, Edinburgh 1994, 257). But it is rarely used as a simple synonym for *ḳabr* in the sense of "grave" (for exceptions see al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥ.K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1964, iii, 1951; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1895, 82-3, no. 57, Ibn Manẓūr, *LʿA*, Beirut 1374/1955, i, 228). Arabic literary texts generally make a clear distinction between *turba* and *ḳabr* [*q.v.*]. The latter is used almost exclusively as a term which refers to the location of a tomb or to describe a simple grave with no architectural features attached to it (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, vi, 199, 276, 304, 333, x, 42, xi, 232). It must be noted, however, that the Persian translation of *turba*, i.e. *khāk*, is only known from literary sources (Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, xviii, 73-4) and it does not play a role in epigraphy or funerary architecture similar to that of *turba*. *Khāk* is used exclusively to mean an inconspicuous grave with no solid shelter attached to it. In Persian literature, a specific use of *turba* which acquires the meaning of *tābūt* (cenotaph) as can be found in al-Hudjwīrī's description of a miraculous event within the mausoleum of the mystic Abū Saʿīd at Mayhana (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, ed. V.A. Zhukovski, Leningrad 1928, 1930), must be regarded as an exception. In combination with an architectural term as in *turbat-khāna*, *turbat* signifies the funerary function of a building (Dihkhudā, xiii, 547).

3. *Turba* and funerary architecture.

More frequently, *turba*, Tkish. *türbe*, is used as a standard term designating an Islamic funerary building or complete funerary building complex of various forms or, in a more generic sense, denoting only the funerary aspect of a building. Formulations like *dufina fī 'l-turbati 'l-latī banāhā/istadjaddahā* (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 118-19, x, 182), *naḳala fulān/nuḳila fulān ilā turbat*[in] *buniyat/banāhā lahū* (*ibid.*, vii, 48, 139, 265; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, iii, 247), or the visual qualities attached to a building (*turba ʿaẓīma*, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 46-7) also corroborate the generic use of *turba* for single funerary structures of any type. Accordingly, the term was applied also to the famous tomb of the Fāṭimid caliphs in Cairo which had been installed in the Western Palace by the caliph al-Muʿizz after 362/973, called the *turbat al-zaʿfarān* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 252, 297), *al-turba al-Muʿizziyya* (Ibn al-Ma'mūn, *Akhbār Miṣr*, in A.F. Sayyid, *Nuṣūṣ min akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn al-Ma'mūn*, Cairo 1983, 40) or *turbat al-a'imma* (*ibid.*), and the separate tomb chamber of the caliph al-ʿAzīz (al-Musabbiḥī, *Nuṣūṣ ḍā'iʿa min akhbār Miṣr li 'l-Musabbiḥī*, in *AI*, xvii [1981], Arabic part, 21). Both the *turbat al-zaʿfarān* and the *turba* of al-ʿAzīz were not freestanding mausolea but consisted of a separate chamber (*ḥudjra*) within the palatial complex, hence the designation *turbat al-ḳaṣr* (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 303, v, 375), even though they appear to have faced the main artery of Cairo and were possibly visually identified as tombs by domes, *shubbāk*s or external inscriptions.

In epigraphic texts on funerary buildings, *turba* appears only as late as in the middle of the 5th/11th century in Persia (Dāmghān, Čihil Dukhtarān (446/1054-5): *RCEA*, vii, no. 2572; Abarḳūh, Gunbad-i ʿAlī (448/1056-7): *RCEA*, vii, no. 2582), followed by examples in ʿIrāḳ (al-Dūr, Imām al-Dūr (last third of the 11th century A.D.): *RCEA*, ix, no. 3574) and Syria (Mausoleum of Duḳāḳ b. Tutush b. Alp Arslan at Damascus (*ca.* 500/1100): *RCEA*, viii, no. 2942). The use of *turba* as a generic and non-architectural term in the context of mausolea is reflected especially by inscriptions in which the word *turba* is used as a secondary terminological designation denoting the *utilitas*, i.e. the building's funerary function, in combination with a term by which information concerning the architectural or religious quality of a building is established. For example, the Dāmghān tomb tower inscription starts with "Has ordered the building of the *ḳubba*..." and continues with "preparing for his rest a tomb (*turba*) for himself and for his offspring (*mustaʿidd*[an] *li-nawmihī turbat*[an], *lahū wa-li-awlādihī*...). Although single, free-standing domed or conically roofed structures certainly would have evoked visual associations with funerary buildings throughout the Islamic world during the mediaeval period, the use of double terminologies can be explained by the fact that, besides the term *ḳubba*, also *ḳaṣr*, *dawlat-khāna* or *masdjid*, none of which originally denoted the funerary context of a building, were soon incorporated into the terminology for mausolea. For this reason, inscriptions using a double terminology of the type *hādhihī 'l-ḳubba turbat*[un] continue well into the 7th/13th century (Huart, *op. cit.*, 74, no. 47). A double terminology in which *turba* is combined with another term bearing a religious quality can be found in the epigraphical panels inside the Imām Dūr mausoleum in al-Dūr, which

designate the building as both *masdjid* and *turba*. In opposition to Dāmghān, the use of *turba* at al-Dūr denotes the character of the funerary structure for a building that—apart from its form—would otherwise only have ambiguously conveyed the term for its usage in its inscription.

When used as the only term in a funerary inscription, *turba* may also suggest the meaning of "mausoleum". In this sense, the tomb tower at Abarkūh is labelled only as *turba*. Similarly, the mausoleum over Nūr al-Dīn Zangī's tomb in Damascus with its distinctive "sugar-loaf" dome, although of another architectural type than the mausoleum at Abarkūh, is also called *turba* in the inscription (*RCEA*, ix, no. 3293). Designated as *turba*, it is clearly distinguished terminologically from the *madrasa* which is mentioned in the same inscription and which forms the larger part of the whole complex.

In the majority of epigraphic texts on mausolea between the 5th/11th and the 7th/14th centuries, *turba* is widely replaced by *kubba*, which acquires an additional meaning—beyond its quality as a genuine architectural term used otherwise in the context of mosques and secular buildings—for designating funerary structures in general. There exists no quantitative evaluation of the terminology for funerary architecture in epigraphy or according to specific regions, but one can observe a general preference for *kubba* or *mashhad* as against *turba* in Khurāsān, central Persia and ʿIrāk to denote funerary buildings (but cf. the name of Turbat-i Djām [*q.v.*]), in opposition to Syria and Egypt, where *turba* is widely understood as a term for mausolea and outnumbers both former designations (cf. KUBBA, above, at Vol. V, 291a). In the Levant, this phenomenon is also evident in literary texts, for instance Pilgrimage guides (Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra*, ed. K.M. al-Radjab, Baghdād n.d.) or local histories and biographical works (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Kalāʾid al-djawhariyya fī taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya*, ed. M.A. Dahman, Damascus 1949; idem, *Kudāt Dimashk*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1956).

Historiographers and geographers often apply *kubba* and *turba* in descriptions of funerary structures in an unspecific way as "mausoleum" without implying architectural or other connotations. Ibn al-Djawzī and Yākūt apply both terms, obviously for stylistic reasons, when describing mausolea of two caliphs in Baghdād isolated from the rest of the caliphal necropolis as *kubba* or *turba mufrada* (*Muntaẓam*, vii, 289; *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, iv, 47) with no indication given that these buildings were of a distinctly different form. *Turba* in its use as a general term for mausolea is further confirmed towards the end of the 5th/11th century through the existence of the court office of the *nāẓir al-turab fi 'l-Ruṣāfa* (*Muntaẓam*, ix, 117) and 100 years later through that of a *farrāsh bi-turab al-khulafāʾ* (Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ed. C. Farah, Ḥaydarābād 1398/1978, i, 278).

In the same way, *turba* can be used as a synonym even for *mashhad* (*Muntaẓam*, viii, 248), a term otherwise often used to describe a larger funerary shrine complex consisting of a courtyard with arcades, adjacent rooms and the tomb structure proper. This distinction is made in Ibn al-Athīr's report on the destruction of the Mashhad Bāb al-Tibn (al-Kāẓimayn) in Baghdād by a Sunnī mob in 443/1051 which mentions the pillaging of the *mashhad* and the burning of the *turab*, the mausolea of the Seventh and the Ninth Imāms (ed. Beirut, ix, 577). However, in his mention of the *mashāhid li 'l-ṣāliḥīn wa 'l-turab li 'l-akābir* in the Karāfa cemetery in Cairo, Yākūt (iv, 317) clearly establishes a terminological hierarchy not predominantly based on visual elements but with the goal of marking the distinction between mausolea erected for secular rulers and high officials (such as Ibn Ṭūlūn or al-Mādharāʾī [*q.vv.*]), and the shrines of venerated religious authorities like al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*]. Whether this type of terminology was a generally accepted system, reflecting different grades of esteem and popular veneration for those individuals within the Muslim community, or whether it was based on personal choice of vocabulary cannot be determined. Contemporary authors like Shams al-Dīn Ibn Ṭūlūn appear not to have made the same distinctions; he describes Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's soaring domed structure over al-Shāfiʿī's tomb in Cairo as both *kubba* and *turba* (*Kalāʾid*, 108, 110; *Kudāt Dimashk*, 108, 178).

Bibliography: Given in the articles but see also that to KUBBA. (T. LEISTEN)

TURBAT-I ḤAYDARĪ [see ZĀWA].

TURBAT-I [SHAYKH-I] DJĀM, a small town in northeastern Persia in the modern province of Khurāsān. It is on the Mashhad-Harāt highway, 150 km/96 miles from Mashhad and 75 km/48 miles from the Afghān frontier (lat. 35° 16' N., long. 60° 36' E.).

The earlier Islamic name of Turbat-i Djām was Būzadjān or Pūčkān (both names in Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 177, tr. 171, cf. also 143-4, tr. 151-2, where he calls it Djām); it was here that the great mathematician Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzadjānī (d. 368/998 [*q.v.*]) was born. The geographers describe it being four stages from Nīshāpūr, in a fertile agricultural region depending on *kanāts* for irrigation; Būzadjān itself produced cotton cloths (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103; Yākūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 507; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 356-7). In the 8th/14th century, Mustawfī, *loc. cit.*, praises its fertility, with 200 villages in its *rustāk*, and he praises its numerous shrines, in addition to the famed one of the mystic Shaykh Aḥmad-i Djām (d. 536/1142 [*q.v.*]). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 75-7, tr. Gibb, iii, 580-2, the town of Djām, because of its sanctity, was exempt from paying taxes to the sultan (in this case, the Il Khānid Abū Saʿīd, who had allegedly stayed in the Shaykh's hospice; the tomb of the Shaykh was also visited later by Tīmūr and the Mughal fugitive Humāyūn).

In the 19th century, Djām, as it was then called by its inhabitants, was a small place. In 1830 E. Conolly estimated that it had *ca.* 200 houses; in 1894 C.E. Yate estimated *ca.* 250, and noted that, although Djām had formerly had a local chief, it was now directly under the Kādjār governor of the district. The modern Djām is the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* of that name in the *shahrastān* of Mashhad (*Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, ix, 74-5).

Bibliography: See also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 264-5, 278, 286-7; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900, 35 ff. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

TURBAN [see TULBAND].

TÜRBE [see TURBA].

TURFAN, a fertile oasis town in the Uyghur Sinkiang Autonomous Region (Eastern or Chinese Turkestan) of the People's Republic of China [see SINKIANG], and district centre of a *hsien* or county of the same name. Native Uyghur Turks pronounce the name as Turpan, the Chinese as Tu-lu-fan. The Turks, who constitute the basic population, have been Muslims since the dawn of the modern era, and today use a modified Arabic alphabet for their script. There is also a sizable Chinese constituency, and Uyghur Turkish and Chinese are the

two official languages. The historical term "Uyghur" for the Turki-speaking inhabitants of Sinkiang and their language as spoken today is a concept created in the 1920s as a result of modern nationalism; prior to that, "Turki" was the prevalent term. It better expressed the closeness of this language to Uzbek, an equally recent creation which replaced the term "Turki" in Uzbekistan.

Turfan's historical importance lies chiefly in its pre-Islamic past, and owes much to the site's position on one of the intersections of the Silk Road network, along which trade and culture travelled between China, the West, and India from antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages. In contrast to most other parts of the *Dār al-Islām*, Islamisation of the population of this city and region occurred late and gradually, approximately from the end of the 14th century to the early 16th. Another difference is that, except for the relatively brief period of the 16th and early 17th centuries, and a still briefer period in the 19th, Islamic Turfan has remained under the rule of non-Muslims—first the Buddhist Djungars (also spelled Zungars) and then the Chinese. Yet another contrast is the fact that Islamic civilisation, often brilliant in other parts of the *Dār al-Islām*, including Western Turkestan, did not rise to a similar level in this part of the world. The area is especially important to philologists, however, because of the texts in "Tokharian" and in Uyghur Turkish found here by archaeologists from several countries, especially Germany (several expeditions led by A. Grünwedel and A. von Le Coq in the early years of the 20th century). Most of the Uyghur texts pertain to the final stage of pre-Islamic Turfan (9th-14th centuries), and, in their depository in Berlin, have been a treasure trove for the historical study of Turkic languages.

The modern town, its name (the earliest known mention dates from 1377; cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, ii, 189-202), and its Islamic identity differ from Turfan's predecessors: the ruined cities of Chiao-ho, 20 km to the west, and Ḳočo, 40 km to the east. These two archaeological sites, together with several others in the vicinity, are in scholarly literature comprised under the name of Turfan, despite the anachronism and topographical inaccuracy of this usage. Other appellations have also existed: Yar-khoto (Turco-Mongolian, "Cliff-city") for Chiao-ho; Kao-chang, Huo-chou and Idiḳut-shähri for Ḳočo. In Muslim sources, Ḳočo is usually called Ḳara Khodja or Ḳara Khodjo, which eventually became limited to a town adjacent to the ruined site on the north-east but distinct from it; the archaeological site, with an area considerably larger than Ḳara Khodja, is in scholarly literature known as Kao-chang or Ḳočo.

Chiao-ho (Chinese for "[City between] twin rivers)" was the capital of a kingdom known in the 2nd century B.C. as Chu-shih. Chiao-ho retained its importance, until in the 6th century Ḳočo became the seat of the local royalty. The basic population in those centuries spoke an Indo-European tongue labelled by linguists as Tokharian; conversion to Buddhism, which penetrated here from India, resulted in the compilation of texts written in this language, priceless documents for modern linguists and cultural historians. At the same time, the relative proximity of China facilitated the first conquest of this area by the Middle Kingdom (1st century B.C.): a precedent for a pattern of intermittent suzerainty that was to recur here and in other parts of Sinkiang throughout history.

In addition to influences from India and China, the Turfan area also underwent those of the Turco-Mongol nomads of the Eurasian steppe to the north of the Tianshan mountain range. The dynasty which ruled in Ḳočo by the time this city gained primacy may have been part of the Turkish élite which came to dominate the area. These Turks followed the example of the native population and converted to Buddhism, so that this religion remained implanted in Turfan until the aforementioned Islamisation a millennium later. It is less clear, however, what linguistic effect the presence of probably Turkic-speaking rulers had on the population at this time.

During the final stage of Turfan's pre-Islamic past, that of the Uyghur kingdom of Ḳočo (9th-13th centuries), the population became Turkicised. The area came under the sway of the Uyghur ḳaghans of Mongolia for some time prior to the ḳaghanate's destruction by the Ḳirghiz [*q.v.*] in 840; one branch of the Uyghurs then established itself in Ḳočo, creating a civilisation remarkable for its composite nature, peaceable character and aptitude for survival. The Uyghur ruling class mostly retained the Manichaean religion, to which it had converted while still in Mongolia following the lead of the ḳaghan Bögü (759-80), whereas the bulk of the local population remained Buddhist or, to a lesser degree, Nestorian Christian. The three religions coexisted peacefully, and it was at this period that the greatest number of texts in Uyghur Turkish were written. The Uyghur ruler, known in Mongolia by the title of ḳaghan, adopted here the additional Turkic title of *iduḳ ḳut* ("auspicious felicity"), eventually abbreviated as *idiḳut*, hence the name of the capital as *Idiḳut shähri* ("idiḳut's city"). In a manner parallel to the religious tolerance prevalent here, the people of the society of this kingdom also appear to have lived harmoniously side-by-side, despite initially divergent origins, languages, and ways of life. The ruler and the Uyghur élite escaped the exceedingly hot summers of the Turfan area by moving to the northern slopes of the Tianshan mountains, where the kingdom's other capital, Bishbalïḳ (*q.v.*; "Five towns" in Turkic, known in Chinese as Bei-ting, "the Northern mansion"), lay some 100 km/65 miles due north of Turfan.

In the second half of the 12th century, the Uyghur ruler of Ḳočo became a vassal of the Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*], who had established themselves as the suzerains of much of Western and Eastern Turkestan. This step was followed by a more crucial one taken by the Uyghur ḳaghan Barčuḳ in 1209, when he declared allegiance to Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*]; he then appeared in person at the Mongol court two years later in order to render homage to the conqueror. Barčuḳ's pragmatic sense not only saved his kingdom from the devastations attendant on the Mongol conquests but also set the stage for a recruitment of the Uyghur scribal class (*bakhshis*) into the administrative structure of the Mongol Empire. The Uyghur script, of Sogdian and ultimately Syriac origin, also became the Mongol script through this process.

The area of Turfan lost its distinct identity after the disappearance of the Uyghur state towards the end of the 13th century. The former kingdom lay between eastern (Chinese) and western (Central Asian) Mongol states fighting for the spoils of the disintegrating Mongol Empire. Documentation on when Turfan proper began to eclipse Ḳočo in size and importance, and how Islam began to assert itself there, is scanty. The first reference to its Islamisation is found in Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and tr. N. Elias and E.D. Ross, London 1895, 52, Persian text ed. and tr. W.M. Thackson, Cambridge, Mass.

1996, text 32, tr. 28, where we read that Khiḍr Khᵛādja, Khān of Mogholistān [*q.v.*] (1392-99), "undertook a campaign against Ḳarakhodja and Turfan, two very important towns in China (Khitay), and forced their inhabitants to become Muslims...". We can infer, however, that the conversion remained incomplete, for when in 1420 an embassy from Shāhrukh, the Tīmūrid ruler of Harāt, passed through Turfan on the way to China, the bulk of the population was still Buddhist (Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, selection and tr. K.M. Maitra, *A Persian embassy to China*, Lahore 1934, repr. New York 1970). Moreover, when the embassy stopped a few days later at "Ḳarakhodja", several Chinese officials of the ruling Ming dynasty recorded its members' names and the purpose of the mission. This suggests that the long arm of Chinese power made itself felt even while full-fledged conquest was still three centuries away, and while there were political and religious links between this area and the regions to the north and west. Paradoxically, these links were at this time more palpable still farther east, for it was at the next way station, "Ḳāmul" (better known as Hami), that the embassy met with signs of an Islamic presence: a mosque built by its ruler, Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn, who had erected it opposite a large Buddhist temple.

The Uyghur identity of the by then extinct kingdom of Ḳočo, however, may not yet have been fully forgotten, for Islamic sources of the 16th century still refer to the Turfan area as "Uyghuristān". It was the pious Moghol khān Manṣūr (1503-45) whose *ghazā* forays into the eastern marches of Turkestan not only propagated a firmer implantation of Islam in the Turfan area but also led to the extinction of Buddhism there. Much of Eastern Turkestan was soon afterwards exposed to renewed invasions by Oyrat Mongols, who, after founding an empire of their own that included the Turfan area, converted to Buddhism. The masters of this empire are known by the Mongol name of Djungars, but Muslims used the Turkic name Ḳālmāḳ [see KALMUK] for them as well as for the other Western Mongols. By then the Turks of the Turfan area professed Islam, and it was this denomination as well as the city that became the main mark of their identity: they were Muslims and "Turpanlïḳs", and forgetting all the other highlights of their past, they attributed the Buddhist and other monuments to the "infidel Kalmuks".

Both the Djungars and their successors the Chinese of the Ching (Manchu) dynasty who destroyed the Djungars in 1758, exercised a relatively benign rule in Turfan, as in other parts of "Nan lu", the southern portion of Sinkiang. This leniency translated itself in varying degrees of local self-rule. The Turfan area came under the authority of a petty monarch bearing the Chinese title *wang* (king) and residing in nearby Lukchun. Amīn Khᵛādja Khānlïḳ (ruled *ca.* 1730-60), the first member of these loyal clients of the Manchus, appears to have been descended from the Khᵛādjas of Eastern Turkestan. These were a family of Nakshbandī dervishes who assumed temporal rule in places like Kāshghar, Yarkand and Khotan (eventually as clients of the Djungar overlords). They were suppressed there by the Chinese in the wake of the destruction of the Djungars, so that the Turfan branch of the Khᵛādjas formed a significant exception and maintained itself until the fall of the Manchu monarchy in 1911.

The rebellion of Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*] against Manchu rule produced a brief spell of independence for Sinkiang, and the Turfan area was the easternmost segment which he managed to bring under his rule. It was near Ḳarakhodja that the Chinese army inflicted the first defeat on him in 1877 before eliminating him altogether. This reconquest led to a reinforcement of the Chinese presence also in Turfan, where a Chinese city grew up east of the Muslim one.

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TURGAY, the name of a land-locked river-system in the western part of what is now the Kazakhstan Republic and also of a town on the river Turgay (lat. 49° 38' N., long. 63° 25' E.) some 640 km/380 miles east-south-east of Orenburg. It lies in the steppe region now known as the Turgayskaya Stolovaya Strana.

The main river Turgay is formed of the Karïnsaldï Turgay, which receives the Tastï Turgay, and the Kara Turgay, and flows into Lake Durukča; north of it runs the Sarï Turgay, which is called Ulkuntamdï in its upper course and receives from the west the Muildï-Turgay and the Sarï-bui Turgay. The Sarï Turgay flows into Lake Sarï-Kopa. In Turkish, *turghay* or *torghay* means "little bird" (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iii, 1184, 1457); Ḳara Turghay is a name of the starling. The fortifications of Orenburg are called Ṭorghay Ḳala.

The modern town of Turgay on the river of the same name was built in 1845 by Major Tomilin as a fortress and one of the centres of Russian power among the Kirgiz [*q.v.*] (here meaning Kazakhs) under the name of the Orenburg fortress (Orenburgskoye Ukreplenye). In 1865 the territory of the Orenburg Kirgiz was divided into two provinces (*oblast'*), the Ural and the Turgay. When the Turgay province in 1868 was divided into districts (*vyezd*), the fortress was made the capital of the district and called Turgay. As there was no suitable centre in the province itself, the Turgay province was administered from Orenburg. The governor lived there and in it was published from 1881 the official gazette, *Turgayskiya Oblastniya Vyedomosti.* The southern part of the province with the town of Turgay was less suitable for agriculture and Russian colonisation than the north, on account of the scarcity of fertile areas, although in the 1860s about 1,300 hectares were cultivated on the river Turgay alone. From Turgay, trade routes lead northwards to Orsk and Kustanay, and southwards to Irgiz and Perovsk (now called Kïzïl-Orda).

Before Russian rule, the present Turgay territory was inhabited only by nomads and hardly mentioned in historical sources. The 5th/11th century author Gardīzī in his section on the land of the Kimäk [*q.v.*] Turks describes itineraries going northwards from the

lower Syr Darya along the Irghiz and Turghay rivers towards the Urals and the Ishim-Irtysh basin, and his river S. fūk (read Sukūk, Tkish. *savuk/sovuk* "cold"?) may be the Turgay (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 258). The campaign of the Khwārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [*q.v.*] against the Kïpčak and his encounter with the Mongols (612/1215-16), described by al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, 9 ff., apparently reached this region (see Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 370-1; Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 128 ff.; cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, comm. 307-8).

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(W. Barthold-[C.E. Bosworth])

TÜRGESH [see TURKS. I.2].

ṬURGHŪD ʿALĪ PASHA [see ṬORGHUD].

TÜRK ODJAGHÎ (T., literally "Hearth of the Turks"), a cultural and social organisation in late Ottoman and early Republican Turkey, formally instituted in 1912 and enduring until 1931. It aimed to spread Turkish nationalist ideology through its cultural and social activities in the Ottoman Empire. Its journal *Türk Yurdu* ("Homeland of the Turks") was widely read, and at the time it was closed down by the Kemalist state, it had over 30,000 members and 267 branches in Anatolia. In 1932 it was replaced by the *Halk Evleri* [see KHALKEVI] in towns and *Halk Odaları* in large villages, serving the same purpose but under the tight control of the ruling Republican People's Party.

The predecessors of the *Türk Odjaghî* were the *Türk Derneghi* ("Turkish Association", 1908-11) founded by Yūsuf Akčura [*q.v.*], Nedjib ʿĀṣim, Weled Čelebi and others; and *Türk Yurdu* ("Homeland of the Turks", 1911-12) founded by Meḥmed Emīn [*q.v.*] and Yūsuf Akčura, whose journal *Türk Yurdu* was inherited by the *Türk Odjaghî*. According to its records, the initiative for the Hearth came from the students of the military medical school in 1911, and the plan was put into action on 12 March 1912 by Hüseyin Fikret, Meḥmed Emīn, Aḥmed Ferīd, Yūsuf Akčura, Meḥmed ʿAlī Tewfīk and their colleagues. After the Balkan Wars, the organisation was chaired by Ḥamdullāh Ṣubḥī, a well-known literary figure.

The *Türk Odjaghî* played an important role in creating a group of young intellectuals who identified themselves with the Hearth and its ideology, as opposed to the troubled Ottomanist ideology of the Second Constitutional period. Although Pan-Turkism [*q.v.*] was not a common ideal among the members of the Hearth during its early days, following the Balkan Wars, its members began to stress Turkish nationalism. *Türk Yurdu* started to carry articles in support of Turkism, and promoting the use of Turkish language within the borders of the Empire. The Hearth was also keen to promote a more active and public role for Turkish women, which they believed had existed in previous Turkic history. After 1913, some members of the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI] joined the Hearth, and political figures such as Djemāl Pasha and Ṭalʿat Pasha attended its meetings, aiming to use it as an extension of their ruling party. However, after World War I broke out, they regarded the *Türk Odjaghî* as their political rival because of its influence in Anatolia through its many branches.

Until 1918, the Hearth had 2,000 members with 35 branches all over the Empire, and these functioned as cultural societies for the promotion of Turkish language, culture and arts; it opened libraries, as well as offering food and board for needy students. Among its members were well-known names like Khālide Edīb, Ḍiyā Gökalp, Aḥmed Aghaoghlu, and Fuʾād Köprülü.

Türk Odjaghî aimed to be a centre of culture, hence, one of its objectives was to unite with the "folk", and populism always played an important role in its activities. Several of its members were founders of the Peasants' Movement before the foundation of the Republic. After the War, it promoted Westernisation while continuing to have ties with the other Turkic groups in the world. It gave its support to the Kemālist reforms, and received the support of Muṣṭafā Kemāl.

Its headquarters were moved to Ankara in 1930, and its administration was controlled by the members of the Republican People's Party (RPP), who saw the Hearth as a "cultural affairs" organisation of the Party. However, very soon, its branches in Anatolia were regarded as political rivals to the RPP, and from 1928 onwards, the pro-government press began to publish articles stating that, since nationalism was a state policy, the *Türk Odjaghî* no longer had a mission. After 1930, its members were also criticised by Leftists for being nationalists, and the Hearth was fancifully compared with Italian Fascist organizations. The fact that some members of the Hearth were also members of the opposition *Serbest Cümhuriyet Fırkası* ("Free Republican Party"), and that Ḥamdullāh Ṣubḥī, the chairman of the Hearth, was a known supporter of pluralism and defender of freedom of thought, drew suspicion. Finally in 1931, the Hearth and its branches were closed, and their property taken over by the RPP in an effort to gather all civil organisations under the ideological umbrella of a single political party. Immediately afterwards, the *Halkevleri* were opened, which inherited the libraries, activities, and membership of the *Türk Odjaghî*. At the time when it was closed, the Hearth had 30,000 members in 267 branches, libraries, and an established programme of courses on different subjects and lectures.

Türk Ocağı was re-opened in 1986 in Ankara, but although its members were higher bureaucrats, it was not able to attain the popularity and the respected intellectual status it had in the 1920s. It remains in existence.

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(Çiğdem Balim)

TÜRK YURDU [see MAḲĀLA. 3].

AL-**TURK, NIKŪLĀ** B. YŪSUF B. NĀṢĪF, (1176-*ca.* 1244/1763-*ca.* 1828), Syrian Melkite Christian chronicler, scribe and poet, of Greek extraction from Istanbul, born and died in Dayr al-Ḳamar, Lebanon. Sent to Egypt (1798-1804) by his employer, Bashīr Shihāb II [*q.v.*], Prince of the Druzes, he wrote a chronicle of the French occupation. Several versions have appeared: *Dhikr tamalluk djumhūr al-Fransāwiyya al-aḳṭār al-Miṣriyya wa 'l-bilād al-Shāmiyya (1792-1801)*, ed. Alix Desgranges aîné, Paris 1839, and ed. Dr. Yāsīn Suwayd, Beirut 1990, using the same text; Gaston Wiet (ed.), *Chronique d'Egypte, 1798-1804/Mudhakkirāt Nikūlā Turk*, Cairo 1950, from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque privée de Sa Majesté le roi Farouk, and *Taʾrīkh Nābulyūn al-Awwal (1792-1801)*, ed. Amal Bashshūr, Tripoli 1993, from a manuscript in the Ẓāhiriyya Library in Damascus. It is asserted that he left no issue.

A minor poet, he earnt his living flattering the rich and powerful: a dithyrambic ode glorifies Napoleon's military power in Egypt, *Ode arabe sur la conquête de l'Egypte, traduite par J.J. Marcel*, Paris 1830. His collected poetry, *Dīwān al-Muʿallim Nikūlā al-Turk*, ed. Dr. Fouad E. Boustany, Beirut 1949, repr. 1970, records

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TÜRKÇÜLÜK [see PAN-TURKISM].

ṬURKHĀN SULṬĀN, ṬURKHĀN KHĀDIDJE SULṬĀN (*ca.* 1626-83), mother of the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*].

Ṭurkhān Sulṭān entered the Ottoman imperial harem as a slave of the *wālide sulṭān* Kösem Sulṭān [*q.v.*], mother of Murād IV (1623-40) and Ibrāhīm (1640-8) [*q.vv.*]. Nothing is known of her background, except that she had a brother, Yūsuf Agha, who died in Istanbul in 1100/1689. She gave birth to sultan Ibrāhīm's eldest son Meḥemmed in 1641; there may also have been a daughter, Fāṭima Sulṭān, 1642-57. On Ibrāhīm's deposition in 1648 and her seven-year-old son's accession as Meḥemmed IV, Ṭurkhān acquired the rank of *wālide sulṭān* ("royal mother") [*q.v.*], but initially remained in the shadow of Meḥemmed's grandmother, the more politically-experienced and powerful Kösem Sulṭān, then known as *büyük* ("senior") *wālide sulṭān*. A threat by Kösem to dethrone Meḥemmed IV in favour of a younger brother resulted in Kösem's own assassination in 1651, probably at Ṭurkhān's instigation, and the latter's assumption of the full regency for the ten-year-old Meḥemmed. The extreme political instability of the years immediately after 1651 led in 1656 to the appointment as Grand Vizier of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha [see KÖPRÜLÜ. 1], to whom Ṭurkhān Sulṭān surrendered much of her political authority as regent. Although Köprülü's appointment has been said to have ended the "sultanate of women", Ṭurkhān's personal influence over Meḥemmed IV and her role as intermediary remained important (for her career generally, see L.P. Peirce, *The imperial harem: women and sovereignty in the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1993, *passim*).

Ṭurkhān Sulṭān died in 1094/1683 and was buried in her own tomb at the Yeñi Wālide mosque in Istanbul, a foundation begun by Ṣāfiye Sulṭān [*q.v.*], mother of Meḥemmed III, in 1598 but completed only in 1663 by Ṭurkhān herself. At least two minor mosques and other small endowments by her are known (Peirce, *op. cit.*, 206-12).

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TURKISTĀN, TURKESTAN, a Persian term meaning "land of the Turks".

1. As a designation for the Central Asian lands to the north of modern Persia and Afghānistān.

Tbis roughly corresponded to the older Transoxania or Mā warā' al-nahr [*q.v.*] and the steppe lands to its north, although these last were from Mongol times onwards (sc. the 13th century) often distinguished as Mogholistān [*q.v.*]. To the Persians, of course, only the southern frontier of the land of the Turks, the frontier against Īrān, was of importance and this frontier naturally depended on political conditions. On their very first appearance in Central Asia in the 6th century A.D., the Turks reached the Oxus [see ĀMŪ-DARYĀ]. In the time of the Sāsānids, therefore, the land of the Turks began immediately north of the Oxus; according to the story given in al-Ṭabarī (i, 435-6) the Oxus was settled by an arrow-shot of Īrash as the frontier between the Turks and the "territory (*ʿamal*) of the Persians". According to the Armenian Sebēos (7th century A.D.), the Vehrot, i.e. the Oxus, rises in the land of T'urk'astan (*Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évèque Sebèos*, tr. Fr. Macler, Paris 1904, 49; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 48); in another passage in the same work (43; Marquart, 73) T'urk'astan is associated with Delhastan, i.e. Dihistān (in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, north of the Atrek [*q.v.*]).

By the victories of the Arabs, the Turks were driven far back to the north; for the Arab geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, Turkistān therefore began, not immediately north of the Oxus, but only north of the area of Arab culture known as "the lands beyond the river", Mā warā' al-nahr. Turkistān, the land of the Turks, was then regarded as the regions north and east of Mā warā' al-nahr. The town of Kāsān in Farghāna [*q.v.*], north of the Sīr Daryā [*q.v.*], was "where the land of Turkistān begins" (Yākūt, iv, 227). The towns of Djand and Shahrkand on the lower course of the same river were in Turkistān (ii, 127, iii, 344); in Turkistān lay the town of Khotan (ii, 403). From this use of the name, it has been held (especially by M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle 1908, 1) that the name "Turkistan" was first applied by the Russian conquerors of Central Asia quite arbitrarily to the land of Mā warā' al-nahr. As a matter of fact, the name Turkistān had long regained its earlier significance as a result of the Turkish conquests, perhaps less in literature than in everyday usage. To the people of Persia and Afghānistān, the "Turks in Turkistān" were their immediate neighbours on the north; thus in a lullaby taken down in Shīrāz in 1886 we are told "Two Turks came from Turkistān, brought me to Hindūstān" (V. Žukovskiy, *Obrazcî persidskago narodnago tvorčestva*, St. Petersburg 1902, 169-70). Through the Özbeg conquests of the 10th/16th century, a new Turkistān arose south of the Oxus. The corresponding province of Afghānistān still bears the name of Turkistān; as the southern frontiers of this Turkistān some travellers (R. Burslem, *A peep in Toorkistan*, London 1846, 57-60) give the pass of Aḳ Rabat north of Bāmiyān [*q.v.*]; others (J. Wood, *A journey to the source of the River Oxus*, new ed. London 1872, 130), the pass of Hadjikak, a little farther south, where the watershed between the basins of the Helmand [*q.v.*] and the Oxus is; farther west, in the region between the Murghāb and the Āb-i Maymana, the frontier of Turkistān is given as the range of Band (or Tīrband)-i Turkistān (see further, 2, below). The name Turkistān in this context was introduced into the scientific terminology of the 19th century, not by the Russians but by the British, probably under the influence of the Persian and Afghān usage.

In literature, especially in travellers' records, a distinction has usually been made between Russian, Chinese and Afghān Turkestan, although the word Turkestan (or Turkistān) had an administrative significance only in Russia and Afghānistān. Sometimes instead of these we find the terms West and East Turkestan. The Governorate-General (*guberniya*) of Turkestan was founded in 1867 by the Russians, with Tashkent [*q.v.*] as its capital and General K.P. Kaufman as its first head. The frontiers of this

Governorate-General were sometimes contracted, sometimes extended. From 1882 to 1898 the province of Semiryečye, at one time included in Turkestan, belonged to the Governorate-General of the Steppes with Omsk as its capital. In 1898 Semiryečye and the Transcaspian province (Turkmenia) were incorporated in Turkestan. For the history of Semiryečye, see YETI SU.

In 1886, Prof. I. Mus̲h̲ketov attempted to give the name "Turkestan" a definite geographical significance, independent of administrative conditions. Under the influence of A. Petzhold's book *Umschau im Russischen Turkestan nebst einer allgemeinen Schilderung des Turkestanischen Beckens*, Leipzig 1877, he proposed to give the name Turkestan or the Turkestan basin to the lands between the central mountains of Central Asia and the basin of the Caspian Sea, the Iranian plateau and the Aral Sea; Mus̲h̲ketov had no doubt that the frontier between Russia and England in the not-too-distant future would be established on the Hindū Kus̲h̲ [*q.v.*]. He proposed to replace the term "Chinese Turkestan" (see below) by the Chinese one Han-hai (interpreted by European scholars since Richthofen as the "dry sea").

After the downfall of Tsarist Russia in 1917, a supra-ethnic Turkistan Autonomous Government (*Turkistan Äwtanam Hukumäti*, also known as the "Khokand Autonomy", *Qoqan Äwtanamiyäsi*) came into existence on 10-11 December 1917, founded by Reformist or D̲j̲adīdist elements [see D̲J̲ADĪD; and IṢLĀḤ. v. In Central Asia, in Suppl.] based on Khokand, as Central Asia's second (after Khiva) independent, indigenous state. This was replaced on 30 April 1918 by a Soviet régime, at first called the Autonomous Turkistan Republic (ATR) and based on Tashkent, but the Bolsheviks in Moscow were hostile to any ethnic, tribal or local groupings, and worked to destroy the ATR, e.g. by encouraging Kazaks to the north of the ATR to unite with Kazaks within it to form their own Kirgizistan (i.e. Kazakstan) ASSR to the east of the Caspian.

Nevertheless, a start had been made in nurturing a common feeling of Turkistan unity, and some people linked this with their language and literature, despite other views that, for language and literature, there were subordinate ethnicities such as Uzbeks, Kazaks, Turkmens, etc. But Moscow worked against all feelings for integration in the ATR, as also in the Bukharan and Khwarazmian People's Conciliar Republics (BPCR and KhwPCR), branding their local leaders as "bourgeois nationalists", fanning Kazak and Turkmen unwillingness to work with Uzbeks in common administrative-political units and playing off various groups with each other.

In autumn 1924 the various ethnic groups of Central Asia were encouraged by Moscow to form their own ethnic units; this led to the formal dismemberment of the Turkistan ASSR, decreed on 11 May 1925, and the abolition of the Khwarazmian and Bukharan SSRs, which had only just been set up in 1923 and 1924, respectively. The term "Turkistan" vanished from the press and for decades, Stalin's censors treated it as a forbidden name and concept; the name survived only for a small town in the Kazakhstan SSR (see 3, below). And, as Allworth has remarked, "The loss of the name *Turkistan* represented more than a change of designation—it deprived Central Asians of the prerogative to determine their own identity".

It should be noted that the vast mountain, desert and oasis region to the east and north of the Tien Shan Mountains and to the east and north of the Pamirs and Kun Lun Mountains, comprising the Tarim basin and the region of Džungaria to its north, has conventionally been known as Eastern Turkestan or, reflecting more recent political domination, Chinese Turkestan. For this, see KĀS̲H̲G̲H̲AR; K̲H̲OTAN; ḲULD̲J̲A; SINKIANG; TARIM; TURFAN; YARKAND.

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(W. BARTHOLD-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. As a designation for the largely Turkish part of northern Afg̲h̲ānistān lying to the south of the Oxus.

From early mediaeval times, the region around Balk̲h̲ and Mazār-i S̲h̲arīf, the early mediaeval Ṭuk̲h̲āristān [*q.v.*], known generally by the 18th century as the *wilāyat-i Balk̲h̲*, has become gradually Turkicised, mainly with Uzbeks and Turkmens at the present time, although significant minorities of Persian- and Pas̲h̲to-speakers, etc., are also to be found.

In the later 18th century, the Afg̲h̲ān court tended to refer to this *wilāya* as "Turkistān", and this was taken over in the first half of the 19th century into British and European usage. But after the Russian advance into Central Asia, official British usage felt that "Turkistān" *tout court* might give credence to Russian claims that the city-states of the *wilāya* were not necessarily part of the Afg̲h̲ān monarchy but could be considered as part of "Greater Turkistān". Hence in 1869 Sir Henry Rawlinson, in a *Memorandum on the Frontiers of Afghanistan*, recommended that, for political purposes, Britain should no longer use the term "Turkistan" but instead, "Afghan Turkistan", and this was adopted in official usage and publications to distinguish it from "Russian Turkistan" north of the Oxus. See for a thorough discussion of the question, J.R. Lee, *The "Ancient Supremacy". Bukhara, Afghanistan and the battle for Balkh, 1731-1901*, Leiden 1996, pp. xxxi-xxxiv.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

3. The name of one of the oldest small towns of what is now southern Kazak̲h̲stān, situated in the region of Čimkent, on the Tashkent-Orenburg road, on the left bank of the Syr Darya, some 30 km/18 miles from the river. An oasis at the fringes of the Kizil-Kum, it is irrigated by water-courses emanating from the Karatau mountains (the site of ancient gold mines) and canals fed by the river Karaychik. Throughout its long history it has been disputed by conquerors either famous or obscure, all anxious to confirm their hegemony by possession of a strategic urban site at the confluence of the nomadic and sedentary zones of Central Asia.

Turkistān is identified with the ancient city of S̲h̲āwg̲h̲ar, of which no traces have ever been discovered (Le Strange, *Lands*, 485). The Arabo-Persian geographers of the 4th/10th century mention it in their

works, including al-Muḳaddasī and, in particular, Ibn Ḥawḳal, 340, who relates that a campaign was said to have been conducted against it by the Sāmānid prince Naṣr b. Aḥmad (303-30/914-43) with an army of "300,000 men"; this is not confirmed by other sources of the period (such as al-Iṣṭakhrī, 291). The victorious campaign conducted against the Turks in 290/903 in the neighbourhood of what is now Turkistān by Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (278-94/892-907), founder of the Sāmānid dynasty, seems more plausible (Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy kray*, St. Petersburg 1913, 282). It is true that in the 6th/12th century al-Samʿānī, facs. ed. 228, describes it as the zone confronting the Turks, while Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 245, a century later, is already describing it as a "Turkish town", yet neither of the two alludes to the name of Yasī (Esī) by which it came to be known.

It is, however, as such that it appears in the 8th/14th century in Yazdī's *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Calcutta, ii, 9, a usage attested since the end of the 6th/12th century (Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 141, Russian tr. in *Sočineniya*, v, Moscow 1968, 117; idem, *EI*[1] art. *Turkistān*). Developing from a village (*karya*), Yasī enjoyed its greatest prosperity during the Mongol period, by virtue of the cult dedicated to the *shaykh* Aḥmad Yasawī, called Ata Yesevī by the Turks and founder of the Ṣūfī order of the Yasawiyya, who lived and died there in 562/1166-7 [see AḤMAD YASAWĪ]. Considered as the one who converted the Turks to Islam, he is buried there in the impressive mausoleum which Tīmūr built for him at the end of the 8th/14th century (M.E. Masson, *Mavzolei Khodža Ahmad Yasevi*, Tashkent 1930). It was in the 9th/15th century that Yasī took on the name of Turkistān, the mausoleum becoming known as *Ḥaḍrat-i Turkistān*. Henceforth, it attracted numerous pilgrims and became the preferred burial site of pious Muslims, and later, of the Özbeg/Uzbek princes of the Shaybānid dynasty, and of the Kazakh sultans. The mausoleum consists of a massive cube flanked by two towers surmounted by a huge entry-portal. In the interior, the principal hall contains the sacred cauldron (*kazanlïk*) which, previously used for preparing food for pilgrims and Ṣūfīs, serves today as a depository for coins. The tomb of the saint is located in a section facing the entrance. On the outside, a 19th century mosque, an older mosque, a library, a *ḥammām*, and the remains of the wall of the ancient fortress may be observed.

From the last quarter of the 9th/15th century onward, it was around the town of Turkistān that the principal events took place of a rivalry which was to continue for decades and even centuries. This involved the last Tīmūrids of Transoxiana, the Čaghatayid *khāns* of declining Mogolistān (Yūnus and his son sultan Maḥmūd), the Kazakh *khāns* and the Uzbek conqueror Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān. A series of battles between these two last took place during the 1470s, the prize being the principal towns of the Syr Darya basin which were besieged and captured in turn by the Kazakhs or the Uzbeks. By the end of the 15th century the situation had stabilised: the towns of Sighnāḳ, Sūzak and Sawrān were incorporated into the Kazakh khānate, whilst those of Utrār, Uzgend, Arkūk and Turkistān remained in Uzbek hands.

Thus in 893/1488, Maḥmūd, the Čaghatayid prince of Tashkent, appointed Muḥammad Shaybānī governor of Turkistān, and this marked the true starting-point of the latter's political career in Transoxiana (Bacqué-Grammont, *Une liste ottomane*, 438). The Uzbek sultans took refuge there in 915/1511, at the time of one of the last offensives of Bābur. The Kazakh *khān* Ṭāhir died there in the second quarter of the 16th century. After 1007/1598, it became part of the Uzbek state of the Ashtarkhānids, who replaced the Shaybānids when in the 11th/17th century the town passed once more under Kazakh domination, extending then as far as Tashkent. In 1062/1652, the Kazakh Djahāngīr Khān, who had perished in battle against the Kalmuks, was buried there close to the mausoleum of Aḥmad Yasawī (Klyastorniy and Sultanov, *Kazakhstan*, 304). The Kazakh *khān* Tawke (the famous legislator of the three tribes who, nominally at least, accepted Russian sovereignty in 1129/1717), received a Russian delegation there in 1105/1694 (led by the Cossacks Fedor Skibin and Matvey Tročin, sent from Tobolsk) and a Kalmuk delegation (representing the Oyrats of Džungaria) in 1110/1698, which did not, however, prevent the seizure of the town by the Oyrats in 1135/1723, a fate also suffered by Sayram and Tashkent. Turkistān was then one of the sensitive points in the confrontation between Kazakhs. Oyrats and Chinese which ultimately served the interests of the Russian power. It passed under the domination of the Kazakh sultan Yūnus Khōdja who ruled in Tashkent after 1194/1780. At this time, Turkistān constituted an independent principality, despite nominal subservience to Bukhārā. It was the Kazakh Tozay Khān who was governor there when the town was seized by ʿUmar, the Uzbek *khān* of Khoḳand, in 1814 or 1815.

Like other oasis towns of the Syr Darya basin in the 18th and 19th centuries, Turkistān experienced economic decline and a disintegration of sedentary life which cannot be attributed solely to the activities of the Uzbeks but is documented by Russian travellers, such as Burnasev, 141, and Meyendorff, 61. The town comprised 5,000 inhabitants when it was incorporated into the Russian empire in December 1864, after three days of conflict between a battalion of Cossacks from the Urals led by Lt. Verevkin and 10,000 soldiers from Khoḳand who "miraculously" spared the cupola of the mausoleum (*Entsiklopedičeskiy slovar'*, St. Petersburg 1909, 38). In 1910, the Tsarist administration recorded 13,514 inhabitants, 3,616 houses, 2 churches, 41 mosques, 24 educational establishments, one library and 57 workshops or factories (cotton processing, manufacturing, trading companies) (*Adres' spravočnik Turkestanskogo kraya*, Tashkent 1910, 116). The population of the town had reached 77,000 in 1987.

Since the independence of Kazakhstān, the town has been the object of close attention on the part of the Kazakh authorities. The Turkish Republic has contributed towards the refurbishment of the mausoleum, and has helped with the financing of a Turco-Kazakh university (also incorporating a hotel), one of the signs of the new state's resolve to combine reconstruction with the assertion of a distinctive identity.

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(CATHERINE POUJOL)

TÜRKMEN (T. Türkmän; A. al-Turkumān, al-Turkmāniyyūn, al-Tarākima; P. Turkmānān) a term used collectively for Turkic tribes distributed over much of the Near and Middle East and Central Asia from mediaeval to modern times.

Etymology

A number of modern studies have taken up this question, rejecting the Persian popular etymology of *Türk-mānand* "similar to the Türks", already proposed by al-Bīrūnī (cf. Golden 1992, 213) and al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī [*q.v.*] in his *Dīwān lug̲h̲āt al-turk* (tr. Dankoff 1984, ii, 363) and repeated by later authors including Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn Ṭabīb. Similarly, Abu 'l-G̲h̲āzī Bahādur K̲h̲ān explains in his *S̲h̲ad̲j̲ara-yi Tarākima* that the Tād̲j̲īks first called the Türkmen who had settled in Mā warā' al-nahr Türks. With time, their features changed to resemble more those of the local (i.e. Iranian) population. Therefore the Tād̲j̲īks gave them the name *Türkmen*, with the meaning "resembling the Türks, Türk-like", but that the common people were unable to pronounce *Türk-mānand* and therefore said *Türkmen* (ed. Ölmez 1996, 170, tr. 251). G. Doerfer states that *türkmän* is obviously a derivation from *türk* "ruling people > Turk" with *män* as a kind of augmentative suffix (see *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, no. 892, with further references). Golden (1992, 212-13) similarly views the term as "deriving from *Türk* + Turk. *-men* (a suffix of strengthening)".

The term Türkmen is used by Muslim historians, geographers and other authors writing within the sphere of the Sald̲j̲ūḳid empire and its successor states for those of the tribal federation of the Og̲h̲uz/G̲h̲uzz (*q.v.*, see also F. Sümer, art. *Oğuzlar*, in *IA*)—which included non-Og̲h̲uzic elements—that had become Muslims. However, by the Mongol period the appellation Türkmen had completely superseded that of Og̲h̲uz (W. Barthold, art. *Turkomans*, in *EI*[1]). More pointedly, Golden (1992, 212) suggests that, initially, the term Türkmen was possibly not an ethnonym but a technical term denoting Islamised Turkic populations, including the Og̲h̲uz. He draws attention to the possibility of a pre-Sald̲j̲ūḳ history of the term referring to a Sogdian (8th century) and a Chinese (9th century, cf. also Barthold 1962, 79-80) source. The following citations from some of the earliest Muslim texts that refer to the Türkmen as Islamised Og̲h̲uz follow Golden (1992, 212-13, cf. also Barthold 1962, 77-120). The geographer al-Muḳaddasī (fl. 4th/10th century), who visited K̲h̲urāsān, is considered the first Muslim source to refer to "the Turkoman who have converted to Islam through fear" and to "the sovereign of the Turkoman" (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsim*, 274-5, tr. B.A. Collins and M.H. al-Tai, 274-5). The scientist al-Bīrūnī al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī (d. 440/1048), who knew the region well, mentions in his *K. al-D̲j̲amāhir fī maʿrifat al-d̲j̲awāhir* (ed. Krenkow 1936, 205) that the Og̲h̲uz call "any Og̲h̲uz who converts to Islam" a Türkmen. Al-Marwazī (d. after 514/1120), a physician at the Sald̲j̲ūḳ court, writes in his *Ṭabā'iʿ al-ḥayawān*, which includes sections on human geography, that some of the Og̲h̲uz when they came into contact with Muslim countries converted to Islam, then being called Türkmen (ed. Minorsky 1942, 18/29). Al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī describes the Ḳarluḳs [*q.v.*] as a "tribe of the Turks. They are nomads, not Og̲h̲uz, but they are also Turkman" (tr. Dankoff 1982, i, 353), but also says "Oγuz—a tribe of the Turks; the Turkmän" (*ibid.*, i, 101) and "*türkmän*. They are the Oγuz" giving a long story about the encounter of their original 22 tribes (*ibid.*, i, 101-2) with D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳarnayn [*q.v.*], including the etymology mentioned above (*ibid.*, ii, 362-3).

History

1. Pre-Mongol period.

In the wake of the conquests of the Og̲h̲uz/Türkmen under the leadership of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family and during the period of its rule (5th-6th/11th-12th centuries), large numbers of Türkmen not only joined the Sald̲j̲ūḳ armies but also migrated as tribal groups from their habitat in the periphery of the Islamic world (i.e. the area bordered by the Ural and Irtysh rivers, the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea and the lower Syr-Darya valley) to northern Persia, Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, Asia Minor, ʿIrāḳ, Syria, the Ḥid̲j̲āz and even North Africa. Some of these groups became settled and merged with the local populations, while the majority continued a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life preserving tribal structures. (For details of these developments, see G̲H̲UZZ and SALD̲J̲ŪḲIDS, with references.) Modern scholarship has underlined the enormous impact of these migrations on the political, economic, social and cultural structure of the central Islamic lands with their predominantly Iranian and Arab populations. A further effect was the beginning of the lasting Turkification of Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān and Anatolia. Attention is also drawn to the fact that, due to their historical role, we are better informed about the Türkmen than on any other Turkic people of the Middle Ages.

When central Sald̲j̲ūḳ rule collapsed and regional successor states were established, in most cases by members of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family or its close associates [see ATABAK], Türkmen tribal groups continued to form their major reservoir of warriors, since the migration of Türkmen from Central Asia continued. Moreover, already during the height of Sald̲j̲ūḳ power a number of principalities had emerged in the borderlands of the empire whose leaders were not members of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family but were Türkmen tribal chiefs, e.g. the Dānis̲h̲mendids [*q.v.*] in eastern Anatolia, who played an important role in the conflicts of the 6th/12th century between Crusaders, Byzantines and Sald̲j̲ūḳs. The Mengüček [*q.v.*] principality to the east of the Dānis̲h̲mendids and that of the Saltuḳ Og̲h̲ullarī [*q.v.*] around Erzurum were each annexed by the Rūm Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan before the Mongol conquest. Of more consequence was the Salg̲h̲urid [*q.v.*] dynasty, founded by members of the Salur [*q.v.*] tribe, in Fārs, and the ruling family of the Artuḳid [*q.v.*] principality which belonged to and derived its strength from the Döger [*q.v.*] tribe of the Bozoḳ branch (see below) of the Türkmen. It continued to hold its own in the Mārdīn and Āmid (Diyārbakr) region up to the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

No reliable information is available about the number and tribal composition of Türkmen who remained in Central Asia. In the early 5th/11th century the region of the Balk̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] mountain ranges east of the Caspian sea became a place of retreat for the Og̲h̲uz and other Turkic tribes, while the Mangīs̲h̲lak [*q.v.*] peninsula further north is already mentioned as such in the 4th/10th century. In the second half of the 6th/12th century, a certain number of Türkmen settled in eastern K̲h̲urāsān without, however, gaining any political importance, partly due to the rise of the K̲h̲ʷārazms̲h̲āhs [*q.v.*]. In the 7th/13th century, the Mongol conquests led to the large-scale expulsion into different directions, or incorporation into the Mongol army, of Türkmen living along the main route of military operations in Transoxania and K̲h̲urāsān. In this way, a second wave of Türkmen, uprooted from a nomadic, semi-nomadic or settled way of life, again reached the central Islamic lands, and this wave was to change their political, ethnic and socio-

economic structure even more thoroughly than the earlier one set into motion by the Saldjūḳ conquests.

2. Mongol and post-Mongol period. Particularly successful politically were those Türkmen who made Anatolia, Armenia, Kurdistān and northern Syria their new home, soon to create small domains of semi-independent rule. While earlier studies based on Mamlūk, Persian, Ottoman and European sources furnished mainly political and socio-economic information concerning these Türkmen principalities (*beyliks*), more recent studies have also focused on their individual contribution to culture, particularly to the development of literature, art and architecture within the former territories of the Byzantine empire, now reduced to the northwestern part of Anatolia, that of the moribund Rūm Saldjūḳ state under the overlordship of the Il-Khans [*q.v.*] and of the northern borderlands of the Mamlūk empire. However, the history of the major Türkmen amīrates of Anatolia is still not very well explored. This is partly due to the complicated situation regarding sources, e.g. the loss or lack of written sources connected to the way of life of the ruling Türkmen élite and its supporting tribes, as opposed to the settled Muslim and Christian subjects, and to subsequent Ottoman rule, with its different state ideology, which superseded that of the Türkmen *beyliks*.

Among the more well-known Türkmen principalities of Anatolia are those of the Ṣarūkhān around Manisa and the Aydîn-Oghlu in the hinterland of Izmir, of the Menteshe Oghullarî on the southwestern coast, of the Germiyān Oghullarî with their centre in Kütahya, the Hamīd Oghullarî and Tekke Oghullarî around Eğridir and Antalya, the Ḳaramān-Oghullarî with their centre in Konya, the Djandar Oghullarî between Sinop and Kastamonu, of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr (Dulghadîr) Oghullarî and the Ramaḍān Oghullarî [*q.vv.*] in southeastern Anatolia (for an overview, see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri*[3], Ankara 1988). It should not be forgotten that the Ottoman empire had likewise its roots in a Türkmen principality founded by the eponymous ʿOthmān I [*q.v.*] in the northwestern corner of Anatolia.

Most of these principalities have in common the period of their origin as quasi-independent domains in the 1330s and 1340s, in the wake of the demise of the Rūm Saldjūḳ sultanate and the fact that they were finally incorporated into the Ottoman empire in the period of Sultans Murād II (824-55/1421-51) and Meḥemmed II (855-86/1451-81 [*q.vv.*]). In central Anatolia, the powerful Ḳaramān *beylik* constituted a serious threat to Meḥemmed II's bid for supremacy until 865/1461. In southeastern Anatolia, the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr Oghullarî with their centre in Marʿash, and the Ramaḍān Oghullarî around Adana, were able to resist the Ottomans, under Mamlūk protection, until Selīm I succeeded in defeating them in 921/1515. A large part of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr tribesmen entered Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī's [*q.v.*, see also ṢAFAWIDS and ĪLĀT] service and became one of the constituents of his Ḳîzîl-bāsh [*q.v.*] troops, along with other Türkmen tribes such as the Ustādjlū, Rūmlū, Shāmlū, Takkalū, Afshār, Ḳādjār, Warsāḳ and Bahārlū. However, beginning with Shāh ʿAbbās I (995-1038/1587-1629) the predominant role of the *ḳîzîl-bāsh* Türkmen in the Ṣafawid central administration and provincial government was more and more reduced. By conserving their traditional way of life, in particular their seasonal migrations, the Türkmen tribal federations continued to evade, even confront, state authority both in the Ottoman empire and in Persia down to the first half of the 20th century (for an overview, see Planhol 1993, *passim*). It must also be borne in mind that it was in this atmosphere of Ottoman-Ṣafawid confrontation (10th/16th century) that the religious syncretism which developed among the Türkmen in Saldjūḳ times on the basis of practices and beliefs brought from Central Asia, and entered Sunnī and Shīʿī Islam, led to the formation of a new heterodox creed in Anatolia, Alevism (cf. several studies in *Alevism in Turkey and comparable syncretistic religious communities in the Near East*, ed. K. Kehl-Bodrogi, B. Kellner-Heinkele and A. Otter-Beaujean, Leiden 1997).

Of more political consequence than the Anatolian Türkmen *beyliks* were the states founded by the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Türkmen tribal confederations respectively. At times even serious rivals of the Tīmūrids, Mamlūks and Ottomans, they gained momentum with the re-migration of Türkmen to the east, essentially to Persia, from the 8th/14th till the beginning of the 10th/16th centuries. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (*q.v.*; the best study on them is J.E. Woods, *The Aqqoyunlu. Clan, confederation, empire*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1976) dominated eastern Anatolia and western Persia from the mid 8th/14th century until the conquest of these regions by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl in 907-8/1501-3. Their leading clan was the Bayîndîr [*q.v.*], which claimed as its eponymous ancestor one of the 24 grandsons of Oghuz Khān, who were considered as the founders of the legendary 24 Oghuz tribes. Their most successful ruler, Uzun Ḥasan (871-83/1466-78 [*q.v.*]), made Tabrīz his capital after gaining the upper hand over the rival Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (*q.v.*; see also F. Sümer, *Kara-Koyunlular*[3], Ankara 1992). At the height of its power under Djihān Shāh (843-72/1439-67), the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire comprised eastern Anatolia, Armenia, ʿIrāḳ and most of Persia.

Central Asia

Owing to the lack of historical evidence, it is not possible to prove direct continuity from the Oghuz/Türkmen of Saldjūḳ times to the post-Mongol Türkmen. Very little information is also available for the Tīmūrid period. The history of the modern Türkmen tribes can only be traced from the 10th/16th century onwards, when they slowly moved from their retreat in the western fringes of modern Turkmenistan (Mangîshlak peninsula, Üst Yurt plateau, Balkhān mountains, Ḳaraḳum desert) in an eastern and southeastern direction to the agricultural oases (Khwārazm, the Murghāb valley). This movement was probably caused by a growing desiccation of the steppe and the pressure exerted by stronger neighbours like the Ḳalmuḳs, the Ḳazakhs [*q.vv.*] and the Persians (cf. Bregel 1981). The rule of Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān (1054/1644-5 to 1074/1664), Shaybānid ruler of Khīwa and historian of the Türks and Türkmen, was likewise marked with frequent expeditions against the Türkmen tribes of Khwārazm, the Ḳaraḳum desert and the Mangîshlak peninsula, leading to the temporary submission of some of them (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, *Shadjara-yi türk*, ed. and tr. P.I. Desmaisons as *Histoire des mongols et des tatares par Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân*, St. Petersburg 1871-4, ed. 297-372, tr. 318-50). According to Abu 'l-Ghāzī's own words, he composed his history of the Türkmen people, the *Shadjara-yi tarākima* ("The family tree of the Türkmen"), in 1071/1660-1, because Türkmen scholars, *sheykhs* and *beks* who had heard that he was an expert on history asked him to do so in replacement of the numerous *Oghuz-nāmas* which they considered as worthless (ed. Ölmez, 109, tr. 232). This history clearly mirrors the historical traditions and legends of the Oghuz that had earlier been recorded by

Rashīd al-Dīn in his *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (see *Die Geschichte der Oguzen des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, tr. K. Jahn, Vienna 1969). In addition, Abu 'l-Ghāzī's work adds events that probably have to be placed mostly within the 9th/15th century.

According to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, Oghuz Khān divided his descendants into the senior Bozoḳ and the junior Üčoḳ division of tribes. He mentions in his work the Bayat, Bigdili, Dodurga, Döger, Ḳarḳïn and Ḳayï, which are traditionally considered as belonging to the Bozok (right wing) division, and the Ava, Bayïndïr, Bečene, Bügdüz, Čavuldur, Čepni, Eymür, Igdir, Ḳara Ivli, Ḳïnïḳ, Salur and Üregir belonging to the Üčoḳ (left wing) division. The Teke as well as the Ersari [*q.v.*] are represented as connected to the Salur, and the Yomut and Göklen [see GÖKLĀN] are not mentioned at all (ed. Ölmez, index). These tribes began to move into the oases of Khʷārazm and southern Turkmenia only by the middle of the 11th/17th century. The Ersari and one part of the Yomut began to become sedentary farmers by the end of that century, as did the Čavuldur (Čawdor [*q.v.*]) and Teke from the beginning of the 12th/18th century onwards (Bregel 1981, 32-6).

The decline of the Khanate of Khīwa from the early 12th/18th century permitted to the Türkmen increased political interference in Khʷarazm. Under the Ḳungrāt [*q.v.*] dynasty, established in 1218/1804, the campaigns against various Türkmen tribes became one of the constants of Khīwan politics. Temporarily subdued militarily, or often out of sheer need for victuals which were only to be had in the sedentary areas, the Türkmen were forced to send auxiliary troops to participate in Khīwa's campaigns against the rival Bukhāran emīrate. Continuous raids into the neighbouring Persian provinces and Persian punitive expeditions into Türkmen territory exhausted both sides. Nevertheless, the tribes were able to preserve a certain amount of autonomy. After fighting victoriously with Khīwan and Persian armies between 1855 and 1861, they enjoyed for a short while independence. In the course of its colonial expansion into Central Asia, Russia first conquered Bukhārā, Khīwa, Khoḳand [*q.v.*] and the eastern coast of the Caspian sea (1281-93/1865-76). The Türkmen, however, offered strong resistance for several years. In 1289/1881 the Russians stormed the fortress of Göktepe [*q.v.*] and in 1302/1884 they occupied Marw [*q.v.*]. From 1897-1917, "Transcaspia" was administered as part of the governorate-general of Turkestan (a good overview of these events is given by Yu. Bregel in *EIr*, art. *Central Asia*. vii, in vol. V, 193-203).

While in the 13th/19th century the three Uzbek khanates Bukhārā, Khīwa and Khoḳand turned into despotic monarchies, with the Uzbek military caste adopting a more and more sedentary character, the social structure of the Türkmen tribes remained largely tribal. The authority of their elders (*aḳ saḳal*) rested not on dynastic power but on personal qualification (R. Meserve, *A description of the position of Turkmen tribal leaders according to 19th century Western travellers*, in *Altaica Berolinensia*, ed. B. Kellner-Heinkele, Wiesbaden 1993, 139-48; for an overview of the tribal composition and a non-conclusive estimate of population numbers for the 19th century on the basis of Western sources, see the art. *Türkmenler* by M. Saray in *İA*). However, the continuous process of breaking-up and reshaping of tribes (*uruk*) and subtribes (*oymak*) between the 17th and 19th centuries has not been sufficiently studied, although source materials are not lacking. The major chronicles for 13th/19th century Khīwa, e.g. the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl* and its continuations, by Mu'nis (1192-1244/1778-1829 [*q.v.*]) and Āgahī (1224-91/1809-74 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) contain large sections on the interrelationship between Khīwa and the neighbouring tribes (*Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, ed. Yu. Bregel, Leiden, etc. 1988; sections of the continuations tr. into Russian in *Materiali po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, ii ed. V.V. Struve *et alii*, Moscow-Leningrad 1938). An example of how detailed a result can be achieved by using indigenous chronicles and archival documents, in addition to travel, diplomatic and military reports (particularly Russian), is given by Yu. Bregel' in his *Khorezmskie Turkmeni v XIX veke*, Moscow 1961.

3. Modern period.

Republic of Turkmenistan

In 1926 the Teke and Yomut formed more than 50% of the total Türkmen population (Bregel 1981, 35). Bregel puts forward a cautious estimate of population numbers for the various tribes in the 1920s (1981, 12-17). In 1989 the Türkmen constituted 72% of a population of 4.1 million inhabitants (R. Götz-U. Halbach, *Politisches Lexikon GUS*[3], 1996, 332 with further references to the most recent developments). The Republic of Turkmenistān [*q.v.*], founded in 1991, is the first independent state of the Central Asian Türkmen. It was established within the borders of the Turkmenskaya SSR, founded by the Soviet régime in 1925. Only during the Soviet period did a sense of national identity begin to emerge alongside tribal and local loyalties. Smaller communities of Türkmen are also to be found in the other Central Asian republics, particularly in Uzbekistan (cf. M. Durdïev and S. Kadïrov, *Dunyädäki Turkmenler*, Ashgabat 1991, 56-7).

Iran

The contemporary Türkmen population was estimated at several hundreds of thousands of *ca.* 2% of a population of 26.3 millions in 1967-9. Most of them are agriculturists settled close to the Iran-Turkmenistan border. They are predominantly the descendants of the Yomut and Göklen, related to the important tribal confederations of the southern Turkmenian plateau (Planhol 1993, 553-5).

Afghānistān

In the 1920s and 1930s, thousands of Türkmen immigrated into Afghānistān to avoid Sovietisation and collectivisation. Settling in the northernmost rural areas along the Soviet-Afghan border, they contributed an important new factor to Afghan economy as semi-nomadic karakul breeders and as carpet weavers. After 1978, the new régime recognised the languages of the larger minorities, among them the Türkmen, conceding publication and broadcasting in these languages. The Türkmen are considered the second largest group among the various Turkic ethnic groups (estimated at about 12% of a total population of *ca.* 14 millions in 1979) after the Uzbeks (E. Grötzbach, *Afghanistan*, Darmstadt 1990, 68, 73-5, 118/9; Planhol 1993, 596, 602).

Turkey

There are no estimates available on the number of Türkmen in the Republic of Turkey, since they speak Turkish. There are Sunnī Muslim and Alevi Türkmen. Among the Sunnīs, the Avşar, Çepni [*q.vv.*], Bekdik and Hotamış seem to be the more important groups. They are widespread in western Anatolia (Afyonkarahisar) and central Anatolia (Kayseri, Sivas, Konya, Niğde, Yozgat), and consider themselves as descendants of Oghuz Khān. They are endogamous and patrilinear. Among some Alevi Türkmen, group identity is rather based on religion than on common descent and origin in Central Asia. Again, the Çepni

are listed among them, the Sıraç, Barak, Nalcı and Tahtacı, but also tribal names derived from place names, like the Adalılar, Üsküdarlı. They are widespread in western Anatolia (Balıkesir, Manisa, İzmir, Muğla), but also to be found in the Gaziantep region. In the 1950s and 1980s, Türkmen families from Central Asia and Afghānistān emigrated to Turkey (see P.A. Andrews, *Ethnic groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Wiesbaden 1989, 63-8, 265-95, 593, with further references).

Syria and Lebanon

The descendants of the Türkmen tribes that moved into the Fertile Crescent beginning with the 5th/11th century are well-documented in the historical sources down to the 20th century. Although the majority of the large confederations of eastern Anatolia that had had their winter pastures since mediaeval times in the north of the Syrian desert (al-Djazīra) had been resettled in the 12th/18th century by the Ottoman authorities to western and southwestern Anatolia (Planhol 1968, 235-40), European travellers in Greater Syria in the 19th century frequently report encounters with Türkmen. Areas with a compact Türkmen population or a strong minority existed in 1967, particularly south of the Turkish-Syrian border around Aʿzaz, Çoban Bey and Baer Bassit, and, as stock breeders, south of Kunaitra until 1967 (E. Wirth, *Syrien*, Darmstadt 1971, 179, 401, 417).

Next to nothing is known about Lebanon's Türkmen inhabitants. However, in 1994 the ethnologist A. Nippa visited a Türkmen settlement near Baʿlabakk. This community calls itself *ḳabīlat Suʿaydiyyīn* and preserves a narrative of its origin that relates it vaguely to the Saldjūḳs and Ottomans. They speak a Turkish idiom. Before the Syrian-Lebanese border was drawn in 1948 they circulated freely between the Bikāʿ and the Aleppo, Ḥamāt, Ḥims and Palmyra regions, where they had relatives. When the German photographer Hermann Burchardt visited the Türkmen of Baʿlabakk between 1893 and 1903, they were still nomads (A. Nippa, *Lesen in alten Photographien aus Baalbek*, Zürich [1996], 146-89).

ʿIrāḳ

Like Syria, modern ʿIrāḳ has a Türkmen minority that descends partly from the mediaeval Türkmen invaders, the northern Mesopotamian basin, over centuries serving as the winter pastures for the eastern Anatolian confederations. Today's Türkmen settlements are to be found in the area with a Kurdish majority south of Kirkūk, Irbil and Mawṣil respectively. Population numbers are difficult to assess, since political interests are particularly complicated in regard to this area. According to official government statistics, Türkmen are estimated at somewhat less than 2% of a population of *ca.* 16.3 millions (1987). They speak a Turkish idiom, but are believed to be no longer tribally organised (see *Irak: a country study*, [4]Washington D.C. 1990, 82, 85). Planhol (1993, 281, 766) mentions a Turkish estimate of 1.5 millions (1987) and an English one of 75,000 (1937).

Bibliography: There is no comprehensive work on the past and present of the Türkmen. Corresponding to the subject, the bibliography is extremely scattered. Apart from the references given in the arts. referred to above and in the text, only a few basic works can be mentioned here: Yu. Bregel, *Bibliography of Islamic Central Asia*, i-iii, Bloomington, Ind. 1995; a number of arts. in the recent *EIr* (1986-) are more comprehensive than those in *EI*; for the most recent bibliographies of the Türkmen *beylik*s in Anatolia, see *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslam Ansiklopedisi* (1988-); still a valuable outline of the history of the Central Asian Türkmen is W. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii, Leiden 1962, 73-170, *A history of the Turkman People*; X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1968; P.B. Golden, *An introduction to the history of the Turkic peoples*, Wiesbaden 1992; H.R. Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit*, Beirut 1989; Yu. Bregel, *Nomadic and sedentary elements among the Turkmens*, in *CAJ*, xxv (1981), 5-37 (important critique of Soviet field research); Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, *Şecere-i Terākime*, ed. and Turkish tr. by Z.K. Ölmez, Ankara 1996; de Planhol, *Les nations du Prophète*, Paris 1993.

(Barbara Kellner-Heinkele)

TÜRKMEN ČAY (I), conventionally Turkomanchai, a village in the Persian province of Ādharbāydjān, famed as the site for the treaty which ended the Russo-Persian War of 1826-7.

The modern village of Turkamān (lat. 37° 35' N., long. 47°, 42' E.) is on the Tabrīz-Miyāna main road 40 km/25 miles to the west of Miyāna. In the 8th/14th century, Mustawfī calls the village Turkmān Kandī and says that it was once a town (*Nuzha*, 183, tr. 174). A few decades later, Clavijo calls it *Tucelar* and *Tunglar* (evidently a corruption of Türk-lär) and says that it is inhabited by Turkmens (*Travels*, ed. Sreznevski, St. Petersburg 1881, 172, 354).

The Russo-Persian peace treaty was signed there on 10/22 February 1828, from a position of Russian strength, the Russians having occupied the provincial capital Tabrīz; amongst those present at the negotiations as observers were British officers.

This diplomatic document consisted of two parts. 1. By virtue of the political treaty, which was to take the place of the Gulistān treaty of 1813, Russia annexed the khānates of Eriwān and Nakhičewān and received from Persia a contribution of 5,000,000 *tūmāns* = 20,000,000 roubles, but this was later reduced. 2. A special agreement fixed at 5% *ad valorem* the customs duties between the two countries and regulated the personal status of Russian subjects; in criminal cases, they were to be tried by Russian courts, civil cases concerning both nationalities were dealt with by Russo-Persian tribunals with the participation of the Russian consular representatives, etc. This particular agreement of 1828 is the historical origin of the Persian capitulations. By the most favoured nation clause, all the states of Europe in time secured similar rights. On its accession to power in 1917 the Soviet government renounced *sua sponte* all the old political and judicial privileges in Persia and this renunciation was sealed by the Persian-Soviet treaty of February 28, 1921. All foreign capitulations in Persia were eventually abolished by Riḍā Shāh in 1927-8 [see imtiyāzāt. iii].

The Treaty of Türkmen Čay set the tone for Russo-Persian relations over the next 90 years, and it enshrined the new unequal status of the two powers. Persia lost further territory since the 1813 treaty and had to pay what was, for a country with a primitive economy, an enormous indemnity. The commercial section laid down the basis for Russian commercial penetration of northern Persia, so that Ādharbāydjān became the corridor for a flood of Russian imports, creating already in the 1830s and 1840s a trade imbalance heavily in Russia's favour (cf. Minorsky, in *BSOS*, xi [1943-6], 878-80; M. Entner, *Russo-Persian commercial relations, 1828-1914*, Gainesville 1965).

Bibliography: Türkmen Čay is mentioned by all the travellers who have gone from Tabrīz to Ḳazwīn, cf. Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage*, Paris 1854-60, iii,

83-4 (the village has 200 houses) and the atlas, pl. lvi (room where the treaty was signed); Brugsch, *Reise*, Leipzig 1862-4, i, 181; Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage*, ii, 85; A.H. Schindler, *Reisen*, in *Zeitschr. Gesell. Erdk.*, 1883, 333 (100 houses, altitude 5,285 feet). The text of the treaty of 1828 in F. Martens, *Nouveau recueil des traités*, vii/2 (1830), 564-72; Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, i, 410-18; Yuzefovič, *Dogovorī Rossii s vostokom*, St. Petersburg 1869, 214-7; Hertslet, *Treaties concluded between Great Britain and Persia*, etc., London 1891. See also P.W. Avery, *Modern Iran*, ²London 1967, 37-9; F. Kazemzadeh, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vii, Cambridge 1991, 337-8.

(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

TURKMENISTAN, a former Soviet republic in the southwestern part of Central Asia, now (since 1991) the Republic of Turkmenistan (Turkmenistan Respublikası).

It possesses an area of 488,100 km², and has a total of 3,736 km of land boundaries with Uzbekistan (1,621 km), Iran (992 km), Afghānistān (744 km), Kazakhstan (379 km), and 1,768 km sea boundaries with the Caspian Sea. The Ḳara Ḳum desert [*q.v.*] takes 90% of the total area. The latest official census of 1989 in the Soviet Union gave a population figure of 3,534,000 for the Turkmen SSR, whereas an early 1996 estimate suggests a population of 4,075,316 for Turkmenistan. The native Turkmen make up 77% of the total population, which includes Uzbeks (9.2%), Russians (6-7%), Kazakh (2%), Ukrainians (0.5%), and other ethnic groups of Tatars, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Balūč (0.8%). The capital city is Ashgabat (the former ʿAshḳābād [*q.v.*]) with a population of 544,700. Other major cities are Dashhawuz, Mary (the former Marw [see MARW AL-SHĀHIDJĀN]), Charjou, and Kerki. Turkmen has been the official language since 1990, and 95% of the population speak it; 38% are also Russian speakers. It is a secular state with a majority Sunnī Muslim population. The republic's currency is the manat, introduced on 1 November 1993. The territories of the present-day Turkmenistan were included partly in the Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (1918-24), and partly in the two independent states of the Khorazmian People's Conciliar Republic (1920-4) and the Bukharan People's Conciliar Republic (1920-4). Soviet Russia, which had initially recognised the sovereignty of the republics of Khorazm and Bukhara, later succeeded in infiltrating the politics of these two states and removing the reformist national cadres, the so-called "Young Khivans" and "Young Bukharans", from power by 1923-4. On 19 September 1924, the names of these two states were changed from "People's Conciliar Republic" (Khalḳ Shūrālar Djumhūriyyeti) into "Socialist Soviet Republic" (Sotsialistik Sovet Respublikasī) by emphasising the change of state ideology to a Soviet-type socialism. On 27 October 1924, the national-state demarcation in Central Asia abolished the Turkestan ASSR, the Khorazmian SSR, and the Bukharan SSR and created five ethnic republics, one of which became the Turkmen SSR. An All-Turkmen Constituent Congress of Soviets was held in Ashgabat in February 1925 which led to the formation of the embryonic Turkmen Communist Party. The Turkmen SSR was formally incorporated into the USSR on 13 May 1925. Like other parts of Central Asia, Soviet Turkmenistan was also affected by the armed struggle of the nationalist Basmači bands [see BASMAČIS] through the 1920s and 1930s. The Soviet collectivisation policies were a disaster for the Turkmen, who formed traditionally a nomadic society. The forced settlement of nomads on collective farms (*sovkhoz, kolkhoz*) and other harsh Soviet policies resulted in open rebellion in 1928-32. Also, the Stalinist purges of 1937-8 took a heavy toll of the leading Turkmen party and government officials, intelligentsia and writers.

On 27 October 1991, the Turkmen Supreme Soviet (parliament) adopted a law on independence, declaring the Turkmen SSR as a sovereign and independent country, and changed its name to the Republic of Turkmenistan. This decision was based on a national referendum in the former Turkmen SSR, where 94.1% of the electorate voted for independence. On 21 December 1991 it joined other republics in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Turkmenistan became a member of the UN on 2 March 1992. The republic's new constitution was adopted by referendum on 8 May 1992. The current president of Turkmenistan is Saparmurad Niyazov "Turkmenbashi", who was the former first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party and the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet since 7 January 1990. He was elected president on 27 October 1990 and re-elected on 21 June 1992. In December 1993, the new Turkmen parliament or Majlis voted to extend Niyazov's presidency until 2002 without another re-election. Turkmenistan's economy is highly dependent on the production and processing of energy resources and cotton. Rich in mineral resources, it has *ca.* 4 trillion m³ of non-associated gas and 1.1 billion tons of oil reserves. Despite its mineral wealth, the major constraints of Turkmenistan are the old Soviet-type socialist economy, lack of transportation links to outside markets, scarcity of water, and an authoritarian rule which has little tolerance for democratic opposition parties.

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(Timur Kocaoğlu)

TURKS

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I. History.

1. The pre-Islamic period: the first Turks in history and their languages.

Towards 540, on the northern fringes of China, the nomadic empire of the Z͟houan-z͟houan (proto-Mongols?) dominated the lands of Mongolia and some neighbouring zones. Its Ḳag͟han or ruler had as his vassals notably the chiefs of two important tribal confederations, those of the Türks, in the northern Altai, and the equally Turkish-speaking one of the "High Waggons" (Chinese Kao-kiu) in the Selenga basin (the northern part of central Mongolia).

After an abortive revolt by these last, the Türks rose up in their turn and their chief Bumîn crushed the Z͟houan-z͟houan and became Ḳag͟han of Mongolia in 552. He died shortly afterwards and his son succeeded him under the name of Mugan Ḳag͟han (553-72). For his part, Istämi, the younger son of Bumîn with the title of Yabgu (552-75), after having defeated the main forces of the Hephthalites (whose origins, for long discussed, probably sprang from a strong Eastern Iranian element [see hayāṭila]), conquered from them Soghdia, allying with the Sāsānid Persian emperor [see sāsānids] who received as his share Bactria (565). But Istämi was to invade it four years later, having assured himself, through an exchange of ambassadors, of the benevolent neutrality of the Byzantines, hostile to the Persians (against whom they were soon to wage a lengthy war, 572-91). Istämi's death interrupted this Graeco-Turkish alliance; his successor Tardu, having an impulsive and adventurous temperament, did not hesitate to march against the Byzantine cities of the Chersonese (576-90) from his own base. This same Tardu, profiting from the internal struggles amongst the Türks of Mongolia after Mugan Ḳag͟han's death, tried to impose his domination from 600-1 onwards, but failed, had to flee and disappeared in 603. The rupture between the western and eastern Türks, which he had provoked by his incursions from 581 onwards, became definite. Moreover, the western Türks themselves split into rival k͟hānates and groups. The eastern Türks of Mongolia were much weakened by deadly struggles within the ruling family, with ephemeral Ḳag͟hans perpetually being attacked by rivals. From 616 to 621, the Chinese empire was itself the prey of civil warfare. The Sui dynasty foundered after 618, and the T'ang which succeeded it was only able to restore order under its second emperor, T'ai-tsung (627-49). Meanwhile, profiting from the enfeeblement of China (which the internal dissensions of the Türks had fuelled), a new ruler, El Ḳag͟han (620-30), managed to almost restore the former power of the eastern Türks, and even went on to threaten the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an. But T'ai-tsung, a great war leader, defeated him *ca.* 630 and took him prisoner.

Henceforth, for just over a half-century (630-82), the eastern Türks came under a vigilant Chinese protectorate. For their part, between 611 and 618 the western Türks had gradually recovered a certain unity. Thus their ruler Tong Yabgu extended his authority from the Altai to the Caspian and from the Aral Sea to the Hindū Kus͟h, and his reign (618-30) was marked by successes in the Tarim [*q.v.*] basin. T'ai-tsung encouraged him as a counterweight to the eastern Türks. But once these were placed under Chinese tutelage, his policy changed. He allowed the Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*], an important tribe nomadising between Lake Balk͟has͟h and the Tarbagatay, to rebel against Tong Yabgu, who was then murdered. Deprived of a supreme chief, the tribes of the western Türks formed themselves into two factions which fell into mortal strife with each other, and never again did they form a unified k͟hānate. As for the eastern Türks, fifty years later they were to shake off the Chinese yoke and create once more an independent state.

Under the impulse from a great military leader, Tonyukuk, a resistance movement took shape, based on a popular revolt against the Sinicised Begs and profiting from the dispersal of the Chinese in Central Asia. Tonyukuk had himself enthroned, under the name of El-täris͟h Ḳag͟han, a distant relative of El Ḳag͟han (682). The new Ḳag͟han soon unified the majority of the Türk tribes of Mongolia. Carrying on warfare by turns against the Chinese, the Tokuz Og͟huz (a group of nine clans grouped together and arising out of the old Kao-kiu), the Ḳîrḳîz (the later Ḳîrg͟hîz) of the upper Yenisei and various Mongol-speaking tribes, conducted raids almost every year into China from 683. On his death in 691, his younger brother succeeded him as Kapgan Ḳag͟han, and benefited from the rivalry between the Dowager Empress Wu-Hou and the legitimate heir of the T'ang, while continuing the incursions into China. In the west, he fought with the factions of the western Türks and the Türges͟h of the Ili, and in the east, the Bayarku, who killed him in 716.

During a palace revolution in which Kapgan Ḳag͟han's family perished, Köl Tegin, the younger son of El-täris͟h Ḳag͟han, ensured the enthronement of his elder brother Bilgä Ḳag͟han, who, on the advice of his father-in-law Tonyukuk, sought peace with the Chinese, while still keeping up the pressure on them by raids. He secured peace in 721-2, and his relations with the T'ang emperor Hiuan-tsang became, and remained, cordial. When Bilgä Ḳag͟han died from poison in 734, his son and successor Tängri Ḳag͟han reigned for hardly seven years before he, too, was murdered. All the tribes subject to the Türks rebelled, and it was finally the Uyg͟hur who reigned in Mongolia 744-840. These Uyg͟hur, themselves divided into ten clans (On Uyg͟hur), were the royal tribe of the Toḳuz Og͟huz or Nine Og͟huz (the Tog͟huzg͟huz of Arab historians) and not a separate people, as has long been believed.

With the collapse of the state of the eastern Türks, there came to an end the first period, known historically, of the organisation within the Turkish-speaking world of a pastoral and militarily nomadic society, one which had a tribal basis but was relatively centralised, with communal institutions grouped round a monarchical power whose ideology, in its final expression, was affirmed in an official, written language,

türk, this being an innovation. In effect, if there were from the second half of the 6th century some Turkish translations of texts from the Buddhist canon, for missionary purposes, none of these has survived; but if they did exist, their writing system must have been a cursive one (one perhaps adapted, as with classical Uyghur, from the Sogdian alphabet). However, the oldest Turkish texts which have come down to us are funerary inscriptions, on stone stelae and written in original, geometric characters invented for the phonology of Turkish. They comprise epitaphs of high officials or rulers, composed under the dynasty of El-tärish Ḳaghan. The most important, those of Tonyukuk, Köl Tegin and Bilgä Ḳaghan, allow us to establish the official doctrine of Turkish power at around 700.

The Ḳaghan is instituted by the Great Sky God, Tängri [see TAÑRÎ], and he is his emanation; his wife, the Katun, is the emanation of the Mother-Goddess Umay, partner of Tängri. This Supreme God, the inspirer of power, is also the God of Armies who decides victories. Other divinities are the sacred Earth and Water of the Türks, Iduk Yer-Sub, who intervene at the side of Tängri. The ideal dwelling-place of the Ḳaghan is the Sacred Mountain of Ötükän [see ÖTÜKEN], near the Orkhon river [*q.v.*], where he sacrifices to the divinities, but his encampment, which makes up the "court" (with the princes, Tegins, and high officials), moves around according to the seasons and the military operations, with appropriately fitted-out tents. In the various regions of the "empire", the tribes have as chiefs their hereditary lords, the Bey or Bäg, who owes allegiance to the Ḳaghan. But the famous Orkhon funerary inscriptions, mentioned above, contain, in the mouth of Bilgä Ḳaghan, strong reproaches against the submission of the Beys to the Chinese protecting power, and praise the "people" (*bodun*), who led a patriotic resistance to them by rallying to El-tärish Ḳaghan.

Despite its short period of existence (682-744), the "empire" as restored by this ruler played an outstanding role in fixing the ideology of power ("heavenly" Ḳaghan, cf. the Chinese Emperor "Son of Heaven"), the institutions and, above all, the official language ("Orkhon Turkish") of the Turkish-speaking states. Thus the Uyghur, when they achieved power over the Türks of Mongolia, retained their titulature, organisation and written language, which became the *Uygur Türk tili*, with its epigraphic writing system. When they were chased out by the Ḳîrḳîz in 840, they would go on to found, in what was to become Eastern Turkestan, a new "empire", urbanised and largely sedentarised, and would retain this Türk language in their manuscripts (most of them in the cursive script of Sogdian origin), with Persian, Sogdian, Syriac, Sanskrit or Chinese connections depending on the religions (Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity and, above all, Buddhism) which they were to adopt. It would be the same, with numerous borrowings from Arabic and Persian to add to the Türk-Uyghur vocabulary, amongst the various Turkish-speaking peoples of Central Asia who, from *ca.* 950 onwards, converted to Islam in increasing numbers. Finally, most of them, identifying themselves from the starting-point of their written language, would be called or would call themselves Türk. This was to be the case e.g. in the first Turkish-speaking Islamic-led state, that of the Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS]. Thus the name which originally denoted only a confederation of tribes in the Altai became extended to a whole linguistic group under the influence of the written language of the last eastern Türk dynasty.

To this linguistic grouping there belonged—as well as those elements of the Toḳuz Oghuz who left with the Uyghur, after the Ḳîrḳîz invasion, towards the Ti'en Shan and the Tarim basin (or, in lesser numbers, towards Kansu [*q.v.*])—other Oghuz who set out westwards across the Inner Asian steppes, became Islamicised and became the nucleus of the Saldjūḳ and then Ottoman empires. These linguistic ancestors of the Türkmens, the Turks of Ādharbāydjān and the Turks of Turkey, did not feel the influence of the phonologically conservative Türk-Uyghur literary language, so that their own language evolved separately and thus became differentiated from Ḳarakhānid Turkish and its descendant Čaghatay, the common literary language of Turkish-speaking Muslims of Central Asia. It is from Oghuz Turkish that Ottoman and the three modern written languages of Turkey, Ādharbāydjān and Turkmenistan derive, though from an Oghuz Turkish which has not escaped some influence from Orkhon Turkish.

The case of Ḳîrghîz (ancient Ḳîrḳîz) is, at first sight, enigmatic. On their funerary monuments carved between the 8th and 10th centuries, the Ḳîrḳîz of the upper Yenisei have left behind inscriptions in the same language, apart from a few minor details, as that of the eastern Türks and written in an alphabet very like their own, except for a small number of signs. One might therefore conclude that the language of the Ḳîrḳîz was at that time hardly different from that of the Türks. Yet the Ḳîrḳîz spoken language today presents many individual peculiarities, part of them to be found in Kazakh and the living languages which should be connected with the Kuman (Comans) and Ḳîpčak (two names for a single Turkish-speaking people, originally from the Irtysh-Obi region in south-western Siberia, who in the 11th century invaded the European steppes from the Volga to the Danube [see ḲANGHLÎ; ḲÎPČAḲ; ḲUMĀN]). Since these same peculiarities are to be found amongst the Tatars [*q.v.*], the Mongols of Čingiz Khān's empire who became Turkish-speaking, one is led to think that they stem from a relatively late influence from the phonology of Mongol consequent upon the great Mongol expansion of the 13th-14th centuries.

When the conversion to Islam of the Ḳarakhānids, two or three centuries earlier, gave birth to the first Muslim Turkish literature, its mode of expression, the direct ancestor of Čaghatay, was an evolved form of classical Uyghur (written in either the Uyghur or Arabic script), whence, ultimately, Orkhon Türk. Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Turkish, stemming from a western Oghuz dialect of the 11th-13th centuries, also profited in the creation and the writing of its literary language from the Ḳarakhānid experience.

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(L. Bazin)

2. The tribal history of the Central Asian Turks.

The name *Türk* spread as a political designation during the period of Türk imperial hegemony to their subject Turkic and non-Turkic peoples. Subsequently, it was adopted as a generic ethnonym designating most if not all of the Turkic-speaking tribes in Central Asia by the Muslim peoples with whom they came into contact. The imperial era also provided a legacy of political and social organisation (with deep roots in pre-Türk Inner Asia) that in its Türk form became the common inheritance of the Turkic groupings of Central Asia.

In the aftermath of the Türk collapse, a number of Turkic tribal confederations appeared or re-emerged, many of which were or came to be associated with distinctive linguistic features. In Central Asia three units may be delineated: Southeastern/Turkī, Northwestern/Ḳîpčaḳ and Southwestern/Og̲h̲uz. The Southeastern, which also predominated in the Uyg̲h̲ur successor state (744-840) of the Türks in Inner Asia (and perhaps in the Ḳîrg̲h̲îz Ḳag̲h̲anate on the Yenisei which overran the Uyg̲h̲ur realm in 840), was represented by the Ḳarluḳs [*q.v.*]. Formerly allies of the Uyg̲h̲urs, they had, *ca.* 745, migrated to the lands of the fading Western Türk/Türges̲h̲ Ḳag̲h̲anate in Semireč'e/D̲j̲etisu. The Ḳarluḳ defection contributed to the Muslim victory at the Battle of the Talas/Aṭlak̲h̲ (133/751) over China (Gibb, *Arab conquests*, 95-9; Beckwith, *Tibetan empire*, 136-42). As Chinese influence in Central Asia receded, due to civil war (755), the Ḳarluḳs became dominant in the Western Türk lands (766), controlling the region south of Lake Balk̲h̲as̲h̲ and extending across Issîḳ Köl, the Ili, Ču and Talas rivers. Their original core appears to have consisted of three tribes (the *Üč Ḳarluḳ*): the Bulaḳ, the *Tas̲h̲lîg̲h̲ and the Čigil. The latter, in turn, appear to have been a numerically large subconfederation led by a chieftain bearing the title *tügsin* (*Mud̲j̲mal al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. Bahār, 421; Gardīzī/Bart'old, Pers. 31/51) noted by Maḥmūd al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī (tr. Dankoff, i, 329-330) as that of a "commoner in the third rank from the king"). Like many of the other Ḳarluḳ tribes, they were shamanists, but had Christian (most probably Nestorian) elements among them. The Tuk̲h̲si tribal grouping that had previously nomadised in the region of the Western Türk capital at Suyāb had also been absorbed by the Ḳarluḳs. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, ed. Sotoodeh, 81, tr. Minorsky, 97, describes the latter as primarily engaged in pastoral nomadism, "near to civilized people, pleasant tempered and sociable". After the collapse of the Uyg̲h̲ur Ḳag̲h̲anate, the Ḳarluḳs may have put forward a claim to the pan-Turkic imperium. Ibn al-Faḳīh, Mas̲h̲had ms., ed. Sezgin, 340, says that "the kingdom is with them" while al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, i, 155, reports that "they had political power and from them came the Ḳag̲h̲an of Ḳag̲h̲ans". Closely associated with the Ḳarluḳs, to their east in the Lake Balk̲h̲as̲h̲ and Ala Köl region, were the Yag̲h̲ma, a powerful and numerous tribal grouping ruled by the Bug̲h̲ra K̲h̲ān (*Mud̲j̲mal al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 421), whose royal house descended from the Toḳuz Og̲h̲uz [see toghuzghuz]. Both the Ḳarluḳs and Yag̲h̲ma played a role in the formation of the Ḳarak̲h̲ānid state [see ilek khāns] which took shape in the latter half of the 10th century and is associated with further Turkic tribal movements westward, touched off by the Ḳîrg̲h̲îz and then Ḳitan takeover of Mongolia (early 10th century) and the large-scale conversions of Turkic tribes to Islam.

In the Ḳarak̲h̲ānid realm, the resources of the Ḳarluḳ, Čigil, Yag̲h̲ma, Tuk̲h̲si and other nomadic unions were now formed into a powerful state extending from Eastern to Western Turkistan which grafted its traditional Turkic political superstructure on the already existing state institutions of Iranian (Sāmānid) Central Asia. The advance of Islam under the Ḳarak̲h̲ānids was resisted by a number of Turkic tribal groups: the Uyg̲h̲ur statelets, the Yabāḳu and the Basmîl being most prominent among their foes. The latter two spoke non-Turkic languages as well as Turkic and were in the process of Turkicisation. Bekeč/G̲h̲āzī Arslan Tegin, one of the Ḳarak̲h̲ānid leaders, is credited with defeating a much more powerful pagan Turko-nomadic army led by the Yabāḳu chieftain Böke Bud̲h̲rač (Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī/Dankoff, i, 83, 163, 340, 344, ii, 268, 330). This has been associated with the Ḳarak̲h̲ānid victory, recorded under the year 408/1017-18, over a force of "300,000 tents of the tribes of the Turks" coming from "al-Ṣīn," among whom were the K̲h̲aṭāy (Ḳitan, Chin. Ch'itan) "who (subsequently) ruled over Transoxiana" (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 297-8; Dankoff, *Three Turkic verses*, 157). It may also be related to the disturbances caused by the Ḳūn and other migrating tribes from Inner Asia (see below). A generation later, this same source reports that in Ṣafar 435/Sept.-Oct. 1043, "10,000 tents of the infidel Turks who used to make nocturnal attacks on the Muslim towns in the region of Balasag̲h̲un and Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar . . . embraced Islam" (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 520).

The other major tribal conglomeration that formed on the borders of the Central Asian Islamic world was that of the Og̲h̲uz [see ghuzz] whose speech, in al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī's day, was already viewed as different from "K̲h̲āḳānī" (i.e. Ḳarak̲h̲ānid/Southeastern Turkic, Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī/Dankoff, i, 75-6). According to Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, xi, 178, the Og̲h̲uz, the western neighbours of the Ḳarluḳs, arrived in the Syr Darya region "from the most distant parts of the Turks" during the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85). Here, they established a polity of some 22-25 tribes or clans under their *yabg̲h̲u* [*q.v.*] (an ancient Inner Asian title of Tok̲h̲arian or Iranian origin, indicating a high status in the hierarchy of tribal confederations of the Türk Empire), his deputy (*k̲h̲alīfa*) the *kül erkin*, and numerous "kings" (*mulūk*) and chieftains (*ruʾasāʾ*, see Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Dahān, 91, 96, 97, 101, 103). Although the Yabg̲h̲u was the paramount political figure, the Og̲h̲uz union never moved beyond the bounds of an advanced tribal confederation. Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, ed. Romaskevič *et al.*, i, 80-1, 119-24, ed. Raws̲h̲an and Mūsawī, i, 42, 58-61, reports that they were actually divided into two subconfederations, the senior *Bozoḳ* consisting of the Ḳayî, Bayat, Alḳa Evli, Ḳara Evli, Yazîr, Döger, Dudurg̲h̲a, Yaparlî, Avs̲h̲ar, Ḳîzîḳ, Begdili and Ḳarḳîn groupings, and the junior *Üčoḳ* composed of the Bayundur, Pečene, Čavuldur, Čepni, Yigdir, Būgdüz, Yîwa and Ḳînîḳ. Al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī/Dankoff, i, 101-2, has a slightly different listing. The Ḳînîḳ, from whom the Sald̲j̲ūḳs [*q.v.*] derived, are noted first, with the Bayundur (from whom the ruling clan of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] later claimed descent) and Ḳayî (from whom the Ottomans derived their origins) just below them.

The Og̲h̲uz displaced the Pečenegs [*q.v.*] westward, incorporating elements of that tribal union in a series of wars in which they secured the Volga-Ural, Syr

Darya and Khʷārazmian steppes. Their aggressiveness was soon felt in Khazaria and the neighbouring Islamic territories. In the early 10th century, the Khazars were able to gain their support against the Alans. In 965, however, they were allies of the Rus' in the devastating assaults that ended Khazar hegemony in the Volga-Caspian-Pontic steppes. The *Ḥudūd*, ed. Sotoodeh, 86, tr. Minorsky, 100, depicts them as typical nomadic raiders "with arrogant faces". Muslim merchants, as we know from Ibn Faḍlān, however, were soon making their way to them and establishing commercial relationships as well as ties of reciprocal hospitality. The *Ḥudūd* says that "among them merchants are very numerous". The Khʷārazmian city of Kāth [*q.v.*], "the emporium of the Turks", became particularly associated with trade with the Oghuz. With the further growth of trade, Oghuz towns such as Yangï Kent (Pers. Dih-i naw, Arab. al-Madīna al-Djadīda/al-Ḳarya al-Ḥadītha), the winter quarters of the Yabghu, Sabrān, Sïghnāḳ [*q.v.*] and others begin to develop along with groupings of sedentarised Oghuz (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 488; *Ḥudūd*, ed. Sotoodeh, 118, 122, 123, tr. Minorsky, 119, 121, 122; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, i, 116; Kāshgharī/Dankoff, i, 329, 333, 352, 362). This close relationship with Iranian Central Asia led to a significant Persian lexical influence on the Oghuz vocabulary (Kāshgharī/Dankoff, i, 51). This interaction entailed both peaceful, commerce-oriented relations and predatory raiding, the Khʷārazmians being compelled to engage in annual winter campaigns to drive back the Oghuz from their territories (al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, 236). The Oghuz enjoyed little peace within their own union. Islam had begun to penetrate various tribal groupings and soon became a source or pretext for internecine strife. Similar processes were occurring among the Ḳarluḳs. Those Oghuz and Ḳarluḳs who embraced Islam were called *Türkmen* (Kāshgharī/Dankoff, i, 353, ii, 362; Bīrūnī, *K. al-Djamāhir*, 205; Marwazī/Minorsky, 18/29). Why this term, which later became an ethnonym associated in particular with the Oghuz, developed this specific Muslim coloration is unclear. By the late 10th century, as the Oghuz union underwent further fragmentation aided, no doubt, by the economic and cultural impact of the Irano-Muslim cities on the Turkic tribes, Selčük (usually transcribed in Arabic as *sldjwk*), son of Toḳaḳ Temir Yalïgh, the *sü bashï* (army commander) of the Oghuz Yabghu (or Khazar Ḳaghan) converted to Islam and became a "fighter for the faith" against his still pagan fellow-tribesmen. Selčük's followers were soon caught up in the larger contests for power between the weakening Sāmānid state, the Ghaznawid *ghulām* offshoot of the latter and the now emerging Ḳarakhānids. This was the background to the rise of the Saldjūḳ empire [see SALDJŪḲIDS].

Somewhat less well known was the Northwestern Turkic-speaking Kimek confederation, a union of Turkic, Mongolic and perhaps other tribal elements located in Western Siberia, north of the Ḳarluḳ and Oghuz unions [see KIMĀK]. This name does not appear in the Türk-era Orkhon inscriptions. While some Muslim sources refer to their ruler as "king", the *Ḥudūd* (ed. Sotoodeh, 85, tr. Minorsky, 99-100) accords him the imperial title of Ḳaghan and suggests a governmental structure beyond that of a tribal union ("he has eleven lieutenants . . . and the fiefs (*aʿmāl*) are given by heritage to the children of the lieutenants"). The Kimeks were an important conduit in the fur trade with the Islamic lands and their more developed polity may derive from their commercial prominence. Among the tribes of the Kimek union were the Ḳïpčaḳs [*q.v.* and below] who are mentioned in a fragment of a mid-8th century Uyghur runic inscription (Moyun Čur/Selenge or Shine Usu, N4). It has been suggested that they are to be identified with the *Sir* people noted in the Orkhon inscriptions and Chinese sources (Klyashtornïy, *Kïpčaki*, 153-64). By the 10th century, if not earlier, the Ḳïpčaḳ subconfederation was located in the western sections of the Kimek state, in the Volga-Ural region. The Kimek appear to have remained largely pagan, although some "Madjūsī", Manichaean and perhaps Buddhist influences are noted (al-Idrīsī, 718-19; Kumekov, *Gosudarstvo*, 109-12; Arslanova and Klyashtornïy, 306-15).

In the western steppe (Volga-Ural and then Ponto-Caspian) zone were the camps of the Pečeneg union [*q.v.* and below].

In the course of the 11th century, this Turkic tribal world underwent considerable change. The Ḳarluḳ-Yaghma-based Ḳarakhānid and Oghuz-derived Saldjūḳ states had emerged, and the Kimek-dominated confederation had given way to the now amalgamated Ḳun (Ḳuman)-Ḳïpčaḳ confederation. The latter appear most frequently under the name Ḳïpčaḳ in the Islamic sources. In Western Eurasia they were better known as the Ḳumans (Cumans/Comans, or by various loan-translations, e.g. Rus. *Polovtsï*, Arm. *khartesh* "pale, sallow" and in the region around Khʷārazm as the Ḳanglï [*q.v.*]. The Ḳïpčaḳ union, which expanded from its core lands in Western Siberia to encompass the steppelands from Khʷārazm to the lower Danube, was politically much weaker than its predecessor and, while remaining a source of pressure on its steppe and sedentary neighbours (Rus', the Khʷārazmshāh state), never created a state.

By the eve of the Mongol conquests, all the Turkic states and tribal confederations of Central Asia were in decline and fragmenting. The Činggisid invasions of the early 13th century caused the migration of still more Oghuz groupings to the Near and Middle East and destroyed the traditional tribal and confederational patterns that had been inherited from the Türk era. The new imperial dispensation required a Činggisid ruler and personally dependent armies. The Mongol rulers deliberately broke up the large confederations, interrupting the process of ethnic consolidation and scattering the tribal armies according to their empire-wide needs. Thus the tribes of the Ḳarakhānid state (e.g. the Ḳarluḳs) briefly re-appear in locally prominent roles only to be eventually dispersed over the Činggisid holdings. Ḳïpčaḳs saw service in China and Inner Asia (and in the Mamlūk realm) and Uyghurs, with their literary skills, were to be found on the Volga and in the Near East. The Ḳïpčaḳs, most of whom remained in their steppe homelands, were, over time, re-organised into the armies of the Ulus of Djoči. Their language became the lingua franca of Činggisid Western Eurasia, much as it had been before.

As Činggisid rule weakened in the 14th century, the Turkic nomads became retribalised. The older tribal or confederational names (such as Ḳïpčaḳ) resurfaced as clan, sub-tribe or tribal component names, while newer names, often based on that of a charismatic leader, became the political and subsequently ethnic names of these groups, e.g. the Özbeks (< Özbek, r. 712-42/1312-41, the Mongol ruler who assured the victory of Islam among the Turkic and Mongol nomads of the Ulus of Djoči), Noghays (< Noghay, d. 699/1299, the famous political figure of Western Eurasia), etc. The process was furthered by Aḳsaḳ Temür/

Tīmūr-i Lang, who savaged the Djočid realm while attempting to create a personal army out of the fractious tribal groupings and denomadicising former tribesmen of the Ulus of Čaghatay. Thus tribes or clans bearing the names Ḳïpčaḳ and Ḳanglï can be found among the Özbeks, Ḳazaḳs, Ḳaraḳalpaḳs, Ḳïrghïz, Bashḳorts, Altay Turks, Noghays and Crimean Tatars. The different Ḳïpčaḳ armies, combined now with Eastern Turkic and Mongol (Djalayir, Ḳongḳirad, Manghid, etc.) elements have produced the Central Asian Turkic peoples (noted above) of today, as well as the Ḳaračay-Balḳars and Ḳumuḳs of the North Caucasus.

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3. The Turks of Western Eurasia and Central Europe.

Although it is generally believed that the ancient homeland of the Turkic peoples was located in Southern Siberia and Mongolia, the first clear references to Turkic peoples are found in reports dealing with Western Eurasia. The expansion and then decline of the Hsiung-nu (*Hünnü), an Inner Asian people of still undetermined ethno-linguistic affiliations, touched off a series of migrations of tribes in the first and second centuries A.D. that appear to have brought Turkic-speaking tribes to Kazakhstan and the trans-Volga region, areas hitherto dominated by Iranian nomads. It was here that the peoples known as the Khiyōn in Sāsānid Persia and the Chionitae/Οὖννοι/Hunni (names probably connected to Hsiung-nu) of the Greek and Latin authors took form. Pressured by the rise of the Jou-jan (Asian Avar) state, *ca.* 350 they began to approach the Volga region and by 375 had crossed into the Caspian-Pontic steppe zone, subjugating a number of Iranian, Finno-Ugric, Germanic, Slavic and other peoples, including, perhaps, some Turkic groupings that had been driven westward before them and made their presence felt along the frontiers of Iran and Transcaucasia. The language of the European Huns and their relationship to the Asian Huns remain the subject of much debate. The Hunnic polity extending from the Pontic steppes into Pannonia reached the zenith of its power under Attila (d. 453), who raided but never seriously threatened the Eastern and Western Roman Empire. With his death, the Hunnic union quickly dissolved in a revolt of the subject peoples (454). In the aftermath of the Hunnic collapse we find our first firm data on Turkic peoples in this region. Priscus (ed. and tr. Blockley, ii, 352-5) reports the migration into the Pontic steppe zone and inauguration of diplomatic contacts with Constantinople, *ca.* 463, of the Oghur (= Common Turk. *oghuz*), Shara Oghur (Σαράγουροι) and On Oghur tribal groupings, who had been driven westward by the Sabirs who were, in turn, pushed to the Volga zone by the Asian Avars. These Oghuric tribes, speaking a form of Turkic distinct from the other Turkic languages and surviving today only in Čuvash, were a western grouping of the Ting-ling later called T'ieh-lê, a confederation, among whose eastern tribes were the Toḳuz Oghuz [see TOGHUZGHUZ]. By 480, the Bulghars (< Turk. *bulgha-* "to stir, confuse, disturb, produce disorder"), who would become the most prominent of the Oghuric peoples, were already being drawn into the Byzantine diplomatic web. They appear to have been closely related to the On Oghur, for 8th, 9th and 10th century Byzantine sources (cf. Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, 24; Theophanes, ed. de Boer, i, 356; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus*, ed. Pertusi, 85) link them. The later Balkan Bulghar ruling house would claim Attilid affiliations.

These and other Oghuric groupings were subjugated by the "European Avars", whose origins and relationship to the Inner Asian Avars/Jou-jan and Hephthalites (Arab. Hayṭal [see HAYĀṬILA] are unclear. They had arrived in the Pontic steppes *ca.* 557 in flight from the Türks, had by 568 established contact with Constantinople (Theoph. Sim., ed. de Boor, 257-8; Procopius, *De bello Goth.*, 84-95, 235-51; Agathias, ed. Keydall, 176-9, Menander, ed. and tr. Blockley, 42-5, 138-9) and were soon (567-8) forced to seek refuge, along with some of their Oghuric vassals, in Pannonia from the Türks, who extended their hegemony to Western Eurasia (Menander, ed. and tr. Blockley, 178-9). Avar predatory raiding combined with the steady Slavic pressure on the Byzantine Balkan holdings, leading, ultimately, to the Slavicisation of much of the region.

The Western branch of the Türk ḳaghanate established here by the *Yabghu Ḳaghan*, Ishtemi, brother of Bumïn, founder of the empire, after a short-lived alliance with Sāsānid Persia (leading to the crushing of the Hephthalites in 557), soon turned to Byzantium (568) as relations with Persia soured over commercial issues. Türk forces in Transcaucasia played an important role in Heraclius's victory over the Sāsānids in the Perso-Byzantine wars of 605-28. The Eastern Ḳaghanate, however, weakened by internecine strife, the revolt (582) of Tardu, Ishtemi's son, whose nearly successful bid for supreme rule was halted only by the revolt of the T'ieh-lê *ca.* 603, succumbed to T'ang China in 630. The Western ḳaghanate, itself splintering into rival factions (the Tu-lu and Nu-shih-pi), which formed the On Oḳ ("Ten Arrows") union, fell

to the T'ang in 659. This was the background for the emergence, *ca.* 650, of two rival successor ḳag͟hanates in Western Eurasia: the K͟hazar one [see K͟HAZAR], ruled by a dynasty of probable Western Türk (A-s͟hih-na) origin, and the Bulg͟har one which, *ca.* 635, under the leadership of Ḳubrat and with Byzantine encouragement, appears to have freed itself from Avar overlordship. The K͟hazars won the contest for paramountcy, forcing the dispersal of the Bulg͟har tribes. One grouping, under Asparuk͟h, fled to the Balkans (*ca.* 679), founding there the Balkan Bulg͟har state. Others fled to Pannonia and Italy. Those tribes that remained came under K͟hazar rule, some of them subsequently migrating to the Middle Volga (8th-9th century) where they formed the Volga Bulg͟har state [see BULG͟HĀR]. The Balkan Bulg͟hars, in the course of the 8th century, were badly buffeted by internal disputes and warfare with Byzantium. They revived in the early 9th century and under Krum (d. 814), posed a serious threat to Constantinople. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i, 111, tr. Dodge, i, 254), the caliph al-Ma'mūn sent a lengthy letter to the "Burg͟har" ruler explaining Islam to him. In 864, however, their Ḳag͟han, Boris (*r.* 853-88), caught up in the Byzantino-Frankish struggle to dominate Slavic Central Europe, was forced to convert to Orthodox Christianity. Thereafter, the Balkan Bulg͟hars underwent Slavicisation.

The K͟hazars created one of the greatest political units of Eurasia, dominating the north-south and east-west trade arteries from their capital, Atil/Itil [see ATIL], on the lower Volga. Their political borders extended from the North Caucasian steppelands (where they had fought the Arabs to a standstill in the course of protracted warfare (642-737) for control of the Caucasus) to the Middle Volga and from Kiev to the K͟hʷārazmian steppes. From the latter region, a special corps of professional soldiers, the *Ors/Urus* (الارسية) was recruited, and the chief minister of the state was also a K͟hʷārazmian Muslim. Formed out of the westernmost groupings of the Western Türk tribal confederations (among whom were Common Turkic and Og͟huric elements), and including Iranian, Finno-Ugric, Palaeo-Caucasian and Slavic peoples, the K͟hazar ḳag͟hanate was ruled by a dual kingship, the senior figure of which, the *Ḳag͟han*, was a sacralised monarch. Open to a variety of religious influences, the ruling house and the K͟hazars *per se* converted to Judaism (Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Togan, 45/104; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 298). Ibn Rusta, 139, however, limits Judaisation to their "supreme chief" and members of the élite who "sympathise with his inclinations". Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūd͟j*, ed. Pellat, i, 212, who places the conversion in the caliphate of Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd (170-93/786-809), also localises the Judaised element to the king, his entourage and "the K͟hazars of his tribe". Islam was particularly prominent in the K͟hazar cities and Orthodox Christianity had adherents in the Crimea and other Byzantine-influenced regions. Each religious community had its own judges, as did also the pagans (al-Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, i, 213; al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, 221).

K͟hazaria declined in the course of the 9th and 10th centuries, and in 965, its core lands in the Volga-Don region were overrun by the Normano-Slavic Rus' [see RŪS] in alliance with the Western Og͟huz.

The Volga Bulg͟hars, who had been vassals of the K͟hazars, adopted Islam in the early 10th century, leading to the dispatch of a caliphal mission of which Ibn Faḍlān [*q.v.*], a participant, has left us a remarkable account. Volga Bulg͟haria, a major link in the trade of Northern Europe with the Islamic world via K͟hʷārazm, developed a sophisticated and urban-centred Islamic culture, while ruling over a complex grouping of Og͟huric and other Turkic groupings, as well as Finno-Ugric peoples. According to Rus' tradition, they sent a mission to Rus' in an unsuccessful attempt to convert Volodimir I (980-1015) to Islam (*PSRL*, i, 840-85). Periodic clashes with Rus', usually over local commercial advantage, had by the early 13th century led to serious conflict which was halted only by the Mongol invasions. The Volga Bulg͟hars, after offering valiant resistance, became part of the D͟jočid Ulus. Under Činggisid rule, they were Ḳïpčaḳicised linguistically, becoming one of the core elements of the Volga Tatar people. They played an important role in the Islamisation of the D͟jočid realm and in the development of Islamic institutions there.

In the Pontic steppelands, the K͟hazars were displaced by the Pečeneg tribal union [see PEČENEGS] which never formed a state. The Pečenegs raided and traded with their neighbours (especially Rus') and occasionally served as a source of Byzantine pressure on the latter. In 1036, however, the Rus' soundly defeated them and the weakened Pečenegs, pressured by the Og͟huz, drifted off to the Danubian frontiers where they were largely concentrated by the 1050s. Here, they were in closer contact with the Hungarians whom they had evicted from the Pontic steppes in 895. Hungarian tradition places Pečenegs in Hungarian service as early as the latter half of the 10th century. Muslim authors (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūd͟j*, i, 235; *Tanbīh*, 180; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ed. Beirut, i, 339, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 64 ff.) note the Pečenegs and Hungarians as allies in 322/934 in an attack on the Balkans. There were Pečeneg settlements, often as border guards and light cavalry, in Hungary in the course of the 11th century. The migration of the Western Og͟huz to the lower Danube after 1060, defeated by the Ḳïpčaḳs and Rus' and ravaged by disease, produced more chaos in the region. Remnants of these Og͟huz, Pečenegs and other steppe peoples took service with the princes of Kiev, forming by the mid-12th century the grouping called *Černii klobutsi* in Russian. The Pečenegs, as their neighbours well knew, were often fickle allies. Thus in 1071, Pečeneg forces, which had frequently raided Imperial lands, helped to relieve the Hungarian siege of Byzantine Belgrad. But, in 1073, allied with the Og͟huz, they raided as far as Constantinople and in 1078 joined a Ḳuman/Ḳïpčaḳ attack on Adrianople. In 1087 they inflicted a nearly fatal defeat on the Byzantine Emperor Alexis Comnenus. The latter, however, in 1091, in conjunction with the Ḳïpčaḳs, broke their remaining military power at Levunion. Pečeneg elements took service with István II of Hungary (1116-31), who sought to use them to counterbalance his nobles. Toponyms of Pečeneg origin (e.g. *Besenyö* "Pečeneg") are to be found in many parts of Hungary.

The Ḳuman-Ḳïpčaḳ confederation which supplanted the Pečenegs and Western Og͟huz as masters of the K͟hʷārazmian-Volga-Danubian steppe zone engaged in a complicated pattern of relations with their sedentary neighbours that involved both predatory raiding, alliances (often cemented by marital ties) and professional, mercenary soldiering. Thus the increasingly fragmenting Rus' princely factions had Ḳïpčaḳ allies and foes in their internecine struggles. The decline of Rus', sometimes attributed to Ḳïpčaḳ depredations, however, was more the product of Rus' disunity. The K͟hʷārazms͟hāhs, although bound by marital ties to some of their ruling clans (al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, i, 172), faced similar difficulties. The Georgian royal house, however, used its Ḳïpčaḳ kinsmen to fight off

the Saldjūķs, preserve their national independence and become a regional power. Frequently seen as raiders in the Balkans, Ķïpčaķ military forces played an important role in the creation of the Second Bulgarian empire (1188-1393). In short, they were able to integrate themselves into the regional political structure, exploiting the local weaknesses of often more powerful sedentary neighbours while retaining their independence. Although some groupings were, in time, converted to Islam (around Khʷārazm) or Christianity (from Rus', Byzantium, Georgia and Hungary), the majority of the Ķïpčaķs remained pagans in the pre-Mongol period.

The Mongol conquest of the Ķïpčaķs, completed in 1238-9, broke up the tribal union and scattered various elements throughout the Čingisid world and beyond (see above, 2.). Some 17-20,000 Ķïpčaķ families, it is estimated, took refuge in Hungary whither, in 1239, under their chieftain Köten, they were invited by the crown seeking military reinforcements against the Mongols and domestic foes. Suspected of being Mongol spies (since their kinsmen were already under Čingisid rule), they left Hungary on the eve of the Mongol invasion (spring, 1241), but were induced to return in 1246 by Béla IV and settled strategically around the country, especially in regions that had been devastated by the Mongols. The Hungarian kings attempted to use them as a counterbalance to the nobility. Ķuman-Ķïpčaķ influence reached its zenith under Kun László ("László the Cuman", *r.* 1272-90), whose mother was a Ķïpčaķ. Under growing baronial and Church pressure, László was forced to begin the process of converting and sedentarising the pagan Ķïpčaķs. This led to a revolt which László, who had been dilatory in carrying out this policy, was compelled to suppress (1280). The "Cuman problem" largely subsided after his death, and by the mid-14th century they had been converted and were in the process of assimilation. During the Reformation, many Cumans became Calvinists.

Ķïpčaķs are associated with the origins of Rumanian statehood. In the 13th century, the Wallachian and Moldavian lands up to the Olt river were called "Cumania", and Ķïpčaķ-derived toponyms are common (see Lazarescu-Zobian, *Cumania*, 265-72). The 14th century Wallachian voevoda, Basaraba, founder of the Wallachian state, was of Cuman origin. Ķïpčaķs continued to play a significant role in the politics of the Second Bulgarian Empire. The Terterid (1280-1323) and Sishmanid (1323-98) dynasties which ruled Bulgaria until the Ottoman conquest were of Cuman origin. Pečeneg and Ķïpčaķ traces are also found in the toponymy of Bulgaria.

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(P.B. Golden)

4. The Turks in the Saldjūķ and Ottoman periods.

For these in the Asiatic lands, see ALANYA; ANADOLU, iii; ASHRAF OGHULLARÏ; ATABAK; AYDÏN-OGHLU; DĀNISHMENDIDS; DEÑIZLI; DHU 'L-ĶADR; ERETNA; GERMIYĀN-OGHULLARÏ; ḤAMĪD or ḤAMĪD OGHULLARÏ; ILDEÑIZIDS; ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU; ĶARAMĀN-OGHULLARÏ; ĶARASÏ; ĶUBRUS; MENGÜČEK; MENTESHE OGHULLARÏ; MUʿĪN AL-DĪN SULAYMĀN PARWĀNA; ʿOTHMĀNLÏ; RAMAḌĀN OGHULLARÏ; RŪM. 2; ṢĀḤIB ATĀ OGHULLARÏ; SALDJŪĶS; SALGHURIDS; SALTUĶ OGHULLARÏ; ṢARŪKHĀN; SHĀH-I ARMAN; TEKE-OGHULLARÏ.

For those in eastern and southeastern Europe, see ARNAWUTLUĶ; BALKAN; BOSNA; BULGARIA; DOBRUDJA; IĶRĪTISH. Ottoman period; LIPĶA; MAĶADŪNYĀ; MŌRA; ṢIRB; TESALYA; DALMATIA, in Suppl.

5. The modern Republic of Turkey (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti*).

The Republic of Turkey was proclaimed by the Great National Assembly (*Büyük Millet Medjlisi*) in Ankara on 29 October 1923. For almost seventy years (until 1991) it was the only fully sovereign Turkic state in the world. The republic was the product of a successful struggle for self-determination waged by the Society for the Defence of the National Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia (*Anāṭōlī Rūmīli Müdāfaʿa-i Ḥuķūķ-u Milliyye Djemʿiyyeti*) between November 1918 and August 1922. The latter's success was embodied in the Treaty of Lausanne of 24 July 1923, in which the victors of 1918 (and losers of 1922) recognised the complete independence of Turkey within the armistice lines of 30 October 1918 (with the exception of the oil-rich *wilāyet* or province of Mawṣil [*q.v.*], which was awarded to ʿIrāķ in 1926 after arbitration by the League of Nations). The borders established at Lausanne have remained unchanged except for the addition of the province of Hatay, the former district of Alexandretta (İskenderun [see ISKANDARŪN]), which was handed to Turkey by the French mandatory power in Syria in 1939. After this addition, the surface within the borders was (and is) 779,452 km². Even before the proclamation of the Republic, Ankara, the small (pop. 30,000) Anatolian town which had

been the headquarters of the resistance, was proclaimed the new capital [see ANKARA], thus replacing Istanbul. The population within the new borders was very different from that of late-Ottoman Anatolia. At 13.5 million it was at least 25% smaller, and the almost total disappearance of the Greek and Armenian communities meant that it was now 98% as opposed to 80% Muslim. The majority consisted of Turkish speakers, but there were sizeable Kurdish, Arab and Circassian minorities, as well as numerous smaller communities. Almost a third of the population consisted of immigrants, or direct descendants of immigrants, from the Balkans, the Crimea and the Caucasus [see MUHĀDJIR. 2].

The exact relationship between the Republic and its predecessor, the Ottoman Empire, is problematical. The independence war had been waged for the independence of the Ottoman Muslims who wanted to remain attached to the empire, not for a new republic. The last sultan, Meḥemmed VI [*q.v.*], had fled the country in November 1922, but his cousin ʿAbd al-Medjīd had been proclaimed caliph and remained so until the abolition of the caliphate and the banning of the dynasty in March 1924. The Ottoman constitution remained in force until April 1924, but the Law on Fundamental Organisation (*Teshkīlāt-i Esasiyye Ḳanūnu*) of 1921 already allowed the national resistance movement to operate as a *de facto* republic within its framework. Of all the successor-states to the empire, Turkey was the only one which inherited its central state apparatus and army. It also inherited by far the largest part of the Ottoman debt.

Immediately after the proclamation of the Republic, the leader of the Defence of Rights movement, Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (from 1934: Kemal Atatürk [see ATATÜRK]), was elected its first president. In the period 1923-6 he established complete control over the political system, changing the electoral law, transforming the Defence of Rights movement into the People's Party (*Khalḳ Firḳasi*, from the 1924 Republican People's Party, *Djümhūriyyet Khalḳ Firḳasi* [*q.v.*]) of which he was chairman, and banning all political opposition under the Law on the Maintenance of Order (*Taḳrīr-i Sükūn Ḳanūnu*), which was passed on 3 March 1925 in the aftermath of an Islamist Kurdish insurrection in the south-east of the country. In July and August 1926 all potential competitors for political power, the former leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*]) and most of the former leadership of the Defence of Rights movement, were purged in trials held after the discovery of a plot against Kemāl's life.

The power monopoly thus established, was used by Kemāl and his circle (often called "Kemalists") to launch a campaign of reforms to modernise Turkish society. Strongly influenced by positivist ideas, the Kemalists saw secularisation as a precondition for modernisation. The secularisation of the legal system, the educational system and the administration had, of course, already progressed a great deal since the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms and, in particular, during the second constitutional period, but the Kemalists completed it with the introduction of secular (Swiss) civil law in 1926, the unification of education in 1924 and the scrapping of Islam as state religion in 1928. They went much further than their predecessors in their attempts to secularise society and culture. Partly, the secularisation drive took place on a symbolic level. In 1925, the traditional male headgear was banned and replaced with the European hat; the wearing of the veil was discouraged. Some measures had a practical *and* a symbolic aspect, such as the introduction of the European calendar and clock in 1926 and the replacement of the Arabic with the Latin alphabet in 1928. Popular religion was a particular target of the Kemalists, with the abolition of dervish orders [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 5] and the closing down of shrines in 1926. As a result, the dervish orders went underground until after World War II. Efforts to "Turkify" Islam by translating the Ḳurʾān and the call to prayer were made, but remained unpopular with the population at large. It should be emphasised that Kemalist secularisation did not so much mean separation of religion and state, as control over religion on the part of the state, through the Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Diyānet Ishleri Bashkanlighi*), the direct successor to the Ottoman office of *Sheykh al-Islām* [see SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM. 2].

The Kemalists tried to create a popular base for their modernising programme through the activities of the People's Party, which, except for six months in 1924-5 and three in 1930, was the only legal party until 1946; and through the "People's Homes" (*Halk Evleri* [see KHALḲEVI]), educational centres linked to the party, which replaced the older "Turkish Hearths" (*Türk Odjaklari*) in 1932. These efforts were relatively successful in the towns, where a Kemalist middle class of civil servants, officers, teachers and students came into existence, and where middle-class women managed to take an active part in public life for the first time. The Kemalist modernisation drive hardly reached into the countryside, however, where 80% of the population continued to live.

The republic was fashioned after the model of the European nation-states, and this brought with it an intense effort at nation-building on the basis of a Turkish identity, which was meant to replace the Ottoman, or Muslim one and to submerge linguistic, ethnic and religious differences within the country. Expression of minority cultures, whose existence was officially denied, was strictly forbidden. A new Turkish identity was forged with the help of a nationalist reinterpretation of history. with emphasis on the pre-Islamic history of the Turks and of linguistic purism, which aimed at replacing Arabic and Persian vocabulary with Turkic material. The Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) and the Turkish Linguistic Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*), founded in 1931 and 1932 respectively, carried the government's message in these fields. Until his death in 1938, Atatürk was personally very much involved in these movements, but under his successor, İsmet İnönü (who had already been Prime Minister 1923-37), the reform movement lost some of its impetus.

The Kemalist leadership was confronted with immense problems in the economic field. Anatolia had been devastated by ten years of almost continuous warfare. The agricultural sector recovered relatively quickly after 1923, as soon as an adequate supply of manpower became available. This was not true for commerce and industry, however. The disappearance of the Armenians and Greeks meant the loss of almost all commercial, financial, managerial and technological know-how, as well as of access to international trade networks. Until 1930, the Kemalists tried to reconstruct the economy with free market policies, although the state itself operated a number of monopolies taken over from the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. At the same time they tried to rear a "national bourgeoisie" to take the place of the Greeks and Armenians. When the world economic crisis struck, the People's Party decided in 1932 to

make "statism" (*devletçilik*) the basis of economic policy. This was a form of state capitalism, in which the state provided the investments which the private sector could not provide. At the same time, agriculture, which had been hit very hard by the fall of world grain prices, was supported by the creation of a state buying agency. The state sector grew into the dominant force in the Turkish economy. It also trained generations of engineers and managers. In the later thirties, the economy gradually recovered, but World War II again brought great hardship.

After World War II, the new hegemonic position of the United States (whose support Turkey needed badly) and the need to relieve internal pressures combined to persuade İnönü's government that Turkey should move from dictatorship to a degree of democratic pluralism. İnönü supported the founding of an opposition party in 1946, and in the first free and fair elections of the republican era, in May 1950, the opposition, the Democratic Party (*Demokrat Parti*) won by a landslide. This party and its successors (the Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi*) between 1961 and 1980 and the Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*) and True Path Party (*Doğru Yol Partisi*) after 1983) were different from the People's Party in that they were not dominated by bureaucrats and (former) officers. They were coalitions representing the countryside, small-to-medium businesses and the emerging industrial sector. The dominant figures in this block were Adnan Menderes [*q.v.*] between 1950 and 1960, Süleyman Demirel between 1965 and 1980 and again after 1993, and Turgut Özal between 1980 and his death in 1993. These centre-right mass parties usually commanded between 40% and 50% of the vote, while Atatürk's old party, the RPP, and its offshoots (the Populist Party (*Halkçı Parti*), the Social Democrat Party (*Sosyal Demokrat Parti*), the Social Democrat Populist Party and the Party of the Democratic Left (*Demokrat Sol Partisi*), all after 1983) polled between 25% and 40%, thanks in part to the support of Turkey's Alevi minority. Before 1971, under İnönü, its programme was statist and represented the interests of the state bureaucracy; after 1971, under its new leader Bülent Ecevit, it moved left of centre.

The Democrats were strong believers in a free market economy and they encouraged the private sector. With American aid, Turkey witnessed an investment boom, primarily in the agricultural sector. Where the RPP before 1950 had invested in railways, the DP promoted the building of roads and the import of trucks and cars. Thanks to the road building programme, the villages of Turkey for the first time really came into contact with the outside world. This opened up new horizons and encouraged mobility. The economic policies of the DP were also reckless and uncoordinated, however, and this led to high inflation and economic dislocation in the later fifties. When this gave rise to opposition, the government of Menderes grew more and more authoritarian.

Menderes's successors between 1961 and 1980, mainly Süleyman Demirel's Justice Party, adopted a more cautious and planned approach to liberalism. In this period, the main economic policy was that of import-substitution industrialisation. The government promoted the development of oligopolies producing consumer goods (usually in the shape of joint ventures with European or American firms) in a market shielded from foreign competition. This protectionist policy also allowed high wages to be paid to the workers in the new industries.

Fierce anti-communism and anti-socialism, primarily inspired by fear of Turkey's traditional enemy Russia, was a feature of all mainstream Turkish parties of the republic. It had been so even when relations with the Soviet Union had been excellent (in the thirties), but it grew even stronger in the cold war environment. Trade unionism was regarded with suspicion in this context and suppressed until after World War II, when the apolitical trade union confederation *Türk-İş* was founded with American support. In 1967, a number of leftist unions broke away to form a rival confederation, *DISK*. From then on, there was fierce competition between the two organisations.

The attitude of the Democrats and their successors vis-à-vis unofficial Islam was much more relaxed than that of their Kemalist predecessors. They gave room for expression of Islamic sentiments in public and accepted the support of dervish orders. From the sixties onwards, people with a rural background (exemplified by Demirel and later Özal) gradually took over political and commercial power and for these, religiosity and modernity were not irreconcilable. Although large parts of the secularist intelligentsia, the bureaucracy and the army felt threatened by what they saw as a "return to Islam", the basic secularist structures of the state remained in place.

Both the economic policies and the ideological position of the Democrats and their successors tended to raise suspicions within the army, which regarded itself as the keeper of Atatürk's heritage. Military officers intervened in political matters frequently and twice took over power themselves. In May 1960, Menderes was toppled by a coup by a group of relatively junior officers, some of whom had radical ideas about a new social order. After the coup, these radicals were sidelined, however, and there was a quick return to civilian rule. The military had a new constitution drawn up, which emphasised separation of powers and increased civil liberties. At the same time, the new constitution gave the military an official say in politics through the establishment of the National Security Council (*Millî Güvenlik Kurulu*), which advised the government on security matters. After 1961, the upper hierarchy of the army kept a wary eye both on the officer corps (to prevent new coup attempts) and on the civil politicians. It repeatedly warned the politicians about the limits to their freedom and power and one of these "memoranda", that of March 1971, actually resulted in two years of civil rule under military tutelage. During this period, the civil liberties enshrined in the constitution were curtailed.

The most dramatic development of the post-war era was the startling growth of the population, which began in the fifties when hygienic and medical conditions in the countryside started to improve. The population reached its prewar size in the late thirties (at about 17 million). It stood at 20.9 million in 1950, doubled to 40 million by 1975 and at the time of writing stands at about 60 million. Population pressure in the countryside and the attractions of the industrialisation in the cities have combined to bring about a massive urbanisation. The population of Istanbul grew tenfold between 1950 and 1990. From the early sixties onwards, this migration acquired an international dimension when Germany, and later other European countries, started to recruit Turkish workers. This continued until 1974, when official recruitment stopped. The result was the emergence of a Turkish community of over 2.5 million within Western Europe.

From 1974 onwards, Turkey entered a protracted economic and political crisis. The oil crisis quadrupled Turkey's energy bill, the attendant economic

downturn in Europe led to decreased money transfers from Turkish workers abroad, and Turkish industry and government had trouble finding the hard currency to pay for import of industrial raw materials. Inflation soared and led to large-scale labour unrest. The political crisis expressed itself in the inability of the political establishment to create stable ruling coalitions, primarily because of unwillingness on the part of Demirel and Ecevit to cooperate. Left-wing and right-wing terrorists, who had been active since the end of the sixties, used the increasing paralysis of the political system to start an armed struggle for control of the streets.

An economic stabilisation package, including austerity measures and a basic reorientation from import-substitution industrialisation to export-driven growth, was announced in January 1980, but political circumstances prevented its implementation.

After almost a year of preparations, the Turkish army took over power in a coup on 12 September 1980. A junta headed by the chief of the general staff, General Kenan Evren, ruthlessly established law and order and curtailed political freedom. A new and very restrictive constitution, which transferred power to the executive and limited civil rights, was enacted in 1983. Once order was re-established, the junta allowed the economic stabilisation package to be carried out by its architect, Turgut Özal. The liberalisation of the Turkish economy bore fruit with strong, export-led growth and a wave of foreign investment in the 1980s. Tourism and export earnings replaced workers' remittances as the main source of hard currencies. Özal himself reaped the rewards in political terms. His Motherland Party became by far the strongest force in the country and he himself was Prime Minister (1983-91) and President (1991-3). From 1987, the party leaders of the period before 1980 who had been banned from politics by the junta, were allowed to re-enter politics, and a struggle between the pre-1980 and post-1980 political élites began both on the right (between the Motherland Party and Demirel's True Path Party) and on the left (between the Social Democrat Populist Party led by İsmet İnönü's son, Erdal and the Democratic Left Party of Ecevit). This fragmentation led to political instability, precisely at a time when (from the late eighties) the economic and political problems mounted.

Although the industrial and commercial sector were basically strong, economic growth became highly erratic and inflation soared again to pre-1980 levels, because of the basic imbalances in government finances. These were caused by inefficient tax collection, a bloated bureaucracy and the slow pace of privatisation in the inefficient state economic enterprises.

The main political problem was that of the political and cultural rights of the Kurds. A Marxist Kurdish independence movement, the Kurdistan Workers Party (*Parti-ye Karkeran-e Kordestan* or PKK) started a guerrilla war for Kurdish independence (later changed to autonomy) in 1984, which between 1984 and 1996 cost over 20,000 lives. An army of 250,000 men fought the PKK. This further strained Turkey's state budget. The state reacted to the challenge with increasing repression and the resulting deterioration in the human rights situation damaged Turkey's relations with the West.

The inability of the established parties to solve the economic problems and the Kurdish questions, combined with their feuding amongst themselves brought to power the Islamists. The Islamist Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*), which became the largest party in the mid-nineties and whose leader Necmettin Erbakan took over as Prime Minister in 1996, had its roots in the late sixties, when the Islamist movement started as a protest of small traders and artisans who felt squeezed between the industrial sector and the emerging labour movement. Erbakan founded the National Order Party, later National Salvation Party (*Millî Selâmet Partisi*), in 1970. After 1983 the party re-emerged as the Welfare Party, but it was only in the nineties that it became more than a party of the conservative middle classes in provincial towns and developed into the voice of the poor migrants in the big cities.

The foreign policy of the early Republic was aimed at the preservation of the hard-won gains of the national independence war. During the twenties and thirties, good relations with the Soviet Union (which had supported the Kemalists in their independence struggle) formed the cornerstone of foreign policy. Relations with France and Britain slowly recovered from the traumas of World War I and its aftermath. From the mid-thirties onwards, the threat of Italian expansionism led to a rapprochement with these former enemies. In 1936 this made possible the conclusion of the Montreux Convention, which handed back full sovereignty over the straits to Turkey. In breach of a defensive alliance concluded with Britain and France in 1939, Turkey (whose leaders remembered the disasters World War I had brought upon the country) remained neutral during World War II, only declaring war on Germany in February 1945. After the war, Turkey looked for protection against Soviet claims on Turkish territory, which the Americans were prepared to give under the "Truman doctrine" formulated in 1947. From now on, the main trend in Turkish foreign policy was political, economic and military integration with the West, expressed in membership of NATO in 1952 and associate membership of the European Economic Community in 1963, two steps which seemed to seal a century of efforts on the part of the Turkish political élite to integrate with the West. Over the years, the security partnership with the United States grew very close, while at the same time the European Community became by far Turkey's most important trading partner. Full membership of the EC (later EU) which was the declared aim of the association agreement, remained elusive, however. When Turkey formally applied for membership in 1987, it was turned down and offered a customs union instead. This union, which integrated Turkey's market with that of the EU, but gave it no say in EU decision making, eventually took effect from January 1996.

In the thirties, Turkey became a member of regional formations: fear of Bulgarian aggression led to the conclusion of the Balkan Pact with Greece, Yugoslavia and Romania in 1934. The Saadabad Pact of 1937 linked Turkey to ʿIrāḳ, Iran and Afg̲h̲ānistān. After World War II, however, Turkey was politically rather isolated in the regions of which it formed a part. Relations with the Arab countries suffered from the traumatic heritage of World War I, from Turkey's early support for Israel (it was the first Muslim country to recognise the Jewish state) and from its emphatic membership of the Western bloc. In 1955, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Great Britain and Nūrī al-Saʿīd's ʿIrāḳ concluded a defensive alliance, the Baghdad Pact, but the rising tide of "Arab socialism" after the Suez crisis of 1956 further isolated Turkey. Relations with the Arab world remained cool, even after economic ties blossomed in the early eighties. The establishment of

the Islamic Republic in Iran on the one hand was frightening to Turkey, but on the other it gave Turkey the chance to replace Iran as the United States's foremost ally in the "northern tier" of the Middle East.

Turkey's relations in the Balkans and Black Sea region were determined by the cold war, in which Turkey was the foremost NATO bastion. The relationship with the NATO ally Greece after 1955 was marred by the Cyprus problem. In 1964 Turkey came very close to invading the island to protect the rights of the Turkish minority; in 1974 it actually invaded and occupied nearly 40% of the island.

In the nineties, the whole picture changed because of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. On the one hand, this meant that Turkey lost its position as an anti-communist bulwark, but on the other that it regained its room for manoeuvre. The emergence of five new Turkic republics in Central-Asia created new possibilities, even when early expectations that Turkey could fill the political "vacuum" left by Moscow turned out to be vastly exaggerated. In 1991 Turkey itself took the initiative for the founding of the "Black Sea Economic Cooperation Council" and it developed good relations with Bulgaria, Macedonia, the Ukraine and Russia.

Bibliography: A bibliography of the history of the republic with any claim to provide adequate coverage, should include at least seventy titles—clearly an impossibility within the framework of a short article such as this. But there exist a number of historical overviews with bibliographies which constitute excellent starting points for further reading and research: B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 1968; S.J. Shaw and Ezel Kural-Shaw, *A history of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey*, ii, *Reform, revolution and republic. The rise of modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, Cambridge 1977; G. Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, London 1955 and many subsequent editions; R. Davison, *Turkey. A short history*, New York 1968, Huntington 1988; Feroz Ahmad, *The making of modern Turkey*, London 1993; and E.J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A modern history*, London 1993, 1997. (E.J. ZÜRCHER)

6. The Turks outside Turkey to 1860.

See for these, BASHDJIRT; BUKHĀRĀ; GĪRAY; KASHKĀY; ḲAZAḲ; ḲĀZĀN; KHALADJ; KHĪWA; KHOḲAND; KIRGIZ; ḲIPČAḲ; ḲIRĪM; ḲUNGRĀT; MANGĪT; MANGĪTS; NOGHAY; ÖZBEG; SHĪBĀNIDS; SIBĪR; TÜRKMEN.

7. The Turks outside Turkey from the late 19th century to the present.

The presence of Turks or Turkish-speaking groups in Southeastern Europe is largely due to the Ottoman expansion and subsequent colonisation or assimilation of previous populations; a difficulty arises over definition, since in the Balkans there is a tendency, both etic and emic, to regard all Muslims as Turks, regardless of their language, to the extent of ignoring their real ethnic origin. A sense of nationality based on religion is thus dominant. At the same time, there are some groups which are Turkic in both language and ethnic origin. In certain cases the local designation of these two overlaps. Some religiously-defined groups remain as a result of flight or expulsion from the mainland of Anatolia. In the case of territories close to Turkey, such as ʿIrāḳ, Syria, and Ādharbaydjān, Turks remain either as elements of the Türkmen expansion which did not coalesce with the main body in Anatolia, or as tribes which were removed by the Ottomans from Anatolia and resettled to countervail Arab dissidence on marches from which Turkey has subsequently withdrawn [for these see TÜRKMEN; YÖRÜK]. All of these groups are represented in the immigrant population of Turkey [see MUHĀDJIR. 2].

The Ḳaraim (Ḳaray, pl. Ḳaraylar) [see KARAITES], the group of ethnic Turks settled furthest west, are non-Talmudic Jews in religion, speaking a modern Comanic language. They now occupy three areas in Lithuania around Panevežys, Trakai (Troki) and Vilnius, and two in the Ukraine around Halicz (Galič) on the Dniestr and Luck (Lutsk). Although they are first mentioned by Rabbi Petachia of Regensburg between Kiev and the Crimea in 1175, and they continued to live mainly in the south of Crimea, their origin is obscure. Attempts to link them with the Jewish Khazars have failed to produce conclusive evidence. In the 8th/14th century 483 families are said to have moved to greater Lithuania. In the 20th century some dispersed to Warsaw, St. Petersburg and Moscow. Parts of the population which remained in the Crimea were linguistically assimilated to the Crimean Tatars: they survived both the Nazi occupation, by arguing that they were ethnic Turks, and the Soviet deportation of Tatars. In 1970, 2,596 lived in the Crimea, and 1,975 elsewhere in the USSR. About 300 live near Yevpatoria on the west coast. Some emigrated to Istanbul where their community gave its name to Karaköy. Their rabbinical co-religionists, the Ḳirimčaḳ, who lived in the Crimea around Karasubazar and Feodosiya, were possibly descendants of the Khazars: their Turkish is said variously to have been assimilated to Crimean Tatar and to differ from both that and Ḳaraim. Although declining in numbers, there were still 6,383 in 1926, of whom 4,728 declared their own language as their mother tongue. They were nearly exterminated by the Nazis, though 1,800 survived and in 1979 were scattered throughout the former Soviet Union, with a few hundred in New York.

In former Yugoslavia, Muslims speaking Serbo-Croat, like the majority of Bosnians (*Boşnak*) and the Muslims of Herzegovina (*Hersek*) [see BOSNA; HERSEK], as well as those from Southern Serbia and Macedonia (*Čitak*, pl. *Čitaci*) speaking either Serbo-Croat, Macedonian or Albanian, are largely of South Slavonic stock converted to Islam under the Ottomans from the 9th/15th century onwards, from both peasants and nobility, though some ethnic Turks have been assimilated among them. The converted peasantry of Bosnia, dubbed *Potur* (< Serb. Cr. *po-turčiti* = Turkicised), retained some Christian practices in their religion. Such converts appear to have been accorded an intermediate status between *dhimmī* [*q.v.*] and full Muslims (Ménage, *op. cit.*, 209), at least in the earlier phase of the Empire *ca.* 1500. These largely autochthonous groups can be distinguished from immigrant Turkic elements of the population, mainly in the south of the country, who have retained both their identity and their language, like *Čitak* from Kosovo or Macedonia, who gain further definition from their adherence to the Bektāshī *ṭarīḳa* [see BEKTĀSHIYYA]. Serbian Muslims were known to the neighbouring Christian population in West Macedonia as *Torbeš* (pl. *Torbeši*) or *Poturi*, and occasionally as *Kurki*. *Torbeši* in the Reka region of Serbia were known as *Gorani*. In 1921 the census showed 150,139 Turks, and in 1953 254,000, of whom 200,000 were in Macedonia and 53,000 in Serbia. Between 1923-60, 269,101 Muslims left for Turkey. By 1984 the number of Turkish-speakers was *ca.* 130,000, forming nearly 7% of the population in Macedonia and 1% in Kosovo: they primarily inhabited towns, and formed a substantial part of the citizenry in Prizren, Skopje, Gostivar, Debar, Struga, Ohrid (Okhrī), Kruševo, Titov Veles, Štip and others,

mainly working as craftsmen. Peasantry lived in the valley of Vardar and eastern Macedonia around Radoviš. Although the Turkish-speaking population of western Macedonia was depleted by the exodus of 1955-6, it has been replaced by Albanian Muslims. Around Gostivar a remarkable interaction of languages has taken place (Jašar-Nasteva, *op. cit.*). At Prizren the Sināniyye, Ḳādiriyye, Khalwetiyye and Melāmī *ṭuruḳ* are represented, and notably the Rifāʿiyye; at Ohrid the Ḥayātīs maintain a *tekke* as an important centre. In the Strumica region of southern Macedonia, *Čitak* was used to designate a settled farming population of Turkish-speaking Slavonic Muslims in distinction to the ethnically Turkish *Yörük* pastoralists. A distinct group of these *Čitak* in Svidovica, Banjsko, and Makrijevo, on the northern slopes of Mt. Belasica, as also at Zleovo in Radoviste, was Bektāshī, with records dating back to the 10th/16th century: they, too, preserved observances from their former Orthodox belief. Like others in the region they particularly revered Ṣarī Ṣalṭuḳ Dede [*q.v.*]. The prevalence of this order here and in Albania can be explained by the absence of central Ottoman authority, especially in Albania, after it was banned, and the Janissaries disposed of, in 1241/1826 [see YEÑIČERI]. The nearest large centre for the Svidovica Bektaşis was at Maya Dağ across the border from Gevgeli (Gevgelija), though the main *tekke* for the region was to the north at Štip. There are also Khalwetī and Melāmī dervishes in the same area.

An immigrant population of Turkish-speaking Yörük and Türkmen [*q.vv.*], transferred after the conquest of Rumeli, was established as a militia to keep the peace as well as for the benefits of their pastoral economy: thus Ḳara Timurtash Pasha moved nomads from Saruhan to Serez, Ertughrul, son of Bāyezīd I, took nomads from Menemen to Filibe (Plovdiv), and Lüṭfī Pasha relates how many Türkmen tribes were taken from West Anatolia to Rumeli. In particular, they were established in the east of the *eyālet* of Selānik and the part of Üsküp *eyālet* (Skopje) to its north. Their importance was recognised in special legislation in the *Selanik yörükler kanunnamesi* (see Truhelka, *op. cit.*). Although their descendants (*Juruci, Koniarides*) have largely withdrawn to Turkish Thrace or Anatolia in the migrations of 1923 or 1950-58, a few hundred remain in a handful of villages on Mt. Plačkovica in Macedonia, still working as tented shepherds (see Eggeling, *op. cit.*), with a dialect closer to that of Anatolian Yörük than West-Rumelian Turkish. As late as 1976 they still formed a distinct ethnos of former nomads in the Strumica region, where a group of villages on the southern slopes of Mt. Ogražden was known as Yörüklük, and in two villages on Mt. Belasica on the Macedonian-Greek-Bulgarian frontier, within the Doiran group (see Filipovič, *op. cit.*). Yörük were established as far south as Larisa in Thessaly, and in the Rhodope and Balkan ranges to the north, with the seats of their beys in mountainous localities such as Thessalonika, Plovdiv and Yambol.

Following the Ottoman occupation of Bulgaria [*q.v.*] from 795/1393, Turkish settlers were established in the eastern plains northward to the Dobrudja, where they rapidly became the majority, spreading up the Maritsa valley to Plovdiv, and the Danube to Vidin: immigration reached a maximum in the 12th/18th century. Extensive conversion of the local population took place in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. In addition, some 100,000 Tatars were settled in Bulgaria after the Crimean War. There had been about 600,000 Muslims of Turkish origin, and a further 200,000 converted Slavs before World War II, or 683,000 and 123,000 respectively, with 10,000 Tatars and Gagauz in 1950. Despite the very large numbers involved in the population exchange of 1925-28 and the subsequent expulsion of 1950-8, amounting in all to 374,478 from 1923-60, there were still 650,000 registered Turks spread widely over the country in 1965, concentrated most densely in the Rhodope massif. The attempts at forced assimilation in 1983-5, when with *ca.* 700,000 they formed 10% of the total population, culminated in the expulsion of 300,000 in 1989. Many of these returned once the government had fallen and conditions had eased. The term *Pomak* [*q.v.*] was used by their Christian compatriots for mainly Bulgarian-speaking Muslims of Slavonic origin, though some claimed Turkish ancestry, and called themselves *Turci* (Lory, *op. cit.*, 101): these lived principally in the Rhodope, and the mountains of eastern Macedonia around the Struma. Until the Turko-Russian War of 1293/1877, there were 100,000 more in 60 villages to the north of the Balkan massif in the Danube region west of Loveč and Pleven, of whom 5,000 remained in 1985. They began to leave the Rhodope after the revolution of 1302/1885. *Akhriyān* ~ *agaryān*, a term documented from 835/1432, and shown by Ménage (*op. cit.*, 1969) to be derived from mediaeval Greek *'agarīnós*, "Hagarene > Muslim", was adopted as a self-designation by the Muslim Bulgarians living in the central Rhodope between Nevrokop and Pazardžik, around the upper Arda and Kričim rivers. Although, like *Potur*, adopted by the Ottoman authorities to describe somewhat dubious converts in the Balkans in a pejorative sense, it fell out of use, to survive only as a specifically Rumelian term. *Čitak* (= "coarse") is used etically for village Turks in general, though they call themselves *Türk*. An alternative, *Gadjal*, was used less often, but also pejoratively: the Bulgars of Šumen and Razgrad referred to all Turkish villagers as *Gadjal* or *Čitak*, whereas the Turks of Deliorman, calling themselves *Türk* or *Tahtakülâh*, called the Dobrudja Turks *Gacal* (see Bobčev 1940, 138-9).

Substantial immigration of Alevis has led to the usual polarisation of the Muslim population, reflected in the terminology, though they did not necessarily live in separate villages. The Sunni population of Deliorman called itself *Türk* while referring to the Alevi among them as *Kizilbaş*, which they accepted, with *Alevi* and *Aliyân* as alternatives (*ibid.*, 139, 143-4). These Alevis are centred particularly around Dulovo (Ak Kadınlar). *Amuca* is another designation applied to Alevis who formerly lived in the villages of Belören, Gaipler, Ahmedler, Topçular and Kara Abalar, east of the Tundja and south of Burgas in the coastal area near the Turkish frontier, later expanding to found Dikence, Bokluca and Gündüzlü. They are claimed by Salci (*op. cit.*) to be descendants of followers of Sheykh Bedr ül-Dīn [see BADR AL-DĪN] who survived his overthrow in 1420: their location supports this possibility. Most are now resettled in Turkey near Kırklareli, where in 1943 they numbered 15,000 in 25 villages, and where they were locally identified as *Kızılbaş*.

Gagauz [*q.v.*] are represented in Bulgaria by about 5,000, mostly in distinct villages in the Dobrudja, and Deliorman, but partly in and around the towns of Varna, Kavarna, Balčik, Yambol and Topolovgrad: they appear to be pre-Ottoman Turkic immigrants converted to Orthodox Christianity. Their language, although closest to the Turkish of northeast Bulgaria, is heavily influenced by Slavonic, Romance, and Greek intrusions. They perceive the Turks of Deliorman as closely related, calling them *Amuca*. A substantial emi-

gration to Bessarabia occured between 1750-1846, as a result of local oppression (Hoppe, *op. cit.*, 1957, 127, 131) and especially 1807-12 as the region was ceded to Russia. The majority, 138,000 in 1979, still live there (now Moldavia), with others in the adjacent district of Odessa in the Ukraine, and a few in Central Asia. Some remain in the Romanian Dobrudja and at Iaşi. They are also found at Edirne and in small settlements near Alexandroupolis.

In Greece, the term Turk included such minorities as *Vallachades*, *Karadjiovalides* (Muslim Meglen-Vlachs), and *Surguç*, besides Sunnī Turkish settlers and *Koniarides* (Yörük). Vardarians (Oghuz, Pečenegs, Ḳumans) had already founded colonies in Macedonia and Thrace from 457/1065 under Byzantine rule. The Muslim population grew under the Ottoman administration from 795/1393, augmented by local converts, until it reached one-third of the total by 1800. Despite extensive massacres of Muslims during the War of Independence, 1,400,000 (25.2%) still remained Muslim a century later in 1920. In 1922, the population exchange was arranged on the basis of religion rather than race: between 1923-60, 407,788 left for Turkey, 61% in 1923-33. Thereafter, Muslims continued to live in three areas: Rhodes and Chios, which were then Italian, Western Thrace and Epeiros, which had a large Albanian community until 36,000 were massacred in 1945. Their total number has remained relatively constant, at 134,722 (1.8%) in 1940, and 130,000 in 1971 (1.5%). Of those who remained in 1971, 70,000 Turks lived in Thrace, especially in the neighbourhood of Xanthī, Komotīne, and Alexandroupolis (= İskeçe, Gümülcine, Dedeağaç), and 10,000 in the Aegean (Rhodes and Kos/İstanköy); 20,000 Pomaks were on the Bulgarian border (Rhodope, Xanthī) in Thrace and 10,000 in Greek Macedonia; 8,000 Albanians stayed on in Epeiros and 2,000 in Athens; a remnant of 2,000 others (Vlachs and Gypsies) is found in Thrace, with 8,000 (mainly new Egyptian Arab immigrants) in Athens. In Crete [see IḲRĪṬISH], which became Ottoman by 1080/1669, the Muslim population declined from 91,000 (70%) in 1836 to 27,852 (8.3%) in 1921: these left for the Turkish coast, Libya and Egypt in 1923. In Western Thrace, conquered by Greece in 1919, Muslim Turks between the Rivers Evros or Maritsa and Nestos were exempted from the exchange to compensate for the Greek community and Patriarchate remaining in Istanbul. Although the Turks constitute the only minority officially recognised in Greece, their guaranteed rights, ranging from inheritance to political representation and the maintenance of mosques, have been subject to considerable interference, and non-Muslims have been settled in confiscated lands, so that many emigrated (6,000 during the Cyprus crisis in 1974-5), and their presence fell to 27.2% in 1971. Popular demonstrations of hostility towards them in 1996-7 appear to have been condoned. Of the *Vallachades*, Greek-speaking Muslims in southwest Macedonia (Grevena) and Thessaly, some can now be found in Central Anatolia (see Svanberg, *op. cit.*, 1980). The Meglen-Vlachs, converts to Islam in the 12th/18th century, were also unable to remain after World War I, and withdrew to Eastern Thrace or Anatolia. The *Surguç*, an Orthodox Christian group in southeastern Macedonia, bilingual in Turkish and Greek, were claimed to have entered the Balkan peninsula before the Ottoman conquest, possibly as a remnant of the Ḳomans [*q.v.*]; in 1913 they were said to number 4,500 (see Meinhard 1899; Cvijić 1913, 115; Weigand 1924, 82). *Gagauz* in Greek Macedonia, in and around Neazichni (formerly Željahovo) numbered about 4,000 in 1900, over eight villages. Today they are said to number 10,000, still identifiable as a distinct group and still speaking Turkish.

The Dobrudja (Dobrogea) plateau south of the Danube delta was first settled by Turks in *ca.* 662/1263-4, when Türkmen from Anatolia led by Ṣarī Ṣalṭuḳ arrived with Byzantine acquiescence. Tatars entered it in the 8th/14th century as Batu's Horde disintegrated, followed by further contingents sent there by the Ottomans in the 14th-16th centuries. Some of the Horde's largest offshoot, the Noghay [*q.v.*] joined them in the 11th/17th century, after losing the eastern part of their territory to the Ḳalmaḳ, while further Anatolian Turks were brought there to complete the colonisation. As the Ottoman protectorate of the Pontic Steppe collapsed in 1773-4, and the Russians expanded southward, both the Noghay and the Crimean Tatars beyond them [see ḲIRĪM] began to emigrate to Ottoman territory, and especially Dobrudja. The Ottomans recorded the arrival of 300,000 in the seven years following the annexation of the Crimea in 1783. A further exodus took place after the Crimean War (1853-6), and another from the West Caspian Steppe in 1859-64 during the Russian conquest of the Caucasus. The Dobrudja thus became the only European region of the Empire with an almost entirely Turko-Tatar population: the exceptions were Romanian villages on the Volga, and a few of Vlachs. The Turks tended to live in towns, whereas the Tatars remained rural. Finally, an influx of 20,000 Circassians settled in the north in 1866. The Turko-Russian War of 1293/1877-8 caused 80-90,000 Turks and Tatars to leave for Turkey and Bulgaria; the Circassians were removed to Anatolia, or to found protective settlements on the marches of Palestine and the pilgrimage route. By 1880 the total Turko-Tatar population was estimated at 48,100. From 1878 new Romanian legislation, including sequestration of land, led to substantial movement of Turks into the countryside; despite this they were subjected for some thirty years to relentless restrictions intended to Romanise the region. In 1900 a total of 43,740 Muslims lived in Romania as a whole. In 1911 the Dobrudja population had declined to 10,836 Turks and 25,086 Tatars, and by 1930 these formed only 21.2% of the total, which by then included the southern part annexed from Bulgaria. In 1934-8, 80,092 Muslims left Romania for Turkey including 37,000 from Dobrudja, in connection with the exchange agreement of 1936. In all, 121,351 left between 1923-60. Among them were almost all the Alevis of northern Dobrudja, who were Çelebi Bektāshīs: in the south (Deliorman), which in 1940 reverted to Bulgaria, they continued to flourish. The official figures for 1977 showing 23,303 Turks and 23,107 Tatars in Romania are regarded as unreliable. The proportions of the two have fluctuated throughout this century, but at present the Tatars are in the majority: they still tend not to mix. Both are concentrated in the provinces of Constanta and Tulcea, but some are found as far north as Iaşi. In 1980 the state-appointed *müfti* and his staff were all Tatars, perhaps with the intention of dividing the Muslim community by alienating the Turks. In the 1980s some 5-6,000 Tatars, most of them of Crimean origin, remained in the Bulgarian Dobrudja, about a fifth still speaking Noghay.

About 2,000 Tatars from Belorussia live in Poland mainly around Bialystok, but they no longer speak their language. Mişär Tatars, a group of mixed Turkic and Finno-Ugric origin formed in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, came to Finland from the Nižniy-Novgorod region of Russia after the 1918

revolution: some 1,000 live there, mainly in Helsinki, Tampere and Turku, where they retain their Sunnī religion and culture. Others emigrated to Stockholm.

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II. Languages.

(i) Introduction
(ii) Genetic position
(iii) Structural features
(iv) Turkic languages in the past
(v) Turkic languages today

(i) Introduction

The family of the genetically-related Turkic languages is represented today by about 120 million speakers and 21 literary idioms. The first written evidence (8th century) belongs to a people which emerged in the 6th century under the name Turk which, due to certain historical circumstances, has become the name of the entire language family. The hypothesis that these peoples and languages originate from areas close to Inner Asia is strongly supported by certain linguistic evidence.

The spread of Turkic languages also demonstrates the important role that these peoples played in the historical development of Eastern Eurasia. From the 6th century onwards, they began occupying a vast area of the Eurasian continent, the extent of which has always been changing. From remote periods of their prehistory until today, they have come into contact with many extinct and living languages in Eurasia.

The Turkic migrations led, in some areas, to a process of assimilation. At times, the Turkic conquerors successfully imposed their language upon conquered peoples, while sometimes they were absorbed by the conquered, local population. Because of this complex historical process, the history of Turkic languages contains a variety of abstract, superstrate and substrate phenomena.

The use of the term Turkic for the entire language family, while reserving the term Turkish for the idiom spoken in the area occupied by the Ottoman Empire [see ʿothmānlî] and Turkey, is a contemporary development (see the corresponding Russian and French terminology: *tyurkskiy/turetskiy; turcique/turque*).

In the interpretation of the terms *Türk dili/Türk dilleri* (Turkish language/Turkic languages) there is a significant difference between scholars in Turkey and other countries (including the Turkic-speaking political units of the CIS). This difference reflects the variety of perceptions regarding the historical and contemporary relations of these languages. According to the majority of modern Turkish scholars, these languages are territorial variants (*lehçe* or *şive*) of one language (without giving a clear geographic and linguistic definition of this possible central idiom). This view, which originates in the national movement of the Turks in Russia in the 19th century [see gaspralî, ismāʿīl], was inspired by the model of Arab linguists. Among all other scholars, there is consensus in the consideration of contemporary Turkic languages as independent idioms.

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(ii) Genetic position

Turkic languages, with regard to their genetic origin, form a language family which is closely related to the Mongol and Manchu-Tungus language families (see ALTAIANS; Hazai, *Altaic languages*, in *Enc. Brit.*; Menges, *Altaic*, in *EIr*, i, 909-12). They share common typological features (see below, iii) in their language structures, as well as a series of phonetic and other correspondences, which can be undoubtedly traced back to remote periods of history.

Many scholars consider this evidence as proof for the genetic relationship of these idioms, and regard them therefore as units of a common language family, namely, the Altaic (J.G. Ramstedt, N. Poppe, M. Räsänen, P. Aalto, T. Tekin, etc.). Other scholars consider this as evidence of linguistic borrowings which resulted from the historic contacts between these peoples, and are opponents of the so-called Altaic theory (J. Németh, L. Ligeti, Benzing, Sir G. Clauson, A.M. Shčerbak, Doerfer, etc.).

Although the idea of the Altaic language family emerged in the 18th century (cf. Poppe, 125-56), Ramstedt is considered the founder of this school, since he laid down a comprehensive synthesis in which all aspects of a possible genetic relationship are taken into account (see Aalto, in *CAJ*, xix [1975], 161 ff.).

The posthumous publication of J.G. Ramstedt's synthesis opened a new chapter in the heated, but fruitful, debate regarding the validity of the Altaic theory (see Clauson, in *CAJ*, ii [1956], 181 ff.; idem, *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, London 1962; Doerfer, *Elemente*, 5 ff.; idem, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, lxxi [1966], 81 ff.). Despite the continuation of this debate, it has helped clarify many relevant linguistic and historic details and, in parallel, has opened new fields of investigation.

Today, those who accept the relationship of Altaic or even Uralo-Altaic languages also include the Korean and Japanese languages which, previously, were considered only as hypothetical links in the genetic network (see Poppe, 149 ff.; Aalto, in *CAJ*, xix [1975], 175 ff.; R.A. Miller, in *UAJb*, li [1979], 1 ff.; J. Street, in *OLZ*, lxxv [1980], 101 ff.; Menges, in *CAJ*, xxviii [1984], 234 ff.).

The adherents of the "Nostratic school", which focuses on the reconstruction of the development of proto-languages which existed in the remote past of the Eurasian continent, consider the genetic unity of Altaic languages as an important element of their theory.

The opponents of the Altaic theory regard the ancient correspondences between the Turkic, Mongol and Manchu-Tungus languages as a result of borrowings which help reconstruct, especially in the case of Turkic languages, some features of structure in the historical period which preceded the first written linguistic records.

Despite the polarisation of views regarding the main issue, in some details of this debate (which are also relevant to the prehistory of Altaic peoples) we can observe a rapprochement of some ideas and explanations (see Doerfer, in *UAJb*, N.F. i [1981], 93 ff.; idem, in *CAJ*, xxviii [1984], 37-8).

In the new phase of discussion concerning the Altaic theory, there have been pointed out the requirements of the strict application of traditional approaches and criteria of historical and comparative linguistics (see Doerfer, in *Voprosi Yazïkoznaniya* [1972-3], 50 ff.; idem, in *ibid.* [1981-4], 35 ff.; idem, *The conditions for proving the genetic relationship of languages*, in *The Bulletin of the International Institute for Linguistic Sciences, Kyoto Sangyo University*, ii/4 [1981], 39 ff.). The application of methods and experiences which are mainly a product of Indo-European studies, has often led to an impasse due to the lack of sources concerning the earlier periods of Altaic languages (particularly in the case of Mongol and Manchu-Tungus, which are considered more "conservative" than Turkic languages).

It has become evident that a more comprehensive explanation of the "relationship-like primaeval relation" of these languages (a term used by Németh, in *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, xlvii [1928], 63) must take into consideration many specific aspects of the development of these languages which relate to the geographic and historical circumstances of their original habitat and their later migrations (slow and rapid shifts and on-the-spot mixture of the population, bi- and multi-lingualism, language exchange, social strata factors, etc.).

Undoubtedly, the above-mentioned factors have deeply influenced the circumstances of formation and geographical distribution of correspondences which have completely reshaped the scope of the available linguistic evidence. This historical context, when compared to Indo-European languages, is distinctly different and requires a particular methodological approach for the explanation of these facts.

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(iii) Structural features

The phonetic stock of Turkic languages is rich in vowels and relatively poor in consonants, clusters of which are rare. The phonetic systems of the single languages, with few exceptions, show great similarity.

Lacking exact experimental studies of a comparative nature, many controversial views have been expressed concerning the suprasegmental elements (stress and tone). However, it is generally accepted that "in most Turkic languages . . . the expiratory stress falls on the first syllable" (Poppe, 180); musical tone is independent of the stress and falls on the last syllable (*ibid.*; L. Bazin, in *PTF*, i, 11). On the other hand, shifts may occur due to the effects of some specific suffixes (*ibid.*; A. von Gabain, in Spuler (ed.), *Altaistik*, 10).

Vowel harmony, followed by the harmony of consonants, is one of the most characteristic features of Turkic languages. This morphonological rule (from a phonetic point of view, an assimilation with extensive effects), is essentially based on three oppositional dimensions of vowels (back/front; rounded/unrounded; high/low). Following strict rules, they determine vowel sequences, manifested in word construction. The harmony is not restricted to the basic morphemes, but also extends to bound morphemes (suffixes) which, in this way, accumulate more phonetic variants.

The best-known model of vowel harmony is palatal harmony, which means that in one word only back or front vowels may occur. This exists in all Turkic languages. In the sphere of rounded and unrounded vowels, various patterns exist. In this respect, there are two main variants: labial harmony, where high vowels, following the division of back versus front, are also divided in an opposition of rounded versus unrounded; and labial attraction, where low vowels are also involved in the dependence of the harmony of rounded vowels.

Due to the peculiarities of the given phonological system, the combination of these models, as well as other minor variants, are characteristic in every single language. Therefore, in various ancient and contemporary Turkic languages, the realisation of vowel harmony displays a degree of diversity because of the specific development of the given language.

In the application of all models of vowel harmony, there are many exceptions, particularly in the case of loanwords which may preserve, often to a great extent, their phonetic autonomy.

The agglutinative nature of Turkic languages is one of their striking characteristics. This often-criticised term mainly stresses the contrast with flexional idioms (e.g. Indo-European languages). This peculiarity points to the use of bound morphemes (suffixes) on the level of word derivation and of grammatical operation in an almost exclusive way.

Definite articles and grammatical gender are absent in Turkic languages. For numerals, the singular form of nouns is used. Prepositions are not used. The case system is relatively simple. Case suffixes are identical in singular and plural because the plural has an independent suffix.

The parts of speech show less diversity: essentially, nouns, verbs and particles can be differentiated. No grammatical means exists to distinguish between nouns and adjectives. Turkic languages are rich in verbal derivatives, in which nouns of action, participles and gerunds (converbs) have an important function in syntactical operations.

An essential feature in syntax is the modifier (attribute, apposition) which always precedes the modified word (e.g. a noun), while the noun in the genitive (possessive) case precedes the noun representing the possession.

With respect to sentence structure, the position of constituent elements (word order) is determinative. At times, the main operational principle is coordination. The subordinate clause, beginning with conjunctions or relative pronouns, appears in Turkic languages as a result of foreign influences.

It is important to note that most of these essential peculiarities, combined with other minor ones, are common to the Finno-Ugric, Mongol, Manchu-Tungus, Korean and Japanese languages, giving them a strikingly common character which sets them apart from other Eurasian languages.

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(iv) Turkic languages in the past

1. *Preliminary remarks*

The history of the Turkic languages truly manifests the specific characteristics of the past of these peoples, particularly in the sense of their unique role and the proportions of territorial and cultural change as well as hiatuses and their efforts for stability.

The diffusion of Turkic peoples, their expansions and internal movements, was a long-lasting and gradual process combining frequent confrontations with the settled civilisations. This process had profound consequences with respect to the formation of these languages. On the one hand, it led to the constant change (enlargement or diminution) of the linguistic territory while, on the other hand, it caused important population redistributions in certain areas. This process, manifested is varying extents, steadily influenced the evolution of individual idioms, their dialectal divisions and their contacts with other languages.

The conquests of Turkic peoples often resulted in the imposition of their language upon their subjected peoples (e.g. Iranians in Central Asia), or even on their new sovereigns (the Mongol ruling classes in the West). In both cases, this led to either a slow or a rapid assimilation process. Quite often, they were obliged to accept the language of the majority (Bulgar, Mamlūk, Ḳipčaḳ, etc.). Also, cohabitation with other peoples led to a cultural-linguistic symbiosis which eventually expressed itself in the form of strong bi- and multilingualism (e.g. Turkic/Iranian, Armenian, Greek, Russian, etc.). This linguistic framework formulated the basis for mutual linguistic influence.

The available sources of the early history of Turkic peoples (scanty reports from the Byzantines, Chinese, Arabs, etc.) as well as evidence offered by linguistic monuments and linguistic traces in contemporary languages, cover a large chronological period in a vast geographic area. The nature of these sources displays a unique diversity which changes from area to area, and from epoch to epoch requiring, therefore, different methodological approaches in their analysis. However, the huge network of linguistic evidence is incomplete in many areas. Even in the case of well-documented peoples such as the Khazars [*q.v.*], the Pečenegs [*q.v.*], etc., we have no coherent linguistic records. Therefore, there is only indirect evidence which leads us to believe that these idioms belong to the Turkic language family. Furthermore, there are certain cases in which there is a lack of any clear proof for the connection between the linguistic evidence and the supposed users of this language (e.g. the case of the Ḳarluḳs [*q.v.*]).

2. *Prehistory*

Comparative evidence. A comparative study of

Turkic, Mongolian, and Manchu-Tungus languages provides us with a variety of evidence regarding their prehistory. The common loanwords that exist in this very early period, undoubtedly prove the close contacts and relations that existed among these groups. At the same time, these linguistic data assist us in the localisation of the original habitat and subsequent migrations of Turkic peoples.

From the accepted, but differently interpreted, linguistic correspondences, there are two which are particularly important for the prehistory of Altaic languages. The first one is the Turkic initial *h-/ø-* ~ Mongolian *f-* ~ Manchu-Tungus *f-* ~ *p-*, which allows a reconstruction **h-* < **f-* < **p-*. (It is necessary to add that the Turkic initial *h-* has been, only recently, attested in the newly-discovered archaic dialect: see Doerfer, in *UAJb*, N.F., i [1981], 93 ff.) At the same time, the possible links of this correspondence with Uralic languages underline its historical importance (see Poppe, 151-2).

The second one is the so-called rhotacism and lambdacism, which is the essential element of controversy between the "pro" and "anti" Altaists.

T. Tekin, an adherent of the genetic relationship of Altaic languages, calls these correspondences "the main pillar of the Altaic theory" (*CAJ*, xxx [1986], 141 ff.) and explains that "It has long been established that Common Turkic *z* and *š* correspond to *r* and *l* in Chuvash, e.g. Com. Turk. *tokuz* "nine": Chuv. *tăχăr*, *tăχχăr* "id." Com. Turk. *tāš* "stone": Chuv. *čul* "id." These sound correspondences were first called and are still referred to as "rhotacism" and "lambdacism", because, at the beginning, it was generally believed that Chuvash *r* and *l* had originated from Turkic *z* and *š* respectively. Later on, when it was discovered that Common Turkic *z* and *š* are represented by *r* and *l* also in Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus, an exactly opposite theory on the priority problem was put forward by Ramstedt, the founder of Altaic comparative linguistics. According to Ramstedt, Chuvash and Mongolian *r* and *l* were older than Turkic *z* and *š*, and the latter had developed from *r* and *l*. In support of this theory, which may better be called "zetacism" and "sigmatism", cf. T. Tekin, in *AO Hung.*, xxii (1969), 51. Opponents of the Altaic theory regard the vocabulary material (which reflects these phenomena) as borrowings which resulted from very old contacts, probably between "proto-languages".

The endless debates over this problem have brought about a consensus on one point only: both sides agree that the phonetic issuing-point in the reconstruction, which was originally supposed as **r'* or **ř* > *r* ~ *z*; **l'* or **ľ* > *l* ~ *š* (see Ramstedt, in *JSFOu*, xxxiii/1 [1922-3], 26 ff.; Poppe, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, vi [1926], 107 ff.) should be *ŗi*, instead of *r'*, and *ļi*, instead of *l'*, respectively. The isoglosses of this correspondence divide the old and contemporary Turkic languages into two groups. This division, which was attested at a very early stage of research, has given scholars the opportunity to trace back an important event in the history of Turkic peoples and to try to link it with concrete events of history.

First linguistic traces. Chinese historical works have given special attention to nomadic peoples, who were a constant threat to the northern parts of the Chinese Empire. Nevertheless, the linguistic evidence of these sources is very scant and does not therefore allow for an exact identification of languages used by these peoples.

From an investigation of a Hiung-nu distich (4th century) and some T'o-pa (Tabgač) words (4th-5th centuries), both recorded in Chinese script, there arise specific problems in phonetic reconstruction, since they are considered as traces of a Turkic language (Bazin, in *Oriens*, i/2 [1948], 208 ff.; idem, in *T'oung Pao*, xxxix [1950], 228 ff.). The objections against these interpretations underline the fact that research on this subject cannot be regarded as satisfactorily closed (von Gabain, in *Isl.*, xxix/2 [1949], 244 ff.; Doerfer, *Elemente*, i, 96; idem, in *CAJ*, xvii [1973], 4).

Other approaches to the problem of linguistic relations, with respect to the nomadic empires of the Sien-pi (4th century) and the Juan-juan (5th-6th centuries), such as that of P. Pelliot, have remained in a stage of hypothesis (W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 19).

Nomadic peoples from Asia, who moved in an early period westwards and eventually settled in an area around the North Caucasus and Black Sea and in Pannonia, were in close contact with various neighbouring civilisations (Byzantium, the Roman and Frankish Empires). Yet the sources relating to these peoples contain only some incoherent data for linguistic analysis. The interpretation of this material (names, titles and single words) presents many difficulties. As far as the names and titles are concerned, it is generally viewed that they cannot be accepted as indisputable proof for linguistic identification.

With regard to linguistic material from the Huns, a nomadic group which settled in Pannonia (4th-5th centuries), this has been interpreted several times. The opinions are very diverse. Scholars such as Németh (in *Orientalia Suecana*, ix [1991], 179-87) and O. Pritsak (in *ZDMG*, civ [1954], 124 ff.) consider the data on the Hunnic language as proof of the Turkic origin of this group. On the other hand, Doerfer argues that the available data is completely insufficient and ambiguous, and categorically refuses to accept the former hypothesis (*CAJ*, xvii [1973], 1 ff.).

With regard to linguistic material from the Avars, a nomadic group which also settled in Pannonia (5th-8th centuries), analysis has also been extensive. Németh represents the opinion that Turkic linguistic traces can be attested to the language of the Avars. A recent analysis of a runiform inscription found in Hungary, dating from the 8th century, attributes this text to the Avars (J. Harmatta, *Avarların dili sorununa dair*, Ankara 1988). Further validation may transform this discovery into a major breakthrough in the linguistic identification of nomadic groups living in this area and at this period.

The investigation of language relations in nomadic empires of a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual character, and the attempts to clarify the attested language relics which probably represent the language of the ruling clan, have come to a consensus on one point: although there is no direct evidence which proves the Turkic linguistic presence in the above-mentioned areas and periods, it is safe to say that Turkic elements were present during the large-scale migrations of nomadic peoples in the greater area between Inner Asia and Central Europe (Menges, 16 ff.).

3. *Emergence*

According to historical evidence, the Turkic-speaking peoples are attested for the first time in the 6th century A.D. Their presence is related to two geographical areas, namely Inner Asia (the region of the Orkhon river [*q.v.*]) and Eastern Europe (the Pontic region).

In Inner Asia, a new nomadic power emerges in the middle of the 6th century. The ruling clan bears the name Türk, which is later used with reference to

the whole of the rapidly-growing empire. The rulers of this state have bequeathed to us the first coherent texts (inscriptions on funeral steles written in an ancient Turkic idiom), which clearly display the character of a *z-/š*-language.

In Eastern Europe, the presence is manifested in a larger geographic triangle (Pontic, Balkan and Volga regions), which is represented by the Bulgars [see BULGHĀR]. This tribe, being one of the so-called Og͟huric peoples, is manifestly present in the Pontic region in the 5th-7th centuries. Later, due to a historical separation in the 7th century, they moved to the north-east of the Balkans, near the Danube river (after the end of the 7th century) and, at an unknown date, also to the Volga region (Moravcsik, i, 66-7). The language of the Bulgars in the north-east of the Balkans is the so-called Danube Bulgarian. This language is attested only from sporadic relics, words, titles and names as well as from loan-words borrowed by local Slavonic, an ancient form of contemporary (Slavic) Bulgarian. The language of the Bulgar ruling clan was absorbed by the surrounding population, resulting in the rapid loss of the original Turkic language. The most important linguistic record of this language is the "list of Bulgarian princes" ("Bulgarische Fürstenliste"). The language of the Volga Bulgars has been preserved in funeral inscriptions, written in the Arabic script (14th-15th centuries). These short but coherent texts are extremely important linguistic monuments for the investigation of the history of this idiom.

Early Turkic loan-words in the language of the Hungarians (who lived in the vicinity of Og͟huric peoples, following their gradual migration between the 6th and 9th centuries), display an organic connection with the first two groups of linguistic evidences.

Despite the facts that all these records have been discovered in regions far from each other, are diverse in nature, and represent different eras, they have a common character with regard to the main characteristic feature *r-/l-* versus *z-/š-*. This element manifests the linguistic unity of the various Bulgar groups. The extinct language of the Volga Bulgars represents a link between the old dialects of the *r-/l*-type and the Chuvash language, the only contemporary Turkic idiom which possesses this phonetic feature.

The earliest unambiguous evidence pointing to the history of the Turkic languages exhibits two distinct types of languages from a phonetic point of view, which were present in two remote areas of the Eurasian continent. The split of the Turkic languages into two groups is clear evidence of the early move of Turkic tribes bearing the *r-/l*-idiom towards the West. It is worth mentioning that at this same time (i.e. in a very early period) the *r-/l*-language type has not been attested in the East, and vice versa, the *z-/š-* type in the West, a fact probably mainly due to the lack of sources in this early historical period.

Many attempts have been made to link the early division of Turkic languages with the migrations of nomadic peoples known from historical sources. Since the generally-accepted view, which connects the appearance of the *r-/l*-language type in Eastern Europe with the historical migration into and presence of the Huns in the same area, lacks completely convincing evidence, it should only be regarded as a hypothesis. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the move of the Huns from the East to the West, and the migrations of other significant nomadic peoples, caused important changes in the geographical distribution of languages in the area.

However, in this context, we have to take into consideration the fact that the *r-/l*-language type (as shown by Németh, in L. Ligeti (ed.), *Analecta orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata*, Budapest 1942-7, i, 57 ff., and Menges, 55 ff., and recently underlined by M. Erdal, *Die Sprache der wolgabolgarischen Inschriften*, Wiesbaden 1993, 162) might have had important links with the Siberian area which was not the main scene of the migration of the Huns (see O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren*; Ligeti, *A propos des éléments "altaiques" de la langue hongroise*, in *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, xi [1961], 15-42; Erdal, *op. cit.*).

4. *The historical formation of language territories*

Contemporary Turkic languages are spread over a large part of the Eurasian continent, extending from North China to the Balkans, and from north-eastern Siberia to the Arabic Near East. The majority of the larger languages (Uyg͟hur, Uzbek, Ḳirg͟hīz, Kazakh, Turkmen, Ād͟harī and Turkish) form almost a coherent linguistic block, whereas some other widely-spoken languages (Tatar, Bashkir and Chuvash) and minor idioms, (Yakut, Altai, Khakas, Tuvinian, Kumuk, Nogai, Karaim and Karachai-Balkar) are, to a certain extent, in a marginal or even insular position in relation to the nucleus of the language territory.

This historical formation of the geographical extension of Turkic languages is documented by written sources dating from the 6th century, but lack of sources makes the exact linguistic background of migrations prior to this period unknown to us. The present extension and stabilisation of the immense Turkic language territory is the result of migrations and conquests which took place throughout the 6th-12th centuries. Hence tables of the distribution of Turkic languages recorded in historical sources of the 11th-12th centuries essentially correspond to the contemporary situation. The main linguistic groups occupy the same geographical areas: the "Uyg͟hur group" occupies the southeast, the "Oyg͟huz group" the southwest, and the "Ḳïpčaḳ group" the northwest of the language territory. This distribution survived the upheaval of the Mongol invasion (13th century) which, on the one hand, caused significant migrations, especially in the Ḳïpčaḳ area, while on the other hand, it consolidated existing linguistic relations in Central Eurasia (see A. Samoilovitch, *EI*[1], art. *Turks*. II. *The Turkish languages*. 3, at IV, 912; T. Halasi-Kun, in *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexander Csoma de Kőrös dicata*, 140; C. Brockelmann, *Osttürk. Gramm.*, 5; Sir Gerard Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, London 1962, 31-33, 47).

The origin of geographically marginal or linguistically incoherent areas are the product of either ancient or relatively recent migrations (Chuvash, Yellow Uyg͟hurs, Salars, and Yakuts) or the expansion of other languages (Russian in the Eastern Europe, Siberia and Central Asia) resulting in the ethnic-political transformation of Central-Eurasia.

In the central area, after the 14th century, only a few migrations contributed to the formation of language territories (e.g. the eastward movements of the Turkmens; the Ḳïpčaḳ-Uzbek migration to south-Central Asia; the re-settlement of the Ḳirg͟hīz and Taranchis; the move of the so-called Truhmens, i.e. Türkmens, to the north, the westward and southward Ottoman colonisation; the northward migration of the Gagauz, etc.).

In the 20th century, certain historical developments (population exchanges, deportations, etc.), in certain language districts have resulted in the re-formation of the distribution of Turkic speakers (Turkey, Greece, the Crimea, the Caucasus and Cyprus). Massive immigration of Turkish workers in Western Europe in

recent decades has resulted in the extension of the sphere of influence of this idiom.

Today, Turkic languages are spoken in China, Mongolia, the CIS (either in independent or autonomous political units), in Afghānistān, Iran, ʿIrāḳ, Jordan, in some Balkan countries, in Cyprus and in certain West European countries (Germany in particular).

5. *The written and literary idioms*

Preliminary remarks

The emergence of Turkic written and literary languages is related to different geographical-cultural areas and ages which, from a chronological perspective, clearly reflect a process of the historical diffusion of Turkic peoples from Inner Asia towards the West. The cultural centres of various areas, which in certain epochs existed and had an effect simultaneously, often reflected the interrelation of each other. Consequently, they were open to influences beyond their own political boundaries and dialectal backgrounds. This was manifested in the structure of idioms in use. Generally speaking, we can observe the "open" character of these literary idioms. This is true since, in the same period, different dialectal factors affected, in parallel, the development of language.

The structure of the writing systems used during these centuries, certainly strengthened this trend, even in the frequently-used Uyghur and Arabic scripts. In other words, the lack of exactness of these alphabets, given their phonetic realities, created a degree of flexibility in the dialectal realisation of literary idioms. This resulted in the easy recognition of written products which would originate from other dialectal spheres and ultimately, the mutual acquaintance of languages which extended beyond standard dialectal borders. These unique historical circumstances led therefore to strong linguistic interrelations as a result of language intermingling. Not surprising, a certain dialectal "overlapping" in the given literary idiom was very often observed.

The emergence and development of different literary languages was closely related to the religion accepted and used by the given community. The historico-cultural background widely influenced the formation of language. The acceptance of a particular religion also led to the acceptance of loanwords, while offering new options for their writing systems. The literary idioms which emerged after the 8th century in the immense area of Eurasia, corresponded to the needs of peoples who used Turkic languages for many centuries. In the Turkic linguistic territory one may observe the development of linguistic-literary norms which continued well into the 19th and 20th centuries: in the southeast, the Uyghur-Ḳarakhānid-Čaghatay, in the northwest, the Ḳïpčaḳ, and in the southwest the Oghuz. Despite the geographic shift of political and cultural centres in the southeast (Inner and Central Asia), the literary idioms which emerged display a chronological continuity which is evidence for their close linguistic relationship (particularly in structure). The northeast and related areas display a diversity in the available sources due, to a large extent, to historical circumstances which failed to produce a common line of development. The literary language of the southwest, associated with the most significant political power in the history of Turkic peoples (sc. the Ottoman Empire), manifests strong normalisation and clear continuity. In the Caucasian-Caspian region (on the fringes of the Ottoman Empire and incorporated in other political units) a separation took place at the level of the literary languages. The immense bulk of linguistic records, inscriptions, manuscripts and documents, which have reached us from different areas and epochs of the Turkic languages, present very specific problems. Many texts are not dated or exist only in later copies, and this fact has burdened the clarification of the chronological components of their language history.

Turkic languages came into contact with many writing systems during their history. The first one was the so-called runic script (of Semitic, Aramaic origin), which was of a semi-syllabic character. The available monuments reveal that its diffusion area stretched from Inner Asia to Eastern Europe, also probably involving non-Turkic idioms. The use of Sogdian, Estrangelo, Manichaean, Brahmi, Tibetan and Syrian scripts remained restricted to Inner Asia. The Uyghur script, which emerged from speed writing used in Sogdia, was used mainly in Inner Asia but was also known in Central Asia. The few documents written in the Uyghur script and found in West Asia (Ottoman Anatolia) do not prove its widespread use. The Arabic script came into use after the 7th century in all major areas of Turkic languages (the first attestation dates to the 11th century). In addition, the Greek and Armenian alphabets were used in the Western sphere of the Turkic languages. Finally, many texts from the same area, written by foreigners, often for missionary purposes, appear in Latin, Cyrillic and Georgian alphabets (14th-19th centuries). All these writing systems require specific methods for their linguistic evaluation. In the 1920s, due to state-guided language policies, Latin and Cyrillic scripts dominated Turkic languages and marginalised the Arabic script. The big political changes in the Turkic world in the 1990s have also signalled the first steps toward the reformation of the present set-up (the content of which remains vague).

The Turkic peoples, originally followers of shamanism and "Tanriism" (Doerfer [see TAÑRÏ]), became associated with Manichaism, Buddhism, Taoism, Judaism, Islam and Christianity. The religious-cultural background of a given group of written texts substantially determines the scope and method of linguistic research necessary for their study.

Bibliography: Unfortunately, there is no general survey regarding the vast number of Turkic linguistic remains, but the available studies offer good overviews of these sources. Since they deal with this material either from a geographical, chronological or linguistic point of view, they often overlap, but this is nevertheless useful for the assessment of individual monuments.

The best comprehensive survey about the whole of the Turkic language monuments is offered by the relevant chapters in the two volumes of *PTF*, by now, however, sometimes obsolete due to the rapid progress of research. A very selective, but useful short list includes: M. Räsänen, *Ein Überblick über die ältesten Denkmäler der türkischen Sprachen*, in *SO*, xiii/1 (1946); M. Mansuroğlu, *Turkish literature through the ages*, in *CAJ*, ix (1964), 81-112; S. Tezcan, *En eski Türk dili ve yazını*, in *Bilim, kültür ve öğretim dili olarak Türkçe*, Ankara 1994, 271-323. Bibliographies supplying introductions to the pre-Islamic period: A. von Gabain, *Einführung in Zentralasienkunde*, Darmstadt 1979; W.E. Scharlipp, *Die frühen Türken in Zentralasien. Eine Einführung in ihre Geschichte und Kultur*, Darmstadt 1992. Grammars: von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik. Mit Bibliographie, Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnis*, 3rd ed. Wiesbaden 1974 (Turkish ed. *Eski Türkçenin grameri*, Ankara 1988); V.G. Kondrat'ev, *Grammatičeskiy stroy pamyatnikov drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti viii-xv vv.*, Leningrad 1981. Dictionaries: V.M. Nadelyaev *et alii*, *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969 (pp. xxi-xxxviii:

Spisok istočnikov = list of sources); Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972 (authorities quoted: pp. xiii-xxxi); K. Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*, 5 fascs., Wiesbaden 1977-94 (pp. 17-28: *Bibliographie*; successive supplement in each fascicle).

Inner Asia (1). The region of the Orkhon, Talas and Yenisei rivers.

The epigraphic monuments of these areas, which date from the 7th to the 10th centuries and have a diverse geographical-political background, are the most ancient records of Turkic languages. Some of them, especially the long and coherent inscriptions of the Orkhon [*q.v.*] Turks, enable us to analyse the structure of the language in detail. The majority of these texts are written in the so-called runic scripts (some scholars prefer to use the equally ambiguous term runiform). Although they display a degree of structural unity, minor differences have been established. Based mainly on these pieces of evidence, attempts have been made to define various trends which influenced the formation of the language.

Surveys of the linguistic texts. The abovementioned dictionnaries offer a comprehensive register of sources, which may be completed, especially with regard to new publications by G. Doerfer, *Versuch einer linguistischen Datierung älterer osttürkischer Texte*, Wiesbaden 1993. Anthology: S.E. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti. Teksti i perevodi*, Moscow-Leningrad 1952. The Runic monuments. Survey: D.D. Vasil'iev, *Pamyatniki tyurkskoy runičeskoy pis'mennosti aziatskogo areala*, i-ii, in *Sovetskaya Tyurkologiya*, 1976/1, 71-81, 1978/5, 92-5, Editions: V. Thomsen, *Les inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, Helsinki 1896; Malov, *Eniseyskaya pis'mennost' tyurkov. Teksti i perevodi*, Moscow-Leningrad 1952; D.D. Vasil'ev, *Korpus tyurkskikh runičeskikh pamyatnikov baseyna Eniseya*, Leningrad 1983; Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii*, Moscow-Leningrad 1959. Grammars: T. Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington, Indiana 1968; A.N. Kononov, *Grammatika yazika tyurkskikh runičeskikh pamyatnikov VII-IX vv.* Leningrad 1980; I.A. Batmanov, *Yazik eniseyskikh pamyatnikov drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti*, Frunze 1959; The runic script and its diffusion: Clauson, *The origins of the Turkish runic alphabet*, in *AO*, xxxii (1970), 51-76; O. Pritsak, *Turkology and the comparative study of Altaic languages: the system of the old Turkic runic script*, in *Jnal. of Tkish Studies*, iv (1980), 83-100; E. Tryjarski, *Die alttürkischen Runen-Inschriften in den Arbeiten der letzten Jahre. Befunde und kritische Übersicht*, in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, viii (1981), 339-52; Vasil'ev, *Grafičeskiy fond pamyatnikov tyurskoy runičeskoy pis'mennosti aziatskogo areala*, Moscow 1983; K. Röhborn and W. Veenker (eds.), *Runen, Tamgas und Graffiti aus Asien und Osteuropa*, Wiesbaden 1985; Tryjarski, *Altes und Neues zur Entstehung der türkischen Runenschrift*, in *RO*, xlv/1 (1986), 59-77; idem, *Anonymity, adaptation and diffusion of the Asian and European runic script*, in *RO*, xlix (1994), 89-96; I.L. Kyzlasov, *Drevnetyurkskaya runičeskaya pis'mennost' Evrazii. Opit paleografičeskogo analiza*, Moscow 1990.

Inner Asia (2). The region of the Tarim Basin (Turfan) and Kansu (Dunhuang).

The Uyghurs, under the pressure of the Ḳirghiz [*q.v.*], left their former habitat in the north (9th century), and moved to northern China (the present province of Kansu) and to the Tarim basin. In both regions, they established independent political units and created a culture which integrated different religions. Due to chance, a great number of manuscripts and wooden block prints, mostly of a religious character, have survived and form therefore a solid basis for the investigation of this ancient idiom of the Turkic languages. The Mongol invasions put an end to the flowering of the Uyghur culture. However, the literary language was in use to a certain extent up to *ca.* the 18th century. The language of the Uyghur texts can be regarded as an organic continuation of the former idiom as represented by the epigraphic monuments. Despite a relative unity and stability in structure, over the centuries we find certain cases in which some features underwent a slow, successive change.

It has been long accepted that Manichaean texts written in this script represent the oldest layer within this group of monuments. The Buddhist texts in Uyghur script (translations of well-known religious-literary works) belong to the middle layer. The youngest group, formed mostly by juridical documents and wooden block prints (also of a Buddhist content) belong to the Mongol period. Recent research, which has integrated a series of criteria including external and internal linguistic features, has offered a more detailed chronology of these linguistic monuments.

Surveys of the language monuments. J.P. Laut, *Der frühe Buddhismus und seine literarischen Denkmäler*, Wiesbaden 1986; idem and Röhrborn, *Der türkische Buddhismus in der japanischen Forschung*, Wiesbaden 1988; P. Zieme, *Religion und Gesellschaft im Uigurischen Königreich von Qočo*, Opladen 1992 (pp. 16-45, *Buddhistische Schrifttum der Uiguren*). Problems of structure, of dialectal differences and of chronology: E.R. Tenišev, *Otraženie dialektov v tyurkskikh runičeskikh i uygurskikh pamyatnikakh*, in *Sovetskaya Tyurkologiya*, 1976/1, 27-33; idem, *Otrazhenie dialektov v tyurkskikh runičeskikh i uygurskikh pamyatnikakh*, in *SovT*, 1976/1, 27-33; M. Erdal, *The chronological classification of Old Turkish texts*, in *CAJ*, xxiii (1979), 151-75; L. Johanson, *Alttürkische als "dissimilierende Sprache"*, Wiesbaden 1979; Röhrborn, *Zu einem dialekt-differenzierenden Lautübergang im Alttürkischen*, in *Mat.Turc.*, vii-viii (1981-2), 295-305; A.S. Amanzholov, *V voprosu o dialektnoy klassifikatsii pamyatnikov drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti*, in *Voprosi Yazikoznaniya*, xxxv/1 (1986), 75-81; Erdal, *Old Turkic word formation. A functional approach to the lexicon*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1991; L. Bazin, *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien*, Budapest-Paris 1991; Doerfer, *Bemerkungen zur chronologischen Klassifikation des älteren Türkischen*, in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, xviii (1991), 170-86; Doerfer, *Versuch* (see above).

Inner Asia (3). The region of Kāshghar.

The Kingdom of the Ilek-Khāns [*q.v.*] (in Turkological literature, the Ḳarakhānids, 9th-12th centuries), was founded by tribes which formerly lived in the West Turk Empire but later moved to the area of Kāshghar. The conversion of the dynasty to Islam (10th century) created new conditions for the future development of Turkic languages. The literary idiom which emerged in the next century followed the Uyghur language tradition but experienced the consequences of new religious-cultural circumstances. The first literary works (the *Ḳutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*], and the linguistic compendium *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk* of Kāshgharī [*q.v.*]), were written in the Arabic script. The latter one, which contains extensive word material, includes texts (proverbs and samples of folk poetry) which give a detailed account of Turkic languages in the 11th century and is, therefore, a source of immense linguistic value. The *ʿAtabet al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, a didactic work of Aḥmed Yüknekī (11th or 12th century [see AḤMAD YUKNAKĪ]), also belongs to this literary idiom, the so-called Kāshgharī or Khāḳānī one. The structure of this language illustrates organic ties to the former Turkic literary idiom which was established in Inner

Asia and manifests the clear continuity of linguistic development (Poppe, 67; Doerfer, *Versuch*, 219 ff.).

General works (some of them concern also the following periods): A.N. Samoylovič, *K istorii literaturnogo sredne-aziatskogo-turetskogo yazïka*, in *Sbornik Mir-Ali-Shir*, Leningrad 1928, 1-23; C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1954; J. Eckmann, *Zur Charakteristik der islamischen mittelaltaisch-türkischen Literatursprache*, in *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe*, Wiesbaden 1957, 51-9; A.M. Shčerbak, *Grammatičeskiy očerk yazïka tyurkskikh tekstov X.-XIII. vv. iz Vostočnogo Turkestana*, Moscow 1961; Z.V. Togan, *Zentralasiatische türkische Literaturen*, in Spuler (ed.), *Altaistik*, Leiden 1963, 229-49; É.N. Nadžip, *Issledovaniya po istorii tyurkskikh yazïkov XI-XIV vv.*, Moscow 1989; Kh.G. Nigmatov, *Funktsional'naya morfologiya tyurkoyazïčnïkh pamyatnikov XI-XII vv.*, Tashkent 1989; Doerfer, *Chaghatay language and literature*, in *EIr*, v, 1992, 339-43. For the language monuments, see the arts. AḤMAD YUKNAKĪ; AL-KĀSHGHARĪ and ḲUTADGHU BILIG, and also R. Dankoff, *Wisdom of royal glory* (*Kutadgu bilig*), Chicago-London 1982; idem and J. Kelly, *Mahmūd el-Kāşgarī, Compendium of the Turkic dialects. Türk şiveleri lügati (Dīvanü Luġāt-it-Türk), Inceleme. Tenkidi metin. Ingilizce tercüme. Dizinler*, 3 vols. Duxbury, Mass. 1982-5; Kâşgarlı Mahmud, *Dîvânü lûgati't-türk*, Ankara 1990.

Central Asia (1). The region of Khʷārazm. Khʷārazm [*q.v.*] is considered as a crucial region in the history of Turkic peoples since it was a crossroad of different Turkic elements (Uyghur, Oghuz and Ḳïpčaḳ). The literary idiom which emerged in this area (14th century) clearly reflects the intermingling and merging of these languages. The Khʷārazmian literary language, which was also used in the *Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the lands of the Golden Horde, was a clear continuation of the literary idiom of the former period with respect to its structure.

General works: see above (Inner Asia 3). Editions and analysis of language monuments: J. Eckmann, *Nehcü 'l-feradis*, i, facs. Ankara 1956; A. Zajączkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husräv u Šīrīn Qutba*, 3 vols. Warsaw 1958-61; A.M. Shčerbak, *Oġuz-nāme—Mukhabbat-nāme*, Moscow 1959; É. Nadžip, *Khorezmi, Mukhabat-nāme*, Moscow 1961; A.K. Borovkov, *Leksika sredneaziatskogo tefsira XII-XIII c vv.*, Moscow 1963; K.H. Menges, *Zum Türkistanischen Tafsīr des 12./13. Jhdts.*, in *UAJb*, xxxvi (1965), 348-59; E. Fazïlov, *Starouzbekskiy yazïk, Khorezmskie pamyatniki XIV veka*, 2 vols. Tashkent 1966; M.N. Hacıeminoğlu, *Kutb'un Husrev ü Şirin'i ve dil hususiyetleri*, Istanbul 1968; A. Bodrogligeti, *A fourteenth century Turkic translation of Sa'dī's Gulistān* (*Sayf-i Sarāyī's Gulistān bi t-Turkī*), Budapest 1969; Nadžip, *Tyurkoyazïtsnïy pamyatnik XIV veka "Gulistan" Seyfa Sarai i ege yazïk*, 2 vols., Alma-Ata 1975; J. Eckmann, *Middle Turkic glosses on the Rylands interlinear Koran translation*, Budapest 1976; É.I. Khodžandi, *Latafat-name. Kniga o krasote. Vvedenie, transkriptsiya teksta, perevod, glossariy, grammatičeskiy ukazatel'*, Tashkent 1976; Nadžip, *Istorikosravnitel'nïy slovar' tyurkskikh yazïkov 14. veka* (*na materiale "Khosrau i Širin"*), i, Moscow 1979; R. Dankoff, *The Turkic vocabulary in the Farhang-i Zafān-Gûyâ* (*8th/14th century*). Bloomington, Ind. 1987; A.F. Karamanlioğlu, *Seyf-i Sarâyî, Gülistan tercümesi* (*Kitâb Gülistan bi't-Türkī*), Ankara 1989; H.E. Boeschoten *et alii*, *Al-Rabghūzī, The stories of the prophets, Qiṣas al-Anbiyā'. An Eastern Turkish version*, Leiden 1995; idem, *Chwaresmtürkisch als z-Türkisch*, in *Jnal. of Turkology*, i/2 (1993), 183-201.

Central Asia (2). The region of the Tīmūrid cultural centres.

The Čaghatay language, which emerged in the Tīmūrid empire and flourished in the cultural centres of Bukhārā and Samarḳand, is an Islamic Central Asiatic literary language which reached a high stage of development. It was used over the centuries in a vast geographic area which stretched from Inner Asia to the Crimea and the Volga region. This sophisticated literary language also met the needs of the Ḳïpčaḳ and Oghuz peoples. Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī [*q.v.*], who is considered the most outstanding figure of Čaghatay literature (if not its founder), contributed to the standardisation and the strengthening of its Turkic components, although it has remained (to a certain extent) open to other Turkic literary idioms and has tolerated their impact.

Eckmann (in *Studia altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe*, 51 ff.), who emphasised the organic links of this language with former literary idioms, suggested the following stages of its history: (1) Pre-classical period (from the beginning of the 15th century to the composition of Nawā'ī's first *dīwān* in 1465); (2) Classical period (1465-1600) with such representatives as Ḥusayn Bayḳara, Nawā'ī, Bābur, Bayram Khān, etc.; and (3) Post-classical period (1600-1921), characterised on the one hand by the careful imitation of Nawā'ī's language and, on the other hand, by the penetration of Uzbek elements.

See M.F. Köprülü, *Çagatay edebiyatı*, in *İA*, iii (1945), 270-323; A.K. Borovkov, *Alisher Navoy kak osnovopolozhnik uzbekskogo literaturnogo yazïka*, in *Alisher Navoy*, Moscow-Leningrad 1946, 92-120 (Turkish tr. in *TDAYB* [1954], 59-96); K.H. Menges, *Das Čaγatajische in der persischen Darstellung von Mīrzā Mahdī Xān*, Wiesbaden 1956; A.K. Borovkov, *Leksikografičeskaya traditsiya v slovaryakh čagatayskogo yazïka*, in *Leksikografičeskiy Sbornik*, vi (1960), 151-60; É.N. Nadžip, *Tyurksiy yazïk deliyskogo sultanata XIV veka*, in *SovT*, 1982/2, 75-85; A.M. Shčerbak, *Grammatica starouzbekskogo yazïka*, Moscow 1962; J. Eckmann, *Chagatay manual*, Bloomington, Ind.-The Hague 1966; Kh. Nazarova, *Osobennosti sintaksičeskogo stroya uzbekskogo literaturnogo yazïka*, Tashkent 1979; A.K. Borovlov, *Badā'i' al-luγat. Slovar' Tāli' Imānī Geratskogo k sočineniyam Alishera Navoi*, Moscow 1961; Sir Gerard Clauson, *Sanglax. A Persian guide to the Turkish language by Muhammad Mahdī Xān*, facs. text with an introduction and indices, London 1960; Eckmann, *The Dīvān of Gadā'ī*, Bloomington, Ind.-The Hague 1971; A.J.E. Bodrogligeti, *Ḥāliṣ's story of Ibrāhīm. A Central Asian Islamic work in Late Chagatay Turkic*, Leiden 1975; A. Ibrahimova, *M. Ya. Čingi, Kelumame (starouzbeksko-tadžiksko-persidskii slovar' xvii v.), Vvedenie, transkriptsiya i perevod teksta, glossarii, leksiko-grammatičeskii očerk, grammatičeskii ukazatel'*, Tashkent 1982.

Eastern Europe and its diffusion areas

The first monument representing the language of this area is the *Codex Cumanicus*, appearing at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. It is a compendium of specimens (some of them translations of religious texts), grammatical examples and glossaries, composed for missionary purposes. In the notes of the texts, the language is referred to as *comanicum* and *chomaniche*, while in the texts themselves, we find the terms *tatarče* and *tatar til*. It represents dialects spoken in the area of the Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.*; see also DASHT-I ḲÏPČAḲ and ḲUMAN]. Texts from the Crimea, despite Ottoman influences, also reflect Ḳïpčaḳ influences, explaining the formation of the mixed language characteristic of the local population. The sources are mostly official documents which originate from the successor khānate of the Golden Horde; this link is also reflected in the emerging Tatar literary language.

The Armenians of south-western Ukraine (originating from the Crimean community) were in permanent

contact with Ḳïpčaḳ Turks through their trading activities. As a result, they accepted this linguistic idiom as their administrative and religious language. Of this we possess many 16th-17th century records (official documents, language manuals, religious texts, etc.) which reflect a specific dialect of the Ḳïpčaḳ languages.

Under the rule of the Mamlūks [*q.v.*] in Egypt and Syria (13th-16th centuries), we witness the emergence of a Turkic literary idiom which in structure resembles the literary idiom of Kh^w^ārazm, reflecting the mixed Ḳïpčaḳ-Oghuz provenance of the ruling class which emerged from slaves purchased by the Ayyūbid [*q.v.*] sultans and *amīrs* from the Pontic and north Caspian areas. The linguistic records can be divided into three groups: (a) Mamlūk-Ḳïpčaḳ proper (structurally very close to the literary idiom of Kh^w^ārazm); and (b) a mixed Oghuz-Ḳïpčaḳ dialect with two sub-groups: (1) a dialect with prevailing Ḳïpčaḳ elements, and (2) a dialect with prevailing Ottoman Turkish elements.

On the other hand, the literary activity of the Mamlūk period displays close ties to other Turkic areas, mainly to Kh^w^ārazm and to Istanbul (also attested by linguistic evidence). Daily contact between the ruling class and the Arab population created the need for compiling grammars and dictionaries; these used Arabic linguistic models, and likewise reflect the mixed character of the language used in the Mamlūk-Ḳïpčaḳ area.

See *The Codex Cumanicus*: Vl. Drimba, *Syntaxe comane*, Bucharest 1973; D. Drüll, *Der Codex Cumanicus. Entstehung und Bedeutung*, Bochum 1978. Among studies concerning the interpretation of the work, a series of articles by Drimba has special importance (see bibliographic data in *Revue des études sud-est européennes* xxxii (1994), 388-90). Also G. Györffy, *Autour du Codex Cumanicus*, in *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri de Körös dicata*, i, 110-37; Ligeti, *Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus*, in *AO Hung*, xxxv (1981), 1-54; Ya. R. Dashkevič, *Codex Cumanicus. Voprosï vozniknoveniya*, in *Voprosï Yazïkoznaniya*, xxiv/4 (1985), 72-83; idem, *Codex Cumanicus—deystvitel'no li Cumanicus*, in *ibid.*, xxxvii/2 (1988), 62-74; M. Mollova, *Codex Cumanicus: le bouddhisme et le turk oriental*, in *WZKM*, lxxx (1990), 143-65; P.B. Golden, *The Codex Cumanicus*, in H.B. Paksoy, *Central Asian monuments*, Istanbul 1992.

Mamlūk-Ḳïpčaḳ. General surveys (containing lists of the language monuments): T. Halasi-Kun, *Die mameluk-kiptschakischen Sprachstudien und die Handschriften in Stambul*, in *KCsA*, iii/1 (1940), 77-83; A. Inan, *XIII.-XIV. yüzyıllarda Mısır'da Oğuz-Türkmen ve Kıpçak lehçeleri ve "Halis Türkçe"*, in *TDAYB* (1953), 53-71; A.F. Karamanlıoğlu, *Kıpçaklar ve Kıpçak Türkçesi*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, xii (1962), 174-84; Eckmann, The *Mamluk-Kipchak literature*, in *CAJ*, viii (1963), 304-19; A.N. Garkavets, *Kïpčakskie yazïki: kumanskii i armyano-kïpčakskii*, Alma-Ata 1987; Karamanlıoğlu, *Kıpçak Türkçesi grameri*, Ankara 1994; R.J.H.M. Ermers, *Turkic forms in Arabic structures. The description of Turkic by Arabic grammarians*, Nijmegen 1995.

Armenian Ḳïpčaḳ. A comprehensive bibliography is Dashkevič, *Armyano-kïpčakskii yazïk. Bibliografiya literaturï 1802-1978*, in *RO*, xl/2 (1979), 79-86. Studies which appeared after the above-mentioned bibliography: Garkavets, *Konvergentsiya armyano-kïpčakskogo yazïka k slavyanskim v XVI-XVII vv.*, Kiev 1979; A.A. Garkavets, *Armyano-kïpčakskie pis'mennïe pamyatniki XVI-XVII vv.*, in G.F. Girs et alii (eds.), *Srednevekovïy Vostok. Istoriya kul'tura, istočnikovedenie*, Moscow 1980; Dashkevič, *Armyano-kïpčakskii yazïk XV-XVII vv. v osveshčenii sovremennikov (Ob ispol'zovanii ėkstralingvističeskikh dannïkh dlya istorii tyurkskikh yazïkov)*, in *Voprosï Yazïkoznaniya*, 1981/5, 79-92; idem, *Armyano-kïpčakskiy yazïk: ėtapi istorii*, in *ibid.*, 1983/1, 91-107; E. Tryjarski, *Die Armeno-kiptschakische Sprache und Literatur—ein Beispiel für kulturellen Synkretismus*, in *UAJb*, N.F., v (1985), 209-24; idem, *O dialektnoy differentsiatsii armyano-kïpčakskogo yazïka*, in *Sovetskaya Tyurkologiya*, 1987/4, 23-9; idem, *Religious terminology in Armeno-Kïpchak*, in *Jnal. of Turkology*, i/1 (1993), 59-111. Studies concerning the relation between the Ḳïpčaḳ literary tradition and the Tatar language: T. Halasi-Kun, *Monuments de la langue tatare de Kazan*, in *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri de Körös dicata*, i, 138-55; M.Z. *et alii*, *Istoki tatarskogo literaturnogo yazïka*, Kazan' 1988.

West Asia (1). Anatolia.

Although Anatolia was conquered by the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] of Oghuz [see GHUZZ] origin at the end of the 11th century, it is not until the end of the 13th century that we find the first written literary works which attest this idiom. The first works exhibit strong influence from the Turkic language tradition of the east (orthography and grammar), which disappears with the gradual standardisation of the norm of the literary language. Literary activity in the first period arose in various politico-cultural centres in Anatolia, following the collapse of the Rūm Saldjūḳ state, and because of this, the richness of documentation is not comparable with other Turkic languages. Because of strong Arabic-Persian influences, careful analysis is necessary in order to discern the Turkish core of this language material. The language of this period tends now to be called Old Anatolian Turkish instead of the former Old Ottoman, a term which lacks historical validity. The emergence of the centralising Ottoman rule created entirely new conditions for the development of this literary idiom. The written language experienced enormous Arabic and Persian influences, effectively creating a gap between the written and spoken tongues, and it was the task of language reform in Turkey in the 20th century to deal with this linguistic gap.

In the sphere of historical phonetics, a large group of records written in non-Arabic tongues (Latin, Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Cyrillic, Hebrew and Syriac), including grammars and dictionaries (composed mostly by Europeans), present source material of immense value for their investigation; first attempts at periodisation have made it clear that the final solution to the problem will arise from systematic and statistically-based linguistic search.

A survey of literature concerning the history of the idiom is given in the related chapters in Hazai, *Kurze Einf.*, and *Handb. d. t. Sprachw.*

The Oghuz background: Z. Korkmanz, *Das Oghusische im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert als Schriftsprache*, in *CAJ*, xvii (1973), 294-303; M.I. Yusifov, *Oğuz grupu türk dillärinin müqayisäli fonetikasï*, Baku 1984; G. Guliev *et alii*, *Oğuz grupu türk dillärinin müqayisäli grammatikasï*, ii, *Morfologiya*, Baku 1986. Surveys of the language monuments: Korkmaz, *Ṣadru'd-dīn Şeyhoğlu, Marzubān-nāme tercümesi. İnceleme, metin, sözlük, tıpkıbasım*, Ankara 1973 (58-66); G. Doerfer, Zum *Vokalismus nichterster Silben in altosmanischen Originaltexten*, Stuttgart 1985 (10-16: *Unsere Quellen*); M. Adamović, *Konjugationsgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen*, Leiden 1985 (8-26: *Die Quellen*). History of the literary language and historical grammar: A.S. Levend, *Türk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme evreleri*, [3]Ankara 1972; A.N. Kononov, *Osnovnïe ėtapï formirovaniya turetskogo pis'mennogo-literaturnogo yazïka*, in *Voprosï Yazïkoznaniya*, 1977/4, 21-36; F.K. Timurtaş, *Eski Türkiye türkçesi, XV. yüzyıl. Gramer—metin—sözlük*, İstanbul 1977; V.G. Guzev, *Staroosmanskiy yazïk*, Moscow 1979; Doerfer, *Das Vorosmanische. (Die Entwicklung der oghusischen Sprachen*

von den Orchonischriften bis zu Sultan Veled), in *Türk dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* (1975-6), 81-131; Adamović, *Konjugationsgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen*, Leiden 1985; É.A. Grunina, *Istoričeskaya grammatika turetskogo yazïka*, Moscow 1991; see also L. Johanson, *Die westoghusische Labialharmonie*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxvii-xxviii (1978-9), 63-107; idem, *Pluralsuffixen im Südwesttürkischen*, Wiesbaden 1981; Guzev, *Očerki po teorii tyurkskogo slovoizmeniya, imya, na materiale staroanatoliysko-tyurkskogo yazïka*, Leningrad 1987.

West Asia (2). The South-Caucasian region. In Ādharbāydjān, widespread literary activity has been attested over centuries. Nevertheless, the literary language was not "able to make progress against the influence on the one hand of Persian culture and on the other of the Ottoman Turkish. The rehabilitation of Ādharbāydjānī or Ādharī [*q.v.*], which is closely related to the spoken dialect, began in the middle of the 19th century in Transcaucasia (Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Akhundov). It became strongly influenced by Ottoman Turkish at the beginning of the 20th century..." (A. Samoilovitch, *EI*[1], art. *Turks*). Even though the local dialect left many traces in certain literary works, its development was concealed by the written idiom, which was dominated by the Ottoman norm. It is accordingly difficult to ascertain purely through language texts the historical separation of the local dialect and its emergence in the literary language (probably during the Ṣafawid period (see G. Doerfer, in *EIr*, v/3, 226).

A thoroughly selected informative survey is offered by I. Bellér-Hann, *A history of Cathay. A translation and linguistic analysis of a fifteenth-century Turkic manuscript*, Bloomington, Ind. 1995 (Bibliography: 188-200). See also Doerfer, *Azeri (Ādarī) Turkish (= Azerbaijan. viii)*, in *EIr*, iii/3, 245-8.

West Asia (3). The East Caspian region. It is generally accepted that the Turkmens played a significant role in the early (Khʷarazmian) period of Islamic Central Asian Turkic literature, but they later came under the influence of the Čaghatay language (Samoilovitch). Poets who lived in the 18th-19th centuries essentially used this language (Z.V. Togan, in Spuler (ed.), *Altaistik*, 244), and traces of the local idiom can be attested in selected manuscripts of their works. The modern Turkmen literary language emerged only in the Soviet period (Baskakov, *Tyurk. yaz.*, 91).

See M.N. Khïdïrov, *Nekotorïe voprosï po istorii turkmenskogo yazïka*, Ashkhabad 1975; Z.B. Mukhammedova, *Issledovaniya po istorii turkmenskogo yazïka XI-XIV vekov*, Ashkhabad 1973; S. Ataniyazov (ed.), *Türkmen dilinin tarikhï grammatikasïnïn problemalarï*, Ashkhabad 1980.

The emergence of contemporary literary languages

The second half of the 19th century is considered a turning point in the history of Turkic literary languages. During this period, we have two main idioms: Čaghatay (in its late "post-classical" version) in the east and Ottoman in the west which, in both cases, were used by Turkic peoples. Čaghatay was used by Turkic peoples of Central Asia, the North Caucasus and the Volga region; historically, it belongs in the Uyghur-Ķïpčaķ linguistic area and includes many versions due to strong influences from local idioms. Ottoman, beyond the borders of its empire, broadly influenced the linguistic development of the Crimea and Ādharbāydjān (the so-called West Oghuz area).

The economic, political and cultural challenges of this period created a completely new socio-cultural situation which included both integrating and separating tendencies. Language, being one of the most important factors of self-identification, and at the same time, an important instrument of economic-cultural development and modernisation, partook of these trends in the realm of Ottoman socio-political life. On the other hand, the Turkic world further east was confronted with similar challenges but under very different circumstances. Its geographic isolation and fragmentation, and its lack of a common political centre, was in sharp contradiction with the situation in the west, where the Ottoman Empire was a strong and centralised power.

Following the Russian conquest and integration of Central Asia, one may observe two opposing trends: nationalist and local. The first one emerged in the Crimea and is closely associated with the name of Gasprali [*q.v.*], who represented the idea of language unity (*dilde birlik*) and was actively involved in the creation of a new common language for all Turkic peoples. The second one was expressed by strong efforts to create literary languages on the basis of local idioms. This trend coincided with the ambitions of Imperial Russia which followed a policy of "divide and rule" and favoured tendencies of separation. The appearance and rapid unfolding of regional written idioms of Tatar and Bashkir (based on the Ķïpčaķ tradition), of Uzbek and (New-) Uyghur (based on the Čaghatay tradition, but also assimilating Ķïpčaķ elements), and of Ādharbāydjānī (based on the Ādharī variant of the common Oghuz tradition), was the result of the above-mentioned tendencies.

The results of this linguistic evolution became clear in the 20th century, with the creation of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey. This new political set-up was bound to strengthen and even seal the linguistic fragmentation of the Turkic peoples. The creation of new literary languages, Moscow's policy of Russification and Sovietisation, the changes in the writing systems of both countries, and finally, the language reform of Turkey, completed a process which had begun at the end of the 19th century.

The immense political changes of the Turkic world which have resulted from the dissolution of the Soviet Union, have not left untouched the issue of language. We are currently witnessing the emergence of old and new options for the formulation of language policy in the newly-independent Turkic republics. For example, preliminary steps have been taken in the direction of the introduction of the Latin alphabet at the expense of Cyrillic. Such steps demonstrate a tendency of linguistic rapprochement, the ultimate results of which remain to be seen.

General surveys with extensive bibliographies: A. Bennigsen-Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay, *La presse et le mouvement national chez les Musulmans de Russie avant 1920*, Paris-The Hague 1964; E.A. Allworth, *Central Asian publishing and the rise of nationalism*, New York 1965; I. Baldauf, *Schriftreform und Schriftwechsel bei den muslimischen Russland- und Sowjettürken (1850-1937). Ein Symptom ideengeschichtlicher und kulturpolitischer Entwicklungen*, Budapest 1993.

6. *Alphabets used in the course of history*

The oldest writing system of Turkic peoples is the so-called runic alphabet, which was used mostly for inscriptions on stone discovered in the Yenisei, Talas and Orkhon regions; the name reflects a certain resemblance to the Old Norse inscriptions, but the more precise term runiform is preferred. It is widely believed that the Turks became acquainted with this script through Sogdian-speaking Nestorian Christians (Menges, 67). The inscriptions of the Orkhon region

(8th century) illustrate, in comparison to other areas, a degree of normalisation. The script has also been attested in a number of manuscripts.

In Inner Asia, which in early Turkic history was a crossroad of different cultures and religions, Turkic peoples were exposed to a large number of alphabets. The well-documented Manichaean script has been traced back to the Syriac Estrangelo, being "only its slightly modified form" (Menges, 69). One form of the Sogdian alphabet, which is also traced to another variant of the Aramaic script, was the source for the development of the Uyg͟hur script (which appears in texts of the Tarim Basin and in Dun-Huang). Syriac script was also used in texts by Nestorian Christians. The Brahmi script, introduced by Buddhist missionaries in Inner Asia, was also adopted in Turkic texts, and the clear rendition of vowels by this script is of great value for the history of phonetics. Certain texts also reveal the use of Tibetan.

In a relatively short period, the Uyg͟hur script attained a dominating role in Inner Asia and effectively overshadowed parallel writing systems; this role lasted up to the transition to the Mongol script, which was later also inherited by the Manchus. The Uyg͟hur script was also able to influence the parallel development of Islamic literary activities in Inner Asia.

The Arabic script was first adopted by Turks in Inner Asia (following essentially the Uyg͟hur writing tradition) and expanded in the following centuries, the Og͟huz literary usage of Anatolia being the second area of adoption of the Arabic script. In the initial period of adaptation, the script was infused with the eastern heritage, but local innovations quickly phased out this influence. The Hebrew alphabet was used by the K͟hazars (attested only in historical sources) and later, by the Karaims (which is still in use). A Ḳîpčaḳ group in the 16th century adopted the Armenian alphabet. The same alphabet was also used for Turkish spoken by Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire, thus leaving behind a large amount of written and printed material. The Greek alphabet was used by the Karamanlis (Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians) in the Ottoman Empire, and its use is documented by literature, mostly of a religious character, which flourished over centuries. In the Ottoman period, we further find texts in the Latin, Syriac, Cyrillic and Georgian scripts written by Europeans, and these, which include grammars and dictionaries, are of great value for language history.

In the early 18th century, Russian missionaries introduced the Cyrillic script to a variety of Turkic-speaking peoples (Chuvashs, Tatars, Kazakhs, Yakuts, etc.). Among the Altai Turks and Tuvinians, the Mongolian script was used to "a very limited degree" (Samoilovitch, in *EI*[1], IV, 914). The Gagauz, who officially obtained in 1947 a writing system based on Cyrillic in 1947, used an amalgam of Cyrillic and Latin based on the Romanian alphabet (L.A. Pokrovskaya̱, in *Tyurk. ya̱z.*, 112-13). For Tatars living in Romania, the Latin script was introduced after World War II. Turkey introduced the Latin script in 1928-9. At the same time, the Soviet Union also introduced the Latin script, later replaced (in the 1940s) by the Cyrillic alphabet. Recent political changes have paved the way for a re-latinisation of Turkic languages.

Despite these revolutionary changes, which have affected the great majority of Turkic speakers in China, Turkic speakers in Afg͟hānistān, Iran and ʿIrāḳ continue to use the Arabic script. The Cyrillic alphabet introduced into Mongolia was also used by local Turkic languages. Finally, Turkish speakers in the Balkans and Cyprus adopted the new Latin script soon after the language reform of Turkey.

Bibliography: Poppe, 37-57; Menges, 67-71. For the alphabet changes in the Soviet Union, see Baldauf, *Schriftreform und Schriftwechsel bei den muslimischen Russland- und Sowjet-Turken 1850-1937* (with extensive bibl. and a useful chronological survey).

7. *General characteristics of their historical development*

Structure. It is generally accepted that Turkic languages "show considerable conservatism in the whole extent of their known history" (Samoilovitch, *loc. cit.*). With regard to their phonetic stocks and phonological systems, a comparison can be made between older and contemporary idioms. Such a comparison has illustrated considerable differences only in limited cases (mainly in marginal languages). On the other hand, the comparison of the Western Og͟huz idioms with those of Central Asia, illustrates a certain "shift" in the articulation basis, which manifests a certain develarisation. Clearly, this has probably resulted from strong Indo-European, Iranian, influences (see A. Vambery). Sound harmony, the main element of morphological structure, has remained characteristic of almost all languages thus demonstrating a rather wide variety of realisation (Poppe, 181-4). Rupture or aberration was caused by foreign influences (i.e. the Iranisation of the sedentary Uzbek population; the Slavic influences on the Karaim, etc.; see Menges[2], 182).

While the morphological structure "is extremely resistant to both internal and external changes, the syntax is more vulnerable to influences and consequently changes" (*ibid.*). Introduction of subordinative conjunctions in Turkic languages, the original syntax-pattern of which is based on clause coordination, is the result of their long-standing contacts with foreign languages. The result of this influence varies according to the individual languages and may show a different picture at the level of the literary idiom and the spoken dialects.

Interrelations with other languages. Contact of Turkic languages with other idioms is reflected in evidence of linguistic interaction. The borrowings in their vocabulary clearly illustrate the extensive contact of Turkic peoples with other Eurasian civilisations and languages. At the same time, we find traces of Turkic loans in other Eurasian languages. The original word-stock of Turkic languages clearly displays influences from Paleo-asiatic, Mongol, Uralic, Semitic and Dravidian languages. The diffusion of Turkic peoples in the south and west, and the creation of their successive literary languages through a process of cultural interaction, left their vocabularies exposed to foreign borrowings. The literary idioms of the east display clear Chinese, Iranian, Tokharian, Syriac, Sanskrit, Tibetan and, later, Mongol influences, together with a constant alteration of their character and intensity. The literary idioms of the west experienced Arabic and Persian influences. All Turkic literary languages in the CIS display strong Russian influences.

Due to the historical distribution of Turkic peoples, their languages came in close loan-contacts with many other local idioms, the input of which has remained regionally limited. The main source-languages of the south-east are Chinese, Mongolian, Manchu and Tād͟jīk; in the north-east, Mongolian; in the north-west, Uralic; and in the south-west, Arabic, Persian, Kurdish, Caucasian, Armenian, Greek and Balkan Slavic. In addition, Russian is an important source language for Turkic idioms of the CIS. The influence of West European languages on Turkish has been very strong for a long time. At a later stage, similar influences

appeared in other Turkic languages, often via Russian. Today, we are witnessing a strong and direct West European influence on Turkic languages. In turn, these protracted contacts also resulted in the substantial influence of many neighbouring languages (from China to the Balkans) by Turkic idioms.

8. *Genetic connections of idioms: classification*

The purpose of this approach is to codify, on the basis of concrete linguistic features and feature combinations, those idioms which exhibit a historical connection and common development. The resulting table will demonstrate the relationship of the given idiom to former stages of its linguistic development.

Traditional linguistic classification of Turkic languages is based exclusively on phonetic features. This classification reflects their inner development and complex differentiation process. The division between "central languages" and "marginal languages" (Chuvash, Yakut and Khaladj), is generally accepted due to their significant linguistic divergence. However, the position of the later ones, especially of Chuvash, is debated since it reflects the position of the Altaic theory. Its followers regard it as an independent link in the Altaic language family. Its opponents do not recognise this specific role and regard it as one member of the Turkic language family.

The Central Turkic languages are divided into the following groups: Uyghur (or Čaghatay) languages (Uzbek, New Uyghur, Salar); Ḳipčaḳ languages (Ḳirghiz, Kazakh, Karakalpak, Kumuk, Karachai-Balkar, Nogai, Crimean Tatar, Tatar, Bashkir); Oghuz languages (Turkmenian, Ādharbāydjānī or Ādharī, Turkish, Gagauz); the Altai, Khakas and Tuvinian languages. Within the Ḳipčaḳ language group, according to the terminology of Menges (60), the following subgroups can be stated: 1. Ponto-Caspian languages (Karaim, Karachai-Balkar, Crimean Tatar, Kumuk); 2. Volga-Kama-West-Siberian languages (Tatar and Bashkir); 3. Uralo-Caspian languages (Kazakh, Karakalpak, non-Iranised or Ḳipčaḳ Uzbek, Nogay, Ḳirghiz).

The marginal status of Yakut is explained by the late migration of these people to the north between the 13th and 18th centuries (Menges, 52). Khaladj, spoken in northern Iran, forms a very small and extremely conservative language island, which preserves a series of striking archaisms.

New attempts at classification, which deal with transitional features that link these languages in an organic continuum, focus on the position of individual languages and their relation to each other (Menges, 60-1; Doerfer, in *MT*, xi [1985], 1-34; Tekin, in *Erdem*, v/13 [1990], 129-39). Finally, the introduction of mathematical methods has given a new dimension to linguistic analysis, the results of which remain to be seen.

9. *Periodisation of language history*

The history of the majority of contemporary Turkic languages cannot easily be traced back to the origins. In contrast to Indo-European languages, there are no written linguistic monuments which form an uninterrupted continuum. Their development was concealed by the commonly-used Islamic literary languages (see above, iv, 5). Nevertheless, there are notable exceptions to this rule: Uzbek, New Uyghur, Tatar, Turkish and Ādharbāydjānī or Ādharī, respectively. The organic continuity of these languages and their former literary idioms are attested by extensive linguistic documentation. On the other hand, the simultaneous use of these languages by speakers of other idioms contributed, to a certain extent (at least in an abstract way), to their formation. Remarkable is the case of the Turkmens, whose role was more significant in an earlier rather than a later period (see Samoilovitch, in *EI*[1], Vol. IV, 912).

The use of the terms Old and Middle Turkic for pre-Islamic and Islamic Turkic languages, attested by many linguistic monuments, and the use of New Turkic for modern languages, is an old tradition. The exact content and scope of these terms have never been defined; this also explains their varying and complex interpretations of these terms (see *PTF*, i, pp. vii-viii; Poppe, 73). The boundary between Old and Middle Turkic is based not only on external linguistic factors, which by themselves may support such a distinction due to their organic regional-historical vicinity, but is also based on internal ones (see Eckmann, in *Studia Altaica*, Wiesbaden 1957, 51-9; Poppe, 67-8). In reality, this borderline between the Middle and New Turkic is represented by a period of transition: the disappearance of common literary languages and the emergence of new, independent idioms. In the case of West Oghuz languages (Turkish and Ādharbāydjānī or Ādharī), such a transition probably occurred in the 18th-19th centuries; but for other languages, it occurred in the 19th-20th centuries.

v. Turkic languages today

1. *Preliminary remarks*

The 19th century is considered a turning point in the history of the Turkic languages. It is the period of their discovery and the beginning of a new era in their development. Systematic scholarly research has revealed a large network of living local idioms and their varying structures. Also, extensive research and discoveries have brought to light many historical perspectives of the Turkic language family. In parallel, the second half of the 19th century witnessed a break with the old literary languages. This event prepared the ground for the birth of new literary languages in the 1920s and 1930s. These languages, based on living idioms, did not have their phonetic particularities concealed by conservative writing systems (a characteristic feature of the old literary languages). Finally, the new period signals the beginning of a state-guided language policy.

2. *General survey*

The following survey, based on established literary idioms, gives information with respect to their geographic extension and number of speakers. Explanations concerning their dialectal background and recent past available in the separate columns. For census problems, see G. Hazai, in *Cahiers d'études sur la Mediterranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien*, xiv [1992], 5 ff.

Compass points, relating strictly to language territory, take Kāshghar as their centre.

A. South-west (East Caspian and South-Caucasian area, Near East, Balkan):

Ādharbāydjānī
- Iran
- CIS
- Afghānistān

Gagauz
- CIS
- Bulgaria

Turkish*
- Turkey
- Balkan countries
- West European countries
- ʿIrāḳ
- Cyprus
- Syria
- Jordan

Turkmenian
CIS
Iran
Afghānistān
ʿIrāḳ
* Genetically the "Crimean Osmanli" belongs to Turkish (see Doerfer, in *PTF*, i, 272-80).

B. South-east (Central and Inner Asia, North China*):
(New) Uyghur
China
CIS
Uzbek**
CIS
Afghānistān
* There are two small Turkic languages which do not have a literary tradition and are spoken in the province of Kansu (northwestern China). Salar is close to New Uyghur; literate persons use this language, together with the Arabic alphabet (Poppe, 49). The Yellow Uyghurs have no literary language. Some phonetic features link the languages to the Khakas (Poppe, 40). However, these isolated languages share certain common features (K. Thomsen, in *PTF*, i, 566).
** The present Uzbek literary language has a very large heterogeneous dialectal background. According to St. Wurm (in *PTF*, i, 489), we have the Ḳîpčaḳ-Uzbek dialects (close to Kazakh), the semi-Iranised and Iranised dialects (losing partially or fully their vowel harmony), and the Turkmenised dialects (called by G. Doerfer *Oghuz-Kipchak*, see *EIr*, v, 227). The dialectal conditions greatly influenced the foundation of the new literary language, which initially, was based on Ḳîpčaḳ dialects (1929-30). Some years later, the Iranised dialect of Tashkent was chosen as the dialectal basis (1937) of the literary idiom.

C. North-west (Lithuania, Ukraine, Crimea, Siberia, Central Asia):
Bashkir (CIS)
Chuvash (CIS)
Crimean Tatar (CIS)*
Karachai-Balkar (CIS)
Karaim (CIS)
Karakalpak (CIS)
Kazakh
CIS
China
Mongolia
Afghānistān
Kirghiz
CIS
China
Afghānistān
Kumük (CIS)
Nogai (CIS)
Tatar
CIS
Romania
Turkey
China
Bulgaria
* The present status and future of Crimean Tatar is unclear. At the end of the World War II, the entire population was deported from the Crimean peninsula to Central Asia, where they used, as documented by printed material, their literary language. This fact clearly contradicts the position that their language "can be regarded as practically extinct" (Poppe, 44). In recent years, they have been allowed to return to the Crimea but, so far, only a small number has chosen to do so.

D. North-east:
Altai (CIS)*
Khakas (CIS)**
Tuvan***
CIS
Mongolia
Yakut (CIS)****
* Altai is a literary language, created for the small ethnic groups of the Altai Kray territory of the Russian Federation. It unites the Altai, Telengit and Teleut dialects, which are very similar, and the dialect group of Tuba (Kumandins and Lebed Tatars) which has transitory links to the Shor (Menges, 60) and Ḳîpčaḳ languages (Poppe, 41). Until 1947 it was called Oirat, a name selected in 1917 (see Pritsak, in *PTF*, i, 569).
** Khakas is the name of the literary language created for the Sagai and Kacha peoples, which live in a district of the town Abakan and form the main population of the Autonomous Republic of Khakassia of the Russian Federation. The name itself was chosen after 1917, borrowed from Chinese historical sources. Prior to 1924, when the Latin alphabet was introduced, they had no script. The Latin script was replaced in 1939 by the Cyrillic one (Poppe, 40). The literary language is also used by the Shors, who speak a similar dialect but who lived during the years 1925-39 in a separate political unit and had their own literary language (Pritsak, in *PTF*, i, 630; Poppe, 40).
*** Tuvan (Tuva, Sojot, or Uriankhai) is spoken in the Autonomous Republic of Tuva of the Russian Federation (prior to 1944, it was a semi-independent republic). Before the introduction of the Latin alphabet (1931), which was replaced in 1941 by Cyrillic, they used the written Mongolian language (Poppe, 39). The language of the Karagas is close to Tuvan. According to Baskakov (*Tyurk. yaz.*, 12), they use Tuvan while, according to Poppe (39), "they have no script of their own and can read and write only Russian".
**** Yakut is also used by the Dolgans, who are Yakutised Samoyeds.

As the preceding survey illustrates, huge masses of Turkic-speaking groups live outside the borders of established literary languages, in addition to the exceptional case of the Azerbaijanis, most of whom reside outside the borders of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The intercourse of the speakers with other parts of a language territory varies from country to country. Certain countries which are very sensitive to minority issues (e.g. Iran, ʿIrāḳ, Afghānistān), prefer to limit cross-border contacts of ethnic kin.

The establishment of the exact setting of genetic groupings, and their relations in the conglomerate of the Turkic dialects, require further study. Research among the Ḳirghîz and Uzbek populations of Afghānistān, and especially, among the Oghuz-speaking groups of Iran, has greatly enriched our knowledge concerning language relations in these areas. In the latter case, there have been some initial attempts to genetically classify these idioms. The fact that Turkic languages, with the exception of the marginal languages (see above, iv. 8), are very similar at the structural level, does predicate the mutual comprehension of different Turkic speakers, but this is, to a certain extent, possible only within the smaller genetic groups, i.e. Oghuz, Ḳîpčaḳ and Uyghur (see L. Bazin, in *Hérodote*, xlii [1986], 106-7; Hazai, *loc. laud.*).

General surveys about Turkic peoples and languages: Sh. Akiner, *Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union, with an appendix of the non-Muslim peoples of the Soviet Union*, London 1983; J. Faensen, *Sprachen in der USSR. Verzeichnis der Namen mit Angaben zu Verbreitung, Sprecherzahl, Schrift und Publikationsstatistik*, Osnabrück 1983; L. Bazin,

Les peuples turcophones en Eurasie. Un cas majeur d'expansion ethnolinguistique, in *Hérodote*, xlii (1986), 75-108; L. Johanson, *Grenzen der Turcia. Verbendendes und Trennendes in der Entwicklung der Türkvölker*, in *Turcica et Orientalia. Studies in honour of Gunnar Jarring on his eightieth birthday 12 October 1987*, Istanbul 1987, 51-61; J. Kornflit, *Turkish and Turkic languages*, in C. Bernard (ed.), *The world's major languages*, New York and Oxford 1987, 619-44; V. Kozlov, *The peoples of the Soviet Union*, London-Bloomington-Indianapolis 1988; M. Ruhlen, *A guide to the world languages. 1. Classification*, Stanford 1991; Hazai, *La question linguistique dans le monde turc actuel*, in *Cahiers d'études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien*, xiv (1992), 5-15.

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Ādharbāydjānī. Sh. Saadiev, *Bibliografiya literaturî po azerbaydžanskomu yazîkoznaniyu (Sovetskiy period)*, Baku 1960; S.G. Memmedova, *Obshčestvennie nauki Sovetskogo Azerbaydžana 1920-1980 gg., Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel'*, Baku 1983.

Bashkir. T.M. Garipov, M.L. Rafikov and Z.G. Uraksin, *Bibliografiya po bashkirskomu yazîkoznaniyu (1917-1967)*, Ufa 1969; A. Valeeva, *Bashkirskoe yazîkoznanie (1967-1977 g.g.). Ukazatel' literaturî*, Ufa 1979; Garipov *et alii*, *Bashkirskoe yazîkoznanie. Ukazatel' literaturi*, Ufa 1980.

Chuvash. N.P. Petrov, *Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' literaturî po čuvashskomu yazîku*, Čeboksarî 1931.

Karaim. A. Dubinskiy (= A. Dubiński), *Bibliografiya trudov po karaimskomu yazîku i literature i pečatnikh tekstov na karaimskom yazîke*, in A.N. Baskakov *et alii*, *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skiy slovar'*, Moscow 1974, 14-28.

Karakalpak. D.S. Nasirov *et alii*, *Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' po karakalpakskomu yazîkoznaniyu (1925-1976 gg.)*, Nukus 1978.

Kazakh. Sh. Sh. Saribaev, *Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' po kazakhskomu yazîkoznaniyu*, i, Alma-Ata 1960, ii, Alma Ata 1971.

Ķîrghîz. V.P. Zvoleva, *Yazîkoznanie, iskusstvo (1956-1960). Ukazatel' literaturî*, Frunze 1970; Sh. O. Sadîkova, *Yazîkoznanie (1956-1960). Ukazatel' literaturî*, Frunze 1970; N. Beyshekeev, *Kîrgîzskiy yazîk (Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' literaturî), 1929-1959 gg.*, Frunze 1961; idem, *Kîrgîzskiy yazîk. Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' 1960-1970 gg.*, Frunze 1985.

Tatar. A.G. Karamullin, *Bibliografiya literaturî po tatarskomu yazîkoznaniyu*, Kazan' 1958; G.K. Yakupova, *Bibliografiya po tatarskomu yazîkoznaniyu (1778-1980)*, Kazan' 1988.

Turkish. In the absence of comprehensive bibliographies, see the respective introductions, and also R. Underhill, *Bibliography of modern linguistic work on Turkish*, in D.I. Slobin and K. Zimmer (eds.), *Studies in Turkish linguistics*, Amsterdam 1987, 23-51; H. Boeschoten and L. Verhoeven (eds.), *Turkish linguistics today*, Leiden 1991.

Turkmen. N.A. Voronina, *Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' literaturî po turkmenskomu yazîkoznaniyu (1924-1964 gg.), A (1924-1964 gg.)*, Ashkhabad 1966.

Uyghur. A. Kaydarov, *Uygurskiy yazîk i literatura. Annotirovanniy ukazatel'*, i, Alma Ata 1962; K. Öztopçu, *Modern Uygurca ile ilgili açıklamalı bir kaynakça*, in *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları*, iv (1992), 155-70; C. Wei, *An introduction to the modern Uygur literary language and its dialects*, in *WZKM*, lxxix (1989), 235-49; idem, *An historical survey of modern Uyghur writing since the 1950s in Xinjiang, China*, in *CAJ*, xxvii (1993), 249-322.

Uzbek. M. Gulyamova, *Uzbekskoe yazîkoznanie. Ukazatel' literaturi*, 4 vols., Tashkent 1973-6; A. Sh. Shukurov and D. Bazarova, *Uzbekskoe sovetskoe yazîkoznanie. Bibliografičeskie očerki (po 1982 g.)*, Tashkent 1986.

Yakut. N.E. Petrov, *Yakutskiy yazîk (Ukazatel' literaturî)*, Yakutsk 1958.

Fortunately, we possess two excellent bibliographic surveys about dictionaries of Turkic languages: A. Tietze, *Die Lexikographie der Turksprachen*, i, *Osmanisch-Türkisch*, in Fr. J. Hausmann *et alii*, *Wörterbücher, dictionaries, dictionnaires*, Berlin and New York 1991, 2399-2407; G. Doerfer, *Die Lexikographie der Türksprachen*, ii, *Sonstige Türksprachen*, in *ibid.*, 2407-15.

3. *Contemporary developments*

The emergence and subsequent establishment of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey after World War I inaugurates the era of state-guided language reform. This policy, fuelled by the opposing, but equally strong, ideological perceptions of the two states, was the determining force in the future development of Turkic languages.

Concerning the Soviet Union, see the remarks in section iv. 5, above. Concerning Turkey, after the rapid reform of the written script (in effect, in 1929), the purification of the vocabulary from Arabic-Persian elements came on the agenda. After some initial social tension (due to lack of experience of those involved), a new literary language was born. This new language has also been responsible for the standardisation of its oral format. In the early 1950s, the language issue gradually became a political affair; as B. Brendemoen points out, *dil dâvâsı* (the language affair) gradually developed into a *parti dâvâsı* (party affair) (in Hazai, *Hb. türk. Sprachw.*, i, 457). Today, instead of one central language policy, various opposing social and political forces are determining the drive for linguistic reform. In turn, this drive has resulted in the permanent change of the language norm. The linguistic revision (if not translation) of Ottoman literature, and even literary works of the first period of the Republican era, manifests the rapidity and intensity of this process.

In contrast to nationalist and Pan-Turkic movements, which espoused the linguistic unity of the Turkic world, historical developments of the 20th century have favoured the separation and stabilisation of Turkic idioms. This trend has been particularly acute for dialects which were left outside of the sphere of the established literary languages. The language territory, especially in the central area, exhibits at the level of dialects a strong standardising influence of 21 literary languages. This creates the danger of disappearance of the territorial language variants, which are particularly important in the investigation of language history. The insular position of dialects or languages also involves a specific danger-factor for their future existence. The disappearance of dialects (e.g. Litovian Tatar, Krimčak, etc.), and the endangered position of the Karaim language, are clear results of this development.

The enormous political changes of the early 1990s have created completely new conditions for the future development of Turkic languages. Nevertheless, the re-latinisation of alphabets in the CIS, combined with certain efforts to initiate a common language policy with Turkey are, for the time being, vague trends with no clear agenda. The opening of the formerly isolated areas of the CIS has placed the Turkish language in a privileged position. Turkish attempts at "cultural expansion" in these areas, particularly in the educational field, may result in the widespread use of the language within the Turkic world.

Works representing the Soviet language policy: *Mladopis'mennîe yazîki narodov SSSR*, Moscow-Leningrad 1959; Yu. D. Desheriev and I.F. Protčenko, *Razvitie yazîkov narodov SSSR v sovetskuyu épokhu*, Moscow 1968; Deshe-

riev, *Zakonomernosti razvitiya literaturnîkh yazîkov narodov SSSR v sovetskuyu épokhu. Razvitie obshčestvennîkh funktsiy literaturnîkh yazîkov*, Moscow 1976. Problems of the emergence of the Turkic literary languages in Russia and the two alphabet reforms in the Soviet Union are exhaustively treated in the monograph of J. Baldauf (see above, iv. 6), which offers an excellent bibliography and a calendar of these events. Concerning language reform in Turkey, its different stages and political background, see Brendemoen, in *Hdb. d. türk. Sprachenwiss.*, i, 454-93 (with a comprehensive bibl.); J.M. Landau, *Language policy and political development in Israel and Turkey*, in idem, *Jews, Arab, Turks*, Jerusalem 1993, 133-49.

Concerning recent developments in the Turkic world, see A.B. Ercilasun, *Lâtin alfabesi konuşunda gelişmeler*, in *Türk Dili*, no. 523 (1995), 738-78. (G. Hazai)

III. Literature.

1. Pre-Islamic literature of the Türks.

The information on oral literature of the early Turks is scarce. The first written records in Turkic languages are known from the inscriptions in Mongolia and Siberia. While the existence of pre-6th-century texts is highly debated, the first dated inscriptions are from the first half of the 8th century. These inscriptions are lamentations as well as praises of the deceased ḳag̲h̲ans or other noble persons. The script is called runic and was deciphered only in 1893 by V. Thomsen. Later, W. Radloff edited the bulk of these inscriptions. The research on these monuments as well as the discussion on their literary form is continuing. In general, these are prosaic accounts containing passages in poetical form (cf. Bazin; Klyas̲h̲torniy).

From several regions of Central Asia, mainly from the Turfan region and Dunhuang, texts have came to light through the numerous expeditions from various countries since the end of the 19th century. These texts written in a variety of scripts, but mainly in the so-called Uyg̲h̲ur script (which is in principle another variant of the Sogdian script), are mostly of religious content, and are dated between the 9th and 17th centuries. The Central Asian regions were influenced by merchants and ideas passing through the region. Thus the world religions of Manichaeism, Christendom and Buddhism found here shelter and/or supporters in the Central Asian oases along the Silk Road.

The Manichaean literature is written in Manichaean as well as in runic and Uyg̲h̲ur scripts. The texts are confessions, doctrinal works, hymns of many kinds, prayers, letters, etc. Some of them are written poems using strophic alliteration (cf. Clark).

The Christian literature, written not only in Uyg̲h̲ur but also in Syriac script, is rather limited, but the story of the Magi is a precious piece amongst it (cf. Asmussen).

The Buddhist literature is rich, but it is not clear to what extent one can speak of a "canon". Texts were translated from Tokharian, Sogdian, Sanskrit and Tibetan, but mainly from Chinese. Not only were many works of the Hīnayāna deciphered, but also, even to a greater extent, works of the Mahāyāna and Tantrism. Among the Mahāyāna sūtras we find the most famous ones, such as the *Lotos Sūtra* or the *Golden Light Sūtra*. But new compositions were also produced, e.g. a poetical version of the **Amitāyurdhyānasūtra* which is known only from its Chinese prose form. The *Samantabhadracaryāpranidhāna* was taken as a model for making similar verses. In addition to the Amitābha belief, Maitreyanism developed and was widespread, as shown by the early translation of a famous work called *Maitrisimit* which exposes the career of the future Buddha Maitreya in a way like that of the historical Buddha. Recently, some Chan texts have also been found. Altogether, by the increasingly prolific editions of new texts we get a fuller picture of what can be called Uyg̲h̲ur Buddhism. Only a few translators are known by name; Šingqo Šäli Tutung worked as the most prominent at the turn of the 10th to the 11th centuries (cf. Elverskog, with full bibl.).

Non-religious literature is little known (cf. Zieme). In addition to letters, which are not literature in the true sense, there are some poems and benediction texts which were in use for some rites. Adaptations of Greek (e.g. fables of Aesop, the *Alexander Romance*), Indian (e.g. *Pañcatantra, Rāmāyana*) and Chinese (e.g. *Yijing*) themes became known, and show us Central Asia as a transitory region between West and East.

Islam slowly penetrated into the Turfan region, where even in the 15th century, Buddhism was still alive. Besides showing the adoption of Islam, there are also some literary traces of opposition to Islam (cf. Tezcan/Zieme).

Bibliography: *İA*, art. *Türkler*, J.P. Asmussen, *The Sogdian and Uygur-Turkish Christian literature in Central Asia before the real rise of Islam: a survey*, in *Indological and Buddhist studies. Volume in honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on his sixtieth birthday*, Delhi 1982, 11-29; L. Bazin, *La littérature épigraphique turque ancienne*, in *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964-5, 192-211; L.V. Clark, *The Turkic Manichaean literature*, in *Emerging from darkness: studies in the recovery of Manichaean sources*, ed. P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, Leiden, etc. 1997 (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies XLIII), 89-141; J. Elverskog, *Uyghur Buddhist literature*, Turnhout 1997; A. von Gabain, *Die alttürkische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 211-43; S.G. Klyas̲h̲torniy, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti*, in *Vostočnoy Turkestan v drevnosti i rannem srednevekov'e*, Moscow 1992, 326-69; S. Tezcan and P. Zieme, *Antiislamische Polemik in einem alttürkischen buddhistischen Gedicht aus Turfan*, in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, xvii (1990), 165-70; Zieme, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Profanliteratur der Uiguren* (*Uygurların dindışı edebiyatı üzerine birkaç not*), in *Beşinci Milletler Arası Türkoloji Kongresi, Istanbul 23-28 Eylül 1985*, Istanbul 1985, *I. Türk dili*, 277-88. (P. Zieme)

2. Early Turkish Islamic literature up to the Ottomans.

The migration of ever growing numbers of Turkish speakers, belonging predominantly to the Og̲h̲uz branch, into Western Asia from the late 4th/10th century onwards, especially in the wake of the battle of Malāzgird [*q.v.*] in 463/1071 and later of the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century, and the subsequent formation of Turkish Islamic polities in Western Persia and Asia Minor during the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries led to the development of a Western Turkish Islamic literature distinct from its Eastern counterparts, notably Ḳarak̲h̲ānid and Čag̲h̲atay literatures. Because the post-8th/14th century development of this vast corpus of Islamic Turkish literature until the early 14th/20th century took place under Ottoman rule, it is normally referred to as "Ottoman Turkish literature". We will here be concerned only with the pre-Ottoman period.

Although the earliest extant specimens of Western Turkish literature date back to the second half of the 7th/13th century and the first half of the 8th/14th century, it has been argued, on the basis of several early works that bear the imprints of both Eastern and Western Turkish, that this written literature had begun to take shape earlier (for a recent summary, see Zeynep Korkmaz, *Eski Türk yazı dilinden yeni yazı*

dillerine geçiş devri özellikleri, in *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* [1991], 55-64). It seems, however, safer to assume that the emergence of a high literary culture in Western Turkish occurred under the patronage of Turkish *beyliks* in Asia Minor which proliferated concomitantly with the decline of Saldjūḳ rule in Anatolia after the defeat inflicted upon them by the Mongols at Köse Dagh (641/1243 [*q.v.*]) (Ş. Tekin, *Mehemmed bin Bālī'nin eski Anadolu Türkçesine aktardığı Güzīde adlı eserin Harezm Türkçesindeki aslı ve "olabolġa" meselesi hakkında*, in *Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları*, xv [1991], 408-13). In this context, the often-cited decree of the Ḳaramānid Shams al-Dīn Meḥmed Beg, said to have been issued after his capture of Ḳonya in 675/1277, that only Turkish should be used in the chancery assumes special significance [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARÎ, at Vol. IV, 620a].

The great bulk of the earliest layer of Western Turkish literature was religious, especially mystical, in tone and content. The main representatives of this trend in verse were: Sulṭān Walad (623-712/1226-1312 [*q.v.*]), the son of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], whose Persian works *Ibtidā-nāma* and *Rabāb-nama* as well as his *dīwān* contain 367 couplets in Turkish; Yūnus Emre (possibly d. 720/1320 [*q.v.*]), the renowned mystical poet whose posthumously collected *dīwān* holds the distinction of being the first *dīwān* in Western Turkish literature and who also composed a *mathnawī* of 562 couplets entitled *Risālet al-nuṣḥiyye*; Gülshehrī (d. after 717/1317 [*q.v.*]), whose Turkish works include a free adaptation of ʿAṭṭār's *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* with the same title and a sacred biography of Akhī Ewrān [*q.v.*], both in *mathnawī* form, as well as a number of *ghazals*; ʿĀshiḳ Pasha (d. 733/1333 [*q.v.*]), who is best known for his monumental mystical *mathnawī* of around 12,000 verses called *Gharīb-nāme* but who also composed smaller *mathnawīs* as well as self-standing poems; Aḥmed Faḳīh, most likely the name of several—possibly as many as five—figures who lived in Anatolia during this period, to whom is attributed a *ḳaṣīda* of 83 verses called the *Čarkh-nāme*, as well as a *mathnawī* of 339 couplets called *Kitāb-i ewṣāf-i mesādjid al-sherīfe*; and the great Ḥurūfī poet Nesīmī (d. *ca.* 820/1417-8 [*q.v.*]), whose Turkish *dīwān* played a pivotal role in the development of Ādharī poetry. On the profane side, the important figures were: Khodja Dehhānī [*q.v.*], a poet of the 7th/13th century generally viewed as the earliest representative of Ottoman *dīwān* poetry, only ten of whose poems have been recovered; Sheyyād Ḥamza [*q.v.*], an obscure figure who appears to have lived during the first half of the 8th/14th century and who is best known for his 1,529-couplet *mathnawī Yūsuf u Zelīkhā*; Mesʿūd b. Aḥmed, another obscure poet who is known for his long *mathnawī Süheyl ü New-bahār*, an adaptation from an unknown Persian work, and his selective verse translation of Saʿdī's [*q.v.*] *Bustān*; Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn (d. 800/1398 [*q.v.*]), the remarkable scholar and statesman who holds the distinction of being the first Western Turkish poet to collect and arrange his own *dīwān*; Fakhrī, who translated Niẓāmī's *Khusraw u Shīrīn* in 758/1367; Yūsuf Meddāḥ, the author of *Warḳa we Gülshāh*, which he composed in 770/1368-9; and a certain Kemāl-oghlu, who compiled a romance entitled *Ferah-nāme* in 789/1387. Well-known poets of the turn of the 8th/14th century not mentioned here, such as Sheykh-oghlu (d. *ca.* 812/1340) and Aḥmedī (d. 815/1413 [*q.v.*]), were transitional figures who ended their careers under Ottoman patronage.

The most important prose writers of this period are Muṣṭafā Ḍarīr (d. after 796/1392-3 [*q.v.*]), best known for his moving translation of a late version of the *sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ in five volumes but who was also an accomplished poet with a short *Yūsuf u Züleykhā* to his credit; and Ḳul Mesʿūd, the earliest translator of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* into Turkish. There are numerous other extant prose works of translation from Arabic and Persian, often of unknown provenance and mostly on religious/ethical topics. In this context, special mention should be made of religious epics, which originated as popular oral epics after the conquest of much of Asia Minor by the Turks in the late 5th/11th century. Written versions were composed as early as the 7th/13th century: the *Baṭṭāl-nāme*, celebrating the exploits of Sīdī Baṭṭāl Ghāzī [*q.v.*], and the *Dānishmend-nāme*, devoted to Melik Dānishmend [see DĀNISHMENDIDS] and designed as a sequel to the *Baṭṭāl-nāme*, were first committed to writing in the mid-7th/13th century, though the *Dānishmend-nāme* survives only in the later version by ʿArif ʿAlī (761/1360). The emergence of a closely related genre, hagiography, can possibly be also dated back to the 8th/14th century, though written versions begin to surface only towards the end of the 9th/15th century.

The prominent and striking feature of this corpus is the clear, though not unchallenged, predominance of Arabic and especially Persian literary norms and conventions in both poetry and prose. Continuities with earlier Turkish literary traditions, for instance the use of alliteration as an organising principle in poetry, can still be traced (M.S. Fomkin, *Sultan Veled i ego tiurkskaya poeziya*, Moscow 1994), though the supremacy of the new Islamic literary horizons is not contested. The significance of the Arabic and Persian legacy should not, however, conceal from view the real and momentous literary event of this period, namely, the emergence of an Islamic Western Turkish literature at all cultural levels, folk, popular and élite.

Bibliography: G. Kut *et alii*, *Başlangıcından günümüze kadar büyük Türk klâsikleri: tarih, antoloji, ansiklopedi*, i, Istanbul 1985 (with essential references); *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten*, Ankara 1989 and 1991 (special issues on the emergence of Turkish as a literary language and on pre-8th/14th century Turkish poetry, respectively); B. Flemming, four articles on Turkish literature in W. Heinrichs (ed.), *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, v, *Orientalisches Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1990, 258-64, 278-83, 319-25, 475-81; relevant articles in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1988-. A new ed. of the *Baṭṭāl-nāme* is that of Y. Dedes, *Battalname*, introd., Eng. tr., Tkish. transcription, comm. and facs. text, 2 parts, Cambridge, Mass. 1996.

(A.T. KARAMUSTAFA)

3. Turkish literature of the Golden Horde and of the Mamlūks.

The subject population of the Golden Horde (the Mongol rulers of which were Muslim by 1260) in the Volga Delta consisted of largely nomadic Ḳïpčaḳ Turks, who although partially Islamicised, were considered pagan for the purposes of the slave trade; Ḳïpčaḳ slaves provided the manpower of the Mamlūk armies in Egypt and Syria, whereas some of their compatriots, Muslim scholars from the Ḳïpčaḳ, such as Berke Faḳīh, and Sayf from Saray, migrated to Egypt and Syria. This may have been the case with Ḳuṭb, the author of the oldest Turkish *mathnawī* version of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*. He composed this work probably in Khʷārazm in what is called Khʷārazmian Turkish. It has been assigned to the Golden Horde because it was dedicated to its Prince Tīnībek, who campaigned in Khʷarazm when he became Khān in 741/1341, and

to Melek Khatun of the White Horde. Ḳuṭb kept himself strictly to Niẓāmī's [*q.v.*] work, reproducing its motif structure and metre [see FARHĀD WA-SHĪRĪN]. A governor of the Golden Horde, Muḥammad Khwādja Beg, was in 754/1353 the dedicatee of a *mathnawī* entitled the *Maḥabbat-nāma*, comprising 440 *bayts* in the *hazadj* metre, written by Khwārazmī on the banks of the Syr Darya.

"Mamlūk Turkish literature", when J. Eckmann published his surveys, was generally known as "Ḳïpčaḳ literature". Much of the material Eckmann discussed consists of manuals which he himself regarded as "of little value, consisting merely of translations of Arabic or Persian books". From the 1960s onwards, the attention of scholars, notably A. Zajączkowski and A. Bodrogligeti, has been increasingly directed towards works of literary value produced under the Mamlūks. The ethnic consciousness in the Mamlūk ruling class persisted through its two periods of rule in Egypt and Syria (al-Ghawrī had fond memories of his native Caucasus). It showed itself in the Mamlūks' names and their interest for the history and legends of their peoples. Thanks to them, two of the oldest monuments of Islamic Turkish literature, the *Ḳutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*] and the *Dīwān lughāt at-Turk* [see AL-KĀSHGHARĪ], with prime data on mediaeval Turkdom, were preserved continuously in Mamlūk libraries. This interest often continued into the second generation who wrote in Arabic, such as Ibn al-Dawādārī [*q.v.*], and Ibn Taghrībirdī [see ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN], historians who retold legends on the Turkish and Mongol tribes, and al-ʿAynī [*q.v.*], who included excerpts from al-Kāshgharī in his world history. If the Ḳïpčaḳ-speaking Mamlūks of the *Dawlat at-Turk* [see AL-BAḤRIYYA], cherished the earliest Turkic classics, the Turkish-speaking Mamlūk élite of the *Dawlat al-Djarkas* [see BURDJIYYA], of Circassian and Anatolian (*Rūmī*) origin, valued Yūnus Emre, ʿĀshïḳ Pasha and Gülshehrī [*q.vv.*], who wrote in old Anatolian Turkish akin to the Turkoman (or Oghuz, sometimes dismissed as a less "pure" form of Turkic) of the Arabic glossaries. Political and literary ties with Rūm had existed from the beginning of the Mamlūk state (the *sheykh* Mukhliṣ Pasha, ʿĀshïḳ Pasha's father, a refugee from Saldjūḳ Rūm, spent years in Egypt). All the preserved Turkish works written for the education, edification and amusement of the Mamlūk class are from this later period. This literature has not yet been adequately evaluated, and very little of the material has been published; this is partly due to an anachronistic dismissal as "Ottoman" by linguists concentrating excessively on the Ḳïpčaḳ remains, and partly to their absence from the Ottoman *tadhkira* literature [cf. MUKHTĀRĀT. 3. In Turkish]. The works in Ḳïpčaḳ are mostly non-artistic; manuals on archery and the equestrian arts [see BAYṬĀR], such as the *Kitāb fī ʿilm al-nushshāb*, *Munyat al-ghuzāt*, *Bayṭarāt al-wāḍiḥ* and *Kitāb al-Khayl*; on *fiḳh*, such as Berke Faḳīh's *Irshād al-mulūk wa 'l-salāṭīn* (written in Alexandria in 789/1387); Muḳbil b. ʿAbd Allāh's commentary on al-Nasafī, *Sharḥ al-Manār* (1402), is in Ḳïpčaḳ Turkish, too, as A. Mertol Tulum (*Şerhu 'l-Menâr hakkında*, in *TDED*, xvi [1968]) has shown; to these can be added three books entitled *Kitāb fi 'l-fiḳh* and a translation of Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī's [*q.v.*] *Muḳaddimat al-ṣalāt*). Under Īnāl [*q.v.*], six volumes of a sumptuous Ḳur'ān with interlinear Old Anatolian Turkish translation were completed in Shaʿbān 863/June 1459 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hs. or. 6163). Muṣṭafā Ḍarīr [*q.v.*], the blind Mawlawī author, came from Arzan al-Rūm (Erzurum) to Cairo to compose his *Tardjamat al-ḍarīr wa-taḳdimat al-Ẓahīr*. In this vast and complex work in Old Anatolian Turkish prose and verse, begun *ca.* 779/1377, completed after the accession in 784/1382 of al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*], the miracles surrounding the Prophet's birth and life are woven into a single developing narrative down to the life of his community and the deeds of the early heroes of Islam. His *Tardjama-i futūḥ al-Shām*, a free translation of al-Wāḳidī's work (partly printed in F. Iz, *Türk edebiyatında nesir*, i, 245-6), was completed in 795/1392 for the governor of Aleppo. He also wrote a *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* and a *Yüz ḥadīth terdjemesi* partly published in Iz, *op. cit.*, 27-33). Berke Faḳīh's rhymed epilogue on his sole extant copy of *Khusraw u Shīrīn* is dated 1383. Kemāloghlu Ismāʿīl in his *Ferah-nāme* adapted an Arabic prose story in a Turkish *mathnawī* in 789/1387 for the governor of Syrian Tripoli. Sayf-i Sarāyī translated Saʿdī's *Gulistān* into Ḳïpčaḳ Turkish under the title *Gulistān bi 'l-turkī*, a work dedicated in 793/1391 to the powerful Mamlūk Batkhaṣ al-Sudūnī. In an appended small anthology comprising poems, mostly in Khwārazmian Turkish, by Mawlā Ḳāḍī Muḥsin, Mawlānā Isḥāḳ, Mawlānā ʿImād Mawlawī, Aḥmad Khwādja al-Sarāyī, Khwārazmī, ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Ṭoghlï Khwādja, Ḥasanoghlï and himself, Sayf laid down his prosodic principles. Al-ʿAynī [*q.v.*] enjoyed a high reputation as an Arabic and Turkish scholar. He lectured for Barsbāy [*q.v.*] on history and related subjects, and occasionally translated into Turkish for him. For the Anatolian aspects of his universal history (in Arabic, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn), he relies to a great extent on the accounts of eyewitnesses and on his own knowledge of the country. He translated the Ḥanafī *faḳīh* al-Ḳudūrī's [*q.v.*] legal treatise into Turkish for Ṭaṭar. Sultan Ḳā'itbay [*q.v.*] left behind a *madjmūʿa* of poetry (Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2047); for his library, a finely illuminated copy was made in 886/1481-2 of the collection of poems, mostly *ghazals*, *Āyat al-baṣā'ir wa-ghāyat al-sarā'ir* by Rūḥī al-Mamlūk, whose personal name, according to the colophon of the ms. Or. 4128 in the British Library, appears to have been Ḳaradja (G.M. Meredith-Owens, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix [1967], 497). For the library of the same sultan, the sumptuous copy (in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Koğuşlar 883, Karatay, *Türkçe yazmalar*, i, 164 no. 489) of Muḥammad b. Adjā's (1417-76) translation of the *Futūḥ al-Shām* by al-Wāḳidī into 12,000 Turkish verses was made. The translator, a judge under Ḳā'itbay, also composed a biography in Arabic (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt, Cairo 1974) of his protector, the *Amīr* Yashbek min Mahdī (d. 885/1480). ʿAbd Allāh from Diwrīgī [*q.v.*], a *ḳāḍī* in Cairo, composed an *ʿarūḍ* manual in *mathnawī* form in 849/1445 (ed. T. Gandjeï, *The Baḥr-i dürer: an early Turkish treatise on prosody*, in *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, Naples 1982). In 893/1487-8 Ibrāhīm b. Bālī from ʿAyntāb composed a *mathnawī* on geographical matters, the *Ḥikmet-nāme*, for Ḳā'itbay. A Turkish quatrain by Ḳā'itbay's son Meḥmed is in the universal history *K. ʿUḳūd al-djawhariyya* (vol. ii, Istanbul, Ayasofya 3313). Ḳānṣawh II al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*] left behind a small anthology of Turkish poems by himself and others, including Ottoman court poetry, called his *dīwān* (B. Flemming, *Notes on ʿArūẓ in Turkish collections*, in B. Utas and L. Johanson (eds.), *Arabic prosody and its applications in Muslim poetry*, Uppsala 1994, 61-80). The Turkish *K. al-Miʿrādj* (Koguşlar 989) was copied for al-Ghawrī. A small *Risāle-yi deste-gül fī keyfiyyet-i khilḳat* written for this same ruler, possibly by a student *mamlūk*, is preserved in the Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 1390. Implicit in Ḳā'itbay's, and especially Ghawrī's,

court poetry was both oral and written poetic proficiency in the three Islamic languages of Turkish, Arabic and Persian. The *Dawādar* Yas̲h̲bek min Mahdī al-Ẓāhirī, who wrote some Turkish poetry himself, was a great patron of Arabic and Turkish letters [see MIṢR]. Ḳipčaḳ-speakers mingled with Turkoman-speakers from the Mamlūk cities of Āmid [see DIYĀR BAKR] and ʿAyntāb [*q.v.*], from Aḳ Ḳoyunlu-ruled Arzan al-Rūm [see ERZURUM], or from other parts of Anatolia. Some of these non-Arabs were sent with embassies to Turkish rulers (al-ʿAynī to Ḳaramān [see ĪNĀL]; and Ibn Ad̲j̲ā to Tabrīz and to Rūm). After the introduction of Imāmī S̲h̲īʿism as the official religion in Persia, turcophone poets from Persia and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān went to live in Egypt and Syria under Mamlūk protection, whilst others went to the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman princes D̲j̲em and Ḳorḳud [*q.vv.*] visited Cairo in 1481 and 1509 respectively. For Ḳayg̲h̲usuz Abdāl [*q.v.*], who spent several years in Egypt, a Bektās̲h̲ī [*q.v.*] *tekke* was built on the Muḳaṭṭam hills [*q.v.*]; Guls̲h̲anī [*q.v.*] settled in Cairo. Sarī Gürz's [*q.v.*] disputations in that city (914/1509) are documented by a member of al-G̲h̲awrī's circle in *al-Kawkab al-durrī fī masāʾil (ad̲j̲wibāt) al-G̲h̲awrī* (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, III. Ahmet 1377), containing answers which al-G̲h̲awrī gave to various religious questions and some Turkish poetry. Al-G̲h̲awrī appreciated the "dervish" style cultivated by the Turkish poet and Ṣūfī *s̲h̲eykh* S̲h̲arīf from Āmid, whose full name was Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan. His is the oldest known Turkish verse translation of Firdawsī's *S̲h̲āh-nāma*, begun in 906/1501 and finished within ten years; it comprises two large volumes containing about 60,000 *bayts*. The earliest partial edition was undertaken by A. Zajączkowski, *Turecka wersja Šāh-nāme z Egiptu Mameluckiego*, Warsaw 1965, and in *RO* (reviewed in *Isl.*, xlv [1969]). The published parts can be briefly summarised as follows. The Prologue includes doxologies of God and the Prophet, praise of al-G̲h̲awrī and his predecessors, the reason for writing the book, the reigns of Gayūmart̲h̲, Hūs̲h̲ang, Tahmūrat̲h̲ and D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd. Fols. 616a-640b: colophon of vol. i and reign of Luhrasp (= beginning of vol. ii). Fols. 672-677b: five of the seven deeds of Isfandiyār. In *RO*, xxviii/1 (1964). Fols. 874a-883: Iskandar's death and the lament of the philosophers. In *RO*, xxviii/2 (1965). Fols. 1096a-1124b: Excerpts from the stories of K̲h̲usraw Parvīz and S̲h̲īrīn, K̲h̲usraw's treasures and S̲h̲īrūya's ascension. Fols. 1152-1170a on Firdawsī's *S̲h̲āh-nāma* (in prose), epilogue with praise of al-G̲h̲awrī, his scholarly, literary, and musical sessions, and his buildings. S̲h̲arīf deviates from Firdawsī in using the *hazad̲j̲* metre and in re-adapting themes from Niẓāmī. His work is preserved in the autograph presentation copy (Hazine 1519, dated 1511) which has 62 miniatures (vol. i was completed in 1507 in the Dome of Yas̲h̲bek, vol. ii in 1511 in the Mu'ayyad Mosque) and in other mss. such as Uppsala 147; Hazine 1520-1522; British Library, Or. 1126 and Or. 7208; and Vienna, Austrian National Library, A.F. 307 (519).

Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī wrote the minutes of al-G̲h̲awrī's *mad̲j̲ālis* in the Arabic *Nafāʾis al-mad̲j̲ālis al-sulṭāniyya fī ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-asrār al-ḳurʾāniyya*, including a Turkish poem.

Ḍarīr's and S̲h̲arīf's works have been highly influential in Anatolian Turkish writing (the indebtedness of Süleymān Čelebi to Ḍarīr is known). Whereas the few literary works in Ḳipčaḳ Turkish produced in the Mamlūk lands, such as Sayf's *Gulistān* translation, are preserved in unique copies and had no traceable influence on other Turkish literatures, the importance of the much-copied Turkmen-Og̲h̲uz works produced in the Mamlūk state was considerable for Ottoman literature. The momentous events which led to the fall of the Mamlūk sultanate and the removal of the Mamlūk libraries to Istanbul soon after the Ottoman conquest (possibly by K̲h̲ādim Süleymān Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]), combined to make Mamlūk Turkmen-Og̲h̲uz literature shortlived in its country of origin, but a matter of widespread interest throughout the western Turkish world from the 15th century onwards.

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4. Turkish literature under the Ottomans. In general, see ʿOT̲H̲MĀNLĪ. III. Literature; and for the *g̲h̲azel* specifically, see below.

The *g̲h̲azel* (literally "flirtation"), a lyrical form with the rhyme scheme *aa xa xa xa*, etc., is the most frequently used poetic form in Ottoman *dīwān* literature (which is consequently also called "*g̲h̲azel* literature"). Its formal conventions are those of the Persian *g̲h̲azal* [see G̲H̲AZAL. II], as are its aesthetic norms and rhetorical devices. What elements of Turkic folk poetry may have been blended into the assimilation process of the Persian model and what interaction between folk and *dīwān* poetry may have taken place during the approximately five hundred years of the Ottoman *g̲h̲azel*'s popularity is open to conjecture. Some such interaction is documented by certain folk poems by *dīwān* poets (e.g. by Me'ālī [*q.v.*] in the 10th/16th century) and *g̲h̲azels* (or forms derived therefrom) written by folk poets from the 11th/17th century onward.

The classical Ottoman *g̲h̲azel* has five to 15 verses (*g̲h̲azels* of only four verses occur too rarely to permit the conclusion that this was also an accepted length,

these possibly being fragments). *Ghazels* of more than 15 verses (*ghazel-i mutawwel*) occur, though primarily in the early period (for example, by Aḥmedī [*q.v.*] in the 8th/14th century). A tendency to write *ghazels* containing an uneven number of verses can be observed, five and seven verses being the marked favourites. The length of five verses had become the general favourite by the 10th/16th century (cf. E.G. Ambros, *Osmanlı gazelinin uzunluğunda görülen gelişmeler. 16. yüzyılda durum*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, xx [1996], 1-8).

The *ghazel* is composed in accordance with the rules of the Arabo-Persian metrical system (*ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*]). However, not all Arabic metres were used in the Ottoman *ghazel* and among those that were used, certain variants of *ramal*, *hazadj*, and *muḍāriʿ* occur by far most frequently. Each verse of a *ghazel* is usually a complete semantic entity by itself; more often than not the verses of a *ghazel* appear, at least at first glance, to be linked to each other mainly by the metre and the rhyme. The relatively rare *ghazels* with a pronounced thematic focus are called *ghazel-i yek āheng* (whereas *ghazels* deemed to be of equal quality from beginning to end are known as *ghazel-i yek āwāz*). The best verse of the *ghazel* is termed *beyt el-ghazel* or *shāh-beyt*.

Sometimes one of the hemistichs of the *maṭlaʿ* (the first verse, the two hemistichs of which rhyme with each other) is repeated in the last verse of the *ghazel* (*redd-i maṭlaʿ*). A few *ghazels* of later date even have two *maṭlaʿ*s. The pen-name (*makhlaṣ* [see TAKHALLUṢ. 2.]) of the poet occurs generally in the last verse (*maḳṭaʿ*), rarely in the penultimate verse (*ḥüsn-i maḳṭaʿ*) or not at all. In some *ghazels* one or more verses in praise of a person follow the verse containing the *makhlaṣ* of the poet (*ghazel-i müdheyyel*). Another variant is the *ghazel-i mülemmaʿ* that is written in alternating Turkish and Persian and/or Arabic hemistichs.

The occasional *ghazel-i musammaṭ* is a *ghazel* the verses of which, with the exception of the *maṭlaʿ*, have "inner rhyme" in that the middle and end of their first hemistich rhymes with the middle of their second hemistich (1st verse: *aa*; 2nd verse: *bbba*; 3rd verse: *ccca*; etc., which corresponds to the strophic form of the *murabbaʿ*). Such *ghazels* naturally require metres that can be divided into two equal sections, as for example the *aṣlī hezedj* metre of four *mefāʿīlün*.

Throughout the centuries, writing "parallels" to already existing *ghazels* was a very popular excercise. Such a "parallel", *naẓīre*, had to have the same metre and rhyme as its model. By means of it the poet tried to prove his equal or even greater excellence. However, due to the preponderance of some metres and to the fact that some rhymes are easy to apply and very hackneyed, determining whether a poem is a *naẓīre* or not in the absence of corroborative evidence is often fraught with uncertainty (cf. E.G. Ambros, *Naẓīre, the will-o'-the-wisp of Ottoman Dīvān poetry*, in *WZKM*, lxxix [1989], 57-83).

In an ordered (*müretteb*) collection of poetry (*dīwān*), the *ghazels* are arranged alphabetically according to the last letter of their rhyme and, as a rule the poet composes at least one *ghazel* using each letter of the Arabic alphabet as final rhyme letter.

The traditional subject matter of the Ottoman *ghazel* is love, of either mystical or profane nature (though the latter is often mystically inspired and generally couched in the mystical idiom), with concomitant elements such as wine and spring, personae such as the derwish and the cup-bearer, in settings such as the garden in spring, the tavern, etc. (all aspects to be found in the Persian model). Only from the 11th/17th century onward, was the thematic scope of the Ottoman *ghazel* progressively broadened to include other topics such as philosophic or didactic thoughts, laments on fate, etc. (Prior to this there were, however, some *ghazels* by sultans and princes expressing their feelings about events of the day quite clearly.)

The *dīwān* idiom, which over the centuries became saturated with Arabic and Persian vocabulary, was, of course, also that of the *ghazel*. The *ghazels* which Naẓmī of Edirne (d. 961/1554) wrote in pure simple Turkish (*türkī-yi basīṭ*) are the most notable exception to this rule.

The lyricism of the *ghazel* was not put to the service of pecuniary aims or personal advancement as was the *ḳaṣīde* [see ḲAṢĪDA. 3], but sometimes *ghazels* were set to music and sung.

The forerunners of the Ottoman *ghazel* go back to the 11th century in Central Asia. In Anatolia in the 7th/13th century, Djalāl al-Din Rūmī's [*q.v.*] Persian *ghazels* were very influential in preparing the ground for the Turkish *ghazels* of mystical purport. The first Turkic samples of this variety of *ghazel* were written by Rūmī's son Sulṭān Walad [*q.v.*]. Some also were written by the great mystic Yūnus Emre (d. 720/1320 [*q.v.*]). In the sphere of worldly love, the first *ghazels* are by Dehhānī in 7th/13th century Anatolia.

In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, Aḥmedī [*q.v.*] followed by Sheykhī [*q.v.*] and Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], played an important role in the further development of the *ghazel*. The 9th/15th century then saw the maturity of the Ottoman *ghazel*, with Nedjātī Beg [*q.v.*] regarded as its grand master. Sultan Meḥemmed II and his son Djem were also reputed for their accomplishments in this field (as were so many of the Ottoman sultans and princes and one princess, namely, ʿĀdile Sulṭān, 1826-99, daughter of Sultan Maḥmūd II and authoress of a *dīwān*).

In the 10th/16th century, the apogee of the art of *ghazel*-writing was reached with masters like Dhātī [*q.v.*], Khayālī Beg [*q.v.*], Yaḥyā Beg (Ṭashlīdjali [*q.v.*]), Baghdādlï Rūḥī [*q.v.*], Newʿī [*q.v.*] and Bāḳī [*q.v.*]. Fuḍūlī's [*q.v.*] *ghazels*, though reflecting his Ādharī origin, influenced the strictly Ottoman *ghazel* and enjoyed lasting popularity due to their sincere emotions. This, too, is the century that saw the production of the largest collection of Ottoman *ghazels* ever written, namely, that by Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent (his *dīwān* contains 2,801 *ghazels*, the next largest collection of "only" 1,825 being by Dhātī).

The popularity of the *ghazel* continued unabated in the 11th/17th century, flourishing with poets like Nefʿī [*q.v.*] (even though this poet is primarily renowned for his *ḳaṣīdes*), Nāʾilī-yi Ḳadīm [*q.v.*], the Sheykh el-Islām Yaḥyā Efendi [*q.v.*] and Nābi [*q.v.*].

In the 12th/18th century the *ghazel* continued to flourish, the luminaries of this century being Nedīm [*q.v.*], famous not only for his *ghazels* but also, and perhaps even more, for his *sharḳīs* [*q.v.*], and Sheykh Ghālib [*q.v.*].

The *ghazels* written in the 19th century no longer attained the former level of excellence. Finally, after the turn of the century the writing of *ghazels* fell into desuetude.

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(Edith G. Ambros)

5. Modern Turkish literature.

The foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 may be taken as the beginning of modern Turkish literature because it is the beginning of a new era not only politically and historically but also culturally. The cultural policy introduced by the Republic aimed to cut the ties with the past and build a new culture which would be nationalist (in Kemalist terms), populist and "progressive". Language reform (1928) and various social and educational reforms were steps towards the realisation of this ideal. In a remarkably short time, the literature of the Turkish Republic became one of the most diverse literatures both in form and content, reflecting a variety of ideological and political stances, artistic beliefs and practices. It is possible to look at modern Turkish literature in four periods which are by no means sharply divided.

(a) 1923-38. The most prominent features of the period are nationalism, optimism and the pride of having won the War of Liberation. With the literacy campaign which followed the alphabet reform (1928) and the purification of the Turkish language, the opening of *Halkevleri* "People's Houses" [see khalḳevi] whose activities included exhibitions, drama clubs, library services, community courses, and the import of new technologies for printing, the number of published materials and literacy increased dramatically. The state policy of forming and shaping a new culture was in full speed. In poetry, numerous revered poets such as Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan (1852-1937), Mehmet Emin Yurdakul (1869-1944 [see meḥmed emīn]), Ahmet Haşim (1885-1933), Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873-1936 [see meḥmed ʿākif]), Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (1884-1958), who had emerged during the Ottoman empire, continued to write, usually with *ʿarūḍ*. But there was also a new generation of poets who sometimes formed literary circles. For example, Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel (1898-1973 [see čamlibel, in Suppl.]), Yusuf Ziya Ortaç (1913-75 [*q.v.*]), Orhan Seyfi Orhon (1890-1972), Halit Fahri Ozansoy (1891-1971), and Enis Behiç Koryürek (1891-1949 [*q.v.*]) are known as *Hece'nin beş şairi* "Five poets of the syllable". They divorced themselves from *ʿarūḍ* and promoted the syllabic metre. They were populists and romantic nationalists at heart. They wrote about nature, and in praise of Anatolia and its people. Another group, the *Yedi meşaleciler* "Seven torches", was composed of young poets in search of novelty as a reaction to the romantic nationalism of their aforementioned colleagues. Among them were Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil (1907-68), Ziya Osman Saba (1910-57), Yaşar Nabi Nayır (1908-81), and Cevdet Kudret Solok (1907-). They, too, wrote in syllabic metre but more under the influence of the French Parnassian school. During the same period, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901-62), Ahmet Muhip Dıranas (1909-80), Ahmet Kutsi Tecer (1901-67) and Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı (1910-56) also became well-known names. The real revolutionary and modernising poet was Nazım Hikmet (1902-63 [*q.v.*]), who did away with the conventional moulds and wrote poems full of lyricism which damned social injustice. In fiction, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974), Refik Halit Karay (1888-1965 [*q.v.*]), Halide Edip Adivar (1884-1964 [see k̲h̲ālide edīb]), Reşat Nuri Güntekin (1889-1956 [see res̲h̲ād nūrī]), Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar (1864-1944), Peyami Safa (1899-1961), Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil (1866-1945 [see k̲h̲ālid ḍiyāʾ]) and Memduh Şevket Esendal (1883-1952 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) depicted the disintegration of the Ottoman society, the immoral lives of religious sectarians, conflicts between urban and rural Anatolia, and also wrote sagas of the recent war.

(b) 1940-60. By the 1940s, the romantic nationalism of the previous era turned to social realism. Turkish intellectuals responded to diverse political and social trends and ideas. Meanwhile, the state encouraged and invested in the translation of literary works from the leading outside languages into Turkish. In poetry, with the *Garip* "Strange" or *Birinci yeni* "The First new ones" movement in the early 1940s, Orhan Veli Kanık (1914-50 [*q.v.*]), Oktay Rifat Horozcu (1914-88 [*q.v.*]), and Melih Cevdet Anday (1915-) launched poetic realism. They did away with rigid forms, metres and rhyme, and moved away from lyricism. In their poems they championed the little man as hero. During the same period, Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca (1914-), Behçet Necatigil (1916-79), Cahit Külebi (1917-) and others wrote on a variety of themes, developing their own styles. During the late 1950s, a strong reaction against realism in poetry emerged from a group of poets who called themselves *İkinci yeniler* "The Second new ones" and advocated "art for innovation's sake". Salah Birsel (1919-), İlhan Berk (1916-), Cevdet Süreyya (1931-), Tahir Uyar (1927-85) and Edip Cansever (1928-86) practised obscurantism and neo-surrealism. Their wild imaginations and dreams were expressed with distortions of language. More than anything, they tried to depict the experiences of the alienated individual in urban centres. In fiction, Sait Faik Abasıyanık (1906-54) combined in his short stories local colour with scenes from the everyday life of the little man. Harsh and not-so-happy realities of the Anatolian peasants and rural life found expression first in the writings of Sabahatin Ali (1906-48 [*q.v.*]) and then Mahmut Makal (1933-) in the 1940s. In the mid-1950s, the genre of the *Village novel* emerged, represented at its best by Yaşar Kemal (1922-), Orhan Kemal (1914-70) and Fakir Baykurt (1929-), and in drama by Cahit Atay (1925-) and Necati Cumalı (1921-). Tarık Buğra (1918-94) and Kemal Tahir (1910-73) reflected the interest of the literati in history through their novels, as did A. Turan Oflazoğlu (1932-) and Orhan Asena (1922-) through their plays. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901-62) combined occidental and oriental values in his novels. During the same period, Nurullah Ataç (1898-1957) wrote belles-lettres and left a lasting impression with his innovative usage of Turkish syntax and lexicon. The search for something different to replace the *Village novel* genre is seen in the works of authors like Leyla Erbil (1931-), Vüs'at O. Bener (1922-) and Ferid Edgü (1936-), while Aziz Nesin (1915-95) began to excel as the most prolific satirist of modern times.

(c) 1960 onwards. During the 1960s and the 1970s, "art is for society" became the prominent approach. Thinking of the past and trying to come to terms with it was usually expressed in revolutionary themes. Social problems and different ideological and political solutions to them were reflected in literature, so much so that politics and literature became at times inseparable. In poetry, Ahmet Arif (1926-91), Ataol Behramoğlu (1942-) and İsmet Özel (1944-) called themselves the revolutionary young poets against the bourgeois writers. Later, Özel was to turn to Islam and Behramoğlu abandoned crude propaganda and his didactic style. Atilla İlhan (1925-) combined elements of classical and folk poetry, whilst Can Yücel (1926-) excelled as the lyrical satirist. Village poets continued to provide enlightenment and live entertain-

ment to their provinces, but at the same time most of the minstrels made appearances in the urban centres. While the poems of the blind minstrel Aşık Veysel (1894-1973) came to be known by everyone, new and old folk ballads became songs of protest in the 1970s. The village genre continued with Fakir Baykurt, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (1897-1976), and Yaşar Kemal in novel and short story, but the majority of the authors began to shift to themes concerning the life of the individual and to more urban settings. Turkish workers and the problems associated with immigration, and the individual's alienation also became popular subjects. While Yusuf Atılgan (1921-89), Tahsin Yücel (1933-), Enis Batur (1952-), Orhan Pamuk (1952-), Nedim Gürsel (1951-), Selim İleri (1949-), Bilge Karasu (1930-95), Murathan Mungan (1955-), Füsun Akatlı (1944-) are among the prominent names of the era, a group of women writers such as Nezihe Meriç (1925-), Leyla Erbil, Adalet Ağaoğlu (1929-), Sevgi Soysal (1936-76), Füruzan (1935-), Tomris Uyar (1941-), Aysel Özakın (1942-), Pınar Kür (1943-), Nazlı Eray (1945-), Ayla Kutlu (1938-), Latife Tekin (1957-) and Erendüz Atasü (1947-), who emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, continue their success through the 1990s. In drama, Cahit Atay and Sermet Çağan (1929-70) are known for their plays which use Turkish themes and traditional forms with absurdist influences. The late 1980s saw the advent of "writers in prison", following the coup in 1980, and a group of "Islamic poets" such as Sezai Karakoç (1933-) and İsmet Özel (1944-) who write in the forms of current innovative Turkish poetry. Meanwhile, a Turkish diaspora literature is emerging with the works of second-generation Turkish settlers in Europe.

Turkish literature of the 1990s is more diversified and pluralistic than ever with a range of beliefs, settings, situations and ideologies; it is no longer a literature of the "type", but of the individual.

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6. Literature in Turkic languages outside Turkey from 1400 to the present.

(a) Čaghatay literature in Central Asia and Uzbek literature

Poetry in Čaghatay, called also *Türkī*, had its climax in the 15th century with the works of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*]. Back in history, continuity of Turkic written literature presented itself in a different light than today. Towns and libraries were destroyed as the Mongols were advancing. The cultural centres had little time to flourish and consolidate, either before destruction, like Kāshghar, or after destruction, like Saray in the territory of the Golden Horde. Books were only very sporadically preserved and handed down. A great deal was lost for ever, and just by chance did this or that emerge centuries later.

Nawāʾī obviously did not know the *Ḳutadghu bilig* by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib [*q.v.*] of the 11th century. He knew the name of Aḥmad Yuknakī [*q.v.*], but had not read his *ʿAtabāt al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*. Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*], of whose poems he may have heard though it is very unlikely that they had been written down at that early time, was a holy man to him whom he mentioned in his *Nasāʾim al-maḥabba*. We know from his *tadhkira*, the *Madjālis al-nafāʾis*, that he must have been very familiar both with the Persian and the Čaghatay literatures of the 9th/15th century.

Čaghatay poets living in Harāt were Luṭfī [*q.v.*] (*Lutfī sheʿriyātidan*, Tashkent 1985); Yūsuf Amīrī (first half 15th century), known as the author of the *mathnawī Dah-nāma* (833/1429-30), a *dīwān*, and the *munāẓara Bang u čaghir*; and Yaḳīnī (first half 15th century), who wrote the *munāẓara Oḳ yaynīñ munāẓarasī*. Ḥusayn Bāyḳara [*q.v.*], ruler of Harāt, contributed to the flourishing of literature, and he even wrote a *dīwān* himself under the *takhalluṣ* Ḥusaynī (K. Eraslan, *Hüseyn-i Baykara divânı'ndan seçmeler*, Ankara 1987; idem, *Djamālīñdin küzim rawshan*, Tashkent 1991). The author of *ghazals* and *ḳaṣīdas*, Sakkākī (d. before 853/1449), lived in Samarḳand, and perhaps in Sawrān, since he wrote a *ḳaṣīda* for Amīr Arslan Khʷādja Tarkhān, military commander and governor of Ulugh Beg in Sawrān. The latter had a reputation as a friend of poetry: he had the *ʿAtabāt al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* copied, writing some verses himself to complement it. Nawāʾī did not find Sakkākī's poems in Samarḳand around 872/1467, which may also be an indication that Sakkākī actually did not live in Samarḳand to the end of his life. (*Tanlangan atharlar*, Tashkent 1960; Russian tr., *Izbrannoe*, Tashkent 1961). Atāʾī was also one of the Samarḳand *ghazal* poets, though he came from Balkh and died in his home town in the middle of the 15th century. The Tīmūrid Sayyid Aḥmad, author of the *mathnawī Taʿashshuḳ-nāma* (839/1435-6), lived as governor in Khurāsān. Khudjandī, who around 802/1400 wrote the *mathnawī Laṭafat-nāma* (ed. E.I. Fazilov, *Khodžandi. Latafat-name. Kniga o krasote*, Tashkent 1976), is likely to have written his works in Khʷārazm. It is, however, not yet known where Gadāʾī (*ca.* 807/1405-after 897/1491-2) lived, writer of *ghazals*, or Aḥmadī, author of the *munāẓara* about string instruments (Gadāʾī's poetry was edited in Tashkent on the basis of J. Eckmann's edition in *TDEY*, x [1960], 65-110: Gadāʾī, *Sheʿrlar* 1965; further János Eckmann, *The Dīvān of Gadāʾī*, Bloomington 1971.) Neither do we know where Sayyid Ḳāsimī lived, of whom four *mathnawīs* were found in the library of Rampur in the 1970s: *Madjmaʿ al-akhbār* dedicated to Tīmūr's grandson Abū Saʿīd, *Gulshan-i rāz*, *Ḥaḳīḳāt-nāma*, *Ilāhī-nāma* (ed. B. Ḳāsimkhānov: *Sayyid Ḳāsimīnīñ adabī-didaktik dāstānlari*, Tashkent 1987; idem, *Sayyid Ḳāsimī. Mathnawīlar madjmūʿasi*, Tashkent 1992).

Shīrāz should also be mentioned among the places where Čaghatay poetry evolved in the time of the Tīmūrids. Ḥāfiẓ Khʷārazmī, whose real name was probably ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, presumably lived here at the turn of the 14th to the 15th centuries. The only manuscript found of his voluminous *dīwān* is kept in the library of the Sālār Djang Museum in Ḥaydarābād,

ms. no. 4298 (ed. Ḥ. Sulaymān, *Ḥāfiẓ Kh*ʷ*ārazmī sheʿriyatidan*, Tashkent 1980; idem, *Dīwān*, 2 vols. Tashkent 1981; Russian tr. S. Ivanov, *Izbrannoe*, Tashkent 1981). Ḥaydar Khʷārazmī (d. after 850/1447) also found his new home in Shīrāz; he was the first Turkic poet who, stimulated by Niẓāmī's [*q.v.*] *Makhzan al-asrār*, wrote a brief *mathnawī* of the same title and metre (*sarīʿ*) (on him, cf. N. ʿAbdullaev, *Ḥaydar Kh*ʷ*ārazmī wa unin̄ Makhzan al-asrār*, Tashkent 1976).

Balkh was the home of Ḥāmidī or Durbek, the author of the *mathnawī Yūsuf u Ẓalīkhā*, composed in 812/1409-10 or 874/1469-70 (cf. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat, *Ūzbek adabiyāti namūnalari*, Tashkent-Samarḳand 1928, 124-39).

Hence in the 15th century, Čaghatay literature was not only flourishing in Harāt and Samarḳand, widely known as cultural centres of the Tīmūrid era, but also in the southwest and in the northern regions bordering on the steppe. Well-known genres were *ghazal* and *ḳaṣīda*, *rubāʿī*, *tuyugh*, *muʿammā* and *mathnawī*, as well as *munāẓara*, the latter in verse or in prose interspersed with verses.

Though Nawāʾī himself had created an outstanding example, he feared for the further existence and development of Čaghatay poetry at the end of his life. In *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*, he called upon the poets who spoke *Türkī* as their mother tongue, to write not only in Persian but also in *Türkī*. Actually, none of the poets in the centuries to come left behind such an extensive œuvre as Nawāʾī did, and none succeeded in arousing such a great interest among the Turkic poets of all regions and even among the Persian poets. But even though Čaghatay literature was never again as rich as in Nawāʾī's day, it did not die until the end of the 19th century. Then came the time when literatures started to be written in those languages which had, until that time, only existed in dialects and which therefore had been considered inappropriate for high-level literature.

Bibliography for the 15th century: The most important survey with references about manuscripts and editions of texts is J. Eckmann, *Die tschaghataische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 304-61. Other works of a general character are: M. Fuad Köprülü, *Çağatay edebiyatı*, in *İA*, iii, 270-323; *Ūzbek adabiyāti taʾrīkhi*, 5 vols., vols. i and ii, Tashkent 1978; *Istoriya uzbekskoy literaturi s drevneyshikh vremen do Velikoy Oktyabʾrskoy Sotsialističeskoy Revolyutsii*, 2 vols., Tashkent 1987-9. Further, a new edition of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī's works should be mentioned: *Mukammal atharlar tūplami*, 20 vols., started in 1987. Trs. of his works: Alisher Navoï, *Gazels et autres poèmes. Trad. du turc et présenté par Hamid Ismaïlov*, Paris 1991; Russian tr. *Yazïk ptic, Izd. podgotovil S.N. Ivanov*, Petersburg 1993.—The texts of the 15th century were given in a number of anthologies in the 1980s.

Among the poets of the 10th/16th century are the two founders of states, Bābur [*q.v.*] and Shaybānī or Shībānī Khān [*q.v.*]. Only one manuscript each exists of Shaybānī Khān's *dīwān*, of his text *Baḥr al-hudā* and of his *risāla*, whereas Bābur's *ghazal*s, *rubāʿī*s and *tuyugh*s were widely spread, and his memoirs, *Waḳāʾiʿ* (the *Bābur-nāma*), were translated into Persian more than once, encouraged by his successors who were anxious to preserve them. For Shaybānī Khān, see A. Bodroligeti, *Muhammad Shaybānīs "Bahru 'l-hudâ"*, in *UAJb*, liv (1982), 1-56; idem, *Muhammad Shaybānī Khān's apology to the Muslim clergy*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, xiii (1993-4), 85-100. For Bābur, see *Atharlar*, 3 vols., Tashkent 1965-6; S.A. Azimdžanova, *Indiyskiy divan Babura*, Tashkent 1966; *Baburname*, Istanbul 1970; Z.M. Bābur. *Traktat ob aruze*, ed. I.V. Stebleva, Moscow 1972; I.V. Stebleva, *Semantika gazeley Babura*, Moscow 1982; *Bābir sheʿriyātidan*, Tashkent 1982; P. Šamsiev, *Bābur-nāma*, Tashkent 1989; G.F. Blagova, *"Baburname"—yazïk, pragmatika teksta, stil'*, Moscow 1994; Bilâl Yücel, *Bâbür Dîvânı*, Ankara 1995; *The Baburnama, memoirs of Babur, prince and emperor*, tr., ed. and annot. by W.M. Thackston, New York 1996.

Bābur's poetry was a model for other Turkic poets living in India in the 16th century. Bābur's son Kāmrān (1509-57) was one of them (ed. Saʿīdbek Ḥasan, Tashkent 1993), as was Bayram Khān (1504-61), a descendant of the Turkmen *Bakhor* (*Saylanan eserler*, Ashkhabad 1970; *Dīwān of Bayram Khān*, Karachi 1971; G.Y. Aliev, *Bayramkhan-turkmenskiy poét*, Ashkhabad 1969). Čaghatay poetry did not, however, survive, compared with Persian poetry in India in the following centuries.

In the 16th century another genre was added to the existing ones, sc. historiographies, which had traditionally been written in Persian only. A first attempt to write briefer historical texts in the Čaghatay language was made by Nawāʾī (*Tārīkh-i mulūk-i ʿAdjam* and *Tārīkh-i anbiyāʾ wa ḥukamāʾ*), and the structure of Bābur's memoirs was already similar to that of a chronicle. Extensive chronicles were written in the time of the Shaybānids. Furthermore, translation from Persian into Čaghatay became popular and was to develop over the centuries to come. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (1455-1534 or 1535) wrote a chronicle in verse called *Shaybānī-nāme* arousing the interest of the European scholars in the 19th century and repeatedly published ever since (recent ed. N. Dawrān, Tashkent 1961; E. Shādīev, Tashkent 1989). At the demand of Shaybānī Khān and the Shaybānids, a number of historical works were written in prose about their descent and their deeds, among them the anonymous *Tawārīkh-i guzīda nuṣrat-nāma* (908-9/1502-4, ed. A.M. Akramov, Tashkent 1967). In the 16th century, the *Ẓafar-nāma* by Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī [*q.v.*] was twice translated into Čaghatay and the *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* once (from Persian). Apart from the historical texts that were written in Čaghatay following the example of Persian historiography, a type of historical literature characterised by strong mythological elements developed from the genealogies of the nomads dating as far back as Čingiz Khān and Oghuz Kaghan, especially in the distinguished families. Examples are Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān's [*q.v.*] *Shadjara-yi Tarākima* (1070/1659) and *Shadjara-yi Türk* (1076/1665, finished by Anusha), which aroused great interest in Russia and Europe already in the 18th century (recent ed. Ḳ. Munīrov and Ḳ. Maḥmūdov, *Shadjara-yi Turk*, Tashkent 1992).

Among the poets of the 16th century the Khān of Bukhārā ʿUbayd Allāh, whose pen-names were ʿUbaydī and Ḳul ʿUbaydī (d. 1539), should be mentioned (selected poems: Ḳul ʿUbaydī, *Wafā ḳilsan̄*, Tashkent 1994). While many of the poems which the Persian-writing *tadhkira* author Ḥasan Nithārī makes mention of seem to be lost, some *mathnawī*s of the 16th century have enjoyed great popularity almost continuously, e.g. Madjlisī's *Ḳiṣṣa-yi Sayf al-mulūk*, the material of which was taken from the tales of *Thousand and One Nights*. Since 1807 it has been printed several times in Kazan (cf. *Ūzbek adabiyāti taʾrīkhi*, iii, Tashkent 1978, 105-17; Gönül Tekin, *XVI yüzyıl Çağatay şairi Meclisî'nin Seyfelmülük adlı mesnevisi hakkında*, in *Journal of Turkish Studies*, xi [1987], 133-200). Of the *mathnawī*s by Pādshāh Khʷādja (1480-after 1565), the father of Nithārī, the *Maḳsad al-aṭwār* has been handed down (extract in *ʿAṣrlar nidāsi*, Tashkent 1982, 93-117). His

didactic prose, following the example of Saʿdī's *Gulistān*, is entitled *Gulzār* (extracts ed. W. Zāhidov and S. Ghanīeva, *"Miftāḥ al-ʿadl" wa "Gulzar" dan*, Tashkent 1962; for the author, cf. M. Mirzaahmedova, *Khᵘādjā: ḥayāti wa idjādi*, Tashkent 1975). *Ṭāhir u Zuhra* by Ṣayyādī, in which the *mathnawī* verses alternate with four-line strophes, was probably composed in the 17th century (ed. Tashkent 1960).

Poetry of Central Asia in the 17th and 18th centuries was first of all religious poetry. It developed in two different directions. Bābā Raḥīm Mashrab (b. in the middle of the 17th century in Namangan, hanged 1711 in Balkh) represents the rebellious type of poetry that was bold enough to challenge all traditions and customs referring to God and to tell of passionate love, which recipients, depending on their individual views, were free to interpret either as love of God, or of the love of a woman or of a man. His *ghazals* and *mukhammas* were much read, and set to music they are also sympathetically received (recent ed. in Tashkent: *Tanlangan atharlar*, 1971; *Mashrab sheʿriyātidan*, 1979; *Shāh Mashrab ḳiṣṣasi*, n.p. n.d. [1991]; *Ḳiṣṣa-yi Mashrab*, 1992; *Mabdā'-i nūr*, 1994; Russian tr. *Izbrannoe*, 1980; new ed. of Russian tr. by N.S. Lykoshin (1910), *Dīwāna-yi Mashrab*, 1992). A quite different aim was followed by Ṣūfī Allāh Yār (*ca.* 1616-*ca.* 1706) from Yangi Ḳurghan, who intended to pass on the fundamental values of Islam by narrating vivid *mathnawīs* to the less educated people. Both his *Sirādj al-ʿādjizīn* and his *Thabāt al-ʿādjizīn* were very popular (*Thabāt al-ʿādjizīn*, Tashkent 1991). Also, the works of Ṣayḳalī from Ḥiṣār have been widely read since the 18th century: the *mathnawī Amīr-i Akhtam* (new ed. in *Ibrāhim Adham ḳiṣṣasi*, Tashkent 1991, 89-147), the *mathnawī Bahrām u Gulandām* (ed. Tashkent 1960), and *Wafāt-nāma-yi payghambar*, which is a translation of Ḥusayn Wā'iẓ Kāshifī's *Rawḍat al-shuhadā'* and which is often cited under the titles *dīwān-i Ṣayḳalī* or *kitāb-i Ṣayḳalī*. Khᵘādja Naẓar from Osh, with the *takhalluṣ* Huwayda, who died *ca.* 1780-1, lived near Marghalān (Čimyān). The poems of his *dīwān* and his *mathnawī Rāḥat-i dil* (new ed. Tashkent 1994) also found him many readers. None of these religious poets sank into oblivion. Even in the 20th century, when only Mashrab, whose poems allowed a non-religious interpretation, was integrated into the official canon of literature, the poetry of his contemporaries was also transmitted because their texts provided a reservoir of material for arranging funeral rites, which play a great role in Uzbek life.

A poet outside religious poetry is Turdī, who lived until 1699 or 1700, at first near Bukhārā, later in Khudjand. In critical poems and in a syntax close to the language of the people, he expressed his disillusionment over all the struggles for the throne of Bukhārā and the battles devastating the country among the Beks, in which he was involved himself (*Sheʿrlar*, Tashkent 1971).

Though some of the poets changed their places of residence in the 18th and 19th centuries, hoping to find a Maecenas in one or the other khānate, relative stable circles of poets became established at the courts of the Khāns and outside them. For Čaghatay literature, it was first of all the courts in Khīwa and in Khoḳand that were of great importance. Most poets at the latter were bilingual.

Information of unique value about the Khoḳand poets is contained in the *tadhkira Madjmūʿa-i shāʿirān* (lith. Tashkent 1902), whose composition was headed by Faḍlī Namangānī (real name ʿAbd al-Karīm) and given to ʿUmar Khān in 1821. Yet in the 20th century, in many cases, Faḍlī's evaluation of the texts was no longer shared, so that poets he had criticised or disparaged were greatly acclaimed. The *tadhkira* in the *mutaḳārib* metre provides biographical details about 101 poets from Samarḳand to Kāshghar, including examples of poems in Čaghatay and Persian. Highly appreciated are the traditional *taṣawwuf* poets and those who praise ʿUmar Khān and his administration. Faḍlī, too, wrote a *dīwān*, the poems of which were set to music, a dialogue in verse (*mushāʿira*) together with the poetess Maḥzūna, and two so far unlocated historical works about the age of ʿUmar Khān, one in verse and one in prose. Muḥammad ʿUmar Khān (ruler of Khoḳand 1812-22) himself, under the pseudonyms Amīr and Amīrī, wrote a *dīwān* with Persian and Čaghatay poems, which was widely known. Also, his wife Māhilar (1792-1842) was a well-known poetess writing under the pseudonyms Nādira and Kāmila. Her poems are still read in the 20th century (ed. *Dīwān*, Tashkent 1963; the Persian poems alone, *Dīwān*, Dushanba 1967; *Atharlar*, 2 vols., Tashkent 1968-71; *Nādira sheʿriyatidan*, Tashkent 1979; *Ey sarw-i rawān*, Tashkent 1992, Russian tr. Tashkent 1979). Her poetess-friend Uwaysī (*ca.* 1780-*ca.* 1845) (her real name was Djahān ātin) enjoys the reputation of being not less talented. Besides her poems in the diverse classical forms, it is her riddles in verse, very likely created for her female disciples, that are notable, as are three *mathnawīs* with interspersed *ghazals* and *musaddas*, two of them dedicated to the death of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and one historical text (unfinished) dealing with Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān's (ruler of Khoḳand 1822-42) campaign to Kāshghar (ed. in Tashkent, *Dīwān*, 1959; *Uwaysī sheʿriyatidan*, 1980; *Uwaysī, Küngil gulzāri*, 1983; *Uwaysī, Nādira*, 1993).

Whether the poet Ghāzī (d. between 1811 and 1821), who wrote poems in the traditional style and poems in which he fiercely criticised the morals of his contemporaries, and who was highly appreciated by Faḍlī, belonged to the court himself for a certain time, is not known (on him, see A. Ḳayūmov, *Ghāzī*, Tashkent 1959).

The critical line in poetry that began with Turdī was continued by the bilingual poets Makhmūr (d. 1844), Gulkhanī (b. *ca.* 1770), Muḳīmī (1850-1903) and Dhawḳī (1853-1921) in the 19th century in the Khoḳand Khānate, reaching as far as Ḥamza at the beginning of the 20th century. Makhmūr wrote narrative poems in the *mukhammas* and *tardjīʿ-band* forms, often interspersed with dialogues and occasionally close to the language of the people; in them he gave satirical portraits of his contemporaries. He liked alternating between Čaghatay and Persian within one poem. Faḍlī expressed his disdain for him in verses, and Makhmūr replied in the same way (Ḳayūmov, *Makhmūr*, Tashkent 1956). Gulkhanī was renowned for his animal tales in rhyming prose and verse called *Ḍarb al-mathal*, with critical allusions to his time. He partly referred to tales from *Kalila wa-Dimna*, but modified them. Already in the early years of the 20th century the poems of Muḥammad Amīn Muḳīmī were often included in anthologies and appeared in separate lithographies and prints. Both his love poetry and his socio-critical satirical verses were popular. Thanks to the latter type of poems and to the fact that a group of like-minded poets had gathered around him, Muḳīmī's poetry met with a great response in the 20th century (Gh. Karimov, *Muḳīmī. Hayāti wa idjādi*, Tashkent 1970; ʿA. ʿAbdughafurov, *Muḳīmī satirasi*, Tashkent 1976). The circle of poets included, among others, Nādim (1844-1910) from Namangan (*Tanlangan*

a<u>th</u>arlar, Tashkent 1964), <u>Dh</u>awḳī and <u>Dh</u>ākirdjān Furḳat (1859-1909), who integrated his ideas of popular education and of a Europeanised way of life into poetry and prose, sometimes in a journalistic style (ʿA. ʿAbdu<u>gh</u>afurov, *<u>Dh</u>ākirdjān Furḳat. Ḥayāti wa idjādi*, Tashkent 1977; Russian tr. Muḳīmī, *Furkat. Izbrannïe proizvedeniya*, Leningrad 1972.) The *ghazals* by Ḥazīnī (b. 1867), set to music by the author, were widely popular (cf. Ḥazīnī, *Taṣadduḳ yā rasūl Allāh*, Tashkent 1992).

To the historical literature on the <u>Kh</u>ānate of <u>Kh</u>oḳand belongs the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* by Muḥammad Ḥakīm <u>Kh</u>ān (b. *ca.* 1802), written in Persian and translated into Čaghatay in the 19th century, which among other things, contains the author's impressions of his journey through Russia and the Middle East (cf. B. Amedov, *Istoriko-geografieskaya literatura Sredney Azii XVI-XVIII vv.*, Tashkent 1985, 126-7; A. <u>Kh</u>ur<u>sh</u>ut, *Ḥakīm Khānnin̄ ḥayāti wa sayāḥatlari*, Tashkent 1987). Another historical work from this region is the *Tārīkh-i Farghāna* by Isḥāḳ <u>Kh</u>ān ʿIbrat (1862-1937).

Two poets were closely connected with the court of <u>Kh</u>īwa for a certain time: Pahlawān Ḳuli Rawnaḳ (*ca.* 1725-*ca.* 1805), whose *ghazals* were taken as bases for *mukhammas* already in his lifetime, and Na<u>sh</u>āṭī (also Ni<u>sh</u>āṭī), who renewed the genre of disputes (*munāẓara*) and wrote the *mathnawī Ḥusn u Dil* (1778) and a *dīwān* (M. Ḳāsimova, *Muḥammadnaẓar Nishāṭī. Ḥayāti wa idjādi*, Tashkent 1987). <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm was also the home of Rāḳim (*ca.* 1742-*ca.* 1814), whose striking abundance of *marthiyas* may be an indication that he used to make a living by writing commissioned texts of this kind. The poet ʿAndalīb (*ca.* 1710-*ca.* 1770), popular among the Uzbeks and Turkmens in <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm, wrote his works (*Yūsuf u Ẓelīkhā, Layla u Madjnūn, Ẓayn al-ʿarab, Saʿd Waḳḳāṣ*) in a form similar to anonymous *ḳiṣṣa* with its typical alternation between prose and verse, though he used the varying metres of the *ʿarūḍ*.

The <u>Kh</u>āns of <u>Kh</u>iwa promoted Čaghatay historiography in the 19th century and initiated the translation from Persian into Čaghatay of narrative works (*Ḳābūs-nāma*, ed. Tashkent 1992; *Laṭāʾif al-ṭawāʾif* by ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Kā<u>sh</u>ifī; *Badāʾiʿ al-waḳāʾiʿ* by Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāṣifī; etc.) and of historical texts. The best known historians were active as translators. Muʾnis (1778-1829) wrote the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl* and translated the *Ẓafar-nāma* of <u>Sh</u>araf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, as well as several chapters of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā* by Mīr<u>kh</u>ʷānd [*q.v.*]. His nephew Āgahī (1809-74) finished the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, continued the translation of *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, created a five-volume history of <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm, translated the *Tārīkh-i Nādirī* by Mīrzā Mahdī <u>Kh</u>ān [*q.v.*], the *Gulistān* by Saʿdī [*q.v.*] and *Yūsuf wa Ẓelīkhā* by <u>Dj</u>āmī [*q.v.*]. Both authors also wrote poems and compiled them into a *dīwān*. In Tashkent were published Muʾnis, *Tanlangan atharlar*, 1957; *Saylanma*, 1980; Russian tr. *Izbrannoe*, 1981; Āgahī: *Taʿwīd al-ʿāshiḳīn*, 1960; *Atharlar*, 6 vols. 1971-80; on Āgahī, see Ḳ. Munīrov, *Āgahī ʿilmī wa adabī faʿāliyati*, 1959; R. Madjīdī, *Āgahī lirikasi*, Tashkent 1963; *Āgahī. Atharlarinin̄ tawṣīfi*, Tashkent 1986. See further *Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb Mūnis and Muḥammad Riżā Mīrāb Āgahī, Firdaws al-Iqbāl, History of Khorezm*, ed. Y. Bregel, Leiden 1988.

The physician <u>Dj</u>unayd Allāh Ḥā<u>dh</u>iḳ (d. 1843), whose Persian *dīwān* contained a few Čaghatay verses, was also involved in the translation of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*. A successor to Āgahī in historiography was Muḥammad Yūsuf Bayānī (d. 1923), whose *Shadjara-yi Khʷārazmshāhī* included events until the year 1913 (partial ed. Tashkent 1994). His *Khʷārazm tārīkhi* is only partially preserved. Muḥammad Raḥīm <u>Kh</u>ān (1844-1910, reigning since 1863), a poet himself with the pen-name Fīrūz, gathered a great number of poets and musicians at his court (ed. *Ne büldi, yārim kelmadi*, Tashkent 1991; *Elga shāh u ishkka ḳul. Dīwān*, Tashkent 1994). He prompted the physician and poet Aḥmad Ṭabībī (1868-1910) to make up a collection of *ghazals* by 30 living poets (*Madjmūʿa-yi sī shuʿarā-yi Fīrūz Shāhī*, 1908) and of *mukhammas* and *musaddas*, whose basis was the *ghazals* by Fīrūz himself and by Āgahī (*Mukhammasāt-i madjmūʿat al-shuʿarā-yi Fīrūz Shāhī*, 1909). Ṭabībī dissociated himself from his disciple ʿIwaḍ (Awaz) Ŭtaru<u>gh</u>li (1884-1919), who introduced traits of a stronger social criticism into poetry, thus breaking with tradition (ʿAwaḍ Ŭtaru<u>gh</u>li, *Tanlangan atharlar*, Tashkent 1951, 1956; W. Mīrzāev, *ʿAwaḍ Ŭtarughli: maʿrifatparwar wa revolyutsion-demokrat kuyči*, Tashkent 1961). Muḥammad Niyāz Kāmil (1825-99) is known as a poet, translator and a musical expert, applying European musical notation to the music of Central Asia. His *dīwān* appeared several times by lithography (<u>Kh</u>īwa 1881, 1895, Tashkent 1909), and in prints in Tashkent (*Tanlangan atharlar*, 1961; *Dīwān*, 1975. On him, see M. Yunusov, *Kāmil Khʷārazmī*, 1960).

For literature from the 16th to 19th century, cf. Eckmann, *op. cit.*, 361-402.

In the second decade of the 20th century, the <u>Dj</u>adīdīs [see ISLĀḤ. 5, in Suppl.] striving for the modernisation of life, profoundly renewed the canon of literature both thematically and formally. Their socio-political programme of overcoming the isolation of Central Asia, reducing the gap with Europe, putting an end to extravagancies and, instead, orientating life towards useful things and the establishment of new schools with modern teaching methods, found its expression in theatre plays, prose and poetry. The most important representatives were Maḥmūd <u>Kh</u>ʷā<u>dj</u>a Behbūdī (1875-1919), ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat (1886-1938 [*q.v.*]), ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Sulaymān, pseudonym Čülpān (1897-1938), ʿAbd Allāh Ḳādirī (1894-1938) and Ḥamza Ḥakīmzāda Niyāzī (1889-1929). Some of them joined up in the *Čighātāy gurungi* (1918-22), supporting a reform of the Arabic alphabet and discussing the creation of a common standard language. None of them died a natural death. They were killed by opponents to any renewal who saw tradition in danger, or later by political figures to whom socialism meant terror. Behbūdī published the journal *Āyna*, wrote schoolbooks and the first theatrical play in Central Asia, *Padarkush* (1913). ʿAbd Allāh Awlānī (1878-1934) between 1912 and 1917 wrote textbooks for new schools, poems in which he advocated the idea of renewal and a number of theatrical plays (*Advokatlik āsānmi?*, 1914; *Biz wa siz*, 1923, and others). In his fascination for European ways of life and in the biting criticism of his satires, Ḥamza resembled the poet Furḳat. He wrote poems that were easy to sing when set to folk-song tunes (*Millī ashulalar učun millī shiʿrlar madjmūʿasi*, 1915-17) and theatrical plays that he put on stage directed by himself, for instance *Ẓaharli ḥayāt*, 1915, *Bāy ila khidhmatči*, around 1917, and *Maysaranin̄ ishi*, 1926. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat, the most important scholar and writer in his day, side-by-side with his activities in cultural politics (Minister of Education and Economics of the People's Republic of Bu<u>kh</u>ārā 1921-3) and his scholarly work on literature (e.g. about Bīdil [*q.v.*] and ʿUmar <u>Kh</u>ayyām [*q.v.*]), wrote disputative stories in which he addressed issues of the time (*Munāẓara*, 1909 in Persian, 1911 in Čaghatay; *Ḳiyāmat*, 1923), and plays (*Hind iḥtilālčilari*, 1923, *Šaytānnin̄ tan̄riga ʿisyāni*, 1924, and *Abu ʾl-Fayḍ Khān*, 1924). Čülpān was

actively involved in creating a theatre of Central Asia and wrote several plays, e.g. *Yārkināy* (1926), remarkable stories and a novel (*Keča wa kunduz*, 1936) [see further, MASRAḤ. 5]. First of all, however, he should be recognised for his contribution to the renewal of poetry, bringing to it more individual forms of expression. His most important books of poetry are *Uyghānish* (1922), *Bulāḳlar* (1923) and *Tāñ sirlari* (1926). ʿAbd Allāh Ḳādirī with his *Ütgan kunlar* (1923-6; German tr. *Die Liebenden von Taschkent*, Berlin 1968) and *Meḥrāb-dan Čayān* (1929), created the first much-read novels. The literary and political life of the 1920s and 1930s was also influenced by the writers Mashriḳ Yūnusuv, pseudonym Elbek (1898-1939), and Maḥmūd Hādiev, pseudonym Batu (1904-*ca.* 1940), who preferred both the syllabic verse and Mayakovski's free verse.

Bibliography for authors before 1940: On ʿAbd al-Raʾuf Fiṭrat: I. Baldauf, *Der Aufstand Satans gegen Gott*, in *Türkische Sprachen und Literaturen. Materialien der ersten deutschen Turkologenkonferenz*, Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, xxix, 1991, 39-74. ʿAbd Allāh Awlānī: *Tāshkent tāngi*, Tashkent 1979. Ḥamza Ḥakīmzāda Niyāzī: *Mukammal atharlar tüplami*, 4 vols., Tashkent 1979-81. ʿAbd Allāh Ḳādirī: *Kičik atharlar*, Tashkent 1969; *Ghirwānlik Mallawāy*, Tashkent 1987; on him, see Ḥabilulla Ḳādirī, *Ātam ḥakida*, Tashkent 1974, 1983. Čūlpān: *Yana āldim sāzimni. Roman, p'esa, sheʿrlar*, Tashkent 1991; *Atharlar*, 3 vols. Tashkent (i, *Sheʿrlar, dramalar, tardjima*, 1994, ii, *Roman, ḥikāyalar, safarnāma, tardjimalar*, 1993); on him, see O. Sharafiddīnov, *Čūlpān, shāʿir ḥakidagi riwāyatlar, wa ḥakikatlar*, Tashkent 1991; N. Karīmov, *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Sulaymān ūghli Čūlpān*, Tashkent 1991; *Čūlpān. Adabiyāt nādir. Adabī-tanḳidī maḳālalar, Čūlpān ḥakida khātiṛalar*, Tashkent 1994. Elbek: *Māmagul-durak*, Tashkent 1993. Bātu: *Yāz kuni*, Tashkent 1980.

The efforts made to shape socialist ways of life in the 1930s were at first joined with enthusiasm by many writers (Ghafūr Ghulām, 1903-66; Ḥamīd ʿĀlimdjān, 1909-44; Zulfiya, 1915-96) but later looked at with critical distance and responded to in an amazing diversity of forms: humorous folk-song-like poems besides *ghazals* in *ʿarūḍ* by Erkin Wāhidov (b. 1936), short epigram-like poems together with moving texts by ʿAbd Allāh ʿĀripov (b. 1941), sonnets by Raʾuf Parfī (b. 1943), poems which combine personal confessions with original metaphors by Ḥalīma Khudāyberdieva (b. 1948), and the succinct poems by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ which deliberately provoke the reader.

Beginning in the 1930s, great emphasis was placed on the development of prose. For one, there was the anecdotal form as derived from oral narration, e.g. that cultivated by Ghafūr Ghulām in *Shūm Bāla*, 1936. There were also the historical novels dedicated to personalities of the political and cultural life and aimed at marking off the borders of their cultural traditions, e.g. Mūsā Tāsh Muḥammadov, pseudonym Āybek (1905-68), *Nawāʾī*, 1944; ʿĀdil Yaʿḳūbov (b. 1926), *Ulughbek khazīnasi*, 1974; and Pīrimḳul Ḳādirov (b. 1928), *Yulduzli tunlar* (*Bābur*), 1978, *Awlādlar dīwāni* (*Humāyun wa Akbar*), 1988. In the 1980s, some writers began directly to address present-day social problems in their novels and stories, including Murād Muḥammad Dūst (b. 1949); Nūr ʿAlī Ḳābul (b. 1950); and Tāghay Murād (b. 1948), whose novels are remarkable for their song-like language.

Editions of the 20th century writers (especially the second half): Āybek: *Atharlar*, 10 vols., Tashkent 1968-75; *Mukammal atharlar tüplami*, 20 vols., Tashkent 1975-85; Ḥamīd ʿĀlimdjān: *Atharlar madjmūʿasi*, 5 vols., Tashkent 1970-2; *Mukammal atharlar tüplami*, 10 vols., Tashkent 1979-84; Ghafūr Ghulām: *Atharlar*, 10 vols., Tashkent 1970-8; *Mukammal atharlar tüplami*, 12 vols., Tashkent 1983-90; Zulfiya: *Atharlar*, 3 vols., Tashkent 1985-6; and Pīrimul Ḳādirov: *Saylanma*, 3 vols., Tashkent 1987-8.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, a few works of a general character should be listed here: E. Allworth, *Uzbek literary politics*, The Hague 1964; *Üzbek adabiyāti taʾrīkhi*, 3 vols. Tashkent 1964-6; *Pisateli sovetskogo Uzbekistana*, Tashkent 1977; *Üzbek adabiyāti taʾrīkhi*, 5 vols., vols. iii-v, Tashkent 1978-80; *Istoriya uzbekskoy sovetskoy literaturi 1917-85*, 3 vols., Tashkent 1987-8; S. Mirwaliev, *Üzbek adiblari*, Tashkent 1993.

(b) Čaghatay literature in Eastern Turkestan and New Uyghur literature

Though knowledge about culture in Eastern Turkestan (Moghulistan) in the 15th and 16th centuries is scarce, the existence of literary fiction in Čaghatay at that time is certain, especially in the towns Yarkand and Kāshghar, but also in Aḳsu, Ghuldja or Ḳuldja, Khotan and Turfan. Today it is seen as part of the heritage of the New Uyghur literature.

Saʿīd Khān of Yarkand (d. 1533) and his successor ʿAbd al-Rashīd Khān (*r.* 1533-69) are assumed to have been poets. Poetry and music were cultivated at the court of ʿAbd al-Rashīd. His wife Amān Nisāʾ Khān wrote poems under the pseudonym Nafasī, composed several *risālas* and contributed, like Yūsuf Khidir Khān Yarkandī, to the refinement of the musical system of the *maḳām*. However, no *dīwān* has been transmitted, and ʿAbd al-Rashīd Khān is first of all known for the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* written in Persian by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt (905-58/1500-51 [*q.v.*]).

The literature of the 17th century is better documented; many manuscripts have been preserved, though their study has only just begun. From the works by Muḥammad Amīn Khirḳatī, also known as Gumnām (1634-*ca.* 1724), the *mathnawī Muḥabbat-nāma wa maḥnat-kāma* has been transmitted (ed. Urumqi 1982), but his *dīwān* seems to be lost; it was written—as some preserved *ghazals* demonstrate—in the style of Mashrab, whom the author met at Apaḳ Khʷādja. In the 18th century, Muḥammad Abū Ṣalāḥī from Kāshghar, following the example of Khirḳatī, created the *mathnawī Gul u Bulbul*, whose symbolic figures were taken from his predecessor. The *mathnawī* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Kharabātī (1638-1730) from Aḳsu, completed in 1726, has been transmitted in several manuscripts (ed. ʿAzīz Ṣawut, Kāshghar 1985).

Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Dhalīlī (*ca.* 1676-*ca.* 1746) from Yarkand, a devout travelling poet, wrote the *mathnawī Safar-nāma* and *Tadhkira-i Khʷādja Muḥammad Sharīf Buzrukwār*, and a *dīwān*. Khʷādja Djahān ʿArshī (1685-1756) from Khudjand, reigning in Yarkand 1736-56, encouraged translations from Persian, which had been much prized since the beginning of the century. In 1709 Mullā Muḥammad Tīmūr Kāshgharī translated into Čaghatay the *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī* of Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ al-Kāshifī [*q.v.*], and in 1717-18 the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* by the same author, entitled *Athar-i Imāmiyya* in the translated version (ed. by Niʿmat Allāh ʿAbd Allāh, Urumqi 1985). Khʷādja Djahān ʿArshī had the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] translated into Čaghatay prose and wrote himself a *dīwān* (ed. Muḥammad Tursun Bahāʾ al-Dīn, Urumqi 1995). Among his disciples was Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Kāshgharī (1740-1849), a prolific writer in the didactic genre and author of the *Tadhkira-yi ʿazīzān* (ed. Kāshghar 1988). He produced one of the translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Čaghatay, although the name of the translator from 1747 is not

known (cf. L.V. Dmitrieva *et alii*, *Opisanie tyurkskikh rukopisey instituta narodov Azii*, i, Moscow 1965, nos. 87-93). The *ghazals* of the *dīwān* completed in 1747 by Nawbatī (b. *ca.* 1697), who lived in Khotan, were widely spread, also as songs (the *dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Tursun Bahā' al-Dīn, Urumqi 1995).

Like Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, the historian Shāh Maḥmūd Čuras, who lived in the 17th century, wrote both his works, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī zeyli* (1686) and the *Tārīkh-i Shāh Maḥmūd Čuras*, in Persian (ed. and Russian tr. Akimushkin, Moscow 1976, New Uyghur tr. Ḥabīb Allāh ʿAlī: *Saʿīdiyya Khānlik tārīkhiga dā'ir materyallar*, Kāshghar 1988). The great interest of the *Tārīkh-i Shāh Maḥmūd Čuras* is reflected in its Čaghatay translation at the end of the 18th century under the title *Alti Shahar khānlariniñ tārīkhi*.

In the second half of the 19th century, the potentates Ẓuhūr al-Dīn Ḥākim Beg of Kāshghar and Afrīdūn Wañ of Turfan, did a lot to preserve and promote Čaghatay literature and they were apparently interested in a great diversity of forms and themes. From 1841 to 1843, the local ruler of Turfan had three poets from the chancellery of the Beg of Kāshghar at his court to establish and refine a collection of *mathnawīs*: ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Nizārī (1776-1848 or 1849), Nawrūz Ākhūn Ḍiyā'ī and Turdī Gharībī (1802-62). The result of their work was a collection of 18 *mathnawīs* and four tales in prose. In their own literary contributions they followed ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī. Nizārī's work *Dahr al-nadjāt*, written in 1843 in the form of a dialogue alternating between verse and prose, is dedicated to the art of ruling a state. His writer-friend Nawrūz Ākhūn Ḍiyā'ī created two pieces of love poetry in the form of *mathnawīs* and the didactic work *Maḥzūn al-waʿẓīn* (1843) about human virtues. The Čaghatay translation of *Čahār darwīsh* in verse is supposed to be from the pen of the two friends. From Turdī Gharībī, a love poem and a didactic *mathnawī* with numerous dialogues, entitled *Kitāb-i Gharīb* (1840-1), have come down; the latter is devoted to the arts and crafts established in the country (editions: *Nizārī dastānlari*, Urumqi 1985; ʿA. Nizārī, *Dahr al-nadjāt*, Kāshghar 1988).

Other genres seem to have evolved mainly thanks to Russian influence, and comprise epic poems about real events of the time and stories in prose. Examples are the works by Mulla Bilāl Nāẓim (1823-1900) from Ghuldja: *Ghazāt dar mulūk-i Čīn* in verse and prose (1875, ed. N.N. Pantusov 1880 at Kazan), the fictional satire *Čañmurza Yūsuf Khān* (1881) and the narration *Nuzugum* (about the woman singer of the same name in the uprising of 1826). Bilāl Nāẓim also wrote traditional *ghazals* (ed. *Ghazaliyyāt*, Urumqi 1987, Russian tr. of his works Tashkent 1982, Kazak tr. Alma Ata 1985).

In the 1920s and 1930s, educated people engaged in public activities in a number of towns that were comparable to what the Djadīdīs did in the western parts of Turkestan. They advocated a reform of general education; established theatres, being themselves actors and directors; wrote political poetry and socio-critical dramas, and engaged in journalism. Some of them died violently, such as ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Uyghur (1901-33), Luṭf Allāh Muṭallib (1922-45) and ʿAbd Allāh (Ablay) Rūzī (1920-45). Editions: Luṭf Allāh Muṭallib: *Muhabbat wa nafrat*, 1956; *Atharlari*, Urumqi 1982. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Uyghur: *Shiʿrlari*, Urumqi 1986; see on him, *ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Uyghur wa uniñ adabiyātimizdagi urni*, Urumqi 1988.

Writers of prose and drama were Dhu 'l-Nūn Ḳādirī (b. 1911) and Sayf al-Dīn ʿAzīzī (b. 1915). While the authors were at first devoted to social questions such as the need for education and the oppression of women, they later wrote historical dramas and novels, e.g. the musical drama *Amān Nisā' Khān* in 1980 and the historical novel *Satuḳ Bughra Khān* in 1987 by Sayf al-Dīn ʿAzīzī. Among prose writers of the following generation, the names Zordun Ṣābir (b. 1938) and Muḥammad Baghrash (b. 1952) should be mentioned.

The poets Alḳam Akhtam (b. 1922) and Turghun Almās (b. 1924) preferred writing syllabic verse, while Nīm Shahīd (1906-72), Aḥmad Ḍiyā'ī (b. 1913), ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Tilashev Ötkür (1923-95), and Tayibdjān ʿAlīev (Eliyop) (1930-89) wrote in *ʿarūḍ* as well. Editions: *Aḥmad Ḍiyā'ī atharlari*, Urumqi 1988; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Tilashev Ötkür, *Tarim boylari*, 2 vols. Urumqi 1948.

While the Uyghurs of Eastern Turkestan after a short interim period (the Latin alphabet from 1965 to 1984) have gone back to using a (reformed) form of Arabic script, the Uyghurs in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, exiles or native-born, write their literary works in Cyrillic. Uyghur literature in Kazakhstan (still in Arabic script) began with ʿÖmür Muḥammadī (1906-31). In the second half of the 20th century this development was continued by the prose writers Ḍiyā' Ṣamadī (b. 1914) (*Tallanma atharlar*, Alma Ata 1975, Russian tr. *Izbrannoe*, 2 vols. Alma Ata 1986) and Djamāl al-Dīn Bosaḳov (b. 1918), and by the poets Khidhmat ʿAbdullin (b. 1925), Khalīl Hamrāev (b. 1928) and others.

Bibliography: ʿU. Muḥammad Ākhūn (Mamatākhunov), *Uyghur adabiyāti klassiklari*, Tashkent 1960; M.K. Khamraev, *Vekov neumirayushčee slovo*, Alma Ata 1969; *Uyghur klassik adabiyātidin namūnalar*, Urumqi 1980; Sharīf al-Dīn ʿÖmür, *Uyghur klassik adabiyāti tārīkhidin očerkler*, Urumqi 1981; *Uyghur adabiyātiniñ kiskiče tārīkhi*, Alma Ata 1983; *Ḳadīm uyghur yazma yādigārlikliridin tallanma*, Urumqi 1983; Nūr Muḥammad Zamān, *Uyghur ḥādirki zamān adabiyātidin lekciyalar*, Urumqi 1983; Muḥammad Pūlād, *Uyghur adabiyātida proza*, Urumqi 1985; *Uyghur sovet adabiyātiniñ tārīkhi*, Alma Ata 1986; Nūr Muḥammad Zamān, *Uyghur adabiyāti tārīkhi*, iv, *Uyghur ḥādirki zamān adabiyāti kismi*, Urumqi 1988; Sharīf al-Dīn ʿÖmür, *Uyghurlarda klassik adabiyāt*, Urumqi 1988; S. Mollaudov, *XVIII ʿaṣir uyghur poėziyasi*, Alma Ata 1990; *Uyghur adabiyāti tārīkhi*, ii-iii, Urumqi 1993; Amīndjān Aḥmadī, *Uyghur adabiyāti tārīkhidaki namāyandalar*, Urumqi 1996.

(c) Literature in Ādharī (second half of the 20th century; for its previous development, see ĀDHARĪ. ii. Literature)

The intensive debates in literature in the 19th and early 20th centuries about the social and intellectual development of Ādharbāydjān had come to an end by the late 1920s. Most of the issues that were now under discussion in all genres of literature had been raised earlier (educational problems, predominance of a conservative clergy, lack of rights for women, etc.). But now discussions were narrowed to an almost one-dimensional perspective without admitting any alternative. Literature undertook to explain, justify and illustrate the changes that were taking place in the society. Other representatives were anxious to visualise history by depicting outstanding personalities: Samed Wurgun, real name Wekīlov (1906-56), wrote a drama *Wāgif* (1938) on the 18th century Ādharī poet Mulla Panāh Wāgif. The renaissance of Shāmil (1798-1871 [*q.v.*]), who had become famous in the Caucasian wars, allowed Mehdī Ḥüseyn (1909-65) to write a historical drama about him in 1941. The 800th anniversary of the Persian poet Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] from Gandja prompted Mehdī Ḥüseyn to write the

drama *Niẓāmī* (1940), and S. Wurgun the drama *Ferhād we Shīrīn* (1941). Further examples are the verse drama *Khākānī* (1955) about the highly controversial 12th century Persian poet of the same name from Shirwān [*q.v.*] by Meḥemmed Raḥīm, real name Ḥüseynov (1907-77), or the epic poem *Nātewān* (1962) on the 19th century poetess by the same author. Ilyas Efendiyev (b. 1914), known for his lyrical prose and dramas, wrote *Khūrshīdbānū Nātewān*, a drama about the poetess (1982). The 14th century religious rebel-poet Nesīmī [*q.v.*] became an object of admiration in the 1970s. The writer Ḳābil (Gabil), real name Imāmwerdiyev (b. 1926), published a three-volume verse novel entitled *Nesīmī* (1970-4), and the prose writer ʿĪsā Ḥüseynov (b. 1928) dedicated his novel *Mahsher* as well as a film script to the poet. Prose and drama of the famous literary reformer Feth ʿAlī Ākhūndzāde [*q.v.*] had never ceased being alive in the memory of the Ādharī intellectuals, who chose different ways of approaching him (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḥaḳwerdiyev in the drama *Fantaziya* 1912, ʿAbd Allāh Shā'iḳ in the drama *Aldanmish ulduzlar*). Chances and limits in history, the ruling powers and the poet's farsightedness, were the themes that in the 1970s aroused the authors' interest in Ākhūndzāde's fate and in his works, as e.g. in the long drama *Ulduzlar görüshünde* (1979) by Altay Memmedov (b. 1930) or in the novel *Feth ʿAlī (Feteli) fethi* (1986, German tr. 1986) by Čingiz Ḥüseynov (b. 1929).

Reception of the epic *Kitāb-i Dedem Ḳorḳud* was made difficult by the arguments that were raised against it in the highly-politicised discussion about epics of the 1950s. Interest in the epic figures was great in the 1970s and 1980s when the cultural-political climate allowed more liberal discussions. Nebī Khezrī, real name Babayev (b. 1924), composed a verse drama with the figures from *Kitāb-i Dedem Ḳorḳud*, and Altay Memmedov (b. 1930) wrote the comedy *Deli Domrul* (1981). In dramatic art, contemporary comedies, besides the historical theatre plays, were particularly popular, e.g. those by Thābit Raḥmān, real name Maḥmūdov (1910-70), and by Mīrzā Ibrāhīmov (b. 1911).

Nebī Khezrī dedicated his long poem *Heykelsiz abīde* (1980) to the problem of the original texts by the Ādharī poet Mīrzā Shafīʿ Wāḍiḥ (Wazeh), who gained renown as a poet through Friedrich Bodenstedt's free adaptations, being missing.

In the 1970s, prose in Ādharī was beginning to adopt various novelistic techniques of world literature and writers gradually took to choosing their themes freely. The inclusion of ancient, repeatedly-treated legendary materials in modern prose gives those stories and novels a deeper dimension. An example is the novel *Mahmud we Meryem* (1983, German tr. 1988) by Elčin, real name Efendiyev (b. 1942), about the love between a Christian woman and a Muslim man, a theme that is very often topicalised in Ādharī literature. Čingiz Ḥüseynov writes socio-critical novels in which the technique of interior monologues is used to regard things from different perspectives. Well-known story writers are Ekrem Eylisli, real name Nā'ibov (b. 1937), and Anar, real name Riḍā'ev (Rzayev, b. 1938).

Bibliography: M.F. Köprülü, art. *Azeri edebiyatinin tekâmülü*, in *İA*, ii, 129-51; A. Caferoğlu, *Die aserbeidschanische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 635-99; *Ādharbāydjān edebiyyāti tārīkhi*, 3 vols., Baku 1960; *Očerk istorii azerbaydžanskoy sovetskoy literaturî*, Moscow 1963; M. Arif, *Istoriya azerbaydžanskoy literaturî. Kratkiy očerk*, Baku 1971; F. Köčerli, *Ādharbāydjān edebiyyāti*, 2 vols. Baku 1978-81; M.A. Dadash-zade, *Azerbaydžanskaya literatura*, Moscow 1979; A. Memmedov, *Ādharbāydjān bedīʿī nesri*, Baku 1983; *Ādharbāydjān sovet edebiyyāt shünāslïghï 1920-1975. Bibliografiya*, Baku 1983; *Ādharbāydjān sovet yazučïlarï*, Baku 1987; *Ādharbāydjān sovet edebiyyātï*, Baku 1988. Anthology of poetry and mythological texts: *Poétî Azerbaydžana*, Leningrad 1970; *Ādharbaydjan mifoloži matnleri*, Baku 1988.

On Āzerī in Iran. A. Billuri, *Razvitie realističeskoy demokratičeskoy poézii iranskogo Azerbaydžana*, Baku 1972; *XX asr Djanūbī Ādharbaydjan edebiyyātïnda demokratik ideyalar (1900-1985-dji iller)*, Baku 1990.

(d) Turkmen literature

The first texts which the Turkmen claim as part of their tradition are written in Čaghatay and date back to the 15th century. In 1464 Wafā'ī (Wepā'ī) from the Yomud tribe put his poems together in the book *Rawnaḳ al-islām*. Yet the literary tradition was not extensive and continuous until the 18th century. Most poets of that time had enjoyed a *madrasa* education (at Khīwa and, more rarely, Bukhārā), but they were also familiar with popular poetry, so that they were in command of both the *ʿarūḍ* and the syllabic verse and created poetry in both manners. Many used to recite their poems singing to the *dutar*. Their works were partly handed down orally and partly as recently written manuscripts. Up to the 20th century, bibliographical data for the authors can only be taken as approximate.

The didactic poems by Āzādī, whose real name was Dawlat Muḥammad (Dövletmammet, 1700-60), were compiled in the volume *Waʿẓ-i āzād* (ed. Ashkhabad 1962, and more recently, *Saylanan eserler*, Ashkhabad 1982). His son Makhdūmḳulī [*q.v.*] (Magtïmgulï), pseudonym Firāḳī (Pïragï, 1733-82), whom the Turkmen see as one of the founders of their literature, wrote eschatological and socio-critical poems as well as love poems (recent ed., *Saylanan eserler*, 2 vols., Ashkhabad 1983; *Baghishla bizni*, Ashkhabad 1990). Makhdūmḳulī's disciple Sayyidī (Seydī, 1775-1836, Russian tr. *Izbrannoe*, Moscow 1976), and his nephew Dhalīlī (Dhelīlī, 1795-1850, *Saylanan eserler*, Ashkhabad 1982), followed the kind of poetry of their teacher. In the eyes of the Turkmen, ʿAndalīb belongs to their literature as well (see section (a), above). In the 18th and 19th centuries some of the singers of epic poems (*dastān*), which until then were considered as anonymous, made themselves known as authors. The most famous among them are Shāhbende, real name ʿAbd Allāh (1720-1800) with *Shāh Bahrām* (ed. Ashkhabad 1943, 1966, 1978), *Gul u bulbul* (ed. Ashkhabad 1940, 1948), *Ṣayyād wa Hamrāh*; Maʿrūfī (Magrupī), real name Ḳurbān ʿAlī (1735-95), with *Yūsuf wa Aḥmad* (ed. Ashkhabad 1943, 1995), *Sayf al-Mulūk wa Madḥ al-Djamāl* (ed. Ashkhabad 1943, 1979) and other epic poems; Shaydā'ī (1730-1800) with *Gul u Ṣanawbar* (ed. 1943, 1978); Molla Nafas (Nepes, 1810-62) with *Ẓuhra wa Ṭāhir* (ed. Ashkhabad 1963). Strong satirical elements are contained in the poems by Kemīne, real name Maḥmūd Walī (1770-1840), who, in the course of time, became surrounded with anecdotes comparable to those about Khʷādja Naṣr al-Dīn (ed. *Eserler yïgïndïsï*, Ashkhabad 1971; *Saylanan eserler*, Ashkhabad 1991). His style was followed by Körmolla (1872-1934) and Mollamurd (1879-1930, ed. *Shïgïrlar*, Ashkhabad 1967, *Goshgular*, Ashkhabad 1986). At times, poets rose above the tribal feuds mourning the sacrifice of life, among them Makhdūmḳulī, Sayyidī and Miskīn Ḳïlïč (Misgingïlïč) (1850-1906).

Forms of literary reception remained for many decades in the 20th century almost the same as in the past, though attempts were made to find new

genres. For instance, authors continued to recite their poems themselves to the listeners, being even ready to modify their poems to meet the demands of their audiences for a "happy ending" instead of a sad one. Of the novel in verse *Söygi* (3 vols. 1945-61) by the poet Āmān Kekilov (1912-74), audiences are said to have learnt lengthy sections of the text by heart. The first stories and plays were written in the 1920s, and the first novels in the 1930s. The themes were related to those tasks that politicians declared as being acute and significant. Berdi Kerbabayev (1894-1974) and Khîḍîr Deryāyev (b. 1905) are among the first prose writers, Ata Gawshudov (1903-53) among the first playwrights. Both new and traditional materials were dealt with in the dramas, though the mythological elements tended to be weakened and what was open to realistic interpretation tended to be enhanced, because simplicity and educational effects were sought. The writers responded to the politically-minded literary standard by modifying their works, just as they used to respond to the demands from the audience. Thus Deryāyev worked on his novel *Ikbāl*, modifying and expanding it, from 1937 to 1970, and Kerbabayev on *Aygîtlî edim* during the years 1940 to 1954. In the 1940s, authors began to revive the figure of Makhdūmḳulî and his poetry, like Nūr Murād Sarîkhānov (1906-44) in the story *Kitāb*, Kerbabayev in the drama *Khalḳ shā'iri* (*shakhîri*) (1943), and Ḳîlîč Ḳulîyev (Gîlîč Gulîyev, b. 1913) in the novel *Yowuz günleri* (1964). The writer Kemīne is the central figure of the story *Kîrk teñne* (1961) by Ḳurbāndurdî Ḳurbānṣaḥḥatov (Gurbandurdî Gurbansekhetov, b. 1919). It was only towards the end of the century that 'Andalīb, who used to write about religious subjects, became the central figure of the novel *'Andalīb* by Nūrî Altyev. A new figure is the peaceful singer, solely convincing by his art, in the stories *Shukūr Bakhshî* (1940) by Sarîkhānov and *Salančak muḳāmî* (1978) by Atadjān Tagan (b. 1940).

In the literature of the 1970s, the short lyrical poem became popular, side-by-side with the epic poems full of action of the past decades.

Bibliography (A. = Ashkhabad): J. Benzing, *Die türkmenische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 721-41. Since the 1960s, the following reference books have been published in Ashkhabad and Moscow: *Türkmen sovet edebiyātînîñ tārîkhî boyunča očerk*, 2 vols. A. 1958-62; *XVIII-XIX 'aṣîr türkmen edebiyatînîñ tārîkhî boyunča očerkler*, A. 1967; *IX-XVII 'aṣîr türkmen edebiyatînîñ shā'irlarî. Spravočnik*, A. 1967; *Türkmen edebiyatînîñ tārîkhî*, 6 vols. A. 1975-84; *Očerk istorii turkmenskoy literaturî*, Moscow 1980; Sh. Geldieva, *Türkmen sovet edebiyātînda povest' žanrînîñ döreyshi hem ösüshi*, A. 1985; K. Djum'aev, *Türkmen sovet prozasînîñ döreyshi we ösüshi*, A. 1986; Sh. Geldieva, *Ḥādirki zamān türkmen povestleri*, A. 1989; M. Ḳurbānṣaḥḥadov (Gurbansekhedov), *Türkmen romanînîñ kemāla gelmegi*, A. 1990.

(e) Kirgiz literature

Until the 20th century, Kirgiz literature was orally narrated literature. In the 19th century, the types of poet *akîn* and *îrčî* composed laments about the loss of their free life, e.g. *Ẓār zamān* by Mulla (Moldo) Ḳîlîč (1866-1917); historical songs about the uprising in 1916 and its consequences were composed by Isḥāḳ (Isaḳ) Shaybekov (1860-1957); songs about an earthquake, interpreted as sent by God, by Shaybekov and Khalḳ (Ḳalîk) Akîyev (1883-1953); laments of young women married against their will, and fables in verse by Togoloḳ Moldo (1860-1942); didactic poems by Toḳtogul Satîlganov (1864-1933), and antiphones (*aytîsh*) about diverse themes. The texts of some of the singers were edited in Frunze: Togoloḳ Moldo, *Čîgarmalar*, 2 vols. 1954-5, 1970; Ḳ. Akîyev, *Tandalgan îrlar*, 1954, 1958, *Tandalgan Čîgarmalar*, 1972; Isḥāḳ Shaybekov, *Isaḳtîn îrlarî*, 1955; Toḳtogul Satîlganov, *Toḳtogul, Čîgarmalar*, 2 vols. 1968.

Besides shorter epics, the long epic *Manas* [*q.v.*] plays a great role. It was recorded and published by W. Radloff (*Obraztsî narodnoy literaturî severnîkh tyurkskikh plemen, čast' v*, St. Petersburg 1985) and republished and commented by A. Hatto (*The Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, Wiesbaden 1990). In the new versions by the *manasčîs* Sagîmbay Orozbaḳuulu (1867-1930), Sayaḳbay Ḳaralayev (1894-1971) and others, the epic is said to consist of up to 500,000 lines.

In the 1920s and 1930s, many writers preferred those genres whose medium is the spoken word or singing, like poems, dramas and operas; among them was Ḳāsîm Tînistanov (1901-38), poet and writer of textbooks, whose poems (*Ḳāsîm îrlarînîn djîynagî*, 1925) and dramatic scenes were never again published or staged in the 20th century after his execution. The poems and epics by 'Alī (Aalî) Toḳombayev (1904-88) were closely associated with the political issues of the day. A prominent figure in his works is the old man, who was to play a great part in the prose of the coming years. Together with Ḳ. Malikov, Toḳombayev wrote the libretto for the opera *Manas*, 1946. Ḳubaničbek Malikov (1911-78) wrote poems and epics, and wrote libretti for several operas on the basis of the *Manas* epic: *Ayčürök*, 1939, in co-authorship with Djūmard (Djoomart) Bökönbayev (1910-44) and Yūsuf (Djusup) Turusbekov (1910-43); and *Seytek*, 1941. In 1958, on the basis of a previous version by Bökönbayev, he wrote a libretto about the well-known singer Toḳtogul. Episodes from the life of the singer are the material for the drama by Ḳ. Malikov, *Aylangan toonun bürkütü*, 1964.

Compared to epics, prose was seen as relatively open in content and style, hence authors began in the late 1920s to reflect in it the political and social changes of the century. Russian (Gorky, Sholokhov) and Kazak literatures were undeniable models, yet writers were trying to combine the familiar motivations and figures from the traditional oral literature with the new kind of narration. Ethnographic details were woven in a more or less artful manner. In a paradigmatic way, the story *Adjar* (1928) by Ḳāsim 'Alī (Ḳasîmalî) Bayalinov (1902-80) tells the destiny of those Kirgiz who took flight to Sinkiang (Xinjiang) when the uprising of 1916 was crushed, a topic that was later repeatedly dealt with (in the story *Azamattar* by Ḳ. Malikov, 1938 and in a new version of 1977, in the verse novel *Tañ aldinda* by 'A. Toḳombayev, 1935-47 and in a new version of 1962). Notable as authors of prose are also Ḳāsim 'Alī Djāntöshev (1904-68), with the story *Eki djash* (1938) and the novel *Ḳanîbek* (ed. 4 vols. 1939-58), as well as Tügölbay Sîdîḳbekov (b. 1912) with several novels, including *Bizdin zamandîn kishileri* (1952), *Too arasînda* (1955), *Ẓayptar* (1962-66) and the autobiographic novel *Djol* (1982). In the 1960s, new themes were adopted, to be shaped into historical stories. Ḳāsim Ḳā'imov (1926-89) wrote the novel *Atay* (1961) about the musician of the same name, and Tölögön Ḳāsimbekov (b. 1931), in the novel *Sîngan ḳîlîč* (1966), treated of the relationship between the Kirgiz and the Khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*] in the 19th century. The stories and novels by Čîñgîz Aytmatov (b. 1928), first in Kirgiz and later in Russian, were translated into many languages of the world. He had the power to win readers over because he abandoned the friend-enemy political cliché, daring to set

forth a critical view of fundamental decisions taken in the recent past, and creating strong poetical pictures of the ordinary and the extraordinary in everyday life, which he took from Kirgiz traditions, interpreting them in his own individual style. The best known are *Djamīla*, 1959; *Gülsarat*, 1966; *Ak keme*, 1970; *I dol'she veka dlitsya den'* ("The day lasts more than a hundred years"), 1982; and *Plakha*, 1986.

Following Aytmatov and building on experiences in film production, writers in the 1960s and 1970s put ordinary people, their histories and psychological motivations, at the centre of their tales, e.g. Ḳāsim Ḳā'imov, Āsānbek Stamov (b. 1938) and Mūsā Murād ʿAlīyev (Murataliev) (b. 1940). Poetry freed itself only very slowly from the long monopoly of the forms of traditional oral poetry, which had been used to express a new content. When ʿAlī Ḳul ʿUthmānov (Alikul Osmonov, 1915-1950, *Čigarmalar žiynagi*, 3 vols., Frunze 1964-7), trained by his studies of Russian poetry, created examples of free verse with previously unknown rhythms in his vernacular, the spectrum of poetical forms was clearly widening, as can be seen in works by Süyümbay Er ʿAlīyev (Eraliyev, b. 1921), Sooronbay Djusuyev (b. 1925), Ramis Rîsḳulov (b. 1934), and others.

Bibliography: The following reference books have been published in Frunze: *Ḳirgiz sovet adabiyāt tārīkhînîn očerki*, 1960; Dj. Samaganov, *Pisateli sovetskogo Kirgizstana. Spravočnik*, 1969; Ḳ. Artîḳbayev, *Ḳirgiz sovet adabiyātînîn tārīkhî*, 1982; Dj. Aysarakunova, *Ḳirgizstan körköm adabiyātta sunush ḳilingan bibliyografiyalîk körsötküč*, 1983; *Ḳirgiz sovet adabiyātînîn tārīkhî*, 2 vols. 1987-90; *Aḳîndar čigarmačilîggînîn tārīkhînîn očerkteri*, 1988; *Pisateli sovetskogo Kirgizstana*, 1969.

(f) Kazak literature

The epics of the Kazaks, written down in the 19th century, have their prose parts mostly in Čaghatay and the verse ones in Kazak. Moreover, the popular tales and anecdotes published at the end of the 19th century had the character of a hybrid language, since the editors were Tatars or had enjoyed a Tatar education. The same happened to the books written at that time by Tatars and Kazaks, in which the customs of the nomadised and not completely-Islamised Kazaks were criticised from the view of the settled population. Some of the historical songs of the Kazaks, e.g. by Bukhar Zhirau (*ca.* 1693-*ca.* 1787) and Nîsanbay (first half of the 19th century), were published in Kazan and Moscow. Simultaneously, a multitude of texts of popular religion in verse and prose, as well as fairy tales, were translated from Čaghatay and partly from Ottoman into Kazak and published in Kazan, Astrakhan, Orenbourg and Tashkent. The most prolific translators and freely-adapting poets were Sheykh al-Islāmulî Yūsuf Bek and Aḳil Bek Molla Sabaluli (d. 1919).

A great number of poets (*aḳîn*) of the 19th century are still known today. Most of them were illiterate, yet their poetry was not devoid of an individual style and it was often recorded after decades of spreading by word of mouth. Few *aḳîn* had received a *medrese* education, as had for instance Akhan Seri Ḳoramsaulî (1843-1913). The intellectual development of other *aḳîn* is not known, though some of them hold a firm position in Kazak literature, like Shortanbay Ḳanayulî (*ca.* 1818-81), whose poem *Žār zamān* gave the name to a literary tendency of pessimism. This type of *aḳîn* continued to exist in the 20th century. The poets, like Zhambîl Zhumabay-ulî (1846-1945), sang the well-known verse epics, produced poems themselves and presented improvised poems (*aytîsu*) in poetical contests; scribes or scholars, however, wrote their texts down.

The same period saw poets who had both a good oriental and a Russian-European education. One of them was Ibrāhim (Ibray) Altînsarin (1841-89), who designed a programme for school education where the language was Kazak and the alphabet Russian, and composed a text book that included translations from Russian, his own poems as well as didactic narrations (*Tañdamalî shîgharmalar*, Alma Ata 1955).

Abay Ḳunanbay-ulî (1845-1904) is seen as the great national poet of the Kazaks on account of his philosophical prose and poetry, in which he did not shrink from expressing individual emotions, this being new in Kazak poetry (Abay Ḳunanbayev, *Bibliografiyalîḳ körsetkish*, Alma Ata 1965; *Abay tili sözdigi*, Alma Ata 1968; *Shîgharmalarînîñ tolîḳ zhinaghî*, 2 vols., Alma Ata 1977; *Abay. Éntsiklopediya*, Alma Ata 1995).

The next generation educated in this way translated Krîlov, Pushkin, Lermontov and Tolstoy from Russian, edited Kazak epics, started up newspapers and targeted their political endeavours at the foundation of a national state of Kazaks. Among them were Shāh Kerīm (Shekerim, 1858-1931, *Shîgharmalar*, Alma Ata 1988), ʿAlī Khān Bükeykhān-ulî (1869-1932), Aḥmad Baytursun-ulî (1873-1937), who also wrote a Kazak grammar, and Mīr Yaʿḳūb Dawlat (Mirzhaḳîp Dulat, 1885-1937). Two excellent poets of the first half of the 20th century are Maghzhān Zhumābayulî (1896-1937) and Ilyas Zhansügür-ulî (1894-1938). The European-born idea that literature could not exist without prose instigated particular efforts in this field. Without giving up the values of their own culture, the writers of literary prose looked very critically at the prevailing ways of life. Beyimbet Maylin (1894-1938) wrote socially-committed stories creating remarkable characters (*Shîgharmalar*, 2 vols., Alma Ata 1960; 5 vols., 1986-8), and Mukhtar Auezov (1897-1961) in his stories, plays and novels, turned to the conflicts of the nomads as they were faced with other cultures in 20th century (ed. *Shîgharmalar*, 12 vols., Alma Ata 1967-9, *Shîgharmalar žinaghî*, 20 vols., 1979-).

Auezov's experiences were quite legitimately exploited by the younger prose writers. Some of them, e.g. ʿAbdizhamīl Nurpeisov (b. 1924), Mukhtar Magauin (b. 1940) and Dükenbay Doszhanov (b. 1942), preferred the historical genre because they found that the supposedly scientific description of their history was biassed. Others, e.g. Oralkhān Bökeyev (b. 1944), utilised the genre of animal stories to describe the harsh transition from a nomad's life to the socialist civilisation. Abish Kekilbayev (b. 1939) keeps showing the complicated nature of the human individual both in historical and in present-day circumstances.

In the second half of the century, Kazak poetry has related itself explicitly to world culture: Mukhaghali Maḳatayev (1931-76) did that in Kazak, and Olzhas Süleymenov (b. 1936) in Russian.

Bibliography (A. = Alma Ata): *PTF*, ii, 741-60; Th. G. Winner, *The oral art and literature of the Kazakhs*, Durham 1958; *Očerk istorii kazakhskoy sovetskoy literaturî*, Moscow 1960, *Ḳazaḳ edebiyetinîñ tarikhî*, 3 vols., A. 1960-7; Kh. Süyinshaliyev, *Ḳazaḳ edebiyetinîñ kalîptasu kezeñderi*, A. 1967; *Istoriya kazakhskoy literaturî*, 3 vols., A. 1968-79; V.M. Sidel'nikov, *Ustnoe poétičeskoe tvorčestvo kazakhskogo naroda*, A. 1969; E. Narîmbetov, *Ḳazaḳ sovet edebiyeti, edebiyettanu men sînnîñ bibliografiyalîk körsetkishi, i, 1917-1940*, A. 1970, ii, *1941-1955*, A. 1986; *Ḳazaḳ teatrînîñ tarikhî*, 2 vols., A. 1975-8; *XIX ghasîrdaghî ḳazaḳ poéziyasî*, A. 1985; *XIX ghasîrdaghî ḳazaḳ aḳîndarî*, A. 1988; *Ḳazaḳ folkloristikasînîñ*

tarikhi, A. 1988; E. Ḳoñiratbayev, *Ḳazaḳ edebiyetiniñ tārikhi*, A. 1994.

(g) Tatar literature

Twentieth-century scholars of culture and literature re-interpreted the Tatar heritage. They relate the origin of their literature to the Khwārazm-Turkic and Mamlūk-Ḳipčaḳ literatures of the 14th century. As the predecessor of present-day Tatar literature they acknowledge Muḥammad Yār (16th century), who wrote three *mathnawīs*; likewise Ḳādir ʿAlī Bek Djalayirī (1530-*ca.* 1605), who *ca.* 1602 translated parts of the *Djamiʿ al-tawārīkh* by Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] into Čaghatay, adding to it data from the history of the Khānate of Ḳāsimov [*q.v.*], the writers Mawlā Ḳolī as well as ʿAbdī (17th century) and others. In the 18th and 19th centuries, a number of Tatar writers and scholars displayed a certain independence from the religious dignitaries of Bukhārā, who had been dominating the spiritual life of the Muslims in Central Asia and Russia. Without denying Islam, they represented rationalistic positions. Among them was ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (Gabderæhim) Utïz Imānī (1754-1834), and ʿAbd al-Naṣīr (Gabdennasïyr) Ḳūrṣāwī (1776-1812), author of religious works, as well as the historian Shihāb al-Dīn Mardjānī (1818-89), who wrote most of his works in Arabic. Miftāḥ al-Dīn Aḳmulla (1820 or 1831-95), who wrote in Čaghatay, was a perceptive poet whom the Tatars, Bashkirs and Kazaks claim as one of their first literary representatives. In the 19th century, several authors, among them the prose writer Musa Akyegetzāde (1865-1923) and Fātih Kerimī (1870-1937), tended to write in a pure Ottoman Turkish or in a mixed language strongly influenced by Ottoman. On the basis of Ottoman Turkish, the Crimean Tatar Ismāʿīl Gasprali [*q.v.*], also known by the Russian form of his name Gasprinskiy, elaborated his programme of modernisation intended for all Turkic peoples. Ḳayyum Naṣīrī [*q.v.*] argued for the use of Tatar as the language of literature, but it was only as late as the 1930s that his intentions at last became true, and then in the context of the socialist literature.

For Ḳūrṣāwī, cf. Mahmud Tahır, *Abunnasir Qursavi*, in *CAS*, viii/2 [1989], 155-8; M. Kemper, *Entre Boukhara et la Moyenne-Volga: ʿAbd an-Naṣīr al-Qūrṣāwī (1776-1812) en conflit avec les oulémas traditionnalistes*, in *Le réformisme musulman en Asie Centrale. Du "premier renouveau" à la soviétisation 1788-1937*, Paris 1996, 41-52. For Mardjānī: Kemper, *Šihābaddīn al-Marǧānī als Religionsgelehrter*, in *Muslim culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the early 20th centuries*, Berlin 1996, 129-65. Recent ed. of Aḳmulla: *Shighirzar*, Ufa 1981; *Shighirlar*, Kazan 1981; on him, see E. Vildanov, *Akmulla, yaktïlïk yïrsïhï*, Ufa 1981. On Ismāʿīl Gasprali: E.J. Lazzerini, *Ismail Bey Gasprinskii and Muslim modernism in Russia, 1878-1914*, diss. University of Washington 1973; idem, *From Bakhchisarai to Bukhara in 1893: Ismail Bey Gasprinskii's journey to Central Asia*, in *CAS*, iii/4 [1984], 77-88. On Ḳayyum Naṣīrī: Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Abdul Kayum Al-Nasyri: a Tatar reformer of the 19th century*, in *CAS*, i/4 [1983], 109-32.

The Tatar dramas written at the beginning of the 20th century became widely known throughout Central Asia. They included works by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Gabdrahman) Ilyāsī (1856-95), ʿAyāḍ (Gayaz) Isḥāḳī (1878-1954), ʿAlī Askar (Galiæsgar) Kamāl (1879-1933), Saʿīd (Sægiyt) Ramīyev (1880-1926), Sharīf Kamāl (1884-1942) and Karīm Tinčurin (1887-1938). Since 1898, ʿAyāḍ Isḥāḳī had also been writing realistic stories. Living as an emigrant, he was active as a politician and a journalist in addition to his literary activities (ed. *Ul æle öylenmægæn idæ*, Kazan 1993; on him, see *Muhammad Ayaz Ishaki. Hayati ve faaliyeti*, Ankara 1979; M. Gosmanov, *Gayaz Ishakiy: "Ike yöz yeldan soñ inkïyraz" hæm patsha tsenzurasi*, in *Kazan utlari*, x [1995], 152-81). ʿAlī Askar Kamāl was also a committed journalist, editing journals and translating Ottoman-Turkish dramas, e.g. those of Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] and Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha (*Æsærlær*, 3 vols. 1978-82). Sharīf Kamāl is also known as prose writer (*Saylanma æsærlær*, 3 vols., Kazan 1974-6). Many dramatists were simultaneously active in the genres of prose, stories and novels intended for a wide audience which, like drama, were new in Tatar literature at the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries. ʿĀlimdjān (Galimdjan) Ibrāhimov (1887-1938) was a prose writer, whose intellectual contribution to the development of the Tatar language and its writing system is also noteworthy (*Æsærlær*, 8 vols., Kazan 1974-87).

An outstanding literary representative at the turn of the century was the poet Dhākir Ramīyev (1859-1921), pseudonym Dærdmænd (*Æsærlære*, Kazan 1929, *Saylanma æsærlær*, Kazan 1959, *Isæ žillær*, Kazan 1980). Socio-critical poems were written by ʿAbd Allāh Tuḳay (1886-1913, *Æsærlær*, 5 vols., 1985-6; on him see R. Nafigov, *Tukay i ego okruženie*, Kazan 1986), esteemed in the 20th century as a classic of Tatar literature. Beginning in the 1920s, political poems expounding socialism were written by Hādī Taḳtash (1901-31), Ḥasan Tufan (1900-80), who turned to issues of man and nature in his poems written in the 1970s, and Aḥmad Fayḍī (Fayzī, 1903-58), who later wrote a drama about Tuḳay and an opera libretto on the poet Musā Djalīl (1906-44), who was executed in Germany. In the 1960s, epic poems and poem-cycles were the most preferred form of fiction, with their possibilities of expressing the controversial phenomena of life in a well balanced way. The increasingly open contrast between urban life and rural life was expressed in the poems by Ṣibghat Ḥakīm (1911-86), Anwār Dāwidov (1919-68) and Ildār Yuziyev (b. 1933). Towards the end of this decade, some authors succeeded in expanding themes and forms of literature by adopting and by resuming traditions of Tatar poetry from the beginning of the 20th century which had not been published for decades. Zākī Nūrī (b. 1921), Maḥmūd Ḥusayin (Khösæyen, b. 1923) and Renat Ḥāris (b. 1941) were distinguished in this respect.

Prose writers in the 1960s started to deal with historical issues, by depicting the life of their Tatar ancestors, in order to affirm the national consciousness of the Tatars under the geographical and political conditions as they had developed in the 20th century, e.g. Nūrīkhān Fattāḥ (b. 1928) with his novel *Etil suwï aka turur* (1969). The literary prose of some authors, among them Amīrkhān Yeniki (b. 1909) and ʿAyāḍ ʿIlādjev (Gïylædjev, b. 1928), is characterised by a critical view of the world.

Bibliography: A. Battal-Taymas, *La littérature des Tatars de Kazan*, in *PTF*, ii, 762-79; Zs. Kakuk, *Kasantatarische Volkslieder, auf Grund der Sammlung von Ignácz Kúnos*, Budapest 1980. In addition to these, the following reference works and important articles have been published (K. = Kazan and M. = Moscow): M. Gajnullin, *Tatar ædæbiyātï, 19 jöz*, K. 1957, 1968; *Tatar sovet ædæbiyātï*, K. 1960; *Boríngï tatar ædæbiyātï*, K. 1963; I. Nurullin, *20 jöz bashï tatar ædæbiyātï*, K. 1966; A. Giniyatullina, *Pisateli sovetskogo Tatarstana. Biobibliografičeskij spravočnik*, K. 1970; M.A. Usmānov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki XVII-XVIII vv.*, K. 1972; M. Gaynullin, *Tatarskaya literatura XIX veka*, K. 1975; idem, *Tatar ædiplære idjāt portretlari*, K. 1978; Æ. Khisamova, *Tatar kitaplari*,

K. 1979; *Urta ʿaṣr (gasîr) tatar ædæbiyatî tārîkhînan*, K. 1981; Kh. Miñnegülov and Sh. Ṣadretdīnov, *XIX jöz tatar ædæbiyātî yadkærlære*, K. 1982; A. Achmadullin, *Tatarskaya dramaturgiya*, M. 1983; *Tatar ædæbiyātî tarîkhî*, 5 vols., K. 1984-9; M. Gosmānov (ʿUthmanov), *Ütkænnæn-kilæčækkæ*, Kazan 1990; Kh. Miñnegülov, *Tatarskaya literatura i vostočnaya klassika*, K. 1993; I. Baldauf, *Prometheismus in der circumrevolutionären tatarischen Lyrik*, in *Bamberger Mittelasienstudien, Konferenzakten*, Berlin 1994, 25-66; M.A. Usmanov, *Zur Geschichte der tatarischen Handschriften*, in *Muslim culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the early 20th centuries*, Berlin 1996, 49-68.

In the 20th century, the literature of the Crimean Tatars has been regarded as a relatively independent one. ʿĀshik ʿUmar (Ömer, d. 1707), who may be Crimean by descent and who is among the best-known Ottoman-Turkish singers (*sāz shāʿiri*), is referred to by the Crimean Tatars as one of the initiators of their poetry (Āshîk Umer, *Shiʿirler, ghazeller*, Tashkent 1988). The concept of a common cultural ground shared by all Turkic peoples, which Ismāʿīl Gasprali, editor of *Tardjumān*, had elaborated, was adopted in the first decades of the 20th century by some intellectuals of the European and Asian Turkic peoples.

The poet and literary savant Bekir Čobanzāde (1893-1938) belonged to the first generation of authors in the 20th century. Some dramatists founded theatres in the Crimea in the 1920s, including ʿUmar Ipči (1897-1944, see on him I. Kerimov, *Terenlik*, Tashkent 1988). As a consequence of the deportations and relocation of the Crimean Tatars in 1944, the writers of the following generations spent most of their lives outside Crimea, many of them in Uzbekistan, whilst others were born in Central Asia. Prose writers were Yūsuf Bolat (b. 1909), Shāmil ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (Aladin, b. 1912), who was chairman of the association of the writers of the Crimean Tatars in 1939, Čerkez-ʿAlī (real name Aḥmetov, b. 1925), Riḍāʾ Fāḍil (b. 1929) and Erwin ʿUmarov (b. 1940). Among the poets, mention should be made of Anwār Salāmat (1917-80), Saʿīd-ʿUmar Amīn (b. 1921) and Bilāl Mambet (b. 1935).

Bibliography: A. Battal-Taymas, *La littérature des Tatars de Crimée*, in *PTF*, ii, 785-92; Ghanī Murād, *Teatr ṣanʿatîmîznîn ṣahîfelerinden*, Tashkent 1990; Safter Nagayev, *Yîlnāmelerdeki izler. Ḳrîmtatar edebiyātî akkînda etyudlar*, Tashkent 1991; *Ḳrîmtatar ḫalk aghîz yaratîdjîlighî. Khrestomatiya*, Tashkent 1991.

(h) Karakalpak literature

The Karakalpaks esteem their singers (*zhîrau* and *baksî*) of epics, genealogies (*shadjara*, or *shezhire*) and songs of various kinds. The most famous epics are *Ḳîrk ḳîz* and *Maspatsha*. Besides these, there are the names of poets (*shayîr*) whose works used to be spread orally, and have only been printed since the late 1940s. Their names are: Zhiyen zhîrau from the 18th century, Ötesh Alshînbay-ulî (*ca.* 1788-1875), Kün Khʷādja (1799-1880), Ḥādjī Niyāz (Azhiniyaz, *ca.* 1824-78), Berdak (1827-1900) and ʿUmar Sügirimbet-ulî (1879-1922).

Editions of the works of the *shayîrs* at Nökis: Zhiyen zhîrau: *Poskan yel*, 1959, 1981, 1990; Ötesh Alshînbay-ulî: *Tañlamalî shigharmalar*, 1962, 1978; *Kök özek* (*kosîklar*), 1989; Kün Khʷādja: *Tañlaulî kosîklar toplamî*, 1949; *Kosîklar*, 1960; *Yel menen*, 1975, 1984, 1989; Ḥādjī Niyāz: *Tañlaulî kosîklar toplamî*, 1949, *Tañlamalî shigharmalarî*, 1960; Berdak: *Tañlamalî shigharmalarî*, 1956, 2 vols., 1977; and ʿUmar Sügirimbet-ulî: *Tañlaulî shigharmalar*, 1960.

Historical events of the 19th century, first of all the uprisings of the Karakalpaks against the Khānate of Khīwa, as well as episodes from the lives of the singers, provide a great deal of the material from which poetry and prose have been shaped in the 20th century. Karāmat al-Dīn (Karamatdin) Sulṭānov (b. 1924) wrote the novel *Azhiniyāz* (1967) about the famous singer of that name. Ṭālib Bergen Ghayb Bergen (Tölepbergen Ḳaypbergenov, b. 1929) wrote the novel *Maman Biy epsānasî* (1968), which he later extended to the work *Ḳarakalpak destānî* (3 vols., 1973). Zhol Mirza Ay Mirza (Zholmurza Aymurzaev, b. 1910) wrote a novel in the style of orally-spread humorous adventure stories.

In the 1930s, Karakalpaks began to write theatrical pieces and, later, plays in several acts about the past which they had rejected. Epics were used as sources of material for theatrical plays, which were usually conceived and performed as musical dramas. Nadjim Daukaraev (1905-53) wrote the drama *Alpamîs* (1940). A very popular source is *Gharîb ʿĀshîk*. In the early 1930s, Mīrzā ʿAlī (Mîrzagali) Daribayev, 1909-42, wrote a drama called *Gharîb ʿĀshîk*. After various adaptations, it has been on the stage since 1954 in a version by T. Allah Naẓar (Allanazarov) and Āsān Begimov (1907-58), who is also known as a novelist. The 50th anniversary of the death of the singer Berdak was an occasion for Sadîk Nūrîmbetov (1900-72) to write an epic poem, and for Aymurzaev to write a drama (1958) of the same title.

Bibliography (N. stands for Nökis): In addition to N.A. Baskakov, *Karakalpakskiy yazîk I: Materialî po dialektologii* (*tekstî i slovarʾ*), Moscow 1951, the following recent works should be mentioned: N. Zhapakov, *Revolyutsiyaga shekelgi ḳarakalpak ædebiyātînda realizm mæselesi*, N. 1972; Ž. Narîmbetov, *Karakalpakskiy roman*, Tashkent 1974; M. Nurmukhamedov, *Karakalpakskaya poéziya*, Tashkent 1977; *Ḳarakalpak sovet ædebiyātî*, Nökis 1979; *Istoriya karakalpakskoy sovetskoy literaturî*, Tashkent 1981; S. Aḥmetov and K. Khudaybergenov, *Pisateli sovetskoy Karakalpakii*, N. 1983.

(i) Bashkir literature

From the 1920s onwards, literature was also written in the Bashkir language. Among the first Bashkir writers were Madjīd Ghafūrī (1880-1934, ed. *Æsærzær*, 4 vols., Ufa 1978-9), Dāūd Yultîy (1893-1938) and Shaykhzāda Babič (1895-1919), who continued the socially-committed literature claimed to have been initiated by the Tatar poet Tuḳay. The resultant dissociation from the more intimate poetry of the Tatar Dærdmænd was maintained for decades after the death of the first Bashkir poets. None of the authors of the first novels in Bashkir who depicted the revolutionary events as a positive development survived the year 1938, or saw it in freedom: Dāūd Yultîy, Afḍal Ṭāhirov (1890-1938), Imay Naṣīrī (1898-1942) and Ghæynan Khayrī (1903-38).

From the 1920s until the 1970s, a theme of lasting attraction to literature was Pugatčev's rebellion in 1773-4 and the role played in it by the singer and leader Ṣalawāt (b. 1752, d. after 1797), for this was a chance to demonstrate what Bashkirs and Russians supposedly had in common or, by contrast, what was controversial. There are numerous dramas, epic poems and stories dealing with this event. Some writers travelled the path from direct political literature via novels in verse to pure prose fiction, which was not only a special challenge to the authors but also to the recipients. Sæyfī Ḳudash (1894-1993) succeeded in writing stories and memoirs (*Khaṭirda kalghan miuttar*, 1957). Mostay Kærīm (b. 1919) wrote a cycle of fairy-tale poems for adults, a number of dramas and the short novel *Ozon-ozaḳ balasaḳ* (1976).

Bibliography: *La literature Bašqort*, in *PTF*, ii, 778-9. Since the 1960s the following reference books have been published in Ufa and Moscow (U. = Ufa, M. = Moscow): R. Timergælina, *Bashkortostan yazïusïlarï*, U. 1968; R. Bikbaev and A. Ḳudasheva, *Bashkort æzæbiæte hæm æzæbiyæt ghileme buyïnsha bibliografiya*, U. 1969; M. Gaynullin and G. Khusainov, *Pisateli sovetskoy Bashkirii*, U. 1969; *Istoriya bashkirskoy sovetskoy literaturï*, M. 1977; A. Vahitov, *Bashkirskiy sovetskiy roman*, M. 1978; R. Timergelina, *Pisateli sovetskoy Bashkirii. Ukazatel' literaturï (1917-1978 gg.)*, U. 1980; G. Khusainov, *Bashkirskaya sovetskaya poéziya 1917-1980*, M. 1983; Gaynullin and Khusainov, *Sovet Bashkortostanï yazïusïlarï*, U. 1988.

(j) Čuwash literature

At the end of the 19th century, Čuwash writers started to collect popular poetry, and its motifs became the material for their own poems: M. Fedorov (1849-1904) with *Arsuri* (1908), Ya. Turkhan (1874-1938) with *Warussi* (1905), N. Polurussov-Shelepi (1881-1945) with *Saramsanna Khantarsa* (1915), K. Ivanov (1890-1915) with *Narspi* (1908). Poetry including stories and novels in verse used to be popular, e.g. *Khen-khur ayenče* (1931) by S. Elker (1894-1966, ed. *Sïrnsene pukhsa kalamï*, 5 vols., Čeboksarï 1960-64), *Tu urla sul* (1952) by Ja. Ukhsay (1911-86), *Aptraman tawrash* (1946) by Peter Khusankay (1907-70), *Khamar'yalsem* (1956, 1983) by A. Alga (1913-77). Prose writers are V. Alager (1906-88), S. Aslan (1917-80), A. Artem'ev (b. 1924) and A. Emel'yanov (b. 1932).

Theatrical plays were often written on the basis of poetry, with its pictures of popular life and beliefs. The poet Mishshi Sespel (1899-1922), who introduced syllabic-tonic verse into Čuwash, and the poet Vasley Mitta (1908-57), who placed great value on the national characteristics in everyday life, were the declared examples, besides some European poets, for G. Aygi (b. 1934), whose poems have also been published in Europe (*Beginn der Lichtung*, Frankfurt/Main 1971; *Ditya i roza*, Paris 1990).

Bibliography (all works appeared in Čeboksarï/Shupashkar): G.Ja. Khlebnikov, *Sovremennaya čuvashskaya literatura*, 1971; *Čuwash sovet literaturi*, 1972; M. Jur'ev, *Pisateli sovetskoy Čuvashii*, 1975; *Čuvashskaya literatura*, 1983; *Aktual'nïe Problemï čuvashskoy literaturï*, 1983, P.N. Metin, *Čuvashskiy fol'klor*, 1986; M. Jur'ev and Z. Romanova, *Pisateli sovetskoy Čuvashii*, 1988; *Čuvashskoe literaturovedenie i kritika. Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel'*, 1993.

(k) Yakut literature

The first poets of Yakut written literature developed around the turn of the 20th century and were either singers of the epic *Oloñkho*, called *oloñkhosut*, like P. Oyunuskay, also Oyunskiy, real name Sleptsov (1893-1939, ed. *Ayïmnʼïlar*, 7 vols., 1958-62, Russian tr. *Izbrannoe*, Moscow 1963) and Künnük Urastïrov, real name V. Novikov (b. 1907), or they were collectors of popular poetry like A. Kulakovskay (1877-1926). Oyunuskay became known as a poet and dramatist. He introduced syllabic verse into Yakut poetry, which brought about a tremendous extension of the stylistic inventory for Yakut poetry, with its previous strict principle of alliteration. Further dramatists and comedy writers were A. Sofronov (1886-1935) and D. Neustroev (1895-1929). In the 1960s, the dramas by I. Gogolev (b. 1930), were remarkable because their figures combined concepts from popular poetry with those from 20th-century life.

The first pieces in prose were sketches and stories, e.g. by Erilik Eristin, real name S. Yakovlev (1892-1942), Oyunuskay and Afanasiy Fedorov (1926-59, ed. *Talïllïbït ayïmnʼïlar*, 2 vols. Yakutsk 1961-2). Novellists include Amma Aččïgïya, real name N. Mordinov (1906-94), N. Zolotarev-Yakutskay (b. 1908), A. Sïromyatnikova (b. 1915) writing about women's lives, Sofron Danilov (b. 1922) and V. Yakovlev (b. 1934) both of the latter looking critically at their own times.

Bibliography: St. Kałużyński, *Die jakutische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 886-95; *Očerk istorii yakutskoy sovetskoy literaturï*, Moscow 1970; V. Protod'yakonov *et al.*, *Pisateli Yakutii*, Yakutsk 1972; A. Egorov *et al.*, *Pisateli Yakutii, Biobibliografičeskiy spravočnik*, Yakutsk 1981; A.A. Bilyukin, *Yakutskaya sovetskaya dramaturgiya*, Moscow 1988.

(l) Literature in other Turkic languages of Siberia

In the 1940s, written literature was born in some other Turkic languages of Siberia. With the very low population density in these regions (1979: 166,000 Tuvans; 70,800 Khakass; 60,000 Altaians) one cannot expect full-fledged and continuously-developing literatures there. Pavel Kučiyaḳ (1897-1943) is recognised as one of the initiators of Altaic literature. Himself a poet, dramatist and story writer, he collected popular poetry and fairy tales (ed. *Yuunadïlgan sočinenieler*, Gornoaltaysk 1967). The poems and stories by Boris Ukačin (b. 1936), who published his first book of poems in 1961, e.g. *Eelü tuular* (1971), have aroused the interest of other peoples of Siberia, Central Asia and Russia.

The first author in the Khakass language was V. Kobyakov (1906-37); N. Domožakov (1916-76) is known as a novelist.

Stepan Sarïġ-ool (1908-83) and Sergey Pürbü (1913-75) are the authors of the first Tuvan poems to be written down. In Tuvan prose, autobiographical elements have been of major importance since the 1950s, as seen e.g. in the trilogy *Arattïñ sözü* by Salčaḳ Toḳa (1901-73), composed between 1950 and 1954, and in the novel *Angïr-oola* (2 vols., 1961-6) by Sarïġ-ool. Other notable poets and story writers are Mongush Kenin-Lopsan (b. 1925), Juriy Künzegesh (b. 1927) and Ḳïzïl Enik Ḳudadjï (b. 1929).

Bibliography: G. Doerfer, *Die Literatur der Türken Südsibiriens*, in *PTF*, ii, 862-85. Altaian literature: *Altay literatura kereginde stat'yalar*, Gornoaltaysk 1962; *Pisateli Altaja. Biobibliografičeskiy spravočnik*, Barnaul 1967, *Očerki po istorii altayskoy literaturï*, Gornoaltaysk 1969; *Poétï gornogo Altaya*, Novosibirsk 1972; M.G. Vokhrïseva, *Pisateli Altaja. Bibliografičeskiy spravočnik*, Barnaul 1974; *Pisateli Gornogo Altaja. Biobibliografičeskiy spravočnik*, Gornualtaysk 1988. Khakass literature: *Literatura sovetskoy Khakassii*, Abakan 1962, P.A. Troyakov, *Očerki razvitiya khakasskoy literaturï*, Abakan 1963. Tuvan literature: Maria Chadachanie, *Tuvinskaya proza*, Kïzïl 1968; Dorzhu Kuular, *Tuvinskaya poéziya, očerk istorii*, Kïzïl 1970; *Pisateli Tuvï*, Kïzïl 1970, 1982.

Others: For literatures in the Gagauz, Karačay-Balkar and Kumuk languages, see *PTF*, ii, 779-85, 835-40.

General bibliographical note.

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For the cultural background of the reforms in writing systems and their effects on literature, see W. Fiermann, *Language planning and national development. The Uzbek experience*, Berlin and New York 1991; I. Baldauf, *Schriftreform und Schriftwechsel bei den muslimischen Rußland- und Sowjettürken (1850-1937)*, Budapest 1993.

Scholars from most Turkic peoples, consistently in co-operation with Russian scholars, have compiled three types of general works about their literatures: 1. histories of literature; 2. encyclopaedias of authors, often as bio-bibliographical sketch; 3. special bibliographies about literature and studies of literature besides the national bibliographies of the Turkic republics (for previous years, cf. especially Hazai and Kellner-Heinkele, 345-409). The recent editions are cited, in chronological order, in the respective sections.

Folk literature in several languages has been edited since the 1950s and 1960s in series with or without volume numbers. It includes fairy tales, epics, folk songs, riddles and others. The following should be mentioned: *Altay baatïrlar*, 6 vols., 1958-68; *Azarbāydjān edebiyyāti indjileri*, beginning in 1985; *Bashkort khalïk idjādï*, beginning in 1981; *Bashkirskoe narodnoe tvorčestvo*, beginning in 1987; *Čawas halah samahlahe*, 6 vols., 1976-87; *Karakalpak folklorï, köp tomlïk*, beginning in 1977; *Kazak khalïk edebiyeti, köp tomdïk*, beginning in 1988; *Bes ghasïr žïrlaydï*, 3 vols., 1984-5; 2 vols., 1989 (Kazak); *Tatar khalïk idjātï*, 13 vols., 1974-94; *Ŭzbek khalk idjādi*.

Some Turkic epics rendered into Russian and in vernaculars and with commentary are included in the serie *Épos narodov SSSR* (Moscow) beginning from 1971.

(Sigrid Kleinmichel)

IV. Music.

In order to appreciate the musical traditions of the Turkish world from a very general perspective, it is appropriate to start with the separation between the nomadic cultural base and the sedentary urban milieu. It could be said that the Turkish peoples of Siberia (Yakuts) and the Altaians, the Kïrghïz, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, and Turkmens, as well as the last nomadic tribes of Anatolia, represent various states of an original "Turkicity", associated with the wide expanses of the steppe, the history of which has not been studied since the 19th century; on the other hand the Uyghurs, the Özbegs and the Ottomans, long organised into small kingdoms or as an empire, were in contact with the major sedentary traditions—Persian, Arab, Mediterranean, etc.—which had long been familiar with an apparatus of state and/or an imperial structure. This separation is more important than that between oral and written, since in both cases oral transmission remains predominant, except in the context of musical theory, which developed within "imperial" cultures.

1. *The music of the nomads*

It is perhaps among the Altaian Turks, or the Yakuts, that Turkish music is to be observed in its original state: calls and imitation of animals, playing on the jew's-harp, and techniques of diphonic chant. It may also be assumed that viols with horsehair strings (cf. *kil kobi* in Kazakh, *kil kiak* in Kïrghïz) were used for accompaniment by the Turko-Mongolian peoples from the earliest times (certainly since the domestication of the horse), as were certain lutes (known as *kopuz* in the epic of Dede Korkut [*q.v.*]).

(i) Bards and the shamanistic heritage

The bard is an essential figure in all the nomadic musical traditions of the Turks: his origin dates back to his pre-Islamic ancestor, the shaman, after whom he is known in some places by the name of *bakhshï*, and from whom he has inherited certain functions. Among the Kazakhs and the Karakalpaks, the *zhiraw* (*zhyr* = epic poetry) was always at the Khān's side, since the spirits revealed the future to him. The term *bakhshï*, which still denotes "shaman" for the Kazakhs, Kïrghïz, Özbegs and Tādjīks, signifies a professional singer among the Turkmens of the former USSR and of Persia. While he no longer has the role of a healer, he remains no less a "man of knowledge", an inspired repository of the memory and spiritual values of the people; in fact, the *bakhshï* master is called *khalīpe*, like the Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, which certainly suggests a religious authority, preserved *mutatis mutandis* in the framework of Islam. Finally, this shamanistic heritage is perceptible as far away as Anatolia, where the *ʿāshïks*, like the *dedes* of the Alevi communities, maintain this tradition of the Central Asian bard, in the sense that his specifically musical role is never devoid of a strong moral and sapiential, if not religious, aura. In all cases, the bard must attain a very high level of inspiration: the *zhiraw* should "boil" (*kaynamak*) and the *akïn* (see below) should have spirits "in his back".

It is usual to distinguish between two categories of bards, according to whether they sing epics (*destān, zhir*) or lyric pieces. Thus the Turkmen *bakhshï* are subdivided into two groups, namely, *destāndjï*, relater of epics, and *tirmedji*, who sing poems (*tirme*) on various themes. The Kazakh *zhiraw*, suppressed by Soviet ideology as symbolic of a feudal culture, has been replaced by the *zhirshi* who creates only minor epics, and by the *akïn* who, as in Kirghizia also, sings for his clan, and whose repertoire consists of extracts from epics arranged as songs, or poems adapted to the social circumstances of the performance.

(ii) Vocal techniques and instruments

An incontestable trait of the nomadic music of Central Asia is the use of a raucous, guttural voice, very rich in harmonics, sometimes approaching diphony, like the Mongolian *khöömei*, or the fundamental, heavy and "strangled" resonance in the phonetic apparatus when a narrow harmonic sound is produced. In Uzbekistan the voice of the *bakhshï* is called "interior", as opposed to the "exterior" (high-pitched) voices of learned and popular urban traditions.

Instruments accompanying the bards are lutes with two or three strings: *dombra* (Kaz.), *kopuz* and *komuz* (Kir.), *dotar* (Turkm.), *saz* in its various rural forms (Turkey) [see ṬUNBŪR]; viols: *kil kobuz* (Kaz.) *ghidjak, kiak*; and finally, flutes: *sibizghi* (Uzbek) or *tüdük* (Turkm.), are remarkable for their technique, related to that of the Persian *nay* or the Turkish *kaval*.

(iii) Performance and musical forms

Traditionally, the music of the bards is the art of soloists in the context of private invitations such as the *konakasi* (Kaz.), the *gap* (Uzb.), or the *söhbet* (Turkm.). At the collective level, it is the *toy*, festival of marriage or of circumcision throughout the Türk world (*düğün* in Turkey). Bardic contests are widespread throughout Central Asia, such as the contests of *ʿāshïks* in Azerbaijan and in Anatolia.

Alongside the major epic cycles, the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz have developed the principle of instrumental pieces called *kü*, inspired by the circumstances of the performance, and dependent on interaction with the audience. These may be of a descriptive or narrative nature; the *kü* evoke nature, according to a denotative function of the music which constitutes a distinctive trait of these cultures.

Can a case be made for speaking of a "nomadic" music at the level even of syntax? Certain traits common to the Turkmens and the Kazakhs, such as rhythms which are additive, not divisive, to the linear

development, through the combination of various metres, are to be found as far afield as the east of Turkey, among the *ʿāshiks*.

2. *"Imperial" music*

(i) The elaboration of classical traditions

The existence of learned musical systems in Central Asia from ancient times has been demonstrated by archaeology, in Sogdia and Bactria, which were inhabited by Indo-Iranian peoples before the waves of the Turco-Mongolian conquest. As a result of Islamisation, a vast area of cultural exchange was opened up, from Eastern Turkestan to the Middle East. Formal music was studied by numerous theoreticians of Central Asian origin, such as al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā [*q.vv.*]; in the 15th century, Samarkand and Harāt were major musical centres, to be superseded by Bukhārā which has retained its pre-eminence to the present day. Finally, Azerbaijan and Constantinople-Istanbul were to be other major crucibles of oriental musical learning. In this context, the same movement which led the nomadic Turks to adopt the imperial structures of the sedentary civilisations led them also to appropriate, appreciate and develop their musical traditions, from Central Asia to the Middle East—as was further the case in India under the Mughals. As to the specifically Turkish contribution to these sedentary cultures, this is not easily defined, since such exchanges invariably operate in both directions: for example, the Chinese adopted the instruments of Eastern Turkestan, such as the *surnāy* (hautboy), and the *pipa* (Uyghur *barbap*) and *rabāb* lutes. Chinese sources also mention that the melodies of the "barbarians" of Turkestan were integrated, after adaptation, into the courtly music of the Han.

(ii) The concept of *makām* [*q.v.*]

Among the Uyghurs and the Uzbeks, *makām* signifies "process of compositions" and has the related sense of "mode". Thus classical repertoires are found comprising *on iki makām* ("twelve *makāms*") from the region of Kāshghar and of Yarkand, of the Tādjīk-Uzbek *shash makām* ("six *makāms*") of the *altï yarïm makām* ("six and a half *makāms*") of Khīva. In each case, what is involved is a combination of processes codified from a modal as from a rhythmic point of view, according to a structure which may be likened to the Arab-Andalusian *nawba*.

In Azerbaijan and in Ottoman Turkey, *makām* specifically denotes the "mode" in its Middle Eastern sense. The modes themselves, whilst known by the same names in all these erudite traditions, nevertheless display numerous local idioms within the great Arab-Turkish-Persian system.

(iii) Instruments and conditions of performance of formal music

Among the instruments here, first to be noted is the lute, *dutār*, with two silk strings, played without a plectrum, using very elaborate techniques of the right hand; the *tunbūr*, strings of metal, played with plectrum or with bow, and its variants, the Uyghur *satār*, Uzbek *satā*, and finally, the Ottoman *tunbūr* [*q.v.*], played with bow or with plectrum, particularly suited to reproducing delicate inflections of the voice and endowed with a range of harmonics created by the resonances of the sympathetic strings (this is the preferred instrument of the masters of *makām*); the *ghidjak*, pointed viol and its *kemandji* variant; and citherns *kalūn* (Uyghur), *kanūn* (Turkish), or cembalo (*čang*). Percussion was provided by drums (*dap, def* or *doyra*). All these constitute a vast family, with connections and relationships, well understood by the audience.

While these forms of music were linked to the courtly circles where they were protected, the 20th century, with the Sovietisation of Central Asia, with the imposition of Maoist China on the Uyghurs and the installation of the Turkish Republic, has produced a profound upheaval in their conditions of composition and performance. The creation of "orchestral" ensembles in all these states has led to a loss of authenticity and tradition. However, in the Central Asian states of the former USSR, an intense revivalist movement has been visible since the early 1990s, both in the performance of ancient, "nomadic" forms of music and in the interpretation of the learned and formal tradition.

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V. Folklore.

Now a scholarly study, founded on popular oral and written traditions, the genesis and evolution of folklore in Turkey closely follows the major stages of the mutation of Turkish culture and society since the mid-19th century, from the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] onwards.

The folklore of Turkey does not depend on a simple contrast between oral and written tradition, each register being divided in turn between the erudite and the popular. Certain items of folklore are rooted in the scholarly written tradition, such as the *manāḳib-nāme*; a substantial number are popular written versions of the scholarly genre, such as the lyrical epics (*hikāye*) *Leylā and Medjnūn, Kerem and Aṣlï*, and *ʿĀshïk Gharīb*; or epics in the technical sense (*destān*): *Baṭṭāl Ghāzī* and the *Book of Dede Korkut* [*q.v.*]. For the oral scholarly tradition, consideration may be given to the practice of the *meddāh* [see maddāḥ] or the *orta oyunu* [*q.v.*] theatre, which may be compared with the *commedia dell'arte*. All these forms of traditional expression of culture belong to folklore and were recognised as such throughout the 19th century.

The transition from the Ottoman Empire to a Turkish Republic in search of a national identity took place on the territory of Anatolia. This space was an area of transit and of immigration and a melting-pot for all the cultural diversity of the empire. Such a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-faith population basis favoured an abundance of practices, beliefs and forms of cultural expression, the genealogy of which is practically impossible to establish: those of Greeks, Turks, Kurds, Armenians, Arabs, Caucasians, South Slavs and Russia, Gypsies, etc.

Historically, Ziyā (Ḍiyā) Gökalp (1875-1924 [*q.v.*]) may be credited with the systematic effort to distinguish Turkish culture from Islamic civilisation on the one hand and with ethnography (*kawmiyyāt* = study of ethnic groups) from folklore (*khalkiyyāt* = studies at the popular level) on the other. Recourse to the term "folklore" is owed (1918) to Riza Tevfik Bölükbaşi (1869-1949 [*q.v.*]) who proposed the fact of the anonymity of authors as a legitimising condition for the objects and practices belonging to folklore, conceived as a collective creation.

The Turkish term which was rapidly adopted as the equivalent of "folklore" is *halk bilgisi* = science of the people, corresponding to *Volkskunde*. Folkloric studies and practices have been developed since 1928 with the creation of the Folklore Society = *Halk Bilgisi Derneği* (*HBD*). They have been pursued in two directions which have persisted to the present day.

First to be considered are the institutional, political and ideological paths which envisage the authentification of the Turkish national idea by means of researching its roots through the evidence and proofs supplied by folklore. Another path has emerged, initially with the genesis of a national literature which, as in the work of the poet Nâzim Hikmet [*q.v.*], integrates and reinterprets the themes of popular traditions, as well as their forms of expression. This literary action was to be relayed via the emergence of a national-progressive ideology of the Left, primarily derived from the experience of educational innovation of the Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*).

Simplifying considerably, these two tendencies may be contrasted, in their objectives and their methods, as two different strategies: on the one hand there is an *instrumental* approach followed in institutions created by the State (e.g. the *HBD*), the epigones of this association, and departments of Turkish Studies or Folklore in the Universities; on the other, there is a *functional* approach which assigns a predominant role to the peasantry in the alleged class struggle and which seeks to endow this peasantry with an authentic and vivid popular culture.

As regards institutional studies and research into folklore, from 1927 the Folklore Society (*HBD*), the majority of whose members were Kemalist innovators, was based in Ankara, before opening agencies in Istanbul, Izmir, Kayseri and Erzurum. It undertook to publish an annual volume of research in progress and a monthly journal (*Halk Bilgisi Haberleri* = *Folklore News*), as well as guides and compilations of folkloric data based on the work of authors such as Van Gennep and Hoffman Krayer. With the creation, in 1932, of "Peoples' Houses" or *Halk evleri* [see KHALKEVI] under the aegis of the Republican People's Party, which was to install a single-party régime, this new institution incorporated the Folklore Society, its archives and its journal until 1952, the year after the closing down of the *Halk evleri*. A total of 143 issues of the journal, as well as some 500 thematic publications, today constitute an important corpus of work, of uneven quality, on the folklore of the country. The network of Peoples' Houses was to be revived in 1960.

One of the most successful aspects of these voluntary and charitable campaigns, aimed at the compilation of data of the folkloric heritage by teachers and other employees of the state, has been the inauguration of a major survey of lexicography and of popular speech throughout the country. The corpus compiled is immense and has been published under the title *Anadoluda halk ağzından söz derleme dergisi* "Collection of the popular speech of Anatolia". A document of incomparable wealth, this collection has been in the charge of the Turkish Language Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) since 1932. Constituted between 1932 and 1952, constantly re-issued, this body of six volumes makes it possible to establish the link with pre-Islamic and pre-Anatolian Turkish, using this repository of linguistic archaisms which were the rural and nomadic speech patterns of Anatolia. In the domain of musical traditions, it is the Municipal Conservatoire of Istanbul which has undertaken, since 1927, the compilation of data regarding musical folklore, through campaigns of enquiry on the ground (see IV. above). The composer Béla Bartok also participated in these efforts at research into musical folklore, subsequently exerting considerable influence on musical creativity in the country. Thirteen pamphlets of collected musical traditions were published in 1939. The Ankara Conservatoire has also established an important archive of popular musical traditions.

In museology, it was the Ankara Museum of Ethnography (1925) which accepted the role of collector of the objects of popular culture. Elsewhere, almost throughout the whole country, professional technical academies and institutes for girls generally included the traditional crafts of textiles, fabrics, etc. in their syllabi.

This "institutional folklorism" was the reflection of the political régime of the single party, and of the nationalist and secular populism of the state which characterised the reign of the People's Republican Party under Atatürk, then under İsmet Inönü. The Second World War, the Marshall Plan (1947) and the transition to multi-partyism with the accession to power of the Democratic Party, as well as the massive rural exodus, changed the scene completely. The élitist and secular Jacobinism of the state yielded its place to the traditionalist localism of the Democratic Party, which pledged to undertake the re-Islamisation of the country. Henceforward the identifying folklorism of the state largely lost its reason for being and its objective, and for this reason the domain of folklorism was devolved to local associations and to the universities. An Institute for Research into Turkish Culture (*Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü*) was created in 1961 and charged with supervision of this field.

One review, however, took on the task of perpetuating the spirit of the years 1930-40: *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları Dergisi* = *Turkish Review of Folkloric Studies*, taking the place of the *Folklor Postası* = *Folklore Courier* (1945). This was the fruit of private initiative which, despite very limited means and the lack of subsidies, continued to operate until 1972, the date of the death of its founding director.

As a counterweight to the state institutions, the approach which could be described as "functional" ascribed a determinant role to folklore and especially to rural traditions as the motive forces behind a popular culture in the context of what was viewed as a Marxist class struggle which, in pre-industrial Turkey, was necessary for mobilising the rural masses. The Anatolian peasant and peasant virtues had been celebrated by Atatürk as the foundation of national identity; they were to be revived and reinterpreted in a Marxist perspective by the intellectual and progressive élite of the nation. This peasant-based ideology was put into effect by the very active but short-lived Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*), the educational doctrine of which was inspired essentially by the work of the Swiss philanthropist Pestalozzi. What was involved in this functional approach was the re-appropriation, diffusion and re-interpretation of the popular traditions of the rural world by the *soi-disant* avant-garde of the social struggle: the peasantry first, then the wider masses, then the entire nation. Story-tellers, artisans and popular musicians were to see themselves as having an active instructional role in these institutions. A literary trend of peasant-based neo-realism was to be born from this experience; the same was to apply to the plastic arts, which were broadly inspired by Anatolian and rural themes, and especially to popular traditional music. The tradition of wandering bards (*âşık*) which is included in the specifically Turkish

genre of the *türkü* [*q.v.*] as opposed to the orientalising scholarly genre (*şarkı*, from *shark* "Orient") deriving from Ottoman classical music, was to be strongly encouraged. Aşık Veysel, a blind member of the Alevi community, was the figurehead of this tendency which was to develop in particular alongside the political and social conflicts of the years 1970-80 in an evolution comparable to that of the *rebetika* genre in Greece.

Caught in a vice between the folklorism of the state, instrumental and identificatory, and the political peasant folklorism of progressive ideology, ethnography and ethnology have not found favourable ground for endogenous development in Turkey. Worth noting, however, is the long career of a folklorist of the school of Arnold van Gennep, namely, Pertev Nâili Boratav, who was the holder of the first Chair of Popular Literary Traditions created in the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography of Ankara University (1942). This chair sponsored intense activity in theses and in lecturing on folklore, and an archive of popular literature was created, but being judged subversive, Boratav's teaching and the chair itself were suppressed in 1948.

Paradoxically, it was from France, where he had then settled and in the context of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, that Boratav was to produce a work, without equivalent in Turkey, on the folklore of this country. Field notes and archives—including those salvaged from the abolished University chair—were to constitute in some 6,000 pages, divided into around 100 "dossiers", the basis of an archive of Turkish folklore. Collected since 1927 (especially between 1939-51), the texts of oral tradition (tales, songs, fables, proverbs) are the nucleus of this corpus, which also includes information on diverse rituals and customs, popular magic, divination, popular medicine, etc.

This corpus is divided by Boratav into fourteen categories: 1. Various; 2. Works of popular poets (signed texts); 3. Epics and tales; 4. Tales and anecdotes; 5. Legends; 6. Proverbs, riddles, formulae; 7. Popular poetry (songs, quatrains, canticles); 8. Popular music, popular dance; 9. Games (including sport, theatre); 10. Beliefs; 11. Rituals (from cradle to tomb); 12. Material traditions (popular art, craft, dress, customs); 13. Religious institutions; and 14. Popular sciences (magic, folk medicine, ethnobotany, astronomy). Within these categories, documents are classified according to the places where the information was collected; and the date and the name of the collector are specified.

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TÜRKÜ (< *türkī*), designates in Ottoman Turkish (a) the folksong in general (sometimes more explicitly *khalk türküsü*) as opposed to the song belonging to Turkish art music, *sharkî* [*q.v.*], and (b) a genre of folksong, primarily identified by the melodies proper to it, with heterogeneous formal characteristics and a very broad thematic scope.

I. The majority of the folksongs of the *türkü* genre are anonymous, the rest have lyrics by folk poets (*ʿāshik, sāz shāʿiri*) whose names occur in the text. Formally there are two groups of differing importance:

A. The main corpus of the *türkü* genre is composed according to the original Turkic method of versification *parmak hisābî* (*hedje wezni*) based on the number of syllables. The range is 5 to 16 syllables per line, the most common lengths being 7, 8, and 11 syllables. Frequently there is a refrain (*kavushtak, baghlama*) of one to six lines (sometimes consisting of two parts differing in syllabic lengths); the length of the refrain's lines need not be identical with that of the main lines. A feature of the syllabic metrical system is the caesura (*ölčüm, durak*), which is not placed at random (predominantly 4 + 3; 4 + 4; 6 + 5; 4 + 4 + 3) and may vary from line to line (e.g. 6 + 5 then 4 + 4 + 3). The rhyme (*kāfiye, ayak, uyak*) is generally constituted by suffixes (and therefore often polysyllabic) and frequently assonantal (*yarîm kāfiye*). The majority of these folksongs with a minimum of two and no specific maximum number of strophes fall into three main groups according to their rhyme patterns and the number of lines per strophe.

(1) Quatrains of the type *māni* [*q.v.*]: A "composition" may be a stringing-together of already existing *mānis* (resulting in the rhyme scheme aaxa, bbxb, ccxc, etc.) that are thematically linked to each other by means of a word or words at the beginning of each component and frequently by the addition of a refrain (-b, -bb, -bbb, -bbxb, -bbbxb, etc.) or it may be an original composition of the same form.

(2) Quatrains that are basically of the poetic type *koshma* (*q.v.*; not the folksong type called *koshma* which need not have the formal characteristics of the poetic type of the same name, the determining factor in naming a song *koshma* being the use of specific melodies) with the rhyme schemes aaab (abab; xaxa), cccb, dddb, etc., or other less common patterns. *Türküs* of this type also occur with a refrain or with their every fourth line being a refrain: aaab (abab; xaxa), cccb, dddb, etc.

(3) *Türküs* with strophes of three lines (aaa, bbb, ccc, etc.) and, less commonly, of two lines (aa, bb, cc, etc.), both types also occurring with refrains as in (1); these, or part of these, may be truncated quatrains.

B. The remaining *türküs* comply, albeit often imperfectly, with the rules of the quantitative Arabo-Persian metrical system *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*]. These make use of only very few metres. As a large number of these *türküs* are at the same time in accordance with syllabic metres, and as folk poets generally cannot be supposed to have been familiar with the *ʿarūḍ* rules, doubts have been raised as to whether they should be placed within this category. The forms used are those of *dīwān* poetry (*ghazel, murabbaʿ*, etc.) or adaptations of such. The various types are classified according to their specific metre and their individual melody and are mainly the *dīwān* (or *dīwānī*), *selīs, semāʿī, kalenderī, saṭrandj*, and *wezn-i ākher*.

II. The *sine qua non* of the *türkü* is the use of a *türkü* melody, as lyrics of various forms and content sung on a *türkü* melody are all given this name. These are anonymous melodies with characteristics pointing to a Turkic origin. Musically, the *türkü* genre can be divided into two main categories usually referred to (after Béla Bartók) as:

A. *Parlando* melodies (*uṣūlsüz türküler, uzun hawā*): Rhythmically free melodies of various types such as *kayabashî, khoyrat (khoryat), koshma (sic), bozlak, maya, aghît* (part of the last have characteristics which place them in-between these two main categories), etc. These melodies are also differentiated according to regional characteristics, e.g. *Eghin aghzî, Urfa aghzî*, etc.

B. *Tempo giusto* melodies (*uṣūllü türküler*, sometimes referred to as *ḳîrîḳ hawā*, as in Urfa; *oṭuraḳ* in Konya): Melodies with fixed rhythms, mostly folkdance songs (*oyun hawālarî*) of various types such as *zeybek* (Aegean region), *horon* (Black Sea region), *shîḳîltîm* (Harput), etc. There are certain correspondences between melody and form, such as the fact that almost only *uzun hawā* melodies are used for hendecasyllabic lyrics, whilst heptasyllablic lyrics are always sung to *ḳîrîḳ hawā* melodies (and octosyllabic lyrics use both). Of the various musical instruments that may be used to accompany *türküs*, the lute, *baghlama*, is the instrument of preference for the *uzun hawā*.

III. The *türkü* genre encompasses all fields of common interest with the exception of religion (popular religious songs being referred to as *ilāhī*, *ḳaṣīde*, etc.). Thematically-defined subdivisions with special names are, e.g. *ninni* (lullaby), *ṭashlama* (satirical song), *düghün türküsü* (wedding song), *aghît* (mourning song), etc. Through adaptations to changing circumstances, some of the most popular *türküs* exist in many variants.

IV. The language of the *türküs* is generally popular Turkish, thus remarkably free of Arabic and Persian loanwords, and exhibits characteristics of the vernacular such as elision, apocope, contraction, etc., as well as dialectal traits and expressions. The diction is rich in stereotyped metaphors and symbolic images, the style strongly expressive. That the musical element is especially important is shown by the frequent inclusion of unessential words and interjections such as *aman*, *yār*, *bir dānem* to allow for melodic expansions, making the lyric more expressive at the same time.

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(Edith G. Ambros)

TURS [see rank; silāḥ, in Suppl.].

ṬURSHĪZ (vars. Ṭurshīsh, Ṭurthīth, Ṭuraythīth), a town of the mediaeval region of Bu<u>sh</u>t of Ḳuhistān [*q.v.*] in northeastern Persia. It lay to the southwest of Nīshāpūr. Its site was probably to the west of the present town of Kashmar.

The 4th/10th century geographers describe it as a flourishing town, and al-Muḳaddasī, 318, says that its Friday mosque recalled that of Damascus in its splendour, and that it was "the emporium of Fārs and Iṣfahān and the storehouse of Khurasan". At the end of the 5th/11th century, with Tūn [*q.v.*] and other places it became one of the centres for Ismāʿīlism in Ḳuhistān. It accordingly attracted punitive expeditions by the Saldjūḳ sultans, and counter-raids by the Ismāʿīlīs, who in 498/1104-5 penetrated from Ṭurshīz as far as al-Rayy (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, x, 392-3). It was destroyed in 530/1136; its hereditary governor at that time was al-ʿAmīd Manṣūr (or Masʿūd) b. Manṣūr; an enemy to the Bāṭiniyya or Ismaʿīlīs, he summoned the Turks to aid him to defend his lands, bu the latter behaved with their usual greed so that, not being able to continue the struggle, he submitted to the Ismāʿīlīs. His son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Maḥmūd recognised the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in 545/1150; but receiving no support from them, he fled to Nīshāpūr and the Ismāʿīlīs established their authority in this region. In 596/1200 the army of the Kh[w]ārazm Shāh Tekish attacked Ṭurshīz; the siege was cut short by the Shāh's death, but the town eventually agreed to pay tribute of over 100,000 dīnārs (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 314-15).

The town was besieged and taken by Tīmūr (784/1382); it was regarded as impregnable on account of its deep moat and high walls, but the water of the moat was pumped out and a mine made a breach in the wall. The garrison was spared and served in Turkestan under the conqueror. Here Tīmūr received an embassy from Shāh Shudjāʿ, the Muẓaffarid ruler of Fārs, from whom he asked a daughter in marriage for his grandson Pīr Muḥammad. During the campaign of the Ḳādjār ʿAbbās Mīrzā against Harāt, Ṭurshīz was taken by Khusraw Mīrzā in 1248/1832.

Celebrated natives were the poets Kātibī of Nīshāpūr, born in a village in the vicinity, Ahlī (d. 934/1527-8) and Ẓuhūrī (d. 1024/1615). In the vicinity was the village of Kashmar where, according to tradition, Zoroaster planted a cypress tree which became famous and was ordered to be destroyed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Turner Macan, 1068, 6, ed. and tr. J. Mohl, iv, 364; Fr. Spiegel, *Ērān. Alterthumskunde*, i, 54 n. 2, 703; Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 143, tr. 141-2).

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(C.L. Huart-[C.E. Bosworth])

ṬŪRSŪN BEG, 9th/15th-century Ottoman historian.

What little is known about Ṭūrsūn Beg derives mainly from incidental references in his *History*. He was born probably in Bursa in the mid-1420s, to an already prominent *ümerāʾ* family. His uncle Djübbe ʿAlī had served as governor in Bursa, and his grandfather Fīrūz Beg in Iznik. Ṭūrsūn Beg was, while relatively young, the holder of a *tīmār* [*q.v.*], probably inherited from his father Ḥamza Beg (cf. Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-feth*, ed. M. Tulum, Istanbul 1977, pp. xi-xii; H. İnalcik and R. Murphey, *The history of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*, Chicago 1978, 11). He was present at the siege of Istanbul in 1453 and was subsequently employed as secretary on several survey tasks. Promoted to *dīwān kātibi* by 865/1461, he acquired an intimate knowledge of government affairs and participated in most major military campaigns of Mehemmed II's [*q.v.*] reign, especially those involving his principal patron, the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pasha (d. 879/1474 [*q.v.*]). A specialist in the financial bureaucracy, Ṭūrsūn Beg may have risen to the post of *defterdār* [*q.v.*] of Anatolia. He retired sometime after 885/1480 and settled in Bursa. His date of death is unknown, but it was certainly after 896/1491 (İnalcik and Murphey, *op. cit.*, 16).

Ṭūrsūn Beg wrote poetry under the *makhlaṣ* Lebībī, but is best known as an historian and prose stylist. His only known work, the *Taʾrīkh-i Ebu'l-feth* ("History

of [Meḥemmed] the Conqueror"), is a detailed and authoritative history of the campaigns of the reign (1451-81), continuing up to *ca.* 893/1488 in the reign of Bāyezīd II, to whom the work was dedicated. Although rarely referred to by later Ottoman historians, Ṭūrsūn Beg's *History* is significant, first as an insider's account of events of the later 15th century, and second for its substantial preface on the nature of Islamic-Ottoman statecraft, clearly stimulated by the political controversies of Meḥemmed II's reign. An edition was first published in 1330/1912 by Meḥmed ʿĀrif (Suppl. to *TOEM*), a modern critical edition in 1977 (see above) and a facsimile with English summary translation in 1978 by İnalcık and Murphey, see above.

Bibliography: See also *İA* art. s.v. (M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ); İnalcık, *Tursun Beg, historian of Mehmed the Conqueror's time*, in *WZKM*, lxix (1979), 55-72. (Christine Woodhead)

ṬURSUN FAḲĪH, a figure, possibly legendary, whom Ottoman tradition credits with having performed in Ḳara Ḥiṣār/Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār, the first Friday Prayer in the name of the first Ottoman ruler, ʿOthmān I [*q.v.*]. The late-15th century Anonymous Chronicles and the Chronicle of Urudj are the first sources to record this story. They provide no more than a bare statement that Ṭursun Faḳīh was the first to perform the Friday Prayer in ʿOthmān's name, with some versions adding that he also performed the Festival Prayer (*bayram namāzi*) in the same town (F. Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, Breslau 1922, 6). Some redactors also add a date to the event, sc. 687/1288 (Urudj b. ʿĀdil, ed. F. Babinger, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Hanover 1925, 12; F. Giese, *loc. cit.*) or 689/1290 (Urudj, *op. cit.*, 86), which presumably they derived from 15th-century Ottoman chronological lists (for which, see V.L. Ménage, *Neshrī's history of the Ottomans*, London 1964, 14-19).

Since, in Ottoman tradition, the performance of the Friday Prayer in Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār was a pivotal moment, marking the beginning of Ottoman political independence, Ṭursun Faḳīh became an important figure in Ottoman historiography, with successive writers adding "biographical" details to the bald statements in Urudj and the Anonymous Chronicles. ʿĀshiḳpashazāde [*q.v.*] (*Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Atsız, in *Osmanlı tarihleri*, Istanbul 1949, 103), writing in *ca.* 889/1484, adds that he acted as "*imām* to the people", and that ʿOthmān made him both *khaṭīb* and *ḳāḍī* in Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār. Neshrī, in 890/1485, repeated ʿĀshiḳpashazāde in making him "*imām* to the people", omitted the detail that ʿOthmān appointed him *ḳāḍī*, but made the significant addition that he was an "intimate friend" (*āshinā*) of the holy dervish Edebali (F. Taeschner (ed.), *Ǧihānnümā. Die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlana Mehemmed Neschri*, Leipzig 1951, 33), who in Ottoman tradition was father-in-law of ʿOthmān I. In the early 10th/16th century, Kemālpashazāde [*q.v.*] elaborated on this detail, making Ṭursun Faḳīh a saint (*ʿazīz*) and "guide to pious men", who "met and consulted with Edebali" on the question of the Friday Prayer (İbn-i Kemal, ed. Ş. Turan, *Tevarih-i al-i Osman*, i, Ankara 1970, 111-12).

In the mid-10th/16th century, Ṭashköprüzāde (*al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawla al-ʿuthmāniyya*, Beirut 1975, 7) elaborated on the Edebali motif, stating that Ṭursun Faḳīh was Edebali's "relative by marriage" (*khatan*). This detail is important, since it linked Ṭursun Faḳīh through marriage to ʿOthmān I. Ṭashköprüzāde continues by stating that, like Edebali, Ṭursun Faḳīh came from Ḳaramān [*q.v.*]; that he studied *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and *uṣūl* with Edebali, who also maintained his pupil, and that after Edebali's death, Ṭursun Faḳīh succeeded him as *muftī*, and in "regulating the affairs of the Sultanate and in teaching the *sharʿī* sciences". Ṭashköprüzāde's 17th century translator and adaptor, Medjdī (*Terdjüme-yi Shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul, 1269/1853) rendered the imprecise *khatan* ("relative by marriage") with *dāmād* ("son-in-law"). Medjdī also provides a slight variation on the original version of the Ṭursun Faḳīh story in the Anonymous Chronicles, by making him perform the first Festival Prayer, not in Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār, but in Eskishehir [*q.v.*].

It is above all the materials in Ṭashköprüzāde and Medjdī which have provided the materials for modern historians (see e.g. Babinger's *EI*[1] art. s.v.), who often add imaginative details of their own.

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ṬURṬŪSHA, currently Tortosa, a town situated on the Ebro in Spain, close to the estuary of this river on the Mediterranean, in the province of Tarragona in Catalonia (Spain), with today approximately 30,000 inhabitants, on the ancient Iberian site of Dertosa, where the Romans established their colony of Julia Augusta. Arab geographers refer occasionally to this "town" (*madīna*), noting its location in the eastern sector of the "Upper March" of al-Andalus (*al-thaghr al-aʿlā*), of which the regional centre (*ḥāḍira*) Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa) was "120 miles" from Tortosa (according to al-ʿUdhrī); however, the various relations—in particular administrative dependence—between these two towns were not constant, given the fact of the stronger "vertical" association between points on this eastern seaboard of al-Andalus, and especially between Tortosa and Valencia (Balansiya), situated some "110 miles" apart (according to al-Idrīsī) or "120 miles... 4 days' march" (according to al-Ḥimyarī). The town of Tortosa was the centre of its own *kūra* or jurisdiction (*madīnat Ṭurṭūsha wa-ʿamaluhā*, var. *wa-aḳālīmuhā*), according to Arab sources, and al-Idrīsī mentions several fortresses (*ḥuṣūn*) in the area in his time: [Alcala of] Chivert, Horta, Tivisa, Morella, Mequinenza, Ulldecona, Llobregat (= Torreblanca?) and Peniscola. Geographers also refer to its antiquity, its robust walls and citadel (*ḳaṣaba*), an open-air oratory, the stone rampart surrounding the open *madīna* with its four gates, suburbs, the great mosque, four baths, bazaars and agricultural hamlets.

Like Tarragona, Tortosa was definitively conquered by the Muslims around the year A.D. 714 and its territory placed under the jurisdiction of Narbonne, as is indicated by Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (*Iftitāḥ*, ed. Madrid 1968, 30), referring to the first years of the amīrate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I [*q.v.*]. The latter sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUḳba to govern "the *wilāya* of Narbonne and its territory as far as Tortosa", in territory reduced by Christian conquests, leaving Tortosa, especially after the loss of Barcelona by the Andalusians in 801, as the most important "outlying" town (*ḳāṣiya*, as it is frequently called in the Arabic sources) of this frontier, often attacked by the Christians throughout the 3rd/9th century who even took Tarragona [*q.v.*] at this time.

This frontier territory oscillated during the Umayyad period between local and centralist political tendencies: on the one hand were the "rebel" Buhlūl (d. 186/802) who took possession of Saragossa and of Tortosa, and the enterprises of two local chiefs of the Upper March (Muḥammad of the Shabrīṭ family in 301/913 and Muḥammad b. Lubb of the Banū Ḳasī in 316/928),

according to indications from al-ʿUdhrī implying the autonomy at that time of Tortosa; on the other hand, it is known that three Cordovan individuals were appointed governors of Tortosa by the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh in the last years of the 3rd/9th century. But central control was very much the hallmark of the caliphal policy of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. He is known to have appointed seven governors of Tortosa between 317/929 and 328/939-40, even visiting the town in 924, "improving the condition of its inhabitants" (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, v, 122), and encouraged maritime activity in its port (the foundation inscription of the naval construction workshop, commissioned by the caliph in 333/944-5, has been preserved, see Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, 83). Further attributable to this surge in activity is the [re-]construction in 345/956-7 of the Great Mosque of the town, with five naves. Tortosa remained under firm caliphal control during the 4th/10th century, although the place was "too distant to be visited" according to a verse of Abū Marwān al-Djazīrī, secretary and official poet of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], imprisoned by order of the Cordovan *ḥādjib* in the citadel of the town, "at the summit of a bare peak", according to another of his verses.

When civil war erupted, in Tortosa as in the rest of eastern al-Andalus, power was seized by commanders of the *Ṣaḳāliba* [*q.v.*]; from 1009, the taifa of Tortosa was dominated by the "king" (*malik*) Labīb, former *fatā* of al-Manṣūr (who also controlled the taifa of Valencia for a few months in 1018-19), and after him Muḳātil, another *fatā* of al-Manṣūr, who struck coinage at Tortosa, under his own name, from 431/1039-40 onward; after him came Yaʿlā, who also minted currency between 445/1053-4 and 450/1059, and finally Nabīl, with whom the "slave period" of the taifa of Tortosa came to an end in 452/1060. This was the year that the inhabitants of the town appealed to al-Muḳtadir of the Banū Hūd, ruler in Saragossa, and thus began the Hūdid dynasty which ruled Tortosa, initially through the same king of Saragossa and after 1081 through an autonomous branch of the family which also dominated Lerida (Lārida) and Denia (Dāniya), until the Almoravid conquest of Tortosa, at an unknown date, after their conquest of Valencia in 495/1102 and their occupation of Tarragona in 1114 (Ibn ʿIdhārī, section on the Almoravids). The Muslims succeeded in regaining Tortosa, after an initial Christian occupation in 512/1118, but as Almoravid power declined, the town was taken by Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona on 14 Shaʿbān 543/30 December 1148, the same year that Lerida and Fraga (Ifrāga) fell. The text of the "capitulations" given by the Christian prince to the Muslims has been preserved; those among them wbo stayed in the town had the status of Mudéjars [*q.v.*]. It is estimated that the population of Tortosa numbered 12,000 shortly before the Christian conquest.

The density of the Berber population of the territory of Tortosa, as early as the 8th century, has been remarked upon. The town enjoyed a sound cultural reputation, and the number of *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ* born in Tortosa and mentioned by the sources amounts to 42 from between the first half of the 9th century and 1150, the best known of them being Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520/1126 [*q.v.*]). Tortosa and its port were the scene of intense economic activity, specialising in farm produce and manufacture and especially in the construction of "large vessels from the wood produced by the pine-covered mountains which surround the place" (according to al-Idrīsī). It was also a centre of long-distance trade.

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(Maria J. Viguera)

al-ṬURṬŪSHĪ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Sulaymān b. Ayyūb al-Ḳurashī al-Fihrī al-Andalusī al-Mālikī, also known as Ibn Abī Randaḳa (Rundaḳa according to Ibn Farḥūn in *al-Dībādj*), Arabic writer born *ca.* 451/1059 at Tortosa [see ṬURṬŪSHA] on the Spanish Mediterranean coast, died probably in 520/1126 (see below). He studied in Saragossa where he was the disciple of the eminent theologian Abu ʾl-Walīd al-Bādjī (d. 474/1081 [*q.v.*]). Subsequently, in Seville, he attended lectures given by Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm who specialised in the teaching of *adab*.

In 476/1084, al-Ṭurṭūshī made his way to the East, undertook the Pilgrimage, then visited, in the quest for knowledge, the majority of the great cultural centres of that time. He stayed for some time in Baghdād and although a Mālikī, attended classes there given by several eminent Shāfiʿī jurisconsults, including Abū Bakr al-Shāshī and Abū Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī. In Baṣra, he was the pupil of Abū ʿAlī al-Tustarī, and in the course of his extensive travels he studied incessantly, primarily *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*. His wanderings led him, around 485/1092 to Syria, where he spent some time in studying and teaching and where he was visited, so it is said, by his compatriot, Abū Bakr al-Maʿāfirī al-Andalusī. He also visited Jerusalem with the intention of meeting there Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*], without success, probably because the latter was not often in residence there. After withdrawing for a time to Lebanon, leading an austere life dedicated to meditation and piety, he made his way to Egypt and visited Cairo before establishing himself definitively in Alexandria where he committed himself to the teaching of *fiḳh* and of *ḥadīth*. This gave him the opportunity to educate numerous disciples, some of whom were natives of Spain and of the Maghrib, the latter including Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (468-543/1075-1149),

the eminent traditionist Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣafadī (d. 514/1120-1), the future Mahdī Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130 [*q.v.*]), and through *idjāza* [*q.v.*] alone, the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149 [*q.v.*]). At the beginning of his stay in Alexandria, he married the aunt of his loyal companion Abu ʾl-Ṭāhir Ibn ʿAwf. A pious woman with substantial property of her own, his wife brought him the material and familial support which he had lacked.

It was in Alexandria that al-Ṭurṭūshī died in 520/1126, but his biographers do not all concur with this date; he is said according to some to have died in Djumādā I 525/April 1131.

His most important work reflects his role as a traditionist and a rigorous *faḳīh*. Among the writings attributed to him, the best known are: (1) A summary of al-Thaʿlabī's Ḳurʾān commentary *al-Kashf wa ʾl-bayān*; (2) *K. al-Fitan*; (3) *K. Sharḥ risālat Ibn Abī Zayd*; (4) A monumental work which aspired to be a response to the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazālī, whose opinions were not always in accordance with the rigorous form of Mālikī orthodoxy preached by al-Ṭurṭūshī. In his *Bughya*, al-Ḍabbī recalls seeing a part of this work which has not, however, survived to the present day; (5) *K. Birr al-wālidayn* (a treatise on filial piety); (6) *K. al-Ḥawādith wa ʾl-bidaʿ* (a book dealing with undesirable happenings and innovations, critical edition and notes by M. Talbi, Tunis 1959). This didactic work preaches scrupulous observation of religion as practised by the virtuous ancestors (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). Certain indications included in this book give the impression that it could have been written in Egypt, after 480/1088. *Birr al-wālidayn* and *al-Ḥawādith wa ʾl-bidaʿ* exist in manuscript form in the National Library of Madrid, no. 5341. (7) *Sirādj al-mulūk* is, incontestably, al-Ṭurṭūshī's most important work. It is a huge compilation including a large number of anecdotes and moral statements, presented in 64 chapters. Throughout this work, the author attempts "to represent the governmental ideal of an Islamic state over and above its practical organisation", giving "above all, theoretical views concerning the general rules of the public law of Islam" and underlining "the qualities which any sovereign must possess in order to govern with success and equity". It is appropriate to note that the content of this book is almost exclusively oriental, and the place occupied by the author's native land is extremely limited. Having completed the composition of this work on 14 Radjab 516/19 September 1122 at Fusṭāṭ, al-Ṭurṭūshī dedicated it to his protector, the *wazīr* al-Maʾmūn Ibn al-Baṭāʾiḥī. The *Sirādj al-mulūk*, of which numerous manuscripts exist, was published in Būlāḳ in 1289, in Alexandria in 1299 (with al-Ghazālī's *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīḥat al-mulūk* in the margins), in Cairo in 1311 (in the margins of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muḳaddima*) and in 1319. A Spanish translation was published by M. Alarcon (*Lámpara de los príncipes*, Madrid 1930-1), now replaced by Maribel Fierro's translation and study, Madrid 1993. In his *Muḳaddima*, Ibn Khaldūn criticises al-Ṭurṭūshī severely, stating that the latter has not attained his avowed object since, in his *Sirādj*, he has been content to raise numerous subjects, statements and edifying tales, without any effort to draw the least lesson therefrom. He accuses him in fact of being a simple compiler without originality.

Nevertheless, al-Ṭurṭūshī was not devoid of literary talent. Attributed to him are several pieces of verse dealing principally with asceticism, but also diverse subjects including eroticism. While residing in Damascus, he one day heard someone reciting love poems of al-Waʾwāʾ [*q.v.*]. He remarked, "Does this Damascene believe that no one other than he is capable of telling such lies. If we wished, we could compose poetry just as deceitful [as that which we have just heard]", and promptly improvised nine verses taking as their theme the *ghazal*, using the same metre and the same rhyme. However, the majority of biographers stress the asceticism and unworldliness of al-Ṭurṭūshī, "whose asceticism, in the words of al-Ḥimyarī (*al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, 125), was more important to him than his knowledge".

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): Ibn Khallikān ed. ʿAbbās, iv, 262-5, no. 605; Ibn Bashkuwāl, no. 1153; Ḍabbī, no. 295, pp. 125-9; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 30-1; idem, *Udabāʾ*, iii, 529; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ii, 424; Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, Cairo 1937, 124-5; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, 178-9; al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, Tunis 1971, ii, 290-2; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 62-4; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Beirut 1960, 66, 274, 491-2; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 85-90; Sarkīs, 1239; Brockelmann, I, 600-1, S I, 829-30; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 133-4.

(A. Ben Abdesselem)

TURUNDJĀN (A.), more commonly *Bādrundjubūya*; Balm, *Melissa officinalis* L., of the Labiatae, the Lemon balm or bee plant, its synonyms being *badhrundjubūya*, *turudjān*, *ḥabaḳ al-turundjānī*, *hashīshat al-naḥl* (Ghaleb, i, 201). It is about 2 ft high, with small white flowers; its leaves have a characteristic lemon scent. It has been cultivated since Antiquity, was known in Spain in the 10th century A.D., and was possibly introduced further north by Benedictine monks (Fournier, 499).

Concerning its medicinal uses, al-Ṭabarī calls it gentle, good for palpitations when drunk or sniffed, and according to Ibn al-Bayṭār, it is *mālissūfulun*, or *mālissūfān*, *rayḥān al-turundjān*, *bādhrundjūya* or *bādhrunbūya* (*Tafsīr*, 247). This is a Persian name meaning "lemon-scented", he says. It is a cordial, and good for stings and bites, whether drunk in *sharāb* or used as a bandage. The leaves, chewed, are good for the teeth (*Djāmiʿ*, i, 74-5). According to Ibn Sīnā, it is hot and dry in the second degree, recommended for the heart and stomach and to relieve palpitations (*Ḳānūn*, ii, 272).

Its many gentle qualities ensured continuity of use. Culpeper (1616-54) recommends it externally and internally, and quotes "the Arabian physicians" Serapion and Avicenna: for the heart, and to promote good spirits, help digestion, and expel melancholy vapours (*Herbal*, 36-7). Much later, P. Fournier also quotes these two, and mentions both Melissa itself and "l'Eau de Mélisse" as still "remèdes populaires d'un renom universel" (500). It is today a popular garden herb, mostly used in infusions and cold drinks.

Bibliography: ʿAlī b. Sahl al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, ed. M.Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa ʾl-aghdhiya*, Cairo 1874; idem, *Tafsīr Kitāb Diyāsḳūrīdūs*, ed. Ibrahim Ben Mrad, Beirut 1990; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ḳānūn fi ʾl-ṭibb*, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut n.d.; *Culpeper's complete herbal*, frequently publ. London n.d.; H.C.D. de Wit, *Plants of the world. The higher plants*, ii, London 1966; P. Fournier, *Le Livre des plantes médicinales et vénéneuses de France*, ii, Paris 1948; E. Ghaleb, *Dictionnaire des sciences de la nature*, i, Beirut 1965.

(Penelope C. Johnstone)

ṬŪS, a district in Khurāsān, original Persian form Tōs (also thus in the later 8th century Armenian geography, see Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 11, 47), which played a notable part in the medieval Islamic period of Persia's Islamic history.

1. History.

In early Islamic times, Ṭūs was the name of a district containing several towns. The town of Nawḳān flourished down to the end of the 3rd/9th century. The form Nawḳān < Nōḳan is confirmed by the present name of the Mas͟hhad quarter Nawg͟hān (where the diphthong *aw* corresponds to the old *wāw-i mad͟jhūl*, i.e. *ō*). At a later date, the other town Ṭābarān became more important and was considerably extended so that the original Ṭābarān seems to have become one of the suburbs of the new town which then became generally known as Ṭūs. The name Mas͟hhad [*q.v.*], at first a simple sanctuary in the village of Sanābād, is already mentioned in al-Muḳaddasī. Mas͟hhad first of all encroached upon the adjoining town of Nawḳān, the name of which disappears *ca.* 1330. In 791/1389 Ṭūs was destroyed and never rebuilt. The waters which supplied it were diverted to Mas͟hhad. Under the Ṣafawids this, the sacred city of the S͟hīʿīs, became the capital of the old district of Ṭūs (the valley of the Kas͟haf-rūd) and of all K͟hurāsān.

Situation. Two ranges of mountains stretch along the north of K͟hurāsān. The one (Kopet Dag͟h, etc.) rises in the north of K͟hurāsān and runs through Transcaspiana. The other (which is a continuation of the Alburz) is parallel to it in the south. To the south of Ḳūčān, the two approach one another, and this narrowing forms the watershed. By the corridor which opens towards the northwest the Atrak descends to the Caspian. Through the plain in the southeast runs the river Kas͟haf Rūd "Tortoise river", a left-bank tributary of the Harī Rūd (river of Harāt). The district of Ṭūs lies on the upper part of it. The outer spurs of the southern range (Binālūd-kuh, with peaks of some 850 km/2,800 feet) separate it from Nīs͟hāpūr, and the river's waters lose themselves to the south in the central desert.

The toponymy of the region suggest ancient, even pre-Iranian origins. The name of the settlement Ṭābarān preserves the name of the *Tapyroi* or *Topeiroi* of Arrian, *Anabasis*, III. 8.4 and 11.4, and that of Tōs apparently preserves that of Sousia, the first city of the province of Areia reached by Alexander in his eastwards march, cf. Arrian, III. 25.1 (Markwart-Messina, *op. cit.*, 47-8). In the *S͟hāh-nāma*, Tōs-i Nōd͟harān is represented as the hereditary commander-in-chief (*spāhbad͟h*) of the forces of Īrān during the reigns of Kay Kāwūs and Kay K͟husraw.

We have very little information about Tōs in the Sāsānid period, but in the acts of the Nestorian Church for 497 there is first mentioned a bishop of Tōs and Abars͟hahr (= Nīs͟hāpūr [*q.v.*]), indicating a significant Christian community there (I. Guidi, *Ostsyrische Bischöfe*, in *ZDMG*, xliii [1888], 410).

The Arab conquest. According to a story given by al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 334, *ca.* 29/649 the *marzbān* of Ṭūs wrote simultaneously to the governors of Kūfa and Baṣra, inviting them to K͟hurāsān, on condition that the conqueror should put him in possession of this province. K͟hurāsān was conquered under ʿUt͟hmān (in 29-31/649-61) by the governor of Baṣra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz. The *marzbān* of Nīs͟hāpūr, after some resistance, agreed to pay a tribute (*waẓīfa*) of 1,000,000 dirhams (another version, 7,000,000 dirhams) while the *marzbān* of Ṭūs (Knāztk; read Kanārang) appeared before ʿAbd Allāh and made peace by paying 600,000 dirhams (al-Balād͟hurī, 405). One would think that the two *marzbāns* were different individuals, and al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 296, tr. Wiet, 114 also speaks of a letter from the *malik* of Ṭūs and of ʿAbd Allāh's reply which the descendants (? *walad*) of the *malik* still preserved in his time. According to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2886, however, when ʿAbd Allāh had established himself in Nīs͟hāpūr, the other half of the province, i.e. Nasā and Ṭūs, remained in the hands of the Kanārē, with whom ʿAbd Allāh had to make peace in order to be able to go on to Marw. As Marquart has shown, the title Kanārang (or Kanārē, in Greek Χαναράγγης, cf. Procopius, *De bello persico*, i, chs. 5, 7, 21, 23) was that of the hereditary governors of all the province of Abars͟hahr (Nīs͟hāpūr, Ṭūs, Nasā and Abīward) probably descended from a pre-Sāsānid dynasty (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 75; Christensen, *L'empire des Sasanides*[2], 108 n.). The intrigues to which al-Balād͟hurī and al-Yaʿḳūbī allude and which were to facilitate the conquest may have originated with some member of the family of the Kanārang, a rival of the lord of Nīs͟hāpūr.

In the period of Arab rule Ṭūs played no independent part, but its name is often mentioned in the records of civil wars. Under the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik (65-86/685-705), the citadel of Ṭūs was occupied by a body of the Banū Tamīm (al-Balād͟hurī, 415), who still held control in 125 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1771). In 130/747-8, Ḳaḥṭaba [*q.v.*], the lieutenant of Abū Muslim, inflicted a decisive defeat on the Umayyad governor Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] near Ṭūs (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 2000; Ibn al-At͟hīr, v, 282, 292, 295). In 184/800 a certain Abu 'l-K͟haṣīb of Nasā rebelled in K͟hurāsān and for a time seized Ṭūs, Nīs͟hāpūr, etc. On 3 D͟jumādā II 193/24 March 809, Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd, who was operating in K͟hurāsān against the rebel Rāfiʿ b. Layt͟h b. Naṣr b. Sayyār, died at Ṭūs (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 733). On 1 Ṣafar 203/8 August 818 the ʿAlid ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā died in the village of Sanābād of Ṭūs. According to Ibn al-At͟hīr, vi, 203, al-Maʾmūn prayed to God for the deceased and interred him near the tomb of his father ("in the garden of Ḥumayd b. Ḳaḥṭaba", following Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil quoted by Yāḳūt). Sanābād is the modern Mas͟hhad. The tomb of Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd, now completely disappeared, was beside that of the Imām ʿAlī for, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 79, tr. Gibb, iii, 583, the ʿAlid pilgrims who visited the latter used to kick the tomb of Hārūn (which, however, was still kept in good order in the 8th/14th century).

According to al-Idrīsī, Muḳān (read Nawḳān) was the capital of the Ṭāhirids, but "after the siege" the capital was moved to Nīs͟hāpūr (between 213/828 and 230/844-5; see ṬĀHIRIDS). The historical sources state that in 265/878 Ṭūs was destroyed (*uk͟hribat*), evidently as a result of the rebellion of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-K͟hud͟jistānī, an old retainer of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir who had seized Nīs͟hāpūr in 262/875-6 (*ibid.*, iii, 1931; Ibn al-At͟hīr, vii, 227; cf. Defrémery, *Mémoire... sur Ahmad, fils d'Abd Allāh*, in *JA* [1845], 345-62). Al-Yaʿḳūbī (278/891) still mentions Nawḳān as the principal town of Ṭūs. In 283/896 the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr b. al-Layt͟h [*q.v.*] reported to the caliph that his men had defeated near Ṭūs the Amīr Rāfiʿ b. Hart͟hama who had been asserting his independence in K͟hurāsān from 271/884 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2160; Ibn al-At͟hīr, vii, 334).

The Sāmānids. In 309/921-2 Laylī b. Nuʿmān, one of the generals of the ʿAlid *dāʿī* al-Ḥasan b. Ḳāsim, came to Nīs͟hāpūr and had the *k͟huṭba* read there in the name of his chief. By orders of the Sāmānid Nūḥ I, Ḥammūya b. ʿAlī left Buk͟hārā against Laylī. He was at first defeated near Ṭūs, but Laylī later lost his life (Ibn al-At͟hīr, viii, 91). In 336/947, the governor of Ṭūs and its dependencies Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ rebelled against Nūḥ b. Naṣr. The

latter sent Manṣūr b. Ḳaratigin to Khurāsān. Muḥammad went from Nīshāpūr to Ustuwā (= Kūčān). His brother Rāfiʿ was besieged in the fort of Sumaylān and later in the fort of Darak (3 farsakhs from Sumaylān). Sumaylān was dismantled, but Rāfiʿ succeeded in retaining what was left at Darak. Lastly, in 339/950-1, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, being pardoned by Nūḥ returned to Ṭūs (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 353, 361). The personality of Abū Manṣūr is particularly interesting on account of his friendship with Firdawsī (cf. *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, i, 20, ed. Vullers, i, 10-11). Abū Manṣūr beautified the Friday mosque of the town of Ṭābarān, which henceforth was the first in Ṭūs (al-Muḳaddasī, 319). In 349/960 Abū Manṣūr was appointed *sipahsālār*, but immediately dismissed in favour of Alptigin [*q.v.*]. The latter settled in Nīshāpūr, and Abū Manṣūr retired to his fief of Ṭūs. In 350/961, after the accession of the Sāmānid Manṣūr, Alptigin fell into disgrace. Abū Manṣūr, who had sent troops from Ṭābarān and Nawḳān towards Čāha (on the road from Nīshāpūr to Marw; cf. Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 51), did not succeed in stopping Alptigin. Fearing the wrath of his master, Abū Manṣūr rebelled and was ultimately poisoned (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nazim, Berlin 1928, 41-4).

The geographers of the 4th/10th century place the district of Ṭūs on the Nīshāpūr-Sarakhs road (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 24; Ḳudāma, 201), Al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 277, tr. 83, states that Nawḳān was the largest town there and that the local people were mainly Persian but with some Arabs of Ṭayyi' and other tribes. This same author says that the land-tax of the district was included in that of Nīshāpūr, though Ibn Khurradādhbih estimated it separately at 740,860 dirhams. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, comm. 376, enumerates five settlements in the Ṭūs district and mentions the turquoise, copper, lead and antimony found in the nearby hills.

Al-Muḳaddasī, author of the most complete description of Khurāsān, emphasises the subordinate character of Ṭūs. "If some have said that Nīshāpūr has eclipsed Ṭūs, one would reply that Ṭūs has never been a large town to be eclipsed." Al-Muḳaddasī repeats several times that Ṭūs, like Nasā and Abīward, is only a *khizāna* ("granary, depot") of the *kūra* of Nīshāpūr (50, 295, 300, 301 n. *b*). Among the towns of the district of Ṭūs, he mentions al-Ṭābarān, al-Nawḳān, al-Rādkān, Djnābd, Ustūrḳān, Trūghbdh (the last three are uncertain). The largest of these at this time was al-Ṭābarān (375/985). It had a citadel and from the distance resembled Medina. Al-Muḳaddasī mentions its busy market in which there was the cathedral mosque which Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ had embellished (*zakhrafa*). The water ran in shallow subterranean canals; fruits and firewood were abundant and the prices of merchandise moderate. In spite of all this, al-Ṭābarān was a wretched little town (*bulayda*) the outskirts of which were in ruins, the water bad and the climate cold. The inhabitants professed the Shāfiʿī law school and were capable of being very troublesome in times of turmoil. Ṭūs produced stone cooking vessels (*birām*, sing. *burma*), mats and wheat, as well as striped materials and *tikak* (trouser cords) of good quality. Al-Nawḳān was below al-Ṭābarān (*dūna*, perhaps "lower down the river"). In Mashhad there was a citadel with houses and a market; the mosque built on the tomb by ʿAmīd al-Dawla Fā'iḳ was the best in Khurāsān (*ibid.*, 319, 323, 324-5, 333).

The Ghaznawids. In 385/995, when Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] was installed in Nīshāpūr by the Sāmānid Nūḥ II, Abū ʿAlī Sīmdjūrī and Fā'iḳ (a former Sāmānid general, builder of the mosque of Mashhad; cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 333), refugees in Djurdjān, attempted to reconquer Khurāsān, but Sebüktigin defeated them near the village of Andarakh (?) of Ṭūs (Gardīzī, 56; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 75; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 262). In 389/999, Maḥmūd sought to reassert his rights over Khurāsān. His rival Begtuzun was driven from Ṭūs and in his stead Maḥmūd appointed his chief *amīr* Arslan Djādhib, who is still mentioned as lord of Ṭūs in 401/1010-11 and 420/1029 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 103, 155, 267). In 397/1006-7, however, the Ḳara-Khānids of Transoxiana sent an expedition which took Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr; but the tables were soon turned when Maḥmūd returned from India (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 272). Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 283, without giving a date, records that Maḥmūd as a result of a dream rebuilt the sepulchral building of Ṭūs (i.e. Mashhad) which his father Sebüktigin had destroyed, and prevented the People of Ṭūs (i.e. the Shāfiʿīs ?) from harassing the pilgrims (ʿAlids).

The Saldjūks. In 421/1030 the Saldjūḳs, making short shrift of the attempts at conciliation made by the Ghaznawid Masʿūd, penetrated into Balkh, Nīshāpūr, Ṭūs and Djurdjān. In 425/1034 their strength increased, which had repercussions on the situation generally. Turbulent elements gathered round the people of Ṭūs, who declared war on Nīshāpūr. The governor of this town fled, but the *amīr* of Kirmān, who was on his way to Masʿūd, arrived with 300 horsemen. The people of Nīshāpūr defeated those of Ṭūs and Abīward. The *amīr* of Kirmān massacred 20,000 people of Ṭūs. He crucified them on trees and along the roads. The landlords of the villages (*zuʿamā' ḳurā Ṭūs*) had to give hostages.

In 428/1036-7 Masʿūd's commander-in-chief (*su-bashi*), defeated by the Saldjūḳs near Sarakhs, was driven back to Ṭūs. In 430/1038-9 Khurāsān became the arena of the struggle between Masʿūd and the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl. The latter from Ustuwā (Ḳūčān) took refuge in "the inaccessible mountains and difficult passes" of Ṭūs. Since from there Ṭoghrïl went to Abīward, the reference is probably to the district of Kalāt. Some people of Ṭūs who had been intriguing with Ṭoghrïl entrenched themselves on an inaccessible summit, but in spite of the winter these positions were taken by Masʿūd, who personally directed the attack.

In 465/1072 Malik-Shāh conferred on Niẓām al-Mulk a number of fiefs including Ṭūs, the native city of the great vizier (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 54). Niẓām al-Mulk is said to have built there two Friday mosques, one at Ṭūs and the other at Nawḳān.

In 510/1116 a disputation at Ṭūs on ʿĀshūrā' day (10 Muḥarram) between an ʿAlawī and the Sunnī religious scholars ended in great riots. The Sunnī inhabitants laid siege to Mashhad and did great damage there. To protect Mashhad against such attacks again, a wall was built around the town in 515/1121 (*ibid.*, x, 366). In 548/1153 the Ghuzz, having captured Sultan Sandjar, invaded Ṭūs, this "mine of learned and pious men", slew the men, carried off the women and destroyed the mosques. Of all the *wilāyat* of Ṭūs, only the place (*balad*) where the Imām ʿAlī was buried was uninjured. Ibn al-Athīr gives a list of individuals of note slain on this occasion.

The family of al-Mu'ayyid. In 548/1153 a slave of Sultan Sandjar, Ay-Aba al-Mu'ayyid, carved out for himself a small principality including Nīshāpūr, Ṭūs, Nasā, Dāmghān, etc. Sandjar's successor, his nephew Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad the Ḳara-Khānid,

had to be content with the payment of tribute by Mu'ayyid. In 552/1157 Mu'ayyid's rival Aytāḳ devastated Ṭūs and its townships, after which the district was left waste (*ibid.*, xi, 150). In 553/1158 the Ghuzz, having defeated Mu'ayyid near Marw, pursued him and sacked Ṭūs. In the same period, a quarrel broke out in Khurāsān between the leader of the Shāfi'īs, al-Mu'ayyid b. Ḥusayn, and the 'Alawids. The people of Ṭūs, Isfarāyin and Djuwayn supported this other al-Mu'ayyid, but the Shāfi'īs were vanquished. These internecine struggles brought about fresh devastation (*ibid.*, xi, 155). In 555/1160, al-Mu'ayyid Ay-Aba, after a quarrel, had a reconciliation with Maḥmūd, and as soon as he was re-established in his post began to harass the 'Alawīs. In 556/1161, his suzerain Maḥmūd, who was dependent on the Ghuzz, quarrelled with them. The Ghuzz sacked Ṭūs violently (*nahb^an^ fāḥish^an^*), including Mashhad, but did not touch the sanctuary. In 557/1161 Mu'ayyid blinded Sultan Maḥmūd and had the *khuṭba* said in his own name (*ibid.*, xi, 180; Barthold, *op. cit.*, 335). He laid siege to the fortress of Waskarah-Khūy (?) which belonged to Ṭūs, where a certain Abū Bakr Djāndār had installed himself. Mu'ayyid took the fortress and Karastān (?) also. In 558/1163, Mu'ayyid recognised the suzerainty of the Saldjūḳ sultan Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl. Ibn al-Athīr gives a list of his lands, which included Ḳūmis, Nīshāpūr and Ṭūs and extended from Nasā to Tabas-Knklī (?). In 568/1172-3 Mu'ayyid, who had taken the side of the Khwārazmshāh Sulṭān Shāh Maḥmūd, was taken and executed by the latter's brother Tekish. Under Toghan Shāh, son and successor of Mu'ayyid, his slave Ḳara-Ḳush in 568/1172-3 took Ṭūs and Zām (= Djām; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 248). According to another source used by Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 253, the Khwārazmshāh Tekish (in 568?), before his final struggle with Mu'ayyid, advanced as far as Ṭūs.

The Khwārazmshāhs and the Ghūrids. In 594/1198 Tekish, who had risen against the Ghūrids with the help of the Ḳara-Khitay, went by Ṭūs to Harāt. In 597/1200-1 the Ghūrid Ghiyāth al-Dīn seized the lands of the Khwārazmshāh in Khurāsān. Ṭūs surrendered after a siege of three days and was sacked (Djuwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushāy*, ii, 48).

The Mongols. At the beginning of Rabī' II 617/ May 1220, the generals of Čingiz Khān Yeme (Djebe) and Sübetey pursuing the Khwārazmshāh came to Nīshāpūr. Sübetey left for Djām and Ṭūs. The eastern township of "Ṭūs-Nawḳān" submitted but the inhabitants of the town (i.e. Ṭūs-Ṭābarān) did not give a satisfactory reply and Sübetey ordered a great massacre (*katl-i ba-ifrāṭ*) in the town and vicinity (Djuwaynī, i, 114-15). After the two generals had gone, the people were able to breath again (*ibid.*, 117). The chief of the militia of Ṭūs (*hashariyān*) was bold enough to kill the Mongol *shiḥna*, but the Mongol general Ḳishtimur, hastening from Ustuwā (= Ḳūčān) arrested the culprit and began to dismantle the fortifications. In the meanwhile, the advance guards of the army of Toluy, son of Čingiz-Khān, had arrived in Khurāsān. The last forts of Ṭūs were occupied. Nawḳān (and Ḳār ?) resisted vigorously; but Nawḳān was taken on 28 Rabī' II 617. In the spring of 618/1221, Toluy himself arrived from Marw. At one stroke the army occupied all places in the district of Ṭūs and the last remnants of the population were put to death (*ibid.*, i, 136-8). The citadel of Ṭūs was occupied by an adventurer, Tādj al-Dīn Farīzana'ī, who submitted to Külbulat (?), who was sent by the Mongol governor of Khurāsān Khamīdbūr (Djuwaynī, ii, 220). In 637/1239 the Uyghur Buddhist Kürküz ("the Long") was appointed to Khurāsān and made Ṭūs his headquarters. In all the town (the old Ṭābarān) there were only 50 houses still inhabited. Kürküz began to build government offices (*'imārat*). "Contrary to the Mongol custom", he built a solid treasury (*khizāna*) in the centre of the citadel (*ḥiṣār*). The town began to recover rapidly, and the prices of municipal plots went up a hundredfold in a week (Djuwaynī, ii, 238, 240).

Kürküz was succeeded by the famous Oyrat *amīr* Arghūn. On returning from his journey to the *ordu* in 643/1245-6, he saw that the Manṣūriyya palace and the forts (*kuṣūr*) were completely in ruins, and gave orders to rebuild them (*ibid.*, ii, 245, 247). Confirmed in office by Möngke (649/1251-2), Arghūn entrusted the government of Nīshāpūr and Ṭūs to Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Alī (*ibid.*, ii, 255). Arghūn then entered the service of Hülegü, and in the reign of Abaḳa died in 673/1275 at Rādkān of Ṭūs (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 559). The place of death of Arghūn suggests that his own estates were in the district.

Christians in Ṭūs. Traces of Christianity must have survived in Ṭūs from the Sāsānid period (see above). In the biography of Shaykh Abū Sa'īd (967-1049), the *Asrār al-tawḥīd*, ed. Žukovski, 70, we have a curious story of his meeting with the child who was later to become Niẓām al-Mulk (born in 408/1017-18) at Ṭūs (= Ṭābarān) "at the beginning of the street of the Christians" (*bar sar-i kūy-i tarsāyān*). In the Mongol period, the Christians enjoyed greater freedom. When in 1278 the future patriarch Yahballāhā III was on his way from Mongolia to Jerusalem, he went to the monastery of Mār Ṣehyōn "near the town of Ṭūs" and there received the blessing of the bishop and of the monks. In the year 1590 of the Greeks (= 1279) the bishop of Ṭūs, Simeon, was ordained metropolitan of China (Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ii, 449).

The geographers and travellers of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. Yāḳūt, iii, 560, gives few details about Ṭūs and only reproduces the fables of Abū Dulaf about a powerful stronghold on the road between Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr built by a king of the South Arabian Tubba's. Under Ṭābarān (iii, 486) and Nawḳān (iv, 824) Yāḳūt says, "Ṭūs consists of two towns of which the larger is Ṭābarān". At Nawḳān Yāḳūt mentions the manufacture of pots and cauldrons of stone (cf. *LA*, xiv, 311 on the stone pots which the pilgrims bring from Mashhad).

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 77-8, tr. Gibb, iii, 582 Ṭūs (= Ṭābarān), which he reached from Djām, was one of the largest towns in Khurāsān. From Ṭūs he went to Mashhad, which at this time must have encroached upon Nawḳān for of the latter the traveller says nothing and from this time the name disappears completely.

The Djūn-Ghurbān. These rulers were the direct descendants of Nawrūz b. Arghun. Their name, which was probably that of one of the sections of the Mongol tribe of Oyrat (**dzunghurban* = "the three [detachments] of the left [wing]"), was later given a Persian dress as Djānḳurbān ("those who sacrifice their souls"). After the extinction of the Il-Khānid Mongol dynasty of Persia, the son of Nawrūz, called Arghun Shāh, won for himself a kingdom in Khurāsān which, according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (quoted in Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 103), included Ṭūs, Ḳūčān, Kalāt, Abīward, Nasā and Marw. Dawlat-Shāh (Bombay 1887, 121) calls Arghun Shāh "*pādshāh* of Nīshāpūr and Ṭūs" but in 738/1337-8 Nīshāpūr was taken from him by the Sarbadār Mas'ūd. Arghun Shāh played a considerable part in the election of Togha Temür [*q.v.*]. After the latter's death (754/1353),

his possessions were divided among the Sarbadārs, the Karts and Arg͟hun S͟hāh, but the Sarbadār Karābī at some time took Ṭūs from Arg͟hun S͟hāh [see SARBADĀRIDS].

The successors of Arg͟hun S͟hāh were his sons Muḥammad Beg and ʿAlī Beg. When at the beginning of 783/1381 Tīmūr came to Ṭūs, ʿAlī Beg went to pay homage to him, but in the winter of 1381 he shut himself up in the fortress of Kalāt. After many vicissitudes, ʿAlī Beg surrendered to S͟hayk͟h ʿAlī Bahādur in 784/1382. As a reward, Tīmūr gave the latter Rādkān. ʿAlī Beg was deported to Andidjān and executed there towards the end of the year. Others of the Djūn-G͟hurbānīs were exiled to Tas͟hkent (S͟haraf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 324, 335, 351, 385). But in 791/1389 a rising took place in K͟hurāsān which was joined by the Sarbadārs, Ḥādjdjī Beg (younger brother of ʿAlī Beg), and the troops of Kalāt and Ṭūs. The *Ẓafar-nāma* briefly records the suppression of the rising by Mīrān-S͟hāh (i, 468-9). A much more detailed account is quoted by Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Maṭlaʿ al-s͟hams*, i, 208-9. Tīmūr is said himself to have appointed Ḥādjdjī Beg to Ṭūs (in 789/1388?), where he amassed great wealth. The rumours of Tok͟htamīs͟h's successes turned Ḥādjdjī Beg's head, and he stopped the *k͟huṭba* for Tīmūr and proclaimed his desire for independence. He fought for several months with the *amīr* Aḳ Buḳa, who remained faithful to Tīmūr. On the arrival of Mīrān S͟hāh, Ḥādjdjī Beg fled but was captured and put to death. The town was taken in Radjab 791/July 1389; 10,000 men were killed and towers of skulls (*manāra*) erected at the gate of the city. "No trace was left of Ṭūs." In 807/1404-5 again, Tīmūr had executed near ʿIs͟hḳābād (As͟hk͟hābād) the Djūn-G͟hurbānīs Aḳ Buḳa and Ḳara Buḳa, who had been plotting in his absence (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 592). At the present day, the country north of Mas͟hhad (from Čolay-k͟hāna to Ḳalʿa-yi-Yūsuf K͟hān which is 4 farsak͟hs north of Ḳūčān) is called the encampment (*yurt*) of the Djūnī-G͟hurbānī tribe (Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, i, 158).

The end of Ṭūs. Ṭūs (i.e. Ṭābarān) was never able to recover from the events of 791/1389. It is true that S͟hāhruk͟h after his accession to the throne of K͟hurāsān in 807/1404-5 sent to Ṭūs the *amīr* Sayyid K͟hʷādja with orders to rebuild the town. In 809/1406-7, Ṭūs, Ḳūčān, Kalāt, etc., were given to prince Ulug͟h Beg. In the period of the decline of Tīmūr's line, some members of it exercised more or less independent power at Ṭūs: in 862/1458 Mīrzā S͟hāh Maḥmūd and in 905/1494-1500 Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn (son of Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara).

In 918/1512 ʿUbayd Allāh K͟hān Özbeg, having raised the siege of Harāt, came to Ṭūs and Isfarāyin, but after some months evacuated K͟hurāsān on the approach of S͟hāh Ismāʿīl. In 927/1521 the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* mentions a governor "of Ṭūs and Mas͟hhad". K͟hanîkov found at Ṭūs a funerary inscription of a *s͟hāh-zāda* Ibrāhīm dated 983. The argument of the same traveller from the fact that the name Ṭūs does not disappear from Persian astrolabes till the 12th century A.H. is by no means conclusive; the tenaciousness of geographical memories is well known. Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī in his *Haft iḳlīm* no longer mentions Ṭūs; in speaking of Mas͟hhad he says "this *wilāyat* was at one time called Ṭūs". At the beginning of the 19th century, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn S͟hīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, Tehran 1315/1897-8, 354, says: "This was a well-known town in K͟hurāsān. Destiny has so destroyed it that all that remains is a village of 30 houses."

Two causes have contributed to the disappearance of Ṭābarān-Ṭūs: the weakness of its geographical situation in the plain, open to every invader, and the popularity of Mas͟hhad which is protected by the renown and sanctity of its sanctuary, and attracts crowds of pilgrims. The Indian traveller ʿAbd al-Karīm, who visited Mas͟hhad with Nādir S͟hāh in 1153/1741, rightly observed that the splendour of this town caused the ruin of Ṭūs (tr. Langlès, Paris 1797, 74).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see for the older travellers, etc., the *EI*[1] art. and also Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Maṭlaʿ al-s͟hams*, Tehran 1301/1884, i, 179-275 (on the history, the monuments and the famous sons of Ṭūs); Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 388-91; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, 102-5.

(V. MINORSKY*)

2. Monuments.

The surface remains of the urban site and surviving buildings were noted by Western travellers in Persia from the time of J.B. Fraser (1821-2) and were subsequently described by Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla (see *Bibl.* to 1. above) and by such visitors as O'Donovan, Curzon, Yate, Žukovski and Williams Jackson, with the Hārūniyya (see below) described in detail by Diez together with a plan and sectional drawing.

The surface remains of Ṭūs include the mud-brick city walls, forming an irregular circle enclosing an area some 1 km/two-thirds of a mile across, with remains of over 100 towers and nine gates. On the north side of this area is the *arg* or citadel, a square fortress each side of which is some 180 m/600 feet long with twelve towers and a protective ditch. Within this *arg*, on an artificial mound, is an oblong-shaped fort with nine towers.

The site of the poet Firdawsī's [*q.v.*] tomb has traditionally been located at Ṭūs, shown within the town's ruins near the northeastern part of the wall. Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 51, visited it in 510/1116-17 and located it in a garden which had belonged to Firdawsī "inside" (*darūn*) the Rizān Gate. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 151, tr. 149, located the tomb on the *ḳiblī*, i.e. southwestern side of Ṭūs. It is still a popular resort of Persians, now with a modern mausoleum constructed in the Pahlavī period at the expense of a Zoroastrian deputy to the Tehran *Madjlis*, Arbāb Kay K͟husraw.

In the midst of the ruins stands the building popularly known as the Hārūniyya, since local people consider it to be the mausoleum of Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd [*q.v.*] (though Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, iii, 79, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iii, 583, noted that the caliph's tomb was actually in the shrine of Mas͟hhad al-Riḍā [see MAS͟HHAD. i], where S͟hīʿī pilgrims could conveniently kick and curse it). First studied by Diez, it is a rectangular structure with vaulted portal, square dome chamber (probably once double), a dome of fired brick and three auxiliary rooms. There is stucco decoration but no surviving dated or named inscription. It was once considered to stem from the 8th/14th century, but a mid-6th/12th century date for its construction now seems more probable, on the comparative evidence of other Central Asian and K͟hurāsānian mausolea, e.g. that of Sandjar at Marw. Whether the tomb marked is that of the Imām Abū Ḥāmid al-G͟hazālī [*q.v.*] (a tomb of his at Ṭūs, outside Ṭabarān, is mentioned by Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 49, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 77, tr. 582) is undetermined.

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1882, ii, 15-16; V.A. Žukovski, *Mogila Firdousi*, in *ZVOIRAO*, vi (1892), 308-14; G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, 174; C.E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900, 316; A.V. Williams Jackson, *From Constantinople to the home of Omar Khayyam*, New York 1911, 266-96; E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i, Vienna 1918, 55-62, figs. 25-6, pls. 19-20; Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, 1072-4, figs. 383-5, pl. 380; D.N. Wilber, *The architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khānid period*, New York 1955, 145-6; D. Hill and O. Grabar, *Islamic architecture and its decoration, A.D. 800-1500*, London 1964, 65; Grabar, *The earliest Islamic commemorative structures. Notes and documents*, in *Ars Orientalis*, vi (1966), 38; Nasratollah Mechkati, *Monuments et sites historiques de l'Iran*, Tehran n.d. [*ca.* 1968], 95; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*, London 1972, 203. (C.E. Bosworth)

TŪSĀN, a village in the oasis of Marw in Khurāsān, according to al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 94-5 (who names various *ʿulamāʾ* from it; cf. also Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 49), two farsakhs from the chef-lieu Marw al-Shāhidjān [*q.v.*]. Its chief fame is that, at the time of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution, in 130/747-8, the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*], threatened by the rising under Abū Muslim, appointed his commander Abu 'l-Dhayyāl over Tūsān; but the latter's oppressive behaviour prompted Abū Muslim to send a force which defeated Abu 'l-Dhayyāl (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1970; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, v, 370).

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AL-ṬŪSĪ, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Abū Djaʿfar, Imāmī Shīʿī scholar, b. Ramaḍān 385/995 in Ṭūs, d. 459 or 460/1066-7 in Nadjaf.

After completing his preliminary studies, in 408/1017 he left Khurāsān, fundamentally Shāfiʿī and to an increasing degree controlled by the Ghaznawid Maḥmūd, in favour of Baghdād, where the Shīʿī Buwayhids were dominant. There, he studied under leading Imāmī masters including Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Abī Djūd, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ahwāzī, al-Ghaḍāʾirī, Ibn ʿAbdūn, and, in particular, the powerful doyen of Imāmī rationalists permeated by Muʿtazilī dialectic, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd [*q.v.*], of whom he quickly became, in spite of his youth, one of the favourite pupils (on the rationalist evolution of Imāmism, see Amir Moezzi, 1992, 15-48). On the death of al-Mufīd in 413/1022, his disciple al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā [*q.v.*], who had also studied under the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār [*q.v.*], took over the leadership of the Imāmīs of the capital. Al-Ṭūsī subsequently became his principal disciple. Eminent scholars and former pupils of al-Mufīd, such as al-Nadjāshī, al-Karādjakī or Abū Yaʿlā al-Djaʿfarī, were still living in Baghdād, but on the death of al-Murtaḍā in 436/1044 he was succeeded by al-Ṭūsī. In fact, by this time he had already amassed an impressive bibliography and had succeeded in gaining the support of numerous Buwayhids and of the caliph al-Ḳāʾim (422-67/1031-75), who appointed him to the principal chair of theology, the most prestigious of the capital. Heir to a substantial proportion of the great Imāmī libraries of the time, that of the *dār al-ʿilm* founded by Sābūr b. Ardashīr (more than 100,000 works) and that of al-Murtaḍā (almost 80,000 works), al-Ṭūsī composed some fifty books and his house, in the Shīʿī quarter of Karkh [*q.v.*], became for a period of more than ten years the virtual intellectual centre of Imāmism.

Under the Buwayhids, numerous religious riots had caused bloodshed in the capital. In 447-8/1056-7, after the al-Basāsīrī episode, the invasion of Baghdād by the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl and the end of the Buwayhids, the anti-Shīʿī coalition, led by Ḥanbalī traditionalists, sacked the quarters of Karkh and of Bāb al-Ṭāḳ. Al-Ṭūsī's home and library were burnt and he himself took refuge in Nadjaf. There he remained until his death, continuing to teach a limited circle of disciples, including his own son Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan who succeeded him. Also worthy of mention among his disciples were Sulaymān al-Ṣahrashtī, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh (nephew of Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūḳ), Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳummī (grandson of al-Ṣadūḳ), Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarānī (grandfather of the famous author of the *Manāḳib*) and also al-Fattāl al-Nīsābūrī.

In his work, al-Ṭūsī attempts to modify the radically rationalist and pragmatic positions of al-Murtaḍā (positions already present in embryonic form in the work of al-Mufīd): rehabilitation of the first traditionists, validity of traditions attested by a single authority so long as these are conveyed by reliable sources and conditional validity of traditions conveyed by transmitters professing "deviant" doctrines. In politics, serving an unlawful government (in this instance, the ʿAbbāsid caliphate) is in certain circumstances desirable, and collaboration with a power claiming that its authority derives from the Hidden Imām (a clear reference to the Buwayhids) can be commendable, but neither the one nor the other is ever obligatory (as was apparently advocated by al-Murtaḍā). At the same time, al-Ṭūsī has constant recourse to reasoned argumentation based on *idjtihād* and he begins to sketch the notion of the "general representation" (*al-niyāba al-ʿāmma*) of the Hidden Imām entrusted to jurist-theologians who may, if the need arises, exercise the prerogatives traditionally reserved for the historical Imāms. In completing and modifying the work of al-Mufīd and of al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī succeeded in endowing Imāmī law with a structure and a scope of activity practically independent of the figure of the Imām. Thus his work was to provide rationalist Imāmism, known from the following century onward as *al-uṣūliyya*, with solid intellectual bases, enabling it to experience a lengthy evolution which would lead ultimately to an ever-increasing assumption of power by Imāmī *mudjtahids* in the economic, social and political fields. The immense and lasting influence of the work of al-Ṭūsī earned him the honorific nickname of *Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa [al-Imāmiyya]* or simply *al-Shaykh*.

In his *Fihrist*, al-Ṭūsī gives a list of 43 of his own works; later he would have composed several more (Ṭihrānī, introd. to *Tibyān*). They are devoted to exegesis (3 titles), law (11), the foundations of law (2), *ḥadīth* (3), *ridjāl* (3), theology and heresiography (16), prayers and Imāmī piety (5), historiography (2), replies to the questions of disciples (3) [introd. by Wāʿiẓ-zāda to *al-Djumal wa 'l-ʿuḳūd*]. The following list is confined to the best known of these works (and the most widely available editions): *al-Istibṣār* and *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, ed. al-Kharsān, Nadjaf, respectively 1375-6 and 1378-82, which form with the *Kāfī* of al-Kulaynī (329/949-1) and the *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruhu 'l-faḳīh* of Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūḳ (381/991), the Four Canonical Books (*al-kutub al-arbaʿa*) of Imāmī *ḥadīth*; *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* (first great Imāmī rationalist commentary; ed. Shawkī and ʿĀmilī, Nadjaf 1376-83, 10 vols., with introd. by Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī); *Fihrist kutub al-shīʿa* (ed. Sprenger and ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Calcutta 1848, repr. Mashhad 1972); *Kitāb al-Ghayba* (on the occultation of the Twelfth Imām, ed. Nadjaf 1385); *Ridjāl* (revised summary of al-Kashshī's *Maʿrifat al-nāḳilīn*, Nadjaf

1381); *al-Iktiṣād fīmā yataʿallak bi 'l-iʿtikād*, Beirut 1406; *al-Amālī*, Nadjaf 1384; *ʿUddat al-uṣūl*, Nadjaf 1403 (these three last works concern ḥadīth and dogma); *al-Mabsūṭ fi 'l-fikh*, ed. Bihbūdī, repr. Tehran 1387-8; *al-Nihāya fī mudjarrad al-fikh wa 'l-fatāwā*, Beirut 1390; *al-Djumal wa 'l-ʿukūd fi 'l-ʿibādāt* (with introd. and Persian tr. by Wāʿiẓ-zāda, Mashhad 1374; *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahadjdjid* (in two versions—*al-kabīr* and *al-ṣaghīr*—on Imāmī piety, Tehran 1398; (the two works entitled *Duʿāʾ al-djawshan al-kabīr* and *al-djawshan al-ṣaghīr*, mentioned by Hidayet Hosain in *EI*¹, are not al-Ṭūsī's and are probably drawn from the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Kafʿamī [9th/15th century]).

Bibliography: Since the biographical dictionaries are compiled in alphabetical order, it will be sufficient to refer to these *s.n.* Ṭūsī or Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī; see among others Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehran 1934; ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, Damascus-Beirut 1935-63; Ardabīlī, *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, Kumm 1953; Ḥillī, *Ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1961; Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *al-Fawāʾid al-ridjāliyya*, Nadjaf n.d. Among the Sunnī dictionaries, see e.g. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*; Kātib Celebī, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*; [Subkī, *Ṭabakāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, iii/51 (al-Ṭūsī is regarded here as a Shāfiʿī; one wonders whether this was a tactical dissimulation on his part, from the period when he was still living in Khurāsān]). Among historiographical works, see *sub anno* 448 (flight of al-Ṭūsī to Nadjaf) or 460 (year of his death), e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*. See also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Tehran 1971, index, s.v.; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 184-217.

Among modern studies, see the 102-page introd. by al-Ṭihrānī to al-Ṭūsī's *Tibyān*, in *Yād-nāma-yi Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa ... Ṭūsī*, Mashhad 1348/1970; R. Brunschvig, *Les uṣūl al-fiqh imâmites à leur stade ancien*, in *Le shîisme imâmite*, Colloque de Strasbourg, Paris 1970; M. Ramyar, *Al-Shaikh al-Tusi, his life and works*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of London 1971, unpubl.; H. Löschner, *Die dogmatischen Grundlagen des schiʿitischen Rechts*, Erlangen-Nuremburg-Cologne 1971, index, s.n.; M.J. McDermott, *The theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, Beirut 1978, index; S.A. Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago-London 1984, 32-65; H. Halm, *Die Schia*, Darmstadt 1988, 62-73, Eng. tr. *Shiism*, Edinburgh 1991, 56-8; E. Kohlberg, *A medieval Muslim scholar at work. Ibn Ṭāwūs and his library*, Leiden 1992, index; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin dans le shiʿisme originel*, Paris 1992; idem, *Remarques sur les critères d'authenticité du hadith et l'autorité du juriste dans le shiʿisme imâmite*, in *SI*, lxxxv (1997), 22 ff.

(MOHAMMAD ALI AMIR-MOEZZI)

AL-ṬŪSĪ, NAṢĪR AL-DĪN, ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, also called Muḥakkik-i Ṭūsī, Khʷādja-i Ṭūsī or Khʷādja Naṣīr al-Dīn, the most important and influential Shīʿī scholar in the fields of mathematics, geometry, astronomy, philosophy and theology, styled in later times *al-muʿallim al-thālith* "the third teacher" (i.e. after Aristotle and al-Fārābī).

1. Life.

He was born on 11 Djumādā I 597/17 February 1201 in Ṭūs, in the neighbourhood of Mashhad, into a family who, according to al-Khʷānsārī (*Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, vi, 300, l. 11) originated from Djahrūd Sāwa near Kum(m). He received his Imāmī education in Ṭūs and died in Baghdād on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 672/25 June 1274.

Under the guidance of his father Wadjīh al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, a respected jurist, al-Ṭūsī enjoyed his first education in Arabic, Kurʾān, *Ḥadīth*, and above all, in jurisprudence following the doctrine of the Shīʿī ʿAlam al-Hudā al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), an adversary of the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār. His father's wide range of interests stimulated al-Ṭūsī to study the various sciences and doctrines, including philosophy and the Ismāʿīlī doctrine. He continued his studies first at Nīshāpūr, between 610/1213 and 618/1221. Here Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī and Farīd Dāmād, both pupils of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, were his teachers in mathematics, natural sciences, Ibn Sīnā's philosophy and medicine. Leaving Nīshāpūr, al-Ṭūsī went to ʿIrāk, where he studied jurisprudence with the Shīʿī scholar Muʿīn al-Dīn Sālim b. Badrān al-Māzinī. Later he studied at Mawṣil with the mathematician and astronomer Kamāl al-Dīn Yūnus (551-639/1156-1242; Brockelmann, S I, 859), who had himself been a pupil of the scholar Bābā Afḍal [*q.v.*].

In 630/1233, after finishing his studies, al-Ṭūsī found in Sartakht, in the province of Kūhistān, a patron in the Ismāʿīlī governor Muḥtasham Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Manṣūr. He had been studying the *Fuṣūl-i mukaddas* of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Imām Ḥasan *ʿalā* Dhikrihi al-Salām (d. 561/1166) and had then turned to the Ismāʿīlī faith. During this period, he wrote the *Akhlāk-i Nāṣirī* (see below), a work on ethics named after the governor Nāṣir al-Dīn. The first version was finished in 633/1245. Shortly afterwards, *ca.* 644/1246 he published his spiritual autobiography, *Sayr wa-sulūk*, in which he describes how he came to turn away from exoteric *kalām* and to profess Ismāʿīlī esoteric philosophy. In *ca.* 644/1246 we find al-Ṭūsī in Alamūt [*q.v.*], the fortress of the Assassins. It is unclear whether he travelled there only as companion of Nāṣir al-Dīn (so Badakhchānī, 5, cf. Dabashi, *The philosopher/vizier*), or whether he had incurred the disgrace of Nāṣir al-Dīn and had been banned to Alamūt. It may be that, in the face of the uncertain political situation, and perhaps also out of dissatisfaction with his Ismāʿīlī surroundings, he had the ambition of getting admission to the court of the last ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim bi'llāh [*q.v.*] (*r.* 640-56/1247-58) in Baghdād. In any case, al-Ṭūsī stayed for about twenty years in Alamūt and Maymūndiz [*q.vv.*]. During these long years, he was able to use the rich library there for his scientific works. In 653/1255 the Ismāʿīlīs sent him as negotiator to Hülegü, the khān of the Mongols who was preparing the conquest of Persia. In the face of the hopeless situation of the Ismāʿīlīs *vis-à-vis* the Mongol superiority, al-Ṭūsī convinced the Ismāʿīlī ruler Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh [*q.v.*] that he should submit to the Mongols; in 654/1256 Alamūt fell into their hands anyway. The shattering of the Ismāʿīlī movement was followed by the conquest of Baghdād, which al-Ṭūsī could not prevent (the accounts about his role are not unequivocal, cf. Hairi), and by the fall of the caliphate, detested by the Shīʿīs. Al-Ṭūsī accompanied Hülegü on his conquests in the west, and witnessed both the fall of Baghdād on 3 Ṣafar 656/10 February 1258 and the murder of the caliph. Owing to al-Ṭūsī, and probably also to Ibn al-ʿAlkamī, the Shīʿī vizier of the last ʿAbbāsid caliph, upon their occupation of Mesopotamia, the Mongols spared to a large extent the Shīʿī sanctuaries. It is possible that Hülegü, already before the conquest of Baghdād, entrusted al-Ṭūsī with important duties, such as the administration of all religious foundations (*wakf*) and of the finances. In 1259, almost sixty years old, he

began in Marāgha, near Tabrīz, the construction of an observatory whose director he became; and he also prepared the astronomical tables (*al-Zīdj al-Īlkhānī*), which he finished at the age of about seventy under Hülegü's successor, the Īl-khānid Abaḳa (663-80/1265-82) (see 3, below). During this period, al-Ṭūsī was in contact with a great number of scholars who came to Marāgha, not least because of the rich library which was being built there since Hülegü had begun to carry off the stores of libraries in Mesopotamia, Baghdād and Syria. In some biographies, the following names of scholars are mentioned who, among others, are said to have been to Marāgha: Barhebraeus (Abu 'l-Faradj Ibn al-ʿIbrī), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khi/alāṭī from Tiflis, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Marāghī al-Mawṣilī, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī), Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī al-Dimashḳī, Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Maghribī (Ibn Abi 'l-Shukr), and Nadjm al-Dīn Dabīrān al-Ḳazwīnī al-Kātibī (who held a scholarly discussion with al-Ṭūsī on metaphysical questions, on *wādjib wa-wudjūd* [see WUDJŪD] and on logic; see the *Muṭāraḥāt* in the bibliography of al-Ṭūsī's works). In this list, the name of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, the most important commentator of the *Tadhkira*, al-Ṭūsī's astronomical work, is missing, perhaps because he had criticised al-Ṭūsī's work, in particular in the field of philosophy, and because he is said to have denounced him to Hülegü (Wiedemann, 711). For an unknown reason al-Ṭūsī, shortly before his death, left Marāgha "with many of his pupils and followers" and went to Baghdād, where he died some months later (al-Kutubī, iii, 251, 12-13). He is said to have been buried there, according to his testament, near the tomb of Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

2. As theologian and philosopher.

Al-Ṭūsī was an extraordinarily prolific scholar. The list of his extensive oeuvre shows titles on astronomy, astrology, geomancy, mathematics, physics, mineralogy, medicine, jurisprudence, philosophy including logic, mysticism and theology (a first survey in Wiedemann, 707-27; Brockelmann, see *Bibl.*; Mudarrisī Zandjānī, *Sargudhasht*; Raḍawī, *Aḥwāl*; and Muʿīn, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī*). Al-Ṭūsī wrote the greater part of his philosophical works in an Ismāʿīlī environment. His first patron, the above-mentioned Ismāʿīlī governor Muḥtasham Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, was particularly interested in ethics. On his behalf, al-Ṭūsī translated into Persian *al-Adab al-wadjīz li'l-walad al-ṣaghīr* of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], a small treatise on the correct behaviour of children (its authenticity is doubtful, see Brockelmann, S I, 236 no. 6; ed. Dānishpazūh in his edition of the *Aḥlāk-i Muḥtashamī*; see the table of contents in Dabashi, 561-2). Muḥtasham also requested al-Ṭūsī to finish a draft of practical ethics, which he had conceived and begun. This *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥtashamī*, based on Muḥtasham's concept and notes, composed around 630/1233 and published under al-Ṭūsī's name, exists in an Arabic version (ed. Beirut 1981), to which in the original a Persian translation is attached, published by Dānishpazhūh, Tehran 1960, 1982. It consists of forty chapters, dealing first with the knowledge of God, with prophecy and imāmate, then mainly with the virtues of the pious and the Ṣūfī, described in each chapter one after the other with references from Ḳur'ān, *Ḥadīth* and Sunna, from poetry and the sayings of "wise people/philosophers and Ismāʿīlī propagandists" (*al-ḥukamā' wa 'l-duʿāt*) (cf. Dabashi, *Khᵘājah*, 559-61). It has been surmised that the work was composed as a guide for preachers and teachers (Badakhchani, 57-8). Al-Ṭūsī's ethical work *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī*, written two years later for Muḥtasham Nāṣir al-Dīn, has a more philosophical character. Two decades later, after the rupture with the Ismāʿīlīs, al-Ṭūsī published it again with a different beginning and different conclusions, and without the dedication to Muḥtasham Nāṣir al-Dīn (cf. Badakhchani, 61, n. 30). Just like the lesser-known *Gushāyish-nāma*, which deals with the esoterical aspects of ethical virtues, the *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī* is written in the spirit of Ismāʿīlī ideology. The first part is based on Miskawayh's ethical work *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ*, which in turn is marked by Aristotle's Nicomachian ethics, but also by Platonic and Neo-Platonic teachings (Fakhry, 107-30). The first part is followed by two sections on domestic economy (*tadbīr al-manzil*) and politics (*siyāsat al-mudun*), in which al-Ṭūsī each time mainly used Ibn Sīnā's *K. al-Siyāsa*, Bryson's *Oikonomikos*, al-Fārābī's *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, the latter's *Fuṣūl al-madanī*, and Miskawayh's *al-Ḥikma al-khālida* (cf. Madelung, *Naṣīr ad-Dīn*; the analytical table of contents in Donaldson, 169-82; Fakhry, 131-42; Dabashi, 562-8). Because of its practical orientation, his work has had a lasting influence and has increasingly been popularised: al-Dawwānī [*q.v.*], *Akhlāḳ-i Djalālī* (= *Lawāmiʿ al-ishrāḳ fī makārim al-akhlāḳ*); al-Īdjī [*q.v.*], *Risālat al-akhlāḳ* (unpublished; *EIr*, i/2, 1985, 722-3); al-Kāshifī [*q.v.*]; *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī*; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mahdī al-Narāḳī [*q.v.*], *Miʿrādj al-saʿāda* (lith. Tehran 1883, new ed. n.p. 1993) (on the contents of this work, which is a slightly revised Persian tr. of his father's *Djāmiʿ al-saʿādāt*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Kalantar, i-iii, Beirut 1985, see Donaldson, 190-2); S. Jalal al-Din Mojtabavi (who translated the *Djāmiʿ al-saʿādāt* into Persian), *Religious ethics and Naraqi's innovations in his moral book, Jāmiʿ al-Saʿādāt (The collection of felicities)*, in *Contacts between cultures. Selected papers from the 33rd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies, Toronto, August 15-25, 1990*, i, ed. A. Harrak, Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter 1992, 351-2; Cole, 7 ff.; ʿUbayd al-Zākānī, *Akhlāḳ al-ashrāf* (composed in 740/1340-1; *EIr* i/2, 1985, 723).

Probably the most important testimony to al-Ṭūsī's Ismāʿīlī-oriented philosophy is his *Rawḍat al-taslīm yā taṣawwurāt*, an ethico-eschatological guide for travelling from the physical to the spiritual world. Following the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation, the work contains a description of Ismāʿīlī cosmology; the will of the unknowable Divinity, His command (*amr*) and word (*kalima*), embodied in the Imām or in the latter's prototype ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, communicate themselves through emanation (*fayḍ*) to the first intellect, to the *ʿaḳl al-faʿʿāl* or to the *ḥudjdja*, whose prototype is Salmān al-Fārisī; from this emanates the universal soul (*nafs-i kullī*), the *dāʿī*, i.e. the Prophet Muḥammad, followed by the human soul. Linked to this cosmology appears the Ismāʿīlī theory of the imāmate, the doctrine of *satr*, the period of concealment of *ḥaḳīḳa* in the *bāṭin* and *ḳiyāma*, the period of the *ḳā'im* who possesses truth (cf. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 409 ff.). The fact that the Imām necessarily possesses complete knowledge renders both his existence and the total self-surrender to him compulsory. A prerequisite is the observation of the religious duties, not only by following the *Sharīʿa*, but also in an esoteric way and in the ascent of the soul from the position of potentiality to "the perfection of the ascertainment of the reasoned knowledge" (*kamāl-i taḥḳīḳ ʿilm-i ʿaḳlī*) (cf. *Rawḍa, taṣawwuf*, no. xxvi).

In *ca.* 664/1264 al-Ṭūsī expressed his views on the theme of ethics for the last time, now in the spirit of the Ṣūfīs, whose movement became popular in the period of the Mongols. At the request of the vizier Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Djuwaynī, he composed

the treatise *Awṣāf al-ashrāf*, a guide for the Ṣūfī on the path from belief (*īmān*) to union (*waḥda*) and extinction (*fanāʾ*) of the self into God (Madelung, *Naṣīr ad-Dīn*, 98-101; Dabashi, 568-9; Strothmann, 68-77). The approach to God results here from the behaviour of the Ṣūfī, whereas the correspondence (*murāsalāt*) between Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī [*q.v.*] and al-Ṭūsī (ed. Schubert) deals with the relation between philosophical and mystical knowledge of God.

In this correspondence, which perhaps took place during al-Ṭūsī's stay in Marāgha and which was criticised by the Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] (see Michel, 12), al-Ṭūsī, among other things, goes into Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī's question about how out of one thing many things can emerge, whereas from one thing only one thing can emerge (Schubert, 31-2; Chittick; Heer). Al-Ṭūsī's arguments are based on the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation, according to which plurality is the result of many causes which presuppose one another, but which therefore in the end go back to only one cause. This problem, which al-Ṭūsī treated in different ways in the course of his life (cf. Siddiqi, 577-8), is already found in his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārat wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, in which he defends Ibn Sīnā against Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], that is to say in his *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt* (iii, 244-5; cf. Heer), composed around 644/1246 at the request of Muḥtasham Shihāb al-Dīn. It is also found in his *Risāla fi 'l-ʿilal wa 'l-maʿlūlāt*, again extensively in a letter written in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 666/July 1268 and addressed to the judge of Harāt (ed. Dānishpazhūh, *Sih guftār*, 6-13), and finally in his *Maṣāriʿ al-muṣāriʿ*, a refutation of al-Shahrastānī's *al-Muṣāraʿa*, in which al-Shahrastānī had criticised Ibn Sīnā's notion of God and his ontology. Among other things, he had attacked Ibn Sīnā's thesis according to which only one being can emerge from the absolute unique one (cf. Madelung, *Aš-Šahrastānīs Streitschrift*, esp. 254-5; idem, *Aspects*; Hartmann, 199-200). Al-Ṭūsī must have written this refutation of al-Shahrastānī's Ismāʿīlī doctrine at a later stage of his life, when he had turned away from the Ismāʿīliyya, that is to say, after 254/1256 when Alamūt fell into the hands of the Mongols. Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics come to the fore, taking the place of the Ismāʿīlī norm of the prophets; they form the basis of al-Ṭūsī's theology (cf. Dabashi, *Khwājah*, 555-7), namely of the *Ḳawāʿid al-ʿaḳāʾid*, and of the *Tadjrīd al-iʿtiḳād*. The latter work has become authoritative in Twelver Shīʿa circles and has been commented upon several times (see *Bibl.*). In this context, it is important to note that al-Ṭūsī, notwithstanding his growing sympathy for the Twelver Shīʿa (cf. also his *Iʿtiḳādiyya*, a summary of undisputed Shīʿī doctrines (see for this Dabashi, *Khwājah*, 557), remained faithful to many Ismāʿīlī doctrines. This is shown e.g. by the *Ḳawāʿid al-ʿaḳāʾid*, partly a rendering into Arabic of what he had said earlier in his Ismāʿīlī-influenced autobiography *Sayr wa-sulūk*. Yet, even al-Ṭūsī's last work, the *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal* written in 669/1271, an epitomising commentary on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaḳaddimīn wa 'l-mutaʾakhkhirīn min al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-ḥukamāʾ wa 'l-mutakallimīn*, still defends the Ismāʿīlī doctrine of *taʿlīm* and rejects the Shīʿī doctrine according to which the *naṣṣ* (designation) of the Imām can be cancelled by *badāʾ* (changeability of God's will). The Ismāʿīlī and Shīʿī inheritance does not obscure the fact that al-Ṭūsī has become an important pioneer for Ibn Sīnā's philosophy; modifications in details can be detected here (cf. Qarāʾī, 29-30, where al-Ṭūsī's sympathies for the Shaykh al-Ishrāḳ al-Suhrawardī are mentioned). As witnesses of Ibn Sīnā's influence may be mentioned his *Maṣāriʿ al-muṣāriʿ*, *Tadjrīd al-ʿaḳāʾid*, *Ḳawāʿid al-ʿaḳāʾid* and, above all, *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt*; furthermore, al-Ṭūsī's Persian representation of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and of Aristotle's logic, the *Asās al-iḳtibās* (for the concept of substance in this work, see Morewedge, *Analysis of "Substance"*). Fourteen years later, al-Ṭūsī composed in Arabic a considerably shortened version under the title *Tadjrīd al-manṭiḳ*. It is therefore not surprising that the Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.v.*] followed the criticism of his teacher Ibn Taymiyya (see above) and that he, in his *Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāyid al-shayṭān*, considered al-Ṭūsī as the most pernicious hidden atheist, for whom the Ḳurʾān is said to have been "the scripture of the masses (*Ḳurʾān al-ʿawāmm*) but Ibn Sīnā's works the scripture of the élite" (*Ḳurʾān al-khawāṣṣ*) (Perlmann 334; cf. Madelung, *Aš-Šahrastānīs Streitschrift*, 258 n. 8).

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(H. Daiber)

3. As scientist.

Al-Ṭūsī was one of the major intellectual figures of 7th/13th century Islam, and his works, in fields ranging over the religious sciences, philosophy, and the mathematical sciences of Antiquity continued to have a significant effect upon the intellectual traditions of Eastern Islam well into the modern period. His influence and prestige are fittingly recorded in the titles, honorifics, and nicknames applied to him: *khwādja* (distinguished scholar and teacher), *ustādh al-bashar* (teacher of mankind), and *al-muʿallim al-thālith* (the third teacher).

He tells us in his autobiography, written in his forties, that in addition to his religious education, his father encouraged him to pursue the teachings of other sects as well as the ancient fields of learning represented by the philosophical and mathematical sci-

ences. He began studying philosophy (*ḥikma* [*q.v.*]) and mathematics with a certain Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib in Ṭūs; later, he travelled widely to continue his education. He first went to nearby Nīs̲h̲āpūr to study with the noted physician Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī and with the polymath Farīd al-Dīn Dāmād̲h̲. Among other things, he studied there the works of his famous Persian predecessor Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] (Avicenna), who was undoubtedly one of his most important formative influences. Later he journeyed to ʿIrāḳ to read under the S̲h̲īʿī legal scholar Muʿīn al-Dīn Sālim b. Badrān al-Miṣrī and study with Kamāl al-Dīn b. Yūnus (551-639/1156-1242 [see MASĀʾIL WA-AD̲J̲WIBA, at Vol. VI, 638a]), a renowned S̲h̲āfiʿī legal scholar who was also noted for his expertise in astronomy and mathematics; being a S̲h̲īʿī did not prevent him from studying with persons of different sectarian affiliations.

After completing his formal education, Naṣīr al-Dīn found patrons at the Ismāʿīlī courts in Persia [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA] beginning sometime in the early 630s/1230s. He would spend some 25 years in Ḳāʾin (in Ḳūhistān and at Alamūt) until the fall of the latter to the Mongols in 654/1256 (see above, 1.). Whether al-Ṭūsī was a willing convert to Ismāʿīlism, as he stated in his early autobiography *Sayr wa-sulūk* (Tehran 1335 *s̲h̲.*/1956), or whether this was a necessary pretence brought about by his need for patronage and protection, was, and continues to be, a matter of dispute. In any event, during this period of his life al-Ṭūsī found a refuge from the disruptions of the Mongol invasions and produced some of his most important work.

With the fall of Alamūt, al-Ṭūsī, who had already gained considerable fame, joined the entourage of Hülegü/Hūlāgū [*q.v.*], becoming court astrologer as well as director of religious endowments (*awḳāf*). In the former capacity, he accompanied the Il-K̲h̲ān on the campaign against Bag̲h̲dād and witnessed the end of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Later he oversaw the construction of an astronomical observatory [see MARṢAD] and its instruments in the town of Marāg̲h̲a [*q.v.*], the Mongol headquarters in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, and became its first director. Because of the substantial resources placed at his disposal (including religious endowments), this observatory, which also comprised a large library and school, was one of the most ambitious scientific institutions established up to that time. It attracted many famous and talented scientists and students (including, it is reported, Chinese astronomers), and, despite lasting only fifty years, its intellectual legacy had repercussions from China to Europe for centuries to come.

Al-Ṭūsī's prose writings, which number over 150 works, represent one of the largest collections by a single Islamic author. Writing in both Arabic and Persian, Naṣīr al-Dīn dealt with both religious ("Islamic") topics and non-religious or secular subjects ("the ancient sciences"). He was especially attracted to the exact mathematical sciences (especially astronomy and pure mathematics). Beyond their utilitarian value (and astrology in particular was considered immensely useful by al-Ṭūsī's patrons), their certitude was seen by him and others as an important means to the truth of God's creation; indeed, some Islamic scientists argued that it was a surer means than natural philosophy or theology. In this they followed the Alexandrian tradition of ancient Hellenistic mathematical science, represented most conspicuously by Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) [see BAṬLAMIYŪS], who had argued against Aristotle's [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS] philosophical view and for the superiority of the mathematical sciences.

Among al-Ṭūsī's most important and enduring contributions to the mathematical sciences were his recensions (*taḥrīr*) of Greek and early Islamic scientific works, which in many ways revitalised the translation movement of 3rd/9th century Bag̲h̲dād. These included Euclid's *Elements*, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and the so-called *mutawassiṭāt* (the "Intermediate books" to be studied between the former and latter) with treatises by Euclid, Theodosius, Hypsicles, Autolycus, Aristarchus, Archimedes, Menelaus, T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra and the Banū Mūsā. Al-Ṭūsī's re-editions, in which he often included insightful and original commentary, provided an opportunity for generations of students of late mediaeval Islam to study and absorb the Greek scientific tradition, either with or without a teacher. This latter point takes on added significance in view of the absence of an ongoing institutional structure for teaching the ancient sciences.

Al-Ṭūsī's monumental role as synthesiser and rejuvenator of the ancient sciences and mathematics was complemented by his original work. His attempt to prove Euclid's parallels postulate was one of the more sophisticated approaches in a long tradition of such attempts. In the 19th century, it was recognised that such "proofs" were not possible and that consistent geometries other than the Euclidian could be constructed. In another field of mathematics, al-Ṭūsī's *al-S̲h̲akl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ* marked a significant step in treating trigonometry as a discipline independent of astronomy, which in many ways was similar to what was accomplished later in Europe by Regiomontanus (1436-76).

However, al-Ṭūsī gained his greatest fame in astronomy. He wrote several elementary treatises on practical astronomy (*taḳwīm*), instruments, astrology, and cosmography (*ʿilm al-hayʾa* [*q.v.*]). In the main, these seem to have been meant for students. In addition, he compiled a major astronomical handbook in Persian for his Mongol patrons in Marāg̲h̲a, which he entitled *Zīd̲j̲-i Īlk̲h̲ānī*. There are indications that it was written in haste, and it seems not to have incorporated the Marāg̲h̲a observations; nevertheless, it was used extensively for several centuries.

Al-Ṭūsī's most original scientific achievement was in planetary theory. Many Islamic astronomers were disturbed by inconsistencies in the Ptolemaic system; in particular, they objected to the violation of the fundamental physical principle of uniform circular motion in the heavens. Among al-Ṭūsī's contributions toward resolving these "difficulties" (*is̲h̲kālāt*) was to devise an astronomical model consisting of two spheres, the smaller of which was internally tangent to the other that was twice as large. Al-Ṭūsī had the smaller rotate twice as fast as the larger and in the opposite direction; he could then prove that a given point on the smaller sphere would oscillate along a straight line. Incorporating this device into his lunar and planetary models, and exploiting the linear oscillation, he was able to reproduce Ptolemaic accuracy while preserving uniform circular motion. These models were first found in his Persian treatise *Ḥall-i mus̲h̲kilāt-i Muʿīniyya*, written for his Ismāʿīlī patrons, and were incorporated and further developed in his Arabic work *al-Tad̲h̲kira fī ʿilm al-hayʾa*, written during his years with the Mongols. Al-Ṭūsī's new models were quite influential on late mediaeval Islamic astronomy, and for at least another three or four centuries encouraged many other attempts to reform the Ptolemaic system. The "al-Ṭūsī couple", as his device is now known, also had an effect in other cultural contexts, finding its way into Sanskrit and Byzantine texts as well as the works of several Renaissance astronomers, including Copernicus.

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(F.J. RAGEP)

TUSTAR [see SHUSHTAR].

AL-**TUSTARĪ** [see SAHL AL-TUSTARĪ].

TŪT (A.), the mulberry, *Morus* spp., of the Moraceae; also *tūth*, said by the lexicographers to be Persian while *firṣād* is the Arabic synonym. *Tūt al-arḍ* is the strawberry and *tūt al-'ullayḳ* the raspberry.

The tree is known for its fruit and its leaves. Both *M. nigra* and *M. alba* have been cultivated in southern Europe and the Near East for many centuries. *M. alba*, originating from China, first reached Europe in the 12th century. Its leaves are the preferred food of the silkworm (*dūd al-ḳazz*), larvae of moths of the Bombyx family, whose cocoons produce silk (*ḥarīr* [*q.v.*]). *M. nigra* is best known for its fruit. Concerning its medicinal uses, *tūt aswad* is cold and moist; its juice is made into a robb, for swellings of the mouth and for angina (al-Ṭabarī, 382, 482).

Ibn al-Bayṭār equates *tūt* with *mūrā* and *firṣād* (*Tafsīr*, 155) and its robb as *diyāmīrūn*. He quotes from (a) Galen: when ripe, it loosens the belly, but unripe and dried, is very costive and even useful for ulceration of the intestines and diarrhoea, and its juice for ailments of the mouth; and from (b) Dioscorides, who calls it laxative, and when cooked in water, effective against the poison of *akūnīṭūn* [*q.v.*]. Its leaf, crushed and mixed with oil, is good for burns (*Djāmi'*, i, 142-3). The juice of the raw fruit can relieve toothache (al-Bīrūnī, 96-7). Today, the fruit is eaten raw, and used for conserves and drinks.

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(PENELOPE C. JOHNSTONE)

TUTAK, a plain in eastern Anatolia through which the Murad Su, sc. the more southerly of the two upper arms of the Euphrates, flows in one part of its course between Malazgird and Muş, hence now in the modern Turkish *il* or province of Muş; see further, AL-FURĀT. (ED.)

TUṬĪLA, the Spanish town of Tudela, situated at the confluence of the Ebro and its affluent the Queiles (Kālash), now in the Comunidad Autónoma de Navarra and with a population of 26,500.

The Arabic geographers give some details on this *madīna* of al-Andalus, stressing its frontier position against the Christians and its role as chef-lieu of a *kūra*, with other towns, fortresses and villages (such as Alfaro, Arnedo, Borja, Calahorra, Nájera, Tarazone and Viguera) in the "Upper March" [see AL-THUGHŪR. 2], whose capital (*ḥāḍira*) Saraḳusṭa [*q.v.*] or Saragossa was "50 miles" (*ca.* 75 km/46 miles) from Tuṭīla. Some geographers and chroniclers further mention that its foundation as a *madīna* was ordered by the Umayyad *amīr* al-Ḥakam I [*q.v.*], but from recent archaeological finds, it appears that the place has been inhabited since prehistoric times. Tuṭīla, with a sector of the 9th century and another added in the 10th century, extended over 22 ha.

At that time (sc. end of the 8th century and opening of the 9th one), it was made into a centre for Umayyad control over the northeast of the Upper March against the Christians of Pampeluna and also against the *muwallad* Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*], who succeeded in seizing Tuṭīla *ca.* 198/813 and in establishing there one of the main bastions of their intermittent autonomy from the Umayyads. This lasted till the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, who in 312/924 gave the town to Muḥammad b. al-Anḳar, governor of Saragossa and from the originally Arab family of the Tudjībids [*q.v.*], whose direct descendants held the town, also with periodic autonomy from the central power of al-Andalus, until 400/1009-10, the date when a collateral descendant of Muḥammad b. al-Anḳar, the Tudjībid al-Mundhir, governor of Tuṭīla in 396/1005-6, constituted the *ṭā'ifa* of Saragossa, including the rest of the Upper March and also Tuṭīla. In 430/1038, this *ṭā'ifa* was dominated by the Banū Hūd [*q.v.*] until the conquest of Saragossa by the Almoravids in 503/1110, who were not, however, able to defend this territory from the Christians; in 1119 Alfonso I of Aragon conquered Tuṭīla. The Muslim inhabitants remained there after the conquest as Mudéjars [*q.v.*] and as Moriscos [*q.v.*] until their expulsion in 1614.

As an urban centre, Tuṭīla developed a cultural life, if only modest, under the Arabs, with the first manifestations of this in the 3rd/9th century, consol-

idated in the next century, around the families involved with the Islamic cult such as the Banu 'l-Imām; the sources have reference to 22 scholars of Tuṭīla before 961, eight between 961 and 1008, and two between 1008 and 1058. The poet al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī (d. 525/1130-1 [*q.v.*]) stands out. Tuṭīla was one of the judicial centres of al-Andalus. The sources mention some agricultural and commercial activity there. Modern archaeological investigation has brought some information on the towns's Great Mosque and on ceramics, with some high-quality pieces of the latter.

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(Maria J. Viguera)

TUTUN, tobacco, more specifically, pipe tobacco. *Tutun, tütün* in Turkish, may derive from the Brazilian-Portuguese *petun* (Comes, 228). Other terms used are *duk̲h̲ān* and *tibg̲h̲* (Ar.), and, for water-pipe tobacco, *tunbāk* and *tambākū* (Pers.).

According to an 18th-century belief, tobacco did not originate exclusively in the Americas but was also indigenous to various parts of Asia and Africa; it was also believed that people in the Middle East used tobacco before Europeans sighted the New World. Since the 19th century, however, the prevailing opinion has been that the Old World, including the Middle East, was introduced to tobacco from the Caribbean and Brazil by the early European discoverers.

The first tobacco to reach the Old World was brought back by Columbus in 1493. The weed initially aroused mostly botanical interest, and for the next half century the knowledge and sporadic use of tobacco remained mostly limited to the (northern) Mediterranean world. Contrary to conventional wisdom, however, tobacco seems also to have been known in Persia and India by the early 16th century. Tobacco is said to have been introduced to India in 914/1508-9 (Dihlawī, 105), and the first references to smoking in Persian poetry occur in the work of an anonymous poet from S̲h̲īrāz who died in 942/1535-6 (Simsar 1963, 15). Yet, as in Europe, tobacco in the Middle East did not become popular until much later, and many parts of the Islamic world apparently only became acquainted with smoking at the turn of the 17th century. The people of the southern shores of the Arabian peninsula were familiar with the weed in the 1590s. Syria and Morocco learned about tobacco at about the same time, while smoking was introduced to Egypt in 1603-4. Portuguese sailors were probably the ones who initially introduced tobacco to port cities and coastal areas, after which merchants and soldiers spread the habit throughout the Ottoman lands. Tobacco penetrated into the Sahel and parts of Sub-Saharan Africa via the Arab caravan trade. From Persia, smoking passed into Central Asia, where tobacco was known and cultivated by the late 17th century (McChesney, 184).

The Portuguese were responsible for introducing tobacco in other parts of Muslim Asia as well, ranging from India and many parts of southeast Asia to the Indonesian archipelago, all around 1600. The Philippines seems to have received its first tobacco from Spanish imports from Mexico as early as 1575. From China, tobacco spread westward into Inner Asia and Siberia, where it converged with an influence from Persia and Russia.

Early tobacco came from the Americas via England, as is suggested by the appellation in Persian, *Inglīs tanbākū*, noted by Olearius in 1637 (Olearius, 597). An indigenous tobacco cultivation emerged in Persia in the 1620s or 30s, was in existence in Central Asia by the late 17th century, and may have existed in Yemen at an early stage as well. Over the course of time, tobacco cultivation spread to many parts of the Islamic world, including Anatolia, North Africa and India.

While in much of the Western world smoking was long deemed unbecoming for the female members of polite society, no such social stigma seems to have existed in the Middle East. Many descriptions of the Ottoman lands and Persia, as well as a number of illustrations, indicate that women smoked as avidly as men, at least in the private sphere (Tavernier, i, 705; Kaempfer, *Reisetagebücher*, 79; illustr. in Rogers, *The Topkapı Saray Museum*, 124, Loukonine and Ivanov, 206, *Treasures of Islam*, 119, and Kasrawī, *Tārīk̲h̲ča*, 6, 15).

Until the 20th century, a smoking device that was widely used in the Middle East was the regular tobacco pipe, whose long stem and small bowl made it quite similar to the ones used at the same time in England and Holland. Originally made of clay, and later also of wood, these pipes were known as *čupuḳ* or *čapuḳ* in Turkish and Persian (a cognate of the Persian word for wood, *čūb*), rendered in English as *chibouk* and in French as *chibouque* (illustr. in Neander, 243, Simsar 1963, 24, and idem 1971, 92). Such pipes are observable in the Ottoman Empire as well as Persia in the early 17th century. With the exception of the Lurs in the western part of the country, Persians never took to pipe smoking as eagerly as the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, but instead preferred the water pipe. Lane observed similar pipes, called *s̲h̲ibuk* or *ʿūd*, in early 19th-century Egypt, but also much longer

ones of between four and five feet (Lane, 149). One 19th-century traveller noted how among the Turkmen of Khurāsān, some used a sheep's shinbone emptied of its marrow and filled with tobacco as a pipe (O'Donovan, i, 440).

Snuff (standard Arabic *su'ūṭ*, Egyptian colloquial *nushūk*, Pers. *anfiya*, Tkish. *enfiye*) was adopted in places like Yemen and in the Ottoman Empire at times when regular smoking was proscribed, and became especially popular among Berbers and the Bedouin peoples of North Africa, and in parts of the Arab Middle East such as Syria and Palestine. Snuff has also long been common in Afghānistān, where it is called *naswar*. Moroccans preferred finely powdered snuff, while others in North Africa took to chewing tobacco, a habit which continues to be popular in Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. Chewing tobacco also became common in Malaysia and Sumatra.

Snuff, which in the West was taken up by members of the élite as a way of differentiating themselves from the common people, never acquired the status attached to it in 18th-century Europe. Class distinctions in the Islamic world seem to have expressed themselves less in the choice between different forms of smoking than in the degree of refinement and decoration of the implements used, in the type of tobacco that was smoked, and the elaborateness of the smoking ritual. Whereas the water pipes of the poor in Persia and Egypt were constructed from a coconut shell (Arabic *nardjīla* "water pipe" comes from Persian *nāgīl* "coconut, water pipe") or a gourd, the rich had their *ḳalyān*s made of porcelain and painted glass, and encrusted with precious stones. When Lane visited Egypt, the lowest orders smoked the *gōza* (Classical Ar. *djawza*, which also means "coconut"), which differed from the *nardjīla* in having a short, fixed cane for a mouth piece (nowadays, poor Egyptians sometimes make used spray cans into the vessel of the *gōza*). The rich smoked mild and fragrant tobacco from Latakiyya, while people from the middle classes used a heavier grade named after the town of Ṣūr or Tyre (Lane, 150). People of rank took to employing a water-pipe carrier, or *ḳalyandār*, who would follow his master either on foot or on horseback with the various accoutrements (Chardin, iv, 25; Lane, 150). In Afghānistān, such class distinctions were less pronounced, and the local water pipe simpler than its Persian counterpart. One traveller in 19th-century Afghānistān reports that travellers who did not carry the device would dig two communicating holes in the ground, fill one with water and the other with tobacco, put a reed in the former, and smoke lying down (Ferrier, 383). In Ṣafawid Persia, *mullā*s used long stems that allowed them to sit up straight and maintain their dignity (illustr. in Chardin, atlas, pl. XIX).

In keeping with traditional humoral pathology, some Muslim physicians and pharmacologists considered tobacco to be dry and cold, though most followed European practice by placing tobacco in the category of dry and hot substances. Controversy surrounded the alleged effects of smoking on the body. While it was held to be salutary for people with a humid disposition, some believed that it weakened the brain (Seligmann, 41). Similar to European beliefs, tobacco smoke was thought to repel pestilence (Khurāsānī, 275). Overall, however, tobacco in the Islamic world never gained the medicinal reputation it enjoyed in early modern Europe. Smoking was rather integrated immediately into social life, in a process that was no doubt facilitated by the prior existence and popularity of using other narcotics, such as opium and hashish [see BANDJ; ḤASHĪSH] (the former being eaten rather than smoked until the 18th century). As almost everywhere else, tobacco also became intertwined with the consumption of another newly-introduced psychoactive stimulant, coffee [see ḲAHWA], and it became a standard item in the coffeehouses that emerged all over the Ottoman Empire and Ṣafawid Persia at the turn of the 17th century.

The water pipe is (Muslim) Asia's original contribution to the array of smoking devices. Called *ḥuḳḳa* (or *hookah*, which denotes the vessel containing the water) in India, *ḳalyān* in Persia, *čilim* (the bowl on top of the pipe) in Afghānistān, and *narghīla* or *gōza* or *shīsha* in the Arab world, the water pipe originated either in Persia or India, where it was noted in the early 17th century (the first known illustr. of the water pipe is found in Neander, 247). It is not likely to have existed before the introduction of tobacco—though tobacco and *bang* (hashish) were often jointly smoked, no real evidence exists for the claim that the water pipe was used to smoke hashish *before* the introduction of tobacco. Soon, the water pipe spread westward, until it was known and used throughout the Middle East. Water pipes were ubiquitous in Persia until modern times. Persian cavalry officers at the turn of the 19th century even smoked the water pipe in the saddle (Freygang, 287). The device was noted in Yemen as early as 1618-19, and found its way to North and East Africa, parts of Inner Asia and the Balkans as well. The northern, Muslim regions of the Indian subcontinent also took to the water pipe. The Persian connotation of the water pipe in 18th-century Egypt is suggested by the fact that the most fashionable pipes were called *Karīm Khān*, after the Persian ruler of the Zand dynasty (Niebuhr, i, 127).

Cigars, which became popular in the 19th-century West, never appealed to the smoking public of Islamic countries, except for the westernised élite. Cigarettes everywhere were rare until modern times; Europeans did not adopt cigarettes until the 1880s, and cigarette smoking found a place in the repertoire of the Islamic world only in the 20th century.

As in many places around the world, tobacco in the early stage of its introduction in the Middle East aroused suspicion on the part of clerics and bureaucrats alike. Muslim scholars, unable to find references to tobacco in the Ḳur'ān, resorted to analogical reasoning to determine whether smoking was permitted or should be condemned and banned as contrary to religion. As tobacco did not resemble any of the forbidden substances mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, proscribing it was not a simple matter. Nor was it easy to "prove" that tobacco in itself was bad, or harmful to one's health. One way of arguing for proscription, therefore, was to equate tobacco with the foul things that sūra VII, 157, declares forbidden, to associate it with the "avoidance of things evil" (*nahy ʿan al-munkar*) contained in III, 104, or to argue that the Prophet who, according to a *Ḥadīth*, appreciated sweet odours, would certainly have loathed tobacco's foul smell. An attempt was even made to associate smoking with the smoke and fire that is held to precede the Last Judgement. Proponents of smoking invoked II, 28, which refers to the benefits of everything that God has created on this earth (Klein-Franke). Some religious scholars argued that smoking was a wasteful habit, while others urged moderation (Djaʿfariyān, *ʿIlal*, 351-4). Arguments for and against tobacco were often made in the context of the controversy between the representatives of orthodoxy, who rejected tobacco, and members of Ṣūfī orders, who took to smoking.

In Shīʿī Persia, those who opposed tobacco tended to be followers of the Akhbārī doctrine (*ibid.*, 352; a list of Shīʿī anti-smoking tracts appears in Ṭihrānī, ix, 173-75). Yet the influential anti-Ṣūfī and Akhbārī cleric Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī (d. 1111/1699 [*q.v.*]), who was *Shaykh al-Islām* of Iṣfahān, considered smoking permissible. Like many who sanctioned tobacco, he was a fervent smoker himself (Pampus, 45).

Governments in the Islamic world tended to present and articulate prohibitive measures as a "return to the true faith", even if the real motives lay elsewhere. Shāh ʿAbbās I of Persia (995-1038/1587-1629 [*q.v.*]) outlawed the use of tobacco in the early 1600s, apparently because his soldiers spent too much of their pay on smoking, and punished offenders by slitting their nose and lips (Olearius, 645). His successor, Shāh Ṣafī I (1038-52/1629-42), repeated the ban when he acceded to the throne (Tavernier, i, 599; Ḳazwīnī, *Fawāʾid*, 48). The Mughal Emperor Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27) banned smoking in 1617. In the Ottoman Empire, tobacco was first proscribed in the reign of Sultan Aḥmed I (1012-26/1604-17), who issued numerous bans on tobacco and the places where it was smoked. Of his successors, Murād IV (1033-50/1623-40) was most vehement in waging war on smoking. His aversion to tobacco derived as much from its religious status as innovation, *bidʿa* [*q.v.*], as from a concern with order and discipline, thought to be undermined by those who frequented tobacco shops, and his fear of political opposition by the Janissaries, who owned many of these establishments (Saraçgil). In 1627 a ban was issued on tobacco cultivation in Ottoman territory. Six years later the sultan, possibly persuaded by Ḳāḍī-zāde Meḥmed Efendi, used a huge fire that destroyed thousands of houses in Istanbul as a pretext to outlaw smoking and to close all coffee shops (Naʿīmā, iii, 1216-20). Many who were found smoking are said to have been executed. Nothing could, however, stop tobacco's march. Faced with this growing popularity, Murād's successors were more ambivalent. The *Shaykh al-Islām* Bahāʾ al-Dīn Efendi in the 1650s declared smoking lawful, and, though tobacco was forbidden a few more times by the Ottoman authorities, both the state and the clergy ultimately resigned themselves to its spread. The 18th-century Arabian Wahhābī movement included tobacco in its list of religiously proscribed substances. In Morocco, the *ʿulamāʾ* sought to ban smoking as late as 1887, with a similar lack of success.

Moralists and preachers continued to inveigh against the satanic origin or the debilitating effect of tobacco, but in time lost ground to bureaucrats who realised that tobacco, far from just draining bullion, might actually be turned into a source of profit. As was true in Europe, Middle Eastern states, burdened by ever growing military and administrative expenditure, saw tobacco as a welcome opportunity to expand their tax base. As early as the mid-17th century, the Ṣafawid government derived considerable revenue from taxing tobacco (Chardin, x, 408, 413). In the mid-19th century, tobacco was one of Persia's leading export products, being sent to India, the Ottoman Empire, and Russia. The Iṣfahān area alone exported between 1700 and 1900 tons of *tambaku* via Baghdād in the 1860s (Rochechouart, 60), and Burton claimed that, in the Ḥidjāz, everyone smoked it. *Tutun*, which was grown in the western regions, was exported as well; exports continued to grow throughout the remainder of the century. A *Régie* was established in 1890, but had to be repealed after strong protests on the part of the *ʿulamāʾ*. In 1909 tobacco was turned into a state monopoly, which was revised in 1929 and again in 1931.

In the Ottoman Empire, a Tobacco *Régie* came into being in 1884. A tobacco company founded with European capital was given the monopoly for the administration of tobacco cultivation, its purchase and exportation, as well as for the manufacturing of cigarettes for domestic consumption. In the late Ottoman Empire, as in Persia, tobacco became one of the most significant export commodities. In India, the English East India Company established a monopoly over tobacco cultivation in the regions which it directly controlled. Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] in 1810 instituted a tobacco government monopoly in Egypt, yet in 1890 tobacco cultivation was prohibited in the country. After occupying Algeria, the French encouraged the colonists to cultivate large quantities of dark leaf for use by the French state monopoly.

Today, tobacco is cultivated and cigarettes are manufactured in many parts of the Middle East, North Africa and Muslim Asia, but only Turkey ranks among the world's top fifteen tobacco-producing countries (sixth place with 222,000 tons in 1976-9) (Tucker, 177). Though many early modern reports claim that the people of Persia and the Ottoman Empire consumed prodigious amounts of tobacco, actual consumption seems to have been less than in most parts of Europe. Indeed, even today the per capita consumption in Middle Eastern countries is only about one-half of that in the West. In 1979 only Kuwait, with some 2,000 cigarettes smoked per person per annum, came close to the western average; Turkey and Lebanon averaged around 1,600, Egyptians, Moroccans, Algerians, Syrians, Jordanians and Saudis smoked anywhere between 600 and 800 cigarettes, while people in poor Islamic countries such as Sudan and Bangladesh consumed a mere 100-200 (Tucker, 183, 187). In many countries, most people smoke cheap, locally-produced cigarettes, but in modern times more expensive import brands have become increasingly popular almost everywhere, either directly imported or manufactured under licence.

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(R. Matthee)

TUTUSH (I) b. ALP ARSLAN, Abū Sa'īd Tādj al-Dawla (458-88/1066-95), Saldjūḳ ruler in Syria 471-88/1078-95. The name, < Tkish. *tut-*, "he who grasps, seizes", was already familiar as a personal name to Kāshgharī, tr. Atalay, i, 367.

During his brother Malik Shāh's [*q.v.*] lifetime, the youthful Tutush was given Syria in 471/1078 or 472/1079 as his appanage. The Turkmen commander Atsïz b. Uvak [*q.v.*], who had overrun southern Syria and Palestine and had seized Jerusalem from the Fāṭimids, had been swept out of these temporary conquests by the returning armies of al-Mustanṣir and besieged in Damascus. He appealed to Tutush for help, but the latter simply had Atsïz killed in order to secure the Syrian capital for himself (471/1079). He was not, however, able to assert his power in the second greatest city of Syria, Aleppo. This had briefly been taken over by the Saldjūḳ vassal, the 'Uḳaylid ruler of Mawṣil Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, and Tutush now became involved in warfare with him, being even besieged in Damascus by the 'Uḳaylid in 476/1083 until Sharaf al-Dawla's death in battle fighting against the Saldjūḳ prince Sulaymān b. Ḳutalmïsh (479/1086) relieved him of this threat.

The Great Sultan Malik Shāh was not disposed to increase the power of his younger brother and potential rival, and sought to extend his own direct control over al-Djazīra and Syria. He appointed Turkmen commanders from his army as governors of the cities there, including Aḳ Ṣonḳor in Aleppo, Yaghï-basan at Antioch and Bozan at Edessa. These commanders and Tutush extended Turkish control in Syria as far south as Ḥimṣ, but stopped short of Tyre and Tripoli, in the latter of which the local ruler of the Banū 'Ammār [*q.v.*], Djalāl al-Mulk 'Alī, maintained himself by conciliating Aḳ Ṣonḳor.

Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092 threw the situation in the Saldjūḳ lands into confusion. In the absence of any clear principle of succession, and with older Turkish tribal ideas concerning the importance of seniority within the ruling house still influential, Tutush regarded his own claim to the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate as superior to that of the dead ruler's eldest son Berk-yaruḳ [see BARKYĀRUḲ]. Tutush secured the towns of al-Djazīra as far east as Mawṣil and was even proclaimed sultan at Baghdād in 486/1093. But fear of Tutush's ascendancy led Aḳ Ṣonḳor and Bozan to join Berk-yaruḳ's supporter, the *amīr* Kirbuḳa. Nevertheless, through energetic campaigning in northern Syria, Tutush defeated the Turkmen *amīrs* at Tall al-Sulṭān to the south of Aleppo, killing Aḳ Ṣonḳor and then Bozan, and, after fifteen years of effort, at last occupying and proclaiming his power at Aleppo (in

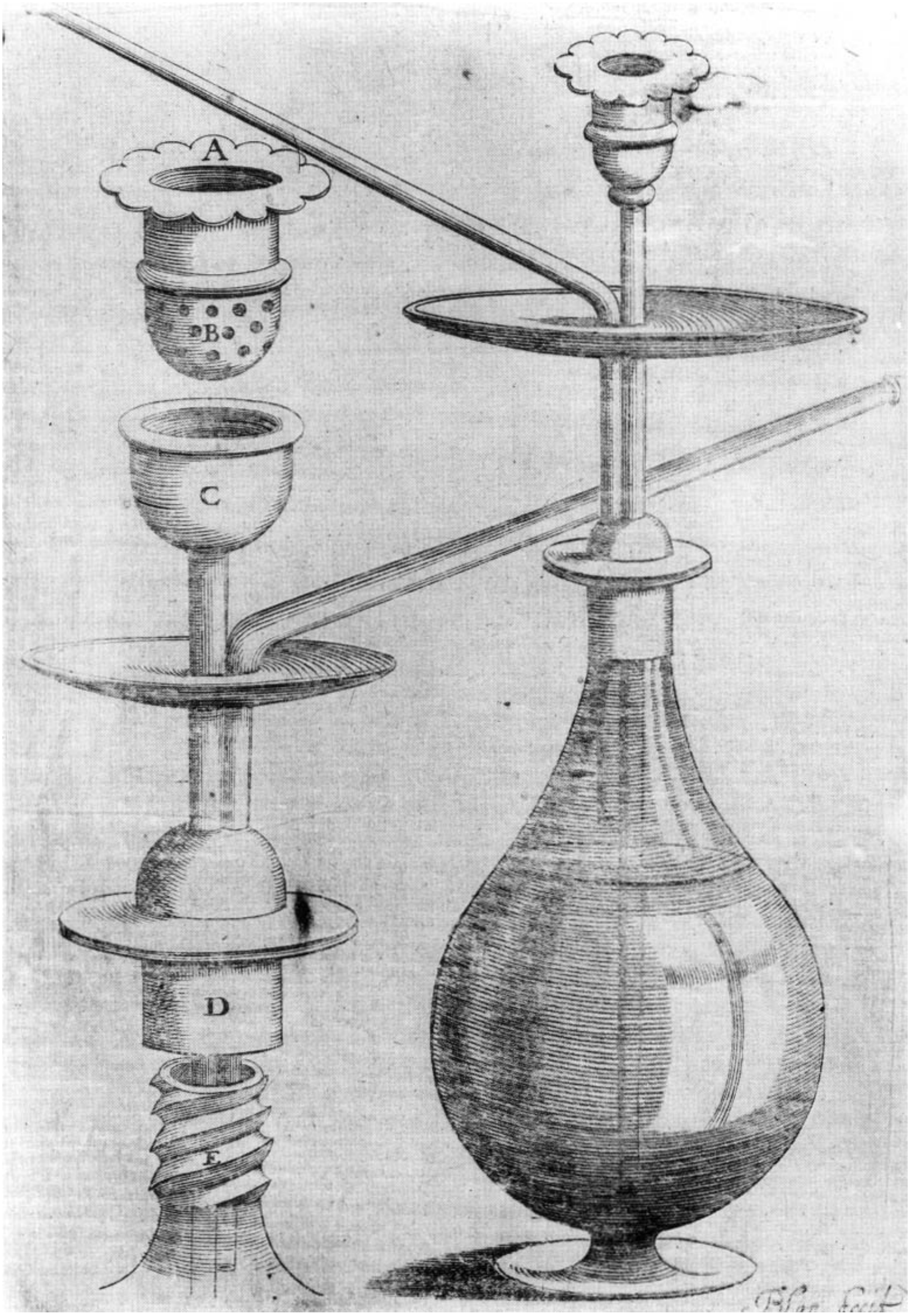

Early image of a waterpipe, taken from J. Neander, *Tabacologia medico-cheururgico pharmaceutica* (Leiden 1622). Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

fact, this dominion was to last for only six months). Elated by his successes, Tutush now invaded western Persia, penetrating to Hamadhān and compelling Berk-yaruk, whose forces were inferior in numbers, to retire to Iṣfahān. Yet the latter was able to rally support amongst the Turkish *amīrs* in western Persia and to assemble a large army (30,000 according to the sources), which was victorious over Tutush at Dāshīlwā near Rayy (see on this name, Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 433; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 802) on 17 Ṣafar 488/26 February 1095. Tutush was killed, and the remnants of his army fled to Syria. Berk-yaruk thus became the Great Saldjūk sultan, although he was never secure and strong enough to assert his authority in a peripheral region like Syria and had to leave Tutush's sons Duḳāḳ and Riḍwān [*q.v.*] in Damascus and Aleppo respectively as vassal rulers.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

TUWĀT, conventionally Touat, a region of the southwest of Algeria little known to the Maghribī historians. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions laconically his passing through Tuwāt in 754/1353 (*Riḥla*, iv, 444-7, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, 975-7), and Ibn Khaldūn mentions it in his *K. al-ʿIbar* (tr. de Slane, *Hist. des Berbères*, i), but these pieces of information are meagre. The spread of colonial power in Algeria brought little alteration, and until its colonisation in 1900, Tuwāt remained very little known. The etymology of the name is uncertain, but would seem to be Berber; suggestions have been that *t-wa-t* has the meaning "oasis" (A.G.P. Martin, *Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine*, Paris 1923), or that it is the plural of the Zenāta Berber word *tīṭ* "spring" (N. Marouf, *Lecture de l'espace oasien*, Paris 1980).

Tuwāt is situated between lats. 26° 7' and 28° 5' N. and longs. 1° W. and 1° E. It is a vast depression, with the Grand Western Erg on the north, the Erg Chech on the west, Tanezrouft on the southwest and the plateau of Tadmaït on the southeast. Being *ca.* 1,500 km from the Atlantic and *ca.* 1,200 km from the Mediterranean, influences from the seas are nil. It is really a band of territory 600 km long according to E.F. Gauthier, but most authors make it 200 km long, comprising twelve groups of *ḳṣūr*. Within independent Algeria, some of these have been grouped into a *dāʾira* (sub-prefecture) and others made into communes. Tuwāt comes at the present time within the *wilāya* or province of Adrar. In 1996, some 224,000 people lived in the 16 communes making up Tuwāt, out of the 28 communes of the whole province.

Environment and local economy. Rainfall is negligible (11 mm p.a.), evaporation is fierce and vegetation sparse. It is a region of sand dunes, with denuded areas (hamadas and ergs) and, here and there, some alluvial soils. The flora is what one would expect from such a harsh environment: acacias (*ṭalḥ*), tamarisk (*tlāy*), colocynth, etc. Water is rare, with, except for the Wād Masʿūd, the *dāyas*, *shaṭṭs* and *sabkhas* [*q.vv.*] being normally dry. But an immense reservoir of subterranean water (800 to 1,200 m below ground) is utilised by the people of the Sahara through an ingenious system of *foggaras* [see ḳanāt. II]. Together with Gurāra [see gourara, in Suppl.] and Tidikelt, Tuwāt is the region par excellence of *foggaras*, with a network of over 1,700 of these. The water raised up is sold and has to be divided very carefully.

Tuwāt is not therefore total desert, but a region of *ḳṣūr*, 248 of which are still inhabited. The *ḳsar* (locally *gṣar*) is an administrative area with a populated sector and lands, and usually has 100 to 200 inhabitants. A group of these *ḳṣūr* forms an entity with a single name only (Timmi, Bouda, Tamenṭīṭ, Tsabit, etc.). It is what we would call an oasis, although, paradoxically, there is no local term for this. Resources are protected in granaries and silos, justifying the building of *ḳaṣbas* or strongholds. Formerly, Tuwāt served as an entrepôt for trafficking tribes, and certain *ḳṣūr* served as depots in the caravan trade. The second vital element of a *ḳsar* is its date-palm groves, here called *al-djanna* (as a local pl. of *djnān* "garden"). Small plots of land are planted with food-producing plants in tiers, in the shade of the palm trees; 7,200 ha are thus exploited in the traditional way, and 10,000 ha have been brought into production by modern means, notably water pumps.

Political and economic history. Tuwāt has been involved in the various vicissitudes of the powers and dynasties of North Africa. The Maʿḳil, Maghrāwa and Banū Īfran [*q.vv.*] sought refuge there from the Almohads. Abū ʿAlī, son of the Marīnid ʿUthmān II, conquered Tuwāt at the opening of the 8th/14th century, and two centuries later, the Moroccan sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] made the region subject. The interest of Moroccan rulers is explicable through Tuwāt's special position in trans-Saharan trade, the most important "product" being black slaves, brought from the south and concentrated on Tuwāt before being sent northwards.

Decline set in from the 16th to the 20th centuries, notably through the rise of maritime trade and the growth of a money economy.

Demography and social structure. Tuwāt's position as a meeting-place led to a long-established co-existence there of Zenāta Berbers, Jews, Arabs and black Africans. The Zenāta were possibly descendants of Pliny's Getulae, and the toponomy of the region shows that they form the most ancient stratum of inhabitants. The Jews form the second oldest group; today, the name of Mhādjriyya designates those considered to be of Jewish origin. They are popularly said to descend from the diaspora of the Cyrenaican community expelled by the emperor Trajan in A.D. 118, and they lived peacefully at Tuwāt until the arrival there of the *faḳīh* of Tlemcen Maḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī [*q.v.*] who, *ca.* 895/1490, persecuted them, despite the disapproval of the local *fuḳahāʾ*, and incited a local Muslim mob to destroy the synagogue of Tuwāt. The latest group are the Arabs. Certain sources would like to trace their appearance back to the 4th/10th century, but in fact it was not until the 7th/13th century that pastoralists from the South Arabian tribe of Maʿḳil reached Tuwāt.

To the ethnic distinguishing factor was now added a social one. Other categories became added to the

Berbers and the Jews: (a) the Shurfā (*shurafā'*) of Tuwāt, who, as in all the Maghrib, are said to be Ḥasanīs; (b) the Mrābṭīn (*murābiṭūn*), who, together with the Shurfā, ended up by becoming the dominant class, owning water, land and palm-groves, and being exempted from taxation; (c) the Ḥrār (*aḥrār* "free men"), those Arabs and Berbers who were neither masters nor serfs; (d) the Mhādjriyya, perceived as of Judaeo-Berber origin and as being neither masters nor serfs, sometimes having their own cemeteries; (e) the 'Abīd or "slaves", whose legal status gave way to that of (f) the Ḥarṭānīs [*q.v.*], applied to freedmen. The Ḥrāṭīn formed, and still in large measure form, the basis of the workforce in Tuwāt's economic life; according to the French census of 1906, they formed almost 40% of the total population of 50,000.

The ṣaff *as a socio-political structure.* The *ṣaff* [*q.v.*] (local pronunciation, *ṣoff*) like the *laff* [*q.v.*], is a kind of permanent and exclusive league grouping together clans, families or tribes of diverse origins; it always involves collective confrontation between groups in each other's presence. Two *ṣaffs* used to share out influence in Tuwāt, although reconciled today: the Yaḥmad, to which belong almost all the people of Arab origin, and the Sufyān, in which the Zenāta Berbers are above all represented. Similarly, at Tamenṭīt, there were the opposing factions of the Mrābṭīn and the Dāreb.

The Ṣūfī brotherhoods and the zāwiyas. The *ṭuruḳ* have spread throughout Tuwāt since the 9th/15th century. The most widespread are the Ṭayyibiyya of Ouezzane (Wazzān), but the Ḳādiriyya and one of their branches, the Bakkā'iyya founded by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Bakkā'ī, are also found. Other local brotherhoods have developed: in the north, the Karzāziyya, a Shādhilī branch founded by Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Karzāzī (d. 1062/1652); in the lower part of Tuwāt, the Raggāniyya, founded by Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh al-Raggānī, is ubiquitous. The *zāwiya* of Kunta, founded by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raggād, remains one of the most famed, together with that of the Bakriyya founded by the Shaykh al-Bakrī b. 'Abd al-Karīm (d. 528/1133).

Almost all the *ḳṣūr* possess a *zāwiya*, and certain *ḳṣūr* still bear the name of the saints who founded them (Ūlād al-Ḥādjdj, Sī 'Abd al-Ḳādar, Sīdī Yūsaf, Bū 'Lī, etc.). It is thanks to these that some fragments of local history and culture have been preserved; a certain number of mss. there are preserved in *zāwiyas* like that of the Kunta. At the present day, the *zāwiya* of Shaykh Sīd al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad al-Kabīr has over 1,500 pupils from all over the region.

Saints and scholars. Scholars educated in *zāwiyas* have often founded new ones. Some came to Tuwāt from outside, but most were natives of Tuwāt and Gurāra. Although largely ignored in the books of *ṭabaḳāt* and *tarādjim*, certain of them achieved some fame. More than twenty are cited by al-Ḥafnawī (*T. al-Khalaf bi-ridjāl al-salaf*, Algiers 1907-9); Ibn Maryam (*al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyā' wa 'l-'ulamā' bi-Tilimsān*, Algiers 1908) names some of them well known at Fās; and Aḥmad Bābā mentions those who became distinguished in Takrūr. A recent ms. by al-Baḥḥāwī, *Nasīm al-nafaḥāt fī dhikr djawānib min akhbār Tawāt* (private coll.) mentions some fifty scholars of Tuwāt, including 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Tuwātī (d. 1042/1632), called 'Ālim Tuwāt; Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib, called Bābā Hīda, author of *al-Ḳawl al-basīṭ fī akhbār Tamanṭīṭ* (B.N. arabe 6399); and the *ḳāḍī* of Tuwāt 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Bakrī (d. 1210/1796) and Sīdī Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 1133/1720), both representatives of an old family whose *zāwiya* still exists today near Tamenṭīṭ. In the present century, one might mention Sīd al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad al-Badawī al-'Uthmānī, called Bel Kbīr, who has enjoyed a reputation beyond his own region, being *imām* of the Great Mosque of Adrar since 1370/1950, founding there a great *madrasa* and a *zāwiya*.

Linguistic situation. Tuwāt is now almost entirely Arabophone, and Zenāta Berber has virtually disappeared, in contrast to the situation in adjacent Gurāra, where it still flourishes. The Berber of Tuwāt did, however, survive long enough for French and Algerian linguistic scholars to record it. Also, numerous Tifinagh [*q.v.*] inscriptions have been found in the region. See R. Basset, *Notes de lexicographie berbère. Vocabulaire du Touat et du Gourara, argot du Mzab, dialecte des Touaregs Aouelimmiden*, in *JA*, ser. 8, vol. x (1887), 365-464; idem, *Loqman berbère*, Paris 1890 (incs. some fables in Touat Berber); M. Mammeri and C. Brahimi, *Les activités du CRAPE durant l'année 1970*, in *Lybica*, xviii (1970), 289-95 (incs. some songs from the last woman knowing the Berber speech of Tamenṭīṭ); J.-C. Echallier, *Villages désertés et structures agraires anciennes du Touat-Gourara* (*Sahara algérien*), Paris 1972 (Tifinagh inscriptions); M. Rouvillois-Brigol, C. Messon and J. Vallet, *Oasis du Sahara algérien*, Paris 1973 (items of Berber vocabulary); Mammeri, *Le dernier document en berbère de Tamentit*, in *Awal*, i, 176-7.

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(ABDERRAHMANE MOUSSAOUI)

AL-ṬUWAYḲ, DJABAL, a range of hills in central Arabia, running in a flattened crescent shape roughly north-south for some 800 km/480 miles between lats. 27° 20′ N. and 17° 30′. It begins at al-Zulfī north of al-Riyāḍ and ends in the western part of the Empty Quarter [see AL-RUB' AL-KHĀLĪ]. The central part comprises the district of Nadjd known as al-'Āriḍ [*q.v.*]. With a westwards-facing scarp, the Djabal Ṭuwayḳ rises to an average height of *ca.* 920 m/3,000 feet from a general level of *ca.* 610 km/2,000 feet, and varies in width between *ca.* 20 km/12 miles in the central part to an irregular *ca.* 10 km/6 miles at the two extremities. It dominates central Arabia both topographically and stratigraphically, and is basically a sandstone escarpment topped by a slightly tilted roof of Jurassic limestone; the whole range is highly fossil-bearing. It is extremely dissected by wadis,

the main ones being those of Ḥanīfa, al-Luḥā, al-Nuʿaydja and al-ʿAyn. There are several oases and settlements near it, including the present capital of Saudi Arabia, al-Riyāḍ, al-Khardj, al-Aflādj [*q.vv.*] (the last two with celebrated pools) and al-Sulayyil. The extensive ruins of the site of al-Fāw [*q.v.*] lie at its southern end.

In pre- and early Islamic times, caravans passed along the route of the Djabal to eastern Nadjd and the Gulf or to ʿIrāḳ, and there are archaeological sites, rock-carvings and inscriptions all along the ridge. It does not seem to be recorded under the name al-Ṭuwayḳ in the early Islamic sources on the geography of Arabia, although sites along it such as al-Aflādj and al-Khardj are certainly mentioned in these texts and in early poetry (see e.g. U. Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie*, Wiesbaden 1958, 25, 58-9).

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(S.A. AL-RASHID)

ṬUWAYS ("little peacock"), ABŪ ʿABD AL-MUNʿIM ʿĪSĀ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhāʾib, born probably 11/632 in Medina, died 92/711 in Suwaydāʾ, the first great singer in the days of Islam. He was a *mawlā* of the Banū Makhzūm, being in the service of Arwā bt. Kurayz, the mother of the caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. He first attracted attention by singing melodies that he had learned from Persian captives, and rose to fame as a musician in the reign of ʿUthmān. About this time, a new style of music was introduced which was known as *al-ghināʾ al-raḳīḳ* or *al-ghināʾ al-mutḳan*, its especial feature being the application of a "modern" set of musical metrics (*īḳāʿ*) [*q.v.*] to the songs. Ṭuways was one of the first to sing this "new music" in Medina. He was considered the best exponent of *hazadj* songs. When singing these, he acted in the traditional way of walking around and beating the metre on a square framed drum (*duff murabbaʿ*). Like other musicians in Medina, Ṭuways was a *mukhannath*, and the proverb arose "[Nobody is] more effeminate (*akhnath*) than Ṭuways". Whilst Abān b. ʿUthmān [*q.v.*] was governor of Medina, he was favoured by the *amīr*, but when Muʿāwiya I became caliph, and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was appointed governor (41-8/661-8 and 54-7/674-7), the *mukhannathūn* were suppressed, and Ṭuways fled to al-Suwaydāʾ, a two days' journey on the road to Syria. Among his pupils were Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*], al-Dalāl [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Nawmat al-Ḍuḥā and Find Abū Zayd. Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] wrote his biography (*Akhbār Ṭuways*), which was quoted by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī [*q.v.*] in the *Aghānī*. Some of his songs were still known in the 3rd/9th century.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[3], iii, 27-43, iv, 219-22 and indices; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Mukhtār min Kitāb al-Lahw wa 'l-malāhī*, Beirut 1961, 32, 36; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ed. Hārūn, iv, 58; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1960, 322; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1949, vi, 27-9; Abū Hilāl, *Awāʾil*, Damascus 1975, ii, 161-2; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ed. Freytag, vii, 124, xiii, 158; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Cairo 1964, 380-3; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923 ff., iv, 246-9; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 506-7; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, facs. ed. Frankfurt 1988, x, 25-7; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, iv, 364; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 137-8; Ṣafadī, xvi, 501-2; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Cairo 1932 ff., ix, 93; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Cairo, i, 225; H.G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 50-3; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, v, 289; E.K. Rowson, *The effeminates of Medina*, in *JAOS*, cxi (1991), 671-93, esp. 677-81.

(H.G. FARMER-[E. NEUBAUER])

TUZ GÖLÜ, an inland salt lake of central Turkey. With an area of 1,500 km², it lies in the midst of a treeless cereal steppe in the Anatolian upland at an altitude of 905 m. It occupies the greater part of an internal drainage Tertiary depression, filled with thick young sediments and rimmed by karstified steppe platforms. The eastern delimination is formed by the 200 m high fault scarp.

During the Tertiary period, this basin subsided about 5,000 feet into the Anatolian continental plate. It has been shown that, during the rainy phases of the Ice Age, the lake surface was 110 m higher and that the lake was filled with freshwater because of its run-off to the Kızılırmak [see ḲIZIL-IRMĀḲ] river. During the last 15,000 years the lake has shrunk permanently. Currently, it scarcely has a depth of 2 m and its extent alters considerably with the seasonal variations in precipitation.

The high salinity (23%) of the lake results rather from the salt-bearing Tertiary sediments of the underground than from the lack of basin drainage. During years almost free from rain, high summer temperatures of about 40°C make water vaporise in abundance, so that a pan of nearly pure sodium chloride up to 30 cm thick is deposited. With an annual output of 150,000 tons, two state-owned saltworks yield one-fourth of Turkish native salt production, sufficient for the entire home demand.

Bibliography: O. Erol, *Les hauts niveaux pleistocènes du Tuzgölü en Anatolien centrale*, in *Ann. de Géographie*, lxxix (1970), 39-51; N. Güldalı, *Geomorphologie der Türkei*, Beihefte zum TAVO Reihe A Nr. 4, Wiesbaden 1979. (V. HÖHFELD)

TŪZAR, conventional French form Touzeur, a town of southern Tunisia (lat. 33° 55' N., lat. 8° 07' E.), built on the site of the ancient *Tusurus*. The form Tawzar reflects a tendency towards fitting it into an Arabic form, a tendency visible throughout the Maghrib. The written evidence has many gaps, and one can only glean disparate pieces of information from the chroniclers and travellers (al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Bakrī, Ibn al-Shubbāṭ, al-Tidjānī, etc.). The history of the place is mixed up with that of the Djarīd [*q.v.*].

Tūzar is part of the great province of Ḳasṭīliya, which, between the Nafzāwa and the Djarīd, takes in the region of Gafsa. It is edged with salt flats to the northwest (Shaṭṭ al-Gharsa) and to the south (Shaṭṭ al-Djarīd and Shaṭṭ Takmart), whose moving sand dunes lay in wait for travellers who strayed from the ways marked out by palm trunks, as between Bishrī and Tūzar.

Tūzar has always been the chef-lieu of the Djarīd, a vast depression situated to the south of the parallel with Gafsa, in the peripheral region of southwestern Tunisia, characterised by a hot and arid climate. Like others of the Djarīd (al-Ḥāmma, the ancient *Aquae*, Takiyūs, modern Oudiane-Dégache, Nafṭa and the ancient, abandoned oasis of Firshāna) or of the Nafzāwa further south, the Tūzar oasis (*wāḥa*) belongs to a continental oasis type of habitat in which permanent and terraced cultivation is only possible through a hydraulic system which taps underground springs from a water-level which is not far below the surface and abundant. The system may briefly be described thus. The wadi derives its sources from heights above

the level of the oasis. These springs ooze out of the sands and come together on the fringes of the palm groves before receiving branches which are in turn subdivided into numerous water channels running in the open. There are water clocks filling up 192 times each 24-hour cycle and measuring out the period of irrigation water to each person with such a right in return for a fee. Officials in charge (*amīn*, pl. *umanā'*) watch over the smooth functioning of the system day and night.

In the first place denoting this hydraulic entity, Tūzar also denotes collectively the group of seven villages (Bayt al-Sharī'a = the *zāwiya* of the Shābbiyya; Blād al-Ḥaḍar, built on the site of the Ancient *Tusurus*; Zāwiyat al-Ṣaḥrāwī; Djahīm; Zāwiyat Sīdī Bū Līfa; and Zāwiyat al-Tawāniza) divided into shaykhdoms. The population is a mixture of diverse strains, but must basically be of Arabised Berbers. Some claim to be of Jewish origin (Awlād al-Hādif), others of Yemeni origin (Zebda, Masghūna, etc.) or Ḥidjāzī (Ḳuṭba, Tebābsa, etc.) or yet again from the Sūf (Hebaïla). The myth of these origins bears witness to Berbero-Arabo-Muslim contributions superimposed on an ancient Judaeo-Christian substratum, apparently still present in the 18th century.

As elsewhere, the Tūzar oasis lived above all on the caravan traffic heading for Ifrīḳiya, the Aurès, the Sūf, the Mzāb and the Great Eastern Erg, as well as on an intensive agriculture at three levels: market gardening, cultivation of shrubs and palm groves. The first count of this last resource goes back to 1860-4, when 75% of the date palms of the Shaṭṭ region came within the Djarīd (598,000 trees), almost a half of this figure within Tūzar. Private ownership (*milk*) predominated (88%), with only 4% being habous or *wakf* land. The economy was traditionally one of peasant villagers, but there was also an artisanal sector dominated by textile production, notably of blankets and coverings. Society was very clearly divided; out of *ca.* 7,700 inhabitants in 1885, only 3% were actual landowners, meaning that manual labour was the dominant factor there.

The town itself was ringed by ramparts and had four gates. In mediaeval times it had two *djāmi*'s and a *ḥammām* as well as *sūḳ*s and suburbs. The Banū Yamlūl were the dominating name in the town's history, long controlling, with varying fortunes, the local administration and still influential in the Zīrid period. They submitted to Ḳayrawān or Tunis only under constraint. At other times, control of the town varied between autonomy, dissidence or a negotiated, hence precarious, allegiance. The Ibāḍī Khāridjites found fertile ground there, but declined after the 6th/12th century. It was 'Uthmān Dey (in power 1598-1611) who secured Turkish control there after sacking Tūzar in 1608. But the central power in Tunis could never dispense with the support of some strong local authority there if it was to be able to derive any taxation from it.

Tūzar was not spared the general crisis which gripped the whole country after 1840. But the clan of the Awlād al-Hādif, who had taken over control from the Banū Yamlūl in the 16th century, had a strong economic position, acquired through trade, and was accordingly able to impose its supremacy in the council of notables and to function as tax collectors for the Beylik before falling into decline, it seems, in the Reform period of Tunis's history. In mid-20th century Tūzar had 12,000 inhabitants. After 1919 a railway linked it with Sfax. Its economy still remains essentially based on the production of the *deglat al-nūr* date.

Bibliography: F. Masselot, *Les dattiers des oasis du Djérid*, in *Bull. de la Direction d'Agriculture et du Commerce de la Régence de Tunis*, cxix (April 1901); M. Ben-Alleg, *Réflexions d'un Saharien sur les anciens habitants de Tozeur*, in *Rev. Tunisienne*, cxliii (1921); Brunschwig, *Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1940; A. Borg, *L'habitat à Tozeur*, in *Cahiers des Arts et Techniques de l'Afrique du Nord*, 1959; H.R. Idris, *Zīrides*, Paris 1962; S. Béja, *Les Ibadhites au Djérid au Moyen-âge, étude historique et doctrinale*, Tunis 1976. See also the *Bibl.* to DJARĪD.

(T. Bachrouch)

TŪZŪK (T.), from *tuzük*, from the verb *tüz-* "to arrange, set in order," borrowed into Persian and naturalized as *tuzuk* and *tūzūk*. The word refers to a ruler's or military commander's "arrangement," or the order in which he keeps his soldiers and establishment. In his memoirs Bābur refers to the *tüzük* (military order and hierarchy) left by Čingiz Khān as having lasted among the Mughals down to his own time (fol. 100b). *Tūzūk* is often coupled with the words *ḳā'ida*, *maḍbūṭ*, and *ḍabṭ u rabṭ*, all of which are synonymous in these contexts.

It is clear that from the post-Tīmūrid period on, the word became a generic title for memoirs or biographies of rulers. The title *tūzūk(āt)* has been applied to a number of works, all of which are, or purport to be, memoirs or dicta of Turco-Mongolian rulers of Central Asia and/or Mughal India. The (spurious) memoirs of Amīr Temür or Tīmūr (Tamerlane) called *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī* have an appendix called *Tūzūk(āt)-i Tīmūrī*, which has been translated as "Institutes". Bābur's memoirs have been called *Tūzūk-i Bāburī*; the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr's memoirs are often called *Tūzūk-i Djahāngīrī*, even though the author calls them the *Djahāngīr-nāma* several times in the work itself; a late 18th-century history of the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād is called *Tuzuk-i Āṣafī*; the Urdu translation (Agra 1902) of the life of the Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān of Afghānistān (d. 1901) is called *Tuzuk-i 'Abd al-Raḥmān*.

Bibliography: Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *The Bábar-náma*, facs. edn. Annette S. Beveridge Leiden and London 1905, repr. London 1971; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972; Major Wm. Davy (tr.), *Institutes, political and military, by the Great Timour*, Oxford 1783. (W.M. Thackston)

TWELVERS [see ITHNĀ 'ASHARIYYA].

TYRE [see ṢŪR].

U

'UBĀDA B. **MĀ'** AL-**SAMĀ'** [see IBN MĀ' AL-SAMĀ'].

UBĀGH, 'AYN UBĀGH, the name of a spring or watercourse on the eastern, sc. 'Irāḳī, fringes of the Syrian Desert which was the scene of a pre-Islamic *yawm* or battle of the Arabs.

The confused Arabic sources take this as being the battle of A.D. 554 in which the Lakhmid al-Mundhir III b. al-Nu'mān II was killed fighting the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith b. Djabala [*q.v.*], in fact, the *yawm al-Ḥalīma* (see e.g. al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam mā 'sta'djama*, i, 95; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 175. Cf. A.P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847-8, ii, 133; A. Musil, *Palmyrene, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1928, 144 n. 38; and GHASSĀNIDS). However, Nöldeke, in his *Die ghassânischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's*, 23-4, followed by G. Rothstein, *Die Laḥmiden*, 103, identified 'Ayn Ubāgh with a later Ghassānid-Lakhmid encounter, one during the campaign of 569 when al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith defeated the Lakhmid Ḳābūs b. al-Mundhir III and advanced on the latter's capital of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] to within three *mansiones* or stages of it. Al-Mundhir's encampment would obviously be at a watering-place, and the location of 'Ayn Ubāgh would correspond well to this, as noted by I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century*, Washington D.C. 1995, i, 342-3.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

'UBAYD ALLĀH [see AL-MAHDĪ 'UBAYD ALLĀH].

'UBAYD ALLĀH B. AL-**'ABBĀS** B. 'ABD AL-MUTTALIB, Abū Muḥammad, Companion and paternal cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad and younger brother of the famed scholar and reciter of traditions 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās [*q.v.*], born in the year of the *Hidjra*, died in the reign of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya or in 85/704 or in 87/706. He was further related to the Prophet in that his mother Umm al-Faḍl bt. al-Ḥārith al-Hilāliyya was the sister of Muḥammad's wife Maymūna [*q.v.*] (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. 'Ukāsha, 121, 367; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iii, ed. al-Dūrī, 447). Unlike his brother, he handed down few traditions, but was famed for his hospitality.

He was a strong partisan of his nephew 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and during the latter's caliphate acted as 'Alī's governor over Yemen, leading the Pilgrimage in 37/658 and again in 39/660 when he had to confront in Mecca the rival Pilgrimage leader sent by Mu'āwiya, Yazīd b. Shadjara al-Ruhāwī (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3390, 3443, 3448, 3474). When Mu'āwiya's commander Busr b. Arṭāt [*q.v.*] approached Yemen in 40/660-1, 'Ubayd Allāh fled, eventually to Kūfa, leaving behind two of his sons to be killed by Busr. He was a supporter of al-Ḥasan's claims to succeed to the caliphate after 'Alī's assassination, but when Mu'āwiya advanced into the Sawād, was bought off by the Umayyad for a million dirhams [see (AL-)ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ]. The remainder of his life was spent at Medina, where he died at an advanced age.

Bibliography: The main sources are Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iii, 55-65, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, iii, 340-1. See also Ziriklī, *A'lām*, iv, 349.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

'UBAYD ALLĀH B. **'ABD ALLĀH** AL-**HUDHALĪ** [see FUḲAHĀ' AL-MADĪNA AL-SAB'A. V., in Suppl.].

'UBAYD ALLĀH B. **ABĪ BAKRA**, Abū Ḥātim, Arab commander of the Umayyads and governor in Sīstān, d. 79/698.

The Abū Bakra family were of *mawlā* origin, Abū Bakra's father being apparently an Abyssinian slave. Although he married a free Arab wife from the Banū 'Idjl, 'Ubayd Allāh himself retained a dark and swarthy complexion, being described as *adgham*; an attempted filiation of the family to al-Ḥārith b. Kalada [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the so-called "Physician of the Arabs", was later disallowed by the caliph al-Mahdī. The family prospered in Baṣra as partisans of the Umayyads and through the patronage of the governor of 'Irāḳ Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*]. 'Ubayd Allāh was governor of Sīstān 51-3/671-3, and early in 'Abd al-Malik's reign he was prominent amongst the pro-Umayyad forces in Baṣra against Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*].

He again became governor of Sīstān in 78/697-8 under al-Ḥadjdjādj, with the task of raiding into the region of eastern Afghānistān and recalling the local ruler, the Zunbīl, to his obligation of paying tribute. But the Arab expedition of summer 79/698 proved a disaster; the retrospectively-styled "Army of Destruction" (*Djaysh al-Fanā'*) was largely destroyed by starvation and by attacks of the Zunbīl's followers, and 'Ubayd Allāh died at Bust on the way back with the army's remnants.

Bibliography: On the Abū Bakra family, see the section in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, ed. Ḥamīdallāh, 489-505. The episode of the "Army of Destruction" is described above all in idem, *Futūḥ*, 399, and *Ansāb*, ed. Ahlwardt as *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, 311-18; in Ṭabarī, ii, 1036-9, tr. E.K. Rowson, 183-6; and in the anonymous locl history, *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, 110-12, tr. M. Gold, 89-90 (confused). These and other sources are utilised in C.E. Bosworth, *'Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the "Army of Destruction" in Zābulistān (79/698)*, in *Isl.*, 1 (1973), 268-83; for 'Ubayd Allāh's earlier career, see idem, *Sīstān under the Arabs*. . ., Rome 1968, 21, 24.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

'UBAYD ALLĀH B. **AḤMAD** B. **ABĪ ṬĀHIR**, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, son of the historian, littérateur and bookman Ibn Abī Ṭāhir (d. 280/893 [*q.v.*]), and a historian and author in his own right. Ibn al-Nadīm describes the father as a superior author (*Fihrist*, 147) but al-Ḳifṭī considers him equally "assiduous in [his] reporting" (*Ḥukamā'*, 111). He died in his home town, Baghdād, in 313/925; his date of birth is unknown.

The mention of 'Ubayd Allāh in the biographical literature rests on the fact that he is his father's son and that he wrote a continuation of his father's *K. Baghdād*, a history, properly a regnally-organised *akhbār* collection, on Baghdād and its caliphs; consequently, he is mentioned in the principal notices devoted to Ibn Abī Ṭāhir. The only extant biographical notices devoted exclusively to him are in *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* (iv, 211, x, 348) and in the *Fihrist* (147). However, neither provides much information

about his life, focusing rather on the supplement to *K. Baghdād*. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir wrote until the end of al-Muhtadī's reign, and ʿUbayd Allāh added *akhbār* about al-Muʿtamid, al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī; he did not complete the section on al-Muḳtadir. He also wrote works entitled *al-Sikbādj wa-faḍāʾiluhā* ("The virtues of Sikbādj" [*q.v.*]) and *al-Mutaẓarrifāt wa 'l-mutaẓarrifūn* ("Women and men who affect elegance").

Extracts from ʿUbayd Allāh's history survive. The *Fihrist* quotes one dealing with the later life, capture, and execution of the mystic al-Ḥallādj (d. 309/922 [*q.v.*]). Ibn Khallikān quotes a section on the Ṣaffārids, but in an abridged version because of "ʿUbayd Allāh's prolixity" (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, vi, 416), an example of which may be found in the long extract on al-Muʿtaḍid preserved by al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 263-70). See also al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xiii, 200, xiv, 55, and Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, i, 190, 373.

Prominent students include ʿAlī b. Hārūn al-Munadjdjim (d. 352/963) and Abū ʿUmar b. Ḥayyawayh (295-381/907-91). Contact with the former comes as no surprise, as Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-Munadjdjim (241-300/855-913 [*q.v.*]) is recorded in extant *isnāds* as a primary transmitter to ʿUbayd Allāh (e.g. al-Azdī, *Badāʾiʿ*, 69-70, 79-80).

Like his father, or perhaps because of him, ʿUbayd Allāh also came into contact with prominent literary personalities such as al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*], as attested in an anecdote where al-Buḥturī declaims seven verses to him (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, vi, 145, and al-Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ*, ii, 195).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): *Fihrist*, 210; Elijah of Nisibis, *History*, 132-5; Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, *Mukhtaṣar al-taʾrīkh min awwal al-zamān ilā muntahā 'l-dawla al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, Baghdād, 1390/1970, 148; al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *Dhakhāʾir*, 53; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 610, iii, 3-8, v, 102; idem, *Buldān*, i, 153, ii, 788; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270, i, 273; Azdī, *Badāʾiʿ*, 89; K. ʿAwwād, *Fihrist makhṭūṭāt khizānat Yaʿḳūb Sirkīs*, Baghdād 1385/1966, 17, no. 47; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 81-3.

(Shawkat M. Toorawa)

ʿUBAYD ALLĀH b. **BASHĪR** (or Bushayr) b. al-Māḥūz, leader of the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] sect of the Khāridjites.

(Al-)Māḥūz was the nickname of Yazīd b. Musāḥiḳ of the Banū Salīṭ b. al-Ḥārith b. Yarbūʿ of Tamīm. Several of the Banu 'l-Māḥūz, among them ʿUbayd Allāh, were among the Baṣran Khāridjites who went to Mecca to support ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in 64/683 but deserted him when he would not denounce the caliph ʿUthmān. They returned to Baṣra together with Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ [*q.v.*] and then joined his revolt. After Nāfiʿ was killed during fighting at Dūlāb (Djumādā II 65/Dec.-Jan. 684-5), he was first succeeded by ʿUbayd Allāh's brother ʿAbd Allāh, who was also killed in the battle, and then by ʿUbayd Allāh. The latter defeated the Baṣran army and was confirmed as caliph and *amīr al-muʾminīn* by the rebels. In Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 65/June-July 685 he routed a Baṣran army under ʿUthmān b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, brother of the Zubayrid governor of Baṣra, at Dāris on the Dudjayl; ʿUthmān was killed in the battle. ʿUbayd Allāh was able to establish himself at Nahr Tīrā, and Azraḳī horsemen raided the Tigris bank near Baṣra. Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v.*] was now put in charge of the war against the Azāriḳa. After initially slow progress, he decisively defeated them at Sillabrā east of the Dudjayl in Shawwāl 66/May 686, and ʿUbayd Allāh was killed. His head was carried by a man of the Azd to Baṣra, but on his way he accidentally met three of ʿUbayd Allāh's brothers, who killed him and buried their brother's head. ʿUbayd Allāh was succeeded as leader of the Azāriḳa by his cousin (not brother) al-Zubayr b. ʿAlī b. al-Māḥūz.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, in W. Ahlwardt, *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, Greifswald 1883, 87-110; Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, Leipzig 1874-92, 617-42; Ṭabarī, ii, 517, 582-8; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, 32-5.

(W. Madelung)

ʿUBAYD ALLĀH b. **ḤABḤĀB**, Umayyad governor of Egypt, Ifrīḳiya and al-Andalus, b. at an unknown date, d. after 123/741.

He was chief of the tribe of Salūl of northern ʿIrāḳ and famed for his talent as an orator. Beginning a career in the administration, he was first appointed head of taxation in Egypt, and as such, told the caliph Hishām that the land of Egypt could yield more money, thereby provoking a revolt of the Copts in several districts. His links with the caliph seem to have been close, since at his request, Hishām dismissed the governor of Egypt al-Ḥurr b. Yūsuf in 108/728 and likewise his successor Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd (who was only in post for two weeks) and entrusted to ʿUbayd Allāh the choice of successor. The caliph then nominated ʿUbayd Allāh himself to the governorship of Egypt, at a date not exactly known, and gave him carte blanche to install several other groups of Ḳays there, thus raising the number of Ḳaysīs in Egypt to several thousands.

Then in Rabīʿ II 116/May-June 734 he appointed him successor to ʿUbayda b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in Ifrīḳiya and al-Andalus. As soon as ʿUbayd Allāh arrived there, he brought al-Mustanīr b. al-Ḥārith out of prison and gave him rule over Tunis, and his own son Ismāʿīl rule over the Sūs, leaving a further son, al-Ḳāsim, over Egypt. In Spain he appointed ʿUḳba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj and, on the latter's death, restored to office ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan whom he had earlier dismissed. ʿUbayd Allāh launched several campaigns against the Sūs and other Berber areas, which were sealed by a great victory and an enormous booty. The Berbers, headed by Maysara al-Faḳīr, then raised a revolt against him at Tangier and killed his representative there. Maysara claimed the title of caliph, headed towards the Sūs, killed ʿUbayd Allāh's son and thus brought about a general uprising in Ifrīḳiya. ʿUbayd Allāh deputed Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda to quell this and himself attacked the ruler of Tlemcen, after which the sources record the end of his governorship in Ifrīḳiya, since Hishām recalled him in Djumādā I 123/March-April 741.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 217-18; Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, 73-6, 341; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, v, 67, 69; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ed. Beirut, iii, 299-300; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Juynboll and Matthes, Leiden 1851, i, 287-8, 306; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bādjī al-Masʿūdī, *al-Khulāṣa al-naḳiyya*, Tunis 1283/1866, 14 (Brockelmann, S II, 885); al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī, *Istiḳṣā*, Cairo 1312/1894, i, 48 (Brockelmann, S II, 888); Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*[3], iv, 258-9; R.G. Khoury, *Zur Ernennung von Richtern im Islam vom Anfang bis zum Aufkommen der Abbasiden*, in H.R. Roemer and A. Noth (eds.), *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vordern Orients, Festschrift Berthold Spuler*, Leiden 1981, 197-209; idem, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa, juge et grand maître de l'Ecole égyptienne ...*, Wiesbaden 1986.

(R.G. Khoury)

'UBAYD ALLĀH B. 'UMAR, a son of the second caliph and Companion of the Prophet, d. 37/657.

'Ubayd Allāh was the son of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb by his wife Umm Kulthūm Mulayka bt. Djarwal of the Khuzā'a, who, divorced by 'Umar after he converted to Islam, married a kinsman and remained pagan in Mecca. 'Ubayd Allāh is known principally for having avenged his father's death in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/ 23 November 644 at the hands of Abū Lu'lu'a, a Persian slave of al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba [*q.v.*]. According to most accounts, once captured, Abū Lu'lu'a killed himself, so 'Ubayd Allāh turned his wrath on his unidentified daughter, on al-Hurmuzān [*q.v.*], a former Sāsānid commander who had converted to Islam, and finally on the Christian Djufayna, killing all three; according to al-Ya'kūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, ii, 185), 'Ubayd Allāh killed Abū Lu'lu'a, his wife, and daughter. Various sources also have him railing against the presence in Medina of *'adjamī* slaves, and even against some of the *muhādjirūn* (see e.g. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 8-9; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, iii, 125). The sources thus give the impression that he was at least slightly unhinged, and the family's *bête noir* (it is said that he was beaten by 'Umar for drinking, al-Ṭabarī, i, 2388); his political motives (see e.g. al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 180, where he later claims to avenge 'Uthmān's murder) are generally given short shrift. Be this as it may, the killing was considered unlawful, and 'Ubayd Allāh was held by Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ in his *dār*; he was soon granted a pardon by 'Uthmān, a decision that was grist for the anti-'Uthmān mill. Fearing 'Alī, who swore to hold him accountable for the murder, 'Ubayd Allāh fled to Mu'āwiya in Syria. He was one of Mu'āwiya's commanders at the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], where he was killed in 37/657.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii/1, 190, and v. 8 ff.; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳ'at Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, index; Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, Cairo 1953, 349; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, ed. Goitein, 24, ms. Reisülküttap 598, fol. 327a-b (653-4 in Ḥamīdullāh's pagination); idem, *Futūḥ*, 381, 474; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, ii, 412 ff., iii, 212 ff., v, 65 ff. and passim; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 172, 180, 186, 189 ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, vii, index; Ya'kūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 185, 188, 202; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Tehran 1958, iii, 342-3; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, iii, 403; anon., *T. al-Khulafā'*, ed. P. Gryaznevič, Moscow 1967, index; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, vi (index), and ix, 646 ff. (further bibl.); W.F. Madelung, *The succession to Muḥammad*, Cambridge 1997, 69-70, 75, 108, 231-2. (C.F. Robinson)

'UBAYD ALLĀH B. ZIYĀD, Umayyad governor of Baṣra, Kūfa and the East, d. 67/686.

The son of Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], 'Ubayd Allāh seems to have been groomed by his father for a successful life in politics, and in both policy and style, father and son are frequently paired by the sources. Some accounts explicitly connect 'Ubayd Allāh's appointment as governor of Khurāsān to his father's death (thus al-Ya'kūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 281; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 410), but a precise chronology is elusive. According to Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, Mu'āwiya appointed 'Ubayd Allāh over Khurāsān in 53/672-3, and over Baṣra in 55/674-5 (*Ta'rīkh*, 135 ff.); but according to al-Ṭabarī's sources, his rule in Khurāsān began in 54/673-4, and that in Baṣra a year later (ii, 166-7, 172). Ideally, these and similar problems of chronology would be solved by the relatively voluminous—and dated—silver coinage that bears 'Ubayd Allāh's name; unfortunately, the earliest issues are problematic, and at present, the most one can say is that he was ruling in the east from 54/674 onwards and in Baṣra from 56/675-6 onwards. At this point the numismatic evidence improves, and can throw some light on administration and cultural style. Baṣra enjoys pride of place among the eastern mints that struck his coins; Dārābdjird, Dast-i Maysān, Narmāshīr, and Djayy also appear frequently, while Kūfa, which was added to his governorship of Baṣra in 60/679-80, appears very infrequently. All the coins are of the Arab-Sāsānid type; the language is Pahlavi, and dating is occasionally based on the era of Yazdagird. In the 50s/670s one would expect a Sāsānid-Persian cultural milieu for 'Ubayd Allāh's administration, and in fact the literary sources suggest the same (M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, passim). The series ends in 64/683-4, when the *ashrāf* of Baṣra ejected him from the city—an event reported in great detail by our sources (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 432 ff.; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iv B, 97 ff.). In the confused aftermath of the death of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, 'Ubayd Allāh at first temporised, and even managed for a short time to secure the *bay'a* of the Baṣran *ashrāf*; but he could not outlive for long the Sufyānid system of rule in which both father and son had prospered. Forced to flee the city, he went to Syria where he threw his support behind Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. He fought for Marwān in the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] and commanded armies in the Djazīra for Marwān and his son and successor 'Abd al-Malik; it was on his watch in Djumādā I 65/January 685 that Sulaymān b. Ṣurad [*q.v.*], and his men were massacred in Ra's al-'Ayn ('Ayn al-Warda). His death on the Khāzir river early in 67/686, where he was defeated by al-Mukhtār's commander Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, is described in some detail by the Arabic sources (thus al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, 247 ff.; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vi, 139 ff.; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 707 ff.). Syriac sources are also familiar with al-Mukhtār's defeat of 'Ubayd Allāh. A Nestorian historian, who was probably writing in or near Sindjār in the last decade of the 7th century, knew of 'Ubayd Allāh as a commander of the "Westerners" (i.e., Syrians), and describes how he curried favour in Nisibis with John, a candidate for the patriarchate; he mistakenly calls him 'Abd al-Raḥmān (see Brock, *North Mesopotamia in the late seventh century. Book XV of John Bar Penkāyē's Rīš Mellē*, 64 ff.). Whereas this author numbers al-Mukhtār's men at 13,000, Michael the Syrian (*Chronique*, xi-xv) supplies the fantastic figure of 400,000 dead at the battle.

It is largely as suppressor of Khāridjites and oppressor of Shī'īs that 'Ubayd Allāh is described by our sources. According to some, 'Ubayd Allāh's increasingly harsh policies towards the former dated from 58/677-8 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 185-6); one report has it that 'Ubayd Allāh and his father Ziyād together killed 13,000 Khāridjites, and 'Ubayd Allāh himself is said to have imprisoned 4,000 (*ibid.*, ii, 459-60). Al-Mubarrad states that 'Ubayd Allāh would sometimes imprison Khāridjites and sometimes kill them, but usually the latter (*al-Kāmil*, 594). His infamy among Shī'īs rests principally, but not exclusively, on his suppression of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī's rebellion in Muḥarram 61/October 680; according to some accounts, 'Ubayd Allāh abused the slain 'Alid's severed head.

Bibliography: Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, Beirut, 1995, index; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iv B, ed. M. Schloessinger, 77 ff., v, ed. Goitein, index; Ya'kūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 281, 288 ff., 306 ff., 317, 321; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, index;

Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Ṣaḳr, 97 ff.; Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, vii, index; S.P. Brock, *North Mesopotamia in the late seventh century. Book XV of John Bar Penkāyē's Rīš Mellē*, in *JSAI*, ix (1987), 64 ff.; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, Paris 1899-1924, xi-xv; J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian coins*, etc., London 1941, pp. xlvii-xlviii, 52 ff., and index; H. Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, Brunswick 1973, 75, 87, and index; M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, index; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg 680-692*, Wiesbaden 1982, index; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, tr. R.C. Ostle and S.M. Walzer, *The religio-political factions in early Islam*, Amsterdam 1975, index; idem, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, tr. M.G. Weir, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, index. (C.F. Robinson)

ʿUBAYD b. SHARYA [see ibn sharya].

ʿUBAYD-I ZĀKĀNĪ, or Niẓām al-Dīn ʿUbayd Allāh al-Zākānī, Persian poet of the Mongol period who became especially famous for his satires and parodies. He was born into a family of scholars and state officials descending from Arabs of the Banū Khafādja [*q.v.*] settled in the area of Ḳazwīn since early Islamic times. In 730/1329-30 the historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī described him as a talented poet and a writer of learned treatises. A collection of Arabic sayings by prophets and wise men, entitled *Nawādir al-amthāl*, belongs to this early period. When later in the same decade the central government of the Īl-Khāns collapsed, ʿUbayd found a refuge in Shīrāz at the court of Abū Isḥāḳ Īndjū [see īndjū] whose death in 758/1357 he commemorated in an elegy. A few years earlier his patron had been ousted from Shīrāz by Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad of the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*]. This probably forced ʿUbayd to leave the town for some time, but he must have returned during the reign of Shāh Shudjāʿ (765-86/1364-84). ʿUbayd addressed panegyrics to the rulers of Fārs as well as to Sultan Uways I (757-76/1356-74) of the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*], who resided in Baghdād and Tabrīz. According to later sources, he is said to have died in 771/1369-70 (Ṣādiḳ Iṣfahānī in *Shāhid-i Ṣādiḳ*) or 772/1370-1 (Taḳī al-Dīn Kāshī in the anthology *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār*). The fact that, in the latter year, his son inherited a manuscript copied by ʿUbayd in 768/1366-7 confirms both datings (cf. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Kulliyyāt*, Introd., pp. *hāʾ* ff.).

The collected works of ʿUbayd-i Zākānī comprise in the first place a *Dīwān* with his serious court poetry, mainly *ḳaṣīda*s and *ghazal*s. The latter poems are remarkable, in particular because many of them must have been written in Shīrāz when Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] was active there as well. To the non-satirical works further belongs the *ʿUshshāḳ-nāma*, a treatise on the theory of secular love in *mathnawī* interspersed with *ghazal*s, dedicated in 752/1350 to Abū Isḥāḳ. This part of his poetry was published separately by ʿAbbās Iḳbāl (Tehran 1321 *sh*./1942) and S.A. Usha (Madras 1952).

His satirical works are written both in prose and poetry, and usually in a combination of the two. Several of these texts are parodies of conventional genres of moralising literature. In *Akhlāḳ al-ashrāf* ("The morals of the noble"), written in 740/1339-40, the "abolished doctrine" (*madhhab-i mansūkh*) of commonly accepted virtues is mockingly replaced by a more up-to-date "preferred doctrine" (*madhhab-i mukhtār*) prescribing the exact opposites of the same virtues. This short treatise was partially translated by E.G. Browne and H. Javadi; the chapter on chastity, bowdlerised by both, was newly edited and translated by P. Sprachman, *Suppressed Persian*, 55-61. In a similar vein, ʿUbayd gave satirical definitions of items belonging to the sphere of religion, politics and social life in his *Risāla-yi taʿrīfāt*, also known as *Kitāb-i dah faṣl*, and presented cynical maxims in the *Risāla-yi ṣad pand*. The *Risāla-yi dilgushā* is a collection of funny, and often bawdy, tales and anecdotes in Arabic and Persian. An interesting specimen of literary satire is the *Rīsh-nāma* ("The book of the beard"), in which a personification of the beard defends its virtues in a dispute with the poet. The main topic is the first appearance of the beard on a young boy's cheeks, a well-known motif of erotic poetry. An Italian translation of the *Rīsh-nāma* was made by A. Bausani (*Il Libro della barba* in *A Francesco Gabrieli*, Rome 1964, 1-19); Sprachman edited and translated the same text in *Suppressed Persian*, 61-75. The other satirical texts also contain several passages with jokes of a homo- or heterosexual nature. In three short *fāl-nāma*s ʿUbayd made fun of the practice of taking auguries. In 1303/1885-6 the satirical works were printed at Constantinople with introductions by Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī and the French consul M. Ferté (reprinted in *Kulliyyāt*, ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl).

His most popular work is a *ḳaṣīda* entitled *Ḳiṣṣa-yi mūsh-u gurba* ("The story of the mice and the cat"). This fable, denouncing the brutality and hypocrisy of a tyrant, is sometimes taken to criticise the harsh rule of Mubāriz al-Dīn under which both ʿUbayd and his contemporary Ḥāfiẓ had to suffer. As the poem does not occur in the earliest manuscripts of ʿUbayd's collected works, the attribution to him is not entirely certain (cf. Ateş, 269). Among the many translations, those by Masʿūd Farzād (London 1945) and Omar Pound (London 1972), both into English, and by Herbert W. Duda into German (Salzburg 1947) are noteworthy.

Bibliography: The edition of the *Kulliyyāt* by ʿA. Iḳbāl (Tehran 1331-2 *sh*./1953) does not provide adequate texts of the satirical works; for recent work on a new edition, cf. Dj. Mahdjūb, in *Īrānshināsī*, vi (1994), 139-59, 287-304, as well as the specimens published by Sprachman. See further Browne, ii, 230-57; A. Christensen, *En persisk satiriker fra Mongolertiden*, Copenhagen 1924; A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, London 1958, 289-300; A. Bausani, in A. Pagliaro and A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 450-63; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 272-3; A. Ateş, *Istanbul kütüphanelerinde Farsça manzum eserler*, i, Istanbul 1968, 268-73; H. Javadi, *The Ethics and other satirical works*, Piedmont, Cal. 1985 (trs. with introd. and bibl.); P. Sprachman, in E. Yarshater (ed.), *Persian literature*, Albany 1988, 227-34; idem, *Suppressed Persian. An anthology of forbidden literature*, Costa Mesa, Cal. 1995, 44-75.

(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

UBAYY b. KAʿB al-Anṣārī al-Madanī, a member of the Banū Ḥudayla of the Medinan clan of al-Nadjdjār, secretary to Muḥammad in Medina and early collector of the Ḳurʾān; his date of death may have been anywhere between 19/640 and 35/656, according to Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, no. 131. Known as *sayyid al-ḳurrāʾ* and renowned for his memory (he was able to recite the entire Ḳurʾān in 8 nights), Ubayy is said to have collected his own copy of the Ḳurʾān prior to the collection commanded by ʿUthmān, while also having been involved in the latter's collection. Both the contents and the *sūra* order of his text are reported to have been different to

some extent from the later authoritative version (e.g. *Fihrist*, 27; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itḳān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. M. Abu ʾl-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1967, i, 181-2); al-Bukhārī cites ʿUmar as declaring Ubayy's text to be defective (*Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān*, *bāb* 8). Ubayy's version was accepted by the Syrians until it was displaced by the ʿUthmānic text [see KURʾĀN, 3 b]. As secretary to Muḥammad, he is said to have memorised portions of the Ḳurʾān upon their revelation in order to recite them back to Muḥammad "for guidance and instruction", as well as to have written out various treaties according to various reports in Ibn Saʿd.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 59-62 (Cairo 1957, iii, 498-502); Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 83-97; A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qurʾān*, Leiden 1937, 114-81, with other biographical references. (A. RIPPIN)

AL-**UBAYYIḌ**, conventionally EL OBEID, the administrative centre of the Northern Kordofan Province in the modern Republic of the Sudan and the main town of the whole region of Kordofan (lat. 13° 10' N., long. 30° 14' E.). For its part in the history of the region, see KORDOFĀN.

UBBADHA, UBBADHAT/UBBADAT AL-ʿARAB, modern Úbeda in Spain, a small town, in the province of Jaén, some 12 km/7 miles from Bayyāsa/Baeza, said to have been founded in the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52) and completed under his son Muḥammad I by the governor of Jaén, Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The designation "of the Arabs" allegedly distinguished it from Ubbadhat Farwa in the *kūra* of Ilbīra/Elvira. Despite its supposedly new foundation, recent archaeological excavations have revealed material from the Late Empire in the vicinity of the Santa Maria church, itself probably the main mosque of the Islamic town, leading one to think that there was in reality a refortification of an existing settlement or its raising to the level of a *madīna*.

As a town of only moderate or small importance, it was famed for the richness of its agricultural lands, producing vines and corn, and for its dancing girls. A certain Ibn Maymūn was amongst the rebels of Baeza and Úbeda against the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh (275-300/888-912). Early in his reign, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III reduced the rebels of Jaén, but in 304/916-17 Sulaymān, a son of Ibn Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], seized control of Úbeda, and though he submitted in the next year, it was clearly some time before the region returned to normality.

In the period of the Taifas, Úbeda probably passed, with Jaén and Baeza, to al-Maʾmūn b. Dhi ʾl-Nūn, ruler of Toledo during the time of his great extension of power southwards to include Cordova and just before his death in 467/1075, before the ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*] of Seville gained control of the whole valley of the Guadalquivir. This last passed to the Almoravids in 484/1091, and Úbeda remained in their dominions, despite its exposure to Christian raids, till the end of their presence in the Iberian Peninsula, except perhaps for a brief occupation *ca.* 539/1144 by Zafadola (Sayf al-Dawla Ibn Hūd), the ally of Alfonso VII of Castile. The last Almoravid Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya had to cede Úbeda and Baeza to Alfonso in 542/1147, until the Almohads regained these two towns and Almeria ten years later. But the North African incomers had also to face local Muslim resistance; Muḥammad b. Mardanīsh [see IBN MARDANĪSH] and his father-in-law Ibrāhīm b. Hamushk seized Úbeda and Baeza in 554/1159, but the latter's rallying to Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf ten years later delivered the two towns to the Almohads.

The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa/al-ʿUḳāb (609/1212 [*q.v.*]) is known in Christian sources as that of Úbeda. After the battle, the victors took Úbeda, whose inhabitants, unlike those of Baeza, had not evacuated the town; many were killed or made captive, including amongst these last the *ḳāḍī* of the town, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḳaṭrāl, later freed to exercise the same office in other towns of al-Andalus and the Maghrib before dying at Marrakesh. But the town was then evacuated, for reasons which remain obscure, by the Christians, allowing a few years more of Islamic occupation. With the definitive fall of Baeza, probably at the end of 1226, Úbeda was besieged on 6 January 1233 by Ferdinand III, who had three years earlier united the crowns of León and Castile. With no possibility of help from the Hūdids, it surrendered in July, with the Muslim inhabitants required to evacuate the town but allowed to take with them their belongings to a chosen point.

It does not seem to have retained any Mudéjar population, probably because of its frontier position facing the amīrate of Granada. In 674/1275 the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf passed by its walls and captured or killed large numbers of Christians. In 769-70/1367-8, during the civil war between Pedro the Cruel of Castile and his half-brother Henry of Trastamare, Muḥammad V of Granada temporarily seized and pillaged Jaén and Úbeda; in the reverse direction, expeditions starting from Úbeda ravaged Granada. After 1492, the Christian town acquired the monuments which make up its present splendour.

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AL-**UBULLA**, a town of mediaeval ʿIrāḳ situated in the Euphrates-Tigris delta region at the head of the Persian Gulf and famed as the terminal for commerce from India and further east.

It lay to the east of al-Baṣra [*q.v.*] on the right bank of the Tigris and on the north side of the large canal called Nahr al-Ubulla, which was the main waterway from al-Baṣra in a southeastern direction to

the Tigris and further to ʿAbbādān and the sea. The length of this canal is generally given as four *farsakhs* or two *barīds* (al-Muḳaddasī). Al-Ubulla can be identified with 'Απολόγου 'Εμπόριον, mentioned in the *Periplus maris Erythraei* (*Geogr. graeci minores*, i, 285) as lying near the coast. In a story told by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 164 = § 1016) there is still a reminiscence of the period before the foundation of al-Baṣra, when al-Ubulla was the only seaport in the Tigris estuary. The earlier Arab authors, in discusing the ancient administrative division of lower Babylonia in Sāsānid times and the foundations of towns by the Sāsānid kings, identify al-Ubulla with other places, such as Dast Maysān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7) or Bahman Ardashīr (al-Ṭabarī, i, 687), although these provinces must be sought on the opposite bank of the Tigris; Eutychius (in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, iii, 911) likewise makes al-Ubulla a foundation of Ardashīr I (see on this question, H.H. Schaeder, in *Isl.*, xiv, 27 ff.). Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7, quotes an Arabic poem of a contemporary of Muḥammad where al-Ubulla is mentioned.

In the story of the conquests, the town is reported to have been captured from a garrison of 500 Persian *asāwira* or cavalrymen by ʿUtba b. Ghazwān in the year 12/633, and this conqueror described it to the caliph ʿUmar as the "port of al-Baḥrayn, ʿUmān, al-Hind and al-Ṣīn" (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 341; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2384). This conquest enabled the Arabs to seize the opposite bank of the river (Dast Maysān) and the so-called Euphrates country. After the rise of al-Baṣra, al-Ubulla became of secondary importance, but throughout the ʿAbbāsid caliphate it remained a large town. It was further from the sea than it had been, but still the effects of the tide were perceptible even above al-Ubulla. All the great geographical authors of the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries give a longer or shorter notice of this place. Its environs are described in very laudatory terms (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 97); the borders of the Nahr al-Ubulla were one large garden (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 160). The part of the Tigris opposite al-Ubulla was important for navigation; in earlier ʿAbbāsid times there had been here a dangerous whirlpool, which had been eliminated by sinking a large quantity of stones in the water, the cost of this being borne by an ʿAbbāsid princess. Here was erected a beacon light which is described by al-Idrīsī (ed. Jaubert, i, 364 and see AL-KHASHABĀT). Al-Ubulla was in this period even larger than al-Baṣra, according to al-Muḳaddasī, 118; fresh water was taken thence by boats to al-Baṣra (*ibid.*, 129), and the place was noted for linen goods and also, as appears from al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 360), for its shipbuilding. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited the place in 443/1051, gives likewise a vivid description of its beautiful surroundings (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 118-19, Eng. tr. Thackston, Albany 1986, 95). On the other hand, al-Ubulla does not seem to have been an important strategic point; occasionally it was occupied, as in 331/942 by the governor of ʿUmān in his action against the Barīdī brothers in Baṣra (cf. Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz, ii, 46), but as the events showed it was far from being an important bulwark of that city. After the 7th/13th century the general decline of those regions seems to have brought about the gradual disappearance of the palace; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 17-18, tr. Gibb, ii, 280-1) calls it only a village, and Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (38) mentions only the Nahr al-Ubulla, but not the place itself. About this time it must have disappeared; later mentions (as late as the *Djihān-gushā* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 453) reproduce only obsolete geographical traditions. It is the modern city of al-Baṣra which has now grown up on its site.

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(J.H. KRAMERS)

UBYKH, the name of one of three closely related peoples that inhabited the Northwest Caucasus, the other two being the Abkhāz [*q.v.*] and Circassians [see ČERKES].

The Ubykh, self-designation *a-Tpakh*, lived between the Black Sea shore and the watershed of the Great Caucasus near present-day Sochi; in the south they bordered on Abkhāzians, elsewhere on Circassians. The Ubykh, Sunnī Muslims, were at least bilingual, also speaking Circassian and/or Abkhāz. Their language, originally closer to Abkhāz, moved towards Circassian, due to intimate relations. They also shared most of their customary law with the Circassians. The Ubykh were the last of all mountain peoples of the Caucasus to surrender to Russia (March 1864), after which they had to migrate to the Ottoman Empire. Their numbers were already reduced to *ca.* 25,000 before the hardships of deportation. All Ubykh, and at least half of the Abkhāz and Circassians, ended up in Anatolia. In the early 20th century there were Ubykh villages in at least four regions: (1) east of Izmit, near Lake Sapanca; (2) near Bandirma, south of Lake Manyas; (3) near Maraş; and (4) near Samsun. The Ubykh in western Anatolia suffered greatly during the Greco-Turkish war (1919-22). The remaining Ubykh lived dispersed among communities of Circassian émigrés. The Ubykh language ceased to exist in 1992 with the death of its famous last speaker, Tewfik Esenç. Most descendants of the Ubykh nowadays identify as belonging to the Ubykh tribe of the Circassian people. The first data on the Ubykh and their language were noted in the 11th/17th century by Ewliyā Čelebi; the language, while dying, attracted many scholars, such as the Russians of German origin Uslar and Dirr, the Hungarian von Mészáros, the Norwegian Vogt, and, most importantly, the Frenchman Georges Dumézil who, in co-operation with T. Esenç, saved much of the Ubykh language and folklore. His pupil G. Charachidzé is preparing a dictionary.

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(H.J.A.J. SMEETS)

UČČH, an ancient Indian, and then mediaeval Indo-Muslim town of the southwestern Pandjab, subsequently coming within the Bahāwalpūr [*q.v.*] Native State and now in Pākistān. It is situated some 56 km/35 miles to the west of Bahāwalpūr town and not far from the junction of the Indus and Chenab-Jhelum rivers (lat. 27° 18' N., long. 71° 12' E.).

1. History

Alexander the Great seems to have founded a city called in the Greek sources Ussa-Alexandria. Uččh

was certainly an ancient Hindu centre, known up to the 12th century as Dēōgaṙh "stronghold of the gods", and it is only thereafter that the actual name Uččh appears in the Muslim sources. It was taken by the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad in 572/1176, according to Firishta, and subsequently governed by the sultan's commander, Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳubāča, but sacked by the fugitive Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn in 620/1223, and then retaken from Ḳubāča by the Dihlī Sultan Iltutmush [*q.v.*] in 625/1228. The historian Djūzdjānī was made director of the Fīrūzī *madrasa* there and *ḳāḍī* of the army by Ḳubāča in 624/1227, and in the next year preached before Iltutmush before going on to Dihlī (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī, i, 420, 447, tr. Raverty, i, 541, 615).

Uččh subsequently became famed for its many Muslim mystics and their shrines. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Surkh Bukhārī (*fl.* early 8th/14th century) settled at Uččh from Multān and began spreading the principles of the Suhrawardiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order from there, and his son Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān (d. 785/1384 [*q.v.*]) made the Uččh branch of the order a major force in the religious and political life of Upper Sind. Because of its association with these two saints and the location of their tombs there, the town became known as Uččh-i Djalālī (see K.A. Nizami, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, ²Delhi 1974, 224-5). The town also acquired several shrines and tombs of Ismāʿīlī *pīrs*, including those of Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. early 9th/15th century?) and his son Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn [see KHODJA, at Vol. V, 26].

Uččh continued to play a significant role in Dihlī Sultanate history. It acquired a tradition of Ḳādiriyya Ṣūfī order scholarship, and ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642 [*q.v.*]) received Ḳādirī instruction there. Under the Mughal emperor Akbar it came within the *ṣūba* of Multān. Subsequent changes in the courses of the adjacent rivers affected its strategic importance, and reduced it by the early 19th century to a group of seven villages. It has, however, revived somewhat and has become a fair-sized town in the 20th century.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Monuments

Tombs and mosques are the only two types of building which have precariously survived numerous floods and the ravages of time. The most important shrine with its attached mosque remaining today is that of Djalāl al-Dīn Surkh Bukhārī. Both buildings are typical of the traditional flat-roofed timber construction, with square pillars, beams and brackets mostly carved with geometric patterns except for bell shapes, reminiscent of Hindu ornament. The wood ceilings are divided by rafters which enclose series of star-patterned squares. These have been repainted in bright red, green, white and blue. Geometrical carved wooden screens hide airing vents below the ceilings. Glazed tiles with geometric patterns decorate the outer walls. The square tomb of Ḳāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa Uččhī and the shrines of Radjan Ḳattāl and Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn seem to belong to the 8th/14th century. Only in the next century were domed mausolea, similar to the mighty constructions in Multān [see MULTĀN. 2], erected on the old fort mound: these are the tombs of Bahāʾ al-Dīn, known as Bahāʾ al-Ḥalīm, the supposed master of Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, and of Bībī Djāwandī, his own great-granddaughter who died in 805/1402. The tomb is attributed to 900/1493. Despite uncertainty over dating, it is obvious that the tombs—even though only half of their fabric has survived—derive from the original type at Multān. The lesser size of the monuments and their squat domes, at a time when in Transoxania double-domes were the rule, underline the provincial character of the buildings. Apart from the use of tile mosaics and glazed moulded tiles, underglaze painted tiles in both monuments allow for a mid-century dating similar to examples in Bīdar [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, the simple colour scheme of blue, turquoise and white with plain terra cotta elements harks back to 8th/14th century Persia. As in other parts of the Subcontinent, the use of plain earthenware for glazed tiles makes for a poor finish. The composite body of Persian origin would bond better with the glaze, but this technique is seldom found on monuments in Sind.

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ʿŪD (A.) means basically "wood, piece of wood, plank, spar" (pls. *aʿwād, ʿīdān*).

I. IN DAILY LIFE

1. *ʿŪd* as perfume and incense and as a medicament

In the Arabic materia medica it indicates the so-called "aloe wood". This designation, used in trade, is conventional but incorrect because aloe wood is called *ṣabr* [*q.v.*]. *ʿŪd* has to do with certain kinds of resinous, dark-coloured woods with a high specific weight and a strong aromatic scent, which were used in medicine as perfume and incense (*ʿūd al-bakhūr*) and were highly coveted because of their rarity and value. The main suppliers of these woods are *Aquilaria agallocha* [Lour.] Roxb. (*Aloexylon agallochum* Lour.) and *Aquilaria malaccensis* Lam., *Thymelaeaceae*. Agallocha wood therefore is the better term. It was already correctly described by Dioscurides under ἀγάλ(λ)οχον (ed. Wellmann, i, 23), in the Arabic Dioscurides translation, *aghālūkhun* (ed. Dubler-Terés, i, 19).

There are many names of plants composed with *ʿūd* which belong to quite different families of plants. *Al-ʿūd al-hindī* is mostly synonymous with the above-mentioned Agallocha; *ʿūd al-rīḥ* ("fragrant wood"), e.g., is *Berberia vulgaris* L., *Berberidaceae; ʿūd al-ṣalīb* ("cross wood", so-named because the drug, if put "cross-wise" on the breast, is said to cure epilepsy) is *Paeonia officinalis* L., *Ranunculaceae; ʿūd al-ḳarḥ* ("active against ulcers") is *Anacyclus pyrethrum* D.C., *Compositae; ʿūd al-ʿuṭās* ("sneezing wood") is *Schoenocaulon officinale, Liliaceae*, etc. A long list is given by Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. *ʿūd*, with some thirty names, many of which in turn can indicate various plants.

The designation derived from the place of origin was also usual. According to most authors, *al-ʿūd al-mandalī* (from India) seems to rank as the most valuable wood, after that *al-ʿūd al-samandūrī* (also from India), the best kind of which is the blue one with much water, then the heavy, hard, compact one which does not contain water. Then follows *al-ʿūd al-ḳimārī*, and after that *al-ʿūd al-ṣanfī* and many others (see on these, 2. below). The most comprehensive description, the extraction, the classification and the use of *ʿūd* are found in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xii, 23-38 (tr.

Wiedemann and found in the collected *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, 1970, ii, 247-54).

For the medicinal use of the Agallochon, see above all, Ibn Samad̲j̲ūn (see *Bibl.*): it opens obstructions of the spleen and the liver, fortifies the heart and gives the mouth a pleasant smell, alerts the senses, fortifies the nerves, strengthens the gums and absorbs the moisture of the stomach (*billat al-maʿida*).

Bibliography: Ibn Samad̲j̲ūn, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-adwiya al-mufrada*, Frankfurt 1992, iii, 123-30; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa-'l-ag̲h̲d̲h̲iya*, Būlāḳ 1291, iii, 143 (tr. Leclerc, nos. 1603-10); *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, nos. 280, 308, 318; M.A.H. Ducros, *Essai sur le droguier populaire arabe*, Cairo 1930, nos. 77, 164-7, 224; A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, i, 19.

(A. Dietrich)

2. *ʿŪd* wood in mediaeval Islamic economic and social history

The terms used to qualify various kinds of *ʿūd*, the fragrant heartwood of the lign-aloe (Lat. *lignum-aloe*) or eagle-wood (both misnomers, in that the tree has no connection with the aloes-plant, see below, or with eagles, see 1. above), sc. *al-ʿūd al-hindī, al-ʿūd al-ḳimārī, al-ʿūd al-ṣanfī*, etc., indicate the place of origin of these products, i.e. India, Southeast Asia and the islands beyond. Ḳimār corresponds to Khmer or Cambodia (see ḳimār, with note of the ambiguities surrounding the exact nature of the aloes tree). Ṣanf [*q.v.*] is Čampa, Cambodia and the adjacent parts of what is now southern Vietnam [see čam]. Ḳimār and Ṣanf being tropical forest regions. Hence Arabic geographical literature stresses the importance of Further India for aloes wood: see e.g. al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 139, 146; al-Marwazī, in V. Minorsky (ed. and tr.), *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, text *39, tr. 51. The East Indian islands, now making up modern Indonesia, were likewise celebrated as sources of aloes-wood, and Marco Polo mentions both Chamba and Java the Lesser (sc. Sumatra) as sources for it, whilst Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī's *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* gives Atčeh in Sumatra [see atjèh] and Tenasserim, the coastland of southern Burma [see mergui], as the sources of imports of *ʿūd-i d̲j̲āwī* into Mug̲h̲al India during the 16th century (Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ²London 1903, ii, 268, 271-2, 284, 287; cf. also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, iii, 228, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iii, 876).

ʿŪd wood was early regarded as a luxury item in mediaeval Islam, and its uses included those for fine wood-carving and for furniture-making. The anonymous 5th/11th century author of the *K. al-D̲h̲akhāʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf* (often attributed to the Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr) frequently mentions it amongst lists of presents given by potentates who had military or commercial connections with the Indian subcontinent or the Indian Ocean fringes, e.g. the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layt̲h̲ [*q.v.*] and the Ziyādid ruler of Yemen Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm (d. 371/981) (ed. M. Hamidullah, Kuwayt 1959, §§ 47, 76, 223, Eng. tr. Ghāda al-Qaddūmī, *Book of gifts and rarities*, Cambridge, Mass. 1996), and specifies that stools or chairs or stands, *karāsī* [see kursī], were made from it (§ 239).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

II. In music

The lute (*al-ʿūd*, from the usage of wood for its sound-chest and neck, see above) has been the most important musical instrument of Islamic peoples from the Atlantic shores to the Persian lands, with its use extending in pre-modern times into the Iranian world, Central Asia and Muslim India. The Arabic term has passed into European languages as Span. *alaude*, Port. *alaud*, Ital. *liuto*, Fr. *luth*, Eng. *lute*, Ger. *Laute*, etc.

1. The pre-modern history of the instrument and its usage

Arabic authors do not discriminate between the *barbaṭ* and the *ʿūd*, but there seems to have been a fundamental distinction between them. The *barbaṭ* had its sound-chest and neck constructed in one graduated piece, whereas in the *ʿūd* proper the sound-chest and neck were separate. Al-Masʿūdī says (*Murūd̲j̲*, viii, 88) that the lute was "invented" by Lamak [*q.v.*] (Lamech of *Genesis*, iv), but elsewhere (viii, 99) he tells us that it was generally acknowledged that the Greeks were the inventors. Pythagoras, Plato, Euclid and Ptolemy are also given the credit of its invention, although in his *Tanbīh*, 129, al-Masʿūdī says that, since Ptolemy does not mention the lute, the Greeks evidently did not know of it. The instrument was certainly of ancient origin. Whether the terra-cotta figure found at Goshen in Egypt, and attributed to the XIX-XX dynasties, shows a lute or not, we see undoubted examples of it in India from the 2nd century B.C. (sculpture from Bharhut in the Indian Museum, Calcutta).

We are told that the lute (*ʿūd*) was known in Persia at the time of the Sāsānid S̲h̲āpūr I (A.D. 241-72) during whose reign it is said to have been invented. It is more likely, however, that this instrument was the *barbaṭ*, and that the reference is rather to an improvement, possibly the substitution of a belly of wood instead of skin. In folk etymology, the Persians called the instrument the *barbaṭ* because it resembled the breast (*bar*) of a duck (*baṭ*) (al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 238). J.P.N. Land was of the opinion that the Persian lute referred to by Arabic authors was actually a two-stringed *ṭunbūr*, but several specimens of Sāsānid art (4th-7th centuries) have preserved designs of the Persian lute showing four strings, and the number of strings is confirmed from other sources (*JRAS* [1899], 59). That a two-stringed lute (*ʿūd*) existed at the end of the 7th century in ʿIrāḳ we know from *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd* (iii, 181), and the design of a two-stringed lute (*barbaṭ*) of the 8th-9th century has been preserved. The *barbaṭ* was the chief instrument of the Arab G̲h̲assānids in pre-Islamic times (*Ag̲h̲ānī*¹, xvi, 15) and also of the Syrians in early Islamic times (*ibid.*, iii, 84). The Greek βαρβιτος would appear to have been borrowed from the Orient, and Strabo remarks on its barbaric name (*Geography*, x. iii, 17).

The Arabs of pre-Islamic times had certain types of the lute, known as the *mizhar*, *kirān* and *muwattar*. These would appear to have been identical with the *barbaṭ* but with skin bellies. The *mizhar* is unanimously identified with the lute (*ʿūd*) by the Arabic lexicographers (see also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, viii, 93; *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iii, 186). In the 11th-century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* edited by Seybold, however, the *mazhar* (562) or *mizhar* (508) equates with *tympanum*, and the modern *mazhar* is a tambourine. Indeed, the identification by the older Arabic lexicographers is suspect. The praises of the *mizhar* are sung by the 6th-century poets Imruʾ al-Ḳays and ʿAlḳama. The *kirān*, according to al-Ḥarbī (d. 285/898), was also a lute (*ʿūd*), and this author says that it was so called because it was placed [in playing] against the breast. This instrument is also mentioned by Imruʾ al-Ḳays. The *muwattar* is referred to by the *mukhaḍram* poet Labīd and is generally consid-

ered to be a lute (*ʿūd*). About the close of the 6th century, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥāri<u>th</u> is said to have introduced the *ʿūd* from ʿIrāḳ into Mecca (al-Masʿūdī, *Murū<u>dj</u>*, viii, 93-4), the probable special feature of the instrument being its wooden belly. Al-Kalbī (d. 763) records (*A<u>gh</u>ānī*[1], vii, 188) that the first to play the lute (*ʿūd*) in Medina was Sāʾib <u>Kh</u>ā<u>th</u>ir (d. 683). In *ca.* 684, Ibn Suray<u>dj</u> [*q.v.*] played on a lute (*ʿūd*) constructed after the Persian manner (*A<u>gh</u>ānī*[1], i, 98) (see the lute delineated in E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin 1927). This Persian type of lute continued to be favoured by the Arabs until Zalzal [*q.v.*] invented his "perfect lute" or *ʿūd <u>sh</u>abbūṭ* (*A<u>gh</u>ānī*[1], v, 24). The Persian lute, i.e. the *barbaṭ*, continued, however, to be favoured, side-by-side with the *ʿūd* proper.

Two other instruments of this type that we know of are the *pīpā* and *ḳabūs*. The *pīpā* is the so-called "balloon guitar" of the Chinese (Van Aalst, *Chinese music*, Shanghai 1884, 64), who are said to have possessed it since the days of the Han dynasty. It was introduced into ʿIrāḳ by the Mongols in the 13th century—Ibn <u>Gh</u>aybī (d. 838/1435) describes it—and may be found in the paintings of the Mu<u>gh</u>al-Persian school. Al-Muṭarrizī (d. 613/1216) refers to an instrument which he calls the *miʿzaf* [*q.v.*] and describes it as "a sort of *ṭunbūr*" made by the people of al-Yaman. According to the author of the *Tā<u>dj</u> al-ʿarūs*, this was the instrument now known as the *ḳabūs*. The *ḳabūs* (al-Ḥi<u>dj</u>āz), *ḳabbūṣ* (ʿUmān), *ḳanbūs* (Ḥaḍramawt), *ḳupūz* or *ḳūpūz* (Turkey) is a very old instrument. Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] says that the *ḳūpūz* was invented by a vizier of Meḥemmed II (d. 886/1481) named Aḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a Hersek O<u>gh</u>lu. He describes it as being a hollow instrument, smaller than the *<u>sh</u>a<u>sh</u>tār*, and mounted with three strings (*Travels*, i/2, 235). On the other hand, Ibn <u>Gh</u>aybī says that the *ḳūpūz rūmī* had five double strings. The instrument is no longer used by the Turks, although it has survived under the name of *kobza, koboz*, in Poland, Russia, and the Balkans, but here it is the lute proper and not a *barbaṭ* type. In Central Asia, a rather primitive bowed instrument is known as the *ḳūbūz* (ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat, *Uzbīk kilāssik mūsiḳāsī*, Ta<u>sh</u>kent 1927, 43).

The *ʿūd* or lute proper, as introduced by Zalzal [*q.v.*] in the 8th century, had, apparently, a separate neck like the modern instrument, whereas the *barbaṭ* or Persian lute, which the Arabs had used until then, had no separate neck, the whole instrument from the head downwards being in one graduated piece, perhaps hollow throughout like the *ḳabūs*. Zalzal's *ʿūd al-<u>sh</u>abbūṭ* was so named because it resembled the fish called the *<u>sh</u>abbūṭ*. The description of the *<u>sh</u>abbūṭ* given by the Arabic lexicographers leads to the inference that the sound-chest of Zalzal's lute was ovoid rather than pear-shaped (cf. the Spanish *machête* in Engel's *Catalogue of the musical instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, London 1874, pl. facing 248, which is in the form of a fish). We see the form of the *ʿūd al-<u>sh</u>abbūṭ* persisting in Islamic art for centuries, but the pear-shaped sound-chest, upon which the *barbaṭ* was founded, eventually became the more popular type. Ziryāb (8th century [*q.v.*]), the famous Andalusī musician, is claimed to have improved the *ʿūd* at Ba<u>gh</u>dād, and in al-Andalus he introduced a plectrum of quill instead of the one of wood that had hitherto been used (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 86-7). He is also said to have introduced a fifth string, a device dealt with by both al-Kindī and al-Fārābī. For a full statement of the influence (*taʾ<u>th</u>īr*, cf. ἦθος) of the strings of the *ʿūd* on man, see Farmer, *The influence of music: from Arabic sources*, London 1926.

At this period, the names of the various parts of the *ʿūd* were: *raʾs* (head, scroll), *malāwī* (tuning pegs), *anf* (nut), *ibrīḳ* or *ʿunḳ* (neck), *awtār* (strings), *dasātīn* (frets), *mu<u>sh</u>ṭ* (bridge-tailpiece), *wa<u>dj</u>h* (belly), *ʿayn* (sound-hole) and *miḍrāb* (plectrum). For the particular names of the strings and frets, see MŪSĪḲĪ.

By the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 692/1293 [*q.v.*]), the *ʿūd* had five strings (Carra de Vaux, *Le traité des rapports musicaux... par Safi ed-Dīn ʿAbd al-Mumin*, Paris 1891, 52), and this continued up to the 16th century in the East. This instrument, called the *ʿūd kāmil*, was slightly larger than the older classical lute (*ʿūd ḳadīm*) of four strings. A Persian treatise on music, the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (14th century), and a Turkish imitation of the same by Aḥmed O<u>gh</u>lu <u>Sh</u>ukrullāh (15th century) give full details of the construction of the *ʿūd*. Unlike the mediaeval lute, the modern lute is not fretted. The seven double-stringed instrument is figured and fully described by Villoteau in the *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris 1809-26, fol. ed., i, 847, and in Lane's *Modern Egyptians* (1836). The Egyptian *ʿūd* of modern times has five double strings (Darwī<u>sh</u> Muḥammad, *Ṣafāʾ al-awḳāt*, Cairo 1910, 11; Muḥammad Kāmil al-<u>Kh</u>ulaʿī, *al-Mūsīḳī al-<u>sh</u>arḳī*, Cairo 1904), although occasionally six double strings may be found. In Syria and Palestine, a seven double-stringed instrument was in use (Mīkhāʾīl Mu<u>sh</u>āḳa, *al-Risāla al-<u>sh</u>ihābiyya*) in the early 19th century, but this has now fallen into desuetude in favour of the five double-stringed instrument. Turkey has come to favour a six-stringed *ʿūd* with five double and one single string (Fa<u>kh</u>rī Bey, *Naẓarī we-ʿilmī ʿūd dersleri*, Istanbul). Specimens of the *ʿūd* may be found in most museums of the world.

Among other types of the lute are the *tuḥfat al-ʿūd, kuwītra, lawṭa, rūd, <u>sh</u>ahrūd, ṭarab al-futuḥ, ṭarab zūr, awzān, rubāb, mughnī, <u>sh</u>idirghū* and *rūḥ afzā*. The *tuḥfat al-ʿūd* is described by Ibn <u>Gh</u>aybī as a half-sized lute. The *ḳuwītra* or *ḳuwī<u>th</u>ra* is a lute with a smaller and shallower sound-chest, its head being fixed obliquely rather than at a right angle as in the *ʿūd*. It is common to the whole of the Ma<u>gh</u>rib and has four double strings. The name is a colloquial diminutive of *ḳitāra* or *ḳi<u>th</u>āra*, an instrument used in Muslim Spain as early as the 10th century (*al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*; see further ḲI<u>TH</u>ĀRA). The *lawṭa* is somewhat similar to the *ḳuwītra*. It has four double strings, and is very popular in Turkey. It appears to have been borrowed, together with its name, from Italy, and is certainly of comparatively modern adoption since it is not mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi. The *rūd* is of Persian origin and the world, like *tār*, means a string. It was also an instrument of the lute family. Ibn <u>Gh</u>aybī mentions a *rūd <u>kh</u>āṭī* or *rūd <u>kh</u>ānī*. The *rūdak* and *rūḍa* are also mentioned. Ewliyā Čelebi describes a *rūḍa* which had "recently" been invented by a certain <u>Sh</u>ukrullāh Beg. He likens it to the *čārtār*. Al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii, 143-4), quoting al-<u>Sh</u>aḳundī (d. 628/1231), mentions the *rūṭa* in al-Andalus. This may have been identical with the Latin *ruta, ruda, rote*. The *<u>sh</u>ahrūd* or *<u>sh</u>āhrū<u>dh</u>* was allegedly invented in 299/912 by Ḥakīm b. Aḥwaṣ al-Ṣu<u>gh</u>dī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 237). In al-Fārābī's day it had a compass of three octaves (d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i, Paris 1930, 42). Ibn <u>Gh</u>aybī says that it had ten double strings and that it was twice the length of the ordinary *ʿūd*. The *ṭarab al-futuḥ* and *ṭarab zūr* are described by him. The first named had six double strings. The name *ṭarab* is still to be found in an instrument of India. The *ṭarab* was probably the original of the European *tiorba* (Farmer, *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, 44). The *awzān* is also described by Ibn <u>Gh</u>aybī. It was a Turkish instrument

popular with the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des sultans Mamlouks*, i/1, 136). It was certainly not a drum as Quatremère thought, since Ibn Ghaybī places it among the lutes of three strings, and says that it was played with a wooden plectrum by Turkish minstrels. The *rubāb* (a lute) is to be distinguished from the *rabāb* (a viol). The former is a Persian and Eastern Turkish instrument with a vaulted sound-chest and incurvations at the waist. It is described at length in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf.* The lower part of the belly was of skin, and three double strings were mounted on it. Ibn Ghaybī says that sometimes four or five double strings were adopted. In Persia it has fallen into disuse. In Turkestan, however, it still continues to be favoured, but here it is strung with three single strings together with twelve sympathetic strings. It has found its way into India and China. The *mughnī* or *mūghnī* is said to have been invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī. It was a sort of arch-lute and is described in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* and by Ibn Ghaybī and Ewliyā Čelebi. The *shidirghū*, as it is written by Ibn Ghaybī, was a long instrument with half of its belly covered with skin. It had four strings but was mostly used, he says, in China. The *rūḥ afzā* had a hemispherical sound-chest with six double strings of silk and metal. Many instruments with a hemispherical sound-chest like this are to be found depicted in Persian art.

Bibliography: For a detailed bibl., including also catalogues of collections of musical instruments, see H.G. Farmer, *EI*[1] art., and in particular, his own *A history of Arabian music to the XIIIth century*, London 1929; *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London 1930; and *An old Moorish lute tutor*, London 1932. See also *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, London 1980, xi, art *Lute*; and KITHĀRA; MŪSĪḲĪ; ṬUNBŪR. (H.G. FARMER)

2. Usage in the 20th century

Although less prized by the Turks and set aside by the Persians, the *ʿūd* has in the 20th century become popular amongst the Arabs as an instrument of accompaniment.

At the end of the 19th century, despite the supremacy of singing over instrumental sound, a taste for instrumental recitals re-appeared. In the 20th century, Egypt has produced Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and Riyāḍ Sunbāṭī. In Syria, Farīd al-Aṭrash has stayed within the Egyptian taste but ʿUmar Naḳshbandī, using an *ʿūd* made by Anṭūn Naḥḥāṭ, has made use of Damascene themes in a talented fashion.

The great revival began in Istanbul towards the close of the Ottoman empire. Two lute makers, the Greek Manol (Adelfion Veniou) and the Armenian Onnik (Garipyan) made refined instruments with six courses, adapted for musical shifts, vibrato, nuances of dynamics and playing with four fingers of the left hand. The two finest interpreters have been Udi Hrant and Yorgo Bacanos, followed by a host of excellent soloists. Amongst these Istanbulis, Şerif Muhyieddin Haydar Haşimî Targan, faithful to the Ottoman cause, left Kemalist Turkey and settled in New York before becoming director of the Institute of Music in Baghdād from 1937 to 1948. Distinguished and reserved, he trained several brilliant pupils who are to be grouped together with the lute makers Ustā ʿAlī and Muḥammad Fāḍil as the "lutenist school of Baghdād". They have included Salmān Shukūr and Ghānim Ḥaddād, faithful disciples, Munīr Bashīr, the sole one to achieve a reputation in the West (d. 1997), and Djamīl Ghānim, a Yemeni with a voluptuous style, also now dead. ʿAlī Imām, Nāṣir Shamma and ʿUmar Bashīr are taking their places. But the most dazzling of all was the Syrian Orthodox from Upper Mesopotamia, Djamīl Bashīr (d. 1977), who became the ideal interpreter of the anguish and poetry of the ʿIrāḳī soul, and will always remain "the immortal of the lute". (J.-CL. CHABRIER)

3. Musical language of the classical lute

[N.B. Abbreviations are indicated on the table "Realisation": cent = °; Holderian comma = h. Measurements. All these have been made on a Manol *ʿūd* with strings of 585 mm and are related in the text of the article to strings normalised at 600 mm, hence an octave: 300 mm, a fifth: 200 mm, a fourth: 150 mm, and a major Pythagorean tone: 66.66 mm.]

I. *Organology and tuning.*

The classical lute is a short-necked instrument with strings which are plucked. The bulging, half-pear-shaped sound box is made from wooden ribs (up to 29). It is covered with a flat belly of wood pierced with a rosette and often with two sound holes. The neck comprises a flat, polished extension of the main body for fingering. A peg board, at an obtuse angle to the neck, holds ten to fourteen pegs. The strings come from a holder attached to the belly (and sometimes from the body with a bridge) passing along the belly and the finger-board to a nut situated at an angle to the neck and the peg board. The vibrating length of the open strings is about 600 mm (400 mm along the belly and 200 mm along the fingering-board). It allows one to play over a range of a fifth, apart from shifts. The strings are placed in five courses in groups of two. The classical mode of playing, in retreat since the golden age, uses only two fingers of the left hand without nuances and a stiff plectrum. But the more refined *ʿūds* which evolved at Baghdād and Istanbul, with shorter open strings of 585 mm, are meant for playing with four fingers on six courses, with expressiveness, nuances of dynamics, vibrato and shifting of the hand, and with a supple, eagle's feather quill plectrum.

Tuning. Maintaining intervals of fourths between the courses, tuning is elaborated around the courses 2, *ʿashīrān*, 3, *dūgāh*, 4, *nawā* and 5, *gardān* (with the Mediterranean equivalence *la*1-*ré*2-*sol*2-*do*3 when the "key-tone" *rāst* is in *do*2). For tuning by perfect fourths, the first course can be tuned in *ḳarār-būsalik* (*mi* 1), a sharp course 6 in *djawāb-čahārgāh* (*fa*3). But by tuning course 1 in *yegāh* (*sol*1) one achieves the *yekgāh*, a historical degree of course 1 with open string and the basis of the "perfect system" of the ancients; and *yegāh* (*sol*1) is one octave lower than *nawā* (*sol*2). The sonority of the lute is then improved. The refined *ʿūds* of Istanbul and Baghdād adopt a succession of fourths on the courses 2-5. In academic tuning, course 1 is in *yegāh* and course 6, bass pitched, a fifth or a fourth under course 1, hence in *ḳarār-rāst* (*do*1) or *ḳarār-dūgāh* (*ré*1). But these schools adopt different "key-tone" *rāsts*, either *ré*2 in Turkey, *fa*2 or *sol*2 in ʿIrāḳ and Iran; and they place course 6 at the side of course 1 or course 5. There are thus open-string tunings like *ré*1-*la*1-*si*1-*mi*2-*la*2-*ré*3 (Şerif Muhiddin Haydar Haşimī Tangan), *do*2-*ré*2-*sol*2-*do*3-*fa*3-*fa*1 (Munīr Bashīr, Djamīl Ghānim), *ré*2-*mi*2-*la*2-*ré*3-*sol*3-*sol*1 (Djamīl Bashīr), *si*0 (or *do*1)-*fa*1-*si*1-*mi*2-*la*2-*ré*3 (tuning used today in Turkey).

II. *The standard of acoustic systems; the realisation of a chromatic, Pythagorean scale on the strings.* (See the table "Realisation", Fig. 1, and the lower part of the main table, Fig. 2, lower band "Scala" making explicit this scale on the lute string.)

As a monochord, the *ʿūd* has been the standard for acoustic, scaling, modal and instrumental languages, perpetuated within the Arabo-Islamic civilisation since

REALISATION D'UNE GAMME CHROMATIQUE PYTHAGORICIENNE SUR CORDE.J.C.C.Chabrier.1987							
notes en do	mm/600 /corde	rapport numérique diapason/seg.vibr	cents 1200/o	Holder 53/oct	code JCC	abr	Nom de l'intervalle
do.♮	à vide	1/1	0000	00	0.A	...	.
do.+	8,07	531441/524288	23,5	1,04	0+A	+	Comma pythagoricien
ré.♭	30,47	256/243	90,2	4	1.B	2am	Limma.Seconde mineure
do.♯	38,13	2187/2048	113,7	5	2.C		Apotomé
ré.d	59,39	65536/59049	180,5	8	3.D	2an	Dilimma.Seconde neutre.3adim
ré.♮	66,66	9/8	203,9	9	4.E	2aM	Ton maj.Seconde majeure
ré.+	73,8	4782969/4194304	228	10	4+E	2a+	Seconde majeure + comma
mi.♭	93,75	32/27	294,1	13	5.F	3am	Tierce mineure
ré.♯	100,56	19683/16384	317,6	14	6.G	2aA	Seconde augmentée
mi.d	119,46	8182/6561	384,4	17	7.H	3an	Tierce neutre.4a diminuée
mi.♮	125,92	81/64	407,8	18	8.I	3aM	Tierce majeure.Diton
mi.+	131,9	43046721/33554432	432	19	8+I	3a+	Tierce majeure + comma
fa.d	143,9	2097152/1594323	474	21	9.J	4an	Quarte neutre
fa.♮	150	4/3	498	22	10.K	4aJ	Quarte juste
fa.+	156	177147/131072	521,5	23	10+K	3aA	Tierce augmentée. 4a + c
sol♭	172,85	1024/729	588,3	26	11.L	5ad	Quinte diminuée
fa ♯	178,6	729/512	611,7	27	12.M	4aA	Quarte augmentée.Triton
sold	194,5	262144/177147	678,5	30	13.N	5an	Sixte diminuée. 5a neutre
sol♮	200	3/2	702	31	14.O	5aJ	Quinte juste
sol+	205,4	1594323/1048576	726	32	14+O	5a+	Quinte juste + comma
la.♭	220,3	128/81	792,2	35	15.P	6am	Sixte mineure
sol♯	225,4	6561/4096	815,6	36	16.Q	5aA	Quinte augmentée
la.d	239,5	32768/19683	882,4	39	17.R	6an	Septième diminuée.6a neutre
la.♮	244;4	27/16	905,9	40	18.S	6aM	Sixte majeure
la.+	249,1	14348907/8388608	930	41	18+S	6a+	Sixte majeure + comma
la.3-	257,8	8388608/4782969	972	43	19-T		Septième mineure - comma
si.♭	262,5	16/9	996,1	44	19.T	7am	Septième mineure
la.♯	267	59049/32768	1019,6	45	20.U	6aA	Sixte augmentée
si.d	279,6	4096/2187	1086,3	48	21.V	7an	Octave diminuée. 7a neutre
si.♮	284	243/128	1109,8	49	22.X	7aM	Septième majeure
do.d	295,9	1048576/531441	1176,5	52	23.Y	8an	Neuvième diminuée.8a neutre
do.♮	300	2/1	1200	53	24.Z	8aJ	Octave juste

Fig. 1. Table ("Realisation") of the chromatic Pythagorean scale on the lute's strings.

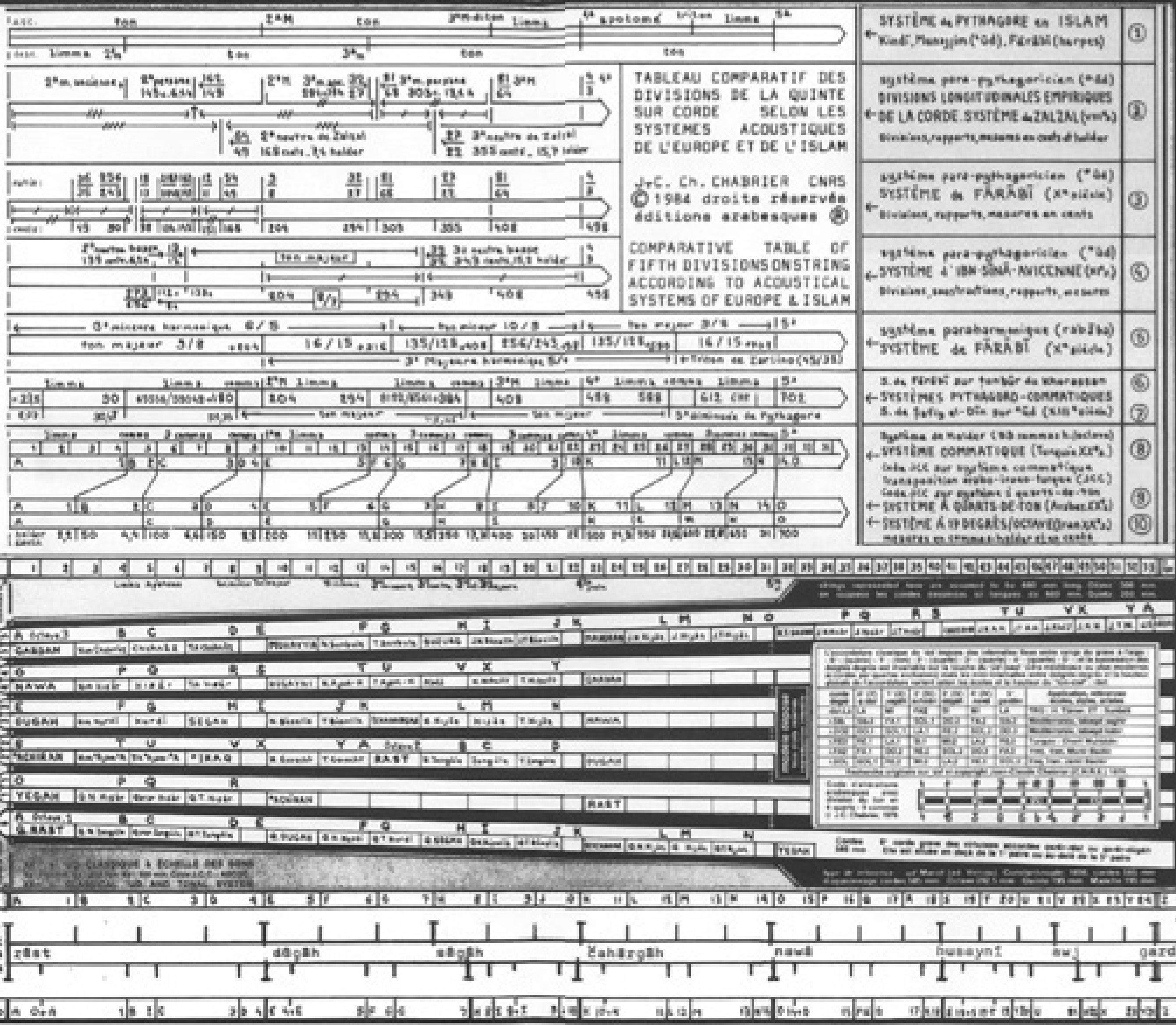
TABLEAU COMPARATIF DES DIVISIONS DE LA QUINTE SUR CORDE SELON LES SYSTEMES ACOUSTIQUES DE L'EUROPE ET DE L'ISLAM
J.-C. Ch. CHABRIER CNRS
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COMPARATIVE TABLE OF FIFTH DIVISIONS ON STRING ACCORDING TO ACOUSTICAL SYSTEMS OF EUROPE & ISLAM
SYSTÈME de PYTHAGORE en ISLAM
système para-pythagoricien ('ūd) DIVISIONS LONGITUDINALES EMPIRIQUES DE LA CORDE. SYSTÈME de ZALZAL
système para-pythagoricien ('ūd) SYSTÈME de FĀRĀBĪ (Xe siècle)
système para-pythagoricien ('ūd) SYSTÈME d'IBN-SĪNĀ-AVICENNE
système paraharmonique (rabāba) SYSTÈME de FĀRĀBĪ (Xe siècle)
SYSTÈMES PYTHAGORO-COMMATIQUES
SYSTÈME COMMATIQUE
SYSTÈME À QUARTS-DE-TON
SYSTÈME À 19 DEGRÉS/OCTAVE
TOUCHE DU 'UD ORIENTAL CLASSIQUE & CONCEPTION DES DOIGTÉS-DEGRÉS
GARDAN
NAWA
DUGAH
YEGAH
RAST
quart
scala
Pytha
rāst
dūgāh
sīgāh
čahārgāh
nawā
husaynī
awj
gard

ʿAbbāsid times. Most of the acoustic systems of this culture were Pythagorean, despite the addition of new, derived degrees. It is thus indispensable at the outset to realise a chromatic Pythagorean scale with 31 marks to the octave. This density will allow the generation and analysis of complex expressions. (See the table "Realisation", which also shows the abbreviations used for the intervals).

The actualisation of this chromatic Pythagorean scale on the lute's strings must take into account the peculiarities of the scale of sounds of the civilisation in question. One may note at the outset from the bass to the treble, the arrangement of the seven "diatonic" degrees designated successively by their indication of "code JCC", by the interval formed with the tonic "key-tone" *rāst* (supposedly in *do*2) and by their "oriental" name (of Persian origin, here "normalised"): 0.A: tonic: *rāst*: do; 4.E: 2am: *dūgāh: ré*; 7.H: 3an: *segāh: mi*d; 10.K: 4aJ: *čahārgāh: fa*; 14.0: 5aJ: *nawā: sol*; 18.S: 6aM: *ḥusaynī: la* 21.V: 7an: *awdj* (*evc*): *si*d; 24.Z: 8aJ: *gardaniyya* (*kardān*): *do*.

In order to pass from this "diatonic" scale to a "chromatic" one with 24 degrees, each major tone has to be marked out with the limma, apotome and dilimma intervals. In order to arrive at 30 degrees, one has to add the degrees a comma above the diatonic degrees. The 31st degree 19-T: minor seventh less a comma: *la*3 is a peculiarity outside this scale. (See the lower band of the main table (*scala*).)

It should be noted that the degrees of this Pythagorean scale are not acoustically equidistant. Inversely, if one looks at the upper "teeth" of the *scala* band designated "quart" and illustrating a scale of 24 quarter-tones, one can note the "acoustic equidistance" of the intervals. One may also note the differences in the pitches of the intervals between the Pythagorean scale and that of quarter-tones, especially the pitches of the neutral degrees *segāh* and *awdj*, respectively 7.H:3an: *segāh:mi*d; and 21.V:7an: *awdj: si*d. (See the lower band of the main table (*scala*).)

III. *Evolution of the acoustic systems on the* ʿūd.

(1) *The system of Pythagoras in Islam* (main table, register 1) (al-Kindī, Banu 'l-Munadjdjim on the *ʿūd*, al-Fārābī on the *čang* or harp, 8th-10th centuries).

This is a ditonic Pythagorean system defining the following intervals: 2a m (limma), 2a M (tone), 3a m, a 3a M (ditone), 4a J, 4a A (tritone), 5a J (for the values, see the table "Realisation").

(2) *The system of equidistant divisions on the string* (main table, upper register 2) (Manṣūr Zalzal, Baghdād, 8th century).

This probably refers to intervals maintained in authochthonous musical systems. Starting from the Pythagorean degrees, Zalzāl conceived intervals defined by the equidistances on the strings, thus in the order of elaboration (if the empty string sounds in *do*):

1. Equidistance between 2a M and 3a M: defines the Persian 3a m (Persian medius finger) (*mi*♭; 96.30 mm; 81/68; 303°; 13,4 h;)

2. Equidistance between nut and Persian 3a m: defines the Persian 2a n (neighbour of the index finger) *ré*.♩; 48.15 mm; 162/149; 145°; 6,4 h;)

3. Equidistance between Persian 3a m and 3a M: defines the 3a n of Zalzal (medius finger of Zalzal) (*mi*.♩, 111.11 mm; 27/22; 355°; 15,7 h;)

4. Equidistance between nut and 3a n of Zalzal: defines the 2a n of Zalzal (neighbour of the index finger) (*ré*.♩; 55.55 mm; 54/49; 168°; 7,4 h;)

(3) *The para-Pythagorean system of al-Fārābī* (main table, upper register 3) (al-Fārābī, 10th century)

Al-Fārābī recommends the division of the fourth into 10 degrees which will serve to make up the modes. He takes up all the intervals mentioned above and concerns himself with the division of the tone:

1. The equidistance nut-2aM: Semitone: (*ré*♭; 33,33 mm; 18/17; 98°; 4,33 h)

2. The equidistance nut-semitone: Quarter: (*do*+; 16.66 mm; 36/35; 49°; 2,17 h)

3. The equidistance semitone-tone: Three quarters: (*ré*♩; 50 mm; 12/11; 151°, 6,68 h)

(4) *The para-Pythagorean system of Ibn Sīnā* (main table upper register 4) (Ibn Sīnā, 11th century).

By division and subtraction, he defines low neutral intervals:

1. The equidistance 2a M—4a J: 3a n (*mi*♩; 107,69 mm; 39/32; 343°; 15,17 h)

2. Subtraction of one major tone: 2a n: (*ré*♩; 46.15 mm; 13/12 139°; 6,15 h)

3. Subtraction of one maxim tone (8/7): 2a m (*ré*%; 37.36 mm; 273/256; 112°; 5 h)

(5) *The para-harmonic system of al-Fārābī* (main table, upper register 5)

This system concerning the *rabāba* figures for comparative purposes (p.m.)

(6), (7) *Pythagoro-commatic systems* (main table, upper registers 6,7)

(al-Fārābi on the *ṭumbūr*, Ṣafī al-Dīn, 13th century on the *ʿūd*)

Starting from Zalzal's system, scholars were preoccupied with the placing needed to give to the neutral intervals (2a n and 3a n). The first of these two scholars, then the second, aimed at "ennobling" these neutral degrees by giving them Pythagorean definitions (3 a diminished and 4a diminished).

1. Starting from the 5a diminished (*sol*Б; 172.85 mm; 1024/729; 588°3; 26 h). Subtraction of a major tone, giving: (neutral third): 4a diminished: (*mi*d; 119.46 mm; 8192/6561; 384°4; 17 h)

2. Starting from the 4a diminished (*mi*d; 119.46 mm; 8192/6561; 384°4; 17 h). Subtraction of a major tone, giving; (neutral second): 3a diminished: (*ré*d; 59.39 mm; 65536/59049; 180°5; 8 h-)

Separated from the consecutive treble-pitched intervals by a Pythagorean comma, these neutral marks are very close to two intervals of the harmonic system, respectively the 3a Major (120 mm; 5/4; 386°3; 17 h) and the harmonic "minor tone" (60 mm; 10/9; 182°4; 8 h+).

Nevertheless, these Pythagoro-commatic systems, dividing the tone into two limmas and a comma, or three intervals to a major tone, involve only 17 degrees to the octave.

(8) *Pythagoro-commatic systems with 24 or 31 degrees* (main table, upper register 8) (Turkey, the Baghdād lutenists, Middle Eastern churches, Aleppo, etc.)

By adding to the three degrees marking out the tone, the Pythagorean comma (8.07 mm; 531441/524288; 23°5; 1,04 h), the apotome (38.13 mm; 2187/2048; 113°7; 5 h) and the 7a minor less a comma (257.8 mm; 8388608/4782969; 972°; 43 h), one can define systems with 24 or 31 degrees.

(9), (10) *Division of the octave into 24 quartertones (17 to 24 degrees)* (main table, upper registers 9, 10) (La Borde, 18th century, Mushāḳa, Ellis, 19th century, 1932 Cairo Congress).

This does not involve an acoustic system, but an equal temperament with 24 intervals to the octave, dividing the major tone into four quartertones theoretically equal. The neutral degrees are respectively worth, the 2a n: 3 quarters and the 3a n: 7 quarters, the 4a J: 10 quarters, the 5a J: 14 quarters. The equalising of the intervals makes the system transposable.

D̲jamīl Bas̲h̲īr on the lute. Photo Jean-Claude Chabrier.

One can equally reduce it to a system of 17 degrees by suppressing the degrees situated a quartertone above the diatonic marks. Such a system with 17 degrees is found on popular instruments (*buzuk*, *tanbūra*), in Iran, etc.

IV. *The* ʿūd *as bearer of a scaling system. The theoretical, basic scale of virtually available sounds or degrees: "ton system"*.

(1) *Evolution of the scaling terminology.*

As the bearer and the standard of successive acoustic systems, the *ʿūd* is also the bearer of the scaling system (theoretical, basic scale of virtually available sounds or degrees: "ton system") whose intervals are defined by the acoustic system adopted.

At the outset, with the simple Pythagorean system (main table, upper register 1), the intervals and the genres were defined by the theory of "fingering degrees" (*aṣābiʿ*): open string (*muṭlaḳ*); index finger (*sabbāba*) for the 2a; medius finger (*wusṭā*) for the 3a m or 3a n; ring finger (*binṣir*) for the 3a M; and little finger (*khinṣir*) for the fourths. In practice, the first position of the lutenists gives a tighter form of play with index finger = 2a m; medius finger = 2a M; ring finger = 3a m; and little finger = 3a M.

With the proliferation of degrees, scholars have designated the degrees by the letters of the alphabet. Then the Persian term *gāh* ("position") appeared, preceded by a number (*yek, do, sē, čahār, shesh, haft*) for defining the diatonic heptatonic system starting from the bass, open string *yek-gāh* (first position).

Finally, there is formed, as with the Greeks, a "perfect system" of two octaves with 48 names of degrees, varying little from one country to another. In the midst of names of diatonic degrees are inserted names of intermediate degrees which may be preceded by the suffixs *nīm* denoting the bass intermediate degree and *tik/dik* denoting the treble intermediate degree. Thus one has the succession from bass to treble *rāst/nīm-zirgula/zirgula/tik-zirgula/dūgāh* . . .

The homophones of the octave are denoted by the prefixes *ḳarār/kaba* "homophone of the lower octave" and *djawāb/cevap* "homophone of the upper octave" (e.g. *ḳarār/rāst* or *djawāb-awdj*).

Clearly, there exist differences of terminology, not only from one country to another but also between the Arabic forms and the Turkish forms. In the Arabic manuals, the succession is as follows: *nīm-ʿadjam-ʿushayrān/ʿadjam-ʿushayrān* . . . . . . *nīm-kurdī/kurdī* . . . In the Turkish manuals, this becomes for the same degrees *acem-aşiran/dik-acem-aşiran* . . . . . . *kürdi/dik-kürdi*.

The Persian terms *čahārgāh* and *gardaniyya* become in Turkish *çargah* and *gerdaniye* and in Arabic *djahārkāh* and *kardān* or *kurdān*.

(2) *Codification of the 24 intervals of the octave. "JCC code".*

The "perfect system" of two octaves thus gives a name to each "fingering degree". To make this scale more adaptable to the various acoustic systems or pitches of playing, the author has elaborated a "JCC code" denoting the 24 degrees of the octave by a number (from 0 to 24) and a letter (from A to Z omitting W). The median octave of the "perfect system" is thus denoted a "0.A" *rāst* to "24.Z" *gardān*. This also allows one to note the equivalence with the quartertones or rapidly to designate the tuning with open strings of a lute (example in the table A-O-S-E-O-A) or briefly to denote the degrees of a musical mode (example in the lower part of the table A-E-H-K-O-S-V-Z, these seven diatonic degrees denoting the *Rāst* mode independently of the system's pitch). It can further be utilised for the intervals of a system of 17 degrees (main table. register 10: A-C-D-E-G-H-I-K-M-N-O-Q-R-S-U-V-X).

Hence, with the "JCC code", the 24 degrees of the median octave with equivalences for a key-tone *rāst* in *do*, are as follows: 0.A: *RĀST* (*do*); 1.B: *nīm-zirgula*: 2.C: *zirgula*; 3.D: *tik-zirgula*; 4.E: *DŪGĀH* (*ré*); 5.F: *(nīm) kurdī*; 6.G: *(dik) kurdī*; 7.H: *SEGĀH* (*mi*d); 8.I *būsalik*; 9.J: *tik-būsalik*; 10.K: *ČAHĀRGĀH/DJAHĀRKĀH* (*fa*); 11.L: *nīm-ḥidjāz*; 12.M: *ḥidjāz*; 13.N: *tik-ḥidjāz*; 14.O: *NAWĀ* (*sol*); 15.P: *nīm-ḥiṣār*; 16.Q: *ḥiṣar*; 17.R: *tik-ḥiṣar*; 18.S: *ḤUSAYNĪ* (*la*); 19.T: *(nīm) ʿadjam-ḥusaynī*; 20.U: *(dik) ʿadjam-ḥusaynī*; 21.V: *AWDJ* (*si*d); 22.X: *(nīm) nihuft*; 23.Y: *(dik) nihuft*; 24.Z: *GARDANIYYA/KARDĀN* (*do*). N.B. One also finds 22.X: *(nīm) māhūr*; 23.Y: *(dik) māhūr*; and other terms.

(3) *Fingerboard with representation of the degrees by linear segments.*

In order to safeguard the invariability of the terminology and the variability of the pitch of the degrees as functions of the acoustic systems, representation by fixed points has to be abandoned and replaced by a fingering-system for the *ʿūd* of linear segments of about two Holderian commas length, i.e. almost a quartertone. The invariable name of the variable degree is written on the linear segment. Then one sees that degrees of the different acoustic systems converge on this linear segment. This can be verified at the level of the neutral diatonic degrees like *segāh*. In the Pythagorean system, *segāh* is played with the ratio 8192/6561, i.e. at 17 Holderian commas, at the end of the "*segāh*" segment. In quartertones, or in the "Zalzalian" system, it is played with the ratio 27/22, i.e. 15,7 Holderian commas, at the beginning of the "*segāh*" segment. One may note this flexibility in the invariability at the level of the *awdj* and all the other intermediate degrees (cf. fingering, and the band "*scala*").

V. *The* ʿūd *as bearer of the modal and instrumental languages.*

The elaboration of the heptatonic musical modes is achieved, once the acoustic system has been defined, by the deduction or the selection of seven degrees on the basic theoretical scale of virtually available sounds. In effect, the majority of the modes within this civilisation are heptatonic.

Already, on the occasion of the evocation of the Pythogorean chromatic scale, a mode was formed on the lute's string. The succession 0.A: *rāst*; 4.E: *dūgāh*; 7.H: *segāh*; 10.K: *čahārgāh*; 14.0: *nawā*; 18.S: *ḥusaynī*; 21.V: *awdj*; 24.Z: *gardaniyya*. . . . forms, with its finalis *rāst*, the *Rāst* mode, an academic mode which uses the "diatonic" degrees of the "scale" and is characterised by its neutral 3a (*segāh*) and by its neutral 7a (*awdj*).

But here the *ʿūd* has been used as a monochord. In reality, the succession of courses of strings by fourths and the internal structure of the modes come in. The *Rāst* mode is made up of a *Rāst* pentachord in *rāst* and a *Rāst* tetrachord in *nawā*. It will then be necessary to give value to the *nawā* "pivot" by inserting it on an open course. Finally, this *Rāst* mode may be played on four courses. The finalis *rāst* has its place on the lute's scale on the course "2" *ʿashīrān*. The *dūgāh, segāh* and *čahārgāh* degrees are on the course "3" *dūgāh*. The *nawā, ḥusaynī* and *awdj* degrees are on the course "4" *nawā*. Finally, the octave of the finalis *gardaniyya* is on the course "5" of the same name. Inserted in this way, the *Rāst* mode expresses the modal language of the *ʿūd* and every transposition on the lute's scale will change its sound characteristics. This is the reason why the transposition of a mode

gives it a new name, because this transposition displaces the degrees played on open strings and thereby changes the sonority of the modal scale. Thus a precise modal scale including two augmented seconds takes on a name which is different according to its insertion: *s̲h̲add-ʿarabān* in *yegāh*, *sūzdīl* in *ʿas̲h̲īrān*, *ḥid̲j̲āz-kār* in *rāst* and *s̲h̲ēnāz* in *dūgāh*.

On the other hand, if the transpositions safeguards the placing of the pivots on the open strings, it respects the internal sonority of the mode. This is the case with the transposition of modes of the *Bayātī* and *Kurdī* family, or the *Lāmī* mode, between the *ʿas̲h̲īrān*, *dūgāh* and *nawā* open courses, because it is a question of transpositions of a fourth by transferring the intervals of one course's group to the adjacent course. The *ʿūd* is thus the generator of a modal and an instrumental language. Because of this, the omission by the 1932 Congress in Cairo of any reference to the *ʿūd* language is an irreparable loss [see MAḲĀM].

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AL-ʿ**UDAYD**, a small settlement on the K̲h̲awr al-ʿUdayd, a creek on the southeastern coast of the Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*] peninsula on the southern Gulf shores (lat. 24° 33' N., long. 51° 30' E.). It lies in the area of the undefined frontier between Ḳaṭar and Abū Ẓaby [*q.v.*], one of the constituent shaykhdoms of the United Arab Emirates [see AL-IMĀRĀT AL-ʿARABIYYA AL-MUTTAḤIDA, in Suppl.].

Bibliography: See those to ABŪ ẒABY and ḲAṬAR. (ED.)

UDAYPŪR, UDAIPUR, the usual more recent name for the region in southwestern Rād̲j̲āsthān known in Islamic Indian times as Mēwāŕ, and the name also of its main town, actually founded in 966/1599. For this Rād̲j̲pūt state, which strenuously opposed the Muslims from the 8th/14th century onwards until its conquest by the Mug̲h̲al Akbar in the later 10th/16th century, see MĒWĀŔ. The subsequent Native State of Udaypūr in British India became part of the first Rajasthan Union in April 1948, and is now a District of the Rajasthan State of the Indian Union.

Bibliography: See that to MĒWĀŔ, and also *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxiv, 85-105. (ED.)

UDFU [see ADFŪ].

UDGĪR, a small town in South India (lat. 18° 26' N., long. 77° 11' E.), in British Indian times the chef-lieu of a *taluk* in the Bīdar District of Ḥaydarābād State [*q.v.*], now coming within the Maharashtra State of the Indian Union. It has a fort dating back to the end of the 9th/15th century. It was part of the lands of the Barīd S̲h̲āhs of Bīdar [*q.vv.*], and then of their successors the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhs of Bīd̲j̲apur [*q.vv.*] until it was besieged by S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān's army in 1044/1635 and then incorporated into the Mug̲h̲al empire. Its chief fame stems from the fiercely-fought battle for Udgīr when the Marāthās [*q.v.*] defeated the Niẓām Ṣalābat D̲j̲ang of Ḥaydarābād in 1173/1760, causing the (temporary, as it proved) loss of the northern and western parts of Ḥaydarābād to the Marāthās.

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ʿ**UD̲H̲RA**, BANŪ, a nomadic Arabian tribe of the Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*] federation. Its pedigree is: ʿUd̲h̲ra b. Saʿd Hud̲h̲aym b. Zayd b. Layt̲h̲ b. Sūd b. Aslum b. al-Ḥāf b. Ḳuḍāʿa. The ʿUd̲h̲ra were the central group among the descendants of Saʿd Hud̲h̲aym, and they incorporated several brother-clans such as the Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Saʿd Hud̲h̲aym and Salāmān b. Saʿd Hud̲h̲aym. These ʿUd̲h̲ra are not to be confused with the ʿUd̲h̲ra of the Kalb b. Wabara [*q.v.*], i.e. ʿUd̲h̲ra b. Zayd Allāt b. Rufayda b. T̲h̲awr b. Kalb. One of the latter ʿUd̲h̲ra was the famous genealogist, Ibn al-Kalbī [see AL-KALBĪ, II], who described his tribe at length in his *Nasab Maʿadd wa 'l-Yaman al-kabīr* (ed. Ḥasan, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 558-635).

The ʿUd̲h̲ra were known for their passionate love and tender-heartedness. ʿUd̲h̲rite love (*ḥubb ʿud̲h̲rī* [see ʿUD̲H̲RĪ]), resembling Platonic love, was called after them. The famous D̲j̲amīl (d. 82/701 [*q.v.*]) and his female friend But̲h̲ayna belonged to a subdivision of the ʿUd̲h̲ra called Ḥunn b. Rabīʿa. The Ḥunn and

their brothers, the Rizāḥ b. Rabīʿa, were in the early Islamic period the two most important tribal groups among the ʿUdhra (*ḳabīlatā ʿUdhra*).

On the eve of Islam, the ʿUdhra may have been penetrated by Christianity, but there is clear evidence of idol worship among them. Some ʿUdhrīs worshipped an idol called Shams (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 296), and an idol called al-Ḥumām (Yāḳūt, s.v.) figures in the story about the conversion to Islam of Ziml b. ʿAmr al-ʿUdhri. It belonged to Ziml's group, the Hind b. Ḥarām b. Ḍinna b. ʿAbd b. Kabīr b. ʿUdhra, and had a custodian (*sādin*). Interestingly, the descendants of Ḍinna, who also included the above-mentioned Ḥunn and Rabīʿa, were originally of the Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*] and were later incorporated into the ʿUdhra, claiming that Ḍinna was ʿUdhra's great-grandson.

The ʿUdhra lived in the area of Ashrāf/Mashārif al-Shām. In particular, they were linked with the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā [*q.v.*], where they had before Islam an alliance with the Jewish agriculturalists. It assured the ʿUdhra of an annual share in the crops in return for protection from attacks by other Bedouin (al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1364/1945 ff., i, 43-4), especially of the Ḳuḍāʿa federation. Their association with the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā continued in the Islamic period, and many of those known by the relative adjective al-Wādiyy^{u} were no doubt ʿUdhrīs. Some ʿUdhrī groups emigrated to Syria, probably already before Islam, while other groups emigrated to Egypt and al-Andalus.

Some claimed that the mother of the Aws and Khazradj was Ḳayla bt. Kāhil b. ʿUdhra, which may point to a pre-Islamic link between the ʿUdhra and the inhabitants of Yathrib. But far more is known about ʿUdhra's links with the Ḳuraysh. The main theme in this regard is Rizāḥ b. Rabīʿa's reported help to Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*] b. Kilāb in his takeover of the Kaʿba and Mecca. It was said that Rizāḥ's father Rabīʿa, while on pilgrimage to Mecca, married the widow of Kilāb b. Murra. He returned home with his wife and her little son Ḳuṣayy, while her other son Zuhra remained in Mecca. Ḳuṣayy later returned to Mecca (sometime in the first half of the 6th century) and fought against the Khuzāʿa [*q.v.*], the lords of the Kaʿba and Mecca, who were assisted by their Kinānī allies. He received aid from his half-brother Rizāḥ b. Rabīʿa, who had become the leader and commander of the Ḳuḍāʿa. (Rizāḥ later pursued an aggressive policy against several brother-clans of the Ḳuḍāʿa, forcing them out of Ḳuḍāʿa's territory and genealogical bond.) ʿUdhra's delegation to the Prophet is supposed to have mentioned that they were Ḳuṣayy's maternal uncles and that they had expelled from Mecca the Khuzāʿa and the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna.

The relations between some ʿUdhrīs (of the Kāhil b. ʿUdhra branch) and the Banū Zuhra b. Kilāb of the Ḳuraysh were particularly close. A family link was already established in the lifetime of Zuhra, Ḳuṣayy's brother; the above-mentioned Rizāḥ was a half-brother not only of Ḳuṣayy, but also of Zuhra. Many years later, Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭa b. Ṣuʿayr al-ʿUdhrī (d. 61/681) came to Mecca as a young boy and became an ally (*ḥalīf*) of the Zuhra. In another report, it was already his grandfather Ṣuʿayr who came to Mecca and formed an alliance with the Makhzūm [*q.v.*], which he later abandoned for an alliance with the Banū ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhra. Khālid accompanied Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*] al-Zuhrī during the conquest of ʿIrāḳ and the latter made him his deputy in Kūfa. Moreover, there are reports (which cannot be verified) claiming that Saʿd was himself of ʿUdhrī origin. In his *Kitāb al-Mathālib* Ibn al-Kalbī quotes unidentified descendants of Khālid who asserted that Khālid and Saʿd's father, Abū Waḳḳāṣ/Mālik, who were both ʿUdhrīs, came to Mecca, and the latter made an alliance with the Zuhra, adopting their genealogy. Ibn al-Kalbī also quotes from an anonymous Zuhrī source an alleged bitter exchange between the caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and Saʿd's nephew, Hāshim b. ʿUtba b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, in which the former is supposed to have said that he recognised in the latter the peculiar heavy walk of the ʿUdhra (*inkhizāl banī ʿUdhra*). Some Shīʿīs took this even further, claiming that Saʿd was an illegal son of an ʿUdhrī man.

Also, Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭa's cousin (or more remote relative), ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaʿlaba b. Ṣuʿayr (d. 87/706 or 89/708), was an ally of the Zuhra and a son of a Zuhrī mother. ʿAbd Allāh was an expert on genealogy—not of the ʿUdhra, but of the Zuhra. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*], according to his own testimony, studied from him the genealogy of the Zuhra. It is worthy of note that al-Zuhrī owned an estate in the Shaghb and Badā area (north-west of the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā) which was inhabited by the ʿUdhra (M. Lecker, *Biographical notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī*, in *JSS*, xli [1996], 21-63, at 54, 59).

The ʿUdhra tenaciously kept to the memory of their contacts with the Prophet. Typically, both reports on ʿUdhra's delegation to the Prophet in Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaḳāt* are family reports by ʿUdhrī informants. One of them quotes "the book of his ancestors" (*kitāb ābāʾī*); the other is the grandson of the above-mentioned Ziml b. ʿAmr [see ṢIFFĪN, at Vol. IX, 554b]. Two ʿUdhrīs are said to have received grants from the Prophet. Djamīl b. Ridām received a waterplace called al-Ramd or al-Ramdāʾ. Djamra b. al-Nuʿmān, the *sayyid* of the ʿUdhra (more precisely, of the Banū Kāhil b. ʿUdhra) was the first to bring the Prophet the *ṣadaḳa* of the ʿUdhra. Furthermore, he was the first Ḥidjāzī leader to bring the Prophet the *ṣadaḳa* of his people. The Prophet assigned Djamra in the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā "the extent of his horse's run and a single shot of his whip".

Before being incorporated in specialised monographs during the 2nd/8th century, the knowledge about tribal genealogy and history was preserved by tribal experts. An early authority on ʿUdhra's genealogy was al-Nakhkhār b. Aws b. Ubayr al-ʿUdhrī, a contemporary of Muʿāwiya I [*q.v.*]. (In fact, he belonged to ʿUdhra's brothers, the Ḥārith b. Saʿd Hudhaym.)

ʿUdhra's role in the administration of the early Islamic state was humble. Ziml b. ʿAmr was in command of Muʿāwiya I's *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] and later he was in charge of Yazīd I b. Muʿāwiya's [*q.v.*] *khātam* [see KHĀTAM, at Vol. IV, 1105]. ʿUmar II seems to have favoured the ʿUdhra: his governor in Damascus was ʿUthmān b. Saʿd (or Saʿīd) al-ʿUdhrī and his *ḳāḍī* there was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khashkhāsh al-ʿUdhrī.

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(M. Lecker)

ʿUDHRĪ, *nisba* of the Arabian tribe ʿUdhra [*q.v.*] inhabiting the northern part of al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*]

in the region of Wādī 'l-Ḳurā. In the Umayyad period an elegiac amatory genre emerged among poets of the tribe, who expressed passionate desire for an unattainable beloved, chastity and faithfulness until death. ʿUdhrī love (*al-ḥubb al-ʿudhrī*) is a favourite theme in classical Arabic poetry and prose, and influenced Islamic philosophy and mysticism. The "Benou-Azra", who, "when loving, die", became known in European literature through Stendhal's treatise *De l'amour* (1822) and inspired the Romantics, e.g. Heine's poem *Der Asra*, set to music by Carl Löwe.

The *ʿudhrī* phenomenon, which has been associated and even identified with "platonic" or "courtly" love, presents several problems, both from a literary and a philosophical aspect. In the early ʿAbbāsid period ʿUdhrī poets and their beloved were transformed into heroes of romantic stories, and their concept of love was imbued with a "courtly" flavour and projected back into an idealised Bedouin past. As a consequence, the biographies of poets reckoned among the ʿUdhrīs are embellished with legendary details, and their poetry contains spurious verses or must be regarded in its entirety of ʿAbbāsid origin. It further appears that traditions about ʿUdhrī lovers reported in treatises on profane love reflect intellectual trends of later periods. As a first step to clarify these complicated issues, it is essential to distinguish between *al-ḥubb al-ʿudhrī* as an authentic manifestation of Umayyad Bedouin society and its subsequent transformations in the urban centres of mediaeval Islam.

1. *ʿUdhrī* poetry in the Umayyad period

Two poets of the Banū ʿUdhra are commonly regarded as representing the new ideal of love, ʿUrwa b. Ḥizām (d. *ca.* 29/650 [*q.v.*]), of whom only a few verses are preserved, and Djamīl b. Maʿmar (d. 82/701 [*q.v.*]), whose *dīwān*, although not without interpolations, constitutes the main basis for studying the *ʿudhrī ghazal* [*q.v.*]. His life and his unfulfilled love for Buthayna, a woman of his tribe, are comparatively well documented (cf. F. Gabrieli, *Ǧamīl al-ʿUḏrī. Studio critico e raccolta dei frammenti*, in *RSO*, xvii [1937] 40-71, 132-72). Poets of other tribes reckoned among the ʿUdhrites are Kuthayyir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 105/723 [*q.v.*]), Djamīl's *rāwī*; Ḳays b. Dharīḥ (d. 68/687 [*q.v.*]), whose historicity is not undisputed, however; and Ḳays b. al-Mulawwaḥ, called Madjnūn [see MADJNŪN LAYLĀ], a fictional character, whose fame as a lover is unsurpassed in Islamic literatures (cf. A.E. Khayrallah, *Love, madness and poetry. An interpretation of the Maǧnūn legend*, Beirut 1980).

The *ʿudhrī ghazal* continues the tradition of the pre-Islamic *nasīb* [*q.v.*] in its melancholy mood and strong emotional appeal and prepares the way for the ʿAbbāsid "courtly" *ghazal*, in that it manifests an absorbing passion for a unique beloved. Its Bedouin origin is evidenced by conventional motifs and techniques of composition, and by a preference for traditional metres, in contrast to the urban *ghazal* of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] and his school. In spite of these differences, the two variants of Umayyad *ghazal* poetry hardly developed independently, as suggested by R. Blachère (*HLA*, 711). The main traits of *ʿudhrī* poetry may be sketched as follows: whereas the poet of the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] abandons a futile love-affair of the past, the *ʿudhrī* poet perseveres in the face of hopelessness and despair. His love is preordained by fate and transcends death. Djamīl wants to die when Buthayna dies (*Dīwān*, ed. Kh. Naṣṣār, ²Cairo 1967, 51), and he assures her that his "soul bird" (*ṣadā*) will follow her "soul bird" among the graves (*op. cit.*, 109). The platonic concept of a spiritual union before creation (*op. cit.*, 77) is hardly compatible with this and other Bedouin elements of his *dīwān*. The *ʿudhrī* beloved is adored and her beauty praised, but she still seems the poet's equal, in contrast to the superiority, despotism and hypostasation of the lady in the ʿAbbāsid "courtly" *ghazal*. Religious allusions are frequent, e.g. Djamīl's statement that every lover "killed" is a "martyr" (*op. cit.*, 64), which may have inspired the famous apocryphal *ḥadīth* of the Prophet first quoted by Ibn Dāwūd (d. 297/910 [*q.v.*]) in his *Kitāb al-Zahra* (ed. A.R. Nykl, Chicago 1932, 66): He who loves, chaste and discrete, and dies, is a martyr (*man ʿashika fa-ʿaffa fa-katamahū fa-māta fa-huwa shahīd*). For further references cf. S. Leder, *Ibn al-Ǧauzī und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft*, Beirut 1984, 270 ff.

ʿUdhrī lovers are chaste, i.e. they refrain from illicit love. Renouncement of physical union, as it would destroy true love, a notion later attributed to the ʿUdhrīs, is not supported by Umayyad verses. In view of the evidence, we are forced to conclude that *ʿudhrī* love in the 7th century is neither "platonic" nor "courtly" not even sentimental. "I wish we could live together," says Djamīl, "and when we die, my grave would be beside her grave among the dead" (*op. cit.* 51). Nothing could be more human, straightforward and sincere.

Several theories have been advanced to explain *al-ḥubb al-ʿudhrī* within the context of Umayyad society. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn stressed the contrast between Bedouin and urban conditions (*Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, ¹²Cairo 1972, i, 187 ff., ii, 18), whereas A.Kh. Kinany associates *al-ḥubb al-ʿudhri* with Islamic monotheism, eschatology and ethics (*The development of Gazal in Arabic literature*, Damascus 1951, 260 ff.). T.L. Djedidi also relates monotheism and *dame unique*, but places more emphasis on socio-economic factors. He views the Banū ʿUdhra as impoverished semi-nomads, deprived of participation in the affluence of the pilgrim towns, and suggests a "*homologie*" between economic privation and loss and frustration on the sexual plane (*La poésie amoureuse des Arabes. Le cas des ʿUḏrites*, Algiers 1974). It is evident that the ʿUdhrīs must be correlated with social and economic tensions at a time of instability, when traditional norms and attitudes had to be replaced by a different system of values. ʿUdhrī love, which sets an individual relationship above the demands of the clan, is anti-social and ultimately self-destructive. Thus it seems to be a phenomenon analogous to the revolt of the Khāridjites [*q.v.*], who, like the ʿUdhrīs, are preoccupied with death in their verses, and advocate a new social order, in accordance with the teaching of Islam.

2. *Al-ḥubb al-ʿudhrī* in later poetry and prose

Stories about *ʿudhrī* poets and their beloved, e.g. ʿUrwa and ʿAfrāʾ, Djamīl and Buthayna, Kuthayyir and ʿAzza, Ḳays and Lubnā, Madjnūn and Laylā, probably circulated from the end of the 7th century and were collected by scholars of the early ʿAbbāsid period (cf. Blachère, *HLA*, 760-3). They must have developed into a literary topos at an early date, since most of them follow a common pattern: the poet and his beloved grow up together, fall in love and seek marriage. This is denied them, however, or it is promised and the promise is broken, the woman being married to a richer man. The lovers remain faithful and even meet, preserving the rules of chastity and propriety, and eventually die of sorrow. According to a variant, the lovers marry, but the woman remains barren, and her husband is forced by his family to divorce her (Ḳays and Lubnā). Legends about lovers

from the *Djāhiliyya* were added, e.g. the two Murakkish [*q.v.*], and with the growing popularity of the genre, collections of stories about unhappy lovers from all layers of society were offered to the public, e.g. the *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāk* by al-Sarrādj (2 vols., Beirut 1378/1958).

ʿUdhrī love is commonly identified with *ʿishk* (passion), a term first defined by al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]) in his *Risālat al-Ḳiyān* (*The Epistle on singing-girls of Jāḥiẓ*, ed. with tr. and comm. by A.F.L. Beeston, Warminster 1980, 15). Its transformations in ʿAbbāsid literature reveal two different strands, although they cannot perhaps be clearly separated. One line of development is apparent in the legend of Madjnūn and the poetry attributed to him, as also in certain poems by al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. between 188/803 and 195/810 [*q.v.*]), the most "courtly" of ʿAbbāsid poets, who sees himself in the *ʿudhrī* tradition (cf. S. Enderwitz, *Liebe als Beruf. Al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf und das Gazal*, Beirut 1995, 23, 188). It is also manifest in the verses of al-Ḥallādj (d. 309/922 [*q.v.*]), and other Ṣūfīs, and figures prominently in later Islamic mysticism. The main characteristics of this strand are introspectiveness and total absorption in the object of love. The lover turns away from reality towards an idealised form of his imagination, which occupies his mind to such an extent that even the presence of his real beloved cannot gain his attention. He prefers death to fulfillment (cf. Leder, *op. cit.*, 280). The intimate relation of love and death, a further element of this strand, appears to be a genuine continuation of the original concept.

In the second, more realistic strand, *ʿudhrī* love is not so much an emotion or state of mind, but a code of behaviour among lovers. It can be associated with the literary and social ideal of *ẓarīf* [*q.v.*] (refinement), described in detail by al-Washshāʾ (d. 325/936 [*q.v.*]) in his *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* (ed. R.E. Brünnow, Leiden 1886, German tr. D. Bellmann, *Das Buch des buntbestickten Kleides*, Leipzig and Weimar 1984). There are further numerous stories about men or women of the Banū ʿUdhra, often anonymous, which fit in this concept. The gist of these traditions seems to be that lovers "among Bedouin" are allowed to mix freely, to converse and even to exchange caresses, provided they refrain from sexual intercourse, as it would destroy passion and desire. The idea is already expressed by al-Djāḥiẓ (*op. cit.*, 4) and amply documented in later treatises on love and women, as the *Dhamm al-hawā* (Cairo 1381/1962; cf. Leder, *op. cit.*, 258 ff.) of Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1201 [*q.v.*]) and the *Akhbār al-nisāʾ* (Cairo 1319, 39, German tr. Bellmann, *Über die Frauen*, Munich 1986, 62) of Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]).

However variegated the transformations of *al-ḥubb al-ʿudhrī* in later periods have been, it is always identified with Bedouin as contrasted to urban love. Initially, this may have been a tendency to idealise the Arabic past, connected with the Shuʿūbiyya movement [*q.v.*], but there must be more to it than that. For *ʿudhrī* traditions not only exemplify high moral standards, they also manifest the longing for a kind of society where the segregation of the sexes is not strictly observed.

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AL-ʿ**UDHRĪ**, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD b. ʿUmar b. Anas, Ibn al-Dalāʾī, traditionist and geographer, who was born at Almeria [see AL-MARIYYA] in 393/1003, and who died in the same town in 478/1085. Shortly after the Muslim conquest, his family had settled in the village of Dalias, from where the *nisba* of Dalāʾī comes.

It is in fact thanks to al-ʿUdhrī that information is available on one of his predecessors, Zughayba b. Ḳuṭba, who supported the claim to the throne of Sulaymān, the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, against his brother Hishām. He was very young when he undertook the *riḥla*, seizing the opportunity of the pilgrimage of his parents. His stay in Mecca was prolonged for ten years from 407/1016 to 416/1025. During these years, he had the opportunity to study with famous teachers, such as Abū Dharr al-Harawī. When he returned to al-Andalus, he became the pupil of Abū ʿUmar Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr [*q.v.*] and of Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*] among others, but at the same time he transmitted to these authors many of the traditions gleaned from his *riḥla*. He also had as pupils al-Ḥumaydī and Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī, but in fact, as a specialist in *ḥadīth*, he was preoccupied with transmitting the traditions that he had received in the course of his stay in Mecca, notably those of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and of that of al-Bukhārī (M. Fierro, *Obras y transmisiones de* ḥadīṯ, in *Ibn al-Abbār. Politic i excriptor àrab valencià*, Valencia 1990, 207-22; M. Marín, *La actividad intelectual*, in *Los Reinos de Taifas = Historia de España de Menendez Pidal*, viii, Madrid 1994, 516).

The many biographical dictionaries that tell us about his life pay much attention to this "traditionist" aspect, but say little about his role as a geographer, though this is how he is best known today. It is thanks to this that some fragments of vol. vii of his work (ed. ʿA.ʿA. al-Ahwānī, *Nuṣūṣ ʿan al-Andalus min "Kitāb Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār"*, Madrid 1965), have been preserved. Although these fragments are only poorly representative of the whole collection, it is possible to form an approximate idea of the content, at least for those chapters devoted to al-Andalus. As for the other regions, there are only three remaining folios on Egypt, two on Syria, and one on Persia. Al-ʿUdhrī based his writings on the geographical work of Aḥmad al-Rāzī, preserving its structure though not always keeping the order of presentation of the *kūras*. Using this scheme as a basis, the author enriches the original text with a considerable amount of information of every kind, to the extent that the *Geography* of al-ʿUdhrī could be considered the most important of those devoted to Andalusia. Within its pages are detailed descriptions of the most important provinces and localities, administrative, economic and fiscal data, all so precise that they seem to have been taken directly from official archives. These are all supported by reflections on natural phenomena and minutely detailed descriptions of itineraries, etc.

Although al-ʿUdhrī is the most important of the Andalusī geographers, his work is, however, also memorable as a rich source of historical information. Indeed, in every chapter the author includes several pages devoted to the history of the province, almost always revolving around whatever rebellions were taking place within that region at any given time; but there are also notes on pre-Islamic history, and an astonishing but unfortunately incomplete narrative of the military campaigns of al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*]. Many of these details are unedited, and when they are already known from other sources the richness of detail in the version of al-ʿUdhrī is seen to be far superior to that of those other sources.

The title which appears in the *unicum* kept in a

private library in Jerusalem is *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār*; this is referred to by several later sources but others call it *Niẓām al-murdjān*. Perhaps the explanation is that there are two versions of the work, one preserved in the *unicum* of Jerusalem, while the other, entitled *Niẓām*, was able to be used copiously by later authors such as al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Ḥimyarī and the compiler of the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (L. Molina, *Las dos versiones de la* Geografía *de al-ʿUdrī*, in *Al-Qanṭara*, iii [1982], 249-60).

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2. Translations. F. de la Granja, *La marca superior en la obra de al-ʿUdrī*, Saragossa 1966; M. Sánchez Marínez, *Rāzī, fuente de al-ʿUdrī para la España preislámica*, in *CHI*, iii (1971), 7-49; E. de Santiago, *Al-Rāzī, fuente de al-ʿUdrī. Dos precisiones historiográficas*, in *MEAH*, xx/1 (1971), 103-8; E. Molina, *La cora de Tudmīr según al-ʿUdrī*, in *CHI*, iv (1972), 1-113; Sánchez Martínez, *La cora de* Ilbīra *(Granada y Almería) en los siglos X y XI*, in *ibid.*, vii (1975-6), 5-82; W. Hoenerbach, *Observaciones al estudio* La cora de Ilbīra, in *ibid.*, viii (1977), 125-38; E. Gálvez, *Chorographia hispalense*, in *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*, ix (1982), 113-34; R. Valencia, *La cora de Sevilla en el* Tarṣīʿ al-ajbār *de Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-ʿUdrī*, in *Andalucía islámica. Textos y estudios*, iv-v (1983-6), 107-43).

3. Studies. See the introd. of al-Ahwānī to his edition and those accompanying the translations, and also Ḥusayn Muʾnis, *al-Djughrāfiya*, 81-96; J. Vernet, *Un texto nuevo e importante para la España musulmana: al-ʿUdrī*, in *RIEI*, xiii (1965-6), 17-24; F. Roldán and R. Valencia, *El género* al-masālik wa-al-mamālik. *Su realización en los textos de al-ʿUdrī y al-Qazwīnī sobre el occidente de al-Andalus*, in *Philologia Hispalensis*, iii (1988), 7-25; L. Molina, *Historiografía*, in *Los Reinos de Taifas*, Madrid 1994, 13-15.

(L. Molina)

UDJ, a Turkish word equivalent to the ancient Greek/Byzantine ἄκρον, and meaning the frontier districts or marches. The borderlands between the Christian and the Muslim mediaeval worlds influenced historical developments considerably. In mediaeval Eastern Anatolia, those entrusted with the defence of the marches, in which they were established, were called ἀκρῖται on the Byzantine side and *ghāzīs* [*q.v.*] on the Muslim one. The inhabitants of these districts were obliged to be continuously in readiness to confront an attack or to organise a raid themselves penetrating into the enemy territory. Their way of life inspired folk poets who composed the epic of the Byzantine ἀκρῖται and that of the famous Muslim hero Ghāzī Sayyid al-Baṭṭāl [*q.v.*]. On both sides, the population of the frontier zones presented peculiarities as it constituted a mixture of ethnic, religious and cultural elements. Changing sides was not unusual for the warriors; women abducted from the enemy side and prisoners taken facilitated some assimilation, while adventurers who aspired to a brilliant military carrier, sheer bandits seeking legitimacy and persecuted heretical elements took refuge in them.

After the Oghuz migration and the battle of Malāzgird [*q.v.*] or Mantzikert (1071), Turkmen nomads were established on the marches; they increased in number during the Mongol advance of the 13th century which caused a second Turkmen migration into Anatolia. The Byzantine historian Akropolites, writing around 1250, described those nomads as a people living on the very frontiers of the Turks, filled with implacable hatred against the Byzantines, delighting in the plunder seized from them and rejoicing in their spoils of war. During the gradual disintegration of the Rūm Saldjūḳ state [see SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 5] the frontier Turkmen acquired new strength and determined political developments by offering their support to Saldjūḳ princes against the Mongols. Turkmen chieftains of the borderlands struggled to win independence, and they eventually established their own petty states (emirates or *beyliks*) one of which seems to have been that of Osman [see ʿOTHMĀN I], the nucleus of the later Ottoman Empire.

The term *Udj-bey* designated the military lord of a district zone carrying out war against the neighbouring Christians. The continuous military expansion of the early Ottoman State, especially in Rumelia, was largely due to these lords, who acted at the head of their own warrior clans with a certain independence and who gradually established their own family dynasties. Nevertheless, in crucial moments, e.g. during the interregnum, none of them aspired to real independence and all of them remained faithful to the Ottoman dynasty. The best known among these *Udj-beys* included Ewrenos [*q.v.*], the conqueror of Thrace and Macedonia, Pasha-Yigit established in Scopia since 1392, and his son Turakhān [*q.v.*], later established in Thessaly. The vast territories conquered by the *Udj-beys* were officially recognised by the sultans as their full properties and later turned into *waḳf*s administered by their descendants.

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(Elizabeth A. Zachariadou)

UDJ-BEY [see UDJ].

ʿŪDJ, also ʿĀDJ B. ʿANAḲ or ʿANĀḲ, the Arabic name of the Biblical ʿŌg, the giant king of Bashan. The Ḳurʾān does not mention him. Al-Ṭabarī tells of his great stature and death: Moses was ten cubits in height, his staff ten cubits long, he jumped ten cubits high and smote ʿŪdj in the heel; the body of the fallen giant served as a bridge across the Nile.

Al-Thaʿlabī gives more details: ʿŪdj was 23,333 cubits high, drank from the clouds, could reach to the bottom of the sea and pull out a whale which he roasted on the sun. Noah drove him in front of the ark but the Flood only reached his knees. He lived for 3,000 years. When Moses sent out the twelve spies, ʿŪdj put them into the bundle of wood on his head and wanted to trample on them, but on the advice of his wife he sent them back so that they might put fear by their report into the heart of those that sent them. When ʿŪdj saw the camp of Israel, he broke from the mountain a rock large enough to crush the camp at one blow, but God sent the *hudhud* (hoopoe) and other birds who made a hole in the rock so that it fell like a collar on ʿŪdj. Moses overthrew him in one leap.

Al-Kisāʾī expands the story and increases the marvellous element in it. ʿŪdj was the son of Ḳābīl (Cain) [see HĀBĪL WA-ḲĀBĪL] banished by Adam and of his

sister 'Anāḳ ('Anāḳ thus becomes a woman's name). Although chastised by his mother, 'Ūdj caught the stone with which Iblīs tried to kill her. She therefore blessed him with strength and longevity. When he waded through the sea, it reached to his knees; when he walked, the earth trembled; when he wept, rivers flowed from his eyes; he used to eat two elephants at a meal. He slept twice a year. In Nimrod's time, he boasted that he controlled the heavens. He worked on the Ark with Noah. He was sitting on Pharaoh's council when Yūska', sent by Moses, demanded that he worship God. In order to win Pharaoh's daughter, he was going to destroy the camp of Israel with the gigantic rock, but was slain by Moses.

The sources of these legends are to be found in the Bible and in the Haggadah. The Bible mentions 'Ōg's great size (Deut., iii. 11) and his fall (Num., xxi. 33-5). E. Jōḥanan describes 'Ōg as a fugitive who had escaped the Flood (*B. Nidda*, 61a). Sometimes he is said to be the fugitive who brought Abraham the news of Lot's capture (Gen., xiv. 13). As a reward for this, he was given long life (*Gen. Rabba*, xlii. 8). Like al-Kisā'ī, *Deut. Rabba*, i. 25 puts him at the court of Pharaoh. *B. Berachōt*, 54b, Palest. *Targum* on Num., xxi. 35, records how Moses slew him in one leap. It is in keeping with Muslim legend that in place of the ants or worm which eat away 'Ōg's rock we have the *hudhud*, celebrated in the legend of Solomon.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 192 (Eng. tr. F. Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. I. General introduction and From the Creation to the Flood*, Albany 1989, 361 and n. 1110), 500-1 (Eng. tr. W.M. Brinner, *ibid. III. The Children of Israel*, Albany 1989, 83-4); Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325/1907, 151-3; Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg, 233-5, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i*, Boston 1978; 251-3; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 180-2; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes*, Paris 1933, 100-2; Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Ilāhī-nāme. Die Gespräche des Königs mit seinen sechs Söhnen. Eine mystische Dichtung*, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig and Istanbul 1940, 291, ll. 6-7; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 318-19, tr. Rosenthal, i, 357-8; L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1968, vi, 118-21 (extensive comparative refs.).

(B. Heller-[S.M. Wasserstrom])

'UDJAYF b. 'ANBASA, 'Abbāsid army commander who served al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim in the first half of the 3rd/9th century, d. 223/838.

Nothing is recorded of his antecedents, but he seems to have been of Khurāsānian or Transoxanian Arab stock; at the height of his career, he had a grant of the revenues of the market at Ishtīkhān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] near Samarḳand (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 196). He was originally a partisan of the rebel in Transoxania Rāfi' b. al-Layth [*q.v.*], during the latter part of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign, but went over to the caliphal side in 192/807-8 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 732). Subsequently, he became one of al-Ma'mūn's leading generals, leading campaigns in northern Persia and against the Khāridjite leader Bilāl al-Ḍibābī (214/829) (*ibid.*, 1093, 1101-2). He continued in high favour under al-Mu'taṣim, directing operations against the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] in Lower 'Irāḳ (219/834) and participating in several campaigns into Byzantine Anatolia (*ibid.*, 1103, 1109, 1166-8). It was during the course of al-Mu'taṣim's Amorion expedition of 223/838 that 'Udjayf fell out with the caliph, ostensibly over the financing and the commissariat arrangements of the 'Abbāsid army; he was accused of complicity in a plot to kill al-Mu'taṣim and replace him by his nephew al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn, and killed (*ibid.*, 1254, 1256-7, 1264-6).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

UDJDA [see wadjda].

UDJDJAYN, a town of Central India in what was the mediaeval Islamic sultanate of Mālwā [*q.v.*] and at times its capital. It is now a fair-sized town in the westernmost part of Madhya Pradesh State in the Indian Union (lat. 23° 11' N., long. 75° 50' E.).

Renowned since Mauryan and Gupta times as a sacred site for Hindus, it also played a leading role in Indian astronomy, since the ancient Indians came to calculate longitudes from the meridian of Udjdjayn [see al-ḳubba]. Hence the town appears in Ptolemy's *Geography* as Ozēnē, in the geographical section of Ibn Rusta's encyclopaedia as *'dh.y.n* for Uzzayn (22, tr. Wiet, 19), in al-Bīrūnī's *India* and *al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī* as *'w.dj.y.n, 'z.y.n, 'w.dh.y.n*, and in mediaeval European sources misread as *medius locus terrae dictus Arin* (see *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, comm. 189, 245). Its ruler was one of the coalition of Indian princes which strenuously resisted the raids of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in the early 5th/11th century, but it was sacked in 632/1234 by the Dihlī Sultan Iltutmush [*q.v.*], who demolished the temple of Mahākālī; later it became part of Mālwā, until in 969/1562 it passed to Akbar and became the chef-lieu of the Mughal *ṣūba* of Mālwā. In the period of Mughal decline, however, the Rādjpūt ruler of Djāypūr, Mahārādjā Djāy Singh, became governor of Udjdjayn for the emperor Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*]. It was this ruler who *ca.* 1730 built at Udjdjayn one of his five observatories, reviving the above-mentioned ancient importance of the town for Indian astronomical studies [see marṣad]. After *ca.* 1750 it passed under Marāthā [*q.v.*] control, until the advent of the British in 1818, after which it came within the Central India Agency.

Bibliography: See that to mālwā, and also *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxiv, 112-15.

(C.E. Bosworth)

al-**UFRĀNĪ** [see al-ifrānī].

UGANDA, Muslims in.

1. *The pre-colonial period*

Originally, Islam came into Uganda from three directions, i.e. the east and south along the established caravan routes of what is today Tanzania and Kenya [*q.vv.*] and from the north, along the Nile in what is today Sudan [see sūdān]. Later, Indian Muslims came into Uganda. Initially the contacts were almost exclusively with the kingdom of Buganda around the north-western end of Lake Victoria.

Muslim traders who had established themselves in the Tabora region of present-day Tanzania by 1825 were trading at Koki in southern Buganda sometime before 1832. However, the earliest recorded Islamic influence in Uganda began during the reign of Kabaka Suna II (*ca.* 1825-56) with the northward advance of Muslim traders from Karagwe, in northwestern Tanzania. One Isa ibn Husain, a pioneer Muslim trader, said to have been a Baluchi, who at one time acted as Suna's bodyguard, was made a chief under Kabaka Suna II. The first Muslim settlements were at Buddu, Kibibi and Kibuga. Two of the most important of the earliest traders were Ahmad ibn Ibrahim and Snay ibn Amir (d. 1861). Tradition has it that some time before his death Suna had learnt some chapters of the Ḳur'ān. He was also told about the Islamic faith in one God. He showed particular interest in the concepts of the resurrection and life after death. The first

Muslims also seem to have left a copy of the Ḳur'ān with him. This was passed on to his son Mutesa I (1856-84).

The importance of the Muslim influence in this early period was limited and lay primarily in its novelty. The traders opened up new horizons to the Baganda and introduced such things as cloth and weapons. It was marked by peaceful penetration and the integration of foreign Muslims into the socio-political system of Buganda.

The number of Muslims in Buganda fluctuated depending on the security of the trade routes. Between 1859-65 the conflict between Muslims and the local chief of Unyamwezi, Mwana Sera, hindered caravans from getting through. By 1862 Islam was not a noticeable factor, but by 1867, partly due to the victory of the Muslims in Unyamwezi and partly due to the exodus of Muslims from Zanzibar as the result of a conflict between the Sultan and the Harthi clan, the number and influence of Muslims in Buganda had increased and a local Muslim nucleus had been established. As in the early history of Islam in West Africa, the Muslim traders were allocated a special area outside the palace in the village of Natete. Mutesa received some Islamic instruction in the early years of his reign. From 1867 with the arrival of one Khamis ibn Abdallah who, like Snay ibn Amir, traced his ancestry to ʿUmān, Islam took root. Instrumental in this process were people like Choli (Toli, Tori), Khamis's cook, who became Mutesa's *factotum*; Idi, from Ngazija in the Comoros, who was Mutesa's Arabic teacher and spiritual guide; and Masudi, all of whom were appointed to various chieftainships. Mutesa learnt Arabic, read the Ḳur'ān and commanded that his subjects should study and accept Islam. An instrument in this process was the *bwe bubawo abuwawulire*—the polished writing and reading boards which became external marks of Muslims. Islamic religious terms became an integral part of Luganda, such as *esula* "*sūra*" *misafu ekyakulani* "Ḳur'ān", *muzikiti* "mosque", *mujasi* "army commander", etc. Mutesa together with some of his chiefs and courtiers were able to converse with such visitors as Charles Chaillé-Long and Emin Pasha in Arabic in 1874 and 1876 respectively. The Islamic calendar was introduced and the records indicate that Mutesa first observed Ramaḍān in 1867 and enforced its observations throughout Buganda over a ten-year period. Mosques were built, officials appointed and remunerated. A custom connected with ablutions (*tayammum* [*q.v.*]) was to place a big stone (*mayinja*) before a mosque. This practice has lingered on in Buganda. At the entrance of mosques and the courtyards of some *shuyūkh*, big stones can be found on which Muslims rub and clean their feet before entering the place of prayer.

Mutesa introduced ritual slaughter. Slaughter in Ugandan abattoirs is still in the hands of Muslims. He also introduced Muslim burial practices. Hunting with dogs was prohibited (though this is perfectly legal), as was the general usage of local beer. The latter probition was more difficult to enforce as it was part and parcel of social custom. Rice was introduced as the appropriate food for festivals, as was the separation of men and women during meals and ceremonies. The *subḥa* also became part of Ganda Muslim usage as was the wearing of a skull cap, *kūfiyya*. Circumcision, however, never became a general practice among Ganda Muslims.

Mutesa had clearly grasped some major concepts of Islam. He sent a delegation to the neighbouring kingdom of Bunyoro inviting its king Kabarega (1870-99) to Islam. When he turned down the invitation, Mutesa began to plan a *djihād* against him.

Muslim influence reached its peak in Buganda around 1875, when it was estimated that there were around 1,500 "Zanzibaris" in the capital. In spite of this, the position of Islam in the country was weak, partly because it had been imposed by the ruler, partly because of the distance of Buganda from other Muslim centres. Added to this were what the Baganda considered difficult Muslim rites, e.g. circumcision, fasting, etc. The lack of well-qualified teachers and the primary interest of its representatives in commerce all contributed to this weakness.

A few coastal traders reached Busoga from 1853 onwards from the east via Masailand, but they did not teach Islam to the local people during their brief stay. There is no indication of contact with Ankole before 1852. Muslims visited Bunyoro before 1864.

Contacts with Muslims coming down the Nile go back to the 1850s and 1860s, when traders plundered in Acholi and Lango. By 1862 Muslim ivory traders had established themselves at Fakaro near present-day Gulu. A number of Muslims accompanied Samuel Baker on his first visit to Bunyoro in 1864. Some traders from the north had established themselves at Faloro (Madi) by the beginning of the 1870s. The *Batuluki* (Turks) under Samuel Baker reached Fatiko in Acholi in early 1872, where a fort was established, and Buganda in 1873. Samuel Baker was succeeded as the Egyptian Khedive's representative by Charles Gordon in 1874. Under him, a number of expeditions were dispatched to the south between 1874 and 1878. Mutesa, on his part, sent missions to the north. One of these was led by one ʿAlī Yūsuf, a native of the Red Sea coast.

These expeditions did not enhance Egypt's political or religious influence in the country. The high-handed methods of the Muslims from the north and their contemptuous attitude towards Mutesa's observance of Islam, as well as the insolence of the *batuluki*, did not help matters. However, some of them stayed. By 1879 it was estimated that Mutesa had about 20 Egyptian irregulars, known as *khotarias*, in his bodyguard. The same seems to have been the case with Kabarega in Bunyoro, where they were referred to as *banassura*.

A further reason for the negative Islamic influence from the north is likely to have been the fact that the *batuluki* represented political interests and belonged to the Mālikī *madhhab*. They were more rigid in their religious attitudes than the "Zanzibaris", representing the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, who had come as traders and whose business interests were an incentive towards compromise and accommodation. The Egyptian involvement in Bunyoro and the perceived threat of annexation by Egypt increasingly drove Mutesa to develop contacts with Zanzibar.

From 1875-80, Islam suffered some setbacks that reduced its influence. It began to re-assert itself during the last four years of Mutesa's reign (1880-4). From 1884 to 1889, Islam found itself in competition with Christianity, which ultimately led to religious wars in which the latter gained the upper hand. Under Mutesa's successor Mwanga (1884-8), the balance was somewhat redressed. A general dissatisfaction among the people led to a united Christian-Muslim rebellion against Mwanga led by the Muslims. He was replaced by *kabaka* Mutebi, who was inclined towards Islam. When the alliance between Christians and Muslims broke up, the Muslims (referred to as *abawadi*) installed Nuhu Kalema as *kabaka* in the hope that Islam would be re-introduced fully. These expectations did not

materialise, partly because the Baganda objected to fasting, daily prayers and abstention from their traditional beer, and feared circumcision, and partly because the Christians took up arms and defeated the Muslims in 1889. Ganda Muslims were persecuted and dispersed and Muslims from the coast were burnt. Mwanga, who had now declared his support for the Christian cause, was reinstated. With the death of Kalema in 1890 and the arrival of the Imperial British East Africa Company's agents and their treaty with the Christian authorities, the tide had turned against the Muslims.

2. *The colonial period*

Under the new administration, the Muslims in Buganda were forced to live in confined and poor regions. Their leaders, Mbogo, Alamanzane and Ndaula were imprisoned. In 1893 a persecution of the Muslims broke out and Muslims were hunted down, many fleeing to neighbouring countries. The reason for this persecution was that some Muslims, indignant at their situation, had approached the Sudanese soldiers known locally as Nubians, who had been brought in by Frederick Lugard, asking for help against the Christians.

Contacts with Muslims outside Uganda, however, continued. Thus Kabarega in Bunyoro sent an embassy to the Mahdists in Khartoum in 1897 when under attack from a Ganda-British force. The Nubians posted to strategic places contributed to the dissemination of Islam, as did the petty traders in various communities. In spite of this, they were isolated, as can be seen by the fact that one of the first Ugandans to undertake the *ḥadjdj* was Abdallah Sekimwanyi, who did so in 1920.

Although Mutesa had appealed both to the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Khedive Ismāʿīl to send him teachers, it was only at the beginning of the 20th century that Muslim teachers, such as Shaykh Khalfan bin Mubaraka and Shaykh Abd al-Samad bin Najimi began to influence the character and spread of Islam in Uganda by training local *bawalimu*.

Crucial to the Muslim community in Uganda at this time was the recognition by the authorities of Nuhu Mbogo (d. 1921) (son of Suna and Mutesa's brother and father of Haji Prince Badiru Kakungulu) as the leader of the Muslims in the country. He was one of the signatories of the 1900 Uganda Agreement and was allocated a substantial piece of land for himself and his followers. Although Mbogo had obtained plots to build mosques, these were never utilised because the Muslims were divided. One conflict was the so-called *Juma-Ẓukuli* dispute which first erupted in 1911 concerning whether the *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* should be omitted on Fridays or should be prayed in addition to *ṣalāt al-djumʿa* [see ṢALĀT]. Due to Mbogo's influence and prestige, the matter quietened down. After his death personal rivalries and religious conflicts continued to weaken the community. The *Juma-Ẓukuli* issue re-appeared, and was only settled in 1948 when it was agreed to observe only the *Juma* prayer. A small splinter group continued to combine the two prayers. Disputes also arose concerning the use of *matari*, i.e. drums at religious ceremonies, and the proper way to determine the date of Ramaḍān. From 1926 onwards, the progress of Islam slowed considerably.

The religious élite within the main Muslim body resented the personal rule of Prince Badiru Kakungulu and wanted a say in the administration of the community. They were also critical of their leader for encouraging Western rather than Ḳurʾānic education, fearing that this would lead to young people leaving the faith. In 1933 a section of the religious leaders broke away and formed the *Jamat al-Islam*.

Most of the Muslim leadership throughout this period were products of Ḳurʾān schools which did not equip their students to tackle issues in contemporary society. The lack of educated and sophisticated leaders forced the community in the 1940s and 1950s to bring issues of a religious nature to the public courts, as the Muslims had failed to devise a mechanism for conflict resolution within the community.

From the early 1950s and through the 1960s, Muslims began to influence society as a whole. Those who had received a Western education began to play an important role in business. The establishment of the Uganda Muslim Education Association (UMEA) and the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS), which had been set up by the Aga Khan in 1937, also contributed to the strengthening of their position, while Muslims employed in such key sectors of the administration as the police and as interpreters' were also influential.

3. *The independence period*

In connection with the 1962 election to prepare for independence, Muslims had become a political factor, which contributed to the victory of the alliance between the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) and Kabaka Yekka over the Democratic Party.

Up to 1965 the Uganda Muslim Association (UMA) was led by Prince Badiru Kakungulu. In that year, a politically-based split occurred among Muslims as a result of the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Muslims (NAAM). One of its leaders, Shaykh Abdu Kamulegeya, an al-Azhar graduate, had attended a meeting of the Muslim World League and on his return wanted to open an office for the League in Kampala. This was refused by the UMA. He then turned to the government, which granted him permission. The Uganda People's Party (UPP) realised that it could use the split among the Ganda Muslims to enter the Buganda political scene. NAAM was dominated from behind the scene by Obote's Muslim cousin Abubaker Adoko Nekyon. Its main mosque was at Wandegeya, near Makerere in north Kampala. The aim of the new organisation was to recruit the support of the Muslims in Uganda for government policies and to oppose Prince Badiru Kakungulu, whose group represented the majority of Ganda Muslims and became known as the Kibuli faction after their centre in Kampala. This group was registered as the Uganda Muslim Community (UMC). Under the UPP, their activities were increasingly limited and the leaders arrested.

Around 1968, the NAAM, with government backing, assumed the position of sole representative body for all Muslims in Uganda. Their constitution provided for a *muftī* who was to be the only government-recognised Muslim leader. By appointing Muslims as chiefs, and by ousting non-NAAM guardians from mosques, the government manipulated divisions in the community in their own interest. The sharp divisions within the community led to the development of schools and hospitals being neglected. By 1960 there were few Muslim primary schools and only one secondary school for African Muslims at Kibuli. There were three for Indian Muslims which as a general rule, however, did not accept African Muslim pupils.

The situation was totally reversed during the Idi Amin period (1971-9). NAAM was accused of mixing religion and politics and outlawed. The amicable relations between Amin and the Ganda Muslims deteriorated within the year. Amin tried to win the support of other Muslims by emphasising his devotion to Islam. Thus in 1972 he established the Uganda Muslim Sup-

reme Council (UMSC) and a Chief *Ḳāḍī* was appointed. Amin laid the cornerstone of the organisation's headquarters in Uganda. He also sought to develop relations with Islamic states, leading in 1974 to Uganda's membership in the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). New mosques were constructed, hospitals extended or built, businesses acquired and plans were made for the translation of the Ḳurʾān into Luganda, part of which had been undertaken by the Aḥmadiyya community. A certain increase in the Muslim community took place because of the new status it conferred, since being a Muslim no longer implied being a second-class citizen. The creation of the Uganda Muslim Students Association (UMSA) to coordinate the activities of Muslim youth laid the foundation for the future involvement of Muslims in the affairs of the nation. In spite of this, lack of clarity in the UMSC constitution and its relation to the government led to direct intervention by Amin. The development of services for the community was held up, in spite of Amin's Public Holidays Act (Amendment) Decree of 1978 formalising the addition of the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*, the Prophet's birthday on 12 Rabīʿ I and Friday as a day of rest.

A negative impact on the Muslim community in Uganda was the expulsion of the Asians in 1972, a number of whom, as Muslims, had contributed to the improvement of the indigenous Muslims. The first Asians to come to Uganda belonged to the troops which accompanied Lugard in 1891. During the early period about half of the British Indian troops were Punjabi Muslims. The pioneer of the business community was Allidina Visram (1863-1916) who first started operations in 1898, opening stores at Jinja, Kisumu and along the Nile, appointing mainly Muslims as his agents. Allidina encouraged local business by buying animal skins and agricultural produce. With the completion of the Uganda railway in 1901 his role increased greatly. Most of the early Indian traders were Muslims, especially Ismāʿīlīs. Punjabi Muslims formed the majority of the labour recruited for the construction of the Uganda Railway. They were principally artisans, but were also recruited into the local police force. By 1948 there were 11,172 Indian Muslims in Uganda. Strained relations with the indigenous people led in 1958-9 led to a successful boycott of their shops.

Since independence a growing number of Muslims have undertaken the Pilgrimage. Many read the Ḳurʾān either in the original or in its Luganda rendering. Other major tenets of Islam such as prayers, fasting and festivals are observed. Muslims tend to adopt the dress code of coastal Muslims as well as other cultural aspects. Circumcision, which earlier was a barrier, is generally observed.

The successive post-Amin governments from 1979 until the establishment of Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM) government in 1986 were politically and economically unstable and did not improve the situation of the Muslims. With the NRM's ten-point programme the situation began to change. Islamic education, besides continuing in mosque schools, has been boosted with the establishment of an Islamic University in Mbale funded by the Islamic Development Bank in Jeddah. Some students from this university are now at other universities around the Muslim world. Asian Muslim businessmen have returned and have assisted the indigenous Muslim community in various ways.

Although UMSC has continued to function, a number of Muslims and Muslim groupings have been reluctant to integrate with it as it is seen to be a state-related, if not controlled, council. The council's authority is weakened by a lack of influence in religious matters. Secular law entitles the council to organise the Pilgrimage and *ʿīd* celebrations, but has no authority over religious issues. Its leaders are seen to be more concerned with private business than spiritual affairs. The council continues to be funded by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Its role has been somewhat strengthened through its involvement with visiting heads of state from Muslim countries such as Iran and Pakistan. Although Muslims have more access to the media, their spokesmen tend to identify with the government rather than the *umma*. This has led to the Ṣūfī *ṭuruḳ*, some of which like the Ḳādiriyya were established in Buganda before 1888 by Sulaiman bin Zahir al-Jabir, becoming, because of their international links and spiritual leadership, more powerful than the council. Access to Muslim radio stations from the Middle East, and audio and video cassettes have also helped the community. In the 1996 election one of the three candidates for the presidency was a Muslim, Muhammad Mayanja, whose father Abubaker Mayanja had been a minister in previous governments.

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(S. von Sicard)

UHAYHA b. al-**Djulāh**, al-Awsī, semi-legendary pre-Islamic hero and poet of Yathrib (the later Medina). The memory of him probably stems from the fact that it was said that his wife had a second marriage connection with the clan of ʿAbd Manāf in Mecca, hence with the Prophet's grandfather ʿAbd al-Muttalib, making the putative date of his birth *ca.* 550, and with a date of death, according to certain sources, before Muhammad's own birth.

Some verses of his are cited in such collections as the *Asmaʿiyyāt*, the *Hamāsa* of Abū Tammām, the works of al-Djāhiz, the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of Ibn Kutayba, the *Aghānī* and the *Djamharat ashʿār al-ʿarab* of al-Kurashī. They give some biographical details, of his role as chief of the clan of Aws and his leadership at various *ayyām* or "days" of his people, and mention his wealth as possessor of various estates and strongpoints (*ātām*) in the oasis of Yathrib and as a usurer, combined with his avarice. Of older authors, only Ibn Khayr mentions in his *Fahrasa*, 397, Uhayha's *dīwān* as being introduced into al-Andalus in the 4th/10th century; but no trace of a *dīwān* exists today.

What now remains comprises 22 pieces amounting to about 100 verses, mostly—apart from two fragments apparently from *kasīdas*—short fragments. The *nasībs* of certain pieces show the poet's regard for this aspect of the classical ode. Notable is the fact that he hardly uses the *tawīl* metre beloved of other ancient poets. His language, little affected by Bedouin features, shows him essentially as an urban poet, with the two main themes of *fakhr* and of *hikma* or wisdom. Blachère's verdict was that the verses attributed to Uhayha cannot be taken seriously, but that he may be viewed as the hypothetical representative of a poetic circle in Yathrib in the middle years of the 6th century (*HLA*, ii, 310). Certainly, his memory remained alive for later generations, and he seems to have played a role, alongside earlier bards like Imruʾ al-Kays and Muhalhil b. Rabīʿa, in the genesis of ancient Arabic poetry.

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(Taïeb El Achèche)

ʿUHDA [see dar̲ība. 4].

UHUD, a rocky, plateau-topped mountain that lies about 5 km/3 miles north of Medina, and the site of an important battle between Muhammad and the Meccans.

Traditional accounts date the event to Shawwāl of year 3, and see the origins of Uhud in the aftermath of Badr; variant traditions date it to year 4. Under the leadership of Abū Sufyān b. Harb, and incited not only by tribesmen and tribeswomen who had lost relations at Badr (e.g. his wife Hind b. ʿUtba), but also by those whose goods had been plundered, the Meccans resolved to avenge their defeat. A large force (often numbered at 3,000 horsemen) was assembled, and moved north towards Medina; the sequence and chronology of the Meccans' movements around Uhud are a matter of some confusion, but according to most authorities they encamped north of the city, grazing their mounts on the ripening fields. At least in part, it was this provocation that moved the Prophet, against the advice of several Companions, to muster a large force of his own (Ibn Ishāk's sources put it at 1,000), and move out of Medina. Although they were outnumbered by the Meccans, the Muslims are said to have carried the early part of the battle, perhaps because the topography favoured them. Things then turned for the worse with the fateful decision of the Muslim archers, sometimes numbered at 50 and sometimes at 100, to abandon their position protecting the flank or rear, apparently in order to join fellow Muslims in despoiling the Meccans' camp. Khālid b. al-Walīd, commanding the right flank of the Meccan cavalry, exploited the break in Muslim lines and overran Muhammad's men. In the confused rout that followed, a large number of Muslims were killed, perhaps as many as 65 to 70; among these was the Prophet's uncle Hamza b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib, whose death grieved Muhammad enormously. Rumours even flew about that Muhammad himself had been killed; in the event, he was apparently only wounded, and the news that he was alive buoyed Muslim spirits enough that they managed to regroup higher up on mount Uhud. Abū Sufyān did not press his advantage, and towards the end of the day he withdrew towards Mecca; the number of Meccans killed is usually put in the low 20s.

The preceding is a synopsis of events as they are described in the material that was deposited in the *sīra-maghāzī* tradition of the 2nd and early 3rd centuries, and which came to dominate (if not quite monopolise) the tradition in general throughout the classical period. Already in Ibn Ishāk (d. *ca.* 150/767) a general consensus had clearly emerged around the sequence of events, even if al-Wākidī, writing two generations later, was still piecing together his account from a variety of sources, as had Ibn Ishāk himself (*al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. M. al-Sakkā, ii, 60; al-Tabarī, i, 1383-4; al-Wākidī, *al-Maghāzī*, Beirut 1984 repr. of ed. Jones, i, 199). Judging the reliability of this material is very difficult. That the Muslims suffered a disheartening defeat is clear enough, at least if one accepts that several verses of Kurʾān, III (*Āl ʿImrān*), allude to actual historical events (see Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 192 ff.; W.M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qurʾān*, 100, *et passim*). Moreover, inasmuch as the tradition's reconstruction of the basic sequence and chronology of events of the Medinan period inspires confidence, the date of Uhud is fairly certain, particularly since it occasionally is used to date other events (see, for example, al-Zuhrī, cited by al-Balādhurī, *Futūh al-buldān*, 18). This said, because the Kurʾān only alludes to Uhud—and this not so much to describe or record, but rather to exemplify—full reconstructions of the battle presume the essential historicity of the *sīra* in matters of detail.

How the *sīra* tradition emerged is not yet clear; there is no reason to think that Uhud accounts were exceptional. Accounts of the battle, probably at this point only very fragmentary, were presumably transmitted principally by the descendants of those who participated or were martyred; and these generated fairly prosaic lists on the one hand (see, for examples, Ibn Ishāk, *Sīra*, ii, 122 ff.; and Ibn Saʿd, *Tabakāt*, ii/1, 29 ff.), and well-finished legends on the other (such as that of the Ethiopian slave Wahshī, who killed Hamza). Much of the poetry embedded in the accounts also reflects an interest in the experience of tribesmen, both individually and collectively, in the mêlée; and although the authenticity of this too can be doubted—some is clearly exegetical in nature—much may be authentic. Meanwhile, exegetes were concerned to historicise the Kurʾānic echoes of Uhud.

To take only two of the many potential examples: the "two groups" of Ḳur'ān, III, 118 (*idh hammat ṭā'ifatāni minkum an tafshalā*) are not infrequently identified as the Banū Ḥāritha and Banū Salima at Uḥud (thus the commentary ascribed to Mudjāhid b. Djabr [d. 104/722], *Tafsīr*, Ḳaṭar, 1976, 134-5; al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmi' al-bayān*, Cairo 1955-69, vii, 166); and the beginning of Ḳur'ān, III, 121 (*balā in taṣbirū wa-tattaḳū wa-ya'tūkum min fawrihim hādhā*) is glossed by Mudjāhid as *ya'nī min ghaḍabihim hādhā... fa-lam yuḳātilūhum tilka al-sā'a wa-dhālika yawm Uḥud* (thus Mudjāhid, *Tafsīr*, 135; cf. al-Ṭabrisī, *Madjma' al-bayān*, Ḳum 1983, i, 499; al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmi' al-bayān*, vii, 179-80). In general, it seems that early Muslims did not doubt that some of Ḳur'ān, III, alluded to Uḥud; they may have questioned how much, however. Ibn Isḥāḳ is quoted to the effect that *Āl 'Imrān* contains 60 verses, "in which there is a description of their battle, and blame for those whom he rebuked" (*Sīra*, ii, 106). Aside from *Āl 'Imrān*, other verses were connected to the battle as well (e.g. Ḳur'ān, XXXIII, 23: *man ḳaḍā naḥbahu*).

The tradition having emerged when and why it did, it cannot offer convincing answers to many of the questions that modern historians might be inclined to ask. We shall probably never know precisely why Muḥammad was persuaded to leave Medina by the hot-headed "young men who had not fought at Badr" (al-Wāḳidī, i, 210), nor the precise circumstances and scale of the Muslims' defeat (seventy, which is most frequently given for the number of Muslim dead, is manifestly topological). What we can discern, however, is how the narratives expressed a variety of interests and controversies. Among some Shī'īs, 'Alī's bravery is much discussed: he kills a great host of prominent Meccans; Abū Bakr and 'Umar fled, and 'Uthmān only appeared after the battle ended, but he held firm (al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, ed. Beirut 1979, 43 ff.; on 'Uthmān's absence, see also Ibn Isḥāḳ, in N. Abbott, *Studies in literary Arabic papyri. I. Historical texts*, Chicago 1957, 81-2). Less controversial, and fairly ubiquitous, is the elaboration of Muḥammad's role. Thus the Prophet is endowed with the power to heal miraculously (thus Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Sīra*, ii, 82); in a vision he foretells his injuries on the battlefield (thus Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/1, 36); and in his stern warning that the archers hold their ground he clearly anticipates their eventual failure to do so (thus al-Wāḳidī, i, 224). In the frequently-cited judgment that Uḥud was a "trial" and "test", in the confusion of which Muslim killed Muslim, and when true believers were distinguished from hypocrites, Uḥud accounts both narrated history and taught enduring lessons, perhaps especially to those Muslims familiar with the first *fitna*.

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(C.F. Robinson)

'UḲĀB (A.), pls. *a'ḳub, 'iḳbān, 'uḳbān, 'aḳābīn*, a fem. noun denoting the eagle in all its species.

The eagle has the tecnonyms of *Abu 'l-ashyam* "father of the one with the mole or beauty spot"; *Abu 'l-ḥudjdjādj* "the man with the pilgrims", i.e. of Mecca, since it follows the caravans making their way there in order to feed on the remains of corpses, of humans and their mounts, left en-route; *Abu 'l-ḥasan* "the fine one"; *Abu 'l-dahr* "the long-lived one"; *Abu 'l-haytham* "the eaglet's father"; and *Abu 'l-kāsir* "the breaker of bones". The female is called *Umm al-hawār* "mother of ill-fortune"; *Umm al-shu'ūr* "the hairy one"; *Umm al-ṭulba* "the one travelling afar"; *Umm al-lūḥ* "mother of the winds"; and *Umm al-haytham* "the eaglet's mother". The female eagle is further called *laḳwa, liḳwa*. As for the young male and female eaglet, as well as *haytham*, these are called *ḍarim, tuladj* and *tulad*.

Amongst the day-hunting raptors (*kawāsir*), out of the nine known species of Aquilae, seven are known in the Arab-speaking lands:

(a) The golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaëtos*), with two sub-specied *Hemeyri* and *Daphanea*. It is called *'uḳāb al-ṣayd* "the hunting eagle", *abrash al-dhanab* "having a speckled tail" and *lammā'a* "shining brightly".

(b) The imperial eagle (*A. heliaca heliaca*), called *shaylamī* "white the colour of darnel weeds", *sha'īrī* "white the colour of barley", *khāṭiya, khā'iṭa* "the striped one", and *abyaḍ* "the white one".

(c) The tawny eagle (*A. rapax orientalis*), called *khuḍāriyya* "the wholly black one", *mukallaf* "brownish-black" and *'uḳāb al-arnab* "eagle with a rabbit".

(d) The greater spotted eagle (*A. clanga*), called *zanbūrī* "wasp-like".

(e) The lesser spotted eagle (*A. pomarina*) which, in Arabic, is confused with the preceding.

(f) Bonelli's eagle (*Hieraaëtus fasciatus*), called *zummadj* "irascible".

(g) The booted eagle (*H. pennatus*), called *musarwala* "having trousers", *āfa, dāhiya* "calamity", *ḳaḍā'* "fate", *sahm* "arrow" and *mandjanīḳ* "ballista".

Arabic writers on natural history such as al-Djāḥiẓ, al-Damīrī and al-Ḳazwīnī (see *Bibl.*) speak at length of the eagle and its ethology. Thus they state that the female lays two or three eggs, only two of which are nestled for a period of 30 days. A naive belief has it that there are no male eagles but only females, so that another bird, or even a fox, is supposed to impregnate it. The eagle can cover immense distances, such as leaving 'Irāḳ in the morning and arriving in Yemen by the evening. It is a true "lion of the air", in view of its strength, its hunting instincts, its rapid flight and its keen sight, hence was early tamed, initially in the Maghrib, for hunting by air for large, furred game like foxes, wolves, jackals, gazelles, oryx and wild asses. The imperial eagle was prized for its swooping on cranes, bustards, wild geese and hares. A falconer after small game would not release his bird whilst there was an eagle around, lest the eagle kill it. In view of the eagle's weight, the hunter with eagles (*'aḳḳāb*) supported his arm bearing the eagle on a forked stick (Pers. *du shākh*) supported on the saddle-bow, as the Ḳirghiz still do when flying their "birkouts".

According to one historical tale, Caesar sent Kisrā an eagle tamed for hunting, but when it reached the emperor's court, it killed a child. In exchange, Kisrā sent back to Caesar a leopard trained for coursing, but this animal devoured a page boy.

In the eagle's eyrie can be found a stone-like substance called *ḥadjar al-ʿukāb* "eagle stone" which, when sucked, cures stammering.

From an Islamic legal point of view, it is allowable to kill an eagle but not to eat its flesh. Nevertheless, the eagle has certain medical and pharmacological uses. Its gall smeared in the form of collyrium over the eyes combats blindness and cures cataracts. It can also be used as an unguent for the breasts of a pregnant woman in order to stimulate the flow of milk. Its fat melted down and mixed with oil is an efficacious unguent for gout and stiff limbs; mixed with honey, it makes an excellent ointment for anal fistulas (*nāṣūr, nāsūr*) and haemorrhoids (*bāsūr*, pl. *bawāsīr*).

In the interpretation of dreams, seeing an eagle in a dream is a sign of success, victory over an enemy and the achievement of power.

In astronomy, *al-ʿUḳāb* "The Eagle" is the name of the 17th boreal constellation, yielding, in ancient Latin texts, such deformations as *elaocab, aloocab, alaucab, alocab, alhucab* and *alancab*. This constellation also has the Latin names of *Jovis nutrix* "nourisher of Jupiter", *Raptrix Ganymedis* "the ravisher of Ganymede", *Promethei aquila* "Prometheus's eagle" and *Vultur volans* "flying vulture". It comprises three stars: (1) α (alpha) *Aquilae*, mag. 0.9, called *Altair, Altayr, Althair*, from *al-Nasr al-ṭā'ir* "flying vulture"; (2) β (beta) *Aquilae*, mag. 3.09, called *Alshain*, from Perso-Arabic *shāhīn* "gerfalcon"; and (3) γ (gamma) *Aquilae*, mag. 2.8, called *Tarazed* (Pers., predatory gerfalcon).

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(F. Viré)

UKAYDIR b. ʿABD al-MALIK al-Kindī al-Sakūnī, a contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad, the Christian king of the oasis and fortified town of Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*] (modern Djawf).

Dūmat al-Djandal was an important caravan station and its annual market took place in the month of Rabīʿ I. Muḥammad is supposed to have raided it in 5/626, following complaints by Arab merchants about Ukaydir's oppression. Control of the market was contested between the ʿIbādiyyūn (or the ʿIbād, sc. of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]) and the Ghassāniyyūn [see ghassān]; when the former ruled over it, Ukaydir held sway. Considering the association of the ʿIbād with al-Ḥīra, the contest would seem to have been one between the vassals of the Sāsānids [*q.v.*] and those of the Byzantines. But elsewhere Ukaydir is specifically said to have been in allegiance to Heraclius (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 248, l. 17).

For several generations after Ukaydir's time, his descendants lived in Dūmat al-Djandal. These or other descendants of his were no doubt behind some of the reports about him. For example, a report about Ukaydir found in a dictionary of Companions (for a fragment, see Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashk*, ed. al-ʿAmrawī, Beirut 1415/1995 ff., ix, 199) goes back to Ukaydir's great-great-great-grandson, who is quoting his forefathers.

Ukaydir's brother, Ḥurayth, embraced Islam and in due course, the Umayyad caliph, Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, married his daughter; many of Ḥurayth's offspring were still living in Dūmat al-Djandal in the latter half of the 2nd/8th century. Ukaydir's elder brother Bishr married before Islam a sister of Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*]. Bishr and his father-in-law, Ḥarb b. Umayya, are said to have played a role in the alleged transfer of Arabic script from al-Ḥīra to Arabia.

The reports about Ukaydir are often conflicting. Significantly, a Shīʿī source reports that before the Tabūk expedition (9/630), Ukaydir threatened to attack Muḥammad and exchanged letters with the Medinan *munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*], who invited him to joint action against Muḥammad (al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1376/1957 ff., xxi, 257-8; cf. M. Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and pagans*, Leiden 1995, 86 n.). Ukaydir was killed by Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] during the lifetime of Muḥammad (Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. Arafat, ii, 78), or was brought to Muḥammad unharmed having been captured outside his fortress by Khālid's cavalry, or came to Muḥammad voluntarily. According to some, after Muḥammad's death, Ukaydir left his stronghold and went to al-Ḥīra. Yāḳūt says that the compilers of the *Futūḥ* books unanimously agreed that Khālid raided Ukaydir in the days of Abū Bakr and killed him; however, elsewhere Ukaydir is said to have been expelled by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

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(M. Lecker)

ʿUḲAYL, an old Arab tribe and in recent usage, until the motor age, in the pronunciation ʿAgēl, the name for caravan-leaders and camel-dealers.

1. The tribe.

Its genealogy is ʿUḳayl b. Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa of the Hawāzin branch of the Ḳays-ʿAylān [*q.v.*]; among the larger sections are the ʿUbāda and Rabīʿa b. ʿUḳayl as well as the Khafādja [*q.v.*] b. ʿAmr and al-Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*] b. ʿĀmir b. ʿUḳayl. Al-Muḳallad b. Djaʿfar, the ancestor of the dynasty of the ʿUḳaylids [*q.v.*], traced his descent directly from Ḥazn b. ʿUbāda. Al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Nihāya*, 297) besides these knows of a clan of the Asad b. Khuzayma, called ʿUḳayl (not in Wüstenfeld).

The ʿUḳayl were settled in southern Nadjd and the adjoining western part of al-Yamāma. Their habitat is more accurately defined by a number of districts, waters, hills and villages, which the geographers describe as lying in their territory. The list given by Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 362, based on al-Bakrī's *Muʿdjam*, can be completed from Yāḳūt. It is worthy of note that a number of mines were in their possession, including the gold-mine of al-ʿAḳīḳ, said to be the most productive in all Arabia; with reference to this, the Prophet is alleged to have said; "The land of ʿUḳayl rains gold" (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 153-4, 177). This "ʿAḳīḳ of the Banū ʿUḳayl" is also called "ʿAḳīḳ Tamra" and lies in the vicinity of Ranya, Bīsha [*q.v.*] and Tathlīth, which all belong to the ʿUḳayl (Yāḳūt, ii, 826, iii, 700-1; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr.*, 52-3, 237 n., 240 n.). Among other places belonging to them, the watering-place of Hubāla is better known from the encounter there with the Ghanm (al-Bakrī, 826; Dhu 'l-Rumma, *Dīwān*, ed. Macartney, 231).

Their best-known battles date only from the 2nd/8th century and show that the conditions of the *Djāhiliyya* survived for a long time into Islam.

There are two different stories of the conversion of the ʿUḳayl to Islam (both in Ibn Saʿd). According to one, three delegates from the ʿUḳayl brought the homage of their people to the Prophet, who gave them al-ʿAḳīḳ and a document confirming this. According to the other version, Muḥammad endeavoured to win over Abū Ḥarb b. Khuwaylid b. ʿĀmir b. ʿUḳayl to his teaching, but the latter first consulted divining arrows to see what he should do. Perplexed by the remarkable chance that the arrow indicating unbelief came out three times, he asked his brother ʿIḳāl (ʿUḳāl) for advice and told him that Muḥammad had promised him al-ʿAḳīḳ if he adopted Islam. ʿIḳāl at once hastened to al-ʿAḳīḳ and took formal possession for himself and his brother of this rich stretch of country, and after his adoption of Islam, Muḥammad confirmed him in it (for the story in Sprenger, *Mohammad*, iii, 512-14, which combines the two stories without justification, see Caetani, *Annali*, Year 9, § 74). Just as Muḥammad on this occasion permitted the old Arab method of divination, so also he allowed the Ruʾās b. Kilāb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa before their adoption of Islam to avenge an earlier razzia on their already-Muslim neighbours the ʿUḳayl (Ibn Saʿd, §§ 86-7, in Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv, 94, 143-5). During the second *ridda* in Yemen begun by Ḳays b. ʿAbd Yaghūth b. Makshūḥ after Muḥammad's death, the ʿUḳayl and ʿAkk joined Fīrūz al-Daylamī, governor of Ṣanʿāʾ, who defeated the Ḳays with their help and re-entered the town (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1989-94; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 287-9).

About 100 years later, Djaʿfar b. ʿUlba al-Ḥārithī, a poet like his great-grandfather Abū ʿAbd Yaghūth, the famous leader of the Madhhidj [*q.v.*] on the second day of al-Kulāb, following the ancient custom began raids of plunder upon the ʿUḳayl; for the blood shed by him in the Wādī Saḥbal, he was taken prisoner by the governor of Mecca and executed (*Aghānī*[1], xi, 146-52; Yāḳūt, iii, 48; C.J. Lyall, *Translations of ancient Arabian poetry*, 10-12, 84-9). After the death of al-Walīd II (126/743-4) the ʿUḳayl together with the Ḳushayr, Djaʿda and Numayr waged a bitter war on the Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] and their vassals, the Banu ʾl-Duʾil. The defeat of the Ḥanīfa in the battle of al-Nashāsh (in Yāḳūt, ii, 117, al-Nashnāsh; it was preceded by the first and second battles of al-Faladj) resulted in the appointment of a Ḳaysī as governor of al-Yamāma (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 225-8). About the same time, a branch of the ʿUḳayl took part in the civil war in Spain and in the creation of the Umayyad amīrate of Cordova (see R. Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, i, 185 ff.).

In the early years of ʿAbbāsid rule, the tribes of the great branch of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa migrated from Arabia to Syria and it was only when they reached ʿIrāḳ that the ʿUḳayl began to attain their great importance in history (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 11). In the civil wars which followed on the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the ʿUḳaylid Naṣr b. Sayyār b. Shabath [*q.v.*] fought for al-Amīn, and from his fortress of Kaysūm north of Aleppo raided the surrounding country. He was able to resist al-Maʾmūn's general Ṭāhir Dhu ʾl-Yamīnayn [*q.v.*] sent against him and was only forced at the end of 209 (beginning of 825) by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, to surrender, but only on the caliph's promise of pardon (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 208-9, 274-5). Around the middle of the 3rd/9th century, the town of Ḳarḳīsiyā [*q.v.*] was in the possession of an ʿUḳaylid, Ṣafwān (presumably the son of the ruler of Diyār Muḍar, who, according to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 396 = § 3095, died in 253/867), in whose place Luʾluʾ, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn's freedman, placed Aḥmad b. Mālik b. Ṭawḳ (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2028-9 = Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 276). The latter was driven out by Ibn Abi ʾl-Sādj, who in turn lost his possessions to Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj(īḳ) [see AL-RAḤBA and TAGHLIB]. *Ca.* 286/899, the ʿUḳayl and other Ḳays tribes recognised the spiritual and secular leadership of Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī [*q.v.*], the founder of Ḳarmaṭī power in Arabia. With their help, he conquered Hadjar, then al-Ḳaṭīf and the whole of Baḥrayn and established a power here which became the terror of the whole Muslim world but very quickly fell to pieces. Before this in 251/865, the *wālī* of Mecca Djaʿfar b. al-Faḍl Bashāshāt was fighting with the rebel ʿUḳayl, who cut the road to Djidda so that the price of provisions rose in Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1644 = Ibn al-Athīr, vii, III). At the instigation of the ʿAbbāsids, the Taghlibī leader Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Aṣfar in 378/988-9 subdued the Ḳarmaṭīs and forced the Sulaym and ʿUḳayl in succession to leave Baḥrayn [see TAGHLIB]. The ʿUḳayl went to ʿIrāḳ, from which they presumably co-operated with their brethren in al-Djazīra who in the meanwhile had laid the foundations of ʿUḳaylid rule in al-Mawṣil. For the further history of the ʿUḳaylids, see the articles ḤAMDĀNIDS; ʿUḲAYLIDS; AL-GHAḌANFAR; AL-MUḲALLAD; KHAFĀDJA; and also AL-MAWṢIL and AL-RAḤBA.

After their return to Baḥrayn, the ʿUḳayl subjected the Taghlib there and took a part of al-Yamāma from the Kilāb. The government of this region was in the hands of the Banū ʿUṣfūr [see ʿUṢFŪRIDS], who belonged to the ʿUḳayl and who, according to people from Baḥrayn, were still in al-Aḥsāʾ in 651/1253 (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, 313; al-Ḳalḳashandī, 298 = al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik*, 44).

As evidence of the very early wide distribution of the ʿUḳayl a story in al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 67-8 = § 499) is of particular interest. He describes the population of the kingdom of the Ṣanāriyya in the Caucasus as Christians, who claim descent from a branch of the ʿUḳayl, have lived there from early times and made many peoples their subjects. Al-Masʿūdī says he himself saw in Mārib in Yemen ʿUḳaylids who in their mode of life did not differ from their brethren in the Caucasus. The Ṣanāriyya also asserted that they had separated from these ʿUḳayl in Yemen long ago. Here as elsewhere Christianity had found its way among the ʿUḳayl, probably through the influence of partly Christian neighbouring tribes (such as e.g. the Taghlib) (cf. L. Cheikho, *al-Naṣrāniyya wa-ādābuhā bayna ʿArab al-Djāhiliyya*, Beirut 1912-23, 99, 136).

Of celebrated poets of the tribe of ʿUḳayl may be mentioned: Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir of the clan of Khafādja [*q.v.*] and his beloved, the poetess Laylā al-Akhyaliyya [*q.v.*] of the ʿUbāda. According to one view, al-Madjnūn, so celebrated from the love-story of Laylā and Madjnūn, belonged to the ʿUḳayl; Bashshār b. Burd was also a client (*mawlā*) of them (Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa ʾl-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. de Goeje, 269, 271, 355, 476; for Bashshār, see esp. *Aghānī*[1], iii, 20-3, 54; for Tawba, *ibid.*, x, 72-5, 82).

Not only lexical but also grammatical peculiarities of the language of the ʿUḳayl are recorded; e.g. after *laʿalla* "perhaps" they put the genitive (S. de Sacy, *Anthol. gramm.*, 78 and 196, no. 52: for *laʿalla* they also said *laʿalli*, *ʿalla* and *ʿalli*), and used *lammā* with the meaning of *illā* (which some adopt for the explanation of sūra LXXXVI, 4: see *ibid.*, 81 and 202-3,

no. 66); finally, they also had the *taltala*, which, otherwise mentioned as peculiar to the Bahrāʾ, is described as a feature of the language of Laylā al-Akhyaliyya. It consists in the prefix of the imperfect changing its *fatha* to *kasra*, e.g. *anta tiʿlam*ᵘ for *taʿlam*ᵘ (al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, ed. Thorbecke, 184; cf. also G.W. Freytag, *Einleitung*. . . ., 89).

2. The ʿAgēl caravan leaders

The first substantial account of them was given by J.L. Burckhardt (*Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, London 1831, ii, 28-9). He says that the once powerful Ageyl, descended from the Beni Helál (a confusion with the other great branch of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa), now live scattered among the villages of al-Nadjd, while since the reign of Sultan Murād another tribe also called Beni Ageyl has sprung up. All the Arabs who settle in Baghdād from al-Nadjd, whatever their real origin, join the tribe of Ageyl, and they are the Pasha's strongest support in his wars with the Bedouin or rebels. The chief of these Ageyls of Baghdād is always a native of Derayeh (al-Darʿiyya; according to *A handbook of Arabia*, i, 94, from Burayda), whom they elect themselves and whose appointment is confirmed by the Pasha. These Ageyls, he continues, are famous for their bravery. They lead the caravans from Baghdād to Syria and have frequently repulsed far superior forces of Wahhābīs. Burckhardt distinguished two classes in Baghdād: 1. the *Zogorty* (*Dogortī*), poorer individuals, hawkers and daily labourers; and 2. the *Djemamyl* (*Djamāmīl*), caravan leaders. These two kinds of Ageyls include people of very different tribes and countries, who come e.g. from al-Ḥasā, al-ʿĀriḍ, al-Ḳaṣīm and the Djabal Shammar; but people from al-Sudayr and the Wādī Dawāsir are not admitted.

From this it is clear that the ʿAgēl were not a proper tribe but a combination of heterogeneous elements under the leadership of one man for common commercial interests. These naturally prevented the admission of members of tribes at enmity with one another (e.g. the Ḥarb and ʿAtayba [ʿUTAYBA]), so that the community of the ʿAgēl remained neutral as far as possible. Arabs from the centre of the peninsula, especially settled Tamīm and Khālid from al-Nadjd and al-Ḳaṣīm, were the most suitable (although even foreigners such as Turks, Egyptians and Kurds were not excluded: Doughty, ii, 80); they were known in Mesopotamia and Syria as Ageyl, and called *el-Ageylāt* by the Bedouin (*ibid.*, i, II). The latter name (along with *al-ʿAkeylāt, ʿUkaylāt*) was also applied to a clan of the Banī ʿAṭiyya, whose members were mainly carriers of goods between Maʿān and Tabūk (*Handbook*, i, 62; Musil, *Northern Ḥeǧâz*, 235; Fuʾād Ḥamza, *Ḳalb Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, Mecca 1352, 182). In Doughty's time, the *shaykh* of the Syrian Ageyl in Damascus, Sleymān Abū Dāwūd, belonged to an ʿAnayzī family and, like his predecessor from Burayda, was a camel-dealer. According to M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii, 74, the bulk of the ʿAgēl (200,000 *bēt*) lived in al-Nadjd, while they had only about 300 houses in Baghdād (he described them as among other things post-riders between Baghdād and Damascus and called attention to the peculiar nature of their caravans, in which the camels were tied together by ropes: i, 255, 325-6, ii, 9).

The ʿAgēl were important in several ways. For the Bedouin they were the indispensable traders of the desert, who, as a result of their neutral position as professional caravan-leaders and agents of the great merchants resident in Baghdād and Damascus, purchased camels among the tribes and took them away; on their return they brought back with them the goods required in Central Arabia (a very good description of this activity of the ʿAgēl is in Musil, *Manners and customs*, 278-81, who compared them with the ʿIbād of al-Ḥīra, see his *Northern Neǧd*, 179 n.). In addition to acting as auxiliaries to the government's military forces, forming under the Ottomans an irregular cavalry, they also served as escort to the *ḥadjdj* and guarded the halting-places on the pilgrim route. Almost all European travellers of the pre-modern period used their services, and many travel accounts contain references to them.

It would be of great interest to learn—as Nöldeke pointed out in *ZDMG*, xl (1886), 182 n. 4—in what relation these ʿAgēl considered themselves to stand to the old ʿUḳayl and, on the other hand, to the Muntafiḳ descended from the latter.

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ʿUKAYLIDS, an Arab dynasty of northern ʿIrāḳ and al-Djazīra which flourished from *ca.* 380/990 to 564/1169.

The family stemmed from the North Arab tribe of ʿUḳayl [*q.v.*]. In the 4th/10th century, the ʿUḳayl in Syria and northern ʿIrāḳ were dependents of the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] of Mawṣil and Aleppo. When the last Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn and Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm, were threatened by the Kurdish chief Bādh, founder of the Marwānid line [see MARWĀNIDS] in Diyār Bakr, they appealed for help to the ʿUḳaylid chief Abu ʾl-Dhawwād Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab. But after defeating Bādh and acquiring the towns of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Niṣībīn and Balad, Abu ʾl-Dhawwād was able to set aside the Ḥamdānids and take possession of Mawṣil for himself *ca.* 380/990, nominally as a vassal of the Būyid Amīr Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

After Abu ʾl-Dhawwād's death in 386/996, there were struggles for power amongst his sons until his

nephew Muʿtamid al-Dawla Ḳirwāsh b. al-Muḳallad b. al-Musayyab emerged as victor and began a fifty years' reign (391-442/1001-50), controlling Mawṣil and several other fortresses and towns of al-Djazīra. The main threat to Ḳirwāsh's power in the second half of his reign proved to be that from bands of Turkmens who were moving westwards from Persia, taking advantage of the enfeebled state of the Būyids in ʿIrāḳ. Ḳirwāsh and his allies the Mazyadids [*q.v.*] of al-Ḥilla did defeat the Oghuz in 435/1044, but Ḳirwāsh lost his power as a result of disputes among the ʿUḳaylid family members [see art. *Karwāsh*, in *EI*[1]].

With the reign of Ḳirwāsh's great-nephew Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Ḳuraysh b. Badrān (453-78/1061-85 [*q.v.*]), the ʿUḳaylid dominions reached their greatest extent and stretched almost from Baghdād to northern Syria and Aleppo. Careful to ally himself with what was now the dominant power in the Middle Eastern lands, the Saldjūḳs under Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh, he was able to occupy Ḥarrān, Edessa and, in 472/1079, Aleppo. However, he coveted control of Damascus also, so now switched sides to the Saldjūḳs' enemies in Syria, the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*], in the hope of receiving Fāṭimid military support for the conquest of Damascus. This proved a disastrous decision, and a Saldjūḳ army appeared at Mawṣil. Muslim turned westwards to attack the Saldjūḳ chief in Asia Minor, Sulaymān b. Ḳutulmish [*q.v.*], but was defeated near Antioch by the latter and killed in 478/1085.

ʿUḳaylid chiefs, including Muslim's brother Ibrāhīm and his own sons ʿAlī and Muḥammad, now became involved in internecine strife over control of Mawṣil, with their Saldjūḳ suzerains intervening at various junctures; but Ibrāhīm was killed in 486/1093 and ʿAlī forced finally to yield the city to the Saldjūḳs in 489/1096.

There were also several local lines of ʿUḳaylid governors in towns of northern ʿIrāḳ and Diyār Muḍar, including Takrīt, Hīt, ʿUkbarā, Āna, al-Ḥadītha and Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar, and some of these persisted into the 6th/12th century; a branch at Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar and al-Raḳḳa lasted until 564/1169 under a descendant of Badrān b. al-Muḳallad until ended by the Zangids.

There are indications that the ʿUḳaylids were something more than predatory Bedouin chiefs and that they introduced certain administrative techniques into their lands. Thus Muslim b. Ḳuraysh is said to have installed a *ṣāḥib al-khabar* or intelligence agent in each one of his villages; and several ʿUḳaylids achieved fame as poets. The subjection of the ʿUḳaylids and then of the Mazyadids to Saldjūḳ power marks the end of purely Arab control over the countryside of ʿIrāḳ and al-Djazīra, which now became politically dominated by Turkish potentates, whilst the land acquired an increasing element of Turkish and Kurdish nomads.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

AL-UḲAYSHIR, the appellative of the Umayyad poet al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Aswad b. Wahb b. Nāʿidj b. Ḳays b. Muʿriḍ of the ʿAmr b. Asad b. Khuzayma (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1391/1971, 191, and not as is commonly acknowledged after the *Aghānī*). He owed this appellative "red face" to a skin disease which ancient sources denoted by the generic term *baraṣ*, leprosy (al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Burṣān wa ʾl-ʿurdjān*, Beirut 1401/1981, 68, 74, referring to al-Uḳayshir by name). This must have made him repulsive to look at, and he attacked anyone at all who called him by this nickname.

Born and raised within Islam, he arrived in Kūfa at a very early age and settled there until his death *ca.* 80/699 (Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, fol. 13a, records the date of his death as 84/703). His fate was no different from that of a good number of poets of his generation. For his subsistence he hired out his services to the factions who were squabbling for power; this former ʿUthmānī took up the Zubayrid and the Marwānid cause in turn with every new reversal of fortune. Two episodes stand out clearly in his disordered, pleasure-seeking life. He was conscripted into the Zubayrid army raised by the governor of the city, but turned back hardly having set foot in Syria. On this occasion, he composed a piece of writing describing his desertion, his refusal to let himself be killed and his preference for the joys of life (*Dīwān*, no. XL). The second concerns his assassination by the followers of Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Kindī (*ibid.*, no. XXXVII) or of ʿAbd Allāh b. Isḥāḳ b. Ṭalḥa (al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 287), both members of the aristocracy of Kūfa, whom he had praised profusely during his career as a laudatory poet.

The rare vestiges of his poetry which survive (48 pieces and fragments which amount to 184 verses) show that he can in no way be regarded as a minor poet. In the classical period his work had two recensions. The first one was made by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, and was therefore prior to 245/859. Of the second, nothing is known, but it was cited by several anthologists. His poetry looks in a determined way to new horizons, breaking free from the poetic and the secular conventions and constraints. The poetry which he composed was libertine in its language and motifs. There are short poems which hold religion and its practices up to ridicule; the tone is astonishingly insolent. In his spirited and nimbly drawn parodies, he portrays drunken *imāms* professing cynical views, irreverent men who come close to the borders of heresy (*Dīwān*, nos. XIII, XXI). In some respects, the sexual dimensions of libertinism and profligacy are less acceptable; such fragments here flow readily into pornography (nos. X, XLV). His *hidjāʾ*, which was very much feared in that period and seems to have been the cause of his assassination, exploited the subject of dissolute sexual mores. Without doubt he is the herald of the epigrams of the modernist mainstream poets of the 2nd/8th century. The best of his poetic contribution is, however, his bacchanalian verse. In his poems devoted to this theme the poet succeeds in conveying his enthusiasm and his love for wine. He manages this by means of sketches which kindle the imagination in a particularly fascinating way as comical situations are drawn: such is the image of the pipe stretched out by the drinkers across the door of the tavern to pour out wine for the soldiers (*ibid.*, no. II); and also the hybrid faun frequenting the taverns (Ḥunayn al-Ḥīrī, Dawma, Abu ʾl-Ḍaḥḥāk, Umm Ḥunayn) which seems here to come alive before our very eyes.

In the history of Arab literature, al-Uḳayshir is a representative of the urban poet. In an urban civilisation, the poet who is abandoned by his tribe must become laudatory. Patrons soon tire of incessant

entreaties; they begin to grumble and refuse to play the role of financial backers; and then the artist begins to practise blackmail and to resort to diatribes; and then comes the clash. The case of al-Uḳay<u>sh</u>ir is one example of this. Yet on the other hand he constitutes a link in the long chain of the Asadī poets from Kūfa (Ṭu<u>kh</u>aym, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zabīr, al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbdal, Abū Dulāma and Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb) who played a decisive role in the emergence of mainstream innovative poetry in the 2nd/8th century.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. *Dīwān al-Uḳay<u>sh</u>ir al-Asadī*, ed. <u>Kh</u>alīl al-Duwayḥī, Beirut 1411/1991; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *al-A<u>kh</u>bār al-muwaffaḳiyyāt*, Ba<u>gh</u>dād 1972, 525; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-a<u>kh</u>bār*, Cairo 1343/1963, index; Marzubānī, *al-Muwa<u>shsh</u>ah*, Cairo 1385/1965, 247, 282; al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *al-Muḥibb wa ʾl-maḥbūb wa ʾl-ma<u>sh</u>mūm wa ʾl-ma<u>sh</u>rūb*, Damascus, 330, 333-4, 336-9; Ibn <u>Dj</u>innī, *al-<u>Kh</u>aṣāʾiṣ*, Beirut n.d., i, 74, iii, 95; ʿAlī b. Abi ʾl-Fara<u>dj</u> al-Baṣrī, *al-Ḥamāsa al-baṣriyya*, Ḥaydarābād 1964, ii, 73, 75, 80, 104, 368, 371, 391; Ibn <u>Sh</u>ākir al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-tawārī<u>kh</u>*, ms. B.N. arabe 1587, fols. 13a-14a; Ba<u>gh</u>dādī, *<u>Kh</u>izāna*, Cairo 1406/1986, iv, 485, 487-92; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.vv. al-Ṭaff, Ḳubbayn; <u>Dh</u>ahabī, *T. al-Islām*, Beirut 1410/1990, v, 560-1; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mu<u>kh</u>taṣar T. Dima<u>sh</u>ḳ li-Ibn ʿAsākir*, Damascus 1409/1989, v, 182-3; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1929-, iv, 52-6.

2. Studies. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 515, with bibl.; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 326-7, ix, 279; Yūsuf <u>Kh</u>ulayf, *Ḥayāt al-<u>sh</u>iʿr fi ʾl-Kūfa ilā nihāyat al-ḳarn al-<u>th</u>ānī li ʾl-hi<u>dj</u>ra*, Cairo 1388/1968, 593-7; al-Ṭayyib ʿA<u>sh</u><u>sh</u>ā<u>sh</u>, *al-Uḳay<u>sh</u>ir al-Asadī, a<u>kh</u>bāruhu wa-<u>sh</u>iʿruhu*, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-<u>Dj</u>āmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, viii (1971), 29-92; Ḥusayn ʿAṭwān, *<u>Sh</u>uʿarāʾ al-dawlatayn al-umawiyya wa ʾl-ʿabbāsiyya*, Beirut 1981, 306, 338; *Camb. hist. Arabic lit.*, ii, *ʿAbbasid belles-lettres*, 225; ʿAfīf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Muʿ<u>dj</u>am al-<u>sh</u>uʿarāʾ min al-ʿaṣr al-<u>dj</u>āhilī ḥattā al-ʿaṣr al-umawī*, Beirut 1417/1996, 26, § 117.

(A. Arazi)

AL-UḲAYṢIR, an idol of the tribes of Ḳuḍāʿa, La<u>kh</u>m, <u>Dj</u>u<u>dh</u>ām, ʿĀmila and <u>Gh</u>aṭafān [*q.vv.*], venerated in northern Arabia, across which these tribes ranged, as far as the Syrian borders (Ibn al-Kalbī, 24, 30). Pilgrimage was made to it by devotees with shaven heads; with each lock of hair, a handful of meal was offered, all this thrown into a large trench or a dried-up well (*ḥafr*). The Hawāzin, neighbours of the Ḳuḍāʿa, used to come and collect the meal, either at the time of the offering or after it was mixed with the hair.

The deity seems to have been embodied in several betyles. The poet Zuhayr "swore faithfully by the shaped stones (*anṣāb*) of al-Uḳayṣir and by the place where the tufts of hair with their lice were cut off" (*ibid.*, 24; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 340). The victims' blood was poured over the sacred stones (Ibn al-Aʿrābī, in *TA*, iii, 506 ll. 27-8), and ritual processions were made round it to the chanting of praises and joyfulness (Rabīʿ b. Ḍubayʿ/Ḍabuʿ al-Fazārī, in Ibn al-Kalbī and Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*). The stones could even be covered with sacred cloths on which oaths could be taken. These stones must have represented the tribes that were grouped around al-Uḳayṣir and who regarded the place as the bond of their tribal union. They may have stemmed from some great sanctuaries of the Arabs and have formed the kernel of a primitive pantheon.

It might be doubted whether al-Uḳayṣir was a very old deity, given the absence of any mention in the Liḥyānite and <u>Th</u>amūdic inscriptions in the vast lands occupied in the 6th century by the tribes venerating it. As the focus of a rudimentary cult, its sanctuary might well have passed unnoticed by the traders, travellers and caravans traversing the region, since these were more evolved, semi-sedentarised, with better-organised cults; but this last mode of life, which crystallised around the urban centres, was not necessarily opposed to the long-range movements of pastoralist tribes who ranged as far as the limits of the Syrian desert.

The great antiquity of al-Uḳayṣir, considered to be Syrian in origin, may only be deducible from scattered, fragile pointers, it is true, but these are not negligible and allow the deity to be connected with the ancient Canaanite deity Katar (T. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, Leipzig 1926, 91 l. 26; G. Hoffmann, in *ZA*, xi [1896], 253-8) or Kaw<u>th</u>ar (Ugar. *k<u>th</u>r*), whose name was variously pronounced in later times (cf. M. Dahood, in S. Moscati *et alii* (eds.), *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, Rome 1958, 81-2). The link could be justified from Kaw<u>th</u>ar's being linked with music and singing; in Ugaritic there is mentioned a group of professional singers, *k<u>th</u>rat* (cf. Hebr. *kō<u>sh</u>ārēt*, in Ps. lxviii. 7). In the verses of Rabīʿ b. Ḍubayʿ mentioned above, al-Uḳayṣir figures as the originator of all melodies, *na<u>gh</u>am*, around whom the poet circles the stone or sanctuary of al-Uḳayṣir to songs of praise and joyfulness.

The link between al-Uḳayṣir and Kaw<u>th</u>ar, father of Tammūz, in Aramaic mythology, the equivalent of Cinyras, father of Adonis, in Cypriot mythology, also has in its favour the possibility of a foreign origin for the name, one deformed as it became Arabised. No Arabic etymology of *ḳ-ṣ-r* yields a satisfactory divine name. The facts that, morphologically, it would be the diminutive of *aḳṣar* "the shortest", and that one might derive it from *ḳaṣr* "torticollis", as Wellhausen translated (*Reste*[2], 63), or from *ḳaṣra* "base of the neck", get us no further. But the consonant skeletons of Uḳayṣir and Kaw<u>th</u>ar could conceivably have been originally the same, with dialectal change of the *kāf* into the uvular *ḳāf*, entailing that also of *tāʾ* (in Katar) and *<u>th</u>āʾ* (in Kaw<u>th</u>ar) into *ṣād*. The Aramaic form of this name may have lingered on in Arabic in the divine name Ka<u>th</u>rā, idol of the Ṭasm and <u>Dj</u>adīs [*q.v.*], probably representing the solar disc (cf. Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 109).

The offering of meal (*daḳīḳ*) made to al-Uḳayṣir does not seem to have any connection with the divination by means of flour practised by the Greeks and known amongst the Semites (see refs. in *ibid.*, 161). Could it have been originally a question of a gift to the *sādin* [*q.v.*] or custodian of the shrine, who probably cut the hair of pilgrims as a mark of their sacralisation? This would explain the fact that to each lock of hair there corresponded a handful of meal, which looks like either an equivalent or a payment. With the disintegration of the cult and the absence of a *sādin*, the offering of meal nevertheless continued, with the meal rendered useless by being mixed with hair. Such an offering does seem strange in the nomadic milieu, and may point to a Canaanite-Aramaean, hence agricultural, origin of this deity. Also, the cutting of hair as a sign of *iḥrām* was usual in Arabian cults, notably at Minā during the Meccan pilgrimage, surviving there till today, and at al-Mu<u>sh</u>allal, at the shrine of Manāt. Herodotus, iii. 8, links it with Dionysius, and Plutarch, *De Iside*, ch. 4, mentions that the Egyptians cut their hair at the celebration of mourning for Osiris. This places right away al-Uḳayṣir in the mythic context of the dying god, of which Tammūz, Adonis and Osiris are clearly similar manifestations.

Bibliography: This article is based primarily on T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968, 157-63, where full references are given. (T. FAHD)

ʿUKĀẒ, the most famous and important of all the annual fairs (*sūḳ* [*q.v.*], pl. *aswāḳ*) of the Arabs in pre-Islamic times. It was situated to the southeast of Mecca between Nak͟hla and al-Ṭāʾif in the territory of the tribal group Hawāzin [*q.v.*]. It shared with two other fairs, Madjanna and D͟hu ʾl-Madjāz, proximity to Mecca and its being held during the Sacred Months. But it was the most important of the three, and was held in the month of D͟hu ʾl-Kaʿda, just before the start of the pilgrimage to ʿArafāt and Mecca. The *sūḳ* was strategically located in the middle of the Spice Route of Western Arabia and it especially flourished in the 6th century, owing to the Byzantine-Persian wars, which diverted trade from the Mesopotamian to the West-Arabian route on the eve of the rise of Islam and redounded to the great advantage of Mecca and Ḳurays͟h. The tribe of Tamīm controlled some of ʿUkāẓ's important functions.

Although it was principally a fair for buying, selling and the exchange of various commodities, ʿUkāẓ was of great significance in other non-material aspects of Arab life in pre-Islamic times, not unlike the national festival of Classical Greece, the πανήγυρις. And it was, like other Arabian *aswāḳ*, a unifying force among the Arab tribes, where the Arabic literary *koinē* received some development, where contests, literary and other, were held, and where covenants and contracts were struck, hallowed by proximity to ʿArafāt and the sanctity of the Sacred Months. The later Islamic sources speak of arbitration conducted by the poet al-Nābig͟ha al-D͟hubyānī [*q.v.*].

The *sūḳ* with its environs was the scene of some important historical events, such as the Fidjār war involving Ḳurays͟h and Hawāzin. It also witnessed some historic visits, the most important of which was that of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Christian Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*], said to have been the bishop of Nadjrān, both of whom preached their respective faiths at the *sūḳ*.

It was only natural that ʿUkāẓ should have declined after the rise of Islam, which brought about a fundamental change in the relative importance of the trade routes and the role of Arabian tribes, now the sinews of the Arab conquests. Its actual demise took place in 127/745, when the Ḥarūriyya or K͟hāridjites sacked it and thus consigned it to oblivion.

Bibliography: References to ʿUkāẓ are scattered in the various sources such as Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād 1942, 263-8, and al-Marzūḳī, *K. al-Azmina wa ʾl-amkina*, Ḥaydarābād, 1332/1914, i, 165-70; the best modern work is Saʿīd al-Afg͟hānī, *Aswāḳ al-ʿArab*, Damascus 1960, 277-343. For an archaeological survey of the site, see Kh.I. al-Muaikel, *Sūq ʿUkāẓ in al-Ṭaʾif*, in *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā*, Chicago, vii/1 (1995), 1-4.

(IRFAN SHAHÎD)

ʿUḲBA B. **NĀFIʿ** b. ʿAbd al-Ḳays al-Ḳuras͟hī al-Fihrī (d. 63/683), one of the most prominent Arab commanders of the Islamic conquests period, above all in North Africa, where he was responsible for the foundation of al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*].

He was born towards the end of the Prophet's life, hence was accounted a Companion, and was through his mother a nephew of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], the conqueror of Egypt, who shortly before his death in 43/663 was to give him command over the lands to the west of Egypt. It seems that ʿUḳba had already played a role in ʿAmr's first raid towards North Africa in 21/642, when ʿAmr reached as far as Barḳa [*q.v.*], and his aide ʿUḳba penetrated into Fezzan [see FAZZĀN] and as far as its town of Zawīla [*q.v.*], though this last was not yet the important link in the trade across the Sahara to the Bilād al-Sūdān [*q.v.*] which it subsequently became. The result of these operations seems certainly to have left Barḳa in Arab hands. How long ʿUḳba remained in Zawīla is unclear, but by some date between 25-7/646-8 he took part in ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ's [*q.v.*] campaign against the Byzantine exarch Gregorius (see al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 224-5; al-Bakrī, ed. and tr. de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, 10; V. Christides, *The conquest of Libya by the Arabs and the thrust of Islam into the Berber land*, forthcoming).

It should, however, be noted in regard to this campaign and to ʿUḳba's subsequent ones that much of what the historians have preserved concerning ʿUḳba's career in North Africa comes from later traditions of eastern origin, e.g. preserved in the Egyptian authors Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and al-Nuwayrī and in Ibn al-At͟hīr. The only authority from a North African tradition seems to be ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm and his father Abū ʿAlī Ṣāliḥ (*flor. ca.* 700/1300), preserved in the later Moroccan historian Ibn al-ʿId͟hārī's *Bayān al-mug͟hrib* (in the fuller text ed. G.S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, i, Leiden 1948; see Lévi-Provençal, *Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, i [1954], 17-43). The accounts of ʿUḳba's expedition to the Fezzan are undoubtedly tinted with mythological elements, such as the comparison of his epic journey through the scorching Sahara with the journeyings of Alexander the Great. On the tendentiousness of these later traditions, see W. Marçais, *Le passé de l'Algérie musulmane*, in *Histoire et historiens de l'Algérie*, Paris 1931, 150.

ʿUḳba appeared again in an expedition against the tribes south of Tripoli which some of the sources place in 42/662-3 or 46/666-7, when it seems that Arab links with Zawīla and Fezzan were reinforced. In this last region, he captured the capital of the Garamantes, Djarma (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C.C. Torrey, New Haven 1922, 194) and several other fortresses, whose existence seems to be confirmed by archaeological and epigraphic evidence (C.M. Daniels, *The Garamantes of Fezzan*, in F.F. Gadallah (ed.), *Libya in history*, Benghazi 1971, 261-81; idem, *Excavations and fieldwork amongst the Garamantes*, in *Libyan Studies*, xx [1989], 45-62). According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and others, ʿUḳba proceeded beyond Libya to the land of the blacks and conquered Kawār [*q.v.*], halfway between Fezzan and Lake Chad; possibly he was aided by the inhabitants of Fezzan, said by Ibn Saʿīd to be in constant feud with the black peoples of Kawār (see on the importance of Kawār in mediaeval times, K.S. Vikor, *The oasis of salt*, Bergen 1979, and on this expedition, Ph. Lefrang, *L'expédition d'ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿ à Kawar (46 H./666 J.-C.)*, in *Bull. Archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*, N.S., xix/B [1985], 412).

The expedition of 50/670 took ʿUḳba into Ifrīḳiya, where he conquered G͟hadāmis (Ghadamès), Ḳafṣa (Gafsa) and Ḳasṭīliya [*q.vv.*]. Byzantine sources, without mentioning the Arab leader by name, state that, about this time, in the reign of Constantine Pogonatus IV (d. 668), the Arabs invaded Africa and took 80,000 captives (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 352). For this expedition, ʿUḳba had a force of 10,000 cavalry, which was gradually increased as the local Berbers acceded to Islam. It was at this time, according to the accepted

dating for its foundation, that ʿUḳba decided to establish a military encampment, on the lines of the *amṣār* of the East [see miṣr. b.] at al-Ḳayrawān on an elevated plateau in the Ḳasṭīliya region, in the Byzantine province of Byzacene, rejecting the one previously built by the governor of Egypt Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudaydj on the nearby al-Ḳarn mountain [see al-ḳayrawān, at Vol. IV, 826a; and note that there is at least one plausible Arab tradition for an earlier foundation date]. This inland site gave him a secure base for military expansion and missionary work amongst the Berbers, since the Byzantines still had control of the seas around Ifrīḳiya, and he now stationed himself in his new capital for the remaining years of his governorship.

ʿUḳba was not, however, to enjoy the fruits of this process, for he was dismissed from Ifrīḳiya by the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya I in 53/673. ʿUḳba may have been dismissed because the caliph wished to link Egypt and Ifrīḳiya closely for the naval war against the Byzantines (as suggested by A.D. Taha, *The Muslim conquest and settlement of North Africa and Spain*, London and New York 1989, 62 ff.), but more probably because of Muʿāwiya's fear of ʿUḳba's growing power and the possibility of the latter's pretensions to independent authority in the rich province of North Africa. Ifrīḳiya remained a dependency of Egypt, and the governor there, Maslama b. Makhlad al-Anṣārī, replaced him by one of his own freedmen, Abu 'l-Muhādjir Dīnār, who imprisoned ʿUḳba and then undertook raids into what later became Algeria, penetrating as far as Tlemcen, according to Ibn Khaldūn, and skilfully seeking a rapprochement with the Berbers in the struggle against the *Afāriḳa*, the Romanised Africans and incomers from other parts of the Byzantine empire who made up the population of the Greek-held coastal cities; thus after defeating the Berber leader of the Awrāba, Kusayla or Kasīla [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Muhādjir accepted his conversion to Islam and incorporated his Barānis followers into his own forces. On Muʿāwiya's death in 60/680, the new caliph Yazīd I restored ʿUḳba to the governorship of Ifrīḳiya. ʿUḳba now turned the tables, and put Abu 'l-Muhādjir and Kusayla in fetters and carried them round with him.

He then embarked, in 61/681, on a much larger-scale expedition than before which was to take him to the shores of the Atlantic. This expedition is not mentioned in the Byzantine sources, and R. Brunschwig was doubtful whether ʿUḳba actually got any farther than what is now central Algeria (*Ibn ʿAbdalh'akam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes: étude critique*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi [1942-7], 138); but the text published by Lévi-Provençal (*Un nouveau récit*, with tr. of the passage in question in Appx. 1, pp. 35-42, and map of ʿUḳba's campaigns during his second governorship at p. 28) seems nevertheless to confirm it. Accepting this latter view, the stages of ʿUḳba's campaign can be traced in the narrative of Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, Ibn Khaldūn and other Arabic texts, though in some sources much tinted with folkloristic elements (see H.T. Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, Oxford 1972, 150 ff.). Preceded by an advance guard under Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī, ʿUḳba's army advanced from al-Ḳayrawān into the central Maghrib, defeating Berber and Byzantine elements at the Zāb and at Tāhart [*q.v.*] and exacting tribute from them, and reached Tangiers [see ṭandja], which a local Ghumāra leader, Ilyān (? Julianus) surrendered to him. The latter is said to have dissuaded ʿUḳba from crossing into the Iberian peninsula. Instead, he turned southwards into Morocco, occupying the Zarhūn massif, capturing Volubilis or Walīla [*q.v.*], crossed the middle Atlas and marched through the Dra (Darʿa) into the Sūs [see al-sūs al-aḳṣā]. Then he turned towards the Atlantic coast and attacked the lands of the Maṣmūda Berbers in the Atlas and Anti-Atlas as far as Tarudant [*q.v.*].

This was a brilliant campaign, but ʿUḳba had achieved nothing towards the permanent subjection of these lands, which had to be undertaken later. Kusayla escaped and, in concert with the Byzantines, began organising Berber resistance. On his return to al-Ḳayrawān, ʿUḳba reached the central Maghrib, where his army became restive from being continuously in the field. At Thubunae or Ṭubna [*q.v.*] on the Zāb he unwisely divided his army and sent off successive units towards al-Ḳayrawān, when he himself set out from Ṭubna for the Aurès or Awrās [*q.v.*] region. At Tahūdha or Thabudeos, to the south-east of Biskra, his small force of Arabs was overwhelmed by a Byzantine-Berber army under Kusayla, and he and 300 of his followers killed (63/683). His grave, with its *ḳubba*, and the graves of his companions, are still pointed out and visited by devotees at the village which bears his name, Sīdī ʿUḳba.

ʿUḳba had shown himself as a bold and dashing commander, but he lacked the ability properly to take into account the importance of the local people, the Berbers, who played a key role in the Arab-Byzantine struggles for North Africa, and it was to be others who were to secure North Africa firmly for Islam. It must also be admitted that the legendary accretions which attached themselves to his person make it difficult to discern the historical ʿUḳba.

Bibliography: The Arabic sources are detailed in E. Lévi-Provençal's *EI*[1] art. *ʿOḳba b. Nāfiʿ*. For more studies, see Ch.A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, 319 ff., Eng. tr. ed. R. Letourneau, *History of North Africa from the Arab conquest to 1830*, London 1970, 20-1; E.F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs*, Paris 1937, 269-70; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1946, 22, 31-2; idem, *Sîdî ʿUqba, Abû l-Muhâjir et Kusaila*, in *CT*, i (1953), 11-17; Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A history of the Maghrib*, Cambridge 1971, 40-2. See also the bibls. to al-kāhina; al-ḳayrawān; kusayla. (V. Christides)

al-ʿUKBARĪ, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn, Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ, Muḥibb al-Dīn, Ḥanbalī grammarian, philologist and *faḳīh* of Baghdād (*ca.* 538-66/*ca.* 1143-1219).

Life. Born of parents originally from ʿUkbarā [*q.v.*], on the left bank of the Tigris and to the north of Baghdād, nothing is known of his background or ethnicity. Afflicted by blindness at an early age, he spent his life in study in the ʿAbbāsid capital and never seems to have left it. He studied with several famous scholars, such as the grammarian Ibn al-Khashshāb [*q.v.*], and with experts on *fiḳh* and the *ḳirāʾāt*, and seems to have served as a *muʿīd* or répétiteur to the great preacher Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]). These scholars moulded him into a faithful and convinced Ḥanbalī, to the point that he refused elevated posts offered to him by the rival Shāfiʿīs on condition that he adhered to their school. He seems to have held no office save that of *imām* and lecturer at a small mosque in the Rayḥāniyyūn quarter.

His reputation as a grammarian and commentator attracted pupils from distant parts, who at times acted as a reader for him, a function normally undertaken by his wife. Amongst his disciples were e.g. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd (d. 655/1256 [*q.v.*]), commentator on the *Nahdj al-balāgha*, the biographer al-Mundhirī (d. 656/1257), and the historians Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 643/1245)

and al-Dubaythī (d. 637/1239). He died in Baghdād on 8 Rabīʿ II 616/23 June 1219 and was buried in the Bāb Ḥarb cemetery, where the Imām Ibn Ḥanbal also lay.

Works. Al-ʿUkbarī's reputation as a grammarian, philologist and commentator on texts, eclipsed that of Ḥanbalī *faḳīh*, logician and specialist on the *farāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*], and biographers like Ibn Khallikān and al-Ṣafadī stress above all his role as a grammarian and expert on the *ʿArabiyya*.

Out of some 60 titles attributed to him, the greater part are opuscula of grammatical teaching (many probably forming parts of larger works) and of philological glosses on texts: the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, ancient poets and poetry like Ruʾba and the *Ḥamāsa*, Sībawayh's *shawāhid*, the sermons of Ibn Nubāta and the *maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. There are also many commentaries on well-known works: Ibn al-Sikkīt's [*q.v.*] *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ*; the *K. al-Faṣīḥ*, probably Thaʿlab's [*q.v.*] lexicon; the *Uṣūl al-naḥw* of Ibn al-Sarrādj [*q.v.*]; the *K. al-Īḍāḥ* (*al-Miṣbāḥ*) of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī [*q.v.*], his *Takmila* and perhaps his *Masāʾil Ḥalabiyya* (*al-Adjwiba*); Ibn al-Djinnī's [*q.v.*] *K. al-Lumaʿ*, *K. al-Muḥtasab* on the extra-canonical *ḳirāʾāt* and *Tanbīh* on the *Ḥamāsa*; and *al-Muḥaṣṣal fī īḍāḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, on al-Zamakhsharī's [*q.v.*] famous grammar (although this may actually be by one of his pupils, the Andalusī ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Lūrḳī).

It is not surprising that the only works of his so far published are in the fields of philology and grammar. These comprise:

1. *Imlāʾ mā manna bihi al-Raḥmān* (or *al-Tibyān fī iʿrāb al-Ḳurʾān*), many uncritical eds. since 1859.
2. *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, first published Calcutta 1261/1845, then at Būlāḳ and at Cairo 1938 (possibly to be attributed to al-ʿUkbarī's pupil Ibn ʿIdlān al-Mawṣilī, d. 666/1267).
3. *Iʿrāb al-ḥadīth al-nabawī*, with traditions classified by alphabetical order of the transmitting Companions, ed. ʿAbd al-Ilāh al-Nabhān, Damascus 1975.
4. *Masāʾil khilāfiyya fi ʾl-naḥw*, Aleppo n.d. (but this seems to be only an extract from no. 5 below, according to the editor Muḥ. Ḥusayn al-Ḥulwānī).
5. *al-Tabyīn ʿan madhāhib al-naḥwiyyīn*, on the divergencies between the two schools of Baṣra and Kūfa, with a substantial introduction which seems to show the author's adherence to the former school (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUthaymīn, Beirut 1986).
6. *al-Mashūf al-muʿlam*, an alphabetical order classification of Ibn al-Sikkīt's glossary (ed. Yāsīn Muḥ. al-Sawwās, Damascus 1983, who also announces impending publication, without any details, of four other works by al-ʿUkbarī).

Others of his works comprise short treatises on prosody, on the terminology of *fiḳh* and the methodology of logic; manuals on the division of inheritances and their calculation (*al-Nāhidh*, *al-Bulgha*, *al-Istīʿāb fi ʾl-ḥisāb*, etc.); and on Ḥanbalī law, notably a commentary on the *Hidāya* of Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1993, iv, 1515; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 100; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvii, 139; idem, *Nakt al-himyān*, Cairo 1329/1911, 178; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1985, xxii, 91; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, ii, 38; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 122-4; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, vi, 46; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 208; Brockelmann, S I, 495.

(MOHAMMED YALAOUI)

AL-**UKHAYḌIR**, a castle situated in the western desert of ʿIrāḳ 50 km/28 miles south-west of Karbalāʾ, and 19 km/11 miles east of ʿAyn al-Tamr. The name is modern, and means "the little green one", referring to a relatively verdant spot in the desert, or perhaps to the colour of the building (Mehdi).

First visited by Pietro della Valle in 1625, and rediscovered in 1908 by Massignon, it was visited by Gertrude Bell in 1909 and Musil in 1912, then described in plan form by the German architect Reuther in 1910. Excavations were conducted by the Directorate-General of Antiquities from 1964, and since then it has been extensively restored in several phases up to 1990.

The complex is composed of a large pisé enclosure adjacent to the Wādī al-Abyaḍ, inside which is a rectangular castle, built of rough stone and gypsum mortar, with some construction in fired brick. There is a rectangular annex of stone and mortar on the north side. Before restoration, the building was preserved to its original full height, but some vaults and arcades had fallen. The castle, measuring 175 by 163 m, has a fortified outer wall 21 m high with half-round towers, and a rectangular inner building 80 by 112 m attached to the north wall. The plan of the inner building is composed of a central courtyard with a closed tunnel-vaulted hall and an *īwān* placed symmetrically opposite to one another. Surrounding the central elements are a mosque, bath and residential units composed of a courtyard with two *īwāns*. The north side has two further storeys, and the central courtyard is ornamented with two registers of niches with brick decorations on the north side, which once continued around the whole, but only one register is preserved elsewhere.

The building shows no sign of reconstruction and probably had a brief occupation. Excavations inside have revealed pottery from the mid-late 2nd/8th century, and a copper *fals* of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, dated 157/773-4. Further away, in the outermost enclosure, two *dirhams* of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī were found.

Diverse opinions have been suggested for the date, ranging between the Sāsānid period and the 4th/10th century (Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 366). However, the archaeological evidence concords with the architectural parallels of the plan, which is close to those of two late Umayyad buildings in Jordan, Ḳasr Mshattā [*q.v.*] and the palace in the ʿAmmān Citadel. Creswell thought that it was the residence of the ʿAbbāsid ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, governor of al-Kūfa, who retired to his estate in 159/775-6 after his deposition from the succession by al-Mahdī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 467). While the location of ʿĪsā's estate does not correspond with that of al-Ukhayḍir (Yāḳūt, s.v. Ruḥba), Caskel and al-ʿAlī have proposed an identification with Ḳaṣr Banī Muḳātil, which the sources locate in the vicinity of ʿAyn al-Tamr. Ḳaṣr Muḳātil having a pre-Islamic origin (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2350), Mehdi suggested that a more likely founder may have been ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, the uncle of al-Manṣūr, who demolished Ḳaṣr Muḳātil and then rebuilt it (Yāḳūt, s.v. Ḳaṣr Muḳātil). Finster and Schmidt have excavated an Umayyad castle with a pillared *īwān* 3 km/2 miles to the north at Tulūl al-Ukhayḍir. While such a distance is compatible with a replacement building, excavation has not yet confirmed Sāsānid occupation at Tulūl al-Ukhayḍir.

Bibliography: Gertrude L. Bell, *The palace and mosque at Ukhaidir*, Oxford 1909; O. Reuther, *Ocheidir*, Leipzig 1912; Creswell. *Early Muslim architecture*, ii, Oxford 1940, 50-91; W. Caskel, *Al-Uḥaidir*, in *Isl.*, xxxix (1964), 28-37; Muḥammad Bāḳir Ḥusaynī, *al-Ukhayḍir*, in *Sumer*, xx (1964), 79-94 (Arabic section); Ṣāliḥ A. al-ʿAlī, *Minṭaḳat al-Kūfa*, in *Sumer*, xxi (1965), 229-53; Ali Mohammed Mehdi,

al-Ukhaidir, Director-General of Antiquities, Baghdad 1969; B. Finster and J. Schmidt, *Sasanidische und frühislamische Ruinen im Iraq*, Baghdader Mitteilungen 8, 1976. (A. NORTHEDGE)

AL-**UKHAYḌIR**, BANŪ, an ʿAlid dynasty ruling in al-Yamāma, i.e. in Eastern Arabia, from 253/867 until at least the middle of the 5th/11th century.

The founder was Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ukhayḍir b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Djawn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, born in 210/825-6. His brother Ismāʿīl led a rebellion in the Ḥidjāz and took possession of Mecca in 251/865. He died in Rabīʿ I 252/March-April 866 of smallpox and was succeeded by Muḥammad. The latter was defeated by an army under Abu 'l-Sādj al-Ushrūsanī sent by the caliph al-Muʿtazz and fled to al-Yamāma. He established himself as an independent *amīr* in the fortress and town of al-Khiḍrima which became the seat of the dynasty. Few details are known about the nature of their reign and the dates of individual *amīrs*. The rule of the Banu 'l-Ukhayḍir has been seen as responsible for the exodus of a large part of the local inhabitants, especially the Banū Ḥanīfa, from al-Yamāma. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal (53, tr. 51), the oppressive rule of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf caused thousands of the populace of al-Yamāma to emigrate to Upper Egypt. The reliability of this report is doubtful, however, since Ibn Ḥawḳal describes the emigration as taking place already in 238/852-3 during the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, long before the arrival of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf in al-Yamāma. In 310/922-3 the inhabitants of Ḳurʾān in al-Yamāma left their town for Baṣra, partly because of the harsh taxation of their land by *muḳāsama* [*q.v.*] (Yāḳūt, iv, 50-1).

The first *amīr* was succeeded by his son Yūsuf b. Muḥammad and then by his grandson Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf. The latter's relations with the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn seem to have been good at first. He participated in the Ḳarmaṭī capture of Kūfa in 313/925 and was left by the Ḳarmaṭī leader Abū Ṭāhir in charge of the town (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 381). In 316/928, however, Ismāʿīl was killed, together with his uncle Muḥammad and three of his brothers, in a battle with the Ḳarmaṭīs. Ismāʿīl was succeeded as *amīr* by his brother al-Ḥasan who continued to rule, perhaps under a protectorate of the Ḳarmaṭīs, and was succeeded by his son Aḥmad. Thereafter the succession is uncertain. The later *amīrs* were descendants of Abu 'l-Muḳallid Djaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, but some of them were murdered by rivals within the ruling family. When Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited al-Yamāma in 443/1051, the Banu 'l-Ukhayḍir, with 300-400 horsemen at their disposal, were still firmly in control of the country. He describes them as Zaydī Shīʿīs who used the Shīʿī form of the call to prayer. However, there does not seem to have been a tradition of religious learning in al-Yamāma, and Zaydīs elsewhere took little notice of them. Thereafter, the rule of the Banu 'l-Ukhayḍir declined, and the Banū Kilāb at an unknown date took control of al-Yamāma. Descendants of al-Ukhayḍir, known as Banū Yūsuf, formed a local tribe which is mentioned still at the turn of the 8th/14th century as consisting of about 1,000 horsemen in alliance with the tribes of ʿĀmir and ʿĀyid. They still maintained their nobility, not admitting outsiders into their ranks, but had no knowledge of their exact lineages.

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(W. MADELUNG)

UḲIYĀNŪS [see AL-BAḤR AL-MUḤĪṬ].

UḲLĪDIS, the Arabic form for the name of the Greek scholar Euclid.

Euclid probably lived around 300 B.C. in Alexandria. His works, genuine or spurious, encompass the four ancient mathematical sciences (geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music—the authorship of the known works on music is disputed in modern literature) and some of their branches (optics, catoptrics, mechanics—the authorship of the works belonging to the latter two is likewise now disputed): the *Elements*, the *Data*, *On divisions* (*of figures*), the *Porisms*, the *Conics*, the *Surface loci*, the *(Book of) Fallacies*, the *Phaenomena*, the *Optica*, the *Catoptrica*, the *Elements of music*, the *Sectio canonis*, the *Book on the heavy and the light*, the *Book on the balance*, and the *Book on the weights according to the circle of the limits*.

At least 9 of these texts (*Elements, Data, On divisions, Porisms, Phaenomena, Optica, Sectio canonis, Book on the heavy and the light, Book on the balance*) have been translated into Arabic. Titles of three more works unknown in Greek are attributed to Euclid in Arabic sources (Ibn al-Nadīm). In several cases, more than one Arabic translation was produced. Al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar [*q.v.*] is said to have translated the *Elements* first for Hārūn al-Rashīd's vizier Yaḥyā b. Khālid [see AL-BARĀMIKA]. Under the reign of al-Maʾmūn, he produced a second version. Mediaeval and modern authors differ as to whether this second version is a new translation, whether al-Ḥadjdjādj indeed was its author or whether he used Greek or Syriac manuscripts (Furlani, Sezgin, Brentjes). Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] made a new translation of the *Elements*, presumably during the last third of the 3rd/9th century. The relations between his translation and al-Ḥadjdjādj's versions is also debated because of three issues: (1) Does the preserved Arabic fragment of a commentary on the *Elements* composed by Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Nayrīzī [*q.v.*] embody the second version of al-Ḥadjdjādj? (2) How does al-Ḥadjdjādj's style differ from that of Isḥāḳ? and (3) What text is contained in the preserved Arabic manuscripts of the *Elements* and the Arabic-Latin versions produced in the 12th century by Adelard of Bath, Hermann of Carinthia, and Gerard of Cremona (Brentjes, Busard, Codex Leidensis 399.1, De Young, Engroff, Klamroth, Kunitzsch, Lorch)?

That Isḥāḳ's translation was revised by Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] enhances the complexity and interpretative difficulty of the textual history of the mediaeval *Elements*. The text as transmitted in al-Nayrīzī's commentary is now regarded as al-Nayrīzī's own work based on both Arabic traditions. Although most of the Arabic manuscripts are ascribed to the Isḥāḳ/Thābit tradition, some of the books actually come from the Ḥadjdjādj tradition. Similarly, the Arabic-Latin versions either derive from such Arabic compilations of the two traditions (Adelard of Bath and Gerard of Cremona) or from later Arabic recensions (Hermann of Carinthia). According to Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*], there was another, at least partial Arabic trans-

lation of the *Elements* made by Abū ʿUthmān al-Dimashkī (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries). No traces of it are known. Some theorems of Book X were translated from additional Greek sources by Naẓīf b. Yumn (d. *ca.* 380/990) (Woepcke, Matvievskaya).

Another major unsolved issue is the relation between the Greek transmission of the *Elements* and the Arabic versions, in particular whether the latter preserve material older than the preserved Greek manuscripts (Heiberg, Klamroth, Knorr, Matvievskaya, Thaer). Books XIV and XV of the *Elements* were added by later Greek scholars. Their Arabic translation is ascribed to Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [*q.v.*]. However, al-Ḥadjdjādj may also have translated these two books.

The *Data* were translated by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn and revised by Thābit. Like the *Phaenomena* and the *Optica*, they were considered to belong to the so-called *mutawassiṭāt* (the "middle books") to be studied after the *Elements* and before Ptolemy's [see BAṬLAMYŪS] *Almagest* [see AL-MADJISṬĪ]. They form part of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's [*q.v.*] influential edition of the *mutawassiṭāt* completed in 651/1253. No modern edition exists of the extant manuscripts. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, Thābit b. Ḳurra also revised *On divisions* and according to modern scholarship perhaps even the *Book on the heavy and the light*. The translators of these texts are unknown. Extracts of *On divisions* are preserved in a 10th-century treatise composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Djalīl al-Sidjzī (*fl. ca.* 360/970) (Hogendijk 1993).

The *Optica* [see ʿILM AL-MANĀẒIR] was translated by Hiliyā b. Sardjūn, a figure whose identity is little known beyond possible association with translations of other Greek scientific texts (Kheirandish 1991). The extant early Arabic texts differ slightly, but enough to suggest a revision or restoration effort at work. Kheirandish, in her study of the linguistic peculiarities of these texts, has argued convincingly that the specific choices made in the Arabic translation played an important role in the successive transformations of the Euclidean visual theory by such scholars as Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī [*q.v.*] or Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] (Kheirandish 1996). The translators of the remaining works of Euclid are unknown. Material related to Book I of the lost *Porisms* is contained in the *Selected problems* of Thābit's grandson Ibrāhīm b. Sinān (d. 335/946) and in the *Geometrical annotations* of al-Sidjzī (Hogendijk 1987).

The *Elements* were the most influential of Euclid's works and represented a highly esteemed epistemic model. Not only mathematicians but also religious scholars such as al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] took its results to be certain and true human knowledge. The Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] employed theorems and definitions of the *Elements* defending their atomistic model of the created world (Dhanani 1996). Other *mutakallimūn* [see KALĀM] such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] rejected atomistic theories partly on ground of Euclidean propositions (Baffioni 1982). The most influential subjects of the *Elements* were the parallels postulate (Book I), the theory of the application of surfaces (Books II and VI), the geometrical theory of proportion (Book V), the theorem on perfect numbers (Book IX), the geometrical theory of quadratic "irrationalities" (Book X), and the theorems on polygons and polyedra (Books IV, XIV, and XV). Almost all of the major mathematicians and philosophers between the 3rd/9th and the 8th/14th centuries either composed recensions of the *Elements* or commentaries on certain books or particular problems. Biographies of scholars mainly renowned for their activities in the religious and legal disciplines as well as *wakf* documents of Ṣafawid or Mughal *madāris* [see MADRASA] demonstrate the inclusion of the *Elements* into Muslim education.

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al-UḲLĪDISĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan [see ʿilm al-ḥisāb].

UḲLĪSH, the modern Spanish town of Uclés in the province of Cuenca, in mediaeval Islamic times in the *kūra* of Santaver (Shantabariyya [*q.v.*]), a region settled by Berbers (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 499-500). The Muslim settlement was on a Roman site of the *pagus oculensis*, which gave its name to the town and fortress. This last had a strongly-marked military and strategic role during its history, seen in the siege of 1108 by Muslim armies and the accompanying Castilian defeat there and the installation in the 12th century of the Military Order of Santiago within its fortress.

The rise of Uḳlīsh was linked with the important Berber family of the Dhu 'l-Nūnids [*q.v.*], whose florescence dates from the second half of the 3rd/9th century and who were to become the *ṭāʾifa* of Toledo [see ṭulayṭula] of the 5th/11th century. Al-Fatḥ b. Mūsā b. Dhi 'l-Nūn is said to have built Uḳlīsh at the end of the 3rd/9th century (al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, 28, tr. 35, but with an erroneous date), having inherited the fortress of Uḳlīsh upon his father's death in 295/908. His brothers received the neighbouring fortresses of Huete and Huélamo, thus strengthening the family's control of this region, which was an outlying one of the amīrate and then caliphate of Cordova. From his base, al-Fatḥ launched numerous attacks on the Toledans. But after his death, internecine family divisions allowed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III to impose direct, central control on Uḳlīsh in 324/936 (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, 310, tr. 344). Nevertheless, the Banū Dhu 'l-Nūn retained some power, and this allowed them to recover control of Uḳlīsh in 409/1018 and to extend their control to Santaver and Toledo in the age of the Taifas.

The Muslim geographers Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, i, 339, ed. Beirut, i, 237) and al-Ḥimyarī describe Uḳlīsh as the chef-lieu of the *kūra* of Santaver and as having a central nave to its great mosque which was a marvel (see also al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, i, 99, 140). The town seems to have acquired a certain importance during the 9th-11th centuries. Yāḳūt in fact gives the names of two scholars from there, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ḳāsim al-Uḳlīshī and Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Maʿrūf al-Tudjībī al-Uḳlīshī (d. 550/1155).

With Alfonso VI of Castile's capture of Toledo in 478/1085 and the Almoravid intervention in the Iberian peninsula, Uḳlīsh passed into Christian hands and became a frontier post and the chief Christian fortress south of the Tagus. At the opening of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn's reign, Uḳlīsh was besieged by Almoravid troops under the Amīr's brother, Abū Ṭāhir Tamīm, governor of Granada (who has left us a letter describing the event, ed. and tr. Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas*, 120-33), finally capturing it in Ramaḍan-Shawwāl 501/May 1108 after routing a Castilian army sent from Toledo (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, 49-50; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, in Huici Miranda, *op. cit.*, 119-20; Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, *Naẓm al-djumān*, ed. and tr. in *ibid.*, 118-19). Although this victory was followed by the captures of Huete and Ocaña, thus threatening the capital Toledo, its impact on the Christian-Muslim frontier was slight. The Almoravids tried in vain to profit from their victory and to seize Toledo. However, the Castilian defeat had considerable consequences for the Christian kingdoms, since the Infante Sancho's death in battle deprived the crown of Castile of its sole male heir. The succession crisis which began in 1109 and extended to 1126, involving Alfonso VI's two daughters Urraca and Teresa, favoured the independence of the kingdom of Portugal.

Uḳlīsh remained in the hands of the Almoravids until the crumbling of their power in the mid-12th century. It then passed for a few years under the control of Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*], the "Rey Lobo" of the Christians. Under a treaty of 1157 between him and Alfonso VII, he became a dependent of Castile-Leon and exchanged Uḳlīsh for Alicún. Now definitively Christian, Uclés continued to be of military and strategic importance. In 1174 Alfonso VIII gave the town and its fortress to the Military Order of Santiago, who had just lost their seat of Cáceres to the Almohads. The Order made Uclés their main centre for Castile, and accorded it a *fuero* favourable to the Muslim population which remained. This Mudéjar community did not disappear till 1502, when a decree expelled from Castile all male Moriscos over 14 years old and females over 12, with such conditions attached that emigration was virtually impossible; the only possibility was conversion, hence from this time onwards all trace of a Muslim presence was lost at Uclés.

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UKSHŪNUBA, a region of the southwest of al-Andalus (the modern Algarve) and also the town of Ocsonoba (Faro), its chef-lieu until the 4th/10th century. The name (with varying orthographies, e.g. Ukshūnya in Ibn Muzayn in the 5th/11th century, Akhshanba in Yāḳūt) derives from the earlier *Ossonoba*. The correspondance in name of region and chef-lieu goes back to the Arab administrative tradition in which the *kūra* was often known by the name of its capital. When the town changed its name

in the 5th/11th century to Shantamariyyat al-Gharb, Ukshūnuba mostly denoted the province.

From the Arab conquest in 94/713, the Yemeni tribe of Yaḥṣub dominated the region until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I eliminated them in 157/774, when they fell back, together with Arabs from Lakhm and *muwallad* converts, on Silves, the most important town of the Gharb al-Andalus, and this last became, in the course of the 4th/10th century, the capital of the region. In other places, *muwalladūn*, such as the Banū Bakr b. Zadlafa, masters of Faro at the end of the 3rd/9th century, had an important role. With the pilgrimages to Cape St. Vincent and Faro, Christianity remained significant.

The urban pattern became changed in the course of five and a half centuries' Muslim domination; certain Roman sites like Milreu, occupied by the Muslims, as funeral inscriptions attest, declined in the caliphal period. On the other hand, in addition to the growth of Silves [see SHILB], several places on the coast grew into important centres, such as Tavira (Ṭabīra) or Lagos (Ḥalḳ al-Zāwiya) as part of the economic growth, and others in the interior, like Salir or Paderna, which were defensive sites. Arabic authors describe the region as one of the richest in al-Andalus. See further SHANTAMARIYYAT AL-GHARB.

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(CH. PICARD)

AL-UKṢUR, Luxor, the present site of ancient Thebes, the capital of the New Kingdom on the eastern bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt.

In the mediaeval Arabic geographical sources we find side-by-side the following renderings of the name of the city: (a) al-Aḳṣur "castles" (in the *pluralis paucitatis* as is explained by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, Beirut, i, 237a); the vocalisation with *fatḥa* is explicitly stated by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 110. (b) al-Uḳṣur, the colloquial equivalent to al-Aḳṣur with *ḍamma*, as given by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 380, only a few decades after Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. (c) The dual of this plural form, al-Aḳṣurayn/al-Uḳṣurayn (e.g. two Christian sources: Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, *Taʾrīkh*, 132 ll. 9-12, Eng. tr. 284, and the *Synaxary*, as given in Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Egypte*, Cairo 1919, 23; Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn*, 108; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 380). The dual refers to the "twin fortresses", the huge temples (*birbā*) of Luxor and Karnak (cf. among others Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1963, ii/4, 161), i.e. not to modern Luxor on the east and modern Ḳurna on the west bank of the Nile, as E. Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1903, 126, suggested. In only one source so far, Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī's book on the pyramids (*Anwār ʿulwiyy al-adjrām*, Beirut 1991, 45 l. 11), the Karnak temple is specified as *birbā al-Uḳṣur al-baḥriyya* "the temple of northern Luxor", suggesting that the Amun temple in Luxor proper must have been known conversely as *birbā al-Uḳṣur al-ḳibliyya* in al-Idrīsī's time, the 7th/13th century. In this context, it is deeply to be regretted that al-Idrīsī's two tracts devoted specifically to the monuments of Pharaonic Egypt (*al-Djawhara al-yatīma fī ʿadjāʾib Miṣr al-ḳadīma*) and to the history of Upper Egypt (*Maṭlaʿ al-ṭāliʿ al-saʿīd fī akhbār al-Ṣaʿīd*) are no longer extant.

Al-Uḳṣur/Aḳṣur, which is listed as a toponym by numerous authors (e.g. Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān*, 73 l. 12; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *al-Masālik wa-'l-mamālik*, 247 l. 7; al-Udfuwwī, *al-Ṭāliʿ al-saʿīd*, 16; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 203) was the centre of a subdistrict in Islamic times. Ibn Khurradādhbih of the 3rd/9th century (81 ll. 7-8) and al-Ḳalḳashandī of the 9th/15th century (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 379 l. 15) both speak of the joint *kūra* of Ḳifṭ wa 'l-Uḳṣur; the latter author (who counts it as the seventeenth among the Eygptian provinces), however, when citing al-Ḳuḍāʿī, is surprised about this combination because one of the two cities, Ḳifṭ, lies north, the other, al-Uḳṣur, south of Ḳūṣ which forms a *kūra* of its own. Otherwise we find al-Uḳṣur classified as subordinate to Ḳūṣ, the capital of the Egyptian far south (e.g. Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn*, 108). Other authors speak of an independent *kūra* in Luxor (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 237a); al-Waṭwāṭ, e.g., speaks of four (unnamed) villages as constituting the *kūrat al-Uḳṣur* (*Manāhidj al-fikar*, facs. ed., Frankfurt 1410/1990, i, 369 ll. 16 ff.). The mediaeval town is described as having been founded next to the ruinous site of Pharaonic times (al-Ḳalḳashandī iii, 380); al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 333 l. 18) strangely even goes so far as to identify the *kharāb* of ancient Luxor with the site of modern Ḳūṣ. Ibn Duḳmāḳ, who provides us with one of the most substantial entries on al-Uḳṣur (*Intiṣār*, v, 30-1), as well as Ibn al-Djīʿān (*Tuḥfa*, 192, Fr. tr. S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte par Abd-allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad*, Paris 1810, 702), present the town as consisting of the "two *aḳṣur*" and of the Nile islands belonging to them (*al-Aḳṣurān wa-djazāʾiruhumā*).

The latter two authors are also important because they inform us on the juridical and economic status of al-Uḳṣur in Mamlūk times, presenting the size and quality of its arable land, its tax-yield (*ʿibra*), as well as the names and military status of its *muḳṭaʿ*s in the three years 777/1376 (a certain Ḳuṭluḳtamur Djarkas, tentatively identified by J.Cl. Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Egypte médiévale: Qūṣ*, Cairo 1976, 239 n. 1, with Ḳuṭluḳ Tamur al-ʿAlāʾī al-Ṭawīl), 798-801/1396-9 (Arghūn min Ḳushbughā) and (approximately) 885/1480 (Timrāz al-Shamsī, identified by H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern*, Wiesbaden 1979, i, 77). Al-Uḳṣur was known for its agricultural produce, not the least its huge grapes (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, v, 31), but especially for its pottery which was exported far afield (cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 111); Abu 'l-Fidā's contemporary of the early 8th/14th century, al-Dimashḳī, qualifies it, however, as far inferior, both in its manufacturing and in its clay, to the refined pottery of Ḥimṣ (*Nukhbat al-dahr*, 233 l. 10).

The age-old Pharaonic remains of Luxor and Karnak captivated the curiosity also of many of the mediaeval Arab travellers, even though the predominance of the temple of Ikhmīm further north (on the much frequented pilgrim route from Cairo to the Red Sea harbour of ʿAydhāb) among the pagan sites of Upper Egypt in their writings remains remarkable. In only one text so far full homage is paid to Luxor's old glory as the seat of the Pharaohs. This is al-Tudjībī al-Sabtī's late 7th/13th century travelogue (*Mustafād al-riḥla wa 'l-ightirāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Manṣūr, Libya and Tunis n.d., 171 ll. 5-13, German tr. U. Haarmann, *Krokodile aus Holz und Krokodile aus Marmor. Altägyptisches in einem marokkanischen Pilgerbericht des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, in *Meilenstein. Festgabe für Herbert Donner* [Ägypten und Altes Testament, vol. 30], Wiesbaden

1995, 70, a tradition presented interestingly enough in the context of the description of the temple of Ikhmīm). According to this author, who cites one of his masters without giving his name, a certain King Uḳ(ḳ)/Aḳ(ḳ), who erected the temples of Egypt as repositories for all kinds of treasures, must have resided in Luxor, a city whose original name is said to have been Ṣūr which was then amplified—in a nominal composition familiar from the *aʿādjim*, i.e. Indo-European languages—by the king's own name Uḳ(ḳ)/Aḳ(ḳ) into the present U/Aḳṣur.

The most detailed report of Karnak is presented by Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī (d. 649/1251), who visited, together with his father, the huge temple of Karnak on their way to the west bank of the Nile. Al-Idrīsī laments the damage done to the magnificent building as well as to its reliefs by stupid and irresponsible contemporaries (*Anwār*, 45 l. 11-47 l. 3, Ger. tr. in Haarmann, *Luxor und Heliopolis. Ein Aufruf zum Denkmalschutz aus dem 13. Jahrhundert n.Chr.*, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, xl [1984], 153-7). Also Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (*Taʾrīkh*, 132, Eng. tr. 284) must be speaking of Karnak and its Sphinx causeway when he mentions "idols standing like castles, some of which have the forms of lions or rams, and are standing upon their feet in two rows, on the right and on the left".

In the case of the temple of Luxor, however, the interest of mediaeval Muslim observers, from the mid-7th/13th century onwards, is concentrated not so much on the vestiges of the Pharaonic past—al-Ḳalḳashandī iii, 324 ll. 11-16 (Ger. tr. Reitemeyer, 125) mentions "a huge idol of black, firm and smooth stone"—but rather on the tomb of Sīdī Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḳurashī al-Uḳṣurī (d. 642/1244, cf. al-Udfuwwī, *al-Ṭāliʿ al-saʿīd*, 722-4, vita no. 574; Garcin, 165-7) which was built into the ruins of this temple. Sīdī Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj, who had begun his career as a state functionary (*mushārif al-dīwān*), was a disciple of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḳināʾī al-Maghribī (d. 592/1195, cf. al-Udfuwwī, 297-303 no. 230) who had come to Egypt from Sabta or Ceuta in the far west and had actively promoted the return of Upper Egypt to Sunnī orthodoxy after the Fāṭimid interlude. Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj acquired so much fame in the region for his miraculous and saintly deeds that soon a popular cult sprang up around his personality which aroused the deep scepticism of a judicious later chronicler such as al-Udfuwwī (d. 748/1347-8; see his *al-Ṭāliʿ al-saʿīd*, 724 ll. 6 ff.). People flocked to Luxor from all directions and went so far as to claim Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj's ascent into heaven in the night of mid-Shaʿbān, until in the end "the popular magician had replaced the restorer of the Sunnī city" in the consciousness of the contemporaries (G. Legrain, *Louxor sans les Pharaons*, Brussels 1914, 47-91, quoted by Garcin, 562). Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj's son Aḥmad (d. 685/1286-7, cf. al-Udfuwwī, 154, vita no. 81; Garcin, 312) erected the tomb for his father right within the Pharaonic temple. The small mausoleum in which both father and son are interred has remained an important Muslim local sanctuary in a region still largely dominated by Coptic Christianity. Other sons left the region for Cairo (al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, Cairo 1356/1937, 359). The processions performed annually on the occasion of Sīdī Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj's *ʿīd* in Luxor have been seen as vestiges or reminiscences of Old Egyptian rituals.

Luxor had a *madrasa* of its own, of which we have no further information (see, however, Ibn Duḳmāḳ, 31; Garcin, 304). Al-Udfuwwī mentions a total of ten learned Uḳṣurīs of the 6th/12th to 8th/14th centuries in his biographical dictionary of prominent Ṣaʿīdīs, some of whom migrated to Cairo. One of them, Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Uḳṣurī (no. 480, cf. 632), also served as judge of remote ʿAydhāb; "although he knew very little, he was still deemed competent enough to serve the people in this region". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa twice came through Luxor, where he not only visited the tomb of Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj al-Uḳṣurī (*Riḥla*, Beirut 1400/1980, 52 l. 15, and 282 l. 16), but also a *zāwiya* devoted to him; it may refer to a different building in the vicinity of the tomb.

The famous archeological sites on the west bank of the Nile are not covered by Muslim geographers, with the notable exception of the two colossuses of Memnon, rendered in Arabic as *Shāma wa-Ṭāma*. On them see al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, i, 239 l. 11; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, v, 31, Ger. tr. Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung*, 126; see also Wiet, *L'Egypte de Murtadi*, introd., 112-13. Special attention should be given to al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhba*, 233 l. 2, because he speaks of the "temple [*birbā*] of Shāma wa-Ṭāma", perhaps referring to the Ramesseum or possibly to the temple of al-Dayr al-Baḥrī.

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(U. HAARMANN)

UKṢŪṢA (A.), a term of modern Arabic literary criticism and usage.

1. Terminology

Within the still variable context of technical terms used to identify fictional genres in the Arab world—a natural consequence, one might suggest, of the multiple sources of its cultural influence, *uḳṣūṣa* is one of the equivalents of the fictional genre known in English as "short story" (the French "conte, histoire", and the German "Erzählung" and—an apparent translation of the English—"Kurzgeschichte"). While the term *uḳṣūṣa* is favoured by some significant Arab critics and possesses the virtue of being a single term (as opposed to the problematic English "short story"), it enjoys less currency than "*ḳiṣṣa ḳaṣīra*", the Arabic literal translation of the English term. While this distinction in terms may have originally arisen along the divide of French and English influence, such is no longer the case.

2. Early developments

Of the fictional genres, the short story is the youngest. The processes of its development have revealed a genre that is extremely aware of the dimensions of its own artifice and of the immediacy of its impact, not only through its intrinsic qualities but also as a result of a heavy reliance on the press and specialised journals as its primary mode of publication. These reasons may help to account for the fact that, while developments in Arabic literature during the 19th century show the novel genre as an initial favourite within the translation movement (with serialisation as a regular mode of circulation, as in the analogous phases of the Western tradition), it was the short story that made a more rapid and concentrated use of the same opportunities to attract a readership and to achieve a genuine maturity. The ability of the short story, and particularly its manifestation as a vignette devoted to representative characters and situations, to probe some of the prominent social issues of the day—the status of women being prime among them—provided an impetus for a generation of pioneers to develop their craft in the early decades of the 20th century.

The structural logic of the short story—with its concern for linkage between an immediately attractive opening (including title) and the drive towards a clo-

sure that, by the nature of the genre, impinges upon its structural logic from the outset—clearly breaks away from the tradition of earlier narrative types in Arabic, many of them modeled on the *k͟habar* (anecdote) with its insistence on an immediate identification of the source of the story. Along with such structural transformations there were also others, not least of which was the need for not merely a new kind of language but also new attitudes towards levels of language. Making use of the lively and expanding press tradition in Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm (d. 1896) and Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī (d. 1924) [*q.vv.*] sought to effect such changes: Nadīm wrote sarcastic vignettes, with dialogue often couched in the colloquial dialect, in order to poke fun at current fads, while al-Manfalūṭī developed a more simplified style in order to produce highly homiletic and sentimental narratives that painted moral dilemmas in shades of black and white, a feature that has continued to endear his collections, *al-Naẓarāt* ("Essays", 1910, 1912) and *al-ʿAbarāt* ("Tears", 1915) to adolescents. Equally homiletic in tone were the stories that D̲j̲ubrān K̲h̲alīl D̲j̲ubrān (d. 1931 [*q.v.*]) published after his emigration to the United States. In collections like *ʿArāʾis al-murūd̲j̲* (1906: *Nymphs of the valley*, 1948) and *al-Arwāḥ al-mutamarrida* (1908: *Spirits rebellious*, 1947) he uses an image-laden romantic style to create a nostalgic vision of his native Lebanon, a world that is shown to be often disrupted by the treatment it accords to women and by the hypocritical practices of the Maronite clergy. The stories of Mīk̲h̲āʾīl Nuʿayma (d. 1989 [*q.v.*]), D̲j̲ubrān's colleague in exile in America, reflect his readings of the Russian masters of the short story whose works he had read during his schooling and show a distinct advance in technique. Situations, actions, and the characters who are involved in them are now allowed to transmit their own message without homiletic intrusions; the resulting tales of Lebanon and especially its rural society—later gathered in collections such as *Kān mā kān* ("Once upon a time", 1937), *Akābir* ("Notables", 1956), and *Abū Baṭṭa* ("The man with thick calves", 1959) manage to convey a tone that is at turns sardonic and tragic.

The development of the short story genre in Egypt owes a great deal to Muḥammad Taymūr, who began publishing stories in the journal *al-Sufūr* following his return from France in 1914. However, his early death in 1921 cut short a promising career in both fiction and drama, and a group of his contemporaries, including his brother, Maḥmūd (d. 1973), carried on his work. The group, which became known as *d̲j̲amāʿat al-madrasa al-ḥadīt̲h̲a* ("The New School Group"), was to make major contributions to the development of the short story in Arabic. While the many collections of Maḥmūd Taymūr may have made him the most renowned of the group, it is in the works of two less prolific members that advances in technique are most noticeable. Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī (d. 1993) used a superbly honed stylistic craft to create unforgettable portraits that provide genuine insight in the character of Egyptians in both city and provinces. Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Lās̲h̲īn (d. 1954), a yet more self-critical writer, also makes use of the placement of a particular societal figure into a typical (and carefully drawn) environment in order to lead his readers to pass comment on the processes of change.

Analogous with these early developments in Lebanon, Egypt, and the United States, are parallel, if asynchronous, ones in other regions of the Arabic-speaking world where differing patterns in the balance of traditional culture and imported trends result in varying chronologies of change. Among many names and regions that might be mentioned are Maḥmūd al-Sayyid (d. 1937) and D̲h̲u 'l-Nūn Ayyūb (d. 1988) in ʿIrāḳ, K̲h̲alīl Baydas (d. 1949) in Palestine, and ʿAlī al-Duʿād̲j̲ī (d. 1949) in Tunisia. While the more romantic spirit that had characterised earlier developments continued on its popular path, culminating in the immensely successful story collections of the Egyptian writer Iḥsān ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs (d. 1990), a second generation of writers set about the less tangible but more demanding task of improving the genre's artistry and expanding its topical repertoire yet further; among the more prominent figures we would cite ʿAbd al-Salām al-ʿUd̲j̲aylī (b. 1919) in Syria, Tawfīḳ Yūsuf ʿAwwād (d. 1989) in Lebanon, Muḥammad Marzūḳī in Tunisia (d. 1981), and Yūsuf al-S̲h̲ārūnī (b. 1924) and Maḥmūd al-Badawī (d. 1985) in Egypt. Women writers, following the example of their own pioneers like Labība Hās̲h̲im (d. 1947), also contribute to this process of expanding the purview and technique of the genre by furnishing it with the vision and voice of the female artist: among significant contributors we would mention Suhayr al-Ḳalamāwī (b. 1911) in Egypt, Ulfat Idlibī (b. 1912) in Syria, Samīra ʿAzzām (d. 1967) in Palestine, and Nad̲j̲iyya T̲h̲āmir (b. 1926) in Tunisia.

3. Modern trends

Following the Second World War and the series of revolutions that occurred during the 1950s as a result of the new international configurations that it engendered, creative writers in the Arab world found themselves serving as literary outlets for the hopes and anxieties of a society confronting new and urgent political and social realities. Fiction was clearly a powerful tool through which such societal agenda could be discussed and advocated. The processes of change—the miseries of poverty among the poor in both countryside and city and the continuing migration of populace from the former to the latter, the emergence of a middle class and its aspirations, the challenge presented by women's education and employment outside the bounds of the home to traditional roles within the family, the clash of generations and classes—these themes and others have given fiction a major role in debates on the essence of modernity and change in contemporary Arab societies. The continuing vigour of the press tradition and the immense popularity of such media as television, film, and video (as venues for adaptations), have only served to enhance its immense popularity. Since creative writing is not a full-time profession in the region (although the more famous writers may occupy administrative posts that permit generous amounts of time for writing), the production of short stories, published initially in the plethora of available newspapers and periodicals, is considerably more prolific than that of the novel.

Many of the writers whom we have already mentioned have, needless to say, continued to make notable contributions to the genre during the latter half of the 20th century. However, an illustration of the vivid contrast between the more romanticised images of poverty and rural life created by some of these pioneers and the demands of the post-revolutionary society is provided by the prolific output of the Egyptian writer, Yūsuf Idrīs (d. 1991), widely recognised in retrospect as one of Arabic's instinctive geniuses in this genre. In a steady stream of collections that were published during the 1950s and 1960s beginning with *Ark̲h̲aṣ layālī* ("The cheapest nights", 1954). Idrīs was to bring the Arabic short story to new levels of technical achievement. Stories such as *Naẓra* ("A stare") and *Mārs̲h̲ al-g̲h̲urūb* ("Sunset march") provide subtly-observed insights into the life of typical urban types:

the former that of a little girl carrying a heavy tray-load of food across a street, the latter a juice-seller peddling his wares to passers-by. Alongside these are a large group of stories that depict the characters and mores of the countryside with which Idrīs was so familiar from his childhood: in the famous title story of the first collection, *Arkhaṣ layālī*, a villager wending his way homeward from evening prayers in the mosque ploughs a path through waves of children, cursing them as he goes, in order to find consolation and warmth in the body of his wife when he reaches his house. Sketches, scenes, and incidents like these were all captured by Idrīs's wayward imagination in a style that forged new paths in its blend of the cadences of both the literary and spoken languages; it is this feature of his writing that, while lending his stories an almost tactile quality of realism, also earned him the opprobrium of upholders of the *echt* literary language such as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (d. 1973 [*q.v.*]). By the 1960s the "realities" of the new political order had revealed a darker side, and Idrīs (who had been imprisoned for his political beliefs in 1959) was one among many writers who expressed an increasing sense of alienation in stories of a sinister symbolism. Stories such as *Lughat al-āy-āy* ("Language of screams" and *al-Aūrṭā* ("The aorta") are disturbing portraits of mankind's callousness and indifference.

Another master of the short story in Arabic, the Syrian writer, Zakariyyā' Tāmir (b. 1931), has also resorted to symbolism as a means of couching in fictional form his critical view of the society in which he has lived (he now resides in England). A favourite topic is, once again, the status of women and the function of traditional sexual mores; *Wadjh al-ḳamar* ("The face of the moon") describes the complexes of a young woman raped as a child and brought up by a strict father who finds the abrupt transition to passionate wife, as societal expectations and her husband demand, difficult to achieve; *al-Thaldj ākhir al-layl* ("Snow at night's end") transfers the perspective to the male side of the family as a brother contemplates the murder of his errant sister until he recalls memories of their childhood together. Alongside these more obviously-focused social commentaries, Tāmir uses the short-story genre to create anonymous, Kafka-esque worlds in which oppression, alienation, and illogicality appear to be the only organising principles. *Djūʿ* ("Hunger") is a nightmarish vision of a man on a quest initially for food and then for a doctor, neither of which he appears to find. *Radjul ghāḍib* ("An angry man") and *al-Bāb al-ḳadīm* ("The old gate") both involve seemingly ordinary people in confrontations with forces of violence and oppression; both stories end with death by gunfire in circumstances of utterly dehumanised indifference. Tāmir's disturbingly illogical fictional universe, depicted in a finely crafted style that is at times terse and at others strikingly image-laden, expands from its relatively economic modes of expression to become an expression of a brilliant, if deeply cynical, voice recording the general condition of modern humanity.

Idrīs and Tāmir merit particular mention because of the high quality and size of their output in short fictional form. There is, however, a plethora of other authors who need to be identified for the ways in which they have advanced the technique and purview of the genre. (It should be noted in passing that regional variations in chronology that were noted above with regard to the earlier period have now levelled out, to the extent that, at the turn of the 20th century, the critic is presented with a wealth of creativity across the breadth of the Arab World—Nasser's "Ocean to the Gulf"—that, as with other literary genres, is increasingly difficult to subsume under a single rubric.) Among authors who have made major contributions to the development of the genre in their country or region we would list Fu'ād al-Tikirlī (b. 1927) from ʿIrāḳ; Ghassān Kanafānī (d. 1972) from Palestine, Edwār al-Kharrāṭ (b. 1926), Madjīd Ṭūbiyā (b. 1938), and Yaḥyā al-Ṭāhir ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1981) from Egypt, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Madanī (b. 1938) from Tunisia, and Muḥammad Barrāda (b. 1938) and Muḥammad Shukrī (b. 1935) from Morocco.

Women short story writers have also played an important role in the development of the short story. Building on the work of the pioneers already mentioned, a generation of women writers, of whom the most prominent were Laylā Baʿalbakkī (b. 1936), Colette Khūrī (b. 1936), and Ghāda al-Sammān (b. 1942) set out to break down many of the taboos regarding the discussion of gender roles and especially sexuality in fictional works. The stories in which they explored the tensions evoked by such infractions against traditional values earned them not a little notoriety; in Baʿalbakkī's case, a trial for obscenity was involved. However, while the enduring literary value of their contributions to the short story genre may be open to question, there is no doubt that writers of both genders have been the beneficiaries of the newly-opened space for the exploration of gender, marriage, sex and women's changing role in society that these writers have created. A younger generation of women writers has taken up the challenge presented by this broadened spectrum with both artistry and insight, exploring the complexities of their familial (and sometimes professional) life in voices that vary in tone from the humorous and ironic to the angry. In Lebanon Emily Naṣr Allāh (b. 1938) begins her writing career by recording in a somewhat romantic vein the lives of village families, but the civil war in her homeland (1975-88) has found her galvanised into more pointed depictions of the dark underside of her nation's societal fabric and its disastrous consequences. Ḥanān al-Shaykh (b. 1945) uses her stories to introduce the reader to more intimate aspects of the women's world and its particular configurations; in *Ḥammām al-niswān* ("Women's swimming-bath"), for example, which explores in charming detail the grandmother-granddaughter relationship. The Egyptian writer Salwā Bakr (b. *ca.* 1950) casts an ironic and often sardonic eye on the lives and foibles of her fellow Egyptians; *ʿAn al-rūḥ allatī suriḳat tadrīdjiyy*[an] ("On the spirit that was gradually stolen") is a wonderful portrait of a married couple whose life slowly degenerates into a routine governed by modern media and the norms they establish. One of the most astute users of the short story craft in the Arab world today is the Kuwaytī writer, Laylā al-ʿUthmān (b. 1945), who exploits with relish the many potential ambiguities of the narrative voice in supplying her readers with situations in which the anticipated gender roles of narrator and character are challenged (as in, for example, *Fī 'l-layl ta'tī al-ʿuyūn* ("The eyes come at night") and *al-Maḳhā* ("The café")). Each of these writers uses a blend of theme and venue to create a unique microcosm through the style and technique of the short story.

A particular structural feature of the later phases in the genre's development has been a move away from the more obvious aspects of closure seen in earlier periods—typified by the sketch of an unusual person who is described in some detail and then shown participating in a single event that illustrates the impact

of that person's traits. In place of endings that are increasingly seen as artificial, there is a tendency to leave matters open-euded. Such is the structural logic of many modern short stories that readers find themselves invited, indeed often compelled, to return to the beginning in order to continue the process of discovery that the story has initiated. It is this realisation, for example, that greets the main character (and the reader) of Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ's renowned story *Ẓaʿbalāwī*; while the quest that makes up the story has led to a change in the character's understanding of his plight, the inevitable consequence is the need to start all over again—the beginning is the end, and vice versa.

Such is the popularity and wide availability of the short story genre in the Arab world today that any list of prominent contributors would be extremely lengthy. What follows is thus a highly selective list of writers who have achieved prominence within their own national traditions: in ʿIrāḳ, Daisy al-Amīr (b. 1935), Mūsā Kuraydī (b. 1940), and Muḥammad Khuḍayyir (b. 1940); in the Gulf States, Ismāʿīl Fahd Ismāʿīl (b. 19??) and Muḥammad al-Murr (b. 1955); in Lebanon, Yūsuf Ḥabashī al-Ashkar (b. 19??) and Ilyās Khūrī (b. 1944?); in Syria, Walīd Ikhlāṣī (b. 1935), Ḥaydar Ḥaydar (b. 1936), and Hānī al-Rāhib (b. 1939); in Palestine, Yūsuf Shrūrū (b. 1940), Liyāna Badr (b. 1950), and Rashād Abū Shāwir (b. 1942); in Jordan, Ghālib Halasā (d. 1989) and Mu'nis al-Razzāz (b. 19??); in Egypt (among a host of names), Djamāl al-Ghīṭānī (b. 1945), Bahā' Ṭāhir (b. 1935), Iʿtidāl ʿUthmān (b. 1942), and Ibrāhīm Aṣlān (b. 1939); in Saudi Arabia, Khayriyya al-Saḳḳāf, Muḥammad ʿUlwān (b. 1948), and ʿAbd Allāh Mannāʿ (b. 1938); in Tunisia, Ḥasan Naṣr (b. 1937), Maḥmūd Balʿīd (b. 19??), and ʿArūsiyya Nālūtī (b. 1950); and in Morocco, Muḥammad Zifzāf (b. 1945), Khanātha Bannūna (b. 1943), and Mubārak Rabīʿ (b. 1935).

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ʿUḲŪBA (a.) a term of Islamic law meaning punishment in all its forms, encompassing both discretionary punishments and those designated by a text as *ḥadd* [*q.v.*]. The root meaning of the word, from *ʿaḳaba*, indicates a following or consequential object or action. The word itself took on the meaning of punishment that follows from a crime or prohibition (*LʿA*, i, 611-24). Frequently it is confused with *djazā'* which, unlike *ʿuḳūba*, can be both punishment or reward. The rationale behind the Islamic legal theory of punishment seems to oscillate between two contrasting schools of thought, with one preferring the interests (*maṣāliḥ*) of the individual and the other that of the public.

From a legislative point of view there can be two basic types of *ʿuḳūba*:

(1) Fixed punishments (*ʿuḳūbāt al-ḥudūd*). These include the punishments for fornication (*zinā'*), 100 lashes or stoning; slander (*ḳadhf* [*q.v.*]), 80 lashes; drinking alcohol (*shurb al-khamr*), 80 lashes; theft (*sariḳa* [*q.v.*]), amputation of the hand; highway robbery (*ḥirāba*), death; apostasy (*ridda* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), death; and public disorder (*baghy*), death. Retaliation penalties (*ḳiṣāṣ*) and blood money punishments (*diya* [*q.v.*]) may also came under this category. The latter encompasses all punishments that legislate for partial or total bodily harm whether deliberate (*ʿamd*), undeliberate (*shibh al-ʿamd*), or by error (*khaṭa'*). These punishments are tightly controlled, with a judge not able to replace or reduce the punishments. All he may offer is the choice between inflicting *ḳiṣāṣ* and offering *diya* to the relatives in the case of deliberate actions, and offering *diya* when injury resulted from undeliberate actions.

The well-publicised case of the two British nurses accused of murder in Saudi Arabia in 1997 seems to have suffered from this "no judge option" stalemate. The case did not progress until after the victim's brother accepted the proffered compensation in lieu of the death penalty. This restriction seems to justify classifying *ḳiṣāṣ* and *diya* among the textually-fixed punishments. However, some scholars like ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿAwda considers them to be different in type from that of *ḥudūd*. The difference in the classification of the two punishment may be said to arise from the proximity and the personal effect that crimes involving bodily harm can impose on individuals. Despite this, the classification of punishment remains concerned with textual definition and not with criminal psychology, and as a result it appears to fit most convincingly among *ḥudūd* crimes.

In all the punishments described above, the tendency is to protect society and to ignore completely the interests of the individual criminal. On the grounds of combating social corruption (*shuyūʿ al-fasād*), punishments were made fixed and incapable of alteration, even by the ruling political authority.

(2) The tendency towards the protection of individual interest seems to be more apparent in the second basic form of *ʿuḳūba*, which are those punishments which are not legislated or specified by a text. These include all punishments which are left to the judge's discretion (*taʿzīr* [*q.v.*]). Any offence or violation of individual or public rights, be it by word, action or even sign, can be dealt with under *taʿzīr*. This kind of *ʿuḳūba* also governs all acts that might affect the social and religious norms of the society. It represented a practical and effective tool in the hands of minor judges and *muḥtasib*s [see ḥisba]. Ibn Taymiyya underlines the informal and casual nature of *taʿzīr* when he states that there is no lower limit and it can be as simple as not greeting the offender (*tark al-salām*). This informality seems to have been lost because of an inclination among some legal systems that apply Islamic law to codify *taʿzīr*. The *sharīʿa* courts in Malaysia are an example which illustrate this tendency. Although there is no apparent legal bar preventing this, it seems

likely that the codification of *taʿzīr* would conflict with its spirit as a functional form of Islamic penal law. This could lead to *taʿzīr* eventually becoming a rigid set of rules and not an actual *ʿukūba*.

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(MAWIL Y. IZZI DIEN)

AL-ʿULĀ, a town of the Ḥidjāz in north-western Arabia, lying in what was the early Islamic Wādī ʾl-Kurā, at the southeastern end of the Ḥarrat al-ʿUwayriḍ and below a hill called Umm Nāṣir (lat. 26° 38′ N., long. 37° 57′ E., altitude 674 m/2,210 feet).

The area is extremely rich archaeologically, and clearly flourished in pre-Islamic times as a major centre along the caravan route southwards from Syria, with ancient Dedan at the base of the Djabal al-Khurayba, to the south of what was al-Ḥidjr [*q.v.*] and is now Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ some 18 km/12 miles north of al-ʿUlā. The mediaeval Islamic town of (al-)Kurḥ was also located at al-Mābiyāt or al-Mibyāt at a similar distance to the southeast of al-ʿUlā, in the identification of ʿAbd Allāh al-Naṣīf [see KURḤ]. Large numbers of Dedanite, Lihyanite [see LIḤYĀN], Thamudic [*q.v.*], Minaean and Nabataean inscriptions have been found in the region.

The early Islamic al-ʿUlā must have been only a small place; the Prophet is said to have prayed there en route from Medina to Tabūk. Al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī (4th/10th century) mentions it as al-ʿAwālī (*Bilād al-ʿArab*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir and Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī, Riyāḍ 1388/1968, 397). Yākūt (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 144) has only a brief and uninformative entry on it, but his younger contemporary Ibrāhīm b. Shudjāʿ al-Ḥanafī more explicitly states that it was a small town with a *kalʿa* and its own *amīr*, whilst Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, i, 260-1, tr. Gibb, i, 162-3) describes it as a flourishing place where the pilgrims bound for Medina halt for refreshment. The fort was restored by the Ottoman governor of Damascus in the 11th/17th century as a protection against marauding Bedouin.

Doughty was there in 1876 (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ch. VI), followed by other Western travellers and scholars such as Huber and Euting, up to Jaussen and Sauvignac's survey of the al-ʿUlā and al-Ḥidjr region 1907-10. The Ḥidjāz railway [*q.v.*] passed near to al-ʿUlā, with a (long derelict) station. The present-day population of al-ʿUlā (now the administrative centre of the distinct) seems to originate from the Ḥidjāzī tribe of Ḥarb.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ULAK (T.), a term applied to the post-Mongol state courier system in large parts of western Asia, and particularly in the Ottoman empire (for the comparable system in the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, see BARĪD; and for the Mongol institution, YAM). This noun form *ulak* stems from Tkish. *ula-* "to fasten securely, tether", and as a technical term appears e.g. in the decrees and documents of the Golden Horde Khans. It spread widely, from Ottoman usage to the Balkan languages and Greek, and from eastern Turkish usage as far as Mongolian and Chinese; see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, 102-7 no. 521.

The *ulak*, the official courier service of the Ottoman empire, developed in an *ad hoc* and piecemeal way during the first centuries of the empire's existence, having much in common with the comparable institutions of the Mongol and ʿAbbāsid periods. The Ottomans, with some reason, believed that their *ulak* system derived from the Mongols (cf. the historical excursus of the Ottoman Grand Vizier and reformer of the *ulak*, Luṭfī Pasha, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1341, 371-80). Down to the era of Meḥemmed II, state couriers (also termed *ulak*) were issued with simply-phrased courier orders (*biti; ulak ḥükmi*) empowering them to travel on state business over (specified or unspecified) routes, implicitly by commandeering remounts as necessary at places en route. Thereafter, the phraseology of these orders becomes greatly developed, down to the 12th/18th century (cf. J.H. Mordtmann, in *MSOS*, xxxii/2 [1929], and, in greater detail, a still unpublished study by the present author). The system was obviously open to considerable abuse, particularly of the *reʿāyā* at the hands of the couriers, and reforms of their "shameless tyranny" (*nāhemwār zülm*), undertaken in particular by Luṭfī Pasha (see R. Tschudi (ed.), *Das Âṣafnâme des Luṭfî Pascha*, Berlin 1910, text, 11), saw the gradual introduction from the middle years of Süleymān's reign of a network of staffed posting-stations (*menzil-khāne*) on the major routes (*ulu yollar*) of the empire. The system, as it reached maturity, was based on the six major roads (*ṣagh, orta* and *ṣol kollar*, the "Routes of the Right, Middle and Left [Hands]") which radiated from Istanbul to the frontiers of the empire. In Rumeli these were, respectively, to the lower Danube and, ultimately, to Özü (Očakov), the Crimea and Azak (Azov); to Belgrade and, ultimately, to Hungary; and to Thessaloniki and either the Morea or the Adriatic (see, on the *ṣol kol*, the important collection of studies in Elizabeth Zachariadou (ed.), *The Via Egnatia in the Ottoman period (1389-1699)*, Rethymnon 1996). In Anatolia, the three *kollar*, in their final versions, projected east and south from Istanbul to Erzurum and the Caucasus; to Diyār Bakr and ʿIrāk; and to Aleppo, Damascus and Cairo. "Branch routes" linked the *ulu yollar* with administrative centres which lay to one side or other of the main routes, or provided occasional radial connections between two adjacent *kollar*. Along the main routes, the maintenance and upkeep of which was an ever-present concern of the state, *menzil-khānes* were established at intervals of between six and twelve hours' riding, i.e. at distances of between 20 and 70 km, depending on the terrain. In frontier districts, or in thinly-populated steppe and semi-desert areas, the distances between *menzil-khānes* was often greater and they could be up to 24 hours' riding or *ca.* 150 km apart (see, for a listing of the *kollar* and their individual *menzil-khānes*, the brochure by Rıza Bozkurt, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda kollar, ulak ve iaşe menzilleri*, Ankara 1966). Horses and labour service for these post-stations were provided often by *menzil-kesh* villages in their vicinity or by locally-levied taxes.

Along these routes, and making full use of the

menzil-khānes and the remount and accommodation services which they provided, passed the courier, military and diplomatic traffic of the state; in time of war, the same routes were followed by the armies of the sultan, en route to a particular front. Exemption of "privileged" *reʿāyā* from *ulaḳ* service, either quartering of couriers or the provision of remounts, is characteristic of Ottoman *muʿāf-nāmes* ("letters of exemption") from an early period (cf. R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿos̲mānī*, Ankara 1956).

The abuses to which Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a drew attention in the mid-10th/16th century: the forcible requisitioning of posthorses for the courier service; the supply of posthorses to unauthorised individuals; and the excesses and depredations committed by high officials and their extensive retinues when using the *ulaḳ*, seem to have been equally widespread in later centuries, to judge by the large numbers of *ʿarḍuḥāl*s submitted to the Porte by the *ḳāḍī*s of localities situated on the various *ḳollar* and the resulting sultanic orders addressed to them (cf. Bistra Cvetkova, *Obściazenie podatkowe rai w Bulgarii w czasie niewoli tureckiej, zwiazane z utrzymaniem zajazdow* (*menzili*), in *Przegląd Orientalisticzny*, ii/26 [1958], 193-8). In time of war, pressure on strategic sections of the system became greatly increased; accordingly, in the latter stages of the war with Austria and the Sacra Liga powers (1683-99), particularly significant and long-lasting financial and administrative reforms of the *ulaḳ* system were made by the later Köprülü [*q.v.*] Grand Viziers; on these see C.J. Heywood, *The Ottoman menzilhane and ulak system in Rumeli in the eighteenth century*, in Osman Okyar and Halil İnalcık (eds.), *Türkiye'nin sosyal ve ekonomik tarihi* (*1071-1920*), Ankara 1980, 179-84; specific fiscal illustrations for particular *menzil-khānes* in idem, *The Via Egnatia in the Ottoman period: the menzilḫānes of the ṣol ḳol in the late 17th/early 18th century*, in E. Zachariadou, *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman rule*, 129-44; for the Anatolian *ulaḳ* network, see Yücel Özkaya, *XVIII yüzyılda menzil sorunu*, in *AÜDTCFD*, xxviii/3-4 [1970 (1977)], 339-68. Thereafter, the system continued more or less unaltered until the reforms of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] and, ultimately, the invention later in the 19th century of the electric telegraph. Already by the late 18th century the term *ulaḳ* itself seems to have passed into desuetude, being replaced by the imported appellation *ḳūrīr*. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the forms of the classical post-Mongol courier institution lingered on in use in e.g. the former lands of Mog̲h̲ulistān until the later 19th century: for the text and translation of an Eastern Turkī courier order issued in A.H. 1291 from Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar by Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb Beg (*Copy of passport issued at Kashghar*), which has many features in common with Ottoman *ulaḳ ḥükmī*s of an earlier era, cf. R.B. Shaw, *A grammar of the language of Eastern Turkistan*, in *JRASB* (1877), no. 3, 321-3.

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(C.J. Heywood)

ʿULAMĀʾ (A.), pl. of *ʿālim*, active participle of *ʿalima*, "to know, to be aware of", denotes scholars of almost all disciplines (*lug̲h̲a, bayān, ḥisāb*, etc. [*q.vv.*]). However, the term refers more specifically to the scholars of the religious sciences (*faḳīh, mufassir, muftī, muḥaddit̲h̲, mutakallim, ḳāriʾ*, etc. [*q.vv.*]), considered here exclusively in the context of Sunnism, where they are regarded as the guardians, transmitters and interpreters of religious knowledge, of Islamic doctrine and law; the term also embraces those who fulfil religious functions in the community that require a certain level of expertise in religious and judicial issues, such as judges and preachers (*ḳāḍī, k̲h̲aṭīb* [*q.vv.*]), the imāms of mosques, etc. The *ʿālim* is often seen as opposed to the *adīb*, just as religious knowledge (*ʿilm* [*q.v.*]) is clearly distinguished from the practice of "profane literature" (*adab* [*q.v.*]).

1. In the Arab world.
2. In Persia [see MUD̲J̲TAHID, and ĀYATULLĀH, in Suppl.].
3. In Ottoman Turkey.
4. In Muslim India.
5. In South-East Asia.
6. Amongst the Han Chinese, Chinese-speaking Muslims.
7. In West Africa.

1. In the Arab world.

(a) *"Knowledge" and the scholars.*

While the verb *ʿalima* is well attested in pre-Islamic poetry, *ʿālim* is not employed there as a participial substantive denoting a category of people who possess a particular knowledge, unlike *ʿarrāf, ḥāzī, kāhin, k̲h̲aṭīb* and *s̲h̲āʿir* [*q.vv.*]. The frequency with which the root *ʿ-l-m* occurs in the Ḳurʾān and the equivalence encountered there between practical knowledge and religious knowledge, or indeed between knowledge and faith (LVIII, 11; II, 26; VI, 97-9), could not but be significant for the development of religious thought in Islam (Rosenthal, *Knowledge*, 12-32).

In fact, a general tendency was to be observed among practitioners of the religious sciences to consider as certain knowledge only that inherited from

the Prophet, albeit with nuances conditioned by their theological orientation. Thus the Baghdādī Mālikī Ibn Khuwayzmandād (d. 390/999) went so far as to demand the burning of books of *kalām*, of poetry and of grammar, as being unreliable disciplines, inferior to the traditions transmitted from the Prophet (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīthiyya*, Cairo 1970, 207). For Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], the science *par excellence* is that which derives from the Prophet; all the rest is either useless, or does not deserve to be called science. The jurist of Muʿtazilī tendency al-Māwardī [*q.v.*] comments that numerous prophetic traditions on "the study of science" concern only religious knowledge (*Adab*, 36-49). For Ibn Rushd, on the other hand, certain verses of the Ḳur'ān are an inducement to the study of philosophy (*Faṣl al-maḳāl, init.*)

(b) *Identity-consciousness and hierarchisation.*

The *'ulamā'* have long been seen as a very distinct group, a regulated and structured body, expressing the popular voice, constituting the "solid framework of permanent government behind these changing dynasties" (Macdonald). In fact, during the first two centuries of Islam, they consisted of a relatively small number of people, engaged in the elaboration of *fiḳh* and concentrated at Medina, in the south of 'Irāḳ and in the caliphal capitals, and general lines of informal consensus were more easily established than was subsequently to be the case. This consensus (*idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*]) gave them weight, but did not transform them into an institution comparable to a legislative body (Mottahedeh, 138-9). However, they had a consciousness of their identity which marked them as a distinct group (Berkey, 13-14).

Furthermore, traditions were attributed to the Prophet which emphasised the precedence and pre-eminence of knowledge and of the *'ulamā'*, most of them probably dating from a period in which the influence and the prestige of the latter was not yet well established (Marlow, 25). To a man from Medina, visiting him in Damascus with the object of collecting traditions, Abu 'l-Dardā' conveyed the following tradition, attributed to Muḥammad: "Scholars are the heirs of the prophets who have endowed them with knowledge as a legacy. He who has chosen knowledge has taken a generous share, and he who has taken a path towards the acquisition of knowledge, for him God will smooth a path to Paradise" (*Concordance*, iv, 321a; cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 196/xvi, ed. Shākir and al-Zayn, Cairo 1995, 71, nos. 21612-3: al-Bayhaḳī, *Shuʿab al-īmān*, ed. M.S.B. Zaghlūl, Beirut 1990, ii, 262-4, nos. 1696-8; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Djāmiʿ*, i, 37). This tradition, absent from Mālik's *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, was apparently unknown at Medina. Also attributed to the Prophet are statements that scholars are superior to "martyrs" (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, i, 30-2), that the best members of his community are the scholars and that among the latter the best are the *fuḳahā'* (al-Māwardi, *Adab*, 39), that knowledge is superior to cultic practices (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, i, 21-7; *Concordance*, iv, 320a). In the second half of the 3rd/10th century, the conviction was established that prophets are only superior to accredited scholars (*al-faḳīh al-ʿālim*) in terms of their prophetic mission (Gilliot, *Le Commentaire coranique de Hūd b. Muḥakkam*, in *Arabica*, xliv [1997], 204-5).

It is true that the *'ulamā'* were progressively constituted as such by the study and practice of *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], but their essential characteristic was definitely the knowledge of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], this being the "science" *par excellence* in this religious context, all the more so in that its mode of transmission was reckoned to associate them with the first Muslim generations and with the Prophet (al-Rāmahurmuzī, 161-2; Mottahedeh, 141). This link created by the transmission of *ḥadīth* contributed more than any other factor to the awareness which scholars of the religious sciences had of the dignity of their mission, as is demonstrated, in particular, by the favour enjoyed by those traditionists who had "high" chains of authority (*ʿuluww al-ḥadīth*) (al-Nawawī, *Taḳrīb*, ch. 29; Marçais, 193-9; Mottahedeh, 141-2). This insistence on *ḥadīth* is not surprising; indeed, all scholars studied the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*, but not all were specialists in law, and those engaged in theology were fewer still (Mez, 162-3).

The practice of "wandering in search of knowledge" facilitated contacts between students and masters of the diverse regions of the Muslim world, and gave an "international" cachet to the community of scholars (Gilbert, *passim*) which contributed not a little to a consciousness of identity among the scholars and to the standardisation of knowledge and of its transmission. Numerous major scholars were also engaged in the composition of poetry (see, however, R. Drory, *The Abbassid construction of the Jahiliyya*, in *SI*, lxxxiii [1996], 33-49, on the rivalry between poets, transmitters of poetry and scholars), or produced works of *adab*. In addition, universal and local histories and their continuations (*ta'rīkh*, *ṣila* [*q.v.*]), the books on classes or generations of scholars (*ṭabaḳāt* [*q.v.*]), were most often written by *'ulamā'*, especially traditionists, which endowed the latter with major influence in the codification of knowledge and of ethics (Gilbert, 110-11). Those who were engaged in a more specialised fashion in the study of *ḥadīth* shared a kind of communal identity which often gave rise to a kind of "leadership", a "primacy" (*ri'āsa; ra'īs al-muḥaddithīn, riyāsat al-ʿulamā'*; Chamberlain, 154-6), which depended to a great extent on the number and quality of licences of transmission (*idjāza* [*q.v.*]) obtained from accredited masters. This primacy also existed in more specialised disciplines, such as law and theology. It is thus that Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*]), one of the "renovators" (*mudjaddid* [*q.v.*]) of the early 3rd/9th century, is considered the one "to whom fell the primacy of the Shāfiʿīs (in Baghdad)" (*intahat ilayhi riyāsat aṣḥāb al-Shāfiʿī*; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, year 306/918-19). This same primacy in law was devolved to Abū Bakr al-Abharī (d. 375/986; *op. cit., sub anno*), for the Mālikīs of Baghdād, among whom he held precedence (*al-muḳaddam fīhi*); to Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī (d. 403/1012; *op. cit., sub anno*), among the Ḥanafīs. As for the *ḳāḍī* al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥalīmī (d. 403/1012), he found himself endowed with a double primacy in Transoxania, that of the traditionists and that of the dialectical theologians (*ra'īs al-muḥaddithīn wa 'l-mutakallimīn*; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xvii, 231). On the basis of the example of the Ḥanafī Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 370/981; *Muntaẓam, sub anno*), such a "prime figure" is sometimes called "the best of his age" (*imām ʿaṣrihi*), or the *shaykh* of his region or of his city. Primacy in the domain of the religious sciences was sometimes combined with primacy in "piety" (*taḳwā*), in the exercise of ritual practices (*ʿibāda*), or in asceticism (*zuhd*), or in Ṣūfism (Mottahedeh, 145-50).

(c) *Genesis and evolution.*

Muslim tradition was anxious to establish uninterrupted continuity between the knowledge of the Prophet and that of later generations, by way of the Companions and the Followers. In this scheme of things, numbers are employed in an apparently meticulous fashion: knowledge of the Companions, that of the principles of transmission, that of narratives, that of exegesis, were seen as the inheritance, respectively,

of six Companions, Followers, or Followers of Followers (according to al-ʿAbbās al-Dūrī, d. 271/884; al-Dala̲dj̲ī, 47-8, *Falaka*, quoting al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, 43-4). Similarly, reference is made to the six or the twelve *fuḳahāʾ* of Medina (al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, 43-4). Or furthermore, according to ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī (d. 234/849): "The knowledge of the Companions of the Prophet concerning the prescriptions of the law fell to three [Companions], by whom it was acquired": Ibn Masʿūd, Zayd b. T̲h̲ābit and Ibn ʿAbbās; then it passed to the generation of Mālik b. Anas, by way of al-S̲h̲aʿbī (d. 94/713), Ibrāhīm al-Nak̲h̲aʿī (d. 96/715), al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), al-Aʿmas̲h̲ (d. 148/765), Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī (d. 161/778) [*q.vv.*], etc. (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Talḳīḥ*, 458-9).

In the early years of Islam, even though *ʿālim* can have the adjectival sense of "erudite" in general, or in religious subjects in particular (*ʿālim bi*), it is most often associated with the knowledge and the transmission of traditions and of *ḥadīt̲h̲*; furthermore, it is not often that the qualities of *ʿālim* and of *faḳīh* [*q.v.*] are attributed to the same individual, the latter expressing in particular "personal" ideas of the way religion should be practised, the former referring rather to precedents, conclusions reached by others in the past (Juynboll, 74, and ch. 2 on the *ḳāḍīs*). It is stressed, however, that such-and-such a person was not only *ʿālim* and *faḳīh*, but also *ḳāriʾ* and *mufassir*, thus Ibn D̲j̲urayd̲j̲ (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]; Motzki, 246).

The ʿAbbāsids, with the exception of al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] (see MIḤNA; Crone and Hinds, *God's caliph*, 58-96, on the transition from the caliphal *sunna* to the Prophetic *sunna*, under the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids) preferred to have the *ʿulamāʾ* and the army on their side, rather than the bureaucracy (Marlow, 104; for the *ʿālim/kātib* [*q.v.*] antagonism, Mottahedeh, 143; Petry, 205, 209). They had begun with all the necessary apparatus: troops, secretaries, theologians and religious prestige, and Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, in his *Risāla fī 'l-ṣaḥāba*, composed at the outset of the caliphate of al-Manṣūr, proposed, among other things, a trial of strength with the *ʿulamāʾ*, urging the caliph to use his authority to impose legal and religious uniformity (Goitein, *Turning point*, 161-4; Crone, *Slaves*, 69-70; van Ess, *TG*, ii, 24-5; Marlow, 99-104). Ultimately the *ʿulamāʾ* were not suppressed, and it was indeed the *zindīḳs* [*q.v.*] (Manicheans and their associates) who were victims of the inquisition of al-Mahdī.

During the first five centuries of Islam, the *ʿulamāʾ* developed their own practices and organisations independently of the state (Gilbert, 113). It is a fact that the Umayyads (an exemplary case being that of al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*]; M. Lecker, *Biographical notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī*, in *JSS*, xli [1996], 21-61), and then the ʿAbbāsids, had recourse to scholars, counsellors and ambassadors, and employed the *ʿulamāʾ* as judges, but they did not found lasting institutions with personnel dedicated to the study of religion and of law (Gilbert, 113-14). It also happened that benefactors acted as the patrons of scholars or of educational projects and institutions, but it was primarily through the efforts of independent *ʿulamāʾ* and a minority among them who enjoyed the support of individuals or of the state that codified practices and an "international" structure took shape among scholars during the first centuries of Islam (Gilbert, 114).

The political traumas of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries contributed not a little to the consolidation of the power of the *ʿulamāʾ*, who, together with other urban élites, played an important role in the life of Muslim cities. Towards the mid-5th/11th century, whereas hitherto they had been essentially a religious élite, they now also became a social and political élite. In many cities, families of *ʿulamāʾ* united with families of landowners, bureaucrats and merchants, guaranteeing the stable guidance of these cities for several generations (Lapidus, 22-9).

On the one hand, with the disintegration of the ʿAbbāsid state, a kind of divorce took place between religion and power. The state was no longer capable of enforcing its claims in matters of religious authority. While in the ʿAbbāsid metropolises the *ʿulamāʾ* had needed to deploy considerable energy to maintain their position in relation to institutions of political power, in the cities of the Būyid dominions they were more free to assert themselves (Crone, *Slaves*, 85).

Yet on the other hand, the former order of scholarly activity evolved with the institutionalisation of the international network of contacts between scholars and with their professionalisation. This phenomenon first developed as a result of the foundation of colleges and pious foundations (*madrasa*, *waḳf* [*q.vv.*]; Makdisi, *Humanism*, 24-38), although this did not in essence affect the system of instruction (*tarbiya* [*q.v.*]; Makdisi, *Humanism*, 97-117; Gilliot, *Théologie et littérature*) in Islam, which remained much as it had been before, i.e. largely informal and based on the relationship between masters and disciples (Berkey, 18, 85-94; Gilliot, *Transmission*).

However, while in the first centuries scholars had been obliged to earn their living through the exercise of secular occupations (Cohen, 35-45), or by reliance on individual patronage, the new institutions of education and transmission of knowledge and the places offering accommodation to students or teachers (*madrasa, dār al-ḥadīt̲h̲, k̲h̲ānaḳāh, ribāṭ, zāwiya* [*q.vv.*] assisted the latter financially and materially (Gilbert, 118-9; Makdisi, *Humanism*, 232-8; Chamberlain, 61-66). This did not prevent some scholars from continuing to pursue professions in crafts or in commerce (Petry, 241-4).

The professionalisation of the *ʿulamāʾ* proceeded apace, for example, in Cairo in the second half of the 8th/13th century. Between this period and the beginning of the 11th/16th century, appointments to posts in education were often controlled by the Mamlūks or by the intellectual élite itself (Berkey, ch. iv). Among the *ʿulamāʾ* of Cairo during this period, there was seen the emergence of a kind of "intermediate" class (Lapidus); while there was no real separation between the various circles, this élite was not particularly interested in the problems of the masses, nor in the pursuit of power, although there were occasions when it intervened on behalf of the populace, and the latter felt a special empathy for those among the scholars in whom commonly-held values were believed to be discernible.

Despite the evidence of social mobility, this scholarly élite also experienced certain forms of self-reproduction, if not in-breeding, and this led to the emergence of veritable dynasties of scholars (Bulliet, 55-60; Mottahedeh, 135, *passim*; Berkey, 126-7; A.K.S. Lambton, in *SI*, v [1956], 134, for quasi-hereditary posts of *ḳāḍī*): the Ibn ʿAsākir, al-Buluḳīnī, Ibn D̲j̲amāʿa, Ibn Ḳudāma, Ibn Ṣaṣrā [*q.vv.*]; for the latter, see Petry, 232-40), the Bakrīs in Egypt in the 10th/16th century (M.T. al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Ṣiddīḳ*, Cairo 1905; Winter, 222-3), the al-ʿAd̲j̲amīs in Aleppo (Eddé), the ʿĀṣim al-T̲h̲aḳafīs in al-Andalus (Fierro), the Ibn Abī ʿĪsās in Cordova (Marín, 291, n. 1-2, with other references).

Personal relations between scholars also played a role in appointments, as is evident from the favours enjoyed by Walī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 826/1423)

on the part of the friends of his father Zayn al-Dīn (Berkey, 120-1). Some were anxious to guarantee lucrative posts for their children (Makdisi, *Colleges*, 170-1). Evolution towards professionalism reached its culminating point under the Ottomans, who established a hierarchy of *muftīs*, presided over by the senior *muftī* of Istanbul, the *shaykh al-islām* [*q.v.*] (see further on the Ottoman religious institution, section 3. below, and 'ILMIYYE). As regards the intellectual situation of the *'ulamā'* towards the end of the so-called "classical" period, from the 7th/13th and especially from the 8th/14th century onward, the preliminary symptoms of stagnation or of sclerosis become evident. Thus Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), in his survey of the religious sciences (*Muḳaddima*, ch. vi, ii, 364-iii, 80, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 411-iii, 103), in numerous instances deplores the decadence of theology in his time. But long before this, the incompetence of scholars who preferred appearance to knowledge had been a widespread theme, sometimes inspired, admittedly, by pride or envy (Berkey, 183-8). It could be said that sclerosis set in during the 9th/15th century, if by this it is meant that few original works were produced, and that the decline in creativity, already perceptible during the two preceding centuries, became an established fact. It is appropriate, however, to show caution in this regard, since some talented polygraphers, of whom the best example is al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), made worthwhile contributions to the religious sciences at this time (Gilliot, *Evolution*).

For the *'ulamā'* of al-Andalus, see Monès and Urvoy. For the rivalries of scholars of the different *madhhabs* or persuasions, see Laoust, *Pluralismes*, 1-133; Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, 293-383; Chamberlain, 92-107; Pouzet, *Damas*, 108-12. For various positions in regard to Ṣūfism, see TAṢAWWUF.

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(Cl. Gilliot)

2. In Persia [see mudjtahid, and āyatullāh, in Suppl.].

3. In Ottoman Turkey.

While the early Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*, in particular, broadly shared the formation, functions and outlook of their counterparts in other Islamic societies, by far their most distinctive feature came to be the formalisation of their role in the state through the development under successive sultans, beginning with Mehemmed II (1451-81 [*q.v.*]), of an (eventually) thoroughgoing and highly elaborated *cursus honorum* of learned offices—the so-called *ʿilmiyye* [*q.v.*]—on a scale quite unprecedented in Islam. (It should be observed that so striking is this feature of the Ottoman scene that the existence of *ʿulamāʾ* who chose to stand outside the learned hierarchy, or at the least refused to be fully drawn into it, tends to go unremarked.) If this arguably purposeful, certainly large-scale incorporation of the *ʿulamāʾ* by the state into its service led to sometimes fruitful collaboration with the secular authorities (as in the case, for example, of Kemāl Pasha-zāde and Abu 'l-Suʿūd Efendi [*q.vv.*] in the reign of Süleymān I (1520-66 [*q.v.*]), the creation and elaboration of the *ʿilmiyye* may be said also to have had the ultimately subversive effect of closely defining a class and providing it with a clearly defined set of material goals. As a result, by the 18th century a virtually closed aristocracy of the *ʿulamāʾ* had come into being which had little to do with the traditional roles of the *ʿulamāʾ* as transmitters of Islamic learning, as exemplars of piety, or as mediators between the rulers and the ruled. Deprived of many of their sources of power and wealth by the reforms of Maḥmūd II (1808-39 [*q.v.*]) and of the Tanẓīmāt (1839-76 [*q.v.*]), the *ʿulamāʾ* lived in uneasy coexistence with new structures in the fields of, for example, education and the administration of justice throughout the remainder of the 19th and the early 20th centuries until their corporate existence was brought to an end in the early years of the Republic, with the reforms following the abolition of the Caliphate in March 1924.

Bibliography: Both the structure and (briefly) the history of the Ottoman learned institution are discussed in the article ʿilmiyye. In addition to it, and the sources there cited, reference should be made, *inter alia*, to the articles fatwā. ii. Ottoman Empire; ḳāḍī; ḳāḍī ʿaskar; and shaykh al-islām. For further information on the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *ʿilmiyye* to the end of the 16th century, see H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire, the classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 165-202; R.C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, London 1986, esp. 27-72. For the 17th and 18th centuries, see M.C. Zilfi, *The politics of piety: the Ottoman Ulama in the postclassical age (1600-1800)*, Minneapolis 1988. For an overview of the *ʿulamāʾ* during the reform period, see R.L. Chambers, *The Ottoman Ulema and the Tanzimat*, in N.R. Keddie (ed.) *Scholars, saints, and Sufis*, Berkeley, etc. 1972, 32-46; and for references to the role of the *ʿulamāʾ* in the post-Tanẓīmāt period, see E.J. Zürcher, *Turkey, a modern history*, London 1993, index *s.vv.*

(R.C. Repp)

4. In Muslim India.

Here the *ʿulamāʾ* occupied a prestigious position and were actively involved in promoting the religious sciences, so much so that Rashīd Riḍāʾ [*q.v.*] remarked that when the science of *ḥadīth* was on the decline in the Islamic lands, the Indian *ʿulamāʾ* resuscitated it (*Miftāḥ kunūz al-sunna*, Beirut 1985, 12). The author of the *Tādj al-maʾāthir* called them "a gem in the ring of *sharīʿat*", while Fakhr-i Mudabbir assigned them a place below the prophets but above the rulers, and quoted the following three sayings of the Prophet to highlight their position: (i) "The *ʿulamāʾ* are the heirs of the Prophets". (ii) "If there were no *ʿulamāʾ* the people would have loitered about in the world like wild animals". (iii) "The best rulers are those who go to the door of the *ʿulamāʾ* and the worst *ʿulamāʾ* are those who go to the door of the rulers" (*Tārīkh-i Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh*, London 1927, 9-12).

In popular parlance, the phrase *ʿulamāʾ-o-mashāyikh* was used for two distinct types of men of religion, one looking after the external and the other after the spiritual aspect of religion. The *ʿulamāʾ* were categorised as *ʿulamāʾ-i ākhirat* and *ʿulamāʾ-i dunyā* (Baranī, *Tārīkh*, 154-5). The former led an abstemious life of pious devotion to religious learning and kept away from courts; the *ʿulamāʾ-i dunyā* involved themselves in material pursuits and consorted with kings. Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ [*q.v.*] once remarked about them: "Knowledge is in itself a noble thing, but when it is used for earning money and the scholars go about from door to door, respect for it vanishes" (*Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, 182). Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] called such scholars *ʿulamāʾ-i sūʾ* and held them responsible for the misery of the community and the religious confusion that prevailed in his day (*Maktūbāt*, Lucknow 1877, i, 46-7, 70). Anxious to win royal favours, such *ʿulamāʾ* gave *fatwās* to justify their actions. The *ʿulamāʾ* of the Slave King Kayḳubād's court gave a *fatwā* which rendered as obligatory prayers and fasts for the sultan (Baranī, *Tārīkh*, 154). Miyān Muṣṭafā, a Mahdawī *ʿālim* of the 16th century, treated such *ʿulamāʾ* as *rahzan* (bandits) (*Djawāhir al-taṣdīḳ*, Ḥaydarābād 1367/1948, 25, 53, 61). However, the *ʿulamāʾ* who spent their lives in imparting religious knowledge and kept away from the courts were held in high esteem. They dedicated themselves to producing religious works and led lives of penitence and poverty.

As specialists in the Islamic sciences. The *ʿulamāʾ* of the higher category specialised in some branch of Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* or *kalām*—and gained fame as *mufassir*,

muhaddith or *muftī*. 'Alā' al-Dīn Mahā'imī (author of the *Tabṣīr al-Raḥmān wa-taysīr al-Mannān*), Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī (author of the *Baḥr-i mawwādj*), Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī [*q.v.*] (author of *Fatḥ al-khabīr bi-mā lā budda min ḥifẓihi fī 'ilm al-tafsīr* and translator of the Ḳur'ān into Persian), Thanā' Allāh Pānīpatī (author of the *Tafsīr-i Maẓharī*) and others were known for their exegetical studies.

Among the *muḥaddithūn* the names of Raḍī al-Dīn Ṣaghānī (author of the *Mashāriḳ al-anwār*), 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (author of *Lama'āt al-tanḳīḥ 'alā Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*), 'Alī Muttaḳī (author of the *Kanz al-'ummāl*), Ṭāhir Pattanī (author of the *Madjma' biḥār al-anwār fī gharā'ib al-tanzīl wa-laṭā'if al-akhbār*), Shāh Walī Allāh (author of *al-Musawwā*, *al-Muḥallā* and the *Sharḥ Tarādjim abwāb al-Bukhārī*) were famous for their contribution to *ḥadīth* studies.

In the sphere of law, the contemporary *'ulamā'* of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ and, three centuries later, Awrangzīb, made notable contributions. The *Fatāwā-yi Tatār-Khāniyya* of 'Ālim b. 'Alā' (ed. Ḳāḍī Sadjdjād Ḥusayn, 5 vols. Ḥaydarābād 1984-9) and the *Fatāwā-yi 'Ālamgīriyya* (Kānpūr 1350/1931-2) by a group of distinguished *'ulamā'* under the direct supervision of Awrangzīb, are works of great importance. Though works on *fiḳh* had appeared during the time of Balban (e.g. the *Fatāwā al-Ghiyāthiyya*) and the Khaldjī sultans (the *Fatāwā Ḳara-Khāniyya*), it was during the time of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ that legal studies developed. Of the various problems investigated by the *'ulamā'*, the question of the ownership of land in India examined by Shaykh Djalāl al-Dīn Thānesarī (*Taḥaḳḳuḳ-i arāḍī-yi Hind*, ed. Sa'īd Ashraf Ḥasanī, Karachi) deserves special mention.

In the sphere of *kalām*, Shāh Walī Allāh's *Ḥudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha* reflects the author's understanding of the problems of the 18th century. (For his distinctly original sociological concepts, see Nizami, *The historical role of three Auliya of South Asia*, Karachi 1987, 35-60, and also idem, *Shah Wali Allah of Delhi. His thought and contribution*, in *IC* [1980], 141-52.)

The teaching institutions of some *'ulamā'* became famous for the study of some specific branch of religious learning, like the *madrasa-yi Raḥīmiyya* of Shāh Walī Allāh for *ḥadīth* studies and the *Farangī Maḥal* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] one for *fiḳh* studies. Some scholars devoted themselves to specific classics of their field of study; thus Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ concentrated on the *Mishkāt*, and Shāh Walī Allāh on the *Muwaṭṭa'*, and scholars from different regions turned to them for instruction in these works.

Considered in the broad perspective of their studies, the *'ulamā'* of the first phase in Muslim India were in general involved mostly in preparing commentaries and summaries of classical works; in the next phase they were concerned with legal studies and combatting sectarianism; in the third phase they concentrated on *ḥadīth* studies; while in the 18th century scholastic theology (*'ilm-i kalām*) was their main concern. Each trend was inspired by the specific needs of Muslim society at the particular times.

As modest-living and ascetic teachers. There were *'ulamā'*, like Mawlānā 'Alā' al-Dīn Uṣūlī and Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Zāhid, both teachers of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', who rejected court life and turned to giving instruction in their own mud houses. Uṣūlī carried on teaching even when starving (*Fawā'id al-fu'ād*, 165-6; *Khayr al-madjālis*, 180, 190-1). Balban summoned Mawlānā Zāhid and requested him to serve as his personal *imām*. "Our prayer is all that is left to us, does the sultan want to take that also from us?", replied the Mawlānā (*Siyar al-awliyā'*, 106). *'Ulamā'* of this category tended to be more respected by the people.

At rulers' courts. Many Muslim rulers kept round themselves *'ulamā'* as a sign of their dignity and prestige. Iltutmish spent one crore (? of *tankas*) on them (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 165). Balban, Sikandar Lōdī and many other sultans in Dihlī and the provinces visited the houses of the *'ulamā'* and heard their sermons. Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī criticised at the court of Iltutmish some customs and practices of the sultans. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ kept a team of *'ulamā'* by his side and obtained their concurrence before executing anybody. According to 'Iṣāmī, other *'ulamā'* had issued a *fatwā* legalising rebellion against this ruler.

There were some posts in the administration like those of *Ṣadr-i Djahān, Shaykh al-Islām, muḥtasib, ḳāḍī, khaṭīb*, and teachers in government *madrasas*, which were the exclusive province of the *'ulamā'*.

International contacts. It appears that *'ulamā'* of Indian origin gained wider recognition in Muslim lands elsewhere quite early. In the 6th/12th century, al-Sam'ānī gave (*Ansāb*, facs. ed., 237, 313, 497, 543) several *nisbas* of scholars such as Daybulī, Sindhī, Lāhūrī and Manṣūrī. After the Mongol invasion, many *'ulamā'* migrated from Central Asia and Persia to India. Referring to scholars in Lahore, Ḥasan Niẓāmī says that "out of every hundred persons ninety were *'ālim* and out of every ten, nine were *mufassir* of the Ḳur'ān" (*Tādj al-ma'āthir*, ms.; see also 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. Madras, 114-15). During the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī, some scholars of Dihlī had, according to Baranī, attained a stature equal to that of Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, al-Ghazālī and Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī, and scholars from different parts of the Islamic world came to study at their feet. Conversely, the Indian *'ulamā'* kept in contact with Islamic centres of learning elsewhere, and Shaykh 'Alī Muttaḳī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith, Shāh Walī Allāh and others visited the Ḥidjāz.

Political involvement. From the time of Shāh Walī Allāh, who wrote political letters to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] and Indian potentates to strive for the resurrection of Muslim political authority in India, the *'ulamā'* became deeply involved in political struggles. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz declared against the British government of India; Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*] approached the Rādjā of Gwāliyār [*q.v.*] to join hands in the struggle against foreign domination. In the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8 many *'ulamā'* were active, and subsequently, in the conspiracy trials of Ambala, Patna and other places, many *'ulamā'* were convicted, and some of them exiled to the Andaman Islands or Malta (see *IC* [1990], 29-63).

As organisers of religious debates (munāẓarāt). During the Sultanate and the Mughal periods some *'ulamā'* had involved themselves in Islamic sectarian controversies, but during the 19th century they were drawn into *munāẓaras* with the Hindus and the Christian missionaries. *'Ulamā'* like Raḥmat Allāh Kayrānwī, Thanā' Allāh Pānīpatī, Ḥāfiẓ 'Alī Farrukhābādī and others were involved in these, and a profuse literature arose on such controversies.

Responses to Western science and education. Since these had come with British rule, the *'ulamā'* for long hesitated to accept them. However, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz Dihlawī, who had declared India to be *dār al-ḥarb*, did not hesitate to praise British achievements in science and technology. The *fatāwā* of 'Abd al-Ḥayy Farangī Maḥallī show the reaction of *'ulamā'* to new circumstances of resulting from the spread of Western ways of life (see Nizami, *Socio-religious movements in Indian Islam 1763-1898*, in *IC* [1970], 131-46).

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(K.A. Nizami)

5. In South-East Asia.

As in other parts of the Muslim world, this general term encompasses a variety of specific functions, including judge, scholar and publisher and teacher and instructor at all intellectual and social levels. As possessors of knowledge in the widest sense the *ʿulamāʾ* might be government functionaries or they might be active outside government. It is not uncommon in South-East Asia for the individual *ʿālim* to act in both spheres throughout his life. The *ʿulamāʾ* always represented a possible alternative locus of authority to the organs of state. While there is no general history of *ʿulamāʾ* in South-East Asia, the following topics seem to be crucial in any account of their function.

(a) *The pre-modern and colonial Muslim world.*

First, in the field of literature we have extensive text traditions in all genres [see INDONESIA; MALAYSIA; PATANI]. From the late 18th and particularly in the 19th century, the materials are especially strong in *fiḳh* and local *fatāwā*. Much yet remains to be studied in these areas. Second, in the field of education (and by extension publication) the *ʿulamāʾ* established extensive networks of schools and publication houses right through Muslim South-East Asia. They maintained strong internal links and also had links to Mecca, Medina and, later to al-Azhar. The profession was commonly exercised as a family affair. Third, and especially important as to the *ʿulamāʾ* being an alternative locus of authority, is their political function. In the pre-European period, the *ʿulamāʾ* were instrumental in providing an alternative (West Asian-Muslim) model for kingship and rule. In addition, they insisted on the primacy of Islam as the only proper source of authority in the Malay and Javanese kingdoms. These demands did not always sit easily with the political realities of the time. In the colonial period, the *ʿulamāʾ* were a focus for resistance to European rule [see PADRI for an example; generally, see INDONESIA].

(b) *The post-colonial and modern Muslim world.*

The position and status of Islam has been immeasurably improved with the demise of colonialism. For the first time since the pre-modern Sultanates, Islamic political parties and activities are no longer proscribed and have a real chance of exercising political power. However, the *ʿulamāʾ*, because they interpret Islam and express it in political terms, are all the more an alternative source of authority. Malaysia and Indonesia are secular states, and the tension between this fact and the Islamic imperative has been and will remain a consistent feature of modern politics. The state has reacted in two ways. First, by attempting to co-opt the *ʿulamāʾ* into state service, as in appointments to teaching institutions, and to government advisory bodies such as "Councils of Ulama", or "Councils of Religion" which have specific advice and regulatory functions. In addition, Departments/Offices of Religion have been established in Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Indonesia and the Philippines, which all provide considerable career opportunities for *ʿulamāʾ*. Second, the states have permitted overt political activity by Islamic groups. The Islamic political parties (PMIP, and later PAS in Malaysia and the NU, Masjumi and later PPP in Indonesia) have never held outright power. Instead, they fulfill the historical role of *ʿulamāʾ* in offering the Islamic political, intellectual and moral alternative, often now in Western-derived forms, in which many of them have recently been educated.

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(M.B. Hooker)

6. Amongst the Han Chinese, Chinese-speaking Muslims.

Generally speaking, learned Chinese Muslims, though many of them were Confucian literati, are usually called *ʿālim* (or A-lin in Chinese) distinguished from the Islamic clergy title *imām* or *ahung*. Because of their long assimilation into the host Han culture in a non-Islamic environment, Muslims in China have never fully developed their institutions such as *madrasas*, *ḳāḍīs* and *muftīs*, as in other Islamic lands, and Islam has been confined to personal religious practice. As a result of assimilation, Chinese Muslims usually acquired a Confucian education and adopted its ethics in order to survive in the majority Han society. Chinese Muslims were probably not aware of the formation of a body of *ʿulamāʾ* existing outside China, as the term did not appear in Chinese Islamic works until the

beginning of the 20th century. After several centuries of assimilation, most Han-speaking Muslims were becoming ignorant of their religion. Hence some Muslim intellectuals became worried about the decline of Islam, and launched the so-called "Renaissance Movement" or "Islamic revival". Amongst the Muslim literati, Wang Tai-yü (d. 1657 or 1658), Ma Chu (1640-1710?), Liu Chih (1662-1736) and Ma Fu-ch'u (1794?-1874) are regarded as the leading figures in the history of Chinese Islam, being extolled as "The Four Grand *ʿUlamā'*". They began translating Islamic works from Persian into Chinese, and tried to encourage writing on Islamic subjects in Chinese.

Wang Tai-yü was apparently the pioneer here. Wang indicated in his books that his writings were aimed at bringing true religion to his fellow Muslims and at clarifying Islam to the Chinese Confucianists who were usually biased against other faiths. His most important works are: (1) *Chêng-chiao Chên-chuen* ("The true interpretation of Islam"), an interpretation of the *Sharīʿa* and basic doctrines of Islam, and defence of Islam against the Confucianists, Taoists and Buddhists' attacks; and (2) *Ch'ing-chên Ta-shue* ("The advanced knowledge of Islam"), focussing on the doctrine of *tawḥīd* and Islamic cosmology.

According to his biography, Ma Chu was especially active in the movement, seeking to revive Islam through politics. He wrote a few books mainly on Confucian politics, but only one on Islam: *Ch'ing-chên Chih-nan* ("The compass-guide to Islam"). In this, Ma Chu tried to prove that Islam is superior to other Chinese religions by comparing Islamic doctrines and ethics in these faiths. He spent four years travelling around China proper preaching Islam to Muslims and to Han literati, so that his book became widely circulated and praised. He even tried to seek an audience with the Emperor so that he could make Islam known to him, and secure the raising of Islam to the status of Confucianism, but failed.

Liu Chih has been reckoned by modern scholars as the inaugurator of the Islamic sciences in China. He has even been revered as the spiritual founder of the Chinese native Ṣūfī order, Hsi-tao-tang. It is said that he wrote more than 500 *chüan* (volumes) on Islamic subjects, but only three books have survived: (1) *T'ien-fang Hsing-li* ("The philosophy of Islam"); (2) *T'ien-fang Tien-li* ("Islamic law and traditions"); (3) *T'ien-fang Chih-sheng Shih-lu* ("Biography of the Islamic Prophet"). The first book was compiled from various Arabic and Persian sources, mainly Ṣūfī and Shīʿī works, and was popular amongst the Han élites, since Liu's theories coincided with the cosmology of neo-Confucianism. The second book is more a comprehensive manual for Chinese Muslim life. The third one may be a translation from *Tardjama-i Mawlūd-i Muṣṭafā* (probably a translation of Saʿīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī's Arabic work).

Unlike the other three, Yūsuf Ma Fu-ch'u (or Ma Te-hsing) was an *imām-ʿālim*, and the founder of the Yunnan school of Islamic education (the other two are those of Shantung and Shen-hsi). He studied Islam first in Shen-hsi, then went to Mecca on pilgrimage and for learning the "true Islamic sciences". Unlike the other three, who absorbed Confucian education in childhood and then turned to Islam, Ma Fu-ch'u studied Confucianism at the age of 40. As a syncretist, Ma Fu-ch'u tried to harmonise Islamic and Confucian ethics in his teachings, because he thought this was the only way of survival in the *Dār al-Ḥarb*. Nevertheless, he insisted that Muslims should observe strictly Islamic duties while adopting Confucian traditions. He is regarded the most prolific scholar in the late 19th century, and about 40 of his works have survived. He was probably the first ever to try to translate the Ḳur'ān into Chinese, but this was abandoned when he was executed by the Manchu-Ch'ing government during the Panthay [*q.v.*] rebellion. The *Sŭ-tien Yao-hui* ("The abridgement of four Islamic classics") is probably his masterpiece, and provides the best evidence of his religious and scholarly accomplishments, presenting his syncretism and Islamic apologia. Ma Fu-chu's achievement in Chinese Islam was outstanding; before him, the qualifications of *ʿālim* and *imām* had never been combined in one person. One might suggest that he tried to turn the *ʿulamā'* into a more cohesive body.

The works of these four scholars have become Chinese Islamic classics from which later generations have drawn their thought. Because of Ma Fu-ch'u's initiation, the institution of *ʿulamā'* thus came partially into being. When global travelling grew in the 20th century, more frequent contacts with Muslims in other Islamic lands made Chinese Muslims place more emphasis on *ʿulamā'*, but trends of secularisation and westernisation in modern China have meant that traditional *madrasa* education has been replaced by a modern Western one, so that the enthusiasm was never fully given shape. In any case, the modern Chinese state is unlikely to allow Muslims to set up their own religio-political or religio-educational systems, as being potential centres of political challenge.

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(CHANG-KUAN LIN)

7. In West Africa.

In West Africa, although ancient centres such as Dia in Masina, Takidda [*q.v.*], and Tādmakkat in the Adrar-n-Ifoghas had older traditions of Islamic learning, it is only in 9th/15th century Timbuktu [*q.v.*] that a recognisable body of *ʿulamā'* first emerges, dominated by two prominent Ṣanhādja families: the descendants of Muḥammad Aḳīt, and those of Anda Agh-Muḥammad. Between them they filled the offices of *ḳāḍī* of the city and *imām* of the Sankore mosque for close to two centuries. During this period, Timbuktu emerged as the major Islamic teaching centre of West Africa, leading some to speak of a Sankore university. However, although much of the teaching took place in the Sankore quarter, there is no indication of an organisational structure, officially-appointed teachers or student hostels. The institution of *waḳf* or *ḥubus*

which allowed the establishment of public teaching institutions in other areas of the Islamic world seems to have been unused in West Africa. Scholars held classes in their houses or in the mosque, references to *madrasas* (*Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān*, 34, 78-9) apparently referring to private classes rather than to public institutions.

The formational curriculum of the aspiring *'ālim* in Timbuktu, and to a large extent elsewhere in West Africa, was grounded in the study of Mālikī *fikh*: the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik, the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn, the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, the *Mukhtaṣar far'ī* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib with the *Tawḍīḥ*, a commentary by Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, whose *Mukhtaṣar* was the principal work of reference in the field in much of the *bilād al-Sūdān* down to the 20th century. These were supplemented by *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* of Ibn 'Āṣim on judicial procedure, the *Madkhal* of Ibn al-Ḥādjdj on normative conduct, and *al-Mi'yār al-mughrib*, the great collection of Mālikī *fatāwā* by al-Wansharīsī; *uṣūl al-fikh* was studied from the Shāfi'ī text *Djāmi' al-ummahāt* of Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī. *Tawḥīd* was studied from the various *'aḳā'id* of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī and the *manẓūma* of Aḥmad al-Djazā'irī; *ḥadīth* comprised the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim and the *Alfiyya* of al-'Irāḳī on the technicalities of transmission. The chief work of Arabic grammar was the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik; of prosody, the *Khazradjiyya* of 'Abd Allāh al-Khazradjī; of Ṣūfism, the *Ḥikam* of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī; of prophetic piety, the *Shifā'* of *Ḳāḍī* 'Iyāḍ; of logic, the *Djumal* of al-Khūnadjī; and of astronomy as related to the calendar, the *naẓm* of Abū Muḳri'. Many of these works could also be found in the curriculum of Fulbe teachers two centuries later, such as that pursued by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Fodiye (1178-1245/1764-1829) in north-western Hausaland, though the list of works which he studied in Arabic grammar is considerably larger (see M. Hiskett, *Material relating to the state of learning among the Fulani before their jihād*, in *BSOAS*, xix [1957], 550-78). In southern Mauritania, a contemporary of his, Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Fullānī of Futa Djallon (1166-1218/1753-1803), pursued a curriculum of *fikh* which included the above works and many more, as well as a wide range of works of *tafsīr* (al-Bayḍāwī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Rāzī, al-Ḳurṭubī, al-Baghawī, Ibn Djuzayy, Ibn 'Aṭiyya), a very extensive curriculum of *ḥadīth* including numerous commentaries, and a curriculum in Arabic language which included such fundamental texts as the book of Sībawayhi, the *K. al-'Ayn* of Khalīl b. Aḥmad, and the *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī; and in literary studies, the *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad and the *Āmālī* of al-Ḳālī (Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, *Ḳaṭf al-thamar*, Ḥaydarābād 1328/1910).

Such an extensive training was probably uncommon, but until further research is done, we cannot be sure just how uncommon. Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī was unusual in that he left West Africa at the age of twenty and took up residence in Medina, where he became a prominent teacher in the *ḥadīth* movement which denounced the authority of the *madhāhib*, decrying *taḳlīd* and calling for following (*ittibā'*) of the Prophet's practice through individual scrutiny of the *ḥadīth* literature to determine the legitimacy of actions (see his *Īḳāẓ ulī 'l-himam wa 'l-abṣār li 'l-iḳtidā' bi-sayyid al-muhādjirīn wa 'l-anṣār*, Beirut 1398/1978). His writings were taken to India, where protagonists of the Ahl-i Ḥadīth movement proclaimed him the co-*mudjaddid* of the 12th century of the *hidjra* along with Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (see Muḥammad Ashraf al-Ṣiddīḳī al-'Aẓīmābādī, *'Awn al-ma'būd 'alā sunan Abī Dāwūd*, Dihlī 1323/1909, iv, 181). He was not the only West African *'ālim* to settle and teach in the Middle East: Muḥammad b. Muhammad al-Kashnāwī (d. 1154/1741-2) taught in Mecca and died in the Djabartī household in Cairo; in the 20th century the Tidjānī scholar Alfa Hāshim (d. 1349/1931) made *hidjra* from French occupation to settle and teach in Mecca. Many others, over the centuries, studied with scholars in the Ḥidjāz or Egypt whilst making the pilgrimage to Mecca; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī received many in the 9th/15th century, and maintained written contact with others (see E.M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's relations with the people of Takrūr*, in *JSS*, xv [1971], 193-8); Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī likewise maintained West African links.

West African *'ulamā'*, especially before the 20th century, were much concerned with distinguishing believers from unbelievers [see TAKFĪR. In West Africa] and preventing backsliding. A constant theme of their writings is that of *tadjdīd*, regeneration of the faith. The notion first appears in the replies which the North African scholar Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī (d. 909/1503-4 or 910/1504-5 [*q.v.*]) wrote for Askiya *al-ḥādjdj* Muḥammad of Songhay. Dyula *'ulamā'* of the Suwarian tradition (deriving from the 9th/15th century teacher *al-ḥādjdj* Sālim Suwari) made *tadjdīd* an ongoing obligation for their communities. The reformist scholar 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye (d. 1232/1817 [*q.v.*]) styled himself a *mudjaddid*, and wrote extensively on distinctions between believers and unbelievers, and the eradication of beliefs and actions contrary to the Sunna (see, for example, his *Iḥyā' al-sunna wa-ikhmād al-bida'*, Cairo n.d. [*ca.* 1962]). Al-Suyūṭī's *urdjūza* on the *mudjaddidūn* was known in West Africa, and scholars of the Kunta clan [*q.v.*] extended it to include West African scholars for the 10th and 11th centuries of the *hidjra*. An anonymous *urdjūza* of the 13th/19th century entitled *Tuḥfat al-mustarshid fī dhikr mā li 'l-dīn min mudjaddid* (B.N., Paris, ms. arabe 5615, fols. 100a-103b), and probably written in southern Mauritania, includes a number of West African names beginning with Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1036/1627 [*q.v.*]) for the 10th century of the *hidjra* and ending with al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d. 1226/1811).

Relations between the *'ulamā'* and the holders of political power were until the 18th century generally circumspect and at times cordial. In Songhay, after the discordant relationship between Sunni 'Alī (r. 1464-92) and the *'ulamā'*, the rulers of the 10th/16th century (the Askiya dynasty) showed marks of respect, sometimes visiting the *'ulamā'* of Timbuktu and making gifts to a wide range of holy men. In Bornū under the Sayfawa rulers, the office of Chief Imām (*al-imām al-kabīr*) was evidently a state office from the 10th/16th century. Gifts of land and exemption from taxation and harrassment by the ruler's agents were sometimes granted in royal charters (*maḥram*), as they were farther east in Dār Fūr and the Fundj state of Sinnār on the Blue Nile. In the 18th century, West African *'ulamā'* became more actively involved in the political sphere. They were instrumental in establishing Islamic polities in Futa Djallon and Futa Toro at this time, while in the 19th century *'ulamā'* such as 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye, Aḥmadu Lobbo (d. 1844 [*q.v.*]) of Masina and *al-ḥādjdj* 'Umar b. Sa'īd (d. 1864), themselves assumed leadership of states whose creation they had fostered through *djihād*, adopting in all three cases the caliphal title *amīr al-mu'minīn*.

In the 20th century, West African *'ulamā'* adopted various positions vis-à-vis colonial rule, some avoiding direct contact with colonial institutions and personnel, others working closely with them; in either case motivations for such positions were complex, but

the stands the *'ulamā'* took were generally supported, explicitly or implicitly, by reference to *sharī'a* norms. While older teaching traditions have not yet completely died out, many aspiring scholars in the second half of the present century have gone for study to al-Azhar, or more recently to institutions of higher learning in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere in the Arab world. In the new nation-states, the roles of the *'ulamā'* have been considerably restricted, especially in the legal sphere, though they can still make their voices heard through national Islamic bodies such as the Supreme Council on Islamic Affairs (Nigeria), the Association Malienne pour l'Unité et le Progrès de l'Islam (Mali), and the Conseil Supérieur des Chefs Religieux (Senegal).

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AL-'ULAYMĪ [see MUDJĪR AL-DĪN AL-'ULAYMĪ].

'ULAYYA BT. AL-MAHDĪ, a daughter of the caliph, gifted musician and a poet. She was born in 160/777 and died in 210/825. Her mother Maknūna had been a *djāriya* and professional singer in the service of the Marwānids in Medina before she was sold to the 'Abbāsid prince in Baghdād. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] and the later caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd were 'Ulayya's half-brothers. In her youth, she was married to one of her 'Abbāsid relatives, Mūsā b. 'Īsā, who had served as a governor in different places before settling in Baghdād, three years before he died in 183/799. Her intelligence and wit, as well as her taste and elegance (*ẓarf*), were much admired at court, where she was held in the highest esteem by al-Rashīd. She also trained female singers for his palace and had her own disciples. When the caliph died in 193/809, she reduced her artistic activities, and only rarely is she mentioned in the company of the succeeding caliphs al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. Seventy-two of her songs were still known to the singer 'Arīb in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. A small *dīwān* of her poetry is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm. More than 200 verses attributed to 'Ulayya, mostly treating of courtly love and wine, have been preserved by al-Ṣūlī and by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī in the *Aghānī*. A collection of her song texts was also quoted by the latter.

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'ULDJAYTŪ KHUDĀBANDA [see ÖLDJEYTÜ].

ULEMA [see 'ULAMĀ'].

ULU DĀGH, modern Turkish Ulu Dağ, a small but imposing mountain range in northwestern Anatolia, to the south-east of Bursa [*q.v.*] and now in the *il* or province of Bursa. It is some 32 km/20 miles by 13 km/8 miles in extent, and its forest-clad slopes rise to a peak of 2,493 m/8,170 feet (lat. 40° 05' N., long. 28° 58' E.), the highest point of western Anatolia. It is the classical Mysian Olympus, but its more modern fame is as a winter ski resort.

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'ULŪDJ 'ALĪ, Mediterranean corsair, Ottoman administrator and Grand Admiral of the Turkish fleet (*Kapudan Pasha* [*q.v.*]; b. *ca.* 926/1520 in Calabria, d. 995/1587 in Istanbul). In western literature, his name has been routinely distorted or Italianised, the most frequent form being Occhiali. The name Ḳilīdj 'Alī ("'Alī the Sword"), preferred by modern Turkish historiography, was conferred on him in the aftermath of the Battle of Lepanto [see 'AYNABAKHTĪ], together with the post of Ḳapudan Pasha, as a reward for scoring a partial victory in the otherwise disastrous defeat.

Like many other North African corsairs, ʿUlūdj ʿAlī began his career as a convert to Islam after being taken prisoner, at the age of 16, and serving as a rower on a galley. His original name, Giovan Dionigi Galeni, was at that point changed to ʿUlūdj ʿAlī (Ar. *ʿulūdj*, pl. of *ʿildj* "barbarian", possibly in this context with the connotation of being of Christian or non-Arab origin). The fame and wealth he gained in running down Christian shipping propelled him to the ranks of the Turkish naval élite, a step symbolised by his attachment, from 955/1548 onwards, to Turghud Reʾīs [*q.v.*]. His official career was launched with that of his sponsor, when in 958/1551 he accompanied him to Istanbul and received a salary together with the right to carry one *fener* (lantern, as a sign of imperial service) on his ship. From then on, ʿUlūdj ʿAlī participated in the principal naval campaigns, such as the victory at Djerba (967/1560) and the siege of Malta (Shawwāl 972-Ṣafar 973/May-September 1565). Later that year, he was given the important post of *beylerbeyi* of Algiers, a function that soon included the challenge of helping the Muslims of Spain and dealing with Spanish presence and influence in Tunisia. He successfully intervened in the latter country by overcoming the Spanish garrison at Goletta [see ḤALḲ AL-WĀDĪ] and installing an Ottoman governor in Tunis; he could offer only token help, however, to the coreligionists in Spain who had risen against Christian rule. These events, gaining momentum in 1569, happened to coincide with the Ottoman plans for the conquest of Cyprus, and ʿUlūdj ʿAlī was one of those summoned to join that campaign.

ʿUlūdj ʿAlī, with his contingent of Algerian ships, commanded the left (seaward) wing of the fleet at the Battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571). While the Turkish defeat may be partly attributed to the mediocre leadership of the Ḳapudan Pasha Muʾadhdhin-zāde ʿAlī Pasha, ʿUlūdj ʿAlī's brilliant manoeuvres not only saved his ships but even mauled the galley of Gianandrea Doria, commander of the Christian fleet's right wing. As Ḳapudan Pasha, ʿUlūdj ʿAlī then undertook a vigorous rebuilding of the Ottoman fleet and led successful naval campaigns in the following years. The recovery culminated in 982/1574 when the Turks retook Tunis, captured a year earlier by the Spanish under the command of Don Juan of Austria.

ʿUlūdj ʿAlī retained the post of Ḳapudan Pasha until his death. He endeavoured to expand the arsenal at Ḳāsimpasha in Istanbul [see TERSĀNE], and like many other members of the Ottoman ruling class, used some of his acquired wealth to sponsor the construction of religious or civic buildings. A noteworthy remaining event of his active life was his sailing to the Crimea in 990/1582 with the task of installing Islām Giray as Khān on the throne of this vassal state. He is buried in a *türbe* near the Tophane *iskele* on the Bosphorus by the side of a mosque whose construction, financed by him, was reportedly entrusted to the famous architect Sinān.

ʿUlūdj ʿAlī typifies the special brand of Ottoman mariners who, having first proved their worth as independent *ghāzī*-corsairs, were recruited into the Ottoman navy and played a catalytic role in its triumphs. His name figures in the roster of the most illustrious captains, from the 15th up to the 18th century: Kemāl Reʾīs, Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, Turghud Reʾīs, Selman Reʾīs, Ḥusayn Pasha Mezzomorto and Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*]. They are, however, only the tip of the iceberg, since behind them were hosts of other captains of similar provenance. Most had another feature in common, that of training in the waters off North Africa, the area of maritime *ghazāʾ* par excellence.

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(S. Soucek)

ʿULŪFE (A., T.), a term of Ottoman financial and military organisation.

The Ottoman military classes can be divided, according to methods used for their remuneration, into two broad categories: possessors of *dirlik* [*q.v.*] residing in the provinces who received land grants with revenues expressed as an annual sum; and members of the imperial household (*ḳapu ḳulu* [see GHULĀM. iv; ḲUL]. The latters' wages (*ʿulūfe* < *ʿalaf* "provender or grain rations for mounts") were denominated as a daily amount (*yewmiyye*) and distributed according to three-monthly pay periods (each set, for accounting purposes, as a fixed term of 85 days, see Djewād, *Tārīkh-i ʿAskerī*, 84). This basic pay for members of standing military regiments at the Porte was continuous in both peace and war and was separate from special campaign allowances (*ḳumanya*) and sultanic largesse (*bakhshīsh* [*q.v.*]) used to mark times of celebration such as accessions to the throne or campaign victories. Use of the term *ʿulūfe* for salary also separated military from administrative personnel, since the latters' wages were usually termed *waẓīfe* (pl. *waẓāʾif*). The difference between soldiers and others was further reinforced by the terms of payment: three-monthly for the former group (called also *mewādjib-khʷārān*) and monthly for those assigned to clerical and administrative tasks, called *müshāhare-khʷārān* (for this distinction, see ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *Risāle*, 97, 99 *et passim*).

A detailed guide to how the system worked in practice is provided in an anonymous treatise of the early 11th/17th century called the *Ḳawānīn-i Yeñičeriyān*. According to this source, all Janissaries at their induction into the corps (*be-dergāh*) received the basic rate of pay for new recruits of 3 *aḳčes* per day (fol. 39b, ll. 1-2). Subsequent pay raises (called *teraḳḳī*) were awarded based on length of service and exceptional merit. The maximum pay award for Janissaries in the mid-11th/17th century was 12 *aḳčes* per day (see the second *Risāle* [of *ca.* 1050/1640] by Ḳoči Bey, 84). Pay rates at levels above 7 *aḳčes* per day were traditionally left to the discretion of the Janissary commander, but oversight of the initial registration, and of replacement to fill vacancies (*maḥlūl*) of rank-and-file Janissaries paid between 3 and 7 *aḳčes* per day, remained a treasury prerogative (*Ḳawānīn*, fol. 128a, ll. 2-3). Despite such measures, however, the explosive growth of the Janissaries and the six standing cavalry regiments at the Porte (*altî bölük sipahileri*) in the 11th/17th century left considerable scope for abuse and corruption (for figures showing their growth between 982-1070/1574-1660, see ʿAzīz Efendi, 46).

Controlling the expansion in the ranks of the higher-paid cavalrymen (their base pay at the time of induction ranged between 10 and 15 *aḳčes* per day as compared with the Janissaries' 3 to 7, see *Ḳawānīn*, fol. 77a, ll. 1-6) remained a consistent government objective in the 11th/17th century. For example, on a single occasion in 1068/1658 the administration struck 7,000 *altî bölük sipahīs* from the rolls [see KÖPRÜLÜ, at Vol. IV, 258]. Such cost containment

measures could not, however, halt the general trend, apparent also among the Ottomans' European contemporaries, towards central funding for technically proficient, regularly paid, standing professional armies. By the time of the Tarkhundju "budget" of 1064/1653-4 (text in the *Münsheʾāt-i selāṭīn* of Aḥmed Ferīdūn, ii, 304-7) the Ottomans were devoting 56% (368.3 out of 656 million *aḳčes*) of regular state treasury expenditure to the payment of salaries (*mewādjib*) (composed of both *ʿulūfe* and *waẓāʾif*, see above). Contemporary geo-political realities made it inevitable that a large proportion (roughly 3/4) of this 56% was allocated to the two principal military services: 154.6 million *aḳčes* (23.6%) to the Janissaries and 124.6 millions (19%) to the six cavalry regiments.

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2. Study. Aḥmed Djewād, *Tārīkh-i ʿaskerī-yi ʿothmānī. Kitāb-i ewwel. Yeñičeriler*, Istanbul-Paris 1299/1882. (R. Murphey)

ULUGH BEG, Muḥammad Ṭaraghāy b. Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr (796-853/1394-1449), Tīmūrid governor of Transoxiana, briefly Tīmūrid sultan, and patron of mathematics and astronomy. He was born near Sulṭāniyya on 19 Djumādā I 796/22 March 1394, apparently the eldest son of Shāhrukh [*q.v.*] and his wife Gawharshād, and, although not in line for succession, was called Ulugh Beg, the Turkic equivalent of Tīmūr's title *Amīr-i Kabīr*. Like other young princes, Ulugh Beg was brought up among Tīmūr's wives, probably by Sarāy Malik.

1. The early course of historical events.

In Rabīʿ I 807/Sept-Oct. 1404, Tīmūr held a wedding for several grandsons, including Ulugh Beg, who married his cousin Agha Bīkī bt. Muḥammad Sulṭān, a Čingisid on her mother's side. On his departure for China, Tīmūr appointed Ulugh Beg governor of the northern Syr Darya and "Moghulistān up to Khitāy", whose conquest he was presumably to complete. Andīdjān and Kāshghar were assigned to Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāhrukh.

After Tīmūr died on 17 Shaʿbān 807/18 February 1405, Samarḳand was taken over by his grandson Khalīl Sulṭān. Ulugh Beg joined Shāhrukh in Khurāsān where he and Shāhrukh's *amīr* Shāhmalik were appointed to aid Tīmūr's designated successor, Pīr Muḥammad b. Djahāngīr, take the throne. In late 811/spring 1409, after Khalīl Sulṭān had been defeated by some of Tīmūr's *amīrs* on the northern borderlands, Shāhrukh took Transoxiana. Pīr Muḥammad was now dead, and Shāhrukh took the capital for himself, then returned to Harāt, leaving Ulugh Beg as governor of Transoxiana and Turkestan under the tutelage of Shāhmalik. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 812/April-May 1410, they were defeated by the *amīrs* of the northern marches. Shāhrukh came and routed the enemies, but more troops and several campaigns were necessary to render the region secure. Ulugh Beg had begun to chafe under Shāhmalik's tutelage, and once peace was restored in autumn 814/1411, Shāhrukh took Shāhmalik back to Harāt.

Ulugh Beg remained governor in Samarḳand until Shāhrukh's death in 850/1447. Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān in southern Transoxiana was a separate province, as was Khwārazm. Badakhshān remained under its own princes, responsible to Harāt. The disaffected princely governor of Andīdjān, Mīrak Aḥmad, allied with the Moghuls; through a mixture of military action and persuasion, Ulugh Beg and Shāhrukh succeeded in stationing direct agents of Ulugh Beg in Kāshghar and Andīdjān in Rabīʿ I 819/May 1416.

Ulugh Beg's borders were threatened by the Djočids to the north and the Moghuls to the east. These powers suffered from frequent internal strife, inviting interference from the Tīmūrids; they were likewise quick to support Tīmūrid dissidents. With the Moghuls, Ulugh Beg was moderately successful. He helped several pretenders to power, and in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 827/November 1424 began a successful campaign against Shīr Muḥammad Khān, his former protegé, who had refused to extradite the rebellious governor of Kāshghar. On this campaign, Ulugh Beg acquired the nephrite used for Tīmūr's grave cover and left a triumphant inscription at Djīzak commemorating the expedition.

Ulugh Beg was less fortunate with the Djočids. In Rabīʿ II 822/May 1419, he received Borāḳ, a fugitive pretender to the throne of the White (or Blue) Horde, and set off in Shaʿbān/August-September to help him to the throne, but turned back. Borāḳ failed to gain the throne then, but by 1425 had established himself securely. In 829/1426 he laid claim to Sighnāḳ [*q.v.*], the former capital of the Horde, now in Tīmūrid hands. Shāhrukh did not allow Ulugh Beg independent action against Borāḳ, but sent additional troops under his brother, Muḥammad Djūkī, in Rabīʿ II 830/February 1427. The princes were defeated by Borāḳ and fled in panic. Shāhrukh investigated the defeat and temporarily removed Ulugh Beg from his post. After this, Ulugh Beg ceased campaigning in person.

Borāḳ died *ca.* 832/1428-9; shortly thereafter, Abu 'l-Khayr Khān rose to power over the Uzbek confederation, and in 833 or 834/1430-1, the Uzbeks took northern Khwārazm. The Tīmūrids expelled them but in 839/1435 they retook and kept northern Khwārazm, and by 1440 were entrenched on the Syr Darya raiding Tīmūrid territories. By the end of Ulugh Beg's governorship, they were pillaging regularly almost to Samarḳand and Bukhārā. About 838/1434-5 Ulugh Beg lost Kāshghar to the Moghuls.

2. The government of Transoxiana under Ulugh Beg, and his death.

We know little about the administration of Ulugh Beg's province. He spent his winters usually in Bukhārā, primarily in hunting, which he loved, and other seasons in Samarḳand. Like other governors in Khwārazm, Fārs and Yazd, he kept the *khuṭba* and coinage in Shāhrukh's name. Bartol'd's judgement that Ulugh Beg was essentially independent is probably an exaggeration. His powers were comparable to those of other governors, limited by controls from the centre. Shāhrukh's name appeared on internal decrees and appointments; Shāhrukh and his wives brought up young princes, arranging their education and marriages. Governors undertook the defence and expansion of their frontiers, but required permission for major campaigns. They accompanied Shāhrukh on his own campaigns, or contributed troops. The splendour of Samarḳand and other regional courts suggests that a good portion of revenue remained within the province, but we know very little about tax administration. Later sources report very modest land taxes under Ulugh Beg, but this probably refers to a temporary reduction. Ulugh Beg levied the *tamgha* [*q.v.*] or Turco-Mongolian tax on trade.

Ulugh Beg had several Činggisid wives, of different lines, and regularly used the title *Güregen* ("royal son-in-law"). According to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, he maintained a Činggisid puppet *khān* in Samarkand. Contemporary histories, documents and coins do not substantiate this. Lists of Činggisid *khān*s of the Tīmūrids end with Tīmūr's last puppet *khān*. During Ulugh Beg's brief rule as sultan, he put only Tīmūr's name on coins together with his own. Some Tīmūrid historians suggest that Ulugh Beg honoured Turco-Mongolian customs contrary to Islam, but he was also knowledgeable about the Ḳur'ān and the Islamic sciences, and maintained good relations with the *'ulamā'*. The power of the Naḳshbandī Ṣūfī order [see NAḲSHBANDIYYA] was growing; there is evidence of friction between its *shaykh*s and Ulugh Beg's functionaries, but we know little about Ulugh Beg's own relations with the order (J. Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandiyya in Mittelasien im 15. Jahrhundert*, Berlin-New York 1991, 240-2).

When Shāhrukh died in 850/1447, he had been ill for several years and competition for succession had begun. Ulugh Beg, the only surviving son, heard of the death from his own son 'Abd al-Laṭīf, in Shāhrukh's suite; he hastened to Khurāsān, but was unable to establish control. In summer 851/1447 Ulugh Beg made peace, acquiring only Balkh, where he stationed 'Abd al-Laṭīf. In spring 852/1448, Ulugh Beg and 'Abd al-Laṭīf took Harāt, which was soon attacked by the Turkmen prince Yār 'Alī, earlier in Shāhrukh's suite. Ulugh Beg relieved the city, but in late Ramaḍān 852/late November 1448 permitted his army to plunder the outskirts because some of the population had co-operated with the enemy. He then learned that Abu 'l-Khayr Khān had attacked the region of Samarkand, destroying several of his palaces, and departed, leaving 'Abd al-Laṭīf in charge. Within a few months, Ulugh Beg lost Khurāsān.

'Abd al-Laṭīf became angry with his father, who had slighted him in favour of his younger brother 'Abd al-'Azīz. From Balkh, he openly defied Ulugh Beg, who entrusted Samarkand to 'Abd al-'Azīz and advanced to the Oxus. The armies faced each other for some time, until Ulugh Beg was recalled to Samarkand by an attack from Abū Sa'īd [*q.v.*] and disorders within the city due to 'Abd al-'Azīz's treatment of his *amīr*s. 'Abd al-Laṭīf took Tirmidh and Kish, and advanced on Samarkand. In Sha'bān 853/Sept.-Oct. 1449, 'Abd al-Laṭīf defeated Ulugh Beg near the Dimashk suburb of Samarkand; when Ulugh Beg tried to return to the city, he was locked out by his commander. He retreated to his border fortress Shāhrukhiyya, but here his governor threatened to seize him, so he returned to Samarkand.

'Abd al-Laṭīf appointed a Činggisid puppet *khān* and had him judge Ulugh Beg, acquiring a *fatwā* against him from most of the *'ulamā'*. The *khān* found Ulugh Beg guilty of contravening the *Sharī'a*; 'Abd al-Laṭīf allowed him to depart on the Pilgrimage, but had him killed. Dawlatshāh dates Ulugh Beg's death to 8 Ramaḍān 853/25 October 1449, but it is inscribed on his tombstone as 10 Ramaḍān. His body was later returned to Samarkand and buried in the Gūr-i Amīr. After a brief rule, 'Abd al-Laṭīf was killed by Ulugh Beg's *amīrs*, and soon thereafter, Abū Sa'īd seized power in Transoxiana.

3. Ulugh Beg as patron.

Tīmūr took pains with the education of his children and grandchildren, and the latter became knowledgeable patrons. Ulugh Beg attracted a coterie of poets in Čaghatay and Persian, including the well-known 'Iṣmat Allāh Bukhārā'ī. At his court, as in Yazd and Harāt, there was a revival of earlier Turkic literature. In calligraphy, miniature painting and historical writing Ulugh Beg's patronage seems to have been limited. The *Tārīkh-i arba' ulūs*, a general history emphasising the Činggisid houses, is sometimes attributed to Ulugh Beg, but was probably simply written at Ulugh Beg's court. The original is lost; excerpts remaining in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* and a later anonymous work suggest that it was short but otherwise similar to the histories produced in several Tīmūrid courts.

Ulugh Beg was an active architectural patron. In *ca.* 820/1417-18 he began building two *madrasas* which still stand, in Bukhārā and on the Rīgistān of Samarkand, both supported by large *wakf*s. About the same time, he built other structures now gone: a *khānakāh* and bath by the Rigistān and two gardens with palaces. In 823/1420 he began work on his observatory, the most advanced of its age in the Middle East, furnished with a huge stone arc as a sextant. Ulugh Beg also added to the tomb complexes patronised by Tīmūr. He built a gallery in the Gūr-i Amīr and re-oriented the Shāh-i Zinda, adding a monumental portal in the south towards the city. In Shahr-i Sabz, he constructed a mosque and a mausoleum intended for his own descendants.

Ulugh Beg was a talented practitioner of mathematics and astronomy, able to judge the quality of scholarly work. He collected a group of sixty or seventy scholars engaged in the design of instruments and the discussion of astronomical and mathematical problems, including the theories produced by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] at Marāgha. The senior scholar was Salāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā b. Maḥmud Ḳādīzāda Rūmī, head professor in Ulugh Beg's *madrasa*, and probably responsible for introducing the teaching of astronomy and mathematics there. The most outstanding was Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī [*q.v.*] who came from Kāshān in *ca.* 823/1420. He soon became a leading figure and invented several instruments for the observatory, most notably a planetary equatorium.

Under the active directorship of Ulugh Beg, al-Kāshī and Ḳādīzāda led the astronomical observations until al-Kāshī died in 832/1429; Ḳādīzāda soon died thereafter. The observations were continued by 'Alī Ḳūshči, a student of Ḳādīzāda and Ulugh Beg. Ulugh Beg completed the astronomical tables, the *Zīdj al-Sulṭāna'ī* or *Zīdj-i Ulugh Beg* (among other names), probably *ca.* 1441. Based largely on new observations, these became the standard star tables, widely used throughout the Islamic world and translated into Latin.

Ulugh Beg was famous for his remarkable memory and active intellect. As a military commander, he was indecisive, abandoning many projected campaigns at his borders and failing to protect his realm from nomad depredations. This cost him popularity: when he returned to Samarkand after his defeat by Borāḳ in 830/1427, some people suggested that the gates be closed against him, and his followers quickly abandoned him when he was defeated by 'Abd al-Laṭīf.

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(Beatrice F. Manz)

ULUGH KHĀN (Tk. "Great Khan"), a title borne by various of the ethnically Turkish Dihlī Sultans in 7th-8th/13th-14th century Muslim India, including the Slave King Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664-86/1266-87 [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and then, as a prince, Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (724 or 725-52/1324 or 1325-51 [*q.v.*]. It was further borne by non-Turks, including several Ḥabshīs, hence of servile black East African origin, above all in the sultanate of Gudjarāt [see ḥabshī, at Vol. III, 16a]. (Ed.)

ULUS, a word in Turkic languages and Mongolian with several related meanings.

Written *ulush* in ancient (pre-Mongolian empire) Turkic, it originally had a geographic connotation, meaning "country" (and later even "district", "town" or "village") as opposed to the term *el* "people". When the term came into Mongolian, changing its phonetics to *ulus* in the process, it acquired the latter meaning. As such, it is found in *The secret history of the Mongols*, referring to both the Mongol peoples themselves (§ 272) and neighbouring nations who were absorbed by them (§§ 110, 196). Essentially, a more exact translation would be "the people subject to a certain ruler" (E. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Mangholun Niuca Tobach'an*..., Leipzig 1939, 163). A more comprehensive and imperial variant is the later expression *yeke mongghol ulus*, "the great Mongol nation", found first on the seal of Güyük in 1246 (*ulus* here has been translated as "empire" by some scholars, but see I. de Rachelwitz, *Qan, qa'an and the seal of Güyüg*, in *Documenta Barbarorum*, ed. K. Sagaster and M. Weiers, Wiesbaden 1983, 274-5). A Turkish variant of this formula exists on a coin minted at Tiflīs in 622/1244, during the regency of Töregene Khātūn [*q.v.*], within the following phrase: *ulugh monkol ulūsh bek* "commander of the great Mongol nation" (D.M. Lang, *Studies in the numismatics of Georgia in Transcaucasia*, ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs no. 130, New York 1955, 35-7; but cf. his translation). It was also applied to the various appanages given to the sons of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*], but the intended reference again was not to geographic entities *per se* but to the nomads controlled by each house. These *uluses* became increasingly autonomous of the Great Khān, and expressions such as *ulus-i Djočī* and *ulus-i Čaghatay* became the way that these essentially independent states were known by the Mongols (and their historians) (e.g. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djami el-Tevarikh*, ed. E. Blochet, Leiden and London 1911, 111, 184). Thus the term *ulus* can often be translated henceforth as "state" and this meaning remains in modern Mongolian, along with "people", "empire", "country" and "dynasty" (F. Lessing, *Mongolian-English dictionary*, Berkeley 1960, 873). The word returned to some of the Turkic languages in the post-Mongol imperial period with the Mongolian spelling and usage.

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(R. Amitai)

ʿULYĀʾIYYA, a name applied to a sect of Shīʿī extremists (*ghulāt* [*q.v.*]), founded by the Kūfan heretic Bashshār al-Shaʿīrī [*q.v.*], a contemporary of the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765 [*q.v.*]). According to the Twelver Shīʿī (Imāmī) heresiographers, this man was repudiated by Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ because he deified ʿAlī and assigned to Muḥammad the rôle of ʿAlī's messenger; he was also accused of preaching libertinism, the denial of divine attributes, and metempsychosis (Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. M.Dj. Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 59-60, 63; al-Kashshī, *Ridjāl*, ed. Ḥ. al-Muṣṭafawī, Mashhad 1969, 398-400). In the Sunnī sources (al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1963, 14-15; al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., 252; al-Shahrastānī, 134) names and details concerning the doctrine of the sect are partly confused. The spelling of the name of the sect is doubtful (ʿUlyāʾiyya, ʿUlyāniyya; ʿAlyāʾiyya, ʿIlbāʾiyya) and its meaning is obscure. According to al-Ḳummī, 60, the sect owes its name to that of a sea bird into which Bashshār was changed as a punishment for his heresy. Probably the name should be connected with that of the deified ʿAlī, perhaps through an Aramaic link (*ʿAlyā*) or the like. As far as the doctrines are concerned, the sect seems to have been the forerunner of the later sects of the Isḥāḳiyya and Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*]; this is confirmed by the fact that Isḥāḳ al-Aḥmar and Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr, the respective eponyms of these sects, both were qualified as "ʿUlyāʾīs" (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 258; al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, *loc. cit.*).

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(H. Halm)

ʿUMĀN, conventionally Oman, a sultanate situated in the south-eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula, with a second area, separated from the first by parts of the United Arab Emirates, at the tip of the Musandam peninsula. The country, with a population of some 2,000,000 inhabitants, occupies some 312,000 km^2 in all, and has a coastline along the Gulf of Oman and the Indian Ocean of about 1,700 km/1,060 miles in length. The head of state is Sultan Ḳābūs b. Saʿīd, the fourteenth ruler of the Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty [*q.v.*]. The country is divided ethnically and culturally into two: the Ibāḍī north, comprising the capital area, the Bāṭina coast and the Ḥadjar region; and the Shāfiʿī/Sunnī southern region of Ẓafār [*q.v.*] (conventionally Dhofar), including the islands of Maṣīra and those of Kuria-Muria/Khūriyā Mūriyā off the southern coast. The official state language is Arabic, although in the south-

ern region Djibbālī and Mahrī [*q.v.*] (Mehri) are very widely spoken, and Ḥarsūsī [see ḤARĀSĪS], in Djiddat al-Ḥarāsīs, Baṭharī, on the southern coast, and Hobyōt, in the mountains bordering the Republic of Yemen, are also spoken. (G.R. SMITH)

1. Geography.

The cultural and religious divide mentioned above is reflected also in the geography of the modern Sultanate of Oman.

The orography of ʿUmān proper is dominated by a chain from Ra's Musandam or Ru'ūs al-Djabal in the northwest and running through the Western Hadjar mountains, with their highest section forming to Djabal Akhḍar, then through the Eastern Hadjar mountains and the small, semi-detached outlier of the Djabal Khamīs and the Djaʿalān district at the southeastern tip of ʿUmān, ending in the promontory of Ra's al-Ḥadd.

These mountains, made up of dark limestone of the Jurassic and lower Cretaceous periods overlying a core of serpentine, would appear at first sight to represent a broken fragment of an outer arc of the Zagros [*q.v.*] range of southern Persia. But the trend of the mountains of ʿUmān does not accord with the west-east trend of the mountains of Persian and Pakistani Balūčistān on the other side of the Gulf of Oman, and if they do belong to the same system, they must have been thrown up at an earlier period than the mountains of Persia. The ʿUmān mountains fall steeply to the coast or the coastal plain and are broken up into distinct massif formations by transverse rifts. One such cleft separates the Djabal Akhḍar from the Eastern Hadjar range, and this passage, drained to the south by the Wādī Ḥanīfayn and to the north by the Wādī Samā'il, carries the main route from Muscat/Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*] to Nizwa [*q.v.*] and the interior. The Djabal Akhḍar, some 80 km/50 miles long, comprises the highest part of the whole Hadjar range, with several peaks over 2,000 m/6,560 feet high, including the highest one, the Djabal Shamm, to the west of al-Rustāḳ [*q.v.*] at 3,018 m/9,900 feet. As its name ("Green Mountain") implies, the Djabal Akhḍar is the best-watered part of the range, and spots with favoured exposure to precipitation, brought in winter by occasional cyclones, may get up to 50 cm/20 inches of rain and even snow. There are juniper woodlands, and valleys irrigated by water conveyed in subterranean channels (*aflādj*, sing. *faldj*), analogous to the *kārīzs* or *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] of Persia, thereby permitting the cultivation of cereals, apricots, figs, pomegranates and, above all, dates.

The coastal plain is known as the Bāṭina "inner region", i.e. that lying between the Gulf of Oman and the mountains, a tract of sand and gravel extending from Khōr Fakkān in the northwest to the vicinity of Sīb just to the west of Masḳaṭ. At its widest, where the Western Hadjar mountains swing away from the coast, it is 35 km/21 miles wide and 10 km/6 miles wide at each end. This strip is heavily cultivated for virtually its entire length, with water obtained from the slopes by means of *aflādj*. It is here, on the coast, that such important centres of population as al-Rustāḳ, Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*], al-Khābūra and Masḳaṭ are situated. There are many drowned valleys, such as indent the coasts around Ra's Musandam and at Masḳaṭ, providing excellent harbours (the Elphinstone inlet in Ra's Musandam extends inland for 16 km/10 miles). It is harbours like these that have for long facilitated ʿUmān's flourishing maritime trade connections with lands as far afield as India and East Africa.

The landward slopes of the mountain range are gentler in relief than the edges facing the Bāṭina, but get scantier rain and are less favourable for human habitation and activities. The stretch of some 160 km/100 miles along the landward slopes of the Western Hadjar mountains and the Djabal Akhḍar is known as the Ẓāhira "back region". This is a piedmont region of sand and gravel, with some cultivation along the upper courses of the wadis coming down from the mountains, but most of it is suitable only for camel and goat grazing. Hence there is no continuous series of oases, as on the eastern face of the Yemeni mountains in southwestern Arabia, and only a few towns such as Nizwa and Ibrī. The region merges imperceptibly on its west with the "Empty Quarter" [see AL-RUBʿ AL-KHĀLĪ]. To the southeast of the Ẓāhira, and inland from the Eastern Hadjar mountains, is the Sharḳiyya or "eastern province", with sandy plains and gravel hills, and, to its south, the dunes of the Ramlat al-Wahiba.

The other great region of the modern Sultanate of Oman is that of Ẓafār [*q.v.*], conventionally Dhofar, now the Southern Province (al-Djanūbiyya) of the Sultanate. This is an extensive plateau, at its northwestern edges running into the "Empty Quarter". At its southwestern end, adjacent to the political frontier with the modern Yemen Arab Republic and merging into the Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], Ẓafār includes the densely-wooded Djabal Ḳāra or Qara mountains, which rise to 1,500 m/4,900 feet, and, straddling the frontier with the Y.A.R., the Djabal al-Ḳamar. The coastal region, up to 25 to 30 km/15 to 19 miles wide, catches rain during the months of June to September from the Southwest Monsoon, and the alluvial soil of the Salāla [*q.v.*] area is particularly fertile, with extensive date groves; here, at Salāla, is situated the administrative capital of the Province. Off the coast lies, at the northeastern end of this Southern Province, the quite large island of Maṣīra [*q.v.*], and further south, the group of the smaller Kuria-Muria islands [see KHŪRYĀN-MŪRYĀN].

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2. History.

The following is an historical survey of ʿUmān. The history of Ẓafār, quite different, will be dealt with under that entry. Although the Graeco-Roman accounts call the country by the name Omana (e.g. G.W.B. Huntingford (ed. and tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1980, chs. 32, 38, 106), that of Magan is frequently mentioned in the context of Mesopotamia-India trade. Archaeology would appear to confirm Magan as ʿUmān, a maritime power and an important supplier of timber, copper and diorite in the third millennium B.C.

Legend speaks of migrations eastwards from the Yemen during the first millennium and of Ḥimyar control of south-east Arabia down to the 6th century B.C. when the area fell under the authority of dynasties centred on the Persian side of the Gulf. The history of ʿUmān becomes clearer with the large-scale

migration, mainly of the Azd, from the Sarāt and Tihāma [*q.v.*] in the Yemen across the southern Peninsula to the south-east. The migration movements are usually in tradition associated with Mālik b. Fahm, an individual who may or may not have been a genuine historical figure. The first waves may have firstly settled in the Dja'lān in the south-east of the country and on up the coast to Ḳalhāt [*q.v.*]. Later they came into contact with the Persian occupiers of the north of the country and the Bāṭina coast with their centre at Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*] and battle between the Arabs and the Persians was joined at Salūt in the southern Djawf (see Wilkinson, *Water and tribal settlement*, map on 14). The defeated Persians were given one year in which to withdraw completely to the coast and evacuate 'Umān once and for all. It might be suggested that the first migrations took place in the first century A.D. and that the complete Arabisation of 'Umān was finally achieved by about the time of the advent of Islam.

After some Azd delegations to Medina, the famous conqueror of Egypt, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, is reported to have visited 'Umān and met the two Djulandā kings, 'Abd and Djayfar, sometime between 6-10/627-32 in Ṣuḥār, and this as much as anything else is said to have persuaded the Omanis to accept Islam. The early Islamic history of 'Umān is far from clearly defined. The country seems to have been controlled by members of the Djulandā family and/or by governors despatched from the caliphs in the Holy Cities and Damascus.

Before 80/700 'Umān had already become a place of refuge for different groups opposed to the Umayyad caliphate, in particular the Khawāridj [see KHĀRIDJITES], including many following the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*], and the situation deteriorated to such an extent in the opinion of the Umayyads that the famous al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*] invaded 'Umān, probably about 86/705. A tough régime followed, and the Umayyads considered they had sufficient hold on the country to use it as a place of exile; other members of the young Ibāḍī movement were sent thither and they lost no time in spreading their message among the 'Umānīs. The movement was further strengthened in 'Umān by the practice of sending out from Baṣra the so-called *ḥamalat al-'ilm* ("carriers of knowledge"), all 'Umānīs in origin and fully versed in the increasingly sophisticated doctrines of the Ibāḍiyya. The movement took hold more firmly in 'Umān and remains the predominant religious doctrine in the north of the country.

In the confusion which followed the ousting of the Umayyads from the caliphate by the 'Abbāsids and after the failure of an Ibāḍī imāmate in Ḥaḍramawt in 131/748, the 'Umānīs established such an imāmate in 'Umān and elected al-Djulandā b. Mas'ūd as *imām* in 132/749-50. A declaration of independence followed which immediately caused a radical change of policy towards 'Umān on the part of the 'Abbāsids in Baghdād. Early on the governors of the latter in 'Umān had been benign and tolerant of the local population and their Ibāḍī ways; but they could not tolerate an independent state so close to home. Khāzim b. Khuzayma, a Tamīmī, was chosen by the caliph to lead the military expedition which was supposed to deal both with the Khawāridj of Ibn Kāwān Island in the Gulf and also with the Ibāḍīs of 'Umān. The Imām al-Djulandā was killed in battle by Khāzim's army (possibly by the hand of Khāzim himself) at Djulfār (modern Ra's al-Khayma [*q.v.*], then part of 'Umān) in 134/752 and the First Ibāḍī Imāmate collapsed after only two years.

The period after the collapse of the First Imāmate in 'Umān is one of confusion and intense tribal conflict, with the 'Abbāsids trying as far as they were able to keep the country within their control. From the Yaḥmadī clan of the Azd, who, unlike the leaders of the First Imāmate, contained most of the leading Ibāḍīs and scholars, there arose in Nizwā [*q.v.*] in 177/793 a new *imām*, Muḥammad b. Abī 'Affān, the first *imām* of the Second Ibāḍī Imāmate in 'Umān which was to endure for a century. However, keeping the imāmate within Yaḥmad aroused much tribal resentment outside it. As time went on, the chosen *imāms* were of worse quality, often weak from old age. The Nizārī tribes of northern origin fought the southern ones, Yemenis, creating at one stage two different *imāms*; all this time, trade was curtailed by the troubles and the economy of the country suffered. In 280/893, the 'Abbāsid governor of Baḥrayn, Muḥammad b. Nūr, was sent to bring 'Umān back under the caliph's control. In savage fighting, Nizwā was taken and the country became once more a province of the caliphate.

For some four centuries, 'Umān was subjected to a number of invasions from outside, including further interventions on the part of the caliphate, while the imāmate struggled to retain as much of the interior as possible. The position in the 9th/15th century appears, for example, to have been a Nabhānī ruler in the north of the country, an *imām* with his capital in Nizwā, and the Persians controlling the coastal areas.

The arrival of the Portuguese in the area in the 10th/16th century dramatically changed the situation. The Portuguese took such strategic coastal towns as Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*] (Muscat), where they built the twin forts of Djalālī (996/1587) and Marānī (997/1588) overlooking the harbour, Ṣuḥār and Ḳalhāt. In 1026/1617, the imāmate fell into the hands of Nāṣir b. Murshid of the Ya'āriba who established his capital at al-Rustāḳ and a new dynasty, set to pacify the interior of the country and to fight, with some success, against the Portuguese. It took until 1060/1650, however, to rid 'Umān of the latter when Imām Sulṭān b. Sayf, the cousin and successor of Nāṣir b. Murshid, expelled the Portuguese from the Masḳaṭ area where they had fortified themselves. Imām Sulṭān went on to build up the 'Umānī navy and greatly encouraged sea trade. It was he, too, who, mainly in order to make life difficult for the Portuguese, embarked on naval expeditions to India and East Africa. It was during the imāmate of a successor, Sayf (1104-23/1692-1711), that 'Umānī sea power reached its zenith and that the Portuguese were constantly harassed wherever they could be found. Successful naval operations under Sayf were undertaken to India and Persia, and an expedition was made in 1110/1698 to East Africa, including Mombasa [*q.v.*], where 'Umānī authority was established, Pemba, Zanzibar and Kilwa [*q.vv.*]. Imām Sayf's death in 1123/1711 in a sense was the beginning of the end of the Ya'rubī dynasty. Internecine family strife and a massive civil war among the tribes, the Ḥināwīs versus the Ghāfirīs of Nizār, finally brought an end to the dynasty in 1164/1749.

The election of Imām Aḥmad b. Sa'īd ushers in the dynasty of the Āl Bū Sa'īd [*q.v.*], the family which continues to rule 'Umān to the present day. His reign was marked by further commercial activities and naval expeditions to East Africa where Mombasa, Kilwa and Zanzibar were placed under governors from 'Umān. After Aḥmad's death in 1199/1783, his second son Sa'īd retained the title of *imām* and his reli-

gious leadership, but his son Ḥamad ruled in Masḳaṭ until he died in 1207/1792. In 1213/1798 ʿUmān signed a political agreement with Britain in order to exclude French warships during the French Revolution and in order to establish the East India Company at Bandar ʿAbbās which, with the neighbouring coastal region of Persia, belonged at the time to ʿUmān. In 1811, Imām Saʿīd b. Aḥmad died and it is about this time that the title of *imām* was dropped.

It was under the rule of Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (1804-56 [*q.v.*]) that ʿUmānī overseas possessions reached their most extensive, with parts of southern Persia as well as Zanzibar under Masḳaṭ's control. Commerce prospered and Masḳaṭ became a major Gulf trading centre. After Saʿīd's death in 1856, however, ʿUmān proper was ruled over by Th̲uwaynī and East Africa by Mad̲j̲īd, both his sons. It was in fact to be a whole line of direct descendants of Th̲uwaynī who ruled in Zanzibar, right down to 1964 when the dynasty lost its East African possessions. The loss of much of the wealth to an independent Bū Saʿīdī state in East Africa and the constant pressure on the part of the British to suppress the slave trade, culminating in an agreement in 1873 for the abolition of the trade throughout ʿUmānī dominions, brought discontent within the country. The Ibāḍī religious leaders were unhappy with the tolerant policies of the Āl Bū Saʿīd and several insurrections took place in the late 19th and the early 20th century which on occasions required British intervention on the side of the sultan.

In 1932 Sulṭan Saʿīd b. Taymūr succeeded to the sultanate. The interior remained under the religious rule of *imām*s still centred on Nizwā, although in 1955 the sultan took over full control of central ʿUmān and the *imām* was forced into retirement. A revolt in 1957, said to be with the help of Saudi-trained forces, was crushed with British help in Firḳ, and by early 1959 Sultanate and British forces were in occupation of al-D̲j̲abal al-Ak̲h̲ḍar. This led to a steady build-up of British forces in the Sultanate, financed from Britain until 1967 when the first oil shipments left ʿUmān for export. Although Sultan Saʿīd did attempt to develop the country, his moves were too slow for the public demand. He retired to Ṣalāla [*q.v.*] in Ẓafār and never returned to Masḳaṭ. In July 1970, Sultān Ḳābūs acceded to the throne and instigated widespread plans for the development of the country with the aid of the oil revenues now coming in. The Sultanate was recognised as a fully independent country and in 1971 was admitted to the Arab League and the United Nations. It is widely recognised that the development plans have been largely successful.

Bibliography: For the basic statistics concerning ʿUmān, see Ministry of Information, *Sultanate of Oman throughout twenty years*, Muscat n.d. An authoritative general history of ʿUmān is Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamīd al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān bi-sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, 5th ed. Kuwait 1974; useful general surveys are the brief *A short history of Oman from the earliest times*, Muscat 1972 (weak on pre-10th/16th century history) and D. Hawley, *Oman and its renaissance*, London 1977, 13-51 (with an extremely valuable genealogical chart of the Āl Bū Saʿīd on p. 40). J.C. Wilkinson, *Water and tribal settlement in South-East Arabia, a study of the* Aflāj *of Oman*, Oxford 1977 has some excellent historical material, in particular at 122-36. For the early Islamic history see the excellent, though as yet unpublished, dissertation, ʿIṣām ʿAlī Aḥmad al-Rawwās, *Early Islamic Oman (ca. 622-280/893), a political history*, University of Durham 1990; Wilkinson, *The Julanda of Oman*, in *Jnal. of Oman Studies*, i (1975), 97-109. Other specialist histories are ʿAbd Allāh b. K̲h̲alfān b. Ḳayṣar, *Sīrat al-Imām Nāṣir b. Murs̲h̲id*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Ḥasīb al-Ḳaysī, Muscat 1977, for the imāmate of the Yaʿrubī Nāṣir b. Murs̲h̲id in the early 11th/17th century; Sirḥān b. Saʿīd b. Sirḥān, *Annals of Oman to 1728*, ed. and tr. E.C. Ross, repr. from the Calcutta 1874 ed., Cambridge 1984, for 18th and 19th century history; Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad b. Ruzayk, *al-Fatḥ al-mubīn fī sīrat al-sāda Ālbūsaʿīdiyyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿĀmir and Muḥammad Mursī ʿAbd Allāh, Muscat 1977, for the history of the Bū Saʿīdī dynasty. (G.R. Smith)

3. Social structure [see Suppl.].

4. The modern Arabic dialects.

The modern Arabic dialects of ʿUmān form a structurally coherent group, distinguishable from those of the Gulf littoral on the one hand, and central Arabia on the other. None the less, ʿUmānī dialects can still be clearly sub-divided into two basic types: "sedentary" (S) and "bedouin" (B). This ancient bedouin-sedentary socio-economic distinction is now virtually defunct in the rest of the Arab world, but is still dialectally salient in ʿUmān. The ʿUmānī S dialects are spoken in the towns and villages of the mountainous north of the country (e.g. Nizwā, ʿIbrī, Bahlā, Rustāḳ, Izkī), while the B dialects are spoken in the western and southern deserts, and in some of the associated coastal towns (e.g. Ṣūr, in D̲j̲aʿlān). There are also areas where centuries of social (and therefore dialectal) contact have resulted in a "mixed" dialect which has both S and B elements: the coastal towns of the Bāṭina *par excellence* (e.g. Saḥam, Ṣuḥār, K̲h̲ābūra and Muscat itself), and S̲h̲arḳiyya towns such as Ibrā' and al-Ḳābil lying on the main east-west road in the hinterland of the Ḥad̲j̲ar mountains, which forms a border between the sown and the desert. The dialect of Ṣalāla in Ẓafār again appears to be mixed, although there are no recent reliable studies available. The chart below illustrates some of the main phonological and morphological features shared by all (or virtually all) ʿUmānī dialects, and those which distinguish the B and S subgroups:

Shared features:

1. Interdental consonants *th*, *dh*, *ẓ* retained (like most Arabian dialects).

2. 2nd f.s. suffix is *-š*, as in much of southern Yemen, and the Baḥārna dialects (not *-č* or *-ć* as in the rest of central, northern and eastern Arabia).

3. *-in(n)-* infix in suffixed participial structures, e.g. *kātbinnuh*, f. *kātbatinnuh* "I/you/he/she has written it" (as in southern Yemen, the Baḥārna dialects, and parts of southern ʿIrāḳ).

4. Absence of resyllabification of closed CaG non-final syllables, e.g. *ḳahwa* "coffee" (as in most of southern Yemen, not *ghawa* as in most of central northern and eastern Arabia).

5. Feminine plural forms occur regularly (unlike eastern Arabia, but like central Arabia).

6. Internal passive forms occur commonly (unlike eastern Arabia, but like central Arabia).

7. *Tanwīn* (usually *-in*) common (unlike eastern Arabia but like central Arabia).

8. Survival of certain vocabulary items lost in other modern dialects, e.g. *rā* "to see", *tā* "to come", *sār* "to go".

Distinguishing features:

	S	B	Example
9. *ḳ*	*ḳ*	*g*	*ḳatal/gital* "he killed"

10. *ḏj*	*g*	*y*	*gār/yār* "neighbour"
11. CvCvCv(C)	CvCvCv(C)	CCvCv(C)	*raḳaba/ rguba* "neck"
12. imperfect verbs m. pl.	*-ū*	*-ūn*	*yikitbū/ yikitbūn* "they write"
f.s.	*-ī*	*-īn*	*tikitbī/ tikitbīn* "you write"
13. 3rd m.s. suffix	*-uh*	*-ah*	*trisuh/ trisah* "fill it!"
14. prefix, hamzated verbs	*yō-*	*yā-*	*yōkil/ yākil* "he eats"
15. prefix, V and VI themes	*yit-/tit-/nit-*	*yti-/tti-/nti-*	*nitʿallam/ ntiʿallam* "we learn"
16. question marker	ə	-	*fi l-bētə?* "in the house?"

The S dialects of the mountainous north (the group to which the dialect described by Reinhardt at the end of the last century belongs) bear a strong typological resemblance, at least in some major features of phonology and morphology, to those of other ancient sedentary groups living on the periphery of the peninsula (Ḥaḍramawt and Dat͟hīna, as described by Landberg, the S͟hīʿī Baḥārna of eastern Arabia). The ʿUmānī S reflexes of Classical *ḳ, k* and *ḏj* (= *ḳ, k, g*) probably represent the oldest dialectal development of the Old Arabic phonology. Broadly speaking, the ʿUmānī B dialects have much in common with those of the central Arabian desert and the eastern Arabian groups which have emigrated from there to the coast over the last 200 years (most of the present-day Sunnī populations of Kuwait, Bahrain and the UAE). Thus the geographical distribution of dialect features probably reflects ancient patterns of settlement in Arabia overlaid by more recent population movements. In particular, the *-š* 2nd f.s. suffix (the *kas͟hkas͟ha* of the mediaeval grammarians), widespread throughout the southern half of Arabia, seems to be a very ancient feature which originated in Yemen, possibly originally as a common substrate feature of a number of ancient south Arabian languages (which now only survive with a few hundred speakers each), whence it was exported to Bahrain and ʿUmān. The survival of feminine plural forms, internal passives and *tanwīn* in both the S and B dialects, rare outside Arabia, provides further evidence of the extreme linguistic conservatism of the ʿUmānī dialects.

The occupational changes which have occurred since the change of régime in 1970 (especially the drift of the young male population away from the land to employment in industry, the service sector and the military); the effective reunification of the coast with the interior; and the increasingly close political and communication links with other Gulf states—all these factors have tended to blur the dialectal distinctions sketched above and led to the spread of a form of dialect based on the educated speech of the Capital Area, which itself had already long been a linguistic mélange formed out of diverse elements (including Indian languages and Swahili). This "national" dialect is an ʿUmānī-influenced variety of the educated Gulf koinè now increasingly heard in the states of the Gulf Co-operation Council.

Bibliography: C. Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in Oman und Zanzibar*, Stuttgart 1894, repr. Amsterdam 1972 (dialect of Banī K͟harūṣ, northern sedentaries); N. Rhodokanakis, *Südarabische Expedition. Band VIII, Band X: Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im Ḍofar (Ẓfār) I., II.* Vienna 1908, 1911 (southern ʿUmānī dialects); A. Brockett, *The spoken Arabic of K͟hābūra*, Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph no. 7, Manchester 1985 (Bāṭina coastal dialect); C. Holes, *Towards a dialect geography of Oman*, in *BSOAS*, lii/3 (1989), 446-62; idem, *The Arabic dialects of south eastern Arabia in a socio-historical perspective*, in *ZAL*, xxxi (1996), 34-56. (C. Holes)

ʿUMAR (I) B. AL-K͟HAṬṬĀB, the second caliph (*r.* 13/634-23/644), one of the great figures of early Islam, a driving force behind the early conquests and the creation of the early Islamic empire.

There is some contradiction among the historical and biographical traditions on ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb, and many of these contain exaggerated or legendary details. However, a consistent character emerges out of this material: stern, strong-willed, prone to anger, devoted to Muḥammad, the Ḳurʾān and Islam, ʿUmar seems to have had a coherent political programme during and even before his caliphate.

ʿUmar reportedly began as an enemy of the cause which he later supported with all his might. Once, upon hearing his sister Fāṭima and her husband Saʿīd b. Zayd reciting verses of the Ḳurʾān, he fell (as often) into a rage, which was soon followed by his conversion to Islam. This sudden reversal, together with his later position in the history of Islam, has led to ʿUmar's being known as "the St. Paul of Islam" (see Lazarus-Yafeh in *Bibl.* below), though the two seem actually to have had little in common other than their stubborn energy in championing the cause against which they had originally fought. ʿUmar's conversion is often placed in his 26th year, four years before the *hid͟jra* [*q.v.*] in 1/622; the resulting figure of 30 for the beginning of the new age may have its own significance (Conrad, *Abraha and Muhammad*). As a member of the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, a minor clan of Ḳurays͟h [*q.v.*], and the son of a Mak͟hzūmī mother, ʿUmar could not assert much influence, though he may have tried to do so (Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 7, 91-2). It was only after the migration to Yat͟hrib/Medina that ʿUmar emerged as a principal organiser of the new theocratic state. He played the part of counsellor more than that of soldier; although he took part in Badr, Uḥud [*q.vv.*] and later battles, little is recorded of his military exploits, unlike the cases of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] and other Companions. He is said to have claimed that at least three Ḳurʾānic verses were revealed at his request (II, 125; XXXIII, 53; and LXVI, 6), and everything indicates that he had the Prophet's ear. Despite the differences in their characters, harmony prevailed between ʿUmar and Abū Bakr [*q.v.*] during this period. Even ʿUmar's becoming, like Abū Bakr, father-in-law to the Prophet through the marriage of his daughter Ḥafṣa, provoked no jealousy between them. ʿUmar was unquestionably the superior intellect in the circle around the Prophet, and he avoided the limelight both during Muḥam-

mad's lifetime and during the brief caliphate of Abū Bakr. However, Lammens' theory of a "triumvirate" of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*] which would have dominated the Prophet and monopolised his authority, either directly or through his wives ʿĀʾisha bt. Abī Bakr and Ḥafṣa bt. ʿUmar [*q.vv.*], has not been generally accepted. Meanwhile, ʿUmar greatly extended his influence through strategic marriages (Lecker).

Upon the death of the Prophet in 11/632, ʿUmar played a central role in the events leading to the acclamation of Abū Bakr as caliph [see al-saḳīfa]. During Abū Bakr's caliphate, ʿUmar remained close to the centre of power, advocating hard-line positions which the caliph did not always adopt. Upon Abū Bakr's death in 13/634 he achieved the caliphate in his own right. The question of whether or not the dying Abū Bakr designated ʿUmar as his successor has been much discussed by jurists and historians. Caetani (*Annali*, iii, 128) and Levi Della Vida (in the *EI*[1] version of this article) stated that ʿUmar easily assumed power *de facto* and immediately received the recognition of a majority of the Companions, in a manner similar to the nomination of a leader according to old Arab custom. Caetani also saw ʿUmar, both before and during his caliphate, as favouring the old Meccan aristocracy of Ḳuraysh (the Umayyads). Against this view, Madelung (*Succession*, 55) has pointed to resistance against ʿUmar's elevation to the caliphate on the part of members of Ḳuraysh, including field commanders such as Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], upon whom Abū Bakr had depended; Abū Bakr would have had no choice but to designate ʿUmar in order to guarantee his succession.

When ʿUmar became caliph, the movement of conquest was already well under way. The decade of his rule saw the extension of this movement over Syria, Egypt, ʿIrāḳ and al-Djazīra, and far into Persia and other countries. The Arabic sources tend to ascribe a greater degree of central control to the caliph than was technically and perhaps even politically feasible at the time (Caetani, v, 32; Noth, *Tradition*, 12, 55-7, *passim*; idem, *Früher Islam*, 80-100). ʿUmar was nonetheless a strategic and political genius. He showed his harsher side in demoting Khālid b. al-Walīd, as he had done previously during Abū Bakr's caliphate with Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*]. He appointed able commanders such as Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd and Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], whose relatively weak tribal and local affiliations made it impossible for them to set up as independent rulers in the new territories. In other instances, ʿUmar allowed members of the Meccan aristocracy to hold important positions, as when Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.v.*] succeeded his own brother Yazīd as governor in Damascus in 18/639, and when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] took the initiative in the conquest of Egypt. Here ʿUmar recognised the limits of his own power, a sign of political aptitude; and he also sent an old Companion, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], to keep an eye on ʿAmr. But for the most part, ʿUmar did not appoint respected Companions to high commands but preferred to keep an eye on them from close by, while granting them the revenues from the conquered royal domains of ʿIrāḳ and Syria [see dayʿa; iḳṭāʿ; ṭalḥa].

As the conquests proceeded, ʿUmar mostly remained in Medina. An exception to this was a journey to Syria, dated to various times between 15/636 and 17/638. There is much divergence in the sources regarding this journey (or journeys). ʿUmar apparently stopped at al-Djābiya [*q.v.*], where he consulted his commanders and then, according to some versions, received a delegation from Jerusalem, who would agree to a treaty with the Muslims only if ʿUmar guaranteed it; or else, according to other accounts, he went on to Jerusalem and there received the submission of the city. Busse has shown, however, that Jerusalem had probably surrendered at least a year before, and that divergent accounts of ʿUmar's stay in Jerusalem may be related to stages in the Islamisation of the city's holy places (see al-ḳuds). A text, existing in a number of versions, in which ʿUmar receives the submission of the inhabitants of Jerusalem to the Muslims and formally sets out the rights and obligations of both parties, became known as the Pact or Covenant of ʿUmar (*ʿahd ʿUmar*), a foundational text of the *dhimma* [*q.v.*]. Much of the Pact has been shown to have originated in later times; here, as elsewhere, developments extending over generations have been concentrated into idealised pictures associated with the revered figure of the second caliph. For indeed, ʿUmar's caliphate has traditionally been regarded as the time in which nearly all the major political institutions of Islam had their origin, which cannot have been so in every instance.

Yet the Muslim state and the lives of its inhabitants did undergo profound changes during ʿUmar's reign. As before, the conquerors adapted (often with little change) the existing administrative structures in the new territories, as well as coinage, personnel, languages of administration and so on. But now came the institution of a register (*dīwān* [*q.v.*]; Puin, *Der Dīwān*) containing the names of all those entitled to military pensions or stipends (*ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*]; see also daftar; djaysh). In drawing up the *dīwān* and dividing revenues among the Muslims the principle of *sābiḳa*, precedence in Islam (length of adherence to the cause) was observed, together with (and partly in contradiction to) tribal and family affiliations. The institution of the *dīwān* is almost universally ascribed to ʿUmar, as is a deliberate policy—for the Sawād of ʿIrāḳ but arguably elsewhere as well—of preventing the Muslim Arabs from dispersing and settling as a landed aristocracy in the newly-conquered regions. ʿUmar intended instead that they should cluster together in towns, remaining available for further military expeditions and retaining a distinct identity as Muslim warriors. Meanwhile, they would receive stipends (*ʿaṭāʾ*) from the proceeds of taxation on the conquered peoples. Thus, while the conquered peoples enjoyed protection in their persons and property, together with the right to practise their religions, the conquered lands as a whole became a kind of trust in perpetuity for the benefit of future generations of Muslims. The land-ownership theory behind all this is complex (see fayʾ; Schmucker, *Untersuchungen*), but there is no reason to doubt that its original impetus came during ʿUmar's caliphate. ʿUmar is likewise given credit for founding the new garrison towns, the *amṣār* which quickly grew into flourishing urban centres [see al-baṣra; al-kūfa; al-fusṭāṭ; miṣr. B]. Subsequent generations of jurists and administrators added to this complex but conceptually unified system of military service, taxation and land tenure, but they continued to view it as ʿUmar's creation.

ʿUmar's other accomplishments are said to have included the creation of the office of *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*], the new calendar which dated from the *hidjra* [see taʾrīkh. I. 1. iii], and a great number of religious and civil ordinances regarding prayer, pilgrimage, fasting (see ḥadjdj; ramaḍān; ṣalāt; ṣawm; tarāwīḥ), penal law and indeed nearly every conceivable area. We cannot know how much of this is historically accurate,

but certainly ʿUmar has always figured as an authority of the first rank. His role in the collection of the Ḳurʾān has been debated, but was certainly important. ʿUmar also ordered the expulsion of the Christian and Jewish communities of Nadjrān and Khaybar [*q.vv.*], and forbade non-Muslims to reside in the Ḥidjāz for longer than three days.

Under ʿUmar the office of caliph (see KHALĪFA) gained in solidity and prestige. Abū Bakr had styled himself *khalīfa* in the sense of successor to the Prophet (though see Crone-Hinds, 19-20, 111-12); this title remained, of course, but ʿUmar also assumed the title *amīr al-muʾminīn* [*q.v.*] "Commander of the Faithful". On occasion, the sources convey a sense that ʿUmar held more prestige and authority than a strict Islamic understanding of the matter would really have allowed; or to put it differently, at times his role seems less that of a St. Paul and more that of a St. John the Baptist, in danger of encroaching on the unique authority of the Founder. Uneasiness over such a role may possibly lie behind the *ḥadīth* "If God had wished for there to be another prophet after me, it would have been ʿUmar" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* i, 29, iv, 154; al-Muḥibb, *Manāḳib*, i, 259; cf. Lazarus-Yafeh, 7). Similarly, the epithet often associated with ʿUmar, *al-Fārūḳ*, is generally understood to mean "the one who distinguishes truth from falsehood" or "the true faith from the false," but Sachau and Levi Della Vida (in *RSO*, iv, 1074-6) already detected an association between Arabic *fārūḳ* and Syriac *pārōḳā*, "saviour, redeemer" and related words in Semitic languages denoting a messianic element. Traditions on ʿUmar as al-Fārūḳ are indeed connected with the *ahl al-kitāb*, especially the Jews, though the epithet is also said to have been given him by the Prophet; and some of the accounts of ʿUmar's entry into Jerusalem have a messianic flavour (see Cook-Crone, 5-6; Bashear).

As caliph, ʿUmar was only *primus inter pares*, and numerous anecdotes illustrate his accessibility. He nonetheless enjoyed a vast authority deriving from the respect and awe in which people held him. A stern, uncompromising character—in many anecdotes he chastises with a whip—he was no doubt more feared than loved. He was certainly famous for his temper, as in the story of his conversion, mentioned above, and in the episode of his throwing stones at the Muslim commanders at al-Djābiya when they appeared before him clad in silks and brocades (see Busse, *ʿOmar as conqueror*, 59, for a possible messianic aspect of some versions of this story). To the extent that ʿAlī and others opposed him, they did so quietly.

Apparently, ʿUmar gave little thought to the succession. He may have had Abū ʿUbayda in mind, but the latter died in any case of the plague in the year 18/639. ʿUmar was assassinated, at the height of his powers (his age is given variously as 53, 55, 60, 61 and 63), on 26 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 23/3 November 644, by Abū Luʾluʾa, a Christian slave of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*], then governor of Baṣra. The sources give as Abū Luʾluʾa's motive a tax against which he had appealed in vain to the caliph. Caetani (v, 40-51) thought that Abū Luʾluʾa was the instrument of a conspiracy of Companions which included ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. One of ʿUmar's sons, ʿUbayd Allāh (who died at Ṣiffīn in 37), believed in such a conspiracy, but he seems to have gone insane, and Levi Della Vida and Madelung (*Succession*, 69-70) have shown that the suspicion was unfounded.

On his deathbed, ʿUmar called for a council or *shūrā* [*q.v.*] to choose a successor, though this too has been disputed, as has the question of whether he actually proposed ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān [*q.v.*], the council's eventual choice. At any rate, it is consistent with all that we know regarding ʿUmar that he would have insisted on the principle of *shūrā*, together with that of *sābiḳa*, already mentioned. Throughout his caliphate ʿUmar adhered to these two principles (Madelung, 58-9, 76-7), and yet there was contradiction between them. Thus we find ʿUmar advocating the equality of all believers before God (*fī dhāt Allāh*, al-Ṭabarī, i, 2217), while at the same time favouring particular groups in the allocation of offices and revenues.

ʿUmar did much to provide—if not as completely as is sometimes thought—a social and political framework for the religious edifice which had begun to rise in the days of Muḥammad. But the rapid expansion of Islam which occurred during ʿUmar's caliphate put that same framework at risk. Major questions remained unresolved, including that of relations between the early converts and the first Helpers (*Anṣār* [*q.v.*]) on the one hand, and the ambitious Meccan aristocracy on the other; emerging jealousies between the first Arab conquerors in the newly-conquered lands and the waves of immigrants who came after them; and the general question of whether the Arab forces scattered throughout the immense territories would accept subordination to the central authority in Medina. Modern discussions of these questions see the ruling élite as largely unified and concerned with maintaining its power over the tribesmen (Donner), or else as deeply divided (Madelung). Either way, severe tensions remained for which ʿUmar's successor, ʿUthmān, would later pay the price.

Shīʿī tradition has never concealed its antipathy to ʿUmar for having thwarted the claims of ʿAlī and the House of the Prophet. Sunnī tradition, however, reveres ʿUmar not only as a great ruler but also as one of the supreme models for all the Islamic virtues. He appears often in Sunnī *ḥadīth*, both transmitting from the Prophet and as an authority on his own, and sometimes in association with his son ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*], a great jurist in his own right. In many *ḥadīths* and in the speeches and sermons attributed to ʿUmar in biographies and chronicles, he expresses concern with intention, *niyya* [*q.v.*]—a theological topic much discussed in later ages, and perhaps an instance of later retrojection upon ʿUmar—and in general with what we might call the internalisation of norms. Probably less anachronistic on the whole are ʿUmar's exhortations to his fellow-Muslims to follow the simple, rough style of living which he himself practised (*shiddat al-ʿaysh*, Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 199-200). This stopped short of self-deprivation: himself an active and vigorous man, ʿUmar is said to have denounced extreme ascetics and *mutawakkilūn* (another likely anachronism) for their weakness and dependence, and he was quoted as saying that he preferred to die while travelling in search of legitimate gain (*abtaghī min faḍli ʾllāhi*, cf. Ḳurʾān, II, 198, LXII, 10, LXXIII, 20), rather than in the *djihād* (al-Shaybānī, *Iktisāb*, Cairo 1938, 14, 37; *Kasb*, Damascus 1980, 40-1, 61; on ʿUmar's engaging in commerce while caliph, see Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 199, ll. 19-20). A distinctive type of symbolic poverty may be associated with ʿUmar, different from that of other Islamic rulers, including the other Rāshidūn (I. Mattson) [see AL-KHULAFĀʾ AL-RĀSHIDŪN, in Suppl.].

Always the paradigmatic just ruler for Sunnīs, ʿUmar appears in some 20th-century works as a model for democratic leadership and other modern values. Thus in greatly different circumstances, this austere, majestic figure continues to inspire respect and awe in the community of believers.

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(G. Levi Della Vida-[M. Bonner])

ʿUMAR (II) B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, Abū Ḥafṣ al-As̲h̲ad̲j̲d̲j̲, fifth caliph of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad dynasty [*q.v.*], reigned 99/717 to 101/720.

ʿUmar was probably born in Medina, around 60/680, although some sources say that he was born in Egypt. He spent his early years in both places, especially in Ḥulwān in Egypt, where his father resided as governor in the years 65-86/686-705. Nevertheless, it was in Medina that ʿUmar was educated, and it was there that he allegedly first associated with prominent pious figures and *muḥaddit̲h̲ūn*. After ʿUmar's father died, his uncle, the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], summoned ʿUmar to Damascus to confirm a marriage between ʿUmar and the caliph's daughter Fāṭima. Shortly thereafter, ʿAbd al-Malik's son and successor al-Walīd I [*q.v.*] named ʿUmar as governor of Medina. Both of these acts may be seen as propitiatory gestures designed to soften relations between two rival branches of the Marwānid family.

ʿUmar arrived at his new post in Medina in Rabīʿ I 87/February-March 706; his jurisdiction later included Mecca and Ṭāʾif as well. Little is known of his activities as governor, but it is said that he immediately set out to govern in close association with the *fuḳahāʾ* of the Prophet's city. Most accounts depict ʿUmar as a just governor, often leading the pilgrimage, and being especially reverent to pious figures like Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab [see FUḲAHĀʾ AL-MADĪNA AL-SABʿA. VI, in Suppl.], although others describe the young ʿUmar as worldly and over-indulgent. In 88/707, ʿUmar oversaw the expansion of the Mosque of the Prophet at al-Walīd's request. However, Umar's lenient government in the Ḥid̲j̲āz may well have been his undoing there. It was to the Ḥid̲j̲āz that some ʿIrāḳīs fled to avoid the harsher treatment of al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲åd̲j̲ b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], the powerful and irascible governor of ʿIrāḳ, and it was under pressure from al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ that ʿUmar was recalled from his post in S̲h̲aʿbān 93/May-June 712.

ʿUmar appears to have spent the next years of his life attached to the Umayyad court in Damascus, where, with the influential Rad̲j̲āʾ b. Ḥaywa al-Kindī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], he was an unofficial counsellor to the caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*]. In 97/716, for example, he accompanied Sulaymān on his pilgrimage to Mecca, stopping in Jerusalem on their return. When Sulaymān became ill at Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] in northern Syria while on campaign in 98/716, Rad̲j̲āʾ was able to persuade him to name ʿUmar as his successor with Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] to follow, in contradiction to ʿAbd al-Malik's earlier wish that the succession remain solely among his own descendants. Although this sudden change evoked some opposition from the line of ʿAbd al-Malik, the oath of allegiance to ʿUmar was secured, and ʿUmar was proclaimed caliph on 10 Ṣafar 99/22 September 717.

During his short reign as caliph, ʿUmar's activities involved both military matters and domestic concerns. ʿUmar has often been portrayed as a pacifist caliph, but it was more likely his concern over the dwindling caliphal treasury that dictated his stance on military affairs. Thus, in 99/717, ʿUmar did order the armies engaged in the costly and probably fruitless siege of Constantinople to be lifted, and the frontier with Byzantium to be withdrawn to the region of Malatya. However, he was still willing to send troops in that same year against the Turks, who had launched destructive attacks into Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, and the traditional summer raids continued unabated. Similarly, in 100/718, he ordered first an ʿIrāḳī and then a Syrian army to be sent against K̲h̲awārid̲j̲ rebels under S̲h̲awd̲h̲ab (or Bisṭām) al-Yas̲h̲kurī in ʿIrāḳ, although some sources relate that the rebels were placated through diplomatic means.

ʿUmar was also active in the internal affairs of the caliphate. Like other caliphs, he appointed and removed provincial governors as he saw fit. The most famous example is ʿUmar's removal and imprisonment of the Azdī notable Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [see MUHALLABIDS], who had evidently reneged on promises of revenues that he had raised as Sulaymān's governor of ʿIrāḳ and the East. But ʿUmar is best known for his fiscal policies, although these policies still remain unclear. His famous "fiscal rescript" is not a document, but a text preserved in Ibn ʿAbd al Ḥakam's

[*q.v.*] later biography of the caliph, and the details of this text remain open to different interpretations. However, it seems clear that, in this rescript as in other fiscal matters, ʿUmar was concerned with increasing the revenues accruing to the state while also ensuring that new converts to Islam would be granted the same lenient fiscal status of other Muslims. In any event, ʿUmar's successors did not pursue his policies further, and their long-term significance for the fiscal régime of the caliphate was small.

En route from Damascus to Aleppo, perhaps heading for his nearby estate at Khunāṣira [*q.v.*], ʿUmar took ill, some sources alleging that he was poisoned by the family of ʿAbd al-Malik. He died on 20 or 25 Radjab 101/5 or 10 February 720 in the village of Dayr Simʿān (near Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān), where he was buried in a plot that he himself had purchased. The ruins of his tomb, of uncertain date, can still be seen today.

ʿUmar's significance lies as much in the complexity of his later image as it does in his accomplishments as caliph. On the one hand, to later generations, ʿUmar was an exemplar of the Muslim virtues of piety, equity and humility. The fact that his mother, Umm ʿĀṣim, was the granddaughter of the Rightly-Guided caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*] was frequently stressed. The links and similarities between the Umayyad caliph and his revered namesake were often mentioned and elaborated, to the point that some commentators included him among the ranks of the caliphs designated as Rightly-Guided [see al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn, in Suppl.]; indeed, there is some evidence suggesting that ʿUmar viewed himself as the redeeming Mahdī [*q.v.*] and a renewer (*mudjaddid*) of Islam as the community approached the end of the first Islamic century (see P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's caliph*, Cambridge 1986, 114 and index).

On the other hand, anecdotal evidence abounds which depicts ʿUmar, especially the youthful ʿUmar, as a typical Umayyad prince of his day, fond of pomp and luxury. These latter accounts, however, may be a mere counterpoint to the image of the mature ʿUmar, serving to further heighten the image of the virtuous caliph. ʿUmar's reputation for piety and his interest in religious affairs also extended beyond Muslim audiences, and it is this image of ʿUmar that certainly accounts for the Christian polemical pseudo-correspondence that was attributed to him and the Byzantine emperor Leo III. To the belles-lettrists and historians of the ʿAbbāsid era and later, ʿUmar was something of an enigma: a prince of the despised Umayyad house, and yet a pious statesman worthy of nostalgia and imitation. As such, he is one of the few early historical personages who became the subject of discrete biographical works early on.

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ʿUMAR (b. ʿAbd Allāh) b. **ABĪ RABĪʿA** al-Makhzūmī, an Umayyad *ghazal* [*q.v.*] poet of renown, reputedly a member of the Meccan aristocracy whose paternal uncle, according to Ibn Ḳutayba (*al-Shiʿr*, 348), was Abū Djahl ʿAmr b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra [*q.v.*]. His father and brother held administrative posts in South Arabia (whence his family's wealth is said to have derived) and Baṣra respectively. In his verse, ʿUmar usually refers to himself as ʿUmar, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb or al-Mughīrī and once as Ibn ʿAbd Allāh (P. Schwarz, *Der Diwan des ʿUmar Ibn Abi Rebiʿa*, Leipzig 1901-9, i, 189, poem 278, v. 4), although he seems to have preferred to be known by the name of his grandfather. Schwarz (*op. cit.*, iv, 5-7) sees in his name a connection between him and the second caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*]: tradition, which Schwarz broadly supports, held that the poet was born on the day on which the caliph was assassinated, i.e. in 23/644.

Poem 1 in the *dīwān* is said to have been composed by the young ʿUmar at the instigation of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*]: it is a *rāʾiyya* of seventy-three verses, heavily indebted to the *nasīb* of the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, in which characteristic features of ʿUmar's *ghazal* are in evidence; the seductive prowess of the proud poet (an object of adoration for both poet and beloved), the desert *mise-en-scène* (even for municipal dramas), the blend of all-consuming ardour (similar in spirit to the love known as *ʿUdhrī* [*q.v.*]) and the performative, physical love known as Ḥidjāzī, the dialogue of beloved with companion(s), the nocturnal invasion of the woman's tent (here very reminiscent of Imruʾ al-Ḳays's poem), combined in the manner of a bipartite, polythematic *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] to conclude with a desert *raḥīl* [*q.v.*], identified by Th. Bauer (*Altarabische Dichtkunst. Eine Untersuchung ihrer Struktur und Entwicklung am Beispiel der Onagerepisode*, Wiesbaden 1992, i, 71) as structurally valid and not lacunose. This was the self-professedly artistic format (focused on animal portraits) of the pre-Islamic poets. A further characteristic of ʿUmar's poetry is parody, of both tradition and self: the travel-hardened Bedouin hero of vv. 14-16 needs the help of his beloved and her sisters to escape—in one version, dressed as a woman; his concluding desert-journey (in which animal portraits do not appear) is, by implication, to keep his tryst with Nuʿm at ʿAzwar (v. 41). See D. Cowell, *Narrative art in ʿUmar Ibn Abī Rabīʿa*, in G. de Lama (ed.), *Middle East 1*, Colegio de México 1982 (30th International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North America 1976), 78-93, and J.E. Montgomery and J.N. Mattock, *The metaphysical ʿUmar?*, in *JAL*, xx (1989), 12-13. Typical also of this parody is poem 195, v. 10, in which a rival for the attentions of Nuʿm (herself a gazelle) is described, as he deprives the poet of his kill, in language appropriate to the hunter in traditional animal portraits.

Little is known about ʿUmar's life. He reputedly passed much of it in either Medina or Mecca: the

account in the *K. al-Aghānī* concentrates on the latter, though this information may be derived from an over-literal reading of poems in which these places and their environs are mentioned (for a list, see Schwarz, iv, 13-16), on the assumption that the locutor of the poem (if authentic) and ʿUmar are one and the same. The same strictures apply to other toponyms in ʿUmar's poetry (*ibid.*, iv, 15): they do not in themselves constitute proof that the poet visited them. Indeed, the encounter with Djamīl [*q.v.*] in Syria is patently legendary. ʿUmar died in either 93/712 or 103/721. One tradition has him repent of his mis-spent youth and devote the latter part of his life to Islam. The sources, indeed, do not question his devotion to Islam, which features prominently in much of his *ghazal*.

ʿUmar's *dīwān* represents the most conspicuous and voluminous example of Ḥidjāzī *ghazal*, although it is not without its accretions and falsifications. The emergence of this phenomenon, together with its bed-fellow ʿUdhrī *ghazal*, has been variously explained, largely in socio-economic terms (the disintegration of tribal society, though this was not as profoundly impacted upon by Islam as has been supposed; the influx of Persian and Levantine slaves, with their artistic traditions, into al-Ḥidjāz; the emergence of a leisured aristocracy and a *jeunesse dorée*: see S. Enderwitz, *Liebe als Beruf. Al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf und das Ġazal*, Beirut 1995, 12-16) and in political terms (the relocation of imperial power from Medina to Damascus) and has been tied to the prevalence of Mecca and Medina as settings for ʿUmar's amorous escapades. There is no proof that ʿUmar's verse was composed in either place: they may be imaginative settings (*pace* J.-C. Vadet's characterisation of him as a pure Hidjāzī, in terms both literary and geographical: *L'Esprit courtois en Orient*, Paris 1968, 112); on the fictionality of ʿUmar's poetry, see further Enderwitz, *op. cit.*, 124-6. It is not known whether independent love poems were composed in the pre-Islamic period, although mediaeval literary opinion avers that the *nasīb* was incorporated into the polythematic ode early in the 6th century. Consequently, the poetic tradition in which ʿUmar was composing is obscure and modern explanations of the emergence of *ghazal* do not consider this; Wagner remarks that Abū Dahbal al-Djumaḥī [*q.v.*] and Ḳays b. Dharīḥ composed independent love songs before ʿUmar (*Grundzüge*, ii, 61). J.-C. Vadet's account (43-118) at least has the merit of considering aesthetic considerations, although he overstates the importance of the influence of singer on poet in terms of subject-matter, though not of metre, commissioning or popularising. R. Jacobi has discussed the role of Abū Dhu'ayb [*q.v.*] in the transition from *nasīb* to *ghazal* (*Die Anfänge der arabischen Ġazalpoesie: Abū Du'aib al-Hudalī*, in *Isl.*, lxi [1984], 218-50; eadem, *Time and reality in* nasīb *and* ghazal, in *JAL*, xvi [1985], 1-17), and ʿUmar's Ḥidjāzī *ghazal* can be explained exclusively in literary terms, as the appropriation (perhaps reclamation) of the *nasīb* as *mufākhara* [*q.v.*] (typified by Imru' al-Ḳays) from the *ḳaṣīda* (although ʿUmar also feels free to use themes and motifs of the *nasīb*, e.g. concluding one poem, Schwarz no. 9, with the deserted encampment) and from the past (in the manner of Abū Dhu'ayb, although ʿUmar's lack of sentimentality in his occasional treatment of the past is singular, e.g. Schwarz no. 299): his oft-mentioned poetic characterisation of women and their independence renders them more of a challenge for, and therefore upon possession more of a testimony to, his erotic (heroic) élan. ʿUdhrī *ghazal* is also a literary development from the pre-Islamic heritage, in counteraction to the ephemeralness of Ḥidjāzī love. It would be unwise to exclude consideration of the *ghazal* as a literary and antinomian response to the eschatological prescriptions of the Ḳur'ān.

A taxonomic analysis of the 333 poems and 109 fragments in ʿUmar's *dīwān* should be effected on the principles established by Th. Bauer for Abū Tammām [*q.v.*] (*Abū Tammām's contribution to ʿAbbāsid* ġazal *poetry*, in *JAL*, xxvii (1996), 13 ff.), focused on his four categories of courting, message, report (type 1: description; type 2: event) and complaint, thereby establishing the relative frequency of poems of amorous adventure (i.e. narratives, often of astonishing inventiveness and unpredictability) and of declarations of undying or unfulfilled love and facilitating a proper appreciation of the role of ʿUdhrī love in his *ghazal*. Such an analysis has partially been undertaken by Audebert (see *Bibl.*), though from different premises. The selective process of transmission may also have eliminated many poems which do not conform to the received picture of ʿUmar; still extant, for example, are some pieces of tribal *mufākhara* (e.g. Schwarz, nos. 197, 205), panegyric (e.g. Schwarz, no. 247) and a *marthiya* [*q.v.*] (Schwarz, no. 222), suggesting poetic activity of a more traditional sort. The complete picture of ʿUmar the poet has yet to be drawn.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see C. Audebert, *Réflexions sur la composition des poèmes de ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿa*, in *Cahiers de linguistique d'Orientalisme et de Slavistique*, v-vi (1975), 17-29, ix (1977), 1-14; eadem, *Rime et parallélisme dans un poème de ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, ou le jeu de l'attente déjouée*, in *Annales de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, 1980, 355-67; R. Jacobi, *Theme and variations in Umayyad* ghazal *poetry*, in *JAL*, xxiii (1992), 109-19; T. Seidensticker, *Anmerkungen zum Gedicht ʿUmar Ibn Abī Rabīʿa nr. 299 ed. Schwarz*, in W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeler, *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag. Studien zur arabischen Dichtung*, Stuttgart 1994, 131-44. (J.E. Montgomery)

ʿUMAR b. **ʿALĪ** [see ibn al-fāriḍ].

ʿUMAR b. **AYYŪB** [see al-muẓaffar, al-malik].

ʿUMAR b. **ḤAFṢ** [see muhallabids. iv].

ʿUMAR b. **ḤAFṢŪN**, leader of a famous long-running rebellion in the province of Reíyo (Málaga) in Muslim Spain who, in 267/880, rebelled against the Umayyad *amīrs* of Cordova, and two years before his death in 305/918, eventually surrendered conditionally to the *amīr*, later caliph, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir.

Towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, mainly as a result of the weakness of the Umayyad amirate, al-Andalus experienced several uprisings, mostly by neo-Muslims (*muwalladūn*). The rebellion of the *muwallad* ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn was the most dangerous due to the fact that it dragged on for almost half a century, gradually assuming a national character, and that Ibn Ḥafṣūn was mainly supported by local Christians (*ʿadjam*) and *muwallad*s and was frequently in collusion with the adversaries of the amīrate both within Spain and beyond.

According to Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], our main source on the rebellion, Ibn Ḥafṣūn's full name was ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ (Spanish augmentative Ḥafṣūn) b. ʿUmar b. Djaʿfar al-Islāmī. ʿUmar's great grandfather, Djaʿfar, had converted from Christianity to Islam, hence the epithet *islāmī* attached to his name. Alfonso, Djaʿfar's great-grandfather, is described as a Visigothic count (*ḳūmis*).

ʿUmar's father owned a farm in the district of

Ronda but, after his bad-tempered son had caused the death of a neighbour's son, he moved with his family and settled in the Serranía de Ronda not far from Bobastro [see BARBASHTURU]. Following another misdemeanour, ʿUmar fled to Tāhart, capital of the Rustamids [*q.v.*], in North Africa where he was apprenticed to an Andalusian tailor for a few weeks before deciding to return home. Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya's remark that ʿUmar's departure was prompted by his fear of being detained by the Rustamid ruler of Tāhart "whose allegiance was to the Umayyads" is a credible explanation for ʿUmar's sudden decision to return to al-Andalus, since close political and economic relations existed between the Umayyads of Cordova and the Rustamids throughout the 3rd/9th century.

On returning home, ʿUmar joined an uncle who enlisted some forty men with whose help ʿUmar established himself in Bobastro, an old castle halfway between Antequera and Ronda, standing on a high and precipitous rock overlooking the ravine of the Guadalhorce, the site of which was identified by Simonet as Las Mesas de Villaverde, some 7 km/4 miles to the east of Ardales and some 8 km/5 miles to the north of modern Carratraca. It was from Bobastro that ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn launched his rebellion in 267/880 against the *amīr* of Cordova, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (*r.* 238-73/852-86). Having been persuaded to surrender three years later, Ibn Ḥafṣūn joined the *amīr*'s army and is said to have participated in an expedition in the Upper March against Alfonso III of Asturias and the *muwallad* rebel Muḥammad b. Ḳasī. Finding himself mistreated by the city prefect upon his return to Cordova, Ibn Ḥafṣūn defected a year later, reoccupied Bobastro and soon dominated the whole area between Algeciras and Murcia.

In an appeal to the people in the province of Reiyo—then mostly Christians and neo-Muslims—Ibn Ḥafṣūn is quoted as having said, "Already for too long you have endured the yoke of the sultan who robs you and overburdens you with taxes, while the Arabs humiliate you and treat you as slaves. My sole ambition is to avenge your wrongs and deliver you from your bondage." (*Bayān*, ii, 114). Ibn Ḥafṣūn's followers are said to have constituted the lowest stratum of society and, to secure their support, he promised them—in the manner of Robin Hood—land and spoils. The chroniclers, however, list a number of virtues which endeared Ibn Ḥafṣūn to his followers, such as humility, fair dealing, honouring the brave, readiness to forgive and protection of women.

In the second year of his reign, the *amīr* al-Mundhir (*r.* 273-5/886-8) overcame Ibn Ḥafṣūn, who sued for peace but soon reneged, whereupon the *amīr* laid siege to Bobastro during which, six weeks later, he died, probably poisoned at the instigation of his brother ʿAbd Allāh who succeeded him.

The latter's authority, however, barely extended beyond his capital, as Ibn Ḥafṣūn had occupied several fortresses and townships along the Guadalquivir, including Poley—known later as Aguilar—whence he launched ceaseless forays into the Campiña of Cordova. Meanwhile, on account of a personal grudge against the *amīr*, Servando (*Sharband*), whose father and namesake was the *comes* of the Mozarabs in Cordova, sought refuge with Ibn Ḥafṣūn, who entrusted him with launching incursions in the vicinity of the capital, in the course of which Servando was killed. Servando's defection, however, does not seem to have found any response amongst the Mozarabs of Cordova.

Ibn Ḥafṣūn reached the zenith of his power in 278/891 when he installed himself in Poley, and it was then that he began to exchange correspondence and gifts with Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, the Aghlabid *amīr* of Ifrīḳiya. Ibn Ḥafṣūn aspired to replace the Umayyad *amīr* and proclaim his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid caliph in Baghdād, thereby assuming in al-Andalus a role akin to that of the Aghlabid *amīr*s, i.e. real independence with nominal allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids.

The decision of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh to lead his troops in person against Ibn Ḥafṣūn was a brave one that was to determine the very survival of the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus. Though twice the size of the *amīr*'s army, Ibn Ḥafṣūn's forces were routed in the encounter at Poley (1 Rabīʿ I 278/13 July 891). The *amīr* proceeded to lay siege to Bobastro, where Ibn Ḥafṣūn had taken refuge. Within only one year from the battle, however, Ibn Ḥafṣūn regained full control of the provinces of Reiyo, Elvira and Jaén.

In 285/898, Ibn Ḥafṣūn negotiated an alliance with the *muwallad* rebel in the Upper March, Muḥammad b. Lope b. Ḳasī, but it came to nothing as Ibn Ḳasī fell in an engagement with the Tudjībid governor of Saragossa (Ramaḍān 285/October 898).

Ibn Ḥafṣūn is said to have forsworn Islam openly in 286/899 and to have converted, together with all members of his family, to Christianity, the religion of his ancestors. As a result, most of his *muwallad* supporters deserted him and the jurists (*fuḳahāʾ*) proclaimed a *djihād* against him. Henceforth, Ibn Ḥafṣūn is invariably referred to by Andalusian chroniclers as the infidel (*kāfir*), apostate (*murtadd*), atheist (*mulḥid*) and polytheist (*mushrik*).

The charge of apostasy, however, was not levelled against Ibn Ḥafṣūn until after the fall of Bobastro some thirty years later. According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Aʿmāl*, 32), Ibn Ḥafṣūn is said to have "relied completely on Christians and to have, allegedly, assumed the faith of his ancestors."

Although Ibn Ḥafṣūn may have secretly converted to Christianity, it is most unlikely that he publicly renounced Islam, for how can that be reconciled with his simultaneous proclamation of allegiance to the Idrīsids in northern Morocco, his alliance with Ibrāhīm b. Ḥadjdjādj, the Arab lord of Seville, and his proclamation of allegiance, a few years later, to ʿUbayd Allāh, the new Shīʿī caliph in Ifrīḳiya? Moreover, had Ibn Ḥafṣūn really apostasised, the Umayyads would no doubt have immediately exploited such an event in order to rally Muslim public opinion throughout al-Andalus against him.

In the last decade of ʿAbd Allāh's reign (r. 275-300/888-912), Ibn Ḥafṣūn lost the initiative. The *amīr* recaptured Jaén, Archidona (Belda) and Baza, while his troops ravaged the district of Bobastro.

On succeeding to his grandfather, the young *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (*r.* 300-50/912-61) was confronted with several rebels, chief of whom was ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn, "head of dissension (*fitna*) and of fanatical solidarity (*ʿaṣabiyya*) with the Christians and *muwallads*" (*Ḥulla*, ii, 159).

The policy adopted by the new *amīr*, combining flexible diplomacy (*mudārāt*) with firmness, proved fruitful. In the first year of his reign, he recovered Ecíja and defeated Ibn Ḥafṣūn near Elvira. In the following year, Seville was recovered from Ibn Ḥadjdjādj, thereby depriving Ibn Ḥafṣūn of an important Arab ally. On entering Algeciras (301/914), the *amīr*'s commander set fire to several vessels used by Ibn Ḥafṣūn for traffic with Morocco. On the *amīr*'s orders, the navy was to patrol the coast from Algeciras to Murcia so as to stop provisions reaching the rebel from North

Africa, and as a precautionary measure against the S͟hīʿī threat.

Eventually, Ibn Ḥafṣūn sought peace (303/916) from the *amīr*, who entrusted the task of negotiating peace terms to his Christian physician and *wazīr*, Yaḥyā b. Isḥāḳ, and to his *ḥād͟jib*, Badr b. Aḥmad. It would seem that Ibn Ḥafṣūn was pressed to take this step by his Christian supporters, led by D͟jaʿfar b. Maḳsim (Maximo), bishop of Bobastro.

The terms agreed upon seem to have been quite favourable to Ibn Ḥafṣūn, for he and his descendants after him were to retain Bobastro as well as 162 other fortresses (*Muḳtabas*, v, 115).

Unvanquished, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn died in Bobastro on 16 S͟haʿbān 305/1 February 918, after a rebellious career which spanned almost forty years. He was survived by four sons, three of whom—D͟jaʿfar, Sulaymān and Ḥafṣ—successively ruled Bobastro and intermittently rebelled against the *amīr* of Cordova. Eventually, Ḥafṣ surrendered and joined the *amīr*'s expedition in Galicia. Bobastro finally fell on 23 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 315/ 19 January 928. Two months later, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān entered Bobastro; ʿUmar's body was disinterred and it was found that he had been buried according to Christian rites, a point which was taken as clear evidence of his apostasy. His body was removed to Cordova and crucified between the bodies of two of his sons.

The great mosque built by Ibn Ḥafṣūn at the outset of his rebellion was demolished, as it had allegedly been built with the proceeds of Muslim spoils. New mosques were now built in Bobastro while existing churches were demolished. Fortresses throughout the province of Reiyo were likewise destroyed and their Christian occupants deported to the lowlands which they had occupied prior to Ibn Ḥafṣūn's rebellion.

ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn appears to have been an adventurer, an opportunist and man of ambition who aspired to achieve independence. His real aim throughout was to achieve for himself in al-Andalus what had been achieved by the Ag͟hlabid *amīr*s of Ḳayrawān, i.e. *de facto* independence with nominal allegiance to a remote caliphate. Initially, circumstances were favourable to him, but after his defeat at Poley (278/891), his power steadily declined.

Al-Nāṣir's conciliatory but firm policy, the blockade of the Straits, the incessant attacks on Bobastro and its district, the recurrent famines and epidemics, the divisions within the ranks of his followers and the exhaustion of the people by the long-running struggle—all these factors combined led to the eventual failure of the rebellion. Yet, under the peace agreement concluded with al-Nāṣir, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn retained Bobastro and quite a large number of fortresses for himself and his descendants. He was not beaten in battle nor was Bobastro captured by force. Al-Nāṣir probably saw fit to conciliate ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn by keeping him in control of Bobastro as his vassal so that he could free himself to deal with the other rebels and to concentrate on the new S͟hīʿī power which posed a far greater threat both to the Mag͟hrib and al-Andalus.

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(Amin Tibi)

ʿUMAR b. HUBAYRA [see ibn hubayra].

ʿUMAR b. IBRĀHĪM al-K͟HAYYĀMĪ [see ʿumar k͟hayyām].

ʿUMAR b. SAʿĪD al-FŪTĪ (*ca.* 1796-1864) a distinguished scholar and *mud͟jāhid* of the Tid͟jāniyya *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] in the western Sudan. ʿUmar was born in Halwar in Futa Toro (present-day Senegal) to a modest scholarly family of the Fulbe [*q.v.*] ethnic group. He was initiated into the Tid͟jāniyya in Mauritania by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Nāḳil. A turning point in ʿUmar's life was his pilgrimage to Mecca, on which he set out, according to traditions cited by Ly-Tall (*Un Islam militant*, 83), in 1825. While in the Ḥid͟jāz (1828-30) ʿUmar was attached to Muḥammad al-G͟hālī, the Tid͟jānī *k͟halīfa* for al-Ḥid͟jāz. In his book *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm* (i, 194-5) ʿUmar relates that besides instructing him in the special teachings of the Tid͟jāniyya, Muḥammad al-G͟hālī appointed him *k͟halīfa* of the Tid͟jāniyya for the western Sudan. On the way back from Mecca, ʿUmar spent about six years (1832-8) in Sokoto [*q.v.*], during which he had very close contacts with sultan Muḥammad Bello, whose daughter he married.

ʿUmar b. Saʿīd's career as a *mud͟jāhid* was related to the self-esteem which he developed as a result of his relations with Muḥammad al-G͟hālī and Muḥammad Bello and to his acquaintance with the *d͟jihād* tradition of Sokoto, but it did not result directly from these. For after leaving Sokoto and spending some time in Masina, ʿUmar settled down to the life of a religious teacher in a community of his own which

he created in 1840 in Jegunko in Futa Djallon [*q.v.*]. There he completed in 1845 his most important work, *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm*. The project of launching a *d̲j̲ihād* seems to have taken shape in ʿUmar's mind during a voyage which he made through Senegambia in 1846-7, during which he won followers and spent some time in his home town of Halwar. In 1849 he moved his community to Dingiray to the east of Jegunko in the territory of the Maninka kingdom of Tamba. Robinson suggests that through moving his community to a territory ruled by a non-Muslim king, ʿUmar intended to create propitious conditions for starting his *d̲j̲ihād*. Indeed, after settling in Dingiray, he had it fortified and had his followers armed with weapons which he bought from British traders in Freetown and French traders along the Senegal river respectively. The ʿUmarian community achieved its first military success against the forces sent in September 1852 by Yimba, the king of Tamba, to capture Dingiray (Robinson, *The holy war of Umar Tal*, 112-31).

The wars of ʿUmar b. Saʿīd cannot be described in any detail here. Suffice it to say that from June 1854 he started his expansion northwards into Senegambia. Two defeats which he suffered in 1857 at Medine and in 1859 at Gemu at the hands of the French made him change the direction of his conquests towards the Middle Niger. After conquering the pagan kingdom of Segu [*q.v.*] in March 1861, ʿUmar became involved in a conflict with Aḥmad b. Aḥmad, the Muslim ruler of Masina, and his ally the chief of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī al-Kuntī in Timbuktu. In this way ʿUmar's *d̲j̲ihād* developed into a conflict with the Ḳādiriyya over hegemony in the Middle Niger region, in the course of which Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī conducted a religious campaign against ʿUmar, denouncing especially his launching of *d̲j̲ihād* against fellow Muslims (cf. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya*, 168-71). In May 1862 ʿUmar b. Saʿīd defeated and killed Aḥmad b. Aḥmad, but shortly afterwards he was besieged in the latter's capital Hamadullahi by the rebellious people of Masina supported by Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī. ʿUmar fled with a small party of followers from Hamdullahi on 6 February 1864, but was killed a few days later by his pursuers. Segu remained under the rule of ʿUmar's son Aḥmad until the French forces under Archinard arrived there in 1893.

Through his writings (cf. Willis, *The writings of al-Hajj ʿUmar*), but more importantly through making strict adherence to Islamic norms the basis of religious solidarity amongst his followers and justifying the launching of *d̲j̲ihād* against Muslim rulers through their deviation from these norms, ʿUmar b. Saʿīd became an important reformer of Islamic religious life in the western Sudan. The Tid̲j̲āniyya had had followers in the western Sudan before him, but it was his great prestige as religious scholar and holy warrior which laid the foundations for its becoming the only *ṭarīḳa* which could rival the much older Ḳādiriyya for the allegiance of the Muslims in this region.

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(Jamil M. Abun-Nasr)

ʿUMAR b. **S̲H̲ABBA** b. ʿAbīda b. Rayṭa (Rāʾiṭa) al-Numayrī al-Baṣrī, Abū Zayd, expert in *ak̲h̲bār* on history as well as poets and poetry, very important source for some of the most prominent works of Arabic literature and himself author of *ak̲h̲bār* collections which mostly survive in the quotations of later authors (173-262/789-878). His father's name was Zayd, "S̲h̲abba" being a nickname taken from a song that his father's mother used to sing for him when he was a boy. ʿUmar was born at Baṣra as a *mawlā* of the Banū Numayr, as mentioned by Yāḳūt (*Irs̲h̲ād*, vi, 481-2) and al-Ṣafadī (*Wāfī*, xxii, 488-9). He must have received a thorough education before he went to Bag̲h̲dād, where he lectured as a *muḥaddit̲h̲* (al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, xi, 208-10). Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (b. 240/854) emphasises his reputation as a reliable and serious scholar. He also reports that he himself, together with his father, used to write down, or copy, materials at ʿUmar's lectures (*katabtu ʿanhu*; see *al-D̲j̲arḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, Ḥaydarābād, iii, 116). ʿUmar also taught the *ḳirāʾāt* (Ibn al-D̲j̲azarī, *G̲h̲āyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, no. 2407), and as an *adīb*, he produced some poetry. Verses in honour of al-Ḥasan b. Mak̲h̲lad (d. *ca.* 271/884-3), who served al-Mutawakkil and later became vizier under al-Muʿtamid, are preserved in biographical literature. His interest in literary matters is abundantly documented in later sources, and he is said to have copied the *dīwān* of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (Sezgin, ii, 513-14).

Al-Khaṭīb mentions that ʿUmar settled at Sāmarrāʾ near the end of his life. However, this must have been some twenty-five years before his death in D̲j̲umādā II 262/March 878, because, as he reports himself to Abū ʿAlī al-ʿAnazī (i.e. the *adīb* al-Ḥasan b. ʿUlayl, d. 290/902), ʿUmar was soon after his coming to Sāmarrāʾ submitted to the *miḥna* [*q.v.*], which was in fact ended by al-Mutawakkil as early as between 234/848-9 and 237/851-2. Al-ʿAnazī, who was a student of ʿUmar b. S̲h̲abba at Sāmarrāʾ, also reports that he did not bow to pressure, and as a punishment (some of) his books were torn to pieces. In protest against this ill-treatment, he abstained from lecturing for a certain period. Not all of his books were lost, however. Ibn al-Nadīm (*al-Fihrist*, ed. Tad̲j̲addud, 125-6) says that when he died, his son Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad, who was an able poet (al-Ṣafadī, vii, 261-2), sold his father's books.

Most important is ʿUmar's role as an authority for *ak̲h̲bār* on history and literary matters. He was a prolific author, as we learn from the titles of his books given in the *Fihrist* (*loc. cit.*) and in the lists of Yāḳūt, al-D̲h̲ahabī (*Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, xiii, 371-2) and al-Ṣafadī. The subject matter indicated by these titles concerns history, particularly focused on urban centres (Baṣra, al-Kūfa, Medina, Mecca), narrative material about poets and their poetry, and the *ʿarabiyya*. The abundant quotations from ʿUmar in such works as the *Taʾrīk̲h̲* of al-Ṭabarī and, to a lesser degree, the *Ansāb al-as̲h̲rāf* of al-Balād̲h̲urī, Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Ag̲h̲ānī* and *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, and *al-*

Muwashshah of al-Marzubānī, contain material in conformity with these titles, and it is likely that they are taken from collections which ʿUmar b. Shabba produced and used in his teaching. However, only the *Akhbār al-Madīna*, which al-Dhahabī himself had seen in part, has survived in a late and damaged manuscript (*Taʾrīkh al-Madīna al-munawwara*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, 4 vols. Beirut 1410/1990). It contains *akhbār*, quoted with full *isnāds* and without any comments, about the life of the Prophet, of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. The murder of the third caliph is not included; the title *Maktal ʿUthmān* mentioned in the *Fihrist* could be a continuation of this book. Al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī, who both extensively quote ʿUmar for other topics, do not seem to have used this particular collection. It comes as a surprise that only one of the titles given by Ibn al-Nadīm and in the above-mentioned lists is found quoted by a later author: al-Ṭabarī (ii, 168) refers to the *Akhbār ahl al-Baṣra*. Yāḳūt also refers to this book in general terms, but does not quote from it (F.J. Heer, 32), and al-Sakhāwī knew of this book as well (Rosenthal, 462).

The huge amount of quotations from ʿUmar in the *Aghānī* proves Abu ʾl-Faradj's substantial dependence on these materials. He does not mention any title of a book by ʿUmar, but received the material from different informants who had probably produced recensions of ʿUmar's collections, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* and the *Aghānī*. In a similar manner, materials pertaining to the *kitāb Muḥammad wa-Ibrāhīm ibnay ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan* are preserved in the quotations of Abu ʾl-Faradj's *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (S. Günther) and al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh* (T. Nagel). Al-Ṭabarī's work also contains fragments, or materials, from ʿUmar's *Umarāʾ al-Kūfa* as well as from his *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, which seems also to have been used by al-Djahshiyārī for his *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ* (S. Leder).

The fact that ʿUmar's works are not directly quoted is in part due to the rules of *isnād* quotation. We may also infer that ʿUmar, who applied the methods of the transmission of *ḥadīth*, passed on to his disciples *akhbār* which he had gathered and arranged according to different topics throughout his entire life. He thus spread his materials in various collections by way of *riwāya* [*q.v.*], instead of bringing books into circulation which were "his" works in terms of elaborated structure, introduction, etc. The existence of a variety of collections comprising roughly the same materials must also be considered in order to explain parallels between al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī, as well as Ibn Ḳutayba and Abu ʾl-Faradj. These have as their common source neither ʿUmar's books nor the authorities he quotes, but arise from collections which are described as accessible to experts in these matters but which are not specified.

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ʿUMAR BĀ MAKHRAMA [see MAKHRAMA. 3].

ʿUMAR KHAYYĀM, renowned Persian scholar and poet of the Saldjūḳ period (*ca.* 439-517/1048-1123).

1. Biography

Al-Imām Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī is thus named in the *Mīzān al-ḥikma* which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī composed in 515/1121, often mentioning Khayyām for his scientific works. Abū Ḥafṣ is a *kunya* customarily associated with the name ʿUmar, and al-Khayyāmī is the form which would be expected in an Arabic work; it would be pointless to speculate on the origin of this name, as to whether, for example, this was a man belonging to a family of tent-makers or not, just as someone with the surname al-ʿAṭṭār is not necessarily associated with the manufacture of perfume. In Persian, this name naturally becomes Khayyām. Al-Khāzinī (see Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma, s.v.*) definitely had personal links with Khayyām. In the indices of catalogues, his name will be found, according to the case, in entries beginning with ʿU, ʿO, Kh, X or H.

Thanks to two other contemporaries of Khayyām, Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī-i Samarḳandī (*Madjmaʿ al-Nawādir* or *Čahār maḳāla*, written *ca.* 551/1156, ed. Ḳazwīnī, 100-4) and ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī (*Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, written after 548/1153, ed. Shafīʿ, fasc. i, 112-4, 163), some dates and biographical elements are available regarding this scholar and the renown which he enjoyed in his time. ʿAlī Bayhaḳī, called Ibn Funduḳ (who is also the author of the important history of eminent families of Bayhaḳ), gives him the title of *al-Dustūr al-Faylasūf Ḥudjdjat al-Ḥaḳḳ*. The dates are as follows: in 506/1112 Niẓāmī, who was then in the service of Khʷādja Imām ʿUmar Khayyāmī, heard his master predicting his death in circumstances which subsequently came about. According to Niẓāmī again, at Marw, in 508/1114, the reputation of Khayyām exceeded that of all the astrologers and astronomers at the court of the sultan. In 530/1135, Niẓāmī had occasion to visit the tomb of his former master, a clearly described and moving experience. According to one manuscript "it was four years" (longer according to another) since the death of Khayyām. The three appreciative accounts of Khayyām given by Niẓāmī, in his chapter on astronomers/astrologers, are inspired by the admiration which he felt for his one-time master. For his part, ʿAlī Bayhaḳī (499-565/1105-69), appreciably younger than Khayyām, presents a first biography of the scholar. He remembers having accompanied his father in 507/1113 to a salon (*madjlis*) conducted by Khayyām, who questioned him (or more likely, his father, see M. Ḳazwīnī, introd. to *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, 19-22, regarding a quotation from Abarkūhī on this point) on a *bayt* relating to an astronomical topic. "This was a man expert in philosophy (*ḥikmat*), in mathematics in all its forms, and in medicine." He was a native of Nīshāpūr, he writes, like his father and his grandfather. Skilled in teaching and in the composition of works, he was of strict character and valued his knowledge highly. Through the intermediary of a disciple of Ibn Sīnā, he was influenced by the latter's doctrine, as will be shown below. He was a scholar who was frequently consulted. Among the examples given by ʿAlī Bayhaḳī, one is the response which he gave to a question put to him by the great

master of Muslim scholasticism al-Ghazālī. He often made his way to Iṣfahān to visit the observatory constructed there by Malik Shāh after 467/1076 (see further on this, below). Finally, Bayhaḳī gives a detailed horoscope of the birth of Khayyām, on the basis of which Swāmī Govinda Tīrtha (1941) calculated that Khayyām must have been born on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 439/18 May 1048. Similarly, on the later basis of information given in the *Ṭarab-khāna* of Yār Aḥmad (written in 867/1460), it has been reckoned possible to date his death at 12 Muḥarram 526/14 December 1131) (on this point see the doubts of M. Muʿīn, 1333/1954). The date of 439 is entirely plausible; that of 526 is dubious. General opinion places the death of Khayyām around 517/1123. It seems that after the death of Malik Shāh, he lived some distance away from the court.

To these items of information others may be added, such as the known date of two of his treatises (469/1077 and 472/1080), or indeed the mention of Khayyām made by the renowned Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī (467-538/1074-1143) in his treatise *al-Ẓādjir li 'l-ṣighār*, where he comments that Khayyām enjoyed frequenting his circle, that he was familiar with the thought of the Arab poet Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (a pertinent literary observation) and, finally, that he was of obstinate character (*lidjādja*). More important in the life of Khayyām was the date 467/1074. Dealing with the events of this year, the historian Ibn al-Athīr, in his *Kāmil* (written before 631/1233), was the first to speak of the congress of scholars organised by Malik Shāh from 465/1072 onwards for the purpose of reforming the calendar [see DJALĀLĪ], setting the date for the festival of Nawrūz [*q.v.*] and planning the construction of an astronomical observatory at Iṣfahān. The object was both scientific and economic (fixing the date for the levying of taxes). "Among them," says Ibn al-Athīr, "there were ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar al-Isfizārī, Maymūn b. al-Nadjīb al-Wāsiṭī and others." Thus the meeting was probably not attended by Niẓām al-Mulk or Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ, despite the legend to this effect retailed by e.g. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī in his *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*. Also worth mentioning is a letter written to Khayyām by the Persian poet and mystic Ḥasan (or Madjdūd) Sanāʾī-i Ghaznawī (d. 525/1131 [see SANĀʾĪ]), a character of no lesser eminence than he himself, who had suffered bad experiences during a visit to Nīshāpūr, in particular when he was accused of having induced his servant to rob a money-changer. He complained to Khayyām, as a personage of influence in the town capable of defending his interests (the letter, written in elegant Persian, was published by Mudjtabā Mīnuwī, reproduced in ʿAbbāsī, 1338/1959, 223-8). In brief, the biography which may be composed on the basis of information from contemporaries or from those who lived shortly after Khayyām is that of an important scholar, of as yet unsuspected poetical talents. Later biographers were to exploit these early elements, reproducing them and sometimes amplifying them imaginatively, as did, in the early 7th/13th century, al-Shahrazūrī in his first article on Khayyām, and al-Ḳifṭī in his *T. al-Ḥukamāʾ*.

2. The Quatrains

The recent celebrity of the quatrains attributed to Khayyām is inversely proportional to the authenticity of many of them. Care is required, however, when tackling the puzzle posed by the hypothetical reconstruction of the poetical corpus of Khayyām not to obscure a major literary fact, that of the Khayyāmian tradition. In fact, the study of authenticity runs the risk of scuttling a rich tradition which has worked for several centuries according to the procedure and the mentality of an initial literary nucleus which can scarcely be other than the creation of a single individual, who certainly seems to be ʿUmar Khayyām, as may be deduced from a number of indications. While it was easy to preserve the scholar's scientific production, the retention of poems of a more personal nature, nudging at the frontiers of orthodoxy, could only be done with caution. There exists no text of reference offering the essential poetical works of Khayyām. There exist sparse quotations, painstakingly collected by anthologists, forming a small corpus which is very coherent in form and in content. Beyond this, there was an abundance of quatrains of the same type, regarded as worthy, for a limited period of time, of the tradition thus constituted, and demanding to be understood. Subsequently, the situation deteriorated; inferior imitations were produced, quatrains of other poets, dependent on other inspirations, were blended into the corpus, and the final stage saw the clever fabrication of "ancient" manuscripts.

Quatrain is the term used, inaccurately, to denote the Persian *rubāʿī* [*q.v.*]. It consists, as is well known, of two distiches (*bayt*), composed in turn of two hemistiches (*miṣrāʿ*). The four hemistiches have the same basic metre, specific to the quatrain (reading from right to left): - - \- -\ o - o\ - o o\ - -. This quantitative metre has five feet. It is obligatory that feet no. 1 and no. 4 are strictly invariable. In the entirety of the Khayyāmian tradition, foot no. 2 consists of two shorts and one long; exceptions (two longs alone) are rare. Foot no. 3, in the same tradition, alternates freely, within the same quatrain, between short-long-short and long-short-short; it is unusual to find two longs in this position. In the same tradition and within the same quatrain, foot no. 5 can be formed of two longs or of two shorts and one long. No rule exists to impose order on variation; for example, the third *miṣrāʿ* is not necessarily required to be distinguished from the three other *miṣrāʿ* by a specific variation of the metre. As for the rhyme, S.ʿA. Mir Afḍalī (1374/1995) has shown statistically that before the 7th/13th century, this third *miṣrāʿ* is not yet necessarily at variance with the rhyme of the *rubāʿī*. Of the 1,358 Persian quatrains known between the 5th/11th century and the 6th/12th century, 1,347 have the rhyme *a-a-a-a*, and only eleven have *a-a-b-a*. It is to this tradition that quatrains of the time of Khayyām belong, and here there is an additional means of pursuing the quest for authenticity. The rhyme in *a-a-b-a* is thus not absent, but it is not common, as will be seen. The rhyme scheme *a-a-b-a* was subsequently to become the rule, however, either as a result of the work of new poets, or on account of new arrangements of ancient quatrains by copyists.

The history of the quatrains of ʿUmar Khayyām has been marked by a particular event, this being a free translation of these poems into English which enjoyed unparallelled success. Khayyām was not unknown in Europe; his name was mentioned in Basel in 1583. In 1816, H.G. Keene produced the first English translation of the quatrains, revived in German by Von Hammer Purgstall a few years later. But E.B. Cowell, who taught Persian to Edward Fitzgerald (1809-83) and was Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge, discovered in 1856 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford a manuscript from the Ouseley collection (no. 140), dating from the 9th/15th century and containing 158 quatrains explicitly attributed to Khayyām. From 1859 onwards, Fitzgerald began to publish his translation,

on the basis of this manuscript and with the aid of a more recent Indian copy containing 510 quatrains. Fitzgerald's fifth version appeared in 1889. Only the first bore the rubric *translated*, without the name of the translator; the others were to be signed and described as *rendered*—a more accurate term in that this was a poetical rendering into English of what Fitzgerald understood to be the message of the quatrains. The number and the choice of quatrains varied from one version to the other. In total, the English poetical work ran to 310 editions and millions of copies. For a translation, it was a phenomenal success.

The reverberations were considerable, but it was not until 1897 and the appearance of Z. Žukovski's article on what he called "the wandering quatrains" (in *al-Muẓaffariyya. Festschrift Baron V. Rosen*) that the question was raised as to the authenticity of 82 quatrains attributed to ʿUmar Khayyām. E. Denison Ross (1900), then E.G. Browne (synthesis in *LHP*, ii, 246-59), took up the question, the latter concluding, with others, that an adequate answer could not be found. After the edition and translation of numerous quatrains by F. Rosen in 1925, on the basis of a dubious manuscript known as the "Berlin" one, the copy of a copy containing 329 items arranged alphabetically, Arthur Christensen (*Critical studies*, 1927) re-examined the entire question. Facing the major difficulty posed by the fact of only late manuscripts of the quatrains existing, the best option was to choose the most reliable manuscripts and seek to establish connections between the texts in terms of the succession of quatrains established in each case. The absence of alphabetical arrangement among the quatrains, for example, is, as is well known, a sign of the antiquity of a text. On the other hand, a quatrain may be considered authentic if it is found in at least five texts of the best group of these manuscripts. By means of successive eliminations, Christensen arrived at a total of 121 quatrains showing characteristics of authenticity in form and content. The excellent *EI*[1] article published by V. Minorsky in 1936 s.v. *ʿOmar Khaiyām*, shows the stage which had been reached in his studies at that point. But in Persia as in Europe, research was henceforward directed towards ancient texts capable of delivering, at least in quotation, original works. Here, in chronological order, are the ancient pieces and the significant evidence. A characteristic trait showing the antiquity of a quatrain is the fact that it does not contain the name of Khayyām. General use of the *takhalluṣ* [*q.v.*] dates from the 7th/13th century, and not being by any means a panegyric poet, Khayyām had no need to impress a patron with self-generated publicity. When Khayyām's name appears in a quatrain, it is natural to suspect pseudepigraphy or the substitution by a copyist of *khayyām* for a word such as *ayyām*. Khayyām is not always named by the author who cites a quatrain, and it at this point that recourse must needs be had to tradition.

First to be mentioned is the fact that, in the anthology which he composed in 572/1176 (*Kharīdat al-Kaṣr*), ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī mentions Khayyām among the poets of Khurāsān who wrote in Arabic. The poem of four Arabic *bayts* which he quotes is certainly consistent with the thinking of the poet, in its evocation of the quest for reconciliation of self with the realities of destiny. This would be supplemented by other Arabic *bayts* of Khayyām which al-Shahrazūrī was subsequently to cite in the second article which he devoted to Khayyām in his *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, written before 611/1214 (quotations and translations in ʿAlī Dashtī, *Damī bā Khayyām*, 92-98).

But even before 534/1139, thus before Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī, and a few years after the death of Khayyām, Aḥmad-i Samʿānī produced a remarkable Persian quatrain in his *Rūḥ al-arwāḥ* (ed. N. Māyil-i Harawī, 78, 293), which the entire tradition, from the 7th/13th century onward, has attributed to Khayyām. A masterpiece of Persian literature, the work dealt with the divine names, and the quatrain concluded the chapter on the name of Creator (*al-bārī*); it is quoted again in the chapter dealing with divine mercy. It takes the form of an ironical perspective on those who inquire about the causes of the world without thinking of the cause of His action and dealing only with pretexts (*rubāʿī* no. 19 in Dashtī, *Damī bā Khayyām*, with significant variants. References here will be to this work at times, but with account being taken, as the case requires, of more ancient quotations).

Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 586/1190) is the well-known author of major spiritual *mathnawī*s in Persian; his *Ilāhī-nāma* is the one which he wrote concerning the end of his life. Like Khayyām, he was from Nīshāpūr. One of many anecdotes in his poem (215, 5169-83) is that of the man who could see what was happening in tombs. To test him, a dignitary led him to the tomb of ʿUmar Khayyām. There the man saw the scholar in a state of utter confusion having to confront his ignorance, although throughout his life he had prided himself on his knowledge. Subsequently ʿAṭṭār extends the sayings of the visionary in the form of a long homily: since neither the beginning nor the end of life is clear, no one will find in this inferior world either head or tail. The sky is a ball without beginning or end, the earth is a foul valley where all men lose their way, the world is misery, the Wheel [of fate] plays with us. Such is ʿAṭṭār's version of the nucleus of the thinking promulgated by Khayyām's quatrains—a curious version, indeed.

Ẓahīrī-i Samarkandī wrote some ten years before 600/1203 his *Sindbād-nāma*, a fine example of Persian prose embellished with pieces of verse. Among the latter, and without the author being named, five quatrains are found which tradition attributed to Khayyām at a very early stage. These *rubāʿī*s (Dashtī, nos. 29, 16, 12, 22, 18), of ancient composition, add to the theme of the precariousness of a world devoid of reason, that of the consequences of withdrawing from it; since no one will return to the world below to reveal the secrets of other places, it is imperative that all enjoy their share of good living, in particular the pleasures of wine and romance. Not to do so would be a mistake. The poems also evoke the theme of the earth as dust; the cup and the pitcher are made from the remains of humans who were proud. Ẓahīrī repeated *rubāʿī* no. 29 in his *Aghrāḍ al-siyāsat* (155).

It is with Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī [*q.v.*] that the name of Khayyām appears as the author of a quatrain (Dashtī, no. 1, with perceptible variants). In the last part of a treatise written in 600/1203 (*al-Tanbīh ʿalā baʿḍ al-asrār*...), in a commentary on sura XCV which relates to the last things, the author quotes this audacious *rubāʿī* which he attributes to Khayyām by name: "Disposer of the elements,/ Why did the Master of the world/ Vow the destruction of these assemblages of atoms?/ If they were fair of form/ And well-conceived, why then/ Dismantle them? And if not.../ if not, who is to blame?" (following the Fr. tr. of G. Lazard). Coming from such an authority, the quotation and the attribution to Khayyām carry considerable weight. The *rubāʿī* poses a question poetically, but this is to be understood as a rhetorical question, the response to which is not in doubt—or possibly

as a metaphysical question to which there is no answer. It is impossible to forget the existence and the breadth of the tendency of "free thinkers in classical Islam" (see on this subject, D. Urvoy, Paris 1966), when contemplating this famous quatrain.

This same *rubāʿī* was to be taken up by another Rāzī, Nadjm al-Dīn Dāya, in the work in Persian which he completed in 620/1223 (*Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, 31), adding to it another *rubāʿī* (Dashtī, no. 2) which he also attributed to Khayyām, as a means of further justifying his indignation as a believer confronting such manifestations of atheism. The second *rubāʿī* cited ("In the circle whither we enter and whence we depart") could have followed the passage dedicated by ʿAṭṭār to Khayyām.

The 7th/13th century was the time when there appeared, in the pattern which has been seen to evolve, the best-formed quatrains. Without naming Khayyām, Rāwandī, in his *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* of 599/1202 (425), presents a Bacchic quatrain ("A mouthful of old wine is better than the new empire", absent from Dashtī). Before 622/1225, Warāwīnī, in his *Marzbān-nāma* (ed. Rawshan, 501), without naming Khayyām, quotes the fine quatrain (absent from Dashtī) spoken by a fisherman, complaining of his old age to a fish. In 629/1231, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Āharī, in *al-Aktāb al-kuṭbiyya* (ed. Dānish-Pazhūh, 121), attributes to Khayyām two Ṣūfī quatrains, one of which is definitely the work of Sanāʾī. On the other hand, without naming Khayyām, he quotes from two of his quatrains, one being that cited (above) by the two Rāzīs (Dashtī, no. 1), the other retained by tradition "Heaven has nothing to offer me [here below]" (absent from Dashtī).

A new development took place in the Khayyāmian tradition with the proliferation of anthologies. That of Khalīl-i Shirwānī, the *Nuzhat al-madjālis* (written before 649/1251), a collection of 4,000 *rubāʿīs*, includes a *bāb* devoted to Khayyām by name and containing 31 quatrains, presented as a choice made from those of the poet. While five are problematical, the other 26 quatrains are of the best quality (see M. Farzāna, *Khayyām-shinākht*, Tehran 1974, 153-65). There must have been other anthologies in which Khayyām had his place. One which has survived and which dates from the following century (741/1340), was written by Muḥammad b. Badr al-Djādjarmī, *Muʾnis al-aḥrār* (ii, 1144-6). It is composed of a choice of the poems of a great many authors, among whom Khayyām is mentioned and his work illustrated by the quotation of 13 quatrains, some of which have been mentioned above, and all of which are of superior quality. But five out of the 13 quatrains have already discarded the rhyme scheme *a-a-a-a* in favour of *a-a-b-a*.

Henceforward, Khayyām enters the storehouse raided by other men of letters for quotations which serve their purpose. Thus ʿAṭāʾ Malik Djuwaynī, the historian of the Mongols, in his *Tārīkh-i Djahāngushāy* (i, 128, written before 681/1281) puts into the mouth of a spectator of the atrocious massacres committed by the Mongols at Nīshāpūr the superb *rubāʿī* beginning *Tarkīb-i piyāla ki*... (Dashtī, no. 3), attributed to Khayyām by name. For his part another eminent historian, Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb (d. 718/1318) in his *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (in the section devoted to the Ismāʿīlīs, ed. Dānish-Pazhūh, Tehran 1356/1977, 110-11) quotes an anecdote explaining the reasons for the assassination of Niẓām al-Mulk by Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. The whole episode is supposed to be based on the fact that these two individuals, in their childhood, were close friends of ʿUmar Khayyām; when he was at the zenith of his power, Niẓām al-Mulk kept the promise he had made to help his friends in regard to Khayyām only, not to Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. This fictitious account is the origin of the legend which was to develop of the three companions (cf. H. Bowen, *The* sargudhasht-i sayyidnā, *the "Tale of the three schoolfellows"*..., in *JRAS* [1931], 771-82), and it may have been inspired by the story of the three companions of the fig-tree recounted in the 4th/10th century by al-Djahshiyārī (*K. al-Wuzarāʾ wa ʾl-kuttāb*, ed. Cairo, 96). It is found fully developed in the work of Dawlat Shāh (*Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, 153). Sayfī-i Harawī wrote in 720/1320 a history of Harāt (ed. Ṣiddiḳī, 129) in which he quoted, without naming Khayyām, a quatrain subsequently held by tradition to be attributable to bim "The misery of the world is poison (*zahr-ast*), and wine is my antidote to poison". Yet another historian, Mustawfī-i Ḳazwīnī, in his *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (written in 730/1329), devoted a feature to Khayyām, presented as a scholar and a poet, and quoted two of his *rubāʿīs*, one the famous "Every atom upon the earth has been a being on the face of the sun" (Dashtī, no. 4), and the other a more dubious one, supposedly composed at the time of his death by "Khayyām who stitched the tents of wisdom...".

Also worthy of mention among the original recorders of the quatrains of Khayyām is ʿUbayd-i Zākānī [*q.v.*], the satirical poet of the 8th/14th century. In his *Akhlāk al-ashrāf*, ed. Iḳbāl-i Āshtiyānī, Tehran 1953, 14, 19, without naming Khayyām, he supplies the quatrain (Dashtī no. 16) already recorded by Ẓahīrī in his *Sindbād-nāma*, and another of dubious authenticity which tradition does not retain.

Though the links in the chain are lacking, it is not hard to envisage the process whereby, over two centuries, the collection of quatrains attributed to ʿUmar Khayyām was considerably expanded. The celebrated Oxford manuscript used by Fitzgerald, dating from 865/1460, contains 158 *rubāʿīs*. In manuscripts also dating from the 9th/15th century, in Istanbul, in the B.N. of Paris or in private collections in Tehran and Lucknow, collections have been found ranging from 56 to 315 quatrains. Subsequently, the tally expanded still further, exceeding the figure of 500. But an interesting turn of events, which put the brakes on this expansion, came between 1947 and 1952, when three manuscripts came on the market, dating respectively from 604/1208, 613/1216 and 658/1259. Also announced in Tehran in 1959 was the existence of a manuscript dating from 654/1256. Khayyām was named as the sole author of quatrains totalling 252 items. V. Minorsky took the bearings of this issue (*The early collections of O. Khayyam*, in *Yādnāme-yi Jan Rypka*, Prague-The Hague 1967, 107-23) on which there is little point dwelling, although Minorsky's encouraging conclusions, which include the following, may be noted: the comparative tables between these manuscripts, drawn up by A.J. Arberry, will serve as references for research, and credit is due to the imitators of Khayyām for having preserved a living tradition based on a root which was well documented.

The English translation by A.J. Arberry of the Cambridge manuscript, erroneously dated to 604/1208, then the French translation by Pierre Pascal, with an edition of the manuscript in Rome in 1958, then the edition of the manuscript by Muḥammad ʿAbbāsī in Tehran in 1959 and by Aliev and Osmanov, with Russian translation, at Moscow in the same year, are useful works in that they present the provisional corpus of quatrains relating, with a few evident exceptions, to the Khayyāmian tradition. The figure of 252 *rubāʿīs* is clearly disproportionate in terms of the num-

ber of *rubāʿīs* found in texts between the 6th/12th and 8th/14th centuries which could have been composed by Khayyām—an approximate total of 25 items, of which fewer than ten are explicitly mentioned by the sources as being the work of the poet himself, if the *Nuzhat al-madjālis* of Shirwānī is left out of the equation.

What is needed is a revised edition of the Cambridge manuscript which takes account of the readings offered by the ancient texts. It would be necessary to eliminate the quatrains which are not part of the Khayyāmian tradition, such as nos. 131-2, 134, 151-8, etc. (Moscow ed.). Also required is a clearer identification of what is most central in the Khayyāmian tradition, not only in the text itself, but in the evident influence of this tradition on the thinking of major authors such as Ḥāfiẓ. It is seen, for example, that the invisible is that which is questioned by the man whose knowledge reveals his ignorance. This invisible is presented as inadmissible, since it is a secret kept elsewhere; it is a destiny which, in justifying itself, denounces the one whom it overwhelms. All men need a share of terrestrial good fortune, and the therapy for guilt is to enjoy this share immediately. Religious practice is then devoid of cause and effect (no. 140), profitable time is only that of the moment (no. 200, for example), and thinking of God evokes the idea that in His place the poet would have made the world otherwise (no. 228, for example). Several quatrains place the poet among those who are in neither total certainty nor total doubt, but steer a path between the two extremes.

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(Ch.-H. de Fouchécour)

3. Mathematics

The main contributions by Khayyām in science are related to mathematics and astronomy. His first extant mathematical treatise is a "Treatise on the division of a quadrant of a circle" (*Risāla fī taḳsīm rubʿ al-dāʾira*), which was devoted to the theory of algebraic equations. Algebra, as important part of mathematics, appeared in the treatise of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khʷārazmī under the name *al-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala* [*q.v.*]. Al-Khʷārazmī himself solved only linear and quadratic equations, but some classical and mediaeval mathematicians solved separate cubic equations; thus the first cubic equation $x^3 = 2a^3$ was solved in the 4th century B.C. by Menaechmus and led him to the invention of conic sections.

The single manuscript of this treatise by Khayyām is located in the Library of Tehran University. It was published, with a French translation by R. Rashed and A. Djebbar. In it, a geometric problem of division of a quadrant of a circle was reduced to the cubic equation $x^3 + 200x = 20x^2 + 2000$. The complete classification of cubic equations with positive roots was also given, and the equation in question was solved by intersection of an equilateral hyperbola and a circle. Khayyām found also the approximate numerical solution of this equation. There are also Persian, English and Russian translations.

The complete theory of cubic equations was set forth by Khayyām in his Arabic "Treatise on the proofs of problems of algebra and almucabala" (*Risāla fī 'l-barāhīn ʿalā masāʾil al-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala*) written in Samarḳand and dedicated to the judge Abū Ṭāhir, extant in manuscripts in Paris, Cairo, London, Leiden and the Vatican, and published by F. Woepcke. There are also English, Russian, and Persian translations. This treatise contains the complete classification of linear, quadratic, and cubic equations with positive roots. This classification consists of 25 equations: one linear $ax = b$; five quadratic $ax^2 = bx$, $ax^2 = c$, $ax^2 + bx = c$, $ax^2 + c = bx$, and $ax^2 = bx + c$; five cubic equations which can be reduced to linear and quadratic: $ax^3 + bx^3$, $ax^3 = bx^2$, $ax^3 = cx$, $ax^3 + bx^2 = cx$, $ax^3 + cx = bx^2$; and 14 cubic equations which cannot be reduced to linear and quadratic: $ax^3 = d$, $ax^3 = bx^2 + cx$, $ax^3 = bx^2 + d$, $ax^3 = cx + dx$, $ax^3 + bx^2 = cx$, $ax^3 + bx^2 = d$, $ax^3 + cx = d$, $ax^3 = bx^2 + cx + d$, $ax^3 + bx^2 + cx = d$, $ax^3 + bx^2 + d = cx$, $ax^3 + cx + d = bx^2$, $ax^3 + bx^2 = cx + d$, $ax^3 + cx = bx^2 + d$, $ax^3 + d = bx^2 = cx$. In all these equations, all coefficients, a, b, c, d are positive. For quadratic equations, Khayyām gives solutions according to the treatises of al-Khʷārazmī and Thābit b. Ḳurra; for cubic equations which are not reduced to linear and quadratic ones he gives solutions by means of conic sections: parabolas with diameters parallel to axes 0x or 0y, circles, and equilateral hyperbolas

with axes or asymptotes parallel to axes 0x and 0y. For instance, the equation $x^3 + d = bx^2$ he solves by means of the parabola $y^2 = D(b-x)$ and the equilateral hyperbola $xy = D$, where $D^3 = d$. For each equation he considers cases, when this equation has one, two, or no positive roots (for our example in these cases, the hyperbola and parabola touch at a point, intersect at two points, and do not meet, respectively). The case when a cubic equation has three positive roots, K͟hayyām does not notice.

Before his "Treatise on the proofs of problems of algebra and almucabala", K͟hayyām wrote a treatise on arithmetic. In this he mentioned that the Indians know methods for extracting square and cubic roots based on small induction and knowledge of the products of the first nine numbers, and that he had written a treatise with the proof of these Indian rules and generalised them for finding "bases of square-squares, square-cubes, cube-cubes and so on, as much and as many as you like", that is, for the extraction of roots of any integer power. Since such methods in the works of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and D͟jams͟hīd al-Kās͟hī are based on the binomial formula for $(a + b)^n$, this treatise apparently contained also the exposition of the binomial formula. This treatise is not extant, but its title was apparently "Difficult problems of arithmetic" (*Mus͟hkilāt al-ḥisāb*); this last is written on the title page of the Leiden University Library ms. containing a manuscript of K͟hayyām's geometric treatise. Therefore in V. Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. *ʿOmar K͟haiyām* it was written erroneously that a manuscript of this treatise is extant and located at Leiden.

K͟hayyām's geometric treatise is his "Commentary on difficulties in introductions to the Book of Euclid" (*S͟harḥ mā as͟hkala min muṣādarāt kitāb Uklīdis*), finished at Iṣfahān in 469/1077, with manuscripts located in Paris, Leiden and in the Ḥaydarābād Sālār D͟jang Library; the Arabic text was published by T. Erani in Tehran and by A.I. Sabra in Alexandria. There are also Russian and incomplete English translations of this treatise. The treatise is devoted to commenting on Euclid's *Elements* and consists of three chapters: (1) on parallel lines, (2) on the definition of ratio and (3) on compound ratios, these three problems being indeed the most difficult ones in the *Elements*.

The first relates to Euclid's postulates. In his introduction to the first book of his *Elements*, Euclid formulates five postulates, that is, geometric axioms: (1) any two points can be joined by a straight line, (2) any straight line can be continued indefinitely, (3) there is a circle with any centre and any radius, (4) all right angles are equal and (5) if a line intersects with two lines in a plane and forms interior one-side angles less than two right angles, these lines, if they are continued, will meet. The fifth postulate is formulated in a more complicated way than the first four, and many mathematicians tried to prove it as a theorem. In the introduction to this chapter, K͟hayyām formulates five "principles borrowed from the Philosopher". This Philosopher is undoubtedly Aristotle, since four of these five principles are in Aristotle's works. Only the fourth principle is not found there: "Two convergent straight lines meet and it is impossible for two convergent straight lines to diverge in the direction of convergence"; evidently this "principle" was formulated by Aristotle in a work no longer extant. This principle is equivalent to postulate V of Euclid, but is more obvious. K͟hayyām proposes a proof of Euclid's postulate V based on it. Note that many proofs of postulate V were based on the logical error of *petitio principii*, that is, it implicitly contains an assertion equivalent to the postulate to be proved. K͟hayyām was one of the first mathematicians whose proof did not contain this error and who explicitly replaced postulate V by an equivalent assertion. In his proof, K͟hayyām first considered a quadrilateral with equal sides, with two right angles at the base and two equal angles at the upper side, and three hypotheses on these upper angles, i.e. the hypotheses of acute, obtuse, and right angles, and he refutes the first two hypotheses by means of the fourth "principle of the Philosopher". From the existence of the rectangle he easily proves the postulate V. Note that the hypotheses of acute and obtuse angles are fulfilled in hyperbolic and elliptic non-Euclidean geometries respectively, and in his proof K͟hayyām actually proves the first theorems of these non-Euclidean geometries. The K͟hayyām quadrangle was later used by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, J. Wallis and G. Saccheri, and is therefore known also as the "Saccheri quadrangle".

The second of these problems is the problem of definition of the equality of two ratios of continuous magnitudes. In ancient Greece, there were two solutions of this problem, those of Theaetetus and Eudoxus. The way of Theaetetus was forgotten by the time of K͟hayyām, and K͟hayyām discovered it anew and proved the equivalence of both definitions. Note that Theaetetus's definition admits the calculation of approximate rational values with any required degree of precision.

The third of these problems is the problem of the definition of "compound ratios". In Book V of his *Elements*, Euclid defined "double", "triple", and "multiple" ratios for a/c, if $a/b = b/c$, for a/d if $a/b = b/c = c/d$, etc., and in Book VI he wrote that a ratio a/b is "compound" from ratios c/d and e/f if there are magnitudes k, l, m such that $a/b = k/m$, $c/d = k/l$, and $e/f = l/m$. For the creation of a new theory of these ratios, K͟hayyām introduced an abstract 1 and connects with each ratio a/b of continuous magnitudes an abstract magnitude g, such that $(1/g) = (a/b)$. He calls the magnitude g "number" but "not a number absolute and true" (for him "absolute and true" numbers were only integer numbers). Thus he introduces generalised numbers which now are called "real numbers". He calls a ratio "compound" from two given ratios if the "generalised" number for the first ratio is the product of analogous numbers for the second and third ratios; undoubtedly, since he could calculate approximate rational values of ratios, he understood by "the product of two generated numbers" the number determined by a product of approximate rational values of ratios forming the compound ratio. The notion of real numbers appeared in Europe only in the works of Descartes, Wallis, Newton and Leibniz, and became the basis for the creation of differential and integral calculus.

Thus K͟hayyām's commentary on Euclid played a very important and creative role for the discoveries of European mathematicians such as non-Euclidean geometry and calculus.

4. Astronomy and the calendar

In 466/1074 K͟hayyām was invited by the Sald͟jūḳ sultan Malik S͟hāh [*q.v.*] to his capital for organising an astronomical observatory and for reforming the Persian solar calendar necessary for agricultural work. The new observations of the motion of the sun led to a more accurate measurement of the length of the solar year, and the spring equinox of 471/1079 became the first day of the new era called "Malikī" or "D͟jalālī" (in honour of Malik S͟hāh, who also had the honorific of D͟jalāl al-Dawla). The reform was not

carried out finally, but the alternation of leap years in this calendar was normally 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24, 28, 32 (this calendar diverges from the astronomical solar calendar by one day every 5,000 years, whereas this divergence is reached after only 3,333 years in the Gregorian calendar). The observatory was destroyed after Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092.

In this observatory, Khayyām compiled his "Astronomical tables for Malik Shāh" (*Zīdj Malik-Shāhī*) mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa. Only one fragment of these tables is extant: the catalogue of 100 of the brightest stars, located in an anonymous manuscript written by the Ismāʿīlīs (now in the B.N., Paris); there is a Russian translation of this catalogue.

After the destruction of his observatory, Khayyām wrote in Persian his *Nawrūz-nāma* "Book of the New Year", devoted to the Persian solar calendar. There is a single manuscript in Berlin; the text was published in Tehran in 1933. Undoubtedly, this treatise was written to attract the attention of the successors of Malik Shāh to problems of the Persian solar calendar and to prompt them to restore the observatory.

5. Mechanics, natural sciences, music

In the period when the capital of the Saldjūḳ sultanate moved to Marw, the works of Khayyām relating to mechanics were written. There worked in Marw, at the court of Sultan Sandjar, Khayyām's pupil ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī [*q.v.*], the author of the "Astronomical tables for Sandjar" and a treatise on mechanics, "The balance of wisdom". Al-Khāzinī's "Balance of wisdom" contains the texts of two of Khayyām's treatises on mechanics "The balance of wisdoms" (*Mīzān al-ḥikam*) and "On right balance" (*Fī 'l-ḳusṭās al-mustaḳīm*). Both are devoted to the theory of the level balance, and there are also separate manuscripts of the first treatise under the title "On the art of defining quantities of gold and silver in a body consisting of them" (*Fī iḥtiyāl maʿrifa miḳdāray al-dhahab wa 'l-fiḍḍa fī djism murakkab minhumā*). Khayyām solved this problem by weighing the alloy in air and in water, and he named the balance for this weighing the "balance of wisdom", whence also the title of al-Khāzinī's book. In the second treatise, a balance with a moveable weight is considered. The first of these treatises has been published in Arabic text and translated into English, German, and Russian; the second is also published in Arabic text and in Russian translation.

The treatise on music "Reasoning on kinds [formed] by quarts" (*al-Ḳawl ʿalā 'l-adjnās allatī bi 'l-arbaʿa*) is extant in two Arabic manuscripts in Manisa and in Tehran University Library; it is published in Arabic text and Russian translation. Perhaps this treatise is a fragment of the "Treatise on difficulties from the book on music" (*Sharḥ al-mushkil min kitāb al-mūsīḳā*) mentioned in the treatise of Khayyām on geometry.

The historians al-Bayhaḳī and al-Tatawī mention also natural scientific (physical or biological) and geographical treatises of Khayyām, *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-ṭabīʿiyyāt* "Concise treatise on nature" and *Lawāzim al-amkina* "Necessary information on places". Khayyām was also a physician and treated the sons of Malik Shāh, Berkyaruḳ, Muḥammad and Sandjar.

6. Philosophy

Besides philosophical quatrains, Khayyām also wrote philosophical treatises, in which he appears as a pupil of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), that is, as an adherent of Eastern Aristotelianism. The first treatise "On being and obligation" (*Risālat al-kawn wa 'l-taklīf*), was written in 472/1080 at the request of the judge and *imām* of Fars, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Nasawī, who was also a pupil of Ibn Sīnā. Al-Nasawī asked Khayyām to explain his opinion on God's wisdom in the creation of the world and man, and on the obligation of men to pray. This request may possibly be explained by the contents of some quatrains composed by Khayyām or ascribed to him, and the judge, as a pupil of Ibn Sīnā, wanted to free Khayyām from suspicions of heresy. Khayyām substantiates the necessity of God, like Aristotle and Ibn Sīnā, as being the final cause, the cause of all causes, because the chain of causes must have an end, that is, it cannot be infinite or circular. He names this chain of causes the "chain of order" and says that the upper links of this chain are noble (the uppermost link is God), and the lower links are not noble (the lowest link is dust). The necessity to pray Khayyām explains by the necessity always to remember God and to obey His laws.

The second treatise, "An answer to three questions: the necessity of contradiction in the world, determinism and permanence" (*Djawāb ʿan thalāth masāʾil: ḍarūra al-taḍādd fī 'l-ʿālam wa 'l-djabr wa 'l-baḳāʾ*) is connected with the first treatise. Apparently Khayyām's answer satisfied the imām, and he proposed to Khayyām three new, more difficult, questions. The first is the problem of evil in the world. Khayyām believes that even an all-powerful God cannot operate without evil and to refuse a great good owing to a small evil is itself a great evil. An analogous problem was discussed later by Leibniz in his *Theodicy*. Regarding determinism, Khayyām says only that "determinism first looks as if it were nearer to truth, but indeed declines into the absurd and is very far from the truth". The problem of permanence, that is, the stability of phenomena, is one of the most important problems of all philosophical systems; Khayyām, like all Muslim philosophers, was reduced to explaining permanence by the will of God.

In this treatise, Khayyām considers the important problem of universal notions. Ibn Sīnā believed that universal notions are threefold: "before things", in the mind of God, like Plato's ideas, "in things", and "after things", in the mind of men, that is, as an abstraction of concrete things. Khayyām considers only two forms of the existence of general notions, "in things" and "in the soul", that is, in the mind of men. In mediaeval Europe, the doctrine of Ibn Sīnā was apprehended by the "realists", who believed that universal notions really exist, i.e. in the mind of God, e.g. by Aquinas, and the doctrine analogous to that of Khayyām, i.e. the doctrine that universal notions are only names, was the doctrine of the "nominalists".

Both these treatises are written in Arabic. Their Cairo manuscripts are now lost, but were printed at Cairo in 1335/1917 in the collection of treatises of Ibn Sīnā, Khayyām, and other Muslim philosophers called *Djāmiʿ al-badāʾiʿ*, and reprinted in the books of al-Nadwī and, with English translation, of Swami Govinda Tirtha. There are also Persian and Russian translations.

The third of his philosophical treatises, "The light of intelligence concerning the subject of universal knowledge" (*al-Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿaḳlī fī mawḍūʿ al-ʿilm al-kullī*), also in Arabic, is likewise printed in the above-mentioned collection, and reprinted by al-Nadwī. There are also Persian and Russian translations. The manuscripts of Khayyām's fourth philosophical treatise, "On existence" (*Risāla fī 'l-wudjūd*), also in Arabic, are located in Berlin and the Tehran Madjlis Library, reprinted by al-Nadwī, and, with English translation, in the book of Swami Govinda Tirtha. There are also Russian translations.

His fifth philosophical treatise is written in Persian, with manuscripts in London, Paris, the Tehran Madjlis Library and in the Khayyām Library. These manuscripts have three titles: *Risāla fī kulliyyāt al-wudjūd*, *Darkhwāst-nāma*, and *Risāla-yi silsilat al-tartīb*. It is also published in the books of al-Nadwī and, with English translation, by Swami Govinda Tirtha. There are also French and Russian translations. It was written for the son of Mu'ayyid al-Mulk, vizier to the later Saldjūḳs, and contains a detailed exposition of Ibn Sīnā's theory of "chain of order": the links of this chain are connected with celestial spheres, each link has a mind and soul, and is moved by activity and love. It also contains the classification of existing bodies and, following al-Ghazālī, a classification of "men who strive to know truth", comprising (1) the *mutakallimūn*, (2) scientists and philosophers, (3) the Ismāʿīlīs and (4) the Ṣūfīs (although Khayyām himself was a scientist and philosopher, in this treatise, following al-Ghazālī, he believes that the highest place belongs to the Ṣūfīs).

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(B.A. Rosenfeld)

ʿUMAR MAKRAM, al-Sayyid (*ca.* 1755-1822), the charismatic leader of the common people in Cairo between 1791 and 1809. He mediated the return to power in 1791 of the banished *amīrs* Ibrāhīm Bey [*q.v.*] and Murād Bey, with whom he maintained a long and friendly relationship, became Egypt's *naḳīb al-ashrāf* [*q.v.*] in November 1793 and continued a political career that took him to a peak of political influence in the chaotic period between the arrival of the French in 1798 and his banishment in 1809.

He helped to organise popular resistance to the French, fled Cairo twice, in 1798 and 1800, and returned triumphantly with the Ottoman governor in 1801. Re-appointed *naḳīb al-ashrāf* in April 1802, he played a major role in organising the armed resistance of the citizenry against the Ottoman governor Khurshīd Aḥmad Pasha, in offering the governorship to Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] in 1805, in rallying the people behind the new governor when the central government tried to transfer him the following year, and in leading resistance to the British in 1807. He was one of Muḥammad ʿAlī's major intermediaries with the dissident Mamlūk *amīrs* who controlled the countryside and became a primary agent in assigning and collecting taxes and "loans" for Muḥammad ʿAlī.

As al-Sayyid ʿUmar's popularity increased among the common people, whom he tried to protect from the excesses of the period, he felt secure enough to oppose some of Muḥammad ʿAlī's demands for increased taxes, and in a particular dispute that erupted in 1809 refused to attend the governor in the citadel. Perceiving him as a political threat, Muḥammad ʿAlī courted al-Azhar's [*q.v.*] scholars who, jealous of al-Sayyid ʿUmar's popularity, political influence and wealth, connived with the governor to dismiss and banish him. He was expelled to Damietta in Augnst 1809 and moved to Ṭanṭā in April 1812. His dismissal ended the influence which the *ʿulamā'* exerted on Muḥammad ʿAlī. He was permitted to return to Cairo in January 1819 prior to undertaking the Pilgrimage, but was still popular among the people. He was banished again to Ṭanṭā in April 1822 and died there that same year.

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(D. Crecelius)

ʿUMAR AL-NUʿMĀN, an Arabic romance of a chivalric nature which forms part of the *1001 Nights* (nights 44 to 146 in the Būlāḳ ed., Chauvin no. 277), but also with independent attestations.

The intrigue, which is particularly complex (résumé in Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vi, 112-24), falls within the general framework of the Arab-Byzantine wars, like the romance of Dhu 'l-Himma [*q.v.*], but unlike this last, has no reference to any recognisably historical substratum; the events narrated are in a vague past "before the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān" but after the advent of Islam. This said, the romance deals with several themes and motifs common to Dhu 'l-Himma (see R. Paret, *Der Ritter-Roman von ʿUmar an-Nuʿmān und seine Stellung zur Sammlung von 1001 Nacht*, Tübingen 1927, ch. ii; M. Canard, *Delhemma, Sayyid Baṭṭāl et ʿOmar al-Noʿmān*, in *Byzantion*, xii [1937], 183 ff.), as also with the great Arabic epic romances, like ʿAntara, Baybars and even Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [*q.v.*]. In addition to what can be called proper chivalric themes, an important role is given to ruses, manipulations and disguising; in the story, these are essentially the devices of Dhāt al-Dawāhī, mother of the Byzantine king of Caesarea, an implacable enemy to ʿUmar and his family. This elderly personage, malevolent and diabolically full of ruses, clearly reminds one of Dalīla, the protagonist of the story of the same name of the *1001 Nights* (Chauvin, no. 147); but it also closely recalls, except for the sex, the *ḳāḍī* ʿUḳba of Dhu 'l-Himma and the priest Djawān of Baybars. As against this maleficent personage, the first part of the story brings forward the chivalric figure of the Byzantine Amazon Abrīza, granddaughter of Dhāt al-Dawāhī, who gives hospitality to Sharr Kān, eldest son of ʿUmar al-Nuʿmān, and protects him against her own father's troops before accompanying him to Baghdād. This thematic material appears, however, combined with a complicated family intrigue, sc. the

latent conflict between ʿUmar's two sons, Sharra Kān, son of a legitimate wife, and Ḍaw al-Makān, son of a concubine, which is to be resolved in the next generation, and after many vicissitudes, by the marriage of the daughter of the first, Ḳuḍiya Fa-Kān (herself the issue of an involuntary incestuous marriage with Nuzhat al-Zamān, full sister of Ḍaw al-Makān), with the son of the second, Kān wa-Kān. This last regains the throne of his grandfather ʿUmar, which had been seized by a usurper, with the help of the Byzantine king of Caesarea, Rūmazān, who avers that he himself was born of a fleeting liaison between ʿUmar and Abrīza. This schema is in fact a more complicated version of the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (Chauvin, no. 270).

The insertion of the romance of ʿUmar al-Nuʿmān into the *Nights* has especially engaged the attention of orientalists because of the questions which it raises concerning the elaboration of the collection. For one thing, the story contains in effect several tales set within a frame, with the number varying with the different recensions. The most frequently found are: "The awakened sleeper" (Chauvin, no. 155), "The hashish eater" (no. 278) and "Tādj al-Mulūk" (no. 60, itself containing "ʿAzīz and ʿAzīza", no. 71). Several mss. add to this list "Ghānim" (no. 188), which the late Egyptian recension (ZER, the "Zotenberg Egyptian Recension"), notably represented by the Būlāḳ edition, places, in its own series, just before "ʿUmar al-Nuʿmān" (cf. Paret, *op. cit.*, ch. iii). Secondly, the presence and the position of "ʿUmar" in the *Nights* constitutes a test which allows us to classify the ms. recensions. The tale seems to be absent from the oldest recension, represented by the Galand ms. (ed. M. Mahdi, 3 vols., Leiden 1984; cf. especially, ii, 294-5), admittedly incomplete. On the other hand, it figures in the mss. considered as intermediate in date between the oldest recension and ZER (cf. D.B. Macdonald, *A preliminary classification of some MSS of the Arabian Nights*, in *A volume of Oriental studies presented to E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 304-21, and idem, *The earlier history of the Arabian Nights*, in *JRAS* [1924], 353-97). Amongst this group figures the Tübingen ms., which allows us to restore a long passage of "ʿUmar" which has disappeared from ZER (cf. Paret, *op. cit.*, ch. i). In these mss., however, it seems to be further on in the text than in ZER and, in particular, in Būlāḳ. One of them, the Benoît de Maillet ms., shows in this place serious disturbances in the numbering of the nights, indicating that the copyist combined several different recensions of the collection, one of which contained, amongst other things, the romance of ʿUmar al-Nuʿmān (cf. A. Chraïbi, *Note sur l'édition des Mille et une nuits de M. Mahdi*, in *SI*, lxxii [1990], 172-97). It all seems as if this ms. bears witness to a stage when "ʿUmar al-Nuʿmān" began to be integrated within the "standard" recension of the *Nights* without having yet found the definitive place which it has in ZER.

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(J.-P. Guillaume)

ʿUMAR-SHAYKH MĪRZĀ, the name of two Tīmūrid princes.

1. ʿUmar-Shaykh Mīrzā I, usually given as the eldest son of Amīr Tīmūr and said to have been born in 1354. He receives scattered notices in the histories of Tīmūr, such as Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī's *Ẓafar-nāma*, for a good showing in battle in Turkistan and at the Battle of Ḳundurča.

In 795/1393 he was appointed governor of Shīrāz. He was killed at Khurmātū in Kurdistān in Rabīʿ I 796/January 1394. First buried in Shīrāz, his body was later taken to Kish (Shahr-i sabz) for interment. Among his sons who played prominent roles in Tīmūrid history were Pīr Muḥammad, Rustam and Iskandar, and he was the ancestor of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā of Harāt.

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2. ʿUmar-Shaykh Mīrzā II Kürägän, born in 860/1456 in Samarḳand, the fourth of the Tīmūrid sultan Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā's many sons. To cement relations between the Tīmūrids and the Čaghatayid *khāns* of Mogholistān, Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā married three of his sons to three daughters of Yūnus Khān of Mogholistān. In this exchange, ʿUmar-Shaykh Mīrzā was married to Ḳutlugh-Nigār Khānïm in 880/1475-6, and by this marriage he gained the title of *kürägän* (Čingizid son-in-law). Ḳutlugh-Nigār Khānïm became the mother of Khānzāda Begim, who was married to the Uzbek Muḥammad Shaybānī (or Shībānī) Khān, and of Bābur [*q.v.*], who founded the Mughal dynasty in India.

As a child, ʿUmar-Shaykh Mīrzā was appointed governor of Kābul. Later, duplicating Amīr Temür's appointment of his son ʿUmar-Shaykh as governor of the Farghāna Valley, Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā appointed his son ʿUmar-Shaykh as governor there under the tutelage of Khudāberdī Tūghčī Temürtash. After Abū Saʿīd's death in 1469, ʿUmar-Shaykh Mīrzā quarrelled often with his brother Sulṭān-Aḥmad Mīrzā, who had inherited the throne in Samarḳand, and usually summoned his father-in-law Yūnus Khān to assist him. Once ʿUmar-Shaykh Mīrzā had induced Yūnus Khān to come and had assigned him a livelihood in Akhsī; but when Sulṭān-Aḥmad retreated, ʿUmar-Shaykh Mīrzā rebelled against Yūnus Khān, and the two fought (at a date unspecified in the sources) at the Battle of Täkkä Segritkü, in which ʿUmar-Shaykh was taken prisoner but was magnanimously set free by his father-in-law.

On 4 Ramaḍān 899/8 June 1494, ʿUmar-Shaykh Mīrzā's dovecote in Akhsī(kat) on the Syr Darya collapsed with him in it, and he was hurled down the ravine into the river to his death. His *amīrs* immediately appointed Bābur as his successor. Bābur characterises his father as a pious Ḥanafī who was devoted to the Nakshbandī Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh, fond of literature, so fat that he could scarcely fasten his coat and generous to a fault.

Bibliography: Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*; Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī.*

(W.M. Thackston)

ʿUMĀRA b. WATHĪMA b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt al-Fārisī, Abū Rifāʿa, mediaeval Islamic historian, b. at Fusṭāṭ, where his father had installed himself, d. 23 Djumādā II 289/4 June 902.

Few biographers mention him separately from his father. His birth date is unknown, nor is anything definite known of his life. On the other hand, we owe to him one of the oldest compilations on the history of the Biblical prophets, the oldest which has survived in Islam in book form: the *K. Badʾ al-khalḳ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (ed. R.G. Khoury, *Les légendes prophétiques en Islam*, 1978). ʿUmāra was part of the school of disciples of the great Egyptian masters, such as Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Djuhanī (d. 222/836 or 223/837), the secretary to al-Layth b. Saʿd, the great Maecenas and "uncrowned prince" of Egypt, with access to the celebrated private library of another great master, ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa, one which contained many original mss. and copies of originals of Egyptian provenance and from other Islamic lands

(see Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa*, 26 ff.). ʿUmāra's other masters were connected with his own father, who was the most important amongst them and on whom we have much more information; ʿUmāra transmitted the whole of his book. For more detail on the father and his book, and for bibliography, see WATHĪMA B. MŪSĀ.

(R.G. Khoury)

ʿUMĀRA al-YAMANĪ, Abū Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥakamī, Nadjm al-Dīn, Arabic poet and prose writer, b. 515/1121 at Murṭān in Yaman, killed at Cairo in 569/1174.

In 531/1136-7 he began to study Shāfiʿī *fikh* at Zabīd, and then worked as a teacher, as a jurisprudent giving *fatwā*s and as a trader, travelling between Zabīd and Aden, this being in the time of Nadjāhid rule there [see NADJĀHIDS]. As well as connections with these last, he thus also acquired connections with the Shīʿī Zurayʿid ruler in Aden Muḥammad b. Saba' as well as with ʿAlī b. Mahdī of the Mahdids [*q.v.*], and was already addressing verses to local figures. Threats to his life compelled him to leave for Mecca and the protection of its *amīr* al-Ḳāsim b. Hāshim b. Fulayta, on whose behalf he started travelling to Fāṭimid Egypt in 549/1155, arriving in Cairo just after the murder of the caliph al-Ẓāfir and the regency of the Armenian commander Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*] for the child al-Fāʾiz. After a second journey in 552/1157 he was to remain there for the rest of his life. Although still apparently adhering nominally to his Sunnī and Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, he adjusted to the intellectual and religious climate of Fāṭimid Egypt and began addressing eulogies to both the caliph and Ṭalāʾiʿ; in those for the latter, like his master a Shīʿī, he mourned the *Ahl al-Bayt*, and after Ṭalāʾiʿ's death, which he hymned in several impressive *marthiya*s or threnodies, he praised his son Ruzzīk. When the vizieral line of Ṭalāʾiʿ was overthrown, ʿUmāra remained *persona grata* at the Fāṭimid court, having adapted to the new régime under the Arab Shāwar [*q.v.*], and likewise wrote eulogies of him.

Much information on ʿUmāra's contemporaries can be gleaned from his poems (*Dīwān*, ed. H. Derenbourg, very incomplete, his *Memoirs* (*al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarāʾ al-miṣriyya*) and nine *rasāʾil* or epistles (see Derenbourg, *ʿOumâra du Yémen, sa vie et son œuvre*, i, *Autobiographie et récits sur les vizirs d'Egypte. Choix de poésies*, Paris 1897; ii (*Partie arabe*) *Poésies, épitres, biographies, notices en arabe par ʿOumâra et sur ʿOumâra*, 1902; (*Partie française*) *Vie de ʿOumâra du Yémen* [unfinished], 1904. The *Memoirs*, in particular, written in the first person and interspersed with ʿUmāra's own poetry, paint an interesting picture of court life and intrigues in Cairo. Another prose work of his is the *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman* (also known in its time as *al-Mufīd fī akhbār Zabīd*), ed., tr. and notes by H.C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history by Najm ad-Dīn ʿOmārah al-Hakamī, also the abridged history of its dynasties by Ibn Khaldūn and an account of the Karmathians of Yaman by Abu ʿAbd Allah Baha ad-Din al-Janadi*, London 1892. It covers events in both northern and southern Yaman and a period of time stretching from before the author's time into his lifetime. It was written in 563/1167-8 at the instigation of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*], who had been Ruzzīk's chancellor and was later to become chief secretary for the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. ʿUmāra's *Memoirs* contain what are sometimes sharp evaluations of leading personages in the state, whilst his poetry ranges from eulogies of these statesmen to satires on those who tried to keep him from the ruler or who were niggardly in paying his court allowances and a few *ghazal*s or love poems, including a moving elegy on his wife's death.

When the Ayyūbids came to power in Egypt, ʿUmāra tried to adjust to the new régime under Shīrkūh and then Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.vv.*], but did not have much success with his poems addressed to them, hence composed an *ʿayniyya* of complaint, *shikāya*, to the sultan; a *lāmiyya* lamenting the fall of the Fāṭimids and expressing Ismāʿīlī religious concepts cannot have helped his position. In one verse of a poem, lamenting the last Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid's death, he regretted the increase of what he called "the welfare of the depraved one" (*ṣalāḥ al-fāsid*), thereby giving offence to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself (see ms. St. Petersburg, fol. 56b). Another verse was seized on by the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ*, who secured a *fatwā* against ʿUmāra accusing him of *kufr* (though al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Mukaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī, Beirut 1991, viii, 755, considered this verse to have been inserted by the poet's enemies). This in itself might explain ʿUmāra's conviction and subsequent crucifixion by the sultan in 569/1174, but it is also possible, allege the historians, that he took part in an intended coup against the Ayyūbids; in any case, the intercession of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, who had speedily learnt to serve new masters, could not save him.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): 1. Sources. There are relevant passages in the historians of the late Fāṭimid and early Ayyūbid periods, see Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, ed. Shayyāl, i-ii, index; Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1288, i, 124 ff., 219 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *al-Mukaffā al-kabīr*, viii, 740-56, and *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, Cairo 1973, iii, 224-5; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr, ḳism shuʿarāʾ al-Shām*, iii, 101-41; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 431-6, no. 489; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xxviii, Cairo 1992, 325 ff.

2. Studies. Muḥ. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950; Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, *ʿUmāra al-Yamanī*, Cairo 1966; M.J.L. Young *et alii* (eds.), *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature. Religion, learning and science in the ʿAbbasid period*, Cambridge 1990, 184-5; P. Smoor, *The poet's house. Fiction and reality in the works of the "Fāṭimid poets"*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, Venice, x (1992), 45-62; idem, *"Master of the Century". Fāṭimid poets in Cairo*, in U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, Leuven 1995, 139-62; Brockelmann, I², 406-7, S II, 570. A historical novel dealing mainly with ʿUmāra was written by ʿAlī al-Djārim, *Sayyidat al-kuṣūr, ākhir ayyām al-Fāṭimiyyīn bi-Miṣr*, Silsilat Ikraʾ, Cairo n.d.

(P. Smoor, shortened by the Editors)

al-ʿUMARĪ [see IBN FAḌL ALLĀH AL-ʿUMARĪ].

ʿUMAYR b. **SHUYAYM** [see AL-ḲUṬĀMĪ].

UMAYYA b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, **ABU 'L-ṢALT** al-Dānī al-Ishbīlī, Spanish Muslim scholar who has left especially significant works in the fields of medicine, the natural and astronomical sciences and music (460-528/1068-1134).

1. Life

Probably born at Denia, he acquired a vast knowledge from his teacher, the *ḳāḍī* al-Waḳḳashī [*q.v.*], inheriting from him an encyclopaedic knowledge of the sciences. He may have studied at Seville, but in 489/1096 arrived in Fāṭimid Egypt, where the caliph's vizier al-Afḍal had a lively interest in astronomy and soon introduced Abu 'l-Ṣalt to the caliphal court. It was in Egypt that he lectured and composed his most important works. But in *ca.* 500/1106-7 he fell into disgrace, allegedly, says Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, because he failed to make materialise his promise to raise and keep afloat a ship with its valuable cargo which had

sunk off Alexandria. He was imprisoned by the angry caliph for three years, which he used for study and composition. On being freed, he intended to return to al-Andalus via al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], capital in Tunisia of the Zīrids, but was so well received by the ruler ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā that he remained at his court, as eulogist and chronicler, for the rest of his life, dying there. Abu 'l-Ṣalt had a son, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who was also a great poet. On both the historical and literary levels, Abu 'l-Ṣalt was an important source for many later authors, such as Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, etc., and in their works numerous fragments of his works are given.

He was an abundant and eclectic author—medical man, philosopher, astronomer, musician, historian and poet, though he had no interest whatever in the religious sciences.

2. Works

Medicine. (a) *K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, of which Latin and Hebrew trs. were made, partial ed. Ibrāhīm b. Murād, in *al-Ḥayāt al-Thaḳafiyya*, iv/3 (1979), 153-68, ed. al-Khaṭṭābī, in *al-Aghdhiya wa 'l-adwiya*, 8. See Steinschneider, in *Archiv für Pathologische Anatomie und für Klinische Medicin*, xciv (1883), 28-50. (b) *K. al-Intiṣār li-Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ ʿalā Ibn Riḍwān.* (c) *Fī 'l-ṭibb wa 'l-tandjīm wa 'l-alḥān.* (d) *K. al-Intiṣār fī uṣūl al-ṭibb.* On his place in the history of medicine, see Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii, 74-5.

Philosophy. (a) *Taḳwīm al-dhihn*, a treatise on Aristotelian logic, Span. tr. and study by A. González Palencia, *Rectificación de la mente*, Madrid 1915.

History. (a) *al-Risāla al-miṣriyya*, describing all he saw and those he met in Egypt, dedicated to the Zīrid prince Yaḥyā b. Tamīm, father of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, often cited by al-Maḳrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Cairo 1951, and also in Hārūn, *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, i, 5056, partial tr. in A.L. de Prémare, in *MIDEO* (1964-6), 179-208. (b) *al-Dībādja fī mafākhir Ṣanhādja*, on the Zīrid dynasty, known from citations in later North African historians; see Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, Introd. pp. xvii ff. (c) *Fī 'l-adab wa 'l-ʿarūḍ wa 'l-taʾrīkh.* (d) *Taʾrīkh*, cited by Ibn al-Abbār and al-Balafīḳī.

Literature. (a) *K. Ḥadīḳa*, a poetical anthology on the model of al-Thaʿālibī's *Yatīma*, extracts cited by ʿImād al-Dīn in his *Kharīdat al-kaṣr, kism shuʿarāʾ Miṣr*, Cairo 1951-2, and ed. al-Dasūḳī and ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, Cairo 1964. (b) *K. al-Mulaḥ al-ʿaṣriyya*, dedicated to the poets of al-Andalus. (c) Eulogising poems addressed to al-Afḍal and Yaḥyā b. Tamīm, plus many other poems on varied themes. All these are now lost, but with numerous extracts in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and al-Maḳḳarī. (d) *Dīwān*, ed. M. al-Marzūḳ, Tunis 1974, and see J. Calvo Puig, in *Canfali* (1985), 16. (e) Different meanings of the word *nukta.* (f) *Dīwān rasāʾilihi.* (g) *Fī 'l-funūn.*

Astronomy. (a) *R. fī 'l-ʿamal bi 'l-asṭurlāb*, analysis in J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'història de les idees físiques i matèmatiques a la Catalunya medieval*, Barcelona 1931, 75-81. (b) *Ṣifat ʿamal ṣafīḥa djāmiʿa taḳawwama bihā djāmiʿ al-kawākib al-sabʿa*, the last of the equatoria of al-Andalus, studied by E.S. Kennedy, in *Physis*, xii (1970), 73-81, repr. in *Studies in the exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 481-91, and by M. Comes, *Ecuatorios Andalusíes: Ibn al-Samḥ, al-Zarqalluh y Abū-al-Ṣalt*, Barcelona 1990, 1991. (c). *K. al-Wadjīz fī ʿilm al-hayʾa*, a summary of astronomy, regarded, however, as useless by the Fāṭimid astronomer Ibn al-Ḥalabī. (d) *Adjwiba ʿan masāʾil suʾila ʿanhā fa-adjāba*, the solution of six astronomical problems with the help of geometrical drawings.

Geometry. (a) *K. fī 'l-handasa* (*wadjīz*). (b) *al-Iktiṣār fī 'l-handasa.* (c) A *mukhtaṣar* of Euclid's *Elements*, according to Ibn Khaldūn.

Music. (a) *R. fī 'l-mūsīḳā*, see on it H. Avenary, in *Musica Disciplina*, vi (1952), 27-32, and in *Yuval*, iii (1974), 7-84; also I. Adler, *Hebrew writings concerning music in manuscripts and printed books from Geonic times up to 1800*, in *Répertoire internat. des sources musicales*, série B, ix/2, Munich 1975, 9-35.

According to the Arabic sources, Abu 'l-Ṣalt played the lute very well, and he seems to have introduced Andalusī music into Tunisia. He seems also to have undertaken the composition of an encyclopaedia on the scientific disciplines of the *Quadrivium*, and from some indications in Hebrew translations of his works, it apparently dealt with geometry, astronomy, arithmetic and music. The major part of the Hebrew translation made in 1395 by Benvenist ben Lavi of an arithmetical commentary by Abu 'l-Ṣalt (and also of a musical text) is in fact a translation of the relevant section of Ibn Sīnā's *Shifāʾ*. See T. Langermann, *Un nouvel extrait de l'ouvrage des nombres amiables. Le témoignage des textes hebreux médiévaux*, in *Arabic Science and Philosophy*, vi (1996), 63-87. On Abu 'l-Ṣalt and the history of science in Muslim Spain, see J. Samsó, *Las ciencias de los antiguos en al-Andalus*, Madrid 1992, 310-17. Abu 'l-Ṣalt is cited by many Jewish authors, such as Samuel of Marseilles and Isaiah ben Isaac ben Nathan of Cordova (both 14th century) and Profiat Duran (15th century).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): 1. Sources. Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilat al-Ṣila*, Algiers 1920, 539; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, xix, 634-5 no. 375; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, ii, 361-3 no. 133; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 243-7 no. 104, tr. de Slane, i, 228-30; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 237; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1953, i, 256-7, no. 186; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ix, 402 no. 4333; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 83-5, 144; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 232; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 430.

2. Studies and reference works. Pons Boigues, 198-201 no. 159; Suter, *Mathematiker*, 115 no. 272; Steinschneider, in *Virchows Archiv*, xciv, 28-65; J.A. Sanchez Pérez, *Biografías de matemáticos arabes que florecieron en España*, Madrid 1921, 130-2; Brockelmann, I², 641, S I, 889; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*¹, ii, 23; M.J. Rubiera Mata, *Literatos del Sharq al-Andalus. Abu-ṣ-Ṣalt de Denia e Ibn Diḥya de Calpe*, in *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos*, xxxvi (1982), 33-43; M.I. Fierro, *HATA* (database of Andalusī scholars, in course of preparation). (Mercè Comes)

UMAYYA b. ʿAbd Shams, ancestor of the Umayyads, the principal clan of the Ḳuraysh of Mecca. His genealogy (Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Ḳuṣayy) and his descendants are given in Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, U, V, and Ibn al-Kabbī, in Caskel-Strenziok, i, nos. 8 ff. Like all other eponyms of Arab tribes and clans, his actual existence and the details of his life have to be accepted with caution, but too great scepticism with regard to tradition would be as ill-advised as absolute faith in its statements. As those Umayyads who were living at the beginning of the Muslim epoch were only in the third generation from their eponym (e.g. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya), there is nothing improbable in the latter's being a historical personage; besides, there is nothing in tradition to suggest he was a mythical individual or a later invention. The name Umayya is common in Arab nomenclature, and is found in both northern and southern tribes; the meaning which anti-Umayyad polemic gives to it (a diminutive of *ama* "slave-girl") would make it a sobriquet; we also have the positive form Banū Ama as the name of a tribe (cf. Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, 34).

The early genealogy of the Umayyad clan

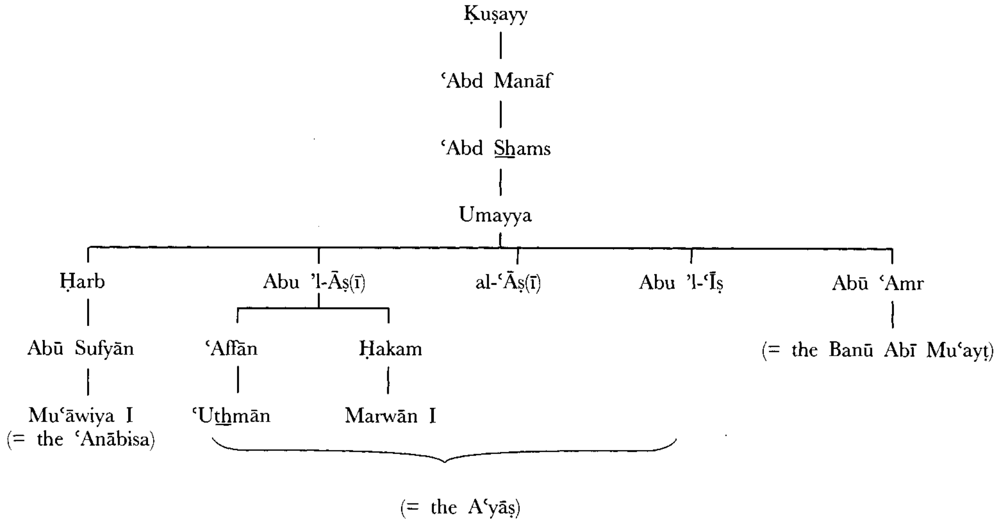

Umayya was the cousin on the father's side of Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and tradition relates that, being jealous of the latter's influence, he challenged him to a *munāfara*, the judge of which was to be a *kāhin* of the Khuzāʿa. Being defeated, Umayya had to exile himself from Mecca for ten years (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 1090; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 43-4). This story is evidently only an anticipation of the rivalry between the Umayyads and Hāshimids (ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids) which forms the centre of the political struggle in the Arab empire during the first two centuries of the Hidjra (see al-Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Tanāzuʿ wa ʾl-takhāṣum fī-ma bayna Banī Umayya wa-Banī Hāshim*, ed. Vos, Leiden 1888, Eng. tr. and commentary, C.E. Bosworth, *Al-Maqrīzī's "Book of contention and strife..."*, Manchester 1981); it looks like a legend of learned origin. Similarly, the story of the embassy of Umayya and his nephew ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim and other chiefs of the Ḳuraysh to the Ḥimyarite king Sayf b. Dhī Yazan after the latter had defeated the Abyssinians (al-Azraḳī, in *Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 99; *Aghānī*¹, xvi, 75-7; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1293/1876, i, 131-3, etc.) is only intended to enhance the prestige of the Ḳuraysh and to prophesy the coming of Islam. Lastly, the truth seems very problematic to us of the stories of alleged eye-witnesses who had seen Umayya, a decrepit old man going through the streets of Mecca leaning on his son Abū ʿAmr (according to the historian al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, this was really his slave whom he afterwards adopted; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 967; *Aghānī*¹, i, 7-8).

We come down to historical ground with the statement (Azraḳī, 71, etc.) that Umayya, like his father ʿAbd Shams, commanded the Meccan army in time of war (*al-ḳiyāda*), a post which was later transmitted to his son Ḥarb and his grandson Abū Sufyān. Although we perhaps should not interpret this literally as implying a permanent military post (it seems to have been rather an occasional appointment), and although we find alongside of descendants of Umayya as military leaders, numerous members of other clans and even *ḥulafāʾ* (clients) (see on this question, Lammens, *Les "Aḥābīs" et l'organisation militaire de la Mecque*, in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut 1928, 273-93), there is nothing improbable in the story, especially if we regard the *ḳiyāda* as the direction of the military affairs of the community rather than the actual command of troops in the field. As a matter of fact, the descendants of Umayya never lacked talent either for military organisation or for politics.

At the beginning of Islam, the clan of the Banū Umayya appears as the most powerful in Mecca; it was represented by two main branches: the Aʿyāṣ and the ʿAnābisa (plural *a potiori* from the name ʿAnbasa common in the family). The former claimed to be descended from a son of the eponym whose names come from the same or a similar root (a common occurrence in Arabic nomenclature): Abu ʾl-ʿĪṣ, al-ʿUwayṣ, al-ʿĀṣī and Abu ʾl-ʿĀṣī; the others were represented by families of Ḥarb, Abū Ḥarb, Sufyān, Abū Sufyān (with his name ʿAnbasa, uncle of the celebrated Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb), ʿAmr and Abū ʿAmr (the latter, whose name is said to have been Dhakwān, was probably, as already mentioned, an adopted son of Umayya). From a son of Abu ʾl-ʿĀṣī, al-Ḥakam, are descended, through Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the Umayyad caliphs who succeeded Marwān, as well as the *amīrs* (later caliphs) of Andalusia. Some branches of the family of the caliphs settled in Egypt and Persia; although the greater part of the family was exterminated in 132/750 by the ʿAbbāsids, some of its members survived into much later times: among these were Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, a descendant of a brother of Marwān I; his Shīʿī views contrasted strangely with his descent. Another son of Abu ʾl-ʿĀṣī ʿAffān, was the father of the caliph ʿUthmān; his descendants are numerous (among them the poet al-Ardjī; cf. *Aghānī*¹, i, 153-66), and several of them held important offices under the Umayyads. Of the line of al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya, the most celebrated member is Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, governor of Kūfa under ʿUthmān, whose misdeeds were one of the main causes of the rebellion against the latter. The family of Abu ʾl-ʿĪṣ also produced a number of notable individuals under the Umayyads who were all descended from Asīd b. Abi ʾl-ʿĪṣ.

As to the ʿAnābisa branch, its most illustrious family is undoubtedly that of Ḥarb, whose son Abū Sufyān

plays so remarkable a part in the story of the origin of Islam. Through his son Muʿāwiya, he is the founder of the dynasty of Sufyānid caliphs, which early became extinct with Muʿāwiya II, son of Yazīd I. Another son of Yazīd, Khālid, has a legendary reputation as the founder of Arabic alchemy, and a grandson, Abū Muḥammad Ziyād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Sufyānī, was slain by the ʿAbbāsids at Medina in 132/750 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 54). Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, who was Muʿāwiya's predecessor in command of the army of Syria in ʿUmar's reign, left no descendants. Of the other sons of Abū Sufyān, ʿUtba, ʿAnbasa, Yazīd, Muḥammad, ʿAmr, only the two first had issue. A collateral branch of the Banū Umayya, descended from Abū ʿAmr b. Umayya, whose paternity, as we have seen, was not absolutely certain, included among its members al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ b. Abī ʿAmr, governor of Kūfa under ʿUthmān and later a favourite of Muʿāwiya during his caliphate, also known as a poet (*Aghānī*[1], iv, 175-90). His father ʿUḳba had been made prisoner at the battle of Badr and put to death by Muḥammad, who could not forgive the insults which he had heaped upon him at the beginning of his preaching in Mecca; the shameful memory of the father weighed heavily on the son, and is often revived in ʿAlid polemics against the Banū Umayya. A son of al-Walīd, Abū Ḳaṭīfa ʿAmr, is also known as a poet (*Aghānī*[1], i, 7-18). All the members of the line of Abū ʿAmr settled in ʿIrāḳ and al-Djazīra.

Bibliography: Ibn Durayd, *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 45-50, 103-4; Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 97-192; Ibn al-Kalbī, in Caskel and Strenziok, *Ǵamharat an-nasab*, i. Tafeln, nos. 8-16, ii. Register, 131 (ʿAbd Shams), 569-70 (Umayya); Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iv/1, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Wiesbaden 1979,.containing the part earlier ed. M. Schloessinger and M.J. Kister, Jerusalem 1971; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkriege* (*680-692*), Wiesbaden 1982, 108-26, 253 ff. (detailed genealogical tables); and various references in the works of H. Lammens: *Etudes sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwia Ier*, Paris 1908; *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, Beirut 1921; and *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1924, 53, 196-7.

(G. Levi Della Vida-[C.E. Bosworth])

UMAYYA B. ABI 'L-ṢALT b. Abī Rabīʿa, pre-Islamic poet and member of the Thaḳīf [*q.v.*] tribe of al-Ṭāʾif, related, through his mother Ruḳayya bt. ʿAbd Shams, to the Meccan aristocracy, with whom he enjoyed a close affinity, if his panegyrics on the notables ʿAbd Allāh b. Djuʿdān and Ḥarb b. Umayya [*q.v.*] and his threnody for the Meccans slain at Badr [*q.v.*] are genuine.

Umayya's existence has never been questioned (he is lauded in a poem by Surāḳa b. Mirdās [*q.v.*]), although every aspect of the traditional picture of him (given by Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 279 as "he had read the ancient scriptures of the scriptures of Allāh and loathed the worship of effigies ... In his poetry he would tell tales (*ḳiṣaṣ*) of the prophets and produce many terms unfamiliar to the desert Arabs which he had derived from the ancient scriptures and stories which he had derived from those of the People of the Book") has been subjected to sceptical scrutiny. Some 900 of his verses are extant, his poetry having been collected in *dīwān* form by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb. T. Seidensticker, *The authenticity of the poems ascribed to Umayya Ibn Abī al-Ṣalt*, in J.R. Smart (ed.), *Tradition and modernity in Arabic language and literature*, Richmond 1996, 87-101, argues "that there might well be some authentic material" (96) among them.

Five elements should feature prominently in an assessment of what may plausibly be expected of Umayya's poetry: the religio-cultural environment of al-Ṭāʾif, Umayya's traditional identification as a *ḥanīf* [*q.v.*], his dealings with Muḥammad, the fragmentariness of his poetic remains and the motives for falsification. Umayya was a contemporary of Muḥammad, and they were reputedly hostile rivals: this would preclude influence on the latter by the former, as stipulated by Cl. Huart, *Une nouvelle source du Qoran*, in *JA*, ser. 10, vol. iv (1904), 125-67: see E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung. Band II. Die arabische Dichtung in der islamischer Zeit*, Darmstadt 1988, 8-9. Umayya's non-traditional, so-called "religious" verse (if genuine) may attest to the circulation, in Mecca and its environs, if not throughout the peninsula, of the *ḳiṣaṣ* [see ḲIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀʾ] elements of the Ḳurʾān. There is at times considerable divergence between Umayya's poetic version of a tale and that in the Ḳurʾān. Legendary material contained in *tafsīr* [*q.v.*] is often adduced as a source, though this material must itself have a source, and J.W. Hirschberg's championing of pre-Islamic Haggadic material remains attractive (*Jüdische und christliche Lehren im vor- und frühislamischen Arabien*, Cracow 1939). Discussions of Ḳurʾānic echoes and ideas in Umayya's poetry should take account of research into such features of the poetry of the Mukhadramūn [*q.v.*]: see J.E. Montgomery, *The vagaries of the Qaṣīdah* (forthcoming), ch. 6, and might necessitate a revision of Umayya's *floruit* and his (spurious?) laudation of the Prophet. Only snippets of his verse have survived and although some long poems have been reconstructed, it is impossible to draw any conclusions as to their narrative style and techniques and also to determine whether the legendary "religious" material ever formed part of a (traditionally conceived) polythematic *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*]. F. Schulthess (*Umajja ibn Abi ṣ Ṣalt*, Leipzig 1911, 5-6) thought that he could discern in the clumsiness of Umayya's versification proof that he had taken his narrative materials from prose versions. Any emotional or character analysis of Umayya on the basis of such shakily attested texts is unwise.

Bibliography: Given in the text. See further the Bibl. given by Seidensticker in the article cited.

(J.E. Montgomery)

UMAYYA B. KHALAF b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa al-Djumaḥī, rich trader and chief of the clan of Djumaḥ in Mecca at the time of the Prophet.

He is known in early Islamic historical writing and the *Sīra* as an opponent of Muḥammad at the opening of his prophethood. He was a member of the delegation of Ḳuraysh to Abū Ṭālib complaining about Muḥammad's activities in Mecca. At the time of the first revelations he is said to have mocked the Prophet and defamed him, *hamazahu wa-lamazahu*. Consequently, Ibn Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] sees this as having been the occasion for the revelation of sūra CIV (*al-Humaza*). Traditional Ḳurʾān exegesis is not so sure as Ibn Isḥāḳ about this (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī on sūra CIV). According to the *Sīra* and to exegesis, he was moreover one of the Meccan *ashrāf* to whom sūra CIX was addressed. His name is regularly linked with Bilāl [*q.v.*], Muḥammad's *muʾadhdhin* and one of the best-known representatives of the *mustaḍʿafūn*, the social group of the weakest Meccans, whom Umayya is said to have caused to be tortured after Bilāl's conversion. It was to be Bilāl—but according to other accounts, Khubayb b. Yasāf—who killed Umayya with his own hands at the battle of Badr [*q.v.*]. Although the relevant reports on this are controversial, they nevertheless state indubitably that Umayya's killing at Badr was understood as an

act of revenge on the part of the so-called *mustaḍʿafūn*. Umayya appears, moreover, in history as the *raʾīs al-kufr*.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Saḳḳā *et alii*, i, 295, 317, 356, 362, 619, 631-2, 665; Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, ed. Jones, i, 83, 112, 144, 151, 258, 282; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, k. al-maghāzī, bāb* 2, *tafsīr sūra* LIII, *bāb* 4; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, nos. 251-2, 275, 283, 297, 466-73, 502; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 133; Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿA. al-R. Muḥ. ʿUthmān, Cairo 1969, ii, 53-6, 95-6, 364-5; Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, i, 148; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 98-100; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 94, 123. (M. Muranyi)

UMAYYADS (Banū Umayya), the dynasty of caliphs which, from its centre in Syria, ruled the whole of the Arab Islamic territories from 41/661 to 132/750. All of the caliphs during this period are descendants of Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams [*q.v.*], a pre-Islamic notable of the tribe of Ḳuraysh of Mecca, but they represent two distinct lines within the clan of Umayya: the first three caliphs, descended from Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*], are referred to as Sufyānids; the remaining eleven, descendants of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], as Marwānids. For convenience, a list of the Umayyad caliphs and the dates generally given for their caliphate is provided below; for detailed information on each caliphate see the article s.v.

41-60/661-80	Muʿāwiya I b. Abī Sufyān
60-4/680-3	Yazīd I b. Muʿāwiya I
64/683	Muʿāwiya II b. Yazīd I
64-5/684-5	Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam
65-86/685-705	ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān I
86-96/705-15	al-Walīd I b. ʿAbd al-Malik
96-9/715-17	Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik
99-101/717-20	ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
101-5/720-4	Yazīd II b. ʿAbd al-Malik
105-25/724-43	Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik
125-6/743-4	al-Walīd II b. Yazīd II
126/744	Yazīd III b. al-Walīd I
126/744	Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd I
127-32/744-50	Marwān II b. Muḥammad b. Marwān I

1. The Umayyads in Western scholarship

Serious modern study of the period of the Umayyad caliphs began with the publication of Wellhausen's *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* in 1902. In that work, Wellhausen sought to recover the earliest layers of Muslim tradition relating to the period, to assess the historical value of variant accounts of events, and to write Umayyad history on the basis of the most reliable surviving evidence. It was made possible by the completion of the Leiden edition of the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ṭabarī, which drew on, and made available to its readers, a large selection of no longer extant material from the late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid period compiled by traditional scholars. Wellhausen's book conveys a rather favourable image of the Umayyads and their officials as pragmatic politicians, creators and leaders of an empire based on the idea of Arab domination over non-Arabs, and largely unconcerned with religious matters unless forced to be by their pietist opponents. That image was shared by a number of Wellhausen's contemporaries and presented in a more exaggerated form in the many publications of the Belgian Jesuit scholar Lammens.

Although studies of aspects of Umayyad history not very different in method from that of Wellhausen (but making use of the greater number of traditional sources made available since his time) continue to appear, understandings of the period have naturally changed and developed in what is now more than ninety years since his book was published.

Wellhausen had assumed that an event could be reconstructed once the earliest available account of it had been discovered. Much of the work of Goldziher and Schacht, however, has shown that the religious and legal traditions about early Islam often represent a retrojection of later ideas and circumstances, and recent work, notably that of Albrecht Noth, has focused on the literary character of the traditional historiography, drawing attention to its stereotyped themes and forms and its nature as a continuously developing tradition difficult to assign to individual scholars, times or places. These arguments, although not specifically concerned with the period of the Umayyads, have nevertheless led some to question the basis upon which Wellhausen sought to isolate individual biases and viewpoints within the tradition and also the possibility of recreating the Umayyad period in detail from source material which dates, in the form in which we have it, from after the dynasty had been overthrown. Discussions of the motivation or moral evaluation of events or of individuals are especially difficult given the fundamentally hostile attitude to the Umayyads in the tradition (see below).

Responding to such problems, Patricia Crone has suggested the adoption of a prosopographical approach and exploitation of the minutiae which the Muslim literary sources contain about things such as the tribal and family background of individuals and their connexions through marriage. Another response has been a renewal of interest in other types of evidence (which Wellhausen also used)—non-Muslim literary materials, coins, inscriptions, art and archaeology. The Umayyad period is the first one of Islamic history for which such evidence is relatively substantial.

Wellhausen and others shared a view of the Umayyad empire as an expression of Arab national consciousness (as Levi Della Vida in his article *Umaiyads* in *EI*[1] termed it) and an embodiment of the principle of the rule of Arabs over non-Arabs. That has sometimes been conceived in racial terms and the overthrow of the Umayyads portrayed as the defeat of the Arabs by their subject peoples, particularly the Persians. While it still seems true, however, that the Umayyad state was founded on the principle of the rule of conquerors (Arabs) over conquered (non-Arabs), the term "Arab" is now understood as much as a cultural as an ethnic category, and the way in which under Umayyad rule Arabs and non-Arabs became assimilated to form a new Islamic society seems the most significant aspect of the period. As people of originally non-Arab descent formed genealogical links with Arab clans and tribes, as Arabic became the normal means of communication in large areas ruled by the Umayyads, and as the Arabs moved out of their garrisons and merged into the societies they had conquered, so a new "Arab" identity came to be formed, although its bearers would probably not have referred to themselves as Arabs.

The idea that the caliphs had little concern for religion, already criticised by Levi Della Vida, seems to have been the result of a too ready acceptance of the Muslim traditional view that the Umayyads generally were enemies of Islam. The work of Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds has drawn attention to the Umayyad (and later) caliphs' claim that they were God's deputies on earth. But questions about the way

in which Umayyad rule contributed to or affected the development and spread of Islam remain. In general, it is likely that Islam as it came to crystallise in the first two centuries of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate owes much to circles opposed to the Umayyads, although they responded to initiatives coming from the dynasty and its supporters. Schacht's discussion of "Umaiyad practice as the starting-point of Muhammadan jurisprudence" (in his *Origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, [2]Oxford 1967, 190 ff.) portrays the early Muslim legal scholars endorsing, modifying or rejecting Umayyad practice as they thought fit. In particular the anachronism of regarding the Umayyads as representatives of Sunnī Islam is obvious, since the Sunnī tradition did not emerge in a developed form until after the fall of the dynasty, and the Umayyad conception of caliphal authority was at odds with that developed later by the Sunnī scholars. We can only see the Umayyads' own understanding of the religion of which they claimed to be the leaders indirectly, because Muslim tradition reflects the views of the dynasty's opponents rather than that of the caliphs. In his article in *EI*[1], Levi Della Vida stated that "it was precisely under their regime and partly under their stimulus that Islam established itself as a universalist religion", but it is not easy to generalise about the exact relationship between Umayyad rule and the development of various aspects of Islam.

Stress on the way in which Islam, both as a religion and as a culture, was still developing, and on the importance of the Umayyad period for its development, has brought a greater interest in elements of continuity between the pre-Islamic and Islamic Middle East. The Umayyad caliphate itself is now often understood as part of the period of transition between the classical world of Greece and Rome and that of Islam, frequently referred to as Late Antiquity.

2. The Umayyads in Muslim tradition

The image of the Umayyads which Muslim tradition presents is generally a negative one although sometimes alleviated by material which is implicitly or explicitly more favourable and which may be accounted for in various ways. Among a number of Ḳurʾānic passages sometimes explained as alluding to them, the most commonly cited is probably "the tree cursed in the Ḳurʾān" (*al-shad̲j̲ara al-malʿūna fi ʾl-ḳurʾān*) in sūra XVII, 60.

Symbolically, the enmity between the branch of Ḳuraysh to which the Umayyads belonged (the Banū ʿAbd S̲h̲ams) and the Banū Hās̲h̲im, the branch which engendered the Prophet, the ʿAlids and the ʿAbbāsids, is represented by the blood which flowed when the Siamese twin brothers ʿAbd S̲h̲ams and Hās̲h̲im, sons of ʿAbd Manāf, were separated by a sword cut. The historical conflict between the Umayyads and representatives of the "House of the Prophet" is thus portrayed as having its roots in the time of the two ancestors. According to the tradition, although they had been outdone in generosity and nobility of spirit by their Hās̲h̲imī rivals, by the time of the rise of the Prophet's power in Medina the Umayyads and Banū ʿAbd S̲h̲ams in general had established themselves as the leaders of the Ḳuras̲h̲ī opposition to Islam. Abū Sufyān, the father of the first Umayyad caliph, is shown as leader of the Meccan armies which attacked the Prophet at the battles of Uḥud and al-K̲h̲andaḳ [*q.vv.*], while the story of Muʿāwiya's mother, Hind bt. ʿUtba [*q.v.*], who chewed the liver of the slain uncle of the Prophet, Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, at Uḥud, is notorious.

As the power, authority and prestige of the Prophet in Medina increased in spite of their opposition, tradition tells us, the leading Umayyads reluctantly and at a late stage bowed to the inevitable and accepted Islam with questionable sincerity. Accounts vary concerning the precise moment when individual Umayyads like Abū Sufyān and his two sons Yazīd and Muʿāwiya finally professed Islam, but generally it is associated with the events leading up to the Prophet's conquest of Mecca. The derogatory name *al-ṭulaḳāʾ*, sometimes applied to the Umayyads by their opponents in the traditional reports, is explained as a reference to the fact that, in theory, they had become the property of the Prophet as a result of his conquest of Mecca but he had then magnanimously chosen to set them free (*ṭallaḳahum*). The Ḳurʾānic phrase *al-muʾallafa ḳulūbuhum* (IX, 60 [*q.v.*]), with reference to one of the categories of those entitled to receive payments from the collection of alms (*ṣadaḳāt*), is also often (but not always) associated with the Umayyads' acceptance of Islam: it is explained that the Prophet wished to attract certain prominent opponents, among them Abū Sufyān, to Islam by making them gifts, that being a necessity for maintaining their adherence.

Having accepted Islam, certain Umayyads, including Abū Sufyān, are reported to have been entrusted with important tasks and offices by the Prophet and the early *Rās̲h̲idūn* caliphs [see AL-K̲H̲ULAFĀʾ AL-RĀS̲H̲IDŪN, in Suppl.]; in particular, Yazīd and Muʿāwiya were sent by Abū Bakr [*q.v.*] among the leaders of the army sent to Syria. Nevertheless, the traditional texts, in varying degrees, imply that the rise of Muʿāwiya to the caliphate in Syria was a result of trickery and scheming as much as of his own talents. The murder of the caliph ʿUt̲h̲mān, it is sometimes suggested, was exploited, perhaps desired or even orchestrated, by his Umayyad relatives in order to call ʿAlī's title to the caliphate into question, and the rather ambiguous reports about the raising of the *maṣāḥif* at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] and the ensuing meeting of the arbitrators [see AD̲H̲RUḤ] merge to convey the impression that Muʿāwiya and his supporters duped the pious but gullible proponents of ʿAlī.

The negative portrayal of the Umayyads in tradition is evident above all in the refusal to recognise their rule as true caliphate and to insist that it was merely kingship (*mulk*): they were secular kings like the Byzantine and Sāsānid rulers. This accusation is associated particularly with Muʿāwiya's introduction of the principle of hereditary succession when he named his son Yazīd to succeed him, the assumption being that the Sunnī theory of an elective caliphate had previously been established and that Muʿāwiya was acting against it. A similar assumption underlies the view that the use by the Umayyads of the title *K̲h̲alīfat Allāh* was a corruption of the proper title *K̲h̲alīfat Rasūl Allāh* motivated by arrogance. The same motive is also adduced to account for such things as the custom of the Umayyads and their governors to sit on the *minbar* [*q.v.*] while delivering a *k̲h̲uṭba* and, furthermore, to put the *k̲h̲uṭba* before the prayers on the two *ʿīds*. Individual Umayyads, like Yazīd, are attributed with habits and characteristics such as drunkenness and wantonness which were repulsive from an Islamic point of view, but the emphasis on these in some reports is perhaps more a reflection of, than a reason for, the traditional refusal to accept the Umayyads as caliphs in a full sense.

As for the policies and actions of the Umayyads, there are several which, for Muslims of later time, would carry the message that these were not properly Islamic rulers. The army sent by Yazīd to the

Ḥidjāz, which sacked Medina and went on to besiege Mecca, bombarding the holy city with rocks from catapults (*madjānīḳ*) and damaging the Kaʿba so badly that it had to be demolished and rebuilt, is an obvious example. A similar bombardment is reported when Mecca was again besieged by an Umayyad army commanded by al-Ḥadjdjādj some ten years later. The killing of the grandson of the Prophet, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, together with a large number of his household and supporters, at Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*] is another crime laid at their door. The recurrent refusals to allow the non-Arabs to enter Islam as *mawālī* [see MAWLĀ] would appear similarly as un-Islamic. The caliph al-Walīd II was even accused of shooting at the Ḳurʾān with an arrow.

Literary works were produced containing lists of these and other misdeeds of the Umayyads before and after their entrance into Islam, sometimes comparing them with the succeeding dynasty of ʿAbbāsid caliphs. Among such works were the *Risāla fī ʾl-nābita* (*Risāla fī banī Umayya*) of al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*] and the *Kitāb al-Nizāʿ wa ʾl-takhāṣum fīmā bayna banī Umayya wa-banī Hāshim* of al-Maḳrīzī [*q.v.*]. A similar but shorter text was the so-called *Kitāb fī shaʾn banī Umayya* which was issued by the ʿAbbāsid al-Muʿtaḍid in 284/897 at the same time as he ordered the cursing of Muʿāwiya from the *minbars* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2164-78).

Any general summary of the image of the Umayyads in Muslim tradition must also, however, take account of elements which might alleviate the negative judgments resulting from the above. Among the caliphs of this dynasty, ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and, to a lesser extent, Yazīd III b. al-Walīd, are presented more favourably and given legitimacy as caliphs in the tradition. The former in particular, a grandson of the first ʿUmar on his mother's side, is a significant figure in Sunnī tradition and is sometimes referred to as the fifth of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs. Even certain Umayyad caliphs to whom tradition does not grant legitimacy might be respected for aspects of their achievements. Thus the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr is said to have admired the fiscal prudence and administrative capacity of the Umayyad Hishām, while some positive judgement of both Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Malik is implied in the designation "year of unity" (*ʿām al-djamāʿa*) for the years in which they ended the discord and civil war (*fitna*) which each had faced before establishing himself as caliph.

Any attempt to understand the image of the Umayyads in Muslim tradition must take account of a number of factors. In the first place, the historical tradition which has come down to us largely emanates from circles hostile to the dynasty, was transmitted and committed to writing mainly by religious scholars, and achieved the form in which we know it under the caliphate of the ʿAbbāsids. On the other hand, the rise to predominance of the Sunnī form of Islam and the increasing differentiation between it and the Shīʿī tradition, opposition between Sunnī traditionalists and some of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, and a general concern for the historical legitimation of the Sunnī Islamic community as the direct descendant of that of the Prophet, may have been factors working to moderate the general hostility of the tradition to the Umayyads.

Above all, however, in attempting to understand the treatment of the Umayyads in tradition account has to be taken of the changing nature of Islam. The Umayyads were judged according to criteria which were a concomitant of the development of Islam during their rule.

3. Historical survey

Given the origins and character of the historical tradition, and the date in which it achieved the form in which we know it, discussions of Umayyad history need to be tentative. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that the events reported in the Muslim literary tradition, the names referred to and, generally, the dates supplied, reflect an historical reality. When it is possible to check the basic details against the evidence of such things as coins, inscriptions and non-Muslim literary works, they are generally confirmed.

The Sufyānid period

The most likely explanation for the emergence of Syria [see AL-SHĀM] as the political centre of the Arab empire following the First Civil War was the fact that it had been the seat of Muʿāwiya, the victor in the Civil War, for over 20 years before he obtained the caliphate. Beyond that, and partly explaining Muʿāwiya's victory, there were conditions which made Syria different from the other territories conquered by the Arabs. Syria must have had a relatively large Arab population, some of it dating from before the conquest, distributed across the whole country rather than enclosed within garrison cities. Furthermore, central Syria was dominated by one tribal group, the Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*], rather than divided between a multiplicity of competing ones. Taken together, these facts would have allowed Muʿāwiya to establish his court in an existing administrative centre, to continue the administrative tradition which had existed under Byzantine rule, and to avoid the need constantly to play off the local tribal groups against one another.

From Syria, Muʿāwiya and his immediate successors exercised control through a small number of powerful governors. Prominent among them were the Thaḳafīs [see THAḲĪF] Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] and then Ziyād's son ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*]. These governors appointed sub-governors and sought to control the Arab tribes by means of the powerful tribal notables, the *ashrāf* [see SHARĪF]. The non-Arabs, the majority of the population, were regarded mainly as a source of revenue for the élite, the Arabs.

It has become common to portray this period as one during which the caliphs were little more than glorified tribal *shaykh*s, indicated by the standard references to Muʿāwiya's *ḥilm* [*q.v.*] and the delegations (*wufūd*) of tribal notables to his court. Muʿāwiya himself may have encouraged this image, for the so-called Maronite Chronicle refers to his refusal to wear a crown (*CSCO*, Scr. Syri, 3rd series, iv, 71 (text) = 56 (tr.)), and the reference to him as *protosymboulos* by the Byzantine chronicler Theophanes is well known. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the human and material resources available to Muʿāwiya made his power and authority much greater than that of even the most important tribal leaders.

In their administration, the Sufyānid caliphs seem to have continued largely with the personnel and systems which they had inherited from the Byzantines and Sāsānids. Government records [see DĪWĀN] continued to be maintained in the languages used before the coming of the Arabs, and coins minted under the previous régimes continued in circulation [see DĀR AL-ḌARB]. The Maronite Chronicle refers to the refusal of the Syrians to accept a coin issued by Muʿāwiya since it did not bear a cross (*CSCO*, Script. Syri, 3rd series, vol. iv, 71 = 55-b).

Apart from that connected with Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*], the period saw little opposition to Umayyad rule until after the death of Muʿāwiya. During his own lifetime he had been largely successful in preparing the suc-

cession of his son Yazīd, but on the latter's accession opposition was manifested, not by tribal figures, but by a small group of descendants of some of the leading companions of the Prophet in Medina. Chief among them were al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.vv.*]. Al-Ḥusayn's revolt was crushed at Karbalāʾ, but Ibn al-Zubayr fled to Mecca and was still refusing to accept Yazīd's caliphate when the latter, who had sent an army to the Ḥidjāz [see AL-ḤUṢAYN B. NUMAYR; MUSLIM B. ʿUKBA] in order to enforce recognition of him by Ibn al-Zubayr and others, died. Although Yazīd was succeeded in Syria by his son Muʿāwiya II, the new caliph received limited recognition and was shortlived. The death of Yazīd in effect marked the temporary collapse of the Umayyad caliphate and opened the period of the Second Civil War.

The Second Civil War

The period between the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and the final defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr in 73/692 saw the takeover of the caliphate by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and then his son ʿAbd al-Malik, of the Abu ʾl-ʿĀṣ branch of the Umayyad family. Those two oversaw the gradual reimposition of Umayyad control in all of the territories which had been ruled by Muʿāwiya. The way in which the succession was transferred to Marwān and then to his descendants was complex and is to some extent obscure, but ultimately depended on the fact that he was supported by the leader of the Ḳuḍāʿa, Ḥassān b. Mālik [*q.v.*], and on the victory of the forces of the Ḳuḍāʿa over those of the rival confederation of Ḳaysī tribes, supporting Ibn al-Zubayr, at the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] in 64/684.

Marwān, who ruled only for about nine months, restored Umayyad control over Egypt, but ʿAbd al-Malik's achievement in destroying Zubayrid rule in ʿIrāḳ and the Ḥidjāz was a more drawn-out process, interrupted by the need to enforce his authority in Syria, where his right to the caliphate was challenged by his relative ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*]. The defeat of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāḳ in 71/691, however, was followed by the dispatch of an army under al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] against the rival caliph himself, who was killed in the fighting which led to al-Ḥadjdjādj's capture of Mecca in the following year.

The Second Civil War was significant for the future of the Umayyad caliphate in a number of ways. First, the breakdown of Umayyad authority and the struggles over the succession had been accompanied by the polarisation, for the first time, in Syria, in ʿIrāḳ and in Khurāsān, of the Arabs into two main hostile tribal groups. These had different names in different regions: in Syria, Kalb (the dominant tribe of Ḳuḍāʿa) and Ḳays, in ʿIrāḳ and the east, Tamīm and Azd [*q.vv.*] or, more generally, Muḍar and Yaman [*q.vv.*]. The formation of these groups, probably ultimately a result of migrations and struggles for influence, land, and wealth which had been taking place under the Sufyānids, now acquired a new importance as the various parties involved in the civil war sought to establish and maintain their position by winning the support of one tribal group or another.

Secondly, the movement led by al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*], who had seized control of al-Kūfa during the Zubayrid interregnum in ʿIrāḳ, although it had been suppressed, had demonstrated the potential importance of the *mawālī* for the first time and, furthermore, provided the basis from which sprang the later movement of the Hāshimiyya [*q.v.*], instrumental in organising the revolt which was eventually to overthrow the Umayyad caliphate.

Thirdly, the collapse of Umayyad authority revealed the weakness of the rather loose and decentralised administrative structure which had characterised the Sufyānid period. Throughout the territories over which the Umayyads claimed authority, the lack of commitment to the Umayyads on the part of many of the *ashrāf* had been demonstrated. The extension of central authority and movement towards a more formally-organised army under the Marwānids was probably a reaction to that.

The Marwānid restoration

The caliphates of ʿAbd al-Malik and his son al-Walīd, linked by the presence of al-Ḥadjdjādj as governor of ʿIrāḳ and the east from 75-95/694-714, were distinguished by significant developments in the administration and in the public face of the Umayyad state. It is to this period that the introduction of the first properly Islamic coinage and the beginning of the keeping of the government records in Arabic are dated, and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem [see AL-ḲUDS], built by ʿAbd al-Malik in 72/691-2, represents the emergence of a recognisably Islamic style of architecture. Furthermore, its inscriptions are the first dateable evidence of substantial Ḳurʾānic material and of the use of the word *islām*, apparently as the designation of the religion which the caliph represented. Other major public buildings dating from this period are the Aḳṣā mosque, the mosque of Damascus (incorporating the former church of St. John), and the mosque of the Prophet in Medina [see MASDJID].

The breakdown of order in ʿIrāḳ during the Second Civil War had allowed the appearance of a significant Khāridjī threat [see AZĀRIḲA; KHĀRIDJITES; SHABĪB B. YAZĪD] and al-Ḥadjdjādj's first major task in ʿIrāḳ was to defeat it, using the military talents of al-Muhallab [*q.v.*]. To that end he put considerable pressure on the local *ashrāf* who were refusing to participate in the campaigns against the Khāridjīs and, furthermore, brought troops from Syria to ʿIrāḳ. Thus a new way of ensuring Umayyad authority in the provinces was introduced. Subsequent reinforcements brought from Syria made necessary the construction of a new garrison town to quarter them [see WĀSIṬ].

It was probably the resentment of the *ashrāf* at the intensification of government pressure which was the main cause of the revolt which al-Ḥadjdjādj had to face from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath and the army with which he had been sent to Afghānistān [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH]. This revolt, which attracted diverse elements opposed to the government and took on a significant religious tone, eventually aimed at removing not only the ʿIrāḳī governor but also the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik himself, and it came close to achieving its aims. Its defeat only led to the further strengthening of government control.

A significant element in Ibn al-Ashʿath's revolt was the non-Arab *mawālī*. Some 19th century scholars even interpreted his movement as an expression of their discontent, and, although that interpretation no longer seems tenable, it is true that under al-Ḥadjdjādj the problem of the non-Arabs who wished to enter Islam (whatever that involved at the time) became increasingly apparent. We hear of the attempt by many non-Arab cultivators to leave their lands and enter the garrison cities of ʿIrāḳ, attempting to join the Arab soldiers there as clients and claiming the status of *mawālī*. Al-Ḥadjdjādj's response was to round them up and have them sent back to their lands. The motive for this flight from the land to the towns was certainly a desire to avoid taxation as well as to find an alternative source of income, and al-Ḥadjdjādj's actions represent a realisation of the consequences for

the treasury if the non-Arabs were allowed to abandon their lands and villages in this way. The manifestation of the problem at this time may well reflect the increasing fiscal demands of the state as well as greater efficiency in tax collection in the early Marwānid period.

The nature and development of the taxation system [see ḌARĪBA; DJIZYA; KHARĀDJ] under the Umayyads has been a subject of debate. D.C. Dennett sought to refine what he saw as the over-simple presentation of Wellhausen, and argued that there was a variety of systems of taxation, differing from province to province, but that, almost everywhere, at the level of the taxpayer there was a dual system of poll tax and land tax. In spite of the detail amassed by Dennett and the clarity with which it is presented and interpreted, however, it is difficult to see that his conclusions make a great difference to our understanding of the actions of the non-Arabs who wished to leave their lands and accept Islam. Acceptance of Islam would only result in a substantial alleviation of or escape from taxation if it was acompanied by flight from the land.

The development of factionalism in the army and the continuing problem of the mawālī

Hostility between Muḍar and Yaman became more prominent in the eastern territories of the caliphate in connection with the career of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab al-Azdi [see MUHALLABIDS]. As a result of his efforts to establish a strong position for his family and tribe in Khurāsān, Ibn al-Muhallab came to be regarded as a champion of the Yaman in general. His complicated and vacillating relationship with the Umayyad caliphs and their representatives culminated in his revolt, centred on Baṣra, in the caliphate of Yazīd II. Although, like Ibn al-Ashʿath, he won the support of diverse elements, his identification with the Yaman had the result that his defeat was regarded as a humiliation for them, and the coming of the Ḳaysī ʿUmar b. Hubayra [see IBN HUBAYRA] as governor to ʿIrāḳ resulted in the installation of predominantly Ḳaysī governors in the east. Furthermore, the army which had been sent from Syria to defeat the revolt, being drawn from the Syrian-Mesopotamian frontier region, was also predominantly Ḳaysī. Revenge for the Muhallabids was one of the slogans of the Yamanī supporters of the movement which overthrew the Umayyad caliphate in 132/749-50.

From this point onwards, the appointment of governors in ʿIrāḳ and the east was associated with changes in the position of one of the factions relative to the other. The appointment of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*] at the beginning of the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, however it was intended, was interpreted as a reversion to a pro-Yamanī policy, while the removal of Khālid in favour of Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī in 120/738 signalled the restoration of Muḍarī domination.

The nature of the groups designated by names such as Yaman and Muḍar has been debated. The assumption that they represented real tribal alliances has been challenged by Patricia Crone's argument that they should be understood as factions in the army, certainly related to the tribal groups whose names they bear, but not identical with them. A group in the army called Tamīm would be likely to have originated from the tribe of Tamīm but their aims and interests were not identical with those of Tamīmīs outside the army. M.A. Shaban's suggestion that the groups had distinct political programmes, the Yaman being broadly against military expansion and in favour of liberal policies towards the *mawālī*, the Muḍar favouring an imperialist and pro-Arab policy, has also been strongly argued against by Crone.

The acceptance of Islam by non-Arabs, at various times and places, continued to be a problem and seems to have taken on a more religious significance with the passage of time. The attempts of Umayyad governors to deny or restrict the rights claimed by the *mawālī* came increasingly to be portrayed by opponents of the dynasty as attempts to deny access to Islam in a religious sense, and the pious depicted the Umayyads as enemies of Islam. Complaints about the behaviour of the governor of Khurāsān al-Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī [*q.v.*], who sought to limit or ignore the claims of the local *mawālī* to be freed from payment of the *kharādj* and to receive pay for their fighting alongside the Arabs in the army, were led by Abu 'l-Ṣaydā' al-Ḍabbī, who is portrayed as a spokesman of the pious. In response to the complaints, the caliph ʿUmar II removed al-Djarrāḥ from his governorate. A similar episode about a decade later when al-Ashras b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sulamī was governor of Khurāsān led to a rising which, in conjunction with an invasion by the Turks, resulted in the loss of territory and considerable military embarrassment. It is remarkable that local non-Arab leaders are reported to have urged the Umayyad governor to be firm against the demands of the *mawālī*, fearing that they would be unable to met the financial demands made on them by the government if large numbers of their communities were allowed to become "Arabs" and share in the privileges of the Arabs. Discontent among the *mawālī* could be used by Arab opponents of the Umayyads [see AL-ḤĀRITH B. SURAYDJ] and was eventually a powerful element in the movement which overthrew their caliphate.

It is generally accepted that ʿUmar II pursued a more sympathetic policy towards the demands of the *mawālī* than did other Umayyad rulers. In tradition, he appears as a champion of the equality of Arabs and non-Arabs within Islam. The nature of the evidence, however, makes it difficult to be precise about the measures he adopted. The fiscal decree reported by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (see H.A.R. Gibb, *The fiscal rescript of ʿUmar II*) leaves many unanswered questions and its authenticity is debatable, and the shortness of his caliphate perhaps limited the effect of any measures he introduced. However we regard his caliphate, the episode associated with al-Ashras al-Sulamī shows that he did not solve the problem, and it is reported that when Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] became governor of Khurāsān he found many Muslims paying taxes while some non-Muslims were able to avoid them.

The Third Civil War

The ingredients of the Third Civil War, which began with the rebellion against al-Walīd II in 126/744 and lasted until Marwān II had, by about 129/747, established control over the central provinces of the caliphate, were in some respects similar to those of the second. It did not, however, conclude with the re-establishment of Umayyad rule on a firm footing but with the beginning of its end. Although Marwān II emerged victorious, the events leading up to that can, in retrospect, be seen to have fatally weakened the Umayyad caliphate in its heartlands and made it incapable of resisting successfully the revolt which shortly afterwards began in its far north eastern province of Khurāsān. The most important consequences were that the Yamanī-Muḍar factionalism, which after the First Civil War had been confined to the eastern caliphate, now infected Syria again, and that the unity of the Umayyad house itself was shat-

tered. Different members of the family competed and fought for the caliphate, and possibly fortuitous and accidental alignments between contenders and factions came to harden so that by the time of his victory Marwān II was positively identified with the interests of Ḳays (Muḍar). In general, the result of the period between 744 and 747 was to reduce Syria to the level of the other provinces. The special conditions which had given strength to Muʿāwiya, and supported the dynasty thus far, no longer pertained. In the fighting major Syrian centres like Ḥimṣ, Damascus and Jerusalem were damaged, and it is of more than symbolic significance that Marwān II established his court at Ḥarrān [*q.v.*] in the Djazīra rather than in Syria.

The fall of the dynasty

Although there are still many obscurities and unanswered questions about the development and nature of the movement which destroyed the Umayyad caliphate [see ʿABBĀSIDS], in general terms the fall of the dynasty can be understood as a result of the conjunction of a number of the themes which had developed during its period of power.

One of those was the factionalism among the fighting men. Mistrust of Marwān II and his Ḳaysī régime (his governor in ʿIrāḳ was Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, whose father had supplanted the Azdī Ibn al-Muhallab in the same post) by Yamanīs in the Khurāsānī army led to a revolt against the governor of the province, Naṣr b. Sayyār. The governor was pushed out of the provincial capital, Marw, and, although an agreement between him and his opponents among the soldiers was patched up when they heard the news of the rising of the Hāshimiyya in the villages outside Marw, it was not long before the leader of the Hāshimiyya was able to exploit the divisions and, in effect, to recruit the Yamanīs to his cause.

The Hāshimiyya was another manifestation of support for the claims of ʿAlids and members of the *ahl al-bayt* to the imāmate against those of the Umayyads. In particular, it was linked with the movement led by al-Mukhtār in Kūfa at the time of the Second Civil War. Support for the Hāshimiyya appears to have come initially from the mixed Arab and non-Arab population of Khurāsān, alienated by Umayyad policies towards the non-Arabs who wished to accept Islam. By the time the revolt in Khurāsān began in 129/747, the driving force behind, if not the official leader of, the Hāshimiyya there was Abū Muslim [*q.v.*].

By allying with the Yamanī faction in the army, led by the Azdī ʿAlī b. Djudayʿ al-Kirmānī, Abū Muslim was able to enter Marw and shortly afterwards to send an army commanded by Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb al-Ṭāʾī [*q.v.*] westwards in pursuit of Naṣr b. Sayyār and his supporters who had fled to Nīshāpūr. That army, having taken Nīshāpūr, continued its progress through north-western Persia and into ʿIrāḳ, defeating Umayyad armies at Ḳūmis and Nihāwand, and eventually took Kūfa, where, in Rabīʿ II 132/November 749, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ was proclaimed as the first ʿAbbāsid caliph.

At the beginning of the following year, the defeat of the Umayyad army at the decisive battle on the Upper Zab led to the flight of Marwān II through Syria to Egypt, pursued by an ʿAbbāsid force. Of the Syrian towns, only Damascus offered much resistance to the new power. Tracked down in Egypt, Marwān II and a few followers were killed.

4. Arabisation and Islamisation under the Umayyads

The importance of the period of the Umayyad caliphate lies chiefly in the fact that it was during it that the lands extending from central Asia to the Maghrib and al-Andalus were first significantly Islamised and Arabised, both processes which could be analysed as consisting of various components and achieving various levels of fulfilment. The most obvious indicator of Islamisation would be acceptance of Islam by an individual or a community, while Arabisation would be most obviously indicated by adoption of Arabic as the normal language for everyday use. At this most obvious level, it is clear that at the beginning of the Umayyad period there must have been a relatively small number of people who regarded themselves as Muslims or who spoke Arabic; by the fall of the dynasty both categories had expanded considerably. Our evidence for both processes is patchy and questionable and our conclusions necessarily impressionistic, but that general conclusion seems sound.

Although often connected, Islamisation and Arabisation in this period were not necessarily simultaneous processes, and not all the regions under Umayyad rule were affected by them to the same extent or at the same speed. Islam developed as a way of life in which religion was an important but not the only element, so that for some communities Islamisation might be envisaged as a process of cultural adaptation not necessarily involving a formal acceptance of Islam; and the development and spread of Arab identity in the regions under Arab rule had consequences not always identical with the spread and development of the Arabic language itself.

When one reads about individuals or groups entering or accepting Islam in the Umayyad period (or attempting to do so), it is therefore advisable to avoid the primarily religious connotations of the word "conversion"; the concept of Islamisation allows us to envisage a process of social change which may or may not have included a conscious change of religious identity but which would often have prepared the way for it. In its primary sense, the Arabic word *islām* means "submission" and, at a time when Arab armies were establishing their political and military control over large areas of western Asia and north Africa, the ambiguity of the word seems obvious. In a similar way, the concept of Arabisation may usefully include such things as the adoption of the Arabic script and of a substantial Arabic vocabulary by a people, such as the Persians, who nevertheless did not come to speak Arabic.

Neither process should be envisaged as a simple imposition by the conquerors on the conquered or as a mere borrowing from the rulers by their subjects. Both Islamisation and Arabisation took place as a society and culture embracing Arabs and non-Arabs, conquerors and subjects, formed, and both elements of the population were affected by them. To say that the Arabs were subject to Arabisation and Islamisation just like the non-Arab peoples over whom they ruled may seem paradoxical, but makes sense if one considers that both Islam and the forms of Arabic known to us were an outcome of the emergence of the new society and culture. As the Arabic language [see ʿARABIYYA] came to be used by non-Arab populations under Arab rule, the language evolved into different forms and dialects as it was developed and expanded for new purposes and subjected to local variations of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. In the same way, Islam should be understood as a religion and way of life which developed as the Arabs and non-Arabs gradually coalesced into a common society, both influencing and contributing to it.

In our Muslim literary sources the territorial expansion of Arab Muslim rule is the aspect of Islamisation and Arabisation under the Umayyads which receives the most consistent attention. In the west, following the foundation of the *miṣr* of al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] in 50/670, the Berbers of the Maghrib were gradually subdued and recruited to fight alongside the Arabs. By the late 1st/early 8th century, in the caliphates of ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd, Arab control of the region was secure enough for Arab and Berber armies to cross to the Iberian peninsula and begin the conquest of what was to become al-Andalus. Around the same time, major advances were made in Afghānistān and Transoxania. Al-Ḥadjdjādj was responsible for sending armies under generals such as Ibn al-Ashʿath, Ḳutayba b. Muslim and Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim [*q.vv.*] which laid the foundations for the subsequent development of caliphal authority and of Islam in central Asia. The caliphate of Hishām saw the strengthening of Arab Muslim control in Soghdia and Ṭukhāristān against a threat from the Turkish tribes of the Türgesh [see TURKS]. In contrast, the Umayyad attacks upon Byzantine territory to the north of Syria, involving attacks on Constantinople [see ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA] itself, were unsuccessful.

The entry into Islam of the non-Arab population under the rule of the Umayyads is less fully documented. In the traditional Muslim sources, it is alluded to mainly by reports about the actions of Umayyad governors and officials trying to hinder the non-Arabs from acquiring the status of *mawālī*. In Christian sources, the spread of Islam is suggested by occasional reports telling of the people of a particular town or region abandoning their faith at a particular time, by discussions concerning whether a person who had apostasised to the religion of the Arabs and wished to return to Christianity needed to be rebaptised (an abjuration ritual for such cases has been preserved, see E. Montet, in *RHR*, liii [1906] and F. Cumont, in *ibid.*, lxiv [1911]), and by appeals by Christian religious authorities for their followers to avoid too close a contact with the Arabs (e.g. Athanasius of Balad, cited in Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 13).

One difficulty lies in envisaging what was involved in the acceptance of Islam. Since the religion and culture of Islam was forming at the same time that it was spreading, Islamisation involves development as well as extension. The Sunnī form of Islam, with its emphasis on the *sunna* of the Prophet as a source of law and upon the religious scholars as the tradents and interpreters of the law, seems to have begun to develop in the later Umayyad period and in opposition to the actions and claims of the Umayyad caliphs [see FIḲH]. So far as one can tell from the sources, there was relatively little attention paid, at least by the earlier Umayyad caliphs and their representatives, to the Prophet as a source of authority. That the Umayyad idea of caliphal authority gave the caliph superiority over the Prophet is suggested not only by the *Khalīfat Allāh* title but by specific reports in the literary sources which have caliphal representatives stressing the superior position of a *khalīfa* over a *rasūl* (see e.g. Khālid al-Ḳasrī quoted in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1199). Movements sometimes regarded as manifestations of Shīʿism under the Umayyads are so diverse in aims, practices and doctrines that, taken together with the fact that there is no Sunnism with which to contrast them, it is difficult to see them as having much more in common than the idea that legitimate authority belonged to the family of the Prophet rather than that of the Umayyads (W.M. Watt, *Shīʿism under the Umayyads*, in *JRAS* [1960]). It was only in ʿAbbāsid times that the Sunnī and Shīʿī traditions stabilised in the forms we consider as characteristic.

Evidence of development in the area of ritual and practice under the Umayyads is relatively sparse and susceptible of various interpretations [see e.g. ḤADJDJ; ḲIBLA; RAMAḌĀN; ṢALĀT; ṢAWM]. The same might also be said regarding matters of theology and belief, but the evidence at least suggests that debates and arguments about such questions as the status of the Muslim who has sinned [see ĪMĀN], anthropomorphism [see TASHBĪH], and human free will and divine predestination [see ḲADARIYYA] were taking place in the Umayyad period and possibly affected, at least in the forms they took, by the policies and claims of the caliphs.

Perhaps the most obviously striking feature of the Umayyad concept of Islam which is not compatible with later understanding, however, is that it was the religion of the Arabs and that entry to it involved assimilation to Arab society. For a non-Arab non-Muslim to enter Islam, it was necessary to become the client of an Arab and thereby become attached to an Arab tribe. Religious and ethnic identity were thus closely linked in a way similar to that in Judaism. The move from this concept to one which distinguished between religious adherence and ethnic identity, and made Islam a religion open to all whether Arab or not, is the most important development of the Umayyad period. It occurred beyond the control of the caliphs and has much to do with the weakening of Umayyad authority and the image which the dynasty came to acquire in Muslim tradition.

Bibliography: It is not possible to give here a complete bibliography for the whole period. The following refers especially to material published since the appearance of the article by Levi Della Vida, *Umaiyads*, in *EI*[1] (which should be consulted) and to that relating to the Umayyad period generally. For more complete lists, the reader should consult the bibliographies provided in the studies listed below.

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(G.R. Hawting)

UMAYYADS. In Spain.

The Umayyads of Spain ruled in al-Andalus 138-422/756-1031, the following being a table of the rulers:

138/756	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya, Abu 'l-Muṭarrif al-Dākhil
172/788	Hishām I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, Abu 'l-Walīd
180/796	al-Ḥakam I b. Hishām I, Abu 'l-ʿĀṣī
206/822	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II b. al-Ḥakam I, Abu 'l-Muṭarrif al-Mutawassiṭ
238/852	Muḥammad I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, Abū ʿAbd Allāh
273/886	al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad I, Abu 'l-Ḥakam
275/888	ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad I, Abū Muḥammad
300/912	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III b. Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Muṭarrif al-Nāṣir
350/961	al-Ḥakam II b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, Abu 'l-Muṭarrif al-Mustanṣir
366/976	Hishām II b. al-Ḥakam II, Abu 'l-Walīd al-Mu'ayyad, first reign
399/1009	Muḥammad II b. Hishām II, al-Mahdī, first reign

400/1009	Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, al-Mustaʿīn, first reign
400/1010	Muḥammad II, second reign
400/1010	Hishām II, second reign
403/1013	Sulaymān, second reign
407/1016	*ʿAlī Ibn Ḥammūd, al-Nāṣir, Ḥammūdid*
408/1018	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV b. Muḥammad, al-Murtaḍā
408/1018	*al-Ḳāsim Ibn Ḥammūd, al-Maʾmūn, Ḥammūdid,* first reign
412/1021	*Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī, al-Muʿtalī, Ḥammūdid,* first reign
413/1023	*al-Ḳāsim, Ḥammūdid,* second reign
414/1023	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V b. Hishām, al-Mustaẓhir
414/1024	Muḥammad III b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, al-Mustakfī, d. 416/1025
416/1025	*Yaḥyā, Ḥammūdid,* second reign
418-22/1027-31	Hishām III b. Muḥammad, al-Muʿtadd, d. 428/1036

Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif

1. The establishment of the new dynasty

The governors of the Iberian peninsula, whether they were directly dependent on Damascus or whether they had assumed jurisdiction from the governor of Ifrīḳiya, enjoyed considerable autonomy because the area was so remote. The fall of the Umayyad dynasty in Syria, overthrown by the ʿAbbāsids, only served to reinforce this autonomy.

It took on the appearance of actual independence from the time of the government of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī, who combined all the conditions necessary to become the founder of a dynasty in Andalusia. He was a Ḳurashī [*q.v.*], the great-grandson of the great ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, the son and nephew of the conquerors of al-Andalus, whose uncle, Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda, was one of those who killed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the son and successor of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, and he was elected governor with the almost unanimous support of the Arabs of al-Andalus. But this unanimity rapidly disappeared thanks to the sectarian politics of his lieutenant al-Ṣumayl b. Ḥātim.

Another, even more far-reaching factor was added to this, the arrival on the scene of the young Umayyad, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya, the grandson of the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik: he had fled ʿAbbāsid persecution and had been wandering around the north of Africa accompanied by a faithful servant, his emancipated slave, Badr. He had tried as a fugitive to establish himself in Ifrīḳiya but the governor of that province, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥabīb al-Fihrī, forced him to continue his flight, fearing correctly that if he allowed him to settle in that province the same fate would overtake him as destiny had reserved for his cousin Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Seeing that his hopes of seizing government in Ifrīḳiya were dashed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān commenced his wanderings amongst the various Berber tribes of the Maghrib, an experience which convinced him not to try to restore Umayyad government in these regions. The task of creating a "state" from nothing and of unifying the numerous Berber tribes was evidently much more laborious than that of seizing a province which was already supporting a certain political organisation. Given that Ifrīḳiya, because of the rapid and determined action of its governor, was out of the question, there was only one possible region left to satisfy the ambitions of the fugitive, and that was al-Andalus.

When Badr had crossed the Strait of Gibraltar to investigate his master's chances of success, the welcome he received from the Umayyads was enthusiastic and they themselves contacted the strongman of al-Andalus, al-Ṣumayl, to negotiate the conditions under which the Umayyads could come to the Peninsula. At the start, al-Ṣumayl was in favour of this, but he quickly realised that his presence in al-Andalus would lead sooner or later to the end of the controlled anarchy which prevailed there, and in which he was able to function perfectly. He therefore announced that he was totally opposed to the project, after which the Umayyads decided to support the faction opposed to al-Ṣumayl. This was traditionally identified as the Yemenite party, though they were almost exclusively Umayyads, who did all the work until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya had crossed the Strait and had become firmly established. From this time onwards, numerous people joined his cause, but previously nobody besides his close followers had been able to show clearly the position he held.

At the end of the summer of 138/755, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān landed at Almuñecar and took refuge without delay in the home of one of his followers, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUthmān at Torrox, which was in a very mountainous and inaccessible region. Until then the governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān knew nothing about the whole affair and ignored the advice of al-Ṣumayl, who had urged him to act speedily against the newcomer before he managed to gain firmer support. He decided to wait until the end of the winter, for his troops had only recently returned from one campaign and were reluctant to undertake another. This delay proved fatal for the governor, who was obliged to watch the gradually increasing forces of the Umayyad pretender, until the final foreseeable result, the overthrow of Yūsuf and of al-Ṣumayl, who came again to the region of Cordova on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 138/14 May 756. At first the life and also the liberty of the Fihrite were respected, but when he quickly attempted revolt he was again defeated and then at last killed.

From this time onwards the destiny of the Umayyads of al-Andalus was to be closely bound up with the town of Cordova. The revolt of Cordova, that is, of its suburb (*al-Rabaḍ*), was to be the most dangerous of those which the first three sovereigns had to oppose before they could achieve peace in the territory, but it was also to be the last. It was Cordova which much later, in the most difficult moments of the reign of ʿAbd Allāh, allowed the dynasty to survive and wait for better times. It was also Cordova that became weary of the interminable succession of transitory caliphs during the *fitna* and decided to terminate the government of the Umayyads. It is very significant that after the Cordovans had proclaimed that their city had ceased to be the capital of the Umayyad dynasty, no serious attempt was made in any other town to restore the Umayyad caliphate. The Umayyads disappeared from the scene; but out of this divorce Cordova came off worse and never again regained the political role which it had enjoyed during the first three centuries of Muslim presence in the Iberian peninsula.

It is possible to distinguish three major stages in the histroy of the Umayyads of al-Andalus. The third is obviously the *fitna* and the troubled years which followed it, from the first removal from power of Hishām II in 399/1009 until the abolition of the caliphate in 422/1031. As for the first two stages they coincided broadly with the traditional division into the period of the *amīrs* and the period of the caliphs, even though the validity of such a categorisation may be challenged inasmuch as it neither uniquely nor

principally draws attention to the adoption of the title of caliph by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. These two periods are at one and the same time relatively similar and yet different; they are similar because both reproduce the usual cycle of ascension, then splendour, then decadence; but they are also different because of, among other things, the localisation of the centre of interest of its governors and the problems which they confronted.

For the first Umayyads, the *amīrs*, the object of their attention was al-Andalus, and all their activity was carried out within its frontiers. Later, once their successors the caliphs had restored peace in the Peninsula at the beginning of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, they embarked on aggressive foreign politics which were designed to obtain control of the distant Mag̲h̲rib. This initially produced relative success but later was indirectly one of the causes of the *fitna.*

2. The Umayyad amīrate

From the accession to the throne of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I to the death of his grandson, al-Ḥakam I in 206/822, the history of al-Andalus is reduced to a recital of the perpetual succession of revolts and uprisings which culminated in the famous day of the Suburb of Cordova. For three quarters of a century, tireless efforts were made by the three Umayyad sovereigns in the face of all sorts of opposition to ensure the total domination of the territory. To do this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya had to quash revolts by the partisans of Yūsuf, by some of those who had fought on his side against Yūsuf, by the Berbers, and even by partisans of the ʿAbbāsid cause, not forgetting the internal conspiracies within the Umayyad family itself. The result of all these revolts, and perhaps the cause of some of them, was that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān did not want to show preference by relying for support on one of the many parties fighting at that time for the domination of the country. He quickly formed an army made up of slaves and Berbers which freed him from his exclusive dependence on the *d̲j̲undīs*. However, it seems that he did not suppress the system of military service which the members of the different *d̲j̲undīs* had to perform in turn.

At the end of his reign in 172/788, the dynasty appeared to be firmly established and all difficulties surmounted. His opponents had been killed or conquered and no exterior threat was looming. However, the reign of al-Ḥakam I was to provide proof that all dissidents had not been stifled as had been thought, and before that the brief period of government of His̲h̲ām I produced dynastic problems which took a long time to resolve.

His̲h̲ām I [*q.v.*] was not the eldest son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He was born in al-Andalus and was thirty years old when his father died, whereas his brother was more than forty. Most of the chronicles show that His̲h̲ām had been named by his father as his successor, yet the possibility cannot be dismissed that his accession to the throne may have owed much to the speed with which he came to Cordova when he heard of the death of his father. His̲h̲ām was in Mérida and his brother Sulaymān at Toledo. Whatever the reasons, it is certain that the elder son was not pleased with how events had gone. Helped by a younger brother ʿAbd Allāh, nicknamed al-Balansī (the man from Valencia), he started a revolt in Toledo, a city which had always been ready to offer asylum to anyone prepared to rebel against the might of Cordova. Toledo had already revolted once in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, and it was to continue to do so repeatedly, but this latest attempt by Sulaymān and ʿAbd Allāh failed and was quickly stifled. Both of them were exiled to North Africa, from where they would return on the death of their brother His̲h̲ām to contest the throne with their nephew al-Ḥakam. Sulaymān was killed, but ʿAbd Allāh established his headquarters at Valencia; he made a somewhat timid reappearance at the beginning of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, but died a natural death before this action could be accorded any importance.

The reign of His̲h̲ām I was relatively peaceful, marked only by minor troubles in the Upper March, problems with the Berbers of Ronda, and several unexceptional reprisal campaigns against Christians in the north. However the reign of his son and successor al-Ḥakam I [*q.v.*] was to be very different. As already stated he began his reign by opposing the aspirations of his two uncles to become involved in curbing the secessionist tendencies of the three Marches, the principal towns of which were Saragossa, Toledo and Merida. The submission of Toledo on the renowned "day of the ditch" in 181/797 is particularly famous; on that occasion a considerable number of important citizens of Toledo were executed on the initiative of the governor of the city, a *muwallad* called ʿAmrūs b. Yūsuf in the presence of the future ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, who had arrived in the town with an army which he was leading to the frontier. This was used as a pretext for the governor to gather together on the spot all those Toledans who had had recourse to arms. The subduing of Toledo was rather more bloody than effective, and fifteen years later it had scarcely any value for that town again caused problems for Cordova. Apart from the special ferocity with which the Toledans were suppressed, it is certain that these revolts in the regions farthest away from the Umayyad capital, particularly Toledo and the Upper March, were a constant feature of the general history of al-Andalus, until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III arrived to forstall such centrifugal tendencies; nevertheless in the future, after the fall of the Umayyad dynasty, they were to go on reappearing uncontrollably.

It has been suggested that the conflicts with the cities of the Marches were not exceptional and that it seemed to be the custom for it to fall to the *amīr* of the day to find some solution to them. It was al-Ḥakam I who was confronted with the first great crisis of the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus, a crisis motivated by the discontent of the Cordovan population, who formed a conspiracy to bring down the *amīr* in 189/805. The latter retaliated by executing 62 people among whom were several distinguished *fuḳahāʾ*. But this was only an early warning. Some years later a real uprising took place against al-Ḥakam, the Revolt of the Suburb (202/818), the culmination of a series of increasingly serious incidents between the population and the troops of the *amīr.* Finally all the revolts were brought to an end, though not without difficulty, and harsh punishment was meted out to the participants. Three hundred of them were executed and the entire population of the suburb was forced to leave Cordova, while that district was completely razed to the ground.

The Arab chronicles attribute popular discontent against the raising of new, severe taxes on the population as the original cause of this revolt. What is more, those taxes were to be collected by a Christian about whom very little was known but who was to play a very important role in that period. This was the *comes* Rabīʿ, who was also commander of the Palatine Guard of al-Ḥakam, which was made up of slaves. We are not sufficiently well informed to accept unreservedly

that aggravation over the taxes was the only or principal cause of discontent. It was more the case of the last straw that broke the camel's back, and the discontent had much more distant origins. Indeed, since the time of the conspiracy of 189/805 various relatively serious incidents had occurred. Popular rumour blamed the *comes* Rabīʿ as the cause of all the problems, but the *amīr* made not the slightest alteration to his policy in the wake of the Day of the Suburb, and he kept the Christian in his post to show that the serious danger which had threated his throne had in no way perturbed him. When his son and successor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II acceded to power, apparently a few days after the death of his father in 206/822, he ordered Rabīʿ to be crucified. Apart from its practical and ethical implications this measure seems to have demonstrated his undoubtedly clear wish to be reconciled with the Cordovans and to make a final and unequivocal end to the distance which had been created between the city and the Umayyad dynasty.

The thirty years' reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*] embodied the first golden age for al-Andalus. A complete appeasement of the Muslim territory was not obtained, for various attempted risings were reported in the Marches, especially in the Upper March. There the family of the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] made its appearance and went on to secure its seignorial rights over the region, claiming an autonomy that was sometimes recognised but sometimes also disputed by the *amīr* of Cordova. The campaigns against the Christians followed one another in an almost routine fashion. Unproductive victories alternated with failures of little significance. The only unpredictable event of the reign was the appearance of the Normans, who came to sack Seville in 229/844 by sailing up the river with a fleet of about fifty boats. The Umayyad troops were first taken by surprise, but once this had passed they arrived quickly on the scene to rout the pirates [see AL-MADJŪS]. On the whole, the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II was relatively peaceful, which allowed the sovereign to proceed with the reorganisation of his administration inspired (though probably less than is usually thought) by the ʿAbbāsid model. New magistrates were created, court protocol was regulated, procedural norms were established for the chancellery, etc., so that the developing political and economic structure could be placed in the hands of a body of civil servants whose ranks were constantly being augmented. All this seems to have produced a notable increase in state expenditure, but in contrast to the period of al-Ḥakam the increase in fiscal revenue grew proportionally, so that no financial disequilibrium ensued.

When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II died in 238/852 there was an atmosphere of court intrigue concerning the succession. However, once his son Muḥammad had been proclaimed as successor, all opposition rapidly disappeared and for many years to come the situation in al-Andalus preserved the status quo of the previous regime. Toledo, always a rebellious city, was the only source of trouble, when a new revolt broke out a few days after the accession to the throne of the *amīr* Muḥammad. This revolt was unusual in that it went beyond the confines of the city and the rebels managed to seize Calatrava (which was very quickly recovered) and then went on to rout a Cordovan army at Andújar. The reaction of the *amīr* was swift and the following summer he overcame the Toledans at the battle of Guazalete, an important victory though one which in no way put a stop to the secessionist aspirations of the city. Ibn Marwān al-Djillīḳī made his appearance in that period in the Lower March, though more as a local leader than as a rebel. In the Upper March the Banū Ḳasī remained loyal to the *amīr* of Cordova, though sometimes only in name.

In the final years of the reign of Muḥammad, however, this panorama of relative normality was to change radically. Individuals like Ibn Marwān, who had previously been little more than bandits, became increasingly bold; they sought to take advantage of the deep dissatisfaction among the population of certain rural areas and the inability of the Umayyad army to confront these small bands successfully. They seized more and more of the outlying, rich territories.

By the time of the death of Muḥammad in 273/886 the situation was no longer a cause for alarm. At that time his son al-Mundhir was at Alhama, besieging some rebels, among whom was ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*]. He acceded to power with the firm intention of putting an end to these revolts. His first objective was rightly Ibn Ḥafṣūn, the leader of a sizeable army who had taken possession of a vast territory. During the summer of 275/888 the rebel was besieged in his fortress at Bobastro [see BUBASHTRU, in Suppl.], having lost other strongholds, such as Iznájar and Archidona. Realising his perilous position he decided to solicit help from the *amān* of al-Mundhir. This was granted him, but at the last moment Ibn Ḥafṣūn broke the treaty, fled from the *amīr*'s camp and took refuge again at Bobastro. At that point, with the siege again in place, al-Mundhir suddenly died. When the *amīr* had begun to notice the first symptoms of his illness his brother ʿAbd Allāh had hurried from Cordova, but he found it difficult to reassemble the army in the capital amongst such trouble and disorder.

The accession to the throne of ʿAbd Allāh was the beginning of a long series of conflicts which were seriously to endanger the Umayyad dynasty. A great number of revolts broke out all over al-Andalus which the Cordovan state proved unable to cope with, to the extent that at various times the *amīr* even lost effective control of the city of Cordova. Fortunately for the authorities, most of the rebels were too preoccupied with internal questions or with conflicts with their neighbours to try hard to destroy the ruling dynasty. Only Ibn Ḥafṣūn attempted to seize Cordova, but he was promptly defeated at the battle of Poley (278/891) by an army chiefly made up of Cordovan volunteers.

Thus defeat in no way put an end to the rebellion which lasted until the beginning of the reign of al-Nāṣir, but rather allowed ʿAbd Allāh to preserve his capital city. If it had fallen this would have meant the end of the Umayyads of al-Andalus, but it would probably also have provoked the beginning of a general civil war, for Ibn Ḥafṣūn, though he had numerous partisans, at the same time elicited total rejection from other sectors of opinion. ʿAbd Allāh managed to ward off this mortal blow but his capacity for action remained very limited. He was so constrained by circumstances that all he could do was to try to manoeuvre events in the most favourable direction. In this way he sometimes arbitrated between his adversaries but sometimes he let them wear each other down in internal conflict. He conceded to the strongest a *de facto* autonomy within their territories, and he despatched his army to fight against the weakest. In short he was weak but he knew it and tried not to exceed his own limitations.

His aims were not helped by internal quarrels within his own family, which ended in the death of his sons Muḥammad and al-Muṭarrif and the assassination of some of his brothers. But despite all this, when he

died in 300/912, his grandson ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of the previously assassinated Muḥammad, succeeded him, and the political situation, though far from being good, appeared to be stabilised. The greater part of al-Andalus lay outside the effective control of Cordova but everyone seemed satisfied with the state of things and relative peace reigned.

3. The Caliphate

From the time he was proclaimed caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*] made his intentions clear. Without waiting for the coming of spring, he sent detachments to combat the rebels in the region nearest Cordova. The most important of these contingents, under the order of his *ḥād̲j̲ib* Badr, peacefully occupied the city of Ecija in the middle of winter (on 1 January 913, two and a half months after his accession to power). The measures taken after the conquest of this city were a good indication of the policy he would adopt in future for most of his conquests. Indeed, he favoured a policy of appeasement and agreed to avoid excessive retribution on a population which had surrendered to him without very much resistance. Though the walls of the town were destroyed, those of the citadel were preserved, and the Umayyad governors were installed there.

With the arrival of spring, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān personally led a campaign against the small rebel groups of the *kūras* of Jaén and Granada, many of whom were allies of Ibn Ḥafṣūn. In the months that followed, the town of Seville was recovered, and here the same policy was used as with Ecija, sc. no reprisals against the population but the destruction of the city wall. In the first year of his reign ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had succeeded in breaking the isolation of Cordova and in commencing an authentic "reconquest" destined to bring the whole of al-Andalus under the authority of the Umayyads. This was not an easy task and the difficulties entailed in this enterprise combined with other unexpected problems, like the famine which prevailed in the Peninsula in the early years, or the aggressiveness of the king of Léon, Ordoño II, who destroyed Evora in 301/913, and only just failed to do the same in Mérida two years later.

But these difficulties in no way altered the plans of the *amīr* of Cordova, whose first objective was to secure control of the south of al-Andalus. This required firmly putting an end to the insurrection of Ibn Ḥafṣūn. During the first fifteen months of his reign he concentrated all his efforts to this end, firstly by fighting against Ibn Ḥafṣūn himself and then, after the latter's death in 305/918, against his son. The fortress of Bobastro was permanently seized by the Umayyad troops in 319/928, and despite all that this revolt had represented to the Umayyad dynasty, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān granted *amān* to Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn.

During all these years the Christians had not ceased attacking the frontiers, but the reaction of Cordova was limited to two campaigns which were led in person by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, one in Muez in 308/920, and the other in Pamplona. Furthermore on a few occasions less important expeditions were undertaken, one of which resulted in the terrible rout of the vizier Ibn Abī ʿAbda in 305/917 at Castro Muros. Once the south of the Peninsula was pacified, the Marches, which up until that time had been constantly rebelling against the power of Cordova, formed the next objective. Mérida submitted in 316/928; Badajoz surrendered to the Cordovan troops in 318/930; Toledo resisted until 320/932; and Saragossa capitulated in 326/937 (the text of the treaty is still extant).

The whole of al-Andalus was now back under the control of the Umayyad dynasty, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from then on proclaimed caliph, could afford to pay less attention to internal politics and devote himself to external problems. For the first time in the history of the Umayyads of al-Andalus the main attention of the sovereign was not drawn abroad to the Christians in the north but to the neighbouring Mag̲h̲rib, a region which up until then had hardly existed in the eyes of the Andalusians. Contrary to what could have been expected from the deep incursions of Ordoño II into Muslim territory at the beginning of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula no longer represented a serious danger, at least to the Muslim state, even though the personal position of the caliph had been affected by his resounding defeat at Alhandega in 327/939, to the point where he no longer led any more military expeditions. Despite this, neither the unfortunate battle nor the frequent victories of the caliph's armies produced any significant changes in the frontier demarcation, and the only results were booty and captives.

The danger to the Umayyad dynasty did not come from its Christian adversaries in the north, but from the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya, who gradually extended their acquisition of land over the vast territory of the remotest Mag̲h̲rib. This constituted a danger at least in the eyes of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who saw in it not only the risks of military confrontation, but also the threat of the S̲h̲īʿī propaganda, which was probably even more dangerous than their armies. As long as the Umayyad sovereign had been occupied with the struggle against the revolt of the Banū Ḥafṣūn, his intervention in the Mag̲h̲rib had been limited to supporting from a distance the petty North African kings who opposed the advance of the Fāṭimids. But once the south of the Peninsula had been pacified and was under control, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir had his hands free to put into practice different politics in respect of the southern bank of the Strait of Gibraltar. The peaceful occupation of Ceuta in 319/993 represented the beginning of the Umayyad intervention in the Mag̲h̲rib, which would last until the end of the dynasty.

The capture of Ceuta should not be seen as the establishment of a bridgehead from which to launch the conquest of the Mag̲h̲rib. It does not seem to have been the intention of al-Nāṣir (nor that of his successors al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir and His̲h̲ām al-Muʾayyad) to seize territory on the other side of the Straits. Their strategy was rather based on the establishment of a protectorate for the Berber tribes with the intention of setting up a security zone on the southern borders without any expansionist ambitions. In other words, the control that Cordova meant to exert on the Mag̲h̲rib lay more in diplomacy than in military force, which is wby it seems logical to suppose that the adoption of the title of caliph by al-Nāṣir was connected with this policy.

Traditionally, the victory over the Ḥafṣūnid rebels and the proclamation of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III as caliph are linked. However, it is certain that, if the conquest of the rebel fortress of Bobastro is to be considered an important event for the pacification of the realm, it must be seen as merely the first step on a long road towards that goal. The capture of Bobastro took place in 315/928 and the proclamation of the caliphate in 316/929. At this point the Marches were not under control, and prior to the capture of Saragossa in 326/937 it was not possible to say that al-Nāṣir was effectively in control of the whole country. Even if only

within the context of his internal policies, the adoption of the title of caliph cannot be explained satisfactorily. However, even in the struggle for power which was played out in the Maghrib at that time, recourse to the high position of caliph as an argument in the judicial and religious propaganda takes on its full significance, especially in view of the fact that the rival to be conquered, the Fāṭimid sovereign, also gave himself the title of caliph.

As a general rule, the North African policy of the Umayyads was not particularly profitable. It only served to establish unstable and fleeting allliances with Berber leaders of dubious trustworthiness who were unable to oppose any real resistance to the Fāṭimids. Al-Andalus was sheltered, but the attention of the Fāṭimid Mahdī was directed more to the east than to the Maghrib, and even less towards al-Andalus. In fact the threat to the Umayyad dynasty was not imminent. However, the human resources employed to serve the North African policy, while not negligible, were never enormous, and it was only at the end of the government of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr, in the reign of Hishām III, that Umayyad troops intervened in an active and direct manner. They even managed to seize Fez during a campaign directed by the son of the dictator ʿAbd al-Malik. But it appears that the economic cost of this policy was considerable, and the successes appeared frequently to be more costly than the defeats. Support for tribal chiefs had to be generously paid for, adherents had to be bought and help had to be recompensed. Moreover, the Umayyad army permanently billeted in Ceuta also represented an important expense for the state coffers.

The North African adventure was in the end one of the factors that contributed the most to the brutal fall of the Umayyad dynasty. Not only by the fact of the economic extortion which the pursuit of this policy exacted but also because Cordova began to be inhabited by an endless stream of Berber mercenaries who were numerous and influential and who formed a foreign element in Cordovan society. They were to play a decisive role in triggering the *fitna* which put an end to the Umayyad state.

The reign of the successor to al-Nāṣir, al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (350-66/961-76), was undoubtedly the period of greatest splendour in all aspects of Andalusian history. That part of the volume of the *Muḳtabis* which has been preserved and which is devoted to it is a minutely detailed chronicle of the activity of a court which was apparently happy and absolutely free of any problems. In its pages, the Christians in the north appear merely as humble vassals who came to the capital to present their homage to the sovereign, or even to ask him to intervene as arbiter in their internal quarrels. But constantly interspersed between these accounts are to be found accounts of the war in Africa, which in that period took the form of harsh confrontation with the Idrīsid al-Ḥasan b. Gannūn. Attention is drawn by the repeated mention of the sending of troops and especially of money.

There is also a very significant paragraph in a letter from the caliph himself to his general Ghālib, who led the Andalusian troops in the Maghrib: "Do not worry about the money or the troops as both will arrive at regular periods [. . .]. Even if it meant emptying the coffers full of treasure and the brimming granaries of al-Andalus the caliph would send you all they contained" (see the translation of García Gómez, *Anales Palatinos*, 165). The detailed statements which Ibn Ḥayyān made of these constant despatches of significant sums of money demonstrate that the words of the caliph were not pure rhetoric, but that they reflected his firm resolve to maintain at any price his influence on the Maghrib. It is not easy to assess precisely how much influence the financial cost of the North African policy had on the fall of the dynasty. It is, however, beyond question that this policy had another consequence, evidently related to the triggering of the *fitna*: the incorporation of important contingents of Berber troops into the Cordovan army. The same Ibn Ḥayyān, who probably wrote this very volume of the *Muḳtabis* in the middle of the *fitna*, explained in a well-known passage how the process began:

> ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir had always been opposed to the recruitment of Berbers into the army; there was only a reduced number of soldiers of Berber origin called the "men of Tangiers" and they occupied the lowest position in the hierarchy. In the beginning al-Ḥakām al-Mustanṣir took the same line, not hesitating at public demonstrations to pour scorn on anything relating to the Berbers. But at a certain point his opinion changed radically and he became their most ardent supporter, and then he set about incorporating them into his army in considerable numbers. When Ibn Abī ʿĀmir came to power this tendency was increased to take account of the desire of the most powerful *ḥādjib* to have at his disposal a personal army which would raise no obstacle to his desire to marginalise completely the caliph Hishām al-Muʾayyad (see the translation of García Gómez, *Al-Ḥakam III y los beréberes*, in *al-Andalus* [1948], 209-26).

It is certain that from the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I the Umayyads used mercenaries in their armies as much to limit the power of the groups that made up the *djund* as to have a reliable personal guard. These mercenaries were mainly slaves, whether freed or not, prisoners of war and Berbers, but there were always in the ranks other individuals of very diverse origin, without any sort of internal cohesion and totally private links. The new power of recruitment of al-Ḥakam corresponded to a total break with the previous régime, because from that time onwards these people whom he incorporated into his army were no longer isolated individuals but family groups or complete clans, endowed to a very great extent with internal solidarity and whose allegiance to those who paid them was always less than their allegiance to their *ḳawm*. On the one hand the Berbers of the Cordovan army were very united among themselves, but on the other hand the relationship with the Cordovan population was at best cold and often strained. It is therefore not surprising that opposition between Andalusians and Berbers finally broke out. It was the first act, and the most important act, of the *fitna*, which in a very few years put an end to the Umayyad dynasty and to the Cordovan state. But before this terrible end, there were years when Cordova continued to exist and in which the military power of the state appeared to be indestructible.

On the death of al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir in 336/976, his only surviving son Hishām II al-Muʾayyad [*q.v.*] acceded to the throne. He was then a child of eleven years. The logical consequence to this situation, where the sovereign was a minor, was a series of numerous intrigues in court, in which some tried to replace the caliph with another member of the Umayyad family more fit for government, and others tried to seize the government for themselves. The final victor of all these intrigues was Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir, a person who had held ever more important posts in the administration since the reign of al-Ḥakam, until he

obtained the post of *ḥād̲j̲ib* with absolute power and he could adopt the title of al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

The most outstanding and specific characteristic of the government of al-Manṣūr was the tireless military activity against the Christian kingdoms. He personally led more than fifty campaigns, during which he penetrated deeply into enemy territory, reaching cities as far away as Santiago de Compostela, Astorga, León, Pamplona and Barcelona. However, just as during the whole history of the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus, these resounding victories did not result in any territorial gain for Hispanic Islam. The objectives of these campaigns were to weaken the enemy and especially to obtain booty and captives, perhaps in a desperate attempt to compensate for the enormous expense to the public treasury occasioned by the intervention in North Africa.

On the death of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir in 392/1002, the Umayyad state seemed to be on solid foundations. Within its frontiers there was total peace. The Christians were terrorised and humiliated. In the Mag̲h̲rib the situation was also quite good. During the six years of his government the successor to Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, his son ʿAbd al-Malik [see AL-MUẒAFFAR], followed his father's policy without any significant changes, but his premature death in 399/1008 marked the beginning of the ruin of the Umayyad state.

4. The *fitna* and the demise of the dynasty

After his death it was his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, known as Sanchuelo, who replaced ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar in the office of *ḥād̲j̲ib*. His qualities as governor were shown to be very much inferior to those of his father and brother. During the six months of his mandate he managed to squander the political heritage which he had received from his predecessors and to lead al-Andalus to the brink of civil war. His conduct was not only despotic and iniquitous but he also forced His̲h̲ām II to appoint him as heir to the caliph, an action which finally earned for him the hatred of all sections of Cordovan society. While he was on campaign against Christian territory, the population of the capital rose up against him, under the orders of one of the numerous Umayyad descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, and this last was to make his appearance on the scene during these years of trouble, taking the title of Mahdī. Revolts overwhelmed the city without any opposition, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿĀmir was arrested and executed when he tried to return to Cordova, having been abandoned by the Berber troops who had been his last support.

Muḥammad al-Mahdī secured the abdication of His̲h̲ām II and remained sole caliph; but immediately he became the target of a conspiracy provoked by an unfortunate policy which engendered hostility towards him from, among others, the Berbers. They decided to put an end to the reign of al-Mahdī and to look for a candidate in the Umayyad family. The man chosen was another great-grandson of al-Nāṣir, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam al-Mustaʿīn, who seized Cordova in Rabīʿ I 400/November 1009. From then until the leaders of Cordova decided to finish with the caliphate at the end of 422/1031, there was an interminable series of political changes. Those involved were firstly the three caliphs of the *fitna*: His̲h̲ām II, al-Mahdī and al-Mustaʿīn; then the members of the family who was descended from the Idrīsids, the Banū Ḥammūd; and then, finally, some other Umayyads like al-Mustaẓhir, al-Mustakfī and al-Muʿtadd.

During these years the most notable event was the bloody sacking of Cordova by the Berber troops of al-Mustaʿīn in S̲h̲awwāl 403/May 1013. In addition to this terrible blow to the city the incessant conspiracies, revolts and uprisings which took place at that time led the Cordovan leader to decide to abolish the caliphate. All this reinforced the belief that every effort to restore the Umayyad state was doomed to failure. For many years all the struggles for the throne of Cordova did not get beyond the level of internal quarrels in the city, for the rest of Andalusia had taken an independent path. Once again, the tendency towards disintegration which had marked the entire history of Andalusia, though it seemed to have been surmounted during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, triumphed, this time permanently.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The basic, almost unique text for information on the Umayyad period in al-Andalus is the work of Ibn Ḥayyān, brought together under two titles, *al-Muḳtabis*, a compilation of all the earlier history, and *al-Matīn*, a chronicle of events personally witnessed by the author. Unfortunately, the greater part of this historian's work has not been preserved. We only have fragments of four of the volumes of the *Muḳtabis*, sc. those on the reigns of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II to Muḥammad I (ed. Makkī, Beirut 1973), ʿAbd Allāh (ed. al-ʿArabī, Casablanca 1990), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (ed. Chalmeta, Corriente and Subh, Madrid 1979) and al-Ḥakam II (ed. al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ī, Beirut 1965). As for the *Matīn*, nothing remains except for numerous, lengthy citations in other authors, above all Ibn Bassām in his *D̲h̲ak̲h̲īra* (ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1979). In reality, we can aver that almost all we know of the chronicles on the history of the Umayyads in al-Andalus comes from Ibn Ḥayyān, because he gathered together everything which had been previously written and because he served as a direct or indirect source for most subsequent works.

2. Studies. All the general studies on al-Andalus devote particular attention to this period, such as Lévi-Provençal's *Hist. Esp. mus.*, which remains the most detailed one, but which should be completed with the help of more recently-edited texts, and the work of M.ʿA.A. ʿInān, *Dawlat al-Islām fi 'l-Andalus*, i-ii, Cairo 1969; R. Arié, *España musulmana* (*siglos VIII-XV*) = vol. iii of the *Historia*, ed. Tuñon de Lara, Barcelona 1982; and J. Vallvé, *El califato di Cordóba*, Madrid 1992. On the Umayyad family, see Ṣ.D. al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id, *Muʿd̲j̲am Banī Umayya*, Beirut 1970; E. Terés, *Dos familias marwâníes en al-Andalus*, in *al-And.*, xxxv (1979), 93-117; and A. Urquica, *La familia umaya en al-Andalus*, in *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, v (1992), 373-432. For the question of the caliphate, see M. Fierro, *Sobre la adopción del titulo califal por ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III*, in *Sharq al-Andalus*, vi (1989), 33-42; and D.J. Wasserstein, *The caliphate in the West. An Islamic political institution in the Iberian Peninsula*, Oxford 1993, see also two reviews of this last work, by E. Manzano, in *BSOAS*, lix (1996), 143-4, and L. Molina, in *Al-Qanṭara*, forthcoming. For chronology and genealogy, see Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 11-13 no. 4.

See also the greater detail and more specific Bibls. in the articles on individual Umayyads and ʿĀmirids. (L. MOLINA)

UMM AL-ḲAYWAYN, a s̲h̲ayk̲h̲dom of the Gulf, named after its coastal capital situated between ʿAd̲j̲mān (23 km) [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma (42 km) [*q.v.*], and since 1971 one of the seven United Arab Emirates (UAE). Its territory extends some 30 km

along the coast and stretches some 50 km inland (south-east). Some 45 km inland lies the oasis of Faladj al-Muʿallā, the emirate's most fertile area. The emirate's surface of 777 km^2 (1% of the UAE total) makes it larger only than ʿAdjmān. In population (3,700 in 1968; 29,299 in 1985 census, or 1.8% of the UAE's population), wealth and political weight, Umm al-Ḳaywayn is the smallest of the seven shaykhdoms. It also remains the least developed and most traditional. Fishing is the traditional industry (the town was an important boat-building centre in the early 20th century), along with some pearling, date growing and light industry. Since the 1980s, cement production and related activities have become the dominant sector of the economy. The first oil well was drilled in 1981, but the emirate's only hydrocarbon resources in 1997 remained its 10% share (representing 3,000 b/d in 1975, but down to less than 1,000 b/d by 1995) in the Mubārak field off Abū Mūsā island. With a Gross Domestic Product since the 1970s on average only 0.5% of the UAE's total, the emirate's expenditure is in large part covered by Abū Ẓaby/Abū Ẓabī [*q.v.*].

A majority of the population belongs to the Āl ʿAlī tribe (also found elsewhere); the tribe's and the emirate's ruling family is the Āl Muʿallā, which saw its status recognised by Britain in 1820, after al-Shāriḳa [*q.v.*] failed to impose its control. Shaykh Rāshid b. Aḥmad Āl Muʿallā has ruled since the death in 1981 of his father, Shaykh Aḥmad b. Rāshid Āl Muʿallā, who had been Amīr since 1929. Along with the other shaykhdoms, Umm al-Ḳaywayn became a signatory to the 1820 General Treaty of Peace with Britain, followed by the Perpetual Truce in 1853, and the Exclusive Agreements in 1892—the latter, in fact, at least partly inspired by reports that French representatives had obtained a site in the shaykhdom.

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(G. NONNEMAN)

UMM KHALĪL [see SHADJAR AL-DURR].

UMM AL-KITĀB (A.), an expression which means literally "the mother of the book". It appears three times in the Ḳurʾān (III, 7; XIII, 39; XLIII, 4), but has no equivalent in the earlier Semitic languages.

1. In general usage

It appears in about forty *ḥadīths*, but it should be noted that, there also, the expression retains an enigmatic character. This explains why all authors (*mufassirūn*, philologists, mystics, etc.) generally interpreted it in a number of different ways. It most often denotes the heavenly prototype (*aṣl*) of the Ḳurʾān, and is identified as "The Well-Guarded Tablet" (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ* [*q.v.*]), on which the future fate of all creatures is consigned. This interpretation, which is corroborated by several *ḥadīths*, is expressed especially well in sūra XIII, 39: "God effaces or confirms what He wishes: The *Umm al-Kitāb* is with Him" (cf. e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut n.d., xiii, 171; al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1967, ix, 331-3; al-Nasafī, *Madārik al-tanzīl*, Beirut n.d., ii, 252; see also L. Massignon, *La passion de Hallāj*, 2nd ed. Paris 1975, iii, 133). In an extension of this meaning, certain authors, particularly the mystics, define the *Umm al-Kitāb* as the first intellect (*al-ʿaḳl al-awwal*) or the supreme Pen (*al-ḳalam al-aʿlā*) which writes down the destinies on the tablet (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Mirʾāt al-ʿārifīn*, ms. cited by S. al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣūfī*, Beirut 1981, 122; al-Ḳāshānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1981, 32; al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, Beirut 1991, 50). In this respect, the *Umm al-Kitāb* corresponds equally well to "pre-existent divine knowledge" (*al-ʿilm al-azalī*; cf. al-Alūsī, *Rūḥ al-maʿānī fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿaẓīm wa 'l-sabʿ al-mathānī*, Beirut 1398/1979, xiii, 64).

In a parallel course, Muslim authors emphasise an etymology of the word *Umm* to denote "that which puts together and synthesises" (the terms *djāmiʿ* and *djumla/idjmāl* are used alternatively). In conformity with the Islamic tradition, which claims to recapitulate previous messages, they therefore see in the *Umm al-Kitāb* not only the celestial "matrix" of the Ḳurʾān but also of all the revealed books (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1329/1911, ii, 134-5; Ibn Kathīr, *Mukhtaṣar tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, Beirut 1981, i, 264; al-Alūsī, *op. cit.*, xiii, 64). Al-Zamakhsharī even implies that it constitutes "the basic principle of all writing" (*aṣl kull kitāb*); cf. *al-Kashshāf*, Beirut 1995, ii, 513.

Adopting a similar semantic orientation, certain authors attribute a more tangible definition to the expression *Umm al-Kitāb*, and this most often breaks away from the Prophetic tradition. The subject in question is the *Fātiḥa*, the preliminary sūra of the Ḳurʾān, which contains the entirety of the Book (cf. e.g. al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Cairo 1308/1890-1, i, 173-5; Ibn Manẓūr, *LʿA*, Beirut 1988, i, 218; T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, Leipzig 1909-38, repr. Hildesheim-New York 1970, i, 110), Ibn al-ʿArabī teaches that all the revealed books are absorbed in the *Fātiḥa* (*Futūḥāt*, ii, 134). Elsewhere he goes as far as identifying the *Umm al-Kitāb* as "the point under the *bāʾ*" (ب) of the *basmala* (cf. *Mirʾāt al-ʿārifīn*, cited by S. al-Ḥakīm, *op. cit.*, 123). To the Ṣūfīs, this point symbolises the first determination of the Universal Manifestation, and therefore the essence of all writing.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(E. GEOFFROY)

2. Amongst the Shīʿa

Different Shīʿī communities, including the Ithnā ʿashariyya and the Ismāʿīliyya, like other Muslims, have acknowledged and used *Umm al-Kitāb* in its Ḳurʾānic senses. However, *Umm al-Kitāb* is also the title of an enigmatic Shīʿī book associated with the early Shīʿī *ghulāt* of southern ʿIrāḳ. Originally produced in Arabic, only a later enlarged version of this *Umm al-Kitāb*, written in archaic Persian, has been preserved by the Central Asian Nizārī Ismāʿīlī communities of the mountainous regions of the Pamirs, Karakorum, and Hindū Kush, in present-day Tādjikistān, Afghānistān, and northern areas of Pākistān.

In its extant Persian version, the *Umm al-Kitāb* contains the discourses of the *imām* Muḥammad al-Bāḳir on the secrets of cosmology, eschatology and soteriology, in response to questions posed by an anachronistic circle of disciples, including Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī. Reminiscent of certain apocryphal Gospels relating to Jesus, the *imām* al-Bāḳir appears here in the guise of a five-year-old child. The *Umm al-Kitāb* is a syncretic gnostic work reflecting the influences of the early Shīʿī *ghulāt* as well as diverse non-Islamic traditions, such as Valentinian Gnosticism and Manichaeism.

The authorship and the precise date of composition of the *Umm al-Kitāb* remain unknown. By analysing its terminology and its cosmogonic doctrine as expressed in the form of a gnostic myth, however, recent scholarship has attributed the origins of the *Umm al-Kitāb* to certain Kūfan-based Shīʿī *ghulāt* circles of the second half of the 2nd/8th century which, like

the Khaṭṭābiyya, emerged on the fringes of the Imāmiyya and gave rise to the extremist tradition designated by the heresiographers as the Mukhammisa [*q.v.*] or Pentadists. The Mukhammisa generally espoused the divinity of the five members of the *ahl al-kisā'*, namely, the Prophet Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, which is also a recurrent theme of the *Umm al-Kitāb*. In addition to its pentadist doctrines, the attribution of the *Umm al-Kitāb* to the Mukhammisa tradition of the Shīʿī *ghulāt* is supported by other doctrinal features of this text, such as its propagation of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh* [*q.v.*]), its gnostic-cabbalistic elements, and the important roles it assigns to Salmān al-Fārisī and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb. In fact, Salmān, whose gnostic name here is al-Salsal, and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb are mentioned jointly and frequently in a sacred formula throughout the text, which also states that the Ismāʿīlī religion (*madhhab*) was founded by the disciples of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb. It is interesting to note that the early Imāmī heresiographer Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī (*K. al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. M.Dj. Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 56-60) identifies the Khaṭṭābiyya with the Mukhammisa. At any rate, the doctrines of the Mukhammisa, especially regarding creation, as reflected in the *Umm al-Kitāb* are quite distinct from those of the early Ismāʿīlīs, who also had fundamental doctrinal differences with the early Khaṭṭābiyya.

By the earlier decades of the 6th/12th century, the original *Umm al-Kitāb* had been translated into Persian in an expanded version; and this final redaction of the text eventually found its way into the literature of the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān and other regions of the upper Oxus, who now adhered to the Nizārī branch of Ismāʿīlism. Henceforth, the Central Asian Ismāʿīlīs claimed this book as their own, even though it did not contain any known Ismāʿīlī doctrines. Since the opening decade of the 20th century, manuscripts of the *Umm al-Kitāb* have been recovered from Shughnān, Rūshān, Wakhān, Chitral, Hunza and other areas of Central Asia; four copies are currently found in the manuscript collections of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London.

Bibliography: The Persian text of the *Umm al-Kitāb* was edited by W. Ivanow, in *Isl.*, xxiii (1936), 1-132, Italian tr. P. Filippani-Ronconi, *Ummu 'l-Kitāb*, Naples 1966. For studies on this text, see W. Ivanow, *Notes sur l'"Ummu 'l-Kitāb" des Ismaëliens de l'Asie centrale*, in REI, vi (1932), 419-81; idem, *Ismaili literature. A bibliographical survey*, Tehran 1963, 193-5; Filippani-Ronconi, *Note sulla soteriologia e sul simbolismo cosmico dell' "Umm ul-Kitāb"*, in *AIUON*, xiv (1964), 111-34; idem, *The soteriological cosmology of Central Asiatic Ismāʿīlism*, in *Ismāʿīlī contributions to Islamic culture*, ed. S.H. Nasr, Tehran 1977, 101-20; E.F. Tudens, *Der mythologisch-gnostische Hintergrund der «Umm al-Kitāb»*, in *Acta Iranica*, 3rd Ser., xvi (1977), 241-526; H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīlīya*, Wiesbaden 1978, 142-68; idem, *Die islamische Gnosis*, Zurich 1982, 113-98, 218-30 (also containing a partial German tr. of the *Umm al-Kitāb*); F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs. Their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 25-26, 100-2, 105, 440-1.

(F. Daftary)

UMM KULTHŪM, daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad and his first wife Khadīdja [*q.v.*]. Little is known of her and much of this is similar to traditions about her sister Ruḳayya [*q.v.*]. Umm Kulthūm is said to have married a son of Abū Lahab [*q.v.*] but to have been divorced by him by his father's orders before the marriage was consummated. Her brother-in-law ʿUthmān (later the third caliph) married her after Ruḳayya's death during the Badr campaign. She died in Shaʿbān of the year 9 without having borne a son with him.

Classical Muslim scholars connected Umm Kulthūm to traditions about multiple marriage ties between the Prophet and ʿUthmān (with political-religious ramifications) and related details about garments she wore and about her burial that appear to be precedents for later custom. Some expressed doubts about her place among Muḥammad's daughters and discussed the discrepancy between her alleged age at different events in her life and the dates reported. An isolated tradition adds a miraculous dimension to her marriage to ʿUthmān and another links her to a Ḳur'ānic passage.

In a hypercritical study, Lammens implied that Umm Kulthūm's existence as an historical person was doubtful. The modern Egyptian scholar Bint al-Shāṭi', on the other hand, fills out the minimal details of Umm Kulthūm's life with other information about the Prophet's family from classical sources to sketch a sensitive, human portrait. A popular Arabic series on Muḥammad's family, however, couples Umm Kulthūm with Ruḳayya, reflecting the paucity of information and relative unimportance of the two.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 121; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 25-7; Ṭabarī, iii, 2302; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Cairo, 1957-60, iv, no. 4201; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, Beirut 1981-8, ii, no. 30; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1970-2, vii, no. 12222; H. Lammens, *Fâtima et les filles de Mahomet*, Rome 1912, 3, 4, 8, 10, 19, 22, 34, 52, 122, 130; G. Stern, *Marriage in early Islam*, London 1939, 80, 135; Bint al-Shāṭi', *Banāt al-Nabī*, Cairo 1959, 175-90; *Ahl al-Bayt. Ruḳayya wa-Umm Kulthūm*, Beirut and Cairo n.d.

(Fr. Buhl-[Ruth Roded])

UMM KULTHŪM (1904?-1975), the most famous Egyptian singer of her time.

Born to a poor village family, Umm Kulthūm attended Ḳur'ān school (*kuttāb* [*q.v.*]) and learned religious songs (*al-inshād al-dīnī*, *al-ḳiṣṣa al-nabawiyya al-sharīfa* [see nashīd]) from her father, the village *imām* and a singer for weddings. He took her with him, dressed as a boy, to perform at weddings and other special occasions. The family toured the eastern Delta of Egypt until about 1923, when they moved into the lucrative world of commercial music in Cairo. By 1928, Umm Kulthūm was established at the top of the ranks of performers in the city. Her artistic authority as a gifted, well-schooled and experienced singer developed in the 1930s and 1940s when she was at the height of her vocal power. Throughout her career, she made extensive use of the mass media; she appeared in six films, made 300 recordings and broadcast monthly concerts "live" that became primary social occasions throughout the Arabic-speaking world. She cultivated a public persona of great dignity and cast herself as a "real" Egyptian, untainted by the foreign.

A wildly popular singer, she also became a cultural leader. After the Egyptian Revolution in 1952, she supported the initiatives of the new régime under President Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. Following the defeat in the 1967 war with Israel, she toured the Arab world, donating the proceeds of her concerts to the Egyptian government. These trips resembled state visits.

Umm Kulthūm was known throughout her life for her powerful voice, her clear diction and her ability to use melody and improvisation to bring out the

meaning and mood of a poem. These skills, believed to be rooted in religious recitation and song, were honed by the composers Abu 'l-ʿIlā Muḥammad, Dāwūd Ḥusnī and Muḥammad al-Ḳasabdjī. At the height of her career, she sang religious ḳaṣā'id [see ḲAṢĪDA] by such poets as Aḥmad Shawḳī [*q.v.*] set to music by Riyāḍ al-Sunbāṭī, alongside clever *zadjals* by Bayram al-Tūnisī composed by Zakariyyā' Aḥmad. In 1964, she began a very famous collaboration with Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and sang "modern" songs—lengthy love songs with simple lyrics—which were popular with the younger generation.

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(VIRGINIA DANIELSON)

UMM AL-ḲURĀ (A.), lit. "the mother of settlements/villages/towns", a Ḳur'ānic expression. It occurs as such in VI, 92 and XLII, 5/7, in which the Prophet Muḥammad is commanded to warn the people of the *umm al-ḳurā* [of God's punishment for disobedience], whilst in XXVIII, 59, it is said that God did not destroy the *ḳurā* until He had sent to them a messenger (*rasūl*) reciting God's miraculous signs. Although taken by the commentators to mean the town of Mecca, an interpretation followed in the art. ḲARYA (and used as such at the present day, *Umm al-Ḳurā* being the title of an official weekly newspaper published at Mecca after the Suʿūdī conquest of the Ḥidjāz, see DJARĪDA. I. A, at Vol. II, 468b, and there being now the Umm al-Ḳurā University in Mecca), Richard Bell pointed out that the idea of a cluster of settlements or hamlets fits much better the topography of the Medinan oasis in Muḥammad's day, since this comprised scattered agricultural settlements with fortified towers [see AL-MADĪNA. (i). 1], whereas Mecca was from early times a nucleated town within a hollow surrounded by hills [see MAKKA. 1]; moreover, all three of these passages are Medinan. See Bell, *The Qur'ān translated*, Edinburgh 1937-9, i, 124 n. 3, ii, 484 n. 3; idem, *A commentary on the Qur'ān*, ed. C.E. Bosworth and M.E.J. Richardson, Manchester 1991, i, 198, ii, 224.

For the Hebrew and Syriac cognates of the Arabic word *ḳarya*, pl. *ḳurā*, see ḲARYA, to the references in whose *Bibl.* should be added A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 236 (it is, in fact, uncertain whether *ḳarya* is a loan word from e.g. Syriac, or whether the Syriac pl. form *ḳuryā* of the sing. *ḳrītha* is a loan word from Arabic, or whether the words are cognates).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

UMM AL-RAṢĀṢ, the present Arabic name for a late Roman fortress of Jordan, inhabited into early Islamic times. It is situated 27 km/17 miles south-south-east of Mādaba at a point equidistant between the "old" and "new" roads running from ʿAmmān to the south of Jordan.

As Kastron Mefaa, it was built at the end of the 3rd or opening of the 4th century A.D. It has the form of a large quadriliteral 158 m × 139 m/578 feet × 456 feet surrounded by a solid wall with quadrangular bastions. Eusebius of Caesarea states that, in the 4th century, it had a Roman garrison, more precisely, a squadron of locally-recruited cavalry, according to the *Notitia dignitatum*. The area within the Roman walls became gradually filled with buildings, so that there remain only very narrow allies between houses grouped round interior courts. Four churches were built within the walls and a dozen (most of them excavated by P. Michele Piccirillo) in an exterior quarter to the north of the fortification. The mosaics from one of these, St. Stephen, confirm that churches were being rearranged and remodelled at least into the 8th century A.D., but the site was abandoned in ʿAbbāsid times.

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(J. BUJARD)

UMM SALAMA HIND BT. ABĪ UMAYYA B. Mughīra, one of Muḥammad's wives. She was of the Makhzūm clan of the noble tribe of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], most of whom were bitter enemies of the Prophet. She accompanied her first husband, Abū Salama ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Asad, on both emigrations of Muslims to Abyssinia. She was one of the first, if not the first, Muslim woman to join her husband in Medina, after her kin forcibly separated her from him and his family took her child away. In all, she had three sons and a daughter by Abū Salama.

After the death of her husband from wounds received at the battle of Uḥud [*q.v.*], she married the Prophet in 4/626. Numerous traditions linked to this event relate how the widow is consoled by God's providing her with another, even a superior, husband. Some sources report that she offered herself in marriage to Muḥammad, while others have the Prophet proposing. Many note that she initially refused to marry the Prophet because of her jealous nature, her orphan children, her advanced age and the absence of her family. Muḥammad refused to consummate the union until she stopped nursing her daughter, setting a precedent against sexual relations with a nursing mother.

Umm Salama was second only to ʿĀ'isha [*q.v.*] among the female sources of *ḥadīth*; she transmitted over 300, a handful of which are from her alone. Classical Muslim scholars counted her among the legists (*fuḳahā'*) of the female Companions, a woman of intelligence and sound judgement. She was the last of the Prophet's wives to die, in 59/679, 60/680 or after the massacre of Karbalā' [*q.v.*], according to various authorities.

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(RUTH RODED)

UMM AL-SAMĪM, an extensive, low-lying area of quicksands and salt-flats (*sabkha* [*q.v.*]) in the interior of ʿUmān and on the fringes of the "Empty Quarter" [see AL-RUBʿ AL-KHĀLĪ], centred on lat. 21° 50' N. and long. 56° E. It spans the undefined border beween the Sultanate of Oman and the easternmost part of Saudi Arabia. To the north and east of Umm al-Samīm lie the territories of the mainly Ibāḍī Ghāfirī tribe of al-Durūʿ or al-Dirʿī and the Sunnī tribe of ʿIfār [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: See those to AL-DURŪʿ, AL-ʿIFĀR and AL-RUBʿ AL-KHĀLĪ. (ED.)

UMM AL-WALAD (A.), denotes in classical Islamic law a slave-girl who has borne her master a child.

1. The pre-Islamic period

The master's right to take his slave-girls as concubines was recognised by Muḥammad in continuation of a general practice of Arab paganism. In regard to the position of the children of such unions, a change of view had been perceptible among the Arabs in the period just before the coming of Islam. In place of the previous unrestrictedness in marriage and concubinage, a certain decree of regulation had grown up, and a higher value began to be attached to marriage with free women and to good birth on the mother's side also; corresponding to this, however, the position of the children of slaves became worse; they were as a rule called only after their mother and not after their father, and only received their freedom when expressly recognised by their father (this condition probably always held) and even then were not fully privileged; the slave-girl, it was argued, must not give birth to her future master, as the son would reveal the qualities of a slave like his mother. The position of such a slave was not at all a privileged one. Even her designation *umm al-walad* ("mother of children") is in contrast to *umm al-banīn* ("mother of sons") as the name for a free woman. Although the personal position of a woman taken in war was hardly different from that of a slave, we frequently find a marriage in this case instead of concubinage, and her sons were considered free men, although they were as a rule only called after their mother and not regarded as having full privileges; an endeavour was often made to remove even this stain due to the irregularity of the union by a new regular marriage.

2. Under Islam

This state of affairs was continued under Islam without any essential change at first. The Ḳurʾān permits concubinage with a man's own slaves in several passages dealing with the limits of lawful sexual intercourse as against *zinā* (IV, 3, 28-9; XXIII, 6; LXX, 30, all Medinan; see the references in Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, i); the passage specially addressed to the Prophet (XXXIII, 49-51) expressly describes them as prisoners of war. In Islam therefore there was no distinction in theory between the slave-girl and the concubine taken in war, which is not surprising after the above remarks; in practice, the old procedure towards a woman taken in war remained in operation (cf. e.g. Wellhausen, *Vakidi*, 178; idem, in *NGW Gött.* [1893], 436; although not always historical in the particular case, yet typical). In the Ḳurʾān, the position of the *umm al-walad* is not defined and it is certain that the Prophet issued no decree altering her position or that of her children. That he is said to have set free the slave-girl Māriya when she had borne him his son Ibrāhīm (cf. Ibn Saʿd, viii, 155 l. 18, also 156 l. 4) should not in any case be taken as a general rule; this episode is not at all prominent in the material of tradition relating to the *umm al-walad*. The story that the Prophet recognised Māriya's son only after serious consideration (*ibid.*, 154 l. 25) might be possible as regards substance but is incredible in the form in which it is given.

That an *umm al-walad* should become free *ipso iure* on the death of her master, and no longer liable to be sold (or given) was first ordained by the caliph ʿUmar (see below). The starting point for this ordinance must be found in a *ḥadīth* transmitted by Abū Dāwūd (*ʿAtāḳ*, *bāb* 8) and Ibn Ḥanbal (vi, 360), the genuineness of which is thereby rendered certain (a later recasting: *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, iv, 5126). According to this, a woman, who had been sold in the pre-Islamic period by her uncle as a slave had borne her master a son and now on the death of her master was to be sold again to pay his debts, lamented her sad lot to the Prophet; the latter ordered the administrator of the estate to manumit the woman and gave him a slave in compensation. Ibn Ḥanbal observes on this case with justice that the different possible interpretations of the Prophet's treatment of the case gave rise to later *ikhtilāf*; there is no doubt that it was a decision for this one case only. A tradition given by al-Bukhārī (*ʿItḳ*, *bāb* 8; and several other passages) and al-Ṭaḥāwī (*Sharḥ maʿānī ʾl-āthār*, ii, 66) deals with a dispute over the paternity of a child of a slave-woman; Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ claimed it as the illegitimate child of his dead brother ʿUtba, in accordance with the latter's last wish, while ʿAbd b. Zaʿma claimed it as the legitimate child of his deceased father by his concubine. In spite of the child's resemblance to ʿUtba, the Prophet decided on the principle *al-walad li ʾl-firāsh* ("the child belongs to the [legitimate] bed"). In view of the difficulties of interpretation raised by this *ḥadīth* (see the commentaries, especially al-ʿAynī, on al-Bukhārī) it might be in the main genuine (the secondary recast form which al-Ṭaḥāwī, ii, 67, also gives is certainly not genuine); in any case there is no mention of the manumission of the slave-woman here.

The above-mentioned ordinance of ʿUmar is certain from numerous accounts, although the details vary and are embellished with legends (see especially *Kanz*, iv, 5118, 5122, 5124; al-Ṣanʿānī, *Subul al-salām, kitāb al-buyūʿ*, on no. 11). Setting aside the settlement of the question whether it was preceded by another divergent ruling (*Kanz*, iv, 5118), the story that ʿUmar ordered the *umm al-walad* to be free from the birth of her child (al-Khʷārazmī, *Djāmiʿ masānīd al-imām al-aʿẓam*, ii, 166; also *Kanz*, v, 5116) must be regarded as a product of the later dispute over this question. For ʿUmar's decree in no way made a final settlement; it gave trouble under ʿUthmān (*Kanz*, iv, 5122), and ʿAlī again diverged from it (*ibid.*, 5129-31). Ibn ʿAbbās is specially mentioned as another opponent of ʿUmar's view among the Companions of the Prophet. In the dispute that now arose between the different opinions, the attempt was made on the one side to ascribe ʿUmar's decision to the Prophet (*ibid.*, 5115, 5117) and to ascribe the same opinion even to ʿAlī and Ibn ʿAbbās (ʿAlī: *ibid.*, 5132; Ibn ʿAbbās: *ibid.*, 5039-41; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 303; Ibn ʿAbbās from the Prophet: al-Dārimī, 18, 38; Ibn Mādja, *ʿItḳ*, *bāb* 2; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 155 l. 20; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 317), on the other hand, it was insisted, sometimes quite polemically, that the Prophet approved the sale of the *umm al-walad* (Ibn Mādja, *ibid.*; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 321; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2200; *Kanz*, iv, 5125, 5127); against this, evidence was quoted to show that the Companions of the Prophet gave approval to ʿUmar's ordinance (Abū

Dāwūd, *ʿAtāḳ, bāb* 8; al-ʿAynī giving al-Bukhārī as authority, *ʿItḳ, bāb* 8). But these were not the only two theses put forward: another view ascribed to ʿUmar has already been mentioned (some traditions make the Prophet utter a corresponding opinion but one easily distorted to mean something else: Ibn Mādja, *ʿItḳ, bāb* 2; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 155 l. 17 both transmitted through Ibn ʿAbbās; also *Kanz*, iv, 5128); ʿAlī is credited with having said: "If the master wishes, he can set free his *umm al-walad* and consider her manumission as her bridal gift" (*Kanz*, iv, 5133) and Ibn Masʿūd held the view that the *umm al-walad* should be manumitted at the expense of the share of the estate falling to her child (presumed free) (al-ʿAynī, *ibid.*), both variants of the fundamental thesis. From the point of view of the criticism of Muslim Tradition, none of these *ḥadīths* is unimpeachable with the exception of the one quoted above in section 3, which itself is not free from ambiguity, so that it is usually preferred simply to quote ʿUmar and his *raʾy* as authority for the view that later prevailed.

3. The legal views

Al-ʿAynī (on al-Bukhārī, *ʿItḳ, bāb* 8 at the end) is therefore able to give a list of seven different expressions of opinion on the *umm al-walad* in addition to ʿUmar's from the period of the earliest jurists before the origin of the *madhāhib*: 1. The master may release her for money (i.e. as *mukātaba*); 2. She may be sold without restriction; 3. The master may sell her at any time during his life-time and when he dies she becomes free (she is thus regarded as *mudabbara*; al-Shāfiʿī is said to have held this view); 4. She may be sold to pay a debt due by the estate; 5. She may be sold, but if her child is alive at the death of his father and her master, she is manumitted at the expense of any share he may have in the estate and inherits with him; 6. She can only be sold on condition she is set free; 7. Even if she is contumacious and runs away, she cannot be sold, but only if she is immoral or becomes an unbeliever (according to al-Muzanī; al-Shāfiʿī could not come to a decision on this point). But even by this time the thesis that the *umm al-walad* could not be sold but became free on the death of her master, had won most supporters, among whom al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAṭāʾ, Mudjāhid, al-Zuhrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (cf. on him al-Khʷārazmī, *op. cit.*, ii, 167; *Kitāb al-Āthār*, 71, 102) and others are specially mentioned. Particular questions which now arise for the first time are referred back to older authorities, such as the decision no. 5 to Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn al-Zubayr (*ibid.*), decision no. 6 to ʿUmar (*ibid.*; also *Kanz*, iv, 5123), other details also to ʿUmar (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, vulgate, *ʿItḳ, bāb* 8, *riwāya* of al-Shaybānī, *kitāb al-buyūʿ, bāb bayʿ ummahāt al-awlād*, al-Khʷārazmī, *ibid.*, etc.).

In the time of the formation of the *madhāhib*, the view that the *umm al-walad* cannot be sold is held by Abū Ḥanīfa with Abū Yūsuf, Zufar, al-Shaybānī and their colleagues, al-Awzāʿī, al-Thawrī, al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, al-Layth b. Saʿd, Mālik (*Muwaṭṭaʾ, loc. cit.; Mudawwana*, viii, 23) and his colleagues, Abū Thawr and Ibn Ḥanbal. This is also the final opinion of al-Shāfiʿī and therefore that of his colleagues and pupils, while he, according to a reliable tradition, had previously sanctioned the sale of the *umm al-walad* (al-ʿAynī on the authority of al-Bukhārī, *ʿItḳ, bāb* 8; al-Nawawī, *Madjmūʿ*, ix, 243; see also above); the liberation of the *umm al-walad* was deduced from this in three ways (al-Nawawī, *ibid.*) so that in all we have four different opinions attributed to al-Shāfiʿī (al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār, kitāb al-ʿitḳ, bāb umm al-walad*, on no. 7). According to Dāwūd, also, and the Ẓāhirīs, the Shīʿī Imāms and the Twelver Imāmīs (here, however, sometimes with the qualification that she becomes free if she was still in the possession of her master at his death and her child is alive) and the Muʿtazilīs (al-Shawkānī, *op. cit.*), she can be sold. Although the four Sunnī *madhāhib* in the end all declared that the *umm al-walad* could not be sold, the existence of *idjmāʿ* on this point is nevertheless sometimes doubted (al-Ṣanʿānī, *op. cit.*, on no. 12; al-Shawkānī, *op. cit.*), sometimes, however, also definitely asserted (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*). The verdict of a *ḳāḍī* who gave a decision opposed to this teaching is not absolutely without support (see e.g. Nawawī, *op. cit.*, etc.).

In order to prevent the birth of a child the practice of *ʿazl* [*q.v.*] or coitus interruptus was frequent in intercourse with slave-girls, and it is therefore often discussed in connection with the *umm al-walad*. The most important of the references in tradition on this subject have been collected by Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v. *Intercourse*; here it is sufficient to say that *ʿazl* was considered to be permitted with a slave-girl. To prevent a slave-girl becoming *umm al-walad*, the master had also the possibility of not acknowledging the paternity of her child; this goes back to a similar usage in the pagan period (see above, section 1). While this was never so rigidly regulated as the case of disputing the paternity of a wife's child (see Wensinck, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Child*, and LIʿĀN), nevertheless an effort was made to restrict the right of disputing the paternity in the case of the *umm al-walad* also. *Ḥadīths* are quoted from ʿUmar and Ibn ʿUmar to the effect that no one who has had intercourse with a slave-girl has the right to dispute the paternity of her child, even if he says he used *ʿazl* or there is another paternity possible. The Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs agree with this. The Ḥanafīs, on the other hand, hold the view that the paternity of the child and the character of the slave as *umm al-walad* in this case depends entirely on an acknowledgment by the master. For this they cite traditions to the effect that Ibn ʿAbbās and Zayd b. Thābit had disputed the paternity of children of their slave-women on the ground that they had used *ʿazl*. This question is discussed by al-Ṭaḥāwī (*op. cit.*, 66, 68) and the traditions cited.

That the child borne by a slave to her master (on the assumption that his paternity is established) is free, has always been recognised in Islam without any difference of opinion and in the discussion of the position of the *umm al-walad* it is regarded as a presumption and argument for her not being sold. The deduction is natural that the father's recognition of children born in concubinage (see above, section 1) must as a rule have been regarded as a matter of course in the days just before Islam; the survival of a considerable possibility of disputing paternity with regard to a concubine seems to have actually been caused primarily by the considerable improvement in the position of the *umm al-walad* under Islam at the expense of her master.

The details of the teaching of *fiḳh* about the *umm al-walad* are as follows. Every, even non-Muslim, slave-girl who has borne her master (even after his death) a child is considered *umm al-walad*; on the death of her master she becomes *ipso iure* free (so that she can neither be sold to pay off debts on the estate [cf., however, below] nor can she be included in the third of the estate set aside for legacies); a legacy set aside by her master in her favour is therefore valid, as tradition even from ʿUmar's time shows (al-Dārimī, *Waṣāyā, bāb* 27); all legitimate and illegitimate chil-

dren whom she has after becoming pregnant by her master are likewise free, in so far as they are not already free as children of her master. Even in the case of a stillborn child, the mother becomes *umm al-walad*; opinions differ regarding a miscarriage. There is also a difference of opinion in the case where a man marries a foreign slave, makes her pregnant, and then sells her, as well as in the case where a man makes his son's slave pregnant. From the *umm al-walad*'s expectancy of reversion to freedom, it follows that she cannot be sold or pledged; if she commits a crime the master cannot evade his responsibility for her by disposing of her. In other respects she remains a slave: she has no right to property; the *diya* or *ar<u>sh</u>* paid for injuries to her belong to her master, etc. On the question whether the master may marry her without her consent, opinions differ. In any case, the master has the right to her body and to her labour, but the Mālikīs allow him only to demand light work from her and prohibit him hiring her out. On the legal position of the *umm al-walad* of a *mukātab* and that of a non-Muslim who adopts Islam, opinions vary. Apart from the fact that the *umm al-walad* can be sold to pay debts which her master had incurred before she became pregnant, she loses her reversion to liberty only, in the opinion of the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs, if she deliberately kills her master. According to the Ḥanafīs, in this case she is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*, but in the case of accidental killing, nothing is done to her; according to the Mālikīs, in the case of deliberate killing she becomes the slave of the heirs who can kill her or not; if they leave her alive, she receives 100 lashes and is put in prison for a year. According to the <u>Sh</u>āfiʿīs, she has to pay *diya* in both cases and among the Ḥanbalīs, according to one *riwāya*, not more than her own value or the *diya*, according to another *riwāya*, her own value. On the opinion of the <u>Sh</u>īʿī *imāms*, which differs not inconsiderably, see Querry, *Droit musulman*, ii, 147 ff.

In Muslim law, a most rigid distinction is made between marriage and concubinage, so much so that the master cannot enter into marriage with his slave at all. Divergences from this rule are extraordinarily rare. <u>Sh</u>a<u>dh</u>ād b. Ḥakīm (d. 210/825), a companion of Zufar's, is said, when he bought a slave, to have married her on the ground that "perhaps she may be a free woman" (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *al-<u>Dj</u>awāhir al-muḍīʾa*, i, no. 668; Ibn Ḳuṭlūbu<u>gh</u>ā, ed. Flügel, no. 81); and the *Fihrist* (207, $_{15}$) records with reservation of al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 322/934) that he wrote a work in which he justified marriage with slaves (but probably one's own). But the authenticity of such stories is not certain; the first is among a number of anecdotes and the second is based on hearsay only. A trace of the old Arab custom of a concubinage merging into a marriage (see section 1) is not necessarily, however, to be seen in this; the first story would be explained by the excessive scrupulousness often shown by religious people in secular affairs, and the second by the also not rare complaisance towards princes, which could be attributed to al-Ṭaḥāwī in polemics.

In spite of all the ameliorations which the development of Muslim law brought to the position of the *umm al-walad*, the old contemptuous feeling towards a union with a slave and the children born from it long remained. Among the *ḥadī<u>th</u>s* which condemn the maintenance of concubines, one with a doubtless anti-ʿAbbāsid bias survived down to al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī (*Īmān*, *bāb* 37; *ʿItḳ*, *bāb* 8) and Muslim (*Īmān*, trads. 1, 5, 7), but had its meaning distorted. This was the last echo of the old pre-Islamic point of view. Under the completely changed social conditions, the absolute equality of the children born from a marriage with a free-woman and in concubinage has now been long completely established.

Bibliography: For the pre-Islamic period and for the later Islamic situation, see H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 276-306; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*², 89-91; Wellhausen, in *NGW Gött.* (1893), 435-6; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 136. The most important traditions are in Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.vv. *Manumission*, *Slaves*. On the regulations of *fiḳh*, cf. in addition to the Arabic works, to which now may be added for the Ḥanbalīs Ibn Ḳudāma's *al-Mu<u>gh</u>nī*, xii, 488 ff., especially Juynboll, *Handleiding*³, 236, 238 (*Handbuch*², 206, 236); Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, 127, 168 ff.; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 123-4; Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, index at 303.

(J. SCHACHT)

UMM AL-WALĪD, a settled site of Jordan, dating back to Roman times and occupied for several centuries after the advent of Islam. It lies 13 km/ 8 miles southeast of Mādaba in lat. 31° 39' N., long. 35° 52' E.

Two Roman temples and a mausoleum have been discovered there. It seems to have been little inhabited in Byzantine times, but enjoyed an important development in Umayyad times, when there grew up a village with three forts or *ḳuṣūr* and a mosque. There was a modest reoccupation of the site in Mamlūk times, but it was thereafter abandoned. Excavations were carried out there by a Swiss team from 1988 to 1997. The eastern *ḳaṣr*, the largest, is a square with sides each 70 m/230 feet, with a surrounding wall reinforced by semicircular buttresses. A single entrance leads to a great central court with access through doorways to five lateral courts connected with five *bayts* each of five or six rooms. Important discoveries of ceramics, glassware and bronze objects have been made in this *ḳaṣr*. The other two *ḳuṣūr* are of smaller size (46 m/150 feet and 48 m/157 feet square, respectively) and are without buttresses, but have similar plans to the eastern *ḳaṣr*. The Umayyad period mosque has an almost square plan, with two transverse arches supporting a flat roof and a semicircular *miḥrāb*, exactly like the mosques of <u>Kh</u>ān al-Zabīb 25 km/16 miles to the southeast of Umm al-Walīd and of <u>Dj</u>abal Says [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. There are traces of an earlier, rectangular mosque.

The village of Umm al-Walīd was the centre of large-scale agricultural activities, as witness the two imposing stone dams a kilometre apart on the Wādī Ḳanāṭir, 2 km northwest of the village. The upper one, 135 m/ 515 feet long, 9 m/30 feet high and 5.8 m/19 feet wide, was built in the Umayyad period and raised by 3 m/10 feet; the lower one, of Umayyad construction, is narrower in width and less high but, at 187 m/613 feet, longer. A grape press from the Umayyad period has been found at the side of the lower dam.

Bibliography: M.-A. Haldiman, *Les implantations omeyyades dans le Balqa: l'apport d'Umm el-Walid*, in *Annual of the Dept. of Antiquities of Jordan*, xxxvi (1992), 307-23; J. Bujard and F. Schweizer, *Entre Byzance et l'Islam. Umm er-Rasas et Umm el-Walid, fouilles genevoises en Jordanie*, Catalogue, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire et Fondation Max van Berchem, Geneva 1992; Bujard and W. Trillen, *Umm al-Walid et Khan ez-Zebib, cinq qusur omeyyades et leurs mosquées revisitées*, in *ADAJ*, xli (1997), 357-74. (J. BUJARD)

UMMA (A., pl. *umam*), in its meaning of "people, community", is possibly derived from Hebr. *ummā* or

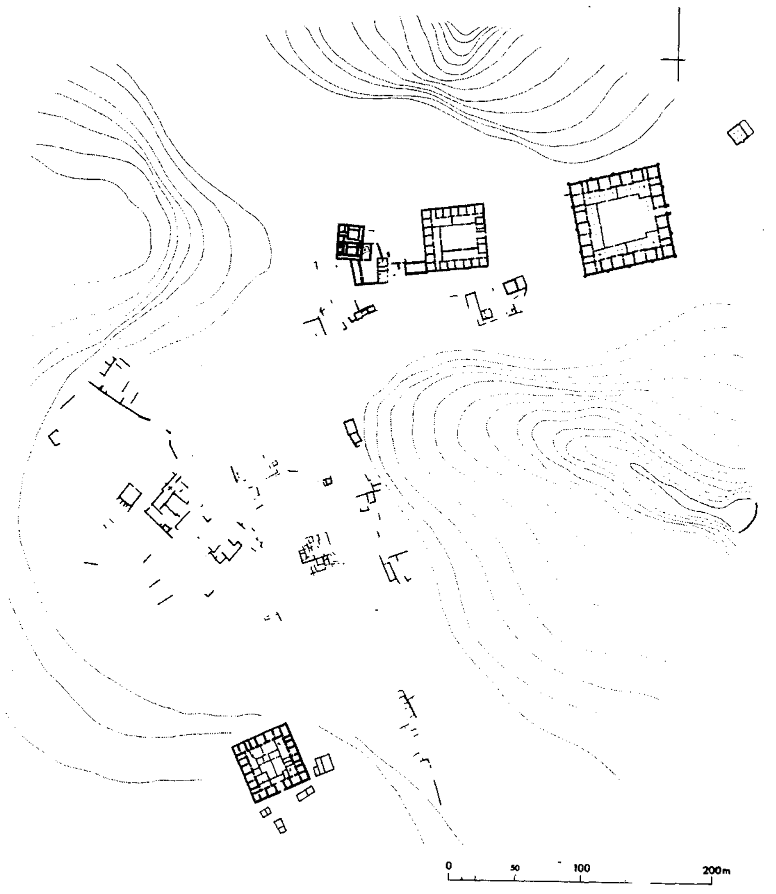

Fig. 1. Umm al-Walīd. Plan of the site.

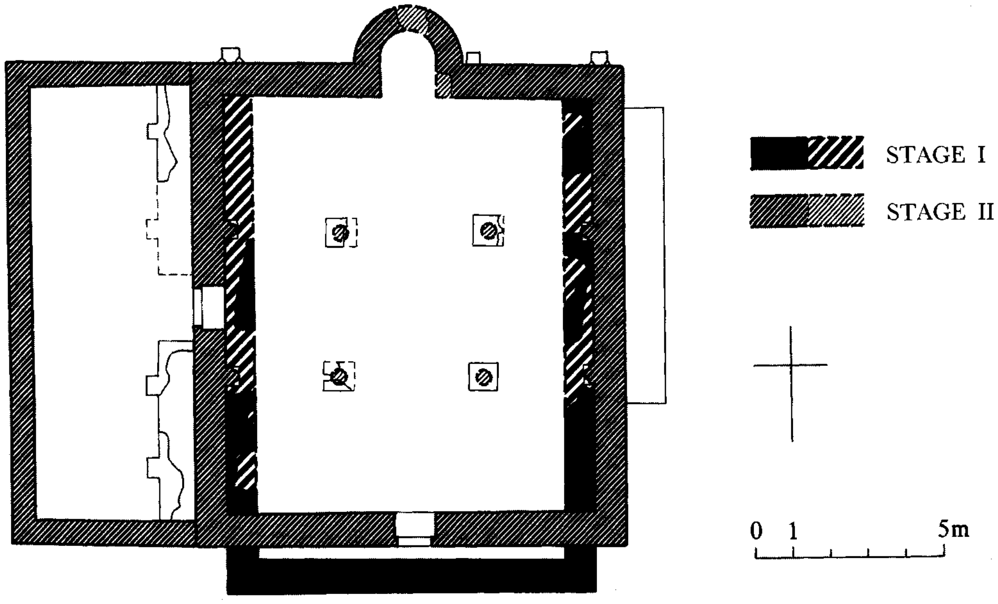

Fig. 2. Schematic plan of the two superimposed Umayyad mosques. Drawing: Gérard Deuber

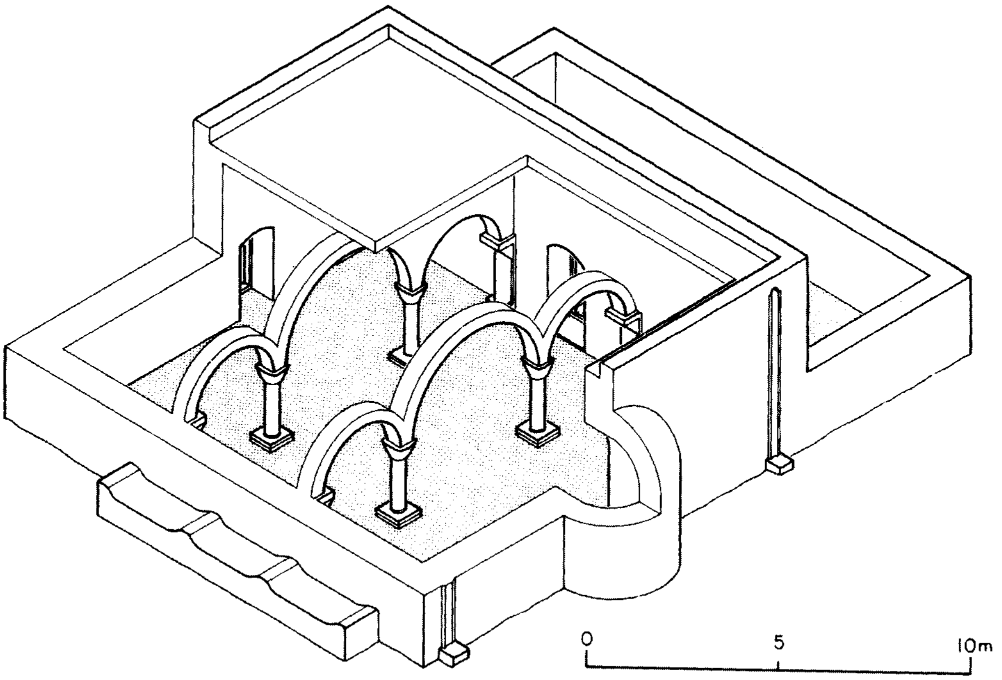

Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the second Umayyad mosque. Drawing: Wilfried Trillen

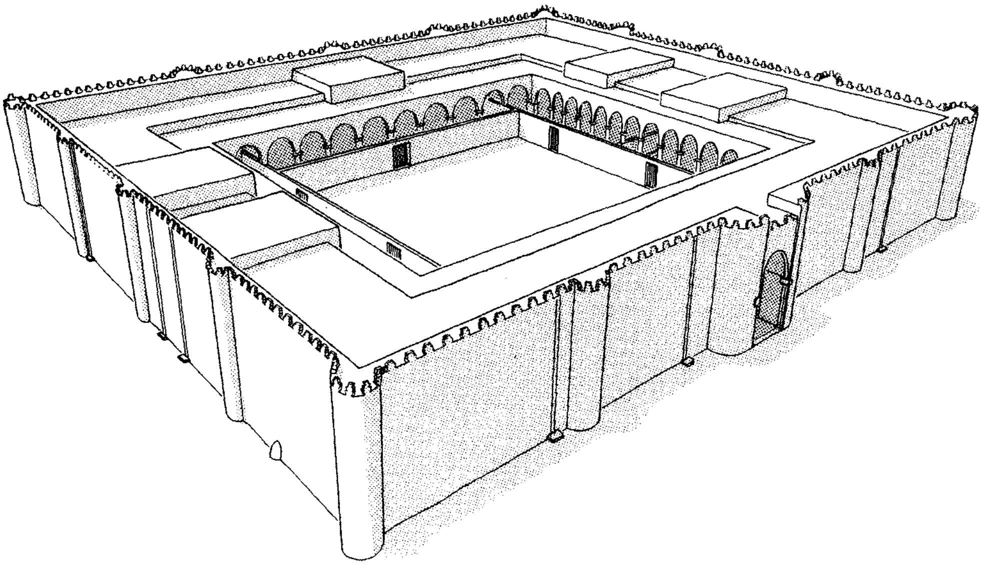

Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the eastern *kaṣr*. Drawing: Wilfried Trillen

Aram. *umetha* (Horovitz, 190), and ultimately from Akkad. *ummatu* (Jeffery, 69). Additional meanings (from Ar. *amma*, drawn principally from Lane) are: a mode of acting (cf. *sunna*); a morally exemplary person; tallness, beauty, and justice of stature of a person. In the Ḳur'ān, *umma* usually refers to communities sharing a common religion, whereas in later history it almost always means the Muslim community as a whole while admitting of regional, essentially non-political expressions (as "the Umma in North America", the American "Prison Umma" and so forth). The pl. *umam*, although occurring in the Ḳur'ān, means "nations" in modern usage and is therefore distinct from the Islamic meaning uormally associated with *umma* (e.g. *al-Umam al-Muttaḥida*, "the United Nations").

1. In the Ḳur'ān. The word occurs some 62 times in the Ḳur'ān in the sense of religious community, as well as instances where it means "fixed term" (XI, 8; XII, 45) and communities of animals like unto human groups (VI, 38). *Umma* also refers to the Patriarch Abraham as a model of righteousness (XVI, 120). The Ḳur'ān teaches that each *umma*, perhaps in the sense of a generation of contemporaries sharing a common belief and value system, has an appointed term decreed by God. "When their term is reached, not an hour can they cause delay, nor advance it in anticipation" (VII, 34; cf. XV, 5). Moreover, to every community has been sent a prophetic messenger bearing God's teaching. "When their messenger comes before them, the matter will be judged between them with justice, and they will not be wronged" (X, 47). In both Meccan and Medinan passages (following *Gesch. des Qor.* chronology), *umma* may refer to the archetypal or potential unity of mankind and prophetic religion, using the phrase *umma wāḥida*. In XXIII, 52 (Meccan), the fellowship of prophetic messengers (*rusul*) is described as a "single *umma*" (cf. XXI, 92), whereas in XVI, 120 (Med.), we read that "mankind was one *umma*" before God sent messengers with the Book. Sūra X, 19 reads: "Mankind was but one *umma*, but differed [later]". Prophets and other agents (e.g. *d̲j̲inn*) are often associated with *umma*s in pre- and post-*hid̲j̲ra* passages but nowhere as frequently as the third Meccan period (e.g. XLI, 25; XVI, 36, 63; XVI, 84, 89; XXVIII, 75). In XLIII, 22, 23, *umma* is equivalent to *milla* and means "traditional religion" of a people, and by extension "guidance" (*hudā*), however inferior compared to divine prophecy. There is in passages like this a foreshadowing of the full message of Islam as a restorer of the archetypal spiritual and moral unity of humans.

There is in the Ḳur'ān a chronological development of the meaning of *umma* from generic application to religious communities to a more focused reference to the emerging Muslim community. So we have here a matter of *umma* not essentially changing its meaning as religious community throughout the chronological development of the Ḳur'ān so much as having its meaning progressively augmented as the prophetic message reaches its fullest development. That is, if by the Medinan period *umma* tends to refer more exclusively to the Muslims, it nevertheless also carries with it the more inclusive meaning of humanity in its potential toward becoming Muslim. The Ḳur'ān does not thus apply *umma* exclusively to the Muslims. But it does appear to hold up *umma*, by Medinan times, as a special term that may refer only to the godly component within a religious community. In III, 104, *umma* refers to a hoped-for mature cohort of Muslim believers who, after experiencing God's grace and protection, strive after righteousness. In V, 66, both Jews and Christians are acknowledged to have members comprising a "rightly balanced community" (*umma muḳtaṣida*), but many others pursue evil.

In II, 128, Abraham and Ishmael pray, after erecting the Ka'ba: "Our Lord, make us submissive (*muslimīn*) to You, and of our progeny a people submissive (*umma muslima*) to You". The sense of historical Islam as being rooted in the archetypal religion of Abraham, including employment of the phrase *umma muslima*, is a characteristically Medinan representation as it also validates the restoration of ancient Ka'ba-oriented religious rites (*manāsik*) within a recovered monotheistic context. Although *umma muslima* may be translated as "Muslim community", it is erroneous to imbue it with the kind of meaning the phrase would later have, after Islam had become institutionalised and Ḳur'ānic references such as this—however authoritative—had become historically reified. The climactic point of the Ḳur'ānic use of *umma* referring to the Muslims occurs in III, 110, where those who "die not save as Muslims" (III, 102), and who "enjoin the right and forbid the wrong", and who are "successful" (*al-mufliḥūn*) (III, 104), are characterised, in comparison with the People of the Book (Jews and Christians), as "the best *umma* evolved for mankind". Finally, the Muslim *umma* has been established by God as a "midmost community" (*ummat*^{an} *wasaṭ*^{an}), usually understood as justly balanced and in a mediating position, "that you might be witnesses over mankind, and the Messenger a witness over yourselves" (II, 143). This passage closes with the reminder that the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] of the Sacred Mosque (*al-masd̲j̲id al-ḥarām*) in Mecca has been appointed as the ritual centre of the Muslim community, demarcating it from other peoples and unifying it from all directions. The direction of *ṣalāt* and the performance of the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* have continued to the present to have an incalculably great impact in marking off the global Muslim community, and maintaining its unity and common purpose by transcending the racial, ethnic, cultural, and national differences among Muslims.

W.M. Watt has analysed the Medinan *umma* as an innovative, theocratic politico-social order, similar in some ways to the Israelites under Moses (although not intentionally based on it), that transcended tribalism by basing itself on common faith rather than kinship. God is characterised by Watt as the "head and director" of the *umma* and all who participate in it enjoy divine security and protection (*d̲h̲imma*). (*Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 238-44).

2. In *Ḥadīt̲h̲*. There is not, in the *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature, the range of meanings of *umma* that is found in the Ḳur'ān. However, the word occurs frequently there, most often with reference to the Muslim community. Perhaps the most fateful *ḥadīt̲h̲* on this topic is "Truly my *umma* will never agree together on an error" (*inna ummatī lā tad̲j̲tami'u 'alā ḍalālatin*, cited by Wensinck, *Concordance*, only from the *Sunan* of Ibn Mād̲j̲a, *Fitan*), a *vox populi vox Dei* formulation that has played importantly in Sunnī jurisprudence under the category of consensus or agreement (*id̲j̲mā'*) as a source of *fiḳh*. A soteriologically-orientated tradition is "Everyone of my *umma* will enter the Garden except one who rejects [sc. disobeys] me" (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Fitan*). Other traditions speculate as to whether the Muslim *umma* will constitute a certain proportion (a quarter, a third, a half?) of Paradise (e.g. see Muslim, *Īmān*). Ibn Mād̲j̲a (*Zuhd*) preserves a tradition that claims one-third of the inhabitants of the Garden as "from this [i.e. the Muslim] *umma*", with the remainder coming from "the rest of the *umma*s" (*min sā'ir al-umam*).

Ibn Mādja (*ibid.*) also includes a *ḥadīth* that declares: "On Resurrection Day there will be, finally, seventy *ummas*, (of which) we [i.e. the Muslims] shall constitute their last and their best."

Another tradition tells of the assembled masses of resurrected persons on Judgement Day imploring the former messengers Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus, to intercede with God for their salvation. One by one they decline, citing their disqualifications. Finally, Muḥammad is asked by the people to undertake the task and, upon accepting the responsibility, he prostrates himself before the Lord, Who then says: "Muḥammad, raise thy head; ask and it would be granted; intercede and intercession would be accepted. I would then raise my head and say: O my Lord, my people, my people (*ummatī!, ummatī!*)." (Muslim, *Īmān*). It is, of course, possible to understand "My people, my people" to refer exclusively to the Muslims. But since Muḥammad is the last to be asked and the only one of the prophetic lineage to accept the charge, "My people" should be understood to be all whom God has resurrected on the Last Day.

The cultivation of Muḥammad's *Sunna* and its enshrining in the *ḥadīth* literature, and even more in the habits of the hearts and bodies of Muslims, is the most powerful expression imaginable of the transfer of charisma from a religious founder to his community of followers. In this sense, even with all the political and other divisions and disagreements among Muslims through time, there is utter consensus concerning the Muḥammadan nature, in the proper sense, of the Muslim *umma*. This does not in any way imply idolatry, for the Ḳur'ān itself commands the believers to obey God and His Messenger (III, 132), and to embrace Muḥammad as a "beautiful pattern" (*uswat^un ḥasanat^un*, XXXIII, 21) of conduct. It may be held that the Ḳur'ān contains the basic doctrine of the *umma* within the divine plan of guidance for mankind, whereas the Sunna of Muḥammad—by which is not meant simply *ḥadīth*s that mention the word *umma*—provides inspiration and instruction on how Muslims individually and collectively can realise the *umma*.

3. *Umma* in later Islamic discourse. The *umma*'s establishment as a community with political authority and autonomy, as well as religious and social characteristics, was in Medina. The important document, contemporary with the Ḳur'ān, widely known as the "Constitution of Medina", described the Medinan community as a whole as an *umma*, with the Jews there constituting an *umma* alongside the main body. Mutual defence and security were crucial elements in the arrangement.

Although other concepts relate to an understanding of *umma*—such as *dār al-Islām* vs. *dār al-Ḥarb*, *khilāfa* and *djamā'a*—throughout Islamic history the *umma* has usually been thought to possess final authority (under God) with respect to overseeing the leadership of the Muslims. The consensus has favoured a unified *umma* as an ideal that transcends a particular period's limitations and divisions. Colonialism's challenge instigated a great renewal of *umma* awareness among Muslims, and modern Muslim thinkers since the 19th century have sustained a variety of discourses on the political as well as other meanings of the concept of *umma* for today, including particularly whether and to what extent it contains democratic principles.

Bibliography (of works not mentioned in the article): See for the legal, political, and social understandings of *umma* the excellent brief survey, with discriminating bibl., of A.S. Dallal, *Ummah*, in *Ency. of the modern Islamic world*, Oxford and New York 1995, iv, 267-70.

1. Ḳur'ānic concordance. M.F. 'Abd al-Bāḳī, *al-Mu'djam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Ḳur'ān al-Karīm*, Beirut 1994, s.v. *umma*, at 102-3.

2. Modern studies. F.M. Denny. *The meaning of ummah in the Qur'ān*, in *History of Religions*, xv (1975), 34-70; idem, *Ummah in the constitution of Medina*, in *JNES*, xxxvi (1977), 39-47; idem, *Some religio-communal terms and concepts in the Qur'ān*, in *Numen*, xiv (1977), 26-59; L. Gardet, *La cité musulmane*, Paris 1954; J. Horovitz, *Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran*, in *HUCA*, ii (1924), repr. Hildesheim 1964; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938; L. Massignon, *L'umma et ses synonymes: notion de communauté sociale en Islam*, in *REI* (1947), 152; C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *The ummah: an analytic approach*, in *SI*, x (1959), 5-22; F. Rahman, *The principle of shura and the role of umma in Islam*, in *Amer. Jnal. of Islamic Studies*, i (1984), 1-9; Riḍwān al-Sayyid, *al-Umma wa 'l-djamā'a wa 'l-sulṭa: dirāsāt fi 'l-fikr al-siyāsī al-'arabī al-islāmī*, Beirut 1984.

(F.M. Denny)

UMMĪ (A.) "illiterate" or "belonging to a people without a revealed book". This relative adjective appears five times in the Ḳur'ān. It is used only once, in the singular, in regard to the Prophet; since the phrase *al-nabī al-ummī* has attracted varying interpretations, it will be treated later.

1. The *ummiyyūn* (pl. of *ummī*) denote in some contexts the Jews who only know the Torah imperfectly (II, 78), and in others the Arab polytheists of the pre-Islamic period (III, 20; LXII, 2). These last, however, unlike the Jews and Christians, do not have a revealed scripture; see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Beirut n.d., iii, 214-15, xxviii, 94; al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, Beirut 1995, i, 158, 341; Ibn Kathīr, *Mukhtaṣar tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, Beirut 1981, i, 81, 273. This latter application is corroborated by III, 75, where the term *ummiyyūn* is probably placed in the mouths of the Jews of Medina to describe non-Jews, sc. the "Gentiles" or pagans (Nöldeke, *G. des Q.*, i, 14; R. Paret, *EI*[1] art. *Ummī*; S.H. Boubakeur, *Le Coran*, Paris 1979, ii, 1825).

At the same time, the commentators stress that the Arabs are described as *ummiyyūn* in the Ḳur'ān because few of them knew how to write; cf. the *ḥadīth*, given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, "We are an illiterate community (*umma ummiyya*), for we do not know how to write or count." The term *ummī* is, in fact, generally set forth as coming from *umm*, meaning basically "mother" in the Semitic languages (see e.g. W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, Leiden 1967, i, 59). An illiterate person is thus one who remains in the same state as when his mother bore him (*LA*, Beirut 1988, i, 220; al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmi' li-aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1967, ii, 5, vii, 298-9), and such was the state of the Arabs from the midst of whom Muḥammad was raised up. In this respect, Boubakeur remarks that one should distinguish between *ummī* "one ignorant on the intellectual plane" and *djāhil* "one ignorant on the moral plane", cf. his *Coran*, i, 519.

2. As applied to the Prophet (Ḳur'ān, VII, 157-8), *ummī* involves two important cruces. For most Muslim authors, it involves Muḥammad's illiteracy, confirmed by XXIX, 48, "Before [the Ḳur'ān] you could not read any book nor trace the line with your right hand." The greatest miracle (*mu'djiza*) of the Prophet thus resides in the fact that the Book was revealed to him (al-Khaṭṭābī, *Bayān i'djāz al-Ḳur'ān*,

Fig. 5. The second mosque after excavation. Photo: Fabienne Bujard-Ebener

tr. C. Audebert, *Al-Ḫaṭṭābī et l'inimitabilité du Coran*, IFEAD, Damascus 1982, 140; *LʿA*, *loc. cit.*). Moreover, this illiteracy proves that Muḥammad could not have had any direct knowledge of the Judaeo-Christian scriptures, hence could not have plagiarised them (R. Blachère, *Le Coran, traduction selon un essai de reclassement des sourates*, Paris 1947, 8). For Ibn Khaldūn, Muḥammad's *ummiyya* is not a deficiency in him, as it would be with the rest of mankind, but is a sign of his perfection (*kamāl*) (cf. *Muḳaddima*, Beirut n.d., 465). For his part, al-Alūsī remarks that the epithet *ummī* has no pejorative tinge at all when applied to the Prophet (*Rūḥ al-maʿānī fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿaẓīm wa 'l-sabʿ al-mathānī*, Beirut 1398/1979, v, 79).

Muḥammad's illiteracy is not regarded with certainty by orientalists (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, i, 15; Blachère, *op. cit.*, 8-11) nor even by Muslim authors (al-Alūsī, *loc. cit.*). The Persian historian and vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 718/1318) thought it hardly likely that "the best of created beings" should not have known the art of writing (see *al-Madjmūʿa al-rashīdiyya al-sulṭāniyya*, ms. B.N. Paris, Ar. 2324, fol. 227a). The Ṣūfīs regard this question as a futile debate: that Muḥammad, as a Meccan merchant, should more or less have known how to read and write, does not bring into question his spiritual virginity, by virtue of which he was the receptacle for the Revelation (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1329/1911, ii, 644, tr. in W. Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge*, Albany 1989, 235-8; A. Ibn al-Mubārak, *al-Ibrīz min al-kalām sīdī al-ghawth ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh*, Damascus 1984, i, 188). This virginity, which recalls that of Mary (A. Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1975, 26-7), has caused the Prophet to be compared to "a white sheet of paper before the divine Pen" (F. Schuon, *Comprendre l'Islam*, Paris 1976, 118).

Certain orientalists have seen in *al-nabī al-ummī* "the prophet of the Gentiles", i.e. one sent to a people without any revealed book (A. Badawī recounts and refutes this position in his *Défense du Coran contre ses critiques*, Paris 1989, 14-18). This hypothesis, conformable to what has been said above about the plural *ummiyyūn*, does not contradict the acceptance of "the illiterate prophet", and Muslim authors themselves attribute a number of senses to the phrase *nabī ummī* (one may cite, e.g., the meaning of "Meccan", *ummī* coming in this case from Umm al-Ḳurā, cf. al-Ḳurṭubī, *op. cit.*, vii, 299; al-Alūsī, xiv, 93). The sense of "illiterate" was to bring it nevertheless into the heart of the Muslim community fairly quickly. One should further cite the fact that, for Badawī, 19-21, *ummī* is a relative adjective from *umam*, pl. of *umma*, "nations, peoples", an interpretation which can be justified grammatically, cf. Wright, *Arabic grammar*, ii, 162-3. According to this view, which clearly corresponds to that of the Ḳurʾān, the Prophet's message was thus intended for the whole of mankind and not just for the Arabs.

The spiritual interpretation of the *nabī ummī*, as formulated by the Muslim mystics, was to determine for them the type of the *shaykh ummī*: whether he was really illiterate or not, this last receives the "knowledge emanating directly from God" (*al-ʿilm al-ladunī*). Divine inspiration (*ilhām*) thus replaces—admittedly to only a slight degree—the prophetic *waḥy* (on the *shaykh ummī*, see E. Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, IFEAD, Damascus 1995, 299-307.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Suʿād Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣūfī*, Beirut 1401/1981, s.v. *ummiyya*.

(E. Geoffroy)

ʿUMRA (A.), the "lesser pilgrimage", *al-ḥadjdj al-ṣaghīr*, one of the acts of devotion (*ʿibāda* [*q.v.*]) forming part of the Muslim ritual.

1. Etymology

Muslim scholars claiming authority in linguistic matters put forward two possible original senses of the word *ʿumra*. The first is that the term is said to have had, like the word *ḥadjdj* [*q.v.*] "pilgrimage", the sense of "making one's way towards some place or person" (*al-ḳaṣd*). The second, more frequently proposed, is that the term would mean more precisely "visit" (*al-ziyāra*). See al-Azharī, *al-Ẓāhir fī alfāẓ al-Shāfiʿī*, Beirut 1994, and al-Nawawī, *Taḥrīr alfāẓ al-Tanbīh*, Damascus 1988, 133.

2. The ceremonies of the *ʿumra*

The *ʿumra*, like the *ḥadjdj*, can only be performed in a state of ritual purity (*iḥrām* [*q.v.*]). On assuming the *iḥrām*, the pilgrim (*muʿtamir*) must make up his mind whether he is going to perform the *ʿumra* by itself or in combination with the *ḥadjdj* and express his intention in an appropriate *niyya* [*q.v.*]. If he combines the *ʿumra* with the *ḥadjdj* (see below) he can assume the *iḥrām* for both pilgrimages at once; in the other case, the *iḥrām* must be specially assumed for the *ʿumra* in the unconsecrated area (*ḥill*) outside of the *ḥaram* of Mecca. This holds also for native Meccans who, when they are going to perform the *ḥadjdj*, can assume the *iḥrām* within Mecca. Three places are preferred for the assumption of the *iḥrām* for the *ʿumra*: Djiʿrāna, Ḥudaybiya and especially Tanʿīm. The latter place was therefore also known as al-ʿUmra. With the utterance of the *labbayka* [see TALBIYA] formula, the actual ceremony of the pilgrimage begins. The *muʿtamir* goes to Mecca in order first of all to circumambulate the Kaʿba [see ṬAWĀF]. He enters the mosque through the north door of the north-east side (Bāb al-Salām), goes under the portal of the Banū Shayba to the Black Stone built into the wall of the Kaʿba and, turning right, begins the sevenfold circumambulation of the Kaʿba, saying prayers all the while. The first three circumambulations are performed at a rapid pace (*ramal*), the last four at an ordinary rate. After this is finished, in order to acquire a special blessing, he presses himself against the part of the Kaʿba wall which lies between the Black Stone and the door of the Kaʿba. In conclusion, he prays two *rakʿa*s behind the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*, drinks a draught of the holy Zamzam water and touches once again in farewell the Black Stone (these last ceremonies are, however, not considered absolutely necessary). The *muʿtamir* now leaves the mosque through the great al-Ṣafā door in order to perform the second essential part of the *ʿumra*, the running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa [see SAʿY]. He goes to the hill al-Ṣafā and utters a few prayers there. He then goes to the hill al-Marwa, over 400 yards farther north, past the north-east side of the mosque. A short low-lying stretch at the east corner of the mosque is covered at a more rapid pace (*harwala* or *khabab*). Reaching al-Marwa, the *muʿtamir* again utters a prayer. He then returns the same way in the reverse direction and so on until he has covered the distance seven times and ends at al-Marwa. He has thus completed the ceremony of the *ʿumra*, and has only to have his hair cut or be shaved by one of the barbers waiting there. If he is making the *ʿumra* in combination with the *ḥadjdj*, he only has his hair trimmed and has the proper cutting done on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja at the end of the *ḥadjdj*.

3. The history of the *ʿumra* and its relation to the *ḥadjdj*

The ceremonies which make up the Muslim *ʿumra*

are undoubtedly for the most part taken over from the pre-Islamic period. They completely lack any close connection with the religion preached by Muḥammad, except for the Islamic prayers used in them. The Prophet did not alter these practices but only assimilated them to his teaching. This he could all the more readily do as their original significance seems to have been only obscurely understood by his contemporaries. That he allowed them to persist at all is probably less to be attributed to his personal reverence for them than to his political instinct which made him respect the traditions of his conservative fellow-countrymen.

The Muslim *ʿumra* as a group of ceremonies forming a single whole also goes back to a pre-Islamic institution. This is shown by the very fact that Muḥammad refers to it by a name which in his time seems already to have been a special term and enables us to assume that the thing itself was well known. This, however, does not mean that the separate parts of the pre-Islamic *ʿumra* exactly corresponded to those of the Muslim *ʿumra*. The two institutions, so far as we can see, did not exactly coincide. It is, however, very difficult to make out in what the difference lay, as we do not even know the earliest form of the Muslim *ʿumra*, much less of that of the Dj̲āhiliyya. We have therefore to make up for the lack of authentic sources by deductions from material which is not absolutely above reproach.

The pre-Islamic *ʿumra* probably consisted of ritual acts performed in a state of *iḥrām* within Mecca and including the *ṭawāf* of the Kaʿba. On the other hand, the course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (*saʿy*) does not seem to have been included. This follows from the text of sūra II, 153/158, which clearly distinguishes between *ḥadjdj* and *ʿumra* on the one hand and the course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa on the other and describes the performance of the latter in connection with the *ḥadjdj* or *ʿumra* as irreproachable, indeed even meritorious, but still as a work of supererogation. Muḥammad himself performed it in 10/632 following the *ṭawāf* and thus by his example gave a further stimulus to the incorporation of the *saʿy* into the Muslim *ʿumra*. If the Muslim *ʿumra* in this respect shows an accretion compared with that of the pre-Islamic period, it seems also to have lost something. For the *ʿumra* in the Dj̲āhiliyya can hardly have consisted of the *ṭawāf* alone. Probably an additional essential element in it was the sacrifice of animals bought for the special purpose, a custom which was later mainly confined to the *ḥadjdj*. Muḥammad himself brought sacrificial animals to the unfortunate *ʿumra* of al-Ḥudaybiya and a year later to the so-called *ʿUmrat al-Ḳaḍāʾ*.

As to the relation of the *ʿumra* to the *ḥadjdj*, the very similarity of these two institutions has contributed to confuse them and to blend their distinguishing features. Their reciprocal fusion had already begun in the last years of the Prophet. Muḥammad began the only *ḥadjdj* in which he took part as head of the Muslim community shortly before his death, by performing the *ṭawāf* and *saʿy* after his arrival in Mecca, ceremonies which did not originally form the beginning of the *ḥadjdj* but were elements of the Muslim *ʿumra*. He thereupon put off the *iḥrām* and said that the ceremonies so far performed formed an *ʿumra*. When, moreover, ʿUmar and others of those with him did not approve of putting off the *iḥrām* and did not follow him, this clearly shows how closely the ceremonies of the *ʿumra* were associated with those of the *ḥadjdj* for them and that, in their view, these holy acts should be performed in one and the same *iḥrām*. If we reflect that the revelation announced on this occasion (II, 192/196) laid down a penance for using the *ḥadjdj* for the *ʿumra* in this way and that Muḥammad to some extent acknowledged himself guilty, then it is natural to suppose that Muḥammad had only put off the *iḥrām* in order to be able to associate with his wives who were there and not with the object of keeping *ʿumra* and *ḥadjdj* absolutely distinct (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, 83-102). In any case, Muḥammad in the year 10/632 made the *ʿumra* precede the performance of the *ḥadjdj* and thus put his approval on the combination of *ḥadjdj* and *ʿumra*. This combination had a deeper cause: Muḥammad on the one hand proclaimed Mecca with the Kaʿba as the centre of the worship of Islam, and on the other, took over the *ḥadjdj*, which originally had very little, if anything at all, to do with Mecca, into Islam. He had indeed every reason to bring the Muslim *ḥadjdj* into connection with the sanctuary of Mecca. The more he succeeded, however, the more the *ʿumra* lost its *raison d'être* as a special pilgrimage to Mecca. It was therefore quite a natural development when the Muslim *ʿumra* became more associated with the Muslim *ḥadjdj* and original elements of the *ʿumra* were absorbed by the corresponding elements of the *ḥadjdj*, as was presumably the case with the sacrifices (see above). The *ʿumra* and the *ḥadjdj* did not, however, absolutely combine into one. This was prevented by, amongst other things, the fact that Muḥammad in the pilgrimage above mentioned drew a line of separation between the two by discarding the *iḥrām*.

In the consensus (*idjmāʿ*) of Muslim opinion, two ways of combining the *ʿumra* with the *ḥadjdj* came to be recognised in course of time: *tamattuʿ* and *ḳirān*. The former term was applied, following II, 192/196 (*man tamattaʿa bi 'l-umrati ilā 'l-ḥadjdji*), to the way which Muḥammad had actually followed, namely, combining *ʿumra* and *ḥadjdj* with a break in the *iḥrām*. ʿUmar threatened during his caliphate to punish its observance with the punishment of stoning and even under the early Umayyads it does not seem to have been usual. *Ḳirān* is the name given to the combination of *ʿumra* and *ḥadjdj* without breaking the *iḥrām*. In this, the *iḥrām* is assumed for the *ʿumra* and the *ḥadjdj* at the same time. As in the Muslim *ḥadjdj* the ceremonies which constitute an *ʿumra* are also performed according to the prevailing view an *ʿumra* is completely carried out when they have been performed, so that—if the *niyya* of *ḳirān* has been taken—the *ḥadjdj* is completed. Some authorities, however, demand that the ceremonies of the *ʿumra* should be specially carried through. The *iḥrām* must not be broken in any circumstances.

The *ʿumra*, in spite of its partial absorption into the *ḥadjdj*, has however retained its independence, although only to a limited degree. When the *ḥadjdj* is performed as *ifrād*, i.e. by itself (in contrast to *tamattuʿ* and *ḳirān*), the *ʿumra* also must be performed separately. Pilgrims who come from outside to Mecca seem as a rule in this case to perform the *ʿumra* after the completion of the *ḥadjdj* ceremonies so that they naturally have to assume the *iḥrām* again. In the course of time, this independent *ʿumra* ceremony seems to have become gradually confined to such Muslims as were permanently or for a considerable time resident in Mecca or came there at a time other than that of the *ḥadjdj*. But it was just this local limitation of the independent *ʿumra*, that favoured the survival of traditions from the pre-Islamic period. If we therefore learn that the *ʿumra* for centuries was celebrated

as an independent ceremony, preferably in the month of Radjab, we can probably see in this a survival of pre-Islamic tradition: the *ʿumra* in the time of Djāhiliyya was presumably a ceremony observed annually in Radjab and therefore had nothing to do with the *ḥadjdj*, the pilgrimage in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (cf. also the tradition according to which ʿUkkāsha had his hair cut in Radjab of the year 2 to make himself look like a pilgrim). As Muḥammad could only prepare the way for the combination of the *ʿumra* with the *ḥadjdj* but not complete it, the old tradition of performing it in Radjab survived for centuries later. It is only in comparatively modern times that Radjab seems to have lost its significance for the performance of the *ʿumra*. The custom of the Meccans of journeying to the holy places of Medina in Radjab perhaps broke it down. When *ʿumras* are now performed in dissociation from the *ḥadjdj* (i.e. in *ifrād*), the nights of the months of the fast (Ramaḍān) are specially favoured for this purpose, and especially the last ten which are connected with the *laylat al-ḳadr* [see RAMAḌĀN].

4. The significance of the pre-Islamic and the Islamic *ʿumra*

If the pre-Islamic *ʿumra* was annually performed in Radjab, and also if the calculation is correct which places Radjab originally in the spring, its similarity with the Jewish Passover strikes one at once. The animals which are sacrificed at it were perhaps, as in the Jewish ceremony, originally first-borns (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 98-9; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*[3], 227-8, 464). In Muḥammad's time, however, the original significance of the *ʿumra* seems to have been practically forgotten and it no longer fell in the spring.

The Islamic *ʿumra* is an expression of piety, mainly of a personal nature, especially if it is undertaken separately and not with the *ḥadjdj*, the ceremony observed annually by the Muslim community together. Probably this individual character is the result of the fact that it lost its independence in time, and so far as it was not associated with the *ḥadjdj*, constituted a work of supererogation. Before Islam the *ʿumra* had probably a more collective character.

5. The legal status of the *ʿumra*

The Ḳurʾānic injunction *wa-atimmū 'l-ḥadjdj wa 'l-ʿumra li 'llāh* "complete the pilgrimage and the *ʿumra* for God" (II, 192/196), is, in regard to the *ʿumra*'s legal status, fairly ambiguous (the status of the *ḥadjdj* being completely firmly established through other sources). In effect, the imperative verb used in this verse is that meaning "to bring an enterprise to its conclusion" (*atamma*), so that, on a completely rigorous basis, one should not take the order as "to accomplish the *ʿumra*" but only, independent of its obligatory character or not, that of "to carry it through", leaving nothing out from the moment when the believer has embarked on its accomplishment. In sum, the obligation would concern the modalities of the *ʿumra* but not the act itself (the hermeneutic principle applied here being that a prescription regarding the modalities of the accomplishment of an act has no implications about the status of the act itself). Moreover, relying on a saying of the Prophet transmitted by Djābir, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī in his "ancient doctrine" would thus consider that the *ʿumra* was a supererogatory pious act (*taṭawwuʿ*) but not an obligation. Another reading of II, 192/196 (which could yield "carry through the pilgrimage to its end, and the *ʿumra* is for God") would end up with the same conclusion. Other jurists, including Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Thawrī and al-Shāfiʿī in his "new doctrine", held, on the contrary, that the verb "to complete" could in this context have the extended meaning of becoming a synonym of "to accomplish", and, equally arguing from other sayings of the Prophet, they ended up by stressing the strict obligation of the "lesser pilgrimage". See al-Djaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Dār al-Fikr, n.p. n.d., i, 263-71; al-Shīrāzī, *al-Mudhabhab*, ed. Dār al-Fikr, n.p. n.d., i, 194-5.

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(R. PARET-[E. CHAUMONT])

ʿUMŪM WA-KHUṢŪṢ (A.), literally "generality and specificity", a term of Islamic legal interpretation.

In the literature of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]—the Muslim discipline which lays out the principles governing the interpretation of texts—great attention is lavished upon the subject of the generality (*ʿumūm*) and specificity (*khuṣūṣ*) of terms. These categories emerge incessantly throughout the religious disciplines of Islam, since interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, the Sunna and other texts is an on-going task in those disciplines. However, they have special importance in legal science (*fiḳh*), since they bear upon the scope of applicability of rules of law (*aḥkām*).

The majority of the classical scholars subscribed to the notion that the Arabic language contains general expressions, that is to say, expressions which by virtue of their form signified a class of individuals comprehensively and all-inclusively. The various forms which such expressions could assume were called *ṣiyagh al-ʿumūm* "forms of generality". The literature of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* provides exhaustive lists of these forms. Examples include the indefinite plural (e.g. *muslimūn* "Muslims"; *darāhim* "dirhams"), the definite plural (e.g. *al-muslimūn*, "the Muslims"; *al-darāhim*, "the dirhams"), the definite singular (e.g. *al-muslim*, "the Muslim"; *al-dirham*, "the dirham"), and the definite plural with "all" (e.g. *kull al-muslimūn* "all the Muslims"; *kull al-darāhim*, "all the dirhams"). In contrast to these forms stand expressions that clearly are specific, such as proper names, personal pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns.

According to the majority view, whenever an interpreter came across a general expression in a text, he had grounds for an initial presumption to the effect that the author of the text intended an all-inclusive reference. For example, upon encountering the expression "the thief" in "As for the thief, male and female,

cut off their hands" (Ḳurʾān, V, 38), he would begin his interpretative deliberations by positing a presumptive general reference to all thieves. If he subsequently discovered a contextual clue indicating that specificity rather than all-inclusiveness was intended, he would then have grounds for setting aside this initial presumption. Otherwise, the initial presumption would stand.

Many pages in the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* literature are devoted to the subject of "particularisation of the general expression" (*takhṣīṣ al-ʿāmm*). An interpreter was always obliged to look for a "particulariser" (*mukhaṣṣiṣ, dalīl al-takhṣīṣ*) in the context before making a final conclusion concerning the scope of reference of a general expression. When a particulariser was found, the general expression was said to have been diverted from its normal all-inclusive reference to a specific reference. Particularisers were divided into two types: the "attached" and the "detached" particulariser. The former was part of the immediate context and is best illustrated by the exceptive phrase (*istithnāʾ*), as in the phrase "all Muslims except those over the age of forty". The latter had to be sought after in remoter contexts. It could be found anywhere within the body of authoritative texts. An example is the Prophet's saying "Amputation is to occur only where an amount worth a quarter of a dīnār or more has been stolen", which is used to overturn the presumption of an all-inclusive reference for "thief" in Ḳurʾān, V, 38, and establish that the expression has a specific reference to thieves who have stolen the amount indicated by the Prophet.

A minority school of thought denied the existence of any truly all-inclusive expressions in the Arabic language and insisted that the expressions classified by mainstream scholars as general were in fact inherently specific. Although this point of view had few adherents, its mere existence was sufficient to create a dialectical climate within which the commonly accepted way of thinking would have to be argued with great thoroughness.

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(B.G. Weiss)

UMUR PASHA, Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿUmar (709-49/1309-48), early Turkish corsair and warrior and son of Meḥemmed, founder of the Aydïn-oghullarï [see AYDÏN-OGHLU].

The main source on him is the Turkish epic poem, unique of its type, the *Düstūr-nāme*, completed by its author, Enwerī, in 869/1464. Also, the Byzantine historians Gregoras and Cantacuzenus, his contemporaries, offer rich items of information on Umur, especially from 741/1341 onwards, when he was a participant in the Byzantine civil war. He received from his father the region of Smyrna, where he built a fleet and began the corsair warfare against the Christians which the Turkish maritime *beylik*s were waging. His activities disturbed the Westerners, especially the Venetians, and an alliance against the Turks, the *Sacra Liga*, was formed and a Latin fleet assembled in the Aegean Sea; after some successes against the Turks, it secured a great victory near Adramyttion (autumn 735). Umur soon began corsair activity again, and in 740/1340 was lord of the islands and the Aegean littoral, which paid him important annual tribute. His intervention in the Byzantine civil war (1341-7) as ally of Cantacuzenus was decisive for the latter's victory, and this increased his reputation as a warrior in all the West as well as in the Balkans. Meanwhile, the Turks' destructive raids once more led the Christian states to organise a Crusade whose main objective was Smyrna, and in October 1344 the Crusaders occupied the port and the lower citadel. In an attack launched against the Crusaders, Umur was killed by an arrow (April 1348).

Enwerī presented Umur as the ideal warrior for Islam. The Byzantine historians often call him "the barbarian", but Gregoras (ed. Bonn, ii, 649) remarks that "his conduct was not that of a barbarian" and that he was "civilised and close to Greek culture". An anonymous chronicle of Naples contains a description of Umur probably based on the impressions of Western ambassadors who visited him in 1346: seated on the ground, he ate a dish which resembled rice and milk; he was well-dressed, with an embroidered, purple silk robe; he used a golden spoon and all his tableware was valuable and adorned; he was stout and somewhat fat. He declared that he was not afraid of the Christians because he always had two powerful friends, *Guelfo e Gibellino*. We thus have some idea of the luxury of the court of the Aydïn-oghullarï (already noted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 733/1333), and can discern that they were well-informed about the political differentiations amongst the Christians.

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(Elizabeth A. Zachariadou)

UNAYF b. DalDja b. Ḳunāfa al-Kalbī (full genealogy in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 204, 428, and see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, i, Table 286, ii, 572), tribal chief of the Kalb in Syria [see KALB B. WABARA], *fl.* in the early part of the 7th century. His son Baḥdal was the father of Maysūn [*q.v.*], wife of the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya I and mother of Yazīd I, and a strenuous supporter of the Sufyānid cause.

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(Ed.)

ʿUNAYZA, an important town of the emirate of al-Ḳaṣīm in Nadjd, Saudi Arabia. The

town is situated about 350 km north-west of the capital, al-Riyāḍ (Riyadh) and 40 km south of the major town Burayda (Farsi, *National guide and atlas of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, Jeddah 1989, map 51-2; Hussein Hamza Bindagji, *Atlas of Saudi Arabia*, Oxford 1980, 39).

Undoubtedly an ancient site, the name occurs in pre- and early Islamic poetry: *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 211, 501; Imruʾ al-Ḳays, ed. Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, no. 34.3; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. A.A. Bevan, Leiden 1905-12, 3 vols., i, 334, ii, 964; Aws b. Ḥāritha in Hamdānī, 172. The dual form ʿUnayzat^{ayn} occurs in the *Muʿallaḳa* of ʿAntara, l.9, a form which both Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, 670, and Yāḳūt, iii, 739, accept as being the same place name as ʿUnayza. The latter tells us also that the town belongs to the B. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz, and the mediaeval geographers in general mention ʿUnayza as a watering-place "between al-Baṣra and Mecca". Al-Hamdānī says (178) that it belonged to Kalb.

ʿUnayza is mentioned briefly by Niebuhr (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 344), who describes it as situated ten days' journey from al-Baṣra. It is really only in the early 19th century, however, that accurate accounts of the area begin to appear and this as a direct result of the Turco-Egyptian operations there against the Wahhābīs. In 1816, Ibrāhīm Pasha, the eldest son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, advanced against the Wahhābīs under ʿAbd Allāh, son of Suʿūd, and ʿUnayza and soon the rest of al-Ḳaṣīm fell to the Turco-Egyptian forces. It was to be 1849 before Turco-Egyptian influence disappeared and the area once more was incorporated into the Wahhābī state.

Doughty, who was able to spend some months in ʿUnayza between April-July 1878, wrote at some length on the town at that time (*Arabia Deserta*, London 1936 ed., 357 ff., a chapter entitled "Aneyza" and one "Life in Aneyza"). He describes the town itself and its walls, the streets, the houses, the wells and water supply and the date groves around the town. He also paints a vivid picture of the life of the inhabitants, their qualities, manners and customs, their food and clothing, their religious and secular life. He emphasises the tribal nature of life in the town. Commerce was particularly well developed, and foreign as well as local merchants operated there; the town lay on the caravan route between al-Baṣra and Mecca. Doughty also mentions the artisans working in the town: agricultural labourers, masons, gold- and silversmiths and workers in fine crafts. From his account, it is clear that the town occupied an important position in the commercial and cultural life of Central Arabia. There is little information on ʿUnayza after Doughty other than a few brief notes of travellers.

ʿUnayza is now the second town of al-Ḳaṣīm after Burayda and the area is an important agricultural centre. Apart from the production of dates, poultry, cereals and wheat are the main products.

Bibliography: References are given above and the full list of sources mentioned in the *EI*[1] article should be noted.

(J. Tkatsch-[G.R. Smith])

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES [see al-imārāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muttaḥida, in Suppl.].

al-**UNḲALĪ, UNḲŪRIYYA** [see madjar].

ʿUNNĀB (a.) is the jujube, the fruit of the varieties of zizyphus cultivated in many countries with a rather warm climate, in particular *Zizyphus vulgaris* Lam. and *Zizyphus jujuba* Mill. (*Zizyphus sativa* Gaertn.), *Rhamnaceae*. Its name is connected with *ʿinab* because of its grape-like inflorescence and its sour-sweet taste. The synonym *zafzūf* and its diminutive *zufayzif* is probably to be derived from Greek ζίζυφον. It is already found in Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xv, 14, as *zizypha*, and lives on in Spanish *azofaifa* (Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leiden 1869, 228).

The most comprehensive compilation of the varieties of the jujube shrub is to be found in Ibn ʿAbdūn, *ʿUmdat al-ṭabīb*, ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. 3505 D, fol. 117b, ll. 16-26 (condensed in the following): a big bush with many varieties, wild and cultivated, white and red. There are five varieties of the red jujube: the first has fruits of the size of the hazelnut, is fleshy, has small seeds and grows in the region of Granada and Algeciras; the second is known as the "mountain jujube", has fruits the size of the bean (*al-bāḳillā*), is round, has a thin skin and many seeds which have an astringent effect; the third is known as "the thorny one" (*al-shawkī*), has fruits the size of peas, with large seeds and little flesh, is found frequently in Toledo, is effective against chronic diarrhoea originating from a weak stomach, and staunches the loss of blood (*nazf al-dam*); the fourth is called *al-burdjīn* (Romance, see A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, i, 92), has small fruits with a violent astringency, spreads on the ground and grows to the height of sitting (*ḳaʿda*); the fifth is *al-sidr*, cf. Renaud, *Tuḥfa*, nos. 293, 302.

The fruit contains a mucous substance and serves of old in medicine as a mucilaginosum against catarrh and as tonic. The fleshy, ripe and highly sweet jujubes are considered to be the best varieties. They calm down the "boiling of the blood" (*ghalayān al-dam*) and are effective against disorders of the bronchial tubes in that they eliminate the latter's hoarseness (*khushūna*). Further therapeutic properties concern the liver, the bladder and the kidneys, and several complaints of the abdomen. The leaves, too, are therapeutic: chewed, they are effective against offensive (*al-bashīʿa*, disgusting) drugs and against vomiting; crushed and sprinkled on ulcers, they are immediately effective.

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(A. Dietrich)

ʿUNṢUR (a., pl. *ʿanāṣir*), a term of Islamic philosophy.

As a general term, it may be translated as "origin", "family", "race", "constituent", "ingredient". Lane provides the example of *fulān^{un} karīm al-ʿunṣur*, "Such a one is of generous origin or race". The plural in modern Arabic may also be rendered as "nationalities". Philosophically, the word means "element" and is the equivalent of the Latin *elementum*, the Greek στοιχεῖον and its Arabic form (via Syriac) *usṭuḳuss*. It is a non-Ḳurʾānic word used to specify in Arabic the four Empedoclean elements of fire, air, water and earth. *ʿUnṣur* can also be translated as "matter"; thus we find that both *al-ʿunṣur al-awwal* and *al-hayūlā al-*

ūlā may be used in Arabic to render the Greek πρώτη ὕλη (prime matter), while *d̲j̲awhar ʿunṣurī* was a useful Arabic rendition of the Greek οὐσία ὑλική, a material substance.

The word *ʿunṣur* was a commonplace in the philosophical lexicon of the early and later Arab and Islamic philosophers. For example, al-Kindī's *Rasāʾil*, collected and edited by Abū Rīda, include the following titles (tr. Atiyeh): "On the exposition that the nature of the heavens is contrary to that of the four elements" and "On that element of the four elements that has colour by nature and causes colour in the others". Of the latter *Risāla*, Atiyeh observes: "Al-Kindī maintains that the earth is the only element with colour and that the colours we see in the other elements are there due to their mixture with earth." Elsewhere, al-Kindī also uses *ʿunṣur* in the sense of "matter". Some centuries later, S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] held that the Intellect (*al-ʿaḳl*) was "the highest element" (*al-ʿunṣur al-aʿlā*). By contrast, Ibn Rus̲h̲d used the word in a way which has been variously translated as "basic principle" or "ultimate basis of existence". Thus in his commentary on the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, we read: "Also, since a thing can be resolved into its elements, substance would sometimes be resolved into relation and relation into substance; this is necessary in the kind of thing which is basic principle (*ʿunṣur*), not in that which is form" (tr. Genequand). Also, elsewhere he observed in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* that "[The philosophers] believed therefore that all active and passive bodies are composed of two natures, one active and the other passive, and they called the active nature form, quiddity and substance, and the passive part subject, ultimate basis of existence (*ʿunṣur*) and matter" (tr. Van den Bergh).

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See also HAYŪLĀ. (I.R. NETTON)

ʿUNṢUR AL-MAʿĀLĪ KAY KĀʾŪS [see KAY KĀʾŪS B. ISKANDAR].

ʿUNṢURĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ḤASAN b. Aḥmad, Persian poet at the G̲h̲aznawid court during the early 5th/11th century.

The external information about his life is mostly anecdotal. It is said that he was born at Balk̲h̲, became an orphan at an early age and in his youth earned a living as a merchant. A story, told in some sources, about a robbery during one of his travels was mistakingly associated with him (cf. Storey-de Blois, v/1, 234-5). His career as a poet began under the patronage of the Amīr Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr (d. 412/1021-2), the military governor (*sipahsālār*) of his brother Sultan Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] in K̲h̲urāsān, who introduced ʿUnṣurī to the sultan's court at G̲h̲azna. Both Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Dawlats̲h̲āh state that ʿUnṣurī served Maḥmūd as his *amīr* or *malik al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ* [*q.v.*], a function which included the supervision of all the poets attending the court. He was also admitted to the sultan's inner circle as a drinking companion (*nadīm* [*q.v.*]). Two particularly famous anecdotes tell how he and other poets tested Firdawsī's poetic skills (first recorded by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī) and how, after the favourite slave Ayāz [*q.v.*] had cut his beautiful locks, he was able to change Maḥmūd's bad mood by means of an improvised quatrain (Niẓāmī-yi ʿArūḍī, 55-7). The lavish rewards which he earned with his art made him a very rich man. He and the Sāmānid poet Rūdakī [*q.v.*] are often named together as the two most successful Persian court poets ever. A contemporary confirmation of his predominant position among the G̲h̲aznawid court poets of the time is the eulogy which Manūčihrī [*q.v.*] wrote for him. On the other hand, his status was not entirely unchallenged, as appears from an exchange of polemic poems with G̲h̲aḍāʾirī, another contemporary poet (cf. Riḍā Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, ii, 921-9). ʿUnṣurī remained active at least till the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* celebration of 422/1031, when Masʿūd I rewarded him with a thousand gold coins (Bayhaḳī, ed. G̲h̲anī and Fayyāḍ, 274, ed. Nafīsī, i, 329). In an elegy on the death of Farruk̲h̲ī [*q.v.*], which occurred in 429/1037-8, the poet Labībī [*q.v.*] called ʿUnṣurī an old man (Rādūyānī, 32 of the printed Persian text). The dating of his death in 431/1039-40 by Dawlats̲h̲āh and Riḍā Ḳulī K̲h̲ān seems therefore likely, though the year 441/1049-50 has also been mentioned by Taḳī al-Dīn Kās̲h̲ānī and other *tad̲h̲kira* writers (cf. A. Sprenger, *A catalogue of the... manuscripts of the libraries of the King of Oudh*, i, Calcutta 1854, 528).

According to Dawlats̲h̲āh, ʿUnṣurī wrote 30,000 distichs. If this is a correct estimate, little more than one-tenth of his work has survived in various selections, none of which are older than the Ṣafawid period. Additionally, a number of fragments and single lines have been preserved in anthologies and sources which quote them in evidence. Notable among the latter are the rhetorical textbook *Tard̲j̲umān al-balāg̲h̲a* by Rādūyānī [*q.v.*] and the lexicon *Lug̲h̲at al-Furs* by Asadī [*q.v.*], both compiled in the late 5th/11th century, and the anthology *Muʾnis al-aḥrār* of D̲j̲ād̲j̲armī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The data concerning the textual tradition point to a changing pattern in the reception of his poetry. There can be no doubt about the great influence that ʿUnṣurī exerted on Persian court poets of the G̲h̲aznawid and early Sald̲j̲ūḳ period. But already K̲h̲āḳānī (d. 595/1199 [*q.v.*]) criticised the one-sidedness of ʿUnṣurī's panegyrics because of his neglect of the loftier themes favoured by later poets (*Dīwān*, 926-7). A further indication of the decline of his reputation is that in the *Muʿd̲j̲am* of S̲h̲ams-i Ḳays (*fl.* early 7th/13th century [*q.v.*]), the *ḳaṣīda*s of Anwarī [*q.v.*], instead of those of ʿUnṣurī, have become the most important source of examples for the use of rhetorical figures. A remarkable revival occurred during the neo-classical period in the history of Persian poetry (mid-18th to mid-20th centuries) when he was appreciated again as one of major representatives of the so-called K̲h̲urāsānī style. In recent literary criticism, however, his poetry has been condemned for being too rational and adding little to the conventional imagery of the Arabic and Persian tradition (see especially, S̲h̲afīʿī Kadkanī, 526-39).

The lyrical poetry which is still extant consists

mainly of *ḳaṣīda*s and *rubāʿiyyāt*. Most panegyrics are addressed to Sultan Maḥmūd and Amīr Naṣr. Only a few poems to other patrons are known, among whom are Sultan Masʿūd I and the *wazīr* Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī [*q.vv.*]. His style shows a great dexterity in the construction of panegyrical reasonings. Several poems are structured according to rhetorical devices such as question and answer (*su'āl wa dj̲awāb*) and the enumeration of qualities in pairs (*taḳsīm al-ṣifāt*). His themes are characteristic of court poetry and include the celebration of Sultan Maḥmūd's victories. ʿUnṣurī also had a reputation as a writer of anacreontic verse, specimens of which are to be found in the *nasīb*s of his panegyrics.

ʿAwfī makes mention of three romantic *mat̲h̲nawī*s dedicated by ʿUnṣurī to Sultan Yamīn al-Dawla Maḥmūd and named collectively *K̲h̲izāna Yamīn al-Dawla*. Their titles refer to the pairs of lovers featuring in them: *Wāmiḳ u ʿAd̲h̲rā*, *K̲h̲ing-but u Surk̲h̲-but* ("White Idol and Red Idol", presumably inspired by the statues of the Buddha at Bāmiyān) and *S̲h̲ād-bahr u ʿAyn al-ḥayāt*. In an inventory of his own works, al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] refers to translations (presumably into Arabic) made of the same three stories (*Risāla li 'l-Bīrūnī fī fihrist kutub Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1936, 39). No more than a few scattered lines from these romances have been preserved. However, *ca.* 1950, sheets from an old manuscript of *Wāmiḳ u ʿAd̲h̲rā* were retrieved by Mawlawī Muḥammad S̲h̲afīʿ. The Persian poem appeared to be founded on a Greek story. T. Hägg and B. Utas have identified the latter with the Hellenistic novel of Metiochus and Parthenope, which is also only preserved in fragments.

The *Dīwān* has been printed several times since the 19th century. The most recent editions were published by Yaḥyā Ḳarīb (ed. Tehran 1323 *s̲h̲*./1944-5, ²1341 *s̲h̲*./1962-3) and Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāḳī (ed. Tehran 1342 *s̲h̲*./1963, ²1363 *s̲h̲*./1984). The latter is based mainly on *Madjmaʿ al-ḳaṣā'id*, an anthology of *ḳaṣīda*s compiled by Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1022/1613-4), who also wrote an introduction to the section dealing with ʿUnṣurī (cf. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, introd., *Dīwān*, ix-x; see also A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i tad̲h̲kirahā-yi fārsī*, Tehran 1348 *s̲h̲*./1969, i, 554-5).

Bibliography: Manūčihrī, *Dīwān*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1347 *s̲h̲*./1968, 70-78; Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān al-balāg̲h̲a*, ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949; Niẓāmī-yi ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, Tehran 1955-7; K̲h̲āḳānī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḍ. Sadjdjādī, ²Tehran 1357 *s̲h̲*./1978, 926-7; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 29-32; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i guzīda*, i, 822-3; Dj̲ādjarmī, *Mu'nis al-aḥrār fī daḳā'iḳ al-as̲h̲ʿār*, i, Tehran 1337 *s̲h̲*./1958, 129, 214-5; Dawlats̲h̲āh, 44-7; Riḍā Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā'*, ed. by M. Muṣaffā, Tehran 1339 *s̲h̲*./1960, ii, 897-921; D̲h̲. Ṣafā, *Tārīk̲h̲-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, i, ⁴Tehran 1342/1963, 559-67; Maulavi M. Shafi (ed.), *Wāmiq-o-Ad̲h̲rā*, Lahore 1967; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 174-5; M.-N.O. Osmanov, *Častotniy slovar' Unsuri*, Moscow 1970 (a statistical lexicon based on Dabīr-Siyāḳī's first edition of the *Dīwān*); B. Furūzānfarr, *Suk̲h̲an wa suk̲h̲anwarān*, ²Tehran 1350 *s̲h̲*./1971, 112-21; B. Utas, *Did ʿAdhrā remain a virgin?* in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxxiii-xxxv (1984), 429-41; idem, *The ardent lover and the virgin—a Greek romance in Muslim lands*, in *Acta Orientalia Ac. Scientiarum Hungaricae*, xlviii (1995), 229-39; M.R. S̲h̲afīʿī Kadkanī, *Ṣuwar-i k̲h̲iyāl dar s̲h̲iʿr-i fārsī*, ³Tehran 1366 *s̲h̲*./1987; E.E. Bertel's, *K̲h̲akim ʿUnsuri iz Balk̲h̲a*, in *Izbrannïe trudï. Istoriya literaturï i kul'turï Irana*, ed. G. Aliev and N. Prigarina, Moscow 1988, 8-206; Storey-de Blois, v/1, London 1992, 232-7 (with further bibliographical references).

(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

ʿUNWĀN (a., pl. *ʿanāwīn*), originally means "trace, sign, indication", from one of the senses of the root *ʿ-n-w* "to show, set forth a thing" (Lane, 2178-9), but it has come to denote the address or superscription at the head of a document.

1. In correspondence and diplomatic

Here it denotes the direction or address, part of the introduction of a document. See for this diplomatic and inshā', and add to the *Bibls.* there *EIr*, art. *Alqāb va ʿanāwīn*, esp. ii. *ʿAnāwīn* (A. Ašraf).

2. In manuscript production

Here it is commonly used for the title of a composition and is thus one of the terms used for an illuminated frontispiece or headpiece, with or without the title of the book inscribed in it. According to various Arabic and Persian sources, the other technical terms used are: *tardjama*, *ṭurra*, *ṭug̲h̲rā*, *sarlawḥ*, *dībādja*, *s̲h̲amsa* and *turandj*. However, there is no consensus as to the exact meaning of some of these terms. Apart from *s̲h̲amsa* and *turandj*, which are medallions of round (circular) or oval shape, the other terms may refer to any type of illumination preceding the main text or a section of it. Thus Akimushkin and Ivanov use the term *ʿunwān* for the illumination of the upper part of fol. 1b and *sarlawḥ* for the entire page, whereas for B.W. Robinson, *ʿunwān* is an illuminated one- or double-page opening, and *sarlawḥ* confined to the upper part of the page.

A composition or text begins, in the large majority of Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish manuscript codices, on the verso of the first folio. In those manuscripts copied for regular scholarly use, the recto of the first folio (known as *ẓahr* or *ẓahriyya*), as well as the wide upper margin of the verso, were usually left blank. This seems to have been a practice taken over from the preparation of documents. Since titles of works were often embodied in the introductory matter or preface of compositions and not infrequently rubricated, there was less need to repeat this information anywhere else. Nevertheless, these two large blank areas in the codex often "begged" to be filled in with writing and decoration. Decorated titles, located in various forms of frontispieces, began to appear most probably in the 5th/11th century and were limited to de luxe copies produced for wealthy private patrons and for major (usually royal) libraries. One of the earliest known illuminated headpieces carrying the title of the book can be found in a copy of *Kitāb K̲h̲alḳ al-Nabī wa-k̲h̲ulḳih* (Leiden Univ. Library, no. 437) executed for the G̲h̲aznawid *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ras̲h̲īd (r. ?440-3/?1049-52). The decoration in these "secular" manuscripts was modelled on the illumination employed in the production of copies of the Ḳur'ān and consisted of geometric, including architectural, and vegetal motifs. The earliest inscription encountered in frontispieces of illuminated Ḳur'āns is *innahu la-Ḳur'ān Karīm* (LVI, 77). It is most probably this title-inscription which lies at the origin of illuminated titles in non-Ḳur'ānic codices.

The study of the non-figurative illumination of non-Ḳur'ānic manuscripts has been greatly neglected in comparison with the study of painted illustrations. Apart from the work of R. Ettinghausen and, later, Akimushkin and Ivanov (see below), no other systematic study has yet been done in this field, even though most major collections of Islamic manuscripts would count a sizeable number of illuminated pieces among them. Hence e.g. the collection of some 390

Persian manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, as described by F. Richard (see below), has 89 illuminated manuscripts from the 7th/13th to the 11th/17th centuries. Among them there are six medallions, nine double-page illuminations and 74 codices having one or more headpieces (*sarlawḥ*). In 28 cases the titles appear in the illuminated pieces. Except for one case involving a medallion (no. 14), all the other titles are inscribed in cartouches within headpieces. In 18 cases the inscription in the cartouche is the *basmala* [*q.v.*] or some other invocation.

From an analysis of the above and other collections, three major types of illuminated decorations which carried the title of the book there emerge:

1. "*Title-page*" *illumination* (fol. 1a). Here, several varieties are known:

(a) A large rectangular panel, composed of several constituent pieces (occupying most of the page). It is divided into an upper piece; a medallion or rosette occupying the centre; and a bottom piece, although the latter is not always present. The title, in most cases, is placed in the upper piece but sometimes in the medallion. The medallion is more often used as an ex-libris, usually beginning with the expression *bi-rasm* (i.e. "on the order of, for") or it contains the authorship statement. The rectangular panels occupying the large part of the front page (fol. 1a) were very popular from the 7th/13th to the 9th/15th centuries in Egypt, Syria and Turkey, and Persia. Some of the best examples of this type of illumination are illustrated in al-Munadjdjid's work (see *Bibl.*). In Maghribī manuscripts, the full-page panel carries the *basmala* and *taṣliya* (upper portion) and the *ḥamdala* [*q.v.*] and *taṣliya* (lower portion), the centre (usually a medallion) being occupied by the title or statement of authorship (*ḳāla fulān ibn fulān*).

(b) Various geometrical forms usually occupying the upper part of the page. Here we find a square or rectangular panel(s) enclosing the title and often the author's name, or an upper panel on its own or with a medallion underneath.

(c) A medallion of a circular or oval form, often with pendants and scalloped edges or a pointed star, on its own.

2. *Double-page opening illumination* (fols. 1b-2a). In most cases this consists of identical decorations arranged symmetrically,. Here the title is inscribed in the inside (cartouche) of the headpiece or the upper panel.

3. *A headpiece* (fol. 1b) *above the text proper*, surrounded by a frame or a thick rule-border running down the page to enclose the text. Headpieces were executed in a variety of shapes and sizes. Here we encounter e.g. one or two rectangular panels placed one above the other, a rectangular panel with a decorative band above or a rectangular panel surmounted by triangular, W-shape and dome (semi-circular) pieces. Often the cartouche within the panel is left blank or carries the *basmala* or some other inscription in the form of an invocation. In Maghribī manuscripts, the *basmala* and *taṣliya* are inscribed in the upper part of the piece, above the main panel or cartouche, while the cartouche proper carries the statement *ḳāla fulān ibn fulān*.

As regards the colour spectrum of illuminated titles, we find that characters in gold, often outlined in black ink, predominate. Other pigments, such as e.g. white, contrasting with a blue, red or even green background, were also often used. The scripts employed for this purpose were either Kūfic (often stylised and floriated), or *thuluth*/*tawḳīʿ*-based. Illuminated titles in Maghribī manuscripts were calligraphed almost invariably in the so-called *al-khaṭṭ al-mashriḳī*.

Bibliography: R. Ettinghausen, *Manuscript illumination*, in *A Survey of Persian art*, v, 1937-74; S.M. Stern, *A manuscript from the library of the Ghaznawid Amīr ʿAbd al-Rashīd*, in R. Pinder-Wilson (ed.), *Paintings from Islamic lands*, Oxford 1969, 7-31; O.F. Akimushkin and A.A. Ivanov, *The art of illumination*, in B. Gray (ed.), *The arts of the book in Central Asia, 14th-16th centuries*, Paris and London 1979, 35-57; F. Richard, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, Paris 1989; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabī al-makhṭūṭ ilā 'l-ḳarn al-ʿāshir al-hidjrī*, Cairo 1960; Mohamed Sijelmassi, *Enluminures des manuscrits royaux au Maroc*, Paris 1987; F. Déroche and M.S. Simpson, *Painted decoration*, in *The dictionary of art*, ed. J. Turner, New York 1996, xvi, 288-93; B.W. Robinson, *Islamic painting and the arts of the book*, London 1976; D. Duda, *Islamische Handschriften. I. Persische Handschriften*, Vienna 1993, *II. Arabische Handschriften*, Vienna 1992. (A. Gacek)

2. Literary aspects of book titles

During the first four Islamic centuries, the titles given to Arabic literary products (books and briefer treatises, henceforth "books") tend to be matter-of-fact to the point of clumsiness; cf. the many thousands of items listed in the indices of Sezgin, *GAS*. With books from this early period, generally preserved only in later manuscripts, the title may be a later addition; accordingly, we cannot be sure at what time it became customary to provide books with titles. That at first a title was not considered indispensable is witnessed by the fact that Sībawayh's all-important grammar of Arabic produced towards the end of the 2nd/8th century has never received a title, being simply designated as *Kitāb Sībawayh*. It must also be remembered that, even for later times, it is often impossible to decide whether a book title was chosen by the author or added by a later scribe, because the mention of the title in the body of the book (especially in the preface, if there is one) is, although not uncommon, by no means the rule (and autographic manuscripts are rare exceptions). Also, it is of very common occurrence that manuscripts of one and the same book bear different titles, in which case all, or some, or none, may go back to the author.

Soon after the re-emergence, in the middle of the 4th/10th century, of rhymed prose (*sadjʿ*) as the principal formal means of embellishing prose texts, it became standard procedure to provide a book with a title exhibiting at least one instance of rhyming. These rhymed book titles never totally replaced unadorned prose titles, but became so common that they may be considered as typical. The popularity of providing books with rhymed titles began to wane only during the 19th century; at present this usage has become obsolete, albeit not wholly extinct.

The information given below stems from a survey of 1,690 titles culled from Brockelmann (all subsequent page numbers refer to Brockelmann, II) belonging to the 5th-12th/11th-18th centuries; cf. A. Ambros, *Beobachtungen zu Aufbau und Funktionen der gereimten klassisch-arabischen Buchtitel*, in *WZKM*, lxxx (1990), 13-57.

The syntactic structure of the title is almost invariably that of a noun-phrase or a series of noun-phrases linked by *wa-* "and" (e.g. *Mūḳiḍ al-adhhān wa-mūḳiẓ al-wasnān* "Kindler of the intellects and awakener of the sleeper", 30), into which prepositional phrases are frequently embedded (e.g. *Iʿlām al-sādjid bi-aḥkām al-masādjid* "Information of the prostrate concerning the rules of the mosques", 112). Extremely common (found in more than half of the titles surveyed) is the case of a dichotomous title consisting of two noun-phrases,

the latter of which is dependent on the preposition *fī* "concerning, about". In this case the two phrases are semantically and syntactically independent, the second phrase forming a sort of subtitle (so that *fī* must by no means be misunderstood as "in"). While the second phrase gives an indication of the subject matter of the book, the first phrase, the title in the narrower sense, is meant to generate, by mentioning things that are beautiful, pleasant, valuable, or helpful, a positive feeling towards the book, thereby enhancing its "image" and publicity. Three examples: *al-Djawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya* "The brilliant jewels: about the classes of the Ḥanafīs" (97), *Ḳaṭr al-sayl fī amr al-khayl* "Droplets of the torrent: about the matter of racing horses" (88); *al-Djawhar al-fard fīmā yukhālif fīh al-ḥurr al-ʿabd* "The unique jewel: concerning the differences between freeman and slave" (119). The leading phrases, and especially their head-nouns, tend to become stereotyped (in the survey, the two most popular head-nouns were found to be *durr* "pearls" with 59 occurrences and *tuḥfa* "gem" with 49). The titles tend to be rather short, the average number of nouns in the titles surveyed amounting to 4.75. Of course, the various rhetorical devices employed in poetry and rhymed prose (such as *muwāzana, djinās, tarṣīʿ, iltizām*) are all commonly found in rhymed book titles.

Bibliography: The Arabic book title has so far been very little studied. In addition to the survey mentioned above, see A. Carmona González, *La estructura del título en los libros árabes medievales*, in *Estudios Románicos*, iv (1987-9), 181-7.

(A.A. Ambros)

ʿUNWĀN, MUḤAMMAD RIḌĀ, also known by his surname Čalabī, 17th century Persian poet, died probably between 1078/1667 and 1083/1672. Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, in his *tadhkira*, includes the poet among those of Ādharbāydjān, and refers to him as a native of Tabrīz (*Ātashkada*, i, ed. Ḥasan Sādāt Nāṣirī, Tehran 1336/1957, 132). Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī reports having met ʿUnwān in Mashhad, where the latter's father, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Tabrīzī, a wealthy individual, had sought residence (*Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1361/1982, 396-7). Not much is known regarding ʿUnwān's life except that towards the end of his life he gained nearness to Dhu 'l-Faḳār Khān, governor of Ḳandahār. He died at that place; his body was transferred to Mashhad, and buried there in the vicinity of Imām Riḍā's mausoleum.

Reports indicate that ʿUnwān left behind a collection of poems containing some 5,000 couplets. However, Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, who has made a study of the poet's manuscripts, expresses his inability to find a complete copy of his poems (*Nashriyya-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt-i Tabrīz*, xi/4 [1338/1969-70], 402-3). In his poetic style, ʿUnwān seems to have been influenced by Ṣā'ib, whom he praises in some of his verses, and who is said to have met him in Mashhad.

Bibliography: Given in the text, but see also Muḥammad ʿAlī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbāydjān*, Tehran 1314/1935-6; ʿAzīz Dawlātābādī, *Sukhanwarān-i Ādharbāydjān*, Tabrīz 1355/1976; Muḥammad Dayhīm, *Tadhkira-yi shuʿarā-yi Ādharbāydjān*, ii, Tabrīz 1367/1988-9. (Munibur Rahman)

URA-TUBĀ [see Suppl.].

ʿURĀBĪ PASHA, Aḥmad, Egyptian nationalist leader and army officer, d. 1911. He was born in 1841, the son of an Egyptian *shaykh*. He entered the Cairo Military Academy in 1854, and after graduating, rose to the rank of colonel (*ḳā'im-maḳām*), being the first native Egyptian to reach that rank. He served in several capacities in the army and took part in the Egyptian campaign in Abyssinia in 1875.

In Egypt, the Khedive Ismāʿīl [see ismāʿīl pasha] was leading the country into bankruptcy with his profligate ways. A number of army officers formed a group to rally round and express their discontent with the Khedive. ʿUrābī probably supported (if not joined) them. In his memoirs, he certainly writes of Ismāʿīl knowing of their discontent and of his taking measures to combat it. The aim of the group was to destroy foreign influence in Egypt and to further their interests in the army. In February 1879 army officers protested to the Minister of Finance with a demand for the reinstatement of their pay which had been halved.

Ismāʿīl was succeeded by Tawfīḳ [see tawfīḳ pasha] in June 1879. The situation was critical for Egypt. The country was declared insolvent, the Assembly was seeking greater powers and the army was discontented. The history of the next two years is of a struggle between the Khedive, civilian politicians and the army with the European powers as virtual arbiters. The army under ʿUrābī gradually became stronger and more extreme in its demands. Tawfīḳ was in a weak position and sought to bolster his authority by appointing a strong Prime Minister, Riyāḍ Pāshā, who had served under Ismāʿīl.

Members of the Assembly held secret meetings with ʿUrābī and others opposed to Tawfīḳ, and in November they issued a manifesto which demanded more control over the Khedive and the curbing of European influence. Tawfīḳ opposed these demands and hit back at the army by limiting military service to four years. The ʿUrābī faction took this as an attack on their promotion prospects and demanded the dismissal of the War Minister, ʿUthmān Rifḳī, a Circassian who, they believed, was working against them. In his place they wanted Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī [*q.v.*], an ambitious Egyptian officer who was willing to support ʿUrābī. Tawfīḳ dismissed the army demands and in February 1881 ordered the arrest of the rebellious leaders. The army, on learning of this, and whilst ʿUrābī and two other colonels were being court-martialled, stormed the Ministry of War and released their officers. The Khedive was forced to dismiss Rifḳī, and al-Bārūdī became Minister of War. He tried to satisfy army demands—more pay, better promotion prospects—but by now some of the troops had become too rebellious to control. They mutinied in Alexandria in July and al-Bārūdī was sacked. Army unrest grew, and a large demonstration was organised in September to put new demands before Tawfīḳ.

ʿUrābī led this movement, claiming that he was acting as a national leader. Tawfīḳ gave in, Muḥammad Sharīf returning as Prime Minister with al-Bārūdī as War Minister with ʿUrābī as his deputy. ʿUrābī continued to agitate against the policies of Sharīf, and was virtual spokesman for a national revolution against the Khedive and European influence, addressing crowds and threatening to use force to achieve the nation's goals. Sharīf tried to bolster the authority of the government, but a joint Anglo-French note of January 1882 assuring the Khedive of their support worsened the situation. It annoyed the army nationalists who, with ʿUrābī at their head, were strong enough to outface the Khedive. Sharīf was dismissed and al-Bārūdī was appointed Prime Minister with ʿUrābī as War Minister. Together they forced through army promotions and began the attempt to remove European influence from Egypt. The rift between Tawfīḳ and ʿUrābī widened. Britain and France demanded that

the latter be dismissed and threatened to send a naval fleet to guarantee the Khedive's safety.

ʿUrābī and the Egyptian government resigned in protest against Tawfīk's reliance on Europe. ʿUrābī and his troops surrounded the ʿAbdīn Palace and successfully demanded that ʿUrābī be re-appointed as War Minister. Tawfīk felt so threatened that he left for Alexandria and the protection of the European fleet, and ʿUrābī assumed virtual control of the country as the leader who, it was hoped, would expel the foreigner from Egypt. Riots broke out in Alexandria, and Britain demanded that measures be taken to protect both its citizens and the Khedive, insisting also that ʿUrābī be dismissed. The Khedive resisted these demands and was accused by the British of not taking strong enough measures to calm the situation in Alexandria. In July 1882 the British fleet bombarded the city; ʿUrābī ordered mobilisation and attempted to depose the Khedive.

The British occupied the city and saved Tawfīk, who ordered the dismissal of ʿUrābī, who was attempting to raise the Egyptians against the British and the Khedive. The Egyptian army was no match for British troops, who quickly occupied Ismāʿīliyya and crushed ʿUrābī and his forces at Tall al-Kabīr in September 1882. ʿUrābī surrendered and was put on trial for treason against the Khedive, found guilty and exiled to Ceylon. He was allowed to return to Egypt in 1901 but took no further part in politics, and died in obscurity in 1911.

He is now regarded in Egypt as the first of those native Egyptian leaders (with Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) who opposed the foreign occupation of their country.

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(D. Hopwood)

URAL RIVER [see yayïḳ].

URDJUDHŪNA, also Urshudhūna (with variants: Ardjudhūna, -idhūna, Arshidhūna, etc.), a town and mountain stronghold (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, Pl. II) in al-Andalus. It corresponds to the modern Archidona (lat. 27° 06' N., long. 4° 23' W.) in the province of Malaga and is situated some 37 km/22 miles to the north of the provincial capital Malaga, near the source of the Guadalhorce and between Antequera and Loja on the Río Genil. Its pre-Islamic name, said by Simonet (p. 124) to derive from *Esteleduna*, meaning "olive-oil factory" (an Iberian word?), is still not known for certain.

It was in 92/711, shortly after their invasion of Spain that the Muslims took Archidona and, possibly for good strategic reasons, made it their capital of the mountainous province of Rayya (or, as some have it, Rayyu), a region roughly corresponding to the modern province of Malaga [see mālaḳa]. Almost two centuries later, it played a significant part in the rebellions fomented by the *muwallad* ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], leader, from his headquarters in the stronghold of Bobastro [see bubashtrū, in Suppl.], of Andalusian resistance to the Umayyads of Cordova from 267/880 until his death in 305/917, when it fell to his sons to pursue his cause in a struggle that ended only with the surrender of Bobastro to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 315/17 January 928.

From the effects of the great Andalusian rebellion Archidona never fully recovered. It was to lose its status as provincial capital to the expanding and increasingly prosperous Malaga, which duly regained the importance it had enjoyed before the advent of Islam.

In later times as the boundaries of al-Andalus receded, Archidona came to serve a new purpose as a frontier fortress (*ḥiṣn*) in the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada [see naṣrids]. From this period there survives an interesting legal instrument dated 856/1452, making the inhabitants of the fortresses beneficiaries of a *wakf* (Seco, 12-14). Be that as it may, on 30 September 1462 Archidona was taken by Don Pedro Girón, Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava, and thereafter remained—at times uneasily—in Christian hands.

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(C.F. Seybold-[J.D. Latham])

URDJŪZA [see radjaz].

URDŪ, the premier language of Islamic religious and cultural expression in modern South Asia. In its contemporary significance in the wider Islamic world, it may be ranked immediately after Arabic and English. Urdū is the national language of Pākistān and it has official status under the eighth schedule of the Constitution in India, the home of the majority of its native speakers. Its great geographical range is now extended to the South Asian diaspora, notably in Arabia and the Gulf states, in the United Kingdom and in North America. The first part of this article traces the peculiarly complex historical evolution and current sociolinguistic situation of Urdū, then outlines some features of the language most likely to be of interest to Islamicists. The second part is intended to supplement previous articles on individual genres and authors by providing a summary overview of Urdū literature, whose main phases of development are characterised with reference to leading authors and the defining genres of belles-lettres.

1. Language

Urdū is most simply defined by its combination of a vocabulary very extensively derived from Persian and Arabic with a linguistic base which is firmly Indo-Aryan in terms of its core word-stock as well as its phonology, morphology and syntax.

This combination clearly owes its genesis to the peculiar circumstances of the Muslim dominion over the Indian subcontinent, which was both profound and long-lasting without ever completely attaining either religious or linguistic hegemony. Urdū may be said, however, to have become fully self-defined only when this dominion was eventually ended by the British conquest of India, resulting in the most sustained exposure of any part of the *dār al-islām* to Western colonial rule. It was then that the constellation

of forces between the colonial state, the Muslims of South Asia and the majority Hindū population had profound linguistic as well as political effects. These have endured since 1947 and continue to shape the profile of Urdū in Pākistān and in independent India. Modern definitions of Urdū and understandings of its history are consequently liable to be confused by the partisan views characteristically associated with language issues in modern South Asia, particularly when, as in this instance, these are intimately related to questions of religious identity. Besides these factors and the difficulty of assembling and analysing the necessary textual materials, the need for further caution is signalled by the inconsistency with which overlapping labels are applied to overlapping varieties of language, in particular to the highly-charged modern distinction between Urdū and Hindī [*q.v.*].

Throughout the period of Muslim rule in South Asia, the principal written standard language was Persian, with the numerous Indo-Aryan languages [see HIND. iii. Languages] having rather restricted literary functions, typically as vehicles of popular religious verse. Little concerned with distinctions between the genetically related indigenous languages of North India, most Muslim writers were content to refer to them simply as "Hindī" or "Hindawī", i.e. "Indian" as opposed to Persian (or Arabic). These labels are used indifferently not just for varieties of language which would now be described as early forms of Urdū or Hindī, but also for others which are clearly different, e.g. Pand̲j̲ābī or Rād̲j̲asthānī. Contemporary terminology is thus no guide to mediaeval linguistic realities, which must be reconstructed largely by supposition from such evidence as is available. Fragments of speech embedded in Ṣūfī *malfūẓāt* and other Persian texts from northern India are usually much distorted by the scribal tradition, but are sufficient to support the commonsense inference from historical data that the Muslim conquests had brought into being a spoken *lingua franca* which incorporated many Persian loanwords and was probably based chiefly on the Khaṛī bōlī dialect of the Dihlī region. Although this language later achieved some literary currency in the popular verse of the *nirgun bhakti* tradition of Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Nānak [*q.v.*], it was otherwise largely disregarded before the 18th century in northern India. The courtly literature produced under Mug̲h̲al patronage was chiefly in Persian, but also included the cultivation of "Hindī" poetry in the then fashionable Brad̲j̲ bhās̲h̲ā, distinguished where necessary as "Bhāk(h)ā".

The situation was, however, quite different in the Dakhan [*q.v.*], where the conquests of the Dihlī Sulṭāns [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE] in the early 14th century had established a Muslim colonial presence in the linguistically alien territory of Telugu and other Dravidian languages. This presence found its linguistic expression in the successor states of the Bahmanī kingdom, at Bīd̲j̲āpūr under the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhīs (895-1097/1490-1686 [*q.v.*]) and at Golkonḍa under the Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī dynasty (918-1098/1512-1687 [*q.v.*]). As a clearly deliberate cultural policy, these rulers patronised not only Persian letters but also the production of an extensive literature in the language of (northern) India, then usually termed "Hindī", but which is normally distinguished by modern authorities as "Dakhinī" (in Urdū more usually written "Dakanī"). This largely poetic literature in Classical Dakhinī Urdū (CDU) provides most of the available direct evidence for the earlier history of the language. This evidence is not altogether straightforward, since CDU is attested in a wide range of texts dating principally from the 17th century (although including significant earlier examples), whose language is far from being fully systematic in orthography and is distinguished from later varieties of Urdū both by archaisms and by innovations peculiar to itself.

The quite broad dialectal base on which CDU collectively rests has also permitted the development of theories, usually perceived to carry a more or less explicit modern contemporary relevance, which suggest a more westerly origin for this older Urdū than the Khaṛī bōlī which underlies the modern standard. Thus the relative prevalence of forms cognate with modern Pand̲j̲ābī encouraged S̲h̲ērānī to suggest that Urdū could be dated back to the settled Muslim military presence first established in northern India by the G̲h̲aznawids of Lāhawr. This theory naturally continues to enjoy considerable popularity in Pākistān, from whose territory it suggests the national language first sprang, whereas in India greater favour is given to Masʿūd Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān's later suggestion of an origin in Hariyānawī, a geographical compromise between Pand̲j̲ābī and Khaṛī bōlī which does more convenient justice to the variety of the CDU evidence. But modern dialect studies are not always sufficiently precise to support any definitive explanation of Urdū origins, and the task is further obscured by the phonetic imprecision of the Perso-Arabic script and by the scarcity of critically edited texts in CDU or in other relevant literary traditions.

The conquest of the Dakhan under Awrangzīb (r. 1658-1707) was followed around 1700 by a major literary and linguistic shift away from the poetry in CDU cultivated alongside Persian in Bīd̲j̲āpūr and Golkonḍa. The Mug̲h̲al court now for the first time itself became the centre of a poetic literature in Urdū. This northern Early Modern Urdū (EMU) is sometimes referred to as "Hindī" by the writers of the late Mug̲h̲al period, but they more commonly term it "Rēk̲h̲ta" (i.e. "mixed [language]"). It is only later that the term "Urdū" itself first comes to be used as the name of the language, as a shorthand for the earlier *zabān-i urdū-i muʿallā* "language of the Imperial Camp" (< Turkish *ordu*), the first such attested use being in a verse of Muṣḥafī (1750-1824 [*q.v.*]), *kahẽ̄ kis mu̇̃h sē ham ay Muṣḥafī urdū hamārī hay* "How can I dare to assert, Muṣḥafī, that Urdū is my language?", Bailey, 1938, 3). Cultivated first in Dihlī, then also in Lakhna'ū (Lakhnaw), capital of the Nawwāb-Wazīrs of Awadh, Urdū came increasingly to replace Persian as the preferred vehicle for courtly poetry, doubtless in part as a nativist reaction to the devastation wrought by the Persian-speaking Nādir S̲h̲āh and his successors. The concern of the early apologists for Urdū as a poetic medium seriously able to rival Persian, like the influential K̲h̲ān-i Ārzū (d. 1756), had the paradoxical effect of bringing it into closer line with the latter. Nevertheless, the EMU of 18th-century poetry, although considerably closer than CDU to the modern standard, shows a number of archaic features and others now regarded as vulgarisms as the result of their successful proscription by later linguistic purists (see further under 2. below). These more extreme Persianising trends reached their apogee in early 19th-century Lakhna'ū under the poet Nāsik̲h̲ (d. 1838 [*q.v.*]) and his contemporaries. Thus by the time of the collapse of the Kings of Awadh in Lakhna'ū in 1856 and of the vestigial Mug̲h̲al court in Dihlī in 1857, a standardised literary language had become fully established in poetry, and was also beginning to be used alongside Persian in prose belles-lettres.

This was also the initial period of establishment of British rule in northern India after the victories at Plassey (1757) and Baksar (1764). While the East India Company's legalistic exercise of executive power (*dīwānī*) on behalf of a titular Mug̲h̲al sovereign was accompanied by a continuing use of Persian as the language of official record until 1837, the practicalities of direct administration demanded the use of a *lingua franca*. It was "Hindustānī" [*q.v.*], the preferred British name for Urdū, which came to fulfil this role as the spoken language of the Mug̲h̲al aristocracy and service classes with whom British officials had most dealings. The latters' needs were catered for both by native instructors (*muns̲h̲ī* [*q.v.*]) and by European language teachers, of whom the best known was John Borthwick Gilchrist, author of a Hindustānī dictionary (1787-90) and grammar (1796) before a brief but influential official appointment as principal of Fort William College in Calcutta (1800-4), where he sponsored a series of translations from Persian into an easy Urdū suitable for elementary textbooks which long remained in use in British India.

When Persian was removed from official use after 1837, its place in the law courts and government offices came to be taken by Urdū over much of the Bengal Presidency, including Bihār, the North-Western Provinces later joined with Awadh as the United Provinces (U.P.), together with the Pand̲j̲āb after its conquest in the 1840s. Urdū thus came to play a central role in the workings of the colonial state, and a continual stream of textbooks and grammars written in English besides bilingual Urdū-English dictionaries (culminating in Platts, 1884) serviced this role, which was crucial in fully fixing the character of Modern Standard Urdū (MSU) as it entered its heyday in the later 19th century. With the abolition of the major Muslim courts, Urdū came to be increasingly identified with the traditional urban service classes, including both the educated Muslim *as̲h̲rāf* [see s̲h̲arīf] and those Persianised Hindūs closely identified with them in culture, notably the scribal caste of Kāyasths and certain Brahmin groups. The strong economic interests of these groups in preserving the official status of Urdū came, however, to be challenged with increasing success by the protagonists of Modern Standard Hindī, a language consciously evolved from exactly the same linguistic base as a mirror-image rival to Urdū which would be true to Hindū cultural tradition in using the Nāgarī script and Sanskritic vocabulary. This pressure resulted in the official replacement of Urdū by Hindī in Bihār (1880) and the accord of equal status to both in U.P. (1900), leaving Urdū unchallenged only in the Pand̲j̲āb.

Concomitant with the vigorous development during these decades of journalism and modern literary styles, the growing strength of this challenge from Hindī provoked the Muslim leaders of northern India into an increasingly explicit association of religious and linguistic identity. A particularly important role in this identification of the Urdū cause with that of Islam was played by the modernist Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān (1817-98 [*q.v.*]), under the auspices of whose followers the And̲j̲uman-i Taraḳḳī-yi Urdū came into existence in 1903. Under its leader Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (1870-1961), whose tireless achievements earned him the deserved sobriquet "Bābā-yi Urdū", it became the leading organisation devoted to the promulgation of Urdū in British India. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ was also associated with the patronage of Urdū by the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, where Urdū was the official language of the state and was for the first time developed from 1918 as a medium of higher education at ʿUt̲h̲māniyya University. Like all subsequent attempts to develop the language in India and Pākistān, this initiative relied heavily on loans and coinages from Arabic and Persian, since the sociolinguistic situation of Urdū in South Asia largely precludes the exploitation of native word-building resources on the model of modern Turkish or Persian.

Despite the further expansion of Urdū in the last years of British India into the new media of films and radio, the partition of 1947 proved to be a severe reversal for its cause in India, where its position was much weakened by the emigration of many Urdū-speaking Muslims to Pākistān. As the national language, Hindī has been actively promulgated at the expense of Urdū in the latter's historical areas of strength in Bihar and Uttar Pradēs̲h̲, with the result that many younger Urdū-speaking Indian Muslims are literate only in Nāgarī. Urdū has full official status as a state language only in D̲j̲ammū and Kas̲h̲mīr. The 1981 Census records 35 million speakers (5% of the total population), sufficient to constitute the largest linguistic minority as against the majority Hindī in Uttar Pradēs̲h̲ (11 million: 10%) and Bihār (7 million: 10%), to Marāṭhī in Mahārās̲h̲ṭra (4 million: 7%), and to Telugu in Andhra Pradēs̲h̲ (4 million: 8%), where modern Dakhinī continues to be spoken as the urban colloquial most different from MSU norms.

In Pākistān, the position of Urdū has been defined by its unresolved relationships with English, which it has yet fully to displace as an élite language, and by the claims of the country's indigenous languages. Before Banglādēs̲h̲ī independence in 1971, Urdū had been first displaced as the sole national language by prolonged pro-Bengālī agitation, but Urdū had been imposed as the official language of the whole of West Pākistān since 1954. At the national level its status as a medium of administration and education was enhanced under the Islamicising regime of Zia (Ḍiyāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ, 1977-88 [see ziyā al-ḥaḳḳ]), which further encouraged its development through such initiatives as the establishment in 1979 of the National Language Authority (*Muḳtadira Ḳawmī Ẕabān*). Urdū is, however, a learned second language for most Pākistānīs other than the Urdū-speaking migrants (*muhād̲j̲irūn*) from India and their descendants, who numbered only 7 million in 1981 (some 8% of the total population), chiefly settled in the cities of Sindh, especially Karāčī, where they form a majority (54% in 1981). While this continuing diglossia between spoken and formal languages remains largely accepted in the Pand̲j̲āb, where it has had important effects on the developing character of the local languages [see lahndā; pand̲j̲ābī], ethno-linguistic tensions have surfaced elsewhere, particularly between Urdū and Sindhī [see sind. 3 (a)].

Peculiar therefore both in its unique relationship to Hindī and in being now chiefly cultivated as the national language of a country other than that inhabited by most of its native speakers, Urdū is also more fixed in its standard form than most South Asian languages with their proliferation of regional dialects. Regional deviations from the standard language of educated native speakers, the proudly self-proclaimed *ahl-i ẕabān*, the MSU for which Dihlī usage is the traditional standard, are generally quite minor, e.g. the treatment of the infinitive-gerundive in *-nā* as invariable in the rival Lakhnaʾū standard, or the preference among Pand̲j̲ābī speakers for the subjunctive over the imperative in *-iyē*. The greater divergence of Dakhinī in such characteristic features as its avoidance

of the ergative construction and weak marking of the feminine gender can be attributed to the prolonged diglossia with Telugu. In contrast to MSU with its high awareness of Perso-Arabic norms, uneducated Urdū speech everywhere naturally displays a higher proportion of South Asian linguistic features, e.g. in the avoidance of final consonant clusters (thus *ʿilam* "knowledge" for MSU *ʿilm*).

Since its phonetic repertoire and its script are generally recognised by its speakers as being the chief defining characteristics of Urdū in South Asia, these two features deserve a summary profile here. The Urdū vowel system is of the familiar North Indian type with the same ten members as pre-modern and Indian Persian, viz. *a ā i ī u ū ē ay ō aw*, with phonemic contrast between simple and nasalised long final vowels. But it is the consonants which provide the main shibboleths of Urdū. Aspiration and voicing distinguish the four members of the basic Indo-Aryan five-term set, written as velar *k kh g gh*, palatal *č čh d̲j̲ d̲j̲h*, retroflex *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh*, dental *t th d dh*, labial *p ph b bh*. The chief phonetic distinction between all cultivated registers of Urdū and most other South Asian languages is the careful distinction in pronunciation of the fricatives *k̲h̲ g̲h̲ z* (= written *d̲h̲ ḍ ẓ*) *f*, originally loan-phonemes from Persian and clearly distinguished in the script, so that strict observance of the contrasts *k̲h̲/kh g̲h̲/g z/j f/ph* (also *s̲h̲/s*), though seldom phonemically crucial, is an important sign of educated Urdū speech. A further shibboleth is provided by the loan-phoneme *ḳ*, both in Arabic words and in others of Turkish origin adopted through Persian, e.g. *ḳulī* "porter". This is carefully distinguished in the cultivated Urdū of northern India as a voiceless uvular plosive in phonetic contrast with *k*. But the contrast is lost in many other educated regional pronunciations, so graphic *ḳ* in words of Arabic or Persian origin is pronounced as *k* in the Pand̲j̲āb and most of Pākistān, as *k̲h̲* in the modern Dakhinī of Ḥaydarābād.

While older manuscripts attest the original use of the unmodified Persian script to write Urdū, a series of additional signs and other adaptations introduced from the 18th century onwards have resulted in the modern orthography, which has become fully standardised since the early 20th century. Three new letters are added to the Persian alphabet to represent the retroflex set *ṭ ḍ ṛ*. Placed alphabetically after *t d r* respectively, these letters are distinguished as a set by the use of the same diacritic over the base forms, long standardised as a small superscript *ṭ* (formerly either four superscript dots arranged in a square, or a horizontal line above two superscript dots). Graphic variants of three other letters have been evolved to denote different phonetic values. Final *n* is written without its dot to indicate nasalisation of the preceding vowel (called *nūn g̲h̲unna*, here transcribed *ñ*), thus *māñ* "mother" versus *mān* "pride". In most styles of Urdū writing, distinctive use is made of two forms of the letter *h*, the antepenultimate letter of the Urdū alphabet, where it is placed between *w* and *hamza*, which like written *ʿayn* has no independent phonetic value in Urdū. The independent aspirate is indicated by the straight form of *h* with subscript hook (*s̲h̲ōs̲h̲a*), while the curled form (called *dōčas̲h̲mī hē*) is used to denote the aspirate consonants *bh ph th ṭh d̲j̲h čh*, etc., which are single phonemes in the language and are written as distinctive single consonants in the Nāgarī alphabet. Thirdly, while there is no agreed convention for distinguishing *ū* from *ō*, or medial *-ī-* from *-ē-*, the normal form of final *y* is reserved for representation of final *-ī*, while final *-ē* (also final *-ay*) is represented by a variant form of *y* with straight reverse stroke (called *baṛī yē*), thus enabling the distinction in writing of the important grammatical contrast between masculine plural *-ē* and feminine *-ī*, e.g. *aččhē laṛkē* "good boys" and *aččhī laṛkī* "good girl". Since the Persian *iḍāfa* is normally pronounced as *-ē* in Urdū, it is written with this *baṛī yē* after final *-ā* and *-ū*.

Urdū handwriting styles are typically based upon Persian *nastaʿlīḳ*. Though formerly also widely used for both official and informal purposes, *s̲h̲ikasta* has become obsolete over the last fifty years. The introduction of hot metal printing into India in the early 19th century was followed by the British-sponsored production of numerous Urdū textbooks and other printed materials in *nask̲h̲*-based types. This style was, however, never to find the same level of favour as it quickly attained in the Middle East for the printing of Arabic, Turkish or Persian. Most Urdū publishers and readers have continued to prefer *nastaʿlīḳ*, traditionally reproduced lithographically from the calligraphy (*kitābat*) of a professional scribe (*kātib*). Lithography gave way to photo-offset reproduction, before this was itself overtaken by the more recent successful development of computer-generated *nastaʿlīḳ* fonts.

While the core Indo-Aryan vocabulary of high-frequency items like verb stems and basic syntactic markers is common to Hindī and to Urdū, the latter is distinguished by its very large number of Perso-Arabic loans, amounting to some 70% of the vocabulary of most formal writing. There has long been a considerable literature on this defining component of the language, with much nice pedantry devoted to such points of pronunciation as the Urdū (and also Persian) preference for *-i-* in the third syllable of *maṣdars* of the third form (e.g. *mus̲h̲āʿira* "poetic contest" [*q.v.*]), or to such vexed questions of orthography as the correct spelling in Urdū of *nas̲h̲ā* "development" (< Arabic *nas̲h̲ʾa*).

Most of these Arabic and Persian loans are adjectives and nouns, with the latter becoming subject to Urdū rules of gender and inflection, so that e.g. *kitāb* "book" is feminine (by analogy with Sanskritic *pōthī*), with plural *kitābēñ*, and so too all *maṣdars* of the second form are also feminine e.g. *taʿlīm* "education". Arabic nouns with final *tā marbūṭa* are fixed through Persian as having either final *-a*, assimilated to the indigenous class of masculines with final *-ā*, plural *-ē*, or else final *-at* in which case they are feminine, with indigenous plural *-atēñ*, e.g. *ʿimārat* "building", plural *ʿimāratēñ*. The Arabic sound plural *ʿimārāt* is also common in Urdū, where the formation is freely extended to other classes, e.g. *makānāt barā-yi farōk̲h̲t* by direct analogy with English "houses for sale"). Loans are also abundant even in such core lexical classes as postpositions (*kē bāʿit̲h̲* "because of"), conjunctions (*lihād̲h̲ā* "therefore"), pronouns (*k̲h̲ud* "self"), and numerals (*hazār* "thousand"). While there are only a very few nativised verb stems like *farmānā* "to command" (< Persian *farmā-*), the Persian model of compounding loans with a few native stems like *karnā* "to do" and *hōnā* "to be" is very freely used, yielding many such pairs as transitive *maʿlūm karnā* "to inform", intransitive *maʿlūm hōnā* "to be known". Arabic in particular, which has become increasingly exploited as a direct source of loans with the disappearance of Persian from the education system in both India and Pākistān, furnishes enormous numbers of words to the modern written language. These relate not just to obviously Islamic contexts but embrace a vast range of abstract vocabulary and institutional terminology,

as often as not calqued on a English word which will be in more common colloquial use. A superfluity of synonyms is thereby created, with many Arabo-Persian coinages of more than doubtful currency helping to make up the inflated lists promulgated by officially sponsored word-manufacturing agencies.

Bibliography: Shabana Mahmud, *Urdu language and literature: a bibliography of sources in European languages*, London 1992. For further bibliography, cf. also the survey by M.H. Khan, "Urdu", in T.A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current trends in linguistics*, The Hague 1969, V, 277-83; earlier articles HIND. iii. Languages; HINDĪ; besides URDŪ in *EI*[1] (by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ); and C.P. Masica, *The Indo-Aryan languages*, Cambridge 1991, which provides a good comparative context; also relevant is J.R.L. Breton, *Atlas of the languages and ethnic communities of South Asia*, New Delhi 1997.

To such classic sources for the history of Urdū as M. Sh̲ērānī, *Pandjāb meñ urdū*, Lahore 1928, and the articles assembled in T.G. Bailey, *Studies in North Indian languages*, London 1938, should be added Masʿūd Ḥusayn Kh̲ān, *Muḳaddima-yi tārīkh̲-i zabān-i urdū*, [6]Aligarh 1988 [originally 1948], and in English A. Rai, *A house divided: the origins and development of Hindi-Urdu*, Delhi 1991, valuable for its assemblage of so many early texts (in Nāgarī script) though naive in its ill-founded hypothesis of the destruction of a common mediaeval linguistic heritage by the 18th-century protagonists of a purified Urdū. Gilchrist's work is described in S.R. Kidwai, *Gilchrist and the language of Hindustan*, New Delhi 1972. The Hindī-Urdū struggles of the 19th century are well analysed in K. Dittmer, *Die indischen Muslims und die Hindi-Urdu Kontroverse in den United Provinces*, Wiesbaden 1972; P.R. Brass, *Language, religion and politics in North India*, Cambridge 1974; and C.R. King, *One language two scripts: the Hindi movement in nineteenth century North India*, Bombay 1994. Thoughtful analyses of the changing status of Urdū are provided by D. Lelyveld, *Eloquence and authority in Urdu: poetry, oratory and film*, in K.P. Ewing (ed.), *Sharīʿat and ambiguity in South Asian Islam*, Berkeley 1988, 98-113; idem, *The fate of Hindustani: colonial knowledge and the project of a national language*, in C.A. Breckenridge and P. van der Veer (eds.), *Orientalism and the postcolonial predicament: perspectives on South Asia*, Delhi 1994, 189-214; eidem, *Zabān-e urdū-e muʿallā and the idol of linguistic origins*, in *Annual of Urdu Studies*, x (1994), 107-17; and in J. Majeed, *The jargon of Indostan: an exploration of jargon in Urdu and East India Company English*, in P. Burke and R. Porter (eds.), *Languages and jargons*, Cambridge 1995, 185-205. For contemporary developments in India, cf. M. Zakir, *Urdu: between survival and reform: the Indian situation*, in I. Fodor (ed.), *Language reform: history and future*, iii, Hamburg 1983, 423-9; M.K.A. Beg, *Sociolinguistic perspective of Hindi and Urdu in India*, New Delhi 1996. For Pākistān, cf. C. Shackle, *Punjabi in Lahore*, in *Modern Asian Studies*, iv (1970), 239-67; M. Geijbels and J.S. Addleton, *The rise and development of Urdu and the importance of regional languages in Pakistan*, Rawalpindi 1986 (repr. from *Al-Mushir*, xxvii-xxviii [1985-6]); Tariq Rahman, *Language and politics in Pakistan*, Karachi 1996; idem, *The Urdu-English controversy in Pakistan*, in *Modern Asian Studies*, xxxi (1997), 177-207.

No descriptive grammar in English is comparable in scope to that of the still indispensable J.T. Platts, *A dictionary of Urdū, classical Hindī and English*, Oxford 1884, whose contemporary counterpart is the pioneering monolingual dictionary by Mawlawī Sayyid Aḥmad, *Farhang-i āṣafiyya*. Many aspects of the modern language are, however, usefully covered in some depth in M.A.R. Barker *et al.*, *A course in Urdu*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1975. C. Shackle and R. Snell, *Hindi and Urdu since 1800: a common reader*, London 1990, contains annotated key passages by Urdū writers on the language, and provides a systematic introduction to the Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and English elements in the two languages. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Ḳawāʿid-i Urdū* (1914, repeatedly reprinted) remains the normative grammar in Urdū. Classical Dakhinī Urdū is dealt with in A.N. Sh̲amatov, *Klassičeskiy Dakkhini (Yuzhniy Kh̲industani XVIIv.)*, Moscow 1974, to be used with some caution; Early Modern Urdū is described on the basis of selected texts in M.K.A. Beg, *Urdu grammar: history and structure*, New Delhi 1988; Modern Dakhinī Urdū is well treated in R.L. Schmidt, *Dakhini Urdu: history and structure*, New Delhi 1981, and its interaction with Telugu is exemplified in V.S. Lakshmi, *Influence of Urdu on Telugu*, Ḥaydarābād 1984; short accounts of a metropolitan substandard preserving many EMU features are provided in G.C. Narang, *Karkhandāri dialect of Delhi Urdu*, Delhi 1961, and Bahadur Singh, *The dialect of Delhi*, New Delhi 1966. Changing styles of printing and writing are illustrated and analysed in W.L. Hanaway and B. Spooner, *Reading nastaʿlīq: Persian and Urdu hands from 1500 to the present*, Costa Mesa 1995. The classic exemplification of modern word-formation is Abdul Haq, *The standard English-Urdu dictionary*, Awrangābād 1937 (with several later Indian and Pākistānī editions); the process is surveyed in M.H. Zaidi, *Word-borrowing and word-making in modern South Asian languages: Urdu*, in I. Fodor (ed.), *op. cit.*, 399-421, and is further usefully illustrated in M.A.R. Barker *et al.*, *An Urdu newspaper word count*, Montreal 1969.

2. Literature

Most South Asian literatures developed as products of the interaction between local folk elements and adaptations of the Sanskrit or the Persian learned tradition. Urdū literature, by contrast, owes much less to indigenous cultural patterns. Four main phases in its evolution may be usefully distinguished, naturally with some overlap between the approximate dates indicated:

(1) Dakhinī Urdū literature of the independent Muslim kingdoms of peninsular India (1500-1700);

(2) classical Urdū literature of northern India with its twin centres in the semi-independent courts of Dihlī and Lakhnaʾū (1700-1860);

(3) early modern Urdū literature of the colonial period produced in many cities of British India (1860-1940);

(4) modern Urdū literature increasingly centred in Pākistān (1940-present).

Apart from writings on Islamic subjects which have always looked naturally to Arabic, the largely poetic classical literature of the two pre-British periods was produced under the overwhelming influence of Persian, while from the later 19th century English literature has been an increasingly dominant model. This is particularly true of prose belles-lettres, where Persianate styles were less well established in Urdū than in the long poetic tradition which continues to be the literature's chief cultural marker, and which therefore forms the principal theme of the following summary outline.

Driven mainly by philological concerns, the 20th-century re-discovery of the Dakhinī Urdū literature, which became isolated from later developments owing

to its separate geographical location and its archaic language (see 1. above), has yet to lead to comparable critical insights. In terms of literary history, the 16th century is marked by a remarkable variety in the types of poetry produced first by Ṣūfī authors then also at the royal courts, embracing both popular and sophisticated styles, with the latter including poems very similar in language and character to the important contributions being made by northern Indian Muslims to the literature now unambiguously classed as Hindī [*q.v.*]. But Persianate genres became increasingly dominant, with systematic royal patronage encouraging a remarkable flowering of the *mat̲h̲nawī* on both historical and romantic subjects [see MAT̲H̲NAWĪ. 4]. Although these achievements in narrative poetry were hardly matched in the *g̲h̲azal*, a particular interest attaches to the extensive *dīwān* of the Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī ruler Muḥammad-ḳulī Maʿānī (1566-1611) as the poetic creation of an unusually gifted royal ruler, whose largely direct and unsophisticated lyrics are typical of the Dakhinī style.

This was the style cultivated towards the end of this period in Awrangzīb's new capital at Awrangābād in the northern Dakhan, most notably by the poet Walī Awrangābādī (1688-1707). Walī's later *g̲h̲azals* are the first to show significant cross-fertilisation from the sophisticated Persian models then in vogue in Dihlī, with sufficient success as to help inaugurate the development there of courtly poetry in Urdū. Wholesale adoption of the fashionable rhetoric of the *sabk-i hindī* [*q.v.*] elaborately cultivated by the Persian poets of the Mug̲h̲al court made it possible for the latters' artistic achievements to be matched in the Urdū poets of the next generation. The canonical "four pillars" (*čahār sutūn*) of early classical Urdū poetry include besides Maẓhar D̲j̲ānd̲j̲ānān (1700-81 [*q.v.*]) the three great poets Dard (1720-85 [*q.v.*]), the Naḳs̲h̲bandī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* who was the unrivalled master of the Urdū mystical *g̲h̲azal*; Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī (1713-1810 [*q.v.*]), the immensely prolific master of the amatory *g̲h̲azal* and the short romantic *mat̲h̲nawī*; and the even more creative Sawdā (1713-81 [*q.v.*]), unrivalled in the *ḳaṣīda*, both panegyric and satirical, as well as in such strophic genres as the *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲ōb* [see S̲H̲AHRANGĪZ. 3], elegies inspired by the devastation of Dihlī.

The impoverishment of the Mug̲h̲al capital forced both Mīr and Sawdā to seek new patrons in Awadh, and Lakhnaʾū became the chief centre of Urdū poetry in the following generations, in which the leading rivals were first Ins̲h̲āʾ (*ca.* 1756-1818 [*q.v.*]) and Muṣḥafī (1750-1824 [*q.v.*]), then K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Ḥaydar ʿAlī Ātis̲h̲ (1785-1847) and Nāsik̲h̲ (d. 1838 [*q.v.*]). In significant keeping with the effective political emasculation of the Awadh kingdom, all these were primarily *g̲h̲azal* poets. Although often displaying a remarkable inventiveness in surface ornamentation, as in the titillating *rēk̲h̲tī* style of "women's Urdū" developed by Ins̲h̲āʾ and Rangīn (1736-1835 [*q.v.*]), most later critics have found the Lakhnawī *g̲h̲azal* excessively artificial in its elaborate word-plays and conceits and over-trivial in its concern with meeting purely technical challenges, like those imposed by awkward combinations of metre and rhyme (*sanglāk̲h̲ zamīnēṅ*). The strongly S̲h̲īʿī atmosphere of Lakhnaʾū encouraged the deployment of a similarly elaborate *sabk-i hindī* rhetoric to nobler effect in the strophic *mart̲h̲iya* (see MART̲H̲IYA. 4), whose magnificent development by Anīs (1801-74 [*q.v.*]) and Dabīr (1803-75 [*q.v.*]) constitutes the most significant exception to the two general rules of classical Urdū poetry, that it is very closely modelled on Persian originals and that it appears to best advantage in the *g̲h̲azal*. Prose is generally very much less significant during this period, although the all-round development of the literature is signalled by the rapidly increasing momentum of both prose and verse translations from other languages, including not only many Persian classics but also Arabic Islamic texts, most notably the first Urdū translations of the Ḳurʾān (see ḲURʾĀN. 9.b.2, also the final section of the bibliography below).

At the end of the classical period, there was a final flowering of the Dihlī court under the titular last Mug̲h̲al sovereigns Akbar II (*r.* 1806-37) and his son Bahādur S̲h̲āh II (*r.* 1837-58 [*q.v.*]), himself a well-known *g̲h̲azal* poet under the pen-name Ẓafar, though hardly one of the same calibre as his laureate D̲h̲awḳ (1790-1854 [*q.v.*]), chiefly remembered for his *ḳaṣīdas*, or his ingenious contemporary Muʾmin (1800-51 [*q.v.*]). All these have, however, been far surpassed in subsequent reputation by G̲h̲ālib (1797-1869 [*q.v.*]), whose own pride in his neo-classical Persian verse has been largely forgotten in his posthumous elevation to absolute supremacy in the classical Urdū pantheon. Few Urdū poems have achieved such enduring currency as the best known examples from G̲h̲ālib's slim Urdū *dīwān*, while in prose his Urdū letters reveal both the workings of his great poetic intelligence, and the progressive collapse of the culture which had nurtured the poetic art he lived to practise.

The classical period of Urdū poetry was marked by an ever stricter codification of rules, both linguistic and prosodic. Thus many of the colloquial Indian words and forms common in the poetry of Mīr and Sawdā (e.g. *ṭuk* "just, a little", *nidān* "at last", *sahī* "correct") came to be replaced by Perso-Arabisms in later verse (*d̲h̲arā, āk̲h̲ir, ṣaḥīḥ*). This reinforced the general favouring of Persianisms as a marker of poetic language (e.g. *čas̲h̲m, dast, s̲h̲ab*, besides *āṅkh* "eye", *hāth* "hand", *rāt* "night") and was paralleled by ever stricter insistence on the scansion of words being governed by classicising rules, e.g. in the preservation of final consonant clusters.

Urdū prosody shows a similar relationship to Persian *ʿarūḍ* rules as that of Ottoman Turkish, with special adaptations hardly masking a fundamental identity. Apart from the special case of the *rubāʿī* [*q.v.*], the same few metres are used for the vast majority of poems. Probably the most popular is the almost symmetrically regular form of *muḍāriʿ* (illustrated below) scanned *mafʿūlu fāʿilātu mafāʿīlu fāʿilun* according to the *afāʿīl* system generally preferred to the elaborate terminology of the prosodists, closely followed by *ramal*—both *maḥd̲h̲ūf* and *mak̲h̲būn, hazad̲j̲*—usually *mut̲h̲amman sālim, mud̲j̲tat̲h̲t̲h̲, k̲h̲afīf* and *mutaḳārib*. But whereas Turkish phonetic patterns yield an excess of short vowels, the reverse is true of Urdū, where there is correspondingly rather greater cultivation of symmetrical longer metres which are less popular in Persian or Ottoman Turkish, e.g. the twenty-syllable *kāmil* with four feet of *mutafāʿilun*, or the formally similar metre with four feet scanning ⏑ – ⏑ – –, where the absence of classical precedent necessitates awkward analysis as *mutaḳārib s̲h̲ānzdah-ruknī*, or four repetitions of the sequence *faʿal faʿūlun*. Written quantities are carefully observed in the scansion of Arabic and Persian words, but for native words a general licence permits all written final long vowels to be scanned as either long or short, and the same license applies to several of the commonest monosyllables like the possessive *kā* (*kē*), *sē* "from", *vōh* "that", *hay* "is". Poetic doublets taken over from Persian like *gar* for *agar* "if" also include such common native shortened forms as *ik*

for *ēk*" "one" *pa* for *par* "on", *tirā* for *tērā* "thy", *vāñ* for *vahāñ* "there". The following verse from Mu'min in *muḍāri'* illustrates the operation of several of these licences:

– – ⏑ /– ⏑ – ⏑ / ⏑ – – ⏑ /– ⏑ –
kūčē sē apnē ghayr kā muñh hay haṭā sakē

– – ⏑ /– ⏑ – ⏑ / ⏑– – ⏑ / – ⏑ –
'āshiq kā sar lagā hay tirē naḳsh-i pā kē sāth

Not quite all metrical Urdū poetry is composed according to these adaptations of Persian *'arūḍ* with their carefully prescribed patterns of long and short syllables, since use is sometimes made in the *ghazal* of metres of the usual South Asian type which rely instead upon the count of metrical instants (*mātrā*), one to a short syllable and two to a long. The commonest type has 30 instants per line, divided by a strong caesura as 16 + 14. The free substitutions of two shorts for a long are illustrated in the alternations of dactyls and spondees in the following well-known *maṭla'* by Mīr:

– – /– ⏑ ⏑ /– – /– – //– ⏑ ⏑/– –/– ⏑ ⏑/–
ulṭī hō ga'īñ sab tadbīrēñ kuč̌h na dawā nē kām kiyā

– – / – –/– ⏑ ⏑ / – – //– – / – ⏑ ⏑/– ⏑ ⏑/–
dēkhā is bīmārī-yi dil nē ākhir kām tamām kiyā

These metres are often loosely termed "Hindī metres", certainly a more appropriate designation than the prosodists' attempts to analyse the above example as *mutadārik shānzdah-ruknī*. This single intrusion of a South Asian element apart, however, both the prosodic and the rhetorical structures of classical Urdū poetry are exactly modelled on Persian patterns.

The *ghazal* was by far the most significant genre of the classical period, when the production of poetry rested upon the established system of courtly patronage, with the ruler and his laureate (*malik al-shu'arā'*) at its apex, and with the craft of versifying transmitted from master (*ustād*) to pupil (*shāgird*). Besides extensive informal circulation, both orally and in manuscript until the advent of lithography after the 1820s, public performances of the *ghazal* took place either at the formalised poetic contests called *mushā'ara* [*q.v.*] or in the entertainments (*maḥfil*) whose chief attraction was the performance (*mudjrā*) of song and dance by trained courtesans (*tawā'if*).

While this aristocratic style continued to be practised by poets like Dāgh (1831-1905 [*q.v.*]), laureate to the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, the onset of the early modern period was marked by substantial shifts in the institutional basis of Urdū literature as well as in genres, styles and themes, where prose writing and English models are of ever increasing significance. The advent of print capitalism gave enormous new significance to major publishers, especially to the press founded at Lakhna'ū in 1858 by Munshī Nawal Kishōr (1836-95), a Bhārgava Brahmin from a Persianate cultural background. His publication of so many original and translated Urdū titles performed a vital role in preserving major parts of the old oral culture, like the vast *dāstān* stories of the Amīr Ḥamza cycle, while his new initiatives helped support Urdū prose writers in the new style, like Ratan Nāth Sarshār (1845-1903), author of the sprawling modern picaresque *Fasāna-yi Āzād* (1880), or 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Sharar (1860-1926), pioneer of the Urdū historical novel and memorialist of the old Lakhna'ū, who were both editors of Nawal Kishōr's newspaper *Awadh akhbār*.

Most of the major Urdū writers of the period were drawn at some stage into the service of the colonial state or into the new-style private or princely organisations it called into being. Thus the remarkable translator and moralistic novelist Nadhīr Aḥmad (1836-1912 [*q.v.*]) owes his title "Deputy" to his quondam appointments in the education and finance departments, while the noted Islamic historian and critic of Persian literature Shiblī Nu'mānī (1857-1914 [*q.v.*]) worked for a while as a teacher, and the restless Ruswā (1858-1931 [*q.v.*]), whose *Umrā'ō Djān Adā* (1899) is a matchless memoir of the life of a courtesan in pre-Mutiny Lakhna'ū, found eventual refuge in the 'Uthmāniyya Bureau of Translation in Ḥaydarābād. Service in the Pandjāb education department in Lāhawr was crucially influential both for Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād (1834-1910 [*q.v.*]), whose pioneering *Āb-i ḥayāt* (1881) remains central to the historiography of classical Urdū literature, and for Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (1837-1914 [*q.v.*]), the literary critic and biographer who was the leading poetic spokesman of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's 'Alīgaṙh movement and whose *Musaddas* (1879) in the revolutionary new style of "natural poetry" (*nečaral shā'irī*) is the most important Urdū poem of the late 19th century. Even on the conservative side, the anti-'Alīgaṙh satirist Akbar Allāhābādī (1846-1921 [*q.v.*]) worked for many years as a judge.

Many of the characteristic tendencies of this first part of the early modern period of Urdū literature, its seriousness of purpose and content, its sober exploitation of new stylistic resources, above all its central concern with re-interpretations of the Islamic past capable of addressing the issues raised by the colonial present, find their culmination in the linguistically varied output of Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1879-1938 [*q.v.*]), whose undoubted intrinsic importance as a philosopher-poet has been much inflated by the subsequent official cult of him in Pākistān. In spite of the international repute of his lengthy Persian *mathnawīs*, his most vital poetic achievements are in his Urdū collections, particularly the great poems in the second part of *Bāng-i darā* (1922) and in *Bāl-i Djibrīl* (1935). Consisting of both *ghazals* and strophic forms, these deploy to nobly rhetorical effect a grandiloquently Persianised diction which proved far more successful than Ḥālī's bare style in articulating the elevated sense of a truly national poetry, however that Muslim nation (*ḳawm*) was to be defined in South Asia.

Iḳbāl's literary presence was of that overwhelming kind which ends an era rather than directly inspiring new beginnings. The modern period proper of Urdū literature, which can here be described only in very summary outline, dates from the 1930s and 1940s, when a new vogue for social realism was set by the many talented authors associated with the Progressive Writers Movement (*Taraḳḳī-pasand Taḥrīk*). As in many other literatures of the period, those who fairly soon developed ideological differences with the movement's prescriptive Marxism generally produced artistically more successful work than those who stayed closest to the party line.

Two outstanding writers associated early in their careers with the Progressives of the time characterise both through their own work and through their influence on their successors the different dynamics of poetry and of prose in modern Urdū literature. The leading young poet of the war years was Fayḍ Aḥmad Fayḍ (1910-84), born like Iḳbāl in Siālkōṫ in the Pandjāb, but whose style looked back past the latter to Ghālib while also drawing on English examples. Using both the *ghazal* and free verse (*āzād naẓm*) to explore the modern conflict between private sensibility and public engagement, Fayḍ's poetry soon acquired an

extraordinarily enduring popularity both in Pākistān and amongst the Indian Urdū public (which continues to extend far beyond the circles of self-proclaimed Urdū speakers). Fayḍ's influence remains palpable in the work of most contemporary poets throughout the international Urdū literary world, where young littérateurs continue to be drawn to trying their hands at composing *ghazals* in his style.

While the *ghazal* maintains its popularity as the prime genre of Urdū poetry, especially in musical performance by both male and female singers, the leading genre of modern prose is the short story. Earlier developed by the Kāyasth Prēm Čand (1880-1936 [*q.v.*]), who combined a keen human observation with an often sentimental Gandhian idealism, the Urdū short story was given fresh life by the Progressive writers, who particularly welcomed the opportunities it provided for an often brutal social realism. The leading early exponent of this modern style was the Pandjāb-born Saʿādat Ḥasan Manṭō (1912-55), whose still very popular stories vividly embrace both the louche 1940s demi-monde of Bombay (whose film industry has been a major patron of many modern Urdū writers) and the horrors consequent on the Partition of the Pandjāb. It is, however, a significant pointer to the varied subsequent growth and development of later Urdū creative prose, the varied product of both historical and social realism as well as more avant-garde types of modernism (*djadīdiyyat*) that Manṭō is in no sense comparable in authority to those defining figures of the Urdū poetic succession, Ghālib, Ḥālī, Iḳbāl and Fayḍ.

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AL-**URDUNN**, the Arabic name for the Jordan River, used also from early Islamic times onwards to designate the regions adjacent to the river's course.

1. The river

This appears in Arabic as the *nahr al-Urdunn*, in Old Testament and later Hebrew as *ha-Yardēn*, and in the Septuagint and the classical geographers as ὁ Ἰορδάνης. After the Crusading period, local Arabic usage often referred to it as *al-Sharīʿa* [*al-kabīra*] "the [Great] watering-place". It was, and still is, revered by Jews, Christians and Muslims, by Christians in particular on account of Christ's baptism at the hands of John the Baptist in the Jordan waters.

This shallow river is the lowest in the world, running within a narrow trough whose greatest width, about 25 km/15 miles, occurs in the region of Jericho [see RĪḤĀ]. It forms part of the Great Rift Valley which runs from southeastern Turkey to Lake Nyasa in East Africa, but has never in history presented much of a barrier politically or militarily. The river has three main sources, all of which rise from the foot of Mount Hermon (the Djabal al-Thaldj/al-Shaykh in Arabic usage): the Nahr Ḥaṣbānī, the Nahr Laddān and the Nahr Bāniyās. These join together in the Ḥūla (Hule) basin, until recent times a malarial papyrus swamp (see below). South of here, the river cuts through a basaltic gorge below the "Bridge of Jacob's daughters" (*djisr banāt Yaʿḳūb, gesher b'nōt Yaʿaḳōb*), dropping 146 m/480 feet in 6.5 km/4 miles, and in its 16 km/10 miles' course from Lake Hule to the Sea of Galilee (*Buḥayrat Ṭabariyya*) falling from 70 m/230 feet above sea-level to 210 m/689 feet below. After flowing through the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan receives the important left-bank tributary of the Yarmūk [*q.v.*], which has a large but variable flow and which marks part of the modern Syrian-Jordanian frontier, and other tributaries both left-bank and right-bank (of the latter ones, there may be mentioned the Nahr Djālūt, at the head of which, between Nābulus and Baysān, is the ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*], scene of the famous battle between the Mongols and the Mamlūks). It then spreads into the plain of the Ghawr or Ghōr, but with so many meanders that it actually runs for 217 km/135 miles to cover a direct distance of 104 km/65 miles between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. The Ghawr was formerly in considerable measure filled with dense thickets along the river banks, and largely barren wastelands beyond them; but with the construction in the 20th century of irrigation canals, much good agricultural and orchard land has been created for vegetable and fruit-growing, including winter produce. However, there were already in early Islamic times some fertile spots in certain parts of the Jordan valley, such as around Jericho (cf. the *djinān al-Urdunn* held out by the Prophet Muḥammad in Mecca as a comparison for the heavenly prospects of his followers, in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1232).

The Jordan ends in the Dead Sea (*al-Buḥayra al-mayyita, Baḥr Lūṭ* [*q.v.*]). The river's rate of flow diminishes towards this point through seepage and evaporation caused by the great heat, and because of this evaporation, salt and other minerals are deposited. The Sea's level, apart from some seasonal variation, accordingly remains substantially the same. South of the Dead Sea, the depression continues as that of al-ʿAraba and then rises considerably before dropping to ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] at the head of the Gulf of that name.

On account of its currents, its numerous windings and many shallows, the Jordan cannot be used for navigation. On the other hand, even in ancient times several of these shallows formed fords which connected the lands east with those west of the Jordan and thus linked up the Mediterranean coast and Egypt with Damascus. North of Lake Tiberias there are five fords and south of it 54; they are most frequent opposite Baysān. In the Old Testament, they are mentioned under the names *maʿᵃbār* or *maʿbārā*. Whether the Israelites had ferries is uncertain, and in any case not proved by the obscure passage 2 Sam. xix. 19. On the other hand, it is not difficult to imagine that in their fighting with the Aramaeans in the lands east of the Jordan, they would take their troops, horses and chariots (1 Kings xxii. 35) across the Jordan by fords, but how they did it we are not told (with floats ?). If necessary it was possible to swim the Jordan (1 Macc. ix. 48), but in view of the strong current it required skill and strength. There were certainly no bridges, since these only began to be built in the Roman period. The ford a little to the south of the Ḥūla district is specially celebrated; from it a road

led via Ḳunayṭra to Damascus. Whether there was a Roman road here is, according to P. Thomsen's map in *ZDPV*, xl (cf. 33), uncertain, but in the Middle Ages this ford, called *Vadum Jacobi* (wrongly from Gen. xxxii. 22), is often mentioned and was of considerable strategic importance during the Crusades. Here Baldwin III was defeated in 1157 by Nūr al-Dīn and in 1178 Baldwin IV built a fort below the crossing, but in the following year it was stormed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and destroyed. At a later date, a three-arched bridge was built of large blocks of basalt at the site of the ford (cf. illustrs. in *ZDPV*, xiii, 74). It is known to have been in existence in 1450 and was probably built not long before. The name "Bridge of Jacob's daughters", points to the old *Vadum Jacobi*, but is remarkable as Jacob did not have a number of daughters.

One of the most important roads from Damascus to the lands west of the Jordan has probably always been the route via Fīḳ (or Afīḳ, perhaps Afeḳ [Aphek] 1 Kings xx. 26, 30, cf. xiii. 22) to the south end of the Sea of Galilee, where the Jordan was crossed by a ford where it leaves the Sea. A little south of the crossing are the ruins of two stone bridges, Umm al-Ḳanāṭir and Dji̲sr al-Sidd. Nothing is known of their history, but one of them is probably the bridge at the south end of the lake which al-Muḳaddasī mentions in his description of Ṭabariyya [*q.v.*] and of which Yāḳūt says that it had over 20 arches. As late as the 16th century we are told by W. de Baldensel that he crossed the Jordan by a bridge here (Robinson, *Biblical researches in Palestine*[2], iii). Close to the junction of the Yarmūk with the Jordan is a bridge, Dji̲sr al-Mudjāmiʿ, whence roads led to Mkēs and Irbid below the hills of Ḳarn Ṣarṭaba. Further to the south we again find a bridge, the Dji̲sr al-Dāmiya, but it is now on dry land as the river has dug out a new bed here. It was built in 664/1266 by the vigorous Mamlūk sultan Baybars, who also had bridges built at several other places (cf. Röhricht, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, ii/1, 382; Clermont-Ganneau, in *JA*, ser. 7, vol. x [1887], 518). Among the most used is the bridge north of Jericho which leads to the Wādī Nimrīn.

In the brief descriptions of the Jordan in the Arab geographers there are a few details of some interest. Al-Muḳaddasī mentions that the river is unnavigable. Yāḳūt, quoting an older authority, says that the Jordan above the Lake of Tiberias was called the "Great" and between the Lake and the Dead Sea the "Little Jordan", which statement, however, is probably based on a confusion with the Yarmūk. He mentions the sugar plantations watered by the river in al-Gh̲awr [see RĪḤĀ]. Al-Dimashḳī mentions the hot springs near the Lake of Tiberias and of Mudjāmiʿ where the Yarmūk joins the Jordan. He also gives an account of the remarkable phenomenon at the river's end. The Jordan flows night and day into the Dead Sea without any outflow, yet the Sea does not increase in winter or decrease in summer. The main road from Damascus to Egypt goes, according to Ibn Kh̲urradādh̲bih (219) and the geographers who follow him, via Fīḳ to the south end of the Lake of Tiberias and thence by a circuitous route via Tiberias to Baysān. In the 14th century on the other hand, the route lay through a part of ʿAdjlūn, as one descended from Baysān into the Jordan valley to Mudjāmiʿ and thence over the bridge to follow the road to Irbid. In the 15th century, a more northerly route began to come into use by going eastwards from the new capital Ṣafat crossing the Jordan on the above-mentioned "Bridge of Jacob's daughters" and thence via Nuʿrān and Ḳunayṭra to Damascus. This road remained the usual one, and later, the road leading to and from the bridge was improved.

From the end of the First World War until 1948, the Jordan, except in its extreme north, marked the boundary between the British mandated territory of Palestine and the newly-created Hashemite kingdom of Transjordan (see below, 2.). After 1948 and the establishment of the State of Israel, the river lay entirely within Israel north of its confluence with the Yarmūk, and below there it divided the kingdom of Jordan from the West Bank of Palestine, after 1967 becoming the effective frontier between Jordan and Israel.

This new function of the Jordan as an international boundary, with its headwaters and tributaries often in military zones and with four powers (Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria) involved, has caused problems regarding the division of its waters and their utilisation through the building of dams along the Jordan's headwaters and irrigation canals along its lower course. The Hule drainage project completed by Israel in 1957 channelled the Jordan there into two main canals, speeding the flow of water through the marshes, reducing water loss by means of surface irrigation and making drained marshland available for agriculture. The Gh̲awr irrigation canal, 70 km/43 miles long, was completed along the river's east bank by Jordan in 1967, permitting a great increase in agricultural production there. In Israel, as well as the Hule drainage project and the digging of a canal from the Sea of Galilee to Beth She'an, a water-supply grid has been constructed allowing 11,300 million cubic feet of the Jordan's water to be pumped to the arid regions of central and southern Israel. However, political and diplomatic difficulties continue to prevent the adoption of wider, regional policies of water utilisation.

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(F. BUHL-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. History

(a) *Up to 1250*

The name of al-Urdunn was first applied to one of the military and administrative districts (*adjnād*, sing. *djund* [*q.v.*]) that were established in the province of al-Sh̲ām (*q.v.*) in the wake of the early Islamic conquests. The territory of the *djund* al-Urdunn corresponds closely to that of the Byzantine province of Palaestina Secunda. Centred on its capital of Ṭabariyya [*q.v.*], only part of the original *djund* falls within the borders of the present Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Given the varying descriptions of the early historians and geographers, the precise boundaries of *djund* al-Urdunn probably varied over time. For example, ac-

cording to al-Balādhurī, the *djund* embraced the towns of Faḥl, Ṭabariyya, Baysān, Sūsiyya, Afīḳ, Djarash, Bayt Ra'ś, Ḳadas, ʿAkkā, Ṣūr, Ṣaffūriyya, and the region of the Djawlān. To this list al-Muḳaddasī adds al-Farādhiyya, al-Ladjdjūn, Kābul and Adhriʿāt. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī, the population of the *djund* was a mixture of non-Arabs and Arabs, the latter especially Yamanī tribes.

As for the history of Transjordan proper in Islamic times, only a bare outline can be reconstructed. Under Byzantine rule, the region to the east of the Jordan river saw its greatest prosperity, particularly in the north. This is especially true of the sixth century A.D., when the region saw a general increase of settlement and the expansion of religious sites and public works. This period coincides with the rise of the Ghassānids [*q.v.*] and other Arab tribes to prominence as Byzantine allies along the eastern *limes*. Although the Sāsānid invasion of the region in 614 seems to have disrupted the prosperity of the region, it was able to recover and there are no signs of serious regional economic decline after the Byzantine recovery in 628 or immediately after the Islamic conquests of the 630s and 640s. Indeed, the indigenous Christian populations continued to flourish well after the conquests.

The first significant conflict between Muslim and Byzantine troops took place at Mu'ta [*q.v.*] in central Transjordan in 8/629. In 9/630, it is said that local leaders from Ayla, Djarbā', Maʿān and Adhruḥ assembled at Tabūk in northern Arabia, where they made treaty arrangements with the Prophet Muḥammad. However, it was not until the larger campaign of 13/634 that Muslim armies successfully invaded the region, with the surrender of Ma'āb (modern Rabba), followed by the decisive Muslim victories at Dāthin and Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] in southern Palestine. Subsequent Muslim victories east of the Jordan at Faḥl and at the Yarmūk river (in 15/636) secured Transjordan as Islamic territory.

Following the conquests, Transjordan was divided up between the *adjnād* of al-Urdunn, Filasṭīn [*q.v.*] and Dimashḳ, which embraced most of the region. Archaeology attests to the growing Muslim presence in the area, including the development of urban areas like ʿAmmān [*q.v.*] in the subdistrict of al-Balḳā' [*q.v.*] and the princely estates on the desert fringe (the Umayyad "desert castles" or *ḳuṣūr* [see BĀDIYA, in Suppl.]). Indeed, it seems likely that the *ḳuṣūr* were an important facet of the local economy. However, for most of tbe Umayyad period, the literary sources have little to say about the region. The civil wars, which involved so many areas of the caliphate, appear to have had little direct impact on Transjordan.

Although the ʿAbbāsid family planned their revolt against the Umayyads from their estate at Ḥumayma [*q.v.*] in the south, the region played no special role in the course of the ʿAbbāsid revolution of 132/750. For a brief time, one former Umayyad commander, Ḥabīb b. Murra, attempted to fend off ʿAbbāsid forces in the Balḳā', but this was short-lived. Although ʿAbbāsid rule did not directly threaten the region's prosperity, it is noteworthy that Transjordan did not attract the interest of the early ʿAbbāsid élite as it had their Umayyad counterparts. Rather, the region became isolated from the direct supervision of the government, and, like other similar regions, was an occasional home to rebels. Some of these rebellions took on a pro-Yamanī, pro-Umayyad, and even eschatological flavour, as with the revolt of al-Faddaynī (or al-Fudaynī) in the vicinity of ʿAmmān about 198/813 and that of al-Mubarḳaʿ [*q.v.*] in 226/840. During the ʿAbbāsid period, the region's rugged terrain also provided sanctuary for brigand groups like the Zawāḳīl [*q.v.*].

As the ʿAbbāsid caliphate lost control of its provinces in the course of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, southern al-Shām, including Transjordan, fell into the orbit of Egyptian-based states like that of the Ṭūlūnids, Ikhshīdids, and Fāṭimids [*q.vv.*], while the Ḳarāmiṭa [*q.v.*] and their tribal allies dominated the steppe and desert. The Fāṭimids are also known to have used the region as a source of tribal manpower. At the same time, rural and urban settlement appears to have contracted. Indeed, for Transjordan, this period is marked by the increasing prominence of Bedouin tribes, notably the Ṭayyi' [*q.v.*], who appear to have arrived from northeastern Arabia by the mid 4th/10th century, and who are best represented by the short-lived Djarrāḥid dynasty [*q.v.*]. However, the influence of nomadic groups in southern al-Shām probably declined after the Fāṭimid victory over the allied tribal forces of Ṭayyi', Kalb and Kilāb at Ukḥuwāna in 420/1029. Fāṭimid control over the region effectively ended in 463/1071 when the Türkmen adventurer Atsïz b. Uvak [*q.v.*] answered Fāṭimid appeals for military assistance in Palestine and proceeded to occupy all of southern al-Shām for himself, only to have his domains absorbed by the Saldjūḳid *amīr* Tutush [*q.v.*] in 472/1079.

In the early 6th/12th century, the lands east of the Jordan were a buffer zone between the Crusaders and Muslim princes in Cairo and Damascus. Early on, the region was governed by Türkmen warlords, but by 509/1115 Baldwin I of Jerusalem had taken direct control of the region, and Transjordan became a barony dominated by the two principal Crusader strongholds in the region, al-Karak and al-Shawbak/ Montréal [*q.vv.*]. These two fortresses were the target of Fāṭimid and, later, Ayyūbid assaults under Salāḥ al-Dīn. Under the Ayyūbids, much of the region became an appanage for princes like al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]. Under these princes, Transjordan saw a proliferation of fortified settlements and the return of some of its former prosperity.

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(b) *From 1250 to 1920*

After 648/1250, Transjordan passed for over two-and-a-half centuries under Mamlūk control, forming part of the province of Syria, governed from Damascus. As noted in (a) above, the region had many castles and fortified points in the Crusading and Ayyūbid periods, such as al-Karak and al-Shawbak [*q.vv.*]. In addition to these two mentioned above, the Ḳalʿat al-Rabaḍ at ʿAdjlūn [*q.v.*], built by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb's commander ʿIzz al-Dīn Usāma in 580/1184-5, was added to in Mamlūk times and survived more or less intact until the severe earthquake of 1837. At al-Karak, Baybars I [*q.v.*] added further defensive works after it had passed to him in 671/1272 from the Ayyūbid ʿUmar, son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, and that sultan also rebuilt the fortress of al-Salṭ. The fort at al-Azraḳ, to the west of ʿAmmān, built or rebuilt by the Ayyūbid commander ʿIzz al-Dīn in the first half of the 7th/13th century, continued in use under the Mamlūks and was intact enough in 1918 for T.E. Lawrence to make it his headquarters before pushing northwards to Darʿa/Deraa and Damascus.

Administratively, the hilly region of northern Transjordan, the Balḳāʾ [*q.v.*], with its main settlement at Ḥisbān, was usually administered ultimately from the Syrian capital Damascus, falling within the "southern flank" (*safka kibliyya*) of that very large province, with its administrative centre at Darʿa. Al-Karak, however, was usually a separate *niyāba*, as in the exposition of administrative geography of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī and the secretarial manual of al-Ḳalḳashandī. The former mentions four administrative divisions of southern Transjordan, essentially the hill region of the Sharāt, that of the chef-lieu al-Karak itself, and those of al-Shawbak, Zughar and Maʿān. Al-Karak was a place of exile or imprisonment for rebellious or suspected princes and *amīrs*, and just before his death, sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] entrusted its government to his son Aḥmad. An important aspect of the *nāʾib*'s duties was attempting to control the local Bedouin. Al-Ḳalḳashandī states that, amongst the Banū Djudhām [*q.v.*], there were the Ṣakhr at al-Karak, the Mahdī in the Balḳāʾ, the ʿUkba and Zuhayr at al-Shawbak, and the Saʿīd at Ṣalkhad and in the Ḥawrān [*q.vv.*]. See M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, 236-8; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 334, xii, 220-32.

Mamlūk control over Transjordan weakened, with the general decay of the state, in the 9th/15th century. Thus the region round ʿAdjlūn became the focus of a tribal amīrate under the Ghazawī family, who managed to extend their power across the Jordan to the rural hinterlands of Jerusalem and Hebron. After 922/1516, Transjordan passed under Ottoman Turkish control for some four centuries. Under the new Ottoman administrative arrangements, the district round ʿAdjlūn now became a *sandjak*, with the Ghazawīs as *sandjak beyis*, until the mid-11th/17th century; these *amīrs* of ʿAdjlūn also frequently held the lucrative post of *amīr al-ḥadjdj*, providing the military escort for the Syrian pilgrims to the Holy Places in Arabia. At the beginning of the 12th/18th century, ʿAdjlūn was briefly part of the *sandjak* of Ṣaydā/Sidon. In the 19th century, the *sandjak* of ʿAdjlūn appears as such in the 1266/1849 *sālnāme*, but in 1865 as a *ḳaḍā* of the *sandjak* of the Ḥawrān, with Irbid as its administrative centre. Al-Shawbak or al-Karak formed a separate *sandjak* in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, whilst the *sālnāme* of 1311/1893 gives the *sandjak* at that time as that of Maʿān or al-Karak (see A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 242, 245, 246).

We derive information on demography and on the agricultural and financial situation of Transjordan in early Ottoman times from the Ottoman state *defters*, in particular, the *mufaṣṣal* ones for 1005/1596-7; see W.-D. Hütteroth and K. Abdulfattah, *Historical geography of Palestine, Transjordan and southern Syria in the late sixteenth century*, Erlanger Geographische Arbeiten, Sonderband 5, Erlangen 1977.

In the first three decades of the 11th/17th century, the great *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn II was able to expand into the Ḥawrān and the ʿAdjlūn region until his defeat and capture at the hands of the Ottoman governor of Damascus Küčük Aḥmed Pasha [see FAKHR AL-DĪN]. After this success, the Ottoman authorities attempted to tighten their grip on Transjordan. The hegemony of the Ghazawīs of ʿAdjlūn was gradually reduced, but Ottoman hopes of closer control were thwarted by extensive movements of Bedouin, especially in the 12th/18th and early 19th centuries, when growing pressure from the northwards movement in Nadjd of the ʿAnaza [*q.v.*] pushed other tribes towards Transjordan, such as the Ṣakhr [*q.v.*] and their rivals the ʿAdwān and the Ḥuwayṭāt. The resultant increased insecurity affected the Pilgrimage route, which compelled the Ottoman authorities to pay subsidies to the tribal *shaykhs* in order to ensure unimpeded access to the Holy Places. Even so, Ottoman suspiciousness and duplicitous dealings by the Porte led on occasion to violent attacks on the Syrian Pilgrimage caravan, as in 1756, when 20,000 pilgrims were reported killed or dead from thirst in the desert, and many more enslaved by the Bedouin. A further destabilising factor was the attacks in the opening years of the 19th century by the Wahhābīs. Wahhābī influence was felt at al-Karak by 1806, when local tribes acknowledged, if only nominally, the overlordship of Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. In 1809 Wahhābī forces raided up the Wādī Sirḥān, and in 1810 another raid via al-Azraḳ reached to within a few miles of Damascus; fortunately for the Ottomans, pressure on the first Suʿūdī state by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha of Egypt and his sons relieved Damascus of more threats.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's occupation of Syria during the 1830s triggered off various protest revolts, in particular in 1834 when the introduction of conscription was attempted. Rebels in the towns of Palestine were pursued by Ibrāhīm Pasha across the Jordan and crushed at al-Karak and al-Salṭ. But once the Egyptians withdrew from Syria in 1841, tribal anarchy had full rein in Transjordan. Thus in the troubled decades which followed, the Christian villagers of Tafīla in the southern part of the Sharāt abandoned their homes; in 1880 a number of Christian families left their homes in al-Karak to establish themselves at the deserted site of Mādaba. Up to 1867 there were apparently no villages and no cultivation east of al-Salṭ. Whereas a more northerly region like the Ḥawrān increased in settlements and in population during the second half of the 19th century, this economic and agricultural progress tailed off as one went southwards, and there may even have been regression in the south; thus the

population of al-Karak, estimated at 8,000 in 1872, was down to *ca.* 2,000 by 1895. In 1851 the Ottomans installed a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* at Irbid over the *sandjak* of the ʿAdjlūn district, within the *mutaṣarriflik* of Nābulus. After the great *wilāyet* reorganisation of the Grand Vizier Fuʾād Pasha and Midḥat Pasha [*q.vv.*] of 1864, which included the *wilāyet* of Damascus, further attempts were made to impose order in Transjordan. Muslim refugees from the Caucasus were brought in, such as the settlement of Circassians [see ČERKES] at ʿAmmān in 1878 and in the Golan heights near al-Ḳunayṭira/Quneitra. The Ottomans managed to collect some taxes as far south as al-Karak by 1882, and by 1893 established an administrative presence in al-Karak and Maʿān. Even so, Ottoman control in southern Transjordan remained tenuous. The Bedouin tribes had to be largely left to settle their internal disputes, such as those of the Ṣakhr and the ʿAdwān, by fighting, with occasional punitive expeditions, not usually very successful, by the Turks, such as that of 1869 against the Ṣakhr; and 1891-5 there was fighting around Petra.

Unrest continued into the early 20th century. A notable event of the opening years was the extension of the Ḥidjāz Railway [*q.v.*] to al-Zarḳāʾ by 1902 and Maʿān by 1904. It was constructed under considerable difficulties, including from Bedouin attacks, since the tribal *shaykhs* saw it as affecting their traditional role as protectors (at a price) of the Pilgrimage caravans. Friction between the local population of southern Transjordan and Turkish officialdom and its soldiery continued. A local revolt against the Turkish garrison in al-Shawbak took place in 1905. In 1910, the same year as that of the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*] rising, a more serious outbreak took place at al-Karak, in which tribesmen and sedentaries joined together against Ottoman attempts at land registration (regarded as *inter alia* the prelude to increased taxation), at the confiscation of personal arms and at a census as the preliminary for the introduction of conscription. Tribesmen of the Ṣakhr and ʿAṭiyya attacked the Ḥidjāz Railway and the station at Ḳaṭrāna, that nearest to al-Karak, as symbols of Ottoman penetration of the region. The revolt was bloodily suppressed by troops sent from Damascus, and the local Madjālī family of al-Karak, regarded by the Turks as ringleaders, outlawed, but the resultant intensification of Arab-Turkish negative feeling prepared the way for the Arab Revolt of a few years later.

The Ottoman empire entered the First World War in November 1914, but the Arab population of Transjordan was not greatly affected until June 1916 when the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] raised the flag of rebellion in the Ḥidjāz. In June 1917 T.E. Lawrence and Shaykh Awda Abū Ṭayyiʾ of the eastern Ḥuwayṭāt defeated a Turkish force south of Maʿān and in July captured al-ʿAḳaba/Aqaba. This last success made it now possible to concert operations with Allenby's Allied forces in Palestine. An attack by British and Commonwealth forces across the Jordan in early spring 1918 could not be sustained, but the Sharīf Fayṣal [see FAYṢAL I] and his Arab forces in southern Transjordan attacked Maʿān and destroyed several sections south of the town, thus isolating the Turkish garrisons along the railway to Medina for the rest of the War, an isolation sealed by the Imperial Camel Corps's seizure of al-Mudawwara, east of al-ʿAḳaba, a vital source of water for running locomotives. By 23 September al-Salṭ was taken, ʿAmmān two days later and Darʿa on 28 September, whilst the Turkish 2nd Corps which had been occupying Maʿān surrendered. Thus Transjordan was now clear, after almost exactly four centuries, of any Ottoman presence.

During the War, the attitude of the Arab notables and *shaykhs* of Transjordan had varied. Fayṣal received much valuable support from such Arab tribes as the Ruwala [*q.v.*] of northern Arabia, the Ḥuwayṭāt and some of the Ṣakhr in the Balḳāʾ. Other tribes, including most of the Ṣakhr, had, however, tended to hedge, as also was the case with the sedentary clans. The Christian clans generally favoured Fayṣal, and notables from al-Karak and Mādaba were exiled by the Ottoman military authorities to Adana province for their Sharīfian sympathies. Many of the Muslim clans nevertheless regarded the Ottomans as upholders of the cause of Islam and were suspicious of the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn and his sons because of their British connections. Several of these leading *shaykhs* were invited by the Ottomans to Damascus, and feasted and honoured there. Only when it became clear that the Ottoman position in Transjordan was unsustainable did some of these *shaykhs* begin to declare their support for Fayṣal and his cause.

When Damascus was captured and the Turkish army retreated northwards to the Taurus line, the whole of the Levant was placed under an Occupied Enemy Territories Administration, with the eastern part of Syria, including Transjordan, coming under Fayṣal's control. From the Balḳāʾ southwards, Transjordan was placed under a military administration headed by Fayṣal's commander-in-chief, the ʿIrāḳī former Ottoman Army officer Djaʿfar al-ʿAskarī, and local notables summoned to swear allegiance to the Sharīfian government in Damascus. At the end of 1919, this government divided its Syrian territories into eight *liwāʾ*s: that of the Ḥawrān included the regions of ʿAdjlūn and Irbid with its chef-lieu at Darʿa; that of the Balḳāʾ was centred on al-Salṭ; whilst the *liwāʾ* of al-Karak was extended southwards into northern Ḥidjāz to include the neighbourhood of Tabūk [*q.v.*]. But on the whole, Transjordan was a neglected part of Sharīfian Syria; Fayṣal was pre-occupied with much more pressing things, within the framework of Allied rivalries and intentions for the Greater Syrian region. Consequently, unrest and instability continued within Transjordan. Although proclaimed King of Syria by the General Syrian Congress in March 1920, Fayṣal was forced out of Syria in July 1920 under French pressure [see AL-SHĀM. 2. (b)]. It was his elder brother, ʿAbd Allāh, al-Ḥusayn's second son, who in November 1920 arrived at Maʿān and in February 1921 established himself in ʿAmmān as Amīr of Transjordan.

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(c) *The modern period*

Tribesmen in central Jordan divide their history into two periods: "the age of *shaykhs*" and "the age of government". The age of government arrived decisively with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, the division of the Fertile Crescent between Britain and France, and the creation of a British mandate for Palestine and Transjordan (renamed Jordan on independence in 1946). When the Amīr ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], the Sharīf Ḥusayn's [*q.v.*] second son, arrived in ʿAmmān [*q.v.*] in March 1921, ostensibly on his way to Damascus, the rudimentary British administration in the territory welcomed him. ʿAbd Allāh had a claim on British support owing to his father's alliance with Britain during World War I which produced the Arab Revolt; Britain needed to set up a governing structure in Transjordan which would not cost too much and which would fulfill its mandatory duty to train its mandated subjects in the art of self-government. They came to an agreement: ʿAbd Allāh stayed in ʿAmmān, and a British subsidy and a British-led and armed security force put him miles ahead of local tribal *shaykhs*.

The signs of modern statehood were developed during ʿAbd Allāh's period of rule, 1921-51: a capital (ʿAmmān), a flag, and territory delimited by recognised borders. Jordan's borders with its neighbours Syria and Irāḳ have remained firm to the present. Its border with Palestine/changed as a result of the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars when Jordan came to rule and then lost the Palestinian territories known as East Jerusalem and the West Bank. In the 1960s the border with Saudi Arabia south of the Jordanian port of ʿAḳaba was adjusted slightly in favour of Jordan to allow for the development of Jordan's only port.

Within its present borders, Jordan comprises 36,165 square miles with average annual rainfall varying by region from 25 inches in the northwest corner to 0-10 inches in the eastern desert. Over 91% of Jordan is desert or semi-desert. It is entirely land-locked with the exception of the port of ʿAḳaba which gives access to the Red Sea. There are few resources: phosphates, potash, the skills and services provided by its population, transit rights for oil pipelines and goods carried by truck.

In 1920 the population of Transjordan was around 225,000, divided almost equally between peasants and herders. Arabs were by far the majority; there was also a small number of Turcomans, Chechens and Circassians who had fled their homelands in the Caucasus as Russian rule advanced southwards in the 19th century. The vast majority of inhabitants were Muslim; a small number of Arab Christians lived on the highlands overlooking the Jordan Valley. ʿAmmān was a very small, mainly Circassian settlement in 1921; the largest town was al-Salṭ [*q.v.*] with a population of around 20,000. In 1938 the total population of Transjordan was estimated at 300,000 (probably too low); at that time ʿAmmān and al-Salṭ each had a population of around 20,000.

During the rule of Amīr, later King, ʿAbd Allāh, an administrative and legislative structure on a European model gradually emerged. More important to Jordan's long-term existence were the creation of an army, the Arab Legion, under British command, and the registration of land along European lines of private ownership. The army put an end to tribal raiding within the state and across state borders, and replaced those traditional methods of the redistribution of wealth amongst nomadic tribes with work and welfare. Land registration carried out under British auspices in the 1930s created a grid of small landholdings largely held by those who farmed them. There did not develop in Transjordan large disparities of wealth based on landownership as in Egypt, Syria and ʿIrāḳ.

In 1946, when Transjordan was granted its independence by Britain, the Amīr ʿAbd Allāh became King ʿAbd Allāh, and the name of his kingdom was changed to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (*al-Mamlaka al-Urdunniyya al-Hāshimiyya*). Britain continued to provide a subsidy to the state, and arms and officers to the army. In the 1948 Arab-Israeli war the army defended and occupied the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and East Jerusalem; they became part of Jordan in 1950. In 1951 King ʿAbd Allāh was assassinated by a Palestinian. He was succeeded by his eldest son Ṭalāl who abdicated in 1952 for reasons of mental incompetence. Ṭalāl was succeeded by his eldest son Ḥusayn (1935-99). King Ḥusayn's brother, Crown Prince Ḥasan, was his designated heir, but just before his death, he appointed his son ʿAbd Allāh as successor.

Jordan survived the regional turmoil of the 1950s owing to military and economic support from Britain and the United States. In 1957 American aid replaced British aid and the U.S. Sixth Fleet was sent to the shores of Lebanon in a demonstration of support for King Ḥusayn, who had been threatened by a coup d'état. In 1958 British paratroopers were sent to Jordan during the ʿIrāḳī revolution. Within Jordan a growing community of interests among army, governing élite, and king allowed for a concentration of power in the king's hands. The British commander of the Arab Legion, Sir John Bagot Glubb, was dismissed in 1956 and thereafter the officer corps was Jordanised. The army remained loyal to King Ḥusayn during the attempted coup in 1957, and since then power has remained firmly in royal hands. Jordan's participation in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war cost it the West Bank and East Jerusalem, which it lost to Israel, and, temporarily, U.S. aid. The subsequent growth of the military wing of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in Jordan led to a confrontation with the Jordanian army in 1970-1 which forced the PLO out of the country.

The 1970s and 80s was a period of economic boom and bust and of tight political control. Economic growth in the public sector was fuelled by foreign aid and governmental borrowing; growth in the private sector was thanks to remittances from Palestinian workers in the expanding oil economies of the Gulf to their families in Jordan. American aid was cut and replaced by Arab aid in 1978 when King Ḥusayn did not join in the Camp David negotiations between Egypt and Israel.

No elections were held and parliament did not sit from 1967 to 1984; political life was limited to jockeying for royal favour amongst a small élite. The door to political life was cautiously opened in 1984 with elections to fill parliamentary seats vacated by death since the last elections in 1967. In 1989 there were full parliamentary elections and since then elections have been held every four years. Elections have served to shift public perceptions of political responsibility from the king to his government in the recurrent economic crises since the bread riots of 1989. The monarchy is not, however, above politics and King Ḥusayn still retained control of all aspects of policy, internal and external. In the 1993 and 1997 elections, re-drawing of electoral boundaries gave rural constituencies loyal to the king unduly large representation. The official reasoning behind this imbalance was to give voice to "areas in Jordan which have long been

deprived of securing their basic needs." In political terms, reducing the representation of the ʿAmmān-Zarḳāʾ urban conglomerate which accounts for nearly half the country's population to only a quarter of the seats in parliament reduces the strength of the oppositional Islamist and Palestinian voices concentrated there. This encouragement of the nativist politics of the countryside in recent elections may, however, be of doubtful utility to the state and the monarchy in the long term.

The population of Jordan in 1996 was estimated at 4.38 million. ʿAmmān is the largest city by far with 1.2 million inhabitants; Zarḳāʾ is the next largest with 585,000. This ten-fold increase from an estimated 476,000 before the 1948 war is because of high rates of natural increase and the history of Palestine. With the end of the Palestine mandate and the creation of the state of Israel, Jordan gained the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and East Jerusalem and some 850,000 Palestinians; the territory of Jordan increased by about 6% and its population tripled. In 1967 while Jordan lost all Palestinian territory and some population, an estimated 300,000 Palestinians from the West Bank and East Jerusalem fled or were forced across the river to Jordan. In the wake of the Gulf War in 1991, another 300,000 Palestinians were forced out of Kuwait and ended up in Jordan. Since 1948 the proportion of Jordan's population with Palestinian roots has been assumed to be between 60 and 75% although no official numbers have ever been made available.

Jordan's changing demographic profile has had a profound impact on its politics and its economy. The lack of urban mass during the mandate contributed to the weak development of Arab nationalism in Jordan compared to neighbouring mandates. A distinct Jordanian sense of identity did not begin to develop in any meaningful way until significant numbers of Palestinians arrived in 1948 and began to compete for the resources of the state. State resources were spent on trying to settle and maintain Palestinian refugees in camps, but the country also benefited from the influx of capital of middle class Palestinians and from foreign aid directed towards Palestinians made destitute by the war. Jordan had only one government secondary school which offered a complete four-year curriculum (boys only), and the better educated Palestinians were an asset.

From the 1960s until 1990, remittances from Palestinians working in the expanding oil economies of the Gulf were an important source of capital and foreign exchange in Jordan. When these Palestinians were forced to leave the Gulf countries as a result of the 1990-1 Gulf War, their capital spurred a construction boom and the start-up of new businesses in Jordan. Although the loss of steady remittances could pose economic problems in the long term, Jordan's 1994 peace agreement with Israel and the mutual recognition of Israel and the PLO has created the possibility of regional economic development helped by international investment in the peace process.

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(Mary C. Wilson)

ʿURF (a.), custom, customary law (also ʿĀda, [*q.v.*]).

1. The status of custom in Islamic law

Custom was not one of the formal sources of law (*uṣūl*, sing. *aṣl*) in classical Islamic law. In practice, however, custom was frequently drawn on as a material source of law. Eventually, in the 16th century, it gained something close to formal recognition; but before that time attempts were made to incorporate custom in the law without granting it formal recognition, particularly (but not only) by Ḥanafī jurists.

Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), an early leader of the Ḥanafī school, was inclined to recognise custom (*ʿurf*) not as a formal source, but rather as part of the *sunna*, which in his view is based both on custom and on the practice of the Prophet (al-Sarakhsī, *K. al-Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324-31/1906-13, xii, 142, cf. also 138). This approach implies that custom can prevail over a written text (*naṣṣ*). Abū Yūsuf's position was rejected, however, by subsequent generations. The opposing position—which coloured much of the treatment of custom by Ḥanafī jurists—is expressed by al-Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090), who held that custom cannot prevail over a written text (*naṣṣ*) (*ibid.*, xii, 142, cf. also 138).

Essentially, Islamic law up to the 16th century resolved the tension between theory and practice by *de facto* recognition of the role of custom. This was achieved by several devices. One was recourse to other, legitimate, sources of law. A particularly important principle in this context was *istiḥsān* [*q.v.*], i.e. personal preference of a jurist: a given customary practice could be incorporated into the law, but the justification for doing so would be *istiḥsān*. This procedure had the further advantage that a ruling based on *istiḥsān* overrode one based on *ḳiyās*. Another principle used to the same end was *ḍarūra* "necessity", as invoked

in al-Sarakhsī's statement *wa 'l-ḥaradj madfūʿ sharʿan* ("a law that is unduly difficult for people to live with may be rejected by the *sharīʿa*"). Recourse to these principles was particularly frequent in the area of commercial law.

Custom could also be integrated into Islamic law by identifying it with *sunna* or *idjmāʿ*. Before the body of *ḥadīth* was finally closed (around the 11th century), there was in fact no need to accept custom as a formal source of law, for custom could still become part of *sunna* by finding expression in *ḥadīth*. For this reason, and because custom could still be identified with *idjmāʿ*, early legal texts almost never refer to custom in association with *istiḥsān*.

Muslim jurists could also include custom in the law on the basis of the principle that any lawful agreement between parties has legal force. For it could be said that custom is no more than an agreement between a large number of people, whence the common maxim *al-thābit bi 'l-ʿurf ka 'l-thābit bi 'l-sharṭ* ("what is established by virtue of custom is like what is established by virtue of an agreed condition"). The principle is invoked mainly in relation to the rights and duties of parties to contracts in a broad variety of areas: loans, hire, power of attorney, suretyship, damages, etc.

In the course of time, however, the quantity of material derived from custom reached such proportions that, from the late 13th century, custom began moving from the periphery of legal theory to become by the 16th century a virtually independent factor in Ḥanafī legal thought. Thus Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Ibn Nudjaym (d. 970/1563) writes the words *wa-'ʿlam anna iʿtibār al-ʿāda wa 'l-ʿurf yurdjaʿ ilayh fi 'l-fiḳh fī masā'il kathīra ḥattā djaʿalū dhālika aṣlan* ("know that custom and usage are so frequently taken into consideration in the law that they [the jurists] have made it a formal source") (*al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir*, Cairo 1378/1968, 93). Also, from the early 16th century onwards, special chapters on custom can be found in the legal literature, e.g. Ibn Nudjaym, *op. cit.*; Muḥammad Amīn Ibn ʿĀbidīn (d. 1252/1836), *al-ʿUrf*, in *Madjmūʿat rasā'il Ibn ʿĀbidīn*.

The last stage in the process of recognising custom as a formal source is in a sense marked by the *Medjelle* [*q.v.*] (the Ottoman Civil Code promulgated in 1877), whose authors, following the work of 16th century jurists, compiled the main rulings concerning custom in ten articles that form part of the introduction; though it should be said that the *Medjelle* was not a code of religious law but of secular legislation. Modern scholars of Muslim law generally devote a chapter on custom along with their writing on the classical sources. This seems to imply that they consider custom a source of law as well (e.g. Shawḳī ʿAbduh al-Sāhī, *al-Madkhal li 'l-dirāsat al-fiḳh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1989, 295).

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2. Arab customary law (for other customary legal systems, see s.v. ʿĀDA)

I. *Regional features*

Information about Arab customary law is very unevenly distributed. Most of North Africa is from this point of view terra incognita, and even the customary legal systems of southern Arabia, which were particularly highly developed, and for which many unpublished documents survive, remain largely unknown. Among the areas for which there is relatively good published information we may distinguish (mainly on the basis of procedural differences) the following groupings (within each of which there are also local differences):

A. The Mashriḳ

1. The Bedouin, and many of the sedentary people, of what will be called the Central Region. This includes Sinai (to which the account that follows especially applies), Palestine, Jordan, and parts of the Syrian Desert and northern Arabia. In the legal systems of this region, the parties to a dispute must first reach agreement on a precise definition of the issue(s) in dispute between them (including who will be plaintiff, *ṭālib*, and who defendant, *maṭlūb*, with regard to each issue) and on the identity of the justiciar (*ḳāḍī* in some communities, *ʿārif(a)* in others) who is to hear the case. The justiciar has some of the characteristics of a judge (his decisions can be used as precedents and trials are normally public) and some of those of an arbitrator (he has only such powers as are given to him by the parties). The parties are free to ask anyone they want to act as the justiciar in their case; but they will usually select someone from a pool of men in the community who are recognised as justiciars, by virtue either of frequently acting as such, or of having been formally appointed as such, e.g. by a gathering of the elders of the tribe. There are also certain descent groups which by tradition supply certain specialised types of justiciar: thus through much of this region justiciars for cases involving *ʿirḍ* "honour" [*q.v.*] traditionally come from a certain group within the Masāʿīd tribe, while those for cases involving physical violence come from a certain group within the Balī tribe. These hereditary justiciars are considered the highest authority (*manhā*) for the settlement of disputes relating to their respective specialities; such disputes can also be settled, however, with the consent of the parties, by local justiciars.

Each party promises the other to appear before the justiciar (usually at his home) on an agreed date; the defendant promises the plaintiff to execute any judgement there may be against him, and the plaintiff promises the defendant not to sue again on the same claim if the proceedings result in victory for the defendant. Each promise is given legal effect by means of a tripartite contract involving promisor, promisee and a guarantor. This transaction is the standard form of contract in these systems; it takes the place of the bipartite contract that is familiar to us, and is used in many contexts. It gives the promisee an effective sanction against the guarantor in the event that the promiser fails to perform (see below).

The proceedings before the justiciar are adversarial; parties may be represented by an attorney (*kabīr*). The justiciar is entitled to a fee (*rizḳa*) from each party; the losing party must afterwards reimburse the

victorious party for this payment. The plaintiff makes a formal pleading (*ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a*), the defendant responds with his *ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a*, the justiciar formally summarises the pleadings, there follows informal discussion in which all those present may participate, and finally the justiciar renders a formal judgement (*ḥakk*) in which he finds for either plaintiff or defendant. Each party must then formally state either that it accepts the judgement, or that it wants the case tried again before another justiciar. In all, a case may be tried by up to three successive justiciars, but as soon as two judgements coincide, the matter is concluded.

If the plaintiff wins, the justiciar may order the defendant to pay amends to the plaintiff, or he may order the defendant to make symbolic amends (e.g. by publicly retracting a defamatory statement), or both; he may also order the defendant to undertake some other action, e.g. divorce his wife or hand over possession of a piece of land. Awards are often substantial, sometimes even ludicrous, and a victorious plaintiff will frequently renounce part or even all of the material amends due to him. The justiciar's responsibilities end with his judgement; if the defendant shows signs of trying to evade execution, then the defendant's guarantor has a duty to the plaintiff either to ensure that the defendant does what he is supposed to do or (as far as possible) to do it in his stead.

2. The sedentary tribes and the Bedouin of Northern Yemen. The evidence here is less extensive than for the Central Region (there is, for example, no adequate first-hand account of a trial in the literature), but it appears that the proceedings are broadly similar: the parties agree on the identity of a justiciar (*muḥakkam* or *mukawwil*), and exchange promises that are given legal force by means of guaranties. It is normally a chief (*naḳīb* or *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* at the higher levels, *ʿāḳil* at the lowest level) who acts as justiciar; in this there is a marked contrast with the Central Region, where the office of justiciar is usually quite distinct from that of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* (though a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* may at times act as a justiciar). Yemeni procedure differs from procedure in the Central Region in that the parties give promises not only to each other, but also to the justiciar: not to sabotage the proceedings (e.g. by attacking each other or by attacking the justiciar himself) and to carry out his decision. Each party accompanies its promises with a pledge, usually in the form of guns (*banādiḳ al-ʿadāl/al-muṣaffī/al-naṣaf*) deposited with the justiciar; the pledges are returned to the parties if they keep their promises; if they do not, the guns can presumably be redeemed only by some kind of payment to the justiciar (this being distinct from the fee, *ud̲j̲ra*, that he may receive). Other procedures are like those in the Central Region: a case may be tried several times, each time before a different justiciar; there are justiciars (known in the Yemen as *marāg̲h̲a* or *furūʿ*) who possess special high authority (the term *manhā* is also used in this context); and a litigant who demands a retrial must get permission for it from the justiciar whose decision he is rejecting. This permission is given in Yemen only in exchange for a pledge (*banādiḳ al-d̲j̲arr/al-kasr/al-miyya/al-taʿkīs/al-taʿkīz*). In some areas, at least, the pledge only has to be redeemed by a payment if the next justiciar confirms his predecessor's decision. A characteristic feature of North Yemeni law is the slaughter of an animal (*ʿaḳīra*), ideally a bull, as a gesture of conciliation or supplication; a similar practice is widespread in Morocco [see ʿĀR, in Suppl.], but exists only in a very limited way elsewhere in the Mas̲h̲riḳ.

3. The semi-sedentary tribes of lower ʿIrāḳ (where, in contrast to the other three regions, it seems likely that customary law has largely disappeared). Here too we find the justiciar (*farīḍ(a)*, pl. *faraḍa*, or *ʿārif*, pl. *aʿrāf*, *ʿurrāf*) as a distinct office, and here, too, the man appointed is said to be chosen by the parties. But the institution of guarantor, so important elsewhere in the Mas̲h̲riḳ, was apparently unknown, or at least rarely used. This may be connected with the fact that in many places there were powerful *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*, of a kind not common in the Central Region or Yemen, who could ensure that the parties fulfilled all their forensic obligations (and who might themselves act as justiciars). Most trials presumably took place in the tribal guest-house (*muḍīf*); the exact procedures have not been described. Re-trials were evidently not uncommon, but the notion of specialised justiciars possessing higher authority than ordinary ones seems to be absent.

From early in the 20th century, in Egypt and in the Fertile Crescent (but not in the Yemen), governments issued regulations setting up special courts that administered customary law in those regions where it seemed appropriate. These courts were mostly abolished during the third quarter of the century. The judges in the state customary law courts were usually local men, and their decisions were based largely on the traditional law of the area of their jurisdiction. The procedures followed in these courts were, however, generally new and alien. The tribal law courts seem to have been particularly well-established in ʿIrāḳ (where their beginnings go back to the late Ottoman period), and it is not always easy to distinguish in the literature on ʿIrāḳ between autochthonous procedures and those introduced by the authorities.

B. The Mag̲h̲rib

Procedures of the type that have just been described, in which disputes are tried in a formal public hearing before one man, do not seem to be attested as a common mode of dispute settlement in the customary law of any Arabic-speaking community in North Africa. Here disputes are settled by other means, for instance by negotiation, by mediation or by decision of a council (*d̲j̲amāʿa* [*q.v.*, esp. ii.]). We find such councils among, for instance, the Rgaybāt of the Western Sahara and the D̲h̲wī Mnīʿ (Doui Menia) of eastern Morocco. Judicial councils are evidently the result of Berber influence, and are not attested in the Mas̲h̲riḳ.

The Bedouin of the Western Desert and Cyrenaica are the only North African Arabs whose customary law (*darāʾib*, *ʿawāʾid*) is well documented. Disputes are settled by a variety of informal means, normally in private; the word *mīʿād*, which in the Central Area and in Yemen refers to a trial, here means "merely a gathering of all interested parties and anyone else who wishes to attend, in which the agreement reached behind the scenes by means of negotiations is announced" (Safia Mohsen, *Quest for order among Awlad Ali*, Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University 1971, 61). The term *marḍī* (pl. *marāḍī*), which is peculiar to this region, though glossed in some sources as "judge", actually refers to a mediator (Mohsen, 86-7); one or more *marāḍī* are on occasion appointed as arbitrators by the parties. Guarantors are unknown.

II. *General features*

In the communities where customary law is important, public authority is generally weak or non-existent. A man relies for the defence of his interests on one or another of the groups to which he belongs: for

example, tribe, blood-money group, or section of the blood-money group [see further THA'R]. One usually becomes a member of such a group by virtue of the fact that one's father was a member, although in many places the possibility also exists of formally moving from one group to another. Since a man is so dependent on his group, and since the group is liable for many of a man's actions, disputes between individuals tend to develop into disputes between groups.

Women (like children) rarely take any public part in the process of dispute resolution. In many communities they are for all practical purposes stripped of legal personality. For legal purposes, a woman must generally be represented by a man; this may extend to the point where she is not allowed to testify in court, and it is he who must report her testimony, and if need be take an oath as to its veracity.

It is characteristic of traditional Arab communities that a woman's ties with her natal agnatic group are stronger in many ways than her ties with her husband (and this seems to have been true already in the Djāhiliyya). Even after marriage, her natal group often retains legal responsibility for her. This is reflected in the emphasis placed on the relationship between brother and sister. When a woman must be represented in court in some capacity, then it will generally not be her husband, but her closest adult male agnate (her *walī* "guardian" [see NIKĀḤ. I. 3]) who will undertake this responsibility; and if she is guilty of some misdeed, it is her agnates who will pay for it.

Marriage generally appears as a contract between the woman's guardian and her husband. It gives the husband important rights (notably to the wife's labour and to her children by him), but if the woman receives contradictory orders from husband and guardian, it is usually the guardian whom she will obey. A woman's guardian can in many places kill or beat her with impunity, at least when she is not married; her husband can at most only beat her, and even on this there may be severe limits. The guardian is a woman's main defence against mistreatment by her husband; it is to him that she will usually flee if she wants her husband to divorce her; and if the marriage ends, she will, except in special circumstances, return to her guardian's home.

A sexual offence against a woman is generally viewed as an offence against the *ʿirḍ* "honour" of her agnates. The notion of a sexual offence is often broadly defined, and may include any activity, even a flirtatious conversation, which has sexual overtones. The fact that the woman has consented does not obviate the offence, though it may mitigate the penalty. Adultery is in the law primarily an offence against the *ʿirḍ* of the woman's guardian; in some communities (e.g. in the Central Region) the husband gets no amends; in some he gets amends only if he divorces the wife (a common rule in ʿIrāḳ); and in a few (e.g. in the Western Desert) he always has a right to amends, though the sum may not be large. In a number of places an unchaste woman is in real danger of being killed by her agnates; but this is not universal, and we can also find groups, e.g. some sections of the Ouled Naïl and the Amour of Algeria, which were notoriously permissive.

ʿIrḍ is not only sexual honour. A man's *ʿirḍ* is pledged when he extends his protection, e.g. to a guest (*ḍayf*, in Yemen also *maṭīʿ*), to a protégé (*djār*, *ṭanīb*, *ḳaṣīr*; in the Western Desert *nazīl*, and in southern Arabia *ẓabīn*, *ḳaṭīr*, *rabīʿ*), and when he acts as a travelling companion (*rafīḳ*, *khawī*, also *musīr* in ʿIrāḳ, *sayyir* in Yemen, and *ẓaṭṭāṭ* in Morocco), especially in his own tribal territory. In this context, *ʿirḍ* itself, or the protection to which the protector pledges his *ʿirḍ*, is often referred to in the Mashriḳ as *wadjh* "face." Protection may also be extended to inanimate objects (e.g. to pastureland or to camels belonging to one party that are under threat of seizure by another). An offence against a protected person is also an offence against the protector, so that the offender will be liable to pay amends to both.

One who violates his *ʿirḍ* obligations, for instance by failing to defend (or worse still, harming) a protégé, brings upon himself deep dishonour. This is the sanction that makes the tripartite contract so effective, for a guarantor pledges his honour. Both in the Central Region and in Northern Yemen, if a man has failed to keep an obligation of honour, for instance a guaranty, then the victim of this failure has formal means by which to make the fact public, for instance, by saying "May God blacken so-and-so's face", or by flying a black flag and explaining why.

The amends for offences against a man's *ʿirḍ*—whether by sexual interference with his ward, or by harming his protégé, or (where blackening exists) by wrongfully blackening him—are generally heavy. Lighter penalties exist for other types of affronts to dignity, e.g. verbal insults or blows which cause no significant physical injury. Amends for offences against honour (whether under the name of *ʿirḍ* or otherwise) often have a special name: *kabāra* and *maʿtab* in the Western Desert and Cyrenaica, *hashm* in ʿIrāḳ, *hashm* and also *ʿayb* in Northern Yemen, *manshad* (only for *ʿirḍ* offences) in parts of the Central Region. The *kabāra*, and perhaps the *hashm*, are often imposed in addition to amends of some other kind, e.g. blood-money. Blood-money groups frequently have a rule that if a member is found guilty of an honour offence he must pay the penalty out of his own pocket.

Whatever the offence, a finding for the plaintiff will usually result in the defendant paying amends to the plaintiff and/or being ordered to perform some action for the benefit of the plaintiff (as noted above at the end of section I.1). Sometimes the defendant may be condemned to suffer physical punishment, but this is probably always merely notional (unless there is some public authority), and is in practice commuted to a payment to the plaintiff. In ʿIrāḳ, and apparently only in ʿIrāḳ, it was common practice for amends to be in the form of one or more women handed over as brides to the plaintiff's group; elsewhere, women were handed over in this way only as part of the settlement for a homicide, and although the practice is widely attested, it was probably nowhere very common.

The notion of a penalty imposed by a public authority seems to exist in the Mashriḳ only where there is a relatively powerful ruler. Thus there were tribes in ʿIrāḳ in which the *shaykh* could fine and even jail a miscreant. The institution of a fine payable to a body representing the community, which is prominent in Berber customary law, is virtually unknown in the Mashriḳ; but it has been recorded among the Arabic-speaking (though originally Berber) tribes of southern Tunisia, and may possibly have been common in the Maghrib.

The law usually allows homicide and bodily injury to be settled by retaliation, often by any member of the victim's vengeance group against any member of the perpetrator's. In practice, however, most such offences are resolved by payment of amends after the victim's group has agreed to a truce. In some places there are experts (the *ḳaṣṣāṣ* in parts of the Central Region, the *muʾarrish* in the Yemen, the *naẓẓār* in the

Western Desert) who determine the amount due for a particular injury. The *diya* [*q.v.*] for homicide usually varies according to sex: a woman is in some places worth only half a man, in others twice or even four times as much. In most of the Central Region the *diya* for all men is the same; in ʿIrāḳ, s͟hayk͟hly families usually have much higher blood-money than ordinary men; in certain regions there are inferior groups members of which have lower *diyas* than members of artistocratic groups; and in many places *s͟hurafāʾ* or *sāda* have a higher *diya* than others. The amount of blood-money due usually varies according to the circumstances of the homicide—whether intentional or not, whether in self-defence, whether the killer attempted to conceal the fact that he did the deed, and so on.

Each blood-money group has its own rules as to how much it contributes towards the payment of blood-money due from a member, and how it distributes blood-money received by a member. Often a man pays a third or a quarter out of his own pocket, and the other members contribute equally towards the balance; and an analogous rule may apply to the distribution of blood-money received.

The communities in a given region often view themselves as legally autonomous units. Each tribe may have its own laws, which may differ somewhat from those of its neighbours. The customary law does not enjoy supernatural authority, and the community can change its law if it so wishes, usually by means of a consensus reached at a gathering of leading men. We know, for instance, of communities in ʿIrāḳ, in the Central Region, and in the Western Desert, that have in the present century changed the old rules that allowed an *ibn ʿamm* to control in some way the marriage of his *bint ʿamm*.

The law recognises not only individuals but also corporate entities, notably the blood-money group and the tribe. Each such entity has at least one authorised representative—its *s͟hayk͟h* or elder (*kabīr*, also *ʿāḳil* in the Yemen, *ʿāḳila* in the Western Desert). Disputes between tribes, e.g. over territory, may be dealt with by negotiation, by litigation, or by war—but in all cases, within a framework of law. This is possible because within a given region there is a generally recognised body of law dealing with inter-tribal relations, and often also men whose probity and legal expertise are universally acknowledged and who can be called on to act as justiciars in litigation between tribes.

Customary law seems in most places to be personal rather than territorial. So, for instance, robbery is prohibited among members of the autonomous legal unit, say the tribe; but a stranger who enters tribal territory is not, by virtue of having done so, protected by this law. In order to enjoy such protection, a stranger must enter into an appropriate legal relationship with a member of the tribe who has authority to extend such protection. The stranger can do so, for intance, by becoming a protégé of a tribesman or by acquiring a tribesman as a travelling companion.

The *ʿurf* is markedly rational. Although belief in witchcraft, the evil eye, and the like, exists to some degree in many traditional Arab communities, these are not matters which lead to litigation; the contrast with, say, customary law in sub-Saharan Africa is striking. Where possible, decisions are based on natural evidence (testimony, footprints, written documents, etc.). Oaths (individual or collective) are generally resorted to only in the absence of such evidence; and this is true also of ordeals, found only in the Mas͟hriḳ. The most common is the fire-ordeal (*bis͟hʿa, balʿa*), widely used in the Central Region and southern Arabia.

The relationship between the *ʿurf* and the *s͟harīʿa* varies greatly from place to place. Among many Bedouin tribes of the Central Region the law does not appear to have been influenced by the *s͟harīʿa*; even marriage and divorce are, both in form and in substance, quite different from the corresponding institutions in Islamic law. In North Africa, in contrast, the *ʿurf* often shows clear Islamic influences; for instance, the *naẓẓār* in the Western Desert, in assessing the amends due for an injury, refers to written sources that reflect Islamic law.

Often enough, both customary law and Islamic law are in use in the same community, each administered by its own judicial apparatus. Thus in the ʿIrāḳī village in the earlier part of this century, the *mūman* would deal with matters of marriage, divorce and inheritance in accordance with S͟hīʿī law (as far as his knowledge of it went), while the *s͟hayk͟h* awarded *faṣliyyāt* (women given as amends) in decisions about blood-money or honour that he made in accordance with the *ʿurf*. This kind of coexistence—and it would appear, generally peaceful coexistence—of the two systems was also to be found in many places in southern Arabia and North Africa. Each law confined itself to a particular area of life (the division varying from place to place), and it was only exceptionally (as under the Wahhābīs) that the religious authorities attacked the *ʿurf* on all fronts.

This article has dealt with the customary law of those communities in which the *ʿurf* regulated broad areas of social life; but it should be added that many professions also had their own specialised *ʿurf*. The best-known example is the body of customary law that governed the pearl fisheries of the Gulf, which in its time was "enforced in every Arab principality by a tribunal known as the *sālifat al-g͟hawṣ*" (J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, Calcutta 1908-15, i, 2234).

For a variety of reasons, Arab customary law has been largely neglected by scholars, whether in the East or the West. But we should not allow this to mislead us as to its importance in the real world. During many centuries, the great majority of the Arab people lived outside the cities; and for most of these people the *ʿurf* was a more important determinant of their daily lives than the *s͟harīʿa* (or indeed any other law). Disputes are common in most non-urban Arab communities, and there is often a marked sense that a true man is one who will not tolerate the slightest infringement of his rights—a feeling that applies equally to groups. There is also often (at least in the Mas͟hriḳ) a very legalistic mentality, one that demands conceptual clarity, that is sensitive to fine logical distinctions, that delights in argument, and that will push a line of reasoning to its utmost extreme. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the *ʿurf* of the Central Region and the Yemen is markedly more sophisticated than anything that we know from other societies around the world which lack strong central authority. The customary law is, in fact, one of the most impressive, if one of the least appreciated, achievements of Arab folk culture.

Bibliography: Most of the references are given s.vv. ṬĀG͟HŪT and T͟HAʾR. To these may be added: A. Layish and A. Shmueli, *Custom and sharīʿa in the Bedouin family according to legal documents from the Judean Desert*, in *BSOAS*, xlii (1979), 29-45; Aḥmad ʿUwaydī al-ʿAbbādī, *Min al-adilla al-ḳaḍāʾiyya ʿind al-badw*, ʿAmmān 1983; idem, *al-Ḏj̲arāʾim al-ṣug͟hrā ʿind*

al-ʿa<u>sh</u>āʾir al-urdunniyya, ʿAmmān 1987; F.H. Stewart, *Bedouin boundaries in central Sinai and the southern Negev*, Wiesbaden 1986 (on inter-tribal litigation); idem, *Schuld and Haftung in Bedouin law*, in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung*, cvii (1990), 393-407 (on the guaranty); idem, *The woman, her guardian and her husband in the law of the Sinai Bedouin*, in *Arabica*, xxxviii (1991), 102-29; idem, *Honor*, Chicago 1994; *Bedouin law*, special issue of *Ha-Mizraḥ he-Ḥadash*, xxxiii (1991) (in Hebrew); A. Layish, *Divorce in the Libyan family*, New York 1991; idem, *Legal documents on Libyan tribal society*, Wiesbaden 1997; I. Zilberman, *Palestinian customary law in the Jerusalem area*, in *Catholic University Law Review*, xlv (1996), 795-811. (F.H. Stewart)

URFA [see al-ruhā].

ʿURFĪ <u>SH</u>ĪRĀZĪ, Persian poet of the later 10th/16th century (d. 999/1591); the earliest sources give his name as <u>D</u>jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Sīdī (= Sayyidī).

He was born in <u>Sh</u>īrāz in 963/1555-6 to an official of the provincial judiciary, Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī Balawī, taking his *ta<u>kh</u>alluṣ* from his father's work with matters of customary law (*ʿurf*). ʿUrfī became a leading figure in the literary life of the city. Awḥadī Balyānī provides a first-hand account of the poetic circle of Mīr Maḥmūd-i Ṭarḥī, where ʿUrfī vied with poets such as <u>Gh</u>ayratī (see Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Kārwān-i Hind*, ii, 959-69) in composing responses to the *<u>gh</u>azals* of Bābā Fi<u>gh</u>ānī [*q.v.*]. ʿUrfī's literary fame soon spread across Persia. His talent was recognised by Muḥta<u>sh</u>am-i Kā<u>sh</u>ānī, and he corresponded with Waḥ<u>sh</u>ī-i Bāfķī [*q.vv.*]. Like many of his contemporaries, ʿUrfī was attracted by the rich patronage of the Mu<u>gh</u>al courts and sailed for India in 992/1584. Although he proved his talent in the literary circle of Aḥmadnagar, his arrogance soon made him unwelcome, and he moved on to the imperial capital of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. There he was well received by Fayḍī [*q.v.*], the leading poet of Akbar's court, whom ʿUrfī accompanied on campaign to the Pan<u>dj</u>āb in 994/1585. Through Fayḍī, ʿUrfī became acquainted with Masīḥ al-Dīn Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ Gīlānī (see Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *op. cit.*, i, 13-15), who, until his death in 997/1589-90, was the poet's principal supporter and patron. ʿUrfī then joined the entourage of the Mu<u>gh</u>al statesman, general, and patron of letters Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm <u>Kh</u>ān-i <u>Kh</u>ānān [*q.v.*]. He held ʿUrfī in great esteem and introduced him into the service of Akbar and his son Salīm (later <u>D</u>jahāngīr [*q.v.*]). ʿUrfī did not enjoy his new status for long: he died of dysentery in Lahore in <u>Sh</u>awwāl 999/August 1591. Some thirty years later, his remains were disinterred and reburied in Na<u>dj</u>af.

Despite dying young, ʿUrfī had a great impact on his contemporaries through the force of both his personality and his poetry. Perhaps in part because he was disfigured by smallpox in his twenties, ʿUrfī was hypersensitive, quick to take offence and to return the same with a ready wit and sharp tongue. Massively self-conceited, ʿUrfī judged his poetry superior not only to that of his contemporaries but to that of the greatest masters of the past. Even the normally mild-mannered Naẓīrī [*q.v.*] found occasion to condemn ʿUrfī's arrogance. However exaggerated, ʿUrfī's lofty estimation of his own talents was not unfounded. His poetry enjoyed great popularity in his lifetime throughout the Persian-speaking world and played a crucial role in the development of the *<u>sh</u>īwa-yi tāza* ("fresh style," now commonly called the "Indian style"). His style has been praised for its forceful, yet fluent diction, the invention of new expressions, continuity of theme, and innovative similes and metaphors.

Among ʿUrfī's works, his *ķaṣīdas* have met with the greatest critical acclaim. They have perhaps unjustly overshadowed his *<u>gh</u>azals*, which often demonstrate a powerful command of language and subtlety of thought and imagery. His *dīwān* also includes *ķiṭʿa*s and *rubāʿī*s. ʿUrfī composed a short *sāķī-nāma* and began work on two other *ma<u>th</u>nawī*s, *Ma<u>dj</u>maʿ al-abkār* and *Farhād wa <u>Sh</u>īrīn*, but both remained unfinished at his death. He also wrote a short prose treatise entitled *Nafsiyya*. Despite his talent and significance, the text and contents of ʿUrfī's *dīwān* remain unsettled. ʿUrfī collected and disseminated his own works in 996/1588. On his death, he handed his manuscripts over to the library of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm <u>Kh</u>ān-i <u>Kh</u>ānān, and these were assembled and edited by the poet Sirā<u>dj</u>ā-yi Iṣfahānī and disseminated with an introduction by ʿAbd al-Bāķī Nahāwandī in 1024/1615. Muhammad Ali has cast doubt on the authenticity of many of the *<u>gh</u>azals* in this version of the *dīwān*; his judgement is based on literary quality and not on philological grounds and has been questioned by Gulčīn-i Maʿānī (*May<u>kh</u>āna*, 215 n. 2) and Muḥammad al-Ḥaķķ Anṣārī. In an important series of essays, Anṣārī has uncovered a number of previously unpublished works and laid the foundation for a scholarly edition of ʿUrfī's works.

Bibliography: For a list of *ta<u>dh</u>kira* sources, see <u>Dh</u>. Ṣafā, *Tārī<u>kh</u>-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1364 *<u>sh</u>.*/1985, v/2, 799-814. The most important of these sources are collected and quoted at length in A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Kārwān-i Hind*, Ma<u>sh</u>had 1369 *<u>sh</u>.*/1990, ii, 872-90 (including the otherwise unpublished notices on ʿUrfī from Awḥadī Balyānī's *ʿArafāt al-ʿā<u>sh</u>iķīn* and Taķī Kā<u>sh</u>ī's *<u>Kh</u>ulāṣat al-<u>sh</u>uʿarāʾ*). See also Fa<u>kh</u>r al-Zamānī Ķazwīnī, *Ta<u>dh</u>kira-yi May<u>kh</u>āna*, ed. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, Tehran 1340 *<u>sh</u>.*/1961, 215-34. Among the secondary sources, see Browne, *LHP*, iv, 241-9; M. <u>Sh</u>iblī-Nuʿmānī, *<u>Sh</u>iʿr al-ʿA<u>dj</u>am*, tr. M.T. Fa<u>kh</u>r-i Dāʿī Gīlānī, Tehran 1334 *<u>sh</u>.*/1955, iii, 66-111; Muhammad Ali, *ʿUrfi of Shīrāz*, in *IC*, iii (1929), 96-125; Rypka, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, 299; and M. al-Ḥ. Anṣārī, *ʿUrfī <u>Sh</u>īrāzī*, Lucknow 1974 (in Urdu). For a listing of the many, widely dispersed manuscripts of ʿUrfī's works, see A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nus<u>kh</u>ahā-yi <u>kh</u>aṭṭī-yi Fārsī*, iii, 1881-3 (*kulliyyāt*) and 2437-42 (*dīwān*). His *dīwān* and *ķaṣāʾid* have been frequently lithographed in India; for a full listing, see *Fihrist-i kitābhā-yi čāpī-yi Fārsī*, i, col. 1550, and ii, cols. 2533-4. A printed edition of the *dīwān*, edited by <u>Gh</u>ulām Ḥusayn <u>D</u>jawāhirī Wa<u>dj</u>dī, was published in Tehran in 1339 *<u>sh</u>.*/1960. (P.E. Losensky)

ÜRGENČ, a city in the delta region of the Amū Daryā [*q.v.*] or Oxus river of <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm [*q.v.*] which was for some four centuries, from Mongol times onwards, the capital of the province.

After the Mongols had totally destroyed the former capital of <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm, Gurgan<u>dj</u> [*q.v.*] in 618/1221, the conquerors founded a new city on a nearby site, presumably that of "Little Gurgan<u>dj</u>", three *farsa<u>kh</u>s* from the old capital. Under the *pax mongolica*, Ürgenč speedily became a populous and flourishing commercial centre (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 457; idem, *A short history of Turkestan*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956, 44). The Great <u>Kh</u>ān Ögedey's governor of <u>Kh</u>urāsān, Čin Temür, had previously been *baskaķ* or governor of <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm with his seat at Ürgenč (<u>D</u>juwaynī-Boyle, ii, 482, 491). European travellers at this time speak of Ürgenč's brisk trading activity, and it was also a cultural centre, where Muʿtazilī scholars worked until

the late 8th/14th century and where some vernacular Turkish religious literature developed (Barthold, *A short history of Turkestan*, 55-6). It straddled both banks of the Oxus, or of one of its channels, the two halves being connected by a bridge (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, cited in Barthold, *Turkestan*, *loc. cit.*). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was there in 735/1335 and describes it as the biggest and most important city of the Turks, with fine mosques and other public buildings (*Riḥla*, iii, 3-4, tr. Gibb, iii, 541-2).

It suffered badly in Tīmūrid times, since Khwārazm rebelled against Tīmūr several times, and in 790/1388 Tīmūr razed it to the ground, except for the mosques and minarets, and transported the population to Samarḳand. Only 793/1391 did he allow the restoration of a single one of its quarters, but in fact the city soon flourished again.

In the early 11th/17th century, after a change of course in the Oxus channels once more, the ʿArabshāhid rulers of Khwārazm transferred the capital to Khīwa [*q.v.*], but a New Ürgenč was founded not far from Khīwa and soon became a significant commercial centre (Barthold, *A short history of Turkestan*, 66). Then in the early 19th century, *ca.* 1831, the present-day town of Kunya (< Kuhna "Old") Ürgenč was re-founded, giving a new lease of life to what had been the original, old Ürgenč. In Soviet times, Ürgenč was the chef-lieu of the Khorezm *oblast* of the Uzbek S.S.R., and in 1970 had a population of 76,000; this is now a town of the present-day Uzbekistan Republic (lat. 41° 35' N., long. 60° 41' E.).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see R. Grousset, *The empire of the steppes. A history of Central Asia*, Eng. tr. New Brunswick, N.J. 1970. (C.E. Bosworth)

URGHAN, Urghanūn, the artificially wind-blown musical instrument known as the organ. It also stood for a certain stringed instrument of the Greeks like the ὄργανον of Plato (*Republ.*, 399c); see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 91 = § 3216, where the *urghan* is a stringed instrument, and the *urghanūn* is an artificially wind-blown instrument. The word was used by the Persians, it would seem (*Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*), to denote a species of vocal composition somewhat similar to the mediæval European *organum*. Of the artificially wind-fed musical instruments, the Muslims were acquainted with two types, the pneumatic organ and the hydraulic organ, the latter being known in two forms, an hydraulic air compressor and an hydraulic pressure stabiliser. Both Plato (*Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*) and Aristotle (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 258; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, fol. 154b) are considered by Muslim writers to have invented the organ, although there is the claim of Mūristus [*q.v.*] to be considered.

We read of an *urghan* (text, *'.r.ʿ.n*) in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (ed. Sasi, ix, 90) as early as the time of al-Mahdī's daughter ʿUlayya (d. 210/825), and Ibn Khurradādhbih mentions it (*Murūdj*, *loc. cit.*) in an oration before the caliph al-Muʿtamid (d. 279/893), and in both cases the instrument is referred to as stemming from the Byzantines. For later references, see the *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa* of Ibn Rusta (123), where it is written *urḳanā* (cf. *'r.ḳ.nū* in Dozy); the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (236) as the *urghānūn*; the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Bombay ed., i, 97) who describe an hydraulis; the *Fihrist* (270, 285); the 10th century Syriac-Arabic lexicographers (Payne-Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, 977-8); Ibn Sīnā, in the *Shifāʾ* (fol. 173) and the *Rasāʾil fī 'l-Ḥikma* (77) which has *'r.gh.l* instead of *'r.gh.n* (cf. the modern *ārghūl*, in *MFOB*, vi, 29; and *ārghul* in Freytag, *Chrest.*, 74); Ibn Zayla in his *Kitāb al-Kāfī* (fol. 235b); the 5th/11th century *Glossarium latino-arabicum* (563: *warghan*); Ibn Ḥazm in Spain (*Safīnat al-mulk*, 473); Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (ii, 155, 163), who gives the names of Arab organ constructors; al-Āmūlī in the *Nafāʾis al-funūn* (fol. 439b); Ibn Ghaybī, in the *Djāmiʿ al-alḥān* (fol. 78); and Ewliyāʾ Čelebi (*Travels*, i/2, 226). In the *Fihrist* (270, cf. 285), Mūrṭus or Mūristus is given as the author of works on the flue-pipe organ (*urghanūn al-būḳī*) and reed-pipe organ (*urghanūn al-zamrī*). This notice is also given by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (322) and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (*Taʾrīkh Mukhtaṣar al-bashar*, 156).

The pneumatic organ. The instrument mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, *loc. cit.*, was probably a pneumatic organ. That which is described by Mūristus is a very primitive type of instrument in which the bellows are inflated by the mouth, a method which, prior to the discovery of the Mūristus treatises, was hitherto only surmised (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., xx, 266). Mūristus calls it the *urghanūn al-zamrī*, i.e. the reed-pipe organ. The organ described by Ibn Ghaybī is the type known as the portative.

The hydraulic organ (hydraulic air compressor) became known to the Muslims through the Arabic versions of Philo's "Pneumatics" (*Kitāb Fīlūn fī 'l-ḥiyal al-rūḥāniyya wa-mikhānīḳā al-māʾ*), Hero's "Pneumatics" and "Mechanics" (*Kitāb al-Ḥiyal al-rūḥāniyya*) and the "Automatic Wind Instrumentalist" (*Sanʿat ālat al-zāmir*) of Archimedes and Apollonius of Perga. On this principle, the Banū Mūsā [*q.v.*] devised their automatic organ which is described in a treatise entitled "The Instrument which plays by itself" (*al-Ālat allatī tuzammir bi-nafsihā*). The text of the latter, edited by M. Collangettes, appeared in *Machriq*, ix, 444, whilst translations were made by Wiedemann (German) and Farmer (English).

The hydraulic organ (hydraulic pressure stabiliser). This was the hydraulis, an instrument which is first referred to in Arabic (although not mentioned by name) in the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*, translated from the Greek via the Syriac by Yuḥannā b. al-Baṭrīḳ (d. 199/815). Here it is a warlike instrument which could be heard sixty miles away (cf. Farmer, *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*, ch. 3, p. 27, for an edited text and translation). The instrument is fully described by Mūristus, and the type is certainly anterior to those dealt with by either Hero or Vitruvius.

At no period of Muslim history in the East was the organ considered an instrument of music in the same sense as the *ʿūd* (lute), *nāy* (flute), *ḳānūn* (psaltery), *kamāndja* (viol), or *duff* (tambourine; for Muslim Spain cf. *Safīnat al-mulk*, 473). It was probably only accepted as one of the many interesting mechanical devices (*ḥiyal*) such as the clepsydra, the musical tree, and other marvels which became popular from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd [*q.v.*] onwards (see Hauser, *Über das Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*..., Erlangen 1922; *Isl.*, viii, 55). At the same time, it is highly probable that the Muslims were the cause of the hydraulis being re-adopted in the East, and perhaps in the West. In Byzantium, the hydraulis appears to have died out. The principle of the hydraulic pressure stabiliser had been superseded by the barystathmic principle of the weighted blast-bag as in the pneumatic organ. When, at the close of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century A.D., the Muslims began to build the hydraulis which had become known to them through translations from the Greek (Mūristus probably), the Byzantines re-adopted the instrument which they had discarded centuries before and of whose construction they had probably lost all knowledge.

The story that Hārūn presented an organ to Charlemagne (see *Hist. littéraire de la France*, xii, 467; Larousse, *Le grand dictionnaire*; idem, *La grande encyclopédie*; Hopkins and Rimbault, *The organ*; Grove, *Dictionary of music*; Audsley, *Art of organ building; al-Machriq*, ix, 20) is a fable which can be traced to a note in *Les Chevaliers du Cygne* of Madame De Genlis. Even the event chronicled in mediaeval works (*Monumenta Germaniae historica*, i, 194) that Hārūn presented a clepsydra to Charlemagne is suspect in some quarters (*Isl.*, iii, 409, iv, 333). Cl. Huart (*Histoire des arabes*, ii, 107) and Heyd (*Hist. du commerce du Levant*, i, 90) are certainly in error in saying that "instruments of music" were among these gifts of Hārūn to Charlemagne.

On the other hand, it would seem quite likely that it was due to the Mongols that the organ (? hydraulis) was introduced into China. In the Chinese *Yüan shih* we are told that an organ was "presented by the Muslim kingdoms in Chungtʿung" (1260-4), whilst another work informs us that it was "an offering from the lands of the West" and that Ḳubilay himself improved it (*JRAS*, *China Branch* [1908]; *JRAS* [1926]). We may suppose that the original instrument came as a gift from Hülegü to Ḳubilay, and that it was made in Syria, where instruments of this type were being constructed at this time (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 155, 163). Some lexicographers of Persian (Richardson, Steingass) define the *ṭulumba* as "an hydraulic musical instrument", but it was more likely the name of "an hydraulic machine", or more probably "a pump".

Bibliography: For a complete survey and bibl. of the subject, see Farmer, *The organ of the Ancients, from eastern sources (Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic)*, London 1931, repr. in idem, *Studies in oriental music*, Frankfurt 1986, ii, 319-533; F. Hauser and E. Wiedemann, *Byzantinische und arabische akustische Instrumente* in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, viii, Leipzig 1919, repr. in Wiedemann, *Gesammelte Schriften zur arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Frankfurt 1984, iii, 1580-1606. In addition to those mentioned in the article, see also Farmer, *Byzantine musical instruments in the ninth century*, London 1925 = *JRAS*, Pt. 2 (1925) repr. in *Studies*, ii, 535-9; idem, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, London 1931, repr. in *Studies*, ii, 1-119; idem, *Turkish instruments of music in the seventeenth century*, Glasgow 1937, repr. in *Studies*, ii, 623-76, esp. 658; Moule, *A Western organ in mediæval China*, in *JRAS* (1926); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Djāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, B.L. ms., Or. 2972; W. Schmidt, *Herons von Alexandria Druckwerke und Automatentheater*, Leipzig 1889; Carra de Vaux, *Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques, par Philon de Byzance*, in *NE*, xxxviii, Paris 1903; Tannery, *L'Invention de l'hydraulis*, in *Revue des études grecques*, xxi (1908); idem, *Notices sur deux manuscrits arabes*, in *JA* (1891); idem, *Notes d'histoire des sciences*, in *JA*, (Nov.-Dec. 1917); Wiedemann, *Über Musikautomaten bei den Arabern*, in *Centenario della nascità Michele Amari*, Palermo 1909, repr. in *Gesammelte Schriften*, i, 451-72; Wiedemann and Hauser, *Uhr des Archimedes...*, in *Nova acta. Abhandl. der Kaiserl. Leop.-Carol. Deutschen Akad. der Naturforscher*, ciii Halle 1918, repr. in *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii, 1629-69, see also vol. c of the same publication for *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, repr. in *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii, 1211-1482; Ibn Sīnā, *Shifāʾ. Riyāḍiyyāt*. 3, *Djawāmiʿ ʿilm al-mūsīḳī*, Cairo 1956, 143; Ibn Zayla, *al-Kāfī fi 'l-mūsīḳī*, Cairo 1964, 73; Ibn Ghaybī, *Maḳāṣid al-alḥān*, Tehran 1957, 124, 135-6; idem, *Djāmiʿ al-alḥān*, Tehran 1987, 199, 209; idem, *Sharḥ-i adwār*, Tehran 1991, 352, 359; F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zurich-Stuttgart 1965, 319-22; M.S. Chaarani, *L'orgue hydraulique mécanique automatique des Banū Mūssa Ben Chāker*, diss. Paris 1981; C. López-Morillas, *Was the Muwashshah really accompanied by the organ?* in *La Corónica* (Atlanta), xiv (1985), 40-54; K. Shehadeh, D.R. Hill and R. Lorch, *Construction of a fluting machine by Apollonius the Carpenter*, in *ZGAIW*, ix (1994), 326-56.

(H.G. Farmer*)

URĪSĀ, Odra-deśa, conventionally Orissa, the land of the Oriyas, is a province of the Indian Union (between lat. 17° 49' N., and 22° 34' N., and between long. 81° 29' E. and 87° 29' E.). Spread over an area of 155,707 km²/60,178 sq. miles, it has a population of 31,659,736, of which 5,777,775 are Muslims. Its capital is Bhubaneswar to the south of Cuttack.

Orissa covers the delta region of the Mahānadī and other rivers and is bounded by the Bay of Bengal on the east, West Bengal on the north-east, Madhya Pradesh on the west and Andhra Pradesh on the south. The state is drained by three great rivers—the Mahānadī, the Brahmanī and the Baitaranī and some lesser rivers. The Čilka Lake is the biggest and most famous of its lakes. The valleys are rich in minerals. All writers, from Mughal authors like Abu 'l-Faḍl and Sudjān Ray to European travellers like Ralph Fitch and Alexander Hamilton, refer to the textile products of Orissa. However, industrially the area is at present not very advanced, though agro-based industries are now growing in importance, with Cuttack as the province's main industrial centre. The state is divided into 27 districts. There are five universities: Berhampur; Djagannat Sanskrit; Orissa University of Agriculture and Technology; Sambalpur; and Utkal.

Geographical conditions, such as an accessible coastal plain but a less accessible highland interior, led to the rise of small independent feudatory states in the region. In ancient times Orissa formed part of the Kalinga state. The Kalinga campaign of Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C. played an important part in shaping his thought and personality, while in the 2nd century B.C., Orissa became a powerful land under Kharavela. In the 9th century A.D. Narasingha Dēv of the Ganga dynasty built the Sun Temple at Konark; Orissa was, in fact, famed for the large number of temples there. A style of architecture, called Kalinga style, and a particular style of dance, called Odissi, developed there.

The Muslim occupation of Orissa had a chequered history. In 1205 Bakhtiyār Khaldjī sent Muḥammad Shīrān Khaldjī towards Lakhnor and Djadjnagar (Djuzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, i, 573). Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khaldjī collected tribute from Djādjnagar, occupied the Lakhnor tract and pushed the southern frontier of his kingdom up to Damodar. Some inscriptions which refer to these invasions do not name the invaders (e.g. an inscription in the Čhateswāra temple in Cuttack, see *JASB*, lxvii). Narasimbha I (1238-64) sought to wrest Radha from the Muslims. Djūzdjānī refers to the skirmishes of the Rāy of Djādjnagar and his harrying the Lakhanawatī region (tr. Raverty, ii, 738).

In Ramaḍān 640/March 1243, the troops of Orissa appeared before the gates of Lakhanawatī or Gawr. Malik Toghril-i Tughān Khān appealed to the Sultan of Dihlī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Masʿūd Shāh, who ordered the governors of Kara, Manikpur and Awadh to proceed to Lakhanawatī and deal with Djādjnagar (tr. Raverty, ii, 762-3). Malik Temūr Khān, the governor of Awadh, seized the throne of Lakhanawatī, but the Ganga

ruler of Lakhnor could not be dislodged. In 651/1253 Mughīth al-Dīn Yazbek, governor of Bengal and Bihār, marched on Lakhnor. He captured Mandaran; Paramardin fell in the conflict and the district of Radha came under Muslim control. For a very long time the Sharkīs of Djawnpūr, the Bahmanīs of the Deccan, the local Hindu chieftains and the governors of the Dihlī Sultans all struggled for supremacy in the region. Sultan Maḥmūd Sharkī of Djawnpūr (d. 862/1458) invaded Djādjnagar and destroyed some temples there (Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabakāt-i Akbarī*, iii, 458). Ḥusayn Shāh Bahmanī invaded Djādjnagar with a huge army. The Rāy negotiated peace and sent tribute. Within five years (859-64/1455-60), two Sharkī sultans successfully invaded coastal Orissa. More than a dozen coins of Muḥammad Sharkī have been found at Dēōgarh in the Sambalpur district.

The Bahmanīs clashed with the ruler Gadjapati. Sandjar Khān, a noble of the Bahmanī Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad, engaged in conflict with the Oriya chief of Telingāna [*q.v.*]. The sultan had warned him that he would be no match against "the possessor of elephants" (ʿAlī b. ʿAzīz Allāh Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xxviii, 237). He was defeated by Ganadēva Rantaraya, but hostilities now began between the local rulers of Orissa and the Bahmanīs of the Deccan.

Kapilendra (d. *ca.* 1467) assumed the title of "Overlord of Karnatka and Kalbarga (Gulbarga)", and mobilised forces against the invaders. He invaded the Bahmanī kingdom along with the *zamīndārs* of Telingāna, but was repulsed. Firishta says (*Tārīkh*, i, 343-4) that the *rāys* of Orissa and Telingāna attacked "the country of Islam", taking advantage of the invasion of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaldjī of Mālwa. According to Niẓām al-Dīn (iii, 87) the Rāy of Orissa failed in his attempt to take Bīdar, and returned to his capital after an abortive campaign.

Kapilendra concentrated more on the Bahmanīs of Bīdar and the *rāys* of Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*], but the real danger to him came from the Muslim rulers of Bengal. He set himself the task of conquering territories in South India and advanced as far as the banks of the Kaveri, but his policy was unsuccessful in the long run.

Kapilendra's eldest son Hamir, who was unable to succeed his father, sought the help of the Bahmanī ruler, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad III. Muḥammad sent his commander Niẓām al-Mulk to assist Hamir, who was installed in his hereditary territory. Hamir than helped Niẓām al-Mulk to conquer Kondnir and Radjamahandrī.

Thus Orissa passed through many political upheavals for some two centuries until in 1592 Akbar sent an army under Rādja Mān Singh and annexed the region to the Mughal Empire. Akbar's contribution to Orissa's future was twofold. First, he introduced his finance minister Tōdar Mal's [*q.v.*] revenue system in a land of agrarian crisis. Second, he successfully solved the problems relating to the administration of the Djagannath Temple and created a favourable atmosphere for himself. But difficulties re-appeared during the time of his son Djahāngīr, who had to carry out raids against the Superintendent of the Temple. Djahāngīr separated Orissa from Bengal and placed it under a separate governor. Later, Awrangzīb had to deal with a number of problems arising out of the religious situation, particularly the position of temples. Early in his reign, Awrangzīb issued what Sir Jadunath Sarkar called "pro-Islamic ordinances" (*Studies in Mughal India*, 224), but their purpose was to abolish duties on certain commodities "for the good of the subjects". *Ḳāḍīs* and *muḥtasibs* were appointed to promulgate religious law. Orissa was notorious for the castration of children and their sale as eunuchs by their mercenary parents (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, ii, 126); Awrangzīb now adopted strict measures to stop the practice.

The Mughals gave rent-free grants to Muslim religious figures in Goalpur, Katak and Karmul. Some idol temples which were constructed during the last ten or twelve years of Awrangzīb's reign, when the temple crisis was in full swing, were destroyed on the orders of Awrangzīb.

The Mughal administration was responsible for many changes in the socio-economic conditions of Orissa. "The military character of the feudal society under the Hindu kings of Orissa underwent changes during the Mughal occupation. The military feudalship was gradually replaced by a scientific revenue administrative system" (Raut, *Socio-economic life in medieval Orissa*, Calcutta 1988, 223). The revenue records, which were generally on palm leaves and in Oriya language, were henceforth maintained in Persian. Large number of Persian and Arabic terms thus entered the Oriya vocabulary and their impact is found "in *Kavya, purana*, music and novel" (B.C. Ray, *Orissa under the Mughals*, Calcutta 1981, 180). The Satyapīr cult [*q.v.*] also found currency in Orissa. The Mughals used the sea-ports, established ship-building centres and gave a fillip to economic activity in the region.

When Mughal power declined, the Marāthās [*q.v.*] established their hold over Orissa in 1751. In 1803 the British took over the area and turned their attention in particular to what would now be called the "agri-horticultural base of the region". Balaspore was developed as a ship-building centre. In 1858 Sir Arthur Cotton recommended construction of a complete system of irrigation and navigation canals. Water was first supplied for irrigation in 1865. Orissa was separated from Bengal in 1905, and in 1912 was combined with Bihār [*q.v.*]. In 1936 it was made a separate province. After the declaration of Independence, the 24 princely states in and around Orissa were merged with the State of Orissa.

There are few Muslim monuments of any significance in Orissa other than some mosques of significance at Cuttack, Djādpūr and Balasore. The Friday Mosque at Balū Bāzār is considered "the magnum opus of Muslim monuments in Orissa" (Ray, *op. cit.*, 187).

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URM, a district in Ādharbāydjān whose precise location is unknown.

According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 328, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], sent to conquer Ādharbāydjān, attacked the people of Mūḳān and Gīlān. A number of inhabitants of Ādharbāydjān and Armenians, who had gathered in the *nāḥiya* of Urm and at بلوانكرج *Balwānkaradj, were defeated by one of Saʿīd's commanders. The leader of the rebels was hanged on the walls of the fortress of Bādjarwān (see on this place, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 181, tr. 173; Bādjarwān was 20 *farsakhs* north of Ardabīl).

Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119, mentions the citadel of Urm between al-Badhdh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (a town of Bābak's on a river which flows into the Araxes above the river of Ardabīl) and Balwānkaradj. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 216, speaks of several districts (*rasātīḳ*) of Urm. Yāḳūt, i, 216, mentions the region (*ṣuḳʿ*) of Urm but gives only an abridgment of al-Balādhurī.

The names mentioned by al-Balādhurī and by Ibn Khurradādhbih suggest a district in the north-east of Ādharbāydjān, perhaps in the Ḳaradja-dagh of the present day (the capital of which is Ahar and in the northern districts of which we find Armenians).

Bibliography: Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 1135-6. (V. Minorsky)

URMIYA, the name of a lake and of a town and district in western Ādharbāydjān.

1. The lake

Lake Urmiya, also called Daryā-yi Shāhī or, in the Pahlawī period, Daryā-yi Riḍā'iyya or Lake Reza'iyeh, is the largest lake in the Middle East. It is about 140 km/87 miles long and from 40 km/25 miles to 56 km/35 miles wide and lies at an altitude of 1,275 km/4,183 feet. Its maximum depth is 16 m/53 feet, and the southern part of the lake contains numerous small islands, but most important is the mountainous Shāhī peninsula on its eastern shore. The lake is landlocked, with no outlet, and it forms the centre of an extensive drainage system of northwestern Persia. It is remarkable for the great salinity of its waters, and because of this, organic life in its waters is limited. Since 1967 it has enjoyed the status of a protected wetland region. Navigation on it is limited to small motor craft plying between places along its shores.

The most important rivers flowing into the lake are: in the east, the Adjī-čay "bitter river", which waters Sarāb and Tabrīz; the Sofi-čay and Mürdi-čay which flow from the southwestern face of Mount Sahand [see marāgha]; in the south, Djaghatū, Tatawū and Sāwdj-Bulāḳ [*q.v.*]; to the south-west, the Gādir [see sulduz and ushnū]; in the west, the rivers of Urmiya and Salmās [*q.v.*]. In the north, the mountain of Meshow overshadows the narrow strip of the northern shore [see tabrīz].

In the Assyrian records, the "upper eastern lake" seems to correspond to the Lake of Urmiya. Streck, in *ZA*, xv, 263, thought he could identify the latter as the "sea" mentioned by the Assyrians near the Mazamūa country; but this "sea" may be Lake Zaribār. In the account of the eighth campaign of Sargon (714 B.C.), the name of the lake is not mentioned.

Strabo, xi, ch. xiii, calls the lake Σπαῦτα (emended by St. Martin to Καπαῦτα = Kapōt "blue") and xi, ch. xiv, Μαντιανή. Ptolemy, vi, ch. ii, calls it Μαργιανή (*Μαντιανή?; see marāgha). As a rule, the name Mantiane is connected with that of the Matienoi people in whose country Herodotus (i. 189, 202; v. 52) makes the Araxes (?) rise and situates the Gyndes (Diyālā). Marquart (*Süd-armenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 431) thought he could identify these Matienoi (or Mantianoi) with the Mannaeans (Mana, Mannai).

The Avesta knows the lake by the name of Čaēčasta "deep lake with salt waters". Bartholomae, *Altir. Wört.*, col. 575, interprets the name as "shining white" (*weiss-schimmernd*). On its banks Kawi Haosrawah slew the Turanian Franrasyān (Yasht, ix, 18 etc.). According to the *Bundahishn*, xvii. 7, tr. West, the same Kay Khusraw destroyed the temple of idols near the Lake Čēčast (cf. the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, ii, 441, where Khandjast should be emended to Čēčast). From the name Čaēčasta must come the Arabic name of the sanctuary Shīz (= Gaznā, Ganza) to the south of the lake, identified by Rawlinson with Takht-i Sulaymān.

Another old name which was applied to the lake is Kapōtān "blue". The Armenian geography of the 7th century gives Kaputan, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 137, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, 237: Kabūdhān.

Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 181, calls the lake Buḥayrat al-Shurāt "the Lake of the Khāridjīs", presumably from an earlier presence of these sectarians in the region, but more often it bears the name of adjoining towns: Urmiya, Shāhī and Tasūdj.

The name Shāhī (Shāhā) although only found late, is connected with the old fortress which stood on the peninsula to the northeast of the lake. The fortress of Shāhī was known to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1171, 1379 (under 200/815). It is mentioned in the time of the Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn (al-Nasawī, 157). It was at Shāhī that the first Mongol Īlkhāns Hülegü and Abaḳa were buried (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 416; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, quoted in Le Strange, *Lands*, 161; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv, 340). Abu 'l-Fidā' calls the lake Buḥayrat Talā. The Persian translation of al-Iṣṭakhrī (cf. de Goeje in Ibn Ḥawḳal, 247 n. *m*) seems to distinguish between the two names, and the fortress of Talā mentioned by al-Nasawī, 153-4 (cf. Yāḳūt, iii, 541, who takes Talā to be a Persian word) would seem rather to be connected with the west bank. In this case, it should be sought at Güwerčin-Ḳalʿa on a cliff which rises above the lake on the Salmās shore, cf. Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii, 593.

The Arab geographers know that the salt waters of the lake will not support organic life. According to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1380, the lake does not contain fish or anything of value. Al-Iṣṭakhrī (189) and al-Gharnaṭī (in al-Ḳazwīnī, 194) alone affirm the contrary. The first talks of the "fish-animal" called "water-dog"; al-Gharnaṭī delights in wonderful stories, which are later repeated by Ewliyā Čelebi.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see the *EI*[1] art. s.v., out of which one may cite Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, 316-20. Of more recent works, see Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, index; *Camb. hist. Iran*, i, index, s.v. Reżā'īyeh, lake.

2. The town and district

The name. Neo-Syriac speakers write Urmiyā, the Armenians Ormi, the Arabs Urmiya, the Persians Urūmī, the Turks Urūmiyye or Rūmiyye (through a fanciful derivation from Rūm "Byzantium, Turkey"). The name is of uncertain, non-Iranian origin. Assyrian sources mention a place called Urmeiate in the land of Mann in the vicinity of Lake Urmiya. On the other hand, the name is unknown to the classical geographers and to the *Avesta* and Pahlavi sources. It is also unknown to the Armenian geography of the 7th century in spite of the fact that late Zoroastrian tradition early recorded by the Arabs (see al-Balādhurī, 331; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119) placed the birthplace of Zoroaster at Urmiya.

Geography. The district of Urmiya is bounded on the east by Lake Urmiya and in the west by the mountain range which runs north and south and separates Persia from Turkey. The district of Urmiya consists of plain and mountains. The rivers that water it and which flow from west to east are:

1. The Baränduz, which unites the waters of the district of Märgävär and then runs through the gorge of Nergi into the plain which it runs round on the south side.

2. The Barde-Sūr (= Kurdish "Red Stone") runs out of the gorge of Bēdkār (belonging to Turkey), through the mountainous region of Däsht, which belongs to Urmiya and then through the pass of Bänd into the plain and through the town of Urmiya, whence its other name, Shähär-čay "the river of the town".

3. The Rouzä (Rawda)-čay drains the hilly district of Tärgävär and before reaching the lake has been used up by irrigation canals.

4. The Nāzlu-čay is made up of a number of streams, of which the southern one rises in the Turkish district of Deyri (where the monastery of Mar Bisho is) and, below the village of Arzin, runs through the northern part of Tärgävär; the middle one comes out of the gorge of Bažirga and near the village of Sērō enters the Persian district of Brādost; the northern stream is that of the district of the Sōmāy [*q.v.*] which belongs to Salmās.

The abundant water-supply renders the alluvial plain of Urmiya extremely fertile. The villages are buried in verdure. In the mountain districts, agriculture is dependent on the rains. The natural conditions there are very favourable for the breeding of sheep.

Archaeology. Several tells in the vicinity of the town (Gök-täpä, Degala, Tarmani, Aḥmad, Saralan, Dīzä-täpä) have already produced objects of great antiquity. Urmiya came within the ancient Urartu (late second millennium B.C.-early first millennium B.C.), which had linguistic connections with the Hurrians of Anatolia but which came under strong Assyrian cultural influence. Just to the south of Lake Urmiya was the city and principality of Manna, which was backed against Urartu in the 8th century by the rising power of Assyria, whose King Sargon defeated the Urartians in 714 B.C., although kings of Urartu continued into the 7th century B.C.

The Islamic period. Urmiya was conquered by Ṣadaḳa b. ʿAlī, a client of the Azd, who built several castles there (al-Balādhurī, 331-2); according to another story, the town was taken by ʿUtba b. Farḳad, whom the caliph ʿUmar had sent in 20/640 to conquer the district of Mawṣil.

The geographers of the 4th/10th century (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 181; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 239) give Urmiya the third place among the towns of Ādharbāydjān (next to Ardabīl and Marāgha) and emphasise its wealth in water, pasture and fruits. Al-Muḳaddasī, 51, puts Urmiya in Armenia and says it is governed from Dwin. At this period, Urmiya was on the great road Ardabīl-Marāgha-Urmiya-Barkrī (to the northeast of Lake Van)-Āmid. As Tabrīz was not yet of any importance, the road made a detour to the south to serve the principal towns. It is possible that the presence of unsubdued elements in the north of Ādharbāydjān (cf. the name of the lake Buḥayrat al-Shurāt and the history of the Khurramī rebel Bābak) also influenced this deviation of the road towards the south.

The district of Urmiya, being inhabited by Kurds and Christians, has never played a great part in Islamic history. It was a remote fief in which the offshoots of the dynasties that reigned in Ādharbāydjān lived in isolation.

In the period of Daylamī domination in Ādharbāydjān, we find in Urmiya a certain Djustān b. Sharmazan. This general had begun in 342/953 as a devoted partisan of the Kurd Daysam. Later, won over by the Daylamīs, he became governor of Armenia under Marzubān. When Djustān succeeded his father Marzubān in 346/957-8, Djustān b. Sharmazan did not recognise his suzerainty. At first he left Urmiya to throw in his lot with Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, for whom he conquered Marāgha. He later left him to return to Urmiya, which he surrounded with walls; he also built a strong fortress there. He then entered the service of the claimant to the caliphate al-Mustadjīr bi 'llāh and had the support of the Ḳaḥṭānī Kurds. But the sons of Marzubān (Djustān and Ibrāhīm) defeated him with the help of the Hadhbānī Kurds. In 349/960-1 at the instigation of Wahsūdān, brother of Marzubān, he inflicted a defeat on Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, captured the remnants of his army and annexed Marāgha to Urmiya. In 355/966 through the mediation of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, he again recognised the authority of Ibrāhīm (Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, ed. Amedroz, ii, 150, 167, 177-8, 180, 219, 229; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 395).

When the Ghuzz invaded Ādharbāydjān in 420-32/1029-41, the lord of Urmiya was a certain Abu 'l-Haydjā b. Rabīb al-Dawla, chief of the Hadhbānī Kurds, whose mother was the sister of the prince of Tabrīz, Wahsūdān al-Rawwādī. This son of Rabīb al-Dawla boasted of having destroyed near a bridge 25,000 Ghuzz of the 30,000 who were trying to cross his territory (in 432 ?); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 271.

In Muḥarram 455/January 1063, Sultan Ṭoghrïl passed through Urmiya (al-Bundārī, 25). When Masʿūd returned from Baghdād to Ādharbāydjān (in 526?), the *amīr* Ḥādjib Tatar had fortified himself in Urmiya but later he submitted to the sultan (*ibid.*, 165). In 544/1149 Urmiya belonged to Malik Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, nephew and son-in-law of Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Iqbāl, 244). When the last Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl quarrelled with his uncle, the Ildegizid Ḳïzïl Arslān, Ṭoghrïl had the support of the *amīr* Ḥasan b. Ḳifdjaḳ and with him laid siege to Urmiya in 585/1189. The town was taken by storm, sacked and destroyed (al-Bundārī, 302).

In 602/1205-6, the Atābeg of Tabrīz Abū Bakr gave Ushnū (*sic* for Ustuwā) and Urmiya to the Atābeg of Marāgha ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn to recompense him for the loss of Marāgha (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 157). Yāḳūt, who visited Urmiya in 617/1220, speaks of its lack of security on account of the weakness of its ruler, the Ildegizid Özbek b. Pahlawān.

During the rule in Ādharbāydjān of the Khwārazm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn, Urmiya, Salmās and Khoy formed

the personal appanage of the Saldjūḳ princess whom Djalāl al-Dīn had carried off from her first husband, the Ildegizid Özbek. In 623/1226 the Īwā'ī Turkomans seized Urmiya and levied *kharādj*. On the complaint of the princess, his wife, Djalāl al-Dīn sent troops, who defeated the Turkomans (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 301).

On the other hand, according to Djuwaynī, ii, 160, 184, the Georgian generals Shalwa and Iwane, taken prisoners in the battle of Karbi (622/1225) and at first treated with honour by Djalāl al-Dīn, were given for a short time Marand, Salmās, Urmiya and Ushnū. In 628/1230-1 the Khwārazmshāh, when hard pressed by the Mongols, spent the winter in the region of Urmiya-Ushnū. His stay there may explain the story of the building by the Khwārazmshāh of the Se-Gunbadān and even of his burial at Urmiya.

Tīmūr. According to the local chronicle, Tīmūr had given Urmiya as a fief to Gurgīn-beg of the Afshar tribe, who established himself in the fortress of Torpakh (=Toprak)-Kalʿa, a quarter of a *farsakh* from the town of Urmiya. The *Ẓafar-nāma*, however (i, 424), mentions as governor a certain Tīzak (?) whose rights were confirmed by Tīmūr in 789/1307.

The Brādōst. According to the *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, 559, in the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp the great *amīrs* were governors at Urmiya, while the Kurd Ḳara Tādj of the Brādōst tribe, who had been made *shāhiseven*, was given the districts of Tärgävär and Märgävär. In 1012/1603 Shāh ʿAbbās, in order to reward the loyalty of Amīr-Khān Brādōst, who had not submitted to the Ottomans, gave him Urmiya and Ushnū, although he later fell under suspicion.

Conversions to the Shīʿa under the Ṣafawids seemed to have been of an isolated character among the natives of the region of Urmiya, where to this day the Kurds and a few villages (Balow) are still Sunnī. The influence of the Sunnī Naḳshbandī *shaykhs* may be judged from the fact that in 1049/1639 the Ottoman Sultan Murād executed in Diyārbakr the *shaykh* Maḥmūd of Urmiya, who had 30-40,000 partisans.

Ewliyā Čelebi. For the year 1065/1655 we have the very detailed account of Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 271-318). Unfortunately his itinerary and story are very confused. He describes the fortress, the walls of which were covered with plaster, looking "like a white swan". Its circumference was 10,000 paces, the walls were 70 *dhirāʿ* high and 30 *dhirāʿ* wide; the ditch was 80 *dhirāʿ* wide and 15,000 paces round. During the night, the walls were lit by torches. The garrison consisted of 4,000 men and 310 (?) guns. The Khān had at his disposal 15,000 soldiers and 20,000 *nükers* or retainers. The town had 60 quarters, 6,000 houses and 8 cathedral mosques, among which was that of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan, which was finished under his son Yaʿḳūb. In the plain of Urmiya (*ölgä*) there were 150 villages, with 300,000 peasants. Ewliyā Čelebi says the town was exceedingly prosperous and gives a list of its sanctuaries, its *medreses*, schools, cafés and fixed prices (*narkh-i Shaykh Ṣafī*).

The Afshārs. In the 18th century, the fate of Urmiya was closely bound up with the fortunes of the Afshārs settled in the plain, whose chief bore the title *beglärbegi*.

These chiefs were continually fighting with their neighbours and in troubled times, so frequent in the 18th century, they even led expeditions to the east of the Lake of Urmiya.

During the campaign of 1724, the Ottomans employed the Hakkārī Kurds to ward off the Afshārs, who were threatening the provisionment of the army. When in 1725, the Turks organised the administration of the country, the Khānate of Urmiya was recognised as hereditary in the family of Ḳāsimlu (Afshār ?). In 1729 Nādir recaptured from the Turks Marāgha, Sāwdj-bulaḳ and Dimdim, but in 1731 the Ḥekīm-oghlu Pashas ʿAlī and Rustam seized Urmiya after a desperate resistance which lasted a month. Urmiya was entrusted to the Hakkārī chief Binānishin. It was only by the treaty of 1736 that the Turks were ejected from Ādharbāydjān.

Āzād Khān. After the disappearance of the Nādirid Ibrāhīm Shāh (in 1161/1748), one of his generals, Āzād Khān, a descendant of an Afghan chief, retired first of all to Shahrazūr and then, taking advantage of the troubles among the Afshār, seized Urmiya, where he was favourably received by Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān. Urmiya became the capital of the ephemeral principality of Āzād. The mountain name Awghan-daghî to the north of Urmiya seems to preserve the memory of Afghan rule.

The Ḳādjārs. In 1169/1755-6, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār, having defeated Āzād in Gīlān, seized Urmiya. Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Afshār joined Muḥammad Ḥasan. On the latter's death, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān reappeared on the scene and from Urmiya captured Marāgha and Tabrīz. In the winter of 1173/1759 he was besieged in the latter town by Karīm Khān Zand and in the following year, Ādharbāydjān passed into the power of Karīm Khān. Urmiya was taken after a siege of seven months. After the end of the Zand dynasty, the Afshār of Urmiya with the Shaḳaḳ [*q.v.*] of Sarāb and the Dumbulī of Khoy formed a coalition against the Ḳādjārs, but had no success. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had Muḥammad Ḳuli Khān put to death but married the sister of Ḥusayn Ḳuli Khān Afshār, whose sons were the first governors of Urmiya to be appointed by the central government in Tehran. In 1828, in the course of the Russo-Persian War, Urmiya was occupied for several months by Russian troops. In the absence of the governor (the prince Malik Ḳāsim Mīrzā), the town was ruled by the *beglerbegi* Nadjaf-Ḳuli Khān Afshār.

ʿUbaydallāh. In 1880 Shaykh ʿUbaydallāh of Shamdīnān [*q.v.*] invaded Ādharbāydjān. Urmiya was besieged by the Kurds, and was about to surrender, when the arrival of the Khān of Mākū [*q.v.*] saved it.

Turkish occupation. In August 1906, after the reverses suffered by Russia in the Far East, Turkey occupied the district of Urmiya except the enclave of the town under the pretext that the Turco-Persian frontier had never been settled. The Turkish troops were recalled at the beginning of the Balkan War. After the incidents at Tabrīz in December 1911, Urmiya was occupied by Russian troops, and during the First World War, Urmiya changed hands several times. As a result of the break-up of the Russian army in 1917, the actual authority in the town passed into the hands of the council of "Assyrian" Christians (*mutwa*). After a series of tragic and bloody events (massacre of the Muslims of Urmiya by the Christians on 22 February 1918, the assassination of the patriarch Mār Shimūn by followers of the Kurd chief Simko on 25 February, the arrival of 20,000 Armenian refugees from Van, and fights between Assyrians and Turks), all the Assyrian population collected in the plain of Urmiya, and to the number of 50-70,000 set out for the south to put themselves under British protection. This exodus with women, children and cattle took place via Sa'in-Ḳalʿa and Hamadān in the midst of fighting with Turkish troops and the Kurds. The refugees were settled at Baʿḳūba to the north of Baghdād. After the departure of the "Assyrians", the Catholic Bishop Mgr.

Sontag and the Baptist missionary H. Pflaumer were killed at Urmiya on 1 August 1918.

The peace found Urmiya in ruins and depopulated. Only gradually was the central government in Tehran able to reassert its authority in the west of the Lake of Urmiya.

Under the Pahlawīs, the town of Urmiya (lat. 37° 32' N., long. 45° 02' E.) gradually recovered. Anglo-Russian political rivalry had prevented the construction of any railways in northwestern Persia, but during the First World War, under a concession to the Russian Discount and Loan Bank, the Julfa-Tabrīz line was constructed, with a 30-mile branch to Urmiya, which actually reached the town in 1916. In the Pahlawī period, the town was re-named Riḍā'iyya (Reza'iyeh). After the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the old name was restored. It is now the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* in the province of West Azerbaijan, and has a population of 435,200 (1996 census).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 143 (here spelt Armana); Yāḳūt, i, 219, 513; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, 80, 85, 241; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 385, and the map of the country round the lake. On a manuscript list of the villages of Urmiya, *Nuskha-yi khānawār wa-asāmī-yi wilāyat-i Urūmī*, see B. Dorn, *Die Sammlung... welche die Kaiserl. Akademie im Jahre 1814 von Herrn v. Chanykow erworben hat*, St. Petersburg 1865, 32, 113; M. Bittner, *Der Kurdengau Uschnûje und die Stadt Urûmîje*, in *SBWAW*, phil.-hist. Cl. cxxxiii/3 (1896), 1-97 (text and translation of a Persian memoir completed at the beginning of the 19th century with historical and geographical commentary); Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mir'āt al-buldān*, i, 1294, s.v. *Urmiya*; B. Nikitine (former Russian consul at Urmiya), *Les Afšars d'Urumiyeh*, in *JA* (January-March 1929), 67-123, résumé of a Persian memoir prepared in 1917 (perhaps from the *Tārīkh-i Urūmiya*, of which a manuscript was in the possession of the notable of Urmiya, Madjd al-Salṭana, in 1910). For the 19th century travellers and commentators on the events of the early 20th century, see the *EI*[1] art. s.v., and see also Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 51, 333, 366, 550; *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā'i Īrān-zamīn*, iv, 237-40. (V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

3. Christians in the region.

Local legend attributes the foundation of Mart Maryam church in Urmiya to the Magi returning from worshipping the infant Jesus in Bethlehem. However, the town is not mentioned in any pre-Islamic Christian source. It is first attested as a diocese of the Assyrian Church of the East [see NASṬŪRIYYŪN] in 1111 and of the Syrian Orthodox church in 1189. A continuous church history can be traced from the 16th century onwards. By this time, there had probably been a migration of Assyrian Christians from the mountains of Kurdistān to the Urmiya plain. In 1562 the Catholic Chaldaean patriarch ʿAbdīshōʿ claimed to preside over the four metropolitan sees of Urmi superior, Urmi inferior, Superghan (a village 25 km/15 miles north of the city) and Salmās (the plain further to the north [*q.v.*]). Some of his successors lived in Urmiya or Salmās until the end of the 17th century, more or less estranged from the Roman obedience.

Urmiya became the centre of western missionary activity among the Syrian Christians in the 19th century. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions set up a station in 1834; the French Lazarists followed in 1838; the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission in 1884; and the Russian Orthodox Church in 1898. Thanks to publications by missionaries and consuls, the life and demography of Christians in the area are well documented (see e.g. the works by Perkins, Hornus, and Maclean and Browne listed below). The missions benefited the Syrians by their schools and publications in the modern Syriac language, but the lack of opportunity for their graduates within Persia caused many to emigrate. Almost all the Christians in the region joined the Orthodox Church after 1898 to secure Russian civil protection, but this mass conversion did not survive the 1914-18 war, and the Russian Orthodox mission was dissolved by the terms of the Perso-Soviet Russian treaty of 1921. During the course of the war, the Syrians (or Assyrians, as they were starting to be called) concentrated in Urmiya and the city became the headquarters for the Assyrian forces fighting on the side of the Allies. They were at last unable to hold out in isolation, and there was a flight of all Christians from the city in August 1918.

The Christian population returned to the area only in small numbers after 1920. According to Berthaud's figures, the number of Christians had recovered to 10,242 in 1947 (from 18,260 in 1910). However, since then the movement to the cities has depopulated many villages. The Chaldaean archdiocese of Urmiya-Salmās numbered 2,000 in 1996. The Assyrian Church of the East in the city has only the parish of Mart Maryam, and there are two Protestant congregations. There is also an Armenian population of 2,000 in the region, with a parish church in Urmiya.

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ʿURS, ʿUrus (A., pl. *aʿrās* and *ʿurusāt*), originally the leading of the bride to her bridegroom, marriage, also the wedding feast simply; whence a denominal verb form IV *aʿrasa* "to celebrate a marriage". *ʿArūs* means both bridegroom and bride; in modern linguistic usage this term has, however, been supplanted by *ʿarīs* "bridegroom" and *ʿarūsa* "bride" (as early as the *1001 Nights*, cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 110). Two kinds of weddings have to be distinguished: *ʿurs* is the wedding performed in the tribe or the house of the man, and *ʿumra* is the wedding performed in the house or tribe of the woman (this distinction is already made by Ibn al-Aʿrābī [d. 231/845] in *LA*[1], vi, 283; cf. al-Fīrūzābādī, *Ḳāmūs*, s.v. *ʿ-m-r* and *ʿ-r-s*). The two forms

agree for the most part in practice; they only differ in the choice of place for the main ceremonies and in the fact that in the *ʿumra*, the *zaffa* "procession" of the bride is omitted.

1. Pre- and early Islam

a. Little is known of the wedding customs of the pre-Islamic Arabs. They seem to have been very simple in the Arabian Peninsula itself, as is still the case among the Bedouin (cf. below). The pomp and display of later centuries, especially in the bridal procession, was probably unknown. The wedding lasted a week, whence it is also called *usbūʿ* (cf. *Aghānī*[1], xii, 145). The bride is adorned, perfumed and painted with *kuḥl*. There is an old proverb which says: "The scent behind a bride cannot be concealed" (Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 48 l. 9; al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ed. Freytag, xxiii, 269). The bride is called "the conducted one" (cf. ʿAntara, xxvii, 1), i.e. she was conducted to the bridegroom, usually by a number of women without any pomp, but very quietly and simply. This at least is indicated by the story of ʿUkayil b. ʿUllafa, who betrothed his daughter to the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I; he made it a condition that the caliph's people should not come for his daughter but that he should bring her himself on a camel (*Aghānī*[1], xi, 90). Sometimes she was brought in a litter (*mizaffa*) (cf. al-Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v. *z-f-f*), as was still the case in 19th century Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 182). A special tent was always put up for the young couple. About the bridegroom there is an old proverb: "The bridegroom wants little to be an *amīr* (or king)" (al-Djawharī, s.v. *ʿ-r-s*; al-Maydānī, xii, 143).

In the lands adjoining Arabia, on the other hand, weddings were celebrated with great splendour. Thus we are told (*Aghānī*[1], xx, 23) of a Persian wedding in ʿIrāḳ with a splendid bridal procession; similarly for Syria as early as I. Macc. ix. 37: .... *ποιοῦσιν γάμον μέγαν καὶ ἄγουσιν τὴν νύμφην.... μετὰ παραπομπῆς μεγάλης*. As late as the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, we find a simple Bedouin much surprised at a splendid wedding in North Syria (*Aghānī*[1], xii, 35-6), which shows that Syrian usages were foreign to the Arabs (see on the above section: Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arab. Sprache*, Bonn 1861, 203-4; Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, in *N.G.W. Gött.* [1893], 441-2; G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 57-8).

b. The records in Tradition are on the whole in keeping with the simple usages of the Arab pagan period. ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*] wore at her wedding with the Prophet a robe of red striped material which came from Baḥrayn (*dirʿ ḳitrⁱⁿ*; see Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v. *ḳ-ṭ-r*) and "every woman in Medina, when dressing (for her *zifāf*), used to borrow it from her" (al-Bukhārī, *Hiba*, *bāb* 34). For Fāṭima's wedding with ʿAlī, ʿĀʾisha and Umm Salama made the preparations at home; they scattered soft dust from the Baṭhāʾ or centre of Mecca over the ground and filled two cushions with fibre (*līf*) and teased it out. They laid out dates and figs to eat and sweet-tasting water to drink; they also put up at one side of the room a stand for the clothes and the water-skin (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 24). Fāṭima's trousseau consisted of a silken robe with fringes (*khamīl*), a water-skin (*ḳirba*) and a cushion filled with rushes (*idhkhir*) (al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 81). In another tradition, the Prophet allows considerable expenditure on large carpets with fringes (*anmāṭ*) (al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 83). From numerous traditions (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 58, 64; *Tafsīr*, sūra XXXIII, *bāb* 8; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 21, 24; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 18, 77; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 196), it is evident that the bride was conducted by her mother and other female relatives to the house of the bridegroom. When the Prophet married ʿĀʾisha, who was then six years old, she was brought by her mother Umm Rūmān to the Prophet's house; there women were awaiting her and greeted her with the saying "For good, and bliss, and good fortune". The women then washed her hair and adorned her while the Prophet stood smiling by. She was then handed over by the women to the Prophet (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 69; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 58). Tradition gives no further details of the toilet; but the men seem also to have been perfumed; a perfume was used which left yellow stains (*khalūḳ*, *ṣufra* or *zaʿfarān*), such as the Prophet noticed on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf still a few days after his wedding (according to Anas b. Mālik in al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 7, 55, 57; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 79-81; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 67, 75, 84; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 24; al-Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 22; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 165, 190, 204, 227, 271). According to a tradition transmitted by Abū Hurayra, the Prophet uttered the following blessings at weddings: *bāraka ʾllāhᵘ lakum* (var. *laka*) *wa-bāraka ʿalaykum* (var. *ʿalayka*) *wa-djamaʿa baynakumā fī* (var. *ʿalā*) *khayrⁱⁿ* or instead of the third part: *wa-bāraka laka fīhā* (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 23; al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 7; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 35; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 381, cf. i, 201, iii, 451; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 73; al-Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 6), while he forbade the wish from the period of the Djāhiliyya *bi ʾl-rifāʾ wa ʾl-banīn* "in harmony and with sons!" (al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 73; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 23; al-Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 201, iii, 451). The bride was conducted to the bridegroom by young girls who sang *ghazal*s. Two opening lines of such a *ghazal* have been preserved: *ataynākum ataynākum fa-ḥayyānā wa-ḥayyākum* "we come to you, we come to you, may (God) give us long life and give you long life" (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 21; cf. also al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 64) or *ataynākum ataynākum fa-ḥayyūnā nuḥayyīkum* "We come to you, we come to you, then greet us, we greet you" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 78). The participation of women and children in the wedding ceremonies is, according to Anas b. Mālik, expressly approved by the Prophet (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 76; *Manāsik al-Anṣār*, *bāb* 5). On these occasions, young girls used to beat tambourines (*duff*) and sing of the death of the champions of Badr, which the Prophet is definitely said to have permitted (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 49; *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 12; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 20, 21; al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 6; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 72, 80; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 1221; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 418). Other instruments are mentioned, such as another variety of tambourine (*ghirbāl*; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 20) and the drum (*ṭabl*; *ibid.*, *bāb* 21). The object of this music was to call public attention to the marriage (*ibid.*, *bāb* 20; al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 5). According to one tradition, the Prophet is even said to have forbidden marriages to be performed in complete quiet (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 78).

A wedding feast (*walīma* or *ṭaʿām*) for the men was part of the wedding (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 69; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 359; Zayd, *Madjmūʿ*, no. 949; etc.). A feast is obligatory for the first day (*ḥaḳḳ*) and commendable for the second (*maʿrūf*; al-Tirmidhī regards it also as *sunna*), and on the third day ostentation (*sumʿa wa-riyāʾ*, i.e. done in order that people may hear and see it) (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 10; Abū Dāwūd, *Aṭʿima*, *bāb* 5; al-Dārimī, *Aṭʿima*, *bāb* 28; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 25; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 28, 371). Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (according to al-Dārimī, the

Prophet) is said to have accepted the invitation for the first two days, but refused that for the third (Abū Dāwūd, *Aṭʿima, bāb* 5; al-Dārimī, *Aṭʿima, bāb* 28). Al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, in the superscription to *Nikāḥ, bāb* 72, speaks of a week's feasting and says that the Prophet did not limit it to one or two days. The feast at the Prophet's wedding with Ṣafiyya consisted of *ḥays*, a dish of dates, curds (*aḳiṭ*) and fat, to which according to some traditions was added meal of roasted barley (*sawīḳ*) (according to Anas b. Mālik, in al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 13, 61, 69, *Buyūʿ, bāb* III; *Dj̲ihād, bāb* 73; *Aṭʿima, bāb* 8; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 84, 87, 88; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 79; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 99, 102, 159, 195, 264); according to another tradition, the Prophet used on this occasion another 1½ *mudds* of the best kind of dates (*ʿadjwa*) (according to Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 333). At the Prophet's wedding with Zaynab (according to Anas b. Mālik, in Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 87, 89, 91, 92; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 98, 105, 172, 196, 200, 263) and at the wedding of Rabīʿa al-Aslamī (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 58), bread and meat were given, which seems to have been usual along with *ḥays*, as in some cases it is specially mentioned that there was no bread and meat (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 24; Mālik, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 48; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 99, 195, 264; al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 13, 61; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 79). In other passages, 2 *mudds* of barley are mentioned (al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 71; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 113), a sheep and millet (*ibid.*, v, 359); but for the *walīma*, at least a sheep should be slaughtered (according to Anas b. Mālik, in al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 7, 55, 57, 69, 70, *Daʿawāt, bāb* 54; *Adab, bāb* 67; *Buyūʿ, bāb* 1; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 79-81, 90; etc.). Anas b. Mālik also records that his mother Umm Sulaym sent the Prophet a dish of *ḥays* on the occasion of a marriage and that the Prophet offered it to his guests in groups of ten until they were satisfied (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 94, 95; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 84). Sahl b. Saʿd records that at the wedding of Abū Asyad al-Sāʿidī his bride offered the guests after the feast a beverage made by steeping dates (*naḳīʿ*), which she herself had prepared (al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 72, 78, 79, *A<u>sh</u>riba, bāb* 7, 9); al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī concludes from this that, on the one hand, non-intoxicating beverages are allowed at weddings and, on the other, that women may wait on the men at a wedding.

As a rule, the traditions give no information about the time of the *walīma*. In the few passages which admit a definite time, the *walīma* took place after the bride had been taken to the bridegroom's house but before the wedding night (al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Tafsīr*, sūra XXXIII, *bāb* 8; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 196, and the other traditions about Zaynab's wedding); but the *walīma* at Ṣafiyya's wedding seems to have taken place on the next day, probably as a result of the special conditions, as the Prophet married her on the return of the expedition to <u>Kh</u>aybar (al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Buyūʿ, bāb* 111, *Dj̲ihād, bāb* 73; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 88; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 195, and the other traditions about this wedding; cf. however, one tradition about Zaynab's wedding in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 98, 105).

An invitation to a wedding feast ought always to be accepted (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trads. 100, 101; Abū Dāwūd, *Aṭʿima, bāb* 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 22). ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar used never to refuse an invitation even when he was fasting (al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 78; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 103; al-Dārimī, *Aṭʿima, bāb* 40). People of all conditions, rich and poor, should be invited; in one tradition given by Abū Hurayra, we read that "The wedding feast at which the rich eat and from which the poor are kept away is an evil feast" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 494). For further references see Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leiden 1927, s.v. *Walīma*.

The following two traditions presumably refer to the procedure in the bridal chamber: "If any one of you marry a woman ... he shall take her by her forelock and pray (to God) for blessing (*baraka*) ... and pray to God for refuge from the accursed Satan" (Mālik, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 52), and "If any one of you marry a woman ... he shall say: O God, I pray Thee for her good and for her good inclinations which Thou hast created, and I seek refuge with Thee from her evil and from her evil inclinations which Thou hast created" (Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 44). Umm Salama for her wedding night with the Prophet prepared a meal of barley and fat (*ʿaṣīda*) (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 307). According to many traditions (Anas b. Mālik, among others), it is a *sunna* for the young husband to spend seven days and nights with his young wife if she is a virgin (*bikr*) and only three days and nights if she is not (*<u>th</u>ayyib*); only after this does the regular rotation with the other wives begin (al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 101, 102; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 33; al-Tirmi<u>dh</u>ī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 40; Muslim, *Raḍāʿ*, tr. 45; Zayd, *Madjmūʿ*, no. 737; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 26; Mālik, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 15; on the Prophet's marriage with Ṣafiyya [who was *<u>th</u>ayyib*]: Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 33; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 99; on the Prophet's marriage with Umm Salama [who was *<u>th</u>ayyib*]: Muslim, *Raḍāʿ*, trs. 41-4; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 26; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 33; Mālik, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 14; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 292, 295, 307, 313, 320, 321 [this was done at her request; the Prophet had given her the choice between seven and three days]). According to another tradition, the young husband should only stay three days with a virgin and two with a bride who is not a virgin (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 178; al-Tirmi<u>dh</u>ī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 40).

As to the season of the year, the month of <u>Sh</u>awwāl is expressly mentioned in Tradition as the month in which the Prophet celebrated his wedding with ʿĀʾi<u>sh</u>a (al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 18, 77; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trad. 73; etc.).

c. In *fiḳh*, the Mālikīs pay special attention to wedding customs, since most of them are primarily intended to call public attention to the conclusion of the marriage. According to Mālik b. Anas, as well as Ibn Abī Laylā (cf. al-Sara<u>kh</u>sī, *Mabsūṭ*, v, 30), in contrast to other schools, making the wedding public (*iʿlān*) is a necessary condition for the validity of a marriage. Witnesses are not essential for the conclusion of a contract of marriage, although with the Mālikīs it is usual to have them in practice; if the two witnesses were not present at the conclusion of the contract, they must be present on the night of the wedding and, for example, push the bridegroom into the bridal chamber (al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1338, 66; <u>Kh</u>alīl, ii, 1459; al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327, ii, 252; Ibn Ru<u>sh</u>d, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Cairo 1349, ii, 16, where we already find witnesses mentioned among the essentials). On the same grounds of publicity, <u>Kh</u>alīl (ii, 1) also recommends congratulations to the bridal pair. The doors of the house should therefore not be closed at the *walīmat al-ʿurs* (*ibid.*, 117). This *walīma* is considered praiseworthy (*mustaḥabb*) among the Mālikīs, Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, while the <u>Sh</u>āfiʿīs hold a stricter view; according to one view, it is *sunna muʾakkada*, according to the others, it is even *wādjib* (cf. al-<u>Sh</u>īrāzī, 205; al-<u>Gh</u>azālī, ii, 22; al-Nawawī, 90; al-Ardabīlī, ii, 94). According to <u>Kh</u>alīl, it should be held the day after the wedding,

according to other Mālikīs, however, before, so that the wedding is only consummated after its public proclamation (al-Tīdjānī, *Tuḥfa,* 35). A wealthy man should kill at least a sheep, a poorer man provide as much as he can afford (al-Shīrāzī, al-Ardabīlī). To accept an invitation to a *walīma* is, according to the Ḥanafīs, praiseworthy (*mustaḥabb*), among the Mālikīs, while the Ḥanbalīs and the Shāfiʿīs, on the other hand, consider it a duty (*wādjib*; al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, vi, 178, says a *ḥakk*). Among the Shāfiʿīs it is praiseworthy to accept the invitation for the second day also; on the other hand, it is best to refuse it for the third day (al-Nawawī describes acceptance for the third day as *makrūh*). If the person invited is fasting, he should nevertheless accept the invitation; he need not, however, eat anything, but it is best if he breaks his fast unless he is pledged to observe it. If an intoxicated man is at the *walīma*, or if wine or anything else forbidden is served, it is best to stay away, and likewise if there are in the room representations of living creatures, even if one tramples on them (e.g. on carpets). According to al-Shīrāzī, one should also stay away from the *walīma* where songs are sung, even if one does not listen to them and only pays attention to *ḥadīth* and eating. Music is on the other hand permitted to some extent, e.g. that of the tambourine (*duff*) already mentioned in Tradition. Khalīl gives a list of permitted instruments: another kind of tambourine (*ghirbāl*), an older kind of lute (*mizhar* [see ʿŪD]; cf. H.G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 46-7), a kind of flute (*zummāra*) and horns (*būḳ*).

The question is much discussed whether one should scatter among the wedding crowd nuts, almonds and sweets (al-Ardabīlī also mentions dates, dirhams and dīnārs). According to al-Dimashḳī (ii, 76), Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal had no objections, while Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in a second opinion declare the practice *makrūh.* The views of the later Shāfiʿīs are, however, divided. Al-Muzanī recommends the omission of the practice, as the things would be hurriedly picked up as plunder by the people; but it is not forbidden except when the people fall upon one another and try to take the things from each other. Al-Ghazālī allows the scattering of sweets, since it was allegedly done in the time of the Prophet, and al-Nawawī and al-Ardabīlī, while regarding it as permitted, consider it better omitted. Al-Shīrāzī, on the other hand, declares it *makrūh.*

Bibliography: Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, Būlāḳ 1324, vi, 178; Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar*, on the margin of the preceding, iv, 39-41; Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1879, 205-6; Ghazālī, *Wadjīz*, Cairo 1318, ii, 22; Nawawī, *Minhādj*, Cairo 1329, 90; Ardabīlī, *K. al-Anwār li-aʿmāl al-abrār,* Cairo 1328, ii, 94-6; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Santillana, Milan 1919, ii, 63 ff.; Ibn Rushd, *Mukaddimāt*, on the margin of the *Mudawwana al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, ii, 58; Shaʿrānī, *Mīzān*, Cairo 1925, ii, 124; Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-umma*, on the margin of the preceding, ii, 76; Tornauw, *Das moslemische Recht*, Leipzig 1855, 70-1; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910, 162 ff.

2. Later usages down to the present day

d. For the older period we are dependent on occasional scattered notes; it is only with the literature of European travellers (from the 15th century onwards), with the recording of texts in dialect and the systematic collection of folklore in recent decades (Westermarck for Morocco, Jaussen for Nablus, etc.) that we have a wealth of material. These sources are, however, not all of equal value. On the one hand, particularly with the earlier literature, we have first of all to investigate the trustworthiness of the traveller. For example, the Fleming Van Ghistele who made a pilgrimage in 1481-5, says (*Voyage*, Ghent 1557, 15) that before the marriage contract is signed the bridal pair is put one in each of two adjoining rooms with an eyehole through which they can see one another naked. This is contradictory to Muslim ideas (but note the fact that some jurists like Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī permit the man before marriage to see the whole of the woman's body except the pudenda; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, ii, 3; al-Dimashḳī, *Raḥma*, ii, 62). On the other hand, there are gaps in the records of the travellers; they only record what was done in the street or more or less publicly. Full accounts of the customs observed, as in Leo Africanus and Lane, are by no means numerous and can be supplemented for the earlier period by scattered references in the *Alf layla wa-layla* and the popular romances.

Wedding customs are more or less distinct according to country. This is most clearly seen on the periphery of the Muslim world, for example in the Malay Archipelago, in Central Africa or among the Ḳirkhīz and Turkomans. Here Islam has taken over old local customs and sometimes adapted them to its point of view. For the original lands of Islam, however, the same observation can be made, except that the process was completed in the early centuries of Islam. In modern Syria and Egypt the customs among Muslims and Christians are almost identical except as regards purely ecclesiastical and religious matters (cf. the sketches in Littmann, *Neurabische Volkspoesie*; Jaussen, *Coutumes palestiniennes*; Blackman, *The Fellāḥīn of Upper Egypt*, 93). This fact shows that we have to deal in this case with old customs of the Middle East, at any rate, not with specifically Muslim practices. In this connection one may call attention to the already-mentioned elaborate pre-Islamic practices in Syria and Mesopotamia. A pre-Islamic origin can in some points be definitely proven. In many districts, the Muslim bride wears a crown of flowers or of pasteboard (see below); in this one may discern the adoption of a practice of the Christian East where the crowning of the bride was and still is a part of the wedding ceremony. (This crowning is mentioned as early as a liturgical poem by Ephraim the Syrian, in Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Würzburg 1864, ii, 443; in Barhebraeus, in *ibid.*, ii, 385; among the Copts of the 12th century, in *ibid.*, ii, 365; cf. also *ibid.*, ii, 391 ff., 408 ff., 433 ff.) The carrying of lights in the bridal procession may also be of Christian origin (for the Copts of the 12th century, cf. Denzinger, ii, 364; cf. the carrying of lights in the Mawlid [*q.v.*] festival and its Christian origin, iii, 420). The ceremonies on the seventh day have also their parallels in the Christian liturgy of the East; among the Copts, on the seventh day, the bridal crown is solemnly removed (Denzinger, ii, 380).

From the point of view of methodology, it would be more correct to deal with wedding customs by regions, but here some account is given of the most important customs in vogue in towns in the old lands of Islam as far as possible treated historically. It should be noted in this connection that practices differed in different levels of society. Therefore, three groups have at least to be distinguished: customs in the towns; among the fellāḥīn; and among the Bedouins. The two last-named were essentially simpler and agreed more with the old Arab practices than did those of the town-dwellers.

Among the Ruwala Bedouin [*q.v.*] (Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 228 ff.), a camel was killed on the morning of the

wedding before the bridegroom's tent and its flesh distributed. In the course of the day, the bride put up her tent—the woman always brought it with her—and at night she was taken by a few female relations in all secrecy to this tent; soon afterwards the bridegroom entered the tent. There were no ceremonies, no singing or dancing, not even the usual *zaghārīt* cries of the women. On the next morning, the bridegroom went to his relatives while the bride was visited by the women and congratulated; she then received a gift from her father-in-law and remained for seven days in her tent while the bridegroom went about his usual business. He had, however, to spend seven nights with his young wife (cf. the traditions in *b.* above). Among other Bedouin tribes in Arabia Petraea (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii, 196 ff.), the youths and maidens sang bridal songs and danced. Here as in the Sinai Peninsula (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahhabys*, London 1831, Ger. tr. Weimar 1831, 216-17) the bride ran away into the desert after the first night, sometimes for six days, sometimes even for longer and the husband had to go to look for her.

Between these very simple practices of the Bedouin and the highly-developed rites of the town-dwellers, numerous intermediate stages are to be found among the fellāḥīn, among whom we can observe the gradual advance of usages from the towns.

Weddings were celebrated with great pomp at the 'Abbāsid court in Baghdād. In the sources, sums of 50 and 70 million dirhams are mentioned as having been expended by the caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn for their weddings. But the common people, also, on such occasions liked to appear wealthier than they really were. Even in early times, the coiffeuse used to lend ornaments to the bride (cf. the tradition above in *b.* about 'Ā'isha). The carpets, utensils, etc. were also sometimes borrowed (Mez, *Renaissance des Islāms*, 404, 453).

As was mentioned at the beginning of the article, two kinds of weddings have to be distinguished: the *'urs* and the *'umra*. The *'urs* seems to be the usual kind; at least, it is almost exclusively the one that is described by travellers. We find the *'umra*, for example, in the case of the wedding of al-Ma'mūn with Būrān (210/825; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1081 ff.); in Ibn al-Mudjāwir (d. 690/1291), in Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, ii/2, 859, for Mecca; *Alf layla wa-layla*, tr. Littmann, i, 263 ff.; in the Karagöz play *The wrong bride*, in Ritter, *Karagöz*, Hanover 1924, 109 ff.

Here we may also note that these wedding customs are only observed when a woman marries for the first time. When she marries for the second time, they are content with the legal *walīma*. The parties often agree to have no festivities (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 155; Lane, *Manners and customs*, London 1871, i, 219-20).

The celebrations extend over several days; they usually begin on Monday and the actual wedding takes place on Thursday. In Arab popular poetry, we therefore have frequent reference to seven days of celebration while the *dukhla* takes place on the eighth (e.g. *Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 461, iii, 437; *Sīrat Sayf b. Dhī Yazan*, iii, 22, 33, v, 28, xii, 59). When, however, we find references to 30 days of feasting and the 31st night as the *laylat al-dukhla* (*Alf layla wa-layla*, iii, 642; *Sīrat Sayf*, xii, 45, xiii, 12) or when 40 days and nights are mentioned in Turkish romances and fairy tales (O. Spies, *Türkische Volksbücher*, Leipzig 1929, 25), this is only a stereotyped literary form to express that the wedding celebrations lasted a long time.

The principal customs are as follows:

1. Immediately after the formalities of the marriage contract, the *walīma* takes place in the bride's house; only men are present at it. This is already found in *hadīth*. On this occasion, sweets, money and other things are often thrown to the crowd. For example, the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*] at the wedding of his daughter Būrān with al-Ma'mūn had tickets scattered among the nobles on which were inscribed the names of pieces of land, slave-girls and the distinguishing marks of horses. Any one who caught one of the tickets received what was written on it. The vizier also had gold and silver coins, little bags of musk and pieces of amber thrown among the populace (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1083 below; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj* vii, 65-6 = § 2752). At the *walīma* on the occasion of the wedding of the Mamlūk Muḥammad b. al-Sulṭān (920/1514), wine (*sakar*) was served in vessels of Chinese porcelain (Ibn Iyās, iv, 406). In general, however, the *walīma* consisted simply in the offering of sweets and other dainties (cf. *Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 23-4); sometimes, however, roast meat and vegetables, etc. were also served. Music and dancing are not usual on this day. In the Palestinian town of Nābulus, according to Jaussen, there was only a meal for the women, while in Fās a feast was held in the house of both bride and bridegroom (Leo Africanus, 1526; Tharaud, 1930). The real wedding ceremonies did not usually begin until a week later.

2. A few days before the wedding, the bride goes to the bath with her friends; rich people perform this ceremony in their own house, but usually, however, a public bath is hired for a whole or half day. In Cairo in Lane's time, they went with great pomp to the bath (*zaffat al-ḥammām*). In front walked two men carrying dishes on which lay the bath requisites, covered; then came water-carriers and men with rose water and censers to sprinkle the passers-by and offer them beverages. Then came musicians with oboes and drums and the bride's friends two by two. The bride herself, thickly veiled with a crown on her head, walked between two female relatives under a canopy carried by four men; musicians again brought up the rear of the procession. In the bath itself there were all kinds of diversions and feasting, while women singers sang songs. In the evening, there was a banquet in the house for the women at which female singers sang to pass the time. In early 20th century Fās, the bride was taken to the bath and led home dressed like a doll with shouts of joy (Tharaud). In 16th century Morocco, the bride's bath before the wedding was unknown (Leo Africanus) while in Algiers in the same period, according to Haëdo, the bridal bath was usual. It was also unknown in Mecca. In Syria and Anatolia, they went very quietly to the baths, while Cotovicus at the end of the 16th century in Syria saw a solemn procession with wax candles.

In the bath itself, numerous ceremonies and diversions took place. In Nābulus (Jaussen, 1927) the bride was put on a throne in the bath while her friends sang and danced around her with lights in their hands. They then all bathed, the bride last. After the bath, the bride was sprinkled with perfume and refreshments were taken. She was then taken home very quietly and thickly veiled. For Istanbul, White (*ca.* 1840) also reports that the bride sat on a throne while dramatic presentations were given and refreshments offered. Then came, just as in Persia (Polak, *ca.* 1860, and Tunis (Bertholon, *ca.* 1900)), the henna ceremony, which in other lands did not take place till next day. The finger-nails (in Persia also the hair) were dyed

with henna. The guests thereupon distributed money to the bath attendants. This was called the "henna gift".

3. The day of the adornment of the bride. This day is often called after the principal ceremony *laylat al-ḥanna* or *ḥenna gedjesi* (e.g. in Mecca, Egypt, Tunis and in Turkey). In the presence of her female relations and friends, the bride's eyelids were blackened with *kuḥl* and the hands and feet coloured with henna. In doing this, the hands and feet had to be coloured exactly the same and no pictorial representations put on them (cf. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī [d. 275/888], *K. al-Waraʿ*, Cairo 1340, 104). In earlier times, yellow patches (*nuḳaṭ al-ʿarūs*) used to be put upon the cheeks (Dhu 'l-Rumma [d. 107/719] in *Aghanī*, xvi, 115; al-Maydānī, ii, 762, no. 24; al-Sharīshī [d. 619/1222], in the commentary on Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, 610). On the same day, the bride's wedding ornaments were put on, including necklaces, bridal girdle (*ḥiyāṣa*: cf. *Sīrat Sayf*, xvii, 53), crown (*tādj* or *iklīl*; oldest reference, *ibid.* [9th/15th century], iv, 36, xvii, 53; cf. also the title of the celebrated dictionary *Tādj al-ʿarūs*). The bride on these occasions often put on different dresses (e.g. in Sfax, Narbeshuber; cf. *Alf layla wa-layla*, i, 265 ff., 6 different dresses). The great display in silver pendants and foot-rings, pearls, henna, aloe-wood (for perfuming the face), rose-water, sesame-oil and other aromatics is already mentioned in the papyri (cf. *Papyrus Ersherzog Rainer, Führer*, nos. 584, 1014). After being dressed, the bride was put on a raised seat or throne, where she had to sit quite still with downcast eyes while the women guests sang, danced and made music. These ceremonies often lasted far into the night (for the older period, see Leo Africanus for Morocco; d'Arvieux, 1674, *Mémoires*, Paris 1735, v, 287, for Algiers; and the other travellers). In Mecca and Sfax (Narbeshuber), the enthronement did not take place till the next day. In Cairo (Lane, 1835) on this day the bride took a lump of henna in her hand and her friends stuck coins into it. In Nābulus (Jaussen) there was a similar collection for the bride. In Istanbul also there was the henna ceremony, but before it, all the women guests with wax candles in their hands went into the garden with the bride and danced there in long rows (Garnett, *ca.* 1890). Pictures of the bride in her wedding finery can be found in Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Bilder-Atlas, pl. 25; Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927, pl. 5.

4. As Friday is frequently recommended by the theologians for the completion of marriage (see al-Ghazālī, in H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, Halle 1917, ii, 90), it was the custom to take the bride to her new home on Thursday evening where she passed the night with her husband. The bride was usually fetched by her bridegroom and his relations and accompanied by her own relatives in an imposing and solemn procession (*zaffat al-ʿarūsa*). From the superscription alone in al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 62 (*al-bināʾ bi 'l-nahār bi-ghayr markab wa-lā nīrān*), it is clear that the solemn procession was general as early as the beginning of the 3rd/9th century; in those days, the bride was taken at dusk in a litter borne on a beast of burden and accompanied by lighted torches (cf. al-Tīdjānī, *Tuḥfa*, 40-1, who for this reason makes a distinction between a bridal procession by day and one by night; but the *bi-ghayr markab* is against this). The other oldest references for the bridal procession appear to be the wedding of Umm al-ʿUluww in Ḳayrawān (425/1024): the bride was taken on Thursday by slaves and nobles of the kingdom to the tent put up for her (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i, 284). In a story from al-Yamāma, the bride is accompanied by slave-girls who sing and play stringed instruments (*maʿāzif*) (al-Ḳazwīnī [d. 682/1283], *Athār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 88). A miniature by the painter Yaḥyā b. Maḥmūd of Wāsiṭ of 634/1237 in the Paris ms. of al-Ḥarīrī, B.N. Arabe 5847 (Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin 1923, pl. 13) shows a bridal procession: in front go horn-blowers, drummers and men with pennons sitting on camels; the bride herself is completely hidden in a splendid camel-litter and the bridegroom rides beside her on a finely caparisoned horse. Further references may be found e.g. in *Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 12; *Sīrat Sayf*, xiii, 12. The oldest western reference is in the travels of the Dominican monk Ricoldus de Monte Crucis (d. 1309), ch. 9, 46 (Laurent, *Peregrinatores medii aevi*, Leipzig 1864, 116). Later European travellers all describe the bridal procession more or less fully. In early 20th century Fās, as in the time of Leo Africanus (1526), she sat in a silk-hung octagonal box which was carried on the shoulders of eight men (Westermarck, 166) or she went on foot if she belonged to the lower classes (Westermarck, Tharaud), while in the rest of Morocco a "covered cage" on a mule was generally used (Mocquet 1605, Hoest 1760, Westermarck, 1914). In Algiers in the 10th/16th century, she was also carried (Haëdo). In Egypt and Syria, she walked or rode under a canopy (so as early as Cotovicus, 1598). In Turkey, in early Ottoman times, the bride used to ride on a horse (Dernschwam, 1553) usually veiled in a red silk cloth, the ends of which were held up by many people accompanying her (Schweigger, 1578; Della Valle 1615; Tournefort, 1717). In the Turkish album of miniatures of the 11th/17th century published by Taeschner as *Altstambuler Hof- und Volksleben* (Hanover 1925, pl. 32) she is on foot, led by two women. According to Della Valle, in place of the procession of lights in front of the bride, a tall candlestick was carried which was made with flowers, painted paper, beaten gold, and other foliage, sometimes decorated with gold, silver and ivory; Schweigger (cf. the pictures there) describes them as "wedding candles of green wax, made transparent but not burning". In the same connection may be mentioned the tray of candles which is carried before the bridal procession in the Ḳaragöz play *The wrong bride* (illustr. in Ritter, *op. cit.*, fig. 34). In the 19th century, the bride rode in a covered carriage, as did the women accompanying her, while the men were on horseback (White, Garnett). In Persia she usually rode, robed in red (Olearius, 1637; Chardin, 1673; Polak, *ca.* 1860; Wills, *ca.* 1870). For pictures of the bridal procession see for Morocco, Dapper, *Beschreibung von Africa*, Amsterdam 1760, 177; for Cairo, Niebuhr [1763], *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1774, pl. 28; Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque*, Paris 1806, pl. 63; Lane, *Manners and customs*, pls. 32-3; for Istanbul, Schweigger, *Reyssbeschreibung*, 207; Taeschner, *loc. cit.*

The trousseau was usually carried in the bridal procession, distributed over as many horses and mules as possible; often empty chests were carried to make the trousseau look as large as possible, while in many districts the delivery of the trousseau was a special solemn ceremony (see e.g. Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 284, for Ḳayrawan [415/1024]; Ibn Iyās, iv, 107, for Cairo [912/1506]).

On leaving her parents' house and entering her new home, a series of symbolic ceremonies were performed which referred to married life, averting evil spirits, fertility, etc. In her new home, she was wel-

comed by the bridegroom or her mother-in-law and taken to the bridal chamber. There she was placed by the women on a high chair or throne and congratulated. Sometimes the bridegroom then gave her a present of money—if only a piastre—and she was unveiled so that the bridegroom saw her face for the first time. In a (not genuine) *ḥadīth* in al-Muḳaddasī it is said "God shall place Muʿāwiya by his side and cover him and then unveil him to the people like a bride". The throne (*minaṣṣa*) on which the bride was raised and unveiled is mentioned as early as al-Zawzanī (d. 486/1093) and al-Baṭalyūsī (d. 494/1100, in their commentaries on the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, ed. Hengstenberg, Bonn 1823, v. 32, or Cairo ed. 1282, 33). Cf. also *Alf layla wa-layla*, iii, 455; *Sīrat Sayf*, v, 29, where a throne (*sarīr*) of juniper wood decorated with plates of gold and shining jewels is mentioned. In Mecca in the later 19th century, the throne was called *rīka* (= *arīka*); see the picture in Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leiden 1889, pl. 18.

The bridal procession was followed by a feast which lasted far into the night with music, singing and dancing (the men and women, of course, separate); in Turkey of the 17th-18th centuries Ḳaragöz performances were also given (Thevenot, *Vayages*, Paris 1689, i, 172, cf. i, 109-10), while in 18th century Persia wrestlers (*pahlawān*) performed (Chardin). A Persian miniature of 1604 shows festivities on the occasion of a wedding in the reign of the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslān (Grohmann and Arnold, *The Islamic book*, Munich 1929, pl. 67).

5. The bridegroom's bath and his *zaffa* take place on the same day as the bridal procession, i.e. on the Thursday; a visit is usually made to a mosque in connection with it (cf. *Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 24). In the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (*ibid.*, i, 263)—it is, however, a case of *ʿumra*—the bridegroom goes to the bath and is carried on horseback in a torchlight procession to the bride's house; singers with tambourines accompany him and stop from time to time to get money from the bridegroom. Another *zaffa*—but without a bath—is described in the *Sīrat Sayf*, xiii, 12. The bridegroom rides on a richly caparisoned steed through the town accompanied by dignitaries. Wax candles with camphor are carried, while slaves swing censers and sprinkle rose and jasmine water (cf. *ibid.*, vii, 63, xv, 32). Ibn Iyās (iv, 107, 196) records for Cairo in the early 10th/16th century that the bridegroom goes through the streets accompanied by *amīrs* with lighted candles in their hands. This was also still usual in Lane's time in Cairo. Shortly before sunset, the bridegroom was taken by his friends to the bath, accompanied by musicians or singers and torches (*mashʿal*); from there, they went to the mosque to attend the evening prayer. On their way back from the mosque, the friends carried candles and flowers in their hands. For a later date (*ca.* 1875), Klunzinger describes the bridegroom's bath and *zaffa* for Ḳuṣayr on the Red Sea. In other lands, the bridegroom's bath appears to be less usual; at least, it is only rarely mentioned in the sources (for Palestine, Rothstein, 1907, with pictures of the *zaffa*, and Jaussen, 1927; for Tunis and Sfax, Bertholon and Narbeshuber, *ca.* 1900; for Tlemcen, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 40, *ca.* 1900; for Tangiers, Westermarck, 118; for eastern Anatolia, van Lennep, *Travels*, 267, *ca.* 1860; for Persia, Polak). The bath and *zaffa* seem to have been quite unknown in Istanbul. Similarly, the bath (but not the *zaffa*) for the bridegroom has been long unknown in Mecca (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, d. 690/1291, in Landberg, *op. cit.*; Snouck Hurgronje; Rutter), while Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, i, 402, mentions both in 1763 for Yarīm in South Arabia. Leo Africanus also did not know of the bath in Fās (nor does Westermarck or Tharaud); on the other hand, he describes an imposing procession of the bridegroom, which met the bridal train in the principal square of the town and went home along with it. Pictures of the splendid *zaffa* of the bride in India: Thevenot, *Voyages*, Paris 1689, iii, 66; H. Goetz, *Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmoghul-Zeit*, Berlin 1930, pl. 15 (18th-century miniature).

6. The wedding night (*laylat al-dukhla*). During the festivities mentioned at the end of section *b.* above, the bridegroom goes to the bridal chamber, or feigning reluctance, is thrust in by his friends. In addition to the evidence from Tradition, we have two descriptions from the early Islamic period of the proceedings in the bridal chamber. According to one (*Aghānī*, xv, 70), the caliph ʿUthmān stroked his bride Nāʾila on the head, asked the blessing of God (*baraka*) upon her and then unveiled her. According to the other (*ibid.*, xvi, 37), Shurayḥ took his bride Zaynab by the forelock while she knelt down, then prayed two *rakʿa*s with her, just as was the usual practice in the two enthronement ceremonies in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, ii, 180, 185). In the oldest parts of the *Alf layla wa-layla* (Baghdād stratum, *ca.* 4th/10th century), we find the following usages. In the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (i, 269-72) the bride is undressed by her maids and led by an old woman in a long robe into the bridal chamber where the bridegroom awaits her. While in this case the unveiling has already taken place, in other passages it is only done by the bridegroom himself in the bridal chamber (e.g. iii, 524). In the story of Uns al-Wudjūd and al-Ward fi 'l-Akmām (iii, 437-9), the two drink together and entertain one another with poems and entertaining stories. In the story of Ḳamar al-Zamān (ii, 478-9), after the consummation the bride summons her maids who give shouts of joy.

In Cairo in Lane's time, the bridegroom was carried by a friend a part of the way up the steps to the harem, during the festivities. He was only allowed to unveil his bride in the bridal chamber and see her for the first time in return for a sum of money. He then undressed her, laid her with her head in the direction of Mecca and performed two *rakʿa*s. After the consummation he summoned the women waiting outside the door to give shouts of joy (*zaghārīt*) and then returned to the guests. Jaussen gives a similar description for early 20th-century Nābulus. Polak records a very old and widespread practice for Persia (Leo Africanus knew it for Fās, Haëdo for Algiers, Bertholon for Tunis): after the unveiling, the couple try to tramp on one another's feet; the idea being that whoever does it first will be master in the house. In Turkey, according to Schweigger, the bride was pushed into the bridal chamber by her companions with jests and scoldings. In the 18th and 19th centuries in Turkey, after the unveiling and the usual prayers in the bridal chamber, coffee was served to the bridal pair and then a wedding feast held. Only then were they left alone (Olivier, White, Garnett).

In some districts of Morocco (e.g. Fās), it was considered seemly for the bridegroom only to entertain his bride in the first night and to consummate the marriage only in the second night (Tharaud; Westermarck, s.v. *Consummation*). In Egypt, on the other hand, it was a frequent practice to deflower the bride by mechanical means (Schwally, in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, 418-19). Both these customs were due to superstition, the

fear of evil spirits, and perhaps in the first case, to a certain feeling of shame.

During the wedding night, if the guests were still there, or on the next morning, the nurse showed the token of virginity to the women friends and relatives. In some districts, the bloodstained cloth was carried through the streets to the house of the bride's parents with drumming and shouts of joy. This is reported by Mocquet 1605 and Hoest 1760 for Morocco, Tournefort 1717 for Turkey, while in Burckhardt's and Lane's time in Cairo, it was only the custom among the lower classes. If the bride was not a virgin, the bridegroom could send her back to her parents. The nurse or the mother therefore frequently made arrangements in case of need. In the *Alf layla wa-layla* (ii, 478) a pigeon is killed.

On the morning after the wedding night, in obedience to the precepts of religion, both go to the bath [see ṬAHĀRA].

7. The ceremonies after the wedding night, especially on the seventh day. Sometimes the prescribed *walīma* was not performed till the day after the wedding night (see above, under *b*.). This is also the case in the story of Ḳamar al-Zamān (*Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 461, 478). In Turkey on this day, the wedding ceremonies concluded with a feast, the "festival of the sheep's trotters", as it was called from a traditional dish; then the bride had one or two days to receive congratulations (Garnett, 1890). In Egypt and North Africa, the bride remained for a week in the bridal chamber and was visited and entertained by her female relatives. On the seventh day the bride and bridegroom usually held a reception or gave a banquet. The first seven days of marriage called *sābiʿ al-ʿarūs* have always played a special part and go back to a usage sanctioned by the Prophet (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.* i, 626-7 and see above, under *b*.). In the story of Uns al-Wudjūd, women singers come on the seventh day and gifts are scattered among the populace (*Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 439-40). Leo Africanus mentions "a very old custom" in Morocco: on the seventh day the husband buys fish, which his mother or other women throw over the bride's feet. A similar practice was still found in Sfax *ca.* 1900 (Narbeshuber, 16). Probably there is some old magical practice to secure fertility concealed in this.

In conclusion, one may briefly mention the entirely different customs in Mecca and Medina as recorded by Snouck Hurgronje (1884) and Rutter (*ca.* 1928) for Mecca and Burton (1853) for Medina. Here there was a peculiar combination of the two kinds of wedding, the *ʿurs* and the *ʿumra*. On the evening of the fourth day, the day of the *ghumra* (= *ʿumra*), the bride in her wedding finery was put on a throne in her house, while the bridegroom went to the Ḥaram in a procession with lights, to attend the evening prayer there and then went to the bride's house. There he was taken into the throne room, where he unveiled his bride. After a supper, everyone, including the bridegroom, went home. Towards morning, the bride was taken by a few women secretly in a litter borne by two mules to the house of the bridegroom, which was in keeping with the old Arab practice. After a meal with the bridegroom, the throne scene was repeated in his house in a simpler form, after which consummation took place. From this duplication, a combination of two different ceremonies, it may be concluded that these Meccan wedding customs were not native to Mecca and Medina, but that some features had penetrated in course of time from lands adjoining Arabia, and had been combined. This is confirmed by the simple practices in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia (see above, under *b*.), and also by Ibn al-Mudjāwir (in Landberg, *op. cit.*, 859) who describes a pure *ʿumra* for the 7th/13th century in Mecca: the bridegroom goes to the Ḥaram, performs the sevenfold circumambulation, two *rakʿa*s at the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, kisses the Black Stone (i.e. makes the *ṭawāf* [*q.v.*]) and then goes with candles to the bride's house.

Weddings are usually celebrated in Muḥarram in Mecca, when the Pilgrimage is over and most of the pilgrims have gone (Ibn al-Mudjāwīr, *op. cit.*; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i, 361).

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For the legal aspects of marriage, see NIKĀḤ.

(W. HEFFENING)

URTUḲIDS [see ARTUḲIDS].

ʿURŪBA (A.), lit. "the quality or nature of Arabness". In modern political parlance, it refers to the doctrine of Arabism, or pan-Arabism; the term is illustrative of the manner in which established words acquired new meanings under the influence of European political concepts. Until approximately the end of World War I, *ʿurūba* was a politically neutral term that simply meant the quality of being an Arab (Lane). Beginning in the interwar period and culminating in the Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir era, *ʿurūba* was transformed into an affirmation of Arab national identity.

The sentiment that evolved into modern Arabism originated in the Salafiyya reform movement [*q.v.*, and see also IṢLĀḤ. i] with its emphasis on the distinctly

Arab features of formative Islam. It acquired secular characteristics through the cultural and political activities of some members of the Arab élite during the Young Turk era. Although historians have used the term Arabism to designate the proto-nationalism of these early activists, the word *ʿurūba* does not appear with any frequency in the Arab political journalism of the period. However, with the end of the Ottoman Empire in 1918 and the emergence of separate Arab states in its place, the need arose for an expanded vocabulary that could express new forms of national identity. It was in this context that the meaning of *ʿurūba* was politicised.

In its modern usage, *ʿurūba* is an emotive term that does not lend itself to precise definition. For the secular ideologues who invested the word with its political content, it was synonymous with Arab nationalism [see ḳawmiyya. i] and the imperative of Arab unity. As a political creed, Arabism assumed the existence of an Arab nation based on shared bonds of language and history. The expression of feelings of identification with that nation and the desire that it should become a single unified state were embraced by the concept of Arabism. The most influential proponent of secular pan-Arabism was the Iraqi-based educator Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī (1880-1968 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), who defined the concept as an urgent call for action: "More than religion, more even than patriotism and nationalism, the banner under whose shade all Arabs should unite is the banner of Arabism and we should all say, 'Arabism first!'" (*al-ʿUrūba awwal*^{an}, 190). From this perspective, Arabism pre-dated Islam and included all Arabs, not just the Muslims among them. Yet it must be noted that the question of the compatability of Arabism and Islam and the nature of the relationship between them have been widely debated within Arab political and intellectual circles.

The vagaries of domestic politics and regional alignments caused Arabism to receive differing degrees of emphasis in individual Arab states. The original Baʿth Party of Syria endorsed the nationalist principles of Arabism, and a succession of post-independence régimes described Damascus as *ḳalb al-ʿurūba al-nābiḍ*. By contrast, Egyptian politicians of the interwar era initially rejected Arabism as an alien form of identity, but by the late 1930s the doctrine had become integrated into the Egyptian self-view, thus laying the groundwork for the Nāṣir regime to make the pursuit of Arabism a central feature of its foreign and domestic policies. However, the failure of Nāṣir to fashion an effective Arab union, the persistence of inter-Arab tensions, and the decision of some Arab leaders to sign peace agreements with Israel in the 1990s, deprived political Arabism of the potency and promise that it once possessed.

Bibliography: For the modern origins of the concept, see C.E. Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism. Essays on the origins of Arab nationalism*, Urbana 1973; Rashid Khalidi *et alii* (eds.), *The origins of Arab nationalism*, New York 1991; and Sylvia G. Haim (ed.), *Arab nationalism: an anthology*, Berkeley 1962. The works of Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī are essential, including *al-ʿUrūba awwal*^{an}, 5th ed. Beirut 1965, and *Difāʿ ʿan al-ʿurūba*, Beirut 1956. See also W.L. Cleveland, *The making of an Arab nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the life and thought of Satiʿ al-Husri*, Princeton 1971; and Israel Gershoni and J.P. Jankowski, *Defining the Egyptian nation, 1930-1945*, Cambridge 1995 (excellent case study). (W.L. Cleveland)

URUDJ b. ʿĀdil (*fl.* late 15th-early 16th century), Ottoman historian and author of one of the earliest histories in Turkish of the Ottoman dynasty. Urudj b. ʿĀdil el-Ḳazzāz was the son of a silk merchant, lived in Edirne and was a *kātib* [*q.v.*] by profession. His only known work, the *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, was composed most probably during the reign of Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*]. No other biographical details about him are known.

For early Ottoman history, Urudj's history was based largely on royal calendars, *taḳwīm*s, and on various *menāḳib-nāme*s, including that by Yakhshī Faḳīh [*q.v.*], which also served as a principal source for other Ottoman historians writing independently in the later 15th century (cf. H. İnalcık, *The rise of Ottoman historiography*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 152-67). His accounts of the reign of Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] and of the first half of the reign of Bāyezīd II are fuller and contain more individual information. Many manuscripts of the work exist, though some are only partial, and the textual history is further confused by the false attribution to Urudj of later continuations dating from the early and mid-16th century. It now appears that Urudj made two principal recensions of his chronicle, the first *ca.* 900/1494-5 (represented by mss. in Oxford and Cambridge, ed. F. Babinger, *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbucher des Urudsch. Quellenwerke des islamischen Schrifttums*, ii, Hanover 1925; *Nachtrag*, with amendments, 1926), and the second *ca.* 908/1502-3 (represented by mss. in Manisa, ed. N. Atsiz, *Oruç Beğ tarihi*, Istanbul 1972, and in Paris, unpubl.) (cf. V.L. Ménage, *On the recensions of Uruj's "History of the Ottomans"*, in *BSOAS*, xxx [1967], 314-22). Although Urudj's history was apparently little used by historians until the early 20th century, it is now recognised as a significant contribution to the corpus of early Ottoman histories (F.R. Unat, *İA* art. *Oruç b. ʿÂdil*).

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(Christine Woodhead)

ʿURWA b. **ḤIZĀM** b. Muhāṣir (or b. Mālik) al-ʿUdhrī, Arab poet of early Islamic times (d. around 30/650 or some decades later) and, alongside his younger fellow-tribesman Djamīl [*q.v.*], the most famous representative of the "ʿUdhrite" lovers, who died in consequence of a chaste and unrequited love affair.

According to the most widespread version of the story (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Aghānī*, *Dīwān* of ʿUrwa, Ibn ʿAsākir, al-Sarrādj, and al-Anṭākī), ʿUrwa falls in love with his cousin ʿAfrāʾ. Though her father promised to marry her to ʿUrwa, he gives her in marriage to another cousin during ʿUrwa's absence. After ʿUrwa realises what happened, he falls ill and none of the healers consulted, among them the legendary ʿArrāf al-Yamāma (see ʿarrāf; the verses quoted in this article are ʿUrwa's), can cure him. To restore ʿUrwa's health, he is brought to Syria, where ʿAfrāʾ now lives with her husband, in order to give him the opportunity to steel secret glances at her. ʿUrwa indeed recovers, but his secretly watching ʿAfrāʾ is betrayed to her husband, who, however, is full of sympathy for ʿUrwa and invites him to his house. ʿUrwa, instead, decides to leave ʿAfrāʾ for ever and to return home. On his way back, he is seized by lovesickness again, this time causing his death. Only a few days later, ʿAfrāʾ dies of grief beside ʿUrwa's grave.

Another version (cf. *Aghānī* and al-Ṣafadī) differs in many points and shows close parallels to the romance of al-Muraḳḳish the Elder [*q.v.*]. In this we are told that the father of ʿAfrāʾ, after having married her to a rich member of the Umayyad clan, tries to deceive ʿUrwa by showing him a faked grave to make him

believe that ʿAfrāʾ is dead. Besides these traditions, many sources adduce an eyewitness account of ʿUrwa's death by al-Nuʿmān b. Bas̲h̲īr (*q.v.*, see also S. Leder, *Das Korpus al-Haiṯam ibn ʿAdī*, Frankfurt 1991, 104-10).

The story of ʿUrwa and ʿAfrāʾ was well known already in early Umayyad times, as references to ʿUrwa in poems by D̲j̲amīl, Kut̲h̲ayyir [*q.vv.*] and others show (cf. al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲āʾ, *al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā*, ed. Brünnow, 55-6, and I.J. Kračkovskiy, in *Oriens*, viii [1955], 33-5). Less conspicuous, however, are ʿUrwa's achievements as a poet. Originally, the main function of most verses ascribed to him (hardly more than 200 lines, all of the *g̲h̲azal* genre) may have been to illustrate ʿUrwa's love romance. The most famous of these poems, a *nūniyya* (rhyme *-ānī*) in the metre *ṭawīl*, gives the impression of being a compilation of shorter poems forming part of different episodes of the story, to which further lines with identical rhyme and metre have been added. Drawing on this stock, later authors compiled shorter versions of ʿUrwa's *nūniyya* to be included in anthologies and works of *adab*.

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ʿURWA b. **MASʿŪD** b. Muʿattib al-T̲h̲aḳafī, Abū Yaʿfur, a leader of the Aḥlāf group in al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*] at the time of the rise of Islam and considered technically as a Companion of the Prophet, d. 9/630. He was descended through his mother from ʿAbd S̲h̲ams of Ḳurays̲h̲ and married a daughter, Āmina or Maymūna, of the Meccan head of resistance against Muḥammad, Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*].

ʿUrwa took part in the negotiations between the Prophet and the Meccans for the truce of al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] in 6/628 as an ally of Ḳurays̲h̲. When the men of al-Ṭāʾif, from both the component groups of the Aḥlāf and the Banū Mālik, joined the anti-Muslim coalition of the Hawāzin [*q.v.*] in S̲h̲awwāl 8/Jan.-Feb. 630 and fought with the Muslims at Ḥunayn [*q.v.*], ʿUrwa was absent in the Byzantine frontier town of D̲j̲aras̲h̲ [*q.v.*], learning about siege techniques in preparation for a Muslim siege of al-Ṭāʾif. On his return, he directed the defence of the town. However, in Rabīʿ I 9/June-July 630 he became a Muslim, but was killed during the siege by a group of his fellow-citizens. ʿUrwa may have hoped to secure good terms from Muḥammad for the surrender of his town, or he may possibly have hoped by submitting to secure a future political ascendancy in al-Ṭāʾif, so that his death may well have been simply part of local factional rivalry. At all events, later Muslim tradition made him a martyr for the faith, and Muḥammad is reported to have compared him to ʿĪsā b. Maryam.

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2. Studies. H. Lammens, *La cité arabe de Ṭāif à la veille de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1922, 53-5, 68, 101, 111, 131; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 102-3. (C.E. Bosworth)

ʿURWA b. **UD̲H̲AYNA** (a *laḳab*, his father's name being Yaḥyā), Abū ʿĀmir al-Kinānī al-Layt̲h̲ī, Arab poet from Medina (fl. later 1st/7th century into the early 2nd/8th century) famous for his love poetry (*g̲h̲azal*), but also billed as a traditionist and legal scholar; Mālik [*q.v.*] is said to have transmitted from him (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-D̲j̲arḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1360, iii/1, 396; al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *al-Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1941-64, iv, 33; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Bid̲j̲āwī, Cairo n.d., iii, 63 [*ṣadūḳ*], cf. also Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 580 [*t̲h̲iḳa*]; he does appear once in Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *riwāyat al-S̲h̲aybānī*, ed. ʿA.-W. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1387/1967, 262).

The only clear date of his life is Saturday, 3 Rabīʿ I 64/30 Oct. 683, the day he returned to Mecca to find that the Kaʿba had just burnt down (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 528 = *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, v, Cairo 1963, 498-9). He lived at least into the reign of the caliph His̲h̲ām (105-25/724-43) to whom he was sent as part of a delegation (Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 579; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xxi, 164). His tribal affiliation is with the Layt̲h̲ b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna ... b. K̲h̲uzayma ... b. K̲h̲indif; all of these names, except Layt̲h̲, appear in his tribal *fak̲h̲r*. Since Kināna is the "mother tribe" of Ḳurays̲h̲, though not through ʿAbd Manāt, he boasts of being one of them as well (see i, 33, viii, 34, x, 52-3, here with explicit defence of counting them among his "relatives"). This allows him to claim the Prophet as "one of us" (see i, 39, iv, 25, vii, 38, ix, 36-9, x, 57-8).

The fact that he combined the stature of a religious scholar, of alleged chastity and purity, with that of a love poet—not an entirely unusual combination at the time (see Nallino, 99-101)—occasioned a number of anecdotes in which his chaste heart is called into doubt. Oft-repeated is a story in which the famous Sukayna bt. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] swears to let her slave-girls go free, if his best-known love poems were really written with an untouched heart (*ḳalb salīm*) (e.g. *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xxi, 164; al-S̲h̲arīf al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, i, 410).

Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 143, ll. 1-2) mentions a collection of his *ak̲h̲bār* by Ḥammād b. Isḥāḳ, grandson of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 188/804 [*q.v.*]). Most of the material adduced in the *Ag̲h̲ānī* is, however, credited to al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]).

His poetry was apparently not collected into a *dīwān*. What has been preserved is eleven complete *ḳaṣīda*s in the anthology *Muntahā al-ṭalab* of Ibn Maymūn (d. 597/1201) and some forty-five fragments from various sources, most characteristic among which are the lines set to music (*aṣwāt*) mentioned in the *Ag̲h̲ānī*. He was part of the Medinan scene of poets and musicians, whose collaboration was so close that the singer Ibn ʿĀʾis̲h̲a [*q.v.*, no. I] even asked ʿUrwa to compose, on the spot, some lines in *hazad̲j̲* for him that he might put them into song (*ḳul lī abyātan hazad̲j̲an ug̲h̲annī fīhā*, see *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xxi, 166). While this kind of poetry belongs to the new Ḥid̲j̲āzī *g̲h̲azal*, with its description of the beloved amidst her maiden friends (no. liv) and with its sophisticated psychology of the

lover and the beloved (no. xlii), the long odes show him closer to the old models of poetry. And yet, the *nasīb* sections, exceptionally long at times (forty lines in no. x), contain both old and new elements side by side, at times resulting in slightly contradictory attitudes (x, 5: the "old" it's-all-over notion; x, 21: the "new" motif of the calumniators calling the beloved miserly; they may be lying, so there may be hope).

In the last part of the *ḳaṣīda*s tribal *fakhr* is predominant. Of interest here are the religious-political notions mentioned mostly in connection with the Prophet: the Sunna of the Prophet (i, 39); the "vicegerency of a dominion" (? *khilāfat*[a] *mulk*[in]) that his people inherited from the Prophet (x, 57); the "counselling" (*shūrā*) that they have as a privilege (iv, 29); the "true prescriptions" (*sharāʾiʿ*[u] *ḥaḳḳ*[in]) that become clear through their protection of Islam (ix, 15).

Bibliography: 1. A collection of his poetry was undertaken by Yaḥyā al-Djubūrī, *Shiʿr ʿUrwa b. Udhayna*, Baghdād n.d. [1390/1970]; the more recent anonymous ed. Beirut 1996 is worthless, as it does not go beyond al-Djubūrī and leaves out the indication of the sources.

2. Biographical and anthological sources. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1966, 579-80; *Aghānī*, xxi, ed. R. Brünnow, Leiden 1306/1888-9, 162-72 = ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibrāhīm al-ʿAzbāwī, Cairo 1390/1970, xviii, 322-35; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, ed. M.A.-F. Ibrāhīm, Cairo n.d., i, 408-16; Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif wa 'l-mukhtalif*, ed. ʿA.A. Farrādj, Cairo 1381/1961, 69 = ed. F. Krenkow, Cairo 1354/1935-6, 54-5; Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, [2]Cairo 1385/1965-6, 192-3; Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā al-ṭalab* facs. ed. F. Sezgin, 3 vols., Frankfurt 1986-93, i, 190-215.

3. Studies. Nallino, *Littérature arabe*, 100; Blachère, *HLA*, 626; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 425.

(W.P. Heinrichs)

ʿURWA b. al-WARD, pre-Islamic *ṣuʿlūk* [*q.v.*] poet, from the ʿAbd Allāh b. Nāshib family, from a clan of ʿAbs (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, Beirut 1968, 452). His mother, though purely Arab, seems to have attracted attacks from his contemporaries, as shown by ʿUrwa himself, who says that his family called him Ibn al-Gharība "son of the stranger", and elsewhere he reproaches his father for a *mésalliance*.

Two groups of divergent traditions present an ambivalent portrait of the poet: on the one hand, he is a *ṣuʿlūk*, and on the other, he is the hero of a moving love story.

As a *ṣuʿlūk*, ʿUrwa was not one of the outcasts, *aghribat al-ʿArab* "ravens of the Arabs", nor was he one of the *khulaʿāʾ* "outlaws", expelled from his tribe to a life of brigandage. On the contrary, he seems to have enjoyed a certain standing amongst the ʿAbs, taking part in their raids and sharing in the captured booty (*Aghānī*[3], iii, 78-82). The various traditions stress his sollicitude for poor and needy members of the tribe, the *ahl al-kanīf* (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. Nöldeke, no. V, vv. 1-3, no. VII, vv. 1-5, no. XI, vv. 1-3, no. XXXI, v. 8), and this led to him being considered as the most generous of the ancient Arabs, even more than Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī [*q.v.*] (*Aghānī*, iii, 74). These raids took place in the districts near the *diyār* of the ʿAbs, sc. around Medina (*ibid.*, iii, 79), though he raided as far as the lands of the Banu 'l-Ḳayn and Hudhayl and Dhu 'l-Madjāz (*ibid.*, iii, 82-3, 87). He seems to have had contacts with the people of Yathrib, since the Banu 'l-Naḍīr purchased from him the booty which he had captured and lent him resources during periods of dearth (*ibid.*, iii, 76).

Parallel to this, a series of traditions from the 2nd/8th century present the outlaw poet as hero of a romance of tragic love, when, in a state of drunkenness, he divorced his wife Salmā (or Laylā, according to other traditions), and then fell into despair on recovering his senses, evoking his old love in poignant poetry (Nöldeke, 7-9). Hence the ʿAbbāsid poet Marwān b. Sulaymān, of the Abū Ḥafṣa family (d. 182/797), places him with al-Muraḳḳish [*q.v.*] amongst the martyrs for love (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 416).

ʿUrwa is undoubtedly the most prolific of the *ṣuʿlūk* poets. Of the two recensions of his *dīwān*, that of Ibn al-Sikkīt [*q.v.*] has come down to us. It has been edited by Nöldeke, *Die Gedichte des Urwa ibn Alward*, in *Abh. KGW Göttingen*, xi (1864), and Muh. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1926. It seems to have excited the interest of *udabāʾ* of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries. ʿUrwa's *dīwān* comprised the *ṣuʿlūk*'s apologia, love poetry and tribal poetry. Except for the cycle of poems concerning Salmā, his poetry appears fairly insipid. His evident boastfulness verges on conceit and on occasion serves to embody the ideas of those *ṣaʿālīk* who did not reject the tribal order. Thus the sense of solitude, of the outlaw alone with nature, and a tumultuous spirit in his poetry, are conspicuously absent in ʿUrwa, although he seems to have possessed a sharp sense of the poetic image, evident e.g. in the poem describing the division of his own body amongst numerous other bodies in order to feed his guests (*Dīwān*, ed. Nöldeke, n. XI, v. 3).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. See also Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 36, 77-9, 115, 416, 452; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1963, i, 234, 241, ii, 194, iii, 264; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1953, i, 265, ii, 204, 234, iii, 18, 58, 112; al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb*, Damascus 1407/1987, i, 85, 149, 222, iii, 36-7; Washshāʾ, *al-Ẓarf wa 'l-ẓurafāʾ*, Beirut 1407/1986, 220; al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, Cairo 1955, i, 5, 206; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Fārisī, *Sharḥ K. al-Ḥamāsa*, Beirut n.d., i, 34, 39, 43, 52, 138, 300, ii, 239, iii, 289, 322; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Ḳurṭubī, *Bahdjat al-madjālis wa-uns al-mudjālis*, Beirut 1402/1982, i, 193, 208, 226, 297, ii, 240; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿArab*, ʿAmmān 1982, 535-44.

2. Studies. Huart, *Littérature arabe*, Paris 1924, 19-20; Nallino, *Littérature*, Paris 1950, 47; Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 287; F. Gabrieli, *Storia della litteratura araba*, Rome 1956, 57-8; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 141-2, ix, 268; A. Jones, *Early Arabic poetry, Marāthī and Ṣuʿlūk poems*, Oxford 1992, 127-38; Yūsuf Khulayf, *al-Shuʿarāʾ al-ṣaʿālīk fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1978, 26-8, 29, 32-3, 34-5, 36, 37, 46, 50-1, 200, 206-7, 233, 236, 238-9, 241, 264, 267, 320-8; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-shiʿr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1956, 174, 202, 204, 232; Shawḳī Ḍayf, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī*, i, *al-ʿAṣr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1976, 382-7; ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ḥifnī, *Shiʿr al-ṣaʿālīk, manhadjuhu wa-khaṣāʾiṣuhu*, Cairo 1987, 115-16; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, *al-Taʾrīkh al-shāmil li 'l-Madīna al-munawwara*, Medina 1414/1993, i, 110-1; ʿAfīf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, Beirut 1417/1996, 164.

(A. Arazi)

ʿURWA b. al-ZUBAYR b. al-ʿAwwām al-Ḳurashī al-Asadī al-Madanī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, eminent traditionist, one of the Seven Jurists of Medina [see fuḳahāʾ al-madīna al-sabʿa, in Suppl.], founder of historical study in Islam. He was born in Medina, very likely in 23/643-4 and died there, probably in 93/711-2 or 94/712-13. He was the son of the eminent Companion al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*] and of Asmāʾ [*q.v.*], daughter of the first caliph Abū Bakr

and sister of the Prophet's wife, ʿĀʾis̲h̲a. The counter-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], his full brother, was his senior by twenty years.

The following attempt to sketch ʿUrwa's biography is made while bearing in mind that, as with other persons of the 1st century A.H., we have no contemporary reports about him but only traditions preserved by later generations. In such cases, the biographer has not only to weigh contradictory individual traditions but also to subject the tradition *in toto* to a general critique. In what follows it is presupposed that the existing sources, in spite of contradictions and distorted and falsified individual transmissions that they may contain, give us on the whole a widely correct picture of ʿUrwa's life and scholarly activities.

1. *ʿUrwa's life*

ʿUrwa grew up in Medina in the contentious atmosphere of the caliphate of ʿUt̲h̲mān. After the murder of ʿUt̲h̲mān and ʿAlī's election as caliph (35/656), his father al-Zubayr fled to Mecca where he presumably also took his two sons. Later, ʿUrwa and his father relocated to Baṣra, where the latter, with the help of Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh [*q.v.*] and ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, organised the rebellion against ʿAlī that later became famous as the Battle of the Camel (36/656). Due to his tender age ʿUrwa was not allowed to participate in the battle (Ibn Saʿd, v, 133). After his father's death he seems to have returned to Medina in the company of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a.

The considerable wealth inherited from his father enabled ʿUrwa to devote ample time to the collection and subsequent study of historical reports. When exactly he embarked on these activities, we do not know; however, during the last years of Muʿāwiya's caliphate (i.e towards 60/680), he is said to have met every night with some friends in the mosque of Medina in a scholarly circle (*ḥalḳa*) (al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, iv, 424). But according to another report, his last visit to his aunt ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, his most important informant, took place three years before her death (58/678), that is 55/675 (*ibid.*). This report suggests that, at that time, ʿUrwa no longer lived in Medina. (Presumably, he was already in Mecca, see below.) Whether, and if so when, he spent seven years in Egypt, as al-Balād̲h̲urī reports (*Futūḥ*, 217), is highly doubtful, since the other transmitted data do not tally with this report. At any rate, he cannot have spent seven continuous years there at any time (cf. von Stülpnagel, *ʿUrwa*, 13).

During the counter-caliphate of his brother ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUrwa took his side. On the day of the battle of the Ḥarra (63/683 [*q.v.*]) he is said to have burned his legal writings (*kutub fiḳh*), an act that he is said to have deeply regretted later on (Ibn Saʿd, v, 133). In 69/688 ʿAbd Allāh sent ʿUrwa on an unsuccessful diplomatic mission to the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] (Ibn Saʿd v, 77-8). According to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, v, 261-2 = § 2024), ʿUrwa also played a diplomatic role during the siege of Mecca by ʿAbd al-Malik's general, al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ b. Yūsuf in 73/692, but ʿAbd Allāh, instigated by his mother Asmāʾ, refused to surrender and accept in that case the offer of *amān* made to him. On ʿAbd Allāh's death (73/692), ʿUrwa fled first to Medina, where he deposited his possessions, and then without pause to Damascus, bringing ʿAbd al-Malik the news of his victory, before even al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲'s messengers could arrive. The caliph treated ʿUrwa with respect, pardoned him and guaranteed the safety of his personal possessions. ʿUrwa is said to have returned to Mecca to attend the funeral of his brother (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, xi, 61 ff.; al-Fasawī, i, 553-4; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, iv, 432-3).

ʿUrwa, now head of the Zubayrid family, settled again in Medina. This was for him the beginning of a long period of scholarly activity, and also the time of his correspondence with ʿAbd al-Malik who asked him for information on important events of the early days of Islam (see below), a correspondence continued by his son and successor al-Walīd (86-96/705-15). In the year of al-Walīd's *bayʿa* ʿUrwa, with his two sons Muḥammad and His̲h̲ām, went to Damascus. During this stay in the capital one of his feet, afflicted by gangrene or cancer (*ikla, akila*), was amputated, and during the journey Muḥammad lost his life due to an accident (al-Fasawī, i, 553-4; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, iv, 430-2).

In 87/706, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], later to become the caliph ʿUmar II, arrived in Medina as the new governor. He is said to have appointed ten *fuḳahāʾ*, among them ʿUrwa and five more from among the Seven Jurists of Medina, to be members of a council to advise him on all matters, presumably first and foremost with regard to decisions on legal questions (Ibn Saʿd, v, 245-6). ʿUrwa died on his estate near the village of al-Furʿ in the settlement of al-Rabad̲h̲a [*q.v.*], some 200 km/125 miles east of Medina, where he was also buried (Ibn Saʿd, v, 135; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, iv, 431, 436).

2. *ʿUrwa's position within indigenous* Ḥadīt̲h̲ *criticism—his importance as traditionist and as "historian" in the history of Islamic scholarship*

In the entire indigenous *Ḥadīt̲h̲* critical literature ʿUrwa is considered a trustworthy transmitter; his piety finds high praise, and he is characterised as an inexhaustible sea of knowledge. European scholarship, already early on, saw in him the "father of the historical school of Medina" (thus O. Loth, *Das Classenbuch des Ibn Saʿd*, Leipzig 1869, 43). To judge by the corpus of traditions transmitted under his name (see below on its authenticity), ʿUrwa reported on all important events of early Islam; we owe to his activities as a collector above all the transmissions that are of central importance for the life of the Prophet (*Sīra* and *Mag̲h̲āzī*) and which still today serve as highly significant starting points for any historical study (cf. von Stülpnagel, 54). However, ʿUrwa was not only an "historian"; another group of traditions going under his name is legal in content. They deal *inter alia* with property laws, the laws of marriage and divorce, and the position of women and slaves; others contain ritual precepts and general rules of behaviour (concerning ablution, prayer, pilgrimage; precepts concerning the behaviour towards the dead and tombs, and the wearing of precious garments). In these *ḥadīt̲h̲*s, explanations of Ḳurʾānic passages are frequently encountered; others contain derivations or applications of the *sunna* of Medina (cf. von Stülpnagel, 54 ff.). With his thesaurus of transmissions, ʿUrwa "laid the foundation for the entire early Islamic attitude toward life" (*ibid.*, 22).

ʿUrwa, being a (late) *tābiʿī* or Successor, belongs to the first generation of scholars in Islam who systematically collected traditions. His *isnād*s do not always fulfil the later requirements; at times, he does not mention his authority at all. Two-thirds of the traditions in the ʿUrwa corpus go back to ʿĀʾis̲h̲a as his direct informant; however, in some cases the suspicion is warranted that the *isnād* was extended backwards to ʿĀʾis̲h̲a in the later course of transmission (cf. von Stülpnagel, 119).

3. *Written and oral transmission. ʿUrwa's letters*

ʿUrwa wrote down the *ḥadīt̲h̲*s collected by him, at least in part. He is said to have destroyed all his

kutub fiḳh (see above). According to one version of this report, the reason for this is said to have been his qualms not to create another book alongside the Ḳurʾān (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, iv, 436). Also in favour of written notes is the fact that ʿUrwa already used to present his legal traditions arranged according to subject-matter (al-Fasawī, i, 551). However, such writings can only have had the status of aide-mémoires (*hypomnēmata*) for oral lectures which were the normal vehicle for the transmission of knowledge in this early age. It is out of the question that ʿUrwa wrote a *K. al-Maghāzī* in the sense of a definitively edited book (*syngramma*), as rather late sources allege (Ibn Kathīr; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa). Things are different with the *rasāʾil* (letters) [see RISĀLA] of ʿUrwa (cf. on these von Stülpnagel, 61-113). The *risāla* [*q.v.*] was the only literary form in this early age by means of which scholarly knowledge was handed on.

There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the *rasāʾil* transmitted in ʿUrwa's name by al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Hishām. It is true that changes of the original text cannot be excluded, which might have occurred during the transmission of the letters in teaching situations. The letters, dealing as they do with the emigration to Abyssinia, the first and the second Meccan *Fitna*, the Hidjra, Badr, the Hidjra of the women, the conquest of Mecca, the battle of Ḥunayn, the struggle for al-Ṭāʾif, the calumniation of ʿĀʾisha, and so on, may be considered the beginning of Islamic historiography.

4. *The authenticity of the ʿUrwa corpus*

Likewise, the corpus of traditions transmitted under ʿUrwa's name, as they are adduced in a great number of *ḥadīth* collections (*inter alia* the *Muṣannaf* works by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ and Ibn Abī Shayba, the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*), legal works (e.g. Mālik b. Anas's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*), historical works (*inter alia* Ibn Isḥāḳ-Ibn Hishām, al-Ṭabarī, al-Balādhurī) and Ḳurʾān exegetical works (e.g. al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*), must be considered largely as genuine, i.e. in fact going back to ʿUrwa. In the exhaustive source-critical study of the corpus by von Stülpnagel (1956), almost 2,000 traditions going under the name of ʿUrwa were examined; these were found to be reducible to 315 basic traditions. (Since so many new *ḥadīth* collections and other relevant works have come to light in recent decades, a new investigation would probably increase this number.) According to von Stülpnagel, more than two-thirds of these basic traditions can be considered as genuine, whereas about fifty of them should be regarded as spurious, falsified, or distorted beyond recognition (cf. 55, 147). A test of authenticity is possible, especially in those cases in which an individual ʿUrwa tradition was handed on by both his main transmitters, his son Hishām and his greatest disciple Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*]; this is actually true for a large part of the traditions in the corpus. A comparison of the *mutūn* (texts [see MATN]) of the same tradition in both transmissions, which frequently differ considerably in their length and their choice of words, leads one more often than not to the conclusion that (1) the two texts were indeed transmitted independently of each other, and (2) they are indeed derived from a common source, namely ʿUrwa (cf. Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*, 20-1, 150-1). ʿUrwa's original version can hardly ever be reconstructed in its exact wording, but the outlines of its content are certainly reconstructible. It should be noted that the complete corpus of ʿUrwa's traditions must have been larger than the extant material, and that his historical traditions in their original form were as a rule rather long and devoid of any (absolute) dates. In the sources available to us, especially the *ḥadīth* works, they often appear disjointed and/or abridged. Absolute dates are almost always later insertions (cf. von Stülpnagel, 35-6, 60).

As for the trustworthiness of the historical information on which ʿUrwa himself could lay his hands, it should be stressed, with R. Paret (*Die Lücke in der Überlieferung über den Urislam*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen, R. Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1954, 147-53, see 151) that, as son of one of the first followers of the Prophet and as close friend of the latter's widow ʿĀʾisha, he was, if only indirectly, in close contact with the historical period of Muḥammad. He may have at times received, and handed on, traditions that were distorted due to memory lapses or biased or bordering on the legendary, but hardly traditions that were invented or consciously falsified. According to von Stülpnagel (149), the ʿUrwa corpus is also practically devoid of any patent inventions and falsifications by ʿUrwa himself, nor does it contain explicit legal or theological polemics. The main outlines of the life of the Prophet, at least from the Hidjra onwards, are thus likely to be correct in the way that ʿUrwa has drawn them, who thus bequeathed them to later Islamic historiography and from there to modern biographies of the Prophet.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. On ʿUrwa's life, see the sources assembled by Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 278, the most important one being Ibn Saʿd, v, 132-5; also Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī, *K. al-Maʿrifa wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, 3 vols. [2]Beirut 1981, i, 550-4; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *K. al-Thiḳāt*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān *et alii*, 9 vols. Ḥaydarābād 1973-83, v, 194-5; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Sh. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et alii*, 23 vols. [3]Beirut 1985, iv, 421-37 (a list of further sources at 421 n.); Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk*, facs. ed. of Ẓāhiriyya ms., 17 vols. Amman n.d. [*ca.* 1988], xi, 559-86 (the two last-named works contain the most extensive biographies of ʿUrwa). Certain events in ʿUrwa's life are also mentioned in historical works, e.g. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, xi, ed. Ahlwardt, *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, Greifswald 1883, 61-3, and index.

2. Studies. See *GAS* and add F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Familie el-Zubeir*, Göttingen 1878, no 63; J. Fück, *Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq. Literarhistorische Untersuchungen*, diss. Frankfurt 1925, 7-8; A.A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, ed. and tr. L.I. Conrad, Princeton 1983, 76-95 (including, at 79-90, a catalogue of historical ʿUrwa traditions); and above all the exhaustive dissertation by J. von Stülpnagel, *ʿUrwa Ibn az-Zubair. Sein Leben und seine Bedeutung als Quelle frühislamischer Überlieferung*, Tübingen 1957, unpubl. typescript, inc. at 37-53, a catalogue of all passages known to the author in which ʿUrwa traditions are adduced, and at 61-83, ʿUrwa's letters in a complete German translation.

On the question of written and oral transmission and of the authenticity of the ʿUrwa corpus, see G. Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, Berlin and New York 1996, 28-32, 145-54. ʿUrwa's letters can be found in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 163 ult. ff. (an excerpt in idem, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1180-1), ix, 151-2, xviii, 61, xxviii, 4-5; idem, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1224-5, 1234-7, 1284-8, 1634-6, 1654-5, 1669-70, 1770, iii, 2458 (= Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii, 103); Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 754-5; Wāḳidī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, ed. Jones, ii, 631; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii, 6-7. Translations of the majority of these letters can be found in L. Caetani, *Annali*, i-ii. For compilations

of ʿUrwa traditions, see *GAS* and add ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, *Maghāzī rasūl Allāh bi-riwāyat Abi 'l-Aswad ʿanhu*, coll. and ed. M.M. al-Aʿẓamī, Riyāḍ 1981; S.M. al-Ṭāhir, *Bidāyāt al-kitāba al-taʾrīkhiyya ʿinda 'l-ʿArab. Awwal sīra fi 'l-Islām: ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām*, Beirut 1995. (G. Schoeler)

URYŪLA, the modern Orihuela, a town of the eastern part of al-Andalus, the highly fertile region of the Levante [see sharḳ al-andalus]. The modern town is 20 km/13 miles to the northeast of Murcia; it comes within the province of Alicante and is the seat of a bishopric. In 1970 it had a population of 45,000.

The town is an ancient one, and was the Roman Orecelis. It was conquered by the Muslims at the same time as other towns of what became the *kūra* of Tudmīr [*q.v.*], and appears to have been originally the chef-lieu of Tudmīr, the place where the eponymous Visigothic governor Theodemir had lived. In the early 3rd/9th century, however, the newly-founded town of Murcia became the provincial capital [see mursiya]. Thereafter, the history of Uryūla was essentially that of Mursiya as long as the latter remained in Muslim hands, i.e. until the mid-7th/13th century. In the mid-3rd/9th century, the Norsemen had ravaged the coasts of Murcia and had penetrated up the Rio Segura to Uryūla [see al-madjūs, at Vol. V, 1119a]. For a brief period in the mid-6th/12th century, Uryūla was the chef-lieu of a petty principality ruled by the *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim.

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2. Studies. E. Tormo, *Levante*, Madrid 1923, 297-306; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, index s.n. Orihuela. See also the *Bibls.* to mursiya and tudmīr. (E. Lévi-Provençal*)

USĀMA b. **MUNḲIDH** [see munḳidh, banū].

USĀMA b. **ZAYD** b. Ḥāritha al-Kalbī al-Hāshimī, Abū Muḥammad, son of the Abyssinian freedwoman Baraka Umm Ayman and reckoned among the Prophet's freedmen, was born in Mecca in the fourth year of Muḥammad's mission. Tradition records many instances of the Prophet's fondness for him as a child, and gives him the surname of Ḥibb b. Ḥibb Rasūl Allāh.

He joined the fighters on the way to Uḥud [*q.v.*], but was sent back before battle on account of his tender age. Questioned by Muḥammad in the case of slander against ʿĀʾisha, he spoke in her favour. After Khaybar he received a stipend, and in 8/630 rode behind the Prophet into Mecca and entered the Kaʿba with him. He fought gallantly at Ḥunayn [*q.v.*].

In 11/632 Muḥammad put Usāma in command of an expedition to avenge his father Zayd, fallen at Muʾta [*q.v.*]. Notwithstanding criticism, due to Usāma's youth, the Prophet, already in his last illness, insisted on a prompt departure, but the expedition turned back at the news of his death, and Usāma was among those who prepared him for burial.

The newly-elected caliph Abū Bakr ordered the expedition to be resumed, in accordance with the Prophet's wishes, though the tribes were already in revolt. Usāma reached the region of al-Balḳāʾ in Syria, where Zayd had fallen, and raided the village of Ubna (the modern Khān al-Zayt). His victory brought joy to Medina, depressed by news of the *ridda*, thus acquiring an importance out of proportion to its real significance, which caused it later to be regarded as the beginning of a campaign for the conquest of Syria. In the same year, Abū Bakr left Usāma in command at Medina, whilst away at the battle of Dhu 'l-Ḳaṣṣa.

In 20/641, ʿUmar bestowed on him a stipend of 4,000 dirhams, equal to that of the men of Badr, on account of the Prophet's fondness for him and his father. The election of ʿUthmān to the caliphate took place in the home of Fāṭima bt. Ḳays al-Fihriyya, Usāma's wife; he probably had a part in the event, and was in favour with the caliph, receiving from him the grant of a piece of land, and being sent by him to Baṣra in 34/654-5 to report upon the political situation there. After ʿUthmān's death, Usāma refused homage to ʿAlī, whose supporters attacked and ill-treated him in the Mosque at Medina. Thereafter, he lived in retirement, first in Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, then in Medina; he died in al-Djurf in *ca.* 54/674 and was buried in Medina.

Usāma has a place among transmitters of *ḥadīth*. His political career, though not brilliant, appears blameless; we hear nothing of his riches.

In appearance, Usāma resembled his mother, being black and flat-nosed. The emphasis laid by tradition on Muḥammad's love for him is partly due to the intention of setting him off against ʿAlī's family; it may also have been meant to show that the Prophet was a true democrat and free from colour prejudice.

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al-**ʿUṢBA** al-**ANDALUSIYYA** [see al-mahdjar].

ʿUṢFŪRIDS, a minor dynasty of mediaeval Arabia in the al-Aḥsā/al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*] and al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] areas of eastern Arabia. Their rule began there in 651/1253 after their seizure of the region from the ʿUyūnids [*q.v.*]. The ʿUṣfūr were kings of Banū ʿĀmir b. ʿAwf b. Mālik, a *baṭn* of ʿUḳayl, in the 7th/13th century, whilst their subjects included the Banū Thaʿlaba. Little appears to be known of their history. In the mid-9th/15th century, a branch of the ʿUṣfūrids called the Djabrids assumed control of al-Aḥsā.

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ʿUSHĀḲ, a town of western Anatolia, in modern Turkey Uşak (lat. 38° 42' N., long. 29° 25' E., altitude 907 m/2,976 feet).

1. History. In Antiquity, the town came within the empire of the Hittites, and the ruins of classical Flaviopolis are nearby. In the 8th/14th century it came within the *beylik* of the Germiyān-Oghullarî [*q.v.*]. The only extant *waḳfiyye* of this period, dated

721/1321, concerns the foundation of a *zāwiye* there by Yaʿķūb I (Mustafa Çetin Varlık, *Germiyan-oğulları tarihi* (*1300-1429*), Ankara 1974, 43, 107), and the still-extant Ulu Cami is undated but goes back to this time (Mahmut Akok, *Uşak Ulu Camii*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, iii [1956], 69-72, with plates and plans). Under the Ottomans, ʿUshāķ came within the *sandjak* of Kütāhya [*q.v.*], and by 937/1530 was the centre of a *ķaḍā*; at this time it had eleven *maḥalle*s and a population of 493 adult males. It had a soap manufactory which paid a tax of four *akče*s and a bar of soap for every soap-kettle in use. The name ʿUshāķ was around this time equated in the popular mind with the word *ʿushshāķ* "lovers", so that Ewliyā Čelebi interpreted the town's name as *ʿāshiķlar beldesi*. Towards the end of the 18th century it was under a *derebey*, Ḥādjdjī Murādoghlu, who rebelled against the central government but was overthrown and executed. Near the end of the 19th century, Cuinet numbered the population of the town at just over 13,000, of whom about one-third were Greeks and Armenians (*La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, Paris 1894, 215-19). The *sāl-nāme* of 1324/1906 for the Khudāwendigār *wilāyet* numbered the town's carpet looms at 1,532, with 6,928 persons involved in the work, and 300 dye houses. There was fierce fighting in the area during the Greco-Turkish War, and it was there that the Greek commander-in-chief General Trikoupis was captured on 2 September 1922. It is now on the main road and railway line connecting İzmir with Ankara, and is the chef-lieu of an *il* or province. In 1997 the town had a population of 124,356 and the *il* one of 311,754.

2. ʿUshāķ carpets. The 10th/16th-century records contain no mention of knotted rugs from the town. Presumably not all rugs called "ʿUshāķ" in modern carpet parlance were made in the town itself, and only those recorded in Ottoman documents as coming from or named after the town can be specifically attributed to it. ʿUshāķ carpets are remarkable because they show the transition from purely abstract design to the elaborate scrollwork esteemed by wealthy Ottoman customers during the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. The sources mentioning the town's fame for rug manufacture mostly date from the 11th/17th century. A price list of 1050/1640 refers to a multitude of larger and smaller ʿUshāķ carpets priced according to size (Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda narh müessesi ve 1640 tarihli narh defteri*, Istanbul 1983, 71-2, 178). Some information on design is also available in this list: almost all of the carpets described as coming from ʿUshāķ possessed a red ground and several of them had a design called *ṣofra* in the centre; this would seem to indicate the medallion ʿUshāķ of modern terminology. In addition, the nearby settlement of Selendi was credited with a white-grounded *ḥammām* rug with a "crow" design, which probably corresponded to the well-known white-grounded ʿUshāķ with a decoration of stylised scrolls resembling birds.

Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited ʿUshāķ in 1082/1671-2, refers to this small but active commercial town as a centre of the wool trade, where camels and wagons were numerous enough to cause traffic jams. Both mosque and *dīwān-khāne* rugs in vibrant colours were manufactured here, while the nearby village of Boyalî grew a root from which the red dye used in rug-making was manufactured (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 38-40). He also referred to the distribution of ʿUshāķ rugs. Thus the market held on the *yayla* of Djebel Erbaʿīn (Bozdağ) in the vicinity of modern Ödemiş was visited by the people of ʿUshāķ and Ķula, the latter also a rug-making centre, and it is likely that rugs and carpets were brought along for sale. Ewliyā also noted that a large ʿUshāķ rug decorated the Armenian monastery of Jerusalem, a building which much impressed him for its handsomeness. Kātib Čelebi's *Djihān-nümā* (Istanbul, 1145/1732, 768) equally mentions that the prayer rugs (*sedjdjāde*) and carpets of ʿUshāķ were famous.

Termini ante quem for the dating of ʿUshāķ rugs (in the art-historical sense of the term have often been provided by Dutch paintings (Onno Ydema, *Carpets and their datings in Netherlandish paintings 1540-1700*, Woodbridge, Suffolk 1991, 39-50).

The *sherʿiyye sidjilleri*, not only of ʿUshāķ itself but also of other rug-making centres such as Güre or Ķula, have not been preserved. But the presence of ʿUshāķ rugs as far afield as Istanbul and Jerusalem indicates that this industry possessed a well-developed distribution network. In Erdel [*q.v.*] or Transylvania, numerous rugs/carpets have been found in churches which are considered by specialists to have come from ʿUshāķ; but there is no definite information on where they were made (Ferenc Batari, *Ottoman Turkish carpets*, Budapest 1994, 28-40).

After 1870, a growing market for rugs in Europe and the United States resulted in the expansion of carpet-knotting in ʿUshāķ. Merchants collected the rugs produced domestically by women knotters, while the dyeing of yarn was often a job for men. Looms were generally the property of the producers. Artificial dyes were introduced, but their use for a long time was restricted to the lower-quality rugs, and spinning remained largely a manual job until the turn of the century. However, in the years before 1900, ʿUshāķ rug-makers began to feel the competition from towns where wages were lower and also from the first spinning and dyeing factories. In March 1908 women demolished an ʿUshāķ factory, and the local authorities, acting in the context of the incipient Young Turkish Revolution, advised the central government to give in to the workwomen's demands. However, by the beginning of World War I, the use of machine-spun yarn in carpet manufacture had become an established custom in ʿUshāķ (D. Quataert, *Machine breaking and the changing carpet industry of Western Anatolia, 1860-1909*, in idem (ed.), *Workers, peasants and economic change in the Ottoman Empire, 1730-1914*, Istanbul 1993, 117-36). Demand for Uşak carpets further receded during the two World Wars, with kilim manufacture providing only a partial substitute for this loss. Today, the town's main industry consists of a sugar refinery, established in 1925 and producing 43,900 tons p.a. in 1982.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): *İA*, art. *Uşak* (Besim Darkot); *Yurt ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1982, art. s.v. (SURAIYA FAROQHI)

(AL-)**USHBŪNA**, Lisbon, now the capital of Portugal. Originally it bore the Punic name Olisippo. Ruled successively by Romans, Alans and Visigoths, it was conquered by the Arabs in early 97/716. For the transcription of the name in Arabic sources, we find *Ushbūna*, *al-Ushbūna* and *Lashbūna*.

Initially, Lisbon formed part of the province or *kūra* of Beja, but along with Santarem and Sintra, later constituted the separate province of Balāṭa. In 229/844, it was attacked by bands of Norsemen (*al-Madjūs* [*q.v.*]), probably from Ireland. The *amīr* of Cordova ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II received a letter from the governor of Lisbon stating that 54 Norse galleys had anchored off the city. The raiders indulged in 13 days of murder and pillage, and fierce encounters (*malāḥim*) took place between them and the Muslims before the raiders left for southern Spain. Another attack by Norsemen on Lisbon in 355/966 was repulsed.

Arab geographers describe Lisbon as a fine city, extending along the Tagus, with a strong castle and a wall with five gates, and containing warm springs (*ḥamma*, hence today's Alfama). They speak at length of Lisbon's rich natural resources. Al-Rāzī pays tribute to the abundance of fish, and to its honey and gold as well as the excellent amber from the ocean. Ibn Ghālib [*q.v.*] says that Lisbon was renowned for the quality of its fruit and the variety of its game and fish. Al-Idrīsī, who visited Lisbon shortly before its capture by the Portuguese, says that south of the Tagus, facing Lisbon, lies al-Maʿdan (Almada), so called on account of the gold dust (*tibr*) washed up on the bank of the river; he also quotes the people of Lisbon as saying that in the plain of Balāṭa, between Lisbon and Santarem, wheat is harvested 40 days after being sown, with "each measure sown yielding about 100 measures". He further noted that a group of adventurers (*al-mugharrirūn*) set out from Lisbon on a voyage of discovery to find out what the ocean contained and how far it extended, and eleven days after they had set out from Lisbon, they reached a sea with huge waves and thick clouds (probably the coast of Ireland or England). Realising their peril, they changed direction and, after 24 days' sailing, reached an island (probably one of the Canaries), whose ruler had them deported to the coast of Morocco, where they learnt that they were at a distance of two months journey from Lisbon.

Sābūr, a freedman of the caliph al-Ḥakam II, was governor of Gharb al-Andalus, including Lisbon, until the collapse of the Cordova caliphate when, like other founders of Taifas [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF. 2], he proclaimed his independence. On Sābūr's death in 412/1022, one of his confidants, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Afṭas, assumed guardianship of Sābūr's two minor sons and later supplanted them as ruler of Badajoz. The two brothers moved to Lisbon for a month until, at the request of the people of Lisbon, Ibn al-Afṭas appointed a new governor. Returning to Seville from a raid in León in 425/1034, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād, eldest son of the ruler of Seville, was ambushed by Ibn al-Afṭas and narrowly escaped to Lisbon. This would seem to indicate that Lisbon was then part of the dominions of the ʿAbbādids of Seville, as was nearby Beja, birthplace of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād (434/1042 [*q.v.*]).

Lisbon boasted a number of native poets, of whom no less than seventeen are cited in the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām of Santarem (d. 542/1147 [*q.v.*]). These include Ibn Maḳānā, Ibn Suwār and ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Fihrī. Ibn Bassām used to come to Lisbon from Santarem in order to meet prominent men of letters visiting the city, such as Ibn Dūdīn of Valencia, who in 477/1084 dictated to the anthologist some of his verse and prose (*Dhakhīra*, iii/2, 703).

Having removed the Taifa rulers of Granada, Almeria and Seville, the incoming Almoravids proceeded to depose Ibn al-Afṭas of Badajoz for collusion with Alfonso VI of Castile and León; he had ceded Lisbon, Santarem and Sintra to Alfonso VI in 486/1093 in return for promising aid should Badajoz be attacked. Alfonso VI, however, failed to help and Ibn al-Afṭas was executed by the Almoravids in Muḥarram 486/February 1093. A few months later, the Almoravids recovered Lisbon after it had been under Castilian occupation for nearly one year and a half.

The subsequent rise of the Almohads in Morocco and the withdrawal, in consequence, of most of the Almoravid garrisons from al-Andalus offered the Christian rulers in the peninsula a propitious opportunity to expand their territories at Muslim expense. Two years after assuming the royal title in 533/1139, Afonso Henriques, first king of Portugal, who is referred to in Arabic sources as Ibn al-Rīḳ/al-Rink, i.e. the son of Henrique, failed in an attempt to seize Lisbon, but his capture of Santarem on 10 Shawwāl 541/15 March 1147, opened the road to Lisbon. A few months later, a Crusader fleet, on its way to Palestine and comprising 164 vessels and some 13,000 men from Germany, Flanders and England, arrived at Oporto. The bishop of Oporto persuaded the Crusaders to aid the king of Portugal in an assault on Lisbon, promising them booty and ransom money in return.

A full eyewitness account of the siege of Lisbon by an Anglo-Norman priest has survived in a unique ms. now preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. From the account, Lisbon would seem to have been at that time an autonomous city-state run by a council comprising the governor, the *ḳāḍī*, the Mozarabic bishop and a number of elders. The English, attacking from the west, gained access to the subterranean grainstores. The Germans, attacking from the east, blew a breach in the wall, but the defenders vigorously repulsed all attempts to penetrate the city. Eventually, an 80-foot mobile tower, constructed by the English, won the day. Although a truce arranged with Afonso Henriques provided for the peaceful evacuation of the city, it was nonetheless sacked by the Crusaders and many of its citizens, including the Mozarabic bishop, were slain, after falling on 27 Djumādā I 542/24 October 1147 after a siege of seventeen weeks.

Surprisingly, surviving Arabic sources have very little to add to the Anglo-Norman priest's account. Ibn Ghālib merely says that the Christian attackers numbered 13,000 men and that very few of the inhabitants of Lisbon survived the assault. Ibn Diḥya (d. 633/1235) says that "Confronted by large hosts who arrived by land and sea and given the failure of Muslims to come to their aid and the casualties they had suffered, the defenders of Ushbūna eventually capitulated" (*Muṭrib*, 24). Lisbon's great mosque was promptly converted into a church (now Lisbon's cathedral) and an English priest, Gilbert of Hastings, was installed by Afonso Henriques as first bishop of the new see.

In the annals of the *Reconquista*, the conquest of Lisbon was as important as that of Toledo (478/1085) and Saragossa (512/1118). Like Toledo, it now became a strategic Christian frontier stronghold. Its capture, perhaps the greatest single achievement of Afonso Henriques, was probably a decisive event in the creation of the Kingdom of Portugal.

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AL-**ŪSHĪ**, ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, Sirādj al-Dīn al-Taymī al-Farghānī, Ḥanafī scholar from Ūsh in Farghāna of the 6th/12th century. Nothing is known about his life. The death date of 575/1179-80, mentioned in one place by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, may be a mere guess. According to his own testimony, he completed his *al-Fatāwā al-Sirādjiyya* in Ūsh on 2 Muḥarram 569/13 August 1173. The epithet *Imām al-Ḥaramayn* given to him suggests that he taught for some time in Mecca and Medina.

Al-Ūshī is best known for his *lāmiyya*, theological poem of 66 or 68 lines also called *Badʾ al-amālī* and *Ḳaṣīdat Yaḳūlu 'l-ʿAbd*. It contains a simple creed in the Ḥanafī tradition close to Māturīdī doctrine and seems influenced by the *ʿAḳāʾid* of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī [*q.v.*]. The Muʿtazila are explicitly condemned, while criticism of Ashʿarī doctrine is muted. The reality of miracles worked by Ṣūfī saints is upheld, but prophets are ranked in excellence above saints. Among the numerous commentaries written on the poem, that of ʿAlī al-Ḳārī al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605) is particularly popular. In his *Ghurar al-akhbār wa-durar al-ashʿār* al-Ūshī gathered traditions and poetry, mostly of a paraenetic character, from rare sources, arranging them in chapters according to subject matter. Only an abridged version entitled *Niṣāb al-akhbār wa-tadhkirat al-akhyār*, containing 1,000 short traditions in 100 chapters, is extant. His *al-Fatāwā al-Sirādjiyya*, a collection of his Ḥanafī legal opinions, is described by Yūsuf b. Abī Saʿīd al-Sidjistānī as dealing with many rare cases not found in other books. Al-Sidjistānī relied on it as one of his two primary sources in his massive *Munyat al-muftī* completed in Sīwās in 639/1240.

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AL-**USHMŪNAYN**, a town of Upper Egypt [see AL-ṢAʿĪD] situated on the west bank of the Nile between that river and the Baḥr Yūsuf, on lat. 27° 47' N.

This town is the ancient Hermopolis Magna, in Coptic Shmoun, Egyptian Khmounou. Coptic-Arabic legend attributes its foundation to an eponym, Ushmūn, son of Miṣr. The dual form of the name, found in early Arab times, indicates that there were two settlements, and in the papyri of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.H. there appear Ushmūn al-ʿUlyā and U. al-Suflā "Upper" and "Lower" Ushmūn.

In Antiquity it was the capital of a district, hence in Arab times al-Ushmūnayn was the chef-lieu of a *kūra*. Al-Kindī noted that there was a *wālī ḥarb* there, apparently the same official as the *wālī al-ḥarb* of the Ṣaʿīd, who according to Ibn Duḳmāḳ resided there. After al-Ushmūnayn was sacked in 415/1024, there was appointed an official with the title of *mutawallī ḥimāyat balad al-Ushmūnayn wa-aʿmālihā*. With the administrative reorganisation of the Fāṭimid vizier Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] and the division of Egypt into provinces, al-Ushmūnayn became the chef-lieu of a province between those of al-Bahnasā and Manfalūṭ. At the time of the land-survey in 713/1313 of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, *al-rawk al-nāṣirī* [see RAWK], the town of Ṭahā had risen in importance, since the province is named as that of al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭahāwiyya. Over the course of time, al-Ushmūnayn declined in importance to the profit of Ṭahā in al-Bahnasā. In *ca.* 1132/1720, under the Ottoman governor Muḥammad Nishāndjī Pasha, the nearby place Mallawī became the administrative centre, thanks to its closeness to the Nile. In 1241/1826 the name of the province of al-Ushmūnayn was changed to the *maʾmūriyya* of Asyūṭ, with the latter town as chef-lieu, and al-Ushmūnayn became a simple village of the *markaz* of Mallawī in that province.

In mediaeval times, al-Ushmūnayn was famed for its fertility. From sheep reared by local Arab tribesmen, the town became an important centre of the woollen industry, with red wool carpets on the model of the *ḳirmiz* ones of Armenia, and the clothing of al-Ushmūnayn was widely exported.

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USHNŪ (Ushnuh, Ushnūya), a district and small town of Ādharbāydjān. The modern town, known as Ushnuwiyya (Oshnoviyeh), situated in lat. 37° 03' N., long. 45° 05' E., is some 56 km/35 miles south of Urmiya [*q.v.*], on which it has usually been administratively dependent. It is at present the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* in the *shahrastān* of Urmiya. The present population (1991 census results) is 23,875.

The district of Ushnū is watered by the upper course of the river Gādir (Gader) which, after traversing the district of Sulduz [*q.v.*], flows into Lake Urmiya on the south-west. To the south of Ushnū is the district of Lāhidjān which is administered from Sawdj-Bulaḳ [*q.v.*]. The town of Ushnū is situated on the left bank of the Gādir.

The population of the district are Kurds. The town and its villages are occupied by the Zarzā tribe, the other twenty-five villages by the tribe of Mamash, which also occupies a part of Lāhidjān and of Sulduz.

The town of Ushnū is mentioned in Arabic sources from the time of al-Iṣṭakhrī (186). This author says that Ushnuh al-Ādhariyya formed part of the lands of the Banū Rudaynī, which also included Dākharkān and Tabrīz (Nirīz ?), but Ibn Hawḳal, 240, already notes that this tribe had disappeared. At 239, he notes the richness of Ushnuh in grass and fruits. Its produce (honey, almonds, nuts and cattle) was exported to Mawṣil and to al-Djazīra. Its "steppe" (*bādiya* = Lāhidjān ?) belonged to the Hadhbānī Kurds who spent the summer there (*yaṣīfūn*). The principal fief of these Kurds was at Irbil [*q.v.*].

We know nothing of the coming of the Zarzā Kurds to Ushnū (they may perhaps be a branch of the old Hadhbānī) but the Zarzarī are already mentioned in the *Masālik al-abṣār* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, writ-

ten in Egypt in 1335 (cf. *NE*, xiii, Paris 1838, 300-29). The author explains its name as *walad al-dhi'b*, which Quatremère emended to *walad al-dhahab* "children of gold" (in Kurdish *zär* + *zārū*).

In the *Sharaf-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, the section on the Zarzā, mentioned in the preface, is omitted in all the manuscripts. They must have occupied a very considerable area. In a mutilated passage, i, 280, Sharaf al-Dīn seems to say that Lāhidjān was taken from the Zarzā by Pīr Budaķ, the first chief of the Bābān tribe (9th/15th century). He also mentions (i, 278) the defeat inflicted on them by Sulaymān Beg Sohrān (in the time of the Ottoman Sultan Murād III, 982-1003/1574-95).

Ushnū lies on the road between Mawṣil and the valley of Lake Urmiya (Mawṣil-Rawānduz-pass of Kela-Shīn [*ca.* 10,000 feet]—Ushnu—Urmiya or Marāgha). This road, blocked by snow in winter, is much less convenient than the route from Rawānduz via Rāyāt by the pass of Garū-Shinka (south of the Kela-Shīn), which does not exceed 7,800 feet. The pass of Kela-Shīn (in Kurdish, "green stele") is celebrated for the stele with a bilingual inscription (Assyrian-Urartian) erected in 800 B.C. in the time of the Urartian King Ishpuini and his son Menua. The *Masālik al-abṣār* (tr. Quatremère, 315) has a detailed account of the mountain of Ḥadjarayn, i.e. "the Two Stones" (i.e. the Kela-Shīn and the similar stone of Topuzāwa, to the south-west of Kela-Shīn). In the legendary account by al-Ṭabarī, i, 440, of the campaigns of the King of Yaman (Rā'ish b. Ķays) in the region of Mawṣil, we are told that his general Shawr b. al-ʿAttāf had his exploits engraved on "the two stones (*ḥadjarayn*) still known in Ādharbāydjān".

The place-names of the district (in Aramaic Ashnokh, Ashna, cf. the Asna of *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 142) reflect the former presence of a Christian element which has now disappeared (cf. the names of the villages of Sargis, Dinḥā and Bemzurta). In 958 already, a Christian of Ushnū founded the church of Sergius and Bacchus near Malaṭya. In 1271 the Nestorian Catholicos Denḥā transferred the see of the metropolis of Assyria to Ushnū so that it might be better protected by the Mongol rulers (Assemani, ii, 350, 456). An old Christian church may be concealed by the ruins of Dayr-i Shaykh Ibrāhīm (near Singān), which are venerated by both Muslims and Christians. Rawlinson (17) saw there the tomb of the bishop of Ushnū, Ibrāhīm, who in 1281 was present at the consecration of the Nestorian Catholicos Yahballāhā III.

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(V. MINORSKY*)

ʿUSHR (A., pls. *aʿshār* or *ʿushūr*), the tenth or the tithe in Islamic law. The early *fiķh* works define *ʿushr* as a tax on the land owned by Muslims, or a tax on the commercial goods to be paid by Muslim, *dhimmī*, or *ḥarbī* merchants from non-Muslim countries (*dār al-ḥarb*). It has been regarded as a kind of *zakāt* [*q.v.*], and frequently used also in the sense of *ṣadaķa* [*q.v.*]. The term *ʿushr* is not found in the Ķur'ān, but the phrase "the due portion (*ḥaķķ*) to be given on the day of its harvesting", in sūra VI, 141, is consistently taken to refer to the tithe or half-tithe levied on fruit and grain (Abū Yūsuf, 56; Yaḥyā b. Ādam, 121-2).

In the ancient Near East, the offering or payment of a tenth of one's goods or property to the deity and king was widely practised from Mesopotamia, Syria-Palestine and Greece to lands as far west as Carthage. In Judaism, the tithe also helped the community to meet the needs of Levites, resident aliens, orphans and widows. However, in the early Christian era, although it became a means of livelihood for church leaders, the tithe was regarded as a practice not necessarily in harmony with the new Christian movement (*The Encyclopedia of Religion*, s.v. Tithe). As to the custom in ancient South Arabia, Pliny in the 1st century recorded that a tithe of frankincense was taken by the priests for the god they called Sabis (*Natural history*, xii, 32/63). The inscriptions found also in South Arabia show that *ʿshr* and *ʿshwrt* (pl.) were tithes levied on land as offerings to the temples during several centuries after the Christian era. It has been repeatedly argued that the temple tithe was a hidden form of state taxation in the Southern Arabian kingdoms. However, all the evidence indicates that the tithe at that time was really not a state tax but a voluntary oblation to the deity (A.V. Korotayev, *Pre-Islamic Yemen*, Wiesbaden 1996, 60-84). During the Djāhiliyya period, the Arabs in and around Mecca and Medina were accustomed to offering a part of their crops and cattle to both Allāh and "pagan" gods (Ķur'ān, VI, 136).

Based on existing customs prevalent among these Arabs, Muḥammad probably laid down the *ʿushr* as a kind of tax for his newly-established community. According to Tradition, Muḥammad said, "On what is irrigated by rain and perennial streams lies *ʿushr*, and on what is irrigated artificially [lies] half the *ʿushr*" (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *zakāt*, 55); "Take from a Muslim *ʿushr*, and from a polytheist *kharādj*" (Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, *zakāt*, 22); "If you have palm-trees, pay *ʿushūr*" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 236); and "*ʿushūr* are levied on Jews and Christians, not on Muslims" (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *imāra*, 33/55). However, since the term was not yet strictly defined, it is also said that the Prophet indicated *kharādj* not *ʿushūr* in the last-mentioned tradition (*ibid.*). Furthermore, Ibn Saʿd recorded a different tradition in which the Prophet implied *djizya* by the term *ʿushūr* (vi, 59).

Based on the brief accounts of the Ķur'ān and these traditions, Muslim scholars during the ensuing centuries tried to develop the law on *ʿushr* for the benefit of their community. Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), a follower of Abū Ḥanīfa, formed his tax theory on the principle that any land whose owner, Arab or non-Arab, became a Muslim should be considered *ʿushr* land, while lands taken over from non-Arabs and left in their possession should be categorised as *kharādj* land (69; *Taxation in Islam*, iii, 82). Moreover, no-one should have the right to convert *kharādj* land into *ʿushr* land or *vice-versa* (Abū Yūsuf, 86; *Taxation in Islam*, iii, 83). Therefore, no changes could be introduced concerning the lands of al-Ḥidjāz, Mecca, Medina, Yemen and the lands of the Arabs conquered by the Prophet, which were *ʿushr* land (Abū Yūsuf, 58; *Taxation in Islam*, iii, 73). Yaḥyā b. Ādam (d. 203/818), who emphasised tradition, thought that *ʿushr* was *ṣadaķa*, which was the *zakāt* [*q.v.*] levied on the crops and fruits of Muslims (no. 356; *Taxation in Islam*, i, 77). However, he was of the opinion that when a man embraced Islam on the condition that he continue to pay *kharādj*, the tax would be due on his land without change (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, no. 22; *Taxation in Islam*,

i, 26). Abū ʿUbayd Ibn Sallām (d. 224/838), who was independent of any school of law, argued that no tax should be levied on honey from *kharādj* land because neither *ʿushr* nor *kharādj* is doubly levied on the same land (*K. al-Amwāl*, no. 1499). According to this view, the tradition that "*ʿushūr* is not levied on Muslims" indicates that *ʿushr* is not levied on Muslims without just basis. He who collects *ʿushūr* without just basis in the name of *ṣadaḳa* is a *maks* [*q.v.*] collector to be burned in hell (*K. al-Amwāl*, nos. 1639-41, 1625). Al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), a later Shāfiʿī scholar, prescribes more precisely that the rate of *zakāt* is the *ʿushr* levied on dates, grapes, and ten kinds of crops, like wheat, barley, rice, sorghum and chick peas. He introduces also two different views concerning the cultivation of *kharādj* land by a Muslim: according to al-Shāfiʿī, *ʿushr* is levied in addition to *kharādj*, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa, *ʿushr* is not to be levied (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 118-19).

These legal discussions were based on the assumption that the lands conquered by the Arabs had been classified into *kharādj* and *ʿushr* lands according to the method of conquest, by force or by treaty. However, ʿUmar II in reality still held the principle that *ʿushr* was levied on land owned by Muslims, and *kharādj* (*djizya* in the Umayyad fiscal administration) on land owned by *dhimmīs*. The view that *kharādj* and *ʿushr* lands existed from the beginning was newly invented after the reign of ʿUmar II (Shimada, *Shoki isurāmu kokka*, 174, 192). As stated above, al-Shāfiʿī recognised that both *kharādj* and *ʿushr* were levied on any Muslim who cultivated *kharādj* land, while Ibn Sallām and Abū Ḥanīfa rejected the levying of both taxes on the same land. The new, latter principle came to be commonly adopted in later Islamic taxation law (Shimada, *op. cit.*, 175). This indicates that an additional tax of *ʿushr* was in principle not imposed on newly-converted Muslims in place of poll-tax exemption. Soon after his accession to the throne, ʿUmar II sent an order to provincial governors stating, "As for *ʿushūr*, we consider that they should be abolished except from the owners of ploughland" (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar*, 82; Gibb, *Fiscal rescript*, 6). According to Gibb, "In this document Umar II accepted the practice existing in his time whereby certain lands were assessed for *ʿushr* (*op. cit.*, 12). Forand mistakenly explains that the abusive *ʿushūr* in this case were illegal imposts (*Notes on ʿUšr*, 140). Shimada regards *ʿushūr* themselves as not abusive (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 77), and presents the view that, in his document, ʿUmar II ordered the abolition of *ʿushūr*, that is, a 10% tax on *dhimmī* merchants, intending to treat Arab Muslims and *dhimmī* converts as equals (Shimada, 196).

During the early Islamic period, *ʿushr* was to be levied on the following persons: (1) Muslim cultivators who owned *ʿushr* land. If the land was irrigated by running water or by rain, they paid 10% of their produce in kind; but if the land was irrigated artificially, half of that rate was required. (2) Muslim merchants and artisans, who paid 2½% of their annual earnings. (3) *Dhimmī* merchants and artisans, who paid 5% of their annual earnings. (4) *Ḥarbī* merchants from non-Muslim countries, who paid 10% of the value of their merchandise (Forand, *op. cit.*, 137). However, *dhimmī* merchants actually paid 10% of their annual earnings until the time when ʿUmar II ordered *ʿushūr* abolished, with the exception of the owners of ploughland. In 7th century ʿIrāḳ, the actual tax rate was proportional to the yield: in the Sawād of Kūfa, native converts or Muslims who acquired land from native landlords continued to pay *kharādj*, whilst in the Sawād of Baṣra, Muslims who acquired land by gift or sale, or reclaimed land privately, paid *ʿushr* until the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj, who ordered such land owners to pay *kharādj* (Morony, *Iraq*, 106). In the *thughūr* [*q.v.*] lands bordering the Byzantine empire, all tax exemptions from *ʿushr* were abolished during the reign of al-Mutawakkil; and for Muslim proprietors, the *ʿushr* assessment meant their elimination from the ruling class (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 171; von Sivers, *Tax and trade in the ʿAbbāsid Thughūr*, in *JESHO*, xxv [1982], 83-4). The Arab Muslims who had emigrated to Egypt stopped paying *ʿushr* and started paying *kharādj* during the reign of al-Mahdī (Morimoto, *The fiscal administration*, 184). During the early ʿAbbāsid period, the owners of *ḳaṭīʿa* and *ḍayʿa* [*q.vv.*] lands still retained the right to pay only *ʿushr* on their private property (*milk*), but there was a tendency to deprive them of this privilege (Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation*, 91; al-Dūrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ*, 186).

When the Būyid *amīr* Muʿizz al-Dawla implemented the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] system in the Sawād in 334/946, he granted to his followers confiscated property (*ḍayʿa*) and revenue in the state treasury (*ḥaḳḳ bayt al-māl*) from levies on the private estates of influential farmers (Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, ii, 96; Sato, *State and rural society*, 21). These levies were also called *ḥaḳḳ al-aʿshār* (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Tuḥfat al-ʿumarāʾ fī taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, 363), which demonstrates the existence of a common view that *ʿushr* rather than *kharādj* was still to be levied on the private estates of farmers during that period. However, under the *iḳṭāʿ* system, influential village proprietors (*tānī*) who owned small plots of land (*ḍayʿa*) in the Sawād surrendered their estates to *iḳṭāʿ* holders in order to survive under their protection (Sato, *op. cit.*, 33-7). Generally speaking, Arabic and Persian society under the new régime experienced almost the same change in their taxation systems, as the distinction between *kharādj* and *ʿushr* lands gradually disappeared (Johansen, *The Islamic law*, 80-1) [see also KHARĀDJ], and peasants began paying *kharādj* as well as miscellaneous taxes (*mukūs* [see MAKS]) to their *iḳṭāʿ* holders, except for the poll tax which was paid to the state treasury (Sato, 148-50). However, during the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods *ʿushr* as *zakāt* in addition to *kharādj* was levied on Egyptian and Syrian peasants contrary to Islamic law (Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, 313; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xiii, 117; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, viii, 252, 259; Cahen, *Makhzūmiyyāt*, 34, 44). Regarding taxation on commercial goods, Muslim merchants under the *iḳṭāʿ* system paid about 2½% of the value of their merchandise (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 457; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 270-1), while *ḥarbī* merchants who came to Alexandria, Damietta, Tinnīs or ʿAydhāb paid *khums* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (a fifth), which actually ranged from 20 to 35% of the value of what they were carrying (Ibn Mammātī, 325-7; S. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1965, 199-200). According to Ibn Djubayr (d. 614/1217), all the goods belonging to Muslims arriving in Alexandria were brought into the government office, subjected to severe investigation, and then *zakāt* (probably a half or fourth of *ʿushr*) was levied on them (*Riḥla*, 13-14).

In Anatolia and the Balkans under Ottoman rule, cavalrymen (*sipāhī*) resided in villages that were their *tīmār* [*q.v.*] and were able to collect *ʿöshür* (actually ⅛ to ⅓ of the peasant harvest) levied on crops and paid in kind (H. Inalcık, *The Ottoman empire*, London 1973, 107; idem and D. Quataert, *An economic and social history of the Ottoman empire*, Cambridge 1994, 113, 531).

In Persia under the Il-Khāns and the Ṣafawids, privately-owned land (*milk*), although small in scale, still remained, and *ʿus͟hr* was levied on its owners (*Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 517-8, vi, 517). In Ottoman Syria also, *ʿus͟hr* was levied on orchards, vegetable gardens, and all *wakf* land except in sacred cities like Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem (A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine*, Princeton 1978, 65, 131, 142, 151; M.A. Bakhit, *The Ottoman province of Damascus*, Beirut 1982, 147-8). This custom, in the course of time, gave privileged Circassians and local notables in Egypt the opportunity to achieve large-scale landownership through the accumulation of *ʿus͟hūriyya* land granted by Muḥammad ʿAlī (K.M. Cuno, *The Pasha's peasants*, Cambridge 1992, 180).

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(T. Sato)

ʿUS͟HS͟HĀḲĪ-ZĀDE, a Turkish patronymic whose first element is formed from a learned Arabisation of the *nisba* Us͟hāḳī "pertaining to [the town in western Anatolia of] Us͟hāḳ". It was the name of two families of Ottoman Turkey.

1. The first is the family of leading *ʿulamāʾ*, descendants of Ḥasan Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUs͟hs͟hāḳī (d. 1001/1592-3), founder of the ʿUs͟hs͟hāḳiyya branch of the K͟halwatiyya [*q.vv.*] Ṣūfī order. Ḥasan had three sons: Muṣṭafā (d. *ca.* 1037/1628), who succeeded his father as head of the order's *tekke* in the Ḳāsimpas͟ha quarter of Istanbul, whilst serving as *ḳāḍī* of the capital and *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Anatolia; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1045/1635), *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo; and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (d. 1087/1676-7), *ḳāḍī* of Üsküdār. In the next generation, the *tekke* passed into the hands of another branch of the family, Muṣṭafā having no male descendants, but two ʿUs͟hs͟hāḳī-zādes were still *ʿulamāʾ* of high rank: Faṣīḥī Meḥmed (d. 1065/1654), *ḳāḍī* of Jerusalem, and ʿAbd al-Bāḳī (d. 1090/1679), *ḳāḍī* of Mecca. This last married the daughter of a *naḳīb al-as͟hrāf*, hence his progeny acquired the additional dignity of *sayyid* status. It was from this branch that there issued the most distinguished members of the family in the next generation: Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Nasīb (d. 1139/1726), *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumelia, and Sayyid Ibrāhīm Ḥāsib (d. 1136/1724), *ḳāḍī* of Izmir. The latter is especially known for his writings, notably his *D͟hayl-i S͟haḳāʾiḳ* (or *D͟hayl-i ʿAṭāʾī*), a continuation of ʿAṭāʾī's biographical work (*Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī takmilat al-S͟haḳāʾiḳ*), itself a continuation of Ṭas͟hköprüzāde's *al-S͟haḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya* (in it he completed the *ṭabaḳa* of the *ʿulamāʾ* and *s͟hayk͟h*s of Murād IV's time and added four other *ṭabaḳāt* covering persons up to the reign of Aḥmed II). He also wrote a history, the *Tārīk͟h-i ʿUs͟hs͟hāḳī-zāde*.

2. The second is that of merchants and notables who settled in Izmir at the end of the 19th century, and from whom there arose the novelist K͟hālid Ḍiyāʾ (Halit Ziya) [*q.v.*] and also Laṭīfe K͟hānïm, for a time wife of Kemāl Atatürk.

Bibliography: H.J. Kissling (ed.), *ʿUšāqîzâde's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert (Ẕeyl-i Šaqâʾiq)*, Wiesbaden 1965; H.G. Majer, *Vorstudien zur Geschichte der Ilmiye im Osmanischen Reich. I. Zu Uşakîzade, seiner Familie und seinem Ẕeyl-i Şakayik*, Munich 1978; idem, art. *Uşşâkîzâde*, in *IA*, of which the present article is a résumé.

(Nathalie Clayer)

ʿUS͟HS͟HĀḲĪ-ZĀDE, Ibrāhīm b. al-Seyyid ʿAbd ül-Bāḳī (1075-1136/1664-1724), Ottoman scholar and biographer.

He stemmed from a prominent family of *ʿulemāʾ*: his father was *ḳāḍī* of Mecca, his maternal grandfather was *naḳīb ül-es͟hrāf* and his younger brother ʿAbdullāh (d. 1139/1726-7 became *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Rūmeli. Ibrāhīm followed a middle-ranking career as a *müderris*, later rising to the posts of *ḳāḍī* of Medina (1119/1707) and of Izmir (1125-6/1713-14). He died in Istanbul and was buried at the Keskin Dede cemetery near the Mosque of Nis͟hānd͟jï Pas͟ha (Sālim, *Ted͟hkere*, Istanbul 1315/1897, 218-20; cf. Ali Uğur, *The Ottoman ʿulema in the mid-17th century. An analysis of the Vaḳāʾiʿ ul-fuḍulā of Meḥmed Şeyk͟hī Efendi*, Berlin 1986, pp. xiii-xxi).

ʿUs͟hs͟hāḳī-zāde's *D͟heyl-i S͟hekāʾiḳ-i nuʿmāniyye* is a biographical dictionary of 11th/17th-century Ottoman *ʿulemāʾ* compiled at the request of the S͟heyk͟h ül-Islām Feyḍullāh (d. 1115/1703) as a continuation of the work of ʿAṭāʾī [*q.v.*]. Arranged in five *ṭabaḳāt*, it covers the period from 1043/1633 in the reign of Murād IV (where ʿAṭāʾī finishes) through the reigns of Ibrāhīm, Meḥemmed IV, Süleymān II and Aḥmed II to 1106/1694-5 (entries listed in A.S. Levend, *Türk edebiyati tarihi*, Ankara 1973, 358-60). A facsimile ed. was published by H.J. Kissling as *ʿUšāqīzāde's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert (Ẕeyl-i šaqāʾiq)*, Wiesbaden 1965. The work was completed in 1114/1702 but only formally presented later to Čorlu ʿAlī Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], Grand Vizier 1118-22/1706-10. It was used as a source by the author's contemporary Meḥmed S͟heyk͟hī

(1078-1144/1667-1732), whose *Weḳāʾiʿ ül-fuḍalāʾ* was also compiled as a *dheyl* to ʿAṭāʾī. Although Sheykhī criticised ʿUshshāḳī-zāde's work as inadequate, with entries neither as systematic nor as numerous as his own, it was nevertheless a valuable source for his work (cf. Uğur, *op. cit.*, pp. xx-xxi) and remains a standard biographical reference work.

ʿUshshāḳī-zāde also wrote verse, using the *makhlaṣ* of Ḥasīb.

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(Christine Woodhead)

ʿUSHSHĀḲIYYA, a Ṣūfī order of the Ottoman empire arising out of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] and developing within the empire from the last quarter of the 10th/16th century.

Its founder, Ḥasan Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUshshāḳī, son of a merchant from Bukhārā, came to Anatolia as the result of a dream. At Erzindjān [*q.v.*], in eastern Anatolia, he received the *idjāza* of the Khalwatī *shaykh* Aḥmad Samarḳandī before he settled at Ushāḳ in western Anatolia. There he began to direct his devotees in his own Ṣūfī path, which apparently combined elements of the three *ṭuruḳ* to which he himself was affiliated, sc. the Khalwatiyya, Kubrawiyya and Nūrbakhshiyya (according to certain sources, he is reported also to have received an *idjāza* from Ümmī Sinān, *pīr* of the Sināniyya, another branch of the Khalwatiyya). Legend holds that he announced to the future Murād III (then residing at Manisa) his future greatness, so that the latter invited the *shaykh* to Istanbul after his accession in 982/1574. Certainly, after a certain lapse of time, Ḥusām al-Dīn settled in the Ḳāsîmpasha quarter, where a *tekke* was built, until the mid-18th century the only ʿUshshāḳī one in the capital. He was buried there, having died at Konya in 1001/1592-3 on his return from the Pilgrimage. Concerning his order's diffusion at this time, we know that it spread into Rumelia (in particular, to Edirne, Keshan, Gümüldjine/Komotini, Gelibolu, Filibe/Plovdiv, Belgrade, Buda, Pečuy/Peć, Temeshvar and Ḳandiye/Candia in Crete). We do not yet know about its spread within Anatolia. As for the Arab provinces, the sole reference is Ewliyā Čelebi's mentioning its existence in Cairo during the second half of the 17th century.

The ʿUshshāḳiyya enjoyed a renaissance in the 12th/18th century, when several new branches evolved. The most important one, the Djamāliyya, was founded at Istanbul by Meḥmed Djamāl al-Dīn ʿUshshāḳī (d. 1164/1751), considered as the *pīr-i thānī* or second master of the order. Originally from Edirne, he was an affiliate of the Gülshaniyya-Sezāʾiyya (which influenced him strongly), the Sünbüliyya, the Shaʿbāniyya and the Naḳshbandiyya before creating his own order and settling in the Ottoman capital from 1155/1742 onwards, where he then headed a *tekke* outside the Egriḳapî Gate. Another branch, the Ṣalāḥiyya, was created by ʿAbd Allāh Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿUshshāḳī (d. at Istanbul between 1196/1782 and 1198/1784), son-in-law and disciple of the previous *shaykh*, and called *pīr-i thālith* or third master of the order. He is above all known for having made the teachings of Ibn al-ʿArabī his own (he is said to have been called the Muḥyī al-Dīn of the Turks) and for having left behind numerous works. A further branch of the order was founded in western Anatolia, in the region of Čanaḳḳale, by Aḥmad Djāhidī ʿUshshāḳī, another *khalīfa* of Meḥmed Djamāl al-Dīn (d. 1170/1756-7, not 1070/1659-60, as is sometimes found in the literature). In the 19th century, several ʿUshshāḳī groups are said to have grown close to the Bektāshiyya, especially the Djāhidiyya (which is said, however, subsequently to have declined). Also, the *shaykh* Emīn Tewfīḳ, settled in Istanbul since 1285/1868-9, is said to have attracted numerous Bektāshīs to his side. During this second period of the order's history (mid-18th century to 1925), the ʿUshshāḳiyya seem to have been especially strong in Edirne and the region around it (notable at Dimetoka, Filibe and Aydos), in Istanbul (with five centres there) and in western Anatolia (Čanaḳḳale, Balîkesir, Bursa, Izmir, Kula, Nazilli, etc.).

Since the 1970s, the order, which has disappeared elsewhere, has re-emerged in Turkey, especially in the region of Balıkesir (where resides its present spiritual head, Sıddık Naci Eren, author of numerous works recently published) and at Istanbul, where the *tekke* at Kasımpaşa has been completely renovated since 1982. *Dhikr* is performed there twice a week, on Thursdays and Sundays (the dervishes first perform this sitting, then standing upright, and make the *dewrān* by means of leaps).

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(Nathalie Clayer)

USHURMA, MANṢŪR, the first *imām* of the North Caucasus, who led the local Muslim resistance to the Russian conquest in 1199-1206/1785-91.

1. His career

Born in Aldī (Aldy), a village south-west of Grozny, of the family of a poor Čečen farmer, Ushurma spent his early years looking after his neighbours' flocks. He may have received some rudimentary Islamic education under a local *mullā* or scholars in nearby Dāghistān, although contemporary Russian and Ottoman sources consider him to be illiterate. At the age of 26 or later, he renounced the world, divorced his wife and went into retreat, in which he experienced a vision of two mounted messengers from the Prophet who entrusted him with the mission to spread and enforce Islam among the Čečens and their neighbours. Soon afterwards, in 1198/1784, he took the name "Manṣūr", proclaimed himself *shaykh* and *imām* of the mountain peoples and invited them to abandon their non-Islamic ways (i.e. tribal customs (*ʿādāt*), wine-drinking, and the smoking of tobacco), and to observe strictly the *Sharīʿa*. His preaching had egalitarian overtones, which made it popular with the impoverished peasants and marginalised elements of the Čečen, Kabard, Ḳumuḳ and Noghay Tatar [*q.vv.*] tribes, whose traditional life-style was disrupted by the Russian colonial encroachment and the growing economic inequity between them and their nobility, members of which tended to co-operate with the Russians.

In Djumādā I 1199/March 1785, following two powerful earthquakes which may have been inter-

preted by the mountain peoples as an eschatological sign, Manṣūr called upon his fellow Čečens to attack Kabarda in order to bring its tribes in line with the *Sharīʿa*. Whether at that point his preaching included a call to holy war against the infidel Russians is not clear. Nevertheless, the Russian military administration of the Caucasus reacted strongly by sending Col. Pieri with a considerable force to take him prisoner. The Russian contingent reached Aldy, stormed and burned it, chasing its inhabitants into the mountains. However, Manṣūr and his followers escaped and, on the return march, ambushed the Russians in a thick forest, killing some 600 soldiers and officers, including the commander. Heartened by their victory, Manṣūr's disciples declared it to be evidence of the divine support enjoyed by their leader. His ranks swelled as he was joined by the previously reluctant nobles from Kabarda and Dāghistān, who brought with them their disciplined and well-armed retainers. In the summer of 1199/1785, Manṣūr marched on the Russian fortified town of Kizlyar, on the Terek, invested it and burned one of the outlying forts. However, his troops had to withdraw after their attack was repulsed by the Russian artillery. The subsequent siege of a smaller Russian fortress, Grigoriopolis, also ended in failure. These reversals did not discourage the *imām*. In August 1785, he launched a second attack on Kizlyar, which resulted in heavy casualties and desertions among his levies. Yet Manṣūr continued to enjoy the support of some powerful Kabard princes as well as many Čečens, Ḳumuḳs and Dāghistānīs. However, in November 1785, his motley army was routed by a Russian force led by Col. Nagel. This defeat caused the Kabard and Ḳumuḳ princes and nobles to desert Manṣūr and to throw themselves on the Russians' mercy.

Manṣūr took refuge in the mountains of Čečnya, from where he continued to harass Russian fortresses along the Caucasian Line. However, with his reputation on the decline and his levies rapidly dwindling due to want of success, he was reduced to seeking a truce with his Russian foes, but these last were not ready to accept anything short of complete surrender. Hence Manṣūr continued to raid Russian fortresses and villages from his mountain strongholds. Gradually, he shifted the focus of his propaganda from Kabarda to the Western Caucasus, which was home to the warlike mountain tribes, known collectively as the Adïghes (Čerkes [*q.v.*]). This shift may have been occasioned in part by the growing interest in his activities of the Ottomans, who had previously denied him their support, viewing him as a rabble-rouser. However, when a new Russo-Turkish war became inevitable, the Turkish military command in the fortified Black Sea ports of Anapa [*q.v.*] and Sögüdjuk (Sudžuk) decided to use the *imām*'s religious prestige in order to unify the fiercely independent Circassian tribes and to bring them under Ottoman command. They aimed at making him a conduit of Ottoman influence on the anarchic Čerkes and Noghays, who were almost as suspicious of the Ottomans' designs on their lands as they were of Russians. Shortly before the war, Manṣūr made a number of successful raids across the Kuban river and ravaged the territories under Russian control, carrying off hundreds of prisoners and thousands of cattle and sheep. When the war broke out in August 1787, the Russians decided to put an end to this guerilla warfare. An expedition sent against Manṣūr by the viceroy of the Caucasus, Count Potemkin, soundly defeated his levies in several bloody engagements. Manṣūr made his last stand on the Urup river, where, on 20 September 1787, his force was demolished by General Tekelli, causing the *imām* to seek refuge in Anapa. From that moment onwards, Manṣūr played practically no role in the Russo-Turkish hostilities that ensued. With the war going badly for the Ottomans, Manṣūr found himself trapped in Anapa, which was soon besieged by the Russians. After the fall of this Ottoman fortress, he was taken prisoner and sent to St. Petersburg for the Empress's inspection, who viewed him as a dangerous rebel (*buntovšik*). During an interrogation at the Peter-and-Paul Fortress, Manṣūr attacked his guard and stabbed him to death. In consequence of this episode he was shackled with chains and sent to the Schliesselburg Fortress, where he died on 13 April 1794.

2. Manṣūr's *ghazawāt*

Manṣūr was the first North Caucasus leader who consistently used Islam to unite the fiercely independent and mutually hostile tribal societies in the face of Russian colonial expansion. He may, therefore, be rightly regarded as the precursor of the three *imāms* of Dāghistān who waged a holy war against the Russians in 1829-59 [see SHĀMIL]. However, unlike the Dāghistānī *imāms* who had strong Ṣūfī credentials, there is no hard evidence so far to link Manṣūr to either the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] or any other Ṣūfī order. Furthermore, he does not seem to have received any formal religious education, which was to be so important for Shāmil's image among his followers. A Turkish student of theology (*sōfta* or *sōkhta*), who was sent by the Ottomans from Istanbul to examine Manṣūr's religious qualifications, reported that he was an illiterate shepherd who was ignorant even of Islam's fundamentals, not to mention sophisticated theological speculation. His humble background as well as the low social status of his following help to explain why the Ottomans, ever suspicious of popular religious leaders, neither supported his movement nor took advantage of his capabilities, especially at the early stages of his rebellion. The same is true of the Kabard, Čerkes and Noghay nobles, who, with a few exceptions, either refused to join him or deserted after the first reversals. Given these formidable odds, Manṣūr's long resistance to the Russian advance is all the more impressive and shows him to have been "a born leader of men, endowed with some high qualities to a very remarkable degree" (Baddeley, 51).

The rare accounts of the *imām*'s religious calling in Russian and Ottoman archives evince a familiar pattern which he shares with many contemporary Muslim reformers, such as Aḥmad b. Idrīs, al-Tidjānī, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and Shāh Walī Allāh [*q.vv.*]. Yet in contrast to these highly versatile and prolific scholars, Manṣūr left no written legacy, except for a few brief letters to his followers and the Ottomans, which he probably dictated to his cultured secretaries. Manṣūr claimed to be in direct contact with the Prophet and thus able to foresee the future and protect his followers from enemy fire. He often appeared to his followers with his face covered by a shawl, a practice reminiscent of earlier claimants to special powers (cf. al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*]). Far from claiming prophethood, as Russian sources try to have us believe, Manṣūr seems to have presented himself as a divinely-inspired "renewer" (*mudjaddid* [*q.v.*]), the person who appears at the turn of each Islamic century to restore Islam to its original purity. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that the public announcement of his *ghazawāt*, preceded by several years of intense meditation, was made in A.H. 1199.

The long-standing confusion in academic and popular accounts of the Caucasian Wars over Manṣūr Ushurma's religious claims (he was routinely described

as a "false prophet", "charlatan" or "impostor") springs, in large part, from the ignorance of Islamic doctrines on the part of the Russian colonial administrators who witnessed the rise and fall of his movement. The almost total illiteracy of his rank-and-file supporters, who were prone to misinterpret or exaggerate his claims, did little to dispel the Russians' misconceptions. The perplexity over Manṣūr's real goals and identity took a curious twist when an 18th-century Florentine periodical identified Manṣūr as the renegade Dominican monk and adventurer Giovanni Battista Boetti, in an elaborate literary hoax that was taken at face-value by some 19th-century Western and Russian scholars. More recently, a re-imagined and idealised figure of Shaykh Manṣūr has become an important nationalist symbol of Čečnya's struggle for independence from Russia (1994-6).

Bibliography: For a standard Russian view of Manṣūr, see V.A. Potto, *Kavkazskaya voyna*, Stavropol' 1994, i, 134-50; cf. J. Baddeley, *The Russian conquest of the Caucasus*, London, 1908, 47-56, which is based almost entirely on Russian sources. In Soviet historiography, a generally hostile approach to Manṣūr, which portrayed him as a Turkish agent, was for many decades determined by the works of N.A. Smirnov, e.g. *Turetskaya agentura pod flagom islama*, in *Voprosî istorii religii i ateizma*, Moscow 1950, 11-63; idem, *Politika Rossii na Kavkaze v xvi-xix vekakh*, Moscow 1958, 135-62. For a revisionist view of Manṣūr in nascent Čečen historiography, see Sh.B. Akhmadov, *Imam Mansur*, Grozny 1991, and *Sheikh Mansur i osvoboditel'naya bor'ba narodov Severnogo Kavkaza*, Grozny 1992, cf. *Central Asian Survey*, x (1991), 81-92. A detailed account of Manṣūr's movement, which is based on both Russian and Ottoman sources and which emphasises his perceived Ṣūfī connections, is A. Bennigsen, *Un mouvement populaire au Caucase au XVIIIe siècle*, in *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, v/2 (April-June 1964), 159-205. For a recent attempt to place Manṣūr in a broader historical, religious and social context, see A. Zelkina, *Islam and society in Chechnia*, in *Jnal. of Islamic studies*, xii/2 (1996), 240-64. (A. Knysh)

ÜSKÜB, the Turkish form of the place-name Skopje, the capital of the present Macedonian Republic. It lies on the banks of the Vardar river [see WARDAR] in the northwestern part of the plain, the Skopsko Polje, at an altitude of 220-340 m/720-1,115 feet, in a fertile valley surrounded by mountains. Its central position as a crossroads, with a rich hinterland, in the Balkan peninsula, has always made Skopje the economic, cultural and political centre of the region.

A few kilometres to the northwest of the present city was an Illyrian colony called Skupi, which became, at the end of the 1st century B.C., the capital of the Roman province of Dardania (see *PW*, s.n. *Skupi*). Destroyed by an earthquake in 518, the Byzantine town was completely rebuilt by Justinian I as Justiniana Prima, and from this time dates the monumental aqueduct (bringing water to the town from the Skopska Crna Gora) and the fortress on the left bank of the Vardar. At this time, Byzantine Skopia was several times attacked by the incoming Slav peoples, and briefly conquered by them towards the end of the 7th century, but for the next six centuries remained substantially in Byzantine hands, with intervals of Serbian and Bulgarian domination. Towards 1282 Skopje passed definitively to the Serbs, and became the capital of several of their mediaeval kings, who minted coins there and built palaces, churches and monasteries (Milutin, 1282-1321; Stevan Dečanski, 1321-31; Dušan, 1331-55 [who was crowned emperor there in 1346 and who promulgated there his famous law code in 1349]; Uroš, 1355-71; Vukašin, 1365-71; etc.), with its annual eight-day fair attracting merchants from as far away as Dalmatia and Venice.

At the opening of 1392 (on 6 January?) the town was occupied by the Ottomans, thereby beginning over five centuries of Turkish domination (till 1912) (cf. F. Bajtaktarević, *EI*[1] art. *Üsküb*, with references, also the notes of H. Šabanović accompanying his translation of extracts from Ewliyā Čelebi, *Putopis, odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, Sarajevo 1967, 278-92). Conscious of its strategic importance for controlling the Balkan lands further north and for watching over their Christian vassals and tributaries, the Ottomans deported part of the town's population and brought in Turkish and other Muslim colonists from Anatolia and beyond. Hence Üsküb changed rapidly in appearance, with the destruction or transformation of its ancient palaces, churches and monasteries and the building of mosques (such as the Khünkār one built by Murād II in 1436-7 on the site of the old palace of the Serbian kings), *ḥammāms*, *khāns*, *medreses*, *tekkes*, *türbes*, etc.

Now well behind the war zone, with a garrison which at times did not exceed 300 men, Üsküb enjoyed a spectacular development from the 9th/15th to 11th/17th centuries, rapidly becoming one of the most important centres of Ottoman Rumelia. It was an administrative centre, where coins were minted, and enjoyed a great cultural role, where several Ottoman figures of renown lived for more or less long periods, including the poet 'Aṭā' (d. 930/1523-4; cf. Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 191), the scholar Isḥāk Čelebi (d. 949/1542-3; cf. Gibb, iii, 40-5), 'Āshiḳ Čelebi (d. 979/1571-2 [*q.v.*]), the prose writer Weysī/Uweysī (d. 1037/1627-8 [*q.v.*], New'ī-zāde 'Aṭā'ī (d. 1044/1634-5 [*q.v.*]). etc., whilst several of its *medreses* acquired a good reputation. It was a flourishing commercial centre, with colonies of Ragusan, Jewish, Armenian, Greek and Vlach merchants. *Ca.* 1450 the town had 33 *maḥalles* (25 Muslim and 8 Christian), and a century later, in 951/1544, 67 (53 Muslim and 14 Christian), and 1,015 shops. Various Western travellers described it when it was at its apogee in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, as also Muslim travellers like Kātib Čelebi/Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and Ewliyā Čelebi. The latter records 70 *maḥalles*, 10,060 solidly-built houses, 2,150 shops, 120 mosques and *mesdjids* (45 of which were congregational ones), 9 *dār al-ḳurrā'*, 70 *mektebs*, 20 *tekkes*, etc. The estimated population figures vary, with 12,000 houses and 60,000 persons in 1689.

This period was brusquely ended with the War of the Sacra Liga, when Austrian troops under Piccolomini, supported by local Serbian insurgents, crossed the Danube and Sava and completely sacked and razed Üsküb on 26-7 October 1689. When the Turks re-occupied the town in 1690, most of the population had fled, the Muslims towards Istanbul and the Serbs, under their Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević, towards the Serbian lands further north and Hungary. Plague outbreaks further diminished the population, though Christian Orthodox Serbs from Skopska Crna Gora and Muslim Albanians from northern Albania, Kosovo and the Debar region now came in, and there were periodic earthquakes. At the end of the 18th century, Üsküb was a small town of little importance, with *ca.* 6,000 inhabitants, the Muslim quarter on the left bank of the Vardar, the Christian one on the right bank, and the Jewish one below the fortress.

Only after 1800 did influxes of population cause a revival of Üsküb in the first decades of the new cen-

tury. In these early years, Orthodox Christians came from Kosovo-Metohija and Macedonia, where they were being terrorised by Muslim Albanian bands in a period of declining Ottoman control, whilst Muslim *muhādjirs* came in from the lands reconquered or occupied by the Serbians and the Austro-Hungarians, above all in the last quarter of the century (the sources record *ca.* 2,000 *muhādjirs* arriving from Bosnia-Hercegovina after 1878, who settled in a new quarter named after them, the *Madžir mahalle* on the right bank of the Vardar; most of these later left for Turkey during or after the Balkan Wars of 1911-12 or after the First World War) [see MUHĀDJIR. 2]. With the Ottoman state managing to stabilise itself after 1840, Üsküb's commerce revived at the coming of railways, especially after the completion in 1888 of the Belgrade-Salonica line through the town, putting it in contact with Central Europe. Hence the population rose at the end of the 19th century to 32,000 (17,000 of these being Muslims, mostly Albanians, but in part Turkicised ones, 14,200 Christians and 800 Jews). It is at this time that a Muslim press first appears there, with *Kosowa* as the official journal of the *wilāyet* (the administrative centre having been transferred from Priština to Üsküb in 1875) from 1888 till 1909, three issues of the *sāl-nāme* for the *wilāyet*, and a non-official press after the Young Turk Revolution (*Yildiz, Enwār-i Hürriyyet, Arš*, etc.) (see N. Clayer and A. Popovic, *Les revues turques d'Üsküb et de Manastir à la fin de l'époque ottomane*, in B. Kellner-Heinkele and P. Zieme (eds.), *Studia Ottomanica. Festgabe für G. Hazai*, Wiesbaden 1997, 21-30), though this last was of short duration, the 1911-12 wars sounding the knell of the Ottoman presence in the region.

Captured by the Serbian army in 1912, Skopje (Serbian: Skoplje) and Macedonia were occupied 1915-18 by Bulgarian troops before becoming part, in December 1918, of the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes [see YUGOSLAVIA] as the centre of "South Serbia". It rapidly became a fully modern city, with a population in 1941 of 80,000. A good part of the Muslims (mainly Turks) migrated to Turkey, especially in 1920-4, so that the Muslims then represented only one-third of the population, now mainly Orthodox. These Muslims retained in the inter-war period some 15 mosques, some 30 *mesdjids* and 16 *tekkes* belonging to various dervish orders. The community had over it an "Ulema-medžlis", a *Wakf-meʿārif* council and a superior court of the *Sharīʿa*, and there were *mektebs* and lower-quality *medreses* plus a well-organised state lycée founded in 1925 ("Velika medresa Kralja Aleksandra I[og]"). The Muslim press had some dozen titles, in Turkish and in Serbo-Croat (*Ukhuwwet*, 1919; *Sosiyalist Fedjri*, 1920; *Rehber*, 1920; *Birlik*, 1925; *Hakk Yolu*, 1925; etc.), some, however, only ephemeral. The main, and most interesting, of the three Muslim political parties was the "Džemijet" (1919-25), not yet studied in detail. The Ṣūfī orders had continued somehow to function in Skoplje, since a certain number of *sheykhs* and dervishes emigrated to Turkey (see G. Elezović, *Derviški redovi muslimanski. Tekije u Skoplju*, Skoplje 1925).

During the Second World War (1941-4), Skoplje and Macedonia in general were occupied by Bulgarian, and latterly German, troops, bringing about the flight of part of the Serbian population and its replacement by incomers from western Macedonia. At its liberation (13-14 November 1944), Skopje became the capital of the Federated Republic of Macedonia within the Yugoslav Republic, and now began a spectacular urban and economic development, reaching a population of half a million *ca.* 1985, despite a significant emigration of part of the Turkish population of Macedonia, especially during 1950-1. The remaining Muslim community of Skopje (naturally, very closely controlled by the Communist régime), benefited from the 1950s onwards, like the rest of Yugoslavian Muslims, from a more tolerant official attitude towards religious life: permission for child education in the mosque; freer permission to perform the Pilgrimage; a Muslim press (though not till 1987 did the first periodical appear in Skopje, *El-Hilal*, published in Macedonian, Turkish and Albanian); more tolerance for the public celebration of religious festivals, etc.; and finally, in 1984, opening of the Isa-beg *medrese*. The main *tekke* of the city, that of the Rifāʿiyya, continued to function, though the massive emigration of Turks lost it a significant number of adherents. On the other hand, there was a considerable increase of *sheykhs* and dervishes from Muslim gypsy groups.

After the breakup of Titoist Yugoslavia in 1991-2, Skopje became the capital of the State of Macedonia. Like the rest of the region, its economic situation has become difficult. The Muslim community there, as in Macedonia in general, has become reorganised, but divisions between Albanian and Macedonian Muslims have become more and more apparent.

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(A. POPOVIC)

ÜSKÜDĀR, known in Western Europe as SCUTARI, the most important of the Asian shore suburbs of Istanbul, situated at the southern end of the Bosphorus.

We are ignorant of both the origin of the name and the exact date of its conquest by the Turks. Since Antiquity it was called Chrysopolis (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, vi. 6) and seems to have been a suburb of the Greek colony of Chalcedon. The first person to give the place its present name, as Escutaire, is Villehardouin in 1203 (*Conquête de Constantinople*, Paris 1961, i, 136-9), whilst Nicholas Choniates (ed. Bonn, 268, 331) mentions Manuel Comnenus' palace of Scoutarion, at the cape of Damalis, to the west of Üsküdār. Although *skoutarios* for a shield-carrying soldier was used in the 4th century, and it has been suggested that the place name stems from a corps of *skoutarioi* founded by Valens, the form *skoutērios* only appears in Byzantine titulature, that of the kingdom of Nicaea, in the 13th century; before this, the Byzantines used *skoutarioi* for the squires of the Franks. In view of Manuel Comnenus' intensive building programme after his marriage to Bertha of Sulzbach, one might suggest provisionally that, towards the middle of the 12th century, a term imported from the

West gave its name to a palace and then the suburb where it was situated; Phrantzes (ed. Bonn, 112) states in the 15th century that the place "today called Scutari formerly [was called] Chrysopolis".

There were several Ottoman Turkish incursions after the battle of Pelekonon in 1329, but no source confirms the date of 1352 given by Uzunçarşılı (*İzahlı osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, i, 25). Since there is a lack of historical mention or of traces of pre-1453 buildings there, one may conclude that any more or less effective Ottoman control of the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus before the fall of Constantinople was not accompanied by any permanent settlement. Bertrandon de la Broquière, who crossed the Bosphorus at Üsküdār en route from Bursa to Pera in late 1432 or the beginning of 1433, merely states that "audit Escutary, assés bon lieu pour chargier et deschargier gens et chevaulx... y avoit des Turcs qui gardoient le passaige et recepvoient l'argent du tribut qu'il falloir baillier pour passer" (*Le voyage d'oultremer*, 140).

With the arrival of the Ottomans, Üsküdār replaced Chalcedon/Ḳāḍīköy as the bridgehead for Constantinople towards Asia. The *khāṣṣ* registers for 1498 for the vicinity of Istanbul mention the *müsellemān-i ḳalʿa-yi Üsküdār*, all with Slav names, signifying the existence of walls, and mention vineyards in the town's environs, also cultivated by Christians (BBK, TT 1086, fols. 134a, 135a). This fortified point must have been situated at the side of the present Salacak. The mosque built by Muṣṭafā III in 1758-61 and called Ayazma Djāmiʿi after an Ottoman palace of that name known since the 16th century and perhaps continuing in some way the Skoutarion of the Comneni, marks the town's acropolis. This same register mentions a *nefs-i Üsküdār* and also a *ḳarye-yi U.*, with six *ortaḳčīs* (share-croppers on the royal domains) and two *reʿāya*, all Christians. Since the share-croppers registered in this document are all persons deported from various parts of the Balkans, it appears that Üsküdār was, like other environs of Istanbul, at least partially resettled after the conquest of Constantinople.

The first post-conquest building mentioned is the mosque of Rūm Meḥmed Pasha, Grand Vizier 1466-9, completed in 876/1471-2, within the ancient town, on the edge of the gardens of the Ayazma palace. In the next century, Süleymān I restored the palace of Üsküdār and in 955/1548 built, in the name of his daughter Mihr-i māh, a complex on the sea front, where were the remains of the ancient port, comprising a mosque, school, *ʿimāret* and caravanserai. This strengthened the role of Üsküdār as the bridgehead on the Asiatic shore and gave the signal for its development. In 988/1580 Sinān [*q.v.*] built for Shemsī Pasha a small complex on the sea front, a jewel of Ottoman architecture, whilst this same architect built for the queen-mother Nūr Bānū [*q.v.*] in 991/1583 an imposing ensemble on a height to the east of the town. The palace of Ḳawaḳ was probably begun in the early 17th century on the site now called Harem, on the vast site now occupied by the Selīmiyye barracks and its esplanade. In 1050/1640 Kösem Sulṭān [*q.v.*] built the Čīnili Djāmiʿ on the eastern heights, and a third queen-mother, Emet Allāh Sulṭān, in 1708 built the Yeñi Wālide Djāmiʿ in the town centre. In 1760 Muṣṭafā III built the Ayazma mosque on the remains of the palace there, and Selīm III in the opening years of the 19th century built a mosque and barracks for his Niẓām-i Djedīd [*q.v.*] on a part of the Ḳawaḳ grounds; the barracks were burnt down by the rebellious Janissaries on the sultan's deposition, but rebuilt in 1825-50 in their present form. During the Crimean War, 1854-6, the Ḥaydar Pasha Military Hospital was built on the sea front, to the south of the Selīmiyye barracks and to the north of the present Haydar Paşa railway station (terminus on the Asiatic shore for the line from Anatolia) and harbour. The hospital tended the Allied wounded, and adjacent to it is a cemetery where 8,000 British dead are buried. One should also mention Üsküdār's many dervish *tekkes* in Ottoman times, with the Rifāʿiyya *tekke* especially well known latterly, as well as the fame of Üsküdār until today for its immense Muslim cemetery, the Büyük Mezāristān.

In the mid-17th century, Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 472, counted 70 Muslim quarters, 11 Greek and Armenian and one Jewish. Vyzantios, *Konstantinoupolis*, Athens 1862, ii, 246, cites for the 1840s 72 quarters, of which three were Armenian, on the heights to the east and south of the town, plus a Greek one of 400 families, installed in the 19th century. The two Armenian churches still extant today date from 1617 and 1687. The Jewish quarter was situated, according to Eremiya Çelebi, *Istanbul tarihi*, Istanbul 1952, 54, on the sea front near the mosque of Shemsī Pasha; it comprised Jews who came from Ghalaṭa [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1618 (Naim Güleryüz, *Istanbul sinagogları*, Istanbul 1992, 49), but has now disappeared. V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv, 642, gave a figure of 82,000 for the town's population at the end of the 19th century, including 6,000 Greeks, 7,500 Armenians and 1,500 Jews. In 1940 the population of the *kaza* of Üsküdar, including the villages of the Asiatic shore as far as the Küçüksu river, was 54,969, and in 1990, 395,623.

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USRŪSHANA, the name of a region lying to the west of Farghāna [*q.v.*] in mediaeval Islamic Transoxania, now falling in the region where the eastern part of the Uzbekistan Republic, the northernmost part of the Tajikistan Republic and the easternmost part of the Kirghiz Republic meet.

The form Usrūshana is the best known, although Yāḳūt (i, 245) says that Ushrūsana is preferable. In the Persian versions of the text of al-Iṣṭakhrī and in the Persian text of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* we find more often Surūshana, while Ibn Khurradādhbih sometimes has Shurūsana; the original form may have been Srōshana. This district lay to the northeast of Samarḳand, between that town and Khudjand, and to the south of the Sīr Daryā (Sayḥūn), so that it formed the approach to the valley of Farghāna; on the northwest it was bounded by the steppe. The southern part was occupied by the Buttam(ān) mountains, which ran along the upper course of the Zārafshān; these hills were generally regarded as forming part of Usrūshana. The geographical information about this region is based almost exclusively on the geographers of the 4th/10th century, and the later geographers down to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa only repeat what their predecessors have said; it appears therefore that the name Usrūshana had fallen into disuse before the end of the Middle Ages. As a result of its numerous streams, which flow into the Sīr Daryā, it was at one time a rich country, visited by many travellers because the route to Farghāna lay through it. The geographers describe several roads from Samarḳand to Khudjand,

all of which passed through the towns of Sābāṭ and Zāmīn; the name of the latter place still survives. The principal town—in which in the 4th/10th century the governor lived—was in all probability called Nawmandjkath—this must be the basis of the more or less uncertain readings of a number of manuscripts (cf. especially al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 420); the form Bundjīkat given by Yāḳūt (i, 744; but see also iv, 307, where the name is Kunb) and adopted by Barthold is a late corruption; it lay a little to the south of the great road and was identified in 1894 by W. Barthold with the ruins called Shahristān to the south of the present town of Ura Tube; these ruins were examined a little later by P.S. Skvarski. The geographers describe the town in detail. Two other towns of some importance were the above-mentioned Zāmīn and Dīzak, and a number of other places are recorded; there were also rural areas without towns, while al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 294) says that there were 400 fortresses in the country. In the 4th/10th century there was an important market-place called Marsamanda. There is some further geographical information about the country in the *Bābur-nāma*.

At the time when the first Arab invasion of the country took place under Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] (94-5/712-14), Usrūshana was inhabited by an Iranian population, ruled by its own princes who bore the title of *afshīn* (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 40). The first invasion did not result in conquest; in 119/737 the Turkish enemies of the governor Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī fell back on Usrūshana (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1613). Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] subdued the country incompletely in 121/739 (al-Balādhurī, 429; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1694), and the Afshīn again made a nominal submission to al-Mahdī (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 479). Under al-Maʾmūn, the country had to be conquered again and a new expedition was necessary in 207/822. On this last occasion, the Muslim army was guided by Ḥaydar, the son of the Afshīn Kāwūs, who on account of dynastic troubles had sought refuge in Baghdād. This time the submission was complete; Kāwūs abdicated and Ḥaydar succeeded him, later to become one of the great nobles of the court of Baghdād under al-Muʿtaṣim, where he was known as al-Afshīn [*q.v.*]. His dynasty continued to reign until 280/893 (coin of the last ruler Sayr b. ʿAbd Allāh of 279 [892] in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg); after this date, the country became a province of the Sāmānids and ceased to have an independent existence, while the Iranian element was eventually almost entirely replaced by the Turkish.

Bibliography: The information of the mediaeval Arabic geographers was utilised by Barthold in his description of the region, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], London 1968, 165-9, to which should now be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 115, comm. 354. See also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 474-6. (J.H. Kramers*)

USTĀDĀR (P.), the title of one of the senior *amīrs* in the Mamlūk sultanate (1250-1517), who headed the *Dīwān al-ustādāriyya* that was responsible for managing expenditure on the sultan's household supplies, including the sultan's kitchens and beverage house (*sharāb khāna*) and various other needs, such as clothing for those living in the household, his *mamlūks* and others. The *Ustādār* was in charge of the food tasters (*al-djāshankīriyya*) even though their head, like himself, might be an Amīr of a Hundred. The *Ustādār* was also responsible for the court retinue and the servants [*al-ḥāshiyya wa 'l-ghilmān*] in the sultan's palace and even had judicial authority over them.

During the rule of al-Ẓāhir Barḳūk and with the establishment of the *dīwān al-mufrad*, the office of the *Ustādār* was further strengthened. Barḳūḳ appointed the Amīr Djamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī as *Ustādār* while also putting the administration of state matters in his hands. Djamāl al-Dīn took over the authority that had previously been in the hands of the Vizier and the Supervisor of the Private Fisc, who now became his subordinates. Thus the *Ustādār* took over the management of the sultanate's treasury. During the reign of Barḳūḳ's son, al-Nāṣir Faradj, the *ustādāriyya* was given to Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Bīrī al-Bidjāsī, again together with the administration of all the sultanate's affairs. From that time onwards, it became accepted practice that the administration of the sultanate was in the hands of the *Ustādār* who acted as the Grand Vizier had done during the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdad. Yet in the 9th/15th century, this relative elevation of the *Ustādār*'s status was offset by the general decline of the *amīrs*' status that followed the rise in status of the rank-and-file *mamlūks*. As the man in charge of the treasury, the *Ustādār* now became subject to pressure from these latter *mamlūks*; it could even happen that he was beaten by them and had his home looted when there were delays in payments due to them, or he might even be held hostage until their claims had been met.

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USTĀDH, Ustād (A., pls. *ustādhūn, asātidha*), a term used from early Islamic times onwards to denote a person eminent and skilful in his profession. The word is clearly non-Arabic in origin, as was early recognised, see al-Djawālīḳī, *al-Muʿarrab*, ed. A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1361/1942, 25; Lane, *Lexicon*, 56c). In fact, the word is Iranian, Pahlavi *awestād* "master (craftsman)", see D.N. McKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*, London 1971, 14 (also occurring in Manichaean MP as *ʾwystʾd*). Through its usage in the Muslim West, it may have given Spanish *Vd.* = *Usted*, though Hispanists usually reject this; a possible compromise has been suggested by G. Krotkoff, *A possible Arabic ingredient in the history of Spanish* Usted, in *Romance Philology*, xvii (1963), 328-32.

1. In Arabic

In classical Arabic, the term has a wide range of meanings since it designates, at one and the same time, an intelligent and highly-esteemed person, a master (in the sense of professor, maestro, especially in music) and also master craftsman. There is also the developed sense of "eunuch", a synonym of *khaṣī* [*q.v.*]. The feminine form *ustādha* is attested for a musician or female master-musician. In its different senses, *ustādh* corresponds, *grosso modo*, to the Arabic word *shaykh*. It is thus applied to a person who has perfectly mastered an art or science and is therefore capable of teaching and transmitting his knowledge to pupils or disciples. Thus ʿAḍud al-Dawla, e.g., called Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*] *al-ustādh al-raʾīs*. In the Fāṭimid caliphate, a certain number of high officials serving the ruler had this title, such as the crown-bearer, the master

of protocol at court, the bearer of the royal ink stand, etc. (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Cairo, iii, 483-4, ed. Beirut 1987, iii, 550 ff.). Under the Mamlūks, there were in the sultans' household up to four officials with the title *ustāddār* (< *ustādh al-dār*) who looked after the sultan's personal expenditure, supervised the royal kitchens and domestic staff, etc. (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, pp. LX-LXI, citing Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, Cairo, v, 457; and see USTĀDĀR).

Ustādh designates, moreover, someone with an incontestable moral authority, recognised by his peers and contemporaries as an exemplar, so that Ibn al-Khaṭīb was able to say of a great scholar, *wa-kāna al-ustādh, imām al-djamāʿa wa-sībawayh al-ṣināʿa, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Fakhkhār* (with *ustādh* used in an absolute sense). One might also mention that *al-Ustādh* may (just like *al-Imām, al-Ḳāḍī*, etc.) become something of an honorific name within a certain tradition, e.g. al-Ustādh among the Shāfiʿīs = Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāyīnī [*q.v.*]. In the sphere of music and musicology, it denotes someone of supreme authority. Hence Yaḥyā al-Makkī (with whom Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī had a connection) is described in the *Aghānī* (Beirut 1970, v, 53) as *shaykh al-djamāʿa wa-ustādhuhum*, with, again, a reference to a group, a circle of disciples (*djamāʿa*), indicating how he was looked up to (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 21; also Ibn Rusta, 123, tr. Wiet, 138, describes thus an organist who played at Constantinople). The euphemistic use of *ustādh* for "eunuch" probably derives from the fact that many eunuchs held important offices, so that they inspired respect from their entourage. This explains why other euphemisms with a close-connected sense, such as *shaykh* and *muʿallim*, and in Turkish, *agha* and *khʷādja*, were also applied to them.

In modern standard Arabic, *ustādh* still retains its meaning of a school master, and especially of a university professor, as an academic title (*ustādh dhū kursī*, i.e. with a titular chair); *ustādh musāʿid*, assistant professor; and *al-ustādh al-akbar* for the Rector of al-Azhar. It is further applied, as a term of respect, to intellectuals and official personages with links to the cultural world. In Egyptian and Syro-Lebanese dialects, it is used in the polite formulae when addressing a teacher or any other person, connected with a university or not, who has connections with the cultural sphere or has great moral authority, whence the neologism *ustādhiyya* "the position of master, professorate (El-Said al-Badawi and M. Hinds, *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic, Arabic-English*, Beirut 1986, 19). In Egypt, *ustā* is still used today as a kind of respectful title when addressing a qualified workman or especially, the leader of a troupe of female dancers and musicians (*ibid.*, 21). In the Maghrīb, the term is at present used for any teacher, whatever his status, and likewise of a doctor of the University; it is also used for any person connected with knowledge or exercising a craft requiring great skill and dexterity (A. Lentin, *Supplément au dictionnaire pratique arabe-français de Marcelin Beaussier*, Algiers 1959, 3).

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(F. SANAGUSTIN)

2. In Persian

The term often appears in Persian dialects as *usta* and even as *usa* (Tehrani, Yazdi). In early times it was an honorific given to learned men and teachers in the widest sense of the word, since the term conveyed the idea of a person known for his wisdom, knowledge, skill, ingenuity, etc. (see Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v., with many poetic references). Al-Samʿānī names a person who, as early as the reign of the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (279-95/892-907 [*q.v.*]), bore the title *al-ustādh* (*K. al-Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, i, 196-7; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 232). The famous vizier of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*], had this title, according to Miskawayh (see also J.Chr. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAḍud ad-Daulas*, Wiesbaden 1965, 78-9). During the Ghaznawid and Saldjūḳ periods it was used in a broad sense as the opposite of *shāgird* "pupil, novice", i.e. for a learned scholar or teacher, and also as an honorific for departmental heads in the administration in phrases like *ustād-i dīwān* (Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1445, 498-9, 630; Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ḳumī, *Tārīkh-i Ḳum*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran 1313/1934, 163). This usage for administrative heads continued into later times, as seen in Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhčiwānī, *Dustūr al-kātib*, facs., ed. A.A. Alizade, Moscow 1964, i/1, 82, 84, 101 and *passim*, with a special section on the *laḳabs* and *adʿiya* to be used for *ustāds*. By this time it was also used for master artisans (Denise Aigle, *Le soufisme sunnite en Fars*, in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, Paris-Tehran 1997, 244: Ustād ʿAlī Nadjdjār).

In Tīmūrid times there was a gradual shift in the term's usage, for it became mainly applied to the heads of professional groups such as gilds (cf. H.H. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 143, 176, 193). This is the usage in a late Tīmūrid *inshāʾ* manual, whilst the *ʿulamāʾ* and other scholars are addressed as *shaykh* or *khʷādja* (Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Niẓāmī, *Munshaʾ al-inshāʾ*, ed. R.D. Humāyūn-Farrukh, Tehran 1357/1958, i, 257-67). For the gild heads, see Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, iv, 92-3; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, facs. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1943, tr. 58, 83. *Ustād/ustā* has continued to be used for a master craftsman until the present time. The title had always been used as a synonym for the Ṣūfī designations *shaykh, pīr* (R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. 2. Glaube und Lehre*, Wiesbaden 1966, 186), with reference to this person's teaching function; this is now obsolete, but in the 20th century, the term has been revived, as in the Arab world, for the highest category of teachers, i.e. university professors.

It may also be noted that, in Ottoman Turkish, *ustā* had also the meaning of "master craftsman, foreman" (cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish-English dictionary*, 87a). This person was associated, as in Persia, with the trade gilds, but also with the Janissary corps. See Gibb and Bowen, i, 281, 322, 357; and ṢINF. 3.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(W. FLOOR)

USTĀDHSĪS, the leader of a religious movement in Bādghīs [*q.v.*] who rebelled in 150/767 against the ʿAbbāsid government.

The people of Bādghīs had been converted by Bihāfarīd [*q.v.*] to his Zoroastrian reform doctrine that had adopted practices and prohibitions inspired by Islam. Ustādhsīs was a local chief there who had co-operated with the ʿAbbāsid governor of Khurāsān Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd (143-9/760-6). The Bihāfarīdīs of Bādghīs wrote to al-Mahdī, son of the caliph al-Manṣūr and at that time viceroy of the East, demanding to be recognised as Muslims. Al-Mahdī put

them under the command of Muḥammad b. Shaddād, who was raiding the region of Kābul, and the latter gave them a share of the war booty. After their return home, they revolted under the leadership of Ustādhsīs. Muḥammad b. Shaddād revolted at the same time in Bust in Sidjistān together with two Zoroastrian chiefs, Ādharūya al-Madjūsī and Marzbān al-Madjūsī. Muḥammad b. Shaddād's followers are described as belonging to the Lughayriyya (or Laghīriyya), an obscure Zoroastrian sect which, like the Bihāfarīdiyya, adopted some Islamic practices and beliefs. Numerous Khāridjites and Lughayrīs joined Ustādhsīs in Bādghīs, whose followers are said to have numbered 300,000. Ustādhsīs took possession of Harāt and Būshandj, where his supporters killed 700 tribesmen of ʿAbd al-Ḳays. Next they attacked Marw al-Rūdh and killed the prefect al-Adjtham together with many inhabitants of the town. In further fighting in Khurāsān, several ʿAbbāsid leaders were killed. Then al-Manṣūr sent his general Khāzim b. Khuzayma with a strong army. After prolonged manoeuvering, Khāzim, employing a ruse, defeated the rebels and 70,000 of them are said to have been massacred. Ustādhsīs escaped with some of his companions to a mountain fortress in Bādghīs. He was besieged by Khāzim, who had been joined by Abū ʿAwn and Salm b. Ḳutayba, who were also sent by al-Manṣūr. Eventually, Ustādhsīs surrendered to Abū ʿAwn, who spared his life and sent him and his family in chains to al-Mahdī. The assertion of al-Yaʿḳūbī that Khāzim carried him to al-Manṣūr, who executed him, is not confirmed by other sources. The rebellion in Bādghīs continued at least until 153/770 when al-Mahdī killed some 20,000 insurgents. According to the Khurāsānian chronicler al-Sallāmī [*q.v.*], some of his sources claimed that Marādjil, the mother of the caliph al-Maʾmūn, was a daughter of Ustādhsīs and that her brother Ghālib murdered al-Maʾmūn's vizier al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*] at the caliph's behest. The reliability of these reports is open to question. Other sources confirm, however, that al-Maʾmūn's mother Marādjil, who died soon after his birth, was a concubine from Bādghīs.

Ustādhsīs adhered to the religious message of Bihāfarīd. In some sources he is accused of having claimed prophethood but no doctrines of his own are ascribed to him. Al-Shahrastānī (187) mentions a Zoroastrian sect named the Sīsāniyya or Bihāfarīdiyya, describing them as followers of Bihāfarīd without mentioning Ustādhsīs. If the name Sīsāniyya is derived from that of Ustādhsīs, as is commonly assumed, it would indicate that the later followers of Bihāfarīd, who survived at least until the 4th/10th century, were concentrated in Bādghīs.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 457; Ṭabarī, iii, 354-8, 773; Thaʿālibī Marghanī, *Ghurar al-siyar*, ms. Bodleian D'Orville 542, fols. 192b-193a; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. ʿA.Ḥ. Ḥabībī, Tehran 1341/1963, 125; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 452-4; G.H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieuses iraniennes*, Paris 1938, 155-62; ʿA. Zarrīnkūb, *Du ḳarn-i sukūt*, Tehran 1344/1965, 159-62; E. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khorasan under Abbasid rule 747-820*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979, 133-7. (W. Madelung)

USTĀN (p.), a term of administrative geography in the eastern Islamic world dating from Sāsānid times and surviving into mediaeval Islamic usage.

In later Sāsānid times, *ustān* could denote the state domains, administered by an *ustāndār* [*q.v.*], and this usage was taken over by the Arabs when they conquered ʿIrāḳ, so that we find the term *ṣawāfī al-ustān* for the estates taken over by the caliph ʿUmar for the Islamic state (see Morony, 68-9). It also had a wider sense in Sāsānid times, as "province", with its subdivisions being *shahrs* [*q.v.*] or, in ʿIrāḳ, *kūras* [*q.v.*], and this again was taken over into Islamic usage. There was, however, some confusion over exact terminology. Thus according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, the Persians used *kūra* for part of an *ustān*, whilst the Arabs used *kūra* as the equivalent of an *ustān*; thus he says that Fārs comprised five *ustān*s or *istān*s, each subdivided into *rustāḳ*s [*q.v.*] (cited by Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 39, Eng. tr. in Wadie Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-buldān*, Leiden 1959, 57-8).

In high ʿAbbāsid times, *ustān/istān* acquired a special connotation regarding taxation. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 6, explains the term as meaning *iḥāza*, land taken over by the state (i.e. reflecting the events of the Arab invasions, see above), but a century later, al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 59, equates it with *muḳāsama* [*q.v.*], land from which taxation was taken as a fixed proportion of its produce. In the administrative and financial usage of the 4th/10th century, *ustān/istān* is properly the taxation levied from cultivators of state lands (*amlāk*) and *ḳaṭāʾiʿ*, in effect *muḳāsama* (see muḳāsama. i; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 87; C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khʷārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii [1969], 133, also in *Medieval Arabic culture and administration*, Variorum, London 1982, no. XV).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 79; M.J. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 129 and index.

(C.E. Bosworth)

USTĀNDĀR (p.), literally "the holder of an *ustān* [*q.v.*] or province", an administrative term originally found in Sāsānid Persia for the governor of a province or for the official in charge of state domains (see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 448). When the Arabs conquered ʿIrāḳ, the old Sāsānid state lands were taken over as *ṣawāfī al-ustān* and administered by *ustāndār*s for the caliph ʿUmar (see M.J. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 68-9 and index s.v. *ustāndār*).

The title probably continued to be used meanwhile by local potentates in the un-Islamised Caspian provinces. In the 4th/10th century it appears in Arabic historical sources, with an Ustāndār of Rūyān mentioned for the first time in connection with events of 336/947-8. The title appears on coins (see S.M. Stern, *The coins of Āmul*, in *NC*, 7th ser., vol. vi [1967], 231 ff.), and was taken up by other local dynasties of the Caspian region, probably unrelated to the Rūyān ones, in Saldjūḳ and later times.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): W. Madelung, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 219-20.

(C.E. Bosworth)

USṬĀTH or Asṭāth (3rd/9th century), one of the earlier translators from Greek into Arabic.

His original name was Eustathius, cf. his namesake, the son of the physician Oribasius, who is spelled in Arabic the same way. Nothing being known about his life, one might assume that he belonged to the Melkite community, where the name was recommended in the calendar as that of a martyr. He translated Olympiodorus' commentary on Aristotle's *On coming to be and passing away* and a tract by Soranus, *On enemas*, which was revised later by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]. His version of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, commissioned by

the philosopher al-Kindī [*q.v.*], is partly preserved in Ibn Rushd's [*q.v.*] "Great Commentary", who also relied on a later translation by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn [*q.v.*]. A comparison reveals that Usṭāth's translation is less elegant, but shows, according to Richard Walzer, "a remarkably good understanding of the by no means easy Greek text" (*Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 120). He was thus instrumental in shaping an Arabic philosophical terminology. An apologetic writer Eustathius, of unknown date, who defended against a philosopher the dogma of the Trinity, may be identical with the translator.

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USṬŪL (A., pl. *asāṭīl*), also spelled *usṭūl* (for this type of variation, see W. Heinrichs, in *Studies in honor of Georg Krotkoff*, Winona Lake, Ind. 1997, 175-8), the most common term for a "naval fleet", and, secondarily, also for an individual "galley" or "man-of-war".

The word is a loan from Greek στόλος, which means *inter alia* "(naval) expedition" and "fleet". Al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956 [*q.v.*]) is apparently the first to recognise the Greek origin of the word; he also gives a clear definition: *al-usṭūl kalima rūmiyya sima li 'l-marākib al-ḥarbiyya al-mudjtamiʿa* (*Tanbīh*, 141). The word is not listed in the loan-word dictionaries of al-Djawālīḳī (d. 540/1145) and Ibn Kamāl Pasha (d. 940/1533), but Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659) has two mentions of it in his *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, Cairo 1282/1865-6, 38 (under *ʾ-s-ṭ-l*) and 119 (under *s-ṭ-l*). He defines it in the former passage as a naval "fleet" (*al-sufun allatī yusāfaru fīhā li 'l-ḳitāl*) and in the latter as a "man-of-war" (*markab yuhayyaʾu li 'l-ḳitāl*). Al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897) uses the term (in the first sense, although al-Khafādjī seems to suggest otherwise) in a poem addressed to the admiral Aḥmad b. Dīnār, probably on the occasion of a sea battle in 232/846-7 (*Dīwān*, ed. Ḥ.K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1963-4, ii, 984 = poem no. 387, l. 30). Although thus attested rather early, only the latest dictionaries, such as *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, take notice of it. In the later historical literature it is not uncommon. The difference between "merchant ships" and "men-of-war" is expressed as *al-marākib al-safariyya* vs. *marākib al-asāṭīl* (Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn*, 247-8). Note also the *nisba: usṭūlī* vs. *djundī*, i.e. "navy man" vs. "army soldier" (see Quatremère in *Bibl.*).

On historical, technical, and administrative details see BAḤRIYYA (for the early period, see Suppl.).

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USTUWĀ, said to mean "uplands", a district of mediaeval northern Khurāsān, comprising the fertile plain, famed for its grain production, through whose western part the Atrek river [*q.v.*] flows. The plain lies between the modern Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid and Kūh-i Bīnālūd/Kūh-i Shāh Djahān mountain chains. Its urban centre was Khabūshān, the later Kūčān [*q.v.*]. See KŪČĀN for further details. (Ed.)

UṢŪL (A.), lit. "origins, roots", a term of Arabic grammar. Here, the applications of this term can broadly be divided into two categories, (i) most frequently in the singular *aṣl*, denoting a basic form, concept or structure, and (ii) exclusively in the plural, denoting the fundamental principles of grammar as a science.

The singular *aṣl* has a wide range of meanings extending over phonology, morphology and syntax (Baalbaki; Bohas, etc. 1990, index) conveniently summarised in Kinberg's *Lexicon* of al-Farrāʾ (s.v. *aṣl*) as "the original vocalization, form, construction, meaning, writing (in grammatical reconstruction, before phonological-morphological-syntactic-orthographical changes take place); basic function, meaning etc.; origin, source; basis; the root of a verb or noun". The following examples are intended to give a general idea of the reference of *aṣl*, ignoring chronological factors:

In phonology: (1) a standard phoneme in contrast with an allophone, (2) the original value of a phoneme before a sound change, e.g. *t* before it becomes *ṭ* by assimilation to *ṣ* in *iṣṭabara*.

In morphology: (3) a root-letter in the derivational system, symbolised by *f-ʿ-l* representing the root as a semantic entity (and thus excluding *alif*, which cannot be a root letter), in which sense *aṣl* can also denote a whole root considered as triliteral, quadriliteral etc., (4) a radical consonant opposed to an augment, e.g. *k, t, b*, but not *m* in *maktab*, (5) a morpheme opposed to an allomorph, thus *u* is the basic marker of independence (*rafʿ*) with *ū*, *ā* and *-n* as secondary markers (*furūʿ*, see below), (6) in morphophonological contexts, the assumed underlying form, e.g. **ḳawala* in *ḳāla*, and note also that the active verb is said to be the *aṣl* from which the passive verb is derived, (7) a paradigmatic constant, e.g. that certain patterns normally do not have *tanwīn* [*q.v.*], that certain singulars tend to take a particular plural pattern; likewise it is the norm, *aṣl*, for nouns to be inflected with short vowels.

In syntax: (8) a syntactical constant, e.g. that subjects precede predicates, that the particles *ḳad* and *hal* are always immediately followed by verbs, (9) the basic structure perceived as underlying certain syntactical units, thus the *aṣl* of *zayd*^un^ *ḥasan*^u^ *'l-wadjh*^i^ is *zayd*^un^ *ḥasan*^un^ *wadjhuhu*.

Some other senses of a more general nature may be indicated here: (10) the semantic identity of a word: thus the *aṣl* of *min* "from" is to denote the beginning of a limit, and cf. the general principle (stemming no doubt from law) that the meanings of words should not extend beyond their *aṣl*, (11) primary status within a set, thus *wa-* is the *aṣl* of the coordinating conjunctions *wa-*, *fa-*, *thumma*, *ḥattā*, and *an* is likewise the *aṣl* (not to mention the *umm* "mother", which terms are evidently interchangeable in this context) of all the subordinating conjunctions. Similarly the primary cause of the *djarr* (oblique case) is the "particle of obliqueness", *ḥarf/djarr*, with the occurrence of the *djarr* in annexation being regarded as secondary, *farʿ*.

Lastly (12) certain priorities are categorically referred to as *aṣl*, e.g. that nouns are more basic than verbs, singular has priority over dual and plural (so for exam-

ple the dual and plural pronouns are seen as derived from their singulars), masculine over feminine, indefinition over definition. By this point we are clearly approaching a boundary between the simple meaning of *aṣl* as a basic or primary feature and its higher, theoretical sense of a general linguistic principle, which is most closely associated with the plural term *uṣūl* used generically, often in the phrases *uṣūl al-kalām, uṣūl al-ʿarabiyya, uṣūl al-lug̲h̲a,* and eventually *uṣūl al-naḥw.*

The terminological transition from *aṣl* to *uṣūl* probably reflects the change in 3rd/9th century attitudes resulting from contact with Greek scientific writings. As Baalbaki (173) points out, a latent notion of *uṣūl* as "general principles" is already discernible in al-Māzinī (d. 247-9/861-3 [*q.v.*]) and becomes explicit in his pupil al-Mubarrad (d. 286/900 [*q.v.*]), who uses the term *aṣl* in the same range of meanings as Sībawayhi (roughly as above, though we have not followed Baalbaki's formulations exactly), and adds a new sense which Baalbaki (172) glosses as "what [al-Mubarrad] considers to be the fundamental or main themes related to a certain grammatical topic". This is an accurate description of al-Mubarrad's pre-scientific, probably pedagogical usage, which is to be interpreted also in the light of the important fact that Sībawayhi (d. *ca.* 180/796 [*q.v.*]) shows almost no signs of any such notions: indeed the natural correlative of *aṣl*, namely *farʿ/furūʿ* "branch(es)" hence "derivative or secondary phenomenon" is so rare in the *Kitāb* (two instances only, neither decisive, Baalbaki, *ibid.*) that we can be quite certain that it played no significant part in Sībawayhi's linguistics, and we can draw a similar conclusion about al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822 [*q.v.*]) from Kinberg, whose index contains no instances of *farʿ*.

The second stage is self-consciously introduced by Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲ (d. 316/929 [*q.v.*]), author of the influential *Kitāb al-uṣūl fi 'l-naḥw* (see caveat on printed editions, Bohas 1991), in which the terms *aṣl* and *uṣūl* are notably frequent. What Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲ meant by *aṣl* is easy to infer from such examples as "the *aṣl* of verbs is to be unvowelled and uninflected" (ii, 145) or "it is not that '*ḳaṣṣ*' is an unvowelled form of '*ḳaṣaṣ*', for each of them is an *aṣl*", i.e. a regular, original pattern (iii, 406), or "the *aṣl* of the vocative is to attract the attention of the person called so that he will turn towards you and you can present him with a plea for help, or an expression of surprise, praise or grief" (i, 329), from which we see that he has more or less the same concept of *aṣl* as we find in Sībawayhi and al-Mubarrad.

With *uṣūl*, however, Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲ takes a step forward on his own by interpreting *uṣūl al-kalām* collectively as the basic principles of correct Arabic, effectively synonymous with the later term *ḳawāʿid* "rules". By using these *uṣūl* as his reference point, Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲ was able to write a completely new type of pedagogical grammar in which, as he says himself, "in each chapter we have discussed a sufficient quantity of individual issues (*masāʾil*) to provide both exercise for the student and instruction for the scholar as befits this kind of work, for it is a book of basic principles" (i, 328, and cf. Baalbaki 174).

The work may thus be regarded as the second major reformulation of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* after the *Muḳtaḍab* of al-Mubarrad, who was himself the master of Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲, and if by its rather discursive style the *Muḳtaḍab* reminds us of al-Mubarrad's other great work the *Kāmil*, the *Uṣūl* of Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲ cannot fail to remind us of something by al-Fārābī, perhaps the *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*. Al-Fārābī and Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲ were said to have been acquainted and to have taught each other their respective skills of logic and grammar, and the anecdotal evidence confirms that Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲'s historical role was to articulate grammar in the ordered and systematic style of the newly imported Greek sciences (cf. Versteegh, 78-9).

We may measure the ideological distance between Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲ and Sībawayhi by comparing their treatment of predication: for Sībawayhi it is indeed true that the making of statements is the primary purpose of language (*awwal*, not *aṣl*(!), *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg i, 6, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 7) but the value of an utterance is seen in ethical terms, as ± *mustaḳīm*: it is your social duty to your listener to finish an equational sentence once you start it (*op. cit.*, i, 394/i, 346). But Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲, expressing himself in the modernised scientific vocabulary, declares that the basic function of speech (*aṣl al-kalām*) is the conveying of information (*fāʾida*, i, 66) and that the distinctive property of a predicate is its falsifiability (*al-taṣdīḳ wa 'l-takd̲h̲īb*, i, 62).

The third stage in the evolution of the term *uṣūl* must have begun soon after Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲, probably in tandem with early attempts to establish the principles of legal reasoning (*uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]). We must observe at once that the very title of Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲'s book, "The book of basic principles *in* grammar", *fi 'l-naḥw*, confirms that it is not a work on theoretical or methodological issues. For this we have to wait until there is an identifiable discipline in which the principles can be applied, to be precise, *ṣināʿat al-naḥw* "the art of grammar", which we find no earlier than Ḳudāma b. D̲j̲aʿfar (d. 320-37/932-48 [*q.v.*]), who speaks of "the two arts of grammar and logic", *ṣināʿatay al-naḥw wa 'l-manṭiḳ* (*Naḳd al-s̲h̲iʿr*, ed. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956, 95; the one reference to *ṣanʿa* in al-Farrāʾ is not strong evidence for the earlier existence of the concept, occurring as it does in the context of *maṣnūʿ*, see Kinberg s.v.). Within only decades of Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲'s death, we have proof that grammar was already being practised as an art with its own *uṣūl*: in the *Intiṣār* of Ibn Wallād (d. 332/943, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 206-7), there is an absorbing debate about the fundamentals of grammatical methodology evoking several key terms and ideas. Framed as a defence of the "Baṣran" position against that of the "Kūfans", the passage vigorously rejects induction (*istiḳrāʾ*) as being no more reliable than mere supposition (*ẓann*), leading inevitably to contradictory results which corrupt the "foundations and principles of the art" *mabānī 'l-ṣināʿa wa-uṣūluhā* (Bernards, 75). The "Baṣrans", on the other hand, hold firmly to the unanimously accepted basic principles (*lazima 'l-baṣriyyūna 'l-uṣūl*, and later *al-uṣūl al-mud̲j̲tamaʿ ʿalayhā*, *ibid.*, 76); since these include the concept of abstract operators (*ʿawāmil maʿnawiyya*) and the axiom that one operator cannot operate on another, we can be sure that *uṣūl* here refers to the technicalities of grammatical science rather than (though at this early stage not wholly excluding) the observed regularities of Arabic discourse from which grammatical theories were derived.

It is this sense in which *uṣūl al-naḥw* (in contrast with Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲'s *uṣūl fi 'l-naḥw*) can finally be taken to be the analogue of the closely related science *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. This is certainly the understanding of Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181 [see AL-ANBĀRĪ]), whose *Lumaʿ al-adilla* plainly asserts and conscientiously defends the proposition that these two sciences are methodologically identical. This he does by transposing the process of grammatical reasoning entirely into the terminology of *fiḳh*, starting with the validity and transmission of linguistic evidence (with due attention to the case

of the single testimony), moving through the types of analogy, *ḳiyās*, and the rules of its application, and concluding with a number of subordinate procedures familiar from legal contexts such as *istiḥsān*, *istiṣḥāb al-ḥāl* and *istidlāl* [*q.vv.*] and conflicts of evidence and method.

Ibn al-Anbārī merely set the seal on a process which had begun much earlier, during the 4th/10th century, the period when the three-way interaction between lawyers, grammarians and philosophers was at its most intense, with the Muʿtazila acting as the yeast in this extremely powerful recipe (cf. Versteegh, 130 ff.). Already such figures as Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004 [*q.v.*], also *GAS*, viii, 209-14, ix, 194) and his more prominent contemporary Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002 [*q.v.*], also *GAS*, ix, 173-82) had raised questions about the nature of grammar clearly reflecting the multidisciplinary background of their speculations. For Ibn Fāris, grammar was certainly a "science" (*ʿilm*, *Ṣāḥibī*, 81) and an art, *ṣināʿa* (*ibid.*, 31) with its own principles and derivatives, *uṣūl* and *furūʿ* (*ibid.*, 30), and likewise Ibn Djinnī (who knew Ibn al-Sarrādj's work) enthusiastically criticises and harangues other specialists in the *ṣināʿa* for their technical inadequacies. From Mehiri's helpful account of Ibn Djinnī we can select only one example of his views on the *uṣūl*: "The Arabs prefer homogeneity and similarity, and to base the derivative on the fundamental" (*al-ʿArab tuʾthir min al-tadjānus wa ʾl-tashābuh wa-ḥaml al-farʿ ʿalā ʾl-aṣl*: *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 111; Mehiri, 133).

The final touch comes with the formal definition of grammar as "a science with principles (*uṣūl*) by which sound and corrupt speech can be known", as it is worded by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413 [*q.v.*]), with an interesting alternative in which *uṣūl* is replaced by *ḳawānīn* "laws" (*Taʿrīfāt*, 125), reminding us of al-Fārābī's formulation in his *Iḥṣāʾ* (ed. A. Gonzáles Palencia, Madrid 1932, 10). Later, it became a widespread custom to begin works of grammar with some version of this definition.

There remain problems of interpretation and obscurities still to be clarified, especially the overlap in meaning between *aṣl* and a number of other terms such as *wadjh*, *ḥadd*, *ḳiyās* (*q.v.*, and cf. Baalbaki, 167) and *ʿilla* (*q.v.* and cf. Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 164, where a list of *ʿilal* is presented which might just as well have been called *uṣūl*). On the other hand, there is not much to be gained from equating *aṣl* and *farʿ* with the modern linguistic concepts "unmarked" and "marked" respectively (Owens, 199-222). Not every *aṣl*/*farʿ* pair can be explained in terms of markedness: it would be difficult to see in what way the non-existent **ḳawala* is "unmarked" in relation to *ḳāla* (the asterisk suggests that western convention in fact treats the unreal form as "marked") or what is "unmarked" about the vocative in Ibn al-Sarrādj's definition quoted above. As Owens himself admits (304 n. 261), the distinction between *aṣl* and *farʿ* is really one of logical hierarchies not of formal differences, but if that is the case, the alleged similarity between the Arab and western systems is defined out of existence. However, one can agree with Owens (246-8, though seemingly contradicting 223-4) that it would be unwise to see in the theory of *aṣl* anything more than a fortuitous and potentially misleading resemblance to "deep structure".

Finally, it is worth observing that *uṣūl al-naḥw* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* may be closely related but are certainly not identical twins, in spite of Ibn al-Anbārī's attempt to unify the two sciences. In one way they are complementary: both have language as their input and correct action as their output, and the jurist's religious authority is reinforced by his grammatical expertise, just as the secular prestige of grammar derives from its fundamental role in legal speculation. In another way, however, the output of grammar is a subset of the output of *fiḳh*, for everything the pious Muslim says should ideally remain within the *Sharīʿa*: even language is a *sunna*.

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(M.G. Carter)

UṢŪL AL-DĪN (A.), "the bases (or principles) of the [Muslim] religion".

Despite the symmetry of terms—which has given rise to an aberrant dual form, *al-uṣūlān*ⁱ, denoting equal competence in *fiḳh* and in *kalām*—the word *uṣūl* does not have the same sense in the two parallel expressions *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]. The latter, as is well known, traditionally represent the sources on which the jurist bases his judgement, and these are mainly the four as defined in the classical system: Ḳurʾān, *sunna* of the Prophet, *idjmāʿ* or consensus of the community, and *ḳiyās* or analogical reasoning. If this were equally the sense of the term *uṣūl* in the expression *uṣūl al-dīn*, the two formulae *uṣūl al-dīn*/*al-fiḳh* would be virtually synonymous. For the theologian goes back to exactly the same authorities to justify his interpretation of dogma except that, for his part, he usually divides them into two categories, making up what are for him the two great categories of *dalāʾil* "proofs": the *samʿiyya* or *sharʿiyya* "revealed" ones (Ḳurʾān, *sunna*, *idjmāʿ*), and the *ʿaḳliyya* "rational" ones. But the *uṣūl al-dīn*, in ordinary usage, represent something else: not the sources of theological judgement but, in some way, this judgement itself. These are the articles of dogma, the *ʿaḳāʾid* or "truths which must be believed", as the Muslim theologians understand them and argue about them according to their various orientations. Thus the science of *uṣūl al-dīn*

is another way of designating the *ʿilm al-kalām* [*q.v.*].

Here, e.g., is what al-Kh^w^ārazmī says in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 39-41, about "the principles of religion about which the theologians (*al-mutakallimūn*) debate". He states, "First of all there is the affirmation of the generation of bodies (*ḥudūth al-adjsām*) and the refutation of the *dahriyya* who affirm the eternity of time (*dahr*). Then the demonstration that the universe has a creator (*muḥdith*), who is God Most High, and the refutation of those who strip God of His attributes (*muʿaṭṭila*). [The demonstration] that God is eternal, knowing, powerful and alive. [The demonstration] that He is unique, and the refutation of the dualists (*madjūs* and *zanādiḳa*), the trinitarians (the Christians) and all those who admit a plurality of creators. [The demonstration] that He does not resemble any things (*lā yushabbihu ʾl-ashyāʾ*), and the refutation of the Jews and other assimilationists (*mushabbiha*); [the demonstration] that He is not a body, contrary to what many of the Muslim assimilationists affirm—how high He is above all that! Then [the demonstration] that He is knowing, powerful, alive from the very fact of His essence (*bi-dhātihi*), or—as the great majority of the theologians think, except for the Muʿtazila—that He is knowing by a knowledge, alive by a life, powerful by a power, and that these attributes (*ṣifāt*) are co-eternal with Him.

"Then the question of knowing whether God is visible or not; whether His will is originated in time or eternal; whether His word is created or uncreated; whether human acts are produced by God or by men; whether [human] capacity (*istiṭāʿa*) is anterior to the action or contemporaneous with it; whether God wills men's evil actions; whether a person who dies guilty of a grave sin without having repented of it is destined for Hell in perpetuity or whether it is possible that God may forgive him. [In this connection,] the Muʿtazila say that [Muslims] guilty of a grave sin (*ahl al-kabāʾir*) are "evildoers" (*fussāḳ*) who are neither believers nor unbelievers, which is an "intermediate state" (*al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*' [*q.v.*])—the other theologians state, on the contrary, that every person is necessarily either a believer or an unbeliever—and that [the Prophet's] intercession (*shafāʿa*) does not apply to these "evildoers", the other [theologians] asserting that, on the contrary, it applies to them and to them only.

"Then the demonstration of the reality of prophethood, *pace* the *barāhima* who deny its existence. The demonstration of Muḥammad's prophethood. Finally, the question of the imāmate, how one is to know who is fit to exercise it and who is unfit.

"These are the principles of religion concerning which the theologians dispute and on which they stand in opposition to each other. The other [theological questions] are either derived from these or are preliminary in regard to them".

The expression *uṣūl al-dīn* occurs in the titles of many treatises on *kalām*. One may merely cite, from the Ashʿarī viewpoint, the *K. Uṣūl al-dīn* of Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*] and *al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* of Abu ʾl-Maʿālī al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*]; from the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī viewpoint, the *K. Uṣūl al-dīn* of Abu ʾl-Yusr al-Bazdawī (d. 493/1099) and the *Tabṣirat al-adilla fī uṣūl al-dīn* of Abu ʾl-Muʿīn al-Nasafī (d. 508/1114 [see AL-NASAFĪ. II]); from the Ḥanbalī viewpoint, *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā [see IBN AL-FARRĀʾ]; and from the Muʿtazilī viewpoint, the work with the same title of al-Malāḥimī (d. 536/1141).

Bibliography : Given in the article. See also that to ʿILM AL-KALĀM. (D. GIMARET)

UṢŪL AL-FIḲH, a term which is a parallel to *furūʿ al-fiḳh*, the latter indicating "branches", while *uṣūl al-fiḳh* indicates "roots" of the law [see SHARĪʿA]. Both terms indicate an academic discipline and a literary genre. Works of *furūʿ* expound the norms of the law, while works of *uṣūl* are concerned with the sources of the law and the methodology for extrapolating rules from revelation. The literary genre of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* is continuous from the mid-4th/10th century (represented, notably, by the works of the Ḥanafīs, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shāshī, d. 344/955, and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Abū Bakr al-Djaṣṣāṣ, d. 370/980) to the 13th/19th century. Given the developed form of the early works, it is clear that there was a prior tradition of teaching and study, a gradually emerging system for the classification and presentation of problems, and, at least, informal notebooks. The famous *Risāla* of Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) is frequently looked on as the earliest work of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* but the temporal gap between it and the later literary tradition has led modern scholars to question its influence, or its date (Hallaq, *Was al-Shāfiʿī...*; Calder, *Studies*, ch. 9). Extensive works of *furūʿ*, associated with different schools of law (*madhāhib*), emerged before works of *uṣūl* and included polemical defence of established rules. It is probable that the origins of *uṣūl* as a separate discipline are to be found in the development and refinement of polemical activity of this kind (Calder, *Studies*).

Works of *furūʿ* set out the norms of the law, in greater or lesser detail, and with varying quantities of justificatory argument. Works of *uṣūl* identify and classify the sources of the law, expound a methodology whereby these give rise to norms, and present a structure of authority which distinguishes the qualified jurist (*muftī*/*mudjtahid*) from the layman or *muḳallid*. Ideally, the discipline of *uṣūl* could be seen as a pure science presented in radical abstraction from normative detail. Al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] (a Shāfiʿī) distinguished *uṣūl al-fiḳh* from *ʿilm al-khilāf* (the science of divergence), claiming that only the latter dealt with specific examples of norms and their relationship to revealed texts (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 5.5-7). According to him, the discipline of *uṣūl* was concerned to identify the sources of the law and the general hermeneutical principles which permitted extrapolation of norms from texts. This led naturally to a consideration of the nature and limits of the authority of the qualified jurist. The early Ḥanafī tradition was much less purist, more focused on the defence of acknowledged norms, though ultimately influenced by and convergent with the more abstract tradition. (Ibn Khaldūn identified these tendencies as that of the theologians and that of the jurists respectively; see below.)

The discipline of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* takes its place as one of a bundle of disciplines (or literary genres) which constitute the academic articulation of Islam. These were listed by al-Ghazālī as six: theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*), *furūʿ al-fiḳh*, *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, *ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, *ʿilm al-tafsīr* and *ʿilm al-bāṭin*. The last of these referred to the whole of the Ṣūfī tradition; the others are the major components of the scholastic and academic tradition of Islam. Al-Ghazālī described the science of *kalām* as the most general or universal (*ʿāmm*) of the religious sciences, the others being concerned with particulars (*djuzʾī*). The science of *kalām* established the basic principles (God's existence, the reality of prophets, the truth of their message, etc.) which serve as the ground for the other sciences. The *uṣūlī* (specialist in *uṣūl al-fiḳh*) accepts the results of the science of *kalām*, accepts too, in principle, the results of the science of *ḥadīth*, and expounds the way in which the Prophet's words

indicate juristic norms, whether by explicit or implied meaning or through intellectual analysis and deduction (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 5-6). For al-Ghazālī, there were only three real sources—Book, Sunna, and Consensus (*idjmāʿ*)—though many techniques and devices beyond these required discussion.

The standard contents of a work of *uṣūl* are exemplified in the *Mustaṣfā* of al-Ghazālī, which represents a high point in the development of the Shāfiʿī tradition (a tradition which owed much to the Muʿtazila and to the Mālikī Abū Bakr al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1014), see Chaumont, *Bāqillānī*, and below on Ibn Khaldūn). Al-Ghazālī's work brought the tradition to a peak of organisation and expression and was highly influential on subsequent works. After a brief, innovatory introduction on formal logic, he organised his material under four broad headings which he characterised by an elaborate metaphor as 1. the fruit, 2. the tree, 3. the method of harvesting, and 4. the harvester. The fruit is the juristic classification of human actions, centrally focused on the five *aḥkām* (sing. *ḥukm*—the juristic status of an act: mandatory, preferred, permitted, disliked, and forbidden), the categories of valid, null and defective, and other classificatory terms. The tree, meaning that which bears the fruit, refers to the sources. Al-Ghazālī identified four of these, a primary group of three (Book, Sunna and Consensus), and the intellect. The workings of abrogation (*naskh*) and the difference between common report and isolated report (*tawātur, āḥād*) were a part of this section. Under the heading intellect, Al-Ghazālī accepted only the principle of *istiṣḥāb al-ḥāl* meaning a presumption of continuity. He dismissed as invalid a number of other sources which, by other writers, were sometimes accepted: the opinion of the Companions, juristic preference (*istiḥsān* [*q.v.*], notably elaborated by the Ḥanafī tradition), public welfare (*maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*]), and the consensus of the people of Medina (an exclusively Mālikī principle). In his section on the method of harvesting, al-Ghazālī dealt with hermeneutical principles in three groups: 1. general principles of language and expression; 2. a theory of the explicit and the implicit; 3. juristic analogy (*ḳiyās*). Much of his material here was classified and discussed, following the established tradition, under simple antithetical headings: command and prohibition, general and particular, ambiguous and clarificatory, absolute and qualified, etc. In his last section, on the harvester, he dealt with *idjtihād* [*q.v.*]. The term means the exertion of the utmost possible effort to discover, on the basis of the sources and by rational use of hermeneutical methodology, a rule of law. The discovered rule remains, however, a product of informed opinion (*ẓann*), not knowledge (*ʿilm*). The qualifications, the task, and the authority of the *mudjtahid* were all a part of the discussion of this section.

This work effectively gathered and expressed all the major questions of the discipline of *uṣūl* and is fully representative of the tradition as a whole. It was a highly conservative tradition. There were of course different modes of expression, different preferences, elaborations, explorations and refinements of argument, but the academic tradition was unified and continuous throughout the centuries.

Ibn Khaldūn (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, d. 808/1406 [*q.v.*]) offered in his *Muḳaddima* an illuminating account of the nature, origins and development of the science of *uṣūl*, an account which represents the educated view of his time and embodies much subtlety of observation and analysis. He identified the conventional four sources of the law as Book, Sunna, Consensus and *ḳiyās* (analogy). He stresses that, on balance, for details of the law, these permit only the establishment of a prevalent opinion (*ghālib al-ẓann*), not real and definitive knowledge. The Ḳurʾān was established as a source by its miraculous quality and its sound transmission. The Sunna, established as a source by the practice of the Companions, was guaranteed by chains of transmission and classification of transmitters. Consensus, too, was established by the example of the Companions. The primary role of texts in the establishment of the law meant that certain principles of language were fundamental to hermeneutical technique, including knowledge of lexis, morphology, syntax, and broader rhetorical and epistemological principles. Many of the latter were classified, as we have seen, under simple antithetical headings: command and prohibition, etc. Finally, *ḳiyās* was valid because, with the emergence of new events, these had to be judged by similarities and parallels that linked them to known rules. For Ibn Khaldūn, the relatively late development of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* as a comprehensive science could be explained on the grounds that, for the earliest generations, the relevant skills were intuitive and innate (in respect of language and its use) or based on personal experience (in respect of assessing transmitters of *ḥadīth*, etc.). The first work of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* was al-Shāfiʿī's *Risāla*.

Ibn Khaldūn went on to make his famous distinction between the *uṣūl* of the theologians and that of the jurists. The difference was essentially one of abstraction (*tadjrīd*): the theologians abstracted the principles and the rules of the science from their normative exemplification. The early landmarks of the theologians' tradition were identified by Ibn Khaldūn as follows.

1. The *K. al-ʿUmad* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad (Muʿtazilī, d. 415/1025 [*q.v.*]) and its commentary, the *Muʿtamad*, by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (436/1044).
2. The *K. al-Burhān* of al-Djuwaynī, Imām al-Ḥaramayn (d. 478/1085 [*q.v.*]).
3. The *Mustaṣfā* of al-Ghazālī.
4. The *Maḥṣūl* of Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]).
5. The *Iḥkām* of ʿAlī b. Abī ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233 [*q.v.*]).

Beginning apparently with Muʿtazilī thinkers, this tradition was developed initially by Shāfiʿī/Ashʿarīs. The later development of the tradition included Mālikī, Ḥanbalī, and even Ḥanafī writers, their works taking the form for the most part of summary and commentary. The two standard textbooks of Ibn Khaldūn's time were the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib (ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar, a Mālikī, d. 646/1249) and the *Minhādj* of al-Bayḍāwī (ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, a Shāfiʿī, d. 685/1286 or 692/1293).

The jurists' tradition was essentially that of the Ḥanafīs. (This tradition should be seen as prior to and productive of the theologians' tradition. It is more focused on the rules of the law and the discovery of principles that justify the rules than on the abstract analysis of hermeneutical principles. This is probably how the discipline developed, emerging out of polemical defence of known rules.) Ibn Khaldūn isolated ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Dabbūsī (d. 430/1038) as the most important early writer in this tradition. His work and that of the other early Ḥanafīs was developed in particular by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bazdawī (d. 484/1089). Towards the end of the 7th/13th century, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Sāʿātī (d. 694/1295), author of the famous *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn*, a work of *furūʿ*, combined, in his *K. al-Badīʿ*, the Ḥanafī (jurists') tradition with the tradition derived from al-Āmidī, thereby

ensuring considerable convergence of the two traditions in the subsequent period.

Ibn K͟haldūn's survey offers only his assessment of highlights. Western scholarship has also attempted to analyse and characterise the tradition. The earliest significant work on *uṣūl* is Ignaz Goldziher's *Die Ẓâhiriten.* Much is contained also in the writings of Joseph Schacht, and something more fragmentary in studies by such as Robert Brunschvig, George Makdisi, Abdel Magid Turki, *et al.* The first to produce a large body of studies focused on *uṣūl* is Wael B. Hallaq, and he has been followed by younger scholars, notably Éric Chaumont. Majid Khadduri has produced a translation of al-S͟hāfiʿī's *Risāla*, Bernard Weiss a very useful paraphrase and commentary on Āmidī's *Iḥkām*, and Chaumont a French translation of the *K. al-Lumaʿ* by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-S͟hīrāzī (d. 476/1083) (with valuable introduction and bibliography). A useful guide to the topics of *uṣūl* is contained in Kamali, *Principles.* However, neither a comprehensive history of *uṣūl*, nor a clear analysis of its function, has been provided by Western scholarship, although the dissertation of Aron Zysow (see *Bibl.*) goes a long way in this respect.

Many of the works of the later tradition derive their value not from any novelty in what they have to say, but from virtuoso skills of linguistic expression, and from elaboration of subtleties. A notable example is the *D̲j̲amʿ al-d̲j̲awāmiʿ* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1369 [see AL-SUBKĪ]). He describes his work as a condensation of his two commentaries, on the *Muk͟htaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥād̲j̲ib, and the *Minhād̲j̲* of al-Bayḍāwī, with numerous additions. This condensation was in turn expanded in the commentary of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459 [*q.v.*]) (*S͟harḥ D̲j̲amʿ al-d̲j̲awāmiʿ*), and in the supercommentary (*Ḥās͟hiya*) of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. D̲j̲ād Allāh al-Bannānī (d. 1198/1784 [see BANNĀNĪ. 7]). That pattern of summary, commentary, and supercommentary marks the importance of continuity, loyalty and repetition within the ongoing tradition. There was development: it is notable for example that the commentaries on the *D̲j̲amʿ* incorporate and explore the distinction between *id̲j̲tihād* in an absolute sense and *id̲j̲tihād fi 'l-mad͟hhab* (meaning juristic development within the parameters of school loyalty, Mālikī, S͟hāfiʿī, Ḥanafī, etc.). But development was not necessarily the point of the tradition, and was not always acknowledged. The constant re-discovery and re-expression, from generation to generation, of the rules that permitted the deduction of law from revelation, was a community duty which had many of the qualities of a ritual. The re-enactment (re-appropriation) of what was known, of what was a permanent and inalienable part of the religious tradition, was a sufficient motive for the continuous study and re-writing of what was already written. A notable feature of the late commentaries is the foregrounding of linguistic form, and the incorporation of grammatical and rhetorical analysis into the texts. This is not a feature of *uṣūl* only but of all the scholastic disciplines; it suggests an acknowledgement that what begins in language (the language of revelation) ends only with a renewed discovery of language as the means to meaning.

Modern scholars (notably Wael B. Hallaq), and some of the earlier exponents of the indigenous tradition (including al-G͟hazālī), have tried to present *uṣūl* as an ongoing method for the discovery and the development of rules, implying that it points to a capacity for change and evolution in the juristic tradition. In fact, in broad terms, and to a considerable extent in details, the norms of the law were known prior to and independent of the tradition of *uṣūl.* The historical reality was that most Muslims belonged, by virtue of family or geography, to one or other of the four *mad͟hhab*s and clung to that *mad͟hhab* by a loyalty that was ultimately acknowledged and termed *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] (in spite of the many caveats that surrounded that word). Chaumont (*Ijtihād et histoire*) has shown that the theory of *id̲j̲tihād* is not developmental: it is concerned with the discovery of the law as an eternal and enduring truth. Ibn K͟haldūn offered an illuminating comment on the real situation. In his discussion of the science of dispute, which he perceived as a sub-genre within the science of *uṣūl*, he noted that the rules of *uṣūl* were deductive (*li 'l-istinbāṭ*) only for the *mud̲j̲tahids* (by which he meant the founding fathers of the *mad͟hhabs*). Later jurists used the hermeneutical skills and arguments of *uṣūl* in order to *preserve and defend* norms that had already been deduced and were accepted through *taḳlīd.* A more positive appreciation of *taḳlīd* had been developed in the writings of the S͟hāfiʿī Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (ʿUt͟hmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū ʿAmr, d. 643/1245 [*q.v.*]) and his follower al-Nawawī (Yaḥyā b. Sharaf Muḥyi 'l-Dīn, d. 676/1277 [*q.v.*]) (see Calder, *Al-Nawawī's typology*). *Uṣūl al-fiḳh*, in this tradition, was perceived as a means to re-create (re-experience) the processes of discovery that had been enacted by the founding Imāms.

Re-creation, re-discovery, re-experience: it is concern with repetition and defence of the known law, not concern with development, that most characterises—and most reveals the profound religious and cultural values of—the legal sciences of Islam, both *furūʿ* and *uṣūl.* The articulation of these values in modern scholarship and in modern Muslim thinking is problematic, largely because the concept of a law which is eternally valid is thought to be incompatible with the need for evolution and change in the modern world.

Alongside *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, there are two other genres of legal meta-discourse, the "maxims" and the "intentions of the law"; for these, see ḲAWĀʿID FIḲHIYYA and MAḲĀṢID AL-S͟HARĪʿA, in Suppl.

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UṢŪL AL-ḤADĪTH (principles of *ḥadīth*) refers in a general way to the disparate disciplines the mastery of which distinguished a true scholar of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] from a mere transmitter. The term was never satisfactorily defined nor was it differentiated from similar ones like *ʿulūm* (or *ʿilm*) *al-ḥadīth*, *iṣṭilāḥ al-ḥadīth*, *muṣṭalaḥāt al-ḥadīth*, etc. It should be noted that the popular division of the study of *ḥadīth* into *riwāya* (transmission) and *dirāya* (intellectual appreciation), with the latter corresponding to the *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, is problematic in the light of actual usage. The exact boundary between the supposedly complementary terms *riwāya* and *dirāya* was never agreed upon and there are instances of the term *ʿilm al-riwāya* being used as a synonym of *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*.

The study of *ḥadīth* generated an enormous literature, and many of the specific topics falling under the general rubric of *uṣūl al-ḥadīth* were treated monographically. However, the most representative works were those which attempted to summarise in a limited compass the entire spectrum of this material. The authors of these works sought to equip the student with sufficient knowledge to read the fundamental documents of the study of *ḥadīth* with a reasonable degree of comprehension. It was agreed that the first of these guidebooks was *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayn al-rāwī wa 'l-wāʿī* (Beirut 1971) of Ibn Khallād al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. *ca.* 360/971 [*q.v.*]), a judge and littérateur from Khūzistān. By way of justifying his effort, he refers to the oft-lamented tendency of students to become preoccupied with accumulating lines of transmission and collecting unusual *ḥadīth*. Traditionally, this was viewed as a distraction from the more important tasks of understanding and applying the *ḥadīth*, and even from learning to recite them properly. Al-Rāmahurmuzī's somewhat unsystematic presentation of the material resembles the discussions with which some earlier authors had prefaced their *ḥadīth* collections (e.g. Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*) and their books on personality criticism (e.g. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, Ibn Ḥibbān's *Kitāb Madjrūḥīn*).

It is difficult to generalise about the works in this genre produced in the next two centuries, as they differ in both form and content. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī [*q.v.*] placed great emphasis on terminological concerns and in his *Kitāb Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* (Cairo 1937) attempted to improve upon al-Rāmahurmuzī by dividing the material into 52 categories which he called *nawʿ*s. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*] was a towering figure in *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*. His efforts were distributed among a number of works, most notably his *Kitāb al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya* (Ḥaydarābād 1357), *Taḳyīd al-ʿilm* (Damascus 1949) and *al-Djāmiʿ li-akhlāḳ al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmiʿ* (2 vols., Kuwait 1981). The last of the major works of this era was *al-Ilmāʿ ilā maʿrifat uṣūl al-riwāya wa-taḳyīd al-samāʿ* (Cairo 1389/1970) of the judge ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā [*q.v.*].

The later development of the genre was dominated by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī [*q.v.*] and his *Kitāb Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth* (printed numerous times), popularly known as the *Muḳaddima*. During his tenure as the first head of the Dār al-ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyya (opened in 630/1233) in Damascus, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ set out to write a commentary on al-Ḥākim's book and in the end produced an independent composition. He drew heavily on earlier works and like al-Ḥākim he divided the material into *nawʿ*s, although he re-arranged them and increased their number to 65. He departed from the method of his predecessors by relying less on the verbatim transmission of material from earlier authorities. This greatly increased clarity of his presentation and allowed him to cover significantly more ground in roughly the same space. The material in the *Muḳaddima* falls into four basic groups:

(1) Terminology pertaining to the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* (*nawʿ*s 1-22). This includes the discussion of the three basic grades of *ḥadīth*—*ṣaḥīḥ* (sound), *ḥasan* (fair) and *ḍaʿīf* (weak)—and the other types of *ḥadīth* bearing special names.

(2) Guidelines for the collection, recording and transmission of *ḥadīth* (*nawʿ*s 23-8). This section, the longest of the book, covers the practical concerns of the student and teacher of *ḥadīth*, such as the different means of transmission and the words to be used to express them in the *isnād*.

(3) Characteristics of *ḥadīth* not directly bearing on their authenticity (*nawʿ*s 29-36), e.g. shortness of *isnād* (*ʿulūw*), rare words in the text, contradictions in significance, abrogation.

(4) Transmitters of *ḥadīth* (*nawʿ*s 37-65). Although fundamental issues such as the definition of the concept "Companion of the Prophet" are discussed here, the emphasis is on matters which might mislead an inexperienced student. These include transmitters bearing similar names who might be confounded and ambiguous gentilics which might lead the student to draw wrong conclusions about their bearer.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's treatment of the topics making up these sections varies greatly in thoroughness. He covers some in the most minute detail while others he merely outlines and directs the reader to other works for further information. (Many of the specific matters addressed in the *Muḳaddima* are discussed elsewhere in this Encyclopaedia, see AL-DJARḤ WA 'L-TAʿDĪL and ḤADĪTH.)

The appearance of the *Muḳaddima* inaugurated a period of remarkable activity in *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, and until the present century most of the subsequent literature has been based on Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's book, either directly or at one remove or more. Several commentaries on it were produced, as well as numerous abridgments. The most famous of the latter was the *Alfiyya* of Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī (725-806/1325-1404), which reduced the contents of the *Muḳaddima* to 1,002 verses. These abridgments in turn often found commentators. There were at least eleven commentaries written on the *Alfiyya*, including one from the pen of its original author. Of the later works on *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, the most interesting may be *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (Benares 1394/1974) of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī [*q.v.*]—an expansion of his *Nukhbat al-fikar*, itself an abridgment of the *Muḳaddima*—due to its novel arrangement and its author's interesting insights into the subject-matter.

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UṢŪLIYYA (a.), lit. "those who go back to first principles", from *uṣūl*, sing. *aṣl* "root, basic principle" or, considered as a modern abstract noun formation, "the doctrine of going back to first principles".

1. In the legal parlance of classical Islam

More specifically, the term *uṣūliyya* is applied within the Twelver Shīʿī tradition [see ithnā ʿashariyya] to those of its adherents commonly identified as supporting application of the rationalist principles of jurisprudence—especially *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] to the revelation accepted by the Twelvers to interpret doctrine and practice during the occultation (*ghayba* [*q.v.*]) of the Imām (beginning in 260/873-4) and the division of the community into *mudjtahids* and *muḳallids*. The term Uṣūlī does not appear to have been used until the 6th/12th century, and then in conjunction with continuous resistance by the Akhbārīs or Akhbāriyya [*q.v.*] to the incursions of rationalism into Twelver jurisprudence.

The school's origins lay in the Buwayhid period, when the community came under attack from other Shīʿī and Sunnī groups, especially the Muʿtazila. The latter's attack on the Twelver dependence on revelation struck at the essence of the faith, since the doctrine of the Imāmate [see imāma] hinged on acceptance of the Imāms' revelation as the source of definitive *ʿilm* [*q.v.*]. Such Imāmīs as al-Shaykh al-Mufīd Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nuʿmān (d. 413/1022), his student al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn ʿAlam al-Hudā (d. 436/1044), and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (d. 460/1067), later known as Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa, responded that the Sunnī rationalists' recourse to *ḳiyās* (analogy) [*q.v.*] and *idjtihād* did not produce *ʿilm* free from doubt and *ikhtilāf* [*q.v.*]. Genuine *ʿilm* derived from recourse to the Ḳurʾān, the *tawātur* (the traditions of the Imāms widely transmitted in succeeding generations), and Twelver *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*]. Accepting the Imām's return as indefinitely postponed, however, these scholars evolved distinctive doctrines and practices for use over the longer term. In the process they incorporated elements of their opponents' jurisprudential methodologies, including recourse to *ʿaḳl* (rational knowledge) as a source of *ʿilm*.

Al-Ṭūsī, for example, specified that the *muftī* (the giver of a *fatwā* [*q.v.*]) was to be conversant with the Ḳurʾān, the *sunna*, and the Imāms' traditions. Although he rejected *idjtihād*, given its Sunnī associations, he required application of the Sunnī exegetical principles of jurisprudence to the revelation and the mastery of Arabic. In his writings on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (principles of jurisprudence), *ḥadīth*, and *fiḳh* [*q.vv.*], al-Ṭūsī's arguments for and his application of rationalist analyses advanced the importance of deductive jurisprudence and its practitioners. Competence in rationalist jurisprudence presupposed the division of the community between jurist and layman, and the latter's regard for the rulings produced by the former. The Buwayhid-period Twelver rationalists made provision for such a distinction, even if they did not agree on the degree of the lay believer's *taḳlīd* to the *mudjtahid*.

These Imāmī scholars also promoted the role of the practitioners of rationalist jurisprudence in the community's practical affairs. Al-Ṭūsī ruled that attendance at Friday congregational prayer was mandatory in the presence of the Imām or his appointee—usually a reference to Imāmī *sufarāʾ* (sing. *safīr*, representative)—endowed the *faḳīh* with the authority of that appointee to lead these prayers, and required the prayer leader to possess *ʿaḳl* and ability in *fiḳh*. Al-Ṭūsī required the delivery of *zakāt* to the *fuḳahāʾ*, argued that the Imām had appointed the *fuḳahāʾ* to undertake the *ḳaḍāʾ* [*q.v.*] and the *ḥudūd* (legal punishments [*q.v.*] during the occultation, and denoted those permitted to exercise *ḳaḍāʾ* as those schooled in rationalist jurisprudence.

The Buwayhid-period rationalists also permitted an active relationship between the *fuḳahāʾ* and the established, non-Twelver political institution, albeit in the interests of spreading the faith and protecting the faithful.

Later rationalist scholars further promoted both rationalist jurisprudence and the authority of the *faḳīh* in matters of doctrine and practice. Al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī (d. 676/1277 [see al-ḥillī (2)] admitted that Twelver scholars had been practicing *idjtihād* "most often based on theoretical considerations not deduced from the literal meaning of the texts" (Madelung, *Authority*, 168; Calder, *Doubt*, 66-7). His student al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325 [see al-ḥillī (1)]) formally adopted *idjtihād* in certain areas of the law (a restriction described as *tadjziʾa* "specialisation"). Both elaborated on the skills required of the *faḳīh*. According to al-ʿAllāma, *sharāʾiṭ al-idjtihād* (the qualifications for exercising *idjtihād*) included mastery of Arabic, knowledge of *idjmāʿ*, mastery of the Imāms' traditions, proficiency in the *dalāʾil ʿaḳliyya* (the intellectual proofs), and expertise in the relevant exegetical terms. The *ʿāmmī* (the unqualified lay believer) was not to practice *taḳlīd* in relation to *uṣūl al-dīn*, but in the *furūʿ* (lit. "the branches", i.e. practical norms of the law) he was to exercise *taḳlīd* in relation to a *ḥukm* or decision reached by application of these skills. Al-ʿAllāma specified that neglect of such a decision constituted a sin, while the *mudjtahid* who reached an "erroneous"

decision having exercised these abilities in good faith was to be forgiven.

Both granted the *faḳīh* a pivotal role in the community's daily affairs, understanding him as the Imām's designated deputy in these areas. The *faḳīh* who had attained the *sharā'iṭ* was to undertake *ḳaḍā'* and had a role in the processes relating to the *zakāt*. Al-ʿAllāma permitted *al-faḳīh al-djāmiʿ li 'l-sharā'iṭ* ("the *faḳīh* who has attained the qualifications"), one of the earliest uses of this reference, to implement the *ḥudūd*; he also required the Friday prayer leader to possess the *sharā'iṭ*. Al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 786/1384 [see MUḤAMMAD B. MAKKĪ]) echoed this definition of the *sharā'iṭ*, ruled that *al-faḳīh al-djāmiʿ li 'l-sharā'iṭ* was to undertake *ḳaḍā'*, and supported the concept of "specialised" *idjtihād*. All permitted a wide degree of interaction between the *faḳīh* and the political institution.

Immediately following the Ṣafawids' [*q.v.*] establishment of Twelver Shīʿism in Persia, such Uṣūlīs as ʿAlī al-Karakī (d. 940/1534) and al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d. 965/1557 [*q.v.*]) elaborated the concept of *niyāba ʿāmma* (general deputyship to the Imām) and identified *al-faḳīh al-djāmiʿ li 'l-sharā'iṭ* as *nā'ib ʿāmm* (general deputy), who was delegated authority over the practical areas of the community's life. The *nā'ib khāṣṣ* was understood, if not always explicitly, to refer to the earlier *sufarā'*. Al-Karakī's defence of his association with the early Shāhs as that permitted between the *faḳīh/nā'ib* and claimants to the Imāmate, however, was disavowed by such Uṣūlī contemporaries as al-Shahīd al-Thānī, who rejected the Ṣafawid claim to any special relationship with the faith and avoided Ṣafawid territory.

In the next century, official patronage insured that Twelver centres in Arab ʿIrāḳ, the Gulf and Djabal ʿĀmil were eclipsed by such Persian centres as Iṣfahān. The latter attracted and sustained prominent Arab and Persian Twelver scholars and thereby permitted considerable development of both the Uṣūlī and opposition Akhbārī polemics. In his *Munyat al-mumārisīn*, ʿAbd Allāh al-Samāhidjī (d. 1135/1723) catalogued the nature of the disagreements between and within each group, giving perhaps the fullest exposition of the Uṣūlī doctrine as it had developed by this period. Uṣūlīs required the *mudjtahid* to master *kalām* (theology), *naḥw* and *taṣrīf* (Arabic syntax and morphology), *lughat al-ʿarab* (lexicography), *manṭiḳ* (logic), and the *uṣūl al-fiḳh al-arbaʿa* (the four fundamental sources of law). The latter comprised the Ḳur'ān, the *sunna*, *idjmāʿ* and *dalīl al-ʿaḳl*. Uṣūlīs divided the community into *mudjtahids* or *muḳallids*, permitting the former to err, and forbade *taḳlīd al-mayyit* (following the ruling of a dead *mudjtahid*). Al-Samāhidjī also recorded the presence of "extreme" Uṣūlīs dismissive of any recourse to the revelation and requiring expertise in fifteen rationalist disciplines, over and above "the six principal" ones. These "extreme" elements may have comprised those who argued that, as illegitimate rulers, the Ṣafawid shāhs were to be replaced by the *fuḳahā'*. By contrast, some "moderate" *mudjtahids* were portrayed as agreeing with some Akhbārīs on such issues as *idjmāʿ*.

In this period, Uṣūlīs continued to disagree on the extent of *taḳlīd*. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ardabīlī (d. 993/1585) offered strong support for *taḳlīd*. Like the Buwayhid rationalists, Ḥasan b. al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d. 1011/1602) held that *taḳlīd* was not incumbent concerning fundamental matters of the faith, but otherwise obligatory where the lay believer determined that his *muftī* had acquired the *sharā'iṭ*. Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī or Shaykh Bahā'ī (d. 1030/1631 [*q.v.*]) held that in matters of the *uṣūl al-dīn*, *taḳlīd* was "safer".

Uṣūlīs of the Ṣafawid period generally agreed that the lay believer was free to chose his own *mudjtahid*, based on personal assessment of the abilities of particular scholars. They disagreed over the division between "specialised" or "partial" *idjtihād* and *idjtihād muṭlaḳ* (absolute, or general *idjtihād*). Ḥasan b. al-Shahīd al-Thānī argued against "partial" *idjtihād* and for the authority of *al-mudjtahid al-muṭlaḳ*. Shaykh Bahā'ī endorsed such a division, as did Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Sabzawārī (d. 1090/1679). Al-Samāhidjī's reference to "partial" and "absolute" practitioners of *idjtihād* suggests that by the late 11th/17th century, this division was very nearly formalised.

The institutionalisation of this distinction facilitated the triumph of the Uṣūlī school over the Akhbārīs at the hands of such scholars as Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Bihbihānī (d. 1205/1791), known as al-Waḥīd, and the further differentiation of a clerical hierarchy by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Nadjafī (d. 1266/1850) and, especially, Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864). Their contributions allowed for the evolution of such concepts as that of *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* (the source of emulation [*q.v.*]), the rankings of *ḥudjdjat al-islām* and *āyatullāh* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and, eventually, the principle of government by an expert in rationalist jurisprudence embodied in the term *wilāyat-i faḳīh*.

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(A.J. Newman)

2. In modern Islamic theologico-political parlance

Since the middle to late 1970s, *uṣūliyya* has been in general use, first in the Arabic press and then in Arabic scholarly writings as well, as the equivalent of "fundamentalism". Earlier, e.g. as recently as in the writings of Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā [*q.v.*], *uṣūlī* meant "a specialist in the science of the *uṣūl al-dīn* [*q.v.*] or, more predominantly, the science of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]". In less formal Egyptian Arabic, Islamic "fundamentalists" are often called *islāmiyyīn*, *al-sunniyya*, or, in the singular, by terms like *ik̲h̲wangī* or *rāgil sunnī*. No matter how awkward the term "fundamentalism" may actually be, it is improbable that it will be replaced by a term like "revolutionary extremist neotraditionalist ultra-Islamic radicalism" (Marty and Appleby, *Fundamentalisms*, i, p. viii).

The word "fundamentalism" itself was coined around 1920 in the North American Christian milieu. It appears to have been derived from a series of pamphlets called *The fundamentals. A testimony to the truth*, published in America during 1909-15 (Lawrence, *Defenders*, 166; Barr, *Fundamentalism*, 2).

It is often argued, with great obstinacy, that fundamentalism is a typically Christian, Protestant phenomenon, hence the term is useless and even misleading when used in order to describe phenomena which take place in the world of Islam. Christian fundamentalism certainly differs in many ways from its Islamic (or Jewish) assumed equivalents. Nevertheless, several modern scholars suspect that the movements described as fundamentalist have a number of common characteristics.

Fundamentalism, it is often asserted since the late 1980s and early 1990s, reduces a religious tradition to a specific political ideology. This ideology is attractive to the politically excluded, who try to fight their way back to the centre of power by pleading that they simply want to implement neglected duties which their religion has imposed from old. In order to rearrange the world in accordance with what they see as the will of God, they are ready to kill and to die. The belief in the literal inerrancy of the revealed scriptures is only a minor detail within the framework of the return of society and state to what God commands.

It can be argued convincingly that North-American Protestant fundamentalism is the religious continuation of the Southern Confederacy that in 1865 lost the American Civil War. After a political and military defeat in the Civil War the South nevertheless wanted to teach the modern North a lesson. The modern North had to learn about God's intentions with the universe—if not with the United States of America (see e.g. Bloom, *American religion*, 197). With the help of Christianity reduced to a religious ideology, the excluded managed to strike back at the dominating élites.

Religion was marginal in the world of the Zionist pioneers who built a Jewish state and society on Palestinian soil in the first half of the 20th century. Traditional Jewish piety and *halak̲h̲a* were looked upon with disdain and sometimes even contempt. Religious Judaism hardly participated in the gradual putting-together of a modern Jewish state. It is Judaism reduced to an ideology which in the 1990s gives those who were formerly excluded the power and the motivation to strike back, and perhaps even to take over the whole state. Since, however, the exclusion of the orthodox is not absolute—they, after all, can vote and be elected—they do not have to go as far as the Muslim fundamentalists and can safely accept the existing structure of a state that was built by others as legitimate, as something they at a certain point in the future expect to take over.

Islamic fundamentalism can be interpreted in a similar way. In roughly the second quarter of the 20th century, the colonial powers left the Middle East, both under pressure from "the masses" and under pressure from the international situation that after the end of the Second World War did not make allowances for the continuation of British, French or other colonial régimes within the world of Islam. The former colonial rulers, however, did not hand over their power to the "masses", but to military élites. After the decolonisation process, the populations of the Middle East were almost completely prevented from playing the game of politics: no effective political parties were allowed to exist, and no elections that mattered were held.

Once they were independent from their former colonial masters, the governments in the Muslim Middle East put great effort into getting support from both sides in the Cold War. They looked to Washington and Moscow, but did not, however, look for support at home. Moreover, within their own territories they went far in annihilating all social networks, except, of course, family and religion. In such a world, opposition movements could not but be religiously inspired or else become an insignificant family affair. There were simply no other sources of ideas or recruits other than family or religion. In such a perspective, Islamic fundamentalism is an unprecedented attempt by the masses to re-enter the game, by force if necessary.

According to Ernest Gellner (d. 1995), the success of Islamic fundamentalism is largely due to the "contamination" of Islamic popular culture by the ideals of Islamic High Culture. According to him, an Islamist régime is nothing but a "political roof" which is put in place in order to protect and to implement the ideals of Islamic High Culture. According to others, no meaningful distinction can be made between Islam and Islamic fundamentalism: both want to rule and to implement the laws of Islam.

Islamic fundamentalists, in their own words, believe that "to carry out God's prescripts [is] an obligation for the Muslims. Hence, the establishment of an Islamic State is obligatory, because something without which something which is obligatory cannot be carried out becomes itself obligatory. If such a state cannot be established without war, then this war is an obligation as well. The laws by which the Muslims are ruled today are [not the laws of Islam but] the laws of Unbelief. The rulers of this age are [hence] in apostasy from Islam. An apostate has to be killed even if he is unable to carry arms and go to war".

(ʿAbd al-Salām Faradj, one of Sādāt's assassins, quoted in Jansen, *Dual nature*, p. xvi).

Fundamentalists select a limited number of the precepts of their religion and make these absolute. Jewish fundamentalists see it as obligatory (not any longer as only recommendable) to live in the Holy Land, hence they want to remove all others from the sacred soil. Christian fundamentalists see everything connected with the end or the beginning of life as God's exclusive domain. Hence they reject philological exegesis of the story of the Creation as recounted in Genesis, and they fight abortion, euthanasia and contraceptives. Muslim fundamentalists want to see the *Sharīʿa* applied by an Islamic government, and they have only a limited interest in the other aspects of Islam. If poverty, as some people believe, were to drive people to fundamentalism, its support would be even stronger than it is today.

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(J.J.G. Jansen)

USUMAN DAN FODIO [see ʿUTHMĀN B. FŪDĪ].

USWĀN, conventionally Aswān, a town in Egypt situated on the eastern bank of the Nile (lat. 24° 05' N., long. 32° 56' E.).

1. Up to the 9th/15th century

Originally, it was a small town (Swēnet, Syene, Suan) facing the island of Elephantine, which was a much more important settlement in ancient Egypt. When the Muslim Arabs overran Egypt, the conquest of Upper Egypt [see AL-ṢAʿĪD] was entrusted to ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd [*q.v.*]. The Arabs fixed their camp at Suan, facing the Byzantine settlement of Elephantine. An expedition of 31/652 by ʿAbd Allāh penetrated into Nubia [see AL-NŪBA] but judged it prudent to withdraw, on the basis of the ancient *pactum*, now the *baḳt* [*q.v.*] or treaty, which envisaged non-aggression, freedom for merchants to circulate, and an annual tribute by the Nubians of slaves in return for the equivalent value in corn, wine, clothing and horses. Uswān then became the second military centre of Egypt after Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*] with a governor of second rank responsible to the governor in Fusṭāṭ, and new contingents of Arab immigrants, mainly Ḳaysīs, from the Ḥidjāz.

The governors' role in Aswān was essentially to prevent incursions by the Nubians and to regulate the exchanges foreseen under the terms of the *baḳt*. In al-Masʿūdī's time, the contingent of slaves due from the Nubians comprised 365 for the *bayt al-māl*, 40 for the governor in Fusṭāṭ, 20 for the governor in Uswān, five for the town's *ḳāḍī* and twelve for the twelve professional witnesses there (*ʿudūl*); for further details on the working out of this arrangement, see BAḲT. The governor in Uswān had finally to keep guard against the Bedja [*q.v.*] nomads of the deserts between the Nile and the Red Sea, who sometimes acted in consort with the Nubians (certain of the Bedja were Christians), and Bedja incursions led to the construction of a wall round Uswān in 212/827. The governor was further responsible for the tracks between the river and the Red Sea and for the safety of the pilgrims' sea passage from ʿAynūna (near ʿAḳaba at the head of the Red Sea) and then by land to Uswān, and negotiated at Uswān a treaty of protection with the Bedja chiefs. A new factor was the rediscovery of gold mines in the Wādī ʿAllāḳī to the southeast of Uswān; for details of the subsequent exploitation of this precious metal, extending over a century, see AL-ṢAʿĪD.

Uswān was a lively centre in the 3rd/9th century, and scholars of Mālikī *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* are mentioned there. After being for long only loosely attached to Lower Egypt, it gradually became more integrated within Egypt in general, with Uswān as a stage on the route from Fusṭāṭ to the Ḥidjāz. It flourished particularly under the early Fāṭimids, and it is from the first half of the 5th/11th century that the main surviving mausolea date. A feature of the period was the ascendancy in the Uswān region of Ḳaysī Arab tribes, with the chief of Rabīʿa acquiring the title of Kanz al-Dawla (see on this process, AL-ṢAʿĪD). Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through the town in mid-century and mentions its fortifications and gardens, with everything animated by the departure of caravans for the Red Sea port of ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*]. From this time onwards, too, Uswān had a Jewish community. In the next century, however, al-Idrīsī's evidence shows that the trade of the Ḥidjāz had been deflected from the town, and only its commerce with Nubia remained. This change seems to have been connected with internal convulsions within the Fāṭimid caliphate when the vizier Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] came to power, and Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*] became the administrative centre of the upper Ṣaʿīd, attracting the Ḥidjāz trade and the pilgrim traffic.

The Ayyūbid period was one of peace for Upper Egypt with the Banū Kanz, the former Rabīʿa, now dominating Uswān and the town gradually making the transition to Sunnism, although Shīʿism remained strong there. The Mamlūks resumed an activist policy towards Nubia in 671/1273 and 674/1275, and Uswān was raided by the Nubians. The Kanz al-Dawlas were more strictly controlled by the Mamlūks, but remained responsible for order in the region and seem to have received for this the revenues of Uswān as an *iḳṭāʿ*, so that they had a dominating influence in the town, which nevertheless continued to decline, its three *madrasas* serving strictly local needs. With the revolt of the Ḳaysī tribes, including the Kunūz, as they are now termed, in 767/1365-6, the balance there was upset; the latter lost their *iḳṭāʿ* of Uswān, and a Mamlūk governor was now appointed there. For the remainder of the century, Uswān was frequently attacked and sacked by the tribes, with the last Mamlūk governor appointed in 801/1399. The ensuing crisis of the Mamlūk state removed Uswān from the control of Cairo [see AL-ṢAʿĪD], and al-Maḳrīzī recorded for the year 815/1412-13 that Uswān no longer existed, with no governor, notables, markets or houses. In the course of the century, the Mamlūks sent expeditions in the hope of re-establishing control in Upper Egypt, without lasting effect. Egypt's southern frontier was now Kōm Umbū, and one can conclude that mediaeval Uswān disappeared at the opening of the 9th/15th century.

Bibliography: There are many bibliographical references in J.-Cl. Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Egypte médiévale: Qūs*, Cairo 1976. On the architecture and epigraphy of Uswān during this period, see Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, i, Oxford 1952, and ʿAbd al-Rahman ʿAbd al-Tawab, revisions of and notes on S. Ory, *Stèles islamiques de la nécropole d'Assouan*, 3 vols. Cairo 1977-86.

(J.-Cl. Garcin)

2. The post-1500 period

Uswān passed under Ottoman control at an unknown

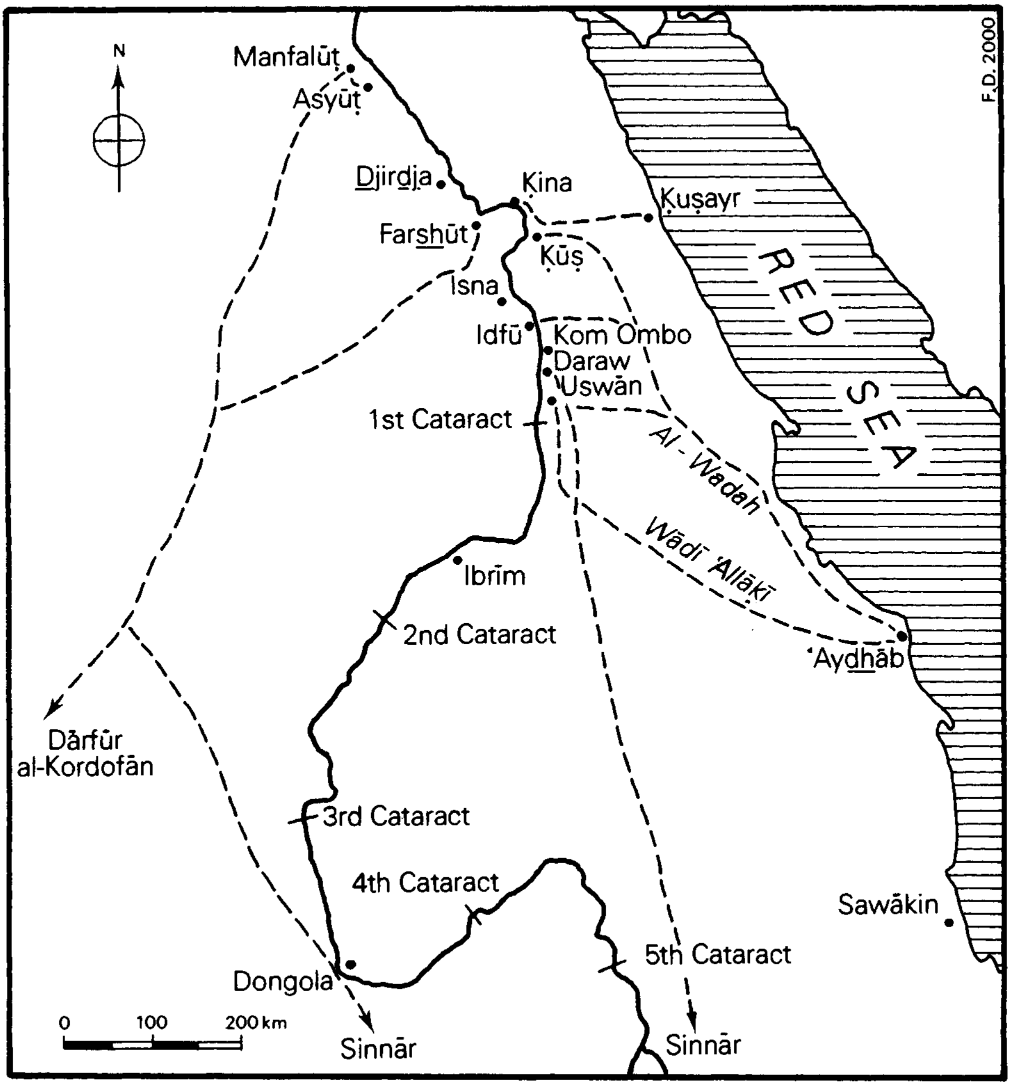
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date, as a base in the province of Asyūṭ for raids into Nubia, Selīm I having been content to leave Upper Egypt in the hands of the Hawwāra tribesmen. Towards the mid-16th century, the expansion of the Fundj [*q.v.*] kingdom there was seen as a threat not only to Upper Egypt but also to the still-fragile Ottoman hold on the Red Sea Coast at Sawākin and then Maṣawwaʿ [*q.vv.*]. *Pace* Ewliyā Čelebi's information, it was not 945/1538 when Özdemir Pasha [*q.v.*] left for the conquest of Nubia, on his return from Süleymān's naval expedition against the Portuguese in India, but some twenty years later, when in 962/1555 he attempted to penetrate into Nubia from Uswān, and some years later, certainly before 1567, all the region south of the town up to the Third Cataract passed under Ottoman control, becoming a new *sandjak* with Ibrīm as its chef-lieu. However, in the last quarter of the century the Ottomans changed the administrative structure of the region on several occasions, reflecting their need to strengthen it as a source of manpower and provisions for the garrisons in Sawākin and Maṣawwaʿ of the *eyālet* of Ḥabesh. The Ṣaʿīd Aʿlā (sc. the region between Ḳinā and Uswān) was attached to the *sandjak* of Ibrīm, then briefly in 1573 was attached to the *wilāyet* or Ḥabesh; finally, in 992-3/1584-5, Nubia and the southern part of Upper Egypt became a separate province before passing once again under the Pasha of Cairo's control.

In the course of the 17th century, the decline of the Ottoman presence in the southern Red Sea region and the waning of the threat from the Fundj marginalised the *sandjak* of Ibrīm, and at an unknown date, Uswān was detached from it. When Ewliyā was there in 1083/1672, the office of *kāshif* there was granted out by the governor of Upper Egypt for 40 purses, and there was a *ḳāḍī* in the town at the head of a *ḳaḍāʾ*. In the early 18th century, the Hawwāra, all-powerful in Upper Egypt at that time [see AL-ṢAʿĪD], exercised their influence over the town, in alliance with the Arabised Bedja tribe of the ʿAbabda. Militarily, Uswān remained an important post with a usual garrison of 150 to 200 Janissaries in its citadel under their *agha*. Commercially, however, it now played only a marginal role, away from all the important routes, and in 1672 Ewliyā was struck by the absence there of any caravanserai, permanent shops, public bath or *maktab* for children. Its commercial influence was seen only in a weekly market for local villagers, and on the evidence of Sicard in 1720, a barter rather than a monetary economy was dominant there. But a certain liveliness developed in the course of the century from the transit trade borne from Nubia towards Cairo, since the First Cataract, immediately to the town's south, was not impassable for boats, although there was still a preference for unloading goods and transporting them a short distance along the rapids.

According to the surveys of the scholars attached to Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition, the town stretched along the Nile and extended over a rectangle 750 m/2,460 feet by 250 m/820 feet, with its houses built of mud brick, its citadel on the south side with mud walls, and beyond this last the ruins of the ancient and mediaeval town stretching over a vast space enclosed by granite walls. After October 1820, with Muḥammad ʿAlī's conquest of Sinnār and Kordofān, Uswān recovered its pre-Ottoman period strategic role and also became an important commercial centre for trade with the Sudan. At the 1898 census, it had a population of 13,000 and a garrison of 781 troops. In 1902 the British completed construction of the first Nile barrage just above the First Cataract. This has now since the late 1960s constituted the head of Lake Nasser, the Egyptian part of the Aswan High Dam project jointly undertaken by Egypt and the Sudan; the project required resettlement of 90,000 Egyptian fellahin from the region to the south of Uswān, most of them to a new settlement at Kōm Umbū 52 km/30 miles north of the town. Modern Uswān is the chef-lieu of the southernmost *muḥāfaẓa* or governorate of Egypt, with industries and commerce and a university of its own; in 1970 the population of the town was 206,000.

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(M. Tuchscherer)

USYŪṬ [see ASYŪṬ].

ʿUṬĀRID, the planet Mercury, Pers. *Tīr*, also called *al-Kātib* in Andalusian and Maghribī sources (see C.A. Nallino, *al-Battānī, Opus astronomicum*, Milan 1903, i, 291).

1. *Mercury's position, geocentric distance and size.* Islamic astronomers usually follow the Ptolemaic order of planetary spheres and place Mercury in the second, counted from the centre of the Universe, between the sphere of the Moon and that of Venus which is, in its turn, followed by that of the Sun. This order was discussed in al-Andalus in the 12th century by Djābir b. Aflaḥ [*q.v.*], who established that the Ptolemaic models must produce transits of Mercury and Venus on top of the solar disc and that, as these transits had never been observed, these two planets should be placed between the spheres of the Sun and Mars. This is confirmed by the fact that Mercury and Venus have no perceptible parallax even though, in the Ptolemaic order, they are nearer the Earth than the Sun, which does have parallax (R. Lorch, *Arabic mathematical sciences*, Variorum, Aldershot 1995, no. VI). Djābir's reference to the lack of transits implies that he was not aware of the presumed observations of such phenomena (probably sun-spots) made by a nephew of Ibn Muʿādh al-Djayyānī *ca.* 460/1068 (as reported by Ibn Rushd) and by Ibn Bādjdja (as reported by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī) (B.R. Goldstein, *Theory and observation in ancient and medieval astronomy*, Variorum, London 1985, no. XV). The problem attracted the attention of al-Biṭrūdjī [*q.v.*], who explained the lack of visible transits by stating that both Mercury and Venus are self-luminous and cannot thus obscure the Sun under any circumstances (Goldstein, *al-Biṭrūjī: on the principles of astronomy*, New Haven and London 1971, i, 125, ii, 319). Concerning planetary order, al-Biṭrūdjī, like Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī (d. 664/1266) although for different reasons, placed Mercury below the sphere of the Sun and Venus above it (Goldstein, *Biṭrūjī*, i, 124 ff., ii, 315-21; G. Saliba, *The astronomical work of Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī, a thirteenth century reform of Ptolemaic astronomy. Kitāb al-Hayʾa*, Beirut 1990, 59-61, 303).

The interest in planetary distances appears at an early stage and Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ wrote *ca.* 161/777-8 a *Tarkīb al-aflāk* in which he established the minimum (60 20/21 terrestrial radii), and maximum (251 3/7

t.r.) geocentric distances of Mercury, the diameter of the planet being 4 16/21 t.r. (D.A. Pingree, *The Fragments of the works of Yaʿqūb b. Ṭāriq*, in *JNES*, xxvii [1968], 106). The main source used by Islamic astronomers for this topic was, however, Ptolemy's *Planetary hypotheses* (see N. Swerdlow, *Ptolemy's theory of the distances and sizes of the planets*, unpublished doctoral diss., Yale Univ. 1968), in which Mercury's distances are 64 t.r. (min) and 166 t.r. (max), the diameter being 1/27 of the terrestrial diameter. In this work Ptolemy establishes his planetary distances on the basis of the rounded—and, in the case of Mercury, revised—values of the parameters of the *Almagest*, and later astronomers often tried to achieve more accurate results by using the precise Ptolemaic parameters established in this latter book. This explains the frequent appearance of 64;10 t.r. for the minimum distance and the fact that al-Farg̲h̲ānī [*q.v.*], who apparently did not know the *Hypotheses*, gives 167 t.r. as the maximum distance, which becomes 169;46 t.r. in al-Bīrūnī's *Tafhīm* and 170;23 t.r. in *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*. As for the diameter of the planet, it is 1/28 t.d. in al-Farg̲h̲ānī and Ibn Rusta [*q.v.*]. These small corrections are found in authors who follow Ptolemy's method for the computation of planetary distances and sizes; only al-ʿUrḍī introduced modifications, suggesting for Mercury's a shortest distance of 64;28 t.r., a greatest distance of 206;58 t.r. and a diameter of about 1/23;31 t.d. (Goldstein and Swerdlow, *Planetary distances and sizes in an anonymous Arabic treatise preserved in Bodleian Ms. Marsh 621* in *Centaurus*, xv [1970], 135-70; *K. al-Hayʾa*, ed. Saliba, 297-313).

2. *Ptolemy's Mercury model in Islamic astronomy*. For the computation of Mercury's longitude, the Indian astronomical tradition represented by the *zīd̲j̲* of al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī [*q.v.*] uses the equivalent of an eccentric deferent and an epicycle, with no equant (O. Neugebauer, *The astronomical tables of al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1962, 23, 29-30, 100). The Ptolemaic model is far more complicated and one of its main characteristics is that the centre of Mercury's deferent rotates on a small circle (radius 3^p in the *Almagest*, $2;30^p$ in the *Hypotheses*), called the "director" (*mudīr*) in later Arabic sources. Ptolemy's model therefore implies a non-circular deferent which was identified as an ellipse by the Toledan astronomer Ibn al-Zarḳālluh [see AL-ZARḲĀLĪ], who used this curve for practical purposes in his treatise on the construction of the equatorium (W. Hartner, *Oriens-Occidens*, i, Hildesheim, 1968, 465-78; J. Samsó and H. Mielgo, *Ibn al-Zarqālluh on Mercury*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, xxv [1994], 289-96). This idea reached the Mas̲h̲riḳ, for it reappeared in the *Taʿdīl hayʾat al-aflāk* written by Ṣadr al-S̲h̲arīʿa in 747/1347 (A.S. Dallal, *An Islamic response to Greek astronomy*, Leiden 1995, 120-1), while al-Kās̲h̲ī (d. 832/1429), also in a treatise on the equatorium, uses two intersecting arcs of a circle as an approximation to an ellipse (E.S. Kennedy, *The Planetary Equatorium of... al-Kāshī*, Princeton 1960, 40-1, 170-2). In spite of this development, Ptolemy's model and parameters predominated in Islamic astronomy until the 7th/13th century even though Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am [*q.v.*] made a harsh criticism of Ptolemy's method for establishing the eccentricity of Mercury (*Almagest* IX, 9) in a very obscure passage in his *S̲h̲ukūk ʿalā Baṭlamyūs* (ed. A. Sabra and N. Shehaby, Cairo 1971, 29-34). In this respect we can only mention a small correction, made by Ibn al-Zarḳālluh, of the Ptolemaic eccentricity ($2;51,26^p$ instead of 3^p), although W. Hartner (*Oriens-Occidens*, ii, Hildesheim 1984, 292-312, 316-25) believed that it derived from the new parameter used by Ptolemy in his *Hypotheses*. There was, however, an awareness of the fact that Mercury's apogee, as determined by Ptolemy (190° for *ca.* A.D. 130), was incorrect by some 30°, and a far better position appears in al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī's *zīd̲j̲* (224;54° for the time of the Hid̲j̲ra). Ibn al-Zarḳālluh's calculated positions of Mercury, for a cycle of 46 years, in his *Almanac* imply a longitude of the apogee of about 210° (Kennedy *et al.*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 502-10); one may wonder whether this parameter is related to the 212;52° given by Ibn al-Shāṭir for the Hid̲j̲ra (Kennedy, *Studies*, 58). Ibn al-Zarḳālluh also wrote a treatise *On the invalidity of Ptolemy's method to obtain the apogee of Mercury*, which is mentioned by Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a (d. 533/1139) (D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī, *Rasāʾil falsafiyya li-Abī Bakr b. Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a*, Beirut-Casablanca 1983, 77-8). Although this text has not been preserved, the topic attracted the attention of Andalusian astronomers of the 6th/12th century, for D̲j̲ābir b. Aflaḥ deals with it in detail in the seventh *maḳāla* of his *Iṣlāḥ al-Mad̲j̲isṭī*; Ptolemy obtained an approximate, not an exact, determination of Mercury's apogee because he did not understand the geometrical characteristics of his model properly and thus his choice of observations was inadequate. Finally, although Ptolemaic theory considered that Mercury's apogee—like that of the rest of the planets—was displaced with the motion of precession, the Andalusian-Maghribī group of *zīd̲j̲*s which appear between the 6th/12th and the 8th/14th centuries [see ZĪD̲J̲] consider that the apogees of Mercury and Venus, at least, are kept at a fixed sidereal distance from the solar apogee and are thus affected by a motion discovered by Ibn al-Zarḳālluh for the apogee of the Sun (1° in every 279 Julian years) [see S̲H̲AMS; J. Samsó and E. Millás, *The computation of planetary longitudes in the* zīj *of Ibn al-Bannāʾ*, in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, viii [1998], 265-70).

3. *Non-Ptolemaic Islamic models*. The model for Mercury in the *Almagest* was reinterpreted in three dimensions, with spheres instead of circles, by Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am in his *Fī hayʾat al-ʿālam* (T. Langermann, *Ibn al-Haytham's On the configuration of the world*, New York and London, 1990, 47-54, tr. 168-92). This attempt, however, failed to give an adequate representation of the motion of Mercury and Venus in latitude, and Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am dealt again with this second problem in two later works (A.I. Sabra, *Ibn al-Haytham's Treatise. Solution of difficulties concerning the movement of Iltifāf*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Arabic Science*, iii [1979], 388-422). The same author began, in his *S̲h̲ukūk*, the trend of Islamic criticisms of Ptolemaic models because they did not agree with physical reality and did not respect the principle of explaining planetary motions by the combination of uniform circular motions that take place around the centre of each circle. Mercury's equant—the point around which the centre of the planet's epicycle moves uniformly and which is different from the centre of the deferent—was unacceptable on physical grounds, and a series of new, non-Ptolemaic, models for the planet were created from the 7th/13th century onwards (Saliba, *Arabic planetary theories after the eleventh century AD*, in R. Rashed, *Encyclopedia of the history of Arabic science*, i, London 1996, 115-25). Evidence confirms that this kind of creative trend was still alive in the 11th/17th century (Saliba, *A history of Arabic astronomy. Planetary theories during the golden age of Islam*, New York-London 1994, 47 n. 54, 288). These highly original models tried to solve the two problems which affected the planet's motion in longitude: that of the equant, which Mercury shares with

the rest of the planets, and the fact that Mercury's deferent moves with equal motion around a point which is not its own centre. The solutions were not easy, and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī acknowledged his failure to create a valid alternative to the Ptolemaic model for Mercury (F.J. Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's memoir on astronomy*, i, New York 1993, 208-9). Five successful alternative models have been adequately studied. Only Ibn al-Shāṭir may have used a new observation for his model; the rest have the same empirical basis as the *Almagest.*

(a) Al-ʿUrḍī made a very limited modification of the Ptolemaic tools; an adequate combination of the velocities and directions of the two motions implied allow him to keep the rotation of the centre of the epicycle around the centre of the deferent which, in its turn, rotates on the small "director" circle, as in the *Almagest.* Al-ʿUrḍī thus gets rid of the equant and obtains a position of the centre of the epicycle which varies only slightly from that of Ptolemy (*K. al-Hayʾa*, 58-9, 235-8, 246-59).

(b) Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī takes a step forward and gets rid both of the equant and of the "director" circle by using two new mathematical tools provided by his predecessors: "al-ʿUrḍī's lemma" and the "al-Ṭūsī couple". The latter shows how a combination of two circular uniform motions may result in a rectilinear motion. Al-Shīrāzī's Mercury model replaces the Ptolemaic machinery by five supplementary epicycles which include two al-Ṭūsī couples. The resulting combination of their motions is equivalent to the crank-like mechanism of Ptolemy's "director" circle, but the resulting curve traced by the centre of the epicycle on which Mercury rotates is not the Ptolemaic ellipse but an oval pressed in at the waist which, as in the case of Ptolemy's model, produces two perigees at a distance of *ca.* 120° from the planetary apogee (E.S. Kennedy, *Studies*, 92-4).

(c) Combinations of epicycles also provide another solution for the longitude of Mercury in Ibn al-Shāṭir's *Nihāyat al-suʾl*: this author uses the combination of the motion of six spheres, of which the two last ones form an "al-Ṭūsī couple" which has the effect of enlarging and reducing the size of Mercury's epicycle in the same way as Ptolemy's "director" (Kennedy, *Studies*, 59-61). Ibn al-Shāṭir's model is the first and only known one in which the starting point of all motions is the centre of the Universe and not a point displaced from it in the apse line; he is the first to use his own planetary models (including the model for Mercury) to compute a new set of non-Ptolemaic tables, *al-Zīdj al-djadīd* (Kennedy, *Studies*, 492-9); finally, Ibn al-Shāṭir's model for Mercury is the same described by Copernicus both in his *Commentariolus* and in the *De Revolutionibus.*

(d, e) The *Taʿdīl hayʾat al-aflāk* of Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa and an anonymous work attributed to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḳūshdjī describe two related models for Mercury which seem to represent a step backwards; strongly influenced by al-Shīrāzī's lunar model, they use, like Ptolemy, an eccentric deferent and a "director" sphere. Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa succeeds in making the motion of the centre of the epicycle uniform around the centre of the "director", while the motion of the deferent on which it travels is also kept uniform around its own centre. An additional epicyclet carries the centre of the planet-carrying epicycle and produces the changes in the size of the latter required by Mercury's motion (Dallal, *Islamic response*, 119-33, 389-98). As for al-Ḳūshdjī, he uses two epicyclets to regulate the motion of Mercury's epicycle.

4. *Mercury in Islamic astrology.* Mercury has its domicile (*bayt*) in Virgo (by day) and Gemini (by night), while its detriment (*wabāl*) corresponds to the opposite signs (Pisces and Sagittarius). During the night it dominates the triplicity (*muthallatha*) of air formed by Gemini, Libra and Aquarius, in spite of the fact that its nature is moderately dry and cold (which corresponds to the earthly signs). Its exaltation (*sharaf*) takes place in Virgo 15° and its dejection (*hubūṭ*) in the opposite degree (Pisces 15°). It is a planet of ambiguous influence: according to al-Bīrūnī (*Tafhīm*, ed. R.R. Wright, London 1934, 233) when left alone it is inclined to beneficence, but when it is near another planet it intensifies its good or bad influences; it is either diurnal or nocturnal, depending on the sign in which it is or the planet with which it is associated; its sex (male or female) also depends on such associations. This explains why al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849, i, 22) states that the astrologers called it *munāfiḳ* (hypocritical). Abū Maʿshar (*al-Madkhal al-kabīr*, ed. R. Lemay, iii, Naples 1995, 391-2) states that, according to the Persians, Mercury dominates the sixth climate, while the Greeks give it the third climate. Al-Bīrūnī (*Tafhīm*, 242) states that Mecca, Medina, ʿIrāḳ, Daylam, Gīlān and Ṭabaristān are the places submitted to the influence of the planet. A detailed list of the indications given by Mercury's influence, many of which are related to science, culture and intellectual activities, can be found in Abū Maʿshar's *al-Madkhal al-kabīr* (iii, 555).

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(J. Samsó)

ʿUṬĀRID b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib ("the calculator") al-Munadjdjim ("the astrologer"), mathematician, astronomer and astrologer who apparently lived in the 3rd/9th century. He wrote various works in the fields of his expertise, including one on the use of the astrolabe and *al-Zīdj al-kāfī*, which are now lost, although they were known to scholars like al-Bīrūnī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī. A work on burning mirrors, *K. fi ʾl-Marāyā al-muḥriḳa*, and another on mineralogy, the *K. Khawāṣṣ al-aḥdjār*, do, however, survive.

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(Ed.)

ʿUTAYBA, a great and powerful Bedouin tribe of Central Arabia, second only in importance to the ʿAnaza or ʿUnayza [*q.v.*], and playing a significant role in the history of Arabia in the last 150 years or so. Doughty describes them as having pasture grounds extending from al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*] in the Ḥidjāz in the west to al-Ḳaṣīm [*q.v.*] in northern Nadjd in the east.

The name appears in various renderings in the travel accounts of Europeans, e.g. the ʿAteyba, pl. el-ʿAteybân of Doughty, and the ʾOṭeybah of Palgrave; according to J.J. Hess, the modern pronunciation used by the ʿUtayba themselves is ʿÖtēbe, pl. ʿÖtbān.

The name ʿUtayba (in form a diminutive of ʿUtba) is applied in the older literature not to a tribe (the only isolated instances are several times in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1316, iii, 61, the variant Banū ʿUtayba alongside of ʿUyayna as belonging to the Yarbūʿ b. Ḥanẓala) but to persons, of whom the three best known deserve at least a brief mention: ʿUtayba b. al-Ḥārith b. Shihāb al-Yarbūʿī, known as *Ṣayyād al-Fawāris*, one of the most celebrated heroes of the pre-Islamic wars of the Tamīm against the Bakr (see

on him Caskel and Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, i, Table 69, ii, 577); ʿUtayba b. al-Nahhās al-ʿIdjlī, general and representative of al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha who, among his other victories, defeated the Taghlib [*q.v.*] at Ṣiffīn in 14/636; and lastly, ʿUtayba b. Abī Lahab, who married Muḥammad's daughter Umm Kulthūm (cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 366-7; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 42, 138, 208, 215; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 37, 60-1; 70; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2206-8; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 343-4).

The ʿUtayba trace their genealogy back to Muḍar and claim to belong to the Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*] (Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ii, 355, 367; the statement made by al-Ālūsī, *Taʾrīkh Nadjd*, Cairo 1343/1924-5, 88, that they belong to the Ḳaḥṭān is due to a confusion with the Banū ʿUtba or ʿAtīb; cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Baghdād 1332, 285 with al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik al-dhahab*, Bombay 1296, 45). They are divided into two main groups: the Ruwaḳa (in form like Ruwala [*q.v.*]: see Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xl [1886], 182; also Rawaḳa [*nisba*: Rawḳī] and Rūḳa) and the Barḳa (Baraḳa [*nisba*: Barḳāwī], also Barḳā). Their further subdivision is very variously given: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 197, divides the Rawaḳa into 6, the Baraḳa into 10 tribes, the *Handbook*, i, 69 into 11 or 18 clans, while Fuʾād Ḥamza, *Ḳalb djazīrat al-ʿArab*, 179-82, distinguishes three or four *fakhdh*s with a number of *ʿashīra*s and *ʿāʾila*s; of all these, the names of which vary much in detail, we need only mention the Thibata (Dhawī Thubayt) who belong to the Ruwaḳa and according to their *shaykh* still surpass the "Ruʿuqa and Barqa" in importance (Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, i, 205, cf. 181, 194). Statistics of the year 1818 estimated the fighting forces of the ʿUtayba of the Ḥidjāz at 100 horsemen and 10,000 foot, and those of the Nadjd at 800 and 2,000 respectively (A. Sprenger, in *ZDMG*, xviii [1863], 218, 222). Palgrave, *Narrative of a year's journey*, ii, 84, put them at 12,000 in all, but Doughty, ii, 367, only at 6,000. The largest figure is that given by al-Batanūnī (*al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*, Cairo 1329, introd., 52): 20,000; the *Handbook of Arabia* (First World War period, London n.d.), i, 69, gave for the "Rūqah" 2,500 tents and for the "Berqah" 3,000.

The ʿUtayba occupy the eastern side of the Ḥidjāz, with the volcanic *ḥarra* area between the *ḥadjdj* route and the Central Arabian steppes. Their grazing-grounds extend over 100 leagues east of Medina and Mecca as far as al-Ḳaṣīm and al-Washin, in the south to the *dīra*s of the Ḳaḥṭān, Buḳūm, Shalāwa and Subayʿ; in the west and north, their neighbours are the Ḥarb, who sometimes penetrate as far as the caravan road from Burayda to Mecca. In the wide area over which they lead their nomadic existence there is hardly a single settlement; it is in the east, in al-ʿĀriḍ, al-Sudayr, al-Ḳaṣīm and in al-Mudhnib (al-Midhnab), that we meet with settled ʿUtayba of the Barḳa branch, where they have mixed with other tribes; in the west, the Ruwaḳa form a part of the population of al-Ṭāʾif. The *dīra* of the ʿUtayba is rich in springs, and in the winter and early autumn there is regular although not considerable rainfall; as a result, this region possesses in places very good pastures, and the rearing of sheep and camels, especially black camels, was traditionally one of the main activities of the ʿUtayba which brought them fame and wealth. The meat in al-Ṭāʾif, for example, comes almost exclusively from their sheep; their country is also rich in game (*Handbook of Arabia*, i, 64, 67-8, 70, 604 [their most important settlements]; Doughty, ii, 367, 426, 525; Philby, i, 122, 280).

We know very little of happenings of any importance in the history of the ʿUtayba before the 19th century. According to Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, ii, 106), they occupied also the Wādī Fāṭima in the 17th century and were driven out of it by the Ḥarb (*Handbook*, i, 122). C. Niebuhr (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, 388) mentions some ʿUtayba who came from the Ḥidjāz to the region of the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*] and had submitted to this great tribe. The history of the ʿUtayba in the 19th and early 20th centuries is a reflection of the various wars between the powers in Nadjd and Ḥidjāz, who all endeavoured to win this important tribe over to their interests. At the conquest of the Wahhābī kingdom by the Egyptians, their leader Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, in 1816 induced the ʿUtayba and various ʿAnaza tribes, by threats and bribes, to assist him against ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd. When Fayṣal b. Suʿūd led the war of liberation against Egypt, his son ʿAbd Allāh in 1850 defeated the eastern ʿUtayba at the watering-place of al-Adjrāb, while the Grand Sharīf of Mecca, Muḥammad b. ʿAwn, took the western ʿUtayba, as well as tribes of the Muṭayr al-ʿAlwiyyīn under his protection. Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien*, 66, distinguished between 1842 and 1872 no less than nine different powers continually at war with one another in Nadjd, among them the ʿUtayba. In 1872 the principal chief of the ʿUtayba, Musliṭ b. Rubayʿān, plundered the western settlements of al-Riyāḍ, whereupon Suʿūd b. Fayṣal made a raid as a reprisal into their territory; he had, however, to retire defeated and was himself severely wounded. After the ʿUtayba in 1881 and 1882 had plundered many camps of the Ḥarb tribes who were subjects of Ibn Rashīd of Ḥāʾil [see RASHĪD, ĀL], they also attacked the latter in the summer of 1883 but were completely defeated in al-ʿArwa; they suffered a similar defeat in 1884, when they were allies of ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd. In the year 1897 members of the house of Ibn Suʿūd joined the Grand Sharīf of Mecca, ʿAwn al-Rafīḳ, and with the help of the Ḥarb and ʿUtayba undertook campaigns against the possessions of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd; in the autumn of 1903 the latter again defeated the ʿUtayba and Ḳaḥṭān, but in April 1907 he was in turn decisively defeated by Ibn Suʿūd with an army of these same tribesmen. Henceforth the sympathies of the ʿUtayba inclined more and more to the Grand Sharīf, although they were for most part members of the confederation of tribes led by Ibn Suʿūd. In 1910-11 Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī with ʿUtayba, Ḥarb and Muṭayr troops took the field against Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī in al-ʿAsīr supported by Ibn Suʿūd's *Ikhwān*, and about the same time the son of the Sharīf, ʿAbd Allāh, appeared in al-Ḳaṣīm, saying he was intervening on behalf of the ʿUtayba, whose rights had been infringed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suʿūd. The latter promised to make the Sharīf an annual payment of £4,000 and to secure for the ʿUtayba freedom from tribute, but he did not keep his promise. Scarcely had ʿAbd Allāh returned to the Ḥidjāz than ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz broke the treaty and made war on the ʿUtayba because they had given shelter to fugitive rebels of the house of Ibn Suʿūd. In 1915 ʿAbd Allāh again attacked ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; he advanced into the province of al-Sudayr in Nadjd, forced the eastern ʿUtayba to pay tribute and won a victory over the Barriyya, the allies of the Muṭayr and subjects of Ibn Suʿūd. The Ghaṭghaṭ incident of 1918, brought about by an attack by the ʿUtayba upon *Ikhwān* at prayer, again strained relations between the Sharīf and Ibn Suʿūd (Philby, *op. cit.*, i, 313). The history of the rise of the third Wahhābī kingdom was closely associated with the name of the leader of the ʿUtayba, Sulṭān

b. Bid̲j̲ād. The occupation of al-Ṭāʾif by a section of his forces in 1924 led to the surrender of Mecca and the further extension of the Wahhābī kingdom in the west.

The ʿUtayba were a prominent element in the militant Wahhābī movement of the *Ik̲h̲wān* [*q.v.*], whose heyday was from 1912 to 1930. From the lists compiled by von Oppenheim and Caskel, it appears that the ʿUtayba had 19 *hid̲j̲ras* or settlements for religio-economic activity, a number second only to that of the Ḥarb and just ahead of those of the Muṭayr [see AL-HID̲J̲AR and AL-IK̲H̲WĀN]. The ʿUtaybī leader Sulṭān b. Bid̲j̲ād's power was curbed by Ibn Suʿūd, and in 1929 the latter's brother ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān destroyed the *hid̲j̲ra* of al-G̲h̲aṭg̲h̲aṭ (al-G̲h̲uṭg̲h̲uṭ) in the ʿUtayba *dīra* and scattered the remnants of Sulṭān's followers. A process of settlement and sedentarisation of the ʿUtayba came under way in succeeding decades, with ʿUtayba well represented in the *ḥilal* (sing. *ḥilla*) or shanty towns which have grown up around the main urban centres of al-Ḳaṣīm. The tensions arising from such processes as these and the extension of control by the Suʿūdī family over the tribe erupted violently in 1979 when the *Ḥaram* of Mecca was seized by a group of religious zealots, who considered themselves as Neo-*Ik̲h̲wān*, and one of whose leaders was D̲j̲uhayman b. Muḥammad al-ʿUtaybī [see MAKKA. 3. The modern period, at Vol. VI, 157b-159a].

The Arabic dialect of the ʿUtayba is of the Central Arabian type; see ʿARABIYYA. (iii) (2), at Vol. I, 577-8, and for a linguistic description, P.M. Kurpershoek, *Oral poetry and narratives from Central Arabia*, 3 vols. Leiden 1994-, in progress.

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(H. KINDERMANN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-ʿ**UTAYBA**, BAḤR, a shallow, reedy lake in the G̲h̲ūṭa [*q.v.*] or cultivated land around Damascus in Syria, lying some 30 km/18 miles to the east of Damascus.

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ʿ**UTAYBA** B. AL-**ḤĀRITH** [see BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS].

ʿ**UTBA** B. **G̲H̲AZWĀN** b. al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. D̲j̲ābir, Abū ʿUbayd Allāh or Abū G̲h̲azwān al-Māzinī, from the Māzin tribe of Ḳays ʿAylān and a *ḥalīf* or confederate of the Meccan clans of Nawfal or ʿAbd S̲h̲ams, early convert to Islam and one of the oldest Companions of the Prophet. He was called "the seventh of the Seven", i.e. of those adopting the new faith. He took part in the two *hid̲j̲ras* to Ethiopia, the battle of Badr and many of the raids of Muḥammad.

During ʿUmar's caliphate, he was sent from Medina to lead raids into Lower ʿIrāḳ, capturing al-Ubulla [*q.v.*], killing the *marzbān* of Dast Maysān and capturing the Persian lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Furāt at the site of what later became Baṣra. Towards the end of 14/635 he encamped with a group of Bedouin from the Upper Ḥid̲j̲āz, hence called the Ahl al-ʿĀliya, at a place called K̲h̲urayba (cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 363-4), and at some point after this built a mosque and *dār al-imāra* out of reeds, allotting lots to his warriors; this became the nucleus of the *miṣr* of Baṣra [*q.v.*]. It seems to have become more permanent after ʿUtba died in 17/638 at the age of 57 and al-Mug̲h̲īra b. S̲h̲uʿba [*q.v.*] became his successor there. It was Abū Mūsā al-As̲h̲ʿarī [*q.v.*] who eventually rebuilt the official buildings there out of sun-dried brick with thatched roofs.

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ʿ**UTBA** B. **RABĪʿA** B. ʿABD S̲H̲AMS B. ʿABD MANĀF, ABU 'L-WALĪD, one of the chiefs of the Meccan tribe of Ḳurays̲h̲, who refused to follow Muḥammad. He met his death in the battle of Badr. His daughter Hind [*q.v.*] was the wife of Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*], and she avenged herself at Uḥud on her father's killer Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

Shocked by the number of adherents of Muḥammad, ʿUtba, having consulted the other chiefs of the Ḳurays̲h̲, went to the Prophet to offer him anything he would care to ask if he would only abandon his propaganda. According to the traditional story, Muḥammad in reply only repeated a part of sūra XLI, which made such an impression on him that the effect was still visible when he rejoined his friends, whom he advised not to importune Muḥammad any more. Tradition puts him in a similar light when it represents him as one of those who, on the eve of the battle of Badr, endeavoured in vain to persuade the Ḳurays̲h̲ to withdraw by offering personally to pay blood-money for ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī, slain by the Muslims. ʿUtba himself was mortally wounded in the battle and his body was thrown into the common ditch (*ḳalīb*). Muḥammad is said to have thought highly of his gifts, and later tradition is perhaps slightly more favourable to him than otherwise because he was an ʿAbs̲h̲amī but not an Umawī.

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AL-'UTBĪ, the name of a family settled in Khurāsān, of Arab descent, which provided secretaries and viziers for the Sāmānids and early Ghaznawids [*q.vv.*] in the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries (from which of the 'Utbas of early Islamic times they were descended does not seem to be specified in the sources).

1. Abū Dja'far (*ism* and *nasab* variously given), vizier under the Sāmānid *amīr* 'Abd al-Malik I b. Nūḥ I, from 344/956 to 348/959 and again, in company with Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bal'amī [*q.v.*], under his successor Manṣūr I b. Nūḥ I, a few years later. His policy aimed at strengthening the power of the ruler and the bureaucracy against the ambitious Turkish military commanders, and Kirmānī says that he restored the wealth of the state treasury to a level never seen before or after. Narshakhī (wrongly calling him Aḥmad b. Ḥasan) says that he built a fine mosque in the Rīgistān of Bukhārā.

2. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, appointed vizier to the *amīr* Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr I in 367/977. Again, he endeavoured to curb the influence in the state of such Turkish commanders as Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Sīmdjūrī, and acquired military as well as civil duties, but was murdered by agents of the generals Fā'iḳ and Muḥammad Sīmdjūrī in or shortly after 372/982. His kinsman Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Djabbār al-'Utbī (see 3. below) rightly considered him as the last vizier of the Sāmānids worthy of the name.

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3. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Djabbār, secretary, and famed historian of the early Ghaznawids. Born at Rayy *ca.* 350/961, through connections with his maternal uncle Abū Naṣr al-'Utbī, he entered the Sāmānid bureaucracy at Nīshāpūr, becoming *ṣāḥib al-barīd* there, serving as secretary to the Turkish general Abū 'Alī Sīmdjūrī and the Ziyārid Ḳābūs b. Wushmgīr [*q.v.*], before finally transferring to the service of Sebüktigin, where he worked alongside the great stylist Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Bustī [*q.v.*], and then of his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna. He served as an envoy for the new sultan to Gharčistān in 389/999 and enjoyed the patronage of the vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Maymandī [*q.v.*]. He was appointed *ṣāḥib al-barīd* of Gandj Rustāḳ in Bādhghīs, but dismissed as a result of intrigues by the local governor. He remained in retirement till his death in the later part of Sultan Mas'ūd's reign (either 427/1036 or 431/1040).

Al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. Cairo, iv, 397-406, says that Abū Naṣr wrote several works, including poetry and a *Laṭā'if al-kuttāb*, but his fame rests on the sole surviving one, *al-Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, a history of the reign of Sebüktigin and that of (Yamīn al-Dawla) Maḥmūd up to 411/1020. The model for its ornate and verbose style was, the author states, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi''s history of the Būyids, the *K. al-Tādj*. Despite its eulogies of the Ghaznawid rulers and their exploits, the *Yamīnī* is by no means neglectful of the darker sides of their reigns. Its florid style ensured its great popularity in the Islamic East; a large number of manuscripts exist (see Brockelmann, I[2], 382-3, S I, 547-8), and several commentaries on it were written, e.g. the *Basātīn al-fuḍalā'* of 'Abd Allāh al-Nadjātī (*ca.* 720/1320) and Shaykh Aḥmad al-Manīnī's *al-Fatḥ al-wahbī* (1144-7/1731-4). Several Persian translations were made, including the simplified version of Abu 'l-Sharaf Nāṣiḥ Djurbādhḳānī (*ca.* 602/1205-6) (see Storey, i, 250-2). It is regrettable that no critical edition exists of al-'Utbī's work.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Th. Nöldeke, *Über das Kitâb Jamînî des... al 'Utbî*, in *SBWAW*, Phil.-hist. Cl., xxiii (1857), 15-102; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994: 1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 9-10; idem, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii (1965), 5-7, also in *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, Variorum, London 1977, no. XIII.

(C.E. Bosworth)

AL-'UTBĪ, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 254/868 or the next year), *faḳīh* of al-Andalus, originally from Cordova.

His masters in al-Andalus were Sa'īd b. Ḥassān and the famous scholar Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī (d. 234/848 [*q.v.*]), transmitter of the version of the *Muwaṭṭa'* which became the canonical one in the Muslim West. In the course of a *riḥla* to the East, he studied with Aṣbagh b. al-Faradj and Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]), author of the *Mudawwana*, one of the key texts in the diffusion of Mālikī doctrine in the mediaeval Muslim West. Al-'Utbī was considered an expert on *fiḳh*, and especially on *masā'il*, juridical questions, and with others was a *mushāwar* (consultant *faḳīh*) [see SHŪRĀ. 2.] under the Umayyad *amīr* Muḥammad. He had numerous disciples, the *faḳīh* Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Lubāba (d. 314/926) being notable here.

Al-'Utbī wrote a work on Mālikī law, *al-Mustakhradja min al-asmi'a*, also known as the *'Utbiyya*. This is an important compilation of *masā'il*, gathered by means of sessions of *samā'*, by the most important transmitters of Mālikī doctrine such as Ibn al-Ḳāsim. Although criticised by some traditionists, the work had a wide diffusion in al-Andalus and North Africa, and was used and consulted in later times. Its transmission through the mediaeval period can be plotted through Ibn Khayr's *Fahrasa*, BAH, ix-x, 241-3, Aḥmad al-Mandjūr (d. 995/1587), *Fihris*, Rabat 1976, 18, and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iv, 183-4. On the fragments which have been preserved of the *Mustakhradja*, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 472, and M. Muranyi, *Materialien zur mālikitischen Rechtsliteratur*, Wiesbaden 1984, 50-65. The text has been preserved in its entirety within the commentary which Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd al-Djadd (d. 520/1126 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) wrote on it, the *K. al-Bayān wa 'l-taḥṣīl* (various eds., [2]Beirut 1988-91, 22 vols.).

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(Ana Fernández Félix)

AL-'UTBĪ, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh ('Ubayd Allāh) b. 'Amr (as given by Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. 'Abbās, iv, 397), early 'Abbāsid poet.

He was born in Baṣra, a descendant of 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān, and moved to Baghdād, dying in 228/842-3. Al-'Utbī was a poet ("one of the modern [*muḥdath*] stallion poets, whose verse was plentiful and excellent": Ibn Khallikān, 399-400), tribal historian (i.e. of the *akhbār* of his own clan, the Banū Umayya—did this assume the form of anti-'Abbāsid polemics?), and writer of epistles: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 121, lauds his command of Arabic. Among his authorities was

Saʿd al-Ḳaṣīr (for Umayyad history: see Ibn al-Nadīm, 90). He counted al-Sidjistānī and al-Riyāshī among his pupils, suggesting an interest in philology: see the *khabar* given by Ibn Khallikān, *loc. cit.*, concerning a Bedouin aphorism, presumably derived from his *K. al-Aʿārīb* ("On the Desert Arabs"). Scant excerpts of his prose compositions (see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 372 for a full list of al-Masʿūdī's references to him, and Ibn Khallikān, ii, 37, 201, iii, 258) and smatterings of his verse (of an occasional nature, mellifluous and unexceptional: upon exclusion by a chamberlain, on old age, and a threnody for dead sons) have been preserved. Al-ʿUtbī was probably a *kātib* [*q.v.*]: Ibn al-Nadīm's entry (90) associates him with official functionaries, classifying him with the epistolary scribes whose productions were collected in a compendium (*kitāb madjmūʿ*: 117). The following titles are mentioned: *K. al-Khayl* ("On horses"), *K. al-Nisāʾ al-lātī aḥbabna wa-abghaḍna* ("On women whose love turned to hate"), *K. al-Akhlāḳ* ("On ethics") and *K. al-Dhabīḥ* ("On immolations"). The *khabar* (Ibn Khallikān, 400) concerning the *zarāfa*, an Abyssinian hybrid beast, suggests learning of the catholicity encountered in his contemporary al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*]. An anti-Umayyad polemic is discernible in the tradition, originating with Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1969, 538) that he was "passionately fond of drinking".

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(J.E. MONTGOMERY)

AL-ʿUTBĪ, ABŪ NAṢR MUḤAMMAD [see AL-ʿUTBĪ. 3.].

AL-UTHĀL, AL-ATHĀL (A.), a pot used in the sublimation process in chemistry for causing bodies to pass from the solid state to that of gaseous aggregation by means of steam pressure. The word is a rendering of αἰθάλη ("steam, fine smoke") which, via Syriac *ītalī* (Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², 55), became Arabic *al-uthāl* and lived on among the Latins as *aludel* (*alutel*). Representations of the device are found in M. Bertholet, *La chimie au Moyen Âge*, i, 149, 150, 156. The contrivance serves to sublimate mercury (*zaybaḳ*), sulphur, orpiment (*zarnīkh*) and the like. It is made of glass or clay (*fakhkhār*) and consists of two tubes (*ziḳḳ*, actually hoses) fitted together. The mineral is put in the lower tube, the two tubes are fitted together with clay and the whole is put on the fire. The ascending smoke gets to the upper tube, cools down and produces the desired sublimate.

Bibliography: Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leiden 1869, repr. Amsterdam 1965, 187-8, after the glossary of Ibn al-Ḥashshāʾ on Rāzī's *K. al-Manṣūrī*; Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. Van Vloten, 257, tr. E. Wiedemann, in *Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, i, 695; Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. *athāl*; Berthelot, *op. cit.*, ii, 111, 133. (A. DIETRICH)

ʿUTHMĀN [for this name in the Turkish context, see ʿOTHMĀN].

ʿUTHMĀN B. ʿAFFĀN, the third of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs (23-35/644-55). He belonged to the great Meccan family of the Banū Umayya [*q.v.*], and more particularly to the branch of Abu 'l-ʿĀṣī who was his grandfather; for his genealogy, see Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, U. 23, and the table in UMAYYA. His sudden support for the Prophet's preaching began his life as a Muslim.

ʿUthmān was a very rich merchant and an accomplished man of the world. The tradition which represented him as the very esssence of beauty and elegance to the extent of being overgroomed may very well have been authentic, precisely because it was so strange. Whatever deep motive led him to embrace a cause with such an obscure origin will always remain a mystery. Part of the historiographical tradition relates the conversion of ʿUthmān with his marriage to Ruḳayya [*q.v.*], the daughter of Muḥammad; but other sources, probably more correctly, place his marriage after his entry into Islam. The conversion of ʿUthmān, the first socially high-ranking Muslim, certainly created a stir and contributed to the success of the new religion. However, his personal action in this field was never remarkable. An indolent personality, though one marked by a lively faith and great generosity, is attributed by tradition to ʿUthmān. This was unlikely to have been an invention to excuse the inactivity of the caliph with respect to the malpractices of his officials, for the lack of energy and initiative ascribed to ʿUthmān had become clear right from the start of his career, and this must have been a real defect of character. He is thought to have taken part in the two emigrations to Abyssinia and was later one of the *muhādjirūn* to Medina. Certainly, he does not seem to have taken part in the battle of Badr (he is said to have been looking after his sick wife at the time; nevertheless, the Prophet thought he had been present and therefore assigned him part of the booty).

After the death of Ruḳayya the alliance between ʿUthmān and the Prophet was renewed by his marriage to another of the Prophet's daughters, Umm Kulthūm [*q.v.*]. The doubts that have been raised (see Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, 3-5) over the authenticity of this marriage are not justified, in particular because the papyrus roll of Ibn Lahīʿa early bore witness to it (see R.G. Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 282, traditions 260-1, and 183, 7-8). Furthermore, there were clear advantages in such a union with a Meccan aristocrat.

In the lifetime of the Prophet and during the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, ʿUthmān played a most unobtrusive role. Hence the question is raised of how it came about that the council (*shūrā* [*q.v.*]) set up by ʿUmar on his deathbed should have chosen him as the successor to the second caliph. The sources relating to the history of this diligent "conclave" have been analysed minutely by Caetani, but it is only too obvious that the mystery of such a secret debate is destined to elude the critical appraisal of history forever. Candidates who were too outstanding cancelled each other out. One of these was ʿAlī, whose election would have signified the repudiation of the politics of ʿUmar. Such also, it would seem, were Zubayr and Ṭalḥa, who were opponents of ʿUmar and suspected of ambition and greed. Of the three remaining candidates, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and ʿUthmān, one would imagine that the reason the last was chosen, in addition to his marriage connections with the Prophet, would be the fact that he belonged to the clan of the Umayyads, and this would be the most decisive argument in his favour. The Umayyads, even in the lifetime of Muḥammad and especially in the caliphate of ʿUmar, had already partly regained the position they had enjoyed in the *Djāhiliyya*. It is pointless to imagine that Abū Sufyān, the head of the family, had been the *deus ex machina* of the politics of the first twenty years of the régime of the caliphate, and it would be naive to portray the Umayyads as having formed a sort of "secret committee" with the Islamic state to command at will. In reality, the Umayyads were able to wield their influence more because of the indisputable talent in public affairs which some of their members possessed than because of their noble birth. But from the time of ʿUmar this was counterbalanced

by the part played by the other elements, and in particular by the oldest "Companions of the Prophet". It was the strong personality of the second caliph which enabled him to maintain equilibrium between a number of heterogeneous factions who were often opposed to each other.

But this was not the case with ʿUt̲h̲mān. In fact as Wellhausen earlier observed, and as Caetani has amply demonstrated, ʿUt̲h̲mān only furthered and developed the politics of ʿUmar. The difficulties which he encountered were merely the consequence of the premises posed by his predecessor, but it was at this point that the differences in their talents became noticeable.

The tragedy which brought a bloody end to the reign of ʿUt̲h̲mān and ushered in the period of civil wars has caused much embarrassment to Arab historiographers. They have been obliged to record the series of grievances brought against ʿUt̲h̲mān's regime by his opponents, or *vice versa*, to recognise that the caliph had sinned against the law of his land, or even that his accusers, among whom were some of the most venerated patriarchs of this land, had lied or had been wrong. It was thanks to this distressing dilemma (from which the orthodox tradition extracted itself by the expedient of the "excusable error" and other subtle distinctions) that the long list of grievances has been preserved for us in great detail in the writings of Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira fī manāḳib al-ʿas̲h̲ara*, ii, 137-52; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, v, 1-124. This work is of importance as it corrects and completes certain aspects of the information previously known, although it does not add much new material.

The first grievance, and perhaps the most serious, was that he had nominated members of his family for provincial governorships. While Syria had long been in the hands of the Umayyad Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, at Baṣra and at Kūfa ʿUt̲h̲mān replaced Abū Mūsā al-As̲h̲ʿarī and Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.vv.*] by his two relatives ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz and al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba [*q.vv.*], his half-brother. When the latter was deposed, after being involved in a scandalous affair, he was replaced by another Umayyad, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, to whom is attributed the well-known saying "the *sawād* of Kūfa is the garden of the Ḳuray̲s̲h̲". Even Egypt, first conquered by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, fell to ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, who was not an Umayyad and whose past was dubious. Finally, the private counsellor of the caliph, whose disastrous influence was described by tradition, was Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣī, the first cousin of the caliph, who had recalled his father from the exile to which the Prophet had condemned him.

It is impossible to deny a certain nepotism in the measures taken by ʿUt̲h̲mān. However, his deeper motives must also be recognised. It was his intention to establish unity in his government and administration, which was threatened by the excessive independence enjoyed by his governors (see for example, for matters relating to the nomination of judges, Khoury, *Zur Ernennung von Richtern*, 197 ff. but cf. the views here of B. Johansen, *Wahrheit und Geltungsanspruch. Zur Begründung und Begrenzung der Autorität des Qadi-Urteils im islamischen Recht*, in *La Giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli IX-XI)*, ii, Spoleto 1997, 975-1065, esp. 981-2 n. 16). It was on the whole the same purpose as that pursued by ʿUmar, but by dint of his energy and prestige he had succeeded in conveying the weight of his authority even to the governors of other tribes and clans. ʿUt̲h̲mān believed he would be able to obtain the same results by using officials who were bound to him by blood ties, but he was not successful. The roles were reversed and it was the caliph who submitted to the influence of his relatives (perhaps, however, to a lesser extent than the official historiography implies). Furthermore, popular discontent recognised this as the sole cause of the calamities and assumed that they were probably not the result of the character of the official involved.

The system of the *dīwān* instituted by ʿUmar required that war booty be perpetually increased, since the regular tax returns on the *ahl al-d̲h̲imma* were not enough for the salaries of the new recruits who were flocking to the provinces from the heart of Arabia, and it is one of the great merits of Caetani to have drawn attention to this. This was also the motivation for the new expeditions which continuously extended the frontiers of the Arab empire during the caliphate of ʿUt̲h̲mān. One such expedition resulted in the conquest of the last provinces of the Sāsānid empire, whose dynasty came to an abrupt end with the murder of the last of their kings Yazdagird III. Another was the occupation of Armenia; and then again a series of incursions were made along the coast of North Africa into Nubia and into Asia Minor, and by sea into the Eastern Mediterranean. If the conquests accomplished or begun by the Arabs during the caliphate of ʿUt̲h̲mān were all to be examined, it would be clear that, though they may not have had the prodigious verve of those which took place under ʿUmar, nonetheless they marked in an imposing manner on the one hand the end of the initial period of the Arab empire, and on the other the prelude to the second period of expansion, that of the Umayyads.

The booty gleaned from these expeditions was, however, perhaps not as abundant as might have been hoped. Moreover, another of the grievances brought against ʿUt̲h̲mān arose from the fact that, instead of assigning such booty as there was to the fighters as a whole, he held back part of it for his governors and for members of his family, and thus developed the system of land grants (*ḳaṭāʾiʿ* [see ḌAYʿA; ḲAṬĪʿA]) which had already generally been practised by ʿUmar. In this action is also possible to see a conscious attempt to create property for the state rather than simply being a means of enriching his relatives, which is a concept totally opposed to the populist procedure of a total division of the spoils of war among the combatants.

The Islamic empire tended from internal necessity to favour an ordered administration modelled on that of the Byzantines or the Persians. The one which ʿUmar had already drafted, the one which the Umayyads later realised in part and which the ʿAbbāsids achieved, was the transformation of the incoherent and anarchistic grouping of the tribes and of an absolute monarchy; this was also the programme embarked on by ʿUt̲h̲mān. He can be reproached for not having been able to choose the best methods of going about it, and can also be accused of not being up to the task, but his plan was adequate and merely followed the ideal set by ʿUmar. Moreover, the economic crisis that was the inevitable consequence of the sudden enrichment of the Arab masses made it essential for the state to economise and to cut back on the total number of military allowances [see ʿAṬĀʾ]; in turn these only served to increase the number of the discontented.

One of the measures which contributed most to the opposition of the religious lobby to ʿUt̲h̲mān, formed by the old Companions of the Prophet who were of simple or servile origins (ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, Abū D̲h̲arr, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [*q.vv.*], etc.) and the influence

of which the people strongly resented, was the official promulgation of the Ḳur'ān (see Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, ii, 42-119). What appeared to be the most offensive part of this procedure was the destruction of copies from the provinces. ʿUthmān was probably compelled to do this out of consideration for religious order and liturgy, but perhaps the dominant motive was still political in nature. The *ḳurrā'* [*q.v.*] who were the custodians and also, of course, the readers and interpreters of the sacred text, by their very position held enormous power over the masses, and this in a sense placed them outside the scope of the central authorities. These in turn had no way of checking whether the Ḳur'ānic passages used by the *ḳurrā'* were authentic or not. By removing this weapon from them and by setting itself up as the sole custodian of revelation, the ruling power intended to bring about unity and to establish its absolute power over the state. It was, however, only a natural reaction for the opposition to this tendency to accuse the caliph of having mutilated and destroyed the divine word.

ʿUthmān succeeded in making enemies for himself with many different groups; he became the scapegoat of the turbulent elements among the *amṣār* [see MIṢR] because of economic difficulties. They were inclined to accuse the caliph of confiscating the property of Muslims for his own benefit. A new pietism was emerging to which the affirmation of the authority of the state seemed against the egalitarian principles laid down by the Prophet. And finally, formerly deposed governors and leading Companions, like Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿAlī, now out of power, were eager for it. It is questionable whether ʿUthmān, while obviously following the course of conduct imposed on him by the needs of the state and by the example of his predecessor, would have been able to avoid the destiny which overtook him and which so deeply disrupted Islamic unity. Though any answer to this sort of question will always be uncertain, in the realms of history it is possible to surmise that a more intelligent mind and a more energetic temperament than his (or rather a real political genius such as Muʿāwiya, had he been head of state) would perhaps have overcome these difficulties. Perhaps his counsellor Marwān, too, who some thirty years later would show himself equal to a no less difficult situation, was lacking in experience or prudence. Certainly ʿUthmān was incapable on his own, but he was also badly advised, and the very Umayyads whom he had showered with favours and riches preferred to think of themselves than of their relative in danger.

How the events took place can here be dealt with only summarily. Tradition mechanically divides the caliphate of ʿUthmān into two periods of equal length, six years (23-29) of good government followed by six years (30-35) of lawlessness and disorder. The change is represented symbolically by the loss of the Prophet's seal which according to legend, ʿUthmān dropped into the well of Arīs in the year 30. Moreover, it was precisely at this period that the first rebellious movements began which were first seen in ʿIrāḳ, the region which suffered most from the economic crisis and where the dissident forces were most widespread. Abū Dharr, one of the precursors of asceticism in Islam, was exiled to Syria with some of his companions, and later sent down to al-Rabadha [*q.v.*] to die there in destitution. Though the episode concerning him is embellished by legend, it is characteristic of the attitude of the emerging pietism with respect to the worldly transformation of the caliph.

Even more serious trouble erupted at Kūfa in the years 32-3/652-4, under the leadership of the *ḳurrā'*, whose religious nature merged with political activity and who collected about them doubtful elements. Despite a few severe measures adopted against them, the faction leaders succeeded in provoking the deposition of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, who was replaced by the former governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, himself a pietist and an adversary of ʿUthmān. From that time onwards Kūfa was beyond the reach of the central government.

Even in Egypt, Ibn Abī Sarḥ had to yield to the violence of a group led by the young Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa, who, although he was the adopted son of ʿUthmān, nevertheless opposed him. It seems that the wily ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who had retreated to Palestine after being deposed, secretly supported the revolutionary movement in Egypt. The role of this movement must have been more important than was previously believed, since the payrus of Ibn Lahīʿa described the events from an Egyptian perspective and noted that the number of Egyptians involved in besieging the caliph was plainly greater than that of other parties (see Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 181 ff., 190 ff.). The storm which was already looming broke at the end of 35/656 when the rebel troops advanced from the three provinces on Medina. The first to arrive were the Egyptian troops with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUdays at their head, and they went on the Friday to worship in the mosque of the Prophet (*ibid.*, 116, 282). Dramatic exchanges took place between the Egyptian troops and the caliph. The grievances against ʿUthmān were set forth in extremely harsh language. But the rebels were disarmed by the humility and conciliatory attitude of the caliph, who consented to all their demands, promised to repeal all his previous measures and to change his governors. The Egyptians left satisfied, but on the way back, at the sand flats of al-ʿArīsh, a messenger from ʿUthmān was stopped and a letter taken from him addressed by ʿUthmān to Ibn Abī Sarḥ containing the order to put to death or to mutilate the leaders of the movement on their return.

The Egyptians were furious, retraced their steps and returned to Medina, determined on vengeance. It was at this point that the changes in fortune occurred, described by the papyrus roll of ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa, which indicates that Ibn ʿUdays was at the head of the Egyptians (the account of the second siege). ʿUthmān denied that the letter was authentic and even insinuated that it had been forged by his enemies to ruin him. Although the official tradition has the tendency to ascribe this lie to Marwān, there is also evidence of other versions and even one (preserved only by al-Balādhurī) which claims that ʿUthmān had suspected ʿAlī. In fact, this is what Caetani (*Annali*, viii, 159), without any knowledge of this text, had already supposed. It is well known from other sources that it was a common practice to invent false documents designed to destroy an enemy who could not be defeated in any other way; but whatever one may think of this shady episode, it is certain that, whether or not it was the immediate cause of the tragic end of ʿUthmān, other factors had already been set in motion. The events actually led, according to the papyrus, to a second siege of the house of ʿUthmān, and the caliph began to speak in the presence of Abū Thawr al-Fahmī. The latter informed him of the return of the soldiers to destroy him, and then comes the oldest self-defence of the caliph that is known in its original version in Islam (see Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh*

Ibn Lahīʿa, 281, traditions 256 ff.). In this text, ʿUthmān insists on the falsehood of the accusations levelled against him, highlights his role as the fourth person to adopt Islam, his oral collection of the Ḳurʾān from as far back as the lifetime of the Prophet, his marriage to two of the Prophet's daughters (without naming them) as well as his exemplary spiritual life in the *Dhāhiliyya* and in Islam (*ibid.*, 282, traditions 260-4). Most hypocritical of all were the old Companions who opposed him in an underhanded manner. They did not dare to become accomplices in the violent deposition of the caliph, but neither did they wish to help him against the rebels; and so they, and in particular ʿAlī, maintained a malevolent neutrality. The Prophet's widow ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*], who had led a violent campaign against ʿUthmān, preferred to avoid the issue at the last moment on the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca.

In his extremity, ʿUthmān knew how to retain all his dignity. He refused to abdicate, and after a siege, the length of which was variously estimated by different sources, some individuals were able to enter his house in the final days of 35 (June 656). They were led by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*], the son of the first caliph and the brother of ʿĀʾisha, and it was he who seized ʿUthmān. It is not clear whether he was the one who struck the final blow, or if it was someone else; tradition cites several names, and it is evident that right from the beginning the whole affair was obscure. It is said that the caliph's blood flowed on to the copy of the Ḳurʾān which he was reading when he was attacked. His wife, the Kalbiyya Nāʾila bt. al-Furāfiṣa, was injured, and the house was ransacked. During the night his body was buried in deepest secrecy by his wife and a few close friends. The troops which Muʿāwiya had sent from Syria (tradition claims that they arrived too late and accuses them of duplicity) received the news of the murder when they were half-way there, and so they hastened to return. The same papyrus begins (see *ibid.*, 244) with the pursuit of the Egyptian murderers, eventually imprisoned by Muʿāwiya in Lydda (Palestine), whose leader, Ibn ʿUdays, took flight but was recaptured by a horseman and was battered to death.

The election of the new caliph took place amid an atmosphere of tumult and terror, as is well known (see Caetani, *Annali*, ix, 321-42). According to this author, it demonstrates that no previous agreement existed between the leading Companions which could probably be thought to have anticipated these events. The election of ʿAlī was unquestionably due not so much to the prestige afforded him by his family connections and his alliance with the Prophet, but more to the support of the Anṣār who had regained influence in their city while the Umayyad party was in disarray. But right from its inception, the new régime was destined to be attacked either by other competitors disappointed in their expectations, or by Muʿāwiya, the only Umayyad governor who had remained in control of his province.

From then on, any political unity of Islam was over, and soon religious unity also, making way for a period of civil wars and schisms. The caliphate of ʿUthmān and his bloody end marked a turning point in Islamic history and attributed an importance to the third caliph certainly not merited by what was in fact an altogether rather mediocre personality. History, and especially literary history, was captivated by his murder and wove various narratives around it, some of which were noteworthy and have been passed on under the heading of *fitna* (*q.v.*, and *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 211-17; here there are different definitions of the term which the papyrus uses; see also Sellheim, 88-9).

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(G. Levi Della Vida-[R.G. Khoury])

ʿUTHMĀN b. **FŪDĪ**, sc. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Ṣāliḥ, known as Ibn Fūdī (or Usuman Dan Fodio, to use the current Hausa form) (1754-1817), the founder of the largest independent state in 19th century Africa. A *shaykh* of the Ḳādiriyya, in 1804-8 he led a *djihād* that overthrew the existing sultanates in Hausaland and Bornu in what is now northern Nigeria. By preaching publicly and attracting students of all kinds, by writing vernacular poetry and books of instruction in Arabic, he inspired a reform movement that transformed the role of Islam in West Africa: what had been the profession mainly of religious specialists became the everyday religion of ordinary people, including peasants and herders, women and slaves.

Usuman dan Fodio was born on Sunday, 15 December 1754 at Maratta near Konni in northwestern Hausaland (on today's Niger-Nigerian frontier). He died in the newly-built capital, the city of Sokoto [*q.v.*], on Sunday, 20 April 1817. In February 1804, at the start of the *djihād*, he was elected by his community as the first Imām and *Amīr al-muʾminīn* of the state that has since the 1960s become known as the "Sokoto Caliphate". By December 1808 the last of the great Hausa cities had fallen to the reformers, and in 1812 the Shehu (as he is popularly called) was able to divide the state into two halves, one under his son Muḥammad Bello [*q.v.*] and the other under his brother ʿAbd Allāh at Gwandu. He then devoted himself again to teaching Ṣūfism and writing. He was

a powerful preacher and prolific author, writing over a hundred works in prose and more than fifty in verse. As a poet he wrote in both Arabic and Fulfulde, many of the Fulfulde poems being later translated into Hausa. It is not proven that he wrote any poetry in Hausa but he preached in that language, while Fulfulde was his language of everyday use.

His career divides broadly into three periods. The first, 1774-94, is a period of preaching. As a young scholar, he travelled to study under various local *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* and toured, preaching in Zamfara and for a while tutoring the sons of the Sultan of Gobir. He debated with other scholars, for example over the propriety of having women in the audience at teaching sessions or over whether knowledge of *kalām* was necessary for qualifying as a Muslim (and therefore having the rights of the Muslim "caste"). In general, the Shehu's position was populist: anyone, he argued, was a Muslim if he correctly carried out the practices of Islam. These were explained in his major didactic work of the period, *Iḥyāʾ al-sunna wa-ik̲h̲mād al-bidaʿ*.

The second period, 1794-1810, was marked by a turning towards militancy. In 1794 he had a crucial vision, in which the Prophet instructed S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī [*q.v.*] to invest the Shehu personally with the sword of truth; before this time, neither a Muslim Ṣūfī scholar such as Usuman nor his students would carry weapons. But now, with the explicit authority of both the Prophet and his own S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ in the Ḳādiriyya, the Shehu could order his followers to take up arms and defend themselves. The rapidly rising numbers of peasants converting to Islam had been causing concern to the local state authorities (especially in war-ravaged Zamfara), not least as these new Muslims then claimed exemption from both taxation and military service, and often ceased to work for their fathers. Conversion was especially popular among slaves, who ran away to any *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* who refused to let his new students return to slavery or be sold to non-Muslim owners. Once the Muslims had armed themselves, they forfeited their general immunity as religious specialists, and all Muslims—including conservative communities of Fulbe scholars—became targets for raids by the local military. It is therefore not surprising that there were Muslims even among his kinsmen who did not support the Shehu in his call for *d̲j̲ihād*; they argued that the sultans in power were already Muslim and that the Shehu was therefore simply a trouble-maker.

The majority of the Shehu's students whose names are preserved in contemporary lists were Fulbe [*q.v.*], as were both the majority of his military allies in the Sokoto region and the majority of those to whom he gave flags of command in regions that were to become amīrates. Some early supporters who were not Fulbe, such as S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Salām (of Gimbana and, later, Kware) or S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Chacha (of Raba, in Nupe), were killed by d̲j̲ihādist forces. Of the *d̲j̲ihād* leaders, only Yaʿḳūb of Bauchi was not a Pullo or member of the Fulbe, but he had been a young student of the Shehu before the *d̲j̲ihād* and had been given a wife from Zamfara. Apart from his fellow-Fulbe, the Shehu's closest mentors and allies were Berber or Tuareg scholars from the Sahel, especially his *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* D̲j̲ibrīl b. ʿUmar from the town of Agadès in the north; D̲j̲ibrīl had been an early advocate of *d̲j̲ihād* before being exiled.

The period of militancy culminates in the *d̲j̲ihād* of 1804-8. As a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* now over 50 years old, Usuman did not himself take up arms, though on certain critical occasions he went to the battlefield to support by prayer the d̲j̲ihādist forces. Though ʿAlī Jedo was appointed *Amīr al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲* to control the young d̲j̲ihādist militants, the Shehu used to give out flags for specific campaigns, especially to his son Muḥammad Bello and his brother ʿAbd Ullāh; as commanders of expeditions they tried to enforce the rules on booty. During this period, the books which he wrote under the pressure of *d̲j̲ihād* (such as *Bayān wud̲j̲ūb al-hid̲j̲ra ʿalā ʾl-ʿibād wa-bayān naṣb al-imām wa-iḳāmat al-d̲j̲ihād*) are polemical and strict in their interpretations of the laws governing *d̲j̲ihād* and on who is and who is not to be counted as a Muslim. The result was that many states whose rulers were Muslim by any ordinary definition were declared to be legitimate targets of *d̲j̲ihād*. His *d̲j̲ihād* was therefore not against pagans but primarily against Muslims unwilling to accept reform.

The Shehu's community had been so outnumbered that their ultimate victory in the *d̲j̲ihād* seemed miraculous, and this made some believe the Shehu might be the Mahdī [*q.v.*]. This he rejected (at most he was the *mud̲j̲addid* [*q.v.*] for the 13th Islamic century); he was also personally disinclined at first to believe that the coming of the Mahdī was imminent. In 1806, however, he became convinced and sent a message to his regional flagbearers to be ready for the coming of the Mahdī. It was an extremely difficult time: deaths from famine and disease exceeded deaths even from *d̲j̲ihād*, and cattle were dying in an epizootic. In such a crisis, millenarian expectations perhaps persuaded waverers to join the very risky but righteous cause of *d̲j̲ihād*. The Shehu did not, however, support a *hid̲j̲ra* to Mecca to await a putative Mahdī; indeed, neither he nor any of his independent successors ever left the Sokoto region, whether for the pilgrimage or on campaign. Instead, visitors were to come to Sokoto from other parts of West Africa, the Middle East and Europe, bringing with them their books, new technologies and ideas.

The third period, the period of pragmatism and power, from 1810 to 1817, was when the Shehu withdrew largely from the administration of the state. His ideas during this period—as expressed, for example, in his *Nad̲j̲m al-ik̲h̲wān yahtadūna bihi bi-id̲h̲n Allāh fī umūr al-zamān*—are much more moderate than they were during the *d̲j̲ihād*: practices that were previously taken as proof of un-Islamic government were now not ruled out. The imperatives of establishing effective administration took precedence. His small community of scholars and students had turned into a large state dependent on a military element more interested in materialism than Ṣūfī discipline; as a result, the scholarly, quietist element of the community located itself at Gwandu, leaving the Shehu as a beacon to pilgrims in his house on the edges of the city at Sokoto.

Especially in the last two years of his life (1815-17), the Shehu was regarded as a saint, with people coming to his house anxious to touch his clothes or acquire pieces of his hair. This worried him: he explicitly denied he was a *walī*, though he admitted he could listen in on the conversations of the *d̲j̲inn* and had other unusual powers that obliterated distance. Several miracles are attributed to him, a number of which were recounted in a book written twenty years after his death by his son's vizier Gidado, who had married Asmāʾ, the learned daughter of the Shehu. The Shehu also worried whether he had been responsible for the death of Muslims in the course of the *d̲j̲ihād*, but he had now stopped writing. Though troubled by disturbed sleep and illness in his last years,

he was still well enough at 63 to father a child by a concubine, his son 'Īsā being born posthumously in 1817.

The Shehu's own family was large. He had 37 children by a total of 13 wives (including at least one concubine); one of his sons had 63 children, a son-in-law 48. He insisted on his wives being in purdah (which was unusual at the time), and he educated his daughters to become major poets in their own right. He wrote in verse about the proper behaviour of a husband to his wives, and he was concerned with the sexual morality of Fulbe women, describing graphically the provocativeness of their dress and manner. His preaching depicted powerfully the terrors of hell-fire and the need to avoid the sins that make "a Muslim in the morning become a pagan by the evening". His work, filled with detailed practical advice, has a strongly moral dimension which is often overshadowed by the emphasis on his political success.

The Shehu called upon his Fulbe supporters to intermarry and thus break down their divisive clannishness and concern for social hierarchy. Himself a Torodo and a descendant of migrants from the Senegal valley, the Shehu traced his origin back to Arabs (and Jews, according to his brother; the claim to descent from the Prophet was only made after his death). His family did not identify themselves as "Blacks" (*al-Sūdān*); rather, they were the rulers for these *Sūdān* and felt it their task to establish for them a truly Islamic *umma*; a Sūdānī was appointed muezzin to the new community, in the manner of the Prophet Muḥammad.

On his death, the Shehu was buried (as was the custom) in his house, which by the 1850s had become the focus for the *Yan Taru*, an association of Muslim women who made regular visits to his grave. This was part of a concerted attempt by the Sokoto leadership to link the Ḳādiriyya with the Shehu and resist the growing success of the Tid̲j̲āniyya [*q.v.*] in attracting converts, hence the translations made into Hausa of the Shehu's poetry as well as the composition of books about the *d̲j̲ihād* and the Shehu's life. In the 20th century, the focus of attention has shifted somewhat away from the Shehu and on to his son, Muḥammad Bello, as the role model for the politically able. In particular, the Premier of Nigeria's Northern Region added "Bello" to his name and used to pray publicly at Bello's tomb in Wurno; and it is Bello's house that has remained the caliphal palace in Sokoto. Nonetheless, the Shehu's house is preserved and is still visited, particularly by the old; but responsibility for developing a modern Ḳādirī *ṭarīḳa* for northern Nigeria has since passed from the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲'s heirs in Sokoto. Several of his books, however, remain in print and are widely sold in rural markets, while his songs can be heard even today far beyond the boundaries of Sokoto.

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'UT̲H̲MĀN B. **MARZŪḲ** B. Ḥumayd B. Salāma al-Ḳurashī, Abū 'Amr (d. 564/1169), Ḥanbalī jurist and mystic, known as Ibn Marzūḳ. He studied with Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 536/1141, not "Ibn al-D̲j̲īlī", as in Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, i, 306) at Damascus, though whether he was born there is not clear; he is also said to have met 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī [*q.v.*] and to have held him in high esteem. He lived mainly in Egypt and died there, aged over seventy years old. Only one work of his seems to be mentioned, an abridgement of Abū Nu'aym's *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, which bears the same title as Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī's abridgement of the same work, *Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa* (*Kas̲h̲f al-ẓunūn*, Istanbul 1941-3, ii, col. 1080). Several short mystical-paraenetic discourses are quoted by Ibn Rad̲j̲ab. He appears to have acquired an odour of sanctity early on, and a number of miracles (*karāmāt*), especially referring to the flooding of the Nile, are attributed to him (Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, 307, ult.-308, l. 9, and R. Gramlich, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes*, Wiesbaden 1987, index s.n. "Uṯmān b. Marzūq al-Qurašī").

Ibn Marzūḳ is said to have voiced an extreme Ḥanbalī position in saying that the faith and the works of man are uncreated (*g̲h̲ayr mak̲h̲lūḳ, ḳadīm*, see Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, 309-10, and cf. J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin 1991-7, iv, 578), for which he was taken to task by Ibn Taymiyya (Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, 310-11, and Ibn Taymiyya, *Mad̲j̲mū' al-fatāwā*, vii, 680 ff., quoted after van Ess). Actually, it is Ibn Marzūḳ's followers whom Ibn Taymiyya mainly attacks as imputing opinions to their *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* which he probably did not hold. Indeed, Ibn Marzūḳ's own formulation, quoted by Ibn Rad̲j̲ab from an unnamed book on *uṣūl al-dīn*, is more sophisticated: "Faith is uncreated in its words (i.e. the creed) as well as in its works; the movements of man are certainly created, but the eternal looms (*yaẓhar*) in them, just as the speech [of God] looms in the utterances of man [when reciting the Ḳur'ān]." Whether Ibn Taymiyya also accused his followers of having turned him into a "saint", as Jacqueline Chabbi alleges, basing herself on the same passages in Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, is far from certain (for mentions of Ibn Marzūḳ, see her *'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī*, in *SI*, xxxviii [1973], 80, 85).

Ibn Marzūḳ's son, Sa'd, continued in the vein of his father as a Ḥanbalī mystic (see the article on him in Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, i, 384-87).

'Ut̲h̲mān b. Marzūḳ should not be confused with another Ḥanbalī mystic by the name of Ibn Marzūḳ, sc. Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayr 'Abd Allāh (d. 507/1113), a disciple of 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī (see S. Laugier de Beaurecueil, O.P., *Khwādja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī*, Beirut 1965 120).

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

'UT̲H̲MĀN B. **MAẒ'ŪN** B. Ḥabīb, Abu 'l-Sā'ib, of the Ḳurays̲h̲ clan of D̲j̲umaḥ, one of the earliest Companions of Muḥammad, the thirteenth man to adopt Islam and brother-in-law of the second caliph 'Umar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb. He took part in the *hid̲j̲ra* to Abyssinia, returned, like some other refugees, on the false news of a reconciliation between Muḥammad and his pagan enemies, and became for some time the client of al-Walīd b. al-Mug̲h̲īra. Soon he renounced this privilege, because he preferred to bear his share in the insults offered to his co-religionists

in Mecca. On a quarrel between 'Uthmān and the poet Labīd, see Ibn Hishām, 343-4.

'Uthmān took part in the *hidjra* to Medina, where he found lodging with Umm al-A'lā. When Muḥammad formed pairs of "brothers" between the Muhādjirūn and Anṣār [see MU'ĀKHĀT], 'Uthmān was associated with Abu 'l-Ḥārith b. al-Tayyihān. He took part in the battle of Badr and died in the following year, 3 A.H., but according to other accounts, in the year 4. He was the first Muslim buried in Baḳī' al-Gharḳad [*q.v.*]. The affection in which Muḥammad held him was seen in the grief he showed at the sight of his corpse. Nevertheless, Muḥammad is said to have reproved his widow Khuwayla bt. Ḥakīm al-Sulamiyya for using language more natural than theological and for saying that her dead husband was one of the inhabitants of Paradise.

In Tradition, 'Uthmān is the most characteristic representative of the ascetic tendencies which were not entirely foreign to primitive Islam. He abstained from wine before this beverage was prohibited. He neglected his wife, who did not fail to complain to 'Ā'isha, whereupon Muḥammad tried to divert him from a too rigorous asceticism by suggesting that he should follow his example. The tradition is also very well known according to which he asked Muḥammad to permit him to castrate himself, a request which the Prophet did not at all consider with favour.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, index; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, iii/1, 286-91; Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh, index; Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, no. 9819; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, iii, 385-6; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v.; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, Berlin 1861, i, 387-8; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 97, 119, 179; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, index; idem, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, index. (A.J. WENSINCK)

'UTHMĀN DIḲNA B. ABĪ BAKR al-Sawākinī, conventionally OSMAN DIGNA, a leader of the Sudanese Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] movement in the 1880s and 1890s. For his career, see BEDJA, at I, 1158b, and KASALA, at IV, 687a, and add to the Bibls. there: R. Hill, *A biographical dictionary of the Sudan*, ²London 1967, 367-8, 408.

'UTHMĀNIYYA, the adherents of a doctrinal stance which originated at the same time and over the same question as Khāridjism and Shī'ism, but which did not survive beyond the 4th/10th century. Its history can be divided into four stages:

1. Loyalism. The stance originated in response to the killing of 'Uthmān [*q.v.*]. Had the rebels done right? The 'Uthmāniyya were those who denied it. 'Uthmān had in their view remained a legitimate ruler whose life it had been wrong to take. "By God, 'Uthmān was killed unjustly (*maẓlūm*ᵃⁿ)" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3434; cf. 3243.9-12; cf. Ḳur'ān, XVII, 33). They clamoured for 'Uthmān's murderers to be brought to justice and a new caliph to be elected by *shūrā* [*q.v.*] (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii, ed. Maḥmūdī, 223, 300, 327; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3277), rejecting 'Alī's claim to the caliphate on the grounds that he was an accomplice in the murder and/or had seized power without consulting the community (Ps.-Nāshi' in J. van Ess, *Frühe mu'tazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut and Wiesbaden 1971, §§ 19, 21, 26; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii, 226.10; al-Barrādī, *al-Djawāhir*, Cairo 1302, 101; al-Mufīd, *al-Djamal*, tr. M. Rouhani, Paris 1974, 97 ff.). Against them, the rebels argued that 'Uthmān had forfeited his status as *imām* by his innovations in the law (*aḥdāth*) and died as a wrongdoer (*ẓālim*ᵃⁿ), not as somebody wronged (*maẓlūm*ᵃⁿ). All the rebels accepted 'Alī's succession, though the Khāridjites [*q.v.*] held that he, too, subsequently forfeited his position.

Initially, all non-rebels must have been 'Uthmānīs. All Muslims had the choice between loyalism and acceptance of the rebels' cause (Khāridjite or Shī'ite), and though a few allegedly contrived to remain neutral (cf. below, 2), loyalism will have remained what one might call the default position of Islam until *ca.* 700, when the Murdji'a [*q.v.*] appeared, advocating suspension of judgement on the rights and wrongs of the disputed figures. Loyalism was certainly well represented even in 'Irāḳ. The Baṣrans fought against 'Alī in the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL], and refugees from the battle fled to Syria (al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 215; al-Nawbakhtī, 5); Kūfans and Baṣrans alike left 'Irāḳ to settle in the Djazīra [*q.v.*] after 'Alī's victory because they were 'Uthmānīs (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii, 297.9; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳ'at Ṣiffīn*, ed. 'A.-S.M. Hārūn, ²Cairo 1962, 12, 146; al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 218; P. Crone, *Slaves on horses*, Cambridge 1980, appendix I, nos. 13, 14, 16, 19); and still more Baṣrans joined Mu'āwiya when al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*] succeeded, having previously kept quiet about their 'Uthmānī views (*Aghānī*³, xii, 329.5). In the second civil war, too, there was a substantial *shī'at banī umayya min al-'uthmāniyya* in Baṣra (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 156.7), and the Baṣrans had a general reputation for 'Uthmānism (*al-baṣra kulluhā 'uthmāniyya*, al-Aṣma'ī in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iḳd al-farīd*, ed. Amīn, al-Zayn and al-Abyārī, vi, 248.7) which some put down to the fact that three governors of theirs, including al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], had been extreme lovers of 'Uthmān and the Umayyads (Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-'īn*, ed. K. Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1948, 230.2). But there were 'Uthmānīs in Kūfa, too (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 229.16,18; 275.18 (cf. also 214.19); xi, ed. Ahlwardt 26.13; idem, *Futūḥ*, 308.3; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3348.16; ii, 342, 636, 659, 765-6; *Aghānī*³, xi, 251, xiv, 217.5, 231.10, 232.4; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *al-Akhbār al-muwaffaḳiyyāt*, ed. S.M. al-'Ānī, Baghdād 1972, 465). Some sources claim that Egypt was only converted to 'Uthmānism by Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb (d. 128/745-6) or al-Layth b. Sa'd (d. 175/791-2 [*q.v.*]), having previously been 'Alawī, as people would say by way of contrast with 'Uthmānī; but this is difficult to believe (al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, v, 184; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh Madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. 'A. al-Shīrī, Beirut 1995-, ix, 42 (s.v. Ismā'īl b. 'Ayyāsh); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, viii, 463-4; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, Berlin and New York 1991-7, ii, 719; contrast al-Kindī, *Governors*, 18; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3241-45, 3401, 3408; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1324-6, ii, 337.-4, 338.12. For the term 'Alawī, see also Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iḳd*, vi, 248.7; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 275.18; al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-'Umarī, Baghdād 1974-76, ii, 807). That 'Uthmānism preponderated elsewhere in the early Umayyad period can probably be taken for granted.

In the first civil war the 'Uthmānīs were led by Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and 'Ā'isha [*q.vv.*] in the Ḥidjāz and 'Irāḳ, and by Mu'āwiya [*q.v.*] in Syria. The two subdivisions adhered to the same loyalist cause and accepted Mu'āwiya as their sole leader when Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr were killed, but they did not remain united for long. After Mu'āwiya's death, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr opposed the succession of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya [*q.vv.*], claiming the caliphate for himself when Yazīd died in his turn. Adherents of the Umayyads and the Zubayrids alike continued to stress their

loyalty to ʿUt̲h̲mān, but acceptance of the default position no longer implied agreement on contemporary politics. When the sources speak of ʿUt̲h̲mānīs in the Sufyānid period and second civil war they usually have the pro-Umayyad party in mind (similarly al-Djāḥiẓ, *R. al-Ḥakamayn*, ed. Ch. Pellat, in *al-Mas̲h̲riḳ* [1958], 428.ult., with reference to the Marwānid period). The Umayyads had the advantage of being actual kinsmen of ʿUt̲h̲mān's, and most Muslims accepted not only Muʿāwiya but also Yazīd as ʿUt̲h̲mān's successors, declaring themselves to be *ʿalā dīn ʿut̲h̲mān, muʿāwiya* or *yazīd* (e.g. *Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], xiv, 231.10; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 342.7, 469.13) and vilifying ʿAlī and/or the K̲h̲āridjites with varying degrees of enthusiasm (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 308.4; *Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], xii, 321). A Baṣran youth who would neither declare himself *ʿalā dīn muʿāwiya* nor curse the Muḥakkima was executed (Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī, *Dīwān*, ed. M.Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, Beirut 1974, 92 ff., no. 47), as was the Kūfan Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] who would openly curse Muʿāwiya in allegiance to ʿAlī (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 115.6). Active supporters of the Umayyad régime were described as *s̲h̲īʿat ʿut̲h̲mān, muʿāwiya* or *banī umayya* (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 112.3; al-Masʿūdi, *Murūdj*, iv, 352 = iii, § 1668; al-Balād̲h̲urī, ivb, 156.7). They were men such as Busr b. Abī Arṭāh, Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudaydj [*q.vv.*] (Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 130, 195), Mālik b. Mismaʿ [see MASĀMIʿA], Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit, Kaʿb b. Mālik and al-Nuʿmān b. Bas̲h̲īr [*q.vv.*] (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3245.11; *Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], xvi, 28.12, 29-30, 228.1, 233-4, where they and other ʿUt̲h̲mānīs incongruously address ʿAlī as Commander of the Faithful; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 284, 297 = iii, §§ 1609, 1623, where they even pay allegiance to ʿAlī). Contrary to what Wellhausen thought (*Kingdom*, 93 n), the ʿUt̲h̲mānīs in Kūfa under al-Muk̲h̲tār were Umayyad loyalists, too (see the references to Kūfa given above).

2. Three-caliphs thesis. The Umayyads continued to stress their link with ʿUt̲h̲mān in the Marwānid period, but the largely ʿIrāḳī chroniclers now stop calling Umayyad loyalists *ʿut̲h̲māniyya* or a *s̲h̲īʿa* and no longer describe them as in a state of religious obedience (*ʿalā dīn*) to the caliphs. Court poetry apart, all expressions suggesting that the Umayyads and their followers constituted a vehicle of salvation become extremely rare. Instead, the sources begin to speak of ʿUt̲h̲mānism as a stance adopted by traditionalists (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīt̲h̲* [*q.v.*]).

Like their predecessors, the traditionalist ʿUt̲h̲māniyya rejected ʿAlī's claim to the caliphate; but unlike them, they were only concerned with past caliphs, not with contemporary rulers. They were distinguished by the conviction that the Rightly Guided Caliphs had been limited to three, namely, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUt̲h̲mān [*q.vv.*]. "Blood, blood! ʿUt̲h̲mān is better", as al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*] would say when he was asked about the relative merits of ʿAlī and ʿUt̲h̲mān: ʿAlī had fought Muslims and so could not be a rightly guided caliph or *imām* on whom one should model oneself (al-Fasawī, *Maʿrifa*, ii, 806, where al-Zuhrī seems not even to count ʿUt̲h̲mān as a caliph); ʿAlī's reign was *fitna*, as Ibn Ḥanbal and other Bag̲h̲dādī traditionists were later to say (Ps.-Nās̲h̲i', § 113). "When the Prophet was alive and his Companions plentiful, we used to enumerate Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUt̲h̲mān; then we would fall silent", as a famous statement by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar has it (Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, i, 243.14, cf. 10; al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. faḍā'il al-aṣḥāb*, *bāb* 4; cf. al-As̲h̲ʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 458.10,12). The Baṣran His̲h̲ām b. Ḥassān (d. *ca.* 146/763) would similarly enumerate Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUt̲h̲mān and then fall silent. So, too, it is said, would Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī [*q.v.*] in Kūfa and Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] in Medina (al-Fasawī, ii, 806-7; cf. van Ess, *Theologie*, i, 224-5, on the many positions ascribed to Sufyān). It was apparently from Mālik that Ismāʿīl b. Dāwūd al-Djawzī learnt the three-caliphs thesis, which he is said to be the first to circulate in Bag̲h̲dād (cf. Madelung in *Isl.*, lvii [1980], 223-4). The many traditionalist scholars known to have been ʿUt̲h̲mānīs include Ḥammād b. Zayd and others who died between 151/768 and 186/802 in Baṣra (Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 24, 42, 44, 45; cf. also van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, 64), the notorious historian Sayf b. ʿUmar (d. 180/796) and others in Kūfa (cf. Crone in *JSS*, vi [1996], 237 ff.; van Ess, *Theologie*, i, 216, cf. 235; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, v, 25-6, vii, 127, x, 270), as well as Ibn Maʿīn (d. 233/847-8), Abū K̲h̲ayt̲h̲ama (d. 234/848-9) and, for much of his life, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] in Bag̲h̲dād (Ps.-Nās̲h̲i', § 113; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 225). Traditions singling out Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUt̲h̲mān as true caliphs, *imāms* to be imitated or the most meritorious men after the Prophet, with pointed silence about ʿAlī, are widely diffused in the literature (T. Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat*, Bonn 1975, 229-30).

The traditionalist message seems to have been that the guiding role taken by the leader of the *umma* in the time of the Prophet and the first caliphs had come to an end with the killing of ʿUt̲h̲mān. "Today prophethood/the caliphate was taken away from Muḥammad's community and it became kingship and tyranny", as a Baṣran tradition declares with reference to his death (Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. ʿA.-K̲h̲. al-Afg̲h̲ānī, ʿA.ʿA. al-Aʿẓamī and M.M. al-Nadwī, Bombay 1386-1403, xiv, no. 18936). All leaders of the Muslim polity thereafter were simply heads of state; religious knowledge was now dispersed in the community, and keeping the community together was more important than ensuring the moral rectitude of its head. Rulers were necessary in order to uphold the law and preserve the community, and one should avoid civil strife, suffering death rather than letting oneself be embroiled in internal fighting: "Be the servant of God's who is killed, not the one who is the killer", as a famous tradition has it. When the Baṣrans of the later Umayyad period are described as ʿUt̲h̲mānīs, the reference is not to Umayyad loyalists but rather to traditionalists who believed in abstention from fighting (*al-kaff*), adducing the *kun ʿabd allāh al-maḳtūl* tradition (*Ak̲h̲bār al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*, ed. ʿA.-ʿA. al-Dūrī and ʿA.-Dj. al-Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 206; al-Muḳaddasī, 293.19; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 315, all citing a statement of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh reminiscent of al-Aṣmaʿī's; cf. also al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, iii, 81; al-Djāḥiẓ, *R. Manāḳib al-turk*, in his *Tria opuscula*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1903, 9, tr. Harley Walker in *JRAS* [1915], 643). The ʿUt̲h̲mānīs were also among the many traditionalists who would invoke as members of their own ranks ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, Muḥammad b. Maslama, Kaʿb b. Mālik (elsewhere an ʿUt̲h̲mānī in the sense of Umayyad loyalist) and others who had allegedly sought neutrality in the first civil war (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 295-6 = iii, § 1621; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 3070; Nagel, *Rechtleitung*, 226-7; P. Crone and F. Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, Oxford forthcoming, ch. 6).

3. Positions within the four-caliphs consensus. Traditionalist ʿUt̲h̲mānism changed character, and eventually disappeared, with the spread of the four-caliphs thesis. Already Nūḥ b. Abī Maryam (d. 173/789-90) and Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797 [*q.v.*])

are said to have accepted four caliphs, though Ibn al-Mubārak is credited with the ʿUthmānī three-caliphs thesis too (al-Sarakhsī, *Sharh Kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr li ʾl-Shaybānī*, ed. Ṣ.-D. al-Munadjdjid, Cairo 1971-2, i, 157-8; Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabakāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 40.13; Nagel, *Rechtleitung*, 229). In any case, the four-caliphs thesis had practically swept the board in ʿIrāḳ by the middle of the 3rd/9th century (Ps.-Nāshiʾ, §§ 88-9, 109-11; cf. Madelung in *Isl.*, lvii [1980] on the date of this work). It was only in Baghdād that it continued to be vigorously, though not unanimously, opposed (*ibid.*, §§ 113-14; cf. van Ess, *Theologie*, iii, 189-90). Ibn Ḥanbal eventually came round to it (Madelung, *Qāsim*, 225 ff.), but his adherents do not all appear to have followed him, for the extreme traditionalists (*hashwiyya, nābita*) who positively revered Muʿāwiya and Yazīd I can hardly have accepted ʿAlī as a legitimate caliph (cf. Pellat, in *SI*, vi [1956]; *AIEO, Alger*, x (1952); cf. also al-Khayyāṭ, *al-Intiṣār*, ed. and tr. A.N. Nader, Beirut 1957, § 102), and it was precisely because the Ḥanbalīs were excessively fond of Muʿāwiya that the 4th/10th-century al-Muḳaddasī [*q.v.*] found it impossible to include them in the great majority destined for salvation (39.7, 126.14, 365.12, 378-9). But this and other pockets of resistance (notably in Syria) notwithstanding, it is clear that people were rapidly coming to accept both ʿUthmān *and* ʿAlī as rightly guided caliphs unless they chose to remain Khāridjites or Shīʿites. In terms of past *imāms*, Sunnism was taking over as the default position of Islam.

But the mostly Kūfan soft Shīʿites who were persuaded to accept ʿUthmān as the third caliph found it impossible to go so far as to deem him to have been a better person then ʿAlī, though a caliph was normally assumed to be the most meritorious person (*al-afḍal*) in his time. In terms of merit, their list of *imāms* thus continued to run Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿAlī, with ʿUthmān tagged on at the end (Ps.-Nāshiʾ, § 110; compare al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 258.1, xii, 409.7). An ʿUthmānī now came to be someone who held ʿUthmān to have been more meritorious than ʿAlī, insisting that each caliph had been the most meritorious man in his own time, the order of merit and succession being identical (cf. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 367.8, 11, 15, and 369.10). Pseudo-Nāshiʾ (§ 29) may have this development in mind when he says that the ʿUthmāniyya are now "joined to Murdjiʾa", Murdjiʾites to him being people who accepted ʿAlī as the fourth caliph without having a special preference for either him or the Umayyads. All Sunnīs are ʿUthmānīs in this extenuated sense.

But there were also soft Shīʿites who held ʿAlī to have been more meritorious than all the caliphs who preceded him, including Abū Bakr, whose caliphate they nonetheless accepted on the grounds that the less meritorious person (*al-mafḍūl*) was sometimes better suited for the task (thus some Zaydīs and Muʿtazila [*q.vv.*], cf. Ps.-Nāshiʾ, §§ 68, 94). In debate with such people an ʿUthmānī was somebody who defended Abū Bakr's superior merit. The one example of this usage is al-Djāḥiẓ's epistle *al-ʿUthmāniyya* (ed. ʿA.-S.M. Hārūn, Cairo 1955; cf. Pellat, in *Arabica*, iii [1956]; Nouiouat, in *REI*, lv-lvii [1987-9], 146 ff.), which was refuted by the Zaydī Muʿtazilī al-Iskāfī [*q.v.*] (d. 240/854) and a number of Imāmī Shīʿīs, including al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 56 ff. = iv, §§ 2281-2). One might have expected Abū Bakr's supporters to have been known as Bakriyya or Babkariyya, but a new coinage was apparently felt to be unnecessary: whoever upheld the merits of the first three caliphs against excessive claims on behalf of ʿAlī was an ʿUthmānī whether he focused on Abū Bakr, ʿUmar or ʿUthmān, it would seem. All Sunnīs are ʿUthmānīs in this sense, too.

4. Pro-Umayyad sect. As traditionalist ʿUthmānism disappeared in Sunnism, the pro-Umayyad variety resurfaced. In 324/935-6 al-Masʿūdī came across a book in the ownership of an ʿUthmānī client of the Umayyads in Tiberias (*Tanbīh*, 336-7). Entitled *Kitāb al-barāhīn fī imāmat al-umawiyyīn*, it defended the Umayyad claim to the imāmate, listed the virtues of the caliphs and enumerated every one of them from ʿUthmān to Marwān II, arguing that the latter had designated (*naṣṣa ʿalā*) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I as his successor. It listed the Spanish Umayyads, too, down to the year 310/922-3, concluding with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. The latter had acceded in 300/912, but he only adopted the caliphal title in 316/929 (D. Wasserstein, *The Caliphate in the West*, Oxford 1993, 10 ff.), so the book was apparently composed in ignorance of the restoration of the Umayyad caliphate (*pace* Nagel, *Rechtleitung*, 252-3). It was in any case a statement by the *shīʿat al-ʿuthmāniyya* (*Tanbīh*, 337.4) as a sect in the old style, that is, a party defined by allegiance to a politico-religious leader by whom it saw itself as guided along the right path. Whether the party had any law and doctrine of its own is unknown, though it is tempting to credit it with much the same views as the Baghdādī Ḥashwiyya notorious for their veneration of the Umayyads. ʿUthmānī devotees of the Umayyads are also mentioned in 4th/10th-century Kūfa, where they had a mosque of their own (*Aghānī*³, xi, 251). But that is the last we hear of them.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 119 ff.; H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne du calife Omaiyade Moʿâwiya Ier*, Paris, 1908 (= *MFOB*, ii [1907]), 11-12; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 188 ff.; M. Zahniser, *Insights from the* ʿUthmāniyya *of al Jāḥiẓ into the religious policy of al-Maʾmūn*, in *MW*, lxix (1979); W.M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 75 ff., 166-7; W. Madelung, *The succession to Muḥammad*, Cambridge 1997, index. (Patricia Crone)

UTHŪLŪDJIYĀ (a., a rendering of Grk. θεολογία) refers to the so-called "Theology of Aristotle", which consists in reality of extracts from the *Enneads* of Plotinus. The work is important not only in its own right but as illustrating a syncretic tendency in Arabic-Greek scholarship. In this context, F. Rosenthal notes "the almost complete absence of the name of Plotinus from Arabic literature". This can be attributed as much to textual corruption as to the mixture of fact and fantasy in the histories of the philosophers. Rosenthal criticises the suggestion of a confusion between the transliterations of Plato and Plotinus, arguing that "Plotinus" in Arabic should be Flūṭīnus, a name found by al-Nadīm in a list of philosophic commentators. Rosenthal suggests this as an emendation for al-Ḳifṭī's Flūṭīs, were this to refer to Plotinus, and a similar emendation could be applied to a reference in Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa. The argument does not give value to the Arab tendency to shorten Greek names, but whether or not Plotinus is submerged in the shadow of Plato, his real importance for Arabic philosophy lies in his identification as the author of an Arabic translation of what was claimed to be a commentary by Porphyry on "the book of Aristotle the philosopher which is known in Greek as *Uthūlūdjiyā*" [see al-shaykh al-yūnānī].

A translation of this text was made by ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Nāʿima al-Ḥimṣī and corrected for Aḥmad, the son of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim

(218-27/833-42 [*q.v.*]) by Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī. The work was dated by Dieterici to A.D. 840. Baumstark showed that the Arabic was based on a Syriac version, and the manuscript tradition of the work, together with a number of its translations, was covered by Steinschneider. A Latin translation by Petrus Nicolaus Faventinus was published in Rome in 1519, while the first edition of the text itself, edited by Dieterici, was brought out at Leipzig in 1882. In 1883 Valentin Rose identified the material as being derived from the *Enneads* of Plotinus. Further material from the *Enneads* was supplied in 1941 by Kraus from an Egyptian ms. containing a *Risāla fi 'l-ʿilm al-ilāhī* attributed to al-Fārābī, while Rosenthal, introducing *Ennead* fragments from an Oxford ms., postulated a "Plotinus source", "compiled either as a Greek textbook of Plotinian thinking or for translation purposes".

The importance of the work has not finally been assessed. Kraus rightly dismissed as exaggerated claims that it was the principal cause of the "hybrid" character of Arab philosophy, but, as Kraus himself points out, it was used by al-Fārābī in his attempt to reconcile the views of Plato and of Aristotle, as well as by Ibn Sīnā, who doubted the authenticity of its attribution to Aristotle, and also by al-Rāzī. It was known to the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ in the second half of the 4th/10th century and attributed to Plato by al-Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl. Nyberg noted it in connection with Ibn al-ʿArabī and Kraus refers to its influence on extremist Shīʿī sects.

Amongst the subjects included in the work is "the first cause" together with "the world of the intellect", "the descent of the natural soul into the corporeal world", "the casting off of the body" and "the progress from the world of the intellect to the divine world". Its value, however, lies not in its details but in the fact that it can be seen to add the unchallenged philosophical authority of Aristotle to the extension of an investigative technique based on logic and verifiable observation to fields where the restraints on speculation can progressively be relaxed.

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UTRĀR, Otrār, a town of mediaeval Islamic Central Asia notorious for its role in the irruption of the Mongols into the Islamic world. It lay on the right bank of the Sir Daryā or Jaxartes just to the south of the confluence with it of the Aris river. It is not found in geographical texts till the early 7th/13th century and Yāḳūt's *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 218, who has Uṭrār or Utrār. It may possibly be mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 815-16, year 195/810-11, but the reading here is doubtful, see M. Fishbein (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī, XXXI. The war between brothers*, Albany 1992, 71-2 and n. 292.

In the history of the rise of the Mongols, Čingiz Khān's territories came to march with those of the Khʷārazm Shāhs after Čingiz had killed his rival Küčlüg and added the lands of the Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*] to his empire. The Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad had acquired Utrār from the Ḳara Khitay, but in 606/1210 had had to quell a revolt by the local ruler left there, the Ḳara Khānid [see ilek-khāns] Tādj al-Dīn Bilge Khān. By 615/1218 the Khʷārazmian governor of Utrār was Ghayïr or Ḳayïr Khān Ïnalčïḳ. In that year, a caravan of 450 Muslim merchants arrived in Utrār from Čingiz's territories. The governor considered them, no doubt correctly, as spies, massacred them and seized their wares. A mission of protest from Čingiz to the Shāh was humiliated and rejected, which made war between the two powers inevitable. Probably in the early autumn of 1218, a Mongol army appeared before Utrār, besieged it and captured it after some months, seizing and eventually executing Ghayïr Khān Ïnalčïḳ. Before the citadel had fallen, a representative of the civilian official classes within the town, Badr al-Dīn ʿAmīd, had already gone over to the Mongols. From Utrār, Čingiz then diverted his military forces for the overrunning of all Transoxania.

Utrār, like other towns ravaged by the Mongols, soon revived, for local *maliks* or governors minted coins there (see Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islam*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 38). Tīmūr was there with his grandson Ulugh Beg, preparing for the China expedition, when he died on 17 Shaʿbān 807/18 February 1405; and it was still flourishing in 859/1455 when there was a rebellion in Utrār, supported by the Khān of the Uzbeks, against the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd. But thereafter it fell into decay, and its site is now marked only by ruins (in the southernmost part of the modern Kazakh Republic).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

al-UṬRŪSH [see ḥasan al-uṭrūsh].

UTSMI [see ḳaytaḳ].

ʿUTŪB, a term (sing. ʿUtbī) which, in its most strict sense, refers to communities of Nadjdī origin, probably from different tribal stocks, who in the 17th century moved to the Gulf coast and settled, after various intermediary settlements, in Kuwayt and Baḥrayn. A popular etymology is from the verb *ʿataba* "to arrive at the threshold", in this case indicating arrival on the coast. The appelation Banū ʿUtūb is sometimes used but would seem to be a misnomer, since the ʿUtūb are not a genealogically organised tribe but a community of different tribal groups in a loose confederation. Oral tradition among the Āl Khalīfa has their original home in al-Hadār in Eastern Nadjd (Āl Khalīfa 1996: 35, 242, 246) and

gives the reason for their original move as friction with other related clans.

The leaders of the ʿUtūb were the three clans of the Āl Khalīfa, Āl Ṣubāḥ and Djalāhima, of which the first two are now the ruling families of Baḥrayn and Kuwayt respectively. All three claim descent from the ʿAneza or ʿAnaza [*q.v.*] through the Djumayla. Also included in the confederation are the Āl Zāyid (now Āl Ghānim), the Āl Ṣāliḥ and the Āl Shamlān (Dickson 1956: 26). Lorimer (1908-15, ix, 1917-18) mentions the three leading clans plus the Āl Fāḍil. Rush (1987: 233 ff., 196 ff.) mentions oral traditions which also include among them elements of Tamīm and Sulaym b. ʿAlī, presumably the Maʿāḍīd (see below). The same oral tradition was reported to the present writer by Shaykh Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Āl Thānī of Ḳaṭar. This movement and the associated settlements coincided with other large scale movements of individual clans and whole tribes from Central and Western Arabia eastward. In particular, one can mention that of the Maʿāḍīd clans of Tamīm origin who settled the Ḳaṭar peninsula, the Muṭayr, ʿAwāzim and Rashāyida tribes who moved over from western Nadjd to the region of Kuwayt, and the Banū Kaʿb and allied clans who occupied Khūzistān in south-west Persia.

The early movements of the ʿUtūb as related by Rush, depending on local oral tradition and documentary evidence, are as follows. They left al-Hadār in the Aflādj region of Nadjd in about 1674. Rush considers that they may have moved at the same time as the Fuḍūl in consequence of the legendary Djarmān famine. Following difficulties with local tribes, they then moved in about 150 boats, carrying their families and livestock to the protection of the Ottoman governor of Baṣra. They then moved to Kuwayt, or Grain as it was then called (Grane on old English maps), at the head of the Gulf, where they settled as clients of the Barrāk b. ʿUrayʿir of the Banū Khālid, then ruler of Eastern Arabia.

Like the Maʿāḍīd, they soon became known as a sea-faring group whose prosperity was based on pearling, pearl trading and sea trade. The maritime nature of their power base is vividly illustrated by a conversation reported in Āl Khalīfa (1997: 19) between Bishr the son of the Djalāhimī Rḥama b. Djābir (see below) and Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd in Darʿiyya in 1830, when the latter asked whether the ʿUtūb rode horses, to which Bishr replied "Our sons ride horses for amusement in their gardens, but our mount in which we take pride can carry a hundred warriors", meaning the *khashab*, as the ʿUtūb called their boats.

The rise in the sea power and prosperity of the ʿUtūb, Kaʿb and Maʿāḍīd coincides with the demise of the Hwila under their leaders the Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*], who now remain in power as the rulers of Sharjah [see AL-SHĀRIḲA] in the Emirates. The Hwila had dominated the Gulf sea routes under the loose suzerainty of the Banū Khālid of al-Ḥasā, both being considered subjects of the Ottomans. The Hwila were present on both sides of the Gulf but had their main centres on the Persian side, while the ʿUtūb had their centres on the Arab side. The rise of the ʿUtūb therefore represents a rise in importance of the Arabian side of the Gulf, linked with the rising influence of the Āl Suʿūd. At the same time, while the Zand rulers of southern Persia had their capital in Shīrāz, the subsequent Ḳādjār rulers had moved their capital to the north in Tehran and took much less interest in the affairs of the south, so that the Arab *shaykhs* who dominated the Persian shore were left to their own devices. It may also be that the capture of Baṣra by the Persians in 1776-9 and the famine there a few years later was a stimulus in the rise in influence of these Arab maritime states.

The earliest European reference to them is in Van Kniphausen (1756), translated in Rush, 1987: 230, "They [the people of Kuwayt] are independent of the Shaykh of the desert (*presumably Ibn ʿUrayʿir, BI*) to whom they pay a small contribution... Several different shaykhs rule them who all live in relative harmony. The principal is Mobarek Eben Saback, but because this one is poor and still young, another called Mahometh Eben Khalifah, who is rich and possesses many vessels, enjoys equal respect among them". Although the exact movements of the ʿUtūb in the early stages depend mainly on oral report, later movements are better documented. Most authorities agree on the following. In Kuwayt the three clans are recorded as present in 1756, having arrived in 1716. Part of the Āl Khalīfa then went to Zubāra in Ḳaṭar in 1765. Then in 1783 they sailed to Baḥrayn and wrested that island from the Zand. Most of the Djalāhima seem to have left Kuwayt after the Āl Khalīfa in the 1760s, though some stayed behind, known today as al-Nuṣf (Rush 1987: 196 ff., 10). The Āl Khalīfa at that stage retained control of the Ḳaṭar peninsula, but were eventually replaced by the Maʿāḍīd under their leaders of the Āl Thānī, who are the present rulers of the state of Ḳaṭar.

The political structure of the ʿUtūb confederation was said to be as follows: the wealthy Āl Khalīfa were in charge of pearling and trade, the Djalāhima organised ships and naval defence, while the Āl Ṣubāḥ provided the governor who imposed law and order and handled relations with the Banū Khālid and the shepherd tribes of the interior.

One of the most colourful members of the ʿUtūb was Rḥama b. Djābir b. ʿAdhbī of the Djalāhima, a near relative of the Āl Khalīfa, who carried on a lifelong vendetta with them which is intimately involved with the history of the ʿUtūb as a group and illustrative of the nature of the confederation. When the Āl Khalīfa left Kuwayt, the Āl Subāḥ were left impoverished, they therefore "refused the Yalahimah (Jalahimah) their share of the revenue and ultimately expelled them from Kuwait. The Yalahimah tribe sought and ultimately obtained the protection of their kinsmen (Al-Khalifa) at Zobara; to each according to his rank was assigned an adequate income. In a few years they renewed their claim to rights founded on their original compact, which they were not, however, in a position to inforce. Urged by necessity and a sense of wrong, the Yalahimah quitted Zobara, and took up residence at Raveish, a barren spot at a short distance eastward with the intention of revenging themselves." (Bombay Government, 1856, vol. xxiv, 363). Rḥama's anger seems particularly to have arisen from his exclusion, by the Āl Khalīfa, from a share of Baḥrayn. Born in Kuwayt, but based alternatively at Būshihr, Khōr Ḥassān in Ḳaṭar and at nearby Dammām, and at one period as a subject of the Saudi state, he ranged the Gulf with a large fleet and a force of about 2,000 men, attacking the Āl Khalīfa and Āl Subāḥ and their allies but considering himself an ally of the British or at least studiously avoiding them. He died finally in 1826 when, defeated and in danger of capture by the Āl Khalīfa, he blew up his ship with himself and his infant son in it. A graphic eye witness description of Rḥama b. Djābir occurs in Buckingham (1830, ii, 124-5).

It is worth mentioning that the Arabic dialect of

the descendants of the ʿUtūb in Kuwayt and Baḥrayn, with that of the Maʿādīd of Ḳaṭar and the dialect of the Emirates, forms a distinct type, although with considerable differences from area to area. This East Arabian dialect type is an offshoot of the Central Nad̲j̲dī type, and is distinguished from it on the one hand, and from the dialect of the earlier coastal settlers, the Hwila, the Ḥasāwīs (inhabitants of the Ḥasā oasis) and the Baḥārina the earlier S̲h̲īʿī population of Baḥrayn, on the other. The dialect type is described amply in Johnstone (1967), the main common characteristics being change of Old Arabic *d̲j̲īm* to *y* as in *masyid* "mosque" and *maylas* "mad̲j̲lis", change of *kāf* and *ḳaf* to *c* and *ğ* in fronting environments as in *cid̲i̲* "thus" and *ğidr* "pot" and the restructuring of syllables ending with one of the guttural group *k̲h̲*, *g̲h̲*, *ʿ*, *ḥ* and *h* as in *Ik̲h̲adar* < *ʾak̲h̲ḍar* "green", *mg̲h̲arib* < *mag̲h̲rib* "sunset", "*aray*" < *ʾaʿray* "lame", "*ḥamar*" < *ʾaḥmar* "red" and *ghawa* < *gahwa* "coffee". This commonalty of dialect supports the tradition of the ʿUtūb themselves as to their Nad̲j̲dī origins.

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(B. Ingham)

UWAYS, the name of two rulers of the D̲j̲alāyirids [*q.v.*], a dynasty of Mongol origin which succeeded to the heritage of the Il K̲h̲ānids in ʿIrāḳ and Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān.

1. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Uways (I) b. Ḥasan-i Buzurg (r. 757-76/1356-74), was the son of the founder of the line and of the Čopanid princess Dil-S̲h̲ād K̲h̲ātūn bt. Dimas̲h̲ḳ K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a b. Čopan. Succeeding to power on his father's death, he probably also brought under his control the fiefs allotted to his brother Sulṭān Ḥusayn when the latter died in 760/1359. Uways made Bag̲h̲dād his capital, at first acknowledging the suzerainty of the Mongols of South Russia and the Caucasus. The Golden Horde K̲h̲ān D̲j̲ānī Beg had extended his authority over Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, but his son Berdī Beg was unable to maintain his power over the unruly local Turco-Mongol *amīrs*, and in 760/1359, after an abortive attempt by himself and by the Muẓaffarid of Yazd Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, Uways managed to capture Tabrīz, which his father had lost twenty years earlier. Uways also successfully extended D̲j̲alāyirid suzerainty during the years 762-5/1361-4 over the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] of Iṣfahān, Yazd and Fārs, where Muẓaffarid princes were quarrelling over succession to the deposed Mubāriz al-Dīn S̲h̲āh-i S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*].

The later years of his reign were, however, more filled with difficulties. He quelled the revolt in 765/1363-4 of his governor in Bag̲h̲dād, K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Mard̲j̲ān, but more of a long-term threat were the Turkmen Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] of south-eastern Anatolia, the eventual supplanters of the D̲j̲alāyirids in the early 9th/15th century. In spring 767/1366 Uways marched westwards against this enemy, securing Mawṣil, Mūs̲h̲ and Mārdīn before wheeling round to Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān in order to ward off an attack on the D̲j̲alāyirid province of Ḳarabāg̲h̲ [*q.v.*] by the S̲h̲irwān S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] Kay Kāwūs b. Kay Ḳubād̲h̲. Kay Kāwūs was captured and brought back in chains to Bag̲h̲dād, but released and restored to power as a D̲j̲alāyirid vassal (thus attested by coins which were then minted in S̲h̲irwān acknowledging Uways).

In 772/1370 the local ruler in Gurgān, Amīr Walī, successor there after the death of Tog̲h̲a Temür [*q.v.*], attacked D̲j̲alāyirid lands in northern Persia but was defeated near Rayy. Uways took the field personally against him in 773/1371, but Amīr Walī was able to occupy Sāwa [*q.v.*]. Uways was preparing a fresh expedition when he died at Tabrīz on 2 D̲j̲umādā I 776/9 October 1374 at the age of thirty, so that D̲j̲alāyirid attempts to expand eastwards through Persia collapsed. His reign was in fact the high-point of D̲j̲alāyirid fortunes, and the dynasty's decline set in after his death.

Uways was the greatest of the D̲j̲alāyirid rulers, both as a military commander and as an enthusiastic patron of literature and the arts, being himself a poet, calligrapher and painter. Amongst his eulogists was the poet Salmān-i Sāwad̲j̲ī [*q.v.*], whilst his court historian Abū Bakr al-Ḳuṭbī al-Āharī wrote for him the general history *Tārīk̲h̲-i S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Uways* (see Storey, i, 1233, 1269-70).

Coins of Uways are known from a wide variety of mints, from Bākū in the north to Ḥilla and Baṣra in the south; almost all of them mention the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, i.e. there is very little evidence that Uways had S̲h̲īʿī sympathies.

2. Uways (II) b. S̲h̲āh Walad (r. 814-24/1411-21), great-grandson of Uways I, whose mother was the D̲j̲alāyirid princess Tandu. Since he came to power as a mere boy, Naṭanzī describes Tandu as his *wazīr*. His sphere of power was limited to Lower ʿIrāḳ and K̲h̲ūzistān as a vassal of the Tīmūrid S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲, until he was killed by the Turkmen chief S̲h̲āh Muḥammad in 824/1421; a decade later, Lower ʿIrāḳ was to pass under Ḳara Ḳoyunlu authority.

Bibliography: See that for d̲j̲alāyir. Primary sources include Āharī's *Tārīk̲h̲ S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Uways*, ed. and tr. J.B. van Loon, The Hague 1954, and Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī's *Muntak̲h̲ab al-tawārīk̲h̲*, partial ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1336/1957. Of secondary sources, see *EI*[1] art. s.v. (V. Minorsky); S̲h̲īrīn Bayānī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i āl-i D̲j̲alāyir*, Tehran 1345/1966; Dorothea Duda, *Die Büchmalerei der Ǧalāʾiriden*, in *Isl.*, xlviii (1972), 28-76, xlix (1972), 153-220; G. Herrmann and G. Doerfer, *Ein persisch-mongolischer Erlass*

des Ġalāyiriden Šeyḫ Oveys, in *CAJ*, xix (1975), 1-84; H.H. Roemer, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, 6-9. For coins, see H.L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins of the Jalā'ir, Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, Mushaʿshaʿ and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu dynasties*, in *NC*, 6th ser., vol. x (1950), 94 ff.; S. Album, *A checklist of popular Islamic coins*, Santa Rosa, Calif. 1993, 49. (C.E. Bosworth)

UWAYS al-**ḲARANĪ**, a legendary or semi-legendary younger contemporary of Muḥammad, said to have been killed at the battle of Ṣiffīn in 37/657, fighting on the side of ʿAlī. The *nisba* al-Ḳaranī connects him with the Ḳaran sub-group of the Yemeni tribe of Murād [*q.v.*], and legend puts his early life in the Yemen. Uways first appears in the works of writers of the 3rd/9th century, Ibn Saʿd and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, as an impoverished and ragged figure who chose to live a life of solitude. Muḥammad had allegedly foretold that Uways would come to see his second successor, ʿUmar, and said that Uways was both his bosom friend (*khalīl*) in the Muslim community and the best person in the generation after him. These sayings gave rise to the subsequent legend, presented at length in the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* attributed to ʿAṭṭār (d. 618/1221), that Muḥammad and Uways corresponded by telepathy, a legend that is the basis of the Ṣūfī tradition of the Uwaysiyya [*q.v.*]. Thus Uways is a much-venerated figure in Ṣūfism and in popular Islam, with tombs in various places, notably at al-Raḳḳa in Syria and near Khīwa in modern Uzbekistan.

One might mention that the curious Turkish name Weysel (as in ʿĀshiḳ Weysel) comes from (Ü)weys el(-Ḳaranī).

Bibliography: A.S. Hussaini, *Uways al-Qaranī and the Uwaysī Sufis*, in *MW*, lvii (1967), 103-13; J. Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims. The Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia*, London 1993, 15-21. (J. Baldick)

UWAYSIYYA, a class of mystics who look for instruction from the spirit of a dead or physically absent person.

The term is derived from the name of Uways al-Ḳaranī (d. 37/657 [*q.v.*]), who is supposed to have communicated with Muḥammad by telepathy. Another important figure in the Uwaysī tradition is Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Kharaḳānī (d. 425/1033 [*q.v.*]), who is presented as constantly visiting the tomb of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī [*q.v.*] and being taught by his spirit. Al-Kharaḳānī is also recorded as having claimed to be taught directly by God; this is a further aspect of the Uwaysī tradition. The famous poet Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz (d. 791/1389 or 792/1390 [*q.v.*]) is described by an Indian visitor as being an Uwaysī (cf. J. Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims. The Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia*, London 1993, 21-5, where further references are given).

From the 8th/14th century onwards, the Uwaysī tradition acquires a new significance in the Naḳshbandī brotherhood. Its founder, Bahā' al-Dīn Naḳshband (718-91/1318-89 [*q.v.*]) is said to have been taught by the spirit of an Uwaysī master, ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Ghudjduwānī (d. 617/1220 [*q.v.*]). Bahā' al-Dīn's successors claimed that some other figures in his spiritual genealogy, stretching back to Muḥammad, had been Uwaysīs, i.e. taught by Muḥammad or by dead Ṣūfīs (*ibid.*, 25-6).

There seems to have been an Uwaysī movement in East Turkistan in the 10th/16th century, begun by one Khwādja Muḥammad Sharīf (d. 963/1555-6). This movement apparently gave rise to the composition of an imaginary history of the Uwaysīs, written in Persian around 1600 by one Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Dīn Uzganī, of Uzgend in what is now Kyrghyzstan, and entitled *Tadhkira-yi Bughra-khānī* in honour of the Ḳarakhānid ruler Satuḳ Bughra Khān (d. 344/955) (English summary from the manuscripts, in Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims*, 54-201). In the history, an evidently imaginary Uwaysī brotherhood is presented as flourishing from the 1st/7th to the 8th/14th centuries. The book consists of a series of biographies, usually of people who never existed. Each person is instructed, in the Uwaysī manner, by a prophet or leading early Muslim, and is said to be "on the heart" or "on the back" of one of the prophets. Here, the point is that the mystic must resemble the prophet in question: this resemblance, Uzganī emphasises, is especially strong when the mystic is on the prophet's back. Thus a mystic who is "on the back of Jacob" sees angels, weeps a lot and goes blind, one who is "on the back of David" is a singer and sinfully causes the death of a man, and so on; the biographies are modelled on the lives of the prophets in the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* [*q.v.*] literature, much read in Central Asia. In this way, the reader is led to decode the biographies as adaptations of the prophets' lives already familiar to him; the book, as its author explicitly makes clear, must be constantly read by the reader to help him become an Uwaysī master himself. The Uwaysīs, Uzganī explains, enjoy a special anonymity; only God knows who they are. If they appear as practising Ṣūfīs in this world, they nonetheless obtain their instruction from an invisible source.

One very important Uwaysī was the famous Indian reformer Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (971-1034/1564-1624 [*q.v.*]), who was also a member of the Naḳshbandī brotherhood. After studying with a Naḳshbandī master, he tells us, he became an Uwaysī, in the sense of no longer having a visible instructor but learning directly from Muḥammad. In addition to this he was instructed by God himself (Baldick, *op. cit.*, 26).

The pen-name Üweysī (= Uwaysī) is used in a long Ottoman Turkish poem which dates from the reign of Murād IV (1032-49/1623-40) and attacks the degeneracy of the empire, along with the jurists, administrators and Ṣūfīs of the day. In contrast, the poet extols the many hidden "friends of God". He claims that his spirit has always served to help God manifest himself, and that he knows God's secrets (*ibid.*, 26-7, and see waysī).

In 20th-century Iran, there has been a new Uwaysī movement, in a conscious reaction to the brotherhoods and their elders. This movement has centred around Muḥammad ʿAnḳā (1306-82/1887-1962) and his son. It has been characterised by attempts to improve Ṣūfism by integrating with it modern Western findings in the natural sciences. Under the reign of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh (1941-79 [*q.v.*]) its meetings were attended by members of the Imperial court. Since the revolution of 1978-9, the movement's activities have been continued in exile; based in the U.S.A., it has established branches in many other countries.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Baldick)

ÜWEYS, Ḳara, with the titles of *Defterdār* or controller of finances [see daftardār], Čelebi and Pasha, leading official of the Ottoman administration during the reign of Sultan Murād III [*q.v.*], d. 999/1591.

Son of the *ḳāḍī* Nāẓir Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Meḥmed, from an old-established family of scholars in Aydin, he was educated as an *ʿālim* and administrator, becoming *ḳāḍī* of Tire, having been picked out by Murād, at that time still an "imperial prince" (*shehzāde*) and governor

of Manisa, as his personal *defterdār*. When Murād was in 982/1574 summoned to Istanbul as successor to Selīm II, Üweys accompanied him, together with his *khodja* Saʿd al-Dīn, his *sheykh* Shudjāʿ al-Dīn and his close intimate Shemsī Aḥmed Pasha, from the ancient line of the Isfendiyār Oghullari [*q.v.*], with the aim of wresting control in the state from the all-powerful vizier of the two previous reigns, Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]. The latter opened hostilities in Shawwāl 982/February 1575 by arranging an accusation against Üweys of financial irregularities whilst travelling from Manisa to Istanbul, but through Shemsī Pasha's protection, he speedily became head of the second section of the financial department (*shiḳḳ-i thānī defterdāri*) and then *bashdefterdār* or supreme head after the removal of Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed's protégé and previous holder of that office, Lālezār Meḥmed Čelebi.

Growing in influence with the sultan as those associated with the previous régime were gradually eliminated, he became a *pasha* when he replaced the Grand Vizier's cousin Muṣṭafā Pasha, *beglerbeg* of Budun when the latter was executed, and acted as governor of Buda from September 1578 to the beginning of June 1580, ruling this important frontier province and, as well as acting as administrator and financial director there, functioned as a war leader and a diplomat (for this period of his life, see the study, with *mühimme defteri* documentation, of M.T. Gökbilgin, *Kara Üveys Paşanın Budin beylerbeyliği (1578-1580)*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, ii [1952], 16-34; also G. Dávid, *Incomes and possessions of the Beglerbegis of Buda in the sixteenth century*, in G. Veinstein (ed.), *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, Paris 1992, 389, giving the annual revenues received by him, latterly 913,014 aspers; and Cl. Römer, *Osmanische Festungsbesatzungen in Ungarn zur Zeit Murād III dargestellt anhand von Petitionen zur Stellenvergabe*, Vienna 1995, at 106 publishing a petition of Üweys and describing his seal).

For the rest of his career, Üweys held various governorships in the Arab lands, about which we are not well informed: governor of Aleppo 990-3/1582-5 (when his protégé, the historian Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī [*q.v.*] was *tīmār defterdāri* of the province); of Damascus, 13 July to October 1585; then back at Aleppo; and finally recalled to Istanbul to take charge of the finances of the empire as *bashdefterdār* again with the rank of a *beglerbeg* (on 7 Rabīʿ I 994/26 February 1586). Finally, he was appointed governor of Egypt in Rabīʿ I 995/mid-February 1587 with the mission of re-ordering the province's finances, and died there in 1591, having been raised to the rank of vizier a year previously (for this chronology, see C. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The historian Mustafâ ʿÂlî (1541-1600)*, Princeton 1986, passim); a different chronology in F. Babinger, *Die osmanischen Statthalter von Damaskus*, in E.F. Weidner (ed.), *Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim*, Berlin 1933, 1-7.

Bibliography: See the works of ʿĀlī (*Künh ül-akhbār*, *Menshe*ʾ *ül-inshā*ʾ and *Lāyiḥat ül-ḥaḳīḳa* (who, not making the usual accusations of corruption and brutality, saw in Üweys a good financial director and a firm and just governor) and the histories of Selānikī and Pečewī; and the *Bibl.* to murād iii. Gökbilgin's researches in the *mühimme defterleri* remain to be continued. (G. Veinstein)

al-**ʿUYAYNA**, an oasis in Nadjd [*q.v.*]. now in Saudi Arabia (lat. 25° 0' N., long. 46° 06'). It lies near the upper end of the Wādī Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] some 50 km/30 miles northwest of the modern capital al-Riyāḍ.

In pre- and early Islamic times, al-ʿUyayna lay in the territory of the Banū Ḥanīfa [see ḥanīfa b. ludjaym], although it is not mentioned as such by early geographers like al-Hamdānī (who mentions another ʿUyayna in the territory of the Balḥārith in the Nadjrān region), al-Bakrī and Yāḳūt. Nearby at Thaniyyat al-Aḥīsā, identified in modern tradition with the present settlement of al-Djubayla, took place, according to older lore, the encounter between Khālid b. al-Walīd and Musaylima al-Kadhdhāb [*q.vv.*] in *ca.* 11/633 known as the battle of ʿAḳrabā or al-Yamāma [*q.vv.*].

Al-ʿUyayna was always famous for its water resources, wells and springs (*ʿuyūn*), fed from the nearby hills. In the 9th/15th century the oasis passed into the hands of the local Muʿammar family. It was there that the reformer Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was born in 1115/1703 [see ibn ʿabd al-wahhāb] at a time when the oasis was being ruled by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muʿammar, and he returned thither in *ca.* 1153/1740 and converted to his religious doctrines the then ruler ʿUthmān b. Muʿammar. The oasis decayed in the 19th century, partly through political strife (Muḥammad b. Mushārī Muʿammar had been briefly installed as ruler in al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] by the Egyptian general Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] 1819-21) and partly through failure of the water supply. The English traveller W.G. Palgrave in 1862 found it an uninhabited field of ruins (*Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1965, i, 381-2), and over sixty years later, H.St.J.B. Philby described it still as "the abomination of desolation" (*Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London 1928, 72-6). More recently, however, agriculture and some prosperity have been restored to the region.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 263, 269; ʿAbd Allāh b. Khamīs, *Muʿdjam al-Yamāma*, 2 vols. Riyāḍ 1978, ii, 198-205; idem, *al-Dirʿiyya al-ʿāṣima al-ūlā*, Riyāḍ 1982, 393-400. (S.A. al-Rashid)

ʿUYAYNA b. **ḤIṢN**, the charismatic chief of the Fazāra [*q.v.*] at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad. ʿUyayna ("one having prominent eyeballs") was a nickname, his real name being Ḥudhayfa. ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr b. ʿAmr descended from famous warriors: his father led the Asad [*q.v.*] and Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*]; his grandfather, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather commanded the forces of their own tribe, the Fazāra, and those of other tribes belonging to the Ghaṭafān group. ʿUyayna was called *waththāb* or "leaper, jumper" since before the advent of Islam he had attacked a certain tribe (i.e. in Arabia) and had then raided the Taghlib [*q.v.*] in the Djazīra.

At the time of Muḥammad, ʿUyayna, together with the whole military force of the Fazāra, participated in the siege of Medina, having been promised by the Jews the annual date crop of Khaybar [*q.v.*]. In Rabīʿ I 5/August-September 626 he concluded with Muḥammad a three-months' non-belligerency pact which guaranteed the safety of his herds when severe drought pushed them to grazing lands within Muḥammad's sphere of influence. Several months later, ʿUyayna attacked Muḥammad's milch camels pasturing near Medina. He undertook to assist in the defence of Khaybar (Muḥarram 7/May-June 628) in return for half its annual crop of dates, but deserted his Jewish allies before the battle began. Together with several fellow-Fazārīs he participated in the conquest of Mecca (Ramaḍān 8/January 630), and later he fought at Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] and al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*]. According to some, ʿUyayna had already embraced Islam before the con-

quest of Mecca, but his listing among the *mu'allafa kulūbuhum* [*q.v.*] indicates that at Ḥunayn he was still an unbeliever. In Muḥarram 9/April-May 630, ʿUyayna—carrying out Muḥammad's order—attacked a subdivision of the Tamīm [*q.v.*] temporarily living amongst the Khuzāʿa [*q.v.*]. Some said that he was one of Muḥammad's tax-collectors.

In the *ridda* he swore allegiance to the false prophet Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī, but later he returned to Islam. He lived at least to the days of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, who was his son-in-law.

Islamic historiography is generally hostile to ʿUyayna, ascribing to him haughtiness coupled with the coarseness of desert dwellers (*djafā' sukkān al-bawādī*) and foolishness. ʿUyayna referred to Muḥammad's wife, ʿĀ'isha bt. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*], as "this little woman of light complexion (*humayrā'*)", and suggested an exchange between her and one of his own wives. Following this episode, Muḥammad told ʿĀ'isha that ʿUyayna was "a fool obeyed [by his people]" (*al-aḥmaḳ al-muṭāʿ*). ʿUyayna accused ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb of being ungenerous and unjust and told ʿUthmān that fasting at night was for him easier than during the day.

There is a dissenting voice, though, which is probably that of a Fazārī source: ʿUyayna told ʿUmar to beware of the Persians (*ʿadjam*), showing him the place in his body where he would he stabbed. "Verily, there is counsel (*ra'y*) there", the fatally-wounded ʿUmar later said, referring to ʿUyayna's place of dwelling.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 256-7; Ṭabarī; Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London 1966; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, index, s.v.; *ibid.*, ms. Reisülküttap Mustafa Efendi 598, 1097b-1099a; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashḳ* (ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), ed. Sukayna al-Shihābī, Beirut 1414/1994, 348-9; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, index.

(M. Lecker)

ʿUYŪN MŪSĀ [see ʿAYN MŪSĀ].

ʿUYŪNIDS, a minor dynasty of mediaeval Arabia, whose capital was al-Ḳaṭīf [*q.v.*], ruling over al-Aḥsā/al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*] in eastern Arabia from the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries. They destroyed the Ḳarāmiṭa [*q.v.*] there in 467/1076, though little is known of their history. They are reputed to be of Āl Ibrāhīm of Murra [*q.v.*], a *ḳabīla* of ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*]. Their influence rapidly declined in the 7th/13th century, when about the middle of the century the ʿUṣfūrids [*q.v.*] assumed control of the region.

Bibliography: ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam ḳabā'il al-ʿArab*, iii, Beirut 1982, 1071; see also AL-BAḤRAYN.

(G.R. Smith)

ʿUZAYR, a figure mentioned enigmatically in Ḳur'ān, IX, 30, as being called by the Jews "the son of Allāh" and usually identified by Muslim commentators with Ezra, or sometimes with the man who slept for a hundred years (II, 259). Modern scholars have suggested identifications also with the Biblical Enoch (Newby), Azazel (Casanova) and, fantastically, Osiris (Madjdi Bey).

Later Muslim authors who heard from Jews or Christians (see e.g. al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Naṣārā*, ed. J. Finkel, 27, 33) that this accusation of sonship had no basis, explained that only one Jew (Finḥāṣ) said this about ʿUzayr (al-Ṭabarī); only a small group of Jews worshipped ʿUzayr in some past period (Ibn Ḥazm); or that the verse—like v. 31—refers to the extreme admiration of Jews for their doctors of law (ʿAbd al-Djabbār, al-Ḳurṭubī, etc.).

Muslim Sunnī and Shīʿī authors (Ḳur'ān commentators, historians and authors of *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*) tell, mostly on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*], the story of pious ʿUzayr who miraculously remembered or recovered the lost Torah. The Children of Israel were so grateful to him that they worshipped him as the Son of God. Some also mention his questioning predestination (the story of the ants), whereupon God removed him from the list of prophets. Ibn Ḳutayba mentions in this context a *Munādjāt ʿUzayr* (see *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Y.A. Ṭawīl, Cairo 1973, ii, 76). Many details of these stories show great similarity to the *Vision of Ezra* (or the *Apocalypse of Ezra* usually referred to as "*II Esdras*" or "*Fourth Ezra*"), excerpts of which seem to have been known in Muslim circles from Christian Arabic translations (see A. Drint, *The Mount Sinai Arabic version of IV Ezra. Text, translation and introduction*, diss., Groningen University 1995, esp. introd. §§ 8-9, with a list on pp. 51-2 of Muslim authors who tell the story, and bibl.).

A negative image of ʿUzayr was developed by the Andalusī Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], who took ʿAzrā-ʿUzayr the Scribe (*al-Warrāḳ*) to be the person who falsified the Hebrew Bible [see TAḤRĪF] and accused him of being a liar and a heretic who ridiculed the faith (see his *Faṣl*, i, 116-224). The later Jewish convert to Islam al-Samaw'al al-Maghribī (d. 1175) explained that Ezra interpolated into the Bible stories that sully David's origins (e.g. Gen. xix. 30-8) so as to prevent the rule of the Davidic dynasty during the second Temple (see his *Ifḥām al-Yahūd*, ed. and tr. M. Perlmann, 1964, text 62-63, tr. 60).

General accusations of falsification of the Scriptures by ʿUzayr, or by one of his disciples, can be found already with Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī (*K. al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart, v, 29 ff.) and al-Djuwaynī (*Textes apologetiques de Ǧuwainī* ed. M. Allard, Beirut 1968, 44, 47). They seem to echo various pre-Islamic sources, and were well-known and refuted by Christians and Jews (see e.g. A. Jeffery, *Ghevond's text of the correspondence between ʿUmar II and Leo III*, in *Harvard Theol. Review*, xxxvii [1944], 269-332 and *Ibn Kammūna's examination of the three faiths*, ed. and tr. Perlmann, Berkeley 1967-71, text 90, tr. 53 ff.).

Through Ibn Ḥazm and al-Samaw'al, these accusations became the standard argument of mediaeval Muslim polemics against the Bible up to contemporary times (see *Tafsīr al-Manār*², x, 326).

Bibliography: See also *EI*¹ art. (B. Heller) and its Bibl.; M. Ayoub, *ʿUzayr in the Qur'ān and Muslim tradition*, in W.M. Brinner and S.D. Ricks (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic traditions*, Atlanta 1986, i, 3-18; G.D. Newby, *A history of the Jews in Arabia*, Columbia, S.C. 1988, 59-62; Y. Erder, *The origin of the name Idrīs in the Qur'ān. A study of the influence of Qumran literature in early Islam*, in *JNES*, xlix (1990), 339-50; H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined worlds. Medieval Islam and Bible criticism*, Princeton 1992, 50-74; Yehuda D. Nevo, *Towards a prehistory of Islam*, in *JSAI*, xvii (1994), 108-41, esp. 123; C. Adang, *Muslim authors on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible*, Leiden 1996.

(Hava Lazarus-Yafeh)

AL-**ʿUẒAYYIM** [see AL-ʿAḌAYM].

UZBEK, ŪZBAK, ŪZBĪK [see ÖZBEG].

UZBEKISTAN, the name for a region of Central Asia, literally "land of the Uzbeks/Özbegs", adopted after the imposition of Bolshevik rule in Central Asia as the designation of one of the component republics of the U.S.S.R., now a republic within the Commonwealth of Independent States.

1. In the pre-Soviet period

For the history of the region and its towns in these times, see BUKHĀRĀ; FARGHĀNA; KHʷĀRAZM; KHĪWA;

KHOḲAND; MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR; MANGÎTS; ÖZBEG; SAMARḲAND; SHĪBĀNIDS; TASHKENT; TURKISTĀN. 1.

2. From 1920 to the present day

The territory which corresponds today to that of the Republic of Uzbekistan was split in 1920 between, on the one hand, the General Government of Turkistan under Bolshevik control, and on the other, the emirates of Khīwa and of Bukhārā, Russian protectorates which became people's republics the same year. The People's Republic of Bukhārā, headed by eminent reformists (*djadīds* [*q.v.*]) such as Fayḍ Allāh Khʷādjayev and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat [*q.v.*], was still strongly imbued with Islam. In 1923, the Communist Party of Bukhārā was purged of its *djadīd* and "bourgeois" elements by Moscow and, in October 1924, the People's Republic gave birth to the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan (SSRUz) which adopted the city of Tashkent as its capital in 1930. In 1929, what is now Tādjīkistān, which then belonged to the SSRUz, became an entirely separate Soviet Socialist Republic and in 1936, Karakalpakistan was attached to the SSRUz, within which it constituted an autonomous republic.

The new republic experienced difficult beginnings, as since 1918, the oriental regions of the former amīrate and of Farghāna had been the fief of the *amīr*'s supporters and of anti-revolutionaries, known by the name of *basmačis*, whom the Red Army succeeded in extirpating only in 1928 (in certain regions not until 1935-6). During the Stalin era, the anti-religious policy of Lenin was applied with greater severity, resulting in the demolition of Uzbek Islam with the suppression of religious tribunals (1924), of *madrasas* (1928), of *wakfs*, and the closure of many mosques (1930). This induced the religious to operate in secret. Furthermore, the great schism between the old Central Asia, that of the *djadīds*, and the new, that of the Soviets, came about in the years 1937-9, at the time of the great Moscow purges, with the trials and executions of the leading ideologues of Muslim socialism, and those of representatives of Central Asian culture, all being *djadīds* (ʿĀlimdjān Ibrāhīmov, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat, ʿAbd Allāh Ḳādirī, Tulugan Khʷādjamiyarov (Tawalla), ʿAbd al-Sulaymān (Čolpan), etc.) accused of being "bourgeois counter-revolutionary nationalists". Fayḍ Allāh Khʷādjayev, present in the highest echelons of power in Bukhārā between 1920 and 1924, then in Tashkent between 1925 and 1937, became a potent symbol for the victims of persecution. After 1939, the ruling clique of the SSRUz was thus radically remodeled.

In 1941, anxious for Central Asian support in his confrontation with the Nazi menace, Stalin made concessions with regard to Islam while maintaining his anti-religious policy: he thus created four religious boards of which one, based in Tashkent, exercised jurisdiction over the whole of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, appointing all the *muftīs*. The *muftī* of the SSRUz, Bābākhān b. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Khān, was the first in a dynasty of *muftīs* (his son and his grandson followed him) which was to reign over Central Asia until 1989. It was also in the Stalin period, in 1952, that the Mīr ʿArab *madrasa* of Bukhārā was re-opened.

Stalin died in 1953, but his policy of militant atheism was pursued by his successors Nikita Khrushchev, leader of the USSR until 1964, and Leonid Brezhnev, leader until 1983, along with a vigorous programme of Russification (Party cadres, language and history). In 1956, during the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, the murders committed by Stalin were denounced and numerous individuals were rehabilitated, including Fayḍ Allāh Khʷādjayev and ʿAbd Allāh Ḳādirī, the latter being considered the first great novelist of the modern Uzbek language. However, there was no question of rehabilitating the *djadīd* movement, still described as "reactionary".

The second key-date in the history of the SSRUz falls in 1960 with the arrival of Sharaf Rashīdov (d. 1983) who was to serve as first secretary of the Uzbek CP for 24 years, from 1959 to 1983 (he was also a member of the Praesidium). The weight of local and tribal rivalries, which Moscow was adept at exploiting, became increasingly decisive when the Farghānīs, in power since 1937, were replaced by the Samarḳandīs with Rashīdov. The latter were to remain until 1983, at which date the Farghānīs reappeared. Rashīdov inaugurated a relatively tolerant period, and thus between 1960 and 1970 writers were allowed more freedom to publish. In another context, in 1965 at the end of a violent anti-religious campaign launched by Khrushchev in 1954, the expression "parallel" Islam was coined to describe a clandestine Islam (cults of saints, illegal *madrasas*, Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳas*), of which some groups of devotees were to survive the Soviet period into the present day.

The third crucial phase in the history of the SSRUz followed the accession to power in the USSR, in 1983, of Yuri Andropov. This marked the beginning of a period of crisis between Moscow and the SSRUz which was to last until the republic's independence in 1991. The nationalism of the Uzbeks was censured, as was local corruption, and the system introduced by Rashīdov was virulently denounced, the latter being publicly accused of having encouraged nepotism, local solidarities and clientelism (he was rehabilitated, by I. Karīmov, in 1992). The "cotton affair" was the focus of multiple criticism, with accusations cast not only at the Uzbek mafia but also at its links with political circles; the SSRUz was seen as a mafia republic. But criticism went further in that Central Asian traditions were judged responsible for these deviations. It should, however, be noted that the objective of corruption was not invariably personal enrichment; it was often seen as a way of helping the community.

The purges begun under Andropov were pursued until the early years of Gorbachev; between 1983 and 1986, more than three-quarters of the members of the central committee of the SSRUz were replaced. However, the frontal attack by Moscow on the Uzbek élites increased popular support for the latter. It fell to Mikhail Gorbachev, on becoming First Secretary of the CP of the USSR in 1985, to pursue the reforms initiated by Andropov (who had died in 1984, being replaced for a few months by Konstantin Chernyenko) and continue the campaign against corruption. The period was symbolised by the concept of *Glasnost*, i.e. plain speaking and an end to secrecy. For Gorbachev, reforms in the economic sphere were inseparable from reforms conducted in the ideological, hence religious, sphere. Contemporaneously with the denunciation and replacement of the Uzbek élites in 1986, an anti-Islamic campaign was pursued from 1985 to 1988, although this failed to prevent a religious revival which had begun in the time of Andropov. Proving unpopular, Moscow's aggressive campaign was halted in 1988, and Gorbachev, embroiled in political difficulties, saw rapprochement with religion as a possible solution.

But the collapse of the Soviet system was imminent and a new reconstruction of the USSR was inaugurated, namely, *Perestroika*; this was to open the way to unexpected changes and to a revision of Leninism. This period saw the exposure of all the grievances of

the SSRUz towards Moscow—ethnic, linguistic, cultural, ecological and religious—hitherto concealed. This was also the beginning of the rewriting of the history of Central Asia (the *basmači* movement was presented as a movement of national struggle, the history of the amīrate of Khoḳand was studied once more, etc.). The review *Literature and Art of Uzbekistan* (*Ozbekiston Adabiyati va Sanati*), which in 1981 took the place of *Civilisation of Uzbekistan* (*Ozbekiston Madaniyati*) as the organ of the Union of Uzbek writers, was an important element in the cultural revival. Also appearing at this time were Perestroika clubs, including the Birlik (Unity) movement, founded in 1988 and becoming a political party. Uzbek became the official language in 1989. The opposition in Moscow seized on ecological issues such as the scandal of the Aral Sea, exposed in 1987, and the monoculture of cotton, which had had a drastic effect on the nation's water resources and on the health of a large section of the population (draining of the Aral Sea, contamination of water-sources, etc.). The production of cotton, which had increased between 1940 and 1980, was not to be reduced until 1990, under pressure from Islom Karīmov, the future "strong man" of the country.

Although religious freedom had been granted to Christians in Moscow since 1988 at the time of the festivities marking the millennium of the Russian Orthodox Church, the First Secretary of the Uzbek CP, Rāfiḳ Nishānov, continued to vilify Islam. Everything changed, however, in 1989 and 1990, following numerous demonstrations which stimulated an acceleration of religious revival (re-opening of a number of mosques, return of the clergy to public life, expulsion of the last of the dynasty of Uzbek *muftīs*, Shams al-Dīn Bābākhān, and his replacement by Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Yūsuf, who took an active part in all areas). The new economic conditions and nationalist fervour led to a number of inter-ethnic conflicts, e.g. the massacre of Meskhet Turks in Farghāna in 1989 and Kirghiz-Uzbek confrontation at Osh in 1990, and the departure of numerous Russians back to Russia.

Appointed First Secretary of the Uzbek CP by Moscow in 1989, Islom Karīmov (Islām Karīm) was to guide the SSRUz towards independence on 1 September 1991, less than a year after his declaration of sovereignty and a few months after the failed putsch of August 1991 and the disintegration of the USSR. The 23rd Congress of the Uzbek CP saw its transformation, in September of the same year, into a "Democratic Party of the People". Of the two other existing opposition parties, Birlik and Erk (Liberty), the latter having broken away from the former in 1990, only Erk participated in the presidential elections of December 1991 which were won by Karīmov with 86% of the votes.

The year 1990 may be considered the third key-date in the history of the SSRUz since it was then that revenge was taken for the purges of 1986; following the Congress of the Uzbek PC, the Central Committee was reconstituted, with three-quarters of its members being replaced. On becoming President of the Republic of Uzbekistan (RU), Karīmov maintained collaboration with Moscow, and in December 1991 the nation joined the Commonwealth of Independent States, to which it is currently (1999) still linked. Between 1992 and 1993, the opposition was muzzled: the leaders of the Birlik and Erk parties ('Abd al-Raḥīm Polaov and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, respectively) were forced into exile. In 1994, new parties emerged in Uzbekistan: the Patriotic Progressive Party (Vatan Taraqqiëti), the Justice Party (Adolat) and the Party of National Renewal (Milli Tiklanish). In May 1995, following a referendum, Karīmov was confirmed in his post as President of the Republic until the year 2000.

From 1991 onward, de-Russification and return to Central Asian cultural traditions regarded as patrimony (*miros* [*mīrāth*]) became the norm. The nation was engaged in a veritable quest for identity. Names of individuals and toponyms were changed, as were the names of streets, squares, etc., and hitherto prohibited books were published: these included the Ḳur'ān, *ḥadīth* collections, the poems of Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] and the works of *djadīd* authors. The Uzbek language was purged of Russian words and neologisms were created, some of them borrowed from Čaghatay or from Persian (there was even a course for the teaching of Čaghatay, inaugurated by religious elements at Namangan, in Farghāna, in 1990-1). In 1993, a law was passed calling for the replacement of the Cyrillic by the Latin alphabet in the year 2000, but the chosen alphabet was modified in 1995 and its adoption deferred until 2005 (a different Latin alphabet had already been used in Uzbekistan between 1927 and 1940).

Uzbekistan has ceremoniously rehabilitated some of the great figures of Central Asian history (Tīmūr, Ulugh Beg), of Central Asian Islam (Abū 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī, Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī), of *djadīd*ism ('Abd Allāh Ḳādirī) and of Ṣūfism (Aḥmad Yasawī, Bahā' al-Dīn Naḳshband). Numerous cultural traditions have been revived, such as the festival of Nawrūz and the wearing of the traditional head-dress (*dopi*). The RU respects the majority of Islamic traditions: religious festivals or *toy* (*mawlūd*, Ramaḍān, etc.), fasting, Pilgrimage to Mecca, even the cult of saints under certain conditions. But it is waging a ruthless war against all forms of fundamentalism, and keeping a close watch on its frontiers with Afghānistān and Tādjīkistān. In 1990, it banned the Uzbek branch of the Party of Islamic Rebirth (Islom Uyghonish Partiyasi) which had just been constituted; as a result of this, the Islamists were forced underground. Subsequently, in 1992, an Islamic insurrection at Namangan (Farghāna), led by the Adolat (Justice) movement, which sought to establish an Islamic state in the region, was violently suppressed. Between 1993 and 1996, numerous religious figures and Islamists were arrested, in Tashkent and in Farghāna, many of them former members of the Islamic Rebirth Party. As for official Islam, the Perestroika *muftī*, Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Yūsuf, reckoned too independent and disrespectful of authority, was replaced in 1993 by 'Abd Allāh Mukhtār (Mukhtaržan) (the latter being assisted by the former *muftī* Shams al-Dīn Bābākhān). Furthermore, Karīmov has taken pains to control the activities of foreign missionaries in his land, expelling Saudi Wahhābīs and Turkish Nurdjus, and prohibiting the publication in 1994 of the Turkish religious journal *Zaman-Uzbekistan*, issued by the Nurdjus.

As for traditional Islam, it no longer needs to be clandestine as hitherto. Pilgrimage to the tombs of saints is a widespread practice, the most important of these being that of Bahā' al-Dīn Naḳshband at Bukhārā, but is controlled by the spiritual board. Healers (*bakhshī*) and popular exorcists (*emči, darger*) are no longer troublesome. Branches of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] *ṭarīḳa* which survived Soviet persecution today represent a traditional Islam, opposed to fundamentalism, which plays an ever increasing role in the direction of the *madrasas* and the schools for *ḳārīs*, in particular in Farghāna. Since 1991 these *ṭarīḳas*, centred on Khōḳand and Andidjān, have extended their

network of activities and become gradually implanted in other provinces of Uzbekistan, in neighbouring republics, in particular in Kazakhstan and Tādjīkistān, and in Russia. In accordance with the law guaranteeing "freedom of conscience and religious association" (1991), the RU is a centre, in addition to the "Spiritual Board of the Muslims of Transoxiana" for three other religions, sc. the Russian Orthodox Church, the Baptists and the Seventh Day Adventists. In the monetary sphere, in 1994, the RU began issuing its own national currency, known as *sum*.

The RU, formerly the SSRUz, is the most densely populated region of Central Asia with a population of 23 million inhabitants in 1996; it had numbered 4.3 million in 1913 and 8.1 million in 1959. In 1992, this population consisted of 71% Uzbeks, 8% Russians, 5% Tadjiks, 4% Kazakhs and 2% Karakalpaks.

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(TH. ZARCONE)

UZGEND, UZKEND [see ÖZKEND].

UZUN ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ b. ḲARA YOLUḲ ʿUTHMĀN, Abū Naṣr, born in 828/1425, died in 882/1478, and together with his grandfather, one of the most celebrated rulers of the line of Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Turkmens [*q.v.*] and a statesman and military commander of genius.

Expanding from his family's base in Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*], Uzun ("the Tall") overcame his Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] Turkmen rivals, and in the east defeated his rivals for control of Persia, the Tīmūrids [*q.v.*], reigning 861-82/1457-78 over a powerful and extensive state which comprised western Persia and Kirmān as far as the borders of Khurāsān, ʿIrāḳ to the shores of the Persian Gulf, Armenia, eastern Caucasia and eastern Anatolia. He was the resolute opponent of the Ottomans; he co-existed somewhat uneasily on the borders of ʿIrāḳ and eastern Syria with the Mamlūks [*q.v.*]; and he was sought as an ally, by diplomacy and by the actual supplying of military equipment, by the Papacy and Western European powers, above all the Republic of Venice, also much concerned with aggressive Ottoman policies of conquest. His illness and death in middle age removed a major impediment to Ottoman expansion eastwards, one which was only checked a generation later by the advent to power in Persia of the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*].

Rivalries of the Turkoman tribes

The original fief of the chiefs of the house of Bayundur and of their Turkoman tribe "of the White Sheep" (Aḳ Ḳoyunlu) was in Diyār Bakr (from before the period of Tīmūr). From there they spread to the west, north and east. At first, the chief rivals of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu were the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Turkmens. That there were any religious differences involved, as Minorsky asserted in his *EI*[1] article, is problematical. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu certainly showed themselves as Sunnīs, but the presence of any significant adherence to Shīʿism amongst the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, apart from the general currents of sympathy for a folk-Shīʿism discernible amongst many of the Turkmen groups in eastern Anatolia, is dubious.

Ḳara Yoluḳ ʿUthmān died after a reign of more than thirty years in 839/1435. His son ʿAlī Beg spent his reign fighting with his brother Ḥamza against whom he sought the support of the Ottoman sultan Murād II and the Mamlūk sultan Čaḳmaḳ of Egypt. After the death of the two brothers, Djihāngīr, son of ʿAlī, resumed the struggle against the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu but offended his brother Uzun Ḥasan, his uncle Ḳāsim Beg (whom von Hammer, *GOR*[2], i, 506, calls Ḥasan) and the governor of Erzindjān, Ḳilidj Arslan b. Pīr ʿAlī. In spite of his quarrel with Djihāngīr, Uzun Ḥasan defeated his two adversaries and then conquered the "greater number" of the begs of Kurdistān. Having

learned that Djihāngīr had set out for the summer encampments on the Ala-dagh (this name probably refers to the ancient Masius, a mountain between Diyār Bakr and Mārdīn), Ḥasan penetrated into the fortress of Diyār Bakr (Āmid) in disguise, while Djihāngīr was forced to shut himself up in Mārdīn [*q.v.*]. This took place in 858/1454, and soon Ḥasan occupied Ruhā and laid siege to Mārdīn (see ʿĀshiḳ-pāshā-zāde, 247-9; Müneddjdjim-bashi, iii, 157).

The intervention of Ḥasan's mother, a female diplomat who played a great part in later developments, forced Uzun Ḥasan to return to Diyār Bakr. He sought to recompense himself by a raid on Ḳara Ḳoyunlu territory (Erzerūm, Awnik, Bayburt), but having failed to take Erzindjān returned to Diyār Bakr.

On resuming the siege of Erzindjān, Uzun Ḥasan fell from his horse and was seriously injured. Djihāngīr seized the opportunity to sack the environs of Āmid, but on Ḥasan's return sought refuge with the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djihān Shāh. His mother once more installed Ḥasan in Diyār Bakr and Djihāngīr in Mārdīn. The struggle was very soon resumed on a larger scale. Ḥasan marched on Erzindjān and Turdjān, from which he drove ʿArab Shāh, his brother's representative, and then attacked Khurāsān and Ḳaradja-Dagh (to the southwest of Diyār Bakr). The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djihān Shāh sent his *amīrs* to the help of Djihāngīr, but Uzun Ḥasan defeated them in 861 (May 1457?; cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, vii, 485). Djihāngīr gave his son as a hostage, and another brother of Ḥasan (Uways of Ruhā) also submitted to him. Uzun Ḥasan installed the *amīr* Khurshīd Beg (perhaps his cousin; cf. Müneddjdjim-bashi, iii, 376) in Erzindjān. This fortress was the key to the Armenian plateau. About the same time, Ḥasan gave shelter to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Ḥasan ʿAlī, who had rebelled against his father Djihān Shāh, but had soon to expel him on account of his heretical opinions. These events occupied the years 858-61/1454-7, after which began the rapid rise of Ḥasan and the extension of his influence over the neighbouring lands.

Operations in Kurdistān

On the Tigris, he took Ḥiṣn Kayfā from the Kurdish *maliks* descended from the Ayyūbids (see Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, ii, 149-55) and gave this fortress to his son Khalīl. Siʿirt and Haytham (in Bohtān) were later occupied (see also *ibid.*, ii, 9).

Uzun Ḥasan between Ḳaramān and Trebizond

In the west, the successes of Uzun Ḥasan brought him into conflict with the Ottomans, who under the leadership of Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ had just completed the subjection of the Turkmen [*q.v.*] beyliks of Anatolia. The princes of Ḳaramān [*q.v.*], gravely threatened by the Ottomans, endeavoured to enter into an alliance with their eastern neighbour Uzun Ḥasan. On the other hand, Uzun Ḥasan became involved in the affairs of the Byzantine empire of Trebizond, which was then almost at its end. In 1458, the last emperor of Trebizond, David, gave Uzun Ḥasan the daughter of his brother and predecessor Kalo-Joannes, named Catherine, in marriage (in Europe she is more often called by her title Despina; cf. the Venetian travellers). Trebizond was closely linked with Georgia, while Venice and Rome were closely watching events in these two Christian states. The Muslim sources entirely neglect this complex of international political interests (cf. W. Miller, *Trebizond, the last Greek Empire*, London 1926; Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed-Uzun Hasan rekabetinde Trabzon meselesi*, in *Tarih Araştırmalar Dergisi*, ii [1964], 67-81).

The embassies sent by Uzun Ḥasan to Istanbul in 1457 and 1460 revealed to the sultan his rival's ambitions (cf. von Hammer, i, 464-6). Very soon passing to action, Uzun Ḥasan took by surprise the fortress of Ḳoyunlu Ḥiṣār (or Koylu Ḥiṣār on the Kilkit-su above Nīksār) and sacked the suburbs of Toḳat and Amasya (cf. Müneddjdjim-bashi, iii, 376).

Having disposed of the Isfendiyār-oghlu [*q.v.*] of Sinope, Meḥemmed II turned his attention to Trebizond and, first of all, to Ḳoyunlu Ḥiṣār. Uzun Ḥasan concentrated his forces near Kemākh, but the detachment sent into the mountains of Munzur (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 476: *kūh-i Mndz?*) was defeated by Aḥmed Pasha. Uzun Ḥasan then sent his mother to negotiate, and on her appeal the sultan turned towards Bulghar-daghi (east of Gerdjanis, between the Kilkit-su and the Euphrates). In spite of the renewed appeals of Sāra Khātūn (the sultan called her "mother"), who said that Trebizond belonged to her daughter-in-law, the town was taken in 865/1461 and the Comneni dispossessed and exiled. A portion of the treasures taken in Trebizond was given to Sāra Khātūn (ʿĀshiḳ-pāshā-zade, 159-60; Saʿd al-Dīn; Müneddjdjim-bashi, iii, 376).

The peace was of short duration, for according to Müneddjdjim-bashi, iii, 160-1, Uzun Ḥasan retook Ḳoyunlu Ḥiṣār and advanced as far as the environs of Sīwās, but the Ottomans defeated those of his troops who had entered Anatolia. Uzun Ḥasan sent to Istanbul Khurshīd Beg to ransom the Turkmen prisoners and ask the sultan to renounce his claims on Trebizond. In view of the circumstances (*iḳtidā-yi waḳt*), the request is said to have been granted (! ?) and Uzun Ḥasan returned to Erzindjān and then to Diyār Bakr. (In this part of his story, Müneddjdjim-bashi seems to give in somewhat different form the events of 865/1461.)

Death of Djihān Shāh and of the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd

Uzun Ḥasan very soon achieved brilliant successes. In 871/1466-7 his rival Djihān Shāh of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, who at this time held all Persia, marched on Diyār Bakr (on his plans, see his letter to Meḥemmed II, in Ferīdūn Bey, i, 273). Uzun Ḥasan collected troops and received reinforcements from Mārdīn. On 1 Rabīʿ II 872, Djihān Shāh had reached Mūsh and Čapākhčūr. Here his advance guards were defeated by Sulṭān Khalīl, son of Uzun Ḥasan. Djihān Shāh, who, on account of the excessive cold, had sent most of his troops home, went back to Kīghī, whence he wanted to reach Erzindjān and the valley of Bālā-rūd (Kilkit?). On 13 Rabīʿ II 872/11 Nov. 1467, Uzun Ḥasan attacked him unexpectedly and Djihān Shāh lost his life while trying to escape. The field in the east now being open, Uzun Ḥasan began the conquest of the lands which had been left without a master. He went via Mawṣil to Baghdād, which he besieged for 40 days, but in Ādharbāydjān, the son of Djihān Shāh, Ḥasan ʿAlī, had assembled a large army (Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 234: 180,000 men) and invoked the help of the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd, who set out from Khurāsān in Shaʿbān 872/March 1468 and appointed governors for the whole of Persian ʿIrāḳ. As a result of treachery on the part of certain *amīrs* of Ḥasan ʿAlī, his army quartered at Marand broke up, and Uzun Ḥasan seized the opportunity to advance as far as Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*]. In the meanwhile, in spite of the protestations of friendship by Uzun Ḥasan, who recalled the loyalty of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu to the Tīmūrids, Abū Saʿīd had reached Miyāna, but was caught there by the approach of winter. He thought of spending the winter in Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*], out of which Uzun Ḥasan was to be dislodged, but his march to the Araxes was

disastrous and at Maḥmūdābād [see MŪḲĀN] he was blockaded by Uzun Ḥasan. The negotiations conducted by Abū Saʿīd's mother, however, came to nothing; he took to flight but was captured on 16 Radjab 873/11 Feb. 1469. Two days later, Uzun Ḥasan, seated on the throne (to emphasise his accession?), received the prisoner kindly, but on 22 Radjab Abū Saʿīd was handed over to his rival, the prince Yādigār Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Baysunḳur, who put him to death. Abū Saʿīd's *amīrs* were put under the command of Yādigār who, supported by Uzun Ḥasan, began the struggle against Ḥusayn Bayḳara. The latter was temporarily driven from Harāt (6 Muḥarram 875/5 July 1470), but the exactions of the sons of Uzun Ḥasan (Khalīl in Ölāng Rādkān and Zaynal in Ḳuhistān) provoked a rising against Yādigār, who was deposed and put to death by Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara.

After the disappearance of Abū Saʿīd, the Tīmūrids of Khurāsān remained a purely local dynasty, while Uzun Ḥasan's deputies occupied the remainder of Persia, including Kirmān, Fārs, Luristān, Khūzistān and Kurdistān (see the valuable details on the distribution of the fiefs in the letters of Uzun Ḥasan to Meḥemmed II: Ferīdūn Bey, i, 275, 276; cf. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 330). The governorship of Iṣfahān was entrusted to Uzun Ḥasan's eldest son Oghurlu Muḥammad, but that of the more important province of Fārs went to the latter's slightly younger half-brother Sulṭān Khalīl. The discontented Oghurlu Muḥammad was in fact to rebel in 879/1474, but on the appearance of his father's army (see below), fled to Baghdād and thence to the Ottomans. We possess a precious *ʿarḍ-nāma* composed by the well-known scholar Djalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502 [*q.v.*]) which describes a review of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu provincial army of Fārs during Sulṭān Khalīl's time (see V. Minorsky, *A civil and military review in Fārs in 881/1476*, in *BSOS*, x [1939-42], 141-78). The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Ḥasan ʿAlī had retired to Hamadhān, but was surprised there and killed by Uzun Ḥasan's forces in 873/1468 (see the *History of the Ḳuṭb-Shāhs*, B.N. ms. Pers. 174, fol. 16b). About the same time, Baghdād also was occupied by the great *amīr* Khalīl-Beg, governor of Mawṣil (Ferīdūn Bey, ii, 276).

After these great successes, it became evident that Uzun Ḥasan alone in Asia was strong enough to bar the Ottoman advance and the enemies of the latter, the rulers of Ḳaramān and the Christians, particularly the Venetians, sought to exploit this new power.

Venetian policy

On 2 Dec. 1463, the Venetian Senate had adopted the plan of an alliance with Uzun Ḥasan and L. Quirini was sent to Persia with this object. On 13 March 1464, the first ambassador from Uzun Ḥasan (a certain Mamenatazab?) arrived in Venice and spent six months there. In 1465 Ḳāsim Ḥasan (?) arrived with a letter from Uzun Ḥasan. The negotiations were interrupted for some time, but the conquest of Euboea (which the Venetians had held for 264 years) by the Ottomans in 1469-70 threw them into consternation. In February 1471, Quirini returned from Persia with Uzun Ḥasan's ambassador Mirath (Murād?), while another Persian representative arrived at the Vatican. It was then that the Venetian Senate sent to Persia the noble Caterino Zeno, who through his mother was a nephew of Despina Caterina, wife of Uzun Ḥasan. On 20 April 1471, Zeno was in Tabrīz. In the same year, Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad (Azimamet) came to Venice with a request for arms and munitions. Giosafa Barbaro was then sent to Persia to take to Uzun Ḥasan six large mortars (*bombarde*), 600 arquebuses (*spingarde*), matchlocks (*schioppetti*), and munitions; 200 fusiliers with their officers accompanied the consignment. In Barbaro's secret instructions (of 11 Feb. 1473), it was laid down that Venice would never conclude peace with the Ottomans until they had been forced to renounce in favour of Persia all claims on Asia Minor as far as the Straits. Barbaro was delayed in Cyprus where he took part in the operations of the Venetian fleet (commanded by P. Mocenigo), which on the appeal of the princes of Ḳaramān, had occupied Silifke and two other points on the coast.

In the meanwhile, Zeno was active in Persia and, according to the European sources (Jorga, ii, 164), the nephew of the last Comnenus, who had sought asylum with Uzun Ḥasan, had invaded the region of Trebizond.

Invasion of Asia Minor

The Ḳaramānids were working alongside of the Venetians to force Uzun Ḥasan's hand. On the appeal of Pīr Aḥmad, Isḥāḳ's successor, Uzun Ḥasan equipped an army which was placed under the command of the vizier ʿUmar Beg b. Bektash (the Amarbei Guisultan Nichenizza? of Zeno, 16) and Uzun Ḥasan's cousin Yūsufča Mīrzā, and which (according to Angiolello, 77) numbered 50,000 men (Zeno, 16: 100,000?). These troops advanced from Diyār Bakr on Toḳat, which they sacked and then on Ḳayṣariyya, where, as Saʿd al-Dīn says, "they revealed their Turkmen character". Caterino Zeno, 18-19, was an eye-witness of a part of these operations. (The attempt to take Bīra from Egypt is perhaps connected with the same expeditions.) After some time, ʿUmar Beg returned to Diyār Bakr while Yūsufča Mīrzā overran Ḳaramān and Ḥamīd again.

Resumption of the war with the Ottomans

Meḥemmed II was gravely concerned with these events and with this diplomatic activity of which he was certainly aware (see Ferīdūn Bey, 285; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, ii, 145). Uzun Ḥasan's letters assumed a more and more aggressive tone (see Ferīdūn Bey, i, 278, and the humiliating title of *imārat maʾāb* was given to the sultan in them; and Meḥemmed II's reply, *loc. cit.*, in which he addresses familiarly the *sardār-i ʿadjam*). In autumn 877/1472, the sultan crossed from Istanbul over to the coast of Asia, but was held up there by the cold season. But by 14 Rabīʿ I 877/19 Aug. 1472), the prince Muṣṭafā and the *beglerbegi* of Anatolia Dāwūd Pasha, who had a force of 60,000 men under him, destroyed the Turkmens in the district of Ḳïr-eli (west of Konya).

Meḥemmed set out in Shawwāl 877/March 1473. His army numbered 100,000 men in all (cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 529, confirmed by Angiolello, 79-80, who writes as if he were in the Ottoman army). The famous *aḳïnčï* [*q.v.*] ʿAlī Mikhāl-oghlu [see MĪKHĀL-OGHLU] sent with the advance guard sacked Kemākh and took prisoner the Armenians of this region.

Uzun Ḥasan, who had arrived in the region of Erzindjān in late Rabīʿ I 878, end of July 1473, established himself on the hills on the left bank of the Euphrates, and when Khāṣṣ Murād Pasha rashly crossed the river, he surrounded him and defeated him. Khāṣṣ Murād was drowned in the Euphrates and the total losses of the Ottomans rose to 12,000 men (Angiolello). Caterino Zeno, who was in Uzun Ḥasan's suite, gives 1 Aug. 1473 as the date of this first encounter. The battlefield was in the district of Terdjān (above Erzindjān); the low ground on the Euphrates which Khāṣṣ Murād (Angiolello) wished to utilise begin at the level of Pekeridj. Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 535, is not explicit, but according to Angiolello (and

Zeno), the Ottomans were ready to abandon the campaign. They left the valley of the Euphrates, and leaving Bayburt on the right (towards the northeast), took the road northwards towards Trebizond, evidently with the intention of turning there to the west. But while the Ottoman army was in the canton of Üč-ag̲h̲ïzlï (probably to the north of the mountains which separate Erzind̲j̲ān from the valley of the Kilkit-su), Uzun Ḥasan's troops appeared on the heights of Otluḳ-beli (a mountain which separates the Euphrates valley from the sources of the Čorok̲h̲) on the right flank of the Ottomans. The latter accepted battle and on 16 Rabīʿ I 878/12 Aug. 1473 (according to Zeno, 10 Aug. 1473) routed the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu army. The *Sardār* of Uzun Ḥasan, Kāfir Isḥāḳ (a Christian?; according to Zeno, there were Georgians in the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu army), fell on the battlefield, as did Uzun Ḥasan's son Zaynal. Uzun Ḥasan himself took to flight, but it was not so precipitous as Saʿd al-Dīn would have it, for Zeno's account of 18 August is dated from the camp of Uzun Ḥasan, four days from Erzind̲j̲ān. In any case, the Ottomans, thanks to their firearms (Zeno), gained a brilliant victory. The captured artisans and experts were taken to Constantinople. The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu mobilised by Uzun received their liberty; the remainder of the Turkmens were put to death (*ḳatl-i ʿāmm*) by order of the sultan. Dārāb Beg, commander of [S̲h̲abīn-] Ḳara Ḥiṣār on the Kilkit-su above Ḳoyunlu Ḥiṣār, hearing of the defeat of his master, handed over the fortress to the Ottomans. On the advice of the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a, who explained the difficulties of keeping the territories still to be conquered, the sultan refrained from pursuing Uzun Ḥasan, but later regretted this decision and the Grand Vizier lost his office (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 521-44).

Uzun Ḥasan lost no appreciable territory by this defeat, but the moral effect must have been considerable. After the battle, Uzun Ḥasan wrote to Venice (Berchet, 137) that he was going to return to the attack (*cavalcheremo adosso à l'Othoman*) and at the same time sent Caterino Zeno on a mission to plead his cause with the European governments. The Polish and Hungarian ambassadors were sent back with Zeno.

The Venetian Senate, which always attached great importance to the alliance, sent to Persia the secretary P. Ognibene. Barbaro, leaving at Rhodes the representatives of the pope and of King Ferdinand of Sicily, then set out and arrived in Tabrīz on 12 April 1474. Lastly, a new envoy, A. Contarini, left Venice on 13 Feb. 1474, arrived at Tabrīz on 4 Aug. 1474 and at Iṣfahān on 4 Nov. 1474. We also know that at this time the friar Lodovico of Bologna was in Persia, saying that he represented the Duke of Burgundy. But on this occasion, the ambassadors could obtain nothing definite out of Uzun Ḥasan.

In the meanwhile, Uzun Ḥasan had gone to S̲h̲īrāz to put down the rebellion of his son Og̲h̲urlu Muḥammad (see above). On his return from Tabrīz he took leave of Contarini (26 April 1475) who saw a review of his troops (25,000?) but said that the expedition against the Ottomans was postponed to a later date. In 880/1475-6 the plague wrought great havoc in Persia, and Uzun Ḥasan's troops had to take the field against his brother Uways, who was defeated and slain at Ruhā (Ibn Iyās, ii, 160). Very soon the Venetians recognised the futility of their hopes, and less than a year after the death of Uzun Ḥasan signed a peace with the Ottomans (December 1478).

Relations with Georgia

According to Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im-bas̲h̲ï, Uzun Ḥasan thrice invaded Georgia, in 871/1466, in 877 (summer of 1472?) and after his defeat by the Ottomans. According to the *D̲j̲ihān-ārā* this last expedition took place in 881/1476-7; Barbaro (90) who was an eye-witness, took part in the negotiations with the Georgians. The Georgian sources of the 15th century are very confused (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii/1, 12, 249). The king of Kʿartʿlia, Constantine III (1469-1505) seems to have utilised the support of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu against his rivals Bagrat of Imerethia and the Atabeg of Ak̲h̲altsik̲h̲e (Ḳwarḳware < Ḳorḳora).

Relations with Egypt

The frontier between the original fief of Uzun Ḥasan (Diyār Bakr) and the lands of the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt lay roughly along the bend of the Euphrates. The Egyptian historians alone (used by Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, v) tell us of the extensive relations between the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and the Burd̲j̲ī Mamlūks. The rivalry with the Ottomans forced Uzun Ḥasan to deal very tactfully with the ruler of Cairo (we have references to them from 861/1456), but on the other hand, he had to seek an exit to the Mediterranean in order to be in contact with the Venetians. The lands on the right bank of the Euphrates belonging to the rulers of Egypt and Syria thus formed an impediment to him, and Uzun Ḥasan endeavoured to round off his lands at the expense of the Mamlūks.

In 868/1463-4 the Kurds who had seized the stronghold of Gargar (on the right bank of the Euphrates to the southeast of Malaṭya) sent its keys to Uzun Ḥasan, who in 869/1465 restored Gargar to the *wālī* of Aleppo but at the same time recompensed himself by taking K̲h̲arpert (then occupied by Arslan Dulg̲h̲adïr) and by ravaging Abulastayn [see ELBISTĀN and D̲H̲U 'L-ḲADR].

In 877/1471, Kak̲h̲tā [*q.v.*] and Gargar were occupied by Uzun Ḥasan's troops, but the *amīr* Yes̲h̲bek al-Dawādār sent by Ḳā'it Bāy [*q.v.*] drove the Aḳ Koyunlu out of Bīra (see Ibn Iyās, ii, 140-4, and Behnsch, *Rerum seculo XV*, in *Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838, *sub anno* 1783 [1471]). The Ottoman ambassador sent to Cairo stirred up feeling against Uzun Ḥasan, the ally of the Christians, but Ḳā'it Bāy acted with prudence. The *amīr* Rustam and the *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Wad̲j̲īn, who were leaders of the ʿIrāḳ *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* in 877/1473, succeeded in getting the *k̲h̲uṭba* read in Medina in the name of *al-malik al-ʿādil Ḥasan al-Ṭawīl k̲h̲ādim al-ḥaramayn*, but the *Amīr* of Mecca, Muḥammad b. Barakāt (see Ibn Iyās, iii, 514), arrested Rustam and his companion and sent them to Ḳā'it Bāy, who a few months later liberated them "to please Uzun Ḥasan" (*ibid.*, ii, 145-6). In 880/1475 Og̲h̲urlu Muḥammad, fleeing from his father, was supported by the Aleppan troops but the latter suffered a severe reverse (*ibid.*, ii, 152). In 882/1477 Ḳā'it Bāy visited the line of the Euphrates and re-established the situation.

Death of Uzun Ḥasan

Returning from Tiflīs, Uzun Ḥasan fell ill, and at the age of 54 died at Tabrīz on the eve of the feast of Ramaḍān of 882/night of 5-6 Jan. 1478, which agrees exactly with Barbaro's statement, 93, sc. the Eve of Epiphany.

The historians (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 330; *D̲j̲ihān-ārā*; Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im-bas̲h̲ï, iii, 165) praise his justice and piety. He created many pious endowments (*k̲h̲ayrāt wa-ḥasanāt*). On his mosque in Tabrīz, see TABRĪZ. 2. The *Ak̲h̲lāḳ-i D̲j̲alālī* of Dawānī is dedicated to Uzun Ḥasan. The astronomer ʿAlī Ḳus̲h̲čī lived at the court of Uzun Ḥasan and was sent as ambassador to the Ottoman court (see ʿALĪ AL-ḲŪS̲H̲D̲J̲Ī).

Administrative system

From a lack of documentation, our knowledge of

Uzun Ḥasan's administrative system is sketchy, but Minorsky discerned that the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu rulers apparently endeavoured, under cover of strengthening "Islamic institutions", to introduce an element of centralisation into the system that had originally evolved under the Mongol Il-Khānids [*q.v.*]. It seems that they wished to halt the decline of central authority resulting from the extensive grants of land for salaries, pensions, etc., which were meant to be temporary but which often in practice became hereditary [see e.g. IḲṬĀʿ; SOYŪRGHĀL; TIYŪL]. There survive in Turkish archives some examples of Uzun Ḥasan's financial regulations enacted for Diyār Bakr and eastern Anatolia, and Persian historians occasionally mention the *dastūr* and *ḳānūn* of Uzun Ḥasan, which seems to have been applied at least up to the time of the second Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I; but this was probably a fixing and codification of existing, local, customary law rather than a new financial system. On the other hand, he behaved like many other rulers of the time in arbitrarily raising existing taxes and imposing new ones in order to finance his wars. See W. Hinz, *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, c (1950), 177-201; A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 101, 122-3; Minorsky, *The Aq-Qoyunlu and land reforms*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 449-62.

The family

The blood of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu princes was considerably mixed. The mother of Ḳara ʿUthmān, to begin with, was the princess Maria of Trebizond (see the *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos, ed. Fallmerayer).

Despina, whom Uzun Ḥasan married when he was thirty-four, was certainly not his first wife and in 1471, when her nephew Caterino Zeno visited her, she was living at Kharpert far from the court. She had remained a Christian and was buried in a church of Diyār Bakr (Barbaro, 84). According to Angiolello, 73, Uzun Ḥasan had one son and three daughters by her; the son (Jacob ?) is said to have been strangled by his brothers after the father's death (?). Despina's daughter Martha (whom the *Silsilat al-nasab-i ṣafawiyya*, Berlin 1843, 68, calls Bägi Aḳā; *Ḥabīb al-siyar*: Ḥalīma Begi Aḳā; and Müneddjdjim-bashî: ʿĀlam-Shāh Begum) was given in marriage to Shaykh Ḥaydar of Ardabīl and became the mother of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I (the mother of Shaykh Ḥaydar, Khadīdja Begum, was the sister of Uzun Ḥasan).

The oldest son of Uzun Ḥasan, Muḥammad, was the son of a Kurdish *umm walad* (cf. Ibn Iyās, ii, 160; Caterino Zeno, 36; Contarini, 173). In 879/1474, after a rising in Shīrāz, he took refuge for some time with the Ottoman Bāyezīd II, but was finally killed in Persia by his father's orders (Ibn Iyās, ii, 59).

Uzun Ḥasan's principal wife (*mahd-i ʿulyā*) was Saldjūk-Shāh Begum, who played a very active part in the government (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Amīnī*, fol. 1986). Her sons were Sulṭān Khalīl, Yaʿḳūb, Yūsuf (and perhaps Masīḥ). We do not know the name of Zaynal's mother.

Uzun Ḥasan's viziers were Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sayyid Aḥmad, Burhān al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Kirmānī and Madjd al-Dīn Shīrāzī (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 330).

Bibliography: For older sources and studies, see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. The best consideration of sources for the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in general is now John E. Woods' *The Aqquyunlu* (see below), 16-37, much of which is relevant for Uzun Ḥasan's career and reign. Especially notable is the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* of Abū Bakr Ṭihrānī-Iṣfahānī (ed. Necati Lügal and Faruk Sümer, 2 vols. Ankara 1962-4), which was written for Uzun Ḥasan and his son Sulṭān Khalīl between 875/1469 and 883/1478, with the ms. going up to 876/1472. General Persian historians like Khwāndamīr contain further information, whilst for Uzun Ḥasan's external relations there is much in the Arabic historiography of the late Mamlūk period and the diplomatic material in Italian archives. The Istanbul archives and libraries have relevant material, especially that relating to Uzun Ḥasan's wars with the Ottomans, and this includes captured letters, intelligence reports, etc., plus *defters* from eastern Anatolia. *Inshāʾ* collections like Ferīdūn Bey's *Münsheʾāt ül-selāṭīn* contain relevant documents, whilst Jean Aubin has described and discussed some Aḳ Ḳoyunlu documents from Persia. Some Aḳ Ḳoyunlu inscriptions from Persia have been published, including one of Uzun Ḥasan's at the Great Mosque of Yazd.

Of recent studies (in addition to those mentioned in the article), see Minorsky, *La Perse au XVe siècle entre la Turquie et Venise*, Publs. de la Société des études iraniennes 7, Paris 1933, 6-7 (also in *The Turks, Iran and the Caucasus in the Middle Ages*, Variorum, London 1978, no. XII); ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayn al-iḥtilālayn*, iii, *al-Ḥukūma al-turkmāniyya*, Baghdād 1357/1939; Mükrimin Halil Yınanç, *İA* art. *Akkoyunlular*; F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1953, Eng. tr. *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, Princeton 1978; Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, *Uzun Hasan'ın Osmanlılarla karşı katî mücadeleye hazırlıkları ve Osmanlı-Akkoyunlu harbinin başlanması*, in *Belleten*, xxi (1957), 261-84, with German tr. 285-96; idem, *Die Rivalität zwischen Uzun Hasan und Mehmed II. um das Kaiserreich von Trapezunt*, in *Trudï XXV. Meždunarodnogo Kongressa Vostok'ovedov*, Moscow 1963, ii, 442-8; G. Scarcia, *Venezia e la Persia tra Uzun Ḥasan e Ṭahmāsp (1454-1572)*, in *Acta Iranica*, ser. 1, vol. iii (1974), 419-38; J.E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu, clan, confederation, empire. A study in 15th/9th century Turko-Iranian politics*, Minneapolis-Chicago 1976, 90-137; H.R. Roemer, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, Cambridge 1986, 168-82; C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, 275-6 no. 146.

(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-ʿUZZĀ, a pre-Islamic Arabian deity. The name means "The very powerful" or "The all-powerful". On its own, in the pre-Islamic period, it always takes the article (Liḥyanite *hn-ʿzy*, Old Arabic *ʾl-ʿzy*, Nabataean *ʾl-ʿzʾ* plus the Aramaic form *ʿzyʾ*, and South Arabian *ʿzyn*), but in theophoric personal names, and occasionally in sources of the Islamic period, this is sometimes omitted (e.g. South Thamudic *tm-l-ʿzy* as against *tym-ʿzy*, J. Ryckmans, in *SI*, v [1956], 11). A variety of such compounds occurs in pre-Islamic North Arabian inscriptions, though by the rise of Islam only *ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā* is reported in the Ḥidjāz (J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, [2]Berlin 1897, 39).

Very little is known of the nature of al-ʿUzzā. Attempts to identify her with the planet Venus are only achieved through a tenuous series of equations with other deities in which each divinity is assumed to be endowed with all aspects of the others (see references in Wellhausen, 40-5). From this, efforts have been made to equate her with the goddess Aphrodite (e.g. H.W.J. Drijvers, *Cults and beliefs at Edessa*, Leiden 1980, 185); with Ruḍā (A.G. Lundin, in R.G. Stiegner (ed.), *Al-Hudhud*, Graz, 1981, 215-6); with ʿAzīzū at Palmyra (Drijvers, *op. cit.* 152, 162-3); with al-Lāt (Wellhausen, 44-5), with al-Lāt and Manāt (Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, Paris 1968, 176-7), and ultimately with a "common Semitic great goddess" representing a wide variety of astral and chthonic forces (Wellhausen,

45; Lundin, *loc. cit.*; Fahd, *loc. cit.*). The only unequivocal equation of al-ʿUzzā with the planet Venus is in the 10th-century Syriac-Arabic dictionary of Bar Bahlūl (ed. R. Duval, s.v. *estʿrā*); while the only explicit equation of al-ʿUzzā with Aphrodite, is in a 1st century B.C. to A.D. Nabataean-Greek bilingual inscription from the Greek island of Cos (F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung*, Leiden, 1964, 86 and 91 n. 4). Henninger has noted that these strained identifications are based on non-Arab sources from the northern borderlands of the Peninsula and cannot be assumed to apply to Arabia as a whole, or to the cult of al-ʿUzzā in Mecca in particular (in *Anthropos*, lxxi [1976] 136-9). It is possible, but at present unprovable, that al-ʿUzzā was considered by her worshippers to have some of the features of Aphrodite and/or to be in some way a manifestation of the planet Venus, but there is not enough evidence to establish exactly how she was conceived in any particular region or period.

The only representations of al-ʿUzzā which are identified as such in inscriptions, are Nabataean: plain, rectangular baetyls with stylised eyes (e.g. M.R. Savignac, in *Revue Biblique*, xliii [1934] 586-9), of a type common throughout western Arabia, both as divine symbols and as grave markers. However, there are similar baetyls in Petra and the surrounding region representing al-Kutbā, Atargatis, Isis, etc.

In the early centuries A.D. the worship of al-ʿUzzā is found in the Ḥawrān (RES, 2091, *ʾl-ʿzʾ ʾlht bṣ[rʾ]*, "the goddess of Boṣra"), Petra (e.g. RES, 1088), Wādī Ramm (Savignac *loc. cit.*), Sinai (CIS, ii, 611, 1236, each by a *kāhin* of al-ʿUzzā), Dedān (JSLih 58), a Sabaeo-Arabic text from Ḳaryat al-Faw in central Arabia (Ja 2138, see J. Ryckmans, in *JSS*, xxv [1980], 197-8), and (probably as an import from the north) in Sabaic, Qatabanian, and possibly one Minaic, inscriptions (*ibid.*, 196-7).

In the 5th century A.D., Isaac of Antioch speaks of the "Arabs" (*ʿarbāyē*) sacrificing to *ʿuzzī* (ed. Bickell, i, 210-11) and, in the 6th century, there is evidence that she was worshipped by the La<u>kh</u>mid royal house in southern Mesopotamia. Al-Mun<u>dh</u>ir IV swore by al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā (*A<u>gh</u>ānī*[1], ii, 21 l. 5 from the bottom) and sacrificed prisoners to her (Zacharius of Mitylene, ed. J.P.N. Land, in *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii, 247) while another La<u>kh</u>mid prince, al-Nuʿmān, submitted a dispute to her judgement (*Ḥamāsa*, 116).

The Islamic sources suggest that, by the 7th century, worship of al-ʿUzzā was firmly entrenched in Mecca and its environs (Hi<u>sh</u>ām Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, ed. A. Zakī Pa<u>sh</u>a, Cairo 1914, 27, tr. N.A. Faris, *The book of idols*, Princeton 1952, 22). Her main sanctuary was in a valley called Ḥurāḍ in Na<u>kh</u>lat al-<u>Sh</u>aʾmiyya on the road from Mecca to al-Ṭāʾif (Yāḳūt, iv, 765 ff.; Ibn al-Kalbī, 18, tr. 16). Here, in Suḳām, a side ravine of Ḥurāḍ, Ḳuray<u>sh</u> dedicated to her a *ḥimā* [*q.v.*] which vied with the *ḥaram* [*q.v.*] or Sacred Territory of the Kaʿba, (Ibn al-Kalbī, 19, tr. 17). At Na<u>kh</u>la were three *samura* (acacia) trees, from one of which the goddess revealed herself in the form of an Abyssinian woman with dishevelled hair, when <u>Kh</u>ālid b. al-Walīd was sent by the Prophet to cut them down (idem, 25-6, tr. 21-2). A sacred stone was the object of *ziyāra* (Wellhausen, 39), though it is not clear whether this was in the same sanctuary or elsewhere (cf. Doughty's account of the veneration of al-ʿUzzā in the form of a large stone at al-Ṭāʾif, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, [2]London 1923, ii, 511, 515-16). Finally, there was a cave called <u>Gh</u>ab<u>gh</u>ab which contained baetyls (Ibn al-Kalbī, 20-1, tr. 18-9) and into which the blood of sacrificed animals was poured (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 55 l. 6). The man credited with introducing the worship of al-ʿUzzā, Ẓālim b. Asʿad of <u>Gh</u>aṭafān, constructed over her a sanctuary which he called, allegedly after the name of a volcanic mountain, Buss (see Wellhausen, 37-8; Fahd, *op. cit.*, 165-6) and from which "oracular communications" were received (Ibn al-Kalbī, 18, tr. 16).

The sanctuary of al-ʿUzzā at Na<u>kh</u>la was served by members of the Banū Sulaym [*q.v.*], who were clients of Ḳuray<u>sh</u>, and the last such *sādin*, Dubayya b. Haramī al-Sulamī, was killed by <u>Kh</u>ālid b. al-Walīd in 8/629-30 (Ibn al-Kalbī, 22, 24-7, tr. Atallah, 19-22). Ibn al-Kalbī insists on the extreme devotion of Ḳuray<u>sh</u> to this goddess. As well as *ziyāra* and sacrifice they held an annual festival in her honour (Wellhausen, 39), while the Prophet himself recalled offering a white sheep to al-ʿUzzā "while I followed the religion of my people" (*ibid.*, 19, tr. 16-17). His uncle, Abū Lahab (whose *ism* was ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā) was known for his "intense loyalty" to her (*ibid.*, 23, tr. 20). When in 3/624-5, Abū Sufyān set out to attack Muḥammad he took with him the symbols of al-ʿUzzā and al-Lāt (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1395) and one version of his war-cry is "al-ʿUzzā is for us and not for you" (*ibid.*, i, 1418). ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took a dispute over water-rights to the *kāhin* of ʿUzzā in al-<u>Sh</u>aʾm (Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ fī a<u>kh</u>bār Ḳuray<u>sh</u>*, Ḥaydarābād 1964, 98-9).

She was also worshipped by <u>Gh</u>aṭafān, <u>Kh</u>uzāʿa, Kināna, <u>Th</u>aḳīf (though their principal deity was Manāt), <u>Gh</u>anm, <u>Gh</u>anī and Balī (though Wellhausen, 39, considered that the last three may not have worshipped her at Na<u>kh</u>la). Among the *talbiyāt* (or ritual invocations intoned by pre-Islamic tribes on their pilgrimage to Mecca [see TALBIYA]), those of the Ḥums, Ma<u>dh</u>ḥi<u>dj</u> and <u>Th</u>aḳīf submit al-ʿUzzā, along with al-Lāt, Manāt, and other *aṣnām* ("idols") to the High God of Mecca, the Lord of the Kaʿba (M.J. Kister, in *JSAI*, ii [1980], 36-8, 54-5 (nos. 41, 45, 48), and cf. 51 no. 12). On the co-existence of the idols and the High God, see *ibid.*, 47-9 and references there (to which add W.M. Watt, in *Isl.*, lvi [1979], 205-11), and compare the oath of Dirham b. Zayd al-Awsī, "By the Lord of al-ʿUzzā the propitious, and by God betwixt whose House [and Suḳām] Sarif stands" (Ibn al-Kalbī, 19, tr. 18).

In the Ḳurʾān, al-ʿUzzā is mentioned only once, in LIII, 19-20 ("Have you considered al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā and Manāt, the third, the other"), which is said to have been followed by the "Satanic verses". These three are traditionally described as the *banāt Allāh*, though this phrase does not occur in the Ḳurʾān and has been applied to them by extrapolating from sūras XVI, 57; XXXVII, 149-53; XLIII, 16; and LIII, 21. However, the phrase *banāt Allāh* may originally have meant no more than "celestial beings" (Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 106) and is paralleled in the 1st century A.D. by a Palmyrene votive text to the *bnt ʾl* (<u>Kh</u>. al-Asʿad and J. Teixidor, in *CRAI* [1985], 286-93) and probably even earlier by Qatabanic and Sabaic dedications to the *bnty ʾl* (i.e. the dual) and *bnt ʾl* (pl.), with in no case any indication as to the identity of these beings (Ryckmans, in *JSS*, xxv [1980] 200-3).

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(M.C.A. MACDONALD and LAILA NEHMÉ)

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P. 511b, **ANKARA**, *add to Bibl.*: T.M. Cross and G. Leiser, *A brief history of Ankara*, Vaccaville, Calif. 2000.

P. 1131b, **BAYHAKĪ**, *add to Bibl.*: F. Bertotti, *L'opera dello storico persiano Bayhaqī*, Naples 1991: Julie S. Meisami, *Persian historiography to the end of the twelfth century*, Edinburgh 1999, 79-108.

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P. 455b, **HIND BINT ʿUTBA**, *add to Bibl.*: Renate Jacobi, *Portrait einer unsympathetischen Frau: Hind bint ʿUtba, die Feindin Mohammeds*, in *WZKM*, lxxxix (1999), 85-107.

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P. 1117a, **ILEK-KHANS** or **ḲARAKHĀNIDS**, *add to Bibl.*: Reşat Genç, *Karahanlı devlet teşkilatı (XI. yüzyil)*, Istanbul 1981; M.N. Fedorov, *Notes on the Qarākhānids and their coinage – I*, in *Suppl. to the Oriental Numismatics Society Newsletter*, no. 165, London 2000, 1-52; *Notes... – II*, in *Suppl....*, no. 168, London 2001, 1-48.

VOLUME V

P. 486b, AL-**KURDJ**, l. 16, *add*: Concerning the etymology of the name, Pers. *gurdj* and *gurdjī* are ultimately identical with Grk. *Ibēres*. The Armenian *virkh* for "Georgians" shows that the original form was **vīr*. An Arm. form without the pl. suffix *-kh* is *vrastan* "Georgia", with normal loss of *i* in a non-final syllable, cf. Pers. *gurdjistān*, older *gurdjastān*. Pers. *gurdjī* shows the normal development of O Pers. *vi-* to NP *gu-* and palatalisation of the velar before *i*, *gurdj* being a back formation. European designations like Ital. *Georgia* are transformations by popular etymology of *gurdjī*, possibly from a Class. Ar. *djirdjī* so far unattested. Georgian *kartvelebi*, *sakartvelo*, etc. originally designated only the area around Tbilisi, so that **vīr* is probably the original name of the Georgians. (F. Thiesen)

VOLUME VII

P. 445b, **MUḤAMMAD MURTAḌĀ**, *add to Bibl.*: Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², vii, 297-8; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, xi, 282-3; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, *al-Nafas al-yamānī*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1979, 239-52; Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Beirut 1402/1982, i, 527-43, ii, 621-4; M.M. al-Dimyāṭī, *Muʿdjam asmāʾ al-nabātāt al-wārida fī Tādj al-ʿarūs li ʾl-Zabīdī*, Cairo 1966; Ḥ. al-Djāsir, *Naẓarāt fī kitāb Tādj al-ʿarūs min djawāhir al-Ḳāmūs li ʾl-Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī*, al-Riyāḍ 1987; H.Ṭ. Shalāsh, *al-Adwiya wa ʾl-adwāʾ fī muʿdjam Tādj al-ʿarūs*, Baghdād 1408/1987; Ḥ. Naṣṣār, *al-Muʿdjam al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1408/1988, ii, 604-40; R.L. Lārī, *ʿAllāma Sayyid Murtaḍā Bilgrāmī Zabīdī. Ḥayāt awr ʿilmī kārnāma*, Lakhnaw 1990; S. Reichmuth, *Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (d. 1791) in biographical and autobiographical accounts...*, in *WI* (1999), 64-102.

P. 1007a, **NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW**, *add to Bibl.*: Alice C. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw: the ruby of Badakhshan. A portrait of the Persian poet, traveller and philosopher*, London and New York 2000.

VOLUME VIII

P. 64a, **NĪSHĀPŪRĪ**, *add to end of first paragraph*: The alleged text of the *Saldjūḳ-nāma*, indifferently published by Ismāʿīl Afshār at Tehran in 1322/1953 is, in the opinion of A.H. Morton, the work of Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Ḳāshānī (whose literary activity seems to span the years between 699/1300 and 716/1316), and is quite closely related to the section on the Saldjūḳs in the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*]. Mr Morton is producing a critical text, based on the R.A.S. Pers. ms. 22b, of an anonymous history of the Saldjūḳs dedicated to Sultan Ṭoghrïl III b. Arslan and apparently written during his reign. This seems to be one of the later works exploiting the original *Saldjūḳ-nāma* (if this was indeed its actual name) of Ẓahīr al-Dīn, and the editor believes that his final text, which will take into account readings from parallel historical sources, will be as close as we are likely to get to the text of the original *Saldjūḳ-nāma*.

VOLUME X

P. 164b, **ṬĀLIB ĀMULĪ**, *add to Bibl.*: Mireille Schnyder, *Die "Wunderfügnisse" der Welt. Zur Bedeutung von Metapher und Vergleich in der deutschen und persischen Dichtung des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Bern/Frankfurt a.M., etc. 1992, 167-81.

P. 530a, **ṬĪNA**, *replace beginning of second paragraph, ll. 43-55, with*: As a technical term of philosophy, *ṭīna* is used in some early Arabic translations from the Greek, and in the first period of Arabic philosophical writing, to render the basic meaning of Greek ὕλη, Ar. *hayūlā* [*q.v.*], as "matter, material substrate" (synonymously with *mādda*), especially in the sense of the Aristotelian Prime Matter, the substratum of the forms of the primary bodies or στοιχεῖα (*usṭuḳussāt*, *ʿanāṣir*), while *hayūlā* renders the general usage of ὕλη as of "matter relative to form". See e.g. *ṭīna* for ὕλη in Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's introduction to the *Organon* (*al-Manṭiḳ li-Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ*, ed. M.T. Dānishpazhūh, Tehran 1978, 4,4); in an early version of Aristotle's *De anima*, 403b18, ed. ʿA. Badawī,

P. 644a, **TUNISIA**. II. History. (a) The pre-Islamic period, *add to Bibl.*: arts. C. Nicolet, *Les guerres puniques* and J. Desanges, *L'Afrique romaine et libyco-berbère*, in Nicolet, *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen*, ii, Paris 1993; Cl. Lepelley, *L'Afrique*, in F. Jacques, *Rome et l'intégration de l'Empire*, ii, Paris 1998; A. Mahjoubi, *Villes et structures urbaines de la province romaine d'Afrique*, Tunis 2000.

opposite
P. 770, ʿŪD, Fig. 1, 3rd col., l. 10, *for* 8182/6561, *read* 8192/6561.
P. 787[a], **ʿUḲAYLIDS**, *add to Bibl.*: 1. Sources. Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī; Ibn al-ʿAdīm. 2. Studies. Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, 2 vols. Damascus 1987-9, i, 154-6, ii, 601-15; H. Kennedy, *The ʿUqaylids of Mosul*, in *Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I.*, Malaga n.d.; Bianquis, *Raḥba et le Diyār Muḍar, de la fondation de la ville à la conquête seljoucide*, in *BEO*, xli-xlii (1989-90), 23-53.
P. 824[a], **ʿUMAR B. ḤAFṢŪN**, l. 4, *for* [see BARBASHTURU] *read* [see BUBASHTRU, in Suppl.].
P. 833[a], **ʿUMAR KHAYYĀM**, l. 3, *for* 28, 32, *read* 28, 33.
P. 836[b], **ʿUMĀRA AL-YAMANĪ**, *add to Bibl.*: P. Smoor, *ʿUmâra's elegies and the lamp of loyalty*, in *AI*, xxxiv (2000), 467-564; idem, *ʿUmâra's odes describing the Imam*, in *AI*, xxxv (2001), 1-78.
P. 846[b], **UMAYYADS**, l. 14 from below, *add to Bibl.*: al-Balādhurī, *al-Ansāb al-ashrāf*, complete ed. S. Zakkār and Ziriklī, 13 vols. Beirut 1996.
P. 928[b], **UṢŪL**, l. 5 from bottom, for *ḥarf/djarr*, read *ḥarf djarr*.

VOLUME XI
P. 2[a], **VIDJAYANAGARA**, l. 6, *for* (1568-1614) *read* (1586-1614); l. 18, *for* Srī Rāya III's *read* Srī Ranga Rāya III's; *and add to Bibl.*: H. Heras, *The Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Madras 1927; B.A. Saletore, *Social and political life in the Vijayanagara empire (A.D. 1346-A.D. 1646)*, 2 vols. Madras 1934; N. Venkataramanayya, *Studies in the history of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Madras 1935; R. Sewell, *A forgotten empire – Vijayanagara*, repr. New Delhi 1962; N. Karasimha, *Towards a new formation. South Indian society under Vijaynagara rule*, Delhi 1992; S. Subrahmanyam, *Agreeing to disagree. Burton Stein on Vijayanagara*, in *South Asia Research*, xvii (Autumn 1997), 127-39.
P. 246[b], **YAḤYĀ B. AL-BIṬRĪḲ**, l. 10, *for* and literature of the Rūm of his time, *read* and writing system of the Rūm of his time.
in *Bibl.*, l. 2, *add* pp. 290-1 to references in Flügel's edition.
P. 309[a], **YAZDĪ**, ll. 9 and 14, *for* Ḍirgham al-Dawla Ḳashḳā'ī, *read* Ḍaygham al-Dawla Ḳashḳā'ī.
P. 333[b], **YERLIYYA**, l. 13, *for page reference in* U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine, 1522-1615*, Oxford 1960, *read* 68-9.
ll. 18-21, *replace* al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat*... al-Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām*, iii, 129) *with* al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣa*, ii, 129, iii, 156, 299, 427-8, iv, 449-50; al-Murādī, *Silk*, i, 106-7, ii, 63; al-Ghazzī, *Nahr al-dhahab*, iii, 266, 279; al-Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām*, iii, 219).
P. 334[a], ll. 37-8, for *1154-1175/1762-1741*, read *1154-1175/1741-1762*.
P. 355[b], **YŪSUF B. ʿĀBID AL-IDRĪSĪ**, l. 3, *for the deathdate of* 992/1584, *read* after 1036/1627.

V

VAN [see WĀN].

VARDAR [see WARDAR].

VARNA [see WARNA].

VEYSEL [see ʿĀSHIĶ WEYSEL, in Suppl.].

VIDIN [see WIDIN].

VIDJAYANAGARA, the name of a mediaeval Hindu power which covered large parts of the Deccan from the mid-14th century to the later 17th century and which is relevant to this Encyclopaedia because of the incessant warfare between its Rādjās (some sixty of whom, from various, distinct lineages, issued royal inscriptions claiming sovereignty over India south of the Krishna river) and the Muslim sultanates of the Deccan. It appears in Indo-Muslim sources as Bidjanagar.

The name Vidjayanagara, meaning "City of victory", was that of the state's original capital on the upper Tungabhadrā river. Its ruins lie at Hampī in the Bellary Division in the western part of the modern Karnataka State of the Indian Union (lat. 15° 20' N., long. 76° 25' E.); for the mediaeval city and its buildings, see HAMPĪ. The kingdom arose from the ruins of four great Hindu dynasties which had ruled the territories south of the Vindhya range on the eve of the first Muslim penetration of the Deccan by the Dihlī Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī in 693/1294 [see KHALDJĪS]. A Hindu reaction came in the time of the Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluķ [*q.v.*], when an infant Hindu state arose in the Andhra coastlands along the Bay of Bengal. The ancient Hindu Hoysala kingdom was overthrown by Vidjayanagara in 1346, but expansion by the new state was challenged in the south by the existence of the recently-established Muslim-sultanate of Madura on the Malabar coast [see MAʿBAR]. Nevertheless, this last ephemeral independent sultanate was extinguished by the Vidjayanagara Rādjās in *ca.* 779/1377, and the Malabar region held by Hindu rulers until the short-lived Muslim conquest in the later 11th/17th century by the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*].

To the north, the sultanate of the Bahmanids [*q.v.*], much more powerful than Madura had been, formed a barrier against both Vidjayanagara and the other main Hindu state of the eastern Deccan, Warangal [*q.v.*]. The Bahmanids conquered Warangal by 830/1425 but were never able to subdue Vidjayanagara. Warfare between the two powers was frequent, with the Rayčūr [*q.v.*] *doʾāb*, the land between the Tungabhadrā and Bhīma rivers, which Muḥammad b. Tughluķ had overrun, being the main bone of contention. The Bahmanids attacked Telingāna [*q.v.*] in 763/1362, and there were several wars over the next decades between Muḥammad I Bahman Shāh (759-76/1358-75) and his successors, such as Tādj al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (800-25/1397-1422), and the Rādjās of Vidjayanagara, with Fīrūz Shāh frequently allied with the Hindu Velama ruler of Warangal. However, there were also periods of peace, with a rough balance of power emerging in the Deccan, as Muslim powers suspicious of Bahmanid expansion, such as those to the north, Khāndesh, Gudjarāt and Mālwā, gave tacit support to Vidjayanagara, and there was also some cultural interaction; Fīrūz Shāh took a Vidjayanagara princess in marriage. But it was an ignominious defeat at the hands of Dēvarāya I at Panagal in 822/1419 which led to Fīrūz Shāh's enforced abdication in 825/1422. His successor Aḥmad I Shāh wrought a condign revenge on both Vidjayanagara and its recent ally Warangal in 827/1424 and then on the former in 836/1433. According to the Muslim historian Firishta, Dēvarāya II, the greatest ruler of the Sangama line of Vidjayanagara recruited Muslim archers and cavalrymen for his army (an inscription of 1430 says that this ruler had 10,000 Turuśka, i.e. Muslim, lit. "Turkish", horsemen in his forces), and in 1433 used his armies to invade the Bahmanid lands. The historian ʿAbd al-Razzāķ al-Samarķandī led a mission to Vidjayanagara in 846-7/1443 and describes the splendour of the capital and its court and the flourishing state of the kingdom, and especially of its ports on the Bay of Bengal (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*; cf. S.H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, 1939, 410 ff.). The Bahmanid sultanate had a resurgence of power later in the 9th/15th century under Muḥammad III Shāh and his able minister Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*], and the latter in campaigns of 873-6/1469-72 captured Goa, which had in previous decades passed into the orbit of Vidjayanagara, and brought Bahmanid authority to the coastal region of Konkar [*q.v.* in Suppl.] on the shores of the Arabian Sea. Yet after Maḥmūd Gāwān's death in 886/1481, the Bahmanid sultanate fell into chaos and by 934/1528 dissolved into five local Muslim sultanates of the Deccan.

Vidjayanagara, too, was plunged into confusion towards the end of the 15th century but was rescued after 1509 by the energetic Tūluva line of Rādjās. By now a new factor was appearing on the coastlands of the Arabian Sea in the shape of the Portuguese, established at Goa and elsewhere, and it was also now that Vidjayanagara's main Muslim enemy became the ʿĀdil Shāhs of Bidjapur [*q.vv.*]. The ʿĀdil Shāh Ismāʿīl was decisively defeated near Rayčūr in 926/1520 by Krishnadēvarāya, and his forces again worsted in 946/1539. In the middle years of the century, Rāmarāya successfully kept at bay not only the ʿĀdil Shāhs but also the Niẓām Shāhs and Ķuṭb Shāhs [*q.vv.*], until he was in turn defeated in 972/1565 by a coalition of four Muslim sultanates at the villages of Rakshasa and Tangadi, usually called the battle of Tālīkoṭa [*q.v.*], when Rāmarāya was killed and Vidjayanagara sacked and deprived of its glory.

The Vidjayanagara state survived for another century

under the Āravidū line of rulers, but with diminished territory and revenues, and with the capital at first transferred south-eastwards to Penukondā, safer from Muslim attacks. Though deprived of its northern provinces, it was still strong under Venkata II Rāya (1568-1614), who ruled from a capital at Čandragiri, allied with the Portuguese, received various foreign embassies and was in direct correspondence with Philip II of Spain. It was Venkata III who in 1639 allowed the English East India Company to build a fort at the village of Madras, which was named Fort St. George [see MADRAS]. But by now, Muslim pressure was being strongly felt, with the ʿĀdil Shāhs extending southwards into Mysore [see MAHISUR] and then eastwards into Karnātaka, and the Kutb Shāhs pushing towards the Bay of Bengal and the Coromandel coast. The then Vidjayanagara capital of Vellore was captured, and Srī Rāya III's territories shrank almost to nothing; he is last mentioned in an inscription of 1678. After Awrangzīb extinguished the sultanates of the ʿĀdil and Kutb Shāhs, the remaining Vidjayanagara territories in the extreme southwestern tip of the Deccan peninsula passed briefly under Mughal rule.

In modern times, apart from two or three British pioneers, the history of Vidjayanagara has until recently largely been written by Hindu Indian writers, and these have often regarded Vidjayanagara as the guardian of the Hindu heritage in South India, with a historic mission of resistance to Islam; in this same tradition, Vidjayanagara has sometimes been regarded by them not only as a mediaeval Indian state but also as the precursor of the Marāthā confederacy [see MARĀTHĀS].

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VIZE [see WIZE].

VODINA [see WODINA].

VOIVODE [see WOYWODA].

VOLGA RIVER [see ITIL].

VOLGA TATARS [see KAZAN; TURKS. I. History].

VOLOS [see KULUZ, in Suppl.].

VOYNUK [see WOYNUK].

W

WĀ-SŌKHT, or "bitter repudiation (sc. of the beloved)", a term of Perso-Urdu literary criticism which has two senses. First, it denotes a theme intrinsic to Persian love poetry which came to be prominently exploited for its own sake in the 10th/16th-century Persian *ghazal* by such *sabk-i hindī* poets as Wahshī (d. 991/1553), although the exclusive association with the latter suggested by Shiblī (*Shiʿr al-ʿadjam*, 3, 16) is to be questioned (P. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, Costa Mesa 1998, 82). Later, the term *wā-sōkht* was used in the Urdu poetry of the 18th and 19th centuries to describe a stanzaic poem devoted to the theme of repudiating the beloved. Like other such distinctive Urdu developments, this minor genre seems to have originated with the innovative poet Sawdā [*q.v.*], who uses *muthamman* stanzas each concluding with a Persian verse. But *musaddas* stanzas were preferred by later exponents of the *wā-sōkht*, who notably include Mīr Muhammad Takī, Djurʾat and Muʾmin [*q.vv.*]. A standardised semi-narrative structure incorporating the inevitable *sarāpā* came to characterise the final phase of the *wā-sōkht* which was developed by minor poets of the later Lakhnaʾū school, such as Bahr, Rikkat and Shawk [*q.v.*]. Maximal exploitation of the inherently limited scope of the *wā-sōkht* was achieved in the two extended examples by Amānat (d. 1275/1858 [*q.v.*]), of 117 and 307 *musaddas* stanzas respectively.

Bibliography: *Wā-sōkht az Āghā Hasan Amānat*, ed. Mīrzā Nasīr Bēg, Lahore 1964, 1-49. (C. SHACKLE)

WABĀʾ (A., from *wabiʾa* "to be contaminated", said of a region or land affected by the plague), the mediaeval Arabic term for "epidemic, pestilence", and theoretically distinguished from *ṭāʿūn*, from *ṭaʿana* "to pierce, stab", in the more specific sense of "plague". In mediaeval Arabic medical treatises, one encounters the phrase "every *ṭāʿūn* is a *wabāʾ*, but not every *wabāʾ* is a *ṭāʿūn*". While it appears that the distinction had been kept in the early Hidjrī centuries, it is doubtful, however, whether later Muslim writers always used the two terms with the precise distinction in mind, and it has been shown that considerable confusion existed in the usage of terminology.

1. In the mediaeval Islamic world up to the 10th/16th century.

Epidemics of smallpox and measles, and possibly of typhus, tuberculosis, cholera and dysentery, had been known since early Islam, yet the available information is too sparse and vague to enable precise knowledge of specific cases. Mediaeval Muslim medicine, under Greek influence, considered as the cause of such epidemics the pestilential corruption of the environment, particularly the air (miasma).

Enough material has survived to show that medical writers in early Islamic centuries understood *ṭāʿūn* to mean both the bubonic plague and the swellings of the lymph glands so characteristic of this disease. Relying on Greek and Latin sources, and parallel to the classical notion of the "black death", they speak of the "black *ṭāʿūn*", the worst kind of plague, one of the prominent signs of which is the appearance of dark blotches under the skin. The 7th/13th-century author Muhyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī [*q.v.*], for example, speaks of "tumours . . . accompanied by a fiery inflammation", of "palpitation of the heartbeat and nausea", all symptoms which accord with modern medical data collected on the bubonic plague. The physician Ibn al-Nafīs [*q.v.*] identified buboes with plague infection. The Andalusian historian Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], a contemporary of the Black Death (see below), stands out in his opposition to the view of the jurists and his insistence

on the factor of contagion in spreading the plague.

The plague is a virulent and extremely lethal epidemic illness, which appeared in world history in the form of great cycles of periodic infection known as pandemics. The bacilli, known as *Pasteurella pestis*, are carried by fleas (*Xenopsylla cheopis*) into populations of wild rodents, where the plague can find a permanent reservoir. It is agreed that the factors which led to outbreaks of plague were an epizootic in the rodents, especially in rats, which would destroy the hosts for the fleas and cause the latter to pass to humans. When an infected flea bites a human, plague bacilli multiply and accumulate in the lymph glands and create buboes (hence: bubonic plague). As the disease progresses, the body's temperature rises and the pulse dramatically increases. In plagues attested in history, a large percentage of cases of infections resulted in fatality within two weeks at the most. A mortality rate of up to 70% made bubonic plague a disastrous disease. Complications could draw the plague bacilli into the lungs, causing the highly contagious and absolutely fatal pneumonic plague which prevails mainly in the winter months and causes death rapidly. A septicaemic variety of plague results from the introduction of the bacillus into the bloodstream and is a very acute plague form, since death can occur within hours. Plague infection spread primarily along communication and trade routes, both by land and sea. Contrary to the assertion of some scholars, there seems no ground for the suggestion that populations could develop natural immunity to the plague.

A plague recorded for the years A.D. 573-4 is of interest since it occurred immediately after what is commonly held to have been the date of Muḥammad's birth. It appears to have been part of the pandemic which began with the so-called Plague of Justinian in 541 and continued for two centuries up to 131/749. The geographical origin of this pandemic is unclear, and the mediaeval Muslim ascription of it to an African plague reservoir should be treated with caution. One should also note the so-called Plague of S̲h̲īrawayh (6/628), named after the Sāsānid emperor S̲h̲īrawayh or S̲h̲īrūy Kawād̲h̲ II, who perished in this outbreak, as being the first recorded case of plague in the Muslim era. A decade later, in Syria and ʿIrāḳ in 17-18/638-9, the Plague of ʿAmwās in Palestine [see ʿAMWĀS] was the first plague to strike the newly-established Muslim empire. It appears to have been of devastating proportions in terms of the mortality it caused; many thousands of Arabs and the conquered population perished. Plague then occurred in the Muslim Near East between 49/669 and 131/749, about a dozen times in Syria and ʿIrāḳ, of which the so-called "Plague which snatches people away [in droves]" (*ṭāʿūn al-d̲j̲ārif*) in 67/687 in ʿIrāḳ, and then that of 126/743-4, which persisted almost continuously until 131/749, were particularly devastating. Thereafter, there appears to have been a respite in the incidence of plague until it struck Bag̲h̲dād in 301/913-14. Later, sporadic outbreaks are difficult to identify because of the dubious terminology.

The second pandemic in the mediaeval Islamic world is known as the Black Death. It appeared in Mongolia—where plague had been endemic for a long time—*ca.* 732/1331, and reached Islamic territories in 748/1347, most likely by the overland route through Turkestan and the Black Sea region. It was as devastating to the Near Eastern populations as to the European ones, and although no accurate mortality data are available, modern research has suggested a population decline of between 25% and 33%. From the available sources, it appears that Egypt and Syria were the regions primarily affected. In addition to high mortality there was large-scale flight from infected areas which aggravated the situation. Cultivated land was abandoned and famine developed. Urban centres suffered as well, since economic activity drastically declined and various functions were suspended. In Ibn K̲h̲aldūn's poetic phrase, "It was as if the voice of existence in the world had called out for oblivion and restriction and the world responded to its call". There were frequent recurrences until as late as the 19th century. For Egypt, close to 50 recurrences of either *wabāʾ* or *ṭāʿūn* have been recorded for the period between 1348 and 1517. For Syria, the number is about 25. Among the effects of this phenomenon, one should point out the almost certain lack of demographic recovery until modern times.

Theological belief and a normative scheme of behaviour with regard to the plague arose and were incorporated into *ḥadīt̲h̲* [*q.v.*] and other kinds of literature, such as the genre of treatises on the plague. Juristic literature furnished not only legal precedents, which set limits to intellectual discussion and communal behaviour in the context of epidemics, but also an aetiological explanation of the plague, methods of prevention and treatment. Theological explanations contradicted the medical ones of an infected environment (see above) by claiming that disease comes directly from God, hence no infection should be feared. Accordingly, plague was a divine punishment inflicted on impious Muslims and unbelievers. A special kind of lore developed around demons (*d̲j̲inn* [*q.v.*]) as the agents of the plague. However, if a pious Muslim survived the ordeal, he would be rewarded in the afterlife. In traditions ascribed to the Prophet, death from the plague is one of the means of gaining the status of *s̲h̲ahīd* [*q.v.*] or martyr. It was maintained that plague was a form of the divine mercy (*raḥma*), and that a pious Muslim should suffer an epidemic patiently, trusting in God's will and not trying to foil it. Such views explain the dicta prohibiting flight from stricken places.

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(B. SHOSHAN)

2. In the Ottoman Empire.

The development, in the course of the 16th century, of the vast Ottoman Empire does not seem to have affected the presence and proliferation of the plague, firmly established in the Ancient World since the mid-14th century and persisting there until the time of its disappearance in the early 20th century. Identifying the disease with certainty, establishing the chronology, geographical extension and intensity of epidemics of the plague over four centuries across this immense territory, is a task which has not as yet been tackled. However, publications currently available make

it possible to sketch the major aspects of the presence and effects of the plague, with the following proviso: the available information becomes more thorough and reliable the closer our own time is approached, and data is less complete and less certain the further one travels from towns and coastal regions. From the early 16th to the mid-19th century, the plague was virtually always present in at least one of the Ottoman provinces, spreading periodically over a much larger area, even the whole of the Empire. While the mortality rate of the disease was always very high—an average of three fatalities for every four patients—its intensity varied considerably: in some cases it would cause only a few deaths, then return to the same area some years later and wipe out a quarter of the population within weeks.

The 16th century is the period in which lacunae are most apparent. It is possible, however, to point to a huge pandemic in the years 1572-89, at which time the plague is found to have affected, with a few brief interruptions, the Near East as well as Egypt, Anatolia, the Balkans and North Africa. On the other hand, the plague was much in evidence during the whole of the 17th century, as is shown by these two examples: in Algiers it is recorded in 1600-2, 1605, 1606-9, 1611-3, 1620-4, 1626-7, 1630, 1639-44, 1647, 1649, 1654-61, 1665, 1673, 1675-6, 1680-3, 1686, 1689-95, 1697-1702, thus every other year on average. Cairo was affected, to a degree sufficient to have drawn the attention of the chroniclers, in 1601-3, 1619, 1620-6, 1642-4, 1667-8, 1671, 1696, thus 18 years in total. The plague was still rife in the 18th century; in 100 years, 68 years of pestilence have been recorded in Istanbul, 57 in Aegean Anatolia, 44 in Egypt, 42 in Albania-Epirus, 41 in Bosnia, 33 in Syria, 18 in Bulgaria, 45 in the Regency of Algiers and 19 in that of Tunis. Improved sources of information reveal that these epidemic instances were of limited intensity and that the deadly epidemics, those which could wipe out between one-tenth and one-third of the population of an urban area, the large cities in particular, occurred only rarely, once in each generation on average. This was the case in 1705, 1726, 1751, 1778 and 1812 in Istanbul, 1713, 1741, 1762, 1781 and 1818 in Salonica, 1718, 1733, 1762, 1787, 1812 and 1837 in Aleppo. The beginning of the 19th century was a continuation of the 18th with two great pandemics which ravaged almost the whole of the Empire in 1812-19 and 1835-38. Then, in the years 1840-44, the plague seems to have disappeared from the Ottoman Empire, with the exception of limited outbreaks in Cyrenaica in 1856-59 and in ʿIrāḳ in 1856-9, 1874-7 and 1891-2. It emerged again in 1894, persisting for more than half a century, in African and Asian territories which were formerly Ottoman.

The plague was above all a disease affecting various species of wild rodents, which played a decisive role in the perpetuation of the disease according to a complex process, in which their fleas participated, in what used to be called the natural centres of the plague. In terms of the Ottoman Empire, this refers to Persian Kurdistan, the Libyan desert and the ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] massif between Yemen and Ḥidjāz. It was from these zones that the disease spread, always carried by rodents, over vast territories and long periods of time, thus forming, in the 17th and 18th centuries, temporary centres, notably in Albania-Epirus, Moldavia-Walachia, Istanbul, Anatolia and Egypt. In these centres, the epizootic disease was communicated, fortuitously, to humans through the intermediary of fleas. On becoming an epidemic disease it would subsequently be diffused, by land and sea, throughout the whole of the Empire, carried by couriers, merchants, sailors, nomads, soldiers and fugitives—any travellers, in fact.

It is difficult to evaluate precisely the demographic effects of the plague. However, the 16th century seems to have enjoyed a fairly long epidemic remission, accounting for the relative prosperity of the population observed in Anatolia and the Near East. This came to an end in the 1580s, and the 17th and 18th centuries show an increase in the frequency of the disease, probably responsible for a stagnation of the Ottoman population taken as a whole. In its more severe manifestations, the plague also damaged economies, disrupting harvests in the countryside and commercial and industrial activities in the towns. The plague was thus one of the decisive factors behind the problems and weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century.

The beliefs and the behaviour of Muslims when confronted by epidemics of the plague were determined in the Middle Ages, and works of this era, especially those of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī in the 15th century, were regarded as authoritative in succeeding centuries. The situation changed from the early 19th century onward, with the appearance in the Near East, in 1820, of a new epidemic disease—cholera, originating in Bengal, which, spreading from Mecca, was to add its effects to those of the plague. The change came about through the influence of the Europeans resident in the Levant, who successfully applied the techniques of protection in use in Europe, and especially through the awareness on the part of rulers of Muslim states of the importance of the demographic factor in military, fiscal and economic spheres. Traditional resignation to divine will was replaced, at least in the higher echelons of the state, by a conception which sought to reconcile the *S̲h̲arīʿa* with modern science and the interests of the state. From the 1830s onward, the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, equipped themselves with sanitary authorities and regulations, placing quarantine stations on maritime and terrestrial frontiers. These innovations were achieved with the aid of Westerners, diplomats and doctors, who saw an opportunity to enhance their influence. The rapidity of the results obtained, such that no cases of plague were recorded in the Ottoman Empire after 1844, resulted as much from the efforts of local sanitary institutions as from natural extinction of the temporary centres of the previous centuries. Later recurrences of the plague, few and of limited scope, were energetically combatted.

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(D. Panzac)

WABĀR, in Arabian lore a district and tribe localised in the southern part of the Arabian peninsula. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 835, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 896, give the name

as an indeclinable *faʿāli* form, Wabārⁱ, with the irregular *nisba* Abārī.

1. In Arabian lore and history.

The Wabār are mentioned by the historians alongside the ʿĀd, Thamūd [*q.vv.*] and other extinct tribes like the Djadīs and Ṭasm [*q.v.*] as peoples of Arabia, now vanished (*al-ʿArab al-bāʾida*), accounted by some genealogists as being among the "true, original" Arabs (*al-ʿArab al-ʿarbāʾ* or *al-ʿāriba*), and described as such by e.g. al-Hamdānī and al-Ṭabarī. The latter, i, 221, tr. W.M. Brinner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ii, *Prophets and patriarchs*, Albany 1987, 20, and al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 184, and *Murūdj*, iii, 288-90 = § 1161, number the Wabār among the extinct Arab tribes and give their genealogy.

The statements of the Arab geographers and historians about the history of the Wabār are strongly saturated with legend. The stories current among the Arabs are given by Ibn al-Faḳīh, 37-8, whose statements are combined from several sources, al-Bakrī (*op. cit.*), and much more fully Yāḳūt (iv, 896; a brief synopsis in the *Lisān*, still more briefly in the *Ḳāmūs* and a little more fully in the *Tādj*, *s.v.*). Yāḳūt quotes various authorities, including Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, Ibn al-Faḳīh, and other direct and indirect sources. His statements (iv, 897) agree almost word for word with those of Ibn al-Faḳīh. Al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 41) and later writers are based on Yāḳūt. The same characteristic features are common to the authors and compilers mentioned. These include the purely legendary elements: that the name of the land goes back to an ancestor Wabār, who flourished at the time of the confusion of tongues (so al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 184; al-Ṭabarī, i, 221, 250), that after the fall of the ʿĀd (cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 20), the previous inhabitants of Wabār, the Djinn, took possession of the land (so also al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, 154, 223; al-Ṭabarī, i, 221), and men lived there no longer but only half-men (*nasnās*), beings who had only half a head, one eye, one hand and one leg (Yāḳūt, ii, 263, tells the same story of al-Shiḥr), that no one dared enter this land, and that its mysterious inhabitants destroyed the crops of the adjoining lands between al-Shiḥr and Yaman. A feature which is developed in the legend, on older models, is the story that Wabār was a particularly fertile land, rich in water and fruit-trees and especially in palms (so also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 276, 288-9 = §§ 1150, 1161); al-Nābigha's mention of palms in the land of Wabār (in Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, etc., London 1870, 112, from Yāḳūt) was taken as evidence that the land was fertile and inhabited (cf. al-Bakrī, *loc. cit.*, with Yāḳūt, iv, 898). The mentions of Wabār in poetry are, of course, not independent evidence, but repeat as a rule only the conventional notions of the great antiquity and fall of the people and the isolation of their land (cf. also Yāḳūt, iv, 897).

What arouses interest in these fables and may be of use are the geographical ideas at the bottom of them. According to some of these statements, the broad land of Wabār stretched from al-Shiḥr to Ṣanʿāʾ, in general to the eastern frontier of Yaman; according to others, it comprised the whole territory between Nadjrān and Ḥaḍramawt; lastly, according to others, it was the territory between the "sands of Yabrīn" (*rimāl Yabrīn*) and Yaman (see also al-Djawharī). From these topographical hints, which in spite of their differences together give a rough general picture, it can be deduced that the portion of the South Arabian desert, of the Rubʿ al-Khālī or Dahnāʾ, north of the Mahra [*q.vv.*] country, was called Wabār by the Arabs, but this geographical name was also understood in a wider sense and extended to the whole Dahnāʾ. The part called Wabār adjoined in the east the desert area of al-Aḥḳāf (dunes) which lay north and west of Ḥaḍramawt. C. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Leiden 1901, i, 160) says, on the authority of information received from local people, that in the expression *ahl al-aḥḳāf* the place-name, according to South Arabian ideas, refers not only to the district of al-Aḥḳāf but also to caves in which the Arabian troglodytes live (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 154, on the different topographical clues for this district).

It is impossible to accept Ritter's (*Erdkunde*, xiii, 315) identification of the Wabār with the Βανοῦβαροι, who are mentioned by Ptolemy in connection with the Thamūd and are to be located in the northern half of the west coast of Arabia (the first component of the name is obviously connected with *Banū*). Ritter's comparison (xii, 271, 392) of Wabār in al-Idrīsī (ed. Jaubert, i, 156) is also to be rejected. Nevertheless, although the records are clothed in the form of legend, it does not follow that the whole story is a pure invention, but only that we have here the memory of an ancient people which has become a legend; similar things are to be found in the history of most nations. There is a series of fabulous stories associated with the whole of Southern Arabia between Yaman and ʿUmān, a region little known to Arab scholars and littérateurs.

Various ruined sites and buildings have been noted by European travellers. Thus H.St.J. Philby saw in 1917, at al-Sayḥ in the Aflādj oasis, the ruins of a large building called by the locals Ḳuṣayrat ʿĀd and regarded in local tradition as the capital of a king whose capital was at "Wubār" further south, on the border with Ḥaḍramawt (*The heart of Arabia*, London 1922, ii, 99 ff.). Al-Ṭabarī, i, 221, locates the land Abār between Yamāma and al-Shiḥr in the Ḥaḍramawt, and the geographers generally regard the oasis of Yabrīn as marking the northern edge of Wabār.

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(J. Tkatsch*)

2. Modern attempts to locate the site.

As emerges from 1. above, it seems hardly possible to locate the site of Wabār from the written and oral sources. Archaeological research, on the other hand, did not produce any specific results until 1992, when much publicity was given to the supposed discovery of the ancient city of "Ubar" (i.e. Wabār) at al-Shisar in northern Dhofar or Ẓafār [*q.v.*] (Sultanate of Oman), a site well known to the local inhabitants as the last watering point before the vast expanse of the sands of the Rubʿ al-Khālī. It was also suggested that Wabār could be identified with the *Omanum emporium*, a trading settlement mentioned by Ptolemy.

At the time of the present writer's first visit to the site in July 1980, al-Shisar had no permanent dwellings, except for a fortlet built in 1955 by the Sultan of Oman for a small detachment of soldiers. A small cultivated area, with palm trees, vegetables and seasonal crops, covered an area of about half a km^2. The main concern of the garrison was clearly to guard a perennial spring which could be reached at the bottom of a steep descent, some 15 m below ground, in a large cave exposed by the collapse of a limestone dome. The mouth of the cave was in the past encompassed by a stone enclosure, irregularly rectangular in plan, measuring about 60 × 70 m and reinforced at almost regular intervals by small towers. The collapse of the cave mouth, which is still in progress, has some time ago caused the destruction of a large portion of the western side of the enclosure.

On the archaeological discovery at al-Shisar, any firm judgement would be premature, since a detailed scientific report is not yet available. The identification with the *Omanum emporium* is dubious in light of recent extensive work on Ptolemy's *Geography*, which points to the interpretation of the term *emporium* as referring exclusively to coastal market towns; and even the Bedouin who accompanied Bertram Thomas when he crossed the Empty Quarter, and who recounted the legend that Wabār was a great city buried beneath the sands, were indicating an area far to the northwest of al-Shisar. Hence the small size and the architectonic features of the enclosure found at al-Shisar do not seem to offer any evidence for its identification with a major pre-Islamic trading town. According to popular belief in the area, the ruin could be related to a stronghold built by the ruler of Ḥaḍramawt, Sultan Badr b. Ṭuwayriḳ, around the middle of the 10th/16th century (see on him, R.B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast*, Beirut 1974, index of proper names).

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(P.M. COSTA)

WAD MADANĪ, a city in the Republic of Sudan (1993 pop., 220,000), located on the left bank of the Blue Nile 136 km/85 miles southeast of the capital Khartoum [see AL-KHURṬŪM], and the main urban centre of the Djazīra region (the area between the Blue and White Niles). It is adjacent to the headquarters of the Djazīra irrigation scheme at Barakāt.

The name is derived from Muḥammad b. Madanī (*fl.* late 17th century), known as Wad (i.e. Walad) Madanī, a prominent religious scholar and teacher of the Mālikī legal handbook *al-Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*]. His tomb, a simple brick *ḳubba* in which his successors were also buried, is located in the oldest quarter of the town, named al-Madaniyyīn. Wad Madanī developed into a large settlement during the 18th century and, in the aftermath of the Turkish-Egyptian conquest of the Fundj [*q.v.*] kingdom in 1821, it supplanted Sinnār as a regional administrative and commercial centre. It also continued to be a major centre of Islamic scholarship and training during the 19th and 20th centuries, with the schools of the Madaniyyīn family, of Muḥammad al-Izayriḳ (d. *ca.* 1883), and of ʿAlī al-Būshī (d. 1929). These schools stressed study of the Ḳur'ān and jurisprudence over Ṣūfism (Muḥammad wad Madanī himself is known as *al-Sunnī*), befitting the city's development into a major commercial entrepôt.

Bibliography: For a biography of Muḥammad b. Madanī, see Muḥammad al-Nūr b. Ḍayf Allāh, *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, ²Khartoum 1974, 329-32; H.C. Jackson, *Two Gezira families*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, iii (1920), 94-109 includes an account of the Madaniyyīn; Muḥammad al-Izayriḳ is remembered by one of his pupils in Babikr Bedri, *The memoirs of Babikr Bedri*, tr. Yousef Bedri and G. Scott, London 1969, 11-14.

(N. MCHUGH)

WA'D AL-BANĀT (A.), "the disposal by burying alive of newborn daughters", refers to the practice in pre-Islamic times of burying newborn girls immediately after birth. The concept occurs with strong disapproval in the Ḳur'ān in LXXXI, 8, in the form *al-maw'ūda*, but according to mediaeval *tafsīr*, the practice is alluded to also in LX, 12 (believing women who do not kill their children), XVI, 58/59; XLIII, 17 (anger and grief for the birth of a daughter), and in VI, 151, XVII, 31 (the killing of children for fear of poverty). According to the *ḥadīth*, the practice was explicitly forbidden by the Prophet (see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v. *w-'-d*). From two traditions where *al-ʿazl* [*q.v.*] "coitus interruptus" is called respectively *al-wa'd al-khafī* "the hidden burying alive" (Muslim, *nikāḥ*, 141; Ibn Mādja, *nikāḥ*, 61; Ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 361, 434) and *al-maw'ūda al-ṣughrā* "the lesser buried alive one" (Abū Dāwūd, *nikāḥ*, 48; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 33, 51, 53) it may be concluded that, more generally, the practice was probably a primitive sort of population control, though "gendered". In modern Islam, the issue of the prohibition of infanticide has played an important role in the debate on the legality of family planning (see Abdel Rahim Omran, *Family planning in the legacy of Islam*, London 1992, 86-89 and *passim*); the opponents argue that *ʿazl* or any practice that prevents pregnancy is to be equated with *wa'd*, whilst the proponents maintain that contraception merely prevents pregnancy and involves no killing and that only *abortus provocatus* is covered by the prohibition of *wa'd* and that *ʿazl* was permitted by the Prophet.

(F. LEEMHUIS)

AL-**WAʿD** WA 'L-**WAʿĪD** (A.), "the Promise and the Threat", represents one of the "Five Principles" (*al-uṣūl al-khamsa*), which since the time of Abu 'l-Hudhayl [*q.v.*] have been considered characteristic of Muʿtazilī theology. With this slogan, the Muʿtazila expressed their conviction that not only the unbelievers had to face damnation on the Day of Judgement but that Muslims who had committed a grave sin (*kabīra* [see KHAṬĪ'A]) without repentance were also threatened by eternal hellfire.

The starting-point of this dogma was the exegesis of certain Ḳur'ānic statements. These stress, on the one hand, that God has "promised" Paradise to the believers (e.g. IX, 72) and Hell to the unbelievers (e.g. IX, 68) (in both cases the verb *waʿada* is used), i.e. He has made a binding declaration of intent. On the other hand, the Ḳur'ān declares that certain grave sins will be punished by eternal damnation. Thus it says in e.g. IV, 10 that "Those who devour the property of the orphan unjustly, . . . will in the end roast in a hellish blaze" (cf. also IV, 30; LXXXII, 14, *et al.*).

The Muslims of the early period were nonetheless of the opinion that these "verses of threat" were not addressed to them. They were apparently convinced that, due to their adherence to Islam, they automatically belonged to the "People of Paradise" (*ahl al-djanna*), thinking that such warnings could only be meant for the unbelievers, characteristically called the "People of the Fire" (*ahl al-nār*). This certainty of salvation, however, crumbled during the first century of the Hidjra. Various religious movements (Khāridjites, Ḳadarīs and ascetics) contributed to this process, since they, for a wide variety of reasons, thought that eternal punishment was not precluded in the case of sinful Muslims.

These discussions apparently influenced the opinions of the Muʿtazilīs. The Ḳadarī model was decisive here; for, just like the adherents of the Ḳadariyya, the Muʿtazila were of the opinion that individuals determine their actions themselves and are, therefore, to be held responsible for their good and bad deeds. In addition, the Muʿtazila stressed the principle of

Divine justice. The latter is manifest in the fact that God reliably keeps the promises and threats which He has made in the Ḳurʾān. These declarations were formulated in a general way (*ʿāmm^an^*) and should not be relativised by interpreting them in a particular way (*khāṣṣ^an^*) by having them refer to this or that group (such as the unbelievers). The Muʿtazila concluded that God will punish all individuals, including Muslims, who have committed a grave sin by eternal hellfire. Thus there is no way out for the grave sinner, unless he sincerely repents of his crime (*al-tawba wādjiba*; cf. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, xiv, 335 ll. 2 ff.). If he does, the Prophet will make intercession (*shafāʿa* [*q.v.*]) on his behalf on the Day of Judgement, at which point the sinner can expect God's forgiveness. For justice is binding on both sides: on the sinner who must repent to find forgiveness (*inna 'l-maghfira bi-shart al-tawba*; cf. *Mutashābih al-Ḳurʾān*, 596 l. 13), and on God who is obliged to accept this repentance (*ḳabūl al-tawba wādjib; Mughnī*, xiv, 337 ll. 6 ff.).

This dogma was internally consistent, but hardly won acceptance outside the school. This was achieved rather by another scenario about the fate of man in the Hereafter, which was developed by the Murdjiʾa and became predominant in many varieties of Islam. According to it, no believer has to expect eternal punishment in Hell. His own belief (and the Prophet's intercession) guarantee for him that he will at most suffer a temporal punishment in Hell and in the end enter Paradise. This optimistic basic attitude was adopted by the two Sunnī schools of theology, the Ashʿariyya and the Māturīdiyya. But it met with approval also among the Shīʿīs, for, even though the Imāmī theologians followed the Muʿtazila in many other respects, they rejected the adoption of the Muʿtazilī principle of *al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd*.

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(U. Rudolph)

WAḌʿ AL-LUGHA (A.), literally "the establishment of language," a phrase which reflects a view of the nature of language that pervades the classical Muslim linguistic sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-lughawiyya*) and the non-linguistic science most concerned with linguistic matters, *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiḳh* (the science of the methodology of jurisprudence). Language (*lugha*), in that view, was essentially a code made up of patterned vocal sounds or vocables (*alfāẓ*) and their meanings (*maʿānī*). This code was understood to have emerged out of a primordial establishment of the vocables *for* their meanings. Hence the application of the term *mawḍūʿ* to vocables and *mawḍūʿ lahu* to meanings. Considered from the semiotic point of view, vocables were considered to be "signs" (*adilla*) and meanings "things signified" (*madlūlāt*).

Classical Muslim learning attributes to a Muʿtazilī thinker, ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān, and to his followers the belief that vocables signified their meanings by virtue of a natural affinity between vocable and meaning. The term *waḍʿ* connotes a rejection of this view. To the extent that the adherents of the concept of *waḍʿ* contended with the view of the school of ʿAbbād, they repeated the debate among the ancient Greeks between the proponents of *thesis* and the proponents of *physis*. These positions are thus also discussed by Islamic philosophers (see e.g. al-Fārābī, *Sharḥ al-ʿIbāra*, ed. W. Kutsch and S. Marrow, Beirut 1960, 50-1). However, ʿAbbād's view soon became extinct among the Muslims as the concept of *waḍʿ* assumed the character of an orthodoxy. The correlations between vocables and their meanings were seen as entirely rooted in the primordial *waḍʿ*. Disagreement lingered as to the identity of the agent or agents of *waḍʿ*—some thought God to be the establisher of the code, others assigned this role to primordial human society—but resolution of the debate was not considered necessary. What was important to all parties was the non-natural *posited* character of the code.

Although the meanings of vocables could change over time, the term *waḍʿ* was reserved for the original, primordial assignment of vocables to meanings. All subsequent change occurred within an already established *lugha* and came under the heading of *ʿurf* or *iṣṭilāḥ*, not *waḍʿ* in the strict sense. *Waḍʿ* produced the basic language or code in relationship to which all subsequent semantic development amounted to extension, accretion or modification, and not true invention. In principle, all original meanings, including meanings which have become rare, remain part of the ongoing code and can assume relevance in the interpretation of texts.

In the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* works, features of the language such as ambiguity, synonymity, and figurative usage were defined in terms of *waḍʿ* and thus seen as built into the basic language. For example, an ambiguous expression was considered to be a vocable that had been subjected to multiple establishments. Eagerness to explain in full detail how the primordial *waḍʿ* gave rise to all the multifarious components of language prompted in the late 8th/14th century the formation of a special "science of *waḍʿ*" (*ʿilm al-waḍʿ*). The seminal work in this science was a short treatise by ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī [*q.v.*] entitled *al-Risāla al-waḍʿiyya*, upon which numerous commentaries, supercommentaries and glosses were written. Eventually, manuals summarising the doctrines of this science appeared.

The science of *waḍʿ* broke the *lugha* down into its meaning-laden components, which included not merely words as such but also constituents of words, such as forms, radicals, and suffixes, and syntactic combinations of words, such as construct phrases, attributive phrases and whole sentences. The *waḍʿ* of each component was then classified with reference to a complex taxonomy that consisted of six basic types of *waḍʿ*. The notion of types of *waḍʿ* was first adumbrated in al-Īdjī's treatise, although the full development of the six types was the work of subsequent commentators.

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(B.G. Weiss)

WADAʿ, Wadʿ (A., collective, sing. *wadaʿa* or *wadʿa*), shells of the gasteropod *Cypraea*, cowrie shells, most commonly *Cypraea moneta* or *Cypraea annulus*, used in India and widely in West Africa as money

down to the early 20th century. They were also known in Egypt as *kawda* (or *kūda*, see G. Wiet, *Le traité des famines de Maqrīzī*, in *JESHO*, v [1962], 62), reflecting the word's Hindi, and ultimately Sanskrit, origin as *kauri*, whence the English "cowrie". Cowries were also used as money in ancient China and widely in India. They have been used even more widely as ornaments, as fertility symbols, and in Arabia as a protection against the evil eye.

1. Usage in the economies of the Indian subcontinent and sub-Saharan Africa.

The two varieties of cowrie can be found over a wide range in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, but the principal source of those used as currency (*C. moneta*) was the Maldive Islands [*q.v.*]. The monetary use of the cowrie in India remains understudied. While gold and silver were the media of interregional and international trade, cowries along with copper coinage played an important role in rent and taxation, and in the development of a textile industry. Although huge numbers must have been in circulation in the heyday of their usage in the 17th and 18th centuries, the way in which their importation and circulation were linked to the importation and circulation of precious metals is poorly understood. It is clear, however, that the cowrie-rupee ratio was relatively stable down to the late 18th century, when competition from much-increased copper circulation caused the cowrie to drop sharply against the rupee. Bengal and Orissa remained strongholds of the cowrie well into the early 19th century when, according to Perlin, "rapid inflation—connected with the collapse of the old manufacturing system and the region's changing colonial status—drove them from general use".

It is not known how cowries first reached West Africa, though they may have crossed the Sahara in small quantities in Carthaginian or Roman times. The earliest references to the importation of cowries in Arabic sources are al-Bakrī (writing in 460/1067-8), who mentions cowries as being imported into Kūg͟ha (*K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, 179), and al-Zuhrī (mid-6th/12th century), who says that cowries were imported into Zāfun [Diafunu] (*K. al-Ḏj̲aʿrāfiyā*, ed. Hadj-Sadok, in *BÉt. Or.*, xxi [1968], 127), but neither says that cowries were being used as currency. The first mention of cowries as currency is provided by al-ʿUmarī, who lists cowries as one of a number of currency items in use, all of which were valued by reference to a locally-woven cloth called *dandī* (*apud* al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id, 23).

He also reports that in Mali (which he calls Takrūr [*q.v.*]) the currency consisted of cowries and that the merchants who imported them made big profits on them. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 122) confirms the use of cowries in central Mali and in Gao on the eastern edge of the empire, and gives the exchange rate as 1,500 cowries to the *mit̲h̲ḳāl* of gold. Compared with later exchange rates, these cowries were very expensive. This may reflect the long and difficult route they must have taken from the Maldives to the Mediterranean, and across the Sahara on camel back. In the Maldives, where Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had seen them at source, 400,000 could be purchased for one *mit̲h̲ḳāl*, and on occasion up to one million. In *ca.* 1510 Leo Africanus reported an even higher exchange rate at Timbuktu: 400 to the *mit̲h̲ḳāl*, but this may either be a simple error or reflect a famine rate; in a known period of famine, 1617-19, the exchange rate was 500 to the *mit̲h̲ḳāl.* Otherwise, in the Middle Niger area the rate from the 16th to the 19th century remained relatively stable at about 3,000 cowries to the *mit̲h̲ḳāl.* Even in 1853 the German traveller Heinrich Barth reported a rate of 3-4,000 to the *mit̲h̲ḳāl* in Timbuktu.

To the east of this region in Hausaland, cowries may have been in use as early as the 16th century. Anania reports the use of "small very white sea shells" as money in Katsina, and says they are "as used by all these blacks" (*L'universale fabrica del mondo*, [3]Venice 1582, tr. in D. Lange and S. Berthoud, in *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, xiv [1972], 335). Cowries were to become central to the trading activities of the Hausa states where gold, which was plentiful in the 16th century, became progressively scarcer and was superseded by the Maria Theresa silver thaler [see sikka. 3] by the 19th century. Cowries suffered from galloping inflation in the late 19th century in Hausaland and elsewhere in West Africa, and in the early years of the 20th century were gradually edged out by colonial currencies in silver and copper. Although cowries had been used in Kanem [*q.v.*] in the 14th century, they seem not to have been used in its successor state Bornu [*q.v.*] until very late on. Under S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānimī, cowries were introduced for petty transactions in 1848-9, while larger transactions were carried out with the Maria Theresa thaler. East of Lake Chad, cowries were not used, nor were they acceptable north of Timbuktu or Agades.

Until the 19th century, the Sahelian regions immediately to the south of the Sahara were supplied from North Africa. One of the earliest routes was overland from Bengal to the Mediterranean and thence through Egypt, while some evidently went through Venice and across to North African ports. The evidence, however, is fragmentary, and the mechanics of the trade quite unknown. Following the Portuguese discovery of a sea route to Asia via the Cape of Good Hope in 1499, European ships of various nations began shipping cowries back to Europe, often as ballast, and re-exporting them to African ports. Pétis de la Croix (1697) notes cowries being imported from France to Tripoli for transportation southwards, and evidence from the late 18th century points to Mogador (al-Ṣawīra [*q.v.*]) in Morocco as a point of importation of cowries from Europe for the trans-Saharan trade. European merchants were also importing cowries to ports on the West African coast such as Accra, Whydah and Lagos, and to ports in the Bights of Benin and Biafra. In these coastal regions cowries were used for the purchase of slaves, and constituted the basic transactional currency. By the 1830s cowries imported via Europe to the coast were being traded up the river Niger and supplying some of the Hausa states.

As a currency, cowries had both advantages and disadvantages. They are handsome objects, extremely hard wearing and impossible to counterfeit. Being brought into their area of use from far away, there was little danger of an over-supply leading to inflation, though this did happen on the West African coast from the late 1850s when importation of *C. annulus* from Zanzibar flooded the market. On the other hand, cowries were heavy to transport and tedious to count. The latter problem was partially solved by the fabrication of units containing multiples of cowries. On the West African coast 40 cowries made one "string", while 5 strings made one "bunch" and 50 bunches made one "head". In Hausaland, cowries were counted in fives, and a rush sack or "mat" containing 20,000 cowries was the standard unit, weighing about 50 pounds (or more if there was a preponderance of larger *annulus* shells), which was one man's head load. In the Bambara (or Bamana) area of the upper Niger, there was a peculiar system of counting cowries in which

the unit was ten, but the hundred of cowries was only 80 actual cowries, a thousand was ten "hundreds", ten thousand was ten lots of a "thousand" and 100,000 was only eight lots of "ten thousand"; thus 100,000 was in fact only 64,000 shells, while 10,000 was only 8,000 shells, 1,000 was actually 800 and 100 was only 80. It has been suggested that this way of reckoning was aimed at providing the petty trader with a discount, but it may also represent the remnants of an older indigenous counting system.

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2. Definition in the Arabic sources.

The ensemble of information on shells called *wadʿa* in *LA*, vi, 4795, and *TA*, v, 533-4, allows us to identify with certainty that cowries or porcelain-shells are here envisaged; whether large or small, they come from the sea and are thrown up by it and left (hence their name, from the verb *wadaʿa* "to leave, let") on the beaches, and not fished up. They have a split like a date stone and are hollow, with a kind of fleshy worm inside or, as may also be found, a tiny organism like a moth (*al-ḥalama*), a parasite. They are remarkable for their whiteness and hardness like a stone, but they can, however, be pierced. Their brilliance is vaunted by poets. The link with the Indian subcontinent is noted by Ibn al-Bayṭār, ed. L. Leclerc, 188-9, tr. 404-5 no. 2272, repeated by the Rasūlid al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, *al-Muʿtamad fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*, Beirut 1370/1951, 544, being called "the bracelet of Sind" (*siwār al-Sind*). The lexica also show that the *wadʿa* could also be called *kharaz*. In a famous verse of Imru' al-Ḳays, cited in *LA*, i, 617, we have *ka-anna ʿuyūn al-waḥsh ḥawl khibā'inā * wa-arḥulinā al-djazʿ alladhī lam yuthakkab*, with *djazʿ* defined as *kharaz yamānī*. The term appears in the lexicon of the Constantinois region of former French Algeria in fairly recent times, as "a variegated sea shell, shaped like a grain of coffee with a split in the middle (porcelain of the sea)" (M.A. Cherbonneau, *Définition lexicographique de plusieurs mots usités dans le langage de l'Afrique septentrionale*, in *JA*, xiii (Jan. 1859), 63-70, at 67: *w.d.ʿ, oudé*).

The term *wadʿa* can nevertheless be used in Arabic for all sorts of other shells, cf. E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1903, 82); the problems raised by a systematic translation of *wadʿa* by "cowrie" were discussed by Th. Monod, using evidence from al-Bakrī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in his *Sur quelques coquilles marines du Sahara et du Soudan*, in *La vie dans la région désertique Nord-tropicale de l'Ancien monde*, vi (1938), 147-78, at 172-3, noting the term's usage for shells in general.

3. Usage for divination in the Arab world.

Divination by cowrie shells is not apparently treated in *ḥadīth*; Ibn Ḥanbal mentions it rather as a protective amulet (*ḥirz*), cf. Wensinck, *Concordances*, vii, 168. The lexica, such as *LA* and *TA*, say, s.v., that it protects from the evil eye. Judy F. Pugh mentions that amongst the Muslim artisans of Benares, divination by means of cowrie shells thrown on to the ground traditionally represents an orthodox form of divination (*Divination and ideology in the Banaras Muslim community*, in K.P. Ewing (ed.), *Sharīʿat and ambiguity in South Asian Islam*, Berkeley, etc. 1988, 295). Nevertheless, it is currently condemned in North Yemen, including by students of *ḥadīth*, as a kind of *tandjīm* or *faʾl* or as a practice of the *ʿarrāf*.

It is difficult to ascertain how old such practices are. The cowrie retains its protective function, as a *ḥirz*, till today, cf. Lane, *Manners and customs*, ch. XI, and is used on animals to ward off the evil eye, cf. A. Fodor, *Amulets from the Islamic world*, in *Catalogue of the exhibition held in Budapest in 1988*, in *The Arabist (Budapest)*, ii (1990), no. 5, 214-15, 248, 296-8, 341. Today, cowries are either worn round the neck or carried in a pocket as at Ṣanʿā'. The cowrie also has medical uses, essentially as a dessicating or detersive agent (Ibn al-Bayṭār, *loc. cit.*; al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, *loc. cit.*). There are descriptions of divination by cowrie shells in travel literature, but these accounts are recent. Also, the relevant knowledge is transmitted orally, and there are no known treatises on it; could this be from the poor image, in orthodox eyes, of the practice, since this form of divination is strongly perceived as charlatanry (*shaʿwadha*)? It has been, and still is, often connected with such groups as the Gypsies and the Ṣulayb or Ṣlēb (for the latter, see ṣulaib, ṣulayb, in *EI*[1] and *EI*[2] respectively, and B. Vernier, *Quédar, carnets d'un méhariste syrien*, Paris 1938, 244). It is practised by wandering or nomadic persons, who follow round their clientèle, showing the close link between this form of divination and monetary gain. Probably originating far from the towns, it has been carried thither (Gypsies in the Ghūṭa of Damascus; in Yemen, Bedouin from the region of Ma'rib practising in Ṣanʿā' or at Ridāʿ near Dhamār). The essentially feminine nature of its practitioners may have

contributed to its controversial image. The exiguous material is complemented below by material gained by the author's personal observation in Yemen in 1999, at Ṣanʿāʾ and Ridāʿ.

In general, the "instruments" of divination are a jumble of objects, in which shells (cowries are not always precisely noted here) may be dominant—porcelains of the genus *Cypraea annulus*; murex; shells from the *Olividiae* family, probably of the genus *Oliva*—or may not be dominant quantitatively (Emily Said-Ruete, *Mémoires d'une princesse arabe*, Paris 1891, 328; Vernier, *op. cit.*, 103-4; they may often be mixed with inanimate objects or objects formed from organic matter, such as whitened bones or fragments of bone, pieces of money, stones or a rosary, *maṣbaḥa*). One wonders, accordingly, what each element represents. On the other hand, the contents of the basket containing all these objects may be of a homogeneous nature, with a limited number of shells. They are not thrown or allowed to fall on the earth, but may be used in a basket, which keeps them from contact with the dust and defines the area used; and the way in which an object falls is taken into account in the interpretation. According to the author's observations in Yemen, the person seeking guidance chooses a shell and puts it on the pile held in the diviner's hands, and the latter either lets it fall directly or throws it down. The operation of throwing down is repeated from three to five times until the solution to the problem emerges. It is difficult to classify definitively the various configurations that may emerge, given the polysemy of the various elements involved, their symbolic value, and the number of shells involved and their positions, and this large number of variables makes any clear decision almost impossible to attain. Hence the diviner resorts to external factors, such as discovering the reason for the enquirer's resort to this form of divination, or whether the enquirer is a stranger (hence involved in travelling) or whether a love affair is involved (probably to be connected with a daughter of the enquirer's paternal or maternal uncles, the favoured choices for marriage), etc. The actual juxtaposition of the objects thrown may also have significance.

In Yemen, these consultations are not preceded by any perceptible Ḳurʾānic recitation (*tilāwa*). It seems that the problems of the enquirer are evaluated through psychological means and through observation. The presence of a rosary, manipulated in the first place with the shells, may signify the presence of God over the proceedings, but there also exist practitioners who claim to be guided by the *d̲j̲inn*. In general, we lack sufficient material to disengage any fixed lines of procedure, but it seems that this form of divination is inspired by a varied technique of psychology and of manipulation of the divinatory objects, as is clearly apparent in Black Africa, as shown by Amar Samb for Dakar (*Les systèmes de divination en Afrique noir, l'exemple du Sénégal*, in *Notes africaines*, no. 184 (Oct. 1984), 73-4).

4. Usage for divination in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Throwing down cowry shells is not considered historically as being Islamic in origin (Ch. Monteil, *La divination chez les Noirs de l'Afrique occidentale française*, in *Bull. du Comité d'études historiques et scientifiques de l'AOF*, xiv/1-2 (Jan.-June 1931), 53; Samb, *op. cit.*, 73). It nevertheless exists in Black Africa, even though it is at the same time considered as being connected with superstition, paganism or even with what is accursed. Although those who throw down cowries for divinatory purposes are most often Muslims, the interpretation is done with reference to a polytheistic religious context or one of a monotheism connected with the earth (animism). How far it has a place within Islam and the animist religions is hard to define; moreover, its practitioners usually make reference to a popular Islam whose contours are hard to fix precisely.

Divination here rests basically on the principle that it is God who is speaking through the cowries, and these last are inseparably His mouthpiece and His ear. Nevertheless, anthropomorphisation of the shells, or their symbolic value, do not permit one to adopt unreservedly the symbolism of the female vulva that is ordinarily associated with them (see in general here, E.G. Gobert, *Le pudendum magique et la problème des cauris*, in *Rev. Afr.*, xcv [1951], 5-62); furthermore, the colour white, that of God in dreams, may also be the symbolic element visualised.

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(Anne Regourd)

WADĀĪ (various renderings of this non-Arabic name, including, in al-Tūnisī, the above one and Waddāī and al-Wāday), conventionally Wadai in English, Ouadai in French, an upland region lying to the west of the Sudanese province of southern Dār Fūr [*q.v.*], now falling mainly within the Republic of Chad [see čad, in Suppl.] but with its eastern fringes in the Sudan Republic.

1. History.

Wadai was one of several Islamic African kingdoms to arise at the dawn of the modern era in the comparatively fertile highlands west of the Nile valley and east of Lake Chad. This zone was inhabited by a mosaic of ethnic groups; many spoke Nilo-Saharan languages, and among these was Boro Mabang, the tongue that defined the ethnic core of Wadai. Islam first entered this polyethnic highland world at the close of the Middle Ages as one of the powerful, prestigous and exotic things accessible to a community only through a powerful chieftain capable of opening roads abroad to diplomacy and trade. Of these chieftains there were many, fierce rivals of each other, one of whom would eventually emerge victorious as the founding monarch of each realm. The earliest legendary history of Wadai is inextricably linked to that of its eastern neighbor, Dār Fūr. When during the 16th century the first Dād̲j̲ū-speaking dynasty of Dār Fūr was overthrown, Wadai welcomed refugees from the east and as suze-

rains sponsored the formation of a small subordinate Dādjū realm of Dār Sila. By the close of the century, however, the same Tundjur conquerors who had ousted the Dādjū had also annexed Wadai as a tributary dependency of their realm, whose capitals at Uri and ʿAyn Farah in northern Dār Fūr attracted visitors from both the Nile and the Mediterranean. In the middle of the 17th century, Tundjur rule everywhere gave way to new dynasties of kings who claimed Arab ancestry and enjoyed the support of Arabic-speaking pastoralists. In Wadai a leader named ʿAbd al-Karīm repudiated ties with Dār Fūr and founded the historical ruling house of his kingdom. In Dār Fūr, too, the Tundjur were overthrown, but the new Kayra monarchs were reluctant to cede authority over Wadai. There followed more than a century of inconclusive but occasionally bitter struggle between the two great formerly Tundjur realms. Finally, at the close of the 18th century, a *détente* was achieved that allowed each rival an imperial age; henceforth Dār Fūr would expand eastwards toward the Nile, while Wadai struck westward to annex a huge empire that soon absorbed the kingdom of Bagirmi [*q.v.*] and touched the shores of Lake Chad.

ʿAbd al-Karīm and his successors were absolute rulers. While viewed as defenders and propagators of Islam, they also led the nation's secret rainmaking rituals on a sacred mountain near the capital of Wara. If not actually "adored as pharaohs", as disparaging Islamic tradition said of their predecessors the Tundjur kings, they were nevertheless surrounded by the full panoply of regalia and restraints that characterise sacral kingship in Africa. The king was served by a complicated array of titled officials, who typically combined one or more duties at court with a military or territorial command elsewhere in the kingdom; since high officials were not allowed to leave the presence of their royal master, however, their functions in the kingdom at large were carried out by trusted agents. Vital to the system was a large corps of confidential messengers who conveyed a steady flow of information or commands between capital and countryside. Each courtier or agent served only at his master's pleasure; competition for official favour was intense and career permanence uncertain. While most of the highest officials were Boro Mabang speakers chosen from the kingdom's dominant ethnic group, a lord might also choose for positions of trust a slave, a eunuch, a capable individual from a lesser ethnic community, or even a foreigner; the cadre of courtiers was therefore fairly cosmopolitan. As Wadai expanded during the 19th century there arose a new category of imperial proconsuls entitled *ʿaḳīds*, who differed from older royal courtiers not only in the great diversity of their ethnic origins but also in that they were allowed to absent themselves for extended periods from the presence of the king. Youths were gathered at the capital as a corps of pages to receive training in statecraft for future government service. Imperial officialdom derived part of its coherence from an intricate network of carefully-arranged marriages, the design of which was entrusted to senior female members of the royal family. Since the women assigned to these liaisons nursed the next generation of leadership, the women's quarters of the palace complex often seethed with dynastic intrigue.

The heartland of Wadai was divided into four provinces corresponding to the cardinal points of the compass; these provinces, in turn, were subdivided for administrative purposes according to the homelands of the diverse ethnic communities who inhabited them. Superimposed upon this tidy arrangement of provinces and districts was an extensive network of royal estates directly responsible to the seneschal of the king's demesne; similar, though smaller, arrays of holdings were assigned to the Queen Mother, and perhaps other very important individuals. Most forms of wealth originated from the land, and an elaborate system of taxation in kind gathered the government's portion of everything produced. Some tax goods were conveyed to Wāra to support the court community, while others were stored in royal magazines near their points of origin to feed an army on campaign or relieve a hungry populace in time of famine.

Recognising the importance of local trade among the subjects, the government allowed the payment of taxes in diverse forms by setting the rates at which, for example, a tax levied in grain might also be paid in cattle, salt or iron ingots; thus the king in effect regulated the market value of all commodities. The king supported a bodyguard from his own estates, and each fiefholding official was required to do likewise; collectively, these forces comprised the professional army of Wadai. On campaign they would be joined by a legion of lightly-armed volunteers whose task it was to dispatch enemy wounded or rescue their own, and above all to loot and pillage for the king in return for a share of the booty. Wars were undertaken for diverse reasons of state, but particularly numerous were the raids launched southward to seize slaves from among the neighbouring small-scale communities who were not Muslims and had no kings, people derogatively dubbed "Kirdi".

Wadai reached its apogee under Sultan Muḥammad Sharīf (1834-58), who opened relations with the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] brotherhood. Mediterranean commercial ties increased dramatically under his sons ʿAlī (1858-74) and then Yūsuf (1874-98), who spent his later years adroitly deflecting the acquisitive ambitions of the Sudanese Mahdists [see AL-MAHDIYYA], based in Dār Fūr. After 1898 the kingdom lapsed into a long struggle for the throne among rival princes backed by diverse court factions, Dār Fūr, the Sanūsiyya, and by the French, who assumed control in the capital in 1909.

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(J.L. SPAULDING)

2. Languages.

Great linguistic diversity characterises the Wadāī region in eastern Chad [see ČAD, in Suppl.]. The official languages of the Republic of Chad are Standard Arabic and French. Maba is reported to be spoken by some of its neighbours as a second language, although the principal *lingua franca* of the region is Chadian Arabic [see SHUWA. 2 and SŪDĀN, Bilād al-. 3].

Like Maba itself, most of the other languages of eastern Chad have been classified as Nilo-Saharan (NS), which is a phylum of diverse languages stretching from Egypt in the northeast [see NŪBĀ] to Tanzania in the southeast (the Maasai language) and to Mali in the west (Songhay [*q.v.*], although the NS

classification of Songhay has recently been challenged).

The Maba language is associated with the historical kingdom of Wadāī, where it was spoken at the royal court (see 1. above). Maba flourishes in the vicinity of the town of Abéché in eastern Chad. It has also been attested in the Republic of the Sudan (see Doornbos [1983] and Bell [1998]).

The term "Maba" is primarily the self-name of an ethnic group (see 1. above). Wadāī seems originally to have been a term that was used by the western and northern neighbours of the Maba such as the Arabs, the Bagirmi, the Hausa, the Kanuri and the Daza (see Edgar [1989]). Neighbours to the east of Wadāī, such as the Masalit, often use the term "Bargū" (or "Borgū") to refer to the Maba people. The Maba language has also been designated by this term (e.g. in the Republic of the Sudan, see Bell [1998]).

Although the Maba language is occasionally cited as "Ouaddaïen", emphasising the close relationship between the terms Maba and Wadāī, the Maba people normally use their own expression which may be glossed as "the language of the Maba". Edgar transcribed this expression as /bùrá mábàŋ/ with marking for tone, high /á/ and low /à/. The phrase may be analysed as follows: /bùrá/ "the language" + /mábà/ "the Maba" + /ŋ/ "of" ("the language of the Maba"). The phrase has also been transcribed as follows: /bora mábaŋ/ by Doornbos (1983), /boro mabaŋ/ by Spaulding (see 1. above), and /burā mabā/ (transliterated from the Arabic characters of Abū Naẓīfa [1994]).

The genitival element "of" is represented above by a velar nasal consonant /ŋ/ (= /ng/). This sound occurs frequently in Maba, e.g. as the second consonant in the word for "three": /koŋāl/. It appears from Perron's 1851 publication that al-Tūnisī represented /ŋ/ in Maba words by a special Arabic-based letter *kāf* with three dots above it, a symbol that might be referred to as a "*ŋāf*".

A full adaptation of Arabic alphabetic characters to the phonology of Maba has recently been published by Abū Naẓīfa (1994). Inspired by the *Adjamī* or *ʿAdjamī* script of Hausa [*q.v.*], he proposed an Arabic-based system with 11 new consonantal characters. His solution to the problem of /ŋ/ was a single dot just under the upper stroke of the Arabic consonant *kāf*. He proposed an interesting set of characters for the pre-nasalised stops of Maba (/mb/, /nd/, /ng/ and /ndj/) by placing a dot under the *mīm*, the *dāl*, the *ghayn* and the *djīm* respectively. In the case of *djīm*, this resulted in two dots horizontally side-by-side. This system is inventive rather than consistent with attempts elsewhere to achieve a standardised set of symbols in *ʿAdjamī* scripts for non-Arabic languages, e.g. at the Institut d'Études et de Recherches pour l'Arabisation in Rabat or at the Khartoum International Institute for Arabic Language.

Maba is closely related to several other languages of Wadāī, and together they are known as the Maban group. Most speakers of the Maba, Marfa, Karanga and Kibet languages live in eastern Chad, but about half of the speakers of the southerly Aiki or Runga language extend across the border of Wadāī into the Central African Republic, probably reflecting their historical interest in trade with the south. The majority of the speakers of the closely related Masalit language are to be found in the Republic of the Sudan.

The Wadāī region also has a number of NS languages which are more distantly related to Maba. A Dadju language geographically separates the Maban languages of northern Wadāī from Maban languages such as Kibet and Aiki in southern Wadāī. Dadju speakers are also present in and around the town of Abéché. Contiguous with Dadju and Aiki on the Sudanese border are the speakers of Sinyar and Fongoro. A close relative of these two languages, the Bagirmi language of western Chad, was associated with the historical kingdom of Bagirmi [*q.v.*], which was defeated by the kingdom of Wadāī in the early 19th century. Immediately to the northeast of Wadāī is the heartland of the Tama group of languages, including Sungor, Mararit and Tama. Just to the north of Wadāī are speakers of Amdang, which is related to Fūr, a language associated with the historical sultanate of Dār Fūr in the Sudan. Amdang is also known as Mimi and this is a source of considerable confusion, since linguistic informants have identified certain other languages as "Mimi", one of these being a Maban group language (for a summary of the problem, see Doornbos [1983]). Saharan languages of northern and western Chad are also attested in Wadāī. These include Zaghawa, Daza [see TUBU. 2], Kanembu and Kanuri [*q.v.*] to the north and west of Wadāī.

In addition to the NS languages enumerated above, several languages of the Hamito-Semitic or Afro-Asiatic (AA) phylum are found in this region. Apart from Arabic, the AA phylum is represented in southwestern Wadāī by some of the so-called Chado-Hamitic languages, especially Kajakse, but also Birgit and Mubi.

AA is distinguished from NS by a number of typological features, most prominent of which is a particular system of grammatical gender (masc./fem.), as in Arabic. According to Roth (1979), when the Maba speak Chadian Arabic, the system of agreement for grammatical gender often tends to disappear, since their own NS language does not possess this feature.

When al-Tūnisī sojourned in Wadāī early in the 19th century, he noted that it was not necessary for him to learn to speak "Ouadayen", since Arabic was so widely used. He noted that the expression for "interpreter" was *khashm al-kalām* "the mouth of speech". He also reported that instruction in Islamic law and religion was provided by an Arab scholar in Wāra, the capital of Wadāī at that time. While some of the Arabic loan-words in his published Maba vocabulary could be suspected to have resulted from the bias of an Arab investigator, a number of Arabic loan-words must already have been in use, e.g. the Arabic term *malik* used in the citation below instead of a Maba term such as *kolik* "king".

/Mélik manik Kalak ni*n*a tounyou-ny/ (/*n*/=/ŋ/)
Roi de nous Dieu vie donne-lui

The transliteration and literal translation come from Perron (1851). The sense of the sentence is thus: "God, give life to our King!" Today, when Chadian Arabic is the principal *lingua franca* of Wadāī, it is not surprising to observe that Arabic has had a major impact on Maba and that a high proportion of the Maba vocabulary consists of Arabic loan-words.

The Sahelian belt embracing Wadāī is a celebrated route for pilgrims travelling between West Africa and Mecca, sometimes over a period of many years. Pilgrims and traders bring with them a great number of different languages. Among these are languages such as Hausa (AA), which is widely used as a *lingua franca*, and also Fulfulde which represents Niger-Kordofanian (NK), a third great phylum of African languages characterised by eleborate systems of noun classes and geographically spread from Senegal to South Africa.

An on-going summary of rough data on the languages of Wadāī and estimates of numbers of speak-

ers may be extracted from the *Ethnologue: Chad* on the internet [http://www.sil.org/Ethnologue/countries/Chad.html] by focusing on the following relevant languages (spelled and classified as presented there): AA: Arabic, Chadian Spoken; Arabic, Standard; Kajakse, Mubi, Birgit. NK: Fulfulde, NS—*Maban group*: Karanga, Mimi, Kendeje, Surbakhal, Kibet, Runga, Maba, Marfa, Masalit, Massalat. NS—*other groups: Tama-Sungor*: Sungor, Tama, Mararit; *Dadju*: Dadju [Saaronge], Dadju [Dar Sila]; *Bongo-Bagirmi*: Sinyar, Fongoro [in the *Ethnologue: Sudan*]; *Fur*: Fur, Amdang [Mimi]; *Saharan*: Teda, Daza, Kanembu, Kanuri, Bideyat, Zaghawa.

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(H. Bell)

al-WAḌḌĀḤ [see djadhīma al-abrash].

WAḌḌĀḤ al-YAMAN, sobriquet ("person of outstanding handsomeness amongst the Yemenis") of a minor Umayyad poet of the Ḥidjāzī school, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl b. Kulāl al-Khawlānī, d. *ca.* 90/707.

Two of the earliest sources on him, Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb's *K. Asmāʾ al-mughtālīn*, 273, and al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, fol. 656a, state that one of his ancestors stemmed from the *Abnāʾ al-Furs*, the Persian soldiers and officials sent out to Yemen to aid Sayf b. Dhī Yazan against the Abyssinians, but there are contradictory traditions on his Yemeni ancestry which are late and clearly of a romantic nature.

The only episodes of his life mentioned in the sources concern his amorous adventures. One links him tragically with a lady of the *Abnāʾ* also, Rawḍa bt. ʿAmr. The other is much more elaborated and seems to have been at the origin of his assassination, sc. his liaison with Umm al-Banīn bt. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, wife of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd I b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Several divergent traditions exist on this, but these do not necessarily lead to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's scepticism about the poet's very existence. One tradition describes how Waḍḍāḥ was discovered in Umm al-Banīn's rooms concealed in a chest, and was forthwith buried alive in it by her husband and master's slaves; this was transmitted by ʿĪsā b. Daʾb, a specialist in romantic tales, as the *K. Waḍḍāḥ wa-Umm al-Banīn*, according to the *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo n.d., 426, and included in the *Miʾat layla wa-layla*, with Waḍḍāḥ as a great martyr for love (tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1982, 69-75). The most credible tradition (from al-Ḥirmāzī and Ibn Zabāla, in *Ansāb, loc. cit.*) is more prosaic and as such does not seems to have aroused the interests of the anthologists so much: that Waḍḍāḥ eulogised the caliph's wife against his express orders on the eve of her making the Pilgrimage and became linked with her on her return to Damascus, so that al-Walīd, on hearing about this, ordered Waḍḍāḥ's killing.

These traditions seem to have relegated the poet himself and his work to the background of attention. Transmitters and anthologists, unlike the musicians and singers, seem not to have appreciated his talent as a pioneer in the shaping of the tradition of courtly love poetry into its definitive form, with its two essential themes of the poet's attitude to the phenomenon of love and the encounter of lovers. In his poems on the first theme, the poet appears as a *fatā*, vowed to love and pleasure, and the attainment of the beloved appears as an inevitable consequence of the poet's persistence; in a poem on the second theme, we have a dialogue between the two lovers.

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(A. Arazi)

WĀDĪ (a.), pls. *awdiya, awdāʾ*, etc., in Syrian colloquial *widyān* (see A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire arabe-français. Dialectes de Syrie*, Paris 1935-54, 889), in the Arab lands in general, a river valley. The conventional English spelling is wadi.

1. In the Arabian peninsula.

In desert terrain, a wadi is usually dry, but may carry seasonal water, or occasional floods (*sayl*), which are often a mixture of water, mud and stones. These

desert valleys are very different in both topography and gradient from those in lands of higher and more regular rainfall; for while it is easy to follow the valley of a stream which is always visible, it is often difficult to map the course of the Arabian wadis, in long stretches of which water rarely, if ever, appears on the surface.

The greater part of the rainfall which is carried, either on or below the surface, along the wadis of central Arabia, falls on the high western rim of the massif in the Negeb or Negev [see AL-NAḲB], Ḥidjāz, ʿAsīr and Yemen, and flows east-north-eastwards in sympathy with the general slope of the plateau.

In the higher reaches of these wadis, the pattern of drainage is so complex and firmly incised that it was evidently established during periods of higher rainfall in the Pleistocene epoch. At such times, the more powerful streams, which flowed to the Red Sea down the well-watered western slopes, "captured" some of the drainage on the east side of the watershed, notably in the case of the headwaters of the Wādī al-Ḥamḍ. During these pluvial episodes, lakes of water accumulated, the overflows from which incised the deep valleys of some wadis, notably in the case of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt which rises in the Ramlat al-Sabʿatayn, now a sand-basin but apparently once a lake. The same phenomenon can be traced in the overflows from the former lake basins of Anatolia, and from the high plain at the head of the Samaria gorge in Crete.

In their middle courses the Arabian wadis are characterised not by surface streams in clear-cut meanders, as in valleys of temperate latitudes, but by subterranean flow under broad shallow depressions in the sand, the gentle side-slopes of which are barely perceptible. When the water flow is near enough to the surface to be reached by wells or through the roots of data-palms, oases may be established, as at al-Ḳaṣīm [*q.v.*] in the middle course of the Wādī al-Rumma. In central Arabia in general, the greater part of the underground reserve consists of "fossil water" which accumulated during wetter episodes of the Quaternary and Holocene epochs; the annual rainfall serves as a supplement which raises the level of the water-table.

The terminus of such great wadis as al-Rumma and al-Dawāsir, where they meet the Gulf, is not marked by deltas or estuaries, but simply by the upwelling of freshwater springs through the coastal sands, as in the district of al-Hufūf [*q.v.*], or through the bedrocks under the seawater of the Gulf itself.

Through the convenience of their oasis wells, the wide wadis of Arabia and Syria are often followed by roads of trade or pilgrimage: the Wādī 'l-Sirḥān, for example, leads from Jordan to central Arabia, and the Wādī Rumma is used in part by the Darb Zubayda [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the Pilgrim Road from ʿIrāḳ to Mecca. The flash-floods of the narrow mountain wadis, however, make them hazardous for travellers; but these flows used to be controlled for purposes of irrigation in the Negeb, for instance, and in the Yemen where they filled the great reservoir of Mārib [*q.v.*].

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2. In North Africa.

Here, the form *oued* is usual in French usage. In the Maghrib, it denotes all watercourses, including the great perennial rivers, like the Oued Chélif in Algeria; it can equally at times designate, in very arid regions, low-lying areas where there is a total lack of any flow. This is why, in the Great Western Erg/Grand Erg Occidental, to the north of Tinimoun and towards lat. 29° 30' N., long. 0° 30' E., it is used to designate the streams running amongst the dunes (*faydj* [see FUYŪDJ]). The term has acquired a more restricted meaning in physical geography for denoting the watercourses in arid regions, which may have a seasonal flow in semi-arid areas but are spasmodic or temporary in the most desert-like areas.

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3. In Muslim Spain.

In al-Andalus, this term, through the intermediacy of the Hispano-Arabic dialect word *wád*, gave rise to a large number of toponyms in the Iberian peninsula beginning with "Guad" and "Guadi". In al-Andalus, *wādī* was used not only for smaller, seasonal watercourses which dried up in summer but also for more important ones which might also be described by the word *nahr* "river". It nevertheless seems that, in the peninsula, *wādī* had a toponymical signification whereas *nahr* was a more generic one. The word also appears in many toponyms which have lost any connection with water, such as the towns Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra [*q.v.*] = Guadalajara, Wādī Āsh [*q.v.*] = Guadix, and such geographical accidents as Wādī 'l-Raml = Guadarrama. Finally, al-Wādī denoted districts (*iḳlīm*) belonging respectively to Seville and Cordova, and, as a second element, also denoted in mediaeval Arabic historiography the name of one of the gates in the wall of Cordova, Bāb al-Wādī, the present fortress Alcalá del Río, Ḳalʿat al-Wādī, and a *munya* set up by al-Manṣūr at Cordova, Dhāt al-Wādiyayn "that of the two rivers".

Many of the Spanish toponyms beginning with "Guad" are followed by pre-Islamic names adapted into Arabic, e.g. "Anas" > Wādī Āna = Guadiana; "Acci" > Wādī Āsh = Guadix; "Salsum" > Wādī Shawsh = Guadajoz; etc. One frequently finds others which are Arabic in their totality with the second term a qualifying adjective, e.g. Guadalimar < Wādī 'l-Aḥmar "Red river", or a substantive, e.g. Guadarromán < Wādī 'l-Rummān "River of the pomegranates". Moreover, some archaic orthographical forms of "Guad-" survive, such as Huad-, Gud-, Got-, Güid-, Güit-, Güed-, Hüet-, Od-, Oid-, etc.; apocopated forms, such as Guaira alongside Guadaira (Seville) or Gurrazar (Toledo); and even contaminated forms like Guandatillo (Soria) or Agua Rocín (Jaén), in which Agua is in reality a reflex of *Wādī*.

Bibliography: *EI*[1], art. *Guad*... *Guadi*... (C.F. Seybold); E. Terés, *Materiales*... *Nómina fluvial*, esp. 29-50, 235-79 (= J. Zanón, *Indices*). (R. PINILLA-MELGUIZO)

WĀDĪ 'L-ʿAḲĪḲ [see AL-ʿAḲĪḲ].

WĀDĪ ĀSH, a town of al-Andalus, modern Guadix, now in the province of Grenada [see GHARNĀṬA] 60 km/37 miles northwest of the province's capital, chef-lieu of a *partido judicial* and seat of the diocese of Guadix-Baza, with a population of *ca.* 20,000, perhaps twice what it had in Islamic times.

The name goes back to a pre-Islamic toponym, perhaps Iberian, *Acci*, rendered *Āsh* by the Arabs, prefixed by the element *Wādī* [see WĀDĪ. 3.], applied not only to the town and the river on which it stood but also to the surrounding region. Sometimes the forms Wādī 'l-Ashā(t) and W. Yāsh are found, or, for the town only, Madīnat Āsh and M. Banī Sām, a name which Simonet thought went back to the Yemeni tribe of Sām(ī) established there. In Castilian texts, one finds

Guedix and above all Guadiex, which evolved into the modern Guadix.

It was a Roman settlement (*Colonia Iulia Gemella Acci*) and then a Visigothic one, and then immediately formed part of Islamic Spain with the arrival of the Arabs, whilst becoming a centre of opposition to the Umayyad state till the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III; the *ḥuṣūn Wādī Āsh* are mentioned by Ibn Ḥayyān in connection with the *amīr*'s campaign of 913-14 in the *kūra* of Ilbīra. In the period of the Taifas [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF. 2.], Guadix formed part of the Zīrid kingdom of Granada, as also its neighbour Baza (Basṭa), both of these being involved together in clashes with Granada and the Taifa of Almeria (al-Mariyya). After being under Almoravid and Almohad control, it passed in 1232 to the Naṣrids of Granada, and from 1238 formed part of their kingdom. This was the period of Guadix's greatest florescence, especially under the rule of the Banū Ashkīlūla, being at that time a focus of rebellion against the authority of Granada. Its role continued to be important under the Naṣrids, until El Zagal, one of the claimants to power in the internecine conflicts, ceded it to the Catholic monarchs in 1489, it already having paid tribute to them since 1433.

The district of Guadix included, according to Simonet, many settlements and fortresses. The town itself was built round the citadel (*alcazaba*), whose remains, going back to the 10th century and forming a complete enceinte, dominated the *madīna* and the suburbs. It had a rich agricultural hinterland, with a *secano* (dry-farming region) very rich in cereals (wheat, barley and millet), above all in the region of the Sened (modern Marquesado del Cenete), and there were irrigated lands along the river fringes (the Vega), with vegetables and fruit. There were, further, mines in the region, stock-rearing and hunting, plus a flourishing silk industry and trade. Famous persons from Guadix included the poets Ibn al-Ḥaddād [*q.v.*] and Ibn al-Nizār, the *ʿulamāʾ* Ibn Djābir and Abū Hāshim Khālid b. Zakariyyāʾ [*q.v.*] and the mystic al-Shushtarī.

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(C. ALVAREZ DE MORALES and R. PINILLA-MELGUIZO)

AL-**WĀDĪʾĀSHĪ**, SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. DJĀBIR al-Kaysī al-Andalusī al-Tūnisī (673-749/1274-1348: not to be confused with his slightly younger contemporary, the blind poet and grammarian from Almeria Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Djābir al-Hawwārī), the North African author of a *Barnāmadj*.

Al-Wādīʾāshī was born in Tunis, where he died during the plague. He travelled twice to the East, visiting also al-Andalus, and combining commerce with study. Ibn al-Ghammāz, Ibn ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa, al-Ghubrīnī and the grammarian Abū Ḥayyān were among his 180 teachers; Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Marzūk al-Djadd, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Farḥūn were his pupils. He contributed to the diffusion of the works of Ibn Taymiyya, al-Tūnī, Ibrāhīm al-Djaʿbarī al-Khalīlī, Ibn Djamāʿa, al-Būṣīrī, al-Ḥarrālī and Ibn Nubāta. His works dealt mainly with *ḥadīth* (*Arbaʿūn ḥadīth^an^*); he also wrote a biography of Kāḍī ʿIyāḍ as well as *Taḳyīd ʿalā ʾl-Kaṣīda al-ʿarūḍiyya al-musammāt bi ʾl-Maḳṣad al-djalīl fī ʿilm Khalīl li-Abī ʿAmr b. al-Ḥādjib*, *Urdjūza fī taʿbīr al-ruʾyā* and a *dīwān* of his poetry. But he is mainly known for his *Barnāmadj*, a monumental work (ed. M. Maḥfūẓ, Beirut 1980; ²Beirut 1982; ed. M. al-Ḥabīb, Tunis 1981) and one of the sources of Ibn al-Kāḍī's [*q.v.*] *Durrat al-ḥidjāl* (see J.Mª Fórneas, in *Al-Andalus-Magreb*, [1993], 89-101).

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WĀDĪ ʾL-DAWĀSIR [see AL-DAWĀSIR].

WĀDĪ ḤALFĀ or simply ḤALFĀ, a town of the northern Nilotic Sūdān (lat. 21° 46' N., long. 31° 17' E.), the administrative centre of the Ḥalfā District of the modern Republic of the Sudan. It lies just south of the frontier with Egypt. It was formerly on the Nile, some 10 km/6 miles north of the Second Cataract, and formed the northern terminus of the Sudan Railway from the capital Kharṭūm, with a pre-1964 steamboat service taking passengers down the Nile to al-Shallāl and the Egyptian railway system. It played little active role in the Sudanese Mahdiyya of the 1880s and 1890s, the centre of the movement being further south, except for the advance from Dongola on Egypt in summer 1889 of Mahdist forces under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nudjūmī, abruptly halted on 3 August by the crushing of the Mahdist expedition at Toski (Ṭūshkī) north of Wādī Ḥalfā and the killing of its commander [see AL-MAHDIYYA, at Vol. V, 1250a-b].

What remains of Wādī Ḥalfā now lies on the eastern shore of Lake Nuba, the extension into the Sudan of Lake Nasser, formed behind the Aswān High Dam, constructed after the Nile Waters Agreement of 1959 between President ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of Egypt and General Ibrāhīm ʿAbbūd of the recently-independent Sudan Republic, which divided the water which was to accumulate between the two countries. Some 502,000 Nubians of the Wādī Ḥalfā lands which were to be inundated, were compulsorily resettled on the upper Atbara river in Kassala Province [see KASALA] of the eastern Sudan, with their settlement there eventually known as Ḥalfā al-Djadīd "New Ḥalfā" [see NŪBA. 4]. The high-handed action of the Sudan government in expelling these people from their ancestral homes, with no voice in where they were to be resettled, provoked in 1960 widespread rioting in Wādī Ḥalfā itself, Kharṭūm and other towns of the Sudan against the ʿAbbūd régime. The region of Wādī Ḥalfā is rich in antiquities of the ancient civilisations of Nubia [see NŪBA. 2 (a)], and in the 1970s it saw extensive rescue

archaeological work before the flooding of the Nile valley there.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

WĀDĪ ḤANĪFA, a valley of Nadjd [*q.v.*], now in Saudi Arabia, named after the tribe of Ḥanīfa [see ḤANĪFA B. LUDJAYM], who in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times occupied the region.

It runs in a northwestern to southeastern direction to the east of the massifs of central Nadjd, rising on the crest of the Djabal al-Ṭuwayḳ [see AL-ṬUWAYḲ, DJABAL] and following to the west of modern al-Riyāḍ. The wadi is *ca.* 150 km/90 miles long and 300 to 600 m wide, and cuts through various gaps in the ridges of the region. After reaching the region of al-Khardj [*q.v.*], it becomes known as the Wādī al-Sahbā' [see AL-SAHBĀ'] and is thereafter largely traceable to the shores of the Gulf near the Ḳaṭar peninsula. In the rainy season, the Wādī Ḥanīfa is joined by several affluent wadis and is filled with water, but outside such times it transports a considerable subterranean flow which is drawn upon by various oases in the vicinity of al-Riyāḍ.

In pre- and early Islamic times, the town of al-Yamāma [*q.v.*] was situated in the wadi, but now consists of only a small group of hamlets; the town was probably destroyed by violent floods, whereas al-Dir'iyya and al-Riyāḍ [*q.vv.*] stand above the flood level. The Wādī Ḥanīfa remains today, as it was in earlier times, a well-cultivated area.

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(S.A. AL-RASHID)

WĀDĪ 'L-ḤIDJĀRA, Spanish form Guadalajara, currently the capital of a homonymous province situated to the northeast of Madrid. Although it is difficult to define the limits of this region during the mediaeval period with absolute precision, it may be stated that its territory corresponds to the zones enclosed between the river Tagus to the east and the river Jarama, which traverses the Sierra Guadarrama, to the west. The principal axis of communication of the region is the valley of the Henares, comprising the Arabic toponym of Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra "river [or valley] of stones". The city of Guadalajara is situated on the banks of this river, as are other strongholds such as Alcalá de Henares (Ḳal'at 'Abd al-Salām), the Complutum of the Roman period, Alcolea (Ḳulay'a) and Atienza (Atīnsa), the most northerly point of the region. This zone also formed a part of the "Middle March" (*al-thaghr al-adnā* [see AL-THUGHŪR. 2.]) of which the political and military capital was Toledo (Ṭulayṭula [*q.v.*]). This zone constituted an important site for its defence, being a frontier region and a necessary transit point for armies seeking to move from northeast to south and to defend without too much difficulty the untamed mountains of the Central System. Originating on the right bank of the Henares, there had been since the Roman period a highway linking the cities of Toledo and of Saragossa. Among the principal routes of al-Andalus, mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī in the 4th/10th century, is the Cordova-Toledo-Guadalajara-Saragossa route.

Following the conquest, attributed by the sources to Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], Guadalajara appears sporadically in Arabic texts which refer to it as a town of secondary importance, both politically and culturally. From this time onward, the little Roman settlement of Arriaca becomes known as Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra or, to a lesser extent, Madīnat al-Faradj, from the anthroponymy of the family of the Banu 'l-Faradj, a Berber family which governed the region and was descended from the Banū Sālim, another family which gave its name to the town of Medinaceli (Madīnat Sālim). Both the history of the town and that of its circumscription seem to be strongly influenced by its frontier status, since the chronicles mention numerous walled fortresses, always in connection with various military events taking place in different periods. Thus the region exerts considerable interest in its role as a favoured refuge for dissidents intent on pursuing their aims or as a site for warfare against the Christians. For example, in 151/768, during the reign of the Umayyad *amīr* 'Abd al-Raḥmān I (138-72/756-88), the Berber chieftain Shaḳya al-Miknāsī, who had rebelled and taken control of the region of Mérida (Marīda), sought refuge with the government troops of Cordova in the fort of Sopetran. A century later, in 245/860, Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Ḳasī who had been independent governor of the "Upper March" during the last years of the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52) and who no longer recognised the sovereignty of Muḥammad, the new Umayyad *amīr* of Cordova, confronted his stepson Izrāḳ b. Mantīl b. Salīm, governor of Guadalajara in an episode related by the sources in the style of an epic. Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Ḳasī was defeated and then killed by the governor who remained loyal to the Umayyads of Cordova. Despite this, the three sons of Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Ḳasī continued to defy Cordova, being finally defeated after a series of prolonged battles at the end of the reign of Muḥammad (238-73/852-86).

During this period and in the reign of his son 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad (275-300/888-912), there was a perceived need for defensive measures against the growing menace of the increasingly powerful Christian kingdoms. As a result, not only were the defensive systems of the "Upper Frontier" consolidated, but there was also a series of military constructions in the region between Toledo and Atienza. Sites fortified included Madrid (Madjrīṭ), Talamanca (Ṭalamanka), Canales (Ḳanālish), Olmos (Wūlmūsh) and Calatalifa (Ḳal'at al-Khalīfa). From this period onward and with the support of the populace of this turbulent region, these fortresses were to prove vital for the defence of al-Andalus, as is illustrated both by the historical chronicles and the bio-bibliographical dictionaries, where details are to be found of numerous local *'ulamā'* who died in combat. It is known that during the amīrate of 'Abd Allāh, at the end of the 3rd/9th century, troops from Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra participated in the *djihād* against Alfonso III. Later, the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥman III al-Nāṣir (300-50/912-61) exerted effective military control over the region of Guadalajara. On this topic, Ibn Ḥayyān relates that the caliph deposed its governor, a member of the family of the Banū Sālim who had long controlled this region, and appointed a member of the Umayyad family in his place. During this period, this frontier zone was the site of the battle in which the Muslims triumphed over the king of León.

In the aftermath of the fall of the caliphate of Cordova, Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra became a territory coveted by the Taifa [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀ'IF. 2.] kingdoms of

Saragossa and Toledo with which it shared frontiers. The population of Guadalajara was divided between supporters of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa represented by Sulaymān al-Musta'īn and the Dhu 'l-Nūnid sovereign of Toledo al-Ma'mūn, in a series of confrontations lasting from 435/1043 to the death of al-Musta'īn in 439/1047. During these conflicts, each party sought the aid of Christian sovereigns: Ferdinand I of Castile on the side of Toledo, and Garcia of Pamplona in support of Saragossa. The son of al-Musta'īn, Aḥmad al-Muḳtadir, pursuing an expansionist policy, succeeded in taking political and military control of the region of Guadalajara which ultimately became part of the greatly extended territory of his Taifa kingdom.

The impression that is gained of Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra as being a military frontier region, with the role of protecting cities of greater political importance, is that reflected by the Arab and Christian sources, although the latter seem to be unaware of the exact date of its reconquest; for a long time this was attributed, without historical foundation, to Alvar Fañez. In spite of everything, it is known that it took place in the time of Alfonso VI, and was probably simultaneous with the reconquest of Toledo in 478/1085. A Christian document dated 1107 bears the signature of "un alkad de Medina et de Guadalajara". At a later time, in 1133 Alfonso VII granted the town a *fuero* in which he expressed his intention of repopulating the region, thus countering the dispersal of population suffered by the zone after its reconquest.

The activities of the *'ulamā'* of Guadalajara and their family ties are reasonably well known, being detailed in the biographies of sixty scholars contained in bio-bibliographical compilations between the 3rd/9th and the first half of the 6th/12th century. For the most part they were Hispano-Roman converts, some of whom adopted Arabic *nisbas* reflecting their professional links with families installed in the region. It is also known that numerous Berber families had settled in the region, including the Banu 'l-Faradj and the Banū Mas'ada; the latter was the origin of several *'ulamā'*. The interests of the *'ulamā'* of Guadalajara seem to have coincided with those of the other *'ulamā'* of al-Andalus, and special dedication is observed to the study of *ḥadīth*, of *fiḳh* and of Ḳur'ānic readings. The role of scholars of Cordova in the training of the intellectual élite of Guadalajara was crucial, with Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ playing a particularly significant part; in fact, the first *'ulamā'* of the region, from the ascetic Muḥammad b. Bāligh to the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. 'Azra, studied with Ibn Waḍḍāḥ. In the 5th/11th century, there is observable an increase in the number of *'ulamā'* dedicating themselves to literature and grammar, and even to poetry. It is in this period that the *faḳīh* and writer 'Abd al-Malik b. Ghuṣn al-Khushanī al-Ḥidjārī makes his appearance. All of the written corpus of the *'ulamā'* of Guadalajara has been lost, with the exception of a few verses and fragments of the geographical work composed by 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥidjārī, preserved in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Mughrib*.

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(CRISTINA DE LA PUENTE)

(AL-)**WĀDĪ 'L-KABĪR**, Guadalquivir, the name given by the Arabs to the ancient *Betis* river in Southern Spain. It has remained in Spanish toponymy through the Spanish-Arabic dialect form Wād al-Kibīr. According to the Arab sources, it is also called al-Nahr al-Akbar or al-Nahr al-A'ẓam (the Great River), Nahr Ḳurṭuba (River of Cordova) and Nahr Ishbīliyā (River of Seville), but it is seldom called Nahr Bīṭī/Bīṭa (Betis River). In poetry sometimes it is called Nahr Ḥimṣ (River of Ḥimṣ), that is, River of Seville. The history of this river goes back to Roman times, where it played a major role within the Roman Baetica, or southern Hispania. After the Islamic conquest, its ancient Latin name was changed to the Arabic one (al-)Wādī 'l-Kabīr (the Great River), possibly due to its extensive flow, which the Muslim conquerors compared with North African small streams that they knew previously.

Wādī 'l-Kabīr was, and still is at present, one of the most important rivers in the Iberian Peninsula, and the southernmost of them all. It flows through the heart of al-Andalus, from northeast to southwest,

through the modern Andalusia. Its course is 560 kms long. It begins at the Cañada de Aguas Frías, among the Pozo Alcón and Cazorla mountains, but according to Arab writers, the course begins west of Baza (Basṭa), in a place called Fatḥ/Fadjdj al-Daylam, today Peña Negra at the Sierra de Cazorla, while other written sources speak of a place in the Sierra de Segura (Shaḳūra).

This river flowed through what were some of the most important cities and districts in al-Andalus such as the districts of Úbeda (Ubbadha [*q.v.*]), Andújar (Andūdjar), Córdoba (Ḳurṭuba [*q.v.*]) and Seville (Ishbīliyā [*q.v.*]). Further downstream, it waters the marshes (Las Marismas, al-Marā'im), finally meeting the Atlantic Ocean near Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Shalūḳa, Barr al-Mā'ida).

Many smaller rivers feed the course of the Guadalquivir, some of which still keep the Arab prefix "Guad" [see WĀDĪ. 3]. Its left bank takes in the waters from the Guadalimar (Wādī 'l-Aḥmar), Jándula (Shandula), Guadalmellato (Wādī Armillāt), Guadiato (Wādī Ātuh ?), and Guadiamar (Wādī Yanbar) rivers, among others. On its right bank the Guadiana (Wādī Yāna) Menor, Guadalbullón (Wādī 'l-Bulyūn), Guadajoz (Wādī Shawsh), Genil (Wādī Shanīl, the most important of these tributaries) and Guadaira (Wādī Ayra) are its main affluents.

In Antiquity, it seems that there were boats sailing along most of its course: Strabo speaks of big ships sailing to Hispalis (Ishbīliyā) and how small boats could sail to Corduba (Ḳurṭuba). Then, in the Muslim period, navigation continued to Seville, but only smaller boats could travel between Seville and Cordova, along the route mentioned by al-Idrīsī as *ṭarīḳ al-Wādī* ("the way of the river"). The river is very often mentioned by the Arab writers. The bridge (*ḳanṭarat al-Wādī*), made by the Romans, still links both sides of the city of Cordova, being the only stone bridge which spanned al-Wādī 'l-Kabīr during Arab times. Al-Wādī 'l-Kabīr was often hymned by the Arab poets, and al-Zuhrī compares it to the rivers Tigris, Euphrates, Nile and Jordan.

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(R. PINILLA-MELGUIZO)

WĀDĪ 'L-KHAZNADĀR, the site of a battle in 699/1299 between the Mamlūks and the Īlkhānid Mongols [*q.vv.*], in the plain to the north of Ḥimṣ. The exact location of this site, also referred to as Madjma' al-Murūdj, has not been identified. This was the only time the Mongols were victorious over the Mamlūks in a major field battle.

Angry at the recent Mamlūk incursion to Mārdīn and interference in Mongol-controlled Anatolia, and urged on by Mamlūk renegades at his court, the Īlkhān Ghāzān [*q.v.*] ordered the call-up of some 13 *tūmāns* [*q.v.*], but only five out of every ten soldiers was to report, each bringing five horses. Crossing the Euphrates in the autumn, the Īlkhān and his army passed Ḥalab and Ḥamā and entered the plain of Ḥimṣ. They soon encountered the Mamlūk army, which arrived at the battlefield in an exhausted state, further suffering from other problems. The young sultan, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], enjoyed only nominal command, and real control was in the hands of the *amīrs* Salār and Baybars al-Djāshnakīr; the latter, however, became ill and did not participate in the fighting. The contemporary Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Mukhtaṣar*, Cairo 1325/1407, iv, 43), describes the poor morale, discipline, organisation and supply system of the Mamlūk army. Contact between the two armies was made on Wednesday, 27 Rabī' I 699/22 December 1299 (cf. the Mamlūk sources). As the Mongols were dispersed to pasture the horses and fetch water, Ghāzān drew up those troops as he could, ordering the soldiers in the centre to dismount and shoot on foot, with the horses lying down before them as a protective barrier. The Mamlūks attacked first, their right pushing back the Mongol left under Ḳutlū-Shāh, who then joined the Īlkhān in the centre with some troops. The Mamlūk attack in this sector was repulsed. With time, the dispersed Mongol soldiers joined their ruler, and after hard fighting the superior numbers of his army helped decide the battle; some Mamlūk sources specifically mention the defeat of the Mamlūk left. The Mamlūk army retreated in disarray, making their way to Egypt while suffering depredations by the local hillsmen. Mongol raiders swept through Palestine, reaching as far as Gaza, Hebron and Jerusalem. Ghāzān himself advanced as far as Damascus, whose notables submitted to him. After several weeks, the Īlkhān withdrew, and following him the entire Mongol force. By spring, the Mamlūks had reoccupied Syria.

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WĀDĪ 'L-ĶURĀ, or "the valley of villages", a once prosperous region including several valleys in northern Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*], four or five days'

journey from Medina. From beginning to end the valley was made of villages arrayed one after the other (*ķurā manẓūma*).

According to one opinion, the Wādī 'l-Ķurā extended between Madā'in Ṣāliḥ (i.e. al-Ḥidjr [*q.v.*], ancient Ḥegrā) in the north and al-Badāyiʿ (southeast of al-ʿUlā) in the south; the central settlement in Wādī 'l-Ķurā during the first centuries of Islam, Ķurḥ [*q.v.*], should be identified with modern al-Mibyāt (or rather al-Mābiyyāt) south of al-ʿUlā (A.A. Nasif, *The identification of the Wādi 'l-Qurā and the ancient Islamic site of al-Mibyāt*, in *Arabian Studies*, v [1979], 1-19; cf. Ḥ. al-Djāsir, *Laysa 'l-Ḥidjr Madā'in Ṣāliḥ*, in *al-ʿArab* [Riyāḍ], xiii [1978-9]), 3-13). However, according to another opinion, Wādī 'l-Ķurā traversed a much larger area, joining the sea south of al-Wadjh; Ķurḥ, according to the latter opinion, should be located at modern al-Khurayba (or Khuraybat al-ʿUlā) which is the northern part of al-ʿUlā (al-Djāsir, *Taʿlīķāt ʿalā 'l-mawāḍiʿ fī shiʿr al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī*. *iii*, in *Jnal. of the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts*, xxxvi [1992], 249-86, at 252-4; idem, *Riḥla ilā bilād al-ʿUlā*, in *al-ʿArab*, xii [1977-8], 161-85, at 183-4).

Ķurḥ was also known as al-Ṣaʿīd and Ṣaʿīd Ķurḥ. According to Lughda al-Iṣfahānī (3rd/9th century), the market of Wādī 'l-Ķurā was called al-Ṣaʿīd. The mosque in Ṣaʿīd Ķurḥ was built where the Prophet Muḥammad once led his Companions in prayer. His place of prayer (*muṣallā*) was later demarcated with bones and stones (al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Maghānim al-muṭāba fī maʿālim Ṭāba*, ed. al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1389/1969, 336).

In ancient times, i.e. in legendary history, the Wādī 'l-Ķurā and the adjacent areas belonged to the Thamūd and the ʿĀd [*q.vv.*]. The Jews who came there later dug subterranean conduits and planted palm trees. Wādī 'l-Ķurā was (from a tribal point of view) in the territory of tribal groups belonging to the Ķuḍāʿa [*q.v.*]. Other tribal groups living in the same area were of the Ghaṭafān and the Fazāra [*q.vv.*] (a subdivision of the former tribe). Two expeditions against the Fazāra at the time of the Prophet were carried out in the vicinity of Wādī 'l-Ķurā. As for the Ghaṭafān, the Jews of Wādī 'l-Ķurā had a treaty with a Ghaṭafānī group, the Thaʿlaba b. Saʿd b. Dhubyān (*Aghānī*[3], iii, 271). Another treaty, between the Jews and the ʿUdhra [*q.v.*], prescribed for the latter a portion of the annual crops. In return, they defended the villages of Wādī 'l-Ķurā, driving away from them other tribes of the Ķuḍāʿa. The assigned portion of the ʿUdhra amounted to one-third of the harvest, while two-thirds remained in the hands of the Jewish agriculturalists. When Muḥammad conquered Wādī 'l-Ķurā (7 A.H.), he received half of the Jews' share, i.e. one-third of the total, while the Jews kept one-third to themselves. Upon the expulsion of the Jews (or rather of some of them) by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, they received in cash the estimated value of their share, sc. 90,000 dīnārs. ʿUmar then offered the ʿUdhra an additional sixth of the crops in return for one-sixth of the value, i.e. 45,000 dīnārs. They accepted, becoming the owners of one-half of Wādī 'l-Ķurā. One-third of the remaining half was included in the charitable endowments of the Prophet, while one-sixth of the same half belonged to all the Muslims (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, 362).

At least four indigenous Arabs, all of whom belonged to tribal groups of the Ķuḍāʿa, are reported to have received from the Prophet grants of land in Wādī 'l-Ķurā. Two were members of the ʿUdhra, one was probably of the Balī, while another was of the Ḥārith b. Saʿd Hudhaym.

There is no unanimity in the sources on whether or not ʿUmar expelled the Jews of Wādī 'l-Ķurā. However, the fact that many Companions received from him grants of land in Wādī 'l-Ķurā indicates that part of the original Jewish inhabitants were driven out. One Jewish family which remained is specified. When Muḥammad alighted in Wādī 'l-Ķurā, the sons of the Jew ʿArīḍ (or ʿUrayḍ) served him a dish of *harīs*[*a*] (i.e. ground meat and ground wheat fried in much fat). He granted them a portion from the annual crops of Wādī 'l-Ķurā (perhaps rewarding them for a co-operation of sorts). Several centuries later there was a large Jewish community in Wādī 'l-Ķurā. In the 4th/10th century, Ķurḥ, said by al-Muķaddasī to have been predominantly Jewish (*wa 'l-ghālibu ʿalayhā' l-yahūdu*), was at the apogee of its prosperity. He wrote: "And the region (*nāḥiya*) of Ķurḥ is called Wādī 'l-Ķurā. Apart from Mecca, no town in the Ḥidjāz today is higher in rank, is in better repair, more populated, or has more merchants, wealth and fine qualities than it" (see also J. Mann, *The responsa* ..., in *JQR*, N.S. vii [1916-17], 457-90, at 489).

Several prominent Muslims are known to have owned estates in Wādī 'l-Ķurā. They included ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (who had several estates there), Usāma b. Zayd and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], whose land was cultivated by his own slaves and by those belonging to his wife (Ibn Zandjawayh, *K. al-Amwāl*, ed. Sh.Dh. Fayyāḍ, Riyāḍ 1406/1986, iii, 1257-8). Muʿāwiya I [*q.v.*] reportedly initiated a large irrigation project in Wādī 'l-Ķurā including watering places (*ʿuyūn*). Part of Muʿāwiya's estate in Wādī 'l-Ķurā was bought from a Jew, while another part was made productive by Muʿāwiya himself. One has to bear in mind that significant pilgrim roads passed through or near Wādī 'l-Ķurā, hence the *raison d'être* of the estates was probably the provision of food to the pilgrims.

The development of new irrigation projects, and the maintenance of old ones, required expert knowledge in water engineering. Irrigation experts were probably found among the slaves brought to Wādī 'l-Ķurā in the early days of Islam. ʿUmar b. Dāwūd b. Zādhān (better known as ʿUmar al-Wādī), a *mawlā* of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, was the first in a distinguished line of musicians who lived in Wādī 'l-Ķurā. At the same time ʿUmar was also a *muhandis* or "one who determines the measures and proportions of subterranean channels for water". This link by *walā'* with ʿUthmān went back to ʿUmar's grandfather, Zādhān (*Aghānī*[3], vii, 85) who was presumably a Persian slave employed in ʿUthmān's estate in Wādī 'l-Ķurā.

In the 3rd/9th century, the Ķuḍāʿa were still dominant in the area. According to Lughda, Wādī 'l-Ķurā and its surroundings belonged to the ʿUdhra, the Balī, the Saʿd Allāh and the Djuhayna (all of whom were subdivisions of the Ķuḍāʿa). Groups of the Balī, the ʿUdhra (many of whom were absorbed by the Balī) and the Djuhayna can still be found in the same area, in addition to groups of the ʿAnaza and the Ḥarb [*q.vv.*].

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WĀDĪ NŪN, the form of more recent times for the earlier Wādī Nūl, a great plain of southwestern

Morocco lying between the Anti-Atlas and its Saharan outliers some 35 km/20 miles from the Atlantic. The plain is formed from the silt carried down by a number of watercourses, of which the chief are the Wādī Ṣayyād and the Wādī Umm al-ʿAs̲h̲ar, which unite to form the Wādī Āsāka, which last runs through a defile into the Atlantic just south of what was the Spanish enclave of Ifni.

The Wādī Nūn contains a number of oases with large villages (Awgelmīm or Glaymīm, Ḳṣābī, Tīlīwīn, Fask, Dubiyān, Tig̲h̲mart, Asrīr, Waʿrūn, Abbūda, etc.). which in the past served as trading centres for the Saharan nomads. The local inhabitants are Arabophone Berbers, belonging for the most part to the Lamṭa with some Maʿḳil lineages and to the socio-political groups (*laff* [*q.v.*]) of the Takna, but some to the Ayt Baʿamrān and the Ak̲h̲sās. An element present from mediaeval Islamic times has been that of the Ḥarāṭīn [see ḤARṬĀNĪ], and there was a Jewish community until the 20th century.

The region has owed its historic importance to several factors. It is in Morocco one of the rarer groups of oases which through the centuries has communicated in the south with the Mauritanian Adrar and Senegal, and in the southeast, with the Niger bend. It is also at the exit of the easiest route between the desert and the northern slope of the Atlas, a natural route which runs onwards as far as al-Suwayra [*q.v.*] or Mogador. Finally, its proximity to the Atlantic Ocean has enabled its inhabitants at various times to enter into commercial relations with Europe and to act as a corridor for the exporting of the rich products of the Western Sūdān.

The pre-Islamic history of the region is obscure, but its population must have been Berber, of the groups Illmmidn (which in the language of the Iznagn or Ṣanhād̲j̲a [*q.v.*] would mean "those who have learnt to act together"), i.e. the Lamṭa, and the distinct Iwillimmidn or Lamṭūna. In the first Islamic century, Lamṭa Berbers controlled the settlements of the Wādī Nūl, and it was probably the ephemeral rule of ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs II in the Sūs [*q.v.*] which brought them for the first time into contact with the Islamic faith. They were probably at this time essentially nomadic, but acquired a significant town, Nūl Lamṭa, which seems to have occupied the site of the later villages of Asrīr Tig̲h̲mart. It was a great entrepôt, where the famous shields of antelope hide (*lamṭ*) were made, and from it caravans set out to cross the Sahara for Mauritania and the Western Sūdān. It was probably this commercial role of the region which at an early date attracted a Jewish colony.

In the 5th/11th century, Nūl Lamṭa rose to prominence when the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] conquered the Wādī Nūl basin, and *ca.* 494/1101 established a celebrated mint there, and the high quality of its gold dīnārs attests the economic importance of the place and its importance to the Almoravids. Amongst the towns of the Great Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, Nūl and Ag̲h̲māt [*q.v.*] now consolidated their metropolitan position, with Nūl in third position after Sid̲j̲ilmāsa and Ag̲h̲māt and in front of Fās and Marrākus̲h̲. Imposing fortresses of the Almoravids above Nūl and Tag̲h̲ad̲j̲id̲j̲t still attest this importance. Al-Idrīsī describes the large size of the encampments there of the Iwillimmidn. The mint of Nūl Lamṭa continued to operate until 543/1148-9, two years after the death of the last Almoravid Isḥāḳ b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲ufīn, and its continued cultural significance is shown by mentions of scholars there, such as ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Samkānī who studied there in 663/1264-5 with S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd al-Ḥaḥā'ī, who is said to have taught Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's *K. al-Kāfī*.

The advent of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN] did not prevent Nūl Lamṭa and other nearby towns like Tag̲h̲ad̲j̲id̲j̲t and Tagawst from retaining their vigorous independence against outside incursions. Hence ʿAbd al-Mu'min sent his commander Abū Ḥafṣ with three corps of troops against the Wādī Nūn, wreaking complete destruction there in 549/1154-5, with massacres and deportations. Nevertheless the three towns later revived: al-Marrākus̲h̲ī, Ibn Saʿīd and Ibn K̲h̲aldūn attest the continuing importance of Nūl Lamṭa and Tagawst, whilst Tag̲h̲ad̲j̲id̲j̲t survived under an Almohad governor.

In 615/1218 the invasions of the Maʿḳil Arabs reached Wādī Nūn, and one of their component tribes, the D̲h̲awū Ḥassān, soon clashed there with the indigenous Illmmidn and Iguzuln. Allying with whoever paid them most, the incomers gradually overlaid the power of the Lamṭa, and with the subsequent conflict of the D̲h̲awū Ḥassān and the Marīnids [*q.v.*] over control of the region, Nūl Lamṭa declined in favour of Tagawst (the modern Ḳṣābī), and it was under the name Tagawst that the Europeans long knew the Wādī Nūn region.

From 1405, expeditions began under Portuguese, Spanish and other European navigators from the Canary Islands to the African coast, in a century when the existence of the confederation of the Takna is first attested. These expeditions were to secure slaves for the agricultural exploitation of the Islands, and constituted the celebrated *entradas*, several of which reached the gates of Tagawst and resulted in the foundation of a number of Spanish fortresses. One of them, San Miguel de Saca, which only lasted, however, for a very short time, was quite close to the Wādī Nūn, at the mouth of the Āsāka. These expeditions were perhaps preceded or accompanied by Christian missions. In 1525 Tagawst venerated the relics of a Portuguese from the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, who had lived in this region. It was a period when the Hilālī Arab tribe [see HILĀL] of the Awlād ʿĀmir apparently secured control over Tagawst, although the mass of cultivable land remained in the hands of the indigenous Illmmidn and Igulzuln.

The foundation of the Saʿdian dynasty [see SAʿDIDS] in the 10th/16th century resulted in the expulsion of the Christians and the people of Nūn supplied *gīs̲h̲* contingents to the sovereigns who had liberated Muslim soil. But very soon, it seems, their oases began to lose their position as starting-points for caravans. The S̲h̲orfā [see S̲H̲URAFĀ'] came from Tāgmādārt in the upper Darʿa, and it was by this route naturally that they brought to Marrākus̲h̲ the booty of their conquests on the Niger.

This fact no doubt explains why the people of the Wādī Nūn very soon disowned this dynasty, as well as why they were always at more or less open enmity with the Filālīs, who for similar reasons favoured the route by Tāfīlālt. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Wādī Nūn seems to have belonged to the marabout state of Tāzarwālt [*q.v.*], founded by Abū Ḥassūn al-Samlālī (Bū Dmiʿa). He and his successors in every case maintained very regular commercial relations with the country south of the desert. In their reign, European ships frequently came to the coast of the Sūs to carry away merchandise brought down by the caravans. This was a period of prosperity for the Wādī Nūn, which, towards the beginning of the 19th century, formed a practically independent state under

Shaykh Bayrūk, the capital of which, Awgelmīm, soon supplanted Tagawst.

The sultans, however, became disturbed at this direct trade between Europe and the southern provinces of the empire; they were losing all the profit from it. In the second half of the 18th century, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh closed the southern ports to merchant ships and forced them henceforth to come to Mogador, which he had just founded. Tāzarwālt and Wādī Nūn had to send their caravans there and pay heavy taxes on the articles exported. All their efforts, and especially those of Bayrūk and his sons, were in the direction of direct relations with the European governments, in order to place their commerce under European protection and to lead ships to disobey the sultan's orders by founding on the coast a port where the customs duties were lower than those at Mogador. The way was paved for this policy by the old relations of the Jews of the Wādī Nūn with the European merchants and by the numerous shipwrecks which took place in this district at the end of the 18th century, which gave Bayrūk an opportunity to discuss his plan with Christians. He tried first of all in 1835-6 to interest England and then France in 1837-53; finally, after his death in 1859, his sons began negotiations with Spain, which enabled this nation to get, by the treaty of Tetouan, the concession of a fishing station on the coast. So far, these attempts had yielded no appreciable result; the commercial strength of the Ulād Bayrūk seemed rather precarious, and the coast of the Wādī Nūn, moreover, did not afford sufficient shelter for ships. It was only in 1876 that Mackenzie built a factory on Cape Juby, soon followed by Curtis, who settled near Awgelmīm in the Wādī Areksīs. These marked the beginning of a series of explorations and experiments which disturbed sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan so much that in 1886 he decided upon an expedition to the south. This ended in the submission of Tāzarwālt and of the Wādī Nūn and in the departure of the English merchants. The marabout *shaykh* Māʾ al-ʿAynayn [*q.v.*], whose anti-foreign influence was increasing in the western Sahara, undertook to put a stop to any Christian enterprise on these coasts. It was not till four years after his death, in 1916, that Spain established herself on Cape Juby and a German submarine landed a mission to seek an alliance with his son Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Hība, who was directing the opposition of the tribes in the Anti-Atlas against the French advance; this last effort led to nothing [see AḤMAD AL-HĪBA, in Suppl.].

By the first half of the 20th century, the process of desertification and migrations of the local populations towards the Atlantic plains and the cities, combined with the disappearance of the trans-Saharan commerce, made the Wādī Nūn chiefly significant for stock-rearing (camels, horses, cattle and, especially, sheep and goats), although agriculture included some cereals, vines, figs, oranges, pomegranates and dates. By then, the markets of Awgelmīm and Tighmart were only of local significance. The most notable were the fairs (*mūsem, amuggār*) of Asrīr, Ḳṣābī and Awgelmīm where the settled population and pastoralists exchanged products.

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WĀDĪ RĪGH [see MAGHRĀWA. B. 4].

WĀDĪ YĀNA or **ĀNA**, or NAHR YĀNA/ĀNA, the classical Anas, Span. Guadiana, Port. Odiana, a great river of the south-central and southwestern parts of the Iberian peninsula.

It rises in the southeastern part of the central Meseta, in the Serranía de Cuenca [see ḲŪNKA], as the Záncara and Gigüela rivers, and flows westwards and then southwards to the Atlantic, with a course of 578 km/360 miles. Its last part, below Pomarão, forms part of the modern boundary between Spain and Portugal; only this section, and a little further upstream to Mertola, is navigable. Along its middle reaches are a series of seasonal lakes and marshes, *los Oyos del Guadiana* "the Eyes of the Guadiana", known in ancient times as "the re-born Guadiana", i.e. after the summer drought. Arabic authors noted the disappearance and re-appearance of the river, and al-Idrīsī calls it *al-nahr al-ghaʾūr* "the disappearing, subterranean river". Other names for the river in historical and geographical sources are Nahr Uḳlīsh ("of Uclès"), N. [Ḳalʿat] Rabāḥ ("of Calatrava"), N. Mārida ("of Merida") and N. Baṭalyaws ("of Badajoz"), from the towns along its banks.

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WADĪʿA (A.), noun from the root *wadaʿa* which can denote the opposing meanings or *aḍdād* [*q.v.*], of both depositing an object with and accepting it from a person. It is also the term given to the legal contract that regulates depositing an object with another person, whether real or

supposed. Strictly speaking, *īdāʿ* is the actual act, while the form I verb *wadaʿa* refers to the actual relationship, since *wadīʿa* is in reality the noun for the object of the contract (*maḥall al-ʿaḳd*).

The depositor (*mūdiʿ*) is thus a person who deposits an object or property with the *mūdaʿ*. Although the relationship falls within the area of contract when it involves tangible material matters, it is difficult to conceptualise as a contract when it involves non-material intangibles, such as acts of behaviour or personal or trade secrets.

According to the Ḥanafī school, the contract (*īdāʿ*) is defined as authorising another party to safeguard one's property by either declaration (*ṣarāḥat^an^*) or indication (*dilālat^an^*). The same basic conditions (*s̲h̲urūṭ*) governing a standard contract apply to *wadīʿa*. This includes the sanity (*ʿaḳl*) of the contracting parties and their majority (*bulūg̲h̲*). However, the Ḥanafīs do not stipulate the adulthood of both parties and accept that a minor who has permission to trade (*ṣabī maʾd̲h̲ūn*) is able to deposit his property freely. Another condition is that the object of the contract should be legal (*māl mutaḳawwim*). Accordingly, the statement made by Otto Spies in *EI*[1], iv, 1080, that "only *māl* can be deposited" applies once it is understood that the *māl* is not the focus of the condition but that the legality of the *māl* is involved. Thus wine is not legally an item of property for an ordinary Muslim but, if it is owned by a newly-converted Muslim it is considered as legal. The final, standard contractual condition required for *īdāʿ* is the offer by the depositor (*mūdiʿ*) and acceptance by the depositary (*mūdaʿ*). The obligations of the depositary dictate that he/she should safeguard the object to the best of his/her ability. When liability is to be assessed by the court, the safekeeping expected would be that normally accepted for similar objects. Liability can only be granted to the depositor if negligence or transgression (*taʿaddī*) is proved.

This occurs:

1. If he deposit the thing with a third person, for the depositing is based on the personal confidence which the depositor has placed in a definite individual known to him, Ibn Abī Laylā alone allows the depositary to deposit again. Opinions differ regarding further depositing with members of the family. Members of the family are considered to be such persons who live with the depositary and belong to his household: wife, children, parents, servants. The S̲h̲āfiʿī jurists follow *ḳiyās* and forbid further depositing, while the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs who follow *istiḥsān* allow it. According to all schools, however, the depositary may deposit again in face of pressure from a higher power in order to save the thing deposited. As cases of this kind, examples are given of shipwreck, fire, inundation and enemy raids.

2. If the depositary uses the thing or derives advantage from it, e.g. if he wears the deposited clothes or rides the mule, unless he is trying thereby to avoid damage.

Contemporary applications of *wadīʿa* are numerous. Many may not have existed in the early days of Islam, but the same principles apply to them. The contract may also be circumstantially concluded in situations such as sporting facilities that provide lockers for clothes and an attendant to safeguard valuables. The responsibility in this case and in all similar cases comes under the rule of *wadīʿa* unless the parties involved declare their non-acceptance of liability in one way or another (al-Sanhūri, iv, 679).

According to al-Sanhūrī, *wadīʿa* is one of the named contracts (*ʿuḳūd musammāt*) which are contracts that are popularly known by a specific term. A distinguishing feature of the *īdāʿ* contract is that it is like *wakāla* [*q.v.*] in being a voluntary contract (*ʿaḳd tabarruʿ*) which converts into a trade contract (*ʿaḳd muʿāwaḍa*) once payment is stipulated. However, the contract is unlike the *wakāla* contract since it is one that involves an actual task, namely, safekeeping of the goods. The *wadīʿa*, however, in the same way as the *wakāla*, is a mutually-agreed contract that does not require a specific formality apart from *īd̲j̲āb* and *ḳabūl* [see BAYʿ]. It is also like *wakāla* in the way that it gives an obligation to only one party.

It is also important to highlight the differences between *īdāʿ* and the sale contract which involves the exchange of goods rather than their deposit. The difference between the two probably represents the most basic practical element that distinguishes the Islamic notion of the role of money from that of the modern banking system. The *wadīʿa* in Islamic law is simply a depositing process which produces no benefit or ownership for the depositary vis-à-vis the object, whereas sale is a contract which leads to full ownership of the object and its benefits. Money in Islam is considered to be only a medium of value and not an independent value generator. All schools of Islamic law agree that money can be the deposited object (*maḥall al-īdāʿ*), while almost no-one considers that it can be an object of sale.

Distinguishing the *wadīʿa* contract from other contracts is important in modern commercial life because it represents the legal basis for many forms of transactions within the Islamic banking system. The difference between *wadīʿa* and the loan (*ḳarḍ* [see ḲIRĀḌ]) contract is particularly important, since they represent the two forms of contracts paradoxically used as a basis for modern Islamic banking. The concept of *wadīʿa* is often used as justification for *muḍāraba* [*q.v.*] which represents the heart of Islamic interest-free banking. According to *muḍāraba*, the savings are advanced to an enterpreneur on a mutually-agreed percentage. The net profit would then be shared between the bank and the depositor or *mūdiʿ*. No violation (*taʿaddī*) is present here because the consent of the depositor is given and the contract carries the attributes of mutual responsibility in both the risk and the profit. However, it may be observed that, according to the strict principles of *īdāʿ*, a violation of safekeeping may occur when the bank actually uses the money to derive corporate benefit. As a consequence of this objection, the relationship between the bank and its customers should be viewed as a *ḳarḍ* contract rather than *īdāʿ*. For unlike the *īdāʿ*, a loan contract permits both using the object and providing a replacement should the object perish. Both of these processes represent a daily practice with current accounts and in all other banking transactions and loans. The lack of transparency of such relationships is only a part of the criticism of interest free-banking. Others maintain that the structure of the bank is inherently the same as that of an ordinary bank, only with a change in terminology, for example, the deposit account is called *ḥisāb al-wadāʾiʿ*. Nevertheless, although Islamic banking may appear similar to orthodox banking, it is very different in essence. The primary difference stems from the risk to which the *wadīʿa* is exposed in the two systems. In the *muḍāraba*, there is a clear element of risk that threatens the deposited money, whereas in ordinary banking no risk is involved. At this juncture, it may be correct to conclude that Islamic banking is metaphorically using the word *wadāʾiʿ* (pl. of *wadīʿa*)

to describe capital invested, whereas money deposited in the ordinary banking system, although also called *wadāʾiʿ*, carries only a historical reference to the term since it is inconsistent with original Islamic terminology.

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(Mawil Y. Izzi Dien)

WADJD (a.), a term in the terminology of Ṣūfī mysticism meaning "ecstasy, rapture". Al-Tahānawī states that *wadjd* "refers to a divine influx of inspiration which strikes the inner being of the Ṣūfī, generating either sadness or joy in him. It may also change his condition in some way, making him absent from his personal qualities by means of a vision of God" (*Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1862, 1454).

The term derives from the root *w-dj-d*, with a range of meanings including "to find, obtain, experience, be moved by passion". Hence we have such *maṣdars* as the *wadjd* under consideration and *widjdān* "feeling, sentiment, ecstasy". See further on this range of meanings, F. Jabre, *Essai sur le lexique de Ghazālī*, Beirut 1970, 270.

In the period of classical Ṣūfism, the development of *wadjd* as a technical term was bound up with scholastic discussions on moral theory which flourished in the Ṣūfī school of Baghdād. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ's (d. 309/921) celebrated dispute with al-Djunayd (d. 298/910 [*q.v.*]) on whether *wadjd* is characterised by the presence of joy or grief in the mystic is perhaps the most famous in this regard. Whereas al-Djunayd declared that ecstasy means "dissociation, severance (*inkiṭāʿ*) from one's personal qualities while one's essence is graced with joy", Ibn ʿAṭāʾ agreed only partially with this definition, replacing the word "joy" by "grief" (al-Tahānawī, *loc. cit.*; L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj, mystic and martyr of Islam*, tr. H. Mason, Princeton 1982, i, 92). Another member of this school, al-Kharrāz (d. 277/890 or 286/899 [*q.v.*]), said in his *K. al-Ṣifāt*, in which he analysed the experience of proximity to God (*ḳurb*), describing the various stations traversed by the mystic to attain that degree, that *wadjd* is the first station experienced by those who have proximity to God. Al-Kharrāz's understanding of *wadjd* has been described by P. Nwyia as not so much "ecstasy" as "instasy", a communion with oneself in order to find (*wadjada*) the word of God within and so be delighted (*Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970, 254, 259).

Many of the same ontological connotations of *wadjd* figure in the enigmatic meditations on annihilation of al-Djunayd, who explains that *wadjd* and *wudjūd* belong to the final degree of the three stages of annihilation of the selfhood in the divine (*fanāʾ* [see baḳāʾ wa-fanāʾ]). The concept of existing as a kind of annihilation of self was also often emphasised in later mediaeval Ṣūfism, and figures in the expositions of the spiritual stations [see ḥāl] of the mystical ascent to perfect love by most of the Ṣūfī authors, often with great intricacy. See e.g. on these, C. Ernst, *The stages of love in early Persian Sufism*, in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *Classical Persian Sufism, from its origins to Rūmī*, London 1993, 448-51.

Wadjd was also intimately connected with the practice of musical audition, *samāʿ* [*q.v.*], and al-Ghazālī states that "Singing produces a state in the heart which is called *wadjd*. In its turn, *wadjd* causes the bodily limbs to move, whether the movement is non-rhythmic and the emotion be disorderly, or a rhythmic movement, in which case it is called clapping and dancing" (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1346-52/1927-33, ii, 237). Thus the highest state of ecstasy is called *wudjūd* or "existence" itself, to be found through *samāʿ*. Al-Ghazālī's philosophical analysis of the nature and place of *wadjd* among the mystico-psychological states experienced by Ṣūfīs during their concerts of *samāʿ* played a central role in subsequent debates on the legality of music and the place of ecstasy in the contemplative disciplines in Islam. An entire book of the *Iḥyāʾ* is devoted to the defence of *samāʿ*, the *K. Ādāb al-samāʿ wa 'l-wadjd*, thus indicating the important place which rapture had always played in Islamic spirituality. He also enumerates seven reasons why listening to poetry is more conducive to rapture than hearing the cantillation of the Ḳurʾān, substantially because hearers are too habituated to this last to be further stirred by it. Concerning the place of ecstasy in Muslim spiritual life, he says that listening to poetry arouses yearning (*shawḳ* [*q.v.*]) in the lover of God, leading to mystical states (*aḥwāl*) which are called ecstasy (*Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 246-7). At the end of this Book, al-Ghazālī proffers his own definition, based on the opinions of Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī [*q.v.*] and others, that "ecstasy consists in a mystical state which is the fruit of *samāʿ*, it is an infusion of a true, original divine nature, which, following upon *samāʿ*, the listener 'found' (*yadjiduhu*) in himself" (*ibid.*, ii, 258).

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(L. Lewisohn, shortened by the Editors)

WADJDA, conventionally Oujda, a town of eastern Morocco, 14 km/8 miles from the Algerian frontier in the southern part of the Angad plain. Despite its eccentric position, Wadjda is today the eighth largest town of Morocco, with 352,000 inhabitants in 1994. It has a strategic situation as a crossroads of the route from Fās to Orania and the axis of the route from the high plateaux to the Mediterranean; it has been fought over all through the centuries, and destroyed and rebuilt repeatedly.

1. Pre-modern history.

It was founded in 384/994 by Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, head of the great Zenāta Berber tribe of the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*]. In the course of the Ṣanhādja-Zenāta struggles, the latter had been pushed back into the extreme Moroccan west, where they became firm partisans of the Umayyads in Cordova. Zīrī was, with his tribe, authorised to occupy the region of Fās, but feeling insecure in that region and that town, and wishing to be nearer to the central Maghrib homeland of his

tribe, he moved to Wadjda, installed there a garrison and his possessions, appointing one of his relatives as governor. According to al-Bakrī, in the mid-5th/11th century, a new quarter with a wall was allegedly added to the primitive core; the Great Mosque remained, however, outside these two urban centres.

In the time of Almoravid expansion, Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn occupied it in 472/1079, and in the next century, it came under Almohad control, with its fortifications repaired and strengthened under Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (*Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, 203, tr. 194). However, it was after the ʿAbd al-Wādids were installed at Tlemcen/Tilimsān that Wadjda, "the avenue of the frontier which separates the central from the far Maghrib", according to Ibn Khaldūn, began to play an important strategic role. In 670/1271, the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, having defeated Yaghmurāsan [*q.v.*] near Wadjda, totally destroyed the town. In 695/1296 Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf seized the town, destroyed what remained of its fortifications, then rebuilt the ruined parts, with a palace, citadel and great mosque (probably the existing one) and began the eight-years' siege of Tilimsān. In 714/1314 Wadjda resisted the Marīnid Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān's attack, but twenty-one years later was seized by Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī and its defences dismantled. Once again, under the Marīnids, with both Wadjda and Tilimsān in their hands, the Arab tribes of the region espoused the cause of the dispossessed ʿAbd al-Wādids and came to besiege Wadjda.

From the 16th to the 19th century, Wadjda was the locus for many changes of fortune in the struggles between the Turks of Algiers and the sultans of Morocco, coming within the sultans' realm in times of peaceful progress, but when the sultans were weak and their land troubled, Wadjda became attached to the province of Tlemcen and dominated by the Turks, according to L. Voinot. One of the few times when Sharīfian authority was in fact firmly established was under Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1082-1139/1672-1727), who transplanted at Wadjda Arabs brought from south of Marrakesh, made them into a *gīsh/djaysh*, strengthened the town's defences, built numerous *ḳaṣbas* in the vicinity and organised the tribes of the plain. But after his death, the Turks reappeared and trouble was renewed. Finally, in 1795 a Sharīfian army took possession of the town again and permanently incorporated it into the Moroccan empire, with an *ʿāmil* installed there to represent the sultan.

In 1844, after the battle of Isly, it was temporarily occupied by French forces in reprisal for the sultan of Morocco's aid to the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. French troops reappeared there in 1859, and it was definitively occupied in 1907, even before the Protectorate was installed (1912). Since then, the form Oujda has been the sole one in use, including by the Moroccan administration. (G. Marçais*)

2. The modern city.

The modest small town of 6,466 inhabitants (1910) occupied by the French army was smaller than its neighbour, the Spanish *presidio* Melilla (12,000 people in 1908). Hence Oujda became the focus of an intense colonisation, esentially of "Pieds Noirs" from Algeria, French and then Spanish. In 1936, with the population at 34,500, the town had almost as many outsiders as Moroccans. The Jewish community (whether of Moroccan, Algerian or French origin) was important and active, owning 30% of the commercial enterprises as recorded in 1934, but after 1948, and especially after 1955, it emigrated massively. In 1951, just before independence, Oujda had over 80,000 people, including many Algerians amongst the third of non-Moroccans. The ebb and flow of populations continues now to affect the town, as in the past: the Algerian element was swollen during the 1954-62 Algerian war, brutally reduced after Algeria's achievement of independence, whilst in 1975 35,000 Moroccan refugees arrived there during the latent Algero-Moroccan war before being redistributed over other parts of Morocco, 6,500 of them remaining, however, at Oujda. The more gradual departure of Europeans left only a few hundred by 1982 (Guitouni).

The colonial period made Oujda an important military centre, with many camps and barracks, and also a great railway junction, second only to Casablanca for its freight traffic. Part of the old medina was destroyed to accommodate a new road network, and a new medina built to the north-north-east. A "European" town grew up to the west, mainly between the railway station and the medina, whilst precarious suburbs for rural immigrants grew up round the peripheries. Traffic with Algeria was heavy, and Oujda did not suffer from its distance from the administrative capital Rabat nor from its distance from Casablanca, since the ports of Orania could be used.

But after Moroccan independence in 1956, Oujda found itself in a cul-de-sac, with the Algerian frontier closed and with reverberations from the Moroccan-Algerian conflict. Each time the frontier has been reopened there has been a great surge of persons crossing (2 million in 1991) in search of the contraband goods smuggled out from Melilla. Service and transport businesses, hotel, industrial and financial activities have prospered, but the town has little industrial enterprise (only 4,000 employed) and has suffered from huge rural influxes as mines have closed in its southern hinterland; administrative and military functions (since Oujda is the chef-lieu of a *wilāya*) do not suffice to provide resources for a vastly swollen population (that will reach over 400,000 by the end of the 20th century).

The town has largely spread over the surrounding gardens and orchards and has extended its tentacles along the main roads, especially along that eastwards to Bukane and Algeria. Although well endowed with the fifth largest airport in Morocco and the fifth largest university centre, and being the main commercial centre for the eastern part of the country, Oujda suffers from its position away from the main centres of the country on the Atlantic seaboard and from the cyclical changes of fortune with regard to the Algerian border (last closed on 28 August 1994). It awaits a revived role as a stopover town when international exchanges between the countries of the Maghrib are reactivated.

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(J.F. Troin)

WADJHĪ [see MATHNAWĪ. 4].

WĀDJIB [see FARḌ].

WAFĀ, the pen-name of various minor Persian poets of the 18th-19th centuries. They include:

1. Muḥammad Amīn, b. 1110/1698-9 in Īličpūr (Eličpur) in the western Deccan, d. 1193/1779-80. His ancestors belonged to Iṣfahān, from where his father, Ḥakīm Muḥammad Taḳī Khān, migrated to India during the reign of Awrangzīb (1658-1707), and rose to a respectable position under Nawwāb Āṣaf Djāh (d. 1748), governor of the Deccan in the time of the Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-19). Muḥammad Amīn received his education from his father, and dedicated his time to the pursuit of poetry and epistolography (Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Natā'idj al-afkār*, Bombay 1136/1957, 756-7).

2. Mīrzā Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Ḥusaynī, called Āḳāsī Beg, b. 1137/1724-5 in Ḳumm, d. 1200/1785-6 (see Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, suppl., no. 344). He came from a respected family of *sayyid*s, and was one of the custodians of the Imāmzāda Fāṭima in Ḳumm. According to Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar (*Ātashkada*, ed. Sayyid Djaʿfar Shahīdī, Tehran (?) 1337/1958, 423), he went to India towards the latter part of Nādir Shāh's reign and stayed there for some thirty years. In 1180/1766-7 he returned to Persia, and from there went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca. He has left a *dīwān* containing poems in the traditional forms (Ethé, *Cat. Pers. mss. India Office*, i, no. 1718).

3. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Farāhānī, d. 1209/1794-5 at Ḳazwīn (cf. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Dunbulī, *Nigāristān-i Dārā*, ed. Khayyāmpūr, Tabrīz 1342/1963, 147). He belonged to Farāhān, a village of Ḳumm. Most of his ancestors had been ministers during their lifetimes, and he, too, served in that capacity under Zand and Ḳādjār rulers. As minister, he made efforts towards promoting education (Muḥammad Muʿīn, *Farhang-i Fārsī*, vi, Tehran 1371/1992, 2214). Dunbulī credits him with a *dīwān* of poems comprising some 4,000 verses, and also states that he composed a *mathnawī* in the metre of Niẓāmī's *Haft paykar* (*ibid.*, 147).

4. Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Zawāra'ī, b. 29 Ṣafar 1195/25 February 1781 in Iṣfahān, d. reportedly 1245/1829-30 (Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Tārīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi Fārsī*, ii, Tehran 1363/1984, 116-17). He received his education in Iṣfahān and achieved competency in natural sciences, medicine, jurisprudence, and the art of poetry. He was among the intellectuals of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Ḳādjār's reign, and moved in the company of the monarch's poet-laureate, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Ṣabā (see Sayyid Aḥmad Dīwān Begī, *Ḥadīḳat al-shuʿarā'*, iii, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, Tehran 1366/1987, 2005). According to Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, he composed a *tadhkira* of poets and poetry named *Ma'āthir al-Bāḳiriyya*, which was completed in 1245/1829-30 (*ibid.*, 110).

5. Shaykh Muḥammad Bāḳir Tammāmī, b. 1278/1861-2 (Mīrzā Ḥasan Ḥusaynī Fasā'ī, *Fārsnāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, Tehran 1313/1895, 28). His father, Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Shīrāzī, who wrote poetry under the pen-name Ṣafā, held the title of *Shaykh al-Islām*, which was passed on to his son Muḥammad Bāḳir by orders of the ruling monarch Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (see Dīwān Begī, *ibid.*, 2007). Muḥammad Bāḳir's date of death is not known but, according to Muḥammad Ḥusayn Rukn-zāda Ādamiyyat, author of *Dānishmandān u sukhan-sarāyān-i Fārs* (iv, Tehran 1340/1961, 820), he was still alive in 1313/1895-6.

6. Mīrzā Ḥasan ʿAlī Shīrāzī, popularly known as Mīrzā Buzurg, b. 1224/1809-10. He studied under his father, Mīrzā Sayyid ʿAlī, who was a poet employing Niyāz as his pen-name. After studying medicine, he went to India in 1259/1838-9, and soon afterwards visited Mecca and Medina and travelled to Europe, where he stayed in Paris and London to complete his medical studies. On returning to India, he took up residence in Calcutta, teaching and practising medicine. In 1276/1859-60 he set out on a pilgrimage to Mashhad, but died en route in Bombay (*Fārsnāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 119-20). According to this last, 122, he was the author of some 15,000 verses.

7. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Shīrāzī, known as Mudarris. He was among the learned élite of Shīrāz; well versed in many rational and traditional sciences and was the author of a *dīwān* containing Persian poems and Arabic *ḳaṣīda*s (Shaykh Mufīd Dāwar, *Tadhkira-yi mir'āt al-faṣāḥat*, ed. Muḥammad Ṭāwūsī, Shīrāz 1371/1992, 692-3; *Fārsnāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 935).

8. Mīrzā Mahdī Ḳulī, known as Wafā Ashrafī, descended from a Georgian family which had settled in Persia during Ṣafawid times and was employed as confidential secretary to Manūčihr Khān Muʿtamad al-Dawla, who served as governor of Iṣfahān from 1838 until his death in 1847 (*Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā'*, ii/3, 1091; *Ḥadīḳat al-shuʿarā'*, iii, 2004).

9. Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Kāshānī, a member of the nobility and a man of learning having special knowledge in medicine. He was employed in government service as head of the postal department in Zandjān (*Ḥadīḳat al-shuʿarā'*, iii, 2018).

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

WAFD (A., lit. "delegation"), the name of a nationalist political party in modern Egypt, whose heyday was for some three decades after 1918, petering out as an effective force in the 1950s.

It gained its name from the delegation which began to be formed in Egypt in September 1918 in order to make Egypt's demands for independence known at the Peace Conference in Paris. The leading member of the Wafd was Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*]. The delegation had a meeting with Sir Reginald Wingate, Egyptian High Commissioner, at which they demanded complete independence and asked for permission to go to London to put Egypt's case to the British government. At the same time, the Egyptian delegation (*al-wafd al-miṣrī*) was formed also under the leadership of Zaghlūl. The British refused to give permission for the Wafd to visit London and later deported Zaghlūl and three colleagues. This move led to the outbreak of a general rebellion throughout Egypt in 1919. It was not organised by Zaghlūl and the Wafd, but they came to represent the Egyptian people and to embody their demands for independence.

The British in an attempt to calm the situation sent out the Milner Mission to Egypt in December 1919. It was greeted with strikes and demonstrations and was boycotted by most Egyptians on the demand

of the Wafd. The Mission realised that it had to make concessions and dropped the idea of the protectorate and offered to talk about the aspirations of the Egyptians. The Wafd replied that they would only accept complete independence.

Negotiations dragged on, prolonged by splits amongst the Egyptians over the role of the Wafd. Some politicians, including ʿAdlī Pas̲h̲a, tended to moderation, while Zag̲h̲lūl and his associates remained intransigent. The British tried to deal with the moderates but again realised that any move would fail which did not include the Wafd. Even so, no compromise was reached and Zag̲h̲lūl was again deported. The British reluctantly agreed to end the protectorate in 1922 and Egypt was declared a quasi-independent state.

Egyptian politicians set about drawing up a constitution for the country without the cooperation of the Wafd. However, elections were soon held in which the Wafdist leaders back from exile took part. The Wafd won a crushing victory at the polls and in January 1924 Zag̲h̲lūl formed the first Wafdist government.

The Wafd was organised formally on hierarchical lines. It became a political party in 1924 on coming into government. The original statutes of 1918 declared that the Wafd had been formed for one objective, sc. the achievement of the complete independence of Egypt. The organisation would be headed by a president who had wide authority, with a central committee which would have branches country-wide. The committee's main task was to collect funds, and consequently it deliberately recruited provincial notables who would help in that task. Students were also recruited into the party and they played a significant part in its activities. The secretary of the Wafd, Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās [*q.v.*], relied to a great extent on the support of students. They took part in demonstrations, in boycotts and in electioneering. The formation of labour unions also helped in the activities of the party.

Women played an important role in political activities, demonstrating and protesting. In 1920 the Wafdist Women's Central Committee was formed under the leadership of the prominent Egyptian feminist Hudā al-S̲h̲aʿrāwī. They took the lead in boycotting British goods in 1922 and struggled equally for their own voting rights. They believed that the fight for independence had to be accompanied by the fight for equality.

From 1924 to 1936 and until the beginning of the Second World War, Egyptian politics consisted of a three-way contest for power and authority between the King, the British and the politicians, the latter often being members of the Wafd. It was the leading political party of the period, and won every election which was not rigged against them. It was felt by many Egyptians that the Wafd was the real representative of the people.

On Zag̲h̲lūl's death in 1927, al-Naḥḥās took over the leadership of the Wafd and played a prominent role in Egyptian politics until 1952. He signed the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, not, however, negotiated by him, which formalised relations between Britain and Egypt. The Treaty still withheld complete independence with its reserved points, and the Wafd had consequently to suffer some unpopularity. The 1930s were a period when more extreme political groupings were emerging, such as the Ik̲h̲wān al-Muslimūn [*q.v.*] and the Miṣr al-Fatāt, with Fascist tendencies. The Wafd tried to keep pace by forming it own paramilitary youth movement, the Blue Shirts.

On the outbreak of war in 1939, the British were keen to preserve Egypt within the Allied camp, although there were some Egyptians who believed that only by helping the Axis to expel the British would they gain complete independence. As the Axis forces approached Alexandria, the British felt they had to have a prime minister who would work with rather than against them. In February 1942 the British Ambassador, Miles Lampson (later Lord Killearn) forced King Fārūḳ to appoint the Wafdist leader Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās as prime minister. The Egyptians never forgave this insult, nor did they forget the fact that a Wafdist had been willing to co-operate with the occupier. This contributed to the decline in popularity of the Wafd, although it won elections held in 1942 and tried to regain support by introducing social measures such as free education and greater public health.

The last act of the Naḥḥās government was to host a conference of Arab states in Alexandria in 1944 which led eventually to the foundation of the Arab League. Elections in 1944 were boycotted by the Wafd, and politics in Egypt staggered on under the impact of the loss of Palestine. In January 1950 new elections were won by the Wafd. A very low turnout demonstrated indifference and frustration, and the minority vote obtained by the Wafd showed just how far it had fallen in public esteem. Al-Naḥḥās led his fourth government for only two years until he was overthrown by the Free Officers' coup of July 1952. The Wafd was disbanded in 1953, to return in a new guise in 1976 when Anwar al-Sādāt [*q.v.*] allowed the reformation of political parties. It gained some support, but never threatened the power of the official government party. It was disbanded for a time in protest against al-Sādāt's anti-party moves and re-formed after his death. In 1984 the Wafd won 58 seats. During the election, it had campaigned with the Ik̲h̲wān. It claimed to be the party of small businessmen and to be the sole heir of the 1952 revolution. In the 1987 elections, it ran alone and won 35 seats. Finally, in the 1990 elections the Wafd decided on a boycott because it had unsuccessfully demanded certain concessions. The Wafd remains a pale shadow of its predecessor.

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(D. Hopwood)

WĀFIDIYYA (A.), a collective formation from *wāfid* "one who comes, makes his way, in a delegation or group", in the Mamlūk Sultanate applied to troops of varying ethnic origins who came to Egypt and Syria to join the Sultanate's military forces.

There is no better proof for the superiority of the Mamlūk socio-military system over any other military form during a great part of Islamic history than the attitude of the Mamlūk Sultanate to the Mongol warriors and others, such as Kurds, K̲h̲ʷārazmians, etc. who, for this or that reason, sought and found refuge within its boundaries as *Wāfidiyya*.

The mainly Turkish Mamlūks considered the Mongols to be their next of kin and as belonging to the same ethnicity as they themselves (*min d̲j̲ins wāḥid*). They had the highest regard for their warlike qualities. Quite probably, the Mongols had an impact on the structure of Mamlūk society, although the degree and dimension of that impact have still to be studied more systematically (it has been proven, however, that the Mamlūks were never judged according to the *Yāsa* [*q.v.*], the Mongol law). Furthermore, the greatest influx

of the Wāfidiyya Mongols took place during the reigns of two sultans: Baybars al-Bundukdārī (658-77/1260-77), a great admirer of the Mongols, and al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā (694-6/1295-7), who was himself an Oirat Mongol. Baybars even let part of them join the élite corps, the Baḥriyya regiment. However, the influx of these Mongols frightened him: "I fear there is something suspect in their coming from all sides" (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, v, 515 ll. 1-6; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, ed. Ṣadaḳa, 105). A measure which he took to neutralise them was to disperse them within much bigger numbers of the Royal Mamlūks (*yufarriḳuhum kull djamāʿa bayna adʿāfihā min al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, 59, l. 1).

Baybars is said to have appointed from amongst them commanders from the rank of Amīr of a Hundred downwards (*ibid.*, 58 l. 19; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 117; Sato, *State and rural society*, 101). Yet it seems that no *specific* Wāfidī Mongol appointed to that high rank by Baybars has been noted till now by any scholar. The only Wāfidī Amīr of a Hundred noted by the present writer in the reign of that sultan was a Khʷārazmian, who was related to him by marriage (see Ayalon, *Wāfidīya*, 93 n. 26a. On the Khʷārazmian and Kurdish *Wāfidīya*, who preceded the Mongols, see *ibid.*, 94-7).

Sultan Kitbughā had to conform to the Mamlūk policy towards the Wāfidiyya, who arrived in 695/1296 in huge numbers (10,000 according to some versions, 18,000 according to others). First of all, he returned to the older policy of separating the leaders from their soldiers, by letting only the leaders enter Egypt and forcing the rest to stay in Syria, settling many of them in its devastated coastal area, as was the case with the earlier Wāfidiyya newcomers. Of their chiefs (numbering between 113 and 300, according to different accounts), only their head, Ṭurghāy, a son-in-law of the Īl-Khānid Hülegü [*q.v.*] received the medium rank of Amīr of Forty (Zettersteen (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, Leiden 1919, 38 l. 21; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Cairo, viii, 60 l. 6). Kitbughā did try, during his short reign, to raise the status of his compatriots, but failed because of the stubborn antagonism of the Royal Mamlūks. It is also stated that one of the two major reasons of his deposition was his favourable attitude to his fellow-Oirats. The Oirats continue to play a political role until the early part of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn's third reign (709-41/1309-40). Subsequently, they were on the decline, and in 733/1333 we find them or their descendants as attendants or servants (*atbāʿ*) to the Mamlūks in the Cairo citadel (*Sulūk*, ii, 83 ll. 8-13).

The wide, and usually unbridgeable, gap separating the Mamlūks and non-Mamlūks arriving in the Sultanate, even when the non-Mamlūks belonged to the most highly-appreciated military stock, is well illustrated in the case of the Oirats. Kitbughā and Salār, both of them belonging to that ethnic group, and who arrived in the Sultanate as slaves, rose to the highest ranks, whereas the head of many thousands of Oirats, who arrived there as free men, did not rise above the rank of a medium *amīr*, in spite of his close family connection with one of the greatest Mongol Khāns.

After the influx of the Oirats, the Wāfidiyya migration greatly dwindled until it disappeared for good. At that period, when migration no longer posed any danger to the Mamlūks, they became more generous in bestowing the rank of Amīr of a Hundred on a very small number of immigrants belonging to that category.

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(D. Ayalon)

WĀFIR ("the ample, abundant"), the name of an Arabic poetic metre, the first metre of the second circle in al-Khalīl's classification [see ʿARŪḌ] of which the commonest pattern (*wāfir*-1) is:

⏑ – ⏑⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – | ⏑ – – ‖ ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – | ⏑ – –

The two consecutive short syllables alternate with one long syllable (48% of all variable positions in al-Mutanabbī's *wāfir* poems taken together are filled with a long syllable, 52% with two short syllables), but the incidence of double short syllables in the second foot of each hemistich appears to be higher than in the first foot (unpublished scansion data).

Occasionally, the first syllable is lacking in opening lines of the poem, a phenomenon called *kharm*, examples of which are al-Nābigha, no. 31; ʿAntara, nos. 1, 12; Ṭarafa, no. 7; Zuhayr, no. 5 (ed. W. Ahlwardt, *The divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870); two *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* poems: nos. 13, 35 (ed. Ch. J. Lyall, Oxford 1921); and four poems in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām: nos. 116, 159, 188, 696 (al-Marzūḳī, *Sharḥ dīwān al-ḥamāsa*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn and ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo, 1951-3).

Throughout the first 300 years of Arabic poetry, the use of the *wāfir* metre appears to be fairly constant: up to 10% of the poems originating from what D. Frolov calls "the metrical school of al-Ḥīra", and up to 20% of the compositions by poets from the "Bedouin metrical school" (see his *Notes on the history of ʿArūḍ in al-Andalus*, 91, 93). Frolov's data may be compared with those in the graph in J. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, 225.

In a discussion of the aesthetic value of different metres, Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī [*q.v.*] places this metre, together with *kāmil*, after *ṭawīl* and *basīṭ* (see his *Minhādj al bulaghāʾ wa-sirādj al-udabāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb Ibn al-Khōdja, ³Beirut 1986, 268).

Two truncated (*madjzūʾ*) *wāfir* types, labelled *wāfir*-2 (⏑ – ⏑⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ‖ ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑⏑ –) and *wāfir*-3 (⏑ – ⏑⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ‖ ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – | ⏑ – – –), are occasionally found. Examples in the work of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (P. Schwarz, *Der Diwan des ʿUmar Ibn Abi Rebiʿa*, Leipzig 1901-9) are nos. 47, 166, 219, 284, 301, 317, 340, 366, 375, 404, 407 for *wāfir*-2; and 104, 110, 298, 347 for *wāfir*-3. The metrical irregularities in nos. 104, 166, 298 (Schwarz, *op. cit.*, iv, 179) can perhaps be explained as a mixture of metres, due to the similarity between the truncated *wāfir* and *hazadj*.

In modern poetry, *wāfir* continues to be used, albeit sparingly (S. Moreh, *Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970*, 219, has six poems in *wāfir* or a *wāfir*-like metre in a sample of 759 modern poems). Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb (1926-64 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) mixes *wāfir* and *radjaz* in his poem *Fi ʾl-maghrib al-ʿarabī* (see S.K. Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, ii, 729).

Bibliography: G.W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 133-4, 203-11;

Muḥammad b. Abī Shanab, *Tuḥfat al-adab fī mīzān ashʿār al-ʿarab*, Algiers 1906, 32-5; J. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, ²Paris 1989, 203-53; W.F.G.J. Stoetzer, *Theory and practice in Arabic metrics*, Leiden 1989, 150; D. Frolov, *Klassičeskiy arabskiy stikh*, Moscow 1991, 171-84; idem, *Notes on the history of ʿArūḍ in al-Andalus*, in *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, vi (1995), 87-110; B. Paoli, *Aux sources de la métrique arabe*, in *BÉt.Or.*, xlvii (1995), 183-215. (W. Stoetzer)

WAFḲ (A.), lit. "harmonious arrangement", the construction of magic squares.

One of the most impressive achievements in Islamic mathematics, in any case the most original one, is the development of general methods for constructing magic squares. A magic square of order n is a square with n cells on its side, thus n^2 cells on the whole, in which different natural numbers must be arranged in such a way that the sum of each row, column and main diagonal is the same. As a rule, the n^2 first natural numbers are actually written in, which means that the constant sum amounts to $\frac{1}{2}n(n^2+1)$. If, in addition, the squares left when the borders are successively removed have themselves this magic property, the square is called a *bordered* square. If any pair of broken diagonals (that is, which lie on either side of, and parallel to, a main diagonal and together have n cells) shows the constant sum, the square is called *pandiagonal*. Then there are *composite* squares: when the order n is a composite number—say $n = r \cdot s$ with r, $s \geq 3$—the main square can be divided into r^2 subsquares of order s; these subsquares, taken successively according to a magic arrangement for the order r, are then filled successively with sequences of s^2 consecutive numbers according to a magic arrangement for the order s, the result being then a magic square in which each subsquare is also magic.

Squares are usually divided into three categories: *odd-order* (or *odd*) squares are those with n odd, that is, $n = 3, 5, 7, \ldots$, and generally $n = 2k + 1$ with k natural; squares are of *evenly-even* order if n, even, is divisible by 4, thus $n = 4, 8, 12, \ldots, 4k$; finally, *oddly-even* squares have their order n even but divisible by 2 only, whence $n = 6, 10, 14, \ldots, 4k+2$. There are general methods of construction, which depend upon the type of magic square considered (standard, bordered, pandiagonal) and the category to which the order n belongs. Those for standard magic squares may, however, not apply for the smallest orders $n = 3$ and $n = 4$, which are particular cases. Those for bordered squares suppose that $n \geq 5$. (Since no square of order 2 is possible, no square of order 4 is bordered.) Finally, those for pandiagonal squares of odd order are generally not directly applicable if n is divisible by 3, and there are no rules for constructing oddly-even squares since pandiagonal squares of this category do not exist.

Information about the beginning of Islamic research on magic squares is lacking. It may have been connected with the introduction of chess into Persia. Initially, the problem was a purely mathematical one; thus, the ancient Arabic designation for magic squares is *wafḳ al-aʿdād*, that is, "harmonious arrangement of the numbers". We know that treatises were written in the 9th century, but the earliest extant ones date back to the 10th century; one is by Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzdjānī (d. 387/997 or 388/998) and the other is a chapter in Book III of ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Anṭākī's (d. 376/987) *Commentary on Nicomachos' Arithmetic* (see *Bibl.*). It appears that, by that time, the science of magic squares was already established: the construction of bordered squares of any order was known; standard magic squares could be formed for small orders (up to $n = 6$), and this was applied to the formation of composite squares. (Although methods for standard magic squares are easier to *apply* than methods for bordered ones, the latter are easier to *discover*.) The 11th century saw the discovery of several ways to construct standard magic squares, in any event for odd and evenly-even ones (see Sesiano, *Un traité médiéval*, and *L'Abrégé*): the much more difficult case of $n = 4k + 2$, which Ibn al-Haytham (d. *ca.* 430/1040) could solve only with k even (Sesiano, *Herstellungsverfahren* (I)), was probably not settled before the second half of the 11th century. At the same time, pandiagonal squares were being constructed for squares of evenly-even and of odd order, provided in the latter case that the order was not divisible by 3. (Little attention seems to have been paid, however, to the sum of the broken diagonals; these squares were considered of interest because their construction characteristically required the use of chess moves and because the initial cell, say the place of 1, could be chosen at random within the square.) Treatises on magic squares are numerous in the 12th century, and later developments tend to be improvements or simplifications of existing methods. From the 13th century on, magic squares were increasingly associated with magic proper and used for divinatory purposes. Consequently, many texts merely picture squares and mention their attributes. Others do, however, keep the general theory alive even if their authors, unlike earlier writers, cannot resist adding various fanciful applications.

The link between magic squares and magic as such has to do with the association of each of the twenty-eight Arabic letters with a number (the units, the tens, the hundreds and one thousand). Thus it was sometimes possible to put in e.g. the first row a sequence of numbers equivalent to the letters of a proper name or the words of a sentence and then complete the square so as to produce the same sum in each line. But this involved a completely different kind of construction, which depended upon the order n and the values of the n-given quantities. The problem is mathematically not easy, and led in the 11th century to interesting constructions for the cases from $n = 3$ to $n = 8$ (Sesiano, *Un traité médiéval*). However, once again the subtle theory ended up mostly in a set of practical recipes and then a wider readership was gained at the expense of scholarship.

This development was unfortunate for Europe, where by the late Middle Ages only two sets of squares associated with the seven known celestial bodies had been learned of through Arabic astrological and magic texts—whence the name—and without any indication as to their construction. (Whereas as early as the 12th century some methods of construction had reached India and China, and also Byzantium, as can be seen from the treatise on magic squares written *ca.* 1300 by Manuel Moschopoulos.) Thus the extent of Islamic research remained unknown for quite a long time; indeed, a very long time, since it has only recently been assessed and its importance recognised.

Some examples of constructions

The smallest magic square is the square of order 3 (fig. 1). By constructing successive borders to this square, Islamic mathematicians found a general method of forming bordered squares of any odd order, which is explained by the two 10th-century authors mentioned above. Let n be the given odd order ($n = 9$ in fig. 2). Starting next to a corner cell, e.g. the lower right one, write in the first odd and even numbers alternately along the adjacent side lines until the mid-

2	9	4
7	5	3
6	1	8

Fig. 1

10	16	14	12	*75*	*76*	*78*	*80*	8
15	24	28	26	*61*	*62*	*64*	22	*67*
13	27	34	36	*51*	*52*	32	*55*	*69*
11	25	35	38	45	40	*47*	*57*	*71*
9	23	33	43	41	39	*49*	*59*	*73*
77	*63*	*53*	42	37	44	29	19	5
79	*65*	*50*	*46*	31	30	*48*	17	3
81	*60*	*54*	*56*	21	20	18	*58*	1
74	*66*	*68*	*70*	7	6	4	2	*72*

Fig. 2

	2			9			4	
	7			5			3	
	6			1			8	

Fig. 3

11	18	13	74	81	76	29	36	31
16	14	12	79	77	75	34	32	30
15	10	17	78	73	80	33	28	35
56	63	58	38	45	40	20	27	22
61	59	57	43	41	39	25	23	21
60	55	62	42	37	44	24	19	26
47	54	49	2	9	4	65	72	67
52	50	48	7	5	3	70	68	66
51	46	53	6	1	8	69	64	71

Fig. 4

22	47	16	41	10	35	4
5	23	48	17	42	11	29
30	6	24	49	18	36	12
13	31	7	25	43	19	37
38	14	32	1	26	44	20
21	39	8	33	2	27	45
46	15	40	9	34	3	28

Fig. 5

dle lines are reached. Write the next (odd) number in the adjacent (middle) cell, then put the following one in the corner cell diagonally opposite (that is, in the starting line), the next one in the middle-line cell diagonally opposite, the one after that in the other upper corner cell; and finally, arrange the subsequent numbers along the two adjacent side lines as before (lines with numbers of the same parity facing each other). At this point, half of the border cells are occupied. Fill in each of the remaining blank cells with the complement to $n^2 + 1$ of the number in the opposite cell, horizontally or vertically (diagonally for the corners). Repeat this procedure until the central square of order 3 is reached, and fill it with the remaining numbers as in Fig. 1.

It was mentioned above that composite squares were also known in the 10th century. Thus the above square of order 3 is used by both authors to build the smallest possible composite square of odd order (figs. 3 and 4).

The most common method for standard magic squares of odd order, already known in the 11th century and found in a set of three squares transmitted to Europe in the Middle Ages, is that of Fig. 5. Starting with 1 below the central cell, proceed with the consecutive numbers diagonally downwards as far as the side of the square; then move from the cell which would be reached outside the square to the corresponding cell in the main square and proceed diagonally downwards as before. When, after a sequence of n numbers, an occupied cell stands in the way, drop down two cells and continue as before.

The easiest method for constructing evenly-even squares was known in the 11th century as well, and two squares (of order 4 and 8) constructed by this method were also transmitted to Europe. Divide the square into subsquares of order 4 and put dots in each of their main diagonals (fig. 6). Then, count the cells from the first (for Arabs, the upper right) corner and write in the corresponding number whenever the cell contains a dot. When this has been done and the lower left corner has been reached, go backwards, count the cells once again and put the corresponding number in every unoccupied one (fig. 7).

For an oddly-even square, thus with $n = 4k + 2$, put

•			•	•			•
	•	•			•	•	
	•	•			•	•	
•			•	•			•
•			•	•			•
	•	•			•	•	
	•	•			•	•	
•			•	•			•

Fig. 6

●			†	●	●	†	○		●
●	●			†	†	○		●	●
†	●	●			○		●	●	†
	†	●	●			●	●	†	○
		†	●	●	●	●	†	○	
			●	●	●	●		○	
		●	●			●	●		○
	●	●			○		●	●	
●	●					○		●	●
●				●	●		○		●

Fig. 8

8	*58*	*59*	5	4	*62*	*63*	1
49	15	14	*52*	*53*	11	10	*56*
41	23	22	*44*	*45*	19	18	*48*
32	*34*	*35*	29	28	*38*	*39*	25
40	*26*	*27*	37	36	*30*	*31*	33
17	47	46	*20*	*21*	43	42	*24*
9	55	54	*12*	13	51	50	*16*
6	*2*	*3*	61	60	*6*	*7*	57

Fig. 7

○→ ←●

10	92	93	*97*	6	5	*94*	*8*	99	1
20	19	83	84	*86*	*85*	*17*	88	12	11
80	29	28	74	75	*26*	77	23	22	*71*
61	*69*	38	37	65	66	34	33	*62*	*40*
51	52	*58*	47	46	45	44	*53*	*49*	60
41	42	43	57	56	55	54	48	*59*	50
31	32	68	67	35	36	64	63	39	*70*
21	79	78	24	25	*76*	27	73	72	30
90	89	13	14	15	16	*87*	18	82	81
100	2	3	4	96	95	7	*98*	9	91

←†

Fig. 9

8	*11*	*14*	1
13	2	7	*12*
3	*16*	*9*	6
10	5	4	*15*

Fig. 10

16	*51*	*54*	9	8	*59*	*62*	1
53	10	15	*52*	*61*	2	7	*60*
11	*56*	*49*	14	3	*64*	*57*	6
50	13	12	*55*	*58*	5	4	*63*
32	*35*	*38*	25	24	*43*	*46*	17
37	26	31	*36*	*45*	18	23	*44*
27	*40*	*33*	30	19	*48*	*41*	22
34	29	28	*39*	*42*	21	20	*47*

Fig. 11

124	36	107	92	101	131
6	85	115	100	94	191
194	72	135	50	137	3
5	62	75	134	123	192
196	175	69	110	40	1
66	161	90	105	96	73

Fig. 12

dots in the main diagonal and in $k-1$ broken diagonals of the first quarter and reproduce them symmetrically in the three other quarters; next, write crosses in a broken diagonal of the first quarter and reproduce them symmetrically in the upper left quarter; then, write ciphers in another broken diagonal of the first quarter and reproduce them symmetrically in the lower right quarter (fig. 8). Fill in the cells which are empty and those which have a dot as in the case of an evenly-even square. In order to fill the remaining cells, count from the other upper angle for the ciphers and from the other lower angle for the crosses (fig. 9). This method is described by al-K͟haraḳī (d. 533/1138-9) as above, and with the same symbols (Sesiano, *Herstellungsverfahren (III)*).

Another common method of constructing squares of order 4 used chess moves (fig. 10): starting with 1 in the corner, 2 is placed by a knight's move (a move of two cells in one direction and one cell in the other), 3 by a queen's move (a move to the next cell diagonally), 4 by a knight's move again, whilst 5 to 8 are symmetrically located in the rows in descending order. To complete the square, the complement to $n^2 + 1 = 17$ of each of these numbers is written in the corresponding bishop's cell, that is, two cells diagonally away. The result is a pandiagonal square. This method was extended in the early 11th century to the construction of squares with the order $n = 4k$ (fig. 11). Divide the square into subsquares of order 4; next, fill half of the cells in each of the k^2 subsquares (taken in any order) with series of eight consecutive numbers as above, and then put in each bishop's cell (reached by moving two cells diagonally within the *same* subsquare) the complement to $n^2 + 1$ (to 65 in fig. 11, where $n = 8$). If, as in this example, the subsquares are initially taken in their natural order, the resulting square will be pandiagonal.

Our final example (fig. 12) is taken from an 11th-century text (*L'*Abrégé). The numerical values of the words *salām ʿalā Muḥammad wa-ʿalā ālihi d͟jamīʿ^an^* occupy the first row and the whole square has been completed so as to produce their sum as a magic constant.

Bibliography: *Kitāb Abi 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzd͟jānī fī tartīb al-ʿadad al-wafḳ fi 'l-murabbaʿāt*, ms. Istanbul, Ayasofya 4843, fols. 23b-31b, 38a-56b; *al-Maḳāla al-t͟hālit͟ha min S͟harḥ ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Anṭākī li-kitāb Nīkūmāk͟hūs*..., ms. Ankara, Saib 5311, fols. 1a-36a (edition of these two treatises in preparation); J. Sesiano, *Un traité médiéval sur les carrés magiques*, Lausanne 1996; idem, *L'*Abrégé enseignant la disposition harmonieuse des nombres, *un manuscrit arabe anonyme sur la construction des carrés magiques*, in *De Bagdad a Barcelona. Estudios sobre historia de las ciencias exactas*, ed. J. Casulleras and J. Samsó, Barcelona 1996, i, 103-57; idem, *Herstellungsverfahren magischer Quadrate aus islamischer Zeit (I)*, in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, lxiv (1980), 187-96; idem, *Herstellungsverfahren magischer Quadrate aus islamischer Zeit (III)*, in *ibid.*, lxxiv (1995), 193-226. (J. Sesiano)

al-**WAFRĀNĪ** [see al-ifrānī].

WĀḤA (A., pl. *wāḥāt*), oasis.

1. In the Middle East.

An oasis is a locality with access to water and cultivable soil in an area which is generally barren and parched. Perennial streams such as the Nile or Tigris-Euphrates, which flow from well-watered mountains through desert valleys, support continuous chains of oases. Other watercourses, which are seasonal, irregular or subterranean, can sometimes be tapped by wells to provide enough water for more isolated settlements, as at Tarīm and S͟hibām [*q.vv.*] in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, and in the district of al-Ḳaṣīm [*q.v.*] on the Wādī Rumma in central Arabia.

Underneath the sand-filled wadis of Arabia there are subterranean reservoirs of "fossil water" which accumulated during pluvial phasis of the Pleistocene period. These permanent reserves of water are supplemented by seasonal rainfall and surface or underground flow from nearby hills, so that the water-table is seasonally raised. In scattered oases, shallow wells operated by hand or animal power reach only the superficial water which is regularly replenished; but more widely the modern petrol-driven deep tube-wells pump from the "capital" stores of fossil water which cannot be restored. The water-table may then fall permanently beyond the reach of the hand-wells.

Throughout the Middle East, another common situation for oases is in the narrow piedmont zone where the long mountain ranges meet the sands of the great desert basins. Just there, the streams fed by the winter rains and snow-melt of the mountains spread out over "dry deltas" of deposited silt, and are thereafter lost in the desert sands. These locations, with fresh water and fertile soil, are ideal for oasis settlement.

In Persia and ʿUmān, the water supply at such sites is often improved by driving tunnels (*ḳanāts*, *kārīz* [see ḳanāt]) into the foothills. Chains of such oases below mountain ranges provide, at convenient intervals, shelter, water and provisions for staging posts, and were followed by many of the great roads of commerce, pilgrimage and imperial control, e.g. by the section of the highway to K͟hurāsān and Central Asia under the southern slopes of the Elburz ranges of northern Persia, or by the ancient Spice Road from Aden to Gaza along the oases under the high western edge of the Arabian massif.

The relations between the oasis-dwellers and the travellers or nomads who visited them took many forms. Sometimes the Arabian tribes owned the oases and staffed them with servants; sometimes they left them empty, and only called twice a year to fertilise and to harvest the date-palms; elsewhere, the oasis dwellers were dominant, and the nomads begged permission to enter. Certainly, the nomadic economy was heavily reliant on access to the oasis markets and seasonal fairs.

The systems of water-rights and land-holding in the oases also vary greatly. Jean Brunhes in his classic work contrasted in these respects the stony Mzāb [*q.v.*] and the sandy Sūf in sub-montane Algeria: in the first, the well was the unit of ownership; in the second, the palm-tree, for the land was without value until a settler dug a hole in the sand deep enough to reach the ubiquitous water-table and to plant and tend a date-grove. Often a complex arrangement of rights to stream-flow for purposes of irrigation depended on crude but effective sun-calendars and shadow-clocks.

Until the 20th century, the political allegiance of oases was often shifting and uncertain. When the Middle East was divided up after the end of Ottoman rule, the frontiers were frequently only crudely defined and loosely controlled [see tak͟hṭīṭ al-ḥudūd]. Small neutral zones were established in al-Tawal, and between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, so that tribes from either side could have access to their wells. However, with the exploration for mineral oil, the precise definition of political borders has become of much greater concern; the neutral zones have vanished, and the political allegiance of e.g. the oases of al-Buraymī [*q.v.*] is a matter of grave dispute.

Bibliography: J. Brunhes, *L'irrigation dans l'Espagne*

et dans l'Afrique du Nord, Paris 1902; C.M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888; D. Van der Meulen, *The wells of Ibn Saud*, London 1957.

(W.C. Brice)

2. In North Africa.

In geographical terminology applied to the Maghrib, the equivalent of the term *wāḥa* is an area with dense vegetation, but not necessarily of trees, in a natural environment where most of the land surface is unsuitable for cultivation, attesting an additional supply of water. This can be natural, such as a spring or a wadi/oued [see wādī], sometimes stored up in a dam. It can also be artificial, by means of a well or bore-hole. The distinction is at times not easy to make when a natural supply is improved by man, e.g. by excavating adits, as with the foggaras of the Algerian Sahara, to increase the flow of a spring which has become rather feeble.

An oasis can have a vegetation of spontaneous growth, but more often it is occupied by men who practise there a form of agriculture which is, to a greater or lesser degree, mechanised and which often waters its plots of land through irrigation canals or waterwheels. This mechanisation allows one to distinguish "traditional" oases, little mechanised, where an intensive type of market gardening is carried out, often on a declining basis, and "modern" oases, often more recent and installed around bore holes or artesian wells, sometimes using greenhouses. These may function concurrently with the first type for the utilisation of water.

Bibliography: J. Brunhes (see 1. above); J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*, 3Paris 1964; H. Isnard, *Le Maghreb*, Paris 1966; Despois and R. Raynal (eds.), *Géographie de l'Afrique du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1967.

(Y. Callot)

WAḤAM (a.) also *waḥām, wiḥām*, with the more general term *shahwa* "longing", also in use, denotes "pregnancy craving".

In Arab culture, like in many others, pregnancy cravings traditionally received attention, but this only appears to a very limited extent in Arabic medical works of the Greek tradition. Ibn Sīnā does not pay attention to the phenomenon, not even in discussions about the pregnant woman's [loss of] appetite (*Ḳānūn*, Beirut 1993, ii, 1647). ʿArīb b. Saʿīd al-Ḳurṭubī, *K. Khalḳ al-djanīn*, Algiers 1956, 40 cites Galen on the pregnant woman's craving to eat clay, which apparently comes under "bad (in the sense of harmful) appetite", *shahwa radīʾa*), a complaint for which treatment is prescribed. Al-Baladī, *K. Tadbīr al-ḥabālā*, Baghdād 1980, 135-6, also treats "harmful appetites" very cursorily, as one in a long range of minor pregnancy complaints.

In the popular view, however, pregnancy cravings were considered very important, and there was a threatening and magical aspect to them. Thwarting a pregnant woman's craving for a particular kind of food was considered harmful to the foetus. The view is found in al-Djāḥiẓ's story about al-Kindī (*Bukhalāʾ*, Cairo 1358/1939, 143-4), who threatens to hold his tenants responsible if a woman in his house miscarries after having been refused a share of their food. Al-Kindī's view is obviously seen as a ridiculous exaggeration, but there is sufficient evidence that paying attention to pregnancy cravings was, and is, part of the social code, cf. the verb *waḥḥama* "to slaughter a camel in order to satisfy a woman's craving"; also e.g. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Ifāda*, London 1964, 234, fol. 58b). Observations by anthropologists made during the last century and modern lexicological sources show that the aspect generally emphasised was—and is—that refusing a pregnant woman the food she craves will result in a birthmark (*shahwa* "appetite") on the child in the shape of the food in question. This belief is not restricted to the Arab world, but used to be widespread also in Europe and, for instance, in the West Indies. An example from the Arab cultural sphere is that of a birthmark in the form of a grape that swelled up when grapes were in season (Winifred S. Blackman, *The Fellāḥīn of Upper Egypt*, London etc. 1927, 62). That this provided pregnant women with a means to exercise power otherwise unheard of in this particular cultural context, is illustrated, for instance, by the fuss made by a pregnant black concubine in Luxor (in 1860) with a craving for olives (Lady Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt (1862-1869)*, London 1969, 174-5).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Doctoresse Legey, *Essai de folklore marocain*, Paris 1926, 78-9; J. Desparmet, *Coutumes, institutions, croyances des indigènes de l'Algérie. I. L'enfance, le mariage et la famille*, Algiers 1939, 283-4; Nefissa Zerdoumi, *Enfant d'hier... l'éducation de l'enfant en milieu traditionnel algérien*, Paris 1970, 65-9; R. Kruk, *Pregnancy and its social implications in mediaeval and traditional Arab society*, in *Quaderni di studi arabi 5-6 (1987-88). Atti del XIII congresso dell'Union européenne d'arabisants et d'islamisants*, Venice 1986, 418-30.

(Remke Kruk)

al-**WĀḤĀT** (pl. of *wāḥ* "oasis", this being a transcription of Coptic *ouah* denoting cultivated lands within the deserts, as already noted by Yāḳūt), the name of a series of oases in the western desert of Upper Egypt.

E. Amélineau, in his *Géographie de l'Egypte à l'époque copte* (Paris 1893), had great difficulty in identifying the names of the oases with the modern names, and the Arabic texts are equally ambiguous. According to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, v, 341-2, they were three districts (*kuwar*) stretching southwards into the western desert parallel to the Nile valley. The first was opposite Fayyūm and extended to the latitude of Aswān; this was the largest oasis, with numerous villages and palm groves which produced the best dates in Egypt. The second was smaller and less populous. The third was the smallest and contained a town called Santariyya. The population of the oases was of Lawāta Berber stock. In the 9th/15th century al-Maḳrīzī mentions four oases: *al-dākhila* "the interior one", the pair of *al-khāridjatānⁱ* "the exterior ones" and the oasis of Bahnasā, these yielding a total revenue of 25,000 dīnārs in the year 585/1190 (i.e. the Ayyūbid period). At the time of *al-rawk al-nāṣirī* [see rawk], sc. in 715/1315, they were not included amongst the provinces of Egypt; the sultan did not appoint a governor and they were administered by those who held them as *iḳṭāʿ*s. In his notice, al-Maḳrīzī, before passing from the "interior" to the "exterior" oases, speaks of the town of Santariyya, this being the older Islamic name of the oasis known since the end of the 10th/16th century as Sīwa [*q.v.*], the classical oasis of Amon. Al-Bakrī is the only geographer, in addition to the later al-Maḳrīzī, who gives the dual form *al-wāḥatānⁱ al-khāridjatānⁱ*; it may be that *al-wāḥāt al-khāridja* were composed of two distinct urban groupings of settlements. The most important settlement here was Irīs, the modern Bārīs. The oasis of Bahnasā, different from its homonym of the Baḥr Yūsuf (= the ancient Oxyrhynchus; see on it al-bahnasā), is the oasis known today as *al-wāḥa al-baḥriyya* and there is also the *wāḥat al-farāfira* [see al-farāfra]. The first of these two was formerly called thus because it was connected

with the town of the same name in the Nile valley by a road to the Nile 200 km/130 miles long. There are main towns called al-Ḳaṣr in Farāfra and in Dakhla.

These oases (*al-baḥriyya, al-farāfira, al-dākhila* and *al-khāridja*: conventionally, Bahariya, Farafra, Dakhla and Kharga) today form one of the 26 governorates of Egypt with the name of al-Wādī al-Djadīd, having an area of 45,800 km² and a population of 132,000, including three administrative centres, three towns and 134 villages.

On the rather complicated dialectology of the oases, see P. Behnstedt and M. Woidich, *Die ägyptischen Oases—ein dialektogischer Vorbericht*, in *ZAL*, viii [1982], 39-71 (includes texts).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 50-2 = §§ 894-5; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, v, 11-12; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 87, 234-7; ʿAlī Mubārak Pasha, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xvii, 30-1; Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, ii/4, 241-5, 256-7; H. Maspéro and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Egypte*, IFAO, Cairo 1914, 219-25; A. Fakhry, *The Oases of Egypt. I. Siwa Oasis*, Cairo 1973, *II. Baḥrīyah and Farafra Oases*, Cairo 1974.

(AYMAN F. SAYYID)

WAHB, BANŪ, a family of officials in caliphal service, especially noted as secretaries and viziers to the ʿAbbāsids during the 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries.

The majority of sources state that the family came from Wāsiṭ and were of Nestorian Christian origin before converting to Islam, nevertheless claiming a pure Arabic origin going back to the Yemeni tribe of Balḥārith of Nadjrān. The Wahbīs thus belong to the tradition of servants of the caliphs with Nestorian backgrounds who were prominent in the administrations of the 3rd/9th century (cf. L. Massignon, *La politique islamo-chrétienne des scribes nestoriens de Deir Qunna à la cour de Bagdad au IXᵉ siècle de notre ère*, in *Vivre et Penser*, 2nd ser. [1942], 7-14). This role of the Wahbīs seems to go back to late Umayyad times, from which they passed into ʿAbbāsid service and then were particularly associated with the Barmakīs. Wahb served Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā [see BARĀMIKA] and then al-Maʾmūn's minister al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*].

1. Sulaymān b. Wahb, Abū Ayyūb, began as a secretary to al-Maʾmūn and then acted for such generals as Mūsā b. Bughā and Aytākh in the reign of al-Wāthiḳ, thereby beginning a link with the Turkish military élite which was to run all through his career. At this time, his brother al-Ḥasan also was a secretary of the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt [*q.v.*]. Sulaymān was twice *ʿāmil* or financial intendant of the province of Egypt under al-Mutawakkil, apparently deriving rich pickings from the office. In the short reign of al-Muhtadī (255-6/859-60) he served as the caliph's last vizier at a time when all real power in the state had passed to the Turkish military classes and the vizierate had likewise reached a low ebb. Under al-Muʿtamid he became briefly vizier again in 263/877 and again in 264/878, at a time of intrigues and rivalries with another secretary and vizier, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad b. al-Djarrāḥ [see IBN MAKHLAD], also of Christian origin. But Sulaymān was soon afterwards dismissed, unable to satisfy the financial exigencies of al-Muʿtamid and his brother the regent al-Muwaffaḳ, and died in prison in Ṣafar 272/July-August 885. He had, nevertheless, been the *mamdūḥ* of such leading poets of the time as Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī [*q.vv.*].

2. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān, son of the preceding, and also with long secretarial experience, shared in his father's disgrace, but had the support of the newly-nominated heir to the throne, al-Muwaffaḳ's son al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*], and in Ṣafar 278/June 891 became al-Muʿtamid's last vizier and then, when al-Muʿtamid died the next year, vizier to the new caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, remaining in office till his own death in Rabīʿ II 288/April 901. ʿUbayd Allāh was closely concerned with the re-imposition of caliphal power in Djibāl by military force and with various administrative reforms, and was the patron of the two brothers of the Banu 'l-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT] in their efforts to secure a greater inflow of tax revenues for the state by the strict supervision of provincial agents. ʿUbayd Allāh achieved a great contemporary reputation for his honest conduct and justice, and was favoured by the caliph's addressing him by his *kunya*; also, he seems wisely to have restrained al-Muʿtaḍid from putting blatantly anti-Umayyad, pro-Shīʿī measures into force, fearing the effects on public order.

3. al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, son of the preceding, succeeded as vizier when his father died and acted as al-Muʿtaḍid's minister until the caliph himself died in Rabīʿ II 289/March-April 902, and was the first vizier to the new caliph al-Muktafī [*q.v.*] until his own death in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 291/October 904. Al-Ḳāsim had served at his father's side, but was of lower calibre: less scrupulous, more concerned with lining the pockets of himself and his protégés, and brutal with those he regarded as hostile or potentially so. Thus he secured the execution of the governor of Fārs Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], of the captive Ṣaffārid *amīr* ʿAmr b. al-Layth [*q.v.*], of the poet Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*], who had satirised the Banū Wahb, and various others, often against the will of his young master. He was planning to move against the surviving brother of the Banu 'l-Furāt, ʿAlī, but fell ill and died before he could achieve this. Although only a mediocre administrator, al-Ḳāsim was an able courtier and managed to raise the prestige of the office of vizier to a new height as the directing power in the state. He received great honours from the caliph, including the new honorific title of *Walī al-Dawla* "Friend, Protector of the State" (which was to appear on coins), and one of his daughters married a son of al-Muktafī. His death, however, meant the eclipse of the family's influence for nearly a generation and the ensuing ascendancy of persons like ʿAlī b. al-Furāt, involving *inter alia* an increase in Shīʿī influence in the state, and new figures like the latter's rival ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*].

4. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim, son of the preceding, succeeded ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kalwadhānī as al-Muḳtadir's penultimate vizier in Ramaḍān 319/September 931, and filled the office for eight months till Rabīʿ II 320/May 932. He relied on Furātid support against the influence of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and the powerful commander-in-chief Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], and, like his father, received from the caliph an honorific title, *ʿAmīd al-Dawla* "Mainstay of the State", which appears on coins. He endeavoured to restore the disastrous state of the caliphal finances, but fell from power, having been perhaps the last vizier to attempt to retain for the vizierate a measure of its former independence.

5. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, brother of the preceding, became vizier to al-Ḳāhir in Shaʿbān 321/July 933 in succession to Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] and at the time of Muʾnis's fall and death, but served for only two-and-a-half months till his dismissal in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 321/October 933.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. These include the historians Ya'kūbī, Ṭabarī, Mas'ūdī, Hilāl al-Ṣābi', Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Tiktaka, etc.; the works on secretaries and viziers by Djahshiyārī, Ṣūlī, Ibn al-Abbār, etc.; and scattered references in *adab* collections like the *Aghānī*, Tanūkhī's *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* and *al-Faradj ba'd al-shidda*, and Ibn Ḥamdūn's *Tadhkira*. There is a biography of Sulaymān b. Wahb in Ibn Khallikān, ed. 'Abbās, ii, 415-18, tr. de Slane, i, 596-600.

2. Studies. H.F. Amedroz, *Tales of official life in the "Tadhkira" of Ibn Hamdun*, in *JRAS* (1908), 418-30; H. Bowen, *The life and times of 'Alí ibn 'Ísà, "The Good Vizier"*, Cambridge 1928, 25-6, 45 ff., 57-66, 291-3, 301-3, 312-15, 327, 331-2; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 6-7; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'abbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 300 ff., 312-15, 326-57, 463-7, 476-8, with a genealogical table of the Banū Wahb at 745.

(C.E. Bosworth)

WAHB B. MUNABBIH, Abū 'Abd Allāh, Yemeni narrator and author-transmitter from South Arabia. He was of Persian origin, having been born at Dhimar, two days' march from Ṣan'ā' in the year 34/654-5. Information about his conversion to Islam in the year 10 A.H. is unreliable. More probably the details concerned his father Munabbih, of whom it was said that "he converted to Islam at the time of the Prophet and that he was a good Muslim" (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, xi, 167). He lived with his five brothers at Ṣan'ā', and Hammām was the eldest of them. The most reasonable date for the brother's death seems to be 101 or 102/719-20, and the least probable is 132, when compared with that of Wahb (see below). He left a *Ṣaḥīfa* with almost 140 translations and commentaries; these were published by R.F. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in 1406/1986, following a manuscript from the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo, which corrects and expands the edition by Ḥamīdullāh, who followed mss. from Berlin and Damascus.

The other brothers were Ghaylān, 'Abd Allāh, Ma'kil (who predeceased Wahb) and 'Umar, all unremarkable except that the last two used to transmit the traditions of Wahb, who was correctly recognised as a great authority in the field of biblical traditions; many varied quotations have come to light to document this aspect of his work and to show that he had inherited the knowledge of the two great converts Ka'b al-Aḥbār and 'Abd Allāh b. Salām (al-Dhahabī, *Huffāẓ*, i, 100; and Ibn al-Faḳīh, 34, ll. 9 ff., where such praise astonished even Ibn 'Abbās himself). He can be classified like his brothers, Hammām, Ghaylān and Ma'kil, as one of the *tābi'ūn*.

The question arises whether he was a member of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* before his conversion to Islam (*Fihrist*, 22), or more precisely, whether he was Jewish (Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, Beirut 1961, 589, ll. 6 ff., and others before him). The oldest sources do not mention this question, and by contrast the facts are unverified since his father had converted long before the birth of his son. He was therefore probably born a Muslim. Al-Tha'labī, 192, speaks of an alleged meeting with Mu'āwiya; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, Cairo 1346/1927-8, ii, 152, recounts that al-Walīd had sent him an inscription discovered at Damascus to decipher.

He acted as a judge in Ṣan'ā', and one day during the governorate of 'Urwa b. Muḥammad he beat an official (*'āmil*), whom people had complained about, with a stick until he drew blood. The statement is also attributed to him that, in accepting the role of a judge, he had lost the gift of seeing the future in his dreams; but as in many similar statements one must see here only an attempt to distract attention from his duties (see below, especially the introduction of the *Akhbār al-kuḍāt* of Wakī' [*q.v.*], ed. Cairo 1947-50, on the problems and dangers involved in being a judge, which stopped more than one Muslim from taking up this responsibility). Similarly, there are many details given about his life which accord well with his ascetic behaviour (see for example al-Dhahabī, *Huffāẓ*, i, 100; Ibn Sa'd, v, 395; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, xi, 167). There are also many exhortations of all sorts in this vein attributed to him which were later questioned, according to later books where they are also reported. Wahb is thought to have originally adopted *kadar*, or the doctrine of freewill, but later to have rejected it, since it was contradictory to all the revealed writings. It is not recorded in which period of his life he was sent to prison, probably because of this belief and because of his contact with the People of the Book (see below). Perhaps it took place at the end of his life, for it is known that he died from the consequences of a flogging to which the governor of Yemen, Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thakafī, had condemned him in 110/728 or 114/732.

There can no longer be any doubt about the books attributed to the author. Their contents were transmitted orally, taught or set down in writing, partly at least in his own lifetime, and later by particular members of his family. A literature belonging generally to the biblical heritage as disseminated by Judaeo-Christian scholarship (in Yemen and Ḥidjāz, and, especially, in Medina) was formed quite early. It was called biblical but was within Islam. It was disseminated by the philosophers and by others from the same Judaeo-Christian milieux chiefly in Arabia, and then supplemented by posterity.

Wahb, especially because of the books bearing his name which have come down to us and also because of the importance accorded to him by later authors, can be regarded as one of the most important intellectual heirs of this group of people. He handed down a method of approaching the biblical texts properly so-called which can again be found in his successors and in authors as serious as Ibn Kutayba, who in his work reserves a place of honour for Ibn Munabbih (in his *Ma'ārif*, and especially in his *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, see Vajda, Lecomte, and especially a recent thesis of Said Karoui from Heidelberg) in the work of this author on the Bible. There are a very large number of quotations regarding his fame to be found in many of the historical books of al-Ṭabarī (his *History* and his *Commentary*), of al-Mas'ūdī, of al-Tha'labī, etc.; these concern the list of books that deal with the contents of the first book attributed to him (see Khoury, *Wahb*, 227-46). The title of this book as assigned to it by posterity is *K. al-Mubtada' wa-kiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, but it varies according to different authors. It starts with the beginning of creation (*bad' al-khalk*) and encompasses the history of the prophets, from Adam to the arrival of the Prophet of Islam (see mubtada'. 2).

The most ancient sources which bear witness to the circulation of this material under the name of the author are from the *Ḥadīth Dāwūd* ("The History of David"), which is an Arabic papyrus now kept in Heidelberg, the oldest of its kind in Islam. It was published by the present writer in 1972 (see Khoury, *Wahb*, 34-115) with a translation into German. The original condition in which this papyrus was found showed it to be much ravaged by worms and chronic wear and tear, to the point that certain pages are only half intact and certain lines have only a few

words or even odd letters preserved. It was almost completely restored thanks to the parallel version in the *K. Badʾ al-khalk wa-kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* of ʿUmāra b. Wathīma al-Fārisī, who made a copy not only of this history but also of others from a more or less original version by Wahb, transmitted by his grandson Idrīs b. Sinān, and by his son ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. Idrīs (d. 228/842, a year before the papyrus was written). It had been kept in the private library of Ibn Lahīʿa, the judge of Egypt, as this man's disciple and transmitter shows, who extended the initial material without changing the structure of the text. For this reason, in this book of ʿUmāra [*q.v.*, see also WATHĪMA] we have a conflation of the oldest and the most weighty versions about biblical narratives from the first two centuries A.H. What is remarkable in the history of these texts is that we have more accuracy in the *isnād*, for where the papyrus sometimes uses simply *kāla*, ʿUmāra mentions the name of Wahb, who appears to be a primary source for this voluminous book. Unfortunately for us, only the second part is preserved, from Moses to the arrival of the Prophet Muḥammad (for this, see the ed. of Khoury, *Les légendes prophétiques*, 158-85, Arabic text 1-389; for David, see 102-26).

To these sources should be added information about the biblical world contributed by Ibn Hishām but referring to the same grandson mentioned above (see further below). A *K. al-Isrāʾīliyyāt* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa v, 40) is attributed to Wahb, but this does not seem to have been known in the literature of the first century of Islam (Khoury, *Wahb*, 205, 247-57); it probably relates to stories arising out of those in the preceding book. As for the *Kiṣaṣ al-akhyār* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 518), this title can refer only to the same theme, and it points to evidence of how similar materials could have been able to circulate under different titles, given that the first of them was lost in transmission.

Under the rubric of biblical history, a translation by Wahb of the Psalms of David deserves to be mentioned, the *K. Zabūr Dāwūd... Tardjamat Wahb b. Munabbih* (Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 294). According to the multiple sources consulted (see Khoury, *Wahb*, 207, 258-63), it is less of a translation than a publicising of motifs adopted by David, popularising the Psalms to which he or posterity has added all sorts of material, and these were sometimes (at least partly) Islamicised. There are even three different titles, *Ḥikmat Wahb*, *Ḥikmat Lukmān* and *Mawʿiẓa li-Wahb* (Ibn Khayr, 291-2, 294; Khoury, *op. cit.*, 206-7, 263-72), all of which relate to the same character and which, together with the traditions of the Psalms, could be considered under the same rubric of *Ḥikam* and *Mawāʿiẓ*, where David and Lukmān (b. ʿĀd) enjoyed a place of privilege.

It is also worth mentioning here a *K. al-Kadar* which he wrote and later regretted (Ibn Saʿd, v, 395; Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 625, 9; al-Khallāl, fol. 91b, ll. 3 ff.). According to Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, iv, 24, ll. 17 ff., he even denied the existence of any material on *kadar* (see Khoury, 206, 270-2). In any case, there is a biblical ambience in the traditions attributed to him which are favourable to these ideas. However, it may not be possible to find in these texts the definite statement of such an ideology, which would perhaps have brought disgrace on the author and could have cost him his life.

Alongside the biblical section, which all these titles denote, is another which concerns the pre-Islamic Arab period; this established a true bridge between the biblical world and the Yemeni Arab past. It is the *K. al-Mulūk al-mutawwadja min Ḥimyar wa-akhbārihim wa-kiṣaṣihim wa-kubūrihim wa-ashʿārihim*, and according to Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii, 671, Ibn Kutayba is said to have seen a version of it himself. In any case, the presence of material on the same theme was attested by the *K. al-Tīdjān* of Ibn Hishām, who referred to Wahb as his primary source, through the intermediary of the same grandson, and from him Asad b. Mūsā [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. He found it in the library of the judge of Egypt, who received him and opened his house to him as a disciple (see Khoury, *Asad b. Mūsā*, 23). In the first part of this book Wahb is found everywhere as the only authority; these are the pages containing the beginning of the biblical world, where the indication of names and dates, etc. points to certain, detailed knowledge; and it was to this world that the author wanted to connect Yemen, with a view to enhancing the worth of this country to the bosom of Islam, to Meccan and then to North Arabian roots, and to the centre of rivalries which had built up between north and south.

In the second part of Ibn Hishām's book it is noticeable that the name of Wahb is mentioned increasingly less often, eventually disappearing altogether in the last part. The global tone which dominates this book resides in its distinctively biblical character, and this distinguishes it entirely from the book of ʿAbīd (or ʿUbayd) b. Sharya [see IBN SHARYA], *Akhbār ʿAbīd b. Sharya fī akhbār al-Yaman wa-ashʿārihā wa-ansābihā* (ed., with Ibn Hishām's *K. al-Tīdjān*, Ḥaydarābād 1347/1928-9). In that book we are dealing with a story-teller who becomes the *samīr* of Muʿāwiya in Damascus, and fills out his stories mainly with poetry. This becomes the dominant element and confirms historical narrations (on this subject see Khoury, *Kalif, Geschichte und Dichtung*, esp. 213 ff.).

The last group of books attributed to Wahb is purely Islamic. Firstly, the *Maghāzī Rasūl Allāh* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 646). the only confirmation of which is the piece on the papyrus preserved in Heidelberg and published by Khoury, *Wahb*, 118-75, with a German translation. It is astonishing that Ibn Isḥāk, who was so dependent on Wahb for biblical history, as for example al-Ṭabarī clearly shows in his two important books (see above), should not take any account of Wahb in the Islamic field. It is as if Ibn Munabbih, far from the school of Medina and its founder al-Zuhrī, had been banished. It is true that he did not always use the *isnād*, which had not actually been imposed in his period, but he knew of it and used it from time to time, when it applied to writers who took little notice of rigid rules. What is more, the *isnād* was not always used wisely by the teachers of Medina, as has already been shown (see e.g. Khoury, *Wahb*, 276 ff.).

The events to be found there include the beginnings of Islam and the conversion of Zurāra b. Asʿad and his son Asʿad; the meeting at al-ʿAkaba; the council held by Kuraysh at the *Dār al-nadwa*; the migration to Medina; and, finally, the campaign of ʿAlī against the tribe of Khathʿam. In addition to these items concerning the *maghāzī*, we have a small number of traditions which cover aspects of the life of the Prophet (see Khoury, *op. cit.*, 282-4). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 382, also mentions a *Tafsīr Wahb*, and at iv, 387, another reference concerns the caliphs, sc. *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, or *Futūḥ*, but of these there is no trace.

It is easy to see which of the many aspects of the traditions attributed to Ibn Munabbih are covered, but it is difficult to say exactly what was actually put

into writing in the lifetime of the author. The essential point is that the teaching of the master was fixed in writing during the 2nd/8th century, since certain versions were preserved in Ibn Lahīʿa's library by the Egyptian transmitters or settlers in Egypt, as confirmed by the papyrus and, especially, by the book of ʿUmāra b. Wat̲h̲īma.

As for later authors, they often altered certain traditions which they attached to his name, which means that not all of the alterations may have come from him. In any case, in his *K. al-Tīd̲j̲ān* he showed a real knowledge of the Bible, even if this was not extensive, in certain citations from the text (see Khoury, *Quelques reflexions*, 553 ff., esp. 555-6). What was circulated with these biblical and extra-biblical studies was a common Semitic reservoir of great antiquity, and this was often disseminated orally, especially outside the Judaeo-Christian dogmatic centres; this has been very ably noted by H. Schwarzbaum in his book on biblical and extra-biblical stories (see *Bibl.*). In short, Wahb is an important representative of the expansion of the historical perspective. His writings embodied a truly universal vision of history, comprising: 1. ancient biblical history; 2. pre-Islamic Yemeni history; 3. Islamic history of the prophet; and 4. history of the caliphate.

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(R.G. Khoury)

WAHBIYYA [see AL-IBĀḌIYYA].

WAḤDA (A.), "unit, unity".

1. As a term in grammar.

Here the genitive construct *ism al-waḥda* is variously rendered in Western grammars as *nomen unitatis* "noun of unity", "unit noun", "noun of individuality", and "singulative" (but on the last of these, see below).

The *ism al-waḥda* forms the counterpart to the *ism al-d̲j̲ins* or *nomen generis* "generic noun" and is derived from it by adding the feminine ending *-at^{un}*. If the generic noun refers to something which exists in units, the *ism al-waḥda* denotes such a unit; if the referent is homogeneous, the unit noun denotes a separate piece. Thus *naml^{un}* "ant(s)" vs. *namlat^{un}* "one ant" and *ḥadīd^{un}* "iron" vs. *ḥadīdat^{un}* "a piece of iron". The same grammatical feature exists in a number of other Semitic languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Accadian, Mehri) and even in Berber. A related phenomenon in Arabic is the *ism al-marra* or *nomen vicis* derived from the verbal noun to denote a one-time action: *ibtisām^{un}* "smiling" vs. *ibtisāmat^{un}* "one smile". In the first form of the verb the *ism al-marra* follows the pattern *faʿlat^{un}*, even though not all verbal nouns have the form *faʿl^{un}*. One can, however, argue that *faʿl^{un}* is the default verbal noun, since it is always used with secondary denominative verbs of the first form (e.g. *kabadahū kabd^{an}* "he hit him in the liver").

The pair "generic noun—unit noun" should not be confused with the pair "collective—singulative", and words like *naml^{un}* should not be called collectives, as they frequently are. Generic nouns denote the genus and are not number-sensitive with regard to their referent: *akaltu tamr^{an}* may be said by a date-eater regardless of whether he ate one, two, or many dates. Collectives, in contrast, denote a plurality seen as a unit. The singulative is never derived from the collective by adding *-at^{un}*. As a matter of fact, in many cases it is the collective that is derived from the singulative (by adding the same ending *-at^{un}*, thus in participial forms like *muqātil^{un}* "fighter" vs. *muqātilat^{un}* "fighting force", *nisbas* like *ṣūfiyy^{un}* "Ṣūfī" vs. *ṣūfiyyat^{un}* "Ṣūfīdom", and *faʿʿāl* forms like *nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār^{un}* "carpenter" vs. *nad̲j̲d̲j̲ārat^{un}* "carpenters" [as a group, guild]). There is a variety of other lexical and morphological means to express this contrast. One should include here also the names of tribes/nations and other groups of people, from which the individual is derived by means of the *nisba: al-Rūm^{u}* "the Byzantines" vs. *Rūmiyy^{un}* "one Byzantine" and *d̲j̲und^{un}* "army" vs. *d̲j̲undiyy^{un}* "soldier". Some grammars consider these *nisbas* a separate type of *nomen unitatis* (e.g. Corriente, 81, with precedent among the mediaeval grammarians). While collectives/singulatives always denote sentient beings, generic and unit nouns never denote human beings, but otherwise are semantically fairly spread out (see the categories introduced by Ullmann, *Nomen generis*, 19-46). The only overlap between the two classes exists with (large) animals; as a result animal names may—quite unpredictably—be singulars (*kalb^{un}*), collectives (*ibil^{un}*), or generic nouns (*baḳar^{un}*). Synchronically, this variation in usage defies explanation, and animal nomenclature can be very intricate.

While collectives are mainly treated as feminines, generic nouns are mostly used as masculines, although feminine singular and plural forms of attributive adjectives are not rare either. The latter are best explained as *ad sensum* constructions: the generic nouns are felt to function like plurals of the unit nouns. Note that some mediaeval grammarians and lexicographers had no qualms calling the generic noun a plural of the unit noun (e.g. al-Farrāʾ [d. 200/822] according to al-Astarābādī, *S̲h̲arḥ al-Kāfiya*, repr. Beirut n.d., ii, 178 l. 18). This is also the reason why the generic noun is more specifically termed *ism al-d̲j̲ins al-d̲j̲amʿī* "the plural-like generic noun" to distinguish it from the wider meaning of *ism al-d̲j̲ins*, which is "common noun" as opposed to *ism al-ʿalam* "proper name" (see A. Fischer, *Terminologie*, for questions of nomenclature). But this is clearly a secondary development, due to contamination with the collective.

Both the generic noun and the unit noun can be put in the dual and plural. While unit nouns pose no problem in this respect (*shadjaratānⁱ* "two [individual] trees", *shadjarāt^un* "several [individual] trees"), the semantics of the dual and plural of generic nouns have not yet been fully investigated (even Ullmann is somewhat reticent about the semantic side of these forms in his collection of pertinent references, *Nomen generis*, 50-2). In many instances the connotation is clearly that of "kind": *shadjarānⁱ* "two kinds of trees", *ashdjār^un* "[different] kinds of trees". This tallies well with the original meaning of the generic noun. But in other cases the connotation is rather that of "group" (the examples adduced by Ullmann, 50, for *buyūd^un* presuppose the meaning "kinds of eggs" in some cases and "clutches of eggs" in others). In still other cases the plural of the generic noun (e.g. *riyād^un*) seems to serve as a plural for the unit noun (*rawḍat^un*), but that is difficult to prove and needs further study. In Modern Standard Arabic it is clearly felt to be so (personal survey).

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2. As a term in philosophy.

Here it conveys the ideas of oneness, unity, union, isolation and solitude (cf. in this last regard the title of Ibn Bādjdja's [*q.v.*] *Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid*, and cf. also Ibn Sīnā's usage of *wāḥidiyya* as a synonym of *waḥda*, whereas *waḥdāniyya* conveys rather the idea of "unicity, uniqueness": see A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sina*, Paris 1938, s.vv. *waḥda, wāḥidiyya* and *waḥdāniyya*).

Waḥda is best translated in theological and philosophical contexts as oneness or unity. It does not occur in the Ḳur'ān, and is the equivalent of the Aristotelian μονάς. In Arabic, *waḥda* contrasts directly with *kathra, takaththur* "multiplicity, plurality" (for an early philosophical discussion of *waḥda* vs. *kathra*, or *wāḥid* vs. *kathīr*, see al-Fārābī, *K. al-Wāḥid wa 'l-waḥda*, ed. Muhsin Mahdi, Casablanca 1989). Al-Ghazālī in his treatise on the Most Beautiful Names of God, *al-Maḳṣad al-asnā*, defines the divine name *al-Wāḥid* as follows: "The one who can neither be divided nor duplicated... God Most High is one in the sense that it is impossible for His essence to be arranged into parts ... it belongs to none but God to be absolute unity" (tr. D.B. Burrell and Nazih Daher, Cambridge 1992, 130-1) (for a discussion of the theological treatment of the name *al-Wāḥid*, and other names meaning "the One", see D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, Paris 1988, 191-200). The modality of the Unity or Oneness of God precipitated much debate in mediaeval Islamic theology, particularly as theologians grappled with the problems arising from the idea that God had attributes.

In Islamic mystical philosophy and theosophy, perhaps the best known articulation of the term *waḥda* was in the phrase *waḥdat al-wudjūd* "the oneness of being" or "unity of existence" [see WAḤDAT AL-SHUHŪD]. Whilst Ibn al-ʿArabī does not seem actually to have used the phrase himself in his own authenticated writings, there is no doubt that it represents his philosophical and theological perspective. As a counter to this, the phrase *waḥdat al-shuhūd* "the unity of witnessing [only God]" came into being amongst more orthodox opponents of Ibn al-ʿArabī's monism, such as Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] (see Y. Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī*, Montreal and London 1971, 59-60, and TAṢAWWUF. 2). But in Ṣūfism in general, the matter and definitions of *waḥda* could be very complex, and a work like the *K. Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshānī (d. 730/1330 [*q.v.*]) is full of gnomic utterances about *kathra* and *waḥda* (cf. *ibid.*, ed. and tr. Nabil Safwat and D. Pendlebury, *A glossary of Sufi technical terms...*, London 1991).

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WAḤDAT AL-WUDJŪD [see WAḤDAT AL-SHUHŪD].

WAḤDAT AL-SHUHŪD (A.), with WAḤDAT AL-WUDJŪD, two technical terms of Ṣūfī mysticism.

Waḥdat al-shuhūd "the oneness of witnessing" is a doctrine established by Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] in response to *waḥdat al-wudjūd* "the oneness of being" or "the unity of existence", a term that by his day was identified with the position of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*; see also TAṢAWWUF. 2.]. Most of the secondary literature has assumed that there really is a specific, recognised doctrine known as *waḥdat al-wudjūd* established by Ibn al-ʿArabī and that *waḥdat al-shuhūd* really does offer an alternative or a corrective to that doctrine. Given the history of the expression and the contexts in which it appeared, however, this assumption is difficult to sustain. The various attempts by scholars to explain *waḥdat al-wudjūd* by employing labels such as "pantheism" or "esoteric monism" succumb to the same assumption and fail to clarify what exactly was at issue in the texts. In fact, *waḥdat al-wudjūd* was more an emblem than a doctrine, and if Ibn al-ʿArabī was considered its founder, this simply indicates that his writings mark Ṣūfism's massive entry into the theoretical discussions of *wudjūd* that before him had been the almost exclusive preserve of the philosophers and the *mutakallimūn*.

The underlying issue is how Islam's first principle—*tawḥīd* [*q.v.*], the assertion that there is no god but God—is to be understood. Sirhindī makes this explicit by employing the terms *tawḥīd-i shuhūdī* and *tawḥīd-i wudjūdī* interchangeably with *waḥdat-i shuhūd* and *waḥdat-i wudjūd*. The specific form taken by the discussion goes back to the early adoption of the term *wudjūd* to render the Greek idea of "being" or "existence" and is complicated by the literal sense of the verb, as exemplified by Ḳur'ānic usage (e.g. "He *finds* God", XXIV, 39). The difficulty arises the moment *wudjūd* is ascribed to God, given that it can also be ascribed to everything other than God. If God is *wudjūd*, then nothing else can be considered *wudjūd* in the same sense. It is precisely the status of the "others" that needs to be clarified, and this is a basic issue in *Kalām*, philosophy, and much of theoretical Ṣūfism.

The authors of the early Ṣūfī manuals, such as al-Ḳushayrī, al-Sarrādj, and Hudjwīrī, had the Ḳur'ānic meaning of the term *wudjūd* in mind when they

discussed it along with *wadjd* and *tawādjud* and considered it a stage on the path in which the "finder" (*wādjid*) is aware only of God. Ibn al-ʿArabī follows this usage when he defines *wudjūd* as "finding the Real in ecstasy" (*widjdān al-ḥakk fi 'l-wadjd*) (*Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, in *Rasā'il Ibn ʿArabī*, Ḥaydarābād 1948, 5; *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1911, ii, 133.12, 538.1). *Wudjūd* in this sense is often difficult to differentiate from *fanā'* [*q.v.*]. In Anṣārī's classic *Manāzil al-sā'irīn*, *wudjūd* is made the ninety-sixth of the one hundred stages of the path to God and defined as "achieving the reality of the thing" (*al-ẓafar bi-ḥakīkat al-shay'*). In these discussions, *shuhūd* frequently plays a role, and it is not always clear that "witnessing" God means anything other than "finding" God. In offering definitions of *wudjūd*, al-Kushayrī provides an early example of many verses that use the two terms as rhymes: "My 'finding' [*wudjūdī*] is that I absent myself from *al-wudjūd*/with what appears to me through *al-shuhūd*" (*Risāla*, Cairo 1972, 249). Here, the second *wudjūd* can mean both the awareness of self and the "existence" of the self as seen independent from God, while *shuhūd* clearly means witnessing God. This interpretation is confirmed by al-Djunayd's definition of *mushāhada*, a term that is often used interchangeably with *shuhūd*: "Finding the Real along with losing you" (*wudjūd al-ḥakk maʿa fukdānika; ibid.*, 279). These authors frequently discuss the subtle differences between *shuhūd* and *kashf* "unveiling", and Ibn al-ʿArabī can employ both these terms as synonyms for *wudjūd* (see indexes of Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge*, Albany 1989; idem, *The self-disclosure of God*, Albany 1997). In Ibn al-ʿArabī's voluminous discussions of *wudjūd*, the philosophical/theological meaning usually, but not always, dominates over the Ṣūfī sense of experiential finding, without excluding it.

In tracing the history of the expression *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, we need to distinguish two basic usages. In the earliest instances, it means *waḥdat al-wudjūd al-ḥakk*, "the oneness of the real *wudjūd*", and indicates the self-evident fact that God's *wudjūd* is the one and only true *wudjūd*. Gradually, it comes to designate a distinctive perspective on the whole of reality, though interpretations of what this perspective implies can disagree sharply. The expression itself is not used by Ibn al-ʿArabī, even though his name eventually became associated with it. He should not be called its supporter unless it is explained in a way that corresponds with his teachings (cf. Chittick, *Imaginal worlds*, Albany 1992, ch. 1). However, these teachings are not easy to explain without distortion, since he speaks from diverse standpoints in keeping with various stations of knowledge achieved on the Ṣūfī path. Some, but not all, of these stations demand that God's absolute *wudjūd* be seen as obliterating the relative *wudjūd* of all else. For example, he sometimes speaks of *ahl al-djamʿ wa 'l-wudjūd* "the people of bringing together and finding", whom he also calls the "people of One Entity" (*ahl ʿayn wāḥida; Futūḥāt*, iii, 447.18; cf. Chittick, *Self-disclosure*, 183-4). In the Ṣūfī lexicon, *djamʿ* is contrasted with *fark* "separation", and it denotes seeing all things as brought together through God's reality. The people of bringing together and finding have been so overcome by the vision of God that they see no separation between him and the things. In effect, they say "All is He" (*hama ūst*)—the ecstatic and poetical exclamation found as early as Anṣārī and said in the later debates to be the position of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*. But Ibn al-ʿArabī does not consider this sort of vision the highest stage on the path to God, because it amounts to seeing with one eye; with the other eye the true Ṣūfī must also see that all is not He.

If the term *waḥdat al-wudjūd* had any significance for Ibn al-ʿArabī's own position, it would have been discussed in the writings of those of his disciples who wrote about theoretical issues, especially Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūnawī and ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī [*q.vv.*]. Ḳūnawī does in fact use it on two occasions, but it arises naturally in the course of discussions of *waḥda* and *wudjūd*, and he attaches no special importance to it. In three works of al-Tilimsānī seen by the present writer, the closest he comes to it is *waḥdāniyyat al-wudjūd* (*Sharḥ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*, commentary on the name *al-samīʿ*). Perhaps more significantly, in *Sharḥ fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, the earliest of the many commentaries written on this famous book, al-Tilimsānī says concerning a passage from the first chapter that Ibn al-ʿArabī is employing philosophical language to allude to *al-tawḥīd al-wudjūdī*. In the passage itself, Ibn al-ʿArabī has made the unremarkable statement that *wudjūd* brings together all "existent things" (*mawdjūdāt*). In the one work of his so far printed, *Sharḥ manāzil al-sā'irīn*, al-Tilimsānī often uses the expression *al-djamʿ wa 'l-wudjūd*, defining it, in a phrase reminiscent of al-Djunayd's definition of *mushāhada*, as "the manifestation [*ẓuhūr*] of the Real's *wudjūd* through the annihilation [*fanā'*] of the creature's *wudjūd*" (ed. Tunis 1989, 462).

What might be considered the earliest instances in which the term *waḥdat al-wudjūd* designates a distinct position are found in the writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī's fellow-Murcian Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 669/1270 [*q.v.*]), who was much more conversant with the philosophical tradition. In the most explicit of these, he writes that the ignorant and the common people are dominated by multiplicity, while "the elect *ʿulamā'* are dominated by the root [*aṣl*], which is *waḥdat al-wudjūd*" (*Rasā'il Ibn Sabʿīn*, Cairo 1965, 194; see also 38, 189, 264, 266). He may be saying here that *waḥdat al-wudjūd* is a doctrinal position; more likely, he is simply asserting that the elect see all things in terms of *tawḥīd*, while the common people see dispersion and incoherence. What is new here is not the idea but the expression, and it is not surprising in the context, given the centrality of the term *wudjūd* to philosophy. That this specific expression had no special significance for him is suggested by the fact that he does not mention it in his major work, *Budd al-ʿārif*, though he does insist that *wudjūd* is one (Beirut 1978, esp. 228, 303). Another early use of the term is found in two headings of one of the popularising Persian works of ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī, *Kashf al-ḥaḳā'iḳ* (written in 680/1281-2), where it designates a doctrine having four different formulations at the hands of two groups of Ṣūfīs, "the people of the fire" (*ahl-i nār*) and "the people of the light" (*ahl-i nūr*; see H. Landolt, *La paradoxe de la "face de dieu": ʿAzīz-e Nasafī (VIIe/XIIIe siècle) et le "monisme ésotérique" de l'Islam*, in *St. Ir.*, xxv [1996], 163-92). The folk of the fire see that the one, true *wudjūd* burns away all "others", while the folk of the light see that the "others" are rays of *wudjūd*'s light; these two perspectives correlate with *fanā'* and *baḳā'*. Again, the expression is new but not the ideas.

Perhaps the most telling of the early uses of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* is by Ḳūnawī's disciple Saʿīd al-Dīn Farghānī [*q.v.*], who employs it many times in both the Persian and Arabic versions of his commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *al-Tā'iyya*. In this work, which is one of the most detailed and sophisticated discussions of the relevant theoretical issues in this period, *waḥdat al-wudjūd* is the complement of *kathrat al-ʿilm* and provides a philosophical basis for *fanā'* and *baḳā'*. God's *wudjūd*

is one through its necessity, while God's knowledge is many through its objects; thus the oneness of God's *wudjūd* and the many-ness of His knowledge are the two principles through which he gives existence to the cosmos (*Mashārik al-darārī*, Tehran 1979, 344; *Muntahā 'l-madārik*, Cairo 1293/1876, i, 357). On the side of creation, the soul (*nafs*) manifests the many-ness of knowledge, while the spirit (*rūḥ*) manifests the oneness of *wudjūd* (*Mashārik* 359; *Muntahā*, ii, 17). Farghānī is careful to point out that *wudjūd* does not simply mean "existence", but also the habitude (*malaka*) of *wadjd*, that is, finding (*yāft*) one's inner connection to the world of the spirit's oneness (*Mashārik*, 364-5). In the Arabic passage that corresponds to this discussion, he offers what is perhaps the earliest example of the term *waḥdat al-shuhūd*; he tells us that the traveller, finding his own spirit, is attracted to "the world of the oneness of true witnessing" (*ʿālam waḥdat al-shuhūd al-ḥakīkī; Muntahā*, ii, 21). When the traveller reaches the advanced stages of the path, he undergoes annihilation of the soul, and this is accompanied by a subsistence in which he achieves the witnessing (*shuhūd*) of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*. This prepares him for the annihilation of the spirit, which yields a subsistence that is accompanied by the witnessing of *kathrat al-ʿilm*. Both modes of subsistence can be called *djamʿ* (*Mashārik*, 186; *Muntahā*, i, 226). At a still higher stage, he achieves *maḳām djamʿ al-djamʿ*, in which the two earlier stations are harmonised. In the highest stage, *aḥadiyyat al-djamʿ*, which is exclusive to Muḥammad, the two perspectives are seen to be the same (*Mashārik*, 395-96; *Muntahā*, ii, 45). The fact that the earlier, Persian version of this work was based on Ḳūnawī's lectures suggests that Ḳūnawī employed these terms in the same way that Farghānī does. Nonetheless, the term *waḥdat al-wudjūd* itself has not yet gained a special significance, because Farghānī does not always carry it over into the enlarged and thoroughly revised Arabic version of the work.

Despite these usages of the term *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, it is rarely found in the early texts, and apparently it does not become an issue until Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], who mentions it in the titles of two treatises and attacks it violently, claiming that it asserts the identity of God and creation and that it is nothing but the well-known heresies *ḥulūl* ("incarnationism") and *ittiḥād* ("unificationism"). The major commentators on Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ*—Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Djandī, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kāshānī, and Dāwūd al-Ḳayṣarī—do not mention it, but, by the 9th/15th century, it was controversial. Djāmī in *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (completed in 883/1478) writes that the exchange of letters between ʿAlā' al-Dawla Simnānī and Kāshānī in the early 8th/14th century had to do with *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, and this has led modern scholars to treat the debate in the same terms, even though the two authors do not mention *waḥdat al-wudjūd* in the letters, nor, it seems, in any of their other writings (see H. Landolt, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Kāšānī und Simnānī über* Waḥdat al-Wuǧūd, in *Isl.*, 1 [1973], 29-81).

Sirhindī's reaction to *waḥdat al-wudjūd* occurs in the context of its relatively new-found fame and its general ascription to Ibn al-ʿArabī. He objects to it, he says, because a large number of his contemporaries were employing it as a pretext to avoid observing the rulings of the Sharīʿa (e.g. *Maktūbāt*, Dihlī 1964, no. 43). In explaining its meaning, he demonstrates little acquaintance with the writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī or the major figures who discussed the issues. By insisting that a correct interpretation of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* demands that it mean *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, he was saying that the *wudjūd* of the world is not identical with the *wudjūd* of God in every sense—despite the current rhetoric of "All is He"—and that if certain genuine Ṣūfīs had considered the *wudjūd* of God and the world to be the same, this goes back to their witnessing, not to the actual situation. At least partly because *wudjūd* in his understanding had none of the earlier connotations of finding, he felt it necessary to insist that seeing God in all things goes back to the viewer and does not offer a final explanation of the nature of reality. In any case, most Ṣūfī theoreticians in India ignored or dismissed his objections, while others felt it necessary to point out that he really did not disagree with Ibn al-ʿArabī (e.g. Shāh Walī Allāh, in his well-known *Fayṣala-yi waḥdat al-wudjūd wa 'l-shuhūd*). It is only in the modern period that Sirhindī has been elevated to special rank by historians of Islamic India (see Y. Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. An outline of his thought and a study of his image in the eyes of posterity*, Montreal and London 1971).

Finally, we should keep in mind that the Muslim authors themselves had no interest in the history of ideas in the modern sense. For Sirhindī, *waḥdat al-wudjūd* was a living issue, and it was not important to know exactly how it had come upon the scene. He saw that his contemporaries ascribed the expression to Ibn al-ʿArabī and, like Ibn Taymiyya, he thought that they understood it to mean the absolute identity of God and creation. Thus although his interpretation of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* exhibits no understanding of the subtleties of Ibn al-ʿArabī's position or of the various meanings that had been given to the term over the centuries, it does reflect the status of ongoing debates on *tawḥīd*, the most basic of theoretical issues in Islamic thought.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): For various meanings given to the term *waḥdat al-wudjūd* in the sources and the secondary literature, see Chittick, *Rūmī and* Waḥdat al-wudjūd, in *Poetry and mysticism in Islam*, Cambridge 1994, 70-111. On Sirhindī, see J.G.J. ter Haar, *Follower and heir of the Prophet: Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (1564-1624) as mystic*, Leiden 1992. For a good summary of Ibn Taymiyya's understanding of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, see M.U. Memon, *Ibn Taimīya's struggle against popular religion*, The Hague 1976. (W.C. CHITTICK)

WAHHĀBIYYA, a term used to denote (a) the doctrine and (b) the followers of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1115-1206/1703-92 [see IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB]).

The term is derived from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's father's name "ʿAbd al-Wahhāb" and was originally used by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's opponents to denounce his doctrine as mere personal opinion. Probably the first appearance the term made is in the title of the *K. al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-ilāhiyya fī 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-Wahhābiyya* (first ed. Bombay 1306/1888-9) of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1208/1793-4) who up to 1190/1776 had strongly opposed his brother's teachings. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and his followers called themselves *al-Muwaḥḥidūn* "those who profess the unity of God". Nevertheless, *al-Wahhābiyya* (and the derivation *Wahhābī/Wahhābiyyūn*) became the most widespread term for Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's doctrine and followers. In the 20th century it was also used by followers and sympathisers of the movement, like Sulaymān b. Saḥmān (d. 1930) in his *K. al-Hadiyya al-saniyya wa 'l-tuḥfa al-wahhābiyya al-nadjdiyya* (Cairo 1344/1926) or Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] in his *al-Wahhābiyyūn wa 'l-Ḥidjāz* (Cairo 1344/1926).

1. The 18th and 19th centuries.

(a) *The doctrine*

The Wahhābiyya came into being by the middle of the 18th century in an oasis settlement in the centre of the Arabian Peninsula. In 1153/1740 Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb began to proclaim publicly his teachings in Ḥuraymilā [*q.v.*] in the province of al-Miḥmal in Nadjd [*q.v.*].

In Nadjd, Ḥanbalism [see ḤANĀBILA] had for centuries been the dominant *madhhab* and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was educated in its tradition. Yet, when he began to appear in public, his teachings were vehemently rejected as dissent from the Ḥanbalī *madhhab* by local Ḥanbalī scholars (e.g. his brother Sulaymān, then *ḳāḍī* in Ḥuraymilā, ʿAbd Allāh al-Muways (d. 1175/1761), *ḳāḍī* in Ḥarma/Sudayr, Sulaymān b. Suḥaym, Ḥanbalī scholar from al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*]) as well as Ḥanbalī scholars from the eastern coastal province of al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*] (e.g. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAfāliḳ (d. 1164/1751), ʿAbd Allāh b. Fayrūz (d. 1175/1761-2), and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Fayrūz (d. 1216/1801-2)). The conflict between representatives of the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*—e.g. the Ḥanbalī *muftī* in Mecca Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-ʿĀmirī (1235-95/1820-78) and Ḥasan b. ʿUmar al-Shaṭṭī al-Dimashḳī al-Baghdādī (1205-74/1791-1858)—and the Wahhābiyya was to continue also in the 19th century.

The very core of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's teachings was made up of a concept of *tawḥīd* [*q.v.*] and its opposite *shirk* [*q.v.*], on which he based a radical criticism of his contemporaries' religious behaviour. He asserted that the overwhelming majority of Muslims, not only in Nadjd but in the whole Muslim world, had fallen into a state of religious ignorance no better than that of the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*]. The reason for this he saw in the ignorance of the real meaning of *tawḥīd* as prescribed by God and exemplified by His prophet Muḥammad. Still at Ḥuraymilā, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb composed the *K. al-Tawḥīd alladhī huwa ḥaḳḳ allāh ʿalā ʾl-ʿabīd*, a thematically arranged collection of Ḳurʾānic verses and *ḥadīth*s which were to become the basic material for his argumentation (for a survey of its imprints and a bibliography of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's writings cf. al-Ḍubayb). According to him, *tawḥīd* had a threefold meaning: *tawḥīd al-rubūbiyya, tawḥīd al-ulūhiyya* and *tawḥīd al-asmāʾ wa ʾl-ṣifāt*. Whereas he only touched upon the third category (the unity of God's attributes as laid down in the Ḳurʾān without interpretation) (e.g. *al-Masʾala al-thāmina*, in *TN*, 432), which was later more specified by his descendants (e.g. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in *MT*, 158, 176; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, in *MRMN*, iii, 319 ff.), he elaborated in detail on the categories *tawḥīd al-rubūbiyya* and *tawḥīd al-ulūhiyya* (for abbreviations used in this section, see *Bibl.*).

Tawḥīd al-rubūbiyya (profession of the unity of God with regard to his divinity) in his definition was the mere verbal profession that God is the only, almighty creator and lord of the world. *Tawḥīd al-ulūhiyya*, which he also called *tawḥīd al-ʿibāda* (*al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*, in *MRMN*, iv, 1-8, esp. 5; *Kashf al-shubuhāt*, in *MT*, 73-92, esp. 75), was the profession of the unity of God by serving God alone and proof of *tawḥīd al-rubūbiyya* through the deeds of the believer. According to him, *tawḥīd al-ulūhiyya* was the decisive dimension of *tawḥīd*, and only its fulfillment formed the distinctive mark between *islām* and *kufr*. Equating *tawḥīd* with the first religious duty, he subjected the behaviour of his fellow-Muslims to an examination according to his criteria concerning *tawḥīd*, and stated that most of them were not to be considered as Muslims because of their continued violation of their most eminent duty towards God. The proof for his accusation he saw in the expression of religious feelings through practices which he considered to be *shirk*. Among these he counted the following unless these were exclusively directed at God: *duʿāʾ* (prayer of invocation [*q.v.*]), *istiʿāna* (seeking help), *istighātha* (appeal for aid), *dhabḥ* (slaughter), *nadhr* (dedication vow [*q.v.*]), *khawf* (fear), *radjāʾ* (hope), *tawakkul* (trust [*q.v.*]), *ināba* (authorisation), *maḥabba* (love), *khashya* (fear), *raghba* (wish), *rahba* (fright), *taʾalluh* (devotion to religious service), *rukūʿ* (bending of the body), *sudjūd* (prostration), *khushūʿ* (submission), *tadhallul* (self-abasement) and *taʿẓīm* (glorification) (*al-Risāla al-tāsiʿa*, in *MT*, 128-30). Any act of devotion which displayed religious affection expended on human beings or objects like the veneration of tombs and entombed persons considered as saints, or veneration of places considered to possess supernatural powers, were therefore an offence against *tawḥīd*, thus *shirk*. The consequences he drew from his definition of *tawḥīd* were that a person guilty of neglecting *tawḥīd al-ulūhiyya* and thus offending against the first religious duty was to be regarded as a *mushrik* and thus outside Islam, even if he verbally confessed the unity of God and fulfilled the other religious duties. "It is well known that the Messenger of God summoned men to *tawḥīd* many years before he called on them to [obey] the pillars of Islam. And it is also well known that [the message of] *tawḥīd* which was brought by Djibraʾīl is the most important religious duty (*aʿẓam farīḍa*), more important than *ṣalāt, zakāt, ṣawm* and *ḥadjdj*. How is it possible that someone who rejects one of the pillars of Islam becomes an unbeliever, even if he acts in accordance with what the Messenger of God taught, whereas someone who refuses to profess *tawḥīd*, which is the religion of the messengers of God from Nūḥ to Muḥammad, does not become an unbeliever only because he utters the formula *lā ilāhᵃ illā llāhᵘ*?" (*Risāla fī ḥaḳīḳat al-islām*, in *MRMN*, iv, 41-6, esp. 45).

This doctrine of *tawḥīd* formed the fundament on which he based the rules for correct behaviour in belief. Attainment of knowledge about *tawḥīd* (*al-Risāla al-ʿāshira*, in *TN*, 309-12, esp. 311) and refraining from *shirk* had to be accompanied by combat of those who did not act according to the rules of *tawḥīd*, who were thus regarded as not being Muslims and became subject to *takfīr* (*al-Masʾala al-thālitha*, in *TN*, 405-7; *al-Risāla al-sādisa wa ʾl-ʿishrūn*, in *ibid.*, 360-93, esp. 372; *Risāla ukhrā fī kalimat al-tawḥīd*, in *MRMN*, iv, 36-40, esp. 37; for later Wahhābī scholars' statements on this topic, see e.g. *Hadiyya*, 46, 60, 67). By claiming that *tawḥīd* was the most neglected religious duty, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb criticised the long-established consensus of the Sunnī *madhāhib* which had accepted the mere uttering of the *shahāda* as fulfillment of the Muslim's first religious duty. He argued that the rules of *tawḥīd* as prescribed by God had become corrupted during the course of history, from the time of the Revelation until the 12th century of the Hidjra due to negligence by generations of religious scholars who had thus wrongly guided the *ʿāmma*, and he asserted that only the direct approach of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna could again reveal its true meaning. In this matter, he saw himself not bound to any scholarly tradition but independently revealing the lost meaning of *tawḥīd* in an age of *djāhiliyya* to which everybody except himself had fallen victim (*al-Risāla al-ūlā*, in *TN*, 209-24, esp. 211; *al-Risāla al-ʿāshira*, in *ibid.*, 309-10).

The allegiance to *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] of the *madhhab* authorities was unambiguously rejected by him, even though he did not claim the right to *idjtihād* [*q.v.*]. He argued that the direct approach of the Ḳur'ān and Sunna was not bound to the rigorous demands made on a *mudjtahid* on the part of the Sunnī *madhāhib* because God's prescriptions for mankind had been clearly and for all times revealed to all believers in His book and the Sunna of His Prophet. But the *madhāhib*'s *fiḳh* had alienated the *umma* from His clear will; as the Ḳur'ān and Sunna had been the sole sources for right guidance of the early Islamic community (*al-awwalūn*), their example was incumbent also on the later generations (*al-muta'akhkhirūn*) (*al-Risāla al-ūlā*, 218). The question of *idjtihād* was further discussed by disciples of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (*Hadiyya*, 35-53) and Ḥamad b. Nāṣir b. Muʿammar (*R. al-Idjtihād wa 'l-taḳlīd*, in *MRMN*, ii/3, 2-30; see below), who denied any claim for *idjtihād muṭlaḳ* on the part of Wahhābī scholarship but made indispensable the control of *madhhab* decisions in the light of the Ḳur'ān and Sunna; *madhhab* views must be checked on the basis of the Ḳur'ān and Sunna and must be refused if not in accordance with them. These criteria had to be applied to all *madhhab* authorities, including their founders, who had themselves stated that they were not infallible or more authoritative than the Ḳur'ān and Sunna (*R. al-Idjtihād*, 3). *Taḳlīd* is allowed only for the iguorant masses, unable to obtain sufficient knowledge, or for scholars with only a limited education (*R. al-Idjtihād*, 6). Although they professed to follow Ḥanbalism in the *furūʿ* (*Hadiyya*, 39), they rejected *taḳlīd* of the *madhhab*'s authorities including Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.vv.*] (*Hadiyya*, 51), to whom they often refered in their writings with the aim of strengthening their argumentation.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb did not elaborate on a definition of *bidʿa* (innovation [*q.v.*]), apart from rejecting any *bidʿa* as aberration (*ḍalāla*) (*al-Risāla al-tāsiʿa*, in *TN*, 299-308, esp. 306). Probably as a result of the dogmatic dispute with the movement's adversaries, the Wahhābī concept of *bidʿa* was put into more concrete terms by his son ʿAbd Allāh (*Hadiyya*, 48 ff.). According to him, *bidʿa* generally is what happened after the 3rd century (*Hadiyya*, 48), a span of time including in his definition the age of the pious predecessors (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*) as well as the four *imāms* and their immediate disciples (*Hadiyya*, 37). A distinction between *bidʿa ḥasana* and *bidʿa sayyi'a* as accepted by the *madhāhib* is basically inadmissible, unless the term *bidʿa ḥasana* is applied exclusively to the practice of the pious predecessors, which may be divided into the categories *wādjiba, mandūba* and *mubāḥa*; anything else is *bidʿa sayyi'a*, divisible into the categories *makrūha* and *muḥarrama*. Cases of *bidʿa* not concerning religious matters ("*mā lā yuttakhadh*[u] *dīn*[an] *wa-ḳurbat*[an]", *Hadiyya*, 51) may be exempted from this rule as long as they are not mixed up with religious matters (thus drinking coffee is allowed). The consequences of *bidʿa* are not to be confused with *takfīr* resulting from *shirk*. *Bidʿa* is an offensive against the *Sharīʿa* but does not make the believer an unbeliever. Yet *bidʿa* may lead to *shirk*. Invoking God through referring to the rank of the Prophet or pious men to gain access to Him (*tawassul*) is *bidʿa sayyi'a*, whereas addressing the Prophet or pious men in their graves in the days of *barzakh* [*q.v.*] with the aim to obtain their intercession (*shafāʿa* [*q.v.*]) is *shirk*. The miracles of saints (*karāmāt al-awliyā'*) are not to be denied, and their right guidance by God is acknowledged whenever they act according to the *Sharīʿa*; yet swearing an oath by them with the aim of glorification is *shirk*. These rules also apply to the Prophet, who must not be venerated in a special manner; a visit to his grave is allowed in the course of visiting his mosque for prayer but, as a main objective, it is forbidden.

Neither Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb nor his immediate disciples elaborated specifically on a theory of government and state. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb focused on a vision of *djamāʿa* [*q.v.*] which stressed the principle of *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* as the individual's duty to fight *shirk* (*Risāla ukhrā*, 37), to refuse obedience to rulers and religious authorities not acting in accordance with the prescriptions for *tawḥīd* and to perform *hidjra* if necessary. Only in the 19th century did Wahhābī scholars define the functions of the imāmate in their writings (cf. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in *MRMN*, ii/2, 3-13), based on principles which drew from Ibn Taymiyya (cf. Laoust, 527; *ʿUnwān*, ii, 113).

(b) *Development until 1234/1818-19 (the first Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state)*

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb continued to propagate publicly his teachings after he was forced to leave Ḥuraymilā, first in al-ʿUyayna and, after being expelled from there also, from 1157/1744 or 1158/1745 onwards in al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], then controlled by the local *ra'īs* Muḥammad b. Suʿūd (d. 1179/1765 [*q.v.*]). With Ibn Suʿūd's support, there developed the community of *Muwaḥḥidūn*, defining itself through commitment to the rules of *tawḥīd* according to the teachings of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and the exclusion and combat of those not accepting them. By means of *daʿwa* (letters, envoys) and armed campaigus against neighbouring settlements (first attack 1159/1746 on al-Riyāḍ) the community's sphere of influence gradually extended at the local level. Under the leadership of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. Suʿūd (1179-1218/1765-1803) it accomplished—settlement by settlement, tribal segment by tribal segment—the voluntary or enforced subjection of the provinces of Nadjd, sc. Sudayr in 1177/1763-4, al-Washm in 1181/1767-8, al-ʿĀriḍ [*q.v.*] after the fall of al-Riyāḍ in 1187/1773, al-Khardj [*q.v.*] and al-Aflādj [*q.v.*] in 1199/1785, al-Ḳaṣīm [*q.v.*] after the surrender of ʿUnayza [*q.v.*], and finally in 1202/1788, Wādī 'l-Dawāsir [*q.v.*] and Djabal Shammar [*q.v.*] in 1205/1790-1.

In the emerging state governed from al-Dirʿiyya, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, bearing the title of *shaykh*, acted as the highest religious authority, teacher and supervisor of instruction in Wahhābī doctrine, and, according to Ibn Bishr [*q.v.*] (*ʿUnwān*, i, 143), he acted as *ḳāḍī*, *imām* and *khaṭīb*. The rulers of the Āl Suʿūd [*q.v.*], bearing the titles of *amīr* and *imām*, directed the state administration, appointing *ḳuḍāt*, *a'imma* and *umarā'* in the settlements and for the tribes, collecting taxes (*zakāt*) from settled people and Bedouin, imposing punitive measures on the forcibly subjugated sections of the population, such as destruction of the agricultural infrastructure, and confiscation of property for the *bayt al-māl* or payment of ransom for captives and possessions.

By the death of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1206/June 1792, the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state had already begun to transcend the boundaries of Nadjd into al-Ḥasā, which was subjugated in 1207-8/1792-3, and it had launched the first attacks against the regions of Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*] and northern ʿUmān [*q.v.*].

According to Ibn Bishr (*ʿUnwān*, i, 93), Muḥammad

b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was succeeded first by his son Ḥusayn (d. 1224/1809), then by his son ʿAbd Allāh (1165-1242/1752-1827, d. in Cairo), both of them acting as ḳuḍāt in al-Dirʿiyya, while ʿAbd Allāh seems to have been more important as a scholar (author of *Djawāb ahl al-sunna fī naḳḍ kalām al-shīʿa wa 'l-zaydiyya* (*MRMN*, iv, 47-221), *al-Kalimāt al-nāfiʿa fī 'l-mukaffarāt al-wāḳiʿa* (*MT*, 229-96), numerous legal treatises (*MRMN*, i) and a *risāla* written on the occasion of the Wahhābī seizure of Mecca in 1803 (*Hadiyya*, 35-52)), directing the Wahhābī *madjālis* and instructing the heir-apparent Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1218-29/1803-14) and his son ʿAbd Allāh (1229-33/1814-18). Later sources (Āl al-Shaykh, 33; al-Bassām, i, 49) mention ʿAbd Allāh as the direct successor of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Several other descendants of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (called Āl al-Shaykh) represented Wahhābī scholarship by the beginning of the 19th century: his sons ʿAlī (d. after 1233/1818 in Cairo) and Ibrāhīm (d. after 1251/1835 in Cairo), his grandson Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh (1200-33/1786-1818, temporarily ḳāḍī in Wahhābī-occupied Mecca, author of *Taysīr al-ʿazīz al-ḥamīd, sharḥ Kitāb al-tawḥīd* (Beirut ²1970), *al-Tawḍīḥ ʿan tawḥīd al-khallāḳ fī djawāb ahl al-ʿIrāḳ* (first ed. Cairo 1901), *Awthaḳ ʿurā 'l-īmān* (*MT*, 178-92), *Ḥukm muwālāt ahl al-ishrāḳ* (*MT*, 192-208), *Ḥukm al-safar ilā bilād al-shirk* (*MT*, 209-13)), and other grandsons ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn (d. 1257/1841 or later, ḳāḍī in al-Dirʿiyya) and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan (1193-1285/1779-1869, ḳāḍī in al-Dirʿiyya). Important scholars of other descent were 1) Ḥusayn b. Ghannām (d. 1225/1811 [*q.v.*]), author of the first history of the Wahhābī community *Rawḍat al-afkār wa 'l-afhām li-murtād ḥāl al-imām* and *al-Ghazawāt al-bayāniyya wa 'l-futūḥāt al-rabbāniyya* (first ed. Bombay 1919; adapted prose version by N. al-Asad under the title *Taʾrīkh Nadjd*, Cairo 1961); 2) Ḥamad b. Nāṣir b. Muʿammar (d. 1225/1811), Wahhābī envoy to Mecca in 1211/1797, author of *al-Fawākih al-ʿidhāb fī 'l-radd ʿalā man lam yaḥkum bi 'l-sunna wa 'l-kitāb* (*Hadiyya*, 53-98), *R. al-Idjtihād wa 'l-taḳlīd* (*MRMN*, ii/3, 2-30) and other tracts (*MRMN*, ii/3), ḳāḍī in al-Dirʿiyya, and from 1220/1805 until his death, ḳāḍī and supervisor of the regulations for ḳuḍāt in Mecca; 3) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥusayn (1154-1237/1741-1822), ḳāḍī in al-Washm, envoy to Mecca; 4) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḥamad b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1240/1825), envoy to the Imām of Ṣanʿāʾ under Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and to Egypt 1230/1815, author of *al-Masāʾil al-sharʿiyya ilā ʿulamāʾ al-Dirʿiyya* (*MRMN*, iv, 564-84); 5) ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Shabāna (d. 1242/1826-7), ḳāḍī in ʿAsīr [*q.v.*], Raʾs al-Khayma [*q.v.*] and Sudayr; and 6) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Buṭayn (1194-1282/1780-1865), ḳāḍī in al-Ṭāʾif after 1220/1805, author of numerous treatises (*MRMN*, ii/3, 96-257).

The last decade of the 18th century was marked by increasing hostility between the Sharīf of Mecca, Ghālib b. Musāʿid (1202-28/1788-1813), and al-Dirʿiyya. Since the emergence of the Wahhābī movement, the relationship with the rulers of Mecca had been tense, and scholarly disputations between Meccan *ʿulamāʾ* and Wahhābī delegations (two of them in 1185/1771 and 1204/1790 led by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥuṣayn) had not resulted in détente. In 1205/1791 Ghālib started off military activities against southern Nadjd, and the ensuing skirmishes lasted up to a peace treaty in 1212/1798, only to be broken in 1217/1802-3 by the Wahhābīs, who finally overran al-Ḥidjāz and took over al-Ṭāʾif (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1217/February-March 1803) and Mecca (Muḥarram 1218/April 1803). The first occupation of Mecca lasted only two-and-a-half months until Ghālib in Rabīʿ I 1218/June-July 1803 recaptured the town, but at the beginning of 1220/April 1805 the Wahhābīs took Medina and in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1220/January-February 1806 Mecca for the second time.

Wahhābī rule over the Ḥaramayn, which lasted until the turn of the year 1227/28 (1812/13), became one of the most disputed periods of Wahhābī history (cf. Daḥlān): the destruction of highly venerated tombs and mausoleums (cemetery of Maʿlā in Mecca) and domes erected at the birthplaces of the Prophet, of ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ and Khadīdja bt. Khuwaylid [*q.vv.*]; the banning of the annual Pilgrimage caravans from Syria and Egypt; and the compulsory instruction of *ʿulamāʾ* and *ʿāmma* in Wahhābī doctrines, were the most striking examples of the collision of the Wahhābī interpretation of Islam with the majority view in the Muslim world. In a *risāla* written on the occasion of the conquest of Mecca (see above) in which he took part, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb elucidated the main points at issue: abolition of taxes considered to be unlawful (*mukūs/rusūm*); destruction of all utensils for consuming tobacco and prohibition of smoking it (cf. also Burckhardt, 284, 303); destruction of all places of *ḥashshāshīn* and immorality; destruction of all domes on graves and further buildings taken as places for worship of others than God; compulsion of all believers—no matter to which *madhhab* they might belong—to perform each *ṣalāt* collectively behind one *imām* (belonging to one of the four *madhāhib*); distribution of the writings of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb among the *ʿulamāʾ* and of a summary of their main contents among the *ʿāmma*, to be studied under supervision; interference in the ritual practices of the *madhāhib* when considered as incorrect (e.g. in the case of *ṣalāt* as performed by the Ḥanafī and the Mālikī *madhhabs* where, from the Wahhābī point of view, the moment of *ṭumaʾnīna* in *iʿtidāl* after *rukūʿ* and in *djulūs* between the *sadjadāt* was not properly observed); destruction of books that might lead to *shirk*, like the *K. Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* (of al-Yāfiʿī, d. 768/1366-7 [*q.v.*]) or that might cause disturbance to people's beliefs, like books on *ʿilm al-manṭiḳ*; abolition of the special position of the *ahl al-bayt* in society (the doctrine of *kafāʾa* [*q.v.*] in marriage, for which no basis in the Ḳurʾān and Sunna can be found, kissing their hands which might lead to *shirk*, etc.); prohibition of various *bidaʿ*: publicly using the *subḥa* [*q.v.*] or rosary, raising the voice at the place of *adhān* [*q.v.*] other than for the *adhān* (Ḳurʾanic verses, prayers to the Prophet, *dhikr*), *tadhkīr* and *tarḥīm*, reading *ḥadīth*s from Abū Hurayra before the Friday sermon, gathering to hear *mawlid al-nabī* recitations, believing this to be a pious deed, gathering for *rawātib al-mashāyikh* like the *rātib al-Sammān* or the *rātib al-Ḥaddād* which even contain *shirk*, recitation of *fawātiḥ* for the *mashāyikh* after the five daily prayers which might lead to *shirk*. The Ṣūfī path (*al-ṭarīḳa al-ṣūfiyya*) and the purification of the inner dimension from sinful acts is not rejected, as long as the adherent of Ṣūfism sticks to the *Sharīʿa* (as understood by the Wahhābīs).

After the seizure of Medina, the treasures amassed in the Prophet's grave were taken by the Wahhābīs (for the discussion on this topic, cf. al-Alūsī, 55-6), yet the grave itself, after unsuccessful attempts to destroy its cupola, remained untouched (cf. Burckhardt, 281, 331-2); domes and buildings erected on other graves were destroyed.

In the first decade of the 19th century, the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state increased its *daʿwa* activities also outside

the Arabian Peninsula (e.g. in Tunisia and Morocco, cf. E. Pröbster, *Die Wahhabiten und der Magrib*, in *Islamica*, vii [1935], 65-112 and in Syria, cf. H. Fleischer, *Briefwechsel zwischen den Anführern der Wahhabiten und dem Paša von Damascus*, in *ZDMG*, xi [1857], 427-43) and reached the peak of territorial expansion. South of al-Ḥidjāz, the Wahhābīs established dominance over ʿAsīr through their vassal Muḥammad b. ʿĀmir Abū Nuḳta al-Rufaydī and raided the Yemeni ports of al-Luḥayya and al-Ḥudayda [*q.vv.*] in 1225/1810. In the east, they subjugated Ḳaṭar and al-Baḥrayn and the Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*] tribes of northern coastal ʿUmān; in the south, they controlled the oasis of al-Buraymī [*q.v.*] and occasionally collected *zakāt* from the Sultan of Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*]. At the same time, they raided into al-ʿIrāḳ, where in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1216/March 1802 they overran the Shīʿī sanctuary of Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*] for the first time (second time in 1223/1808) and pillaged the tomb of al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*]. Continuous quarrels with the southern ʿIrāḳī Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*], vassals of the Ottoman *wālī* in Baghdād, the Wahhābī hegemony over al-Ḥidjāz and Wahhābī influence on tribes in southern Syria (the only organised military campaign directed against Syrian territory was the raid on al-Muzayrīb and Buṣrā in Ḥawrān [*q.v.*] in 1225/1810), challenged the Ottoman Empire on several fronts simultaneously. In 1222/1807 Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], Ottoman *wālī* of Egypt, was ordered to prepare a military campaign against the Wahhābīs, which was not, however, begun until 1226/1811, when Egyptian troops landed at Yanbuʿ [*q.v.*]. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1227/November 1812 Medina, and in Muḥarram 1228/January 1813 Mecca, were taken from the Wahhābīs. Driven back to Nadjd, the Wahhābīs met with a crushing defeat at the hands of the Egyptian troops when in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1233/September 1818 al-Dirʿiyya was taken and reduced to ruins in Shaʿbān 1234/May-June 1819. Measures were taken against the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state aimed at destroying its infrastructure, as well as at annihilating the power of its religious and political élites through executions (among others, ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd, 1234/1818 in Istanbul; Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, 1233/1818 and his brother ʿAlī, 1234/1819 in al-Dirʿiyya) and deportations to Cairo (including an estimated total of 400 sons and grandsons of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and leading members of the Āl Suʿūd, cf. Mengin ii, 151 ff.).

(c) *Development until the end of the 19th century (the second Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state)*

When the Egyptian troops left Nadjd in 1819 the territories of the former Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state returned to the rule of local *ruʾasāʾ*. In the struggle for re-establishment of a central political authority, Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Suʿūd succeeded between 1235/1820 and 1240/1824 in establishing himself in power at al-Riyāḍ as the new capital.

The political revival was soon after followed by the reconstruction of Wahhābī scholarship, in which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan, grandson of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who had been deported to Cairo, played the major role when he in 1241/1825-6 returned to Nadjd, taking over the office of senior religious authority in al-Riyāḍ. Until his death in 1285/1869, he worked as a *ḳāḍī*, as teacher of a whole generation of Wahhābī scholars and *ḳuḍāt* and as author of commentaries on the *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (*K. Fatḥ al-madjīd fī sharḥ K. al-Tawḥīd* (first ed. Cairo 1929), *K. Ḳurrat ʿuyūn al-muwaḥḥidīn fī taḥḳīḳ daʿwat al-anbiyāʾ wa 'l-mursalīn* (*MT*, 297-542)), refutations of anti-Wahhābī tracts (*Bayyān al-mahadjdja fī 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-ladjdja* (*MRMN*, iv, 223-85), *al-Ḳawl al-nafīs fī 'l-radd ʿalā Dāwūd b. Djirdjīs*, *al-Maḳāmāt radd^an ʿalā ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Manṣūr al-Nāṣirī* (ms. al-Riyāḍ), *Bayān kalimat al-tawḥīd wa 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-Kashmīrī ʿAbd al-Maḥmūd* (*MRMN*, iv, 319-64), *al-Mawrid al-ʿadhb al-zulāl fī kashf shubah ahl al-ḍalāl* (*MRMN*, iv, 287-318)) and numerous other treatises.

Under the reign of Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh, the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state was able to regain parts of its former territories outside Nadjd when in 1245/1829-30 al-Ḥasā was retaken from the Banū Khālid, al-Ḳaṭīf and Raʾs al-Khayma [*q.vv.*], as well as al-Baḥrayn, swore allegiance; after a military expedition against ʿUmān in 1248/1832-3 Sultan Saʿīd, ruler of Masḳaṭ, paid an annual tribute. Yet the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state could not regain its initial political stability because of internal rivalries for the imāmate which led to the assassination of Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh at the hands of Mashārī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mashārī b. Suʿūd by the end of 1249/1834. The usurpation of power by Mashārī, whose reign lasted only forty days, seems to have been sanctioned in the absence of Turkī's son Fayṣal from al-Riyāḍ by the Āl al-Shaykh. Fayṣal b. Turkī on his return to al-Riyāḍ established himself as the new *imām*, to whom allegiance was sworn in early 1250/1834 by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan and other Wahhābī scholars. Fayṣal's rule was soon challenged in 1252/1836, when Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, in the course of expanding his regional hegemony in the Arabian Peninsula, equipped an army under Ismāʿīl Pasha nominally led by Khālid b. Suʿūd, a brother of the late *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd, who had been deported to Egypt in 1234/1819. In Ṣafar 1253/May 1837 the Egyptian troops, with Khālid as a figurehead to win over the sympathies of the Nadjdī population, entered al-Riyāḍ, which Fayṣal b. Turkī had given up the previous year. In 1254/1838 Fayṣal surrendered to the Egyptians and was brought to Cairo. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan, together with other members of the Āl al-Shaykh, escaped from the new régime by moving to al-Ḥawṭa [*q.v.*] and al-Ḥarīḳ in southern Nadjd, where they kept themselves beyond the reach of Khālid b. Suʿūd until his power declined when the Egyptians withdrew their troops from Nadjd in 1256/1840. The expulsion of Khālid b. Suʿūd, whose rule was never recognised as legitimate by the Wahhābī scholars, seems to have been the prime mover for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan to support ʿAbd Allāh b. Thunyān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Thunyān b. Suʿūd, who in 1257/1841 defeated Khālid and established himself in al-Riyāḍ as the new ruler. In 1258/1842 the Āl al-Shaykh returned to al-Riyāḍ after five years' exile in southern Nadjd.

But the struggle for the imāmate flared up again in 1259/1843, when Fayṣal b. Turkī returned from his imprisonment in Cairo, and, strongly supported by the Āl Rashīd [*q.v.*] of Djabal Shammar, moved against ʿAbd Allāh b. Thunyān and regained power with the approval of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ḥasan. At the beginning of his second reign, he resumed a tradition seemingly established by his father Turkī to which he had stuck already at the beginning of his first reign in 1250/1834. In his capacity as *imām* of the Wahhābī community, he addressed himself to the population in a letter in which he called his subjects to *tawḥīd* and to the careful observance of all religious duties, emphasising the payment of *zakāt*, and in which he stressed the importance of the principles of *djamāʿa*, *djihād* and *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*. He ordered the letter to be read aloud in all mosques and for this to be repeated every two

months. For a period of 23 years up to his death in 1282/1865, Fayṣal remained the undisputed *imām* of the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state. Under his second reign, a stable dominance was established over central and southern Nadjd, al-Ḥasā and al-Ḳaṭīf, whereas rule over the province of al-Ḳaṣīm and its main settlements Burayda and ʿUnayza [*q.vv.*] was precarious at best; the Djabal Shammar under Ṭalāl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rashīd (1264-84/1847-67) enjoyed a semi-autonomous status whilst remaining politically loyal to the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state and paying *zakāt*. Relationships of political loyalty expressed by payment of *zakāt* were established with al-Baḥrayn, with the coastal shaykhdoms of northern ʿUmān and with the Sultan of Masḳaṭ. The Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state, for its part, expressed a formal loyalty to the Ottoman Empire by payment of an annual tribute via the Sharīf of Mecca.

In al-Riyāḍ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh was in 1264/1848 joined by his son ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (1225-93/1810-76), who had been deported to Egypt in 1234/1819 and had since lived in Cairo. Like his father, he worked as a *ḳāḍī* in al-Riyāḍ, where he became a teacher in the Wahhābī *madjālis* and author of numerous treatises and refutations (*Taʾsīs al-taḳdīs fī ʾl-radd ʿalā Dāwūd b. Djirdjīs* (first ed. Bombay 1892), *Tuḥfat al-ṭālib wa ʾl-djalīs fī ʾl-radd ʿalā Ibn Djirdjīs, Miṣbāḥ al-ẓalām fī ʾl-radd ʿalā man kadhaba ʿalā ʾl-shaykh al-imām, Rasāʾil* (*MRMN*, iii, iv). Another prolific Wahhābī scholar and author of this period was ʿAbd Allāh Abū Buṭayn, who had been a renowned representative of Wahhābī scholarship before the fall of al-Dirʿiyya (see above) and then became *ḳāḍī* and teacher in ʿUnayza and Shaḳrāʾ/al-Washm (*Rasāʾil wa-masāʾil*, in *MRMN*, iv, 466-541; *Risāla fī taʿrīf al-ʿibāda* (*MT*, 217-27), *Taʾsīs al-taḳdīs fī kashf talbīs Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Djirdjīs, al-Intiṣār li-ḥizb Allāh al-muwaḥḥidīn wa ʾl-radd ʿalā ʾl-mudjādil ʿan al-mushrikīn, Mukhtaṣar Badāʾiʿ al-fawāʾiḍ li-Ibn al-Ḳayyim, Ḥāshiya nafīsa ʿalā sharḥ al-Muntahā, Taʿlīḳāt ʿalā sharḥ al-durra al-muḍiyya sharḥ ʿaḳīdat al-Safārīnī*). Other noteworthy scholars were Ḥamad b. ʿAtīḳ (1227-1301/1812-83, *ḳāḍī* in al-Khardj and al-Aflādj, author of *Ibṭāl al-tandīd sharḥ Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (Cairo 1367, Alexandria 1380, al-Riyāḍ 1389), *Bayān al-nadjāḥ wa ʾl-fakāk, al-Difāʿ ʿan ahl al-sunna wa ʾl-atbāʿ*), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Salīm (1240-1323/1825-1905, *ḳāḍī* and teacher in Burayda), Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (1250-1333/1834-1915, *ḳāḍī* in Wādī ʾl-Dawāsir, Ḍurmā and al-Riyāḍ).

Fayṣal b. Turkī's second reign was the longest period of uninterrupted development for the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state in the 19th century. Soon after his death in Radjab 1282/December 1865, a fight for the imāmate began among his sons (ʿAbd Allāh, Suʿūd, Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān), when Suʿūd b. Fayṣal rebelled against his elder brother ʿAbd Allāh, who had been recognised as the legitimate *imām* at his father's death. Suʿūd's claim to rule was uncompromisingly condemned by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan and his son ʿAbd al-Laṭīf. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan died in 1285/1869, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān became the senior Wahhābī scholar, and had to face a worsening of the fraternal strife concerning the imāmate when Suʿūd in 1287/1870 seized al-Ḥasā. Suʿūd's victory led ʿAbd Allāh to apply for help from Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], the Ottoman *wālī* of Baghdād. Yet Suʿūd advanced against al-Riyāḍ and captured the town in early 1288/1871. His usurpation of power was acknowledged as a legitimate take-over of the imāmate by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān for the sake of the Wahhābī community's preservation. When Ottoman troops entered al-Ḥasā in Rabīʿ II 1288/June-July 1871 ʿAbd Allāh b. Fayṣal, to whom the Ottomans seemingly had promised the appointment as *ḳāʾim-maḳām* [*q.v.*] of Nadjd joined them, vehemently condemned by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān for having deliberately handed over Muslim territory to *mushrikūn*. Yet ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's claim that *djihād* for the liberation of al-Ḥasā from the Ottomans was incumbent on the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state was frustrated by the political weakness of Suʿūd, who was expelled from al-Riyāḍ by his uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. Turkī. In Radjab 1288/September-October 1871 ʿAbd Allāh b. Fayṣal renounced his cooperation with the Ottomans and returned to al-Riyāḍ, where ʿAbd Allāh b. Turkī placed the imāmate in his hands with the approval of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. But in 1290/1873 he lost power for a second time to Suʿūd, who was once again acknowledged by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as *imām* of the Wahhābī-Suʿūdi state. When Suʿūd died in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1291/January 1875, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fayṣal took over the imāmate, which he returned in 1293/1876 to his brother ʿAbd Allāh, who was installed for the third time as ruler of the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state and was once again acknowledged as the legitimate *imām* by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

At this point there ended the fraternal strife over the imāmate which had split the population in their support of the various pretenders to power. Although the formal continuance of the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state had been secured by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān through legitimation of each new ruler in al-Riyāḍ, the foundations of the state had been severely weakened not only through the definitive loss of al-Ḥasā to the Ottomans but also through the strengthening of movements for autonomy in other regions. In 1293/1876 ʿAbd Allāh b. Fayṣal had to face an upheaval against his authority in Burayda which was supported by the *amīr* of Djabal Shammar, Muḥammad b. Rashīd (1289-1315/1872-97). From this time onwards, the relationship between the Āl Rashīd and al-Riyāḍ openly deteriorated, with the Āl Rashīd gradually extending their territory at the cost of ʿAbd Allāh's power.

In Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1293/December 1876 ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān died and was succeeded by his son ʿAbd Allāh (1265-1339/1849-1921) as senior Wahhābī scholar. The weakening of the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state became obvious when in the years 1299-1301/1882-4 ʿAbd Allāh b. Fayṣal lost several battles against Ibn Rashīd and was at the same time challenged by the sons of his late brother Suʿūd. In 1305/1888 Ibn Rashīd advanced against al-Riyāḍ; ʿAbd Allāh and his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān were taken prisoners and brought to Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*] in Djabal Shammar, while in al-Riyāḍ an *amīr* on the part of Ibn Rashīd was installed.

After the brother's return to al-Riyāḍ in Rabīʿ I 1307/October-November 1889, ʿAbd Allāh b. Fayṣal died. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fayṣal tried to establish himself as new ruler, but in 1309/1891-2 Ibn Rashīd advanced again against al-Riyāḍ, seized it, destroyed the city walls and castles and installed Muḥammad b. Fayṣal b. Turkī (d. 1311/1894) as vassal *amīr*. The Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state had at this point ceased to exist.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fayṣal fled with his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to Ḳaṭar and then to al-Kuwayt. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was brought to Ḥāʾil, where he remained for approximately a year and then returned to al-Riyāḍ, where he seemingly worked as a teacher. Other Wahhābī scholars who had to witness the decline of the Āl Suʿūd's power continued their occupations under the new ruler, such as Ḥasan b.

Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1266-1341/1850-1922, ḳāḍī in al-Aflādj, al-Madjmaʿa and al-Riyāḍ), Saʿd b. Ḥamad b. ʿAtīḳ (1279-1349/1862-1930, ḳāḍī in al-Aflādj) and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1319/1901, ḳāḍī in Sudayr and al-Riyāḍ).

Although the Wahhābī community in the 19th century lacked its initial expansionist zeal and had to face setbacks even in its very heartland of Nadjd, Wahhābī ideas gained influence in other regions of the Islamic world [see IṢLĀḤ]. Details of this process are not well known. The second half of the century brought forth fierce anti-Wahhābī polemics and refutations, of which the most important were written by Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān (1232-1304/1817-86 [*q.v.*]) and Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Djirdjīs al-Baghdādī al-Khālidī (1231-99/1816-82) (*Ṣulḥ al-ikhwān min ahl al-īmān wa-bayān al-dīn al-ḳayyim fī tabriʾat Ibn Taymiyya wa-Ibn al-Ḳayyim*, Bombay 1306/1889; *al-Minḥa al-wahbiyya fī radd al-wahhābiyya*, Bombay 1305/1888; *Ashadd al-djihād fī ibṭāl daʿwat al-idjtihād*, Bombay 1305/1888). Their writings prove the growing importance of Wahhābī teachings for others than the community itself and the need felt by its opponents to reject them. Frankly pro-Wahhābī voices were scarce. One open supporter of the Wahhābī cause was the Indian scholar Muḥammad Bashīr al-Sahsawānī (d. 1326/1908), who opposed Daḥlān for his anti-Wahhābī attacks (*Ṣiyānat al-insān ʿan waswasat al-shaykh Daḥlān*, Dihlī 1890). Another Indian scholar, Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī (d. 1246/1831 [*q.v.*]), held tenets similar to Wahhābī teachings. However, the actual dimensions of Wahhābī influence in India [see KARĀMAT ʿALĪ for a person with a pseudo-Wahhābī background] and its spreading in other parts of the Islamic world in the 19th century remain as subjects for research.

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2. The 20th century.

The development of the Wahhābiyya in the 20th century is marked, from 1902 onwards, by the establishment of the third Saudi-Wahhābī state in the Arabian Peninsula under the leadership of the Imām (later also Sultan and King) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd (d. 1953), known as "Ibn Suʿūd/Saʿūd" [see ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ, in Suppl., and AL-SUʿŪDIYYA, AL-MAMLAKA AL-ʿARABIYYA].

The restoration of Saudi power in Nadjd [*q.v.*] was accompanied by a revival there of Wahhābī doctrine and its propagation, especially among the Bedouin tribes. As a result, a religious and paramilitary movement, called the Ikhwān [*q.v.*], succeeded in the settlement of a great number of nomadic tribesmen in cantonments called *hidjra* [see AL-HIDJAR], which at the same time were intended to form agricultural communities. To some extent, the *hidjar* promoted the homogenisation, based on Wahhābī principles, of the population of Nadjd as well as some of the adjacent territories conquered by Ibn Suʿūd (for these developments until 1936, see Kostiner in *Bibl.*).

The revolt of many of the Ikhwān, beginning in 1927, was the result of a conflict between pristine Wahhābism, as conceived by the Ikhwān, and Ibn Suʿūd's political pragmatism, which the latter tried to justify in religious terms by the principles of *idjtihād* and *maṣlaḥa* [*q.vv.*]. The suppression of their revolt (in 1929-30) did not mean the total eclipse of the Ikhwān but their subordination under the state and, later on, their partial transformation into units of the National Guard or a "religious police" called *muṭṭawwiʿūn* [see MUṬAṬAWWIʿA]. More recently, the memory of both their rôle in the dissemination of Wahhābī doctrine and of their revolt against Ibn Suʿūd seems to inspire certain oppositional circles within the Kingdom and abroad.

With the conquest of the Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*] in 1924-5 and the elimination of Hāshimite rule there [see HĀSHIMIDS], the pilgrimage to Mecca [see ḤADJDJ and MAKKA] and the *ziyāra* [*q.v.*] to Medina [see AL-MADĪNA] came under Wahhābī control. The religious policy of the new rulers, and in particular their suppression of

practices considered as *bidaʿ* [see BIDʿA] as well as the destruction of mausolea and tombstones at the cemetery of Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad [*q.v.*] and elsewhere, gave rise to heated agitation in many parts of the Muslim world. Likewise, the intervention of Wahhābīs in traditional practices of the pilgrimage led to serious clashes and even international crises, one of the first and most famous ones being the so-called *maḥmal* incident of 1926 [see MAḤMAL]. These events resulted in serious tensions between Saudi Arabia and a number of Muslim countries such as Egypt and Iran (see Boberg and Kramer, in *Bibl.*). As for Iran, the strife over pilgrimage issues and the control of the Ḥaramayn [*q.v.*] flared up again after the Islamic revolution there of 1978-9 (see the annual surveys by M. Kramer, in *Middle East contemporary survey*, Boulder, Col., etc., esp. from vol. xi [1987] onwards).

With a few exceptions, the leading Ḥidjāzī families of scholars and merchants, most of whom had earlier been closely linked with the Hāshimites, were eventually won over by Ibn Suʿūd and adopted, at least externally, Wahhābī doctrine and practices. To the dismay of many Nadjdī *ʿulamāʾ*, however, the enforcement of Wahhābī norms has been restrained, in the Ḥidjāz and elsewhere, by both tacit local resistance and governmental consent. In addition, there has been a more or less constant influx of foreigners from a great number of Muslim and non-Muslim countries and with differing social and cultural backgrounds: specialised expatriates, asylum seekers, religious students, etc. Their presence, together with local traditions, has militated against a total assimilation of Saudi society to the Wahhābī way of life. Finally, the gradual erosion of Wahhābī values must also be seen in connection with the affluence resulting from oil wealth and a number of social developments related to it (Grandguillaume, in *Bibl.*).

Consequently, the religious discourse and daily practice (not only in the Ḥidjāz) in one way or another has come under the influence of the norms and values of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*] and similar trends (which in the past may have themselves been inspired by the Wahhābiyya). The frame of mind of many intellectuals, civil servants and technocrats in the country is dominated by the principles of reformism [see IṢLĀḤ. i] and may be described as a kind of "neo-Wahhābiyya" (Schulze in *Bibl.*, index, 500, 505). This process of partial moderation has been strengthened, from the 1950s onwards, even by the immigration of members of the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] and related groups who, coming to Saudi Arabia as political refugees, have served there as advisers, school teachers and in other capacities.

Nevertheless, ultra-orthodox Wahhābī principles and practices are upheld to a considerable extent. Representatives of this current, such as Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Bāz (until his death in May 1999 Grand Mufti and president of the Board of Senior Scholars, *Hayʾat kibār al-ʿulamāʾ*, established in 1971) make their influence felt, e.g. by issuing *fatwās* [*q.v.*] as well as by shaping the structure and curricula of the Islamic University in Medina, an institution founded in 1961 (Schulze, index, 494, and Nādjī Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, *al-Taʿlīm fi 'l-Madīna al-Munawwara*, Cairo 1414/1993, 610-40). In addition, Wahhābī *ʿulamāʾ* (including members of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's family, known as the Āl al-Shaykh) still play an important rôle in the deliberations of the Mecca-based Muslim World League (*Rābiṭat al-ʿālam al-islāmī*), a Pan-Islamic organisation founded in 1962 (Schulze, esp. 181 ff., and see AL-RĀBIṬA AL-ISLĀMIYYA). To their embarrassment, however, some of their religious opinions and legal rulings are adopted by militant zealots and used in agitation against what the latter see as a betrayal of religious principles by a régime claiming Wahhābī legitimacy. The ideology of the rebels who seized the *ḥaram* of Mecca in November 1979 is a case in point (see Kechichian, in *Bibl.*, also Schulze, 369-74).

In spite of the opposition of many *ʿulamāʾ* to legal reform, a continuous process of modernist legislation characterised by a pragmatic approach can be observed in Saudi Arabia. There are even indications of the emergence of a legislative authority outside the control of the Wahhābī *ʿulamāʾ* (see Layish, in *Bibl.*). In line with this development, the promulgation in 1992 of three statutes or basic laws (*niẓām*, sing.), including one concerning the establishment of a *madjlis al-shūrā* [see MADJLIS; SHŪRĀ], are to be seen as a further step away from the traditional Wahhābī position of denying the need for any constitution beyond the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna of the Prophet (Teitelbaum, in *Bibl.*).

In the course of the 20th century, the Wahhābiyya have been rehabilitated in the eyes of many Sunnī Muslims all over the world. In particular from the second half of the 1920s onwards, prominent Salafīs and Arab nationalists such as Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*], Shakīb Arslān [*q.v.*], Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and others have been instrumental in this development. There are, however, authors of different persuasions (including, of course, Ṣūfīs and Shīʿīs) who have continued to criticise Wahhābī doctrine and practice. (For bibliographical surveys of this literature, see ʿAlī, *Muʿdjam*, in *Bibl.*, and Āl Salmān, who in addition quotes Wahhābī refutations of these works, *Kutub*, i, 250-87.)

Wahhābī authors tend to describe the history of their movement in general, and with regard to the 20th century in particular, as an almost unremitting success story. In this connection, they are prone to exaggerate the *direct* influence of the Wahhābiyya, from the 18th century to the present, on more or less similar reform movements in West Africa, India and elsewhere (see e.g. the works of Djumʿa and Ḍāhir, which nevertheless are useful surveys, and also Q. Ahmad and Kaba, in *Bibl.*).

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WAHĪBA, Āl, a large ʿUmānī tribe with both settled and pastoralist sections, whose grazing *dār* covers a large area of the Sharkiyya region to the south-east of the Djabal Akhḍar extending to the Arabian sea coastline, and including most of so-called Wahība Sands (though locally this sand-sea is known simply as "the sands", and tribes other than the Āl Wahība, notably the Djanaba, also live in it). The Āl Wahība are Hinawīs, and form part of a natural Sharkiya-Hinawī alliance (which also includes the Ḥirth, Ḥadjriyyīn, and Ḥabs). There are four main tribal divisions: Bin Ḥayya, Hal Anfarri, Yaḥāḥīf, Hal Musallam, and the sheikhly section, Āl Bū Ghufayla, permanently settled at al-Aflādj. Each of these main divisions has a large number of sub-divisions. The Yaḥāḥīf, a semi-autonomous division, are alone said to account for more than half the numerical strength of the Āl Wahība.

Some sections of the Āl Wahība are more or less permanently settled in the towns and villages on the fringes of the sands (notably Sanaw, Bādiya, Barzamān, al-Mintirib), and in the wadis to the west (Wādī Andam, Wādī Ḥalfayn). Here many of the Āl Wahība are involved in agriculture and palm cultivation. In 1986, it was estimated that the nomadic, pastoralist population of the sands was 450-500 families, or about 2,700-3,000 souls, most of these being Āl Wahība. Some members of the tribe are semi-nomadic, summering in the villages on the northern fringe of the sands, and wintering in the sands with their animals. In the sands, the social structure is based on the mobile *farīk*, usually consisting of between one and five families who camp together, often in a loose assemblage of rugs and coverings simply draped over the branches of the proposis trees (*ghāf*) which abound in central and eastern sands. Goats and sheep are kept, as are camels by nearly all families, though usually in small numbers. The female camels bred by the Āl Wahība (particularly the *banāt farḥa* breed) are renowned as racing camels, and much in demand in ʿUmān and neighbouring countries such as Ḳaṭar where camel-racing is popular.

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WĀḤIDĪ, a sultanate and confederation of tribes occupying the territory about 320 km/200 miles to the east of Aden [see ʿADAN], forming a delta shape from the Indian Ocean shore in the south, stretching north about 208 km/130 miles to the region of Bayḥān [*q.v.*], and flanked by the ʿAwlaḳī states in the west and the Ḳuʿayṭī sultanate in the east (see e.g. map in Johnston, *Steamer Point*). Its administrative capital was latterly Mayfaʿa near the impressive pre-Islamic fortifications of Naḳab al-Ḥadjar, whose pre-Islamic name, MYFʿT, it took, in the centre of the sultanate, while nearby ʿAzzān remained the home of the Wāḥidī ruling family (*dawla*) and Ḥabbān in the west the commercial capital. Other important towns included Biʾr ʿAlī (by 1961 incorporated into the one sultanate, but previously independent and whose ex-sultan was alive then), the pre-Islamic incense port of Cana (Ḳanā), on the south coast, and al-Ḥawṭa, a centre of religious visitations, between Mayfaʿa and Ḥabbān.

The name Wāḥidī is traditionally derived from one ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, a Ḳurashī (or Ḥimyarī) chief who gained control of the area, probably about the beginning of the 19th century, and established his residence in Ḥabbān (*Arab tribes*, 100). Local tradition and a passage from Bal-Faḳīh al-Shiḥrī's *Taʾrīkh* (see Serjeant, 40-1), however, relates that this is the oldest *dawla* in Southern Arabia and places ʿAbd al-Wāḥid about two centuries earlier. His inscribed tomb is reputed to be in the *djāmiʿ* mosque in Ḥabbān. In the 1880s, the sultanate appears to have split into three, with Biʾr ʿAlī and Balḥāf on the southern coast becoming independent of the ruler of Ḥabbān and ʿAzzān (*Arab tribes*, 102). When the Protectorate treaties were signed in 1888 and 1890, four separate treaties were ratified between the British government and states covering the area of the later sultanate: the "Shaykh" of ʿIrḳa (on the southern coast) (1888), the "Shaykhs" of Ḥawra (a short distance inland) (1888), the "Sultans of the Wāḥidī tribe" of Biʾr ʿAlī (1890) and the "Chiefs of the Wāḥidī tribe of Balḥāf" (1888) (*Arab tribes*, 180-6, with the texts of the treaties).

From 1937 the sultanate formed a part of the British-administered Eastern Aden Protectorate, but

in late 1961, having joined the Federation of Arab Amirates of the South whose other member states belonged to the Western Aden Protectorate, it joined the latter grouping of states (Burrowes, *Dictionary*, 377, dates accession to 1962). After entry into the Federation, the then Sultan Nāṣir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Wāḥidī was given the portfolio of agriculture and fisheries in the Federal Government and the sultanate administered by the State Secretary, Amīr Muḥammad b. Saʿīd. The sultanate ceased to exist in 1967, when the British handed over power to the National Liberation Front in South Arabia.

The Wāḥidī sultanate had some large areas of fertile agricultural land and its main produce was dates, grain crops and vegetables. Wādī Djirdān in the north remains famous for its high-quality honey, this high quality said to result from the abundance of *ʿilb* (pl. *ʿulūb*) trees (*Zizyphus spina Christi* Willd.) in the area.

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AL-WĀḤIDĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Mattūya al-Mattūyī (Mattuwī) al-Naysābūrī al-Shāfiʿī, Arab philologist and Ḳurʾān scholar.

He was descended from a family of merchants from Sāwa [*q.v.*] who were very likely originally Christians. He was born in Naysābūr (Nīshāpūr), and died there after a long illness in advanced age in Djumādā II 468/January-February 1076, highly venerated as *ustādh ʿaṣrihī* "the master of his age". Still a boy, he took part in teaching sessions on *adab* and *naḥw*, and attended classes in the large law schools of his native city. Finally, he joined Abū Isḥāḳ al-Thaʿlabī [*q.v.*] (the form Thaʿālibī is also transmitted), the Ḳurʾān interpreter and authority on the biography of the Prophet, and associated himself with the pupils of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm [*q.v.*], the great local authority in the field of Tradition and Shāfiʿī law (Sezgin, i, 186). Of his students may be mentioned al-Maydānī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (451-529/1059-1135). Just like other scholars he enjoyed the special favour and protection of the famous Saldjūḳ minister Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], who as a young man had taken part in al-Wāḥidī's sessions, and of the latter's brother Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Isḥāḳ *al-faḳīh al-adjall*.

Among al-Wāḥidī's works which have been preserved, the first to be mentioned are the *shaykh al-tafsīr* and the *imām ʿulamāʾ al-taʾwīl*'s highly-esteemed studies on the Ḳurʾān. Following a lecture given by his teacher Abū Ṭāhir al-Ziyādī (d. 410/1019) in 409/1018, he composed a terse philological commentary, entitled *al-Wadjīz fī maʿānī 'l-Ḳurʾān al-ʿazīz* (Cairo 1305/1887, repr. Beirut 1981). For the time being he put aside a detailed commentary, which he had already begun; he finally finished it five decades later in Radjab 461/May 1069 under the title *al-Wāsīṭ bayna 'l-maḳbūḍ ('l-Wadjīz) wa 'l-basīṭ ('l-Basīṭ) fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿaẓīm* (for old mss. of parts of it, see Chester Beatty 4609, 5041, 5204). In the meantime he had published three *madjmūʿāt* on questions concerning the *tafsīr* (cf. Ahlwardt 750; *al-Mawrid*, xvii 4 [1409/1988], 292-304). It has to be checked whether the material of these three *madjmūʿāt* is to be found in his *Djāmiʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* which has been preserved, or in *Ḥirār al-maʿānī* or in *al-Ḥāwī li-djamʿ al-maʿānī*, or whether they have been taken up into his third great commentary. So far it is not known when he started this third extensive commentary, entitled *al-Tafsīr al-basīṭ*, nor whether and when he completed it (for old manuscripts of parts of it, see Chester Beatty 3731, 3736, 5105). Particularly in demand was and still is his *Asbāb al-nuzūl* on the occasions in which singular sūras and verses were revealed (for the various recensions, see Ahlwardt, i, 180-1, no. 463-4; *G. des Q.*, ii, 183; for old manuscripts, see Chester Beatty 3733, 4522; latest prints Cairo 1411/1990, Beirut 1411/1991).

Like his teacher al-Thaʿlabī, al-Wāḥidī composed a *K. al-Maghāzī*, which seems to have been preserved (cf. R. Şeşen, *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*, Beirut 1402/1982, iii, 57).

As grammarian, lexicographer and rhetorician he made a special name for himself with his commentary on the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*] (Sezgin, ii, ix, index). For the *al-Wasīṭ fī 'l-amthāl* falsely ascribed to him, see mathal.1.iii; Sellheim, in *Oriens*, xxxi (1988), 82-94, xxxii (1990), 468-9.

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(R. Sellheim)

WAHM (a., pl. *awhām*), lit. "notion", "supposition", in particular also "false notion", "delusion". In non-technical parlance the negative meaning of thinking something to be the case, contrary to fact, is preponderant; sometimes it comes close to *sahw* "inadvertency", "inadvertent omission". In later texts it may

acquire the meaning of "hallucination" and "spectre" (see Dozy, s.v.).

1. In philosophy the term denotes "estimation", the "estimative faculty" (also *al-ḳuwwa al-wahmiyya*), and the "notion" resulting from the activity of this faculty (the plural is used with this last meaning, rarely also the second). *Wahm* belongs to the "internal senses" (*al-ḥawāss al-bāṭina*, see ḤISS), and in Ibn Sīnā it refers to the highest quasi-mental faculty in animals, that which allows a sheep to recognise the notion (*maʿnā*) "enemy" in a wolf and run away. Goichon and Afnan, following Mediaeval Latin usage, translate the term as "estimative faculty". It is rather close to *khayāl/takhayyul* "imagination" [see TAKHAYYUL, in Suppl.] and as a result, in Mediaeval Latin translations one finds it rendered as *estimatio, imaginatio, intellectus* and *opinio*.

Rahman found that nothing in Greek corresponded directly to *wahm* but that it was "a differentiation of Aristotle's "phantasia" (φαντασία) through Stoic influences". According to Morewedge, "there is no doubt that the concept was not directly borrowed from Aristotle" (324). Goichon concurs with this, while Wolfson espoused the idea of borrowing from the Greek. Walzer notes the problems that the Arabs had in finding an agreed rendition of the Greek word for "representation" (φαντασία): *Wahm*, as the chosen translation for φαντασία, was popular with such early translators as Usṭāth [*q.v.*] and Ibn Nāʿima who respectively translated Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and the so-called *Theology of Aristotle* [see UTHŪLŪDJIYĀ] for al-Kindī. Walzer (385) points out that there is a diversity of terminology "in Abū ʿUthmān al-Dimashqī's summary of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq's translation of Galen's *Peri ēthōn*, which includes *taṣawwur, tawahhum*, and the curious hybrid *takhayyul fi 'l-wahm*". Al-Kindī used the transliteration *fanṭāsiyā* and also *tawahhum*; al-Fārābī, relying on later translators, usually renders "representation" by *takhayyul* (e.g. *al-Madīna al-fāḍila*, ch. i, 14; cf. Walzer, 385), which became the standard equivalent. For al-Fārābī, the delusionary character of *tawahhum* is prominent; commenting on Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* 21a, 32-3, "al-Fārābī is . . . misled by the translator's choice of *tawahhum* [imagination, with a suggestion that what is so imagined is mere fantasy] for δόξα, a word elsewhere rendered as *iʿtiqād* [belief]". He comments: ". . . that is to say, if a thing is said to be imagined it is excluded from existence. For our imagining it means that we picture it in our mind without its existing. If we raise in our minds something which exists we do not imagine it but know it" (Zimmermann, 156-7 and n. 1). Similarly, in Ibn Sīnā's *Dānish-nāma-i ʿAlāʾī*, *wahm* "refers to the ability to have a mental experience of an event in contrast to the actual happening of that event" (Morewedge, 321). But mostly, *wahm* is a technical term in the "psychological epistemology" of Ibn Sīnā whereby it "is an internal sense belonging to the animal soul" (*ibid.*), see above.

Morewedge (322) points out that *wahm* "has frequently been used in Persian to designate a mental power from which a being can cause entities to emanate by mere thought".

2. In mysticism [see Suppl.].

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WAHRĀN, the Arabic name for the North African coastal town conventionally known as Oran, the chief port of western Algeria (lat. 35° 45' N., long. 0° 38' W.). It is dominated by the Djebel Murdjadjo (400 m/1,312 feet) and sheltered within one of the large bays of the southwestern Mediterranean. In its hinterland lie vast, semi-arid plains, with the Great Sebkha [see SABKHA] in its western part.

It was founded by Muslims from Umayyad Spain in 290/903, not far from the bay of Marsā al-Kabīr, which was probably the ancient Portus Divini mentioned in the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus, and just a short time before the disintegration of the Khāridjite state centred on Tāhert [see RUSTAMIDS], which had controlled the roadsteads of the port. This was the period of Spanish Umayyad-Fāṭimid conflict. The former, with the support of Berber confederations like those of the Ifran and the Maghrāwa [*q.vv.*], the latter with the support of the Zīrids [*q.v.*], endeavoured to impose their political domination and to control the routes bringing gold from the Sūdān. Hence Wahrān was destroyed and rebuilt on two occasions, in 297/910 and 342/954. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn conquered it in 473/1081, and the Almoravids kept control there till 539/1145. Like other Mediterranean coastal towns, it suffered through the Almoravids' deflection of the gold route to Marrakesh, and possibly—like the Ḥammādid capital Bidjāya/Bougie—from incursions of the Normans. Under the succeeding Almohads and then the ʿAbd al-Wādids (whose founder Yaghmurāsan [*q.v.*] was recognised by the last Almohads as ruler of the central Maghrib), Wahrān's commercial connections with Muslim Spain increased, thanks to the twin ports of Wahrān itself and Marsā al-Kabīr. The ʿAbd al-Wādids made it, together with Hunayn [*q.v.* in Suppl.] further west, the main maritime outlet for their unified kingdom based on their inland capital Tilimsān/Tlemcen and stretching from the Wadi Moulouya to the south of Kabylia.

In the 4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawḳal described Wahrān as a lively place exporting great quantities of wheat, and in the next century, al-Bakrī described Marsā Wahrān as a great harbour, sheltered from all the winds; al-Idrīsī was struck by the continuous traffic in and out of it. The Almohad sultan ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had his fleet constructed at Marsā al-Kabīr, a port which Leo Africanus was later to describe in his *Description of Africa* as unparalleled in the world. Wahrān had lively markets (al-Idrīsī) and was surrounded by

gardens with windmills (al-Bakrī); Leo again, at the opening of the 16th century, praised its building and estimated its population at 6,000 hearths, say *ca.* 30,000 inhabitants, sedentary Muslims as well as Jews, some autochthonous and other immigrants from Muslim Spain who had arrived in waves since the setting-up of the Inquisition in Spain in 1391. The town had spread beyond its original site to suburbs on the Karguenta plateau on the other side of the Ra's al-ʿAyn defile. Its prosperity was linked with that of Tilimsān, but was nevertheless now an independent maritime city and, like other Mediterranean coastal places, practised corsair marauding to compensate for periods of economic recession.

Encouraged by ʿAbd al-Wādid decline and the Mamlūks' deflection of the trans-Saharan trade routes towards the Nile valley, the armies of Castile undertook a Reconquista along the coastlands of the Maghrib. In 910/1505 Marsā al-Kabīr was seized, followed by Pedro Navarro's entry into Wahrān and its agricultural hinterland on 17 May 1509. Massacres (of 4,000, according to Marmol) and deportations took place under Cardinal Ximenes. As at Bidjāya, the population of Wahrān fell, down to 3,500, almost half of these being troops; the town was closed to Muslims, there were forcible conversions and the remaining Jews were expelled. It was near the port that the Spanish defeated and killed the corsair captain Urūdj [*q.v.*], who had made himself master of Algiers, and in 1543 restored the ʿAbd al-Wādid Abū ʿAbd Allāh to his throne in Tilimsān and made him their vassal. A new state was founded and organised around Algiers by Urūdj's brother Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*], and the ʿAbd al-Wādids expelled from their capital by Ṣalāḥ Re'īs. An expedition of Count Alcaudete, the Spanish governor in Wahrān, ended in disaster at Mustaghānim [*q.v.*] (965/1558). Thereafter, Wahrān remained for over two centuries (except for an interval 1708-32 when the Turks recaptured it) a *presidio*, to which the fort of Santa Cruz overlooking the town remains, together with the fort of San Andrea, and Burdj al-Ḥawdī and the Canastel and Spanish gates, bear witness. The Spanish presence created beyond a reduced agricultural region, compared with that which Ximenes described as a paradise, a no-man's land, the *bled el baroud* or "land of warfare", left to tribal allies like those of the Banū ʿĀmir, *Los Moros de Paz*, a hinterland left to nomadism and semi-nomadism.

Maritime activity in the port revived somewhat under the *bey* Bū Shalagham in 1120/1708, but after the Spanish, led by the Count of Montemar, regained the undefended town 24 years later, it was reduced to being a port for landing provisions for the increasingly isolated garrison. It had hardly more than 12,000 inhabitants, even after its recapture in 1206/1792 by the Bey of Mascara, the Ḳul-Oghlu [*q.v.*] Muḥammad al-Kabīr, 2,000 people having perished in the previous year from a terrible earthquake. Muḥammad al-Kabīr made Wahrān the capital of the Western Beylik, undertook rebuilding and moved in population, Muslims and Jews, from other towns of the region. To the *plaza de Oran*, dominated by the *ḳaṣba* (now in an advanced state of ruin) was added on the right bank of the Wādī 'l-Rāhī the new Jewish quarter, and two great streets, each 700 m long, along the plateau of the village of Karguenta. Corsair activity revived on a reduced scale, together with external trade, shared with Arzew and Rachgun, especially with nearby Gibraltar and Spain, until the blockade of Algeria which preceded the French occupation of 4 January 1831.

The French army occupied a town largely deserted by its 10-12,000 inhabitants, with the exception of the 3,000 Jews who remained or quickly returned, and now with less than 500 Muslims. According to Rozet, *Voyage dans le Régence d'Alger*, Paris 1833, the soldiers demolished fine houses, seeking wood for the fires of their kitchens. The Oran population, like that of Mustaghānim, had fled to the towns of the interior or the urban centres founded by the Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. The deserted houses were occupied by troops or by all sorts of adventurers who came in their wake, or were the object of speculation. Like the *funduḳs*, the mosques served as quarters for the troops (those of the Pasha and Sīdī Ḥawārī) or were transformed into churches (that of the Barrānīs), whilst the old mosque, called after Muḥammad al-Kabīr, was used as baths for the soldiers. Destructions by the army, or subsequently authorised, caused a diminution in the Muslim patrimony and the Spanish fortifications, already much reduced by the earthquake leaving substantially the Pasha and Sīdī Ḥawārī mosques, the Bey's palace and that of his favourite wife, several tombs, occasionally some houses in varying states of preservation, and the Burdj al-Aḥmar and the Burdj al-Marsa, two towers probably built by the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan in 748/1347.

By virtue of the Desmichels treaty of 6 January 1834, the town received a consul of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, a sign of his sovereignty over the Algerian West recognised by the incomers and one which continued till 1841 in Oran and Mustaghānim. Even after ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's surrender, the original, autochthonous population of Oran, including its Jews, did not return to its former level till 1872, whilst the Muslims remained a minority there till the eve of independence, being numbered in the census of 1954 at 104,000 compared with 171,000 Europeans. Thus the town remained, till 1962, the most European in Algeria, with its expansion due to its role as the metropolitan centre of the Algerian West. It absorbed the revenues of extensive colonial landed domains and functioned as the second port of Algeria which, whilst sharing the export of primary products with the other ports of Orania, retained a monopoly of imported products. There were also concentrated there the few industries of the region and the services necessary for the functioning of the colonial agricultural enterprises. The operation of the port and viticulture played large roles in the demographic pattern of Oran and its region. The dockyards and the colonisation of the Oran plateau attracted Algerians and Europeans, and especially Spaniards, after 1870 when there was a boom in vine-growing. The great influx of Algerians from the 1930s onwards arose less from the attractive power of the town of Oran than from the worsening rural crisis conditions and the mechanisation of farming on the plateau, so that from 25,000 in 1926 there were rises of 45,000 in 1936 and 85,000 in 1948.

Communal segregation was a permanent feature of the growth of Oran's population in the colonial period. On the eve of World War II, the 46,000 Algerians (24% of the population) occupied up to four-fifths of the Madina Jdida (see below) and the southern and southwestern suburbs (al-Hamri, Medioni, etc.), and in 1954, it was only there and in the recently-established encampments around the town (Victor Hugo, Petit Lac, Planteurs, etc.) that they were in a majority. In the European part of the town, Algerians were virtually absent from the central quarters—even those that were proletarian in social structure, such as Saint-Pierre—and the middle-class extensions of the town

centre, and a minority in the working-class quarters, except for Saint-Antoine, one of the rare mixed quarters of Oran.

From 1845 onwards, the expansion projects of the colonial town on the Karguenta plateau entailed the regrouping of some 2,000 Algerians there in one stretch of land. In 1880, when the European town had spread over the plateau, forming what became progressively the new town centre, the 9,000 Algerians remained concentrated almost wholly in what the Europeans called the "village nègre" and which the Algerians were to name Madina Jdida, in opposition to the old town and in deference to the Islamic urban tradition, even though neither its regular plan nor the architecture of its buildings conformed to this tradition. The urban life which developed there included the commercial and artisanal specialisation of streets, a concentration of mosques and *ḥammāms*, a *maḥkama*, *zāwiyas* (those of Sīdī Ḳaddūr and Sīdī Bilāl), but also the reformist *madrasa* al-Falāḥ and its offshoots in the suburbs of al-Hamri and Medioni. A form of urban life emerged there, with the oldest immigrants, now Oulad el-bled, contrasted with the *barrānīs*, newly-arrived rural immigrants, making the Madina Jdida, also called *madīnat al-ḥaḍar*, the *ʿāṣima* or capital of Muslim Oran and its rural hinterland.

The disturbances in the wake of the famines of the 1940s and the war for independence greatly swelled the Muslim population, which became a slight majority (210,000 out of a total of 400,000), concentrated on the marginal peripheries, whether planned, or spontaneous like the bidonvilles, and in the now saturated Madina Jdida and the southern and southwestern suburbs. The war brought about a violent cleavage, not between Muslim and Christian, as during the Spanish period, but between the indigenous population and the colons, beneficiaries of the colonial period and jealous of their privileges.

The substitution of Algerians in the 40,000 houses freed by the exodus of Europeans before and after independence has forcibly homogenised the communal landscape. At present, the town centre alone has over a hundred mosques and a large number of prayer rooms. Despite an influx of over 100,000 immigrants from the countryside and from the towns of Orania and Morocco, it was not till *ca.* 1970 that Oran recovered its population level of 400,000. The traditional enlarged family has begun to burst forth. A wage-earning class has developed considerably in the industrial zones of Arzew, Hassi Ameur and Essania since the 1970s, and new public housing in the Z.H.U.N. (*zones d'habitat urbain nouveau*) have made possible a spreading-out of the population. There is now an agglomeration of 1,170,000 inhabitants over 6,500 ha^2 beyond the 1962 perimeter, swallowing up the population groups around that perimeter and with extensions both eastwards and westwards. Liberalisation has, as in other large towns and cities, made the choice of habitat more selective and has extended unplanned zones of habitation, where fundamentalist Islamic ideas have even more appeal than in the town itself, where a vote of 39% for the Islamist candidate in the 1995 presidential election reveals the immense frustrations of a population still deeply attached to Islam.

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(G. Marçais-[B. Semmoud])

AL-WAHRĀNĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥriz b. Muḥammad, Rukn al-Dīn, Arabic prose writer. He was born in Oran, but spent a good part of his life in Egypt and then Syria, where he died at Dārayyā near Damascus in 575/1179. He wrote *maḳāmāt*, *rasāʾil* and *manāmāt* (stories of dreams). In one of his epistles he states that he had written a history of the Almohads, but no trace of this has so far been found. However, in the works of his which have survived, there are reflections on the state of the world in his time, on the Maghrib of the Almohads, on Sicily after its reconquest by the Normans, and on Ayyūbid Egypt and Syria.

There emerges from his writings that he lived off the generosity which he received from the great men of his time, and towards the end of his life he held the office of *khiṭāba*, delivering sermons at the Friday worship. Seeking gifts of money is a favourite theme of his epistles addressed to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī [*q.v.*] and to various viziers and judges. His panegyrics were mainly in prose, but he also composed numerous satires against his enemies, his rivals, and even against himself, displaying verve and humour, as well as erotic and scatological motifs which recall Ibn Sukkara, Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj and Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī [*q.vv.*]. If this *ṭarīḳ al-hazl* ("light-hearted treatment") of his subjects, dominates his œuvre, there is also a lyric strain when he describes his miserable state as an author and complains that the pursuit of *adab* does not give him a living.

Although a great admirer of al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*], al-Wahrānī did not imitate his style. His *maḳāmāt* are rather a gallery of comic portraits, sketching, by a few touches, a burlesque and grotesque picture. Another of his frequent traits is his use of prosopopeia, putting words in the mouths of minarets, or his own mule, complaining of hunger (an indirect method of solliciting help for himself!). In his stories of dreams, he speaks both of his contemporaries and persons of the past, the most developed one being one in which he describes the resurrection of the dead. In a story which recalls al-Maʿarrī's *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, al-Wahrānī finds himself in the Afterlife with various other writers who, although suffering the pangs of Judgement Day, still keep up their trivial and paltry quarrels. Providing an occasion for al-Wahrānī to settle his accounts, this eschatological dream, much admired by Ibn Khallikān, is one of his finest compositions.

Bibliography: Al-Wahrānī's writings have been gathered together by Ibrāhīm Shaʿlān and Muḥammad Naghsh as *Manāmāt al-Wahrānī wa-maḳāmātuhu wa-rasāʾiluhu*, Cairo 1968; a *maḳāma* on Fās was published by Saʿīd Aʿrāb in *al-Baḥth al-ʿilmī*, vi (1965).

There are notices of the author in Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iv, 385-6; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iv, 386-9; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 19. See also Brockelmann, S I, 489.

(ABDELFATTAH KILITO)

WAHRIZ, son of Kāmdjār, a Persian general of Khusraw Anūsharwān (A.D. 531-79 [see KISRĀ]). The name would apparently stem from MP *vēhrēz* "having a good abundance", see Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, 223 n. 2, and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 340, but was in origin a title, since the Byzantine historian Procopius names the commander of the Sāsānid emperor Kawād's expedition into Georgia and Lazica (early 5th century) as having the title Ouarizēs (< **wahriz*); see DAYLAM, at Vol. II, 190a.

In response to an appeal *ca.* 570, via the Lakhmids [*q.v.*], from Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, the leader of a Yemeni national movement against Abyssinian rule there, the Persian emperor despatched a force under the aged Wahriz. The story in the Arabic sources that these 800 troops were condemned prisoners released specially from prison for this do-or-die expedition is a later, folkloric detail; the force was much more probably one of Daylamī mercenaries. It sailed from the head of the Gulf around the Arabian shores to Yemen, landed there, fought its way to the capital Ṣanʿāʾ, killed the Abyssinian governor Masrūḳ, son of Abraha [*q.v.*], and installed Sayf b. Dhī Yazan as the Persians' vassal ruler in Yemen. After an attempted Abyssinian revanche, Wahriz returned to Yemen and finally installed the dead Sayf's son Maʿdī Karib as ruler in Ṣanʿāʾ, thus inaugurating a period of some 60 years' Persian dominance in Yemen. Wahriz is said to have died in Yemen shortly before Anūsharwān's own death.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

WAḤSH (A.), an adjective meaning "wild, desolate, uninhabited" (*al-dār al-waḥsh(a)* "the desolate abode", both with and without gender agreement), but more frequently a collective noun meaning "wild animals". The relative adjective (and the singulative) is *waḥshī*; the "wild ass" (*recte* "onager") is thus either *ḥimār al-waḥsh* or *al-ḥimār al-waḥshī*. The most common plural is *wuḥūsh* "kinds of wild animals", as one typically finds it in the title of the *kutub al-wuḥūsh*, lexicographical studies dealing with wild animals (name of the male and the female, age groups, etc.); see the relevant monographs by Ḳuṭrub (d. 206/821 [*q.v.*]) and al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828 [*q.v.*]), ed. R. Geyer, in *SBAW Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl., cxv (1888), 353-420. The opposite of *waḥshī* is *ahlī* "domesticated". Non-domesticated wild animals can nevertheless become tame; al-Djāḥiẓ makes this point about the animals kept in "wild-life enclosures" (sing. *ḥayr al-wuḥūsh*, see ḤĀʾIR), as maintained by caliphs and governors (*Ḥayawān*, ed. Hārūn, iv, 422; he mentions those of al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāthiḳ).

Waḥshī forms an opposition also with *insī*, the relative adjective, and singulative, of the collective noun *ins* "mankind". As adjectives they are used to denote the two sides of certain things in relationship to the human body: the one that points toward the human body is called *insī* and that which points away from it is called *waḥshī*; this refers to body-parts occurring in pairs (thus the *insī* side of the arm faces toward the rump, the *waḥshī* side away from it, cf. al-Aṣmaʿī, *Khalḳ al-insān*, ed. A. Haffner, in *Texte zur arabischen Lexikographie*, Leipzig 1905, 206, 207, 227), and also *inter alia*, to the two halves of the nib of the reed-pen [see ḲALAM].

Since *insī* is a counterpart not only to *waḥshī* but also to *djinnī*, relative adjective and singulative of *djinn* "jinn-kind", it is not unlikely that the two terms referring to non-human beings influenced each other. This may explain the fact that the metathesised form *ḥūshī* (if it is that; or else < **wuḥūshī*?), usually listed as a synonym of *waḥshī*, has a distinctly jinnic connotation: it is said to be a relative adjective derived from *al-Ḥūsh* [*q.v.*], a land of the jinn ("beyond Yabrīn" [Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 319a], i.e. in the Rubʿ al-Khālī), whence come the *ḥūshī* camels, jinn-owned stallions that allegedly sire offspring among herds belonging to men. It should be noted that *ḥūsh* in itself, not the *nisba*, also refers to camels, often glossed as *mutawaḥḥisha* "feral". (Note that Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī uses the term metaphorically, together with two other camel terms, to denote the ease and frequency of certain rhymes: *dhulul* "docile", *nufur* "recalcitrant", and *ḥūsh* "untamed" rhymes, see *Luzūmiyyāt*, ed. I. al-Abyārī and Ṭ. Ḥusayn, Cairo 1378/1959, i, 45.) This being the case, one might suggest that the place name *al-Ḥūsh* was erroneously extracted from phrases like *bilād al-ḥūsh* and *rimāl al-ḥūsh*, which really meant "the land" or "the sands of the feral camels". The general area in which this land is located (broadly speaking between Yabrīn and al-Shiḥr) tallies well with the strong probability that the one-humped camel was dometicated in the desert areas of southern Arabia. The *ḥūsh* may even be a faint memory of truly wild camels, which today no longer exist. Al-Damīrī [*q.v.*] speaks of *ibil waḥshiyya* and *ibil al-waḥsh* "wild camels", which are allegedly the remnants of the camels of ʿĀd and Thamūd (*Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, [4]Cairo 1389/1969-70, i, 23, ll. 20-1), and Wabār [*q.v.*], the area in which the *ḥūsh* camels are predominantly found, is the former land/city of the ʿĀd [*q.v.*] that, after their destruction, was given by God to the jinn. Cf. R. Bulliet, *The Camel and the wheel*, [2]New York and Oxford 1990, 48.

For *waḥshī/ḥūshī* as a term of literary criticism, see the following entry.

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(W.P. HEINRICHS)

WAḤSHĪ (A.) and **ḤŪSHĪ** (A.), synonymous terms in literary criticism denoting words that are uncouth and jarring to the ear due to their being archaic and/or Bedouinic (often including the criterium of cacophony). It is thus mostly used in the context of "modern" poetry [see MUḤDATHŪN, in Suppl.]; and it mostly refers to single words rather than to any contextual obscurity (ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī says this explicitly: *Dalāʾil*, ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo 1404/1984, 44, l. 4). It is not, however, an exclusively poetic phenomenon. Al-Djāḥiẓ speaks of speech in general, when he says that the wording should be neither "plebeian, base, vulgar" (*ʿāmmī, sāḳiṭ, sūḳī*) nor "strange, uncouth" (*gharīb, waḥshī*); unless, in the latter case, he adds, the speaker is a Bedouin (*badawiyy^{an} aʿrābiyy^{an}*), as *waḥshī* speech is understood by *waḥshī* people, just as *sūḳī* jargon (*raṭāna*) is understood by *sūḳī* people (*Bayān*, ed. ʿAlī Abū Mulḥim, [2]Beirut 1412/1992, i, 135). From this we can deduce that (a) there is a golden mean between the all too colloquial, on the one hand, and the all too archaic, on the other, and that (b) for the Ancients and the

Bedouin, the *wahshī* may be natural and thus not reprehensible. This latter point is taken up again by Kudāma [*q.v.*], who says that the Ancients used *wahshī* words not by conscious search and affectation (*tatallub, takalluf*) but according to their wont and the nature of their speech (*li-ʿādatihi wa-ʿalā sadjiyyati lafzihi*) (*Nakd al-shiʿr*, ed. S.A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956, 100). Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī (d. 466/1074) gives it a slightly different slant by putting the "naturally gifted Bedouin" (*al-badawī ṣāḥib al-ṭabʿ*)—who could be a contemporary—in the place of the Ancient and contrasting him with the "effect-seeking sedentary" (*al-karawī al-mutakallif*); the latter knows these words only from the study of books (*Sirr al-faṣāḥa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī, Cairo 1389/1969, 63). A finely-tuned scale of acceptability with regard to *gharāba* and *ibtidhāl* ("triteness"), based on a tripartite structure of language users (*ʿArab, khāṣṣat al-muḥdathīn, ʿāmmat al-muḥdathīn*) is offered by Ḥāzim al-Karṭādjannī (d. 684/1285 [*q.v.*]) (*Minhādj al-bulaghāʾ*, ed. M. al-Ḥ. Belkhodja, Tunis 1966, 385-6; since the first part of the *Minhādj*, dealing with *lafz*, is missing in the unique ms., this passage has been culled from Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī, *ʿArūs al-afrāḥ fī sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, and printed in an appendix; al-Subkī calls it a *mulakhkhaṣ*).

In spite of all this discussion, there was a popular misconception that the use of *wahshī* words equalled *faṣāḥa* [*q.v.*]. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (d. 224/839 [*q.v.*]), the highly cultured ʿAbbāsid prince, is quoted as having said to his secretary ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāʿid: "Be careful not to seek out the *wahshī* in speech, desiring to acquire eloquence; for that is the worst kind of inability to express oneself (*fa-inna dhālika huwa 'l-ʿiyyu 'l-akbar*); take that which is easy while avoiding the words of the *hoi polloi*" (*apud* Ibn Rashīk, *ʿUmda*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1383/1963-4, i, 265-7). Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī recounts a *madjlis* in which one of the people present called Ibn Sinān's teacher, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, a possessor of *faṣāḥa*, because much of his work was unintelligible even to the literati (!). And a few centuries later, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 752/1351 [*q.v.*]) was accused of being a less than perfect poet, because he did not use *gharīb* words in his poetry, an accusation against which he wrote a well-known poem with a satirical beginning, see Vol. VIII, 803b.

For Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (d. 322/934), finally, all this is just a matter of the art of the poet; if he is good, he can turn the distasteful and *wahshī* into something pleasant and likeable, and the pleasant and likeable into something *wahshī* and strange (*ʿIyār al-shiʿr*, ed. al-Mānīʿ, Riyāḍ 1405/1985, 202).

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

WAHSHĪ BĀFKĪ (or **YAZDĪ**), Persian poet of the mid-10th/16th century. Contemporary sources give his name as either Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (*Maykhāna*) or Kamāl al-Dīn (*ʿArafāt*). Wahshī was born in the village of Bāfk, located between Yazd and Kirmān, sometime around 939/1532-3. After being tutored in poetry by his brother Murādī and the local poet Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Bāfkī, the young Wahshī moved to Yazd and the nearby palace-complex in Taft and lived there for most of the rest of his life. Although Wahshī wrote a few poems dedicated to the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*], most of his enconiums were addressed to the local rulers of Kirmān, Kāshān, and especially to the hereditary governors of Yazd, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mīr-i Mīrān and his son Khalīl Allāh, descendants of Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī [*q.v.*] and in-laws of the Ṣafawid royal house. Probably as a result of excessive drinking, Wahshī died in Yazd in 991/1583.

Although Wahshī never ventured far from his birthplace, his poetry was widely known during his lifetime and has been admired by both contemporary and modern critics. Awḥadī Balyānī (*ʿArafāt*) considered Wahshī the greatest rival of Muḥtasham Kāshānī, the poet laureate of Ṭahmāsp's court. Wahshī is especially important for his role in the development of the *maktab-i wukūʿ*, "the school of the incident" or "realist style", which employed simple, colloquial language to describe and analyse the everyday incidents and emotions of profane love affairs. The unusually scornful way in which Wahshī often addressed the beloved was dubbed *wā-sūkht* [see wā-sōkht]. These features are found chiefly in Wahshī's *ghazals* and *tarkīb-bands*, the genres in which he achieved his greatest fame. His *dīwān* also contains *kaṣīdas*, *tardjīʿ-bands*, *rubāʿīs*, and *kiṭʿas*. In addition to several short, untitled works, Wahshī's *mathnawīs* include *Khuld-i barīn*, *Nāẓir wa Manẓūr*, and *Farhād wa Shīrīn*. The last of these remained unfinished at Wahshī's death and was twice "completed" in the Kādjār period by Wiṣāl-i Shīrāzī and Ṣābir-i Shīrāzī.

Bibliography: For a list of *tadhkira* sources, see Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1364 *sh.*/1985, v/2, 761. The most important of these sources are collected and quoted at length by Ḥ. Nakhaʿī in his introduction to Wahshī's *Dīwān*, Tehran 1339 *sh.*/1960 (including the otherwise unpublished notice from Awḥadī Balyānī's *ʿArafāt al-ʿāshiḳīn*). See also Fakhr al-Zamānī Kazwīnī, *Tadhkira-yi Maykhāna*, ed. A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, Tehran 1340 *sh.*/1961, 181-97. Among the secondary sources, see Browne, *LHP*, iv, 238-40; Rypka, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, 296-7; Uways Sālik Ṣadīkī, *Ashʿār-i čāp nashuda-yi Wahshī*, in *Madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt wa ʿUlūm-i Insānī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, xviii (1350 *sh.*/1971), 105-16; and A. al-Khūlī, *Wahshī al-Bāfiḳī*, Cairo 1978. Wahshī's works have often been published; for a full listing, see *Fihrist-i kitābhā-yi čāpī-yi Fārsī*, i, cols. 1274-75 (*Khuld-i barīn*), cols. 1592-93 (*Dīwān*), and ii, col. 2413 (*Farhād wa Shīrīn*).

(P.E. Losensky)

WAHY (a.), a term of the Kurʾān, primarily denoting revelation in the form of communication without speech. Cognates in other Semitic languages include Palmyrene Aramaic *twḥyt*ʾ (*tawḥītā*) "decree [of the government]" and Mehri *hewḥū* "to come to someone's help".

In the Kurʾān, *waḥy* is presented as an exceptional modality of God's speaking to His creatures. This *waḥy* forms a concept of inspiration and communication without linguistic formulation, conveying the will of God, as in VII, 117: "And We suggested/put the idea into the head (*awḥaynā*) to Moses: 'Cast thy staff'. And lo, it forthwith swallowed up their lying invention". On other occasions, it conveys the speech of God to be shared as a message, as in XVIII, 27: "Recite what has been revealed (*ūḥiya*) to thee of the Book of thy Lord". This *waḥy* contains a prompting into action for its recipient (see T. Izutsu, *God and man in the Koran*, Tokyo 1964, 180), a doctrine held in common with a Biblical motif and reflected in the prophetic stories as retold in the Kurʾān (VII, 160, Moses; XX, 77, Moses; XXVI, 52, Moses; XXVI, 63, Moses; X, 87, Moses and Aaron told to take certain houses in Egypt for prayer; XXVIII, 7, Moses' mother told to suckle her child and then cast him into the sea; XX, 38; XXI, 73; XXIII, 27; XCIX, 5).

Prophets are not the only recipients of *waḥy*: the bees (XVI, 68) and heaven and earth (XLI, 12) are also spoken of. Nor is God the only source of *waḥy*: the satans among humans and *d̲j̲inn* also inspire via *waḥy*, cf. VI, 121: "The Satans inspire (*yūḥūna*) their friends to dispute with you; if you obey them, you are idolaters". But it is *waḥy* which inspires the prophets, cf. IV, 163: "We have revealed (*awḥaynā*) to thee as We revealed (*awḥaynā*) to Noah and the prophets after him, and We revealed (*awḥaynā*) to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and the Tribes, Jesus and Job, Jonah and Aaron, and Solomon, and We gave (*ātaynā*) to David Psalms..." (see also XII, 109; XVI, 43; XXI, 7; XLII, 3, 51, in which a spirit, *rūḥ*, is the agent).

Arthur Jeffery (*The Qur'an as Scripture*, in *MW*, xl [1950], 190-2) argued that *waḥy* has the basic sense of internal prompting, which is to be understood as guidance in a general way (as in XVI, 123, for example: "Then We revealed [*awḥaynā*] to thee: 'Follow thou the creed of Abraham, a man of pure faith and no idolater'"), but that it becomes combined in the Ḳur'ān with an external sense such that the message itself is also a product of *waḥy*, e.g. VI, 19: "Say: 'God is witness between me and you, and this Ḳur'ān has been revealed [*ūḥiya*] to me that I may warn you thereby, and whomsoever it may reach'"; see also XXI, 45. This identification of the literal message as the product of *waḥy* is fully developed in a passage such as XXIX, 45 which associates "the Book" with *waḥy*: "Recite what has been revealed (*ūḥiya*) to thee of the Book". XLII, 7 speaks of an Arabic Ḳur'ān as the product: "And so we have revealed (*awḥaynā*) to thee an Arabic Ḳur'ān". In this usage, the word may be seen to be functionally equivalent to *tanzīl*, the word frequently used with the image of a literal "bringing down" of a message.

In dealing with *waḥy*, it has been common for scholars to resort to ideas of historical development in Muḥammad's thought (e.g. Jeffery, *Scripture*, 193, 201, in which "internal" inspiration is early, reflecting an idea native to Arabs and "external" revelation is later, that being a scriptural notion). Thus a separation is seen between a notion of internal "inspiration", similar to that claimed by the poets and which is argued to belong to Muḥammad's early conceptions, and a firm sense of revelation from outside which is seen to emerge later in Muḥammad's career as the distinction between himself and poets became clearer to him. Even Izutsu (*God and man*, 180), who normally wishes to assign single meanings to words throughout the Ḳur'ān, speaks of the non-technical (and even pre-technical) versus the technical: a prompting to action (for example, in VII, 117 with Moses and the rod) in which "the words do not count", versus a process in which the words are everything (as in XIII, 30, with the combination of "recite" and "reveal", and emphasised further in LXXV, 16, although that passage does not speak of *waḥy* explicitly).

Waḥy, one may rightly conclude, is a difficult term in the Ḳur'ān. The search for a single meaning for the word has proved frustrating to scholarship, for the situations in which it is used do not seem to allow for a unified schematic of its use. The relationship of *waḥy* to *tanzīl* only makes the picture more complex, for the semantic range of the latter word appears to duplicate that of the former to a fair extent. While the desire is to see *waḥy* as meaning "inspiration", problems arise there too, given the complexity of the relationship to *ilhām* [*q.v.*], individual communication by God, as well as the importance of the "external" sense of the process within *waḥy* as compared to "inspiration" which is expected to be an internal non-verbal process (which, of course, it is at times in the Ḳur'ān).

"Inspiration", it is worthy of note, is a reflection of cultural values and has different meanings in different settings. The modern tolerance of the artistic temperament and its inspiration is a continuation of the Platonic (and other) idea of inspiration as a type of madness. However, the prophet of the Near East relied on inspiration to give advice, first to the ruler, then in later times to the public at large. The Ḳur'ān shares in a Near Eastern value of inspiration, one transformed through the history of Islam in the desire to protect Muḥammad (and the Arabic language) from contemporary and necessarily secular (since prophecy had ceased) ideals of "inspiration".

Muslim perceptions and understandings of the process of revelation are contained in the *sīra* and *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature and are intimately connected to the life of Muḥammad such that his biography is reflective of and shaped by certain understandings of how revelation occurs. The material may be summarised as follows.

The beginning of revelation consisted in dreams anticipating real events (Ibn His̲h̲ām, 151; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 138; Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 129). Also afterwards, such dream visions are said to have occurred. When 'Ā'is̲h̲a was under suspicion, she hoped that God would reveal her innocence to Muḥammad in a dream vision (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 197; al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Tafsīr*, on sūra XXIV, *bāb* 6).

The first revelation in which D̲j̲ibrīl [*q.v.*] appeared to Muḥammad took place on Mount Ḥirā', when the angel said to him, "I am D̲j̲ibrīl". Thereupon Muḥammad hastened to K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a, crying, "Wrap me up", an allusion to Ḳur'ān, LXXIII, 1, or LXXIV, 1).

The first portions of the Ḳur'ān revealed was sūra XCVI, when the angel, in the month of Ramaḍān, during the retreat, showed him a piece of cloth, on which this sūra was written, saying, "Recite!" When Muḥammad protested that he could not read, the angel pressed him so strongly that he nearly suffocated. At the third repetition, the angel pronounced the verses which Muḥammad then retained.

After this there came a pause (*fatra* [*q.v.*]) in revelation. During this time Muḥammad was in such a depression that the thought of suicide came upon him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1150; Ibn His̲h̲ām, 156, 166; Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 131). The pause ended with the revelation of Ḳur'ān, LXXIV, or XCIII.

The angel who transmitted revelation was visible to Muḥammad and to others (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, *bāb* 1; Ibn His̲h̲ām, 154, cf. 156; Abū Nu'aym, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, Ḥaydarābād 1320, 69). To some extent the ascension [see MI'RĀD̲J̲] and the night journey may also be reckoned as revelations. Visions are also mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. LIII, 4-18, is the central focus here, with the idea of seeing someone or something typically identified as D̲j̲ibrīl (see also LXXXI, 22-5). In other parts of the Ḳur'ān, however, revelation is said to have taken place by audition as in LXXV, 18. These auditory experiences become a major element in *sīra* and especially *ḥadīt̲h̲*, and the accounts may be classified in a variety of ways.

(a) *How they were perceived by Muḥammad*

1. "Sometimes it comes as the ringing of a bell; this kind is the most painful. When it ceases, I retain what was said. Sometimes it is an angel who speaks to me as a man, and I retain what he says" (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Bad' al-waḥy*, *bāb* 2; *Bad' al-k̲h̲alḳ*, *bāb* 6;

Muslim, *Faḍā'il*, no. 87; al-Tirmiḏhī, *Manāḳib, bāb* 7; al-Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ, bāb* 37; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'*, ch. on *wuḍū' li-man mass al-Ḳur'ān*, no. 7; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 222, vi, 158, 163, 256 ff.).

2. In a different form of this tradition, Muḥammad says, "Sometimes it approaches me in the form of a young man (*al-fatā*) who hands it down to me" (al-Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ, bāb* 37).

3. The Apostle of God heard a sound like the humming of bees near his face; thereupon Ḳur'ān, XXIII, 1 ff. was revealed to him (al-Tirmiḏhī, *Tafsīr*, on sūra XXIII, no. 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 34).

4. The Apostle of God used to move his lips from pain as soon as the revelation began. After the revelation of LXXV, 16, however, he listened until Djibrīl had withdrawn; thereupon he recited what he had heard (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd, bāb* 43; al-Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ, bāb* 37; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2628).

5. "... on the authority of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar: I asked the Prophet: 'Do you perceive the revelation?' He answered, 'Yes, I hear sounds like metal being beaten [cf. no. 1 above]. Then I listen and often I think I will die (of pain)'" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 222).

(b) *How they were perceived by others*

1. Even on cold days, sweat appeared on his forehead (al-Bukhārī, *Bad' al-waḥy, bāb* 2; *Tafsīr* on sūra XXIV, *bāb* 6; Muslim, *Faḍā'il*, no. 86; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 58, 103, 197, 202, 256 ff., cf. iii, 21, and cf. further, above (a) 1.).

2. Muḥammad covers his head, his colour grows red, he snores as someone asleep, or rattles like a young camel; after some time he recovers (*surriyya ʿanhu*) (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj, bāb* 17; *ʿUmra, bāb* 10; *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān, bāb* 2; Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, no. 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 222, 224).

3. Muḥammad's colour grows livid (*tarabbada lahu wadjhuhu*: Muslim, *Ḥudūd*, nos. 13, 14; *Faḍā'il*, no. 88; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 317, 318, 320 ff., 327; *mutarabbid*: al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xviii, 4; *tarabbud djildihi*: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 238 ff.; *tarabbada li-dhālika djasaduhu wa-wadjhuhu*: al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2667).

4. He falls into a lethargy or a trance (*subāt*) (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 103).

5. "Thereupon the Apostle of God sat down, turning towards him [ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn]. When they talked, the Apostle of God let his gaze swerve towards heaven; after a while he looked down to his right side and turned away from his companion, following his gaze and began to shake his head as if he tried to understand what was said to him, while ʿUthmān sat looking on. When Muḥammad had reached his aim, his gaze turned anew towards heaven, etc." (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 318).

6. "When Muḥammad received a revelation ... this caused him much pain, such that we perceived it. That time he separated himself from his companions and remained behind. Thereupon he covered his head with his shirt, suffering intensely, etc." (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 464).

"When the Apostle of God received a revelation, he began to cover his face with his shirt. When he swooned, we took it away, etc." (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 34; cf. above (b) 2.).

7. Zayd b. Thābit said, "I was at Muḥammad's side when the *sakīna* [*q.v.*] came upon him. His thigh fell upon mine so heavily that I feared it would break. When he recovered, he said to me, 'Write down', and I wrote down Ḳur'ān, IV, 97" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 184, 190 ff.; Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād, bāb* 19).

8. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr said, "*Sūrat al-mā'ida* was revealed to the Apostle of God while he was riding on his camel. The beast could not bear him any longer so he had to descend from it" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 176). A similar tradition is transmitted from Asmā' bt. Yazīd (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 455, 458); another tradition of the same type is found in Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 131.

(c) *The circumstances under which revelation came upon Muḥammad*

1. Muḥammad is directly or indirectly asked for his opinion or decision when the answer is revealed to him. Examples include the use of perfumes during the *ʿumra* (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj, bāb* 17 [see above (b) 2.]); excuses for staying at home during an expedition (Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād, bāb* 19; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 184); whether evil may proceed from good (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 21; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2180); whether Muḥammad's wives were allowed to relieve a want near a town (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 56); whether ʿĀ'isha was guilty or not (al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, on sūra XXIV, *bāb* 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 103, 197); whether divorce can be demanded in the case of adultery witnessed by one witness (al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2667); and concerning *ẓihār* (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xviii, 2). It is to be noted that the contents of these revelations are not always communicated and, if they are, they are not necessarily a part of the Ḳur'ān (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 256-61); examples include Muḥammad's answers to the above questions regarding evil and his wives, as well as issues related to fornication (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 317, 318, 320 ff., 327) and the permission of *liʿān* (al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2667).

2. Revelation comes upon Muḥammad while he is riding [see above (b) 8.] (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxvi, 39), while his head is being washed (*ibid.*, xviii, 2), while he is at the table, holding a bone in his hand (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 56) and while he is on the pulpit (*ibid.*, iii, 21).

In Classical Muslim theology "... revelation as such was not the object of a consistent theory; for this we have to wait until the time of the philosophers...." (J. van Ess, *Verbal inspiration? Language and revelation in classical Islamic theology*, in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qur'ān as text*, Leiden 1996, 189; the entire article, 177-94, is a perceptive overview of the implications of the topic, written in anticipation of vol. iv of his *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin 1997). The philosophical challenge [see e.g. NAFS] did, then, produce a theological reaction. Al-Īdjī (d. 756/1355) and his commentator al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413) combat the views of philosophers, according to whom it is a charisma peculiar to the prophets that "they see the angels in their corporeal forms and hear their speech by revelation; it is not to be rejected that, when they are awake, they see what the common people see when they are asleep; that is, they see persons who speak poetical words to them, which point to ideas corresponding to what really happens, since their soul is free from bodily occupations and can easily come into contact with the divine world (*ʿālam al-ḳuds*). Often this peculiarity becomes in them a settled faculty which is easily working". This theory of revelation is, according to al-Īdjī, misleading, not being in harmony with the views of the philosophers themselves, according to whom the angels cannot be seen, being merely psychic beings who do not produce audible speech, a property which belongs especially to corporeal beings. So the theory of the philosophers explains revelation as the imagining of what has no basis in reality, as little as what comes from the lips of ailing and lunatic people. Yet if any of us should

command and prohibit on our own authority what is salutory and sensible, we would not, on account thereof, be a prophet. How much less, then, would be a prophetic utterance based upon imaginings which have no foundation and are often contrary to reason? (*Kitāb al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, 172 ff.).

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(A.J. Wensinck-[A. Rippin])

WĀ'IL [see BĀHILA; BAKR B. WĀ'IL].

WĀʿIẒ (A., pl. *wuʿʿāẓ*), preacher, mostly preacher who admonishes, to be distinguished from *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] and *mudhakkir*. This distinction, however, is only clearly made from the 4th/10th century onwards. It is the preacher's task to give sermons conveying admonishments (*waʿẓ, mawʿiẓa*), the public performance of which is called *madjlis al-waʿẓ* or *madjlis al-dhikr*. In contrast to the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*], it can be held at any place and time. Etymologically, the Arabic root *w-ʿ-ẓ* is related to Hebrew *y-ʿ-ṣ*. A *yoʿeṣ* is a king's adviser, mostly in wordly affairs (Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon*, s.v. *y-ʿ-ṣ*); in Hebrew, the term lacks the aspect of religious warning. In the Ḳur'ān, the root *w-ʿ-ẓ* and its derivations (*waʿẓ, mawʿiẓa*) in most cases contain a warning. Consequently, the Ḳur'ān commentaries explain *mawʿiẓa* with *ʿibra*. The form II of the root *dh-k-r, dhakkara, mudhakkir*, and the form V *tadhakkara*, have the somewhat weaker nuance of "admonishing, to be admonished". However, the root may also indicate "good advice" (*nuṣḥ, naṣīḥa*) and "right guidance" (*irshād*). Finally, *waʿẓ* can also mean *waṣiyya*, the spiritual testament which a father gives to his son. In old Arabic poetry the root is also used in the sense of admonition.

1. In classical Islam.

The *wāʿiẓ* often carried a stick and sat on a stool (*kursī*). His public could consist of huge masses of people, as in the case of Ibn al-Djawzī (see below), but also of individuals, such as rulers, before whom he would stand in a *maḳām*; in principle, his sermon was addressed to everybody. From the 5th/11th century onwards, the function of *wāʿiẓ* becomes institutionalised. Thus Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] introduced it at the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdād. Consequently, the *wāʿiẓ* was often used for political and ideological purposes, as in discussions between schools of law and dogmatic movements, especially in Baghdād.

Themes of warning sermons were the transitoriness of the world and of life; the motif *ubi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere*, the threat of death; the weakness of the soul; the call to penance and to renunciation of the world (*zuhd*). In this way, the soul was to be shaken up and to judge itself, man was to become his own warning preacher. It is thus understandable that it should be the adherents of the pietistic-mystical movements who were active as *wuʿʿāẓ*.

In addition to the pious traditions found in the Ḳur'ān, *ḥadīth* and the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, rhymed prose (*sadjʿ*), *badīʿ* [*q.vv.*] and poetry were often used as rhetorical means. Such means could also serve love poetry, re-interpreted in a mystical, Ṣūfī sense, which in the listener's soul was meant to kindle a longing for the only real beloved, God. Criticism of the *wuʿʿāẓ* was directed against an exaggerated use of this kind of poetry, against the use of weak traditions and of stories which only incite wordly interests. Famous warning preachers are above all known from Baghdād. To the 3rd/9th century belongs Manṣūr b. ʿAmmār (d. 225/839-40; see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, iii, 102-4), and to the 5th and 6th/10th and 11th centuries belongs the Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn ʿAḳīl (d. 513/1119 [*q.v.*]). ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (d. 561/1161 [*q.v.*]), whose name is connected with the Ḳādiriyya, was also famous as a preacher. The polymath Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]), finally, was the most famous of them all. Ibn Djubayr [*q.v.*] has left an account of the overwhelming influence of his sermons.

Texts of sermons, in particular of those held before rulers and dating from relatively early times, were transmitted by al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9), Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940). Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) and Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 555/1111) [*q.vv.*] enter into a critical discussion on specific aspects of the *wuʿʿāẓ* phenomenon; in the 8th/14th century, criticism is taken up again in Mamlūk Egypt by Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (d. 785/1383 [*q.v.*]). The most detailed opinion on the function and task of the preacher and his sermons is given by Ibn al-Djawzī. Not only did he collect information on famous preachers of the past but he also assembled his own sermons into monographs, such as *Ṣayd al-khāṭir* and *Kitāb al-Mudhish*, and provided them with instructions for correct usage.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, see *fihris al-khuṭab*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, Cairo 1925, i, 333-57; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ed. Amīn *et alii*, iii, 140-228; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, tr. R. Gramlich, *Die Nahrung des Herzen*, Wiesbaden 1992-5, indices s.v. Prediger, Predigt; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, ii, *kitāb* 19, *bāb* 3 (= ii, 337); Ibn al-Djawzī, *K. al-Ḳuṣṣāṣ wa 'l-mudhakkirīn*, ed. M. Swartz, Beirut 1971, ed. K. al-Sāmarrā'ī, Riyāḍ 1403; idem, *Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo 1928, 123-5; idem, *K. al-Mudhish*, Beirut n.d.; idem, *Ṣayd al-khāṭir*, ed. ʿAṭā', Cairo n.d.

2. Studies. J. Pedersen, *The Islamic preacher, wāʿiẓ, mudhakkir, qāṣṣ*, in *Ignaz Goldziher memorial volume*, Budapest 1948, i, 226-51; Angelika Hartmann, *Islamisches Predigtwesen im Mittelalter: Ibn al-Ǧawzī und sein "Buch der Schlussreden"*, in *Saeculum*, xxxviii (1987), 336-66; G. Makdisi, *The rise of humanism in classical Islam and the Christian West*, Edinburgh 1990, 182-200; R. Gramlich, *Weltverzicht. Grundlagen und Weisen islamischer Askese*, Wiesbaden 1997, esp. 103-51.

(B. Radtke)

2. In modern times.

In the second half of the 20th century, the introduction of cassette tapes began to influence the nature of sermons. Popular preachers now take into consideration that their words are audiotaped by their public on simple cassette recorders, and, sometimes, widely distributed. These cheap cassettes have gained for a number of preachers a popularity only comparable to the popularity of pop stars in the West.

Some preachers have taken the distribution of the cassettes on which their sermons were registered into their own hands, and the sale of such cassettes may have become a modest source of income to them and their staff. However this may be, sermons by popular preachers are offered for sale almost everywhere in towns and villages in the Muslim world. Often, cassettes containing sermons are dated and numbered. This makes it possible to find out whether a preacher has been absent from the pulpit, for reasons of health or imprisonment. *Waʿẓ* can thus be a political manifestation.

The distribution on cassette tapes means that sermons are not only available in a written form (and hence in formal Classical Arabic), but also in the form in which they were actually delivered. Printed sermon collections usually "adapt the language of the sermon to the needs of the printed page", which, at least, means "replacing colloquial words by classical ones". It would be a matter of surprise if this would not have happened in the past as well. The modern cassettes, however, make the observation of the stylistic technique of "code-switching" a distinct possibility.

Although Islam is "a lay religion par excellence" (Snouck Hurgronje), not everybody is allowed to preach a sermon from the pulpit of the mosque. A preacher is usually referred to as *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* but this is a general, deferential title that also is used in many other settings. Not every address by a preacher is a sermon. Dependent on the social context, his words may be referred to as a *muḥāḍara* "lecture" or *dars* "lesson".

The authority of the preacher depends on his knowledge, and on the recognition of this knowledge by his audience. Formal, Azhar-type training in Ḳurʾān and *S̲h̲arīʿa* is not always deemed to be sufficient: "Specialists in modern technical ways of knowing, and new prestigious branches of science, presume the right to displace traditional scholars" as preachers.

Bibliography: Translations of an example of a 19th century sermon may be found in E.W. Lane, *Manners and customs*..., ed. Paisley and London, 1896, ch. III, 100-2; of a 20th century sermon in G. Kepel, *The Prophet and Pharaoh*, Eng. tr. London 1985, 177-86. The most authoritative, modern study of a *wāʿiẓ* is P.D. Gaffney, *The Prophet's pulpit. Islamic preaching in contemporary Egypt*, Berkeley, etc. 1994. See also the chapters on the popular preachers S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Kis̲h̲k and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Mutawallī al-S̲h̲aʿrāwī in J.J.G. Jansen, *The neglected duty*, New York 1986. (J.J.G. Jansen)

WAḲʿA-NÜWĪS, the title of the late Ottoman official historian.

The post of official historian, *weḳāyiʿ-nüwīs*, later *waḳʿa-nüwīs* ("events/event-writer"), in the Ottoman empire dates from the early 18th century. It was a position attached to the Ottoman central administration, which provided for a series of officially-appointed writers to compile a continuous, approved narrative of recent Ottoman history as a formal historical record, to be routinely printed and made available. The post continued in existence for two hundred years, until 1922, virtually the end of the Ottoman empire.

The term *weḳāyiʿ-nüwīs* is known to have been used of some individual historians from the early 17th century, and continued on an *ad hoc* basis as a general designation for an official charged with recording the events of a military campaign or an embassy. The official historian's recording function may also have been foreshadowed by a possible duty of the late 16th-century court historiographer, the *s̲h̲ehnāmed̲j̲i* [*q.v.*], to keep a regular daybook (see D̲j̲emāl al-Dīn Meḥmed Ḳarṣlī-zāde, *Āyīne-i ẓürefā/ʿOt̲h̲mānli taʾrīk̲h̲ we müwerrik̲h̲leri*, Istanbul 1314/1896, 41-2). However, there is no clear continuity between the early court historiographers and the 18th-century office of *waḳʿa-nüwīs* (cf. L.V. Thomas, *A study of Naima*, New York 1972).

Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] is generally recognised as the first *waḳʿa-nüwīs*, commissioned around 1110/1698-9 by the Grand Vizier ʿAmūd̲j̲a-zāde Ḥüseyin Köprülü [*q.v.*] to write a history of the Ottoman state from the *hid̲j̲rī* millennium (*ca.* 1591-2) onwards. It is likely, however, that a formal post was not instituted until the appointment in 1126/1714 of Rās̲h̲id [*q.v.*]. A general pattern emerged whereby each *waḳʿa-nüwīs* was expected to continue the narrative from where his predecessor had finished (sometimes several years prior to the time of writing), while also compiling notes on contemporary events for his own use or that of a successor. All relevant government departments were instructed to make their records available for consultation by the *waḳʿa-nüwīs* once they were no longer current. Drafts were submitted annually to the sultan, and could be published only with his approval.

Appointees were either members of the *ʿulemāʾ* or, more usually, of the *k̲h̲ʷād̲j̲egān*, section chiefs, within the Ottoman central bureaucracy. They were required to be learned, literary and loyal; an interest in history was an additional qualification. They tended to hold the post for only a few years in the middle of a bureaucratic or *ʿulemāʾ* career, often in addition to their existing post; few left any historical work other than that required of them as *waḳʿa-nüwīs*, and some are shadowy figures about whom little is known.

Consequently, the prestige of the office and its product fluctuated, particularly towards the end of the 18th century, as shown by a series of short-term appointments and complaints by appointees of poor remuneration and limited access to relevant documents. Significantly, the leading Ottoman historian of the mid-19th century, Aḥmed D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], *waḳʿa-nüwīs* from 1855 to 1866, chose to rewrite the history of the period 1774 to 1825. His successor, Luṭfī Efendi [*q.v.*], in post 1866-1907, compiled the last *waḳʿa-nüwīs* history, a basic chronicle of the period 1826-79. New developments in Ottoman historical writing after the *Tanẓīmāt* era rendered the traditional recording function of the official historian obsolete before the end of the empire. The last *waḳʿa-nüwīs*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān S̲h̲eref, in post 1907-22, combined presidency of the newly-formed *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī End̲j̲ümeni*, an academic history society, with the writing of school textbooks. (For further information, see also individual entries on ʿIzzī; Enwerī; ʿĀṣim; Esʿad Efendi; and Taʾrīk̲h̲, Ottoman and modern Turkish, section 3/i "official historians".)

Bibliography: For an extended discussion of the post and its holders, with bibliography and references, see Bekir Kütükoğlu, *İA* art. *Vekāyinüvīs*, of which the present article is a much abridged summary. (Christine Woodhead)

WAKĀLA (a.), verbal noun of the verb *wakala*, a technical term of Islamic religion, and more generally, of commercial practice and law. It means to commission, depute or authorise a person to act on behalf of another. It is a term far from easy to encapsulate in one meaning since it carries a variety of legal, and theological concepts. One of the attributes of God, given in the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt̲h̲* is *al-Wakīl*, which indicates protection and sustenance, while according to al-Sarak̲h̲sī, the word indicates the entrusting (*ḥifāẓ*) of another person's property.

The concept of *wakāla* is significant in Islamic law as a practical mechanism by which all forms of

contracts may be activated. According to Ḥanafī law, it is the basis of all forms of contractual partnership. For validity, the following basic rules are required, many of which are the same as expected in general contracts:

1. The condition of contract validity (*ṣiḥḥa*) requires that both parties must be able to dispose of their property, that the object of *wakāla* must be definite and legal, and that the obligation and acceptance of both parties (*īdjāb, ḳabūl*) are clearly manifest.

2. The authorisation may be specific or general within the configuration which will be explained below.

3. The *wakāla* contract is like that of *wadīʿa* [*q.v.*], representing a voluntary contract which would be converted into a commercial contract if fees are stipulated.

4. No responsibility is incured on the proxy (*wakīl*) except in case of negligence (*tafrīṭ*) or intentional transgression (*taʿaddī*).

5. The contract can be terminated at the behest of either party or, like any other contract, by the death, insanity or legal incompetency of either of them.

Wakāla contracts may vary according to the nature of the economic operation that is governed. According to the requirement of the contract, *wakāla* can be either general (*ʿāmma*) to cover all forms of transactions and deals, or special (*khāṣṣa*) which is restricted to a particular disposition, for example a *wakāla* for selling cannot be valid in a transaction for letting. Muslim scholars differ regarding the legitimacy of the *wakāla* if it is drawn up in general and unlimited terms. Although the Ḥanafī and Mālikī schools accept this kind of *wakāla*, both Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs restrict the legitimacy of such contracts to what is stipulated. The reason that they give for rejecting general *wakāla* is that it can lead to great deception (*gharar*). This is probably why all the schools of Islamic law accept the prevalent custom (*ʿurf*) as a guide to control the deputed action. Accordingly, if the deputy violates custom and sells an object with great loss (*ghabn fāḥish*), his action can only be valid if confirmed by his client.

Agents can also be limited within certain logistic stipulations such as price bid, and quality and condition of the good or object. This *wakāla*, which is restricted by its *modus operandi*, is termed a *wakāla muḳayyada*, its opposite being the unrestricted *wakāla muṭlaḳa*. When the timing of the contract is important, the contractors may opt for a time restriction on the *wakāla*. The *wakāla muwaḳḳata* is the form of *wakāla* which is restricted by a time designated in the contract setting it up.

Due to the religious nature of Islamic law, *wakāla* as a legal mechanism extends itself to cover religious practices, too. It is part of the lawyer's undertaking to assess the validity of the *wakāla* in matters such as the pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj*), although, according to Ibn Ḳudāma, *wakāla* is not valid in matters that specifically target or involve the personality of individuals (*ʿayn al-mukallaf*) such as testimony (*shahāda*), oaths (*aymān*), and pledges (*nudhūr*), or in rituals that individuals may find physically possible to perform, in contrast to those that may represent potential impossibilities such as *ḥadjdj*. The personality of the two parties is also an important element that differentiates *wakāla* from other contracts. The most important legal consequence of the personal aspect of *wakāla* is that it involves an inbuilt mechanism that terminates the contract once one of the two contractors dies.

Al-Sanhūrī, following the French terminology, cited *wakāla* as one example of the nominated contracts (*ʿuḳūd musammāt*), which are contracts popularly known by a specific usage term. The nature of a representation contract as a "nominated contract" has apparently caused some confusion in French law and in the Arabic legal systems that have inherited its legacy. This confusion has resulted from the distinctive nature of the *wakāla*'s subject (*maḥall al-ʿaḳd*) when compared with other contracts' subjects. The nature of the *wakāla*'s subject is a legal action (*taṣarruf ḳānūnī*) or *acte juridique*, whereas all other contracts involves material action or *acte matériel*. The confusion arises in the classification of the contracts of professional persons such as lawyers, medical doctors and teachers which are considered by French law to be a deputisation contract rather than commission (*muḳāwala*) contract. According to al-Sanhūrī, this is an unfounded assumption, based purely on personal grounds, because the subjects of all these contracts are legal actions and not material ones. However, al-Sanhūrī's statement generalises by treating each of these professions as one, despite the difference in their provided services. From an Islamic legal perspective, it is the service which represents the decisive factor whether the contract is one of deputation or commission. Accordingly, lawyers' services would be within the *wakāla* definition, whereas teachers' and medical doctors' employment falls within the spectrum of commission or an employment contract. The critical factor, in all contracts in Islamic law, is the nature of what the individual is offering and not the name of the profession. In Islamic law, all professions are ruled by the rules of professional contract (*ʿaḳd al-ṣunnāʿ*), which are contracts that consider the provided service as the main guideline when problems concerning responsibility are raised.

A similar confusion about the position of *wakāla* arises in modern Arabic legal systems. Various definitions of *wakāla* seem to be affected by prevalent practical use within commercial life. Often the term is extended to include the supplier who is not necessarily an agent. In countries like Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, it is important to examine each individual law separately in order to decide whether the actual basis constitutes *wakāla*.

Bibliography: Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Istanbul 1315, 60-6; *LA*, Beirut n.d., xi, 735-6; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī, *al-Wasīṭ fī sharḥ al-ḳānūn al-madanī*, Beirut 1952 iv, 1, vii, 372; A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in mediaeval Islam*, Princeton 1970, 100; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-islāmī wa-adillatuh*, Damascus 1985, iv, 157, v, 74-5; Sarākhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Beirut 1986, xix, 2; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Kāfī*, Beirut 1988, ii, 239-56; idem, *Mughnī*, ed. Ḥilū and Turkī, Cairo 1408/1988-9, 200; S.E. Ryner, *The theory of contracts in Islamic law*, London 1991, 101; Mohammad deen Napiah, *The theory of the contract of* (*al-wakalah*), Ph.D. thesis, Glasgow Caledonian University 1995, unpubl., 57-65, 165.

For the use of *wakāla* in architecture, see ḲAYSARIYYA; KHĀN. (MAWIL Y. IZZI DIEN)

WAḲĀR, MĪRZĀ AḤMAD SHĪRĀZĪ, Persian poet of the Ḳādjār period, born in 1232/1817 in Shīrāz, died there in 1298/1881. Waḳār was the oldest of six sons of the poet Wiṣāl-i Shīrāzī, and under his father's tutelage, he became expert in Shīʿī and Ṣūfī lore, calligraphy and classical poetry. After his father's death, Waḳār travelled to India in 1265/1848-9 and published an annotated, lithograph edition of Rūmī's *Mathnawī* during his year-long residence in Bombay. He spent most of the rest of his life in Shīrāz, supported by income from writing, calligraphy, and government stipends. He went to Tehran in 1274/1857-58 on family business and again around 1281/1864 and 1290/1873. Although he was well re-

ceived at the Ḳādjār court and met Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, he was ill at ease in the capital city. His five brothers (especially Wiṣāl's third son Muḥammad Dāwarī) and two sons were all also capable poets.

In his many works of poetry and prose, Waḳār adheres to the models and style of the classical writers of the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries. Containing more than 25,000 verses, his *dīwān* (first vol. printed Tabrīz 1348 *sh.*/1969) includes all the traditional genres, but it is in the *ḳaṣīda* that Waḳār shows his real mastery. These poems are addressed to many members of the Ḳādjār court, in particular the governors of Fārs province (see Nawābī, 69-74). Imitating earlier masters, including Farrukhī, Manūčihrī, Sanā'ī and Anwarī [*q.vv.*], Waḳār's *ḳaṣīdas* are noted for their descriptions of the seasons and for an often personal, epistolary tone. His accounts of earthquakes in Shīrāz are frequently cited. Waḳār composed three *mathnawīs*. *Bahrām wa Bihrūz*, a didactic romance about the conflict between two brothers, remains unpublished. *Rumūz al-imāra* (Shīrāz 1331/1913) is a verse translation of 'Alī's letter to the governor of Egypt in the metre of the *Shāh-nāma*. In the manner of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, Waḳār's *Mūsā wa Khiḍr* (Shīrāz 1361 *sh.*/1982) tells the story of these two prophets, digressing frequently into commentary and parallel tales. Among Waḳār's prose works, *Andjuman-i dānish* (Shīrāz 1366 *sh.*/1987) consists of anecdotes intermixed with poetry in the style of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. *Rūzmah-i Khusrawān-i Pārsī* (Shīrāz 1356 *sh.*/1977) is an account of the legendary kings of ancient Iran. Also in the historical vein is Waḳār's long prose work on the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn, *'Ashara-yi kāmila* (Shīrāz 1361 *sh.*/1982). Waḳār penned a number of shorter prose epistles; these are unpublished, except for his commentary on six chronograms by Muḥtashim-i Kāshānī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Waḳār's published literary works are given in the body of the article above. Among the *tadhkiras*, see Riḍā Ḳulīkhān Hidāyat, *Madjma' al-fuṣaḥā*, ed. M. Muṣaffā, Tehran 1336-41 *sh.*/1957-62, vi, 1132-53; Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasā'ī Shīrāzī, *Fārsnāma-yi Nāṣirī*, repr. Tehran 1340 *sh.*/1961, ii, 66-7; and Ma'ṣūm 'Alīshāh Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iḳ al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, ed. M.J. Maḥdjūb, Tehran 1339-45 *sh.*/1960-6, iii, 372-4. Aḥmad Dīwān Baygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadīḳat al-shu'arā'*, ed. 'A. Nawā'ī, Tehran 1364-6 *sh.*/1985-7, iii, 2028-40, and Shaykh Mufīd Dāwar, *Mir'āt al-faṣāḥa*, ed. M. Ṭāwūsī, Shīrāz 1371 *sh.*/1992, 698-701, are especially useful for their editors' annotations and bibliographies. Among secondary works, see Browne, *LHP*, iv, 225, 300, 319; Rypka, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, 331-2; and especially, M. Nawābī, *Khāndān-i Wiṣāl-i Shīrāzī*, Tabrīz 1335 *sh.*/1956, 51-119, which offers the fullest account of Waḳār's life and works. (P.E. Losensky)

WAḲF (a.), in Islamic law, the act of founding a charitable trust, and, hence the trust itself. A synonym, used mainly by Mālikī jurists, is *ḥabs*, *ḥubus* or *ḥubs* (in French often rendered as *habous*). The essential elements are that a person, with the intention of committing a pious deed, declares part of his or her property to be henceforth unalienable (*ḥabs*, *taḥbīs*) and designates persons or public utilities as beneficiaries of its yields (*al-taṣadduḳ bi 'l-manfa'a*, *tasbīl al-manfa'a*). The Imāmī Shī'a distinguish between *waḳf* and *ḥabs*, the latter being a precarious type of *waḳf* in which the founder reserves the right to dispose of the *waḳf* property.

I. In Classical Islamic law
II. In the Arab lands
  1. In Egypt
  2. In Syria [see Suppl.]
  3. In North Africa to 1914
  4. In Muslim Spain
  5. In the modern Middle East and North Africa
III. In Persia
IV. In the Ottoman empire to 1914
V. In Central Asia
VI. In Muslim India to 1900
VII. In Southeast Asia
VIII. In sub-Saharan Africa

I. In Classical Islamic Law

Not mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, it derives its legitimacy primarily from a number of *ḥadīths*. The first one is related on the authority of Ibn 'Umar and is included, in various versions, in the main *ḥadīth* collections:

> 'Umar had acquired land in Khaybar and came to the Prophet to consult him in this matter saying: "O Messenger of God, I have acquired land in Khaybar which is more precious to me than any property I have ever acquired." He [Muḥammad] said: "If you want, make the land itself unalienable and give [the yield] away as alms (*in shi'ta ḥabbasta aṣlahā wa-taṣaddaḳta bihā*)." He (Ibn 'Umar) said: Thereupon 'Umar gave it away as alms [in the sense] that the land itself was not to be sold, inherited or donated. He gave it away as alms for the poor, the relatives, the slaves, the *djihād*, the travellers and the guests. And it will not be held against him who administers it if he consumes some of it(s yield) in an appropriate manner or feeds a friend who does not enrich himself by means of it (Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, Cairo n.d., no. 784).

Another *ḥadīth* often quoted in favour of the legitimacy of the *waḳf* is included in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim: "The Messenger of God said: 'When a man dies, only three deeds will survive him: continuing alms, profitable knowledge and a child praying for him' " (*ibid.*, no. 783). Further, there is a report by Djābir that all companions of the Prophet who were financially capable of doing so, had made *waḳfs* (Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, v, 598-9).

1. Origins.

In the legal discussions of the 2nd and early 3rd century A.H. we find several legal institutions that in the later legal doctrine were subsumed under the heading of *waḳf* and left their traces in that doctrine (see Schacht, *Early doctrines*). The terminology was probably fluid in the very beginning and was systematised only later. The first institution is that of *al-ḥabs fī sabīl Allāh*, the donation of horses, weapons, slaves for the sake of *djihād* or houses for sheltering the warriors at the frontier. The second one (*ḥabs mawḳūf*, *ṣadaḳa mawḳūfa*) is a kind of temporary endowment for a limited number of people that after their extinction reverts to the founder or his heirs. The word *mawḳūf* here has the original legal meaning of "suspended" and only later did it acquire the meaning of "made into a *waḳf*". This type of *waḳf* has survived in Mālikī doctrine. Thirdly, there was the permanent *waḳf* (called *ṣadaḳa muḥarrama* by the early Shāfi'īs), usually in favour of the poor, or in favour of certain classes of relatives and descendants or even clients (*mawālī*) and then, after their extinction, to the poor. Its validity was contested, especially by Abū Ḥanīfa. Finally, there were permanent *waḳfs* in favour of mosques or public utilities. It seems that *waḳfs* in favour of one's relatives or descendants (*waḳf ahlī*)

were very common in the early period and that the *waḳf*s in favour of mosques and public utilities (*waḳf khayrī*) were secondary.

At the beginning of this century, C.H. Becker (in *Isl.*, ii [1911]) argued that the institution of charitable *waḳf* was influenced by the *piae causae* in Byzantine law. His view was widely shared (see e.g. Heffening, art. *Waḳf* in *EI*[1], and J. Schacht, *Droit byzantin et droit musulman*, in *Fondazione A. Volta, atti dei convegni*, xii [1957], 213-15, where the older literature is quoted). Apart from the obvious structural similarities between both institutions (elaborated by A. d'Emilia, *Comparazione*), Becker's arguments were that, according to al-Maḳrīzī, there were only *waḳf*s of urban real estate in Egypt during the first three centuries of Islam, and that this state of affairs, in accordance with Byzantine law, was the same regarding Coptic pious endowments in this period. Cl. Cahen (*Réflexions sur le waqf ancien*, 37-56), however, showed that the evidence put forward by Becker was not convincing. If al-Maḳrīzī's observation is reliable, Cahen argued, this applies only to Egypt. Elsewhere, there is no indication of such a restriction, and, in fact, *waḳf*s of rural property were widespread in early Islam. This seriously weakens the argument of Byzantine influence on the development of the Islamic doctrine of *waḳf*. Moreover, the fact that, in Egypt, *waḳf*s were restricted to urban property in the early centuries of Islam may stem from the fact that the rural population of Egypt at that time was predominantly Christian. Finally, Cahen pointed out that, in early Islam, *waḳf*s in favour of relatives and descendants were predominant and not those in favour of religious institutions.

The immediate spread and popularity of the *waḳf* derives from the fact that it served social and economic needs. It was a means to protect an estate against confiscation by the state or against disintegration as a result of *Sharīʿa* succession. Moreover, it could be used to circumvent the rules of Islamic succession and keep property as much as possible within the agnatic group. At the same time it could provide a regular income for one's relatives and descendants in order to protect them from want. With regard to mosques and public utilities, there were two types, each serving its own purpose: there were *waḳf*s consisting of the mosque or the utility itself (school, bridge, fountain) and there were *waḳf*s generating the income for the maintenance and operation of these utilities. Finally, *waḳf*s provided relief for the poor.

2. Founding a *waḳf*.

(a) *The founder* (al-wāḳif, al-muḥabbis)

The founder of the *waḳf* must have the general capacity to act and contract (*ahliyyat al-adāʾ*), i.e. he must be adult, sound of mind, capable of handling financial affairs (*rashīd*), a free person and not under interdiction for prodigality or bankruptcy. Being a Muslim is not required; in principle, *waḳf*s founded by *dhimmī*s are valid. In addition, the founder must be sound of body to be legally capable of performing gratuitous acts. For if a person founds a *waḳf* during his last illness (*maraḍ al-mawt*), it is subject to the restrictions with regard to bequests (*waṣiyya* [*q.v.*]), that is, its value may not exceed one-third of the estate. In Mālikī law, finally, a married woman would need her husband's authorisation if the value of the *waḳf* exceeds one-third of her property, as in the case of gifts.

(b) *The object* (al-mawḳūf, al-muḥabbas)

The goods that are made into *waḳf* must be goods that are not excluded from legal traffic and can be the object of a valid contract (*māl mutaḳawwim*). This means that (1) people have control over them (hence not a fish in the sea or a runaway slave); (2) their use is lawful (hence not musical instruments or objects used for worship in other religions, such as crucifixes, nor impure goods like wine and pork); (3) they are not otherwise excluded from legal traffic (hence not public domains; *waḳf* property or an *umm walad* [*q.v.*]). These are general requirements that are applicable to all contracts involving the transfer of property.

In addition, there are some other requirements that are specific regarding the founding of a *waḳf*. Only physical goods (*ʿayn*) that are clearly defined and exist at the moment that the *waḳf* is founded can be made into a *waḳf*. A debt or "one of the houses owned by me" (if the founder owns more than one house) cannot validly constitute the object of a *waḳf*. Furthermore, the founder must be entitled to dispose of the intended object of the *waḳf*. He cannot make a *waḳf* of another person's property or his own property if it has been pledged. The previous conditions are mentioned by all the law schools with the exception of the Mālikīs. *Waḳf*s must be perpetual, but there is controversy on the implications of this principle with regard to the object of the *waḳf*. Goods whose use consists in their consumption cannot be dedicated to *waḳf*, but most schools allow movable goods that wear out by their use. Some jurists have argued that even silver and gold coins can be made into a *waḳf*. The Ḥanafīs, however, are stricter in this respect. Their basic rule is that only immovable property (both *ʿushr* and *kharādj* land) can be the object of *waḳf*. Only in exceptional cases do they allow that movable goods are made into a *waḳf*. These exceptions are:

1. Movable goods that follow immovable property, such as the slaves, animals, and agricultural tools belonging to a rural estate;
2. Movable goods that are mentioned in certain *ḥadīth*s as valid objects of *waḳf*, such as horses and weapons for *djihād*; this is Abū Yūsuf's opinion;
3. Movable goods that people are accustomed to dedicate to *waḳf*, such as shovels, pickaxes and biers, to be used in graveyards, copies of the Ḳurʾān, to be read in mosques or schools, and cooking pots to be used in public kitchens for the poor; this view, ascribed to Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, has become the authoritative one within the Ḥanafī school.

(c) *The beneficiaries*

Both persons and public utilities, such as mosques, schools, bridges, graveyards and drinking fountains, can be the beneficiaries of a *waḳf*. Beneficiaries of the first type can be one or more individuals ("*Fulān ibn Fulān*", "my children", "my male offspring") or collectivities ("travellers", "the poor of this town"). The jurists note that in the case of *waḳf*s in favour of public utilities the actual beneficiaries are all Muslims, or the Muslims of a certain region or the inhabitants of a town, who collectively have the right to use these utilities. Modern legislation distinguishes between charitable *waḳf*s (*waḳf khayrī*) dedicated to pious causes (public utilities, the poor) and family *waḳf*s (*waḳf ahlī*) made in favour of one's relatives and descendants. Classical doctrine does not make this distinction and the two types of *waḳf* are governed by the same rules. There can be two groups of beneficiaries who are entitled at the same time, e.g. if the founder has stipulated that half of the proceeds go to the poor and half to his children. Usually, several subsequent classes of beneficiaries are mentioned. A very common clause is to designate first one's sons and unmarried daughters, then one's agnatic grandsons and unmarried agnatic granddaughters, then one's agnatic great-grand-

sons and unmarried agnatic great-granddaughters, and so on. In such cases, no class becomes entitled until the previous one is entirely extinct.

A valid dedication must satisfy the following conditions:

1. The immediate beneficiaries (i.e. the first class of beneficiaries) must exist at the time of the foundation of the *waḳf* and be identified or identifiable. The designation of an unborn child as the immediate beneficiary of a *waḳf* is therefore invalid. Only the Mālikīs hold that beneficiaries that do not yet exist may be designated. The proceeds are saved until he is born. If this does not occur, they return to the founder or his heirs.

2. The beneficiaries must be capable of acquiring property. This excludes slaves and *ḥarbīs*, but not *dhimmīs*. The scholars disagree on whether a *musta'min* can be a beneficiary. Regarding *waḳfs* in favour of public utilities, their users are regarded as the beneficiaries.

3. The purpose of the *waḳf* must be lawful. Therefore, a *waḳf* for the building and maintenance of churches, synagogues and monasteries is null and void, even if made by *dhimmīs*. However, some jurists point out that *waḳfs* in favour of churches and monasteries may be valid if they serve specific functions not related to worship, e.g. offering hospitality to the poor or travellers.

There is controversy on the validity of a *waḳf* in favour of the founder. Most jurists hold that such a stipulation is invalid. They argue that founding a *waḳf* implies the transfer of the right to dispose of and the right to use the *waḳf* property. Retaining (part of) the right to use it is in conflict with this principle. The Ḥanafīs, however (with the exception of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī), assert that such a *waḳf* is valid on the strength of the *ḥadīth* about ʿUmar quoted above, since he stipulated that the *waḳf*'s administrator was entitled to "eat" from its proceeds, and it is well known that he himself was its first administrator. The Ḥanbalīs interpret this *ḥadīth* in a more restricted sense: they regard a stipulation to the effect that the founder can use the *waḳf*'s proceeds during his lifetime as valid, but not his designation as a beneficiary.

The Ḥanafīs, with the exception of Abū Yūsuf, hold that it is required for the validity of a *waḳf* that the designation of the beneficiaries should include a final class whose existence is regarded as perpetual, such as the poor. Otherwise, they argue, the perpetuity of the *waḳf*, which is an essential element, is jeopardised. According to the other law schools and Abū Yūsuf (whose opinion became the prevailing one within the Ḥanafī school), the absence of such a designation does not affect the validity of the *waḳf*, since it is not known that the Companions included such stipulations when founding *waḳfs*. As a consequence the jurists have discussed what happens to the *waḳf* after the extinction of the last beneficiaries, or after the institution for which the *waḳf* has been founded, has been destroyed and cannot function anymore. Some argue that the *waḳf*, being perpetual, remains operative and that it must be determined who are the most appropriate new beneficiaries. According to Abū Yūsuf, it is an implied stipulation that the poor are the new beneficiaries since the founding of a *waḳf* is intended as a charity. The Ḥanbalīs and most Shāfiʿīs hold that the proceeds of the *waḳf* are to be spent on the founder's heirs. They also base their view on the implicit notion of charity in *waḳfs*, but add on the strength of several *ḥadīths* that the best charity is charity in favour of one's relatives. The Mālikīs distinguish between a perpetual and a temporary *waḳf*. After the extinction of the beneficiaries of the first type, the *waḳf* is continued in favour of the poor among the founder's closest agnates, or, in their absence, to the poor in general. If the *waḳf* was founded in favour of a public utility that has been destroyed and is beyond repair, the Mālikīs hold that a similar destination must then be sought for its proceeds. As for the temporary *waḳf* founded in favour of a limited number of individuals, for their lifetime or for a certain period, this type reverts to the founder or his heirs upon extinction.

(d) *The act of founding*

A *waḳf* is founded by a declaration of the founder. Although not required by law, this declaration would normally be recorded in a document (*waḳfiyya, rasm al-taḥbīs*; for the oldest example now known, dating from the end of the 2nd century A.H., see al-Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, iii, 282-3). The general theory of *fiḳh* regarding declaration of intent applies. If the wording of the declaration is obvious and unambiguous (*ṣarīḥ*), the declaration alone is constitutive, otherwise, i.e. if the declaration is indirect (*kināya*), circumstantial evidence pointing to the intent of founding a *waḳf* is required, e.g. the use of additional words, such as "it shall not be sold, given away or inherited". There are small differences between the various law schools, but as a rule expressions containing the words *waḳf*, *ḥabs* and *tasbīl* and their derivatives are regarded as unambiguous. In exceptional cases a *waḳf* can be founded by acts implying the intention. If for instance a person builds a mosque and allows other persons to pray in it or if he establishes a graveyard and lets other persons bury their dead in it, then this is regarded as tantamount to founding a *waḳf*. This is based on the principle that certain acts are by custom regarded as an expression of the intent to perform a certain legal act. Only the Shāfiʿīs always require a verbal declaration.

There are certain stipulations that are regarded as being contrary to essential characteristics of the *waḳf* and their inclusion would make the *waḳf* null and void. Some such stipulations have already been discussed: *waḳfs* dedicated to an unlawful aim or those for which the founder has been designated as beneficiary. There are, however, several others. These are related to two principles: the immediate effect of the act of founding a *waḳf* (*tandjīz*) and its perpetual character. All jurists except the Mālikīs agree that founding a *waḳf* to be effective at a future point of time (*muḍāf*), or making it dependent on an uncertain condition (*muʿallaḳ*), renders the act void. There is only one exception: all law schools allow that a person founds a *waḳf* by testament, effective upon his death. This, then, is governed by rules of testament (*waṣiyya* [*q.v.*]). Stipulations that the *waḳf* is founded for a limited period or that the founder may revoke it or sell or give away its property, are regarded by all jurists except the Mālikīs as contrary to the required perpetuity of the *waḳf* and invalidate its founding.

(e) *Conditions of irrevocability* (luzūm)

The Mālikīs, Ḥanafīs (with the exception of Abū Yūsuf), the Imāmī Shīʿa and some Ḥanbalīs hold, in analogy with gifts, that a *waḳf* is not binding and irrevocable until the property has actually been transferred to the beneficiaries or the administrator. If, before the property has been handed over, the founder dies or loses his right of disposal over the property as a result of bankruptcy or serious illness, the *waḳf* is void. Regarding public utilities, transfer of property is assumed to have taken place as soon as the founder

lets the public use them. The Imāmī S͟hīʿa, however, require also in this case that the property be actually handed over to the administrator. Those who do not require transfer of property argue that the aforementioned *ḥadīt͟h* from ʿUmar does not mention it as a condition and that founding a *waḳf* is more like the freeing of a slave (an act which does not require this transfer) than making a gift.

There is also a difference of opinion on the question of whether it is required for the irrevocability of the *waḳf* that the immediate beneficiaries, at least if they are defined, accept their rights. For most law schools, their acceptance is not a condition for the irrevocability, but, as in the case of bequests, a condition for acquiring their rights. The S͟hāfiʿīs, however, hold in analogy with bequests that the *waḳf* is only binding and irrevocable after the immediate beneficiaries have accepted. Those beneficiaries that acquire their rights after the *waḳf* has been founded, do not have to accept expressly. However, they may reject it, after which they forfeit their rights.

3. The legal effects.

All law schools hold that establishing a *waḳf* is a valid and irrevocable act. Only Abū Ḥanīfa asserted that a *waḳf* is only irrevocable if the founder establishes it as from the moment of his death or if it is affirmed by a *ḳāḍī*'s sentence. (For the discussion and arguments of both parties, see al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, vi, 318-19; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mug͟hnī*, v, 598-600.) If a person founds a *waḳf* during his lifetime, Abū Ḥanīfa holds that the *waḳf* remains his property and he may revoke the *waḳf* by alienating its property. After his death, the property reverts to his heirs. Establishing a *waḳf* during one's lifetime is, in Abū Ḥanīfa's view, nothing else than a vow to donate the proceedings of the *waḳf* property to the beneficiaries at the moment of one's death. This opinion, however, was not followed by his companions Muḥammad al-S͟haybānī and Abū Yūsuf, who held, like the jurists of the other legal schools, that establishing a *waḳf* is an irrevocable and binding act. In order to dispel all doubts about the binding character of a *waḳf*, Ḥanafī practice was for the founder to have recourse to judicial proceedings. The standard procedure was that the founder, after having handed over the *waḳf* property to the administrator, would reclaim it alleging that the *waḳf* was revocable according to Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine. The judge then would establish the irrevocability of the *waḳf* by giving judgement according to the doctrine of Muḥammad al-S͟haybānī and Abū Yūsuf and finding for the defendant.

The majority of the jurists base their opinion that establishing a *waḳf* is a legally valid act on the *ḥadīt͟hs* that have been mentioned at the beginning of this article. Abū Ḥanīfa, however, argues that *waḳfs* may not infringe upon the rights of one's heirs and quotes a *ḥadīt͟h* transmitted by S͟huray͟h to the effect that after the revelation of the verses of succession Muḥammad said: "No *waḳfs* to the detriment of the Ḳurʾānic shares of inheritance" (*lā ḥabs ʿan al-farāʾiḍ*). Moreover, he adduces a *ḥadīt͟h* transmitted by ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd (not included in the main collections; for the text, see Ibn Kudāma, *al-Mug͟hnī*, v, 598) according to which the Prophet sold land that had been made *waḳf*. And as to the examples of the Companions, he alleges that these instances may date from before the revelation of the verses of inheritance.

The irrevocability of the act of founding a *waḳf* implies for all law schools except the Mālikīs (for whom the founder remains the owner of the goods, albeit without any of the powers of ownership) that the founder ceases to be the owner of the object of the *waḳf*. Since Islamic law confers legal personality only on natural persons, the jurists had to come to grips with the problem of who becomes the new owner of the *waḳf* goods. In order to answer this question, they made use of two analogies leading to two different solutions. As we have seen above, most law schools compare founding a *waḳf* with making a gift or other gratuitous legal act. For them, the beneficiaries become the new owners, although their ownership is a restricted one, not including the right of disposal. As in the case of gifts, they regard the actual transfer of property and the taking possession by the beneficiaries or the administrator as the moment when the founder's property right ceases to exist and the *waḳf* becomes irrevocable. Some jurists, however, compare it with the act of freeing a slave (*ʿitḳ*) and are of the opinion that the ownership, immediately upon the declaration, is transferred to God. On this theoretical issue, advocates of both views can be found within each law school, except for the Mālikīs.

Since a *waḳf* is founded in perpetuity, the goods belonging to it need maintenance. If the goods are exploited by renting it out, maintenance must be paid from the proceeds, before the beneficiaries get their shares. If the beneficiaries of the *waḳf* only have the right to use it, they themselves are liable for the maintenance of the goods. If they are negligent, the *ḳāḍī* is entitled to take appropriate measures, e.g. evicting the users of a house and renting it out in order to generate money for its maintenance. The same applies to *waḳfs* consisting of e.g. slaves or animals. Horses dedicated as a *waḳf* to the *d͟jihād*, are the responsibility of the *Bayt al-Māl*.

What happens to the *waḳf* if the *waḳf* goods are seriously damaged or destroyed? One could think of a ruined house or mosque, a mosque in a region left by its inhabitants, trees that have died or a horse no longer fit for warfare. Now, if the damage to the goods is the result of a tort, there is no problem. The administrators or the beneficiaries can claim compensation, which then belongs to the *waḳf* and must be used to repair or replace the goods. However, if the damage is not caused by human activity, there is a great deal of controversy among the jurists. The S͟hāfiʿīs and the Imāmī S͟hīʿa hold that the *waḳf* remains in existence as long as there are goods left that can be used or exploited in whatever way. Solely if the remaining goods can only be used by consuming them do they accept that the *waḳf* ends and that these goods become the property of the beneficiaries. The other law schools accept under certain conditions that the remaining goods be sold and that new *waḳf* property be acquired with the proceeds of the sale (*istibdāl*). The Mālikīs allow this only with regard to movable goods that are unfit for their intended use. The Ḥanbalīs are more permissive in this respect. They regard *istibdāl* as lawful if the goods of the *waḳf* have been damaged or destroyed to the extent that they can no longer be used for their intended exploitation. Unlike the other law schools, the Ḥanafīs first pose the question of whether or not the founder has stipulated for himself or for the future administrators the power to practice *istibdāl*. Although Muḥammad al-S͟haybānī argued that such a stipulation is void, Abū Yūsuf's view, which prevailed among the Ḥanafīs, is that such a clause is perfectly valid, except with regard to mosques. If the founder has failed to introduce such a clause, or has even expressly forbidden *istibdāl*, the *ḳāḍī* may still allow it, if he deems it in the interest of the *waḳf*. However, he can

only act with the authorisation of the caliph or sultan.

4. Administration of the *wakf*.

Especially if there is more than one beneficiary, the founder will usually make arrangements for the administration of the *wakf* by appointing an administrator (*nāẓir, mutawallī, ḳayyim*) and laying down rules for the appointment of his successors. According to most law schools, the founder is entitled to administer the *wakf* himself during his lifetime. Only the Mālikīs do not allow this, since they require for the validity of the *wakf* that the founder actually hand over the property to the beneficiaries or the administrator. If the founder has not made arrangements, the jurists disagree as to who is entitled to appoint an administrator. According to Abū Yūsuf, the founder, being the person closest to the *wakf*, is entitled to administer it. During his lifetime he has the right to appoint an administrator. By testament he may transfer this right to his testamentary executor (*waṣī*). The other jurists hold that, in this case, the *ḳāḍī* is responsible for the administration of the *wakf* and that it is he who must appoint an administrator. However, if the number of beneficiaries is limited and identifiable, the Mālikīs, most Ḥanbalīs and the Imāmī Shīʿa are of the opinion that the beneficiaries have the right to administer the *wakf* because they have rights to the *wakf* property, either because they are regarded as the virtual owners of the *wakf* (Ḥanbalīs and the Imāmī Shīʿa) or because they own the right to use and exploit (*milk al-manfaʿa*) the *wakf* property (Mālikīs). An administrator must accept his appointment. The approval of the beneficiaries is not required (except according to those who hold that the beneficiaries, under certain conditions, are entitled to administer the *wakf*, if such conditions obtain).

The administrator must have the capacity to act and contract. According to all law schools except the Ḥanafīs, he must be Muslim and male. In addition he must be trustworthy (*amīn*) and have the necessary skills. The Shāfiʿīs and some Ḥanbalīs require that he should be *ʿadl* [*q.v.*].

His duties are, in the first place, the maintenance and the exploitation of the *wakf* property. He decides on the repairs that have to be carried out and on how the property is made profitable. Finally, he distributes the proceeds among the beneficiaries. He is entitled to take a remuneration for his activities. His position is similar to that of a guardian over a minor or an insane person, and like him, the administrator of a *wakf* is under supervision of the *ḳāḍī*.

5. Extinction of the *wakf*.

A *wakf* is intended to last forever. Nevertheless the jurists envisage several situations that may result in its termination:

1. When the goods of the *wakf* perish. In the event the goods are destroyed or damaged, to the extent that they can no longer be used or exploited in the way envisioned by the founder, Muḥammad al-Shaybānī held that the *wakf* becomes extinct and that the remains of the goods revert to the founder or his heirs. The other jurists assert, however, that no possibility of alternative use or exploitation must be left unexplored before the *wakf* comes to an end, and they carry this to great lengths. In principle, *wakfs* consisting of land cannot become extinguished.

2. A *wakf* can be declared null and void by the *ḳāḍī* if it does not satisfy the conditions of validity, or if the founder has introduced stipulations contrary to the essence of the notion of *wakf*.

3. A *wakf* becomes null and void if the founder apostatises from Islam.

4. According to the Mālikīs, if a *wakf* is made in favour of a limited number of beneficiaries for their lifetime or for a certain period, it becomes extinct when the last of them has died or when the period for which the *wakf* has been founded has expired. The *wakf* property then returns to the founder or his heirs.

5. Under Mālikī law, a *wakf* can be cancelled by the founder if he has stipulated that the property will return to him or may be sold by him in case he needs it.

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(R. Peters)

II. In the Arab Lands

1. In Egypt.

The earliest pious foundations in Muslim Egypt seem to be gifts for charitable purposes rather than *awḳāf* as subsequently known. This was the case with the foundation of the first mosque built by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in the first year of the Arab conquest (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, i, 62-3). On the return of the Arab troops from Alexandria in 21/641, Ḳaysaba b. Kulthūm, one of the *ahl al-rāya*, donated to the community a piece of land which he owned for the foundation of a mosque. The mosque personnel was paid by the *Bayt al-Māl*. Other plots were similarly donated for

communal use, e.g. to establish a market for cattle. Al-Ḳalḳashandī attributes the earliest charitable *waḳf* in Egypt based on the alienation of treasury land (*Bayt al-Māl*) to al-Layth b. Saʿd during the governorship of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv, 38), but it is not clear that this was a *waḳf* proper.

The earliest known document dealing with a genuine charitable *waḳf* of agricultural land in Egypt dates from the ʿAbbāsid period; the founder, the financial official Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Mādharāʾī, alienated the pond called Birkat al-Ḥabash together with the orchards around it for charitable purposes (the ponds of Cairo became waterless when the flood began to recede in the fall; they were then used for agricultural purposes). The revenue was to be used to operate a hydraulic complex and to buy food for the poor. The text of this *waḳf*, dated 307/919, is published as a résumé by Ibn Duḳmāḳ (i, 55-6; Amīn, *Awḳāf*, 37-8). Another document from the Ikhshīdid period (dated 355/965) refers to a hydraulic complex known as *Biʾr al-Waṭāwīṭ* consisting of waterwheels and a well, which were endowed for charitable use (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 135).

Al-Maḳrīzī states that the earliest pious *waḳfs* were based on the alienation of commercial buildings, mainly apartment houses (*ribāʿ*), and that no land was alienated in the early period of the governors and their successors; even Ibn Ṭūlūn's foundations of a mosque, a hospital and an aqueduct were financed only with the revenue of apartment buildings (*ibid.*, ii, 295). The previous examples, however, show that during the ʿAbbāsid period pious and family endowments did include agricultural land (*ibid.*, ii, 114).

The origins of a central *waḳf* administration cannot be precisely defined. Al-Ḳalḳashandī attributes, in rather vague terms, the origin of the *dīwān al-aḥbās* to the time of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iv, 38). During the Umayyad period, an institution for *waḳf* administration was already well established, as the case of the *ḳāḍī* Tawba b. al-Namir (115-20/733-8) demonstrates; he supervised the *awḳāf*, ensuring that the charitable funds (*ṣadaḳa*) reached their destination and preventing abuses. Upon his death this *dīwān* had already become an important institution (Halm, 47-8). A similar *dīwān* was later created in Baṣra, which suggests that the Egyptian one might be the first in Islamic history. Half a century later, when another *ḳāḍī*, Ismāʿīl b. Ilyasaʿ (164-7/781-3), tried to apply the principle, accepted in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, according to which a *waḳf* is not irrevocable, he provoked a great controversy which eventually led to his dismissal; the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* prevailed in Egypt from the outset.

During the ʿAbbāsid period, some *ḳāḍīs* of Fusṭāṭ carried out strict inspections of the *awḳāf* properties on a monthly basis. The judge was free to administer according to his own discretion the funds donated to the *dīwān* without specific conditions, provided that they were spent *fī sabīl Allāh*, i.e. for any charitable purpose. The *ḳāḍīs* were also in charge of controlling the *awḳāf* of the *ahl al-dhimma*.

The Fāṭimids modified the *waḳf* administration. The caliph al-Muʿizz ordered in 363/974 that the *aḥbās* funds be transferred to the *Bayt al-Māl* and that the beneficiaries should prove their claims (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 295). He also cancelled the alienation of agricultural land, which al-Ḥākim, however, shortly afterwards reintroduced. The *waḳfs* were then subject to a kind of tax farming (*ḍamān*); an individual would administer the *waḳf* estate and collect its revenue, against a fixed yearly amount which would settle the claims of the beneficiaries and leave a balance for the *Bayt al-Māl*. With these funds, the Fāṭimid state used to support all types of philanthropic foundations, in particular those whose assets were exhausted. The tax farming system had the side-effect that the tax farmer (*ḍāmin*) might neglect the property in order to realise a maximum profit for himself. Ibn Mammātī, who witnessed the *waḳf* bureaucracy during the late Fāṭimid and early Ayyūbid periods, criticised the renting-out of alienated estates because it deprived the *waḳf* of investment opportunities and allowed the major profit to be reaped by the tenant. A large and detailed *waḳfiyya* in the name of the Fāṭimid vizier al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*], preserved in a Mamlūk-period copy, is the only known Fāṭimid *waḳfiyya* and the oldest example of this type; it refers to an agricultural estate alienated in a private *waḳf* to the benefit of the family of Ibn Maʿṣūm, a descendant of the Shīʿī Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] (Cl. Cahen, Y. Rāġib and A. Taher).

The state control over the *awḳāf* by the *dīwān al-aḥbās* did not exclude the role of the *ḳāḍī*, however, who was directly in charge of the inspection of the premises. The Fāṭimid *ḳāḍīs* of al-Fusṭāṭ and al-Ḳāhira used to inspect yearly the religious buildings in both cities.

With the *iḳṭāʿ* system introduced by the Ayyūbids, important changes occurred in the situation of the *awḳāf*. Land that was previously dedicated to philanthropic purposes was given as *iḳṭāʿ* to officers and state servants, who were to collect its *kharādj*, and this was often detrimental to the philanthropic services which this land originally financed. Following the overthrow of the Fāṭimids, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, endeavouring to cope with Crusader threats, alienated on a large scale land of the *Bayt al-Māl* in order to pay ransoms of Muslim prisoners of war and to support religious foundations and various philanthropic services aiming at consolidating Sunnī Islam. An important number of *madrasas* and a major *khānaḳāh* were created, sustaining communities of scholars and Ṣūfīs, including Muslim migrants to Egypt. According to Muḥammad Amīn, however, the Ayyūbid mode of creating pious endowments should not be described as based on *waḳf* but rather on *irṣād*, the difference being that *waḳf* implies the alienation of privately-owned property for a pious or other purpose, whereas *irṣād* involves the use of public funds, excluding a private involvement in the transaction, to sustain public or philanthropic services (*Awḳāf*, 54, 64). The *irṣād* was supposed to assume charges which were part of the *Bayt al-Māl*'s expenditures (Abū Zahra, 23).

The large quantity of *waḳf* documents from the Mamlūk period to be found in Egyptian archives and their ongoing publication allows a much better view of the role of the *waḳf* during this period than previously.

The Mamlūk *waḳf* system consisted to a large extent of *irṣād*, referred to as *waḳf*, thus blurring the line between the *Bayt al-Māl* and the sultan's private property. The Mamlūk establishment thus acquired the benefit of fulfilling a charitable act at the expense of the state. Scholars of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, and mostly during the Ottoman period, did not consider the alienation of *Bayt al-Māl* funds as a true, sound *waḳf*. In 789/1387 Sultan Barḳūḳ, who favoured the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, tried to liquidate some of the great *waḳfs* established by his predecessors on the ground that they were from the outset illicit because they were based on the alienation of *Bayt al-Māl* land. The jurists, however, did not authorise him to liquidate *waḳfs* serving pious works (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, Cairo 1970-73, iii/1, 345). The Shāfiʿīs preferred to tolerate *waḳfs* financed by *Bayt al-Māl* estates despite their doubtful status, as long as they supported the reli-

gious foundations which were, *per se*, entitled to funds from the public treasury.

The Mamlūks introduced their own reforms of the *wakf* system. During the reign of Baybars, the *wakf* administration was divided into three parts. A distinction was made between *aḥbās* and *awḳāf*. The latter included the *awḳāf ḥukmiyya* and the *awḳāf ahliyya*, whereas the *aḥbās* consisted of the *rizaḳ aḥbāsiyya*. The *awḳāf ḥukmiyya* were supervised by the S̲h̲āfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* and included urban buildings in al-Ḳāhira and al-Fusṭāṭ (Miṣr) whose revenue served purely philanthropic functions such as the support of the Holy Cities and the poor and the payment of ransoms for Muslim prisoners of war. The *awḳāf ahliyya* included the great foundations of sultans and *amīrs*, such as *madrasas*, *k̲h̲ānaḳāhs*, *kuttābs* and funerary complexes; they were supported by urban and agricultural estates, both in Egypt and Syria, and their revenue was to serve combined charitable and private purposes by sustaining a religious institution and securing an income to the founder and his clan.

The *rizḳa* (meaning income) according to al-Nābulusī, Ibn Duḳmāḳ and Ibn al-D̲j̲īʿān, is a special kind of endowment based on the alienation of treasury land for the benefit of individuals, rather than institutions, for providing specific services. This system seems to have originated in the late Ayyūbid period (Michel, 108). The *rizaḳ aḥbāsiyya* established under the Mamlūks had as their main purpose the provision of services to the rural areas. Individuals were directly endowed with agricultural land which provided them with an income, often coupled with the condition that they maintain or serve some religious or philanthropic institution in the villages. The *rizaḳ* provided for the salaries of the religious personnel of the mosques and *zāwiyas*, for craftsmen and employees, such as the guardians of fields and villages, and building craftsmen. They also provided funds for the purchase of agricultural tools. These services included Christian villages as well (Halm, 52-3; Michel, 111-12). The supervision of the *rizaḳ* came within the Great *Dawādār*'s sphere of competence. N. Michel sees the *rizḳa* as a local Egyptian, non-religious institution, which originally was not ruled by religious law and was thus distinct from *wakf*. Over the course of time, however, the *rizaḳ aḥbāsiyya* were mistaken for *wakf* and acquired their legal status as irrevocable and exempted of taxes (Michel, 114).

Al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī writes that the *naẓar al-aḥbās al-mabrūra*, i.e. the general supervision of the pious endowments in the early 15th century, was either in the hands of the Sultan himself or delegated to his deputy or to the Great *Dawādār*, mostly to the latter. In the Baḥrī Mamlūk period, however, the supervision of the great pious *wakfs* was assumed either by an *amīr* or by the S̲h̲āfiʿī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*.

Notwithstanding the role of a central *wakf* administration, the Mamlūk *ḳāḍī* was involved with *awḳāf* at the court level, where every *wakfiyya* had to be registered in several copies, of which one remained in the *ḳāḍī*'s archives.

From the outset, the Mamlūk sultans made full use of *wakf* possibilities. Their religious foundations were often part of ambitious urban projects which are still visible in the present Old City of Cairo. For their endowments, they allocated far more investments (land or commercial structures) than necessary for the upkeep of the religious foundation in order to produce a substantial surplus for themselves and their descendants. Such measures became necessary under the *iḳṭāʿ* system, which in principle gave the *amīrs* and state servants only a life-time usufruct of the land or other assets, excluding inheritance, not to mention confiscations and extortions ordered by the sultans. As a result of the large-scale use of *wakf*, it became a source of income not only for the religious and teaching establishments but also for an important number of administrators and other employees.

The main beneficiaries of Mamlūk *awḳāf* were, in addition to the founders and the religious and educational foundations of all types, the water supply, hospitals, the Holy Cities (including Hebron and Jerusalem), and various services related to the Pilgrimage and its infrastructure, including the *kiswa* for the Kaʿba. There were also public kitchens, like the ones sponsored by Sultan Barḳūḳ in Hebron and by Ḳā'itbāy in Mecca and Medina. In times of plague, washing and burying the dead and providing coffins and shrouds were also provided for by pious endowments. Ḳā'itbāy included in his endowment for the Holy Cities two ships to carry wheat from Egypt. Military institutions such as the arsenal (*k̲h̲izānat al-silāḥ*) and fortifications might also be maintained by *wakf* in the Mamlūk period.

At this time, all kinds of movable objects or chattels could be alienated, not only books, utensils and furniture for the religious foundations but also slaves or animals. Although discussions about the *wakf* of cash did take place in Mamlūk Egypt, no such *wakf* is so far known prior to the Ottoman era (Amīn, *Awḳāf*, 100). The Mamlūk élite also made use of the family *wakfs*, i.e. those whose beneficiaries were the family and the clan. Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad remunerated his *amīrs* by making family *wakfs* for them and their descendants. In his own family endowment deed, he stipulated explicitly that his daughters should get the same share as his sons, thus circumventing the inheritance law (M. Amīn, appendix to Ibn Ḥabīb, ii, 378).

Some family *wakfs* included a simultaneous charitable share, consisting of donations to religious foundations, sometimes tied to specific services, such as to increase the number of students or raise the salaries, to add a fountain or buy candles, etc. The Azhar mosque and the hospital of Ḳalāwūn were among the institutions that, over the centuries, regularly acquired such endowments both in the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods.

The Mamlūk chroniclers repeatedly criticised *wakf* abuses by the ruling establishment. A device used by sultans and *amīrs* to acquire *wakf* property was simply to invalidate the *wakf* on legal grounds, either justifiably or not. The most famous case of *wakf* confiscation in the Mamlūk period was that of D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār (al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 70-1). Sultan Barsbāy, who demolished *wakf* shops to build his own *madrasa* in their place, is reported to have made a fair offer to the tenants without pressurising them (idem, *Sulūk*, iv/2, 636-7; *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 330). The *wakf* properties accumulated over generations represented a significant share of Egypt's resources and at the same time a great temptation to the rulers. Whenever the Mamlūk state was in need of liquid funds, especially in times of war or other crises, the tapping of the *wakf* resources was inevitable.

The urban *mawḳūfāt* in the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods included apartment houses (*rabʿ*), commercial buildings of various types (*ḳayṣāriyya*, *wakāla*, *funduḳ*, *k̲h̲ān*), shops, food stalls (*masmaṭ*), factories (sugar, soap, starch, glass, textiles, tanneries, etc.), ovens for hatching chickens, mills, bakeries, oil presses and baths. In the Ottoman period, the coffee-house became one of the most lucrative *wakf* investments.

The *awḳāf* were a major concern for the Ottoman conquerors of Egypt and one of the first issues which Selīm I [*q.v.*] tackled once he entered Cairo. According to legend, Selīm decided to conquer Egypt after having tested the Egyptian *ʿulamāʾ* and finding them corrupt enough to authorise the liquidation of the Azhar endowments for a good bargain. A decree dated Rabīʿ II 923/May 1517, i.e. the year of the Ottoman conquest, affirms, however, Selīm's intention to respect the pious endowments established by the Mamlūks (ʿAfīfī, *Awḳāf* 256-7). In 928/1522 a *nāẓir al-awḳāf* was appointed from Istanbul to control the *waḳf*s of Egypt and to reform the religious institutions so that they included Turkish scholars and Ṣūfīs. According to the *Ḳānun-nāme* of Süleymān the Magnificent, the *waḳf*s of the Mamlūk sultans were to be inspected by the *daftardār* and controlled by the authorities in Istanbul. Later, this office was replaced by the *nāẓir al-nuẓẓār*, who was appointed from the governor's entourage. The *awḳāf* of the *Ḥaramayn* came similarly under Ottoman control. The supervision of the great pious *waḳf*s, however, remained on the whole in the hands of local *amīr*s and beys. Those of the Holy Cities were sometimes controlled by Ottoman *agha*s of the Dār al-Saʿāda in Istanbul. Also, *awḳāf* were now no longer exempt from taxes, as had been the case in the Mamlūk period.

Owing to the continuous sale of treasury land in the Mamlūk period, the Ottomans found that almost half of Egypt's agricultural land had been alienated as *waḳf.* They abolished the *iḳṭāʿ* system, ordered a new cadaster, dissolved the *dīwān al-aḥbās* and investigated existing *waḳf*s in order to cancel all those of dubious origins or which were lacking proper documents. These measures helped them increase considerably the treasury land.

Giving supremacy to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, the Ottomans stressed the distinction between *waḳf* and *irṣād*, a distinction that not had much relevance under the Mamlūks because of the prevalence of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* at that time (K. Cuno, *Irṣād*). The alienation of treasury land under the Ottomans needed therefore to be authorised by the sultan or his governor (Nahal, 69). Due to the resistance of the *ʿulamāʾ*, however, the Ottomans were cautious when dealing with pious endowments inherited from their predecessors, which they preferred to maintain as long as they fulfilled philanthropic purposes. Thus *rizaḳ aḥbāsiyya* were also investigated but largely tolerated, even when their origin was suspect, as long as they secured an income for the needy. They were called *waḳf irṣādī* or simply *irṣād* (Michel; Cuno).

The separation of military and judicial powers by the Ottomans limited the encroachments of the ruling establishment in *waḳf* issues. The Ottoman *ḳāḍī* was independent of the *wālī* and had a greater administrative authority than his Mamlūk predecessor, including also some of the *muḥtasib*s' competence. He was expected to appoint or dismiss the *nāẓir*s, to examine their reports, to control rural and urban *waḳf* employees, to check that the stipulations were followed and the beneficiaries' interest secured, and also to implement regulations pertaining to the neighbourhood. Because of the importance of the *waḳf*s' resources, however, the Ottoman governors of Egypt nevertheless did interfere in *waḳf* matters, as on the occasion when the supervisors of all great *waḳf*s were compelled to purchase quantities of copper in order to get rid of a surplus sent from Istanbul.

The Ottoman governors of the 10th/16th and the 11th/17th centuries created important charitable *waḳf*s in Egypt, some of which also included a private share for the founder. Their *awḳāf* involved the foundation of new religious institutions mostly favouring the Ḥanafī *madhhab*; but most of all they endowed, upgraded and often transformed existing ones. Special attention was devoted to saints' tombs and shrines. Al-Azhar's prestige as a teaching institution increased during this period. The governors' *waḳf*s included an important number of commercial buildings of the *wakāla* type, built in the port cities and in Būlāḳ, Cairo's port, to facilitate the transport of goods to Istanbul and to provide at the same time funds for philanthropic works. The Pilgrimage infrastructure and its caravan benefited. Sultan Djaḳmaḳ and Ḳāʾitbāy's endowments for the Holy Cities (*dashīsha kubrā*) were enlarged by Selīm I and Süleymān the Magnificent; Murād III made a new endowment called the *dashīsha ṣughrā*, and Mehemmed IV's wife also alienated agricultural land in Egypt for the Holy Cities. The Ottomans thus supported the *Ḥaramayn* mainly with the *waḳf* revenue of Egyptian land. Following Ḳāʾitbāy's example, Süleymān and Murād III endowed ships for the transportation of wheat from Egypt to Mecca and Medina (Behrens-Abouseif, *Qāytbāy's foundation*, 67). The Ottomans made use of the cash *waḳf*, albeit on a small scale (eadem, *Adjustment*, 217).

The military aristocracy of the Ottoman period became increasingly involved from the 11th/17th century onwards in the creation of large private *waḳf*s in Cairo for the benefit of the founder's own clan or household, which had a great impact on the upgrading and revitalising of their urban neighbourhoods. Notables of the religious establishment and the merchant class also created such endowments, which included the large number of *sabīl-maktab*s built all over Cairo during the Ottoman period. The Black Eunuchs of the Imperial Harem, whose careers often ended in Cairo, also figure among the founders of great private *waḳf*s which included a philanthropic share; that of ʿOthmān Agha in the early 11th/17th century, however, was purely charitable and of particular urban importance for the city of Cairo (Behrens-Abouseif, *Tanneries*).

Shortly after coming to power, Muḥammad ʿAlī abolished the *iltizām* [*q.v.*] or tax-farming system applied by the Ottomans. He also tried to prohibit the creation of new *waḳf*s by a decree of 9 Radjab 1262/3 July 1846, which was never implemented, however, and was even revoked by his successor ʿAbbās I. Following the overthrow of the *mamlūk*s, his son Ibrāhīm, who became the governor of Upper Egypt, confiscated all *waḳf* land there. Muḥammad ʿAlī assumed, moreover, control of the *rizaḳ aḥbāsiyya* all over Egypt, compensating their beneficiaries only partly, but did not interfere with *waḳf* of urban properties. In 1835 he established a general *waḳf* administration which was abandoned three years later, apparently because of the *ʿulamāʾ*'s opposition (Sékaly, 96, 410, 450, 628; Baer, 169). Muḥammad ʿAlī himself did alienate large agricultural estates (23,000 *faddān*s) in a *waḳf* for educational institutions in his hometown of Kavala or Ḳawāla [*q.v.*]. As a result of his confiscations, pious foundations established prior to Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign deteriorated, and primary education provided by the *maktab*s (*kuttāb* [*q.v.*]) was left without income (Baer, 149). The resulting desperate situation of the pious foundations prompted the Khedive Ismāʿīl later to allocate 10,000 *faddān*s for the benefit of mosques that were left without resources; moreover, he made vast endowments for the educational system of Egypt. In the second half of the cen-

tury, the alienation of agricultural land increased due to the Khedives' and other high officials' endowments. These were similar to those of their Mamlūk and Ottoman predecessors, sc. a combination of a charitable and a family *waḳf*, and their importance for education and health care and other philanthropic institutions was great. The Muḥammad ʿAlī family also returned to the Mamlūk tradition, abandoned by the Ottomans, of erecting lavish funerary foundations which were supported by *waḳf*.

During the 19th century the great landowners of the Muḥammad ʿAlī family and other notables made extensive use of family endowments with agricultural land in order to regulate inheritance matters and safeguard properties against fragmentation. Paradoxically, the opposite result was achieved. Due to the perpetual nature of the endowment leading to an increasing number of beneficiaries over generations, the property was infinitely split up, as the critics of the family or *ahlī waḳf* have always emphasised. The result was that the beneficiaries, left with an insignificant income, lost interest in their *waḳfs*, leaving the supervisor free to handle it according to his own interests (Baer, 167).

In 1864 Ismāʿīl ordered that the *waḳf* administration established by ʿAbbās I in 1851 should acquire the status of a ministry which would assume greater control over the pious *waḳfs*, and he introduced severe punishment for usurpation and abuses. To achieve this, he needed the authorisation of the Porte to act on behalf of the Ottoman Chief *Ḳāḍī*, who continued to be the *de jure* official authority in Egyptian *waḳf* matters, including those of the *Ḥaramayn*. In 1884, two years after the British occupation of Egypt, the Khedive Tawfīḳ abolished the *Waḳf* Ministry and replaced it by an independent administration under his own direct supervision (Sékaly 111-12; Baer, 171), a measure necessary in order to prevent Christian officials, now in control of the ministries, from dealing with the Muslims' pious endowments and getting involved with *S̲h̲arīʿa* issues. The British, however, did not approve of the way in which the new body functioned, and in 1913 Lord Kitchener re-installed the *Waḳf* Ministry with the consent of the Porte, under the condition, however, that it would be allowed to maintain a certain autonomy including the budget. During the late 19th century the Khedive's control of the *awḳāf* was indisputable, assuming the traditional competencies of the Ottoman Chief *Ḳāḍī*, from whom he still needed an authorisation (Sékaly, 109). This went on until World War I when the *de jure* Ottoman authority was finally also abolished.

The problems of abuse of the *waḳf* system in Egypt have been virtually the same for all periods of Egypt's pre-modern history. Ever since Ibn Mammātī's comments in the 6th/12th century, the subject of *waḳf* abuse was a regular issue in the chronicles and often a major political issue setting rulers against *ʿulamāʾ*. The tremendous accumulation of assets in *waḳf* properties made it inevitable that the rulers, whether due to pressing circumstances or simply to greed, would turn to these resources. The success of the *ʿulamāʾ*'s resistance varied. The Mamlūk sultans managed to a great extent to manipulate judges according to their own will; Ottoman ones were more independent.

In order to safeguard his *waḳf* against abuses, every *waḳf* founder formulated strict stipulations, which often included that no *waḳf* property should be rented for more than three years, neither should it be sold or exchanged (*istibdāl*). The stipulations limiting or excluding the trade of *waḳf* property did not imply, however, the total blocking of an endowment. A *waḳf* could always be enlarged through the addition of new investment estates by the founder himself, his successors or any other person. Sometimes, however, the status of religious foundations changed through such enlargements: a mosque would become a *madrasa*, a *madrasa* for the S̲h̲āfiʿī *mad̲h̲hab* would be enlarged to also include Ḥanafī teaching or Ṣūfī service as well, a mere *masd̲j̲id* might acquire the status of a *d̲j̲āmiʿ*; such transformations, however, did not remain undisputed. Although all important endowments stipulated that the revenue should be spent in the first place on maintaining the premises, over the course of time the alienated estates fell into disrepair, thus becoming less lucrative. The supervisor had no choice but to take rescue initiatives. These included the sale of the dilapidated estate in order to cover the restoration expenses or to acquire other assets instead (*istibdāl*). Such initiatives, which necessarily contradicted the founder's stipulations, had to be authorised by the *ḳāḍī*, who would need an assessment of the estate's dilapidated condition. For this purpose he had to summon a consortium of master-masons, jurists, *waḳf* administrators and witnesses. Such assessments, however, were often fabricated, or the building might even be demolished overnight when a powerful person was involved (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, 320-1; *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 69).

Long-term lease contracts were another solution to the problem of *waḳf* decay. This allowed the tenant himself to carry out the necessary repairs and restorations, and to subtract the expenditures gradually from the rent. The long term often implied subrenting the estate and freezing the rent for a long period, while it gave the tenant a proprietor-like status. Sultan Barḳūḳ, who was in need of funds for his army but was not authorised to dissolve his predecessor's *awḳāf*, allowed his *amīrs* to rent *waḳf* land on extended terms and exploit it to their profit; they subrented it in order to make a profit from the balance (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, iii, 345 ff.).

The *ḥikr* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was a long-term lease of land only, giving the tenant the right to own and alienate the buildings on it. He could then replace dilapidated *waḳf* buildings by new ones and alienate them in a *waḳf* of his own. As a result, several *waḳfs* could be involved in the same plot. The Mamlūk sultans often participated as share-holders in commercial structures within the city that belonged to older *waḳfs*; this offered them lucrative investment opportunities for their own *waḳfs*, while they could rescue an old one from total decay. The *k̲h̲uluww* was a device that evolved during the reign of Sultan al-G̲h̲awrī and was vividly discussed among the jurists of the time. It was a form of rent that gave the tenant the right to act like a proprietor, i.e. in selling, bequeathing and alienating his rights in the property (ʿAfīfī, *Asālīb*, 116).

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(Doris Behrens-Abouseif)

2. In Syria [see Suppl.].

3. In North Africa to 1914.

i. *Public endowments*. The Marīnid [*q.v.*] sultans created public endowments (*wakf khayrī*) for mosques, *zāwiyas*, hospitals and, especially, *madrasas*. They built at least six *madrasas* in the period between 721/1321 and 756/1356, designating revenue-producing properties as endowments to pay the salaries of teachers and the expenses of students. These assets included stores (*ḥānūts*) used for commerce and crafts, houses, apartments, stables, public baths, mills, orchards, public ovens, inns, halls, factories for weaving and soap-making, and arable land. Marīnid support for *madrasas* was an aspect of their internal politics. At the beginning of their reign, they sought to check the influence and power of Fāsī notables and religious leaders and to foster a new religious élite that would support their rule. This they accomplished by building *madrasas* and supporting the religious personnel associated with them. *Wakf* inscriptions served as an instrument of Marīnid propaganda.

The Marīnids were careful to demonstrate that they owned the assets that they designated as endowments. According to the chroniclers, the sultans purchased the properties that they used to create or support public endowments; surviving *wakfiyyas* specify that each endowed asset had been purchased from a named owner. However, revenues generated by public endowments were taxed, and proceeds were kept in the Public Treasury, usually located in the central mosque. The sultans apparently considered the funds in the Public Treasury as their private property, which could be used to purchase new properties and to endow them as a *wakf khayrī*, e.g. for the maintenance of a tomb. Some *muftīs* maintained, however, that endowment assets acquired in this manner had been confiscated and that the endowments were therefore illegal.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan (*r.* 731-49/1331-48) built *madrasas* in Fez, Meknès, Salé, Tangier, Anfa, Azemmour, Safi, Aghmāt, Marrakesh, and al-ʿUbbād. According to the chronicler Ibn Marzūḳ, the sultan regarded the construction of these *madrasas* as signs of his respect for religious knowledge and of his personal piety and as a reflection of the glory of his reign. The assets assigned by Abu 'l-Ḥasan for the maintenance of the *madrasa* of the Dār al-Makhzan in Fez (which had been built by his father) may be considered typical: the village of Abū Zayd; the Ḥammām al-Sulṭān in the Kharrāṭīn quarter; the Ḥammām of Darb al-Ṭawīl; the constructions above the two aforementioned *ḥammāms*; the yearly rent of three large houses; sixteen shops; seven-eighths of the Inn of Darb al-Ghurabā'; the mill located on the spring of Ḳammīma; a large oven in Fās Djadīd together with two shops connected to it and constructions above them; and a shop located outside the *madrasa*.

The Marīnids also endowed books and created public libraries, located in mosques or *madrasas*. Abū Yūsuf (*r.* 656-85/1258-86) acquired books from al-Andalus and deposited them in the Madrasa al-Ṣaffārīn which he had constructed in 684/1285. The sultans were aware of the needs of the scholars who taught in the *madrasas*, with whom they consulted before ordering that a manuscript be copied. In 728/1327, Abu 'l-Ḥasan endowed the *K. al-Tamhīd* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and *al-Bayān wa 'l-taḥṣīl* of Ibn Rushd al-Djadd [*q.v.* in Suppl.] for the use of *madrasa* students attached to Andalusian mosques. Other endowed books included: al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*; al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Mashārik al-anwār*; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, and Ibn al-Ghallāb, *K. al-Taʿrīf*. In the middle of the 8th/14th century, Abū ʿInān (*r.* 749-59/1348-58) built a library attached to the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque, one room of which was devoted exclusively to copies of the Ḳur'ān. The sultan also nominated a clerk who was responsible for keeping a record of the books as they were put into use, and provided endowment revenues for the maintenance of the library. At the end of the century, Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*] sent a copy of his *K. al-ʿIbar* from Egypt to Fez as a *wakf* to be deposited in the library of the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque.

The management of *wakf* resources was a position of great responsibility, to be undertaken only by persons of unquestioned integrity. A supervisor (*nāẓir*), specifically appointed for this task, was entrusted with the administration of these funds under the supervision of the *ḳāḍī*. This office, like others, was often inherited. Improper management of a public endowment caused a major scandal in 8th/14th-century Fez. Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mazdaghī, scion of a distinguished family, served as *khaṭīb* of the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque for thirty consecutive years. In consideration of his personal wealth and stature, al-Mazdaghī was entrusted with the *wakf* revenues deposited in the Ḳarawiyyīn. He reportedly invested the money in different economic enterprises, purchasing real estate and hoarding grain, in anticipation of a bad harvest when prices would rise. When it became apparent that he would not be able to return the money, he asked the Sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan for "three charges of gold". Stung by the discovery that the *khaṭīb* had betrayed his confidence and that of the community, the sultan fasted for three consecutive days, after which he consulted with his religious advisers, who recommended that he draw upon his private resources to replace monies lost by private individuals and members of the community. The properties acquired by the *khaṭīb* were sold and the revenues were used to replace the lost *wakf* revenues. Al-Mazdaghī was reinstated as *khaṭīb*, but died soon thereafter in Fez.

Marīnid endowments had a significant impact on many aspects of urban life and contributed to the urbanisation of Moroccan towns and cities. Public endowments attracted teachers, staff and students to urban centres, thereby increasing the demand for food, shelter, and clothing; the purchase, sale and rental of real estate added capital to the economy. But the heavy reliance on a single sector of the economy, sc. real estate, meant that the daily operation of the endowment system was sensitive to economic fluctuations. It was not difficult for individuals to misuse

the system through embezzlement, extortion or theft, and it was therefore necessary for the agents of the legal system to play an active role in the regulation of endowments.

Beginning in the early 11th/17th century, members of the Turkish ruling élite in Algiers created family endowments (see below) in which they designated the poor of Mecca and Medina (*al-Ḥaramayn*) as the ultimate beneficiaries. As the family lines came to an end, these assets accumulated in what came to be known as the *Waḳf al-Ḥaramayn*. To facilitate the supervision of these individual endowments, local governors issued orders for the compilation of the "*waḳfiyya* of Algiers" sometime between 1101 and 1125/1689-90 and 1713-14; this measure was designed to ensure that the ultimate beneficiaries of the city's many familial endowments would know of their existence. Supervision of the affairs of the *Ḥaramayn* was entrusted to four people, two officers of the Turkish *od̲j̲aḳ* in Algiers and two indigenous Algerians. This was part of a new policy designed to instill confidence in the safety of endowment assets and trust in their proper administration, and to promote a political, administrative and economic atmosphere conducive to the creation of additional endowments. During the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th, administrators of the *Ḥaramayn* used surpluses left over after meeting regular expenses to purchase additional assets. Between 1078/1667-8 and 1250/1834, the number of properties controlled by the *Ḥaramayn* increased from 182 to 1,748, an average annual increase of 9.6%. To deal with the problem of old properties that had fallen into ruin, Muslim jurists and judges adopted a flexible approach to the interpretation of *waḳf* law, giving their approval to legal instruments that served the material interests of the *waḳf*, including perpetual leases (*ʿanā*'; *d̲j̲alsa*), and exchanges (*muʿāwaḍa*) that made it possible for *waḳf* administrators to relinquish one asset and receive another in its place. In most cases, the rental value of the incoming asset was higher than that of the outgoing property. Exchange transactions were used to expand and improve the water system, to establish industrial enterprises, and to build or reconstruct mosques and *zāwiyas*. The new policy facilitated the recycling of urban property and the re-allocation of urban space, thereby contributing to the development of Algiers (see Hoexter, *Endowments*).

ii. *Family endowments*. The specific terms of a family endowment are set out in an endowment deed, a legal instrument drafted with great care in an effort to eliminate any possible ambiguity. In the words of the Fāsī jurist al-Mawāsī (d. 896/1491), "Legal documents are predicated upon the removal of all ambiguities and summary statements . . . even if this causes them to run on at great length" (al-Wans̲h̲arīsī, *Miʿyār*, vii, 346). Unlike the Ḥanafīs, the Mālikīs do not allow a founder to designate himself or herself as the initial beneficiary. The founder customarily begins by designating the first generation of beneficiaries, usually one or more children, and indicating whether or not males and females are to be treated equally. Next, the founder indicates what happens to the revenues belonging to a beneficiary of the first generation upon his or her death. If that beneficiary leaves a child, his or her share reverts to that child; if the beneficiary dies without a child, his or her share reverts to the surviving beneficiaries of the first generation or their descendants. In this manner, the entitlement of extinct branches reverts to the surviving branches of the lineal descent group.

Referring to the second generation of beneficiaries, the founder generally indicates that the revenues are "for their descendants *and* their descendants' descendants" (emphasis added). Such phrasing was understood by the jurists as signifying that entitlement now applies to anyone who qualifies as either a descendant (*ʿaḳib*) of the founder or a descendant of a descendant; thus two (or more) generations of lineal descendants may qualify as beneficiaries simultaneously. Such an endowment is characterised as being *muʿaḳḳab* ("for a descent group").

A founder who does not want an endowment to become *muʿaḳḳab* must use some particle, word or phrase conventionally understood as signifying that entitlement does not pass from the first to the second generation of beneficiaries (or from the second to the third, etc.) until all members of a given generation have died out. The founder may use the particle *t̲h̲umma* ("then"), as in the phrase, "then for their descendants", or the phrase one [generation] after the other (*awwal*^{an} *fa-awwal*^{an})". The revenues in an endowment of this type are distributed exclusively among the members of a single generation. As the members of a single generation of beneficiaries die, the revenues accumulate in the hands of the surviving members of that generation until the longest-lived member eventually controls the entire endowment. Upon his or her death, the revenues are divided *per capita* among the next generation of beneficiaries, whereupon the process begins again.

When a line of beneficiaries dies out completely, the revenues revert to the charitable purpose specified by the founder, usually a mosque or some other religious institution (see below).

ii. (a) *Social practice*. Any family endowment rests upon the presumed charity or piety of its founder, as specified in an endowment created "for the poor among my children and my children's children", or "for the needy of so-and-so's family" (*ibid.*, vii, 484), or for the founder's "needy relatives on both his father's and mother's sides" (*ibid.*, vii, 478), or for the town's lepers (*ibid.*, vii, 186).

By creating an endowment for a pious purpose, the founder hoped to earn a divine reward in the next life, a hope that is expressed in common formulae that appear in testamentary endowments, e.g. the founder indicates that he or she is seeking "the face of God the Almighty and the abundance of His momentous reward". This formula invariably is followed by the citation of Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 30, "Surely We leave not to waste the wage of him who does good works" (al-Wans̲h̲arīsī, vii, 80).

A family endowment may be created for many reasons: as an act of piety; as a legal fiction to prevent revocation of a sale or to secure property whose ownership is contested; to avoid confiscation; as an act of loving kindness toward a dying husband; etc. Whatever the founder's motive, the endowment serves to keep property intact, to assure the entitlement of beneficiaries for the duration of the object and to regulate the transmission of usufructory rights from one generation to the next. Not only does the institution accord a founder the freedom to make decisions denied him by Islamic inheritance law [see FARĀʾIḌ; MĪRĀT̲H̲], but the creation of a family endowment also gives a proprietor a legal means to remove all or part of a patrimony from the effects of that law.

The creation of an endowment for the benefit of one's children and descendants—regarded as a pious act—reduces the quantum of property available as an inheritance for the founder's ascendents, collaterals,

and spouse or spouses, thereby limiting its fragmentation through inheritance.

Founders who created an endowment for sons and their lineal descendants to the exclusion of daughters and their descendants frequently stipulated that, if the line of males came to an end, the endowment was to revert to a daughter or her female descendants (*ibid.*, vii, 80, 223). The specification of females as secondary beneficiaries of familial endowments suggests that Muslim society in the Marīnid period was not as rigidly patriarchal as is often asserted. Indeed, the family endowment frequently was used to supplement the rights of females. Family endowments customarily were created for the benefit of the founder's children, male and female (*ibid.*, vii, 9). It is true that a founder more often than not invoked the Ḳur'ānic principle that a son was to receive twice the share of a daughter. But the founder's ability to define a descent strategy made it possible to circumvent this provision if so desired (*ibid.*, vii, 281). The stipulation of equality between males and females could be applied to the founder's grandchildren and subsequent descendants, as, for example, in a deed specifying that the revenues of the endowment were to be divided "equally among [the founder's] male and female children and grandchildren" (*ibid.*, vii, 141).

In a study of 101 disputes relating to family endowments, seventy-five cases were identified in which both a founder and a beneficiary are mentioned. Of these endowments, 75% were created by fathers and mothers on behalf of their children and, less frequently, grandchildren. Fathers outnumber mothers as founders by a ratio of six to one. The remaining 25% of the endowments were created for someone other than the founder's children and lineal descendants (Powers, *The Maliki family endowment*, 386-8).

The institution commonly was used by males to support the interests of other males. In the same sample, fathers were three times as likely to create an endowment for sons as for daughters. By contrast, mothers appear to have been more even-handed.

Twelve percent of the endowments created by parents for the benefit of their children specify that the children were minors at the time the endowment was created, suggesting that it was common for a parent to establish a family endowment soon after he or she married and produced offspring. This practice points to a desire on the part of proprietors to make *de facto* arrangements for the ultimate devolution of their property while they were in the prime of life, a phenomenon that required founders to make special provisions for the inclusion of unborn children in the endowment (al-Wans̲h̲arīsī, vii, 223, 229, 269, 442). If a man had two or more wives, his calculations were more complex. Some husbands favoured the offspring of one wife over those of another; others treated sons of co-wives equally (*ibid.*, vii, 278, 281).

Because a testamentary endowment takes effect only upon the founder's death, the founder retains control of his property throughout his lifetime. This advantage is offset by two disadvantages: the endowment is limited to one-third of the estate and it may not be made in favour of an heir. The latter restriction entails that a testamentary endowment may not be created for the benefit of a son or daughter, thereby posing a dilemma for the founder who wants to maintain control of his property until he dies, but also wishes to designate one or more children as beneficiary. Because the prohibition on bequests to heirs does not apply to a grandchild whose father is alive, one way to solve the dilemma is to designate a currently living or unborn grandchild as the initial beneficiary. Since a minor grandchild is subject to the authority of its father, the latter would exercise effective control of the endowment revenues. Naming an unborn grandchild or great-grandchild as an endowment beneficiary also gives the founder an opportunity to privilege the offspring of one branch of the family over another (*ibid.*, vii, 311).

When a designated family line becomes extinct, the endowment revenues revert to a public institution. Commonly, a founder specifies that the revenues are to revert to "the Muslim poor" (*ibid.*, vii, 49) or to "the poor and indigent" (*ibid.*, vii, 60). Some made very particular designations, e.g. "the poor and the indigent in Granada and al-Bīra" (*ibid.*, vii, 463), or "the poor and indigent who reside in the mausoleum of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Sabtī" (*ibid.*, vii, 343), or "lepers" (*ibid.*, vii, 186). One founder stipulated that upon the extinction of the designated line, the revenues were to be used to support students, ransom captives and to manumit slaves (*ibid.*, vii, 438).

The most common way to insure the perpetuity of an endowment was to designate a religious institution such as a mosque, school or Ṣūfī convent—or the personnel associated with such an institution—as the ultimate beneficiary (*ibid.*, vii, 46, 281, 452, 459). In a testamentary endowment created on 5 Rad̲j̲ab 791/30 June 1389, the founder stipulated that when the descendants died out, the revenues were to revert to the D̲j̲āmi' al-Ṣābirīn inside the Victory Gate of Fez for the purchase of olive oil and carpets and for the repair of the mosque itself; any surplus revenues were to be used to feed the poor Ṣūfīs and *murābiṭūn* associated with the mosque (*ibid.*, vii, 312). Other founders designated as the ultimate beneficiary "the muezzin in a Friday mosque" (*ibid.*, vii, 202), or "whoever recites [the Ḳur'ān] over the graves of the founder and his relatives" (*ibid.*, vii, 141).

There are no constraints on the size of endowments created *inter vivos*, and we find individuals who designated part or all of their property as a familial endowment (*ibid.*, vii, 80, 432). In the 9th/15th century, the Zayyānid Sultan Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad designated as an endowment for a religious scholar immovable property that included gardens, lands prepared for sowing and a bath (*ibid.*, vii, 248-9). More commonly, however, a founder would designate a discrete piece of property or a fraction thereof as a familial endowment: residential property such as a room (*bayt*), house (*dār*) or compound (*rab'*); non-residential property such as a shop, bakery or mill; agricultural property such as gardens, orchards and olive groves; unspecified village properties; and even entire villages. It was not uncommon for a founder to designate a share of a piece of property as a familial endowment, e.g. half a house, one-fourth of a jointly-held compound, half of an unspecified share in several shops, two-thirds of a well-known strip of land, or one feddan of land (*ibid.*, vii, 45, 49, 75, 202, 226, 423, 446). It is likely that, over the course of time, considerable segments of the urban and rural landscape were being converted from private property into endowment property.

ii. (b) *Disputes.* Unaware of both the gender and number of his or her lineal descendants, the founder of an endowment would formulate a descent strategy designed to regulate its smooth functioning for every possible combination of male and female children and descendants. In an effort to avoid any ambiguity that might upset the subsequent functioning of the endowment, the notary who drafted the deed acted with

great care. But even the most carefully drafted deed could not anticipate every potential dispute over control of the endowment. Such disputes typically were of two types: an external challenge to the endowment by persons who did not qualify as beneficiaries; or an internal struggle for control of the revenues among the beneficiaries themselves. A dispute over control of an endowment might arise during the lifetime of the founder, or, more commonly, one or more generations after his or her death (*ibid.*, vii, 261-2, 311-21, 435, 452-3); such disputes might last for several generations (Powers, *Court case*, 229-54).

The tendency for disputes to arise one or more generations after the death of both the founder of the endowment and the witnesses to the deed meant that written records played a critical role in the resolution of disputes. For this reason, an endowment deed was customarily deposited in a family archive for safekeeping, and it would pass from one generation of beneficiaries to the next. In the event of a dispute, the deed, together with other important documents, would be presented to the judicial authorities (al-Wans̲h̲arīsī, vii, 80-2). In one case, a woman produced an endowment deed in an effort to secure her status as a member of the first set of beneficiaries. The deed was torn, and this fact cast doubt on the validity of the endowment. Although the *muftī* to whom the case was referred suspected that someone had tampered with the document, he accepted it as legitimate in its current state; he also warned that whoever had torn the document would suffer disgrace in both this world and the next (*ibid.*, vii, 455). Another strategy of a person who exercised physical possession of an endowment deed was to frustrate the claims of potential beneficiaries by refusing to make the document available. Such behaviour typically manifested itself in connection with the transfer of entitlement from one generation of beneficiaries to the next (*ibid.*, vii, 278-81).

Many *muftī*s refrained from issuing a judicial opinion until they had seen a certified transcription of the original endowment deed (*ibid.*, vii, 29-30, 228-9). On occasion, the *muftī*s complained about the summary nature of the transcription (*ibid.*, vii, 81). It was only when a *muftī* was presented with an accurate transcription of the endowment deed that the interpretative task could begin in earnest. No matter how carefully the notary had formulated the deed, how detailed the descent strategy specified therein, and how long the resulting document, the subsequent pattern of births, deaths and marriages within the family frequently resulted in ambiguous situations that required the intervention of either a judge, or if the case was difficult, a *muftī*. Asked to determine the exact intention (*irāda, ḳaṣd*) of the founder at the time of the endowment's creation, the jurists generally assumed that this intention was accessible in the words preserved in the endowment deed, irrespective of the passage of time or the changed circumstances of the endowment beneficiaries. They treated the founder's words as sacred and immutable, comparing them to God's words as preserved in the Ḳur'ān. One Andalusī jurist wrote:

"The words of the founder are like the words of the Divine Lawgiver. Their sense must be followed with respect to both the unambiguous meaning of the texts (*nuṣūṣ*) and the preponderant meaning of ambiguous texts (*ẓawāhir*)" (*ibid.*, vii, 285). In response to the contention that the revenues of a testamentary endowment created for both currently alive and unborn persons should be frozen until all of the potential beneficiaries had come into existence, the Fāsī jurist al-Mazd̲j̲aldī (d. 864/1459-60) said, "This [conclusion] is not required by either the founder's words or his intention" (*ibid.*, vii, 23).

Viewed from the perspective of the nature of the relationship between litigants, endowment disputes fall into three categories:

(1) *Beneficiaries versus the founder's heirs and agnates.* Unlike inheritance law, which imposes compulsory rules for the division of property among a wide group of male and female heirs in a manner that tends to fragment property, endowment law enables a proprietor to allocate usufructory entitlements to specified people in specified amounts, to regulate the transmission of those entitlements from one generation of beneficiaries to the next and to insure the physical and economic integrity of an estate or a piece of property. The wide gap separating these two sets of legal norms, sc., inheritance and endowments, may be illustrated by comparing the group composed of the beneficiaries of a familial endowment with the group composed of the founder's heirs. While most beneficiaries are also heirs, many heirs do not qualify as beneficiaries. A man who establishes an endowment for his children and lineal descendants effectively disinherits his spouse, siblings, cousins, uncles and nephews, to mention just a few. Because they have been disinherited, these "outsiders" have an obvious material interest in challenging the validity of the endowment; a successful challenge will result in the property's redesignation as inheritable property. As heirs, the spouse, siblings and other relatives stand to inherit a fractional share of the estate.

Endowments created from jointly-held property frequently resulted in disputes between the endowment beneficiaries and the founder's other heirs. The relationship between endowment beneficiaries and others could be complicated if the relative amount of endowed and unendowed portions of jointly-held property was unknown, e.g. due to carelessness on the part of the notary who formulated the endowment deed (*ibid.*, vii, 45-6, 49, 72, 432).

(2) *Founders and their children.* As noted, Mālikī jurists do not permit the founder of an *inter vivos* family endowment to serve as the initial beneficiary. This means that the numerous advantages of the endowment system vis-à-vis the inheritance laws are offset by the requirement that the founder immediately relinquish physical control of the property, a requirement that runs counter to the natural human desire to retain effective control of property until one dies. Many proprietors circumvented this obstacle by creating an endowment while their children were either unborn or minors. The law allows a founder who creates an endowment for a minor child to exercise control of the property on behalf of the child; when the child reaches the age of legal majority, the founder is obligated to convey the property (*ḥiyāẓa*) to the young adult. In practice, many founders ignored these regulations, spending the endowment revenues on their own interests and continuing to exercise *de facto* control of the endowment even after a child had reached the age of legal majority. This irregularity exposed the endowment to subsequent challenge and possible nullification (*ibid.*, vii, 202-3).

When the object of an endowment was a house in which the founder resided, the founder was obligated to vacate the premises for one year; failure to observe this rule could result in nullification of the endowment. In practice, many founders ignored the rule. A founder's failure to observe the one-year rule could

result in litigation setting parent against child (*ibid.*, vii, 202, 218, 260-2, 426).

(3) *Disputes over transmission of entitlement from the beneficiaries of the first generation to those of the second and subsequent generations.* Questions relating to the timing of economic transfers surface again at the moment when endowment revenues are transferred from the first generation of beneficiaries to the second and subsequent generations. At this stage, three issues appear repeatedly: [a] the determination of whether or not an endowment becomes *muʿaḳḳab* (see above); [b] in the event that it does, the criterion according to which the revenues are to be divided among the qualifying beneficiaries; and [c] the definition of the lineal descent group for which the endowment had been created.

[a] The first issue has important consequences for the division of revenues among the founder's lineal descendants: If an endowment does become *muʿaḳḳab*, the revenues, in theory, are to be divided among all of the founder's living lineal descendants irrespective of their generation; if it does not become *muʿaḳḳab*, the revenues are controlled by the members of the oldest generation. In practice, a younger generation of descendants often contended that the endowment had become *muʿaḳḳab*, while the surviving members of an older generation insisted that it had not. In disputes of this nature, one or more paternal uncles might try to prevent the inclusion of their nephews in the division of the endowment revenues (*ibid.*, vii, 248-57, 486-8).

[b] If it is determined that an endowment does in fact become *muʿaḳḳab*, there remains the determination of the criterion according to which the revenues are to be divided among the qualifying beneficiaries. Some authorities maintained that they should be divided on a *per capita* basis, while others held that the judge should allocate the revenues according to need, as determined by his independent reasoning (*ibid.*, vii, 358). Need was defined by a number of variables, including family size, financial resources and degree of the beneficiary's relationship to the founder (*ibid.*, vii, 88, 358, 396, 462, 478, 484). In their discussions of this issue, the jurists manifest an explicit concern for the notion of equity (*ibid.*, vii, 359).

[c] The third recurring issue relates to the principle of agnation, as reflected in the definition of kinship terms. The term *walad* was defined by Mālik b. Anas as "a man's sons and daughters and his son's children, males to the exclusion of females". An uninterrupted line of Mālikī jurists defined the word *ʿaḳib* as "the descendants of a person who are not separated from him (or her) by a female link" (*ibid.*, vii, 281-5). Thus a female may qualify as a member of an agnatic lineal descent group, but she does not transmit this status to either her sons or daughters. If a man creates a family endowment for his son and the latter's lineal descendants, the principle of agnation will progressively exclude from the resulting lineal descent group both female *and* male cognatic descendants of the founder. These cognates are referred to as "the children of daughters" (*awlād al-banāt*).

We repeatedly find "the children of daughters" seeking inclusion in a lineal descent group established by a founder, and, significantly, a series of *muftī*s interpreted the terms of a particular endowment in such a manner as to validate their claims. This approach to the issue of gender was made possible by the *muftī*s' adoption of a literalist approach to statutory interpretation, as illustrated by a case referred to the Cordovan jurist Ibn Rus̲h̲d (d. 520/1126 [*q.v.*]). A man created an endowment for his two concubines, stipulating that when both had died, the endowment was to revert to his two paternal cousins, Aḥmad and al-Ḥasan, and to "their descendants and their descendants' descendants". The two concubines died; Aḥmad died leaving no descendants; and al-Ḥasan produced at least three generations of lineal descendants, including a grandson whose mother was al-Ḥasan's daughter, and a great-grandson whose mother was al-Ḥasan's agnatic granddaughter (his son's daughter). Although neither of these two persons was agnatically related to al-Ḥasan, both sought inclusion as beneficiaries of the endowment. Ibn Rus̲h̲d ruled that the grandson qualified but that the great-grandson did not. He reasoned that al-Ḥasan's daughter is his agnatic descendant and that her son qualifies as the "descendants' descendant" mentioned in the deed. The great-grandson, on the other hand, did not qualify as a beneficiary because the founder had not specified "the descendant of a descendant's descendant" (al-Wans̲h̲arīsī, vii, 463-4; Powers, *Fatwās*, 313).

iii. *Algeria 1820-1914.* The 19th century was a turning point for Muslim family endowments. Observers of early modern Muslim society have noted the rapid rate at which religious endowments proliferated throughout the Muslim world. By the beginning of the century, one-half of the land in Algeria and one-third in Tunisia had been reportedly transformed into endowment land (Köprülü, *L'Institution du vakouf*, 3). Over the course of the century, the *ʿulamāʾ* came into conflict with Muslim and non-Muslim rulers who wanted to weaken their power and gain access either to the revenues generated by religious endowments or to endowment property itself. In Algeria, the endowment system frustrated French efforts to purchase land on the open market. From Algeria to India, endowments in the 19th century increasingly were viewed as an obstacle to economic welfare and social progress.

Inspired by Western social and economic theories, modern advocates of reform—Muslim and non-Muslim—marshalled economic, moral, religious and legal objections to the *wakf* system. These objections were directed exclusively at family endowments, which, so the argument ran, were solely responsible for retarding a given nation's social and economic development by sequestering large quantities of its capital resources. Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of Muslim scholars have always accepted family endowments, advocates of reform now cited the opinions of early Muslim jurists who had opposed the institution, and they asserted that objections to the institution had persisted through the centuries.

To exploit the colony's important agricultural and mineral resources, France settled increasing numbers of its civilians in the Algerian countryside. The settlers clashed almost immediately with the Muslim population over the issue of access to, and control of, land. It was essential that the government should facilitate the colonists' acquisition of land and assure them of their rights. To this end, the French endeavoured to elaborate a new system of property law that favoured the colonists.

In the period immediately following the occupation of Algiers, Muslims sold large amounts of *habous* property to Europeans, who were ignorant of the fact that such property was inalienable. Other Muslims, presumably the endowment beneficiaries, subsequently entered claims to the property on the strength of endowment deeds in their possession. These litigations created considerable turmoil (Mercier, *Code*, 90). Although the French ceased to be duped as they grew more familiar with the system of endowments, the *habous* system continued to remove large amounts of

land from the free market, thereby posing a serious, ongoing obstacle to "economic progress".

Initially, the French tried to mitigate the effects of *habous* by legislative means. The Ordinance of 1 October 1844 declared the sale of endowment property by Muslim beneficiaries to European settlers to be legally binding (*ibid.*, 90-1). According to Article Three of this ordinance, "No conveyance of immovable property agreed upon by a native in favour of a European may be contested [merely] on the ground that immovables are inalienable according to Muslim law" (Sautayra and Cherbonneau, *Droit musulman*, ii, 414). This provision was extended, by the Decree of 30 October 1858, to sales between natives. Now, "the provisions of Article Three of the Ordinance of 1 October 1844... will apply to past and future transactions between a Muslim and a Muslim, and between a Muslim and a Jew" (*ibid.*). To the chagrin of the French, most Muslims ignored this legislative decree and refused to sell endowment land.

French settlers pressured their leaders to create better conditions for European entry into the Algerian land market. In response, the French government enacted a legislative decree on 26 July 1873 that was intended to resolve the land problem by declaring that all land in Algeria was henceforth subject to French law. Known as the *Loi Warnier*, the decree stated that "the establishment of immovable property in Algeria, its conservation, and the contractual transmission of immovables and property rights, irrespective of the [legal status] of the proprietor, will henceforth be subject to French law". Article Seven of this decree left Muslims subject to their own laws in matters of personal status and inheritance—a provision that was to be of critical importance (*ibid.*, i, i).

Like its predecessors, the *Loi Warnier* proved inadequate, in part because the divisions and categories of French law do not correspond exactly with those of Islamic law. Most French jurists maintained that family endowments were subject to the law of property, while Muslims viewed them as subject to the law of succession (Henry and Balique, *La doctrine coloniale*, 15-6). French jurists soon became embroiled in a controversy over the proper interpretation of the *Loi Warnier*. One group held that the law abolished religious endowments, basing its argument on Article One, para. 2, which states, "All property rights (*droits réels*)... based upon Muslim law that are contrary to French law are hereby abolished". These jurists reasoned that an endowment was a property right, that it was contrary to French law, that it was included within the scope of Article One, and that it had therefore been abolished. Other French jurists came to the opposite conclusion. They referred to Article Seven of the law, which not only states that nothing had been derogated from the Muslim law of inheritance but also makes no distinction between successions regulated by the law of inheritance and those regulated by family endowments. This latter group reasoned that family endowments, which would permit a person to transmit property to the next generation according to his or her own wishes, constituted a special case (*ordre spéciale*) of inheritance. Therefore, they insisted, the legal status of family endowments should be determined, not by Article One of the *Loi Warnier*, but by Article Seven. Their view was validated by the Court of Algiers in a decree issued on 23 March 1874. Accordingly, family endowments remained within the jurisdiction of the Muslim courts (Sautayra and Cherbonneau, *Droit musulman*, ii, 413-4).

French jurists understood the economic and political interests of colonialism, and many served those interests, consciously or unconsciously, by advocating changes that facilitated the new system of land tenure. Specifically, they argued against the aforementioned view confirmed by the Court of Algiers on 23 March 1874. Between 1885 and 1904, E. Zeys, E. Mercier, and M. Morand published a series of studies of *habous* that collectively developed the following three-fold argument: (1) historically, public endowments antedated family endowments; (2) family endowments deviated from the pious and humanitarian goals of public endowments and thus were, from an Islamic perspective, not only immoral but also illegal; and (3) family endowments and inheritance were mutually exclusive and incompatible institutions. French colonial scholarship, virulent in its opposition to family endowments (see especially Zeys, *Traité élémentaire*, ii, 185-6; Mercier, *Code*, 14, 27, 43-5, 129-34; Morand, *Etudes*, 226, 228-30, 233, 249-50, 264-6; for other French studies of *habous* published between 1886 and 1904, see Henry and Balique, *La Doctrine coloniale*, 118-21), prevailed in much of the Western scholarly literature during the course of the 20th century, resulting in a serious misunderstanding of both Islamic legal history and the social dynamics of Muslim societies (see *EI*[1] art. *Wakf*).

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4. In Muslim Spain.

The term *wakf* is generally replaced in al-Andalus by *ḥubus* or *ḥubs* (pl. *aḥbās*). The root *ḥ-b-s* as used in this sense appears in one of the *ḥadīth*s which is cited to trace the institution back to the Prophet: *ḥabbis aṣlahā wa-sabbil thamaratahā*. The Spanish Arabism *habiz* is assumed to have been derived from *aḥbās* pronounced with a variation in timbre (*imāla*), i.e. *aḥbīs*, and not from the word *ḥabīs*. The oldest Arabic texts use this term to denote property intended for charitable use and converted into a non-transferable right, but it is one which is not recognised in the Andalusī juridical texts concerning mortmain.

Matters concerning this institution occupy numerous pages of Andalusī works of *fikh* (see *Bibl.*), and these describe *taḥbīs* as the process by means of which during his lifetime the founder (*muḥabbis*) renounces ownership of property, and such property remains permanently withdrawn from any commercial transaction (*ḥubus muʿabbad*) and is converted from an item of personal estate to the real estate of a family or an institution. An essential clause states that the *muḥabbis* entrusts the property to a third party who will take possession (*ḥawz wa-kabḍ*) of it on condition that the usufruct is passed on for the immediate or longer term benefit of the needy, or for a charitable cause.

The Andalusīs have always maintained that, in accordance with the teaching of the school of Mālik, their goods and chattels may become the property of a charitable foundation. Thus among the *awkāf* about benevolent giving, there are found gifts of books "which are to be available for those who are seeking knowledge, so that they may copy them, compare them or study them" (al-Djazīrī [d. 585/1189], *Makṣad*, 288). Normally, such works or pamphlets were deposited in mosques or *madrasas*, but they have also been known to have been kept in an individual's house if necessary. Hārūn b. Sālīm (d. 238/852-3) was one such individual, and he set up a *wakf* with his books in the house of Aḥmad b. Khālid (Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Codera, no. 1528).

In al-Andalus it was common to arrange more specifically for goods and chattels or animals to be *aḥbās*, and these could be used in the cause of *djihād*, such as swords and other military equipment, slaves, beasts of burden, horses, etc. The horse would be marked on the hindquarters with a distinctive sign to show that it was *muḥabbas*, and then it was frequently placed in the hands of a horseman whose valour and prowess in combat were recognised.

The majority of *aḥbās khayriyya* or charitable foundations of a public nature, were based on goods and chattels. Most of the mosques, hospitals and cemeteries were built in this way or equipped with private funds. It is also the case that houses were sometimes set up as *aḥbās* for particular individuals to live in, such as pious women who were living alone, the *imām* of the mosque, pilgrims, etc. The running of such establishments was made possible by patrimonial funds granted as *aḥbās*: farmlands, property for letting, commercial establishments (kilns, bathhouses), and the income from them was allocated to such religious or charitable institutions.

But not all the mosques had access to sufficient *aḥbās* to meet their needs. Ibn al-Imām was therefore consulted about the person in charge of a mosque who was supplementing his salary with different *aḥbās*. All the property which was called *aḥbās al-dīwān* in al-Andalus was let out to individuals (*mutakabbilūn*) by means of a contract in which the amount (*kabāla*) to be paid each year was specified. The intermediary or agent charged with the task of reaching an agreement with the tenants was called the *dallāl*. All those who were in possession of property in any location belonging to the *aḥbās* were summoned once a year, eight days after the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*, to draw up a corresponding contract for the following year. In order to avoid the situation whereby the tenant of *muḥabbasa* land would eventually claim the ownership for himself, in al-Andalus it was recommended that it not be leased out to the same person for more than four years.

If there was a drop in income it was usual for the tenants to approach the *kāḍī* with a request for a reduction in the amount they were liable to pay. The causes most commonly pleaded by the farmers were plagues and damage caused by the passage of troops (e.g. during the sieges suffered by Cordova in the 5th/11th century). The tenants in charge of bathhouses pleaded scarcity of water at their disposal, or particular difficult circumstances in which they found themselves, such as trying to heat these establishments with wet wood during a period of persistent rain. Then the *kāḍī* would send along witnesses to assess for themselves the alleged damage, and a reduction in the total sum to be paid as rent was made on the grounds of gracious remission (*istiʾlāf*).

Since their task was the good business management (*naẓar*) of the *aḥbās*, the *fukahāʾ* were in the habit of allowing such remissions to ensure that there would always be candidates willing to rent the property, seeing that they were vying with each other to profit from some of these contracts. There was a fear that the land would remain unoccupied, as is evident from numerous reports of *muftīs* consulted on this subject in Andalusia. However, other *ʿulamāʾ* deplored the fact that the tenants abused the custom, and that they accepted these contracts in the sure knowledge that they would be granted the exemptions requested and that the result would be that it would in fact become an implicit clause in any contract in question.

Numerous *aḥbās khayriyya* were established by members of the Andalusī aristocracy. In 364/975 this was the way that caliph al-Ḥakam II [*q.v.*] set up a

foundation with rents from the shops in the market of Cordova, which were used to pay the salaries of the teachers whom he had appointed to teach the Ḳur'ān to the sons of the poor. He also instituted as a *ḥubus* for the recently enlarged mosque in Cordova the revenue derived from a quarter of all the rural properties he had inherited from his father, the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, properties which were spread throughout all regions of al-Andalus. He appointed his *ḥādjib*, Sayf al-Dawla Dja'far, to collect, account for and administer these *ḥubus*. This famous eunuch, an officer of al-Ḥakam II, in turn set up important *aḥbās* for which Ibn al-Mashshāṭ (Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, ed. Codera, no. 384) was appointed *nāẓir*.

In al-Andalus an essential tool for legally avoiding the application of the Islamic rules of inheritance was the *wakf ahlī*, an allocation to the descendants of the founder, on the condition that if they disappeared it would revert to needy persons or to charitable causes. It was frequently established with the aim of preventing the fragmentation of the family inheritance and ensuring that it remained economically viable. In addition it could prevent the transmission of property to women, although that would have been considered *makrūh* by the Andalusī *ʿulamā'*. It was also used to defend the inheritance from confiscation, such as was decreed by higher authority with relative frequency. They would declare that the owners of the property concerned were guilty of infringement, or were lacking in loyalty towards authority. The celebrated formularies of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 399/1009) and of al-Djazīrī provided models of deeds authenticated by a notary of *istirʿā'* or of *taḳiyya*, in which a person would testify that he was going to set up a foundation in mortmain, not as a meritorious gesture before God, but as a means of avoiding being forced by authority to relinquish it.

The high number of *aḥbās* which are known to have been instituted in favour of descendants of the founder shows that the Andalusīs must frequently have thought them a good means of providing security against poverty for their successors. But this did not always yield the good results anticipated, for the heirs might not receive with the land the money necessary for running it. It has been shown that sometimes they ran the risk of incurring severe hardship, for they were prevented from selling any part of the land to obtain liquid assets. In such cases, the Andalusī *muftīs* were consulted about the possibility of disposing of some of this property. However, according to Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (*Wathā'iḳ*, 176), the founder could decree that, if any of the beneficiaries of the *ḥubus* were to find himself in a state of need (it would have to be properly certified, unless he had stipulated that the heir would simply have to be believed if he claimed to be in a state of poverty, and that he would not have to have his statement attested), he could sell his portion and thus be relieved from his penury.

In Andalusī works about notorial formularies, there are various models of deeds of constitution for a *ḥubus* (*wathīkat taḥbīs, ʿaḳd ḥubus*). In these models the verbs *ḥabbasa* and *waḳḳafa* are used in the same document; the one indicates that the property has been placed outside the commercial channels, and the second states that it has been established exclusively for a specific purpose. It was within the power of the founder to designate a person to be in charge of the foundation and to be responsible for the aims that he had envisaged for it. If this person were to die, or prove to be unfit for such a mission, it was the duty of the *ḳāḍī* to find someone to be a substitute for him.

The most delicate clause was perhaps the one in which the *muḥabbis* designated the tenants to benefit from the property in question. The Andalusī authors of *wathā'iḳ* advise that the drafter of the document should question the grantor about his intentions in the matter. The founder could institute that the male descendants would be paid a double portion, or that all the descendants would have equal portions; or he could decide that the sons would be included in the division of profits during the lifetime of their father, or only after his decease, etc.

The Andalusī *ʿulamā'* discussed whether the expression "in favour of my children (*awlādī*) and their children" included the sons of daughters. Ibn Abī Zamanīn was of the opinion that the female line of descent should not be included, but other *fuḳahā'* expressed the opposite opinion; for this question they were followed by Ibn Rushd al-Djadd. On the basis of one of these decisions, the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. al-Salīm (d. 367/978) was able to pronounce judgement in favour of the inclusion of the female line of descent for beneficiaries of a specific *ḥubus*. The jurist Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ayman (d. 330/942) instituted a *ḥubus* in favour of an unborn child. No-one really thought it was licit, but nevertheless the *ḳāḍīs* Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ (already mentioned) and Ibn Zarb (d. 381/991) pronounced a judgement in favour of mandatory compliance with the clause.

As indicated in the formularies of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār and of Ibn Mughīth (d. 459/1067), several copies of the *taḥbīs* documents were in existence. One assumes that there were as many as there were interested parties. But it does not appear that the original was placed in an archive at the disposal of those who needed it. This absence of central archives is proved by the fact that al-Djazīrī (297) included a model of a deed authenticated by a notary for an instance where the heirs of the *ḥabus* had lost the original deed of constitution, and they had to acknowledge that they had received just such a deed from their father. It is obvious that if a copy of it had been kept in an archive, it would not have been necessary to draw up this new document because the original deed had been lost. Although we know that in Egypt in 363/974 al-Muʿizz directed that the deeds of constitution of the *awḳāf* should be deposited in the *bayt al-māl*, there is nothing to reassure us that this custom was also followed in al-Andalus. It is surprising that, in the model supplied by al-Djazīrī, it was the heirs who had to apply probatory force to the clauses which appeared in the deed of constitution by the request of the founder. These were clauses which the heirs might consider unfavourable, such as for example if the sons of the daughters were included among the beneficiaries (for a lawsuit which is particularly interesting on this point, see Ibn ʿIyāḍ, *Madhāhib*, 192-6).

From the time when the founder drew up the deed before witnesses he renounced ownership of the property in question, which then had to be formally taken over by a third party. If the *ḥubus* was in favour of the children and these were minors, he could remain as administrator (providing this fact was sufficiently publicised) or designate someone else to be in charge of the administration of the property. He was, however, obliged to have a document drawn up in front of witnesses, stating that he undertook to hand over to them the revenue or profits which the property in question had produced since the time of the *taḥbīs* when they reached majority. If he instituted a *waḳf* agreement on a house in which he was still living, he would have to leave it and go live in another.

The witnesses would have to attest that the house in question was empty of tenants and furniture, and closed up from the outside when the *ḥubus* was established. For the founder to be able to come and live again in that house, or use it as reserve space, a year would have to elapse, otherwise the *ḥubus* was not valid.

Generally, the Andalusī deeds of *taḥbīs* designated with great precision the ultimate recipient of the *ḥubus*, like for example the lepers' quarter on the other side of the river in Cordova, the maintenance of a certain bridge, the payment of the salary of the *imām* and other servants of a mosque, or repairs to the mosque, or the purchase of matting or oil for the lamps in the sanctuary, etc. However, there probably had to be a certain number of foundations devoted to charity where the revenue did not have such a specific destination, since we know that these funds under the control of the *ḳāḍī* were used many times for a purpose which was considered useful to the community, such as combatting the enemies of religion.

The various political systems in al-Andalus have always included a *ṣāḥib al-aḥbās*, a curator or administrator general of mortmain property, whose mission was to prevent the disappearance of real estate, or the alteration of its status, i.e. the purposes for which it had been intended, the beneficiaries designated and the actual location of the building (even if there was a proposal to exchange the property for another on a better site). This official was responsible to the treasury (*māl al-aḥbās*), made up of the revenue of the charitable bequests detailed for the mosques and other public institutions or good causes. In his *Ta'rīkh ʿUlamā' al-Andalus*, Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]) gave him the title of *nāẓir fī 'l-awḳāf* (*or fī 'l-aḥbās*), which appears to indicate that the term *ṣāḥib* came into general use after the 4th/10th century. This would leave the title *nāẓir fī 'l-aḥbās* to designate the representative of the *ḳāḍī* in each location, whose task it was to supervise the mainmort property, and to engage and pay the servants of the mosque. The title *nāẓir* was also given to the administrator of a specified *wakf*. Ibn al-Faraḍī also reports that the *nāẓir fī 'l-awḳāf* could sometimes carry out his tasks jointly with another office-bearer. This fact was established in his *Ta'rīkh* concerning two characters whose biography he was writing.

Given that controlling the *aḥbās* was one of the tasks of the *ḳāḍī* (or according to the expression of Ibn Sahl, the *dīwān al-ḳuḍāt*), this term denoted the person who was entrusted with attending to it on his behalf. This was one of the most important tasks of the administration (the names of dozens of people who have held it figure in the *Ta'rīkh*), and it gave rise to the appearance of the name of Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Aḥbās. The testimony of such a personality was worthy of trust and was a determining factor in the litigations surrounding such property. Certain lawsuits were conducted against those who were accused of embezzlement while carrying out their job (see e.g. Ibn al-Faraḍī, no. 1360).

The treasury of the *aḥbās* was of great economic importance as early as the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I [*q.v.*]; it was reported that this treasury was the source of the 200,000 dīnārs necessary for the construction of the first great mosque in Cordova in 170/786. This treasury at Cordova was kept in the *maḳṣūra* of the great mosque, in the *bayt māl al-muslimīn*, and would have formed the most significant part of the revenues held there. The expression *bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*] is often interpreted as "the treasury of the charitable foundations", thus implying that all its income came from the *awḳāf*. The value of dīnārs arising from the *aḥbās* kept in the great mosque of Cordova and placed in the hands of the *ḳāḍī* was always very important, and it gave rise to clashes with the religious and political authorities, because at certain points in time the latter wished to use these funds for purposes which their guardians did not always consider appropriate.

The situation where it was impossible to transfer the *ḥubus* from its original location to another property was maintained by the *fuḳahā'* of al-Andalus, except for when it was necessary to proceed with the extension of a mosque. This initially prevented the caliph al-Nāṣir from enlarging his palace at the expense of some real estate (*madjshar*) which was a charitable foundation for lepers. Later, however, he produced a very advantageous exchange for the *ḥubus*, thanks to a very timely *fatwā* from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Lubāba, who authorised the exchange, basing his opinion (he disagreed with Mālik) on that of the ʿIrāḳīs, who were obliged to respect the original location of the *ḥubus* except where a mosque was concerned.

The *ʿulamā'* posed the question of what to do if the property about which the *ḥubus* had been instituted could not be found. One case which frequently came up in al-Andalus was that of property allocated to an institution situated in an area which in the interim had been seized by the enemy. In this hypothesis, the judgement was always that the property should go to a worthy public cause. Sometimes the Andalusī *ʿulamā'* considered that some of the causes for which specific *aḥbās* had been detailed were illicit. Numerous consultations recorded in the *Miʿyār* of al-Wansharīsī [*q.v.*], all dating from the Naṣrid period, have as their subject the legality of the *aḥbās* instituted in favour of the "Night of the Birth of the Prophet". The revenue from these was paid to the *imām*, so that he would organise a public prayer on the said night. An equivalent amount was also distributed to the *fuḳarā'*, who enlivened the celebrations with their singing and dancing. The *fuḳahā'* were unanimous in disapproving of the innovation of these festivities, and they stipulated that these legacies should be used for some other charitable purpose. The *ḥubus* which benefitted them was called a *fuḳarā' al-waḳt*. These were brotherhoods which existed in the Naṣrid period, and their members devoted themselves wholeheartedly to music and dance, and they were without question supported by a section of the population; nevertheless they were not considered legitimate.

The *ahl al-dhimma* [*q.v.*] of al-Andalus also instituted *aḥbās* in favour of their successors, probably because they wanted to obtain the same advantages as the Muslims were looking for from that institution. In order to do this they had to respect the norm, according to which the ultimate goal of the foundation had to comply with the precepts of Islam; an example of this was a *ḥubus* set up by a Jew in Lorca with the aim of benefitting the poor of the Muslim community of that city. There was also the case of another Jew who had set up a *ḥubus* in favour of the mosque of Cordova.

The transfer of the property rights of Christian churches constituted a very important problem in the period between the 4th/10th and the 6th/12th centuries, judging by the numerous legal opinions which have been preserved concerning such problems. The discussion by the Andalusī *fuḳahā'* about the *aḥbās* of the Christians focused on two questions. Were their churches (and the properties attached to them) to be regarded as real *aḥbās*? Were the foundations instituted

by the *dhimmīs* in their lifetime irreversible? Ibn ʿAttāb (d. 462/1070), a Cordovan *muftī*, affirmed in a *fatwā* received by Ibn Sahl that these *aḥbās* did not prevent their founder from cancelling them and disposing of the property by sale. Then again Ibn ʿAttāb maintained that the land where the churches were built could equally well be sold, despite the fact that it was recognised that they were the *aḥbas* of the Christians. However, Ibn Sahl adds his contribution by citing this opinion, which is contrary to that of Ibn al-Ḳāsim, who forbade the sale of churches.

Now it is known that in al-Andalus the Christians sold their churches throughout the entire 2nd/8th century. But despite all that, and applying the doctrine of Ibn al-Ḳāsim, the *fuḳahāʾ* denied al-Manṣūr the chance of buying the property attached to churches. Many other *fuḳahāʾ*, however, defended the idea that according to the legislation of the *ahl al-dhimma*, these properties were not non-transferable, and the Christian *muḥabbis* had the chance to retract. Indeed, they maintained that in any case, Muslim legal authority should not be involved in the internal problems of that community, nor consequently protect in a coercive way such property from any further changes by sale or exchange. Besides, it was considered that since this property was not dedicated to Allāh, Muslims did not have to defend the principle that it was inalienable; the norms which protected the *aḥbās* drew their validity from the fact that they were dedicated to Allāh, whereas those of the Christians were dedicated to their idols. However, the question was resolved in a specially expeditious way. When the Almoravids expelled the Christians from al-Andalus, their churches were converted into mosques, and the property attached to Christian sanctuaries was then either turned into *aḥbās* for the new mosque, or even incorporated directly into the *bayt al-māl.*

Mediaeval Castilian legislation also recognised (perhaps in imitation of that of the institution of the *wakf ahlī*) the right to decide that certain property could not be transferred by the heir, who is obliged to pass them on in their entirety to his successor, with the same conditions of non-transferability. This right, called the *mayorazgo*, was introduced by Alphonso X to his subjects in the 13th century. The expression "the non-transferability of property" (*vinculación de bienes*), which was used to describe this institution, is reminiscent of the technical term *taḥbīs*. The Castilian institution, like the Islamic one, was very strict, since even the work and improvements brought about in a property which fell into this category were considered non-transferable.

After the Christian conquest, some of the Andalusī *aḥbās* were returned to the church, as was the case in Seville in the 13th century, or at Granada in 1501. For after the conversion or expulsion of the Muslims, the churches were considered the legitimate heirs to the possessions of the mosques and religious retreat houses. Others remained attached to mosques and were administered by the Mudéjar [*q.v.*] authority as designated by the Christian monarchs; this is well established, e.g. for Elche in 1281. Eventually some were divided up between the new conquerors, as happened in Murcia in 1272 after the Mudéjar rebellion.

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(A. Carmona)

5. In the modern Middle East and North Africa.

i. *The impetus for reform*

In the 20th century, public criticism of the *wakf*'s ill-effects on economy and society increased due to the following reasons:

(1) The severance of the judicial link between the *wakf* and the founder's heirs reduced their interest in the property.

(2) The tying-up of the *wakf* by freezing its ownership withdrew it from both private and national economic cycles. In some countries (like Egypt) this entailed a serious setback of the agrarian system, with manifold economic, social and political implications.

(3) The exclusive concentration of the *wakf* administration in the hands of the *mutawallī*, without effective supervision by the *Sharīʿa* court and the beneficiaries, especially with respect to *wakf khayrī*, could encourage deviations from proper management.

(4) The original purpose of the *wakf* could cease to exist in the course of time, or its functions could be taken over by state agencies.

The objectives of reform are economic, social and political: restoration of the *wakf* property to the economic cycle; accommodation of *wakf* law to the inheritance rules so as to prevent the deprivation of females and cognates of their inheritance rights; redivision of *wakf* landed property within the framework of agrarian reform; and (in Egypt) the undermining of the position of traditional leadership closely bound up with the agrarian system.

Juristic basis for the reforms has been provided mostly by the "eclectic" method (*takhayyur, talfīḳ* [*q.v.*]), *siyāsa sharʿiyya* [*q.v.*], and the technical distinction between family (*dhurrī* or *ahlī*) *wakf* and that for charitable purposes (*khayrī*).

Relevant legislation: Algeria—Law No. 91-10 (*awḳāf*), 1991; Egypt—Law No. 48 (*wakf* rules), 1946 and its amendment by law No. 87 of 1947; Law No. 180 (abolition of non-charitable *wakf*), 1952, and a decree of September 14, 1952; Law No. 247 (supervision of *awḳāf khayriyya*), 1953 (amended by Law No. 30, 1957); Law No. 549 (abolition of *ḥikr*), 1953; Law No. 525 (requisition of *wakf ahlī* administered by the Waqf Ministry), 1954; Law No. 152 (exchange of agricultural lands endowed for charitable purposes), 1957 (amended by Law No. 51, 1958); Law No. 29 (*Wakf* of Southern Province), 1960; *Israel*—The Absentees' Property (Amendment No. 3) (release and use of *wakf*) Law, 5725-1965; *Jordan*—Waḳf Law No. 25, 1946, replaced successively by Law of Awḳāf and Muslim Affairs, No. 45, 1962 and No. 26, 1966, and amended by Law No. 36, 1982; *Kuwait*—Decree concerning Application of Waḳf Rules in Sharīʿa Courts of April 5, 1951; Decree No. 257 (establishment of Secretariat General for Awḳāf), 1992; *Lebanon*—Law of Fam-

ily Wakf, 1947; *Libya*—Law No. 10 (establishment of General Board for Awkāf), 1971; Law No. 74 (principles of *awkāf*), 1972; Law No. 16 (abolition of non-charitable *wakf*), 1973; *Palestine*—Order of the Supreme Muslim Council, 1921; *Saudi Arabia*—The Administrative Regulations of the Sharīʿa Courts, No. 109, 1962; *Syria*—Decree No. 753, 1921; Decree No. 76 (abolition of family *wakf*) amended by decree No. 97, both of 1949; Decree No. 128 concerning *wakf khayrī*, 1949; Law No. 204, 1961; *Turkey*—Act No. 6219, 1954; *United Arab Emirates*—Wakf Decree, 1980; *Yemen*—The Aden Mohammadan Wakf Ordinance, 1939; Wakf Law No. 78, 1976 amended by Law No. 15, 1978 and replaced by Wakf Law no. 23, 1992.

ii. *Egypt, Lebanon and Syria*

Until the military coups, reforms were confined to supervision of the *wakf* administration by means of governmental agencies, and moderate substantive amendments in the *wakf* itself.

In Egypt (1946) and Lebanon (1947), the validity of the family *wakf* was limited in time; a *wakf khayrī* could be either temporary or perpetual; the founder could revoke his *wakf* and recover it for himself, and after him, for the beneficiaries; the exclusion of legal heirs from their rights to entitlement was prohibited; and the founder's stipulations designed to restrict the freedom of the beneficiaries with respect to marriage, place of residence, or the raising of credit were deemed null and void.

The circumvention of the *sharʿī* inheritance rules were frustrated through "obligatory entitlement" to close relatives with respect to two-thirds of the estate; the founder could grant his or her orphaned grandchildren an entitlement equal to what would have been due to their parent had he or she been alive at the time of the founder's death.

Wakf property was to be managed, wherever possible, by the beneficiaries; the administration of a *wakf khayrī*, in default of an administrator, was vested in the Ministry of Awkāf; the consideration of sold *wakf* property (*amwāl al-badal*) was to be invested in constructive projects, and *awkāf* irretrievably neglected were to be abolished.

The actual effect of these reforms was slight because most of them were related to future, rather than existing, *awkāf*, and royal ones were excluded from most of these reforms.

In Syria, under the French Mandate the Contrôl Général des Wakfs was established in 1921, but no reforms beyond *wakf* registration were introduced.

The military régimes in Syria and Egypt introduced radical reforms in the *wakf* to the point of its complete abolition. Syria, in 1949, abolished both the family *wakf* and the *mushtarak* (partly *dhurrī* or *ahlī* and partly *khayrī*) *wakf*, and prohibited the foundation of such *awkāf* in future. The family *wakf* was to be registered, in full ownership, in the name of the founder, and if not alive, in that of the beneficiaries. The administration of the public *awkāf* was transferred to a special Ministry. In case of *idjāratayn* (prolonged lease), the *wakf* was to be sold and its consideration distributed among the beneficiaries. A founder's stipulations intended to exclude legal heirs from the estate were invalidated.

The function of *mutawallī* (administrator) of both family and public *awkāf* was abolished, and the management was vested in the Ministry of Awkāf which could allocate entitlement to charitable purposes regardless of the founder's stipulations.

Under the 1961 Law, the Ministry of Awkāf was authorised to administer the *awkāf khayriyya*, including those that had been abolished, family *awkāf* of which there were no longer any beneficiaries, *wakf ghayr ṣaḥīḥ* (of the *mīrī* category), *wakf* with no specification of beneficiaries, and *wakf al-Ḥaramayn* [see AL-ḤARAMAYN].

The Egyptian Law No. 180 of 1952 prohibited the creation of family *awkāf* in future, and abolished *wakf* existing property, which was to revert to the founder, and if not alive, to the existing beneficiaries according to their shares in entitlement or *amwāl al-badal.*

Under Law No. 525 of 1954, the Ministry of Awkāf was authorised to expropriate family *awkāf* under its direct administration, and to compensate beneficiaries out of the *amwāl al-badal* of *awkāf khayriyya.*

Under Law No. 247 of 1953, the Ministry of Awkāf was to administer all *awkāf khayriyya* (except those whose *nāẓirs* were their founders) and allocate their proceeds to whatever public purpose it deemed appropriate, regardless of the founder's stipulations.

Between 1952-4, *ḥikr* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (long-term lease of dilapidated *awkāf*) on *awkāf ahliyya* and *khayriyya* was abolished. In 1960 the lessee was given the option to buy the property from the *wakf*, failing which it would be sold by auction.

Under Law No. 152 of 1957, the full ownership of all agricultural lands pertaining to *awkāf khayriyya* was nationalised to be distributed within the framework of the agrarian reform. Their former *nāẓirs* were to receive bonds, and on their redemption after 30 years the capital was to be invested in development projects.

Under Law No. 29 of 1960, the founder may dedicate property to charitable purposes and allocate entitlement to himself. In the presence of close relatives, the *wakf* is valid only with respect to one-third of the estate.

iii. *Palestine, Jordan and Israel*

In Palestine under the Mandate, the British established the Supreme Muslim Council (1921) with a view to replacing the Ottoman Ministry of Awkāf. In 1937, the Council's Wakf committee was relieved of its functions, and the *wakf* properties were transferred to a government-appointed commission. The attempts during the Mandate to convert Muslim *awkāf* into secular trusts failed.

After the incorporation of the West Bank into the Hashemite Kingdom in 1951 [see AL-URDUNN. 2(c)], the government's policy was aimed at strengthening the state control in the management of the *awkāf*. In 1951, the 1921 Order establishing the Supreme Muslim Council was abrogated and the 1946 Wakf Law was extended to the West Bank and Jerusalem. A Wakf Council, presided over by the *Kāḍī 'l-Kuḍāt*, was established under that law, to be replaced, with minor changes, by the 1962 and 1966 Wakf laws and amended by that of 1982; it controls the management of the *awkāf* and its budget. No reform, however, has been introduced in the actual institution of the *wakf*.

In Israel, the vast majority of the Muslim *awkāf* became absentee property after their administrators had left Israel for the Arab states. The management and entitlement of absentee beneficiaries were vested in a Custodian. Holy places were administered by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, on behalf of the Custodian, by means of Muslim advisory boards. The income was allocated to Muslim religious services and social welfare. The consideration of properties that had been transferred to a governmental development authority were invested in the establishment of educational and social institutions and projects for the benefit of the Muslim community.

Under 1965 law, the Custodian may transfer the family *waḳf* to the beneficiaries' full ownership; *waḳf khayrī* is to be transferred to Muslim boards of trustees empowered to own and dispose of it at will, to use the income for social and cultural purposes regardless of the founder's stipulations, and to use the *amwāl al-badal* to establish institutions for the same purposes. The *waḳf* properties in East Jerusalem, under Israeli rule, have been exempted from the status of "absentee properties". The powers of the Council of Waḳf and Muslim Affairs and the General Director of the Muslim Waḳf Department—as defined in Jordanian law—were delegated to the Sharīʿa Court of Appeal in East Jerusalem.

The Palestinian authority appointed a general director of the *awḳāf* in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, who holds, since the early 1990s, the office of President of the Supreme Muslim Authority.

iv. *Saudi Arabia and Yemen*

No statutory legislation relating to *awḳāf* except certain minor provisions with no substantive significance, has taken place, but *ḳāḍīs* may resort here, as in other aspects of the law, to a school other than the Ḥanbalī one in case the relevant doctrine in the latter may cause hardship and is opposed to the public interest.

The Saudi Ministry of Awḳāf supervises the administration of the *waḳf khayrī*. The 1962 regulations prescribe that, upon the extinction of beneficiaries, income shall pass to charitable purposes and a *nāẓir*, preferably the Director of the Awḳāf, be appointed by court. The Ministry allocates the income of the *waḳf* in accordance with the founders' stipulations. Foreigners are prohibited from transmitting the income abroad.

Endowments on a large scale have been founded in favour of *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*] (hostels for the poor) by pilgrims from all over the Muslim world; these *ribāṭs* are managed by *nāẓirs*.

The 1939 Ordinance restored the validity of the family *waḳf* in the Aden colony, following its invalidation by the British Privy Council in 1894.

The Yemenite 1992 law prohibits an endowment exceeding one-third of the estate in the presence of a heir. Poor descendants of the founder have priority over other poor. Upon the extinction of a beneficiary, the founder may replace him by another one. A family *waḳf* is deemed void unless the beneficiary enters the category of a charity, or is physically disabled and has nobody to maintain him.

Family *awḳāf* contradicting the provisions of this law are deemed null and void unless endorsed by a *Sharīʿa* court or the founder's heirs, or forty years have elapsed since their establishment. The beneficiaries and the court may abolish a family *waḳf*, whereupon the ownership reverts to the beneficiaries according to their shares in entitlement. A beneficiary's heirs take their share in entitlement according to inheritance rules. In case of dispute between the beneficiaries concerning entitlement in and matters pertaining to division of a *waḳf* that has been revoked, the court will apportion entitlement according to the rules of inheritance or, in case of obscurity, *per capita* among the existing beneficiaries, male and female; the division of the property will be according to their shares in the entitlement.

Waḳf in favour of visions (*ḥaḍarāt*), commemoration (*iḥyā'*) of the nights, birthdays of saints (*mawālid*), of holy men (*awliyā'*) and of tombs (*kubūr*) is void.

Disposition of a *waḳf* is permissible only with the approval of the Ministry of Awḳāf and Guidance. The Ministry is in charge of the public *awḳāf* and supervises the administration of *awḳāf* pertaining to mosques by private *mutawallīs*.

v. *Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates*

Under the Kuwaiti 1951 Decree, the founder's poor relatives have precedence in a *waḳf khayrī*. In *awḳāf khayriyya* or *mushtaraka* where the founder has not stipulated otherwise, supervision is invested in the General Awḳāf Department. The founder may revoke any part of a family or charitable *waḳf* (excluding mosques).

Where a family *waḳf* is in a state of dilapidation, or the beneficiaries are numerous, the share of each being insignificant, the *waḳf* expires and reverts to the ownership of the founder or—if dead—to the beneficiaries. The family *waḳf* terminates with the expiry of the beneficiaries or the period specified by the founder; the ownership thereof reverts to the founder, his heirs, and—in their absence—to some public charity. The 1992 Law provides for the establishment of a General Secretariat for the Awḳāf and a Board of Awḳāf, the chairman of which is the Minister of Awḳāf.

In the United Arab Emirates, the 1980 decree abolished the existing family *waḳf* and prohibited its creation in the future.

vi. *Turkey*

In 1926, Turkey abolished the family *waḳf* and nationalised the public ones. Agricultural properties (exchanged for urban properties) were distributed within the framework of agrarian reform. In 1935, *idjāratayn* and *muḳāṭaʿa* (= *ḥikr* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) were abolished and the establishment of new ones was prohibited. Lessees were made owners of the properties in return for monetary compensation. *Waḳf* institutions were replaced by charity associations. Public *awḳāf* were transferred to public ownership (known as "foundations") to be administered either directly by the foundations (*mazbut*) or by *mütevellis* under the control of the foundations (*mülhak*). The Türkiye Vakıflar Bankası was established under a 1954 Act in order economically to utilise the capital of these foundations. The Bank may lend against securities and immovable assets, establish or participate in partnerships and insurance, buy and sell real estate, and perform all kinds of banking transactions and services.

vii. *Libya and Algeria*

During Italian rule over Libya, some reforms were introduced in the administration of the *waḳf* (decree of 1939), but the institution itself remained intact. No substantial changes occurred during the British rule and under King Idrīs al-Sanūsī. Prior to the military coup, the bulk of *khayrī* endowments belonged to the Sanūsī order [see SANŪSIYYA] and served its lodges (*zāwiya*). Colonel Gaddafi/Ḳadhdhāfī outlawed the order and confiscated its *awḳāf*.

The 1971 law provides for the establishment of a General Board for Awḳāf to administer *awḳāf* in favour of charitable purposes or those whose beneficiaries are not known. The Board supervises the *awḳāf* in favour of the *zāwiyas* and tombs and the administration of family ones. The 1972 law, drafted along the pattern of the Egyptian 1946 law, introduced moderate reforms regarding the *waḳf*. The 1973 law abolished the *waḳf ahlī*. The founder may revoke his *waḳf* and resume the ownership himself provided he has retained the right to do so, failing which the *waḳf* reverts to the beneficiaries. *Amwāl al-badal* following expropriation for public purposes or sale due to dilapidation are to revert to the beneficiaries.

Under the Algerian 1991 law, the founder may revoke his own stipulations. The *ḳāḍī* may do so on grounds of damage to the *waḳf* and its beneficiaries. No renunciation of entitlement is permissible in respect

to public *awḳāf* except in favour of a charitable purpose. A family *waḳf* for a specified period is deemed null and void. On the extinction of the descendants, a *waḳf* is to revert to the Waḳf Authority. This applies also to landed and movable property endowed in favour of associations and institutions when the endowment becomes extinct. *Waḳf* properties nationalised by virtue of 1971 law with a view to being distributed within the framework of the agrarian reform, are to be revived in favour of the original purposes, failing which they are to revert to the Waḳf Authority.

viii. *The decline of the waḳf in modern times*

Some of the main factors for the flourishing of the *waḳf* in Muslim society over the past centuries have ceased to exist in modern times:

(1) The extension of freedom of testation in modern legislation has diminished the incentive for using the family *waḳf* for circumventing Islamic law of inheritance with a view to preventing the fragmentation of the agnatic patrimony.

(2) The concern for social welfare, economic and development enterprises, and investments in infrastructure, which was partly the function of the *waḳf khayrī* in pre-modern times, have become the responsibility of the state and other agencies in modern times.

(3) The religious motive which also played an important role in traditional society as an incentive to found *awḳāf*, especially in favour of pious institutions and charity, seems to have diminished in modern society.

(4) Practical considerations, such as the desire to secure property from expropriation and exemption from taxes, and to prevent encumbrance and loss of property as a result of indebtedness, which often traditionally prompted the foundation of *awḳāf*, can be satisfied nowadays by legal devices that do not entail the negative repercussions.

(5) The reforms introduced in the *waḳf* to the point of complete abolition also diminish the incentive to endow.

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(A. Layish)

III. In Persia

Precise details of the extent of *awḳāf* in Persia and their value at different periods and in different places are not available and the effect of the spread of *awḳāf* on the economy of the country has yet to be worked out. Moreover, what was typical of one district at one point in time cannot be taken as typical of others at all times. Government offices no doubt contain records of *awḳāf* but these are not generally available. Shrines also presumably have records of *awḳāf* constituted in their favour. Many surviving *waḳfiyya*s are held in private hands and some have been published. Some also survive in the form of inscriptions in mosques and other charitable buildings; historical works, especially local histories, biographical works and collections of state documents also contain information on *awḳāf*. Much of what follows is based on state documents and *waḳfiyya*s and does not necessarily reflect practice as opposed to theory. The available information on *awḳāf* for some districts, notably Yazd, Ḳum, Kirmān and, for the Ṣafawid period, Iṣfahān, is richer than elsewhere.

As stated in I. above, there are differences in the legal regulations governing *awḳāf* between Sunnī and S̲h̲īʿī theory and minor differences between the different rites. Under both Sunnī and S̲h̲īʿī governments in Persia, the constitution of *awḳāf* by rulers and their officials was common, and also by private individuals, both rich and poor, but it is the foundations by rulers and prominent persons of which the sources for the most part speak. The classical legal theory, whether Sunnī until the 10th/16th century or S̲h̲īʿī from the 10th/16th century onwards, remained normative, but in practice there were often modifications or deviations, especially in respect of the type of land which could be made into *waḳf*. The stipulation that property to be made into *waḳf* must be in the full legal possession of the founder was in theory observed, and sometimes it is specifically mentioned in the documents that the property had been legally bought by the founder. It is, however, doubtful whether all the *awḳāf* constituted by rulers were in fact made out of crown property [see k̲h̲āliṣa] or had been legally bought and not usurped; similarly some of the property of powerful individuals made into *awḳāf* may, at some stage, have been usurped.

In practice, there does not appear to have been any restriction on the type of land made into *waḳf*. As well as landed estates, water rights, water mills, real estate, bazaars, shops and houses were also constituted into *awḳāf*, and, more rarely, rights of usufruct (A.K.S. Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, New York 1988, 148-9). Jean Aubin noted that Öld̲j̲eytü [*q.v.*] authorised Inal K̲h̲ātūn in a decree (*nis̲h̲ān*) dated to the equivalent of 31 July 1305 to constitute over half of the village of Kalk̲h̲urān, which G̲h̲azan K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] had given her for her upkeep (*ik̲h̲rād̲j̲āt*), into *waḳf* for S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ṣafī and his descendants. Ten years later, Öld̲j̲eytü constituted the remainder of the village into *waḳf* for the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, who later nevertheless managed to sell it to the descendants of the *ṣāḥib dīwān* S̲h̲ams al-Dīn D̲j̲uwaynī, to whom it had originally belonged (*La propriété foncière en Azerbaydjan sous les Mongols*, in *Le Monde iranien et l'Islam*, iv [1976-7], 99-101). Books, carpets and other objects were frequently made into *waḳf* for mosques and *madrasas*.

The great majority of charitable *awḳāf* were constituted for the benefit of mosques, *madrasa*s and *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*s, and their revenue devoted to purposes such as the support of the *ʿulamā'*, feasts and the feeding of the poor on religious festivals, the holding of religious assemblies, *rawḍa-k̲h̲ᵂānī*s and so on. Many were also made for the upkeep of charitable buildings such as hospitals, caravansarais, water storage tanks and drinking-fountains. The first call on the funds of a *waḳf* was the development and upkeep of the property itself, and then, unless exemption had been granted by a special *farmān*, the payment of government taxes, after which came the payment of the wages of the servants of the foundation for which the *waḳf* had been constituted and the *mutawallī*, who was usually

entitled to one-tenth of the revenue, though in some cases it was stipulated in the *wakf-nāma* that he should be paid more or less than this. Landed property held as *wakf* was often leased; some *wakfiyyas* laid down that the term of the lease should not exceed three years (see also Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, repr. London 1969, 234-5. For expenditure of the revenue from Ghazan Khān's foundations, see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 316-18, and for Rashīd al-Dīn's foundations, see *Wakf-nāma-i Rabʿ-i Rashīdī*, ed. M. Minovi and Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1977-8, 42-4; and see Lambton, *Awqāf in Persia, 6th-8th/12th-14th centuries*, in *ILS*, iv/3, [1997], 316-18).

With the fragmentation of the caliphate and the rise of semi-independent dynasties, the conquered territories, whether belonging to Muslims or non-Muslims, fell to the conquerors and their military auxiliaries. The extent to which existing *awkāf* continued to function varied and is not well documented. Many were probably usurped; and others decayed over time and fell out of operation.

From the early years of the semi-independent dynasties, the importance of *awkāf* is attested by the existence of a *dīwān-i awkāf* or a special office in charge of *awkāf* [see DĪWĀN. iv, at Vol. II, 333b]. For political and financial reasons, control over *awkāf* was important for rulers. First, *wakfī* land, unless specially exempted, was liable to taxation and its prosperity therefore contributed to state revenue. Secondly, the constitution of *awkāf* gave prestige and opportunities of patronage to its founders and wealth to the administrators and beneficiaries.

For the Ṭāhirid, Būyid, Ṣaffārid, Sāmānid and Ghaznawid periods, information on *awkāf* is sparse, and such *awkāf* as were constituted were probably of a modest nature. Under the Sāmānids there was a separate *dīwān* for *awkāf* (Narshakhī, *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. M. Riḍawī, Tehran AHS 1317/1938-9, 31; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 229). Narshakhī mentions a number of *awkāf* made by Amīr Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (279-95/892-907) (16-17, 33-4), all apparently of a modest nature. Much *wakfī* land was seemingly held by the *ʿulamāʾ* as *mutawallīs* [see SĀMĀNIDS. 1, at Vol. VIII, 1029a].

Under the Saldjūks [see SALDJŪKIDS], there was probably an increase in *wakfī* land and in the control exercised over it by the state. The spread of *madrasas* [*q.v.*], apart from anything else, and the foundation of mosques and other charitable buildings, is likely to have contributed to an increase of *awkāf*. Māfarrūkhī states that Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] constituted innumerable estates into *wakf* for a *madrasa* which he had built in the Dar Dasht quarter of Iṣfahān and that its annual revenue was over 10,000 dīnārs (*Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran n.d., 104-5). Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āwī states that when he was writing (*ca.* 729/1328-9), the *madrasa* was still in existence but its *awkāf* had been misappropriated (*Tardjuma-i Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran AHS 1328/1949-50, 142, and see IṢFAHĀN. 1, at Vol. IV, 101b). It is probable that Niẓām al-Mulk's foundations were made partly with government funds (see further Lambton, *Continuity and change*, 43).

General supervision over *awkāf* was exercised by the *wazīr*, the head of the *dīwān-i aʿlā* (see DĪWĀN. iv, and Lambton, *The internal structure of the Saljuq empire*, in J.A. Boyle (ed.), *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 263, also in Lambton, *Theory and practice in medieval Persian government*, Variorum, London 1980), but immediate supervision was probably usually exercised by the *ḳāḍī al-mamālik* (cf. a document dated Muḥarram 457/Dec. 1064-Jan. 1065 for the chief *ḳāḍī* of the empire, in the *Munshaʾāt Evoghli Ḥaydar*, in H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselğūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 147-8). The *mutawallī* of an important *wakf* or group of *awkāf* was probably often appointed by the state and, even if named in the *wakfiyya*, was given a document of appointment. If not a *ḳāḍī*, he was usually a member of the religious classes (Lambton, *The internal structure of the Saljuq empire*, 276).

The extent of the control exercised by the *dīwān-i awkāf al-mamālik* over *awkāf*, especially with regard to provincial *awkāf*, is not entirely clear. Practice varied. In general, it seems that the provincial *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* was appointed by the *ḳāḍī al-mamālik* and had charge of provincial *awkāf*, but the general supervision of provincial *awkāf*, like most other aspects of the administration, was delegated to the provincial governor or *muḳtaʿ*. For example, the document issued by Sandjar's *dīwān* appointing Tādj al-Dīn Abu 'l-Makārim *raʾīs* of Māzandarān (although he is called *raʾīs*, his office was clearly that of governor), instructs him to investigate the condition of *awkāf* and to see that their proceeds were expended on the objects for which they had been constituted (*ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 24) and he or his deputy was to remedy any disorders in their administration, remove any *mutawallī* or person in charge (*mutaṣarrif*) who committed peculation and as far as possible to revivify those *awkāf* which had decayed (*ibid.*, 24, 28, 29; see also Lambton, *The administration of Sanjar's empire as illustrated in the ʿAtabat al-kataba*, in *BSOAS*, xx, [1957], also in eadem, *Theory and practice in medieval Persian government*, 383-4).

However, in some cases the *awkāf* of a particular district were expressly placed outside the control of the *dīwān-i awkāf-i mamālik*. In a document appointing Abū Saʿd Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as *ḳāḍī* of Nawḳān and the villages of Ṭūs which belonged to it, the *dīwān* is forbidden to interfere in the office of *mutawallī* of the *awkāf*, "which from ancient times had been in the name of his (Abū Saʿd's) forebears" (*ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 33).

Such documents as have survived suggest that the main concern of the Saldjūk government was to ensure that *wakf* revenue was expended as laid down in the relevant *wakfiyya* and to prevent encroachment on *awkāf* by unauthorised persons. A document issued by Sandjar's *dīwān* appointing Madjd al-Dīn (who already had the title if not the office of *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*) as *ḳāḍī* of various branches of the military establishment, states that he was to look into large and small *awkāf*, to enquire into their produce, to stop any damage being done to them, and to prevent encroachment upon them or their seizure by those who would devour them; also, he was to act in accordance with the conditions laid down by their founders and see that their produce was expended on the proper purposes (*ibid.*, 59). With the weakening of the central administration towards the end of the Great Saldjūk period, it is not unlikely that irregularities in the administration of *awkāf* occurred (see further Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 68-9).

It seems that in some cases the term *mutawallī* is used in the documents in the general sense of an official placed in charge of the *awkāf* of a district, each of which had its own *mutawallī*. Thus a document in the collection *al-Mukhtārāt min al-rasāʾil* (ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran AHS 1355/1976) issued by the *dīwān* of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (511-25/1118-31 [*q.v.*]) reappointing Muntadjab al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz over the *awkāf* of Iṣfahān and its dis-

tricts (which had been constituted for the Friday mosques, other mosques,. shrines, hospitals, *ribāṭs*, and other purposes), instructs him to carry out this office as formerly and to expend the produce of the *awḳāf* as laid down by the founders and to restrain the hands of those who would encroach upon them. No-one was to interfere with him or his deputies; complete control over *wakfī* affairs was vested in him. The *sipahsālār* Alp Ṭoghrïl Bilge Beg Abū Saʿīd Mawdūd b. Artuḳ was to listen if any of Muntadjab al-Dīn's children or deputies had recourse to him and was not to send any *ghulāms* to the *wakfī* estates except at the request of a deputy of the *dīwān-i awḳāf*. A certain Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Khayr, who had misappropriated a sum from the estates of the *wakf* for the Ḥaramayn, was to be summoned. The sum was to be recovered and Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Khayr punished. Tādj al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ṭālib al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn was not to interfere in the *awḳāf* of Iṣfahān and its neighbourhood or their produce or revenue and if, before the arrival of this *farmān*, he had taken anything from the *awḳāf*, it was to be immediately extracted from him to the last *man* [see MAKĀYĪL and MAWĀZĪN for this unit of weight] and any *wakf* in his possession was to be surrendered. The *mutawallīs* and peasants of the *awḳāf* were placed under the orders of Muntadjab al-Dīn (278-9). A similar situation may have existed in other major mosques and shrines, and certainly did so in the Ṣafawid period and later (see below) when there was a *mutawallī* appointed by the government over the shrine or mosque in charge of the administration of its *awḳāf* made at different times, each, or some of which, may have had its own *mutawallī*.

Under the Khwārazmshāhs, the situation with regard to *awḳāf* was probably broadly similar to that which had prevailed under the Saldjūḳs. A diploma (*manshūr*) for the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* Khalaf al-Makkī renewed his charge of *awḳāf* properties which had been in the possession of his trusted agents (*muʿtamidān*) and of the *tawliyat* of the *awḳāf* of the mosques and *madrasas* which had been in the care of former *ḳāḍīs*, and at his request the accountant of the *dīwān*, who had been in charge of the *wakfī* accounts, was recalled and all affairs connected with the administration of the *awḳāf*, their development and their protection from the hands of those who would encroach upon them, were entrusted to him (Bahā' al-Dīn Baghdādī, *al-Tawassul ilā 'l-tarassul*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran AHS 1315/1936-7, 51-4, and cf. the document appointing Khalaf al-Makkī *ḳāḍī* of the empire in succession to his father, *ibid.*, 61, 72). Another (undated) document in the same collection illustrates the interest of the government in ensuring that *wakfī* property was in good condition. It states that the village of Sakān Akhsak (?), which was *wakf* for the Khātūn Bahā' *madrasa* and one of the most important *wakfī* properties of Khwārazm, was beginning to fall into decay owing to the incompetence of the *mutawallī* (*ibid.*, 86). Accordingly, the sultan had decided to appoint the *wazīr* Naṣīr al-Dīn as *mutawallī* of the *wakf* and to give him full control over it. He was to arrange its affairs through deputies (*nā'ibān*) so that it might quickly return to a prosperous condition and its revenue be spent as the founder had laid down; and a suitable *mudarris* was to be appointed (*ibid.*, 87-9). This case is unusual in that the newly-appointed *mutawallī* was a *wazīr* and not a *ḳāḍī*.

In Fārs, various of the semi-independent Saldjūḳ governors, notably Ḳarača Sāḳī, who was the virtual ruler of Fārs in the early years of the 6th/12th century, and Zāhida Khātūn, the wife of Boz-Aba, who ruled the province after the death of her husband in 541/1146-7, were active in the constitution of property into *awḳāf*. The latter spent all the money, treasure and jewels which she had inherited from her ancestors and from Boz-Aba on the purchase of large villages to make into *wakf* for the *madrasa* which she built in Shīrāz. The Atabegs of Fārs continued this tradition (see further Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, 150). The rulers of other Saldjūḳ succession states, notably the Ḳutlugh Khānids (Ḳarā Khiṭā'iyān) of Kirmān [*q.v.*] made many charitable foundations and constituted *awḳāf* for them (see further *ibid.*, 151, and eadem, *Awqāf in Persia*, 310-13).

Terken Khātūn, who ruled Kirmān after the death of her husband Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad in 655/1257 until her death in 681/1282, made numerous villages and estates into *awḳāf* for mosques, shrines, hospitals and lesser charitable purposes. These are recorded in the *Tārīkh-i Shāhī-yi Ḳarā Khiṭā'iyān* (ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran AHS 1355/1976-7), the anonymous author of which states that records of the *awḳāf* of Kirmān had been kept in the provincial *dīwāns* (93). Piety may have been her primary motive, but it may be that she needed the public support which such foundations gave. She is stated to have claimed her dowry (*ṣadāḳ*) on her husband's death and with the 10,000 dīnārs to which it amounted to have bought land which she made into *awḳāf* for the *madrasa* and tomb complex which she built in Bardasīr (*ibid.*, 100). It seems likely that many, if not all, of her *awḳāf* were made out of her personal property. She had a private *dīwān* (*dīwān-i khāṣṣ*) separate from the state or public *dīwān* and owned considerable resources (*ibid.*, 232). Her sons, Sulṭān Ḥadjdjādj and Soyurghatmish, also made many charitable foundations out of their inherited estates and private property (Naṣīr al-Dīn Munshī, *Simṭ al-ʿulā*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran AHS 1328/1949-50, 39-40, 58). Terken Khātūn designated herself as *mutawallī* of some of the foundations she constituted, including the numerous properties she made into *wakf* for the Friday mosque outside Bardasīr (*Tārīkh-i Shāhī-yi Ḳarā Khiṭā'iyān*, 244-5). In some of her smaller foundations, especially those made for slaves and slave-girls, her children were designated *mutawallī*. This was also the case of the mill (in Bahrāmdjird) which she had bought and repaired and made into *wakf* for the shrine in the village of Ardashīr in Djuwayn (*ibid.*, 225-6). The office of *mutawallī* of the *awḳāf* of the Friday mosque which she built at the New Gate of Bardasīr in 673/1274-5 was entrusted to "the ruler who was on the throne of Kirmān and (thereafter) to his/her children" (*ibid.*, 235-6). Some of Terken Khātūn's *awḳāf* were for administrative affairs and public welfare. In 673/1275 she made the village of Ṣūfiyān in Rūdān into *wakf*, stipulating that thirty men should reside there to protect the road and escort caravans. The leader of the troop was to receive 5,000 *mans* of grain annually by way of wages and each of the thirty soldiers 2,000 *mans*, two-thirds to be paid in winter and one-third in summer (*ibid.*, 235). Whether Ṣūfiyān belonged to Terken Khātūn or to the *dīwān* is not stated (see further, Lambton, *Awḳāf in Persia*, 310-13).

During the Mongol invasions, much *wakfī* land which lay in the path of the invading hordes must have suffered devastation, but so far as it escaped its status appears to have been little changed. From an early date there was a department of *awḳāf* in the Ilkhānate. When Hülegü [*q.v.*] charged Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] with the establishment of an observatory at Marāgha,

the building of which was begun in 657/1259, he appointed him over the *awkāf* of the empire. Naṣīr al-Dīn also held this office under Abaḳa [*q.v.*] and finally died when on a tour of inspection of *awkāf* in ʿIrāḳ. He appointed in each locality an official responsible for the administration of *awkāf*, allowing him to keep one-tenth of the *wakfī* revenue for his salary. The *dīwān*'s share of the revenue was to be sent to Marāgha for the observatory (Hassan Mahmud ʿAbdel-Latif, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274) and his Tajrīd al-iʿtiqād*, Ph.D. thesis, London University 1977, unpubl., 70 ff.). Tegüder Aḥmad, who succeeded Abaḳa in 680/1282, appointed Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rafīʿī *mutawallī* of the *awkāf* of the empire, and ordered the proceeds of all *awkāf* to be expended as laid down by their founders with the cognisance of Kamāl al-Dīn and the great *imāms* and *ʿulamāʾ*. The proceeds of the *awkāf* for the Ḥaramayn were to be collected annually and sent to Baghdād at the time of the pilgrimage (Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, ed. M.M. Iṣfahānī, lith. Bombay 1269/1852-3, 100). Under Ghazan Khān (694-703/1295-1304) there was probably an attempt to tighten control over the administration of *awkāf*. It would seem, however, that Ghazan was not over-scrupulous in observing the legal prescription that property to be made into *wakf* must be the personal property of the founder. When the Ḳāḍī Ṣāʾin Simnānī was executed after interrogation by the *yarghu* [*q.v.*] in 700/1301, his estates and property were added to the *khāliṣāt* and registered in the *awkāf* registers of the royal tomb (Waṣṣāf, 419-20). However, Rashīd al-Dīn states that the property made into *awkāf* for the complex which Ghazan made in the Shanb-i Ghāzān in Tabrīz, had all been in his full and legal possession and this had been corroborated by *fatwās* (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, 215).

Al-ʿUmarī, quoting information given to him by Niẓām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil Yaḥyā al-Ṭayyārī, who had been a secretary to Abū Saʿīd, the last Īlkhān (716-36/1316-35), states that "no one interfered with them (*awkāf*) either in the reign of Hülegü or his successors. Every *wakf* was in the hands of its *mutawallī* and whoever had authority over it. Whatever might be said with regard to any damage (*naḳṣ*) to the affairs of *awkāf* [in Persia], such damage was entirely due to abuses committed by those in charge of the *awkāf* and not to anyone else" (K. Lech, *Das mongolische Weltreich. Al-ʿUmarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche im seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, with tr. and comm., Wiesbaden 1968, Arabic text, 92). This may have been an accurate statement as regards the central government, but there was much usurpation of property in general, including *awkāf*, by Mongol officials and others. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that in Shīrāz there were over 500 charitable foundations, which had innumerable *awkāf*, but the revenues of few of them reached their proper purposes (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, Persian text, 116). He also alleges that the Pishkil Darra district of Ḳazwīn, which was *wakf* for the Friday mosque of Ḳazwīn, had been usurped by the Mongols (*ibid.*, 67). Waṣṣāf asserts that most of the *awkāf* of the empire and the buildings which they served were in a state of ruin and their revenues misappropriated, but he states that Kürdüdjin, the daughter of Tash Möngke and Abish Khātūn, to whom the last Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd had given the taxes of Fārs on a permanent contract (*bar sabīl-i muḳāṭaʿa-yi abadī*) three years after his accession, paid particular attention to the buildings of her forebears, increased their *awkāf* and devoted their revenues to their proper purposes (*Tārīkh*, 624-5).

In spite of the fact that many *awkāf* may have been devastated during the Mongol invasions and others usurped during the Īlkhānate, there appears to have been a proliferation of *awkāf* during the period. One reason for this was probably the prevailing insecurity of tenure which led men to seek to safeguard their property from confiscation and to secure its continued enjoyment, or at least part of it, by themselves and their descendants by constituting it into *wakf*. Both Ghazan Khān and Öldjeytü founded many *awkāf*. Their motives were various; some of Ghazan's benefactions were clearly prompted by charity (see Lambton, *Awqāf in Persia*, 315 ff.), and some by a desire to secure the possession of property to his descendants, as when he laid down that his *īndjū* lands should be constituted into *wakf* for the sons of his chief wife Bulughan Khātūn, or, if she had no sons, for the sons of his other wives and their male descendants (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, 331). Al-Kāshānī mentions that Ghazan gave orders for a *dār al-siyāda* to be built in every province in Persia and for estates and villages to be made into *wakf* for them, so that the annual income of each would be 10,000 dīnārs (*Tārīkh-i Uldjāytū*, ed. Mahin Hambly, Tehran AHS 1348/1969, 93-4). Rashīd al-Dīn confirms that Ghazan made such buildings in Iṣfahān, Shīrāz, Baghdād and various other towns (*ibid.*, 215). However, most of Ghazan Khān's *awkāf*, and also Öldjeytü's, were for the benefit of foundations in their respective capitals, Tabrīz and Sulṭāniyya.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, the dislocation of traditional life under Mongol rule, many officials and private individuals acquired enormous wealth, some of which came from trade and possibly from money-lending. Much of it appears to have consisted of, or been invested in, land and real estate and to have been constituted into *wakf*. The most outstanding case is that of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī [see RASHĪD AL-DĪN ṬABĪB]. Most of his *awkāf* were for the benefit of the Rabʿ-i Rashīdī, the quarter which he built in Tabrīz; but he also constituted *awkāf* for foundations in Yazd, Hamadān, Shīrāz and Kirmān. Lists of the properties which he made into *wakf* for these foundations, which included mosques, *madrasas*, *khānaḳāhs*, and hospitals, and *awkāf* for his children and various holy men, are set out in the *Wakf-nāma-i Rabʿ-i Rashīdī*, dated 709/1309-10, and include property in Yazd, Hamadān, Sharrāh, Tabrīz, Shīrāz, Iṣfahān and Mawṣil. Property in the first four places had also apparently been made into *wakf* by Rashīd al-Dīn at an earlier date, for which special *wakfiyyas* had been drawn up (Lambton, *Awqāf in Persia*, 317-18). As a convert to Islam, the support of the *ʿulamāʾ* was important for him and this he might have expected to gain as a result of his charitable foundations.

Among private individuals who constituted their property into *awkāf*, the example of Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad and his son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad of Yazd is notable. Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn disposed of a great deal of property—shares in *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], land and real estate in Yazd—and he also apparently had considerable capital available with which he purchased new property with a view to making it into *awkāf*. His foundations and those of his son and their *awkāf* are set out in the *Djāmiʿ al-khayrāt*, dated 748/1347-8 (ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh and Īradj Afshār, in *FIZ*, ix [AHS 1345/1966-7], and a revised edition in Afshār, *Yādigārhā-yi Yazd*, ii, Tehran AHS 1354/1975-6, 391-557; see also YAZD). An interesting feature of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad's *awkāf* is the inclusion of pensions (*idrārāt*) which he held on vari-

ous funds among the property which he made into *waḳf* (*Djāmiʿ al-khayrāt*, 174, 203, 213, 214, 216). Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad, Shams al-Dīn's father, had also had a pension drawn on the revenue of Yazd, part of which he had inherited from his forefathers and part from the *sayyids* and *imāms* of Yazd. After his death, it passed to Shams al-Dīn (*ibid.*, 140; see also Lambton, *Awqāf in Persia*, 213-15). Al-ʿUmarī states that *idrārāt*, which consisted of money or villages, were the property of their holders, who could dispose of them like landed estates, sell them, give them away, or constitute them into *waḳf* (*Das mongolische Weltreich*, Arabic text, 95-6. See also Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Madjmūʿa-yi rasāʾil az taʾlīfāt-i Khʷādja Naṣīr al Dīn Ṭūsī*, ed. M. Riḍawī, Tehran AHS 1336/1957, 31).

Many of the *awḳāf* constituted during the Īlkhānate disappeared over time. On Rashīd al-Dīn's fall, the revenue of the *awḳāf* which he had made for the Rabʿ-i Rashīdī was withheld from expenditure on its proper purposes and his estates taken for the *dīwān* (Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl-i djāmiʿ-i tawārīkh-i rashīdī*, ed. Khān Bābā Bayānī, Tehran AHS 1350/1971, 129). The Ghiyāthiyya *awḳāf* or some of them, made by his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, appear to have still been in existence in 1073/1662 (Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 113-14). There is also mention of Ghāzānī *awḳāf* in the 10th/16th century (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran AHS 1334/1956, i, 148).

The Tīmūrids in Bukhārā, Harāt and elsewhere, and the Ṣafawids in Iṣfahān, followed the practice of Ghazan and Öldjeytü in founding magnificent buildings in their capitals and constituting valuable *awḳāf* for them. Perhaps partly as a result of the increasing number of royal foundations, the *ṣadārat* was expanded and separated from the wazīrate and the office of *ṣadr* [*q.v.*] regularised (see documents in the *Sharaf-nāma* of ʿAbd Allāh Marwārīd, in H.R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952). Maria E. Subtelny has drawn attention to the proliferation of *awḳāf* in Khurāsān under the Tīmūrids, especially Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bayḳara (*A Timurid educational and charitable foundation: the Ikhlāṣiyya complex of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī in 15th century Herat and its endowment*, in *JAOS*, ix [1991], 38-61). Khʷāndamīr notes that in the reign of Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bayḳara [see ḤUSAYN (Mīrzā b. Manṣūr b. Bayḳara)] the spread of *awḳāf* in Khurāsān was such that two or three persons were needed to carry out the office of *ṣadr* (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran AHS 1333/1954-5, iv, 321). Tīmūr apparently constituted a number of properties into *waḳf* for the Ṣafawid family (Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 112 n. 1), and the early Ṣafawid shāhs, notably Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76 [*q.v.*]), made property into *waḳf* for the Ṣafawid shrines in Ḳum [*q.v.*] and elsewhere. A document for the appointment of the *mutawallī* of the shrine of Sittī Fāṭima in Ḳum issued by the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Yaʿḳūb Beg in 884/1479 mentions earlier appointments by Tīmūr and Shāhrukh (see H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 56-7). Some of the *awḳāf* for the Ṣafawid shrine at Ardabīl [*q.v.*] also predated the assumption of royal power by the Ṣafawids.

Although the Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid periods were characterised by royal foundations, there was also much constitution of *awḳāf* by provincial governors, officials and private individuals. The motive for many of these foundations was probably local patriotism, but their founders were probably also influenced in many cases by the hope of obtaining local support as public benefactors. In Yazd, important *awḳāf*, were founded by the Tīmūrid governor Amīr Čaḳmaḳ and his wife Bībī Fāṭima and later by Muḥammad Taḳī Khān, who as governor of Yazd under the Afshārids, Zands and Ḳādjārs, exercised a considerable degree of independence [see YAZD]. Under the Ṣafawids, there was probably an increase in family *awḳāf*, made in the hope of ensuring the enjoyment of their revenues by the founder and his family and of preventing, or at least lessening, the interference of the government in the administration of the property so constituted. A typical example is the *waḳf-nāma* of Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Ghiyāthī dated Ramaḍān 951/Nov.-Dec. 1544 (*Mawḳūfāt-i Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Ghiyāthī*, ed. Karāmat Raʿna Ḥusaynī, in *Madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt wa ʿUlūm-i Insānī* (Tehran), xvi/4 [Farwardīn 1348/ March 1969], 465-76). The founder relinquished ownership of the endowed properties and took them over again as *mutawallī* (*ibid.*, 471).

Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī [*q.v.*], the first Ṣafawid shāh, among his early acts appointed Shams al-Dīn Gīlānī *ṣadr* and put him in charge of the *awḳāf* of the empire (Khʷāndamīr, iv, 468). In the reign of Shāh Ṣafī (1076-1105/1666-94 [see SULAYMĀN SHĀH]), the office of *ṣadr* was divided; the *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* administered and generally supervised *awḳāf* in the *khāṣṣa* provinces and the *ṣadr-i mamālik* those in the provinces under governors. The *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* had additional functions in connection with those *awḳāf* of which the shāh was the *mutawallī*, including the appointment of administrators (*mubāshirān*) over them, deputy *mutawallīs* (*mutawalliyān-i djuzw*) and overseers (*nāẓirān*). In the case of *sharʿī awḳāf* (i.e. those constituted by private individuals), neither the *ṣudūr* nor *sharʿī* judges were to interfere with whomsoever the founder had designated as *mutawallī* (Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, in *MDAʿUI*, xvi/1-2 [Ādhar 1317/November 1968], 66). The *awḳāf* in Iṣfahān, Yazd, Abarḳūh, Kāshān, Ḳum, Sāwa, Māzandarān, Astarābād, Giraylī, Ḥadjdjilar, Kabūddjāma, Naṭanz, Ardistān, Nāʾīn, Ḳumisha, Kamara and Maḥallāt, Farāhān, Gulpāyagān, Dilidjān, Khʷānsar, Djāpalak, Barwarūd (?), Firaydan, Rārā, Mizdadj and Kuyar were under the *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* (Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *loc. cit.*), who presumably appointed officials to take charge of the *awḳāf* in these districts (cf. the document appointing Muḥammad Mufīd *mustawfī* of the *awḳāf* of Yazd dated 1077/1667, in Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmiʿ-i mufīdī*, ed. Afshār, Tehran AHS 1340/1961-2, iii, 752-4). The precise relation of the *ṣadr-i khāṣṣa* to the *wazīr* of the Fayḍ Āthār department, also called the *wazīr-i mawḳūfāt*, who was in charge of the agriculture of the Maḥāll (the districts round Iṣfahān) and the repair of buildings in the Maḥāll and of gardens which were *waḳf* (apart from certain named gardens which were under the *nāẓir*), is not clear (Mīrzā Rafīʿā, in *MDAʿUI*, xvi/3, 321).

The Ṣafawid shāhs made extensive *awḳāf* for various shrines [see IMĀMZĀDA] and appointed *mutawallīs* for them. Shāh Ismāʿīl I allegedly took possession of estates in Maymand which had been made into *waḳf* for the Shāh Čirāgh mosque in Shīrāz, and vested the office of *mutawallī* in his children (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-i nāṣirī*, lith., Tehran 1313/1895, ii, 305). During the disorders after the fall of the Ṣafawids, they were usurped by Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib, the *kalāntar* of Shīrāz. Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] restored them to the shrine in 1142/ 1729-30 (*ibid.*, i, 104). Misappropriation of *awḳāf* was not uncommon. The *wazīr* Ḳāḍī Djahān is alleged to have converted certain *waḳf* villages into his private property. After he had retired to Ḳazwīn, this came to the ears of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who ordered him to be deprived of their possession and the equivalent of

the revenue due from them to be recovered. However, because of Ḳāḍī Djahān's age and weakness, the shāh forgave him and granted him a sum of money as a *soyurghal* (Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. C.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, i, 375-6).

Ṭahmāsp I constituted *awḳāf* for the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm in Ray according to a *farmān* dated 960/1153 (Shihābī, *Waḳf dar Islām*, Tehran AHS 1343/1964, 72). His sister Shāhzāda Sulṭānum constituted *awḳāf* for the Čahārdah Maʿṣūm (sc. the twelve *imāms*, the prophet Muḥammad and Fāṭima, the wife of ʿAlī b. Ṭālib) and appointed as *mutawallī* Ṭahmāsp and whichever of his sons should become shāh after him. Ṭahmāsp appointed Mīr Kamāl al-Dīn Astarābādī his deputy (*nāʾib al-tawliya*) (Iskandar Munshī, i, 111-12). The latter, during Ṭahmāsp's reign, was also, with Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Iṣfahānī, joint *mutawallī* of the shrine of the Imām Riḍā at Mashhad; he undertook the *tawliya-i sunnatī* and Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim the *tawliya-i wādjibī*. The first concerned the administration of *soyurghals* and what was given from the *khāṣṣa* administration for the expenses of the shrine on public feasts (*shīlān*) and for allowances for the servants of the shrine, *sādāt*, and others, while the *wādjibī tawliya* was concerned with the revenue of the *awḳāf* of the shrine and from vows (*ibid.*, i, 149). The most numerous *awḳāf* constituted by a ruling shāh belong to the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*]. R.D. McChesney has examined the *awḳāf* of Shāh ʿAbbās in detail and attempted an assessment of their political and economic aspects (*Waqf and public policy: the waqfs of Shāh ʿAbbās, 1011-1023/1602-1614*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xv [1981], 165-90). The best known of these foundations is that made, according to Iskandar Beg Munshī, in 1015/1606-7 or 1016/1607-8 when he constituted all his private estates (*djamīʿ-i amlāk wa raḳabāt-i muktasab-i khāṣṣa-i khʷud*), "the just value of which was 100,000 *tūmān-i shāhī-yi ʿirāḳī* and the produce of which after the deduction of what was needed for their cultivation was, using a medium conversion rate, nearly 7,000 *tūmāns*", together with various buildings in Iṣfahān and the neighbourhood into *waḳf* for the Čahārdah Maʿṣūm. He vested the office of *mutawallī* in himself and thereafter in the reigning monarch. According to the terms of the *waḳf-nāma* drawn up by Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn, the revenue of the *waḳf*, after the deduction of the dues of the *mutawallī* (*ḥaḳḳ al-tawliya*) was to be expended at the discretion of the *mutawallī* and according to the exigencies of the time (Iskandar Beg Munshī, i, 536). Mīrzā Raḍī, the *ṣadr*, was appointed the shāh's deputy in charge of the administration of the *waḳf* (*ibid.*, 64). According to Shihābī, most of the founders of *awḳāf* for the shrine of the Imām Riḍā at Mashhad after this designated the reigning shāh as the *mutawallī*. The shāh's deputy in the management of the *awḳāf* of the shrine was called the *mutawallī-bāshī* and later the *nāʾib al-tawliya* (*Waḳf dar Islām*, 60. On Shāh ʿAbbās's foundations, see also ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sipintā, *Tārīkhča-yi awḳāf dar Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān AHS 1346/1967-8, 41 ff., 331 ff.).

Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, the last of the Ṣafawids, constituted property into *waḳf* for the Madrasa-i Sulṭānī (Madrasa-i Mādar Shāh, now known as the Madrasa-i Čahār Bāgh) in Iṣfahān in 1122/1711-12 and designated himself as *mutawallī* and thereafter the reigning shāh (Sipintā, 120-32). He made the taxes and dues of the property so constituted into a permanent *soyurghal* for the administration of the *madrasa* (*ibid.*, 131).

The office of *mutawallī* of the shrines which had *awḳāf-i tafwīḍī* (i.e. *awḳāf* constituted by the reigning shāh) was influential and profitable. Mīrzā Rafīʿā describes the duties of the *mutawallīs* of the shrine of the Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, the shrine of Fāṭima, the sister of the Imām Riḍā, in Ḳum, the shrine of ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm in Rayy, the Ṣafawid shrines in Ḳum, and the Ṣafawid shrine in Ardabīl and the respect in which the *mutawallīs* were held at the royal court (*MDAʿUI*, xvi/1-2, 66-9). Shihābī gives a list of the properties made into *waḳf* for the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm (*Waḳf dar Islām*, 72-3). He states that Mīrzā Ḥabīb Allāh, the grandson of Shaykh ʿAlī Karakī, was appointed *mutawallī* of the shrine of Fāṭima at Ḳum by Ṭahmāsp, while the *tawliyat* of the shrine at Māhān was given to another grandson, Mīr Sayyid Murtaḍā. Another of Shaykh ʿAlī's descendants, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, *shaykh al-islām* of Ray, became *mutawallī* of the shrine of ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm; his descendants still held that office in the 19th century. Yet another of Shaykh ʿAlī's sons, Sayyid Aḥmad, and his descendants after him, held the office of *mutawallī* of the shrine of Ṣafī al-Dīn at Ardabīl (*ibid.*, 74). Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-67 [*q.v.*]) redistributed the offices of *mutawallī* of the major shrines in an attempt to break up the large fortunes which their holders accumulated (Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, vi, 63-5), reorganised the administration of the *awḳāf-i tafwīḍī* (Muḥammad Ṭāhir Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAbbās-nāma*, ed. Ibrāhīm Dihgān, Arāk AHS 1329/1950-1, 223-4) and appointed Mīrzā Masʿūd Djābirī *wazīr-i awḳāf*. J.B. Fraser was informed by the *mudjtahid* Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Djawād that the revenues of the shrine of the Imām Riḍā from property and land in every province of Persia amounted in the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn to 15,000 *khurāsānī tūmāns*. In later years, his informant told him, there had been usurpation and the rents were ill-paid so that the revenue was probably not more than 2,000 or 2,500 *khurāsānī tūmāns* (*Narrative of a journey into Khorasan in the years 1821 and 1822*, London 1825, 455).

Although the richest and most extensive *awḳāf* in the Ṣafawid period were those made by the shāhs, there were also numerous *awḳāf* constituted by individuals, some affluent (for example Muḥammad Beg Begdilu (d. 1021/1612-13), a man of wealth and substance who made his landed estates into *waḳf* (Iskandar Munshī, ii, 608), but many less so, who were influenced not only by personal gain but by religious feeling and pietas (cf. the case of a certain Ḥādjdjī Yār Beg, a tanner of Iṣfahān, Luṭf Allāh Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-i āthār-i tārīkhī-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān AHS 1344/1961-2, 541-3).

When the Afghāns took Iṣfahān on the fall of the Ṣafawids, they usurped much *waḳfī* property and made it into *khāliṣa* [*q.v.*]; and many records were destroyed (Shaykh Djābir Anṣārī, *Tārīkh-i Iṣfahān wa Ray*, Iṣfahān AHS 1322/1943, 35). Under Nādir Shāh, many *waḳfī* properties were resumed in Iṣfahān, if not elsewhere, and included in the Nādirī registers (*ibid.*, 37-8; see also Mīrzā Muḥammad Kalāntar-i Fārs, *Rūznāma*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1946, 13). ʿĀdil Shāh revoked Nādir's regulations and ordered the *awḳāf* to be returned to their *mutawallīs*. However, a good deal of confusion prevailed and it is not clear to what extent this took place (*ibid.*). Karīm Khān, according to Sipintā, made an abortive attempt to rectify affairs (343). Further decay and confusion occurred in the famine years of 1871-2 (Shaykh Djābir Anṣārī, 51-2).

The Ḳādjār period was not notable for the constitution of *awḳāf*. One of the most important was that made for the Sipahsālār Madrasa in Tehran. The building was begun in 1819 by Amīn al-Dawla Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ṣadr-i Iṣfahānī, who designated himself first as *mutawallī* and thereafter the ruling shāh

(Shihābī, 40). He died two years later before the building was completed. His brother Yaḥyā Khān Mushīr al-Dawla continued the work but also died before it was completed. It was finally finished by the shāh's *mutawallīs* (Shihābī, 38-9; for the text of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān's *wakfiyya*, see Sipintā, 408-20).

In 1854 a Ministry of Pensions and *Awkāf* was founded. In 1863 it was announced in the official gazette, *Rūznāma-i dawlat-i ʿāliya-yi Īrān*, that those in charge of all *awkāf* both in districts near the capital and in the provinces were to send their accounts, duly attested by a *mudjtahid*, to the Ministry of Pensions and *Awkāf*. Anyone who failed to do so would be deprived of office (no. 535, 17 Radjab 1279/1863). After the grant of the Constitution [see DUSTŪR. iv] the duties of the department of *awkāf*, which came under the Ministry of Education, were set out in Article 6 of the Law of 28 Shaʿbān 1328/1910 and in the Supplementary Law of 19 Djumādā II 1329/1911 (Sipintā, 11). The legal position was in due course laid down in the Civil Code (see Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 230 ff.).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ṭarāz, *Kitābča-yi mawkūfāt-i Yazd*, ed. Īradj Afshār, in *FIZ*, x (AHS 1341/1962), 95-123; Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjiwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib*, ed. A.A. Alizade, i/1-2, ii, Moscow 1964-76; anon, *Astarābād-nāma*, ed. Masīḥ Dhabīḥī, separate publication of *FIZ*, no. 12, Tehran AHS 1348/1969; Sayyid Ḥusayn Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Turbat-i pākān*, 2 vols., Ḳum 1395-6/1975-6.

In recent years a number of texts and studies of *awkāf* have been published. Among them are the following: Īradj Afshār, *Wakf-nāma-i si dih dar Kāshān*, in *FIZ*, iv (AHS 1335/1956-7), 112-22; Ḥusayn Shahshahānī, *Khulāṣa az wakf-nāma-i masdjid-i Mīr ʿImād wa farmānhā-yi salāṭīn ki dar ān bāḳī mānda ast*, in *FIZ*, v/1 (AHS 1336/1957), 23-5; A.D. Papazyan, *Persidskie dokumentī matenadarana II (1601-1650 vv.)*, Erevan 1959; Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, *Du farmān marbūṭ bi shahr-i Ray*, in *Rāhnamā-yi Kitāb*, vii/1 (AHS 1343/1964), 140-5; M.T. Musevi, *Orta esr Azerbaijan tarikhine dair Fars dilinde yazilmish senedler*, Baku 1965; Muḥammad ʿAlī Hidāyatī, *Āstāna-i Ray. Madjmūʿa-i asnād wa farāmīn*, Tehran AHS 1314/1965-6; Afshār, *Wakf-nāma-i āb-i Furāt az ʿahd-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, in *FIZ*, xiv (AHS 1346/1967-8) 313-18; Musevi, *Baku tarikhine dair orta esr senedleri*, Baku 1967; Mohamed Khadr, *Deux actes de waqf d'un Qaraḫānide d'Asie Centrale*, in *JA*, cclv (1967), 305-39, see also C.E. Bosworth, *À propos de l'article de Mohamed Khadr, Deux actes de waqf d'un Qaraḫānide d'Asie Centrale*, in *JA*, cclvii (1968), 449-53; Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Pārīzī, *Safar-i Shāh ʿAbbās bi Kirmān*, in *Bar-rasīhā-yi tārīkhī*, iii/1 (AHS 1347/1968) 31-52; Ibrāhīm Nabawī Ḥāʾirī, *Mawkūfāt-i Ḥaḍrat-i Rasūl wa Ḥaḍrat-i Riḍā dar Astarābād wa Gurgān*, Nadjaf AHS 1347/1968-9; Farhang Djahānpūr, *Farāmīn-i pādishāhān-i ṣafawī dar mūza-i brītāniyā*, in *Bar-rasīhā-yi tārīkhī*, iv/4 (AHS 1348/1969), 140-2, 225-7, 234-5; Afshār, *Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh wa Yazd*, in *Īrānshināsī*, ii/1 (1970), 23-33; idem, *Awkāf-i rashīdī dar Yazd*, in *FIZ*, xvi-xvii (AHS 1349/1970-1); B. Fragner, *Zu einem Autograph des Mongolenwesirs Rašīd al-Dīn Fażullāh, der Stiftungsurkunde für das Tabrizer Gelehrten-Viertel Rabʿ-i Rašīdī*, in W. Eilers (ed.), *Festgabe deutscher Orientalisten zur 2500 Jahrfeier Irans*, Stuttgart 1971, 35-46; Ḥusayn Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Kitābča-i thabat-i mawkūfāt wa khāliṣadjāt-i kishwar dar dawra-i nāṣirī*, in *Rāhnamā-i kitāb*, xviii/4-6 (AHS 1354/1975), 435-42; Afshār, *Wakfiyya kadjadjī*, repr. from *FIZ*, xxi (AHS 1354/1976), 1-38; idem, *Sanadī dar bāra-i buḳʿa-i Shaykh Murshid-i Kāzirūnī*, in *Āyanda*, v/1-3 (AHS 1358/1979-80), 137-47; Fragner, *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1980; E. Ehlers and Mustafa Momeni, *Religiöse Stiftungen und Stadtentwicklung das Beispiel Taft/Zentraliran*, in *Erdkunde Archiv für wissenschaftliche Geographie*, xliii (1989), 16-26; Ḳudrat Allāh Rawshanī (Zaʿfarānlū), *Wakf-nāma-i āb-i khiyābān-i Mashhad*, in *FIZ*, xxviii (AHS 1369/1990), 320-5; Maḥmūd Rūḥ al-Amīnī, *Wakf bar khamsa-i mustarika*, in *Āyanda*, viii/7-12 (AHS 1371/1992-3).

(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

IV. IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO 1914

The understanding and interpretation of the role of *wakf* in the Ottoman empire has radically changed since the opening of the vast Ottoman archival holdings in Turkey and the successor states, to which should be added the considerable number of Ottoman documents held in European libraries and archives (e.g. the Archives d'Outre-Mer in Aix-en-Provence which represent one of the more important holdings in Europe for Ottoman Algeria). The increased accessibility, especially from the 1970s onwards, for the international scholarly community to study portions of the Ottoman imperial and provincial archives—and the *wakf* documents within them—in addition to the ongoing publication of archival catalogues in Turkish, Arabic, the Slavic languages, English, etc. (Kenderova, 1984; Lewis; Bilici, 1997; Faroqhi, 1999, 54-5, 60-61, 96; Temimi; Ivanova and Ivanova; bibliographical references cited within manuscript and library catalogues published by Başbakanlık and IRCICA; relevant library and archive internet sites), represents no less than a revolution in research on Ottoman *wakf*. Furthermore, Ottoman *wakf* foundation deeds themselves (*wakfiyye* and *kitāb al-wakf*) and associated documents are gradually being published under the auspices of the General Directorate of Wakfs in Ankara (i.e. the foundation document of the Ottoman sultan, Meḥemmed the Conqueror, published in 1938 and the deeds published in the *Vakıflar Dergisi*), by Wakf Ministries in the former Ottoman provinces (such as the Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha *wakfiyya* published by the Syrian Wakf Ministry in Damascus) and by other organisations.

Access to this primary material has drastically changed methodological approaches to the study of Ottoman *wakf* which, heretofore, had almost exclusively relied upon Islamic legal compendia (*aḥkām al-awkāf*, *fatwā* collections and legal studies) or Western interpretations of it (i.e. Mercier), overwhelmingly giving a normative or interpretative view (Heffening). Barkan and Ayverdi's research, based on the data of a mid-10th/16th-century *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*], was the first to have systematically and quantitatively studied Ottoman *wakf* at a given time and place. Since then, quantitative statistical analyses on predetermined aspects of a corpus of documents related to Ottoman *wakf*, combined with qualitative evaluations drawn not only from *wakf* endowment deeds (the above-mentioned *kitāb al-wakf* and the *wakfiyye*) but also from the *ḥudjdjat al-wakf*, have been published (Raymond; Saidouni; Bakhit; Hénia; Roded; Shuval), revealing trends related to the identities and status of endowment founders and the administrators of the foundations, properties owned by *wakf*, renters of this property, beneficiaries of the revenues, etc. Some publications on Ottoman *wakf* have also analysed archival data juxtaposed with information from the legal domain, such as the *aḥkām al-awkāf* or *fatwā* collections (Rafeq; Reilly; Cuno; Deguilhem, 1988).

An overall picture of Ottoman foundations which comes closer to reality is made possible by understanding *wakf* as a dynamic and very diversified institution which partially developed on-the-ground in reaction to altering circumstances but which responded, at least to a certain extent, to predefined structures. Both the changing as well as the continuous practices of *wakf* were reflected in the juridico-administrative Ottoman tribunal and bureaucratic records (which, though seemingly of formulaic language, expressed nonetheless changing circumstances), but also within the corresponding legal normative framework articulated in *fiḳh* [*q.v.*] (Hüsnü) and *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*] (A. Çetin, 221-7). In other words, the primary sources have indisputably shown that, far from being static or in "mortmain", foundation properties were not, in fact, inalienable and often changed hands not only through the legal mechanism of *istibdāl, irṣād* (Deguilhem, 1988) and other legalised means, but also simply as an integral part of the economy, in line with market demands. The economics and politics of Ottoman *wakf* were based upon a flexible but stable system that had long since produced an institution capable of interacting and responding to individual, family, community and state needs.

Wakf was omnipresent in all levels of Ottoman society, urban and rural, both in the form of individually functioning units and as separate parts of a basic single institutional system. Studying the institution *in situ* from the vantage point of the data found in endowment deeds, in the *ḥudjdjat al-wakf* and in documents inscribed in *wakf* and other registers (i.e. the *taḥrīr*, the *daftar mufaṣṣal*, etc.) reveals the extreme multiplicity of functions that were initiated, established and activated by *wakf* networks in the Ottoman world (for an overview and state-of-the-art survey of *wakf* research up until the end of the 1990s, see Hoexter, *Waqf studies*, and Bilici, 1997), over which the imperial authority attempted to exercise supervision with varying degrees of success over the centuries.

To grasp the ubiquitous character of the Ottoman foundations, one may say that the three most striking traits of the Ottoman *wakf* were its widespread vertical and horizontal use throughout all socio-economic strata of society; its capacity to adapt to individual, group and state needs within Islamic as well as within Ottoman Christian (Abou Nohra; Ghazzal; Davie; Slim; Saliba—see for these references, *Bibl.*, below) and Jewish communities (Yazbak, 55-6, 60, 214-15, 217-18; Shaham; Gerber, *The Jews*); and, finally, its longevity—not only of the institution itself but also of the abundant individual *wakfs* (although, of course, many also disappeared), whether endowed in the Ottoman period or founded during Ayyūbid or Mamlūk times but which continued to operate during the centuries of Ottoman rule (their longevity perceived, for example, via a comparative study of 10th/16th-century *tapu taḥrīr* registers which surveyed the existing *milk* [*q.v.*] and *wakf* properties in relation to 20th-century *wakf* liquidation documents).

From the early years of the empire, even while taking into account the regional differences across its vast Asian, African and European territories, the institution of *wakf* continued to assume its traditional dual and complementary role within both urban and rural Ottoman contexts by simultaneously creating and financing religious, political, social, charitable, cultural and spiritual networks through the establishment of a continuous "permanent" economic linkage between *wakf* beneficiaries and their corresponding revenue-producing assets, in addition to the personnel working for the endowments (Hütteroth and Abdelfattah, esp. map 4 showing regional *wakf* links between late 10th/16th-century Egypt, Syria and the Ḥaramayn [*q.v.*]; Hoexter, *Endowments*, esp. for links between 17th-19th-century Algeria and the Arabian Holy Cities). *Wakf* was the infrastructural core around which many aspects of Ottoman civilisation expressed itself.

Ottoman endowments included the *k͟hayrī, dhurrī/ahlī* and *mus͟htarak wakfs* (identifiable according to the *wakf*'s immediate line of beneficiaries); the politically influential pilgrimage foundations—including the *das͟hīs͟ha* (Afifi 1991, 1995) and Ḥaramayn foundations (which contributed towards the financing of more than just the Arabian Holy Cities: Hoexter, *Endowments*; Heywood; Faroqhi, 1994, 4, 76-8, 80-4, 87-9, 182; the sultanic imperial *humāyūn* [*q.v.*] (Barnes) *wakfs* (to which also individuals contributed who were not associated with the sultanic household: Faroqhi, 1995, 97); the *irṣād* (Cuno) *wakfs*, as well as a plethora of foundations which simultaneously incorporated elements from several of the above categories. Boundaries between the types of *wakf* were not impermeable and differences between them should often be sought in terms of nuances.

For instance, revenues from the *irṣād wakfs*, founded mostly by imperial family members and personalities close to the sultan, were presumably and frequently created for the general welfare (*maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*]), but a considerable part of the *irṣād* shares in Egypt, during the latter centuries of the empire, were also distributed in the form of inheritable allocations (females not being excluded) to individual members of the *ʿulamāʾ* and the military institution. This was also a common enough characteristic of the other types of *wakfs* mentioned above, especially the *k͟hayrī* ones, but also the sultanic and Ḥaramayn endowments in that *wakf* revenues were routinely used to create, modify or maintain local, regional or empire-wide political alliances. A striking example is the poor relief soup kitchen (*ʿimāret* [see K͟HAYR]) endowed, as an imperial *wakf*, by K͟hürrem Sulṭāne [*q.v.*], wife of Süleymān Ḳānūnī, which, from its founding in 1552 until the end of the Ottoman period, catered to both the poor and wealthy in Jerusalem; being inscribed as a beneficiary of this *ʿimāret* became, in fact, a sign of political importance (Peri). Continuing to use the *irṣād* endowments as a comparative measure, juridical works and chronicles show that this type of Ottoman *wakf* (recently studied by Cuno) was often founded with property belonging to the state (*bayt al-māl*), a feature obviously also shared with the imperial foundations. On a similar note, research in the Ottoman archives likewise documents the fact that private individuals constituted *wakf* in Ottoman times not only with their private property, as the normative texts would have it, but also with *mīrī* [*q.v.*] state properties; in the 19th century, the *mīrī* property would, in this situation, have been held with a *sanad al-ṭābū* contract (Deguilhem, 1991, 70-4).

The Ottoman world was profoundly shaped by the foundations, each of which was administered as a separate unit by one or several *mutawallī*, supervised by a *nāẓir(a)* who, depending upon the size of the endowment, may have had an accountant (*muḥāsib*) and other personnel under his or her authority. By the 18th and, more especially, throughout the 19th century, the administration of *wakf* became a veritable profession with some individuals managing ten or more foundations at a time. Aside from the individual administrators, the management of *wakfs*, both in the provinces and in Istanbul, increasingly became con-

centrated and institutionalised, on one level, within the hands of local mosque officials (*imāms* and *mu'adhdhins*) and, on another level, permanently associated with such positions as—to cite just a few among myriad examples—the offices of the Grand Vizier, the *shaykh al-islām* [*q.v.*], the inspector of the Ḥaramayn foundations, the Chief Black Eunuch, etc.

Revenue-generating properties belonging to *waḳf* in Ottoman times whose incomes subsidised the endowments' beneficiaries were located within urban centres, in the cities' immediate surroundings and outlying hinterlands, as well as sometimes in very remote rural regions. *Waḳf* assets consisted of all types of commercial and residential properties that were usually rented in order to create funds for the foundation beneficiaries. Such properties included the *bayt, dār, maghzan, dukkān, ḳahwa, ḥammām, ḳayṣāriyya, khān, bedestān*, parts of or an entire *sūḳ*, etc. *Waḳf* assets also consisted of agricultural real estate which equally yielded revenues for the foundations through rent contracts or by payment in kind from different types of gardens (*djunayna, ḥākūra*) and orchards (*bustān* [*q.v.*]) located within or close to urban centres in addition to parts of or entire villages and tracts of rural agricultural land such as the *ḥānūt, mazraʿa* [*q.v.*], *čiftlik* [*q.v.*], *rizḳa aḥbāsiyya* in Ottoman Egypt, etc. Furthermore, as in previous periods, endowment wealth in the Ottoman realm also included moveable properties (*manḳūlāt*) amongst assets belonging to a *waḳf*, such as books, Ḳur'ān holders, etc. as well as animals, in particular, those used for pious purposes such as for the Pilgrimage (horses, camels). Nomadic communities living in the Ottoman empire used this type of foundation, putting a part of their animals into *waḳf*, as a means of keeping a portion of their properties within the family.

It is now a well-documented fact that sums of cash were also widely possessed by Ottoman *waḳfs*. By the mid-10th/16th century, cash holdings in fact already represented a substantial part of Ottoman *waḳf* assets (Barkan and Ayverdi) which, in the 18th and 19th centuries, represented, in some ways, the precursors of the Ottoman banking system. Foundation administrators lent out the cash at interest, often via specifically named money changers, members of the *ṣarrāf* profession, so indicated in the foundation document, with the purpose of creating liquid assets for the endowment. Ebu 'l-Suʿūd (1545-74 [see ABU 'L-SUʿŪD]), *sheykh al-islām* under Süleymān the Magnificent, was one of the Ottoman religious authorities to have pronounced *fatwās* on the legality of monetary *waḳf*, whereas his contemporary, Meḥmed Birgewī (1520-73), opposed the practice. Since the cash *waḳf* (*waḳf al-nuḳūd*) produced money for the endowments through interest, it was the object of controversy even before Ottoman times (Mandaville; Yediyıldız, 116-20, 144-9; Bilici, *Les waqfs monétaires*; Cizakca). Towards the end of the Ottoman era, during the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, some *waḳf* administrators placed money with the Ottoman Bank as a means of fructifying capital both on their own behalf as well as in the name of a *waḳf*, including endowments founded for Ṣūfī orders such as the Mewlewiyye (Eldem, 288-9).

Many public leaders—sultans but also local governors and bureaucrats as well as all types of notables at all hierarchical levels—marked their political power, often transforming and modifying the character and topography of cities and towns in the process, thanks to proceeds coming from *waḳf* assets, by establishing and subsidising religio-educational structures (*djāmiʿ*, *masdjid* [*q.v.*], *madrasa* [*q.v.*], *dār al-Ḳur'ān, dār al-ḥadīth*; Ṣūfī lodges and places of assembly (*zāwiya, khānḳāh, ribāṭ, tekke* [*q.vv.*]); poor relief sites such as soup kitchens or places giving other sorts of assistance (*ʿimāret* and the *takiyya madrasa* frequently used for giving poor relief in the Arab provinces); mausolea which often served as social gathering places (*turba* [*q.v.*]), medical dispensaries (*bīmāristān* [*q.v.*]); and public infrastructural services in the form of bridges, irrigation systems, fortresses, lighthouses, water conduits, aqueducts, water fountains, etc., in urban and rural areas alike.

During the expansionist periods of the empire, especially in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, *waḳf* was an important political instrument for the Islamisation of newly-conquered localities and frontier areas. To this end, the endowments funded convent-type structures (*ribāṭ*) situated in areas near or bordering on the *dār al-ḥarb* [*q.v.*], notably in the European Ottoman provinces where Ṣūfīs and other Muslims lived, worked the land, engaged in commerce and eventually colonised regions as a concrete means of increasing the expanse of lands belonging to the realm. As part of the Islamisation programme, which was closely tied to the legitimisation efforts of the sultanate, income from sultanic *waḳfs* and associated endowments within all the Ottoman provinces also funded the construction and maintenance of buildings intended for Islamic ritual and teaching (as mentioned above) and, during the early days of the empire, was sometimes involved in the transformation of churches, cathedrals and other already existing edifices into places for use by the Islamic community (Barkan, 1942; Inalcik, 1980, 1990).

Waḳf networks in Ottoman lands were the essential infrastructural link in the transmission of knowledge, since the construction and patronage of places for ritual observances and institutionalised learning, i.e. the mosques and religious schools mentioned above, were almost exclusively subsidised by *waḳf*; this was equally true for many libraries, both public (associated with mosques, Ṣūfī lodges or schools) and private. By way of a famous example, Meḥemmed the Conqueror, immediately upon annexing Konya to his empire in the middle of the 9th/15th century, recorded, in the *waḳf* registers, the magnificent 7th/13th-century manuscript collection there which had formerly belonged to the Ṣūfī Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī, son-in-law of Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*] (Faroqhi, 1999, 46). Although this endowed library counted spectacular manuscripts amongst its holdings, other more modest libraries throughout the different provinces, including those owned by private individuals, were very common (Kenderova, 1999, for an endowed collection in the Balkans). Some of these private libraries were maintained for the active use of scholars and students, while others undoubtedly simply represented a form of capital, the manuscripts not necessarily being read. The *sālnāmas* or late Ottoman almanacs sometimes give lists of the endowed libraries and their contents.

Throughout the empire's territories and through the course of the centuries, *waḳf*-financed utilities ranged from extremely impressive and influential foundation complexes, which continue to function up until today (one of the many outstanding ones is the mid-10th/16th-century Süleymāniyye complex built by Miʿmār Sinān: Necipoglu), to much more modest but still functioning structures, all of them reaching deeply into the society of their time, so that almost everyone living in the empire was affected at some point,

during his or her life, by *waḳf* networks which criss-crossed local, regional and international as well as confessional boundaries.

That endowments were often used as a political instrument by the sultans, by members of the harem and the imperial family, by persons who occupied bureaucratic, religious, military and other official positions at all levels, in addition to individuals in their private capacity, should not overshadow the fact that many *waḳf*s were also founded for pious, religious and charitable purposes and that, in fact, one purpose did not always exclude the other. As dispensers of justice toward the community, the Ottoman sultans and members of their extended households, as well as the average Muslim, undertook poor relief, via the agency of *waḳf*, as one of their responsibilities. Thus, for example, in 1570, Muṣṭafā Čelebi Efendi, a son of the *defterdār* [*q.v.*], Murād Čelebi Efendi, established a large *waḳf* in Istanbul which, according to his *waḳfiyye*, was for the salvation of his soul (an invocation often referred to in the foundation documents). This *waḳf*, similar to so many others, distributed, among other things, water "obtained from pure snow" to the poor and passers-by in Istanbul during the three hottest months of the year (Sauvan, 242). The fact that this water was of such high quality lent an even greater importance to the charity-giving.

The existence of the huge sultanic *waḳf* should not overshadow the fact that modest endowments, sometimes constituted from extremely limited assets, such as a very small plot of cultivated land or a tiny room in a *dār*, *khān* or other building, or even a portion of the above, were also very frequently established as *waḳf*. These modest or middle-sized endowments made by small property owners in the Ottoman empire were often of the *mushtarak* type and thus represented the method of simultaneously enacting a good deed through conferring largesse (even though of a limited amount) on a public or needy beneficiary while, at the same time, ensuring the transmission of family wealth from generation to generation according to specific inheritance strategies which did not necessarily exclude females. Certain *waḳf* strategies sometimes even favoured females both as beneficiaries and administrators of endowments (Garcin; Doumani).

Primary research has also dismantled the misconception of *waḳf* as a secure tax shelter. Ottoman administrative records reveal that both buildings and agricultural properties belonging to the foundations were indeed subject to taxes. Work by Barkan clearly demonstrates that *waḳf* and freehold lands (calculated together as a unit) contributed rather more than 13% in the form of taxes to the overall revenue budget for the Ottoman empire in 1527-28 (Barkan, 1953-4, 277; figures given by Inalcik, 1997, 82-3); in a like manner, Hütteroth and Abdulfattah (98) have shown that endowment properties were subject to the *ʿushr māl al-waḳf* tax in late 10th/16th-century Palestine. But, since the information on taxes levied upon foundations in the Ottoman empire has not yet been sufficiently researched so as to establish substantial quantitative data, it is difficult to evaluate the differences between the types and frequency of taxes imposed on endowment assets in relation to other types of property. Yet, in view of the fact that so many private individuals chose to establish *waḳf* as a means to pass on their properties to future generations instead of simply allowing their assets to be inherited according to Ḳur'ānic inheritance precepts [see FARĀ'IḌ], presumably indicates that *waḳf* property taxes were less onerous than those imposed on non-*waḳf* assets.

Archival work has also been done on the *waḳf*s owned by the guilds [see ṢINF. 3] in the Ottoman empire. Often used as a type of solidarity fund for guild members but also for other individuals associated or not with the guild, this type of endowment was frequently bestowed with cash assets which were lent out at interest. Aside from the endowments founded by individual craftsmen for the benefit of their guild, research has shown that, contrary to normative *waḳf* law where only an individual person may create a foundation, entire guilds also established *waḳf* for their common use (Akarli; Faroqhi, 1995, esp. 97, 102-8, who has studied *waḳf* registers, now held in the manuscript division of Milli Kütüphane in Ankara, from late 18th-century Bursa).

Another collective use of *waḳf*s in the empire was regarding those that were founded for the benefit of an urban quarter (*maḥalla* [*q.v.*]). The assets of the neighbourhood *waḳf*s, similar to those of the guild endowments, were mostly but not exclusively held in the form of currency, which was bestowed in *waḳf* by the quarter's inhabitants or by other individuals; revenue also accrued to this type of foundation by renting the real estate owned by that *waḳf*. The foundation's properties were therefore collectively owned by the quarter, and this *waḳf* acted as a safety net in times of need by the residents of that quarter. In particular, the neighbourhood *waḳf* often helped defray taxes imposed upon a quarter's population as an ensemble as well as assisting neighbourhood inhabitants for their material needs. Although further primary research needs to be conducted on this type of endowment, it seems that the neighbourhood *waḳf* was usually managed by the *sheykh* of the *maḥalla* or by another notable of the quarter.

As the Ottoman centuries went by, huge amounts of buildings and agricultural lands increasingly belonged to the endowments but, for the time being, it is impossible to assess, with any real certainty, the extent of *waḳf* holdings in the Ottoman lands. Nonetheless, 19th and 20th-century studies generally estimate *waḳf* properties to comprise approximately three-quarters of buildings and arable land in the empire. Without being quantitatively specific, it is abundantly clear that *waḳf* represented enormous assets in the Ottoman empire and were an integral part of the economy and the real estate market. Apart from the sultanic and associated *waḳf*s, over which the Ottoman state exercised some centralised control from at least the mid-9th/15th century (although local *mutawallī*s and *nāẓir*s of the sultanic endowments usually held considerable decision-making powers), periodic attempts were made by the state to extend its administration over the other foundations. But, it was only in the late 18th century under sultan Selīm III's reform programme, the Niẓām-i Djedīd [*q.v.*], and especially after the crushing of the Janissaries in the summer of 1826, that the imperial power succeeded in incorporating important endowments under its control. As a first measure, just a few months after the destruction of the Janissaries, the central government created the Ministry of *Waḳf* in October 1826 which, in the next few years, increasingly took over the administration of the influential and wealthy endowments attached to the offices of the Grand Vizier, the *sheykh al-islām*, the *re'īs al-küttāb* [*q.v.*], the inspector of the Ḥaramayn foundations, the Chief Admiral, the Chief Black Eunuch and others. The subsequent *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reorganisations widened and, to some extent, enforced regulatory legislation over the management of *waḳf* and its assets. Ascertaining the real extent of state interven-

tionary powers regarding the control over *wakf* is somewhat problematical; yet it is indisputable that the 19th-century Ottoman empire and the Young Turks régime progressively created the infrastuctural apparatus to incorporate management of the endowments within its centralised administration (Barnes, 87-153; Yerasimos).

The end date for this section, 1914, does not in any way reflect a chronological rupture in the history of Ottoman *wakf*; the hostilities of World War I did not specifically affect the endowments in the empire. A much more significant date was 1924 when, along with the abolition of the caliphate and the Ministry of *Sherīʿat*, *wakf* administration and its properties were incorporated within the secular state apparatus of Muṣṭafā Kemāl's Turkish Republic.

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(Randi Deguilhem)

V. In Central Asia

Since in Islamic times the region governed from such Transoxanian cities as Bu<u>kh</u>ārā and Samarḳand often included the southern banks of the upper Oxus river course, it is convenient to consider here also what is now northern Af<u>gh</u>ānistān.

(a) *The pre-Mongol period*

One of the earliest, if not the earliest, known *waḳf* foundations was established by the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (d. 295/907) at Bu<u>kh</u>ārā. The date of the original deed was 254/868, but it was redrafted in 676/1277 and the surviving version written during the reign of the Man<u>gh</u>it Amīr Ḥaydar (1215-42/1800-26); according to this last, the foundation supported both the family mausoleum and the descendants of Ismāʿīl.

The Ḳarā<u>kh</u>ānid or Ilek-<u>Kh</u>ānid Tam<u>gh</u>āč Bu<u>gh</u>rā <u>Kh</u>ān founded *waḳfs* for a hospital (*bīmāristān*) in Ra<u>dj</u>ab 458/May-June 1066 and for a college (*madrasa*) at some unknown date in Samarḳand. In the course of listing the properties abutting the Ḳarā<u>kh</u>ānid endowments, other *waḳf*-supported institutions are mentioned: the Mas<u>dj</u>id-i Dāwūd; the Congregational Mosque; the tomb (*ma<u>sh</u>had*) of "al-Ṭar<u>kh</u>ān" and his daughter "al-<u>Kh</u>ātūn"; and a student scholarship fund (M. Khadr, 318-19, 325; ilek-<u>kh</u>āns, at Vol. III, 1115b).

A second known Ḳarā<u>kh</u>ānid *waḳf* is that of Arslan <u>Kh</u>ān Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (495-?523/1102-?1129) for a "*madrasa* for jurists" in Bu<u>kh</u>ārā. The documentation on it includes a reference to it in the version of Nar<u>sh</u>a<u>kh</u>ī that has survived (R.N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 30) and a lawsuit of unknown date seeking restitution of grain and money embezzled from the *waḳf* income. See O.D. Če<u>kh</u>ovič, *Tyažba o vakfe medrese Arslān-<u>Kh</u>āna*, in *Pis'menniye pamyatniki vostoka: Ežegodnik 1978-1979*, Moscow 1987, 123-44, 355-64.

(b) *The Mongol period*

A family endowment (*waḳf-i awlād*) from 698/1299 by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Istī<u>dj</u>ābī (Isfī<u>dj</u>ābī) for his son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Yūsuf and then his male descendants in Bu<u>kh</u>ārā and for the upkeep of the mosque and shrine of a local saint, <u>Kh</u>ʷā<u>dj</u>a <u>Kh</u>amana, is the first known *waḳf* from Transoxania in the Mongol period (see A.K. Arends, A.B. <u>Kh</u>alidov and O.D. Če<u>kh</u>ovič, *Bu<u>kh</u>arskii vakf XIII v.*, Moscow 1979, 8). The *waḳfiyya* exists in its Arabic original with an accompanying contemporary Persian translation. The endowment included the village of <u>Kh</u>amana in the district (*tūmān*) of Sām<u>dj</u>ān, including its own canal (*nahr-i <u>kh</u>āṣṣ*). One unusual feature of this *waḳf* was the assignment of the income of specific amounts of land (rather than a percentage of the endowment income or fixed amounts of money) to pay the salaries of the mosque officials and for the specific requirements of the *waḳf*.

(c) *The post-Mongol era: the Bā<u>kh</u>arzī* waḳf *foundation*

The 726/1326 *waḳf* founded by <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Yaḥyā in memory of his grandfather, the Ṣūfī *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>* Sayf al-Dīn Bā<u>kh</u>arzī, established a pattern of large *waḳf* complexes associated with the shrine of a religious figure, a pattern which is a characteristic feature of the urban landscape of the region. Major architectural complexes, usually with a shrine as the focal point, underwritten by extensive *waḳf* endowments that were in turn administered by family dynasties, are a recurrent feature of the socio-economic history of the cities of Central Asia.

The Bā<u>kh</u>arzī *waḳf* is also an example of how *waḳf* was used as a source of development capital in Bu<u>kh</u>ārā as it was in Iṣfahān (R.D. McChesney, *Waqf and public policy. The waqfs of Shāh ʿAbbās 1011-1023*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xv [1981], 165-90) and Istanbul [*q.v.*, at Vol. IV, 226-9] in order to revive local economies. The foundation document, a scroll of nearly 1,000 lines, detailed a vast agricultural expanse, including an area outside the Ḳar<u>sh</u>ī Gate of Bu<u>kh</u>ārā estimated at more than 100 km² (O.D. Če<u>kh</u>ovič, *Bu<u>kh</u>arskiye dokumenti XIV v.*, Ta<u>sh</u>kent 1965, 14). These lands, which were intended to support a mosque and *<u>kh</u>ānaḳāh* complex as well as the tomb of Sayf al-Dīn Bā<u>kh</u>arzī, were situated amidst extensive ruins. At the same time, on its own lands the document speaks of newly-planted vineyards, orchards and vegetable gardens. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa recalled his stay at the *<u>kh</u>ānaḳāh* in 1333, only seven years after the foundation was established, he mentions vast agricultural *waḳfs* belonging to it and its ability to feed "all comers" (*Riḥla*, tr. Gibb, iii, 27-8, tr. iii, 554).

Like many of the large foundations of the time, the Bā<u>kh</u>arzī foundation was very long-lived. The surviving documents pertaining to the foundation include

a grant in 1745 of two parcels of irrigated land totalling four hectares, and a record of the restoration (*ta'mīr wa marammat*) of the *wakfiyya* itself by the *khaṭīb* of Fatḥābād, the location of the tomb, al-Ḥādjdj Mīr Maksūd Dahbīdī.

(d) *Tīmūrid* wakfs

The advent of the Tīmūrid era in Central Asia brought an efflorescence of large *wakf* foundations. Those published or described include:

1. A *wakf* of 785/1383 involving much irrigated land in the Samarkand region. See O.D. Čekhovič, *Vakufnii dokument vremeni Timura iz kollektsii Samarkandskogo Muzeya*, in *Epigrafika Vostoka*, iv [1951], 56-67.

2. Tīmūr's *wakf* for the shrine of Shaykh Aḥmad-i Yasawī. The document, purporting to be Tīmūr's original *wakfiyya* for the shrine in Turkistān, has been called a "crude forgery" (Čekhovič, *Sobraniye*, 309), but it is more than likely that Tīmūr did endow the shrine when it was built, or at least encouraged others to do so. In 1866, Mīr Ṣāliḥ Begčurin described the *wakf* of the shrine complex (which at the time included a mosque, a *madrasa*, and a staff of eight, not including the *madrasa* teachers) as comprising two inns and a caravanserai, this last, donated in 1820, with 80 shops producing 100 *tillas* of income used for upkeep of the shrine (*Opisanie mečeti Azreta*, in *Voennii sbornik*, viii [1866], 209-17).

3. The endowments for the library, *madrasa, khānakāh*, and mosque of Khwādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1420), one of Bahā' al-Dīn Nakshband's chief disciples. See Maria Eva Subtelny, *The making of Bukhārā-yi Sharīf: Scholars, books, and libraries in medieval Bukhara* (forthcoming in a Festschrift for Yuri Bregel).

4. The *wakfs* for Ulugh Beg's *madrasa* and *khānakāh* in Samarkand (both built in 823/1420, according to Ḥāfiẓ Ābrū, *Zubda*, Tehran 1372/1993, 743-4) and his *madrasa* in Bukhārā (1417-20). Although modern scholars have not yet studied in any detail the endowments for the two great *madrasas* founded by Tīmūr's grandson, there is a considerable amount of archival material on them in the Uzbek State Archives, including a series of 17th century endowments of books for the *madrasa* library.

5. The 868/1464 *wakf* of Ḥabība Sulṭān Bīgum, daughter of the Tīmūrid *amīr* Djalāl al-Dīn Suhrāb for the mausoleum called 'Ishrat-Khāna in Samarkand, the tomb of Khāwand Sulṭān Bīgī. See M.E. Masson, *Samarkandskii mavzolei, izvestnii pod imenem Ishratkhana*, in *Mavzolei Ishratkhana*, Tashkent 1958, 27-29, and V.L. Vyatkin, *Vakufnii dokument Ishratkhana*, in *ibid.*, 109-36.

6. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāykarā's endowment with commercial properties and a large canal at the rediscovered alleged tomb-site of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib east of Balkh in 885/1480-1 (see McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia*, Princeton 1991).

7. The *wakf* foundation of Khwādja 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār [see AḤRĀR, in Suppl.] in Samarkand for the complex called Muḥawwaṭa-i Mawālī" in the city district of Khwādja Kafshī (Kafshīr), present-day Ulugh Beg. It held properties throughout Central Asia right up to the Soviet period, and was established principally as a family trust (see Čekhovič, *Samarkandskiye dokumenti XV-XVI vv.*, Moscow 1974, and McChesney, *Central Asia. Foundations of change*, Princeton 1997, 98-109, for the development of the foundation during the 17th century).

(e) *The Shībānid and Tukāy-Tīmūrid periods, 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries*

When the revivers of the Činggisid khānate, the Abu 'l-Khayrid Shībānids [*q.v.*], ousted the last of the Tīmūrids from Central Asia and northern Afghānistān, they and their 11th/17th-century successors, the Tukāy-Tīmūrids (Djānids, Ashtarkhānids) similarly used the financial instrument of *wakf* to establish and fund their own public works.

8. One of the earliest is the extensive endowment for a pair of *madrasas* in Samarkand dedicated in the name of Shībānī Khān (d. 916/1510) and established by his daughter-in-law Mihr Sulṭān Khānum, probably before 926/1520 (see R.G. Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnikh otnoshenii v Uzbekistane XVI v.: Po materialam "Vakf-name"*, Tashkent 1966).

9. In Djumādā II 947/October 1540, an *amīr* named Kamāl al-Dīn Kanāk (Kiyāk, Kunāk) set up a large *wakf* to support an educational-cultic complex of congregational mosque, *madrasa*, ablution stations and *ribāṭ* inside Balkh in the Čukur Mūsā Shaykh quarter (see G.A. Dzhuraeva, *Vakfnii dokument 1540 g.*, in *Vostočnoe istoričeskoe istočnikovedeniye i spetsial'niye istoričheskiye distsiplini*, Moscow 1995, 190-8). Like many *wakfs* both before and after, this large public *wakf* was in fact a "mixed" one, as it made provisions for both the founder's descendants and public institutions. In this case, the future generations were to receive 10% of the income (after expenditure on building maintenance) in accordance with the Kur'ānic rules on the *farā'iḍ* [*q.v.*]. The document also refers to four other mosques which Kamāl al-Dīn had already endowed and three mosques which his brother had likewise built and endowed.

The pattern of large *wakfs* jointly supporting public institutions and the private interests of future generations of the founder's family continued through the 16th and 17th centuries. In Bukhārā, one of the more notable *wakf*-founding families was the Djūybārīs. From their origins as keepers of the Čār (Čahār) Bakr shrine in the western Bukhāran suburbs and beneficiaries of its endowments, the family emerged as one of the wealthiest and most influential families in Central Asia, and preserved both its wealth and influence for several centuries, in large part through the purchase of real estate, conversion of those purchases into *wakf* and designating as beneficiaries not only the *madrasa*-mosque complexes that they built but also succeeding generations of the family. There are many unpublished endowment deeds of the family in the Uzbek State Archives, which taken together establish the long-term economic influence of the family in Central Asia. On the family's origins, see F. Schwarz, *From scholars to saints. The Bukharan Shaykhs of Čūybār and the ziyārat to the Four Bakr*, in *Iz Istorii kul'turnogo naslediya Bukhari*, vi, Bukhārā 1998. On the building and endowment activities of the family, see McChesney, *Economic and social aspects of the public architecture of Bukhara in the 1560's and 1570's*, in *Islamic art*, ii [1987], 217-42, and idem, *Central Asia. Foundations of change*, 109-14.

In the 11th/17th century, besides additions made to the large endowments of the preceding centuries (e.g. Nadr Dīwān-Begī Arlāt's dramatic expansion and endowment of Khwādja Aḥrār's tomb area on the southern side of Samarkand with a large *madrasa*, and several large *wakfs* of books for the Ulugh Beg *madrasa* in Bukhārā), there were new projects in Samarkand (the Shīr Dār and Ṭillākār *madrasas* on the Rīgistān built by another leading *amīr*, Yalangtūsh Bī Alčīn); in Bukhārā (Nadr Dīwān Begī's *madrasa* and *khānakāh* and 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān II's two *madrasas*); and in Balkh (the two *madrasas* of father and son, Nadhr Muḥammad and Subḥān Kulī (for the latter, see A.D. Davidov, *Imeniya medrese Subkhankuli-khana v Balkhe (po vakufnoi gramote XVII v.)*, in *Kratkiye Soobshčeniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, xxxvii [1960], 82-128), all of which generated major new endowments.

Throughout the century, the issue of *waḳf* also touches on the relations between the Tuḳāy-Tīmūrids in Bukhārā and the Tīmūrid rulers of India. A tradition about the endowment of the Gūr-i Amīr complex in Samarḳand had persisted through the centuries. Muḥammad Sulṭān (d. 805/1403), grandson of Tīmūr, was believed to have founded a *waḳf* for his *madrasa*, one of the buildings of the complex, the terms of which local residents believed they knew as late as 1101/1690. Because of the importance of the tombs there to such Tīmūrid epigoni as the Mughals ruling in India, efforts, ultimately unsuccessful, were made by the latter late in 1102/1690-1 to re-capitalise the *waḳf* with cash sent from Kābul and to revive the terms of what was believed to be the original endowment.

(f) *The Manghit and Russian periods (mid-18th to early 20th centuries)*

The great bulk of surviving *waḳf* documents date to the late 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. This is in part due to the usual effects of time on paper documents and in part to the project of the Manghit *amīr*, Shāh Murād b. Dāniyāl ("Amīr-i Maʿṣūm", 1199-1215/1785-1800), either as an act of piety or perhaps to ensure the government had a record of *waḳfs* in Bukhārā, to have many *waḳfiyyas* re-copied. As a consequence, many foundations are only known through these late copies. Another factor was the arrival of the Russians, who were interested in the tax potential of the regions that they had conquered. In 1886, the Governor-General ordered that all *waḳf* deeds should be presented for inspection, with the threat of their nullification if these documents were not brought forward. At that time, the authorities tallied 7,509 *waḳfs* in the territories under Russian direct administration based on the documents presented, with a slightly different count in an earlier publication: 2,909 *waḳfs* in Turkestan, 1,326 in Syr Darya, 1,076 in Fergana, 507 in Zarafshan, 1,177 in Khojent, 382 in Namangan, 297 in Samarḳand and 282 in Margelan for a total of 7,956 separate foundations. To these numbers should then be added the thousands of *waḳfs* in the khānates of Bukhārā and Khīwa. See N. Emel'yanov, *Čislennost' vakufov Turkestanskogo kraya*, in *Turkestanskiye Vedomosti*, 1887, no. 1.

But the practice of document preservation and duplication is well attested long before the time of Shāh Murād. On the reverse of the 947/1540 *waḳfiyya* is a note specifying how many copies were to be made of the document and where they were to be kept—two in Bukhārā, one at a private house in Samarḳand and a fourth in Shahr-i Sabz. In Balkh, there were to be three copies, one kept by the settlor himself, the other two to be kept by two named *ḳāḍīs*. Inside the body of the document is a further stipulation that, every ten years, the *mutawallī* was to make a fresh copy of the *waḳfiyya*.

After the Soviet Revolution of 1917, *waḳf* property was officially abolished. The extent to which it persisted as social practice even under official prohibition has yet to be studied. While the institution was being swept away, its records were being preserved. The establishment of the Central State Historical Archives in Tashkent and the accumulation of manuscript works (both books and single documents) by the Academies of Sciences in the new Soviet Republics meant the history of *waḳf* in Central Asia, if not the institution itself, would be preserved.

The extensive documentary record for *waḳf* has great potential for historians of Central Asia. The *waḳfiyyas* are rich in topographic, toponymic and architectural information. The Ḳarākhānid ones, for example, specify the structural elements of *khāns* (caravanserais) in 5th/11th-century Samarḳand. These may then be compared with later deeds in which caravanserais or comparable commercial structures (*tīms*) are described. What is true for individual buildings is also true for topography and toponomy. The 947/1540 *waḳf* in Balkh details the layout of three of the city's quarters (Sallākh-khāna, Āsiyābād, and Čuḳur Mūsā Shaykh). In light of the virtual disappearance of all traces of the mediaeval and early modern internal plan of the city, this record is invaluable. Similarly, from the corpus of Djūybārī endowments deeds, complemented by property sales records, whole streets of Bukhārā may be reconstructed as they existed in the 10th/16th century.

The documents are also a major source for economic history. Already one study has used *waḳf* documents to establish wage and price trends in Bukhārā in the 10th/16th century (E.A. Davidovič, *Istoriya denezhnogo obrashčeniya srednevekovoi Srednei Azii*, Moscow 1983, 281-91). Currency and units of account in use (*rāyidj al-waḳt*), types of land tenure, institutional budgets, wages and prices in historical context, all may be studied through these materials. The cash *waḳf*, controversial in the 10th/16th century but apparently routine by the 19th century, also emerges from the documentary records. See A. Dzhalilov, *Dokumenti ob obrashčenii deneg v* vakf *v Khivinskom khanstve (XIX-načhalo XX veka)*, in *Obshčestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane*, i [1989], 45-9.

Social history, too, finds a wealth of data in *waḳf* records. The owners and tenants of property which bounded *waḳf* property, or tenants on *waḳf* property itself are often identified by name thereby indicating property ownership and tenancy by gender, occupation and ethnicity.

The "Ḥaramayn *waḳf*", that is, endowments made to help support institutions in Mecca and Medina or related to the Pilgrimage, has a venerable history in Central Asia. Tīmūr's spiritual guide, Amīr Sayyid Baraka, who is buried alongside him in the Gūr-i Amīr, was reportedly an official of the Ḥaramayn *waḳf*. According to Khwāndamīr, writing more than 100 years later, Sayyid Baraka had been sent from Mecca to Balkh in 771/1369-70 to inspect Ḥaramayn *waḳf* lands in the Balkh region when he first came to Tīmūr's attention (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1333/1954, pt. 3, vol. iii, 415-16). In the late 15th century, an official (*wakīl*) of the Ḥaramayn came to Harāt from Mecca to complain that revenue from the *waḳf* lands in Andkhūd in Khurāsān was not reaching the holy cities. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā reportedly investigated and a *fatwā* was issued stating that Ḥaramayn *waḳf* revenues were being spent on *sayyids* from Mecca visiting Khurāsān rather than being sent west (Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Niẓāmī, *Manshaʾ al-inshāʾ*, Tehran 1357/1978, 83). There are archival records of numerous endowments, many of them from the early 20th century, that continued the tradition of founding *waḳfs* to benefit the Holy Cities. One of the more unusual properties donated to the Ḥaramayn *waḳf* by the Manghit *Amīr* ʿAbd al-Aḥad (1886-1910) is a room (*ḥudjra*) in the Muḥammad Naẓar Parwānačī *madrasa*, suggesting that *madrasa* rooms, originally the object of an endowment, had been transformed into an income-generating piece of property that could then be made into *waḳf*.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Information on Central Asian *waḳfs* may be found in several kinds of records: in *shurūṭ* literature (e.g. the *waḳf* for a hospital founded by the Ḳarākhānid Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr Tamghāč Bughrā Khān, given by M. Khadr and Cl. Cahen,

Deux actes de waqf d'un Qaraḵhānide d'Asie Centrale, in *JA*, cclv/2 (1967), 305-34, found in the *Ghurar al-shurūṭ wa-durar al-sumūṭ* of al-Righdamūnī); in a dynamic documentary tradition which includes original foundation charters and/or later updated recensions of the original decrees, in governmental decrees (*farāmīn, manāshīr, aḥkām*) regulating the operation of a foundation; in court records of litigation (*mukhāṣama, daʿwā*); in other property records: sale affidavits (*iḳrārāt, ḳibāladjāt*), ownership transfers (*tamlīk-nāmas*), wills (*taraka-nāmas*) and bequests (*waṣiyyat-nāmas*); and in many genres of literature (histories, biographies, geographies/cosmographies).

The known collections of Central Asian *waḳf* documents include more than 2,000 *waḳf* deeds, virtually all from Bukhārā, in Tashkent in Fond I-323 of the Uzbek State Archives (ms. catalogue by I. Miradîlov, *Kollektsiya vakufnîkh dokumentov*); several hundred *waḳf* deeds and related documents in the Fond Vakfname at the Institute of Oriental Studies of Uzbekistan (O.D. Čekhovič, *Sobranye vostočnîkh aktov Akademii Nauk Uzbekistana*, in *Istoričeskie Zapiski*, no. 26 (1948), 306-11; idem, *Novaya kollektsiya dokumentov po istorii Uzbekistana*, in *ibid.*, no. 36 (1951), and G.A. Džuraeva (Juraeva), *Dokumental'noe nasledie Uzbekistana (Vakfname Instituta Vostokovedeniya Ak. Nauk Respublika Uzbekistana)*, n.d., unpubl. paper); at least 75 *waḳf-namas* in Samarḳand, at the Uzbek State Historical Museum (K.D., *Inventarnaya kniga rukopisnîkh dokumentov feodal'nogo-kolonial'nogo perioda Uzbekskogo Gosudarstvennogo Istoričeskogo Muzeya*, Samarḳand, n.d., unpubl. catalogue), an unknown number in Bukhārā at the Bukharan State Library and the Bukharan State Art and Architecture Museum (see B. Kazakov, *Kollektsiya istoričeskikh dokumentov Bukharskogo Gosudarstvennogo Arkhitekturno-Khudožestvennogo Muzeya-Zapovednika*, in *Iz istorii kul'turnogo naslediya Bukharî*, Tashkent 1990, 62-8), and an unknown number in Dushanbe, Tadjikistān at the Firdawsī State Public Library, the Institute of Oriental Studies, and the Aḥmad Donish Institute of History (see on these, A.A. Egani and Čekhovič, *Regestî Sredneaziatskikh Aktov*, in *Pis'mennye pamiyatniki vostoka. Ežegodnik(i) 1974-1979*, Moscow 1981-7).

Many more documents pertaining to *waḳf* in the area that came under Russian direct administration after 1865 (e.g. Samarḳand, Farghāna, Tashkent) are to be found in other fonds of the Uzbek archives, especially Fond no. 1 "Kantselariya Turkestanskogo General-Gubernatora", no. 17, "Sîr-Dar'inskoe Oblastnoye Pravlenye", no. 18, "Samarkandskoye Oblastnoye Pravlenye", no. 19, "Ferganskoye Oblastnoye Pravlenye", and no. 26 "Upravlenye Kush-Begi Emira Bukharskogo". See Z.I. Agafonova and N.A. Khalfin, *Putevoditel'* (Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Istoričeskii Arkhiv UzSSR), Tashkent 1948. The collection of 19th-century Khīwan documents, including many *waḳfiyyas* was moved from Leningrad (St. Petersburg) to the Uzbek Central State Historical Archives in Tashkent in 1962 (subsequent to the publication of the Agafonova-Khalfin guide) and was added to Fond I-125, "Kantselariya Khana Khivinskogo" (Yu.È. Bregel', *Arkhiv Khivinskikh Khanov*, in *Narodî Azii i Afriki* (1966), no. 1, 67-76, and idem, *Dokumentî Arkhiva Khivinskogo Khanov po istorii i ètnografii Karakalpakov*, Moscow 1967, 10-11). No doubt much more *waḳf* material from Central Asia is to be found in other archival holdings in the former Soviet Union.

2. Studies. These are given in the article.

(R.D. McChesney)

VI. In Muslim India to 1900

In their operation as institutions, *awḳāf* in India resembled similar organisations in Muslim West Asia. At the same time, a number of forces unique to the subcontinent gave South Asian endowments a distinctive history. Several Indian historical circumstances gave them characteristics that made them diverge from patterns in the structure of *awḳāf* found in territories farther west. Muslims in the subcontinent were always a minority—influential certainly, but a minority none the less. Muslim-dominated states spread throughout South Asia in temporal fits and starts. During the crucial period of Mughal hegemony, a cash economy greatly enhanced the revenues available to the state, thus changing the complexion of patronage for individuals as well as establishments. Finally, the relatively early date, the late 18th century, at which British imperialism began to shape Muslim customs meant that Indian *awḳāf* were hybrids of a sort not found elsewhere in the Islamic world.

Inscriptional evidence concerning South Asian endowments is limited. Existing collections of epigrapha have not picked up information on endowments or widely disseminated it. Dedicatory carvings frequently employ terms other than *waḳf*: *inʿām* might be used in one inscription, *lā kharadj* in another, and sometimes even Hindu terms such as *devutter* will appear. During the Mughal period in Bengal, the expansion of Islamic institutions was underwritten by revenue abatements known as *sanads* (R. Eaton, *The rise of Islam and the Bengal frontier*, Berkeley, etc. 1993). Historical chronicles which often amount to panegyrics to one or another ruler make but perfunctory mention of *awḳāf*. They restrict themselves to the notice that a sultan established endowments or that he seized and redistributed the endowments of his predecessor (P. Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Cambridge 1998). When we look at the great dynastic histories dealing with the Mughals in India, mention of *awḳāf* virtually ceases.

Climate and vermin have meant that few, if any deeds of endowments, *waḳf-nāmas*, have survived. Also, documents have had a tendency to disappear when they proved inconvenient to the needs of later generations. While we know that a number of *awḳāf* were established for the maintenance of the Tadj Maḥall [*q.v.*], not a single document concerning them has come down to us (W. Begley and Z. Desai, *The Taj Mahal*, Seattle 1989; Irfan Habib, *The agrarian system of Mughal India*, Bombay 1963). Endowments in South Asia, therefore, cannot provide the material for the kinds of analysis of particular ruling groups such as the Mamlūks (C. Petry, *The civilian elite of Cairo in the later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1981), or of institutions such as the *mazar-i sharīf* (R. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia*, Princeton 1991).

We know that the Dihlī Sultanates tried to use the *iḳṭāʿ* as the basis for supporting their military and fiscal élites. In West Asia, e.g. in Saldjūḳ Persia, *awḳāf* were sometimes part of an effort to convert prebendary tenures (*iḳṭāʿāt*) into possessions (see III. above). In any case, the complications of revenue collection and control over access to agricultural surpluses in India meant that few attempts to secure absolute possession of some bit of territory were likely to endure. Though India's population was always big when compared to that of the rest of the world, land remained open for cultivation well into the 20th century. The crops that the land produced and the people who produced them were far more important than the ownership of mere real estate. Also, many cities and towns served as the capitals of states. Rulers, even within the same dynasty,

tended to shift from place to place, taking their courtiers with them. Thus the farms and houses that usually provided the incomes of *awkāf* had a somewhat fluid place in the lives of those notables who were in the position to establish an endowment (G. Kozlowski, *Muslim endowments and society in British India*, Cambridge 1985).

The reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar coincided roughly with the influx of silver brought by Europeans to purchase Indian goods (J. Richards, *The Imperial monetary system of Mughal India*, Delhi 1987; idem, *The Mughal empire*, Cambridge 1993). Irfan Habib has reckoned that by 1600, 85% of the Mughal revenue demand was collected in coin. While cash *awkāf* were known in the Ottoman empire (see IV. above), they do not seem to have been extensively used in Mughal India. Rather, the Mughals made use of a number of other chancery terms for what were grants of revenue or the right to collect revenue, e.g. *wadjh-ī milk, wazīfa* and *in'ām*. Prebends known as *madad-ī ma'āsh* were very common. The holders of *in'ām* and *madad-ī ma'āsh* grants over several generations later claimed to British officials that their prebendary holdings were actually *awkāf* and should therefore be exempt from most kinds of sale, as well as immune from seizure for debt (Kozlowski, *op. cit.*, 39-40).

For their part, the Mughal rulers' reliance on stipends may have arisen from their need to bring within their own imperial orbit the religious figures and institutions which had been patronised by the lines of sultans who had preceded them (Kozlowski, *Imperial authority, benefactions and endowments* (awqāf) *in Mughal India*, in *JESHO*, xxxviii [1995], 355-70). Religious scholars, the tomb-shrines of saints (P. Currie, *The shrine and cult of Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer*, Delhi 1989) and *madrasas* were scattered all over India. The sultanates not only of Dihlī, but also of Bengal, Gudjarāt, Djawnpūr and the Deccan, offered support for places of prayer, schools and mausoleums as well as for the various functionaries attached to them. The task of the Mughals was somehow to reconcile these important places and people to their authority. The most flexible way of accomplishing that feat was through the distribution of rights to cash generated by produce and manufactured goods. In such an environment, the permanence associated with a *wakf*, though usually more theoretical than realistic, may have made them seem unsuitable to the dynamic process of forging Mughal legitimacy. Unlike the experience in the Ottoman empire, imperial notables and local leaders do not seem to have turned to endowments as ways of anchoring their material assets as well as their status. In Mughal politics, assertions of independence almost invariably took the form of armed rebellion. Rather, the nobility, including the women of the imperial household, built many of the mosques that later generations were to associate with Mughal grandeur. Nobles or imperial sisters, cousins, aunts and wives provided the financial wherewithal for edifices such as the Mahabbat Khān mosque of Peshawar, the somewhat misnamed Bādshāhī of Lahore and some of the greater mosques of Old Dihlī (S. Blake, *Shahjahanabad*, Cambridge 1991, 53 ff., and Kozlowski, *Private lives and public piety*, in G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world*, New York 1998, 469 ff.).

In theory, the *'ulamā'* should have had an important role in the administration of endowments. In certain places and periods (M. Hoexter, *Endowments, rulers and community*, Leiden 1998), the learned classes did have considerable authority over *awkāf*. In 18th-century Egypt, the *'ulamā'* were themselves prodigious founders of endowed establishments (see II.1. above), but in India, the role of religious functionaries was residual. They seem to have held power over endowments only in the last resort. Though celebrated for the compilation of Ḥanafī *fikh* known as the *Fatāwā-yi 'Ālamgīrī*, when it came to *awkāf*, the scholars of Mughal India simply repeated what had come down to them. Unlike the work of Ottoman scholars such as Ebu 'l-Su'ūd, they do not seem to have made any original contributions to the legal theory of endowments.

With the growing influence of British law, the configuration of economic, political and social forces in Mughal India changed in a number of formal as well as informal ways. In part through ignorance and in part through design, British notions of land ownership gradually became the crucial economic fact of India. The cash that the mortgaging of land could produce greatly increased seizures for unpaid loans. Likewise, the British-sponsored law courts enforced highly-textual notions of inheritance. For Muslims, that meant literal enforcement of Ḳur'ānic injunctions regarding inheritance, which made a division of property among a number of heirs almost inevitable. The subdivision of landed property also led inexorably to the fragmentation of material assets and the loss of family prestige. This was countered to some extent by creating a *wakf* which allowed donors to stipulate how the income of dedicated property was to be disbursed. The donors themselves as well as their children could receive the income of an undivided estate apportioned as seemed best according to the notions of honour in leading families. An estate owner who left only wives and daughters would know that, if the usual Ḳur'ānic inheritance rules applied, the share of his property that would have gone to sons would be distributed among male first cousins, and daughters and wives would not get any markedly bigger portion. An endowment, by contrast, allowed for the transmission of the income of an intact inheritance.

When faced with legal suits regarding *awkāf*—often lodged by individuals who claimed that the endowment violated their Ḳur'ānic rights—British judges of the 1870s and 1880s issued conflicting judgements. In 1894, the Privy Council under the leadership of Lord Hobhouse issued a ruling in the case of *Abdul Fata Mahommed Ishak (and others) v. Russomoy Dhur Chowdhry (and others)* stating that a *wakf* had to be a "charitable and religious trust" (Kozlowski, *Muslim endowments*, 144 ff.) In that way, British judges and Indians trained in British law schools created, in effect, a Muslim law of endowments.

At the same time that British judicial functionaries were encountering *awkāf* that to their minds looked suspiciously like attempts by Muslims to avoid the strictures of their own law, administrative officials were gradually drawn into managerial oversight over large establishments that had public religious as well as educational purposes. Despite some regulations that forbade official involvement in the management of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh institutions, local officers could not sometimes avoid attempts to settle muddles that led to widespread discontent. Attempts to ensure "good order" often gave rise to thorough transformations of some institutions. Thus the Hughli Imāmbārā was altered by the involvement of imperial officials. The building had been a shrine where the rites of Imāmī Shī'ism had been performed. A few boys, both Muslim and Hindu, had studied Persian there. The organisation eventually became Hughli College, with a curriculum of "modern" subjects and a student body

including both Muslims and non-Muslims. Perhaps the most significant effect that the involvement of British administrators had was to implant the message that efficient management was a slogan under which campaigns against the custodians of particular, big endowments could be launched. The assets of any given *waḳf* could look to a politician, including politically-inclined *ʿulamāʾ*, like an important financial resource for any "reform" project he had in mind.

By 1900, *awḳāf* had become an issue in India's emerging political arena. Various associations and religious scholars, together with a variety of would-be politicians, lined up to have their say on the issue of endowments. In particular, the opinion of Lord Hobhouse in *Abdul Fata Mahommed Ishak, etc.*, became a focal point for controversy. With the exception of a few who argued that Hobhouse was right about Muslim law, most criticised the view as an erroneous interpretation of *fiḳh*. Moreover, critics argued that the inability to secure continuity in their undivided estates by means of *waḳf* placed the Muslim gentry of India in peril. That side of the debate over Muslim endowments gradually disappeared from the press and other venues for public discussion, but the larger and more public Muslim endowments, however, have remained matters of great interest and debate to the present day (cf. J. Malik, *The colonialisation of Islam*, New Delhi 1996).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G.C. Kozlowski)

VII. In Southeast Asia

The institution of *waḳf* (various local spellings, inc. *waqf, wakaf, wakap, wagf*, etc.) has undergone considerable change here as a result of reformulations by English and Dutch colonial laws. There are only minimal references in the historical texts (Malay and Javanese) and little evidence as to how the *waḳf* operated in pre-European Southeast Asia except for the odd mention in accounts of Arab trading practice. However, in the 19th and 20th centuries the institution has a prominent part in the *S̲h̲arīʿa* (Syariah) as administered in the European possessions. Each has to be considered separately.

(i) *British Burma*. The religion of Burma is Buddhism. Islam is the religion of minority Muslim immigrants, and of border peoples incorporated within the boundaries of the state of Burma (e.g. the Arakanese, Rohyinga). The main immigration dates from the 1880s, and the Indian Muslims made up about 1% of the total population or about 20% of the Indian migrant population by World War II. Islamic law was allowed to Muslims for succession, inheritance, marriage and any "religious usage or institution" (Burma Laws Act, 1898. § 13). This included *waḳf*, and the latter was further defined in the Mussalman Waḳf Validating Act of 1913, and Act of British India. There were no particularly Burmese features [see zerbadis and section VI. Muslim India, above].

(ii) *The Straits Settlements and the Malay State. Ca.* 1880-1952 to 1957, legal policy in respect of *waḳf* was uneven in these territories. In the Straits Settlements (then comprising Singapore, Penang and Malacca) a *waḳf* was always defined in terms of the English law on charities. Many *waḳf*, perfectly good in *S̲h̲arīʿa* terms, were refused for breaches of the technical rules on charitable trusts. The only exception in the long and complex precedent was that gifts for the relief of poverty were always allowed. On the other hand, gifts for "religious purposes", such as the construction of mosques, schools, the provision of books and food for students were often disallowed, and generally restricted. The courts were not applying the *S̲h̲arīʿa* at all. There was no legislation except for the Muslim and Hindu Endowments Ordinance (1905) which was solely concerned with administrative matters. In the Malay States, the position was rather more complicated. The problem was that the dates for the reception of English law were uncertain and always a matter of later legal dispute. In addition, the Malay States were classed as "Federated" and "Unfederated" and this had important consequences for the *S̲h̲arīʿa*. Broadly speaking, in the Unfederated States the *S̲h̲arīʿa* was rather sheltered from British re-organisation and administration. The main issue, so far as *waḳf* was concerned, was the consistent attempt by Malay sultans to control the use of *waḳf* for private or family benefit. A *waḳf* would only be allowed if it were for a clear religious or public benefit. In addition, however, the courts in both the Federated and Unfederated Malay States were, from about 1900, increasingly required to implement principles of English law, including laws on charitable trusts. The result was a partial assimilation of *waḳf* to the English trust and a large scale importation of Anglo-Indian laws on the subject into the Malay States. Family *waḳf*s were almost unknown from the 1920s onwards, and even the incidence of public *waḳf* was much reduced. The assimilation of the *waḳf* to the English trust had the effect of much reducing the confidence of Muslim donors in the institution.

(iii) *Singapore, 1950s-present, and Malaysia, 1950s-1988.* In preparation for independence (Malaysia in 1957, Singapore in 1965), the constituent states all passed legislation promoting the *S̲h̲arīʿa*. These are the Administration of Islamic (or Muslim) Law Enactments. While there are variations amongst them, they all provide for the establishments of a "Muslim Fund" (*Bait-ul-Mal*) the main purpose of which is to administer *waḳf* property through an Islamic religious Council (*Majlis Ulama Islam*). The following description, which is typical of all the legislation, is taken from the Singapore Act of 1966. The Majlis administers all *wakaf 'am, waḳf, wakaf khas, nazr 'am* and all trusts of any description for the benefit of Muslims "to the extent of any property affected thereby and situated in the state". The Majlis has the power to appoint a *mutawali* (manager) to manage any *waḳf* or *nazr 'am* and it may remove any existing trustee where there has been mismanagement, or where it would otherwise be to the advantage of the *waḳf* or *nazr 'am*.

The Act provides for restrictions on the creation of Muslim charitable trusts. No *waḳf* or *nazr* may involve more than one-third of the property of the person making the same by will. All *waḳf khas* and *nazr* must be validated or ratified by the President of the Majlis or, if it was made during a fatal illness, it must be in writing and witnessed by two adult Muslims, of whom one has to be a Kathi or Naib (Assistant) Kathi. In any case, the Act cannot render valid any will, death-bed gifts, *waḳf* or *nazr* which are invalid under Muslim law. The income of any *waḳf* or *nazr* is to be applied in accordance with the provisions of the instrument or declaration which creates the *waḳf* or *nazr*. Where there is no specific provision for expenditure, the income forms part of the Fund. Subject to an impossibility of performance or changed circumstances, the property and assets effected by a lawful *waḳf* or *nazr 'am* does not form part of the fund but is held as a segregated fund and applied in pursuance of the *waḳf* or *nazr 'am*. Where there has been a lapse of time or changed circumstances so that the provisions of a *waḳf* or *nazr 'am* cannot be carried out, the Majlis may prepare an alternative

scheme, as analogous as possible to that in the original. It may also direct that the property and assets be added to and form part of the Fund. All questions as to validity or as to the meaning and construction of documents or declarations affecting a Muslim charitable trust are to be decided according to Muslim law. However, where in the opinion of the Majlis, the meaning of any instrument or declaration is obscure, the Majlis may request the Court to construe it and must act in accordance with the construction. In its construction the Court must apply Muslim law.

The Majlis is obliged to comply with stringent requirements in respect of its financial dealings. It must produce an annual report, together with a balance sheet for the Fund, an income and expenditure account, and a list of properties and investments. These documents are all subject to audit by the Director of Audit or a Public Officer authorised by him. In addition, the Majlis must also publish an annual list of all the properties subject to any trust, *wakf* or *nazr* which do not form part of the Fund. This list is also subject to audit. The Majlis must also prepare and submit to the Minister estimates for each ensuing year in respect of all income or property receivable and disposable. These estimates may be approved by the Minister or they may be amended by him.

One point may be emphasised, sc. the reference to "Muslim" (or "Islamic") law. In Singapore still and in pre-1988 Malaysia, this reference is (a) to Anglo-Muhammadan precedents from India or the Straits, and (b) to the standard textbooks of the Shāfiʿī school. At the lower levels of the *Sharīʿa* courts, it is the latter which prevails, but in the higher levels and in the secular courts, it is the Anglicised precedent. In addition, the *Sharīʿa* courts are also developing their own precedent, so that in the official law reports for both Malaysia and Singapore classical *fikh* now appears in an English form and the doctrine of precedent, unknown as such in *Sharīʿa*, has come to apply in *wakf* as in other matters.

(iv) *Malaysia* [*q.v.*] *1988-present*. In June 1988 the Malaysian Constitution was amended (Art. 121 (1A)) so as to reserve matters of *Sharīʿa* for the religious courts. The intention was to oust the jurisdiction of the secular courts on any matter of Islam within the jurisdiction of the *Sharīʿa* courts. This includes *wakf*. At about the same time, most states in Malaysia introduced additional detailed legislation on Islamic family law and also on the administration of Islamic law. The effect of this legislation is to elaborate and reinforce the administration of the classical *wakf*, but at the same time, the statutes have also increasingly introduced English law technical classifications. *Wakf*, for example, is equated with a "charitable trust", other terms used include "domicile", "conveyance", "vesting", "cyprès", and so on. In addition, the reported cases (jurisprudence) interpreting the legislation refer to the complex Indian or Anglo-Indian precedent.

The main features are that the motive must be religious, that the dedication must be permanent and that the usufruct must be utilised for the good of mankind. However, there are also several points of contrast with the English trust as well as similarities. Thus the motive in *wakf* is always religious, but this need not be the case in trust. In *wakf*, the property belongs to God and the dedication is thus permanent. In trusts, on the other hand, the perpetuity rules are crucial. In a trust, a settlor may take an interest, but this is not the case in *wakf* except for Ḥanafīs. On the other hand, both *wakf* and trust laws agree that the subject-matter is any property capable of being owned. Perhaps the major distinction is that the *mutawali* is not a "trustee"; Islam does not recognise an intermediate vesting as in the case of a trustee. But, on the other hand, the duties laid on the *mutawali* do come close to those laid on trustees, particularly in financial matters.

While all the Malaysian legislation refers to the "Islamic law" as to determining the validity of an individual *wakf*, it is difficult to see how this reference can be sustained given the complete reformulation of *wakf* as a "charitable trust". This trend, of course, was present in the Straits Settlements in the 1920s and 1930s, and now seems to have come to fruition.

(v) *Indonesia* [*q.v.*]. In the former Netherlands East Indies, Islam was heavily controlled and the *Sharīʿa* was allowed very little recognition as a law for Muslims. It was not until 1882 that a Muslim Court (*Priesterraad*) was established, but with a very limited jurisdiction, which included *wakf*. The 1882 regulation and later amendment in 1937 was purely procedural, providing only for the administration of and accounting for *wakf*; this remains the position today. "The Compilation of Islamic Law" (implemented by Presidential Instruction No. 1/1991), Book iii (§§ 215-228) defines *wakf* as a "legal act... which institutionalises assets for religious purposes or other public needs in accordance with the teachings of Islam". The eighteen sections of Book iii are, after this definition, wholly procedural. Assets must be durable and of value according to the standard Shāfiʿī textbooks. Assets must also be free from claim by any other person and the assets are held and administered under the supervision of an officer appointed by the Minister of Religion. The *nadzin* (legal person administering) must be an Indonesian national, an adult, "emotionally and spiritually healthy", and must be registered by the local office of the Ministry of Religion. Reports and accounts of administration must be provided. Alteration of the use of assets may be approved for the public benefit or if the original purpose has become impossible. Detailed data are as yet only slowly becoming available, but the future of *wakf* seems assured.

(vi) *The Philippines* [*q.v.*]. *Wakf* undoubtedly existed in the Muslim South, but equally certainly was heavily overlaid with customary rules. This is certainly the case in the 1977 Muslim Code of the Philippines (Presidential Decree No. 1083) where *wakf* is mentioned twice. It is defined in Art. 173 as constituting "communal property" along with customary heirlooms and ancestral property. It is described as "charitable trust property" and must be administered or disposed of in accordance with "Muslim law, *ada* (*adat*) and special provisions of the law". The administrator is a "trustee" (Art. 174 (2) (3)) who is appointed by the *Sharīʿa* Circuit Court. The terms of the Code are quite clear; *wakf* is a charitable trust (as in Malaysia) and the *mutawali* is a trustee. Further, room is left for customary forms of *wakf*. The second mention of *wakf* in the Code is in Art. 104 which allows for the creation of a *wakf* ("*waqf-bil-wasiya*") by will but amounting up to one-third of the estate only, unless allowed by the heirs (Art. 106). Detailed data are as yet lacking.

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2. From 1980. (a) Malaysia: the primary source is the legislation. A good example is the Administration of Islamic Law (Federal Territory) Enactment, No. 505/1993, Part vi. For imported Anglo-Indian

precedent, see D.S. Mulla, *Principles of Mahomedan law*, 16th ed., Bombay 1968. (b) Indonesia: the primary source is the *Compilation of Islamic law* (Presidential Instruction No. 1/1993), Book iii. See also Suhardi (Hj Imam), *Hukum wakaf di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta 1985, which gives examples of registered *waḳfs*.

(M.B. Hooker)

VIII. In sub-Saharan Africa

Unlike the Middle East and North Africa, in most of sub-Saharan Africa before the 20th century the *waḳf* institution was little used as an instrument for endowing mosques, colleges, and other religious establishments. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but the lack in most parts of Africa of building stone and the consequent impermanence of structures may have been a contributory factor. In West Africa and the Nile valley, the institution of the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] was itself lacking, even in such considerable centres of learning as Timbuktu, and no ruler saw fit to endow one. Learning was imparted on a purely individual, non-institutional basis.

Only in Zanzibar under the Bū Saʿīdī dynasty (1804-1964 [see bū saʿīd]) was land regularly set aside as *waḳf*, and this was not for the construction of religious buildings but to create inalienable areas in the N'gambo, the non-élite quarter of the city. This was typically where ex-slaves were settled, and the plots of land were made into *waḳf* by their élite owners for the benefit of the poor and needy, or in some cases for the benefit of sons or daughters. The institution was bureaucratised by the British in the 20th century, and a Wakf Department was created. Many *waḳf* dedications were invalidated by the British, resulting in the loss of such land and the imposition of land rents and even house rents on the poorest segment of the population, despite protests from *waḳf* dedicators and the poor of N'gambo.

Muslim rulers in West Africa, however, did establish endowments outside the region, notably in the Ḥid̲j̲āz and Egypt. During his pilgrimage of 903/1497 Askiya *al-ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲* Muḥammad of Songhay [*q.v.*] purchased gardens in Medina for the use of West African pilgrims. In the late 10th/16th century Mai Idrīs Alawma of Bornu purchased a house and a date grove in Medina, and placed slaves in it as an act of piety. Much earlier, in the mid-7th/13th century, a *madrasa* had been established in Cairo for Kānemī students, and although this is not stated, it is likely that this was a *waḳf*. In 1251/1837-8 a *waḳf* was established by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a to support the *riwāḳ* of Sinnār at the request of a Sudanese *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, and clearly for the benefit of Sudanese students.

There are two domains other than real estate for which there is literary or documentary evidence of the *waḳf* institution in sub-Saharan Africa: slaves and books. In his questions to al-Mag̲h̲īlī [*q.v.*], Askiya *al-ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲* Muḥammad raised the matter of royal slaves who were inherited by succeeding rulers and never sold or given away, and wanted to know if this was lawful. Al-Mag̲h̲īlī sanctioned the custom, invoking the *ḥubus* (the North African equivalent of *waḳf*) institution to justify it (J.O. Hunwick, *S̲h̲arīʿa in Songhay*, Oxford 1985, 86, 88). In 19th-century Timbuktu, individuals made slaves into *waḳfs* for their descendants; documents preserved in the Centre Aḥmad Bābā there show, for example, a woman making a slave woman into a *waḳf* for her male and female children (doc. 3851/ii), and another in which a woman makes a slave woman a *waḳf* exclusively for her daughter and the daughter's female descendants (doc. 3851/ix). Again in Timbuktu, in the 10th/16th century Askiya *al-ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲* Muḥammad made a *waḳf* of sixty *d̲j̲uzʾ* (two complete copies) of the Ḳurʾān for the Great Mosque of Timbuktu (al-Saʿdī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Sūdān*, in Hunwick, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire*, Leiden 1999, 83). In Lamu [*q.v.*] on the East African coast there is evidence that, in the nineteenth century, not only were copies of parts of the Ḳurʾān endowed in perpetuity but an array of other Arabic texts.

If the *waḳf* proper was not generally an instrument for endowing land and buildings, another institution which resembled it in some ways was widespread in Sahelian Africa in the 9th/15th to the 12th/18th centuries, and possibly earlier; it also appears to have been unique to this area. It consisted of the granting by a ruler of a piece of land, and sometimes taxation rights over people, together with exemption from payment of taxes and fines, and certain other privileges (notably freedom from harassment and the hospitality demands of royal officials) to religious scholars and favoured notables. Such endowments are known from the kingdom of Sinnār on the Blue Nile, from Dār Fūr, from Kānem-Bornu, and (though marginally) from Songhay. In the case of religious scholars and holy men, these grants were made in order to encourage them to settle in the sultan's domains, and often to perform religious services for him. These are only occasionally designated as *waḳfs* (see Spaulding, *Public documents*, 182-3; O'Fahey, *Endowment, privilege and estate*, 339); more usually they are called *d̲j̲ah* or *ṣadaḳa* in the Sudanese kingdoms (the estate granted being called *ḥākūra*). While the documents making such grants do not always state that land is alienated in perpetuity, as one would expect in a true *waḳf*, they were effectively titles to land that extended to descendants, and were often confirmed and reconfirmed by succeeding sultans; indeed, those that have been published were discovered in the personal archives of the families concerned in the 20th century, indicating their continuing validity in the eyes of their owners. In Kānem-Bornu and Songhay, where the documents grant privilege without land, they are called respectively *maḥram* and *ḥurma*, terms that indicate that the grantee's person and property were inviolate.

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(J.O. Hunwick)

WAK̲H̲ĀN, a region in the heart of Inner Asia, to the south of the Pamir [*q.v.*] range, essentially a long and narrow valley running east-west and watered by the upper Oxus or Pand̲j̲a and the Wak̲h̲ān Daryā, its southernmost source.

The length of Wak̲h̲ān along the Oxus is 67 miles and of the Wak̲h̲ān Daryā (from Langar-kis̲h̲ to the Wak̲h̲d̲j̲īr pass) 113 miles. Afg̲h̲an sources put the distance from Is̲h̲kās̲h̲im to Sarḥadd at 66 *kurōh* (= 22 *farsak̲h̲s*).

To the south of Wakhān rises the wall of the Hindū Kush, through which several passes lead to the lands of the upper Indus. The main pass (12,460 feet) of Baroghil leads into Čitrāl. The northern wall of Wakhān is the Wakhān range, the peaks of which reach a height of 23,000 feet. In the west, Wakhān stretches to the bend of the Oxus, where the river entering the boundaries of Shughnān [*q.v.*] turns northwards. In the east Wakhān (through the high valley of Wakhdjīr) is adjoined by Chinese possessions and Lake Čakmak Tīng.

Wakhān has historically formed part of the mountain barrier separating Central Asia from northern India. By the 1895 Russo-Afghan Agreement (see below), the frontier was defined as running: (*a*) in the lower part of Wakhān, up the course of the Oxus as far as Langar-kish where the two sources of the Oxus meet: the river Wakhān from the south-east (from the Little Pāmīr) and the river Pāmīr from the north-east (from the Great Pāmīr); (*b*) from Langar-kish the frontier follows the course of the Pāmīr river to its source (Lake Zor-kul or Victoria); (*c*) more to the east again, the frontier runs by a zigzag line towards the south to China (near the Beyik pass). Afghan territory therefore comprises the left bank of the Oxus, all the valley of the Wakhān Daryā, the land on the left bank of the Pāmīr river and a small part of the upper course of the Ak Su (including Lake Čakmak Kul).

The Afghan part of Wakhān contains seven districts, namely from west to east: Warg, Ūrgand, Khandūd, Kalʿa-yi Pandja, Bābā-Tangī, Nirs-wa-Shalak and Sarḥadd (this last-named village is at the foot of the Baroghil pass at a height of 11,350 feet), as well as the thinly-populated territory of the Little Pāmīr (watered by the Wakhān Daryā).

On the Afghan side, there are in Wakhan 64 villages and on the Russian 27 ones. The indigenous population (Wakhīs) belongs to the race of Iranian mountaineers (*Ghalča*), very often with blue eyes, a feature which had struck the Chinese as early as the 6th century; there are also Kirghiz Turkish nomads. The Wakhī language is an Eastern Iranian one, with archaic features, spoken by some 10,000 persons (see J.R. Payne, *Pamir languages*, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, 417-44; ĪRĀN. iii. Languages, in Suppl.).

From the 7th century, Wakhān is continually mentioned in the early Chinese sources under the names of Hu-mī, Po-ho, etc. (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 243, and Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, index). Hiuen-Tsang mentions the greenish eyes of the people of Ta-mo-si-t'ie-ti (a form not yet satisfactorily explained) and its capital Hun-t'o-to (= Khandūd) with its great Buddhist *vihāra*. In 747 Wakhān was the theatre of the operations of the famous Chinese general Kao-sien-tse against the Tibetans (cf. Chavannes, 152-3). Among Arab authors, al-Iṣṭakhrī (< al-Balkhī) several times mentions Wakhān as a land of infidels, as the place from which musk comes and where the Oxus rises (see al-Iṣṭakhrī, 279, 280, 296; Ibn Rusta, 91). Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 213, and *Tanbīh*, 64, applies the term "Türk" to all the inhabitants of the upper Oxus: the Awkhān (اوخان, read: وخان), Tubbat (Tibetans) and Ayghān (?). As to the Iranian Wakhīs, the term "Türk" can only refer to their ruling dynasty (cf. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 101-2). More detailed information is supplied by the Persian geographical work *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 121, comm. 366-7, which calls Wakhān the residence of the king and capital of the land (*shahr*) of Sikāshim (it ought probably to be emended to *Ishkashim, the capital of Wakhān). At Kh-mdādh (*Khundād) are the temples (*but-khāna*) of the Wakhīs, and "to its left" was a fortress occupied by the Tibetans. Samarkandāk was regarded as the remotest frontier of the dependencies of Transoxiana; it had Hindu, Tibetan and Wakhī inhabitants (probably the Sarḥadd of the present day).

In the struggle for political and strategic positions in Central Asia, which Kipling calls in *Kim* "the Great Game", Wakhān played a significant role. After the October 1872 Anglo-Russian Agreement tacitly recognised the Amīr of Kābul's territories as extending up to the Oxus, the Russians in February 1873 conceded Afghan control of Badakhshān [*q.v.*] and Wakhān. But after 1891, Russia attempted to explore and annex the Wakhān area and thereby acquire a common frontier with British India, provoking a vigorous reaction from Britain. Hence the March 1895 Russo-Afghan Agreement conceded all lands north of the Oxus to Russia and all of them south, as far west as Khodja Ṣāliḥ, to Afghānistān; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān [*q.v.*] now somewhat reluctantly assumed control of the Wakhān corridor or "panhandle" of Afghānistān, which thus became a buffer against Russian designs on India.

The former British Indian frontier with the Wakhān corridor is now shared by Pākistān in the west and [Āzād] Kashmīr in the east; its extreme eastern tip is contiguous with the People's Republic of China (Sinkiang or Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region; the boundary was not actually delimited by surveyors on the ground until 1964). When, after the Second World War, the Communists took over in Sinkiang, Kirghiz who lived on the Chinese side of the Russo-Turkish border fled for refuge in the eastern part of Wakhān and settled around Buzai Gumbad under their leader Raḥmān Gul; in the 1980s, they finally emigrated to Turkey. In contemporary Afghānistān, the corridor comes within the *wilāyat* or province of Badakhshān. The parts of Wakhān north of the corridor formerly came within the Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast of the Soviet Tajikistan SSR, and are now in the independent Tajikistan Republic.

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WAKHSH, a district of Central Asia and the name of a river there. The Wakhsh Āb is a right-bank tributary of the Oxus, flowing down from the Alai range of mountains to the south of Farghāna. Geiger and Markwart thought that the Greek name

Ὦξος came from Wakhsh, the tributary thus giving its name to the great river (see Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 3 ff., 89; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 65; and ĀMŪ DARYĀ).

In early mediaeval times, the Wakhsh district must have had a population which included remnants of the Hephthalites, such as the Kumīdjīs [*q.v.*] and also Turks, the Ḳarluḳ being mentioned by Ibn Rusta, 92. The geographers describe it as a prosperous region where horse-rearing was important; at that time (4th/10th century), the part of Wakhsh along the left bank of the river came within the province of Khuttal(ān) [*q.v.*]. The name still survives today as that of the Wakhsh river (called in its upper course the Surkhāb), at present coming within the independent Tajikistan Republic.

Bibliography: See also *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 71, 120, comm. 198, 209, 361-3; Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 53-5, 57-60, 75-8, 89-90; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 434-6, 437-9. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

WAKĪʿ, MUḤAMMAD b. KHALAF b. Ḥayyān Ṣadaḳa al-Ḍabbī (d. 24 Rabīʿ I 306/4 September 918), historian, expert in *ḥadīth*, geography, Ḳurʾānic verse-numbering and other subjects.

His best-known work is *Akhbār al-Ḳuḍāt*, a biographical dictionary of *ḳāḍīs*, with a preface on the nature of judgeship. The work is arranged first regionally—according to the *amṣār*—then chronologically. His aim in the work is to provide "information about [*ḳāḍīs*] and their rulings; the way in which they were appointed; their genealogies and tribes; their methods; those who transmitted reports from them and samples of those reports" (i, 5). Wakīʿ's extensive introductory section has reports from the Prophet condemning bribery and covering other themes that became standard in *Adab al-Ḳāḍī* literature, e.g. the difficulties of being a *ḳāḍī*, that one ought not to judge when angry, etc. Some of the entries, e.g. on Shurayḥ [*q.v.*] (ii, 189 ff.), are practically intellectual biographies, with extensive lists of judicial rulings that may help trace the earliest stages of Islamic positive law. Much of Wakīʿ's information comes from sources now lost to us, such as Abū Thawr [*q.v.*]. His other works on the numbering of Ḳurʾānic verses, on geography, on archery, and on technical subjects such as weights and measures, do not survive.

Little is known of his life, except that he was born and died in Baghdād, and served as *ḳāḍī* in Ahwāz, or "all the districts of Ahwāz" (*kuwar Ahwāz kulluhā*). He moved in literary circles, as well as religio-legal ones, and was an associate of Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*]. He is reported to have been laconic in speech, but to have had an "easy" style in his writing.

Bibliography: See Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 376 and biographical sources cited there, to which add Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii, 848; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 127, tr. Dodge, i, 250; Baghdādī, *Hidāya*, ii, 25 (garbled); *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, 3 vols. Cairo 1369/1950. (A.K. REINHART)

WAKĪʿ B. AL-DJARRĀḤ B. MALĪḤ al-Ruʾāsī, Abū Sufyān, famous ʿIrāḳī traditionist, b. Kūfa 129/746, where his father was head of the *bayt al-māl*, d. at Fayd [*q.v.* in Suppl.] on the Pilgrimage route in 197/812.

He was schooled in the Islamic sciences, above all *ḥadīth*, through his father, and transmitted not only from this last but also from many ʿIrāḳī and non-ʿIrāḳī scholars of the 2nd/8th century, such as Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid, ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, al-Aʿmash, al-Awzāʿī and Mālik, amongst the long list given by Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, xi, 124-5, together with another list of the scholars who transmitted from him, 125-6. His fame was so great that he was considered to be the foremost of the *muḥaddithūn* of his age, despite the errors of transmission attributed to him. In general, he seems to have made an impression on more than one great scholar through his intellectual honesty, which is said to have left his integrity intact *vis-à-vis* the ruling power, probably in allusion to the offer of a post as judge which Hārūn al-Rashīd reportedly made to him but which he refused out of piety and fear lest the job should involve him in dependence to the state. His attitude is further explicable by his well-known asceticism.

Although Wakīʿ had a legendary memory and was said never to have been seen with a book in his hand, several works of his are known: *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, *al-Sunan*, *al-Maʿrifa wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, *al-Muṣannaf* (cited by Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 308, and Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 434) and also a book on *zuhd*, preserved in the Ẓāhiriyya, Damascus, see Sezgin, i, 97 no. 2.

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2. Studies. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, xiii, 166; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 135; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 96-7; R.G. Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa, juge et grand maître de l'école égyptienne*, Wiesbaden 1956, 144-5. (R.G. KHOURY)

AL-**WĀḲIʿA** [see AL-ḲURʾĀN].

AL-**WĀḲIDĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR b. Wāḳid, historian from Medina, also expert in *fiḳh*, author and often-quoted authority on early Islamic history (*sīra*, *maghāzī*, *ridda*, *futūḥ*), b. 130/747-8, d. 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 207/28 April 822. He is of paramount importance for early Arabic historiography on account of the quantity and quality of the information which he passed on in the literature, and for the nature of his methodology.

The outlines of his biography are given by his pupil and secretary Ibn Saʿd (vii/2, 77 and v, 314-321). Al-Wāḳidī was a client of the Sahm, a sub-tribe (*baṭn*) of Aslam. ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda al-Aslamī, *ḳāḍī* of Marw (d. 115/733), is mentioned as patron of a man who was probably al-Wāḳidī's grandfather. His mother is said to have been the granddaughter of a Persian who was a merchant, and a singer at Medina (*Aghānī*[3], viii, 322). In 180/796-7 he settled at Baghdād, were he was appointed at some later date *ḳāḍī* of ʿAskar al-Mahdī, i.e. al-Ruṣāfa, at the eastern side of the city. According to Ibn Saʿd, the caliph al-Maʾmūn appointed him to this office when he came from Khurāsān. Since al-Maʾmūn returned to Baghdād only in 204/819, al-Wāḳidī's appointment would have been three years before his death. Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 111) and, depending on him, Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, vii, 56) mention that Hārūn al-Rashīd had already appointed him to the judgeship. The appointment by al-Maʾmūn may therefore have been a re-appointment after an interruption for a certain period of time. However, al-Wakīʿ (*Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, iii, 270-1) mentions al-Wāḳidī as being only in al-Maʾmūn's service.

Al-Wāḳidī was known for a somewhat excessive generosity, and this habit, as well as a failed transaction

in the grain trade (see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, iii, 4), seems to have had a lasting impact on his life, since he was henceforth encumbered by debts. He even left debts when he died, and these were settled by al-Ma'mūn, who acted as his executor. A richly colourful and lively account allegedly told by al-Wāḳidī himself (Ibn Sa'd, v, 314-19) tells how he came to enjoy the patronage of Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, to whom he owed the particular favour of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and, subsequently, of his son 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn: When Hārūn came, together with Yaḥyā b. Khālid, to Medina on one of his pilgrimages, al-Wāḳidī served them as a guide. Subsequently, he left for Baghdād, and thence to al-Raḳḳa, the residence of Hārūn at that time (and until 192/808). Here he succeeded after much difficulty in coming into contact with Yaḥyā, who honoured him and interceded with the caliph for him, showing al-Wāḳidī special attention and generous support.

In consequence of this patronage, we may conclude, al-Wāḳidī's work at Baghdād exceeded that of an average *muḥaddith* in respect to the range of facilities to which he had access. Ibn Sa'd points out his expertise of early Islamic history, his acquaintance with contradicting doctrines concerning *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* (*aḥkām*) and knowledge of opinions which were generally approved; "and he explained all this in books which he excerpted (*istakhradja*), composed (*waḍa'a*) and transmitted formally (*ḥaddatha bihā*)." Both of these traits, the attempt to evaluate the information he received, and the extensive use and production of books, are characteristic of his work. The huge amount of written materials ("books") which were in his possession was impressive. He is said to have left six hundred bookcases, each one weighing as much as two men (*Fihrist*, 111, line 6; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iii, 6). The importance and quantity of this material was renowned, and Ibn al-Nadīm mentions that he had two slave boys writing for him day and night. Equally famous were the number and variety of his own writings. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, although he did not quote al-Wāḳidī because of his critical stance concerning al-Wāḳidī's reliability, attached great importance to his books, read them and used to take notes from them (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iii, 15).

Among the experts on *ḥadīth* of the 3rd/9th century, censure of al-Wāḳidī's untrustworthiness prevailed, unjustifiably in the view of al-Dhahabī (*Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ix, 469). The most substantial—and influential—rebuke was advanced by Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn (d. 233/847), who discovered the use of false ascription in his material (Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Djarḥ wa 'l-ta'dīl*, iv/1, 21). He was also blamed, mostly by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, for applying the technique of combining several traditions into one tradition, which he introduced by a collective *isnād*, instead of presenting each tradition separately together with its proper *isnād*, although this usage was already established by older authorities. Nevertheless, the *ḥadīth* experts denied al-Wāḳidī's authority in this field, and although examples for the precision and extent of his memory are given, scepticism prevailed. This attitude is, however, characteristic only of the circles of *muḥaddithūn* of the 3rd/9th century, whereas later, due to the indispensability of al-Wāḳidī as a historian, a general condemnation was no longer tolerated. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, for instance, saw the distrust as caused by the fact that al-Wāḳidī handled a huge amount of traditions, which would naturally encompass some strange materials (*'Uyūn al-athar*, Cairo 1406/1986, i, 29). The leaning towards a moderate Shī'ī viewpoint ascribed to al-Wāḳidī by Ibn al-Nadīm is not corroborated in his writings, although it is noticeable that he has quite a number of traditions that report that the Prophet lay on 'Alī's lap when he was dying.

Al-Wāḳidī's work survives in the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (ed. J. Marsden Jones, London 1966), the only book of his which is preserved in a *K. al-Ridda* attributed to him (ed. M. Ḥamīdallāh, Paris 1989, and Yaḥyā al-Djabbūrī, Beirut 1990), and in many quotations throughout historical literature. The manuscript which serves as basis for the edition of the *Maghāzī* is a copy of a recension made by Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās Ibn Ḥayyawayh (d. 382/992), as Brockelmann already noted (S I, 207). In this text, al-Wāḳidī is repeatedly quoted (*ḳāla*), and in some instances (e.g. 74,690) Ibn Ḥayyawayh refers to 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Abī Ḥayya, the librarian (*warrāḳ*) of al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 319/931; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xi, 28-9), from whom he had received authorisation for the transmission of this text. The *Maghāzī* represents some of the particularities of al-Wāḳidī's work as an historian. As already observed by Caetani, al-Wāḳidī's accounts reflect, in comparison with others, coherent, straightforward and historically reasonable reports (*Annali*, ii, 1545, vi (Indices), 198-9). More than any other authority in this field before him, he attempted to establish the chronology of the military campaigns (cf. Ella Landau-Tasseron, *Processes of redaction: the case of the Tamīmite delegation to the Prophet Muḥammad*, in *BSOAS*, xlix [1986], 253-70, at 269). In pursuit of this goal, he sometimes became entangled in contradictions (Marsden Jones, Introd. (Arabic) to the *Maghāzī*, 32-3). After presenting the details of an event, he generally adds short remarks explaining his preference of a certain version which he has chosen from different accounts, such as "and this is the most certain" etc. (*ibid.*, 34). His technique of personal inquiry is also referred to in various accounts. He states that he used to ask the descendants of the participants at the military campaigns of the time of the Prophet for their knowledge of events and places. It is also said that he used to go out to the locations themselves in order to gain a personal impression of the topography (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iii, 6). It may be in this context that we have to understand al-Wāḳidī's remark that he retained more in his memory than in his books, possibly referring here not only to the power of his memory but also hinting at the information he had brought to light through personal inquiry and inspection.

Another typical trait of his work is the use of combined reports. It has been argued that al-Wāḳidī presents new texts in so far as they did not exist in this form in any earlier source, but that they actually follow earlier sources which can be reconstructed (M. Lecker, *Wāqidī's account of the status of the Jews in Mecca*, in *JNES*, liv [1995], 27-8). On the other hand, the fusion of various accounts into one may have a direct impact on the contents of reports in that it results in combining different events into one (cf. Landau-Tasseron, *op. cit.*, 262-3). This may even be discovered when al-Wāḳidī does not indicate a combined report (G. Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, Berlin-New York 1996, 137-40). Al-Wāḳidī also presents materials that betray their origin from Ibn Isḥāḳ, whom he does not quote. Against the allegation that he plagiarises Ibn Isḥāḳ it has been argued that both authors drew on a common corpus of material (Marsden Jones, *Maghāzī literature*, in *Camb. hist. of Ar. lit. To the end of the Umayyad period*, 349; against this view, Schoeler, *op. cit.*, 141). Evidence gained from

the comparison of historical texts shows that al-Wāḳidī had a variety of sources at his disposal (see Lecker, *The death of the Prophet Muḥammad's father: did Wāqidī invent some of the evidence?*, in *ZDMG*, cxlv [1995], 9-27).

As Ibn al-Nadīm explains, Ibn Sa'd composed his books from al-Wāḳidī's orderly arranged collections (*taṣnīfāt*), and we may suppose that for his *Ṭabaḳāt*, Ibn Sa'd mainly used materials from a work of al-Wāḳidī carrying this same title. A *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt* of al-Wāḳidī seems to have been used by Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. al-'Umarī, Introd., 28), and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr refers to it as his source. Al-Wāḳidī's *K. al-Ridda* is quoted by Ibn Hadjar al-'Askalānī in his *Iṣāba*, but the *K. al-Ridda*, which is extant (see above), does not contain al-Wāḳidī's material only but also quotes Ibn Isḥāḳ. To the traces of his works noted by Jones and Sezgin, one may add the quotations from al-Wāḳidī's *al-Futūḥ*, *al-Kāmil*, and *al-Mubāya'āt* in Ibn Ḥadjar's *Iṣāba*. A *Ta'rīkh al-Wāḳidī*, the contents of which are hard to establish with certainty, may also have been in the hands of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, who quotes al-Wāḳidī several times (*ḳāla*, *dhakara*, *rawā*) on various matters and once mentions his *Ta'rīkh* (xvi, 279); his son Muḥammad transmitted this work from his father, according to al-Sam'ānī (*Ansāb*, Beirut 1988, v, 567).

Legendary accounts about the early Islamic conquests ascribed to al-Wāḳidī, like the *Futūḥ al-Shām* (ed. W. Nassau Less, 3 vols., Calcutta 1854-62), which served Simon Ockley as a source for his *History of the Saracenes*, London 1718, and the *Futūḥ Diyār Rabī'a wa-Diyār Bakr* (tr. as *Geschichte der Eroberung von Mesopotamien und Armenien von Mohammed ben Omar al-Wakedi* by B.G. Niebuhr, ed. A.D. Mordtmann, Hamburg 1847, also known as *Futūḥ al-Djazīra wa 'l-Khābūr wa-Diyārbakr wa 'l-'Irāḳ*, ed. Ḥarfūsh, Damascus 1996, and the *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa 'l-Iskandariyya*, ed. Hamaker, Leiden 1825), are of later origin and their ascription to al-Wāḳidī is false (cf. F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, ²Leiden 1968, 186-193). For titles and manuscripts of the legendary *futūḥ* literature ascribed to al-Wāḳidī, see Brockelmann, I, 141-2, S I, 207-8; Sezgin, i, 294-7.

Bibliography: In addition to the literature given in the article, see A.A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, Princeton 1983, 37-40.

(S. Leder)

AL-WĀḲIFA or al-Wāḳifiyya, a Shī'ī sect (*firḳa*) whose adherents maintained that the seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799 [*q.v.*]) had not died but that God had carried him out of sight (*rafa'ahū ilayhi*), and awaited his return as the Mahdī [*q.v.*]. By their Twelver Shī'ī (Imāmī) opponents they were called *al-wāḳifa* ("the ones who stand still" or "those who stop, put an end to [the line of Imāms]", because they let the succession of imāms end with him and contested the transfer of the imāmate to his son 'Alī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*].

The sect is mentioned by Twelver Shī'ī as well as Sunnī heresiographers (al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shī'a*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 68 = Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. M.Dj. Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 90; pseudo-Nāshi' al-Akbar, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 47; al-Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1963, 28; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, 127); the Imāmī authors of *ridjāl* books (al-Kashshī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nadjāshī) identify many men as Wāḳifīs in order to disqualify them as transmitters of traditions. Several Wāḳifīs, mainly Kūfans, defended the occultation (*ghayba* [*q.v.*]) of the Seventh Imām in special treatises of which only the titles are still extant (listed by Klemm, in *WO*, xv, 126-7); the youngest of these authors, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'a al-Kūfī, died in 263/876-7. Towards the end of the 3rd/9th century the sect seems to have merged with the Twelver Shī'a or Ithnā 'Ashariyya [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: V. Klemm, *Die vier sufarā' des Zwölften Imam. Zur formativen Periode der Zwölferšī'a*, in *WO*, xv (1984), 126-43; H. Halm, *Shiism*, Edinburgh 1991, 31-3. (H. Halm)

WAKĪL [see wakāla].

AL-WAḲḲASHĪ, Abu 'l-Walīd Hishām b. Aḥmad b. Hishām al-Kinānī al-Waḳḳashī al-Ṭulayṭulī (408-89/1017-96), Andalusī scholar in both the traditional and speculative sciences from Waḳḳash, modern Huecas in the province of Toledo.

He was a pupil of al-Ṭalamankī [*q.v.*]. Nominated judge in Talavera by the Dhu 'l-Nūnid rulers of Toledo, he later settled in Denia where he died. Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayya [*q.v.*] of Denia was his pupil. Al-Waḳḳashī was praised for his vast knowledge extending to many fields: *handasa*, mathematics, logic, *fiḳh*, *uṣūl*, *i'tiḳādāt*, grammar, lexicology, poetry, history (especially *ayyām* and *ansāb al-'arab*). He wrote on *al-ḳadar wa 'l-Ḳur'ān* and *tanbīhāt wa-rudūd 'alā kibār al-taṣānīf al-ta'rīkhiyya wa 'l-adabiyya*, such as *tahdhīb al-Kunā li-Muslim*, *Mukhtaṣar li-Kitāb al-Ḳabā'il li-Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb*, *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭa'* and *Nukat al-Kāmil li 'l-Mubarrad* (the last-mentioned together with Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī; it has been edited by Ẓuhūr Aḥmad Aẓhar, Balāhūr (Pakistan) 1401/1980; see also Razzūḳ, in *Mawrid*, iii/1 [1974], 250, and al-Faḥḥām, in *RIMA*, xxix [1985], 75). The *Mukhtaṣar al-fiḳh* attributed to al-Waḳḳashī in Brockelmann, I, 384, and S I, 662, is the work of another scholar, al-Ṭulayṭulī. Al-Waḳḳashī's most famous work is the *ḳaṣīda* he wrote on the occasion of the conquest of Valencia by El Cid (see R. Menéndez Pidal, *Sobre Aluacaxí y la elegía árabe de Valencia*, in *Homenaje a F. Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 393-409; A.R. Nykl, *La elegía árabe de Valencia*, in *Hispanic Review*, viii [1940], 9-17). He was suspected of *i'tizāl* and of being critical of religious revelation (see M. Asín Palacios, in *al-And.*, iii [1935], 368-74; Pérès, *Poésie*, 456).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ṣā'id, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Blachère, 74/136-7 (ed. Bū 'Alwān, 178-9); Abū Muḥammad al-Rushāṭī and Ibn al-Kharrāṭ al-Ishbīlī, *al-Andalus fī "Kitāb Iḳtibās al-anwār" wa-fī "Ikhtiṣār Iḳtibās al-anwār"*, ed. E. Molina López and J. Bosch Vilá, Madrid 1990, 91-2, 196; Ibn Bashkuwāl, ed. Codera, no. 1323; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xix, 134-6, no. 71; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, ii, 327-8, no. 2099; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, iv, 137, no. 619.

2. Studies. Pons Boigues, 167, no. 127; Kaḥḥāla, xiii, 147-8; Brockelmann, I, 461; Cl. Sarnelli, in *AIUON*, N.S. xiv (1964), 617; M. Fierro, in *Historia de España R. Menéndez Pidal*, viii/1, Madrid 1994, 439.

(Maribel Fierro)

WAḲT [see zamān].

WĀḲWĀḲ, Waḳwāḳ, Wāḳ Wāḳ, Wāḳ al-Wāḳ, al-Wāḳwāḳ (a.), a name, possibly onomatopoeic, of uncertain origin, found in mediaeval Islamic geographical, zoological and imaginative literature. One of the most mystifying place names in the geographical literature, it refers variously to an island or group of islands, inhabited by a dark-skinned population who speak a distinct language; a people or race; and a tree producing human-fruit. There is also the cuckoo bird, onomatopoeically known as Wāḳwāḳ.

1. The island or islands of Wāḳwāḳ.

(a) *Introduction*

There are many stories connected with it but none

of them help to identify the place with certainty and there is no suitable equivalent toponym. European scholars have equated Wāḳwāḳ with nearly every island and peninsula in the Indian Ocean, and some with places in the Pacific. The general impression is that Wāḳwāḳ is a coastal country (*arḍ, bilād*) or island (*d̲j̲azīra*) on the shores of one of these oceans.

Ferrand's summary of the material in the 1st edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* was extremely full but Ferrand took his texts too literally. Reducing Wāḳwāḳ to a definite two locales, and equating these with Madagascar and Sumatra, is perhaps going a little too far. After all, both places were adequately provided with names by most geographers and both were well known to the Arabs. Moreover, they were certainly aware of the distinctions between the Zand̲j̲ and their neighbours and would consequently not have mistaken the Zand̲j̲ for Malagasy or Bushmen populations (Ferrand in *EI*[1], IV, 1108).

Nevertheless, the texts do require careful examination, with note taken of their chronology. Thus al-Masʿūdī deserves particular credence for both his early date and also his being the only one of the Arab geographers actually to have visited Zanzibar and to have been well informed about the East African coastlands; and other early sources, as well as al-Masʿūdī, such as Ibn al-Faḳīh and Buzurg b. S̲h̲ahriyār (see below) do refer to an African Wāḳwāḳ (however it is spelt).

The island of Wāḳwāḳ has been given many identifications by European scholars over the past two centuries. Habicht, in his edition of the *Thousand and one nights* in 1825 (i, 299), decided on Japan. Langlès (*Voyage de Sindbad*, 147) thought it was the islands of Southeast Asia. Reinaud (Introduction to *La Géographie d'Aboul-Feda*, 1840, pp. cccv, cccxv) favoured Africa, i.e. Madagascar. De Slane, in his translation of the *Prolegomena* of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (i, 95 n. 3), believed it to be the Seychelles, but Rosenthal in the notes to his translation (i, 99 n. 29) thought that the context pointed rather to Madagascar or the East African coastlands; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn himself probably had as little idea of its position as any of the European scholars.

The appearance of Buzurg b. S̲h̲ahriyār's *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-Hind* in 1883 almost doubled the amount of information available to help scholars better identify Wāḳwāḳ. Devic himself (Buzurg, tr. 169) said that Wāḳwāḳ most probably belonged to the neighbourhood of the Malayan Archipelago but that it was too vaguely defined to be able to identify precisely. Lane (*Arabian Nights*, 1247 n. 32) held similar views, and suggested that Wāḳwāḳ was "All the islands which they (sc. the Arab geographers) were acquainted with on the East and South-East of Borneo". De Goeje reverted to the Japan theory on the basis of Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih's text, stating that the connection with Africa was only the fault of Ptolemy, while Ferrand attempted (*Madagascar et les îles Uâq-Uâq*, in *JA* [1904], 489-509) to prove that it was Madagascar and that the Far Eastern one was due to Ptolemy. Later (*Les îles Râmny, Lâmery, Wâkwâk, Komor des géographes arabes et Madagascar*, in *JA* [1907], 450-506) he discovered that some passages must refer to the Far East, probably Sumatra, and finally (*Le Wâqwâq, est-il le Japon?*, in *JA* [1932], 193-243) he proved that there were definitely two Wāḳwāḳs, sc. Madagascar and Sumatra. Thus Ferrand intimated that the Wāḳwāḳs are the two areas of Malay culture on each side of the Indian Ocean and that the attack on Ḳanbalū, described by Buzurg (*ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-Hind*, ed. al-S̲h̲ārūnī, 142-3; *Captain Buzurg*, tr. Freeman-Grenville, 103; Tibbetts, *Arabic texts on South-East Asia*, 171 n. 14), was a description of a Sumatran expedition to the African coast.

Ferrand's views were validated in J. Fauble and M. Urbain-Faublée, *Madagascar vu par les auteurs arabes avant le XI*[e] *siècle*, in *Studia*, xi (1963), 445-62. Viré (see below) has argued for an Indian Ocean-wide identification (as has Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, ii, 511-13). More recently, Allibert has argued for an approach that incorporates information from imaginative literature (see below), and Toorawa (see *Bibl.*) for one that brings the Mascarene islands into Wāḳwāḳ's fabular cartography. In actual fact, all the theories seem to be right, although the less definite they make their identifications, the better. The theories of Devic and Lane, who make Wāḳwāḳ some ill-defined place in Southeast Asia, and those of Viré and Allibert, who find evidence for Wāḳwāḳ in several places on the Indian Ocean littoral simultaneously, appear to be the most defensible.

(b) *The waters around the Wāḳwāḳ islands*

The usual names given to the waters around Wāḳwāḳ were *Baḥr al-Hind* and *al-Baḥr al-Hindī* [*q.vv.*] the "Indian Sea", *Baḥr al-Zand̲j̲* [*q.v.*] and the less common *Baḥr al-Ḥabas̲h̲ī*, the "Sea of the Blacks", and *Baḥr Fāris* [*q.v.*], the "Persian Sea". The uncertainty about this sea's name is underscored by the very name of the waters further south into which the *Baḥr al-Hind* appears to melt: the *Baḥr al-Ẓulma* (or *Ẓulumāt*) [see AL-BAḤR AL-MUḤĪṬ], the "Sea of Obscurity". Al-Idrīsī writes that "In it are a number of islands, some of which are visited by merchants, others of which are not by virtue of the difficulty of access, the [terrifying] power of the[ir] waters [for navigation], the unpredictability of the winds, and the savagery of their peoples who maintain no contact with any of their known neighbouring populations" (*Opus geographicum*, ed. Cerulli *et al.*, i, 87). Mariners driven off course were said to be tossed forever in this sea, said to join *al-Baḥr al-Ẓiftī*, the "Black Sea" or "Sea of Pitch" in Northern Asia, reminiscent of the "Gravelly Sea" described by Mandeville in his *Travels* (*The tales of Sir John Mandeville*, tr. Moseley, Harmondsworth 1983, 169). Indeed, one scholar has corresponded certain of Mandeville's descriptions with those of al-Idrīsī (C. Deluz, *Le livre de Jehan de Mandeville. Une géographie du XIV*[e] *siècle*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1988, 75-86).

(c) *Two Wāḳwāḳs?*

The first author to speak of two Wāḳwāḳs is Ibn al-Faḳīh (A.D. 902), referring to "Wāḳwāḳ al-Ṣīn", "the Wāḳwāḳ of China", and "Wāḳwāḳ al-Yaman", the Wāḳwāḳ of Yemen" (Ibn al-Faḳīh, at 55, page references here and elsewhere to G. Ferrand, *Relation de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII*[ème] *au XVIII*[ème] *siècles*, 2 vols. with continuous pagination, Paris 1913-14, with actual translation of the texts in question given in the book, repr. Frankfurt 1986). Little interpretive attention has been paid to Yemen as a possible location as other sources speak either of great sailing distances or of its being "south of ʿIrāḳ". Ferrand equated this Wāḳwāḳ of the South with al-Masʿūdī's Wāḳwāḳ near Sofāla, which he claims as Madagascar (see *EI*[1], IV, 1105); but there is no clue that Ibn al-Faḳīh's Wāḳwāḳ was in Africa. Judging from the number of texts placing Wāḳwāḳ in Southeast Asia (see Ferrand, *Le Wâqwâq, est-il le Japon?*), there is no reason why this should not be the location of Wāḳwāḳ. It is possible that Ibn al-Faḳīh, confused by the conflicting statements that he had before him, came to the conclusion (as did Ferrand) that the only solution was that there was more than one Wāḳwāḳ. Until the time

when the Ptolemaic theory of the eastern extension of Africa came to confuse the topographical picture of South Africa and Southeast Asia, Ibn al-Faḳīh is the only author who produces more than one Wāḳwāḳ.

(G.R. Tibbetts and Shawkat M. Toorawa)

(d) *The African Wāḳwāḳ?*

Mediaeval geographers and travellers mention Wāḳwāḳ in connection with East Africa in a confusing number of ways. Thus these sources state that the isles of Wāḳwāḳ are situated in the Larwī sea which washes the western coast of India and the lands inhabited by the Zandj (al-Yaʿḳūbī, at 49). The Wāḳwāḳ of the south is different from that of China (Ibn al-Faḳīh, at 55). The lands of Sofāla [*q.v.*] and of Wāḳwāḳ are situated in the extremity of the sea of the Zandj (al-Masʿūdī, at 108). The land of Wāḳwāḳ is contiguous to that of Sofāla; there are two towns in it, D.d.w. (Dārū? Waru? [see Daunicht, 190-1]) and B.n.h.na (Nabhana?), miserable and sparsely populated (al-Idrīsī, at 183). The town of D.ghd.gha (Daghdagha?), inhabited by a hideous and deformed dark-skinned population, is next to the land and island of Wāḳwāḳ (*ibid.*, at 184). Wāḳwāḳ is situated in the land of the Zandj (Ibn al-Wardī, at 425), to the east (= south) of Sofāla on the same southern (= western) shore of the Indian Ocean which extends without interruption to the end of the tenth section of the first clime, at the place where the Indian Ocean flows out of the Encompassing Sea (Ibn Khaldūn, at 460). The islands of Wāḳwāḳ are near the last islands of Dībādjāt al-Dum (= the Laccadives and Maldives [*q.vv.*]) (Buzurg b. Shahriyār, at 586). The Wāḳwāḳ of the land of the Zandj is vast, fertile and prosperous (Ibn al-Wardī, at 425). The gold of Wāḳwāḳ of the south is of inferior quality compared with that of the Wāḳwāḳ of China (Ibn al-Faḳīh, at 55). There is much gold in the Wāḳwāḳ of the land of the Zandj (al-Masʿūdī, at 108; Ibn al-Wardī, at 425). The natives of the Wāḳwāḳ of the land of the Zandj have no ships, but the merchants of ʿUmān come to trade with them and get slaves in exchange for dates (Ibn al-Wardī, at 425; cf. also al-Idrīsī, at 183). They know neither cold nor rain (Ibn al-Wardī, at 425). Of all these authorities, only al-Masʿūdī actually visited the East African coastlands, as was noted above, section 1(a). What he writes stands out from other confused items of information (his account of the Zandj gives many examples of his accuracy, including Bantu words which are recognisable as such); he realised that Sofāla and the Wāḳwāḳ were below, i.e. south of, the Zandj country, in a region where one today finds speakers of click languages.

However, as Tolmacheva (*The African Wāq-Wāq. Some questions regarding the evidence*, in *Fontes historiae africanae*, xi-xiii [1986-7], 9-15) has asserted, in spite of the great number of Arabic texts (and the often derivative Persian and Turkish ones) that speak of Wāḳwāḳ, very few speak of an African connection. In her important re-interpretation of al-Masʿūdī's account (*Murūdj*, § 847), Tolmacheva sees no direct evidence for an (African) Wāḳwāḳ connected to Sofāla and the Zandj. She believes that although al-Masʿūdī's words seem to place the Zandj capital in Wāḳwāḳ, the only explicit statement concerning Wāḳwāḳ in this passage is that it is located in the farthest reaches of the sea, possibly but not unambiguously the Sea of the Zandj. For Tolmacheva, the presumption of a link between Wāḳwāḳ and the Zandj accounts for al-Idrīsī's erroneous link, and for all subsequent mediaeval and modern placement of Wāḳwāḳ in Africa. This is corroborated by the fact that al-Masʿūdī travelled to both the East and to East Africa, and yet never mentions two Wāḳwāḳs, nor a "southern" one. He also at no point characterises Wāḳwāḳ or its inhabitants. Against her arguments, however, is the undoubted fact that al-Masʿūdī *does* mention an East African Wāḳwāḳ.

With regard to the references to the *arḍ al-Wāḳwāḳ* in Arabic literature, Tolmacheva has source-critically divided these into three groups: (1) al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 233, iii, 6-7 = §§ 246, 847-8, see also Pellat's indices, vii, 750); (2) al-Idrīsī, whose accounts are partly derivative from, but give greater precision to, al-Masʿūdī's accounts, and who is the "true generator" of a specifically African Wāḳwāḳ—yet who was, it must be admitted, entirely dependent on informants, unlike al-Masʿūdī (on al-Idrīsī, see now the translation by Viré); and (3) the weakest group, comprising the late, often redundant compilations of Ibn al-Wardī, al-Ḥimyarī, Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (in spite of the originality of some of his material), and even Ibn Khaldūn's passing remarks, all of which are derivative from al-Idrīsī's accounts.

According to al-Idrīsī, Wāḳwāḳ is the fourth and southernmost of the divisions of the eastern African coast. Like the name of his first division Bilād al-Barbarā or Barābara (perpetuated in the northern Somali town of Berberā [*q.v.*]), the word Wāḳwāḳ might be the onomatopoeic rendering of the name for click-speakers. Of the towns mentioned by al-Idrīsī, B.n.h.na could be the modern Inhambane in southern Mozambique, the present Portuguese spelling of which would be better represented in speech by *Nyambana*, or the Moluccan Amboina. If it is true that identifications of Wāḳwāḳ with East African coastal toponyms, or indeed any toponyms, rely on linguistic and ethnonymic arguments rather than on textual ones and must always be treated with prudence, such linguistic and ethnonymic arguments cannot be disregarded.

(e) *The Wāḳwāḳ attack on Ḳanbalū*

A question to be resolved is the attack by Wāḳwāḳ ships on Ḳanbalū in A.D. 945 mentioned in the sources. Buzurg b. Shahriyār's description of the attack by a fleet of 1,000 ships may be regarded as literary hyperbole. It was quite possibly made from Sumatra or Java, but this does not prove, of course, that Sumatra was Wāḳwāḳ. To the inhabitants of Ḳanbalū the attackers came from an unknown island in the east beyond the range of their knowledge. Recent archaeological excavations now also support the argument that Ḳanbalū was Mkumbuu on the island of Pemba, where, significantly, a 10th-century mosque has now been located. It would have held some 600 worshippers, suggesting that in its heyday it was by far the largest and most important trading centre yet discovered in eastern Africa. Ferrand was right in dismissing de Goeje's suggestions that these ships were Japanese, but his proposal that they were Sumatran, based on philological arguments, is rivalled by Madagascar, where the language, Malagasy, is related to Indonesian ones, and where outrigger canoes, *ngalawa*, were used in numbers (and still are; but they are too small to have carried sufficient food and water for a voyage across the Indian Ocean). Very recently, Fāṭimid coins, as yet unpublished, have been recovered in Diego Suarez bay at the northern tip of Madagascar [see further MADAGASCAR].

It thus seems that, on the whole, Wāḳwāḳ referred to a country just beyond one's reach in the general direction of the east. Thus it appears as a well-populated land east of China, about which one heard

stories but which was never really reached in any numbers. Similarly, it is applied in Southeast Asia to some island a little off the usual path of Arab traders. Thus stories of islands a little off the route, as well as a few legendary tales, became attached to Wāḳwāḳ. As new ground was explored, Wāḳwāḳ retreated eastwards, always to be the last island in the east until Sīdī Čelebi in the 10th/16th century was able to place it anywhere but south of the islands of Timor. Daunicht (*Der Osten nach der Erdkarte al-Ḫuwārizmīs*, Bonn 1970, ii, 172-274) has made a fascinating case for identification with the Moluccas, Irian Jaya, and northwestern Australia (where three Islamic coins from Kilwa have been found, in company with tamarisk trees, not native to Australia).

(G. Ferrand-[G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville and Shawkat M. Toorawa])

(f) *Wāḳwāḳ and the Far East*

One group of stories relating to Wāḳwāḳ is based on a passage from Ibn Khurradādhbih (69-71) where he places Wāḳwāḳ east of China and says it is a country producing much gold, mentioning golden dog chains (? leads) and monkey collars. This is one of the standard stories passed down from author to author. The ingenuity of the natives and the fact that it was a prosperous country east of China caused de Goeje to identify it with Japan (*Le Japon connu des arabes*, 295). De Goeje's identification was based partly on the description given by Ibn Khurradādhbih and partly on his identification of the word Wāḳwāḳ with an early Chinese name for Japan, *Wo-kuo*, in Cantonese *Wo-kwok*, of which Wāḳwāḳ is an acceptable rendering. The description of the people of Wāḳwāḳ, given in one passage of Buzurg's *ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* (ed. Shārūnī, 135), where the great size of the towns and islands is mentioned, is even more reminiscent of Japan. Although Ibn Khurradādhbih's story is the only original one mentioning the prosperous country, there are several texts which state that Wāḳwāḳ is east of China. Some are merely quoting from Ibn Khurradādhbih but others add a little.

In his 4th/10th-century encyclopaedia, the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, al-Khʷārazmī (ed. Van Vloten, 217), writes that Kandiz is the most easterly town in the world and is situated at the extremity of China and Wāḳwāḳ. He describes the world as a bird, with China as its head and Wāḳwāḳ beyond it. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) describes the world as a bird in *Futūḥ Miṣr wa ʾl-Maghrib*, ed. C.C. Torrey, New Haven 1922, stating that the right wing is ʿIrāḳ, beyond which is a people called Wāḳ, and beyond whom another called Wāḳ Wāḳ, and beyond them people known only to God (19), disassociating Wāḳwāḳ from China. The story of the world as a bird is a very common one in Arabic literature and very early appears as a story from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Ibn al-Faḳīh and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. It is obvious that, at this very early stage, Wāḳwāḳ was regarded as a land not simply in the extreme east but at the edge of the known.

(g) *Southeast Asia*

Another group of stories mentions a primitive people with whom the Arab sailors trade. Stories of this kind give locations for Wāḳwāḳ in Southeast Asia, mentioning it in connection with Zābadj, Ḳumār or Ṣanf. Such stories come mainly from Buzurg b. Shahriyār's *ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* and from other writers who copied this work. They have the appearance of sailors' tales. The ship in the first story (Buzurg, 8) comes across al-Wāḳwāḳ on the way to Zābadj or in the direction of Zābadj. In a similar tale found later in the same work (190), it is between Sribuza and China. In yet another case it is beyond the end of Dībādjāt al-Dum (the Maldives) (Buzurg, 163). The *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿadjāʾib* of Ibn Waṣīf Shāh (38) also prefers to put Wāḳwāḳ in Southeast Asia; in one place it makes it the home of a Māhārādja and in another "in the Sea of Ṣanf" (Čampa) (39). In the latter account, it has been mixed up with a story about a volcano which, according to other authors, is definitely about Southeast Asia. Al-Bīrūnī, from whom one would expect a clear account, says Wāḳwāḳ belongs to Cambodia (Ḳumār), and mixes earlier accounts of Wāḳwāḳ and Ḳumār so that, in spite of his unrivalled knowledge of India, it is certain that he had no clear idea himself of the location of Wāḳwāḳ. These stories about primitive peoples could equally well refer to the coast of Africa where such peoples could be found.

(h) *The Indian Ocean littoral*

Viré, who believed the word Wāḳwāḳ to be onomatopoeic, and who relied in part on Ibn al-Faḳīh (tr. Massé, 9) and his identification of three (*pace* Viré), not just two Wāḳwāḳs, posits that Wāḳwāḳ definitively refers in all instances to small-statured, dark-skinned populations that inhabit three distinct areas on the Indian Ocean littoral: the Akkas and Negrillos in Africa, the Negritos in Malaya in Southeast Asia, and the Lapons, Samoyeds and Manchus in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions of northern Asia (Viré, 35 n. 1). More recently, Allibert (*Wakwak: végétal, minéral ou humain? Reconsidération du problème*, in *Études Océan Indien*, xii (1991), 171-89), whose research has focused on the Wāḳwāḳ tree and its human-fruit (see below), has persuasively argued for a Southeast Asian location of both the tree and island(s).

Allibert, taking his lead from the observations of Miquel and Bremond (*Mille et un contes de la nuit*, Paris 1991), has attempted to demonstrate that islands of women in geographical and imaginative literature and the islands of Wāḳwāḳ are one and the same thing (*L'Île des femmes dans les récits arabes*, in *Études Océan Indien*, xv, 261-7). This is consonant with Allibert's call for an integrated and coherent approach to the Wāḳwāḳ issue. He shows, to his mind unequivocally, that the fruit of the Wāḳwāḳ tree is the Southeast Asian coconut and that Wāḳwāḳ is thus the vehicle of an ancient mythology inscribed in the story of the human-fruit and woman-island. The evidence for his argument is, like Ferrand before him, primarily linguistic, but has virtue. He reflects at length on the *rāndj* of al-Masʿūdī, which he ties to various accounts in the geographies about palms and coconuts. He goes on to explain the mythological dimension by making the equation, "botanical reality + animal or human and/or geographical reality = mythical term", which for him translates into: "coconut palm + Austronesian population = Wāḳwāḳ fruit".

2. Living organisms bearing the name of Wāḳwāḳ.

One early story usually connected with Wāḳwāḳ mentions a tree named Wāḳwāḳ with fruit having a human appearance (a coconut, divested of its coir, has "eyes"), and another early story a strange race who utter the cry "*Wāḳ, Wāḳ!*"

(a) *The "race"*

In an early story which appears in its full form in Ibn Waṣīf Shāh (26), a kind of animal is mentioned which from the description appears to be a baboon. The name *wakwak* or *wahwah* is given to a species of gibbon in Malay, for it is an onomatopoeia for its cry, just as it could be for the bark of a baboon. In his *EI¹* art., Ferrand showed that *wak-wak* or *vak-vak*

is a name given by the Bantus to baboons and to Bushmen.

(b) *The tree*

The tree with the human-fruit first appears in Arabic in the *K. al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh* of al-Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī [*q.v.*] (89) at the end of the 4th/10th century. Here we have a short note saying that the tree was called Wāḳwāḳ and grew in India. A fuller account of this tree is given in Buzurg (65-6) (quoting Muḥammad b. Bābishād), where the tree is not named but is stated to come from the land of Wāḳwāḳ. However, the story itself must have been common in the Near East, for it appears much earlier in a Chinese text, the *T'ung-tien* of Tu Huan, which was written between A.D. 766 and 801 and is of Middle Eastern provenance. According to this work, the story was told to Tu Huan's father, who had been captured and taken to the Middle East, where he stayed between 751 and 762, as a story emanating from Arab sailors, who sailed toward the West. The story given by Tu Huan resembles that of Buzurg almost word-for-word, except that the tree in his account bears a crown of small children instead of fruit with human faces. Hence, in spite of the more factual representation of the story given by Buzurg in the *ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind*, the "little humans" seem to be part of the original story. The story is given throughout by many writers, but is embellished in various ways. The "little humans" on landing on the ground are said to utter the cry "Wāḳ, Wāḳ", which seems an alternative version borrowed from the second tale. A full version is given in the 6th/12th-century *K. al-Djughrāfiyā* written in Spain. The story is also given in one version of Friar Odoric's travels (Sir Henry Yule and H. Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither*, London 1915, ii, 138-9). It differs in detail, but only in as much as the Arabic accounts differ from each other. In Ibn al-Wardī's 9th/15th-century account, the women-fruit cry out praise to the Creator (*al-Khallāḳ*). This is reminiscent of an account about ʿĀʾisha who, on her deathbed, is reported to have wished she were a leaf or a tree uttering the praises of God (Ibn Saʿd, viii, 51).

There is a very early attestation of a tree the fruits of which are corporeal in Arabic. In Ḳurʾān, XXXVII, 60/62, 62/64, mention is made of the tree of Zaḳḳūm, with heads of demons where fruit should be. This motif would have been known to all the authors writing about the Wāḳwāḳ tree. The possibility that this description informed the many later accounts of the Wāḳwāḳ tree cannot be excluded. Al-Djāḥiẓ had mentioned that the Wāḳwāḳ are the product of a cross between plants and animals and is cited by al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā* (Cairo 1336, ii, 123) to that effect.

In his account, Marwazī (*Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India* [= *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*], ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1942, 60, cf. 160, writes: "I have read in the *Kitāb al-Baḥr* ("Book of the sea") that in the island of Wāq-Wāq, where ebony grows, there is a tribe whose nature is like that of men in all their limbs, except the hands, instead of which they have something like wings, which are webbed like the wings of a bat. They, both males and females, eat and drink while kneeling. They follow the ships asking for food. When a man makes for them, they open these wings and their flight becomes like that of birds, and no one can overtake them." This account is noteworthy both for its conflation of tree, human and bird, and for its evocation of the bat, *waṭwāṭ* in Arabic.

Eva Baer, *Sphinxes and harpies in medieval Islamic art*, Jerusalem 1965, has catalogued examples of Wāḳwāḳ tree motifs in mediaeval Islamic art, and writes that the earliest depiction is to be found on a slab attributed to one of the Ghaznawid palaces but probably datable to a little later (66-8, figs. 82-6). She observes also that the decorative designs reflect the talking or Wāḳwāḳ tree of the Alexander Romance. It is widely found in manuscripts of the "Wonders of the World" genre, especially the works of al-Ḳazwīnī. This talking tree is the transformed oracular Tree of the Sun and Moon which is reputed to have told Alexander of his approaching death (see Phyllis Ackerman, *The talking tree*, in *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, iv/2 [1935], 67-72). In an Old French poem on the legend of Alexander, young women are born with and wilt with the flowers of a tree: they cannot leave the shade of these trees without dying (see *King Alisaunder*, ed. Smithers, Early English Texts Society, Old Series, ccxxvii (1952) and ccxxxvii (1957), and the unpublished Anglo-Norman *Roman de toute chevalerie* on which it is based).

The Wāḳwāḳ tree is described, and depicted, in the introductory passages to the first Ottoman work describing the New World, the anonymous 10th/16th-century *Tārīkh-i Hind-i gharbī* (T.D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World. A study of* Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi *and sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana*, Wiesbaden 1990, 58). This account relies in large part on al-Ḳazwīnī and, although it does not place the tree in the New World, gives the impression that it is to be found there (see Toorawa, *Where women grow on trees. An Arab-Islamic tree in the New World*, forthcoming).

The tree also makes an appearance in the Turkish shadow-play tradition, scholars of which have attributed its origin to the legend of the tree whose fruits are shapely women. But, as İ. Başgöz (*The Waqwaq tree in the Turkish shadow-play theatre Karagöz and the story of Esther*, in A. Levy, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton, N.J. 1994, 552-3) points out, it appears rather to be inspired by the execution by hanging, from a particular tree (*Platanus orientalis*), of Janissaries in 1826, in a re-enactment of an earlier such execution (1066/1655-6). The latter became known as "the vakvak incident" (*waḳʿa-i wāḳwāḳiyye*). Başgöz shows further that another possible source is the final act in the story of Esther and Haman in the Old Testament (554-5). A comment made by Ewliyā Čelebi in his *Seyāḥat-nāme* (*The intimate life of an Ottoman statesman, Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588-1662)*, tr. R. Dankoff, Albany 1991, 74-5) is contemporary, but apparently unrelated. He notes that dead *celalis* lying beneath the trees of a meadow "ador[n] the plain like the Tree of Vakvak".

The tree was long ago identified as the *ʿushar* (*Calotropis syriaca*) by de Goeje, when he connected Wāḳwāḳ with Japan. The story does appear in Japanese literature, but almost certainly comes from the Chinese of Tu Huan, which again comes from the Arabs, so it cannot be used to strengthen de Goeje's theory. The description given by Buzurg's *ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* resembles that of the *ʿushar*, which is a tree of the Middle East and Africa. Ferrand claimed that this tree could not be the *ʿushar* and suggested the Pandanus tree on philological grounds, for it is called *vakwa* in Madagascar, thus using it to strengthen his own Madagascar theory. The fruit of the Pandanus may bear little resemblance to the fruit of the story but is attested in a Filipino story of related interest.

An argument might, in fact, be made for identifying Wāḳwāḳ with the Philippines. In addition to its numerous islands, "dark"-skinned population, and

distinct language (actually several dozen), there are in Philippine mythology creatures reported to be pretty-faced, fair-skinned maidens who drape their wings over the branches of trees in the heart of the jungle while they sleep out the day, their long hair thrown over their faces (M.D. Ramos, *Creatures of Philippine lower mythology*, Quezon City 1990, 127). They are called *aswang* in Tagalog, Bikol and several other languages, and *wakwak* in Surigao. In one account, the *aswang/wakwak* is depicted as tying a skirt round her when flying, and "beating her buttocks with a magical pandanus streamer" (Ramos, 128, citing B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, New York 1961, 242). The *wakwak* are said to live in trees, and to call out "Kakak! Kakak!" (Ramos, *Creatures*, 133, citing F.X. Lynch, *An mga Asuwang. A Bikol belief*, in *Philippine Soc. Sc. and Hum. Rev.*, xiv (Dec. 1949), 420) or other similar sounds.

(G.R. Tibbetts and Shawkat M. Toorawa)

3. Wāḳwāḳ in imaginative literature and the imaginaire.

There is a convincing piece of evidence that Wāḳwāḳ is simply the name given to the conceptual limit of the known world in the statement made by Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's eventual guide, the Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs, in the *Thousand and One nights*—Ḥasan is trying to reach Wāḳwāḳ in order to get back his wife who has fled to her home with their two sons (Lane, *The Arabian nights' entertainment*, 796): "My son, relinquish this most vexatious affair; you could not gain access to the Islands of Waqwaq even if the Flying Jinn and the wandering stars assisted you, since between you and those islands are seven valleys, seven seas and seven mountains of vast magnitude."

There is a similar quest for a spouse in the 8th/14th-century *Sīrat Sayf b. Dhī Yazān*, when King Sayf is urged by his wronged and distraught wife to pursue her and her son: "'You seized me first, then afflicted me with grief and deserted me to take other women. But what has been has been. If you have any valor and resolve, and if you truly love me, then pursue me to the City of Maidens in the islands of Waq al-Waq.' With that she clasped her son beneath her garment at her breast and vanished through the air..." (*The adventures of Sayf Ben Dhi Yazan, an Arab folk epic*, tr. L. Jayyusi, Bloomington 1996, 241). Lane noted the similarities between the *Thousand and one nights*' story of Ḥasan and the Bird-Maiden and the romance of Sayf b. Dhī Yazān, in particular the beautiful women with wings of feather who fly like birds (Lane, 1246 n. 16).

In one Persian tale, the fruits of a tree ripen, fall to the ground, mature into men's heads, and then one of the fruits greets the king respectfully (see *The Palace of the Nine Pavilions* [Bodl. ms Caps. Or. A. 4.], in *The three dervishes and other Persian tales and legends*, tr. R. Levy, Oxford 1947, 160).

Ibn Ṭufayl's [*q.v.*] description in his philosophical-allegorical tale, *Risālat Ḥayy b. Yakẓān* (ed. Saʿd, Beirut, 117), famously speaks of an island below the equator where people are born without mother or father, and where there is a tree which bears women as fruit. This is analysed by F. Malti-Douglas, *Woman's body, woman's word. Gender and discourse in Arabo-Islamic writing*, Princeton 1991, 85-96.

Yāḳūt, a systematic recorder of geographical information, observes that Wāḳwāḳ is only to be found in fables and superstitions (*khurāfāt*) (*Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vi, 936). This appearance in fables and superstitions has extended, seven centuries later, even further than Yāḳūt could ever have imagined; thus the Islands of Wāḳwāḳ now appear as a "card" in the Arabian Nights "expansion" of a fantasy game called "Magic".

Just as it provided material for Ibn Ṭufayl and for "Magic", so too has Wāḳwāḳ been used in modern Arabic literature. In what might at first appear to be a more traditional appropriation/appearance, it figures in a 1975 short story by the Moroccan writer, Mustafa al-Masannawi, *Abdullah Samsa in Waqwaq Island* (in M. Shaheen, *The modern Arabic short story. Shahrazad returns*, London 1989, 114-18). This post-modern, Borgesian-Kafkaesque tale, divided into ten numbered sections of unequal length, and accompanied by five appendices, evokes Wāḳwāḳ in a number of ways. In section three, a description is quoted from *The great Pharaonic encyclopaedia*, and section seven consists of "An extract from a radio broadcast from the Island of Waqwaq".. In 1997 the Palestinian poet ʿI. al-Manāṣira published a volume titled *Lā athiḳu bi-ṭāʾir al-wakwāḳ*, Jerusalem 1999 (title poem, 20-32).

Finally, one may invoke the contemporary Egyptian colloquial expression *il ḥāga-di ma-tiḥṣal-sh walā fī bilād wāʾ il-wāʾ* "these things don't happen, not even in Wonderland", which makes of Wāḳwāḳ a place of wonderment somewhere beyond the horizon (M. Hinds and El-Sayyid Badawi, *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic, Arabic-English*, Beirut 1986, 921).

(Shawkat M. Toorawa)

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(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, G.R. Tibbetts and Shawkat M. Toorawa)

4. As a zoological term.

Here, *wākwāḳ*, *wakwāḳ* and *waḳūḳ* are onomatopoeic masc. nouns denoting a member of the Cuculides family of birds and imitating their cries (Fr. "coucou", Eng. "cuckoo", Ger. "Kuckuck"); the pl. ought to be *waḳāwīḳ*, but this is never found in the texts. With this general name, members of the Cuculides (*waḳwā-ḳiyyāt*) also have numerous local names, according to region: *ḥamām ḳawwāl*, *ṭāṭawī*, *ṭaḳūḳ*, *ḳawḳal*, *kukur*, *kukum*, *kunkur* and *hūhū*. The Arabic-speaking lands distinguish

five species of cuckoo: (a) the Common cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*), with two sub-species *C.c. canorus* and *C.c. telephonus*; (b) the Great spotted cuckoo (*Clamator glandarius*); (c) the Pied crested or Jacobin cuckoo (*Clamator jacobinus*), with the sub-species *C.c. serratus*; (d) the Collared cuckoo (*Cuculus torquatus*); and (e) the Large-heeled cuckoo (*C. senegalensis aegyptius*).

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(F. Viré)

WALAD [see saghīr].

WALĀTA, conventionally Oualata, an important Saharan caravan town in mediaeval Islamic times, now a small town in the southeastern region of modern Mauritania, the Ḥawḍ or Hodh (lat. 17° 15' N., long. 6° 55' W.).

For its history, see mūrītānīyā, at Vol. VII, 625a-b.

WALĀYA (a.). For the use of this term in Shīʿism, see wilāya. 2.

WALBA, a district of the *kūra* of Niebla in the southwestern part of al-Andalus, the modern Huelva. The name appears in various forms in the Arabic sources, such as Wānyu in al-ʿUdhrī (5th/11th century) and Wāniba (Yāḳūt), both going back to Latin Onuba.

Its political history is closely linked with that of Niebla [see labla], even though it was for a while, in the time of the Taifas, separated from Niebla. This was, in fact, a period of prosperity and security for the people there. This was due to the actions of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bakrī who, in 403/1012, in the midst of the civil wars of that time, made himself the ruler of a little principality embracing Walba and the island of Saltés. Soon afterwards, in 414/1023-4, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Yaḥṣubī arose in Niebla to form a second *ṭāʾifa* in similar fashion within the ancient *kūra*. The ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*], ruler of the neighbouring *ṭāʾifa* of Seville, altered this state of affairs in his greed to acquire new territories, which he achieved in 443/1051-2. Out of prudence, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz decided to cede Huelva and shut himself up in Saltés, but he could only maintain this for a short while under pressure from the Sevillan ruler, and had in the end to abandon it. Out of all the versions in the chronicles of the period, the most probable seems to be that of Ibn Saʿīd, who says that al-Bakrī marched on Cordova and definitively established himself there. It was in this capital that his son, the famous historian and geographer Abū ʿUbayd, received his education along the traditional lines of the age.

The island of Saltés considered itself as naturally linked with Huelva. It was not a separate district, and was in fact—as al-Idrīsī said in the 6th/12th century—less than a mile from Huelva and separated from it by a narrow neck of the sea only a stone's throw wide. Numerous historians stress its commercial importance, iron-working and falconry being amongst its main activities. Al-Ḥimyarī (9th/15th century) mentioned the traces of Antiquity there and attributed to it the advantages of both a maritime and a continental town.

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(Fátima Roldán Castro)

WĀLĪ (a., pl. *wulāt*), from the root *w-l-y* "to be near something", hence "to be in charge of something", comes to mean "person in authority, governor, prefect, administrator manager", with the *maṣdar* of *wilāya* for his office and/or sphere of competence. The word occurs once in the Ḳurʾān, XIII, 12/11, applied to God in the sense of "patron, protector". See on aspects of the function of the governor in mediaeval Islamic times, amīr. A near-synonym is *ḥākim* "one who exercises power, jurisdiction, etc." Under the Ottomans, the *wālī*, also termed *pasha* [*q.v.*], was the governor of a province, *eyālet* or *wilāyet*; see Pakalın, i, 577-8.

In contemporary North Africa and the Middle East as far east as Afghānistān, various terms are employed for the administrative divisions of the province, including *wilāya, muḥāfaẓa, imāra, liwāʾ* and *ustān* in Arabic and Persian usage, and *il* in modern Turkey, with corresponding titles for their governors like *wālī, muḥāfiẓ, amīr*, etc.

(Ed.)

WALĪ (a., pl. *awliyāʾ*), indicates a friend of God or a saint, often also a mystic in general.

1. General survey
2. In North Africa
3. In the Arab lands of the Fertile Crescent [see Suppl.]
4. In Turkey, the Balkans, the Caucasus and Ādharbāydjān
5. In Central Asia
6. In Muslim India
7. In Southeast Asia and Indonesia
8. In Chinese Islam
9. In West Africa
10. In Chad and the Nilotic Sudan

1. General survey.

Walī is a *faʿīl* form of the root *w-l-y* with the meaning of "to be near". The one who is near is also a friend, he possesses friendship (*wilāya* [*q.v.*]) (more rarely *walāya*; for a discussion of these two forms, see Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, iii, 9-10; Chodkiewicz, *Sceau*, 34). But in some way, the *walī* also acquires his friend's, i.e. God's, good qualities, and therefore he possesses particular authority, forces, capacities and abilities. In the Ḳurʾān, the adjective *walī* is also applied to God, Who is the believers' friend (II, 257). Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth* do not know the concept of exceptional, blessed people who are close to God, but by the 2nd/8th century it seems to have been accepted (van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, 89-90; Radtke-O'Kane, *The concept of sainthood*, 109-10; Radtke, *Drei Schriften*, ii, 68-9). In many aspects, its origin is obscure; ancient Christian and Jewish elements can be recognised (Mach, *Der Zaddik*, 134-46). Stories about the wonderful deeds of God's friends also seem to have been collected and transmitted at an early stage, among others by Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (d. 281/894 [*q.v.*]). He wrote the *Kitāb al-Awliyāʾ*, the earliest compilation on the theme of God's friends; Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 948/1038 [*q.v.*]) made use of it in his *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*. Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā's work does not show any method or explanation, but some writings dating from the second half of the 3rd/9th century had already passed the stage

of pure compiling. The Baghdādī Ṣūfī Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz (d. probably 286/899 [see AL-KHARRĀZ]) wrote a short treatise *Kitāb al-Kashf wa 'l-bayān*. Dealing with a number of questions concerning the theme of *awliyā'/wilāya*, he discusses (1) the relation between the friends of God and the Prophet, and opposes the opinion of mystics, whose names he does not mention, according to whom the friend of God is higher in rank than the Prophet; (2) the question whether the friend of God receives inspiration (*ilhām*); and (3) the distinction between the miracles of the prophets (*āyāt*) and those of God's friends (*karāmāt*).

Further writings, which not only deal in much greater detail with the themes treated by al-Kharrāz but already develop the entire concept of the friend of God and friendship with God, came from al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. between 295/907 and 300/912 [*q.v.*]). Later authors, such as Ibn al-ʿArabī (see below), would in principle only develop further the questions first raised by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī. Basically, they are dealt with in his famous treatise *Sīrat al-awliyā'*, also known as *Khatm al-awliyā'* or *Khatm al-wilāya*. Next to this main work there exist two other writings by al-Tirmidhī on the theme of the friend of God. One is called *al-Farḳ bayn al-āyāt wa 'l-karāmāt*, the first monograph on the possibility of miracles worked by God's friends and their relation with the miracles of the prophets. After an introduction, which is based on proofs taken from Holy Scripture and on psychological observations, but does not show any knowledge of scholastic-rational proofs, al-Tirmidhī adduces more than sixty stories on friends of God from early times. The greater part is also found in the works of Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā and of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī. The other work by al-Tirmidhī on the theme is his autobiography *Badʾ sha'n Abī ʿAbd Allāh*. It is the first autobiography of a Muslim mystic before al-Ghazālī's *Munḳidh min al-ḍalāl*.

The *Sīrat al-awliyā'* begins with the fundamental distinction between two classes of friends of God, the *walī ḥaḳḳ Allāh* and the *walī Allāh*. If the *walī ḥaḳḳ Allāh* wants to come near to God on the mystical path, he can only achieve this by observing the obligations of the divine legal order (*ḥaḳḳ*) with all his inner power, while the *walī Allāh* reaches his aim through divine grace. The former is obliged to walk on the path encumbered with all sorts of hardships: he is a *sālik*, while the latter is exempted from this toil; he is attracted to God by God and is a *madjdhūb* [*q.v.*]. In later Ṣūfism, this opposition, represented here for the first time in a systematic way, was to play an important role. Other terms used by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī for the two classes of mystics are *muhtadī* (rightly guided) and *mudjtabā* (elected).

For al-Tirmidhī, the path, i.e. the journey to God, means a delving into the inner self on the one hand and the ascent to God through the macrocosmos on the other, it is a journey to heaven (*miʿrādj* [*q.v.*]). The ascent of the *walī ḥaḳḳ Allāh* must stop at the end of the created cosmos, God's throne. He can attain God's proximity, but not God Himself; he is only admitted to God's proximity (*muḳarrab*). It is the *walī Allāh* who reaches God. Ascent beyond God's throne means to traverse consciously the realms of light of the divine names which, in gnostic tradition, are grouped hierarchically around God's unknowable essence. When the *walī Allāh* has traversed all the realms of the divine names, i.e. has come to know God in His names as completely as possible, he is then extinguished in God's essence. His soul, his ego, is eliminated and he is in God's hands. When he acts, it is God Who acts through him. And so the state of extinction means at the same time the highest degree of activity in this world.

The friend of God, therefore, is recognisable in the world because of a number of external characteristics: (1) when people see him, they are automatically reminded of God; (2) anyone who advances towards him in a hostile way is destroyed; (3) he possesses the gift of clairvoyance (*firāsa*); (4) he receives divine inspiration (*ilhām*); (5) he can work miracles (*karāmāt* [*q.v.*]) like walking on water (*al-mashy ʿalā 'l-mā'*) and shortening space and time (*ṭayy al-arḍ*); and (6) he associates with al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] (for this list, see Radtke, *Drei Schriften*, ii, 82, § 80; Radtke-O'Kane, *The concept of sainthood*, 124-5; for further miracles, see Radtke, *Miracles*, where an analysis of al-Tirmidhī's *Farḳ* is given). This list of themes from now on forms a constant element of the discussion on God's friends and friendship with God.

In this way the friend of God not only knows that he is indeed God's friend—this question is raised at the very beginning of the *Sīrat al-awliyā'*—but he can also be sure of eternal bliss. This is communicated to him through good tidings from God (*bushrā*), for, though he is not sinless (*maʿṣūm*) like the Prophet, he is preserved from sin (*maḥfūẓ*). The good tidings can be transmitted to him in dreams or by divine inspiration (*ilhām*). In his autobiography, al-Tirmidhī imparts a number of such dreams.

Divine inspiration of a friend of God is never in contradiction to the Prophet's revelation (*waḥy*) or law, for notwithstanding the high blessing he has received, his spiritual rank is lower than that of the Prophet. His life and its stages come about in the external and internal imitation of the Prophet, he is the latter's real heir, for God's friends, contrary to a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, are the true heirs of the prophets (*al-awliyā' warathat al-anbiyā'*).

Just as in the case with Muḥammad, who is the seal of prophecy or of the prophets (*khatm al-nubuwwa/al-anbiyā'*), and as such the last and most complete of them, there exists a hierarchy among God's friends. Indications for this idea are already found in the 2nd/8th century, but here, too, al-Tirmidhī is the first of whom it can be said that he gives the broad outlines of a systematic presentation. Forty elected *awliyā'*—other names are *ṣiddīḳīn*, *abdāl* [*q.v.*], *umanā'* and *nuṣaḥā'*—after the Prophet's death took over control of the world, each one of them exercising it in temporal succession. The fact that they exist is a guarantee for the continuing existence of the world. Among them is a group of seven who are especially blessed. As runners-up of creation, the forty friends of God form, after the prophets, the second spiritual hierarchy of the cosmos. In the same way as in the prophets' hierarchy, there is within the friendship with God or among the friends of God a highest, perfect one, the seal (*khatm al-wilāya; khātam/khātim al-wilāya/al-awliyā'*); as is clear from his autobiography, al-Tirmidhī considered himself as this highest friend of God.

Al-Tirmidhī's new creation of *khatm al-wilāya*, in particular, had a wide effect. The concept was taken up and further developed by Ibn al-ʿArabī, and through him it entered later Ṣūfism. But for almost three centuries, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's systematic position vis-à-vis *walī* and *wilāya* remained without successor in Ṣūfī mystical writings. The concept *khatm al-wilāya* was avoided, the comparison with the Prophet being shunned. With the exception of the *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* by the Persian Hudjwīrī (d. *ca.* 465/1072 [*q.v.*]), which is based on al-Tirmidhī, the authors of the basic hand-

books speak only briefly of the theme of the friend of God. Among them, mention should be made of al-Kalābādhī (d. *ca.* 380/990 [*q.v.*]), of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj (d. 378/988 [*q.v.*]), of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996 [*q.v.*]), of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī and of al-Kushayrī (d. 465/1072 [*q.vv.*]) (for details, see Chodkiewicz, *Sceau*, 41-64). It is discussed whether the friend of God can work miracles, can be recognised while in this world, and can know that he himself is a friend of God. The wording often seems to have been borrowed verbatim from al-Tirmidhī without the authors mentioning him; this is the case with al-Kushayrī's *Risāla*. ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Djīlānī (d. 561/1166 [*q.v.*]), the progenitor of the Kādiriyya, also borrowed extensively from al-Tirmidhī's *Sīrat al-awliyāʾ* (*Drei Schriften*, i, introd., 7-9). Al-Tirmidhī's presentation of the hierarchy of the saints is taken over and slightly modified by ʿAmmār al-Bidlīsī (d. between 590/1194 and 604/1207), the teacher of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 617/1220 [see KUBRĀ, NADJM AL-DĪN]; he uses in particular the concept of *khatm al-wilāya* for the first time since al-Tirmidhī (Badeen, *Bidlīsī*). Rūzbihān-i Baklī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]) not only wrote an autobiography, like Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, but also knew a highly developed hierarchy of God's friends. The theological-scholastical literature (for a summary, see Gramlich, *Wunder*, 94-110; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Kurʾān commentary is particularly detailed) discusses above all whether miracles worked by saints can stand up to intellectual scrutiny. The Muʿtazilīs denied them, whereas the Ashʿarīs in general admitted them. The scholastic arguments have survived until today and still serve to justify the miracles worked by saints (Radtke, *Traditionalismus*, 243-50).

Until modern times, the discussion has been shaped by Ibn al-ʿArabī, who in substance adopted al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's basic themes about the *walī*. In the *Futūḥāt makkiyya* (ch. lxxiii) and in a smaller work (*Tirmidiana minora*, 277-8), he comments on a section of al-Tirmidhī's *Sīrat al-awliyāʾ*. It is true that the commentary does not contribute anything to the understanding of al-Tirmidhī's text; the latter is for Ibn al-ʿArabī only a peg on which he can hang his own system and develop it. As is the case with al-Tirmidhī, the theory of the *walī* is entirely embedded in an Islamic cosmological and prophetological system (for the latter, see the works by Nyberg, Afifi, Chodkiewicz and Chittick). Two ways of al-Tirmidhī's doctrine are substantially elaborated upon by Ibn al-ʿArabī. One is that the hierarchy of God's friends is fundamentally differentiated [see KUTB], the other that the concept of *khatm al-wilāya* is expanded, because Ibn al-ʿArabī introduces various kinds of *wilāya* [*q.v.*] (Chodkiewicz, *Sceau*, 65-78). Via Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūʾī (d. 649/1252 [*q.v.*]), who belonged to Ibn al-ʿArabī's school, the latter's doctrines reached such authors as ʿAzīz-i Nasafī (d. *ca.* 700/1300) in the Persian-speaking regions. A renaissance of the *khatm al-wilāya* doctrine can be observed particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries. Aḥmad al-Tidjānī (d. 1230/1815), the founder of the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*], and Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī (d. 1268/1851), the founder of the Khatmiyya, adopted for themselves the title *khatm al-wilāya*, to which the latter order owes its name [see MĪRGHANIYYA]. It is not only during his lifetime that the friend of God possesses extraordinary powers. After his death, too, he acts as a mediator with God; his help can be sought (*tawassul, istighātha*). His tomb confers blessings (*baraka*), which can also be obtained through pilgrimage. The aim of the latter is to obtain blessings through the friend of God (*tabarraka*). For this reason, everywhere in the Islamic world there arose centres for the veneration of saints. For opponents of Ṣūfism such as Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]) and the Wahhābīs, these practices are an abomination, because the latter see in them a form of idolatry (*shirk*). While expanding their territory, the Wahhābīs destroyed the tombs of saints wherever they were able.

Stories about the lives of outstanding friends of God lived on among their disciples, and especially in their families. Some time after the death of the friend of God, they were collected in biographies, from which arose Islamic hagiography [see MANĀKIB]. The first of these lives of saints are written in Arabic, but they have only been preserved in Persian translation, as in the case of Ibn Khafīf (d. 371/982 [*q.v.*]) and of Abū Isḥāk Kāzarūnī (d. 426/1033 [*q.v.*]). These lives often have little historical value. The authors, mostly members of the saint's family, of his school or of his order, are concerned with the glorification of the saint by proving that he possessed extraordinary blessings and powers.

It is not only movements such as the Salafiyya [*q.v.*] and the Wahhābiyya which, inside the framework of Islamic theology, have formed a front against the veneration and theory of saints. Since the 19th century, proponents of the *walī* concept have also had to assert themselves against the attacks of Western rationalism. Convincing answers are not yet at hand (Radtke, *Traditionalismus*, esp. 255-7).

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(B. Radtke)

2. In North Africa.

The saint (*walī*, also *sayyid* or *ṣāliḥ*) has played an essential role in the religious and social life of the Maghrib for more or less a millennium.

Historical development. Historically speaking, the first figures of ascetics, popularly admired and with followings, appear in Ifrīḳiya in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries (cf. H.R. Idris (ed.), *Manâqib d'Abû Ishâq al-Jabnyânî et de Muhriz b. Khalaf*, Paris 1959). But we depend here on few written sources, and the phenomenon may well be older. The outstanding, prominent figures here appear rather to the west of that region. Abū Yaʿzā (or Yaʿazzā, d. 572/1177) was the typical illiterate, charismatic and miracle-mongering saint (see Y. Lobignac, *Un saint berbère, Moulay Ben Azza*, in *Hésperis*, xxxi [1944], and E. Dermenghem, *Le culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin*, Paris 1954, [2]1982). His contemporary Ibn Ḥirzihim (d. 559/1163) was more cultivated but had nevertheless a very popular reputation.

Abū Madyan (d. 594/1197) was a spiritual disciple of these preceding two saints, and was the first figure in Maghribī Ṣūfism to exercise an influence beyond his own region. This Andalusī went to the East where he may have met some of the great masters, e.g. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī. On returning, he settled at Bougie and formed a circle of disciples, headed for the Almohad court of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr at Marrakesh, and died en route at Tlemcen, whose patron saint he became (see abū madyan and A. Bel, *Sidi Bou Medyan et son maître Ed-Daqqâq à Fès*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, i, 30-68; C. Addas, *Abū Madyan and Ibn ʿArabī*, in *Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi, a commemorative volume*, Shaftesbury 1993). One of his disciples was the saint from the Rīf ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh [see ʿabd al-salām], who was rather sparsely noticed in his lifetime but had a posthumous fame through his being recognised as a master and a "pole" by Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī [*q.v.*]. It is with this last (d. 656/1258 in Upper Egypt), and especially his disciples of the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries [see ibn ʿaṭāʾ allāh and shādhiliyya, with *Bibls.*] that the Ṣūfism of the brotherhoods appeared and enjoyed a spectacular rise in the Maghrib.

Among the main saints of the ensuing period, one may note the heads of brotherhoods like the Fāsī Aḥmad al-Zarrūḳ (d. 899/1494), educated in Egypt, but exercising his reformist influence first in Morocco and then Libya (see A.F. Khushaim, *Zarruq the Sufi*, Tripoli 1976). Also within the Shādhiliyya was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*], who returned to Morocco after a long trip to the East and then began a life as a hermit. But his preaching, his reputation as a thaumaturge and his Sharīfī birth ensured him a prodigious success. He died *ca.* 869/1465 and his body, after several delays, was buried at Marrakesh, where he became one of the city's seven patron saints. The Ṣūfī tradition was periodically given fresh life by notable personalities such as Muḥammad b. Nāṣir from southern Morocco, or the Shādhilī Abū Ḥāmid al-ʿArabī al-Darḳāwī (d. 1823 [see darḳāwa]), whose influence spread all over the western and central Maghrib. Aḥmad al-Tidjānī (1737-1815 [*q.v.*]) was initiated into many orders before founding at ʿAyn Māḍī near Laghouat in what is now Algeria his own *zāwiya*, which spread especially into Morocco and then into Sudanic Africa (see J.M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya, a Sufi order in the modern world*, London 1965). Another type of active, organising saint was al-Sanūsī (*q.v.*, and also K.S. Vikør, *Sufi and scholar on the desert edge. Muhammad ben ʿAlī Sanūsī*, London 1995). More recently still, the charisma and the activity of Aḥmad b. ʿAlīwa of Mustaghānim (d. 1934) marked his age, although he was rather too late to become a *walī* in the traditional sense (see ibn ʿalīwa, and M. Lings, *A Moslem saint of the twentieth century, Shaikh Ahmad al-ʿAlawī*, London 1961, Fr. tr. *Un saint musulman du 20e siècle, le cheikh Ahmad al-ʿAlawī*, Paris 1984).

Characteristics. This development of the *walī*'s role over a millennium, coupled with the great geographical and social diversity (town vs. village) and cultural traditions (Berber, Bedouin), produced a great diversity of images of saints. Hagiography nevertheless allows us to discern a certain number of dominant types found in one region or another or at one time or another. The most current profile is of the pure, ascetic Sunnī, refusing all ostentation. The quality and amount of his education matters little, and even when he is a scholar, it is not his doctrinal works or poetry which attach the hearts of his disciples to him. On the other hand, he is clearly charismatic, and his miracles (*karāmāt*) are innumerable but stereotypical: reading people's thoughts, cures, bilocations, visions, etc. He is often the head of a brotherhood. But other profiles exist at the side of this one. Hence the popularity of the ecstatic and eccentric saint (*madjdhūb*); Shūdhī and his pupil Ibn al-Marʾa (d. 611/1214; cf. Dermenghem, *op. cit.*) or ʿAlī al-Ṣanhādjī (10th/16th century) and his pupil ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb (d. 976/1569; see A.L. de Premare, *Sîdî ʿAbder-Rahmân al-Medjdûb*, Paris-Rabat 1985) remain till today popular figures. Moreover, the antinomian saint, who hides his interior states with a veil of conduct which may be habitually shocking, illustrates the *malāmatī* tradition in the Maghrib; thus Aḥmad Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās b. al-ʿArūs, one of the patron saints of Tunis (d.

868/1463; cf. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii) has remained famous for his provocative behaviour and his outrageous sayings. Sometimes saints have been warriors, *murābiṭūn*, who have died as martyrs. One should also note that Maghribī sainthood is by no means confined to men, and certain women have marked the memories of the faithful; some of the tombs of female saints are very frequently visited. Nor are saints exclusively Muslim; Jewish saints may be respected well beyond their own communities of origin and vice-versa. Popular sainthood, bursting out of a framework of the brotherhoods, sometimes shows very old features probably stemming from a pre-Islamic "shamanism"; thus the ʿIsāwiyya claim to stem from the Shādhilī-Djazūlī master Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Mukhtār (d. 931/1524; cf. R. Brunel, *Essai sur la confrérie religieuse des Aïssaouas au Maroc*, Paris 1926), although this last would probably have been surprised to have been present at the therapeutic rituals, of animist inspiration, practised by certain branches of the brotherhood. An analogous remark can be made in regard to ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūsh and the Moroccan brotherhood of the Ḥamdūshiyya (see V. Crapanzano, *The Hamadsha, a study in Moroccan ethnopsychology*, Berkeley, etc. 1973).

This extreme veneration for saints stems from the basic, cosmic function attributed to *awliyāʾ*. These last are viewed as active members of the spiritual hierarchy of friends of God, and it often happens that great saints are seen attributing to themselves the function of *ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*] (Ibn Mashīsh, al-Shādhilī, etc.). The saint assures for his close retainers and adepts not only his spiritual guidance and strength but also material prosperity, and he is an intercessor with the supernatural world. His presence diffuses *baraka* or spiritual blessing, which his entourage tries to acquire for aims often far removed from purely spiritual ones (health, social success, etc.) through practices common to magic: whence the recitation for secular aims of ejaculatory prayers (*ḥizb*) taught by the saints. Thus within the Djazūlī current, the connection with the saint is lightened to the far limit of its strictly mystical dimension. The diffusing of *baraka* is made possible by a fairly simple allegiance and devotional rites like recital of the litanies of the *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt*, without there being any question of asceticism or a long spiritual journey. One should further note how the development of Sharīfism has played a certain role in the tone of Maghribī sainthood, especially from Marīnid times onward; Idrīsid Sharīfī origins are therefore attributed to Ibn Mashīsh, al-Shādhilī and al-Djazūlī. The spreading of *baraka*, according to such masters as al-Djazūlī, can be effected not only through the spiritual successors of Muḥammad, which the saints are, but also by his genealogical descendants.

The *walī*'s role as protector of a place may be considerable. Certain patron saints are well known, such as Ibn ʿArūs for Tunis, Abū Madyan for Tlemcen, Mawlāy Idrīs for Fās, etc. But one should also take into account thousands of minor, local saints whose tombs remain visible in villages or the quarters of towns, little-known, anonymous, sometimes even legendary. Even though history can find hardly anything to say about them, their presence and their social efficacity can be immense. They remain, in effect, very much alive at their tomb, to the point that the person's name most often serves to denote the place. The rituals can be purely private, but the patronal festivals (*mawsim, mawlid* [*q.vv.*]) give rise to massed groups with Ḳurʾān recitations, *dhikr*s, processions and fairs. Among the most important should be mentioned those of Mawlāy Idrīs at Fās, of Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā at Meknès and Ibn Mashīsh in the Rīf. But basically, it is not really necessary for the saint to have been really buried in the spot in question, as shown by the number of *maḳām*s of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī in the Maghrib, who in any case never went to the Maghrib. Protection and intercession are drawn and raised by the effect of the rites rather than by a sanctity attached to the place itself.

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(P. Lory)

3. In the Arab lands of the Fertile Crescent [see Suppl.].

4. In Turkey, the Balkans, the Caucasus and Ādharbāydjān.

Saints play an important role here, especially in connection with the cults which have grown up around their tombs (*ziyāra*). Between the Turks of the Balkans and Anatolia, and those in Central Asia, despite the distance separating them, the concept of the saint and the organisation of pilgrimages displays no fundamental differences. This concept of sainthood derives its originality from the syncretic character of Turkish Islam, which has incorporated certain beliefs and practices from earlier cults, such as animism, shamanism,

Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity (in the study of the phenomenon of sainthood, it is not always easy to separate the various regions of the Turkish world, but for a detailed consideration of the situation in Central Asia, see 5. below).

These elements are particularly discernible in the saints of the 10th to the 14th centuries before being opposed by the *ʿulamāʾ*, the representatives of orthodoxy. They nevertheless maintained themselves in certain out-of-the-way parts of Central Asia, especially in rural areas and amongst nomads of the whole Turkish world (e.g. amongst the Yürüks, Ta̲kh̲tad̲j̲īs [*q.vv.*] and ʿAlewīs in Anatolia). One may note e.g. that the earliest Turkish saints, such as Aḥmad Yasawī and Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bektās̲h̲ Walī [*q.vv.*], performed miracles reminiscent of those of Central Asian shamans (changing into birds and totemistic creatures like the crane or deer; raising a man to life from his bones; etc.). Such saints were generally to be found amongst the Bektās̲h̲ī, Yasawī and Ḳalandarī holy men. On the other hand, the Turkish saint often corresponded to the usual image of the Muslim holy man, often the founder or an adept of Ṣūfī orders like the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya, Ḳādiriyya, K̲h̲alwatiyya, etc. One should bear in mind, too, that in the Turkish world sainthood is the product of two factors: the ideal of the holy war, *d̲j̲ihād*, marked by the spirit of *g̲h̲azw*, and Ṣūfism. This is understandable in the light of the fact that the Turkish world, over long centuries, was the object of campaigns of Islamisation conducted by Ṣūfīs, rather than by the *ʿulamāʾ*, being at the origin of the conversion of some pagan rulers to Islam.

As well as the Arabic term *walī*, and the Persian *s̲h̲āh* and *pīr*, saints in the Turkish world are denoted by Turkish terms like *baba* in Anatolia, *ata* in Central Asia (both meaning "father"), as well as *eren* or *ermis̲h̲* (< *ermek* "to reach, attain") or *yatīr* ("one who settles down") in Anatolia. Saints' tombs are denoted by terms of Arabic or Persian origin alluding to the idea of pilgrimage (*mazār, ziyāratgāh*), tomb (*ḳabr, maḳbar*) or domed mausoleum (*gunbad, ḳubba*). But such tombs are also denoted by terms usually used for dervish convents, or a particular part of it (*tekke* in the Balkans, *langar* "refectory" and *ribāṭ* in Central Asia), or by a quality of the saint (*pīr* "venerable, respectable", in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān).

Saints of the Turkish world may be classified into three categories. The first includes the *g̲h̲āzīs*, heroes of the Islamisation process and martyrs for the faith; the second, saints from the Ṣūfī milieu; and the third, the great figures of Islam and certain rulers.

The most representative types of the first in the regions under consideration are Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (7th century [*q.v.*]), killed beneath the walls of Constantinople, Sayyid Baṭṭāl G̲h̲āzī, who fought the Christians in Anatolia, and Ḳîzîl Deli Sulṭān, who converted Western Thrace to Islam. Religious figures and warriors who fought the Tsarist and Soviet Russians from the 18th to the early 20th century have also been canonised (the Imāms Manṣūr Us̲h̲urma and S̲h̲āmil [*q.vv.*] in the Caucasus, Ḳurbān Murād in Turkmenistan, etc.) or against Kemālist Turkey in the 20th century (S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ Esʿad and ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Arwāsī in Istanbul). Others in this category added the qualities of the Ṣūfī to their work of Islamisation, such as Ṣarî Ṣaltuḳ in Turkey and the Balkans, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bektās̲h̲, his disciple Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲īm Sulṭān, and Abdāl Mūsā, in Anatolia, ʿOt̲h̲mān Baba in the Balkans, etc.

In the second, most important category, which includes the Ṣūfīs, one finds, in one group, those engaged in Islamisation and the fight against the infidels (a process which came to an end in Turkey in the 15th-16th centuries, but which continued in Central Asia up to the opening of the 20th century), and in the other group, those Ṣūfīs wholly occupied by their spiritual mission. These last include the founders of the great *ṭarīḳas* of the Turkish world plus their pupils and spiritual descendants: the Naḳs̲h̲bandī Emīr Buk̲h̲ārī at Istanbul; the K̲h̲alwatīs Merkez Efendi and Ḳod̲j̲a Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a and the Ḳādirī Ismāʿīl Rūmī at Istanbul; Mawlānā D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Ḳonya; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bektās̲h̲ Walī in Anatolia; etc.

In the third category are to be found both Biblical figures (Daniel's tomb at Tarsus in southern Turkey), figures from the Ḳurʾān or Islamic history (tombs of K̲h̲iḍr in several places, etc.), and theologians. Amongst the rulers around whom a cult grew up, one might mention the Ottomans Bāyezīd II and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.vv.*] in Turkey.

In numerous cases, the spots chosen for a Muslim saint's tomb could be either exceptional places already sacred from pagan times (hill tops, springs, grottoes, large rocks, etc.) or ruins of sanctuaries connected with pre-Islamic religious cults. Most of the mausolea in Eastern Turkestan were built on a spot where there had previously been Buddhist monasteries or funerary monuments (Kuhmarī Mazār and Kum Rabāt Pādis̲h̲āhīm at K̲h̲otan). Likewise, ancient Christian churches and monasteries were used in the Balkans and Anatolia (Ṣarî Ṣaltuḳ at Babaeski in Thrace, K̲h̲iḍr at Samarḳand). A Nestorian saint who has become a Muslim one in Kirghizistan has even been identified.

As for saints' tombs connected with the *g̲h̲āzī* tradition, these tend to be in strategically situated and protected places connected with the saint's military functions: the summits of hills (Gözd̲j̲ü Baba in Istanbul and Muḥyī al-Dīn Abdāl in Eastern Thrace) or defiles (*derbend*) (Ḳîzîl Deli Sulṭān (Derbendī) in Western Thrace).

However, there are also in the Turkish world a certain number of towns which have always attracted saints and where tombs are very numerous. There exist pilgrims' guides for such towns, rich in historical details for the historical researcher: Istanbul (cf. K̲h̲od̲j̲azāde Aḥmed Ḥilmī, *Ẓiyāret-i ewliyā*, Istanbul 1325/1907-8), Bursa (cf. Meḥmed S̲h̲ems el-Dīn, *Yādigār-i S̲h̲emsī*, Bursa 1332/1913-14), Buk̲h̲ārā (cf. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Tuḥfat al-zāʾirīn*, Novo-Buk̲h̲ārā 1910), Samarḳand (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-D̲j̲alīl Samarḳandī, *Ḳandiyya*, ed. Īrad̲j̲ Afs̲h̲ār, in *Du risāla dar tārīk̲h̲-i mazārāt wa d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Samarḳand*, Tehran 1367 *s̲h̲.*/1988).

On the architectural plane, there are several features which distinguish tombs of Turkish saints from those of the rest of the Islamic world. One might cite e.g. the remarkable height (sometimes 20 m) of the cenotaphs of certain Central Asian saints, the presence there of customs inherited from the steppe peoples like a tall mast with a horse's tail at its top and the presence of arms (axes, halberds, etc.) near the tombs of dervish *g̲h̲āzīs* in Anatolia.

The main saints' tombs with an active cult around them today are: in Turkey, those of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bektās̲h̲ (Hacıbektaş), Mawlānā D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn (Ḳonya), Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (Istanbul) and Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bayram Walī (Ankara); and in the Balkans, that of Aywaz Dede (Bosnia). The faithful, and especially women, who make up the greater part of the visitors to these shrines, address themselves directly to the saints or else through the intermediacy of the custodians of the shrines, hoping for their intercession (*s̲h̲afāʿa* [*q.v.*]) with God on their behalf. The reasons for such pleas are

various: illness, sterility, social success, etc. The offerings (money, cereals or beasts) given to the custodians are in the western Turkish world called *adak* (Tkish. *adamak* "to make a vow"), *nedhr* (Ar. *nadhara* "to vow, dedicate") and sometimes *niyāz* (Pers. "vow, supplication") (in Central Asia, one finds, additionally, *ṣadaḳa* (Ar. "pious gift") and the composite term *nadhr-niyāzmanlik*).

Denounced by the *ʿulamāʾ*, and above all, by the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*], the cult of saints was subsequently dismantled by the Soviets and the Kemālists, but has nevertheless survived and is at present enjoying a remarkable resurgence in both Turkey and Central Asia.

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(Th. Zarcone)

5. In Central Asia.

The veneration of saints in Central Asia, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, has usually been approached as a syncretic phenomenon fraught with "survivals" from pre-Islamic times, and as a "concession", in popular religion, either to a presumed indigenous attachment to deep-rooted non-Islamic practices, or to the psychological rigours, deemed unpalatable to the masses, of an austere monotheism. For Central Asia the weight of Soviet, Sovietological, nationalist, and antiquarian scholarship has left this approach deeply entrenched, with the result that antecedents for the veneration of Muslim saints in Central Asia are typically located, though unconvincingly, in Buddhist, Christian, Zoroastrian, "shamanist" or "national" traditions. The rich sources on the historical development of doctrine and practice focused on the *awliyāʾ* have been less often studied.

Early and fundamental doctrinal formulations regarding the *awliyāʾ* had, with al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. *ca.* 300/910 [*q.v.*]), a Central Asian locus; while al-Tirmidhī's formulations remained somewhat controversial, a more mainstream defence of the saints and their *karāmāt* was offered by the Bukhāran al-Kalābādhī (d. 385/995), and still later the Khʷārazmian Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221) discussed the marks, qualities and stages of *walāya* [*q.v.*]. Doctrinal writings of later Central Asian Ṣūfīs have hardly begun to be explored; of pivotal importance in shaping and refining the Central Asian consensus on the notion of the *walī* were the writings of the Naḳshbandī *shaykh* Khʷādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419), especially his *Faṣl al-khiṭāb*, which became a basic work in Central Asian *madrasa* curricula down to the present century.

The *walī* is encountered only abstractly through doctrinal formulations, but is met more directly through hagiographical narratives inspired by his or her charismatic person or legacy; it is there that we often find the principal doctrinal issues and controversies regarding the *awliyāʾ* addressed in polemical contexts. The perennial issue of the relationship between *walāya* and *nubuwwa*, for instance, was injected into the rivalry between the Naḳshbandī and Yasawī orders by the 10th/16th-century Yasawī Ṣūfī Ḳāsim Shaykh of Karmīna, who criticised Naḳshbandī claims that the silent *dhikr* was superior to the vocal *dhikr*. Equating the former with *walāya* and the latter, through its public character, with *nubuwwa*, Ḳāsim Shaykh reportedly argued that, although sainthood is superior to prophethood, when those two qualities are combined in a single person (as in Muḥammad), it would be absurd, when *walāya* is found in one person and *nubuwwa* in another, for the saint to claim primacy over the prophet; hence Naḳshbandī partisans should not exalt their "hidden" and silent *dhikr* over the public "mission" of the *dhikr-i djahr* (Mīr Musayyab Bukhārī, *Kitāb-i maḳāmāt-i mashāʾikh*, ms. St. Petersburg University No. 854, fol. 520a).

Similarly, the much-discussed question of whether the saints are known to the world is cast in concrete political terms by Sayyid Manṣūr, another Yasawī *shaykh* of 10th/16th-century Transoxania, in a hagiographical narrative that assumes the equivalence between "*shaykh*" and "saint". Asked by a local ruler to serve as the *shaykh* in his domains (and implicitly his legitimiser), Sayyid Manṣūr agreed on condition that the ruler would publicly affirm his saintly status by exhibiting the external signs of deference and consultation; this was necessary, he explained to the ruler, because the public does not know the saints whom God creates, "but if you make me a *shaykh*, everyone will know" (Ḥazīnī, *Cevâhiru 'l-ebrâr min emvâc-ı bihâr*, facs. ed. Cihan Okuyucu Kayseri 1995, 171-2).

Perhaps the most fruitful venue for approaching the links between doctrinal systematisations and the actual experience of the *awliyāʾ*, public or private, are hagiographical traditions intended to legitimise individual saints and the communities associated with them, especially accounts formulated before the principle of a *silsila* linked to the Prophet emerged, by the 9th/15th century, as the definitive (if never quite exclusive) mark of legitimacy. Outside the *silsila* principle, we find appeals to many other sources of legitimacy and authority: to "charismatic" sanctity as demonstrated

simply through *karāmāt*; to transmitted sanctity conveyed through heredity, by receipt of a holy "legacy" or various spiritual insignia; or to "ascriptive" sanctity (claimed through attestations of status within classified hierarchies of saints, through the notion of "Uwaysī" transmission from the spirit of a deceased prophet or saint [see UWAYSIYYA], or simply through claims of divine *djadhba*). Often, of course, specific saints or their partisans appealed to different combinations of these and other legitimising principles. In any case, doctrinal defences of the legitimacy of the saints and their *karāmāt* found hagiographical adaptation in narratives evoking these various principles, typically in the context of overcoming the "rejection" (*inkār*) of a *shaykh* by his opponents, whether portrayed as formalist scholars or rival *shaykh*s.

The late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries in Central Asia were especially productive of saints whose public memory has endured down to the present, above all in at least one of three major venues for ongoing "encounters" with a saint: (1) a *walī*'s spiritual descendants, in the form of a Ṣūfī order; (2) the putative natural descendants of a saint (who still form distinct social groups, despite Soviet-era efforts to dissolve such communities, throughout Central Asia); and (3) the most public aspect, the shrine. In this era lived the great Ṣūfīs adopted as the spiritual ancestors of the three major Central Asian orders: Aḥmad Yasawī (eponym of the Yasawī order, for whom the death-date customarily given, 562/1166-7, is probably a half-century too early), ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Ghudjduwānī (spiritual ancestor of the Khʷādjagānī and later Naḳshbandī traditions, d. most probably in 617/1220), and Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221, to whom is traced the Kubrawī order). In addition to the Ṣūfī communities stemming from these saints, their shrines became pilgrimage centres and benefitted from state patronage; Yasawī, and probably Ghudjduwānī, were also known as the ancestors of prominent descent groups. More locally prominent in their own time, however, were several Central Asian "patron" saints whose memory was cultivated primarily among their descendants and at their shrines; these figures, known from historical and hagiographical sources of the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, include Burhān al-Dīn Ḳilič of Uzgand in the Farghāna valley; Maṣlahat al-Dīn Khudjandī; Nūr al-Dīn Baṣīr of Samarḳand; Badr al-Dīn Maydānī of Bukhārā; and Zayn al-Dīn Kūy-i ʿĀrifānī of Tashkent. None of these figures was clearly fitted into any *silsila*-defined Ṣūfī community; others of this era, such as Bābā Māčīn (Tashkent), Ḥakīm Ata (Khʷārazm), Zangī Ata (Tashkent), or Shaykh Khāwand-i Ṭahūr (Tashkent) came to be implicated in spiritual or hereditary lineages linked with Yasawī or Naḳshbandī figures.

The 9th/15th century witnessed the beginnings of a flowering of hagiographical literature linked in large measure to the rise of the great *silsila*-based Ṣūfī orders. Important collective biographies of the *ʿulamāʾ* (for the regions of Samarḳand, Balkh, Khʷārazm and, probably, Kāshghar) were produced in pre-Mongol Central Asia, and hagiographical material relevant to the region appears in the basic works of al-Sulamī, Anṣārī, Hudjwīrī and ʿAṭṭār, as well as in hagiographies devoted to saints such as Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr and Aḥmad-i Djām; nevertheless, individual and collective hagiographies are relatively rare in Central Asia until the 9th/15th century, which began with works devoted to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband (especially the *Anīs al-ṭālibīn*, recently edited), saw the compilation of family-based hagiographies focused on Nūr al-Dīn Baṣīr and the Khʷādjagānī saint Amīr Kulāl, and ended with major literary compilations of saints' lives, sponsored at the Tīmūrid court in Harāt, such as Djāmī's *Nafaḥat al-uns* (and its Turkic translation by ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, the *Nasāʾim al-maḥabba*) and Kamāl al-Dīn Gāzurgāhī's thematic *Madjālis al-ʿushshāḳ*. From the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, a rich body of *ṭarīḳa*-based hagiographical literature may be regarded as the discursive reflection of the competitive rivalries among Ṣūfī communities; these largely unstudied works, extant in large numbers from the 10th/16th to the 19th centuries, offer important theoretical and practical perspectives on the role of the *walī* in society, by tracing the political and economic activities of Ṣūfī *shaykh*s. The 10th/16th century alone produced several works devoted to Khʷādja Aḥrār (of which the best known is the *Rashaḥāt-i ʿayn al-ḥayāt*), a series of hagiographies on the Naḳshbandī saint known as Makhdūm-i Aʿẓam and on the Djūybārī *shaykh*s, two substantial works on the Kubrawī *shaykh* Ḥusayn Khʷārazmī (the *Miftāḥ al-ṭālibīn* and the *Djāddat al-ʿāshiḳīn*), and (apparently) lost hagiographies on the Yasawī saints Khudāydād and Ḳāsim Shaykh (of which excerpts are preserved in 11th/17th-century Yasawī works).

Female saints are well represented in modern Central Asian shrine traditions (e.g. ʿAnbar Ana in Tashkent, Paraw Bibi near Gïzïl Arbat in Turkmenistan), and may be presumed to have been no less popular in the past; unfortunately, they are less often the subject of hagiographical accounts and usually appear formulaically grouped near the end of large collective hagiographies such as Djāmī's. An exception is a remarkable, though little studied, 10th/16th-century work entitled *Maẓhar al-ʿadjāʾib wa-madjmaʿ al-gharāʾib*, written by Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr Khuzārī, on the life of a female saint called simply "Āghā-yi Buzurg", who lived near Bukhārā (see *Sobranie vostočnïkh rukopisey Akademii nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, v [1960], no. 4137).

As suggested, the most public venue for encountering the *awliyāʾ* is the shrine. Our information on saints' shrines and pilgrimage in Central Asia from before the Mongol era is relatively sparse; we find some material on the shrines of Ḳutham b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] in Samarḳand, of Abū Ḥafṣ-i Kabīr in Bukhārā, and of Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] in the Farghāna valley, for instance, while the 6th/12th-century *Asrār al-tawḥīd* on the life of Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*] offers rich evidence on the public prominence of saints' shrines in northern Khurāsān; the same century also saw the "discovery" of the shrine of ʿAlī near Balkh, and the emergence (at least into our sources) of the pattern of state patronage of shrines that would become much clearer by the Tīmūrid era (e.g. in Tīmūr's own patronage of shrines in Harāt, Shahr-i Sabz, Turkistān and Tirmidh). An unexplored source from the middle of the 6th/12th century promises new insights into the veneration of saints' shrines in Central Asia and Persia; the Persian *Laṭāʾif al-adhkār li 'l-ḥuḍḍār wa 'l-suffār*, written by Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Bukhārī, offers a "defence" of the practice of *ziyāra* and describes the major shrines of several towns along an itinerary leading from Bukhārā to Mecca and Medina. The work, preserved in a single manuscript in Dushanbe (see *Katalog vostočnïkh rukopisey Akademii nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR*, i, Stalinabad 1960, no. 188), has remained unstudied, but is of interest for the study of saints and shrines in the Muslim world at large (it predates the celebrated *Kitāb al-Ziyārāt* of ʿAlī al-Harawī [*q.v.*]—see Janine Sourdel-Thomine, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, Damascus 1957—by half a century).

The legitimacy of visiting saints' tombs is still de-

fended in the 9th/15th-century *Tārīkh-i Mullāzāda*, written by a pupil of Khwādja Muḥammad Pārsā, on the shrines of Bukhārā (in which shrines of Ṣūfīs appear alongside those of the city's jurists); the practice became such a definitive part of Central Asian religious life that later shrine guides—for Samarḳand, Balkh, Bukhārā, Khwārazm, Sayrām and the Volga-Ural region—rarely bother to address at any length the possibility that *ziyāra* might be regarded as *bidʿa*. The veneration of saints at their shrines had by the 9th/15th century (and probably in fact much earlier) clearly become a central and accepted part of Muslim religious life, and the shrines themselves were not only the definitive features of Islamic religious geography in the region but the chief public "evidence" of the saints themselves (whether the shrine marked the grave of a pre-Islamic prophet, a member of Muḥammad's family, a martyr for the faith, an Islamiser, a communal ancestor or a Ṣūfī saint). Equivalents of the term *awliyā'* (with the plural used here as a singular) in modern Central Asian languages often refer simply to a shrine, whatever it is understood to signify, or to the entire cemetery typically centred upon a shrine, indicating a popular understanding of the saint's continued presence at the site. The shrines were the setting at which the *awliyā'*'s intercession was sought, not only for the private needs of health, fertility, success and solace but also for communal protection and solidarity; the shrine marked the continuing presence of the saint, and God's blessing, in his or her community, and the 18th-century romantic hagiography of the antinomian saint Mashrab could in effect forget the celebrated jurists buried in Bukhārā and declare that, were it not for the presence near that city of Bahā' al-Dīn Naḳshband's shrine, Bukhārā would be an infidel town (*Dīwāna-yi-Mashrab*, tr. N.S. Likoshin, Samarḳand 1915, 194).

In more recent times, the veneration of saints' shrines was the target of intense pressure during Soviet anti-religious campaigns; many local shrines were demolished—as recently as 1986, under Gorbachev—and both pilgrims and unofficial shrine custodians were subject to prosecution. Since 1990, shrines have enjoyed a remarkable revival throughout Central Asia, with reconstruction and repair undertaken by local constituencies, though often with renewed state patronage; little work has yet been done to gauge the effects of Soviet rule on traditional conceptions and practices focused on the saints of Central Asia, or on the re-emergence and reformulation of those traditions in post-Soviet times.

Bibliography: Few specifically Central Asian hagiographical works have been edited; some relevant works include ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Sarwar Mawlā'ī, Tehran 1362/1983; Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, ed. Muḥammad Istiʿlāmī, Tehran 1347/1968, repr. 1370/1991; "Muʿīn al-fuḳarā'", *Tārīkh-i Mullāzāda*, ed. Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, Tehran 1339/1960; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Maḥmūd ʿĀbidī, Tehran 1370/1991; Nawā'ī, *Nasā'im al-maḥabba*, ed. Kemal Eraslan, Istanbul 1979; Ṣalāḥ b. Mubārak Bukhārī, *Anīs al-ṭālibīn wa-ʿuddat al-sālikīn*, ed. Khalīl Ibrāhīm Ṣārī Oghlī, Tehran 1371/1992; ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn "Ṣāfī", *Rashaḥāt-i ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, ed. ʿAlī Asghar Muʿīnīyān, Tehran 2536/1977. A popular Turkic hagiography was published in K.G. Zaleman, *Legenda pro Khakim-Ata*, in *Izvestiya Akademii nauk*, St. Petersburg, ix/2 (1898), 105-50. See also the translation of J. O'Kane, *The secrets of God's mystical oneness or the spiritual stations of Shaikh Abu Saʿid (Asrār al-towḥid) (fi maqāmāt al-Šeyk Abi Saʿid)* [by] *Moḥammad Ebn-e Monavvar*, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1992. Useful studies of the development of Ṣūfī traditions in pre-Mongol Central Asia include F. Meier, *Abū Saʿīd-i Abū l-Ḫayr (357-440/967-1049): Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Leiden, Tehran and Liège 1976; Jacqueline Chabbi, *Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasan, IIIe/IXe siècle-IVe/Xe siècle*, in *SI*, xlvi (1977), 5-72; B. Radtke, *Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidhī—Ein islamischer Theosoph des 3./9. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg 1980; idem, *Theologen und Mystiker in Ḫurāsān und Transoxanien*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxvi (1986), 536-69. For the post-Mongol era, see J. Aubin, *Un santon quhistānī de l'époque timouride*, in *REI*, xxxv (1967), 185-216; Jo-Ann Gross, *Multiple roles and perceptions of a Sufi Shaikh: symbolic statements of political and religious authority*, in *Naqshbandis*, Istanbul and Paris 1990, 109-21; J. Paul, *Hagiographische Texte als historische Quelle*, in *Saeculum*, xli (1990), 17-43; idem, *Scheiche und Herrscher im Khanat Čaġatay*, in *Isl.*, lxvii (1990), 278-321; R.D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia*, Princeton 1991; A.A. Semenov, *Unikal'nïy pamyatnik agiografičeskoy sredneaziatskoy literaturï XVI v.*, in *Izvestiya Uzbekistanskogo filiala AN SSSR* (1940), no. 12, 54-62 (1941), no. 3, 37-48; M. Hartmann, *Ein Heiligenstaat im Islam. Das Ende der Čaghataiden und die Herrschaft der Choǵas in Kašgarien*, in *Der islamische Orient*, i, Berlin 1905, nos. 6-10, 195-374; A. Frank, *Islamic shrine catalogues and communal geography in the Volga-Ural region, 1788-1917*, in *JIS*, vii (1996), 265-86. On Central Asian developments of the Uwaysī conception, see J. Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims. The Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia*, New York and London 1993, but see also the review article of D. DeWeese, in *CAJ*, xl (1996), 87-127, and DeWeese, *An "Uvaysi" Sufi in Timurid Mawarannahr. Notes on hagiography and the taxonomy of sanctity in the religious history of Central Asia, Papers on Inner Asia*, no. 22, Bloomington Ind. 1993. For shrine traditions, see H. Einzmann, *Religiöses Volksbrauchtum in Afghanistan. Islamische Heiligenverehrung und Wallfahrtswesen im Raum Kabul*, Wiesbaden 1977; for East Turkistān, see Hamada Masami, *Islamic saints and their mausoleums*, in *Acta Asiatica*, xxxiv (1978), 79-98. No substantial studies of shrine veneration in Russian-dominated Central Asia, before or after the Soviet collapse, have yet appeared; see the survey of Maria E. Subtelny, *The cult of holy places. Religious practices among Soviet Muslims*, in *MEJ*, xliii (1989), 593-604. A list of holy sites appears in J. Castagné, *Le culte des lieux saints de l'Islam au Turkestan*, in *L'Ethnographie*, xlvi (1951), 46-124, and see I.A. Kastan'e, *Drevnosti Kirgizskoy stepi i Orenburgskago kraya*, in *Trudï Orenburgskoy Učenoy Arkhivnoy Komissii*, vïp. 22 (1910). Reflective of local traditions of saints and shrines are W. Gordlevsky, *Choǵa Aḥmed Jasevi*, in *Festschrift Georg Jacob*, ed. Th. Menzel, Leipzig 1932, 57-67; V.A. Shishkin, *Mazarï v Zangi-ata, [ʿIqd al-djumān]: V.V. Bartol'du turkestanskie druz'ia, učeniki i počitateli*, Tashkent 1927, 165-70; Yu. V. Knozorov, *Mazar Shamun-Nabi (Nekotorye perežitki domusul'manskikh verovaniy u narodov Khorezmskogo oazisa)*, in *Sovetskaya étnografiya*, 1949, no. 2, 86-97; DeWeese, *Sacred history for a Central Asian town. Saints, shrines, and legends of origin in histories of Sayrām, 18th-19th centuries*, in *RMMM*, forthcoming. Soviet-era ethnographic studies include V.N. Basilov, *Kul't svyatïkh v islame*, Moscow 1970; S.M. Demidov, *Turkmenskie ovlyadï* Ashkhabad 1976; Demidov, *Sufizm v Turkmenii*, Ashkhabad 1978; G.P. Snesarev, *Khorezmskie legendï kak istočnik po istorii religioznïkh kul'tov Sredney Azii*, Moscow 1983; and, still somewhat reflective of

Soviet approaches, R.M. Mustafina, *Predstavleniya, kul'ty, obryadī u kazakhov (v kontekste bytovogo islama v Yuznom Kazakhstane v kontse XIX-XX vv.)*, Alma-Ata 1992. The genre is no longer productive, but Soviet anti-religious literature remains a useful source of information (despite its obvious biases) on the veneration of saints in 20th-century Central Asia; see, for example, Yu. G. Petrash, *Sviatie mesta obmana*, Frunze 1961; T. Säksanov, *Muqäddäs jaylär—khurafat vä bid'ät ochaghi*, Tashkent 1984; S.M. Demidov, *Legendī i pravda o "svyatīkh" mestakh*, Ashkhabad 1988.

(D. DeWeese)

6. In Muslim India.

Since 1831 orientalists like Garcin de Tassy have underlined the importance of the saints of Islam in India. They are known in Arabic as *walī* and in Persian as *pīr*, terms which apply to a living saint as much as to one who is venerated after his death.

The existence of a cult of saints and a theory of saintliness is sporadically attested in India from the beginning of the presence of Muslims there. Holy individuals not as yet attached to Ṣūfī orders were worshipped in the region of Sind [*q.v.*] in present-day Pakistan when it was under Arab domination (from the 8th to the 11th centuries), then in the Pandjab [*q.v.*] under the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] (11th to 12th centuries).

There in Lahore Hudjwīrī (d. *ca.* 1072 [*q.v.*]), was already venerated. He left the first treatise on Ṣūfism in Persian in his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, an ambitious theory of saintliness, which stated that "God has saints (*awliyā*) whom He has specially distinguished by His friendship and whom He has chosen to be the governors of His kingdom... He has made the saints governors of the universe... Through the blessing of their advent the rain falls from heaven, and through the purity of their lives the plants spring up from the earth, and through their spiritual influence the Moslems gain victories over the unbelievers" (tr. R.A. Nicholson, 212-13); furthermore, he had already described the invisible hierarchy of the saints [see ABDĀL] who govern the world (*op. cit.*, 214).

The documented history of sainthood in India begins with the founding of the sultanate of Dihlī [see DIHLĪ, SULTANATE OF] in 1210, which established Muslim supremacy on the Indian subcontinent for six centuries, and the consolidation soon afterwards of the orders of mystics [see ṬARĪḲA]. From this time onwards it is possible to outline the history of sainthood in India within the context of the Ṣūfī orders until the 16th century, throughout the unified sultanate of the 13th-14th centuries, and then the regional sultanates of the 14th-16th centuries [see HIND. iv. History]. Mystical theology was dominated by the Čishtiyya [*q.v.*] who rivalled the Suhrawardiyya [*q.v.*]; and from the 15th century onwards the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] was established. The minor brotherhoods, such as the Kubrawiyya [*q.v.*] in Kashmīr, and the Firdawsiyya and then the Shaṭṭāriyya [*q.v.*] in Eastern India, had a regional importance. In contrast to the socially respectable orders, which were obedient to the *Sharīʿa*, India was also familiar with less conventional orders described as *malāmatī* [*q.v.*], and more recently by the specifically Perso-Indian expression *bī sharʿ* [*q.v.*]; these included the Ḳalandariyya [*q.v.*] and the Madāriyya [see BADĪʿ AL-DĪN SHĀH MADĀR] in the north, and the Rifāʿiyya [*q.v.*] in the west and south of the subcontinent.

The conception of sainthood which prevailed among the brotherhood was inherited from Khurāsān and Central Asia. It was first to be seen in hagiography, in which the saints close to God are seen to be endowed with supernatural powers and able to perform miracles (*karāma* [*q.v.*]). They display these gifts in an ostentatious fashion, especially in the heteropraxic orders. Then there are those who are obliged to mediate between God and man, guiding man towards Him; the distress of the faithful is consoled and their illnesses cured by their intercession (*shafāʿa* [*q.v.*]). Saints also have a cosmic role, for they may have control over the rain and the crops, like Ghāzī Miyān [*q.v.*]. But in particular, they play a political role by assuring victory for the armies of Islam, like Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī (d. *ca.* 1234), to whom is attributed the foundation of the sultanate of Dihlī. Saints make and unmake kings, for sainthood (*walāya* or *wilāya*) really implies "the government of a territory" (*wilāya*). Therefore it was believed that from its inception the throne of Dihlī was controlled by the great saints of the Čishtiyya, in particular Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' [*q.v.*], and it is from this that there arises conflict-ridden relations between the saints and the sultans, who found it hard to tolerate this spiritual control.

In an India where Islam was very much in the minority, Muslim saints were also competing with Hindu mystics. Saints such as ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Gangohī (1456-1537) and Muḥammad Ghawth Gwāliyārī (1500-62), while not hesitating to use techniques such as yoga, were intent on showing the superiority of Islam in magical contexts. Their tombs are often to be found at resanctified former Buddhist or Hindu sites. The saint within the Dihlī sultanate was most often given a highly colourful character. Alongside the sages devoted to the spiritual improvement of their disciples, like Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥya Manērī (d. 1391), representing the Firdawsiyya, emphasis was given to the ecstatic personalities who were enamoured of music and poetry. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī died at Dihlī in 1235 after four days of ecstasy spent singing the same Persian verses. A saint could become violent in the working of miracles in order to put an end to his own adversaries.

From the middle of the 14th century onwards, saintliness became the subject of theological discussions. The influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī spread, especially through the medium of the Kubrawiyya with ʿAlī al-Hamadānī (d. 1385 [*q.v.*]), and especially with Ashraf Djahāngīr al-Simnānī (d. 1436 [*q.v.*]), who passed on to membership of the Čishtiyya.

The Mughals (16th-18th centuries [*q.v.*]) beginning with Bābur, brought a new brotherhood from Central Asia, the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*]. It developed theories of sainthood by aligning itself with Ibn al-ʿArabī, especially under the influence of Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*], the founder of the *mudjaddidiyya* branch. He gave a firm emphasis to the supremacy of the *Sharīʿa* and the superiority of prophecy (*nubuwwa*) over sainthood (*wilāya*); but this did not imply, as was wrongly thought, abandoning the traditional ideas of sainthood. Sirhindī and his son placed themselves at the top of an invisible hierarchy of saints with the title of *ḳayyūm*, which like the *ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*] played the role of the *axis mundi*. Today, the Naḳshbandiyya keep alive the mediaeval conception of sainthood and align themselves with the Barelwīs (see below) in venerating saints.

The Mughals also supported other orders: Humāyūn [*q.v.*] put trust in the Shaṭṭāriyya, especially in Muḥammad Ghawth (1500-62 [*q.v.*]), a great musician and a patron of musicians; Shāh Djahān and his son Dārā Shukōh favoured the Ḳādiriyya and saints like Miyān Mīr. But since Akbar, the true organiser of the empire, who renewed links with the traditions of the Dihlī sultanate, the dynasty was placed

under the protection of the Čis̲h̲tiyya. He generously donated the tomb of Muʿīn al-Dīn at Ad̲j̲mēr [*q.v.*], and he attributed the perpetuation of the dynasty to Salīm Čis̲h̲tī (d. 1571), constructing his new capital Fatḥpūr Sikrī [*q.v.*] around his tomb. In the 18th century the last Mug̲h̲als revived the cult of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn at Dihlī.

A definite cult certainly developed around thousands of saints. First, there were the great saints born outside India, especially the founders of the great brotherhoods like ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī [*q.v.*]. Then there were the great historical characters of India, founders of Indian orders like Badīʿ al-Dīn, founder of the Madāriyya. There were also those who played a political or religious role in a particular region, among whom the most famous were those belonging to the Čis̲h̲tiyya, like Farīd al-Dīn (d. 1265) from Pak-Pattan, protector of the Pand̲j̲ab, Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (d. 1325), the principal architect of the spiritual influence of the Dihlī sultanate, and Muḥammad Banda Nawāz Gēsū Darāz at Gulbarga, who consecrated the foundation of the Bahmanī sultanate in the Deccan [see BAHMANĪS]. The great saint of Bengal was the Suhrawardī D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d. 1244). Besides these, each local branch of a brotherhood, each town and each village, even each lineage, had its local saints marking stages in religious history and covering the whole territory, and there are countless numbers of them. They fall into two groups, and they are traditionally arranged by Indian Muslims in poetry and religious manuals according to the cycle of their feasts in a double calendar: for one group (Islamic), it is the lunar calendar, and for the other group (Hindu), it is lunar and solar, for protectors of the crops, like G̲h̲āzī Miyān, must be celebrated according to the cycle of the seasons. Ethnologists have also classified the saints according to their function; thus in addition to the great all-powerful figures, there were others who specialised in curing this or that mental or physical ailment, such as G̲h̲āzī Miyān who cured leprosy, or those under the patronage of trade associations which were regrouped into castes in India [see HIND. ii. Ethnography; NEPAL], such as Ḥasan Telī, who protected the oil-pressers (*telī*), or those who were within the protected limits of a territory (villages, districts, houses).

Saints took over most of the functions of the divinities of the Hindu pantheon, and they appropriated for themselves ancient sacred sites. The cult was observed within certain buildings, which had at least to include a *mazār*, a tomb or a cenotaph of earth or stone. It could have other buildings, with varying degrees of elaboration, superimposed or surrounding it, including hospices for the servitors in charge (*k̲h̲ādim*, pl. *k̲h̲uddām*). These were generally the descendants of the saint or adherents of his mystical order, and they shared the income from the sanctuary. A large complex created in this way was called a *dargāh*, a royal palace, for the saint was treated like a sultan. The *ḳawwāls*, musicians of low status, were attached to the larger sanctuaries to perform mystic chants (*ḳawwālī*) in Persian and in Urdu.

Besides the daily devotions of the faithful, collective celebrations took place once every week (generally on a Thursday evening) or once every month. Great festivities were organised once a year on the anniversary of the death of the saint, which was called an *ʿurs*, meaning marriage (i.e. mystical marriage), the term *mawlid* not being used as in the Arab world. These festivals gave rise to pilgrimages [see ZIYĀRA].

These devotions gave rise to controversies as early as the 16th century, perhaps as a consequence of the spread of the doctrines of Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], which were known (according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 252) as early as the reign of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ (1325-51). Women were forbidden to visit the tombs by Fīrūz S̲h̲āh Tug̲h̲luḳ (1351-88), and the processions in honour of G̲h̲āzī Miyān by Sikandār Lōdī (1489-1517) were banned. At the end of the 18th century S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh Dihlawī [see AL-DIHLAWĪ], and then his grandson Ismāʿīl S̲h̲ahīd [*q.v.*], a disciple of Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*] drew fresh inspiration from Ibn Taymiyya and reopened a controversy which can be traced up to the present day. Without denying the existence of saints, they denied them all powers of intercession. They condemned any devotion given to them and to their tombs. This doctrine was transmitted directly to the schools of Deoband and of the Ahl-i Ḥadīt̲h̲ [*q.vv.*], and indirectly to the modernists through the medium of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, and to the fundamentalists who followed Abu ʾl-Aʿlā Mawdūdī [*q.vv.*]. In the face of these critics Aḥmad Riḍā K̲h̲ān of Bareilly reaffirmed the mediaeval position, reasserting the powers of the saints and justifying recourse to their intercession. His disciples formed the school of the Barelwīs. It is well organised within the framework of Pakistan but more informal elsewhere, and expresses a religiosity which remains predominant in the entire subcontinent.

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(M. Gaborieau)

7. In Southeast Asia and Indonesia.

Veneration of saints has been well established in the classical Malay and Javanese worlds of Southeast Asia since at least the 15th century. Nine legendary figures, the famous *wali sanga* ("nine saints"), are thought to have planted Islam in Java and successfully displaced the old Hindu-Javanese political and socio-religious order in the northern coastal areas. With the exception of Mawlānā Mālik Ibrāhīm, who early went to Java as a missionary from abroad and is buried in Gresik (an elaborate Gudjarātī tombstone from 822/1419 marks his grave), the saints were accorded the Javanese title *sunan* ("eminence") and most were closely associated with particular places in Central and East Java: Sunan Ampel with Surabaya, Sunan Giri with Gresik, Sunan Kalijaga with Demak, Sunan Kudus (also known as Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ) with Kudus, Sunan Gunung Jati with Ceribon, Sunan Bonang with Tuban, Sunan Drajat with Demak, and Sunan Muria (a son of Sunan Kalijaga) with Pati. Sunan Kalijaga is usually considered to be the greatest of the *wali sanga*. Additional personages are also sometimes grouped with the *wali sanga*, giving rise to modern scholarly speculation that the number nine was more a symbolic than arithmetical concept. As G.W.J. Drewes suggested: "In Hindu-Javanese cosmological mythology, nine was a very important number, and it is possible that the nine saints occupy the places of the nine guardian deities who presided over the points of the compass in the old cosmological system" (*Indonesia: mysticism and activism*, in *Unity and variety in Muslim civilization*, ed. G.E. von Grunebaum, Chicago 1955, 297). Nevertheless, the listing of nine named saints continues to be widely maintained.

Although most of the sources about the *wali sanga* are hagiographical and sometimes conflicting, certain of the saints appear to have been significant religio-political leaders in their times, and they continue to enjoy a prestigious position in Javanese Muslim consciousness to the present. They may be understood to represent, among other things, the essentially harmonious and gradual transition into an increasingly Islamic worldview as the religion gradually spread in-

land from the coastal regions. Such cultural legacies as the shadow play, the gamelan orchestra, and the magically potent keris (wavy, double-edged dagger) are attributed to Muslim saints. Many saints since the *wali sanga* are known in Indonesia, and their cults have been extensively described in a series of articles by D.A. Rinkes in his *De heiligen van Java*, in *Tijdschrift voor indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, lii-liii (1910-11). Annual saint festivals (*mawālīd*) in honor of the *wali sanga* and other saints are celebrated, with parades, banners, special foods, circumcisions and litanies in the graveyards, all resembling similar festivals in saint-rich countries like Egypt. People make pilgrimages [see ZIYĀRA] to Javanese saint shrines, both at the time of the *mawlid* and throughout the year. (A nuanced treatment of traditional, syncretistic Javanese—*agami jawi*—and orthodox Islamic—*agami santri*—saint-related beliefs and practices appears in Koentjaraningrat, *Javanese culture*, Singapore 1985, ch. 5.)

Not all Javanese have admired the Muslim saint tradition of their island. A controversial genre of literature developed during the later 19th century emphasising the incompatibility of Islam with traditional Javanese ideals and values. One book, the *Serat Dermagandal*, recounts the history of the last period of the Madjapahit dynasty and depicts such *walīs* as Sunan Bonang, Sunan Giri, and Sunan Kalijaga and their roles unfavourably. The book is summarised by G.W.J. Drewes, *The struggle between Javanism and Islam as illustrated by the* Sĕrat Dĕrmagandul, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, cxxii (1966), 309-65.

The process of Islamisation in Java included a fair amount of accommodation with Javanese traditional religious and cultural values and symbols. It is possible that the Ḳur'ān was introduced in the interior to some degree by means of traditional Javanese song and in translation. The shrine complex of Sunan Giri in Gresik, East Java, near Surabaya, features a Madjapahit-style stone split gate with large sculpted *nagas* (Hindu serpent guardian spirits) at the entrance to the cemetery. There are also elaborately carved wooden *nagas* on either side of the entry to the *walīs* wooden tomb chamber, which is decorated with carved lotus figures. The tomb is devoid of the kinds of Arabic calligraphic designs that typically decorate saints' graves in the Middle East and South Asia. The layout of the shrine complex on a hilltop overlooking the town has a Friday mosque occupying the eastern part, with a cemetery lot beyond the *ḳibla* wall to the west (the direction of Mecca is somewhat northwest of Surabaya). Further west are several substantial tombs of venerated personages, with that of Sunan Giri occupying a pre-eminent position. The layout resembles a congregation, with the living ranged at the back of the mosque building and then the tombs of the deceased, but "living" saintly members in a higher status arrangement toward the "front", with the great saint serving, as it were, as *imām* for the prayers. A similar arrangement may be seen at the shrine complex of Sunan Kudus in the small city of that name. The *minbar* of the Sunan Giri mosque is low, with a canopy, and more than a traditional Middle Eastern *minbar*, the design resembles a traditional seat for a Hindu god. The mosque (whose actual name is *Masdjid ʿAyn al-Yaḳīn*, from another name of the *walī*) is of the early Javanese type with a three-tiered roof popularly known as the "Meru" style, after the Buddhist cosmic mountain. All of these syncretistic details designed into monumental Islamic structures bear witness to a blending of Hindu-Javanese and Islamic ideas and symbols during the period when Islamisation was taking root among the Javanese society at large, including the royalty, and not merely in the coastal market towns and ports.

Although this article has focused on sainthood in Java, the phenomenon is also found in various manifestations in the traditional Malay world. C. Snouck Hurgronje wrote of the saint veneration of a century ago in Aceh as relating principally to the fulfilment of vows by persons who visit shrines seeking favours such as healing (*The Achehnese*, Leiden 1906, ii, 292-303). Such practices were often of a popular folk character and not within the boundaries of orthodox Islam. They included bestowing gifts of food and flowers, processions with a small orchestra (*geundrang*) of a woodwind instrument and percussion, and dramatic performances, as well as recitation of the Ḳur'ān or other religious texts. In Aceh the Malay title *tuan* ("master") rather than the Ar. *walī* has been preferred (*ibid.*).

Ṣūfism has also influenced the understanding of sainthood in Southeast Asia, for example through the concept of the "Perfect Man" (*al-insān al-kāmil* [*q.v.*]) as applied to early Muslim rulers in the Straits trading-centres of Pasai and Melaka. Evidence that the concept had currency in the latter place is contained, e.g. in the 16th/17th century *Malay annals* (*Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*; see A.C. Milner, *Islam and Malay kingship*, in *JRAS*, ser. 3, i [1981], 55).

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(F.M. DENNY)

8. In Chinese Islam.

The term *walī* does not seem to have existed in traditional Chinese Islam, whether in the form of transliteration of the Arabic into Chinese characters with a phonetic rendering distantly identical, or in translation. Moreover, when this topic is raised before a Chinese Muslim, a "Hui" in Communist China, from the milieu of strict observance, he will indignantly repudiate it as an invention of the West brought forward to harm Islam; or at most, as a Sunnī of the Ḥanafī school, he will consider it as belonging to S̲h̲īʿism. Nevertheless, the cult of dead saints, and to a lesser extent living ones, exists in Chinese Sunnī Islam, having strongly developed within the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th.

(i) The sacred tomb, a place of pilgrimage on a greater or lesser scale, is called in Chinese Islam *kungpei* (*gongbei* in pinyin, a term transliterated from Pers. *gunbad* = Ar. *ḳubba* [*q.v.*]). In Western China, where Muslim communities are most concentrated and the cult of tombs is at its most active, the sacred tomb generally appears as a hexagonal pavilion made of mud bricks surmounted by a dome and with an entablature curving upwards at the corners, thus giving a Chinese appearance. In the centre of Ninghsia (Ningxia, the "Autonomous Hui Region" of the PRC) [see NINGSIA], the sacred tomb has the unusual form of a lime-washed sugarloaf, in front of which is a portal lined with bricks and a hood decorated with Chinese motifs and Ḳur'ānic sūras within medallions. Inside these various structures, the tomb is roughly finished, in lime mortar, with no ornamentation, but is sometimes covered with a silken covering when the local faithful have the means for supplying this. In

front of the tomb are a prayer mat, a water pot for ablutions, and—a typical Chinese custom—sticks of incense stuck into a vessel full of sand. The *kung-pei*, rebuilt or newly-built in large numbers since the religious liberalism of the 1980s, are now crowned with a crescent moon and follow a Pakistani-Middle Eastern architectural style. But this was not the case in pre-Communist times, when the faithful strove not to appear distinct from their cultural environment. In Western China, outside the brotherhoods, there is often to be found, on the edge of fields or in the heart of a Muslim cemetery, one of these tombs, whose dedicatee, often a mythical Muslim hero, has the role of being the ancestor of the local community, which pays homage to him through prayer, incense and food offerings. It does not seem that there is any adaptation of previously-existing non-Muslim cults.

(ii) The prominence of spiritual leaders is characteristic of the ensemble of popular Ṣūfism in those parts of Western China where the brotherhoods have a significant role. The *ṭuruḳ* burst forth into numerous religious, social, economic and even political small units, the *men-huan* [see TAṢAWWUF. 6. In Chinese Islam], whose pivot is, for each of them, the *kung-pei* of the founder of the line, surrounded by the *kung-peis* of his male and female relatives. The required cult of ancestors has contributed in China, without doubt more than the influence of practices from Central Asia, to the legitimisation of hereditary transmission of the direction of the *men-huan* and to the investiture of the supreme charisma inherent in the tomb of the dead "Head of the Way" (*tao-chang* or *daozhang*, also called "Master of the Faith" *chiao-chu* or *jiaozhu*, i.e. *shaykh*). For the adept of the *men-huan*, the first of his obligations is to make a pilgrimage once in his life to the "Hall of the Way" (*tao-t'ang* or *daotang*, centre of the Master's *khānaḳāh* [*q.v.*]) and to pay homage to him by the great prostration (the *k'ou-t'ou*, whence the Western European word "kowtow"), without worrying about orientation towards Mecca, and by the offering of a "present" (*hai-ti-yeh*, i.e. *hadiyya*) of a value proportionate to his own income.

The usual ritual at these pilgrimages and the frequent mass ceremonies on the occasion of the "anniversaries" (*erh-mai-li*, i.e. *al-mawlid*) of the dead members of the sacred line, comprised the chanted recitation of the *dhikr*, the reading of sacred texts appropriate to the *men-huan*, fumigations with incense, offerings of fruit, the presenting of "gifts" to the Master, the latter's blessing and the offering by him of a gift of a monetary value inversely proportionate to the one which he received. If the Master was an ascetic, the system of presents and presents in return functioned like a redistribution of wealth amongst the adepts; in the opposite case, it was a heavy tribute destined for the Master's treasury and that of his relatives. The Master was considered by his faithful as at least the equal of Muḥammad, if not his superior, since he had the advantage of being alive and visible. The faithful would often go so far as to say that they preferred to make a pilgrimage to a living saint rather than to a dead one, and that it was better to be wrong in the presence of the living saint than to be right against the latter's will.

(iii) An extensive religious structure in the Chinese style grew up, at least before the destructions of the Cultural Revolution, around the sacred *kung-pei* enabling the Master of the time to exercise his charisma. Thus the "Great *Kung-pei*", on a site founded in 1689 by the one who introduced the Ḳādiriyya into China, Ch'i Ching-i (1656-1719) at He-chou (the modern Lin-hsia, in the extreme west, on the borders of Kansu and Ch'inghai), extended, as it does until the present time, over *ca.* 2,700 ha, with a mosque, a Ḳur'ān school, a secular school, the administrative services of the *men-huan*, lodgings for the resident religious members and for visitors, a cemetery and, behind a low wall, the sacred mausoleum.

The importance of the sacred bodies, or at least one of their heads, in the transmission of charisma has resulted in the fact that *men-huans* of identical *silsila* have stolen these bodies or heads from each other at the time when their power became consolidated, i.e. in the last decades of the 19th century up to the 1930s. Thus one of the *men-huans* arising out of the Djahriyya (a Chinese branch of the Naḳshbandiyya), in the so-called Ling-chou line, the *men-huan* of Pan-ch'iao, held on to the headless corpse of the executed Fifth Master Ma Hua-lung (1810-71 [*q.v.*]), whilst the head was the property of the *men-huan* of Pei-shan, from the same line, at Ch'ang-chia-ch'uan (in Kansu), which further held the body of Ma Yüan-chang (1853-1920), although this last was venerated by the opposing line, of Kuan-ch'uan, which attached itself hereditarily to the Djahriyya's founder, Ma Ming-hsin (1719-81 [*q.v.*]). Similarly, the *men-huan* of Sha-kou, at Hsi-chi (in Ninghsia), of this line of Kuan-ch'uan, after 1920 spread its domination over a mausoleum of Ma Yüan-chang, in which there was no corpse, and over the Hall of the Way of this last, as well as, by stretching its antennae over various points in Greater China, notably in Sinkiang, over the tombs of male and female ancestors of Ma Yüan-chang.

The cult of dead saints has had a revival in the 1980s in the PRC (not much is known about living saints), since, in the words of one of the faithful, addressing a saint in the hope of having one's request granted by God is like making use of the "back door" (*hou-men*), i.e. using relatives who are well placed in the Communist world in order to gain a favour.

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(FRANÇOISE AUBIN)

9. In West Africa.

While the term *walī* (and the feminine *waliyya*) is frequently applied as an epithet of holy or saintly persons in the Islamic literature of West Africa, there is little development of any "cult of saints", and tombs, although sometimes known, are generally very modest. Persons described as *walī* are generally distinguished by their being the locus of manifestations of divine grace (*karāmāt*) in the form either of thaumaturgical acts, or, more simply, by acts demonstrating extreme piety. The *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* of al-Sa'dī gives brief biographies of several such persons, though none of these is among the dozen saints buried around the edges of the old city of Timbuktu who are currently considered to be the chief among its 333 guarding saints. Muḥammad al-Kābarī (mid-9th/15th century) was able to inflict leprosy on a scholar of Marrakesh who insulted him; he could also walk on water. The North African *walī* Sīdī Yaḥyā al-Tadallisī (who was also a *sharīf*) was his contemporary and is categorised

as a *ḳuṭb*. When he came to Timbuktu he used to see the Prophet nightly, but later when he engaged in business to avoid being dependent on other people, he saw him only once a week, then once a month and finally once a year. As a *sharīf*, he was not only immune to fire, but whatever he touched became similarly immune. He was reputed to be clairvoyant (*dhū mukāshafāt*), as were several others. Muḥammad ʿUryān al-ra's (*fl.* 1009/1600), not only met with al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*], but when he exhibited signs of madness it was explained that this resulted from a vision of God. Others could relocate themselves daily to Cairo to pray in al-Azhar mosque, while the Egyptian saint Abu 'l-Makārim al-Bakrī (d. 994/1586), who had met several Timbuktu scholars when they passed through Egypt, made daily visits to Timbuktu. The only one of these saints now celebrated in any sense is Sīdī Yaḥyā al-Tadallisī, in whose name a mosque was built, and whose tomb is within the mosque enclosure. Some of the currently-existing saints' tombs in Timbuktu have keepers who receive cash offerings from the faithful who supplicate the saint, but there are no organised celebratory festivals.

The same is true for Kano. In 1406/1985 Ṣāliḥ Bābah b. Abī Bakr published in Kano a booklet entitled *Tabshīr ahl Allāh bi-dhikr man bi-Kānū min awliyā' Allāh*, giving brief biographies of saintly men and women buried in the city and locations of their tombs. A few of these have regular guardians, but again there is little ceremony about visitation and no large parades or gatherings. However, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī's *mawlid* was celebrated in public fashion with parades in the city and beating of *bandiri* drums during the latter part of the lifetime of Nasiru Kabara (d. 1996), the leading Ḳādirī *shaykh* of West Africa.

Only in Senegal is there the kind of annual festival and visitation that is common in Egypt and North Africa, with large boisterous crowds and a carnival atmosphere. This is the *maggal* at Touba, the burial place of the "national" saint of Senegal, Aḥmad Bamba (d. 1927 [see MURĪDIYYA]). The followers of Aḥmad Bamba, who was exiled by the French to Gabon, have developed a rich hagiography of him. The most common iconographic reminder of his miraculous powers is the picture of the saint praying upon his prayer rug cast upon the waters when the French captain of his ship to Gabon forbade him to pray on board the vessel. Angels hover above and the ship's crew looks on in disbelief. Another religious figure exiled by the French, Ḥamā Allāh (correctly Ḥamāhu 'llāh) of Nioro in Mali (d. 1943 [see ḤAMĀLIYYA]) also gained the status of *walī*; indeed, his followers saw him as the *ḳuṭb*, and in poems in praise of him proposed a status for him that was scarcely distinguishable from the divine (B. Soares and J. Hunwick, *Falkeina IV: the shaykh as the locus of divine self-disclosure: a poem in praise of Ḥamāhu 'llāh*, in *Sudanic Africa*, vii [1996], 97-112). His son Muḥammad still lives in Nioro and is the object of pious visitation and gift-giving by Muslims from a broad spectrum of Malian society. Ḥamāhu 'llāh died in exile in France, but his most devoted followers fervently believe that he did not die, and they await his return.

There were other West African saints who are said to have attained similarly exalted mystical ranks. ʿAbd Allāh al-Barnāwī (d. 1088/1677), whose mystical initiator was the angel Isrāfīl, guardian of *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ* [see LAWḤ], was regarded in Bornū as a *ḳuṭb*. Another Bornū *walī* of similar name who died in 1126/1714-15, was an intimate of the well-known Moroccan saint ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh (Aḥmad al-Mubārak al-Lamaṭī, *K. al-Ibrīz*, Cairo 1380/1961, 14). In the early 13th/19th century Muḥammad Sambo, a son of the reformer ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*], attained "a high rank in *walāya*, and a firm stance in divine knowledge (*maʿrifa*), and a true state in *ṣiddīqiyya*" (J.O. Hunwick, *A supplement to Infāq al-maysūr: the biographical notes of ʿAbd al-Qādir b. al-Mustafā*, in *Sudanic Africa*, vii [1996], 35-51), this latter being the station just below *ḳurba*, which is the station of *al-walāya al-kubrā* (on this see M. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the saints: prophethood and sainthood in the doctrine of Ibn ʿArabī*, Cambridge 1993, ch. 7). According to his biographer ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. al-Muṣṭafā "he had seen the land of the *samāsima* (*sic*) and had entered it" (*ibid.*, 15 and appendix), the *arḍ al-simsima* being "the land at the extremity of the imaginal world at the point where it adjoins the sensory world" (H. Corbin, *Terre céleste et corps de résurrection*, Paris 1961, 214).

There is not a large theoretical literature on the concept of the *walī* in West Africa. The most extensive treatment of questions relating to the *walī* is to be found in the important Tidjānī manual of *al-ḥādjdj* ʿUmar b. Saʿīd (d. 1280/1864), the *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm* (see B. Radtke, *Studies on the sources of Kitāb Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm of al-ḥājj ʿUmar*, in *Sudanic Africa*, vi [1995], 73-114). These elaborate older concepts; the illuminated *walī* is not bound by the *madhāhib*: pledging allegiance to a perfected *walī* is like pledging allegiance to the Prophet; the Prophet is omnipresent and the *walī* has the ability to see him in a waking state. Ch. 36 deals with the seemingly innovatory claim of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī to be the "seal of the Friends of God. . . . and the support of the poles and the nurturers (*khātim al-awliyā' wa-mumidd al-aḳṭāb wa 'l-aghwāth*)", and the "ultimate link (*al-barzakh al-makhtūm*) who is the intermediary between the Prophet and the Friends of God such that none of the Friends, either of greater or lesser rank, finds an effusion [of grace] from the plane (*ḥaḍra*) of a prophet except through his mediation". However, the claim to be the "seal of the Friends of God" was first made by Ibn al-ʿArabī, and despite the seemingly final nature of such a phrase in its parallelism with the phrase "seal of the prophets" (*khātam al-nabiyyīn*) as applied to the Prophet Muḥammad, Chodkiewicz suggests that the term may have come to represent a rank rather than an ultimate claim (*op. cit.*, 128 ff., esp. n. 42). Whether Aḥmad al-Tidjānī saw it in this light is doubtful, in light of his claim to be the sole source of mediation of an effusion of divine grace (*fayḍa*) from the plane of a prophet; indeed, al-Tidjānī actually claims that Ibn al-ʿArabī gave up his claim to this rank in favour of him.

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1997, unpubl.; B.F. Soares, *The spiritual economy of Nioro du Sahel. Islamic discourses and practices in a Malian religious center*, Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University 1997, unpubl. (J.O. Hunwick)

10. In Chad and the Nilotic Sudan.

In the eastern Bilād al-Sūdān, the term *walī* overlaps in usage with *faḳīr, faḳīh*, colloq. *fakī* (which often share the pl. *fuḳarāʾ*), *shaykh* (pl. *mashāyikh*), *rādjil* (used in compound phrases with a place-name, e.g. *rādjil* Rayba), *muʿallim, mallam* (Hausa), and *goni* (Kanuri, strictly one who has memorised the Ḳurʾān), names which variously reflect the *walī*'s spiritual qualities and station, and social status and roles.

Awliyāʾ are prominent figures from the beginnings of recorded or remembered Islamic history in the region—remembered and celebrated as propagators of Islam, promoters of the *Sharīʿa*, founders of lineages, clans, settlements, schools, even of dynasties. The earliest personalities are associated with (1) the flow of Islamic influences into the western end of the region along an axis extending from Tripoli southwards to Lake Chad by way of Fezzan, Tibesti and Kanem, and into the Nile valley at its eastern end from Egypt to the north and the Arabian peninsula across the Red Sea to the east; and (2) the rise of Muslim-ruled dynasties in Kanem, Sinnar, Dārfūr, Wadai, Bagirmi, Taqali and other states—dynasties that offered the holy men patronage and security in return for spiritual support, political legitimation and practical services (e.g. as scribes). Among the earliest of the *awliyāʾ* venerated in oral tradition and recorded in charters of immunity, genealogical treatises and biographical literature (*manāḳib*; see below) are Muḥammad b. Mānī (5th/11th century), who is associated with the conversion to Islam of the ruler of Kanem, and Ghulām Allāh b. ʿĀʾid, a Yemeni who migrated to the Dongola area of Nubia and "built the mosques and taught the Ḳurʾān and religious sciences" for a people sunk in "extreme perplexity and error" (Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, Khartoum 1973). Traditions represent the founders of kingdoms across the eastern Bilād al-Sūdān as Muslim "wise strangers", and some clearly resemble the pious charismatic figure of the *walī*, e.g. ʿAbd Allāh Djammāʿ of the ʿAbdallāb and ʿAbd al-Karīm, founder of the Maba dynasty in Wadai.

The *walī*'s nearness to God endowed him (or occasionally, her) with divine blessing or grace (*baraka*), which manifested itself in extraordinary acts and capacities (*karāmāt*). The recounting of these *karāmāt* is an important genre of sacred literature and folklore, and, in the Nilotic Sudan, has been incorporated into works of *manāḳib* such as Muḥammad al-Nūr b. Ḍayf Allāh, *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt fī khuṣūṣ al-awliyāʾ wa 'l-ṣāliḥīn wa 'l-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ fi 'l-Sūdān*, ed. Y.F. Ḥasan, ²Khartoum 1974; Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Rubāṭābī, *al-Ibānat al-nūriyya fī shaʿn ṣāḥib al-ṭarīḳa al-Khatmiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, Beirut 1991; and ʿAbd al-Maḥmūd Nūr al-Dāʾim, *Azāhīr al-riyāḍ fī manāḳib al-shaykh Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib b. al-Bashīr*, Cairo 1973. The *walī* was known for the efficacy of his prayer, e.g. for rain, health and fertility, and of his curse upon the oppressor and the violator of pledges. He was distinguished by his faculty of "uncovering" the unknown (*kashf*), i.e. perceiving thoughts, distant places, the past, and the future. He personified detachment, abstinence, probity on the one hand and openhanded hospitality and generosity on the other. These attributes and capabilities fitted the *walī* to mediate in conflicts and feuds, to intercede for his followers and to provide sanctuary for the fugitive. Prominent among his regular activities were the preparation of amulets (*ḥidjāb*) and erasures (*miḥāya*, sc. verses that are washed off the writing-board and drunk by the patient), the teaching and initiation of disciples, and prolonged withdrawal into solitary meditation (*khalwa*).

The social life of the *fuḳarāʾ* centred on the mosque, the school and the tombs of sanctified forbears. Their instruction frequently combined Ṣūfī *dhikr* with Ḳurʾānic study, jurisprudence (following the Mālikī school), and theology (Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sanūsī's works were popular). Significantly, the word *khalwa* (= Ṣūfī retreat, place of seclusion for prayer) is widely used in the region for Ḳurʾānic school. A substantial proportion of settlements were founded by holy men. The right of sanctuary held by the *walī*, the exemptions from taxation and other impositions by secular authorities (though the *fuḳarāʾ* themselves collected canonical taxes) attracted settlers and sometimes contributed to the rise of flourishing market towns. With the steady inflow of visitors and offerings, these communities became nodes of redistributive networks. There has long been a tendency for families of noted *awliyāʾ* to divide into "religious" and "secular" branches, with the latter handling their growing assets.

Research in recent decades has confirmed the existence, at least as early as the 17th century, of a vast network of *awliyāʾ*, their centres of religious instruction and devotional practice, spanning the Bilād al-Sūdān (see J. Lavers, *Diversions on a journey, or the travels of Shaykh Ahmed al-Yamani (1630-1712) from Halfaya to Fez*, in Y.F. Ḥasan and P. Doornbos (eds.), *The Central Bilād al-Sūdān. Tradition and adaptation*, Khartoum n.d. [1979]). Some holy men accompanied a diaspora of Nubian traders from the Nile (known collectively as *djallāba*) extending westward to Dārfūr and Wadai, and others a countervailing stream of Hausa merchants, Fulbe and Bornawi migrants, and pilgrims originating in the western Bilād al-Sūdān. Eastern and western influences have their counterpart in the distribution of types of Arabic script: *Maghribī* is used in Kanem and Bagirmi, *Naskhī* in Wadai and Dārfūr. Only in the Nile region did the Arabian and Egyptian style of domed tomb (*ḳubba* [*q.v.*]) become firmly implanted, during the era of Fundj rule (16th-19th centuries). School of regional importance up to the 19th century were located at Bidderi (Bagirmi), al-Dāmir (at the Nile-Atbara confluence), Arbadjī (on the Blue Nile), and Kubayh (Dārfūr). Itinerant students (*muhādjirūn*), pilgrims, traders, and *shurafāʾ* circulated among the schools and shrines scattered throughout the region and continually renewed linkages with the Ḥidjāz, Yemen, Egypt and the Maghrib.

The Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] brotherhood was pervasive and unchallenged throughout the region (except for a minor presence of Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] along the Nile) until the 18th century when the Sammāniyya (a branch of the Khalwatiyya [see MĪRGHANIYYA]) was established in the Gezira by Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib b. al-Bashīr. The 19th century witnessed the advent of several new fraternities, notably the Khatmiyya from the Ḥidjāz, the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] from the Maghrib by way of Borno and Hausaland, and the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] from Cyrenaica. The independence, individuality, and idiosyncrasies of the *walī* were somewhat constrained within these more centralised, hierarchical and regulated brotherhoods.

During the 19th and 20th centuries, imperialism (Egyptian, British and French), social upheaval and millenarianism presented new challenges, roles and opportunities for the *awliyāʾ*. A number of holy men entered the arena of politics—most successfully,

Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānimī, who founded the Shehu dynasty of Bornu subsequent to a challenge from the Fulbe *mud̲j̲āhidūn* of the Sokoto Caliphate, and Muḥammad Aḥmad, the Mahdī, whose defeat of the Egyptian colonial government inaugurated a short-lived independent state. The subsequent Anglo-Egyptian and French colonial systems, imposed over the former Egyptian Sudan and Chad respectively, perpetuated old patterns of patronage and subsidy to control and propitiate the Ṣūfī leadership. The *ṭuruḳ* have proliferated in the 20th century, while the authority and religious culture of the *walī* has come under increasing challenge from Islamist movements in the decades since national independence.

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WALĪ, Urdu poet whose pivotal significance from the viewpoint of literary history is tellingly unsupported by much reliable biographical data. Even his name is uncertain, although the best evidence suggests "Walī Muḥammad". The popular sobriquet "Walī Dakanī" indicates the general belief that he was born in the Dakan at Awrangābād, probably in 1079/1668. At the age of twenty he moved to Aḥmadābād, where he studied at the *madrasa* attached to the shrine of the Ḳādirī saint Wad̲j̲īh al-Dīn. A number of Walī's poems attest his close association with Gud̲j̲arāt, including a short *mat̲h̲nawī* in praise of Sūrat. He died in Aḥmadābād, probably in 1119/1707 (rather than the now discredited suggestion of 1175/1742, although D̲j̲ālibī, 537-9, argues for the early 1720s).

The later *tad̲h̲kira* writers make much of Walī's supposed meeting during a visit to Dihlī in 1112/1700 with the Naḳs̲h̲bandī saint and Persian poet S̲h̲āh Saʿd Allāh Guls̲h̲an (d. 1141/1728), who advised him to write in the Urdu [*q.v.*] of Dihlī rather than the Dakhinī Urdu in which he had hitherto composed, and for the embellishment of his poetry to draw upon the full resources of Persian. Polished in the light of Guls̲h̲an's recommendations, it is said, Walī's poetry rapidly achieved a universal popularity which greatly aided the replacement of Persian by Urdu as the preferred poetic language of the courts of Dihlī and northern India. However suspect its convenient underpinning of Dihlī's cultural supremacy may be as history, the endurance of the Walī-Guls̲h̲an story as myth was ensured when Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād used it to initiate his immensely influential account of Urdu literature. It is this passage (*Āb-i ḥayāt*, 80), whose rhetoric neatly eliminates the entire Dakhinī phase of Urdu poetry, which generated the two clichés most commonly applied to Walī, either as the Ādam of Urdu poetry (*naẓm-i Urdū kī nasl kā Ādam*), or as its Chaucer.

Many later critics have noted the difficulty of detecting radical changes of language and aesthetic justifying any notion of consistent pre- and post-Dihlī phases in Walī's extensive *dīwān* of some four hundred *g̲h̲azals*. This is not to deny the relevance to the characterisation of Walī's poetry as transitional between older Dakhinī and later northern norms of the internal stylistic contrasts which may be partially established by suitable isolated examples (e.g. Sadiq, *History*, 64). The *dīwān* is, however, less remarkable for any internal diversity than for the general uniformity of its emphasis upon distinctly human amatory themes, often delightfully treated. While Walī's name has predictably caused the mistaken attribution to him of Ṣūfī and other religious works, little conviction attaches to attempts at mystical readings of his *dīwān* beyond the conventions of *taṣawwuf barāy-i s̲h̲iʿr guftan k̲h̲ūb ast* "Ṣūfism is good for composing poetry".

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WALĪ AL-ʿAHD (A.), the heir-designate to a caliph or ruler, literally "successor [by virtue of] a covenant" [see ʿAHD]. Heirs to the caliphate were more formally entitled *walī ʿahd al-muslimīn*. It is not

entirely clear when the title came into use. Historians from the 3rd/9th century (e.g. Ibn Ḳutayba, 155 ff.) apply it to the Umayyad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān and subsequent heir-designates of that dynasty, but this may be anachronistic. Coins from the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī's period (158-69/775-85), proclaiming his heir Mūsā (al-Hādī) as *walī ʿahd al-muslimīn*, categorically attest to its being in use by then (al-Bās̲h̲ā, 542-3; Lane-Poole, *Cat.*, i, 54).

Designation was a standard way of transferring power, including caliphal power, throughout Islamic history. The precedent—itself based on old tribal norms—was set by the first caliph Abū Bakr, who nominated ʿUmar to succeed him; the latter in turn designated a group of leading Muslims to select the next in line from among themselves. Muʿāwiya, the first Umayyad caliph, established another precedent by naming his own son Yazīd as successor, thereby introducing a dynastic principle. A later Umayyad caliph, Marwān I, went a step further by designating not one but two of his sons, ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, to come after him successively; but when the former of the two came to power he manoeuvred his brother out of the succession and nominated his own two sons instead. Such early practices established the pattern: succession by designation, normally of a son (not necessarily the eldest) or brother; the option of nominating more than one heir at a time; and the annulment of a designation in favour of another candidate. The majority of caliphs, and most other hereditary Islamic rulers—in the Buwayhid, Sald̲j̲ūḳ, Fāṭimid, and Mamlūk states and in Muslim Spain, among others—came to power through such procedures. The most common alternative to this practice was seizure of government by force.

Designation was effected through an *ʿahd*, a unilateral voluntary testament by the incumbent ruler. Under the Umayyads this was a relatively simple act, with the nomination sometimes made public only after the caliph's death. The ʿAbbāsids developed a more elaborate routine. A stereotypic text of the *ʿahd* was adopted, and the nomination came to be announced in a ceremony presided over by the caliph, whereupon the heir-designate was offered a *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] by the dignitaries at hand. The appointment was then publicised throughout the empire. Once designated, the *walī al-ʿahd* was accorded a black insignia, his own palace and staff and, if still a minor, a tutor. His name was mentioned in the *k̲h̲uṭba* alongside that of the caliph and inscribed on the empire's flag and coins. Upon his nomination, the *walī al-ʿahd* was given a regnal title (*laḳab* [*q.v.*]), which he later retained as caliph; al-Mahdī was the first to be so entitled, while still heir-designate, by his father al-Manṣūr. To train the candidate for his future post, he was sent as governor to a major province. Thus ʿAbbāsid heir-designates became governors of Syria, Armenia or provinces of the west; and in Ḳād̲j̲ār Persia they were customarily in charge of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. The institution of *walī al-ʿahd* had its peak in the early ʿAbbāsid period, when the heir was second to none but the caliph and replaced him on the throne during the latter's absence from the capital. His status declined when caliphs came under the sway of sultans, in Bag̲h̲dād and then in Cairo, who curbed their authority and interfered in the selection of their heirs.

Based on Abū Bakr's and ʿUmar's precedents, Sunnī jurists sanctioned designation as one of two accepted modes of succession, along with election (in S̲h̲īʿī doctrine, designation carried a different sense and importance; see IMĀMA; S̲H̲ĪʿA). They saw no contradiction between these two principles: the caliph, as *imām*, was capable of selecting for the post the fittest man possessing the required mental, spiritual and physical traits, on behalf of the entire community. But his choice did not depend on the consent of the community or even a part of it; and in that sense the *bayʿa* offered to a *walī al-ʿahd* was viewed as a confirmatory measure rather than a legitimising condition. The *ʿahd* and the nomination were considered irrevocable: once an heir was designated, he could not be unilaterally deposed nor could he resign. But since in practice such appointments were repeatedly reversed or annulled, jurists justified the dissolution when both nominator and nominee agreed or when an assembly ruled that the candidate was no longer fit.

In modern times, the institution of *walī al-ʿahd* continued to exist, or was revived, in some of the dynastic Islamic states: in Persia under the Ḳād̲j̲ārs and Pahlawīs; the post-World War I kingdoms of Egypt and ʿIrāḳ; Saudi Arabia (since 1933); Jordan (since 1965), Ḳaṭar and Bahrain (since the mid-1980s).

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(A. AYALON)

WALĪ ALLĀH AL-DIHLAWĪ [see AL-DIHLAWĪ, S̲H̲ĀH WALĪ ALLĀH].

WĀLIBA B. AL-ḤUBĀB al-Asadī, Abū Usāma, Arab poet of the early ʿAbbāsid period, *flor.* in the later 2nd/9th century.

Wāliba was born in Kūfa where he probably spent the largest part of his life. When his cousin on his father's side, Abū Bud̲j̲ayr Yaḥyā al-Nad̲j̲ās̲h̲ī al-Asadī, was appointed governor (or landtax collector) of al-Ahwāz by al-Manṣūr, Wāliba followed him there. During his stay there he met with Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], who was then a handsome beardless youth (*amrad*). According to some sources, this happened in al-Ahwāz, where Abū Nuwās had gone together with his employer at the time, a perfume merchant (*ʿaṭṭār*) from Baṣra, in order to offer their wares to al-Nad̲j̲ās̲h̲ī; according to others, it happened at the souk of the druggists in Baṣra, where al-Nad̲j̲ās̲h̲ī had sent his cousin to buy supplies. The ties between Abū Nuwās and Wāliba were not only of an erotic nature. Wāliba rapidly recognised the poetic talent of his *g̲h̲ulām*. He took him along to Kūfa and looked after his education; Abū Nuwās's poetry was to be decisively influenced by him.

Wāliba came to Bag̲h̲dād most likely in the time of al-Mahdī, who admired his poetry but, on account of the latter's hemistich "I am a man who sleeps with his commensals", did not want to make him one of his boon-companions. Wāliba was, however, unable to establish himself there, because he let himself be drawn into a *hid̲j̲āʾ* exchange with Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, in which he emerged as the loser. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya doubted, *inter alia*, the Arab descent of Wāliba because of the latter's light skin and blond hair. Humbled, Wāliba had to return to Kūfa. From a poem composed in alternate lines by himself and Abū Nuwās and which describes the toils of a foot march to al-Ḥīra

near Kūfa, we know that he also visited that place.

Wāliba must have died before 180/796, because after Wāliba's death Abū Nuwās attached himself to Khalaf b. Ḥayyān al-Aḥmar [*q.v.*], who in turn died in 180/796. Abū Nuwās composed a *marthiya* on his teacher.

Wāliba was above all known as a poet. His inclusion in Ibn Ḥadjar's *Lisān al-Mīzān* (cf. ed. Ḥaydarābād 1331, vi, 216) probably results from the fact that, in a facetious poem, Abū Nuwās called him a transmitter of a fictitious *ḥadīth*. In Kūfa, Wāliba belonged to a circle of poets and *udabā'* who upheld a libertine lifestyle; it included also Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, Ḥammād al-Rāwiya, and Muṭīʿ b. Iyās [*q.vv.*], and, from outside Kūfa, Salm al-Khāsir, al-Ashdjaʿ b. ʿAmr al-Sulamī, and Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.vv.*]. Al-Raḳīḳ al-Nadīm describes the group as follows: "Wāliba had friends (*ikhwān*) who were like him in their companionship (*futuwwa*), in their elegant and witty behaviour (*ẓarf*), and in their addiction to gluttony and entertainment (*idmān al-ḳaṣf wa 'l-lahw*). They were completely uninhibited (*khalaʿū 'l-ʿidhār*) and squandered both their acquired and their inherited wealth". In this early combination of *futuwwa* and *ẓarf* (on which see Susanne Enderwitz, *Du Fatā au Ẓarīf*, in *Arabica*, xxxvi [1989], 125-42; eadem, *Liebe als Beruf*, Beirut 1995, 31-65), a third component also played a role: indifference toward religious precepts. This won them an accusation of *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*] (cf. G. Vajda, *Les Zindîqs en pays d'Islam*, in *RSO*, xvii [1938], 173-229). In this respect Wāliba was probably not quite innocent, since he established the connection between *ẓarf* and *zandaḳa*, even before Abū Nuwās, by calling his friend, Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, "wittier (*aẓraf*) than a *zindīḳ*". In this urban bohemian milieu, Arabic love poetry received a new turn: alongside the *ʿudhrī* and the *ḥidjāzī* variety of *ghazal* [*q.v.*] poetry, the *kūfī* kind now emerged (cf. Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 143-50; G. Schoeler, in *Camb. hist. Ar. lit.*, ii, 281-2). The latter often acquired obscene traits and should in part more appropriately be called *mudjūn* [*q.v.*]. Wāliba's poems, of which hardly more than one hundred lines have been preserved, deal with pederasty on the one hand and with wine, especially the morning draught, on the other. A collection of his poetry on one hundred leaves was once known to Ibn al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, tr. Dodge, i, 357).

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(E. WAGNER)

AL-WALĪD, the name of two caliphs of the Marwānid line of the Umayyads.

1. AL-WALĪD (I) b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 86-96/705-15).

He was probably born *ca.* 54/674 in Muʿāwiya's reign. His mother was Wallāda bt. al-ʿAbbās b. Djaz' of a well-known family of ʿAbs b. Baghīḍ of Ḳays. He was his father's nominee to inherit the caliphate and the death of his uncle ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān in 85/704 meant that he succeeded unopposed. After the struggles of his father's reign, al-Walīd's caliphate was generally a period of internal peace and external expansion. As caliph he never seems to have left Syria except to lead the *Ḥadjdj* in 91/710. He is said to have instituted a system of poor relief and charity in Syria. He was certainly a great patron of architecture, building the Great Mosque in Damascus in its present form and rebuilding the mosque of the Prophet in Medina. In political affairs, he continued his father's policies with little change. He attempted to keep a balance between the different groups in the Umayyad élite and control the divisions between Ḳays and Yaman. He maintained al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] as governor of ʿIrāḳ and the East until his death in 95/714. His brother and heir, Sulaymān, was governor of Syria and, for most of the reign, his cousin, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, later to be caliph himself, was governor of the Ḥidjāz. Both had Yemeni sympathies and gave refuge to political opponents of al-Ḥadjdjādj.

The reign of al-Walīd saw the success of Muslim arms in many areas. In the west, Spain was invaded in 92/711 and almost completely taken by 97/716. In the East, the expansion was managed by al-Ḥadjdjādj. In Khurāsān, his governor Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] (86-96/705-15) launched a series of attacks on Transoxania which the Muslims had hardly penetrated before. He secured the submission of Bukhārā in 87-90/706-9, Khwārazm and Samarḳand in 91-3/711-2 and Farghāna in 94/713. From 90/708-9 Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Thaḳafī began the Muslim conquest of Sind. Despite frequent Muslim raids, little progress was made against the Byzantines. Al-Walīd never led the campaigns himself but entrusted the frontier to his brother Maslama [*q.v.*], who built up a formidable power base in the area.

Al-Walīd died in Damascus in Djumādā II 96/late February 715. In accordance with his father's will, the caliphate was to pass to his brother Sulaymān, with whom his relations seem to have been increasingly strained. Some sources say that he was trying to secure the acceptance of his own son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as heir but that he died before this could be accomplished, and Sulaymān duly succeeded. His reign had been remarkably successful and represents, perhaps, the zenith of Umayyad power. It is less clear to what extent the caliph himself contributed directly to this, and perhaps his main achievement was to preserve balance and stability among the factions of the ruling family and their allies.

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of the Marwanid house (= vol. xxiii of *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ed. E. Yar-Shater, Albany 1990).

2. AL-WALĪD (II) b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 125-6/743-4).

His date of birth is uncertain and estimates of his age at his accession to the caliphate vary between 37 and 45. His mother was Umm al-Ḥadjdjādj Zaynab, daughter of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaḳafī.

His father, Yazīd II b. ʿAbd al-Malik, had nominated him to succeed his own brother Hishām. At first, Hishām seems to have regarded his young nephew with some affection but he became increasingly disillusioned by his dissolute lifestyle; he reduced his allowances and punished some of his undesirable associates. Al-Walīd in turn withdrew from court and established himself in a remote desert residence which may be the ruined site now known as Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūba in the Jordanian desert.

The exact chronology of events in al-Walīd's short reign is not clear, but he faced opposition from the time of his accession and seems to have exacerbated this by his conduct. The stories of his debauchery and wine-drinking may have been exaggerated, but they allowed his enemies to claim that it was legitimate to depose him. After taking the *bayʿa* in Damascus, he lived entirely in remote desert palaces which allowed rumour to spread and opposition to grow unchecked.

The new caliph's first actions were populist, increasing the stipends for the Syrians and other supporters and providing slaves to help the blind and crippled. However, he soon began to arouse political opposition by his reliance on members of the Ḳays-Muḍar faction and, especially, the Thaḳafī relations of his mother. The most important of these was Yūsuf b. ʿUmar Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*], who had been appointed governor of ʿIrāḳ and the east by Hishām and was retained in office by al-Walīd. He also appointed his own maternal uncle Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaḳafī to the prestigious governorate of the Ḥidjāz. He allowed the Ḳays-Muḍar leaders to persecute their Yemeni opponents, in particular the widely-respected former governor of ʿIrāḳ, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*] who was effectively sold to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar and tortured to death. The caliph also took action against Hishām's sons and other members of the Umayyad family whom he suspected of opposing his accession, and the powerful Sulaymān b. Hishām was flogged and exiled to ʿAmmān. A broad coalition of interests, including many Umayyads and the family of Khālid al-Ḳasrī and other leading Yemenis emerged, and leadership of the opposition was assumed by the caliph's cousin, Yazīd b. al-Walīd. While the caliph remained in his desert retreat, the opposition was able to take over Damascus. Shortly afterwards, an expeditionary force under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. ʿAbd al-Malik was sent to al-Walīd's palace at al-Bakhrāʾ, south of Palmyra. Here, after a short siege, the caliph was killed, according to al-Ṭabarī, on 27 Djumādā II 126/15 April 744.

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(H. KENNEDY)

Al-Walīd (II) as a poet.

However ill-fated as a caliph, al-Walīd gained lasting fame as one of the most original poets in Arabic literary history. He was also a gifted musician and composer, who set some of his own verses to music; this may have influenced his poetic technique. His reputation rests on his *ghazal* [*q.v.*] verses addressed to Salmā, his wife's sister, and on his wine songs [see KHAMRIYYA], which constitute an important stage in the development of the genre. Not needing to please a patron, al-Walīd was able to follow his taste and creative inspiration without restraint. His *dīwān* appears to be a genuine manifestation of his complex character, aestheticism and licentious life-style.

Al-Walīd's verses have been collected from various sources and edited with an essay by F. Gabrieli, *Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd. Il califfo e il poeta*, in *RSO*, xv [1934], 1-64, re-ed. Beirut 1967. The edition contains 102 poems and fragments, 428 verses in all, love (43 texts) and wine (14 texts) forming the main themes. Of his five elegies, two are devoted to his beloved Salmā, who died shortly after he had forced her to divorce and married her as caliph in 743 (nos. 29, 56). The remaining texts may be roughly classified as *mufākhara* and *hidjāʾ* [*q.vv.*], e.g. against his uncle Hishām, whose death he welcomed with undisguised joy (nos. 60, 84). There is also a religious *urdjūza* (no. 37) he allegedly recited as *khuṭba* at a Friday worship (*Aghānī*[1], vi, 128).

His poems are usually short (4-8 verses) and carefully structured on different linguistic levels. Metrical variation is extremely high. Al-Walīd employs 13 metres, five of them also in their shortened (*madjzūʾ*) variant, with preference, in statistical order, for *ramal madjzūʾ*, *wāfir*, *khafīf* and *ṭawīl* [see ʿARŪḌ]. Phonological and morphological repetition and syntactic parallelism are his favourite techniques (cf. R. Jacobi, *Theme and variations in Umayyad Ghazal poetry*, in *JAL*, xxiii [1992], 109-19). As a result, his verses achieve a distinctive rhythm and sound quality, a musicality, as it were, unknown in Arabic poetry before.

Al-Walīd continues the tradition of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa and Djamīl al-ʿUdhrī [*q.v.*], as he himself avows (no. 42,3). From the aspect of form, his *ghazal* was influenced by ʿUmar, but it reveals the melancholy mood and passionate devotion to one beloved of the ʿUdhrites, mixed with courtly elements and a playfulness all his own (cf. Jacobi, *Zur Gazalpoesie des Walīd ibn Yazīd*, in W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeler (eds.), *Festschrift für Ewald Wagner*, ii, Beirut 1994, 154-61). One of his most original traits is the use of nature as a lyrical medium, e.g. his dialogue with a bird (no. 74) or the image of a garden touched by autumn in his *marthiya* [*q.v.*] for Salmā (no. 56). The defiance and eroticism of his bacchic verses prepares the way for the *khamriyya* of Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] (cf. P. Kennedy, *The wine song in Classical Arabic poetry*, Oxford 1997, 27, 100). Living in a period of transition, al-Walīd unites Umayyad lyricism and ʿAbbāsid sophistication. In his verses, if not in his life, he achieved a perfect balance, his exuberance and sensuality being controlled by poetic genius and formal discipline.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): *Aghānī*[1], vi, 101-41; R. Blachère, *Le prince umayyade al-Walīd [II] Ibn Yazīd et son rôle littéraire*,

in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935, 103-23 (= idem, *Analecta*, Damascus 1975, 379-99); D. Derenk, *Leben und Dichtung des Omaijadenkalifen al-Walīd b. Yazīd*, Freiburg 1974; R.W. Hamilton, *Walid and his friends. An Umayyad tragedy*, Oxford 1988.

(RENATE JACOBI)

AL-**WALĪD** B. **HISHĀM**, Abū Rakwa, a pseudo-Umayyad pretender who led a revolt against the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*]. He was an Arab, probably of Andalusian origin, who for some time had earned his living as a schoolteacher in al-Ḳayrawān and Miṣr (Old Cairo) and then went into service with the Arab Bedouin clan of Banū Ḳurra (of the Hilāl tribe) whose pasture-grounds were the hilly country of Cyrenaica south-east of Barḳa (modern al-Mardj); there he taught the boys of the clan to read and write. His nickname Abū Rakwa "the one with the waterbottle", seems to point to his Ṣūfī-like appearance. (The most detailed reports of his early career are found in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, ed. M.M. Amīn and M.Ḥ.M. Aḥmad, xxviii, Cairo 1992, 181-4, and Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 197-8.)

When in 394/1004 a conflict broke out between the Banū Ḳurra and the caliph al-Ḥākim, the Bedouin rebelled, and young Abū Rakwa—then in his mid-twenties—took the lead in the revolt. He passed himself off for a descendant of the Umayyad caliph of Cordova ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and in Djumādā II 395/end of March 1005, in the village of ʿUyūn al-Naẓar in Cyrenaica he took the caliphal title of *amīr al-muʾminīn* and the royal name *al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*, the same which his alleged ancestor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III had borne; the "caliph" posed as the champion of Sunnism against Shīʿī heresy. The Arab Banū Ḳurra under their chief Māḍī b. Muḳarrab were supported by several Berber fractions of the Zanāta, Mazāta and Luwāta tribes. Barḳa, the capital of the Cyrenaica, was evacuated by the Fāṭimid garrison in September 1005 after a siege of five months, after an Egyptian force of relief under the Turk Yināl al-Ṭawīl had been crushed by the rebels.

In 396/1006 the hordes of the rebel tribes with their tents and flocks hurled themselves against Egypt; their vanguard overran a Fāṭimid contingent near today's El Alamein. As Alexandria was too strongly fortified, Abū Rakwa led his bands to the south. Since al-Ḥākim had occupied the bridgehead of al-Djīza, the rebels were forced to march across the desert in order to gain the fertile lowlands of al-Fayyūm. Here the hordes of Abū Rakwa were engaged by the Fāṭimid main army under Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ at Raʾs al-Birka and annihilated (3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 396/30 August 1006). Abū Rakwa fled to Nubia, where he found asylum in a Christian monastery, but he was handed over by the Nubian king at al-Ḥākim's request in exchange for a considerable ransom. He was brought to Cairo and executed there in March 1007.

The short career of Abū Rakwa was accompanied by a celestial phenomenon, a Super Nova which from May to August 1006 was observed also in Europe; in the Egyptian chronicles a parallel was drawn between its appearance and fading and the rise and fall of Abū Rakwa (Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, 475; al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* ii, 61).

Bibliography: The main source is Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, vi, ed. M. Ghālib, Beirut 1984, 259-72. See also Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, ed. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, in *PO*, xxiii/3, 470-80; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*, ed. A. Ferré, Cairo 1972, 44-8; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 197-203 (under the year 397 A.H.); Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. M.H. Muḥ. Aḥmad, Cairo 1971, ii, 60-7; J. Aguadé, *Abū Rakwa*, in *Actas del IV Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino, Palma de Mallorca 1979*, Madrid 1983, 9-27.

(H. HALM)

AL-**WALĪD** B. AL-**MUGHĪRA** B. ʿABD ALLĀH, member of the powerful and numerous clan of Makhzūm [*q.v.*] in pre-Islamic Mecca, opponent of the Prophet Muḥammad and uncle of another opponent, Abū Djahl [*q.v.*] ʿAmr b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra, d. just after the Hidjra.

Little is known of his life, but he clearly represented the aristocratic interests of his clan and was himself prosperous, seen in the fact that he is said to have owned a garden in Ṭāʾif which he planted for pleasure only and never gathered the fruit in it (Sprenger, i, 359). According to the commentators, there are references to him in several passages of the Ḳurʾān, e.g. VI, 10, XLIII, 30, LXXIV, 11 ff. and LXXX, 1 ff., although his name is never expressly mentioned. One cannot, of course, place implicit confidence on such statements, which are sometimes based on later deductions. Muslim historians frequently mention al-Walīd among those members of Ḳuraysh who vigorously persecuted Muḥammad and endeavoured to silence him. Thus he is said to have been a member of a deputation which went to Abū Ṭālif [*q.v.*] and protested to him, but without success, at the Prophet's conduct. It is also related that Muḥammad's enemies had on one occasion, on the approach of the pilgrimage, discussed the best means to set strange visitors against Muḥammad and proposed in turn the epithets *kāhin* "sooth-sayer", *madjnūn* "possessed" and *shāʿir* "poet", but al-Walīd rejected them all until those present finally agreed to his proposal to call Muḥammad a *sāḥir* "magician", who would separate a man from his father, brother, wife and whole family, and to warn the pilgrims seriously against the alleged magician. When ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn [*q.v.*], a relative of al-Walīd, who had adopted Islam and taken part in the emigration to Abyssinia, but was still under al-Walīd's protection, wished to break off this relationship, the latter endeavoured to dissuade him, but in vain. After al-Walīd had therefore released himself from all obligations to his relative, ʿUthmān was severely wounded in a squabble, whereupon al-Walīd again offered him his protection but ʿUthmān rejected this kindly-meant offer.

Al-Walīd died in Mecca in the year 1, and three of his seven sons adopted Islam. In keeping with his aristocratic descent and social status, his actions were frequently characterised by magnanimity and dignity.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, i, 123, 167, 171, 187, 236, 238, 240, 243-4, 262, 272-3; Ṭabarī, i, see index; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 32, 47, 53-4, 58-9, 85; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, i, 300, ii, 6, 18, 24; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*², i, 90, 361, ii, 19, 21, 36, 40, 46, 48, 56-7, 70, 75, 80, 89, 109, 111-12, 161, 320, 345, 393, 405; L. Krehl, *Das Leben des Muhammed*, 41-2, 74-76, 78; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 168, 179; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i, see index with further literature in the text; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 9, 123, 134; Patricia Crone, *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam*, Oxford 1987, 120-2.

(K.V. ZETTERSTEEN*)

AL-**WALĪD** B. **ṬARĪF** al-Taghlibī al-Shaybānī al-Shārī, Khāridjite rebel in al-Djazīra in 178-9/794-5, i.e. during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The Arabic sources tell us much about al-Walīd and his outbreak, although some details are contradictory; the most explicit sources are Khalīfa b.

Khayyāṭ, the *Aghānī*, Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khallikān.

Starting from Naṣībīn, al-Walīd swept through Armenia and Ādharbāydjān into al-Djazīra, an old Khāridjite stronghold, defeating several caliphal armies. Hence in 179/795 Hārūn sent against him the experienced Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī. Pressed by the caliph and accused by the Barmakīs of deliberately hanging back, Yazīd attacked al-Walīd at a place called Ghirra near Hīt [*q.v.*] on 2 Ramaḍān 179/19 November 795, defeated his army and killed the rebel. The caliph, relieved of this threat, left for the *ʿumra* and the *ḥadjdj*, performing all the prescribed ceremonies by walking.

Many of al-Walīd's own verses are cited in Arabic literature, as are also the elegies for her brother by al-Walīd's sister Fāriʿa or Laylā; contrariwise, there exist verses by Muslim b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] praising Yazīd for his victory.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Muslim b. al-Walīd, *Sharḥ Dīwān Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī*, ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān, Cairo n.d., 1-23 (see tr. in W. Heinrichs, *Muslim b. al-Walīd and Badīʿ*, in idem and G. Schoeler (eds.) *Festschrift E. Wagner*, ii, *Studien zur arabischen Dichtung*, Beirut and Stuttgart 1994, 211-45, esp. 221-42); Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, Damascus 1967-8, ii, 720-3; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 495-6; Ṭabarī, iii, 631, 638, *Aghānī*², xi, 8-11; de Goeje (ed.), *Fragmenta*, 296-7; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. M. ʿAṭāʾ, Beirut 1992-3, ix, 36, 38-9; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 141-3, 147; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, vi, 31-4, 327-9; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 288-9.

2. Studies. Weil, *Chalifen*, ii, 147-8; L. Veccia Vaglieri, in *RSO*, xxiv (1949), 40-1; H. Kennedy, *The early Abbasid caliphate*, London 1981, 121; and see the various biographies of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

(H. EISENSTEIN)

AL-WALĪD B. ʿUḲBA B. ABĪ MUʿAYṬ, Companion of the Prophet and member of the Abū ʿAmr family of the Umayyad clan in Mecca, d. 61/680.

His father ʿUḳba fell at Badr opposing Muḥammad, but al-Walīd became a Muslim at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. He acted as collector of the *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*] from the Banū Muṣṭaliḳ under the Prophet and that from the Christian Banū Taghlib [*q.v.*] in al-Djazīra under ʿUmar. Through his mother, he was a half-brother of the ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, and when the latter became caliph he appointed al-Walīd governor of Kūfa after Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ (29/645-6). His licentious behaviour and wine-drinking made him unpopular with the pietistic elements there, and after complaints had been made to him ʿUthmān removed him in 29/649-50. When ʿUthmān was murdered, al-Walīd fled to al-Djazīra and stayed there, standing apart from politics, dying at Raḳḳa in 61/680. He had some fame as a poet (see *Aghānī*³, v, 122-53), as did his son Abū Ḳaṭīfa ʿAmr (d. before 73/693, see Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 621, and Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 424-5).

Bibliography: The sources are detailed in Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 143, to which should be added Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 29-35. See also G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und die zweite Bürgerkrieg* (680-692), Wiesbaden 1982, 111-12. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

WĀLIDE SULṬĀN (A.), Turkish pronunciation *vālide* or *valde sulṭān*, a term meaning "mother sultana", or "queen mother". It was used in the Ottoman Empire to refer to the mother of the reigning sultan, and only for the duration of the son's reign.

The history of the position and its occupants, like a great deal of the history of the *ḥarīm* [*q.v.*] and its influence on the dynastic politics of the Ottomans, is couched in myth and exoticism, and much of its early development is completely obscured. The interference of the royal women in politics, a fact which most Ottoman chronicles of the middle period note and deplore, became intimately linked to, as well as blamed for the long decline of the empire, especially after the death of Süleymān the Magnificent in 1566. In both Turkish and Western histories, the period from the mid-10th/16th to the mid-11th/17th centuries has been known as the *ḳadînlar salṭanatî* "women's sultanate" or "the rule of the women". Abundant material is available, from both documentary and foreign observers alike, although less so in more circumspect Turkish sources, but all has to be sifted with care. Of newer work, two studies on the sovereignty and ceremonial aspects of the dynasty have placed the role of the imperial household in a more reasonable context (those of Peirce and Necipoğlu).

The source of most of the women for the imperial household was slavery [see ʿABD]. Initially, free-born daughters of rivals and allies, or captives of war, were the choice for marriage. In the middle period, women from the Caucasus and other areas, prized for their beauty, were enslaved and became part of the sultan's entourage, often as gifts. While the early sultans married in order to contract or cement alliances, once a royal palace [see TOPḲAPÎ SARĀYÎ] was constructed in Constantinople after its conquest in 1453, the private quarters of the sultan and his household altered the public role of women in the sultanate, although the *ḥarīm* remained a source of royal brides for the upper echelon of the Ottoman administration. Thereafter, the sultan himself never married, with the exceptions of Süleymān to his beloved Roxelana (d. 965/1558 [see KHURREM] and ʿOthmān II (1618-22 [*q.v.*]). Sultans had a number of favourites, usually, but not always, limited to four, called *khāṣṣekī* [*q.v.*], and those who had borne the sultan a child were called *khāṣṣekī sulṭān*.

Nothing could enhance the prestige of a *khāṣṣekī* more than to have her son become sultan. This equivalent of the dowager queens of other dynasties commanded a respect that at least partially derives from Muslim and Turkish filial piety, exemplified in the *ḥadīth* "Paradise lies at the feet of the mother". In addition, when succession was contested, the problem of a potential heir and his survival in fratricidal disputes embroiled many mothers in their sons' affairs, creating often unique, but ambivalent, bonds of affection and power. All princes of the Ottoman household after 1600 were confined to the royal precincts, given very small allowances, and prevented from producing unwanted offspring upon entering maturity. The women, especially mothers, came to assume a disproportionate influence in the safe passage of such sons to the throne. Royal mothers were paid the highest stipend [see BASHMAḲLÎḲ] in the empire (Peirce, 126). They often became considerable patrons of large building projects, and allied themselves when necessary with ambitious officials of the court, most especially, with the chief black eunuch, the guardian of the *ḥarīm*, the *Ḳîzlar Aghasî*, who in the middle period of the empire became the third most important palace official after the sultan and the Grand Vizier. As the royal women rarely appeared in public, all such political and financial arrangements were conducted from within the confines of the palace.

The *wālide sulṭān* commanded an enormous household which grew in the period 1550-1700 from under 200 to close to 1,000, in addition to the *wālide* or

the *khāṣṣekīs* (Peirce, 122). The *wālide* was given special recognition on two ceremonial occasions: upon her son's accession, she too was installed in a separate ceremony, which sometimes involved a procession from the old palace (*eski sarāy*), where retired or out of favour *khāṣṣekīs* as well as royal mothers and sisters of previous sultans resided. The sultan himself greeted her at the gate of Ṭopḳapi Sarāyi. Should she die while her son was in office, the sultan bade her cortège farewell at the gate and she was treated to a royal burial. If her son died before she did, she retired to the *eski sarāy*. Palace etiquette surrounding the *wālide sulṭān* set her apart from all the other women of the *ḥarīm*, as well as from most other high dignitaries of the court.

The list of women entitled to be called *wālide sulṭān* varies according to the source, in part because the early genealogy of the dynasty is coloured with much later accretion, probably encouraged by the sultans themselves, and centring on their putative relationship to other regal bloodlines. Such is the much-embellished life of Aimée du Buc de Rivery, called the "French Sultana", a relative of Empress Josephine of France, reputedly a captive concubine in the *ḥarīm* of Selīm III (1789-1807 [*q.v.*]) and erroneously called the mother of Maḥmūd II (1807-1839 [*q.v.*]). Even the legendary mother of Ertoghrul Ghāzī, father of ʿOthmān I [*q.v.*] and Mal Khātūn (d. 726/1325-6), ʿOthmān's wife and mother to Orkhān [*q.v.*], were accorded the title of *wālide* by the 19th century. Of the eighteen *wālides* in Alderson's list (83), a handful achieved extraordinary status: Nūr Bānū (d. 991/1583 [*q.v.*]), mother of Murād III; Ṣafiyye (d. 1014/1605 [see ṢAFIYYE WĀLIDE SULṬĀN]), mother of Meḥemmed II; Māhpaykar or Kösem (d. 1061/1651 [*q.v.*]), wife of Aḥmed, mother of sultans Murād IV and Ibrāhīm and grandmother of Meḥemmed IV; and finally, Turkhān (also Tarkhān) (d. 1094/1683), mother of Meḥemmed IV, the latter two women bitter rivals.

The most notorious mother of the dynasty, Khurrem, died before her son Selīm II (1566-74 [*q.v.*]) achieved the throne. The "rule of the women" dates from her taking up residence in Ṭopḳapi Sarāyi in 1541, necessitated by a fire in the *eski sarāy*. In each of the other four cases as well, palace intrigues and shifting coalitions characterised their exercise of political power, which was precariously attached to the well-being and accession of their sons. Notable in that regard is Turkhān's culpability in the execution of her rival Kösem, who is often blamed in Western histories for encouraging the lurid excesses of her son, the mad Ibrāhīm.

These powerful women are equally exemplary for having used their wealth and position to establish charitable foundations [see WAḲF] around mosque complexes, and financing other projects which contributed to the construction of the permanent legacy of imperial Istanbul and other cities of the empire. Ṣafiyye, for example, the fifth of the queen mothers in the palace, began the construction of the New Queen Dowager Mosque (Yeñi Wālide Djāmiʿ), known as Yeñi Djāmiʿ, at Eminönü in Istanbul, which Turkhān completed during her rule as the first truly imperial mosque of the royal women. Ṣafiyye also built a mosque in Cairo. Nūr Bānū built the Wālide-yi ʿAtīḳ mosque complex in Üsküdar, which included a school, hospital and a library, as did that of Turkhān. Nūr Bānū built numerous public baths. Kösem, who served as regent for five years before Murād IV reached maturity, exercised considerable power for close to thirty years, and is evoked in the popular imagination for her generosity and intelligence. Included among her projects was the Činili Djāmiʿ (Çinili Mosque) and its associated buildings in Üsküdar, as well as other charitable foundations. She was also the builder of a market [see KHĀN] in the centre of the city (see *EI*[1] s.v. (Deny), 1116-7, for a more complete list, and the articles in this *Encyclopaedia* on the individual *wālides*; Peirce, 200-20, discusses the role such projects played in promoting Ottoman sovereignty).

By the 18th century, when succession was more regularised, the political influence of the *wālide sulṭān* was much diminished, although the ceremonial and psychological bond between mother and son remained strong. Of *wālides* of the 18th century, Gülnūsh (d. 1127/1715), mother of Muṣṭafā II and Aḥmed III and Naksh-i Dil, mother of Maḥmūd II, reputedly influenced the two great reformer sultans of the age. Alderson lists Şevkefza (i.e. Shewḳefzā), mother of Murād V; whose reign lasted 93 days in 1876, as the last designated *wālide*, but ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1908 [*q.v.*]) bestowed the rank on his adopted mother, Peresto Khānïm, having lost his natural mother at an early age. The mothers, like royal married sisters, were on the civil list in the 19th century and still commanded considerable salaries.

Bibliography: J. Deny, *EI*[1] art. *Wālide Sulṭān* (a complete list of primary and earlier secondary works); M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *İA* art. *Başmaklık*, at ii, 333-4, and M. Cavid Baysun, art. *Kösem Sultan*, at vi, 915-23, listing more works in Turkish; B. Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New Haven 1931 (still a worthy study of the palace and its residents); N. Penzer, *The Harem*, [2]London 1965 (less so); A.D. Alderson, *Structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956; Gibb and Bowen, i, 71-7; Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, ceremonial and power. The Topkapı Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Cambridge 1991; Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, New York 1993. The latter two have considerable bibliographies of their own. J. Freely, *Istanbul: the imperial city*, New York 1996, includes valuable information on the building projects of the *wālides*.

The literature on the harem has itself grown vast, a majority of the writers, to quote Deny, "reveal[ing] a remarkable credulity" (1118). See ḤARĪM for a fuller list. Lady Wortley-Montagu's letters of the 18th century give a clear-eyed picture of the institution in its later stages (*Selected letters*, ed. R. Halsbend, New York 1986). One of the most entertaining of the captive slave accounts is the fictionalised tale of Aimée de Buc du Rivery, in Leslie Blanch, *The wilder shores of love*, London and New York 1954. Of the autobiographies of members of the late Ottoman household, an interesting one is Ayşe Osmanoğlu's *Avec mon père le sultan Abdulhamid de son palais à sa prison*, Paris 1991, published also in English and Turkish. (VIRGINIA H. AKSAN)

WĀLIHĪ, the pen-name (*makhlaṣ*) used by several Ottoman poets of the 10th/16th century, two of whom are prominent.

1. ḲURD-ZĀDE of Edirne. After a *medrese* education, he left the *ʿIlmiyye* [*q.v.*], went to Cairo and became a *mürīd* of *seyyid* Aḥmed Khayālī, son of Ibrāhīm Gülshenī, the founder of the Gülsheniyye order. After his return to Edirne, he earned great repute as a preacher, delivering exceptionally captivating sermons (*waʿẓ*). When the Selīmiyye mosque in Edirne was completed in 982/1574, Wālihī became its first preacher, and he retained his position there until his death. However, his emotional temperament and inclination to love affairs involved him in various

incidents, one of which resulted in his temporary banishment from Edirne in 971/1563-4. He joined the Eastern expedition of Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*] and in Tbilisi, following the city's surrender to Özdemir-oghlī ʿOthmān Pasha, delivered a memorable *khuṭbe* to the army in the name of Sultan Murād III on Friday, 29 August 1578. He died in 994/1586 according to ʿAṭāʾī's calculation of the chronogram which his namesake Wālihī of Üsküb (see below) wrote on his death (or in 996/1588 according to Ḥibrī) in Edirne and was buried in the cemetery of the *sheykh* Shüdjāʿ *zāwiye* on the shore of the Tundja.

Poems by him of a lyrical (*ʿāshiḳāne*) and mystical (*mutaṣawwifāne*) character are to be found in *medjmūʿas* and *tedhkires*; Ḳinali-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi relates that he also composed pleasing chronograms (*tārīkh*). There is no mention in any of the *tedhkires* of a *dīwān*, so that the *dīwān* attributed to him in the *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri* (and thereafter in other sources) must be due to a confusion with Wālihī of Üsküb, who is, in fact, the author of a *dīwān*.

Opinion is divided concerning the separate identity of a Wālihī whose particulars are very similar to those of Ḳurd-zāde Wālihī. This is Wālihī of Djisr-i Ergene or Ergene Köprüsü (Uzunköprü near Edirne), who was a pupil of Muhashshī Sinān Efendi during the time (942-5/1535-9) when he taught at one of the Ṣaḥn-i themān [*q.v.*] *medreses* in Istanbul. He later likewise quit the *ʿilmiyye* to join the Gülsheniyye order, becoming a *mürīd* of *sheykh* Ḥasan Ẓarīfī in Istanbul. Although Ḳinali-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi's *tedhkire* is the only *tedhkire* with an entry on him, the fact of Ḳinali-zāde's sojourn in Edirne as a contemporary of Ḳurd-zāde Wālihī, which gave him the possibility of collecting information *in situ* for his *tedhkire*, lends verisimilitude to his information. Ḳinali-zāde also cites a few verses by him.

2. Aḥmed of Üsküb (Skopje). The son of a *ḳāḍī*, he finished his *medrese* education in Istanbul and thereafter became a tutor (*muʿīd*) at the Sultan Bāyezīd II *medrese* in Edirne. Later, he served as *ḳāḍī*, but no details on his appointments are known. He died in Üsküb in 1008/1599-1600. Ewliyā Čelebi relates that his grave is in the *zāwiye* of *sheykh* Luṭfullāh near the fortress of Üsküb and that it has become the object of pious visits.

He enjoyed great repute as a poet and is the author of a *dīwān*. There is only one known ms. of a Wālihī *dīwān* and that is no. Diez 30 in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (edition in preparation by the author). This fragmentary ms., containing about 300 *ghazels*, is attributed to Wālihī-yi Belghradī (cf. W. Pertsch, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vi, Berlin 1889, no. 413).

A Wālihī of Belgrade is mentioned solely by Laṭīfī and is conceivably identical with Wālihī of Üsküb, for whom there is no entry in Laṭīfī's *tedhkire*. He may have been unaware of the poet's true provenance, who may have lived for a time in Belgrade in his youth, perhaps even during Laṭīfī's stay there prior to finishing his *tedhkire* in 953/1546. However, we do not know if Wālihī of Üsküb's date of birth is early enough to make this possible. Although Laṭīfī states that his given name is Meḥmed, he also remarks that he has a brother called Aḥmed, giving no further details on Wālihī's *curriculum vitae*. That Laṭīfī speaks in the most contemptuous language of Wālihī's, and his brother's, poetic capabilities should be viewed in connection with the fact that he was the butt of their satirical verses; the few verses he cites are insufficient proof for his exceedingly low opinion.

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(Edith G. Ambros)

WALĪLĪ, an ancient town of Morocco.

Walīlī, or Walīla as it was known to the early Muslim historians, is the arabised form of the Roman name Volubilis. Located at 27 km/16 miles north of Meknès, Walīlī occupies the ledge of the Zarhūn plateau and enjoys a privileged position in the midst of a very fertile valley. It is uncertain whether this Roman city served as capital for all of the Roman province known as *Mauritania Tingitana*, but there is no doubt that it served as the chief city of the southern part of it at least. Held for a long time to have been a Roman creation, it is clear today, on the basis of recent findings, that the agglomeration is much older than the Roman presence in this part of North Africa. It was abandoned by the Roman garrison in A.D. 285 but continued to be an important political centre for several centuries afterwards, even if it lost much of the splendour and prosperity which it had enjoyed earlier.

The Islamic history of the place started with the arrival in A.D. 788 of a Sharīfian fugitive, Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh, who took refuge in the far Maghrib following an unsuccessful uprising against the ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād [see idrīs i]. For a short time, Idrīs took up residence at Tangier, the other important city of Mauritania Tingitana, but he soon realised that an inland place like Walīlī would better serve his political ambitions. In fact, Walīlī happened to be well protected by the Zarhūn massif, and in the middle of rich lands belonging to the influential Awrāba Berbers. At Walīlī, Idrīs enjoyed the hospitality and support of the Awrāba chief, Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Awrāba were then the most powerful Berber group, something which proved to be of crucial importance in gathering the support of the other Berber tribes for the cause of Idrīs. The latter was proclaimed *amīr* by the Berbers of central and northern Morocco in a significant move to free the western Maghrib from ʿAbbāsid domination. The fact that Idrīs chose Walīlī to be the seat of his kingdom is a clear indication that, by the end of the 8th century A.D., the city was still an important urban centre, even if mediaeval sources such as Ibn Abī Zarʿ in his *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, describe it as being then "a middle-sized city".

Traditional historiography has for a long time maintained that the Idrīsids contented themselves with Walīlī as capital of their kingdom until the death of Idrīs I in 187/803. It was his son Idrīs II who, according to historians such as al-Djaznāʾī or Ibn Abī Zarʿ, decided to leave Walīlī after it became too small for his growing entourage and build a new capital at Fez. However, this view has been seriously challenged, and

enough historical evidence is available today to indicate that Fez could very well have been the creation of the first Idrīs rather than that of his son.

Whoever was the real founder of the new capital, it remains true that the transfer of the Idrīsid centre of government to Fez inaugurated a period of decline for Walīlī, despite the burial of Idrīs I in a place located a few kilometres only from old Volubilis, in the village which thereafter acquired the name of Mawlāy Idrīs. By the 6th/12th century, the place was no longer known under the name of Walīlī. Contemporary sources mention it under the Berber name of Tizra, which in Berber means "stones". Apparently, the place was then all in ruin and, therefore, looked more like a field full of stones. In the 8th/14th century, according to al-Djaznā'ī, it was known to the people of the far Maghrib as Ḳaṣr Fir'awn (Pharaoh's castle), a clear tendency to obliterate the memory of Roman Volubilis and to bring it within the pagan pre-Islamic heritage. This name continued to be used until the beginning of this century when, during the First World War, the French employed German prisoners to dig up a large part of the buried city. However, not far from the old Walīlī the burial place of Idrīs I grew from a village into a town-*zāwiya*, especially after the resurgence of Sharīfism during the Marīnid period (7th-9th/13th-15th centuries) and the miraculous discovery in 719/1319 of the mortal remains of Mawlāy Idrīs, in good shape and in their original shroud. Thereafter, a *zāwiya* was built to honour the founder of the Idrīsid dynasty and the town of Mawlāy Idrīs developed into the important pilgrimage centre which it remains today [see MAWLĀY IDRĪS].

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2. Studies. Abdelouahed Ben Talha, *Moulay Idriss du Zerhoun, quelques aspects de la vie sociale et familiale*, Rabat 1965, 9-14; Ahmed Siraj, *L'image de la Tingitane. L'historiographie arabe médiévale et l'antiquité nord-africaine*, Rome 1995, 509-31.

(MOHAMED EL MANSOUR)

WALĪMA [see 'URS].

WĀLISHĀN [see SIBĪ].

WALLACHIA [see EFLĀḲ].

WALLĀDA BT. MUḤAMMAD III B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN, poetess and littérateuse of the Spanish Umayyad family, d. Ṣafar 480/May-June 1087 or 484/1091.

Her father was placed on the throne with the *laḳab* of al-Mustakfī, but reigned for sixteen months only 414-16/1024-5, being killed shortly afterwards. Hence Wallāda's childhood and youth coincided with the particularly troubled and confused end of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain. Aged about sixteen at this time, and the offspring of a slave mother of European origin (*djāriya*), she was able now to exercise a relatively free life and, having received a thorough education in the Islamic literary sciences, she gathered round herself at Cordova a literary salon which was "the rendezvous of the well born, frequented by writers and poets who sought out her friendship, welcoming attitude and the numerous society round her" (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 429). Amongst the famous persons attending her salon was Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*], who had an amorous relationship with Wallāda, much elaborated in the sources, e.g. al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, *Ḳalā'id*, 79-93, in which she herself took the initiative, daring for her time. Wallāda composed verses on this liaison and had them embroidered on her dresses.

The relationship deteriorated, however, when Ibn 'Abdūs [*q.v.*], the *wazīr* of Cordova under the local ruler Abu 'l-Ḥazm Ibn Djahwar [*q.v.*], succeeded in replacing Ibn Zaydūn in her heart. Ibn Zaydūn reacted furiously by trying to pin his own *al-Risāla al-hazliyya* on her, but failed to sow dissension between Wallāda and her new lover, and had to leave Cordova. Wallāda then remained Ibn 'Abdūs's mistress until his death aged 80, never marrying, having no children and also dying aged over 80. At the time of the break with Ibn Zaydūn, Wallāda attacked her ex-lover in verses of a singular coarseness, so much so that Ibn Bassām refused to admit them to the pages of his *Dhakhīra*. The humiliated Ibn Zaydūn was nevertheless subsequently inspired to address one of the finest works of Arabic poetry to her, a *nūniyya* of over 50 verses, an unusual length in Arabic poetry for a love-poem addressed to a lady, replete with the devices of *badī'*. In it, Ibn Zaydūn cleverly reproached Wallāda in a gentle fashion only, mixing this with her praises and contrasting their past happiness with his present misery.

Wallāda has gradually become the type of the free woman of al-Andalus and the symbol of her emancipation. It is true that she appears as freer in her attitudes and her relaxation from certain social constraints than her oriental counterpart. But she must be regarded here as far from typical, even if the political troubles of the time and the more relaxed régimes of the Taifas allowed her a measure of freedom, and indeed, regarded as exceptional, from her father's premature death and the possible inheritance of some of the mores of the *djawārī* from her foreign mother. This exceptional status within the usual Arabo-Muslim aristocracy is probably seen also in Ibn Zaydūn's temerity in addressing to her *galant* verses and speaking freely of his liaison with her. Certainly, his poems to her have immortalised her as much as the poet himself.

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(A. BEN ABDESSELEM)

WALWĀLĪDJ, WARWĀLĪDJ, a town of mediaeval Ṭukhāristān, in what is now northern Afghānistān, mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. 72, 109, as the *ḳaṣaba* or administrative centre of the

province. It lay on the road from Balkh and Khulm [*q.vv.*] to Ṭālaḳān and Badakhshān [*q.vv.*] between the confluence of the Dōshī (Surkh-āb) and Ṭālaḳān rivers, whose united stream then flowed into the Oxus. It seems to be the *A-hua* of Hiuen-tsang, attesting to its existence in pre-Islamic, Hephthalite times. E.G. Pulleyblank suggested that the element *wal-/war-* reflects the name of the Central Asian people of the Avars and that the second component reflects the Altaic word for "town", Tkish. *balïḳ*, Mgl. *balgasun* (*The consonantal system of Old Chinese. Part II*, in *Asia Major*, N.S. ix [1963], 258-9). The town continued to be of importance, including as a mint-centre for the early Ghaznawids in the 420s/1030s, until Saldjūḳ times, but thereafter seems to have been replaced by Ḳunduz (< *kuhan-diz*, perhaps the old citadel of Walwālīdj) [*q.v.*].

At least one literary person was connected with the place, sc. Rūḥī Walwālidjī (*sic*), mentioned by ʿAwfī (? *flor.* in the second half of the 6th/12th century; cf. Storey-de Blois, v, 509-10, 636).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 68, 217, 229; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern caliphate*, 428; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 67; Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islam*, Wiesbaden 1968, i, 271. (C.E. Bosworth)

WĀMIḲ WA ʿADHRĀʾ "the Lover and the Virgin", the names of two exemplary lovers, often referred to in Muslim literatures together with other famous loving couples such as Laylā and Madjnūn, and Yūsuf and Zulaykhā.

Although references to Wāmiḳ and ʿAdhrāʾ are not infrequent, no fixed and widely known story about them has been preserved. The best-known version is that of the Persian poet Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿUnṣurī (d. 431/1039-40 [*q.v.*]). Of this, however, only fragments have survived, partly in isolated verses quoted in lexical works, like the *Lughat-i furs* of Asadī (d. *ca.* 473/1080), and partly in a fragmentary manuscript found as late as the 1950s (see M. Shafi, *Wāmiq-o-Adhrā of ʿUnṣurī*, Lahore 1967). These fragments show clearly that ʿUnṣurī's *mathnawī* poem is based on a Greek story. For a long time the identity of this Greek romance was unclear (cf. I. Kaladze, *Epičeskoe nasledie Unsuri*, Tbilisi 1983, 39-40), but it was recently established that the Greek original is the novel of Metiochos and Parthenope (see T. Hägg, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, lix [1984], 61-91, B. Utas, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxxiii-xxxv [1984-6], 429-41). The authorship of this Parthenope Romance, which has only been preserved in parts, is not known, but it seems to belong to the centuries around the beginning of our era (cf. H. Maehler, in *Zeitschr. für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* [1956], 1-20).

How this story reached ʿUnṣurī about a millennium later is far from clear. There is nothing to substantiate a Middle Persian intermediary, as has been deduced from an anecdote in the *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* by Dawlatshāh (ed. E.G. Browne, London-Leiden 1901, 30). The distortions that some of the Greek names have undergone in the ʿUnṣurī fragment speak against an intermediary in another alphabet than the Arabic, e.g. Maʿshaḳūlī as a distortion of a *Haghsifūlī for Greek Hegesipyle, the step-mother of Wāmiḳ/Metiochos. On the other hand, the *Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm (ed. Flügel, 120) mentions that the director of al-Maʾmūn's Khizānat al-Ḥikma, Sahl b. Hārūn al-Dastmaysānī, among his works counted a *Kitāb Wāmiḳ wa ʾl-ʿAdhrāʾ*, and al-Bīrūnī, in a list of his own works that is preserved in Codex Golius 133 of Leiden, maintains that he has "translated the tale (*ḳiṣṣa*) of Wāmiḳ and ʿAdhrāʾ". Possibly Sahl b. Hārūn had produced an Arabic version which al-Bīrūnī later translated into Persian prose, a story which easily might have been taken over and put into Persian verse by his contemporary ʿUnṣurī.

Both the fragments of the Greek novel and those of the poem by ʿUnṣurī deal mainly with the beginning of the poem (cf. Utas, *op. cit.*, 431-4). The Persian fragments first describe the wedding of ʿAdhrāʾ's father, Fuluḳrāṭ, i.e. Polycrates, king of the island of Samos (here written *sh'ms*), and a certain *Nānī (written *y'ny*). As a result of their union, a remarkable girl is born, who because of her unequalled talents is given the name ʿAdhrāʾ (seemingly a translation of the Greek Parthenope "virgin"). Then the narrative turns to the hero of the story, Wāmiḳ (Ar. "ardent lover", no translation of Greek Metiochos), the son of King Mildhīṭas (Greek Miltiades) of *Karūnīs (for Greek Khersonesos). Because of his evil step-mother, he is forced to flee his native land and ends up in Samos, where he happens to see ʿAdhrāʾ at the entrance of the (Hera) temple. The two immediately fall in love with each other. ʿAdhrāʾ's mother makes the king invite Wāmiḳ to a banquet in the palace, and the sage *Nakhminūs (i.e. the philosopher Anaximenes of Miletus) questions Wāmiḳ on the nature of Eros. This symposium scene is also preserved in the Greek version, partly in almost parallel words. After the discussion of Eros, Wāmiḳ tells a story of how Hermes (written *hrmz*) invented the musical instrument *barbaṭ* (Greek *barbiton*). After that, the available text is too fragmented to allow of a coherent interpretation.

The story of ʿAdhrāʾ is also found in a Persian prose version in the compilation of narratives called *Dārāb-nāma* by Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarsūsī, probably written in the 6th/12th century (ed. Dh. Ṣafā, Tehran 1344/1965, i, 164-5). This version, although very concise, is more complete and continues the story by telling how ʿAdhraʾ's father was executed by his enemy (in fact, the Persian Satrap Oroites, cf. Herodotos 3.124) and ʿAdhrāʾ herself was sold into slavery by his successor *mnd'rs* (for Greek Maiandrios). After many adventures, ʿAdhrāʾ is set free by a kind merchant who promises to bring her to Wāmiḳ. However, the end of the original story remains uncertain.

No less than 24 later poems about the couple Wāmiḳ and ʿAdhrāʾ are known, at least by name. Strangely enough the surviving versions contain stories that differ widely from each other (see Shafi, *op. cit.*, 30-129; M.J. Mahdjūb, in *Sukhan*, xviii [1347], 43-52, 131-42; N. Şahinoğlu, *IA*, art. "Vâmik ve Azrâ"). The two oldest of these works, the Persian poems by Faṣīḥī Djurdjānī (court poet of the Ziyārid Ḳābūs II, 5th/11th century) and Amīr Farkhārī (court poet of the Saldjūḳ Kay Kāwūs in Konya, 7th/13th century) are unfortunately only known by name. After those two in time come a Persian poem by a certain Ḳatīlī Bukhārāʾī (court poet of the Uzbek Shāh Yaʿḳūb, 9th/15th century) and the best-known Turkish version, that of Lāmiʿī (d. 938/1531 [*q.v.*]). The latter was made known in Europe by J. von Hammer-Purgstall (*Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, ii, Pesth 1836-8, 45-63; cf. Utas, in *AO Hung*, xlviii [1995], 229-39). Then follows a great number of little known Turkish and Persian versions and even one poem in Kashmiri (written in 1854 by Sayf al-Dīn Akhund Sayf Kashmīrī, cf. ms. India Office 1733/6).

Bibliography: See also J. von Hammer, *Wamik und Asra, das ist der Glühende und die Blühende. Das älteste persische romantische Gedicht, im Fünftelsaft abgezagen*, Vienna 1833; B. Utas, *Did ʿAdhrā remain a virgin?*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxxiii-xxxv (1984-6), 429-41;

idem, *The ardent lover and the virgin—a Greek romance in Muslim lands*, in *AO Hung*, xlviii (1995), 229-39.

(B. Utas)

WĀN, conventionally Van, the name of a lake and of a town (lat. 38° 28' N., long. 43° 21' E.) in what is now the Kurdish region of south-eastern Turkey.

1. The lake (modern Tkish., Van Gölü). This is a large stretch of water now spanning the *ils* of Van and Bitlis. It lies at an altitude of 1,720 m/5,640 feet, with a rise in level during the summer when the snows on the surrounding mountain ranges melt. Its area is 3,737 km^2/1,443 sq. miles. Being landlocked, with no outlet, it has a high content of mineral salts, especially sodium carbonate, which makes its water undrinkable, but freshwater springs along its shores have always enabled human communities to thrive there, most notably the town of Van (see 2. below). Before the First World War and the subsequent massacres and deportations, there were many Armenians living in its towns and villages, plus some sedentary and transhumant Kurds; the population is now largely Kurdish.

In mediaeval Islamic times, Lake Van was usually known as the Lake of Ardjīsh or Akhlāṭ [*q.vv.*], from the towns on its northern shore. It was famed for its *ṭirrīkh* fish, which were adapted to its waters, and were caught and salted for export as far away as ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān. The early 10th century Armenian church of the Holy Cross, famed for its sculptures, stands on the island of Aghthamar in Lake Van.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 183-4; Admiralty Handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1942-3, i, 187-90; *IA*, art. *Van* (lake and region) (Süha Göney). (C.E. Bosworth)

2. The town. The name Wān is not found in the Arabic sources on the Arab conquest of Armenia (for which see ARMĪNIYA), but Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 348, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 342, mentions Ibn al-Dayrānī as being lord of Zawazān, Wān and Wusṭān (for these places in the Lake Van area and the principality of Vaspurakan to its east, see Marquart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen*, Vienna 1930; Canard, *H'amdanides*, 183-92). In the later 3rd/9th century, the Bagratid Ashot (Ashūṭ) was recognised as king of Armenia by the ʿAbbāsid caliph, with the princes of Vaspurakan, of whom the Artsrunids were the chief, as his vassals.

Already in this century, colonies of Arabs had settled in Armenia, like the *Amīrs* of Manāzkert (Malāzgird [*q.v.*]) whom the Armenians call Kaisikkʿ (< Ḳays) and who ruled on the northern shore of Lake Wān (Apahunik), and the ʿUthmānids (in Armenian, Utʿmanikkʿ) on the northeast shore of the lake, at Bergri and Amiuk. Towards the east, Vaspurakan was exposed to the attacks of the Arab governors of Ādharbāydjān. The Sādjid Afshīn occupied Wān and Wusṭān and appointed eunuchs as governors there (cf. Thomas Artsruni, tr. Brosset, 221).

In 303/916 the Sādjid Yūsuf executed the Bagratid king Smbat in Dwin (cf. Stephen Asoḷik, *History*, iii, chs. iv-v, tr. F. Macler, 18-24). Before this catastrophe, the Artsrunid prince Gagik (through his mother, a nephew of Smbat) had enrolled himself in Yūsuf's suite and by this manœuvre was able to assert the independence of Vaspurakan against Smbat's successors (kings of Ḳars and Ani). The Artsrunid kings were overlords of the principalities of Mokkʿ (now Mukus) and Andzevatsik (cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 359-82).

The Artsrunid princes are several times mentioned in Ibn Miskawayh's *Chronicle*. In 326/937, the troops of the Daylamī chief Lashkarī were defeated near ʿAḳabat al-Tinnīn by Atom b. Djurdjīn (= Gurgen), lord of Zawazān (Ibn Miskawayh, i, 402; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 262). This Atom belonged to the elder line of the Artsrunids, which was eclipsed by that of Hadamakert. In 330/940 (*ibid.*, ii, 33), Daysam, prince of Ādharbāydjān, took refuge with Djadjīḳ b. al-Dayrānī (Gagik b. Deranik). In 342/953 (*ibid.*, ii, 151), Ibn al-Dayrānī and (?) Ibn Djadjīḳ (probably "Deranik b. Gagik") surrendered Daysam to the Musāfarid Marzubān.

In 1004, the Artsrunid Senekʿerim, being pressed on all sides, ceded Vaspurakan to the emperor Basil II, who gave him in exchange Sīwās, to which 40,000 Armenian families followed their king. Byzantine domination was of short duration: the battle of Malāzgird in 463/1071 lost the Byzantines the last of their possessions in Armenia.

The name of Wān is briefly mentioned among the towns of "the province of Akhlāṭ" which the Khʷārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn besieged after the capture of Akhlāṭ in 626/1229 (Bargrī, Manāzgird, Bitlīs, Walashdjird, Wān, Wusṭān).

In the Mongol period (after Arghun Khān, 1284-91), the region of Wān was close to the summer encampments of the Mongol Il-Khānids (on the mountain of Ala-Tagh, the ancient Νιφάτης, Tendürek, to the north-east of Lake Van), but the local authority of Wān must have been in the hands of the Kurd chiefs of Ḥakkārī (see below). Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 102, says that "Wān is a fortress while Wusṭān (Ostan) has been a large town but now is a medium-sized one", and "Its climate and its fruits are good, its water comes from a mountain; its taxes amount to 53,400 dīnārs (Urmiya, 74,999 dīnārs, and Ardabīl, 85,000 dīnārs)".

Towards the end of the 8th/14th century, the rule of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Turkomans, whose hereditary centre was at Ardjīsh, was extended over Wān, but the direct administration remained in the hands of a family of Kurdish begs. When in 789/1387 Tīmūr had plundered the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu encampments of Ala-Tagh, he ordered the destruction of the fortress, but "this building from the time of Shaddād" resisted his efforts. Tīmūr made ʿIzz al-Dīn, lord of the fortress, governor of the "*wilāyat* of Kurdistān" (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 421-4). The ʿIzz al-Dīn, here referred to in the *Ẓafar-nāma*, was an important figure and took part in many of the events of his time (see ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, tr. Quatremère, in *NE*, xiv, 110, 153, 180). The son of ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad was well received by Shāh Rukh in 824/1421. Under Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*], the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu troops conquered Hakkārī and placed it under the Domboli tribe, but the local Nestorian Christians restored the power to a scion of the old family.

After the coming of the Ṣafawids, prince Zāhid b. ʿIzz al-Dīn II entertained friendly relations with Shāh Ismāʿīl. In view of the rival propaganda of the Ṣafawids, the Ottoman empire must have endeavoured to strengthen the very loose organisation given to Kurdistān by Idrīs, but the incorporation of the distant frontier district of Wān, filled with foreign elements, was full of incidents.

Thus in 940/1534, during the offensive of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha against Tabrīz, delegates from Wān gave him the keys of the fortress. But as soon as the cold weather forced Sultan Süleymān's army to withdraw, the Persians advanced to Wān and soon afterwards occupied both this town and Ardjīsh (Iskandar

Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, 51; according to Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 174, the Persians retook Wān in 953/1546). The situation during the years from 940-55/1534-48 is not very clear, but when, at the instigation of the Persian prince Alḳāṣ Mīrzā, Süleymān again marched on Tabrīz, he laid siege to Wān in Radjab 955/August 1548. The town surrendered through the mediation of Alḳāṣ Mīrzā, and the *defterdār* Čerkes Iskender Pasha was appointed governor (see von Hammer, *GOR*², ii, 209; Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 174). From this period date the baths of Rüstem Pasha at Wān and a mosque of 975/1567-8. With the appearance of the Ottoman *mīr-i mīrān* at Wān, the Kurdish chiefs retired to their fiefs of Djūlamerk and Wustān.

In 1013/1604, Čighāle-zāde, appointed commander-in-chief against Persia, established his headquarters at Wān (of which he had previously been *wālī* in 993/1585; see von Hammer, ii, 552). He was besieged there by the Persian troops under the command of Allāh Werdi Khān, and escaped from the fortress by boat. Very soon he undertook a new campaign against Tabrīz, but it ended in a complete débâcle in the autumn of 1014/1605; cf. Iskandar Munshī, 474-6, and TABRĪZ; von Hammer, ii, 678, 660; Gowvea, *Relation des grandes guerres*, French tr. Rouen 1649, book ii, chs. xvi-xviii, 268-86; Arakel de Tauris, *Livre d'histoires*, tr. Brosset, St. Petersburg 1874, ch. vi, 303-7.

About 1008/1600 the administrative organisation of Wān was described by Ḳodja Nishāndjī (934-74/1528-67), who in his *Ṭabaḳāt*, quoted by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, included in this *eyālet* some places now belonging to Persia (e.g. Salmās), and by ʿAyn-i ʿAlī (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in d. moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, 72) who numbers in Wān 13 *sandjaḳ*s and one *ḥükūmet*, including in all 1,115 large and small individual fiefs (*ḳilič*).

Ewliyā Čelebi, who in 1065/1655 accompanied his uncle Aḥmed Melek, who had been appointed *wālī* of Wān, has given us a very full description of the *eyālet* of Wān (iv, 130-90). It is curious that the text is silent about the Christian population, unless this information was suppressed from the printed text by the censorship under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II.

Ewliyā (iv, 176) gives 37 feudal *sandjaḳ*s in Wān of different dimensions and with different privileges. The most important were the *ḥükūmet* of Hakkārī (with an army of 47,000, including 10,000 with guns?), of Bidlīs, Maḥmūdī and Pinyānish.

In the autumn of 1236/1821 the heir to the Persian throne, ʿAbbās Mīrzā, took advantage of some complications with the Ottomans to invade the Turkish territory of Bāyezīd as far as Bitlīs. Diplomatic complications and more particularly the epidemic of cholera, arrested the Persian operations and the status quo was re-established (see Mīrzā Taḳī Sipihr, *Tārīkh-i Ḳādjār*, Tehran, i, under the years 1236-7; cf. R.G. Watson, *A History of Persia... to 1858*, London 1866, 197-221). After the Russo-Japanese war of 1905, the Ottomans in their turn advanced claims to the "unredeemed" territories, and in July 1907 Yāwer Pasha occupied many districts of the region of Salmās [*q.v.*]. The status quo was, however, re-established after the Balkan War (Ottoman note of 12 October 1912) and given legal sanction after the delimitation of 1913-14 (on the basis of the Final Protocol of 17 November 1913).

Wān was at various points in its later mediaeval history a mint centre: under the Il-Khānids, the Tīmūrids, various Turkmen dynasties, the Ṣafawids in their brief occupation of the 10th/16th century and, on various occasions, the Ottomans (see Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islam*, Wiesbaden 1968, i, 269). It also acquired some fine buildings, especially when it came under Ottoman rule in the 10th/16th century and was administered by energetic *beylerbeys* like Iskender Pasha, Rüstem Pasha and Khosrew Pasha. The citadel and walls were repaired, together with the Ulu Cami, which probably dated from the end of the 8th/14th century, and baths, a caravanserai and a covered market built (see *İA*, art. *Van. Tarih*, for details).

Towards the end of the 19th century, V. Cuinet, in his *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891-3, ii, 629-760, gave population estimates for the *wilāyet* of Wān (which then comprised the two *sandjaḳ*s of Wān and Hakkārī [*q.v.*] to its east: 30,000 Turks, 210,000 Kurds, 79,000 Armenians and 92,000 Nestorian or Assyrian Christians, with a total of 430,000. It was during the last decade of this century that Wān was caught up in the Armenian revolutionary activity of the time, with large-scale violence there from 3 to 11 June 1896, in which 500 Armenians and 150 Muslims were killed, and which caused much damage in the town, hardly repaired when Mark Sykes passed through Wān fifteen years later (see his *The Caliphs' last heritage*, London 1915, 419).

In the First World War, Russian troops attacked Van and held it from 20 May 1915 to 4 August 1915, and again, after a brief Turkish re-occupation, from late August until the armistice of 18 December 1917. The town had an estimated population in 1914 of 25,000 Armenians and 10,000 Muslims. Most of the Armenians left with the Russians, but many Armenian villages in the vicinity of the town were sacked and their inhabitants massacred by the Muslims. In 1918, the town was virtually derelict.

Under the Turkish Republic, the town of Van (lat. 38° 28' N., long. 43° 20' E.) gradually revived and became the chef-lieu of a *vilayet*, later *il*, replacing what in Ottoman times had been the *sandjaḳ* of Van. In 1970 the town had a population of 88,600 and the *il* one of 326,000; by 1997 these figures had risen to 226,965 and 762,719 respectively.

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(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

WANG TAI-YU (Wang Daiyu) (*Mathews' Chinese-English dictionary*, revised American ed. 1943, characters nos. 7037, 5997, 7618), Muslim author of one major work and probable author of four minor works in Chinese. His date of birth is unknown, but he called himself an "old man" in 1642; he seems to have died in 1657 or 1658. He tells us that his ancestor was an astronomer who came from Tianfang Hung-wu ("Arabia") to bring tribute during the Ming (Hongwu) era (1368-98).

Wang studied the Islamic sciences in the Islamic languages, presumably Persian and Arabic, but did not begin a serious study of Chinese until he was thirty. He became well versed in the Classics and is comfortable discussing Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist teachings. In the introduction to his major work, he mentions colleagues who had read his book and criticised him for going too deeply into Taoist and Buddhist teachings, and he replies that without borrowing all his terminology from other traditions, he

would have no way to explain Islamic teachings to those unfamiliar with the Islamic languages; it seems his intended audience was primarily well-educated, Chinese-speaking Muslims. He almost never mentions Arabic words and makes no attempt to translate Islamic ideas into Chinese in any direct fashion. His whole effort is focused on re-expressing basic Islamic perspectives in the appropriate Chinese idiom; given the time and place, this gives his writings a markedly Neo-Confucian flavour. Perhaps it needs to be pointed out that Wang and those Muslim scholars who followed him, such as Liu Chih [*q.v.*] (Liu Zhi), represent the first example in Islamic history in which Muslims discussed Islamic teachings in the language of a major intellectual tradition other than their own. He was buried in a graveyard belonging to a mosque in San-li-ho (Sanlihe) in the Western part of Peking or Pei-ching (Beijing), though neither mosque nor graveyard exists today.

Wang's longest work is *Cheng-chiao chen-ch'üan* (Zhengjiao zhenquan) ("The real commentary on the true teaching", Mathews, nos. 351, 719, 297, 1672), the earliest extant book on Islam in Chinese by a Muslim. It was first published during Wang's lifetime in 1642 in Nanking or Nan-chin (Nanjing) and several times subsequently, most recently in 1987 (existing editions also include 1657, 1801, 1873, 1904, and 1933). The editions of 1801 and onwards have a preface explaining that the text was re-engraved by the mosque of Canton. An abridged version by Ma Fu-ch'u and Ma An-li with the title *Chen-ch'üan yao-lu* (Zhenquan yaolu) was published in 1864 and has also been printed with the title *Cheng-chiao chen-ch'üan* (Zhengjiao zhenquan) (bibliographers have sometimes confused the two versions). The book is about 82,000 characters in length and consists of four sections in two books, each book with twenty chapters. Book One is devoted mainly to theological principles, such as the divine attributes, predestination, creation, and human nature. Book Two focuses more on spiritual attitudes, ethics, and various commandments of Islamic law.

A second work is *Ch'ing-chen ta-hsüeh* (Qingzhen daxue) ("The great learning of the pure and the real", nos. 1171, 297, 5943, 2780), which is about 6,000 characters in length. The word *ta-hsüeh* (daxue) or "great learning" refers to the Neo-Confucian classic of the same name, while *ch'ing-chen* (qingzhen), "The pure and the real", refers to "The pure and real teaching", i.e. Islam. The work has been published many times, but the date of its first publication is not known; existing editions include 1827, 1921, and 1931. In it Wang discusses *tawḥīd* in a much more philosophical style than is found in *Cheng-chiao* (Zhengjiao). The work's three chapters deal with topics that seem to correspond with God, the Muḥammadan Reality, and the perfect human being, although the Arabic terms are not mentioned. A third work is *Hsi-chen cheng-ta* (Xizhen zhengda) ("The true answers of the very real", nos. 2416, 297, 351, 5951), a collection of some two hundred conversations in about 25,000 characters. It was first published in 1658, apparently after Wang's death, by his disciple Wu Liang-ch'eng (Wu Liangcheng), and existing editions include those of 1827 and 1925. Some of the conversations take the form of dialogues of varying lengths, and some are single questions and answers. The questioners were Muslims, both *'ulamā'* and common people, and non-Muslims, mainly Confucians. Topics range from metaphysics to details of daily ritual. In the 1925 edition, this work includes two short treatises whose authorship has been disputed but which are apparently by Wang. One is called the "appendix" or *fu-lu* (fulu), the other the "addendum" or *sheng-yü* (shengyu). The first, in about 3,000 characters, adds thirty-six conversations in the same style as the main text; the second is a series of short questions from Buddhist monks with equally short answers in about 4,000 characters.

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(SACHIKO MURATA)

WANGARA, a people of West Africa.

The Wangara identity appears to have been formed in the context of the long distance trade, first of imperial Ghana, and then, in the 13th century, of imperial Mali [*q.v.*]. The earliest reference to the Wangara is probably that by Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī of Cordova in 460/1067-8, who wrote of the black gold merchants of Yarasna, a Muslim town in lands of unbelievers somewhere in the region of the headwaters of the Niger river. Writing for Roger II of Sicily almost ninety years later, al-Idrīsī referred to the inland delta of the Niger as "the country of Wangara" and commented that "its inhabitants are rich, for they possess gold in abundance...." In the 17th century the Timbuktu author of the *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* essayed a definition: "The Wankara and Malinke are of one origin. Malinke is used to mean the soldier among them, whereas Wankara refers to the one who engages in trade and travels from one horizon to another."

The vast network of trade built up by the Wangara extended from the Sahelian termini of the trans-Saharan caravans and the great entrepôts of the western and central Sudan, southwards to the rich, gold-bearing forest country of the hinterland of the Guinea Coast between the Volta and Comoé rivers. Along the roads they established trading posts, most commonly adding their own quarters to existing towns and villages. Many of the communities of the Wangara diaspora were far beyond the authority of any Muslim ruler, and the settlers were obliged to live among, do business with, and rely on the protection of those whom they regarded as unbelievers.

Drawing upon writings of early Mālikī jurists, Wangara scholars rationalised their position within the *dār al-ḥarb*. Most influential of these was the late-15th to early 16th century al-Ḥādjdj Sālim Suwari who, while holding that relations with unbelievers need not be confrontational, stressed the importance of education and introduced a system of licensing, by *isnād*, teachers of the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* of al-Maḥallī and al-Suyūṭī, and the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik. In the 19th century the "Suwarian" rejection of *djihād* as an instrument of change brought them into conflict with militant reformers. Early in the century, the Wangara of Yandoto and Kurmin Dan Ranko, in Hausaland, failed to support 'Uthmān b. Fūdī's [*q.v.*] call for *djihād*, and both towns were destroyed. In the 1880s Wa and Nasa (in present-day Ghana) were sacked by the Zabarima warlord Babatu, and in the next decade the forces of Almami Samori massacred the *'ulamā'* of Kong and

Buna (in Côte d'Ivoire or Ivory Coast). The Wangara were consequently inclined to regard the French colonial forces if not as liberators, at least as allies. The tolerant and liberal nature of the "Suwarian" ideology enabled them to adjust comfortably to French and British administrations, and to the subsequent post-independence régimes and governments.

The Wangara of the eastern diaspora have now become, other than in their own remembrance, all but totally assimilated to the culture of Hausaland. In contrast, those of the southern diaspora, extending into the modern republics of Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and Ghana, have developed an identity of their own. They call themselves Juula (Dyula, etc.) and still, in some contexts, Wangara. They speak their own dialect of Mandekan, refer their origins to Mande Kaba in Old Mali, and continue to revere al-Ḥādjdj Sālim Suwari. They remain a highly entrepreneurial class within the modern states.

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(I. Wilks)

WĀNḲULĪ, Meḥmed b. Muṣṭafā al-Wānī, famous Ottoman jurist in the time of Murād III (982-1003/1574-95), who especially distinguished himself in the field of *fiḳh*, lexicography and literature.

Born in Wān [*q.v.*], he acted in a number of towns (Istanbul, Rhodes, Manisa, Salonika, Amasya, Kutāhiya, Yeñis̲h̲ehir) as *müderris*, *ḳāḍī* and *mollā*, and died in 1000/1591-2 as *mollā* of Medina, to which he had come in 998/1590 in succession to Suʿūdī. In his long period of 30 years' service, he displayed great activity in writing and translating. His principal work was the Turkish translation of the *Ṣaḥāḥ* or *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Dj̲awharī [*q.v.*], more esteemed by some people than the *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī. This work brought him enduring fame. It was printed in 1141/1729 by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.*], as one of the first books printed in Turkey [see maṭbaʿa. B. 2.], with a second printing, in two volumes, in 1169-70/1757-7. His translation of al-G̲h̲azālī's *Kīmiyā' al-saʿāda* (which according to Meḥmed Ṭāhir is also attributed by many to Nawalī) is celebrated. In addition to a few brief works like his *Tardjīḥ-i bayyināt wa-tartīb-i siyāsat*, he wrote commentaries on the *Dürer-i g̲h̲urer* entitled *Naḳd al-dürer* and on the *Ferā'id-i seyyidī*; also one on the *Wesīle* entitled *Miftāḥ al-nadjāh*.

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(Th. Menzel)

WANS̲H̲ARĪS, conventionally Ouarsenis, the name of a mountain massif in the central Algerian Tell. Lying to the southwest of Algiers, Wans̲h̲arīs owes its toponomy to its central part, the Kef Sidi Amar (1,985 m/6,510 feet), whose imposing pyramidal peak dominates from 800 m/2,625 feet the nearby topography (Berber *wans̲h̲arīs* = "nothing higher"). For local people, this term only applies to the central part, but modern geographers have extended it to the whole massif.

The early history of the massif is little known, though there are numerous prehistoric sites to the west of the Oued Rhiou, such as that of Columnate, but these tend to be peripheral, and there is very little in the central and eastern parts of the massif. It seems likewise to have been avoided by the Romans, and their roads (and their *limes*) are marked out along the Chélif valley and the southern piedmont (Sersou).

The population was formerly Zanāta Berber, but the mediaeval geographers, and even Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, hardly mention them, since their itineraries could not cross this inaccessible region. C. Courtois (1955), basing himself on Procopius, suggested the hypothesis of a Wans̲h̲arīs political entity bordering on Chélif to the north and Sersou to the south. At the time of the colonial period in Algeria, Berber speech still persisted among the Beni Hindel and in the region of Théniet el Had (T̲h̲āniyat al-Ḥadd) (R. Basset, 1895), but these have totally disappeared today. This complete Arabisation of a mountain region, difficult of access, seems hard to explain when other less difficult massifs have remained Berberophone.

The local population was tribally organised and, at the time of the French conquest, local prophets, the best known being Bou Maza, tried to achieve unity there. Colonial settlements soon appeared, and were more numerous than one might expect in such an unwelcoming milieu. There were a series of zones of colonisation in the northern valleys, before the massif opens out on the Chélif (Massena, Bougainville and Lamartine), a series along the southern piedmont (Waldeck Rousseau and Liébert) and a series in the massif itself (Guillaumet, Molière, Théniet el Had and Letourneux). Today it is organised administratively as the Commune Mixte of Ouarsenis, with five component *wilāyas*, based on the piedmont towns of Ain Defla, Chélif, Relizane, Tissemsilt and Tiaret.

The Wans̲h̲arīs massif is oblong in shape, some 200 km/125 miles long and comparatively clearly delimited: in the north by the Chélif valley (100-200 m altitude), in the south by the Sersou plains and the Nahr Ouessel (900-1,000 m), to the west by the Mina valley and to the east by the course of the Chélif. The massif is made up of mountain ridges running essentially west to east, with gritstone ridges and clayey and marno-schistous formations. Deep valleys like those of the oueds Deudeur, Fodda, Rouina and Sly fall towards the great valley of the Chélif, but make communications difficult because they cut across the longitudinal lines without creating real axes for everyday life. With moderate precipitation (628 mm at Théniet el Had), there are layers of classic vegetation patterns: oleasters and lentiscus regions in the lower parts; above these, Aleppo pine forests; from 900 m/2,950 feet upwards, oak forests; and from 1,300 m/4,265 feet, a few fine cedars, which have led to the formation of national parks (Parc National de l'Ouarsenis at

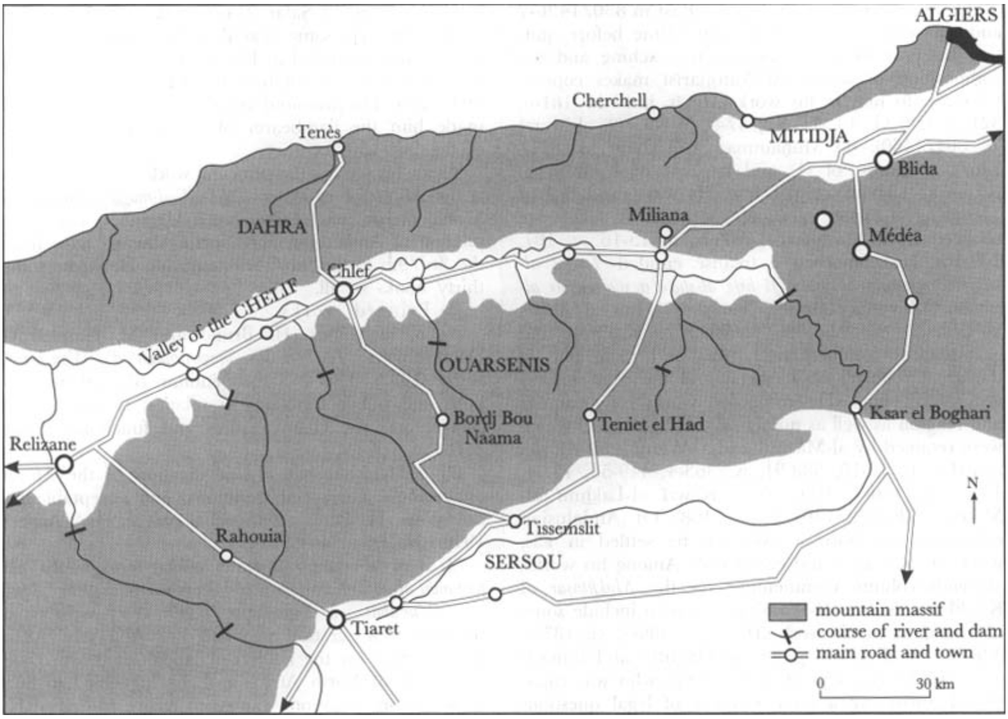

Bordj Bou Naama and the Parc Nationale des Cèdres at Théniet el Had). Until the mid-19th century, lions and panthers were numerous but they had been exterminated by the beginning of the 20th century.

A specific feature of this massif is the functioning of a mini-community, the *bocca*, whose administrative coverage often corresponds to a cleared area, with a hamlet which marks the countryside by its irrigated gardens and orchards. The people were semi-nomadic, living in tents during the hot season and in modest houses of stone during the rest of the year; they are nowadays completely sedentarised.

The tribes, comprised on average of five to twelve *boccas*, take advantage of the complementarities of the land to compensate for the poverty of the milieu as a whole: those of the northern slopes with limits taking in the valley of the Chélif, and those of the southern slopes bordering on cereal-growing piedmont areas. One can thus understand that the century of colonisation, breaking the continuity of these administrative areas and leading to a demographic explosion, was marked by upsets to the traditional balances previously existing (Dj. Sari, 1977). Deforestation and forms of erosion are often spectacular. The population, too great for the skimpy cultivable land (average density = 60 persons per km^2), has led to the existence, for several decades, of severely disadvantaged groups.

Within the framework of independent Algeria, the installation of state enterprises, modernisation of the road system and the improvement of administrative divisions, have strongly contributed to integrating the massif into the national economy and life. Even so, the Wan<u>sh</u>arīs massif functions mainly as a reservoir for water supplies, with a dozen barrages, of varying sizes, across the north-flowing rivers and thus irrigating the Chélif valley, and as a reservoir for man-power, with a migration extending over the last four or five decades to the plains and towns around the massif. Hence the true capitals of the massif are outside it, Chélif to the north and Tiaret to the south.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Étude sur la zenatia de l'Ouarsenis et du Maghreb central*, Paris 1895; X. Yacono, *Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie dans l'Ouest du Tell algérois*, Algiers 1953; C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1955; Dj. Sari, *L'activité minière de l'Ouarsenis*, in *Annales algériennes de géographie*, vii (1969), 7-25; idem, *Les populations de l'Ouarsenis central*, in *Mediterranée*, Aix 1972, nos. 3-4, 89-117; J. Lizot, *Métidja, un village algérien de l'Ouarsenis*, Memoires du CRAPE no. 22, Algiers 1973; Sari, *L'homme et l'érosion dans l'Ouarsenis (Algérie)*, Algiers 1977. (M. Côte)

AL-WAN<u>SH</u>ARĪSĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAlī (834-914/1431-1508), Mālikī jurist and *muftī*, born possibly in the Ouarsenis (Algeria, Ar. Wan<u>sh</u>arīs [*q.v.*]), where he grew up and pursued his education. His family belonged to one of the numerous Berber tribes which populated these mountains. At this time, the situation was relatively unstable on the political, military and social levels, on account of the struggles for power between the Zayyānī family [see ʿabd al-wādids], the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*], who were intent on taking control of Tlemcen, and the local tribes who were allied with the Marīnids [*q.v.*] in opposing the kings of Tlemcen. Shortly after his birth, the family left the mountains of the Ouarsenis to settle in Tlemcen, where he was educated. The most eminent intellectual figures of Tlemcen were his teachers. These were jurists, and consequently al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī's education was predominantly a legal one in addition to linguistic studies.

Among the teachers whose classes he attended were: (1) Ḳāsim al-ʿUḳbānī (d. 854/1450-1), eminent jurist

of Tlemcen, who travelled to the East in 830/1426-7 and was *ḳāḍī* of this city for some time before quitting his post to devote himself to teaching and the composition of *fatwās*. Al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī makes copious reference to him in his work (*Miʿyār*, i, 10-11, 181-6, 321-2, 428, vi, 40, 41, 42, 47-8, 504-5). (2) al-Murrī (d. 864/1460). (3) Muḥammad al-ʿUḳbānī (d. 871/1467), grandson of (1) and nephew of Ibrāhīm b. Ḳāsim al-ʿUḳbānī, cited below. He was grand *ḳāḍī* of Tlemcen, an expert in *nawāzil*; some of his *fatwās* are retained by al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī (*Miʿyār*, ii, 15-16, v, 107, 109-10). He composed a treatise entitled *Tuḥfat al-nāẓir wa-<u>gh</u>unyat al-<u>dh</u>ākir fī ḥifẓ al-<u>sh</u>aʿāʾir wa-ta<u>gh</u>yīr al-manākir* (Zaytūna Library, Tunis). (4) Ibn al-ʿAbbās al-ʿUbbādī (d. 871/1466), teacher of Ḳurʾānic and grammatical commentaries, jurist and *muftī*, one of the great scholars of Tlemcen and the most important of his time. He composed works on grammar and religion as well as numerous *fatwās*, some of which were retained by al-Māzūnī and al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī (*Miʿyār*, i, 404-7, ii, 17-18, 388-91, iv, 363-4, 449-50, 451-4, 454-7, v, 106-7, 109). (5) al-Ḳawrī al-La<u>kh</u>mī al-Miknāsī (804-72/1401-2 to 1468). Of Andalusian extraction but born in Meknès, he settled in Fās, where he was *muftī* and grand *ḳāḍī*. Among his works, an eight-volume commentary on the *Mu<u>kh</u>taṣar* of <u>Kh</u>alīl stands out. Al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī was to include some of his *fatwās* in his work (*Miʿyār*, ii, 396-7, vii, 187-8, 328-9). (6) Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>allāb al-Ma<u>gh</u>īlī al-Tilimsānī (d. 875/1470-1), a jurist of Tlemcen, who was capable of answering a large number of legal questions without referring to texts, relying solely on memory. He held the post of grand *ḳāḍī* of Tlemcen and was the author of *fatwās* reproduced by al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī (*Miʿyār*, iv, 349, 366, 454). (7) Abū Sālim al-ʿUḳbānī (808-80/1405-6 to 1475-6), *muftī* of Tlemcen and author of numerous works, who was grand *ḳāḍī* of this city following the removal of his nephew Muḥammad. His *fatwās* were collected by al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī (*Miʿyār*, i, 177-8, iv, 302, 326-7). (8) Ibn Ḥarzūza (d. 883/1478), preacher and expert in *uṣūl*. (9) Ibn Marzūḳ al-Kafīf (d. 901/1421), born in Tlemcen where he also died, author of a commentary on *fatwās*. (10) Ibn Zakrī al-Ma<u>gh</u>rāwī al-Mānawī al-Tilimsānī (d. 899 or 900/1493) who was *ḳāḍī* and *muftī*, and who studied the foundations and applications of the law. Author of numerous judicial works, he issued *fatwās* reproduced by al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī (*Miʿyār*, ii, 217-18, 228-9, ix, 312-16). (11) al-Ḳāḍī al-Miknāsī (d. 917/1511), grand *ḳāḍī* of Fās for more than thirty years, the author of a work on the judiciary.

In 885/1482, al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī was awarded a diploma by two Egyptian *ʿulamāʾ*, Abū ʿAmr ʿU<u>th</u>mān al-Diyyāmī and Muḥammad al-Sa<u>kh</u>āwī. When he was approaching his fortieth year, a conflict, the reasons for which are no longer known, led to a confrontation with the Zayyānī sultan Muḥammad IV (d. 910/1504). His house was ransacked and he was forced to flee and take up residence in Fās on 1 Muḥarram 874/11 July 1469.

During this second phase of his life in Fās, al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī was treated as a distinguished person, occupying various teaching posts, and thereby arousing hostility on the part of the *ʿulamāʾ*, leading to his dismissal from these posts. He taught in the Muʿallaḳ mosque, in the al-<u>Sh</u>arraṭīn quarter of Fās al-Ḳarawiyyīn, and occupied the *Mudawwana* chair in the Miṣbāḥiyya *madrasa*. Little is known of his personal life, but it is assumed that he married in Fās since his son ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, the only one mentioned, was born in this city *ca.* 880/1475-6.

He died on 20 Ṣafar 914/Tuesday, 20 June 1508 aged eighty, the same year that the Spanish captured Oran. He was buried in Fās, in the Kudyat al-Barātīl cemetery, near the tomb of Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda (d. 792/1390). His profound knowledge of Mālikī *fiḳh* had made him the flag-bearer of the school at the end of the 9th/15th century.

As for his œuvre, the principal work of al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī is the *Miʿyār al-muʿrib wa ʾl-<u>dj</u>āmiʿ al-mu<u>gh</u>rib ʿan fatāwī ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya wa ʾl-Andalus wa ʾl-Ma<u>gh</u>rib*, a vast compilation of Andalusian and North African *fatwas* from the 3rd/9th to the 9th/15th centuries. He wrote some thirty books in all.

(a) Printed works.

(1) *K. al-Wilāyāt* (H. Bruno and M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le livre des magistratures d'el-Wancherisi*, Rabat 1937). This is a compendium of legal jurisdictions and public functions in relation to the judicial power, and the characteristics and functions of the *ḳāḍī*.

(2) *al-Mustaḥsan min al-bidaʿ*. Section of the *Miʿyār* on customs and social traditions, and acceptable innovations (H. Pérès, *al-Mustaḥsan min al-bidaʿ*, Algiers 1946; *Miʿyār*, ii, 461-511).

(3) *Asnā al-matā<u>dj</u>ir fī bayān aḥkām man <u>gh</u>alaba ʿalā waṭanihi al-naṣārā wa-lam yuhā<u>dj</u>ir wa-mā yatarattabu ʿalayhi min al-ʿuḳūbāt wa ʾl-zawā<u>dj</u>ir*. *Fatwā* tract written in response to a question formulated by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Ḳūṭiyya on the subject of Andalusians who had emigrated to North Africa and, having failed to find a satisfactory situation, wanted to return to Spain (H. Muʾnis, *Asnā al-matā<u>dj</u>ir...*, in *RIEIM*, v [Madrid 1957], 129-91; *Miʿyār*, ii, 90 ff.).

(4) "Prologue" to the *Mu<u>th</u>lā* of Ibn al-<u>Kh</u>aṭīb. An epigraph written in response to the satire of the Granadan vizier attacking the notaries of his day for their corruption and incompetence.

(5) *Wafayāt*. Obituary notices honouring distinguished persons of the Ma<u>gh</u>rib from 701/1301 to 912/1507 (Ḥamzāwiyya library, ms. no. 240; al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī, *Wafayāt*, ed. Ḥa<u>djdj</u>ī, in *Alf sana min al-wafayāt*, Rabat 1976).

(6) *Īḍāḥ al-masālik ilā ḳawāʿid al-imām Abī ʿAbd Allāh Mālik*. Compendium of judicial principles and norms for the application of the law (ed. Aḥmad Bū Ṭāhir al-<u>Kh</u>aṭṭābī, Rabat 1980, ed. al-Ṣādiḳ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-<u>Gh</u>iryānī (?), Tripoli (Libya) 1401/1991).

(7) *Naẓm al-durar al-maʾ<u>th</u>ūra wa-ḍamm al-aḳwāl al-ṣaḥīḥa...* Letter replying to objections and criticisms issued by a jurist of Tlemcen on the subject of a *fatwā* concerning a transaction (*Miʿyār*, vi, 574-606).

(8) *Tanbīh al-ḥā<u>dh</u>iḳ al-nadis ʿalā <u>kh</u>aṭaʾ man sawwā bayna <u>dj</u>āmiʿ al-ḳarawiyyīn wa ʾl-Andalus* (*Miʿyār*, i, 251-74).

(9) *Tanbīh al-ṭālib al-darrāk ʿalā taw<u>dj</u>īh ṣiḥḥat al-ṣulḥ al-munʿaḳid bayna Ibn Saʿd wa ʾl-Ḥabbāk* (*Miʿyār*, vi, 532-4).

(10) A biography of al-Maḳḳarī al-<u>Dj</u>add.

(b) Lithographed works.

(11) *al-Manha<u>dj</u> al-fāʾiḳ wa ʾl-manhal al-rāʾiḳ wa ʾl-maʿnā al-lāʾiḳ bi-adab al-muwa<u>thth</u>iḳ wa-aḥkām al-wa<u>th</u>āʾiḳ* (Fās 1881, 384 pp.). The central theme of this work is the composition of notary documents and the function of the notary.

(12) *<u>Gh</u>unyat al-muʿāṣir wa ʾl-tālī fī <u>sh</u>arḥ fiḳh wa<u>th</u>āʾiḳ al-ḳāḍī al-Fi<u>sh</u>tālī*. This is a commentary on al-Fi<u>sh</u>tālī's work on notary documents, written in the margin of a copy of this text (Fās 1890).

(13) *Mubdī li-<u>kh</u>aṭaʾ al-Ḥumaydī*, on the marriage of people hindered by legal obstructions, such as guardianship or minority (Fās 1895).

(14) *ʿUddat al-burūḳ fī <u>dj</u>amʿ (tal<u>kh</u>īṣ) mā fī (/min) ʾl-ma<u>dh</u>hab min (/fī) l-<u>dj</u>umūʿ wa ʾl-furūḳ*. Large two-volume

treatise dealing with controversial questions of law (ed. Ḥamza Abū Fāris, Beirut 1990).

(15) *Īḍāʾat al-ḥalak wa 'l-murdjiʿ bi 'l-darak ʿalā man aftā min fuḳahāʾ Fās bi-taḍmīn al-rāʿī al-mushtarak*, the work written in Fās, responding to criticisms levelled at his judicial decisions.

(c) Works still in manuscript.

(16) *Mukhtaṣar aḥkām al-Burzulī* (Ḳarawiyyīn Library, Fās; General Library of Rabat, 1343, D. 1447; Royal Library of Rabat, 9843, 8462).

(17) *Sharḥ muṣṭalaḥāt al-Mukhtaṣar al-fiḳhī li-Ibn ʿArafa.*

(18) *K. al-adjwiba* or *Adjwiba fiḳhiyya* or *Fatāwā* (General Library of Rabat, K. 684: Tetuan Library, 654).

(19) *K. al-asʾila wa 'l-adjwiba* (General Library of Rabat, D. 2197).

(20) *Risāla fī 'l-masāʾil al-fiḳhiyya* (Princeton University Library, 178).

(21) *K. al-Fawāʾid al-muhimma* (General Library of Rabat, Q. 1061).

(22) *Ḳawāʿid al-madkhal* (Royal Library of Rabat, 2052).

(23) *Fahrasa* (not located).

(d) Other lost works.

(24) *K. al-wāʿī li masāʾil al-aḥkām wa 'l-tadāʿī.*

(25) *Taʿlīḳ ʿalā Ibn al-Ḥādjib al-Farʿī.*

(26) *Ḥall al-ribḳa ʿan asīr al-ṣafḳa.*

(27) *K. al-ḳawāʿid fī 'l-fiḳh.*

(28) *al-Durar al-ḳalāʾid wa-ghurar wa 'l-fawāʾid.*

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WARAʿ (A.) in Islamic religious terminology denotes religious scrupulousness and delicacy of conscience. Neither the term itself nor its root is found in the Ḳurʾān, but it nevertheless enjoyed a great renown in relation to various spheres, their sole common point being their falling under the topic of legal status (*ḥukm*). Hence its history may perhaps be grouped under the question of the relation between the law (*sharʿ*) and the mystical perspective.

In the 3rd/9th century, in a region with a strong eremitical tradition like Egypt, one finds the conciliatory position of Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī [*q.v.*] for whom *waraʿ*, conceived as total abstinence, allows one to reach the extreme of asceticism (*zuhd* [*q.v.*]). However, in Baghdād at the same time, the conflict between the two attitudes became exacerbated. A *K. al-Waraʿ* attributed by tradition to Ibn Ḥanbal is actually by his immediate disciple Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī, relating from (*ʿan*) his master. This is a collection of anecdotes concerning the uncertainty of pious Muslims that, when involved in an action apparently without consequences, they may be contaminated by its possible results, even in a long-distance fashion. This compilation is without order, but one can discern the significant frequency of verbs like *kariha* "detest"—in nineteen paragraph titles out of fifty—and *ʿadjiba* "be astonished", showing the essential motivation of the pious man as being the feeling of repulsion or at least fear of scandal. The same solicitude is found in the work of the same title by Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā [*q.v.*], which is more orderly, since he classifies his anecdotes by theme or by reference to famous persons. Al-Muḥāsibī [*q.v.*] in his *K. al-Makāsib wa 'l-waraʿ wa 'l-shubuhāt*, cites Ibn Ḥanbal four times, and explicitly places *waraʿ* below renunciation of the world (*zuhd*).

This is, furthermore, the position attributed by the texts to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], but one wonders whether this is not an attempt to cite an ancient authority during a polemic obviously of the 3rd/9th century. Al-Muḥāsibī's text is considered to be one written in his maturity, representing not only an elaboration of his thought but also his awareness of the various nuances in the opinions of his contemporaries. His solution was to co-ordinate them by placing them in a hierarchy. He starts from a definition of the Good as doing what God has ordained and renouncing what He has forbidden. Fear of God (*taḳwā* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) is that which integrates purity of intention with works so that the actual work is done for God alone. The resultant *waraʿ* does not extend merely to clothing and food, as certain people think, but to the fear of God in all circumstances where there is a prohibition or an obligation. Four conditions are necessary for genuine scruple. Two are obligatory: not to do anything that God has forbidden, such as innovation or heresy, and not to take or make anything illicit that God has permitted, whilst the other two are recommended: to avoid anything ambiguous, lest it be illicit, and to avoid everything that, although licit in itself, can serve as a means for illicitness (e.g. gossip, which can lead to defamation or lying). A criterion is necessary in order to avoid becoming victim to an illusion: this consists of resisting temptation when it presents itself, intention alone not being enough. This is why renunciation is better than scrupulousness.

The various aspects of this doctrine are developed by later authorities. Al-Tirmidhī stressed the doctrine of *taḳwā*, defined by him as *wiḳāyat al-ḳalb wa 'l-waraʿ* "guarding the heart and scrupulous abstention". But it was above all the hierarchisation of the mystical "stations", subsequently elaborated, that allowed the progressive integration of the mystical approach within the ensemble of the believer's attitudes. The following stages may be distinguished:

(1) Al-Sarrādj [*q.v.*] considers that the mystic's scrupulosity must exceed that of the ordinary believer. He places it in second place after *tawba*, repentance, but before *zuhd*, *faḳr*, poverty, *ṣabr*, endurance of adversity, *tawakkul*, confidence in God, and, finally, *riḍā*, submission to and agreement with the divine will.

(2) In his *Book of stages*, al-Anṣārī defines *waraʿ* as "the last stage of *zuhd* for the masses and the first one of *zuhd* for the élite", and he distinguishes three degrees of it: (a) concerning obligations; (b) "the maintaining of sanctions for what is not in itself evil, through reserve and *taḳwā*, by [desire of] elevating oneself above base things, and in order to be pure of all infringement of the legal penalties (*ḥudūd*)"; and (c) "scrupulosity towards everything which tends towards the dispersion of time and attachment for separation, and which is opposed to the state of union".

(3) Finally, al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] in his *Iḥyāʾ*, defines four degrees: (a) simple observance of all which issues from the Islamic profession of faith, sc. abstinence from what is clearly forbidden (*ḥarām*); (b) the scrupulosity of the *ṣāliḥūn*, abstinence from everything which is dubious; (c) that of the *muttaḳūn*, sc. abstention from all that is licit in itself but which might lead to what is forbidden; and (d) that of the *ṣiddīḳūn*, which is "turning away from everything which is other than

God through fear of wasting an hour of one's life on things which do not increase one's nearness to God".

This classification was to be later completed by the idea of *tark al-waraʿ* "abandonment of scruple", to which Ibn al-ʿArabī devotes a chapter in his *Futūḥāt* after that on *waraʿ*. This concerns only gnosis. In effect, abstention from what is licit and necessary would be disobedience, and abstention from what is licit and superfluous concerns only *zuhd*. Conversely, the person who does not have his eyes fixed only on the things of this world but sees in them only the face of God cannot apprehend the signs which would guide him towards scrupulosity regarding what is doubtful.

Even so, these distinctions are not always respected by the person who makes them himself, e.g. Ibn al-ʿArabī, who in his profession of faith uses *waraʿ* and *zuhd* almost without distinction.

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(D. Urvoy)

WĀRĀD [see nagyvárad].

WARADĪN (Serbian Petrovaradin, Hungarian Pétervárad, German Peterwardein), a town and centre of a *nāḥiye* in Ottoman Hungary (lat. 45° 15' N., long. 19° 55' E.), earlier a settlement on both sides of the Danube in the mediaeval Hungarian counties of Bács and Szerém; today the southern part of Novi Sad (Hungarian Újvidék) in Serbia.

The place was already inhabited in Roman times as Cusum. Of its later history nothing is known until the 13th century, when the Hungarian king Béla IV (1235-70) conveyed it to the Cistercians. After 1439 it was under the patronage of the *banus* of Macsó. The northern part of the town, which had 18 heads of families and a widow, most of them with Hungarian names and insignificant Southern Slav infiltration, was registered as Vasarus Varad in 1522. However, the inhabitants could not pay taxes since the settlement "was devastated and desolated".

Among the fortifications along the Danube, the stronghold of Waradīn was of considerable importance in the first line of the Hungarian defence system against the Ottomans. In March 1523, Bālī, the *beg* of Semendire, made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer it. During the 1526 campaign of Sultan Süleymān I, the castle was captured after a siege of two weeks.

Waradīn became the centre of a *nāḥiye* and of a *ḳaḍāʾ* within the *liwā* of Szerém/Sirem which belonged to the province of Buda [*q.v.*]. It served as a significant crossing-place during imperial and other campaigns.

In the 16th century, the population of the town was small and the yield of ordinary taxes modest. Around 1570, the majority of the inhabitants were Muslims, many of whom possessed a vineyard and a piece of arable land, and there was a strong Southern Slav minority and no Hungarians. The number of soldiers in the castle was some 300 to 400 men in peace-time. The sum to be paid from tithes and dues amounted to 3,740 *aḳčes* around 1550, 6,001 *aḳčes* in 1560, 10,001 *aḳčes* around 1570, and 12,425 in 1591. Local people failed to gain *derbenddji* status in compensation for their work at the landing-place and for the upkeep of the temporary bridges there. However, they were granted certain immunities including payment in kind. Ships owned by Muslim merchants in Waradīn appear with various goods, mainly cereals, in Buda in 1571-3.

In 1687 Waradīn, together with several strongholds in the vicinity, was taken by the forces of the Christian allies. Ottoman attempts in 1694 and 1716 at regaining it ended with failure. In the second battle for it, even the Grand Vizier died. This decisive defeat, as well as the loss of Temeshwār [*q.v.*] and Belgrade [*q.v.*] led to the 1718 peace of Požarevac [see pasarofča] when the border was drawn far below Waradīn.

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(G. Dávid)

WARAḲA b. NAWFAL, an early Arabian monotheist and contemporary of the Prophet.

Biographical details concerning Waraḳa are few in number and legendary in character, since in one way or another they all relate to his kerygmatic role in the narrative of Muḥammad's earliest revelation. Waraḳa was the son of Nawfal b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Ḳuṣayy, who is said to have been killed in the last "Battle of the Sacrilege" (*yawm al-Fidjār al-ākhir*) (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Beirut 1986, 68-9), and of Hind bt. Abī Kathīr. He was thus the cousin of the Prophet's first wife Khadīdja [*q.v.*], but unlike her line (that of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā), his left no descendants of note. According to Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, viii, 8; cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, Cairo 1959, 407), Khadīdja had been "proposed" (*dhukirat*) to Waraḳa, but the marriage did not take place; and this, at least in part, probably explains the traditionists' occasional sensitivity about their relations (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 130). One wonders how this account relates to another, according to which Waraḳa's sister proposed marriage to ʿAbd Allāh, Muḥammad's father.

Frequently mentioned alongside ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djaḥsh, ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith (for whom he composed an elegy, *rithāʾ*), and Zayd b. ʿAmr (the latter sometimes called his *nadīm*, or boon companion), Waraḳa is counted among those contemporaries of Muḥammad who abandoned polytheism before his call to prophethood. Like other *ḥanīfs*, Waraḳa not infrequently appears circumambulating the Kaʿba, and for Kaʿba protocol is cited by al-Azraḳī (*Akhbār Makka*, Madrid 1979, i, 175, 182; cf. U. Rubin, Ḥanīfiyya *and Kaʿba: an inquiry into the Arabian pre-Islamic background of* dīn Ibrāhīm, in *JSAI*, xiii [1990], 97). Unlike most other *ḥanīfs*, however, Waraḳa is also said to have converted to Christianity, apparently while travelling through Syria (and elsewhere); it is presumably during these travels that he came to study under "people of the Gospel and Torah", and to learn (written) Arabic and even Hebrew. Whatever truth one attaches to these travel accounts, Waraḳa's knowledge of an Arabic Gospel is almost certainly anachronistic (see

S.H. Griffith, *The Gospel in Arabic. An inquiry into its appearance in the first Abbasid century*, in *Oriens Christianus*, lxix [1985], 144-9), even if his literacy is possible (according to al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, 81, Waraḳa's sister also consulted books). Some of the poetry attributed to Waraḳa is occasionally credited to another *ḥanīf*, Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt [*q.v.*].

Although he is associated with Muḥammad very early on—Waraḳa and an unidentified Ḳurashī are said to have found the young boy, who had strayed from his suckling mother, and returned him to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, an account that implicitly presumes Waraḳa's recognition of Muḥammad's prophecy at the time of his birth (thus Ibn Isḥāḳ, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, i, 167)—it is in connection with accounts of the earliest *āyas* (traditionally XCVI, 1-5) that Waraḳa earned his place in early Islamic history, confirming that Muḥammad's first, tentative, revelation was indeed authentic. "There has come to him," Waraḳa says, "the greatest law (*nāmūs*) that came to Moses" (*nāmūs* being interpreted as the angel Gabriel); "surely he is the prophet of this people" (Ibn Isḥāḳ, i, 238). The exact details are very hard to pin down, however. Sometimes Khadīdja sends Muḥammad to Waraḳa; sometimes she goes alone, and reports his words to the Prophet; sometimes she is accompanied by Abū Bakr; the last of these clearly suggests that the story came to express claims about which Companion had been converted first (noted by M.J. Kister, Al-Taḥannuth. *An inquiry into the meaning of a term*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi [1968], 224 n. 13, with more sources). Aside from the question of who exactly was involved, traditionists were keenly interested in Waraḳa's response. The consensus seems to have been that, having recognised Muḥammad's prophecy, Waraḳa still retained his Christian faith. But confusion about his fate is sometimes acknowledged, some authorities counting him among the *ṣaḥāba*, indeed some even identifying him as the first (male) to convert (e.g. al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ ʿalā 'l-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Būlāḳ 1278, i, 257; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, Cairo 1302, i, 323). According to Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1977, x, 304 ff., Waraḳa died before Muḥammad's (public) "call to the people that they convert". The account echoes others that characterise him as old and blind at the time of Muḥammad's first revelation, fits the traditional chronology of revelation, according to which the *fatra*—the suspension of revelation—followed XCVI, 5, and, finally, explains why Waraḳa is given to foretell Muḥammad's persecution at the hand of the Meccans; he himself never lived to see it.

Some say Waraḳa died in Mecca, others in Syria; the second of these occasionally forms part of a different chronology, according to which his death came after the *hidjra*. Since the Prophet is said to have forbidden insulting (the memory of) Waraḳa, and, moreover, to have had a dream of him in heaven, one surmises a lively controversy about his status in the early period. The Syrian connection is also among many features Waraḳa's story shares with the legend(s) of the monk Baḥīrā; and Nöldeke, who adduced some evidence that he was in fact a Jew (*Hatte Muḥammad christliche Lehrer?*, in *ZDMG*, xii [1858], 699 ff.), went so far as to find the origins of these legends in Waraḳa. Here he may have gone astray; but there is no question that the accounts providing monotheist collaboration for Muḥammad's prophecy frequently overlap. Needless to say, all this makes evaluating Waraḳa's significance for the birth of Islam vexing indeed. It is particularly difficult to judge what kind of influence (if any) he exerted on Muḥammad's thought; that he did has been argued in both European and Middle Eastern scholarship alike (thus Abū Mūsā al-Ḥarīrī, *Ḳāṣṣ wa-nabī* (Diyār ʿAḳl 1985).

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(C.F. Robinson)

WARĀMĪN, a small town of northern Persia (lat. 35° 19' N., long. 51° 40' E.) lying in the fertile Warāmīn plain, which benefits from a good water supply from the Djādja Rūd and has been much frequented by Turkmen nomads up to modern times.

1. History.

The mediaeval Islamic geographers place it at two stages from al-Rayy (al-Muḳaddasī, 401) or at 30 *mīls* from it (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, v, 370). Already in Būyid times it was a flourishing little town with a bazaar, but it developed especially after the Mongols sacked al-Rayy in 617/1220 and the inhabitants of the ruined city migrated to such nearby places as Warāmīn and Ṭihrān [*q.v.*]. The next two centuries were those of its greatest florescence, when it acquired some fine buildings (see 2. below) and when it was now on the highway from the Il-Khānid capital of Sulṭāniyya to the east; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (740/1339-40) calls it "the administrative centre of the *tūmān* of Ray", producing corn, fruits and cotton, though characterised by a fanatically Shīʿī population (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 55, tr. 61). It was to some extent a cultural centre. Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 306-7, mentions a well-known *muḥaddith*, ʿAttāb b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Warāmīnī, d. after 310/922-3, and a certain Muḥammad b. Abī Zayd al-Ḥusaynī al-Rāzī al-Warāmīnī began writing his *Aḥsan al-kibār fī maʿrifat al-aʾimma al-athār*, on the merits of the Twelve Imāms, in 739/1338-9 (Storey, i, 211, 1261; Storey-Bregel, i, 621-2). By 1405, however, when Clavijo passed through it, it was still an extensive town but lacked a wall and was showing signs of depopulation (*Embassy to Tamerlane*, tr. Le Strange, London 1928, 306), although it was still of significance in Shāh ʿAbbās I's time (Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, Tehran 1313-14/1895-7, i, 256). It then began a decline into village status until its revival in

the 20th century with the general development and urbanisation of the whole Tehran region.

The present town of Warāmīn (lat. 35° 19' N., long. 51° 40' E., altitude 922 m/3,026 feet) now has significant industry, having benefited from being a station on the Tehran-Khurāsān railway, completed in the late 1930s. In *ca.* 1950 it still had a population of only 4,522, but this has by now risen considerably, Warāmīn having become part of the conurbation of Tehran.

2. Monuments.

These include several *imām-zādas*, including that of Ḥusayn Riḍā; the tomb tower of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, a high, brickwork cylindrical tower with a conical roof and interior dome (688/1289); and the great, square 5th/11th century citadel, the Ḳalʿa-yi Gabr. The especially fine four-*īwān* congregational mosque was built in 722-6/1322-6 during the reign of the Il-Khānid Abū Saʿīd by [Ḥasan b.] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr *al-Kūhadhī; some its inscriptions are Shīʿī in tinge although the sultan was a Sunnī. It was rebuilt in 821/1418 in the time of the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh by the *amīr* Ghiyāth al-Dīn Yūsuf Khwādja.

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2. Monuments. J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée at la Susiane*, Paris 1887, 140-5, with illustrs.; F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1901-10, i, plates, nos. xviii, liv, lv, ii, text, 58-64; V.A. Kratchovskaya, *Notice sur les inscriptions de la mosquée Djoumʿa à Véramine*, in *REI*, v (1931), 26-59; eadem, *Fragments du Miḥrāb de Varāmīn*, in *Arts Islamiques*, ii, (1943-5), 132-4; Pope, *Survey*, ii, 1050, 1093-6, 1569, 1571-2, 1679, 1683; R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic architecture. Form, function and meaning*, Edinburgh 1994, index. (C.E. Bosworth)

WARANGAL, a town of the northeastern Deccan of India (lat. 18° 00' N., long. 79° 35' E.), important in mediaeval times as the centre of a Hindu princedom in the region of Telingāṇa [*q.v.*]. It blocked the way to Muslim expansion from the central Deccan to the Bay of Bengal, hence was frequently involved in warfare during the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries with the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] and then the local northern Deccani sultanate of the Bahmanids [*q.v.*].

Warangal lies on the eastern edge of the Deccan plateau some 130 km/70 miles to the southwest of the Godivari river. In mediaeval times, it was a strongly fortified place with two walls; traces of the outer wall remain today plus the four gateways of the inner wall. Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī first sent an expedition against Warangal via Bengal and Orissa in winter 702/1302-3, apparently unsuccessful; but in winter 709/1309-10 his general Malik Kāfūr [*q.v.*] marched via Devagiri or Deogir [see dawlatābād] against Prātaparudra, the Kākatīya ruler of Telingāṇa in his capital of Warangal, and imposed on him peace and the payment of tribute. That continued payment of this tribute depended purely on Muslim coercive power was shown by the fact that in 718/1318 an army from Dihlī en route for Maʿbar [*q.v.*] had to compel the Rādjā in Warangal to resume paying tribute. However, the latter openly threw off the authority of Dihlī when the Sultanate was in 720/1320 plunged into discord with the end of the Khaldjīs and the advent of the Tughluḳids. Hence in 723/1323 Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ's son Ulugh Khān Djawna, the future Sultan Muḥammad, had to reduce Warangal to obedience, and he may possibly have carried off the Rādjā as a prisoner to Dihlī, though a royal inscription of 1326 shows that by then he was back once more ruling in his capital. Ulugh Khān also, according to Baranī, changed the name of Warangal to Sulṭānpūr. It seems to have been Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's [*q.v.*] aim, once he became sultan in 725/1325, to incorporate Telingāṇa into his kingdom rather than leave it as a tributary Hindu state, but this he was unable to secure permanently, for by *ca.* 735/1335 his commander Malik Maḳbūl was forced to relinquish Warangal to its family of local rulers under Kāpaya Nāyaka. Soon afterwards, Muslim authority in the northern Deccan passed to the Bahmanids. In 751/1350 Ḥasan Bahman Shāh led an expedition to Warangal and reimposed tribute on Kāpaya Nāyaka, but it was not until 828/1425 that Aḥmad I Shāh, provoked by an anti-Muslim alliance of the Rādjās of Telingāṇa and Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*], marched on Warangal, defeated and killed Devarāya II, and finally incorporated the city and much of Telingāṇa into the Bahmanid state, appointing the Khān-i Aʿẓam as its governor. Local Hindu rulers still remained significant in the region, and caused trouble for the later Bahmanids and their successors, but Warangal's history was henceforth largely subsumed in that of the Muslim sultanates of the Deccan and their eventual supplanters, the Mughals.

The Muslim monuments of Warangal include a palace, attributed to Shitāb Khān *ca.* 905/1500 [see maḥall, at vol. V, 1216b].

In British Indian times, Warangal came within the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād's dominions. It is now in the northern part of Andhra Pradesh State of the Indian Union, and is a commercial and industrial centre with a population in 1971 of 207,000. It is also the chef-lieu of a District of the same name which extends as far as the Godivari.

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WARĀWĪNĪ [see marzbān-nāma].

WARD (a., coll., sing. *warda*), *Rosa sp., Rosaceae*, also known as *djull* or *gul* (Persian). Though *ward* can refer to any flower, it generally denotes the rose (Lane). According to Maimonides, it is known to physicians as *djull*, though the Arabs used this name only for the white rose (*Sharḥ*, no. 121); *nisrīn* was the wild rose or Chinese rose (no. 253). Ibn al-Bayṭār in his *Tafsīr* to Dioscorides explains *rūdhā* as *ward*, or as *djull*, of Persian origin; the red variety is called *ḥawdjam*, the white *waṭīr* (i, 101, 140).

Medicinal use. Ibn Sīnā calls it cold in the first degree, dry in the second; it quietens the yellow bile (*Adwiya mufrada*, 61). Al-Zahrāwī used rose leaves, dried rose, rose water (*māʾ al-ward*) and rose *duhn* (oil), describing the methods for making the latter (105-6) and its uses (117-18). An excellent medicine, moderately cold and astringent: internally, good for the stomach and for cases of tuberculosis; externally, soothing, and included in ointments. It was combined, in small

amounts, with other ingredients. According to Ibn Waḥshiyya, the rose, its petals, leaves, rose water and rose oil, were included in several antidotes to poison. Sābūr b. Sahl in his *Aḳrābādhīn* used rose oil, rose water, dried red rose, and seeds, for a variety of ailments.

Ainslie speaks of *ward* as *Rosa centifolia* (Lin.); he considers this probably the true *gul* of Ḥāfiẓ. *R. gallica* (red rose, in P. *gul-i surkh*) was used as carminative, cephalic and tonic (*Materia Indica*, i, 345). Rose oil (*duhn*) and rose water are produced by distillation from the flowers of some types of rose (Ghaleb, ii, 364-6). Rose water today is a refreshing ingredient in lotions, has a limited medicinal use, and is used in the preparation of food, especially sweets. The dried flowers are included in some versions of the *Arbaʿīn* or "forty" substances sold by *ʿaṭṭārīn* (herbalists).

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(Penelope C. Johnstone)

WARDAR, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Vardar, Grk. Axios, a river of the southern Balkans. It rises in the Šar Mountains near where Macedonia, Albania and the region of Kosovo meet, and flows northeastwards and then in a southeastern and south-south-eastern direction through the present (Slavic) Macedonian Republic [see maḳadūnyā], past Skopje or Üsküb [*q.v.*] and through Greek Macedonia to the Gulf of Salonica. Its length is 420 km/260 miles.

The lower valley of the Vardar probably passed into Ottoman Turkish hands around the time of the first Turkish capture of Salonica in 1387 [see selānīk], soon after which the Byzantine town of Pella in Macedonia was conquered and became for the Turks Wardar Yeñidjesi or Yeñidje-yi Wardar. In *ca.* 1475 there was apparently a separate *sandjak* of Wardar with its chef-lieu at Ḳaraferye or Beroia, but normally, the lower part of the valley came within the *sandjak* of Selānīk. The upper course of the Vardar came under Ottoman control after the defeat of the Serbians at the first battle of Kosovo or Ḳosh-owasi̊ in 791/1389 [see ḳoṣowa, kosovo]. The Vardar valley was settled in early Ottoman times by considerable numbers of Turkmens brought in from Anatolia. It remained under Turkish rule for over five centuries until, after the Balkan War of 1912, it passed to Serbia and Greece, a position confirmed by the Treaty of London of 1913, with the middle and upper reaches of the river after 1918 coming within what was eventually called the kingdom of Yugoslavia.

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al-**WARDJLĀNĪ** [see abū zakariyyāʾ al-wardjlānī].

al-**WARGHĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Tunisian poet and *adīb*, b. *ca.* 1125/1713 at Wargha, a village near Kef, d. 1190/1776 at Tunis.

After study at a Ḳurʾān school in his native village, he went to Tunis in order to continue his studies at the Great Mosque of the Zaytūna [*q.v.*], and subsequently himself gave courses there. His wide learning and gift for writing attracted the attention of the Bey, ʿAlī I Pasha, who made him secretary in his chancery. This Ḥusaynid ruler had just dethroned his uncle al-Ḥusayn and himself assumed power in 1735, but was in turn overthrown in 1756 by his cousin Muḥammad al-Rashīd b. al-Ḥusayn. Since al-Warghī was a fervent partisan of ʿAlī I, and had been richly rewarded by him, he was after 1756 persecuted and imprisoned. Till his death, he never recovered his former privileged position, but gradually contrived to secure a pardon, regain his liberty and acquire authorisation to practise as a notary.

Al-Warghī is known above all as a poet, and especially as a eulogist of ʿAlī I, but his *Dīwān*, published at Tunis in 1975 by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kīzānī, contains poems on many other themes, such as descriptions, love poems, petitions, verses on the hazards of fate, etc. Dominating his œuvre is a neo-classicism. He was also the author of three *maḳāmāt*, also published with his *rasāʾil* at Tunis in 1972 by al-Kīzānī, which include several of his own verses. The first, written in 1160/1747, *al-Bāhiyya*, nominally concerns the founder of the *madrasa* of that name, but reading between the lines, contains criticism of what was, according to him, misgovernment of the land by the sons of al-Ḥusayn. The second one, *al-Warghiyya* or *al-Khitāniyya*, was written for the circumcision of the son of the Bey ʿAlī II b. al-Ḥusayn in 1178/1764, and seems to indicate that, after the three years' reign of Muḥammad al-Rashīd, al-Warghī had recovered some of his former favour. A third, *al-Khamriyya*, is a eulogy of ʿAlī II who in 1183/1769 closed down a number of wine shops and taverns in the capital, but in fact contains discreet criticism of the policies of the sons of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and regrets for the passing of the reign of his old protector ʿAlī I.

Bibliography: See also M. al-Misfār, *Maḳāmāt al-Warghī wa-mā nusiba ilayhi min al-nathr*, unpubl. thesis, Fac. of Letters, Univ. of Tunis 1971; H. al-Ghuzzī, *al-Adab al-tūnisī fi 'l-ʿahd al-ḥusaynī*, Tunis 1972, 149-75; M. Maḥfūẓ, *Tarādjim al-muʾallifīn al-tūnisiyyīn*, Beirut 1986, v, 131-3; idem, *T. al-Adab al-tūnisī fi 'l-ʿahdayn al-murādī wa 'l-ḥusaynī*, Tunis 1989; and see maḳāma. (A. Ben Abdesselem)

WARGLA, conventionally Ouargla, an ancient oasis town of the Algerian Sahara (lat. 31° 58' N., long. 5° 20' E., altitude 290 m/320 feet), situated 160 km/100 miles south-south-west of Tuggurt [*q.v.*] and now the chef-lieu of a *wilāya* or province of the Algerian Republic. It occupies a depression above a sheet of underground water which is fed by the subterranean course of the Wadi Miya and which has, in the past, been tapped by wells, thus permitting vast date palm groves in the oasis (see 2. below).

1. Pre-modern history.

We have no information about Wargla before the Arab conquest. At that time, the land was occupied by Zenāta tribes. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Banū Wargla (Berber, Urdjelan) came from the northwest along with other Berber elements (Īfran and Maghrāwa [*q.vv.*]) and founded several little towns in these regions which combined to form the town of Wargla. The people adopted Ibāḍī doctrines so thoroughly that, after the destruction of the Rustamid kingdom of Tāhart [*q.v.*] by the Fāṭimids at the beginning of the 10th century a.d., many Khāridjīs came to settle in

Wargla and founded the town of Sedrata, the ruins of which still exist buried under the sands half a day's journey to the southwest. At the same time, Abū Yazīd, the "man with the ass", who had rebelled against the Fāṭimids, recruited many followers in this region. The Ibāḍīs had nevertheless in the 6th/12th century, as a result of conflicts with the orthodox and perhaps under the pressure of Arab elements, to abandon the region of Wargla and migrate to the Tadmayt, where they finally settled and created the oases of the Mzāb [*q.v.*]. Ibāḍism, however, continued to survive at Wargla, where in the 11th/17th century it still had a few representatives.

During this period, Wargla, which according to the traveller al-ʿAyyās͟hī was ruled by the Banū Tūd͟jīn dynasty, seems to have been a prosperous city enriched by trade with the Sūdān (al-Idrīsī, tr. de Goeje, 141). The Hilālī invasion marked the beginning of a troubled era. In the course of the wars between the Ḥammādīs and the At͟hbād͟j, with whom the people of Wargla had contracted an alliance, the dynasty of the Banū Tūd͟jīn was overthrown and the town destroyed. Rebuilt a short distance from the original site, it suffered later in the wars between the Almohads and the Banū G͟haniyya. In the 8th/14th century, although under the suzerainty of the Banū Muznī, representatives of the Ḥafṣids in the Zāb [*q.v.*], Wargla was practically independent under the rule of sultans belonging to the family of the Banū Abī G͟habul, of the fraction of the Banū Wagguin or Uggīn (Ibn K͟haldūn, *Histoire des Berbers*, tr. Slane, iii, 286). At the end of the 10th/16th century, these sultans were extremely wealthy, but according to Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, book vi, vol. iii, 146), they had to pay heavily for the protection of the nomad Arabs. Wargla at this time still preserved the commercial importance that it owed to its situation as a "port of the desert", to use Ibn K͟haldūn's phrase (*loc. cit.*). It was a market where the produce and slaves of the Sūdān were exchanged for the merchandise bought from Tunis and Constantine. Leo Africanus remarks on the beauty of the houses, the number of artisans and the wealth of the merchants. This opulence attracted the attention of the Turks of the Algerian coastlands to Wargla. In 1552 Ṣalāḥ Re'īs, at the head of an army of Turks and Kabyles, advanced as far as Wargla, the inhabitants of which offered no resistance, and he returned after plundering the town and imposing on the sultan an annual tribute of 30 African slaves.

The expedition of Ṣalāḥ Re'īs was followed by a new period of troubles which was ended, it seems, at the beginning of the 17th century by the proclamation of a new sultan, Allāhum, to whom local tradition attributes a S͟harīfian origin; his descendants held power down to the middle of the 19th century. But the real masters of the country were the nomad S͟hamhaa, Banū Tūr and Sidi ʿOtba, whose continual interference in the quarrels of the two *ṣoffs* or factions [see ṢAFF. 3.] into which the settled population was divided kept up the disorder and made the authority of the sultans illusory. The latter had even to recognise the supremacy of the Banū Babia, hereditary chiefs of the oasis of Ngusa, which they did not cast off till 1841. But ten years later, a new cause of trouble arose. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the *s͟harīf* of Wargla, raised the tribes of the Sahara against the French, who entrusted the task of reducing the rebels to the *s͟hayk͟h* of the Ūlād Sīdī S͟hayk͟h, Sīdī Ḥamza. The latter occupied the town in the name of France in 1853 and was given supreme command of the Sahara tribes. But the participation of the people of Wargla in the rising of the Ūlād Sīdī S͟hayk͟h in 1854 forced French columns to intervene on several occasions in the region. Another rebel, Ben S͟hus͟ha, nevertheless succeeded in establishing himself in Wargla in 1871. The suppression of this rebellion resulted in the final establishment of French authority in 1872.

With the suppression of the trans-Saharan slave trade under the French rule and with a French Army fort in the oasis, Burd͟j Lutaud, the economic importance of Wargla declined. But it subsequently became the chef-lieu of the Territoire des Oasis Sahariennes, with the municipal status of a *commune indigène*.

Bibliography: El-Ayachi/al-ʿAyyās͟hī, *Voyage à la Mecque*, tr. Berbrügger, in *Explorations scientifiques de l'Algérie. Sciences historiques et géographiques*, ix, Paris 1846; L.V. Largeau, *Le pays de Rirha*, Paris 1879; O. Demaeght, *Ouargla*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie d'Oran* (1882); Goudreau, *Le pays de Ouargla*, Paris 1882; C. Bajolle, *Le Sahara de Ouargla*, Algiers-Paris 1887; Ch. Ferraud, *Ouargla dans le Sahara de Constantine*, Algiers 1887; R. Basset, *Étude sur la Zenatia du Mzab, de Ouargla et de l'Oued Rir'*, Paris 1892; Blanchet, *L'oasis et le pays de Wargla*, in *Annales de Géographie* (1900); Gognalons, *Ouargla, l'oasis et ses habitants*, in *La Géographie*, ix; idem, *Fêtes principales des sédentaires d'Ouargla (Rouagha)*, in *R. Afr.* (1909); Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Algeria*, London 1943-4, ii, 93-4 and index; J. Lethielleux, *Ouargla, cité saharienne, des origines au début de la 20ème siècle*, Paris 1983. (G. YVER*)

2. The modern oasis and town.

Wargla owes both its historical and its present importance to its remarkable position on an isthmus of *terra firma* connecting the north and south Saharas, between the great Eastern Erg and the Great Western Erg. Its position has at all times made it of the greatest significance for trans-Saharan trade; it had relations with Gao and Timbuktu to the south, and was a transit point for the slave trade, what Ibn K͟haldūn called "the gate of the Sūdān".

In the colonial period it was marginalised, with a population only one-half that of Tuggurt's, but it has today surpassed Tuggurt and Ghardaia in importance. It has benefited from the proximity of the oil field of Hassi-Messaoud (Ḥasy Masʿūd) at 80 km/50 miles to the east-south-east, and the Algerian state's decision to make Wargla a Saharan capital, with institutions serving the whole Sahara (a University, a Commission for Development and Land Reclamation, and an Institute for Saharan Agronomy). As a garrison town also, at a crossroads of modern roads, and still with important date palm groves, Wargla has today 120,000 inhabitants.

As noted above, the town lies in a north-south depression within the rims of a calcareous plateau and corresponding to the ancient course of the Wadi Miya. Situated on a low terrace above the palm groves, the town is girt with lakes and salt marshes on three sides. The ensemble has a regular concentric pattern: the *ḳṣar* in the centre, then the modern town, the palm groves, then salt flats and the rising banks of the plateau and several small ergs.

The *ḳṣar*, with its 10,000 inhabitants, is one of the most important in the Sahara. The walls and ditches which still surrounded it in the 19th century have been replaced by a ring road, and recent constructions have marred the centre; nevertheless, the tightly-knit urban structure remains, with its buildings at two levels and its associated structures coming together near the mausoleum of Sīdī al-Warglī. The three communities of the Banū Brāhīm, the Banū Uggīn

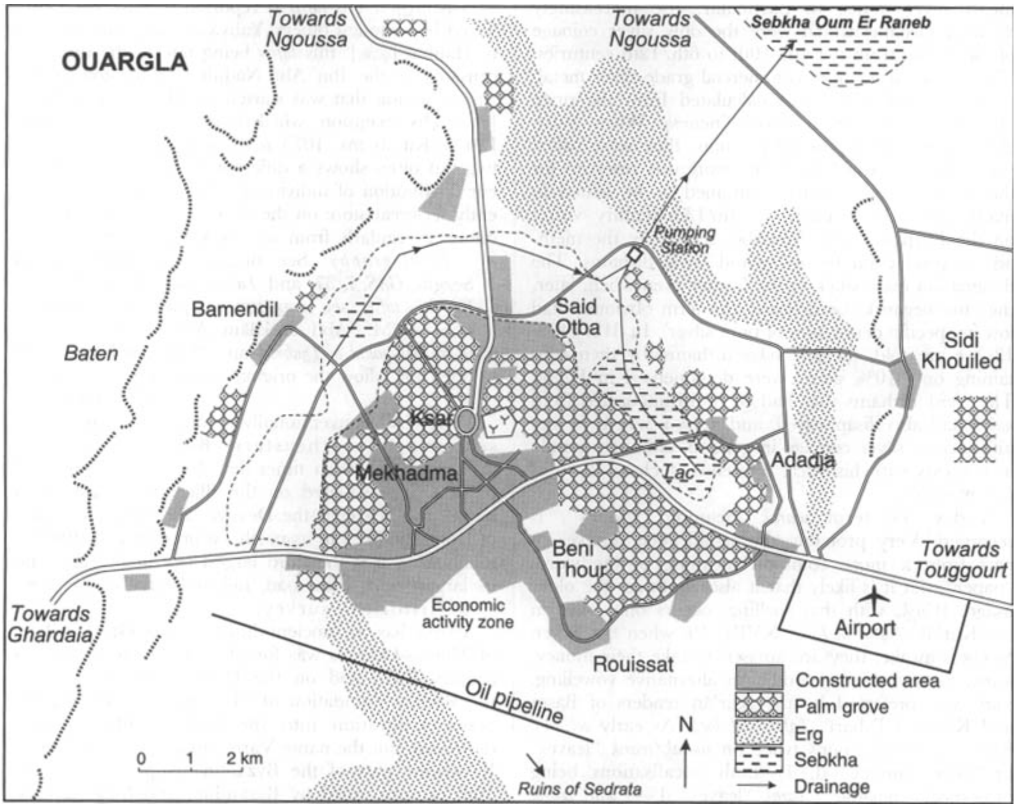

and the Banū Sissīn, Berber-speaking Zenāta, dark-skinned from the admixture there of negro blood, share the *ḳṣar* and also the palm groves, though in the urban agglomeration as a whole former Arabic-speaking nomads have become the majority. Around the *ḳṣar* the modern suburbs have developed. The "Green Triangle" of monumental buildings and greenery forms the administrative quarter laid out in the 1930s by Col. Carbillet, a disciple of Lyautey. Quarters of former nomads, now sedentarised, have sprung up in various places, and the urban sprawl has now joined up with peripheral *ḳṣūr* (Rouissat, A<u>dj</u>a<u>dj</u>a, Bamendil, etc.).

The palm groves, amounting to 550,000 trees, are amongst the most extensive in the Sahara. They are served by the artesian water supplies, formerly tapped by wells but now by bore holes. But the extension of lands suitable for agriculture has now reached its natural limit, stretching across lands that are becoming waterlogged through the rise of the water-table, with a veritable lake formed to the east of the town; hence it has become necessary to construct a drainage network that conveys used water to the Oum er Raneb *sab<u>kh</u>a*. But beyond the palm groves, Wargla is becoming a centre for extensive development, thanks to its underground water levels and its alluvial soils, a sector chosen by the Algerian government for the improvement of modern Saharan agriculture; hence along the roads to Hass-Messaoud and Tuggurt stretch numerous modern developments, industrial and agricultural.

Bibliography: B. Verlet, *Touggourt et Ouargla, deux fonctions urbaines*, Travaux et Recherches de l'Inst. Saharienne, Algiers 1960, 195-8; M. Rouvillois-Brigol, *Ouargla, palmeraie irriguée et palmeraie en cuvettes*, in *Oasis du Sahara algérien*, Paris, 33-62; idem, *Le pays de Ouargla (Sahara algérien)*, Paris 1975; J. Bisson, *Les villes sahariennes*, in *Maghreb-Machreck*, Paris, (1983), 25-41. (M. Côte)

WARIḲ (a.) "silver money", distinguished from *ʿayn* "gold money", and *nuḳra*, refined silver in bars or ingots.

In the mediaeval Islamic world, as elsewhere before the introduction of central banking, gold and silver money were two separate currencies, with a fluctuating market exchange rate. The unit of silver currency was the dirham [*q.v.*], normally represented by a coin with the same name, or, more strictly speaking, by an amount of current silver money with the weight of a standard dirham; the corresponding unit of gold currency was the dīnār [*q.v.*], with its own weight standard (unminted gold in ingot form was *tibr*). To describe quantities of coins, *ʿayn* and *wariḳ* are used to designate the gold and silver portions of the sum. For example, when the caliph al-Wā<u>th</u>iḳ died (227/847), the treasury was inventoried and found to contain *ʿayn*, 5,000,000 dīnārs and *wariḳ*, 15,000,000 dirhams (Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr (attrib.), *K. al-<u>Dh</u>a<u>kh</u>āʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf*, 217-18, tr. Ghāda al-Qaddūmī, *Book of gifts and rarities*, Cambridge, Mass. 1996, 208). On a more humble level, a Geniza letter acknowledges receipt of "10 dīnārs, 7 in *ʿayn*, 3 in *wariḳ*" (Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, 230); that is, a payment with a total value of ten dīnārs was made, of which seven dīnārs were paid in gold coin and the rest in silver coin worth three dīnārs.

In Syria and Egypt, the meanings of the pair *wariḳ/nuḳra* changed as a result of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's re-introduction of full-weight pure silver dirhams *ca.* 572/1176-7. Up to that time, *wariḳ* had continued to

mean silver coins, in particular, the increasingly debased dirhams which were the only silver coinage of the region from the 4th/10th to 6th/12th centuries, while *nuḳra* meant pure commercial grade silver metal, or its theoretical price as calculated from the price of a silver coinage of lower fineness. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn introduced pure silver coins, they were called *nuḳra* dirhams, while the term *wariḳ* was reserved for the debased coins (which continued to be issued in many places). Ibn Baʿra, a 7th/13th-century writer on the Egyptian mint, describes separately the methods of production for *nuḳra* and *wariḳ* dirhams. The designation *nuḳra* stuck to the former even when, later, they too began to be debased (the term obviously had lost its specific denotation of pure silver). In 815/1412-13, we are told, the last *nuḳra* dirhams, by then containing only 10% silver, were demonetised in Egypt. The *wariḳ* dirhams that had to be distinguished from *nuḳra* had also disappeared, and *wariḳ* resumed its significance of silver coinage in general, although mainly in contexts with historical reference, such as those of *fiḳh* manuals.

Today the term *waraḳ* meaning "money", is recorded. Very probably the significance survives in part from a more common meaning of the word, "paper", but it is likely that it also continues the older usage. *Wariḳ*, with that spelling, occurs only once in the Ḳurʾān (*Sūrat al-Kahf*, XVIII, 19: when the Seven Sleepers awake, they are advised to take their money, *wariḳ*, to town to buy food). An alternative vowelling, *warḳ*, was preferred by the Ḳurʾān readers of Baṣra and Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr, ad loc.*). As early as 11/632-3, a versifier puns twice on *waraḳ/wariḳ* "leaves" or "silver money" (l. 1) (both vocalisations being prosodically possible), *waraḳ* "leaves" (l. 4) and *wariḳ* "silver money" (l. 6) (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1907-8; cf. tr. F.M. Donner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. X. The conquest of Arabia*, Albany 1993, 83-4).

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(M.L. Bates)

al-**WARKĀʾ**, Tall, the Arabic name for what is now an archaeological site in the Nāṣiriyya *liwāʾ* or governorate of ʿIrāḳ (lat. 31° 18' N., long. 45° 40' E.). It is the Sumerian and Babylonian Uruk, Biblical Erech (Gen. x. 10), one of the leading cities and religious centres of ancient Babylonia, first surveyed by W.K. Loftus in the 1850s.

In early Islamic times it seems to have been a minor place in the district of Kaskar, with a reputation in Islamic tradition as being the birthplace of the Patriarch Ibrāhīm or Abraham (although many other places were mentioned for this) (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 372-3). According to Sayf b. ʿUmar (in *ibid.*, iv, 373, cf. M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 156-7), the first encounter of probing Muslim Arabs under Harmala b. Murayṭa and Salmā b. al-Ḳayn with the Sāsānid forces took place at al-Warkāʾ.

Bibliography: See also M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babyloniens nach den arabischen Geographen*, Leiden 1900, i, 32. For the older excavations, see Streck, *EI*[1] s.v., and for the more recent ones, D.N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible dictionary*, New York 1992, ii, 571-3, and E.M. Meyers (ed.), *The Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East*, New York 1996, v, 294-8, s.v. Uruk-Warka (R.M. Boelmer).

(C.E. Bosworth)

WARḲĀʾ b. **ʿUMAR** b. Kulayb al-Shaybānī al-Kūfī, Abū Bishr, Ḳurʾān interpreter and traditionist who lived in al-Madāʾin and died *ca.* 160/776. He is said to have been orthodox (*ṣāḥib sunna*) as well as a Murdjiʾī. His *tafsīr* is reported to have been preferred by, amongst others, Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.vv.*], this *tafsīr* being one of the three recensions of the Ibn Abī Nadjīḥ transmission of the *tafsīr* tradition that was started by Mudjāhid b. Djabr [*q.v.*]. His recension, which is preserved in the Cairo Dār al-Kutub ms. 1075 *tafsīr*, is related to the other two but often shows a different wording and a different distribution of individual *tafsīrāt*. Al-Ṭabarī apparently set great store on the Warḳāʾ recension, but only quotes it regularly from sūra XIV onward in his *tafsīr*.

Bibliography: See biographical references in Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 37, and *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 515-17. For his *tafsīr*, see Mudjāhid b. Djabr. The new edition by M. ʿAbd al-Salām Abu ʾl-Nīl, *Tafsīr al-imām Mudjāhid b. Djabr*, Cairo (Madīnat Naṣr) 1989, does not follow the original arrangement of the ms.

(F. Leemhuis)

WARNA, conventionally Varna, a town and seaport of northeastern Bulgaria, important in Ottoman Turkish times (lat. 43° 12' N., long. 27° 57' E.). It is situated on the Black Sea coast, on a bay of the Sea near the Devnya lake, with the region of Dobrudja [*q.v.*] to its north. At present, with 400,000 inhabitants, it is the third largest city in Bulgaria and its largest port, with road, rail and ferry connections.

1. Historical survey.

Varna has an ancient history. The Greek colony of Miletus-Odessos was founded on its site in the 6th century B.C., and on the Devnya lake there arose the Roman foundation of Marcianopolis. During the Slavic infiltration into the Balkans, Odessos was destroyed, but the name Varna appears for the region. It became part of the Byzantine empire in the late 10th century, ruled by Byzantium and Bulgaria, and from the 1340s came within the Dobrudja despotate which seceded from the Bulgarian kingdom.

Varna was conquered by the Ottomans in 1388-9, but was probably ceded to Byzantium in 1403 by Süleymān, son of Bāyezīd I. In 1444, in a valley to the west of the town, there took place the celebrated battle of Varna (to figure prominently in Ottoman historiography, with a special *Ghazawāt-nāme* of Sultan Murād II devoted to it). The force of European Crusaders (Hungarians, Poles, Czechs and Vlachs) under the king of Poland and Hungary Wladysław II Jagiełło/Ladislaus I and the Voivode of Transylvania Hunyády János/John Hunyadi, was defeated by Murād's Ottoman army. After the fall of Constantinople, the Ottomans seized the last independent fortresses along the Black Sea coast and confirmed their authority over Varna.

In the early 17th century, Varna suffered from Cossack raids. There were Ottoman-Russian confrontations during the 18th century, and in the war of 1828-9, the Russians captured it after a siege and held it for over two years. During the Crimean War 1853-6, it served as a base for the forces of the English, French and Piedmontese allies, with about 60,000 persons there, but was devastated by cholera and a fire. In 1878 the fortress of Varna surrendered to the Russians without a fight, and was henceforth included within the Bulgarian principality.

2. Varna under the Ottomans.

The town was a port and a fortress in the *sandjak* (from the 17th century, the *beylerbeylik*) of Silistra, and it formed one of the *nāḥiyes* of the extensive Dobrudja region. In the 17th century, Ewliyā Čelebi recorded, amongst the town's officials, a superintendent of the port customs; a commander (*muḥāfiẓ*) of the fortress; a *serdār* of the Janissaries, a *ketkhudā* of the Sipāhīs;

the *odabas͟hî* of the Janissaries; a *muḥtesib*; and a *subas͟hî*. In the 1840s, a *sand͟jak* and *ḳaḍā* of Varna were set up within the *eyālet* of Silistra, governed by a *müdür*, and there was a *med͟jlis*, consultative body (whose members included the local Orthodox metropolitan). This same structure was maintained when the region was included in the Ṭuna or Danube *wilāyet* in 1864.

In past times, the port of Varna had been difficult to use without the construction of facilities for ships. Under the Ottomans, it functioned as a transit centre for foodstuffs from Dobrud͟ja exported to Istanbul, and it had a shipyard. Under the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynard͟ja [*q.v.*] of 1774, the Black Sea was opened up for foreign trade, and agreements for free navigation made with various Western powers, leading to the growth of foreign activities through the Straits and within the Black Sea. Hence by 1841 there were 14 consulates of European countries in Varna; steamships started docking there, and between 1861 and 1867 a railway linked Varna and the town of Russe on the Danube.

Varna forms part of a specific sub-region, a narrow zone along the Black Sea coast differing in demography and relief from its hinterland. The Varna region must have been Orthodox Christian on the eve of the Ottoman conquest, and there may even have been Christian Turks there in the pre-Ottoman period. Notable were the Gagauz [*q.v.*], Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians using the so-called Karamanlidika, i.e. writing religious works in Turkish language with Greek script. In the 16th century, some 55 Yürük *od͟jaḳ*s are mentioned there, and there were *sürgün* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], i.e. transplanted S͟hīʿīs from Eastern Anatolia. These deportations may have tipped the religious balance of the region in favour of the Muslims.

The first extant registers concerning the population of Varna date from 1526-7 and 1566-9. The *d͟jemāʿat* of Muslims consisted of 27 households and eight bachelors, plus 29 Muslim *müsellem*s, exempt from *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] because they served in the Varna fortress. These grew into five Muslim *maḥalle*s, totalling *ca.* 1,200-1,500 persons. Initially, the non-Muslim population formed nine *maḥalle*s, with 352 households, 128 bachelors and 60 widows as well as non-Muslim *müsellem*s and builders in the fortress. Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of 4,000 houses, and in 1659 Ph. Stanislavov mentioned 400 houses of Orthodox Christians, totalling 1,700 people, whilst the Muslims had 1,500 houses with 4,000 people. In the subsequent period, Armenian Christians are also mentioned as residents. The Russo-Turkish wars of the late 18th and early 19th centuries forced the non-Muslim population of the region either to migrate across the Danube or to move into the town of Varna, and after the 1828-9 war, when the total population of the town was about 26,000, the town lost nearly all of its non-Muslim population across the Danube or to Russia, and the Christian quarters and their churches suffered especially from the Russian bombardments. The Ottoman government took measures to facilitate the return of the emigrants. The 19th century was notable for the emancipation, and at times, confrontation, of the Greek and Bulgarian communities, with their own religious and cultural lives. They probably absorbed part of the Gagauz community. According to 19th-century observers, the Orthodox used Turkish, and church services in that language are mentioned, leading some authors to conclude that the majority of the Orthodox population were Gagauz.

Tatars settled in the region as early as the 13th century, increasing after Bāyezīd II's annexation of Bessarabia, and in the later 18th century with the population resettlement after Russia took over the K͟hānate of Crimea [see ḲIRÎM] followed by a particularly large wave *ca.* 1860-2, when a Tatar *maḥalle* emerged in Varna.

After the Crimean War, Varna's population increased rapidly. According to Kanitz, by 1855 there were *ca.* 16,000 inhabitants (8,300 Turks, 6,100 Orthodox, 1,000 Armenians, 30 Jews and 130 Greeks). The 1881 census revealed 24,561 people: 8,903 Turks, 6,721 Bulgarians, 5,367 Greeks, 837 Tatars, 541 Jews, 338 Gypsies and 186 Germans; in 1901 the total had reached 34,922 inhabitants.

The fortress that guarded the town and its port, until it was blown up in 1829 by the Russians, dated from Byzantine times; it had a double wall and towers, an *ič ḳalʿe* large enough to shelter a barracks, a Muslim *maḥalle* and a mosque, and a citadel, *bārūd-k͟hāne*, used as an arsenal (pulled down in 1901). The open city was around the fortress and on the ancient site of the town. The Christians remained in their pre-Ottoman settlement zones, or in parts of them, where lay their churches. By the 17th century, a relatively substantial Armenian colony, with its own church, had been established in Varna. Muslims lived relatively separately, mainly to the west or south-west. Ewliyā mentions several chief mosques (*d͟jāmiʿ*) and 36 *mesd͟jid*s. Many public buildings were built by persons associated with Varna, so that there was an ʿAbd ül-Raḥmān Efendi mosque, *zāwiye* and *maḥalle*, a mosque and *medrese* of Kurd ʿAlī Efendi, a bridge and fountain of Nāʾib Aḥmed Efendi and an *ʿimāret* of K͟hüsrew Ketk͟hudā.

Because of Cossack raids and the wars with Russia, the open town was in the 18th century fortified with an earthen rampart surrounding, on the land side, a moat with a guarded road, towers and gates. After the Russian destruction of the Ič Ḳalʿe, the Ottomans started building a new fortress, the Yeñi Ḳalʿe, largely completed in 1851, on the block fortification principle, with a central fortress and outlying forts and, in 1877, a moat. The wars with Russia and the conflagration of 1854 caused the loss of many Muslim public buildings, but many of these were replaced in the course of the 19th century. According to the *Sāl-nāme* of 1872-3, there were in the town 19 mosques, 12 schools, one *medrese* and one *tekke*. That of 1874-5 records 732 shops, 15 tanneries, 14 *k͟hān*s, 252 warehouses, three *ḥammām*s, a clock tower and a *rüs͟hdiyye* school. There were in fact several dervish *tekke*s in the vicinity of Varna, including Bektās͟hī ones in earlier times, one of the seven tombs of Sarî Saltuḳ [*q.v.*] and tombs of the *s͟hehīd*s from the battle of Varna of 1444. A collection of Ottoman inscriptions was gathered together by V. S͟hkorpil in the Varna Archaeological Museum, inventoried with the help of local Muslims and translated. Some were carried off as trophies of war and are in the St. Petersburg Public Library, such as the inscription with an ode of 75 verses by the poet ʿAynṭābī ʿAynī celebrating Maḥmūd II's visit to Varna in 1837, which decorated a fountain built by the *Mīr-Āk͟hur* Ṣādîḳ Ag͟ha when the town was reconstructed.

3. The post-1878 period.

After the declaration of Bulgaria's independence, many of the Turks of Varna emigrated, but the town remained in close connection with a Muslim-populated hinterland; a *müftülük* was still functioning in the town until the 1960s. Muslims had representatives in the state and local official bodies; and the Muslim community in Varna launched a number of important

initiatives for the maintenance of the Muslim monuments that were not always positively regarded by the local authorities. Among the outstanding local scholars one should mention Osman Nuri Peremeci, the director of the Varna *rüshdiyye* in the 1920s as well as the teacher in French in the Khalīl Bey *rüshdiyye*, who made translations of inscriptions. The Varna *rüshdiyye* was founded in the 19th century by ʿĀshir Bey; 110 students studied in it at the beginning of the 20th century, taught by two teachers. In the 1870s there was a crafts school and a *kirāʾat-khāne*; a Turkish women's society took care of orphans. There were also a printing house and a Turkish theatre company. By World War I, three Turkish newspapers were published in Varna: *Hukūk* ("Law"), an organ of the Young Turk Party, edited by Agop Garabedyan, banned for political reasons; *Müwāzene* ("Balance"), published by ʿAlī Fehlī, of which 377 issues came out in the period 1897-1905; *Warna Postasî*, in Bulgarian and Turkish; and, after World War II, a local organ of the Communist Party, *Halk Dâvası* ("The People's Cause").

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WARRĀK (a.), literally, "producer or seller of leaves, *warak*", in mediaeval Islam the designation for the copyist of manuscripts, paper seller, and also bookseller.

According to al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Haydarābād, xiii, 300, the term was specifically applied to copyists of *maṣāḥif* and *ḥadīth* compilations. The earliest material used must have been parchment and papyrus [see kirṭās and raḳḳ], gradually replaced largely by paper, whose production in Baghdād began in the late 2nd/8th century and early 3rd/9th century [see kāghad]. From this time onwards, paper was available as a relatively cheap writing material, a factor favouring the emergence of *warrāḳūn* as a professional group. The earliest known person bearing the designation seems to be a man of Wāsiṭ called Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aṣbagh b. Zayd (or Yazīd) al-Djuhanī al-Warrāḳ (d. 195/811) (Bahshal = Aslam b. Sahl al-Razzāz al-Wāsiṭī, *Taʾrīkh Wāsiṭ*, ed. G. ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1967, 91 and n. 16; al-Samʿānī, xiii, 300-1).

Some Arabic literary sources portray a *warrāḳ*'s profession as a somewhat reprehensible craft (*ḥirfa madhmūma*) because it did not provide the copyist an adequate income during his lifetime and he had to live in poverty, so much so that he could not afford to leave enough money to buy his shroud (*kafan*). Nevertheless, the *warrāḳ* was devoted to his craft and delighted in his work. According to al-Thaʿālibī, "a *warrāḳ* was asked, 'What is pleasure?' He replied, 'Parchment, papers, poured ink and a cleft reed pen.'" He often complained about the insecurity of his profession. On being asked about his condition, a *warrāḳ* replied that he lived a miserable life, his livelihood being narrower than the ink-pot, his body more slender than a ruler (*misṭara*); his face was darker than glue; his hand was weaker than cane, and misfortune clung to him more than gum (*al-ṣamagh*), etc. Such literary exaggerations aside, some copyists earned a good income. For instance, Abū ʿAlī al-ʿUkbarī (d. 428/1037) boasted that he used to buy paper sheets for five dirhams to make a copy of the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī in three or four nights, earning thereby between 150 and 200 dirhams (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 92). Another *warrāḳ* copied ten folios a day and earned 10 dirhams by selling his work thus copied (al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 342). These cases were probably exceptional. Average copyists perhaps earned much less, yet the public regarded them highly because of their association with the literati and intellectuals in society.

It seems that a copyist of the 2nd/8th century earned a tenth of a dirham for copying a single page; but in the 3rd/9th century, a similar copyist earned a fifth of a dirham for the same amount of work. During the 4th/10th century, a *warrāḳ* earned one dirham for copying a single page for a customer. Thus the wage of a copyist for copying a page increased between the 2nd/8th and 4th/10th centuries. Some *warrāḳūn* became famous because they worked for a famous employer; such was the case with ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ (d. 319/931), who copied the manuscripts of al-Djāḥiẓ, and similarly, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Warrāḳ (d. 228/843), who worked for the Barmakid al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā. It would appear from the statement of al-Yaʿḳūbī that the *warrāḳūn* as a professional group emerged during the 3rd/9th century, so much so that there were more than one hundred shops or stalls of copyists and paper sellers (*ḥānūt al-warrāḳīn*) near the site of Ḳaṣr Waḍḍāḥ in Baghdād. Those *warrāḳūn* were also described as *aṣḥāb al-kutub* or booksellers (cf. *K. al-Buldān*, 245, tr. Wiet, 24). There were book markets in all major Islamic cities, such as Baghdād, Baṣra, Sāmarrāʾ, Wāsiṭ and Cairo. It is recorded that a manuscript of the *History* of al-Ṭabarī was offered for the price of 100 dīnārs.

The profession of *warrāḳ* attracted men of letters of all descriptions, such as poets, theologians, commentators on the Ḳurʾān, and traditionists. Some of them had a poor reputation, but many basked in popular esteem. A *warrāḳ* such as Shudjāʿ b. Djaʿfar b. Aḥmad al-Warrāḳ (d. 353/964) claimed an honourable genealogy from the Prophet's Companion Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, and earned for himself a reputation as a preacher (*wāʿiẓ* [*q.v.*]).

ʿAllān al-Warrāḳ, who regarded himself as a man of culture, earned his living as an itinerant copyist who paid visits to his customers rather than the other way round. In some cases a large group of copyists were employed by one man who also provided them board and lodging. The degree of accuracy of knowledge and science available in the ʿAbbāsid Middle East reflected the quality of the copyists' work; a bad copyist was criticised as an embezzler of science and knowledge, as is noted by Abū Bakr al-Khʷārazmī (*Rasāʾil*, ed. al-Khāzin, Beirut 1970, 150).

In the late mediaeval period, especially in Ṣafawid Persia, Ottoman Turkey and pre-modern and early modern Egypt, there existed guilds of various groups involved in the book trade, such as copyists, bookbinders and booksellers.

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(M.A.J. Beg)

AL-WARRĀḲ, ABŪ ʿĪSĀ [see abū ʿīsā].

AL-WARRĀḲ, Maḥmūd b. (al-)Ḥasan al-Warrāḳ al-Nakhkhās, poet of the early ʿAbbāsid period. He lived in Baghdād, where he died *ca.* 230/845. As Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] says in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarā'* (ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrādj, Cairo n.d., 367), "most of his poetry consists of sententious, gnomic, paraenetic and ethical sayings (*amthāl wa-ḥikam wa-mawāʿiẓ wa-adab*), in which genres he does not fall short of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs [*q.v.*] and Sābiḳ al-Barbarī". Specialising in epigrams on *zuhd* [*q.v.*] rarely longer than six lines, with an easy diction and almost wholly devoid of striking similes or metaphors, he was not much esteemed by literary critics. He is, however, often quoted by anthologists, notably the Cordovan writer Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr [*q.v.*], whose *Bahdjat al-madjālis* contains more than one hundred of his epigrams. An anecdote (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 379-80, *Aghānī*[3], xiv, 197-8) presents him in a less pious and sober guise, involved in a bout of drinking and lechery in the company of the disreputable poet Abu 'l-Shibl al-Burdjumī.

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AL-WARRĀḲ, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ta'rīkhī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh (b. 292/904-5, d. 363/973-4 at Cordova), Andalusī historian and geographer. He stemmed from a family originally of Guadalajara (Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra), being born either there or at Ḳayrawān (Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, tr. Fagnan, i, 188, has the latter) where, in any case, he spent his youth. "When he returned to al-Andalus (where he was born, or rather, after one of his travels ?), he became connected with al-Ḥakam (II) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mustanṣir (350-66/961-76 [*q.v.*]), and he wrote for him an extensive work on 'Itineraries and kingdoms' (*al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* [*q.v.*])" (al-Ḍabbī; Ibn al-Abbār).

Like another Spanish Muslim geographer, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. *ca.* 344/955: Pons Boigues, no. 22; Miquel, i, p. xxix), he is called a "chronicler" (*ta'rīkhī*). We do not know whether he was called *al-warrāḳ* because he was a copyist or a book-seller, or whether this was his father's trade, as the preface to the Arabic text of al-Bakrī might lead one to think (*Description*, 12 n. 3: Ibn al-Warrāḳ), but it is not to be excluded that he may have had the post of a librarian at the caliph al-Ḥakam's court.

Like several other scholars, he left a land occupied by the Fāṭimids and was welcomed by al-Ḥakam II, patron of scholars and littérateurs, but also glad to find in him a competent informant who could prove useful for his North African foreign policy (Brunschwig, 151; Miquel, i, 259-60).

None of his works has come down to us. Apart from his *K. Masālik Ifrīḳiya wa-mamālikihā*, he wrote works in the following field: "numerous works on the history of the rulers of Ifrīḳiya, their wars and those who rebelled against them (*kutub djamma fī akhbār mulūkihā wa-ḥurūbihim wa 'l-ḳā'imīn ʿalayhim*), as well as monographs (*tawālīf fī akhbār*) on Tiharat (Tāhart), Wahrān, Tanas, Sidjilmāsa, Nakūr and al-Baṣra (of the Maghrib)" (al-Ḍabbī). He was equally skilled in geneaology, especially that of the Berbers (Ibn Ḥazm, 495 ff.).

He was one of the main sources for Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī [*q.v.*] in his *Description of North Africa*, whom he calls Muḥammad b. Yūsuf or Muḥammad (index, at 394a). It is affirmed there that his information was often first-hand, from having visited the places and following the itineraries, e.g. from Sidjilmāsa to Fās (281 ff.), or else was derived from his informants. Having said this, it also happens that he gives false information (30 n. 2). Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*] also combined the fragments of his work in his *History of the scholars of al-Andalus*, and Ibn al-ʿIdhārī [*q.v.*] did the same, to a lesser degree, in his *History of Africa and Spain* (i, 97, 339 ff., ii, 400 ff.).

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(CL. GILLIOT)

WARS (A.), a yellow dye from a perennial plant cultivated in Yemen, identified usually as *Memecylon tinctorium, Melastomaceae*, or sometimes *Flemmingia rhodocarpus* BAK, *Leguminosae*.

According to Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī's chapter on dyestuffs (165-7), it is found only in Yemen, and there only as a cultivated plant. From various sources, he describes the best *wars* as *bādira*, from a young plant, the other sort being called *ḥabashī* because of some blackness in it; however, the *ḥabashī* gives pure yellow, while *bādira* can contain some redness. Ibn Djuldjul lists it among his medicinal items "which Dioscorides did not mention": it has heads like cotton, and is used for yellow dye, like saffron (Bodleian ms. Hyde 34). Its nature is hot and costive, according to ʿAlī b. Sahl al-Ṭabarī in a chapter on spices and scents (*Firdaws*, 398). Medicinal uses seem to have been insignificant. However, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya in *Medicine of the Prophet* gives a *ḥadīth* that the Prophet used to prescribe oil with *wars*, taken internally, for pleurisy (al-Tirmidhī, *Ṭibb*, 28; Ibn Mādja, *Ṭibb*, 17). He also mentions its use as an embrocation for freckles, itching, and some skin problems (Ar. text 444, Eng. 280).

Dyestuffs, once prepared for sale and for use, are not always so easily identified, and it may have been confused at times with *Carthamus tinctorius, Compositae*, the safflower, which also gives yellow and red dye.

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(PENELOPE C. JOHNSTONE)

WARSH, ʿUTHMĀN B. SAʿĪD b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳurashī al-Miṣrī al-Ḳayrawānī, transmitter of the Ḳurʾān reading of Nāfiʿ al-Laythī [*q.v.*], born in 110/728 in Egypt where he also died in 197/812. A Copt in origin, Warsh was a student of Nāfiʿ and it was from his teacher that he is said to have received his *laḳab*; the name Warsh was given to him either because of his extreme whiteness or because of his similarity to a bird called *warashān*. Warsh taught his transmission of the Ḳurʾān to a number of his Egyptian students, and from there it spread especially through transmitters in Spain. While the Ḳurʾān reading of Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim is now the most widespread in the Muslim world [see ḲIRĀʾA], the version of Warsh *ʿan* Nāfiʿ is found particularly in West and North-West Africa and has been printed in Saudi Arabia, Cairo and Tunis. The reading system of Nāfiʿ was also maintained by the Zaydiyya [*q.v.*] of the Yemen although no studies have been done to determine if this was the transmission through Ḳālūn (d. 220/835) or Warsh.

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(A. RIPPIN)

WARWARĪ ʿALĪ PASHA, Ottoman governor and commander, d. 1058/1648.

He was a native of Warwar or Varvara (lat. 43° 49' N., long. 17° 29' E.) in Bosnia. Details of his career in state service in the first four decades of the 17th century are provided by the Pasha himself in his versified memoirs (*sar gudhasht*). Some of the high points, as he relates them, include his participation in Murād IV's campaign against Eriwan in 1045/1635 as *dümdar* (commander of the army's rear flank), in which he received a cash bonus for exceptional service of four purses (160,000 *aḳčes*) of silver (*Memoirs*, v. 116), and his sustaining of battle wounds during the campaign against Baghdād in 1048/1638, which led to his promotion at the end of Murād's reign to the governorship-general of Rumelia (vv. 135-40). ʿAlī Pasha regarded his appointment to the governorship of Bosnia through the intercession of the Grand Vizier Semīdh Meḥmed Pasha in 1054/1644 as the pinnacle of his career (vv. 168-9, date confirmed in Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, iv, 73). However, the insecurity of his position, shared by all provincial governors, is only too apparent from his record of service at the beginning of Ibrāhīm I's reign. In the first four years of that sultan's reign alone, he was appointed in rapid succession to six governorships: Mağnisa, Van, Anatolia, Adana, Diyarbekir and Bolu.

Warwarī ʿAlī Pasha is chiefly remembered for the stance which he took, bravely contradicting current government practice, in support of guaranteed conditions of service for provincial governors and for his opposing, in particular, abuses in the assessment of the appointments' gratuity customarily paid by new incumbents to higher office [see PĪSHKASH]. Uncontrolled increases in these assessments, especially during the reign of Ibrāhīm I, had left many governors in a state of chronic indebtedness. During his tenure as governor of Sivas in 1058/1648, ʿAlī Pasha's opposition took concrete form in rebellion, and during a conflict between government and provincial forces near the central Anatolian town of Čerkes in Rabīʿ II 1058/May 1648 he was captured and executed on the spot [see IPSHIR MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA]. It is ironic that, only four years later, in 1062/1052 Ipshir, clearly inspired by the example of his discredited predecessor, himself backed proposals in favour of a guaranteed three-year minimum term of service for all state appointees (Naʿīmā, v, 199, ll. 2-3). Ottoman political thinkers from the time of Ḳoči Beg [*q.v.*] to Tatardjiḳ ʿAbd Allāh Efendi [see SELĪM III] gave particular emphasis in their writings to the importance of state administrators' immunity from arbitrary

dismissal (see textual refs. in *Bibl.*). Warwarī ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a's sad end after long and loyal service spanning the reigns of six sultans demonstrates just how astute their observations were.

Bibliography: 1. Texts. Naʿīmā, *Tārīk̲h̲*, iv, 227-8, 244-8, 274-9; Ḳara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi, *D̲h̲eyl-i Rawḍat ül-ebrār*, ms. Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibliothek, H.O. 76, fols. 9b-11a; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ms. Topkapı Sarayı, Bağdat Köskü 304, fols. 338a-366a (provides a psychological portrait of Warwarī ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a lacking in other sources).

2. Biographical studies. *SʿO*, iii, 513; Hikmet Ertaylan, *Varvari Ali Paşa*, in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, ii/3-4 (1948), 155-70; Marija Dukanović (ed.), *Rimovana autobiografija Varvari Ali-Paše*, Belgrade 1967 (gives text of his autobiographical poem in 178 rhymed couplets; her numbering of these is followed in the article above).

3. Political treatises. Ḳoči Beg's views on governorship are summarised in a supplementary *telk̲h̲īṣ* of his treatise of 1041/1631; see R. Murphey (ed.), *The Veliyuddin Telhis*, in *Belleten*, xliii, no. 171 (1979), esp. 560 (last 3 ll.) and 561 (first 3 ll.) and abbreviated Eng. tr. on 549. Tatard̲j̲ïḳ ʿAbd Allāh's *lāyiḥa* of 1206/1791 has a long ch. on this theme and recommends a minimum term of office of four to five years; see S̲h̲erīf Meḥmed (ed.), *Sulṭān Selīm-i T̲h̲ālit̲h̲ dewrinde niẓām-i dewlet ḥaḳḳinda muṭālaʿāt*, part 3, in *TOEM*, viii, no. 43 (1333/1917), 15-20, esp. 18 (ll. 13-23). (R. Murphey)

al-**WĀSĀNĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) b. Wāsān (or Wāsāna), minor poet of invective and satirical verse. He lived in Damascus in the 4th/10th century and died in 394/1003-4. Very little is known of his life; he or his family may have come originally from Aleppo. Al-T̲h̲aʿālibī (*Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo 1947, i, 335) calls him the Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] of his time, on account of his invective verse [see hid̲j̲āʾ]. It is said that he once lost his job, some kind of official position, as a result of his scurrilous attacks on a certain Manas̲h̲s̲h̲ā (Manasseh) b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳazzāz. Most of the verse that is preserved (*ca.* 450 lines, including two very long poems, quoted in *Yatīma*, i, 325-55, and Yāḳūt's *Muʿd̲j̲am al-udabāʾ*, Cairo 1936-8, ix, 233-65) is invective of the obscene kind. His longest and best poem is a lively and entertaining description, in a *nūniyya* of 196 lines in *k̲h̲afīf* metre, of a banquet given by him that got out of hand through the guests' misbehaviour; a shortened version (137 lines) is quoted by Yāḳūt.

Bibliography: Given in the article, and see (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir) al-Mag̲h̲ribī, *Walīmat Ibn Wāsāna*, in *RAAD*, x (1930), 641-51, 705-19 (gives only 123 lines of the banquet poem). (G.J.H. van Gelder)

WAṢF (a.), lit. "description".

I. In poetry

1. *Description*

This literary genre, through its dimensions, its significative function and its evolution, has played a role of the greatest importance in the long process of the development of Arabic poetry. By its etymology, the term signifies embellishment (al-D̲j̲awharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, Beirut 1404/1984, iv, 1438-9; *Tahd̲h̲īb al-lug̲h̲a*, xii, 248a; al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, *Asās al-balāg̲h̲a*, 1024a-1025a; *LA*, s.v. *w-ṣ-f*, *waṣafa al-s̲h̲ayʾa ḥallāhu* "he described a thing, meaning that he embellished it"). This sense has been retained by the Ḳurʾān (XVI, 62); it is attested to a quite unexpected degree in poetry throughout the classical period (*al-ʿIḳd al-t̲h̲amīn*, 186, Ṭarafa; ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, *Dīwān*, 159, l. 13; Ibn His̲h̲ām, *Sīra*, 121, l. 15; *LA*, xix, 134, l. 5; under the Umayyads, *al-Ag̲h̲ānī*, i, 99, l. 13, al-Dārimī; *ibid.*, xi, 373, l. 5, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmmār al-Asadī; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-S̲h̲iʿr wa 'l-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, 510-11, Abū Nuwās; K̲h̲ālid al-Kātib, §§ 284, 297; Ibn al-Rūmī, ii, 688, *id̲h̲ā mā waṣafta mraʾ^an li-mriʾ^in fa-lā tag̲h̲lu fī waṣfihi wa 'ḳṣidi* "when you praise one man to another, do not exaggerate his eulogy; do it with moderation"). In this connection, a verse of the Umayyad poet Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman establishes an equivalence between *waṣf* and *tas̲h̲bīb* which come to be equated (*al-Ag̲h̲ānī*, vi, 235, l. 2); in fact, the latter refers predominantly to the eulogy addressed to the woman in the context of love poetry.

Under the Umayyads, *waṣf* with the meaning of description gains ground in the texts, although the primary sense is not eclipsed. It is therefore appropriate to stress that it is flattering description that is involved here, the embellishment of reality. *Waṣf* embellishment constitutes the fundamental approach of one of the great descriptive poets of Arabic literature, Ibn K̲h̲afād̲j̲a: because description, he writes in the introduction to his *Dīwān*, is a style of composition which purports to express a representation based on imagery, it follows that the poet is not to be denounced for having lied (i.e. for embellishing reality), nor can he be forced to confine himself to the real (*Dīwān*, 11). All of this runs counter to the assertions of Ḳudāma b. D̲j̲aʿfar (*Naḳd*, 23) and of Ibn Ras̲h̲īḳ al-Ḳayrawānī and of certain supporters of the theory of *ʿamūd al-s̲h̲iʿr*; in their view, the best description is that which adheres to the real, that which transforms words into directly comprehensible images (*al-ʿUmda*, ii, 294; see also 295).

2. *The poetics of* waṣf

A large number of mediaeval theorists have studied two essential tools of the descriptive art, *al-tas̲h̲bīh* (simile) and *al-istiʿāra* (metaphor), which are reckoned to show mutual resemblance. Thus it is that Ibn Abī ʿAwn, in composing the *K. al-Tas̲h̲bīhāt*, and to a lesser degree al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ in *al-Bayān*, devoted most of their attention to cataloguing the system of imagery adopted by poetry; this manner of proceeding exempted them from having to examine the entity known as *waṣf*. At the end of the 3rd/9th and during the 4th/10th centuries, this habit is seen to be perpetuated, with the systematic treatises of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī on the one hand, and the works on *maʿānī*, giving an account of these tropes, on the other. Only a minority of original theorists addressed this art in the context of broad categories, sc. of literary genres. Ḳudāma b. D̲j̲aʿfar, 23, considers *waṣf* one of the six genres most frequently employed by poets. Some of his views on the question have an utterly modern resonance. For him, prefiguring those contemporary theorists for whom all description is narration, description consists in relating a thing on the basis of its various aspects and its successive states. Thus the most gifted descriptive writer is the one who succeeds in combining the greatest number of *maʿānī* and in emphasising those that best characterise the object in question. The most successful description will be that which imitates (*yaḥkī*) the object and renders it perceptible (*yumat̲h̲t̲h̲il*) to the senses (*ibid.*, 62-3). Ibn Ras̲h̲īḳ (d. 456/1063) considers this art a frame broad enough to contain almost the entirety of Arabic poetry; it differs from comparison despite evident analogies, the former being concerned with reality, the latter with an imaged (*tamt̲h̲īl*) and a figurative (*mad̲j̲āz*) representation (*al-ʿUmda*, ii, 294-6).

Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭād̲j̲annī (d. 684/1285) likewise asserts

that *waṣf* is predominant in rhymed discourse. This being the case, he distinguishes between four poetic genres: description, comparison, wisdom and history. To excel, the poet must be a good observer. He will thereby be capable of grasping the features of resemblance and the similitudes which exist between the afore-mentioned genres; and he will also need to be aware of the attributes (*nuʿūt*) of the notions, events and objects which he will be setting himself to describe. On the level of the treatment of themes and not of forms, al-Ḳarṭādjannī partially revives the division established by Ḳudāma, beginning with *waṣf* and *tas̲h̲bīh*; the latter performs an integration between the sentiments of the poet, the diverse reflections of his nature, of his soul and of the sensibility of the object perceived. In the third place, he cites sapiential themes, including the meditations and the ideas of the poet, the fruit of his experience and of his awareness. The fourth category of poetry, designated by the term *taʾrīk̲h̲*, concerns the role of memorialist, devolved to the poet (Muḥammad Zag̲h̲lūl Sallām, ii, 195-6). In the 8th/14th century, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (d. 784/1382), defines poetry as "discourse founded on metaphor and descriptions". Everything in the *ḳaṣīda*, he writes, belongs to description, including the *nasīb*, the camel-section and the *ḳaṣd*.

3. *Description in poetry: between theory and practice*

A. Archaic poetry

The pre-Islamic Bedouin poet was a great creator of images. He painted with words numerous details of his life and of his environment, and devoted a major portion of his discourse to serenading the lady whom he loved, and singing the praises of nature and of the animals among which he lived. This characteristic has always drawn the attention of theorists. For Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, description and the archaic *ḳaṣīda* are inseparable. He declares this in a passage devoted to the evocation of major themes in the poem: *wa-yastaṭridu min waṣfi ʾl-baydāʾi wa ʾl-ṭulūli ilā waṣfi ʾl-rikābi awi ʾl-k̲h̲ayli awi ʾl-ṭayfi wa-min waṣfi ʾl-mamdūḥi ilā waṣfi ḳawmihi wa-ʿasākirihi* "through well-arranged transitions, he moves from the description of the desert, of traces and of encampments to that of his caravan or of his horses, or that of the image of the loved one who appears to him in a dream: praise of his patron leads on to that of his people and of his troops" (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 328, tr. De Slane, iii, 366, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 373-4).

Rather than setting out a catalogue of *d̲j̲āhilī* descriptions, it will be more worthwhile to identify the major features.

Major descriptive themes

The bestiary, a multidimensional one, predominates. At the time of the *raḥīl*, the nocturnal journey, the poet confronts a space sown with dangers. In this section, it was accepted that the artist could, if he wished and did not deny himself the opportunity, proceed to descriptive developments. He evoked here the running of his camel, the desert, the darkness, wild animals, maleficent spirits and excesses of the elements (storms and torrential rains: numerous descriptions in ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1957, 36-7, 43-4, 75-6 (the storm replacing the *nasīb*), 89-90 (fragment of seven verses in *kāmil muraffal* devoted to this theme), 128-9). In praising his camel, he did not hesitate to compare it to an antelope, or an onager, or both simultaneously, or to an ostrich. He could close this section by returning to his camel. It is worth noting that a certain functional division must have played a part; the description of the camel alone is attested in poems of personal or tribal boasting and in the poetry of war as in the work of ʿAntara, Ṭarafa, al-Mut̲h̲aḳḳab al-ʿAbdī, Imruʾ al-Ḳays, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, Bis̲h̲r b. Abī K̲h̲āzim al-Asadī and others. However, it is the multidimensional pattern which prevails. The descriptive deployments attested are as follows: camel–antelope–onager–war-horse–camel, with all possible combinations thereof. Numerous variants and additions are attested. The ostrich can replace the onager or the antelope (for references, see Arazi, *La réalité et la fiction*, 114-18, 130-3, 142-6, 152-3). As for additions, desert and storm seem to have been especially favoured by poets.

Birds, especially birds of prey, and the ibex, etc., are less often present and are retained for their symbolic value: the *ʿuḳāb* or *liḳwa* "eagle" in the works of Imruʾ al-Ḳays (*Dīwān*, Cairo, 1984, 142, vv. 44-5; 226-7, vv. 8-11), but especially in the works of ʿAbīd al-Abraṣ, where it is the poet's sworn enemy (*Dīwān*, 18-20, vv. 39-50, famous description), representing the destiny which swoops and brings death (al-Aʿs̲h̲ā, xvii, vv. 3 ff.; al-Afwah al-Awdī, *Dīwān, al-Ṭarāʾif al-adabiyya*, Cairo 1937, 20; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, v, Jerusalem 1936, 241; al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, Cairo 1936, ii, 965); the ibex means to express the vanity of any creature's attempts to find an impregnable refuge as protection from his destiny.

Tendencies and significations

The audience of the time must have felt overwhelmed by this incessant whirlwind of successive images: barely installed in the world of the camel, the listener finds himself introduced, without warning, to that of the antelope, where he is confronted by a squall of unparallelled violence and forced to take shelter from lightning and from torrential rain; being given no more time, he is made to share the life of an onager, before returning to the point of departure. On more than one occasion, the poet leaves him in suspense, since the loop is not closed and there is no returning to the camel which set this process in motion. Rather than seeing this as punishment which is deserved on account of the poet's obsession with excess, this multiplicity should be regarded as an attempt on the part of the artist to endow his poem with a rapid rhythm and thus gain the approval of the public.

This approval was forthcoming because of the tendency of ancient *waṣf* towards idealisation. The poet aspired to transfigure everything that he had written with the aim of transcending the circumscribed reality of daily life in the desert. The public, clearly, had only to summon a precise portrait of a camel or a horse—emaciated, hungry, thirsty, covered with dust as these creatures generally were—and then call upon the poet to perform a process of sublimation on its behalf. The exemplary case is provided by the portrait of the lady in these texts. The *mīmiyya* of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī includes a *nasīb* of eleven verses, six of which evoke an unnamed woman laden with jewellery; her body is of perfect beauty (vv. 6-8) and her teeth "light up my dark tent to the furthest corner, when at night she shows a smile" (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1411/1990, 221). This notion of sparkling teeth shedding light may seem exaggerated, but it does not lack human resonances: by means of poetry, the woman is idealised. The ageing wife, worn out by hard work and frequent confinements, appears in the description as a creature richly endowed, all beauty and grace, thus erasing all the difficulties and compromises of a decidedly monotonous daily life. This tendency was required to respond to the expectation of the public; the best testimony is supplied by the contest in which Imruʾ al-Ḳays

confronted ʿAlḳama, the arbiter being Umm Djundub; both were required to describe a horse. The latter won the day on account of his success in having infused his verse with a perfect exemplar of equine power, according to the judgment of the arbiter. The erstwhile prince of the poets was deposed on account of a fatal error, that of having sinned by excess of realism.

The descriptive register manifests great stability. In other words, it is subject to rigid conventions imposed by the public and fully accepted by the poet on the level of the sign and the signified. Themes, their deployments and tropes of comparison move within clearly defined limits. Thus conceived, this register is distinct from realism, since every convention signifies negation of realism. Of course, this is not a case of make-believe, but rather of a mimetic description. Nevertheless, a willingness is sensed on the part of the describer to restructure and interpret the real. The she-camel of Ṭarafa, given as a model of the genre, has no hump; her udders comprise four teats, but biologically, she can possess only two. Imruʾ al-Ḳays commits the same infraction. The traits retained by Musayyab b. ʿAlas, drawing a sketch of his camel, seem so contrary to reality that Ṭarafa is supposed to have exclaimed *istanwaḳa ʾl-djamalu* "the camel has changed into a she-camel". The intensive use of comparative tropes, also of substantive adjectives, has made it possible to avoid calling animals, feminine anatomy and topographical details, by their names, thus conferring a certain opacity on descriptive passages. The use of metaphor, more frequent than is generally thought, endows these verses with a fine artistic element. The *djāhilī* poet Bishr b. Abī Khāzim, evoking the hills in summer time has recourse to a fine metaphor, "the hills clad in shining jewellery (*lawāmiʿ*)" of which the contextual, not the linguistic meaning, is mirage (Bishr, *Dīwān*, Beirut-Aleppo 1995, 209). However, these codes experience a certain exhaustion on account of the uninterrupted repetition of the same tropes, substantive adjectives and allusive procedures in a fixed context.

Archaic poetry possesses an ambivalent character, being both description and narration. For the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] what is necessary has been said. For the bestiary, the sections dealing with the antelope and the onager are veritable dramas in miniature; the poet steps forward here as a first-rate narrator (examples and bibl. in Arazi, *La réalité*, 160-3).

This poetry, whether it describes nature, encampment remains or the bestiary, has an optimistic flavour. Life, but also the imprint of man, triumphs over all. The desert is traversed by roads and paths, human incisions in the body of this vast expanse of sand. In fact, the route, which is *muʿabbad* (worn down by traffic) *apud* Kaʿb b. Zuhayr, or *lāḥib* (clearly marked) with *ʿulūb* (imprints) that are ineradicable on account of the compression exerted by travellers *apud* ʿAlḳama (*al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn*, 106, vv. 17-9), crosses the desert from one end to the other. Here, the archaic poet uses the term *faḳḳara* "to pierce deeply" to show the extent to which the imprint of man and his agents (beasts of burden) is here ineradicable. Kaʿb b. Zuhayr compares these paths to plaits woven by industrious women (*Dīwān*, Krakow 1950, 21-3, vv. 23-7; 28-31, vv. 14-26, the poet gets the better of the desert; he is accompanied by a wolf and a raven; 51, vv. 12-13; 52-3, vv. 17-8). By virtue of his knowledge, man can pit himself on equal terms with this immensity. In the bestiary, the antelope, the onager and their pregnant partners, bearers of new life, escape death, despite the snares set by hunters, despite hunting dogs and sharpened arrows.

In the archaic period, the existence is noted of two descriptive approaches: dynamic description and static description. Poets of the school of Aws b. Ḥadjar (Zuhayr and his heir al-Ḥuṭayʾa) are particularly distinctive in the first instance. Here, description has the rhythm of a beating drum. Very brief poetic phrases lay out propositions where prominence is given to verbs expressive of movement. There is recourse to an alternation of decelerated or accelerated movements, all in accordance with the requirements of the motif. This has enabled the poet to tackle, on a strongly structured basis, the essence of the *ḳaṣīda*, eulogy, *fakhr*, or *hidjāʾ*. A second descriptive approach is based on the static mode, more precisely on the freezing of movement, prolonged interminably, to the extent of enfolding the entire verse. Was it the poet's intention to contrast movement that is frenetic and thus of limited duration with the stability that is synonymous with durability?

B. Post-*djāhilī* description

With the triumph of Islam, a new dimension is perceptible in *waṣf*: the cosmic dimension. The Ḳurʾān is slow off the mark in evoking the skies, stars, land and rivers as evidence of the power of the Creator and the submission of nature to His will. Naturally, the surviving poets of the *Djāhiliyya*, the *mukhadramūn* [*q.v.*], do not follow the movement, but with their disappearance, a period of transition begins. Over several decades, the mental revolution inspired by Islam becomes ripe in the popular mentality; movements of population with the mass exodus of the Bedouin of Arabia and the establishment of a new landscape, the urban landscape, deal a heavy blow to ancient descriptive art. Certainly, Bedouinising poets and the conservatism inherent in all poetic language perpetuate the images of yesteryear, but this is merely a case of imitation imposed by a traditionalist attitude. The umbilical cord which used to link the public, the poet and descriptive thought together is henceforward severed, except with the *nasīb* and its descriptive extensions. The major victim seems to be the range of animals and birds, and, to a lesser degree, the desert and its thematic developments. The urban poets of Kūfa, al-Uḳayshir, Ḥunayn al-Ḥīrī, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zabīr al-Asadī, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmmār al-Asadī and ʿAmmār Dhū Kināz, introduce images from the hybrid world of the taverns and courtesans of al-Ḥīra. The Ḥidjāzī school offers us a full-blown introduction to the domain of women of high society. On the other hand, poets of the renewal of the 2nd/8th century continued to express the sentiment in their presentations. Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, with the two palm-trees of Ḥilwān, was to blaze a trail that is still being followed by the Arabic poetry of the present day. The 3rd/9th century was to channel this activity and guide it towards a new descriptive art that would be brought to its zenith in the two succeeding centuries. However, attention should be given to the descriptive activity of the Umayyad *ṣaʿālīk* poets [see ṢUʿLŪK].

These highway bandits, members of tribes which maintained their Bedouin character, crowded the Pilgrimage routes. The poets among them, of whom there were many, advanced towards a three-fold description of the desert which they considered a *waṭan* or homeland, a refuge and a place of terror. They were full of nostalgia for their land. They never ceased painting the landscapes of their youth, with their infinite spaces, their caressing winds, and the breeze of early morning; but these are also the places where

tents are buffeted by tempestuous and icy winds in the winter (al-Ḳattāl al-Kilābī, *Dīwān*, Baghdād 1968, 19-27, 33, 41, 45, 51, 68; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, i, 290; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥalafī, *Udabāʾ al-sudjūn*, Beirut 1963, 42-4, 78-80, 92-3, 96-7, 99-102; ʿAbd al-Muʿīn al-Mallūḥī, *Ashʿār al-luṣūṣ wa-akhbāruhum*, Damascus 1988, 20, 73). Other *ṣaʿālīk* placed emphasis in their verse on the solitude of these places and the wild animals which inhabit them: some portraits in this bestiary rank as genuine bravura pieces (as in ʿUbayd b. Ayyūb al-ʿAnbarī, see Ḥusayn ʿAṭwān, *al-Shuʿarāʾ al-ṣaʿālīk fi ʾl-ʿaṣr al-islāmī*, Beirut 1987, 151-9). Another category of poets, rather more placid and respectful of the law, also sang of the desert landscapes and the loves of youth, in a poetry impregnated with melancholy. There are both poets (al-Ṣimma al-Ḳushayrī, *al-Aghānī*[3], vi, 1-8; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 185-6; Abū Tammām, *al-Ḥamāsa*, index) and poetesses (Maysūn bt. Baḥdal, Hind bt. Aʿlam al-Sadūsiyya, Wadjīha bt. Aws al-Ḍabbiyya) producing treatises of *ḥanīn ilā ʾl-awṭān*. Nevertheless, these artists were regarded as marginal and seem to have played only a very limited role in the evolution of descriptive poetry in their time.

New frameworks

Under the ʿAbbāsids, the courtly poet fulfilled certain functions in addition to his role as eulogist. He was obliged to entertain his patron's guests and to commemorate mundane events with a few improvised verses. Patrons seem to have particularly appreciated brief fragments describing a youth, a pool, a villa, a garden, a still-life or whatever might present itself. The artist was required to excel in this area or to risk losing prestige and career. Few poets succeeded in evading this obligation. Biographical notices contain a large number of examples of such descriptions, commissioned and performed forthwith. The results were ambivalent: descriptive poetry was boosted to a certain extent, becoming an integral and essential part of literary activity. These well-crafted and elegantly-delivered improvisations paved the way for the appearance of the great descriptive writers from the second half of the 3rd/9th century onward. Furthermore, it must have encouraged descriptive bouts between poets: in their encounters, there was a fusion of rhymed repartee, in which pleasures were abundantly evoked, with particular insistence on the framework of enchantment expected of them, and with the aim of being capable of inviting everyone to a bacchanalian session. However, it is appropriate to note, with J. Bencheikh, how baneful improvisation proved to be for poetry; the rapidity of the repartee and the spiritual quality of these few rhymed phrases fail to conceal the absence of any personal involvement on the part of their authors. Formal elegance and the interminable repetition of the same hackneyed effects tended to stifle any exercise of considered creation, the one thing capable of creating new combinations and hence original *maʿānī* (Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 68-79). This process, in fact, played a fundamental role with regard to the least gifted poets. Thanks to all this activity, to the dominant mood in favour of this literary genre and contribution of bacchic poetry with the Bohemia of Kūfa, but also thanks to Abū Nuwās, to al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk and to Muslim b. al-Walīd [*q.vv.*], the descriptive act removed at this time one of the most solidly based and most respected bastions of the poetic heritage of the desert, the opening with a *nasīb*; it was replaced in the 3rd/9th century by a *rawḍiyya*, as has been shown by G. Schoeler in a set-piece *ḳaṣīda* of Abū Tammām (Schoeler, 182; Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 143-6).

Abū Tammām's disciple, al-Buḥturī, took a further step on the way of renovation; he devoted an entire *ḳaṣīda* to *waṣf*, the well-known *īwāniyya*; the very detailed description of the palace of Kisrā is conceived as an illustration of universal destruction. The collapse of the poet's ambitions and the destruction of this monument constitute the two faces of a single reality; he concludes with an assertion of impotence: everything in this world is subject to a determinism of annihilation. This experiment combines two levels of description, that of the ruins at the time of the poet's visit, and that of the imagination: a mural sculpture sets in motion a return to the past, as the sculpted scene comes to life and unfolds before our eyes a living and sumptuous spectacle (*Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1963, ii, 1152-62, 58 vv.).

At the same time, Ibn al-Rūmī was gathering together all these novelties and transforming them into systematically-employed poetic procedures. Furthermore, he is credited with two important transformations regarding the fragments and the role of the *waṣf* genre in *ḳaṣīdas*. The former were made to serve in the role of brief portraits, a few features thrown quickly together to give an impression, almost a sketch, of curious people (Ibn al-Rūmī, 608, a fool; 641, the miser who breathes through only one nostril; 682, a glutton in the process of eating; cf. also 747, 762, 815). On the other hand, he replaces the *djāhilī* range of animals and birds with descriptions of nature. In numerous instances, an opening eulogy leads to a long descriptive development on the basis of an analogy established between the patron and nature, in the space formerly reserved for the *raḥīl* (*ibid.*, 489, vv. 31-9; 542-8, vv. 6-9; 604-7, vv. 4-11).

During the 4th/10th century, two eminent descriptive poets, Kushādjim and al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ [*q.vv.*], introduced *radjaz* [*q.v.*] into poems of the genre. The way in which this metre was used by them differed from its use in cynegetic poetry. The latter had imitated in this respect the Umayyad poets al-Kumayt, al-Ṭirimmāḥ, al-ʿAdjdjādj and Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj; it opted for the *urdjūza* [see RADJAZ], on account of its aptitude to accommodate rare words and phonemes of equally rare morphological construction (*al-gharīb*). In the work of these two descriptive poets, the *urdjūza*, resuming its role as attested in the improvised fragments (verses preceding contests and lullabies), aspires, by virtue of the facility of terms and the variety of feet (*tafʿīlāt*), to have recourse to a supple and comfortable poetic phrase; they could thus enjoy a liberty without hindrance or resistance; they could then make their verses flow, preoccupied only with the sense. Whatever the case, in the works of Kushādjim there are to be found no fewer than 38 poems and fragments in *radjaz* and in the work of al-Sarī, 19. Some poets produced the finest novelties in this domain.

Themes

The hymn to nature: The poet of this era showed a pronounced inclination towards nature domesticated by man—gardens full of colours, where greenery predominates, flowers and water enclosed in a lake or flowing freely. From the second half of the Umayyad period onward, this was the backdrop for libations evoked in bacchic poems. On the other hand, *ikhwāniyyāt* (poetry singing of friendship), poetical missives often containing an invitation to a bacchic meeting, gave great prominence to the above-mentioned themes. Finally, celebrations of the *nayrūz* [see NAWRŪZ] and *mihradjān* [*q.v.*] festivals, hymns dedicated to the glories of nature implanted in the customs of the time, and for centuries to come, not only a vivid attach-

ment to nature but also an obligation to integrate this love in verse. In these poems, the visual element plays the primary role: to the magic of colours and their blending, *apud* the poets of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, are added olfactory and aural elements. In this connection, a fragment of al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ supplies a fine illustration of the use of motifs relating to the integration of these three elements: the quatrain (*Dīwān*, Baghdād 1981, ii, 666) includes an invitation addressed to the *sāḳī* to serve wine to the poet who is seated in a vineyard (*karm^in^ muʿarrash^in^*), soothed by the cooing of doves (*tughannīka wurḳu 'l-ḥamāʾimi*), under a sky of branches (shade) which hides the sun and prevents it from appearing, except in the form of scattered dirhams (*samāʾu ghuṣūn^in^ taḥdjubu 'l-shamsa an turā ʿalā 'l-arḍi illā mithla 'l-darāhimi*); the last image constitutes a combination of three elements all relating to the visual: the branches filtering the light, the scattered dirhams, and the reflection of the sun through the foliage and the white colour of the silver. It is an image evocative of dreams; it is not lacking in beauty, and indicates a lively attention and an affectionate interest in all things relating to nature (similar cases in *ibid.*, 50-2, 667, 721-2, 762-3, 775). The Andalusian poet Ibn Khafādja seems to have been particularly distinguished in this domain (*Dīwān*, 42-3, vv. 1-20; 116, vv. 5-14; 144, vv. 21-36; 184, vv. 1-4; 250, vv. 1-5; 254, vv. 1-14; 281, vv. 1-7). Ibn Khaldūn informs us in this context that his masters expressed deep reservations regarding the poet on account of this tendency towards excess of *maʿānī* in a single verse, since this is liable to result in a certain obscurity (Ibn Khaldūn, iii, 328-9, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 373-5).

In parallel, these same poets endow nature with a soul, such that it takes on life of its own. Its birth is seen in spring; it is, by turns, impetuous or dormant. Thus for Ibn Rūmī, a garden, at the time of sunset, is an invalid in pain: at twilight, the sun is languid and feeble (*rannaḳa*), it sprinkles (*naffaḍa*, verb of motion) the horizon with yellow; thus it bids farewell to the world below, it is in the process of dying (*wa-wad-daʿati 'l-dunyā li-taḳḍiya naḥbahā*); the flowers, suffering on account of the malady that has smitten them, lay their cheeks on the ground, in utter submission; they set themselves to weeping hot tears and staring dejectedly at the sun; green plants cover themselves with a cadaverous yellow colour (*Dīwān*, iv, 1475-6, vv. 23-34; iii, 1418). This has nothing to do with parody. This aspect led Von Grunebaum and Schoeler to detect a tendency towards animism among poets of nature at this time [see ZAHRIYYĀT].

Discovery of the world of objects: People in mediaeval times considered objects of the mundane world as faithful and useful companions. Thus Kushādjim evokes his sadness on the loss of his cup, having carelessly broken it; he describes the débris and evokes the magnificence of the cup at the time when it was intact; it is clearly felt that he valued the object highly (*Dīwān*, 130-2). In the same sphere of ideas, he expresses his deep emotion at the sight of a broken *ʿūd*; it should be noted in this context that the title of the poem speaks of a *marthiya* (*ibid.*, 465-6). Poets have described in independent fragments, setting out from an assiduously-pursued artistic project, a *harīsa* (a dish of meat and of wheat, Ibn al-Rūmī, iii, 1141, § 904), bread (*ibid.*, 1110, § 860), a dīnār (*ibid.*, 1241, § 1018), a pen (*ibid.*, 1659, § 1289), a sealed letter (*ibid.*, 978, § 726), a noria (*ibid.*, 1150, § 926-7), a scarf (Kushādjim, 86-8), a musical instrument (*ibid.*, 73), an ink-pot (*ibid.*, 65-7, 368-9, 433), a Ḳurʾān (*ibid.*, 23-5), a calculating tablet (*ibid.*, 41), an astrolabe (*ibid.*, 127-9), a candle (in a large number of fragments, *ibid.*, 235, 350), an hour-glass (*binkām*, *ibid.*, 143-4), a jug (al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, ii, 293, 366-7), a cooking pot (*ibid.*, 654-5, excellent specimen) and numerous other objects. Moreover, the whole of this inanimate world may be found in the work of numerous poets. Nothing, it may be said, escapes this voracity for description. Beyond the documentary value of this corpus, it is appropriate to see here the point of departure of the literary project: the mundane possesses a poetic aspect; it is sufficient to glance at it in a new light, to discover it and regard it with love. With this form of description, Arabic poetry, a discourse formerly reserved for the extraordinary, seems to undergo a change of direction, with this willingness to take into account the poetic value of the so-called prosaic world. The "thing" deserves mention. The process of poetisation consists in applying to the object a double, narrative and imaginative, approach, as in the case of al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, or narrative and emotional in the case of the majority of descriptive writers. For the former, the description of the brazier possesses an exemplary value: the point of departure recounts the story of a group of friends who arrive, one winter night, in an orchard in the outskirts of Mawṣil intending to drink and to enjoy themselves: a tempest springs up, rapidly evoked; the poet resorts to imagining how good it would be to be warmed by a *kānūn* full of glowing embers; then he describes it with economy of space utilised: the whole is recounted in ten verses (al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, ii, 510).

This poetic interest could arise from rather more prosaic, even mercenary causes: the poet, having received a gift from his patron, sent him a note in which gratitude was blended with a description of the object received. This was a form of eulogy; in effect, the finer and more precious the gift, the more effusive the praise of the one who gave it.

The clear and the hermetic: Von Grunebaum and Schoeler, the two specialists who have left their mark on the study of *waṣf*, speak of a baroque aspect of this poetry under the ʿAbbāsids. A large proportion of this corpus could be described as baroque, if by this is meant a text which bows beneath the weight of excess of ornamentation, stylistic hypertrophy and immoderate use of metaphor; this is also the case in the extent to which it extols artifice and mannerism as styles of creation. *Badīʿ* [*q.v.*] also played a considerable role since it involved a quest, knowingly pursued, for the unforeseeable image. *Badīʿ* advocated recourse to an original usage of the tropes of comparison and denied the necessity for the existence of a logical link between the compared and the comparing. To use an expression coined by W. Heinrichs, the poets opted in their descriptions for an imagery utterly divorced from nature; this led to the creation of constructions based on the imaginary, i.e. fantastic creations. Heinrichs gives as an example a description by al-Ṣanawbarī comparing red anemones stirred by the wind to banners made of cut rubies on a background of chrysolites (*Literary theory*, 26). All the describers of this period borrowed this method. Ibn al-Rūmī, for example, describes a bunch of white grapes of the al-Rāziḳī variety as balls of congealed light, transformed into balls of crystal and rose-water on account of their perfume: then, through another mutation, they be-come cloves of musk (iii, 987-9). Other poets acted no differently and their images verge on the surreal (in Kushādjim, 73, the *ʿūd* becomes a hybrid creature equipped with an

eloquent tongue; he is adored by beautiful women who never cease to embrace him; when his pulse is taken, he awakes: 76-7, 78, 235, 254-5, 356). This verbal imagery leads to a hermetic description. This is tolerable so long as the title supplies keys of the code used; otherwise, it remains incomprehensible (al-Sarī al-Raffā', ii, 585, the editor not having seen that it refers to a passive pederast) as is the general case with later poets, the poets of the *Kharīda* of al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī. Description thus leads quite naturally to another genre, *uḥdjiyya* or *lughz*, enigma, as J. Sadan writes. The only difference is that, with the *aḥādjī*, the solution is given to us in an epilogue appended by the poet, while, for description, it figures in the title supplied by the transmitter.

Descriptive poetry continued its headlong progress under the Mamlūks: numerous poets of *waṣf* are attested here [see SHIʿR. 1. In Arabic (a), V (1), in Vol. IX, 460].

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(A. Arazi)

II. In law

Here *waṣf* means form, external aspects, or incident, each one of these three as opposed to substance (*aṣl*). This Aristotelian dichotomy between form and substance appears frequently in Islamic law in providing solutions to legal problems. Thus a slave, after being sold to a new owner but before his delivery to this new master, injures a limb. Will the delivery of the slave with his injured limb be valid? Al-Sarakhsī [*q.v.*] answers this question in the affirmative: the delivery will be valid because the injury of the limb affects only the *waṣf*, meaning here the incident, not the substance (*aṣl*) of the slave, while "the price [of the slave] is for the substance (*aṣl*), not for the incident (*waṣf*)" (*Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1916, xiii, 171, ll. 20-5). However, the same dichotomy is also, and perhaps mainly, used in obfuscating solutions to legal problems. The vitiated (*fāsid* [*q.v.*]) contract is a good example. This contract is non-existent between the parties to it, but quite valid with regard to third parties (Chafik Chehata, *Le système de nullités en droit musulman hanéfite et en droit comparé*, in *Rapports généraux au VIème Congrès international de droit comparé, Hambourg 30 juillet-4 août 1962*, ed. J. Lempens, Brussels 1964, 191-203, at 195). For al-Sarakhsī, the vitiated contract is valid in its substance but invalid in its incident (*ibid.*, xiii, 24, ll. 8-10), leaving it unexplained and unclear what are the effects of the contract that belong to the substance (*aṣl*), hence are valid, and what are the effects of the contract that belong to its incident, external aspect or form (*waṣf*). Remarkably, this obfuscated definition of the vitiated contract was adopted by the *Medjelle*, the Ottoman re-statement of Islamic law, published during the third quarter of the 19th century [see MADJALLA] (section 109) and later by the 1976 Jordanian Civil Code (section 170) and the 1986 Civil Code of the United Arab Emirates (section 121). The 1951 Iraqi Civil Code, which ignores the vitiated contract, although it is one of the original features of the Islamic law of contract, maintains nevertheless the dichotomy between form and substance in its definitions of the non-existent or invalid (*bāṭil* [*q.v.*]) contract (section 137) and of the valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*) contract (section 133, though the substance there is called *dhāt*, the very term used

previously by section 109 of the *Medjelle*, where both *aṣl* and *dhāt* appear).

Moreover, even where Islamic law does indicate the effects of the contract belonging to its *waṣf*, one may wonder whether they do not actually belong to the *aṣl*. A person buys a book by a certain author, but sees that the book bought is by another author. The sale of the book is valid because the identity of the author is purely incidental, not substantial (*al-Fatāwā al-hindiyya*, Cairo, ed. Maymūniyya, iii, 140-1, as cited by Nayla Comair-Obeid, *Les contrats en droit musulman des affaires*, Paris 1995, 112).

The widespread use of form and substance in Islamic law shows that, in its elements, this law is no different than any other modern system of law. Its specific character, like that of any other system of law, lies in its rearrangement of those elements.

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WAṢFĪ al-**TALL** (1919-71), Jordanian politician and three times prime minister.

He was born in the Kurdish village of Arapkir in modern Turkey. Son of the Jordanian nationalist poet Muṣṭafā Wahbī al-Tall and a Kurdish mother, Waṣfī was raised in his father's native town of Irbid in northern Jordan. He received his secondary education in the town of al-Salṭ, and, upon graduation in 1938, went on to study at the American University of Beirut. He graduated in 1941 in the sciences. Al-Tall joined the British army in Palestine in 1942 and later served in the Arab League sponsored *Djaysh al-Inḳādh* or "Salvation Army" to fight against the partition of Palestine in 1948.

In 1951, al-Tall married Saʿdiyya Djabrī, a native of Aleppo formerly married to Palestinian nationalist Mūsā al-ʿĀlamī. He entered the Jordanian civil service, and became politically engaged. Outspoken in his opposition to Egyptian president Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, al-Tall caught the attention of King Ḥusayn's government. In 1959 he was made Director of Broadcasting, where he used the radio effectively to counter ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's propaganda campaign against the Hashemite monarchy.

Al-Tall's first ministerial appointment was as Prime Minister (1962-3). His policies placed a premium on Jordanian sovereignty at a time of Nasserism, Arab nationalism, and Palestinian militancy. King Ḥusayn called upon al-Tall to lead governments to stave off challenges from Egypt and the Palestine Liberation Organisation in 1965-7, and again in October 1970. Accused of master-minding the Jordanian war against Palestinian commando units and their ultimate eviction from Jordanian territory, al-Tall was assassinated in Cairo on 28 November 1971 by members of the Black September organisation, a wing of the Fatah/*Fatḥ* (Palestine Liberation Movement).

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(E. Rogan)

WASHḲA (occasionally, Washḳa), Roman Osca and modern Huesca (capital of the province of the same name), a town of northern Spain. It is located on a hill amidst its *huerta*, irrigated by the Isuela River (Ar., Bansha) and lies among the foothills of the Pyrenees some 50 km/30 miles west of Barbastro (Barbashturu [*q.v.*]) and 70 km/43 miles almost due north of Saragossa (Saraḳusta [*q.v.*]).

The date of Washḳa's conquest cannot be stated with precision, but it appears to have been undertaken by 95/714. According to al-ʿUdhrī's account, after a seven-year siege the defenders were granted *amān* under the condition that they pay the *djizya*. Once conquered, Washḳa became the capital of an *ʿamal* of the *thaghr al-aʿlā* [see al-thughūr. 2.]. Although it was ruled by an appointee of the court at Cordova, its isolated frontier location and a high proportion of indigenous converts ensured that it remained independent in spirit and orientation. Only a short distance separated the outer hamlets and *ḥuṣūn* of Washḳa from the settlements of its Christian neighbours, with the mountains forming a natural frontier. Cross-border raiding was frequent. Up to the 4th/10th century, various governors of Washḳa rebelled and hatched anti-Cordovan alliances with their Christian neighbours. By the early 3rd/9th century the governorship had become essentially hereditary.

Washḳa is said by geographers to have been a centre of manufacturing and trade, producing copperware and weapons. Bananas and sugar-cane were reportedly raised in the densely populated and irrigated *huerta*, and there is evidence of considerable wheat production and viticulture. The strongly-walled town had several gates and was laid out in typical Islamic style; its sizeable extramural suburbs were eventually enclosed by an outer earthen wall. Few Arabs and fewer Berbers settled in Washḳa and, if it was something of a cultural backwater with few notable figures associated with it, the persistence of the Arabic language after the Christian conquest attests to the area's deep Islamisation and Arabisation.

After the dissolution of the Umayyad caliphate and a brief independence, Washḳa came [see hūdids] under the domination of the Banū Hūd, *ṭā'ifa* rulers of Saragossa. On the death of Sulaymān b. Hūd in 438/1046, his son Lubb took control of the city, but Ramiro I of Aragón became a player in the rivalries of the Banū Hūd and helped Aḥmād al-Muḳtadir bi 'llāh of Saragossa take the city from his brother. Under Sancho Ramírez, the Aragonese began to menace Washḳa, attacking various neighbouring territories during the 470s/1080s. In 487/1094 the king laid siege to the city, but this was abandoned following his fatal wounding during a skirmish. The task of conquest fell to his son Pedro I who, on 16 Djumādā I 489/12 May 1096, laid a second siege to the city, now considerably weakened by raids. Responding to its call for help, al-Mustaʿīn of Saragossa sent troops under his command and that of his Christian vassals. On 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 489/19 November 1096 the opponents met on the field of Alcoraz just outside the city and the forces of al-Mustaʿīn were routed; three days later the inhabitants sued for peace. With Washḳa fallen, the lands of the upper Ebro lay open to the Aragonese. The conquest of the city did not, however, spell the end of the Islamic presence here, for many of the Andalusī inhabitants remained in the area, a Muslim population surviving in some form until the final expulsion of the Aragonese *mudéjares* [*q.v.*] was undertaken in 1018/1609.

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(B. Catlos)

AL-**WASHM** (A.), tattooing.

1. In older Arab society [see Suppl.].

2. In the recent Arab world.

Tattooing has been a long-established practice among women in the countryside and desert regions of the Arab Middle East, noted by many Western travellers from d'Arvieux in 1665 to the present. Its purpose is to enhance feminine beauty; poems quoted in Musil (190-1, 196, 251) comment favourably on tattoos on women's breasts, cheeks and arms. It was the young girls and young married women who sought tattoos.

Tattoos may be decorative in themselves or imitate precious stones, rings, bracelets or belts. Decorative tattoos on the face, neck, chest, stomach, legs and arms are usually in patterns of dots, lines and crosses, although flower motifs and crescent moons are locally common. Motifs used on the back of hands include gazelles, palm trees, swords and twisted braids.

Specialist female practitioners, gypsies or Ṣulayb [*q.v.*] did the best and most elaborate tattoos. The operator has a repertoire of patterns and motifs from which the client chooses, and decides the position of the tattoo. The practitioner pricks out the desired pattern in the skin with a needle. She then dips the needle in dye obtained by burning indigo-dyed material, and goes over the pattern. The area is bandaged or covered with grease, removed after seven days when the skin is washed. If the pricking with the indigo dye is too deep, the pattern fades. In central Jordan, some gypsy women specialists used small wooden blocks to tattoo short words, like the girl's name. Women tattoo each other with simple dots and patterns, using a needle and soot from the baking sheet mixed with butter; the scar is covered with butter mixed with turmeric.

The number of tattoos, their position and favoured motifs are affected by fashion, the availability of practitioners and the ability to pay in cash or to give gifts of wool or butter. Tattooing has become less elaborate and less common since the early to mid-20th century. It has virtually disappeared in villages, and in the *bādiya*, girls have only a line joining the eyebrows, a line down the lower lip and chin, and perhaps a flower on the cheek.

Dickson (164) says that, in the 1920s, every ʿIrāḳī tribe had special tattooing patterns that denoted women's tribal membership. Women from Jordanian and northern Saudi tribes in the 1970s said only that different groups preferred different patterns, but this reflected the repertoire of tattooists as well as fashion.

Authorities describe tattooing as varying between groups. Dickson (164), for ʿIrāḳī says the practice was less common among Bedouin women than among tribal women, but it is not clear how he distinguishes between these two groups. Bedouin tribeswomen in the north—Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Sinai—were generally tattooed. Further south, tattooing remained common, although those under Wahhābī influence tattooed less. Wellsted, travelling in ʿUmān in 1834-5, records tattooing as common among women (1,352). At present, light tattooing is frequent among tribeswomen in the southwestern reaches of the Empty Quarter (Mauger, 89, 97, 99, 109).

Dickson says (164) that men never had tattoos, while Burckhardt (51) records that Syrian tribesmen did. In the northern *bādiya*, men consider tattooing as strengthening body parts after an injury.

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(W. and Fidelity Lancaster)

WASHMGĪR B. **ZIYĀR** [see WUSHMGĪR B. ZIYĀR].

AL-**WASHSHĀ'**, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ al-Aʿrābī, in short al-Washshā' or Ibn al-Washshā' (born *ca.* 255/869 or earlier in Baghdād, died there in 325/937), Arab man of letters, well-versed in grammar and lexicography, widely-read and an authority on good manners.

As a grammarian he was an eclectic, studying with both Thaʿlab and al-Mubarrad [*q.vv.*]. Abū ʿAṣīda, a teacher whom he often quotes (Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 139), was a private tutor of princes. According to some sources, al-Washshā' also taught at the caliphal court. Others call him a schoolteacher, but this humble profession alone cannot account for his familiarity with high life. Besides, the only pupil of his that we know by name was a certain Munya al-Kātiba, a female slave of the caliph al-Muʿtamid.

Lists of his works are mentioned in Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 165. Apart from a treatise on a question of orthography (*K. al-Mamdūd wa 'l-maḳṣūr*, ed. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1979), three books on *adab* have been preserved.

K. al-Fāḍil fī ṣifat al-adab al-kāmil (10 mss., the oldest of which is Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 2014; uncritical ed. Y.Y. Maskūnī, Baghdād 1970-7) is on rhetorics and eloquence. A discussion of the relevant concepts in the first chapter is followed by a collection of anecdotes (*akhbār*), with sermons and speeches, wise dicta, quick-witted repartees and eloquent improvisations both in prose and poetry, all of which are to serve as guidelines for saying the right thing in every situation.

The *K. al-Muwashshā* (ed. from the unique Leiden ms. Or. 1440 by R.E. Brünnow, Leiden 1886; German tr. D. Bellmann, *Ibn al-Waššā', Das Buch des buntbestickten Kleides*, Bremen 1984), is a handbook of the particular attitudes, manners and tastes which are cultivated by refined (*ẓarīf*) people. It deals with the concepts and expressions of civility (*adab*), manliness (*muruwwa*) and refinement (*ẓarf*), which involve such things as eloquence, politeness, seriousness, chivalry, loyalty, piety and discretion. Special emphasis is laid on chaste love, as there is a natural connection between *ẓarf* and unfulfilled passion (text, 47). There is also ample attention for the outward aspects of a refined lifestyle: clothes and perfumes, food and drink, toothpicks, bathing manners, suitable presents, flowers, fruits and correspondence (including love letters written on

apples; cf. A. Schippers, in *JSS*, xxxiii [1988], 221-3).

The author was in direct contact with prominent *ẓurafāʾ*, such as Niftawayh [*q.v.*], whom he frequently quotes, and Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī [*q.v.*], from whose *K. al-Zahra* he took over clusters of poetry without acknowledging it, including pieces by the author himself. Some of the maxims used by Ibn Dāwūd as chapter headings appear in *Muw.*, 164, as signet ring inscriptions of the refined. They are reminiscent of the ring inscriptions ascribed to ancient philosophers by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (*Ādāb al-falāsifa*, ed. A.R. Badawī, Kuwait 1985, 45-7; cf. W. Raven, *Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī and his K. al-Zahra*, diss. Leiden 1989, 28-30, 90).

Tafrīdj al-muhadj wa-sabab al-wuṣūl ilā al-faradj (ms. Berlin 8638; ed. Cairo 1900 not seen) is a letter writer for *ẓarīf* lovers, and therefore an important source of knowledge of refined lifestyle. After a description of exquisite writing materials, it offers examples of letter openings which express confessions and complaints of love, requests and reproaches, answers as well as requests for a reply. The larger part of the text contains poetry to be quoted in letters. No names of authors or poets are mentioned.

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(W. Raven)

WAṢĪ (A., pls. *awṣiyāʾ*, *waṣiyyūn*), a theological term in Shīʿism variously rendered as legatee, executor, successor or inheritor.

It was first used to designate ʿAlī as the inheritor of Muḥammad's worldly possessions (such as his books and weapons) and of his political and spiritual authority. According to Imāmī doctrine, this inheritance passed on to al-Ḥasan and the other *imāms*, all of whom are *awṣiyāʾ*. The Imāmiyya hold that legatees existed from the beginning of human history. Their function was to uphold the law laid down by Adam and the five legislator prophets (*ulū 'l-ʿazm*): Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad. The first *waṣī* is sometimes identified with Hābīl (Abel), but more often with Shīth (Seth) [*q.vv.*]. Lists of legatees are given in a number of 4th/10th-century sources, e.g. the *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya* attributed to al-Masʿūdī and the *Ikmāl/Kamāl al-dīn* of Ibn Bābawayh. The names of the legatees are for the most part drawn from the Judaeo-Christian tradition, though there are also lists largely made up of names of Muḥammad's Arab ancestors. The total number of legatees is given as 124,000, the same as the total number of prophets. The 8th/14th-century scholar Ḥaydar-i Āmulī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] recognised a special category of legatees: according to his system, Adam and each of the legislator prophets were followed by 12 legatees responsible for explicating the inner aspects (*taʾwīl*) of the law revealed by those prophets. These *awṣiyāʾ* (72 in all) hold a higher position than the other legatees.

The identity of the 12 legatees who were to succeed Muḥammad was communicated to the Prophet by various means, for instance, by a tablet inscribed with their names and found in Fāṭima's house. According to a widespread account, the Prophet was informed during the *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*] that ʿAlī was his *waṣī*. Another version is connected with Ḳurʾān, XXVI, 214 ("And warn your clan, your nearest kin"): after this verse was revealed, Muḥammad summoned the Banū Hāshim and asked who would like to be his *waṣī*; only ʿAlī, the youngest person present, replied in the affirmative. The Prophet spat in his mouth and between his shoulders and his breast, filling him with wisdom and knowledge. Muḥammad proclaimed ʿAlī as his legatee on various occasions, notably at Ghadīr Khumm [*q.v.*]. He also referred to him as his *wārith* (a term that means much the same as *waṣī*), as his guardian (*walī*), brother and helper (or minister, *wazīr*). In Imāmī tradition, ʿAlī is called *sayyid al-awṣiyāʾ*, *khayr al-awṣiyāʾ* and *waṣī al-awṣiyāʾ* (or *al-waṣiyyīn*). The latter appellation was also used by Djābir al-Djuʿfī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] when addressing Muḥammad al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*]. The title *khātam al-waṣiyyīn* (seal of the legatees) normally refers to the Twelfth Imām, but is also found as an epithet of ʿAlī, presumably recalling his position as successor to Muḥammad, the *khātam al-anbiyāʾ*.

The doctrine propagated by the early Ismāʿīliyya held that each of the seven historical eras was inaugurated by a speaking prophet (*nāṭiḳ*), and that each of the first six *nuṭaḳāʾ* was succeeded by a legatee (or *ṣāmit* "a silent one"). These legatees were, successively, Shīth, Sām (Shem), Ismāʿīl (Ishmael), Hārūn (Aaron) or Yūshaʿ (Joshua), Shamʿūn al-Ṣafāʾ (Simon Peter) and ʿAlī. The *nāṭiḳ* brought the scripture in its generally accepted meaning (*tanzīl*), while the *waṣī* introduced a systematic interpretation of its inner, esoteric aspects (*taʾwīl*, *ḥaḳīḳa*) and initiated a series of *imāms*, of whom the last became the *nāṭiḳ* of the following era. The *waṣī* is therefore called a founder (*asās*). At times he is described as being himself the first *imām*, while elsewhere the first *imām* is said to follow him. The *imāms* are known as *atimmāʾ* (sing. *mutimm* "completer"), since they complete the mission of the founder. It is the duty of the believer to show loyalty (*walāya*) to a *waṣī* and to dissociate himself (*barāʾa*) from a *mutawaṣṣī* (one who falsely claims to be a *waṣī*).

The term *waṣiyya* (literally "inheritance") also denotes the utterance by which a *waṣī* is appointed and, more generally, an instruction of a legal or moral nature [see WAṢIYYA].

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(E. Kohlberg)

WĀSIʿ ʿALĪSI (modern Tkish. Vâsi Alîsi), a member of the Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ* and outstanding representative of the *münshī* [see inshāʾ] tradition in the period of Süleymān Ḳanūnī [*q.v.*]. He is also referred to as ʿAlī Wāsiʿ, ʿAlī Čelebi, ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ ʿAlīsi (or Čelebi), Mawlā (or ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn) ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ-zāde al-Rūmī (or just Ṣāliḥ-zāde al-Rūmī). Apparently born in Philipoppolis or Filibe (see art. *Vâsi' Alîsi*, in *Yeni Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1985), he died at an advanced age in Bursa in 950/1543-4.

Receiving a basic classical Ottoman education, including the study of calligraphy, he then studied under and served as assistant to ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Khayr al-Dīn Khiḍr. Under him he reached *mülāzim* [*q.v.*] rank and came to be known as Wāsiʿ ʿAlīsi. He is reported to have had a connection with Prince Ḳorkud [see ḳorḳūd b. bāyazīd] and to have been in the retinue travelling to Egypt with him. He taught in various well-known mosques in Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul.

Wāsiʿ's fame rests mainly on his *Humāyūn-nāme*, an Ottoman rhymed prose translation (with interspersed verses) of the Persian Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī's [*q.v.*] well-known *Anwār-i Suhaylī* ("Lights of Suhayli"), itself a version of the Arabic *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*]. Dedicating his work to Sultan Süleymān or, as Menzel describes in his *EI*[1] article, to the Grand Vizier Luṭfī Pasha, Wāsiʿ was rewarded by appointment as *ḳāḍī* of Bursa, only to die shortly afterwards.

There are few extant illustrated mss. of Wāsiʿ's work, a fact leading to the suggestion that it had narrow appeal (Esin Atıl, *Kalila wa Dimna. Fables from a fourteenth-century Arabic manuscript*, Washington, D.C. 1981). Indeed, its ultra-elegant style limited the number of those understanding it. Ottoman biographers, however, recognised Wāsiʿ's achievement (see Menzel's listing of the *tedhkere* writers).

A number of Ottoman summaries were produced, and it has been widely translated. The earliest printing was in 1835 at Būlāḳ.

Bibliography: In addition to works given in the article, see E.J. Grube, *Some observations concerning the Ottoman illustrated manuscripts of the Kalilah wa Dimnah: Ali Çelebi's Humayun-name*, in *9th International Congress of Turkish Art. Summary of Contributions*, Ankara 1995, 195-9; idem, *Paralegomena for a corpus publication of illustrated Kalila wa Dimnah manuscripts*, in *Islamic Art*, iv (1990-1), 301-481; Günay Tümer, *Yeni bir Hümâyun-nâme nüshası*, in *Ankara Üniversitesi İlâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, xix, (1973), 253-6.

(Kathleen R.F. Burrill)

WĀṢIF (?-1221/1806), Ottoman historian and diplomat.

Aḥmed Wāṣif was born in Baghdād, probably in the early 1730s, was educated there and first earned a living as a professional copyist. Entering the service of Gül-zāde Aḥmed Pasha-zāde ʿAlī Pasha (d. 1769) as librarian, Wāṣif accompanied ʿAlī Pasha on the Russian campaign of 1769 and on the latter's death became *mektūbdju*, secretary, to Abāẓa Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] on the Hotin campaign. Captured by the Russians at the siege of Yeñi Ḳalʿe in 1185/1771, Wāṣif was a prisoner of war in St. Petersburg for nine months. Released in order to carry letters of negotiation from Catherine II, which resulted in an initial truce signed at Yergögü in 1186/1772, he was subsequently employed by both the grand vizier Muḥsin-zāde Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] and the *reʾīs ül-küttāb* [*q.v.*] ʿAbd al-Rezzāḳ Efendi as diplomatic envoy in the negotiations leading to the treaty of Küčük Kaynardja [*q.v.*] (1188/1774), and in discussions which continued until 1779 over the status of the Crimean Tatars.

In 1197/1783 Wāṣif was appointed to succeed Enwerī [*q.v.*] as *waḳʿa-nüwīs* [*q.v.*] or official historian. Relinquishing this post during his embassy to Spain to secure an anti-Russian naval agreement (1201-2/1787-8), he was re-appointed *waḳʿa-nüwīs* on the accession of Selīm III [*q.v.*] in 1203/1789. Relieved of the post in 1206/1791 when appointed to the negotiations leading to the treaty of Zishtowa (Sistova) with Austria, he was re-appointed in 1207/1793 for a third tenure. Dismissed again in 1209/1794, as a result of rivalry with the *reʾīs ül-küttāb* Meḥmed Rāshid Efendi, and exiled to Midilli, he was pardoned shortly thereafter, and appointed *waḳʿa-nüwīs* a fourth time in 1213/1799 (until 1219/1805). During his career, Wāṣif also held various administrative posts in the Ottoman central bureaucracy both in between and concurrently with his periods of office as *waḳʿa-nüwīs*, culminating in his promotion to *reʾīs ül-küttāb* in 1219/1805. Wāṣif died in Shaʿbān 1221/December 1806. (For detailed biography and references, see Mücteba İlgürel, art. *Vasıf*, in *İA*, xiii, 214-17; also Virginia H. Aksan, *An Ottoman statesman in war and peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi 1700-1783*, Leiden 1995, 111-14 and *passim*.)

Wāṣif's principal work as *waḳʿa-nüwīs*, prepared during his final tenure of the post, is *Meḥāsin ül-āthār we ḥaḳāʾiḳ ül-akhbār*, a detailed chronicle of events from Muḥarrem 1166/January 1752 to Redjeb 1188/September 1774 (published Istanbul 1219/1804, Būlāḳ 1243/1827 and 1246/1831). This work incorporated the unpublished histories, much reworked, of Wāṣif's predecessors Meḥmed Ḥākim, Česhmī-zāde [*q.vv.*], Mūsā-zāde, Behdjetī and, particularly, Enwerī, with additional material of his own for the period of the Ottoman-Russian war 1768-74. Although commissioned by Selīm III to maintain the history up to 1217/1802, coverage of the period after 1774 is apparently incomplete and the textual history confusing. There exists an unpublished continuation covering the five years to 1193/1779 (Topkapı Sarayı ms. Hazine 1406); a published history of events during Wāṣif's first period as *waḳʿa-nüwīs*, 1197/1783-1201/1787 (ed. İlgürel, Istanbul 1978, also under the title *Meḥāsin ül-āthār*); several manuscripts and notes for subsequent years (see İlgürel, *op. cit.*, pp. xl-xlii). Wāṣif was considered a good critical historian

whose work went beyond detailed chronological narrative; his manuscripts were a principal source for Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*]. He also compiled an account of his embassy to Spain, *Ispanya sefāretnamesi*, French tr. Barbier de Meynard, *Ambassade de l'historien turc Vasif Efendi en Espagne, 1787-1788*, in *JA*, ser. 5, vol. xix [1862], 507-23.

Bibliography: See that in the *İA* art., and in the edition of İlgürel, *Mehâsinü 'l-âsâr ve hak'âikü 'l-ahbâr*, see also Babinger, *GOW*, 335-7; B. Kütükoğlu, art. *Vekâyinüvis*, in *İA*, xiii, 278-80.

(Christine Woodhead)

WĀṢIF ENDERŪNĪ, ʿOthmān, Ottoman poet, born at an unknown date, d. in 1824.

As his name implies, he was educated in the *Enderūn* or Palace School, his mother being a niece of the commander of the Bostāndjīs [*q.v.*], Khalīl Pasha, who became Grand Vizier to Aḥmed III. His life was spent filling various court offices, including for Selīm III, to whom various of his poems are dedicated. At the accession of Muṣṭafā IV in 1807, he was promoted to the service of the Royal Chamber. In 1818 he retired from palace service and became administrator of the *wakf* of Süleymān Pasha at Bolayïr, dying at Istanbul; his fellow-poet ʿIzzet Mollā [*q.v.*] wrote the epitaph on his gravestone.

Wāṣif seems to have been a bon viveur, with an amusing, jolly character. He was one of the pre-*Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] poets who endeavoured to break away from the rigid rules and conventions of classical Ottoman poetry, writing instead in a simpler and more natural manner, successfully incorporating elements of colloquial language and dialect into his poems. His *sharḳīs* [*q.v.*] form the most important section of his poetic work, being written in short metres and on his favourite subjects of love and beauty, but he also wrote *ghazels*, *ḳaṣīdes* and chronograms. His poetry was criticised by more traditional scholars of classical Ottoman poetry, *inter alia* for its technical failings and shallowness, but his work could be original, and it provides glimpses of daily life in Istanbul, where he often refers to the military exercises and sports of the Janissaries. Two unique poems in his *dīwān* set forth a dialogue between a mother and daughter in the Istanbul colloquial of what are apparently lower middle-class women. His poetry, set to music by his brother Saʿd Allāh Efendi and by Zekāʾī Dede, both distinguished musicians, is still sung.

Wāṣif left behind a single *dīwān*, and rumour had it that he burnt the more racy of his poems before he died. There are two mss. of the *dīwān* in Istanbul University Library, one of them (TY 9865) complete, with over 5,000 lines. The *dīwān* was printed at Būlāḳ (*Dīwān-gülshen-i afkār-i Wāṣif-i Enderūnī*, 1257/1841) and subsequently at Istanbul (1285/1868-9).

Bibliography: Gibb, *HOP*, iv; İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son asır türk şairleri*, vii, Istanbul 1970; Seyit Kemâl Karaalioğlu, *Türk edebiyat tarihi*, ii, Istanbul 1978, 114-18; Muallim Naci, *Osmanlı şairleri*, Ankara 1986; Haluk Ipekten, *Enderunlu Vasıf*, Ankara 1989; art. s.v., in Türk Diyanet Vakfı, *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, xi, Istanbul 1995; W.G. Andrews, N. Black and M. Kalpaklı, *Ottoman lyric poetry*, Austin, Texas 1997, 261-2.

(Çiğdem Balim)

AL-WAṢĪFĪ, Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf Shāh or Ibn Waṣīf al-Ṣābiʾ, an authority much quoted by Arab historians from about 330/941-2 onward for a host of otherwise unknown materials on the history of ancient Egypt from its first settlements up to the time of Moses' Pharaoh. From among the few quotations relating to Islamic Egypt, the latest concern the period of time between 355/965 and 358/969 (*apud* Ibn Iyās, d. *ca.* 930/1524 [*q.v.*]).

As already made known by D. Chwolson, from a St. Petersburg manuscript dated 607/1211, an Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf Shāh was the author of a *Kitāb al-ʿAdjāʾib al-kabīr* . . . *fī ʿadjāʾib al-arḍ wa 'l-biḥār*, the second part of which contains material about the history of Egypt up to the time of Exodus. On the basis of further Paris manuscripts, sometimes attributed to al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956 [*q.v.*]), Carra de Vaux produced his translation *L'Abrégé des merveilles* (with introd. and index, Paris 1898; repr. Frankfurt 1994; new ed. without index, Paris 1984, with preface by A. Miquel). ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣāwī did an Arabic edition with the title *Akhbār al-zamān* (Cairo 1938, several reprints), which is mostly quoted as "Pseudo-al-Masʿūdī", because the authorship and identity of Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf Shāh remained open to debate. While this form of his name can be found *inter alia* in al-Maḳrīzī's (d. 845/1442 [*q.v.*]) *Khiṭaṭ* and *Ighāthat al-umma*, and in Ibn Iyās' *Badāʾiʿ*, the form al-Waṣīfī is found in Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī's (d. 462/1070 [*q.v.*]) *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* and Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Nuwayrī's (d. 8th/14th century [*q.v.*]) *K. al-Ilmām*.

Opinions on the value of the book and the identification of its author have diverged widely in recent years. By some it is thought to be a "Hermetic history" rather than the national history of the Copts in early Islamic Egypt and the "picturesque 'Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf Shāh'" is suspected to be "in fact a fanciful improvement of the more prosaic 'Waṣīfī'" (cf. M. Cook, *Pharaonic history in medieval Egypt*, in *SI*, lvii [1983], 67-103; G. Schoeler, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band XVII, Reihe B. *Arabische Handschriften*, Teil II, Stuttgart 1990, 364-70). Even the very historicity of Ibn Waṣīf Shāh/al-Waṣīfī is debated (cf. U. Haarmann, *Das Pyramidenbuch des Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Idrīsī*, Beirut 1991, preface, p. vii) and the *Akhbār al-zamān* are considered to be a mystification of Spanish provenance, consciously created around the year 1000 (cf. idem, *Das pharaonische Ägypten bei islamischen Autoren des Mittelalters*, in *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, xlv [1990], 48).

As for the name, the *ism* Ibrāhīm may derive from Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḳāsim al-Kātib (d. after 418/1027-8 [see ibn al-raḳīḳ]), who made a *mukhtaṣar* of the *K. al-ʿAdjāʾib al-kabīr* of one Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf Shāh, mentioned in al-Nuwayrī's (d. 733/1333 [*q.v.*]) *Nihāyat al-arab*, with ample quotations from the book. "Shāh" [*q.v.*] may indicate high esteem for a person thought to hail from the northern parts of the caliphate. The true name of our author would thus be "Ibn Waṣīf", which is corroborated by the *nisba* "al-Waṣīfī". On this person Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī's (d. 487/1094 [*q.v.*]) *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* (ed. A.P. van Leeuwen and A. Ferré, Tunis 1992) gives somewhat more detailed information; he is quoted in direct speech on his visits to Egypt, where he tested the magical efficacy of images and statues in temples and interviewed the locals (§§ 895, 905-6, 908-13). The same is indicated by Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī (d. 649/1251 [see al-idrīsī]), when he says that al-Waṣīfī was an outstanding natural philosopher and an historian who had investigated the secrets of the temples and the knowledge of the ancient Egyptian natural philosophers (cf. Haarmann, *Pyramidenbuch*, 99 [Arabic], 82 [German]). Ibn Waṣīf's excerpt from a *K. al-Maṭālāṭīs* of a certain Kīnās al-Ḥakīm (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 66) deals with talismans.

A Ṣābian origin is likely for a scholar with such interests, since for them Egypt continued to have a religious meaning even in Islamic times (cf. D. Chwolson, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, St. Petersburg 1856, repr.

Amsterdam 1965, index). Given the likely lifetime of our author, he might reasonably be identified with the Bag̲h̲dād ophthalmologist (Aḥmad?) Ibn Waṣīf al-Ṣābiʾ, who was active beyond the middle of the 4th century of the Hid̲j̲ra (A.D. 970 at the latest) (cf. Ibn D̲j̲uld̲j̲ul [*q.v.*], *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, Cairo 1955, 81-2; composed in 377/987). Between 330/941-2 and 340/951-2 he taught students of Ḥarrānian descent hailing from Spain. For this reason, he became well known in Spain early on, as a physician named Ibn Waṣīf, and as an authority on ancient Egypt, quoted as al-Waṣīfī. He is quoted without attribution by the author of the *Picatrix* (composed between 443/1051-2 and 448/1056, cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, iv, 295, and AL-MAD̲J̲RĪṬĪ).

Ibn Waṣīf's books have not been preserved independently and their precise titles are unknown. The relevant manuscripts represent (a) a longer version, which has been shown to be two parts of [*K. Ak̲h̲bār al-zamān wa-huwa*] *al-Kitāb al-Awsaṭ* (composed before 332/943) by al-Masʿūdī, who lifted large sections dealing with ancient Egypt from Ibn Waṣīf, and (b) a shorter version (*muk̲h̲taṣar*) also attributable to al-Masʿūdī, entitled *K. al-ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, which is the version edited by al-Ṣāwī. Carra de Vaux' translation contains sections from both versions (cf. Ursula Sezgin, *Al-Masʿūdī, Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīfšāh und das Kitāb al-ʿAǧāʾib*, in *ZGAIW*, viii [1993], 1-70; eadem, *Pharaonische Wunderwerke bei Ibn Waṣīf aṣ-Ṣābiʾ und al-Masʿūdī, I*, in *ZGAIW*, ix [1994], 229-43).

Although the Egyptologist G. Maspéro, on the basis of Carra de Vaux' translation as well, had written in 1899 that the text contained memories of all stages of Egyptian history after the downfall of its indigenous dynasties, the study of its contents and its place within the intellectual history of its time is still at its beginning.

In 1899 M. Berthelot, on the basis of Carra de Vaux' translation, had shown that several of the *ʿad̲j̲āʾib*, apparently magical objects, mentioned were traceable to the work of Alexandrian scholars. With the help of sources and studies in the history of technology (sometimes by assuming a Syriac intermediary source) and furthermore with pictorial representations and archaeological finds, it was possible to garner detailed evidence that these wondrous and miraculous objects were trick vessels, waterclocks and the like. They form a link in a tradition that straddles different linguistic and cultural areas, and they live on in mediaeval Western literature and, as display-pieces, in the cabinets of curiosities of pre-modern princes. In the al-Waṣīfī corpus, however, they were meant to serve the posthumous glory of Egyptian rulers; in this context traditions of Greek and Coptic provenance can be discerned (cf. U. Sezgin, *Pharaonische Wunderwerke, I* [and] *II*, in *ZGAIW*, ix [1994], 229-91, xi [1997] 189-249; *III* and *Addenda*, in preparation).

Judging by the detailed and scarcely exploited quotations in Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, with all their clearly gnostic elements of Coptic provenance, one can guess how severe the loss of Ibn Waṣīf's extensive writings is for the intellectual and religious history of Egypt in the last centuries before and the first centuries after the rise of Islam. They enjoyed wider distribution and availability obviously only as excerpts and quotations in the works of other historians.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): G. Wiet, *Introduction* to Vattier's *L'Egypte de Murtadi*, Paris 1953, 1-114. (URSULA SEZGIN)

WĀṢIL B. **ʿAṬĀʾ**, early theologian and ascetic who died in 131/748-9, shortly before the final success of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, probably as a victim of the plague which raged at Baṣra during the same year.

Further information about him is scarce and not always beyond suspicion. In a polemical letter of unknown origin addressed to ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd [*q.v.*], Wāṣil is supposed to have been present, as a rather prominent disciple, at one of the courses given by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*] during a visit to Medina some time before 110/728. Whether at that moment he lived in the Ḥid̲j̲āz or had instead accompanied al-Ḥasan from Baṣra is not clear. He entertained relations with the ʿAlids who lived in Medina, and he may even have attended the meeting at Abwāʾ [*q.v.*] where, shortly after the assassination of al-Walīd II in 126/744, the Hās̲h̲imites tried to decide who should lead the Islamic community after the expected collapse of the Umayyad régime. Yet at approximately the same time, we also find him in ʿIrāḳ, as the member of a Baṣran delegation that had come to Wāsiṭ in order to welcome ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] who had been nominated as the new governor by al-Walīd II's opponent and successor Yazīd III. Wāṣil was probably not the most prominent among the notables who had come; he was only a *mawlā*, and the speeches were given by two professional *k̲h̲aṭībs* who were of Arabian stock. But the governor, quite unexpectedly, asked him to say a few words, and he responded with an improvised allocution of pietist character. The event seems to presuppose that the governor was interested in Wāṣil as the spokesman of a specific element of the Baṣran population on which he wanted to rely: sc. the Ḳadariyya [*q.v.*], which had come to power in Syria with the caliphate of Yazīd III. Wāṣil's performance was praised by poets such as Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār b. Burd and, later on, Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī [*q.vv.*]; they were particularly impressed by the fact that Wāṣil had mastered the challenge in spite of a speech defect which prevented him from pronouncing the letter *rāʾ* correctly. But he also attracted their attention by asking the governor, after having refused the usual gift offered to the orator, to promote a public undertaking in the town, probably the canal (*nahr*) named after him.

Wāṣil was a middle-class person; he earned his living by manufacturing yarn for the Baṣran cloth industry. Doctrinally speaking, Ḳadarī ideas were not his main concern; he dealt rather in grass-root politics. He tried to take up, in a new spirit, the enterprise started by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] one generation before: finding a way between the conflicting factions of the first civil war, i.e. those who were afterwards to be called Sunnīs and S̲h̲īʿīs. But whereas Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had talked about *irdjāʾ*, "postponing one's judgement", Wāṣil spoke of *iʿtizāl*, using a term that had been brought up by those who had kept aloof from the tensions of the first civil war and that was now revivified during the chaos of the third *fitna* after 126/744 [see MUʿTAZILA]. And whereas the former had acted on private initiative, Wāṣil created an organisation; he sent out propagandists (*duʿāt*) to different areas of the Islamic world, including the Ḥid̲j̲āz. His analysis of the situation was much more radical than al-Ḥasan's; though agreeing that, in a way, the community had to postpone its judgement, he left no doubt about one of the two factions having sinned, i.e. committed a crime. His conclusion was that, wherever both of them offered an opinion against each other (which seems to mean: wherever they argued against each other by means of *ḥadīt̲h̲*), their testimony could not be accepted. In his opinion,

the situation was to be compared to the procedure of *liʿān* [*q.v.*]: when both litigants appear together, the culprit not being known, their *ʿadāla* is suspended.

In promoting these ideas, Wāṣil seems to have used the Baṣran Ḳadariyya as a power-base. He achieved this purpose by winning over ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, who acted as the successor of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī after the death of Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma (*ca.* 117/735 [*q.v.*]). But he had to persuade ʿAmr to accept another one of his basic tenets: the *manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* [*q.v.*]. ʿAmr originally followed the tradition of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who had said that the grave sinner is a *munāfiḳ* [*q.v.*] who, in spite of having accepted Islam, will end up in Hell. By means of a disputation, Wāṣil managed to demonstrate to him that this word, which had been used all the time in the earlier theological discussions, was now worn out and should be replaced by a new term, namely, *fāsiḳ*, which could equally be found in the Ḳurʾān but allowed much more easily for the conclusion that the grave sinner, even when a Muslim, would be punished in Hell eternally. The opponents of this doctrine suspected that Wāṣil had learned this rigour from the Khāridjites, but it was simply a consequence of his asceticism (which he had in common with ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī). His main innovation pertained rather to the level of what was called later on *al-asmāʾ wa ʾl-aḥkām*, sc. the introduction of a third category between believer and unbeliever. The afore-mentioned political attitude, though also representing a "middle-course", has to be clearly differentiated from this.

None of Wāṣil's writings has been preserved, not even in fragments. But several titles are mentioned, though some of them are attributed to his disciples rather than to himself. There was a report about his disputation with ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, but he is also said to have written separately about his concept of *al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*. His *khuṭba* in front of the governor "without the letter *rāʾ*" was obviously circulated already by al-Madāʾinī [*q.v.*], but we now have two completely different versions of it. In a treatise "on penitence" (*fī ʾl-tawba*) Wāṣil may have expounded his idea that repentance has always to be universal in order to be valid. His epistemological criteria are enumerated in two closely-related doxographical summaries; if these ideas really do go back to him, we are dealing with the earliest testimony for the agenda of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*.

Wāṣil's propaganda movement was stopped before it could mature. His untimely death prevents us from knowing whether he intended it as a merely pietistic undertaking of "inner mission" or whether he followed a political programme as did the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] or, at a later period, the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*]. That his expectations would not have been satisfied by the ʿAbbāsid revolution is borne out by the fact that, one decade later, a considerable portion of the Baṣran Muʿtazila supported al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*] who had been foreseen at Abwāʾ as the Mahdī to come. When the rebellion failed, those who survived fled to the Maghrib, where their successors continued to be known as al-Wāṣiliyya.

Bibliography: W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 7-38; W.M. Watt, *Was Wāṣil a Khārijite?*, in *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen Fritz Meier zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1974, 306 ff.; Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Taftazānī, *Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ. Ḥayātuhū wa-muṣannafātuhū*, in *Dirāsāt falsafiyya muhdāt ilā Ibrāhīm Madkūr*, Cairo 1979, 39 ff.; S. Stroumsa, *The beginnings of the Muʿtazila reconsidered*, in *JSAI*, xiii (1990), 265 ff.; H. Daiber, *Wāṣil ibn ʿAṭāʾ als Prediger und Theologe. Ein neuer Text aus dem 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Leiden 1988; Sulaymān al-Shawāyishī, *Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ wa-ārāʾuhū al-kalāmiyya*, al-Dār al-ʿArabiyya li 'l-Kitāb (Libya) 1993; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, ii (1992), 234-80, 310-21, iv (1997), 259-64, 780, v (1993), 136-64 (where the most important sources are translated). (J. van Ess)

WĀSIṬ, a city in central ʿIrāḳ during the mediaeval period, the existence of which is attested from the later years of the 1st century/closing years of the 7th century or opening years of the 8th century, until the beginning of the 12th century/turn of the 17th-18th centuries (according to M. Djawād, *Kharāb Wāsiṭ*, in *Lughat al-ʿArab*, x (1931), 617 until ca. 1107/1695-6). From its foundation by the Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ, al-Ḥadjdjādj (75-95/694-713 [*q.v.*]), the city was the administrative and political capital of that province under the first Marwānids (65-95 or 65-105/684-713 or 684-723). The Arabs continued their policy of urban experience there which they had begun by founding the two large fortified camps, *amṣār* [see miṣr. B.], of the Sawād, Baṣra and Kūfa [*q.vv.*], which predated it and were its political rivals. On the other hand, its appearance symbolised the desire of the Umayyad power to display its munificence, and thus it served as a prelude in its architectural form to the founding of Baghdād [*q.v.*] by al-Manṣūr in 145-6/762-3 (J. Lassner, *The shaping of the Abbasid rule*, Princeton 1980, 180-1).

1. Situation and site.

Locating the town on the mediaeval course of the Tigris in the ancient Sāsānid province of Sūristān, which was situated in the centre of Lower Mesopotamia or the Sawād, poses one of the most difficult problems of the historical geography of mediaeval Babylonia (M. Streck, *EI*[1] art. *Wāsiṭ*). Indeed, from the middle or the end of the 9th/15th century the branch of the Tigris which crosses Wāsiṭ began gradually to change its course, veering towards its present easterly direction during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries passing through al-Kūt, and then through the town of al-Ḳurna, where it rejoins the waters of the Euphrates to form the estuary of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab [*q.v.*]. The location of Wāsiṭ has now been definitively established following an exact geographical position fixed at lat. 32° 11' N. and long. 46° 18' E., partly thanks to the descriptions of the site by European travellers of the 19th-early 20th centuries, and partly to the various archaeological excavations which were carried out from 1936-42 (F. Safar, *Wāsiṭ, the sixth season's excavations*, Cairo 1945, 8-11). The ruins of historic Wāsiṭ are situated today 25 km/15 miles north-east of the town of al-Ḥayy, and about 70 km/45 miles south-east of the town of al-Kūt, where the Tigris branches off to its present-day easterly course. These ruins are known as al-Manāra, referring to a building from the 7th/13th century, of which all that remains is a monumental entrance gate flanked by two minarets on the north-east side of the site (Safar, *op. cit.*, 6). They extend for an area of three km^2 to the east and to the west of the dry bed of the Dudjayla, the principal branch of the mediaeval Tigris, 200 m wide today. Between 1936 and 1942 the Iraq Department of Antiquities conducted six archaeological excavations (K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1969, i/2, 132-3), the last of which was directed by F. Safar (*op. cit.*, 33-4) in 1942 and led to the discovery on the west of the site of the mosque of al-Ḥadjdjādj. It was built onto the

south wall of the palace or Dār al-Imāra, constructed in 83/702, and brought confirmation of the existence of three other mosques superimposed on the first; one was probably constructed between 400/1009 and 550/1155 (Mosque II); another around 550/1155 (Mosque III), and a third in the Il-khānid [*q.v.*] period, 656-736/1258-1335 (Mosque IV). The reconstruction and restoration work of the archaeological remains of Wāsiṭ took place from 1937 to 1965, with a view in particular to exploiting tourist interest in this historical site.

Where the city is situated also has semantic significance. The name Wāsiṭ, which is found in mediaeval sources with about twenty other variants (including Wāsiṭ al-Ḥadjdjādj, Wāsiṭ al-ʿUẓmā (Great Wāsiṭ) and Wāsiṭ al-ʿIrāḳ) would have been used to denote the approximate relative position of the town "in the middle" or "centrally" between al-Kūfa, Baṣra, al-Madāʾin (Ctesiphon [*q.v.*]) and al-Ahwāz, the capital of Khūzistān [*q.v.*].

Wāsiṭ was established after the division of the two towns by the Tigris (see below, 2). The site of the town founded by al-Ḥadjdjādj on the west bank was a plain (*sahl*) to the north of the Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*], the marshes where the soil was said to be saline (*arḍ sābikha*) and the land was easily subject to flooding, composed of alternating steppes and reed-beds (*ḳaṣab*, from which was derived another name, Wāsiṭ al-Ḳaṣab). To the west, *al-gharb*, the site opened out broadly on to an arid zone, half steppe and half desert, known in 6th-century A.D. sources as the desert of Kaskar, qualified by *barriyya* or *faḍāʾ*. This situation perhaps justified the description of the climate of Wāsiṭ as healthy, *ṣaḥīḥ*, as the town was at some distance from the Baṭīḥa, which was humid and hot and infested with mosquitoes. The climate of Wāsiṭ was also described as being like that of Baṣra, capricious and changeable, *munḳalib*, as the site lay in the path of the burning winds, *samūm*, coming from the Persian Gulf to the south, and those from the north which tempered the effect.

2. Foundation.

The date of the foundation of Wāsiṭ is a matter of some debate among scholars because of the disparate traditions. The oldest of these, cited by Baḥshal (d. between 288-92/901-4 [*q.v.*]) in his *Taʾrīkh Wāsiṭ* (Baghdād 1387/1967, 43) goes back to Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam b. ʿAwāna al-Kalbī (2nd/8th century) and is revived by Ibn al-Djawzī, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Taghrībirdī. This places the foundation of Wāsiṭ between 75/694 and 78/697, but does not tally with the course of events during the governorship of al-Ḥadjdjādj in ʿIrāḳ. The chronological details available on Wāsiṭ place the beginning of the building of the principal monuments of the town (the palace-mosque complex, the town's battlements) in 83/702 or 84/703, after the revolt by Ibn al-Ashʿath (82-3/701-2 [*q.v.*]) had been quelled, and the completion of the *tamṣīr* in 86/705. On the other hand, Wāsiṭ had been established right from its foundation as a double city. The new town, al-Madīna al-Gharbiyya, created by al-Ḥadjdjādj on the west bank of the Tigris, was juxtaposed to a pre-existing town on the east bank, al-Madīna al-Sharḳiyya, called Kaskar or Kashkar [*q.v.*]. The two towns, connected as they were from the outset by a bridge of boats (*djisr*), finished by forming two parts of the same city, where the new Wāsiṭ progressively absorbed the ancient Kaskar and gave it its name.

3. Wāsiṭ through the centuries.

Up to the death of al-Ḥadjdjādj in 95/713, Wāsiṭ remained the seat of Umayyad government in ʿIrāḳ, but from 97/715 onwards the town ceased to be the residence of the governor of this province, who was obliged to transfer to Khurāsān [*q.v.*], incorporated by the caliph Sulaymān (96-9/715-17) into ʿIrāḳ. ʿUmar II (99-101/717-20) divided this vast territory into three governorates, Kūfa, Baṣra and Khurāsān, all with separate governors; and at the same time he demilitarised Wāsiṭ, which was emptied of its Syrian occupation forces (M.A. Shaban, *Islamic history. A new interpretation*, Cambridge 1971, i, 132-3). This was returned to Wāsiṭ during the short reign of Yazīd II (101-5/719-23) under the governorships of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (102/720), and then of ʿUmar b. Hubayra (103-5/721-3). From the rule of the latter to that of Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra (129-32/746-50), Wāsiṭ was no longer the exclusive seat of government or residence of the Umayyad governors of ʿIrāḳ, who moved between Wāsiṭ, Kūfa and al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] (H. Djaït, *Al-Kūfa, naissance de la ville islamique*, Paris 1986, 271), in particular under Yūsuf b. ʿUmar (120-6/737-43), and from the creation of autonomous power for the Mashriḳ (Khurāsān) by the caliph Hishām (105-25/724-43). The town survived the revolt stirred up by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the governor of ʿIrāḳ after al-Ḥadjdjādj, in 102/721, and played a political role in the Shīʿī revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī (122/739), who found partisans there. The troubles that marked the end of the Umayyad period in ʿIrāḳ, on account of the struggles between the governors to assert their power as well as the unrest among the Khāridjite Shurāt, took place principally at Wāsiṭ. The town was exhausted and numbed and the last Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ, Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, reconquered it in 129/746 at the expense of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar II, the *ʿāmil* of the Khāridjites. Soon afterwards, in 132/750, it had to suffer the trials of a siege by the ʿAbbāsids. The governorship of Khālid al-Ḳasrī (105-20/723-37) marked an upsurge in the economy and an expansion in the agriculture of the Sawād to what it had been in the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj. This change came about in Wāsiṭ by a modification in urban fabric. The territory of Wāsiṭ, corresponding to the *kūra* [*q.v.*] (district) of Kaskar in the administrative division of Lower ʿIrāḳ, kept its autonomy from earliest times throughout the Umayyad period in regard to the Sawād of Kūfa and of Baṣra (Kuwar Didjla and Kūrat Maysān), from the time of its foundation by al-Ḥadjdjādj. From then to the end of Umayyad power, Wāsiṭ also remained one of the most important centres for issuing the coinage of the empire, as witnessed by the collections preserved by numerous museums across the world (U.S.L. Welin, *Wāsiṭ the mint town*, in *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* [1954-5], 127-69, and 4. below).

At the time of the conquest of ʿIrāḳ by the ʿAbbāsids in 132/750, Wāsiṭ was besieged by them. It symbolised the last pocket of resistance of ʿIrāḳ to the new power. In a final convulsion, it supported the Ḥasanid revolt of 145/762. The establishment of the ʿAbbāsid régime and the founding of Baghdād reduced Baṣra, Kūfa and Wāsiṭ to an inferior rank. Wāsiṭ, which was demilitarised, became nothing more than a local administrative centre.

The new dynasty inherited Umayyad landed property in Wāsiṭ and the surrounding region, and, particularly under al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) and al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), attracted much agricultural development, as happened also around Baṣra, Baghdād and Anbār. The *kharādj* [*q.v.*] of the *kūra* of Kaskar, already specified in the first fiscal inventory available to us referring to the year 172/788, reveals the prosperity of the region of Wāsiṭ during the reign of al-Rashīd

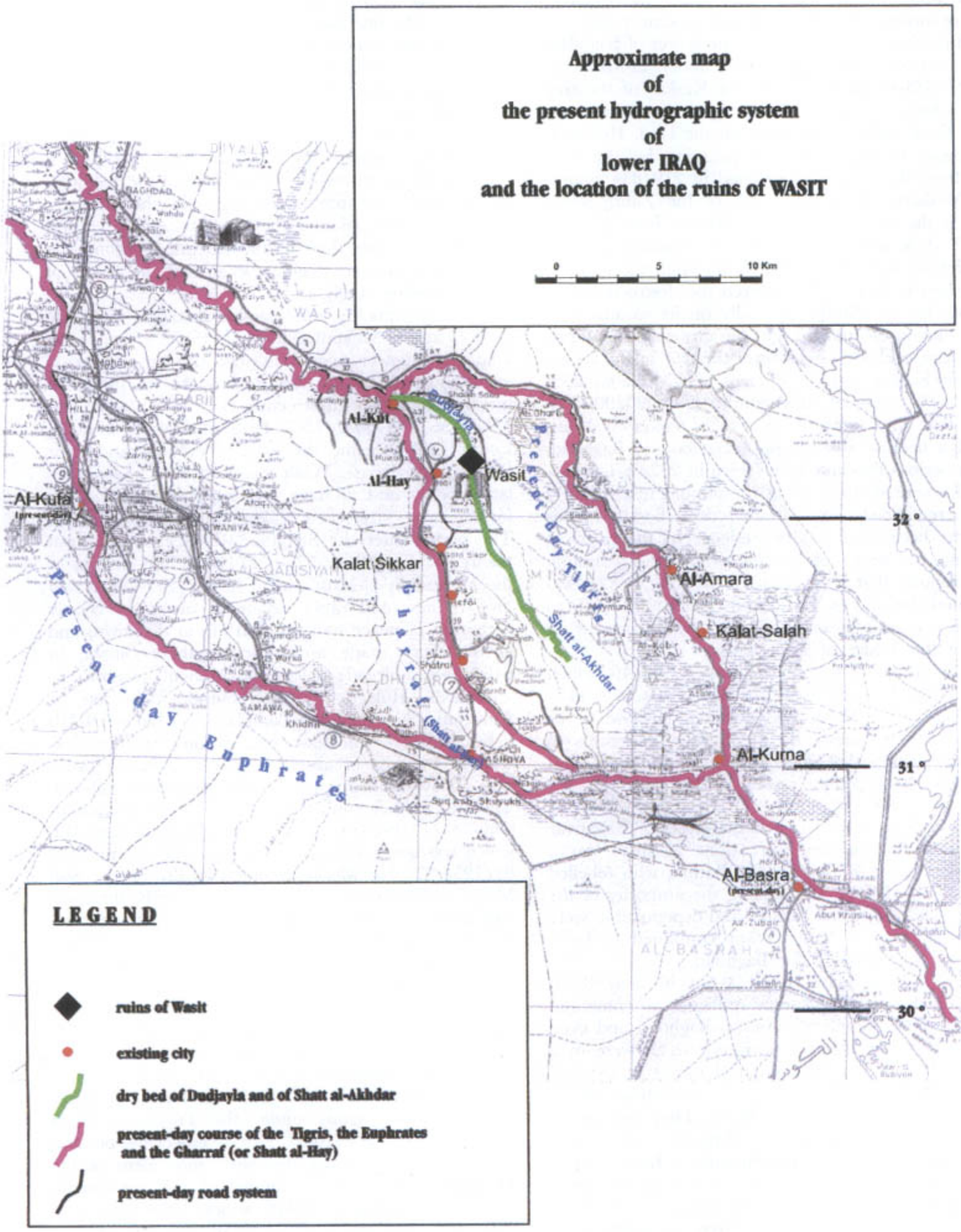

Approximate map
of
the present hydrographic system
of
lower IRAQ
and the location of the ruins of WASIT
0
5
10 Km
Al-Kut
Al-Hay
Wasit
Al-Kufa
Kalat Sikkar
Al-Amara
Kalat-Salah
Al-Kurna
Al-Basra
Present-day Tigris
Present-day Euphrates
Gharraf (Shatt al-Hay)
Shatt al-Akhdar
32 °
31 °
30 °
LEGEND
ruins of Wasit
existing city
dry bed of Dudjayla and of Shatt al-Akhdar
present-day course of the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Gharraf (or Shatt al-Hay)
present-day road system

(170-93/786-808), which was characterised by a favourable combination of circumstances, due in part to demographic growth from the middle of the 2nd/8th century onwards.

The progressive disintegration of the ʿAbbāsid state in the course of the second half of the 3rd/9th and in the 4th/10th centuries was marked by the weakening of agricultural production in ʿIrāḳ, the central province of the empire, and also by a diminution of the fiscal returns and an increase in the power of military elements after the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33). Consequently, because of its resources and tax income, Wāsiṭ and its surrounding region acquired particular importance for the power of Baghdād, which explains the appearance under al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42) in the district of Kaskar of the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*], which assigned to the army generals the levying of fiscal rights of the state on the land. However, the region of Wāsiṭ suffered pillaging by the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] from the Sind who revolted in 219/834 against the ʿAbbāsids. After the revolt of the Zandj slaves [*q.v.*] in the vast domains of southern ʿIrāḳ (255-70/869-83) these acts of destruction recommenced. Wāsiṭ had already been decimated by an epidemic in 258/871, when in 264/877 it suffered the destruction carried out by the Zandj, especially on its eastern side. This situation did not prevent the growth of tax-farming, *ḍamān*, and the extension of the *iḳṭāʿ* in the region of Wāsiṭ/Kaskar during the reigns of al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902) and of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32). From that time onwards, the rich region of Wāsiṭ played a decisive role in supplying food to Baghdād, despite serious flooding in the town in 292/904, which caused severe destruction of its monuments. In 310/922 there followed even more serious floods. It was therefore because of this dependence by the rulers of Baghdād on resources coming from Wāsiṭ, among other regions, that al-Rāḍī (322-9/934-40) in 324/936 promoted the governor of Wāsiṭ, Ibn Rā'iḳ [*q.v.*], to the office of *amīr al-umarā'* [*q.v.*], and he became in practice the holder of sovereignty.

In the course of the decade 324-34/936-46, which ended with the arrival of the Buwayhids (334-447/945-1055 [*q.v.*]), Wāsiṭ was coveted, because of its farming and resources, by the Barīdīs, governors of al-Ahwāz (Khūzistān), the various *amīr al-umarā'*, and the Būyids, who sought power in Baghdād.

From 338/949 until 361/971 the town served for the *amīrs* Muʿizz al-Dawla and his successor Bakhtiyār as a base for military operations against ʿImrān b. Shāhīn [*q.v.*], the lord of the Baṭīḥa, who rebelled in the south of ʿIrāḳ, threatening the authority of the Būyids. While economic decline and depopulation were on the increase in ʿIrāḳ, Wāsiṭ continued to be a source of food supplies for Baghdād.

When al-Muḳaddasī visited Wāsiṭ in 375/985 it was again demonstrating some resilience, as compared to Baṣra, Kūfa, Sāmarrā', Anbār, Baghdād and even to the villages in its own territory, which were in a state of dilapidation. The political unrest at the end of the Būyid period aroused the ambitions of the Mazyadids of Ḥilla regarding Wāsiṭ. They had gained power in the region, as had al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], who was acting on behalf of the Fāṭimids of Egypt. When their propaganda had won over many of the *amīrs* from ʿIrāḳ and the Djazīra, the governor of Wāsiṭ, Ibn Fasāndjis, in 448/1056 declared the *khuṭba* there in the name of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir. At the same time he had the principal mosque painted white, the symbolic colour of the Shīʿīs of Egypt. The Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] had attacked ʿIrāḳ in December 447/1055. They established their authority over Wāsiṭ, crushing Ibn Fasāndjis in 449/1057 after an exhausting siege. In 451/1059, the year of the great drought and deadly famine, the adventures of al-Basāsīrī, who had briefly recaptured the town, came to an end.

The period of instability and of the weakening of the authority of the Saldjūḳs following the death of Malik Shāh (465-85/1063-92) was characterised by economic and social depression, a decline in the towns of ʿIrāḳ and its depopulation. The tax-farming of Wāsiṭ and the *iḳṭāʿ* of the whole region became the subject of fratricidal quarrels among the princes of the Saldjūḳ family on the one hand, and aroused the jealousy of the Mazyadid princes of Ḥilla on the other. The town continued until 501/1107 to be a permanent *iḳṭāʿ* of these last, granted by the sultan Muḥammad (498-511/1105-18).

During the period of the renaissance of the caliphate, which was inaugurated by al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-35) in order to throw off the tutelage of the Saldjūḳs, Wāsiṭ underwent numerous sieges in the struggles between the caliphs and the Saldjūḳs, whose control over ʿIrāḳ at that time hardly extended beyond the central and southern regions because of the power of the Mazyadids of Ḥilla.

The attempts by the caliphs al-Rāshid (529-30/1135-6) and al-Muḳtafī (530-55/1136-60) [*q.vv.*] to extend their power over Wāsiṭ by defying the weakened authority of the sultans brought on the town much pillaging and destruction (535/1140, 549/1154, 551/1156 and 553/1158). From that time onwards, Lower ʿIrāḳ became the caliphs' domain and their firm territorial base. Wāsiṭ seems to have enjoyed relative peace and to have preserved the traces of its former prosperity when Yāḳūt visited it (622/1225). The period after the Saldjūḳs, which extended from the reign of al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225) to that of the last caliph al-Mustʿaṣim (640-56/1242-58), was a time of new and rapid expansion in Wāsiṭ. Nearly a century of peace had restored life to the town, and al-Mustaʿṣim made an excursion there (*nuzha*) in 646/1248, a decade before the Mongol invasion.

Hūlākū (Hülegü) appeared outside Wāsiṭ on 17 Ṣafar, after his entry into Baghdād on 4 Ṣafar 656/10 February 1058. The town put up some resistance, as seen in the loss of about 40,000 inhabitants (probably an overestimate) and by the destruction suffered. This was the beginning of the power of the Il-Khānids (656-736/1258-1335), who annexed Wāsiṭ to Baghdād, which was governed by ʿAṭā' Malik al-Djuwaynī (657-81/1258-82). He was represented locally by the *Ṣadr* Madjd al-Dīn Ṣalāḥ. Under the Il-Khānids, the town had relative prosperity and was partly reconstructed. Its urban framework underwent modifications, including the total ruin or disappearance of the eastern side as a result of the Mongol raids.

Under the Djalāyirids (740-813/1339-1410 [*q.v.*]), Wāsiṭ continued to figrre among the centres where coins were minted. Its strategic importance was evident in the campaigns of Tīmūr, who placed a powerful garrison there in 787/1385 and 808/1405. Wāsiṭ began its slow agony under the Turcoman Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (813-72/1410-67 [*q.v.*]), especially because of the blows struck by the Shīʿī movement of the Mushaʿshaʿ [*q.v.*]. The founder of this movement, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falāḥ, attacked the town after 842/1438, and again in 844/1440 and 846/1442.

The attack led by his son and successor ʿAlī in 857/1453 or 858/1454 completed the ruin of the town, when it was abandoned by its inhabitants. The death of ʿAlī al-Mushaʿshaʿ in 861/1456 allowed

the fugitives from Wāsiṭ to go back to their decimated town. Some of them probably settled in the hamlet (the second Wāsiṭ) which they founded not far from the historic city. This latter city did not disappear, for its existence on the banks of the Tigris, which still ran through it, is attested in 941/1534, the year it was taken by the Ottomans, and even as late as 961/1553. Wāsiṭ was described in the middle of the 11th/17th century by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa as being situated on a dry river bed (the Dudjayla) in the middle of the desert. The Tigris had just abandoned its mediaeval course for the present one, which is situated further east. The town of al-Ḥadjdjādj had disappeared.

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5. *Fiḳh* works, and those on fiscal and administrative history. These include Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*; Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl*; Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, *K. al-Kharādj*.

6. Studies. M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1982. Further, M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen*, Leiden 1900-01, ii, 318-38 (material on important sources for Wāsiṭ, but without any interpretation); J. Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj Ibn Yousof*, Paris 1904, still useful; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern caliphate*, Cambridge 1905; H.H. Schaeder, *Hasan al-Baṣrī. Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Islam*, in *Isl.*, xiv (1925), 1-75; B. Faransīs, *al-Maẓāhir al-fanniyya fī ʿawāṣim al-ʿIrāḳ al-islāmiyya ʿalā ḍawʾ al-iktishāfāt al-ḥadītha: al-Kūfa, Wāsiṭ, Baghdād, Sāmarrāʾ*, in *Sumer*, iv (1948), 103-12; A. Sūsa, *Madīnat Wāsiṭ, rayy Sāmarrāʾ fī ʿahd al-Khilāfa al-ʿabbāsiyya*, ii, Baghdād 1949, 341-4; Y. Maskūnī, *al-Ṣināʿa wa ʾl-tidjāra fī Wāsiṭ*, in *Sumer*, v (1949), 297-305; Y. Sarkīs, *Madīnat al-ʿilm al-ʿarīḳa, Wāsiṭ*, in *Mabāḥith ʿirāḳiyya*, Baghdād 1955, 34-48 (new ed. of an article which appeared in 1936); A. Djamāl al-Dīn, *Muʿdjam djughrāfiyat Wāsiṭ*, in *Sumer*, xiii (1957), 119-47; O. Grabar, *Al-Mushatta, Baghdād, and Wāsiṭ*, in J. Kritzeck and R.B. Winder (eds.), *The world of Islam. Studies in honor of Philip K. Hitti*, New York 1960, 99-108; M. Djawād, *Muʿdjam mawāḍiʿ Wāsiṭ*, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*, Baghdād viii (1961), 114-17; N. Maʿrūf, *Madāris Wāsiṭ*, Baghdād 1955, 257-301 (repr. Baghdād 1966, 7-60); J. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, Beirut 1968, iii; ʿA. al-Ḥadīthī, *al-Ṣiyāna al-athariyya fī Wāsiṭ*, in *Sumer*, xxxi (1975), 199-210; ʿA.S. al-Maʿāḍīdī, *Wāsiṭ fī ʾl-ʿaṣr al-umawī*, Baghdād 1976; idem, *Wāsiṭ fī ʾl-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī*, Baghdād 1983; S.A. al-ʿAlī, *Maʿālim al-ʿIrāḳ al-ʿumrāniyya*, Baghdād 1989, 127-229 (important); M.O. Rousset, *L'archéologie islamique en Iraq, bilan et perspectives*, Damascus 1992, 142.

(MONDHER SAKLY)

4. The mint.

Today virtually nothing remains of the city of Wāsiṭ, but its name lives on in the abundant Umayyad reform-style dirhams bearing its name. These outnumber by far all the other dirhams struck in more than eighty other mints operated by the Umayyads. Many of them are found in museums that contain Islamic coins, and new collectors of the series find them the easiest and least expensive way to learn about the early coinage of Islam.

Their abundance is due to the work of two men: the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik who, ruling in Damascus, introduced the purely epigraphic Islamic dīnār [*q.v.*] in the year 77/696-7, and the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Khurāsān and Sidjistān, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] who introduced a similarly epigraphic dirham [*q.v.*] in the following year, 78/697-8. Al-Ḥadjdjādj's original plan was to bring a uniform, high quality silver coinage to ʿIrāḳ and Persia by opening mints in a number of strategic locations throughout the area where stocks of the former Sāsānid and Arab Sāsānid coinages could be withdrawn from circulation and restruck on the new model. Chief among these mints were al-Kūfa, his seat of government, al-Baṣra, al-Rayy, Hamadhān, Shakk al-Taymara, Djayy, Sābūr and Marw. Many lesser known mints, such as Kaskar, Mihrdjankudhak, Ard and ʿUmān, were open only briefly and are known today by no more than one or two specimens.

The military revolt of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath, which came to a head in 82/701 [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH] caused, among other things, his decentralised strategy of coinage production. ʿAbd al-Malik had already centralised the striking of gold and silver in Damascus, and when al-Ḥadjdjādj moved his seat of government

to Wāsiṭ in 83/702, he closed all the other mints under his control. Between the years 84/703 and 89/708 all the coinage in the east was confined to Wāsiṭ. The minting monopoly granted to Wāsiṭ gave al-Ḥadjdjādj control over the money supply, a valuable advantage at a time of political unrest. However, after 85/704, when al-Ḥadjdjādj became full master over Khurāsān, this monopoly and the consequent shortage of cash probably acted as a severe brake on trade and commercial activity.

In 90/709 al-Ḥadjdjādj reversed his centralisation of financial control by re-opening mints in Khūzistān, Djibāl, Fārs, Khurāsān and Sidjistān while maintaining Wāsiṭ as the main mint in ʿIrāḳ. After his death in Ramaḍān 95/June 714, there was a brief flurry of renewed minting activity in ʿIrāḳ, but this ended early in the reign of the caliph Sulaymān. During the years 98/716-17 and 99/717-18, the mints in Khūzistān, Djibāl and Fārs were closed down once again. While minting activity continued for a time in Khurāsān, this wholesale closure effectively restored Wāsiṭ's monopoly of coinage in the east.

Upon his accession as caliph in 99/717, ʿUmar II repudiated the administrative legacy of al-Ḥadjdjādj by appointing governors to both al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, re-opening their mints and closing that of Wāsiṭ. No coinage is known to have been struck there in the year 100/718-19. After Yazīd II became caliph in 101, the Wāsiṭ mint was briefly re-opened, but it is not known to have produced any coinage in 102. From the following year, 103/721-2, until the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty in 132/750, the Wāsiṭ mint continued, year by year, to supply most of the dirham coinage for the east. Elsewhere in the Umayyad state, dirham mints were active in Spain (*al-Andalus*), North Africa (*Ifrīḳiya*), Syria (*Dimashk*), the North (*Armīniya, Ādharbāydjān* and *al-Bāb* (Darband)) and Khurāsān (*Balkh, Balkh al-Bayḍāʾ* and *al-Mubāraka*).

The most useful research on the Umayyad mint of Wāsiṭ was published by DeShazo and Bates in *The Umayyad Governors of al-ʿIrāq and the changing annulet patterns on their dirhams.* Here the authors point out that the annulet patterns of the dirhams change when the provincial governors change, and each pattern is, in general, characteristic for a single governor. They then provide a table listing the governors and their associated annulet patterns from 99 until 132. The significant fact which emerges from this study is that the annulet patterns are related to governors rather than to caliphs. Control of the coinage in ʿIrāḳ thus lay in the hands of its governors rather than any centralised mint administration under direct caliphal control. Presumably the annulet patterns were placed on the coins for ease of identification at a time when few could read the unpointed Kufic script with which they were inscribed. The placing of coinage under gubernatorial control was established by al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf and continued until the end of Umayyad rule.

Marcel Jungfleisch tells a curious tale of the Wāsiṭ mint in his *Conjectures* about how Byzantine mints frequently struck coinages for one another. He states that coinages from the Constantinian and post-Constantinian eras bore mint signatures such as ALE and ANT which did not necessarily imply that they were actually struck in Alexandria or Antioch, but "pour le compte" of these mints. He then goes on to offer, as evidence for the same practice in the Muslim world, de Morgan's excavations at Wāsiṭ. When digging up the former Arab mint, de Morgan reportedly found a considerable number of newly-struck dirhams ready to be placed in circulation bearing the inscriptions *ḍuriba bi 'l-Andalus* and *ḍuriba bi-Ifrīḳiya.* Jungfleisch adds that these coins probably bore distinguishing marks proper to the mint of Wāsiṭ.

Commenting on this report, G.C. Miles stated, "I have not been able to locate de Morgan's account of this very interesting discovery, nor is the reference available in Jungfleisch". He concludes by saying, "I have often suspected that the manufacture of many Umayyad dies was centralized, but the actual striking of *al-Andalus* dirhams in southern Iraq would seem an extraordinary phenomenon". Concerning an excavation report prepared by M. Fuad Safar in 1945 in *Wāsit, the mint-town*, Ulla Linder Welin stated that "nothing is told of this previous excursion of M. de Morgan or of the supposed or excavated site of the workshop of the Wasit mint", and she provided a table listing all the dates, with references, for the coinage struck in Wāsiṭ. The present author agrees with Miles' judgement that Wāsiṭ was a likely centre for Umayyad die production, in particular after 103 when the same crisp, elegant calligraphy of the Wāsiṭ mint is encountered elsewhere, e.g. on the coinages of al-Bāb and al-Mubāraka. In conclusion, it is true to say that the Umayyad mint of Wāsiṭ was one of the most prolific the Islamic world has ever seen and its presence was felt throughout the Islamic world years after its closure.

The fall of the Umayyads brought about the immediate end of the Wāsiṭ mint and the re-opening of those of al-Kūfa in 132/750 and al-Baṣra one year later. These towns continued to be the main centres of coinage production in ʿIrāḳ until the ʿAbbāsid mints of Madīnat al-Salām and al-Muḥammadiyya became fully operational in 148/765. This division of mint production continued substantially unchanged until the struggle for power between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn affected the entire functioning of the ʿAbbāsid state. In the aftermath of al-Amīn's defeat in Baghdād in 198/813 and during the subsequent revolts in ʿIrāḳ, the Wāsiṭ mint was briefly re-opened for the second time in 200 with a dirham citing al-Ḥasan (b. Sahl) and Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn, followed by a second dirham issue dated 203 citing al-ʿIrāḳ and Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn. Both coins are notably rare, which suggests that the mint may have been reactivated in these years to make emergency payments to the caliphal army commanded by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, the brother and deputy of al-Faḍl b. Sahl, Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn, the vizier of al-Maʾmūn. By the time this conflict had ended, the concept of one or two pre-eminent mints had vanished, leaving a system of several regional mints in their place. The number of these mints gradually increased during the caliphates of al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Wāthiḳ and al-Mutawakkil, and during the reign of al-Muʿtazz the mint of Wāsiṭ was re-opened for the third time. It is known to have struck its first dirhams in 253/867 and dīnārs followed in 254. For the next century, the Wāsiṭ mint reflected the town's prosperity and was one of the more active in ʿIrāḳ, striking both dirhams and occasional dīnārs on standard ʿAbbāsid and Būyid patterns. After the Būyids seized control of ʿIrāḳ in 334/945, the coinage records become increasingly irregular and gradually draw to a close in the 360s and 370s with the rise in importance of the trading cities of al-Baṣra and Sūḳ al-Ahwāz. Finally, the Wāsiṭ mint ceased activity and went into a sleep which lasted for over three hundred years.

Wāsiṭ's fourth and last period of coinage activity began after Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*], Ghazan's *wazīr*, brought about the reform of the Il-Khānid coinage

in 698/1298-9. The Il-K͟hānids re-opened several ʿIrāḳī mints, including Wāsiṭ, Ḥilla and al-Baṣra, while Bag͟hdād retained its traditional position as the main mint of the province. Wāsiṭ and Bag͟hdād, however, shared the distinction of being the only ʿIrāḳī mints to issue silver dīnārs valued at six dirhams. The dīnār was the apex of the Il-K͟hānid monetary system, with 10,000 forming the tūmān [*q.v.*], the Il-K͟hānid unit of account. It is possible that the elaborately decorated dies for these large coins were prepared at the instigation of Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, in his role as a historian, to acknowledge the importance enjoyed by both Wāsiṭ and Madīnat al-Salām/Bag͟hdād in the history of Islamic coinage production (see *B.M. cat.*, vi, 129).

Wāsiṭ thus became part of the extensive Il-K͟hānid mint system under G͟hazan, Öld͟jeytü and Abū Saʿīd, and its position was maintained by the later Il-K͟hānids and the D͟jalāyirids, their successors in ʿIrāḳ. The political disorders which followed Tīmūr's invasion and occupation of ʿIrāḳ *ca.* 787-808/1385-1405, probably brought an end to minting activity in Wāsiṭ, as no coins are known from that time onwards. The demise of the city itself, brought about by the shifting of the course of the Tigris during the 9th/15th century, has precluded any revival of its former importance.

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(R. Darley-Doran)

WĀSIṬA (a.), a Fāṭimid administrative term. It denoted an intermediary between the Fāṭimid ruler—the Imām—and the ruling establishment and people. The title of *wāsiṭa* conferred on chief administrators implied more limited powers and lower rank than that of vizier. The terms *wāsiṭa/wasāṭa* are attested in 5th/11th-century literary and documentary sources. The first person upon whom it was bestowed was the Kutāmī chief Ibn ʿAmmār, at the time of al-Ḥākim's coronation. Several administrators during the rule of al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021) and al-Ẓāhir (411-27/1021-36) [*q.vv.*] were appointed as *wāsiṭas*. However, the term disappears from the historical records around the second half of the 5th/11th century, following the militarisation of Fāṭimid politics and the rise of military viziers who wielded absolute political power in the state.

Bibliography: For 5th/11th-century literary and documentary sources, see Musabbiḥī, *Ak͟hbār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid and Th. Bianquis, Cairo 1978, 18; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *D͟hayl taʾrīk͟h Dimas͟hḳ*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, 80-3 (who has reproduced a letter of appointment to the post of vizier, which specifies his duties as *wāsiṭa*). For 6th/12th century and later sources, see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Is͟hāra ilā man nāl al-wizāra*, ed. ʿA. Muk͟hliṣ, Cairo 1924, 29, 33, 34, 35 (Arabic pagination); Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. M.H.M. Aḥmad, Cairo 1971, ii, 84, 94, 110. Of studies, see art. bard͟jawān; also Y. Lev, *State and society in Fatimid Egypt*, Leiden 1991, 25, 27; P. Sanders, *Ritual, politics, and the city in Fatimid Cairo*, Albany 1994, 23, 142. (Y. Lev)

WAṢIYYA (a.), in Islamic law, bequest, last will and testament.

In *fiḳh, waṣiyya* refers to two related notions: (1) that of bequest or legacy (defined as the transfer of the corpus or the usufruct (*manfaʿa*) of a thing after one's death without a consideration); and (2) that of appointing a testamentary executor or guardian over minor children. The term *waṣiyya* is sometimes translated as last will or testament, since for both legal acts a testamentary disposition is required.

1. *Historical background*

Several Ḳurʾānic verses mention or refer to bequests. From XXXVI, 50, it appears that making a bequest was usual among the Meccan merchants. In II, 180, those who have property are ordered to make bequests to their parents and close relatives. Making a provision to widows by bequest is commanded in II, 240. Finally, V, 106, requires the presence of witnesses when making a bequest. From these verses and other sources it is clear that the *waṣiyya* was known in pre-Islamic Arabia and was used to give the spouse relict and non-agnatic relatives a part of the estate at the expense of the male agnates. II, 180 and II, 240, are traditionally seen as the beginning of the Islamic law of succession, since they command the making of bequests, without limitations, to close relatives and spouses, who would be excluded under the pre-Islamic rules of agnatic succession. However, around the year 3/625 these verses are supposed to have been abrogated by the verses of inheritance (IV, 11, 12 and 176) that assign precise fractional shares to some of these relatives and to the spouse relict, whereas at the same time the Prophetic Sunna imposed two important restrictions, namely, that bequests were limited to one-third of the estate and that they could not be made in favour of existing heirs.

Recently, D.S. Powers (*Studies*, 143-89) has proposed a new theory on the development of the *waṣiyya.* He argues that the abrogation of the bequest verses did not become the accepted doctrine until some time after Muḥammad's death. During the first stage of the development of the Islamic law of succession there was much freedom in testation. A person could designate close relatives as heirs. If the testator chose to designate affinal relatives (wife, daughter-in-law) as such, certain relatives who would have inherited in the absence of such a provision were compensated with a share in the estate. Finally, one could make bequests, but not exceeding the value of one-third of the estate. Only later, during the 1st century A.H., was the classical doctrine generally accepted. Although Powers' theory is attractive, since it offers some explanations to certain issues that are as yet unclear, it is not uncontested. His main argument is a new and controversial vocalisation and reading of Ḳurʾān, IV, 12. Further, he maintains that of the two basic restrictions on making bequests, both laid down in *ḥadīt͟hs*, one, the limitation to one-third of the estate, dates from the Prophet's lifetime, whereas the other, the nullity of bequests to heirs, is of much later date.

2. *Classical legal doctrine*

(a) Bequests. In Islamic law, it is only possible to designate an heir by testament in the exceptional case that one does not have other heirs. Otherwise, testaments can only be used for the transfer of property by way of bequest or legacy. There are no formal requirements for the making of a bequest: it may be done in writing, but also orally or even through intelligible signs. In both cases witnesses must be present

in order to prove it. The testator, of course, must be of full legal capacity. The making of a bequest is regarded as an offer, which needs to be accepted in order to become binding and irrevocable. Since a basic principle of the law of bequests is that the testator can revoke a bequest during his lifetime, acceptance cannot take place before the testator's death. The Shīʿa hold that bequests can only be revoked expressly. According to the Sunnī law schools, implied revocation, for instance if the testator alienates or destroys the property bequeathed, is also valid. If after the testator's decease the legatee dies before having declared his acceptance or refusal, the right to accept passes to his heirs. After the testator's death, the ownership of the property is suspended until acceptance by the legatee. There is some difference of opinion about when exactly the ownership is transferred. According to most legal schools, the ownership is regarded to have been passed retroactively to the legatee from the moment of the testator's death. The Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs, however, hold that the ownership is transferred at the moment of acceptance.

For a bequest to a specific person to be valid, he must be alive at the time of making the bequest and of the testator's death. The first condition, however, does not apply if the legatees are generic, e.g. the children of X. If the legatee predeceases the testator, the bequest fails. Under Shīʿī law, however, it is valid and devolves to the legatee's heirs. If the testator and legatee die in the same event, the rules with regard to inheritance apply. Contrary to intestate succession, difference of religion constitutes no bar for bequests, except, under Ḥanafī and Shīʿī law, if the legatee lives outside the *Dār al-Islām*. With regard to the case in which the legatee has killed the testator, opinions differ. The Ḥanafīs and Shīʿīs compare bequests with succession and, consequently, consider such killing an impediment. The other law schools regard bequests more like gifts, for which no such bar exists.

The object of a bequest can be specific or generic. Specific bequests are gifts of the corpus or the usufruct of particular items of property or the manumission of a slave. Such bequests are only valid if these items are owned by the testator at the time of his making the bequest. Generic bequests are gifts of certain quantities of fungible goods or of money, or gifts of a share of the testator's property. Regarding this type, it is not necessary that the testator should own the goods bequeathed at the time of making the bequest.

Bequests are subject to two restrictions: together they may not exceed one-third of the value of the estate and they may not be made in favour of an existing heir. Bequests made contrary to these rules are *ultra vires* and null unless they are ratified (*idjāza*) by the heirs, but only after the testator's death. If some heirs approve and others do not, the ratification holds good proportionally to the shares of the heirs who have approved.

With regard to the restriction to one-third of the estate, opinions differ as to when the value of the estate must be calculated. Most legal schools take the moment of the testator's death as the crucial time. The Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs, however, calculate the value of the estate at the moment the bequest becomes complete and binding, i.e. at the moment of acceptance for the Mālikīs and of actual transfer of ownership for the Ḥanafīs. This is, of course, important in cases when the value of the estate has changed after the testator's death. If a bequest exceeds the value of one-third of the estate, it is valid for the part not exceeding this limit but fails for the surplus.

If there are more bequests, together taking up more than the third of the estate, the situation becomes more complicated. The Sunnī law schools apply a *pro rata* abatement, whereas the Shīʿīs use chronology as a yardstick: the earlier bequests have priority over the more recent ones. If there are no heirs, bequests may exceed one-third of the estate, except according to the Mālikīs, because they regard the Public Treasury as an heir whose interests are protected in the same way as the other heirs. The second restriction operating with regard to bequests is the provision that bequests may not be made in favour of an existing heir. This rule is not accepted by the Shīʿīs. The moment for determining who counts as an heir is, of course, the moment of the testator's death.

(b) Last illness (*maraḍ al-mawt*). Although a person is free during his or her lifetime to dispose of his or her property as he or she pleases, this freedom ends as soon as the process of dying sets in. During the last illness, or under comparable circumstances in which death seems imminent (e.g. a shipwreck, a flood or a fire) a person is put under a limited interdiction (*ḥadjr*) in order to protect the interests of his or her heirs: by any dispositions—liberal acts such as gifts, *wakf*s, manumission, suretyship, or generosity in trade or hiring—such a person may not diminish the value of his or her estate for more than one-third of the property. Under these circumstances, such acts are equated with bequests. Disadvantageous dispositions exceeding the limit of one-third of the estate may therefore be nullified by the heirs after the testator's death.

The last illness, in order to be invoked by the heirs, must have effectively ended with death. Establishing whether a certain legal act was performed during one's last illness is a retrospective activity. There are three criteria for determining whether an illness or certain circumstances can count as the last illness. (1) Was the gravity of the condition or circumstances sufficiently serious for apprehending death?. (2) Was the apprehension of impending death uninterrupted? (3) Was the death the result of the illness or circumstances?

(c) Appointment of a testamentary executor or guardian. One may appoint by testament an executor (*waṣiyy*) to take care, after one's death, of the settlement and the recovery of debts, the payment of bequests and the division of the estate among the heirs or a guardian (also called *waṣiyy*) over minor children. If the deceased has failed to do so, the *ḳāḍī* must appoint an executor to administer and liquidate the estate if the value of the debts exceeds the value of the estate, or if there are minors or missing persons among the heirs.

3. *Recent developments*

For recent reforms in the law of bequests, see MĪRĀTH. 2.

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WAṢL (A.), a term of Arabic grammar broadly denoting juncture, i.e. a syntactic or phonological "connecting"; it is thus the antonym of both interruption (*ḳaṭʿ* [*q.v.*]) and pause (*waḳf* [*q.v.*]).

Its origin is probably in Ḳurʾān recitation, where the choice of proceeding to the next word without a break depends mainly on syntactic or semantic considerations, the text being marked accordingly with signs for optional, preferable or compulsory *waṣl*.

The term occurs most commonly in the phrase *alif al-waṣl*, alternatively, but less transparently, *hamzat al-waṣl*, referring to the prosthetic *alif* found before word-initial consonant clusters and creating an artificial syllable (*ʾa-*, *ʾi-* or *ʾu-*, according to context), whose purpose is to split the consonant cluster and thereby avoid a non-canonical syllable beginning with two consonants, hence **ktul* (CCVC) becomes *ʾuk-tul* (CVC-CVC) etc. (In foreign loan words and names, this same process leads to *hamzat al-ḳaṭʿ*, e.g. Plato > *ʾAflāṭūn*, Aram. *Klīlā* > *ʾiklīl* "crown".) Although this feature of Arabic is well known, the rationale behind the term *hamzat al-waṣl* is obscure (a mere formal contrast with *hamzat al-ḳaṭʿ* in writing?), since the true consonantal *hamza* [*q.v.*] is unaffected by *waṣl*.

The *alif al-waṣl* arose orthographically, when words were dictated slowly enough to be spelt as if in isolation, with the *alif* still having its historical value of *hamzat al-ḳaṭʿ*. In juncture this *hamza* is elided, for which situation the *waṣla* sign was later invented, viz. a small *ṣād* (from the root *waṣala*) over the *alif* indicating that it was to be ignored. Interestingly, this *alif* and the *waṣla* sign are retained after prefixes such as *wa-*, *fa-*, *bi-* (but not *li-* before the definite article, perhaps for aesthetic reasons), suggesting that in dictation the *hamzat al-ḳaṭʿ* was preserved even here, e.g. **wa ʾuḳtul* for *wa-ḳtul* (but note the exceptional phonetic spelling in such very common phrases as *bismi llāhi* etc.). The same spelling convention implies that the definite article *ʾal*, whose first letter is itself an *alif al-waṣl*, was also dictated as if in isolation before words already beginning with *alif al-waṣl*, e.g. **ʾal ʾikhtilāf*, not *ʾalikhtilāf*. The grammarians claim that *alif al-waṣl* is basically a property of verbs, though undoubtedly it is most frequently seen with the definite article. Apart from the *maṣdar*s of stems VII and higher, several relatively common nouns also have it, e.g. *ism*, *ibn*, *imraʾa*, *ist* and *ithnān*.

By definition, the *hamzat al-waṣl* cannot be realised as a *hamzat al-ḳaṭʿ* within a word, and therefore should never be written as one, yet this is now clearly an accepted modern spelling, e.g. *al-ʾikhtilāf* (curiously, the definite article does not acquire *hamzat al-ḳaṭʿ*). In mediaeval poetry, the *hamzat al-waṣl* sometimes becomes *hamzat al-ḳaṭʿ* for metrical reasons, but it is too early to say whether the new spelling will prevail in the surviving classical metres, in which case contemporary and mediaeval prosody will become incompatible on that point.

The notion of *waṣl* in syntax is less well defined. Various forms of stems I and IV of the root *w-ṣ-l* are used by Sībawayhi [*q.v.*] to represent the connection between verbs and their objects (Troupeau, entries rendered "parvenir à"), and *waṣl* is an occasional synonym of *ṣila* [*q.v.*] (appended clause, especially relative clause). We may also include here the cognate *wuṣla*, one of a group of terms for referential and copulative elements mostly called *ʿāʾid* but also *rābiṭ(a)* and *rādjiʿ*. Finally, stem VIII provides a term for such widely differing phenomena as bound pronouns (*ḍamīr muttaṣil*: opposite, *ḍamīr munfaṣil* "separate, independent pronoun") and exceptive sentences of the type *(mā) ḳāma l-ḳawmu ʾillā zayd^{an} (zayd^{un})* (*istithnāʾ muttaṣil*: opposite, *istithnāʾ munḳaṭiʿ*, e.g. *mā djāʾanī aḥad^{un} illā ḥimār^{an}*).

Bibliography: W. Diem, *Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie*, in *Orientalia*, xlviii-lii (1979-83), esp. §§ 118-19, 201 ff., 220-33; H. Fleisch, *Traité de linguistique arabe*, Beirut 1961-79, i, ch. 4 (198-200), references to other Arabic and European sources; A.S. Kaye, *The* hamzat al-waṣl *in contemporary Modern Standard Arabic*, in *JAOS*, cxi (1991), 572-3; G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du* Kitāb *de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976. (M.G. Carter)

WASM (a.), pl. *wusūm*, brand. Bedouins have branded their camels since ancient times (G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 71). A Bedouin will normally be able to identify each of his camels without the aid of a brand; but the brand is helpful when camels belonging to many different owners are gathered in one place (e.g. at a water-source). Camels often stray and sometimes are stolen; a branded camel can usually be described so fully by its owner that another Bedouin will be able to identify it with assurance on the basis of the description alone (author's observations in Sinai; cf. F. Beslay, *Les Réguibats*, Paris 1984, 58).

One *wasm* is distinguished from another not only by its appearance but also by its location on the animal's body (e.g. right cheek). The signs that make up the brand have individual names, e.g. *maṭraḳ* "stick", *hilāl* "crescent". Such arbitrary signs are used throughout the Arab world; but in North Africa some tribes, especially maraboutic ones, instead use letters or even whole words, e.g. Muḥammad, Allāh, Makka (P. Kahle, *Die Aulād-ʿAli-Beduinen der Libyschen Wüste*, in *Isl.*, iv [1913], 367; Le Borgne, *Vocabulaire technique du chameau en Mauritanie (dialecte hassanya)*, in *BIFAO*, xv [1953], 365).

The several signs making up a brand may signify respectively the tribe, a group within the tribe, and even a sub-group of that group. Among the Rashāʾida of the Sudan, each man adds his own individual sign to the mark of the group (W.C. Young, *The Rashaayda Bedouin*, Fort Worth, Texas 1996, 86-8); much more commonly, however, a group shares a brand, though where this is the general practice men of great wealth may still have their individual *wusūm* (H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1951, 420-1).

Brands are sometimes placed on animals other than camels, e.g. cattle, water-buffalo, donkeys (but not horses), and even sheep (though ear-clipping is a more usual way of marking small stock). *Wusūm* also often appear on things other than animals, e.g. tombs, rocks, wells or trees. Sometimes, at least, they indicate that the object so marked is in the territory of, or is protected by, the group whose sign it bears. The Muzayna of Sinai place the *wasm* of their descent group "on hut doors for good luck and on storage boxes for identification"; and sometimes they tattoo their brand on members of the group—on the foreheads of women, and on the backs of the hands of both men and women (Smadar Lavie, *The poetics of military occupation*, Berkeley 1990, 14-15). In northern Palestine, in contrast, tribesmen used to mark a cattle thief by burning their *wasm* on his thigh (J. Sonnen, *Die Beduinen am See Genesareth*, Cologne 1952, 162).

Bibliography: The only general study is the excellent, though now rather outdated, article by A. van Gennep, *Les "wasm", ou marques de propriété des arabes*, in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xv (1902), 85-98. Among the many other works which contain relevant information may be mentioned H.A. MacMichael, *Brands used by the chief camel-owning tribes of Kordofán*, Cambridge 1913; O. Bates, *Ethnographic notes from Marsa Matruh*, in *JRAS* (1915), 717-39; ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *al-Ḳaḍāʾ bayn al-badw*, Jerusalem 1933, 157-67;

H. Field, *Camel brands and graffiti from Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Iran and Arabia*, *JAOS* Supplement 15, Baltimore 1952; J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios saharianos*, Madrid 1955, 88-90; I. Cunnison, *The Baggara Arabs*, Oxford 1966, 205-8. (F.H. Stewart)

WAṢṢĀF (in full, Waṣṣāf al-Ḥaḍrat "the court panegyrist"), *nom-de-plume* of Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Shīrāzī, chronicler and poet of Mongol Persia in the early 8th/14th century. He was the author of the *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf* (more precisely, *Tadjziyat al-amṣār wa-tazdjiyat al-aʿṣār* "The allocation of cities and the propulsion of epochs"), a history of the Il-Khāns [*q.v.*] from 658/1260 in five volumes, designed as a sequel to the *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā* of Djuwaynī [*q.v.*]. The preface is dated Shaʿbān 699/April-May 1300 (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 6). Through the instrumentality of the viziers Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*] and Saʿd al-Dīn, the author and his historical work were presented at ʿĀna on 13 Radjab 702/3 March 1303 to the Il-Khān Ghazan [*q.v.*], who showed him great favour and allotted him a pension (*ibid.*, 405-7). Four volumes were completed by 24 Muḥarram 712/1 June 1312, when his patron Rashīd al-Dīn enabled Waṣṣāf to submit them in person to Ghazan's successor Öldjeytü [*q.v.*] (Ūldjāītū; *ibid.*, 544). The fifth volume was finished much later, the current year being variously given as 727 and 728 (see Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 49 n. 2).

Waṣṣāf did not merely emulate Djuwaynī's florid and bombastic style but perpetrated even greater excesses, which were in turn to provide a model for subsequent Persian historiography. Although the two viziers allegedly praised the *Tārīkh* and declared that no finer combination of Persian and Arabic had ever been achieved in any historical work, Öldjeytü was unable to understand a word of the passage which Waṣṣāf read to him (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 405). Modern historians have often shared the Il-Khān's incomprehension, a circumstance which is all the more regrettable in view of the valuable material contained in the *Tārīkh*. Its importance for Il-Khānid history is that it is completely independent of our other principal source, Rashīd al-Dīn's encyclopaedic *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, and provides us with a quite different perspective. Waṣṣāf, who describes himself (*ibid.*, 626) as a client of the Salghūrids [*q.v.*], the former ruling dynasty of Fārs, was for some years employed in the financial administration of that province, and under Öldjeytü's son and successor Abū Saʿīd, he was put in charge of revenue collection in the districts of Fīrūzābād, Ḳīr and Kārzīn (*ibid.*, 653; cf. also 630, 632-3; and for these localities, see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, Leiden and London 1915, 118). He is therefore particularly informative on fiscal affairs and on the history of the dynasties of southern Persia that were subordinate to the Il-Khāns. But he also furnishes valuable data on the history of the Mongols elsewhere, notably those of China and of the Caghatay khānate [*q.v.*] and the Mongol state in Central Asia ruled by Ḳaydu [*q.v.*]. In addition, the *Tārīkh* includes two valuable notices on the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*], of which the first was incorporated by Rashīd al-Dīn in 702/1303 into the section on India in his own work (ed. K. Jahn, *Die Indiengeschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, Vienna 1980, 9).

Bibliography: *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, lith. ed. Bombay 1269/1853, abridged and simplified version by ʿAbd al-Muḥammad Āyatī, *Taḥrīr-i Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, Tehran 1346 *sh.*/1967, partial ed. and tr. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte Wassaf's*, Vienna 1856 (vol. i only); Browne, *LHP*, iii, 67-8; Storey, i, 267-70; Storey-Bregel, ii, 768-75; R.G. Kempiners, Jr., *Vaṣṣāf's* Tazjiyat al-amṣār wa Tazjiyat al-aʿṣār *as a source for the history of the Chaghadayid khanate*, in *Jnal. of Asian History*, xxii (1988), 160-87; A.K.S. Lambton, *Mongol fiscal administration in Persia*, in *SI*, lxiv (1986), 79-99, lxv (1987), 97-123. (P. Jackson)

WAṬAN (a.), "homeland, fatherland", an Arabic near-equivalent of the term *patria* of the Latin Middle Ages in most of its shades. As we learn from normative lexicographical entries and actual usage in literary and historical texts alike, *waṭan* or *mawṭin* was, in the beginning, a wholly apolitical term denoting simply the place of birth or stay (*LʿA*, Beirut ed., xiii, 451a, l. 8). In al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī's (d. 816/1413) *Book of definitions* (*Kitāb al-taʿrīfāt*, 237, ll. 18-20) we find the meaning of *waṭan* split into "permanent residence" and "temporary and transitory sojourn (of at least a fortnight)". The Indian encyclopaedist Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Tahānawī (18th century) differentiates between the place of origin in whose selection one does not have any influence (*al-waṭan al-aṣlī, al-waṭan al-ahlī*), and a chosen place of stay of a shorter or longer duration (*waṭan al-fiṭra wa ʾl-ḳarār, waṭan al-iḳāma wa ʾl-safar*) (*Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. A. Sprenger, ii, 1519-20). In Prophetic tradition, *waṭan* stands side-by-side—and thus in rough equivalence—with the general terms *dār* "house" and *bilād* "land". Elsewhere we find it used in the restricted sense of *mawḍiʿ* equalling *mashhad* "battlefield" (*LʿA*, xiii, 451b, ll. 3 ff.), i.e. of the place where the collective self is defended against outsiders. Battles are known to have served as important focuses of national sentiment also in the mediaeval West.

Fidelity to one's *mawṭin* in the sense of home is axiomatic. Every human is imbued with it. According to al-Djāḥiẓ, it is the ambience, i.e. for all practical purposes what is meant by *waṭan*, that shapes man. The sentiment of longing for the homeland (*al-ḥanīn ilā ʾl-awṭān*), also the title of one of al-Djāḥiẓ's famous short epistles (ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, in *Rasāʾil*, ii, Cairo 1384/1964, 383-412), encompasses also, and even with particular intensity, the itinerant nomadic tribesman who roams around in the steppes and who—in spite of or even because of his lifestyle—feels so strongly attached to his home sites. Al-Djāḥiẓ's treatise on the merits of the Turks (*Risāla ilā ʾl-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān fī manāḳib al-Turk wa-ʿāmmat djund al-khilāfa*, in *Rasāʾil*, i, 5-86) abundantly testifies to this philosophy. "The country of a man is his wetnurse and his house is his cradle" (*al-Ḥanīn*, 386, l. 3), "The nature of man is kneaded from love for one's homeland" (*ibid.*, 387, l. 5), and "If a bird longs for his nest, how much more is man entitled to yearn for his homeland" (*ibid.*, 386, ll. 7-8), are some of al-Djāḥiẓ's patent sayings on the natural attachment of man to his home. The Western equivalent to this primordial sentiment is the *amor soli naturalis* which we find invoked by the Dominican master Humbert of Romans (d. 1277) as a lamentable impediment to the Crusading spirit.

Like the Latin *dulcis patria*, *waṭan* (or *mawṭin*) has also a more abstract, figurative meaning that sheds the distinctly local connotations by signifying the place where one comes to rest. *Waṭan* shares this metonymic meaning with *al-aṭlāl* ("traces of an abandoned encampment") and *al-manāzil wa ʾl-diyār* ("camp sites and houses"). For Averroes (d. 1198), who had long enough struggled with the boring details of Mālikī law, philosophy became the *waṭan* proper of the intellect. The mystics, in particular, liked the term *waṭan* and implemented it in various meanings. For the anonymous author of the Ṣūfī manual *Adab al-mulūk* of the

4th/10th century, the "houses of God", i.e. the mosques, were the real home (ed. B. Radtke, Beirut and Stuttgart 1991, 60-1, § 22). Other Ṣūfīs gave a spiritual meaning to the term *waṭan*. The mystic al-Sarrādj (d. 378/988), in his list of difficult mystic terms (The *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ fi 'l-Taṣawwuf of Abú Naṣr ʿAbdalláh b. ʿAlí al-Sarráj al-Ṭúsí*, ed. R. Nicholson, 369, ll. 1-12), defines it as the locality "where man is led by his state and where he settles down" (*waṭan al-ʿabd ḥaythu 'ntahā bihi 'l-ḥāl wa 'staḳarra bihi 'l-ḳarār*). That is, *waṭan* is no longer a point of departure but rather a destination for man's activities and movements. An older Ṣūfī authority quoted by al-Sarrādj, Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (d. 215/830; on him, see R. Gramlich in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 22-85), even uses the plural *waṭanāt* (here, probably the pl. of the *nomen vicis waṭna*) in the very general meaning of solid and unimpeachable foundations, and contrasts them with the *khaṭarāt* denoting furtiveness, casualness, and lack of reliability (*Lumaʿ*, 369, ll. 9-10). Finally, in the biographies of mystics collected by al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), the notions of "silence" (*ṣamt*), i.e. of concentrating one's thoughts on God, as well as of *ṣidḳ* "truthfulness", are related to *waṭan* (*Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn Sharība, Cairo 1406/1986, 478, 747).

The Prophet Muḥammad is credited with the famous saying, "Love of the homeland is a sign of belief" (*ḥubb al-waṭan min al-īmān*), a proposition that was to have a great impact also on modern nationalist thought. This tenet predicated on the notion of *waṭan* was also adopted by the Ṣūfīs. When an adept of the 8th/14th century *shaykh* Ṣafī al-Dīn of Ardabīl, the eponym of the Ṣafawid order and state, wondered how love for a piece of land—a natural sentiment shared by many unbelievers such as the Christians of Europe—could possibly be declared proof of proper belief, the *shaykh* responded that *waṭan* did not simply mean a geographically-definable territory but rather the heavenly kingdom for which the seeker of truth is obliged to strive (Ibn-i Bazzāz, *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, quoted by A.K.S. Lambton, in ḲAWMIYYA. iii, at Vol. IV, 785b).

Bibliography: B. Lewis, *Patriotism and nationalism*, in *The Middle East and the West*, New York 1964, 75-80; U. Haarmann, *Glaubensvolk und Nation im islamischen und lateinischen Mittelalter*, in *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berichte und Abhandlungen*, ii (1996), 161-99, esp. 165-9.

(U. Haarmann)

WAṬANIYYA (A.), nationalism, patriotism, civic pride, in all the modern applications of these terms. The word appeared at the end of the 19th century, in the context of the extension to the field of state politics of *waṭan* (pl. *awṭān*) "homeland", hitherto applied to place of birth or of residence. The noun-adjective *waṭanī* refers to the same sectors of meaning (autochthonous, national, patriotic), while the noun *muwāṭin* denotes a compatriot or fellow-citizen.

A pioneering role in the inculcation of these notions is to be credited to Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*]. "Love of country" (*ḥubb al-waṭan*), in the modern sense of the term, spans his entire corpus, but he provides a more detailed analysis of the subject in a preface to *Manāhidj al-albāb al-miṣriyya fī mabāhidj al-ādāb al-ʿaṣriyya* (1869) and in a long section of *al-Murshid al-amīn li 'l-banāt wa 'l-banīn* (1873). He starts with *milla*, in the politico-administrative extensions that it acquired in the Ottoman empire [see MILLET], beyond its initial application to a religious community, since it also denotes territorial communities: *al-ahālī* (indigenous, autochthonous peoples), *al-raʿiyya* (subjects), *al-djins* (race, ethnic group) and *abnāʾ al-waṭan* (inhabitants, natives, compatriots). It is to these last—whether the reference is to established populations or to those who have come in search of refuge and subsequently settled in the locality—that the qualificatives *baladī/waṭanī* (compatriot/fellow-citizen) are applied. They are part of a "patriotic brotherhood", "over and above religious brotherhood", and share the same pride in common patrimony, implanted in this case in Egyptian pre-Islam. But it is the values of "civic pride" that are denoted by *waṭaniyya* when the context is the obligations required by "patriotism": contributing to anything which has the potential to promote the glory of the common homeland, guaranteeing its prosperity through the development of public utilities and accepting the laws of the country as incarnated in the person of its sovereign.

A transference of the principal connotation to that of "nationalism" [see ḲAWMIYYA. i] is first observed in resistance to the financial and political control exercised by the European creditors of the Egyptian debt (1876-82). Egyptian officers of established local families (*waṭaniyyūn*), opposed from the outset to the ascendancy of Turko-Circassians, sought to operate in conjunction with constitutionalist elements. A *Djamʿiyya Waṭaniyya* (later known as the National Party) represented their claims, from April 1879 onwards. Composite and unwieldy, this movement was part of the episode known as "the ʿUrābī Pasha [*q.v.*] revolution". Its defeat was sealed by the British military occupation of Egypt.

For decades to come, *waṭaniyya* was applied to the nationalist form of Egyptian patriotism, in the sense of a demand for return of Egypt to the Egyptians, a national movement for liberation from British domination. This found its expression in political platforms, the subject of competition; for example, before the First World War, the "national" Party (*al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī*), was the rival of *Ḥizb al-Umma* ("party of the nation").

Elsewhere, in the Mashriḳ as in the Maghrib, while trade union and other organisations describe themselves as national (*waṭaniyya*), in reference to territory produced by colonial dismemberment, *waṭaniyya* denotes the conceptual and practical aspects of what was known since the 1920s as *ḥarakat al-taḥrīr al-waṭanī* ("movement of national liberation"). It is most often applied to a particular, limited territory, but sometimes enlarged to encompass the Arab world (*niḍāl al-ʿarab al-waṭanī, ḥurriyyāt al-ʿarab al-waṭaniyya*, in the context of their struggle or their freedom). But both the adjective and the substantive can denote the positive sense and the pejorative sense of the term, for example, *al-waṭaniyya al-fāshistiyya* and *al-waṭaniyya al-istiʿmāriyya* (fascist nationalism, colonialist nationalism). It is not until the eve of the Second World War that a precise distinction is drawn, in ideological terms, between *waṭaniyya* and *ḳawmiyya*. The first refers to a territory, the second to the inhabitants of the latter, to the people, with the same convergent nuance as is attested elsewhere. Thus in 1936, in reference to the national sentiment of Abyssinians confronted by the Italian conquest, the expression *shuʿūr waṭanī ḳawmī* is encountered. But it is not always a case of redundancy, or of distinguishing oneself, as in Morocco, by using a term equivalent to that retained by an adversary or competitor. After 1933, but especially from 1936 onwards, in the columns of the Libano-Syrian journal *al-Ṭalīʿa* (a platform shared by the various branches of the Eastern national movement), although less common than *waṭaniyya* and its derivatives, *ḳawmiyya*

and its derivatives made their appearance and their meaning is made precise, independently of territorial, national or regional extension, by reference to the German concept of *Volkstum*; rather than the concept of territory, it is that of the people, in the ethno-racial sense, in the blood line, that holds sway.

Differences are to be noted from the 1940s onwards. Begun by Syria and Lebanon, accession to political independence without limitations imposed by treaty became the norm. The formation of the League of Arab States (1945) gave credibility to elements favouring Arab unity, the successors of those who in the 1920s had opposed the Anglo-French partition of "natural" Syria. The party of Arab rebirth, *Ḥizb al-Baʿth al-ʿArabī*, the proponents of Nasserism, then the movement of Arab nationalists (*ḥarakat al-ḳawmiyyīn al-ʿarab*) drew a clear distinction between *ḳawmiyya* (Arab nationalism, Pan-Arabism) and *waṭaniyya*, the latter being out of favour as denoting narrow, national patriotism. Baʿthist ideology developed the terms *iḳlīmiyya/ḳuṭriyya* "regionalism" as a means of denouncing these tendencies. Marxist tendencies were most often the target, at the very time when the *ḳawmiyyūn* were professing an "Arab socialism". Their reference to *umamiyya* (the equivalent here of "internationalism") is criticised as a consequence of their *waṭaniyya/ḳuṭriyya*, limited to "class" and irrespective of the Arab *umma*. Lexical and conceptual analysis of the principal charters and of the congresses of the 1960s and the 1970s of the Arab world (an exercise previously in progress, in academic studies and in seminars under the present writer's supervision) reveals, however, a preponderance in this field for derivatives of the root *w-ṭ-n* over derivatives of the root *ḳ-w-m*.

In fact, successive failures of experiments aimed at Arab unity, in whatever form, have placed the *ḳawmiyyūn* on the "territorial" plain where they criticised the *waṭaniyyūn* for their self-cantonisation, and recent debates. In particular, an inter-Arab seminar held in Damascus at the end of 1996, made it clear that, despite the need to display realism and commitment to the preservation of the democratic achievements of each country, these *waṭaniyyūn* have not neglected to adopt a position favourable to the notion of Arab unity, on the basis of shared patrimony and shared destiny.

Bibliography: See the *Bibl.* to ḲAWMIYYA. i; also J. Berque (dir.) and J. Couland (ed.), *Bibliographie de la culture arabe contemporaine*, Paris 1981, iv; W. Chaaban, *L'apparition de la terminologie socialiste dans les textes arabes au Liban et en Syrie (1871-1939)*, unpubl. doctoral thesis, Univ. of Paris I 1987; B. Lewis, *The political language of Islam*, Chicago 1988, 40-1.
(J. COULAND)

WATHANIYYA (A.), idolatry. In classical Arabic it is the phrase *ʿibādat al-aṣnām* (or *al-awthān*) that denotes idolatry, while idolaters are called *ʿabadat al-aṣnām* (or *al-awthān*). The term *wathaniyya*, still absent from the *Lisān al-ʿArab* of Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), figures in the *Kashshāf* (1516), compiled in 1158/1745 by al-Tahānawī. According to him, the term denotes: "A group of unbelievers who worship idols while asserting that God is one. They are counted among the associators because they profess the plurality of that which deserves to be worshipped, not because they profess the plurality of the Necessary Being in itself; they do not give idols the attributes of divinity, although they apply the name to them. In fact, they take them to be the statues of prophets, ascetics, angels or stars that are taken as objects of veneration, with the aim of approaching through them that which is a god in reality (*tawaṣṣul^an bihā ilā mā huwa ilāh^un ḥaḳīḳat^an*). This is the meaning that is conveyed by the *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* (of al-Djurdjānī, d. 816/1413) and the gloss on it supplied by [Ḥasan] al-Čelebī in the study of *tawḥīd*."

It is appropriate to examine (1) the vocabulary of idols in the Ḳurʾān and in *ḥadīth*; (2) the various categories of idolaters known to Muslims; (3) opinions regarding the origin of idolatry; and (4) idolatry in the context of *tawḥīd* (and its refutation).

In the Ḳurʾān, idols are explicitly mentioned with the use of two words: *ṣanam* [*q.v.*], five times, always in the plural *aṣnām*, and *wathan*, three times, always in the plural *awthān*. Of these eight instances, six relate to Abraham, while VII, 138 (*aṣnām*) anticipates a passage dealing with the Golden Calf, and XXII, 30 warns against defilement by idols (*awthān*) of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage. Scholars are divided as to the difference in meaning between the two terms. Al-Ṭabarī, xiii, 228 (*ad* Ḳurʾān, XIV, 35) cites Mudjāhid, according to whom the *ṣanam* is "a fashioned similitude" (*al-timthāl al-muṣawwar*) which would distinguish it from the simple *wathan*. The same direction is followed by Ibn al-Kalbī (d. *ca.* 204/820), *al-Aṣnām*, 47d (cf. 29d): "If it is worked in wood, in gold or in silver in the likeness of man, it is a *ṣanam*." But according to one of the views conveyed by the *LA* in its two entries (and followed by al-Tahānawī, *loc. cit.*), on the contrary, it is the *wathan* which is characterised by the representation of a body (*djuththa*); in fact, in the Ḳurʾān, two instances of *awthān* refer to the idols smashed by Abraham, which are clearly statues (*tamāthīl*, according to XXI, 52). In another passage of al-Ṭabarī, vii, 244 (*ad* Ḳurʾān, VI, 74), the two words seem to be regarded as equivalents. Among many authors, they are interchangeable. This seems already to be the case in canonical *ḥadīths*, where one or the other term is used quite regularly.

Alongside these idols, i.e. tri-dimensional representations of animate beings addressed by a cult, there were also sacred stones [see NUṢUB]. These are mentioned three times in the Ḳurʾān, in V, 3, in LXX, 43 and (in the plural *anṣāb*) in V, 90, and there are several other references in the canonical traditions.

These fundamental texts, when they are not speaking of biblical characters, attribute idolatry to the pre-Islamic Arabs. The Muslim authors who follow echo this trend, and many of them devote long articles, or entire works, to the subject. Thus Ibn al-Kalbī, not only in his well-known *al-Aṣnām*, but also in his lost book *Adyān al-ʿArab* and doubtless in *Mathālib al-ʿArab*, which survives in manuscript form. Al-Djāḥiẓ, for his part, wrote an *Adyān al-ʿArab* and an *al-Aṣnām*. Unfortunately they are lost, as is a work by ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Fuḍayl (end of 3rd/9th century), *al-Aṣnām wa-mā kānat al-ʿArab wa ʾl-ʿAdjam taʿbudu min dūni ʾllāh* (according to *Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, Tehran 1391 A.H./1350 A.H.S./1971, 138). Such writings give information, which can be checked and complemented by other means, regarding the traditional religion of Central Arabia and its divinities [see HUBAL; ISĀF WA-NĀʾILA; AL-LĀT].

But Islam, born in the midst of idolaters, soon encountered others in India, whose immense numbers and intense fervour intrigued writers such as al-Djāḥiẓ or Abū Zayd al-Balkhī. The Hindu cult of images could not fail to strike, and to offend, Muslims with its sumptuousness and alien nature. These "idols" were described in the *Kitāb fīhi milal al-Hind wa-adyānuhā*, composed as early as 180/800, on his return from India, by an envoy of the vizier Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī.

The work is lost, but is said to be the basis of all subsequent works. The latter often mention the *bidada* (plural of *budd*), i.e. statues of Buddha (or of Bodhisattva). For while Buddhism had virtually disappeared from the Indian subcontinent, it had taken firm root in the eastern half of the Iranian world and was present there on the arrival of Islam [see SUMANIYYA].

On the other hand, Muslim authors drew attention to accounts available to them concerning the idols of ancient Persia before the introduction of the cult of fire (*Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 1373, 1400, 1403; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ii, 1224, tr. ii, 494). They were even more interested in the intriguing "Sabians" who are mentioned three times in the Ḳur'ān, and whose name the inhabitants of Ḥarrān appropriated, in 218/993 or just before, in order to benefit from the *djizya* [see ṢĀBI'A]. These last-named followers of Hellenistic cults are persistently credited by the Muslims with a veneration of the stars that would finally be corrupted into the worship of idols. The most remarkable presentation and refutation of this real or alleged religion are to be found in the *Milal* of al-Shahrastānī. According to him, the "primitive Sabians" addressed their cult only to the Spiritual beings (*rūḥāniyyāt*) as the natural intercessors in the presence of the Lord of lords, but the need of visible intermediaries subsequently introduced the cult of stars as Dwellings (*hayākil*) of the Spiritual beings, then of idols as representations (*ashkhāṣ*) of these Dwellings.

Furthermore, African cults are occasionally mentioned by Arab geographers and historians. Fetishes first appear in the work of Ibn Ḥazm with the name *dakkūr*, pl. *dakākira*, then in the work of others in the form *dakkūr*, pl. *dakākīr* (cf. Monnot 1986, 115).

Over and above the strangeness and the provocation inherent in the idolatrous cults, these posed a problem for the doctrine of Islam according to which monotheism is inherent in the original nature (*fiṭra* [*q.v.*]) of man, that is, in the disposition imprinted upon him by the Creator. How then did idolatry come into being? The most thorough answer is proposed by Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 322/934) in *al-Radd ʿalā ʿabadat al-aṣnām*. This refutation of idolaters is lost, but fortunately a long quotation from it has been preserved by al-Rāzī in his *Tafsīr*, xxx, 143 (tr. Monnot, 1986, 215-18). As for the origins of idolatry in the world, Abū Zayd offers no fewer than seven possibilities.

According to the first, "Idolatry is nothing other than a consequence of the doctrine according to which God is a localised entity"; the *tadjsīm* of God and of His angels is responsible for it. This explanation (reproduced for example in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 1370) is explicitly attributed to Abū Maʿshar, as is confirmed by other authors (cf. Monnot, 1986, 226). The second interpretation is that the Sabians "introduced the cult of idols with the aim of establishing a cult for the stars" (cf. *Murūdj*, *loc. cit.*): this is the most widely held view. The third reckons to have found the origin of talismans in judicial astrology. The fourth interpretation is that idols were initially the statues of righteous individuals, venerated for having won the favour of God in their lifetimes. The fifth interpretation, closely related to the previous one, consists in what is known in the West as euhemerism: the desire to preserve the memory and a sense of presence of great ancestors degenerating into worship of their images. The five Noachic idols of Ḳur'ān, LXXI, 23-4, are thus said to have originally represented five sons of Adam (cf., in a similar sense, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *tafsīr*, lxxi). The sixth interpretation is that the existence of extraordinary properties in a body is explained by the inherence (*ḥulūl*) of a god in it. Finally, according to the seventh interpretation, idols are said simply to serve as a *miḥrāb* for the worship of God.

In al-Rāzī, xiii, 36 (revised and abridged by al-Tahānawī, 771), the first two general interpretations are found in reverse order, complemented by a third, this being that idols represent the angels appointed by God to govern various elements and phenomena of nature. As for the introduction of idolatry among the Arabs, the explanation currently in favour places the responsibility on ʿAmr b. Luḥayy; he allegedly brought back to Mecca from al-Balḳā', in Syria, an idol of Hubal.

Ḳur'ān, VI, 81, or XXII, 30, accuse the idolaters of giving associates to God [see SHIRK], and Muslims like al-Rāzī (ii, 112; xiii, 35) make them one of the four or five categories of associators. However, according to Abū Zayd and others following his lead, idolatry is not directly opposed to *tawḥīd*, since no-one would be stupid enough to identify the Creator with a piece of wood. But the error of the idolaters, motivated by the desire for a presence (cf. *Milal*, 129), is twofold. First, they suppose that God has a form, which enables them to make an image of Him; this amounts to assimilation (*tashbīh*; on the prohibition of images of animate beings, see ṢŪRA). Furthermore, they imagine that they can address their appeals to these objects, whether through attributing to them the role of intermediary (see *Milal*, 770-2) or at the very least through directing prayer physically towards them (see Abū Zayd, seventh interpretation; *Mughnī*, v, 158; *Milal*, 655). This is inadmissible without revealed indication (*Milal*, 1295), and the worship of intermediaries is even contrary to reason, according to ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*Mughnī*, v, 158). In any case, the fundamental argument, even when it is left implicit, is without doubt that of the Ḳur'ān (XXI, 66; cf. VI, 74; XXVI, 72), amply propounded by al-Shahrastānī in his refutation of the Sabians: idols, which neither benefit nor cause harm, are powerless and pointless.

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(G. MONNOT)

AL-WĀTHIḲ BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ DJAʿFAR HĀRŪN B. AL-MUʿTAṢIM, ʿAbbāsid caliph. He was given the name Hārūn after his grandfather Hārūn al-Rashīd; his mother was a Greek slave called Ḳarāṭīs.

On the day that his father al-Muʿtaṣim bi 'llāh [*q.v.*] died (18 Rabīʿ I 227/5 January 842), al-Wāthiḳ was proclaimed his successor. Before al-Muʿtaṣim's death, an alleged descendant of the Umayyads, named Abū Ḥarb, usually called al-Mubarḳaʿ [*q.v.*] "the veiled one" from the veil that he always wore, had provoked a dangerous rising in Palestine, and Radjāʾ b. Ayyūb al-Ḥiḍārī, whom al-Muʿtaṣim sent against him, could at first make no progress. Soon after the accession of al-Wāthiḳ, Damascus also became the scene of a great rising; the rebels shut the governor up in the citadel and encamped on the plain of Mardj Rāhiṭ not far east of the town, but they were very soon routed by Radjāʾ who had been recalled from Palestine to meet the danger. He next turned his attention to al-Mubarḳaʿ. After a section of the latter's followers had left him because the sowing season was approaching, Radjāʾ succeeded in defeating and capturing him.

The Bedouin around Medina also gave the caliph trouble. When the Banū Sulaym plundered the market places of the Ḥidjāz, the governor of Medina sent a large army under Ḥammād b. Djarīr al-Ṭabarī against them; but he was defeated and slain, so that al-Wāthiḳ had to turn to the tried general Bugha al-Kabīr [*q.v.*]. In Shaʿbān 230/April-May 845, Bugha entered Medina and, after defeating the Banū Sulaym and taking the prisoners back to Medina, performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and then turned his attention to the Banū Hilāl, who had also taken part in the uprising. The most guilty were imprisoned in Medina and the others pardoned. Bugha now marched against the Banū Murra and the Banū Fazāra, who had seized the town of Fadak [*q.v.*], but as soon as he appeared they abandoned the town and took flight (231/845-6). In the meanwhile, the prisoners escaped from Medina and killed their warders, but were cut down by the citizens of the town with the help of the many black slaves in Medina. In the following year, Bugha had also to fight against the Banū Numayr in al-Yamāma and only subdued them after much difficulty. There were also troubles among the Khāridjīs and the Kurds. The *Sīrat al-mudjāhidīn* mentions that al-Wāthiḳ, meanwhile, meditated an expedition against Constantinople [see DHU 'L-HIMMA].

Al-Wāthiḳ died on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 232/10 August 847 at the age of 32, or according to others, 34 or 36. He had not the gifts of a great ruler, and his brief reign was not distinguished by remarkable events. The caliph's character also was not such as to make him beloved. It is true that he was conventionally liberal to the poor in Mecca and Medina, and he also treated the ʿAlids with great benevolence and took a considerable interest in poetry and singing, being a musician and composer himself. He favoured the singer Mukhāriḳ [*q.v.*], but was disappointed when the latter altered the notes of songs. For the rest, he is described as covetous, intolerant and devoted to sensual pleasures. At his accession, he confirmed the Baṣran profligate poet al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Bāhilī [*q.v.*], nicknamed *al-Khalīʿ* "the debauched one", as court poet. He also extorted huge sums of money from high officials. Al-Wāthiḳ was also an ardent Muʿtazilī. The well-respected Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Mālik al-Khuzāʿī prepared a plot to dethrone the caliph and put a check on the arrogance of his Turkish commanders. By accident, the signal was given too soon (Shaʿbān 231/April 856), so that the authorities were able to uncover the conspiracy without difficulty. When brought before the caliph, Aḥmad b. Naṣr was questioned not about the plot but about the Ḳurʾān. His answers enraged the caliph to such an extent that the latter personally oversaw al-Khuzāʿī's decapitation. Later, however, al-Wāthiḳ's original enthusiasm for the Muʿtazila seems to have evaporated.

The vizier all through al-Wāthiḳ's reign was Ibn al-Zayyāt, against whom al-Wāthiḳ had sworn vengeance during his father's reign; but once acceded to power, he seems to have found him indispensable. The period of Ibn al-Zayyāt's second vizierate thus began, in which he showed himself cruel and avaricious, inventing a spiked iron cylinder (*tannūr*) for torturing his victims, in which however he was himself to die when al-Mutawakkil came to the throne in 232/847 [see IBN AL-ZAYYĀT]. Ibn al-Zayyāt had quarrelled with the Chief Ḳāḍī Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*], but had attempted to restrain the ambitions of Turkish generals like Aytākh [see AYTĀKH AL-TURKĪ, in Suppl.]. In general, one can say that the administrative and religious policies of the previous reign were continued with little change.

Interesting episodes reported from al-Wāthiḳ's reign relate to his apparent intellectual curiosity. In 225/840 the Turkish people of the Ḳirgiz [*q.v.*], who nomadised to the north of Lake Baikal, attacked the Uyghurs [*q.v.*] and drove them from the region of the Orkhon and Selenga rivers in Mongolia into eastern Turkestan (the later Chinese province of Sinkiang [*q.v.*]) (see W. Samolin, *East Turkistan to the twelfth century. A political history*, The Hague 1964, 69-70). These population movements in Inner Asia may have caused al-Wāthiḳ to "dream" that the barrier (*sadd*) of Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn [see ISKANDAR] had been breached. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 162 ff., relates that Sallām al-Tardjumān was sent by the caliph to investigate the story of Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn's barrier and that Sallām told him about his adventures in search of it and showed him the report which he had drawn up for the caliph [see SALLĀM AL-TARDJUMĀN, in Suppl.]. Ibn Khurradādhbih also relates (106-7) that al-Wāthiḳ sent the celebrated astronomer and mathematician Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*] to the land of Rūm in order to investigate the story of the "Men of al-Raḳīm", i.e. the Seven Sleepers [see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF].

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(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH and E. VAN DONZEL])

WATHĪḲA (A.), pl. *wathāʾiḳ*, from the verb *wathuḳa* "to be firm, assured", hence a document that certifies the commission of a promise or legal act, such as a covenant, contract, etc., or the appointment of a person to an office. It thus becomes a general term for an official or legal document or formulary; see for these, DIPLOMATIC. i, and on the general usage of the term, Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 780. In modern Arabic usage, *wathāʾiḳ* is often used in the sense of "official records, archives", housed in a *dār al-wathāʾiḳ*.

(ED.)

AL-WĀTHIĶĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿUthmān, poet and political claimant of the second half of the 4th/10th and the first years of the 5th/11th centuries, who claimed descent from the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Wāthiķ [*q.v.*].

His younger contemporary al-Thaʿālibi gives specimens of his verses plus biographical information (*Yatīma*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, iv, 192-3). Al-Wāthiķī began his career in ʿIrāķ and al-Djazīra as a court witness and preacher, but became involved in political intrigues. He fled eastwards to the Transoxanian lands of the Ķarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS], where he produced for the Khān a forged document stating that the caliph al-Ķādir [*q.v.*] had appointed him as his *walī al-ʿahd* or heir, and he subsequently expressed intentions of marching on Baghdād to claim his rights to the throne. His schemes were unsuccessful and were related to the caliph (who cannot have taken them very seriously!). Al-Wāthiķī had to flee again, and ended up at the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who imprisoned him till he died.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

WATHĪMA B. **MŪSĀ** b. al-Furāt al-Fārisī al-Fasawī (in addition, in the heading of his book, al-Azhar al-Ghanī), Muslim historian and trader in silk, of Persian origin and a resident of Fusṭāṭ. The date of his birth is unknown, but he hailed from a Persian town renowned for the commerce of silk (on Fasā, see Yāķūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, iv, 260-1). To this natal milieu, Wathīma owed his profession, which adhered to his own name in the form of a nickname: al-Washshāʾ or trader in embroideries. He left the town of his birth for Baṣra, then Egypt and al-Andalus, but for how long is unknown. What is certain is that he returned to Egypt, settling in Fusṭāṭ where he remained until his death on 10 Djumādā II 237/9 December 851.

Alongside his trade, Wathīma gained a reputation as a specialist in the Islamic tradition, as is attested by certain sources including Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 36, where he writes *expressis verbis* that the author "has departed for the Maghrib or al-Andalus, having devoted himself to the transmission of *ḥadīth*". Furthermore, several sources mention two of his works:

(1) *K. fī Akhbār al-ridda* (sometimes without *fī*), of which Ibn Khallikān in particular (ed. ʿAbbās, vi, 12, cf. others such as Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, ii, 625, and Yāķūt, *Irshād*, vii, 226) has described the contents: "He has put into writing a book telling the story of the *ridda*, with the vicissitudes of the tribes who repudiated Islam after the death of the Prophet, the campaigns conducted against them by Abū Bakr, the battles that took place between them, and the names of those who returned to Islam, as well as those who opposed the *zakāt* and other details concerning Khālid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī and his struggle against Mālik b. Nuwayra al-Yarbūʿī whom he killed in 12/634, the funeral elegy of (delivered by?) the latter's brother Mutammim, and what other poets had to say on the subject." Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsķalānī apparently still had the manuscript in his possession, since he often cites it in his *Iṣāba*. Hoenerbach, 39, collected these quotations, 110 passages in total, classified and translated them into German; the impression gained from his work is that Ibn Khallikān, in his aforementioned analysis, did not follow the genuine order of the book, which was most probably arranged in historical, geographical and chronological fashion, as is observed in his second book on biblical history, and perhaps also by tribes, as may be supposed on the basis of his treatment of the *ridda* of the Banū Rabīʿa. In any case, all that remain are a few fragments which do not give a comprehensive idea of the work, which was very highly regarded by the bio-bibliographers and, according to Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharat al-dhahāb*, ii, 89, was not only very well written but also, and most importantly, far-reaching. Other manuscripts, yet to be properly exploited, could yield further quotations, such as *al-Iktifāʾ* of al-Kalāʿī, see below Fariq, *A valuable historical ms.*, 164, and *Taʾrīkh al-Ridda*, 109, 116, 145, 146.

(2) *K. Badʾ al-khalķ wa-ķiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, which is not mentioned by sources as e.g. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt, loc. cit.*, and Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, 626. However Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam quotes Wathīma, as does, naturally, a specialised source like Ibn Hishām al-Ḥadjarī, 108, 110, 127, 153; but it is Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsķalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vi, 217, who is the closest to the historical reality, also in terms of the grandeur of the work: *Taṣnīf kabīr fī ʾl-mubtadaʾ wa-ķiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, in two volumes, and after him al-Sakhāwī, *al-Iʿlān*, 171. The manuscript of one of the two volumes is in fact to be found in the Vatican Library, specifically the second part, which begins with al-Khiḍr and Moses and ends with the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad; the first, covering the period between the earliest creation and this point, being lost. Wathīma refers to numerous authors, principally Wahb b. Munabbih, and others, whose material he would have found mainly in Egypt, specifically in the private library of the judge of the country, ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa. Since those involved were Egyptian informants, disciples of the judge or settlers in Egypt, they conveyed primary information to Wathīma in a very accurate fashion, and he supplemented it with other data in such a way that we have primary sources, such as those of Wahb b. Munabbih, which can be reconstructed almost entirely by these means (with successive additions being closely followed; see an edition of this text, with a monograph analysing all the strata of *isnād*s in the book, in R.G. Khoury, *Les legendes prophétiques dans l'Islam*, 158 ff.). This accuracy of the written transmission has made it possible to obtain a complete version of the damaged pages of Wahb's *Ḥadīth Dāwūd* "Story of David", of which there were only fragments, sometimes just a few lines or words, as the papyrus edition of Wahb, 34 ff., shows very clearly (see Khoury, *Les légendes prophétiques*, 164 and n. 289, and WAHB B. MUNABBIH).

Thus the *K. Badʾ al-khalķ* assumes a capital importance and remains, despite some criticism directed at Wathīma the *muḥaddith*, "the best that has ever been composed in this discipline", *min aṣlaḥ mā ṣunnifa fī dhālika ʾl-fann* (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vi, 217), since it dates back to the first sources and thus rescues from oblivion the most ancient versions of biblical or prophetic stories in Islam. It enlarges the primary data, such as that contained in the Heidelberg papyrus on David, but without altering the originals which it conserves very accurately. Hence its immense value for the study of the archaic literature of the three first centuries of the Hidjra.

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(R.G. Khoury)

WATHTHĀB b. SĀBIḲ al-NUMAYRĪ, head of the section of the Banū Numayr [*q.v.*] dominating part of Diyār Muḍar and the town of Ḥarrān, d. 410/1019 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 312, 413, 443, x, 443). The texts give few details on his origins and most do not even give his father's name; nevertheless, his descendants can clearly be pinpointed in northern Syria and Diyār Muḍar and played an important role. It is this line which is mainly dealt with here.

Some of the Numayr are already mentioned in central Syria around Damascus at the time of the great revolt of Abu 'l-Haytham in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (Ibn 'Asākir, *T. Dimashk, 'Āṣim-'Ā'id*, ed. Shukrī Fayṣal, Damascus 1977, 402) At the opening of the 4th/10th century they were among the tribes accompanying the Carmathians in the attack on the *Mardj* of Damascus. In the middle of the century they were in the regions of Sindjār and Mawṣil, opposing, in company with other tribes such as the Kilāb, Ḳushayr, 'Uḳayl, Hilāl, Sulaym and Ḳays 'Aylān, the two Ḥamdānid princes [see ḤAMDĀNIDS] Nāṣir al-Dawla (attack on Mawṣil, 359/970) and Sayf al-Dawla of Aleppo. Less vigorous than the Kilāb, they were expelled from Diyār Rabī'a towards the Syrian Desert and thence by Sayf al-Dawla north of the Euphrates into Diyār Muḍar. In 380/990, being largely Shī'ī in faith, they supported an abortive attempt to restore the Ḥamdānids in Mawṣil. In 395/1005, several thousand cavalrymen of Numayr and Kilāb, led by the ruler in Sarūdj, Waththāb b. Dja'far (perhaps = Waththāb b. Sābiḳ al-Numayrī) supported the *ghāzī* Aṣfar of Taghlib against the Byzantines (for details of all these, see Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1987, i, 310 n. 1). At the end of the century, the Numayr of Waththāb b. Sābiḳ constituted a principality in Diyār Muḍar around Ḥarrān [*q.v.*]. Like the Kilāb in northern Syria, the Marwānids in Diyār Bakr and the 'Uḳaylids in Diyār Rabī'a, they chose to protect and administer for their own advantage the sedentary lands and towns rather than to pillage them, as did at this time the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ, a Transjordanian section of the Yamanī Ṭayyi'. Depending on events, they also held other towns of the region such as Sarūdj, al-Ruhā/Edessa, Raḳḳa and Rāfiḳa. Having gathered together "Arabs", Waththāb sought Byzantine help in order to attack the Kurd Naṣr al-Dawla Ibn Marwān [*q.v.*] in Diyār Bakr, which he raided and then pillaged.

The latter, with help from his 'Uḳaylid ally, the *amīr* of Mawṣil Ḳirwāsh b. Muḳallad, repelled him and obtained apologies from the Byzantines (H. Kennedy, *The 'Uqaylids of Mosul...*, in *Actas del XII Congresso de la U.E.A.I*, Malaga n.d.). On Waththāb's death in 410/1019, his son Shabīb succeeded him, and his descendants, the Banū Waththāb, continued to hold the region. In 417-22/1026-31 there was a fresh conflict with Naṣr al-Dawla Ibn Marwān over Edessa. Each clan chief of the Numayr formed a mini-principality around a stronghold rather than in the main town, leaving this last to be governed by a deputy. There was much internecine strife amongst these clans. Thus e.g. the lord of Edessa, 'Uṭayr al-Numayrī, refused to reside there but left it to a deputy, whose assassination he eventually procured and then was in turn himself killed. The two main Arabic sources, Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, *Dhayl*, tr. F. Micheau and G. Troupeau, in *PO*, xlviii/4, no. 212, iii [151], Tournai 1997, and Ibn al-Athīr, see index), recount these events differently, notably the actions of the *sharīfs* and *aḥdāth* of the city and the lengthy internal combats of Muslims and Christians fortified within the towers and religious buildings of Edessa (for an account, based on Byzantine sources, see AL-RUHĀ). The Numayr resorted to arbitration by the Kilāb of Aleppo, and Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās divided the city between the two Numayrīs Ibn 'Uṭayr and Ibn Shibl, each holding a tower in the city. The Byzantines in the end seized the city, and the Emperor Romanus III is said to have bought Ibn 'Uṭayr's share and access to his tower for 20,000 dīnārs and a certain number of villages. Shibl's forces took to flight, the Muslim inhabitants were reportedly killed and the mosques razed. On the other hand, in 421/1030 a clan of the Numayr, Ḳaṭan, inflicted a terrible defeat on the Byzantines at 'Azāz and gained a great booty in gold coinage. But after the Byzantine riposte under the eunuch Nicetas in 423/1032, the Numayr led by Shabīb rallied to the Byzantines, and both sides accepted a delineation of the frontier leaving Edessa to the Greeks and Diyār Muḍar to its south to the Numayr. These last took part, with all the princes of the region, in the general negotiations at Constantinople to define the Graeco-Muslim frontiers in northern Syria and in al-Djazīra, negotiations which went on until Romanus III's death in 425/1034, leaving a result still imprecise, since the end of Yaḥyā's manuscript has not survived. The two Numayrī chiefs Shabīb and Ibn 'Uṭayr, former ruler of Edessa, attacked the Byzantines there in 427-9/1037-9, but after some successes, they ended in abandoning the city to the Byzantines. This check is explicable by the feebleness of their ally, the Kilābī principality of

Aleppo. Shabīb's sister, the very beautiful and intelligent al-Sayyida al-ʿAlawiyya, had married the Kilābī prince there, Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, who was killed by the Fāṭimid army of al-Dizbirī in 429/1038. This Turkish general, the Fāṭimid governor in Syria, managed to occupy Aleppo and eject Naṣr's brother Thimāl and his brother-in-law Shabīb, but could not conquer Raḳḳa and Raḥba in the eastern part of the principality. On Shabīb's death, his brother Muṭāʿin succeeded him and took over the principality except for Raḳḳa and Raḥba, left to al-Sayyida al-ʿAlawiyya. The latter, now a widow, married her dead husband's brother Thimāl. Al-Dizbirī endeavoured to make a military and matrimonial alliance with the Marwānid Naṣr al-Dawla against the Numayr-Kilāb alliance which controlled all northern Syria and much of western al-Djazīra. However, the Fāṭimid authorities in Cairo were suspicious of al-Dizbirī's too personal policy in Syria, and he was brutally dismissed and died in humiliating circumstances in the citadel of Aleppo in 433/1042. Thimāl was able to return to Aleppo with his Numayrī spouse, who was to play on various occasions an important role in the politics of the city [see mirdās, banū]. The Numayr now made a rapprochement with Naṣr al-Dawla Ibn Marwān, and *ca.* 439/1048 they both countered the efforts of a *ghāzī* of the same name as that of a half-century before, Aṣfar al-Taghlibī.

In 452/1061 the then master of Ḥarrān, Mānīʿ b. Shabīb b. Waththāb, grandson of the founder, went to help his maternal nephew Maḥmūd b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās of Aleppo, engaged in a struggle with his uncle Thimāl, who ruled over the eastern Mirdāsid lands along the Euphrates. After some fighting amongst Kilābī groups, punctuated by truces, al-Sayyida al-ʿAlawiyya brought peace by reconciling Mānīʿ and Thimāl. She accompanied her husband to Aleppo, where his sovereignty was once more made firm, then left with her young son Waththāb b. Thimāl for Cairo in order to negotiate a reconciliation with the caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*]. The rapprochement between the Banū Waththāb of Numayr and the Banū Mirdās of Kilāb is seen in the number of identical *isms* found in children on both sides, such as Waththāb, Muḳallad, Mānīʿ, Shabīb and Sābiḳ, some of these also found among the ʿUḳaylids, increasing even further the historians' confusion. In 462/1070, in dramatic circumstances, the Shīʿī princess again intervened personally to deflect the Sunnī Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan from his siege of Aleppo and to try to avoid the humiliation of her son there, Maḥmūd, having to kiss the sultan's carpet. But she could achieve nothing, and the overwhelming defeat of the Byzantines at Mantzikert [see malāzgird] a few months later definitively deprived the Numayr and Kilāb of Byzantine protection.

In 471/1079 a coalition of Arabs, including the Numayr, and led by the ʿUḳaylid ruler of Mawṣil, Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, defeated a Turkmen force, but in the following months the Saldjūḳ prince Tutush [*q.v.*] and his Turkmens ravaged all northern Syria. Three years later, Sharaf al-Dawla had to intervene in Aleppo, where the last three Kilābī princes Sābiḳ, Waththāb and Shabīb, sons of Maḥmūd, ended up losing their power through drunkenness and political incapacity. In 476/1083 Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, now ruler of Mawṣil and Aleppo, formed a coalition of several Ḳaysī and Yamanī tribes of Syria, including the Numayr, against the Kurds of al-Djazīra and other Arab tribal groups, including other clans of Numayr and ʿUḳayl. Thanks to support from Yaḥyā b. al-Shāṭir, a retainer of Ibn ʿUṭayr who administered the town for a child, ʿAlī b. Waththāb, Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim had occupied Ḥarrān in 474/1081 and installed a governor, Djaʿfar al-ʿUḳaylī, who promoted Shīʿism there. Whilst Muslim besieged Damascus in 476, Ḥarrān was retaken by a Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍī*, Abū Djalaba, who wished to hand over the town to Yaḥyā and the former Waththābī control. The town was taken over by Yaḥyā and Ibn ʿAṭiyya al-Numayrī, but retaken in the same year by Muslim, who executed the *ḳāḍī* and his sons and over a hundred of the citizens who had received *amān* (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, cited in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl*, ed. Amedroz, n. at 116; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahhān, ii, 81-3). In 478/1085, Muslim was in turn killed by the Turkmen Sulaymān b. Ḳutulmïsh [*q.v.*], the new master of Antioch. The Arab powers of northern Syria and al-Djazīra successively went down before newly-arriving Turks. The Banū Numayr contrived, however, to remain in the region since, when in 512/1118 the Franks seized the fortress of al-Sinn near ʿAzāz, they killed there Mānīʿ b. ʿUṭayr al-Numayrī (al-ʿAẓīmī, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Ibrāhīm Zaʿrūr, Damascus 1984, 369).

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(Th. Bianquis)

WATID (a.), also pronounced popularly (and also in Persian) as *watad*, pl. *awtād*, literally "tent peg", an element of scansion in *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] (Arabic prosody), in which each foot has one *watid* and either one or two *sababs* [*q.v.*]. Four types occur: (1) *watid madjmūʿ*: a sequence of two vowelled letters/consonants and one vowelless letter, paradigmatically represented as *faʿal*, translatable into syllables as ⏑ — , also called *watid maḳrūn*, e.g. in *TA*, ii, 521; (2) *watid mafrūḳ*: one vowelless letter between two vowelled letters (*faʿla*, — ⏑); (3) *watid mufrad*, defined by al-Fārābī, 1078, as "a *sabab khafīf* + one vowelless letter" (as in pausal *ḳāl*). (This is called *sabab mutawāl^{in}* in al-Ḳarṭādjannī, 236, and *sabab mutawassiṭ* in Khānlarī, 94 n. 2); (4) *watid mutaḍāʿif*, defined by al-Ḳarṭādjannī, 236, as two vowelled + two vowelless letters (as in pausal *maḳāl*), called *watad-i kathrat* in Khānlarī, *loc. cit.* Types 3 and 4 are outside traditional *ʿarūḍ*.

In *ʿarūḍ* theory, the stability of the *watid* is contrasted with the variable quantity of the *sabab*, which is liable to the change known as *ziḥāf* [*q.v.*]. In practice, however, many supposedly variable positions are stable. According to Weil [see ʿarūḍ], the stability of the *watid* is concomitant with a stress on its long syllable, and to him the *watid* functions as the rhythmical core of the foot. For a different view, see Stoetzer, 110-20.

For *watad* in mysticism, see awtād.

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(W. Stoetzer)

WAṬṬĀSIDS, Banū Waṭṭās, a Moroccan dynasty which reigned in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. The Banū Waṭṭās, Zanāta Berbers, were a branch of the Banū Marīn, descendants of the Banū Wasīn [see marīnids]. Initially nomadic horsemen, the Banū Waṭṭās left the Zāb [*q.v.*] and the highlands of the central Maghrib, reaching the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā in the early years of the 5th/11th century and occupying

part of the Moroccan Rīf. In 622/1293, during the reign of the Marīnid Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, their chief ʿUmar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Wazīr took temporary control of the fortress of Tazūta which belonged to the Marīnids; however, this did not prevent the Banū Waṭṭās from occupying posts and enjoying privileges in the administration of the ruling Banū Marīn. Thus it was that on the death of the Marīnid sultan Abū ʿInān in 795/1358, effective power was exercised by various members of the Banū Waṭṭās. When the sultan Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān was assassinated in 823/1420, the Waṭṭāsid Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā, already *ḳāʾid* of Salé, secured the throne for Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, the son of the deceased but still a minor, and ruled the country with the title of vizier; the reigu of the Banū Waṭṭās had thus begun.

Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā I (Abū Zekrī) had to confront anarchy which had become rife throughout Morocco: the marabouts were calling for a *djihād* against the Portuguese who had occupied Ceuta [see SABTA] in 1415, in the countryside the Arabs were agitating and taking to pillage, and the Ḥafṣid sultan of Tunis even invaded, reaching as far as Fās. As a result of the efforts of the young sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, the Portuguese were unable to take Tangier [see ṬANDJA] in 1437 and forced to leave the *infante* Don Fernando as a hostage in Fās against a hypothetical restitution of Ceuta, which did not in fact take place; the *infante* died in 1443, still a captive.

Abū Zakariyyāʾ was assassinated in 852/1448 by Arabs whose rebellion he had suppressed. He was succeeded in the vizierate, or rather in the regency, by one of his kinsmen, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, who died ten years later in 863/1458-9, likewise in the process of suppressing an Arab revolt. The Marīnid sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ had long since attained the age of majority, and when a third Waṭṭāsid, Yaḥyā II, son of Abū Zakariyyāʾ, succeeded ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ had him assassinated with all the members of his family. Fās was virtually immune from the authority of the sultan, and the city was ruled by Idrīsī *Shorfāʾ* [see SHURAFĀʾ]; one of them, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Djūṭī, was proclaimed sovereign in 869/1465. He captured ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ and had him killed, thereby putting an end to the Marīnid dynasty.

Two brothers of the vizier Yaḥyā II had succeeded in escaping the massacre of the Banū Waṭṭās. One of them, Muḥammad al-Shaykh, took refuge at Arzila. He was unable to prevent the Portuguese occupying the city in 1471 (a twenty-years' truce was signed), and then Tangier in the same year. In 1472, after a long siege, Fās capitulated, the Idrīsid *sharīf* al-Djūṭī fled to Tunis and Muḥammad al-Shaykh was able to enter Fās, where he was proclaimed sovereign, thus inaugurating the rule of the Banū Waṭṭās.

The reign of the new sultan lasted until 909/1502 (or 912/1505); his foreign policy was dominated by his struggle against the intrigues of the Portuguese on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Although he was unable to prevent their installation at Safi, Azemmour and Mazagan, he succeeded in forcing them to abandon Graciosa, a fortress which they had begun to build on an island of the Loukkos; a treaty was signed at Tchemmich on 26 Djumādā I 894/27 April 1489.

Muḥammad al-Shaykh was far from being recognised as sovereign throughout Morocco: in the north, Chechaouen (Shafshāwan) and Tetouan (Tiṭṭāwīn) were virtually independent principalities, whilst in the south the Hintāta *amīrs* were masters of Marrakech (Marrākush), and at Debdou a Marīnid amīrate had been constituted. The Waṭṭāsid sultan was in fact only the "king" of Fās. The successor to Muḥammad al-Shaykh was his son Muḥammad al-Burtuḳālī (he had been sent to Portugal in 1471), who attempted to pursue his father's policy against the Portuguese. But in the south a new power had emerged, that of the Saʿdian Shorfāʾ. Al-Burtuḳālī invited to his court two of the sons of the *sharīf* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, but being soon recalled by their father, the two princes returned to the south, and in 1522 took control of Marrakech; a kingdom distinct from that of Fās was thus constituted.

In Shaʿbān 932/May 1526 al-Burtuḳālī was succeeded by his brother ʿAlī Abū Ḥassūn, and in September of the same year the latter was deposed by his nephew Aḥmad al-Waṭṭāsī, whose policy differed fundamentally from that of his predecessors. The enemy to be fought was not the Portuguese, but the new arrivals on the scene, the Saʿdians [see SAʿDIDS], who, for their part, sought to oppose the Christian invaders and in addition to subdue the Banū Waṭṭās of northern Morocco. And when in 952/1545, the sultan of Fās was captured near Wadi Derna by the Saʿdian *sharīf* Muḥammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdī, he was obliged to cede to him Meknès and the Gharb in order to secure his liberation two years later. In 956/1549 Fās was seized by the same *sharīf*, and Aḥmad al-Waṭṭāsī was captured for the second time. Taken to Marrakech, he was executed in 1551. His son Muḥammad al-Ḳasrī, who had held power during his father's first period of imprisonment, suffered the same fate.

The only remaining claimant to the throne of Fās was ʿAlī Abū Ḥassūn, the temporary sultan of 932/1526, who had withdrawn to Velez de la Gomera. After the capture of Fās, he made his way to Spain, where he had an audience with the Emperor Charles V and appealed for the support of the king of Portugal in his bid to return to Morocco; he even went to Algiers in the quest for military assistance from the Turkish Pasha, which in fact enabled him to take control of Fās on 9 January 1554. His second reign was as brief as his first since, in the course of his campaign against the *sharīf*, he was killed on 21 September at Musallama. His sons sought refuge in Spain. One of them, al-Nāṣir, succeeded in returning to Morocco and rallying a few partisans, but to no avail. Numerous Waṭṭāsid princes remained in Spain, their haven of refuge, some even converting to Christianity. Thus the Banū Waṭṭās came to an end in 961/1554, and the last Berber monarchy of Morocco had disappeared. With the Saʿdians, a new history began in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā and the Shorfāʾ succeeded in an objective which had eluded the Banū Waṭṭās, sc. the ejection of the Portuguese from Morocco.

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(Chantal de La Véronne)

WAṬWĀṬ (a., pls. *waṭāwīṭ, waṭāyīṭ*), a synonym for *khuffāsh*, pl. *khafāfīsh*, denoting all cheiropters or bats, without distinction of families (sc. the rhinolophids, vespertilionids and molossids) or species. The bat is also called *ṭā'ir al-layl* "the bird of the night", *khushshāf* and *khuṭṭāf* by comparison with the swallow. The names *saḥāt, ṭurmūḳ, ṭumrūḳ* and *ʿashraf* are also found.

In general, in the Arabic lands the bat is assimilated to a bird but one without a beak or feathers. Amongst the ancient Arabic writers on zoology, virtually only al-Djāḥiẓ provided a fairly extensive chapter on the bat in his *Ḥayawān*. He states that it flies neither in the middle of the night nor in broad daylight, but requires the half-light of the dawn and evening for searching out its diet of small flying insects. It may also happen to gobble up eggs from nests, and in the nesting season, the female vulture takes care to line her eyrie with plane-tree leaves, since the bat dislikes their smell.

According to Islamic law, it is forbidden to kill bats and eat their flesh. The bat has certain qualities. Thus, to put a bat's head on one's ear prevents sleep, and if it is boiled up in a copper or iron pot with lilac oil (*duhn al-zanbaḳ*), it yields a lotion good for painting, as a wash, or on limbs afflicted by gout, rheumatism or swelling. A bat's heart grilled in one piece can be used as a fumigation for effectively driving away all snakes and scorpions. Its gall rubbed on the sexual organs of a pregnant woman causes immediate delivery, and it is also good for stopping incontinence of urine. The blood, mixed with milk, can be spread on the skin and removes all hair. Finally, its dung used as an unguent, removes scurfy skin.

In oneiromancy, seeing a bat in a dream is an auspicious sign which drives away all fear from a pious man and facilitates, for a pregnant woman, a smooth birth.

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(F. Viré)

WAṬWĀṬ [see rashīd al-dīn].

WĀW, the 27th letter of the Arabic alphabet (or the 26th, if *hā'* is placed after *wāw*), with the numerical value 6. It has two principal functions in Arabic orthography, standing either for the semivowel *w* or for the long vowel *ū*. Traditional Arabic grammar reduces these two functions to one by analysing *ū* as short *u* (*ḍamma*) plus *wāw*. *Wāw* also serves (like *alif* and *yā'*) as a "support" for medial or final *hamza* [*q.v.*], reflecting, according to the most commonly held view, the situation in the ancient dialect of Mecca, where ʾ appears to have shifted to *w* in certain positions. In the words *ulā'ika* (أولئك) and *ulū* (أولو), *wāw* stands, exceptionally, for short *u*. On the other hand, the shortening of final *-ū* before *hamzat al-waṣl* is a regular phonetic feature; at a phonological level it should still be analysed as *-ū*. This goes also for *-ā* and *-ī* in the same position.

In the orthography of the Ḳur'ān, and in general in old manuscripts, long *ā* is represented by the letter *wāw* in the words *ṣalāt, zakāt, ḥayāt, nadjāt, ghadāt* (perhaps better read as *ghudwa*, an existing *ḳirā'a*), *mishkāt* and in the name of the goddess Manāt [*q.v.*] (who occurs also in Nabataean-Aramaic inscriptions as *mnwtw*, with *-w-*). Similarly ربوًا *riban*, and الربوا for the determined *al-ribā*. Sībawayh (ed. Derenbourg, ii, 452) says that the first three of these words, at least, in the dialect of Ḥidjāz were pronounced with *alif al-tafkhīm*, that is to say, a sound intermediate between *alif* and *wāw* (presumably some sort of *ō*), but some of the later grammarians express doubts as to whether these spellings really represent a phonetic, and not merely an orthographic feature. Modern scholars have noted that some of these words are borrowings, e.g. *ṣalāt* from Aramaic *ṣlōthā*, where the Arabic spelling with *wāw* might be regarded as having been influenced by Aramaic orthography, but this does not account for all of the mentioned words. It seems thus that some dialects of ancient Arabic really did have an *ō*-like allophone not only in certain loanwords, but also in some Arabic derivates of roots with *w* as their third radical.

The personal name ʿAmr is written عمرو in the nominative (ʿAmr^{un}) and genitive (ʿAmr^{in}), and عمرا or عمروا in the accusative (ʿAmr^{an}), retaining a spelling convention of the Arabic names in Nabataean Aramaic, thus preventing confusion with the name ʿUmar عمر. For a discussion, see most recently de Blois, *Who is King Amarō?*, in *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*, vi (1995), 196-8.

In Persian, *wāw* has all of these same uses in Arabic loanwords. In native words it stands (in classical Persian) for the semivowel *w*, and for two different long vowels, *ū* and *ō*, which the indigenous lexicographers distinguish as *wāw-i maʿrūf* ("the *wāw* known [in Arabic]"), and *wāw-i madjhūl* ("unknown *wāw*") respectively. Classical poets generally avoid rhymes between *ū* and *ō*, but in modern Western Persian classical *ū* and *ō* merge as [u], and classical *w* is realised as a fricative [v], except in the diphthong *aw*, which is realised as [o^u]. The older pronunciation of these phonemes is retained, however, in many dialects of Afghānistān and Tādjīkistān. The digraph خو stands (in classical Persian) for the labialised consonant *kh*^{w}, which has merged with *kh* in Western Persian, but is partially retained in Afghānistān.

Wāw stands ostensibly for short *u* in *du* ("two"), *tu* ("thou") and the postclitic particle *-u* ("and"), but in early Persian they could also be pronounced as *dō, tō* and *-ū*, and it is these that are represented by the orthography.

In Urdu *wāw* stands for the consonant *v*, the vowels *ū* and *ō* and the ex-diphthong *aw* (= Sanskrit *au*, but in Urdu realised as /ɔ/). In Turkic languages it is used for the consonant variously realised as *v* or *w*, and for the vowels *o, u, ö* and *ü*.

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(F.C. de Blois)

al-**WAʾWĀʾ** al-**DIMAS͟HĶĪ**, Abu ʾl-Faradj Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (or Muḥammad) al-G͟hassānī, 4th/10th century Syrian poet, d. between 370/980-1 and 390/1000. Originally a fruit-seller in the market-place at Damascus, he may have acquired there his nickname ("the Crier" or "Howler"). His reputation as a poet was established after he was "discovered" by the *s͟harīf* Abu ʾl-Ķāsim al-ʿAķīķī, on whom he had made an ode. He addressed some panegyric poems to Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*], but he is better known for his short poems in the more lyric genres: love, wine and nature. In some of these (e.g. *Dīwān*, ed. Kratschkowsky, nos. 14, 220, 238) he turns the traditional opening motif of the "abandoned encampment" into a metaphor, speaking of, or addressing, the desolate abode of his love or of his suffering. His verse is mostly smooth, polished and, the longer panegyrical poems excepted, easy of diction. A certain impersonality is partly the result of the absence of personal names and of descriptions of specific incidents, but this enhances the quotability. Particularly famous and admired by critics (first by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *al-Sināʿatayn*, Cairo 1971, 257) for its condensed series of metaphors, or rather comparisons according to many rhetoricians, is a line on a weeping girl (*Dīwān*, ed. Kratschkowsky, 47): "She let pearls <tears> rain from narcissi <eyes>, watered the roses <cheeks>, and bit on jujubes <henna-stained fingers> with hailstones <teeth>"; see e.g. al-Ḥarīrī's *Maķāma Ḥulwāniyya* and ʿAbd al-Ķāhir al-Djurdjānī, *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1984, 449-51, where the literary history of this motif is sketched.

Bibliography: T͟haʿālibī, *Yatīma*, Cairo 1947, i, 272-82; Ķifṭī, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-s͟huʿarāʾ*, Ḥaydarābād 1966-7, i, 45-7; Ibn S͟hākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1974, ii, 301-6; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ii, Istanbul 1949, 53-7; *Dīwān* (containing 320 pieces, some 1,560 lines), ed. I. Kratschkowsky, Leiden-Petrograd 1913-14, with a Russian tr. and study (*Abū-l-Faradž al-Waʾwā Damasskii. Materialï dlya charakteristiki poetičeskago tvorčestva*), summary by W. Ebermann in *Islamica*, iii (1927), 238-41, and survey of contents by Th. Menzel in *ArO*, ii (1930), 56-63; *Dīwān*, ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān, Damascus 1950; Rafīķ al-Djuwaydjātī, *al-Waʾwāʾ al-Dimas͟hķī*, in *RAAD*, lxviii/4 (1993), 594-620. More references in Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 498-9, ix, 294.

(G.J.H. van Gelder)

WAYHIND, the form found in mediaeval Indo-Muslim sources for a town of northwestern India, in the 12th century geography of Kas͟hmīr by Kalhaṇa called Ūdabhānda, now marked by the settlement of Hund some 9 km/15 miles north-east of Attock [see Aṭak] in Pakistan.

It was the capital of the powerful Hindū-S͟hāhī dynasty of Indian princes who opposed Sebüktigin and his son Maḥmūd of G͟hazna in the late 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries, until Maḥmūd finally vanquished Rādjā Djaypāl; for further details, see hindū-s͟hāhīs.

Bibliography: See that for hindu-s͟hāhīs, to which should be added C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, index.

(Ed.)

WAẒĪFA (a.), pl. *waẓāʾif*, literally "task, charge, impose obligation" (see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 820-1).

1. As an administrative term.

In the early Islamic period, the form II verb *waẓẓafa* and the noun *waẓīfa* are used as administrative-fiscal terms with the sense of imposing a financial burden or tax, e.g. of paying the *k͟harādj*, *ʿus͟hr* or *djizya* [*q.vv.*], cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 73, 193 (the *waẓāʾif* of the provinces of al-Urdunn, Filasṭīn, Dimas͟hķ, Ḥimṣ, etc.) and other references given in the *Glossarium*, 108. But as well as this loose sense, *waẓīfa* had a more specific one, as set forth by al-K͟hʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 62, cf. 59, that of an extra, fixed payment, made by the *ʿāmil* or tax collector, on top of the land-tax collected; Løkkegaard compared it to the Hellenistic-Roman *annona* and the *ekstraordinaria* of the Egyptian papyri (*Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 126-8; C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii [1969], 132, 139).

Waẓīfa also came subsequently to mean the "financial allowance, stipend" paid to an official or as a reward for someone who had pleased a ruler or governor, such as a panegyric poet, and, by extension, the official post or function itself (see the examples in Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, 821), a meaning which it retains in modern Arabic (and cf. *muwaẓẓaf* "official employee").

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(C.E. Bosworth)

2. As a term of Islamic mysticism.

In this context, *waẓīfa* is a devotional text or litany recited by the members of some Ṣūfī orders as one of the elements of their assignment of daily devotions, and also as part of the liturgy of a *ḥadra* [*q.v.*] or communal *dhikr* ritual. A *waẓīfa* normally consists of a sequence of prayer formulas, invocations, and verses from the Ķurʾān. Contents differ according to Ṣūfī order, and are often explained or justified in conjunction with Prophetic traditions or special events in the life of the composer of the *waẓīfa*. The recitation of a *waẓīfa* is always prescribed for specific times of the day (generally in conjunction with the *fadjr* and *mag͟hrib* prayers), and is governed by special conditions, such as ritual purity, and facing the *ķibla*. In some of the commentaries on *waẓāʾif*, or in the instructions for recitation in the published versions of the various *waẓāʾif*, the text is endowed with protective qualities and recommended for reading in times of danger or distress. In some orders, the term *waẓīfa* is used to denote devotional texts or phrase-patterned devotions, which are known as *ḥizb* and *wird* [*q.vv.*] in other orders. Use of these three terms as synonyms is not uncommon, and is understandable in view of the fact that the text of an order's *waẓīfa* may overlap with or be part of its *wird* and *ḥizb*, whereas *wird* and *ḥizb* are a *waẓīfa* in the literal sense of "a duty".

An example of a *waẓīfa* as a devotional text in its own right, and never part of *aḥzāb* or *awrād*, is the *Waẓīfat al-Mas͟hīs͟hiyya*, also known as *al-Ṣalawāt al-Mas͟hīs͟hiyya*, after ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mas͟hīs͟h [*q.v.*]. This text, which is in fact identical with the longer version of *Ṣalawāt Ibn Mas͟hīs͟h* (numerous editions; for an accurate one, see e.g. ʿAbd al-Ķādir Zakī, *K. al-Nafḥa al-ʿaliyya fī awrād al-S͟hādhiliyya*, Cairo 1321, 18 ff.), is widely known and recited by the members of many of the branches of the S͟hādhiliyya. The fact that so many of these have the recitation of this text as part of their daily devotions may explain why it has simply become known as *al-Waẓīfa al-S͟hādhiliyya*. The name of its composer is not mentioned any more in some of the manuals of present-day S͟hādhiliyya branches, and awareness of the author's identity seems to be disappearing. Many orders prescribe their members to recite this *waẓīfa* at least once daily, and at the beginning of the *ḥadra*.

Another example of a *waẓīfa* as a text in its own right is the *Waẓīfat al-Ẓarrūķiyya*, known after Aḥmad

b. Zarrūḳ to whom it was allegedly dictated by the Prophet when Aḥmad was sitting on Muḥammad's tomb at Medina, and widely known and recited by many branches of the S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya; for an English translation, see Ali F. Khusaim, *Ẓarrūq the Ṣūfī. A guide in the Way and a leader to the Truth. A biographical and critical study of a mystic from North Africa*, Tripoli (Libya) 1976, 134-8.

The *waẓīfa* of the Tid̲j̲āniyya [*q.v.*] order is an example of a text which incorporates much of its own *wird*, combining phrase-patterned devotions with a core text, known as the *Ṣalāt al-fātiḥ*, and another devotional text of the order, the *D̲j̲awharat al-kamāl* (see Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya. A Sufi order in the modern world*, Oxford 1965, 187, and 51-2 for the Arabic text and an English tr.). The *Ṣalāt al-fātiḥ* is said to have been delivered to Aḥmad al-Tid̲j̲ānī from Heaven on a tablet of light, whilst Aḥmad claimed that the Prophet taught him the *D̲j̲awharat al-kamāl* directly. Tid̲j̲ānī adherents have to recite the *waẓīfa* at least once every day, either individually or communally. Conflicting opinions concerning the number of times the *D̲j̲awharat al-kamāl* should be recited contributed to the emergence of the schismatic movement of the Ḥamālliyya or Ḥamāliyya [*q.v.*] in West Africa.

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(F. DE JONG)

WAZĪR (A.), vizier or chief minister.

I. IN THE ARAB WORLD

1. The ʿAbbāsids.

Etymology

The term *wazīr* occurs in the Ḳurʾān (XXV, 35: "We gave Moses the book and made his brother Aaron a *wazīr* with him"), where it has the sense of "helper", a meaning well attested in early Islamic poetry (for examples, see Goitein, *The origin of the vizierate*, 170-1). Though several scholars have proposed Persian origins for the term and for the institution, there is no compelling reason to doubt the Arabic provenance of the term or an Arab-Islamic origin and evolution of the institution of the *wazīr* (cf. Goitein, *op. cit.*; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, i, 40-61). The use of the term *wazīr* in the sense of "helper" is well illustrated in the early S̲h̲īʿī revolt of al-Muk̲h̲tār [*q.v.*] in Kūfa. Claiming to be acting on behalf of Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], a son of ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, al-Muk̲h̲tār had styled himself the "helper of the family of Muḥammad" (*wazīr āl Muḥammad*) (Goitein, *op. cit., Appendix*, 194-6). The same title was later to be adopted by Abū Salama [*q.v.*], the leader of the clandestine S̲h̲īʿī movement in Kūfa at the time of the fall of the Umayyad dynasty (al-D̲j̲ahs̲h̲iyārī, 84-7). From its original meaning of "helper", the term *wazīr* came to acquire the sense of "representative" or "deputy", and, under the ʿAbbāsids, designated the highest-ranking civil functionary of the state next to the caliph.

History of the institution

The institution of the *wazīr* seems to have its origins both in the position of the secretary (*kātib* [*q.v.*]) as well as in that of the royal counsellor, as pointed out by Goitein (*Origin*, 175 ff.). At least some of the officials of the early ʿAbbāsid administration who are characterised as *wazīrs* in the Arabic historical sources are likely only to have been especially influential counsellors rather than the holders of a position with a more distinct institutional identity. Such an institutional identity may, however, have developed by the time of the caliph al-Mahdī (58-69/775-85). *Inter alia*, this development is suggested by a list of secretaries in al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, in which Yaʿḳūb b. Dāwūd, who served under the caliph al-Mahdī, is the first to be characterised as a *wazīr* (ii, 836-43, esp. 841; cf. Goitein, *Origin*, 181-2). It is worth noting, however, that even in later years an especially close adviser to the caliph might still be called a *wazīr* without, however, necessarily holding a corresponding office (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1139, for al-Maʾmūn's reference to his erstwhile *ḳāḍī* of Bag̲h̲dād Yaḥyā b. Akt̲h̲am as *wazīr*, though Yaḥyā does not appear to have held that office at any point; cf. Sourdel, i, 238-9).

The most famous family of secretaries and *wazīrs* under the early ʿAbbāsids were the Barmakids, who served in the ʿAbbāsid administration until their dramatic fall from favour during the reign of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd [see BARĀMIKA]. K̲h̲ālid b. Barmak had participated in the ʿAbbāsid revolution and later served the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr as adviser, secretary and governor. His son Yaḥyā served as the tutor of Hārūn and later as his *wazīr*. According to al-D̲j̲ahs̲h̲iyārī, Yaḥyā was the first *wazīr* to be also given the military rank of *amīr* (*al-Wuzarāʾ wa ʾl-kuttāb*, 177). Yaḥyā's son al-Faḍl also served as Hārūn's *wazīr*, for some time apparently together with his father. The ascendancy of the Barmakids (their *dawla* and *sulṭān*, as al-Masʿūdī puts it, *Murūd̲j̲*, ed. Pellat, iv, 252, § 2602) continued for more than seventeen years, during which time they enjoyed unprecedented power and distinguished themselves as much for their administration as for their splendour, generosity and the scale of their patronage. As the caliph asserted greater personal control over the administration in his later years, their influence seems to have begun to decline. But their downfall was dramatic: Yaḥyā's son D̲j̲aʿfar, a close companion and confidant of the caliph was executed in 187/803 while Yaḥyā and al-Faḍl were imprisoned, and their property was confiscated. The circumstances behind this tragic end have attracted much comment from both mediaeval and modern historians, and there is little agreement on precisely what precipitated it. The caliph's perception that his power was overshadowed by that of the Barmakids may have had some role to play in bringing about their end, and, as Kennedy has suggested, the caliph may have wanted to ensure a smoother succession for his elder son Muḥammad (al-Amīn) by eliminating a family too closely tied in its interests with the other son, the future al-Maʾmūn (H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London 1986, 143-4).

Wazīrs played an important role during the struggle for power and the civil war between Hārūn's sons al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. Al-Faḍl b. Rabīʿ [*q.v.*], the *wazīr* of Hārūn after the fall of the Barmakids and later the *wazīr* of al-Amīn, was influential in persuading al-Amīn to contravene the terms of succession stipulated by Hārūn and to remove al-Maʾmūn as his heir-apparent. This measure precipitated the civil war between the two brothers, which culminated in the death of al-Amīn. Al-Maʾmūn, who then acceded to the caliphate, was for his part greatly assisted during the course of this struggle by his *wazīr* al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*], who had been a protégé of the Barmakids and had converted from Zoroastrianism to Islam at the hands of al-Maʾmūn (al-D̲j̲ahs̲h̲iyārī, 230-1). On al-Maʾmūn's accession, al-Faḍl was given the title *D̲h̲u ʾl-Riʾāsatayn* "the person with the two headships", which appeared on coins and which signalled his control of both the civil and the military administrations under the caliph.

The extent of the power which had been wielded by the Barmakids, and later by al-Faḍl b. Sahl until

his assassination in 202/818, was not enjoyed by the latter's successors. Indeed, in his last testament, in a somewhat ambiguous reference to his sometime *ḳāḍī* and adviser Yaḥyā b. Aktham [*q.v.*], al-Ma'mūn instructed his successor al-Mu'taṣim to follow the advice of the chief *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād [*q.v.*] rather than that of any *wazīr* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1139; cf. Sourdel, i, 238-9). During the period of the *Miḥna* [*q.v.*], the inquisition which was instituted towards the end of al-Ma'mūn's caliphate on the doctrine of the createdness of the Ḳur'ān and which remained in effect during the reigns of his two successors, the chief *ḳāḍī* exercised unprecedented influence over the 'Abbāsid administration. The *wazīrs* of this time, in particular Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Zayyāt [see IBN AL-ZAYYĀT], were hardly inconsequential figures, though they had to share their power with that of the chief *ḳāḍī*, which often led to considerable rivalry between the two (cf. Sourdel, i, 245-70).

As the Turkish troops grew in influence during the Sāmarrā' period of 'Abbāsid history (218-47/833-61), and as the financial difficulties of the empire multiplied, there were frequent struggles between Turkish troops and 'Abbāsid *wazīrs* over the exercise of power and, especially, over the control of the revenues. On occasion, Turkish generals themselves served as *wazīrs*, though the position was more commonly held by individuals with a secretarial background and with greater expertise in matters of financial administration (for an outline of the events of this chaotic period, see Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 158-99). The financial straits of the empire led eventually to the rise of two distinguished families of secretaries and *wazīrs*, the Banu 'l-Furāt and the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ, who dominated the 'Abbāsid administration from 296/908 until the emergence of the new position of the *amīr al-umarā'* [*q.v.*] in 324/936. Unlike the preceding decades, the *wazīrs* enjoyed very considerable power and prominence during these years, a period which Sourdel calls the "grande époque" in the history of the vizierate (Sourdel, i, 375, 387 ff.).

The most famous member of the Banu 'l-Furāt was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT], who served as *wazīr* three times during the caliphate of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32). Entrusted with the task of rescuing the 'Abbāsid administration from its fiscal troubles, Ibn al-Furāt's own reputation for financial corruption, together with his failure to deal effectively with the military challenges facing the state (in particular the depredations of the Ḳarmaṭīs [see ḲARMAṬĪ]) plus an increasingly brutal and extortionate style of administration, led eventually to his execution in 312/924. The great rival of the Banu 'l-Furāt were the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ, whose most distinguished member was 'Alī b. 'Īsā [*q.v.*]. These two families had, in fact, become the symbols of two factions in the 'Abbāsid bureaucracy, and the ascendancy or fall of a *wazīr* from one family signalled the downfall of practically all the lesser secretaries associated with the faction he represented. The downfall of a faction also meant the systematic and brutal effort, on the part of the dominant faction, to extort money from members of the fallen group [see MUṢĀDARA. 2.]. Unlike Ibn al-Furāt, however, 'Alī b. 'Īsā's image in the Arabic historical tradition is a largely positive one; he is remembered as "the good vizier" (he served in this capacity on two occasions) who strove mightily, but ultimately unsuccessfully, to reduce expenditure, reform the finances and restore order in the realm.

The rivalry of the Banu 'l-Furāt and the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ was not, however, merely over the control of lucrative positions and the consequent ability to squeeze out wealth from the other faction. Notwithstanding the many shared interests of the secretarial classes (cf. R.P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership in an early Islamic society*, Princeton 1980, 108 ff.), this rivalry was apparently also based on differences of ideology and policy. The Banu 'l-Furāt were Shī'ī while the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ were Sunnī, a fact which may also have been involved in the positive image of 'Alī b. 'Īsā. As a Sunnī, 'Alī probably had a greater stake in the effort to reform and sustain the 'Abbāsid empire. The gradual decline in agricultural revenues, the excessive expenditure on the royal household and the army and the military challenges confronting the state all imposed severe constraints on the ability of any *wazīr* effectively to overhaul the administration of the state. The situation was greatly aggravated by the notorious corruption of many officials in the administration and the extortionate practices of the rival bureaucratic factions (on the financial state of the empire at this time, see Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 186 ff.). All this led not only to the severe weakening of the 'Abbāsid state but also to the eclipse of the 'Abbāsid *wizāra* as well.

In 324/936, the caliph al-Rāḍī's appointment of Muḥammad b. Rā'iḳ [see IBN RĀ'IḲ] as the *amīr al-umarā'* or the military overlord, whose position combined the powers of the *wazīr* with those of military commander, marked the effective end of the *wazīr* as the leading official of the 'Abbāsid administration. When the Būyids entered Baghdād in 334/945, the caliph conferred the title of the *amīr al-umarā'* on Aḥmad b. Būya Mu'izz al-Dawla. Henceforward, it was the *wazīrs* of the Būyids, and later of the Saldjūḳs, who played important roles in the administration of the state. The history of these officials, among the most distinguished of whom were such Būyid *wazīrs* as Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-'Amīd and the Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl Ibn 'Abbād, and the Saldjūḳ *wazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.vv.*], falls outside the scope of this article. The 'Abbāsids did continue to have their own *wazīrs*, and when the authority of the Saldjūḳ sultans in 'Irāḳ began to wane after Malik Shāh's death, a limited but distinct revival of the caliphs' political and military authority took place, at least within the circumscribed region of 'Irāḳ and, at times, in western Persia. Concomitant with this was the rise of certain influential *wazīrs* in the course of the 6th/12th century, such as 'Awn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*], who served al-Muḳtafī and al-Mustandjid in the middle decades of the century, and his son 'Izz al-Dīn, *wazīr* to the latter caliph also. Towards the end of the century, circumstances enabled the caliph al-Nāṣir (r. 575-622/1180-1225 [*q.v.*]) to achieve a prestige and authority unequalled by any caliph for some three centuries, but among his many viziers, only Nāṣir al-Dīn Nāṣir b. Mahdī al-'Alawī, who held office 592-604/1195-1207, had serious ambitions to rule and made himself an effective force in the state (see H. Mason, *Two statesmen of mediaeval Islam, Vizir Ibn Hubayra (499-560 AH/1105-1165 AD) and Caliph an-Nāṣir li Dīn Allāh (553-622 AH/1158-1125 AD)*, The Hague and Paris, 1972).

The wazīr *in constitutional theory*

Al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya of the Shāfi'ī jurist al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) as well as the similarly-entitled work of the Ḥanbalī Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1065) give considerable attention to the types, qualifications and functions of the *wazīr*. Al-Māwardī also devoted a separate work, the *Adab al-wazīr*, to this institution. The *wazīr al-tafwīḍ*, one of the two kinds he delineates, is described as the holder of extensive civil and military powers delegated (*mufawwaḍ*) to him by the caliph. These

powers and functions are similar to the caliph's own, except that the *wazīr* cannot remove the caliph, nor appoint a successor to the caliph, nor even remove an official appointed by the caliph (al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, 24). In view of the scope of his powers and the importance of his position, the qualifications for this office are said to be the same as those for the position of the caliph itself, with the exception of membership in the tribe of Ḳuraysh which is required for the latter but not for the former. A *wazīr al-tafwīḍ* must be a free, male Muslim and he must be well versed in the *Sharīʿa* to the extent of being a *mudjtahid* (al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, 21, 26). Besides other civil and military functions, al-Māwardī assigns to the *wazīr al-tafwīḍ* the function of presiding over the *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] courts (*ibid.*, 21, 73), a function well attested by the ʿAbbāsid chronicles (cf. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciare*, 481-2; Massignon, *Passion*, i, 386 ff.; Sourdel, ii, 640 ff.).

The functions of the *wazīr al-tanfīdh*, on the other hand, were limited only to the implementation (*tanfīdh*) of specific policies of the caliph. Unlike a *wazīr al-tafwīḍ*, a person who was neither free nor even a Muslim could be appointed a *wazīr al-tanfīdh*, though women were expressly excluded from this position (al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, 26). The highly delimited position of the *wazīr al-tanfīdh* seems to be a juristic rationalisation of a situation in which the *wazīrs* of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs had lost much of their power and prestige to the military overlords who controlled the realm and who, under the Būyids and later the Saldjūḳs, had their own powerful *wazīrs* (cf. Sourdel, ii, 714-15).

The wazīr *as patron of religion and culture*

The role of the *wazīr* in the religious and cultural history of the ʿAbbāsid times is yet to be systematically studied. The secretaries, from whose ranks the *wazīrs* were usually drawn, were among the most culturally sophisticated of the ʿAbbāsid élite, combining Islamic with "secular" learning and acting as the patrons of both. The Barmakids patronised debates among scholars of different persuasions (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 236 ff., §§ 2565 ff.) and commissioned the translation of Greek as well as Indian works into Arabic (Gutas, *Greek thought, Arabic culture*, 128-9); Ibn al-Zayyāt, *wazīr* under al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Wāthiḳ, and al-Mutawakkil, was among the patrons of the Nestorian translator Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (*ibid.*, 130-1); and several members of the Djarrāḥid family of secretaries and *wazīrs*, themselves converts from Nestorian Christianity, took a strong interest in the ancient sciences (*ibid.*, 132). Under the Būyids, the patronage of such *wazīrs* as Ibn al-ʿAmīd and the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād contributed to an extremely rich age of cultural efflorescence (see Kraemer, *Humanism*, 241-72 and *passim*).

The non-Arab origin of most *wazīrs*, and their interest in and patronage of Greek and other ancient learning, combined with political resentments and rivalries, often led to accusations of a certain lack of commitment to Islam on their part. There are echoes of such suspicions about the Barmakids (see M. Chokr, *Zandaqa et zindiqs en Islam au second siècle de l'hégire* Damascus 1993, 24-5, 85-6), as well as about their protégé al-Faḍl b. Sahl (cf. al-Djahshiyārī, 316). Many secretaries and *wazīrs*, but in particular the Banu 'l-Furāt, had Shīʿī leanings and may have been somewhat suspect for that reason; but even the Shāfiʿī *wazīr* ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was accused of secret dealings with the reviled and much dreaded Ḳarāmiṭa.

Such accusations and suspicions notwithstanding (and they seem to have usually been unfounded or exaggerated, as Sourdel, ii, 565 ff. has suggested) the *wazīrs* often played important roles in shaping or carrying out the religious policies of the state; indeed, such accusations may even have prompted certain *wazīrs* to emphasise their religious commitments more emphatically. For instance, it was on al-Faḍl b. Sahl's initiative that al-Maʾmūn, while he was pitted in a struggle over the caliphate against his brother, publicly proclaimed his commitment to upholding and acting according to the stipulations of "the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna* of the Prophet" (cf. al-Djahshiyārī, 278-9; for al-Maʾmūn's public recognition of al-Faḍl's own services to him, see Madelung, *New documents*). *Wazīrs* not only presided over the *maẓālim* courts, as already noted, but they also contributed to shaping the legal practice of the realm by their influence on, and often sole responsibility for, the appointment of the *ḳāḍīs*. They were also among important patrons of jurists and the schools of law, and some of them were jurists in their own right. For instance, Ibn Hubayra (d. 560/1165 [*q.v.*]), who, as noted above, served as *wazīr* under al-Muḳtafī and al-Mustandjid, was himself a scholar of Ḥanbalī law, as well as the author of a multi-volume commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

The position of the *wazīr* was one of the most important and powerful offices of the ʿAbbāsid administration. Though theoretically subservient to the caliph and only continuing in office at the latter's good pleasure, the power of the *wazīr* could, at times, rival and even surpass that of the caliph. But even when neither the ʿAbbāsid caliph nor his *wazīr* any longer enjoyed much effective political power, the caliph's *wazīr* often continued to play a considerable role as a patron of culture and of intellectual and religious life in the ʿAbbāsid realm.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. All major chronicles of the ʿAbbāsid period contain important information on individual *wazīrs*, their actions and political fortunes. Major biographical dictionaries also devote notices to prominent *wazīrs* in addition to much incidental information. A number of works specifically about the *wazīrs* were also written during the ʿAbbāsid period, but most of these are not extant (on these works, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. R. Tadjaddud, Beirut 1988, 142, 143, 150, 168. Two major authors whose works on the *wizāra* have, however, come down to us are al-Djahshiyārī and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ. See al-Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ wa 'l-kuttāb*, ed. M. al-Saḳḳā *et al.*, Cairo 1938; *Nuṣūṣ ḍāʾiʿa min kitāb al-wuzarāʾ wa 'l-kuttāb li-Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūs al-Djahshiyārī*, ed. M. ʿAwwād, Beirut 1964; al-Ṣābiʾ, *al-Wuzarāʾ aw tuḥfat al-umarāʾ fī taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrādj, Cairo 1958; idem, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. M. ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1964. On the position of the *wazīr* in juridical theory, see al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1298/1881, Eng. tr. Wafaa H. Wahba, *The ordinances of government*, Reading 1996; idem, *Adab al-wazīr*, Cairo 1929; Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Farrāʾ, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1357.

2. Studies. The most important work on the *wazīrs* of the pre-Būyid period is D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside de 479 à 936 (132 à 324 de l'hégire)*, 2 vols. Damascus 1959-60. Other works which shed light on various aspects of the history of the *wazīrs* under the ʿAbbāsids include: S.D. Goitein, *The origin of the vizierate and its true character*, in idem, *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1968, 168-91, and *Appendix. On the origin of the term vizier*, in *ibid.*, 194-96; R.A. Kimber, *The early Abbasid vizierate*,

in *JSS*, xxxvii (1992), 65-85; *EIr*, art. *Barmakids* (I. Abbas); W. Madelung, *New documents concerning al-Ma'mūn, al-Faḍl b. Sahl and 'Alī al-Riḍā*, in Wadād al-Qāḍī (ed.), *Studia arabica et islamica*, Beirut 1981, 333-46; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London 1986; H. Bowen, *The life and times of 'Alí ibn 'Ísà, "The Good Vizier"*, Cambridge 1928; L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Hallaj*, tr. H. Mason, Princeton 1982; J.L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam. The cultural revival during the Būyid age*, Leiden 1992; D. Gutas, *Greek thought, Arabic culture*, London 1998; E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'islam*, Leiden 1960; A.K.S. Lambton, *State and government in medieval Islam*, Oxford 1981; C.L. Klausner, *The Seljuk Vezirate. A study of civil administration, 1055-1194*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973; G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1973.

(MUHAMMAD QASIM ZAMAN)

2. The Fāṭimid caliphate.

Here, the office was created for Yūsuf b. Killis, probably in 368/979, and apart from a few interruptions, there were holders of the office until Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], the last vizier, who ended the dynasty in 567/1171. The *wazīr* directed the civil administration directly under the caliph's authority until 466/1074; the supreme dignity continued to belong to the caliph after that date, but it was a military man, the commander-in-chief (*amīr al-djuyūsh*), generally also bearing the title of vizier, who held the reality of political decision-making.

The events, personalities and institutions of the Fāṭimid caliphate from 297/909-10 to 567/1171 have been covered in detail in the article FĀṬIMIDS and in the individual articles on prominent persons [see the Index]. Here, only the main features of the vizier's functioning and the variations over the course of time in its responsibilities, will be treated. A large part of what has been written on the functioning of the vizierate in the eastern lands of the Islamic world, under the 'Abbāsids, Būyids and Saldjūḳs, is equally valid for the Fāṭimid vizierate (see D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'abbāside...*, 2 vols. Damascus 1959-60; Y. Essid, *al-Tadbīr/Oikonomia, une critique des origines de la pensée économique arabo-musulmane*, Tunis 1993, Eng. tr., idem, *A critique of the origins of Islamic economic thought*, Leiden 1995). On the opposition between *ḥādjib* and *wazīr*, see J.-Cl. Garcin *et alii*, *États, sociétés et cultures du monde musulman médiéval, X^e-XVe siècle*, ii, Paris 2000. For the Fāṭimid vizierate, the main source remains Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla al-wizāra*, ed. 'A.A. Mukhliṣ, Cairo 1923, 49-111; of modern studies, see G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe. Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iv, Paris 1937, 179-310; M.H. al-Mināwī, *al-Wizāra wa 'l-wuzarā' fī 'l-'aṣr al-fāṭimī*, Cairo 1970. For a description of the institution and a complete bibl. of the sources, see A.F. Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-fāṭimiyya fī Miṣr, tafsīr djadīd*, Beirut 1413/1992, 250-4, 433-54. See also Garcin, *op. cit.*, i, Paris 1995, Bibl. on the Fāṭimids at pp. XCIII-L, events 81-117; *Camb. hist. of Egypt*, forthcoming. For everything concerning coinage, tax systems, customs duties and the financial organisation of agriculture, see Cl. Cahen, *Makhzūmiyyāt. Études sur l'histoire économique et financière de l'Égypte médiévale*, Leiden 1977). A list of Fāṭimid viziers is difficult to establish with precision, since some persons only held office for a few days, whilst others were appointed and re-appointed on various occasions (a useful list, despite some errors of detail, can be found in L.S. Imad, *The Fatimid vizierate, 969-1172*, Berlin 1990, 164-70).

The successive stages of the stripping of the caliphs' power

During the reigns of the dynasty's first century, from the rise to power of al-Mahdī in Ifrīḳiya in 297/910, till the disappearance of al-Ḥākim in 411/1021, the caliphs involved themselves personally in the direction of politics and administrative matters. In the succeeding century, the son and grandson of al-Ḥākim, al-Ẓāhir (d. 427/1035-6) and al-Mustanṣir (d. 487/1094 [*q.vv.*]) in the first half of his reign, still played a certain political role, albeit within a system that they no longer controlled. It was during the reign of the latter, in 466/1074, that the civilian vizierate was replaced by a military one, concentrating all political power within the hands of the *amīr al-djuyūsh* Badr al-Djamālī. After al-Mustanṣir's death, the Fāṭimid caliphs of the 6th/12th century, with the sole exception of al-Ḥāfiẓ, all raised to the imāmate whilst still children, were only puppets manipulated by their entourages. Parallel to this decline of the *imāms*, the influence of the *amīr al-djuyūsh* grew notably; also bearing the title of *wazīr*, when such a person existed, he himself alone exercised the reality of power.

The tradition of the vizier in Egypt

The sources as preserved seem to show that the office of vizier did not exist amongst the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya before 362/973, nor in Egypt before the accession to the imāmate of the fifth caliph al-'Azīz, the second to have reigned in Cairo. Probably under the influence of local tradition, with viziers in effect often existing at Miṣr-Fusṭāṭ since Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], al-'Azīz appointed to this office, apparently in 368/979 (on the dates, variously given in the sources, see Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1987-9, i, 168), Yūsuf b. Killis [*q.v.*], al-Mu'izz's main tax-farmer since 364/974. The new vizier, following in the previous administrative tradition, which had fallen into bad ways at the time of the disorders at the end of Kāfūr's [*q.v.*] time, reorganised an agrarian tax policy and an efficient artisanate. Likewise, two centuries later, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*], who had entered the Fāṭimid *dīwān al-inshā'* in 544/1149 and had been secretary successively to the Fāṭimid viziers Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzīk, Shāwar and Shīrkūh [*q.vv.*], remained after 567/1171 in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's service and then in that of the Ayyūbids, for whom, after finishing his missions in Syria, he re-organised the civil administration in Egypt on the Fāṭimid model, retiring in 591/1195. The continuity in administration during a period when political life was fluid, makes medieval Egypt a special case in the Islamic East.

Public administration and private interests

The first Fāṭimid *wazīr*, Ibn Killis, of 'Irāḳī Jewish origin, had a long career of private and public service behind him when he was appointed. After failing as a private commercial agent in Palestine, he entered the service of the master of Egypt, Kāfūr, as director of the latter's personal estates in Syria and Egypt, and then with the task of overseeing the public finances. He made a public conversion to Sunnī Islam, but his hopes of becoming vizier were at that time unrealised. After Kāfūr's death, he became an Ismā'īlī and in Ifrīḳiya joined al-Mu'izz, who was preparing for the invasion of Egypt, and placed at the Imām's disposal his perfect knowledge of the fiscal system of that country, notably of the cadastral survey of agricultural land and of the territorial basis of the tax burden which he had to recalculate precisely on the alluvial soil left each year after the Nile waters had subsided. Having returned to Egypt with his master, he was then the main architect of fiscal

and administrative continuity between the régimes of the Ikhshīdids and Kāfūr and the Fāṭimids. At the same time as dealing with the state's finances, Ibn Killis always pursued important personal financial interests, in Egypt as well as in Syria. He strengthened a method of procedure, already begun under his predecessors, which was to be perpetuated by his successors. The main *dīwāns* of the state were traditionally headed by civilian officials who were at the same time powerful private financiers, whether as tax-farmers or as high-level merchants (see A.L. Udovitch, *Merchants and amirs. Government and trade in eleventh century Egypt*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xxii [1988], 53-72; Y. Lev, *State and society in Fatimid Egypt*, Leiden 1991; Bianquis, *op. cit.*, i, 103, 156-71; idem, *Le fonctionnement financier des dīwāns centraux fāṭimides au début de V^e/XIe siècle*, in *AI*, xxvi [1992], 46-61).

The vizierate's field of action

Ibn Killis was a great statesman in the various aspects of his duties, tax policies, modernisation of the army through the purchase of Turkish *ghulāms* and prudent actions in Syria in face of the Byzantines. During his lifetime, he was an adviser to whom the caliph always listened, even if his personal greed led to his being mulcted in 373/983-4 of 100,000 or 500,000 dīnārs, arrested and dismissed, all three penalties reversed shortly afterwards. However, the caliph al-ʿAzīz, who was so attached to his vizier, abandoned his wise counsels in favour of a foreign policy in northern Syria, about which Ibn Killis complained on his deathbed. Al-Ḥākim, al-ʿAzīz's son and successor, created a gap in the vizierate, probably in 409/1018, and replaced it by the *wasāṭa*, a function which involved interposing and interceding between the Imām and the ethnic factions of the palace and the army, and by the *sifāra*, an office in which all these groups were represented, two institutions which the caliph had created at the beginning of his reign. During the reign of his son al-Ẓāhir, the vizierate was re-established in 418/1027 for the ʿIrāḳī *kātib* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djardjarāʾī [see AL-DJARDJARĀʾĪ. 4.], representing the interests of the merchant importers (Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie*, ii, 393-7, 791, index s.v. *vizir*). The offices of the *wasāṭa* and the *sifāra* continued to be filled irregularly till the end of the dynasty by persons with a lower rank than that of the vizier, sometimes by someone who later became a vizier (Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*, ed. A. Ferré, Cairo 1972, 88). The civilian successors of Ibn Killis were often Sunnīs, Jews or Christians, converted to a more or less sincere degree of Ismāʿīlism and often from ʿIrāḳ or Syria, provinces which enjoyed, at that time, a higher cultural level than Egypt. With the exception of al-Djardjarāʾī, the best civilian vizier of the dynasty, they were generally mediocre.

The need for economy, distrust of the ambitions of commanders stationed in Damascus and the fear of getting the Fāṭimid army too deeply engaged in continental Syria, marked the actions of the civilian viziers and the ensemble of the financial *dīwāns* until the final loss of the Syrian territories in 468/1076. Conscious of the feebleness of the Fāṭimid army *vis-à-vis* the Turkmens and Saldjūḳs, it was the first military vizier, Badr al-Djamālī, who had to decide on the abandoning of the Syrian interior, whose importance had been preached in vain by most of his civilian predecessors; he retained within the province only ports, places where customs dues were levied and a coastal band of territory (Garcin, *op. cit.*, i, 94-5, 107-9; M. Yared-Riachi, *La politique extérieure de la principauté de Damas, 1075-1154*, Damascus 1997, 87-8).

Unlike the ʿAbbāsid vizier or that of the Saldjūḳs in ʿIrāḳ and Persia, the vizier in Cairo often exercised, after 440/1050, other functions in parallel. As supreme judge, *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*, he appointed judges and pronounced the law in cases of last resort, and as chief missionary for the Fāṭimid doctrine, *dāʿī al-duʿāt*, he watched over the training of the Ismāʿīlī missionaries sent all over the Islamic world, keeping up a continued correspondence with each of them. In Cairo, the Fāṭimid vizier drew his legitimacy from the divine light, *nūr Allāh*, which, since the time of Muḥammad and ʿAlī, had perpetually illuminated the Imām; arising from this fact, the distinction between the military, political, administrative, judicial and ideological domains was less obvious than in an ʿIrāḳī Sunnī context, which was under the guiding principle of the memory of the foundations, both in Holy Writ and also transmitted orally, of *fiḳh*, a guidance exercised by the *ʿulamāʾ*.

The installation of the military vizierate

The main break in the continuity of the institution comes from the time of al-Mustanṣir, son of al-Ẓāhir. In order to end the very serious crisis which had been threatening the very existence of the régime since 457/1065, the caliph in 464/1072-3 appealed to a general of Armenian origin, Badr al-Djamālī, governor of Acre in Syria. On arrival in Egypt, Badr, henceforth called *amīr al-djuyūsh* and *wazīr*, was accorded full powers, which he exercised till his death. The civilian vizierate of execution, *tanfīdh*, in which the political conduct of affairs was the responsibility of the caliph who put his decisions into action through his vizier, became transformed into a military vizierate of delegation, *tafwīḍ*, in which a great military officer, here the commander-in-chief, legitimised by a real or fictitious act of delegation from the caliph, now exercised supreme political and military authority (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. M.Ḥ.M. Aḥmad, Cairo 1971, ii, 329-30; see in al-Imad, *op. cit.*, 61-8, the theoretical texts of al-Māwardī, describing the situation in ʿIrāḳ but applicable here also). Born on the occasion of this crisis, the system became self-perpetuating until the end of the Fāṭimid power in 1171 by the last military vizier of the dynasty, the Sunnī Kurd Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

A reform and a complete updating of the cadaster and the taxation system were achieved, under the stimulus of the future vizier al-Baṭāʾiḥī, by al-Afḍal, acting on behalf of his father, the *wazīr* and *amīr al-djuyūsh* Badr, thereby assuring the Fāṭimid state of revenues at a higher level at the end of the 5th/11th century and during the next than had obtained in the time of the civilian vizierate (Cahen, *op. cit.*, 165-7, 174). The personal enrichment of the military viziers was, moreover, on a greater scale than under their civilian predecessors (an extraordinary inventory of al-Afḍal's possessions, made after his death, without taking into account six million dīnārs, is given in Ibn Ẓāfir, *op. cit.*, 91-2; see also ṬALĀʾIʿ B. RUZZĪK).

During this second period of about a century, the title of *amīr al-djuyūsh* was most often placed before that of *wazīr*, which usage was even omitted on various occasions (al-Imad, *op. cit.*, 169). This military title is to be considered in parallel to those borne by the military *amīrs* of the second period of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The first, Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*], was in 324/936 appointed in Baghdād by the caliph al-Rāḍī as *amīr al-umarāʾ*, a title resumed by the Būyids in 334/945 under al-Mustakfī, who had lost all personal authority, but the Būyid *amīr al-umarāʾ* was now enriched by *laḳabs* and the Arabo-Persian titles of *malik*, *shāh*

or *shāhanshāh*, which one finds as a regnal name under the Saldjūḳs. After 447/1055, when Ṭoghrïl Beg had taken the caliph al-Ḳā'im under his protection, the Saldjūḳs consolidated their pre-eminence by using the Arabic title *sulṭān* [*q.v.*]. The Arab caliph, as a civilian, retained only his moral authority, and he shrank into the background everywhere, to the profit of a military direction within the state, with supreme political authority in future held by a great commander who was a non-Arab (see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, v, 314-16).

In practice, the sphere of competence of the military vizier, the *amīr al-djuyūsh*, who appeared in Cairo less than twenty years after the proclamation of the Saldjūḳ sultanate in Baghdād, was much wider than that of his civilian predecessors, notably in the domains of application of the law and the execution of justice, as well as the defence and the diffusion of Fāṭimid doctrine. Now most of Badr's successors were not Ismāʿīlīs; amongst them were several Sunnīs and Twelver Shīʿīs and even one or two Christians. It is easy to understand how, in the 6th/12th century, the Yemeni Ṭayyibī subsect and the Persian and Syrian Nizārīs [*q.vv.*] spread more successfully than the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism of Cairo.

With the exception of al-Afḍal [*q.v.*], Badr's son and successor, an active personality but brutal and clumsy, and involuntarily responsible for the great Nizārī schism with its bloody consequences extending over a century and a half, and of another vizier of Armenian origin, Ṭalā'iʿ b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*], the *amīr al-djuyūsh* were in general mediocre and opportunist persons who were only able to uphold the régime thanks to the unbelievable agricultural and artisanal richness of the land and the income from customs duties there, to the restructuring of the cadaster and the taxation system brought about by Badr, to the quality of the navy (see Lev, *op. cit.*) and, above all, to a skilful political game played between the Frankish states in Palestine, the Sunnī Muslim régimes of the Syrian interior and the Byzantine empire.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(TH. BIANQUIS)

3. The Ayyūbids.

In theory, the vizierate here did not differ much from that of their ʿAbbāsid, Fāṭimid and Saldjūḳ predecessors. Appointed by the ruler, the vizier headed the administration and the *dīwāns*. With the Ayyūbid confederation, the two states of Egypt and Syria each had in principle its own vizier, but the office's importance varied much, according to the region and the rulers. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, himself vizier to the last Fāṭimid caliph 1169-71, never had a vizier. The excessive power which certain Fāṭimid viziers had enjoyed and his own experience in the office, probably led him not to follow this way, and even his chancellor and closest adviser, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*], never had the title of vizier officially.

In Egypt likewise, the Ayyūbid sultans often did without a vizier. The most important, and the only one to exercise the office of a classic vizier, was Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Shukr (b. in the Delta 548/1153, d. in Cairo 622/1225; the most detailed biography in al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā*, iv, Cairo 1991, 595-602). Whilst in the service of al-ʿĀdil (596-615/1200-18 [*q.v.*]), his extortions and tyrannical methods caused numerous officials and notables to flee, including Ibn Mammātī [*q.v.*], head of the financial office, and Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadjdjādj, head of the army office, who went to the court at Aleppo of al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī [*q.v.*]. Al-ʿĀdil ended by exiling him in 608/1212-13, replacing him by his father-in-law Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Shukr, and the fallen vizier went off to settle at Āmid. Later, al-Kāmil (615-35/1218-38 [*q.v.*]), after assuming power in difficult circumstances, recalled Ibn Shukr in order to refill the state's coffers. Although the latter had become blind, he took up office in Cairo in 617/1220-1 and held it till his death four years later. Al-Kāmil then decided to do without a vizier, preferring to control the administration himself; this is the situation reflected in the administrative treatise of ʿUthmān al-Nābulusī, one of al-Kāmil's high officials, in which the name of vizier is never mentioned.

A little later, Muʿīn al-Dīn Ibn al-Shaykh (d. 643/1246), youngest of the Awlād al-Shaykh brothers [*q.v.*], entered al-Kāmil's service, becoming "deputy of the vizier" (*nā'ib al-wizāra*), and it was not till the coming of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (637-47/1240-9) that he was appointed vizier. More than just head of the administration, Muʿīn al-Dīn was an army commander, and it was he who was charged with the conquest of Damascus in 642-3/1245.

In Damascus, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr [*q.v.*] was al-Afḍal's vizier from 589/1193 to 592/1196. Al-Afḍal placed complete confidence in him, but very soon both of them became enemies of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's former supporters, who fled to Cairo or Aleppo in large numbers. Later, under al-Muʿaẓẓam (615-24/1218-27 [*q.v.*]), no vizier is mentioned by the sources. When al-Ashraf (626-35/1229-37) reigned in Damascus, he had as his vizier for some time Falak al-Dīn Ibn Masīrī (d. 643/1245), a man of mediocre talent, according to al-Maḳrīzī (*op. cit.*, iv, 84-7), and he was dismissed in 634/1236-7. More important was the next figure, Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn Maṭrūḥ (d. 649/1251), who served al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb in Damascus 644-7/1246-9. After an earlier career in the provincial administration of Egypt, Ibn Maṭrūḥ followed al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to al-Djazīra in 629/1232. At Damascus, he not only directed the administration but also shared executive power with the *amīr* Shihāb al-Dīn Rashīd al-Kabīr. He was replaced by the *ḳāḍī* al-Asʿad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Fā'izī, who was shortly afterwards appointed vizier in Cairo to al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh [*q.v.*].

It was finally at Aleppo that the vizierate enjoyed the greatest continuity in the Ayyūbid period, with six viziers succeeding almost without interruption in the years 592-658/1196-1260. The most important was Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḳifṭī [*q.v.*], appointed *ca.* 614/1217-18; a man of great culture and deep piety, he left behind the reputation of a very good administrator. Al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ẓāhir in 628/1231 replaced him by one of his intimates, whose tenure of power turned out to be disastrous, so that Ibn al-Ḳifṭī was recalled in 634/1236, serving till his death in 646/1248 and then replaced by his brother Mu'ayyid al-Dīn, who remained in post at Aleppo till the Mongol invasion of 658/1260.

The geographical origins of these viziers varied according to the regions. In Egypt, they tended to be locally recruited, but in Aleppo, the influences of the lands further east (ʿIrāḳ and Persia), which were the origin of three out of six viziers, plus that of Egypt (the Banu 'l-Ḳifṭī), stamped the administration there with a double tradition, ʿAbbāsid-Saldjūḳid and Fāṭimid. Although less important than in the past, the influence of Christian and Jewish milieux was still at times felt. Thus al-ʿĀdil, right at the beginning of his reign, appointed a Christian convert called al-Ṣanīʿa Ibn al-Naḥḥāl. Al-Amdjad Bahrāmshāh (578-627/1182-1230) at Baalbek had a Samaritan vizier whose nephew Amīn al-Dawla al-Sāmirī (d. 648/1250), converted in

his youth to Islam, was subsequently vizier to al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl at Damascus 637-43/1239-45. His excessive power, his network of spies and his financial extortions earned him the hostility of the Damascenes.

There was no specific, theoretical training for the post of vizier. Family tradition was important for most official positions. There were families of officials and even of viziers, but more often, the viziers learned on the job. They began as secretaries, accountants (*mustawfī*) and inspectors of finances (*nāẓir*) in the capital or the provinces before heading the administration. Most of them had a literary and legal-theological education. Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḳifṭī is the best example of this, but Ibn Shukr was an authority on traditions and Mālikī law. We know little about their financial remuneration. They probably drew a salary like other officials. Some received grants of lands, and more rarely, of *iḳṭāʿ*s (Ibn Maṭrūḥ); others enriched themselves by more or less legal means, and the leading viziers thus acquired large fortunes (Ibn Shukr, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī).

The vizier's main function was to oversee the *dīwāns* and their personnel. Sometimes, in the absence of a head of chancery or chief of the army department, he guided the secretaries directly. His financial skills were the most important ones. The vizier also supervised provincial administration, above all, the collection of taxes which was the responsibility of the provincial governors, themselves appointed by the sultan and, occasionally, as at Aleppo, by the vizier. Nevertheless, in the financial sphere, some activities remained the prerogative of the ruler, such as the application or suppression of taxes, especially non-canonical ones, *mukūs* [see MAKS].

The vizier also had an important political role, often being part of regency councils and acting as the ruler's adviser, over whom he could have a wide influence. Certain of them even tried to replace one princely heir by another, as when the vizier of Ḥamāt, Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Furaydj, invited al-Nāṣir, the younger son of al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], to seize power at the expense of his elder brother al-Muẓaffar. Sometimes the sultan deputed the vizier to oversee personally important projects. Thus al-ʿĀdil asked Ibn Shukr to supervise work at Damascus on the Umayyad Mosque and the *muṣallā*. Ibn Shukr also financed on his own account the building or restoring of two important mosques in the suburbs of Damascus and founded a Mālikī *madrasa*, the Ṣāḥibiyya, at Cairo.

In practice, the prestige and power of viziers depended a lot upon their own personality and on the ruler's authority. Not all were as highly respected as Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḳifṭī or had as much power as Ibn Shukr. In 604/1207, the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*] sent a robe of honour (*khilʿa*) to this last as well as to the Ayyūbid princes. In Aleppo, after the sultan had in 648/1250 left to take up residence in Damascus, the vizier Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḳifṭī had the *ghāshiya* [*q.v.*], one of the insignia of royalty, carried before him. Certain viziers, on the other hand, remained obscure persons, and in any case, their power always remained subordinate to that of the sultan, who could dismiss them at any time; it was indeed rare for viziers, even the most important, not to suffer dismissal, exile or imprisonment.

Bibliography: See the chroniclers and the biographical dictionaries for this period, given in AYYŪBIDS, and the separate articles on the main personalities. Of modern studies, see H.L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958; Cl. Cahen, introd to his ed. of al-Nābulusī's *K. al-Lumaʿ*, in *BEO*, xvi (1958-60), 124; R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols. The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260*, Albany 1977; A.-M. Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep (579/1183-658/1260)*, Stuttgart 1999.

(ANNE-MARIE EDDÉ)

4. Muslim Spain.

In al-Andalus in the Umayyad period, every sovereign surrounded himself with various numbers of *wuzarā'*. Their purpose was not merely to be a source of advice and information for him but also to carry out in his name military missions as well as political and diplomatic assignments. Usually, there were no more than ten *wuzarā'* at any one time, though the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] once had up to thirteen, and there were possibly as many as sixteen by the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*]. The appointment and dismissal of *wuzarā'* was particularly frequent during the government of the latter, who had a total of 46 ministers, a much higher number than any of his predecessors had had. It was only in the later years of the Umayyad dynasty that the number of these dignitaries rose. In 399/1008, at the time of the ceremony for the acclamation of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] as the successor to Hishām II [*q.v.*], there were 29 *wuzarā'* present.

The office of *wizāra* was a paid function. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II arranged a salary (*rizḳ*) of 300 dīnārs for his ministers. But this office did not exclude all other work; indeed, it was usual that the bearer would hold office along with other functions, such as those of *kātib*, *ḳā'id*, *ṣāḥib al-madīna* [*q.vv.*] etc. Up to the beginning of the 5th/11th centuries, the period when Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ibn Dhakwān [*q.v.*] and Abu 'l-Muṭarrif Ibn Futays (d. 402/1012) held the plural offices of *ḳāḍī* and *wazīr*, it had never been the case that anyone had at one and the same time been a religious magistrate and a vizier; but from then onwards this became a frequent practice.

The office of vizier was often held by the most influential families (*buyūtāt*), united by their ties of clientage (*walā'*) with the Marwānids. Even after the Umayyad period these lineages were made up of long series of viziers, among whom the most conspicuous were the Banū Abī ʿAbda, the Banū Shuhayd and the Banū Futays. It was exceptional for a member of the reigning family to occupy the post of *wazīr*, but the sovereigns took good care that representation of the other aristocratic Arab families was balanced proportionally. The case cited in the period of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh, of four viziers who belonged to the same clan of the Banū Abī ʿAbda, was considered unusual. This was also the *amīr* who for the first time decided to seat a person who did not belong to the Arab aristocracy among his ministers, his *fatā* [*q.v.*] Badr. The viziers in al-Andalus were always Muslim up to the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* [*q.v.*], when there were also a few Jewish viziers, the most famous of whom was Ibn al-Naghrālla from Granada (d. 448/1056-7).

The rank of vizier was superior to any other civil servant except that of *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*]. In principle, the appointment to the office of vizier did not entail the responsibility of a department or duty to the government of the state. However, during the amīrate of ʿAbd Allāh, a vizier is mentioned who was invested specifically to direct one of the sectors of state administration (*idārāt*); and when in 344/955 the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān reorganised state administration and divided the tasks of government into at least four sections, he placed a *wazīr* at the head of each one.

After the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, the viziers

had a room for private consultation and assembly (*bayt al-wizāra*) in the palace. The position of the viziers in this room conveyed the fact that all the dignitaries did not have the same rank; it was the *amīr* Muḥammad I (d. 273/886) who decided that the *wuzarā'* of eastern origin, called *shāmiyyūn*, should take precedence over the others, the *baladiyyūn*, and that consequently they should sit on the highest platforms. This priority was maintained by his successors, despite the conflict which it generated with several important *baladiyyūn*.

The honorary title of *dhu 'l-wizāratayn* appeared in al-Andalus in 327/939, during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who copied the title which Ibn Makhlad [*q.v.*] had received from the ʿAbbāsid caliph in 269/882 (see Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. M. ʿAwwād, Beirut n.d., 127). The first person to bear this title in Cordova was Abū ʿUmar Ibn Shuhayd, and his rank was superior to that of the other *wuzarā'*, for the name of the bearer of this title appears at the top of the list of viziers and he was paid the equivalent of the salaries of two ministers.

In the reign of al-Ḥakam II [*q.v.*] this title disappeared, but then there appears the title of *wazīr al-dawla*; it was given to al-Muṣḥafī (d. 372/982) before he was called *ḥādjib* on the day following the death of the caliph. During the first caliphate of his successor, Hishām II, the title of *dhu 'l-wizāratayn* reappeared, and subsequently it was conferred on a child, the son of the *ḥādjib* ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī ʿĀmir al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], under whose government the title *wazīr al-dawla* was again used to honour Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ al-Yaḥṣubī [*q.v.*].

In the period of the *Taifas*, quite a number of sovereigns assumed the title of *ḥādjib*, for the reason that this term had acquired such prestige under the Marwānid dynasty and also as an indication that they merely considered themselves as representatives of the caliph. These *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* generalised the high position of vizier by applying it to all the people who were frequenting the court and whom they wished to honour; and from this period onwards there were also many persons in al-Andalus who were decorated with the title of *dhu 'l-wizāratayn*.

The institution of the *wizāra* was so characteristic of Andalusī administration that the word *alguacil* (from Arabic *al-wazīr*) was very quickly integrated into the Castilian language. But the fact that this Arabism did not only signify "minister, counsellor or lieutenant of the sovereign", but that it was used to designate other duties or offices as well, seems to indicate that the word *wazīr* was eventually applied to different categories of public office in al-Andalus.

One of the meanings of the Castilian vocable *alguacil* in the Middle Ages was that of "governor, or lord of a city or a region, who was entrusted with civil and criminal jurisdiction" (*Diccionario histórico*, s.v.). This meaning corresponds to the expression "vizier of a district" which is frequently found in Andalusī texts from the 5th/11th century onwards and which conveys the fact that, from the period of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, the viziers began to fill permanent positions outside Cordova, chiefly those of governor and chief of the military region. This happened to such an extent that, at the end of the Naṣrid sultanate in Granada, the one who represented authority in each of the localities of the amīrate was given the title of *wazīr*.

After the occupation of the territory of Granada, the Castilians revived this institution and knew the member of the local community responsible for civil and fiscal matters and the representative of his fellow-citizens as *alguacil*.

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II. In Persia

The *wazīr* was the head of the supreme *dīwān*, the *dīwān-i aʿlā* [see dīwān. iv. Iran] and as such was the head of the bureaucracy. He had under him numerous subordinates. The heads of some branches of the administration under him were also called *wazīrs*, such as the *wazīr-i lashkar* and the *wazīrs* in charge of the finances of the provinces. The term *wazīr* was also sometimes applied to the head of the personal establishment of provincial governors, important *amīrs* and royal princes and princesses. This article will be concerned with the *wazīr* as head of the supreme *dīwān*.

The *wazīr* belonged to the "men of the pen" as opposed to the "men of the sword" and was usually of Persian rather than Turkish extraction. A common feature of society was the existence of influential bureaucratic families, such as the Djayhānīs [see al-djayhānī, in Suppl.], the Balʿamīs [see balʿamī] and ʿUtbīs; [see ʿutbī]; in the Saldjūḳ period the family of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*]; and under the Īlkhāns the Djuwaynīs and the family of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī [see rashīd al-dīn ṭabīb].

Under the Īlkhāns, and sometimes in later times also, the *wazīr* had the title *ṣāḥib dīwān*. The Ṣafawid shah ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*], gave the *wazīr* the titles *Iʿtimād al-Dawla* and *Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam*, by which title he was also known in the Ḳādjār period.

The insignia of the *wazīr* was an inkpot, usually golden, which he was given on appointment together with a diploma (*manshūr*), and a robe of honour. Ṣadr al-Dīn Khālidī, when appointed *ṣāḥib dīwān* by Gaykhātū [*q.v.*] in 691/1292 was given the *laḳab* of Ṣadr-i Djahān, a gold seal, a horse-tail standard, a war trumpet and a *tūmān* [*q.v.*] of soldiers. In the late Īlkhānid period the insignia of the *wazīr* appear to have been a golden inkpot, a jewelled belt, a royal seal (*āl*), and banner (*sandjaḳ*), a standard (*ʿalam*) and the right to kettle-drums (*ṭabl, naḳḳāra* [*q.v.*] (Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, 56). Under the Ṣafawids, his insignia were a jewelled pen and ink-stand. On appointment he was given robes of honour, a headdress (*tādj u hādj*) with a plume (*djiḳa*) and a *tūmār* (Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā wa tadhkirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Samīʿa*, in *Madjalla-yi dānishkada-yi adabiyyāt wa ʿulūm-i insānī*, Tehran, xvi/1-2 [1968], 77).

The *wazīr* was not the servant of the state but of the ruler, by whom he was directly appointed. He was a member of the court (*dargāh*) and accompanied the ruler on military expeditions and on his

perambulations around the empire. Because of the element of personal service involved, the power and influence of the *wazīr* underwent many vicissitudes with the rise and fall of successive dynasties and rulers.

Although the *wazīr* had general supervision over the administration, his fundamental and most important duty was to oversee the finances of the state. He was usually paid by assignments on the revenue; in addition, he received various fees and allowances, the number of which increased over the years, especially under the Ṣafawids. The sources of profit open to him were many and some *wazīrs* accumulated much wealth. This enabled them to gather followers but it also made them the object of the jealousy of their peers and the suspicion of the ruler, who sometimes sought to limit their potential power by the appointment of joint *wazīrs*. These dual appointments were occasionally found under the Būyids and Kh^w^ārazm Shāhs, notably under the Īlkhāns, and at least once under the Ḳādjārs [see ḲĀDJĀR at Vol. IV, 394a]. In this the Īlkhāns may have been influenced by Chinese administrative practice. Tension between the *wazīr* and the military was a perennial feature of most reigns. Although the assignments and pay of the military went, at least in theory, through the office of the *wazīr*, only the strongest *wazīrs* could hope to maintain the pre-eminence of the bureaucracy over the military.

The office of *wazīr* was a precarious one. Its holder had no security of tenure and was subject to arbitrary dismissal and was often, after his fall, mulcted, and sometimes physically punished and murdered. Of the six men who held the office of *wazīr* under Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], three were dismissed and died violently; a fourth suffered disgrace and prolonged imprisonment; a fifth fell from favour and was mulcted and a sixth was executed by Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd shortly after he succeeded Maḥmūd (C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1963, 70-1). The situation did not materially alter in later periods. Several Saldjūḳ *wazīrs* suffered violent ends (Lambton, *op. cit.*, 46-7); and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Shāh was the only Īlkhānid *wazīr* to die a natural death (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran AHS 1336-9/1958-61, 616). Dismissal followed by mulcting, imprisonment and death was a fact of frequent occurrence up to and including the 19th century.

Under the Sāmānids the *wazīr*, known as the Kh^w^ādja Buzurg, was the head of a well-developed bureaucratic system, divided into a number of separate *dīwāns* (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 229), but towards the end of the 4th/10th century, power began to pass into the hands of the military. The historian al-ʿUtbī states that the last Sāmānid *wazīrs* had no power to restore order: "Dominion passed into the hands of the Turks and the decrees of the *wazīrs* lost their force" (quoted by Barthold, *op. cit.*, 253). Meanwhile in the western provinces the *wazīrs* under Būyid rule no longer enjoyed prestige as had the Barmakids [see AL-BARĀMIKA] under the caliphs. Their function was mainly to provide money for the military forces of the ruler. Some, however, acquired considerable power, notably al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], *wazīr* to Fakhr al-Dawla and Muʾayyid al-Dawla, and Abū ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Muwaffaḳ, appointed *wazīr* by Bahāʾ al-Dawla in 388/998 [see BAHĀʾ AL-DAWLA, in Suppl., at 118b].

The vizierate reached its apogee under Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], *wazīr* to the Saldjūḳ sultans Alp Arslān and Malikshāh. He supervised the general conduct of affairs on behalf of the sultan. He also had general supervision of the religious institution, and as the personal representative of the sultan he conducted relations with the caliph and other rulers. He even on occasion conducted military expeditions (Lambton, *op. cit.*, 18 ff.). The rewards of office were great but its expenses heavy. The *wazīr* was expected to maintain a large household, including armed retainers. Niẓām al-Mulk, for example, had a private army of military slaves. Custom demanded that the *wazīr* should be accessible, and his court was accordingly thronged with petitioners. The distinction between his private funds and what he expended as *wazīr* on behalf of the sultan or in the general interest is not easily made. In the late Saldjūḳ period, the vizierate declined, not only because of a lack of effective controls throughout the administration but also because of the fragmentation of the Saldjūḳ empire. Under the Kh^w^ārazm Shāhs, the *wazīr* temporarily regained some of his former importance (*ibid.*, 49).

In the early years of Mongol dominion in Persia, there was an ill-defined dual system: the *wazīrs* acted mainly as finance ministers alongside the Mongol governors of the provinces, though what their relationship was to the *ulugh bitikčis* (or chief secretaries) of the Mongol governors, whose functions appear to have been primarily the keeping of tax records and the imposition and collection of taxes, is not clear. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Djuwaynī was confirmed as *ṣāḥib dīwān* to Čin-Temür, the governor of Khurāsān, by Ögedey and was later successively *ṣāḥib dīwān* to Korgüz and Arghūn, both of whom were governors of Khurāsān. On the succession of Möngke, he was confirmed as *ṣāḥib dīwān* and sent with the Mongol *amīr* Naymatay to Persian ʿIrāḳ and Yazd, but died en route to his new post. Shams al-Dīn Djuwaynī became chief minister and *ṣāḥib dīwān* to Hülegü in 661/1262-3, which post he also held under Hülegü's successor, Abāḳā, and attained a position of great personal influence. From 678/1279 Madjd al-Mulk Yazdī, the *mushrif al-mamālik*, held office beside him and signed documents on the left while Shams al-Dīn signed on the right. Saʿd al-Dawla, *ṣāḥib dīwān* to Arghūn, and Ṣadr al-Dīn Aḥmad Khālidī, appointed *ṣāḥib dīwān* by Gaykhātū in 691/1292, both exercised wide-ranging power. The most influential Īlkhānid *wazīr* was probably Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī, who held office under Ghāzān and Öldjeytü. His position was not entirely secure, however, and eventually he fell from office and was mulcted and killed. In the reign of Ghāzān he had alongside him Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad Sāwadjī as joint *wazīr* and Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Shāh in the reign of Öldjeytü.

Under Tīmūr there was a decline in the position of the *wazīr*. Power was in the hands of the military. Similarly, under the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu the *wazīr*'s power was circumscribed and confined mainly to financial affairs.

In the early Ṣafawid period, the administration of the state was fairly fluid and at times the *amīrs*, especially the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, and to a lesser extent the *ṣadr* (the chief religious official), encroached upon the powers of the *wazīr*. Shah Ismāʿīl I tended to delegate power to a chief minister, known as the *wakīl*, whose functions, if not his title, had existed under the late Aḳ Ḳoyunlu rulers (J. Aubin, *L'avènement des Safavides*, in *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien*, v [1988], 112). He was in effect the *wazīr*, and this was still the official term for the chief minister of the shah. The term *wakīl* does not appear in the official titulary in archival documents so far as is known (*ibid.*, 113-14. This corrects the statement in the art. DĪWĀN at Vol. IV,

334b, which differentiates wrongly *wakīl* from *wazīr*). Political and financial affairs (*umūr-i mālī wa umūr-i mulkī*) were delegated to him but he had no authority over the religious institution, though he did sometimes intervene in the nomination of the *ṣadr* (*ibid.*, 115-66).

From the reign of ʿAbbās I (995-1038/1587-1629), an elaborate administrative system evolved, at the head of which stood the *wazīr*. He was a member of the council of state (*djānkī*); at court he stood at the shah's right hand, while the *wāḳiʿa-nuwīs*, the official historiographer, stood on the left and was sometimes called the *wazīr-i čap* (R.M. Savory, *The Safavid administrative system*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vi, *The Timurid and Safavid periods*, Cambridge 1986, 353).

The *Dastūr al-mulūk* of Mīrzā Rafīʿā and the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* [of Mīrzā Samīʿā] (Persian text in facs., tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London, 1943) describe the office of the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān*. The former states that his office was the greatest of all offices and that he was the most important of all the pillars of the state; the collection and expenditure of the revenue were made with his knowledge, approval and signature; subordinate *wazīrs* and other officials of the *dīwān* and the agents of the *dīwān* in the provinces were appointed by him. It was his duty to restrain unlawful acts, but if the offender was a powerful governor, he was to refer the case to the shah. The *wazīr* was to come daily to the guard-house at the gate of the *dīwān* to hear the petitions of the people (ed. Dānish-pazhūh, 75-7). He had no wages (*mawādjib*) but had the right to numerous dues, fees and allowances. At the New Year he had to give a present [see PĪSHKASH] to the shah of 1,000 *ashrafīs* and twelve stallions and mares (*ibid.*, 77).

Under Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834), the functions of the *wazīr* were probably not very different from the late Ṣafavid period; but in the mid-19th century, political and administrative changes began to take place [see DUSTŪR. iv; ḲĀDJĀR]. Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Amīr Niẓām [see AMĪR KABĪR in Suppl.], chief minister (*ṣadr-i aʿẓam*) to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh from 1848 to 1852 and Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Sipahsālār Mushīr al-Dawla, who was appointed in 1871, both attempted to introduce far-reaching reforms but with little success; both were dismissed and the former murdered. Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Nūrī, Mīrzā Taḳī Khān's successor, was dismissed in 1858, and for some years the shah sought to rule without a chief minister. The experiment was not successful, though the shah repeated it again in 1873. In the 1880s, chief ministers were again appointed.

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Documents for the *wazīr* are to be found in the following collections: Bahāʾ al-Dīn Baghdādī, *al-Tawassul ilā ʾl-tarassul*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran AHS 1315/1936-7; Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ al-Kātib al-Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran AHS 1329/1951; ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Kiyā Māzandarānī, *Die resāla-ye falakiyya*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1952; H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs*, Wiesbaden 1964; Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakh-djiwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib*, ed. A.A. Alizade, Moscow i, 1964, i/2, 1971, ii, 1976; see also B.G. Fragner, *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1980. Much material on the holders of the office of *wazīr* is to be found in chronicles and historical works, some of which give lists of *wazīrs* under the reigns of individual rulers or dynasties, and in biographical dictionaries.

(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

III. IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Here, synonyms for the *wezīr* were such varied terms as *pasha*, *ṣāḥib*, *āṣaf*, *wekīl*, *nāẓīr* and *lala*, with the Grand Vizier also known as the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* [*q.v.*], the First *Wezīr* in the imperial *dīwān*, with the lesser *wezīrs* as his advisers.

Background and evolution of the office

During the 8th/14th century, the Ottoman rulers appear to have chosen their *wezīrs* mostly from among the *ʿulemāʾ*-bureaucrats or *ḳāḍīs*. In Orkhan's *temlīk-nāme* of Rabīʿ II 749/June 1348 (*Topkapı Sarayı arşiv kılavuzu*, i, Istanbul 1938, facsimile I) Ḥādjdjī Pasha, mentioned first among the witnesses, is obviously the *wezīr*. Evidently, it was because of their expert knowledge in Islamic jurisprudence and institutions, considered of vital importance in organising the new Ottoman amīrate, that *wezīrs* were chosen from the *ʿulemāʾ* class. The first identified *wezīrs* were ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Pasha (723/1323), Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd (741/1340), Ḥādjdjī Pasha (towards 749/1348) and Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf (after 749/1348). ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pasha, who is believed to have been the first *wezīr* in Ottoman history, was definitely of the *ʿulemāʾ* class (see Hüsameddin, 43) and not the brother of Sulṭan Orkhan, as claimed in Ottoman annals. Before Čandarli Khayr al-Dīn Ḳara Khalīl, a chief *ḳāḍī*, was made Grand Vizier with full powers in 787/1385 or a little later, six *wezīrs* have been identified by Hüsameddin (*ibid.*). In the period 1385-1453 the Čandarli family provided the Ottoman state with *wezīrs* and Grand Viziers, all serving as *ḳāḍī* in their earlier career. Some of the members of the family served only as simple *wezīrs* or *ḳāḍī-ʿaskers*

in the imperial *dīwān* (see Uzunçarşılı, *Çandarlı vezir ailesi*).

Early popular *ghāzī* tradition (see Giese, *Chroniken*) reflects ever-present rivalry between the *wezīrs* of military background and those from the *ʿulemāʾ*. The *beylerbeyis* of Rumeli and Anadolu [*q.vv.*], as well as *wezīrs* of military background, sat in the imperial *dīwān* in this early period. The most spectacular show of rivalry between the two groups occurred between Čandarlî Khalīl and Shihāb al-Dīn Pasha in the period 1440-53, ending with the fall of Khalīl (see İnalcık, *Fatih devri*, 1-53).

A revolutionary change occurred in 857/1453 when the over-mighty Grand Vizier Čandarlî Khalīl, arrested and executed by Meḥemmed II, was replaced by *wezīrs* from amongst the military men of *ḳul* [see GHULĀM. iv] origin, although bureaucrats or *ʿulemāʾ* with expertise in finance or chancery correspondence continued to be employed as *wezīrs*. One from the latter category, Nishāndjî Meḥmed of Ḳaramān, holding the position of Grand Vizier, was murdered by the Janissaries on the death of Meḥemmed II in 886/1481. His rival *wezīrs* Isḥāḳ and Gedik Aḥmed [*q.v.*], military men, replaced him in the government, and all *wezīrs* from *ʿulemāʾ* or from *küttāb* or secretarial origin were dismissed. The insurgent Janissaries demanded that from then onwards, the sultan should choose his *wezīrs* exclusively from among the *ḳul* element.

However, Bāyezīd II rehabilitated the Čandarlî family to the vizierate and, being concerned for his security on the throne against his brother Djem [*q.v.*], he often entrusted the position to the eunuch *ḳapî-agha* [*q.v.*] or other trusted servants of the palace.

Consequently, in the classical age (1453-1600), the *wezīrs* were mostly men of military background. Ibn Khaldūn noted the replacement of the *arbāb al-ḳalam* by the *arbāb al-sayf* under the Mamlūk Sultans in Egypt also. It was the Grand Vizier's exclusive right to recommend to the sultan the appointment or promotion of a *wezīr*. Of course, in reality people close to the sultan, such as the *ḳapî-agha*, the sultan's mother or the *muṣāḥib*, a favourite adviser of the sultan, often played a role in the final decision. Appointment of the *wezīrs* was to be made directly by the sultan himself with a *khaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*]. In choosing a *wezīr*, his expert knowledge in a special area was also taken into account. Maḥmūd Pasha was deliberately chosen for Meḥemmed II's plans for Serbia, and Ibrāhīm Pasha for Süleymān I's campaigns in Europe. *Wezīrs* of military origin multiplied in wartime.

Wezīrs coming from among the professional secretaries, as had been the rule formerly in the ʿAbbāsid, Saldjūḳid and Ilkhānid states, were mostly to be found in the Ottoman government in the second half of the 9th/15th century when a highly developed Ottoman bureaucracy evolved. Then, most of the *wezīrs* of *küttāb* origin belonged to the literati or to *ʿulemāʾ* families. Djazarī Ḳāsîm Pasha from Persia, who supposedly founded the Ottoman chancery or *inshāʾ* style and who was second *wezīr* and candidate for the Grand Vizierate under Bāyezīd II, was exiled under pressure from the military *wezīrs*. In any case, state secretaries specialising in such areas as finances and chancery correspondence rose in the hierarchy to become *wezīrs* and Grand Viziers.

In the chaotic conditions of the end of the 10th/16th century, the rule that the second *wezīr* would be promoted to the Grand Vizierate was often disregarded, and the third or fourth *wezīr*, or even a governor or Janissary *agha* or *silāḥdār* outside the *dīwān*, could be appointed to the position.

As for the ethnic origins of the *wezīrs*, most of them in the classical age were of slave, *ḳul*, origin. We find, for example, a comparatively great number of *wezīrs* and Grand Viziers of Albanian and Slavic origin in the period 1430-1550 because of the fact that there were frequent expeditions in Albania, and the *devshirme* [*q.v.*] was regularly practised in the poor mountainous regions of the Balkans during this period (see Jorga, *GOR*, iii, 162-89). For the same reason, towards 983/1575 *wezīrs* were mostly of Croatian, Hungarian or Austrian origin. Passing through the palace services and provincial hierarchy, the most successful of these came back as *wezīrs* to the imperial *dīwān*. At palace schools, some gifted ones such as Luṭfī Pasha [*q.v.*] gained a good Ottoman Turkish education, while most of them acquired only martial skills, but some were illiterate and hardly able to speak Turkish. They had to rely on people in their *ḳapu* [*q.v.*], including advisers and secretaries who were responsible for their correspondence.

The accession of a new sultan to the throne meant a radical change in the *dīwān*, since the personnel which had served him in the period of his governorship expected to replace the *wezīrs* and other dignitaries of the previous sultan. The rivalry and plots of the newcomers to gain full control of the government often caused serious crises in administration, as witnessed at the accessions of Meḥemmed II, Bāyezīd II, Selīm I, Selīm II and Murād III. When the practice of the princes' governorship was abandoned under Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*], palace factions mostly determined who was to become the new sultan and his *wezīrs*. Under the sultans who were minors, in the 11th/17th century *wālide sulṭāns* [*q.v.*] became responsible for choosing the *wezīrs*.

Under the long period of regency of the *Wālide* Māhpeyker [see KÖSEM WĀLIDE], who was acting in alliance with the Janissary corps, dismissals became very frequent as a result of favouritism, clientship and bribery. Contemporary critics (see ʿĀlī, *Nuzha*; Ḳoči Bey, *Risāle*) stress that it was the loss of vizierial authority that was responsible for the anarchical conditions in the period.

At an unusually critical point in 1066/1656, the palace saw that it was indispensable to restore the vizierial authority in the person of Meḥmed Köprülü [see KÖPRÜLÜ], to whom dictatorial powers were assigned. Meḥmed, his son and relatives retained power for almost half a century, often allying with the *ʿulemāʾ* to neutralise rivals.

The character of the Ottoman vizierate and the origins of the *wezīrs* again changed radically in the period following the peace of Carlowitz [see ḲARLOVČA] in 1109/1698-9. During the war of 1683-99, the Ottoman army and government collapsed, and the palace had to call upon the Djelālī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] leaders of Anatolia. One of them, Boynu-Yaralî Meḥmed, a Turcoman, became Grand Vizier (Naʿīmā, vi, 197; Silāḥdār, i, 410). After the war, the palace brought to power the architect of the peace treaty, the *reʾīs al-küttāb* [*q.v.*], Rāmī Meḥmed, head of the Grand Vizier's chancery responsible for foreign affairs. The Ottomans now believed that some sort of diplomatic service was becoming crucial for the existence of the empire, so that many of the *wezīrs* were now chosen from among the *reʾīs al-küttāb* class in the 18th century (Nishāndjî Ismāʿīl, Meḥmed Emīn, Abū Bekr, Muḥsin-zāde, Khalīl Ḥāmid). However, in the period following the 1730 revolution, meetings of the imperial *dīwān* became obsolete. The powerful black eunuch *aghas* of the imperial harem became responsible for the choice of

the *wezīrs* and Grand Viziers. Later, in the second half of the century, bureaucrats, such as Rāghib Pasha [*q.v.*], succeeded in asserting vizieral power and independence, and the Grand Vizier's *kapu* [see BĀB-I ʿĀLĪ] became the centre of all governmental affairs. In this century also, Janissary *aghas* or *kapudān-i deryās* [*q.v.*] or governors were directly chosen for the Grand Vizierate, whilst most of the *wezīrs* and the Grand Viziers came from the Turkish families whose sons were clients of the high dignitaries or servants in the imperial palace. *Intisāb*, patronage and clientship thus played a major role in the choice of *wezīrs*, so that Georgian and Circassian slaves belonging to the households of dignitaries reached this exalted position during this period (Siyāwush, Kara Ibrāhīm, ʿAlī, Kodja Yūsuf, Ḥasan and Kör Yūsuf). The *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*'s assistants in his household, the *ketkhudā* and the *mektūbdju*, assumed the role of the *wezīrs*. In 1795 an attempt was made to reform the vizierate by restricting the title only to governors.

Bureaucratic control became more pronounced in the 19th century. In 1836, with the establishment of *neẓārets*, ministeries each under a *nāẓir* or *wekīl*, the title of *wezīr* and *pasha* was then kept only as a ceremonial title for *nāẓirs*.

The Grand Vizier then bore the title of *bash-wekīl*, losing much of a Grand Vizier's responsibility (see Akyıldız, 25-35). During the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period (1839-76), reformist bureaucrats and diplomats such as Muṣṭafā Reshīd, ʿĀlī and Fu'ād, succeeded each other in government, while they intermittently had to leave power to the generals or palace favourites. But, in general, it was the bureaucrats specialising in foreign affairs who alone had the power to attempt to disentangle the state from the complications of the so-called Eastern Question (see Findley).

Functions

In earlier Islamic states, *wezīrs*, as the heads of the separate *dīwāns* or bureaux, appear to have had a kind of autonomy. In the Ottoman state, however, all of the *erkān-i dewlet*, that is the *wezīrs* in the first place, and *defterdārs*, *nishāndjīs* and *ḳāḍī-ʿaskers* [*q.vv.*], assembled together in the *dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*], the imperial council, theoretically under the sultan himself, but in practice under his *wekīl-i muṭlak*, the first *wezīr* or Grand Vizier [see ṢADR-I AʿẒAM].

Since the unity of the sultan's authority was the paramount principle of Ottoman government, state powers were to be exercised directly and exclusively by the first *wezīr*, other *wezīrs* acting mainly as his advisers. Potentially, however, each *wezīr* was considered to have the same powers as the first *wezīr*. A regulation of the vizierate (*MTM*, iii, 498-500) stipulates that when a *wezīr* was appointed as *ḳā'im-maḳām*, [*q.v.*] or as *serdār*, army commander, or as a *müfettish*, general inspector, he became superior in status to other *wezīrs*. When he was appointed a *serdār* or a *ḳā'im-maḳām*, he automatically acquired "exactly the same powers as the Grand Vizier, administering all sorts of *sharʿī* and *ʿurfī* affairs and the state laws and regulations, sending imperial orders in the name of the sultan (*fermān buyurmak*), making all appointments, and taking decisions in all kinds of affairs." But in fact many *ḳā'im-maḳām pashas* with such sweeping powers were tempted to replace the absent Grand Vizier. Also, a *wezīr* who was appointed governor to an *eyālet* or province or a *serdār* "was authorised on the way to his destination to hold a *dīwān* of his own to hear suits and issue *buyuruldus* or vizieral orders to prevent or correct unjust acts against the sultan's subjects". A *mufettish wezīr* had the power to dismiss or appoint local office-holders as the situation required. Even when he was dismissed from the mission, he could exercise the same powers on his way back to Istanbul.

At his appointment a *wezīr* received gifts, including a *dawāt* or *diwīt*, an ink-case which was traditionally the symbol of viziership, in all Islamic states. When on campaign, a *wezīr* carried three *tughs* [*q.v.*], used a large tent of three poles, the so-called shadow-hanging or, *sāyebān*, and had a gallery lit with candles, *kandilli sokak* (for other ceremonial distinctions, see *MTM*, iii, 498-500). Viziers of this category were distinguished as *üč-tughlu wezīr* and *ṣāḥib-i ṭughrā wezīr*. In a political treatise of around 1640 (*Ḥirz al-mulūk*, fols. 5a-10b) an ideal *wezīr* is described as being pious, just and honest, not greedy, and capable of solving problems by referring to the authoritative sources in Arabic and Persian. A Grand Vizier should, in addition, always consult other *wezīrs* before taking a decision. The author also underlines that the Grand Vizier should always be on the side of the powerless *reʿāyā* [*q.v.*], careful not to take bribes, not to attempt to get possession of public lands, and not to favour his clients for public offices. A Grand Vizier should, in the *dīwān* meetings, send most of the plaintiffs to the second *wezīr* for an impartial treatment.

The meeting days of the *dīwān* were four, from Saturday to Tuesday and the *ʿarḍ*, audience days with the sultan, two, sc. Sunday and Tuesday. In the late 11th/17th century, *dīwān* days were restricted to the *ʿarḍ* days.

In the *dīwān* meetings, *wezīrs* sat on the right-hand of the Grand Vizier in order of their seniority in the office. As advisers to the Grand Vizier, they discussed state affairs with him. The Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm, executed in 1536, was accused of neglecting consultation with the *wezīrs*. They accompanied the Grand Vizier on his audience days with the sultan. In the audience, the Grand Vizier alone spoke and made a report on affairs. A *wezīr* could make a written report to the sultan only through the Grand Vizier. Complaints by people against a *wezīr* were seen and judged in a special committee composed of the Grand Vizier, the *shaykh al-islām* [*q.v.*] and two *ḳāḍī-ʿaskers*.

Besides the *dīwān-i hümāyūn*, the Grand Vizier held a *dīwān* in his own residence called the *ikindi dīwānī*, the afternoon *dīwān*, to take care of lesser affairs. This residence, called *Pasha-kapïsï* or *Bāb-i ʿĀlī*, became the main *dīwān* for government affairs in the second half of the 11th/17th century.

One of the privileges of a *wezīr* was to assist the Grand Vizier and the *nishāndjī* in drawing the *ṭughrā* [*q.v.*], or sultan's seal, on the *fermāns*, a privilege for which they were called *wezīr-i ṣāḥib-i ṭughrā*. Putting the *ṭughrā* meant the validation of the sultan's order, thus making *wezīrs* the authorised agents of the ruler. Before the Ottomans, the *wizāret-i ṭughrā* was one of the highest positions in a Saldjūḳid administration.

Customarily, the second *wezīr* was the prime candidate for the Grand Vizierate, although for practical reasons the sultan could choose a *wezīr* of lower rank for the post. Breach of this rule rarely caused a political crisis [see AḤMAD PASHA, KHĀ'IN].

The number of *wezīrs* sitting at the imperial *dīwān* was customarily restricted to four in the classical period, a mystical figure representing the four corners of the world, or the four Rightly-Guided Caliphs. Under certain circumstances, however, the number might be increased to more than four. For a better consultation the increased number was recommended (*Ḥirz al-mulūk*, fols. 26b-30b). In the 10th/16th century, governors of the large distant provinces, Egypt, Baghdād,

Ḥabe<u>sh</u> (Abyssinia), Yemen and Buda bore the title of *wezīr*, enabling them to act independently as circumstances required. Then, the number of seven became the norm. Over the course of time, two categories of *wezīrs* appeared, those sitting in the imperial *dīwān* in Istanbul, called *dā<u>kh</u>il*, or of the *ḳubbe*, and those of the provinces called *<u>kh</u>āri<u>dj</u>* or of "the *eyālet*". During the long Persian campaigns from 1587 onwards, the number of the *ḳubbe wezīrs* was increased to nine, and those of the *<u>kh</u>āri<u>dj</u>* to sixteen. The sensitive distant frontier provinces of Tabrīz, <u>Sh</u>īrwān, Erzurūm, and Anatolia in the east, and those of Buda, Bosna and Belgrade in the west, were put under *wezīr*-governors with full authority. A *wezīr*-governor had the authority to summon the neighbouring governors under his command in an emergency.

The navy assuming a crucial importance under Süleymān I, the grand admiral or *ḳapūdān-i deryā* was chosen from among the *ḳubbe wezīrs*, or the actual head of the navy was given the title. Also in the 10th/16th century, the title of *wezīr* began to be employed for other important office-holders such as *defterdār, ni<u>sh</u>ān<u>dj</u>i* or *a<u>gh</u>a* of the Janissaries. In the early 18th century, *ḳoltuḳ* or candidate *wezīrs* appeared, since the title was used for the principal palace *a<u>gh</u>as* such as the *silāḥdār* [*q.v.*], *rikābdār* or *čawu<u>sh</u>-ba<u>sh</u>ī*. At any rate, in this period the title lost its original lofty meaning, being conferred as an honorific title even on provincial magnates.

A *wezīr*'s chance for promotion depended much on the strength of his *ḳapu*, a household retinue numbering hundreds; *wezīrs* maintained large palaces comparable in their organisation to those of the sultan. *Wezīrs* were the richest members of Ottoman society. The basic salary of a *wezīr* came from his *<u>kh</u>āṣṣ* [see TĪMĀR] revenues in the provinces, which was doubled by other sources of revenues including substantial gifts and bribes. A *wezīr*'s annual revenue was estimated between 16,000 and 18,000 gold ducats, while the Grand Vizier's amounted to twice as much in the 10th/16th century. In 1525, the second *wezīr* Muṣṭafā's possessions included 700 *ḳuls* and 70,000 gold ducats, whilst those of the third *wezīr* Ayās included 600 *ḳuls* and 60,000 gold ducats.

In the 1580s, a retired *wezīr* received a pension called *arpalıḳ* [*q.v.*], ranging from 200,000 to 300,000 *aḳčes*, whilst a Grand Vizier received as much as half a million *aḳčes*, or about 8,300 gold ducats. The estate of a *wezīr* of *ḳul* origin without an heir belonged to the sultan's treasury.

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2. Studies. Zinkeisen, iii, 59-116; Ḥ. Ḥüsāmeddīn, *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pa<u>sh</u>a*, in *TTEM*, nos. 5-9, 43; N. Jorga, *Gesch. des osman. Reiches*, Gotha 1908-13, iii, 167-89; M.K. İnal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrazamlar*, Istanbul 1940-7; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlılarda ilk vezirlere dair mutalea*, in *Belleten*, ix, 99-106; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 186-213; idem, *Çandarlı vezir ailesi*, Ankara 1970-4; H. İnalcik, *Fatih devri*, Ankara 1954; idem, *The Ottoman empire. The classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 89-103; Z.A. Lalor, *Promotion patterns of Ottoman bureaucratic statesmen from the Lâle Devri until the Tanzimat*, in *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, i (1972), 77-92; R. Aboul-el-Haj, *The Ottoman Vezir and Pasha households, 1683-1703*, in *JAOS*, xciv (1974), 438-47; C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire. The Sublime Porte 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980; A. Mumcu, *Divân-i Hümayun*, Ankara 1986; Findley, *Ottoman civil officialdom*, Princeton 1989; L.P. Peirce, *The Imperial harem*, Oxford and New York 1993; A. Akyıldız, *Tanzimat dönemi, osmanlı merkez teşkilâtında reform*, Istanbul 1993, 21-176. (HALIL İNALCIK)

AL-WAZĪR AL-MA<u>GH</u>RIBĪ [see AL-MA<u>GH</u>RIBĪ, 4].

AL-WAZĪR AL-ṢA<u>GH</u>ĪR (A.), a term of Fāṭimid administrative usage, also called the *Ṣāḥib al-Bāb*, i.e. head chamberlain. He was equal in status to the *Isfahsālār* or *Muḳaddam al-ʿAskar*, the commander-in-chief of the army, and the two of them settled all matters of military organisation. According to al-Ḳalḳa<u>sh</u>andī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 483, vi, 7-8, he was second in the civilian administrative hierarchy after the *wazīr* himself and could hear *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] when the *wazīr* was pre-occupied.

Bibliography: See also W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 98. (ED.)

WAZĪRĪS and WAZĪRISTĀN, the name of a Pa<u>sh</u>tūn tribe and their region, essentially in the North-West Frontier region of present-day Pakistan.

Wazīristān, the region, lies on Pakistan's western frontier between the Kuram river in the north, the Gūmal in the south, and the western boundaries of the administered districts of Bannū and Dēra Ismāʿīl <u>Kh</u>ān to the east. The western boundary of Wazīristān is roughly indicated by the international frontier with Af<u>gh</u>ānistān (the Durand Line) but the region extends into Af<u>gh</u>ānistān in Birmal and at other points. The region is a tangled mass of hills, valleys and plains and it is inhabited mainly by the Pa<u>sh</u>tūn tribesmen from whom it takes its name, that is to say, the Wazīrīs, who trace their descent to a supposed common ancestor, Wazīr. In the central part of southern Wazīristān the Maḥsūds [*q.v.*] predominate. By origin Wazīrīs, the Maḥsūds are now regarded as a separate tribe. Elsewhere in Wazīristān are the Darwē<u>sh</u> <u>Kh</u>ēl Wazīrīs, now commonly known simply as Wazīrīs. In northern Wazīristān the ʿU<u>th</u>mānzay branch are the principal inhabitants and in the southern, western and northern parts of southern Wazīristān (including the large plain of Wānā) live the Aḥmadzay branch. The eastern borders of Wazīristān are inhabited by Biṭanīs and parts of the Tōčī valley by the Dawrs. The principal occupations of the Wazīrī tribes have been agriculture and pastoralism, supplemented by trade, mining, a little manufacturing and raiding.

About the early history of Wazīristān and its inhabitants little is known. There are references in the memoirs of Bābur and in 18th-century documents from the time of Aḥmad <u>Sh</u>āh Durrānī [*q.v.*], but most information is derived from British sources, especially from 1265/1849 onwards when British power in India was extended up to the borders of Wazīristān. To the British the Wazīrīs, especially the Maḥsūds, presented a major security problem, which they sought

to solve by various devices: punitive expeditions, blockades, fines, hostages, the encouragement of settlement, the garrisoning of strategic positions and the development of roads, but none of these availed and Wazīristān remained the most disturbed area of the North-West Frontier. The demarcation of the frontier with Afghānistān in 1312/1894 coincided with a new British initiative aimed at controlling the region through garrisons (notably at Wānā) and allowances to chiefs. The Dawrs of the Tōčī valley were brought under British protection and two political agencies were created: North Wazīristān (1895) and South Wazīristān (1896). These measures provoked still more vigorous resistance led by a Maḥsūd religious figure, Mullā Muḥyī al-Dīn (d. 1913), better known as the Mullā Pōwindā, and the chiefs were abandoned in favour of dealing with the generality of tribesmen and eventually with the Mullā Pōwindā himself. These efforts were unsuccessful, and during the Third Anglo-Afghān war (1919) Britain lost control over all of Wazīristān outside the Tōčī valley. There followed a major campaign in Wazīristān (1919-23) and a new plan for roads and military garrisons, notably at Razmak in North Wazīristān, but this plan involved the defence of long lines of communication and led to further fighting. From 1936 the two most prominent leaders of Wazīrī resistance were the Darwēsh Khēl *imām*, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān, the Faḳīr of Ipī (*ca.* 1890-1960 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), and (from 1938) Saʿīd al-Gīlānī, the so-called Shāmī Pīr.

The creation of Pakistan witnessed the implementation of a new policy in Wazīristān: military garrisons were withdrawn leaving only the militias (in a restricted role) and *khāṣṣadārs* to support the political agents; new services were supplied including irrigation, schools and hospitals; and tribesmen were encouraged to settle and to develop economic and political links with Pakistan. Many, especially the Maḥsūds, worked as labourers, in transport and in light engineering in Pakistan. There are no reliable series of population statistics for Wazīristān but it is evident that the population grew rapidly in the second half of the 20th century and pressures were felt particularly by the Maḥsūds who encroached on the lands of the Aḥmadzay Darwēsh Khēl Wazīrīs in southern Wazīristān and even moved into northern Wazīristān around Razmak. Aḥmadzay resentment was articulated during the 1970s by Mullā Nūr Muḥammad of Wānā, who proclaimed a *djihād* against the Maḥsūds, leading to fighting and in 1976 the intervention of government forces to quell Aḥmadzay resistance.

Their proximity to the Afghān frontier and their links with Kābul have led to various Wazīrī interventions in Afghānistān since the early 19th century. In more recent times, Wazīrīs played a vital role in the conquest of Kābul by Nādir Khān in 1929, attacked Khōst in 1933, took an important part in the Kashmīrī *djihād* of 1947, and were drawn into the Afghān civil war after 1979.

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WAZN (A.), lit. "the act of weighing", from *wazana* to weigh, to balance, cf. also *mīzān* [*q.v.*], a balance, scales; and for weights in general, see MAKĀZĪL and MAWĀZIN.

1. As a term of numismatics.

Until the 20th century, when metallic currencies were supplanted by fiduciary money and other forms of monetary instruments, the Islamic world used gold and silver as their common medium of exchange and copper as a largely token currency.

The two intrinsic qualities that governed the value of these metals as coins were the purity of their alloys and the weights at which they were struck. When ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān carried out his monetary reform between 77 and 79/696-98, he introduced a gold coin based on the Byzantine solidus, *ca.* 4.40 gr., but somewhat lighter, *ca.* 4.25 gr., called the dīnār [*q.v.*] and a silver coin, the dirham [*q.v.*] modelled on the Sāsānid drachm, but struck at seven-tenths the latter's weight, 2.87 gr. Both coins were made from virtually pure metal and were intended to circulate by tale, i.e. prices were established and transactions concluded in a fixed number of coins of a known standard of weight and fineness. In everyday use, a fixed ratio between the prices of gold and silver could not be established and maintained because the purchasing power of both metals depended on their local supply and demand. For taxation purposes, however, provincial governments frequently fixed an exchange rate between the two which would serve their own revenue needs. Gold and silver were refined and struck at mints under caliphal control, but copper was manufactured into *fals* [*q.v.*] under the supervision of the local authorities and sold to the public in return for dīnārs and dirhams to support commerce and raise local revenues.

At the start of the ʿAbbāsid era, the weight of the dirham appears to have been raised from 2.87 to 2.97 gr., thus establishing the well-known ratio of seven coinage dīnārs or *mithḳāls* being equal in weight to ten dirhams. This move brought into being the so-called canonical dīnār and dirham which became enshrined in the *Sharīʿa* [*q.v.*] as the official weight of the coinage *mithḳāl* and dirham, regardless of the actual weight of the coins themselves. From the accession of al-Saffāḥ in 132/749 until the death of al-Mahdī in 169/785, this seven to ten ratio was occasionally observed in the more important mints under direct caliphal control. During the reign of al-Rashīd, however, the centralised coinage system began to disintegrate in the western regions of the Islamic world. Umayyad Spain, not surprisingly, made no effort to adhere to the ʿAbbāsid weight standard, with the average dirham from the al-Andalus mint weighing 3 to 4 tenths of a gramme less than its eastern cousins. Lightweight dirhams were also produced in mints from Morocco to Egypt, large numbers of which have been found in eastern hoards. This leads one to conclude that as long as the dirham was accepted by tale rather than weight, the western regions had discovered a simple and effective means of lightening their tax burdens. Lightweight Maghribī dirhams began to appear

in quantity in eastern hoards at this time, and the Yemen also adopted a light dirham standard for its own coinage in the 170s/780s-790s and 180s/790s-800s. Struck at the weight of a half, or even quarter dirham, these coins were obviously intended for circulation only within the province itself.

As the dirham standard became widely flouted, the integrity of the dīnār was also compromised through clipping or paring small slivers of gold from its circumference. While the mints continued to strike dīnārs at the usual 4.25 gr., the majority of these coins, when weighed today, are no more than 3.80 and 4.10 gr., a loss of up to 10% of their value. This would have been a tempting return for those who could avoid detection and arrest. This process probably accelerated during the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn and continued for a few years into the first decade of al-Ma'mūn's undisputed rule.

The widespread tampering with the weight of coins may well have provided al-Ma'mūn with the economic motive for introducing his reform style coinage in 198/813. Unlike ʿAbd al-Malik's reform, which was effected within a three-year period, that of al-Ma'mūn came about gradually, spreading from his residence in Marw in Khurāsān to the other mint towns which recognised ʿAlī al-Riḍā as heir between 202/817-18 and 204/819-20. In the latter year the new style was adopted by the capital mint, Madīnat al-Salām, and 206/821-2 witnessed the striking of the first mintless reform-style dīnārs and mint-bearing dirhams whose inscriptions were written in a distinctive, rounded and much more legible Kūfic script. Al-Ma'mūn's reform coinage added a second, outside marginal legend (Sūra XXX, 3-4), which is thought to be a coded reference to the inevitability of al-Ma'mūn's victory over al-Amīn, and removed the names of all officials from the field legends, returning the coinage to its original Umayyad anonymity. The addition of this marginal legend may have been intended to act as a safeguard against the clipping of coins, which would have necessitated the defacement of a Ḳur'ānic legend, an act that no pious Muslim could countenance.

The new coinage could be distinguished from the old at a glance. Both dīnārs and dirhams, now identical in design, were distinguished from one another only by their metals and the word *dīnār* or *dirham* in their inner marginal legends. These words had, however, lost their original meanings because the new coinage was no longer struck to fixed weight standards and thus could pass only by weight rather than by tale. In effect they lost their status as specie, i.e. coin money, and became bullion, no more than stamped ingots whose inscriptions were a guarantee of the purity of their metal. From then onwards, the coinage of the caliphate and all the states from Egypt to Central Asia which owed the ʿAbbāsids real or nominal allegiance calculated payments by weight of metal, with a premium for coins known to be of good alloy and a discount for those of rulers who debased their precious metal content.

It is interesting to note that in the Maghrib the Aghlabids chose to retain the style and weight of the traditional ʿAbbāsid dīnār for their gold coinage while adopting a new silver coinage based on the half dirham weight, and their successors, the Fāṭimids, Midrārids and Almoravids, continued to use coinages that could still pass by tale because of the accuracy of their weight. This tradition continued and was strengthened under the Almohads, Ḥafṣids, Marīnids and Naṣrids, whose coinages were very carefully struck to the weight of the standard, or non-coinage *mithḳāl* of 4.68-4.72 gr. Their square *naṣrī* silver was emitted at the weight of the half dirham, *ca.* 1.40-1.50 gr.

Very little fine silver coinage was issued in the central Islamic lands between 450 and 570/1058-1174. Its place was taken by an abundant coinage in very debased billon in Afghānistān and copper in Egypt, Syria and ʿIrāḳ, which had to be weighed out to determine its value against pure gold and silver for all substantial payments. Of course, every city had its own system of weights and measures, and the values of gold and silver fluctuated independently according to the local supply and demand for these metals.

The earliest fine silver coinage to appear in quantity in the third quarter of the 6th/12th century was struck by the Mahdids [*q.v.*] in the Yemen and that was followed soon after by the dirhams of the Zangid of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl b. Maḥmūd. The latter were issued at the canonical weight of 2.97 gr. and provided the foundation for the silver currency in both Rūm Saldjūḳ Anatolia and Ayyūbid Syria. The dirhams of Ayyūbid and Rasūlid Yemen weighed about 2.00-2.20 gr. which was sufficiently accurate for them to pass by tale.

Ayyūbid Egypt inherited the Fāṭimid monetary system, whose principal metal was gold that, because of its irregular weight, would have passed by weight. This was supplemented by so-called black dirhams (*dirham aswad* or *dirham waraḳ*), which Balog describes as "rough, uneven, small rectangles or squares of low silver content, the weight of which depended on the haphazard way the cold chisel of the flan cutter fell". A small number of fine silver dirhams was, however, struck under both the later Fāṭimids for presentation purposes and by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf I, in an unsuccessful attempt to bring the debased Egyptian coinage into line with the high-quality Syrian one. By 622/1225, al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad [*q.v.*], apparently acting under public pressure, felt the need to reform the silver coinage. In the event, it was no more than a cosmetic move, involving a less laborious way of flan manufacture than chiselling out irregular bits of metal. The still molten and debased alloy was poured over a cone of charcoal into a vat of water, and the spattering metal yielded lumps of variable size and weight which were then struck into coin. As Balog records, "instead of being an irregular square or rectangle, it was round, oval, or with one or two protuberances at the edge." In the 620s/1220s and 630s/1230s the production of good silver dirhams in Syria spread eastwards across al-Djazīra as far as Baghdād where, starting in 632/1334, a dirham of canonical weight was struck for the first time in centuries. Before then, the need for small change was probably met by taking the contemporary broad, thin-flan ʿAbbāsid dīnārs, cutting them up into small pieces of gold of varying weight and selling them at the prevailing rate for silver or copper.

In the 8th/14th century a bi-metallic gold and silver currency was accepted in tale in Spain and the Maghrib, a debased silver and copper currency of irregular weight, supplemented by stamped gold ingots, was current in Mamlūk Egypt, a lightweight silver coinage in Anatolia, analogous to the silver penny of Western Europe, a continuously depreciating silver coinage, also supplemented by stamped gold ingots, in ʿIrāḳ and Persia, and in Muslim India gold and silver tankas [*q.v.*] of stable weight and alloy that could also be accepted by tale.

A decisive shift in monetary policy took place in the 9th/15th century. Burdjī Mamlūk Egypt, Ottoman Turkey, and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and then Ṣafawid Persia

adapted the weight of their gold currency to that of the Venetian sequin or ducat. This famous gold trade coin had a nominal weight of 3.50-3.55 gr. while the Islamic equivalents were, like the original Umayyad dīnār, slightly lighter in weight, usually around 3.40-3.45 gr. The silver coinage, likewise, was no longer linked to the weight of the canonical dirham and both weight and alloy could be reduced whenever economic pressures forced this expedient on governments. Details of these debasements are recorded in ʿOTHMĀNLI. IX. Numismatics, and TŪMĀN. 2.

The more recent centuries are basically a chronicle of increasing European influence on Islamic coinages. European economic and military pressures impoverished the Muslim world. The usual response lay in depreciating the currency through enforced devaluations. European governments whose traders were inconvenienced by the resulting monetary chaos demanded an end to systematic coinage manipulation. One by one the Muslim states were forced to adopt European-style coinages which they pledged not to debase. Because the introduction of the new bi-metallic currencies was not backed up by sufficient quantities of bullion to drive European currencies out of circulation, and because Muslim governments did not possess the necessary fiscal skills and discipline to deal successfully with European bankers and financiers, it was not long before unfavourable international loan agreements led to bankruptcy and, all too often, to colonial rule. The new colonial currencies, strong at first, shared the fate of those of the European powers in the aftermath of the World Wars of the 20th century. Decolonisation established national currencies in every Muslim country, but today their value, once determined by weight and fineness of metal, is governed by the respect they enjoy within the international financial system.

Bibliography: The literature on *wazn* begins with those coin catalogues and inventories which record the weight of the individual coin described. See the catalogues of the collections of Islamic coins in the major European and Middle Eastern museums. More detailed studies are contained in works devoted to the coinages of individual dynasties, e.g. P. Balog, *The coinage of the Ayyubids*, London 1980. Metallurgical analyses are also useful, as are studies of Islamic weights, e.g. G.C. Miles, *Early Arabic glass weights and stamps*, New York 1948. For a description of individual Islamic weights, see M.H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes*, Paris 1887. For some valuable recent observations on Islamic metrology, see the introduction by L. Ilisch to *The Turath collection. Coins of the Islamic world*, Auction Leu 64, Zurich 1996. (R.E. DARLEY-DORAN)

2. In language and literature.

Here, *wazn* "the act of weighing" means the establishing of a pattern in morphology (*taṣrīf*) or in prosody (*ʿarūḍ*) [*q.vv.*]. Prosodical weighing or scanning is also called *taḳṭīʿ* or *tafʿīl*. As a concrete noun, *wazn* (pl. *awzān*) denotes the resulting word form or metre. A morphological *wazn* is also called *bināʾ*, pl. *abniya*.

In the *wazn* of nouns and verbs, the root consonants are replaced with *fāʾ*, *ʿayn* and *lām* (and another *lām* in case of a fourth radical), whereas auxiliary consonants (*zawāʾid*, sing. *zāʾid*) and vowels remain unchanged, e.g. *fāʿil*, *mafʿūl*, *infaʿalat* and *mutafaʿlil* for *kātib*, *maktūb*, *inkatabat* and *mutafalsif*.

The *wazn* or metre of a line of verse is expressed through paradigms such as, *inter alia*, *faʿūlun*, *mafāʿīlun*, *mustafʿilun*, formed with letters from the series *alif*, *t*, *s*, *ʿ*, *f*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *w* and *y*, contained in the mnemonic *lamaʿat suyūfunā* ("our swords flashed"). The prosodical quantity of the paradigms equals the quantity of the corresponding segment of the line, but no distinction between radicals and auxiliary letters is made in this case. A line whose *wazn* coincides with a recognised *ʿarūḍ*-pattern is *mawzūn* "metrical". Metricality (*wazn*) is said by Ibn Rashīḳ, i, 134, to be the main pillar (*rukn*) in the definition of poetry.

Whereas *wazn* may refer to any metrical pattern that arises in practice, Arabic theory also recognises fifteen or sixteen ideal patterns called *buḥūr*, sing. *baḥr* [see ʿARŪḌ].

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Abī Shanab, *Tuḥfat al-adab fī mīzān ashʿār al-ʿarab*, Algiers 1906, 18; Ibn Rashīḳ, *Bāb fi 'l-awzān*, ch. xxi of his *al-ʿUmda fī maḥāsin al-shiʿr wa-ādābihi wa-naḳdih*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols., ²Cairo 1374/1955.

(W. STOETZER)

WAZZĀN, conventionally OUEZZANE, a town of the northwesternmost part of Morocco (lat. 34° 52' N., long. 5° 35' W., altitude 357 m/1,050 feet) and one of the holy cities of Morocco, its development being bound up with that of the Wazzānī Ṣūfī order and its *zāwiya* there [see WAZZĀNIYYA]. The history of the town involves hagiographic elements which are difficult to separate from the purely historical facts, so that the historian is confronted with mythical narratives, often handed down orally, all aimed at giving the Wazzānī *shurafāʾ* an aura of sanctity.

Until the second quarter of the 11th/17th century, the small village at Wazzān had no special distinction, but in the 1630s the Idrīsid *sharīf* Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm chose the place as the site for his *zāwiya*. Wazzān was in a position of strategic significance, in the foothills of the Djbāla country which gives passage between the mountains to the east and the plains of the Gharb to the west and south; it lay on the borders between the open lands where *Makhzen* authority could be enforced and mountains difficult of access, so that the town and its region were to play a role in *Makhzen* politics; and it was a region where the tribal territories of four groups, the Massara, the Maṣmūda, the Ghazāwa and the Rahūna, met.

The *zāwiya* speedily attracted adepts and visitors at its *mawsim*, hence became significant during Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh's lifetime, but the settlement of Wazzān remained essentially a village till the time of the third Wazzānī *shaykh*, Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib (d. 1767), after a period of calamitous civil warfare and famine in the late 1720s and 1730s. In the conditions of insecurity of the countryside, wealthy landowners and *ḳāʾids* established themselves in the town, and Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib now built the great mosque and its *madrasa* and set up specialised markets and *funduḳs*. (For the religious development of the town, see WAZZĀNIYYA.) It developed further under Sīdī ʿAlī b. Aḥmad (d. 1811), who made Wazzān and its hinterland a virtual principality, boosting commercial activity by inviting Jewish merchants to settle in the holy town, although these last did not live in a *mellāḥ* [see MALLĀḤ], as in other Moroccan towns, but in *funduḳs*, paying rent to *shurafāʾ* owners; only at the end of the 19th century, when in 1883 the Wazzānī *shurafāʾ* became protégés of the French, were some wealthy Jewish merchants allowed to build private houses.

Wazzān functioned at this time as a market centre for both the plains and the mountains and their products, and also attracted imports for the *shurafāʾ* class, this import trade being mainly controlled by traders from Fās and Jewish merchants. Its main

industrial activity was the processing of local commodities like olives, tobacco and wool, with the woollen industry employing both sexes and persons from all social strata, including *sharīfas*. Its coarse woollen cloth was much used for making *djellābas*, the hooded cloak worn by the male population of Morocco. There was also a significant leather-working industry, now largely ended. The *shurafā'*, in particular, grew rich from donations and endowments of the shrine, so that they became major landowners, especially in the rich lands of the Gharb plain but also in regions as far away as Tuwāt [*q.v.*] in Algeria; they also enjoyed favours from the state, such as tax-farming concessions.

In general, the ʿAlawī sultans sought Wazzānī support in an area where they encountered a great deal of resistance to their new régime, whilst the Wazzānī *shurafā'* were content to assert their power essentially within the religious domain. Hence there existed an implicit agreement whereby the *shurafā'* furthered *Makhzen* policy in the region in return for administrative concessions, never clearly defined but at certain times, such as the later part of the 18th century, allowing considerable Wazzānī control over the Gharb and southern Djbāla. In the later 19th century, however, relations between the *Makhzen* and the *shurafā'* deteriorated as a result of the latter's pro-French attitude. Hence a dual system was imposed, with a Wazzānī *naḳīb* over the *shurafā'* and a *Makhzen ḳā'id* over the common people, and this lasted until 1920.

By this time, Wazzān was expanding westwards, and had a population estimated at 11,000. When occupied by the French army in 1920 it was made into a municipality, and under the Protectorate served as an administrative centre for the Gharb and the southern Djbāla tribes falling within the French zone. For some time, the Wazzānī *shurafā'* took part in the administration of the town, but in 1937 a rural *ḳā'id* from the neighbouring Banū Massāra was appointed head of the town's urban administration, contributing to the marginalisation of the Wazzānī élite and reinforcing the rural aspect of the town within its tribal surroundings. It did not have any significant industrial growth during the Protectorate period, hence remained only a modest goal for rural emigration. This has continued to be the case after independence in 1956, and the town at best provides a stopping-place for Djbālī migrants on their way to more attractive urban centres. Wazzān's population in *ca.* 1940 had been 16,440 (14,300 Muslims, 1,670 Jews and 475 Europeans); in 1994 it was *ca.* 52,000, hardly five times the 1900 figure, whereas the urban population of Morocco as a whole jumped from an estimate of less than half a million in 1900 to over 13 million today. Administratively, Wazzān has remained a modest centre falling within the governorship successively of Kenitra (Ḳunayṭira) and then Sidi Kacem (Sīdī Ḳāsim), and both the town and the *zāwiya* have not completely thrown off the effects of discrimination resulting from the post-1883 co-operation with the French authorities.

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(Mohamed El Mansour)

al-WAZZĀN, al-ḤASAN b. MUḤAMMAD [see LEO AFRICANUS].

WAZZĀNIYYA, a Moroccan Ṣūfī brotherhood, founded by the Idrīsid *sharīf* Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1678).

Born at Tazrūt, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh was initiated into the Shādhilī-Djazūlī *silsila*, the most widespread and prestigious of the Maghribī *ṭuruḳ* [see SHĀDHILIYYA], by Sīdī ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Gurfṭī. On the latter's death in 1628, ʿAbd Allāh aimed at expanding his master's spiritual influence and sought a site for a *zāwiya* of his own, lighting on Wazzān [*q.v.*]. The *zāwiya* had an immediate success in attracting adepts, with numbers estimated at 20,000 attending its *mawsim* during his own lifetime. In the mid-18th century it spread into Algeria, becoming known there as the Ṭayyibiyya. In the later 19th century, European observers estimated the *zāwiya*'s following at half or more of the total Moroccan population, though this is impossible to verify.

The Sharīfian genealogy of the Wazzānīs was much used by them at a time when Sharīfism was being consecrated as a determining principle of social and political legitimacy, and veneration of *sharīfī* descent came to be the dominant feature of the *ṭarīḳa*, weakening its genuinely mystical content. Sīdī Muḥammad, ʿAbd Allāh's eldest son and successor, made the Wazzānī *zāwiya* into the "house of warranty" (*dār al-ḍamāna*), meaning that the *baraka* of the *shurafā'* was sufficient to save any sinner at the Last Judgement. The relationship of the *shurafā'* and their followers tended to become more like that of a clientèle, with the *khuddām* replacing *murīds* or spiritual disciples, since as these last swelled to tens of thousands, personal spiritual guidance became impossible and the Wazzānī *shaykhs* became largely dispensers of *baraka* at the annual *mawsim*.

Parallel to this process, the *zāwiya* developed important material interests. The third *shaykh*, Mawlāy al-Tuhāmī, encouraged his sons to acquire property and wealth on the grounds that wealth deterred from greed and covetousness. Soon the *zāwiya* had much property, not only in Morocco but also in other parts of the Maghrib, and the *muḳaddams* or deputies of the *shaykh*, who were supposed to look after the Ṣūfī guidance of devotees, ended up largely as intendants and managers of the *zāwiya*'s material resources.

The gap between Ṣūfī ideals and material concerns grew wider in the 19th century, especially as the French presence in Algeria, where the *ṭarīḳa* had considerable interests, imposed some kind of accommodation with the colonial authorities there. In the second half of the century, the private lifestyle of the *shaykh* of the *zāwiya*, al-Ḥādjdj ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 1892), did much to lower the order's prestige, since he chose to spend much of his time in the Europeanised city of Tangier [see TANDJA] and married an English lady there, and in 1883 placed himself and the order under French protection. Subsequent relations with the *Makhzen* deteriorated, and, in the 20th century, Salafī

nationalists [see SALAFIYYA. 1] were able to make much of the position of the Wazzāniyya in their denunciation of the collaborationist stance of the *ṭuruḳ* in general and their betrayal of authentic Islam.

Bibliography: See the *Bibls.* to SHĀDHILIYYA and WAZZĀN, and also E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Les confréries religieuses au Maroc*, Rabat 1923.

(MOHAMED EL MANSOUR)

WEDJĪHĪ, Ottoman historian and poet (1031?-1071/1620?-1661).

He was born in Baghče Saray [*q.v.*], capital of the khānate of the Crimea, the son of a certain ʿAbd Allāh ʿĀrif al-Rūmī. According to Ottoman sources, his given name was Ḥasan (though Ḥüseyin sometimes occurs in later European works). His date of birth is calculated as around 1031/1620, based on a statement in his poetic *dīwān* that he was entering his fortieth year in 1070/1659. In 1624-5 his family moved to Istanbul, where he received a good secretarial and literary education. Taken into the household of the *ḳapudan-i deryā* [*q.v.*] Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha in 1046/1636 as *mühürdār* or private secretary, he accompanied the latter on the Baghdād campaign of 1638-9 and remained in his service until the Pasha's execution whilst Grand Vizier in 1053/1644. He appears subsequently to have become a *kātib* in the *dīwān-i hümāyūn*, the Ottoman central chancery, where he remained until his death from tuberculosis in 1071/1661.

Wedjīhī's principal work is a history of the Ottoman state from 1047/1637 to 1071/1661, known generally as *Taʾrīkh-i Wedjīhī*. Although his coverage of events is relatively brief, Wedjīhī was well placed to be a close observer of Ottoman politics, particularly during the reigns of Ibrāhīm (1640-8) and of Meḥemmed IV [*q.vv.*] to 1661. His account includes a significant amount of information not given by contemporaries such as Kātib Čelebi, Meḥmed Khalīfe and Ḳara-Čelebi-zāde [*q.vv.*], particularly on events relating to the Crimea, and is notable for its open criticism of the governmental system. It was an important source for later historians such as Naʿīmā and Silāḥdār [*q.vv.*], and in its coverage of the years 1070-1/1660-1 helps fill the brief gap between the histories of Naʿīmā and Rāshid [*q.v.*]. A facsimile edition of one of the several manuscripts of the *Taʾrīkh-i Wedjīhī* was published in B. Atsız, *Das Osmanische Reich um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts nach den Chroniken des Vecihi (1637-1660) und des Mehmed Halifa (1633-1660)* (Munich 1977). Wedjīhī also compiled a *dīwān* (several mss. extant, unpubl.).

Bibliography: For references and detailed bibl., see Ö.F. Akün, *İA* art. *Vecîhî*, of which the above is a summary. (CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

WEHBĪ [see SÜNBÜL-ZĀDE WEHBĪ].

WEHBĪ SAYYIDĪ, ḤUSAYN (modern Tkish., Seyit Vehbi, Hüseyin), also known as Wehbī-yi Ḳadīm or Wehbī-yi Ewwel, Ottoman Turkish poet (1085?-1149/1674?-1736). He is not to be confused with Sünbül-zāde Wehbī [*q.v.*].

He was a native of Istanbul, court poet and prose writer, and member of the Ottoman *ʿIlmiyye* [*q.v.*] during the Lāle Dewrī [*q.v.*]. In his early years Wehbī used the pen-name Ḥüsāmi, reflecting family claims to descent from the Prophet (see Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 107-8, and Hamit Dikmen, *Seyyid Vehbi ve divanının karşılaştırmalı metni*, doctoral diss., Ankara Univ. 1991, 16-19). With a *medrese* education, Wehbī won *müderris* status in 1123/1711, served as a *ḳāḍī* and reached *mewlewiyyet* [*q.v.*] rank, aided by the patronage of Aḥmed III and the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha (Newshehirli) [*q.vv.*]. Among his best-known poems is a *ḳaṣīda* marking completion of the Aḥmed III fountain in Istanbul, inscribed in gold on the structure (see *EI*[1] art. *Wahbī*; also Dikmen, *op. cit.*, 50-1).

Among Wehbī's works are a translation of the *Ḥadīth-i erbaʿīn* ("Forty Sayings of the Prophet") of al-Nawawī, and a short *Ṣulḥiyye* (poem in praise of peace), marking the Treaty of Passarovitz (1135/1718 [see PASAROFČA]). He is credited also with completing an unfinished *Laylā ü Madjnūn*, a *mathnawī* by Ḳāf-zāde Fāʾizī (d. 1031/1621-2), but no mss. have been discovered (see Dikmen, 33). His best-known works are:

(1) An extensive *dīwān* showing the influence of Nābī, Nedīm and (especially in *ḳaṣīdas*) Nefʿī [*q.vv.*], with good imagery, some use of simple language and local colour. Well-regarded during his lifetime, he has been criticised since for weaknesses such as lack of originality of ideas and of feeling (Seyit Kemal Karaalioğlu, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, i, Istanbul 1973, 705).

(2) A prose *Sūr-nāme* ("Book of the Festival") with verse prologue, giving a detailed, eye-witness account of the fifteen-days' festivities celebrating the circumcision of Sultan Aḥmed's four sons (1132/1720). An excellent source on contemporary Ottoman life (see A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Florence and Milan 1969, 408-12), it was vividly illustrated by the famous miniaturist Lewnī [*q.v.*] (see E. Atıl, *Surnâme-i Vehbi, an eighteenth-century Ottoman Book of Festivals*, diss. Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor 1969, University Microfilms 1973).

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also *İA* art. *Seyyid Vehbi.* (KATHLEEN R.F. BURRILL)

WENEDIK, the Ottoman Turkish form for the name of the Italian city of Venice, in earlier Arabic usage, however, there appears Bunduḳiya and similar forms.

1. In earlier Islamic times.

The city was known to early Arabic geographers, such as Ibn Rusta, Ibn Ḥawḳal, etc., and these geographers had a fair knowledge of the names of many of the Italian cities and towns of the Lombard and Carolingian periods; the knowledge of later writers like al-Idrīsī was *a fortiori* much profounder after some three centuries during which the Arabs had controlled Sicily [see SIḲILLIYA] and, at times, Calabria [see ḲILLAWRIYA] and other coastal regions of the southern Italian peninsula [see, in general, ĪṬALIYA].

Ibn Rusta, 128, tr. Wiet, 143, quotes the captive of the Byzantines Hārūn b. Yaḥyā for details of the itinerary Constantinople-Rome via Salonica, Venice (*B.nd.kīs*) and Pavia (see on this itinerary, the detailed study of Marquart in his *Streifzüge*, 237-59). It is, in fact, various forms like this one of Bunduḳiya which appear in Arabic sources dealing with the commercial relations of the Italian merchant cities with the Islamic powers in the Levant (see on these, below, section 2). Thus al-Ḳalḳashandī furnishes a description of the *mamlakat al-Banādiḳa*, with its capital Bunduḳiya and its head the *Dūk* or Doge and its currency the ducat (*dūkāt*) (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 404-5; in viii, 47-8, is given the text of the reply to a letter from the *Dūdj* or *Dūk*—described as "not exactly a king"—of 767/1366).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Venetian relations with the Mamlūks and Ottomans.

Venice's history was deeply marked by its long and complex relationship with the Muslim world. As early as the 10th century, Popes and Emperors alike condemned the Republic for selling slaves to the Infidel. It was primarily Venice's special connection with Byzantium that launched it on the path toward an enduring

domination of the eastern Mediterranean, one which was subsequently to entail extensive relations with the most important Muslim Mediterranean powers, the Mamlūks and the Ottomans [*q.vv.*].

The decline of Byzantine naval power, beginning in the 10th century, allowed Venice to take over the defence, first of the Adriatic and then of points further east. As a reward for their military support, Byzantium gave the Venetians special trading privileges with the Empire. An early example of this was the Golden Bull of 1082, issued by the Emperor Alexius I, which granted an exemption from tolls, as well as extensive trading privileges, this being Venice's compensation for having helped Alexius against the Normans of southern Italy.

It was the Fourth Crusade in 1204, however, that established Venice as the pre-eminent naval and commercial power of the eastern Mediterranean, a position that it would maintain—although not without challengers—until the end of the 16th century; Frederic Lane has called it "a turning point in Venetian history". Venetian involvement began with the agreement to provide transportation to the Holy Land for a large number of French Crusaders under the command of Geoffrey de Villehardouin. As is well known, the Fourth Crusade ended up not at the gates of Jerusalem but at the walls of Constantinople. Although Venice does not seem to have been the originator of the idea, it was willing to go along with this change of plan. Byzantine-Venetian relations had soured considerably over the course of the 11th century and Venice was angered by the Empire's willingness to extend trading privileges to the Genoese and the Pisans.

Venice's considerable territorial gains in the wake of the Fourth Crusade were expressed in the new phrase added to the Doge's title: "Lord of One Quarter and One Half [of a quarter] of the Empire of Romania". In addition to the gains in Constantinople, Venice established itself directly in Crete, Negroponte and Corfu (although Corfu was subsequently lost). Venice also extended its territorial holdings to Modon and Coron at the southern tip of mainland Greece in the Peloponnesus. These last two places became known as "the two eyes of the Republic" because all vessels returning from the Levant were ordered to stop there and give news of pirates and convoys.

At around the time that Venice was establishing itself as the most formidable Christian power in the eastern Mediterranean, the Mamlūks were establishing their power in Egypt and Syria, and by the end of the 13th century Baybars and his successors had put an end to the last remaining Crusader footholds on the Levant coast. Whereas in 1204, when Venice realised the gains of the Fourth Crusade, the region was divided into a bewildering multiplicity of states, she now at the beginning of the 14th century faced a strong and united Muslim state along the southern shores of the Levant. It is this fact—plus the disintegration of the Great Mongol successor k͟hānates in the mid-14th century—which explains the importance of the Venetian-Mamlūk relationship. If Venice hoped to continue its lucrative role as an intermediary between East and West, it had to deal with the Mamlūks into whose ports the luxury goods from the East arrived. As for the Mamlūks, they relied on Venetian commercial and naval power to provide a ready market for these goods. By the end of the 14th century, the Venetian fleet was calling regularly at Alexandria as well as the Syrian ports, and Venice's two warehouse-palaces (*funduk, fondaco*) were among the handsomest structures in Alexandria.

Although the Venetians and the Mamlūk Sultans were often at loggerheads over the price of pepper, the essential commonality of their interests is shown by the fact that, when the Portuguese threatened to disrupt the spice trade in the opening years of the 16th century, the Venetians urged the Sultan to put pressure on the rulers in South India to refuse spices to the newcomers, again demonstrating Venice's sometimes uncomfortably close relationship with the Muslim world as a result of her commercial interests. The Republic's enemies in Europe accordingly accused Venice of furnishing the Mamlūks with materials and skilled shipwrights in order to fight Christians in India.

The reasonably peaceful state of affairs between Venice and the Mamlūks was not to be duplicated in its relations with the Ottoman Empire. Although their long co-existence in the eastern Mediterranean was necessarily marked by extended periods of peace, as well as a striking capacity to resolve routine problems, the two adversaries fought six major wars between the 15th and the 18th centuries. The Ottomans, unlike the Mamlūks, aimed to unite the eastern Mediterranean under their rule, and this ambition inevitably led them to challenge Venetian territorial holdings in the area. Over the course of more than three centuries the Ottomans were so successful in driving the Venetians out of the Aegean that, by 1128/1715, the republic's holdings were reduced to the Ionian islands.

In the first Ottoman-Venetian war of 868-84/1463-79, Venice lost the Negroponte, its main base in the northern Aegean region. In 906/1499, taking advantage of the difficulties caused by the French invasion of northern Italy, the Ottomans sent their fleet into the Ionian Sea. During the course of that war (906-9/1499-1503) the Sultan's troops wrested away most of Venice's holdings in Greece, including Modon [*q.v.*] and Coron [see ḳoron]. Ottoman cavalry raided so far into northern Italy that the smoke from the burning villages could be seen from the bell tower in Saint Mark's square. Venice was only able to bring that war to a conclusion by surrendering claims to many cities in Albania and Greece.

In the next two wars against the Ottomans, Venice fought as part of a Western crusading alliance led by the Spanish Hapsburgs, who saw themselves as the leaders of the Christian world, bound by duty to combat the Islamic empire at the other end of the Mediterranean. Both of these conflicts ended badly for Venice. In the war of 944-7/1537-40, the Christian fleet had to retreat in disorder and confusion at the battle of Prevese on the coast of southern Epirus (945/1538) [see preveze] and, by the time the Spaniards sailed home, the Venetians had lost almost all of their holdings in the Aegean. Although the battle of Lepanto (979/1571) [see aynabak͟htī] was a great victory for Christendom, and was celebrated as such throughout Europe, Venice had already lost Cyprus the year before as part of the preliminary Ottoman response to the formation of yet another crusading league against her.

Venetian losses in these two wars, plus the fact that on both occasions Venice felt compelled to seek a separate peace with the Ottomans in order to preserve her commerce in the East (actions for which it was roundly condemned in the West), underlines the peculiar position of Venice, squeezed as she was between East and West. Venice was not opposed to joining with the Hapsburgs and others in attacks upon the Ottomans, since she hoped by so doing to gain

some advantage for herself, but she knew full well that the Spaniards, in particular, wanted to defeat the Ottomans without increasing Venetian power in the eastern Mediterranean. In the wake of Lepanto, for instance, Philip II refused to pursue the Ottoman fleet further east precisely for this reason, and similar Venetian-Hapsburg tensions characterised the 944-7/1537-40 war as well. As the front-line state, Venice had the most to gain, but also the most to lose, from the wars of the 16th century.

During the Cyprus war, French merchants largely replaced the Venetians in the Levant and the Ottomans granted the French special trading privileges in order to have them as allies against the Hapsburgs [see IMTIYĀZĀT]. This ominous development was indicative of things to come. Venice became increasingly less important to the Ottomans as they discovered that there were other Western powers—principally, but not only, France—that could lend commercial, and even, on occasion, military assistance.

A long period of peace followed the loss of Cyprus. Although the Ottomans certainly wanted to wrest Crete from the Venetians, they did not find the strength to launch another naval war against the Republic until 1054/1644, when Maltese pirates captured an Ottoman ship with many notables aboard heading for Egypt from Istanbul. The Ottomans, having recently concluded a long war with Ṣafawid Persia, decided to use this incident as reason to finally try and dislodge the Venetians from Crete. The war that followed was extraordinarily long (1055-80/1645-69) and costly, but in the end the Ottomans were triumphant. The last Venetian soldiers left the island in Rabīʿ II 1080/ September 1669, and thus the Ottomans brought to an end almost half a millennium of Venetian rule on Crete [see ḲANDIYA]. In the course of a joint Western attack on the Ottomans following the second failed siege of Vienna (1095-1111/1684-99), the Venetians were able to regain the Morea but then lost it again—as well as all remaining territory east of the Ionian islands—in the last Ottoman-Venetian war (1126-30/ 1714-18) [see MORA].

Despite the long centuries of Ottoman-Venetian hostility, Venice remained a cosmopolitan city that was open to Muslims in a way that other European cities were not. Envoys sent by the Sultan were a common sight in the city, as were Muslim merchants, particularly in the 16th century. Venetian painting in the early modern period testifies to this unique quality: oriental figures are commonplace, whereas they are largely absent from the art of northern Europe in the same period. And of course, it was from Venice that Sultan Meḥemmed II summoned Gentile Bellini to paint his portrait.

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WEYSĪ, the pen-name (*makhlaṣ*) used by Üweys b. Meḥmed, renowned Ottoman man of letters and poet (969-1037/1561 or 1562-1628).

Born in Alashehir as the son of a *ḳāḍī* and the nephew of the poet Maḳālī (Muṣṭafā Beg; cf. the *tedhkire* of Riyāḍī), he finished his *medrese* education in Istanbul under the *ʿulemā*ʾ Ṣāliḥ Efendi and Aḥmed Efendi, and then had a career as *ḳāḍī*. Apart from serving as army judge (*ordu-yi hümāyūn ḳāḍīsi*) during the Hungarian campaign under the command of the Wezīr ʿAlī Pasha, he was *ḳāḍī* in various locations in the Ottoman empire (Reshīd in Egypt, Akhiṣār, Tire, Alashehir, Sīrōz, Rodosdjuḳ, Gümüldjine, Tirḥala, and Üsküb) and, for a time, financial inspector (*emwāl müfettishi*) in Aydin, Ṣarukhān, Inebakhti and Eghriboz. He died in Üsküb, after he had served his seventh term there as *ḳāḍī*, on 14 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1037/15 August 1628.

Weysī's prose was greatly admired in his day. As his style is heavily laden with loan-words and rhetorical devices (though not in the same degree as that of his contemporary Nergisī [*q.v.*]), he is, on the whole, not easy to understand. ʿAṭāʾī [*q.v.*] considers his prose to be superior to his poetry (*Dheyl-i Shaḳāʾiḳ*, i, 715) and it is true that Weysī owes his fame to his prose works rather than to his poetry.

Weysī wrote a considerable number of prose works in various fields. Best known are the following two: (1) *Dürret al-tādj fī sīret ṣāḥib al-miʿrādj*, generally referred to as *Siyer-i Weysī*; it is incomplete, containing the *Sīrat al-Nabī* up to the battle of Badr. *Dheyls* to it were written by ʿAṭāʾī, Nābī [*q.v.*] (who, after an interval of about twenty years, wrote a second *Dheyl*, the *Dheyl-i dheyl-i Nābī*), and Naẓmī-zāde Baghdādī. The *Siyer-i Weysī* was printed together with Nābī's *Dheyl* in 1245 at Būlāḳ and as part of Weysī's collected works in 1286 at Istanbul. (2) *Khʷāb-nāme*, also known as *Wāḳīʿa-nāme*. It is written in somewhat simpler language than the *Siyer-i Weysī* and is a conversation between Aḥmed I and Alexander the Great, wherein the evil deeds that have occurred in the world through the ages are recounted. As it involves a comparison of the old and new orders, it represents a critique of the time. It has been printed several times (Būlāḳ 1252, Istanbul 1263, 1293 and, in the collected works, 1286). The text was also published together with a translation by H.F. von Diez, in *Fundgruben des Orients* (Vienna), iii (1811), 249-74, and separately, Berlin 1811, as *Ermahnung an Islambol oder Strafgericht des türkischen Dichters Uweissi über die Ausartung der Osmanen, übersetzt und erläutert und mit dem türkischen Text herausgegeben*, as well as ed. and tr. F.A. Salimzyanova, *Vejsi. Khab-name* ("*Kniga snovideniya*"), Moscow 1977.

His *Düstūr al-ʿamel*, also known as *Shehādet-nāme*, which treats of various religious themes in prose, was also printed (Istanbul 1283 and, as part of his collected works, Istanbul 1286), as were some of his letters, *Münsheʾāt* (in his collected works, Istanbul 1286).

The remainder of his works have not been published. The better-known among these are: his *Dīwān* (ms. in Topkapı Sarayı, Revan Kütüphanesi, no. 776), his poems being written in simpler language than his prose; *Tewbe-nāme*, a study in verse on the wise words of Zayn al-Dīn Khāfī, the *pīr* of the Zayniyya order in Anatolia; *Maradj al-baḥrayn fī adjwiba ʿalā iʿtirāḍāt al-Djawharī*, in Arabic (autograph in Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi, no. 1239/1415); *Risāle-yi ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ*, on the conquest of Egypt; *Futūḥ-i Miṣr*, incomplete, on the history of the conquests of Egypt; the commentary on Sūra CX, *Ghurret al-ʿaṣr fī tefsīr sūret al-Naṣr*; and *Hediyyet al-mukhliṣīn we-tedhkiret al-muḥsinīn* on questions of morality.

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(Th. Menzel-[Edith G. Ambros])

WEZĪR KÖPRÜ, modern Vezirköprü, a small town of northern Anatolia, situated 35 km/21 miles north of Merzifon [see MERZIFŪN] and 18 km/12 miles south of the lowest stretch of the Kızıl Irmak [see ḲIZIL-IRMAḲ] (lat. 41° 09' N, long. 35° 27' E). There was apparently a town there or nearby, in classical times, in what was then southern Pamphylia, and in Byzantine times, the town of Gedegara (in Kātib Čelebi's *Djihān-nümā*, Kedegharа). In high Ottoman times, from the 10th/16th century onwards, it came within the *sandjaḳ* of Amasya in the *eyālet* of Sivas. Ewliyā Čelebi visited it in 1057/1647, and described its citadel as in ruins (*Seyāḥet-nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, ii, 400 ff.). Originally simply called Köprü, the famous 11th/17th century statesman Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha, subsequently Grand Vizier, had in his early career held an administrative post in the town, and thereafter the name acquired its *wezīr* element [see KÖPRÜLÜ, at the beginning]. In modern Turkey, Vezirköprü is the chef-lieu of an *ilce* or district in the *il* or province of Samsun [*q.v.*]; in 1975 the population of the town was 11,705 and of the *ilce* 67,468.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

WIDIN, conventionally Vidin, a town of northwestern Bulgaria and a port on the River Danube (lat. 44° 00' N., long. 22° 50' E.).

The low bank (30-37 m high) has been reinforced with dykes; in the past the town used to remain an island in the marshes created during the spring floods of the Danube. It emerged as the Roman fortress of Bononia on the foundations of a Thracian settlement at Kaleto, a place where the flood does not reach. In the Middle Ages, under the name of Bdin, it was the centre of a bishopric in the Bulgarian state, and from the second half of the 14th century, of an appanage principality. After 1371, it was the centre of the independent state of Tsar Ivan Sratsimir. In 1365-9 it was conquered by the Hungarians and ruled as a Banate, with *ca.* 200,000 Orthodox Christians being forced to convert to Catholicism. As Ottoman vassal, Ivan Sratsimir surrendered Vidin to the Crusaders of Sigismund III in 1396, and the Ottoman garrison was exterminated; however, Bāyezīd routed the Crusaders at Nicopolis and gained back the city.

Today this town, with about 50,000 inhabitants, has no Muslim population, but its history, its Ottoman architectural monuments, archives and manuscripts make it important for the study of Ottoman urban and cultural history in the Balkans.

The Vidin kingdom was transformed into the Vidin *sandjaḳ* (covering territory in both the Bulgaria and Serbia of today) within the Rumeli *beylerbeylik*. A *Ḳānūn-nāme* of 1542 and a set of 19 local laws of 1586 have been preserved, regulating the administration of the *sandjaḳ*, which consisted of 9 *nāḥiyes* and 6 fortresses. Until the mid-16th century, the *sandjaḳ* was part of the Ottoman frontier line, the *serḥadd*, against Transylvania, the Banat, Wallachia and Hungary, and from the 17th century onwards (when it was attacked, taken and destroyed), against Austria and Serbia. During the war with the Holy League, the Austrians captured the city on 13 October 1689 and held it for 10 months. Under the peace treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 [see PASAROFČA] the Ottoman empire lost the northwestern parts of the Vidin *sandjaḳ*, sc. the *ḳadās* of Feth ül-Islam and Krayna. Vidin became again part of the *serḥadd*. Towards the end of the 18th century Vidin became the seat of ʿOthmān Pazwandoghlu and the centre of one of the most important secession movements and *aʿyān* rule in Rumeli. In 1864, it was a *sandjaḳ* in the Ṭuna [*q.v.*] *wilāyet* administered by a *mutaṣarrif* and a *dīwān*, divided into *ḳaḍās*. Under the San Stefano preliminary treaty of 1878, Vidin surrendered without a fight and was included in the Bulgarian state.

The *serḥadd* in the Vidin area consisted of the fortress and garrison in Vidin, the river fleet and considerable groups of local population, including non-Muslims. Vlachs stand out among them, these being nomad Christians used by the Ottoman state as a paramilitary group paying only the *filur* tax. With the move of the *serḥadd* to the west after 1541, the state *ca.* 1560 deprived them of their paramilitary status, but the area of Vidin remained the Ottoman rear for the conquest of Central Europe, with local non-Muslims serving in the fortress. Likewise, *khāṣṣ*es, and 12 *zeʿāmet*s and *tīmār*s of *sipahī*s, but mainly of the fortress guards (about 10-15 persons in Vidin in mid-15th century, and 65 in 1560), were established, while a considerable part of the Muslim *reʿāyā* were registered as members of the *aḳindjî* [*q.v.*] troops. The role of the *sipāhī* troops in the area was reduced at the expense of the rise of the Janissaries and the local troops, which *ca.* 1750 numbered 5,500, more than in any other Ottoman city of the Balkans.

The sultanal *khāṣṣ* in the Vidin area expanded quickly at the expense of the Vlach villages and the *tīmār* lands, and soon turned into the largest in the Balkans. As a result, by the 18th century there was no *mīrī* land with *tīmār*s and *zeʿāmet*s in the region, and the process of establishment of the *gospodarlīḳ*s began (possessions of local notables and Janissaries), catalysed by the war with the Holy League and the secession of ʿOthmān Pazwandoghlu. The 19th-century agrarian reforms in the Ottoman empire were not introduced in the Vidin area. Villagers were deprived of any property rights over the land and were placed in the position of tenants of the *agha*s from Vidin, who claimed that only Muslims could possess land in this border *sandjaḳ*. This régime provoked riots and uprisings in the 1830s to 1850s which, together with the Serbian uprising (1804-13), forced the Porte to solve the problem in favour of the villagers in 1863.

From the 15th century onwards, Vidin was a *ḳaḍā* with a *ḳāḍī* and, at least from the 17th century, with a *müftī* also. At least from mid-15th century, the local fleet and ship-building were administered by a *ḳapudan* who from *ca.* 1700 was subordinate to the Danube *ḳapudan* based in Ruse.

Vidin was the main border customs post and the largest port in this part of the Danube, with an enormous income from the state monopoly on the salt imports from Wallachia and the state fisheries organised by the *emīn* of the port. The rise in the town's

population by over 25% in the 18th century was directly related to its economic role.

In the Middle Ages, the lands along the Danube banks formed a region which brought together Turks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Vlachs, Hungarians and Jews. The problem of the Turkish population in the Vidin area has been discussed extensively, and its archaic dialect has been studied as an element of the Turkish Balkan dialects. Apart from settlement of military and administrative bodies in the town, the classical Ottoman type of colonisation cannot be detected here. The Muslim population was concentrated in Vidin and a few fortresses, but was entirely absent from the rural areas of the province. Muslims rose in number through the slow infiltration of Muslim population from the upper Danubian lands during the Ottoman retreat from Hungary and Serbia after the 16th century, and it was in this way that Vidin was maintained as a predominantly Muslim city. At the same time, the numbers of Janissaries within the Muslim community in Vidin rose, and it could safely be called a Janissary town. We find Janissaries in all spheres of public life, beginning with the economy and the craftsmen's guilds and ending with the professional witnesses in the courts. All this, together with the peasant uprisings in the region and the Serbian revolt, reinforced local Muslim fanaticism against the reforms in the Ottoman empire. At the beginning of the 1860s, Tatars and Circassians from Russia were settled in the region, a small part of them being in Vidin proper. Hence there was a Tatar *maḥalle* with a mosque and a school. The number of Muslims in the town cannot be established with certainty since soldiers were not included in the registers of taxpayers, according to which in the 1520-30s there were 356 Muslim households with 10 religious functionaries (*imāms* and *mü'edhdhins*); at the same time, 225 *sipāhīs* lived in the town and the *ḳaḍā* as well as 251 members of the fortress garrison. In 1571-80, these numbered 1,207, while 2,152 households altogether were registered in the town, or nearly 11,000 inhabitants. Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of 4,700 houses or over 20,000 inhabitants of Vidin. European estimates of Vidin as a predominantly Muslim town, with between 15 and 30,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 19th century, made it one of the most significant towns in Rumeli. According to Ottoman censuses of *ca.* 1866, there were 7,664 taxpayers (more than 23,000 inhabitants), 3,954 Muslim taxpayers included. Immediately after Bulgaria gained independence, a large part of the Muslims moved out, and by the beginning of the 20th century Vidin was no longer predominantly Muslim. According to the 1893 census, there were 2,729 Turks and 1,540 Jews among the 14,500 inhabitants of the town.

The development of the fortification system of Vidin had a major role in the development of the urban architecture. According to some data, the Roman fortification (an irregular tetragon) survived as an earthen mound until the Ottoman conquest. During the 12th-14th centuries, in the northern part of the Kaleto hill, the fortified castle of Baba Vida was built. This citadel with a moat and a draw-bridge was renewed during the rule of Bāyezīd II (1481-1512) and reconstructed with regard to the use of firearms; the first mosque and the garrison, forming a *maḥalle* with about 50 inhabitants, the house of the *muḥāfiẓ* of the fortress and the seat of the *sandjaḳ bey*, were all in it. In the mid-19th century, Sāmī Pasha established a sort of a military museum in the now largely useless citadel, which was dispersed during or shortly after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8.

The outer part of the town spread to the south and southwest of Baba Vida on the terrain of the Kaleto hill, where in 1523-37 there were 9 Muslim *maḥalles* with 2 mosques, 8 *mesdjids*, 4 *zāwiyes*, 2 *ḥammāms*, a candle workshop and a *bozakhāne*. Ewliyā speaks of 4 Christian, one Jewish and 19 Muslim *maḥalles*, with 24 mosques having leaden or tiled roofs with 10 minarets; he mentions also 10 *mesdjids* with wooden minarets, 7 *medreses*, 11 *mektebs* and 7 *tekkes*. Religious buildings and the economic and communal infrastructure for maintaining them were built by leading functionaries of the Vidin *serḥadd*, the *sandjaḳ beys* of the 15th century, such as Mezīd Bey, 'Alī Bey Mikhāloghlu, the *dizdār* of Florentin, Aḥmed Ḥadjdj, and the Rumeli *beylerbey* Meḥmed Ṣoḳollu [*q.v.*]. The *Negotin čarshî*, a crossroads of seven streets, was the core of the entire urban network of Kaleto, with trade and craft functions, and a mosque; the Mosluk place, with the churches of St. Petka and St. Panteleimon was nearby. There was a natural process of confessional mixing of the population in the outer town, in the Ottoman documents of the 17th century this was called the *warosh*; the term was also used to designate the Christian community in the town and the nearby *čiftliks* (see below).

The Austrian occupation caused changes in the continuity of life in Vidin. A new fortification following the Vauban system was constructed (its beginning is attributed to the Austrians) and by 1722 was finished by the Ottomans. The semicircular fortress overlooking the river consisted of two parallel walls 6 m high and a mound between them; among the seven chordes there were eight hexagonal bastions with heavy garrison artillery; four gates; a moat filled with water from the Danube; the fortress fence along the Danube with broken-line contours consisted of two parallel, double stone walls and a mound between them; there were five gates open at the river.

These fortifications guarded the town from the spring tide and are almost entirely preserved. The fortress was dismantled under the terms of the Berlin Congress peace treaty. Part of the defences and of the gates have been preserved (seven of the inscriptions are built into the walls of the Public Library in St. Petersburg; all have *taḥrīrs* with the construction date and the names of the architects or of the overseers for the period between 1721 and 1835). The inscription compiled by the poet Behdjetī in 1735 at *Stambol ḳapî*, which was built by Aḥmed Pasha and the architect Muṣṭafā Ḳulu, has been preserved in Vidin. With its 200 guns turned at the mainland and twelve ships equipped with guns on the Danube, Vidin became an important fortress. Thus the fortified *warosh* came into existence, while the new living quarters, naturally separated from each other, emerged in the place of the former *čiftliks*. Muslims and non-Muslims, gypsies and Tatars lived separately but also in mixed *maḥalles*. It is particularly in connection with the construction of the modern *ḳale* that an exclusively Vidin phenomenon emerged related to the general framework of *dhimmī* status within the Ottoman empire. In 1718 the central authorities were approached by the local Janissaries demanding on the grounds of "*ḳānūn-i serḥadd*" that Christians should leave the (newly) fortified part of the town, after selling their properties to Muslims at appropriate prices, and settle in the unfortified part, i.e. in the emerging "outer" *warosh* of Vidin. The two main religious communities in Vidin were territorially separated (Jews remained in the fortified part). The development of the two parts of the town began—the fortified one with the semicircular

fortress or *kale*, and the outer *warosh* with its *mahalles*, mosques and *mesdjids*. In the southern part, around the *Stambol kapi*, the *wakif* of Muṣṭafā Pasha, *muḥāfiẓ* of Vidin, permitted construction activities, as did that of the vizier, *muḥāfiẓ* of Belgrade and *wālī* of Vidin, ʿOthmān, *kaṣṣāb bashi* in the capital, and Yaḥyā Pasha, with a mosque to which Rüstem Agha added a *mekteb*.

Even before the emergence of the new fortress, to the north, on the dryest and, because of this, least protected territory, a large quarter developed, populated mainly by non-Muslims. The new outer quarter was fortified, too, in the 19th century. According to Kanitz, in the 1870s there were 12 mosques and 17 *mahalles* (compared to the 15 *mahalles* and mosques in the inner fortification); according to C. Jirecek, there were 32 mosques in the town. The florescence of Vidin as a centre of Islamic culture was closely related to ʿOthmān Pazwandoghlu. Documents, manuscripts and architectural monuments preserved in the National Library in Sofia and in Vidin proper reveal the sources of Pazwandoghlu's wealth and his "civil policy" in the town. He tried to modernise the Vidin fortress after the European model. He built the Square barracks (today a museum); repaired the four main roads going out of Vidin and regulated the city street network; provided the town with *česhmes* or fountains, as well as a *mosluk* and *sebīl* with an ice-house (a *wakif-name* of 1807); and founded a library (see below). In accordance with the Ottoman tradition, he also built a mosque, which has an inscription of 1800-1 with a dedication (still existing today) to his father ʿÖmer, and a stone tomb of the local hero of local Turkish folklore, Ṣalāḥeddīn Baba, with a Bektāshī *tekke* in the village of Sheykh Čiftlik, at the place where the *baba* perished, leading an Ottoman detachment out of the fortress against the Austrian siege in 1689. The library of ʿOthmān has a construction inscription with a chronogram 1217 (1802-3) and containing the name of the poet-compiler Māhir (also author of the inscription at the mosque of ʿOthmān of 1802, and most probably the poet Sherīf Ibrāhīm Māhir Efendi, who was secretary to the *wālī* of Vidin Ḥāfiẓ ʿAlī Pasha in 1812, and is known for his Turkish adaptation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*). The library and the mosque of ʿOthmān form an architectural compound (still existing), next to a now-disappeared *medrese*. According to M. Staynova, this construction activity reveals an elaborate combination of Bektāshism and the European Enlightenment and laïcism, untypical of Ottoman classicism and the baroque forms of the *Lāle dewri* [*q.v.*].

The 18th century witnessed considerable intellectual life in Rumeli initiated by local officials. Some data confirm that there were private libraries in Vidin at this time. The Pazwandoghlu library was in fact a public library containing the Oriental books accumulated in the town. Its core was a donation by the Pazwandoghlu family; most of the books bear the seals of ʿÖmer Agha and of Rukiyye Khātūn, the father and mother of ʿOthmān. Around 1879 it was moved to Sofia; in 1887 it was checked by an international commission, including Meḥmed Nedīm, and about 2,000 volumes were ceded to the Ottoman authorities; it seems that earlier some of the most precious manuscripts were taken by the Russians as trophies of war. The criteria for the selection of the books are unknown, as likewise their fate in both Russia and Turkey. Today about 650 volumes in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman are preserved in the National Library in Sofia; a manuscript with 18 miniatures of the *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* ("Tales of the Prophets") stands out among them, donated by Ḥāfiẓ ʿAlī Pasha. The library contained the greater part of the works on history and geography printed at the Müteferrika Press [see MATBAʿA. B.2]; at the present moment, a manuscript catalogue of the Vidin Library of 1837, kept in the Sofia National Library, is the only one to give a relatively full idea of its content.

As well as Ṣalāḥeddīn, a famous Muslim saint and hero related to Vidin is Karlî Bashe, buried by the Florentin or *Karlî Bashe kapi*. According to legend, in 1737, during the siege of the town by the Austrians, the Ottomans attacked and Karlî Bashe was the first to lead the defenders out. The governor of the *sandjak*, Hüseyn Pasha (who later finished the fortification works on the new fortress in 1835) began administrative reforms along the lines of the Gülkhāne *khaṭṭ-i sherīf*, breaking down Janissary opposition.

Intellectual figures connected with the town include the mathematician and teacher in military schools Widinli Hüseyn Tewfīk Pasha (d. 1894); Widinli Muṣṭafā Efendi, a well-known teacher and publisher (d. 1855); ʿAlī Shukrī Efendi (*fl.* in the mid-19th century); Ḥāsib Ṣaffeti (Aytuna) Widinli, who contributed to the development of Ottoman education before and after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8; and Čorbadjīzāde Meḥmed, son of Hüseyn Efendi Widinli, who, as *müftī* in Rusčuk, wrote in 1699 his *Ẓeyn ül-ʿakā'id* in Turkish.

In the 19th century Vidin developed as an important economic centre stimulated by navigation on the Danube; French, Austrian and Russian trading consulates were opened. According to Ottoman censuses of 1872-4 there were 1,610 *dükkāns*, 11 *debbāghkhānes*, 14 *khāns*, 135 storehouses, 5 *ḥammāms*, one telegraph office, 6 churches and synagogues, one clocktower; one *rüshdiyye*, two *medreses*, one *iṣlāḥ-khāne* where girls were also taught; 7 *tekkes* (in the town and suburbs), 24 mosques and two hospitals.

After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, the Muslim monuments were first regulated by the *Wakif Board* headed by patriotic Turks who wished to preserve them; there were also cultural, educational and sports organisations in Vidin, including the Turkish gymnastic society *Tūrān*, the charitable and educational club *Tenwīr-i Efkār* and the reading room *Shefket*. Until World War I, there was a district *müftülük*.

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(SVETLANA IVANOVA)

WILĀYA (A.), a noun form from the root *w-l-y* "to be near, adjacent, contiguous to" [someone or something] and a term with a range of meaning in the political, religious and legal spheres. For the legal meaning, see 1. below. In the political and religious spheres, *wilāya* denotes "the exercise of authority", whether temporal or spiritual, or a combination of both; hence by extension, it comes to mean the government or administration of a region or province under the supreme overlordship of a caliph, sultan or *amīr* [see WĀLĪ], or the spiritual authority and charisma of a particularly spiritually-gifted person like a Ṣūfī saint or ascetic [see WALĪ]. Among the Shīʿa, however, the slightly different vocalisation *walāya* conveys a special sense of devotion for and closeness and allegiance to the *Imām*s on the part of their followers; for this sense, see 2. below.

1. In Islamic law.

Here, it indicates representation, which signifies the power of an individual to personally initiate an action. It is seen as a legal authority (*sulṭa sharʿiyya*) by which an individual can initiate contracts (*ʿuḳūd*) and actions (*taṣarrufāt*) and actuate their effects (*āthār*). When a person acts on behalf of others, *wilāya* is more often termed *niyāba*.

Wilāya and *ahliyya* [see SHAKHṢ] are the two main requirements for any proper contract, *ʿaḳd ṣaḥīḥ*. *Ahliyya* represents the individual qualification to undertake an action. This requires sanity (*ʿaḳl*), adulthood (*bulūgh*) and, often, in family-related matters, profession of Islam. *Wilāya*, on the contrary, is the "authorised" ability to perform an action. A contract in which one of its contractors is not able (*ghayr walī*) or unqualified (*ghayr ahl*) is considered null (*bāṭil*). A qualified person who performed a legal contract without authority is considered as intrusive (*fuḍūlī*) and the contract will only become valid if approved by the persons concerned.

Technically, *wilāya* can be either optional (*ikhtiyāriyya*), when entered into by personal choice, such as *wakāla* [*q.v.*], or compulsory (*idjbāriyya*). However, in practice *wilāya* is a term used only to describe the latter, namely, *idjbāriyya*, which is determined by legal rule or judicial order. This can be divided into the following categories: the custody of infants (*haḍānat al-ṣaghīr*) and the custody of a person (*wilāyat al-nafs*) requiring care for a child who has passed the age of infancy or for an insane person. It also includes the marriage custody of a virgin girl. Financial custody may cover all young persons, the insane, and those with proven impediments to the exercise of normal free will.

The requirement of a *walī*, in addition to being suitable (*ahl*), is to be of the same religion, of a creditable character (*ʿadl*) and honest (*amīn*). The state is expected to oversee the *walī* in all its forms. If the *walī* behaves in an inappropriate manner, then the judge can appoint another *walī* to share responsibility. The procedure for overseeing the *walī* is, like many judicial supervisory responsibilities, not clearly defined or codified. However, some modern legal systems imply such procedures within their legislation, such as the Syrian Law of personal status which requires the permission of the judge before selling or mortgaging the property of a person under guardianship (*ḳāṣir*).

The limitation of the *walī*'s responsibility is to act as if he is acting for his own business. The example of this cited by Ibn Ḳudāma is the orphan's guardian, who may trade using the orphan's money, avoiding any loss, while all the profits will go to the orphan.

The government or its representative, such as a judge, has the final right of *wilāya* when no eligible relative is available. They also have the right of appointing an alternative *walī* if those named are proved to be corrupt.

Two forms of *wilāya*, whether personal (*ʿalā al-nafs*) or financial (*ʿalā al-māl*), were defined by the Egyptian Law nos. 118, 119/1952 to give more control to the criminal and personal status courts.

The question whether a *walī* can appoint another person in the case of a marriage is a famous case of disagreement (*khilāf*) among jurists. According to the Shāfiʿīs, this is not permitted because even a father requires the consent of his daughter for the person chosen for her. However, Ibn Ḳudāma refuted this claim on the grounds that the *wilāya* was granted by the law and has nothing to do with the woman's consent, which is purely concerned with the final choice of husband. He also states that the Prophet married two of his daughters in this way. This kind of debate is important today with the increasing numbers of cases of women asking for equal rights in Muslim society. It is relevant to add here that the woman's *wilāya* in civil contracts is completely free, unlike that of her *wilāya* in marriage contracts, possibly attributable to the sensitivity of the Islamic legal system to the issue of sexual morality.

Since *wilāya* involves a legal representation, it can, like *wakāla*, involve all aspects and forms of personalities whether real (*shakhṣiyya ḥaḳīḳiyya*) or unreal (*iʿtibāriyya*). In both cases (*nafs* and *māl*) the *wilāya* is given to the closest member of the family. In marriage, the *wilāya* lies with the father, followed by the grandfather. Ibn Ḳudāma provided a summary of the views of various scholars such as al-Shāfiʿī, who confirmed the prerogative of the grandfather in *wilāya* over the son and brother. He also cited the view of Mālik, who prefers the son to the grandfather, basing his preference on the fact that the latter is only a second degree relative while the son is a direct relative. He also cited Ibn Ḥanbal's view that the grandfather and brother are in fact equal in the right of *wilāya* because of their equality of inheritance by male relationship (*taʿṣīb*). Ibn Ḳudāma refutes these views on the grounds of three analogies. He states that the grandfather has the right of *wilāya* before the son and brother because of his birthright as well as *taʿṣīb* like the father. Moreover, he is treated like the father should he steal his granddaughter's property, for a grandfather does not have his hand amputated. Finally, in inheritance he has stronger rights than those of a son or brother.

Bibliography: *LA*, xv, 406-15; Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Aḥwāl al-shakhṣiyya*, Cairo 1950, 458, 462, 474; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, Beirut 1984, vi, 338; ix, 356, 361, 363; W. Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-islāmī wa-adillatuhu*, Beirut 1985, iv, 140.

(MAWIL Y. IZZI DIEN)

2. In Shīʿism.

For the Shīʿa, *wilāya* applies also to the position

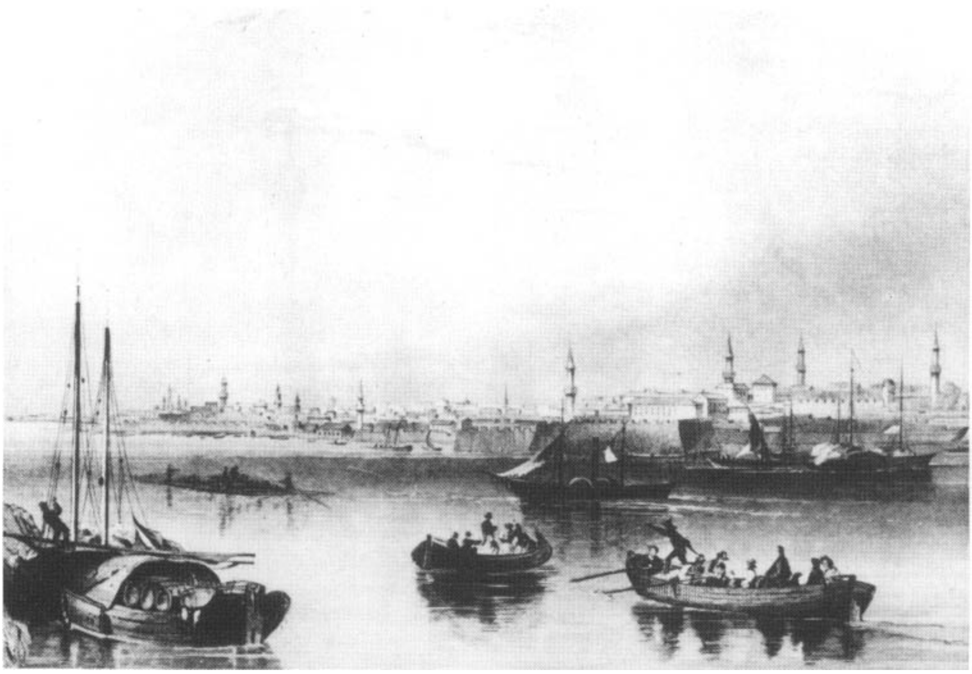

Panorama view of Vidin and the river Danube. Engraving by an unknown author.

Stambul Ḳapï. Archival photo.

The mosque and the library of ʿOthmān Pazwandoghlu.
Present state.

The mediaeval citadel of Baba Vida with part of the fortress wall. Archival photo.

of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as the single, explicitly designated heir and successor to Muḥammad in whom all responsibility for the guidance of the Muslims was subsequently vested. Not to acknowledge ʿAlī's *wilāya* was and is tantamount to apostasy. According to the S͟hīʿa, the Prophet proclaimed ʿAlī's elevation to this status at G͟hadīr K͟humm [*q.v.*] when he uttered the famous declaration "Of whomever I am the master (*mawlā*), ʿAlī is his master". Although the Sunnīs generally admit the validity of this *ḥadīt͟h* (especially after it was accepted by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal), they interpret the term *mawlā* or its equivalent here, *walī*, as meaning simply "friend" and not "master" or "guardian". By contrast, for the S͟hīʿa, ʿAlī was, by this pronouncement, made the guardian of the community, acting on behalf of God Himself. ʿAlī had become God's divinely chosen *walī* in a way similar to the Prophet having been God's apostle, His *rasūl*.

This doctrinal creed, which is the very core and bedrock of S͟hīʿism, is most succinctly expressed by successively attesting to the oneness of God, the apostleship of Muḥammad, and the guardianship of ʿAlī: *lā ilāh illā Allāh, Muḥammad rasūl Allāh, ʿAlī walī Allāh*, and this is the proper *s͟hahāda* in use by the S͟hīʿīs throughout S͟hīʿa-dominated lands. This form of the *wilāyat ʿAlī* normally appears on S͟hīʿī official proclamations, coinage, the *ṭirāz*, and other examples of written and inscribed materials. It appears on all Fāṭimid coinage after the year 386/996 (other S͟hīʿī phrases were used earlier) and on the S͟hīʿī coins issued by Öld͟jeytü, to cite two fairly early examples. But, although admitted to be a proper, even essential, expression of S͟hīʿī piety by all mainstream authorities, it was not allowed as a component of the *ad͟hān* [*q.v.*] until Ṣafawid times when this popular practice was ultimately formally accepted and declared to be *sunna*. It is now a standard part of the call to prayer among the Twelver S͟hīʿa.

Following the reign of ʿAlī, the *wilāya* resided in the *imāms* one after the other by virtue of designation, *naṣṣ*. The previous *imām* thereby passed it unerringly to his divinely chosen successor. Each *imām*, in turn, thus held exclusive spiritual authority over all Muslims. The *imāms* are those having power of command and whose leadership must be recognised as the *ulu 'l-amr* according to Ḳurʾān IV, 59. The adherents who recognise him and accept his guidance owe him in return the obligation of *walāya*—a term often taken as the equivalent or simply an alternate vocalisation of *wilāya* but which bears, in S͟hīʿī usage, the specific meaning of "devotion" and denotes the loyalty and support that is due the *imām* from his followers.

Even in classical lexicography, some authorities considered *walāya* to be the verbal noun meaning, for example, *nuṣra* "support", whereas *wilāya* is the name of the office. For the S͟hīʿa, this distinction attained the status of doctrine, and *walāya* is regarded as one of the pillars of Islam. Al-Kulaynī in his chapter on the *daʿāʾim* (pillars) in his *Kāfī* cites a number of *ḥadīt͟hs* wherein the *imāms* have enumerated these pillars—usually four, including prayer, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, plus *walāya*—and have singled out *walāya* as especially important. In the near-contemporary *Daʿāʾim al-islām* by the Ismāʿīlī jurist al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, the author put his section on *walāya* prior to those on purity (*ṭahāra*), prayer, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, and *d͟jihād*, the other six that he included.

In recent times, in the apparent absence of the true *imām*, the term *wilāya* in its S͟hīʿī sense has also come to apply by a series of extensions and modifications to the *wilāyat al-faḳīh* ("the guardianship of the jurist"), which is the position of the supreme leader in modern Iran. Acting as a surrogate, he holds powers similar in many respects but not exactly equivalent to those of the *imām*.

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(P.E. Walker)

WIRD (A., pl. *awrād*), denotes set, supererogatory personal devotions observed at specific times, usually at least once during the day and once again at night. Abū Ḥāmid al-G͟hazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]), writing shortly before the establishment of formal Ṣūfī orders, desiguated as *awrād* seven divisions of the day and five of the night for the performance of devotions (both obligatory and supererogatory) by any pious Muslim (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Book X, *Kitāb tartīb al-awrād wa-tafṣīl iḥyāʾ al-layl*, Cairo 1358/1939, i, 339-73). The term often has referred to Ṣūfī devotions, where a *wird* is an arrangement of standard litanies and repeated formulae (e.g. *takbīr, tahlīl, tasbīḥ, taṣliya*) beginning with Ḳurʾān recitation. In this sense, the term may be compared to *d͟hikr* and to *ḥizb*, but a distinctive aspect of *wird* is its close association with a particular spiritual guide to whom it is attributed as well as the set times for its observance. Ṣūfī *s͟hayk͟hs* have sometimes claimed to have received their *wirds* from prophets or saints in spiritual encounters or in dreams.

J.S. Trimingham's examination of the term's origins and development within Ṣūfī contexts stipulates that *wird* has at least three different senses: (1) the *ṭarīḳa* itself; (2) "a special prayer or litany"; and (3) the "office" of the *ṭarīḳa*, meaning its distinctive doctrines and devotional-meditative discipline (*The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 214). "Each *ṭarīḳa* and each order derivative has its own *awrād* composed by its leaders. These form the 'theme' of the order" (*ibid.*, 215). A Ṣūfī novice typically starts out with an assigued simple, secret *wird* and progressively is introduced to more demanding ones until, when fully initiated by "taking the *wird*" (*ak͟hd͟h al-wird*), he or she essentially has mastered the complete system of the order.

V. Hoffman's field-based research on contemporary Ṣūfī practices in Egypt includes valuable information about *awrād* and the ways in which they are viewed by masters and disciples in various orders. She reports, for example, that it is imperative for a person to have the permission of a *s͟hayk͟h* before reciting an order's *awrād*, because they are "believed to be so spiritually powerful that a person could go mad from reciting them without proper spiritual protection and preparation" (*Sufism, mystics and saints in modern Egypt*, Columbia, S.C. 1995, 132-3). The regular recitation of *awrād*, according to Hoffman's informants, leads to "visions and other forms of spiritual revelation and [the disciple] will develop the gift of spiritual discernment that borders on clairvoyance" (133). Communal *wird* is preferred over solitary observance. Hence if one performs one's *wird* by oneself in the morning, a communal *wird* is encouraged after the evening *ṣalāt* (*ibid.*).

There is much traditional wordplay concerning the term, because of the root *w-r-d*'s range of meanings and associations, e.g. "watering place", "access, arrival"

at specified times for devotion to God, and "rose". (For more on this aspect, as well as numerous translated passages from traditional *awrād*, see Constance Padwick, *Muslim devotions, prayer-manuals in common use*, London 1961, 20-2, *et passim.*)

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the text, L. Massignon's art. s.v. in *EI*[1] remains valuable, particularly its listing of collections and manuals of *awrād* since the 8th/14th century. Massignon considered "the essential work" to be ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, 2 vols. Fās 1346.

(F.M. Denny)

WĪS u **RĀMĪN**, a long narrative poem in Persian by Fak͟hr al-Dīn Asʿad Gurgānī [*q.v.*], written not long after 441/1050 and dedicated to Abū Naṣr b. Manṣūr, the governor of Iṣfahān on behalf of the Sald͟jūḳids. The story, which is set in the distant and unspecified past, deals with the love affair between Wīs, the wife of King Mōbad of Marw, and Rāmīn, her husband's younger brother. It tells of how the two lovers meet, how they are eventually discovered, and how Rāmīn rises in rebellion against his brother, in the end seizing the throne and making the widowed Wīs his queen. In the opening section, Gurgānī says that he had found the story in a book in Pahlawī, which he put into Persian verse at the request of his patron. The existence of an older Iranian poetical version of the story would seem to be confirmed by a verse by the much earlier Arabic poet Abū Nuwās referring to *fird͟jardāt Rāmīn wa-Wīs*, whereby, according to the commentary by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, "*fird͟jardāt* are like poems (*ka 'l-ḳaṣā'id*)". (For the poem by Abū Nuwās, and Ḥamza's commentary, not yet in Wagner's edition, see M. Mīnuwī, *Yak-ī az fārsiyyāt-i Abū Nuwās*, in *Mad͟jalla-yi Dānis͟hkada-yi Adabiyyāt-i Tihrān*, i/3 [1333 *s͟h*./1954], 62-77). It is evidently an Arabic spelling of Middle Persian *fragard*, "chapter, section".

On the basis of the proper names, and in particular the topographical framework of Gurgānī's poem, Minorsky has argued that the origin of the story lay in Arsacid Parthia. Gurgānī has largely resisted the temptation to adapt the story to his Islamic environment and it retains a strong Zoroastrian flavour. It exerted considerable influence on the development of the Persian romantic epic, but later fell out of favour, in part, doubtless, because of its relatively simple style, but mainly because it was considered immoral, not so much on account of the fairly explicit erotic episodes (which are not exceptional by Persian standards) but because it appears to condone adultery on the part of a woman. Copies are thus rare. Gurgānī's work was translated into Georgian, apparently in the 12th century A.D. Several scholars have claimed a decisive influence of the Persian story on the Celtic tale of Tristan and Iseult, but it is difficult to see by what paths the legend might have migrated to Europe.

Bibliography (in addition to that cited under gurgānī): The older editions of the Persian text have been superseded by the critical edition by M.A. Todua and A.A. Gwakharia, Tehran 1349 *s͟h*./1970; the same scholars have also re-edited the Georgian translation, Tiflis 1962. Additional translations: *Vis and Ramin*, tr. G. Morrison, New York and London 1972; *Vis i Ramin*, tr. S. Lipkin, Moscow 1963. V. Minorsky's fundamental study *Vīs u Rāmīn. A Parthian romance*, in *BSOAS*, xi (1946), 741-63, xii (1947), 20-35, xvi (1954), 91-2, xxv (1962), 275-86, was reprinted, with considerable revision, in his *Iranica, bīst maḳāla*, Tehran 1964, 151-99. For further literature, mss., etc. see de Blois, *Persian literature*, v, 161-7.

(F.C. de Blois)

WIṢĀL (a.), or less frequently *muwāṣala* "maintaining an amorous relationship, chaste or otherwise" (*LʿA*), a technical term of Ṣūfism. *Waṣl* is employed in the same sense, with the antonym *had͟jr* or *hid͟jrān* (shunning, evasion) or even *faṣl* (separation). *Wuṣla* "amorous connection" is also recorded by the *Lisān* as an equivalent of *ittiṣāl* "the act of forming an amorous relationship".

Nascent Ṣūfism borrowed these terms from romantic poetry and integrated them into its own poetic production as well as into its doctrinal literature. Even with a poet such as ʿUmar Ibn Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*], *wiṣāl* or *waṣl* signifies an amorous relationship which one accuses the other of not respecting rather than a union as such (cf. *Dīwān*, Cairo 1978, 77, 168, 176). In the poetry attributed to Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawiyya [*q.v.*], the opposition between *waṣl* and *had͟jr* is encountered: "I have shunned (*had͟jartu*) all creatures in the hope of a union on Your part, my greatest desire" (quoted by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *S͟hahīdat al-ʿis͟hḳ al-ilāhī*, Cairo n.d., 163). The use by the Ṣūfīs of these terms continues to bear the mark of their origin: *wiṣāl* never signifies love in itself, but a link that is always fragile, liable to be broken or outgrown. It is not found in the lists of stages of love, borrowed from works dealing with profane love (cf. C. Ernst, *The stages of love in early Persian Sufism*, in *Classical Persian Sufism from its origins to Rumi*, ed. L. Lewisohn, London-New York 1993, 435-55). No equivalent is to be found in Ṣūfism to the lyricism of Ibn Ḥazm on *waṣl*, although in his works, the inexpressible and paradisiacal nature of the union could be considered a transition between profane love and sacred love (cf. *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, Fr. tr. L. Bercher, *Le collier du pigeon*, Algiers 1949, 152-3, Eng. tr. A.J. Arberry, *The ring of the dove*, London 1953, 118).

For al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857 [*q.v.*]), while love cannot be described, it nonetheless leaves behind it indubitable traces on lovers "on account of the constancy of their link with their Beloved (*li-dawām ittiṣālihim bi-ḥabībihim*), since God, in manifesting His love to them, instructs them (*id͟hā waṣalahum afādahum*)" (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, x, 79; cf. J. van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārit͟h al-Muḥāsibī*, Bonn 1961, 224). Through *wiṣāl* and its equivalents, the expression of divine love has from the outset taken two directions. One of them is poetic and based on imagery, expressing intense desire for union with, or proximity to God. D͟hu 'l-Nūn (d. 246/861 [*q.v.*]) thus says of Muḥammad that he was the first of the prophets to arrive in "the garden of union" (*rawḍat al-wiṣāl*) (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, tr. R. Deladrière, *La vie merveilleuse de Dhu l-Nun l'Égyptien*, Paris 1988, 166; see also *Ḥilya*, ix, 375). The joy shown by al-Ḥallād͟j [*q.v.*] immediately before his execution, emanates, he declares, "from the coquetry of His beauty, which draws the elect towards union (*wiṣāl*)" (al-Munāwī, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya*, Cairo 1994, i, 545; *Passion*, i, 635, refers in error to *Ak͟hbār*, no. 16). The second, more doctrinal direction seeks to determine the reality of the union. In the abridged version of his *Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, al-Sulamī quotes, with *isnād*, the interpretation by D͟jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ of Ḳur'ān, VII, 143, when Moses asks to see God "in language of humility on the carpet of union (*bisāṭ al-wiṣāl*) in the shade of Majesty" (ed. G. Böwering, *The minor Qur'ān Commentary of Sulamī*, Beirut 1995, 146). Regarding God's reply "you shall not see Me", D͟jaʿfar speaks further of *wuṣla* and of *muwāṣala*, impossible to realise fully with God in this world (cf. P. Nwyia, *Le tafsir mystique de Djaʿfar al-Sadiq*, in *MUSJ*, xliii [1968], 18-19). Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmid͟hī (d. between 295 and 300/905-10

[*q.v.*]) does not hesitate, however, to speak of *ittiṣāl* in regard to the saints closest to God (*Sīrat* [or *Khatm*] *al-awliyā'*, ed. B. Radtke, in idem, *Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmidh*, Beirut 1992, 65-6, 181). Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]) interprets the light of the lamp in the Verse of Light (Ḳur'ān, XXIV, 35) as that of union with God (*nūr al-ittiṣāl*) (*Tafsīr*, Cairo 1329/1911, 68), but also guards against a too literal understanding of this term (cf. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in Classical Islam. The Qur'anic hermeneutics of Sahl al-Tustarī*, Berlin-New York 1980, 208, 218). This reservation is explained thus by Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (d. after 320/932) in his commentary on the formula "God is great": "You are too mighty to be joined (*tuwāṣalu*) through prayer and separated (*tufāṣalu*) through its neglect, for separation and union are not movements, but that which has been determined from all eternity" (al-Kalābādhī, *Ta'arruf*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Cairo 1960, 142, ch. 64). Poetry and doctrine are in no way incompatible. In the process of defining *waṣl* and *faṣl*, al-Sarrādj relates that al-Shiblī (d. 334/945) went into a state of ecstasy (*tawādjada*) when he heard this verse of al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf: "Your union (*waṣl*) is shunning (*hadjr*), your friendship is ill-treatment, your proximity is distance and your peace is war" (*Luma'*, 364, 433, tr. R. Gramlich, *Schlaglichter über das Sufitum*, Stuttgart 1990, 495). Samnūn, also known as al-Muḥibb (d. *ca.* 300/912) offers one of the best examples of amorous lament addressed to God, in union as in denial (cf. al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn Shurayba, Cairo 1969, 198; Abu Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, x, 310-11: M. Lings, ch. *Mystical poetry*, in *Camb. hist. of Arabic lit.*, ii, *'Abbasid belles-lettres*, Cambridge 1990, 243).

The general sense of union or of love which God manifests to those who remain faithfully and amorously attached to Him often means that *waṣl* or *wiṣāl* are not found in the technical lexicon of *taṣawwuf*, except in the case of some authors (see below). 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī (d. 297/909) appears to be such an exception. Al-Hudjwirī quotes his *K. al-Maḥabba*, where *waṣl* is placed above proximity (*ḳurb*) and intimacy (*uns*) and associated with the most intimate part of being (*sirr*) (cf. *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, Eng. tr. R.A. Nicholson, 309, Fr. tr. Djamshid Mortazavi, *Somme spirituelle*, Paris 1988, 355). *Ittiṣāl*, on the other hand, is more problematical, being open to various interpretations. In accordance with his method in the *Manāzil al-sā'irīn*, al-Anṣārī identifies three degrees of *ittiṣāl* and likewise of its corollary *infiṣāl* "necessary condition or surpassing of union", according to its degree (ed. and Fr. tr. S. Laugier de Beaurecueil, Cairo 1962, 99-101). In the *Iḥyā'*, al-Ghazālī stands out from his predecessors in insisting on the correspondence between sexual and spiritual union (*waṣl*), as a way of underlining its delicious and ineffable character (Beirut, iv, 311-2). It would be natural to expect to find in a text such as the *'Abhar al-'āshiḳīn* of Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]) frequent mention of the union-separation pairing, but in fact it rarely appears except in reference to the alternating states through which the soul passes in its relationship to God (*Le Jardin des fidèles d'amour*, ed. H. Corbin and M. Mo'in, Tehran-Paris 1958, 76, 127, Fr. tr. Corbin, Lagrasse 1971, 155, 244). On the other hand, this same author makes frequent reference to union in his Ḳur'ānic commentary, the *'Arā'is al-bayān* (Indian lith. 1315/1897-8). The same observation may be applied to his predecessor, al-Ḳushayrī (d. 465/1072), who interprets the verse of the *Fātiḥa* "Guide us on the straight path" as "Divert our intimate thoughts away from vision of the other, make the risings of lights shine in our hearts... raise us above the domains of research and demonstration, towards the esplanades of proximity and of union" (*Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, ed. Ibrāhīm Basyūnī, Cairo n.d., 61-2). In these two commentaries, the constant evocation of *wiṣāl* suggests what the predisposition of the heart should be in order to hear and to understand the Word of the Beloved.

Towards the end of the 6th/12th and during the 7th/13th centuries, the period of the great doctrinal syntheses, poetical expression of union lost nothing of its potency, as is shown by a well-known poem of Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī of Aleppo (d. 587/1191 [*q.v.*]) still recited today (quoted by Yūsuf Zaydān in *Shu'arā' al-ṣūfiyya al-madjhūlūn*, Beirut 1996, 31-2). An author such as Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā [*q.v.*] accentuates in particular the dynamic of union/disunion: union with Him and separation from the other are two alternate and indissoluble phases, like *fanā'* and *baḳā'*, knowledge and love (cf. *Fawā'iḥ al-djamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-djalāl*, ed. F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957, 47). In a detailed passage, 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [*q.v.*]) develops the idea that to each of the degrees of union (*ittiṣāl* and *muwāṣala*) corresponds a certain "arrival" in God (*wuṣūl*), a term which does not by any means signify that the journey towards God has come to an end (cf. *'Awārif al-ma'ārif*, Beirut 1966, 516-17). Others insist on the need to move beyond such a notion. For Ibn al-Fāriḍ, union is a veil which must be lifted, since reality lies beyond it (cf. *al-Tā'iyya al-kubrā*, in *Dīwān*, Cairo 1956, 52, and tr. Nicholson, in *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 197, v. 441). In accordance with his unitive vision of Being, Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]) applies to man the union/separation polarity: "You claim union (*wuṣla*) and reunion, but I fear that your union is through you alone, not through Him. You declare 'I am united' (or, have arrived, *waṣaltu*), while you are in separation!" (*Tadjalliyāt*, with commentary of Ibn Sawdakīn, ed. Osman Yahya, Tehran 1988, 247-8). Taking as a starting-point the definitions of al-Sarrādj in his *Luma'*, he assigns to the terms *faṣl*, *waṣl* and *ittiṣāl* exceedingly precise senses as phases of spiritual progression (cf. *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Ḥaydarābād 1943, 8, 12, 13, and *Futūḥāt*, Beirut, ii, 131-2). But he also brings union back to its divine principle; the verse LVII, 4, "And He is with you wherever you are" signifies that God remains with His creatures forever in a state of union (*ḥāl al-waṣl*) (cf. *Futūḥāt*, ii, 480, chs. 200, 201, on *waṣl* and *faṣl*). The genuine lover "makes no distinction between union and separation, occupied as he is with his Beloved, the object of his contemplation" (*Futūḥāt*, ii, 360 ch. 178 on love, Fr. tr. M. Gloton, *Traité de l'amour*, Paris 1986, 253). 'Abd al-Karīm al-Djīlī (d. 826/1423) recognises the validity of the term *wiṣāl* when it signifies the uninterrupted reception of theophanies, while drawing attention to the difficulty that it raises: the *wāṣil*, he who enters into ties of love or who arrives at God is in a veil, since according to Reality, no sooner has arrival taken place than there is separation. In effect, *wiṣāl* implies duality and, from this point of view, its opposite, *fiṣāl*, overtakes it and is superior to it (*al-Manāẓir al-ilāhiyya*, ed. Nadjāḥ al-Ghunaymī, Cairo 1987, 160-1). 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī (d. *ca.* 735/1334) in his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. M. Kamāl Dja'far, Cairo 1981, 24, 51-2, and the other two lexicons of technical terms of Ṣūfism attributed to al-Ḳāshānī both continue the work of Ibn al-'Arabī and develop original definitions of *ittiṣāl*, *waṣl*, *waṣl al-faṣl*

and *waṣl al-waṣl* (cf. *Rashḥ al-zulāl fī sharḥ al-alfāẓ al-mutadāwala bayna arbāb al-adhwāḳ wa 'l-aḥwāl*, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, Cairo 1995, 121, and *Laṭāʾif al-iʿlām fī ishārāt ahl al-ilhām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, Cairo 1996, ii, 389-91.

Other nuances in the work of later writers can also be found. The joy of union and the sadness of separation or their simultaneous acceptance have continued to inspire Ṣūfī poets throughout the Muslim world (Annemarie Schimmel gives examples in her *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill 1975, index s.v. *unio mystica*, Fr. tr. *Le soufisme ou les dimensions mystiques de l'Islam*, Paris 1976, 353, 431, 433). In poems intended to enliven sessions of *samāʿ* and of *dhikr* and to raise the aspirations of disciples, teachers have continued to use these terms, *waṣl* or *wiṣāl*, to inspire in their listeners the desire for God (cf. the Algerian *shaykh* Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlīwā (d. 1934) in the first poem of his *Dīwān*, Damascus 1963, 3-4, 8, Eng. tr. M. Lings, in *A Sufi saint of the twentieth century*, Cambridge 1971, 214-20, Fr. tr., *Un saint musulman du vingtième siècle*, Paris 1973, 247-54).

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(D. GRIL)

WISĀM (A., pl. *awsima*), in modern Arabic usage a decoration, order, medal or badge of honour.

The roots *w-s-m* and *w-sh-m* mean basically "to mark, brand [an animal]", an important feature of nomadic life when ownership of beasts like horses and camels had to be determinable. For this idea of branding, marking, in Arabic desert life, see WASM. In the old Turkish nomadic society, *tamgha* had a similar sense of "tribal mark or emblem". In the modern Turkish pronunciation *damga* it is used for government revenue stamps, ministerial seals for validating government documents, cancelling postage stamps, etc. [see TAMGHA, and on personal seals and stamps in Islamic society in general, KHĀTAM]. *Washm* was used in Bedouin and succeeding Arab societies for tattoos and other decorative marks on the faces of both sexes but especially as beauty marks on women; see for this WASHM. The connection of both *wasm* and *washm* with the general sense of "to mark" > "to beautify" has yielded in Classical Arabic the adjective *wasīm* "having a comely face" and the noun *wasāma* "beauty".

Wisām tends now to be the standard Arabic word for "decoration, order, etc.", but when European-type orders were first imitated in 19th century Persia and the Ottoman empire, the term used was Perso-Turkish *nishān* [*q.v.*]. (ED.)

AL-**WISYĀNĪ**, the *nisba* of a number of Wahbī (pro-Rustamid) Ibāḍī scholars and leaders of the Banū Wisyān (Wāsīn) branch of Zanāta Berbers. Several of them originated from the town of al-Ḥāmma (El Hamma) near Tawzar (Tozeur) in the Shaṭṭ al-Djarīd [*q.v.*] region of western Tunisia.

1. ABŪ KHAZAR YAGHLĀ B. ZALTAF, Ibāḍī *mutakallim* and military leader, d. 380/990.

Of a modest background, Abū Khazar studied with Sulaymān b. Zarkūn al-Nafūsī at Tābidyūt, together with Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yazīd b. Makhlad al-Wisyānī. Both students became well known for their scholarship and were members of the circle of notable scholars (*ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*]). The murder of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim on the order of the Fāṭimid ruler of Ḳayrawān, Abū Tamīm al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*], led to an Ibāḍī revolt under the leadership of Abū Khazar. The revolt, launched in 358/968-9, found support in Tripolitania, Djabal Nafūsa, and the regions of Zāb, Rīgh and Wardjlān. It was based in particular on the Mazāta Zanāta, who alone were said to muster 12,000 horsemen. However, the Ibāḍī forces were routed by the Fāṭimids at Bāghāya, west of Ḳayrawān, thus ending the last major Ibāḍī challenge to Fāṭimid rule, sixty years after the fall of Tāhart.

Abū Khazar fled to Djabal Nafūsa. With the mediation of his supporter Abū Nūḥ Saʿīd b. Zanghīl, he received an *amān* from al-Muʿizz the following year. Al-Muʿizz kept both Ibāḍī leaders under close control in Ḳayrawān, and when he moved to Egypt three years later, he ordered both to accompany him. Abū Nūḥ managed to escape, but Abū Khazar went with al-Muʿizz to Cairo and remained there for the rest of his life. He was given a pension and apparently retired to a life of scholarship, teaching several renowned students. One anecdote relates of an occasion when a Muʿtazilī scholar came to Cairo some time after al-Muʿizz's death in 364/975, and the only man in Cairo who could defeat him in debate was Abū Khazar.

He wrote *al-Radd ʿalā al-mukhālifīn* in refutation of various sects that opposed the Wahbiyya, including the Muʿtazila. A copy of this work exists on the island of Djerba, Tunisia (A.K. Ennami, *A description of new Ibāḍī manuscripts from North Africa*, in *JSS*, xv [1970], 82).

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2. ABŪ MŪSĀ HĀRŪN B. ABĪ ʿIMRĀN AL-ḤĀMMĪ, Ibāḍī trader and scholar, native of al-Ḥammā, who travelled to Ghāna and died there in the late 4th/10th century.

Hārūn was undoubtedly inspired by his kinsman, Tamlā al-Wisyānī, who was said to have left the Djarīd as a pauper, travelling to Tādmekka on the Niger bend. Here he amassed a great fortune and annually sent home 4,000 dīnārs to be distributed among the poor, out of piety to the Ibāḍī community of his home and to its famous son, the Ibāḍī leader Abū Khazar al-Wisyānī (above, 1.). The community notable who received the gifts was Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. Sudrīn al-Wisyānī, Hārūn's father and in his own right one of the well-known scholars of the region. Hārūn left al-Ḥāmma for Wardjlān, at the time one of the few independent strongholds of the Ibāḍī community. He became known as a scholar, and asked the head of the oasis, Abū Ṣāliḥ b. Djannūn, for permission to set up a study circle, *ḥalḳa*. When this was refused, he decided instead to take up the profession of merchant, and travelled across the Sahara to Ghāna. There he settled in the town of Ghiyāra, probably on the Senegal river, in a region populated by non-Muslims, where he stayed until his death.

To Hārūn are ascribed unnamed works of *tawḥīd*; some, written at the request of Abū Ṣāliḥ, remained unfinished.

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3. ABŪ RABĪʿ SULAYMĀN B. ʿABD AL-SALĀM, Ibāḍī-Wahbī scholar of the 6th/12th-century, and author

of one of their best-known biographical works, the *Kitāb al-Siyar*.

Abū Rabī'’s family was from the Djarīd, but he spent his youth in Adjlū in the Wādī Rīgh region. We know very little of his life, but he is said to have built up his reputation through extensive travels. His main teacher was Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Lawātī [*q.v.*], originally from Cyrenaica, who had come to Adjlū in 450/1058-9. Among the important authorities from whom Abū Rabīʿ learnt was another Wisyānī, Abū Muḥammad Māksan b. Khayr. Abū Rabīʿ may also have studied with Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wardjlānī [*q.v.*]. Upon al-Lawātī's death in 528/1133-4, Abū Rabīʿ gathered numerous students around himself. His major work is the *K. al-Siyar*, a collection of biographical notices organised geographically, centering on his own southern Tunisian region but also including anecdotes from a wider range. It was widely used by later Ibāḍī historians, such as al-Dardjīnī. It has not been printed, but copies exist in Djerba, Beni Isguen (Mzāb, Algeria), Cairo and Cracow.

Abū Rabī'’s date of death is not known. It must have been after 528/1134, but probably before 557/1161-2, the earliest date of a work written by an anonymous student of his.

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(K.S. VIKØR)

WITR (A.), also *watr*, a term found in *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* in connection with performance of the *ṣalāt* or worship and concerned with the odd number of *rakʿa*s which are performed at night.

Witr does not occur in this sense in the Ḳurʾān, but frequently in *ḥadīth*, which in this case also discloses to us a part of the history of the institution in three stages, itself probably a continuation of the history of the fixing of the daily *ṣalāt*s, as the traditions on *witr* presuppose the five daily *ṣalāt*s. Some traditions even go so far as to call *witr* an additional *ṣalāt* of an obligatory nature (see also below). When Muʿādh b. Djabal, upon his arrival in Syria, perceived that the people of this country did not perform the *witr*, he spoke to Muʿāwiya on this subject. When the latter asked him: Is then this *ṣalāt* obligatory? Muʿādh answered: Yes, the Apostle of God said: My Lord has added a *ṣalāt* to those prescribed to me, namely *witr*, its time is between *ʿishāʾ* [see MĪḲĀT] and daybreak (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 242). In accordance with this tradition, it is reported that when *witr* had been forgotten or neglected, it had to be performed (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 206; Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma*, *bāb* 122). ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, on the other hand, denied the obligatory character of *witr* on account of a different tradition (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 315-16, 319).

The second stage in the position of *witr* is expressed in those traditions in which Muḥammad admonishes his people to perform *witr*, "for God is *witr* (viz. One), and He loves *witr*" (e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 110).

The third stage of *ḥadīth*, which was to become the point of view of all *madhhab*s with one exception, the Ḥanafī school, is represented in those traditions which call this *ṣalāt* a *sunna*. Many traditions of this kind expressly deny its obligatory character and are consequently of a polemical nature; they are frequently ascribed to ʿAlī (e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 86, 98, 100, 115, 120, 145, 148, etc.). It may be that this question, like other ceremonial points, belonged to the polemical repertory of the early Shīʿīs.

The time of *witr* is mentioned in *ḥadīth* in connection with different parts of the night. "*Witr* consists of pairs of *rakʿa*s; whosoever fears *ṣubḥ* must add a *rakʿa* in order to make the total number odd" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 5, 9, 10, 75). In other traditions, three *rakʿa*s are mentioned in order to avoid the *ṣubḥ* (*fa-bādir al-ṣubḥ bi-rakʿatayn*, e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 71). The number of thirteen *rakʿa*s occurs also (al-Tirmidhī, *Witr*, *bāb* 4), and in general, *witr* is supposed not to be allowed after *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* (cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Witr*, trads. 24-8, and al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2192: "No *witr* for him who has not performed it before *ṣubḥ*").

Witr is also frequently mentioned in connection with the first part of the night (cf. below). Abū Hurayra performed it before going to sleep, on Muḥammad's order (al-Tirmidhī, *Witr*, *bāb* 3). Muḥammad himself is said to have performed this *ṣalāt* in any part of the night (e.g. al-Tirmidhī, *Witr*, *bāb* 4). The time between *ʿishāʾ* and daybreak appears as the largest space accorded to *witr* in *ḥadīth* (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 242). It is prohibited to perform more than one *witr-ṣalāt* in one night (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 23 *bis*).

Tradition frequently mentions the *rakʿa*s, prayers, invocations and formulas by which *witr* used to be followed (e.g. al-Nasāʾī, *Ḳiyām al-layl*, *bāb*s 51, 54; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 199, 350).

The chief regulations of *witr* as fixed by the different *madhhab*s show insignificant divergencies only (see al-Shaʿrānī, 198 ff.), with the single exception that the Ḥanafīs declare it to be obligatory. As an example, one may cite the rules of the Shāfiʿī school: the number of *rakʿa*s may vary between the odd numbers from one to eleven; the *niyya* [*q.v.*] is required; after every two *rakʿa*s and after the last a *salām* or *tashahhud* is performed. The best time is immediately after *tahadjdjud* [*q.v.*] for those who do not perform this *ṣalāt* in the first third of the night. In the second half of Ramaḍān [see TARĀWĪḤ], *witr* is prolonged by *ḳunūt* [*q.v.*].

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(A.J. WENSINCK)

WIZE, modern VIZE, a small town of Eastern Thrace, now in European Turkey (lat. 41° 34' N.,

long. 37° 45' E.). It lies below the southwestern slopes of the Istranca Dağları on the road connecting Kırklareli [see ḲIRḲ KILISE] with Silivri and the Sea of Marmara coast.

The Byzantine town and fortress of Bizyē (Βιζύη), Byzus of the Latins, was a bishopric by 431 and a metropolitan see by the 14th century. It was apparently first taken by the Ottomans just after the middle of the 8th/14th century; the poet Aḥmedī attributes this occupation to Süleymān, eldest son of Orkhan, who is said to have died in 1357. But this must have been only a temporary event, and according to the Byzantine chronicler Ducas, it was not until March 1453, just before the fall of Constantinople, that Meḥemmed Fātiḥ's commander Ḳaradja Beg conquered Bizyē definitively, with its two churches of St. Sophia and St. Nicholas transformed into mosques. *Yürüks* [*q.v.*] were settled in this frontier region and Wize became a *sandjak* of Rūmeli. Subsequently, it came within the province of Özü or Silistra. By 1846 it was included in the province of Edirne [*q.v.*] as the *sandjak* of Tekfūrdaghī or Tekirdaghī [*q.v.*], coming within the *sandjak* of Ḳirḳ Kilise in 1879. It had been briefly occupied by the Bulgarians in the spring of 1878. During the Balkan War of 1912-13 it was again occupied by the Bulgarians, and by Greek forces in 1920-2. With the Treaty of Lausanne, the town's Greek population, who had formed the majority of the town's 3,380 inhabitants, was resettled within Greece. In Republican Turkey, it is now within the *il* of Kırklareli.

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(C.E. Bosworth and A. Savvides)

WODINA, Vodina, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Greek town of Edessa on the Via Egnatia in western Macedonia, lying to the northwest of Thessalonica [see SELĀNIK] (lat. 40° 48' N., long. 22° 03' E.). The name Vodina goes back to Slavonic *voda* "water" because of the abundance of water in the vicinity of the town.

In mediaeval times it was contested by Byzantines, Bulgarians, Serbs and Normans (see J. Perluga, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, iii/7, Munich-Zürich 1985, cols. 1565-7; R. Browning and A. Kazhdan, in *Oxford dict. of Byzantium*, New York-Oxford 1991, 2185). In the late 14th century it was ruled by Greek-Serbian toparchs, until the town's initial conquest by the Ottoman commander Ewrenos Beg [*q.v.*], effected by the treason of the local archon Kel Petros and variously dated by Greek and Turkish sources (Neshrī, Saʿd al-Dīn, Ewliyā Čelebi) to between 774-6/1372-4, together with Beroia [see KARAFERYE], and dates in the 1380s (see C. Seybold, *Neschri's Notiz über die Eroberung von Vodena-Edessa... durch Bajezid I. Jildirim, 1389*, in *ZDMG*, lxxiv [1920], 291; P. Wittek, in *BSOAS*, xiv [1952], 661 n. 3; D.E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman empire*, Leiden 1972, map XXVI; P. Schreiner, *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ii, Vienna 1977, 358; Stalides, i, 95-125 for details).

Definitively captured *ca.* 833/1430, Vodina became part of the *sandjak* of Selānik, internally administered by local archons (*demogērontes*). Its fortifications and products were described by Kātib Čelebi (Ger. tr. J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 87) and by Ewliyā Čelebi in 1668, the latter mentioning 100 houses, 30 shops, ten *khāns* and seven Orthodox churches functioning also as schools for the Greek population (see D. Demetriades, *Central and western Macedonia according to Ewliyā Čelebi* [in Greek], Thessalonica 1973, 235, 241-2). In the 19th century, it was visited by various Western travellers, e.g. W.M. Leake in 1808 (*Travels in northern Greece*, iii, London 1835, 275-6). Edessans participated in the 1770 Russian-inspired Orlov revolt and the Greek War of Independence, whilst between 1798 and 1822 the town experienced the rule of ʿAlī Pasha Tepedelenli [*q.v.*] of Albania. Bulgarian claims on the area began in the 1860s, but the town's eventual annexation to the kingdom of Greece was effected on 18 October 1912, at which time the town had a population of 4,000 Greeks, 1,530 Bulgarians, 46 Turks and a few Serbs (see J. Sarres, in *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*[2], ix, Athens 1964, 706-7). The town's fine 15th century mosque now houses its archaeological museum.

Bibliography: See also the detailed monograph on the town, C. Stalides, *Edessa in the period of Turkish domination, 14th century to 1912* (in Greek), Edessa 1988, i; also A. Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia 1354-1833* (in Greek), Thessalonica 1969, repr. 1992, index, and idem, *History of modern Hellenism* (in Greek), iv-vi, Thessalonica 1973-82, index.

(A. Savvides)

WOLOF [see SENEGAL].

WOLOS [see ḲULUZ, in Suppl.].

WOYNUḲ (T.), a term of Ottoman military and administrative usage which denoted a particular category of troops amongst other Balkan Christian landholding or tax-exempt groups employed by the sultans to perform specific combat and other militarily-related tasks (for other groups, see EFLĀḲ and MARTOLOS). The term stems from the Slavonic root meaning "war", "warrior", which appears also in the office of Voywoda [*q.v.*], likewise found in Ottoman usage.

The *woynuḳs* were especially useful to the sultans before the Ottoman state developed a fully-centralised, multi-functional military apparatus of its own. In newly-conquered lands along the empire's expanding Albanian and northern Balkan frontiers during the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, *woynuḳs* provided an essential complement to the timariots [see TĪMĀR] whose numbers were still insufficient to perform both offensive and defensive military functions. An idea of the numerical importance of *woynuḳs* can be gained when we consider that in the Vidin region during the time of Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ, for example, *woynuḳs* still outnumbered timariots by a significant margin (İnalcık, *Fatih devri*, table on p. 165 showing 231 registered *woynuḳs* as against 188 *tīmār* holders). By means of the *woynuḳ* organisation, the Ottomans were able to secure the loyalty and co-operation of members of existing local landed military élites by confirming a kind of limited title to their own hereditary lands called *bashtine*. One limit was the satisfactory performance of the military duties assigned to them by the Ottomans. Having thus neutralised them, the Ottomans

could then turn to the *woynuḳs* to give support services essential to further military advance. The *woynuḳs* were often employed in the first period of Ottoman expansion as guardians of the frontier and as supplementary garrison forces who assumed responsibility for protecting the hinterland as the Turks advanced towards and eventually (after the fall of Belgrade in 1521) beyond the natural boundary formed by the Danube. The provincial law codes for Bosnia in the early 10th/16th century contain explicit reference to the use of *woynuḳs* in unsettled regions of the frontier (*iḥtiyāṭlu yerler*): as guardians of the roads and passes and as defenders of minor strongholds set up in vulnerable or strategically important sectors of the frontier and its immediate hinterland (see refs. in the law codes dated 922/1516 and 937/1530 in the *Bibl.*). In time, the *woynuḳs* of some regions, especially in the area between the Danube and the Balkan range that, after the Ottomans' permanent establishment in Hungary in 948/1541, lost its strategic importance, lost their combat functions but kept their tax-exempt status by performing auxiliary services. Pastoralist *woynuḳs* were employed in large numbers for the breeding, grazing and general care of the horses belonging to the imperial stables [see MĪR-ĀKHŪR]. They also accompanied regular army units on campaign, with responsibility for the care and protection of the mounts belonging to the imperial herd. Such *woynuḳs* were attached to the imperial stables and governed by their own regulations (see the law code published by Y. Ercan, *Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, 114-16). They managed to preserve their place as a distinct element within the complex Ottoman court and military organisational structure until the time of the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-8 (Uzunçarşılı, *Saray teşkilâtı*, 504).

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2. Studies. İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, esp. 501-5; Pakalin, iii, 595-8; Gibb and Bowen, i, 54; H. İnalcık, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar*, Ankara 1954, 137-84, ch. *Stefan Duşan'dan osmanlı imparatorluğuna*; Y. Ercan, *Osmanlı askerî kuruluşlarından voynuk örgütü*, in *Birinci askerî tarih semineri. Bildiriler*, Ankara 1983, ii, 109-25.

(R. MURPHEY)

WOYWODA, a term derived from the Slavic root *vojn* that signifies pertinence to the military or the sphere of war. In mediaeval Serbia it denoted a high-ranking commander and, on the eve of the Ottoman conquest, the governor of a military district (N. Radojčić, ed., *Zakonik tsara Stefana Dushana 1349 i 1354*, Belgrade 1960, 65, 67; C. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien*, Part IV, Vienna 1919, 25-6). In early Ottoman sources the term appears in reference to former Christian lords (N. Beldiceanu, *Les Actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibl. nationale à Paris*, Paris 1964, ii, 56-7). Soon it began to designate agents in charge of revenues from domains which enjoyed full immunity (*serbest*), i.e. the imperial demesne as well as the *khāṣṣ* fiefs granted to viziers, provincial governors and other dignitaries (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, ²Ankara 1984, 164-5, 321; M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî ve içtimaî tarihi*, ii, ²Istanbul 1974, 89, 377-8, 382-4, 455).

With the expansion of the *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] system since the 11th/17th century, many *ḳaḍā*'s and even *sandjaḳs* were administered by *woywodas* (Y. Özkaya, *XVIII. yüzyılda Osmanlı kurumları ve Osmanlı toplum yaşantısı*, Ankara 1985, 21, 200-2; Y. Cezar, *Osmanlı maliyesinde bunalım ve değişim dönemi*, Istanbul 1986, 65, 144; L.T. Darling, *Revenue-raising and legitimacy. Tax collection and finance administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660*, Leiden 1996, 129). Their role was further enhanced as a result of efforts to settle the nomads as peasants and the consequent revivification of deserted areas (C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda aşiretleri iskân teşebbüsü, 1691-1696*, Istanbul 1963, 14, 18, 44).

On the whole, *woywodas* exerted, along with economic power, considerable political authority, since they were responsible also for public order, policing the countryside accompanied by numerous armed men. Not least for this reason they were the cause of frequent complaints (H. İnalcık, *Adaletnameler*, in *Belgeler*, ii/3-4 [1965], 49-165). The central government was hard pressed to find suitable persons for this job, i.e. persons who were acceptable also to regional interests. More often than not, local notables succeeded in controlling the *woywoda* posts in their province until the institution was abolished during the early *Tanẓīmāt* (M. Çadırcı, *Tanzimat döneminde Anadolu kentlerinin sosyal ve ekonomik yapıları*, Ankara 1991, 29-32).

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(F. ADANIR)

WU MA "the Five Mas", the group of five Muslim warlord-governors dominating Northwest China in the Republican period (1911-49).

By the turn of the 20th century, three grand Muslim clans of Ma from Ho-chou district in Kansu, led by Ma Ch'ien-ling (1826-1910), Ma Chan-ao (1830-86) and Ma Hai-yen (1837-1900) respectively, rose up to consolidate their military power. Later their descendants came to be known as "Hsi-pei Ma-chia-chun" ("the Northwestern Muslim Warlords of the Ma clans"). The five best known of them were: Ma An-liang (1844-1918), Ma T'ing-hsiang (1889-1929) (of the Ma Chan-ao clan), Ma Fu-hsiang (1876-1932) (of the Ma Ch'ien-ling clan), Ma Ch'i (1869-1931) and Ma Lin (1873-1945) (of the Ma Hai-yen clan). They were called "Lao Wu Ma" ("The Old Five Mas") distinguished from another group of five called "Hsiao Wu Ma" ("The Young Five Mas"), comprising Ma Hung-pin (1884-1960), Ma Hung-k'ui (1892-1970) (of the Ma Ch'ian-ling clan), Ma Pu-ch'ing (1901-77), Ma Pu-fang (1902-75), and Ma Chung-ying (1909-? [*q.v.*]) (of the Ma Hai-yen clan). The old and young Mas were related to each other either by blood or marriage. According to the area of their dominance, they were also known as "Ch'ing Ma", the group that controlled mainly the Ch'ing-Hai region, and "Ning Ma", which controlled mainly the Ning-hsia [*q.v.*] region. The former were led by Ma Ch'i (*r.* 1929-31), Ma Lin (*r.* 1931-38) and Ma Pu-fang (*r.* 1938-49); the latter were led by Ma Fu-hsiang (*r.* 1913-20), Ma

Hung-pin (*r.* 1921-28 and 1931-33), and Ma Hung-k'ui (*r.* 1933-49).

Most of the Ma warlords were Old Teaching (Lao Chiao) traditionalists who were more sinicised than the New Teaching (Hsin Chiao) reformists. They always complied with the central government's Han-centric policies, so that their rule was not particulary motivated by Islam. Amongst them Ma Fu-hsiang and Ma Hon-k'ui, father and son, claimed by some authorities as neo-Confucianists, made efforts to incorporate Confucianism into Muslim school curricula. In order to echo the central government's policy of modernisation, they also introduced Western sciences into Muslim education. Ma Fu-hsiang used to urge Muslim associations to reprint Han-language Muslim classics of a Confucian-Islamic synthesis in order to stimulate Muslim integration into Han society. As a result, Islam in Northwest China underwent further assimilation, and the Salafiyya [*q.v.*] reform movement there was held back. The rule of the Ma warlords had a significant impact on the Muslim communities in Northwest China. Because of their Sino-nationalist stance, the Northwestern Han-speaking Muslims' cultural identity within the universal *umma* was superseded by an identification with the Chinese motherland. The tendency of anti-acculturation and secession from China, which had burned during the second half of the 19th century, was thus momentarily stilled.

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WUDJŪD (A.), verbal noun from *w-dj-d* "to find".

1. In philosophy.

Here, it is one of the main words used to represent "being" in Arabic renderings of Greek ontological expressions, based on the present passive *yūdjadu*, with the past passive *wudjida*, leading to the nominal form *mawdjūd*. *Al-mawdjūd* means "what is found" or "what exists", and the *maṣdar*, *wudjūd*, is used as the abstract noun representing existence. *Wudjūd* and its related terms are frequently used to represent the copula (*al-rābiṭa*), sc. the English word "is", in addition to being used to represent existence. Many philosophers writing in Arabic and Persian spend some time discussing the repertoire of terms, technical and familiar, which might be used to represent the sorts of ontological and logical points which are made in Greek philosophy. In this context, *wudjūd* tends to be identified with terms such as *anniyya*, *huwiyya* [*q.vv.*] and the verb *kāna*, by contrast with terms representing being in the sense of essence such as *māhiyya*, *ḥaḳīḳa*, *dhāt* [*q.vv.*] and in Persian usage, *djawhar*, *dhāt*. The ambiguity between *wudjūd* as the copula and as representing existence is well noted by al-Fārābī [*q.v.*], who points out that the statement *Zayd yūdjadu ʿādilan* ("Zayd is just") can be understood purely syntactically without having any implication that Zayd actually exists. In his Commentary on the *De Interpretatione*, *Sharḥ al-ʿIbāra*, he refers to the use of *wudjūd* as though it were an attribute and used to make an existential claim. But he is generally clear that existence is not part of the essence of a thing, and it is not implied by its essence either. Existence is never anything more than an accident. When he discusses Aristotle's logical terms in the latter's *Prior analytics*, the expression *ḳiyās wudjūdī* is used to represent the Aristotelian hyparctic or assertoric syllogism.

A crucial distinction made by Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] is between *wudjūd* and *māhiyya*, where the former represents being and existence and the latter essence or quiddity. He spoke of God as the *wādjib al-wudjūd*, the only being whose essence is to exist, in contrast with everything else which is contingent. The realm of existence can be divided up into the *wādjib al-wudjūd bi-dhātihi*, necessary being in itself, and everything else which follows from it. The idea that there are essences or concepts that need something to bring them into existence was readily adopted by many of the *mutakallimūn*, and they discussed the particular kind of existence which is appropriate to God, a very different kind than that which is applicable to His creatures.

Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*] is more explicit on the function of *wudjūd* as indicating a truth claim. Existence may be understood as attributing a predicate to a subject, an accident being applied to the substance which serves as the subject of the statement. Arguing that existence has priority over essence, he formalised a powerful line of opposition to Ibn Sīnā's views on being, however. He accepted the logical distinction between existence and essence, but criticised its application to ontology. It is not just a matter of existence being brought to an essence that allows us to talk of the essence as being actualised, since the real existence of the essence is part of the meaning of the name, and is thus a condition of our use of the essence in the first place. If the existence of a thing depended on the addition of an accident to it, then precisely the same would be the case for existence itself, leading to an infinite regress.

Manuals of logic from the 4th/10th century regarded *wudjūd* as possessing an essence that the mind can comprehend without apprehension. This point is developed at great length by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*], who argues that the immediacy of existence represents unmediated knowledge of reality. Al-Suhrawardī took this to show that essence is prior, since if existence were a predicate of essence, essence has to exist itself before any further question of existence can be raised. In his *ishrāḳī* [see ISHRĀḲ] approach, existence is nothing more than an idea, and one can describe reality in terms of lights with different intensities, ignoring existence altogether.

Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] rejected this argument and replaced it with *aṣālat al-wudjūd*, the priority of existence. He argued that existence is accidental to essence in the sense that existence is not a part of essence. But there is no problem in understanding how existence can itself exist as more than a thought, since existence is an essential feature of actuality itself, and so no regress is involved. A development of the concept is provided by Mullā Ṣadrā, who uses the term *wudjūdiyya*. He argues that the *wudjūd* in everything is real, except for the abstract notion of being where this is an entirely mental abstraction. It provides scope for making a more abstract reference to *wudjūd*, as in the expression *mawdjūdiyyat al-wudjūd*, but he maintains the distinction between the *wudjūd* which is a mental abstraction and the *wudjūd* which is real. The former tends to be identified with the notion of universality, and when *wudjūd* is used in its widest

sense Mullā Ṣadrā claims that it is used *bi 'l-tashkīk*, not in a univocal manner. Everything which exists has something in common, since otherwise we should say that they do not exist, and what they have in common is not exactly the same attribute, but something that they share analogously. By contrast to al-Suhrawardī, what everything shares is some degree of existence rather than some degree of light. Like his predecessors, he distinguishes between the copulative use of *wudjūd* (*al-wudjūd al-rābiṭ*) and real being (*al-wudjūd al-ḥaḳḳ*). In the case of the former, what is connected by *wudjūd* are ideas in the mind, not necessarily anything real. What is it, then, that the different uses of *wudjūd* have in common, which manages to distinguish them from claims concerning non-existence? The answer for Mullā Ṣadrā is that all uses of *wudjūd* imply either mental or real existence.

He argues that existence is the basic notion of metaphysics, not essence. He accepts that we can think of a concept existing in reality, and only existing in our minds, but this does not show that existence is merely an attribute which is tacked on to the concept's essence in the case where it actually exists. When something exists and yet we think of it as not existing, we are thinking of the same thing; our name refers to the same object, and so existence comes first, and its precise characterisation later. Even things that only exist in our minds are existing things, and we then need to say what they are like. These arguments over the relative priority of existence and essence played a leading role in the structure of Islamic philosophy.

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2. In mysticism.

As a technical term of classical Ṣūfism, *wudjūd* is used primarily, though by no means exclusively, as a verbal noun derived, like *wadjd* and *widjdān*, from *wadjada*, "to find" or "to experience". The term already occurs in several meanings in the prose writings of such prominent Baghdādī Ṣūfīs as al-Kharrāz (d. 277/890-91 [*q.v.*]), *Rasā'il*, ed. Ḳāsim al-Sāmarrā'ī, Baghdād 1387/1967, 26, 28, 30, 39) and al-Djunayd (d. 298/910-11 [*q.v.*]), *Rasā'il*, ed. Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader, *The life, personality and writings of al-Junayd*, GMS, N.S. xxii, London 1962, Arabic text 32-3, 35-6, 51-2, 56-7), as well as in a well-known *ḳaṣīda* generally attributed to al-Ḥallādj (d. 309/922), *Le Dîwân d'al-Hallâj*, ed. Massignon, Paris 1955², 28-9), whereas it seems to be altogether absent from the technical vocabulary of their Eastern contemporary, the "thinker" al-Tirmidhī *al-ḥakīm* (d. *ca.* 300/912-13 or later [*q.v.*]). Al-Djunayd's peculiar usage of the formula *wudjūdihi lahum*, referring to God's "finding" or "realising" the spirits at the primordial Covenant (*al-mīthāḳ* [*q.v.*]), implies a kind of "existence" prior to existence in this world. Applied to the experience of the mystic, *wudjūd* is frequently juxtaposed with *shuhūd* "witnessing" or "presence", and/or *wadjd*, a crucial Ṣūfī term which, though usually translated as "ecstasy", is more precisely defined as an indescribable "encounter of the unseen with the unseen" (*muṣādafat al-ghayb bi 'l-ghayb*; cf. *Adab al-mulūk*, ed. B. Radtke, Beirut 1991, Arabic, 68, German tr., 31) and plays a key role in discussions of the Ṣūfī practice *par excellence*, "listening to music" (*samā'* [*q.v.*]). Opinions appear to have been at variance with regard to the hierarchy, if any, of the above three values; but al-Ḳushayrī in his authoritative *Risāla* (written 437-8/1045-6) clearly opts for the superiority of *wudjūd*, by which he means the realisation of divine [?] "existence" in such a way that everything else is totally "wiped out" (*istihlāk*; cf. R. Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben al-Qušayrīs über das Sufitum*, Stuttgart-Wiesbaden 1989, 115 ff., 123, 431, and the review by Landolt in *Bull. Critique des Annales Islamologiques*, vii [1990], 39-41). In a more imaginative way, Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221 [*q.v.*]) in his *Fawā'iḥ al-djamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-djalāl*, ed. F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957, Arabic text nos. 18, 41, 118, 119) speaks of an "exchange of existence" (*tabdīl al-wudjūd*) and describes this experience as a kind of ascent through the seven "categories of being" (*anwā' al-wudjūd*) until one reaches "divine existence" (*wudjūd al-ḥaḳḳ*). It may also be noted here that in the Ṣūfī *Tract on listening to music* traditionally attributed to Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (*Bawāriḳ al-ilmā' fi 'l-radd 'alā man yuḥarrim al-samā'*, ed. J. Robson, London 1938, Arabic text 157-8, tr. 98-9), but which is more likely the work of a 13th-century Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (cf. Aḥmad Mudjāhid, *Samā' wa futuwwat*, Tehran 1360/1981, Persian text, 9), the skin stretched over the drum is said to symbolise "absolute being" (*al-wudjūd al-muṭlaḳ*).

Philosophical speculations about "absolute being" probably played a significant role in the development of Ṣūfī thought from the times of Ibn Sīnā at least; but the question as to whether or not *al-wudjūd al-muṭlaḳ* should be identified with God became a serious issue only as a result of the impact of the "new" doctrine of Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]), who became famous with followers and opponents alike as the greatest spokesman for the "unity of being" (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*). It should be noted, however, that the latter expression has not been traced to the writings of Ibn al-'Arabī himself, whereas the 13th-century Persian thinker 'Azīz-i Nasafī already distinguishes systematically between two different kinds of *waḥdat-i wudjūd* without attributing any of them directly to Ibn al-'Arabī [see WAḤDAT AL-SHUHŪD]. According to 'Alā' al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336), an influential Ṣūfī critic of Ibn al-'Arabī, *al-wudjūd al-muṭlaḳ* is applicable not to God's own existence, but only to his creative "act of bringing-into-existence (*fi'l al-īdjād*), even though al-Simnānī himself accepts the validity of ontological *tawḥīd* in the formula "there is nothing in Being but God" (*laysa-fi 'l-wudjūd siwā 'llāh*), which he ascribes to the classical Ṣūfī al-Djunayd. Partly based on al-Simnānī's critique, but also as a means to assert their

own identity as Muslims against a certain Indo-Muslim syncretism of their own times, later Ṣūfīs such as Gīsūdīrāz (d. 825/1422) and especially the celebrated Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624 [*q.v.*]) laid claim to an even higher form of mystical experience than the one associated with Ibn al-ʿArabī. Their doctrine, as distinct from *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, is generally referred to as *waḥdat al-shuhūd*. On the other hand, the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* as elaborated by Ibn al-ʿArabī's immediate followers such as Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī (d. 673/1274) was vigorously defended by Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djāmī (d. 898/1492), particularly in his scholastic treatise, *al-Durra al-fākhira fī taḥḳīḳ madhhab al-ṣūfiyya wa 'l-mutakallimīn wa 'l-ḥukamāʾ al-mutaḳaddimīn* (ed. N. Heer, Tehran 1358/1980, idem, *The Precious Pearl*, Albany 1979); and this intellectual Ṣūfī tradition in turn exercised a strong influence on the formation of a new philosophy of the "primacy of existence" (*aṣālat al-wudjūd*), as opposed to the more traditional philosophy of the "primacy of quiddity" (*aṣālat al-māhiyya*), with Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640).

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WUḌŪʾ (a.), lit. "cleansing", the minor ablution, purification from a minor source of impurity (*ḥadath*), obligatorily required for the performing of certain acts of the Islamic religion, including worship [see ṣalāt]. For the major ablution, see ghusl.

Together with worship, almsgiving, fasting and pilgrimage, purification (*ṭahāra*), or the fact of putting oneself in a state of purity (*ṭuhr*), is one of the five cultic acts (*ʿibādāt*) that make up, according to the religious lawyers, the bases (*uṣūl*) of Islam (see Abū Muḥammad al-Djuwaynī, *Tabṣira*, Beirut 1994, 20). The enormous mass of Prophetic traditions concerning purity, the lengthy developments of the topic in the *fiḳh* treatises and the interminable legal controversies that it generated concerning the tiniest details, bear witness to its importance for the Muslim mind.

The obligation to purify oneself before embarking on the worship, already present in Jewish ritual, is clearly set out, in a fairly detailed way, in Ḳurʾān, V, 6: "... when you get ready for the worship, wash your faces and hands up to the elbows...."), this being considered a Medinan verse (as likewise IV, 43). A consensus was thus established that a performance of the worship without being in a state of purity was invalid (see Ibn al-Mundhir, *Idjmāʿ*, Beirut 1986, 17). Furthermore, the questions of detail concerning purification gave rise to numerous controversies, on one side, between Sunnī and Shīʿī legists, and on the other, between members of the different legal schools within Sunnism (in particular, between Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs).

Minor ablutions are necessary when a person's state of impurity comes from a "minor impurity" (*al-ḥadath al-aṣghar*) and when there is available a liquid considered as suitable for purification at hand for this (if not, dry ablutions, *tayammum* [*q.v.*] are permissible). The state of minor impurity has as its main effect, universally recognised, to render invalid performance of the worship. The prohibition of touching or handling a copy of the Ḳurʾān (following LVI, 77-9) or of making the *ṭawāf* [*q.v.*] in the course of the Pilgrimage are, however, subjects of controversy.

Minor impurities invalidating the state of ritual impurity are equally the subjects of controversy. According to the Shāfiʿīs, there are five causes of this state: 1. "Everything which comes forth from the two natural orifices" (except the urine of suckling infants); 2. sleep (there is discussion about a light amount of this); 3. loss of reason; 4. touching a person of the other sex with or without "passionate" intention; and 5. touching the genitalia or anus in certain conditions (see al-Shīrāzī, *Muhadhdhab*, Damascus-Beirut 1992, i, 95-100). The Ḥanbalīs add to this list apostasy and consuming camel's meat, and consider that physical contact with a member of the opposite sex must have a carnal intention to bring about impurity (see *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, tr. H. Laoust, Beirut 1950, 6). The Ḥanafīs retain only nos. 4 and 5, but they consider that a bout of uncontrollable mirth (*ḳahḳaha*) during the worship invalidates the state of purity, necessitating fresh ablutions and beginning the act of worship in question once more (see al-Ḳaffāl al-Shāshī, *Ḥilyat al-ʿulamāʾ*, Beirut-ʿAmmān 1980, i, 143-55; for the Mālikī doctrine, Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, *La Risâla*, tr. L. Bercher, Algiers 1975, 28-31).

Rainwater, based on Ḳurʾān, V, 11 and XXV, 48, is the purifying element (*al-waḍūʾ*) par excellence. Even on this point, there were numerous discussions: What quality of water purifies? How does one distinguish pure from impure water? What other liquids can be assimilated here to water? (see al-Ṣaymarī, *Talkhīṣ al-khilāf*, Ḳum 1987, i, 21-3).

Regarding the ways of accomplishing *wuḍūʾ*, the question of preliminary intention (*niyya* [*q.v.*]) of purifying oneself has always been a subject of debate amongst the jurists of the Ḥanafī and those of other schools. For the latter, express intention is vital, if the ablutions in question are not to be rendered invalid, following the Prophet's famous saying, "Actions are only valid according to the intention". The Ḥanafīs, however, hold that, for purifications in general, only those made with a solid substance (such as in *tayammum*) necessitate it. At the heart of Sunnism, the question has assumed such importance that it clearly constitutes one of the signs of adhesion to one or another legal school.

The acts making up *wuḍūʾ*, known from Ḳurʾān, V, 6, and numerous Prophetic traditions (sometimes contradictory), are traditionally divided into "obligatory" and "recommended". In their details, the doctrines here are so divergent that it does not seem worth going into detail. One may merely observe that the divergences are most often engendered by different interpretations of the vocabulary of purifications, e.g. regarding "rubbing the head" (*masḥ al-raʾs*), what is meant by "rubbing" and how to define "the head"? On such questions, the jurists use linguistic argumentation

ad lib. Thus the Shāfiʿī Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī considers that six acts are necessary for simple ablutions: 1. expression of intention; 2. washing the face (*ghusl al-wadjh*); 3. washing the two hands (*ghusl al-yadayn*); 4. rubbing the head; 5. washing the two feet (*ghusl al-ridjlayn*); and 6. respecting the order of performing these procedures (*al-tartīb*). He then mentions 18 elements simply "recommended", such as rinsing the mouth, washing the ears, etc. (*al-Wadjīz*, Beirut 1994, 10-13).

Cleaning the teeth with an *arāk* stick (*siwāk* [*q.v.*]) is treated separately in the legal treatises, probably because it was the particular object of a saying by the Prophet ("Were it not for my desire not to burden my community, I would have ordered them to clean the teeth before every act of worship"). Following this saying, the jurists consider this to be strongly recommended but not obligatory.

A topic which divides Sunnīs from Shīʿīs is that of "rubbing one's shoes": Is it permissible to replace washing one's feet by rubbing one's footwear, opposed categorically by the latter but accepted by the Sunnīs under certain conditions. See al-Ḳaffāl al-Shāshī, *op. cit.*, i, 130-42, and AL-MASḤ ʿALĀ ʾL-KHUFFAYN.

The principle according to which a doubt (*shakk*) cannot damage a certainty (*yaḳīn*) is often invoked as a criterion for a person to determine his own state and thus know whether he should proceed to make his ablutions. A person who is doubtful in knowing whether he has been exposed to an impurity can legitimately consider himself in a state of purity; if, however, it is his state of purity which is the subject of doubt, he can be considered as a *muḥdith* (a person in a state of impurity) and should accomplish the *wuḍūʾ* (see al-Shīrāzī, *op. cit.*, i, 102-3).

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(E. CHAUMONT)

WUFŪD (A., sing. *wafd*) delegations.

1. In the time of the Prophet.

In the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad [see SĪRA] this term designates the mainly tribal deputations which came to him in Medina, mainly during the ninth year of the Islamic era known as "the Year of Delegations". They started arriving during Shawwāl 8 A.H., after the abortive siege of al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*] or, according to another version, after Muḥammad's return from Tabūk [*q.v.*] (Shaʿbān or Ramaḍān 9 A.H.). Earlier visits to the Prophet are also reported. Some tribesmen are said to have come to him when he was still in Mecca. The Djuhayna delegation [see ḲUḌĀʿA, at Vol. V, 315b-316a] is supposed to have arrived at Medina shortly after the Hidjra [*q.v.*], while the Muzayna [*q.v.*] are said to have come in 5 A.H. The last delegation was that of the Nakhaʿ, which came in mid-Muḥarram 11 A.H.

The abundant source material about the delegations often reveals typical features of the visitors, such as hairstyles, clothes and tribal dialects. Strange and uncommon words that an eloquent leader included in his ceremonial address sometimes account for the preserving of the whole report (cf. Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Manāl al-ṭālib fī sharḥ ṭiwāl al-gharāʾib*, ed. M.M. al-Ṭanāḥī, Mecca [1399/1979], *passim*). Most if not all of the source material was transmitted in the early days of Islamic historiography by descendants of the Prophet's Companions (or alleged Companions) wishing to secure for their ancestors a place in the sacred history of the Prophet. Indeed, in many reports about visitors—it is often difficult to tell a visitor who came on his own initiative from a tribal delegation—one finds the fingerprints of the party concerned. For example, the leader of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] delegation puts—in first person—his own praise in the Prophet's mouth; and one of the reports on the Kinda [*q.v.*, at Vol. V, 119b] delegation is specifically said to go back to al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] b. Ḳays. In one version of Ibn Isḥāḳ's biography of Muḥammad there is a long account on al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr al-Dawsī with an *isnād* or chain of authorities going back to al-Ṭufayl himself. (In the other versions of the same biography the report appears without an *isnād*.)

Elders (*mashyakha, ashyākh*) also figure prominently as transmitters of reports on tribal delegations. There is evidence of written records in the "pre-historiographical" phase. Al-Wāḳidī quotes (through one intermediary) an informant of the ʿUdhra [*q.v.*] who, with regard to his tribe's delegation, quotes "the book of his ancestors" (*kitāb ābāʾī*).

Sometimes accounts on a delegation exist both as "general history" and as family history. Ibn Isḥāḳ's report on the Hawāzin [*q.v.*] delegation, the protagonist of which is Zuhayr b. Ṣurad al-Djushamī of the Hawāzin, has an *isnād* going back to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. However, a similar (though not identical) report on this delegation exists with a family *isnād* going back to Zuhayr himself. The family account persisted well into the 3rd/9th century, and in 274/887-8 it was transmitted to the fourteen-year old al-Ṭabarānī [*q.v.*].

Monographs on the delegations were compiled by al-Wāḳidī [*q.v.*], Ibn al-Kalbī [see AL-KALBĪ, section II], al-Madāʾinī [*q.v.*] and al-Haytham b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*]. Al-Madāʾinī's monograph is said to have included the delegations of the Yaman, the Muḍar and the Rabīʿa [see RABĪʿA AND MUḌAR], which no doubt reflects its internal division. The lost monographs only comprised part of the large source material about delegations scattered throughout the Islamic literature.

In addition to tribal delegations, there was one of Ethiopians, another of Persian Abnāʾ [*q.v.*, no. II] and yet another of *Ahl al-Kitāb* [*q.v.*] (who in this case were the Jews). The Nadjrān [*q.v.*] delegation was made up of Christians and that of the Taghlib [*q.v.*] comprised both Christians and Muslims. The Nadjrānīs and the Christian Taghlibīs did not convert to Islam, unlike the Christian members in the delegations of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, the Nakhaʿ, the Ḥanīfa [see ḤANĪFA B. LUDJAYM] and the Ṭayyiʾ. Also the *djinn* [*q.v.*] and predatory beasts reportedly sent delegations to the Prophet.

The arrival of the Thaḳīf [*q.v.*] delegation, which was a turning point in Muḥammad's career, was brought about by military pressure applied by the Hawāzin leader, Mālik b. ʿAwf [*q.v.*]. Muḥammad managed to lure him out of al-Ṭāʾif, depriving the Thaḳīf of their main Bedouin ally. Mālik's harassment of his former allies pushed them to the inevitable negotiations in Medina in which Muḥammad adopted a fairly flexible attitude (M.J. Kister, *Some reports concerning al-Ṭāʾif*, in *JSAI*, i [1979], 1-18). Similar tactics were used with regard to the South Arabian town of Djurash. Having visited Muḥammad in 10 A.H., the Azd [*q.v.*] leader Ṣurad b. ʿAbd Allāh besieged Djurash, compelling its inhabitants to dispatch a delegation to Medina. In both cases Muḥammad employed the nomads to subdue the settled.

In the short term, Muḥammad's tribal tactics were divisive. Farwa b. Musayk al-Murādī was given control

over fellow tribesmen who followed him, and was instructed to fight other tribesmen who turned away from him. A combination of diplomacy and military pressure is also evident elsewhere. An imminent Muslim attack brought to Medina the Ṣudā' delegation, and the Numayr came under similar circumstances. The taking of Tamīmī captives was behind the arrival of the Tamīm [*q.v.*] delegation (E. Landau-Tasseron, *Process of redaction: the case of the Tamīmite delegation to the Prophet Muḥammad*, in *BSOAS*, xlix [1986], 253-70).

While most tribal visitors came to declare their loyalty to the new religion and its founder, some of them considered succumbing to Muḥammad's authority (which in their view was a form of Ḳurashī expansionism) as a relinquishment of their own political ambitions. ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl [*q.v.*], who led the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*] delegation, suggested that power be divided between him and Muḥammad, or that he become the latter's heir. Also, Musaylima [*q.v.*] reportedly demanded to succeed the Prophet.

The Prophet's recognition of tribal rights to land and water resources appears in many of the letters given to the delegations. Ownership of these resources was often disputed, and some visitors made claims to land which was not theirs (on al-Dahnā' [*q.v.*], see Kister, *Land property and Jihād*, in *JESHO*, xxxiv [1991], 270-311, at 305; cf. M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, Jerusalem 1989, 174-5).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): The relevant entries in the dictionaries of the Companions; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 38-86; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, *Medina vor dem Islam*, Berlin 1889, 87-194; Ibn Shabba, *Ta'rīkh al-Madīna al-munawwara*, ed. F.M. Shaltūt [Mecca 1399/1979], ii, 499-602; al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ ʿalā 'l-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Beirut 1417/1996, v, 113-238; al-Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā wa 'l-rashād*, vi, ed. ʿA. al-ʿA.ʿA. al-Ḥ. Ḥilmī, Cairo 1411/1990, 395-681; M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Madjmūʿat al-wathā'iḳ al-siyāsiyya*, 5Beirut 1405/1985. (M. Lecker)

2. In the early caliphate.

During the time of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, delegations continued to arrive at the caliphal court, usually headed by leaders and chiefs from outlying districts; to be sent as a member of such a mission, as a *wāfid* or *muwaffad*, was regarded as prestigious and a reward for great eloquence. Thus Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, in his section on delegations, the *kitāb al-djumāna fī 'l-wufūd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn *et alii*, Cairo 1940-53, ii, 3-121, lists delegations from such groups as the people of al-Yamāma to Abū Bakr, and from Djabala b. Ayham, al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.vv.*] and ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. But the institution is particularly well documented in regard to the Umayyads, with the Sufyānid Muʿāwiya I [*q.v.*], as much in his role as *sayyid*, supreme tribal leader of the Arabs, as that of Islamic caliph, on various occasions inviting *wufūd* of powerful tribal chiefs who upheld the Umayyad cause in Syria and elsewhere but also of potential rivals and opponents, in order to consult and seek agreement on certain contentious issues (see below).

Provincial governors and local leaders would send delegations to the caliph in order to affirm their loyalty, normally receiving in return subsidies or allocations of taxation, as ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] received the *kharādj* of Egypt for his loyalty to Muʿāwiya. Poets would come as *wuffād* seeking largesse from the caliph, in return for which support would be expected in their verses for the ruler and his policies (cf. *ʿIḳd*, ii, 82 ff.: Djarīr to ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Aḥwaṣ to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, etc.).

Some of the *wufūd* invited by Muʿāwiya dealt with highly important and delicate issues. This was clearly the case when, towards the end of his reign, in the later 670s, the caliph wished to secure the succession of his son Yazīd after his own death, a novelty in Arab ruling practice, since ʿAlī had failed to secure a lasting succession for his son al-Ḥasan. Delegations were summoned to Damascus both from the loyal Syrian chiefs and commanders and also from potentially hostile groups like the army in ʿIrāḳ and the Anṣār, although neither al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī nor ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.vv.*], both of whom regarded themselves as having strong claims to succeed, was present. In an opening speech, Muʿāwiya expatiated on the qualities of Yazīd for the succession, and the leader of the Ḳays in northern Syria and the Djazīra, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī [*q.v.*], proposed Yazīd's candidature, supported by others of Muʿāwiya's partisans like ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān al-Thaḳafī, combatting arguments of the opposition. The leader of the ʿIrāḳī Arabs, al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*], was eventually won over by a substantial monetary payment (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 69-73 = §§ 1827-30, and cf. Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Eng. tr. Calcutta 1927, 141-3).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwia Ier*, Paris 1908, 61-2; idem, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, Beirut 1921, 103-6. (C.E. Bosworth)

AL-WUḲŪF (A.), lit. place of standing, station, for prayer and thanksgiving on the plain of ʿArafa [*q.v.*] or ʿArafāt, some 20 km/12 miles to the east of Mecca, the culminating rite of the Meccan Pilgrimage [see ḤADJDJ].

A rite of *wuḳūf* existed there in pre-Islamic times and seems to have constituted a main element of the pagan *ḥadjdj*, independent moreover of that in the *ḥaram* of Mecca. The pilgrims arrived in their tribes at Dhu 'l-Madjāz, assumed a state of sacralisation and accomplished there various devotions before going down again by running towards Muzdalifa. Wellhausen suggested that it may have involved an autumn ritual linked with the trials of the end of summer and the expectation of rains, but it is impossible for us now to reconstitute with any certainty the details and the meaning of this rite for the pagan Arabs. Whatever the case, Muḥammad knew how to confer on it an eminently monotheistic dimension. He showed to the faithful the details of the ritual, henceforth Muslim, at the time of the Farewell Pilgrimage of 10/632. The pilgrims perform it on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. For preference, they pass the night of the 8th-9th at Minā, 6 km/4 miles from Mecca, but it is allowable to come to ʿArafāt on the evening of the 8th. The *sunna* requires a person to be there just after midday. Slightly outside the sacred area, a brief sermon is given, following the Prophet's example, and the *ẓuhr* and *ʿaṣr* worships are performed conjointly and in an abridged form. The rite proper then begins, according to modalities reduced to the most abbreviated form. ʿArafāt appears as an immense desert plain fringed with rocky hills, with no building on it except for the mosque of al-Namira; tents are merely erected to protect the pilgrims from the sun. These last perform very modest rites. No special gesture is required; the pilgrims can be seated, standing, mounted on an animal or, at the present time, in a vehicle. They turn in the direction of the *ḳibla*, and may draw near, as did the Prophet, to the hill called the hill of mercy (*djabal al-raḥma*), if possible standing without stopping in prayer

to God. The text of these prayers is in one part fixed by tradition. First of all, the *talbiya* [*q.v.*] is pronounced ("Here I am, O Lord...") and various supplications, often attributed to the Prophet; but it is equally allowable to make personal prayers, for oneself or for absent ones. To ask pardon for one's sins is prescribed, for everyone will be pardoned on that particular day: "The gravest of sins for the pilgrim at ʿArafāt is to believe that God will not pardon him" (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, i.7, 3). Finally, after sunset, the pilgrims go down en masse in the direction of Muzdalifa, where they spend the night. The pre-Islamic tradition of going forward precipitatedly and making as much noise as possible (an act of sympathetic magic to induce storms and rain?) was denounced by the Prophet, but it persisted, curiously, during mediaeval times and till today.

One should note that a second *wuķūf* takes place at Muzdalifa in the morning of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, just after the dawn worship, an attenuated memory of the corresponding pre-Islamic ceremony dedicated to the god of thunder Ķuzaḥ, whose mountain overhangs the place. This second standing session is not obligatory, and the crowd movements of recent decades caused by increased numbers of pilgrims make it in practice almost impossible to realise collectively. In differentiation from the rites at Mecca and Minā, those of the *wuķūf* have not acquired an "Abrahamic" sense, perhaps because of their clearly observable religious significance.

The spiritual significance of the *wuķūf* is immense. It forms the very heart of the *ḥadjdj*. To stand at ʿArafāt is obligatory, if only for a short instant, between the afternoon and dawn of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. Without it, the whole of the Pilgrimage is invalid and cannot be compensated by other sacrifices, as is the case with the omission of certain other rites. The *wuķūf* constitutes, as attest those who have given an account of their own Pilgrimage, the most concentrated and most emotional moment of the *ḥadjdj*. In it, the Islamic community discerns its unity and its immediate, direct contact with God. This gathering together is often viewed as prefiguring the eschatological one of the Resurrection, each believer being dressed in his *iḥrām* garment as in a shroud. It is in any case the most specifically monotheistic ritual manifestation that the Muslim ritual set up or retained from pre-Islamic practice.

Bibliography: For the general significance of the rite within the Pilgrimage, see ḤADJDJ. The pre-Islamic rites evoked by Azraķī, *Akhbār Makka*, Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaķāt*, and Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, have been gathered together and analysed by C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, Leiden 1880; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2Berlin 1897; and M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mecque*, Paris 1923. The details of the ritual are given in the *ḥadīth* collections under the sections called *kitāb al-ḥadjdj*. Information on mediaeval practice comes from the great travellers, e.g. Ibn Djubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Recent practice for the *wuķūf* is evoked in 19th and 20th century travellers' accounts, *inter alia*, those of Sir Richard Burton, *Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah*, London 1859; Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.*; T.F. Keane, *Six months in Meccah*, London 1881; M.L. al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥidjāziyya*, Cairo 1911; E. Dinet and S. Baâmer, *Le Pèlerinage à la maison sacrée d'Allah*, Paris 1930; A. Kamal, *The sacred journey, being Pilgrimage to Mecca*, New York 1961; A.M. Turki and H.R. Souami, *Récits de pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1979. For a statement on the actual contemporary organisation, D. Long, *The Hajj today. A survey of contemporary Makka Pilgrimage*, Albany 1979.

(P. LORY)

WUSHMGĪR B. **ZIYĀR**, ẒAHĪR AL-DAWLA, the second ruler of the Daylamī dynasty of the Ziyārids [*q.v.*] of northern Persia, *r.* 323-56/935-67. *Wushmgīr* is said to have meant "quail-catcher", according to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 30 = § 3603, cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 359.

Wushmgīr was the lieutenant of his brother Mardāwīdj [*q.v.*], and after his death was hailed at Rayy as his successor by the Daylamī troops. Until *ca.* 328/940 he held on to his brother's conquests in northern Persia, but thereafter was drawn into warfare, in alliance with another Daylamī soldier of fortune, Mākān b. Kākī [*q.v.*], with the Sāmānids, who had ambitions in northern Persia. Wushmgīr lost Iṣfahān and Rayy to the Būyid brothers ʿAlī and Ḥasan (sc. ʿImād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla [*q.vv.*]), and retrenched himself in the Caspian provinces of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān. Very soon he became willy-nilly a client of the Sāmānids, receiving support from Sāmānid armies on various occasions when the Būyids drove him out of Ṭabaristān (333/945, 335/947, etc.) and twice when he vainly attempted to regain and hold Rayy (331/943, 347/958). In 356/967 the Sāmānid general Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Sīmdjūrī [see SĪMDJŪRIDS] and Wushmgīr came together in Gurgān in order to launch an attack on Rukn al-Dawla, but this was aborted by Wushmgīr's death whilst hunting on 1 Muḥarram 357/7 December 967 (thus in Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, ii, 233, tr. v, 247).

He was succeeded as ruler of the Ziyārid amīrate by his son Bīsutūn, whose rule was, however, challenged by another son, Ķābūs [*q.v.*], who eventually secured the throne for himself. The Ziyārids were able to survive for more than a century further, but only as a local Caspian power.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Miskawayh, i, 317, ii, 119-20, 138, 154-5, 158, 246-7, tr. iv, 358, v, 124, 144, 164-6, 169, 232-3; Gardīzī, ed. Nazim, 31, 38, 40, 44-5; Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. Browne, 217-25; Ibn al-Athīr, viii.

2. Studies. See the general one on the Ziyārids given in the *Bibls.* to MARDĀWĪDJ and ĶĀBŪS B. WUSHMAGĪR, and also W. Madelung, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 213-14, and C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, no. 81. For coins of Wushmgīr, see S.M. Stern, *The coins of Āmul*, in *NC*, 7th ser., vol. vi (1967), 220 ff.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

WUTHŪĶ AL-**DAWLA**, Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān, Persian statesman, belle-lettrist, several times cabinet member and twice prime minister, b. in Tehran April 1875, to a prominent landowning family, and d. there February 1951. His paternal grandfather, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ķawām al-Dawla held, among other positions, the governorship of Khurāsān in 1855 and Iṣfahān in 1872, and his maternal uncle was the reformist-minded constitutionalist Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān Amīn al-Dawla (1844-1904), chief minister to Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh Ķādjār [*q.v.*]. Wuthūķ al-Dawla's younger brother Ķawām al-Salṭana (1876-1954) was several times prime minister, and proved instrumental in arranging for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Ādharbāydjān in the aftermath of the Second World War; his cousin Muḥammad Muṣaddiķ al-Salṭana [*q.v.*] was prime minister during the tumultuous years of the nationalisation of Persian oil in the early 1950s.

Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān held his first official appointment at the age of twenty as governor of Ādharbāydjān,

conferred upon him, along with the title of Wuthūķ al-Dawla, by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*], who was impressed by his exceptional aptitude and capability. With the rise of the constitutionalist movement [see DUSTŪR. iv] in Persia in the first decade of the 20th century, Wuthūķ al-Dawla, a strong advocate of limited monarchism, entered the first parliament in 1906 as representative of the merchant's guild. After a series of key cabinet posts in critical times, Wuthūķ al-Dawla held the premiership for a couple of months in 1916-17, a tenure paralysed by political chaos and internal rebellion. In that brief period he collaborated with his brother-in-law, then minister of education, to establish a dozen girls' schools in the capital.

Persia withstood several partition plans in the first two decades of the twentieth century, and when Wuthūķ al-Dawla was made prime minister again in 1918, separatist pro-Bolshevik groups, including the well-known Djangalī movement (1915-21 [*q.v.*]) led by Mīrzā Kūčīk Khān, sought to establish autonomous republics along the northern borders of Persia. The first year of Wuthūķ's second premiership then was spent in quelling riots and restoring the rule of law and order, with British help, taking advantage of an over-arching British sentiment to thwart the Bolshevik threat in the region. In 1919, in an attempt to centralise civil administration and the army, and to ensure a complete modernisation of the bureaucratic and financial sectors along western lines, he signed the provisional Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 with Sir Percy Cox, the British minister in Persia. The agreement which intended—in lieu of placing Persian financial and military administration under British control—to replicate western-style civil institutions in Persia, was met with opposition from the parliament and other members of the Persian court and aristocracy, as well as the Russian, French and American legations in Tehran. The controversial agreement, which did little more than recognise *de facto* British control over Persian affairs, led to Wuthūķ al-Dawla's dismissal in 1920, and was subsequently annulled by the fourth Persian parliament. The prime minister was not only accused of forfeiting Persia's sovereignty but also of taking a bribe from the British government. In that same year, he was made a Knight of the Grand Order of Bath (Overseas List) by the British crown.

Although Wuthūķ al-Dawla resumed limited political activity after spending a few years abroad, as minister of finance and then justice in 1926, and member of parliament in 1930, the rest of his political career was diminished both as a result of the highly unpopular agreement as well as the change of dynasty in 1925.

A poet of considerable renown, translator of Kant and Rousseau, and essayist, Wuthūķ al-Dawla earned the respect of leading Persian intellectuals of his period. Particularly noteworthy in this regard are his *Dīwān*, with an introduction by the laureate Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ Bahār [*q.v.*], and an early lucid, and surprisingly modernist essay on the emancipation of women, written after Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī's [*q.v.*] unpopular policy of forbidding Persian women to appear veiled in public. After his retirement from political affairs, Wuthūķ al-Dawla directed the newly-established Language Academy, the *Farhangistān-i Īrān*, for three years from 1936.

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Y

YĀʾ, the 28th letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 10. It stands for the semivowel *y* and for the long vowel *ī*, which the grammarians analyse as short *i* (*kasra*) plus *yāʾ*. For the shortening of final *-ī* before *hamzat al-waṣl*, see WĀW. *Yāʾ* is also used, like *alif* and *wāw*, as a "support" for medial or final *hamza* [*q.v.*], reflecting presumably the ancient Ḥidjāzī dialect loss of *hamza* in certain positions with concomitant glides.

In word-final position, *alif maķṣūra* (that is to say: long *ā* not followed by *hamza*) is written sometimes with *alif* and sometimes with *yāʾ*. In the latter case, it can be transliterated as *à*; in manuscripts it is often noted as *yāʾ* with a small superscript *alif*. The rules for the distribution of the two spellings are complicated and there is much fluctuation in manuscripts; in general, the spelling with *à* is preferred in words with third radical *y* (e.g. *banà*), but also in words with third radical *w* if other forms of the same stem have *yāʾ* (e.g. *tadāʿà*, by analogy to the second person *tadāʿayta*). The position is similar regarding the particles *ilà*, *ʿalà* and *ladà*, because of forms with suffixes like *ilayhi*. In Ķurʾānic orthography, the spelling with *yāʾ* is retained before pronominal suffixes, but the modern convention is to replace it by *alif* in non-final positions. Otherwise, non-final *ā* is written with *yāʾ* only in the loan word *tawrāt* (توریة, alongside the regular توراة), which was perhaps not borrowed directly from Hebrew *tōrāh* but from some Aramaic form with *-y-*. For a classic formulation of these rules see, for example, Ibn Ķutayba, *Adab al-kātib*, ed. Grünert, 278-84. There is good reason to think that originally these spellings had a phonetic rationale, namely, that *yāʾ* was used to represent a final *ā* affected by "inclination" (*imāla* [*q.v.*]), that is to say, pronounced as [ē] or [ǣ]. Bergsträsser noted that in the Ķurʾān *à* does not

normally rhyme with *ā*. However, the distribution of the "inclining" and "non-inclining" allophones of *ā* must have altered after the time when the orthography of the Ḳurʾān was established. In many cases, the Kūfan school of Ḳurʾān readers still prescribed the "inclining" pronunciation in words written with *à*, and the "non-inclining" one in those with final *alif*, but the Baṣran school regarded *imāla* to be independent of the orthography and conditional on the phonetic environment.

Modern books printed in Egypt generally omit the two dots of the final form of *yāʾ* when it stands for *y* or *ī*, but set them if it stands for *à*, but printers in Syria and Lebanon follow exactly the opposite convention. Mediaeval pointed manuscripts either always omit the dots, or always set them, or use both pointings indiscriminately; a case can be made for always omitting them. Moreover, manuscripts often retain the points of the medial *yāʾ* that stands for *hamza* (adding, or not adding, the *hamza* sign above the letter), but the modern convention is to write this *yāʾ* without dots.

Classical Persian generally follows the Arabic conventions for writing Arabic loanwords, apart from the fact that Persian sometimes uses *yāʾ* also for non-final "inclining" *ā*, e.g. in لیکن, in Arabic *lākin*, for which the older Persian pronunciation was *lēkin*. In native words *yāʾ* stands for the semivowel *y* and for the long vowels *ī* and *ē* (called *yāʾ-i maʿrūf* and *yāʾ-i madjhūl* respectively; cf. WĀW). In good poets, Persian *ē* does not rhyme with Persian or Arabic *ī*, but it can rhyme with Arabic "inclining" *ā*. E.g. Persian *sēb* "apple" can rhyme with the loanword *rikēb* (Arabic *rikāb*), but not with *ʿadjīb*. In modern Western Persian, old *ī* and *ē* merge as [i], and *ay* is pronounced [ei], but the old pronunciations are retained in most dialects of Afghānistān and Tādjīkistān and in the traditional Persian pronunciation in India. Thus Afghānīs still distinguish between *shīr* "milk" and *shēr* "lion", but Persians now pronounce both words as *shīr*.

Urdū generally follows the scribal conventions of classical Persian, but distinguishes in final position between undotted ی for *y* or *ī* and ے for *ē*. Turkic languages can use *yāʾ* for *y*, *i*, *e* or *ï*.

Bibliography: For *alif maḳṣūra*: G. Bergsträsser, in *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 36-41; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, 69-70, 315-9 (with further literature and discussion); W. Diem, *Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie. I. Die Schreibung der Vokale*, in *Orientalia*, N.S. xlviii (1979), 207-57. For Persian *ī* and *ē*: P. Horn, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, i/2, 31-2, 35-7; A. Farhâdi, *Le persan parlé en Afghanistan*, Paris 1955, 8, 11; F. Meier, *Aussprachefragen des älteren Neupersich*, in *Oriens*, xxvii-xxviii (1981), 70-176, repr. in idem, *Bausteine*, 3 vols. Istanbul 1992, iii, 1057-1164. (F.C. DE BLOIS)

AL-**YĀBĀNĪ**, the modern Arabic term for a person of Japanese descent.

1. Islam in Modern Japan. The Japanese began to receive information about the Islamic world through Chinese sources beginning in the 8th century. However, it was not until the early 18th century that a substantial introduction to the Middle East and Islam was written in Japanese by a Confucian intellectual and politician, Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), mainly based on questions asked of the Italian Jesuit missionary Giovanni Battista Sidotti. From the Meiji Restoration (1868) and the emergence of modern Japan onwards, Japanese were allowed to travel and emigrate abroad, and some found their way to the Middle East and South Asia as travellers and immigrant workers. Japanese converts to Islam began to appear among them after the turn of the century. Also around that time, Tatar refugees fleeing to Japan from oppression in Imperial Russia and then the Soviet Union were influential in attracting Japanese to Islam. The Japanese Muslims, some of whom made pilgrimages to Mecca and wrote about their travels, constructed three mosques during the 1930s in the cities of Tokyo, Nagoya and Kobe. At the same time, both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars in Japan began to form various research associations and institutions to study Islamic civilisation; and under the then government's imperialist policies they were mobilised by the military in gaining the support of Asian Muslims in Japan's expansionist activities during World War II (H. Kobayashi, *Nihon Isurāmu-shi*). Today, there are about 2,000 Japanese Muslims practising in Japan, while Muslim immigrants from such countries as Iran, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Malaysia number roughly 75,000. Scholarly interest in Islam has gradually broadened from the pre-war concern with current affairs to a deeper analysis of the historical foundations of Muslim society and culture. On Japanese translations of the Ḳurʾān, see AL-ḲURʾĀN. 9. Translations, 4.

2. Japan in early Arab geographers. It was after the 18th century that the Arabs began to call the Japanese *al-Yābānī* on the basis of European sources. Before that time, 3rd/9th and 4th/10th century Arab geographers may have been aware of the existence of Japan through Chinese sources. There was confusion with regard to a place called Wāḳwāḳ [*q.v.*]: "To the east of China lies Wāḳwāḳ, where gold is abundant to the extent that people use gold chains and collars for their dogs and monkeys" (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 69); "behind China lives a nation called Wāḳwāḳ" (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 3); "Kankdiz is the remotest town in the east, situated at the extremity of China and of Wāḳwāḳ" (al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 217); "the sea of Fārs is a gulf of *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ* stretching to the border of China and Wāḳwāḳ" (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 122; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 276). The "Wāḳwāḳ of China" is clearly different from the "Wāḳwāḳ of Yemen" (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 7) which may be identified with the Wāḳwāḳ cited by other Arab geographers (al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 207; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 233, iii, 6-7; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* = *Opus geographicum*, 9, 87, 91-2). Later, non-Arab scholars debated the actual location of Wāḳwāḳ, both arguing that it was actually Japan, which was called *Wākwak* ("kingdom of Wa") by the Chinese (de Goeje) and tracing it as far as Sumatra (Ferrand). In Japan, J. Kuwabara upheld De Goeje's opinion with confidence in 1935, while in the post-war period, H. Sugita, after attempting to separate fact from fantasy, has more cautiously attested to the possibility. (For all the complexities of the problem, see WĀḲWĀḲ.1(b).) Some Turkish scholars regard Djābarḳā as Japan, based on Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's description in the 5th/11th century: "The language of Djābarḳā is unknown, due to its remoteness and its separation from China by the Great Sea" (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, facs. fol. 12b). However, the scientific basis for such an opinion is yet unclear.

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YABG͟HU (T.) (perhaps also Yavg͟hu, the Old Turkish so-called "runic" alphabet not differentiating *b* and *v*), an ancient Turkish title, found in the Ork͟hon [*q.v.*] inscriptions to denote an office or rank in the administrative hierarchy below the Kag͟han.

The latter normally conferred it on his close relatives, with the duty of administering part of his dominions. It was thus analogous to the title S͟had͟h, whom the Yabg͟hu preceded in the early Türk empire [see TURKS. I. History. 1. The pre-Islamic period]. It seems to have lost some importance after this time (8th century), since Maḥmūd al-Kās͟hg͟harī, reflecting the position in Ḳarak͟hānid times, says that the Yabg͟hu ranks below the Yug͟hrus͟h or vizier, who himself came after the Kag͟han and the Tigin [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān lug͟hāt al-turk*, Tkish. tr. Atalay, iii, 32: *yafg͟hu* for *yaβg͟hu*) (the S͟had͟h seems to have by now dropped out here).

In the period of the decline of the Hephthalites in northern Afg͟hānistān and the extension of Arab control into the region (early 2nd/8th century), the title was borne by Turkish princes of the upper Oxus principalities such as Ṭuk͟hāristān and K͟huttal(ān) [*q.vv.*]. It appears on Hephthalite coins as *Iapgu* in the local Hephthalite version of the Greek alphabet, and in the Arabic historical sources in an Arabo-Persian form as *d̲j̲abbūya, d̲j̲abg͟hūya*, e.g. in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1204, 1224, 1547, 1604, 1612, etc. Al-Kās͟hg͟harī correctly connected the title also with the Ḳarluḳ and the Og͟huz. The caliph al-Mahdī received the submission of the Yabg͟hu of the Ḳarluḳ amongst several other Transoxanian and steppe potentates (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, ii, 479; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 202). At the opening of the 5th/11th century, Yabg͟hu was the title of the Og͟huz ruler on the lower Syr Darya with his capital at D̲j̲and [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; the holder of the title in the 1030s and early 1040s, S͟hāh Malik, was at odds with the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family [see SALD̲J̲ŪḲIDS. II.]. Yabg͟hu nevertheless occurs within the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family also, though exactly what functions, if any, Mūsā Yabg͟hu, son of Sald̲j̲ūḳ b. Duḳāḳ, exercised is unknown (see *ibid.*). The title still had significance in later Sald̲j̲ūḳ times, since, according to Gordlevskiy, in the military organisation of the Rūm Sald̲j̲ūḳs of Konya, the Yabg͟hu as representative of the K͟hān/Sultan commanded the left wing of the army (cited by Doerfer, iv, 127); but after this time seems to fall out of use.

The origins and etymology of the term have excited much speculation. It seems certain that it is not a native Turkish term. It may appear in pre-Islamic, pre-Türk empire times amongst such peoples of Inner Asia as the Huns and the (?) Indo-European Wusun of eastern Turkestan, and there exist Chinese transcriptions of it. It may well be ultimately an Indo-European word, either "Tokharian" or Iranian. See the extensive discussions in G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische elemente im Neupersischen*, iv, Wiesbaden 1975, 124-36 n. 1825; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 873.

Bibliography: See also C.E. Bosworth and Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1975), 9-10. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

YĀBISA, the mediaeval Arabic name for IBIZA (Catalan, Eivissa), an island in the western Mediterranean, part of *al-D̲j̲azāʾir al-s͟harḳiyya* "the Eastern islands" [of al-Andalus], sc. the Balearics [see MAYŪRḲA; MINŪRḲA and their *Bibls.*], and also the name of its chief town and port. Ibiza is the smallest of the trio (area 572 km²), and lies 85 km to the southwest of Mallorca halfway to the Spanish coast (at Cabo de la Nao, with Denia nearby). It is flanked by the still smaller island of Formentera 4 km to its south, and the name Pityusic Islands, applied to these two in Antiquity is still used today, implying a certain distinctiveness to them within the Balearic group. The name Ibiza (Greek form Ebousos) is believed to derive from Phoenician [ʾ]*ybšm*, either *ʾī brōšīm* "island of pines" or *ʾī bōšem* "island of fragrance" (cf. A. Dietrich, *Phönizische Ortsnamen in Spanien*, Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxi/2, Leipzig 1936, 29-30), with the Greek translation Pityousai. The explanation of Yāḳūt, in his *Buldān*, Beirut, v, 424, "the dry island", is clearly folk etymology. Ibiza lies close to the shipping lanes connecting the eastern Mediterranean with the Iberian and Mag͟hribī Mediterranean coastlands, and this position has made it a favourite way station from Phoenician times onwards. The chief town and port, acquired by colonists from Cadiz in 653 B.C., has an excellent navigational and strategic location on the southeastern coast of the island. It came under Carthaginian control a century later, and eventually had a Punic or Phoenicised population, perhaps of considerable size (some 4,000 tombs have been found in the cemetery of Puig des Molins).

The Arab conquest of Spain reached Ibiza in the course of the 2nd/8th century. There followed over four centuries of Islamic rule; after recognising the authority of the Umayyad governors and then of the caliphs of Cordova, Ibiza had close ties with the Taifa of Denia [see DĀNIYA; MUD̲J̲ĀHID] until the Reconquista in 1235. Arab authors refer to Ibiza as "the daughter" (*bint*) of Mallorca, and define its location at one day's sailing from Denia to the west and an equal distance from Mallorca to the northeast. The island was noted both as a port of call (with the port city itself, there were ten harbours, *marāsī*) and for its ship-building activity, benefiting from fine stands of pine trees, which were also a source of wood for charcoal burning. They praise Ibiza's fruits, vineyards, grapes and raisins, as well as the "inexhaustible" salt of its salt pans (al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, text 198, tr. 240; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āt͟hār al-bilād*, Beirut 1960, 282). Peaceful pursuits and commerce precluded neither piracy on both sides nor attacks by Christian powers (a Pisano-Catalan expedition, 1116). This motivated the construction of still stronger fortification walls, which have recently been the object of excavations and publications (A. Costa Ramon, *La triple murada de l'Eivissa àrab*, (Ibiza 1985). Meanwhile, Arab culture on Ibiza flourished, as witnessed by the mention of two of its poets in Yāḳūt's description of the island.

Ibiza's economic and maritime role continued after 1235, and relations with the Mag͟hrib remained lively. The island's conqueror and subsequent feudal lord, the archbishop of Tarragona, strove to carry on the crusading spirit in the form of naval raids, but commerce asserted itself, especially as the exportation of the prized salt of Ibiza included North African ports among its destinations. Its salt flats, already praised by the Arabs (and still active today), gained primacy at this period, and between the 13th and 17th centuries they made the island one of the principal sources of salt in the Mediterranean. Thus Pīrī Reʾīs states in his *Kitāb-i baḥriyye* (932/1526; ed. Ankara 1935, 542) that as many as 50-60 *barčas* dock annually at the *iskele* of the island's *tuzla* to load salt, and that the largest number of Arab and Turkish captives held in the kingdom of Catalonia work on these salt pans (see also J.-Cl. Hocquet, *Voiliers et commerce en Méditerranée, 1200-1650* = vol. ii of his *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, 1978-9; idem, *Ibiza, carrefour du commerce maritime*

et témoin d'une conjoncture méditerranéenne, 1250-1650, in *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis*, Naples 1978, i, 493-526). Fear of Ottoman Turkish assault appears to have motivated the construction (1554-85) of impressive new fortification walls, still standing today, around the city of Ibiza.

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(S. Soucek)

YABRĪN, a sandy region of Eastern Arabia belonging to Banū Saʿd. It is situated within the area of al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*], three stages from al-Faladj and two stages from al-Aḥsāʾ [*q.v.*] and Hadjr (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, v, 427). The editors of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Bilād al-ʿarab*, Riyāḍ 1968, 276 n. 3, sc. Ḥamad al-Djāsir and Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī, state that Yabrīn is still known as an area in the west of al-Aḥsāʾ and the name is corrupted (or more probably, hypercorrected, since *dj* > *y* in the speech of that area) in modern works to Djabrīn. It does not, however, appear on modern maps. It is mentioned incidentally in the early Islamic histories such as al-Wāḳidī's *K. al-Maghāzī* (ed. Marsden Jones, iii, London 1966, 974) and al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1163, in the latter and in Yāḳūt, v, 427, disparagingly in a poem of the Umayyad poet Djarīr [*q.v.*], "How far is Yabrīn from the gate of Paradise (*min bāb al-farādīs*)!" Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 137, describes Yabrīn as a palm-grove, a collection of fortress houses (*ḥuṣūn*), springs—some flowing, others not—and salt marshes (*sibākh*). He also places the area on the ʿUmān pilgrimage route (149). This statement is repeated at 145, and he adds the following details. It is situated in the east of al-Yamāma [*q.v.*]. Between Yabrīn and Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] lies an extensive area called al-ʿIdjam which is impassable. Between Yabrīn and the sea lie sands. It has a road leading into al-Yamāma and al-Baḥrayn. It is an area cut off among the sands with palm-groves and a little cultivation. The original Arab inhabitants were expelled by the Banū Ḳushayr, who were in their turn expelled by the Ḳarāmiṭa [*q.v.*]. Yāḳūt, v, 427, also mentions a Yabrīn in Syria, "one of the villages of Aleppo". There is further a Yabrīn/Djabrīn near Bahlā in ʿUmān, built by the Yaʿrubids [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(G.R. Smith)

YABRŪḤ (A.), Mandragora, the Mandrake, *Mandragora officinarum, Solanaceae*; also called *Atropa mandragora L.* and *M. officinarum Mill* (Moldenke); Hebr., *dūdāʾīm* or *yabrūaḥ*.

A perennial herbaceous plant common in the Mediterranean region, its dark green leaves, about one foot long, spread out at ground level; the flowers are purplish or whiteish-green, and the fruit are small globular berries, orange to red in colour. Its root is often forked, and is the part known as *yabrūḥ*, while the plant itself is generally called *luffāḥ*.

Ibn al-Bayṭār explains *mandrāghūras* of Dioscorides as *yabrūḥ*, also known as *sābīzak*, *shābīzadj*, *tuffāḥ al-djinn*, or in *Laṭīnī* as *ardjubalīṭa* (*Tafsīr*, iv, 69, 298). Ibn Samadjūn gives the same names; Maimonides says the *ʿadjamiyyat al-Andalus* name is *ablīṭa*, presumably meaning *ardjbalīṭa* (*Sharḥ*, no. 179).

Its nature was considered very cold and dry. It was used with caution, externally for skin complaints; it was known to be able to cause weakness and deafness. Ibn Waḥshiyya calls it poisonous, causing death through its extreme cold quality (88), while Djābir says that it causes sleep and death, working in the same way as opium (*Gifte*, 106, 187). Al-Rāzī, quoted by Ibn Samadjūn, observed women who had used it suffering from redness and swelling of the face and body. More important than emetic or purgative properties, which it shared with other plants, was its use as a soporific and anaesthetic. It was administered, generally in a drink, before surgery or cautery (Ibn Samadjūn and Ibn al-Bayṭār, quoting Dioscorides).

The root was often thought to resemble the human form, which gave rise to legends and superstitions, already in ancient times and in the Middle Ages. The Biblical account concerning Rachel and Leah (Gen. xxx. 14-15) presumably refers to the plant's supposed fertility-inducing qualities. Such beliefs were dismissed by Gerard in his *Herbal* of 1597 (cf. Moldenke), and are not mentioned by Culpeper (1616-54). The mandrake is still known in Arabic as *tuffāḥ al-djinn*. In one Palestinian village in the 1970s the berries were called *tuffāḥ indjān*, and said to encourage broodiness in chickens. The plant is today an object of interest rather than fear.

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(Penelope C. Johnstone)

YĀBURA, the Arabic name of the modern town of Evora in southern Portugal.

The Liberalitas Julia of the Roman period had become Elbora or Erbora in the time of the Visigoths, a name revived unchanged, in the form of Yābura, by Arab authors. The history of the Arab town poses numerous enigmas.

Very little is known of its history from the time of the Arab conquest to the beginning of the 10th century. Ibn al-Faraḍī makes it the seat of a *ḳāḍī*, and the city was located in the district of Beja, capital of a *djund* and seat of a governor since the conquest. Al-Rāzī alludes to its importance in the 4th/10th century, noting the existence of several cantons dependent on the town. However, it seems to have remained a locality of secondary importance during this period, which accounts for the fact that a writer such as Ibn Ḥawḳal makes no mention of it. The first known documentary reference confirms this secondary status: Ibn Ḥayyān and the anonymous chronicle of al-Nāṣir, quoted by the Christian chronicle known as *Crónica Leónesa y Nájarense*, record the attack led by the future sovereign Ordoño II in 301/913 and draw attention to the dilapidated state of the perimeter wall and of the defences which enabled the Christians to take possession of the town. On this occasion, the population figure given is approximately 5,000 inhabitants. Subsequently, the town was caught up in the turmoil of struggles between "local lords" during the *fitna* of the early 4th/10th century. The town, depopulated by the Christians, was besieged by allies of the ruler of Badajoz, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Marwān al-Djillīḳī, and, with the aid of another Muwallad leader, Masʿūd al-

Surunbākī, repopulated to prevent the Berbers of the region from settling there.

The town enjoyed more tangible prosperity in the 5th/11th century, becoming the second city of the amīrate of the Afṭasids [*q.v.*] of Badajoz; the governors appointed were second-ranking officers of the amīrate such as ʿUbayd Allāh al-Djarrāz, cousin of al-Muẓaffar, killed fighting the ʿAbbādids in 442/1051; al-Mutawakkil, the last Afṭasid sovereign, served his apprenticeship as a governor there while his brother ruled in Badajoz. This information is supplied by al-Idrīsī who, in his two surviving works, evokes the prosperity of the region, on the road from Badajoz to Alcácer do Sal (Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis), the principal port of the amīrate.

Evora prospered until the capture of the city by the Portuguese warlord Giraldo Sempavor in 556/1161, as is proved by the presence of prestigious Muslim families like the Banū Wazīr who played an important part in the *fitna* which accompanied the decline of the Almoravids. Arab biographical authors and the geographer Yāḳūt underline the intellectual dynamism of the city during the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries; Ibn ʿAbdūn al-Yāburī (d. 528/1134) was one of its most distinguished representatives.

The perimeter wall, privileged witness of this Arab history, poses problems of dating. García y Bellido has detected, on the line of the Roman wall, an "ancient" installation and construction of the wall. A double-sided inscription, discovered outside the site, evokes two phases of construction: that of the 4th/10th century, following the sacking of the city by the Galicians, and that of the restoration of the wall by Sidray b. Wazīr between 541/1147 and 546/1151. The discovery of an elaborate installation, at the base of the curtain, in tile and brick, traversing a Roman villa of the *rua* of Burgos, as well as the general arrangement of the wall, seem to confirm construction in the Umayyad period and subsequent revival and restoration. The restoration of the 7th/13th century also corresponds to the last phase of the Islamic history of Evora, associated with a new period of autonomy under the government of Sidray b. Wazīr who minted coins in 540-1/1146.

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(Ch. Picard)

YADA TASH (T.), lit. rain stone, in Arabic texts appearing as *ḥadjar al-maṭar*, this being a magical stone by means of which rain, snow, fog, etc., could be conjured up by its holder(s). In particular, knowledge and use of such stones has been widespread until very recent times in Inner Asia.

Belief in the existence of stones and other means of controlling the weather has been widespread throughout both the Old and New Worlds (see Sir J.G. Frazer, *The golden bough, a study in magic and religion*, abridged ed., London 1922, 75-8). Belief in a stone seems to have been general amongst the early mediaeval Altaic peoples of Inner Asia, or at least, it is imputed to them by early Chinese sources and by Muslim writers on the early Turks; it may, accordingly, have been part of the Turks' ancient shamanistic beliefs. Several Islamic writers on the Turks mention it from the early 3rd/9th century onwards. The early traveller in Central Asia Tamīm b. Baḥr [*q.v.*] gives it as one of the wonders of the Turks, the stone being held by the king of the Toghuzghuz [*q.v.*] and no-one else (cited in Ibn al-Faḳīh, 329, Fr. tr. Massé, 388-9; also in V. Minorsky, *Tamīm ibn Baḥr's journey to the Uyghurs*, in *BSOAS*, xii [1947-8], 285). A certain Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī related from the Sāmānid *amīr* Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] that infidel Turks used the rain stone to bring down darkness and hailstones against the Sāmānid army (cited in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 24-6, s.v. *Turkistān*). Abū Dulaf in his *First Risāla* attributes to the Kimäk [*q.v.*] a stone which attracts water (Ger. tr. A. von Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abû Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestân, China und Indien neu übersetzt und untersucht*, Bonn 1939, 21, 50). Gardīzī retails the story that the stone went back to Japhet, son of Noah, and was subsequently inherited by Turkish peoples like the Oghuz, Ḳarluḳ and Khazar (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 256). Maḥmūd Kāshgharī says that he witnessed its use as part of a magical ceremony (*kahāna*) amongst the Yaghma [*q.v.*] in Semireč'e (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, Tkish. tr. Atalay, iii, 3, 159, s.v. *yat*).

Belief in the rain stone's powers apparently passed from the early Turks to the Mongols (with the original *yat/yad* appearing in Mongolian as *djada*). Its use appears, e.g. in the story of Čingiz's rise to power, when the son of Čingiz's then ally Wang Khān used it for bringing down snow on their Nayman enemies (*Secret history of the Mongols*, Ger. tr. E. Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, ²Leipzig 1948, 43), and Čingiz's son Toluy employed the services of a shaman from the Turkish tribe of the Ḳanghlī [*q.v.*] to conjure up snow and icy weather against the Tungusic Djürčen in northern China some thirty years later (Rashīd al-Dīn, tr. J.A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York 1971, 36-7). Such practices have lasted amongst Mongol peoples almost to modern times, being attested amongst *inter alios* the Kalmucks, the Buryats and, in the early 20th century, the Khalkha of the Ordos in Inner Mongolia (Mostaert). Information about beliefs of this kind seems to have reached Marco Polo, where in his travel narrative he mentions the "devilish enchantments" of the Turco-Mongol Ḳara'unas/Caraonas in bringing down darkness upon their enemies, and the magical powers of Kashmīrī and Tibetan shamans in the circle of the Great Khān Ḳubilay at his palace of Shan-tu in northern China (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ³London 1902, i, 98, 105, 166, 168, 301, 309-11; and cf. also *The*

mission of Friar William of Rubruck, Eng. tr. P. Jackson, London 1990, 244). The use of the bezoar (see below) as a rainstone had, in fact, been known also to the Chinese since T'ang times (see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica. Chinese contributions to the history of civilization in ancient Iran*, repr. Taipei 1967, 525-8).

The rain stone was identified by such 19th century writers as Grigoriev and Tomaschek with nephrite, found in the valleys of the rivers running down from the Kun-lun Mountains to the Tarim basin and in the region of Lake Baikal (cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 79), but it seems more likely that the original rain stone was the bezoar (Pers. *pād-zahr*), which is a calculus or concretion formed in the alimentary tract of certain animals, mainly ruminants (see Laufer, *loc. cit.*). The origin of the Turkish word *yada* is unclear, but it is improbable that it has any connection with the precious mineral jade (Ar. *yashm* [*q.v.*]) or—at least directly—with Pers. *djādū* "magic". W.B. Henning cited a Sogdian word *čdy* with a possible meaning "rain stone", and the origin of *yada* may well be ultimately Iranian. See the extensive discussions in G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-75, i, 286-9 no. 157, iv, 123 no. 1822; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 881a; Molnár, *Weather magic in Inner Asia*, 104-16.

Beliefs in the rain stone have been attested amongst Turkic and Mongolian peoples of the Volga basin, Central Asia, Siberia and Mongolia by travellers in these regions during the 19th and early 20th centuries; see the material brought together by Molnár, *op. cit.*, 70-101.

Finally, one might note a curious mention, in Ibn al-ʿAdīm's account of al-Mutanabbī's [*q.v.*] alleged youthful claim to prophethood, of a "rain bead" (*sadhat al-maṭar*), utilised by Arab tribes accounted of South Arabian or Yemeni genealogy, which could direct rain away from a particular spot, i.e. prevent rain from falling rather than attracting it (see W.P. Heinrichs, *The meaning of* Mutanabbī, in J.L. Kugel (ed.), *Poetry and prophecy*, Ithaca and London 1990, 137-9).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see J.A. Boyle, *Turkish and Mongol shamanism in the Middle Ages*, in *Folklore*, lxxxiii (1972), 184-93 (repr. in *The Mongol world empire, 1206-1370*, Variorum, London 1977, no. XXII), and the recent comprehensive work on the rain stone, A. Molnár, *Weather magic in Inner Asia*, Bloomington, Ind. 1994.

(C.E. Bosworth)

AL-**YADĀLĪ** (1096-1166/1685-1753), the cognomen of Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār b. Muḥammad (Maḥamm) Saʿīd b. al-Mukhtār b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. Yiddādj Igdhaburgha b. Yadhrinan Tagshumt (Aḥsanuhum Basharat^an^), Mauritanian scholar. His *nisba* shows his ethnic affiliation to one of the Zawāyā tribes forming the pentarchical alliance of the Tashumsha: the group of the Īdāw-dāy (eponymous founder Yiddādj = Djaddu ʿAlī).

He was born and died at Tandagsammi, in the heart of the Gibla (south-eastern Mauritania) in the region of Iguidi; his tomb is situated near the wells of Intawfokt (Dhāt al-Shams).

Renowned as he was as a polygraph in the fields of exegesis, mysticism, history and poetry, very little information is available concerning his youth and his education. At the most, the names of some of his teachers are known: these included the Alfagha Minnaḥna b. Mūdī Mālik (d. 1151/1738), with whom he was closely associated, as well as the Alfagha ʿAbd Allāh b. Aʿmar Agdawkob, who initiated him into *tadjwīd*. In the sphere of *taṣawwuf*, the *wird* of the Shādhiliyya brotherhood (Nāṣiriyya branch of Tamgrūt) is said to have been transmitted to him by his paternal cousin Nekhtāro b. al-Muṣṭafā b. Maḥamm-Saʿīd al-Yadālī, who in turn was said to have received it from Aḥmad al-Ḥabīb al-Sidjilmāsī. As for travels, only two journeys are attributed to him: a tour of the north, in the region of Agādīr-Dūm (the Banks of Arguin), and the other, shorter one (*shayfara*), to a section of the Īdāybusāt, whose pastures were adjacent to his own region.

Besides the *Dīwān* of his numerous poems (essentially on themes of *zuhd, madīḥ, tahniʾa* and *rithāʾ*), al-Yadālī is the author of some thirty works, of which only three are reckoned to be irrevocably lost. Legal writings were predominant in the Sahelian region at the time, and al-Yadālī produced four responses (*nukal*) to questions of *fikh: Risāla fī Masālik al-ʿilla* (invalidity of marriage due to *nushūz*, i.e. recalcitrance by the wife or ill-treatment by the husband); *Risālat al-Lafʿa* (branding of animals with red-hot irons, *mīsām*) an issue on which he differed from his master Muḥammad b. Alfagha Minnaḥna; *Nukla fī ḍamān mā akalathu al-mawāshī min al-ḥirātha* (compensation for damage caused by animal herds grazing over cultivated fields); and *Nukla fī tasrīḥ al-ṣibyān ayyām ʿuṭalihim* (responsibility in regard to a child not yet socially mature).

Regarding the history of the region, it is principally by virtue of two accounts by al-Yadālī that the story is known of the war of Shurbubba (1664-77), sc. his *Shiyam al-zawāyā* and *Amr al-walī Nāṣir al-Dīn*, now published in one volume. This is essentially a frank apology for the "Messianic" cause (*mahdawiyya*) of Nāṣir al-Dīn, the loser in this war. Besides information of a geographical and chronological nature, it offers the reader a kind of martyrology, commemorating the blood spilled by the Zawāyā, especially those of the Daymānī faction of the Ahl Ōwbak, who were slaughtered at the battle of Tirtillās (1673).

In doctrine, al-Yadālī first composed a very condensed *ʿakīda: Kawāʿid al-ʿakāʾid* (verse abridgement by al-Mukhtār Wuld Djengī, d. 1321/1903-4). He subsequently developed it into a voluminous commentary, *Farāʾid al-fawāʾid fī sharḥ kawāʿid al-ʿakāʾid* (ms., 273 fols.). The subjects tackled here go beyond the normal themes of a doctrinal treatise, and include e.g. the problem of validation of saints in Islam, Aristotelian notions of astrology, esoteric passages regarding al-Būnī's science of letters, the fundamental differences between rival bodies of philosophers and *mutakallima*, an apparent gloss on the *ʿAkīda al-sanūsiyya al-ṣughrā* by ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suktānī, etc. This varied compilation has the merit of enshrining the names of writers who would otherwise be virtually unknown, such as the Moroccan exegete ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Figīgī (d. 1514).

In the field of *taṣawwuf*, al-Yadālī proceeded in the same manner. A relatively short letter (19 lines), *Khātimat al-taṣawwuf*, is the object of a lengthy commentary in the *Sharḥ al-Khātima*. These two texts, together, are reputed to have served, in the lands north of the Senegal River, as a source of inspiration for the *Masālik al-djinān* of Aḥmadu Bamba, the founder of the *murīdiyya* [*q.v.*]. The general tone of the work recalls the *Kawāʿid al-taṣawwuf* of Zarrūk al-Barnusī, in that it associates a strictly initiatory content with a permanent re-evaluation of the discourse in terms of Sunnī orthodoxy.

The most voluminous work left by al-Yadālī to posterity is his complete exegesis of the Ḳurʾān (ms., 1558 fols): *al-Dhahab al-ibrīz fī tafsīr Kitāb Allāh al-ʿazīz*.

This work also presents, for essentially didactic reasons, a very composite structure. All the modes of exegesis are deployed here (*maʾthūr, iʿdjāz, aḥkām* and *ishāra*), but without any element of disorder. The sequence and the thread of the text are rapidly apparent to the reader in the systematic correlation which the author establishes between the exoteric and esoteric planes. Extensive contributions from the sources of mystical exegesis are then exacted: al-Ḳushayrī here comes close to Ibn al-ʿArabī (through the influence of al-Shaʿrānī) and Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (whose *ḥikam* are subjected here to commentary by the Egyptian scholar al-Munawī [*q.v.*]). The *Dhahab* is also accompanied by literary digressions such as would not primarily be expected in a work of *tafsīr*, such as those from al-Ṣafadī and al-Maḳḳarī for *adab*, al-Damīrī for zoology (theriomorphic psychology), al-Taftazānī for logic, and Ibn Khallikān and al-Ghubrīnī for biographical notices.

Bibliography: The mss. of the works of al-Yadālī cited in the article are all preserved at Nouakchott, in the private libraries of Rādjil Wuld Aḥmad Sālim and Muḥammad Sālim Wuld Maḥbūbī. See also the resources of the IMRS for partial copies of the *Dhahab* (nos. 149, 2176, 2791, 2836). For his poetical *Dīwān*, see the critical edition by A. Wuld Ākkāh, *Dīwān shiʿr Muḥammad al-Yadālī*, DES, Rabat 1989. On the author's life and the intellectual history of the Bilād Shinkīṭ in the 18th century, see, in addition to the art. MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ: Aḥmad b. al-Amīn al-Shinkīṭī, *al-Wasīṭ fī tarādjim udabāʾ Shinkīṭ*, Cairo 1989; M. Wuld Babbāh, *al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Yadālī*, three original texts concerning the history of Mauritania, Carthage 1990; M. Wuld Ḥāmidūn, *Ḥayāt Mūrītāniyā*, ii, *al-Thaḳāfa*, Tunis 1990; idem, *Ḥayāt Mūrītāniyā. al-Djughrāfiyā*, Rabat 1994; D. Wuld ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Ḥaraka al-fikriyya fī bilād Shinkīṭ*, DES, Rabat 1992-3; al-Nābigha b. Aʿmar al-Ghallāwī, *al-Nadjm al-thāḳib fī baʿd mā li ʾl-Yadālī min manāḳib*, ed. M. Wuld Babbāh, Nouakchott 1995; F. Leconte, *Une exégèse mystique du Coran au XVIIIe siècle dans le sud-ouest de la Mauritanie (al-Gibla)*, Aix-en-Provence 1995. (F. LECONTE)

YĀDGĀR (P.), lit. "a souvenir, a keepsake" and, by extension, in numismatics any special issue of coins struck for a variety of non-currency purposes. In Islamic history the striking of coins was a special responsibility and prerogative of the ruler [see SIKKA] together with having his name mentioned in the Friday bidding prayer [see KHUṬBA].

In general, coinage serves two major purposes. Primarily it is a medium of exchange between a government and its people, i.e. to facilitate taxation payments or to support internal and international commerce. Governments therefore generally try to provide coinages of consistent design and quality that will be familiar to their users and thus readily acceptable as legal tender.

Coinage has also traditionally been used for a variety of secondary purposes. Through their very nature coins are precious objects identified with the authority that issued them. Because of its intrinsic metallic value and officially guaranteed prestige, coinage is ideally suited as an outward and tangible sign of royal favour, its distribution being seen as a useful and eagerly-awaited feature of ceremonies of all kinds, both official and private. For a description of when coins might be used on special occasions, see MARĀSIM (official court ceremonies); MAWĀKIB (processions); NITHĀR.

One of the features of *marāsim* were the regular donative payments made to the army, civil service and court officials [see also INʿĀM]. These could take the form of bags of coins given to the troops to recognise their services and ensure their loyalty. Since these were expected to be spent by their recipients, it would be normal for the mint to strike currency coins for this purpose. Donations were regularly provided on the accession of a new sovereign when fresh coins would be issued bearing his name and titles. Moving up in the social hierarchy, however, the emphasis on the receipt of crude cash payments gives way to the desire for donations of a more ceremonial and symbolic nature, which usually involved the striking of specially designed coins. These pieces could take several forms. Some would be larger and heavier than normal, either struck as gold or silver medals of special design and iconography, with arbitrary weights bearing no relation to the standard currency, or as multiple weight dīnārs and dirhams [*q.vv.*] which, more often than not, would bear conventional legends to demonstrate their affinity with the regular coinage. Others would be of normal size and weight, but with special designs and legends which might indicate the purpose for which they were struck. Thirdly, fractional denominations of lighter weight and special design could be issued to display the riches and generosity of the donor to his subjects. The smaller size of these pieces would permit the striking of more coins from a given weight of metal and have the incidental advantage of being less likely to cause injury to those over whom they were thrown or tossed.

As a general rule, far more "souvenir" issues were produced during periods of peace and prosperity than in times of war and economic dislocation. For obvious reasons, relatively few of these special issues have survived from the time in which they were struck. Currency coins were issued in large quantities and held by a great variety of people: soldiers, merchants, townspeople and travellers. Those that have survived were concealed in hoards, either buried in the ground or hidden in the walls of buildings. Those that remained in circulation, however, would, when they became obsolete, be returned to the mint and melted down for conversion into new coin or, as today, sold to scrap metal merchants for conversion into tableware and jewellery. Special coins, *yādgār, danānīr al-ṣila*, i.e. presentation issues, were struck in much smaller quantities and were nearly always saved, but mounted for suspension and converted into jewellery. When they became worn or a better use was found for their metal, they could either be exchanged for current coin, returned to the mint for restriking or sold to a scrap metal dealer.

Thus while numismatists have a clear picture of the history of currency coins in Islam they have only a fragmentary knowledge of presentation issues. Historians mention that coins were given away or scattered on ceremonial occasions, but only rarely make any record of what these pieces actually looked like. As a result, the rôle played by the few survivors in the daily life of the states that struck them can only be guessed at. This is particularly true of issues from the earlier centuries of Islam. Later, when European travellers started to publish their memoirs of the Ottoman, Ṣafawid and Mughal courts, a much clearer pattern emerges. Our understanding of the subject is further enhanced by surviving local histories and court records. Beginning in the 11th/17th century, states began to issue regular ornamental coinages which could be classified as stamped fixed weight ingots. These have largely been employed as an adjunct to domestic saving, an important function that has certainly

contributed to the continued striking of gold and silver coins at a time when precious metals have entirely lost their monetary rôle. Thus while court ceremonial has largely disappeared from the Islamic world, commemorative coins and medals continue to play a popular part in daily life. This article cannot accommodate a detailed history of Islamic donative and largesse coinages, but a summary of some of the more interesting issues known from individual dynasties will give a flavour of the subject.

There is little evidence of donative or largesse issues during the Umayyad period. The design of the standard dīnārs and dirhams was invariable and was only very rarely modified. The only variations known have the additional mint name *Maʿdin Amīr al-Muʾminīn* ("Mine of the Commander of the Faithful"), from the years 89, 90 and 91, and *Maʿdin Amīr al-Muʾminīn bi 'l-Ḥid̲j̲āz* struck in 105. There has been a good deal of conjecture about these coins, because the extant writings of Islamic historians provide no clues as to their actual place of origin or to their distinctive purpose. It is thought that the metal from which they were struck probably came from the caliphal mines in the Ḥid̲j̲āz and that they may have been minted at the site. Michael Bates of the American Numismatic Society has established a die linkage between the 105 A.H. issue and a contemporary coinage struck, presumably, in Dimas̲h̲ḳ. It is possible that the metal was presented at a special ceremony as tribute to the caliph, who may then have shared the dīnārs among his courtiers.

The first period ʿAbbāsid coinage, struck *ca.* 132-218/750-833, was of largely standard design until the accession of the caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd [*q.v.*] in 170/786. During his reign the earliest special issues began to appear, but all are extremely rare, being known from only one or two examples. They appear to have been associated with events in the caliphal family and may have been used in court ceremonies to mark those events. It was said that gold coins bearing verses and weighing 101 *mit̲h̲ḳāls* (*ca.* 429 gr) were struck for Hārūn's *wazīr* D̲j̲aʿfar al-Barmakī [see AL-BARĀMIKA], and that 4,000 of them were found in his palace at the time of his downfall. Arab historians have mentioned *danānīr al-ṣila* weighing as much as 1,000 *mit̲h̲ḳāls*, but as yet the largest piece actually known is no more than 10 *mit̲h̲ḳāls*. It is likely that if these gigantic coins ever did exist they were cast as ingots rather than struck as coins, because the technology of the time did not permit the use of dies large or strong enough for the purpose.

Coinage certainly played a significant rôle in the rivalry between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, and the political messages contained in the legends on the reverse of the dirhams were an important item in the propaganda war between the contending parties. Through his coinage reform in 206/821-2, however, al-Maʾmūn largely put an end to this propaganda activity by ordering the mints to strip all political information from the coin legends.

The second period ʿAbbāsid coinage (*ca.* 218-334/833-946) saw, however, the introduction of a true system of donative coinage which took several forms. The first were standard silver dirhams and gold dīnārs of careful manufacture, whose dies took up the entire face of the blank. The caliph al-Mutawakkil then introduced broad, thin-flan coins, usually struck at his court in Sāmarrāʾ/Surra man raʾā. These bore standard legends, executed in superior calligraphy, struck in the centre of the flans, but leaving a broad empty outer margin. They were probably distributed as special donative payments to troops and civil servants. While their broad outer margins made them easy to convert into jewellery without defacing the legends, their thin flans made them particularly vulnerable to wear and damage. This special medallion style of coinage was widely copied by other dynasties and is frequently found in today's collections.

The next category could be termed the court coinage on which the names and titles of the caliph became the main focus of the legends, with the *kalima*, denomination and date relegated to the single outer margins. The name of the mint usually did not appear, an absence which is not readily explicable. These coins were issued in both gold and silver and were distinguished by calligraphy of the highest quality. The blanks were prepared in a variety of sizes and weights—small and thick, broad and thick or broad and thin—and their weights often varied widely within the same year. It is assumed that these pieces were distributed at important ceremonies in the caliphal court and that they were not intended for circulation.

The third type of donative is the rarest of all. This author knows of only two examples, both of which are more in the nature of family medallions than donative coins. The first is a dirham of al-Mutawakkil with a portrait of a facing male figure on the obverse and the caliph's name in the margin, and on the reverse a camel being led by its driver with the name of the caliph's heir al-Muʿtazz and the date 241. The second is an unpublished type with a man on horseback on the obverse and the name of the caliph al-Muʿtamid in the margin; on the reverse is an elephant with the name of the caliph's son D̲j̲aʿfar al-Mufawwaḍ and the date 258 in the margin. These two unique examples cannot conjure up an entire world of private figural medallic coinage struck for the pleasure of the caliphal house, but if further examples come to light a clearer picture of these family commemorative issues should emerge.

A number of exceptional pieces bearing the name of al-Muḳtadir are known, the most frequently encountered being copies of Hindūs̲h̲āhī [see HINDŪ-S̲H̲ĀHĪS] issues. On these, one side shows to the right a horseman riding with the inscription *li 'llāh D̲j̲aʿfar* (the caliph's personal name) and on the other a Brahmin bull to the left with *al-Muḳtadir bi 'llāh* above. Another issue depicts a rabbit within an octagram on both faces. Al-Rāḍī also had a magnificent five-dirham weight silver piece with a handsome cloud-like pattern in the centre of the reverse field.

Very few special issues are known from Spain and North Africa. A magnificent 10-*mit̲h̲ḳāl*'s weight dīnār of the Almohad ruler Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar was published by Brèthes, a photograph of which appears on the cover of his catalogue, and multiple dīnārs are also known from the time of the Saʿdian S̲h̲arīfs. The high standard of coinage design and careful manufacture maintained by the North African dynasties may well have made the regular preparation of medallic issues unnecessary. The Fāṭimids are known to have struck very few special issues, although the quarter dīnārs and one-sixteenth dirhams would have been an ideal size to use as largesse coins.

In the east, the successors to the ʿAbbāsids prepared a series of marvellous gold medals showing figures of men, as well as lions attacking antelopes or birds of prey attacking animals on both obverse and reverse. These were clearly not intended for circulation. This author, however, once saw a 10-*mit̲h̲ḳāl*'s weight dīnār of ʿAḍud al-Dawla which was probably used at the time of his coronation in Madīnat

al-Salām in 367/977. Many other such pieces may have been struck for court ceremonies, but their identity will be forever hidden because they were probably melted down for other uses in times of financial stringency. Some of the survivors appear to have been strongly influenced by the Būyids' interest in their supposed Sāsānid heritage and depict the ruler in the guise of a Sāsānid monarch. The Būyids Fakhr al-Dawla of Rayy and his successor Madjd al-Dawla also struck handsome epigraphic multiple dirhams on broad thin flans with extended legends in al-Muḥammadiyya (i.e. Rayy) which were probably used as donatives for their troops.

The Great Saldjūḳs Alp Arslan, Malik Shāh and later rulers also struck a number of dīnārs with extended Ḳur'ānic legends inscribed in tiny calligraphy on both faces, probably used as amulets by the pious as they are usually found mounted for suspension. The Istanbul Archaeological Museum possesses a multiple-weight presentation dīnār weighing 30 *mithḳāls* struck by the Rūm Saldjūḳ Kaykhusraw II in Dār al-Mulk Ḳūnya in 635 A.H. The Il-Khānid rulers Maḥmūd Ghazan, Öldjeytü and Abū Sa'īd, issued a variety of multiple-weight gold and silver coins bearing extended legends which could have been used as impressive ornaments. Elsewhere in the east, many other medallic pieces of varying quality bearing symbols of people and/or animals were manufactured for a similar purpose. While the official issues were usually struck, many were cast and still others were light-weight sandwiches of thin uniface flans stuck together to make a showy but inexpensive amulet.

In addition, these dynasties all struck tiny coins, fractions of both the dirham and dīnār, which were used for showering guests at important audiences, or brides at wedding ceremonies, or for presenting to newly-circumcised boys, or for throwing into the crowds of excited spectators watching public audiences or ceremonial processions. In more recent times, the tiny silver *aḳče* [*q.v.*] of the Ottomans was ideally suited for scattering in this way because of its small size and light weight. Specially struck Ottoman presentation coins made a relatively late appearance in the late 11th/17th century when the standard gold coin, the *sulṭānī*, began to be struck on broad thin flans for use as jewellery. Multiple examples of the standard Ottoman gold of the time, but at a slightly lighter weight, were regularly issued by all the later rulers beginning with Süleymān II. Aside from their use as donatives, they were also available for sale to the public in return for the heavier, normal weight coins for conversion into jewellery. This custom became institutionalised during the reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*], when the imperial mint in Istanbul manufactured the so-called *zīnet altun*. The proceeds from their sale were applied to support the state pension fund, and these ornamented broad-flan coins are still manufactured by the Turkish Republic. In Ottoman Egypt, under the Khedive Ismā'īl Pasha [*q.v.*] the government issued small quantities of 500-piastre presentation gold and regular issues of tiny 10 and 5 *ḳurūsh*/piastre largesse gold and similar 20 and 10 *para* largesse silver coins. These were specifically used to enhance wedding celebrations.

In Ṣafawid and post-Ṣafawid Persia, the distribution of multiple weight gold *tūmāns* [*q.v.*] and silver *shāhīs* [*q.v.*] was a feature of court ceremonies such as the Nawrūz [*q.v.*] celebrations, and they are usually found pierced or mounted for use as jewellery. A very rare insight into the functioning of the Persian treasury came about when Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Ḳādjār was compelled, under the terms of the Treaty of Türkmen Čay [*q.v.*], to ship an enormous treasure to St. Petersburg. It is said that the Emperor Nicholas I was so interested in the beautiful designs on the coin ingots that made up the shipment that he spared a few sets from re-melting to donate to the Imperial Museums and members of his family. Several examples of these subsequently passed into the public domain. It is clear that the Ḳādjārs, like many other treasuries, would have found it more convenient to retain their bullion in the form of thousands of large coins rather than millions of small ones.

This is particularly borne out when we turn to India, which was famous for the magnificence of its coinage. The Ghūrid conqueror Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām, is known to have struck the 10-*mithḳāl* presentation coins in the year 598. His successors in the Sub-continent, the Dihlī Sulṭāns and their contemporaries, also struck the occasional multiple-weight gold and silver tankas. However, it was the Mughals who really transformed their coinage into works of art. The treasury regularly stored its precious metal in the form of gigantic coins, most of which have now perished. Their exotic nature and extreme rarity was emphasised when the largest coin in the world, a giant 1000-tola weight piece which was probably valued at 10,000 silver rupiya, together with the second largest, a 100 mohur, were offered for auction in Geneva in November 1987. (These appeared subsequent to the article MOHUR.) The first was struck by the Emperor Djahāngīr in Āgrā in 1022 A.H. in his eighth regnal year, weighing 11,935.8 gr with a diameter of 210 mm. The second was struck by Shāh Djahān I in Lāhawr in 1048 in his twelfth regnal year weighing 1,094.5 gr with a diameter of 96 mm. The intent behind the striking of this is clearly expressed in its legends: "When Shāh Djahān became ruler of the world in generosity he gave away treasures in a single moment. So that he could bestow one hundred mohurs instead of one, he commanded one hundred mohurs to be made into one mohur." Aside from their use as treasury reserves, they were occasionally brought out to be presented as gifts to members of the royal family, high-ranking courtiers, ambassadors or important visitors from foreign countries. It is likely that financial need on the part of the recipients made them return these coins to the mint to be exchanged for their equivalent value in currency mohurs or rupiya as the need arose. In his first regnal year, the Emperor Djahāngīr defied Islamic convention by striking a mohur bearing a sensitive portrait of his father Akbar in old age, and in his sixth to ninth regnal years he distributed a series of his own portrait mohurs as a special mark of favour to his boon companions. All of these extraordinary coins are described in Hodivala's *Historical studies in Mughal numismatics*. For the use of the specially struck *nithārs* in Mughal India, see NITHĀR. Beginning in the reign of Shāh Djahān I, it became usual to manufacture blanks that were of full weight and standard alloy but smaller than the dies with which they were struck, so that frequently a third or more of the legends were "off flan". The resulting coins did not do justice to the die-sinker's work, but on occasion special efforts were made to cut blanks to their correct size so that they could receive the full impression of the dies. These were known as *nazarāna* mohurs or rupiya. As the Mughal state became poorer, *nazarāna* coins were produced with greater regularity because gigantic coins were no longer given away, and thus the need for low-value donatives increased.

Today the use of coins as regal largesse has virtually died out. The last state to employ them was the Sultanate of ʿUmān, whose rulers, Saʿīd b. Taymūr and Ḳābūs b. Saʿīd regularly had offstrikes of their currency coins struck in gold for distribution to members of their courts. ʿUmān and nearly all other Muslim countries now follow the modern custom of striking a bewildering variety of bullion commemorative coins in both gold and silver. These have largely lost any ceremonial purpose and are sold by their governments as a way of satisfying the ever-present need for modern collector issues. The tradition of private largesse at weddings and other family occasions, however, lives on today in the custom of scattering small coin-like objects over the heads of brides at weddings, pinning bank notes to their dresses, giving gold pieces for engagements and circumcisions and, particularly in Persia, giving presents to children at Nawrūz.

Bibliography: There is no general comprehensive study of donative and largesse coins. For the early period see L. Ilisch's series of four articles on donative coins *Münzgeschenke und Geschenkmünzen in der mittelalterlichen islamischen Welt*, in *Münstersche numismatische Zeitung*, June 1984 (which includes an extensive bibl.), September 1984, December 1984 and April 1985; for North Africa, J.D. Brèthes, *Contribution à l'histoire du Maroc par les recherches numismatiques*, Casablanca 1939; for the Ottomans, N. Pere, *Osmanlılarda madenî paralar*, Istanbul 1968; for the Ṣafawids, H.L. Rabino di Borgomale, ed. M. Mochiri, *Album of coins, medals and seals of the Shahs of Iran (1500-1948)*, Tehran 1974; for the Mug̲h̲als, S.H. Hodivala, *Historical studies in Mughal numismatics*, Calcutta 1923; for the two large Mug̲h̲al coins, see Habsburg Feldman S.A., *Sale of two giant gold mohur coins*, Geneva 1987. There are scattered publications that occasionally illustrate presentation coins amongst the great museum catalogues. See S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum*, 10 vols., London 1875-90; H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 3 vols, reprs. of 1887-96 edition, Bologna 1977, and G. Hennequin, iv, Paris 1985; İ. and C. Artuk, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri teşhirdeki islamî sikkeler kataloğu*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1971; N.D. Nicol, R. el-Nabaraway and J.L. Bacharach, *Catalogue of the Islamic coins, glass weights, dies and medals in the Egyptian National Library*, Cairo 1982; M.F. al-ʿUsh, *Arab Islamic coins preserved in the National Museum of Qatar*, i, Doha 1984, and Ibrāhīm D̲j̲ābir, ii, 1992. For the many recent discoveries, the reader is directed to the coin auction catalogues of Baldwin (London and Dubai), Hess (Lucerne), Bank Leu (Zurich), Münzen und Medaillen (Basel), Peus (Frankfurt), Sotheby's (London) and Spink (London and Zurich). (R.E. Darley-Doran)

YĀD̲J̲ŪD̲J̲ wa-**MĀD̲J̲ŪD̲J̲**, sc. Gog and Magog, the names of apocalyptic peoples known from biblical (Ezekiel xxxviii, xxxix, Apocalypse, xx. 7-10) and Ḳurʾānic eschatology. Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 93-8, refers to D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳarnayn erecting a barrier/rampart (*sadd/radm*) against them, which, at the end of time, God Himself will raze. Ḳurʾān, XXI, 96, is an apocalyptic metaphor: "Till, when Gog and Magog are unloosed, and they slide down (*yansilūna*) out of every slope" (tr. A.J. Arberry).

Names. The reading *Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ wa-Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲* (without *hamza*) was preferred by most of the Ḥid̲j̲āzī and ʿIrāḳī *ḳurrāʾ*, while ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*] and al-Aʿrad̲j̲ read *Yaʾd̲j̲ūd̲j̲ wa-Maʾd̲j̲ūd̲j̲* (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 279; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, xvi, 221). The reading *Ād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ wa-Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲* (or *Maʾd̲j̲ūd̲j̲*) is also recorded (al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, 498, 584; Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, iv, 349; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *loc. cit.*). This reading bears great resemblance to the Syriac *Agog wa Magog* as found in the Song of Alexander, which in turn renders Hebrew equivalents of *Gog* and *Magog*. Arabic etymology explains the names as *yafʿūl* and *mafʿūl* forms of *ad̲j̲d̲j̲a*, lit. "to blaze fiercely", "to be intensive", and also "to make a rustling noise by running", because Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ and Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ move so swiftly or powerfully, see e.g. Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, iv, 349, who gives other explanations as well (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ad̲j̲d̲j̲a*). Others see them as *fāʿūl* forms of *yad̲j̲d̲j̲a* and *mad̲j̲d̲j̲a*, with the second component derived from *mād̲j̲a* "to be agitated with waves" following Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 99: "On that day We shall leave them surging (*yamūd̲j̲u*) against each other". Still others hold that the names are of non-Arabic (*aʿd̲j̲amī*) origin (cf. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary*, 288-9). The two names form an onomastic rhymed pair, like Hārūt and Mārūt, Hābīl and Ḳābīl [*q.vv.*] (see also below, and cf. Miquel, *Géographie*, ii, 508).

Origin, number and appearance. The traditions around Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ and Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲, as found in the Islamic sources, are very heterogeneous. Sometimes they are considered as children of Adam but not of Eve, for they are said to originate from Adam's nocturnal emission of semen mixed with earth (Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, quoted by Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, xvi, 221). The *Sīrat al-Iskandar* holds that only Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ descends from Adam, whereas Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ is an offspring of Eve's menstrual blood (ms. Aya Sofya 4004, fol. 152a). According to Wahb b. Munabbih, they are neither *ins* (human) nor *d̲j̲inn* (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 280), but other traditions say that they are the offspring of Yaphet (*ibid.*, ix, 83; cf. Gen. x. 2).

Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ and Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ are many peoples, each of them counting 400,000 (al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*, ix, 83), or they are nine times as numerous as human beings (*ibid.*, ix, 85), while al-Ḳazwīnī says that only God can count them (*ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, 448). According to Ibn ʿAbbās, five of the six parts (*ad̲j̲zāʾ*) of the world belong to Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ and Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ and only one part to the other beings (*al-k̲h̲alaf*) (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 300).

Al-Ṭabarī reports that Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ and Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ exist in three kinds: the first are as tall as a cedar, the second as broad as they are tall, the third can cover their body with one ear and lie down on the other (*Tafsīr*, viii, 283; cf. al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, 448). For al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī there are only two kinds: one extremely tall, the other extremely short, while for al-Ḳazwīnī (*loc. cit.*) they have the stature of a middle-sized man (*rad̲j̲ul marbūʿ*). Al-Ṭabarī also reports that D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳarnayn explored their country and saw that their length is half that of an average man but that males and females are equally tall. Instead of fingernails they have claws, their teeth are like those of predators, their gums are strong as a camel's and they grind their teeth when chewing. They foresee their own death; no male will die before having fathered one thousand children, and no female before having given birth to the same number; they mate like animals. Their food consists of the *tinnīn* [*q.v.*] which in spring falls down from Heaven. If they do not get it, they become barren (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 281 f.; cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ed. Pellat, i, 144). According to other traditions, they are cannibals (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 279). (For further details on their physique, see Miquel, *Géographie*, ii, 509.) However, Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ and Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ are not always represented as fabulous creatures (see below).

Eschatological role. In Islam, their eschatological role is directly connected with the barrier which Dhu 'l-Karnayn/al-Iskandar (Alexander the Great [see AL-KHAḌIR]) erected against them. According to the Ḳur'ān, Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj will be held back by the barrier until the end of time. Their coming is one of the "signs of the Hour" (*āyāt al-sā'a*, see SĀ'A. 3; for a classification of these signs, esp. that of al-Barzandjī (d. 1103/1691; Brockelmann, S II, 529), see Attema, 164-6; cf. Kaptein, 58, 60). Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, before Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn built the barrier, used to come out every spring in order to eat all that is green and to carry away all that is dry (cf. al-Zamakhsharī, 498 ff.). Al-Ṭabarī describes the eschatological scenario as follows: every day Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj scrape the barrier until they can almost see the sun shining through it or, as Ka'b al-Aḥbār relates, until the sound of their axes can be heard by their neighbours on the other side. When they are about to break through, their foreman tells them to go back and finish the work on the next day. But every night, after they have left, God restores the barrier so that it becomes stronger than it was before. Only when their foreman adds *in shā' allāh*, are they able to dig their way through. In a tradition recorded in Dienné [*q.v.*], *Inshallāh* is a young man who, when his name is pronounced by his father, will eat away what remains of Madjūdjū's barrier (Mommersteeg, *In de stad van de Marabouts*, 87-8). After that, Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj spread over the earth. When on the march, their vanguard is in Syria and their rear in 'Irāḳ. They cover the earth, eat everything they can find and drink the waters of the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Lake of Tiberias. According to Abū Sa'īd, they also kill human beings. Man and beast take refuge in fortresses. Having reached Jerusalem, they think they have exterminated life on earth. They then shoot arrows against the sky and when these fall back stained with blood, they believe they have destroyed Heaven as well. Then God, at the intercession of Jesus, sends down worms (*naghaf*) which penetrate their noses and ears, come out at their necks and kill them. Their corpses are eaten by the beasts or, according to other traditions, are carried away to the sea by rain which purifies the earth (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 283, 289, ix, 83-5). But according to al-Zamakhsharī, 500, they cannot reach Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. Al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib*, 488, on the other hand, describes "living creatures" (*ḥayawānāt*) who apparently have nothing human about them, who dwell on some mountains near the barrier of al-Iskandar and are short-sized (five spans high), broad-faced, and black skinned with white spots, who climb trees and do not associate with human beings.

The traditions regarding Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, as found in the canonical *ḥadīth* works, were collected by Attema, 134 ff. He distinguishes three groups: traditions according to which people thought that the Hour was imminent and that Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj had already begun to make a breach in the barrier during the lifetime of the Prophet (al-Bukhārī, 61.25, trad. 27; Muslim, 52.1, 3; al-Tirmidhī, 31.23; Ibn Mādja, 36.9, trad. 3; Abū Dāwūd, 34.1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 341, 529, vi, 428, 429); traditions which say that Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj were met when the Muslim armies, during the conquests in the east, had come in contact with peoples "with broad faces, small eyes, gray mops, running down from every hill (cf. Ḳur'ān, XXI, 96), their faces like shields covered with leather" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 271; see also below); and traditions according to which Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj are continuously trying to break through the barrier in the way described above (Ibn Mādja, 36.33, trad. 10; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 77).

The eschatological role of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj in Islam has parallels in Jewish and Christian traditions, cf. Lust in *Bibl.* The Biblical data on Gog and Magog were popular themes in the sermons of the Syrian Christian Church (e.g. Ephrem Syrus, *Hymni*, iii, 194-213). Ps.-Methodios, *Apokalypse*, 14-5, gives a vivid description of these impure and deformed descendants of Yaphet.

Location and identification. The barrier built by Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn against Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj fills the gap between two mountains (cf. Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 93: *al-saddān*, XVIII, 96: *al-ṣadafān*). Ḳur'ān commentators think that these mountains are those of Armenia and Ādharbāydjān (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 278; al-Bayḍāwī, 573), that they lie between these two regions, or that they are situated in the furthest north (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, 348; al-Bayḍāwī, 573) or in the most eastern part of the land of the Turks (al-Ṭabarī, viii, 281). Thus the barrier was located in the Caucasus, in the north in general or in the east. Geographers writing after Ibn Khurradādhbih (see below) concentrate on the far east. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 298, 300, writing in the 3rd/9th century, says that the distance between the land of the Khazar and the place of the barrier is two months, and that Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn measured the width of the gorge between the two mountains, this being the dividing line between the land of the Turks and the regions to the east of them. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, 482, Rūs and Khwārazmian merchants used to import silk and skins from the regions (*nawāḥī*) of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj (cf. Miquel, *Géographie*, ii, 507). In the traditional division of the world into seven climes [see IḲLĪM], the lands of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj are located, with variations, between the fifth and seventh climes. In al-Ya'ḳūbī's (d. 284/897) chronicle, they are located in the sixth clime (*Ta'rīkh*, 93). Al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. 339/950), who gives a larger number of climes, says (9) that they are found in a northern direction if one traverses the land between the Saḳāliba [*q.v.*] and the Kīmākiyya [see KIMÄK]. Al-Idrīsī (d. 565/1120) divides the climes into ten parts, the tenth lying in the extreme east of each clime. He charts Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn's barrier in the ninth part of the sixth clime (*Opus Geographicum*, 934, 938; Idrīsī-Jaubert, 416, 420). It also comprises the land of the Khifshākh [see ḲIPČAḲ] and that of the Türgesh, which has much rain and snow. To the south, according to some geographers, the lands of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj are adjacent to China [see AL-ṢĪN]. For the differences in view between Ibn Rusta (d. *ca.* 300/ 912-3) and al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) on the location of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, see *ibid.*, cols. 618b-619a. In the neighbourhood of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj other peoples are found who are mentioned in the Bible as offspring of Yaphet (Gen. x. 2), namely, Tārīs, Mansak (Manshak, Mashak) and Kumāra (Kumārā) (cf. al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 2; cf. al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib*, 448, who mentions only the Mansak).

By an often-used play of words based on Arabic *taraka* "to leave, leave out", the Turks are said to belong to the peoples of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj. Originally, the latter were twenty-four peoples. When Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn locked them up behind the barrier, one people were absent and thus were left out (*turika*), either because they were away on a raid (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 299), or because they believed in God (cf. Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tīdjān*, ed. in Lidzbarski, 302). In a tradition transmitted by al-Bukhārī (*K. al-manāḳib*,

61.25), the Turks are explicitly connected with the end of the world: "The Hour will not come before you have fought a people whose footwear is made of hair, and who fought the Turks who have small eyes, a ruddy face (*humr al-wudjūh*), a small and finely chiselled nose (*dhulf al-unūf*), whereas their faces are rough and broad (*ka-anna wudjūhahum al-madjānn*^u^ *al-muṭraka*; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ṭrķ*, 1850, and above). Another frequently reported tradition says that Yādjūdj are Turks and Mādjūdj are Djīl and Daylam (Ibn Ḥadjar, xvi, 221).

The 20th century Indian politician and theologian Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād [see ĀZĀD, in Suppl.] argues that Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj are identical, first, with the Scythians, then with the Huns, and then with the Mongols (*wa-yas'alūnaka 'an Dhi 'l-Karnayn*, 162-81). This view is elaborated by al-Shāfiʿ al-Māḥī Aḥmad in his recent *Ya'djūdj wa-Ma'djūdj*. Throughout history, the raids of the above-mentioned peoples are recorded as seven "burstings-out" (*khurūdj*) of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, perhaps to be followed in the future by an eighth and/or ninth *khurūdj* before their final *khurūdj* at the end of time. At present, Aḥmad maintains, the Chinese part of Mongolia forms the last refuge of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj. Saʿfān, *al-Sāʿa*, identifies Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj with the Khazar [*q.v.*] who were converted to Judaism, with the Ashkenazi Jews in Eastern Europe and then in Israel, and with the Freemasons [see FARMĀSŪNIYYA, in Suppl.].

Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj in Arabic literature. Arabic poetry and *adab* literature use Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj as a metaphor for great numbers, e.g. "hungry soldiers as numerous as Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj" (al-Farazdaķ (d. *ca.* 110/728), *Dīwān*, 396, quoted frequently), or for destructive power, e.g. "as if, in wickedness (*fasād*), they were Yādjūdj" (Sibṭ Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī (d. 584/1188 [*q.v.*]), *Dīwān*, 75). The barrier serves as a metaphor for impenetrability: "If I were to give you a single dirham, I would open a door to my possessions which neither mountains nor sands could dam, even if I were able to build before them a barrier like the barrier of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Bukhalā'*, 208); "O, if only the barrier of Yādjūdj were between you and me" (Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (d. 210/825 [*q.v.*]), *Dīwān*, Appx. no. 216, 4). Their lands are the farthermost imaginable place on earth: "Send me to Ķāf [*q.v.*], and behind the rampart (*radm*), and to the barrier (*sadd*), and to Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, to a place even Dhu 'l-Ķarnayn did not reach and al-Khaḍir never knew about" (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023 [*q.v.*]), *Baṣā'ir*, iv, 158). The paired names of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj are the subject of several anecdotes. At a funeral, a stupid person confuses their names with those of Munkar and Nakīr [*q.v.*] (Abū Saʿīd Manṣūr al-Ābī (d. 421/1030: Brockelmann, I, 351), *K. Nathr al-durar*, iv, 284; Abū Isḥāķ Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, 250), or with those of Hārūt and Mārūt (cf. Marzolph, *Arabia ridens*, ii, no. 510). Another confused person insists that "Munkar is better than Nakīr, that Yādjūdj is better than Mādjūdj, and that Hārūt is better than Mārūt" (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *op. cit.*, iii, 133). Al-Ḥuṣrī, *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, 338, reports that a tall man, who was beaten by a short soldier, exclaimed: "I wish you were shorter than Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj". This anecdote refers to a tradition, ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās, according to which Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj are three spans (*thalāthat ashbār* = 27 inches) tall (Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, xvi, 222 l. 19).

Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj play a more prominent role in two early poems, one by Ḥassān b. Thābit (d. 40/659 [*q.v.*]) (ed. ʿArafat, 471-3, tr. Nicholson, 18), and the other by ʿAlķama b. Dhī Djadan (2nd/8th century) (see on him al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, ii, 300-1; Löfgren, *'Alqama b. ḏi Ǧadan*). Both describe how al-Iskandar built the barrier (Von Kremer, *Über die südarabische Sage*, 71 ff.; idem, *Altarabische Gedichte*, 16). Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj are also mentioned in an eschatological *urdjūza* [see RADJAZ] by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ru'ba al-ʿAdjdjādj (d. 97/715) (ed. Beirut, 345-6), as well as in several *radjaz* verses by ʿAbd Allāh's son Ru'ba (d. 145/762 [*q.v.*]) (ed. Ahlwardt, nos. 19, 33, 55), in which the coming of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj is mentioned as an apocalyptical phenomenon, also connected with the peoples of ʿĀd and Tubbaʿ [*q.vv.*].

In the legendary literature on al-Iskandar [see AL-KHAḌIR; ISKANDAR-NĀMA; *Sīrat Iskandar*, in SĪRA SHAʿBIYYA], Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj are in general described along the same lines as in *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* (see above). A remarkable exception is ms. Aya Sofya 4004, in which Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj appear more humanlike. The storyteller is aware of the fact that the frequent contacts between the "Muslims" and individual "Yādjūdjīs", and the diplomatic exchanges between al-Iskandar and Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj took place during the *millat Ibrāhīm* period, i.e. in pre-Islamic times. The language of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, described as "the inaccessible language of the Turks, which is incomprehensible" (*lughat al-Turk al-mughlaķa wa-hiya lā tufham; ibid.*, fol. 154 l. 2), is translated into Arabic by al-Khaḍir. In this manuscript, the king of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj is called Ķānūn, their religion qualified as worship of sun and moon, and their dwelling-place is said to consist of seven *wādīs*. Twice a year they make raids on the neighbouring town of Asāṭīn (fol. 151 l. 3), whose king Watīd Ķanāṭīr asks al-Iskandar to erect a barrier against them. He only starts doing this after Gabriel has revealed to al-Khaḍir God's eschatological plan concerning Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj.

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(E. van Donzel and Claudia Ott)

YĀFĀ, Yāfa, conventionally Jaffa, older Joppa, a port on the Palestinian seaboard, in pre-modern times the port of entry for Jerusalem, since 1950 part of the municipality of Tel Aviv-Yafo in the State of Israel (lat. 32° 05' N., long. 34° 46' E.).

Situated on a 30 m/100 feet-high promontory on the otherwise straight coastline of central Palestine, Jaffa is a very ancient town. Thutmosis III's forces seized the Canaanite town of *Y-pw* in the 15th century B.C. and it became a provincial capital during the Egyptian New Kingdom; since the 1950s, archaeological excavations have revealed the monumental gateway of the Egyptian citadel. It passed to the Philistines, and appears in Phoenician texts as *Y.p.y.* Jaffa was the port of entry for the timber floated down from Tyre by king Aḥiram for Solomon to use for the Temple in Jerusalem (II Chron. ii. 16). The Apostle Peter stayed at Jaffa in the house of Simon the Tanner (Acts ix. 42), but in Roman times its value as a port declined in favour of Caesarea. In Byzantine times, Ἰόπη or Ἰόππη was the seat of a bishopric.

In the year 15/636 ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī (according to others, Muʿāwiya) took the town (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 138). The importance of the old port for Jerusalem further increased when the Umayyad Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik founded the new capital of *Djund Filasṭīn*, al-Ramla [*q.v.*], some 14 miles south-east of Yāfā. Yāfā, with the rest of Filasṭīn, passed in 264/878 into the hands of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] and remained under the rule of the Ṭūlūnids of Egypt until in 292/905 it passed to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muktafī. After Djaʿfar b. Fallāḥ had conquered Syria for the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz [*q.v.*] in 359/969, the Ḳarmaṭians penetrated in 360/971 under Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam as far as Yāfā, inside which the troops (11,000 men) sent to Syria by Djawhar b. ʿAbd Allāh were blockaded. After the Ḳarmaṭians had been driven out of Egypt in 362, Yāfā was relieved and the garrison brought back to Egypt. The Turkish *amīr* Atsiz b. Abaḳ took al-Ramla in 463/1071, but Yāfā and ʿAsḳalān did not come into his power.

The possession of the town was hotly disputed during the Crusades. The Franks, who made it a vassal duchy of the kingdom of Jerusalem, were able to hold it until the Third Crusade (1099-1187). The Fāṭimid vizier al-Afḍal sought in vain to take it from them in 1101, 1105, 1113 and 1115. After his murder, the caliph al-Āmir besieged the town in 1122 but was driven back, and again in 1123 as a result of the destruction of his fleet by the Venetians. After the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (583/1187 [see ḤIṬṬĪN]) most of the coast towns surrendered to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and Yāfā to his brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. Richard Coeur-de-Lion recaptured it for the Crusaders in 587/1191. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn besieged it in 1192 and regained it for the Saracens; he could not, however, take the citadel, and Richard, who hurried to the help of its garrison, drove the Ayyūbid troops out of the town and refortified it. At the truce of al-Ramla, the Christians were confirmed in possession of Yāfā.

By 593/1197, however, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had again taken Yāfā, destroying the fortifications and, it is said, killing 20,000 Christians in the fighting. In the following year, Saxon and Brabantine troops temporarily occupied the town, but abandoned it again in 595/1199, whereupon al-ʿĀdil regained it by a coup-de-main. After the Fourth Crusade (1204), the town was again in the hands of the Franks. The Emperor Frederick II restored the fortifications in 1228, as did Louis IX in 1250 after his release.

In the Mamlūk period, Yāfā belonged to the district of al-Ramla, one of the four districts of the coast, which were part of the *mamlaka* of Dimashḳ; for a time, however (under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's successors), it was under that of Ghazza (al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 230).

The Mamlūk sultan Baybars attacked the town unexpectedly on 20 Djumādā II 666/8 March 1268, and took it and its citadel in one or two days (inscription on the White Mosque at Ramla, ed. van Berchem, *Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie*, Cairo 1897, 57-64). He destroyed the town with all its houses, walls and the citadel. A certain *amīr* Djamāl al-Dīn . . . b. Isḥāḳ, according to an inscription preserved in Yāfā, built there in 736/1335 the sanctuary of Ḳubbat Shaykh Murād which is still in existence (Clermont-Ganneau, *Matériaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1876; idem, *Archæological researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1894*, ii, London 1896, 154). When the kings of England and France were planning a new crusade in 1336, al-Nāṣir had the harbour of Yāfā

destroyed to make it impossible for the Franks to land there. For the same reason, the town as well as the harbour, was destroyed in 746/1345 (Tolkowsky, in *Journ. Pal. Orient. Soc.*, v [1925], 82-4).

The Arab geographers describe Yāfā as a small, strongly fortified coast town which, as the port of Jerusalem and al-Ramla, enjoyed thriving trade and busy markets in times of peace. In times of war it was greatly exposed to enemy raids, in the first centuries of Islam, for example, to attacks by the Byzantine fleet, the Mardaites and the Cibyrraiotes. To protect the coast against these raids, watch-towers (*ribāṭ* [*q.v.*]) were built, like those of Byzantium from Luʾluʾa to Constantinople, from which was signalled, by smoke or fire to the capital al-Ramla, the approach of Byzantine ships, which also used to visit the ports from G͟hazza to Arsūf to ransom prisoners (al-Muḳaddasī, 177).

After the battle of Mard͟j Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] in 922/1516, the whole of Syria passed to the Ottomans. Yāfā, which was in ruins, only began to revive gradually in the second half of the 17th century, especially after its quays were built. From 1770 onwards, the Pas͟ha of Dimas͟hḳ fought for several years with ʿAlī Bey and his followers for the town, in which the Mamlūks perpetrated a frightful massacre on 19 May 1776. The French behaved even worse after the capture of the town by Napoleon (6 March 1799); 4,000 prisoners were shot on the shore. Immediately after the entry of the garrison, plague broke out in the French army which suffered heavily. Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha, son of Meḥemmed ʿAlī, occupied Yāfā in 1831, which reverted to the Turks in 1840. An earthquake in 1838 destroyed many houses and a portion of the defences.

Jaffa was always the port of entry for Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem, and it had many hospices to accommodate the new arrivals. In the late 19th century, two colonies of the Protestant German Tempelgesellschaft from Württemburg were founded at Wilhelma and Sarona to the north of Jaffa (1870-1), whilst there were Jewish agricultural colonies to its south. Under a concession from the Ottomans, in 1890-2 a metre-gauge railway was constructed by a French company from Jaffa to Lydda and Jerusalem (widened to standard-gauge by the British authorities after the occupation of 1917 and after). In 1909 the Jewish garden suburb of Tel Aviv ("Hill of Spring") was founded adjacent to Jaffa. During the First World War, the Ottomans deported the whole population of Jaffa-Tel Aviv out of fear that they would help advancing Allied troops; but the British forces of General Allenby entered Jaffa unopposed on 16 November 1917, and the population gradually returned thereafter. Anti-Jewish riots broke out at Jaffa in May 1921, the most serious of these in the early years of the British Mandate of Palestine [see MANDATES], and soon afterwards, Tel Aviv was separated from Jaffa with its own municipal status.

In the inter-war period, the port of Jaffa was adversely affected by the development of that of Haifa [see ḤAYFĀ] (1933) and further declined after the Arab political strike of 1936 closed it for almost a year, during which goods for Tel Aviv began to be landed by lighter. The better-off Jewish population began to move into Tel Aviv, leaving Jaffa with a poorer, predominantly Arab population. After 1948, almost the entire Arab element, which in 1941 had numbered 62,000, fled, and the largely deserted town was two years later incorporated into the municipality of Tel Aviv-Yafo in Israel. The decayed and inadequate port of Jaffa was shut down in 1965, superseded by the modern port of Ashdod further south. Tel Aviv-Yafo now has a population (1994 estimate) of 355,200.

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(F. BUHL-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

YĀFIʿ, an ancient and important collection of tribes of the Yemen who established themselves in the lofty mountain ranges in Sarw Ḥimyar to the north and north-east of Aden [see ʿADAN], about 120 km/75 miles distant.

Yāfiʿ is divided into the Upper and Lower Sultanates (see map of Serjeant, in *Yāfiʿ*, 84), with al-Maḥd͟jaba the capital of the former and al-Ḳāra, the old capital of the sultans of the Banū Ḳāsid, that of the latter. The former has five tribes: Kaladī, Saʿdī, Yazīdī, Yaharī and Nāk͟hibī. The latter also has five: Muflaḥī, Mawsaṭī, Ẓabī, Buʿsī and Ḥaḍramī.

They were certainly pre-Islamic in origin and the Old South Arabian inscription *RES* 4613 contains the form *yfʿm*. The Yāfiʿ, who were agriculturalists and figure prominently as mercenaries, are mentioned also in the 4th/10th-century *Ṣifat D͟jazīrat al-ʿArab* of al-Hamdānī (ed. Müller, 89, 95, 98). Inhabiting such inaccessible country, the Yāfiʿ were seldom completely controlled by any central authority. They served the Rasūlids [*q.v.*] as mercenaries, though they did not pay them taxes (Serjeant, *Yāfiʿ*, 83). They travelled in numbers to Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] in the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries, originally as mercenaries, although they eventually wielded some independent power there. Indeed, in the early 12th/18th century rival contestants for the Kat͟hīrī sultanate in Ḥaḍramawt called in Yāfiʿ tribesmen to assist them. Many were employed in the same way in India also, notably in Ḥaydarābād. In 1903, the British Government of India entered into a series of treaties with various sections of the Yāfiʿ in exchange for stipends (*Arab tribes*, 205-15), although it was reported in 1909 (*ibid.*, 63) that the Aden Residency had little contact with Upper Yāfiʿ. It was only after the Second World War that the government in Aden was able to develop their relations with the Yāfiʿ, and then almost exclusively with the Lower Yāfiʿ, some of whose territory was in the fertile cotton-growing area of Abyan [*q.v.*] and whose sultanate later became a member state of the Federation of South Arabia.

Bibliography: See also Government of Bombay, *An account of the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden*, Bombay 1909, 63-73, 205-15; R.B. Serjeant, *Yāfiʿ, Zaydīs, Āl Bū Bakr b. Sālim and others: tribes and sayyids*, in *On both sides of al-Mandab. Ethiopian, South-Arabic and Islamic studies presented to Oscar Löfgren on his ninetieth birthday 13 May 1988 by colleagues and friends*, Stockholm 1989, 83-105 (contains full references).

(G.R. Smith)

al-YĀFIʿĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad, Abu 'l-Saʿāda ʿAfīf al-Dīn (b. in Yemen *ca.* 698/1298, d. at Mecca 768/1367), scholar and Ṣūfī. His father, impressed by his son's intellectual and spiritual precociousness, sent him to study at Aden. After his first Pilgrimage in 712/1313, he returned to Yemen, taking up life as an ascetic and anchorite and becoming a disciple of the Ṣūfī master ʿAlī al-Ṭawās̲h̲ī, to whom he remained close until the latter's death. In 718/1319 he moved to Mecca and completed his education in the Islamic sciences with the judge there, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī. Renouncing a marriage he had made, he went to live as an ascetic by the two *ḥarams* of Mecca and Medina. In 734/1335 he travelled to Palestine and Egypt, meeting there famed local Ṣūfīs.

He himself was mainly affiliated to the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*], of which he founded a branch, the Yāfiʿiyya, still existing in Yemen today (J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders*, Oxford 1971, 273). He also received initiation into the Adhamiyya (al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-aṣfiyā'*, ms. from 1329/1911, private coll., fol. 5; Massignon, *La passion de Ḥallāj*, ²Paris 1975, i, 85), but his relations with the S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya are problematical (A. ʿAmmār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-S̲h̲ād̲h̲ilī*, Cairo 1952, ii, 185-7).

When he was travelling in the Near East, his fame was already great since the sources indicate that he tried to keep himself incognito in Egypt. He acquired great prestige at Mecca, where he settled on his return and remarried. He was sought out for his knowledge but above all for his spiritual direction; among his many disciples were S̲h̲āh Niʿmat Allāh (d. 834/1431) (see T. Graham, *Shāh Niʿmatullāh Walī, founder of the Niʿmatullāhī Sufi order*, in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The legacy of mediaeval Persian Sufism*, London-New York 1992, 173-4; and niʿmat-allāhiyya). Although he lived in penury, his *baraka* was sought, and he seems to have acted as an arbiter in Mecca on several occasions. He made only one brief further trip to Yemen in 738/1337 to see his master al-Ṭawās̲h̲ī, and died at Mecca on 20 D̲j̲umādā II 768/22 February 1367. His aura of sanctity was such that his modest clothes were sold as relics (al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲āfiʿiyya*, Bag̲h̲dād 1391/1971, ii, 582).

As an *ʿālim*, al-Yāfiʿī above all taught *ḥadīth*. As a fervent As̲h̲ʿarī, he combatted both Muʿtazilī rationalism and Ibn Taymiyya's anthropomorphism (his main polemical and apologetic work was *Marham al-ʿilal al-muʿḍila fi 'l-radd ʿalā a'immat al-muʿtazila*, Calcutta 1910). He well embodied the ideal of the scholar-Ṣūfī, so prized in mediaeval Islam, and was described by al-S̲h̲ard̲j̲ī as "master of the two ways" (sc. exoteric and esoteric). Like al-Suyūṭī, who often cited him, al-Yāfiʿī used his fame for mounting a defence of Ṣūfism, seen in his best-known works: *Nas̲h̲r al-maḥāsin al-g̲h̲āliya fī faḍl al-mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲ al-ṣūfiyya* (Cairo 1961), and above all, his *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn* (many eds., inc. Cairo 1989, and Cyprus n.d.), which give edifying stories of the saints whilst including the doctrinal elements belonging to Ṣūfism. The *Rawḍ* was much used by later authors writing on stories of the saints. In the field of hagiography, he wrote an *Asnā al-mafāk̲h̲ir fī manāḳib al-s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [al-D̲j̲īlānī]*. He also courageously upheld the sanctity of al-Ḥallād̲j̲ and Ibn al-ʿArabī (al-Suyūṭī, *Ta'yīd*, 71; Massignon, *op. cit.*, ii, 41, 46, 309-10), and it was not surprising that his disciple S̲h̲āh Niʿmat Allāh should translate into Persian and write commentaries on the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

It would be an abuse of language to call al-Yāfiʿī an historian, since his *Mir'āt al-d̲j̲anān wa-ʿibrat al-yakẓān* (Ḥaydarābād 1339/1920) is mainly a compilation drawn from Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, Ibn K̲h̲allikān and al-D̲h̲ahabī. He wrote many mystical poems (especially on the Prophet, whom he claimed often to see in dreams or in night vigils), but very few of these have been published.

Bibliography: The work of al-Isnawī (d. 772/1370) cited above is the essential source on al-Yāfiʿī's life; all later authors draw on it. There are, however, original items in Taḳī al-Dīn al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIḳd al-t̲h̲amīn*, Cairo 1966, v, 104-15 and Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Beirut n.d., ii, 247-9. Al-S̲h̲ard̲j̲ī's notice of him, in *Ṭabaḳāt al-k̲h̲awāṣṣ*, Cairo 1321/1903, 67, is hagiographical. See also Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲āfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1964, x, 33; Ibn al-Mulaḳḳin, *Ṭabaḳāt al-awliyā'*, Beirut 1986, 555-6; Brockelmann, ²II, 226-8, S II, 227-8.

(E. Geoffroy)

YĀFIT̲H̲, the Japheth of the Bible.

He is not mentioned by name in the Ḳur'ān (although he is alluded to in VII, 64, X, 73, XI, 40, XXIII, 27 and XXVI, 119), but the exegetes are familiar with all the sons of Noah [see nūḥ]: Ḥām, Sām [*q.vv.*] and Yāfit̲h̲ (the pronunciation Yāfit is mentioned as possible in al-Ṭabarī, i, 222). The Biblical story (Gen. ix. 20-7) of Ḥām's sin and punishment and the blessing given to Sām and Yāfit̲h̲ is known in Muslim legend, but it is silent about Noah's planting the vine and becoming intoxicated. Al-Kisā'ī totally transforms the story: in the Ark, Noah could not sleep from anxiety, so when he came out of the boat, he fell asleep on Sām's chest. The wind revealed his nakedness, Sām and Yāfit̲h̲ covered him up and Ḥām laughed so loudly that Nūḥ was awakened. As a result, he uttered the following curse: prophets shall be born descendants of Sām, kings and heroes of Yāfit̲h̲ and black slaves of Ḥām. However, Ḥām's descendants intermarried with Yāfit̲h̲'s family such that the Abyssinians, Hind and Sind were born to Kūs̲h̲ b. Ḥām, and the Copts were the descendants of a union between Ḳūt b. Ḥām and a descendant of Yāfit̲h̲.

Yāfit̲h̲'s descendants are variously given, sometimes according to the biblical tradition (al-Ṭabarī, i, 217), sometimes with variations (al-Kisā'ī, i, 101). He is usually regarded as the ancestor of Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ and Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ [*q.v.*] often of the Turks and the K̲h̲azars, more rarely of the Slavs [see ṣaḳāliba]. Persia and Rūm are sometimes traced to Sām but sometimes to Yāfit̲h̲. To Yāfit̲h̲ is also attributed Cyrus, who killed Belshazzar, son of Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar, and Yazdagird. In sum, Sām is the father of the Arabs, Yāfit̲h̲ of Rūm, and Ḥām of the Sūdān. Of the three, the Semitic tradition naturally prefers Sām. Yāfit̲h̲ is only rarely spoken of unfavourably, as he is in the case of al-Ṭabarī, i, 223, where we are told nothing good comes from Yāfit̲h̲ and his descendants are deformed. On the other hand, the 72 languages of the world are divided as follows: 18 to Sām, 18 to Ḥām and 36 to Yāfit̲h̲. He is the blessed son of Noah.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 211-25, Eng. tr. W.M. Brinner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. Prophets and patriarchs*, Albany 1987, 10-22; T̲h̲aʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, 38; Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg,

Leiden 1922, i, 98-102, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, Jr., *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i*, Boston 1978, 105-8. (B. Heller-[A. Rippin])

YAʿFURIDS [see yuʿfirids].

YĀGHISTĀN (p.), lit. "the land of the rebels", (*yāghī* "rebel", *istān* "region") referred to different sanctuaries used by Mudjāhidūn [see mudjāhid] against the British authorities in the 19th and early 20th centuries, in the various independent tribal areas, mainly inhabited by the Pakhtūns, in the hinterland of what became the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of British India such as the Mohmand Agency, Bunēr, Dīr, Swāt, Kohistān, Hazāra and Čamarkand (extending into the Kunār province of Afghānistān and Badjawr in NWFP). A popular term rather than a formally recognised one, the name was in use long before the British colonial period, historically referred to as Yāghistān al-ḳadīm, and sometimes as Riyāsat-hāʾi-Yāghistān.

Though Yāghistān comprised mainly mountainous terrain, the Mudjāhidūn carefully selected their centres around fertile valleys, lakes and rivers in order to be self-reliant as regards agricultural products and to find hideouts to support their guerilla warfare. With the rise of Muslim resistance, first to Sikh rule in Pandjāb and Kashmīr and then to the gradual British colonial expansion in South Asia, the Mudjāhidūn from different regions started gathering in Yāghistān. In spite of their initial success under the charismatic leadership of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*], the movement suffered a setback at Bālākōt on 6 May 1831 in which Aḥmad Brēlwī and most of his companions were killed by the Sikhs. During the first Afghan-British war (1839-42), the Mudjāhidūn leader Mawlawī Naṣīr al-Dīn sided with Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*] by sending a contingent of fighters from Yāghistān to Kābul and Ghazna. After him, the leadership of the Mudjāhidūn gradually passed first to Mawlānā Wilāyat ʿAlī (d. 1852) and then to his younger brother Mawlānā ʿInāyat ʿAlī (1858). Through an effective network of devotees, which extended as far as Bengal, the Mudjāhidūn regularly received fresh recruits, money and moral support in their frequently-changing centres in Yāghistān, such as Sitāna, Mulka and Ambīla. The Yāghistānī Mudjāhidūn always kept in close contact with their supporters, and at times used secret messages in code. Though most of the *djihād* centres in Yāghistān were attacked and destroyed by British Indian forces during the second half of the 19th century, the resistance of the Mudjāhidūn continued under such leaders as Nadjm al-Dīn Hadda Mullā (d. 1902) and Saʿd Allah Khān Mullā Mastān (branded as the Mad Mulla by his opponents; d. 1916).

In 1902, the Mudjāhidūn leader ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Wilāyat ʿAlī chose Asmast in Bunēr near Swāt valley as his headquarters. During the First World War, a rival centre slowly grew up and prospered in the Afghān part of Čamarkand, where leaders such as Mawlāna Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḳaṣūrī (see his *Mushāhidāt-i-Kābul wa Yāghistān*, Lahore 1986), Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳannawdjī (d. 1922), Mawlawī Muḥammad Bashīr (d. 1934), Ḥādjdjī Tarangzaʾī (d. 1937) and Mawlawī Faḍl Ilāhī Wazīrābādī (d. 1951; see his *Kawāʾif-i Yāghistān*, Gujranwala 1981) led a number of skirmishes against the imperial army in Shabḳadar, Čakda, Mohmand Agency and many other places in NWFP. At times, the Yāghistānī Mudjāhidūn also developed alliances with a number of other anti-colonial movements such as Ḥizb Allāh, Djunūd Rabbāniyya, Ḥukūmat-i Muwakkata-yi Hind and Djamʿiyyat al-Anṣār.

With the independence of Pakistan in 1947, Yāghistān gradually became part of the historical past. The original Djihād movement also lost its impetus, although the independent character of certain Pakhtūn tribes (e.g. the Afrīdīs) and their systems (e.g. the *djirga* [*q.v.*, in Suppl.]) in these areas is still recognised by Pakistan. Many tribal Mudjāhidūn and the activists of the Djihād movement took part in the struggle of the Kashmīrī Muslims against India in 1948 and thereafter, and subsequently in the popular Afghān uprising against the Soviet Russian-supported communist régime in Kābul in the 1980s.

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(Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq)

YAGHMA, in Arabic orthography Yaghmā, a Turkish tribe of Central Asia mentioned in accounts of the early Turks and their component tribal groups. P. Pelliot thought that the Chinese *Yang-mo* presupposed a nasalised form **Yangma* (*Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M.W. Barthold*, in *T'oung-Pao*, xxvii [1930], 17).

There are sections on the Yaghma in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 95-6 § 13, cf. comm. 277-81, and Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 260. Abū Dulaf does not mention them by name in his *First Risāla*, but Marquart thought that his Bughrādj tribe referred to the Yaghma and that his mention of the place al-Khargāh (lit. "tent" = Ordu-kand "army camp") referred to their centre of Kāshghar (cf. A. von Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abū Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestān, China und Indien neu übersetzt und untersucht*, Bonn 1939, 18, 19-20). Gardīzī makes Yaghma originally a chief of the Toghuzghuz [*q.v.*], hence the Yaghma would appear to have been associated, at some early date, with the latter tribe. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* states that the ruler of the Yaghma was indeed from the princely line of the Toghuzghuz, and has information on the two locations of the Yaghma, this division being perhaps the result of a tribal split. The first, most important location, spanned the central and western T'ien-Shan range, from the Naryn river in eastern Farghāna across the mountains to Kāshghar [*q.v.*] in eastern Turkestan, possession of which town was at some point disputed by both the Yaghma and Ḳarluḳ. The second location was in Semirečʾe [see yeti su], in the Ili valley and around the Issiḳ Kol, where Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, Tkish. tr. Atalay, i, 92, places them alongside the Čigil and Tukhsi (cf. also Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 75-6, on these locations).

The anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, ed. Bahār, Tehran 1318/1939, 421, calls the ruler of the Yaghma Bughra Khān (cf. the Bughrādj of Abū Dulaf), and the appearance of this *oughun* or totemistic title amongst the early Ḳarakhānids [see ilek-khāns] has led to suggestions that the latter dynasty arose from the Yaghma, especially as early centres of the Ḳarakhānids were at Kāshghar and Özkend [*q.v.*] in eastern Farghāna. O. Pritsak, in a series of studies, has averred that the Ḳarakhānids stemmed from the ruling clan of the Ḳarluḳ, with the Yaghma and Čigil as the two most

important tribal elements of the Ḳarluḳ confederation; see the discussion of these views by P.B. Golden, in D. Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*, Cambridge 1990, 355-7, see also Golden, *An introduction to the history of the Turkic peoples. Ethnogenesis and state-formation in medieval and early modern Eurasia and the Middle East*, Wiesbaden 1992, 201. The Yag͟hma would have still remained a distinct body within the Ḳarluḳ Ḳag͟hanate, although Golden notes that it is somewhat strange that al-Kās͟hg͟harī, himself writing under the Ḳarak͟hānids (and frequently mentioning the Yag͟hma in other connections) nowhere links the rulers of the Ḳarak͟hānids specifically with the Yag͟hma or Ḳarluḳ.

After the Ḳarak͟hānid and Sald̲j̲ūḳ periods, the Yag͟hma seem to drop out of historical mention.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in *Abh. Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen*, philos.-hist. Kl., N.F. xiii, no. 1, Berlin 1914, 93-5.

(C.E. Bosworth)

YAG͟HMĀ D̲J̲ANDAḲĪ, the *tak͟hallus* or pen-name of the Persian poet Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḥasan Raḥīm (*ca.* 1196-1276/*ca.* 1782-1859), often called by his fellow-poets *Ḳaḥba-zan* "whore" from the expression repeated monotonously in his obscene verse.

He was born at K͟hūr in the D̲j̲andaḳ oasis in the central desert of the Das͟ht-i Kawīr, roughly half-way between Yazd and Simnān. He began his life as a camel-herd but by the age of seven his natural gifts had been noticed by the owner of the oasis, Ismā'īl K͟hān 'Arab-i 'Āmirī, whose secretary (*muns͟hī-bās͟hī*) he ultimately became. His first nom-de-plume was Mad̲j̲nūn. In 1216/1802 Ismā'īl K͟hān, after a rising against the government, had to flee to K͟hurāsān, while D̲j̲andaḳ was occupied by D̲h̲u 'l-Fiḳār K͟hān, representative of the governor of Simnān and Dāmg͟hān. Yag͟hmā was forcibly conscripted as an ordinary soldier but at Simnān his gifts obtained him the post of secretary to the governor. In 1223/1808 as a result of a false charge, the poet received the bastinado and his property was handed over as plunder (*yag͟hmā*) by the soldiery. The poet's innocence was proved and he regained his freedom but the act of injustice had embittered him. He then assumed the pen-name of Yag͟hmā and composed a scurrilous satire, *Sardāriyya*, on D̲h̲u 'l-Fiḳār K͟hān. Exiled, he wandered in Persia and via Bag͟hdād and Yazd reached Tehran, where fortune shone upon him again and he gained the good graces of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, the first minister of Muḥammad S͟hāh Ḳād̲j̲ār. Yag͟hmā was appointed *wazīr* to the governor of Kās͟hān, but a new satire (*K͟hulāsat al-iftiḍāḥ*) against a family of Kās͟hān notables caused him to be ostracised again and he was denounced as a *kāfir* from the pulpit of the mosque. His wandering life was resumed. We know that he accompanied Muḥammad S͟hāh to Harāt. He only returned to his native land as an octogenarian to die at K͟hūr on 16 Rabī' II 1276/16 Nov. 1859 and was buried near the tomb of Sayyid Dāwūd.

Yag͟hmā's works in prose and verse were collected in his *Kulliyyāt* and published at Tehran (?) in 1283/1866 with a preface by Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Muḥammad Ismā'īl (389 fol. pp.).

Yag͟hmā practised all varieties of verse, and his poems (*g͟hazal, rit̲h̲ā', ḳiṭ'a, tard̲j̲ī'-band*) show a great mastery of language and form. The most original part perhaps of his work is in the field of funeral chants (*nawḥa-yi sīna-zanī*) which he invented. They were obviously intended for the public lamentations in Muḥarram [see ta'ziya]. They are in the form of a *mustazād* in which each line is prolonged by a refrain which the audience is intended to murmur as a spontaneous echo. These *nawḥas* are composed in simple and unaffected language. E.G. Browne, *LHP*, iv, 340, mentions the popularity of this genre among the poems of the constitutional period (1905-11).

Probably not well acquainted with Arabic as a result of his defective education, Yag͟hmā employed in his prose letters a simple Persian style (*fārsī-nigārī*) with a minimum of Arabic loan words; he is thus a precursor of 20th-century attempts, especially under the Pahlawīs, at evolving a Persian purged of extraneous elements. He also extensively annotated his personal copy of the *Burhān-i ḳāṭi'* dictionary, the ms. of which was handed down to his family. Yag͟hmā's most characteristic work however, was his satirical, slanderous and obscene poetry, his *hazliyyāt*. They have been viewed as denunciations of contemporary society, but other critics have merely seen them as expressions of personal grievances. In his mixture of ribaldry and simple piety, as expressed in his *nawḥas*, Browne suggested Verlaine as a modern European parallel. Yag͟hmā also wrote verses in his native dialect of K͟hūr.

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2. Studies. Riḍā Ḳulī K͟hān, *Mad̲j̲ma' al-fuṣaḥā'*, ii, 580; Ḥabīb Yag͟hmā'ī (grandson), *S͟harḥ-i ḥāl-i Yag͟hmā*, Tehran n.d. (*ca.* 1927?) (originally publ. in the journal *Armag͟hān*, v); Browne, *LHP*, iv, 337-44; Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literatures*, Dordrecht 1968, 333-4.

(V. Minorsky*)

YAG͟HMĀ'Ī, Ḥabīb (b. K͟hūr, 17 December 1898, d. Tehran, 14 May 1984), Persian poet and literary editor.

A descendant of the early Ḳād̲j̲ār poet Yag͟hmā D̲j̲andaḳī [*q.v.*], Ḥabīb Yag͟hmā'ī was born in the small town of K͟hūr near D̲j̲andaḳ and Bīyābānak in the central desert of Persia. He first studied with his father, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Asad Allāh Muntak͟hab al-Sādāt K͟hūrī, and subsequently left K͟hūr in 1916-17 for the nearby towns of Dāmg͟hān and S͟hāhrūd in order to pursue his education. In Dāmg͟hān he studied at the Nāẓimiyya school founded by 'Abd Allāh Yāsā'ī in 1917. In 1921 he went to Tehran and enrolled first in the Alliance school and, a year later, in the Teachers' Training College (Dār al-Mu'allimīn-i 'Ālī). This period is further marked by Yag͟hmā'ī's entry into Tehran literary circles. In 1923 he joined the Literary Society of Iran (*And̲j̲uman-i Adabī-yi Īrān*) and in the following year he began his collaborations with the literary section of the radical paper *Ṭūfān* published in Tehran by Muḥammad Farruk͟hī Yazdī [*q.v.*]. In 1927-28 Yag͟hmā'ī studied at the School of Law and Political Science (later a Faculty of Tehran University). He returned to K͟hūr in 1928 as the head of the Birth Registry Office there; in the same year he took charge of the Office of Education and Endowments (*Awḳāf*) of Simnān. In 1930 Yag͟hmā'ī began teaching Persian literature at different high schools in Tehran, including the Dār al-Funūn. In 1934 he joined the Publication Department of the Ministry of Education. From 1943 to 1946 he was the editor of *Nāma-yi Farhangistān*, the organ of the Iranian Academy, and in 1944 he became an editor (for volumes 14, 15, and 23) of *Āmūzis͟h wa Parwaris͟h*, a cultural and educational journal. In 1948 he launched his own literary and historical journal, *Yag͟hmā*, which was published regularly for thirty years (1948-79). In the same year

he also served for a few months as the head of the local office of the Ministry of Education in the city of Kirmān. In 1949 he returned to Tehran as an Inspector of the Ministry of Education, and he also acted as head of the Publication Department of the Ministry of Culture in 1952. In 1962-3 Yag͟hmā'ī taught at the Teachers' Training College and at the College of Foreign Languages and Literatures, receiving in 1976 an Honorary Doctorate of Literature and Humanities from Tehran University.

Yag͟hmā'ī belonged to a generation of Persian literary scholars who, though conservative in their preference for literary style and diction, contributed significantly to the development of Persian literary education and scholarship in the 20th century. In its entire thirty-year period, the journal *Yag͟hmā* served as a forum for literary and historical studies. In addition to his own writings, such as an earlier historical romance (*Dak͟hma-yi Arg͟hūn*) (Tehran 1933, ²1957) and a collection of poems (*Sarniwis͟ht*, Tehran 1972), Yag͟hmā'ī compiled several historical and literary surveys and also edited a number of texts, including the *Gars͟hāsb-nāma* of Asadī Ṭūsī (Tehran 1936, ²1975) and the Persian translation of the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī (Tehran 1960-65, 7 vols.).

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(Ali Gheissari)

YAG͟HMURĀSAN b. Zayyān b. T͟hābit, Abū Yaḥyā, *s͟hayk͟h* of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād, a branch of the Zanāta [*q.v.*] Berbers, who lived in the region of Tlemcen [see tilimsān] under the suzerainty of the Almohad sultans of Morocco, and who was the founder of the independent dynasty of the Zayyānids or 'Abd al-Wādids [*q.v.*] of Tlemcen, d. 681/1283. Born in 603/1206-7 or 605/1208-9, he succeeded his brother Abū 'Uzza Zaydān as head of the 'Abd al-Wādids in 633/1236, but not till 637/1239-40 was he formally invested by the Almohad sultan 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Ras͟hīd. The power of the Moroccan sultans became so weakened that the 'Abd al-Wādids assumed their own independence.

Yag͟hmurāsan thus became ruler in Tlemcen, and had first of all to fight against the Ḥafṣid *amīr* of Tunis Abū Zakariyyā', who in 640/1242 or five years later, managed to penetrate into the town of Tlemcen. Yag͟hmurāsan, who had fled to the Banū Urnīd, was summoned by Abū Zakariyyā' to govern the town. The two *amīrs* made an alliance against the Almohad sultan Sa'īd, who in turn attacked Tlemcen, and then Tamazdig͟ht, where Yag͟hmurāsan had taken refuge; in the battle which followed, Sa'īd was killed (646/1248). A large part of his reign was now taken up with fighting against various Arab tribes of the Sahara, against the Tūd͟jīn and Mag͟hrāwa, etc., and above all, against the Marīnids [*q.v.*] of Fās; Yag͟hmurāsan even allied with Alfonso X of Castile to prevent the Marīnids making incursions into Spain. In 656/1257 the Zayyānid *amīr* besieged Sid͟jilmāsa, but did not capture it until 662/1264. He remained on good terms with the Ḥafṣids, and it was whilst going forth to meet a princess of Tunis as bride for his son 'Ut͟hmān that he died near Miliana in 681/1283. Yag͟hmurāsan left behind the reputation of a prudent and brave prince, the patron of scholars and littérateurs, and he built the minarets of the great mosques of Agādir (at Tlemcen) and Tāgrārt. Between the Marīnids to his west, and the Ḥafṣids to his east, he was able to preserve his own kingdom's independence.

Bibliography: Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā Ibn K͟haldūn, *Bug͟hyat al-ruwwād fī d͟hikr al-mulūk min Banī 'Abd al-Wād*, ed. 'A.H. Ḥad͟jiyāt, Algiers 1400/1980, Fr. tr. A. Bel, *Hist. des Beni Abd el-Wad, rois de Tlemcen*, Algiers 1904; 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn K͟haldūn, *'Ibar*, Būlāḳ 1284/1867, Fr. tr. de Slane and P. Casanova, iii, 340-68; Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tanasī, *Ta'rīk͟h Banī Ẕayyān, mulūk Tilimsān*, extract from the *Naẓm al-durr wa 'l-'iḳyān fī bayān s͟haraf Banī Ẕayyān*, ed. Mahmud Bouayed, Algiers 1405/1985, 115-28, Fr. tr. J.J.L. Bargès, *Hist. des Beni Ẕaiyan, rois de Tlemcen*, Paris 1852; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Rawḍat al-nisrīn fī dawlat Banī Marīn*, ed. and Fr. tr. G. Bouali and G. Marçais, Paris 1917, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Manṣūr, Rabat 1962, Span. tr. M.A. Manzano, Madrid 1989, 92-101; Abbé Bargès, *Complément à l'hist. des Beni Ẕeiyan*, Paris 1887; Sid-Ahmed Bouali, *Les deux grands sièges de Tlemcen dans l'histoire et la légende*, Algiers 1984. See also 'abd al-wādids.

(Chantal de La Veronne)

YAHŪD, the common collective (sing. *Yahūdī*) in Arabic for "Jews". A less common plural *Hūd* is also used (e.g. Ḳur'ān, II, 111, 135, 140). The word is borrowed from Aram. *Yahūd*, and ultimately from late bibl. Heb. *yehūdīm*, "Judaeans", the latter itself derived from members of the tribe of Judah). The Ḳur'ān also uses a stative verb *hāda*, "to be Jewish" or "to practice Judaism".

1. In the D͟jāhiliyya.

Jews had lived in various parts of the Arabian Peninsula since Antiquity, and the numbers of those living in northwestern Arabia must have been swelled by refugees from Judaea when the great rebellions against Rome were suppressed in A.D. 70 and 135. By the late D͟jāhilī period, the Jews of the peninsula spoke Arabic, were organised into clans and tribes, and were generally highly assimilated into Arab society. Their numbers probably also included a greater or lesser number of indigenous Arabs who accepted Judaism. However, in spite of their overall acculturation, they were nonetheless viewed as a separate group with their own peculiar customs. Jews and some of their distinctive practices are occasionally mentioned in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry (for examples, see D.S. Margoliouth, *The relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the rise of Islam*, London 1924, 73; I. Lichtenstädter, *Some references to Jews in pre-Islamic Arabic literature*, in *PAAJR*, x [1940], 185-94; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, 144 ff. and 153 ff.; and Hirschberg, *Yisrā'ēl ba-'Arav*, 112-16).

Not only were the pre-Islamic Arabs familiar with Jews and Jewish religious practices, Jewish religious ideas, ethical concepts and homiletic lore, but even some Aramaic and Hebrew terms were absorbed among those Arabs who came into close contact with Jews, just as Christian ideas and elements of vocabulary were also subconsciously assimilated (see e.g. S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886; and A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938). Because of the admixture of Aramaic and Hebrew in the everyday language of the Arabian Jews, the pagan Arabs perceived it to

be a distinct Jewish dialect which they referred to as *al-yahūdiyya* (see Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 66; al-Wāḳidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London 1966, i, 392; and G.D. Newby, *Observations about an early Judaeo-Arabic?*, in *JQR*, N.S., xli [1970], 212-21). Thus, there was a considerable degree of awareness of Jews and Judaism, as there was of Christians and Christianity, in the society into which the Prophet Muḥammad was born.

2. In the Ḳurʾān.

Despite the general Arabian familiarity with Jews and Judaism and despite the traditions that Muḥammad himself had met Jews prior to his theophany, there is no specific mention of *Yahūd* (or *Naṣārā*, Christians, or any other non-pagan religious group for that matter) in the revelations from the Meccan period. Only the term *Banū Isrāʾīl* [*q.v.*] (the Children of Israel), which is not found in what can be identified as genuine pre-Islamic poetry (Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 91), appears in the Meccan sūras. Most of these references are to the biblical Israelites, although a few clearly are to contemporary Jews (e.g. XXVI, 197; XVII, 101). In some Meccan and Medinan sūras (e.g. XLIII, 59; LXI, 14), *Banū Isrāʾīl* refers to both Jews and Christians of the time of Jesus, with allusions perhaps to some remnants of Judaeo-Christians, such as the Ebionites or the Elchasaites, who may still have existed in Muḥammad's own days (concerning the latter, cf. P. Crone, *Islam, Judeo-Christianity and Byzantine iconoclasm*, in *JSAI*, ii, [1980], 59-95, and J. Danielou, *Christianity as a Jewish sect*, in *The crucible of Christianity*, ed. A. Toynbee, London 1969, 282).

As noted above, the words *Yahūd, Yahūdī*, and *Hūd* first appear in the Medinan sūras—albeit a total of fifteen times, compared with the forty-three specific mentions of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* throughout the entire Ḳurʾān (the verbal form [*alladhīna*] *hādū*—"those who are Jewish"—appears ten times.) During this fateful time, fraught with tension after the Hidjra, when Muḥammad encountered contradiction, ridicule and rejection from the Jewish scholars in Medina, he came to adopt a radically more negative view of the people of the Book who had received earlier scriptures. This attitude was already evolving in the third Meccan period as the Prophet became more aware of the antipathy between Jews and Christians and the disagreements and strife amongst members of the same religion. The Ḳurʾān at this time claims that it will "relate [correctly] to the Children of Israel most of that about which they differ" (XXVII, 76).

Whereas the term *Banū Isrāʾīl* appears in the Ḳurʾān in both positive and negative contexts, the term *Yahūd* is most frequently negative. The *Yahūd* are associated with interconfessional strife and rivalry (II, 113). They believe that they alone are beloved of God (V, 18), and only they will achieve salvation (II, 111). They blasphemously claim that Ezra is the son of God, as Christians claim Jesus is (IX, 30) and that God's hand is fettered (V, 64). Together with the polytheists, Jews are "the most vehement of men in enmity to those who believe" (V, 82). Some of those who are Jews (*min alladhīna hādū*) "pervert words from their meanings" (IV, 44), have committed wrongdoing, for which God has "forbidden some good things that were previously permitted them" (IV, 160), they listen for the sake of mendacity (V, 41), and some of them have taken usury and will receive "a painful doom" (IV, 161).

3. In the *Ḥadīth* and early traditional literature.

The Jews are mentioned frequently in the canonical traditions, the *Sīra*, and the early literature about the Prophet's struggles (*maghāzī*) and the lives of his companions (*ṭabaḳāt al-ṣaḥāba*), as well as in Ḳurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*).

As in the Ḳurʾān, both the terms *Banū Isrāʾīl* and *Yahūd* continue to be used in the traditional literature, with the former having the broader meanings of both ancient Israelites and contemporary Jews (and again, even sometimes Jews and Christians, i.e. *ahl al-kitāb*). However, the designation *Yahūd* now becomes very common, and frequently the term *Yahūd* appears in contexts that are most frequently negative, as in Muḥammad's encounters with the Jewish tribes in Medina (the Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ, al-Naḍīr and Ḳurayẓa [*q.vv.*]) and with the inhabitants of the oasis of Khaybar, all of which are related in the greatest of detail in the *Sīra* and the *Maghāzī*. For example, the rabbis of the Jews in Medina are singled out as "men whose malice and enmity was aimed at the Apostle of God" (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo, 1955, i, 516; *hāʾulāʾi aḥbār al-Yahūd, ahl al-shurūr wa ʾl-ʿadāwa li-Rasūl Allāh*). The *Yahūd* in this literature appear not only as malicious, but also deceitful (e.g. al-Wāḳidi, *Maghāzī*, i, 363 ff.), cowardly (Ibn Hishām, ii, 57) and totally lacking resolve (*ibid.*, 236). However, they have none of the demonic qualities attributed to them in mediaeval Christian literature, neither is there anything comparable to the overwhelming preoccupation with Jews and Judaism (except perhaps in the narratives on Muḥammad's encounters with Medinan Jewry) in Muslim traditional literature. Except for a few notable exceptions, such as Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, a leader of the Banu ʾl-Naḍīr, and the Ḳuraẓī chieftain Kaʿb al-Asad, the Jews in the *Sīra* and the *Maghāzī* are even heroic villains. Their ignominy stands in marked contrast to Muslim heroism, and in general, conforms to the Ḳurʾānic image of "wretchedness and baseness stamped upon them" (II, 61).

In the *Ḥadīth*, the *Yahūd* are mentioned most often in traditions that emphasise the differences between Muslims and non-Muslims, as for example with regard to sexual mores, purity laws, and various customs and practices (cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, k. al-nikāḥ, bāb* xlviii; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, k. al-ḥayḍ, bāb* xvi; and especially al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, k. al-anbiyāʾ, bāb* 1, 2-10) and that express disapproval of non-Muslim practices (cf. *ibid., k. al-ṣalāt, bāb* xlviii). In traditions, dealing with the proper ways of interacting with non-Muslim monotheists—as for example in the case of how to salute members of the *ahl al-dhimma*—the Jews are specifically mentioned because of their malicious punning on the *taslīm* with *al-sām ʿalayk* instead of *al-salām ʿalayk*, to which a Muslim should respond *wa-ʿalayk* or *wa-ʿalaykum* (cf. e.g. al-Bukhārī, *k. al-istiʾdhān, bāb* xxii). By contrast, when the tradition allows for a more positive, or at least neutral, identification with Jews (and perhaps Jews and Christians generally), the term *Banū Isrāʾīl* is more likely to be used, as in the well-known *ḥadīth* that it is not a transgression to relate traditions on the authority of the Children of Israel (al-Bukhārī, *k. al-anbiyāʾ, bāb* 1, 9: *ḥaddithū ʿan Banī Isrāʾīl wa-lā ḥaradja*).

4. In mediaeval Islamic law, literature and society.

Because of the decidedly more negative connotations of the term *Yahūd*, as opposed to *Banū Isrāʾīl*, the latter increasingly became the polite usage in Arabic when referring to Jews (in a semantic parallel to early modern French usages *juif* versus *israélite*). *Al-Isrāʾīlī* was the usual *nisba* for distinguished Jews, such as Mūsā b. Maymūn al-Isrāʾīlī al-Andalusī (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 317) as well as for Jewish converts to Islam, such as the poet Abū Isḥāḳ

b. Sahl al-Isrā'īlī [*q.v.*]. This use of the term *Banū Isrā'īl* as more euphemistic than *Yahūd* was merely a tendency, particularly in religious literature and was by no means consistent in any case. Mediaeval Arab historians and geographers on the whole referred to Jews as such without either a negative or positive connotation. Thus for example, Ibn Khurradādhbih refers to Radhanite Jewish merchants as *tudjdjār al-yahūd al-rādhāniyya* (*Masālik*, 153), while al-Mas'ūdī refers to the Jews of 'Irāķ as *Banū Isrā'īl* and as *Yahūd* (*Tanbīh*, 79 and 113). Naturally, *Yahūd* is invariably used when authors make a distinction from Christians or specify them alongside Christians, as does, for example, al-Muķaddasī when describing the population of Jerusalem (167).

The perception of Jews in the Middle Ages was on the whole even more condescending than that of Christians. In fact, the great 3rd/9th century essayist al-Djāḥiẓ notes that the Muslim masses perceived the Christians as being "more sincere than the Jews, closer in affection, less treacherous, less unbelieving, and deserving of a lighter punishment [on Judgment Day]". He goes on to analyse the historical and sociological reasons for this popular preference, namely, that the Jews had opposed the Prophet in Medina and generally belonged to a lower socio-economic stratum of society than either the Christians or Zoroastrians (*K. al-Radd 'alā 'l-Naṣārā*, ed. J. Finkel, Cairo 1926, 13-14; see also Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew*, 19-46).

Despite what may have been the greater social prejudice in early Islam towards the *Yahūd*, Islamic law made no distinction between Jews and other tolerated non-Muslims. Administrative decrees meant to interpret, amplify, and execute the *Sharī'a* rules of *ghiyār* [*q.v.* and see also LIBĀS] sometimes made differentiation as to the badge or garment colour for members of each of the various *dhimmī* communities. But from a strictly constitutional point of view, all were subsumed under the same legal category of *ahl al-dhimma* [*q.v.*], or protégés of the *umma*. The fact that the Jews shared their *dhimmī* status with the far more numerous and conspicuous Christians and Zoroastrians mitigated and diffused any specifically anti-Jewish sentiments into a broader prejudice against the *ahl al-dhimma*. Furthermore, Jews did not have to bear the onus of suspicion that was harboured toward some of the Christian communities and that grew from the period of the Crusades onward, that they were friendly toward the European powers and a potential fifth column.

Only when a Jew was perceived to have egregiously transgressed the bounds of proper conduct as stipulated in the theoretical contract of protection (*dhimma* or *amān*) with the Islamic state by rising too high in the bureaucracy and not conducting himself in an appropriately humble manner, could specifically anti-Jewish sentiments be stirred up and given voice in satires aimed at the Jews. Such satires about the *Yahūd* circulated when the Tustarīs were at the height of their power and influence in Fāṭimid Egypt, the Ibn Naghrelas held the vizierate in Zīrid Granada, and Sa'd al-Dawla was vizier to the Il-Khānid ruler of 'Irāķ and Persia (Ibn Muyassar, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, ed. H. Massé, Cairo 1919; Dozy, *Recherches*[3], pp. lxii-lxvii; al-Waṣṣāf, *Ta'rīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, BL ms. Add. 23517, fol. 202a, cited in Fischel, *Jews*, 111; see also Stillman, *Jews of Arab lands*, 51, 59, 214-16). In these and similar cases, as for example the rioting that followed the downfall of the Jewish vizier Hārūn b. Baṭash in Marīnid Fās ('Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim*, ed. R. Brunschvig, Paris 1936, 49-55, tr. in Stillman, *Jews of Arab lands*, 281-6), popular animus could overflow into violence not only against the individual Jewish official, but against the entire Jewish community as well. However, such specifically anti-Jewish manifestations were exceptional. The Geniza documents show that mediaeval Jews were aware of hostility towards their community specifically as Jews and referred to it by the Judaeo-Arabic word *sin'ūth* (Goitein, *Med. soc.* ii, 278).

Mediaeval Muslim theologians devoted only a very small part of their polemics against other religions and doctrines to Judaism. There is nothing in Islam comparable in quantity and rarely in sheer vitriol to the *Adversus Judaeos* literature of the Church. With the exception of Ibn Ḥazm's *Risāla fī 'l-radd 'alā Ibn al-Naghrīla al-Yahūdī* (*Rasā'il Ibn Ḥazm*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1981, 41-70), which is prompted more by the sentiments stirred up by Jews holding high office than by specific theological questions, there are relatively few independent exposés of the falseness of Judaism. Most of the latter seem to have been written by Jewish converts to Islam anxious to prove their neophyte zeal by exposing the errors of their former faith. Among the best-known of such works are al-Samaw'al al-Maghribī's *Ifḥām al-Yahūd* (ed. and tr. M. Perlmann, New York 1964 [= *PAAJR*, xxxii]), Sa'īd b. Ḥasan's *Kitāb Masālik al-naẓar* (ed. and tr. S.A. Weston, in *JAOS*, xxiii [1904], 312-83), and 'Abd al-Ḥaķķ al-Islāmī's *al-Sayf al-mamdūd fī 'l-radd 'alā aḥbār al-Yahūd* (ed. and tr. E. Alfonso, Madrid 1998). All three of these treatises are rather late, dating from the 6th-8th/12th-14th centuries. Earlier anti-Jewish treatises did exist, but none prior to Ibn Ḥazm's from the 5th/11th century has survived. In marked contrast to these militant polemics are the admirably academic and dispassionate descriptions of Jews and Judaism in the histories and compendia of religions and beliefs, such as al-Bīrūnī's *al-Āthār al-bāķiya 'an al-ķurūn al-khāliya* (ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1878) and especially al-Shahrastānī's *al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal* (ed. W. Cureton, London 1842-46 and numerous other editions).

5. In folklore.

Jews are occasionally depicted in Arabic folktales or mentioned in popular proverbs, but once again, neither quantitatively nor qualitatively comparable to their place in the folklore of western Christendom. The *Alf layla wa-layla* contains, in addition to pious tales belonging to the *isrā'īliyyāt* [*q.v.*] genre in which the principal characters are called Israelites (see the examples cited in M. Gerhardt, *The art of story-telling*, Leiden 1963, 365-69), some isolated Jewish individuals who are identified as Jews simply to provide colour and spice to an ethnic mosaic of characters, such as the Jewish doctor in the Hunchback cycle of tales (ed. M. Mahdi, i, Leiden 1984, 280-379).

Overall, Jews are mentioned only peripherally in later Arabic folklore, although perhaps somewhat more in the Maghrib than in the Levant, since no indigenous Christians remained in North Africa after the Almohad period. Proverbs and folktales stereotypically portray the *Yahūdī* as sly, untrustworthy and occasionally malevolent (E. Westermarck, *Wit and wisdom in Morocco*, London 1930, 130-1, nos. 468-73). However, there are also examples of more positive images in which the Jews are depicted as useful and even better than a vile Muslim (*ibid.*, 131, nos. 474-6).

6. In the modern era.

Increased European commercial, missionary and imperialist activities within the Muslim world during the 19th and 20th centuries introduced anti-Semitic ideas and literature into the region. At first these prejudices only found a reception among Arabic-speaking Christian protégés of the Europeans in Syria, Lebanon

and Egypt and were too new and too palpably foreign for any widespread acceptance among Muslims. However, with the ever-increasing conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine during the period of the British Mandate, the language and imagery of European anti-Semitism began to appear in political polemics both in the nationalist press and in books (Stillman, *New attitudes toward the Jew in the Arab world*, in *Jewish Social Studies*, xxxvii [1975], 197-204; idem, *Antisemitism in the contemporary Arab world*, in *Antisemitism in the contemporary world*, ed. M. Curtis, Boulder and London 1986, 70-85). For more than two decades following 1948, this trend increased greatly, but peaked by the 1970s, and declined somewhat as the slow process of rapprochement between the Arab world and the state of Israel evolved in the 1980s and 1990s; it remains to be seen how the tensions arising in 2000 will affect the trend.

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YAḤYĀ B. **ʿABD ALLĀH** B. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ḤASAN b. ʿAlī, Medinan ʿAlid leader of a revolt in Daylam and Zaydī *imām*. His mother was Ḳurayba bt. Rukayḥ b. Abī ʿUbayda b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zamʿa b. al-Aswad, niece of the mother of his paternal brothers Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*] and Ibrāhīm, leaders of the Ḥasanid revolt against the caliph al-Manṣūr in 145/762. As a much younger brother, born perhaps around 128/745-6, he did not participate in that revolt. He was partly brought up and taught by the Imāmī S̲h̲īʿī *imām* D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*], presumably after the imprisonment of his father in 140/758, and D̲j̲aʿfar (d. 148/765) made him one of his legatees. Yaḥyā seems to have revered him. He followed him in his ritual practice and transmitted legal doctrine mainly from him. He appears in Imāmī books as a transmitter from D̲j̲aʿfar.

Yaḥyā took a prominent part in the revolt of the Ḥasanid al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Ṣāḥib Fak̲h̲k̲h̲ [*q.v.*] in Medina in 169/786. After the collapse of the revolt he, his brother Idrīs [see IDRĪS I], and some others found shelter with a tribesman of K̲h̲uzāʿa who aided them to escape by boat to Abyssinia. There they stayed some time with the king. After returning to Arabia, the two brothers met with a group of loyal supporters at S̲h̲iʿb al-Ḥaḍārima near Mecca. They agreed that Ibrāhīm should seek support in the Mag̲h̲rib, while Yaḥyā first went to Yemen. The sources give different accounts about his peregrinations during the following years. According to the best one, he went from Yemen to Upper Mesopotamia, Armenia, and then to Bag̲h̲dād. Having been discovered, he fled again to Yemen and stayed for eight months in Ṣanʿāʾ with a man of the Abnāʾ. It was at this time, perhaps in 174/790-1, that al-S̲h̲āfiʿī [*q.v.*] studied with him and became one of his supporters. He then went on to K̲h̲urāsān and wrote, probably just after the murder by poison of his brother Idrīs by an agent of the caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, to S̲h̲arwīn b. Surk̲h̲āb, the Bāwandid ruler of Fīrīm in the mountains of Ṭabaristān, requesting asylum for three years. S̲h̲arwīn responded positively but guided him to D̲j̲ustān, king of Daylam, who would be in a better position to protect him. That he, in accordance with another account, also travelled to D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ān, Balk̲h̲, Transoxania and stayed with an unidentified "K̲h̲āḳān of the Turks" (perhaps the Afs̲h̲īn of Us̲h̲rūsana), is more doubtful. It is to be noted, however, that al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, when sent to capture him, first defeated the K̲h̲āḳān, who had intruded deeply into the territory of Islam. This is confirmed by two lines of contemporary poetry by Abū T̲h̲umāma al-K̲h̲aṭīb.

Yaḥyā arrived in Daylam in 175/791-2 and was soon joined by a substantial number of supporters. In 176/792 he proclaimed his rising against the caliph. Al-Ras̲h̲īd was deeply alarmed and sent al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā as governor of D̲j̲ibāl, Rayy, D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān, Ṭabaristān, Ḳūmis, Dunbāwand and Rūyān with an army of 50,000 and much money to meet the challenge. Al-Faḍl took al-Ṭālaḳān, and set himself up nearby at As̲h̲hab in the Elburz mountains from where he sent letters to Yaḥyā and D̲j̲ustān offering pardon to the former and a million dirhams to the king. A report that al-Faḍl had earlier advised and helped Yaḥyā to seek refuge in Daylam and that al-Ras̲h̲īd, informed of his treason, sent him against the ʿAlid in order to test him, is hardly credible. Yaḥyā eventually accepted an ironclad letter of amnesty and safety for himself and seventy followers, formulated by himself and handwritten by the caliph and endorsed by legal scholars, judges, and prominent ʿAbbāsids, together with lavish gifts. He obtained a further letter of safety from al-Faḍl and then surrendered. Later, he explained that he surrendered because the wife of the king of Daylam pressed the latter to accept al-Faḍl's offers out of greed and because there was discord between himself and some of his Kūfan followers who would not heed his S̲h̲īʿī prohibition of *masḥ ʿalā ʾl-k̲h̲uffayn* [*q.v.*] and drinking of date wine. The son of the Kūfan Batrī leader al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy on one occasion led the prayer of his followers without waiting for Yaḥyā, who then performed his prayer separately, knowing that al-Ḥasan's son practiced *masḥ*. The latter remarked to his companions, Why should they allow themselves to be killed for a man who did not consider prayer with them licit?

Yaḥyā was received by the caliph in Bag̲h̲dād with great honours, and the event was celebrated as signifying a reconciliation between ʿAbbāsids and ʿAlids. He is said to have received gifts of 200,000 or 400,000 dīnārs from both al-Ras̲h̲īd and al-Faḍl. The caliph, however, sought to keep him under supervision in Bag̲h̲dād, against the letter of pardon which guaranteed him the right of free movement anywhere. Yaḥyā participated in a pilgrimage to Mecca and then was allowed by al-Faḍl, without the caliph's knowledge, to move to his family estate At̲h̲yab outside Suwayḳa near Medina. The caliph asked al-Faḍl to bring him back, but the latter evidently insisted on keeping the terms of the pardon. Yaḥyā now used the money he had been given to pay the debts of the Ṣāḥib Fak̲h̲k̲h̲ and support needy ʿAlids. There is no evidence that he had any seditious designs, but the caliph remained

deeply suspicious. He appointed two members of the fiercely anti-ʿAlid family of al-Zubayr as governors of Medina, first ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṣʿab b. Th̲ābit (180/796-7) and then his son Bakkār (181-93/797-809). Soon after his accession, Bakkār complained to al-Ras̲h̲īd that Yaḥyā was behaving like a second caliph and was venerated by the people, who visited him from everywhere. He insinuated that the ʿAlid was engaged in treason and advised the caliph to recall him in order to forestall a major rebellion. Al-Ras̲h̲īd ordered Yaḥyā to be sent back to Bag̲h̲dād.

There are numerous reports, partly of a legendary character and contradictory, about the vicious treatment of Yaḥyā by the caliph after his recall. It is clear that Yaḥyā was confined, rather than kept in prison, for part of the time. One well-informed account speaks of three occasions on which he was imprisoned (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 624). In 184/800 ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṣʿab, now at the caliphal court, told al-Ras̲h̲īd that he had received a call (*daʿwa*) from Yaḥyā to back his seditious aspirations. He suggested that, given the enmity between Zubayrids and ʿAlids, Yaḥyā must have already received the backing of everybody at court for his designs and that the caliph thus could not trust anyone of his wives, servants, and army leaders. Al-Ras̲h̲īd confronted him with Yaḥyā, who denied the accusation and demanded that the truth be established by an oath of *mubāhala* [*q.v.*] between himself and his opponent. This was done, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṣʿab, according to the account, died on the same day. His death (27 Rabīʿ I 184/29 March 800) was, in any case, accepted by the caliph as a vindication of Yaḥyā.

Al-Ras̲h̲īd felt, however, increasingly frustrated by his letter of pardon. He was particularly infuriated by Yaḥyā's refusal to identify his seventy supporters protected by the pardon and accused him of protecting all his S̲h̲īʿī followers by claiming, whenever one of them was caught, that he belonged to those granted amnesty. He convened a group of legal scholars, among them the Ḥanafī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-S̲h̲aybānī, and prominent men to have the letter declared invalid. When al-S̲h̲aybānī categorically stated that the letter was valid and inviolable, al-Ras̲h̲īd in his anger hit his head with an inkstand. Abu 'l-Bak̲h̲tarī Wahb b. Wahb then declared the letter invalid and cut it up with a knife. According to one account, al-Ras̲h̲īd on that occasion set up Yaḥyā b. K̲h̲ālid al-Barmakī to testify that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh had secretly sent his propagandists who had obtained the pledge of allegiance of the common people of Bag̲h̲dād for him and that a man had been apprehended on the way to Balk̲h̲ with letters summoning the people of K̲h̲urāsān to rebellion. Such a role of Yaḥyā b. K̲h̲ālid is not implausible since he had in 183/799 undertaken to have the S̲h̲īʿī Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] murdered in order to protect his son al-Faḍl, who had aroused the caliph's anger by failing to carry out his order to kill him.

Al-Ras̲h̲īd, however, still had scruples to execute Yaḥyā in public. He handed him over to the Barmakid D̲j̲aʿfar b. Yaḥyā, indicating to him that he wanted him dead. D̲j̲aʿfar is said to have been ready to carry out the caliph's wishes, but then was persuaded by Yaḥyā to let him escape on a commitment that he would immediately leave for Byzantine territory and stay there as long as al-Ras̲h̲īd was alive. Yaḥyā was apprehended at Maṣṣīṣa and was brought before Muḥammad b. K̲h̲ālid b. Barmak, governor of the border towns, who recognised him. Realising that the fate of the Barmakids would be sealed if the caliph learned of Yaḥyā's liberation by D̲j̲aʿfar, Muḥammad hastened to inform the caliph secretly during his pilgrimage to Mecca in 186/802. Al-Ras̲h̲īd concealed the matter until his return from the pilgrimage, when he ordered the execution of D̲j̲aʿfar and the arrest of the other Barmakids and confiscation of their property with the exception of Muḥammad b. K̲h̲ālid. That D̲j̲aʿfar's brutal execution was caused by his release of Yaḥyā is categorically affirmed in another account by Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, who, according to al-Ṭabarī, was said to have had the most intimate knowledge of the affairs of the Barmakids.

Yaḥyā was now handed over to al-Sindī b. S̲h̲āhak, police prefect of Bag̲h̲dād, who had three years before brought about the death of Mūsā al-Kāẓim in prison. Yaḥyā also died in his prison, most likely in 187/803. According to his grandson Idrīs b. Muḥammad, he was killed in prison by starvation and thirst. Reports that he was either buried alive in a village near Rayy during al-Ras̲h̲īd's campaign there in 189/805 or escaped are unreliable.

Yaḥyā's revolt paved the way for the spread of Zaydī S̲h̲īʿism among the Daylamīs and in Ṭabaristān and Gīlān. A number of Daylamīs were converted by him to Islam and are said to have built his house and mosque in their country. They later used to call themselves "helpers of the Mahdī (*anṣār al-mahdī*)".

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YAḤYĀ B. ĀDAM b. Sulaymān, Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Kūfī, Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* scholar, d. 203/818. He had the *nisba*s al-Ḳuras̲h̲ī and al-Umawī because, through his father Ādam who was probably of Persian origin, he was a client (*mawlā*) of a certain K̲h̲ālid b. K̲h̲ālid b. ʿUmāra b. al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ al-Umawī, also al-Mak̲h̲zūmī (e.g. in al-Nawawī, but according to Schacht in *EI*[1], this is a mistake), and the *laḳab* is al-Aḥwal (Sezgin, i, 520; S̲h̲ākir, 8). His biography as transmitted is very sparse.

Born after 130/747-8, probably *ca.* 140/757-8, he grew up and for the most part lived in al-Kūfa, as the *nisba* al-Kūfī seems to indicate. He possibly lost his father, also a traditionist, before he was born (al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, 1982). Almost nothing is known about his life. It is said that he visited the caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd in al-Ḥīra, together with his teacher Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyās̲h̲ (d. 193/809) (Sezgin, i, 520, after Yāḳūt, *Irs̲h̲ād*), but it is not clear whether such information permits us to conclude that he was a "distinguished" man. His good reputation, if not his renown, is supported by the fact that the Persian secretary, ʿIrāḳī governor and father-in-law of al-Maʾmūn, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*], prayed over Yaḥyā when he died around the middle of Rabīʿ I 203/21 September 818 at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, not far from Wāsiṭ. Al-Ḥasan, shocked by the murder, perpetrated in 202/818 near Sarak̲h̲s [*q.v.*],

of his famous brother, the pro-Iranian vizier and former Barmakid pupil al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*], performed this ceremony at the place where he possessed an estate and where he later had his refuge (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*).

In spite of this, the deceased was apparently considered as a foreigner at this place; perhaps he had fled there from the restlessness of al-Kūfa in those days, unless al-Ḥasan had ordered him to come, alone or together with others, on his own behalf or in the name of the ruler, in order to benefit from his spiritual and moral authority. Yaḥyā's life span comprised six caliphates, apparently without him having entered the services of any caliph or having held public posts in the juridical, political or administrative fields (as did his colleagues Abū Yūsuf and Abū ʿUbayd [*q.vv.*]). It is as if he lived only for the acquisition and transmission of learning; he never became dependent and kept out of everyday disputes on religion and politics while sharing this abstention from politics with other conscientious men of his time (S̲h̲ākir, 11-12). From the spirit of his way of working and the reports about him, it seems that he grew up in the austere style of early Islam, that he was marked by a profound study of the *Sīra* and Sunna of the Prophet and the *salaf* [*q.v.*], by piety, honesty and a conciliatory character, and that he was led by well-grounded principles of religious law which he intended to transmit faithfully; he thus probably aimed at an ideal harmonising of the so-called *ʿibādāt* and *muʿāmalāt* [*q.vv.*] on the basis of Ḳurʾān, Sunna and *fiḳh*. In doing this he found himself in a relatively independent and uncommitted legal position within a juridical system that, moreover, had not yet solidified. His contemporaries and the authors of *rid̲j̲āl* [*q.v.*] works considered him, among other things, as a leader in Ḳurʾānic, *ḥadīt̲h̲* and legal disciplines, highly trustworthy and reliable, an outstanding figure in his fields of knowledge, and one of the *imāms* and highlights of Islamic scholarship and traditionalism, as if the accumulated knowledge of preceding great men had come together in his esteemed personality, described as almost perfect (al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, 1982, 522-9; idem, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 327-8; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt*, 8; al-Dāraḳuṭnī, 405; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, 175; al-Nawawī, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, 150).

Among his teachers one finds such illustrious names as al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAyyās̲h̲ and his brother Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyās̲h̲, Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, S̲h̲arīk b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nak̲h̲aʿī, Ibn al-Mubārak, Wakīʿ and Ḥammād b. Salama; among his students were Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba and Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn (lists in al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, ix, 523; idem, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 327-8; Ibn al-ʿImād, ii, 8; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, xi, 175; al-Nawawī, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-asmāʾ wa ʾl-lug̲h̲āt*, ii, 150).

Ḳurʾānic studies were apparently an important part of his activity. The author of the *Fihrist* ascribes two works to him: a *K. al-Ḳirāʾāt* and a *K. Mud̲j̲arrad aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān* (35, 38). The latter, however, belongs rather to *fiḳh*. As a Ḳurʾān teacher with his own pupils, Yaḥyā stands less in the Kūfan tradition of al-Kisāʾī [*q.v.*] than in that of ʿĀṣim (d. 127-8/745), whose *tad̲j̲wīd* and *ḥurūf* he took over through the *rāwī* Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyās̲h̲ and whose lectures he wrote down "letter by letter" in a note-book which he carried with him for decades (al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, ix, 527). On the other hand, it is said that Yaḥyā did not meet S̲h̲uʿba (b. ʿAyyās̲h̲), the other *rāwī* of ʿĀṣim (*ibid.*, ix, 523). If it is correct that he also transmitted readings of al-Kisāʾī; even if only a few, this would indicate a certain independence in the field of *ḳirāʾāt*.

Three other works which the *Fihrist* ascribes to Yaḥyā point to his scholarship as that of a traditional jurist: a *K. al-Farāʾiḍ*, a *K. al-Zawāl*, and *K. al-K̲h̲arād̲j̲*, a work on the land tax that so far has survived in only one manuscript. This last has been judged variously. Schacht was of the opinion that it was a refutation of a book of the same name by Abū Yūsuf, but this seems unlikely. In Yaḥyā's work there is no trace of any feeling against Abū Yūsuf, rather, it is complementary to the latter's transmission of materials (*Taxation*, 17). A refutation would contain something polemical, and would hold one's own better judgement against the opponents. Of this, however, nothing can be detected. Brockelmann's judgement (I, 192), that Yaḥyā was a scholar of *ḥadīt̲h̲*, mainly occupied with juridical questions without following one particular school, is certainly close to the truth. Ben Shemesh keeps Yaḥyā out of the "controversies and disputes of his time", and does not classify him in any juridical current of opinion (*Taxation*, 2). He traces his neutral position here to the fact that the differences between the schools were not yet distinctly marked, and that his peaceful mind "prevented him from attacking higher-placed persons" (*Taxation*, 3; cf. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, xi, 176). He could, as it were, take from everybody without being a follower. He was certainly quite close to his most important teacher and informant, the pious Kūfan *faḳīh*, Zaydī theologian and co-founder of the Ṣāliḥiyya, al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy (d. 167/784 [*q.v.*]), but without being a full-fledged adherent of his way of thinking, nor was he a real Zaydī (*pace* Van Ess, *Theologie*, i, 246-7). It is not surprising that his *Kitāb al-K̲h̲arād̲j̲* "was above all passed on in Ḥanbalī circles" (Van Ess, *ibid.*); his neutral stance and in, particular, his orthodox traditionalism must have appealed to the Ḥanbalīs, as is clear from the listeners' certificates in the manuscript studied by Ben Shemesh. The *Kitāb al-K̲h̲arād̲j̲* is mainly a compilation of traditions (probably collected for his students in the first place) referring to the usual procedures regarding the land tax and its various types as practised by Muslims and *D̲h̲immīs*. According to Ben Shemesh, the work adds few explanations by Yaḥyā himself, and offers a rigid model which, because of its lack of variability and creativity, can hardly be harmonised with the actual circumstances as they were developing in landed property and land matters, and with the administration of the estates and fixed property of the *futūḥ* in general (*Taxation*, 6-7). It would seem that many of Yaḥyā's explanations for the statements of the traditions, strung together according to topoi, are of a remarkably realistic and pragmatic nature, competent, clever, displaying his experience, but always somewhat old-fashioned; moreover, the work deals in particular with the Sawād [*q.v.*] (of Kūfa), with Western Persia and with the Arabian Peninsula. The weakness of the work affects more or less all *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* books, in particular those focussing on traditions, such as the *K. al-Amwāl* of Abū ʿUbayd.

Wherever possible, the book is based on the Ḳurʾānic model and the earliest juridical practice, (allegedly) used during the *mag̲h̲āzī* and the *futūḥ* by the Prophet, the *ṣaḥāba* (in particular the "Rightly-Guided Caliphs") and the Successors, or by individual persons such as ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The work also preserves older types of (Arab and to a lesser extent, Sāsānid) landed property, poll tax, taxes on land and property in their dependence on the status of the land, on conquest vs. capitulation, on the various kinds of yield, income and also irrigation [see K̲H̲ARĀD̲J̲, D̲J̲IZYA, ʿUS̲H̲R, ZAKĀT], of modalities of pur-

chase and lease, etc. The book puts a high value on authentic tradition whose timeless model character it upholds, but does not go much into the practical applicability in real-life land taxation. None of the *kutub al-kharādj* was likely to be satisfactory in real life. But Yaḥyā also left some "lee-way": adaptations to new situations, should they become necessary, could always be done by caliphal fiat.

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2. Studies. F. Pfaff, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen zu dem Grundsteuerbuch des Jahjâ ibn Âdam*, diss. Erlangen 1917; A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, i, *Yaḥyā ben Ādam's Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Leiden 1967; J. Schacht, *EI*[1] s.v.; Brockelmann, I[2], 192-3, S I, 308; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 520. (W. Schmucker)

YAḤYĀ b. ʿADĪ, Christian Arab philosopher and theologian, translator and commentator of the works of Aristotle. Coming from the Christian town of Takrīt on the Tigris (but given a Persian genealogy in some of the manuscripts), he spent his active life in Baghdād, where he earned his living as a copyist and bookseller (*warrāḳ*); this activity is recorded by his contemporary Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990 [*q.v.*]), who drew extensively on Yaḥyā's library for information on the Greek philosophers and their Arabic transmitters (*Fihrist*, 264, cf. 246, 250-3). There he died on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 363/13 August 974 at the age of 81 years.

Ibn ʿAdī was recognised by his contemporaries as master of the *falāsifa* in his time. He took the teaching of Aristotelian philosophy from the Nestorian translator Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]) and from the latter's most eminent Muslim student, Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950 [*q.v.*]). Following Mattā's tradition, he translated (from the Syriac) and annotated parts of the *Organon* of logic and of Aristotle's physical and metaphysical work. Al-Fārābī's concept of philosophy as demonstrative science, where absolute knowledge is based on the principles established in Aristotle's *Analytica posteriora* (the *K. al-Burhān*) is upheld by Ibn ʿAdī as the universal foundation of sound thinking and righteous action.

The greater part of his extant philosophical work is devoted to logic and epistemology. The parts of Aristotle's *Organon* of logic, translated or re-translated by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn, Abū ʿUthmān al-Dimashḳī and Mattā b. Yūnus [*q.vv.*], and his own version of the *Sophistici elenchi* (combined with two alternative versions), compiled and annotated by himself and his school, were copied from his holograph by his students and successors, ʿĪsā b. Zurʿa (d. 398/1008) and al-Ḥasan b. Suwār (d. after 407/1017), in the Paris manuscript, B.N. ar. 2346—an impressive document of the extent and standard of Aristotle reading in his school (cf. H. Hugonnard-Roche, *Une ancienne «édition» arabe de l'Organon d'Aristote: problèmes de traduction et de transmission*, in *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1992, 139-57). Apart from that on logic, he translated other works of Aristotle and his ancient commentators (e.g. parts of the *Physics* and *Metaphysics*; only his translation of Themistius' paraphrase of Aristotle's *De caelo* has survived in a Hebrew version). His own contributions are devoted to the traditional topics of introduction to the study of logic and philosophical method: a commentary of the book *Alpha minor* of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, and numerous *quaestiones* and lecture notes on the elements of epistemology, the categories and the syllogism, and theoretical physics. A popular compendium of ethics, called *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ* "The refinement of character" (like that of his contemporary, Miskawayh [*q.v.*]), is founded on the Platonic tripartition of the soul (appetitive, spiritual, rational); after giving a catalogue of the virtues and vices of each part, the author shows the way to perfection under the rule of reason (see Khalil Samir, in *Arabica*, xxi [1974], 111-38, xxvi [1979], 158-78; the latest of several editions by Djād Ḥātim, Beirut 1985).

Most significant as a philosophic statement in the context of Muslim Arab society are his treatises on topics discussed in Islamic theology, not in a theological discourse, but by applying the tools of demonstrative logic to various concepts of *kalām*. Such diatribes are devoted to (1) the meaning of *tawḥīd*, the unicity of God (ed. Khalīl Samīr, *Maḳālat al-tawḥīd*, Jounieh 1980); (2) the establishment of contingent being (ed. C.-R. Ehrig-Eggert, *Die Abhandlung über den Nachweis der Natur des Möglichen von Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī*, Frankfurt am Main 1990, Ar. text ed. by idem, in *ZGAIW*, v [1989], [Arabic part] 63-97); (3) the refutation of atomism (ed. G. Endress, in *ZGAIW*, i [1984], 155-79); (4) the concept of "acquisition" (*iktisāb*) by man of the acts created by God, current in contemporary Ashʿarism (ed. and tr. S. Pines and M. Schwarz, *Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's refutation of the doctrine of acquisition*, in *Studia Orientalia memoriae D.H. Baneth dedicata*, Jerusalem 1979); and in the same vein, (5) he established, against the claims of the Arab grammarians, philosophical logic as the universal tool to control correct reasoning (defending the position taken by Abū Bishr Mattā, "On the difference between the arts of philosophical logic and Arabic grammar", ed. Endress, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Arab Science*, ii [Aleppo 1978], 38-50, 156; Ger. tr. and comm. by idem, *Grammatik und Logik: arabische Philologie und griechische Philosophie im Widerstreit*, in B. Mojsisch (ed.), *Sprachphilosophie in Antike und Mittelalter*, Amsterdam 1986, 163-299).

As a Christian theologian, Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī defended the Monophysite concept of the Incarnation against Nestorianism, and made use of the same theological-philosophical model for his apology for the Christian faith, notably the dogma of the Triune God, against Muslim polemical arguments. God is one in substance, but constituted of three essential attributes (*ṣifāt*) called *personae* (hypostases, *aḳānīm*): goodness (*djūd*), wisdom (*ḥikma*), and might (*ḳudra*). This interpretation of the Trinity reflects the primary divine triad of Neoplatonic theology (Christianised by Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita), and in the philosophical model of Ibn ʿAdī, is considered equivalent to the three aspects of the divine intellect thinking itself: absolute intellect (*ʿaḳl*), intelligence (*ʿāḳil*, thinking its own essence), and intelligible (*maʿḳūl*, being its own primary object of knowledge). These essences—the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, in the language of religion—are perceived separately, but are inseparable from the divine substance. Incarnation is the conjunction of the divine *logos*—which

is one substance—with a human nature, of which the Virgin Mary is the material cause.

Both in philosophy and theology, his teaching was continued by his Christian disciples, among whom ʿĪsā b. Zurʿa was the most prominent. But his influence went well beyond this circle, and through Muslim philosophers and intellectuals like Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.vv.*], over the following generations he reached a wide readership of courtiers, scientists, and even *mutakallimūn*.

Bibliography: Texts. A. Périer, *Petits traités apologétiques de Yaḥyâ ben ʿAdî*, Paris 1920; E. Platti (ed. and tr.), *La grande polémique anti-nestorienne de Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, I-II*, 4 vols. Louvain 1981-2 (= CSCO, 427-8, 437-8); idem (ed. and tr.), *Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq, Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, De l'Incarnation*, 2 vols. Louvain 1987 (= CSCO, 490-1); Saḥbān Khulayfāt (Khalīfāt), *Maḳālāt Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī*, ʿAmmān 1988.

2. Studies. A. Périer, *Yaḥyâ ben ʿAdî, un philosophe arabe chrétien du Xe siècle*, Paris 1920; M. Meyerhof, *Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad*, Berlin 1930, 31; Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 233-49; R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 66 ff.; G. Endress, *The works of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī: an analytical inventory*, Wiesbaden 1977; Platti, *Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, théologien chrétien et philosophe arabe: sa théologie de l'Incarnation*, Leuven 1983 (Orientalia Lovanensisa Analecta, 14); E. Giannikis, *Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī against John Philoponus on place and void*, in *ZGAIW*, xii (1998), 245-302. (G. Endress)

YAḤYĀ b. **AKTHAM**, Abū Muḥammad al-Marwazī al-Tamīmī, *faḳīh* who had been a pupil of al-Shāfiʿī, judge and counsellor of ʿAbbāsid caliphs, d. 242/857.

A native of Marw, he became Grand Judge (*ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt*) of Baghdād after having been being appointed judge in Baṣra by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*] in 202/817-18. He soon became a member of al-Maʾmūn's court circle as an adviser and boon-companion, thus exemplifying a trend under this caliph to take legal scholars rather than administrators as political counsellors. He accompanied al-Maʾmūn to Syria and Egypt and on the campaign against Byzantium of 216/831 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1104). There were persistent accusations against him of pederasty, and on al-Maʾmūn's death he fell from power. Re-appointed Grand Judge under al-Mutawakkil during the years 237-40/851-5, he again fell into disgrace, departed for the Pilgrimage but died at al-Rabadha near Medina at an advanced age on 15 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 242/14 April 857. He is said to have been the author of various works on *fiḳh*, none of which has survived.

Bibliography: See D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, i, 238-9, and Pellat's ed. of Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index, vii, 763-4, detailing the primary sources for Yaḥyā's life, and also Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 167. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 191-204 no. 7489, and Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, vi, 147-65, tr. de Slane, iv, 33-51, have substantial biographical entries on him. (C.E. Bosworth)

YAḤYĀ b. **ʿALĪ** [see munadjdjim, banu ʾl-. 4].

YAḤYĀ (or Yuḥannā) b. al-**BIṬRĪḲ**, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, scholar, who was probably a Mālikī, famed for his translations from Greek into Arabic, *fl.* in the first part of the 3rd/9th century.

Although the Arabic biographers (Ibn al-Nadim, Ibn Djuldjul, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa) devote to him short notices, his life is almost wholly unknown. His father al-Biṭrīḳ was himself a translator in the time of al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]). The author of the *Fihrist* states that he was part of the entourage of the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*] and that he was part of a delegation sent by the caliph to the Byzantine lands in order to collect manuscripts. Ibn Djudjul, repeated by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, calls him Yuḥannā and makes him a *mawlā* of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33 [*q.v.*]), adding that he was a faithful translator but with a faulty knowledge of Arabic, and that he was more philosopher than physician. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa writes, rather curiously, that he knew Arabic and Greek badly, since, being a Latin (*laṭīnī*), he knew the language and literature of the Rūm of his time.

According to the Arabic biographers and to mentions in the introductions of manuscripts, a dozen or so works are attributable to him: Of Plato, the Timaeus (*K. Ṭimāʾus*). Of Aristotle, his Meteorology (*al-Āthār al-ʿulwiyya*, ed. Badawī, Cairo 1961, ed. Petraits, Beirut 1967; On the heavens and the earth (*K. al-Samāʾ wa ʾl-ʿālam*; Book of animals (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, ed. Brugman and Drossaart Lulofs, Leiden 1971, ed. Badawī, Kuwait 1977-8); *First analytics* and a compendium of the *De anima* (*Djawāmiʿ kitāb al-nafs*). Of Galen, the Theriac of Piso (*K. al-Tiryāḳ ilā Bīsan*). Of Alexander of Tralles, a treatise on pleurisy (*K. al-Birsām*). Finally, attributed to Hippocrates is a *K. fī ʾl-buthūr* or *Fī ʾl-mawt*. The *Fihrist* further attributes to him two original works on pharmacology, the one on poisons, *K. al-Sumūmāt* (partly extant), and the other on insects, *K. Adjnās al-ḥasharāt*.

Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ is also given as the translator of the *Secretum secretorum* (*Sirr al-asrār* or *K. al-Siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riyāsa*), the famous pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, which had a great renown in the Islamic world as also in the Christian West. The attribution of the Arabic version to Yaḥyā is based on the preface (cited by Ibn Djuldjul), in which the translator relates how he allegedly procured the work and then transposed it from the Greek into *rūmī* and Arabic. Nevertheless, it seems now established that this treatise is an Arabic apocryphal work written towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, and that the preface belongs to the realm of literary fiction (M. Grignaschi, *L'origine et les métamorphoses du* Sirr al-ʾasrār (*Secretum secretorum*), in *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* [1976], 7-112).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 243-4, 246, 250-1, 293, 317; Ibn Djuldjul, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, 67; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Lippert, 41, 55, 131, 379; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, i, 205, ed. Beirut 1965, 282.

2. Studies and reference works. D.M. Dunlop, *The translations of al-Biṭrīq and Yaḥyā (Yuḥannā) b. al-Biṭrīq*, in *JRAS* (1959), 140-50; L. Cheïkho, *ʿUlamāʾ al-naṣrāniyya fī ʾl-islām*, ed. C. Hechaïme, Jounieh-Rome 1983, 51-2; J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite*, Beirut 1988, ii/2, 82-6; Brockelmann, I^2, 221-2, S I, 364; Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 32, 112-13; Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 225 and index. (Françoise Micheau)

YAḤYĀ b. **ḤAMZA** al-**ʿALAWĪ**, rhetorician, Zaydī scholar and *imām* (669-745/1270-1344; a death date of 749/1348 is also mentioned).

Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAlawī al-Ṭālibī, a versatile and prolific Yemeni scholar, was descended from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the *imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.vv.*]. He was born in Ṣanʿāʾ and played a role in politics, for after the death of al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar in 729/1329 he ruled over part of Yemen as Zaydī *imām* under the name al-Muʾayyad bi ʾllāh until his death. It is said that the number of quires (*karārīs*) written by him equalled the number of days in his life, together forming some hundred volumes. He wrote works on Zaydī theology and law, such as *al-Shāmil* and *al-ʿUmda* (on law,

in six volumes), *al-Ḥāwī* (on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, in three volumes), *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* (on the imāmate), *al-Intiṣār ʿalā ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār* (18 volumes), *Mishkāt al-anwār* (against the Bāṭiniyya) and *al-Risāla al-Wāziʿa li ʾl-umma ʿan al-iʿtirāḍ ʿalā ʾl-aʾimma* (ed. Gīza 1409/1989, with an extensive commentary warning against its Shīʿī and Muʿtazilī elements by Muḳbil b. Hādī al-Wādiʿī). Whereas most Zaydīs based themselves on the Muʿtazilī theology according to ʿAbd al-Djabbār [*q.v.*], he preferred that of Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Works on grammar are *al-Ḥāṣir* (a commentary on the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Bābashādh) and *al-Muḥaṣṣal* (commentary on *al-Mufaṣṣal* by al-Zamakhsharī [*q.v.*]). His three-volume *al-Ṭirāz al-mutaḍammin li-asrār al-balāgha wa-ʿulūm ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-iʿdjāz* (ed. Cairo 1332/1914) is an interesting, intricately subdivided and voluminous work (more than 1,300 printed pages) on rhetoric, the third of whose three main sections (*funūn*) is devoted to *iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān* [*q.v.*] (for an evaluation and brief discussion of its sources, see AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA ʾL-BAYĀN. 1. In Arabic). The inspiration for the book, as the author says (i, 5) was reading al-Zamakhsharī's commentary on the Ḳurʾān, *al-Kashshāf.* He sees himself as writing in the tradition of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], even though he knew the latter's two seminal works *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz* and *Asrār al-balāgha* only from quotations.

Bibliography: Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348, ii, 331-3; ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsiʿī, *Furdjat al-humūm* (*Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*), Cairo 1346, 35-7; Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, Cairo 1939, 51; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, s.v.; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, s.v.; Muḥ. Zaghlūl Sallām, *Taʾrīkh al-naḳd al-ʿarabī*, ii, Cairo n.d., 277-89; Aḥmad Maṭlūb, *al-Balāgha ʿinda ʾl-Sakkākī*, Baghdād 1964, 357-68 and see index; idem, *al-Ḳazwīnī wa-shurūḥ al-Talkhīṣ*, Baghdād 1967, 509-16 and see index.

(G.J.H. van Gelder)

YAḤYĀ b. **KHĀLID** [see AL-BARĀMIKA].

YAḤYĀ b. **MAʿĪN** b. ʿAwn al-Murrī al-Ghaṭafānī al-Baghdādī, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, traditionist, b. 158/775 near al-Anbār, d. 233/847 on pilgrimage in Medina. A client (*mawlā*) of al-Djunayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī, he inherited considerable wealth from his father and is reported to have spent it all on the acquisition of *ḥadīth*. Among his teachers were Sufyān b. ʿUyayna and Ibn al-Mubārak [*q.vv.*]. Authorities like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī and Ibn Saʿd are reported to have been among his pupils. Together with Ibn Saʿd and five others, he was ordered in 218/833 by al-Maʾmūn to profess the createdness of the Ḳurʾān. Threatened with death, they complied and the event was well publicised (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1116). Ibn Ḥanbal never spoke to them subsequently. He reputedly exposed many traditions as false and is regarded as one of the most critical early experts on *ridjāl* [*q.v.*]. He reportedly left behind a huge library. Some of his works have been recently published.

Bibliography: See references in Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 107. Printed works. *Maʿrifat al-ridjāl*, ed. M. Kāmil al-Ḳassār, M. Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ and Ghazwa Budayr, 2 vols. Damascus 1985; *Suʾālāt Ibn al-Djunayd*, ed. Aḥmad M. Nūr Sayf, Medina 1988, and further editions of *ridjāl* works by Nūr Sayf, Damascus-Beirut 1980; W.M. Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*, Leiden 1897, index. (F. Leemhuis)

YAḤYĀ b. **MUḤAMMAD**, al-Manṣūr al-Mutawakkil, of the Ḥamīd al-Dīn family, from the Ḳāsimī branch, Zaydī Imām and first ruler of the Mutawakkilī Kingdom of Yemen, b. *ca.* 1869, d. 1948.

On the death in June 1904 of his father Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn, who had in 1891 rebelled against the Ottomans, Yaḥyā obtained the *bayʿa* of most of the tribes and *sayyid* clans of Yemen and assumed the *laḳab* of al-Mutawakkil ʿalā ʾllāh. Rejecting, like his predecessors, the authority of the Porte, he rose against the Turks and in April 1905 captured the capital Ṣanʿāʾ and several other towns. Ottoman reinforcements allowed Aḥmed Feyḍī to drive him out, but faced with guerilla warfare, the Turks came to an understanding with Yaḥyā, conceding *inter alia* the application of *Sharīʿa* law. Yaḥyā raised a further revolt in 1911, in concert with the *Amīr* of ʿAsīr, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī, whilst the Turks were preoccupied with events in the Balkans and Libya, besieging Ṣanʿāʾ and attacking other towns. The commander Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pasha relieved the capital but, wishing to have his hands free to deal with ʿAsīr, came to a treaty agreement with Yaḥyā in October 1911 at Daʿʿān. Yaḥyā accepted the suzerainty of the Porte in exchange for Ottoman recognition of his authority over the Zaydī parts of Yemen, and this was confirmed by an imperial *fermān* of 22 September 1913; the modern Yemeni state was thus born.

Yaḥyā remained loyal to the Turks until the end of the War in 1918, but after the Mudros armistice he took control of Ṣanʿāʾ and the whole country; some Turkish officials and soldiers remained in his service, including the last Ottoman *wālī*, Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha. Thus what might be considered as a first "Arab revolt" left Yemen as the first independent Arab state. He now tried to build up his state as a sovereign one, with its "historic frontiers", creating a militia and an army, enforcing the *Sharīʿa* in its Zaydī interpretation, and in 1920 changing the Zaydī Imāmate into the "Mutawakkilī Kingdom of Yemen". Nevertheless, wishing to remain accessible to all Yemenis, he delegated none of his power, governing from his palace, which housed the administration, with a modest life-style. Hostile to all *bidaʿ*, he honestly believed that all progress was inimical to his people, hence he isolated the country from foreign influences as much as possible, so that his rule inevitably became tyrannical and obscurantist.

The first difficulties that he had were with the tribes, hostile to all state control and avid for subsidies. In 1922-3 his armies campaigned in the Djawf and in 1929 warfare was carried on by the Crown Prince Aḥmad against the Shāfiʿī Zarāniḳ of the Tihāma. After this, Yaḥyā took numerous hostages from leading families to ensure their fidelity. With dreams of establishing a "Greater Yemen" that would include the ancient kingdom of Ḥimyar, from ʿAsīr to ʿUmān, Yaḥyā stirred up strife against the British along the eastern frontiers of his land, but with less success than against the Turks; reprisals led to the bombing of Taʿizz in 1928. A third enemy also appeared for Yaḥyā in the shape of the Suʿūdī family, who had conquered ʿAsīr in 1920 and were now pressing southwards towards the Nadjrān oasis [*q.v.*]. Despite British attempts to restrain the Suʿūdīs, the latter occupied Nadjrān by 1934; but the question remained unsettled legally and remains a cause of discord to the present day.

Yaḥyā's policy of isolation was incompatible with his aims of independence and expansionism, which required a modern army and arms, necessitating recourse to outside powers. In 1931 he established links with ʿIrāḳ, which became fully independent the following year, and sent persons for military education there, an experiment speedily terminated when these last

became infected with modernist ideas. But this was too late. Opposition grew from such modernists; from certain tribes, especially the Shāfiʿī, anti-Zaydī ones chafing at commercial restrictions imposed on them; from émigrés and refugees in Aden; and even from *sayyids* and *ʿulamāʾ* hostile to Yaḥyā's requirement of *bayʿa* in 1938-9 to his son Sayf al-Islām Aḥmad's eventual succession. A Movement of Free Yemenis (*al-Aḥrār al-Yamaniyyūn*) became active in Yemen in the mid-1940s. Yaḥyā sent Aḥmad to Aden in 1946 in an attempt at conciliation, promising some reforms and measures to open up the country. He had already joined the Arab League in 1945 and secured the admission of Yemen to the United Nations in September 1947.

However, an opposition plot had already taken shape, under the inspiration of an Algerian nationalist, al-Fāḍil al-Warṯilānī, a disciple of Ibn Bādīs with close links with the Muslim Brotherhood, and led by an ʿIrāḳī officer in Yemen, Djamāl Djamīl. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Wazīr was designated as future *Imām*. A first attack on Yaḥyā in January 1948 failed, but before he could call up help from his son Aḥmad, governor of Taʿizz, a second assassination attempt succeeded on 17 February. The plot to seize power nevertheless failed through Aḥmad's success in rallying loyal tribes, but after his death in September 1962, his son and successor Muḥammad al-Badr was overthrown within a few days by Nasserist officers under Col. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sallāl. A "Yemeni Arab Republic" eventually emerged, which in May 1990 achieved Yaḥyā's dream of an enlarged, united Yemen.

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YAḤYĀ b. PĪR ʿALĪ [see newʿī].

YAḤYĀ b. SAʿDŪN [see al-ḳurṭubī].

YAḤYĀ b. YAḤYĀ al-LAYTHĪ (d. 234/848), Cordovan *faḳīh*, descendant of a Berber (Maṣmūda) soldier who entered the Peninsula at the time of the conquest. His family, known as the Banū Abī ʿĪsā, was always closely connected to the Umayyad family whom they served with the pen and the sword. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā was the first member of the family to devote himself to religious knowledge (*ʿilm*). He took part in movements of opposition against the Umayyad *amīr* al-Ḥakam I, being mentioned among the participants in the famous Revolt of the Arrabal (al-Rabaḍ). He had to flee Cordova, unsuccessfully looking for refuge among his fellow tribesmen, but receiving it in Toledo. Once he obtained the pardon of the *amīr*, Yaḥyā exercised great influence in religious and intellectual life during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. According to the sources, this *amīr* did not appoint any judge without consulting Yaḥyā, and their relationship is described as the ideal that should exist between the ruler and the scholar: the latter teaches the former, advises him and legitimises his rule before the people, whilst the ruler solicits the scholar's advice. For example, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II is said to have accepted a heavy expiation dictated by Yaḥyā for having broken his fast during Ramaḍān.

The figure of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā is of great relevance for the study of a crucial phase in the formation of al-Andalus, the phase of the reception of the Mālikī school of law and of the appearance and consolidation of the scholars as a group.

As regards the first aspect, Yaḥyā is considered to have introduced Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* in al-Andalus. His transmission of this work became canonical in the Islamic West and was also widely diffused in the East. This role of introducer of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* has been challenged by N. Calder, whose conclusions, however, cannot be accepted. It is true that there is ground to doubt that a direct relationship between Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā and Mālik b. Anas existed, but the Cordovan was undoubtedly the pupil of Mālik's pupils such as the Egyptians Ibn Wahb (d. 197/812) and Ibn al-Ḳāsim (d. 191/806) [*q.vv.*]. It is also without doubt that Yaḥyā transmitted Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, as well as al-Layth b. Saʿd's *ḥadīth*. He also transmitted *masāʾil* from Ibn al-Ḳāsim that were compiled into ten books known as *ʿAsharat Yaḥyā*; its diffusion can be attested until the 6th/12th century. Yaḥyā had a decisive role in the Andalusī preference for Ibn al-Ḳāsim's opinions over those of other pupils of Mālik. He was also the introducer of customs and doctrines that took root in al-Andalus, such as abandoning the Ḳurʾānic precept of two arbiters sent to the house of a husband and wife to solve their marital problems, and substituting for it the practice of sending the couple to the house of a trusted man (*dār amīn*).

As regards the second aspect, Ibn Ḥazm stated that there were two legal schools that became established thanks to *riyāsa* and *sulṭa*: Abū Ḥanīfa's school, and that of Mālik b. Anas in al-Andalus. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā was consulted by the *amīr* on the nomination of judges, and he indicated only the names of his own companions and of those who followed his *madhhab*. Not every judge appointed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, however, was a protégé of Yaḥyā, as there were other rival factions, the most important being that of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb [*q.v.*]. Yaḥyā himself is said to have refused to be appointed judge, arguing that the *amīr* would be unable to find someone with greater authority than his to deal with complaints against the judges. He represents in fact a phase in which political power needed a new type of expert for the administration of justice, not only for technical reasons (given the development of *fiḳh*), but also for reasons of religious legitimacy. His fame is directly related to the large number of his pupils, a number due to the influence he had with the *amīr*, and also to his longevity. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā's influence can be explained, apart from his training, also by his family connections and his intellectual abilities. He had an acute intelligence (he was known as *ʿāḳil al-Andalus*), great discerning power, ability for textual interpretation, a sense of opportunity and a realist understanding common to men far from religious extremism. He strove and succeeded in establishing in al-Andalus the model of scholarly behaviour that he had witnessed in the East, in order that scholars should be treated with the same respect, awe and reverence that his Eastern teachers enjoyed.

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(Maribel Fierro)

YAḤYĀ b. ZAKARIYYĀʾ, the New Testament John the Baptist, mentioned by name five times in the Ḳurʾān. The spelling of the name is evidenced from pre-Islamic times and is probably derived from Christian Arabic usage (see J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1926, 151-2; A. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary of the Quran*, Baroda 1938, 290-1); Muslim exegetes frequently trace the name from a root sense of "to quicken" or "to make alive" in reference to John's mother's barrenness and his people's absence of faith. In Ḳurʾān, III, 39, John is spoken of as noble, chaste and a prophet who will "witness the truth of a word from God", that is, Jesus. VI, 85 speaks of John along with Zechariah, Jesus and Elias as being of the "righteous". XIX, 7 gives the announcement of the forthcoming birth of John to Zechariah with the note that this name was used for the first time (or that this was the first prophet by that name; cf. Luke, i. 59-63 for the likely background to this verse. Also see Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *Tafsīr*, Cairo (Ḥalabī) n.d., iii, 112 and Muḳātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1983, ii, 621: this is the first time a child had been named Yaḥyā, and that he had the name because he was the first child ever born to an aged father and a barren mother). XIX, 12, conveys the command to John to be a prophet with a book (usually taken by Muslim exegetes to mean that John confirms the Torah, not that he brought a new scripture); and in XXI, 90, John's birth is explained as a response to Zechariah's request, his wife's barrenness being cured for the occasion.

The details of the story of John in the Ḳurʾān are few, but even those slight references have given rise to a number of extended discussions throughout Muslim history. For example, the idea that John was "chaste" (*ḥaṣūr*) provoked a good deal of debate. In their discussions of Ḳurʾān, III, 39, some exegetes, such as al-Ṭabarī, considered this word to be intended in its sexual sense of being incapable of coitus ("he had a penis no bigger than this piece of straw", al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vi, 377, a prophetic *ḥadīt̲h̲* on the authority of Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab) or of being abstentious; others, such as Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *Tafsīr*, ii, 35-6, rejected that view, for it would suggest some sort of imperfection on the part of the prophet if he were unable to have sexual intercourse, and they argued that the word means that John was free from impure actions and thoughts, and that, as such, it does not preclude John having been married and having children. (The material on this word is usefully brought together in M.M. Ayoub, *The Qurʾān and its interpreters. II. The House of ʿImrān*, Albany 1992, 109-12; see also E. Beck, *Das christliche Mönchtum im Koran*, Helsinki 1946, 27.)

The Muslim rendering of the birth, life and death of John have, in some versions, been elaborated on the basis of the Christian accounts. John, it is said, was born six months prior to Jesus (al-Ṭabarī, i, 711); John and Jesus met in the Jordan River when Jesus was 30; and John was killed before Jesus' ascension. The mother of Mary (Hanna) and the mother of John (Elizabeth) were sisters (see maryam, at VI, 630a, for tables presenting the Muslim understanding of the genealogical relationships). John became a prophet, travelled to Palestine, met and baptised Jesus and departed with 12 disciples to teach the people (al-Ṭabarī, i, 712). He was put to death by Herod at the instigation of Salome (*ibid.*, i, 719).

However, many of the accounts have become quite confused because of the idea that John lived in the era of Nebuchadnezzar [see buk̲h̲t-naṣ[ṣ]ar]. It is in the stories of John's death (not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān) that the extent of the confusion about him becomes evident. The Israelite king Josiah, it is said, killed John, the son of Zechariah, and Nebuchadnezzar attacked Israel as a result (al-Ṭabarī, i, 657). The cause of this was the king's desire to marry his niece, something of which John disapproved. The conspiracy of the girl's mother then led to the death of John (cf. the story of Salome, Matt., xiv. 1-11, Mark, vi. 16-29). Nebuchadnezzar invaded in order to solve problems that arose as a result of John's death (or God simply inspired him to do so). The source of the confusion here is likely the name Zechariah, a name that had already created mix-ups within the biblical tradition (cf. Matt., xxiii. 35, for the (mis-)identification of the author of the Biblical book of Zechariah with the Zechariah of Isa., vii). The prophet Zechariah of II Chron., xxiv. 22, was killed by King Joash. The Talmud (*Giṭṭin*, 57b) speaks of his "blood bubbling up warm" after his death. Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar's commander, noticed this and he was told by the inhabitants of Jerusalem that "there was a prophet among us who used to reprove us for our irreligion, and we rose up against him and killed him, and for many years his blood has not rested." Nebuzaradan then said to them, "I will appease him", and proceeded to slaughter many people. It would appear that this legend has become associated in the Muslim tradition with the death of John through the common element of the name Zechariah (see D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes*, Paris 1933, 139-40). Al-Ṭabarī, i, 713, reports that a drop of John's blood fell to the ground when he was killed and kept boiling until Nebuchadnezzar came to destroy Jerusalem; in a slightly different version (al-Ṭabarī, i, 715), John's blood boiled in the pan in which his severed head (which could still talk) had been placed. Al-Ṭabarī, i, 718, also indicates that he is well aware that many hold this story to be not true and to be a historical error, there being 461 years between the lives of Nebuchadnezzar and John the Baptist.

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(A. Rippin)

YAḤYĀ b. ZAYD b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, ʿAlid fugitive and rebel killed late in 125/summer-autumn 743. His mother was Rayṭa, daughter of Abū Hās̲h̲im [*q.v.*] b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

As the eldest son of Zayd b. ʿAlī, he participated in Zayd's revolt in Kūfa in Muḥarram 122/end of 739. After his father's death, he escaped, relentlessly sought by Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-T̲h̲aḳafī, governor of ʿIrāḳ [*q.v.*] Yaḥyā went first to Nīnawā near Karbalāʾ. He was then given protection by the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bis̲h̲r b. Marwān, who concealed him in a village owned by him that later became Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*]. After a while, he set out for K̲h̲urāsān, stopping first in al-Madāʾin. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, learning of his whereabouts, sent a detachment after him, but he

escaped to al-Rayy. From there he moved on via Naysābūr to Saraḵẖs. There he stayed for six months with Yazīd b. ʿUmar al-Taymī, a Sẖīʿī and brother of an army leader under Abū Muslim al-Ḵẖurāsānī, and began to seek support for armed revolt. A group of Ḵẖāridjīs offered their backing, but his host warned him against accepting it. Together with Yazīd he went on to Balḵẖ, where al-Ḥarīsẖ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sẖaybānī sheltered him. Yaḥyā sent an appeal in poetry to the Banū Hāsẖim in Medina, challenging them to avenge his father. The leader of the Hāsẖimiyya movement in Ḵẖurāsān, Bukayr b. Māhān, however, instructed his followers not to rise in support of Yaḥyā since the Imām, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, had predicted Yaḥyā's death.

In 125/743 Yūsuf b. ʿUmar was informed of Yaḥyā's hiding place and asked Naṣr b. Sayyār, governor of Ḵẖurāsān, to press al-Ḥarīsẖ to surrender him. When Naṣr's deputy in Balḵẖ, ʿAḳīl b. Maʿḳil al-Laytẖī, tortured al-Ḥarīsẖ, the latter's son betrayed Yaḥyā in order to save his father's life. Yaḥyā and his companions were delivered as captives to Naṣr in Marw, but when Yūsuf b. ʿUmar informed the caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd, he gave orders to release them. Naṣr provided Yaḥyā with money and two mules, ordering him to proceed to the caliph's court and instructing his district prefects in Saraḵẖs, Ṭūs, and Naysābūr to make him move on without lingering. When Yaḥyā reached the border of Ḵẖurāsān at Bayhaḳ, he decided to turn back, afraid of entering the territory of Yūsuf b. ʿUmar. Joined by seventy supporters, he defeated the superior forces moving against him from Naysābūr, Ṭūs, and Saraḵẖs at Busẖtaniḳān (see Yāḳūt, i, 630), killing the governor of Naysābūr, ʿAmr b. Zurāra al-Ḳusẖayrī. With the booty, Yaḥyā moved via Harāt to Djūzdjān, where the number of his men swelled to 150. Naṣr now sent a strong army under Salm b. Aḥwaz al-Māzinī in pursuit of him. After three days of fighting at a village called Argẖūy(a), Yaḥyā was struck by an arrow in his forehead and died, at the age of 28. Most of his men were also killed. His head was sent to Damascus where the caliph al-Walīd exhibited it in the palace and his body was crucified at the gate of Anbēr (Anbār), the capital of Djūzdjān.

The violent death of Yaḥyā made a deep impression among the Sẖīʿa in Ḵẖurāsān, and revenge for him became a major motive in the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement, which had failed to back him before. Among the first measures of Abū Muslim after the rising was to have his body properly buried and to seek out and execute all those involved in his death. Yaḥyā's tomb at or near Anbēr was visited for centuries. The Zaydī Sẖīʿa count him as one of their *imāms*.

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(W. MADELUNG)

YAḤYĀ AL-ANṬĀKĪ [see AL-ANṬĀKĪ].

YAḤYĀ BEY (BEG) [see TASẖLĪDJALĪ YAḤYĀ].

YAḤYĀ ḤAḲḲĪ, a major figure in the development of modern Egyptian fiction, and also a diplomat, critic, and journalist (1905-92).

He was born into a distinguished Egyptian family in 1905; his uncle was Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaḳḳī, author of one of the very first experiments in novel writing in Egypt, *ʿAdẖrāʾ Dinsẖawāy* (1906). Like many of his literary contemporaries (for example, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal and Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm [*q.vv.*]) Ḥaḳḳī's field of study at university was the law, and he graduated in 1925. For a short period he served the legal system in Manfalūṭ, Upper Egypt, as a *muʿāwin* (adjutant). In 1929, however, he began a diplomatic career and saw service in a number of countries, including Turkey, France and Libya. Later in life, he became editor of the renowned Cairo literary journal, *al-Madjalla*, and in 1969 he was awarded the State Prize for Literature. He retired from public life in 1970 and died in December 1992.

Ḥaḳḳī was not a prolific writer, but his published works of fiction reveal the craft of an early master of its shorter genres. His most famous contribution is, without doubt, *Ḳindīl Umm Hāsẖim* (1944; Eng. tr., *The saint's lamp*, 1973), a novella that marks a distinct advance over its predecessors in the fictional treatment of the themes of cultural conflict and modernisation. The story concerns a young Egyptian student, Ismāʿīl, who travels to England to obtain a degree in ophthalmology. When the training he has received fails to cure the eye disease of his own fiancée, the ensuing crisis engenders a highly symbolic (and not entirely convincing) conflict between the power of modern science and the more traditional rituals of faith. As with all classic novellas, these large themes—with their many and varied ramifications—are encapsulated in a narrative of great economy and artistry. Here and in other works of fiction, Ḥaḳḳī's skillfully crafted prose possesses an allusive quality that manages to capture the atmosphere of a scene or an entire community by the judicious choice of a word and image. These stylistic traits also contribute, needless to say, to the artistry of Ḥaḳḳī's short stories, of which he produced three collections: *Dimāʾ wa-ṭīn* (1945?), *Umm al-ʿawādjiz* (1955), and *ʿAntar wa-Djuliyāt* (1961?). In many of these stories, Ḥaḳḳī goes back to his experiences in the provinces of Egypt: two of the more famous examples are *al-Bustagī* ("The postman") and *Ḳiṣṣat sidjn* ("Prison story"). Those set in urban environments are more variegated in their subject-matter and explore contrasting patterns of wealth and life-style: *Kunnā tẖalātẖat aytām* ("We were three orphans"), for example, about marriage prospects for a brother and two sisters who have lost their parents, and *ʿAntar wa-Djuliyāt*, an engaging story named after two dogs, the life-style of whose owners reflects the glaring contrasts between rich and poor.

Ḥaḳḳī was also a distinguished literary critic, and, with his *Fadjr al-ḳiṣṣa al-miṣriyya* ("Dawn of the Egyptian short story", 1960), the invaluable historian of the school of pioneer Egyptian short-story writers in the 1920s known as the *Djamāʿat al-madrasa al-ḥadītẖa* "New School Group", of which he himself was a part. Through this and other works of criticism, such as *Ḵẖuṭuwwāt fī 'l-naḳd* (1961) and *ʿIṭr al-aḥbab* (1971), Ḥaḳḳī contributed his own brand of methodical opinion to the assessment of modern movements in Egyptian literature, his diplomatic tours abroad permitting him to remain above the fray during some of the more contentious periods and to preserve the quieter, more

detached approach to critical reasoning that he clearly cherished.

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YAḤYĀ KEMĀL (with the surname adopted in Republican times of Beyatlı), highly renowned Turkish poet and essayist, b. 2 December 1884, d. 1 November 1958.

His given name was Aḥmed Āgāh, and his earliest published poems bear the name Āgāh Kemāl. He was born in Üsküb as the son of Ibrāhīm Nādjī Beg, who was mayor of this town, and Naḳiyye Khānïm, the niece of the poet Leskofčali Ghālib Beg (1828 or 29-1867). He was educated successively in Üsküb, Selānīk, Istanbul and Paris (École Libre des Sciences Politiques), and during his stay of nine years in Paris he frequented literary and political circles there. After his return to Istanbul in 1912, he taught history and literature in several educational institutions (Dār el-Shafaḳa Mektebi, Medreset el-Wāʿiẓīn, Heybeliada Baḥriyye Mektebi, Dār el-Fünūn Edebiyyāt Shuʿbesi). From 1923 onwards he held various public offices, serving as a member of parliament for Urfa, Yozgat, Tekirdağ and Istanbul, and as ambassador in Warsaw, Madrid, Lisbon and Karachi. He retired in 1949 to Istanbul; his grave is in the Rumelihisarı cemetery in Istanbul.

Yaḥyā Kemāl was of the opinion that poetry is a kind of music; he developed a personal style in which the prosodic rules of *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] are applied to the educated colloquial Turkish of Istanbul. A further characteristic of his style is that his poems, as well as his essays, reflect his attachment to Ottoman culture and heritage, his interest in history and his love of Istanbul; the main themes of his poetry are indeed love, patriotism, death and Istanbul.

During his lifetime, Yaḥyā Kemāl published his work only in periodicals and newspapers. Starting in 1961, the Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü (founded in the same year) published the collected works (*Yahya Kemal külliyatı*) that comprise four volumes of poetry, namely, *Kendi gök kubbemiz* (1961), *Eski şiirin rüzgârıyle* (1962), *Rubâîler ve Hayyam rubâîlerini Türkçe söyleyiş* (1963) and *Bitmemiş şiirler* (1976); and eight volumes of essays, short stories, recollections and letters, namely, *Aziz İstanbul* (1964), *Eğil dağlar* (1966), *Siyasî hikâyeler* (1968), *Siyasî ve edebî portreler* (1968), *Edebiyata dair* (1971), *Çocukluğum, gençliğim, siyasî ve edebî hâtıralarım* (1973), *Târih musâhabeleri* (1975), and *Mektuplar-Makaleler* (1977).

Bibliography: See the comprehensive bibl. in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm ansiklopedisi*, vi, Istanbul 1992, art. *Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal* (M.O. Okay); *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, ii, Istanbul 1994, art. *Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal* (E. Canberk); Ş. Elçin, M. Tevfikoğlu and S.K. Tural (eds.), *Ölümünün yirmibeşinci yılında Yahya Kemâl Beyatlı*, Ankara 1983; M. Demirci, *Yahya Kemal ve Mehmed Akif'te tasavvuf*, Izmir 1993. (Edith G. Ambros)

YAḤYĀ al-MAKKĪ, Abū ʿUthmān Yaḥyā b. Marzūḳ, an honoured court musician in early ʿAbbāsid times and head of a family of court singers.

He was born in Mecca as a *mawlā* of the Banū Umayya, but went to Baghdād at the beginning of the reign of al-Mahdī (158/775), and still performed under al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33). It is said that he died at the age of 120. He was considered an excellent composer and an expert in the Ḥidjāzī style of music. Ibn Djāmiʿ [*q.v.*], and both Ibrāhīm and Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] were among his disciples. He also composed a "book of songs" (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*), a collection of "classical" compositions, which he dedicated to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [*q.v.*]. The book was criticised, however, for its incorrect attributions (*manḥūlāt*). It was corrected under the title of *Taṣḥīḥ Kitāb al-Aghānī* by his son Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, who followed his father as a court musician from the time of al-Ma'mūn until the beginning of the reign of al-Mustaʿīn (248/862). Yaḥyā's son, Aḥmad b. al-Makkī, dedicated his father's corrected song book, as well as his own voluminous *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir. Both books are quoted in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-kabīr* by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī. In his own compositions, Aḥmad b. al-Makkī favoured verses of his friend, the poet Diʿbil [*q.v.*]. Aḥmad's son Muḥammad, i.e. Yaḥyā's grandson, sang at the court of al-Muʿtamid (256-79/870-92). He was a *murtadjil* singer who accompanied himself by using the traditional wand (*ḳaḍīb*). Muḥammad's transmission of the *akhbār* of the al-Makkī family was used as a biographical source by Abu 'l-Faradj.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[3], vi, 173-89, xvi, 311-6 and indices; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923 ff., vi, 320-3; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, facs. ed. Frankfurt 1988, x, 136-41, 144-5; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1951, 98; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, viii, 249; H.G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 113-5, 160 and *passim*; idem, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965, nos. 9, 37, 38; E. Neubauer, *Musiker am Hof der frühen ʿAbbāsiden*, Frankfurt 1965, 140-1, 167-8, 207-8; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 217; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-mu'allifīn*, xiii, 231. (E. Neubauer)

YAḤYĀ al-NAḤWĪ, the name in Arabic sources for Johannes Grammaticus (*ca.* A.D. 490-575), the Alexandrian philologist, commentator on Aristotle, and Jacobite Christian theologian, also known in Greek as Philoponos, lit. "Lover of toil" or "Diligent", referring to a group of Alexandrian Monophysitic lay Christians—the *philoponoi*—active in debating pagan professors of philosophy. In Alexandria, John Philoponus began his career teaching philology and then studied philosophy with Ammonius son of Hermeias, the head of the Neoplatonic school there. Most of Philoponus' commentaries on Aristotle were written early in his career and are based on his master's lectures. In 529 Philoponus published his polemical *Against Proclus on the eternity of the world* (*Contra Proclum*), in which he defended creation *ex nihilo* against Proclus' famous eighteen arguments. He later directed his fire against

Aristotle's notions of infinity in his *Against Aristotle on the eternity of the world* (*Contra Aristotelem*), after which he probably revised his previously written commentary on the *Physics*, arguing now against the eternity of motion.

For these attacks on Proclus and Aristotle, Philoponus was vilified by another student of Ammonius, the pagan Neoplatonist Simplicius (*fl. ca.* A.D. 530), who, by referring to Philoponus as *grammatikos*, i.e. professor of philology (e.g. *in Cael., CAG*, vii, 119,7; *in Phys., CAG*, x, 1129,29), implied that Philoponus had not yet advanced to the stage of *philosophos* (professor of philosophy), and that his attacks on Proclus and Aristotle were therefore precocious and baseless.

The snideness of Simplicius' use of *grammatikos* was lost when the epithet was translated into Arabic as *al-naḥwī*. The bio-bibliographers, citing ʿUbayd Allāh b. D̲j̲ibrāʾīl b. Bak̲h̲tīs̲h̲ūʿ, simply list Philoponus' strength in philology alongside his expertise in philosophy and medicine: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 354,15-16, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Müller, 154,12-13.25.

Accounts of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's life, including apocryphal events such as a meeting with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, are found in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 254,19-255,5 (= Ḳ 354,3-357,13, and aU 154,3-155,32). The bio-bibliographers list Arabic translations of the following works: *On Aristotle's Categories*: N 248,21 (= Ḳ 35,3, and aU 155,15-16); *On Aristotle's De interpretatione*: N 249,2 (= Ḳ 35,18); *On Aristotle's Prior Analytics* (partial): N 249,9 (= Ḳ 36,8-9, and aU 155,16-17); *On Aristotle's Posterior Analytics*: N 249,13 (= Ḳ 36,14-15, and aU 155,17); *On Aristotle's Topics*: aU 155,17-18; *On Aristotle's Physics*: N 250,18 (= Ḳ 39,14; 245,5, and aU 155,18); *On Aristotle's De generatione et corruptione*: N 251,7 (= Ḳ 40,21, and aU 155,18-19); *On Porphyry's Isagoge*: aU 155,31-32; *Refutation of Proclus on the eternity of the world*: N 252,14 (= Ḳ 89,4-6, 356,5, and aU 155,28); *That the force* (reading *ḳuwwatuhu* with N and aU rather than Ḳ's *mawtuhu*) *of every finite body is finite*: N 254,25-26 (= Ḳ 356,5-6, and aU 155,28-29); *Refutation of Aristotle*: N 254,26 (= Ḳ 356,6-7, and aU 155,29); *Tafsīr mā bāla li-Arisṭūṭālīs*: N 254,26-27 (= Ḳ 356,7, and aU 155,19) (on the identity of this work, as well as two other unidentified treatises, see Steinschneider, 161-3); *Refutation of Nestorius*: N 254,27 (= Ḳ 356,8, and aU 155,28-29).

A number of medical treatises, including a history of medicine (cited by N 286,17; 287,13.22.24; 289,8; 293,7 [= Ḳ. 92,21; 93,1.6-7.14.19; 126,3; 127,17; 183,18-19, and aU 17,21; 22,4-5; 23,11; 33,19; 71,16-17; 76,1]) as well as commentaries on Galen's works (e.g. in *De usu partium*; N 264,26 = Ḳ 246,3, and aU 155,29), are also attributed to Yaḥyā; for a full list and a summary of Meyerhof's objections to their authenticity, see Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 157-60.

Despite the fact that Philoponus' commentaries on Aristotle were both astute and plentiful, the *falāsifa* mention Philoponus rarely as an authority, at least compared to Alexander of Aphrodisias. Although Averroes does cite Philoponus' infinite force argument in his commentary on *Metaph.*, xii (*Tafsīr mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*, ed. M. Bouyges, iii, 1628,10-15), Philoponus received no credit from the *falāsifa* for his theory of impetus, perhaps his most important contribution to later thought. According to Philoponus (e.g. *in Phys., CAG*, xvii, 641,13-642,20) someone who throws an object imparts a force to it that causes its continued motion. This is in contrast to the theory of Aristotle who, wedded to the notion that a moving object requires an external mover, explained projectile motion as resulting from the push given to the object by the following air. In his final discussion of impetus, Philoponus extends the theory to the moving heavens, to which God imparts a kind of dynamic inclination (*De opificio mundi*, ed. W. Reichardt, 29,2-3). Whether Avicenna's apparently similar notion of an inclining force (cf. *K. al-s̲h̲ifāʾ: Ilāhiyyāt*, ed. G. Anawati *et al.*, 383,4-13; *Fi ʾl-samāʾ wa ʾl-ʿālam*, 3,18, and *Fi ʾl-kawn wa ʾl-fasād*, 193,2-194,16, both ed. M. Ḳāsim) resulted from or developed independently of Philoponus' own impetus theory, is a question complicated by Avicenna's lack of attribution. The philosophers' ambivalence about Philoponus may well have arisen from their perception that Philoponus betrayed Aristotle in the *Contra Aristotelem* (see al-Fārābī's counter-refutation, ed. and tr. Mahdi). This betrayal cast Philoponus into the camp of the theologians: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (306,1-2) mentions Philoponus' dialectical style of argumentation, and Averroes groups Philoponus with the Muslim *mutakallimūn* (*Tafsīr mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*, iii, 1498,1-7).

On the other hand, Philoponus' well-known involvement in christological and trinitarian debates—the bio-bibliographers even claim (incorrectly) that he was a Bishop (*usḳuf* = *episkopos*): N 254,20 (= Ḳ 354,5, and aU 154,5)—may have also inhibited the *mutakallimūn* from openly citing his celebrated arguments (e.g. *in Phys., CAG*, xvi, 428,19-429,20) against Aristotle's notion of infinity. For example, the Muʿtazilī al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ (*K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. H. Nyberg, 35,4-36,3) as well as the As̲h̲ʿarīs al-G̲h̲azālī (*Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. Bouyges, 31,10-32,12) and al-S̲h̲ahrastānī (*Nihāyat al-iḳdām*, ed. A. Guillaume, 29,1-11) all appear to use, without attribution, one of Philoponus' arguments against the world's eternity (Philoponus ap. Simplicium, *In Phys., CAG*, x, 1179,15-27). For whatever reason, the fact remains that Philoponus' influence on mediaeval Muslim intellectuals, while profound, tended to be hidden.

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ii/1 (1931), 1-21; S. Pines, *Les précurseurs musulmans de la théorie de l'impetus*, in *Archeion*, xxi (1938), 298-306; F. Rosenthal, *Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn's Taʾrīkh al-aṭibbāʾ*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 55-80; A. Abel, *La légende de Jean Philopon chez les arabes*, in *Correspondance d'Orient*, x (*Acta Orientalia Belgica*) (1963-4), 251-80; J. Kraemer, *A lost passage from Philoponus'* contra Aristotelem *in Arabic translation*, in *JAOS*, lxxxv (1965), 318-27; M. Mahdi, *Alfarabi against Philoponus*, in *JNES*, xxvi (1967), 233-60; H. Davidson, *John Philoponus as a source of medieval Islamic and Jewish proofs of creation*, in *JAOS*, lxxxix (1969), 357-91; Mahdi, *The Arabic text of Alfarabi's* Against John the Grammarian, in S. Hanna (ed.), *Medieval and middle eastern studies in honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, Leiden 1972, 268-84; Pines, *An Arabic summary of a lost work of John Philoponus*, in *IOS*, ii (1972), 320-52; Davidson, *The principle that a finite body can contain only a finite power*, in S. Stein and R. Loewe (eds.), *Studies in Jewish religious and intellectual history presented to Alexander Altmann*, Alabama 1979, 75-92; G. Troupeau, *Un épitomé arabe du* De contingentia mundi *de Jean Philopon*, in E. Lucchesi and H. Saffrey (eds.), *Mémorial A.-J. Festugière. Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*, Geneva 1984, 77-88; D. Gutas, *Philoponos and Avicenna on the separability of the intellect: a case of orthodox Christian-Muslim agreement*, in *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, xxxi (1986), 121-9; F. Zimmermann, *Philoponus' impetus theory in the Arabic tradition*, in Sorabji, *Philoponus*, 121-9; E. Giannakis, *Philoponus in the Arabic tradition of Aristotle's* Physics, unpubl. doct. diss., Oxford 1992; P. Lettinck, *Aristotle's* Physics *and its reception in the Arabic world*, Leiden 1994; idem, *Philoponus: on Aristotle, Physics 5-8*, London 1994; A. Hasnawi, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise* vs *Jean Philopon. Notes sur quelques traités d'Alexandre "perdus" en Greque, conservés en arabe*, in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, iv/1 (1994), 53-109. (R. Wisnovsky)

YAKAN, ʿADLĪ, Egyptian politician (b. Cairo 1864, d. Paris 1933). His father, Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm Yakan, was a grandson of Muḥammad ʿAlī's sister. The child of a wealthy landed family and educated in part in European and Ottoman schools, ʿAdlī was a member of the Turko-Egyptian aristocracy that had emerged in 19th-century Egypt.

He was a leading figure in Egyptian politics from World War I to the early 1930s. He served as Minister of Education in the Cabinets of Ḥusayn Rushdī during the War. In late 1918–early 1919 he engaged, along with Rushdī, in an unsuccessful attempt to form a delegation to go to London to negotiate Egypt's post-war status. As Foreign Minister in 1920, he did proceed to London to discuss the Egyptian question with Lord Milner. Appointed Prime Minister for the first time in March 1921, ʿAdlī again went to London to re-negotiate Egypt's status with Lord Curzon. Excluded from the negotiations and suspicious of ʿAdlī's more accommodating position, Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*] and the Wafd denounced the ʿAdlī-Curzon negotiations. Faced with Wafdist opposition, the ʿAdlī ministry resigned in December 1921 without concluding an agreement.

ʿAdlī was a founding member of the Liberal Constitutionalist Party in October 1922, serving as the party's president until 1924. He again became Premier in June 1926, in a coalition government with the Wafd. Criticism of his moderate policies by the Wafdist parliamentary majority led to his ministry's resignation in April 1927. In October-December 1929 he led a caretaker ministry charged with supervising parliamentary elections. President of the Senate in 1930, he resigned the post in October 1930 in protest against Ismāʿīl Ṣidkī's abrogation of the Constitution of 1923. Aristocratic and aloof but a man of personal dignity and integrity, ʿAdlī ended his political career as a respected elder statesman, dying in 1933.

Bibliography: Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², v, 6; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, *Thawrat sanat 1919*, 2 vols. Cairo 1955; idem, *Fī aʿkāb al-thawra al-Miṣriyya*, 3 vols. Cairo 1959; Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's liberal experiment, 1922-1936*, Berkeley, etc. 1977; Marius Deeb, *Party politics in Egypt*, London 1979. (J. Jankowski)

YAKAN, MUḤAMMAD WALĪ AL-DĪN, Ottoman-Egyptian liberal spokesman and neoclassicist poet (1873-1921). The son of Ḥasan Sirrī and the grandson of Ibrāhīm Pasha Yakan, a cousin of Muḥammad ʿAlī, Walī al-Dīn Yakan was born in Istanbul on 2 March 1873. He was brought to Egypt by his family as a child. Orphaned at six, Walī al-Dīn was raised by his uncle ʿAlī Ḥaydar, a high official of the Khedivial establishment, and attended the Princes' School (*Madrasat al-Andjāl*) where children of the dynasty were educated. After graduating, Walī al-Dīn worked briefly in the Public Prosecutor's Office and for Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II [*q.v.*]. After a visit to Istanbul in 1895, he became a vehement critic of the Ottoman régime of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*]. His short-lived periodical *al-Iʿtimād* was eventually banned by the Ottoman government. Returning to Istanbul, Walī al-Dīn worked in the Customs Service and was eventually made a member of the Supreme Council for Public Instruction. Continued criticism of the Ḥamīdian régime let to his banishment to Sīwās from 1902 until the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Walī al-Dīn returned to Egypt shortly after the Young Turk Revolution. He worked in the Justice Ministry until 1914, when Sultan Ḥusayn Kāmil [*q.v.*] made him his Arabic Secretary. Afflicted with asthma, in 1919 Walī al-Dīn retired to Helwan in 1919, and died there on 6 March 1921.

Walī al-Dīn Yakan is best known as a neoclassicist Arabic poet and a champion of liberalism and toleration within the late Ottoman empire. His autobiographical *al-Maʿlūm wa ʾl-madjhūl* (1909, 1911) was largely an exposé of Ḥamīdian despotism. Although originally a supporter of the Young Turk movement, his other pre-World War I works *al-Ṣaḥāʾif al-sūd* (1910) and *al-Tadjārib* (1913) contained criticisms of the ethnic inclinations of the Unionist régime which succeeded ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. More an Ottoman patriot than an Egyptian nationalist, Walī al-Dīn also took a relatively sympathetic view of the British occupation and the British impact upon Egypt. He once described himself as a liberal Ottoman who had become a literary Arab.

Bibliography: Walī al-Dīn Yakan's *Dīwān* was published posthumously, Cairo 1924. Two biographies are Sāmī al-Kayyālī, *Walī al-Dīn Yakan*, Cairo 1960, and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Waḥīd, *ʿĀshiḳ al-ḥurriya, Walī al-Dīn Yakan*, Cairo 1987. Evaluations of his place within modern Egyptian literature may be found in Mounah A. Khouri, *Poetry and the making of modern Egypt, 1882-1922*, Leiden 1971, 111-13, and J. Brugman, *An introduction to the history of modern Arabic literature in Egypt*, Leiden 1984, 54-6. Brief biographical sketches are available in Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, ⁵Beirut 1980, viii, 118, and A. Goldschmidt, Jr., *Biographical dictionary of modern Egypt*, Boulder 2000, 229-30. (J. Jankowski)

YAKHSHI FAKĪH, Ottoman historian, d. after 816/1413.

Yakhshi Faḳīh is the earliest known compiler of *menāḳib* [see MANĀḲIB] or exemplary tales of the Ottoman

dynasty in Ottoman Turkish. However, his compilation has not survived as an independent work, and the only reference to it is that made by ʿĀshïkpashazāde [*q.v.*]. The latter records that in 816/1413, while accompanying Meḥemmed I's army on campaign, he fell ill and "remained behind at Geyve, in the house of Yakhshi Faqīh, the son of Orkhān Beg's *imām*... it is on the authority of the son of the *imām* that I relate the *menāqib* of the Ottoman House as far as [Bāyezīd I]" (V.L. Ménage, *The menāqib of Yakhshi Fakīh*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi [1963], 50; ʿĀshïkpashazāde, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1332/1914, 84). Ménage suggests that, contrary to previous assumptions, it is not the material that ʿĀshïkpashazāde and the Anonymous Chronicles have in common which derives from Yakhshi Fakīh but, rather, certain information that is unique to ʿĀshïkpashazāde. According to a variant reading in one manuscript of ʿĀshïkpashazāde's history, Yakhshi Fakīh had a written (rather than an oral) version of the *menākib* that was seen by the younger historian.

Aside from ʿĀshïkpashazāde's statement that Yakhshi Fakīh was the son of Isḥāk Fakīh, *imām* to sultan Orkhān [*q.v.*], no other biographical details are known.

Bibliography: For additional references, see Ménage, *art. cit.*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 50-4.

(Christine Woodhead)

YAʿKŪB, the Arabic name for the Old Testament Patriarch Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham.

Yaʿkūb is mentioned by name in the Kurʾān 16 times in ten sūras. The nature of his appearance tends to be formulaic in that he often appears in reference to other prophets and personages familiar also from the Bible. In what have traditionally been deemed earlier sūras, he appears in the following formula: "We gave [Ibrāhīm] Isḥāk and Yaʿkūb..." (VI, 84; XIX, 49; XXI, 72; XXIX, 27). This has been thought by some scholars to demonstrate that in the early revelations Jacob was considered to be a son of Abraham and not his grandson. This notion might have been corrected in XI, 71, where the divine narrator informs Abraham's unnamed wife: "So We gave her the good news of Isaac, and after Isaac Jacob." Certainly in II, 133, when Jacob on his death bed queries his sons whether they will remain believers, they reply: "We will worship your God, the God of your fathers Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac" (see also XII, 6). In other late sūras (II, 136, 140; III, 84; IV, 163), he appears in a different sequence: "Ibrāhīm, Ismāʿīl, Isḥāk, Yaʿkūb, and the tribes", which seems to correspond more fully with biblical representations. In all of these references, Jacob is portrayed as an ancient and pious biblical prophet, but his character is not developed.

In XIX, 6, Jacob is mentioned in the context of the divine promise to Zakariyyā of the impending birth of Yaḥyā (cf. Luke i. 5-64). Here, the name Jacob carries that of the biblical Israelites as a whole, still without any character development.

We learn slightly more about Jacob in the Joseph sequence of sūra 12. Although mentioned by name only three times, he is referred to indirectly another twenty-five times. Jacob does not trust his sons (XII, 11, 18, 83) and they do not respect their father (XII, 8, 16-17, 95). Jacob's prophetic nature is evident from his knowledge of Joseph's future greatness (XII, 6), his foreboding of and response to the supposed death of Joseph (XII, 13, 18), and in his response to the sons' plight in Egypt (XII, 83, 86-7, 96).

Post-Kurʾānic literature, which clarifies the Kurʾānic genealogical ambiguity by bringing it in line with that of the Bible, greatly expands the role and character of Jacob, often in parallel with the biblical narrative and Jewish aggadic extensions. Jacob's honorific *lakab* is *al-ṣafiyy* "the pure". He was to emerge from his mother's womb before his twin, Esau, but after the latter threatened to block his mother's womb and kill her, Jacob gave way. Esau resisted or disobeyed (*ʿaṣā*), so was called ʿAyṣ or ʿAyṣā, while Jacob was born grasping the heel (*ʿakib*) of his brother. Jacob is called Isrāʾīl because he is noble in the eyes of God (*sariyy Allāh*) or because he travelled at night (*yasīr fi 'l-layl* or *yasrī bi 'l-layl*) to escape the wrath of Esau. Some exegesis has Jacob marry Leah's sister Rachel only after Leah's death (cf. IV, 23). He knew the truth that the entire family would bow down to Joseph all along (cf. XII, 86).

Jacob is cited in the Ḥadīth as an example of one who is patient and trusting in God in the face of suffering (cf. XII, 18), and suggestions are offered in the exegetical literature as to why he suffered; e.g. he does not insist that his sons feed a poor boy who has come to their door, but years later insists on exceptional behaviour for them because they are a community of prophets.

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(R. Firestone)

YAʿKŪB b. ʿALĪ SHĪR [see germiyān-oghullarï].

YAʿKŪB b. DĀʾŪD [see abū ʿabd allāh yaʿkūb].

YAʿKŪB b. KILLIS [see ibn killis].

YAʿKŪB b. al-LAYTH al-Ṣaffār ("the coppersmith"), Abū Yūsuf, adventurer in Sīstān and founder of the dynasty there of Ṣaffārids [*q.v.*], functioned as *amīr* in Sīstān from 247/861 and then as ruler of an extensive military empire in the eastern Islamic lands until his death in 265/879, in practice independent of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs.

The origins of Yaʿkūb's family in Sīstān were clearly humble, despite attempts of later historians to elevate his father al-Layth to the status of head of the guild of coppersmiths in the province. He was one of four brothers who were members of local bands of *ʿayyārs* [*q.v.*], in the Sīstān context something between anti-Khāridjite vigilantes, also called in the sources *muttawwiʿa* "volunteer fighters for the faith", and bands of brigands and rowdies. However, little in Yaʿkūb's later career shows him as a fervent warrior for the cause of Sunnī orthodoxy, and once in supreme power in Sīstān, he did not hesitate to come to an agreement with the local Khāridjites and to incorporate many of them in his own army.

Abandoning the trade of coppersmith, Yaʿkūb rose to power in the capital Zarang [*q.v.*] by first serving under but then setting aside the *ʿayyār* leaders Ṣāliḥ b. al-Naḍr and Dirham b. Naṣr, and was recognised as *amīr* in Sīstān in Muḥarram 247/April 861. He had first to dispose of the threat from the dispossessed Ṣāliḥ, who had fled eastwards to Bust and had sought help from the Zunbīl [*q.v.*], the local ruler in southeastern Afghānistān, the regions of Zamīndāwar

and Zābulistān [*q.vv.*]. Ṣāliḥ was captured and killed by the end of 250/early 865, and the Zunbīl defeated and killed in battle in the region of al-Rukhkhadj [*q.v.*], that of the later Ḳandahār (251/865). A major campaign in 256/869-70 took Yaʿḳūb as far as Kābul, Bāmiyān and Pandjhīr, having marched through Zābulistān via Ghazna, in pursuit of the son of the former Zunbīl. A further campaign into Zābulistān first secured the capture of the Zunbīl's son at the fortress of Nāy Lāmān (nothing more is heard of his fate) and then pushed on northwards to Balkh, where Yaʿḳūb captured the city from its ruler, Dāwūd b. Abī Dāwūd [see BĀNĪDJŪRIDS, in Suppl.]. These conquests also gave Yaʿḳūb temporary control of the silver mines of Pandjhīr and Badakhshān [*q.vv.*], and coins of his were minted there from 259/872-3 to 261/874-5. These Ṣaffārid activities in eastern Afghānistān spelt the end of the dynasty of Zunbīls who had blocked expansion of the Arabs there for some two centuries, and the Islamisation of that region, including the Kābul valley (but not the lands to its north, Kāfiristān [*q.v.*]) now presumably took shape.

Yaʿḳūb was now ready to attack the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*], nominal suzerains over Sīstān as governors of the East for the ʿAbbāsids, although they had not in fact exercised any control over Sīstān since 239/854. There were clashes in the frontier zone of western Afghānistān where the spheres of Ṣaffārid and Ṭāhirid authority met, possibly over taxation, and in 253/867 Yaʿḳūb attacked Harāt and Pūshang, capturing various of the *Ṭāhiriyya* (members of the family or their partisans?). Negotiations over their release brought Yaʿḳūb into direct contact with the ʿAbbāsid caliphs for the first time, and al-Muʿtazz was compelled to award Yaʿḳūb the governorship of Fārs if he could secure it, explicit recognition for the first time of Yaʿḳūb's rising power in the East. In 259/873, however, Yaʿḳūb was ready for a final onslaught on the Ṭāhirids' capital, Nīshāpūr, at a moment when Ṭāhirid authority was already being weakened in Khurāsān by pressure from the Zaydī Shīʿīs of Ṭabaristān and their Daylamī allies. Yaʿḳūb entered the city in Shawwāl 259/August 873 without striking a blow, captured Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir II b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], and advanced into the Caspian coastlands, pursuing the Zaydī Imām al-Ḥasan b. Zayd [*q.v.*]. The ʿAbbāsid caliph protested mildly in that same year at Yaʿḳūb's annexation of Khurāsān, and more vigorously in 261/874, when ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir I assembled the pilgrims from northern and eastern Persia at Baghdād, denounced Yaʿḳūb's actions as being without caliphal authority and absolving them from allegiance to him.

Yaʿḳūb's considered response was to spend the next two years consolidating his position in Kirmān, Fārs and Khūzistān in southern Persia, having temporarily taken over Fārs in 255/869 though unable to hold it whilst he was involved with the affairs of Khurāsān and the Caspian provinces. But in 261/875 Yaʿḳūb re-appeared in Fārs, defeated the local chief Muḥammad b. Wāṣil, and moved westwards to Rāmhurmuz and Khūzistān, thereby threatening Lower ʿIrāḳ and making feasible a junction with the Zandj [*q.v.*] rebels there against the caliphate (in practice, Yaʿḳūb rejected overtures from the Zandj leader ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, but the appearance of the Ṣaffārid armies undoubtedly bolstered the Zandj cause indirectly). The panic-stricken caliph al-Muʿtamid offered Yaʿḳūb a vast array of governorships if he would halt his advance, but the latter refused and advanced into ʿIrāḳ. However, in a battle near Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl [*q.v.*] on the Tigris (9 Radjab 262/8 April 876), Yaʿḳūb's army was decisively defeated, abandoning his baggage and allowing various of his captives, including Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, to escape. The threat to Baghdād was thus lifted. Yaʿḳūb spent the last three years of his life in Khūzistān and Fārs, still spurning an alliance with the Zandj, and died of an abdominal malady in Shawwāl 275/June 879. He was succeeded as ruler over the Ṣaffārid empire by his brother ʿAmr b. al-Layth [*q.v.*].

Yaʿḳūb's meteoric rise and the great empire of military conquest which he assembled mark the first breach in the fabric of the united ʿAbbāsid caliphate, for Yaʿḳūb dismissed the "caliphal fiction" where by all local rulers, however much autonomy they enjoyed in practice, acknowledged their authority as arising from an act of caliphal delegation. The provincial Persian Yaʿḳūb, on the other hand, rejoiced in his plebeian origins, denounced the ʿAbbāsids as usurpers, and regarded both the caliphs and such governors from aristocratic Arab families as the Ṭāhirids with contempt. Frugal in his mode of life and a fearless military commander, Yaʿḳūb was sceptical in questions of inherited power and social prestige, and was an exponent of *Realpolitik*. He cannot have taken seriously the attempts of the eulogists, who inevitably gathered in his entourage, to link the obscure Layth family with the Sāsānid emperors and the mythical first kings of Persia, nor is it at all certain whether we should regard the scraps of verse in New Persian emanating from his circle as showing Sīstān as a cradle of the New Persian literary revival [see MUḤAMMAD B. WAṢĪF].

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2. Studies. The pioneering study was that of Th. Nöldeke, *Yakūb der Kupferschmied und seine Dynastie*, in his *Orientalische Skizzen*, Berlin 1892, 187-217, Eng. tr. *Sketches from oriental history*, London and Edinburgh 1892, 172-206. The early career of Yaʿḳūb is treated in detail by C.E. Bosworth in *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 109-21, and his career of conquest in idem, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542-3)*, Costa Mesa and New York 1994, 67-180. See also idem, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 106-16; *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 172-3 no. 84; and ṢAFFĀRIDS.

(C.E. Bosworth)

YAʿḲŪB BEG, Muḥammad, ruler of Kāshghar 1282-94/1865-77.

He was born in 1820, or rather 1826-7, in Pishkend near Tāshkend. His father was Pīr Muḥammad Mīrzā (or Muḥammad Laṭīf), who claimed descent from Tīmūr. Originally from Ḳaratigīn [*q.v.*], he became *ḳāḍī* of Kurama and moved on to Pishkend in 1234/1818. Yaʿḳūb Beg's mother was the sister of the influential Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, who tutored Yaʿḳūb Beg in his youth. Traditionally, he should have become a *mullā*, but instead through his brother-in-law, Nūr Muḥammad Khān, governor of Tāshkend, he joined the Khoḳand army, and in 1261-2/1845, with the rank of *ḳosh-begi* [*q.v.*] was entrusted with the defence of Aḳ-Masdjid. Here he married a Ḳïpčaḳ woman from Juelik, who bore him his first son, Beg Ḳulī Beg, in 1265/1848. In 1270/1853 he had to abandon

Aḳ-Masdjid to the Russians. When he defended Čimkend in 1281/1864, he again had to retire to Tāshkend, where he joined ʿĀlim Ḳul, *de facto* ruler of Khoḳand. In the same year, to remove a possible rival, he was sent by ʿĀlim Ḳul with 66 followers to support Buzurg Khān's claims as head of the Khʷādja family in Kāshghar [*q.v.*]. He had been recalled by the usurper Ṣiddīḳ Beg to legitimise his rule. Ṣiddīḳ Beg was killed after a bloody feud, and Buzurg Khān recognised the ruler of Khoḳand as his suzerain and appointed Yaʿḳūb Beg *kosh-begi*. In 1284/1867 Yaʿḳūb Beg ousted Buzurg Khān. After he was joined by Khoḳand refugees in 1282/1865, Yaʿḳūb Beg managed to lift the Chinese siege of the new town of Kāshghar. In 1283-4/1866-7 he consolidated his rule over the southern part of Eastern Turkistan [see SINKIANG], and the Amīr of Bukhārā conferred upon him the title of *Atalïḳ ghāzī*.

In 1287/1870 Yaʿḳūb defeated the Dungans [see AL-ṢĪN], when he drove them from Urumči. After that, he controlled almost all of Eastern Turkistan except for the Ili valley, occupied by the Russians the same year. In 1293-4/1876-7 the Chinese under Zuo Zongtang reconquered Sinkiang or Xinjiang.

Yaʿḳūb Beg died probably on 16 Djumādā I 1294/29 May 1877 from unknown causes. His son Beg Ḳulī Beg after a short civil war became his legitimate successor, but fled to Khoḳand in Ṣafar 1295/February 1878, from where he tried to enter Kāshghar again until 1299/1881.

His contemporaries were fascinated by Yaʿḳūb Beg's personality and success in state-building. Attributing to him a rather reckless youth, he became in the eyes of his contemporaries the founder of the first quasi-modern state in Central Asia with a seemingly efficient army and a civilian administration based strictly on the *Sharīʿa*. The members of the Forsyth mission in 1289-90/1872-3 found a well-functioning administration, while the Chinese reports from 1294/1877 onwards—from a war-stricken country—paint a different picture. In the Chinese sources, Yaʿḳūb Beg is normally called an adventurer coming from outside Sinkiang and imposing an Islamic rule on a multi-ethnic and multi-religious population [see MASRAḤ]. Buğra, himself from Sinkiang, condemns him for imposing foreign Andidjānī rule on the Muslims in Sinkiang. While Russians and Britains regarded him as a possible and not negligible pawn in the "Great Game", Sāyrāmī and Ottoman sources describe him as a proponent of Muslim unity.

Yaʿḳūb Beg built up his power by trusting almost exclusively his Khoḳandī kin, exceptions being Ḥakīm Khān, descendant of the Khʷādjas, and Niyāz Beg of Khotan. Both of these deserted the toppling Kāshgharī state in the final crisis to become rivals for power. He resorted also to diplomatic means to achieve recognition. Mainly through his most important agent and nephew, Sayyid Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb Khān, he concluded treaties of trade with Russia in 1872 and Britain in 1873, and gained the recognition of the Ottoman empire as Amīr of Kāshghar, receiving a modest amount of military help.

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(RANA VON MENDE-ALTAYLI)

YAʿḲŪB BEY [see GERMIYĀN-OGHULLARÏ].

YAʿḲŪB ČELEBI [see GERMIYĀN-OGHULLARÏ].

YAʿḲŪB ḲADRĪ, ḲARA-ʿOTHMĀNOGHLU, in modern Turkish orthography, Yakub Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Turkish author, journalist, politician and diplomat (1889-1974).

In 1909, he was a charter member of the literary movement *Fedjr-i Ātī* ("The Dawn of the Future") [*q.v.*], which embraced the motto "Art for art's sake". After becoming conscious of the deleterious effects for Turkey of the Balkan War of 1912, his philosophy of art changed; he now argued that art was first and foremost the expression of a society, of a nation, and of a historical period. Hence all of his nine novels depict a specific period in modern Turkish history. In order of their publication in book form, these novels are: *Kirālïḳ ḳonaḳ* ("Mansion to let", 1922), *Nūr Baba* (1922), *Ḥüküm gedjesi* ("The night of judgement", 1927), *Ṣodom we Gomōre* ("Sodom and Gomorrah", 1928), *Yaban* ("The stranger", 1932), *Ankara* (1934), *Bir sürgün* ("An exile", 1937), *Panorama* (1953-4), *Hep o şarkı* ("Forever that song", 1956) [see ḲIṢṢA. 3(b)]. The most controversial of these novels were *Nūr Baba* and *Yaban*. *Nūr Baba* was attacked for revealing Bektāshī secrets and presenting a dervish lodge in a negative light. *Yaban* dramatised the alienation of the intellectual from the masses for whom he purported to speak. All of his novels demonstrate his deft use of irony.

He was elected to the Grand National Assembly in 1923, and served as a representative till 1934. In 1932, he started to publish a journal called *Kadro* ("The staff"). Critical reaction from within his party to the journal's ideas led him to be appointed ambassador in 1934. He served as an ambassador in various posts till his retirement in 1955. He recounts his years as a diplomat in his memoir *Zoraki diplomat* ("Forced diplomat", 1955). His other memoirs are: *Anamın kitabı* ("My mother's book", 1957), *Vatan yolunda* ("On the road to and for the nation", 1958), *Politikada 45 yıl* ("Forty-five years in politics", 1958), *Gençlik ve edebiyat hatıraları* ("Memories about youth and literature", 1969).

In 1912, he contracted tuberculosis, from which he suffered all his life. Perhaps because of his frail health, he was of a pessimistic bent, but nevertheless he always remained an idealist. He was a fervent admirer of Atatürk and his ideals, believing that Kemalism was the first humanist reaction to imperialism and as such had a universal dimension. He presents his ideas on Mustafa Kemal in his monograph *Atatürk* (1946).

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YAʿḲŪB AL-**MANṢŪR** [see abū yūsuf yaʿḳūb al-manṣūr].

YAʿḲŪB PAS̲H̲A, physician and official for the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed the Conqueror.

Ottoman, Jewish and Venetian sources provide information about him, called Jacopo or Giacomo in Italian sources, yet due to the possibility that other personalities named Yaʿḳūb or even anonymous ones may have been intended by some of the surviving texts, much of his life remains obscure. He was born around 829-34/1425-30 and came from the Italian town of Gaeta. Of a Jewish family, he remained a Jew through most of his career, but became a Muslim late in life, along with several of his sons, although it is likely that some of his descendants retained their original religion. The date of his conversion is not known, but it must have occurred before Muḥarram 888/ February 1483, when a document establishing a pious foundation of his was witnessed by many high-level courtiers, the future Grand Vizier Mesīḥ Pas̲h̲a among them. No mention of his name later than this date has apparently been located. Thus an older assumption, namely, that Yaʿḳūb Pas̲h̲a was killed during the disturbances following the demise of Meḥemmed II in 863/1481 cannot be correct. An Istanbul town quarter was apparently named after Yaʿḳūb Pas̲h̲a's foundation, but by the middle of the 10th/16th century, both these had disappeared.

We do not know where Yaʿḳūb/Giacomo received his medical training, but he appears in the entourage of the young Sultan Meḥemmed II, whom he served not only as a physician but also in administrative capacities, among other things as a *defterdār*. Without stating his sources, Meḥmed T̲h̲üreyyā in his *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī* (Istanbul 1308-after 1316/1888-99) claims that he also achieved the titles of *wezīr* and *muṣāḥib* and was highly respected, placing his subject's death in 889/1484. Yaʿḳūb Pas̲h̲a's descendants may well have received a diploma exempting them from various taxes, the poll-tax (here called *bas̲h̲ k̲h̲arād̲j̲ī*) and the *ʿawāriḍ* among them. However, as the relevant diploma is only extant in a rather free translation into Hebrew, which moreover leaves out the name of the beneficiary, it is possible that it was granted not to Yaʿḳūb/ Giacomo but to some other, less well-known Jewish medical man of Meḥemmed's.

Writing before 965/1558, Ṭas̲h̲köprüzāde praises Yaʿḳūb/Giacomo's medical skills and records several anecdotes describing them. These seem to have earned him the sultan's trust throughout the latter's reign; however, during Meḥemmed's last illness, it was not he who treated the ruler but the Persian physician Lārī. Already in 861-2/1457, Giacomo had received a gift of fine red velvet from the Venetian Senate, so that he must have been regarded as an influential figure at court. In 875-6/1471 the Venetian Senate contacted him through intermediaries after an offer on the physician's part to have the sultan murdered, an overture to which the Senate responded positively. However, there is no evidence that Giacomo of Gaeta ever followed up on his promises, nor was he at the Ottoman court ever accused of plotting with Venetians or others. He may in actual fact have been an Ottoman secret agent, exploring Venetian intentions on behalf of the sultan.

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AL-**YAʿḲŪBĪ**, early Arab historian and geographer, *fl.* in the second half of the 3rd/9th century.

Life. Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿḳūb b. D̲j̲aʿfar b. Wahb b. Wāḍiḥ was born in Bag̲h̲dād in the 3rd/9th century. Trained as a member of the secretarial class, he went to Armenia as a young man and later served under the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] in K̲h̲urāsān. After the fall of the Ṭāhirids there in 259/872-3, he settled in Egypt, and died there in the early 4th/10th century, but apparently not before 292/905.

Works. Three of al-Yaʿḳūbī's works have come down to us. The first in importance is the *Ta'rīk̲h̲* which, as he himself describes it, is a "concise" account of the origins and history of the world (ii, 2). Published in two volumes, the first part begins with Adam and his descendants (the section dealing with the creation of the world is lost) and includes accounts, *inter alia*, of the Israelites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Indians, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Chinese, Egyptians, Yemenis and Syrians. In his discussion of the Israelites, he frequently quotes from the Hebrew Bible, to which he probably had access in Arabic via versions in Greek and Syriac (Adang, 120), and he cites the New Testament in describing the life of Jesus. Biblical materials are often seamlessly combined in al-Yaʿḳūbī's narrative with *midras̲h̲im* and apocrypha, reflecting no doubt the way such materials reached him and other mediaeval Muslim historians (Adang, 117-20 and *passim*). His emphasis throughout is on highlighting the cultural achievements of the peoples he describes, and it is on this same note, with an account of the religious and cultural life in pre-Islamic Arabia, that his first volume ends.

A substantial part of the second volume is devoted to the life of Muḥammad, following which the history of Islam is organised by the reigns of individual caliphs. His history is in fact one of the earliest surviving works to follow this mode of organisation (Noth, 46). The *ayyām* of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUt̲h̲mān are described in sequence before "the caliphate of the commander of the faithful ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib" (ii, 206) and of his son al-Ḥasan; the account then proceeds with the *ayyām* of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān and his Umayyad successors, followed by the ʿAbbāsids, the last of whom to be described is the caliph al-Muʿtamid (d. 279/892 [*q.v.*]). Al-Yaʿḳūbī also gives considerable attention to the Imāmiyya and the travails of their *imāms*, which has led scholars to debate (inconclusively) whether he ought to be considered as a S̲h̲īʿī, and if so in what sense. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, 173, sees al-Yaʿḳūbī as trying "to find a compromise between the conflicting views" on the first *fitna*; but al-Yaʿḳūbī's hostile account of the caliphate

of ʿUthmān (ii, 186-206) seems to leave little room for any such compromise. While his hostility towards the Umayyads stands out clearly, as does his proclivity for ʿAlī, the precise character of al-Yaʿḳūbī's religious orientation remains uncertain. His attitude towards the ʿAbbāsids seems, in general, to have been favourable though there are discordant notes. His characterisation of ʿAbbāsid rule as mere *ayyām* rather than as *khilāfa* might suggest some ambivalence in his attitude towards the régime, for instance; and his account of the death of Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*], the seventh *imām* in the reckoning of the Twelver Shīʿa, while in custody of Hārūn al-Rashīd (ii, 499-500) is not complimentary to the ʿAbbāsids, even though the caliph is not explicitly blamed for the death. Though al-Yaʿḳūbī does not give *isnāds* for his accounts, some of his information comes from ʿAbbāsid family sources (he himself was a *mawlā* of the ʿAbbāsid family); but it also comes from the ʿAlids (in particular, through Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], the sixth *imām*) (ii, 3; cf. also Duri, 67).

Owing perhaps to his secretarial background but, equally, in the interest of narrative embellishment, al-Yaʿḳūbī offers a generous sampling of letters which purport to have been written by some of the individuals who figure prominently in his accounts. He also shows considerable interest in the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*]. Other literary forms such as speeches and lists are common as well in his narratives. One noteworthy instance of the latter is the listing of scholars (usually characterised here as *fuḳahāʾ*) appended to the reigns of individual caliphs. Such lists seem intended to suggest the early origin of religious scholars recognisable as a determinate group—from the time of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs [see AL-KHULAFĀʾ AL-RĀSHIDŪN, in Suppl.] onwards—as well as the continuity of this institution in later generations. Yet it is odd that there are no such lists for the reign of al-Maʾmūn—precisely the caliph who, with the *miḥna* [*q.v.*], inaugurated a strenuous conflict with many of the *ʿulamāʾ*—or, for that matter, for any of his successors. This example may, however, indicate no more than the selective, anthology-like character of al-Yaʿḳūbī's work which belongs, in this as in other respects, firmly to the genre of *adab* [*q.v.*].

Al-Yaʿḳūbī's other major work is the *Kitāb al-Buldān*, which he completed in Egypt in 278/891, and which is an administrative geography of the lands of Islam, of the Turks and of the Nubians; portions describing Byzantium, India and China are no longer extant. Based on al-Yaʿḳūbī's travels in Armenia, Ādharbāydjān, India and North Africa, and, no doubt on his experience in the caliphal administration, this book provides much historical, topographical and statistical information on the regions it describes. Like the *Taʾrīkh*, the *Buldān* is also a work of *adab*. In their interest in the influence of climate on human life and culture (a theme already investigated by al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*]), their celebration of Baghdād as the unique and blessed meeting place of the peoples and cultures of the world (*Buldān*, 233 ff.; Miquel, iv, 225 ff.), and, in general, their concern to provide an abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*) of such knowledge which "one cannot afford to ignore" (233), the *Buldān* and the *Taʾrīkh* evince features common to many a work of the *adab* genre.

Al-Yaʿḳūbī is also the author of a short treatise entitled *Mushākalat al-nās li-zamānihim* in which he shows, in a highly schematic and impressionistic fashion, some of the ways in which the life and tastes of people are modelled on those of the caliphs under whose reign they live (the caliphs are described in chronological sequence, from Abū Bakr to the ʿAbbāsid al-Muʿtaḍid, d. 289/902 [*q.v.*]). In its attention to the supposed origin of particular practices and those who instituted them, as Millward has observed, this work is of interest as an early example of the *awāʾil* genre. More important, however, is this work's testimony to al-Yaʿḳūbī's search for patterns in history, a concern which is occasionally also in evidence in both his *Taʾrīkh* and *Buldān* (cf. Khalidi, *Arabic historical thought*, 124 ff.).

In general, the principal importance of al-Yaʿḳūbī's historical work is threefold. One of the earliest surviving examples of "universal" history in Islam, it is especially noteworthy for its attention to the cultural peculiarities and diversity of the ancient, pre-Islamic nations and cultures it surveys. Also significant in this regard is his unusually extensive use of non-Islamic sources, e.g. biblical, midrashic and apocryphal materials, to provide a detailed account of the beliefs and practices of the peoples he describes (cf. Adang, 38, 71 ff., 117 ff.). Second, though the character of al-Yaʿḳūbī's Shīʿī proclivities remains uncertain and, in any case, almost all classical works of history preserve traditions with many different tendencies (cf. Noth, 9-10 and *passim*), the *Taʾrīkh*, like the work of al-Masʿūdī [*q.v.*], does provide much insight and information on early Shīʿī attitudes and, in so doing, supplements works with a decidedly Sunnī perspective on what we know about the formation of religious identities in the first centuries of Islam. Finally, al-Yaʿḳūbī's work represents, even as it contributed to, the growth of *adab*-historiography, an increasingly ascendant trend which even the massive *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*], based on the methodology of *ḥadīth*-scholarship, could do little to displace.

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(MUHAMMAD QASIM ZAMAN)

YAʿḲŪBIYYŪN, YAʿĀḲIBA, YAʿḲŪBIYYA, pls. of Yaʿḳūbī, the Arabic term for the Jacobite Christians.

"Jacobites" is the designation for members of the Syrian Orthodox Church, whose dogmatical position (Christ's divinity and humanity coming together into one nature), known as monophysitism, was thought

to be at variance with the moderate dyophysite christology formulated by the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451; one divine and one human nature united into one person and hypostasis). Consequently, the "Monophysites" were considered as heretics by the leaders of the Imperial Church. In the aftermath of the Council, the situation in the Patriarchate of Antioch was much confused, with some members of the clergy and the laity professing a monophysite christology, and others, nicknamed *Malkāyē* (Melkites), i.e. followers of the Emperor (*malkā*), supporting the resolutions of Chalcedon. Allegiances, however, could change, and periods of fierce persecution by the imperial authority alternated with attempts at reaching a compromise. A complex mixture of cultural (a certain, but not absolute, opposition Greek-Syriac), nationalistic (erosion of the unitarian ideology of the Roman Empire), socio-economic (recession in Syria connected with social unrest; repression) and theological factors contributed to promoting feelings of a distinct "monophysite" identity. The activity of Jacob Burdʿānā (Arabic: Bardāʿī, also Bardānī, d. A.D. 578), who ordained several bishops and appointed a monophysite Patriarch for the see of Antioch, brought about the result that, along with the Imperial Church, an independent monophysite Church came into being in the Patriarchate of Antioch. Its members were mainly Syriac-speaking, but also included some Arab tribes (G̲h̲assān, Tag̲h̲lib [*q.vv.*]) who belonged to the monophysite community and even had their own bishops. Before Jacob's lifetime, the Monophysites had already crossed the classical boundaries of the Antiochian Patriarchate and settled in Sāsānid territory, sc. in ʿIrāḳ, mainly in the region around Takrīt. The name of the Jacobite Church is to be traced back to Jacob Burdʿānā, but the Jacobites consider the christianisation of Edessa [see AL-RUHĀ] as the true beginning of their Church.

Though in the course of history, the term "Jacobites" was currently used by the Jacobites to designate themselves and was also known to Muslim heresiographers, in modern times the name "Syrian Orthodox" or "West Syrian" (the opposite of "East Syrian", i.e. "Nestorians" [see NASṬŪRIYYŪN] and "Chaldaeans") is preferred, with "Syrian Orthodox" as the correct self-designation. In a more general sense, "Jacobites" was also used as synonym for all monophysite Christians, including the Copts (e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 151).

1. The Islamic period.

On account of a lack of contemporary Jacobite sources, it is a matter of discussion whether the advance of the first Islamic troops and their conquest of important centres of Jacobite Christians such as Edessa (16/637) and neighbouring cities in Mesopotamia and Syria were welcomed as a liberation from the persecutions by the Greeks. Echos of this assumption can be found in the writings of later West Syrian historiographers such as the Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē (d. 845), the Patriarch Michael the Syrian (d. 1199) or the bishop and scholar Gregory Barhebraeus (d. 1286 [see IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ]). In Persia, the West Syrian Metropolitan of Takrīt, Mārūtā, took the side of the Muslims and opened the gates of the citadel to them (Barhebraeus, *Chron. ecclesiasticum*, ed. J. Abbeloos and Th. Lamy, Louvain 1877, iii, 123-5). On the other hand, the same sources frequently stress the cruelty of the Muslim invaders and seem to consider the consequences of their attacks as a just punishment by God for the sins committed by the Jacobite community.

During the reign of the first Umayyad caliphs, Christians had many opportunities ("as scribes, managers and administrators" according to Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē) to contribute to the development of the new society in Syria. Incidentally, we also know the names of West Syrians holding public functions. One of the best known was al-Ak̲h̲ṭal [*q.v.*], a member of the Banū Tag̲h̲lib and court poet under ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. The latter also summoned the rich Edessan merchant Athanasius b. Gummāyē to his court and appointed him secretary to his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, governor of Egypt (Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē, in *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1899-1910, iv, 447, ii, 474). During the reign of the same caliph, however, the Jacobite Church was also confronted with the problem of apostasy, mainly due to mixed marriages, as we may infer from some ecclesiastical canons issued by bishop Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), but also the first discriminatory measures aimed at Christians played a role here. Patriarch John II (d. 754) was the first to obtain official recognition of his dignity from the caliph himself (Marwān II).

In the ʿAbbāsid period, with the transfer of the seat of government to ʿIrāḳ, most areas populated by Jacobite Christians were situated relatively far from the capital, partly even outside Muslim territory. This situation laid Jacobite church leaders open to the accusation of being on the side of the Byzantines (Fiey, *Abbassides*, 183). This did not prevent Patriarchs regularly undertaking the journey to Bag̲h̲dād to obtain their investiture diploma, or even to appeal to the caliph against rival candidates or simply to settle matters of church discipline. The institution of the maphrianate (see below) appeared to be a practical solution for the problem of the contacts of the Jacobites with the authorities in Bag̲h̲dād. In 301/913, a patent delivered by al-Muḳtadir to the East Syrian Catholicos Abraham Abrāzā (d. 937) regulates the official relationship between the Nestorian, Jacobite and Melkite hierarchies and the Muslim authorities, to the advantage of the Nestorians, who became the preferred interlocutors of the court (Fiey, *Abbassides*, 130). Only the Nestorian Catholicos was entitled to have his official residence in the capital. The creation of Crusader states in areas important for the Jacobite community, such as Edessa and Antioch (491/1098) and Jerusalem (492/1099), allowed the West Syrians to develop a cautious openness to the Church of Rome in theological and church political matters, without wishing, however, to submit to papal authority, as this openness was readily interpreted by the Latin clergy in Jerusalem and Antioch.

By the end of the 5th/11th century, much of the power of the ʿAbbāsids was taken over by the Saldjūḳ Turks, who settled in the traditional homelands of the Jacobites, including those territories which had so far remained outside Muslim rule. According to Michael the Syrian, the relations between Saldjūḳ and Jacobite leaders were, on the whole, relatively good. He praised their tolerant attitude in matters of faith, and he maintained good relations with the Rūm Saldjūḳ Ḳilīdj Arslan II. An entire chapter of his chronicle is devoted to the origin of these "Turkāyē" or "Turḳāyē" (*Chron. Michel Syr.*, iv, 149 ff., 566 ff.).

In the later ʿAbbāsid period, important parts of the Christian population had embraced Islam on account of the growing number of discriminatory measures. The Jacobite church was nevertheless able to maintain an extensive network of metropolitan sees and important monasteries, which, in the 13th century, extended from Acre on the Mediterranean coast to Tabrīz in Ād̲h̲arbāydjān. After the destruction of Bag̲h̲dād by the Mongols (656/1258), the centre of gravity of power again moved eastward. The first Mongol leaders were initially well disposed towards the Christians, mainly East

Syrians, but the Jacobites also took advantage of this situation. Their Maphrian, Gregory Barhebraeus, frequently stayed in the Il-Khānid capitals of Tabrīz and especially at Marāgha, where he was able to study contemporary Persian accounts of the Mongol invasions such as the *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushāy* by Djuwaynī. By the end of the 13th century, however, the Mongols proclaimed Islam as the official religion of their empire. The 14th century was a period of decline, not only on account of the changed religious policy of the Mongol leaders, but also due to inner dissensions (see below). The Turco-Mongol incursions by Tīmūr Lang at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries accelerated this process and brought about the destruction of important Jacobite centres in Āmid (Diyārbakir), Mārdīn and the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. Thereafter, the West Syrians became almost everywhere a minority, living on the margin of society. Only some isolated villages in the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn [*q.v.*] and northern Mesopotamia remained entirely Jacobite. Their immediate neighbours were mostly Kurdish tribes, whose feudal structure they shared, at least in some regions. In the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn they also kept their own Aramaic language, surviving to the present day [see ṬŪR ʿABDĪN. 4.].

This situation continued during much of the Ottoman period. The position of the Jacobites was still further weakened by the creation of a Uniate Syrian Catholic Church (1662 and, on a permanent basis, from 1783 onwards), to which many important members of the Jacobite community felt attracted. Since the end of the 18th century the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul had become the sole representative of all monophysite Christians of the empire, a tangible proof of the marginal position of the West Syrians. Only in 1882 was the Jacobite church recognised as an independent *millet* [*q.v.*]. Due to their close ties with the Armenian community, the West Syrians became involved in the Turco-Armenian conflict. During the massacres of 1895-6, the West Syrians succeeded in conveying to the Turks that their community was different from that of the Armenians, hence they generally escaped unharmed; but this distinction from the Armenians (and the Assyrian Christians) was not made in 1915-16, when about one-third of the population of the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn fell victim to the violence of the Ottoman soldiers and their Kurdish allies, amongst many other massacred Christians.

Though in 1923 the Patriarch had been compelled to leave Dayr al-Zaʿfarān, the age-old see of the Patriarchate (see below), the first years of the new Turkey of Muṣṭafā Kemāl were relatively calm due to its non-religious, nationalist orientation. After his death in 1938, the West Syrians had to pay for the fact that the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) only speaks of the religious and cultural rights of non-specified, "non-Islamic minorities". According to the current interpretation by the Turkish authorities, only the Jewish, Greek and Armenian communities are recognised as such, and not the West Syrians.

From the 1960s onwards, many West Syrians from Turkey and the Middle Eastern countries emigrated to Western Europe and North America initially as economic migrants, but since the 1980s also as applicants for political asylum (see further on this emigration; ṬŪR ʿABDĪN. 2).

2. Ecclesiastical structure.

The head of the Syrian Orthodox Church is the Patriarch "of Antioch and all the East", "all the East" referring to a classical Roman administrative division in the region east of Antioch. In the pre-Islamic as well as in the Islamic periods, the Patriarch had no fixed residence, but mainly stayed in important monasteries outside Antioch, and in the Crusader period, also in Antioch itself.

From the 11th century till 1293 he used to reside in the monastery of Mār Barṣawmā near Malaṭya. In 1293 the seat of the Patriarchate was transferred to Dayr al-Zaʿfarān, near Mārdīn, which the Patriarch left only in 1923 for Ḥimṣ (Syria). Since 1959 his residence has been in Damascus, with a recently-erected clerical training school in Maʿarrat-Ṣaydnāyā. Official texts are published in *al-Madjalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya.* The Metropolitan of Takrīt, since the 11th century called *Maphreyānā* or Maphrian, was the official representative of the Patriarch for the eastern dioceses of the West Syrian Church. He had far-reaching powers, such as the right to convene synods and the ordination of metropolitans. Since 1152 his actual place of residence was in Mawṣil or its neighbourhood (monastery of Mār Mattay). In the ʿAbbāsid period, he had to intervene frequently at the court on behalf of his coreligionists. The function was abolished in 1859, but re-established in 1974 for the ancient community of Syrian Orthodox in India. A schismatic patriarchate and maphrianate existed in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn between 1364 and 1495.

3. The Church within the Islamic religious and cultural milieu.

(a) *Apologetic and polemical literature.* It does not seem that in the context of literary contracts with Islam (both in Syriac and Arabic), the Jacobites developed special themes absent from the writings of authors belonging to different Christian communities such as the Melkites or, especially, the Nestorians. Only in the field of christology had the Jacobites to be aware that their emphasis on the unity of the divine and human aspect in Christ was difficult to accept by Muslim thinkers, some of whom felt more sympathy for a "Nestorian" christology, which, by its presumed emphasis on the separation between Christ's divinity and humanity, seemed less to jeopardise God's transcendence. Thus the caliph al-Mahdī agreed with the East Syrian Catholicos Timothy I that the christological position of the West Syrians virtually amounted to theopaschitism. Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] took it upon himself to defend the traditional Jacobite christological position against an (otherwise unknown) Muslim thinker, Aḥmad Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Miṣrī, who partly supported the Nestorian point of view (E. Platti, *La grande polémique anti-nestorienne de Yahya b. ʿAdi*, CSCO, 427-8, 437-8, Louvain 1981-2).

The oldest example of West Syrian apologetics is the record (in Syriac) of a dispute between Patriarch John I d-Sedraw(hy) (d. 768) and a Muslim *amīr.* Though the dispute itself may have been a historical event which took place as early as 24/644, the record is a literary fiction composed in a much later period (the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th centuries A.D., see G. Reinink, *The beginnings of Syriac apologetic literature in response to Islam*, in *Oriens Christianus*, lxxvii [1993], 165-87): It deals with issues such as the doctrine of the godhead of Christ, the Trinity, the superiority of Christianity and the presence of legislative texts in Christian scriptures. The language of this dispute is simple and straightforward, and lacks the philosophical terminology, which became characteristic of later West Syrian apologists. Thus the archdeacon Nonnus of Nisibis (middle of the 9th century) defended the Jacobite creed with arguments based on Scripture, but, especially, on discursive reasoning. His work (in Syriac) was mainly directed against Jews and Muslims, but the author clearly expressed his preference for Islam which he considers to be more akin to Christian-

ity than all other outside religions, including Judaism. To substantiate this claim, he adduced what became in later times the classical argument of the Ḳur'ān's recognition of Christ as being born from a Virgin and Christ and as being "the Word and Spirit of God" (A. Van Roey, *Nonnus de Nisibe. Traité apologétique*, Louvain 1948). Nonnus' teacher Ḥabīb b. Khidma Abū Rā'iṭa (first half of the 9th century) was the author of several apologetic treatises, all composed in Arabic. His intention was to present a Christian readership with a solid apologetic argumentation that could help them to formulate adequate answers to Muslim objections and questions. To explain the dogma of the Trinity, he made use of the classical, Islamic method of reasoning by analogy (*ḳiyās*). His efforts to be understandable to Muslims by employing the philosophical and lexical terminology of contemporary Muslim *mutakallimūn* are especially noteworthy. In order to discourage conversion to Islam he analyses the different motives that caused Christians to give up their religion (S. Griffith, *Habib ibn Hidmah Abu Ra'itah, a Christian mutakallim of the first Abbasid century*, in *Oriens Christianus*, lxiv [1980], 160-200). The problem of free will and predestination was treated by Moses b. Kēphā (d. 903). Chapter six of his treatise on this subject (in Syriac) is directed against the Mhaggrāyē (= *muhādjirūn* or Sons of Hagar), whose *mutakallimūn* are depicted, without any nuance, as defending a strict determinist position (Griffith, *Free will in Christian kalam. Moshe b. Kepha against the teachings of the Muslims*, in *Le Muséon*, c [1987] 143-59). Like Abū Rā'iṭa, Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, the capable student of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī [*q.v.*], and the Nestorian philosopher Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus [*q.v.*], tried to defend the Christian dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation with the help of a common, Muslim-Christian philosophical language, refuting one by one all single elements of the objections of his adversaries with great logical consistency. Due to the fact that he gives lengthy quotations of his Muslim interlocutors, some otherwise lost works have been preserved, e.g. of Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī or Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāḳ (D. Thomas, *Anti-Christian polemic in early Islam. Abu 'Isa al-Warraq's "Against the Trinity"*, Cambridge 1992). Abū 'Alī Ibn Zur'a and Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, authors respectively of a treatise on God's Unicity and Trinity (ed. M. Allard and G. Troupeau, Beirut 1962) and of a refutation of Islam, were to continue the tradition of West Syrian apologetics in Arabic. The last important West Syrian polemicist writing in Syriac was Dionysius bar Ṣalībī, Metropolitan of Āmid (d. 1171). His tract against the Muslims contains a section that describes the different groups into which the Muslims were divided, and it offers Syriac translations for Islamic technical terms, as well as quotations in Syriac from the Ḳur'ān (Griffith, *Dionysius b. Salibi on the Muslims*, in H. Drijvers *et alii* (eds.), *IVth Symposium Syriacum 1984*, Orient. Christ. Analecta 229, Rome 1987, 353-6).

Apologetic elements can also be found in works not primarily composed to serve apologetic purposes. Several works of historiography contain passages on different aspects of Islam. An example is the secular chronicle of Barhebraeus devoting much attention to the biography of Muḥammad, to *kalām*, etc. The same holds true for some theological writings composed primarily for the community itself, such as the *Kitāb al-Murshid*, a general theological, ethical and liturgical handbook by Yaḥyā b. Djarīr (end of the 11th century). In many passages, the author takes great care to make certain aspects of the Christian doctrine intelligible to Muslim readers by using a specific Muslim terminology such as *imām, sharī'a, sunna, nāsikh-mansūkh* (to explain the relation between the New and Old Testaments), etc. Other examples of such works are the (not yet edited) theological summa of Jacob bar Shakkō (d. 1241) known as the "Book of Treasures" (in Syriac) with a passage on the *Ṭayyāyē* "Arabs, Muslims". The theological summa of Barhebraeus, the "Candelabra of the sanctuary" contains passages refuting the Muslim accusation of *taḥrīf* [*q.v.*] (*Candélabre du sanctuaire. IV. De l'Incarnation*, ed. J. Khoury, in *PO*, xxxi, Paris 1964, 110).

(b) *Canonical decisions.* The growing influence of Islam can also be gathered from a number of canonical decisions dealing with different aspects of the relations with the Islamic world. The Jacobite canonists were mostly worried about the apparently growing number of Christian women marrying Muslims. Jacob of Edessa allows these women to continue to receive Holy Communion lest they apostasise. The Patriarch Athanasius II of Balad (d. 686) denounces the participation of Christians in Muslim festivals. The Patriarch Giwargis (d. 785) states that Christians are not allowed to marry their daughters to Muslims. Those who do, as well as the women concerned, are not allowed to receive Holy Communion. The Synod of the Monastery of Shīlā (846) excommunicates all Christians who "marry Ḥanpē (lit. "pagans", but in this context to be interpreted as Muslims), Jews and Magi". Also, Dionysius bar Ṣalībī, in his penitential canons, devotes some attention to women entering into relations with "Arabs and Turks". Another important issue was the problem of Christians converted to Islam but desiring to return to their old faith. Instances of how this problem was dealt with can also be found in historiographical works, e.g. the case of the apostate Maphrian Ignatius b. Kīkī (*Chron. Michel Syr.*, iii, 127 iv, 554); Jacob of Edessa stipulates that rebaptism is not necessary, but a time of penitence has to be imposed. An allusion to mixed marriages is possibly to be found in a canon of bishop John of Mārdīn (d. 1165), stipulating that children of *Mashlemānē* are only entitled to receive the baptism of John for the remission of sins, to be distinguished from the baptism administered to Christian children (*The Synodicon in the West-Syrian Tradition. II*, ed. A. Vööbus, Louvain 1976, 246).

(c) *Cultural interaction.* Though to a lesser degree than the East Syrians, West Syrians also participated in the transmission of Greek philosophy and science to the Arab world, thus contributing to the achievements of the first 'Abbāsid period. Important translators into Arabic were 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. Nā'ima al-Ḥimṣī, Yaḥyā b. 'Adī and Ibn Zur'a, all mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*. Yaḥyā b. 'Adī was at that time still the teacher of a number of Muslim students. In a later period, however, this situation was reversed. Barhebraeus states "we from whom (the Arabs) have acquired wisdom through translators who were all Syrians, are now in the necessity of asking for wisdom from them" (*Civil chron.*, ed. St. Ephrem the Syrian Monastery-Glanerbrug 1987, 90b). Authors like Jacob bar Shakkō, John bar Ma'danī and, especially, Barhebraeus were influenced by Islamic thinkers, the latter not only in his scientific, medical and philosophical writings (especially from Ibn Sīnā and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī) and in his chronicles, but also in his ecclesiastical treatises (the second part of his nomocanon, a work of canon law, is strongly influenced by *fiḳh*) and, surprisingly, in his works on spirituality: both the *Ethicon* and the *Book of the Dove* show influences from al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (H. Teule, *Barhebraeus' Ethicon, al-Ghazali and Ibn Sina*, in *Islamochristiana*, xviii [1992], 73-85).

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YĀḲŪT (A.), corundum, one of the outstanding gems according to early and later Islamic writers, the others being *zumurrud* (emerald) and *luʾluʾ* (pearl) (al-Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 81; *Nawādir*, 73 [from a manuscript dated 390/1000]). *Yāḳūt* (ruby) is considered by al-Bīrūnī to be the first-rated, most valuable and most expensive of all gems (*ibid.*, 32).

Etymology. Al-Djawharī opines that the word *yāḳūt* is an arabicised Persian word (*Ṣiḥāḥ*, ed. A.ʿA. ʿAṭṭār, Cairo n.d. [*ca.* 1372/1956], i, 271). Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, as quoted by al-Bīrūnī, derives *yāḳūt* from the Persian *yākand*. However, the term is most probably derived from the Greek *hyakinthos* via the Syriac *yaḳḳundā* or *yaḳḳuntā* (there are further variants, see C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Hildesheim 1966, 307a); the Greek may also be the origin of the Persian term.

In the Ḳurʾān, *yāḳūt* is referred to only once to describe the young pure virgins in Paradise as resembling it (LV, 58); al-Bīrūnī says that *yāḳūt aḥmar* (ruby) is intended here, rather than any other variety of the stone (*ibid.*, 33).

Definition. A discussion of *yāḳūt* ought to begin with clarifying the common but erroneous modern use of the word as an equivalent to ruby. In mediaeval Arabic literary and scientific textual sources, *yāḳūt* is equivalent to all varieties of the mineral corundum that we know today. Corundum is a crystallised form of alumina (Al_2O_3) which occurs in many colours, among which *yāḳūt aḥmar* ("red corundum" or "ruby") is the finest. The second best, according to al-Tīfāshī [*q.v.*], is the *yāḳūt aṣfar*, known in English as "yellow sapphire" or "oriental topaz" (Cipriani, *Macdonald Encyclopedia of Precious stones*, 106). The third in rank is the *yāḳūt akhab* or *azraḳ* ("blue sapphire"), and the last is *yāḳūt abyaḍ* ("leuco-sapphire"). Al-Bīrūnī wondered how transparent stones like *yāḳūt* crystallised and obtained their various colours, and thought that knowing this was beyond man's comprehension. We know now that the different colours of the various types of *yāḳūt* are due to traces of a metallic oxide present in the stone as an impurity (Webster, *Gems*, 60; Bauer, *Precious stones*, 261).

Each of the four main types has gradation in colour. The *yāḳūt aḥmar*, for instance, being the most valuable, has seven shades of red, ranging from deep red, *bahramānī* (Rubicelle, Escarboucle) or *rummānī* (defined at the present time as "carmine" or "pigeon's blood"), to the pale rose-pink *wardī*. The colours of the *yāḳūt aṣfar* range from the deeply saturated (*djullanārī*) to the palest or straw-coloured (*tibnī*). The *yāḳūt akhab* or *azraḳ* ranges from the dark *kuḥlī* (ink blue) down to the lighter *samāwī* or *asmāndjūnī* (sky blue). The *yāḳūt abyaḍ* has two shades, the more prized of which is the *mahawī* or *billawrī* (rock crystal-like).

These four types, classified according to colour and value by a number of mediaeval Islamic writers such as Ibn Māsawayh, al-Bīrūnī quoting al-Kindī, al-Tīfāshī, Ibn al-Akfānī [*q.vv.*] and others, represent essentially varieties of the same mineral with the same degree of hardness and density.

Provenance. The mines of *yāḳūt* are in the Mogok region in Burma, in Thailand, Cambodia, Sri Lanka and other places. Al-Ḳazwīnī in *ʿAdjāʾib*, 277, locates its mines in the countries around the equator. The rough *yāḳūt* is obtained from deposits eroded from the mother-rock, and thus is normally found among sand, gravel and clay brought down the mountains by torrents and wind (Ibn Māsawayh, *Djawāhir*, 41-3; al-Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 44; al-Tīfāshī, *Azhār*, 64; Bauer, 287). The best *yāḳūt* is that washed down by torrents, according to the first two of these authors.

Physical properties. Yāḳūt is brittle, though it is the hardest of all minerals after the diamond (*Djamāhir*, 48; *Azhār*, 70; *Nukhab*, 8), having number 9 in Mohs' scale of hardness (Bauer, 263; Webster, 74). It is also the densest of all precious stones, according to al-Bīrūnī, and it has a very high specific gravity of *ca.* 4 with insignificant variations (sapphire's specific gravity is 4.08, slightly higher than that of ruby which ranges between 3.99 and 4.06 (Bauer, 282). Al-Bīrūnī (*Djamāhir*, 77) states that, if the weight of a sapphire

is 100, that of a ruby of the same size is 97⅛, the ratio in integers being 800 to 777.

Yāḳūt is described in Muslim sources as resistant to fire; it neither melts nor calcifies as other precious stones like emerald do. When *yāḳūt* is exposed to high temperature, the red variety is neither changed nor destroyed, this being a test for simulants or fakes. Al-Tīfās͟hī mentions that in the *K. al-Aḥd͟jār*, ascribed to Aristotle, it is said that when *yāḳūt aḥmar* is exposed to the blowpipe, it is infusible, but its beauty enhances (*Azhār*, 72). However, while the colour of the ruby remains unaltered, that of the sapphire under similar conditions will disappear; blue and yellow *yāḳūt* turn white. Sapphire can be decolourised but it does not melt in fire. Resistance to heat without loss of colour is strictly a property of *yāḳūt aḥmar.*

The same authorities state that the immediate visible characteristics and distinctive features of *yāḳūt* are its vitreous lustre and its *s͟huʿāʿ* (double refraction). Transparency is expressed by "abundance of water" (*wafrat al-māʾ*), by *mas͟haffa*, i.e. *s͟haffāfiyya* "translucency," or by *ṣafāʾ* "clarity". Uniform, intense and deeply saturated colour, *is͟hbāʿ* or *kat͟hrat al-ṣibg͟h*, is, in addition to glittering brightness, *rawnaḳ*, one of the good features that raise its value.

Defects or impurities appear in the form of "cleavage", *s͟hibh al-tas͟hkīk*, *tas͟hʿīr*, or *s͟haʿra*; "freckles" or "inclusions", *namas͟h*; "cavities", *k͟hurūḳ* (sg. *k͟harḳ*), like *sūs* in wood, either filled with air, *rīḥ*, or water, *māʾ*, or mud, *raym*, or sometimes worms, *dūd*. All of these could be removed from the stone by a drill; if left within, the stone will crack. Another defect is the uneven distribution of colour which gives an appearance of "piebaldness", *bulḳa*. While the ruby is usually coloured uniformly throughout, the distribution of colour in the sapphire is often very irregular. Moreover, if the colour of the ruby is not uniform, it will become uniformly coloured through gradual heating (Bauer, 265, 282).

Cloudiness, *g͟haym*, is one of the flaws mentioned by al-Kindī and Ibn al-Akfānī, who call it *g͟hamāma bayḍāʾ ṣadafiyya* (i.e. milky and nacreous cloud), which sticks to the surface, and if not deep, disappears through rubbing. One of the flaws enumerated by al-Kindī is the *namas͟h* or "freckles", which appear as patches different from the original colour; if abundant and if deep and spreading, they will be difficult to remove (cited in al-Bīrūnī, *D͟jamāhir*, 38).

Medical and magical uses. Apart from the physical properties of *yāḳūt*, medicinal, psychological, and talismanic qualities were also attached to it. Ibn al-Akfānī quotes Aristotle, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Zuhr and al-G͟hāfiḳī as saying that, if worn as a pendant or ring, *yāḳūt* repels pestilence vapours and poison, prevents attacks of epilepsy, and cures haemorrhage (*Nuk͟hab*, 11). As for its psychological effect, Ibn Sīnā is quoted as saying that it is efficacious in strengthening the heart and boosting one's mood. The talismanic property is characterised as attracting divine favour and thus fulfilling the wearer's needs. The lucky wearer would also be assured of reverence among people and high regard by kings.

Prices and values. Besides size, high prices depend on the fulfillment of a set of quality conditions, namely, intensity of colour, *s͟hibaʿ*; full "éclat" or transparency, *māʾ*; clarity, *ṣafāʾ*; splendour, *rawnaḳ*; and freedom from flaws (al-Bīrūnī, *D͟jamāhir*, 50). This same author, depending on information he read in a manuscript on precious stones written in al-S͟hām, says that during the reign of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], *yāḳūt aḥmar* and excellent *luʾluʾ* "pearls" were equal in value and price (*loc. cit.*). In the early ʿAbbāsid period, al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] paid 100,000 dīnārs for the two-*mit͟hḳāl* ruby called *al-d͟jabal* (see below). Al-D͟jāḥiẓ [*q.v.*] stated that the price of half a *mit͟hḳāl* of *bahramānī* ruby was 5,000 dīnārs (*Tabaṣṣur*, 18-19). During al-Maʾmūn's reign, the price of one *mit͟hḳāl* of *bahramānī* was 800 dīnārs, and centuries later, in Ibn al-Akfānī's time (8th/14th century), the prices of *yāḳūt* and other gems increased tremendously (*Nuk͟hab*, 8-9).

Historical records of the ruby. The Rightly-Guided Caliphs abstained from collecting gems, and distributed those obtained through booty among the Muslims. Only a few of the Umayyads filled their treasuries with gems, and these were later seized by the ʿAbbāsids, most of whom had a passion for collecting and increasing their assets, according to al-Bīrūnī. In particular, Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd [*q.v.*] was known for his ardent passion for gems (*D͟jamāhir*, 57-8, 62-3).

Unset rubies were used by rulers either as a sign of power or out of a belief in their talismanic, medicinal, or magical powers. As described in the texts, and especially in the *K. al-Hadāyā wa 'l-tuḥaf* erroneously ascribed to the *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-Zubayr, a few known pieces were, when held in one hand, so large as to stick out from both ends of the fist. One was confiscated by the Umayyad His͟hām from his governor in Baṣra. Of two others, which both looked like a handle of a mirror, one belonged to the G͟haznawid Masʿūd I b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], the other to a king of Ceylon. A fourth, which was carved in the form of a lion, belonged to the G͟haznawid Maḥmūd of G͟hazna [*q.v.*]. Still another piece, sculpted in the form of a phoenix head, was found by the Buwayhid Abū Kālīd͟jār [*q.v.*] in the citadel of Iṣṭak͟hr. Corundum stones were carved in the form of small bowls, spoons, goblets, bottles and knife handles. During the Umayyad period, Yazīd I sent a ruby bottle as a gift to the Kaʿba (*D͟jamāhir*, 67). A scent pomade container of ruby belonged to ʿAbda, daughter of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz [*q.v.*]. Ruby cabuchons were set in rings, the most famous cabuchons being known as *al-d͟jabal* ("mountain"), most probably due to their huge size. One was bought by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] (*D͟jamāhir*, 61), and another by al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] (*D͟jamāhir*, 56, 61; *Hadāyā*, 183). Hārūn's wife Zubayda had a *subḥa* or rosary made of *rummānī* ruby beads, each the size of a hazelnut and grooved like watermelon slices (*D͟jamāhir*, 58).

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(Ghada al-Hijjawi al-Qaddumi)

YĀḲŪT al-MUSTAʿṢIMĪ, D͟jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Durr b. ʿAbd Allāh, famed Arabic calligrapher

(*ca.* 618-98/*ca.* 1221-98), who derived his *nisba* from his master, the last ʿAbbāsid caliph in Baghdād, al-Mustaʿṣim [*q.v.*], who brought him up and had him educated.

Although Ḳāḍī Aḥmad states that he was a native of Abyssinia, another tradition identifies him as a Greek from Amasia, later an important centre of calligraphers. A eunuch, Yāḳūt had a school at Baghdād and his six most outstanding students were permitted to sign his name to their calligraphies, making the task of identifying authentic works by Yāḳūt extremely difficult. Yāḳūt himself was the continuer of the master of the six cursive scripts, ʿAlī b. Hilāl, known as Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), who had refined the scripts codified and regularised in the 4th/10th century by Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*]. His ability to imitate Ibn al-Bawwāb is illustrated by an anecdote in which he fooled his patron al-Mustaʿṣim into believing that an example of his own work was actually that of Ibn al-Bawwāb. However, his reputation rests on his calligraphic innovations rather than solely his skill in duplicating the work of his predecessor.

By cutting the nib of the *ḳalam*, or reed pen, at an angle and maintaining a long point, Yāḳūt produced a more elegant, rhythmic script than that of Ibn al-Bawwāb while still adhering to the rules of proportion established by Ibn Muḳla for the six scripts, *thuluth*, *rayḥān*, *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, *naskh*, *tawḳīʿ* and *riḳʿa*. Called the *ḳiblat al-kuttāb*, or model of calligraphers, Yāḳūt copied two *djuzʾ* [*q.v.*], of the Ḳurʾān every day and completed two Ḳurʾāns every month. He is reputed to have produced 1,001 Ḳurʾāns in his lifetime and to have given away 70 samples of his writing every day. In addition to being a demanding teacher, Yāḳūt himself was an incessant worker. When the Mongols took Baghdād in 656/1258, Yāḳūt took refuge in a minaret. He brought a pen and ink with him, but, lacking paper, he wrote on a linen towel, which in the 10th/16th century was preserved in the collection of Bahrām Mīrzā, the brother of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. Although an album was compiled for Bahrām Mīrzā (TKS, H.2154), it does not contain Yāḳūt's writing on linen.

Yāḳūt spent his whole life in Baghdād, where he died reportedly at the age of eighty. Under the ʿAbbāsids, Yāḳūt had worked as librarian of the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa* in Baghdād, and after the Mongol conquest he became the protégé of the historian Djuwaynī; amongst his own compositions, a collection of *nawādir* by him is extant in several mss., see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 89. The limited number of extant works convincingly attributed to his pen reveal the elegant, clear cursive scripts for which he is renowned.

Although a thorough stylistic study of works attributed to Yāḳūt has not been achieved, the following attributions are plausible: Ḳurʾān, dated 681/1282-3, parts 2 and 12, Topkapı Saray Library, Istanbul, EH227, EH226; part 8, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, ms. 1452; part 15, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London; Ḳurʾān, dated 688/1289, B.N., Paris, ms. arab. 6716; and possibly Ḳurʾān, dated 693/1294, Topkapı Saray Library, Istanbul, EH74 and Āstān-i Ḳuds Library, Mashhad, Faḍāʾilī, p. 202. Of non-Ḳurʾānic literature, he copied the *Dīwāns* of several Arabic poets, and copies from his pen are extant of the *Dīwāns* of the pre-Islamic poets al-Muthaḳḳib al-ʿAbdī and Ḳuṭba al-Ḥādira, of the *Dīwān* of the *mukhaḍram* poet Abū Miḥdjan al-Thaḳafī, and of a selection (*mukhtār*) from the poems of al-Mutanabbī (see Sezgin, ii, 89, 189, 214, 301, 497).

Bibliography: Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², ix, 157-8, with references to Arabic biographical sources; Brockelmann, I², 432-3, S I, 598; Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1908, repr. Osnabrück 1972, 84-6; Ḳāḍī Aḥmad, tr. V. Minorsky, *Calligraphers and painters*, Washington 1959, 57-60; Ḥ. Faḍāʾilī, *Aṭlas-i khaṭṭ*, Tehran 1350/1971, 202; P.P. Soucek, *The arts of calligraphy*, in B. Gray, *The arts of the book in Central Asia*, London 1979, 10-12; D. James, *The master scribes. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic art*, ii, London 1992, 58-67.

(SHEILA R. CANBY)

YĀḲŪT AL-RŪMĪ, or, according to the genealogy that he adopted in order to conceal his slave's name, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, celebrated traveller and scholar. He was born in 574 or 575/1179, and died on Sunday, 20 Ramaḍān 626/12 August 1229 at Aleppo.

1. His life.

His life can be divided into two parts: (a) from 574 or 575 to 606; and (b) from 606 to his death.

Life in the service of ʿAskar al-Ḥamawī. Yāḳūt was born in Byzantine territory of non-Arab parents, reduced to slavery while still a very young child, and taken to Baghdād at the age of five or six. There he was bought by an almost illiterate merchant, ʿAskar b. al-Naṣr al-Ḥamawī (d. 606/1209; Ibn Khallikān, vi, 127; Sellheim, 95), who gave him a Ḳurʾānic education, so that he could be useful to him in his business (al-Ḳifṭī, iv, 80-1). In fact, Yāḳūt made numerous journeys on behalf of his master to the island of Kīsh (Ḳays [*q.v.*]) and to al-Shām. Later, however, following a disagreement between the two men, he was emancipated and dismissed by his master (596/1199-1200), who afterwards re-engaged him. However, he had already become a copyist and a transcriber (*warrāḳ*), which was how, in the period of his dismissal between 596 and 603, he was able to copy 300 *mudjallads* (ʿAbbās, vi, 2887) to earn his living.

The scholar. His training began quite early, thanks to the education that ʿAskar had granted him, though also because of his intellectual curiosity, which he put to good use chiefly during his business travels. He perfected this throughout his life, through numerous profitable encounters and extended visits to libraries like that of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī in Aleppo, and to those of Marw al-Shāhidjān [*q.v.*], where he said he stayed for three years (see below, 2., *f-h*); also to the libraries of the al-Samʿānī, Sharaf al-Malik al-Mustawfī, Niẓām al-Malik Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, al-Wazīr Madjd al-Malik, al-ʿAmīdiyya, al-ʿAzīziyya, al-Khātūniyya, al-Kamāliyya and al-Ḍamriyya families (*Muʿdjam al-buldān*, iv, 509-10/v², 114).

It is worth noting that, among his teachers, he included the following (ʿAbbās, vii, 2907-9): Abu 'l-Muradjdjā al-Baghdādī for Arabic and metrics (Sālim b. Aḥmad, *Udabāʾ*³, no. 513); al-Wadjīh al-Mubārak b. al-Mubārak al-Ḍarīr, who taught grammar for many years at the Niẓāmiyya of Baghdād and of whom it was said that he knew Armenian, Greek, Ethiopian and "Indian" (*Udabāʾ*³, no. 932); Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ al-ʿUkbarī al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], the scholar of grammar, lexicography, exegesis, law, *kalām* and Ḳurʾānic studies (*Udabāʾ*³, no. 645); the grammarian Abu 'l-Yumn al-Kindī (Zayd b. al-Ḥasan; *Udabāʾ*³, no. 504), whom he knew in Damascus; the historiographer Ibn al-Dubaythī [*q.v.*]; Abu 'l-Muẓaffar al-Samʿānī (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xxii, 107-9), the son of Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī [*q.v.*], who allowed him to visit the two rich libraries owned by his family at Marw; Ibn Yaʿīsh [*q.v.*] (*Udabāʾ*, iii, 77/ii³, 841, 869; Sellheim,

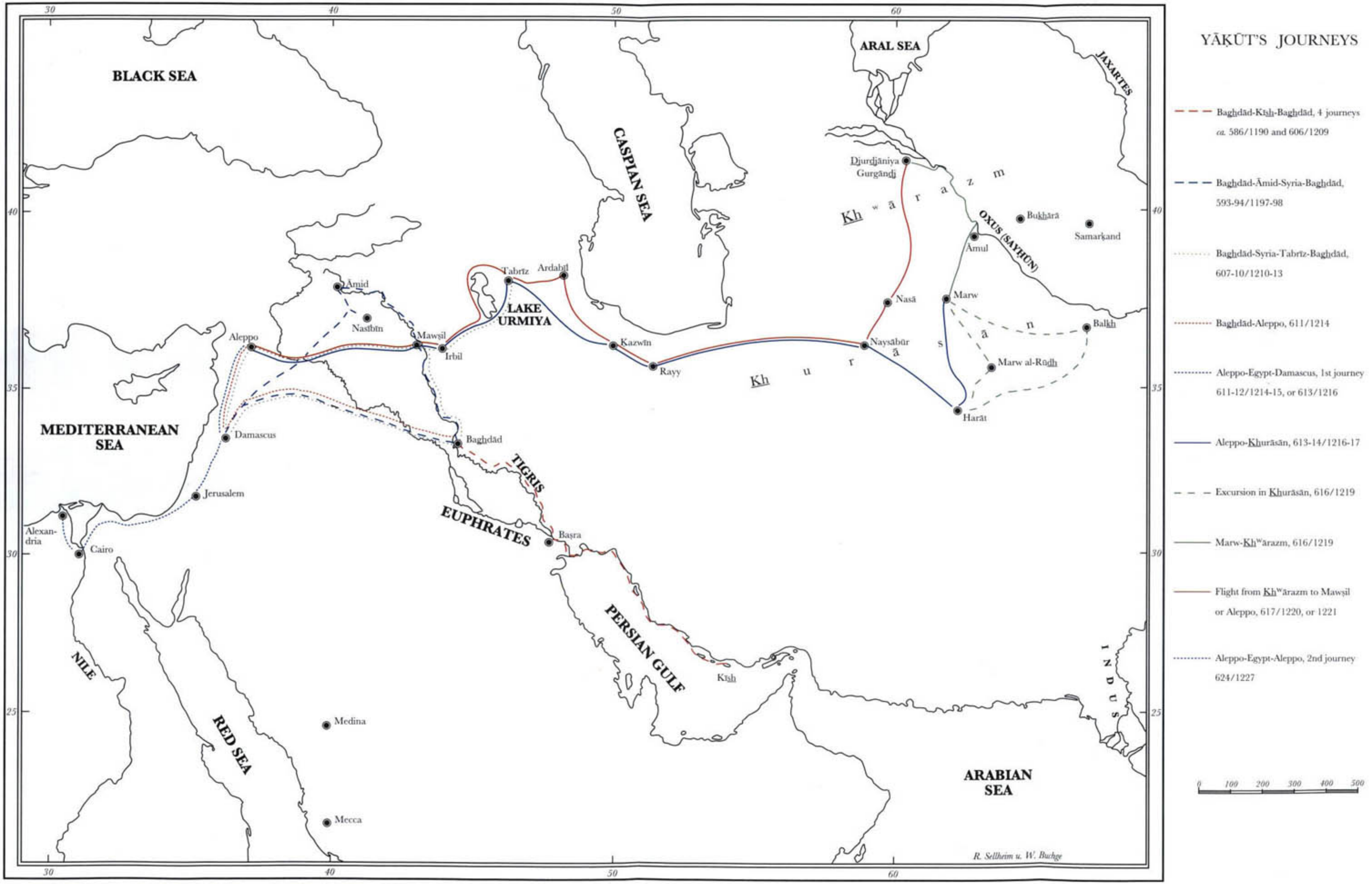

Source: R. Sellheim, *Neue Materialen zur Biographie des Yāqūt*, in W. Voigt (ed.), *Forschungen und Fortschritte der Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Wiesbaden 1966. Reproduced by the kind permission of Professor R. Sellheim.

107) by whom he was taught either in Aleppo or Baalbek. He had no other teacher specifically for geography or astronomy, and none of his pupils is known. As can be seen from the long citations that he makes from the history of K͟hʷārazm by Maḥmūd al-K͟hʷārazmī, in which the latter attacks al-S͟hahrastānī [*q.v.*], he had but little appreciation of philosophy (*Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān*, iii, 343/iii², 388).

He also had contact with learned friends and with his patrons. Among these were al-Ḳāḍī al-Akram, *wazīr* of Aleppo, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī [*q.v.*], whom he met in 609/1212 (Sellheim, 96) and to whom he wrote a letter from Mawṣil in 617/1220 or 618, expressing his distress at the Mongol advance (al-Ḳifṭī, iv, 86-7, with the answer on 87 ff.; Sellheim, 101-2). His profession as a copyist in Bag͟hdād led him to share his love of books with his friend Abū Saʿd Ibn Ḥamdūn (al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad; *Udabāʾ*³, no. 353; ʿAbbās, vii, 2887), the son of Abu ʾl-Maʿālī Ibn Hamdūn [*q.v.*]), all of whom were great bibliophiles. He also formed a firm friendship at Mawṣil with the brother of Ibn al-S͟haʿʿār al-Mawṣilī (al-Mubārak b. al-Bakr, d. 654/1256), which allowed him to have frequent contact with the latter, a great connoisseur of poetry and the poets (Ibn al-S͟haʿʿār, *Ḳalāʾid al-d̲j̲umān*, ix, 341; ʿAbbās, vii, 2955). His encounters with Andalusian scholars also motivated him to gather documentary evidence on the geography and culture of their region. This was also the case in Bag͟hdād with Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Zuhrī, whom he claimed as a friend (*Udabāʾ*³, no. 991; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ii, 104-5), and likewise in Aleppo with Ibn al-Muwaffaḳ (al-Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad al-Mursī al-Lūrḳī, d. 661/1263), who taught him the Spanish philological tradition, though he was probably also one of his sources for the geography of that region (Sellheim 104, no. 21, 108, 111; *Udabāʾ*, vi, 152-3/v³, no. 900).

2. His travels.

These not only gave him the opportunity of seeing many of the places to which he had devoted an entry in his geographical dictionary, with the exception of the toponyms of the Muslim West, where he never went; they also enabled him to collect scholarly and literary information from the libraries and sometimes from other sources for his dictionaries of scholars and poets.

The following survey of his travels is based on Sellheim's map (see foldout, and cf. Wüstenfeld, *Jâcût's Reisen*; ʿAbbās, vii, 2881 ff.).

a. Bag͟hdād-Kīs͟h-Bag͟hdād, *ca.* 586/1190 and 606/1209.

b. Bag͟hdād-Āmid-Syria-Bag͟hdād, 593-4/1197-8.

c. Bag͟hdād-Syria-Tabrīz-Bag͟hdād, 607-10/1210-13.

d. Bag͟hdād-Aleppo, 611/1214.

e. Aleppo-Egypt-Damascus (the first Aleppo journey) 611-12/1214-15 (or 613/1216).

f. Aleppo-K͟hurāsān (particularly Nīs͟hāpūr and Marw), 613-14/1216-17.

g. Travelling around K͟hurāsān (Balk͟h, Marw al-Rud͟h, Harāt, etc.), 616/1219.

h. Marw-K͟hʷārazm (D̲j̲urd̲j̲āniyya), 616/1219.

i. K͟hurāsān to Mawṣil, then to Aleppo, 617/1220 (618).

j. Aleppo-Egypt-Damascus (the second Aleppo journey), 624/1227.

In addition to the pitfalls which were commonplace for travellers in that remote period, he met with particular difficulties. On one occasion he had to flee from Damascus where he had expressed certain anti-ʿAlid ideas, which may have caused him to be considered a proponent of the K͟hārid̲j̲ites; he was almost lynched, took refuge for a few months in Aleppo (al-Ḳifṭī, iv, 82; Sellheim, 97), and continued his flight in the direction of K͟hurāsān (journeys *e-f*).

But a test, this time of a sentimental nature, awaited him at Nīs͟hāpūr (S͟hād͟hiyāk͟h), where he bought a very beautiful Turkish slave of whom he was enamoured, but from whom, to his great despair, he soon separated (*Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān*, iii, 330/iii², 306-7; Sellheim, 97). The greatest peril, however, and the greatest disaster for him consisted of the advance of the troops of Čingiz K͟hān [*q.v.*] and it is known that Buk͟hārā [*q.v.*] among others surrendered to them in 615/1220 (travels *h-i*; Maʿrūf, *al-G͟hazw*).

3. His works.

Dictionaries and historical works.

a. *Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān*: the idea came to him at Marw in 615/1218-19, during a course with his teacher Abu ʾl-Muẓaffar al-Samʿānī. The first draft was finished not at Mawṣil, as is often thought, but at Aleppo, on 20 Ṣafar 621/13 March 1224 (Sellheim, 103-4). He began what was to be the final version that same year and continued to revise it afterwards. He undertook the definitive edition on 21 Muḥarram 625/1 January 1228. This was for the library of his patron Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, but in this last revision he did not reach the article "Ruṣāfat Bag͟hdād" (Sellheim, 108-9, no. 26; ʿAbbās, vii, 2916). This great work not only comprises geographical and toponymic information but also literary and poetic subjects and biographical details of prominent figures originating from the toponyms presented. Certain cities or regions are treated in more detail, such as Aleppo and district, and also Marw, etc., such places as Yāḳūt had stayed in for a long time. For the sources for this dictionary, see Herr and also Barbier de Meynard. The abridged version that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (d. 735/1339) made is limited to the *materia geographica: Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ ʿalā asmāʾ al-amkina wa ʾl-biḳāʿ*, i-iv, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, Leiden 1851-64, i-iii, ed. ʿA. al-Bid̲j̲āwī, Cairo 1954.

b. *al-Mus͟htarik waḍʿ^an^ wa ʾl-muftariḳ ṣuḳʿ^an^* is a register of toponyms with identical orthography but designating different places. He composed it in 623/1226, then reworked it until his death. Ibn al-S͟haʿʿār regards it as a sort of abridged form of the previous work.

c. *Muʿd̲j̲am/Ak͟hbār al-s͟huʿarāʾ* (Mustawfī, 320) is a dictionary that has not survived to the present day. He began to assemble the material and perhaps even to draft it before his *Udabāʾ* (*Udabāʾ*³, i, 8). One of his principal sources was the *K. al-Ag͟hānī*, and also the works of Ibn Sallām, Ibn Ḳutayba, al-Marzubānī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, etc. The interest of this dictionary lay chiefly in the later poets whom he knew personally and from whom he received poetic pieces. It is perhaps even possible that some of the accounts found in the *Muʿd̲j̲am al-udabāʾ* in the state that we know them may have been included by Yāḳūt in his *Dictionary of poets* (ʿAbbās, vii, 2920). He himself wrote poems and fragments of his poetry have been collected (*Udabāʾ*³, vii, 2928-39).

d. *Muʿd̲j̲am al-udabāʾ/Irs͟hād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb/Irs͟hād al-alibbāʾ ilā maʿrifat al-udabāʾ*. The idea of writing a dictionary apparently came to Yāḳūt in his twentieth year, when he met the poet and lexicographer S͟humaym al-Ḥillī (ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAntar; *Udabāʾ*³, no. 742) at Āmid (594/1198). He continued enriching the contents at will from his reading and from the people he met until the end of his life (ʿAbbās, vii, 2923). Unfortunately this monumental work has not completely survived to the present day even though in his recent edition I. ʿAbbās was able to restore 32

accounts that were not in that of Margoliouth. He did this by recourse to the part that was recovered from the abridged version of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Sallām al-Takrītī (?), entitled *Bug̲h̲yat al-alibbāʾ min Muʿd̲j̲am al-udabāʾ*, and to a part of the addenda of Muṣṭafā D̲j̲awād (ʿAbbās, i, introd.). Furthermore, as stated earlier, the editors or copyists included in this may have been part of the original of his *Muʿd̲j̲am al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*.

Apart from the classical sources already indicated for this work (see G. Bergsträsser, in *ZDMG*, lxv, 797 ff.; *ZS*, ii, 184-218), attention should be given to the following histories: of Iṣfahān, by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*]; of Bayhaḳ, by Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*]; of K̲h̲ʷārazm [*q.v.*], by Maḥmūd al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī, or by al-Bīrūnī; of Marw, by Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī [*q.v.*]; of Harāt, by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār al-Fāmī (d. 546/1151); and of Hamad̲h̲ān, by S̲h̲īruwayh Abū S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ (d. 509/1115) (ʿAbbās, vii, 2924-5); a great number of other works, among them the *Muʿd̲j̲am al-safar* of Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī [*q.v.*], could also be mentioned.

e. Lost works: *al-Mabdaʾ wa ʾl-maʾāl fī ʾl-taʾrīk̲h̲*, perhaps identical to *Taʾrīk̲h̲ ʿalā ʾl-sinīn*, mentioned by Ibn al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār; *K. al-Duwal* (ʿAbbās, vii, 2911-12).

The following titles are of works which have also been lost.

Grammatical works.

Mad̲j̲mūʿ kalām Abī ʿAlī al-Fārisī; K. al-Abniya; Awzān al-asmāʾ wa ʾl-afʿāl al-ḥāṣira li-kalām al-ʿArab; al-Radd ʿalā Ibn D̲j̲innī (*ʿinda kalāmihi fī ʾl-hamza wa ʾl-alif min Sirr al-ṣināʿa*).

Miscellaneous works.

ʿUnwān (or *ʿUyūn*) *K. al-Ag̲h̲ānī* (abridged); *al-Muḳtaḍab fī ʾl-nasab*, or *K. fī ʾl-Nasab*, or *K. al-Ansāb*, abridged as *al-D̲j̲amhara* by al-Kalbī [*q.v.*]; *Ḍarūrat al-s̲h̲iʿr*. With regard to the *Ak̲h̲bār al-Mutanabbī*, they were most definitely a part of his *Muʿd̲j̲am al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ* (ʿAbbās, vii, 2913).

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2. Published works by Yāḳūt. (i) *Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān* [*Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*], i-vi, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1866-73/1924^2, repr. Tehran 1965 and Frankfurt 1994, i-v, Beirut 1955-7; (ii) *al-Mus̲h̲tarik waḍʿ^an^ wa ʾl-muftariḳ ṣuḳʿ^an^* [*Lexicon geographischer Homonyme*], ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1846, repr. Bag̲h̲dād 1963, Frankfurt 1994; (iii) *Irs̲h̲ād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb* [*Muʿd̲j̲am al-udabāʾ*], i-vii, ed. D.S. Margoliouth, Leiden-London 1907-27, i-vi, 1923-31, repr. ^{2}Bag̲h̲dād 1964, i-xx, ed. A.F. al-Rifāʿī, Cairo 1936-8 (very defective copy of the preceding), i-vii, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1993 (indicated above as *Udabāʾ*^{3}). For the older editions of (i) and (iii), see Blachère, Brockelmann and Sarkīs.

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YALAVAČ [see maḥmūd yalawač].

YALI̊, Yalu (t.), in modern Turkish, *yalı*, literally, "bank, shore", but coming to mean in Ottoman Turkish "residence, villa on the shore", cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish-English dictionary*, 2192: "a waterside residence".

1. Etymology.

The Turkish word stems from the Greek: Homeric Grk. αἰγιαλός, Modern Grk. γιαλός. It must have appeared in Ottoman Turkish early, since it is found in ʿĀs̲h̲ïk-pas̲h̲a-zāde and Nes̲h̲rī (end of the 9th/15th century). It entered into place-names, e.g. Yalıkavak, Yalıköy, Küçükyalı, etc.), and spread into the Balkans in one direction (Serbo-Croat *igolo*) and into Persia in the opposite direction (Pers. *yālū* "seashore, river bank").

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2. Architecture.

There are less than 40 *yalīs* now left along the Bosphorus shores, and some of these have been altered by the use of concrete behind the original woodwork. Formerly, fire was prevented in some *yalīs* by having a layer of sand between the ceiling and the floor above. There might also be layers of charcoal with which to absorb the damp. The quays of the houses have always been vulnerable to the fast current of the Straits, and now to the wash from tankers and large freighters. The ideal *yalī* was built with as many windows as possible from which to enjoy the view. These windows were made to standard sizes so that they could be replaced quickly after a storm.

By the end of the 17th century there were many kiosks with large gardens, but it is accepted that the first true *yalī* was built in 1698 by the Grand Vizier Amūdja-zāde Ḥüseyn Köprülü Pasha [see ḤUSAYN PASHA, AMŪDJA-ZĀDE], and it still stands, projecting dramatically over the water at Kanlıca. The great salon, although in need of restoration, was never surpassed. It is almost independent of the mansion behind. In the centre of the salon is a magnificent fountain under a shallow dome, and three-sided sofa areas form intimate retreats like those of the Baghdād Kiosk at Topkapı Sarayı; they have splendid views of the sea and boats and the wooded hills opposite. Faded, but still impressive, the formal paintwork turns this room into a paradaisical garden. Plans of *yalīs* vary, but central to the tradition is the landing on the first floor reached by a fine staircase. There are fine rooms at each corner which project over the quays or the gardens. There is concealed access to the harem wing from the central landing, but the harem, like the *ḥammām* [*q.v.*], could also be set quite separately from the *yalī* itself. Surviving, or partly surviving examples of various types of *yalı* include the remains of the Aptullah Yalı at Emirgân; the Hasıp Paşa Yalı at Beylerbey; the Köçeoğlu Yalı and the Yılanlı Yalı at Bebek; and the former Osterog Yalı at Kandilli.

Turkish love of the open air and picnics required terraced gardens that were filled with ornate fountains (*çeşme, sebil, selsebil*) and formal pools where trees and flowers rambled and intermixed. If there were guests in the evening, lanterns hung from tree to tree. Judas and magnolia blossom transformed the shores of the Bosphorus in the spring. The Pasha's garden was divided from the harem garden by high walls, a few of which can still be seen. Up the hillside beyond the formal terraces there were parks, such as that at the Kıbrızlı Yalı at Anadolu Hısar.

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(G. GOODWIN)

YALOWA, modern Turkish YALOVA, a town and district of Turkey situated on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara (the town in lat. 40° 40' N., long. 29° 17' E.).

The district occupies the northern edge of the Armutlu peninsula which runs between the Gulf of Izmit to the north and the Gulf of Gemlik to the south, and ends in the Boz Burun cape, in the south-east of the Sea of Marmara. In Antiquity, it was the region of Pitiya, incorporated after 280 B.C. within the kingdom of Bithynia, and like the latter, conquered by Rome in 74 B.C. The settlements of Pitipolis and Drapenon were created there, as well as thermal baths established under the protection of Hercules and a shrine to Aesculapius. The Emperor Constantine the Great erected Drapenon into a town called Helenapolis, after his mother's name, she having reconstructed the baths there. The town grew in importance because of its position on the road from Constantinople to Nicaea, and, amongst other visitors, received the Empress Theodora with a suite of 4,000 persons. At the time of the First Crusade, the retreat to Helenapolis of the people's army led by Peter the Hermit and Gauthier Sans Avoir, in face of the Saldjūķ Turks, witnessed the death of 25,000 Crusaders. In 1307 the town passed into the hands of Yalwačoghlu, one of ʿOthmān's [*q.v.*] lieutenants, and it now took the name of Yalaķābād, later replaced by that of Yalowa.

In the 19th century, up to 1867, Yalowa was a *ķaḍā* of the central *sandjaķ* of the *wilāyet* of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*] or Bursa. It was then attached to the *wilāyet* of Istanbul, together with the whole of the *sandjaķ* of Izmid, then in 1888 made into a *mutaṣarrifliķ* directly attached to the Ministry of the Interior. Yalowa was at that time the chef-lieu of a *nāḥiye* dependent on the *ķaḍā* of Ķara Mürsel, with 27 villages and 2,426 houses. The town had *ca.* 1,025 inhabitants, 500 of them Muslim Turks, 250 Greek Orthodox and 275 Gregorian Armenians.

In 1930, under the Republic, Yalova was attached, at Atatürk's prompting, to the *il* of Istanbul as an *ilçe* of 496 km^2 with 36 villages. It had 22,235 inhabitants in 1950, 3,833 in the town and 18,422 in the villages. The town grew rapidly, thanks to its baths and hot springs being much frequented by people from Istanbul, it being a stage on the Istanbul-Bursa route, the place of boarding boats coming from Kabataş on the European shore of the Bosphorus or from Kartal, on the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmara, and on the route for road passenger transport connecting with Bursa via Orhangazi and Gemlik. According to the 1990 census, it had 65,823 persons. The rural population, 47,594 in 1990, is engaged in growing cereals, fruit trees (apples and peaches) and vegetables under glass. The towns of Çınarcık to Yalova's west and Çiftlikköy to its east have also developed bathing facilities and now have municipalities. The *ilçe* of Yalova, with territories added to it totalling 817 km^2, in 1995 became an *il*, the population of which reached 163,916 (78,210 in the town of Yalova and 85,706 in the smaller towns and villages) in 1997. Yalova and adjacent coastal resorts were severely damaged by the earthquake of 17 August 1999, which killed over 2,500 people in the *il* of Yalova.

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YĀM, the Persian and Arabic transcription of the Mongol term *jam (djam)*, originally denoting "road, route, direction". In the 13th century, at the time of the creation of the Mongol empire, the term *yām* also signifies in general the postal service of the Mongol Khāns and sometimes a postal relay. Information regarding this state institution of the Mongols is available from Chinese, Persian, Arabic, Armenian and Western sources (see bibl. in Gazagnadou). The postal relay of the Mongol authorities seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese postal system (*yi*), dating from the time of Čingiz Khān (Waley, 50, 75); it was progressively diffused throughout the empire in tandem with conquests (Gazagnadou, ch. II). The very bureaucratic organisation of the post of the Mongols of China is quite

well known (Olbricht). On the other hand, a great deal less information is available on its functioning in the rest of the empire. But the topographical, technical, military and political constraints that the Mongol authorities were obliged to surmount in organising the rapid circulation of postal couriers (*yāmči, ulači, ilči*), make it possible to deduce the major principles of the organisation of the Mongol postal service.

The material and administrative organisation seems to have been as follows: relays were established every 18 to 30 km or thereabouts (Rashīd al-Dīn, i, 671), depending on the topography and on the type of animals used. There were two types of relay: either substantial buildings comprising accommodation, stabling, etc. (Djuwaynī, i, 24), or simple relay stations where the courier changed mounts (*ulagh*). The network of routes marked out by postal relays probably covered several tens of thousands of kilometres linking hundreds of relays. Horses were used predominantly, but sometimes camels, dromedaries and mules were used, and even, in Russia, sleigh-dogs, if Marco Polo is to be believed (tr. Yule-Cordier, ii, 480, Fr. tr. *Le devisement du monde*, ii, 528). The number of horses or other mounts maintained at each relay varied between one and several dozens. For the whole of the Mongol empire, Marco Polo gives the figure of 200,000 post horses (Yule-Cordier, i, 433-5, *Le devisement du monde*, i, 252-3). Each relay was supervised by a functionary (also *yāmči*, but here in the sense of the one responsible for the postal relay) who was required to oversee its efficient running and to report to the central authorities regarding the state and the requirements of his relay, especially in terms of mounts. This supervisor was in charge of employees, including ostlers (also *ulači*, but here in the sense of the one responsible for the welfare of the post horses). According to J.A. Boyle, it seems that a postal service involving the use of chariots also existed (62 n. 270). Relays were usually entrusted to the charge of the nearest town or village. According to the importance of the information being conveyed, there was recourse to either express couriers or normal couriers. Mongol couriers, riding day and night and changing horses at regular intervals, could carry messages over hundreds of kilometres in record time. They were supplied with an imperial tablet (*pāiza*) and a decree (*yarligh*) marked with a seal (*tamghā*), these giving them absolute powers of requisition. Couriers of the *yām* only conveyed official correspondence of the Khāns and of Mongol officials, never that of individuals, except by special imperial decree or in cases of corruption. The co-ordination of the Mongol postal service with the army seems to have been quite strong; postal couriers maintained constant liaison between the military units themselves, and between the latter and the residence of the Khān. Furthermore, the couriers conveyed information of fiscal and political nature concerning each *tumen*, an administrative and military zone comprising, besides the resident population, ten thousand combatants (Lambton, 1988). The Mongols offered opportunities, in exceptional cases, to merchants and certain others, to utilise the *yām*. Special imperial instructions were then given, and these merchants or distinguished invitees were issued with a *pāiza*, and a *yarligh* bearing the *tamghā* of the Khān, these enabling them to travel in security over postal routes, and to use the horses and other facilities of the institution. Overseeing the smooth operation of the *yām* was a responsibility devolved to a representative of the Mongol authorities (*darughači*) in charge of regional administration (*ibid.*, 51).

The decline of the Mongol empire did not result in the immediate disapearance of this postal system. On the contrary, each khānate attempted to retain it for as long as possible. The Ming dynasty, on expelling the Mongols from China, revived the strong and ancient Chinese postal tradition, which was maintained until the end of the 19th century. Among the Mongols of Persia and ʿIrāḳ, as in the Golden Horde of Southern Russia and in Central Asia, the system of the *yām* was retained for better or worse until the end of the khānates. Their disintegration prevented the maintenance of this institution, based as it was on a stable network and on postal relays. The Mongol postal service influenced the regions in which it was installed so strongly that, in the 15th century, the term *yām* was still being used in the Persian world to denote the last postal relays (see, for example, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*). In Russia, the postal relay service introduced by the Mongols continued for centuries. The efficacy of the *yām* so impressed travellers and enemies of the Mongols that it was borrowed by the Mamlūks of Egypt during the sultanate of Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī. The Mongol *yām* may also have influenced the postal systems of the West in the late Middle Ages (Gazagnadou). The definitive dissolution of the Mongol powers (14th-15th centuries) led to the disappearance of one of the most remarkable systems for the transmission of news of the premodern era.

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(D. Gazagnadou)

YĀM, an Ismāʿīlī tribe now inhabiting the area of Nadjrān in southern Saudi Arabia, although at the time of the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen in 569/1173 [see AYYŪBIDS; TŪRĀNSHĀH B. AYYŪB] they also held Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] and territory to the north and north-east of the city in the Djawf area, which was overlooked by Djabal Yām and where they may have originated (see Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-Makhafī, *Muʿdjam al-buldān wa 'l-ḳabāʾil al-yamaniyya*, 706). Al-Hamdānī, 115, describes *Balad Yām* in some detail, giving their main *waṭan* as Nadjrān and other territories as far north as the borders of the Ḥidjāz.

Yām are of Ḥās̲h̲id and one of the fifteen *baṭns* of Hamdān (ʿUmar b. Yūsuf Ibn Rasūl, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb*, ed. K.W. Zetterstéen, Damascus 1949, 7). Al-Makḥafī gives a genealogy: Yām b. Aṣbā b. Dāfiʿ b. Mālik b. D̲j̲us̲h̲am b. Ḥās̲h̲id, etc., right back to Sabaʾ (see also Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, i, Leiden 1966, 229, and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥad̲j̲arī, *Mad̲j̲mūʿ buldān al-Yaman wa-ḳabāʾilihā*, iv, Ṣanʿāʾ 1984, 774). ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla's two entries *Yām* and *Yām b. Aṣbā* (*Muʿd̲j̲am ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab*, iii, Beirut 1982, 1259) should therefore rather be one single entry. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 272, and Ibn Rasūl, *Ṭurfa*, 9, also mention a Yām which was a *baṭn* of ʿAns of Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲ [*q.v.*].

Yām came to historical prominence from about 533/1138 when a family, the Banū Ḥātim (II), the third of three Hamdān families, Banū Ḥātim (I), Banu ʾl-Ḳubayb and Banū Ḥātim (II), took control of Ṣanʿāʾ. They contested authority over the city and the territory to the north with the Zaydīs, and after 569/1173, with the Ayyūbids after their conquest of the southern highlands and Tihāma (see SANʿĀʾ and G.R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London 1974-8, ii, 68, 70-5). The Banū Ḥātim (II) were certainly of Yām and continued as a political force until about 590/1193. One or two of their *amīrs*, despite their following forms of Ismāʿīlī Islam and their masters' staunch orthodoxy, found favour and high position with the Rasūlid administration in the north of the Yemen, particularly under the second Rasūlid sultan, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (647-94/1249-95 [see RASŪLIDS]).

When the Ottoman sultan Selīm I's forces invaded Yemen, the Yām assisted the Turks and were rewarded by a grant of the right to levy tribute on the tribes forcibly subdued by the Turks. Nevertheless, they supported the Ḳāsimid Imām in *ca.* 1640 in driving out the Turks. From *ca.* 1760 the office of the *Dāʿī* of the Yām became hereditary in the Makramī family. In 1834 the then *Dāʿī* renewed relations with the Ottomans, and the tribe supported Turkish power in Yemen up to its end in 1918.

Bibliography: For older references, see A. Grohmann's *EI*[1] art. The major mediaeval historical sources are given in the text. Smith, *The Ayyūbids*, ii, 68-75, provides references to the original Yemeni works, both Sunnī and Zaydī, which throw light on the Yām in the history of Yemen. See also F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, index s.v. Yām.

(G.R. SMITH)

al-**YAMĀMA**, at the present time a town in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia about 70 km/45 miles south-east of the capital al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*] and situated in the region of al-K̲h̲ard̲j̲ within the al-Riyāḍ emirate, close to Maḥaṭṭat al-K̲h̲ard̲j̲ on the al-Riyāḍ to al-Ẓahrān (Dhahran) railway (Hussein Hamza Bindagji, *Atlas of Saudi Arabia*, Oxford 1980, 49; Zaki M.A. Farsi, *National guide and atlas of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, 1989, 71). The town is now relatively small and has a population of less than 50,000 (Bindagji, 3). The origin of the name may be *yamāma*, singular of the collective *yamām*, meaning wild pigeons, as opposed to *ḥamām*, meaning domesticated ones (see Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān*, v, Beirut 1979, 441-2, for other less likely etymologies).

In early Islamic times al-Yamāma was a region of Nad̲j̲d [*q.v.*] with its centre Ḥad̲j̲r (Yāḳūt, v, 442). During his lifetime, the Prophet was visited in Medina by a deputation of the Banū Ḥanīfa from al-Yamāma, including Musaylima b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥanafī [*q.v.*], later called al-Kad̲h̲d̲h̲āb "the Great Liar" by Muslim writers. When the delegation arrived back in al-Yamāma, he renounced Islam and declared himself to be a prophet. The tribe were permitted to drink wine and dispense with prayer (Ibn His̲h̲ām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, ii, Cairo 1955, 576-7). The long struggle to bring Musaylima to book carried out by the famous Muslim warrior K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] is chronicled by al-Ṭabarī (i, 1929-50; see also *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, x, tr. F.M. Donner, Albany 1993, 105-26) and Ibn al-Athīr, ii, Beirut 1965, 360-5). Musaylima was killed by the Muslims in al-Yamāma in the year 11/632 (Yāḳūt, 442, has the year 12).

Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih [*q.v.*] (193) calls al-K̲h̲ard̲j̲ a *manzil* or relay station of al-Yamāma, while the 4th/10th-century al-Hamdānī (139) states that al-K̲h̲ard̲j̲ was a village of Yamāma. There were scattered fortresses, al-Hamdānī continues, palm groves and gardens (*riyāḍ*). He also mentions silver and gold mines there (153-4). He calls Ḥad̲j̲r the chief town (*miṣr*) and centre of al-Yamāma, the seat of its *amīrs*. He mentions that there is an ancient market there (180).

Al-Yamāma was visited in the 5th/11th century by the Persian traveller Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw, who has some very interesting observations on the area (*Safar-nāma* ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 107-8, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, New York 1986, 85-6). He mentions a large and ancient fortress and a market in which all manner of crafts can be found, and a beautiful mosque. The *amīrs* of the region are ʿAlawīs, Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw goes on, and have been for a very long time. No one is able to seize al-Yamāma from them, so powerful are they, with their 300-400 cavalry. They belong to the Zaydī *mad̲h̲hab* [see ZAYDIYYA], he declares, and the words of their *iḳāma* (i.e. the second call to prayer [*q.v.*]) are *Muḥammad^{un} wa-ʿAliyy^{un} k̲h̲ayru ʾl-bas̲h̲ar; wa-ḥayya ʿalā k̲h̲ayri ʾl-ʿamal.* Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw goes on to mention the palm groves of al-Yamāma and says that, when dates are plentiful, a thousand *mann* (one *mann* = approximately two pounds; see W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden 1970, 16-23) cost only one dīnār. He ends by informing his reader that the route to al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*] from al-Yamāma is 40 parasangs, although the journey can only be undertaken during the winter when water is available.

By the 19th century, al-Yamāma had already become a town of the region of al-K̲h̲ard̲j̲, and a population figure of 6,000 is quoted by R. Bayly Winder from a report of 1865 by Col. Lewis Pelly (*Saudi Arabia in the nineteenth century*, London etc. 1965, 212).

Bibliography: Apart from the references found in the text, see the 3rd/9th century author al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Bilād al-ʿArab*, ed. Ḥamad al-D̲j̲āsir and Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī, Riyāḍ 1968, *passim*, and Hamdānī, *passim*, for routes to and from al-Yamāma, mountains, water, wadis and villages, etc. in the area; L. Pelly, *Report on a journey to the Wahabee capital of Riyadh in Central Arabia*, Bombay 1866 (not seen). (G.R. SMITH)

al-**YAMAN**, YEMEN, the southwestern part of the Arabian peninsula, now coming substantially within the unified Republic of Yemen (which also includes as its eastern region the former People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen, the pre-1967 Aden Protectorate, essentially the historic Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.* in Vol. III and also in Suppl.; see also SUḲUṬRA]).

1. Definition and general introduction
2. Geography

3. History
   (a) From pre-Islamic times to 1962
   (b) From 1962 to the present day
4. Ethnology and social structure of the Yemeni highlands
5. The Arabic dialects of al-Yaman

1. Definition and general introduction. The name is variously explained in the Arabic sources; some say it was given because al-Yaman lies to the right of the Kaʿba or to the right of the sun (al-Bakrī, ii, 856), others because Yuḳṭan b. ʿĀbir and his companions turned right on separating from the other Arabs (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 33, tr. Massé, 37-8; Yāḳūt, iv, 1034), while others again derive the name from the eponymous hero Yaman b. Ḳaḥṭān (cf. al-Wāsiʿī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1346/1927-8, 281). Sprenger thought that the Greeks and Romans translated Teman and Yaman by *Eudaemon* and *Felix* and included under Arabia Felix all the land south of al-Shām. This coincides roughly with the delimitation of al-Yaman attributed to Muḥammad, who is said to have climbed a mound at Tabūk and, pointing to the north, said "All this is al-Shām" and turning to the south, "All this is al-Yaman" (Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, 9). The greatest extension of al-Yaman to the north actually corresponds very well with the boundary of Arabia Felix which, according to Ptolemy, vi. 7, 2, 27, began about 6 miles south of al-ʿAḳaba, with its northern frontier running from there northeastwards to the foot of the Sharāʾ range and then, turning east, crossing the northern edge of the desert of the Nafūd [*q.v.*], ending at al-Nadjaf. Al-Wāsiʿī (282) also represents al-Yaman as bounded in the east by the Persian Gulf, in the south by the Arabian Sea, in the west by the Red Sea and in the north by the Gulf of Ḳulzum, the Syrian desert and ʿIrāḳ. The frontiers given by the Arab geographers are considerably narrower. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih (135, 137, 189), and al-Idrīsī (143-4), the northern frontier of al-Yaman ended at the tree called Ṭalḥat al-Malik between al-Muhdjira and Sarūm Rāḥ, south of Mecca. According to others, it began below Tathlīth, while al-Aṣmaʿī (in Yāḳūt, iv, 1035) made the northern boundary run from ʿUmān through Nadjrān; al-Hamdānī (*Ṣifa*, 51; Yāḳūt, iv, 1035) more accurately traced it through Yabrīn, south of al-Yamāma, via al-Hudjayra, Tathlīth, Djurash and Kutna to the coast towards Kudummul near Ḥamiḍa (lat. 17° 52'). Ibn Ḥawḳal (18), who included two-thirds of the Diyār al-ʿArab in al-Yaman, put the northern limit at al-Sirrayn, Yalamlam and al-Ṭāʾif, and made it run through the highlands to the Persian Gulf; this makes it intelligible why some geographers even include Mecca in the Tihāma of Yemen. Towards the east, al-Yaman extends over Ḥaḍramawt, al-Shiḥr (Mahra) and Ẓafār (Ḍofār); even ʿUmān is sometimes included in al-Yaman when it is not (as e.g. in al-Muḳaddasī, 68) made a separate province. The whole of this extensive territory, which al-Dimashḳī (*Nukbat al-dahr*, 216) divided into 24 administrative districts (*mikhlāf* [*q.v.*]), was in the early days of Islam divided into three: Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Djanad and Ḥaḍramawt (or Ẓafār), under separate governors. The taxes under the ʿAbbāsids yielded 600,000 dīnārs (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 144, 249, 251). After al-Yaman broke off from the ʿAbbāsid empire, its area diminished considerably and its administrative divisions varied substantially; sometimes the Sunnī Tihāma, with its capital Zabīd [*q.v.*], was actually independent of the Zaydī Shīʿī highlands with Ṣanʿāʾ as capital. When Carsten Niebuhr travelled in al-Yaman, he ascertained that the following districts were independent:

1. al-Yaman in the narrower sense, with Ṣanʿāʾ; 2. Aden, with its hinterland; 3. Kawkabān; 4. Ḥāshid and Bakīl; 5. Abū ʿArīsh; 6. the lands lying between this and the Ḥidjāz; 7. Khawlān; 8. Sahān with Ṣaʿda; 9. Nadjrān; 10. Ḳaḥṭān; 11. al-Djawf, with Mārib; 12. Nihm; 13. Khawlān, to the south-east of Ṣanʿāʾ; 14. Yāfiʿ.

The geographical definition of al-Yaman becomes still narrower under Ottoman Turkish rule. The *wilāyet* according to the provincial law of 19 Rabīʿ II 1331/28 March 1913 comprised the *sandjak* of Ṣanʿāʾ, with the *ḳaḍās* of Ḥarāz, Kawkabān, Anis, Ḥadja, Dhamār, Yarīm, Radāʿ and ʿAmrān; the *sandjak* of al-Ḥudayda, with the *ḳaḍās* of Zabīd, Luḥayya, Zaydiyya, Djabal Rīma, Ḥadjūr, Bayt al-Faḳīh and Bādjil; and the *sandjak* of Taʿizz, with the *ḳaḍās* of Ibb, ʿUdayn, Ḳaʿṭaba, Ḥudjariyya, Mukhā and Ḳamāʿira. In the north it was adjoined towards lat. 18° N. by the independent districts of Abū ʿArīsh, Ḳaḥṭān, Wādaʿa and Bilād Yām (Nadjrān); in the east by the Balad Kitāf, Baraṭ, the oasis of Khabb, al-Djawf with Arḥab and Nihm, and also Mārib, Khawlān, Ḥarīb, Bayḥān and Yāfiʿ, as well as the Faḍlī region; and in the south by the hinterland of Aden, which had been under a British protectorate since the later 19th century.

Bibliography: For the Arabic geographers and the European travellers in al-Yaman, see the *Bibl.* to *EI*¹ art. s.v. (A. GROHMANN)

2. Geography. The highlands of Yemen form the southern end of the mountain chain that runs down the west coast of Arabia from the Ḥidjāz [see AL-SARĀT] and through ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] and that becomes more lofty as it goes southwards. The chain is an uplifted block, falling away along lines of faulting on its eastern edge to the desert interior; the ʿAsīr-Yemen highlands are in fact part of a single uplifted block that also comprises the Ethiopian highlands, cut in two by the rift valleys of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden. In Yemen, a core of granite and schists is overlain with sandstone and limestone, in turn covered by a layer of volcanic basalt some 100 m/330 feet thick. This is the highest part of the Arabian peninsula, with Djabal Ḥāḍir Nabī Shuʿayb to the west-south-west of Ṣanʿāʾ rising to 3,760 m/12,336 feet; even the mountains in slightly lower ʿAsīr reach 2,820 m/9,250 feet in Djabal Suda. There is a steep western escarpment overlooking the Tihāma [*q.v.*] or coastal plain, but a less steep eastern one that slopes down to the sandy basin of the Ramlat al-Sabʿatayn. In the southeastern part of Yemen, the highland plateau is connected with the almost equally high crystalline ridges of the Kawr mountains, which in turn join the much-dissected limestone plateau of the Djōl or Djawl, which rises to 2,112 m/6,927 feet. The broad depression of the Djawf Mulays and Djawf Khudayf, which contain the sand dunes of Ramlat al-Sabʿatayn as their core, probably once, in a pluvial period after the Ice Age, contained a lake, but now its underground water drains to the east, through a narrow exit, to irrigate the oases of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. This wadi continues eastwards, sometimes with surface water, for some 320 km/200 miles before turning southwards to the Gulf of Aden through the precipitous Wādī al-Masīla [see further, ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT AL-. ii-iii; ḤAḌRAMAWT. 3., in Suppl.].

In regard to climate, Yemen and the other lands of southern Arabia, Ḥaḍramawt and Ẓafār [*q.v.*], benefit from lying within the sphere of the South-West

Monsoon which brings appreciable rain to the highlands between June and September. The Tihāma of Yemen, about 80 km/50 miles wide, is very barren, as the monsoon rains fall on the higher mountain slopes, but these rains supply streams of water flowing down from the hills, often perennially, to irrigate the typically African crops of the "beehive" villages: millet, cotton, indigo (*nīl* [*q.v.*]), *wars* [*q.v.*], madder, safflower, henna and other dye-producing plants and shrubs and bananas. Above the Tihāma, the lower mountain slopes are semi-desert, with acacia and tamarisk scrub. But beyond 1,500 m/4800 feet, the monsoon winds bring rainfall amounting to more than 75 cm/30 inches per annum in e.g. the southwestern corner of the plateau, to the north and north-east of Taʿizz, and in midsummer the hillsides are cloaked in cloud and mist, and there are heavy dews. These conditions are ideal for coffee trees [see ḲAHWA], and the carefully-maintained multiple terraces also support plantations of fruits, nuts and the mildly narcotic qat or chat, *Cathula edulis* Forsk. [see ḲĀT]. The bulk of the rains and clouds fail, however, to mount the western crests, so that the high plateau to the east is in a rain-shadow, with a drier climate, and the fields of fertile wind-blown soil (loess) rely heavily on streams from the peripheral mountains for irrigating the staple cereal, millet, and the orchards of vines (cultivated since ancient times; the early Arabic geographers mention vineyards in Sarūm Rāḥ, Khaywān, Athāfir and the Wādī Ḍahr) and oranges. Unusually for Arabia, cattle are kept as draught animals. Temperatures may vary widely up here, with cold winter nights and frosty spells; ice is observed at Ṣanʿāʾ on winter mornings more frequently than the occurrence of frost would appear to warrant, an anomaly due to the low atmospheric pressure at over 2,200 m/7,200 feet combined with low humidity, which results in such rapid evaporation of water that its temperature can drop to freezing-point when the air temperature is several degrees above it. On the eastern edges of the highlands at the mouths of valleys there are perennial streams and springs, and such oases as Mārib have extensive date groves. Irrigation systems here have always been complex; it was in this region that ancient South Arabian kingdoms like Sabaʾ and Maʿīn [*q.vv.*] arose, and the Dam of Mārib achieved fame in both pre-Islamic South Arabia and in post-Islamic lore and legend.

The Red Sea coastland of Yemen runs for about 450 km/280 miles down to the Bāb al-Mandab with a trend slightly east of south. There are sandy, mangrove-fringed beaches sloping gently up to the coastal plain of the Tihāma. The most significant ports of this coastland, which have historically served for the commerce of the more productive highland zone, are Luḥayya, al-Ḥudayda, Mukhā [*q.vv.*] or Mocha, and Perim [see MAYYŪN]. Along the Gulf of Aden lies, of course, the fine double port of Aden in a drowned volcano. The southern coastal plain from the Bāb al-Mandab eastwards through Aden is less continuous than that of the Tihāma of Yemen. Its widest part is the irrigated delta of Laḥidj [*q.v.* in Suppl.], which produces dates, coconuts, rice and cotton.

Yemen, together with Ḥaḍramawt and Ẓafār, formed the *Arabia Odorifera* of classical times, and in Yemen, in particular, such aromatics as myrrh were grown; but Yemen's ancient role as an entrepôt for the wares and products of India has long departed.

Bibliography: Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 51-3, 59 ff., 134-41, 156 ff., 201-5, 475 ff.; W.C. Brice, *A systematic regional geography. VIII. South-West Asia*, London 1966, 249-52, 389; W.B. Fisher, *The geography of the Middle East*, [7]London 1978, 471-9. See also section 1., above.

(W.C. BRICE)

3. History.

(a) From pre-Islamic times to 1962.

Pre-Islamic Yemen. For the history of the four major pre-Islamic states of Yemen, the reader is referred to SABAʾ, ḲATABĀN, MAʿĪN and ḤAḌRAMAWT. Perhaps the history of the country would best be surveyed briefly here from the 1st century A.D. From beginnings in this century in the southern highlands, to a time towards the end of the 3rd century, a large tribal confederation, called Ḥimyar [*q.v.*] (Dhū Raydān in the pre-Islamic inscriptions) with its capital in Ẓafār [*q.v.*] near modern-day Yarīm, had annexed the territories of Sabaʾ, conquered Ḥaḍramawt and driven the Abyssinian colonialists from the land. In the late 4th century, the paganism of Ḥimyar had been replaced by Judaism, and this newly-found religious fervour had carried out the notorious massacre of the Christian community of Nadjrān [*q.v.*]. This act brought the Christian Abyssinians back into Yemen under Abraha [*q.v.*] who, after dealing with Ḥimyar, had become the virtual king of the country. Abraha's fame is mainly based on his building of a cathedral in Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] (al-Ḳalīs), his instigating what were to be the final repairs made to the already crumbling structure of the Mārib [*q.v.*] dam and, above all, his attempts at conquering Mecca [see MAKKA], allegedly, but impossibly, in the renowned "Year of the Elephant", A.D. 570, given in many traditions as the year of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad. The task of ridding Yemen of the Abyssinian conquerors had been left to a leader from the Ḥimyarites, Abū Murra Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, although, by bringing in military assistance from the Persians, he had merely substituted one colonial power for another. The Persians thus ruled Yemen from Ṣanʿāʾ and continued even after the advent of Islam as governors there [see BĀDHĀM, in Suppl.].

If we were to believe without careful thought the Muslim writers who touch on the Islamisation of Yemen, we would accept that in 8/628 the governor in Ṣanʿāʾ, a Persian by the name of Bādhān, embraced Islam and the whole of the country immediately followed suit. In fact, we have information from Nestorian Christian sources implying the continued existence of Christianity, for example, at Ṣanʿāʾ and Nadjrān till *ca.* 900.

The pre-dynasty Islamic history. One of the greatest frustrations that the historian of early Islamic and mediaeval Yemen must face is the plain fact that there is so little information available concerning what can be termed the pre-dynasty history of the country. The Yuʿfirids [*q.v.*] (see below), centred on Shibām Kawkabān, and rulers on occasion over Ṣanʿāʾ itself, established the first local dynasty in Islamic Yemen in 232/847, and the period prior to their period, from the advent of Islam in A.D. 622, is what is more precisely meant by this term "pre-dynasty Islamic". The fact of the matter is that we have no contemporary literary sources extant and are compelled to rely on either later non-Arabian sources (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Balādhurī [*q.vv.*], etc.), or on even later Yemeni sources (e.g. al-Djanadī, al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*], Ibn al-Daybaʿ, etc.). All are equally disappointing, uninformative on the question of whence their data come, and in any case lacking in any detailed historical information.

Certainly under the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, when

the Islamic conquests got under way, thousands of Yemenis must have joined the Muslim armies, and indeed, Yemen provided the vast majority of the manpower for these military endeavours of such historical importance (see ʿAbd al-Muhsin Madʿaj M. al-Madʿaj, *The Yemen in early Islam 9-233/630-847, a political history*, London 1988, 64-101; also Radhi Daghfous, *Le Yaman islamique des origines jusqu'à l'avènement des dynasties autonomes (Ier-IIIème s./VIIème-IXème s.)*, Tunis 1995, i, 506).

The sources mention also any number of "representatives" despatched to Yemen by Muḥammad, but such accounts are full of confusion and contradiction. They become no more reliable for the later days of the Rightly-Guided, the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid caliphates. Surprisingly, the picture is not made any clearer after reference to the not inconsiderable numismatic evidence available to us (see e.g. in particular Ramzi J. Bikhazi, *Coins of al-Yaman 132-569 A.H.*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiii [1970], 3-127). Such representatives are usually described as governors (sing. *wālī*), though there were also on occasion *ḳāḍīs* and teachers, as well as alms collectors (sing. *d̲j̲āmiʿ al-ṣadaḳa*). Some of those appointed, however, never reached Yemen for one reason or another and this further complicates the issue. The senior governor was the one appointed to Ṣanʿāʾ, although others were sometimes sent to al-D̲j̲anad, nowadays a suburb of Taʿizz [*q.v.*], and to Ḥaḍramawt, where they were on occasion to all intents and purposes independent and on other occasions evidently subordinate to Ṣanʿāʾ (see G.R. Smith, *The early and medieval history of Ṣanʿāʾ*, in R.B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock (eds.), *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, 53-4, and al-Madʿaj, *Yemen*, table 1, 13-14, table 4, 148-49, table 6, 169-70, table 8, 190-92 and table 11, 220-22, for attempts at listing these representatives).

The interesting question is, of course, what precisely were the duties of these officials? Initially they probably controlled little or nothing outside the walls of the town. They appear to have had a force under arms for the day-to-day policing of the urban area, though it is clear from our sources that they could not impose their will by tyrannical means on the local population; a number tried to do this, and complaints to the caliph, though perhaps slow to receive attention, eventually brought justice either in the form of a reprimand or in the actual dismissal of the governor and his replacement by another. Perhaps more importantly, they would have been charged with the task of promoting Islam and teaching the tenets of the new religion and the Islamic way of life.

As noted above, it is impossible to accept the naive assertion that with Bād̲h̲ān's acceptance of Islam the whole population immediately followed. It is imperative that we now view the Islamisation of Yemen as a gradual process, taking place over at least three centuries. It is probably in this context, too, that we should see the appointments of governors to al-D̲j̲anad and Ḥaḍramawt. Ṣanʿāʾ, one assumes, still operated as a commercial and trading centre under some kind of special sanctity derived from the pre-Islamic *maḥram* institution. Al-D̲j̲anad and Ḥaḍramawt may also have operated in a similar fashion, and trade as much as anything else would have played the major role in the dissemination of Islam in Yemen over the years.

The Islamic history of Yemen down to the first Turkish invasion, 3rd-6th/9th-12th centuries. For the most part the history of the dynasties that held power in Yemen at this time can be seen in some detail in the entries devoted to them, and therefore only very brief notes are given below. The Ziyādids (203-409?/818-1018? [*q.v.*]) take their name, the Banū Ziyād, from Muḥammad b. Ziyād, a protégé of the ʿAbbāsid minister al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*]. He was sent by the caliph al-Maʾmūn to quell tribal unrest in Tihāma [*q.v.*] and arrived there in 203/818. As commanded, Muḥammad founded and built a new capital of Tihāma, Zabīd [*q.v.*], and the dynasty appears to have held territory in the Yemeni highlands and along the Indian Ocean coast, as well as in Tihāma.

The Yuʿfirids (232-387/847-997 [*q.v.*]) were the first local Yemeni dynasty to emerge in Islamic times. The dynasty owes its name, the Banū Yuʿfir, to one Yuʿfir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān of D̲h̲ū Ḥiwāl of S̲h̲ibām Kawkabān [*q.v.*], north-west of Ṣanʿāʾ. Their territory extended from Ṣaʿda [*q.v.*] in the northern to al-D̲j̲anad in the southern highlands. It was during this period that the Ḥasanī *s̲h̲arīf*, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, settled in the northern highlands and created a Zaydī imāmate that was to endure right down to the year 1962 [see ZAYDIYYA].

The Nad̲j̲āḥids, the Banū Nad̲j̲āḥ (412-551/1021-1156 [*q.v.*]), were named after a black Abyssinan slave, Nad̲j̲āḥ, and ruled over Tihāma from Zabīd, for the most part vying with the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] (see below) for control there.

The Ṣulayḥids, the Banu ʾl-Ṣulayḥī (439-532/1047-1138 [*q.v.*]), were a S̲h̲īʿī dynasty acknowledging the Fāṭimids and named after ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, who had been brought up within orthodox Islam in the Ḥarāz area, south-west of Ṣanʿāʾ, and who was later converted by a Fāṭimid *dāʿī* operating in Yemen. They ruled firstly from Ṣanʿāʾ (439-*ca.* 480/1047-*ca.* 1087), but later from D̲h̲ū D̲j̲ibla (*ca.* 480-532/*ca.* 1087-1138) and fought with the Nad̲j̲āḥids over Tihāma, controlling much of the country south of Ṣanʿāʾ.

The Sulaymānids were Ḥasanī *s̲h̲arīf*s, originally from Mecca, who controlled northern Tihāma from Ḥaraḍ between the years *ca.* 462-569/*ca.* 1069-1173. They were firstly embroiled with the Nad̲j̲āḥids and later with the Mahdids), and it is suggested in some sources that they wrote to the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*] in Egypt and were instrumental in urging upon them their conquest of Yemen in 569/1173 (see below).

The Zurayʿids, the Banū Zurayʿ (473-569/1080-1173 [*q.v.*]), were named after Zurayʿ b. al-ʿAbbās, the son of a Ṣulayḥid protégé, and the family was of Yām [*q.v.*]. They were a S̲h̲īʿī dynasty, acknowledging the Fāṭimids like their masters, and they ruled over Aden and its surrounding area.

During the period 492-569/1099-1173, three separate dynasties of Hamdān dominated Ṣanʿāʾ and the territory north: the Banū Ḥātim (I), the Banu ʾl-Ḳubayb and the Banū Ḥātim (II). The first two were in all probability of Fāṭimid allegiance, and the Banū Ḥātim (II), who claimed descent from the Yām, were certainly openly so. They vied with the Ayyūbids, particularly over Ṣanʿāʾ, and were not completely overwhelmed by them; indeed, we find them later in the service of the Rasūlids after they had taken over control in the southern highlands and Tihāma from the Ayyūbids.

The Mahdids [*q.v.*], the Banū Mahdī (554-69/1159-73), were founded by ʿAlī b. Mahdī, who had earlier in the 6th/12th century preached a religious message in Tihāma, where their power lay. The Mahdid dynasty had Zabīd as its capital and was finally crushed by the invading Ayyūbid army from Egypt which, under the command of Tūrāns̲h̲āh b. Ayyūb [*q.v.*], the brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb [*q.v.*], the Saladin of Western writers, in 569/1173 conquered much of southern Yemen and Tihāma.

The reasons for this conquest are several and complex, and cannot be dealt with here (see G.R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, ii, London 1978, 31-49) but the outcome is clear. The advancing Ayyūbid army wiped the Zuray'ids in Aden and the Mahdids in Tihāma off the historical map, and less dramatically brought an end to the Sulaymānids of northern Tihāma. Their solid military achievements during the years 569-628/1173-1230 paved the way for the political, administrative and cultural brilliance of their successors, the Rasūlids.

The Rasūlids [*q.v.*], who controlled vast areas of the southern highlands, Tihāma, and, at their zenith, as far east as Ẓafār, in what is at present the southern part of the Sultanate of Oman, and Ḥaḍramawt, brought unprecedented political stability to Yemen. Their period of power was between the years 626-858/1228-1454, and among their rulers were several who made their name as much for their literary and scientific efforts as for their political and administrative acumen [see RASŪLIDS. 3, 5].

Even the mighty and brilliant Rasūlids could not withstand the internal squabbles of the house, the revolts of the *mamlūk* troops and fickle tribes, and the ravages of the plague. Their rule in the southern highlands and Tihāma gave way in 858/1454 to a local Yemeni dynasty of *mashāyikh* from the area south of Radā', the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] or Banū Ṭāhir, a rule that was to last until 923/1517. The Ṭāhirids were defeated by an Ottoman force in 922/1516 near Zabīd, the main reason for this defeat apparently being the presence among the Ottoman troops of firearms, the first recorded evidence of their use in Yemen.

Ever fearful of the infidel Portuguese presence in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, the Ottoman Turks launched a massive naval expedition into the area and arrived off the Red Sea island of Kamarān [*q.v.*] in 945/1538. The Zaydī *imāms*, who had taken much of the country after the downfall of the Ṭāhirids, were about to be much reduced in authority as a period of almost one hundred years of Turkish rule began.

The first Turkish occupation of the Yemen, 945-1045/1538-1636. After their naval victory, the Turks began to expand inland. They were besieging Ta'izz by the year 946/1539, were marching on Ṣan'ā' by 951/1544, and the city was in Turkish hands by about 954/1547 after a hard siege. The capital of Turkish Yemen was thus established, and the *ḳaṣr* in the east of Ṣan'ā' became the official residence of the governor-general (*beylerbeyi*), the first being Özdemir Pasha [*q.v.*].

The Turkish invasion of Yemen sent the Zaydīs in the north reeling for some time, and it was a while before they recovered. The recovery of their fortunes is first apparent in the person of the Zaydī *imām* al-Muṭahhar, son of Imām Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā, who had died in 965/1557. Al-Muṭahhar had actually advanced on Ṣan'ā' in 974/1566, and the Turkish garrison was compelled to surrender to him. The imperial *dīwān* in Istanbul, greatly disturbed at this turn of events, appointed Sinān Pasha [see SINĀN PASHA, KHODJA. 2.] as commander-in chief of Yemen, and al-Muṭahhar was himself obliged to abandon Ṣan'ā' after a fierce counter-action against the Zaydīs led by Sinān.

Intermittent resistance on the part of the Zaydīs against the occupying Turks continued. Their struggle to recapture Yemen is associated with the *imām* al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, generally known as al-Ḳāsim al-Kabīr. Before his death in 1029/1620, al-Ḳāsim had struggled at first against Sinān Pasha al-Kaykhiyā, albeit somewhat unsuccessfully, and later against the forces of Dja'fer Pasha. With al-Ḳāsim's death in 1029/1620, and since the Ottomans remained in parts of the country, it was left to his son, al-Mu'ayyad, to expel them. Sinān's successor Meḥmed Pasha, and in turn his successor, Ḥaydar Pasha, were relentlessly pushed back by al-Mu'ayyad. In 1038/1629, Ṣan'ā' fell to the Zaydīs, as did Ta'izz in the same year. Whilst the Turks remained a danger, particularly in Tihāma, their surrender to the Zaydīs in 1045/1636 brought an end to their first occupation of Yemen. Their commanders had on the whole been harsh with the Yemenis, and had imposed heavy taxes on them; the majority of governors, if not all of them, left Yemen having made their own personal fortunes.

The Ẓaydī imāmate up to the second Turkish invasion, 1045-1251/1636-1835. The major force throughout the country during this period of almost two centuries was the Zaydī imāmate. It would be wrong to assume, however, that the political situation was a consistent one, for the imāmate, as indeed had always been the case, was at times strong morally and physically, in which case the country was relatively stable and united and life more peaceful. Too often, however, a weak *imām* meant internal squabbles among the Zaydīs themselves, other claimants to the imāmate and tribal anarchy almost anywhere in the country. A few highlights of this period may be mentioned here, but the reader is referred to a more detailed history of the Zaydī *imāms* in the article ZAYDIYYA.

Al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh Ismā'īl (1054-87/1644-76 [*q.v.*]) presided over the imāmate for 33 years, during which the most brilliant era of Zaydī imāmic rule can be seen; the period also marks the furthest extent of their territory in Yemen. In particular, Ḥaḍramawt was conquered by the Zaydīs and that in its turn brought them into contact with the maritime power of 'Umān. Internally, al-Mutawakkil concerned himself with law and order and economic affairs, in particular, trying to regulate taxes. Security brought in merchants from other countries to trade in Yemen. Prosperity followed, and the *imām* was able to establish relations with India, with the Ḥidjāz and even with Istanbul.

Al-Mahdī Muḥammad (1098-1130/1687-1718), called Ṣāḥib al-Mawāhib, the latter place being where he resided near Dhamār, south of Ṣan'ā', may be briefly mentioned. He undid much of the great good which al-Mutawakkil had done, extracting unjust taxes and spending profligately.

Al-Mahdī 'Abbās (1161-89/1748-75) was well known for his scholarship as well as for his strength of character and effectiveness in authority. He did away with many oppressive practices that existed in the country, and would appear to have been the nearest to the Zaydī ideal of warrior-king, a follower of the *sharī'a* and a generous benefactor. There followed less able *imāms*, involving periods of internal anarchy, confusion and misery with Turco-Egyptian and Ottoman interference externally.

The second Turkish occupation of Yemen, 1289/1872-1918. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1286/1869 allowed the Ottomans ready access to maritime Arabia via the Red Sea, and during the latter half of the 13th/19th century they had gained a foothold on the Red Sea coast at al-Ḥudayda [*q.v.*] Aḥmed Mukhtār Pasha settled the affairs of 'Asīr [*q.v.*] and returned to al-Ḥudayda, whence he was invited by the people of Ṣan'ā', weary of the chaos caused by disaffected tribes, to enter their city. The Ottoman general entered Ṣan'ā' in 1289/1872, when there appeared to be no recognised *imām* and thus began a second Turkish involvement in Yemen which was to last until the end of the First World War.

After an administrative overhaul that resulted in the appointment of Turks into the administration and the removal of Yemeni officials, the Ottomans opened up a military campaign in the north that had certain successes, notably the capture of the stronghold of Kawkabān, rarely taken in all the history of Yemen. In 1296/1879, a new Zaydī *imām*, al-Hādī Sharaf al-Dīn, proclaimed himself ruler, and for the decade of his reign he fought with some courage against the Turks.

After Imām Sharaf al-Dīn's death in 1307/1890, the Zaydīs turned for their *imām* to the Ḥamīd al-Dīn family, wherein the imāmate was to reside until its abolition in 1962. Al-Manṣūr bi'llāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn was recognised as *imām*. Al-Manṣūr proved completely uncompromising in his struggle against the Turks, and in the words of one Yemeni historian, his wars against the Turks "would fill several books (*dafātir*)" (ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsiʿī, *Ta'rīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1346, 134). When the Turks sent an emissary to al-Manṣūr in 1309/1891, the latter gave a reply implying that the Yemenis were quite capable of providing a government themselves, one that, moreover, ruled in accordance with the laws of Islam. He accused the Turks of all manner of un-Islamic practices and forwarded complaints about their abuses to Istanbul, the Turkish officials being charged with serious corruption.

On al-Manṣūr's death in 1322/1904, his son Yaḥyā was elected *imām* with the title al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh [see YAḤYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD, AL-MUTAWAKKIL]. Yaḥyā continued the policy of all-out opposition to the Turks, giving instructions that Turkish-held towns were to be attacked and besieged. The anti-Turkish cause was helped by failure of the rains and the ensuing famine. In addition, it is clear that the long arrears of pay of the Turkish occupying troops led to much discontent. There are reports, for example, of a serious mutiny in Ṣanʿāʾ in 1324/1906. The Porte's attempts to make peace with Yaḥyā failed. Although a Turkish force with Arab volunteers left Ṣanʿāʾ during the First World War to attack the British in Aden and actually defeated a small British force at Laḥdj [*q.v.*] a few miles to the north of the port, they were forced to surrender in Aden when the armistice was declared.

The years 1918-62: the Imāms Yaḥyā, Aḥmad and Muḥammad al-Badr. Imām Yaḥyā was above all renowned for his extreme stinginess. He also followed a strict policy of almost complete isolation from the outside world. He was assassinated in 1948 by order of the dissident contender for the imāmate, ʿAbd Allāh al-Wazīr, as he drove near the village of Ḥizyaz just south of Ṣanʿāʾ. The conspiracy was put down after a short while, and the ringleaders executed. Yaḥyā's son Aḥmad was elected *imām*, but lacking support in Ṣanʿāʾ after the city's sacking during the revolt, he moved to Taʿizz where he ruled until his death from natural causes in September 1962. He will always be remembered for his ruthless behaviour in the face of any trace of opposition, although he was undoubtedly both a brave and learned ruler. The economic problems of the country had grown and grown, and Arab nationalism and a succession of military coups in the Arab world, as well as interference from the then USSR, all helped destabilise Yemen under Imām Aḥmad.

His son, Muḥammad al-Badr, who had played a high profile role in affairs of state in the late 1950s, was proclaimed *imām*. Only a week later, his residence was attacked by army officers and he and his guards fled. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sallāl then became the first president of the Yemen Arab Republic.

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(G.R. SMITH)

(b) From 1962 to the present day.

The Republic of Yemen (ROY) was created on 22 May 1990 out of the peaceful unification of North Yemen and South Yemen, officially the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), respectively. About two-and-a-half years earlier, in 1987, the YAR had celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary and the PDRY its twentieth. Throughout this political generation, the question of Yemeni unification had been confounded by contradictory political legacies: the millennia-old idea of one Yemen and one Yemeni people, on the one hand, and two distinct modern national political struggles and resultant territorial states, on the other.

i. *The YAR.*

The YAR was preceded immediately in North Yemen by the imāmate state led and revived over the first six decades of the 20th century by the two great *imāms* of the Ḥamīd al-Dīn family, Yaḥyā and his son Aḥmad [see YAḤYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD, AL-MUTAWAKKIL; and the last section of 3(a) above]. They both revitalised the traditional Yemeni cultural and socio-political system and further insulated and isolated North Yemen from the outside, modern world. In retrospect, the history of the YAR can best be divided into three periods: (a) the al-Sallāl era (1962-7), the wrenching first five years under President ʿAbd Allāh al-Sallāl, marked by the 26 September Revolution that overthrew the imāmate, the long civil war and Egyptian-Saudi intervention that quickly followed, and, above all, the rapid and irreversible opening of the country to the modern world; (b) a 10-year transition period (1967-77), distinguished by the end of both the Egyptian military presence and the civil war, the Republican-Royalist national reconciliation under President ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iryānī, and the attempt by the young President Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamdī to strengthen the state and restructure politics; and (c) the Ṣāliḥ era (1978-90), a 12-year period identified with both the

long tenure of President ʿAlī ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ and the change from political weakness and economic uncertainty at the outset, to political stability, the discovery of oil, and the prospect of oil-based development and prosperity in more recent years. This last period of YAR history ended with the unification of the two Yemens and the creation of the ROY, with President Ṣāliḥ at its head.

Of the many important political and socio-economic changes that took place in the YAR since its birth in 1962, most of the positive ones were compressed into the years since the republic's fifteenth anniversary in 1977. Nevertheless, the decade from the late 1960s to the late 1970s was also important, a transitional period in which much needed time was bought by a few modest but pivotal acts of state-building and, most important, by economic good fortune. Above all, global and regional economic events over which the YAR had no control facilitated a huge flow of funds into the country in the form of both foreign aid and remittances from Yemenis working abroad. This period of transition was much needed, because the changes that had buffeted Yemen in the five years following the 1962 revolution had left it both unable to retreat into the past and ill-equipped to go forward. The ability to advance rapidly in the 1980s was very much the result of the possibility afforded for a breather in the 1970s.

ii. *The PDRY.*

The path taken by, or, more correctly, imposed upon, South Yemen after the British occupation of Aden in 1839 was quite different. Of critical importance was Britain's preoccupation with the port of Aden and its neglect of the dozen or so statelets in the hinterland with which it signed treaties of protection only in the last quarter of the 19th century. As a consequence, no single political system embraced even most of what was to become an independent South Yemen in late 1967. Instead, what existed was the 75-square-mile Aden Colony—a city-state, a partly modern urban enclave and major world port—and a vast, mostly distant, politically-fragmented hinterland that was, for the most part, based on subsistence agriculture and traditional socio-cultural institutions.

At independence in 1967, the infrastructure barely holding together the major settlement areas consisted of dirt tracks, unpaved roads, a number of airstrips, and the telegraph. The country consisted of many micro-economies, most of them agriculturally based and largely self-sufficient. The isolated Wādī Ḥaḍramawt was an odd case, dependent as it was upon emigration to and remittances from Southeast Asia, East Africa, Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Gulf. What little market economy existed centred on the port of Aden and its environs, and this in turn was plugged less into its hinterland than into the international economic system via its sea lanes. This fragile modern sector was dealt devastating blows near the time of independence, when the blocking of the Suez Canal during the Six-Day War nearly brought port activities to a halt and Britain's rapid withdrawal ended both subsidies from London and the significant economic activity tied to the large British presence.

The history of South Yemen since independence is distinguished by three major periods: (a) the period of political takeover and consolidation (1967-9), the initial phase during which the National Liberation Front established control in Aden and over the hinterland at the same time that the balance of power within the party passed from the nationalists led by Ḳaḥṭān al-Shābbī to the party's left wing; (b) the period of uneasy leftist co-leadership of Salīm Rubayy ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāʿīl (1969-78), distinguished by the efforts of these two bitter rivals both to organise the country in terms of their competing versions of Marxist "scientific socialism" and to align the country with the socialist camp and the national liberation movements around the world; and (c) the era of ʿAlī Nāṣir Muḥammad (1980-5), the period in which the consolidation of power in a single leader was paralleled by increasing moderation in both domestic affairs and external relations, especially with the YAR.

The period of co-leadership, which ended in 1978 in armed conflict between the two rival factions within the ruling party and the execution of Salīm Rubayy ʿAlī, was followed by two years during which ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāʿīl ruled alone. The era of ʿAlī Nāṣir Muḥammad, which began with the exile of Ismāʿīl in 1980, ended in January 1986 with the intra-party bloodbath and ʿAlī Nāṣir's ejection and flight into exile, and was followed by the nearly four years of troubled domestic and external politics that led up to unification with the YAR. Despite this pattern of bitter and sometimes lethal intra-party conflict, the PDRY régime over more than two decades did maintain its rule and order throughout the country, made progress in bridging the gap between Aden and the rest of the country, pursued with some success certain admirable social goals, and made good use of extremely limited resources in efforts to develop a very poor country, e.g. in the fields of education, health, and equality of the sexes.

iii. *The unification process and the ROY.*

In 1989, the renewed drive for Yemeni unification came suddenly and at the initiative of a newly self-confident YAR. The PDRY régime, weakened by the intra-party bloodbath and the sharp decline in political and economic support from the Soviet Union and the Socialist bloc, was unable to resist the proposal. In its final form, the unification plan called for: (a) formal unification in May 1990; (b) a two-and-a-half year transition period during which power would be shared equally by the two ruling parties of the former YAR and the PDRY; and (c), in late 1992, national elections throughout unified Yemen.

Unification was embraced enthusiastically by most Yemenis and proceeded apace, enjoying a year's honeymoon. However, the increasing dominance of President Ṣāliḥ and his allies and the collapse of the economy—the latter caused largely by a drastic drop in external aid and workers' remittance, the result of the ROY failure to join the U.S. and Saudi-led coalition against ʿIrāḳ during the Gulf War, soon led to protracted political conflict between Ṣāliḥ's faction and most of the top southern leaders. Despite the holding of relatively free and fair elections in April 1993, and many efforts at mediation, the political crisis worsened, leading in early 1994 to fighting between the yet-unmerged armies of the two parts of Yemen and to a bloody two-months civil war in mid-1994. The forces loyal to President Ṣāliḥ won a decisive victory over the Saudi-supported secessionist forces, and Yemen remained united.

The fighting over, the ROY was faced with the virtually complete collapse of the economy and political isolation in the region. Regarding the latter problem, relations with the Arab Gulf states and other Arab states improved considerably during the period 1995-7. However, relations with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia remained problematical—most notably, the serious Yemeni-Saudi border dispute resisted solution. With the assistance of the International Monetary

Fund, the World Bank, and various European donors, the ROY in early 1995 addressed the former problem by adopting and then implementing a largely successful three-year package of economic reforms; this demanding and painful process was facilitated in part by the continued discovery and development of modest oil and gas reserves. President Ṣāliḥ and his allies strengthened the political system and—to a degree at least—Yemeni political life was reorganised during this period. Despite the economic hardships of recent years, the régime was able to hold relatively free and fair national elections in April 1997, elections that produced a clear-cut victory for President Ṣāliḥ and his party. Mid-1998 marked the end of Ṣāliḥ's twentieth year as president of the YAR and the ROY.

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(R.D. BURROWES)

4. Ethnology and social structure of the Yemeni highlands.

The population of the high plateaux of Yemen is chiefly Zaydī by persuasion [see ZAYDIYYA]. However, a strong Shāfiʿī Sunnī presence [see SHĀFIʿIYYA] has been making its mark on the capital city of Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] since the 1970s (where at the last census in 1994 there were 954,448 inhabitants), as also in the massif of Ḥarāz [*q.v.*], which is shared between the Zaydīs and the Shāfiʿīs. The Ismāʿīlī [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA] community of Yemen is concentrated in the latter region around Manākha [*q.v.*]. In addition there are several hundred Jews living in the regions around Ṣaʿda and Rayda [*q.vv.*].

With the exception of Ṣanʿāʾ, the territory of which belongs to no single tribe (*ḳabīla*) in its own right, towns such as Ṣaʿda (Khawlān b. ʿAmr), Khamir (Banū Ṣuraym), Ḥūth (ʿUsaymāt), Dhamār [*q.v.*] (ʿAns) or ʿAmrān are all contained within the territory of single tribes. Part or all of their non-tribal population is composed of "market people" (*ahl al-sūḳ*) and religious men (*sayyids* and *ḳāḍīs*). The *hidjra* sites such as Ḥūth are generally inhabited by the latter, and the market as well as the tribal assembly places, called *misrākh*, were subject to tribal protection. The inviolable nature of the *hidjras*, the "sanctuaries" of knowledge and religious law, was in fact only recognised by the tribes that were linked to them, often by a formal ageement, and who used them as neutral territory. The principal confederation of tribes of the highlands of Yemen are those of the Ḥāshid and the Bakīl [*q.vv.*]; the Madhhidj (Dhamār, Radāʿ, Ḥarīb [*q.v.*] and Mārib [*q.v.*]) do not actually exist, as the number of its tribes was incorporated in the course of time among the Bakīl, whereas the tribes of the Murād (Ḥarīb) and the ʿAbīda (Mārib), who were supposed to belong there, have no confederal ties. On the other hand, the tribe of Khawlān b. ʿAmr (Ṣaʿda) has no links with any other. However, it would be an exaggeration to place any real importance on the idea of a confederation apart from that of the Ḥāshid, which is numerically less important than that of the Bakīl; it has greater cohesion though relatively so, stemming largely from the role in national politics played by the supreme *shaykh* (*shaykh al-mashāyikh*), ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn al-Aḥmar.

The morphology and tribal subdivisions vary just as their degree of mobility. Membership of a tribe is based on real or supposed family relationships, but tribal unity is above all based on territory, and the majority of tribesmen are sedentary farmers. The different sections of the tribe are thought to be descended from a common ancestor (*djidd*) and to be bound by fraternal ties, although this genealogical fiction does not imply a detailed acquaintance or the existence of actual family relationships between its members. The practice of customary law (*ʿurf* [*q.v.*]), with regard to the role of guarantor of the honour of the group and of intra- and inter-tribal arbitrator, makes the function of the *shaykh* an important factor of the social life of the highlands, and even at the national level for those who combine economic success and political stature. Recognition by the state of the representative function of the *shaykhs*, who from the early years of the Republic onwards have been paid by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, has given their traditional role of mediator an official status.

However, the social structure of the highlands is not limited to the tribal system. It overlaps with a system of social ranks to which the tribal system is pivotal. The traditional social hierarchy is indeed composed of status groups graded in the hierarchical system according to certain criteria, the most important of which are those of ancestry (*aṣl*) and professional activity. Up to the founding of the Republic in 1962

the descendants of the Prophet (*sayyid*, pl. *sāda*) including the Zaydī Imāms, took their place at the top of the hierarchical order. Because of their prestigious genealogy and the primacy granted to them in religious matters and spiritual direction, they played the role of arbitrator among the tribes, though this position could also be filled by the "religious judges" of tribal origin (*ḳāḍī*, pl. *ḳuḍāt*).

The other status groups were the tribesmen (*ḳabīlī*, pl. *ḳabā'il*), city dwellers of tribal origin (*ʿarabī*), and at the bottom of the social order those who had menial occupations without tribal origin. They were designated by the generic noun *banu 'l-khums* or *ahl al-ṭaraf*, literally, "sons of the fifth", i.e. potential recipients of public charity or "people of the extremity". Menial jobs (market gardeners, butchers, workers at the public bath, cess-pit cleaners, barber-circumcisers, blood-letters, tanners, shoemakers, potters and the *dawshān*, a sort of tribal herald) were considered as such in relation to a system of tribal values in which the idea of honour played a dominant role, and which would forbid members of the tribe being put into the position of servant or middle-man. In this predominantly agrarian society, commercial activity was regarded as menial, whereas agriculture, the traditional occupation of tribesmen, was not considered in any way discreditable. In certain cities, and particularly in Ṣanʿā', the city dwellers felt that they belonged to a more distinctive sort of community, and their cultural model was distinguished from the tribal one by reason of the greater significance it attached to religious values. Besides, in contrast to the *sūḳs* in the tribal territories, the market of Ṣanʿā' was distinguished by its great social diversity and was frequented by representatives of all the status groups of the city. To belong to these status groups was a matter of heredity and very often was no longer connected with the original "occupation".

The rules for matrimonial alliance have constituted and still do constitute one of the essential ways of reproducing status groups. The main principles governing marriage in Yemeni society are those of *aṣl* (origin) and *kafā'a* [*q.v.*], a term denoting the idea of parity, sc. the equality of status of the two partners. These principles allow society to maintain the hierarchical system, since they relate to descent, the patrilinear nature of which authorises a man to marry a woman of equivalent or inferior status. The woman herself may not marry a man of inferior status as the children will inherit their father's status. This traditional social order was indicated by the distinctive dress of the wearer. The most important sign was the dagger, which was worn differently according to the status group. However, this traditional social order has been considerably weakened by a number of factors: the founding of a Republican régime; the appearance of intense social mobility (promoted by the years of emigration); the existence of new economic opportunities; and finally, strong urban growth, facilitating a degree of social anonymity and the influence of state institutions through school, public office and army.

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(F. MERMIER)

5. The Arabic dialects of al-Yaman.

The main dialect areas partly correspond to the physical nature of the country: One block is the western coast, Tihāma [*q.v.*]. A transitional zone are the Tihāma foothills. In the western mountain range from the outermost north down to the south-east (Yāfiʿ [*q.v.*]) extremely archaic dialects, the so-called *k*-dialects, are spoken. This originally coherent area is now interrupted in the south by the Ḥudjariyya dialects. In the border zone to Saudi Arabia, dialects are quite remote from other Modern Arabic dialects. From Ṣaʿda down south to Djuban, in the highlands, but also in Aden, dialects less deviating from other modern Arabic dialects are spoken. The dialects of the Djawf and the Mārib area are little known. They are related to Bedouin dialects of the north and the south-east of the peninsula. In the former People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), the regions of Aden, Ḥaḍramawt, Dathīna, Laḥdj and the Yāfiʿ area are more or less explored dialectologically, but little is known from the southern coast. The actual distribution of dialects still reflects the characterisation of Yamanī dialects given by al-Hamdānī, and regions of which he classifies the language as "bad Arabic", "unintelligible" or "Ḥimyaritic" still have the most deviating dialects. A mere sketch, however, cannot do justice to the dialectological diversity of Yemen.

i. *Phonology*.

Hamza, in most modern Arabic dialects a marginal phoneme, has maintained its status in many dialects; in the Taʿizz area we can even notice the opposite of what normally happens, i.e. a shift of verbs with final *y* to hamzated verbs: **ramā* > *rama'*, **ramat* > *rama'at*. In some fifty items, *b* corresponds to *m* in

CA, e.g. *ṣarab* "to harvest" vs. *ṣarama* "to cut", *banā* "to intend" vs. *tamannā* "to wish". In the Tihāma *d* may be realised as a flap, *d* and *t* in the Yāfiʿ region are "soft apicals" and not dentals, according to Vanhove. Interdentals are preserved, except in Aden and al-Ḥudayda. Both **ḍ* and **ẓ* have merged into *ʾdh*, except in Dat͟hīna: **ḍ* > *ḷ* vs. **ẓ* > *ʾdh*; in D̲jabal Yazīdī (former PDRY), **ḍ* is *ḍ*, but **ẓ* = *ʾdh*; also in the north (Bani ʿAbādil, Ṣaʿda area), *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ* are separate phonemes *ʾdh* and *ʾth*. In Minabbih (Ṣaʿda area) the merger is *ʾth*. In D̲jabal Rāziḥ, in some fifty words the reflex of **ḍ* is a slightly retroflex *č* (**ḍabaṭa* > *čabaṭ*). In the same area (Minabbih) the reflex of **ṣ* is *st*: *stadīgin* "a friend", reflecting a former **ts* or **tsʾ*. There are several lexemes indicating a merging of **ṣ* (**tsʾ*) and **ẓ* (**ʾth*) in historical dialects of Yaman as attested in Sabaic, e.g. *liṣī* "to kindle", CA *laẓiya* "to burn brightly". In Minabbih **s͟h* is a slightly retroflex medio-palatal fricative close to the German "ch" in "Buch" (neither [x]nor [ç]). As for **s*, there are lexical relics hinting at sound shifts like those in Modern South Arabian, e.g. **sāḳah* > *hāḳah* "tail-pole" in the southern Tihāma. In the central highlands *ṭ* is realised as [ḍ] in pre- and intervocalic position, hence *ḍallab* "to beg". The reflexes of **g* vary between *g* (southern Tihāma, Ḥud̲jariyya down to Aden, Yāfiʿ), a palatal stop *j* (e.g. central Tihāma), the affricate *d̲j* (especially in the central highlands) and *y* in Ḥaḍramawt. In the central Tihāma **ʿ*, and often in a parallel fashion **g͟h*, have merged into *ʾ*: *ʿaynun* > *ʾēnu* "eye", *g͟hanamun* > *ʾanamu* "sheep", only **g͟h* > *ʾ* is found in the southwestern mountains: *g͟hanam* > *ʾanam*. In Dat͟hīna, Upper ʿAwlaḳī and D̲jabal Yazīdī: *g͟h* > *ʿ*: *ʿanam*, and partly *ʾ*: *ʾanam*. North of Ṣanʿāʾ, in parts of the east, in the Ṣaʿda area, and also in the Wādī Bannā *g͟h* is an affricated [ḳx] or *ḳ*: *ḳanam*; in Yāfiʿ *ḳ* and *g͟h* are free variants: *ḳanam* ~ *g͟hanam*. The main reflexes of **ḳ* are *ḳ* and *g*, the former characteristic of most of Tihāma and the southern mountains from the Taʿizz area down to Aden. In Tihāma, **ḳ* has been shifted to *g* or *j* in roots containing *d*: *ḳaʿādah* > *jaʾādah* "bed". Still in Tihāma, a voiced uvular *ḳ* is to be heard. In central *ḳ*-dialects the allophones of *ḳāf* are in complementary distribution: *ḳ* (initial, geminated)—*g͟h* (intervocalic)—*k͟h* (final). In Minabbih, **k* is shifted to *č* and varies with *k* in lexical distribution. Emphatic *ḷ* is frequent in the dialects of the D̲jawf and Mārib: *gāḷ* "he said". Emphatic *ṛ* is rare.

Diphthongs are preserved in the majority of dialects. The short vowels *a, i, u* are preserved in all dialects. Apart from the D̲jawf and Mārib area (**ḥimārah* > *ḥmārah*) the syllable structure is extremely conservative, e.g. *libisat* "she has dressed", *yisāfirū* "they travel". Long vowels in final syllables are also preserved. In southern Tihāma and Hud̲jariyya, however, they are short and not lengthened in the case of suffixation: *ʾdharabu + ik* ⟶ *ʾdharabuyk* "they beat you", *ʾdharabna + ak* ⟶ *ʾdharabnak* "we beat you", *ʾdharabna + uh* ⟶ *ʾdharabnuh* "we beat him". Elisions often are due to the fluctuation of accent: *yiḥtárig* "it gets burnt" vs. *yiktsír* "it gets broken". The fluctuation of accent (*máwd̲jūd* vs. *mawd̲júd*, *al-ḥímār* vs. *al-ḥimár*) is still one of the mysteries of Yamani dialects (for explanations, see Diem, 10-12, and Naïm-Sanbar).

Other remarkable phonotactic phenomena are pausal glottalisation in the highlands: *kat͟hīr* ⟶ *kat͟hīʾr #*, pausal nasalisation in Tihāma and parts of the northern and southern mountain ranges: *ani* ⟶ *aniŋ #* and devoicing of geminates in the central highlands: *ḥaggī* ⟶ *ḥakkī*.

ii. *Morphology*.

a. Verbs.

All verbal endings of CA (except the dual) can be found in Yamanī dialects. In Minabbih, *-*a* of the 3rd m. perfect appears in the case of suffixation: *baytūh #* "his house", but *g͟hasal + u* ⟶ *g͟hasálaw* "he washed him", *ṣawwar + ča* ⟶ *ṣawwaráča* "he took a picture of you". In the northern Tihāma, the forms of the 1st and 2nd f. sg. still have the classical endings: *katabtu-katabt-katabti*. Elsewhere, mainly in Ḥud̲jariyya, only the 1st person has preserved *-u*: *katabtu*-2nd m. *katabt*. In the extreme north and the Yarīm area, the opposite is found: 1st *katabt*-2nd m. *katabta*. Feminine forms in the plural are preserved except in Tihāma, the Ṣaʿda region and Aden. The endings of 2nd pl. *-tum, -tinna* and 3rd pl. *-ū, -na* are typical of the highlands north and west of ʿAmrān and the extreme north (there even *-tum, -tunna*). South Semitic perfect endings (*-ka, -ki, -ku* vs. *-ta, -ti, -tu*) are preserved in the western mountain range from the outermost north down to Ḥud̲jariyya and in the Yāfiʿ area. Rare are *k*-perfects with the old vocalic endings (D̲jabal Yazīdī, former PDRY: *waṣalku*) but in some dialects the inner vowel is assimilated to them: *katabku* > *katubk, katabka* > *katabk, katabki* > *katibk* (Taʿizz area). Elsewhere, the *-k* of the 1st person is labialised. Central and northern *k*-dialects, but also Yāfiʿ, also have *kas͟hkas͟ha*-forms for the 2nd f. sg.: *katabč, katabs͟h(i)*. Major innovations are the generalisation of *-aw* (*-ō*) for the 3rd pl. m. *ramaw* ⟶ *katabaw* in the central Tihāma and in the east (Mārib, D̲jawf), and for the f. pl. the extension of *-ayn* (CA *ramayna*) to all verb classes and the 2nd pl.: *ramayn* ⟶ *katabayn* ⟶ *katabtayn* (central highlands down to the south-east). In some places in Tihāma, the ending of the 2nd sg. f. has been assimilated to that of the imperfect: *tiktubin* ⟶ *katabtin*. In Tihāma and the Ṣaʿda area, before the merging of f. and m. in the plural, the 3rd sg. f. perfect (*-*at*) was adapted to the 3rd pl. f. (*-*na*): **katabat* > *kataban*. In D̲jabal Rāziḥ, Ḥud̲jariyya and Yāfiʿ, the 3rd sg. f. perfect follows the noun: *katabah* corresponds to *baḳarah*, with suffixes: *katabtuh* corresponds to *baḳartuh*. In the imperfect, the *ya*-prefix is to be found in the extreme north and most parts of Tihāma. Landberg reported the Mag͟hribī forms for the 1st sg. and pl. *niktub-niktubu* for the Bedouins of Ḥud̲jariyya. Long forms have been preserved in central and northern Tihāma, sporadically in the east, and in a compact area in the former PDRY (Ḥaḍramawt, Yāfiʿ): *tiktubīn* "you (f.) write", *tiktubūn, yiktubūn*. When suffixed in Tihāma, the *-ī-* is shortened and the *-n* geminated: *tiktubinnuh*. This has led to re-analysis in some dialects in central Tihāma: *kataban-katabannuh, tiktubīn-tiktubinnuh* ⟶ *tiktubin-tiktubinnuh*. Internal passives are attested everywhere: *s͟huwik, yis͟hwak* "to be stung by a thorn"; they are frequent in the east: *d͟hbiḥ/yid͟hbaḥ* "to be killed", *s͟hill, yis͟hall* "to be taken away".

As in other modern Arabic dialects, there are preverbs for the present continuous or habitual, e.g. 1st. p. *bayn-*, the rest of the paradigm *bi-* in Ṣanʿāʾ, and for the future: e.g. *šā* (south, Tihāma) *šā-/ʿa-* (Ṣanʿāʾ), *bā-* (east and south). Reflexes of **ḳad* are used as an auxiliary: *giduh ṣug͟hayyiru* "he is young". In many dialects, *kān* is not conjugated: *ams kānnī bu Ṣaʿda* "yesterday I was in Ṣ".

Hamzated verbs are common in the southern mountains: *yaʾkul* "he eats", *siʾir* "it remained", *ḳaraʾ* "he read". Characteristic of the east are imperfect forms with *ō*: *yōkul* "he eats".

There are cases of class change for verbs with initial *w*: **wat͟haba* > *t͟hāb* "to sit" (Minabbih), **wakaba* > **wabaka* > *bāk* "to go" (Tihāma).

Geminate verbs have been assimilated to verbs with final *y* in northern Tihāma: *madda, yimidda*, in Ḥudjariyya: *maddī, yimidd* (Ḍāliʿ *madda, yimidd*), and in Djabal Rāziḥ: *maddē, yimidd.*

The two perfect types of hollow verbs are preserved in most regions, a third has been added mainly in the *k*-dialects: *ḳalku* "I said", in others the distribution of *a, i* and *u* is conditioned by the persons: 1st. *surk*-2nd m. *sark*-2nd f. *sirk* (Taʿizz area), *surk-sirk-sirki* (north of Taʿizz) or, in Djabal Rāziḥ, *suruk-sirik-siriċ.* In some places only one type is attested: *giltu*, respectively *ḳilk* or *ḳaltu.* In the participle, *hamza* is preserved, especially in the southern mountains: *ghāʾib* "being absent", elsewhere *ghāyib*, also with reduction of *-āyi-> ey, ē: ghēb* (northern Tihāma, the East).

Verbs with final *y*: in the highlands from Khamir down to Ḥudjariyya only one type is left: *ramā-nasā, ramī-nasī* or *rimī-nisī.* Elsewhere *a-* and *i*-type are preserved with partial levelling, e.g. *ramu-nisyu, ramaw-nisiyaw.* In the *k*-dialects, the suffix vowel has influenced the different forms: 1st sg. **ramayku* > **ramawku* > *ramawk/ramōk*-2nd sg. m. **ramayka* > *ramayk.* Especially in the southern *k*-dialects and in Ḥudjariyya, the vowel of the perfect of form II follows the imperfect: *ghaddī/yighaddī* "to give a lunch", accordingly V: *atghaddī-yitghaddī* "to have lunch".

The verb "to come" behaves like verbs with final *y* with the usual assimilations in the *k*-dialects: 1st sg. *guʾk*-2nd sg. m. *gaʾk*-2nd f. *giʾk* or *ʾatawk-ʾatayk-ʾatayk* and similar forms. In Ḥudjariyya, hybrid forms of **djāʾa-*ʾatā* are attested: *ʾagā.* In parts of Tihāma, the imperfect is irregular: *yiʾēt.* For the imperative *taʿāla* is rare; the respective roots are used: *djiʾ*! *ʾati*! Other forms are *hālak*! (southern Tihāma) or *duwēnak*! (the east).

Verbal forms: IX has been replaced by II: *ḥammar* "to become red". IV is still used. VII is used mainly in the east, the passive-reflexive function being normally expressed by VIII or the internal passive: *summiyat* "she was called", *yiḥtarig* "it gets burnt".

b. Nouns.

Tanwīn is preserved in Minabbih: *stayfin* "a guest", in northern Tihāma: *shtarētu djamalun* "I bought a camel", and as *-u* in the rest of Tihāma: *banātu* "girls", *juhdu* "boy". The normal feminine endings are *-ah, -eh* (*-ih*), in many dialects conditioned by the preceding vowel: *bagara-tisʿe.* In Djabal Rāziḥ the ending is *-it* whenever the noun is definite: *bagarah* "a cow", but *ib-bagarit* "the cow". Gender distinction has been given up in several dialects with adjectives of the type *faʿil* and participles: *hiyya ksil* "she is lazy", *anī dārī* "I (f.) know", *is-sayyārit mujannab* "the car is parked". As for the syntax of the numerals, all Yamanī dialects follow the model of CA: *khams banātin* "five girls", *khamsah ridjālah* "five men". Characteristic nominal forms are those with an *-ī*-suffix: participles like *nāzilī* "going down", also of the true Ethiopian type *faʿālī: falāḥī* "fox" (Djabal Rāziḥ), nouns like *shugrī* "chicken", *buhmī* "donkey", *buḳrī* "cow", *kitlī* "tea-pot", *mushgurī* "small bouquet". Other typical forms are plurals like *ṭirwag* "ways", sg. *ṭarīg, shirwaṭ* "tapes", sg. *sharīṭ, binwat* "girls" and the infinitives of II: *tafʿūl, fiʿʿāl.*

The genitive marker is *ḥagg.* The definite article is *(a)m* all over Tihāma. In the north-east, in the east from Mārib down to the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, *im-* is frequent, *b-* is attested in northern Tihāma. The Ṣaʿda area is rich in forms with *al-, il-, im-, in-, an-, hā-.* The predominant form is *al-* whilst *il-* is characteristic of some eastern dialects. The *-l* of the article is assimilated to all letters mainly in the southern mountains: *ab-baḳarah.* The relative pronoun in the central mountains is a gender-indifferent *alladhī*, a compact area in the south-east has the Ḥimyaritic *dhī*, southern Tihāma *allī*, and there are other shorter forms like *lī, dī, alī.*

c. Pronouns.

The 1st sg. has been differentiated on the model of the 2nd sg. (*anta-anti*): *anā* m.-*anī* f. in Tihāma and parts of the central and southern highlands down to Aden. Consequently, the suffixes of the 1st persons: *-nī, -nā* were re-analysed: m. *anā*, suffix *-nā* (*bētnā* "my house"), f. *anī*, suffix *-nī* (*bētnī*); *-nā* not being available any more for the plural, the independent pronoun equally serves as a suffix: *baytiḥnā* "our house" (Tihāma), *shāfniḥna* "he saw us" (Aden). Among the 2nd forms, those of Djabal Rāziḥ are remarkable: m. *ak*, f. *aċ*, identical with the suffixes. In southern Tihāma in one spot, *-ak* has been added to the pronoun: *antak*, whilst the feminine form has been assimilated to the verb: *antīn.* Such analogous formations are mainly attested for Tihāma (*ʾantīna, ʾantīn, ʾantin*). For the 3rd persons short and long forms are attested: *hū, hī, huwwa-hiyya*, in the south forms with a prefix copying the radical vowel: *uhu-ihi.* Most remarkable is the fusion of m. and f. in the dialect of Minabbih: *ahā* "he, she". Forms of the 1st pl. are less aberrant, the most frequent one being *iḥna* or *ḥna*, whilst *niḥna* is attested for the east and the south, for this last even *naḥnu*; in Djabal Rāziḥ: *anḥā.* For the 2nd persons, we have *antum-antunna, antum-antinna* in the extreme north and *antu-antinna* in the northern highlands. The western mountain range has *antum-antin* (*antun, antan*), the east mainly *antu-antan* (*intu-intan*); the central highland dialects, parts of the east and the southern mountains have feminine forms remodelled on the verb: *antum katabtum-antayn katabtayn.* Tihāma has forms with *-n* for both genders: *(a)ntun, ʾantūn.* Extremely deviating again is Djabal Rāziḥ: *akkum-akkun.* The most common forms of the 3rd pl. are *hum-hin.* Longer forms are attested only for the feminine: *hunnah, hinnah.* Tihāma mainly has *hun*, sporadically with a prefix: *uhun.* Comparable forms are to be found in Minabbih: *ihim-ihinna.*

d. Pronominal suffixes.

For 1st persons see above. The 2nd m. is predominantly *-ak*, only in the southeast is it *-uk*, sporadically *-ik*, Minabbih: *-ča.* For the feminine, *kashkasha* forms are dominant, namely *-iš* (north, centre, east, south-east), in northern and central *k*-dialects *-ič, -iċ* and in the Djabal al-Ẓāmir area even *-it: baytit* "your house", elsewhere *-ik*, Minabbih: *-či.* With nouns ending in *-u*, in Tihāma no distinction is made between m. and f.: *abūk* "your father", while in some dialects north of Ṣanʿāʾ, an allomorph *-ki* is used for the f.; in southern dialects: *abu + ik* → *abuyk*, or with umlaut: *abīk* (m. *abūk*). The suffix of the 3rd sg. m. is *-ih* all over the north, centre and south-east, *-uh* is the form of Tihāma and the southern mountains and also Aden, *-ah* is attested mainly in central Tihāma and the south-east. Djabal Rāziḥ has *-ō.* The f. form is predominantly *-hā*, in the south-eastern mountains *-i* or *-ē* (*baḳarti, baḳartē*), in Djabal Rāziḥ *-ā.* For the 1st pl., see above. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons follow the respective pronouns (*-kum-kin, -kum-kinna, kum-kan, -kun*), in Djabal Rāziḥ: *-ām, -ōn* for the 3rd pl.

e. Demonstrative pronouns and adverbs.

A central strip from the highlands down to Aden has forms nearer to CA, whereas Tihāma and the extreme north, but also partly the east, have all kinds of short forms: *dhā-tā, dhī-tī, dhā-dhī, dhih-tih, dhāk-tāk, ʾdhāk-ṭāk*, and there are also forms with a deictic element *dhn* (as in Sabaic): *dhīnek* (remote deixis pl.)

dhinnek, dhinnāk, mainly in Ḥudjariyya. Most dialects have a series of diminutive or deprecative demonstratives like *dhayya-tayya,* but used deictically as well (medium range). The demonstrative adverb "now" is *dhalḥīn* all over the country with slight variations. Short forms for "here" are to be found mainly in the east, Tihāma and in the south, the central highlands down to Ḥudjariyya have long forms like *hāna* and *hawna.* For "there" the most common forms are *hunāk* and *hināk,* in southern Tihāma we have forms like *halah.*

f. Interrogatives.

As for "what" the main forms comprise *mā* all over the Tihāma, the central highlands and the north-east (*maw, mō, mū* in the southern mountains, *mī* in some central *k*-dialects, *mādhī* in Djabal Rāziḥ). From the north-east down to the south *aysh* and similar forms are normal. There is more variation in the case of "why": *laysh, limā, lilma, lilmeh, lamū, ninma, liyyeh, lēh,* even *way'.* "Where" has the more "classical" forms in the central highlands: *ayn;* Tihāma has forms like *fiyān;* and forms with *w-* are attested in the east. Also for "when", the centre again has a new formation: *ayyiḥīn,* and Tihāma has variations of it: *yaḥīn* etc. In the north and the east, we find reflexes of **matā* or **matay: matē* (Djabal Rāziḥ).

iii. *Lexicon.*

There is a good deal of the South Semitic lexicon: *da* and similar forms, *dimm(ī)* "cat", *dhaḥal* "rust", *girbah* "field". There are also words from the Semitic lexicon not attested in CA, like *thāb, yathūb* "to sit", *lammad* "to train the ox for ploughing". There is much of the Classical lexicon not to be found in, say, Mediterranean dialects, like *ʿafw* "young donkey", *(h)āyab* "to return". The lexicon of Tihāma is highly aberrant: *ḥād* "to see", *'amm* "to drink", *bāk* "to go", *juhdeh* "girl". An important part of its modern vocabulary has been furnished by English, mainly via the south, like *rayfal* "rifle", *kitlī* "tea pot," *recte* kettle, *kilish* "clutch".

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YAMĪN (A.), pls. *aymān, aymun,* literally, "the right hand", but often used in Arabic with the transferred sense of "oath".

In human life and activity, the right hand often symbolises power and the ability to initiate actions. The Arabic word *yamīn* has such connotations as fortune and prosperity, whilst the wider term *yad* "hand in general" covers a vast semantic range: power, help, strength, sufficiency, ability to act, etc. The right hand can have a cultic significance, as with the bronze hand, probably from the vicinity of Ṣanʿāʾ and now in the British Museum, with a South Arabian *ex voto* inscription (illustrated and discussed by Ch. Robin, in idem (ed.), *L'Arabie antique de Karibʾîl à Mahomet = RMMM,* no. 61 [1991-3], 143-4).

Because oaths were often, in early societies such as the Arab one, taken by the two parties to a contract or agreement clasping their right hands together and pledging a solemn oath to fulfil the undertaking, *yamīn* came to be a general word for "oath". It has in fact tended, in Arabic usage, to become the most general term for "oath", in company with the verb *ḥalafa* "to swear", but other terms exist such as *ḳasam, ḥalaf* and *aliyya/alwa/ilwa.* See further, ḲASAM and also ḤILF, this last term denoting originally "a covenant, agreement" but often coming to mean "oath", and see the *Bibls.* there, to which should be added N. Calder, *Ḥinth, birr, tabarrur, taḥannuth: an enquiry into the Arabic vocabulary of vows,* in *BSOAS,* li (1988), 214-39. (ED.)

YAMŪT B. AL-**MUZARRAʿ** AL-ʿABDĪ, Abū Bakr, multifaceted scholar of the second half of the 3rd/9th century, d. *ca.* 303-4/915-16. He belonged to the tribe of ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*], and was al-Djāḥiẓ's nephew on his mother's side; the latter was the source of several anecdotes transmitted by Yamūt.

Because of the ominous meaning of his name, "he dies", Yamūt tried to replace it with Muḥammad, which was, however, not generally accepted. Nonetheless, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī decided to enter him into his *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* under both names. The bad omen of his name also caused Yamūt to have himself announced simply as Ibn al-Muzarraʿ when he visited the sick.

Yamūt came from Baṣra. After the death of his uncle al-Djāḥiẓ in 255/868-9, Yamūt went to Syria and settled in Tiberias, where his son Muhalhil was born. Only at an advanced age did he visit, in 301/913, Baghdād, where he appeared as a transmitter, from *inter alios* the philologists Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]) and Abū ʿUthmān al-Māzinī (d. *ca.* 248/862 [*q.v.*]). Several times he travelled to Egypt, the last time in 303/915, dying according to some at Tiberias in 303/915, according to others at Damascus in 304/916.

Yamūt was a Ḳurʾān reader, grammarian, poet, and above all an historian (*akhbārī*). In this last capacity he restricted himself to the transmission of historical anecdotes (*mulaḥ wa-nawādir*). Thus he is cited amongst others by al-Marzubānī in his *Muwashshaḥ,* by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī, and by al-Mubarrad in his *Kāmil.* Al-Masʿūdī counts Yamūt moreover among the *ahl al-ʿilm wa 'l-naẓar wa-'l-maʿrifa wa 'l-djadal.* Yamūt, according to al-Dhahabī, wrote several books the titles of which are not mentioned at all. Al-Dhahabī himself did not mention any title, too. A Damascene manuscript of Ibn Durayd's *Fawāʾid al-akhbār,* however, has a small supplement of four pages entitled *Akhbār Yamūt b. al-Muzarraʿ.* It contains eleven poems and anecdotes transmitted by Yamūt. It was published by Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ together with a much more comprehensive collection of Yamūt's traditions taken from the secondary literature. As a poet, Yamūt praised Dhakāʾ al-Aʿwar, who was governor of Egypt from 303/915 until 307/919. In addition, he addressed several poems to his son Muhalhil, who was his consolation in times of distress and to whom he sent *waṣiyya*-like admonitions.

Muhalhil became famous as a wine and love poet. His *Dīwān,* no longer extant, was put together by Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad Tūzūn. Preserved is Muhalhil's *Risāla* on the plagiarisms of Abū Nuwās, which Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī included as ch. 13 in his *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās. A counter-treatise (*naḳīḍa*) on the strengths of Abū Nuwās's poetry (*maḥāsin shiʿr Abī Nuwās*), mentioned by Ḥamza and by Muhalhil himself in his preface to the *Risāla,* was finished too late for Ḥamza to include

it in the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās. It is not preserved. Muhalhil must have died after the year 334/946, since he composed an elegy (*marthiya*) on the Ikhshīdid Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*], who died in that year.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §§ 3148-51; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Dīwān Abī Nuwās*, ms. Fâtih 3775, fols. 122b-124b (to appear in vol. v of *Dīwān Abī Nuwās*, ed. E. Wagner, in the press); Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1954, 235-6; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. ʿA.A. Farrādj, Cairo 1960, 505-6; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 308 (Muḥammad), xiv, 358-60 (Yamūt), xiii, 273 (Muhalhil); Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*², 144-5; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, Beirut 1992-3, xiii, 172-3; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 305-6; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, vii, 53-61, tr. de Slane, iv, 385-93; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nukalāʾ*, Beirut 1987-9, xiv, 247-8; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, Ḥaydarābād 1337-39, ii, 241-5; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1348-51, xi, 127; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, ed. G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, Cairo 1932-5, ii, 392; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1964, ii, 353; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, year 304; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 277. The most extensive modern biographies of Yamūt may be found in the introductions to M.M. Haddāra's ed. of Muhalhil's *Sariḳāt Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1957, 14-28 (including his son Muhalhil), and to Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ's ed. of Yamūt's *Akhbār* in his *Nawādir al-rasāʾil*, 2nd printing Beirut 1986, 41-122 (45-57: introd.; 63-70: *Akhbār*, 73-122: collection of traditions from the secondary literature.

(E. WAGNER)

YANBUʿ, conventionally Yanbo or Yambo, the name of a port on the Red Sea coast of the Ḥidjāz, now a flourishing town of Suʿūdī Arabia (lat. 24° 05' N., long. 38° 03' E.), also formerly called *Yanbuʿ al-baḥr* ("Y. of the sea") or *Sharm Y.* ("the inlet of Y."), and also of an inland town, known as *Yanbuʿ al-nakhl* ("Y. of the date-palms"). The name is said to derive from Ar. *yanbūʿ* "well", because of the many wells at the foot of the escarpments of the nearby Raḍwā [*q.v.*] (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 1038). Ibn Djubayr indeed writes *Yanbūʿ*. Yanbuʿ seems to be identical with Ptolemy's *Iambia Kōmē*.

In pre-Islamic times, Yanbuʿ al-Nakhl was a centre of worship of the god Suwāʿ [*q.v.*]. It is mentioned several times in the *ghazawāt* (see AL-MAGHĀZĪ and al-Ṭabarī, i, 1269, 1271; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 1038) and, according to al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, *Muʿdjam*, i, 425 ff., it was conquered by the Prophet, who is said to have conducted the *ṣalāt* in its mosque. Town and region were then inhabited by the Banū Djuhayna [see ḲUḌĀʿA]. The Arab geographers describe the town as large, well populated and defended by a strong castle. Life was easy because of the many date groves (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, tr. C.E. Bosworth, Albany 1989, 321-2). Al-Muḳaddasī, 101, adds that there were gold-mines between Yanbuʿ and al-Marwa (this last can hardly be the mountain near Mecca; possibly Dhu 'l-Marwa in the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā is meant); he also mentions enmities and fighting (*ʿadāwāt wa-ḥurūb*) in the town between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. It gradually came to replace al-Djār [*q.v.*] as port of Medina.

Ḳatāda b. Idrīs [*q.v.*], the ancestor of the Sharīfs of Mecca, was born in Yanbuʿ in 540/1145-6. He rebuilt the fortress, which was in the hands of his family, and used the town as the basis for his conquest of Mecca in 596/1202. In 1503 there was an *amīr* in Yanbuʿ, and in 1583 the Ottomans restored the fortress again (Faroqhi, *Mekka*, 105, 134). In 1819, G. Forster Sadleir, *Diary*, 110, described the port as miserable, surrounded by a recently-made tottering wall, with the old walls and one gate still standing; several waste spots were appropriated for dunghills, burial grounds and receptacles for dead horses and camels; the supply of water was very precarious. The population lived mainly by the trade of Medina with Suways (Suez), Kuṣayr and Ḳunā [*q.vv.*] (cf. Wellsted, *Travels*, ii, 207 ff.). In 1816 Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] landed at Yanbuʿ where he started his campaign against al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], the capital of the Wahhābīs. In the early 20th century the port was described as standing on a bay, protected by a small sandy island, the entry to the inlet being between reefs. Outside, the water was deep, but in the entrance the depth decreases rapidly. The port was divided by an arm of the sea into two parts. On the landside, there was still a wall with towers and two gates. Formerly the port had 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants, but their number had dwindled to about 1,500 since the opening of the Ḥidjāz railway [*q.v.*], swelling temporarily during the Pilgrimage (Hogarth, *Hejaz*, 25-6).

Until recently, Yanbuʿ's economy was based on the Pilgrimage and on the export of agricultural products, mainly dates. In 1975 King Khālid signed a decree charging a Royal Commission with overseeing the creation of Yanbuʿ Industrial City (*Madīnat Yanbuʿ al-ṣināʿiyya*) together with its twin on the Gulf coast, Djubayl. This creation *ex nihilo* has made Yanbuʿ one of the most important industrial areas in the Kingdom, especially for the petrochemical industry; two pipelines connect it with the oilfields in the Gulf, one for crude oil and one for natural gas. Port facilities and the airport have been expanded. In 1993 the population was estimated at 40,000.

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(E. VAN DONZEL)

YANINA [see YANYA].

YĀNIS, al-Amīr ABU 'L-FATḤ NĀṢIR (or Amīr, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, v, Cairo 1913-17, 240) al-Djuyūsh Sayf al-Islām Sharaf al-Islām, al-Rūmī al-Armanī al-Ḥāfiẓī (d. 16 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 526/1132), the fourth of six Muslim Armenian viziers of the Fāṭimids (over the period 1074-1163).

A former *mamlūk* of al-Afḍal, in 516/1122-3, Yānis was appointed chief of the *ṣibyān* and head of the treasury by al-Āmir's vizier Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. al-Malīgī, iv, 268). Rising to the posts of chamberlain and commander-in-chief, the political career of Yānis developed through his involvement in the events following the assassination of al-Āmir: the regency of the caliph's cousin Abu 'l-Maymūn ʿAbd al-Madjīd for the heir al-Ṭayyib, the overthrow of the Fāṭimid Imāmate by the Imāmī Kutayfāt and the liquidation of the latter by the *ṣibyān al-khāṣṣ al-Āmirī* (led by him). As a reward for his role in reinstating the Ismāʿīlī state, Yānis was proclaimed

vizier (see the *sidjill* for this of al-Ḥāfiẓ, in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ix, 297). A tough disciplinarian and man of *hayba*, Yānis took the initiative in punishing anarchic elements within the *ṣibyān*, and eliminated about 300 of them; he also imprisoned prominent figures in the administration and promoted a private regiment of military slaves known as the *Yānisiyya* (*Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 26-7; *Itti'āẓ*, ed. M. Aḥmad, Cairo 1919, iii, 144; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 75; F. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, Cambridge 1992, 268). Fearful of the vizier's growing power during the nine months in office, al-Ḥāfiẓ arranged his murder by poisoning his ablutions water (*Khiṭaṭ*, *loc. cit.*; *Akhbār*, ii, 75-6). Yānis built two mosques, the *Masdjid al-Fatḥ* and the *Masdjid Yānis*, completed posthumously by his two sons (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 268-9, 324), whom al-Ḥāfiẓ had taken under his protection.

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YANYA, the Ottoman form for Yanina, a town of the Epirus region of northwestern Greece, situated on the west bank of lake Pamvotis at an altitude of 520 m/1,700 feet and dominated by the Pindus mountains.

The date of its foundation is unknown, and though certain historians maintain that it is mentioned in a document concerning the Council of Naupactus (673), it is only mentioned for certain in a decree of the Emperor Basil II in 1020. It must have already existed for some centuries and is said to have originated from a monastery of St. John the Baptist, around which grew a settlement called Agioanneia or Agioannina. Walls were built in the 10th century, and Anna Comnena records in her *Alexiad* that these were in very good condition at the time of the Norman conquest of the town in spring 1082. Important repairs to the enceinte were not made until the end of the 18th century by 'Alī Pasha Tepedelenli [*q.v.*], with the work going on till 1815 and being accompanied by the building of a second citadel on the acropolis; within this interior fortress (*ič ḳal'e*) was 'Alī Pasha's great palace and the magazine tower (*bārūd-khāne*).

The town's history has been full of incident. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Michael Angelus Comnenus founded the despotate of Epirus with the intention of using it as a base for the re-establishment of the Byzantine empire. After this last was restored by the Palaeologi of Nicaea in 1261, the despots of Epirus retained their independence till 1319, when Yanina and its district came briefly under Byzantine control, till in 1346 the Serbian king Stephen IX annexed it. The Florentine Esau de Buondelmonti held it from 1385-1411, then followed two decades under the Counts of Cephalonia Charles I and II Tokkos, till the Ottoman conquest by Murād II on 9 October 1430. The town remained in Turkish hands till February 1913.

Under the Turks, Yanina, as the centre of one of the three *pashaliks* in Epirus, enjoyed a period of relative stability, with various Islamic monuments constructed, some of which still exist. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, in the later 11th/17th century it had some 30 mosques and oratories, seven *medreses*, as many *tekkes*, an *'imāret-khāne*, several schools, three caravanserais, two *ḥammāms* and 1,900 shops. The region continued nevertheless to be disturbed, especially with the rising of 1611 organised by the metropolitan of Larissa, Dionysius, which was fiercely repressed, with withdrawal of the privileges granted at the time of the town's conquest, expulsion of the Christian population to outside the walls, and the confiscation of *tīmārs* [*q.v.*] from those who held them. This Ottoman repression led to many conversions to Islam. At the end of the 18th century, Yanina was transformed by 'Alī Pasha of Tepedelen (1744-1822), appointed governor of Epirus in 1787, who governed what was in effect a quasi-autonomous state that included, as well as the *pashalik* of Yanina, part of modern Albania, Thessaly, and northern Euboea and Peloponnesus. For some thirty years, Yanina enjoyed an unprecedented prosperity until the fall and death of 'Alī Pasha in 1822.

Despite the conversions of the 17th century, the population of Ottoman Yanina remained till the end in majority Christian. The first fiscal register known to survive, from 1564, mentions 50 Muslim hearths and 1,250 Christian ones, whilst a register from 1579 also mentions Jews. When Ewliyā was there *ca.* 1670, he counted 37 quarters, almost half of these (18) being Muslim and the rest comprising 14 Christian ones, 4 Jewish ones and one of gypsies, with an estimated 4,000 hearths for the whole town. At the beginning of the 19th century, F. Pouqueville counted 3,200 hearths (2,000 of Christians, 1,000 of Muslims and 200 of Jews). In the later 19th century, this disparity continued. According to the Ottoman census of 1881-93, the central *ḳaḍā* of the province of Yanina had 4,759 Muslims, 77,258 Greek Orthodox (covering also Christian Albanian speakers), 3,334 Jews and 207 "foreigners".

If the Muslims were less numerous than the Christians, they were nevertheless very prominent in the town. Yanina was of military importance since the conquest, with a garrison of troops from all over the empire, before 1837 lodged among the population, after then in barracks and other buildings prominent in the urban landscape. These soldiers were, together with the Ottoman civilian officials, substantially the only Turkish speakers there, since the autochthonous Muslims used Albanian and, above all, Greek. These Greek speakers, known as "Turcoyaniots", were probably descended from Christian *sipāhīs* converted towards the mid-11th/17th century.

Greek was not only a demotic language but might be used by the Ottoman authorities in public acts. Thus in the last decades of the 19th century, the meetings of the municipal council were held in Greek, and the newspaper *Wilāyet*, published from 1868 onwards, was bilingual in Greek and Turkish. This preponderance of Greek was further reflected in the sphere of education. If there were several turcophone schools in the last days of Ottoman domination, the local élites continued to prefer Greek institutions, in particular the renowned Zosimaia school.

In 1913, as part of the Treaty of Bucharest ending the Balkan Wars, Yanina and southern Epirus passed to the Kingdom of Greece, and ten years later, as part of the exchanges of populations between Greece and the Turkish Republic, the Turcoyaniots left. During the Second World War, it was the turn of the small Jewish community to disappear into the Nazi extermination camps. Despite these two happenings, Yanina and its region continues to have a certain ethnic mixture; as well as Greeks, there are Albanian speakers and small groups of Vlachs.

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(MEROPI ANASTASSIADOU)

YAO, a Bantu people and language (Chi-Yao), whose earliest recorded habitat lay east of the Ruvuma River in present Mozambique. At latest from the end of the 16th century, they were engaged in petty trade with Kilwa [*q.v.*] and the east coast of Africa, peddling tobacco, iron hoes and animal skins in exchange for cloth (for the well-to-do only), brassware, swords, salt and beads. Slowly an export trade in ivory developed, together with captives who had been enslaved to carry it to the coast.

This trade greatly advanced in the 18th century and reached its apogee in the 19th. By mid-19th century a series of Yao towns followed the trail from the east side of Lake Nyasa (Marawi, Malawi), in close association with Arab traders from Zanzibar, financed by Indians with Indian Ocean connections. The Arabs were few in number, and the Yao were able to acquire firearms for protection as well as for slave-catching. By 1860 it was noted that better-to-do men affected Arab dress, a sign already of acculturisation towards Islam. Only *ca.* 1880 did any substantial conversion to Islam become noticed. By then there were Yao populations in what was to become Masasi District, and separately round Songea (in present Tanzania) east of the lake. The number of adhesions to Islam greatly enhanced in the First World War, when German Benedictine missionaries working in the area were interned, leaving Christian converts leaderless, so that these last found a ready response from Islamic fraternities in both areas.

Bibliography: Chapters by R.A. Oliver, J.M. Gray and A. Smith in *Oxford hist. of East Africa*, i, Oxford 1962; E.A. Alpers, *Ivory and trade in East Central Africa*, London 1975; J.C. Russell and N.C. Pollock, *News from Masasi*, Beiträge zur Afrikanistik, Band 45, no. 62, Inst. für Afrikanistik und Aegyptologie der Universität Wien, 1993; and personal knowledge of both areas.

(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

YARBŪʿ (A.), the jerboa, jumping mouse or jumping hare (*Jaculus*) of the class of rodents and family of dipodids (*Dipus*).

The name jerboa is itself derived from *yarbūʿ*, which may come from Aramaic, as also the name gerbil. *Dipus* is the "two-legged rat". It holds itself up on long backlegs like the kangaroo, whilst the front legs are very short and are used to grasp prey and scrape out its burrows. In Pliny, the jerboa is often confused with the "white rat" (*Mus albus*). The Dipodid family comprises a dozen species, typified by the "Arrow-bolt jerboa" (*Dipus sagitta*). The Arabic authorities on zoology mention three kinds of jerboa: (a) *al-shufārī* "big and elongated"; (b) *al-tadmurī* "that of Palmyra"; and (c) *dhu 'l-rumayḥ* "bearing a short lance", because of its long, upright tail terminated by a brush of hair. There is a certain terminology for the jerboa. Thus its young is called *dirṣ*, pl. *adrāṣ, durūṣ*; its burrow with its several exits is called *nāfiḳāʾ* (pl. *nawāfīḳ*), *ḳuṣʿa, ḳuṣāʿa, ḳāṣiʿāʾ, ḳuṣaʿāʾ, ḳuṣayʿa* (pl. *ḳawāṣiʿ*), whence the verbs *naffaḳa* and *ḳaṣṣaʿa*, further, *damm, dumma, dumamāʾ* is found. The spoils from an excavated burrow are piled into a heap called *dammāʾ, dummāʾ, dāmmāʾ, rāhiṭāʾ, ruhaṭāʾ, ruhaṭa*. All this vocabulary of rodents, rats, mice and jerboas, is given by al-Djāḥiẓ, who devoted several chapters to the jerboa (see *Bibl.*). He mentions there that certain of the Bedouin happily eat jerboas, whilst others avoid it, considering it one of the djinns' mounts. Islamic law has varying views about the lawfulness of eating jerboa flesh, since the Prophet is said to have forbidden the killing of this little rodent.

The jerboa's name is found in several proverbial sayings of comparison: *aḍall min walad al-yarbūʿ* "more astray than the jerboa's young", and *ka 'l-mushtarī al-ḳāṣiʿāʾ bi 'l-yarbūʿ* "like someone who buys the burrow in exchange for the jerboa", meaning someone who turns away from the substance and follows (its) effect and prefers the transient to the permanent" (al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1379/1959, ii, 155b, no. 3099). The jerboa's blood is said to be good as an ointment for hairiness of the eyelids, making these hairs fall out and not grow again.

Finally, in oneiromancy, seeing a jerboa in a dream reveals a person who is a voluble liar, ready to quarrel; the reasoning behind this interpretation remains enigmatic.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1947, iv, 260, v, 276, vi, 46; Damīrī, *K. al-Ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1937, ii, 408-9; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, on margins of Damīrī, i, 371 (the sole mention of *dhu 'l-rumayḥ*); Dr. Chenu, *Encyclopédie d'histoire naturelle*, vol. *Les rongeurs et pachydermes*, Paris 1967, 164-8; A. Malouf, *An Arabic zoological dictionary/Muʿdjam al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932, s.v. Jerboa; H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1949, 465, 590-2; L. Guyot and P. Gibassier, *Les noms des animaux terrestres*, Coll. Que sais-je?, Paris 1967, 111-12; H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in der arabische Zoographie*, Berlin 1990, index s.v. Springmaus.

(F. VIRÉ)

YARBŪʿ, an important group of the tribe of Tamīm [*q.v.*] with the genealogy Yarbūʿ b. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm (see Caskel-Strenziok, in *Bibl.*). The same name is borne by other ethnic groups not only Tamīmī (e.g. Yarbūʿ b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓala, cf. *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, 122, l. 18 and parallel passages) and also Yarbūʿ b. Tamīm in Caskel-Strenziok), but also of other tribes, of the south (Kalb, Saʿd Hudhayn, Djuhayna) and of the north (Ghaṭafān, Thaḳīf, Ghanī, Sulaym, Ḥanīfa, ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa; we also find among the Ḳuraysh a Yarbūʿ b. ʿAnkatha b. ʿĀmir b. Makhzūm).

Yarbūʿ being the name of a rodent widely found in Arabia, the jerboa (see previous article), its application to the tribe has been taken as an example of totemism (W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*[2], 235), a theory that is, however, now abandoned. Mythological legend, which has survived to a greater extent in this connection than elsewhere among

the traditions of the Tamīm, dwells on the mother of Yarbūʿ, Djandala bt. Fihr, of the Kināna, who is said to have been violated one stormy night by Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm and later married to him (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, B.L. ms. fol. 62a; *Naķāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 225, n. 1; this is perhaps an etiological myth, formed to explain certain connections between neighbouring clans). Compared with the other groups descended from Ḥanẓala, reunited under the name of al-Barādjim, the Yarbūʿ appear isolated, probably because they were powerful enough to do without a federative alliance. Indeed we find that even some of the sub-groups of the Yarbūʿ enjoy a certain autonomy, like the Riyāḥ, the Kulayb, the Salīṭ, the Thaʿlaba and the Ghudāna. They are divided into two sections, the exact nature of which we do not know: al-Aḥmāl (Thaʿlaba, ʿAmr, Subayra and al-Ḥārith) and al-Uķad (Kulayb, Ghudāna and al-ʿAnbar). Their territory was very extensive, for we find them practically throughout the whole extent of the territory of the Tamīm, from Yamāma to below the Euphrates; but their centre was the valley of al-Hazn, of remarkable fertility (cf. Yāķūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 261, iii, 870; the name of one of their oases was Firdaws al-Iyād). Although tradition mentions "towns" belonging to them (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 254) they led a nomadic life, like most of the Tamīm.

The history of the Yarbūʿ during the Djāhiliyya is closely connected with that of the rest of the Tamīm, and on several occasions they took command in the wars of the latter. Sometimes, however, we find them engaged by themselves in war with one or another of the neighbouring tribes; thus they fought several battles alone with the Banū Shaybān, the best known being those of Dhū Ṭulūk (*Naķāʾiḍ*, 45-59, 73) and of al-Iyād (*ibid.*, 580-7, also known by other names), in which they took prisoner the famous Shaybānī leader Bisṭām b. Ķays (cf. E. Bräunlich, *Bistam ibn Qais, ein vorislamischer Beduinenfürst und Held*, Leipzig 1923, *passim*) in spite of the support given to the latter by the Persian governor of ʿAyn Tamr.

At the beginning of Islam, the attitude of the Yarbūʿ was that of hostile reserve. They did not dare declare openly against the powerful prophet of Medina, but on his death they were the first to rebel. The prophetess Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*] was one of them (the tradition that makes her belong to the Taghlib seems to have little authority). To the Yarbūʾ also belonged the two brothers Mālik and Mutammim b. Nuwayra [*q.v.*], whose relations with Khālid b. al-Walīd made such a stir. After the suppression of the *ridda*, however, the Yarbūʿ like the rest of the Tamīm proved faithful to Islam and took an active part in the conquests; but their turbulent and rebellious nature was revealed in the considerable support they gave to the Khāridjīs. In the *Aghānī*[1], vi, 4, it is noted that at the battle of Dawlab, in 65/684-5, where the forces of the Azraķīs were crushed, the leaders of the two parties, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Bashīr al-Salīṭī and al-Rabīʿ b. ʿAmr al-Ghudānī, were both of Yarbūʿ.

The many details that we possess of the deeds of the Yarbūʿ during the wars of the Djāhiliyya, and even of those of the tribal wars of the Islamic period, have survived mainly because these wars are mentioned in the verses of Djarīr (who belonged to the clan of the Kulayb b. Yarbūʿ) and because his commentators discuss them fully.

The Yarbūʿ, moreover, gave to the poetry of the pre-Islamic period and of the 1st/7th century quite a number of remarkable poets; in addition to the well-known poets, one may mention Suḥaym b. Wathīl al-Riyāḥī [*q.v.*] (cf. especially, *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, ed. Ahlwardt, 76), Ḥāritha b. Badr al-Ghudānī and al-Sharmardal b. Sharīķ [*q.v.*], of the Banū Thaʿlaba b. Yarbūʿ.

Bibliography: See that to TAMĪM, and also Caskel-Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, i, Table 330, ii, 591.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

YARGHU (T.), trial, interrogation, the Mongolian tribunal or court of justice (Doerfer, iv, 58 ff. n. 1784), hence *yarghuči*, a judge.

Čingiz Khān's adopted brother (or according to Rashīd al-Dīn, adopted son, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, i/1, ed. A. Romaskevič, L. Khetagurov and A.A. Alizade, Moscow 1965, 178; *ibid.*, ed. B. Karīmī, Tehran 1970, i, 414) Shigi-Ķutuku was made *yarghuči* at the *kuriltay* held in 1206 (D.O. Morgan, *The Mongols*, Oxford 1986, 97). He was to judge certain criminal cases on an *ad hoc* basis and to supervise the distribution of subject peoples and to record what was done in a "blue book" (*kökö debter*) (idem, *The "Great Yāsā of Chingiz Khān" and Mongol law in the Īlkhānate*, in *BSOAS*, xlix [1986], 164; L. Ligeti (ed.), *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Budapest 1971, 173-4; F.W. Cleaves, *The secret history of the Mongols*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982, 143-4). Rashīd al-Dīn states that Shigi-Ķutuku "conducted courts of enquiry justly (*yarghuhā bi-rāstī pursīdī*), and he was solicitous and helpful to many criminals and caused his words to be repeated, lest (they) should confess out of terror and fear; and he said, 'Do not be afraid, but speak the truth'. And in the discussions of the *yarghučis* it became well known from that time to this, in the country (*wilāyat*) of Mughulistān and those regions, that the foundations of the *yarghus* are laid on the regulations (*ķawāʿid*) that he established and followed" (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, i/1, ed. Romaskevič *et alii*, 180, quoted by Morgan, *op. cit.*, 174-5). It would seem, therefore, that a kind of case law grew up on the foundations laid down by Shigi-Ķutuku. This is borne out by the account of the *Dastūr al-kātib* (see below). The *yarghu*, held at the court of the Great Khān was called the Great Yarghu, according to Djuwaynī, ed. Ķazwīnī, i, 50.

Courts of interrogation were also held by Mongol *amīrs* and provincial governors. Major cases were referred by them to the Great Yarghu. The rulers of the various Mongol khānates, including the Īlkhānate in Persia, had their own *yarghus*. From Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of the practice prevailing under Ķutlugh Temür, the governor of Khwārazm in or about 734/1334, it seems that the procedure of the *yarghu* had by this time become somewhat similar to that of the *maẓālim* [*q.v.*, and see also MAḤKAMA]. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa states, "It is one of the regular practices of this *amīr* that the *ķāḍī* comes daily to his audience hall and sits in the place assigned to him, accompanied by the jurists and his clerks. Opposite him sits one of the great *amīrs*, accompanied by eight of the great *amīrs* and *shaykhs* of the Turks, who are called *arghudjis* [i.e. *yarghučis*]. The people bring their disputes to them for decision; those that come within the jurisdiction of the religious law are decided by the *ķāḍī*, and all others are decided by these *amīrs*" (*Riḥla*, tr. Gibb, iii, 545).

In the early years of the Īlkhānate, the cases heard in the *yarghu*, such as are mentioned in the sources, were mainly to do with Mongol state affairs, cases between Mongols or between Mongols and Persians, and concerned with sedition and irregularities over taxation.

Sharʿī courts continued to exist and their autonomy and nature were not fundamentally altered. The relation of the *yarghu* to the *maẓālim* and *ʿurfī* courts is less clear. With the conversion of Ghazan Khān [*q.v.*] to Islam there may have been a revival in the impor-

tance of the *maẓālim* jurisdiction (Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, London 1988, 93 ff.). Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī includes the *yarghuči* among the "men of the pen" (*Madjmūʿa-i rasāʾil az taʾlīfāt-i Khʷādja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī*, ed. M. Riḍawī, Tehran 1957, 29. See also V. Minorsky and Mojtaba Minovi, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on finance*, in *BSOS*, x, [1940-2], 758 and revised version by Minorsky in *Iranica, bīst maḳāla*, Tehran 1964, 68). In doing so he was, perhaps, influenced by the tradition relating to Shigi-Ḳutuku. In practice, *yarghučis* were probably also concerned with the apprehension of those summoned to the *yarghu* and possibly with the execution of the sentences of the court also (cf. *Tārīkh-i shāhī-i Ḳara Khitāʾiyān*, ed. M.I. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran 1976-7, 156).

No one was immune from interrogation in the *yarghu*, whether a member of the royal house, an *amīr* or a high official. Ābish Khātūn, who was married to Tash Möngke, one of Hülegü's sons, was summoned to the *ordu* to answer in the *yarghu* accusations of alleged misdemeanours in Fārs (see Lambton, *op. cit.*, 273-5. See also Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, ii, 811). Shams al-Dīn Djuwaynī [*q.v.*] was interrogated in the *yarghu* and bastinadoed before he was put to death in 683/1284 (Abū Bakr al-Ḳutbī al-Āharī, *Tārīkh-i Shaykh Uways*, ed. J.B. van Loon, The Hague 1954, 138-9). Another notorious case was that of Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who was tried in the *yarghu* for an alleged attempt to poison Öldjeytü and was killed together with his son Khʷādja Ibrāhīm on the orders of Öldjeytü in 718/1318 (Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl-i Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh-i rashīdī*, ed. Khān Bābā Bayānī, ²Tehran AHS 1350/1971, 128).

From the documents in the *Dastūr al-kātib* of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī, who lived into the Djalāʾirid period, it seems that Mongol *amīrs* and soldiers were still subject to the *yarghu* down to the end of the Īlkhānate and perhaps longer. He gives the text of a document for the office of *amīr yarghu* issued in favour of a certain Amīr Bayān, who "more than any of the *amīrs* of the day was endowed with experience and knowledge of the customs and regulations (*rusūm wa ḳawāʿid*) of the Mongol sultans and *amīrs* and their *yasakhā* and *turahā*". He was to oversee the affairs of the *yarghu*, to enquire diligently into the cases of the Mongols and to act in accordance with the *ḳutatghu bilik* of Čingiz Khān and the (precedents) laid down by the great *yarghučis*. He was not to transgress by one jot the rule of justice and equity and was to decide cases in accordance with the Čingiz-khānid *yāsāḳ*. When the rightness of one of the disputants was apparent, he was to be given a *yarghu-nāma* as a record to produce should his opponent(s) trouble him again. He and his followers (*nawkarān*) and the scribe who wrote the *yarghu-nāma* were to receive the usual fee on the termination of the case (ed. Alizade, ii, Moscow 1976, 29-35).

Few details concerning the rules of procedure of the *yarghu* are available. The infliction of torture and beating by bastinado to induce confession appear to have been common. Djuwaynī describes the referral of an alleged conspiracy by a number of Uyghur leaders to massacre the Muslim population in Besh Balīgh to the Great Yarghu at Möngke Ḳaʾan's court. Written declarations of their innocence and an attestation from the *amīr* who had revealed the alleged conspiracy were taken in Besh Balīgh but no settlement was reached and so they went to Möngke's court. After confessions were extracted from the conspirators by torture, Möngke Ḳaʾan gave the order for them to be sent back to Besh Balīgh and executed (i, 35 ff.).

One of the earliest cases recorded in the Persian sources of the application of the *yarghu* to Mongols in Persia is that of Körgüz, who had been sent to Khurāsān and Māzandarān, where he had carried out a new census and reassessed the taxes. His predecessor, Edgü-Temür, and others accused him of malpractices and he eventually went to Ögedey's court to answer the accusations made against him. A *yarghu* was held, but although it sat for several months, it failed to bring about a reconciliation between the two parties. Finally, Ögedey himself sat in judgement. Edgü-Temür and his supporters were found guilty; some were beaten and others handed over to Körgüz to be put in the cangue (Djuwaynī, ii, 230 ff.). Then in 637/1239 Körgüz returned to Khurāsān. Intrigues against him continued and he again set out, probably in 639/1241-2 for Ḳaraḳorum, presumably to defend himself. However, passing through the territories of Čaghatay (who had recently died) he had an altercation with an official during which he made a remark which offended Čaghatay's widow. Fearful of the consequences he hurried back to Khurāsān. The wives and sons of Čaghatay sent after him to arrest him and bring him to Čaghatay's *ordu* at Ulugh-Ef. There the *amīrs* held a *yarghu*. Its proceedings were inconclusive, hence it was decided to send Körgüz to Ḳaraḳorum to Töregene, Ögedey's widow, who had become the regent of the empire. There it was decided that, since his alleged crime had been committed in Čaghatay territory, he should be sent back to Ulugh-Ef. Körgüz, as apparently was his wont, spoke roughly to those in charge and was killed on the spot (*ibid.*, 240 ff.). The *amīr* Arghun, who succeeded Körgüz, was also subjected to calumny and intrigue by his subordinates. He was examined by the *yarghu* at the *ordu* in 647/1249 and again in 651/1253 and cleared on both occasions. On the second, those who had accused him were handed over to him. Some were executed at the *ordu* and others he took back with him to Ṭūs, where he killed them (*ibid.*, 259-60). Three points emerge from Djuwaynī's account: first, that the *yarghu* was concerned with reconciliation as well as judgement; second, that the various Mongol kingdoms exercised a degree of independence in the administration of justice; and third, that those found guilty by a *yarghu* might be handed over to the other party for punishment. These features are also to be observed in the operation of the *yarghu* in the Īl-khānate (see further, Lambton, *op. cit.*, 83 ff.).

An early case submitted to the *yarghu* in the Īl-khānate was that of Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, a *nāʾib* of ʿAṭāʾ Malik Djuwaynī. Yesü-Buḳa, governor of Baghdād, reported to Abaḳa that Madjd al-Dīn had been heard to speak of the power and greatness of the Mamlūk army. This, Yesü-Buḳa alleged, showed that Madjd al-Dīn and the Djuwaynī brothers were in league with the Mamlūks. Abaḳa ordered Madjd al-Dīn to be seized. Although he was interrogated in the *yarghu* and given one hundred strokes of the bastinado, his guilt was not established and he was handed over to Shams al-Dīn Djuwaynī, who sent him to Sīwās as governor (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, iii, 156-7. See also for a slightly different account Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, pp. xxii-xxiii). Another case of alleged sedition, also during the reign of Abaḳa, is that of Angyanu. He had been sent to Fārs as governor in 667/1268-9. The vigour of his administration and his success in collecting taxes aroused opposition and alienated the Mongol *amīrs* in the province. A number of them fled the province and went to Abaḳa's court, where they accused Angyanu of planning rebellion and committing

peculation. He was summoned to the *ordu*, tried by *yarghu* and found guilty. He succeeded in exonerating himself but lost his government (Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, ed. M.M. Iṣfahānī, lith. Bombay 1269/1852-3, 193, 195. See further Lambton, *Mongol fiscal administration in Persia*, in *SI*, lxv, 104-5).

There are various cases of a *yarghu* being held to look into failure in military operations. Tekelle, the Atabeg of Greater Luristān, who had joined Hülegü on his march against Baghdād, decamped with his followers (who had no experience of siege operations) when Ket-Buḳa remonstrated with him for his lack of effort in prosecuting the siege of Baghdād. After the fall of Baghdād, Ket-Buḳa was sent in pursuit of him. Eventually he was brought to Tabrīz, subjected to interrogation in the *yarghu* and executed (Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, *Muntakhab-i tawārīkh-i muʿīnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran AHS 1336/1957, 43). *Yarghus* held by Ghazan and Öldjeytü to investigate military failures are also recorded. The former held a *yarghu* at Ūdjān on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 702/28 June 1303 after the battle of Mardj al-Ṣuffar [*q.v.*] to try the *amīrs* who had been responsible for the defeat of the Īl-Khānid army. Initially, it appears that the trial was carried out by persons other than Ghazan. Rashīd al-Dīn states, "Although they (sc. the *amīrs*) had been closely interrogated, when the *yarghu-nāma* was presented to Ghazan he made a few pertinent remarks. They were then interrogated again, the points made by Ghazan being taken into consideration. Finally, on the first day of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (17 July) the interrogations (*yarghuhā*) were completed and Aghutay Tarkhān, the son of Haybak Tarkhān, and Toghan-Temür of the Mangit were executed and whatever was in accordance with the Great Yāsā was carried out in every respect" (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 149-50). According to al-Maḳrīzī's account, the Īl-Khān was with difficulty restrained from putting the commander of the force, Ḳutlugh-Shāh, to death, and the onlookers are said to have rushed at the prisoner and spat in his face. Al-Maḳrīzī adds that Ḳutlugh-Shāh was banished to Gīlān (*Hist. des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte*, tr. Quatremère, Paris 1837-45, ii, 204-5, quoted by Boyle, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 395). There was a similar case during the reign of Öldjeytü when the Mongol army was put to flight during a campaign in Gīlān in 706/1306-7. A *yarghu* was held, and some of those found guilty were executed and others bastinadoed (Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl-i djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh-i rashīdī*, 76).

One of the best-documented cases of a *yarghu* held to investigate alleged peculation is that of the Shaykh al-Islām Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ṭībī, the Malik al-Islām, a rich merchant, who held an extensive *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] for Fars during the reign of Ghazan (see Lambton, *Continuity and change in Medieval Persia*, 88-9, 335 ff.).

It was not only cases directly concerning Mongol affairs that were heard in the *yarghu*. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, the Ḳutlugh-khānid ruler of Kirmān (632-55/1235-57), appealed to Möngke for help against his cousin Rukn al-Dīn Khʷādja Djuḳ b. Baraḳ Ḥādjib, who had turned him out of Kirmān. The case was referred to the *yarghu*. After examination, Möngke handed Rukn al-Dīn over to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, who killed him and re-established himself in Kirmān [see further KIRMĀN, at vol. V, 161-2]. After Ḳutlugh Terken succeeded her husband Ḳuṭb al-Dīn as ruler of Kirmān, some dissatisfied persons complained against her to Arghun, the governor of Khurāsān. He realised that their reports were lies, and on his instructions Ḳutlugh Terken referred the matter to the *basḳaḳs* and *yarghučis* of the province. Those who had complained were tied up naked outside Kirmān for several days and, "as was the custom of the Mongols", interrogated until they confessed and signed statements of their guilt. Some were executed and others sent to the *ordu* (*Tārīkh-i shāhī-i Ḳarā Khiṭā'iyān*, 156. See further Lambton, *op. cit.*, 86). Another case concerning local rulers is that of Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUmar. He had overthrown and killed Ṣamṣām al-Dīn Maḥmūd and his son and seized Lesser Luristān. He was summoned to the *ordu* after the grandson of Shaykh Zayn al-Milla wa 'l-Dīn Kāmū'ī, the brother of Ṣamṣām al-Dīn's widow, had appealed to the *ordu* for blood-wit. He was interrogated in the *yarghu* by Ghazan and killed in retaliation for the murder of Ṣamṣām al-Dīn and his son (Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 62).

A rather unusual case is that of a *yarghu* which was held to decide the possession of Sīrdjān [*q.v.*], which was disputed between Ḳutlugh Terken, the ruler of Kirmān, and the *maliks* of Shabānkāra [*q.v.*]. The matter had been discussed at Hülegü's *ordu* but not settled. However, in 663/1264-5 Abaḳa, who had succeeded Hülegü, sent two officials to Sīrdjān to hold a land court (*yarghu-yi amlāk*) and to examine the documents and title deeds of the two parties (*Tārīkh-i shāhī-i Ḳara Khiṭā'iyān*, 192, 275-6. See further Lambton, *op. cit.*, 86-7).

After the fall of the Īl-khānate, the term *yarghu* seems gradually to have fallen out of use. There are a few references to it under the Tīmūrids in the sense of both a court of interrogation and the process of interrogation (e.g. Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. F. Tauer, ii, 31, 89, and Khʷāndamīr, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, Tehran AHS 1338-51/1957-72, vi 70, 86). Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī mentions a *yarghu-yi djangī* held by Tīmūr in Samarḳand (ii, 66); and most of the cases recorded appear to have concerned the interrogation of *amirs*. It seems that the procedures of the *yarghu* were gradually modified and transferred to the *dīwān-i buzurg* (cf. B.F. Manz, *The rise and rule of Tamerlane*, Cambridge 1989, 169).

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(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

YĀRKAND, a town of the Tarim basin, Eastern Turkestan, now coming within the Sinkiang/Xinjiang Autonomous Region of the People's republic of China and having in Chinese the (revived) name of So-ch'e/Shache (lat. 38° 27' N., long. 77° 16' E., altitude 1,190 m/3,900 feet).

Yārkand lies on the river of the same name, which rises in the northern part of the Karakoram mountains near the imperfectly delineated border between Kashmīr and China and then flows eastwards to join the Tarim river; with its perennial flow, it is the main source stream of the Tarim. The town was also situated on the southern branch of the historic Silk Route which skirted the southern edge of the Tarim basin and the Takla Makan desert, being about 220 km/138 miles from Kāshghar [*q.v.*] and 320 km/182 miles from Khotan [*q.v.*], in the computation of mediaeval Islamic travellers, four days' and then ten days' march respectively (cf. Minorsky (ed. and tr.), *Sharaf al-Dīn Ṭāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, tr. London 1940, 18). Since caravan routes from the upper Oxus region and the Pamirs joined the southern Tarim basin route at Yārkand, it was always a significant trading centre (the Portuguese missionary Benedict de Goës, en route from India to China in 1603, noted that the caravan from Kābul terminated at what he calls *Hiarcàn* and a fresh caravan was put

together for the journey onwards to China: see Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither*, London 1914-15, iv, 215-22). Also, the fertile, well-irrigated oasis surrounding the town has always supported a considerable agricultural population; the present one is estimated at 60,000. See Sir Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907, i, 87-9.

Little is known of the pre-Islamic history of Yārkand. Like Kāshghar, Khotan and other towns of the region, it was probably a foundation of the Indo-European Sakas, and a *Saka-rādja* is mentioned who may have been the ruler of Saka, the older name of Yārkand, cf. the Sha-ch'a of the Chinese annals of the 1st century B.C. (the Chinese forms for what appears to be the town of Yārkand are discussed in detail by P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris 1959-73, ii, 880-2). The language of the people of Yārkand, as also those of Kāshghar, would thus have been, at this time, an Indo-European one similar to the Iranian tongues of Khotan, Tumshuk, etc. In this 1st century B.C., the king of Sha-ch'a paid tribute to the Hsiung-nu of the northern and western fringes of China, and in the 1st century A.D. the king Hsien (*r.* 33-61) for a brief period extended his power across the "Western Region" as far as Farghāna and Kuča, whilst the later Han were distracted by internal problems and the Hsiung-nu were in a weakened condition (see W. Samolin, *East Turkestan to the twelfth century, a brief political survey*, The Hague 1964, 28-30; R. Grousset, *The empire of the steppes. A history of Central Asia*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1970, 37, 39-41, 43; D. Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge hist. of early Inner Asia*, Cambridge 1990, 128, 146, 173). From about this time, Mahayana Buddhism began to spread in the Yārkand oasis, as elsewhere in Eastern Turkestan, amongst other things bringing Sanskrit as an hieratic language; the early 7th century pilgrim Hüan-tsang/Xuan-zang, returning from India to China, found many Buddhist monasteries at *Che-ku-ka* = Yārkand, though several were in ruins (T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India*, London 1904-5, ii, 293-5). The later 7th century and the later 8th century saw periods of domination by the Tibetans over much of the southern Tarim basin (see C.I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan empire in Central Asia. A history of the struggle for great power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese during the early Middle Ages*, Princeton 1987, 28 ff., 34 ff., 42, 102-3, 152-7), but the Iranian-speaking, Buddhist city-state of Yārkand continued under its own rulers, like those in neighbouring Khotan, at first subject to the T'ang emperors of China, but with an infiltration of Turkish ethnic elements. A Uyghur state was established in the northern part of the Tarim basin after 843, and in the 10th century the Karluk Karakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS] moved across the T'ien-shan into the western Tarim basin. Khotan became Muslim in 396/1006, so the establishment of the new faith at Yārkand must have taken place at some previous date with the advent of the Karakhānids. Certainly, the Buddhist religion, and the local Iranian and "Tokharian" languages, began to disappear as part of the eventual Islamisation and Turkicisation of the whole of the Tarim basin. See in general on this period, Samolin, *East Turkestan to the twelfth century*, esp. 61-3, 69-70, 80-2; *EIr*, art. *Chinese Turkestan. II. In pre-Islamic times* (V. Mair and P.O. Skjaervø).

The actual name Yārkand is first attested for certain in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (later 5th/11th century) (tr. Atalay, i, 484, cf. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, Budapest 1928, 244). Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, index, iii, 295, propounded a Turco-Iranian etymology for this toponym, Tk. *yār* "cliff" (but more precisely, it would seem, "eroded, vertical bank or gorge of a river", see Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 953-4) + Ir. *kand/kend* "town". We possess coins from the Karakhānid Eastern Khānate, which was based on Kāshghar, minted at Yārkand (thus spelt on the coins) in 404/1013-14 by Nāṣir al-Dawla Malik al-Mashrik Kadīr Khān Yūsuf b. Bughra Khān Hārūn or Ḥasan (d. 423/1032) and by his son Sulaymān Arslān Khān (d. 449/1057-8) (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 281; E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, Wiesbaden 1968, i, 272; T. Mayer, *Sylloge numorum arabicorum Tübingen. Nord- und Ostzentralasien. XV b Mittelasien II*, Tübingen-Berlin 1998, 72-3). It is strange that the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982-3) mentions Kāshghar, Khotan and possibly some minor places along the southern Tarim basin route but not Yārkand (cf. map iv in Minorsky's tr. at 261). We possess some information reflecting social and cultural conditions in the Yārkand oasis under the Karakhānids in the later 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries from a collection of legal documents that were found in a garden there in 1911 and preserved by Sir George Macartney, the then British Consul-General at Kāshghar. They are in Arabic and in Turkish, the latter written in both the Uyghur and Arabic scripts, and cover the years 473-529/1080-1135. They give the name *Yār.k.n.d.h* (thus spelt) mostly to the district or *kūra*, but also to the town or *balda* itself, and through their use of standard Islamic legal formulae and phraseology show that Islamic faith and culture had well penetrated life in the Yārkand oasis by the end of the 11th century. One document, from Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 474 or 494/May 1082 or September-October 1101 mentions the then ruler in Kāshghar as Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Tafghač Bughra Kara Khākān b. Sulaymān Arslan Kara Khākān, i.e. the ruler of the Eastern Khānate 467-96/1075-1103 and dedicatee of Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib's *Kutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*, and see ILEK-KHĀNS at Vol. III, 1114a]. See, on this collection of documents, much commented upon but with the originals now disappeared, Monika Gronke, *The Arabic Yārkand documents*, in *BSOAS*, xlix (1986), 454-507, with detailed bibl. of previous work on the collection at 506-7. Towards the middle of the 6th/12th century, the Karakhānids fell under the general suzerainty of the Western Liao or Kara Khitay [*q.v.*]. Chinese sources state that in 1123 the Gür Khān Ye-liu Ta-shi invaded the Tarim basin from the region northwest of Shensi in China and captured Kāshghar, Yārkand and Khotan; but the Arab historian Ibn al-Athīr records a victory in 522/1128 by the ruler of the Eastern Khānate, Arslan Khān Aḥmad or Hārūn b. Ḥasan over the Kara Khitay (ed. Beirut, xi, 83).

In the 7th/13th century, again according to Chinese histories such as the *Yüan-shi*, after his killing of the Nayman chief Küčlüg, Čingiz Khān sent an expedition into Eastern Turkestan, and Kāshghar, Yārkand and Khotan surrendered to the Mongols; subsequently, the Great Khān ordered 13 water-stations to be set up between Yārkand and Khotan (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from East Asiatic sources*, London 1910, i, 234, ii, 47-8; river communication between the two towns seems to be implied). When Marco Polo passed through Yārkand (his *Yarcan*) in *ca.* 1274 en route for China, he noted the presence there of Nestorian and Jacobite Christians as well as the majority Muslims, and observed that the population there suffered much from goitre (a fact later confirmed by European travellers

such as Sven Hedin); the town belonged to a nephew of the Great Khān, i.e. of Ḳubilay [*q.v.*], whilst Kāshghar and the lands beyond belonged to "Great Turkey", the empire of Ḳubilay's rival Ḳaydu [*q.v.*] (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3London 1902, i, 187-8; Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 187).

Eastern Turkestan now came within the dominions of the Čaghatayids, with Yārkand as one of the *Altï Shahr* or "Six Cities" (with Aḳsu, Uč Turfan, Ḳuča, Kāshghar and Khotan). The Čaghatayids' rival Tīmūr sent an expedition into Kāshgharia led by his grandson Iskandar Mīrzā b. ʿUmar Shaykh in 802/1399-1400, which captured Kāshghar, Yārkand and Aḳsu. Nevertheless, for over two-and-a-half more centuries the region continued to form part of the Čaghatayid Khānate, but with members of the powerful Turco-Mongol Dughlāt family, influential in the region since the later 8th/14th century, as actual rulers. In 920/1514 Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt ejected a usurper from Kāshgharia and restored Čaghatayid suzerainty there, making Yārkand his capital, having irrigation canals dug in the oasis and building a citadel in the town with six gateways and an inner *arg* (Mīrzā Muḥammad, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and tr. N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, London 1895, Introd. 11, 122, tr. 296-8; see also DŪGHLĀT). Towards the end of the 10th/16th century, the *ordo* or centre of power of the Čaghatayid ʿAbd al-Karīm Khān b. ʿAbd al-Rashīd was usually at Yārkand, where his brother Muḥammad had succeeded him when Benedict de Goës passed through in 1603. But from this same time onwards, the power of the Naḳshbandī religious line of the *sayyid* Khodjas [*q.v.* in Suppl.] grew in Kāshgharia, with the Āfāḳiyya or Aḳtaghlïḳ, "People of the White Mountains", lineage exercising real power at Yārkand. The Čaghatayids lingered on till the second half of the 11th/17th century, when they were extinguished (1089/1678) and Kāshgharia united under the theocratic rule of the Khodjas as protégés of the Mongol Oyrats or Kalmuks [*q.v.*] centred on the Ili basin and Dzungaria. Thus the charismatic Khodja, Ḥaḍrat Āfāḳ/Apak Hidāyat Allāh, was installed at Yārkand and Kāshghar in 1091/1680, Yārkand now becoming for the remainder of this century and for over half of the next one the capital of the Khodjas. In the 1750s, the Khodja Ḳïlïč Burhān al-Dīn led a Muslim crusade against the infidel domination of the Kalmuks, but this brought down in 1758 a Chinese army which, after annexing Dzungaria three years previously, turned on the Khodjas and captured Yārkand; Kāshgharia was now annexed to the Ch'ing/Qing empire. See Grousset, *The empire of the steppes*, 425-6, 459, 485, 500-1, 527-8; *EIr*, art. *Chinese Turkestan. v. Under the Khojas* (Īsenbike Togan).

The Chinese maintained Yārkand rather than Kāshghar as their capital for the new province. But Ch'ing authority in Central Asia declined over the next decades, and from 1820 onwards, when the Khodja pretender Djahāngīr returned from Khoḳand and launched a rebellion in the Altï Shahr, there were a series of revolts by the Turkish Muslims of the province, culminating in the outbreak at Yārkand in August 1863 which signalled the great rebellion of the Khoḳandī Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb Beg [see YAʿḲŪB BEG], who proclaimed himself Khān of Eastern Turkestan at Kāshghar (1867-77). We owe knowledge of Yārkand at this time to the published accounts resulting from British missions at this time to Yaʿḳūb Beg, that of the merchant R.S. Shaw in 1868 and those of the Government of India envoy Sir Thomas D. Forsyth in 1870 and 1873. After the suppression of Yaʿḳūb Beg's movement, the three regions of "Uyghuristān", Altï Shahr and Dzungaria were formed into the new imperial province of Sinkiang "New Territory" (1884). The Chinese *Tao-t'ai* or Circuit Commissioner made his residence at Kāshghar rather than Yārkand, and it was at this former town that Russian and British consulates were now established.

In the 20th century, Yārkand was involved in several "Turco-Islamic" secessionist movements of the Uyghur Turks in the southern Tarim basin during the 1930s and 1940s, the era of the warlords in China, since southern Sinkiang was a stronghold of conservative Islamic religious sentiment. In March-May 1933 both Old Yārkand (= the traditional Muslim town) and New Yārkand (= the Chinese and other non-Turkish town) fell to troops of the secessionist "Khotan Islamic Government" under the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh Khān, with a total collapse of Han authority in southern Sinkiang. This last was restored by the warlord Sheng Shih-ts'ai, with considerable Soviet Russian backing, but a further revolt, the so-called "Sabīl Allāh" one, involved the occupation of Yārkand from April to September 1937 by anti-Sheng, anti-Communist Turkish rebels, and it was likewise involved in the 1945-6 anti-Chinese and anti-Russian revolt against Kuomintang misrule in Sinkiang. Similar outbreaks are reported to have occurred in southern Sinkiang in the 1950s and possibly later, but massive Han Chinese immigration after the imposition of Communist rule in 1949 has meant that secessionist movements have had less and less chance of success. See A.D.W. Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia. A political history of Republican Sinkiang 1911-1949*, Cambridge 1990, 68, 77-9, 140 ff., 204-6.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see also M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan. Geschichte, Verwaltung, Geistesleben und Wirtschaft*, Halle 1908. For the Turkish language of the Yārkand region, part of the southern dialect of Neo-Uyghur Turkish, see G. Raquette, *A contribution to ... the eastern-Turkestan dialect ... in the districts of Yarkand and Kashghar*, in *Jnal. de la Soc. Finno-Ugrienne*, xxvi/5 (1909), 1-53; K. Schriefl, *Bemerkungen zur Sprache von Kašgar und Jarkend*, in *Keleti Szemle*, xiv (1913-14), 178-89, xv (1914-15), 277-303; E. Rossi, *Nota sul turco di Yarkand (Turkestan Orientale)*, in *RSO*, xvii (1938), 283-5; G. Jarring, *Material to the knowledge of Eastern Turki. Tales, poetry, proverbs, riddles, ethnological and historical texts from the southern parts of Eastern Turkestan*, i, *Texts from Khotan and Yarkend*, Lund 1946; and O. Pritsak, in *PTF*, i, 525 ff., with further bibl. at 535.

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YARLÏGH, YARLÏḲ, a term of Inner Asian Turkish origin, employed in the chanceries of the Mongol empire and in those of certain of its successor states both before and after their Islamisation, in its original (i.e. pre-Mongol and pre-Islamic) meaning of "[Imperial] decree, edict, command". In general, in Islamic chancery practice, *yarlïghs* are contextually equivalent to the more specific documentary forms of *firmān*, *ḥukm* or *barāt* [*q.vv.*; and see DIPLOMATIC. iii]; cf. Clauson, *Dictionary*, 966: "a command from a superior to an inferior, sometimes with some connotation of a grant of favour"; *Drevnetyurskiĭ slovar'*, 242, s.v. *jarlïγ*: "prikaz, predpisanie, ukaz".

In Old Turkish, *yarlïgh* is a typical Uyghur word: it is not attested in the (Oghuzian) runic (Orkhon) inscriptions, and is expressly denoted by al-Kāshgharī

as a non-Oghuz word, employed by the Čigil to denote an imperial writing or command (*yarligh huwa kitābu 'l-sulṭān wa-amruhu bi 'l-lughati čigil wa-lā taʿrifuhu 'l-ghuzziya*). Conversely, the term appears in the Uyghur runic mss. In Ottoman usage (where it is chiefly used to refer to the edicts of the Crimean *khāns*) it is, the above usage apart, an exotic loan-word known in only a few texts (*TTS*, i, 789, ii, 1006) and documents (see below). In Arabic (Mamlūk) usage, one encounters the broken plural form *yarālīgh/yarālīgh* (also *yārlīghāt*, cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vii, 229, 230; Björkman, *Beiträge*, 47, 128: *bārlighāt* [sic] "Reisepass", with reference to Ilkhānid usage).

The Turkish word *yarlīgh* is a second-period (sc. 8th-13th centuries) loan-word in Mongol (*jarliγ*) as a technical administrative term for a government edict (Clauson, *loc. cit.*; N. Poppe, *The Turkic loan words in middle Mongolian*, in *CAJ*, i [1955], 38). (The once widespread view, put forward by e.g. Spuler, *Goldene Horde*[1], 306, n. 2, and previously by Russian scholars from the mid-19th century onwards, such as V.V. Grigor'ev, that "Džarlyḫ" [*sic*] is a Mongol word, cannot now be substantiated.) As a loan-word, it was specifically employed in imperial (i.e. Khāḳānic) decrees (*qaan jarliγ manu*, "unser kaiserlicher Erlaß", A.P. Grigor'ev, *Mongol'skaya diplomatika XIII-XV vv.*, Leningrad 1978; cf. E. Haenisch, *Zu den Briefen der mongolischen Il-khane Argun und Öljeitu an den König Philipp den Schönen von Frankreich (1289 u. 1305)*, in *Oriens*, ii [1949], 222) and in, e.g., the *Secret History*, whereas documents emanating from subordinate members of the Čingizid dynasty utilised the phrase *üge manu* "our word (sc. decree)". For the use of the Turkish term *sözüm[iz]* "my/our word" (calqued from the Mongol *üge manu*) as a validating formula or associated with the *tughrā* [*q.v.*] in later *yarlīghs* and other documents; see the discussion in Fekete, *Arbeiten der grusinischen Orientalistik*, 13 ff. (Fekete's misreadings of Crimean Tatar documents in this context are corrected by Mary Ivanics, *Formal and linguistic peculiarities*, 215 n. 15).

The route of transmission of the term from pre-Islamic Uyghur to Islamic usage must have been via the use of Uyghur scribes in Mongol service producing chancery documents in Mongolian and Turkish (see, for a detailed discussion and analysis, A.P. Grigor'ev, *op. cit.*). From the prestige and widespreadness of the term in Čingizid usage stems not only its reborrowing into e.g. south-western Turkish but also its presence from the Mongol period with the same meaning in Russian (*yarlīk*: first occurrence 1267; Vasmer, *Russisches etym. Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1958, iv, 493) and in many other languages of Eurasia, including 7th/13th century Oghuz (A.M. Shčerbak, *Oguz-nāme*, 11, 21). It was also still current at this time with its old (sc. Uyghur/Buddhist) secondary meaning of "Divine command" amongst the Nestorian Christians of Central Asia (C. Džumagulov, *Yazîk siro-tyurskikh pamyatnikov Kirgizii*, 91 ff.); for further borrowings see Doerfer, *Elemente*, iv, 153-8, no. 1849. The word survives at the present day in Russian with the meaning "label, tag".

Čingizid *yarlīghs* were written in Chinese (cf. E. Chavannes, *Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole*, in *T'oung-pao*, sér. 2, v [1904], 357-447, vi [1905], 1-42, ix [1908], 297-428, *passim*); in Mongol, in both Uyghur and quadratic scripts; and in Ḳîpčaḳ Turkish. The language used in the earliest *yarlīghs* of the Golden Horde remains a matter of dispute. The earliest documents still extant as originals date from the later 8th/14th century and are written in Ḳîpčaḳ Turkish, in Uyghur characters. It has been suggested by A.P. Grigor'ev, on the basis of his reconstruction of early texts surviving only in Russian translation, that the earliest Golden Horde edicts were also written in Mongolian (cf. also the exhaustive study by M.A. Usmanov, *Žalovannye aktî Džučieva ulusa, XIV-XVI vv.*, Kazan 1979). The most important surviving document written in Turkish is the *yarlīgh* of Toḳtamîsh Khān [*q.v.*] for Jogaila Algirdaitis (Jagiello), Grand Duke of Lithuania and king (as Władysław II) of Poland (1386-1434), which was issued "in camp on the river Don" "in the Year of the Fowl, 8 Radjab 795 [/20 May 1393]" (reproduction of the first 13 lines of the document in Reychman and Zajączkowski, *Zarys*, 103 = *Handbook*, 155; transcription-text in Kurat, *Yarlık ve bitikler*, 147). This document lacks almost all evidence of Islamic influence over the original Mongol form, possessing no *invocatio* and only the most basic form of *intitulatio* and *inscriptio* (*Toḳtamîsh sözim/Yagaylaga*); yet the year of issue is given in both its Twelve-animal cycle and *Hidjrī* forms; the month and day of issue follow the Muslim calendar. (The use of the Twelve-animal cycle in conjunction with *Hidjrī* dating lasted in Crimean and Ottoman usage until the mid-to-later 9th/15th century.) Under the Il-khāns [*q.v.*], the texts of *yarlīghs* were also engraved in stone. Cf. W. Barthold, *Die persische Inschrift an der Mauer der Manūčehr-Moschee zu Ani*, in *ZDMG*, ci [1951], 241-69 (Russian original in his *Sočineniya* iv, Moscow 1966, 313-38); P. Wittek, *Ankara'da bir Ilhani kitabesi*, in *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, i (1931), 161-4; cf. idem, *Zur Geschichte Angoras im Mittelalter*, in T. Menzel (ed.), *Festschrift Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932 (= idem, *La formation de l'empire ottoman*, ed. V.L. Ménage, London 1982, no. III), 347-8.

Mongol, pre-Islamic concepts thus lingered in the forms and usages employed in post-Čingizid *yarlīghs* long after the formal Islamisation of the rulers who issued them. The designation *yarlīgh* (e.g., as in the combination *ḥukm-i yarlīgh*) remained current in Persia until the end of the 9th/15th century [see DIPLOMATIC. iii] and in the successor states of the Golden Horde for much longer. The well-known *yarlīgh* of the first khān of the Crimea, Ḥādjdjī Girey I, dated 857/1453 (see below), combines, after the *basmala* (serving, as noted, as *invocatio*) the following assertions of divine authority, set out in three equally prominent lines: (1) [Arabic-Islamic] *bi 'l-ḳuwwati 'l-Aḥadiyya wa 'l-muʿdjizāti 'l-Muḥammadiyya* ("through the strength of the One and the miracles of Muḥammad"); (2) [Turkish-Mongol/Islamic]: *Mängü-Täñri küčinde Muḥammad Resūlü'llāh wilāyetinde* ("in the strength of the Great God [and] in the protection of Muḥammad the Prophet of God"); and (3) [Turkish]: *Ḥādjdjī Girey sözim* ("Ḥādjdjī Girey—my decree"). (For a discussion of the adoption (in 932/1525) of this "Mongol-Crimean assertion of the source of authority" into Ottoman chancery practice, see V.L. Ménage, *On the constituent elements*, 300 ff.) *Yarlīghs* of the later khāns of the Crimea conform much more closely in both form and language to contemporary Ottoman usage (A. Bennigsen *et alii*, *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les archives du musée du palais de Topkapı*, Paris-The Hague 1978; but cf. the useful corrections and amplifications by V. Ostapchuk, in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vi/4 [1982]), 500-28, and *Turcica*, xix [1987], 247-76; there is a valuable discussion and analysis of *yarlīghs* in Crimean chancery practice in Ivanics, *Formal and linguistic peculiarities*, *passim*; cf. also Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanische Diplomatik*, Budapest 1926, pp. lxi-lxii; J. Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen*, Freiburg 1976).

As mentioned above, *yarlīghs* also served the same

function as the *barāt* [*q.v.*; and see SOYŪRGHĀL], i.e. as a diploma of investiture and a grant of immunities. The khāns of the Golden Horde and its successor dynasties not only issued diplomas of investiture to e.g. the subject princes of Rus', and the Metropolitans of All Rus', employing their issue and the ever-present threat of their summary withdrawal as a powerful means of political control over their tributary principalities, but also large numbers of so-called *tarkhanlïk yarlïghs*, or grants of privilege/immunity from taxes and services in kind, to their own subjects (specimen text in Kurat, *Yarlık ve bitikler*, no. 4, 62-80, a document of Ḥādjdjī Girey 857/1453. Cf. also the studies by Halasi-Kun, Grigor'ev, and Muhamedyarov and Vásáry as detailed in *Bibl.* below, all with useful discussion and analyses. Comparable documents were issued by the Il-khānid rulers of Persia and their political successors (cf. Minorsky, *A soyūrghāl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-Qoyunlu (903/1498)*); in Ottoman usage, exemption documents of a similar nature are known as *muʿāfiyet-nāme*).

Yarlïghs issued down to the early 9th/16th century were validated by the *khān*'s *al-tamgha*. This was a quadrilateral seal impressed, usually in vermilion, sometimes in black, blue or gold, either towards the head or at the foot of the document, and over the pasted joins of individual sheets making up the roll. Later *yarlïghs* of the Golden Horde largely followed Ottoman practice, making use of a *pençe* [*q.v.*]-type *ṭughra* for documents issued by the *khān* or the immediately subordinate members of the dynasty (*kalgha*, *nūreddīn*) plus the formula *sözümiz* at the head of the document (see TUGHRA, and cf. Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden*, 77-80 and facsimiles).

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YARMŪK, the main left bank affluent of the Jordan river [see AL-URDUNN. 1], famed in history as the site of a historic battle between the Arabs and Byzantines.

1. Geography.

The Yarmūk flows into the Jordan some 9 km/5 miles to the south of Lake Tiberias, with headwaters on the southwestern slopes of the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*] in southern Syria. It follows a deeply-incised valley which nevertheless provides the main access through the eastern wall of the Jordan rift valley, the Ghawr or Ghōr, to the north-south routes along the western fringes of the Syrian Desert. As such, it was followed, with difficulty, by the narrow-gauge railway from Ḥayfā via Samākh to Darāʿa/Deraa, where it connected with the Ḥidjāz railway [*q.v.*]. In Antiquity, it was called by Pliny the Elder, *Natural history*, v. 74, the Hieromix or Hieromices. Part of the river's lower course today forms the political boundary between Syria and Jordan. The waters of the Yarmūk could irrigate the Jordan valley if its lowermost course were to be diverted to Lake Tiberias as a reservoir for its waters; but this would entail the improbable co-operation of Syria, Jordan and Israel.

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2. The battle.

This was fought near the confluence of the Yarmūk River and the Wādī 'l-Ruḳḳād, which today marks part of the border between Jordan and Syria, and it determined the fate of Byzantine Syria. The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, who was not personally present, in early 636 collected a very substantial Byzantine and Christian Arab force in order to reverse recent Muslim victories in Syria, Transjordania and Palestine, and to drive the Muslims out of Syria and Palestine. The site strategically included high ground, water supplies, pasture and domination of important routes between Damascus and Galilee (see 1. above). It was an important sedentary base and crucial pasture-grounds of the Ghassān [*q.v.*], and lay near the intersection of four Byzantine provincial boundaries. A major battle had previously taken place near it in 614, at which the Persian general Shahrbarāz had inflicted a resounding defeat on the Byzantines, opening the way into Palestine for the Persians. The terrain's strategic significance was apparent to both sides and in theory was familiar to them. On the eve of the battle, the Byzantines had not succeeded in developing any effective new tactics or strategy for checking the Muslims.

The battle of the Yarmūk or Djābiya lasted more than a month if one includes the preliminary manoeuvrings. It began in the vicinity of al-Djābiya [*q.v.*], the traditional base of the Ghassān, with these manoeuvrings, and terminated on 12 Radjab 15/20 August 636. Byzantine forces had come from Ḥimṣ (Emesa) under the general Vahān, who was probably the *Magister Militum per Orientem*, and Theodore Trithurios, the *Sakellarios* (Treasurer). Djabala b. al-Ayham [*q.v.*], king of the Ghassān, led Ghassānid forces. Other Christian Arabs, whom Heraclius had recruited in upper Mesopotamia and elsewhere, participated. There are contradictory reports concerning whether Theodore, the brother of Heraclius, was present. Although he participated in planning some of the campaign, Theodore had probably been recalled to Constantinople in disgrace before the final stages of the battle. Muslim forces under Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*] withdrew from Ḥimṣ and Damascus in the face of the approach from the north of stronger Byzantine armies. They retired to a line between Dayr Ayyūb and Adhriʿāt [*q.v.*], where they waited for more than a month, in a topographically strong position, to deter any Byzantine move further south. On 13 Djumādā II 15/23 July 636 the Muslims won an initial clash near al-Djābiya. The Byzantines attempted to use the waiting period to familiarise their forces with the Muslims and, unsuccessfully, to encourage desertion and dissension within Muslim ranks. Both sides received reinforcements, but the decisive clash took place when the Muslims were continuing to gain more reinforcements. The Byzantines, together with their Christian Arab allies, probably enjoyed numerical superiority, having troops that totaled up to 15,000 to 20,000 men, possibly even more.

By a feigned retreat, the Muslims lured the Byzantines into attacking Muslims and their camp near Dayr Ayyūb. The Muslims penetrated the exposed Byzantine left flank, and then exploited gaps that yawned between Byzantine foot and cavalry. Byzantine infantrymen apparently attempted to lock shields and to engage in intricate and complicated and risky exercises (the so-called "mixed formation") that involved opening the ranks of foot for horsemen to pass through and then relocking shields. Poor Byzantine coordination allowed the Muslims to exploit the gap and to slay many exposed Byzantine infantry. Byzantine forces withdrew into territory that lay between the Wādī 'l-Rukkād and Wādī 'l-ʿAllān, both west of the Wādī 'l-Ḥarīr, to what they believed to be a secure encampment that received protection from the high bluffs of the wadis. But in a night raid, the Muslims under Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] seized the critical bridge over the Wādī 'l-Rukkād, which offered the only viable retreat route for the encircled men and animals of the Byzantine army. The Byzantines found themselves blocked and could not retreat in formation, or fight their way out, or negotiate a reasonable settlement. The Byzantines panicked, having learned that they were cut off. The Muslims stormed their camps between the wadis as well as at the village of Yākūsa, on the edge of the Djawlān [*q.v.*]. The Byzantines lost cohesion and most were slaughtered, although a few may have managed to flee down the steep walls of the wadis. The Muslims took few or no prisoners. Some Christian Arabs allegedly wavered in their loyalty to the Byzantine cause and managed to flee, which aided the Muslims. One Muslim tradition reports that some dejected and defeated Byzantine troops, having perceived the hopelessness of their situation, fatalistically awaited their slaughter.

The battle destroyed the only viable Byzantine army in Syria and its commanders, and it ceased to exist as a fighting force. A rout ensued. For the Muslims, the victory eliminated the possibility of any Byzantine penetration further south, reconfirmed Muslim control of Palestine and Transjordania, and opened the way for the Muslim conquest of the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*] valley, Damascus and beyond it, all of Syria. The Muslims consolidated their victory by a rapid and far-stretching and ruthless pursuit of retreating Byzantines, giving them no respite. The battle had great psychological as well as material effects: it broke the will of the Byzantines to give more open battle. The Byzantines henceforth avoided open battle with the Muslims in Syria and upper Mesopotamia, and ended their efforts to recover or hold Syria. Together with Heraclius, who was staying first at Ḥimṣ and then at Antioch, they evacuated northern Syria and withdrew into Anatolia, where the emperor attempted to improvise new defences.

The Byzantines had suffered logistical problems on the eve of the battle. They lacked experience in handling and supplying large numbers of troops in the regions of these operations, and this inexperience may have contributed to their logistical problems and to tensions with local civilians. Byzantine leaders found it difficult to procure adequate supplies from local inhabitants on the eve of the engagements. Manṣūr son of Sergius, the local fiscal official at Damascus, refused to provide supplies to the unprecedentedly large Byzantine forces. These last included heterogeneous ethnic elements, many of whom had no experience in operating or fighting in the region. There was probably mistrust, misunderstandings and friction between Greeks, Armenians and Christian Arabs within the Byzantine forces. There is no indication that the local inhabitants participated in fighting on either side. The Byzantines were already suffering psychological shock from a series of recent defeats at the hands of the Muslims. Muslim losses were considerable, but far smaller than the human and material ones of the Byzantines. But all statistics for the battle, both numbers of combatants and numbers of casualties, should be regarded with suspicion.

The account that Ibn ʿAsākir preserved in his *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashk* is probably the best. No documentary records or eyewitness accounts survive. Memory of the actual facts of the battle soon faded and quickly became embellished with legends. The magnitude of the Muslim victory received instant recognition and continued to resound later in the 7th century. The military manual entitled the *Strategikon* of Maurice, although written *ca.* A.D. 600, provides some reliable insight into actual contemporary Byzantine fighting techniques and logistics that were probably utilised in the battle. The reigning Byzantine Heraclian dynasty appears to have attempted to shift the responsibility for the disaster from itself to others: to an alleged abortive rebellion of the Armenian Byzantine general Vahān or to the failure to follow Emperor Heraclius' injunctions to watch out for Arab ambushes, or to the adverse climate. There is no evidence that Christian religious dissension affected the outcome. Muslim writers later celebrated the role of Islamic religious zeal, but superior Muslim leadership as well as superior morale, including confidence that derived from their recent pattern of successes, were important factors in their victory.

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(W.E. Kaegi)

YAʿRUBIDS (a., pl. Yaʿāriba, sing. Yaʿrubī), a dynasty of ʿUmān [*q.v.*] who ruled the country, mostly from al-Rustāḳ but also from Djabrīn [*q.vv.*] and al-Ḥazm, *ca.* 1024-1164/1615-1749. There are a number of different versions of the date on which the first *imām* of the dynasty, Nāṣir b. Murshid, was given the oath of allegiance: al-Sālimī (ii, 4) suggests it was 1024/1615, whereas Nāṣir's biographer, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khalfān b. Ḳayṣar (13), and the author of *Kashf al-ghumma*, Sirḥān b. Saʿīd b. Sirḥān (Ross, *Annals*, 46), give 1034/1624. The origins of the dynasty are not entirely clear. Wilkinson (*Imamate*, 219) supposes them to be of the Nabāhina, but he quotes another tradition which has them of al-Azd.

The 11/17th century saw ʿUmān free of external forces and united, with the rulers free to pursue an active naval policy against the Portuguese and one of expansion overseas, particularly in East Africa. In fact, their struggles against the Portuguese were so successful that ʿUmān became the major maritime power in the Indian Ocean, taking over the Portuguese previous position. Maritime power meant that commercial prosperity and profits were put back into trading interests and also into the building of palace fortresses at home. Nāṣir's successor, Sulṭān b. Sayf I (1059-91/1649-80) began the process by building the massive round fort of Nizwā [*q.v.*]. His son and successor Balʿarab (1091-1104/1680-92) built the magnificently-decorated fort of Djabrīn and redeveloped the agricultural lands in the area. Balʿarab's brother and successor, Sayf b. Sulṭān I (1104-23/1692-1711) presided over the zenith of ʿUmānī sea power and Mombasa, Kilwa and Pemba were captured by the ʿUmānīs as they waged war on the Portuguese with their greatly expanded navy, and they compelled the Persians to grant them right of entry into the Gulf. Internally, Sayf repaired water channels (sing. *faladj*) seventeen major ones in all, developed land and planted extensive date and coconut palm groves.

Sayf's son, Sulṭān II (1123-33/1711-19), extended ʿUmānī overseas power yet further with the conquest of al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*]. He also built the fine fortress of al-Ḥazm which became his residence. But the great wealth brought with it problems. The Yaʿrubī state had become a society of rich merchants and landlords exploiting a class of peasants and slaves. At his death in 1133/1719, Sulṭān left only a minor as his successor, Sayf II. The *ʿulamāʾ* stepped in, unable to support the Yaʿrubī policy of dynastic succession any longer, and put forward their own contender for the imāmate. A confused period of civil war followed, with Sayf returning to the imāmate in 1141/1728. His later intrigues with the Persians, allowing them to enter internal ʿUmānī politics and the struggle for the imāmate, further exacerbated the situation. Sayf died in 1156/1743. Power eventually passed to one Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, who had been appointed Sayf's *wālī* in Ṣuḥār, and who had finally expelled the Persians from ʿUmān. Aḥmad belonged to the Āl Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] who have ruled ʿUmān to this day.

Bibliography: The best ʿUmānī sources for this period are ʿAbd Allāh b. Khalfān b. Ḳayṣar, *Sīrat al-Imām Nāṣir b. Murshid*, ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḥasīb al-Ḳaysī, Muscat 1977, the biography of the first Yaʿrubī *imām*; Sirḥān b. Saʿīd b. Sirḥān, *Kashf al-ghumma*, tr. E.C. Ross in *Annals of Oman*, Calcutta 1874, repr. Cambridge 1984, 44-57 (up to the year 1728 only); and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamīd al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān bi-sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, ii, 3-150. Of modern sources, J.C. Wilkinson, *The Imamate tradition of Oman*, Cambridge 1987, is excellent, with a comprehensive family tree of the Yaʿrubī *imāms* with dates at 13 and an historical summary of the period at 217-25. Wilkinson's *Water and tribal settlement in south-east Arabia*, Oxford 1977, also has some useful remarks on the dynasty, as does his *A short history of Oman from earliest times*, Muscat 1972, 5-8.

(G.R. Smith)

YĀS, Banū, a conglomeration of tribes which in the 18th century ranged in the interior of al-Ẓafra [*q.v.*; see also al-djiwāʾ; dubayy], the region in the United Arab Emirates [see al-imārāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muttaḥida, in Suppl.] extending southward from the Gulf. The island of Ṣīr Banī Yās [*q.v.*] is mentioned by the Venetian traveller Gasparo Balbi in 1580, who thus implies that the Banū Yās were already in the area at that time (Slot, *The Arabs*, 39-40, 143). They are also mentioned in the early 17th century (Slot, *op. et loc. cit.*) and by Niebuhr in the 18th century (*Beschreibung*, 342). The town of Abū Ẓabī [*q.v.*] is said to have been founded by them at about 1174/1760-1. In 1209/1794-5 Shakhbūṭ b. Dhiyāb of the Āl Bū Falāḥ, the ruling family of Abū Ẓabī settled in the town. The Banū Yās resisted the Wahhābī invasions of 1800-14 [see wahhābiyya], which earned them friendly relations with Saʿīd b. Sulṭān of the Āl Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*]. In the early 1820s, the Banū Yās, led by a certain Suwaydān b. Zaʾal, who appears to have been head of the Mahāriba section of the Banū Yās, made maritime depredations from al-Dawḥa [*q.v.*, and see also Lorimer, *Gazetteer*, i, pt. III] (Doha) in Ḳaṭar, bringing Abū Ẓabī close to war with Baḥrayn. The raiding ceased when Suwaydān returned to Abū Ẓabī in 1828. The economic interests of the Banū Yās lay mainly in the date groves of al-Djiwāʾ (Līwā) and in the pearl fisheries around Dalmā Island. Unlike the al-Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*], they thus were far from the navigation channels of the Gulf and therefore had no conflict with the British at sea. In 1835, however, severely depressed by prolonged warfare with the al-Ḳawāsim and by the loss of the annual pearl fishery for several years running, they made a wholesale attempt upon the trade of the Gulf in order to redress their revenues. Outfought and scattered by the British [see ḳurṣān. iii], they had to pay fines for piracy and many emigrated to al-ʿUdayd, an inlet (*khawr*) in southern Ḳaṭar, causing much friction between Ḳaṭar and Abū Ẓabī. They left al-ʿUdayd in 1878 and returned to Abū Ẓabī in 1880.

In the modern Gulf States, the Mazrūʿī [*q.v.*] are

regarded as an Abū Ẓabī section of the Banū Yās.

Bibliography: Muhammad Morsy Abdullah, *The United Arab Emirates*, London-New York 1978; G. Rentz, *ʿOman and the southern coast of the Gulf*, Aramco 1952; B.J. Slot, *The Arabs of the Gulf, 1602-1784*, Leidschendam 1993; J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOman and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, repr. Farnborough 1970, 2 parts in 6 vols., i, 763-72 and enclosure; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772; see also the *Bibls.* to the articles referenced in the text.

(E. van Donzel)

YĀSĀ (thus the usual orthography in Arabic script, Mongolian *jasaq, jasaγ*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iv, 71-82 no. 1789 s.v. *yāsāq*) may be translated variously, according to context, as "law" or, virtually synonymous with *yarlīgh* [*q.v.*], as "decree" or "order". Hence the sources for the Mongol period speak of what is generally called "the Great *Yāsā* of Čingiz Khān", in the sense of a comprehensive legal code laid down by the founder of the Mongol empire; but in many if not most instances of the use of the term, a specific decree is what is meant. In some cases it is far from certain which sense was in the mind of the writer.

1. Amongst the Mongols.

The traditional view of the Great *Yāsā* is that it was laid down by Čingiz as a written legal code, probably at the *kuriltay* [see ḳūrīltāy] of 1206 which affirmed and proclaimed his supremacy over the tribes of Mongolia and which preceded the Mongol campaigns of conquest in China and Central Asia. There are serious difficulties in accepting this view: these are discussed in mongols. 3. The evidence does not support the notion of a written legal code dating from 1206, and indeed it is very difficult to demonstrate with any degree of certainty that a written code ever existed. D. Ayalon showed that most of what we known about the contents of the Great *Yāsā* derives from al-Djuwaynī's account of it (*The Great* Yāsa *of Chingiz Khān: a reexamination. A*, in *SI*, xxxiii [1971], 97-140, repr. in his *Outsiders in the lands of Islam: Mamluks, Mongols and eunuchs*, London 1988). Al-Djuwaynī (i, 16-25; Djuwaynī-Boyle, 23-34) certainly tells us that certain of Čingiz's decrees had been written down in a Great Book of *Yāsā*s (*yāsā-nāma-i buzurg*), and that this book was taken out, consulted and its precepts followed by the Mongol élite whenever appropriate. But the matters with which these *yāsā*s were concerned were more administrative than technically legal (the organisation of the hunt, the army and the postal courier system).

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that a Great *Yāsā* was believed to exist, and that it was regarded as embodying the founder of the dynasty's unalterable decrees on all manner of state and legal matters. It has been suggested, on the basis of Chinese evidence, that a written version may have been first promulgated in 1229, two years after Čingiz's death, at the *kurilitay* that proclaimed the accession of his son Ögedey [*q.v.*] as Great Khān (I. de Rachewiltz, *Some reflections on Cinggis Qan's* Jasaγ, in *East Asian History*, vi [1993], 91-104). However, the view presented in mongols. 3., that there may never have been a written version, and that as an oral body of laws and precepts, remembered as having been laid down by Čingiz, it continued to be augmented by Mongol rulers after his time, appears still to be a likely interpretation of the scanty evidence. If there was more to it than that, the evidence would in all probability be much less scanty than it is. The Great *Yāsā* remained of great symbolical importance, not least in the Islamic world, as an entity conceived as being in opposition to the *Sharīʿa* (see 2. below).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, see the studies cited in mongols. 3. (particularly, for the interpretation of the evidence advanced here, D.O. Morgan in *BSOAS*, xlix/1 (1986), 163-76). P. Ratchnevsky's biography of Čingiz Khān, listed there, has been skilfully translated into English by T.N. Haining as *Genghis Khan. His life and legacy*, Oxford 1991 (see especially, for the *Yāsā*, 187-96).

(D.O. Morgan)

2. Amongst the Mamlūks.

The constituting of the Mongol empire in Western Asia had a great impact on the Mamlūks. The two great powers were enemies for some three-quarters of a century, but relations were necessarily close, and the two groups of Mongols and Mamlūks felt themselves as ethnically close, sharing a common *djinsiyya* (cf. D. Ayalon, in *SI*, xxxvi [1972], 117 ff., xxxviii [1973], 148-52). The Mamlūks [*q.v.*] drew their military slave manpower from lands under Mongol control, in particular from South Russia and the Dasht-i Ḳīpčaḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and soldiers coming to Egypt and Syria from the lands of the Golden Horde Khāns included, as well as Ḳīpčaḳ and other Turks, Turkicised Mongols and some pure Mongols. Other, free Mongols arrived in Egypt as an element of the *Wāfidiyya*, amongst whom the Oyrat were notable in the last four decades of the 7th/13th century and especially in the reigns of Baybars I [*q.v.*] and Kitbughā, the latter himself from the Oyrat [see wāfidiyya].

Whether the Mamlūks had access to a text of the Great *Yāsa* attributed to Čingiz Khān [see above, 1.] is problematical, even though a source like Ibn Taghrībirdī attributes its introduction to Baybars I, an admirer of the Mongols. There is no evidence that there existed a copy of this within the Mamlūk Sultanate. Few Mamlūk *amīr*s can have been expert in Mongolian, and even fewer in the Uyghur script which must have preceded the apparent adoption of the Arabic script for diplomatic documents between the Mongols and Mamlūks in the 8th/14th century (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 167, states that the correspondence of the Golden Horde Khāns with the Mamlūks was *bi ʾl-lugha al-mughuliyya bi ʾl-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī*).

The veracity of a passage in al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 220, stating that his source, one Abū Hāshim Aḥmad b. al-Burhān, had seen a copy of the Great *Yāsa* in the Mustanṣiriyya library in Baghdād, was questioned also by Ayalon. He believed that al-Maḳrīzī introduced this passage, with its description of the alleged contents of the *Yāsa* (in fact, derived from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī and, ultimately, from al-Djuwaynī), because the *ḥādjib*s or chamberlains, acting as judges, and especially of the Mamlūks, were applying administrative law, *siyāsa* and the practice of *al-naẓar fī ʾl-maẓālim*, as complements to the *Sharīʿa* and were, in the historian's view, encroaching upon the *ḳāḍī*'s sphere. To combat this tendency, al-Maḳrīzī asserted that the *siyāsa* of the *ḥādjib*s was nothing but the *Yāsa*, whch was the antithesis of the *Sharīʿa*. He even claimed (perhaps with his tongue in his cheek) that the word *siyāsa* derived etymologically from *Yāsa* (see *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 220-1; and see siyāsa. 1, at Vol. IX, 694a, and 3., at 696a).

The earliest reference to the Mongol *Yāsa* amongst the Mamlūks found by the late D. Ayalon was in al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr* (cited in *SI*, xxxviii [1973], 134-5), in which an *amīr* and confidant of Sultan al-Nāṣir

Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] in the first half of the 8th/14th century, Aytamish al-Muḥammadī, is said to have mastered the Mongolian language for diplomatic purposes, to have studied closely the *sīra* of Čingiz Khān and to have judged the élite members of the *khāṣṣakiyya* [*q.v.*], the royal bodyguard, according to the *Yāsa* of Čingiz. Another of the sultan's *amīrs*, Ariḳṭāy, is also said to have been knowledgeable about the *Yāsa*. Ayalon's conclusion (*pace* the assertions of A.N. Poliak, in *REI*, ix [1935], 213-48, and *BSOS*, x [1940-2], 862-76, that Mongol influence in the Mamlūk state was pervasive and lasted until the dynasty's end) was that, even if the *Yāsa* had played some rôle in early Mamlūk society, this cannot have been long sustained, given the fact that the *Yāsa* and other Mongol customs must have been losing ground within the territories directly ruled by the Mongols, a process accentuated by the conversion to Islam of most of the Western Asian Mongols during the first decades of the 8th/14th century.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see the thoroughgoing study of D. Ayalon, *The Great* Yāsa *of Chingiz Khān, a re-examination*, in *SI*, xxxiii (1971), 97-140, xxxiv (1971), 151-80, xxxvi (1972), 113-58, xxxviii (1973), 107-56, repr. in his *Outsiders in the land of Islam: Mamluks, Mongols and eunuchs*, Variorum, London 1988, no. IV; R. Amitai-Preiss, *Ghazan, Islam and Mongol tradition. A view from the Mamluk Sultanate*, in *BSOAS*, lix (1996), 1-10.

(C.E. Bosworth)

YASAḲNĀME [see ḳanūnnāme].

YĀSAMĪN, Yāsimīn, Yāsamūn (a.), a masc. noun denoting the jasmine shrub, of the Oleaceae tribe, family of jasmines (Jasminaceae).

It was cultivated for its yellow or white or purple flowers and for the oil obtained from it by distillation. In the poets, the abbreviated forms *yāsam, yāsim*, are found. Several sub-species of jasmine are found in the Arabic-speaking lands, sc. (a) *Jasminum floribundum*, called *habb al-zalīm* "male ostrich seeds"; (b) *J. fructicans*, called *yāsamīn al-barr* "country jasmine"; (c) *J. grandiflorum*; (d) J. *grasissimum*, called *ḳayyān* "flourishing, blooming", and *suwayd* "blackish", proper to Yemen; (e) *J. officinale*, called *ḳīn, sidjillāt*; and (f) *J. sambac* or *Nyctanthes sambac* or *Mogorium sambac*, called *full*, the Arabian jasmine cited by al-Ḳazwīnī for certain of its properties and effects. According to Ibn Sīnā, jasmine used in a lotion, either dried or fresh, gets rid of freckles. Too much inhaling of its odour yellows the face and causes migraine, whilst its oil, *duhn al-yāsamīn*, taken in a potion cuts off catarrhal mucus.

Bibliography: Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* (in margin of Damīrī), Cairo 1937, ii, 42; Dr. Chenu, *Encyclopédie d'histoire naturelle*. ii, *Botanique*, Paris 1876, 337; G. Bonnier and G. de Layens, *Flore de France, Suisse et Belgique*, Paris 1974, 211; A. Issa, *Dictionnaire des noms des plantes/Muʿdjam asmāʾ al-nabāt*, Cairo 1981, 101.

(F. Viré)

YASAWĪ [see aḥmad yasawī].

YASAWIYYA, a Ṣūfī brotherhood present in Transoxania, in Khwārazm, in the Kazakh steppe and in the Tatar world in Eastern Turkestān, in Turkey, in China and even in India.

Its eponymous founder was Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1166-7 [*q.v.*]). It had as its centre the town of Yasi (or Ḥaḍrat), modern Turkistān [*q.v.*] in present-day Ḳazakhstān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], where the mausoleum of the founder described as "the Kaʿba of Turkistān" (cf. Bernardini) is situated. Concerning the spiritual filiation of the Yasawiyya, the Naḳshbandī sources (e.g. Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī, *Rashaḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, ed. ʿAlī Aṣghar Muʿīniyān, Tehran 1977, 17) maintain that Aḥmad Yasawī was a disciple of Abū Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 534/1140), the inspiring force behind the *ṭarīḳa-i khwādjagān*, but this is erroneous. Recent work shows on the contrary that the Yasawiyya belong to the movement of the Mubayyiḍiyya ("those dressed in white"), a Shīʿī sect which brought together the supporters of Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] after his death, and which integrated certain Manichaean and Zoroastrian beliefs (cf A. Muminov, *Mübeyyidiyye-Yaseviyye alâkası hakkında*, in *Bir*, i [Istanbul 1994], 115-23). The Mubayyiḍiyya stemmed from the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*], one of the most radical Shīʿī groups, who recognised the imāmate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya (d. 81/700 [*q.v.*]) and awaited his return. They were protected by the Turkish dynasty of the Ḳarakhānids at the beginning of its period of power. In one of the oldest genealogies of Aḥmad Yasawī, translated from Arabic into Eastern Turkish in 590/1291 (Mawlāna Ṣafī al-Dīn Orunk Kūlāḳī, *Nasab-nāma*, ed. A. Muminov and Z. Žandarbekov, Turkistān, Ḳazakhstān 1992, Turkish tr. K. Eraslan, *Mevlānā Safiyyü'd-dīn, Neseb-nāme tercümesi*, Istanbul 1996), there is mention of a certain Isḥāḳ Bāb, who certainly seems to have been, according to Muminov, Isḥāḳ al-Turk (cited in al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*), a supporter of Abū Muslim, who had come from Damascus to Central Asia in 150/767-8 to propagate Islam in Farghānā and in Eastern Turkistān, and to convert the Zoroastrians (*mūgh*) and the Christians (*tarsā*). According to al-Nadīm, *loc. cit.*, Isḥāḳ Bāb professed to be the successor to Zoroaster and the rites of the Mubayyiḍiyya, according to al-Maḳdisī, resemble those of the "dualists" (*zindīḳ*) (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 199-200). According to the *Nasab-nāma* cited above, Aḥmad Yasawī was descended from ʿAlī Murtaḍā (ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) and from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. His spiritual master, Arslan Bāb, was the leader of the Mubayyiḍiyya in Utrār [*q.v.*], and it was as a representative of this movement that Aḥmad Yasawī was sent to Yasi. The Ṣūfī schools of Baghdād and of Khurāsān did not form an essential part of the development of the Yasawiyya, even though several of their mystical themes are subsequently to be found in the Yasawī texts. To establish what were the primitive practices of the order it is not possible to follow blindly the poetry (*ḥikmat*) attributed to Aḥmad Yasawī, for it is known that it was largely the work of later Yasawīs. It should be noted that in the *Nasab-nāma*, Aḥmad Yasawī and his disciples followed an orthodox Islam (construction of mosques, mausoleums and Ṣūfī hospices, *khānaḳāhs*) and that their Ṣūfism was essentially based on a privileged relationship with the Prophet Khiḍr and the practice of retreat (*khalwa*).

The representatives (*khalīfa*) of Aḥmad Yasawī, such as Ḥakīm Atā (d. 582/1183) or Saʿīd Atā (d. 615/1218), and the disciples of their disciples, such as Zangī Atā, Uzūn Ḥasan Atā, Sayyid Atā, Ismāʿīl Atā, Isḥāḳ Atā, Ṣadr Atā, etc., preached Islam in the region of the Volga, of Khwārazm, in eastern Turkey, and as far as India (*Rashaḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, 17-30; ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, *Nesāyim ül-mahabbe min shemāyim il-fütüvve*, ed. Eraslan, Istanbul 1979, 385). Then, according to the *Shadjarat al-Atrāk* (written in the 16th century), Sayyid Atā, at the beginning of the 16th century, is supposed to have converted Uzbek Khān, the leader of the Golden Horde, to Islam. They also assisted the emergence in Khwārazm of an influential Yasawī line of descent, the Atāʾiyya (i.e. of Sayyid Atā, 14th century; cf. D. DeWeese).

From the 13th century onwards, fleeing from the

Mongols, the Yasawī shaykhs arrived in Anatolia and became involved with an order of *kalandars* called Ḥaydariyya, founded by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar al-Zāwa'ī (d. 1221, cf. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak), who has been stated to be a disciple of Aḥmad Yasawī (*Nesāyim ül-maḥabbe*, 383-4; Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh Welī, *Wilāyet-nāme. Manakıb-ı Hünkār Hacı Bektāsh-ı Veli*, ed. A. Gölpınarlı, Istanbul 1958, 9-11). The Anatolian mystical movements issuing from the Ḥaydariyya, such as the Bektāshiyya, called upon the patronage of Aḥmad Yasawī who thus appeared to be a heterodox Ṣūfī, which he was not in Central Asia. The same phenomenon of the absorption of the Yasawiyya by the Ḳalandariyya or the association of the Yasawiyya with the heterodox Ṣūfī orders, was recorded in other regions of the Muslim world: in the north of India where an alleged descendant (?) of Aḥmad Yasawī, Sharaf al-Dīn Turk Pānīpānī (d. 1349-50), was found leading a branch of the Čishtī *ṭarīḳa* (cf. Th. Zarcone); in Eastern Turkestan (cf. the *Dīwān* of Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Zalīlī, 18th century, ed. Imīn Tursun, Peking 1985); and in certain regions of Mā warā' al-nahr (e.g. Khᵂādja Ḳalandar in the 18th century, who was thought to be a descendant of Aḥmad Yasawī, according to Riḍā Fakhr al-Dīn, in *Athar*, i/2 (Orenburg 1901), 44).

In the 14th to 15th centuries the Yasawiyya were in competition with the Naḳshbandiyya, who criticised various aspects of their doctrines and practices, such as the principle of the hereditary succession for the position of *shaykh*, the ʿAlid origins of the order, the practice of repetitive oral prayer (*dhikr djahrī*) called "*dhikr* of the saw (*arra*)" (in Arabic, *dhikr al-minshār*) (cf. H. Algar; J. Fletcher) which gave the Yasawiyya the name of *Djahriyya*. Over against this prayer, the Naḳshbandīs set the silent repetitive prayer (*dhikr khafī*) and, finally, the Naḳshbandīs criticised the dance (*samāʿ*) of the Yasawiyya. These two brotherhoods competed with each other, for the Yasawiyya did not proselytise exclusively among the nomads of the steppe, but equally among the sedentary inhabitants of Transoxania, where they played both a political and a social role. There was not, however, an equal sharing of influence between the Yasawiyya and the Khᵂādjagān-Naḳshbandiyya according to ethnic linguistic, economic or regional criteria, as is made clear by DeWeese, *The Mashā'ikh-i Turk and the Khojagān: rethinking the links between the Yasavī and Naqshbandī Sufi traditions*, in *Jnal. of Islamic Studies*, vii/2 [1996], 180-207). At the beginning of the 16th century an influential branch of the Yasawiyya (the offshoot of a spiritual line of descent from Zangī Atā and Ṣadr Atā) known as ʿAzīziyya and remaining true to the customs and practices of the order (preserving the *dhikr* of the saw, the *khalwa* and the dance) was established in the region of Samarḳand by Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAzīzān (d. 912/1507), who was called "the second Aḥmad Yasawī". It spread out as far as Harāt in Afghānistān. The principal figures of this branch were ʿAzīzān Shaykh Khādim (d. 1573), then ʿAzīzān Shaykh Djamāl al-Dīn (d. 1505) and Khudāydād ʿAzīzān (d. 1532). In the same period, several practices of the Yasawiyya were adopted by important Naḳshbandī *shaykhs*: Muḥammad Ḳāḍī, who was the first to adopt the retreat (*khalwa*), and Mawlānā Khᵂādjagī Kāsānī Dakhbidī (Makhdūm-i Aʿẓam), who demonstrated that dance (*samāʿ*) and the *dhikr* of the saw were not contrary to the *Sharīʿa* (for the *shaykhs* of the ʿAzīziyya and their practices, see Muḥammad ʿĀlim al-Ṣiddīḳī al-ʿAlawī, *Lamāḥāt min nafaḥāt al-Ḳuds*, Tashkent 1909, written in 1034/1625). The *shaykhs* who came from Central Asia and belonged to this movement could be found in other parts of the Muslim world, such as Turkey, India and Syria. They declared themselves to be members of the Naḳshbandiyya, sometimes from the Yasawiyya or even quite frequently they belonged to both orders at the same time (cf. Zarcone; Hazini, *Cevāhiru 'l-ebrār min emvāc-ı biḥār*, ed. Cihan Okuyucu, Kayseri 1995, an ed. of ms. no. 3893 from the Istanbul University Library, dated 1002/1593-4).

In the 16th and 17th centuries the Yasawiyya finally disappeared in favour of the Naḳshbandiyya, but in the 18th and 19th centuries references were still made to Yasawī *shaykhs*, who were apparently isolated and who numbered among their ranks some who declared themselves to be descendants of Aḥmad Yasawī (cf. Riḍā Fakhr al-Dīn, in *Athar*, i/2 (Orenburg 1901), 44, and i/5 (1903), 228). However, the Yasawiyya acquired an important popular dimension, particularly among the nomads. Consequently, the successors of the Yasawī *shaykhs* centralised their activities around the mausoleums of the *bāb* of the Mubayyiḍiyya and those of the Yasawī saints. They abandoned the role of the *shaykh* of the brotherhood in favour of that of intercessor with the saints on behalf of pilgrims. It was in this form that the Yasawiyya have survived the Soviet period and lasted right up to the present day, despite the continued attacks of Marxist propaganda which denounced its "reactionary, feudal and clerical" aspects (cf. A. Bennigsen; Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay; K. Çağatay; Zarcone).

It is possible today to determine the genealogical lines of the families that represented it, thanks to the genealogical documents (*shadjarat idjāza*) bequeathed to their families by their ancestors. These families are chiefly located in the south of Ḳazakhstān (Dasht-i Ḳipčak, Turkistān, Čimkent), where they are known as *khᵂādja* (with the family names Aḳḳorghan, Khurāsān, Duāna, Ḳilīshti, Sabīlt, etc.), and in Turkmenistān among the *Awlād* tribes (the tribes of Atā, Khᵂādja) (cf. S.M. Demidov, Muminov and K. Tayžanov). The Yasawiyya have disappeared from the other regions of the Muslim world except for Xinjiang (People's Republic of China), where they were still attested at the beginning of the 20th century, mingled with the Ḳalandariyya (cf. G. Jarring).

Three types of writings have been ascribed to Aḥmad Yasawī and to the Yasawiyya. The principal type is the *Dīwān-i ḥikmat*, of which a great number of manuscripts and several editions exist, which essentially can be classified as poetry (*Divân-hikmet'ten seçmeler*, ed. Eraslan, Istanbul 1983; and the *Divan-ı hikmet*, ed. Yusuf Azmun, Istanbul 1994). Secondly, there is the *Faḳr-nāma*, a short text in prose, which probably was used to introduce the first group (Eraslan, *Yesevī'nin Fakr-nâmesi*, in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, xviii, Istanbul 1977, 45-120). The third group, called the *Risāla*, largely ressembles the previous one. The *Dīwān-i ḥikmat*, a collection of poetry in Eastern Turkish, has been so enriched over the centuries that no one any longer knows whether certain poems were really written by the founder of the order (cf. Borovkov). This poetry, which was printed for the first time at Kazan in 1887, has as its themes divine love, unity with God, love of the Prophet, loyalty to the (Sunnī) tradition of the Prophet, encouragement of the practice of religion, privation and asceticism, and love of humanity. These poems were sung during ceremonies and are still sung today (Raziya Sultanova, *Poyushčee slovo uzbekskikh obryadov* (*Opït liričeskogo issledovaniya*), Tashkent 1994). Other poets and Ṣūfīs subscribe to this literary and mystical tradition inaugurated by Aḥmad Yasawī which has permeated all Central Asian literature: Turcoman;

Transoxanian, with Ī̲s̲h̲ān Iḳānī (the *laḳab* of Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAzīzān), Ḳul ʿUbaydī (perhaps the pseudonym of the *k̲h̲ān* Özbeg ʿUbayd Allāh himself) and ʿAẓīm K̲h̲ʷādja Ī̲s̲h̲ān (cf. ʿAẓīm K̲h̲ʷādja Ī̲s̲h̲ān, *Ḥikmat*, Tashkent 1894-5, repr. 1993; ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat, *Aḥmad Yasawī*, in *Maʿārif wa oḳituwčī*, Tashkent 1927, 6, 7, 8; and Begali Kasimov); also Tatar literature, especially where this has given rise to a school of literature where the chief important names, after Aḥmad Yasawī and his disciple Sulaymān Bāḳirg̲h̲ānī (Ḥakīm Atā), in the 18th and 19th centuries were Bas̲h̲īr b. ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbdī and ʿAbd al-Salām (cf. ʿĀziz ʿĀli Rāhim, *Tatar ädäbiyati tarik̲h̲i*, Kazan 1923, 84-119; and E. Sibgatullina). After its publication had been forbidden in the Soviet period, the *Dīwān-i ḥikmat* has been reprinted in Uzbekistān and in Ḳazak̲h̲stān with other works concerning the Yasawiyya and their representatives.

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(Th. Zarcone)

YAS̲H̲ [see Suppl.].

YAS̲H̲M (p.), the Persian term for the mineral generally termed jade. This is made up of one or the other hard, fine-grained translucent stones jadeite or nephrite, the first a silicate of sodium and aluminum and the second a silicate of calcium and magnesium. Both may be white or colourless, but are often found in a variety of other colours, such as green, brown, yellow, etc., because of the presence of traces of other elements such as iron, chromium and manganese.

1. In Islamic history.

Nephrite was known to Eastern Turkic peoples as

kash (see Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 669-70), to the Mongols as *khas* and to the Chinese, who much prized it for artistic purposes, as *yü*. The Persian word has passed into Arabic usage. The English, French and German words "jade" have no connection, as was earlier suggested, with the name of the ancient Turks' so-called "rain stone" (*yada tash* [*q.v.*]) (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases*, ²London 1903, 444-5).

The prime source for the nephrite used in the Islamic world, as in China, was the region of Khotan [*q.v.*] in the southern part of the Tarim basin [*q.v.*] of eastern Turkestan, where recovery of jade from local rivers is mentioned in Chinese sources as far back as the early 7th century A.D. Already in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's time (11th century), two rivers flowing by Khotan were known as the Ürüñ Kash and the Ḳara Kash "White Jade" and "Black Jade", from the varieties of jade recovered from them respectively (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, iii, 152, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, ii, 226). On his journey from Kāshghar of 1895, Sven Hedin found jade on sale in Khotan and visited the site to the north-east of the town where jade was obtained from the bed of the Ürüñ Kash (*Through Asia*, London 1898, ii, 748, 754). Islamic geographers had known of its origin there from the 10th century, at a time when Khotan was not yet Muslim; the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) states that "jade stone" (*sang-i yashm*) came from the rivers of Khotan (tr. Minorsky, 85-6, § 9.18, comm. 234).

Bibliography: See also Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1902, i, 191, 193; eidem, *Cathay and the way thither*, London 1915, ii, 221, iv, 218-19. (C.E. Bosworth)

2. In Islamic art.

Jade, or more properly nephrite, is mentioned in texts as early as the 2nd/8th century, but the first surviving objects of jade carved in the Islamic lands date only from the 9th/15th century, after 828/1424-5, when the Tīmūrid prince Ulugh Beg (796-853/1394-1449), grandson of Tīmūr and governor of Samarḳand, defeated the ruler of Mogholistān [*q.v.*] and gained access to the jade mines there. There is no evidence that earlier lapidaries worked the stone, but fine jade objects were produced for the next five centuries, mainly for princes and courts in the eastern Islamic lands, where jade vessels were commonly believed to counter the effects of poison.

The first and largest jade object produced in the Islamic lands is the cenotaph of dark green jade over Tīmūr's grave in the Gūr-i Mīr in Samarḳand. Measuring 1.92 × .36 × .30 m, the block is engraved on the upper face with a niche and an inscription about Tīmūr's ancestry, as well as the history of the particular stone, which was seized as booty along with another block and dragged back to Samarḳand. As the carving is that of a skilled mason rather than of a lapidary, the cenotaph must have been carved in the Tīmūrid capital where there was no indigenous jade-working tradition.

A group of drinking vessels, probably intended for wine, is also associated with Ulugh Beg and likewise attributed to Samarḳand. These include four cups with handles carved in the shape of a dragon's head. One made of olive-green jade in the British Museum, London (OA 1959.11-20.1(36)) is inscribed on the bottom with Ulugh Beg's name and the title *gūragān*, implying that it was made before he acceded to the sultanate in 850/1447. An oval cup of green jade in Varanasi (Banares Hindu University, Bharat Kala Bhavan, 3/8860) is also inscribed with Ulugh Beg's name. A similar but anepigraphic cup of almost black jade, showing green only in strong light, also in the British Museum (1961.2-13,1) and another cup that the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās I (*r.* 995-1038/1587-1629) gave to the dynastic shrine at Ardabīl and is now in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, can be associated with the two inscribed cups. These cups owe their form to the type of Chinese water reservoir called a *cheng*. Such cups with dragon-handles were prized by the Mongol rulers of Persia and Central Asia, and silver and gold examples were excavated at New Saray, the Golden Horde capital on the Volga. The awkward carving of some pieces, such as the handle on the inscribed piece in London, leaves no doubt that these jade cups were carved in Islamic Central Asia.

Other drinking vessels made for the Tīmūrids take the form of a globular jug with a short cylindrical neck and an S-shaped dragon handle, secured by rivets. The most impressive is a white jade example in the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon (328). Inscribed around the neck with Ulugh Beg's name and regnal titles, the jug can be attributed to 851-3/1447-9 and may have been made to commemorate his accession to the sultanate. Based on the shape, other jugs can also be assigned to this group and dated to the second half of the 9th/15th century. They include an undecorated drinking pot of green jade in the Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., and one in the Museum of Natural History in Paris once belonging to Louis XIV. A pear-shaped example in a private collection (see Pinder-Wilson, fig. 5), like the Paris jug, has a small projection at the back of the neck pierced with a tiny hole by which a lid was once attached. Another pot of very dark green jade in the British Museum (1945-10-17-257) has lost its handle.

A third shape of jade drinking vessel associated with the Tīmūrids is a bowl. A dark green example in the Louvre (MR199) is bell-shaped, like Chinese porcelains, and carved with chinoiserie decoration of lotus blossoms on a gracefully curving scroll. The poem inscribed in cartouches on the exterior links it to a hemispheric bowl of striped agate in the Art and History Trust Collection (on loan to the Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.), which was made in 876/1471-2 for the Tīmūrid ruler Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara and was similarly inscribed with a poem in cartouches.

Several other jade objects are inscribed with the names of members of the Tīmūrid family. A tiny cylindrical container of white jade in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, bears a dedicatory inscription in the name of Ulugh Beg's nephew, ʿAlā' al-Dawla (820-64/1417-60), and a jade seal in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (SA-13650) is inscribed with the name of Ulugh Beg's mother Gawharshād. By their function, other jade objects may be associated with royal patronage. A small object with dragons' heads in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (02.18.765) may have been the quillon (blade-guard) for a dagger. A small circular pendant or belt-buckle of dark green jade in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (no. 29), decorated with chinoiserie blossoms and inscribed with apotropaic verses, undoubtedly served as a talisman.

The Tīmūrid tradition of jade working was continued in the early Ṣafawid period, for a black jade jug decorated with delicate spiral arabesques inlaid in gold in the Topkapı Palace Museum is inscribed on the neck with the name of the first Ṣafawid Shāh

Ismāʿīl I (*r.* 907-30/1501-24). It is unclear whether this object represents a new Ṣafawid creation or a plain Tīmūrid object decorated in the early Ṣafawid period, for undecorated Tīmūrid objects such as the handleless jug in the British Museum were decorated at the Mug͟hal court, to which many Tīmūrid jades passed. The Mug͟hal emperors D̲j̲ahāngīr (*r.* 1014-37/1605-27) and S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān (*r.* 1037-68/1628-57) were avid collectors of Tīmūrid jades, no doubt because they traced their ancestry to the Tīmūrid dynasty, and their names were inscribed or inlaid in gold or silver on several objects, including the Varanasi cup and the white jug.

Jade continued to be used at the Ottoman court in Istanbul, where objects were made of and decorated with jade, itself often inlaid with gold arabesques and encrusted with precious stones. Some jade objects may have been captured in 920/1514 when the Ottomans defeated the Ṣafawids at the battle of Čāldirān [*q.v.*]. A two-handled cup of dark green jade inlaid with gold arabesques and encrusted with rubies in collar mounts in the Topkapı Palace Museum (3815) has inlay similar to that on the jug of Ismāʿīl I, although the encrusted rubies set in collar mounts are typical Ottoman work. A comparable jade dish in the National Collection, Kraków, was given in 1699 by Sultan Muṣṭafā II (*r.* 1106-15/1695-1703) to Stanislas Malachowski, voivode of Poznań, on the occasion of the treaty of Carlowitz [see ḲARLOFČA], although the dish may have been in the Ottoman treasury for centuries. More typically Ottoman is a covered tankard of milky-green jade encrusted with cabuchon rubies and emeralds in collar mounts set in a tracery of inlaid gold scrolls (Topkapı Palace Museum 3832). It can be attributed to the late 10th/16th or 11th/17th century on the basis of its shape, first attested in ceramic from *ca.* 1560. A covered ewer (Topkapı Palace Museum 3800), with a shape known from 11th/17th-century Ottoman metalwork, has sides of jade plaques and a neck of jade held together and encrusted with gold and jewels. Also attributable to this period are two mirrors with solid jade handles and gold backs set with plaques of gold and jade encrusted with rubies and emeralds (Topkapı Palace Museum 1795 and Hermitage, NV2 720).

Jade was also used in Ottoman times for military and ceremonial objects, many preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum. The most famous is a gold canteen with a dragon-headed spout and set with jade plaques, themselves encrusted with rubies and emeralds on gold tracery (3825). This type of flask, used to hold the sultan's drinking water, is depicted carried by the Master of the Wardrobe in illustrations to chronicles of the period 973-98/1566-90, and this object may have been made late in the reign of Süleymān II (*r.* 926-74/1520-66). An 11th/17th-century quiver is decorated with jade plaques, and an 11th/17th or 12th/18th-century mace has a jade head (126 and 724, respectively). Imported jade objects encrusted at Istanbul in the Ottoman taste include a Mug͟hal condiment dish of dark green jade in the form of a palmate leaf (3822), Indian cups, jugs, boxes, and Chinese cups.

Luxury objects produced for the Ḳād̲j̲ār court of Persia also combined jade with other precious materials. A jewelled jade dish in the Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna (Plastikensammlung no. 3223) presented by the Persian ambassador Abu 'l-Ḥasan K̲h̲ān to the Austrian Emperor Francis I (*r.* 1792-1835) has a central gold plaque enamelled by the painter ʿAlī, who also painted an oval mirror with a carved jade handle now in the Crown Jewels Collection, Tehran.

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(SHEILA S. BLAIR and J.M. BLOOM)

YAS̲H̲RUṬIYYA, a Ṣūfī order of the S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya [*q.v.*], founded by ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Mag̲h̲ribī al-Yas̲h̲ruṭī al-S̲h̲ād̲h̲ilī al-Tars̲h̲iḥī (*ca.* 1218-1309/*ca.* 1804-91) from Banzart [*q.v.*] in Tunisia.

After having been initiated into the *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] of the S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya-Madaniyya [*q.v.*] in Miṣrāta [*q.v.*] by Muḥammad b. Ḥamza Ẓāfir al-Madanī (d. 1263/1847), ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn travelled extensively. In 1266/1850 he settled in ʿAkkā on the Palestinian coast where he married the wealthy widow K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a Tūsīz. In 1297/1862-3 he opened his first *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] in Tars̲h̲iḥa. The order quickly spread among the notables, the *ʿulamāʾ* [*q.v.*] and the female members of their households to Ṣafad, Jerusalem, Beirut, the Biḳāʿ valley, Saida, Aleppo, Damascus, Jaffa and Istanbul. Each *zāwiya* had a local administrator, its *muḳaddam* [*q.v.*]. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn's daughter Fāṭima vividly describes the daily life and the dogmatic foundations in her *Riḥla ilā 'l-ḥaḳḳ*, Beirut 1373/1954, 4th rev. ed. by Aḥmad Yas̲h̲ruṭī, 1417-18/1997; *Nafaḥāt al-ḥaḳḳ*, Beirut 1382/1963, 3rd rev. ed. by idem, 1418-19/1998; *Mawāhib al-ḥaḳḳ*, Beirut 1385/1966, 3rd rev. ed. by idem, 1417-18/1997, and *Masīratī fī ṭarīḳ al-ḥaḳḳ*, Beirut, 3rd rev. ed. by idem, 1417-18/1997. After her father's death the *mas̲h̲yak̲h̲a* was handed down to his eldest son Ibrāhīm al-Yas̲h̲ruṭī and after his death in 1927 to Muḥammad al-Hādī al-Yas̲h̲ruṭī. Due to political instability, the order frequently shifted its main centre of activities, first from Palestine to Lebanon and then, under Aḥmad al-Yas̲h̲ruṭī, to ʿAmmān. Since the end of the Civil War in Lebanon, the Yas̲h̲ruṭiyya has opened a *zāwiya* in K̲h̲alde, south of Beirut, and one in Kāmid al-Lawz in the Biḳāʿ valley. It has a predominantly Palestinian following in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Israel, Brazil and Canada. Male and female members recite a number of individual and congregational prayers and litanies, the *awrād* (sing. *wird* [*q.v.*]) and *waẓīfa* [*q.v.*]. Once a week a *ḥaḍra* [*q.v.*] is held in the local *zāwiya*, and an occasional *mud̲h̲ākara*, a lesson on the Ḳurʾān and the *ṭarīḳa*.

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(ANNABELLE BÖTTCHER)

YATHRIB [see AL-MADĪNA].

YATĪM (A.) denotes a child, below the age of puberty, who has lost his father.

1. In the Ḳurʾān and classical Islamic law.

According to the lexicographers, this term, which occurs in the Ḳurʾān, denotes in the human realm a fatherless child, whilst in the animal world, it denotes a young one that has lost its mother (in both cases, it is a question of the loss of the one regarded as its nourisher). A child who has lost its mother is called *munḳaṭiʿ*, and a child who has lost both father and mother, i.e. an orphan, is called *laṭīm*. But at the age of puberty, the fatherless child is no longer called *yatīm*, unless in a derived sense (hence Muḥammad, though an adult, was still called *yatīm*). *Yutm* is the abstract noun denoting the state of being fatherless. In classical Islamic doctrine and law, the cases of the *yatīm* and *laṭīm* are regarded as radically different from that of the *laḳīṭ* [*q.v.*], the foundling, one "picked up", whose family background is unknown.

The theme of the *yatīm* whose property cannot be despoiled but whom one must, on the contrary, assist, is common all through Muḥammad's preaching. One of the characteristic traits of "him who accounts false the Last Judgement", i.e. who refuses to recognise the new revelation brought by Muḥammad, is that of "repelling orphans" (Ḳurʾān, CVII, 1-2). It is difficult not to view this theme except in relationship to the Prophet's situation, who, as noted in XCIII, 6 ("Did He not find you an orphan and give you a refuge?"), was himself a *yatīm* from birth. Thus the Ḳurʾānic descriptions of the unenviable lot of orphans probably convey the bitter memories that Muḥammad had of his early years in pre-Islamic Meccan society. The case of orphan girls whose guardians try to despoil their property by refusing to let them marry (or by marrying them themselves) is exposed in IV, 126/127.

As well as verses reproving in a general manner, sometimes very harshly (cf. IV, 11/10), those who oppress orphans, the Ḳurʾān stipulates more precise provisions for them. (1) A part of the fifth of booty (*ghanīma* [*q.v.*]) taken is to be reserved for orphans (VIII, 42/41). (2) A part, not precisely laid down, of the *fayʾ* [*q.v.*] (goods and property taken from the enemy without fighting) should likewise be allotted to them (LIX, 7/6). (3) When orphans are present at the dividing-up of an inheritance, they should be given something (IV, 9/8). Furthermore, as well as the prohibition against despoiling orphans' goods and property directed against evil-minded guardians, the Ḳurʾān lays down, in rather vague terms, that the moment when guardianship over orphans' property ceases is when the *yatīm*, by now having reached puberty and capable of marriage, is considered mature enough to look after his or her own fortune (IV, 5/6; VI, 153/152; XVII, 36/34). A saying of the Prophet transmitted by Abū Dāwūd (*K. al-waṣāyā, bāb matā yanḳaṭiʿ al-yutm*) confirms that "the status of orphan ends with puberty" (*lā yutm baʿd al-ḥulum*).

The lawyers define variously the precise moment when guardianship over the *yatīm*'s goods ceases (see al-Djaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, [Cairo] n.d., ii, 63). The quality of *rushd*, which the *yatīm* must have to be able freely to dispose of his goods, is likewise defined in various ways; against Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfiʿī holds that religious uprightness should be taken into account. Moreover, the Ḥanafīs hold that a *yatīm* who has not yet reached puberty but who is clearly of rational judgement, may, if his guardian so authorises him, enter into commercial transactions, whilst the other legal schools do not authorise this till puberty is reached. If, after being judged capable of looking after his own goods, the *yatīm* turns out to be a spendthrift (*safīh*), the control of his goods can, according to al-Shāfiʿī, be taken back from him (see al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr, ad* IV, 5/6, and, concerning guardianship, see WILĀYA).

Following the Ḳurʾānic recommendations, classical Islamic legal doctrine discusses the case of the *yatīm* in relation to, on the one hand, bequests (*waṣiyya*), and on the other, to the division of plunder and of *fayʾ*. Bequeathing something to fatherless children is a meritorious act, but the jurists differ on the definition of a *yatīm* in this context; according to some, a *yatīm* who is rich has no part in this distribution, and the same question is posed in regard to the allocation of a share (*sahm*) in plunder and *fayʾ* (see al-Shīrāzī, *Muhadhdhab*, Beirut-Damascus 1996, iii, 728, v, 302).

In the conditions of poverty and of social and family disruption prevailing today in many Islamic lands, the status of the *yatīm* is often parlous, above all in the towns and cities. They are little regarded, and form a reservoir of cheap manual labour, vulnerable to merciless exploitation and oppression (in certain countries there are organised networks for exploiting this cheap labour); in order to escape this status, they frequently choose to live on the streets (see the chapters by A. al-Azhari Sonbol, *Adoption in Islamic society. A historical survey*, and A.B. Rugh, *Orphanages in Egypt. Contradiction or affirmation in a family-oriented society*, in E.A. Fernea (ed.), *Children in the Muslim Middle East*, Cairo 1996, 45-67 and 124-41, respectively).

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(E. CHAUMONT)

2. In modern legislation.

i. *The status of the orphan as an heir.*

Islamic law defines an orphan (*yatīm*) as a minor whose father has died. Under the basic *sharʿī* rule that "the nearer in degree excludes the more remote", orphaned grandchildren are excluded from any share in their grandparent's estate if that grandparent is survived by a son. This denial of the orphan's inheritance right was mitigated within the extended agnatic family, as the deceased's responsibilities towards his lineal descendants were fulfilled by passing the inheritance *en bloc* to the first degree of his issue. With the growing breakdown of extended family ties in contemporary society, however, the *sharʿī* rule is no longer readily supportable.

Protection of orphaned grandchildren within the immediate family has traditionally been undertaken by grandparents by means of voluntary gifts *inter vivos*, bequests and *waḳfs* [*q.v.*]. The grandparent often allocates his orphaned grandchild a share equivalent to

the share that the orphan's father would have been entitled to had he survived his father (the orphan's grandfather), thereby introducing the principle of representation, not recognised under the *Sharīʿa*.

Several Islamic countries have resorted to legislative means. The 1913 Ottoman Inheritance Law (based on a German model), introducing the principle of representation, enabled the orphaned grandchild to take the part of his deceased father in his grandfather's legacy of *mīrī* property.

Egyptian reformers, adopting the system of "obligatory bequests", decreed (1946 Law of Wills: Articles 76-9) that a grandparent with orphaned grandchildren is presumed to bequeath in their favour what their deceased parent would have taken had he or she survived, provided that this does not exceed the "bequeathable third", and that the grandparent has not made a gift of the same value to the orphaned grandchildren *inter vivos*. If he has made them a lesser gift *inter vivos*, the obligatory bequest is reduced by this amount. If he has made other bequests instead, the obligatory bequests receive priority (1946 Law of Waḳf: Article 29 permits, but does not oblige, the grandparent, as a founder of a *waḳf*, to provide for his orphaned grandchildren in the same manner).

These provisions, justified by the reformers on the basis of Ḳurʾān, II, 180, were substantially adopted in Syria (1953), Tunisia (1956), Morocco (1958), Kuwait (1971), Jordan (1976), Iraq (1979), Algeria (1984) and Israel (1996). Contrary to the Egyptian version, the Syrian, Moroccan, Jordanian and Algerian reforms concern only grandchildren orphaned by a predeceased son, and make no provision for grandchildren orphaned by a predeceased daughter. Also contrary to the Egyptian version, the Tunisian, Kuwaiti, Iraqi and Israeli reforms do not provide for orphaned great-grandchildren.

The Pakistani 1961 Muslim Family Laws Ordinance prescribes (section four) that if any son or daughter of the propositus predeceases the propositus, the children of the predeceased son or daughter shall receive *per strips* the amount their parent would have received had he or she outlived the propositus. This reform represents the alternative system of "inheritance by right" and is based on the principle of representation.

Similarly to the Egyptian reform, the Pakistani one treats the predeceased daughter's children identically to the predeceased son's children. Contrary to the Egyptian reform, the Pakistani one does not provide for orphaned great-grandchildren. The main difference between the Pakistani reform and those of other Middle Eastern countries is that the Pakistani one places no maximum limit on the share that may be taken by orphaned grandchildren.

Both the Egyptian and the Pakistani reforms led to contradictory interpretations, some of which disrupted Ḳurʾānic-based rules of intestate succession. The Islamisation of laws currently taking place in Pakistan endangers the survival of this reform.

ii. *The management of an orphan's property.*

The *sharʿī* motivation is to prevent abuse of an orphan's property by relatives or by strangers. In the absence of a guardian, an orphan's property is deposited in the *Sharīʿa* court (it was called *tābūt*, or *mūdaʿ al-ḳuḍāt*, or *bayt māl al-ḳuḍāt*), its management supervised by a *ḳāḍī*.

Modern legislation obliges the guardian of a minor to obtain a *Sharīʿa* court's approval before concluding transactions affecting his ward's property (1858 Ottoman Land Code: Article 52). Moreover, the *Medjelle* (Articles 356, 441, 459) invalidates the guardian's sale or rent of his orphan ward's property if the price obtained was lower than the proper one.

iii. *Orphanages, foster care and adoption.*

The modern period has witnessed the establishment of orphanages (Egypt, in the last decade of the 19th century), mainly supported by public *waḳfs*. Modern governments provide pensions and aid in case of the parents' death or incapacity. They supervise and support institutions providing occupational training and general education for orphans, and continue to support them after they leave the institution upon reaching the legal age of majority. Modern governments have also established a system of orphan foster care.

Adoption is not recognised under the *Sharīʿa*. So far, statutory adoption has been introduced only in Turkey (1926), Tunisia (1958) and Somalia (1975). In India, the Adoption of Children Bill (1972) was opposed by Indian orthodox Muslims and consequently shelved. Modern states such as Egypt and India have created forms of *de facto* adoption, however.

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YAWM (a., pl. *ayyām*), "day" (a Common Semitic word, e.g. Akkad. *ūmum*, Hebr. *yōm*, Aram. *yawmā*, ESA *ywm*), denoting the whole 24-hour cycle making up a day, whereas *nahār* means "the daylight period", i.e. from sunrise to sunset. See further on this, al-layl wa 'l-nahār.

Yawm occurs as an isolated term in various specialised uses, in particular, in pre- and early Islamic times in the meaning of "day of battle"; for this, see ayyām al-ʿarab. The pl. *ayyām* can also occur, especially in early Arabic poetry, in a similar sense to its apparent antonym *layālī* "nights", referring to the passage of time = "destiny, fate"; see H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian fatalism*, Uppsala 1955, 38-9, and also dahr.

In the compound *yawm al-dīn* we have a technical Islamic eschatological sense, the "day of judgement, retribution" [see dīn and sāʿa. 3]. For other compound expressions of a religious nature, see T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islām*, 694-5.

For the divisions of the day, used by the ancient

Arabs in the absence of chronometers of any kind and subsequently applied in several cases to the times for the Muslim *ṣalāt* or worship, see ʿAṢR; ʿATAMA; ḌUḤĀ; ṢALĀT. III.

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YAYA (T.), lit. "pedestrian", denoted, in Ottoman military usage of the 8th-10th/14th-16th centuries, infantryman.

Originally forming part of the *khāṣṣa* army serving directly under the ruler, in the 10th/16th century the *yaya* were considered part of the provincial forces. According to Meḥmed Neshrī [*q.v.*], under Sultan Orkhān peasant taxpayers were offered the opportunity of joining the army as *yaya*, and large numbers of people applied. Under Murād II, the *yaya* were supposedly given the nickname *enik* (puppy) as a form of derision (Neshrī, *Kitâb-ı Cihân-nümâ*, ed. Faik Resat Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen, Ankara 1949, i, 155-7); this may have been linked to their making a living from agriculture. Like the *müsellems*, who performed military service on horseback under analogous conditions, the *yaya* were gradually demilitarised in the 10th/16th century, serving on building projects such as the restoration of the Aya Ṣofya. However, while many former *müsellems* succeeded in becoming *tîmâr* holders, the *yaya*, when their corps was abolished in the last quarter of the 10th/16th century, were declared ordinary peasants.

Organised in units known as *odjak*, the *yaya* took turns serving in the field, with those staying home (*yamak*) supplying those who went to war. An *odjak* before the rule of Selīm I generally consisted of 2-4 men; by the end of the 10th/16th century, this had increased to 4-15 persons. The *yaya* were granted lands consigned to special registers, which were inalienable and could not be divided among heirs, such holdings being especially numerous in the *sandjaks* of Sulṭānönü and Ḥamīd. In spite of their peasant lifestyle, the *yaya* were considered servitors of the sultan (*ʿaskerī*); as dues, they only paid the bride tax and monetary penalties in case of crimes or misdemeanours. Non-attendance at campaigns was deemed a serious crime, with mutilation a possihle punishment. This rule was only rescinded shortly before the abolition of the *odjak*, in part because the depredations of the Djelālī rebels had made it impossible for many *yayas* to support themselves.

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(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

YAYÏḲ, the name in mediaeval Turkish usage for the Ural River, whence Russian Yaika. The river rises in the Ural Mountains separating modern European from Asiatic Russia and flows past the recent cities of Orenburg [see ÖRENḲALʿE, in Suppl.] and Kral'sk into the northern end of the Caspian Sea east of the Volga estuary, having a total course of 2,430 km/1,510 miles.

The Greek sources record it as *Daix* (Ptolemy, 2nd century A.D.), *Daikh* (Menander Protector, 6th century) and *Geekh* (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 10th century). The name was perhaps originally a Sarmatian one, the Sarmatians being masters of the lower Ural region in Ptolemy's time. In the surmise of Sir Gerard Clauson, the change from the Greek name to Yayïḳ in Turkish (i.e. a change in the initial consonant *dh* > *y*) probably took place later, when the region had become ethnically Turkish, the Turkish people in question being unable to pronounce the voiced dental fricative. See Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, Berlin 1958, ii, 116; Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, London 1962, 124-5.

The river is almost certainly mentioned by the 4th/10th century geographer and historian al-Masʿūdī in his *Tanbīh* and in the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, but under varying names. Thus the latter source, § 6.42, tr. Minorsky 75, wrongly calls it the Artush (a confusion with the Irtïsh [*q.v.*]?) and has it empty into the lower Volga. The traveller Ibn Faḍlān [*q.v.*] must have crossed the Emba and Ural rivers on his way from Khwārazm to Bulghār; his *Riḥla* mentions many rivers but does not clearly name the Emba and Ural. Exactly when the Turkish name of the river came into general usage is uncertain, although Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (later 5th/11th century) does not mention it as such.

The steppes north of the Caspian and Aral Seas were in early Islamic times roamed over by such Turkish peoples as the Oghuz [see GHUZZ], Kimäk [*q.v.*] and, somewhat later, the Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.*], the whole region becoming known in Mongol times as the Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 213-16, 309-10, 213-14; J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in *Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., N.F. xiii/1, Berlin 1914, 101-2.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

YAYLAḲ (T., originally *yaylagh*), "summer quarters", applied to the summer residences of the old Turkish *kaghans* or the summer pastures of nomadic or transhumant tribes of Inner Asia, its antonym being *kïshlak* [*q.v.*] "winter quarters".

The origin of the word is from *yay* "summer" (but this originally meant "spring", cf. Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, Tkish. tr. Atalay, iii, 160-1, though already in the Orkhon inscriptions it means "summer", and it comes to mean this in most Turkic languages, with *yaylamak* "to spend the summer", cf. Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 980, 981).

In Islamic times, the Turco-Mongol rulers and leaders who, from the 5th/11th century onwards came into the "northern tier" of the Middle East as far west as Anatolia with their pastoralist hordes, long kept up the pattern of alternate winter and summer residences, the latter usually in cooler and greener upland regions. The Il-Khānids favoured pasture grounds in eastern Anatolia, such as the Alatagh, and in Ādharbāydjān and Ḳarabāgh (see B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, [1]Leipzig 1939, 334-5, 404). These, and then later, those of the Ṣafawids, are described by European travellers such as Kaempfer and, especially, Chardin; see the latter's *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, ii, 285-6: the *yelac*. See, in general, Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iv, 252-4 no. 1941. A somewhat curious usage amongst the Mongols and Turco-Mongols of the 7th/13th century was Yaylaḳ as a personal name for nobles, both male and female; see Rashīd al-Dīn, tr. J.A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 105, 126-7, 129. A later Ottoman form, with a pseudo-Arabic ending, was *yaylaḳiyya* "rent paid for summer pastures or lodgings", see W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, iii/2, 11.

The Arabic equivalent *maṣīf* is found in the 4th/10th century geographers and is the word normally adduced to define *yaylak* in the Turkish-Arabic vocabularies of the Mamlūk period, though Kāshgharī, iii, 47, has

yaylagh = *muṣṭāf*. In Persian, an approximate synonym was *sardsīr* "cool region". See further on these Arabic and Persian usages, ḲISHLAḲ.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

YAZAN, an influential clan in pre-Islamic Ḥaḍramawt, first attested about the middle of the 5th century A.D. by inscriptions (with the spelling *Yz'n*) in the Wādī ʿAmāḳīn, in the Ḥabbān area. A little later they emerge as closely allied with the important Sabaean clan *Gdn*, and by the early 6th century they were probably the most powerful family in the Ḥimyarite kingdom [see ḤIMYAR; TUBBAʿ], claiming "lordship" (signified by the prefix Dhū) over virtually the whole of what had been, up to around 300 A.D., the ancient kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt, together with the Dhofar coast around modern Ṣalāla, and the island of Suḳuṭra [*q.vv.*]. In the early 6th century, their members furnished the principal military commanders serving kings Maʿdikarib and Yūsuf As'ar (= Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*]). Tradition (without epigraphic support) assigns to later in that century a legendary hero Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [*q.v.*], who is also the centre of a cycle of folk tales.

Bibliography: M.A. Bafaqih, *New light on the Yazanite dynasty*, in *Procs. Seminar for Arabian Studies*, ix, London 1979, 5-9. (A.F.L. BEESTON)

YAZD, a city of central Persia, and capital of the province of the same name. It is situated on the Persian plateau at lat. 31° 54' N. and long. 54° 24' E. (at an elevation of 1,230m/4,240 feet), in an elongated interior basin stretching from near Kāshān to Bāfḳ and bordered by the Dasht-i Kawīr. It was known in early times as Katha (Le Strange, *Lands*, 285; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, London 1937, 128, 380), after a fortress and prison alleged to have been founded by Alexander (Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. al-Kātib, *Tārīkh-i djadīd-i Yazd*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran AHS 1345/1966, 16). According to legend, later foundations grew up on this site (Muḥammad Mufīd Bāfḳī, *Djāmiʿ-i mufīdī*, ed. Afshār, Tehran AHS 1340-2/1961-3, i, 14 ff.). Yazd became known as *dār-al-ʿibāda*, when Ṭoghrïl Beg assigned it to the Kākūyid Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz ʿAlā' al-Dawla, in 443/1051 (see below). The modern city has a population, according to the 1996 census, of 326,976.

1. Geography, topography and social structure.

Ibn Ḥawḳal describes Yazd in the 4th/10th century as a well-built fortified city with two iron gates (Le Strange, *Lands*, 285). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī states that it was built of sun-dried bricks which lasted as long as burnt bricks elsewhere because there was hardly ever any rain, though water was plentiful, being brought in by channels from the hills and each house had its own storage tank (*ibid.*). Wind towers [see BĀDGĪR, in Suppl.] were (and are) a distinguishing feature of the architecture of the city, so constructed as to convey any breeze available in the upper air into the *sardābs* (semi-underground chambers) of the houses or other buildings (see Īradj Afshār, *Yazd-nāma*, Tehran AHS 1371/1992-3, i, 337-57). Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib mentions *bādgīrs* constructed in the Muẓaffarid and Tīmūrid periods (*Tārīkh-i djadīd-i Yazd*, 86, 92, 94). The domed roofs of the *āb-anbārs* or *miṣnaʿas* (water storage cisterns) are another distinguishing feature of the city, and also its fine mosques (see Afshār for a comprehensive account of monuments, religious and secular, of Yazd, the inscriptions to be found in them and also on tombstones, *Yazd-nāma*, and *Yādigārhā-yi Yazd*, 3 vols., Tehran AHS 1348-54/1970-5).

According to Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz ordered the city wall (*ḥiṣār*) to be built with towers and four iron gates (*op. cit.*, 61. See also Afshār, *Yādigārhā-yi Yazd*, ii, 671-2). Part of the wall was destroyed by floods in 673/1275 (73). It was restored by the Atabeg Yūsuf Shāh b. Tughān (685-714/1286-7 to 1314-15) (74). Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffar (713-59/1313-14 to 1358) built an outer wall with seven gates enclosing various districts within the city (83). Shāh Yaḥyā, who took possession of the city in 779/1367-8, made further additions, including a ditch, towers and gate (87; Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Djaʿfarī, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, ed. Afshār, Tehran AHS 1338/1960, 36, and see also Muḥammad Mufīd, iii, 738). The latter author states that Pīr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Shaykh, after putting down a rebellion against the Tīmūrids, built a fort for the residence of governors on the orders of Tīmūr and in 808/1405-6 a wall and a deep ditch in the south of the city (iii, 740; Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, 91-2). The fort was partly destroyed by Shāh ʿAbbās (Afshār, *Yādigārhā-yi Yazd*, ii, 697). In 1821 Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā, when governor of Yazd, repaired the city wall and the ditch (Ḥusayn Nā'īnī, *Djāmiʿ-i Djaʿfarī*, ed. Afshār, Tehran AHS 1353/1974-5, 715-16. See also Afshār, *Yādigārhā-yi Yazd*, ii, 674-5 and *Survey of Persian art*, iii, 1242-4).

In the 19th century, the city of Yazd was still enclosed by a ditch and a double wall with numerous detached towers in it, all in tolerable repair. Its circumference was about 2½ miles. The inner city was surrounded by gardens and habitations. It had 24 *maḥallas*, 8 of which were within the walls, 31 mosques and 11 *madrasas*. The bazaar contained some 100 shops, and 34 caravanserais (A. Amanat, *Cities and trade. Consul Abbott on the economy and society of Iran 1847-1866*, London 1983, 131-2, referred to below as Abbott). Major Oliver St. John states that Yazd had 50 mosques, 65 baths and 8 *madrasas* in 1872 (*Narrative of a journey through Baluchistan and southern Persia, 1872*, in F.J. Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia, an account of the journeys of the Persian Boundary Commission, 1870-1-2*, London 1876, 175). Curzon, who visited Persia in 1889-90, states that the fort, which was partly ruined and partly built into or over, still retained a double wall with a broad deep ditch before the outer rampart, while the citadel inside the fort, where the governor resided, was separately walled to a height of 30 or 40 feet (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 240, and see ḤIṢN. ii, at Vol. III, 502).

In the early centuries of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, Yazd was included in the district of Iṣṭakhr of the province of Fārs under the name of Katha. After the Mongol invasions it became part of the Djibāl and, later, part of Kirmān province [see KIRMĀN, at Vol. V, 147b]. In the Ṣafawid period it was one of the districts under the direct administration of the central government (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. and comm. Minorsky, London 1943, 42). In the 19th century, when the Ẓill al-Sulṭān was at the height of his power, it formed part of the Iṣfahān province. On the Ẓill al-Sulṭān's disgrace in 1888 it became again an independent government but was returned to the Ẓill al-Sulṭān in 1890 (Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 243). For a time during the 19th century, Kūhbanān and Shahr-i Bābak, belonging to Kirmān, were attached to Yazd as also were some of the villages of Fārs (Abbott, 144-5). At the present day the province covers an area of over 76,156 km² and consists of seven *shahristāns*, Yazd, Ardakān, Bāfḳ, Taft, Abarḳūh [*q.v.*], Mihrīz and Maybud (*Yazd nigīn-i kawīr*, a tourist guide and information brochure published by the Society of Yazd Public Libraries, 1375/1996-7, 29-30).

The province is bordered on the north and west by the province of Iṣfahān, on the north-east by Khurāsān, on the south-west by Fārs and in the south-east by the province of Kirmān. The Shīr Kūh massif, rising to 4,075 m/13,366 feet, lies in the south and west of the province. In the centre of the province to the north of the city of Yazd is the Kharānik massif, the highest point of which is 3,158 m/10,358 ft. In the east there are lesser mountains in the districts of Khūr, Biyābānak, Djandāk and Ribāṭ-i Pusht-i Bādām. There are small deposits of iron ore, lead, zinc and copper in the province, Ibn Ḥawkal mentions that a lead mine near Yazd was productively worked (Le Strange, *Lands*, 285); and old workings of lead ore survive near Bāfk (Abbott, 134, 135). Marble is found in the Tūrān-pusht mine in the Pīsh-Kūh district to the south and south-west of the city of Yazd.

Large areas of the province are occupied by sterile, or almost sterile, hammadas due either to their low rainfall or to an excess of salt in the soil or both (M. Zohary, *On the geo-botanical structure of Iran*, in *Bull. of the Research Council of Israel. Section D. Botany, Suppl.*, vol. xi D Suppl. [March 1963], 182). Violent dust storms are frequent and moving sands encroach upon the city of Yazd, upon Ashkidhar, Bāfk and elsewhere. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āwī in his translation of Māfarrūkhī's *Mahāsin Isfahān*, made in 729/1328-9, mentions the planting of tamarisk (*gaz*) to stabilise moving sands by the people of Yazd (*Tardjuma-yi mahāsin Isfahān*, ed. 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Tehran AHS 1328/1950-1, 43). The climate of the province is described as temperate (*mu'tadil*) (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, London 1915, Persian text, 74). Ibn Balkhī adds that since it is situated on the edge of the desert the climate is inclined to be warm (*mayl bi-garmī; Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, London 1921, 122). The summers in the city of Yazd are, in fact, extremely hot.

The province lies in the rain shadow of the Alborz in the north and of the Zagros in the west. The average annual rainfall, which occurs in winter and spring, varies from 20 mm in Shīr Kūh to 60 mm in the lower parts of the province; in the city of Yazd it is only 55.4 mm. Ground water is provided by *ḳanāts* (*q.v.* and see Lambton, *The qanāts of Yazd*, in *JRAS*, 3rd series, vol. 2, pt. 1 [April 1992], 21-35). From the 1960s onwards a large number of deep and semi-deep wells have been sunk, which has led to a lowering of the water-table. Of the 3,331 *ḳanāts* alleged to exist in the province, only 2,615 were said to be in operation in 1997. Some are over 50 km/31 miles long and 100 m deep (Afshār, *Yazd-nāma*, 413-14). Ground cover in most of the province is sparse owing to lack of rainfall, fluctuations in temperature and the destruction of plants over the centuries for charcoal burning and other purposes. Failure of rain has frequently resulted in shortages and sometimes famine. In 850/1446-7 a period of drought was accompanied by famine and plague (*wabā*) (Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, 10). In 858/1454 the rains failed again and famine and plague ensued with heavy loss of life (276). Sudden or unusually heavy rains have also occasioned damage. In 673/1275 five days of consecutive rain in Urdī Bihisht/April-May resulted in floods and much damage to the city of Yazd (73-4). In 860/1456 there was again severe flooding in the city of Yazd as a result of heavy rain in Farwardīn/March-April (276). Muḥammad Mufīd records that there were heavy snowfalls in 1057/1647-8 and that snow lay in the streets of Yazd for nearly three months (*Djāmi'-i mufīdī*, i, 133).

Despite unfavourable climatic conditions, the city of Yazd and the towns and villages of the province are surrounded by cultivated fields (*kishtkhwān*), orchards and gardens. The mountain districts are carefully terraced. Water rights and land in many parts of the province are separately owned and highly sub-divided [see MĀ', at Vol. V, 871a-b]. Absentee landownership does not appear to have been common. Local landowners predominated, some of whom enjoyed considerable wealth. Peasant proprietorship also existed. *Awḳāf*, especially in the form of shares in *ḳanāts*, were widespread (Lambton, *Awḳāf in Persia: 6th-8th/12th-14th centuries*, in *ILS*, iv/3, 298-318; 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ṭarāz, *Kitābča-yi mawḳūfāt-i Yazd*, ed. Afshār, in *FIZ* [1962-3], 3-123). Lands assigned as *iḳṭā*'s or *tiyūls* [*q.vv.*] and crown lands (*khāliṣadjāt*) appear to have been rare, though Ṭoghrïl Beg assigned Yazd, as stated above, and Abarḳūh to Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz in 443/1051 and Abū Sa'īd, the Il-khān, gave Maybud as an *iḳṭā'* to Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar (Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, 82), allotted wages (*marsūm*) to him and appointed 200 men to be in his service, and there were cases of land being assigned as *tiyūl* under the Ṣafawids (e.g. Muḥammad Mufīd, iii, 276). There are frequent references to crown lands in the Ṣafawid period but few details (*ibid.*, iii, 366 and *passim*). A *farmān* of Nādir Shāh, dated 1155/1742-3, appointing Mīrzā Ḥusayn (formerly *ḍābiṭ* of Naṭanz) governor of Yazd, ordered him, *inter alia*, to exert himself in increasing *khāliṣa* property (Afshār, *Si farmān wa yak ḥukm marbūṭ bi Yazd*, in *FIZ*, xxv [AHS 1361/1982], 396). In the Ḳādjār period there was also some *khāliṣa* property in Yazd. Several *ḳanāts* were wholly, or in part, *khāliṣa* (cf. Muḥammad Dja'far, 310, 460, 591, 593, 594).

Grain was grown in the province but not in sufficient quantity for its needs (cf. Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 74). In the 19th century it sufficed for only two to three months, the deficit being met from Iṣfahān and elsewhere. Fruit was grown abundantly, including mulberries, pomegranates (those of Maybud being especially good: Ibn al-Balkhī, 122), apples, pears, cherries, apricots, plums and grapes; and a variety of vegetables; cotton was grown, and silk manufactured and used in Yazd's flourishing textile industry. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī [see RASHĪD AL-DĪN ṬABĪB] includes much information on the crops and agricultural methods of Yazd in his book *Āthār wa aḥyā'* (ed. Afshār and M. Sutūda, AHS Tehran 1368/1989-90. See also Lambton, The Āthār wa aḥyā' *of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī and Rashīd al-Dīn's contribution as an agronomist, arboriculturist and horticulturalist*, in R. Amitai-Preiss and D.O. Morgan (eds.), *The Mongol Empire and its legacy*, Leiden 1999). He draws attention to the skill and thrift shown by Yazdīs in agricultural development and states that the return they got from the land was seldom equalled in other places. He also mentions that the production of silk was higher than elsewhere. In the 19th century, much silk was still produced but of inferior quality. It was not enough to supply local workshops, and raw silk was imported from Gīlān and Khurāsān. In the second half of the century the production of silk declined and was largely displaced by opium and cotton (G.G. Gilbar, *Persian agriculture in the late Qājār period 1860-1906: some economic and social aspects*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xii/3 [1978], 350, and see Abbott, 105). Among other crops grown in the 19th century Abbott mentions Indian corn, millet, lentils, pulse, beans, madder, asafoetida, fruits, nuts and vegetables (134).

From early times Yazd had a thriving trade. Its

manufactures of silk and cotton were famous and exported to other parts of the Islamic world and India. Al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal mention cotton garments made in Yazd. Ibn al-Balkhī, writing at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, states that "in the districts round [Yazd], silk is produced, for the mulberry tree is here abundant. Further, they (sc. the Yazdīs) manufacture excellent cloths in brocade also, of the kind named *mushtī*, *farakh*, and the like, for in Yazd they rear goats only, no sheep, and the hair from these is very strong" (20, quoted by R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, 55-6). Al-Ḳazwīnī found in Yazd makers of silk (*ḥarīr*) of *sundus* (a kind of green brocade), extremely beautiful and close-woven which is taken from there to all countries (*Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 187, quoted in Serjeant, *op. cit.*, 56). Al-Maḳrīzī mentions the import of Yazdī textiles into Egypt in the 8th/14th century (*ibid.*, 115). Marco Polo noted that Yazd "is a good and noble city, and it has a great amount of trade. They weave there quantities of a certain silk tissue known as Yesdi, which merchants carry into many quarters to dispose of" (H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian*, London 1871, i, 89, quoted in Serjeant, 56). Pedro Teixeira mentions that the richest and finest carpets came from Yazd "from which place I saw some, each of which, on account of its workmanship and perfection, was valued at more than a thousand ducats", while the fabric known as *al-ḳaṭīfa* was "the best, the finest and the most perfect" (quoted in Serjeant, *loc. cit.*). Friar Odoricus (in 1325) and Josafa Barbaro (in 1474) state that Yazd was a great silk mart and Raphael de Mans describes how gold thread was made there (*Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1890, 195, quoted in Serjeant, 85).

At the beginning of the 19th century Yazd was a large and populous city, celebrated among merchants for its security. Commerce in silk, carpets, felts, shawls and coarse cotton cloth flourished (Malcolm, *Melville papers*, quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago and London, 1971, 262). Capt. Christie, who passed through Yazd in 1810, states that it was "a great mart between Hindoostan, Khorasan, Baghdad and Persia" and was said to be a place of greater trade than any other place in the latter empire (*Abstract from Captain Christie's Journal after his separation from Lieut. Pottinger, at Nooshky June (1810)*, in H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*, London 1816, 421). He mentions that there were over 50,000 camels in the city (421-2), which is an indication of the extent of the trade. J.B. Fraser, who was in Yazd in the early years of the 19th century, states that Yazd was one of the most prosperous towns of Persia and one of the great entrepôts between East and West. Caravans from Kābul, Kashmīr, Bukhārā, Harāt, Mashhad and Kirmān were met in Yazd by merchants from Iṣfahān, Shīrāz, Kāshān and Tehran and a great interchange of commodities took place. Its manufactures of silk and other stuffs, felts, sugar-candy and sweetmeats commanded a ready market everywhere in Persia (*An historical and descriptive account of Persia*, ²Edinburgh 1834, 64). E. Scott Waring also mentions that Yazd was an emporium for all the trade of Persia. Coarse perpets were sent there and sold to the Uzbegs and the people of Khurāsān, the merchant taking on his return journey silks, carpets, felts and Kashmīrī shawls (*A tour of Sheeraz*, London 1807, 76). By the middle of the century there had been a decline in the manufacture of textiles (Abbott, 79). Despite an attempt by Muḥammad Khān, who was governor of Yazd 1863-70, to encourage the silk trade, the decline continued and by the end of the 19th century, or the beginning of the 20th, there were only some 800 workshops and 2,000 cotton looms (Issawi, 268), whereas in 1870 Major Euan Smith had reported that there were 18,000 silk workshops in Yazd, employing probably 9,000 hands and that the silk was considered by some to be the best in Persia (*The Perso-Baluchistan Frontier Mission 1870, 1871*, in Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia*, i, 175). Nevertheless E. Stack, who visited Yazd in 1881, wrote that prosperity was "a notable feature of Yazd. Hardly a beggar was to be seen and the busy bazaars and well-kept houses, as well as the dress of the people, and the number of merchants, were signs of a city supported by brisk trade" (*Six months in Persia*, London 1882, i, 267).

Meanwhile, although the silk trade had declined, the opium trade had increased in importance (see further, Gilbar, *op. cit.*, 314 and *passim*). Rabino noted that towards the end of the century the opium crop absorbed all the floating capital of the province and that the money went to the villages (*Banking in Persia*, in *Jnal. of the Institute of Bankers*, xiii [1892], 35, quoted by Issawi, *op. cit.*, 352). Other exports from Yazd included coarse loaf sugar, made from raw sugar imported from India, Java and Siam, which was sent to all parts of Persia (Abbott, 104), cotton, carpets, felts, madder roots, and nuts. The principal imports were cotton fabrics, copper, tin, lead, iron, drugs and spices and tea from India, and oil, candles, sugar, furs, crockery and piece goods from Russia (see further Curzon, ii, 241-2. See also Lambton, *Persian trade under the early Qajars*, in D.S. Richards (ed.), *Islam and the trade of Asia*, Oxford 1970, 118-19). Henna was also brought to Yazd for processing and in 1907-8 there were some 60 enterprises engaged in this (Issawi, 299). In spite of the changes in production and manufacture, Yazd nevertheless remained a major distribution centre in the early years of the 20th century (G. Jones, *Banking and Empire in Iran*, Cambridge 1986, i, 99).

The local histories are rich in details of the lives of officials, landowners, *ʿulamāʾ*, merchants and others, but these are beyond the scope of this article. Many of them held land and shares in *ḳanāts*; some were very rich. The extent to which they expended their wealth on buildings, religious and secular, in the city and throughout the province, and on *ḳanāts* and agricultural development, is notable. Some of the Muslim merchants, as well as the Zoroastrian ones, had links with India, at least from the Ṣafawid period if not before.

The *sayyids* were a numerous and influential group. Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad states that there were nearly 1,000 descendants of the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] in Yazd when he was writing, i.e. in the 9th/15th century (108). Prominent among the Ḥusaynī *sayyids*, descended from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, were Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳawām al-Dīn b. Niẓām (d. 732/1331-2) and his son Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (d. 733/1332-3), both of whom disposed of a great deal of property in shares in *ḳanāts*, land and real estate, much if not all of which they constituted into *wakf* (Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, New York, 1988, 156. See also J. Aubin, *Le patronage culturel en Iran sous les Ilkhans: une grande famille de Yazd*, in *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, iii, [1975], 107-18). Among Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn's many benefactions was the complex consisting of a *madrasa*, mosque, observatory (*raṣad*) and pharmacy (*bayt al-adwiya*) in the *Wakt wa sāʿat* quarter of the city, which took its name from the observatory (Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad, 81-3; Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, 122-5; Afshār, *Yādigārhā-*

yi Yazd, ii, 711; and see Parwiz Mohebbi, *Technique et resources au Iran du 7ᵉ au 19ᵉ siècle*, Institut français de recherches en Iran, Tehran 1996, 199).

In the 7th-9th/13th-15th centuries there appears to have been an increase in the number of Ṣūfīs in the province (Afs̲h̲ār, *Yazd-nāma*, i, 30). One of the most famous was S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad Dādā (d. 700/1300-1), who migrated from Iṣfahān to Yazd and built *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*s at Bundarābād, As̲h̲kid̲h̲ar, Maybud, and in various other locations (D̲j̲aʿfar b. Muḥammad, 112; Afs̲h̲ār, *Yādigārhā-yi Yazd*, i, 126-8).

Physicians were another influential group in the city. Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn's early connection with Yazd appears to have been through two physicians, S̲h̲araf al-Dīn ʿAlī and S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Raḍī (Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, 308. See also Afs̲h̲ār, *Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn wa Yazd*, in *Īrān-s̲h̲ināsī*, ii/1 [1970], 23-33).

The local histories also mention poets, painters and calligraphers who lived in Yazd. A marked feature of the population was the existence of skilled craftsmen, builders, weavers, potters, *muḳannī*s (also known as *čāhk̲h̲ūyān*, who were highly rated for their skill and often employed outside Yazd), and a thrifty peasantry, many of whom worked not only on the land but also as craftsmen and weavers. Among the peasants there was probably a higher proportion of peasant proprietors than in most other districts of Persia. Al-Kās̲h̲ānī states that Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn took some 300 draft oxen with their *gāw-band*s (those who worked them) from Yazd to Tabrīz. The purpose of this, he alleges, was that the oxen should be used to transport night soil from the city to Fatḥābād and other properties that Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn was developing (*Tārīk̲h̲-i Uld̲j̲āytū*, ed. Mahin Hambly, Tehran AHS 1348/1969, 116). This seems unlikely to be the only reason, or even the real reason. More likely Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn brought the *gāw-band*s with their oxen to Tabrīz in order to make use of their agricultural skill.

Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī states that the Yazdīs were Sunnīs, very pious and of right religion (*Fārs-nāma*, 122). Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib remarks that the people of the Yaʿḳūbī quarter of Yazd had a sense of solidarity (*ṣāḥib ittifāḳ*), were fanatical (*taʿaṣṣub-dār*) and somewhat parochial in their attitude (*wa ḥukm-i du dānga dārand*); they were continually occupied in earning their living (*kasb*) and worship (*ṭāʿat*), and most of them were well-to-do (*muraffah al-ḥāl*) (61). There is no information in the local histories of when or how the Yazdīs were converted to S̲h̲īʿism. It would seem that their piety and devotion were carried over from Sunnism to S̲h̲īʿism.

A further feature of the population was the existence of a Zoroastrian community [see MAD̲J̲ŪS], between which and India there was constant intercourse. According to Abbott, there were some 200 Zoroastrian families in the town and 640 in eight villages round about (137). As *d̲h̲immī*s [*q.v.*] they were forced to wear special clothing and subject to other restrictions (138; see also Napier Malcolm, *Five years in a Persian town* (*Yazd*), London 1905). Euan Smith states that the number of Zoroastrians under the government of Yazd was estimated at 3,800 (175). Towards the end of the century their numbers rose. E.G. Browne, who was in Persia in 1887-8, states that there were 7,000-10,000 Zoroastrians in Yazd and its dependencies (*A year among the Persians*, Cambridge 1927, 404).

There was a small Jewish community, numbering about 1,000 in Yazd in 1867-8 (Issawi, 32), but Euan Smith put it at only 800 in 1870 (175). Bābīs [*q.v.*] were to be found in Yazd in the middle of the 19th century and took part in the Bābī rising of 1848 (Browne, 67). The Bahāʾīs in Yazd were given the right to trade in 1860 and to open schools in 1870, but as a result of anti-Bahāʾī riots in 1903, they were virtually exterminated in Yazd (F. Bémont, *Les villes de l'Iran*, Paris 1969, 205-6). In the 19th century there were also a few Hindu merchants from Sind resident in Yazd. They enjoyed British protection and were engaged in trade with India (Abbott, 132; Euan Smith, 173).

2. History.

Details of the pre-Islamic history of Yazd are sparse. Whether in fact Yazdagird III spent two months in Yazd after his defeat at Nihāwand in 21/642 before he set out for Marw, where he arrived in 31/651, seems doubtful. The story related in the *Tārīk̲h̲-i d̲j̲adīd-i Yazd* by Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib that he buried his treasure in three wells in the Yazd district, and that the first of these was later found by the Atabeg ʿIzz al-Dīn Langar (599-604/1194 to 1207-8), the second by Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar (713-59/1314-58) and the third by the people of Yazd in the time of Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, who became governor of Yazd in 808/1405-6 (46-8), is almost certainly legendary.

There is mention of the appointment of ʿUmar b. Mug̲h̲īra as governor of Yazd during the caliphate of ʿUt̲h̲mān and some settlement of Arabs of the Banū Tamīm is alleged (Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, 53; D̲j̲aʿfar b. Muḥammad, 16). Conversion to Islam is said by Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib to have taken place during this same caliphate (53). In fact, it is likely that conversion was more gradual. Those who retained their Zoroastrian faith were subject to the *d̲j̲izya* [*q.v.*]. It seems probable that Yazd formed part of Fārs during the Umayyad caliphate. With the rise of Abū Muslim, his supporters appear to have defeated Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Tawḳī, the Umayyad governor. Little, however, is known of the history of Yazd under the early ʿAbbāsids; it is not until the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period that more detail is available, and even then the information in the local histories of Yazd (which are of much later dates) is confused and chronologically unreliable.

When Ṭog̲h̲ril Beg took Iṣfahān from the Kākūyid Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz [see KĀKŪYIDS] in 443/1051 and made Iṣfahān his capital, he assigned to Abū Manṣūr as an *iḳṭāʿ* Abarkūh and Yazd, both of which had been controlled by the Kākūyids. There is a *dirham* struck in Yazd in 421/1030 by the Kākūyid *amīr* ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad acknowledging the caliph al-Ḳādir as suzerain (C.E. Bosworth, *Dailamis in Central Iran: the Kakuyids of Jibal and Yazd*, in *Iran*, viii [1970], 77). Bosworth has meticulously examined the evidence for Kākūyid rule in Yazd and found it impossible to elucidate the exact chronology of the Kākūyid governors of Yazd (*op. cit.*, 84-5).

Both Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz and his son Muʾayyid al-Dawla ʿAḍud al-Dīn ʿAlī appear to have been treated with favour by the Sald̲j̲ūḳs. The former accompanied Ṭog̲h̲ril Beg when he went to Bag̲h̲dād in 455/1063 to meet his bride, the caliph's daughter. The latter married in 469/1076-7 Arslān K̲h̲ātūn bt. Čag̲h̲rī Beg, whose first husband, the caliph al-Ḳāʾim, had died in 467/1075. Yazd appears to have prospered under the Kākūyids. Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz built a palace, a Friday mosque, and (as stated above) a wall round the city of Yazd. His successors continued for some years as local rulers of Yazd. New villages and *ḳanāt*s were made in the vicinity of the city. The last Kākūyid ruler, Gars̲h̲āsp b. ʿAlī b. Farāmurz, was with Sultan Sand̲j̲ar [*q.v.*] at the battle of the Ḳaṭwān steppe (536/1141) and was killed

in the battle. During the reign of Arslān b. Ṭoghril (556-71/1161-76) Garshāsp's two daughters ruled Yazd. Rukn al-Dīn Sām b. Langar was appointed atabeg to them and married to one of them. He was apparently incompetent and replaced by his brother 'Izz al-Dīn (Dja'far b. Muḥammad, 23), who was the real founder of the dynasty known as the Atabegs of Yazd. The benefactions of Garshāsp's daughters in Yazd are spoken of in the local histories and seem to have been considerable; and under the Atabegs prosperity and development continued.

'Izz al-Dīn Langar was succeeded by his son Wardānzūr, who had an uneventful rule of twelve years. He was succeeded by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, during whose rule further building and development was carried out (Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, 69-70). Ḳuṭb al-Dīn died in 626/1228-9. He was succeeded successively by his son Maḥmūd Shāh and the latter's son Salghur Shāh, who sent an offer of submission to Hülegü and received in return a diploma for Yazd. He was succeeded by his son Taḳī Shāh, who ruled for some twenty years and died in 670/1271-2 (72-3). During the reign of his son and successor 'Alā' al-Dawla ('Alā' al-Dīn), the great flood of 673/1274-5 occurred. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib relates that 'Alā' al-Dawla was so shaken by the flood that he died within a month (74). His brother Yūsuf Shāh succeeded him.

Towards the end of the 7th/13th century Yazd became increasingly subject to interference from the Mongols. According to Mustawfī, the *tamgha* dues of Yazd and the province amounted to 251,000 dīnārs (*Nuzha*, 74). Rashīd al-Dīn states that in 694/1294-5 Baydu gave a draft for 1,000 dīnārs on the taxes of Yazd to Nawrūz and the government of Yazd to Nawrūz's son Sulṭān Shāh, whose mother was, he states, Sulṭān Nasab Khātūn, the daughter of 'Alā' al-Dīn, the son of the Atabeg Maḥmūd Shāh (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 75). If Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib's account of the genealogy of the Atabegs is correct, she must have been the great-great-granddaughter and not the granddaughter of Maḥmūd Shāh. There is, however, no record of Sulṭān Shāh taking up his government.

According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Yazd like many other places suffered from the depredations of the Mongol tax-collectors. He gives a lurid account of their extortion in the villages of Yazd (*op. cit.*, 249) and of a particular occasion when they descended on the village of Fīrūzābād (259). The owner of this village has been identified by Aubin as the Sayyid Niẓām al-Dīn 'Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Maḥfūẓ b. Ra'īs Yazdī, a friend and contemporary of Rashīd al-Dīn (*Une grande famille de Yazd*, 111). That extortion took place is very probable, but at the same time the foundations of Shams al-Dīn Djuwaynī and his agent in Yazd, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tāzīkū (Tadjīk-i Kūčik) of Rashīd al-Dīn himself, and more particularly, of Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn and Sayyid Shams al-Dīn are witness to wealth and prosperity in Yazd at the close of the 7th/13th and the early years of the 8th/14th century (Lambton, *Awqāf in Persia*, 313-5; eadem, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, 65-6). After Ghāzān became established in Tabrīz, the Atabegs apparently sent an annual *pīshkash* [*q.v.*] to the *ordu*. Yūsuf Shāh withheld this. Ghāzān sent Yesüder (or Toghāy b. Yesüder) to Yazd with instructions to confirm Yūsuf Shāh in his government if he paid the tribute. When Yesüder drew near to Yazd, Yūsuf Shāh fortified himself in the city and sent his mother to Yesüder with presents to intercede for him. Yesüder treated her with gross disrespect and refused the presents that she had brought. She returned to Yazd and told Yūsuf Shāh what had happened. He was furious, made a night sortie from the city, killed Yesüder and took his women prisoner. When Ghāzān heard of this, he sent the governor of Iṣfahān Muḥammad Īdādjī with 3,000 cavalry to overthrow Yūsuf Shāh. The latter, realising that resistance was impossible, fled with his women, army and the prisoners whom he had taken from Yesüder to Sīstān. The people of Yazd submitted to Īdādjī, who, having appointed an *amīr* as *dārūgha* [*q.v.*], returned to Iṣfahān (Dja'far b. Muḥammad, 26-8; Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, 74-6). Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Shabānkāra'ī adds the information that Yūsuf Shāh was captured in Khurāsān, taken to the *ordu* and executed (*Madjma' al-ansāb*, ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith, Tehran AHS 1363/1984-5, 210-14). Rashīd al-Dīn does not refer in detail to these events; he merely mentions that Toghāy b. Yesüder was dismissed (i.e. turned out) from the office of *shiḥna* of Yazd (*op. cit.*, 357).

Yūsuf Shāh was the last of the Atabegs of Yazd to exercise effective rule: his son Ḥādjdjī Shāh was finally overthrown by a combination of Muẓaffarids and Īndjū'ids [*q.vv.*] in 718/1318-19. In 719/1319-20 Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar was recognised as governor of Yazd by Abū Sa'īd, the last Il-khān. In the disorders that occurred after the death in 736/1335 of Abū Sa'īd, Yazd was subject to the constant movement of troops (though the numbers were probably small). In 751/1350-1 the Īndjū'id Abū Isḥāḳ besieged Mubāriz al-Dīn in Yazd but failed to take the city, and as he retired, he laid waste the countryside and closed the roads. Snow and rain also impeded movement. No grain reached the city and severe famine ensued (Mu'īn al-Dīn b. Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Mu'allim Yazdī, *Mawāhib-i ilāhī*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran AHS 1326/1947, 217 ff.) However, by 754/1353 Mubāriz al-Dīn had established his supremacy over a wide area, including Yazd. Before long, internecine strife broke out among the Muẓaffarids which led to Mubāriz al-Dīn's deposition in 759/1358. Internecine strife continued under his successors.

In spite of the prevailing turbulence and the internal warfare of the Muẓaffarids, the city apparently prospered under them and was extended. New villages and *ḳanāts* were made (Mufīd, i, 121-2 and *passim*), *madrasas* and libraries built. Yaḥyā b. Shāh Muẓaffar, who took possession of Yazd after Tīmūr's withdrawal after his first invasion of Persia in 789/1381, and others of his family made a number of buildings in the city and its vicinity, including the Sulṭān Ibrāhīm bazaar built by Shāh Yaḥyā's sister's son, and the Khātūn bazaar beside the Friday mosque, consisting of 60 shops with *ḥudjras* above them, built by Shāh Yaḥyā's mother; Shāh Yaḥyā's *wazīr* Rukn al-Dīn also built the Dallālān bazaar (Dja'far b. Muḥammad, 36-7; Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, 86-7; and see further R. Pinder-Wilson, *Timurid architecture*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vi, 730 ff.).

In 795/1392 Shāh Manṣūr b. Muẓaffar was defeated and killed by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] who had left Transoxiana in 794/1392 to begin his second campaign against Persia. The remaining Muẓaffarid princes submitted to Tīmūr and were executed, apart from two of Shāh Shudjā''s sons (who had earlier been blinded, one by Shāh Shudjā' and the other by Shāh Manṣūr; Mufīd, i, 160). Tīmūr's eldest son, 'Umar Shaykh, became governor of Fārs, including Yazd. He died in 796/1394 and was succeeded by his son Pīr Muḥammad. Disorders meanwhile broke out in Yazd and the neighbourhood and Pīr Muḥammad set out for Yazd and

successfully besieged the city in 797/1394-5. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib says that there was severe famine in the city and that nearly 30,000 died, but his account is somewhat confused (89-91). As a result of these events, new fortifications were constructed in the city by the Tīmūrids (as stated above) and completed in 799/1396-7. In 808/1405-6 Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh came to Yazd and made further additions to the fort and the wall and added a moat (Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, 92).

In due course Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] became Tīmūr's successor. Governors were appointed over Yazd. The most notable of them was the *amīr* Djalāl al-Dīn Čaḳmāḳ, who held office from *ca.* 831/1427-8 until 850/1446-7 and gave Yazd a period of peace. He and his wife Bībī Fāṭima and son Amīr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Mīrak erected many buildings, religious and secular, in Yazd and the neighbourhood and constituted many *awḳāf* for them. Among them was the new Friday mosque in the Lower Dahūk quarter, which was richly endowed by Amīr Čaḳmāḳ. It was begun in 840/1436-7 and completed by Bībī Fāṭima in the following year. In the neighbourhood of the mosque a *khānaḳāh*, a caravanserai, a *ḥammām*, a cistern, a *ḳannād-khāna* (confectioner's shop) and a bazaar were built and a well dug (Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad, 79-80; Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, 97, 99; Mufīd, i, 170 ff. The *waḳf-nāma* of the New Friday Mosque, dated 849/1445, is printed as an annex to the *Djāmiʿ-i mufīdī*, iii, 871-84). Bībī Fāṭima, among her other benefactions, made a mill outside Yazd in the Sar Āb-i Naw quarter near Dihābād. It was, so Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib states, continually in operation and the nearest mill to the city (98). Encouraged no doubt by the stability provided by the government of Amīr Čaḳmāḳ, a number of buildings were also made by the inhabitants of Yazd in the city and the neighbourhood.

By 857/1453 control over most of Persia, including Yazd, had passed to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*], who were succeeded by the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]. In 858/1454 there was, according to Muḥammad Mufīd, severe famine in Yazd, heavy loss of life and an outbreak of plague owing to the movement of troops and the dispersal of the population (i, 204-6). The severe floods of 860/1456 caused further damage. Troop movements and struggles between the contending parties for supremacy continued in Yazd and the neighbourhood as elsewhere in Persia throughout the second half of the 9th/15th century. This does not appear to have caused major disruption in the economic life of Yazd, for the Venetians in the late 9th/15th century recognised Yazd as an important manufacturing centre (Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, Hakluyt Soc., first series, no. 49, London 1873, 60, 72-4, 127). Trade with India, which was to become important in the Ṣafawid period, was also probably increasing at this time.

In 907/1501 Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī [see ISMĀʿĪL] was crowned in Tabrīz, but Yazd was not taken until 909/1504. Thereafter, Yazd became a province of the empire, with governors and officials appointed over it and taxation levied by the central government. For most of the Ṣafawid period, Yazd was under the *khāṣṣa* administration, i.e. directly administered by the central government under a *wazīr* sent by the central government to the province (K.M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 122-6). Few of these were local men, though there were exceptions, for example Mīrzā Khalīl Allāh, whose family came from Bihābād, one of the villages of Bāfḳ, and who became *wazīr* of Yazd in 1034/1624-5 (Mufīd, iii, 190 ff.). Officials who came from outside did not, on the whole, spend their wealth in Yazd on local development nor did they arouse the confidence or loyalty of the local population. Trade flourished and local patriotism continued, but in the absence of strong local government it did not express itself in local development to the extent that had been the case under the Kākūyids, the Atabegs of Yazd, the Muẓaffarids and Amīr Čaḳmāḳ.

During the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn there was a weakening of royal authority and a decline in security. In 1110/1698-9 Baluch tribesmen ravaged Kirmān and almost reached Yazd (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavī dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 46). Revolts broke out in various parts of the empire. Finally, Maḥmūd b. Mīr Ways set out from Ḳandahār to attack the Ṣafawids. After an abortive siege of Kirmān, he advanced on Yazd, the outskirts of which he reached in February 1722. The population shut the gates of the city and prepared for a siege. The Afghāns were driven back with some loss of life and so Maḥmūd abandoned the siege and marched on Iṣfahān (*ibid.*, 131-2) and in 1134/1722 the Persian forces were defeated at Gulnābād. During the brief period of Afghān domination Yazd was besieged several times.

With the defeat of Ashraf by Nādir Ḳulī Khān (later Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*]) in 1142/1729, ʿĪsā Khān, the Afghān governor of Yazd, fled. Nādir was now in control of a wide area including Yazd (Mīrzā Mihdī Astarābādī, *Djahāngushā-yi nādirī*, ed. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anwar, Tehran AHS 1341/1962, 118). In due course, Afshārid governors were appointed over Yazd (Muḥammad Djaʿfar, 282 ff.). It may be that Yazd benefited from Nādir Shāh's exemption of taxation, which he granted to Persia after his successful Indian campaign in 1151-2/1738-9 (as Muḥammad Djaʿfar alleges), but the remission was soon to be rescinded and exactions were renewed; 4,000 *tūmāns* were demanded from Yazd (284). This provoked an uprising. Meanwhile, news of the assassination of Nādir in 1160/1747 arrived. The Afshārid governor of Yazd fled (285-6). ʿĀdil Shāh, Nādir's nephew, then sent ʿAlam Khān to Yazd as governor. His extortionate conduct provoked a rebellion (289), and in 1161/1748 Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Bāfḳī set out from Bāfḳ for Yazd with 70 riflemen (302). After a siege of three or four days, ʿAlam Khān escaped from the fortress and fled to Khurāsān (304-5). Muḥammad Taḳī Khān, having made himself master of Yazd, received a *raḳam* from Shāh Ḳulī Mīrzā, Nādir's grandson, who had succeeded Nādir's nephews, ʿĀdil Shāh and Ibrāhīm (307). He held office for 52 years, first under the Afshārs, then under the Zands and finally under the Ḳādjārs. He was succeeded by his sons ʿAlī Naḳī, who held office for seven years, and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, who was dismissed and succeeded by a series of Ḳādjār governors. During Muḥammad Taḳī Khān's government Yazd experienced a new period of development and prosperity, an increase of population, and the bringing into operation of new *ḳanāts*, the creation of gardens and charitable buildings and the institution of *awḳāf* for their upkeep (308 ff., 326, 340-83, 463). His son ʿAlī Naḳī also made many benefactions in Yazd and the neighbourhood (493 ff.). However, during these years Yazd was not entirely immune from military expeditions by the contending parties and their demands for revenue. The precise course of events is, however, somewhat confused and the sources vary in their accounts. After Karīm Khān had made himself master of most of Persia by 1179/1765, his officials came to Yazd to collect taxes (415). His

successors attacked Yazd several times and demanded revenue.

The Ḳādjārs, like the Ṣafawids, sent governors to Yazd. Many of them were Ḳādjār princes. The appointment of a local man to the government was the exception. The most notable of the prince governors was Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā, who held office from 1821 to 1828. He constructed a number of *ḳanāts* and repaired others (Muḥammad Dja'far, 705 ff.), and founded charitable buildings (606, 620 ff.). During his governorate, trade prospered (680). Of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's twenty-four governors, Muḥammad Khān Walī, who held office twice (1863-70 and 1876-80), was the most outstanding.

During the Russo-Persian war of 1826-8 disorder spread throughout the country. In Yazd ʿAbd al-Riḍā Khān b. Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Bāfḳī headed a revolt during the absence of the governor Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā in Tehran, and turned out the latter's family and entourage from Yazd. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā Shudjāʿ al-Salṭana was appointed governor of Kirmān, which had also revolted, and of Yazd, and was sent to restore order. He laid siege to Yazd but failed to reduce it and set out for Kirmān. In 1830 he renewed operations against Yazd without permission from Tehran. ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*] was accordingly sent from Tehran to restore order. He succeeded and proceeded to Kirmān. After he was summoned back to Tehran, ʿAbd al-Riḍā Khān and Shafīʿ Khān of Rāwar (who had been in rebellion in Kirmān) joined forces and renewed their rebellion but were defeated and captured by government forces. ʿAbd al-Riḍā Khān was taken to Tehran, and was handed over to Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā and killed in revenge for his action in turning out Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā's family and entourage from Yazd (ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Ṭāhirī, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, included in his *Tadhkira-yi Djalālī*, in Afshār, *Yazd-nāma*, i, 177-237, at 206 ff.).

On the death of Muḥammad Shāh in 1834, there was renewed rioting in Yazd, but it subsided after Nāṣir al-Dīn established himself on the throne in Tehran. In 1840 Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī [see ĀGHĀ KHĀN] mounted a rebellion in Kirmān and Yazd. In 1848, there was a Bābī uprising. Riots took place against the Tobacco Régie in 1890, against the Belgian customs administration set up in 1899, and against new tariff charges in 1903. In the latter part of the 19th century, modernisation began. There was an increase in the number of schools and of the local press. In the 20th century there was strong support for the Constitutional Movement and the formation of *andjumans* in its support [see DUSTŪR. iv; DJAMʿIYYA. iii]. Under the Electoral Law, Yazd had the right to send two deputies to the National Assembly. Some of those elected played an outstanding part in the deliberations of the Assembly.

Yazd, throughout the Islamic period, maintained its distinctive character. Strong local patriotism was a marked feature. It is to be ascribed, in part at least, to the remoteness of Yazd and its situation on the edge of the Central Desert of Persia, and the fact that it did not lie in the path of invaders. More than any other city in Persia, it owed its development and growth to *ḳanāts*. Without them it could not have existed, still less have sustained a civilisation that, from time to time, attained a high degree of excellence. It shared the religion, language and literary heritage of its neighbours, but "because of its utter dependence upon *ḳanāts* it developed a strong personality of its own, different from that of other cities; and its people acquired a stability and firmness of character, self-confidence and assurance which distinguished them from the inhabitants of other cities. They had a special sense of identity with the soil. They tended it with love and care and made it flourish with the water of its *qanāts*, which they brought out with skill and toil from the depths of the earth" (Lambton, *The qanats of Yazd*, 35). Until the development of modern communications, the spasmodic nature of the control exercised by the successive governments that ruled in Persia enabled local culture to flourish, and the fact that Yazd was situated on one of the trade routes from the Persian Gulf to the interior of Persia and Central Asia undergirded its economic development.

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Yazd, some, but not all of which, are mentioned and utilised in the article.

(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

YAZDADJIRD III, in Persian, Yazdagird, son of Shahriyār, son of Khusraw Aparwīz, the last Sāsānid emperor (reigned from the end of 632 or beginning of 633 till his murder at Marw in 31/651). It was in the early years of his reign that the Arabs started raiding into ʿIrāḳ, defeating the Sāsānid army at al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] and in other battles, capturing the capital Ctesiphon-al-Madāʾin in March 637, and gradually extending across the Iranian plateau to occupy the whole of Persia. For further details, see SĀSĀNIDS, at Vol. IX, 80.

YAZDĪ, MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD (Farrukhī) (1889-1939), Persian poet, journalist, and one-time *Madjlis* deputy in the post-Constitutional and early Pahlawī periods. Born of modest origins in Yazd, he spent a few years in the traditional *maktab*s and briefly attended a school founded in Yazd by English missionaries. The Constitutional movement (1905-9) attracted him to politics, and his "patriotic *musammaṭ*" poem of 1909 so enraged Ḍirgham al-Dawla Ḳashḳāʾī, the governor of Yazd, that he ordered the sewing together of his lips, an event which provoked protests in Yazd and Tehran. In late 1910 Farrukhī left Yazd for the capital, where he published his poems in the radical press such as *Āzādī* ("Liberty"). When Ḍirgham al-Dawla fell from office, the new governor of Yazd, Ḥādjdj Fakhr al-Mulk, made some compensation to Farrukhī.

During the First World War, Farrukhī was among those journalists who, in November 1915, left Tehran for Ḳum and the *Kumīta-yi Difāʿ-i Millī* ("Committee of National Defence"), which later moved to Kirmānshāh where it founded the *Dawlat-i Muwakkat-i Millī* ("Provisional National Government") under the premiership of Niẓām al-Salṭana Māfī. When the Russians took over western Persia and suppressed the Provisional Government, Farrukhī went to ʿIrāḳ where he was detained by the British army. He escaped from Baghdād and eventually returned to Persia, where he was briefly taken into Russian custody on suspicion of being a British agent.

In 1919 Farrukhī opposed the premier Wuthūḳ al-Dawla's [*q.v.*] ill-fated agreement with the British, and again in 1921 he opposed the coup d'état of Riḍā Khān (the future Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī). Subsequently he founded his newspaper *Ṭūfān* ("Storm"), of which the first issue appeared on 26 August 1921. Publication of *Ṭūfān* was often interrupted, and during the eight years of its life, the paper was suppressed more than fifteen times; yet each time it was banned, Farrukhī would publish in other periodicals such as *Sitāra-yi Shark* ("Star of the East"), *Paykār* ("Battle"), *Kiyām* ("Uprising"), and *Talīʿa-yi Āʾīna-yi Afkār* ("The Primal Mirror of Ideas").

In 8 March 1922 Farrukhī and a group of opposition journalists took refuge in the Soviet embassy in Tehran, but were persuaded to leave by Riḍā Khān, then the Minister of War. When, on 28 October 1923, Riḍā Khān became Prime Minister, Farrukhī expressed his opposition, but in the same period favoured Riḍā Khān's short-lived inclination towards forming a republic in Persia. In 1927, as the editor of *Ṭūfān*, and in view of his political sympathies, Farrukhī was invited to Moscow to attend the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. In 1928 he was elected as a deputy from Yazd to the seventh *Madjlis*, where he joined the *fīrāksīyun-i akalliyyat* ("minority faction"), traditionally a coalition of socialists. In the seventh session, however, that lobby consisted only of Farrukhī and Maḥmūd-Riḍā Ṭulūʿ, a deputy and fellow-journalist from Lāhīdjān. From March 1928 Farrukhī also published a weekly edition of *Ṭūfān* with a historical and literary orientation.

At the end of the seventh *Madjlis* (October 1930), and with no more parliamentary privilege to rely on, Farrukhī left Tehran for Moscow and then for Berlin. There he wrote against the political situation in Persia in the periodical *Paykār* ("Battle") founded in 1930 by Persian activists in Berlin, and then in his own *Nihḍat* ("Movement"), until both were suppressed and Farrukhī was ordered to leave Germany. Meanwhile, ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Taymurtāsh, minister of the royal court, met with Farrukhī in Berlin and assured him of his safety if he returned to Persia. Farrukhī agreed, and in 1932 returned, but after a year of indigence in Tehran, he was arrested on a civil charge for debts owed to the paper supplier of *Ṭūfān*.

Although the initial charges were of a civil nature, his political agitation inside the prison, expressed at times in passionate poems, soon turned him into a political prisoner and led to his constant transfer from one gaol to another: his term was extended first to 27 months, then to 30 months, and finally to three years. In the end he was transferred from Ḳaṣr prison to the infamous "clinic" at the police headquarters in Tehran, where on 18 October 1939 he was murdered by the prison's notorious medical practitioner, *Pizishk* ("physician") Aḥmad Aḥmadī, by air injection.

Although in poetical style Farrukhī observed the traditional patterns of prosody (*ʿarūḍ*), the content of his poems focussed on contemporary social and political topics. Major themes of the Constitutional period, such as patriotism and the quest for civil liberties and social justice, were expressed in his verse, hence his contribution to the composition of political *ghazal* is noteworthy. In Persian poetry, he can be placed in the long tradition of the poetry of protest against arbitrary rule.

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(ALI GHEISSARI)

YAZĪD (I) B. MUʿĀWIYA, the second Umayyad caliph (*r.* 60-4/680-3). He was named as his successor by his father [see MUʿĀWIYA I]. His mother was Maysūn, a sister of the Kalbī leader Ibn Baḥdal [see ḤASSĀN B. MĀLIK]. The Banū Kalb [see KALB B. WABARA] were strong in the southern regions of Syria, and Muʿāwiya appointed Yazīd as his successor in preference to an older half-brother, ʿAbd Allāh, born of a Ḳurashī mother. Yazīd's *kunya*, Abū Khālid, refers to one of his own younger sons [see KHĀLID B. YAZĪD]. During his father's caliphate, Yazīd commanded expeditions (*ṣawāʾif*, see ṢĀʾIFA. 1.) against the Byzantines and participated in an attack upon Constantinople (in 49/669 or 50/670) that is mentioned in both Muslim and non-Muslim sources. He is also named as having led the *ḥādjdj* in various years. Reports make him less than 40 at the time of his death at Ḥuwwārīn [*q.v.*] in Rabīʿ I 64/November

683, variant dates and other details being given about his birth. He had apparently nominated his eldest son Muʿāwiya [see MUʿĀWIYA B. YAZĪD] as his succcessor, but the latter received only limited acceptance as caliph and died within months.

Yazīd's caliphate marked the beginning of the crisis, commonly referred to as *fitna* [*q.v.*], during which the Umayyads came close to losing the caliphate. Eventually they re-established their hold on the institution but in the person of Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] and his descendants rather than a representative of the Sufyānid branch of the family, to which Yazīd belonged. Following his father's death in Radjab 60/April 680, Yazīd was faced with the continuing refusal of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.vv.*], both then in Medina, to give him allegiance. Most of the reports about his caliphate concern his attempts to overcome their opposition and that of others. Al-Ḥusayn's attempt to make good his own claim to the caliphate ended in his death at the hands of a force sent by Yazīd's governor of ʿIrāḳ, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] at Karbalāʾ in Muḥarram 61/October 680. Ibn al-Zubayr's opposition led, in 64/683-4, to the siege of Mecca, where he had taken refuge, and to the bombardment of the town with catapults (*madjānīḳ*) by an army sent by Yazīd. During the siege, the Kaʿba was damaged by fire, but there are variant accounts of how exactly that happened and who was responsible for it. Yazīd's army, initially commanded by Muslim b. ʿUḳba al-Murrī [*q.v.*], had been raised in 63/683 primarily in response to the actions of the people of Medina, who had thrown off their allegiance to Yazīd, expelled those Umayyads living there and, according to some accounts, established contacts with Ibn al-Zubayr. After defeating the Medinans at the battle on the Ḥarra [*q.v.*], Muslim entered (and, it is said, sacked) the town, and compelled a number of its prominent men to return to their allegiance to Yazīd. He then set off for Mecca, intending to force Ibn al-Zubayr, who had received the support of others of Yazīd's opponents, including several Khāridjites [*q.v.*], to submit. On the way, Muslim died and his position as leader of the Syrian army was assumed by al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī [*q.v.*]. He it was who commanded the siege of Mecca. News of Yazīd's death in Syria reached him while the siege was in progress, and after fruitless negotiations with Ibn al-Zubayr he withdrew the army back to Syria.

In broad terms, Yazīd seems to have continued the form of rule developed by his father which depended on the relationship between the caliph, his governors and the tribal notables (*ashrāf*) in the provinces. His governor of ʿIrāḳ, ʿUbayd Allāh, was the son of Muʿāwiya's governor there, Ziyād. A Christian, Sardjūn, who had been prominent in the administration of Muʿāwiya, continued to be influential under Yazīd. (Robert Hoyland has questioned whether this Sardjūn, sometimes called "the *mawlā* of Muʿāwiya", sometimes "of Yazīd", and variously described as Yazīd's drinking companion or as *ṣāḥib amrihi*, was the father of John of Damascus, as Lammens and others have assumed.) The custom of receiving delegations (*wufūd* [*q.v.*]) from the provinces at the court to win them over with gifts and flattery, institutionalised by his father, was less successful when Yazīd attempted to use it to head off the opposition of the Medinans. The image of Muʿāwiya as operating more like a tribal *shaykh* than a traditional Middle Eastern despot, perhaps embodied in the well-known description of him by Theophanes as a "chief governor" (*protosymboulos*), also seems applicable to Yazīd and may be behind the eulogy of him in the *Byzantine-Arab chronicle of 741*: "he never... sought glory for himself by virtue of his royal rank but lived as a citizen along with all the common people" (*nullam unquam... sibi regalis fastigii causa gloriam appetivit, sed communis cum omnibus civiliter vixit*; tr. Hoyland). The breakdown, beginning under Yazīd, of the system of government used more successfully by Muʿāwiya, may be ascribed partly to difficulties associated with the succession to the caliphate but more fundamentally to the changes taking place in the structure of the conquest society, analysed by Patricia Crone in her *Slaves on horses*.

Yazīd is often credited with the creation of the new *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*]. For an extensive discussion of that and other incidental information about him and his caliphate (his reduction of the tribute to be paid by the Christians from Nadjrān [*q.v.*], his suppression of privileges enjoyed by the Samaritans, his involvement in irrigation work, etc.), see Henri Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazīd Ier*. For a Sāsānid type coin dated "year 1 of Yazīd", see the article by Mochiri cited in the *Bibl.*

As the caliph under whom the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn was killed, the two holy cities of Arabia attacked, and the Kaʿba set on fire, and as the one who benefited from an appointment presented in Muslim tradition as a crucial stage in the corruption of the caliphate into a kingship, it is not surprising that the tradition generally is hostile to Yazīd. There are frequent mentions of his penchant for drinking, singing girls, sexual licentiousness, hunting, playing with his tame monkey, and other such things which show him as a frivolous libertine. As James Lindsay has illustrated, however, some of the traditional material emphasises Yazīd's closeness to the generation of the Prophet and his role in the transmission of Muslim tradition, and there are different versions of an apocalyptic tradition ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] which includes "the King of the Holy Land (*malik al-arḍ al-muḳaddasa*)", Muʿāwiya, and his son in a line of righteous *khalīfas*. Even Ibn ʿAbbās is said to have given Yazīd the *bayʿa* and to have spoken favourably of him and his father.

The glowing account of Yazīd in the *Byzantine-Arab chronicle* was cited by both Wellhausen and Lammens, who presented him, at least after his accession to the caliphate, as an able and worthy ruler traduced by opponents who hypocritically appealed to religion. More recently, Lindsay has argued that Ibn ʿAsākir's biography of Yazīd, although unable to ignore entirely the unfavourable traditional material, seeks to present as sympathetic an image as possible in order to convey a moral and religious message of its own. If that interpretation is valid, it is nevertheless true that the Damascene scholar was able to draw on some favourable material already existing in the tradition. It is probably impossible on the basis of the evidence available to make a judgement about Yazīd's ability or his character. Any attempt to do so, however, must seek to understand both the historical situation in which he ruled (insofar as that can be recreated) and the nature of the Muslim historical tradition which crystallised after the Umayyads had been overthrown.

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lxv, 394-412; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ed. Tadmurī, Beirut 1990, s.a. 60-3 (the notice on Yazīd in the necrology of the 7th *ṭabaḳa*, 269-75, has a useful bibl. provided by the editor).

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(G.R. Hawting)

YAZĪD (II) B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, the ninth Umayyad caliph, *r.* 101-5/720-4. He was born in Damascus *ca.* 71/690-1. His mother was ʿĀtika bt. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, and he was named after his Sufyānī grandfather, the caliph Yazīd I. Thus Yazīd II joined in his person the Marwānid and the Sufyānid branches of the Umayyad family, making him a natural candidate for the succession. Like most other Umayyad princes, he appears to have travelled outside of Syria only to the Ḥidjāz. Also, he seems to have received neither administrative nor military preparation for ruling, although Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik designated him his second successor in 99/717. Thus he was crown prince under ʿUmar II and then became caliph on ʿUmar's death on 21 Radjab 101/9 February 720. He probably spent most of his reign at Damascus or on his estates in the *djund* of al-Urdunn [*q.v.*], where he died at Irbid on 24 Shaʿbān 105/26 January 724.

At the beginning of his reign, Yazīd II faced a serious if short-lived revolt in ʿIrāḳ led by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab al-Azdī (101-2/720). This rebellion expressed the continuing dissatisfaction of the Yamanī elements in ʿIrāḳ with Umayyad rule and elicited from the Umayyads a harsh reaction against the Yamanīs there. In order to strengthen the Umayyad position in ʿIrāḳ, Yazīd II reintroduced Syrian troops and tended to rely on the Muḍar tribal elements against the Yamanīs, as shown by his appointment of his Djazīran-domiciled brother Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (102-3/720-1 [*q.v.*]) and the latter's protégé, the Muḍarī Djazīran ʿUmar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī (103-6/721-5 [see IBN HUBAYRA]), to be governors of the East.

His apparent tilt toward the Muḍar has caused Yazīd II often to be portrayed as a pro-Muḍar and anti-Yaman extremist, but such a judgement is unfair, as he actually tried to balance the conflicting groups, just as other Umayyad rulers did. Certainly, Yazīd retained the confidence of the Syrian Yamanīs, for he gave them the governorships of the other two great provinces, the West and also al-Djazīra, including Ādharbāydjān and Armenia. Before joining it to the province of the East, he even appointed a Syrian Yamanī general as governor of Khurāsān.

On the other hand, relations between the Syrians and others, especially the Kūfans, remained poor. Also, Yazīd II alienated the non-Arab Muslims or *mawālī* by seeking to annul the reforms of ʿUmar II that favoured them. Thus in Sind, Khurāsān, North Africa and Spain, attempts were made to reimpose the *djizya* that had recently been removed from the *mawālī*. These attempts seem not to have been very successful. In Khurāsān, the new policy, applied under Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī (103-4/721-2), contributed to revolts and wars that continued for twenty years and played a considerable rôle in the Umayyads' later downfall. In North Africa, Yazīd II's governor Yazīd b. Abī Muslim was assassinated almost immediately for trying to implement such a policy (102/720), leading to a loss of caliphal authority and prestige and presaging the great North African revolt under Hishām (from 122/740).

On the frontiers, Yazīd II resumed the traditional Umayyad policy of military expansion after its brief suspension by ʿUmar II. During Yazīd's short reign, campaigns were carried out against the Franks in France and Sardinia, the Byzantines in Sicily and Anatolia, the Khazars in the Caucasus and the Turks in Transoxania. Furthermore, ideological struggle against other religions intensified, especially against Christian icon worship, with Yazīd II's issuance of an iconoclastic decree commanding the destruction of all images of humans and animals throughout the caliphate (103-4/721-3), a step that preceded and anticipated the Byzantine emperor Leo III's iconoclasm.

Despite the momentous events of his reign, both mediaeval sources and modern scholars often portray Yazīd II as a frivolous slave to passion, especially to his singing girls Ḥabāba and Sallāma. While there is no doubt that he cultivated poetry, like the other Umayyads, and had a refined artistic taste, the picture of his lack of seriousness and of Ḥabāba's influence has been much exaggerated.

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(H. Lammens-[Kh.Y. Blankinship])

YAZĪD (III) B. AL-WALĪD (I) b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān I, Umayyad caliph for approximately six months in 126/744. He is known in tradition as al-Nāḳiṣ (the Depriver, or the Deficient; various explanations are given). He is said to have boasted that through his mother, one of Yazdagird III's granddaughters captured in Transoxania, he had inherited both Sāsānid and Byzantine blood. He has a reputation for asceticism and piety, and was accepted as a righteous Imām not only by his immediate supporters but by some later theorists too (al-Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, Cairo n.d., xx/2, 150).

Yazīd obtained the caliphate by overthrowing his cousin and predecessor, al-Walīd II b. Yazīd II [*q.v.*], an act which initiated the third "civil war" in Islam [see FITNA]. The main support for Yazīd came from the Kalbīs of the region around Damascus, and his short rule promoted Kalbī and Yamanī interests at

the expense of Ḳays and Muḍar. He sent the Kalbī Manṣūr b. Djumhūr to ʿIrāḳ to depose the pro-Ḳaysī governor Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī [see AL-THAḲAFĪ], but subsequently he made ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar II his governor there.

He is frequently described as a Ḳadarī [see ḲADARIYYA] and as supported by the Ghaylāniyya [see GHAYLĀN AL-DIMASHḲĪ]. The conception of the caliphal office put forward in his accession *khuṭba* and in a letter he sent to the ʿIrāḳīs, both of which have been accepted as largely authentic in spite of the variant versions transmitted, was certainly unusual among the Umayyads. As well as promising to right certain abuses with which his Umayyad predecessors had been charged, he appealed to the Book of God and the Sunna of His Prophet, put forward the view that the caliph should be chosen as a result of consultation (*al-amr shūrā*), and offered to stand down if found to fall short himself, so long as he was given the chance to repent. If another could be found who was considered preferable, he would be the first to give him the oath of allegiance.

Yazīd seems to have died of natural causes—according to one report he was a victim of the plague (*al-ṭāʿūn*)—in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 126/September 744, and was succeeded by the equally ephemeral Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd (I) [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1825-75, Eng. tr., Carole Hillenbrand, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxvi, *The waning of the Umayyad caliphate*, Albany 1989, 183-244; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 13 vols. ed. Zakkār and Ziriklī, Beirut 1996, ix, 189-97; M.J. de Goeje and P. de Jong (eds.), *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, Leiden 1869-71, i, *al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*, 148-53, and index; Khalīfat b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Fawwāz, Beirut 1995, 240-2; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ed. Raḥīnī, Beirut 1983, v, 205-9 and index; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, ed. Tadmurī, Beirut 1991, vol. covering A.H. 121-40, 14-15, 311-13 (there is no entry for Yazīd III in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh Dimashk*); J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 226-30, Eng. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, 366-9; J. van Ess, *Les Qadarites et la Gailānīya de Yazīd III*, in *SI*, xxxi (1970), 269-86; P. Crone, *Slaves on horses*, Cambridge 1980, 46-8; eadem and M. Hinds, *God's caliph*, Cambridge 1986, index; G.R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam*, ^{2}London 2000, 94-6.

(G.R. HAWTING)

YAZĪD B. **ABĪ MUSLIM** (Dīnār), Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, secretary and governor under the Umayyads. He was a *mawlā*, not by manumission (presumably by conversion), of Thaḳīf [*q.v.*], and foster-brother and secretary, but not *mawlā*, of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] (thus al-Djahshiyārī and al-Djāḥiẓ). He ran the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* for al-Ḥadjdjādj and took charge of the taxes of ʿIrāḳ when the latter died in 95/714, but was dismissed and jailed on Sulaymān's accession in 96/715. His cruelty was so notorious that ʿUmar II reputedly left him in jail, or alternatively sent him home when he joined a summer campaign as a member of the *dīwān*. His pay as secretary was 300 dirhams a month. As a member of the *dīwān* [*al-muḳātila*] he received 2,000 (a year, i.e. *sharaf al-ʿaṭāʾ*), which ʿUmar allegedly reduced to 30 (*sic*, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Sīrat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, 88-9, 90; al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, i, 606-7). Yazīd II appointed him to North Africa where he was killed in 102, either for branding his Berber bodyguards with the word *ḥarasī* in alleged imitation of Byzantine practice or for continuing the policy adopted in ʿIrāḳ of repatriating and reimposing the taxes on *dhimmīs* who left their land as converts to Islam. He was rumoured to be a Khāridjite.

Bibliography: Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, 42-3, 56-5; Djāḥiẓ (attrib.), *al-Burṣān wa 'l-ʿurdjān*, ed. al-Khūlī, 100; Ṭabarī, ii, 1112, 1268, 1282, 1435, iii, 24, 435; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Shākir, 546-7, 949, 968; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, ed. Amīn *et alii*, iv, 427; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 231; Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 48; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, 411, 471-2, 485; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, vi, 309-12 (no. 817).

(PATRICIA CRONE)

YAZĪD B. **ABĪ SUFYĀN** b. Ḥarb b. Umayya, Arab commander of the conquests period, son of the Meccan leader Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] by his wife Zaynab bt. Nawfal and half-brother of the subsequent caliph Muʿāwiya I [*q.v.*], d. 18/639 without progeny (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 344-5).

With his father and brother, he became a Muslim at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, took part in the ensuing battle of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] and was one of "those whose hearts are won over", receiving from the Prophet a gift of 100 camels and 40 ounces of silver (Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 110, vii/2, 127; al-Wāḳidī, iii, 944-5; and see AL-MUʾALLAFA ḲULŪBUHUM). In Abū Bakr's caliphate, he operated in Palestine with Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.vv.*], and after the Byzantines were defeated at al-Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] and Damascus fell, he campaigned in the Balḳāʾ [*q.v.*] and captured the citadel at ʿAmmān (14/635). When ʿAmr left Palestine for Egypt, he appointed Yazīd in charge of Syria, but Yazīd died there, in company with many other Arab commanders such as Abū ʿUbayda and Muʿādh b. Djabal, in the notorious "Plague of Emmaus" [see ʿAMWĀS] in 18/639.

Yazīd is called in later sources "Yazīd al-Khayr", with a good image because of his part in the conquests and the manner of his death, accounted by some authorities as that of a *shahīd* [*q.v.*]

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

YAZĪD B. **DĪNĀR** [see YAZĪD B. ABĪ MUSLIM].

YAZĪD B. **ḤĀTIM** AL-**MUHALLAB** [see MUHALLABIDS. (iv)].

YAZĪD B. MIḲSAM **IBN ḌABBA** AL-THAḲAFĪ (*fl.* first half of the 2nd/8th century). Arab poet, member of the circle around the caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd [*q.v.*].

He was a *mawlā* of the tribe of Thaḳīf in al-Ṭāʾif; according to the philologist al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*], who knew him, his Arabic was nonetheless pure (*Aghānī*, vii, 103). Since his father died when he was still young, he became known as Ibn Ḍabba after his mother, who as the dry nurse of the children of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] and of his son ʿUrwa was a woman of some standing. He seems to have befriended al-Walīd early on, since on account of this friendship he was snubbed by the caliph Hishām (who disliked his nephew) at the latter's enthronisation in 105/724, whereupon he retired to al-Ṭāʾif, there to live on funds provided by al-Walīd. He returned to Damascus at al-Walīd's accession in 125/743 and apparently stayed in his entourage. He may have returned to al-Ṭāʾif after al-Walīd's death, since al-Aṣmaʿī (b. possibly in 123/741) met him there.

Of his allegedly voluminous poetic output ("one thousand *ḳaṣīdas*", according to the local patriotism of the Ṭā'ifites, *Aghānī*[3], vii, 103), besides a few fragments only three longish poems have been preserved: a complaint about Hishām's behaviour, a congratulatory panegyric to al-Walīd on becoming caliph and an impromptu description of al-Walīd's horse, at the latter's behest, on the occasion of a successful hunt (all of them included in the *Aghānī* article on him). The narrative connected with the descriptive poem (mentioned in Hamilton, *Walid*, 128, but without Yazīd's name) gives us a fascinating glimpse into the "handling" of poetry: after applauding Yazīd's feat, al-Walīd asks him to add an amatory prelude (*tashbīb*) to his poem—which would turn it into a complete *ḳaṣīda*—and give it (the prelude, not the entire poem) to two well-known singers to set to music. Which he does.

The complaint poem against Hishām is composed in the more traditional metre *wāfir musaddas*, whereas the ode to al-Walīd is in the short and more "modern" metre *hazadj murabba'*, probably more to the taste of the addressee. The Hishām poem displays a strange rhyme: *-Cnā*, where *-nā* is the pronominal ending "we" of the perfect, and *-C-* is represented 20 times by the consonant /d/ and three times by another consonant. So we have to consider it a *nūniyya* with a strong tendency for *luzūm mā lā yalzam* [*q.v.*]. Al-Aṣma'ī remarks (*loc. cit.*) that he sought out difficult rhymes (*ḳawāfī mu'tāṣa*).

Most of the material gathered on the *Aghānī* is traced back by *isnād* to Yazīd's grandson, 'Abd al-'Aẓīm b. 'Abd Allāh.

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

YAZĪD b. al-**MUHALLAB** [see muhallabids. (i)].

YAZĪD b. **ZURAY'**, Abū Mu'āwiya al-Baṣrī, traditionist of Baṣra, b. 101/720 and d. in Baṣra Shawwāl 182/Nov.-Dec. 798. His father had been governor of al-Ubulla [*q.v.*], presumably under the later Umayyads. He is described as the outstanding *muḥaddith* of Baṣra in his time, a *thiḳa* and *ḥudjdja*, and was the teacher of the historian and biographer Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ [see ibn khayyāṭ]. Ibn Sa'd says that Yazīd was a supporter of the 'Uthmāniyya [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, vii/2, 44; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, xi, 325-8; Ziriklī, *A'lām*[2], ix, 235.

(Ed.)

YAZĪDĪ, Yazīdiyya, the name of a mainly Kurdish-speaking group whose communal identity is defined by their distinctive religious tradition.

Appellations and definitions. The Kurdish appellation generally used by the community itself is *Ēzdī*, with a variant *Ēzīdī*. Most Western scholars now hold that the word derives from the name of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya [*q.v.*]; a derivation from Old Iranian *yazata*, Middle Persian *yazad* "divine being", was once widely accepted and is still preferred by many Yazīdīs. Popular etymologies include a derivation of the term from *ez dā*, which is understood to mean "I (i.e. God) created". In the Yazīdī hymns (*ḳawl*, see below), some of whose terminology goes back to the early stages of the history of Yazīdism, the community is occasionally referred to as "the Sunna" (*Sinnat*). Other appellations are *Ṣuḥbatiyya* "those who claim discipleship", "those who belong to the circle of disciples [of Shaykh 'Adī]" and *Dāsinī* or *Dāsin*, originally perhaps the name of an influential Yazīdī tribe. The Yazīdīs are sometimes referred to by outsiders as "devil-worshippers". Their worship of the Peacock Angel (*Ṭā'ūs-ē Malak* or *Malak Ṭā'ūs*), whom some non-Yazīdīs associate with the devil, and their extreme veneration for 'Adī b. Musāfir [*q.v.*], were contributory factors in a process that caused the Yazīdīs to become alienated from the Islamic community. Most modern Yazīdīs emphatically reject any connection between their religion and Islam.

Numbers and territories. No reliable data are available as to the size of the various Yazīdī communities. Estimates of the total number of Yazīdīs vary from 200,000 or less, to over a million; a conservative estimate would seem to be around 240,000. The largest group of Yazīdīs (perhaps 120,000) now live in 'Irāḳ. There is one community in the Shaykhān region northeast of Mawṣil; this area comprises the valley of Lālish, the religious centre of Yazīdism, Bā'adhrā, the seat of its leader (Mīr, see below), and the traditional centre of Yazīdī learning, the twin villages of Ba'shīḳa and Baḥzānē. The second Yazīdī community in 'Irāḳ is found in the area of Djabal Sindjār [*q.v.*] to the west of Mawṣil. The number of Yazīdīs in Transcaucasia is estimated at 60,000; most of these live in the Republic of Armenia, with a smaller group in Georgia. In Syria there are some 15,000 Yazīdīs, with communities in the Kurd Dāgh region and in the Syrian Djazīra. In Turkey, small remnants of the once large Yazīdī community still live in the south-east [see ṭūr 'abdīn. 4. Languages]. In the 1980s most Yazīdīs from Turkey found refuge from religious persecution in Western Europe, notably Germany, where the number of Yazīdīs is estimated at 20,000 to 40,000. Persistent reports about the existence of a Yazīdī community in western Iran have not so far been corroborated.

Language and origins. All known Yazīdī communities speak a form of Northern Kurdish [see kurds, kurdistān. v.]; the first language of the inhabitants of Ba'shīḳa and Baḥzānē is Arabic, but they use Kurdish as the language of their religious tradition. Many Yazīdīs regard themselves as Kurds but others, especially in Armenia and in the European diaspora, insist on being considered as a separate ethnic group.

Aspects of Yazīdī culture. Pre-modern Yazīdī society was largely organised along tribal lines. This is still the case in some communities, but elsewhere the importance of tribal institutions is much reduced. Traditionally, it was forbidden for most Yazīdīs to learn to read and write, and until recently most of Yazīdī culture was transmitted orally. Another characteristic of Yazīdī society is its division into hereditary endogamous classes or "castes".

Early history. A movement known as the Yazīdiyya, which sympathised retrospectively with the Umayyad caliphs and in particular with Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, was active in the Kurdish mountains before Shaykh 'Adī b. Musāfir, who was of Umayyad descent, settled there some time before 505/1111. At the same time, some Kurdish tribes in these areas still adhered to a faith which is described as "Magian" and was presumably of Iranian origin. Shaykh 'Adī founded a Ṣūfī order, the 'Adawiyya, whose centre in the Kurdish areas was the valley of Lālish, where his tomb later continued to be venerated by his followers. The 'Adawiyya had a following outside Kurdistān, but by the time of Shaykh 'Adī's successor Ḥasan b. 'Adī [see 'adī b. musāfir], the Kurdish group appears to have acquired some characteristics which distinguished them from other 'Adawīs. The group's peculiar beliefs and observances increasingly alienated it from the

surrounding Muslim population; the first major conflict, which widened the rift, took place in 817/1414. The appellation "Yazīdī", which was already known locally, presumably came to be associated with the group on account of Shaykh ʿAdī's Umayyad origins.

Powerful Kurdish tribes joined the followers of Shaykh ʿAdī, and during the first centuries after his death these played a prominent role in local politics. This power later decreased and from the 16th century onwards a long succession of persecutions characterised the community's history. In the 19th century some Yazīdī tribes sought refuge in Christian Armenia and Georgia. The latter half of the 20th century saw large group of Yazīdīs from Turkey seeking sanctuary in Western Europe, followed by Yazīdī immigrants from ʿIrāḳ.

The community's own account of its early history comprises legends explaining its origin and exceptional ontological status (the Yazīdīs are said to have been engendered by Adam alone, without Eve), and tales about Shaykh ʿAdī's arrival among the Kurds, his miraculous deeds and his associations with some of his contemporaries; the latter accounts are held to explain the origin of the various lineages of Shaykhs and Pīrs (see below).

Religion. Although most modern Yazīdīs deny any links with Islam, their religious textual tradition reflects the syncretistic origins of their faith. Theology and mythology, particularly the cosmogony, show traces of a non-Islamic tradition which may be of ancient Iranian origin. Religious vocabulary and imagery, on the other hand, largely derive from Ṣūfism. While Yazīdīs have some characteristic beliefs, mythology, religious observance and acceptance of the obligations arising from a complex social system play at least as important a role in their religious life.

(a) *Beliefs.* Yazīdīs believe in one God, who created the world but is held to have entrusted it to seven archangels, the "Seven Mysteries" (*Haft surr*), whose leader is the Peacock Angel. Yazīdīs themselves do not admit the objective existence of good and evil, but whatever befalls the world—including what others might call evil—is attributed in Yazīdism to *Ṭā'ūs-ē Malak.* While Yazīdīs reject claims that their greatest Archangel is identical with the devil (*Shayṭān*), the strict taboo on the use of words associated with the latter suggests an awareness of some connection between the two. Some Yazīdīs say that Iblīs [*q.v.*] has been forgiven and is once more close to God.

Besides God and the Seven, Yazīdīs venerate a large number of "holy figures" (*khāṣṣ* or *mēr*), some of whose names correspond to those of early Ṣūfī saints, whereas others may originally have been local heroes or early community leaders. Most *khāṣṣ* have special links with a lineage of Shaykhs or Pīrs; they can be worshipped by means of visits to shrines dedicated to them and by gifts to members of the lineage representing them. Some *khāṣṣ* are thought to have special curative powers; otherwise their individual character and functions are in most cases not clearly defined.

Both reincarnation (*donādon*, also *kirās gihorrīn* "changing one's shirt") and the existence of heaven and hell are referred to in Yazīdī texts, and to some extent in community discourse; some traditions exist which seek to reconcile these beliefs.

(b) *Myths and legends.* The Yazīdīs have a rich mythology, in which ancient Iranian, Christian and Judaeo-Islamic elements can be distinguished, and which also comprises tales that have their origin in community history or serve to explain Yazīdī observance. Only a relatively small part of the corpus of Yazīdī myths and legends has so far been described in Western sources.

The myth of creation describes how God fashioned an embryonic form of the universe in the shape of a pearl, upon which he evoked the Seven Mysteries and made a Covenant with them, entrusting them with the control of the world. The Yazīdī cosmogony has a direct parallel in the tradition of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], with which Yazīdism has several features in common, and shows some similarities to the Zoroastrian cosmogony. It has been suggested that the myth goes back to an ancient western Iranian tradition which was not deeply Zoroastrianised. The theme of a Flood also figures prominently in Yazīdī accounts of the origin of the world.

The textual tradition. As literacy was traditionally forbidden to all but a few Yazīdīs, most of their textual tradition has long been transmitted by word of mouth. This has influenced its character: the style is rarely abstract, and anecdotes, myths and legends predominate. These can be told in the form of "stories" (*čīrok*), and they are frequently alluded to in the sacred hymns (*ḳawl*).

(a) *The* Ḳawls. The Hymns, a large corpus of texts which is still imperfectly known in the West, represent the Yazīdī counterpart to both the sacred and the learned traditions of other cultures. Until the beginning of the 20th century this knowledge is said to have been taught in a "school" (*maktab*) for Ḳawwāls in the twin villages of Baʿshīḳa and Baḥzānē.

(b) *The "Sacred Books".* The texts known in the West as the Yazīdī "Sacred Books", the *Maṣḥaf-ā Rash* and the *Kitēb-ī Djilwa*, were probably written down by non-Yazīdīs on the basis of information deriving from the teachings of the *Ḳawwāl* school. A series of manuscripts containing these texts, first in Arabic and later also in Kurdish, came to light in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and were sold to Western researchers and institutions. A long academic debate concerning the status of these texts has resulted in a virtual consensus that the written texts do not represent an ancient tradition. The evidence of the *Ḳawls* suggests, however, that the contents of the texts (though not the manuscripts) represent a genuine Yazīdī tradition.

Observance. Prayer in Yazīdism is felt to be a private, individual matter; communal prayer is unknown. Individual praying habits vary, as do prayer texts. Tying the "sacred girdle", and on some occasions kissing the neckline of the "sacred shirt" (on both garments, see below), form part of traditional praying routine. Paying homage to the rising sun by bowing to it, or kissing the spot where its first rays fall, are traditional non-verbal acts of worship. Pilgrimages to the shrines of holy figures and regular visits to one's Shaykh and Pīr are also important parts of Yazīdī observance.

Some Yazīdī "taboos" (*mamnūʿāt*) should be observed by the community as a whole (e.g. the ban on using words connected with Satan or cursing, wearing blue clothes, eating certain foods, and polluting earth, air, water or fire by certain acts), while others concern only Shaykhs of a certain lineage and their followers. Observance of taboos is now generally less strict than in the past.

(a) *Holy places and objects.* Yazīdī villages normally have a local shrine, which is dedicated to a holy figure and functions as a religious centre. Further shrines, usually also associated with a *khāṣṣ*, are found all over the territories where Yazīdīs live. The most impor-

tant and holy centre of Yazīdī religious life is the area referred to as "Shaykh ʿAdī" or "Lālish". This sacred part of the Lālish valley, entry to which is marked on one side by a small bridge known as the "Ṣirāṭ Bridge" (*pirra Silāt*), contains shrines dedicated to most of the important holy figures of Yazīdism. Chief among these is the central sanctuary dedicated to Shaykh ʿAdī. Holy places in the area further include a subterranean cave under Shaykh ʿAdī's sanctuary where the water of the "Zamzam" spring bursts from the rock, and a second sacred spring, the *Kāni-yā Sipī* ("White Spring"). One of the mountains surrounding the valley is known as "Mt. ʿArafāt", another as Mishēt (cf. Djabal Mushayt, near Medina).

Barāt, little balls of dust from Lālish made with water from the Zamzam spring or the *Kāni-yā Sipī*, have great religious significance, and most Yazīdīs carry some of these with them at all times. The *Sandjak*, sacred effigies of the Peacock Angel, traditionally play an important role in Yazīdī observance (see below). There were originally seven of these images, two of which are still known to exist. Garments with religious significance include the *khirkas* [*q.v.*] of contemporary Fakīrs (see below) and of ancient holy figures, the "sacred girdle" (*shutik*), and "sacred shirt" (*kirās*, whose neckline is called *girīvān*), both of which were worn until recently by many religious Yazīdīs. A "sacred cord" (*ristik*) is worn by a few religious dignitaries. A sacred shirt (*sadra*, which has a pocket called *girebān*) and a sacred girdle or cord (*kustī*, which is untied and retied before prayer, cf. above) are also known in Zoroastrianism.

(b) *Rites of passage.* Baptism (*mor kirin*) with holy water from Lālish and male circumcision are practised by most Yazīdīs. Weddings and funerary ceremonies require the services of a Shaykh, a Pīr, and a "Brother (or Sister) of the Hereafter" (see below).

(c) *Festivals.* Yazīdī festivals can be divided into local and general observances. Some of the latter have a counterpart in Islam and follow the lunar calendar, while others follow the "Eastern" calendar (which, in the 20th century, is 13 days behind the Gregorian one).

In the Shaykhān area, the principal local religious feasts are the *ṭawāf* and the arrival of the *Sandjak*. Most villages hold an annual festival (*ṭawāf*) in the name of the *khāṣṣ* to whom their shrine is dedicated. Formerly, groups of Kawwāls (see below) and other religious dignitaries toured all the Yazīdī lands at least once a year to display the *Sandjak*, chant *Kawls* to the accompaniment of the "sacred" tambourine (*daf*) and flute (*shabāb*), preach a sermon (*muṣhābat*), distribute holy water, and collect taxes. Such tours, known as *Ṭāʾūs gērran* ("taking the Peacock around"), still take place in Shaykhān and Sindjār.

The Čēlkān tribe, whose ancestral territories are in the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn area [*q.v.*] in Turkey and in the border regions between Turkey and Syria, celebrate a seven-day festival in mid-winter known as *Bātizmiya*, which seems to be associated with the Christian New Year.

Among the movable feasts, some Yazīdīs observe counterparts to two ceremonies of the Muslim Ḥadjdj [*q.v.*], sc. on the sojourn at ʿArafa (which is celebrated on Mt. ʿArafāt at Lālish) and the *ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā* [*q.v.*], and to the *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr* [*q.v.*]. An equivalent to the Islamic *Laylat al-Barāʾa* [see BARĀʾA] is observed at the Sanctuary of Shaykh ʿAdī.

The immovable feasts of Yazīdism include a spring New Year (*Sar-ē Sāl*), and forty-day fasts (*čilla*) around mid-summer and mid-winter, which are kept by some religious leaders. More widely observed is a three-day winter fast, ending with a feast which is associated with the birth of Ēzīd (one of the great holy figures). The most important occasion in the Yazīdī religious year is the seven-day autumn festival known as "Feast of the Assembly" (*Djažn-ā Djamāʿiyya*), for which all those who are able must gather at Lālish. Important elements of the *Djamāʿiyya* celebrations are the *samāʿ* (sessions which include a solemn procession by the chief dignitaries of the faith, and the chanting of *Kawls* to the accompaniment of music), the ritual sacrifice of a bull at the shrine of Shaykh Shams (one of the Seven), and a ceremony in which an object known as the "bier of Shaykh ʿAdī" is brought out from the Shrine, solemnly washed, and returned.

Social organisation. The most fundamental division of Yazīdī society is that into three hereditary, endogamous classes or castes: Shaykhs, Pīrs and *murīds* (laymen). The Shaykhs are subdivided into three endogamous branches (Shamsānī, Ādānī and Qātānī), each with several sub-branches. There are forty lineages of Pīrs, most of which may intermarry. The lineages of Shaykhs and Pīrs essentially represent the Seven Mysteries and other holy figures of the Yazīdī tradition.

Every Yazīdī, including Shaykhs and Pīrs, must have a Shaykh and a Pīr. A *murīd*'s relationship with his Shaykh and Pīr is hereditary, and members of each tribe can be affiliated to Shaykhs and Pīrs from certain lineages only. This creates a complex web of social relations and obligations that is made even more intricate by the obligation on each individual to have a "Brother (or Sister) of the Hereafter" (*birā-yē ākhiratē*, *khushk-ā ākhiratē*, usually from a lineage of Shaykhs), a *murabbī* or preceptor (this is now observed only in Northern ʿIrāḳ) and, in the case of males, a *karīf*, an unrelated male on whose knees one has been circumcised and with whom a life-long bond exists.

Membership of three other social groups, the Kawwāls, Fakīrs and Kočaks, is also largely hereditary. The Kawwāls are the repositories of Yazīdī learning, who have been trained to recite the *Kawls* or to play the sacred instruments. They live at Baʿshīka and Bahzānē, and belong to either of two tribes (Hakkārī or Dumilī). The Fakīrs, who wear a black *khirka* and must lead pious and abstemious lives, now form a more or less closed group; the organisation of the group shows similarities to that of some Ṣūfī *ṭarīkas*, however, and membership may originally have been more open. The Kočaks ("little ones"), wear white clothes and are known for their piety. Kočak families come from all three castes; male members of these families often act as "servants" at Lālish, but the term *kočak* is properly used for visionaries, diviners and miracle-workers who are thought to communicate with the "World of the Unseen" (*ʿālam al-ghayb*) [see AL-GHAYB] by means of dreams and trances.

The temporal and spiritual leader of the community is known as the *Mīr* (Prince) of Shaykhān. The *Mīr* and other dignitaries representing the groups described above have a seat on the Yazīdī Religious Council (*Madjlis-a Rūḥānī*), which has considerable powers.

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(P.G. Kreyenbroek)

AL-YAZĪDĪ, Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. al-Mubārak b. al-Mughīra al-ʿAdawī al-Baṣrī al-Baghdādī, with the *laḳab* or *shuhra* of al-Yazīdī (so named after Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī, d. 165/781, maternal uncle of the caliph al-Mahdī), Ḳurʾān teacher, grammarian, lexicographer, poet and man of letters, d. 202/817-18.

1. Al-Yazīdī, the father.

Born around 128/745-6 in Baṣra (?) as a client of the Banū ʿAdī b. ʿAbd Manāt, he frequented the local philologists, particularly Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb and al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.vv.*]. He became the main transmitter of the seven canonical readings or *ḳirāʾāt* [see ḳirāʾa and also al-dimyāṭī al-bannāʾ] of his teacher Abū ʿAmr and the main antagonist of his "Kūfan" colleague al-Kisāʾī [*q.v.*]. Appointed educator of the sons of his sponsor, Yazīd, whose historical role was as governor of Baṣra, Yemen and Kūfa, al-Yazīdī came into close contact with the court. Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed him teacher of his son al-Maʾmūn, who in turn entrusted his own sons to him. For them, he is said to have composed a *K. al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-naḥw*; previously, he had apparently dedicated a *K. fi 'l-lugha* to the Barmakī Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā [*q.v.*]. Of the works attributed to him starting with the list contained in the *Fihrist*, 50-1, which is probably based on al-Marzubānī [*q.v.*], only "quotations" have been preserved, as commonly happens with this early generation of scholars. Also "lecture notes" [see muḥammad b. al-ḥasan b. dīnār], written down after the session (*ḥalḳa, madjlis*; cf. below I.3), existed and were transmitted further [see mathal. iii]. At the age of seventy-four, al-Yazīdī died in 202/817-18 in Khurāsān, probably in Marw, the then residence of al-Maʾmūn. He is said to have been, like some of his descendants, a follower of the Muʿtazila. He is the forefather of the first extended family of scholars in Islam.

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2. The descendants.

From among al-Yazīdī's sons (I) there are six, among his grandsons (II), fifteen, and among his great-grandsons (III), seven, who excelled as philologists, Ḳurʾān readers, traditionists or poets. Their extant verse has been collected, albeit incompletely, and edited by Muḥsin Ghayyāḍ, *Shiʿr al-Yazīdiyyīn*, Nadjaf 1973. Among those who acquired a scholarly reputation, the following four sons should be mentioned: Abū ʿAbd Allāh (I.1) Muḥammad (d. shortly after 214/829 in Egypt; Ghayyāḍ, 93-4); Abū Isḥāḳ (I.2) Ibrāhīm (d. 225/840 in Baghdād; Kaḥḥāla, i, 126-7); Abū ʿAlī (I.3) Ismāʿīl (d. after 275/888-9; Kaḥḥāla, ii, 300); and Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (I.4) ʿAbd Allāh, known as Ibn al-Yazīdī (alive before 207/822; Kaḥḥāla, vi, 139-40).

Like their father, they all stood in a relationship of trust with al-Maʾmūn, some of them even with the

rank of privileged companion (*nadīm* [*q.v.*]). Ibrāhīm, together with his nephew Aḥmad (see below II.1), accompanied the caliph on his travels and military campaigns against the Byzantines. None of their numerous works has come down to us as such, except for a fragment of Ibrāhīm's dictionary of homonyms, *Mā 'ttafaḳa lafẓuhu wa 'khtalafa maʿnāhu*; this work once consisted of 700 folios and kept the author busy, according to his own testimony, from the seventeenth year of his life to the sixtieth (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 360; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, Beirut 1979, i, 79; Sezgin, ix, 74). Of Ismāʿīl, we have a *riwāya* of a small *amthāl* book by his teacher Abū Fayd Muʾarridj al-Sadūsī, which was obviously transmitted to him orally. In 263/876 he transmitted it by dictation in the house of the vizier Sulaymān b. Wahb [see WAHB, BANŪ, and MATHAL. iii (1b)]. His elegy on the death, in 275/888-9, of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim [*q.v.*] yields a *terminus a quo* for his death.

From among al-Yazīdī's grandsons, two sons of (I.1) Muḥammad should be listed: his second son, just mentioned, i.e. Abū Djaʿfar (II.1) Aḥmad (d. shortly before 260/873-4; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 34-5), and his seventh son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (II.2) Faḍl (d. 278/891; see AL-MUBARRAD). Both are frequently-quoted authorities in the transmission of texts ranging from *ḳirāʾa* to *adab*.

This is especially true of the great-grandson Abū ʿAbd Allāh (III.1) Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās, the oldest son of (I.1) Muḥammad. He was born in 228/843 or 230/845 and died on 17 Djumādā II 310/12 Oct. 922 (al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vi, 182). Among his teachers, al-Riyāshī and Thaʿlab have pride of place, the former as a member of the so-called Baṣran, the latter as the head of the so-called Kūfan school. The lost (?) *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* of his great-uncle (I.2) Ismāʿīl (Sezgin, ii, 96; viii, 165-6) and the *Naḳāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*] *Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, with the text according to Abū ʿUbayda > Ibn Ḥabīb > al-Sukkarī, are owed to his recension (*riwāya*). His collection of poems (*dīwān*) of al-Ḥādira [*q.v.*] was published in 1858 in Leiden (with a Latin tr.), then again in Rampur 1939 and Cairo 1969 (Sezgin, ii, 213-14). His collection of elegies (*marāthī*) from pre-Islamic and Islamic times, based on the texts of Ibn Ḥabīb and his uncle (II.2) Faḍl, was published at Ḥaydarābād in 1367/1948 under the title *K. al-Amālī* (H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, v [1952], 196, vi [1953], 189n; Sezgin, ii, 84, x, 261). This *K. al-Marāthī*, under this title, was newly published in Damascus and at the same time in Rabat 1991 (diploma thesis of 1985, cf. *Akhbār al-turāth al-ʿarabī*, xxviii [1407/1986], 20). A *riwāya* of the *K. al-Madjālis* of his teacher Thaʿlab can also be traced back to him (*Fihrist*, 74). The *K. Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān wa-tafsīruhu* (Sezgin, viii, 173) of his great-uncle (I.4) ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā in his *riwāya* was published in Beirut in 1407/1987. His *K. Manāḳib Banī 'l-ʿAbbās* seems not to be extant; neither, unfortunately, is his *K. Akhbār al-Yazīdiyyīn*, the history of his family, which was accessible to the author of the *Aghānī*, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī (d. after 362/973), al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994) and Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990). Towards the end of his life, the caliph al-Muḳtadir entrusted him with the education of his sons.

Bibliography: Given in the article, and see the *Bibl.* to 1. above. (R. SELLHEIM)

YAZĪDJĪ (T.), lit. "writer, secretary" < Tkish. *yaz-* "write", hence the Turkish equivalent of *kātib, dabīr* and *munshī*.

The term was used in Ottoman times for the clerks in the various government departments, such as the treasury, with a *bash yazīdjī* at their head. It could also be used for the secretaries of high court and military officials, e.g. of the Ḳizlar Aghasî "Chief Eunuch of the Women", who was also, in the 10th/16th century, in charge of the *ewḳāf* for the Ḥaramayn, Mecca and Medina, and other great mosques of the empire [see ḤARAMAYN, at Vol. III, 175b].

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AL-**YĀZIDJĪ**, the name of a famous Lebanese Maronite family from Kafr Shīmā eminent in the Arab literary renaissance (*Nahḍa* [*q.v.*]) of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

1. al-Shaykh Nāṣīf b. ʿAbd Allāh (1800-71), the son of a physician and founder of the family's fame, who although he received no formal education, became a teacher, revered philologist and poet. During the first half of his life he held secretarial positions such as that to the Greek Catholic Patriarch (1816-18). He worked closely with American missionaries whom he assisted in a translation of the Bible, as well as becoming a key member of a society established by them entitled *al-Djamʿiyya al-sūriyya* [see DJAMʿIYYA. i.], a literary and scientific circle set up in 1847 in Beirut to raise cultural awareness. He wrote books, mainly popular school texts, on *bayān* [*q.v.*], syntax and morphology (of which one of the best known is *Djawf al-farā*, a work on syntax written in a verse of approximately 1,000 lines that was probably modeled on Ibn Mālik's [*q.v.*] famous *Alfiyya*). Nāṣīf also wrote on logic and medicine. However, he is probably best known for his poetry and his famous collection of prose *Maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*]. Nāṣīf was essentially a follower of the classical tradition. In his poetry he was influenced by al-Mutanabbī, on whom he prepared his well-known commentary entitled *al-ʿArf al-ṭayyib fī dīwān Abi-'l-Ṭayyib*, edited and published by his son Ibrāhīm in 1882. His predilection for classical works and language might have contributed to the animated dispute between Ibrāhīm and the progressive al-Shidyāḳ [*q.v.*], which appears to have begun when al-Shidyāḳ took offence at one of Nāṣīf's poems. Nāṣīf's apparent reluctance to learn foreign languages is another illustration of his traditional outlook. He wrote three *dīwāns* of poetry and a collection of letters in poetic forms containing correspondence with Arab literary figures, the *Kitāb Fākihat al-nudarāʾ fī murāsalat al-udabāʾ* (Beirut 1889). Some of his poetry was religious, as evidenced in the collection of *dīniyyāt* in F. al-Bustānī's *al-Shaykh Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī: muntakhabāt shiʿriyya* (Beirut 1950), in which he sets out to prove the divinity of Christ. Despite this, his interest in the Arabic language, particularly as a symbol of Arab identity, is an important indication that language rather than religion was the main unifying factor in the Arab world at that time. Nāṣīf's prose writing is best exemplified in his famous collection of *Maḳāmāt*, the *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* (Beirut 1856). By his own admission, he strove in this work to produce something comparable to that of the mediaeval al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*] in both form and content. These *maḳāmas* were initially well received in the Arab world and Europe, and were translated into several languages. Although lacking in real originality, this collection re-established the roots of Classical Arabic prose after centuries of stagnation and helped the Arabic language in Lebanon (and elsewhere) to become "a medium of culture and self-expression on an artistic level" (S. Jayyusi, *Trends and movements*, i, 20). Although he was not a moderniser,

he nonetheless played an invaluable role in awakening the national consciousness of the Arabs, as well as being a key figure in the 19th century Arab literary revival.

2. Ibrāhīm (1847-1906) was the second eldest son of Nāṣīf, from whom he received his early education. He became one of the most eminent scholars of his day, spending the first part of his life in Lebanon but then moving to Egypt where he lived until his death. Ibrāhīm was principally a philologist, stylist and lexicographer, but also wrote essays and articles on a wide range of subjects such as astronomy, chemistry, physics and medicine. As a journalist he established and edited three major journals and literary periodicals that, aside from their intellectual value, formed part of his major contribution to the development of printing in the Arab world. As a poet he produced a *dīwān* to express his patriotic fervour, using poetry as a vehicle to arouse nationalistic sentiments in the Arabs and to call them to seek independence from Ottoman rule. He also wrote a number of letters in poetic form to learned friends and literary figures dealing with mainly linguistic themes collected together in his *Rasāʾil al-Yāziḏjī* (Cairo 1920). He was a reformer who played a major role in the revival of the Arab linguistic heritage that had laboured under centuries of foreign rule. It was initially through his own journals such as *al-Bayān* (1897-8) and *al-Ḍiyāʾ* (1898-1906) that he was able to convey his strong reformist views on language. It was also in these journals and in those owned by his friend Buṭrus al-Bustānī [see AL-BUSTĀNĪ, in Suppl.] (*al-Ḏjinān*) and his main rival al-S̲h̲idyāḳ (*al-Ḏjawāʾib*) that many acrimonious intellectual and personal battles were fought. His serialised articles attacking the standards of Arabic employed by his fellow journalists were published in one of his most famous books, *Lug̲h̲at al-ḏjarāʾid* (Cairo 1901). In this work, he tried to show the decline in Classical Arabic in the wake of the Ottoman empire. Although he never argued against the need for the Arabic language to adapt to the requirements of the modern age, his reformist ideas were always based on classical, normative principles, often with an intent to "purify". His lexical innovations for foreign concepts were based on Arabic forms, such as the introduction of *minṭād* for "balloon". Moreover, such was his passion for Classical Arabic that he wrote critiques on the *Lisān al-ʿarab*, and al-Bustānī's *al-Muḥīṭ*, two of the most famous Arabic dictionaries. His own dictionary, *al-Farāʾid al-ḥisān min ḳalāʾid al-lisān*, was left unfinished. Ibrāhīm had his critics, of whom the most vociferous were al-S̲h̲idyāḳ, Anastās al-Karmalī and Ras̲h̲īd al-S̲h̲artūnī. However, he also had many supporters, especially amongst the al-Bustānī family, who helped to bring him the prestige he acquired. It is also said that he greatly influenced the Lebanese poet K̲h̲alīl Muṭrān [*q.v.*] in his mastery of the language. Notable amongst his other scholarly achievements are that he completed, edited and wrote commentaries on some of his father's works, and that he was instrumental in a revised Roman Catholic translation of the Old Testament, which included the Vulgate, into Arabic.

3. K̲h̲alīl (1858-89), youngest son of Nāṣīf, produced a varied but limited literary output owing mainly to his early death. His play in verse entitled *al-Murūʾa wa ʾl-wafāʾ* (Cairo 1884, 1902), was one of the first original tragedies in Arabic. His anthology of poetry called *Nasamāt al-awrāḳ* (Cairo 1888, 1908) was described by Ḏjurdjī Zaydān as one of the finest *dīwāns* ever written. He also wrote on stylistics, as evidenced in an unpublished work on epistolary style, and contributed to the debate on the status of Classical Arabic *vis-à-vis* colloquial Arabic through his unpublished dictionary on the spoken language, *al-Ṣāliḥ bayn al-ʿāmmī wa ʾl-faṣīḥ*. He also subscribed in journals to the common view that the success of the Arab world was dependent on a clear and uniform linguistic strategy. He spent some time in Egypt, where he established a short-lived journal called *Mirʾāt al-s̲h̲arḳ* before returning to his native Lebanon to teach.

4. Warda (1838-1924), daughter of Nāṣīf, produced mainly poetry which was published in a *dīwān* of about 100 pages (Beirut 1867, 1881; Cairo 1913) entitled *Ḥadīḳat al-ward*. Her poetry consisted principally of elegies (*marāt̲h̲ī*) which reflected the classical tradition more than the contemporary scene (as did the works of her father and brothers). Of more significance, perhaps, is that she was one of the early women writers in Arabic of the 19th century. The esteem in which she was held as a key representative of women in society at that time can be seen in the tribute paid to her by Mayy Ziyāda [*q.v.*] in a lecture published in the journal *al-Muḳtaṭaf* in 1924, in which she acknowledged her as one of a group of geniuses that manifests "the cognitions and emotions of its society", and as a "blessed daughter" of the Arabs (*Opening the gates. A century of Arab feminist writing*, ed. M. Badran and M. Cooke, London 1990, 241; tr. by M. Cooke). A portrait of Warda was donated by the women of Beirut and hung next to those of the great men in the city's public library. She died in Egypt, where she in fact spent most of her life.

5. Ḥabīb (1833-70), eldest son of Nāṣīf, was intellectually active in Beirut literary circles and learned several languages. However, his only recorded work of substance was an unpublished commentary on one of his father's books on prosody and rhyme. He also translated literary works into Arabic.

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4. Warda. Dāghir, *op. cit.*, iii/2, 1414-16; al-Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, 66; Kratschkowsky, *loc. cit.*; Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*; Cheikho, *op. cit.*, ii, 44; Ziriklī, ix, 130; Kaḥḥāla, xiii, 164; J.T. Zeidan, *Arab women novelists. The formative years and beyond*, New York 1995, 56-7; M. Booth, art. *Warda al-Yāzijī*, in Meisami and Starkey (eds.), *op. cit.*, ii, 813.

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YAZÎDJÎ-OGHLU, Aḥmed [see bīdjān].

YAZÎDJÎ-OGHLU, or Yazîdjî-zāde, Meḥmed, a venerated religious figure and poet of the first half of the 9th/15th century. He was the son of Yazîdjî (i.e. scribe) Ṣāliḥ b. Süleymān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who wrote a Turkish *methnewī* on astrology called the *Shemsiyye*. The date of his birth is unknown and its place is uncertain, but may have been Ḳāḍī Köy in the Thracian district of Malḳara [*q.v.*]. After he had gone to Persia and Transoxania to complete his studies, he settled in Gallipoli (Gelibolu). He met Ḥādjdjī Bayrām [*q.v.*], probably whilst the latter was passing through Gelibolu, and became his novice (*murīd*). He spent the period of religious retirement and privation (*čile*) in two small cells hewn into a large rock on the Ḥamza Köyü shore in the Namāzgāh district of Gelibolu. He died in 855/1451 and his grave is outside Gelibolu on the road to Istanbul, with the grave of his brother Aḥmed Bīdjān [*q.v.*] close by it. He enjoyed great veneration through the centuries and his grave became an object of pilgrimage. The former presence of a Yazîdjî-oghlu *tekiyye* [see tekke] in Gelibolu leads to the supposition that he was a (presumably Bayrāmiyye) *sheykh* and had dervish followers, but there is no documentation for this.

He first wrote a prose work in Arabic called *Maghārib al-zamān*. This he later translated into Turkish in verse form, whilst his brother Aḥmed Bīdjān translated it into Turkish prose (his *Enwār el-ʿāshiḳīn*). Yazîdjî-oghlu Meḥmed gave his work the name *el-Risāle el-Muḥammediyye* ("The Muhammedan treatise"), but it is generally known simply as the *Muḥammediyye*. He completed it in late Djumādā II 853/August 1449.

The *Muḥammediyye* is a voluminous didactic religious poem of 9,008 verses. Throughout the work, the monorhyme scheme (in the form of *ḳaṣīdes*, *ghazels*, *terdjīʿ-i bends*, *terkīb-i bends*, *ḳiṭʿas* and *müstezāds*) alternates with the *methnewī* "double rhyme" scheme. About half-a-dozen *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] metres are used, the most frequent being *hazadj* and *ramal*. Although Ṣūfī elements are to be found in this work, its overall approach is quite orthodox. It treats, in accordance with the Ḳur'ān and the *ḥadīth*, of the Creation, the Prophets, the lives of the Prophet Muḥammad and of the caliphs Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, of the Judgement Day and the Resurrection, of Heaven and Hell, but its primary theme is the life and prophethood of Muḥammad. The style is mixed; plain Turkish dominates in the passages composed in shorter metres, whilst more ponderous language is to be found in the passages written in longer metres. The *Muḥammediyye* enjoyed immense popularity through the centuries, as the remarkable number of manuscripts attest (an autograph is to be found under no. 431/a in the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Arşiv ve Neşriyat Müdürlüğü Kütüphanesi), and it was printed repeatedly (cf. F. Babinger, in *EI*[1], art. *Yazîdjî-oghlu*).

Of the several commentaries on the *Muḥammediyye*, that by Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī [*q.v.*], *Faraḥ al-rūḥ*, is greatly renowned (first printed Būlāḳ 1252), an earlier *sharḥ* being that by Esīrī (Meḥmed Yūsuf Efendi, d. 1000/1591), which is a prose version in simple language. Several imitative works (*naẓīres*) were also written, for example by Yūsuf-i Bīčāre under the same title (11,690 verses, completed in 913/1507-8; ms. in İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, no. TY 4051). As in the case of the *Wesīlet el-nedjāt* (better known as *Mewlid*) of Süleymān Čelebi [*q.v.*], parts of it were publicly recited, besides being read in private circles in Turkish homes.

The fame of the *Muḥammediyye* extended farther than that of Süleymān Čelebi's *Mewlid*, beyond the boundaries of Anatolia to the Crimea, Kazan, the Bashkirs and to Persia. However, it is not as popular as the *Mewlid* in Turkey today.

Yazîdjî-oghlu Meḥmed also wrote a succinct Arabic *sharḥ* on Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī's [*q.v.*] *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. Other works attributed to him, such as the *Saltuḳ-nāme* reported by Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*], *Seyāḥat-name*, iii, 366, are no longer extant.

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AL-YĀZURĪ, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, vizier to the Fāṭimids in Egypt 440-50/1050-8 (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ii, 203-40; list of his *laḳabs* in L.S. al-Imad, *The Fatimid vizierate, 969-1172*, Berlin 1990, 166; A.F. al-Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-fāṭimiyya, tafsīr djadīd*, Cairo 1996, index at 461).

He was born at Yāzur in Palestine, where his father was *ḳāḍī*, in a Ḥanafī Sunnī family who were the owners of a landed estate. After a Pilgrimage, a piece of the Prophet's Mosque at Medina fell on his shoulder, the presage of a splendid future (Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*, ed. Ferré, Cairo 1972, 79-80, with a very detailed biography). He became *ḳāḍī* of Yāzur, then of al-Ramla, from where, after falling out with

the governor, he had to flee to Cairo. He entered the service of the great eunuch Rizḳ and became *nāẓir* of the personal *dīwān* of the princess-mother of the caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] and then grand *ḳāḍī* of Egypt before succeeding, thanks to Rizḳ's support, Ṣadaḳa b. Yūsuf al-Falāḥī, who had been put to death. (On al-Yāzurī's relations with the rival parties of al-Tustarī and al-Falāḥī, both of Jewish origin, see M. Gil, *A history of Palestine, 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, 403-4 and index.) Although of Sunnī origin, al-Yāzurī was the first person in Egypt to exercise simultaneously the three supreme offices of the régime, *wazīr, ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* and *dāʿī al-duʿāt*.

Under his vizierate in 448/1056-7, the body of the great Fāṭimid general Anūs̲h̲takīn al-Dizbarī [see *EI*² Index of Proper Names, s.v. Anūs̲h̲tigin al-Duzbarī] was brought from Aleppo, where he had been buried unceremoniously in 433/1042 after his dismissal by Ibn al-D̲j̲arḏj̲arāʾī [*q.v.*], to Jerusalem, his corpse to lie in glory at the side of former Ṭūlūnid and Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īdid [*q.vv.*] masters of Egypt. It is likely that al-Yāzurī was responsible for this exceptional posthumous act of homage to a great figure in the Fāṭimid state, devoted completely to Syria and unjustly persecuted by a vizier of ʿIrāḳī origin (Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1989, ii, 521-3).

The vizier's irascible character and his pretensions led him to pursue an aggressive foreign policy. In 443/1052, al-Yāzurī reproached the Zīrid of Ifrīḳiya al-Muʿizz b. Bādis [*q.v.*] for having placed before his own name, at the end of an official letter to Cairo, the expression *ṣanīʿatuhu* "his creature" and not the time-honoured formula *ʿabduhu* "his slave", thus showing a lack of consideration on the part of this prince towards the vizier. Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 556, who tells this anecdote, sees nothing wrong in al-Yāzurī's reaction here but considers it that of a parvenu peasant. It was in order to punish the Zīrid that al-Yāzurī is said to have unleashed the Banū Riyāḥ and the Zug̲h̲ba, two components of the Hilāl [*q.v.*], against North Africa, who pillaged Egypt and Tripolitania and who were to became notorious, together with the Banū Sulaym [*q.v.*], in Ifrīḳiya. In fact, the Byzantines had warned Cairo that the Zīrid state had thrown off S̲h̲īʿism and Fāṭimid obedience in favour of a return to Mālikī Sunnism and the *k̲h̲uṭba* for the ʿAbbāsid caliph in Bag̲h̲dād. The impolite letter was merely the pretext for a rupture announced by the Zīrid coinage issued from 441/1050 onwards.

The end in 449/1057 of the truce between Egypt and Constantinople is partly explicable by the difficulties that all the countries of the eastern Mediterranean littoral were at that time experiencing in securing grain supplies. An agreement provided for an exchange of grain, in time of famine, between Byzantium and Egypt, in favour of the country that was most affected. This arrangement had normally functioned in Egypt's favour at the time of the 447/1055-6 famine, but in 449/1057, the export of cereals was forbidden by the new Byzantine emperor, provoking in reprisal a renewal of Fāṭimid operations in northern Syria (see Bianquis, *op. cit.*, ii, 506 ff.), against Lād̲h̲aḳiyya and then Aleppo. This action was to end in 452/1060, after al-Yāzurī's death, in the definitive loss by the Fāṭimids of northern Syria and in a rapprochement between Byzantium and the new power of the Saldj̲ūḳs [*q.v.*], protectors of the ʿAbbāsids.

Finally, breaking Cairo's tradition since the death of the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in 383/972 of Fāṭimid non-intervention to the south and east of al-Raḥba on the middle Euphrates, in order to avoid conflict with the ʿAbbāsids, al-Yāzurī organised, in concert with the *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn, the ill-fated expedition of al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] against Bag̲h̲dād, a venture which, after initial success, ended miserably in 451/1060 after al-Yāzurī's death. For Ibn Muyassar (*Ak̲h̲bār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1981, 16, 20-1), the invasion of Fāṭimid Syria by the Turkish G̲h̲uzz [*q.v.*], which followed shortly after the vizier's death, was the direct result of the anti-Saldj̲ūḳ provocation by al-Basāsīrī and the permanent depletion of the Fāṭimid treasury after this very costly expedition.

Even in Egypt itself, where he treated the Christians badly, Upper Egypt [see AL-ṢAʿĪD] seems to have slipped partly from his control (J.Cl. Garcin, *Un centre musulman de Haute Égypte médiévale, Qūṣ*, Cairo 1976, 91, n. 3).

The arrest of al-Yāzurī, with eight of his accomplices, and then his execution in the *dār al-wizāra* of Tinnīs, is said to have been motivated by several accusations against him. He was allegedly guilty of high treason: whilst supporting al-Basāsīrī, he was at the same time reportedly corresponding with Ṭog̲h̲rïl Beg [*q.v.*] and with Ibrāhīm Inal, the latter's brother and enemy, inciting the Saldj̲ūḳs to occupy first Syria and then Egypt in order to put an end to the Fāṭimid régime. He was said to have been equally guilty of misappropriation. The riches of his table during the famine of 447/1055-6 are said to have drawn al-Mustanṣir's attention. At a later date, he is said to have sent gold, hidden in coffins, to Palestine, notably for his son K̲h̲aṭīr al-Mulk or for Wafī al-Mulk, his associate in the vizierate and the supreme judicature, at that moment in post at Jerusalem. At the time of al-Yāzurī's arrest, three million dīnārs are said to have been confiscated from him, and his mounts sold for one thousand dīnārs. Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, ms. Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya, *ʿāmma* 546, vol. xxvi, fol. 19, records that his son K̲h̲aṭīr al-Mulk, having later fallen into penury, earned his bread mending clothes in the mosque of Fuwwa in Upper Egypt.

It is from al-Yāzurī's vizierate that one can date the end of the Fāṭimid empire outside Egypt and the fall of the civil administration which, after the crisis of 457-64/1065-72, became a military régime in which the caliph was placed under the thumb of the commander-in-chief, the *amīr al-dj̲uyūsh* [see WAZĪR. 1(b)].

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(TH. BIANQUIS)

YEĞANA, ʿALĪ MÜNĪF (1874-1950), Ottoman administrator, deputy, and minister during the constitutional period (1908-18), deputy during the republic, was born in Adana. He graduated from the *Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*, the civil service school in Istanbul where he learned Arabic and Persian, in 1896. There he joined the secret opposition to ʿAbd ül-Hamīd II [*q.v.*] and promised to support the constitutional movement wherever he was posted. ʿAlī Münīf was sent to Gallipoli (1896) and to towns in the Balkans. While he was *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of Köprülü, he permitted the secret Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) (*Ittiḥād ve Teraḳḳī D̲j̲emʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*] to operate in relative freedom. He met and became friendly with Meḥmed Ṭalʿat [*q.v.*], one of the most important leaders in the CUP.

ʿAlī Münīf supported the constitutional movement when it broke out in Macedonia in June 1908. When elections were held in November, he was elected deputy for Adana and put in charge of the CUP's parliamentary party. But after the failure of the counter-revolution of April 1909, the Committee decided to strengthen its position in the provinces,

and such able administrators as ʿAlī Münīf were sent there. He was appointed governor (*wālī*) of Ankara in November 1910, and then of Manāstīr in July 1911 where the CUP had its roots. However, in July 1912 the liberal opposition seized power through a military coup d'état. ʿAlī Münīf was dismissed along with other Unionist officials and was forced to work within the CUP. He was elected to the Central Committee, the *Merkez-i ʿUmūmī*, which played a critical role while in opposition. It organised popular meetings during the Balkan War favouring belligerency, and ʿAlī Münīf says that he addressed one such meeting on 21 September 1912.

The CUP recaptured power with the coup d'état of 23 January 1913. ʿAlī Münīf was sent as *wālī* of Aleppo and instructed to appease the nationalists in Syria with concessions recognising the use of Arabic in local education and administration.

When Ṭalʿat became Interior Minister, he appointed ʿAlī Münīf his under secretary. But in September 1915 he was sent to Syria, partly to curb Djemāl Pasha's [*q.v.*] authority and partly to assert Ottoman sovereignty as governor of Mount Lebanon. He replaced Ohannes Kuyumjiyan, a Catholic Armenian, and remained in office until May 1916. On his recall, local notables, both Christian and Muslim, protested to Istanbul, describing ʿAlī Münīf as "just and neutral", and his administration as "honourable and beneficial". But Ṭalʿat wanted ʿAlī Münīf by his side, appointing him Minister of Public Works when he became Grand Vizier in February 1917. He was elected deputy for Aleppo in the by-election of December 1917, and in the same year the CUP arranged his marriage to Sabīḥa Hānīm, the granddaughter of Aḥmed Rātib Pasha, a creature of the old régime.

ʿAlī Münīf resigned in October 1918, with the rest of the Ṭalʿat Pasha cabinet, under British pressure, and he was arrested in January 1919 by the sultan's government as a former Unionist. He was imprisoned, tried, and exiled to Malta, returning to Istanbul in April 1921. He joined the nationalist movement, but was suspect as someone with close ties to Ṭalʿat Pasha. Muṣṭafā Kemāl wanted to send him as the Nationalists' representative to Afghānistān, a form of exile. ʿAlī Münīf chose to return to Adana, where he had political roots. He organised resistance to the French occupation of the Čukorova and after the French left, he was elected mayor of Adana. He played an important role in the town's rehabilitation from the ravages of war and in the development of agriculture and irrigation in the Čukorova.

The Republic was founded in October 1923, and ʿAlī Münīf was elected deputy for Mersin and later Seyḥān on the Republican People's Party (RPP) ticket. He kept a low political profile during these years, and this saved him from arrest and trial for involvement in the Izmir conspiracy of former Unionists in 1926. His friend from the *Mülkiyye*, Meḥmed Djāwīd, was hanged. Though he supported the formation of the Free Party led by his friend ʿAlī Fetḥī [Okyar] [*q.v.*], he took care not to join it. In the election that followed he was omitted from the RPP list but was elected as an Independent; he refused to accept election unless he was rehabilitated. He was taken back into the RPP and continued to be elected on its ticket until the first multi-party election of 1946, when he became the oldest member of the new assembly. ʿAlī Münif, who had adopted the surname Yeğana in 1934, died on 3 March 1950, two months before the May election when the RPP lost to the Democrat Party.

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(Feroz Ahmad)

YEGEN MEḤMED PASHA [see MEḤMED PASHA, YEGEN].

YEGEN ʿOTHMĀN PASHA [see ʿOTHMĀN PASHA, YEGEN].

YEGEN, WALĪ AL-DĪN [see YAKAN, MUḤAMMAD WALĪ AL-DĪN].

YEMISHDJI ḤASAN PASHA (d. 1012/1603), one of twelve Grand Viziers under Meḥemmed III (1003-12/1595-1603 [*q.v.*]) during the Long War (1593-1606) with the Holy Roman Empire. Albanian in origin, he was raised in the palace system, began service in the Janissaries in 1580, was appointed as Yeñi Čeri Aghasī on the Hungarian battlefields in Shawwāl 1002/June 1594, and became Grand Vizier on 21 Muḥarram 1010/12 July 1601 on the death of his predecessor Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. His period as Grand Vizier was punctuated with battlefield service, especially at the restoration of Istolnī Belgrad in 1602, and intrigue, when a rumoured palace coup made him dash to Istanbul in that same year, where his life was spared by the intercession of his protectress Wālide Sulṭān Ṣafiyye [*q.v.*]. In a period of chaos and disorder, he is especially noteworthy for greedy ambition, maliciousness and abuse of friend and foe alike, and was one of three of Meḥemmed III's Grand Viziers to be executed, shortly after his dismissal on 27 Rabīʿ II 1012/24 September 1603. He was married to Ibrāhīm Pasha's widow, ʿĀʾishe Sulṭān.

Bibliography: See Orhan F. Köprülü, *İA* art. *Ḥasan Paşa Yemişçi*, for a detailed account of his career and an extensive bibl.

(Virginia H. Aksan)

YEÑI BĀZĀR, in Turkish "new market", in Serbo-Croat Novi Pazar, denotes both a region, the former "Sandjak of Yeñi Bāzār/Sandžak of Novi Pazar", and a town, now in Yugoslavia, on the Raška river (lat. 43° 09', long. 20° 29' E.).

1. The region. This and Zeta constitute the original heartland of mediaeval Serbia, corresponding largely to the ancient Rascia, and was in mediaeval times very important, as the remains of imposing churches, monasteries and baths there show. The Sandjak (in the Ottoman *wilāyet* of Kosovo till 1912) was an upland region situated between Serbia, Bosnia and Montenegro, of great strategic and military importance, since it assured communications between Bosnia and Rumelia, and prevented a direct link of Serbia with Montenegro and the Adriatic coast. It was part of the Ottoman empire for four centuries (mid-15th century to 1878), then with its western part, the "region of Lim", garrisoned, according to the provisions of the Congress of Berlin, by Austro-Hungarian

troops till it was restored to the Ottomans in 1908. Entered by Serbian and Montenegrin troops in 1912, it was divided amongst these two powers, occupied again by Austria-Hungary in 1915-18, and then became part of Yugoslavia (except during 1941-4 when it was attached to "Greater Albania" under a Fascist Italian protectorate).

2. The town. This was founded *ca.* 1460 by the governor of Sarajevo Ghāzī ʿĪsā Beg [see BOSNA, at Vol. I, 1263a] after the Ottoman conquest of the region *ca.* 1456, and called "New" to distinguish it from the settlement of Pazarište or Trgovište, called in Turkish Eski Bāzār. Thanks to its favourable situation on a plain at the crossroads of important routes between Bosnia and Macedonia, connecting towns like Sarajevo, Ragusa/Dubrovnik, Niš and Istanbul, the town developed rapidly, with a colony of Ragusan merchants apparently attested in 1461 and iron mines in the vicinity; it also served as a concentration-point for military conquests further west and northwest. It was visited and described by many Western travellers [see *EI*[1] art. *Novibazar*, with references to their works], with its apogee in the later 17th century, when Ewliyā Čelebi visited it (1660); he mentions, with some exaggeration, 40-50 *maḥalles*, 23 mosques, 11 *mesdjids*, 5 *medreses*, 2 *tekkes*, etc. But this prosperity was ended by the Turco-Austrian wars, with the town devastated by Austrian troops and Serb insurgents in 1689 and again in 1737. A period of anarchy under semi-independent beys, such as the Ferhadagić or Ferhād-oghullarî followed, aggravated by plague outbreaks. Commerce and agriculture declined, and Novi Pazar became in the 18th century, and even more so in the 19th century, a place of little importance. In such a climate, relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in both the town and the region remained difficult, with the landowning *beys* residing in the towns, to which also came influxes of Muslim *muhādjirs* [*q.v.*] from Montenegro and Serbia; after 1912, more or less massive emigrations of Muslims back to Turkey took place. The town is said to have had 7,000 inhabitants in 1836, 13,433 in 1913 and 23,000 in 1968. The situation of the remaining Muslims in the town and region has been complicated. Part of these Muslims have settled in adjacent regions, such as Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and notably in Sarajevo, where they have recently played an active role in the *Savez Demokratske Akcije* ("Union of Democratic Action") of M. Alija Izetbegović. This has made the identity problems of the Muslims in the Sandžak even more complex, with groups at various times and in various circumstances calling themselves "Muslim Serb", "Musulman", "Sandžaklije" or "Bošnjak".

Bibliography: See, above all, the art. *Novibazar* by Babinger in *EI*[1]; V. Radovanović, *Novi Pazar*, in *Narodna Enciklopedija*, Zagreb 1928, iii, 114-15; and M. Lutovac, *Novi Pazar*, in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vi, Zagreb 1965, 309-10; as well as the detailed monograph of M. Maletić (ed.), *Novi Pazar i okolina*, Belgrade 1969. Also Th. Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo* (*Das alte Rascien*), Vienna 1892; E.J. Cvetić, *Novopazarski Sandžak*, Jagodina 1909, [2]1912; I. Kosančić, *Novo-Pazarski Sandžak i njegov etnički problem*, Belgrade 1912; I. Tomitch, *Les Albanais en Vieille-Serbie et dans le Sandjak de Novi-Bazar*, Paris 1913; G. Gravier, *Le Sandžak de Novi Pazar*, in *Ann. de Géogr.*, xxii/121 (1913), 41-67; K. Isović, *Austro-ugarsko zaposedanje Novopazarskog Sandžaka 1879 godine*, in *Godišnjak Društva Istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, ix (Sarajevo 1958), 109-37; V. Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Raškoj 1903-1912*, Belgrade 1972, Dj. Pejović, *Politika Austro-Ugarske, Italije i Srbije u Novopazarskom Sandžaku 1878-1912, i uvodjenje reformi u Turskoj*, in *Tokovi Revolucije*, iii/1-2 (Belgrade 1973), 1-38; S. Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Muslimana iz Sandžaka*, Sarajevo 1991.

(A. POPOVIC)

YEÑI ČERI (T.), lit. "new troop", a body of professional infantrymen of the Ottoman empire in its heyday.

1. Origins.

The "new troop", so-called not so much because of the novelty of the idea as because at the time of its introduction by the vizier Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [see DJANDARLÎ] in the 760s/1360s it opposed then-prevailing military traditions cherished by the frontier warriors. The predecessors of Murād I [*q.v.*], rather than maintaining a standing army funded by the central fisc, had relied almost exclusively on the military services provided, on a voluntary basis, by Turkmen horsemen and border raiders (*akîndjî*), who served under semi-independent commanders of the frontier districts (*udj beyleri*). Although the recruitment of cash-paid soldiers had plenty of precedents, from the Rūm Saldjūk *djīra-khwārs* (Bombaci, 345) to the *yaya* [*q.v.*] troops introduced by Sultan Orkhān [*q.v.*] after the fall of Iznik in 734/1331 (Kemāl Pasha-zāde, *II. Defter*, 47-55), those with a vested interest in the preservation of the old military order saw the "new troop" as a threat. Ottoman sources closest to the events, such as the anonymous chronicles, reflect the considerable unease which the creation of the *yaya* and later the *yeñi-čeri* caused among the frontier forces. Apart from its importance as a means of confronting the military might of neighbouring states, Ottoman sultans increasingly came to regard the possession of a personal army of permanent salaried troops (*khāṣṣa ordusu*) as an essential tool in combating centrifugal tendencies among the Turkmen beys. For ceremonial purposes, too, a court-based imperial bodyguard, called by the Ottomans *kapu kullarî* but closely modelled on the Saldjūkid *ghulām-i dargāh* (Bombaci, 349), gained an increased importance from the time of Orkhān onwards as the Ottomans sought to set themselves apart from neighbouring Muslim states in Anatolia, whom they regarded as belonging to the petty dynasts or *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*. It was, however, only after the Ottomans' acquisition of Edirne and the opening up of a new sphere for imperial expansion in Europe after the mid-760s/1360s that the need for a dependable, centralised military organisation began to assert itself more convincingly.

The initial source of recruitment for the corps was the *pendjik resmi* or one-fifth treasury tax on war captives whose introduction by the Ottomans is dated in sources of a later period to 764/1363-4 (*Osmanlı kanunnameleri*, in *MTM*, i/2, 325). This practice, despite the outcries by traditionalists and supporters of the early Ottoman status quo, who regarded it as a hateful innovation [see BIDʿA], actually rested on long-standing Islamic precedent [see FAYʾ]. The "newness" of the *yeñi čeri* can also be questioned on the grounds of the duties and functions performed by it in the period immediately after its establishment. Apart from the parallel institution of the *yaya*, another group, the *ʿazab* [*q.v.*], played a very similar battle role to the Janissaries and outnumbered them in the first period by a very considerable margin (Inalcik, *Military expenditure*, 93). The collective presence of the Janissaries in the army of Murād I was limited to no more than 2,000 (Ferīdūn, *Münsheʾāt*, i, 114) and it seems that his great-grandson Murād II, who died in 855/1451, was still only capable of mustering a Janissary force of

about 3,000 men (Inalcik, *Fatih devri*, 118). Ottoman military practice was not revolutionised by the introduction of the Janissaries, whose only distinction in comparison to the *ʿazabs* was their permanent salaried status. In this early period, as later, the Janissaries' coveted position as *khünkār ḳulu* was a source of jealousy not just among the *aḳindji* border raiders (see above), but also a source of grievance to the irregular infantry forces whose conditions of service, armaments and fitness for battle were indistinguishable from the Janissaries. The Janissaries' continued use of the cross-bow and related technologies in the late 8th/14th century is attested in a variety of Ottoman sources (see, for example, the *Ḳawānīn-i Yeñičeriyān*, fol. 110b). Because of their limited numbers, sufficient in practical terms for little more than vanguard and imperial escort services, Janissaries did not assume a crucial offensive role in the Ottoman army until they came into their own after the mid-9th/15th century in a more specialised role as troops trained for the assault of fortified places.

The still undeveloped state of Ottoman siege techniques in the early period is apparent from contemporary accounts describing the failed sieges of Kruje in 854/1450 [see AḲ-ḤIṢĀR. 4] and Belgrade in 860/1456. Contemporary sources on the Belgrade campaign concur in their view that, while Ottoman artillery achieved its purpose in penetrating enemy defences, the assault troops failed to capitalise on the opportunity which their success had offered (Mihailović, 107-10, and Tursun Bey, 38-40). By contrast a detailed account of Ottoman success in the Belgrade siege of 927/1521 attributed a leading role to the Janissaries who, by advancing ahead of the artillery, cleared a path for the best placing of the siege guns thereby ensuring the success of the final assault (see events of 1 Ramaḍān/4 August; Tauer, *Histoire de la campagne*, Persian text, fol. 95b [pp. 78-9], French tr., 53). Despite the early textual evidence referring to Janissaries and other Ottoman troops armed with arquebuses (see Petrović, in Parry and Yapp (eds.), *War and society*, 193-4), the most authoritative sources on the state of Ottoman warfare in the mid-9th/15th century, such as the anonymous account of the battle of Varna, give an equal prominence to the continuing use in battle of more "primitive" weapons such as axes, picks and maces (see the index of Inalcik and Oguz (eds.), *Gazavatname, s.v. balta, külünk, topuz*) in addition to the still ubiquitous bow and arrow. Firearms did not assume a dominant place at the centre of Ottoman military provision until the early years of the 10th/16th century (see Inalcik's remarks on the "modernisation" of the Ottoman military order under Sultan Süleymān I (1520-66), in Parry and Yapp, *op. cit.*, 198).

While we do not have enough detailed knowledge of the actual state of Janissary tactics and training during the first century of the corps' existence to reach any conclusive assessments, from the standpoint of its institutional continuity there can be little doubt that the period of the interregnum which followed the Ottomans' defeat by Tīmūr at the battle of Ankara in 804/1402 brought serious disruption to evolving Janissary service traditions. It is thus only from the reign of Meḥemmed II onwards (see below) that we can confidently trace the evolutionary phases through which the corps passed.

2. The evolution of the Janissary corps (1450-1700).

Institutional growth and development

The size of the corps inherited by Meḥemmed II at the time of his second accession in 855/1451 was still modest. Two years later, as a natural consequence of the transfer of his capital to Istanbul and the creation of an extended administrative apparatus, the membership of his standing military corps increased.

From Meḥemmed's time, it became necessary to distinguish Janissary regiments according to the time and circumstances of their creation in three principal subdivisions: the *djemāʿat* or *piyādegān* (later expanded to 101 regiments) for those created before Meḥemmed's reign; the *segbān* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (*sekbān*), a small corps of keepers of the palace hounds absorbed into the ranks of the Janissaries by Meḥemmed in 855/1451 (later expanded to 34 regiments); and the *bölük* or *agha bölükleri* (numbering 61 regiments), created in a further expansion undertaken early in the reign of Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*]. Hence by the 1480s, when the Janissary institution had already assumed its final structural profile, the "imperial bodyguard" of the early 15th century had grown to 196 infantry regiments each referred to by the generic term *orta* (i.e. "common", "shared" [*q.v.*]), which meant that each had its separate mess arrangements and a chief officer called (in the case of the *agha bölükleri*) the *čorbadji* (i.e. dispenser of the soup [*q.v.*]). These smaller units within the three divisions formed the actual focus of loyalty and identification for the majority of Janissaries, who in a further allusion to the communal nature of their joint enterprise were also referred to as hearthmates (*odjaḳ-eri*; see ODJAḲ). Some Janissary regiments had specialised functions which served to accentuate their sense of distinctiveness and separation. Consequently, when speaking of general institutional developments, it is important to be wary of the obvious but dangerous assumption that the Janissaries always functioned as a monolithic and cohesive whole and remain conscious of the degree to which regimental pride and loyalty motivated Janissary behaviour (see section 4, below).

The expansion of the Janissaries during the reign of Meḥemmed II from about 5,000 to perhaps 10,000 by the end of his reign (Inalcik, *Fatih devri*, 118) reflects the needs of an expanding empire, and if we accept that each of the 61 new regiments introduced by his successor Bāyezīd had, at first, 50 members (*Ḳawānīn-i Yeñičeriyān*, fol. 84a), its increase to roughly 13,000 over less than half a century was formidable. Meḥemmed's decision to try to meet the empire's growing military needs by converting *waḳf* and *mülk* lands to *mīrī* ownership and redistributing them as *tīmār* to the growing ranks of the provincial cavalry had met with fierce resistance from established Muslim families in Anatolia. Bāyezīd's alternative plan of expanding the Janissaries had the double advantage of appeasing public opinion while at the same time providing the empire with a professional soldiery on a scale unmatched in either Europe or Asia at the time. Neither the fiscal nor the political implications of Bāyezīd's military policies seems to have attracted much critical notice or caused any of the furore associated with a later phase of the Janissaries' expansion in the closing decades of the 10th/16th century (see below).

During the reign of Sultan Süleymān I [*q.v.*], the corps experienced a period of relative stability, maintaining its size and proportional share of treasury allocations with consistency. While it retained its nominal strength of between 12-13,000 members, in battle deployments the usual figure was more like half that number, as the record of a salary distribution in the field while on campaign in Hungary demonstrates (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D. 9619 dated 948/1541, showing the presence in Süleymān's army of

6,362 Janissaries). Ottoman military provision, including levels of Janissary enrolment, was closely linked to realistic assessment of the empire's actual strategic requirements. In the aftermath of the drastic devaluation of the silver *akče* [*q.v.*] in 994/1586, the spiralling cost of maintaining the Janissaries caused widespread concern, but the realities of the Ottomans' new initiatives in the Caucasus and their intermittent two-front war with the Habsburgs and Ṣafawids between 1000/1591 and 1015/1606 made a further expansion inevitable. The steepest increase seems to be associated not with remobilisation for war in Hungary after 1000/1591 but earlier, in connection with the twelve-year struggle between 986/1578 and 998/1590 focused on control of Ādharbāydjān and prompted, at least in part, by the Ṣafawids' development of a musket-bearing infantry corps of their own [see ʿABBĀS I; GHULĀM. ii]. By the death of Murād III in 1003/1595, the Janissaries already numbered 25,000 (Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Künh ül-akhbār*, fol. 92b). Throughout the 11th/17th century the Ottomans were intermittently engaged on both the eastern and western fronts, and exceptional mobilisations for major new undertakings such as the Cretan offensive in particular years periodically pushed Janissary enrolments near to the 40,000 mark (Murphey, *Ottoman warfare*, 45, table 3.5). The gist of Ottoman advice literature of the early 11th/17th century in which the *leitmotif* of Janissary "corruption" caused by recruitment irregularities is repeatedly emphasised (see below), does not adequately reflect the Ottomans' real manpower needs and strategic requirements in an epoch dominated by siege warfare. The new military realities had rendered both the ideals and the social structure which had supported the landed timariot class of the past increasingly obsolete.

By the early 11th/17th century, the Janissaries had evolved beyond their former role as an élite troop with principal responsibility for escorting and guarding the imperial presence to a position (together with the also proliferating *djebedji* and *topdju* artillerymen) as the indispensable operational core of the Ottoman army. An indication of the important part played by Janissaries in general military provision is given by the fact that, despite the conclusion of their war with the Habsburgs by treaty in 1015/1606, and despite their having entered into a phase of retrenchment in the east, which was shortly to lead to the abandonment of many of the forward positions occupied during the first phase of their conflict with the Ṣafawids, when ʿAyn-i ʿAlī surveyed the Ottomans' military position in 1018/1609 he found 9,046 *ʿadjemi oghlanlari* still in the pipeline, most of them destined for induction into one of the 196 standing regiments of the Janissaries (ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *Ḳawānīn*, 89).

3. The role of the Janissaries in Ottoman politics.

According to Ottoman protocol, the *agha* of the Janissaries' position as the top-ranking officer of the select palace guard called the "officers of the stirrup" [see RIKĀB] required that he remain close to the sultan. Although he maintained a residence of his own called the *agha ḳapusu*, a sprawling complex built on a site overlooking the Golden Horn adjacent to the Süleymāniyye mosque (see Plate IV), by making use of his unrestricted right of private audience with the sultan (*Tewḳīʿī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha ḳānūnnāmesi*, 524-5), he maintained an exceptionally close personal relationship with the sovereign and served as one of his inner group of advisers both in peacetime and war. The *agha* of the Janissaries also bore a heavy responsibility (along with the Grand Vizier [see ṢADR-I AʿẒAM]) for the maintenance of law and order in the capital. Given the nature of his position as a close aide and confidant of the sultan, the commander of the Janissaries exerted a powerful influence on the government. There is a tendency, apparent in the Ottoman court chronicles, to ascribe a negative role to the Janissaries and to highlight their participation in mutinies and their commission of other acts of intransigence associated especially with the regencies necessitated by the accession of minor sultans in the 11th/17th century [see KÖSEM WĀLIDE] and the obvious breakdown of Janissary discipline in the 18th century (see below). However, it bears remembering that even the most powerful, determined and militarily active sultans such as Meḥemmed II, Selīm II and Süleymān I experienced considerable difficulties in dictating terms to their *ḳullar*.

The role of the Janissaries as caretakers and guardians of the sovereign authority during regencies and interregna is attested in all periods of Ottoman history. One striking example is the role played by the Janissaries in securing the pseudo-succession of Ḳorḳud which lasted for seventeen days until the safe arrival of his father Bāyezīd from Amasya in 886/1481 [see ḲORḲUD B. BĀYEZĪD; and Tursun Bey, 64]. The sponsorship of the Janissaries was essential to sultans in securing their succession to the throne. This was particularly true of the period of Ottoman history up to the accession of Meḥemmed III in 1003/1595 since, until that time, all candidates for the succession resided not in the capital but in their princely governorates in Anatolia. The Janissaries' intervention in politics was, however, by no means limited to succession struggles and dethronements. An illustration of the delicate relationship of mutual dependence between sovereign (*khünkār*) and servitor (*kul*) is provided in a much-quoted passage in a letter of the Habsburg envoy Busbecq written in 1560, where he reflects on the causes of Sultan Süleymān's anxiety and notes the Janissaries' ability to "transfer their loyalty to whomever they will" (Busbecq, *Letters*, 159). Busbecq's remarks serve as the strongest possible reminder that, long after the distribution of the obligatory accession gratuity [see BAKHSHĪSH] as one of their first acts in office, sultans were still engaged in ongoing negotiations with the Janissaries to gain their cooperation.

Under normal conditions, the loyalty and obedience of the Janissaries to their protector and benefactor (*welī niʿmet*) was unquestioning, but maintaining the relationship of mutual trust required constant effort and vigilance on both sides. The one-sided ascription of blame for periodic breakdowns in the relationship to the natural disposition of the Janissaries to rebelliousness and sedition (*fitna*) misses the essential point that nurturing the bonds of filial duty placed an equal burden of responsibility on the sultan to provide for the basic needs of his troops, which included not just prompt and full payment of their basic wages (*ʿulūfe*) but also, when merited, bonuses for exceptional service distributed as *teraḳḳī* (salary increases) and other forms of sultanic largesse [see INʿĀM]. The classic case of the gradual unravelling of this relationship based on mutual trust is collapsed into a short but dramatic period of Ottoman history during the rule of ʿOthmān II (1027-31/1618-22). Janissary fears over the sultan's intention to replace them in an ill-conceived plan concocted by the chief of the Harem, the Dār ul-Saʿāde Aghasi Süleymān Agha, compounded by the general spirit of mutual recrimination following the failed Polish campaign of the previous year [see KHOTIN] led to a serious crisis of confidence culminating in the

Janissaries' rejection and refusal of the sultan's patronage by the overturning of their soup cauldrons. Aside from such moments of exceptional and irresolvable bitterness, however, the Janissaries took their responsibility for protecting the honour, reputation and personal safety of the sultan as a sacred trust. The historian ʿĀshïḳ Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*], while holding some reservations about the legal basis as well as usefulness of the corps in the early days of its existence (see above), still gave recognition to this protective aspect of the Janissaries' responsibilities in his account when he noted: "the sovereign needs the household troops at his [right]/that they might watch over him [day and night]" (*gereklüdür Yeñičeri ḳapuda/ki Khānï gözleyeler her ṭapuda*) (*Tārīkh*, 50; on the multiple senses of *ṭapu* as used in this verse, see the *Bibl.* under this author).

4. Janissary self-governance: the traditions of jurisdictional autonomy and judicial immunity as sources of regimental cohesion.

Although they performed key fixed roles in court ceremonial and battle field deployment, the Janissaries were keenly aware and jealously protective of their independence and sense of regimental pride. While heedful of the superior position of the sultan as the ultimate source of patronage, they staunchly defended their jurisdictional autonomy. One sign of each regiment's status as a closed corporation was that each maintained a separate communal welfare chest (*orta ṣandïghï*), from which Janissaries could draw in retirement and which also provided for widows and orphans of deceased Janissaries. Each regiment also had an officer called the *wekīl-i khardj* (paymaster-general), who oversaw the distribution of funds held in trust for use by those in special need as well as the collection of contributions for each regiment's independent campaign provisions fund (*kumanya*). All these special funds were administered at the regimental level (*Ḳawānīn-i Yeñičeriyān*, fol. 39a). From the standpoint of fiscal autonomy and responsibility for the discipline of and imposing of punishments on its own members, each regiment within the 196 was run as a separate entity with a principled objection to outside interference in its members' welfare. This organisational structure fostered a strong sense of regimental pride and loyalty, a source of Janissary strength that neither the sultan nor the *agha* of the Janissaries himself was disposed to tamper with. Rules for the punishment of lapses in Janissary discipline were precise and allowed maximum scope for the carrying out of the required punishments (usually flogging) in the relative privacy of the offending soldier's regimental barracks (*Ḳawānīn-i Yeñičeriyān*, fols. 41b-42a). In the final analysis, the Janissaries' élite status derived not so much from their material condition, since (barring income from another source) their maximum entitlement when they reached the top of the pay scale after more than a decade of active service was no more, in the early 10th/17th century, than 12 *aḳčes* per day [see ʿULŪFE], but rather from their visible separation from the common rank of society conveyed by the privilege of wearing a regimental uniform and the immunity from public prosecution which it symbolised. The very strong impression is left in one of the few genuinely contemporary accounts surviving of the deposition and murder of ʿOthmān II in 1031/1622 that it was the sultan's persistent disregard for the time-honoured tradition of the Janissaries' judicial immunity that so provoked their anger (Tughī, *ʿIbretnümā*, 493, 504). The communal ethos binding Janissaries together was felt most forcefully at the regimental level among smaller cohorts of men who were both recruited and trained under very similar conditions and who, after completion of their training, served together in a succession of campaigns as comrades at arms (*yol-dash*). The protection of each unit's administrative autonomy thus had considerable importance for the maintaining of general morale within the corps.

The General Commander of the Janissaries reserved promotion to some of the regimental commands for those who had served at his side as one of the personal aides and as attendants who made up his obligatory suite on special ceremonial occasions (see the section on the *agha gediklileri* in the *Ḳawānīn-i Yeñičeriyān*, fols. 75a-76b). By this means, he had knowledge of and was able to exert some control over the mood of his troops at the regimental level. However, in combat situations especially, the higher level of authority represented by the *agha* of the Janissaries had little direct influence over the soldiers' performance.

Recommendations for promotion and commendation for deeds of valour on the battlefield were admittedly processed by means of the commander's *ʿarḍ* (petition) to the sultan, but this list of candidates for reward was itself generated within the regiments. With very few exceptions, moreover, (see the list in *SʿO*, iv, 771-8) the average term of office for *aghas* of the Janissaries was relatively brief. Because of their overriding concern with institutional aspects of the corps' history, even the seemingly most comprehensive works on the Janissaries have left a perhaps exaggerated impression that Janissaries belonged to a monolithic entity governed by clear lines of authority and possessing a distinct chain of command which emanated from the centre.

5. Recruitment, training, promotion and battle performance of Janissaries.

The effectiveness of the Janissaries as a key element of Ottoman military provision in the era of the *Pax Ottomanica* in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries is generally recognised. Opinion is, however, divided on the question of whether their recognised superiority derived from selectivity in recruitment, thoroughness in training or the exceptional quality of the *esprit de corps* generated in individual Janissary units whose fighting strength represented, in round figures, about 100 men. While the subject is too large to treat in any detail here, a review of some of the basic elements of the system may help to clarify some controversial aspects. From what we know of Ottoman recruitment practices it seems that they gave preference in selection to boys who had already entered early manhood. This is reflected in the rates of the *pendjik*, which in several examples dating from the pre-Süleymānid era (texts transcribed in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu ocakları*, 87-90) indicate that the ages between 12 and 19 were considered optimal for the purpose of military training. Such theoretical guidelines were apparently also followed in the actual practice of the *devshirme* [*q.v.*], since we know from a published example relating to Bosnia that the actual age span found in one group of recruits ranged from 13 to 19 (see the study by Meriç cited in DEVSHIRME). Other texts of the early 10th/17th century (see the example in Refik, *Devşirme usulu*, 4-5, dated 1031/1621) suggest the consistent adherence to an age at first recruitment between 15 and 20, which may indicate a bias towards a slightly shorter period in training but otherwise conforms closely to earlier practice. If we accept that most Janissaries began their training at the age of 14 or 15 and completed a course of basic training lasting a minimum of four to five years, they were ready to

enter active service at the age of 19 or 20 at the peak of their physical development and endurance potential. References in the advice literature to an optimum period of 15-20 years in basic training before admission to active Janissary units seem not just highly unlikely but wholly impractical (see, for example, Ḳoči Bey's *risāle* of 1041/1631-2, Aksüt, 71: *on-beshsh yigirmi čuhalu olmayindja* . . ., and the anonymous *Kitāb-i Müsteṭāb* of *ca.* 1029/1620, Yücel, 7, which recommends that cadets should serve terms of 6-7 years as *ʿadjemī oghlān*, then 5-10 years as *bostandjī* [*q.v.*] before being inscribed in the Janissary rolls). At all events, Janissary vacancies (*maḥlūl*) created by the retirement or death of veterans had be filled on a semi-continuous basis by those most fit for service between the ages of 18 and 23 without regard to the regular intervals prescribed for the general exodus in which candidates destined for the scribal services also took part.

Irrespective of its duration, the emphasis during the initial training period was placed on fitness, physical endurance, self-discipline and deference, as well as obedience to those with greater seniority and rank. The probationary period actually continued even after a cadet's induction into a permanent Janissary regiment, termed "going up to the gate" (*ḳapuya čiḳmak, be-dergāh olmaḳ*), as recent inductees were initially assigned menial chores such as floor sweeping and mess duties in the Istanbul barracks. Although target practice and other drill was routinely carried out during the off-season between campaigns, it would not be too far from the truth if we were to suppose that formal training in the arts of war began with exposure to actual conditions of battle at the front. The emphasis on recruitment and peace-time training of Janissaries which follows in its main lines the views expressed in the Ottoman advice literature [see NAṢĪḤAT AL-MULŪK] misses the essential point that battle experience was the most crucial element in a soldier's training. One of the chief deficiencies of the Janissary corps in the 12th/18th century was not inadequate training, but the lack of recent combat experience as the inevitable consequence of the prolonged period of peace between the signing of the Treaty of Belgrade in 1152/1739 and the empire's remobilisation for war with Russia in 1182/1768.

Idealised perceptions of the quality of the corps before the introduction of new recruitment categories beginning from *ca.* 990/1582 (see below) have given a distorted weight to selection criteria which, despite their undoubted importance, must be considered as only one of the relevant variables affecting Janissary performance. Allowances for campaign equipment and provisions (*yay aḳčesi, sefer filorisi*), and bonuses and rewards for exceptional deeds of bravery, distributed both on the battlefield to encourage the troops and as part of generalised celebrations held to mark significant Ottoman victories [see DONANMA. 2], also played a very significant role in motivating the Janissaries to achieve the maximum performance levels which their training, fitness and expertise permitted.

6. Attitudes towards the Janissaries in Ottoman political writing of the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries.

Although the expense of maintaining an expanded Janissary corps had already begun to attract notice in Ottoman political writing as early as Luṭfī Pasha's [*q.v.*] treatise dating from the mid-950s/1560s (*Āṣafnāme*, ed. Kütükoğlu, 35), the topic acquired increased urgency from about 1580 onwards. A series of authors beginning with the prolific ʿĀlī saw the problems besetting the Janissary corps in their time as chiefly due to irregularities in the method of their recruitment and the resultant insinuation of non-*devshirme* recruits, referred to in the texts as *edjnebī* (outsiders) or *saplama* (intruders) spoiling the purity of the corps. ʿĀlī's remarks in a work written towards the end of his life in 1007/latter part of 1598-early 1599 fixed on the circumstances connected with Murād III's precedent-setting grant of fast-track promotion to the Janissary corps to a group of what he called "city boys" as part of the celebrations to mark the circumcision feast held for prince Meḥemmed (later Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*]) in 990/1582 (see the *Fuṣūl-i ḥall*, Nuruosmaniye ms. 3399, fol. 132a: *sūr-i hümāyūnda "Istanbul dewshirmesine" rukhṣat verildi, ol ṭarīḳ mukhtall oldu*). In the aftermath of ʿĀlī's retrospection regarding the significance of the events of 1582, which he regarded as the defining moment in the Janissaries' general slide towards mediocrity, a group of later writers took up the theme of the corruption of the Janissaries reproducing and immortalising ʿĀlī's brief remarks in close paraphrase. Among them Ḳoči Bey, writing in 1041/1631-2, more than thirty years after the penning of ʿĀlī's treatise, repeated the reference to the *sūr-i hümāyūn* of 990/1582 as the source of all later corruption (*First risāle*, ed. Aksüt, 44). Tracts written in the intermediate years also insisted on the seriousness of admitting city boys (*shehir oghlanlari*, a code term for recruits among whom Turks and other Muslims had insinuated themselves) to Janissary membership without explaining the unsuitability of Turks for military service except by the repetition (or unexpressed assumption) of standard ethnic stereotypes which held them to be "unruly". It is clear that the views of such "traditionalists" were seriously out of touch with the military realities facing the empire, as their texts contain no reference to the empire's pressing need for recruits to man the dozens of new garrisons which were being erected, renovated and expanded to guard the Ottomans' advancing frontier in the east during the 990s/1580s and beyond [see ʿOTHMĀN PASHA (ÖZDEMIR-OGHLĪ)].

Whatever its basis in fact, the theme of the corruption of the Janissaries gained general acceptance in the popular consciousness and achieved a particular popularity in the aftermath of ʿOthmān II's dethronement and murder in which the Janissaries were implicated. Anti-Janissary sentiments reached a kind of climax during the term in office of the reformist Grand Vizier Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha between Shaʿbān 1048/December 1638 and Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1053/January 1644, but the kind of dramatic spending cuts he was advocating, while desirable in the abstract, were hardly practicable, since the empire was on the eve of gearing up for a renewed phase of its centuries-long confrontation with Venice which would involve a significant military build-up in both Dalmatia and Crete [see IḲRĪṬISH]. Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*] was one of the few Ottoman thinkers of the mid-11th/17th century to see the desirability of maintaining steady Janissary enrolments, both because of their obvious military value and also as a means of avoiding the political turmoil associated with sudden or dramatic changes to their status. In his view, a slight oversupply of military capacity in peacetime was preferable to last-minute attempts to supplement the regular soldiery by recruiting inexperienced *lewends* [*q.v.*] and other irregulars on the eve of battle. As the son of a soldier himself, with considerable first-hand exposure to conditions at the front, where he had served in a variety of scribal capacities, Kātib Čelebi was better equipped than most to draw sound conclusions. Unswayed by the anti-Janissary sentiments afflicting

many of his contemporaries, he fully realised that Ottoman reliance on forced conscription of peasants to man fortresses in remote areas of the frontier represented the worse of two evils (see ch. 2 of the *Düstūr al-ʿamel*, 129-32).

It is noteworthy that later theorists such as Ṣarī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], writing *ca.* 1120/1708 at a time when the Janissary numbers had mounted to 53,200, including pensioners (*oturaḳ*), thus representing a huge burden on the treasury, tended to follow in Kātib Čelebi's footsteps in advocating a gradual diminishing of the Janissary ranks as the best policy (Wright, *Ottoman statecraft*, 114: "slowly and deliberately accomplished").

7. Peacetime and non-combatant duties of the Janissaries.

Apart from their duties associated with the waging of war, the Janissaries played a very considerable role in state ceremonial and ritual [see MARĀSIM. 4]. The regular pay distributions to the sultan's household troops were themselves organised as ceremonial occasions called *ʿulūfe dīwānī* or *g̲h̲alebe dīwānī* [see DĪWĀN-Ï HÜMĀYŪN], often timed to coincide with the presence in the capital of foreign diplomatic missions. On these occasions, the presence of the Janissary regiments in full strength made a powerful impression on Western envoys, who were in any case already in awe of the Ottomans because of the scale of their permanent standing armed forces, which dwarfed those of contemporary European states. The four *ṣolaḳ* regiments (the 60th to 63rd *d̲j̲emāʿats*) created in the time of Bāyezīd I with a nominal membership of 20 each (*Ḳawānīn-i Yeñičeriyān*, fol. 102b) but later expanded to 100 each [see ṢOLAḲ] were reduced to an exclusively ceremonial function under sultans who, as became increasingly common after the reign of Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*], declined to accompany the army on campaign. The laws of protocol also dictated that the *ag̲h̲a* of the Janissaries should personally escort the sultan to and from the palace on the occasion of his obligatory Friday visits to one of the capital's principal mosques [see SELĀMLÏḲ]. In addition to these fixed duties, Janissary units assumed general responsibility for essential functions of municipal governance from fire fighting (*Ḳawānīn-i Yeñičeriyān*, fol. 48a-b) to night sentry duties and the preservation of law and order, both in the capital (*ḳol dolas̲h̲maḳ*, see *ibid.*, fols. 49a-50b) and the provinces (*yasaḳd̲j̲ïlïḳ*, see *ibid.*, fols. 50b-52b). The latter assignments were typically for periods of either three or nine months, depending on the town's proximity to the capital. The nine-month term for provincial inspectorate and guard duty was reserved for assignments to the remoter parts of the empire (*tas̲h̲ra*). Janissaries accustomed to a privileged life at the centre of the empire's political, cultural and economic life regarded these stints in the provinces as hardship postings, and anxiously awaited their rotation back to the capital.

Janissaries assigned to provincial garrison duty were intended only to supplement locally recruited forces (*yerlü ḳul*) but, if war-time circumstances required, their times could be extended. References found in normative sources of the 11th/17th century (see the *Second risāle* of Ḳoči Bey, ed. Aksüt, 92, and *Ḳara Kemānkes̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a lāyiḥasï*, ed. Unat, 450) suggest that Janissaries posted as *ḳaľe nöbetd̲j̲ileri* served a term lasting three years, but there was quite a wide variation in actual practice. The essential point is that, at any given time, a very substantial proportion of the corps was employed in this manner as part of the empire's frontier defences. This proportion might rise in the context of a prolonged conflict in a particular sector of the frontier to as much as one-third of the total membership. For example, figures provided by Ḥüseyn Hezārfenn [*q.v.*] for the year 1080/1669-70 show 14,379 out of a total of 53,849 Janissaries, or 26.7%, were employed in provincial garrison duty, but ten years earlier in 1070/1660 the proportion had been 39.5% or 21,428 out of a total membership of 54,222 (see Murphey, *Ottoman warfare*, 45). The fact that Janissaries were counted as absent (*nā-mewd̲j̲ūd*), when roll calls were carried out in the trenches during wartime, is a reflection not of Janissary truancy but rather of the actual pattern of use to which Janissaries were put. To a very considerable degree, these legitimately included responsibilities for defence and other non-combatant duties. It was the permanent responsibility of the 34 *sekbān* regiments to function as the home guard, and it was the *ag̲h̲a* of the *sekbāns* who, as the corps' second-ranking officer, deputised for the *ag̲h̲a* of the Janissaries and fulfilled his superior's ceremonial and administrative duties when his chief was absent on campaign. While their numbers in all but the key strategic fortresses like Buda and Bag̲h̲dād were counted not in thousands but hundreds, Janissaries formed an integral part of the social fabric in the provinces as much as the capital. By restricting ourselves to an assessment of the narrow range of their activities when Janissaries were being used as commandos and assault troops, we gain a distorted picture of their role, which was in its essence and by design multi-functional.

8. The economic position of the Janissaries.

The most impressive presence of the Janissaries was in Istanbul, since in addition to two barracks of their own, the *eski* and the *yeñi odalarï*, and the residence of the Janissary *ag̲h̲a* himself called the *ag̲h̲a ḳapusu* (see above), there were also thousands of Janissary cadets domiciled in the palace gardens scattered all round the imperial capital. The presence of tens of thousands of Janissaries and Janissary trainees in the city meant that the interpenetration of military and civilian life was an inescapable part of the urban experience in Ottoman Istanbul. The involvement of Janissaries during peacetime as artisans and tradesmen is noted in Ottoman sources as early as the reign of Meḥemmed II soon after the city's capture [see ISTANBUL, at Vol. IV, 242b], and this dimension of the Janissaries' activities cannot be regarded as an aberrant behaviour associated with the decline of the Janissary corps as a fighting force in the 18th century (see 9., below). As for the impact of the smaller Janissary presence on life in the provinces, and the social position and administrative role of the lesser Janissary commanders, who were called, at the *ḳaḍā* level, *yeñičeri serdārï*, we have little direct evidence apart from what is provided in subjective accounts by Christian travellers to the Balkans or equally unsympathetic diatribes by indigenous clerics, both of which groups were only able to tell half, and perhaps not the most interesting half, of the story (see Georgieva, in *Bibl.*) The periodic excesses of Janissaries tempted to take advantage of their extra-judicial status during secondments to the provinces, when they were removed from the supervisory control of their superior officers, cannot be ruled out as a destabilising influence on provincial society in certain periods and places; but to suppose that the net effect of Janissary presence in a locality was always the terrorisation of the local populace seriously overstates the case.

The Janissaries were wage earners, a relative rarity, especially in provincial society. Whatever cash surpluses

they could accumulate represented a welcome source of stimulus for the local economy, which was heavily based on production of goods for immediate household consumption. As official institutions, too, the Janissary garrisons were purchasers on a grandiose scale of basic supplies from local markets. Moreover, when the Janissaries' basic policing function was properly carried out, the protection they offered provincial populations from the depredations of brigands and other sowers of provincial anarchy provided the necessary environment of safety and security favouring trade and sustained economic growth.

An indication of the general economic position of Janissaries, although biased towards the higher-ranking and most prosperous group among them, is provided in data compiled from the probate records of 11th/17th-century Istanbul. Table I is a summary of this information which, although it is silent on the crucial subject of the sources from which Janissary wealth was accumulated, nonetheless gives a valuable impression of the high social standing and economic position of the Janissaries at the peak of their power and influence in the 11th/17th century.

9. The retirement of the Janissaries from active service after 1700, their elimination in 1826 and its after-effects.

The common association of the Janissaries with growing political instability of the Ottoman empire in the 12th/18th century needs careful reassessment. Recent research has cast some considerable doubt on the once prevalent notion of the endemic predisposition of the Janissaries to revolt and rebellion. This research (see refs. in *Bibl.* under Janissary-*eṣnāf* relations) goes a long way towards refuting or at least muting the constant harping on the theme of Janissary waywardness as found in the Ottoman court chronicle tradition and repeated by modern proponents of the "conspiracy theory" of 18th-century Ottoman politics. From the strictly military point of view, however, there can be no doubt that the 18th century brought major changes both in public perceptions concerning the Janissaries and the new position assigned to them in the altered deployment patterns of the period. In the new environment, partly determined by the Ottomans' consistently non-interventionist stance in Europe after 1739, the size and expense of the corps became increasingly difficult to justify. In military terms, the Janissaries had already begun to outlive their usefulness when, driven by fiscal pressures, Maḥmūd I [*q.v.*] decided in 1153/1740 to legalise the selling of Janissary pay-certificates (*esāme*) (Aḥmed Djewād, *Tārīkh-i ʿaskerī*, iii, 52-3, and Aksan, *Whatever happened*, 26-7). The timing of this decision from the standpoint of the Janissaries' regimental cohesion could not have been more unfortunate, as the inauguration of a prolonged period of peace, lasting until 1182/1768, meant that no new Janissaries were being recruited or trained. At the same time, the corps' existing members either retired or lapsed into varying degrees of inactivity. Thirty years after the introduction of Maḥmūd's fiscal measures the empire was not noticeably better off, while the effect on its military preparedness was catastrophic. When it went to war with Russia in the late 1760s it did so with inexperienced, demoralised and sadly ineffective troops, which included large numbers of superannuated Janissaries brought back from retirement to face Russia's recently-modernised army. The Ottomans' desperate attempts during the 1767-74 war to pick up where they had left off three decades earlier placed intolerable strains on Ottoman resources, and policy makers' attention was necessarily divided between demands from competing services. In the aftermath of the disastrous defeat at Česhme [*q.v.*] in 1184/1770, it was natural that naval concerns should gain a certain predominance in their thinking. Significantly, in the post-war period, too, when the Ottomans undertook a broad-based renovation of all the empire's defence capabilities, the naval sphere was again assigned priority. The Ottomans' first imperially-sponsored technical school founded in 1187/1773 and called the *mühendis-khāne-yi baḥr-i hümāyūn* was, as the name suggests, intended to give priority to the naval sphere. The founding of its counterpart institution, the *mühendis-khāne-yi berr-i hümāyūn*, devoted to the scientific and technical aspects of land wars, was deferred until 1208/1793. Worries about Ottoman naval preparedness continued during the reign of the military moderniser *par excellence* Selīm III [*q.v.*] and while some of his advisers such as Tatārdjïḳ ʿAbdullāh Efendi advocated undertaking a serious (and well-funded) effort to improve the condition of the Janissaries (see his *Lāyiḥa*, pt. ii, 259-70), the demands for a modern navy were given equal priority (*Lāyiḥa*, pt. i, 330-9) and in the end other options for upgrading the Ottomans' land forces were pursued [see NIẒĀM-I DJEDĪD].

Between 1770-2, when the Ottomans were still at war with Russia, experimentation with alternatives to the Janissaries had in any case already begun. The very existence of the *süratdjïs* (rapid-fire artillerymen) being trained by the Baron de Tott in the capital, although ostensibly a replacement for the *ṭopdjus* rather than the Janissaries proper, was enough in itself to engender real fears among the Janissaries at the front about their collective future. The fact that the experiment was essentially a failure and that the prototype unit ordered to the front never actually reached its destination (Aksan, "*Wretched Fanaticks*") did little to allay these fears, and the truth is that already in the 1770s, their days were numbered. Finding a viable replacement for the Janissaries was, however, a complicated problem, and the last half-century of the corps' existence saw a series of phased reforms and policy reversals. There were valid reasons for this gradualism, and it is wrong to attribute the slowness of reform principally to Janissary obstinacy, resistance and conservatism, as is sometimes implied.

Even the "abolition" of the corps by Maḥmūd II's imperial fiat in 1242/1826, dubbed in the sources the "auspicious event" (*waḳʿa-yi khayriyye*), was not so absolute or final as the name would suggest. The transition to local recruitment models was, in some areas, painfully slow and, especially in border areas such as Bosnia, it met with fierce resistance from the local Muslim notables. In Bosnia, for example, it took seven years for the sultan's "abolition" of the corps to take full effect and be replaced with a reliable local militia (O. Moreau, *Recruitment*, 264). It was in the provinces closest to Istanbul and least vulnerable to attack that the transition to a regionally recruited land army was quickest and most successful [see RADĪF. 3]. In the short to medium term, it cannot be said that the removal of the Janissaries brought any real solution to the empire's military difficulties. The empire was militarily unprepared in both the 1828-9 Russo-Ottoman war and the first phase of its conflict with Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] in 1832-3 and the diplomatic interventions needed to bring these disastrous episodes to a close, established a new pattern of Ottoman dependency on foreign aid which lasted to the era of the Crimean War and beyond. The 1830s heralded not so much a new era of promise for accelerated military modernisation by the Ottomans as the inau-

Table I

Value of estates left by retired and active members of the Janissary* corps between 1005/1594 and 1078/1668 (based on Öztürk, *Istanbul tereke defterleri*, 438-93)

name of deceased	P. no. in Öztürk	inventory no. in Öztürk	date of death (*hid̲j̲rī*)	place of death	value of estate (in *akčes*)
Meḥmed Čāwūs̲h̲	438	15	1005	sefer-i sulṭānī	127,676
Muṣṭafā Ag̲h̲a	444	68	1027		529,378
Ṣāliḥ Čāwūs̲h̲	448	137	1037	s̲h̲arḳ seferi	380,819
Mataradjî Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a	450	24	1046	sefer-i hümāyūn	260,000
Redjeb b. Ḥaydar	450	26	1046	sefer-i s̲h̲arḳ	273,750
el-Ḥādjdj Yaḥyā (ṣolaḳ)	452	56	1048	s̲h̲arḳ seferi	862,150
Derwīs̲h̲ Ag̲h̲a (turnadjî-bas̲h̲î)	452	73	1048	Ordu-i hümāyūn'da	1,021,146
Ḥasan Ag̲h̲a	452	78	1048		201,486
Ibrāhīm (su-bas̲h̲î)	454	83	1048	sefer-i s̲h̲arḳ	134,418
ʿAbdī Ag̲h̲a	454	117	1055		849,435
Ḥamza Bes̲h̲e	456	125	1055		123,975
Muṣṭafā Ag̲h̲a	458	26	1058	Muḥārebe-i Sandira	127,243
Muṣṭafā Bes̲h̲e	460	68	1059		100,887
ʿAlī Ag̲h̲a	462	84	1059	Girid	187,003
Aḥmed (čorbadjî)	462	101	1060		398,880
Oruč Ag̲h̲a	462	107	1060		118,415
Murād (su-bas̲h̲î)	462	109	1060		631,751
Meḥmed (oda-bas̲h̲î)	466	37	1070		129,017
ʿĀbidīn (oda-bas̲h̲î)	476	213	1079	Girid	81,440
Aḥmed Bes̲h̲e (bayraḳtār, 47th bölük)	476	226	1079		247,623
ʿAlī Bes̲h̲e	478	256	1079	Ḳandiye ḳalʿesi	266,857
S̲h̲aʿbān (oda-bas̲h̲î)	480	2	1077		238,352
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. S̲h̲aʿbān (ṣolaḳ)	480	21	1078		206,830
Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a	480	36	1077	Girid	1,728,902
Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a (yeñičeri ketk̲h̲udā-yeri)	482	55	1078	Girid	2,447,921
Meḥmed Bes̲h̲e	482	59	1078	Girid	225,070
K̲h̲alīfe b. Muṣṭafā (yeñičeri, 9th djemāʿat)	482	78	1078	Rumeli	145,840**
Muṣṭafā Ag̲h̲a (zirihdji)	484	90	1078	Bag̲h̲dād	1,378,634
Muṣṭafā K̲h̲alīfe (yeñičeri)	484	108	1078	Girid	9,659,838***
Ḥasan Ag̲h̲a	484	110	1078	Girid	89,344
Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a (čorbadjî)	486	135	1078	Girid	145,634
Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a (donanma ag̲h̲asî)	486	148	1078	Ḳandiye	662,537
Ḳāsim Ag̲h̲a	488	163	1078	Girid	105,032
ʿAlī Čāwūs̲h̲	488	177	1078	Girid	473,162
Aḥmed Ag̲h̲a (muḥdir)	488	185	1078	Girid	644,153
ʿAlī Ag̲h̲a (mehter-bas̲h̲î)	490	197	1078	Girid	141,450
Süleymān Ag̲h̲a	490	204	1078	Girid	471,434

* Some titles (e.g. *čāwūs̲h̲*) are ambiguous and could refer to military or non-military officials other than Janissaries. In a few cases, however, additional, functionally specific, information is given (e.g. *ṣolaḳ, turnadjî-bas̲h̲î, oda-bas̲h̲î, mataradjî*, etc.) confirming the individual's status as a member of the Janissary corps. When the place of death is given as "on campaign" (e.g. *sefer-i s̲h̲arḳ, sefer-i sulṭānī*), this increases the likelihood that individuals bearing ambiguous titles were in fact Janissaries.

** This estate was also composed mostly (145,300 *akčes*' worth) of cash. Many Janissaries lived in barracks as bachelors and thus had no private homes to dispose of at the time of death.

*** This estate was composed almost entirely of cash in the amount of 9,054,530 *akčes*, with a further 32,368.5 *akčes* owed to the estate by creditors.

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(b) "Popular" works. G. Schweizer, *Die Janitscharen. Geheime Macht des Türken-Reichs*, Salzburg 1979, repr. Vienna-Munich 1991; G. Goodwin, *The Janissaries*, London 1994; D. Nicolle, *The Janissaries*, London 1995; A. Bakshian, *The Janissaries*, in *The Quarterly Journal of Military History*, iv (1992), 32-43.

(R. Murphey)

YEÑI ḲALʿE, in Turkish, "the New Fortress", a fortress in the southeastern Crimea.

It was founded by the Ottoman sultan Muṣṭafā II [*q.v.*] in 1114/1702 to protect the nearby port of Kerč [*q.v.*] and provide a counterweight to Azov, which had been conquered by Peter the Great in 1696 (and held by Russia for 17 years) [see azaḳ]. When Catherine the Great's armies marched into the Crimea in 1771, Yeñi Ḳalʿe and Kerč fell into Russian hands without resistance and in the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynard͟ja [*q.v.*] of 1774, the Porte ceded its rights to them, thus giving Russia control of the northern Black Sea shores.

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YEÑI ʿOT͟HMĀNLĪLAR, the Young Ottomans, a political grouping which strove for the establishment of a constitutional régime in the Ottoman empire.

The group was formed in 1865 by a group of six young civil servants who had been trained in the new government offices created under the *Tanẓīmāt*,

Janissary vanguard observes the crossing of the Drava en route to Sigetwār in 1566. Miniature from the supplement (*tatimma*) to the *Süleymān-nāme* of Luḳmān b. Sayyid Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] covering the years 968-74/1561-66. Chester Beatty Library, MS T 413, folio 60b; reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

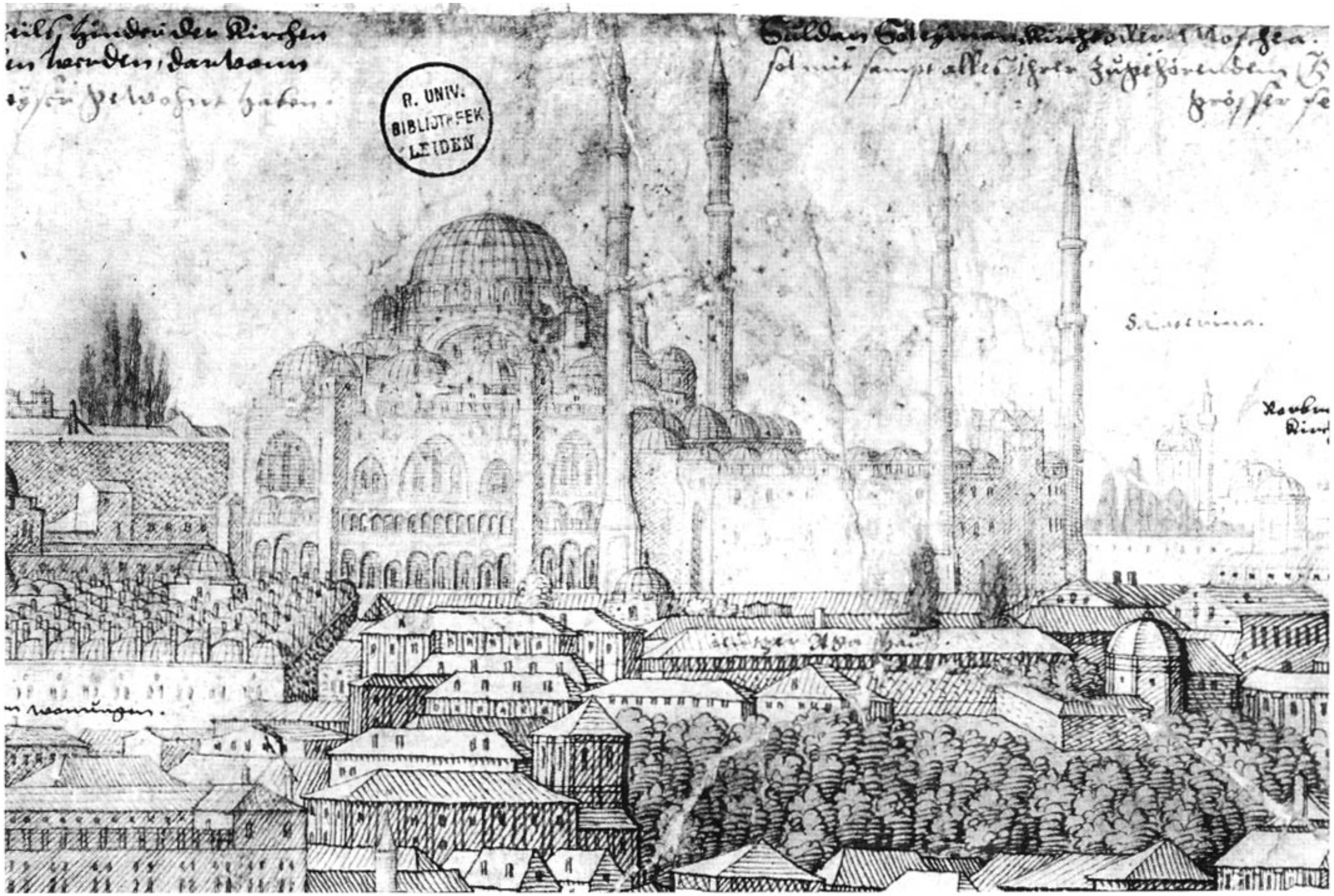

Detail from the 1559 Istanbul panorama of Melchior Lorichs showing the *agha kapusu* or headquarters and chief residence of the Janissary commander located behind the Süleymāniyye mosque. Courtesy of Leiden University Library (BPL 1758, Tafel X).

and specifically in the Translation Bureau of the Porte. Some of the leading members of the group, such as Namîḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*], also pioneered modern journalism in the empire. The Young Ottomans opposed the leading statesmen of their day, Meḥmed Amīn ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a and Fuʾād Pas̲h̲a [*q.vv.*], accusing them of establishing a tyrannical régime, of giving in to foreign pressure and betraying the Ottoman interests in the Balkans and on Crete, and of neglecting the Islamic heritage of the empire.

The group formed in 1865 originally called itself the *Ittifāḳ-î Ḥamiyyet* (Patriotic Alliance). It was loosely modelled after similar movements in Europe, notably the Carbonari in Italy. From 1867 onwards, the group received powerful support from Muṣṭafā Fāḍîl Pas̲h̲a [see FĀḌIL PAS̲H̲A], a brother of the Egyptian Khedive Ismāʿīl, who had been a high Ottoman bureaucrat, but had fallen out of favour with Fuʾād Pas̲h̲a. Muṣṭafā Fāḍîl Pas̲h̲a bore Fuʾād an even stronger grudge when the succession to the khedivate was changed in 1866 and he lost his position of heir-apparent to Ismāʿīl. In February 1867, Muṣṭafā Fāḍîl, who had been living in Paris since 1866, declared himself the head of the "Party of Young Turkey" to the French press. This apparently denoted a vaguer group of Ottoman reformists than the Patriotic Alliance, which did not recognise him as its head.

At the same time, the Young Ottomans in the empire came under increasing pressure because of their criticism of the régime and their support for Muṣṭafā Fāḍîl. Leading members of the group were banned from the capital. Fāḍîl Pas̲h̲a reacted by inviting them to Paris, whither they escaped with the help of the French embassy. For the next three years, the Young Ottomans waged a war of words on the government of Fuʾād and ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a in Istanbul by way of numerous newspapers that they published in London, Paris and Geneva. Muṣṭafā Fāḍîl Pas̲h̲a made his peace with Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz during the latter's visit to Paris in August 1867 and returned to Istanbul, but he continued to subsidise some of the Young Ottoman publications. Other powerful politicians, among them Khedive Ismāʿīl, also tried to use the Young Ottomans to put pressure on the government in Istanbul.

The Young Ottomans were a loose grouping of individuals with very different ideological standpoints. Under their general and vague constitutionalism, some came close to European liberalism (Namîḳ Kemāl), while others were more conservative and monarchist (Ḍiyā Bey, later Pas̲h̲a) or Islamist (ʿAlī Suʿāwī [see SUʿĀWĪ]). The most accomplished political thinker in the group, Namîḳ Kemāl, tried to show that "European" ideas like liberalism, constitutionalism and parliamentarianism were not alien to Ottoman tradition, but could be found in early Islam as well. The effort to explain European liberalism to an Ottoman audience necessitated the development of a new vocabulary as well. Modern political terms such as *millet* ("nation"), *waṭan* ("patrie") or *ḥürriyyet* ("liberté") were coined by the Young Ottomans.

After the deaths of Fuʾād Pas̲h̲a (1869) and ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a (1871), almost all Young Ottomans returned to Istanbul. Their hopes of gaining political influence were soon dashed, however. Their newspaper publications again brought them into conflict with the authorities. In 1873 Namîḳ Kemāl used another novel medium—European-style theatre—to convey his message in a patriotic play called *Waṭan yākh̲ūd Silistre* ("The Fatherland, or Silistria"). This brought about an outburst of public support but also led to most of the Young Ottomans being sent into internal exile. When an Ottoman constitution was finally proclaimed in December 1876, this was the work of a number of very senior statesmen and soldiers who were not directly influenced by the Young Ottomans. Although the movement soon lost whatever strength it had had, it remained extremely important as an example to later generations of reformists. The Young Turks, who brought about the constitutional revolution of 1908, took much of their ideals from the Young Ottomans. As important as the strictly political role of the Young Ottomans was their role in the development of journalism (and therefore of "public opinion") in the Ottoman empire [see D̲J̲ARĪDA. iii].

For the course of events involving the Young Ottomans and Young Turks from 1875 onwards, see DUSTŪR. ii. and ʿOT̲H̲MĀNLÎ. I. 5; and for the reformist and intellectual currents of the time, see IṢLĀḤ. iii. and PAN-TURKISM.

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YEÑI S̲H̲EHIR, modern Turkish Yenişehir, a town of northwestern Anatolia, in what was the classical Bithynia. It lies in lat. 40° 17' N. and long. 29° 38' E. at an altitude of 245 m/800 feet in a long depression running from Inegöl in a northeasterly direction, where this narrows; this plain is drained by the Gök Su, whose waters are used here for irrigation purposes and which flows past Yeñi S̲h̲ehir into the Sakarya river [*q.v.*].

Yeñi S̲h̲ehir played an important role in early Ottoman history. It was the first town of significance to be taken at some point in the early 8th/14th century by ʿOt̲h̲mān I [*q.v.*], who made this town and Sögüd [*q.v.*] his headquarters, using Yeñi S̲h̲ehir as a base for expansion westwards to the Sea of Marmara, thus cutting the communications of Bursa [*q.v.*], the last independent Byzantine city in the region, with Constantinople, so that ʿOt̲h̲mān's son Ork̲h̲an [*q.v.*] was able to capture Bursa in D̲j̲umādā I 716/April 1326. This northwestern region eventually became the *eyālet* or province of K̲h̲udāwendigār [*q.v.*]. After Tīmūr had defeated Bāyezīd I at Ankara in D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a/July 1402, the Tīmūrid army ravaged first Bursa and then Yeñi S̲h̲ehir and Iznik. Two decisive battles subsequently took place at Yeñi S̲h̲ehir. On 22 Rabīʿ II 886/20 June 1481 the Ottoman prince D̲j̲em [*q.v.*], who had made Bursa his capital in his bid for his father Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ's succession, was defeated by his elder brother Bāyezīd (II) and the commander Gedik Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a, and fled with his family and the last Ḳaramānid prince Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm to the Mamlūk court in Cairo. On 27 Muḥarram 919/15 April 1513 a further battle took place at Yeñi S̲h̲ehir when Selīm I [*q.v.*], exactly one year after his accession, defeated his elder brother and rival for power, Aḥmed, and executed him.

Thereafter, Yeñi S̲h̲ehir played only a reduced role in Ottoman history, although it was the home town of Yeñis̲h̲ehirli ʿAbd Allāh Efendi, *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ al-Islām* 1130-42/1718-30 under Aḥmed III. The European guide

books of the late 19th century describe it as a modest place, the centre of a *ḳaḍā* in the *sandjaḳ* of Ertoghrul in Khudāwendigār province (actually erected in 1885 out of the former *sandjaḳ* of Biledjik), with around 2,500 inhabitants, all Muslims, several mosques, including the mosque and *ʿimāret* of Sinān Pasha, a *khān*, baths and the *türbe* of a certain Baba Sulṭān (see *Murray's Handbook for Constantinople, Brûsa, and the Troad*, London 1898, 129; a population figure of less than 5,000 is given in *Baedekers Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern*, Leipzig 1914, 265). Yenişehir is now, in the Turkish Republic, the chef-lieu of an *ilce* in the *il* or province of Bursa.

Bibliography: See the indices of the standard histories of early Ottoman times, e.g. C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, and R. Mantran (ed.), *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989. Also Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, s.v.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, Paris 1894. (C.E. Bosworth)

YEÑI SHEHIR, the Ottoman name (Yeñi-Shehir i-Fenārī, since 1423) of Larissa (i.e. "citadel"), the chief central Greek city of Thessaly [see TESALYA], lying near the river Peneios and on the highway connecting Athens with Thessalonica [see SELĀNIK]. It is now the seat of Larissa prefecture (*nomos*) (1981 pop. 102,426). Founded in Antiquity, it was fortified by Justinian (6th century), became one of the administrative and military seats of the Byzantine theme of Hellas (9th-10th centuries) and was attacked and temporarily captured by the Bulgarians (985-6), the Latin Crusaders (1204) and the Serbs (1348), withstanding a Norman siege in 1082-3 (see refs. in J. Koder-F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*, Vienna 1976, 198-9; further bibl. in A. Savvides, *Splintered medieval Hellenism: the semi-autonomous state of Thessaly, A.D. 1213/22-1454/70*, in *Byzantion*, lxviii [1998]).

There were in fact three Ottoman conquests of Larissa: in 1386-7 by Evrenos Beg [*q.v.*] and Khayr ul-Dīn Pasha; between 1392-3 and 1396-7 by sultan Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*]; and definitively in 1423 (not A.H. 848, i.e. 1444, according to Ewliyā Čelebi) by the renegade Turakhān Beg [*q.v.*] (refs. in Savvides, *Problems of the Ottoman conquest and the spread of the conquerors in the Thessalian area* [in Greek], in *Thessaliko Hemerologio*, xxviii [1995], 33-64, esp. 36-9, 49-50). From 1423 Larissa-Yeñi Shehir developed into a characteristic Turkish city with a large Muslim population throughout the long period of Ottoman domination (see Helen Angelomate-Tsougarake, *A contribution to the history of economic, social and educational life of Larissa during the Tourkokratia* [in Greek], in *Mesaionika kai Nea Hellenika*, iii [1990], 255-332, esp. 255, 259, citing the *taḥrīr defters* of 1454-5 for Thessaly), remaining steadily an Ottoman base (since 1770 as the seat of Thessaly's central administration, numbering about 40,000 inhabitants; see N. Kladas, art. *Larissa*, in *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, xv, [2]1964, 802C), despite isolated cases of rebellion, like that of 1600-1 headed by the city's bishop Dionysius. Turakhān Beg himself became Thessaly's first governor and was succeeded by his son ʿÖmer Beg (1456), who also established his headquarters in Yeñi Shehir, where his mosque survived during the time of Ewliyā Čelebi's visit in 1668 (see Th. Paliougas, *The mosque of Omer bey in Larissa. A topographical note* [in Greek], in *Thess. Hemerol.*, xii [1987], 185-92 and idem, *Larissa in the travel accounts of Ewliya Čelebi* [Greek tr.], in *Thess. Hemerol.*, xxvi [1994], 81-104). The town's local fair developed in the 17th-18th centuries, and the sultan Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*] himself visited it, also in 1668, to find there his future sultana (see C. Spanos, in *Makedoniko Hemerologio* [1972], 349-52; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, [3]Ankara 1983, 415-16).

Although the city's crucial location did not enable it to participate in the Greek War of Liberation (1821-30), still it suffered devastations by the Ottoman generals Meḥmed Reshīd Pasha and Maḥmūd Pasha [see TESALYA]. The Turks held it until 1881, when Thessaly was annexed to the Kingdom of Greece, though Larissa was briefly recaptured by the Ottomans in the course of the Graeco-Turkish war of 1897 (see Kladas, *op. cit.*, 802C-803A; B. Kodaman (ed.), *1897 Türk-Yunan savaşı. Tesalya tarihi*, Ankara 1993, 92 ff.; I. Aktsoglou, in *Thess. Hemerol.*, xxxi [1997], 17-26, with Greek tr. of a Turkish telegram and two poems mentioning the event). In any case, the exodus of the city's Muslim residents was completed by the 1920s.

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(A. Savvides)

YERLIYYA, colloquial Turkish-Arabic term derived from the Turkish *yerlü* "local". It was used by the Damascene sources for the local Janissary corps (Turkish *Yerlü Čeri*) to distinguish it from the Ḳapï Ḳullarï Janissary corps (slaves of the Gate or Imperial Janissaries) referred to by the same sources as *Ḳābiḳūl*.

A *fermān* dated 4 Djumādā I 985/20 July 1577 commanded the governor of Damascus to give the places that fell vacant in the Janissary corps to men from Rūm (Anatolia and Rumelia) and not to rich and wealthy natives (*yerlü*) and non-Turkish subjects (*tāt*) (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine, 1522-1615*, Oxford 1960, 61). The *fermān* was not heeded, and natives and foreigners continued to join the corps, which numbered 1,000 in the 1570s. One of the duties of the Janissary corps was to assist the *Defterdārs* of Damascus and Aleppo in collecting taxes (Heyd, 73 n. 3; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat*, ii, 129, iii, 156, 299, 417-18, 427-8, iv, 449-50; al-Murādī, *Silk*, i, 166, ii, 63; al-Ghazzī, *Nahr al-dhahab*, iii, 266, 279; al-Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām*, iii, 129). Suffering from the devaluation of the Ottoman silver currency (*aḳče*) with which they were paid, the Janissaries of Damascus imposed extra taxes on the peasants. When the government took disciplinary action against them, they rose in revolt. Between roughly the last quarter of the 16th century, when these events first occurred, and 1069/1658-9, when the Ḳapï Ḳullarï were established in Damascus, the government—and especially under Sultan Murād IV (1032-49/1623-40)—killed at intervals several of the mutinous Janissary chiefs of Damascus, among whom figured Rūmī and non-Turkish individuals. This opened the way to influential Damascenes, mostly grain merchants from the Mīdān quarter, to enroll in the corps. In 1069/1658-9, the Janissary corps in Damascus supported the revolt of the governor of Aleppo, Ḥasan Pasha. But Ḳapï Ḳullarï Janissary troops loyal to the Sultan put down the revolt, punished

the rebellious Janissary chiefs and established themselves in Damascus to counter its Janissary corps that was becoming dominated by Damascenes and known accordingly as Yerliyya or "locals". Thus two Janissary corps came to exist in Damascus. The Ḳapî Ḳullarî Janissaries took control of the citadel, the walls and the gates of the city. The Yerliyya Janissaries were entrusted with garrisoning the fortresses along the Pilgrimage route to the Ḥidjāz, but most of them stayed in Damascus to serve their own personal interests. The Yerliyya Janissaries were known in Damascus as *Dawlat Dimashḳ* ("masters of Damascus") and the Ḳapî Ḳullarî Janissaries as *Dawlat al-Ḳalʿa* ("masters of the citadel"). The strongholds of the Yerliyya were in the Mīdān and in Sūḳ Sārūdja that was close to the citadel. The Ḳapî Ḳullarî were rotated at intervals and reinforced by fresh troops periodically to keep them immune to infiltration by local people. Many of them, however, lived in the city quarters and joined the guilds, which further caused economic rivalry between them and the Yerliyya (Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿUthmāniyyūn, 1516-1916*, ²Damascus 1993, 142-7, 193-7; idem, *The province of Damascus, 1723-1783*, ²Beirut 1970, 26-35; idem, *The local forces in Syria in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp (eds.), *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, London 1975, 277-81.

In 1740, the Yerliyya, in concert with other Damascene power groups and with the approval of the sultan, expelled the Ḳapî Ḳullarî from Damascus. The prestige of the Yerliyya soared as they controlled the citadel, the walls and the gates of the city. A group of them, known locally by the Turkish term *zorab* or *zorbāwāt* (sing. *zorba*, meaning "insolent one" or "rebel"), went out of control (Redhouse, *Turkish dictionary*, 589; Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 584; Aḥmad al-Budayrī al-Ḥallāḳ, *Ḥawādith Dimashḳ al-yawmiyya, 1154-1175/1762-1741*, ed. Aḥmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm, Cairo 1959, 62 ff.). Challenged by the *zorab*, the governor Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm (1743-57) used his private troops, the Dalātiyya, in 1746 to discipline them. Many of them were killed and their houses destroyed (al-Budayrī, 66-70; Rafeq, *al-ʿArab*, 258-61). To guard against the resurgence of Yerliyya power, Asʿad Pasha reinstated the Ḳapî Ḳullarî Janissaries in Damascus. Further clashes between the two corps weakened the Yerliyya, who sought help from the local Ashrāf (al-Budayrī, 214-16; Rafeq, *Province*, 171-5, 223-6). The animosity between the two Janissary corps, each representing special interests, continued until 1826 when the Janissary corps was altogether abolished in the Ottoman empire and replaced by the new European-style army known as Niẓām-î Djedīd [*q.v.*].

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(ABDUL-KARIM RAFEQ)

YESHIL İRMAK, modern Tkish. Yeşil Irmak ("the Green River"), a river of northern Anatolia, the classical Iris in the province of Pontus (see *PW*, ix/2, col. 2045).

The upper course of the river, called the Tozanlı Su, rises in the Köse Dağ to the northeast of Sivas and flows westwards by Tokat [*q.v.*] and Turhal. Here there is a fertile plain, the Kazova or "Goose Plain", which is now irrigated by waters from the Almus dam on the river's course above it, completed in 1966, and a canal running off and parallel to the river, enabling cereals, sugar-beet and vines to grow there (for a description of the Kazova as it was over a century ago, see H. Van Lennep, *Travels in little-known parts of Asia Minor*, London 1870, ii, 86-7). The river turns northwards by Amasya [*q.v.*] and another fertile region and then eastwards, taking in the Kelkit as an important right-bank affluent, then northwards through a narrow valley with defiles to emerge at the Black Sea coast in a delta built up by silt carried down from the mountains of the interior. The delta is partly wooded and partly used for agriculture, but with marshes, in the past malarial, towards the sea. The small town of Çarşamba, 32 km/20 miles to the east of Samsun [*q.v.*], is situated here on the Yeşil Irmak's left bank. A road runs along the east-west trough of the upper and middle sections of Yeşil Irmak's course, with a short stretch of the valley between Turhal and Amasya carrying the railway from Kalın near Sivas to Samsun, but the river has never been navigable.

Bibliography: Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks. *Turkey*, London 1943, i, 167-8, ii, 152-3, 254, 312-13 and indices; *İA*, art. *Yeşilırmak* (Metin Tuncel).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

YESHILKÖY, a town of what is now the urban agglomeration of Istanbul, on the shores of the Sea of Marmara 15 km/9 miles from the city centre; before 1924 it was known as Agios Stephanios in Greek and Ayastefanos in Turkish.

The place is not mentioned in Byzantine sources, but appears in Villehardouin when he describes the arrival of the Crusader fleet in 1203 and mentions "an abbey at St. Stephen three leagues from Constantinople" (ed. Paris 1961, 127). After the Ottoman conquest, Meḥemmed II deported large numbers of persons during his Serbian campaign of 1454 and installed them there (Ducas, xlii, 11; *Anonymus Giese*, 111; Kritovoulos, B22 (2)). It was probably from these that the Ottoman village of Ayastefanos arose; in 1498 the inhabitants comprised 20 hearths of share-cropping slaves (*ortakdjî kullar*) with Slav forenames and 24 hearths of free *reʿāyā*, with Slav and Greek forenames, and a few Muslims, a total of *ca.* 170 persons (BBA, Tapu tahrir 1086, ff. 64b-66a).

By an act of *waḳf* in October 1505, Bāyezīd II attached the village to the mosque that he built in the capital, and *ca.* 1525 the *Defterdār* Ibrāhīm Čelebi rented out to the *waḳf* a stretch of ground at the modern village of Bakırköy as a pleasure garden, which was taken into the *waḳf* after his execution in 1534. Ewliyā Čelebi probably exaggerated when he counted 500 hearths at Ayastefanos in the mid-17th century, but mentions a *tekke*, a small bazaar and two churches. Parallel to agricultural acivities there (the requirement of milk delivery to the capital for a yoghurt factory there, *yoghurtdju kārkhānesi*, is mentioned for March 1762: *Istanbul külliyâtı*, vii, 119-20), the village early acquired a residential character. The Wallachian prince Constantine Brancovan retired to a house there after his deposition in 1713. The place prospered above all thanks to the Armenian Dadian family, who in 1796 founded a gunpowder factory in the adjacent village of Āzādlî. Ohannes Dadyan (d. 1869) built in 1826 an Armenian church of St. Stephen, and the Greek church, of the same dedication, was renovated in 1845 by his nephew Boghos Dadyan. A Greek primary school was opened in 1862, a Roman Catholic church was added in 1865 and the first mosque built in 1905 (cf. Pars Tuğlacı, *The role of the Dadian family in Ottoman social, economic and political life*, Istanbul 1993).

At the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, the Russian army reached Ayastefanos, and it was there that the Treaty of San Stefano was signed setting up an (in fact, ephemeral) Greater Bulgaria (3 March 1878). The village was connected to the capital by steamer in 1852 and by a suburban railway line, utilising the

Orient railway line, in the 1880s. In 1887, lands of the Dadian family between the railway line and the sea were granted out for development, permitting a considerable expansion of the village, which had 160 families in 1905. During the counter-revolution of 1909, the deputies of the new Ottoman parliament retired to Ayastefanos, to which there also arrived the first battalion of the relieving Army of Salonica (ʿAbd ül-Raḥmān Sheref Efendi, *Tārīkh*, Ankara 1998, 20-1, 34-5). The Greek population of the village was not included in the population exchanges of the post-war period. It now in 1924 took on the name of Yeshilköy. The original military airport of 1911 gradually became the main airport for Istanbul. In 1990 Yeşilköy had 22,674 inhabitants.

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(S. Yerasimos)

YETI SU, in mediaeval Turkish "[the land of] the seven rivers", rendered in recent times by Russian scholars as Semirečʾe, a region of Central Asia.

It comprised essentially the lands north of Transoxania [see MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR] which stretched from the basin of the Issîk-Kol [*q.v.*] lake northwards to Lake Balkhash [*q.v.*], and it derived its name from the numerous rivers draining it, such as the Ču [*q.v.*], which peters out in the desert to the northeast of the middle Sîr Daryā [*q.v.*], and several rivers flowing into Lake Balkhash such as the Ili [*q.v.*], which rises in Dzungaria and flows through Ḳuldja [*q.v.*] into Semirečʾe, and the Ḳaratal, Aḳsu and various others rising in the northern slopes of the Tien Shan and in the Alatau mountains further north. What was the mediaeval Semirečʾe is now comprised in the northern part of the new republic of Kirghizia and the southeastern part of that of Kazakhstan.

Although the lower reaches of the Ču and the rivers entering Lake Balkhash run through arid, desert lands, in their upper courses, along the foothills of the mountain massifs, and in the lands around the Issîk-Kol, the terrain has always been attractive for human settlement, with at times towns and agriculture and with pastures suitable for nomads and their herds. This has given Semirečʾe a geographical and cultural identity of its own, and at several periods it has played a significant role in Inner Asian history. In particular, the generally east-west-running rivers provide routes through the Tien Shan into eastern Turkistan (the Chinese Sinkiang [*q.v.*]), with the Ili, further north, forming a particularly important strategic corridor via Ḳuldja into Dzungaria, with the possibility of passing by Urumči and Ḳomul [*q.v.* in Suppl.] through the Kansu [*q.v.*] corridor into the western part of China proper. Hence these routes have always been important, *inter alia*, for commercial exchanges between Western Asia and China.

In pre-Islamic times, Chinese annals of the 2nd century A.D. mention Semirečʾe as being in the hands of a nomadic people, the Wu-sun, with the Hsiung-nu or Huns controlling the upper Irtish river [*q.v.*] lands to the north of it and Dzungaria. In the 4th century, the Zhuan-zhuan confederacy, which had arisen out of the disintegration of the Huns, incorporated Semirečʾe in their territories. In the early 7th century, the Buddhist pilgrim Huien-Tsang (Xuan-zang) found many towns there, with flourishing agriculture and a commerce dominated by Sogdian colonists, and with the Manichaean faith widespread amongst the people. There must also have been already Nestorian Christians, whose graves have been found in Semirečʾe with dates indicating their presence there well into Mongol times (see in general, Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolischen Eroberung*, Tübingen and Leipzig 1901, and, more specifically, below). By this time, the Western Turks were dominant in the region, but their empire collapsed in the mid-8th century and the resultant confusion facilitated the Arabs' penetration of Transoxania at this time, although Talas [see ṬARĀZ] for long marked the limit of the Muslim advance northwards into the steppes. Turkish tribes meanwhile consolidated their hold on Semirečʾe, with the Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] in 766 occupying the former Türgesh capital of Suyab to the north of the Ču (probably to be situated to the northeast of Pishpek) (see O. Pritsak, *Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden*, in *ZDMG*, ci [1951], 277-8). Islamic geographers of the 4th/10th century mention not only the Ḳarluḳ, amongst whom Islam had begun gradually to spread, but other Turkish tribes like the Toghuzghuz [*q.v.*], Čigil and Tukhsî (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, maps v and vi) who resisted Islam for much longer. Towns, clearly of some importance, now begin to be noted, such as Barskhān on the shores of the Issîk-Kol and Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*] situated somewhere in the Ču valley, whose seizure, being by then a Muslim town, by pagan Turks in *ca.* 940 is recorded in Islamic sources (see Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 77-8). These infidel Turks must have been the early Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS] before their conversion to Islam. Within a generation or so, these last had become Muslim, and they used Semirečʾe as a base for their take-over of Transoxania from the Sāmānids. In the early 5th/11th century, Aḥmad Ṭoghan Khān, brother of the Ilig Naṣr, ruled Semirečʾe and Kāshgharia, but lost the latter to his second cousin and rival Yūsuf Ḳadîr Khān. From the middle of this century onwards, Semirečʾe, being with Eastern Turkistan the original Ḳarakhānid dominions, constituted the Eastern Khānate of the dynasty.

Over the next century and a half, Semirečʾe was fought over by various rival Ḳarakhānid princes. It was in this time that much of the region became Islamised, but a new power came on the scene in the 1130s, the people of the Kitan or Khiṭay, Buddhist in faith and possibly of proto-Mongol or (less likely) Tungusic ethnic origin, the Western Liao of Chinese historians [see ḲARA KHIṬAY, and now D.C. Twichett, in *Camb. hist. of China*, vi, *Alien regimes and border states 907-1368*, Cambridge 1994, 45-6]. According to one source, the Khiṭay had infiltrated into northern Semirečʾe a century earlier in 433/1041-2. After *ca.* 1140, the army camp of the Gurkhān or ruler of the Ḳara Khiṭay, called *khosun ordo* "strong encampment", was situated on the banks of the Ču, and the Gurkhāns' basically hostile attitude to Islam imposed on Muslims there. After *ca.* 1209, their position was disputed by the Nayman Mongol adventurer Küčlüg, who speedily ended the power of the Ḳara Khiṭay and took over both Semirečʾe and Eastern Turkistan, using Semirečʾe and the eastern Sîr Daryā region as his base against the Khʷārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [see KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS]. But a Čingizid Mongol force under Ḳubilay Noyon had already reached northern Semirečʾe in 1211, disputing with Küčlüg for control there, and in 1218 Čingiz's commander Djebe Noyon defeated Küčlüg and entered Balāsāghūn without a fight, the Muslim inhabitants there being thankful to shake off Küčlüg's tyranny. Semirečʾe thus escaped devastation by the Mongols, and travellers through the region in the 13th and early 14th centuries, both Chinese and Western ones, describe there a flourishing agricultural and commercial economy, with populous towns such as Almalîgh [*q.v.*] in the upper Ili valley.

The rule of the Mongol Čaghatayids [see ČAGHATAY KHĀN; ČAGHATAY KHĀNATE] was favourable to the adherents of non-Muslim faiths, for the Čaghatayid Khāns themselves resisted conversion to Islam until the mid-14th century. The Nestorian Christian cemeteries at Ṭokmaḳ and Pishpek, discovered by Russian amateur archaeologists at the end of the 19th century, have yielded nearly 600 gravestones inscribed in Syriac script, most of them in Syriac language but some in eastern Turkish; their dates range from 1186 to 1345. In the reign of the Khān Čangshi (1334-8) Roman Catholic missionaries built a fine church near Almalïgh, and in this same century there existed an Armenian monastery on the shores of the Issïk-Kol (Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 206; T.W. Thacker, *A Nestorian gravestone from Central Asia in the Gulbenkian Museum, Durham University*, in *Durham University Jnal.*, N.S., xxviii [1966-7], 94-17). But the definitive conversion to Islam of the Čaghatayids in the mid-14th century led to persecution of the Christians of Semireč'e, and thereafter, mention of their faith fades away. Semireč'e was in any case much disturbed from this time onwards by internecine warfare amongst Mongol claimants to power, and in 776/1335 Tīmūr [*q.v.*] invaded Mogholistān [*q.v.*], as the whole region north of Transoxania was now generally known, the first of several expeditions against the local Turco-Mongol ruler of Semireč'e, Ḳamar al-Dīn, who was eventually driven out and fled to the Altai mountains region. Soon afterwards began incursions into Semireč'e by the Buddhist Mongol Oyrats, called by the Muslims Ḳalmuḳs [see KALMUKS], who now became an enduring factor in the history of the region and who raided as far as the Sïr Daryā province. As a result of all this unrest, Chinese sources of the 15th century no longer speak of flourishing towns and villages in Semireč'e but of a land exclusively inhabited by nomads who dwelt in tents.

At the beginning of the 16th century, pagan tribesmen of the Turkish tribe of the Ḳirghiz [*q.v.*], who had traditionally lived in the upper Yenisei region, moved southwards into Semireč'e, this being the first attestation of this people in the neighbourhood of what has become their modern home, the new republic of Kirghizia. Threats by both the Ḳalmuḳs and the Ḳirghiz against Transoxania led to attacks on them by the Turco-Mongol *amīrs* of Transoxania, including Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt [*q.v.*], in whose *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* these invading peoples from the northern steppes, what subsequently became known as the Kazakh Steppe, and their territory of Mogholistān, are designated the Djätä, with a pejorative implication that this means "marauders, robbers" (cf. Ottoman *čete* "band, group", with a neutral meaning, however: Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, iii, 1983, and see also Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar, tr. N. Elias and E.D. Ross, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, London 1895, introd., 75-6; Barthold, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, 54, 139). Nevertheless, Ḳalmuḳ domination of Semireč'e lasted until the mid-18th century, when in 1755-8 Chinese armies came westwards and overthrew the Ḳalmuḳs. The Ḳirghiz and Kazakhs were now left virtually independent in Semireč'e until the armies of Imperial Russia advanced through the Kazakh Steppe. The Russian occupation of Semireč'e brought them up to the frontier with China, and in 1864 a treaty between the two empires defined this frontier, thus enabling Russian forces to secure their flank for an assault on the Khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*], and in 1865 Russia put an end to Khoḳand's independence. Semireč'e was henceforth part of the Russian governorate-general of Turkestan, and in 1899 formally became one of its five component districts (*oblast*). Alma Ata or Almaty (now the capital of the Kazakhstan Republic) was developed as the administrative centre of Semireč'e under the name of Vernyi ("the loyal [city]"). After the Russian Revolution and the civil wars in Russia, the region was divided between the Kazakh and the Kirghiz SSRs, and the name Semireč'e became obsolete.

Bibliography: The only monograph specifically devoted to the region is Barthold's early work *Očerk' istorii Semireč'ya*, Vernyi [Alma Ata] 1898, repr. in *Sočineniya*, ii/1, Moscow 1963, 21-106, Eng. tr. V. and T. Minorsky, *History of the Semirechyé*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956, 73-171. In addition to references given in the article, there are further ones in Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], index, and other general works on the history of Central Asia such as Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*; Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*; etc. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

YİLDİZ [see TĀDJ AL-DĪN YILDIZ].

YİLDİZ KÖSHKÜ [see YİLDİZ SARĀYİ].

YİLDİZ SARĀYİ, the most recent of the Imperial Ottoman palaces, situated on the heights above the European Bosphorus shore and above the quarter of Beşiktaş. The whole complex of buildings, set in a large park, covers almost 50 ha.

Like other Imperial residences along the Bosphorus, it had its origin in a garden and a hunting ground. Mentions of pre-19th century buildings are confused. The first trace is of a fountain with an inscription from 1219 [/1804] which apparently went with a pavilion built by Selīm III for his mother Mihrishāh Sulṭān. It was probably this building which for the first time bore the name Yïldïz "star" since it is not mentioned by the meticulous chronicler of Selīm's movements, Aḥmed Efendi, in his *Rūznāme*, but first appears in the *Ta'rīkh-i Enderūn* of Khiḍr Ilyās Agha (Istanbul 1987, 63) in connection with a visit of Maḥmūd II (1808-39 [*q.v.*]) on 3 August 1812; it is also mentioned at the same period by Andreossy. In 1834-5 Maḥmūd built a small pavilion surrounded by a garden. It was demolished in 1842 and replaced by ʿAbd ül-Medjīd (1839-61 [*q.v.*]) with a building for his mother, called the Ḳaṣr-i Dilküshā, and he also undertook the laying out of amenities to the west of a vast park surrounding this structure. Following a first plan done by the German Stefel, other German landscape architects, Schlerf in 1860 and Vienhild in 1862, also worked there.

The Čiraghān palace completed in 1871 on the Bosphorus shores by ʿAbd ül-ʿAzīz (1861-76 [*q.v.*]) was linked by a bridge over the road with the Yïldïz park, making the latter a pleasure ground for the new palace. The Malta and Tent Kiosks were then built there by the Balian brothers, Sarkis and Hagop. At the same time, the sultan embarked on a series of buildings on the higher part of the park destined to function for public audiences and the reception of ambassadors and dignitaries, the Büyük Mābeyn Köshkü and the Indian Lady Pavilion. Round this nucleus, ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909 [*q.v.*]), fearing that being too near the coast would make him vulnerable, built his own residence and made Yïldïz a symbol of his absolute power. A new team of landscape specialists, German, Italian and French, laid out gardens in the English style, whilst the architectural construction was undertaken by Sarkis Balian and then Raimondo d'Aronco.

Access to the palace was by a rise, to the right of which was built in 1885-6 the Ḥamīdiyye mosque,

convenient for the sultan to attend the Friday worship, with the nearby Terrace Pavilion built for the congregation. The rise ended in the Harem Gate, the main one of the palace, giving on to a court blocked by a long building, that of the sultan's aides-de-camp and servants (*yāwerān we bendegān dā'iresi*). To the left of the court was situated on the west the Great Chancery, and on the north the Indian Lady Pavilion. To the right of the Harem Gate was a long range comprising the kitchens, cellars, armoury and coachmen's quarters with those of the Albanian guards on the floor above. Facing this, the prolongation of the aides-de-camp's building housed the library and a cabinet of curiosities.

A door in the angle between the Indian Lady Pavilion and the aides-de-camp's building gave access to the private apartments. Within was the Small Chancery, Küčük Mābeyn, with the sultan's office and a building containing the private apartments, of great simplicity, of ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd, a theatre (these structures being the work of the Italian architect Raimondo d'Aronco, 1857-1932) and a building with the quarters of the chief eunuchs, governesses and the less favoured odalisques. Behind this last was the interior garden, arranged round an artificial water scheme with an island in it on which was a miniature farm. At the south end of the garden was the Belvedere Kiosk, Djihānnümā Köshkü, and at the north end the apartments of the wives and the odalisques; the whole ensemble of the private apartments and garden was surrounded by a high wall. To the west of the ensemble were the service buildings and further out, and isolated, the apartments of the royal princes. At the extreme north was a grand pavilion for the reception of guests, the Chalet, Shale Köshkü, which connected with both the private apartments and the great park situated to the east. The building was built in three phases, corresponding to the rhythm of royal visits, including the German Kaiser Wilhelm II's two visits of 1889 and 1898, the first two phases being the work of Balian and the third that of d'Aronco. In the park there were also workshops for carpentry and ceramics, the latter making the porcelain known as Yildiz, functioning from 1895-1909, 1911-20 and now from 1962 onwards.

ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd's deposition in 1909 meant that the palace fell into disfavour and was even partially pillaged. Nevertheless, Meḥemmed VI (1918-22 [*q.v.*]) spent the greater part of his reign at Yildiz. In the 1930s the Yildiz estate was divided into three, with the greater part used by the Military Academy, Harp Akademisi; the Chalet and other service buildings designated for the use of the President of the National Assembly; and the other palace buildings, along with the Malta and Tent Kiosks, given to the municipality of Istanbul and opened to the public in 1940. With the move of the Military Academy to Ankara in 1968, new arrangements were made: the main buildings were transferred to the Ministry of Culture for use as museums and the service buildings to the west were taken over by the Yıldız Technical University. In 1999 the Ministry of Culture's section houses the Yıldız Museum and the Museum of the City of Istanbul, a research institute for Islamic history, art and culture, etc.

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(S. Yerasimos)

YIRMISEKIZ MEḤMED [see MEḤMED YIRMISEKIZ].

YOGHURT (T.), from older Turkish *yughur-*, Ottoman *yoghurmak/yoğurmak* "to knead [dough, etc.], yoghourt, a preparation of soured milk made in the pastoralist, more temperate northern tier of the Middle East, Central Asia and the Balkans, appearing as *yoghurt/yoghrut* in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 182, ii, 189, iii, 164, 190; Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, 92. Cf. also Radloff, *Versuch eines Worterbuch der Türk-Dialecte*, iii/1, 412-13; Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersichen*, iv, 173-5 no. 1866; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 906-7). It seems to have been used for therapeutic purposes by the pre-Islamic Uyghur Turks (G.R. Rachmat [Arat], *Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren. I*, in *SPWAW Berlin*, phil.-hist. Kl., xxiv [1930], 6, 12, *Pt. II*, in *ibid.*, xxv [1932], 8).

Partially skimmed milk is reduced over a slow heat, and after cooling, a quantity of a previous fermentation is introduced and then the whole left slowly to cool and become more solid. The product is called *māst* in Persia; *laban* in Syrian and Palestinian Arabic; *zabādī* in Egyptian Arabic; *liban* in ʿIrāḳī Arabic; *rā'ib, laban, labne*, etc. in the Arabian peninsula. A cool, refreshing drink is also made from yoghourt and water (*ayran* in Turkish; *dūgh* in Persian; *lassi* in India). Yoghourt figures extensively in Middle Eastern eating practices, both in cooked dishes (see e.g. D. Waines, *In a caliph's kitchen. Mediaeval Arabic cooking for the modern gourmet*, London 1989, 64-5, 78-9) and mixed with vegetables such as cucumber (the *māst-khiyār* of Persian cuisine, cf. E.G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, [2]Cambridge 1926, 190-3).

Bibliography: See also *IA*, art. *Yoğurt* (Kâzim Yetiş); *Larousse gastronomique*, s.v. *yoghourt, yagourt*.

(C.E. Bosworth)

YORGAN LADIK [see LĀDHIḲ. 2].

YORUBA, a people of West Africa. The present article deals with the role of Islam among the Yoruba.

The earliest attested presence of Islam among this people of what is now Nigeria would seem to date back to the Old Ọyọ empire in the 16th century. The role of Songhay-speaking Muslim traders in the early spread of Islam is reflected in a number of Songhay loanwords in Yoruba. The earliest term for

the Muslims, *imalé* "People from Mali", probably refers to this group. Islam apparently first took root among traders, craftsmen (especially weavers) and warriors (especially horsemen) in Ọyọ towns. Muslim slaves from the north were also absorbed into the royal and aristocratic households. All these groups became involved in the overthrow of the empire (*ca.* 1797-1837) and in the establishment of new warrior city states. The heterogenous Muslim groups of Ilọrin overthrew their Ọyọ warlord in 1824 and founded an Islamic amīrate under Sokoto [*q.v.*] authority. The *amīrs*, descendants of a Fulani preacher who had forged the Islamic community, were elected and controlled by a council of the leading warlords. The cosmopolitan but increasingly Yorubanised town became famous for its Islamic schools and its scholars and saints.

Ibadan, the second warrior state and Ilọrin's most formidable antagonist, also developed a Muslim majority. Ilọrin, Ibadan and their dependent Yoruba towns became crucial for the spread of Islam as an element of urban culture and associational life, especially among the Yoruba marketwomen. The same happened in Lagos, a British colony since 1861 with sizeable groups of Muslim slave returnees from Sierra Leone and Brazil. Yoruba Muslim slaves and freedmen had already played a leading role in the *Malé* revolt of 1835 in Bahia.

Islamic communities expanded markedly during the colonial period (1895-1960). Widely propagated by preachers and local associations and increasingly entrenched in the communal structures, Islam grew along with Christianity in Yorubaland. As Christian missionary education came to dominate the educational institutions in Western Nigeria the Muslims tried to meet the challenge. The spread of the Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*] since 1916 was followed by the foundation of the *Young Ansar-Ud-Deen Society* (Lagos 1923) and other societies which established "Western" Schools for Muslims and became models of reform for Yoruba Islamic communities. Local Islamic learning was adapted to Arab educational models, mainly by young Islamic scholars and preachers from Ilọrin, like Kamāl al-Dīn (b. 1906) and Ādam al-Ilūrī (1916-92) who also became one of the most prolific Arabic writers in West Africa. Contacts with Arab countries and with al-Azhar and other Islamic universities strongly increased after independence. Since the 1970s, Arabic schools expanded tremendously. The *Muslim Students' Society (MSS)*, founded in Lagos in 1954, was instrumental in bringing together Muslim students of different educational and regional backgrounds; it became the first national Islamic organisation, mobilising and transforming the younger Muslim élite of the south. The highly educated, well-organised and sometimes very wealthy Yoruba Muslims, both men and women, became politically important. They were often able to mediate between North and South and between Muslims and Christians within Nigeria. Chief Moshood Abiọla, the presidential candidate who died in detention in 1998, owed much of his nationwide electoral success in 1993 to his skills in this field. The Yoruba remain one of the rare peoples with an almost equal share of Islam and Christianity.

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(S. Reichmuth)

YÖRÜK, Yürük, a term applied to pastoral nomadic groups in the Ottoman empire.

Three main meanings are attested in the literature: (1) in the Ottoman empire, primarily a special term with legal, administrative and fiscal implications denoting a particular class of nomads obliged to serve in the Ottoman army; (2) in modern ethnological and anthropological literature, a term for, and also a self-designation of, nomadic pastoralists, including elements in various stages of sedentarisation, used in an ethnic sense as opposed to Türkmen [*q.v.*], Kurdish [see kurds, kurdistan] or other pastoralist tribal groups of Anatolia; and (3) in Ottoman and modern times, a general, and therefore less appropriate, term for nomadic pastoralist Turkish tribal groups.

Etymology and significations.

The term Yörük/Yürük is usually derived from the old Turkic verb "to walk, to march" *yorï-* (references in Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 957). Middle Turkic forms range from *yori* "to walk, to travel" (see e.g. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, ed. and tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, iii, Cambridge, Mass. 1985, index 231) to *yüri-* and *yürü-* in texts from the 13th to 15th centuries (Clauson, *ibid.*). In most modern Turkic languages the stem is found with high rounded front vowels, e.g. Ttü. *yürü-* "to move, to march, to go". In Anatolia, also, the forms *yüri-* and *yürü-* "to march" are attested in vocalised texts from the 14th century, e.g. in the *Kitāb-ï Ghunya* in Old Anatolian Turkish (ed. Muzaffer Akkuş, Ankara 1995, index); for further examples for the 15th to 17th centuries, see *Tarama sözlüğü*, vi, Ankara 1972, 4775-7. The noun *yörük/yürük* (with deverbal nominal-forming suffix *-k*) "walking, going briskly, running, fast (horse)" appears only in Čaghatay, Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Turkish (W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, iii, St. Petersburg 1905, col. 604). In Ottoman historical texts, mainly of the 15th and 16th centuries, the term *yörük/yürük* has a specific administrative or fiscal meaning (see below). European lexicographers tend to render only the general meaning, probably because by their time, the word had to a certain extent lost its particular meaning; see e.g. F. Meninski (1623-98), who has for *yürük* "vagabond, person of no fixed abode" (*Lexicon Arabico-Persico-Turcicum*, Vienna 1780, iv, col. 5617); J.Th. Zenker lists *yörük/yürük* as meaning "someone who walks, runs, a vagabond", while *Yürükler* is for him the name of a nomadic tribe and a village in Asia Minor (*Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1866, ii, 971), reflecting the ethnic connotation of the term prevalent from the 19th century onwards. J.W. Redhouse goes a step further and lists for *yürük*, 1. "active, that goes fast, fleet", 2. "nomadic, especially (with pl. *yürügān*) a nomadic, pastoral Turkman settled in Asia Minor" (*A Turkish and English lexicon*, Constan-

tinople 1890, 2214); K. Steuerwald, however, has *yürük*, 1. "going briskly, marching", 2. "fast (horse)", 3. hist. "infantry connected to the Janissaries" and the ethnonym *Yörük* "Türkmen (*sic*) nomads in Anatolia" (*Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1972, 1040, 1034). In regional forms of modern Turkish, the verbal stem *yörü-* "to march" and similar meanings, is attested as well as *yörük* "göcebe" (nomad), *yörük* "dağlı, kaba kişi" (mountain-dweller, rough person), while *yürük* is connected with *yüğrük* "güçlü, çevik, çalışkan, eline ayağına çabuk" (strong, quick, diligent, nimble) (*Türkiye'de halk ağzından derleme sözlüğü*, xi, Ankara 1979, 4310, 4333, 4325).

History.

The phenomenon of the Yörük should be set within the context of the immigration of Türkmen tribal groups into Anatolia beginning with the 11th century. In pre-Mongol times and in connection with the Mongol conquests (13th century) and Mongol claims over large areas of Asia Minor up to the mid-14th century, unknown numbers of Türkmen took hold of grazing grounds for seasonal migration. To date, no source antedating the mid-15th century has been found that spells out the name Yörük (Cl. Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, Istanbul 1988, 107, as opposed to Çabuk, in *İA* (1986), 430-1). When from the second part of the 14th century onwards, Türkmen nomadic groups, along with the colonising dervishes, began to take possession of the Balkan peninsula in an organised way, they contributed eventually to its Turkicisation and Islamisation. Some of the tribesmen might have been the ancestors of those people who were to become known under the name of Yörük two generations later.

In a brief separate section, the code of laws (*ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*]) for the taxpaying subjects (*re'āyā*, sing. *ra'iyya* [*q.v.*]) of Meḥemmed II the Conqueror (*r.* 1451-81) specifies the organisation, military equipment and obligations of the Yörük who, as auxiliary troops, were considered as belonging to the *'askerī* class and therefore were exempt (*müsellem*) from all but military service (ed. and tr. F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *Ḳānūnnāme Sultan Meḥmeds des Eroberers*, in *MOG*, i [1921-2], 28, 43; Akgündüz 1990, i, 354-5). It specifies that a unit (*od̲j̲aḳ*) should consist of 24 men serving in rotation, one of them as soldier (*es̲h̲kind̲j̲i*), three as his aides (*čatal*) and the remaining 20 (*yamaḳ*) paying for the four fighters' expenses and shouldering their duties back home. Under Süleymān Ḳānūnī, the number of men in a unit was raised to 30 (Akgündüz 1992, iv, 548). General, provincial and district *ḳānūnnāmes* as well as those specially issued for the Yörük dating from the reigns of Bāyezīd II, Selīm I and Süleymān regulate with increasing detail the functions of the Yörük and the legal and fiscal framework they had to comply with (Akgündüz, ii-v, index). A *ḳānūnnāme* of the mid-15th century specifies that the Yörük may migrate along their traditional routes, but should they cause damage to the fields or harvest, the fine they would have to pay would be assessed in regular court proceedings (Fr. tr. N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris. I. Actes de Mehmed II et de Bayezid II du ms. fonds turc ancien 39*, Paris-The Hague 1960, 123; Ott. text in Akgündüz 1990, i, 463). The damage caused by the pastoralists might have been one of the reasons for the Ottoman state's perennial policy of forced settlement and deportation. Extreme examples are that of Yörük deportations to Cyprus after the conquest of this island (1571) or, in the early 18th century, from western Anatolia to northern Syria. The main reason, however, was their independent way of life, which was considered incompatible with the basic system of the centralised Ottoman administration.

Tax registers from the time of Süleymān Ḳānūnī (1520-66) permit us to assess globally the nomadic population in western Anatolia alone at 80,000 households (*k̲h̲āne*) for 1520-35 (İnalcık 1994, 34-5), with the greatest nomadic concentrations in the districts (*sand̲j̲aḳ* [*q.v.*]), of Anḳara, Kütāhiya, Mentes̲h̲e, Aydîn, Ṣaruk̲h̲ān, Teke and Ḥamīd [*q.vv.*], or, in other words, areas where the Türkmen principalities of the 14th and 15th centuries had flourished. By 1570-80, their number had increased to around 120,000. Unfortunately, the registers do not permit a systematic distinction between Türkmen and Yörük tribes. However, the term Türkmen tended to be more closely associated with those Anatolian tribes that showed a preference for S̲h̲ī'ism (İnalcık 1986, 40-2). On the European side, Yörük tribes pursued their life of seasonal transhumance, with a growing tendency toward sedentarisation, in Thrace, eastern Bulgaria, the Dobrud̲j̲a, in the Rhodope and Balkan mountains adjoining the Maritsa and Vardar river valleys, and north of Thessaloniki (İnalcık 1994, 36). The most comprehensive study, based on archival materials, of the names, locations, numbers and functions of the Rumelian Yörüks from the 15th to 19th centuries is Gökbiligin 1957, summarised in Çabuk 1986. Based on tax registers, Ö.L. Barkan suggests for the early 16th century a total number of almost 38,000 Yörük households, or one-fifth of the total population of the European provinces (*Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, in *JESHO*, i [1957], 32-3). From the early 17th century onward, the number of households registered as Yörük was in steep decline (Gökbilgin 1957, 56-92). On the economic plane, Yörüks engaged primarily in animal husbandry, producing wool and hides as well as carpets for an international market, while their small-scale agricultural activities were concentrated on cash-crops such as wheat, cotton and rice (İnalcık 1994, 37-9; for taxes on the Yörük in the 17th century, see *Regional structure in the Ottoman economy. A Sultanic memorandum of 1636 A.D.*, ed. R. Murphy, Wiesbaden 1987, index). In war and peace, they also played an important role in long-distance transportation.

Different from the Eastern Anatolian Türkmen and Kurdish tribal federations, the Yörük were organised in military conscriptions within the Ottoman administration, serving mostly as provincial auxiliary forces, as guards of roads and mountain passes, as falconers, and horse raisers, in military transport, road construction and maintenance, ship building and mining. Their leaders were indifferently called *beg/bey* (A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 60, based on Ewliyā Čelebi), a title that was abolished under Sultan 'Abd ül-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909) (Tsakyroglous 1891, 344) or *Yörük pas̲h̲asî/Ewlād-î fātiḥān ḍābiṭi* (Defterdār Ṣarî Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, *Zübde-i vekayiât, 1066-1116/1656-1704*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, Ankara 1995, *passim*).

During the 17th century, owing to large-scale sedentarisation, the number of Yörüks registered in Rumelia decreased considerably. In 1102/1690-1, during the protracted war with Austria, the tribal Yörük were reorganised as more tightly disciplined auxiliary forces under the name *Sons of the Conquerors* (*Ewlād-î fātiḥān*). This system was modified only in 1243/1827-8, when Maḥmūd II (1808-39), in another attempt to reform the army, incorporated Yörük forces in the new *'Asākir-i manṣūre*. From 1261/1845-6, the Yörük were subject

to taxes and military service like the rest of the population (Gökbilgin 1957, 255-342, with texts of twelve relevant tax (*taḥrīr*) registers and list of 26 additional documents up to 1846).

During the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period, from *ca.* 1860 onwards, in order to strengthen central state control, the Ottoman government again made every effort to settle the volatile nomadic tribes (Tsakyroglous 1891, 342; Wenzel 1937, 83-7). In his *Tedhākir*, Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] gives a general idea of how the pacification and reform in the Kozan and Çukurova regions of southeastern Anatolia were put into effect (ed. Cavid Baysun, Ankara 1986, *tezkires* 26-9).

Ethnography.

The earliest European ethnographic information dates from the end of the 19th century. Tsakyroglous (1891), who *ca.* 1880 became acquainted with Yörük groups with winter quarters in Borlu and summer camps near Gördes, and Bent (1891), who seems to have visited Yörüks of southwestern and southern Anatolia, contradict each other in the description of the physical appearance of the Yörük. Otherwise, they describe in some detail their economy, transhumance, tribal structure and beliefs. Both sources mention strictly pastoralist Yörüks migrating from winter (*kïshla/kïshlak* [*q.v.*]) to summer (*yayla/yaylak* [*q.v.*]) encampments, and half-settled Yörüks cultivating modest fields.

The Ottoman policy of controlling the nomadic pastoralists by encouraging and enforcing settlement was continued under the Turkish Republic, because nomadism was now considered retrograde. Since the 1950s, the policy of large-scale agricultural development through irrigation in the coastal plains of western and southern Anatolia, as well as in the Çukurova plain, has left a majority of tribes without grazing land and has brought about their impoverishment and social break-up. With his novel *Binboğalar efsanesi* (1971), the Turkish author Yaşar Kemal set up a literary monument to the decline of Yörük tribal life. In contrast, some groups who happened to become landowners in the newly-irrigated areas became wealthy by growing fruit-trees and cotton, some of them eventually giving up most of their cattle-raising activities or even becoming fully sedentarised (Roux 1961 for the case of the Antalya region).

In modern and contemporary research, the Yörük are mainly studied as keepers of the traditional ways of life of nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralists in the Anatolian part of the Republic of Turkey. The patterns and conditions of their migrations, their economy and adaptation to new forms of economic demands, their social organisation and handicrafts have attracted field-researchers from Turkey and abroad. The question whether the popular designation of all Turkish-speaking nomads as Yörük/Yürük is an improper generalisation, and in which way the term reflects an historical, ethnic and social reality, seems to have been settled by ethnologists to the extent that there is indeed a distinction to be made between Türkmen, Yörük, Tahtacı and Çepni. The Tahtacı [see TAKHTADJĪ] are set apart by their religious affiliation—they are Alevîs—and by their exclusive occupation as wood-cutters; the Çepni, also Alevî, claim descent from the Oghuz [see GHUZZ]. An historical relationship between Türkmen and Yörük is assumed by most scholars, although exact details remain somewhat elusive. The Türkmen and the Yörük themselves acknowledge this relationship insofar as a Türkmen might not consider himself a Yörük, whereas a Yörük might think of himself also as Türkmen (A. Gökalp, *Têtes rouges et bouches noires*, Paris 1980, 32-3). According to research conducted since the 1950s, a majority of the Yörük tend to call themselves Yörük, whilst a minority prefer their tribal name, which is often a personal or a place name, no common ancestor, mythical or historical, being claimed. Among Sunnī Yörüks, group identity is maintained through patrilineal descent. They are organised in tribes (*aşiret*), lineages (*kabile, sülâle*) and families (*aile*), with marked endogamy, but without paramount chiefs (Andrews 1989, 59-60).

The present number of Yörük is not known, since they speak Turkish and are therefore not separately listed in the official census. A recent study estimates their number at *ca.* one million, *ca.* 10,000 of these being fully nomadic, while the rest are part-time nomads or are settled (Kunze 1994, 71, 77). Today they are distributed primarily along the Taurus mountain range from western Anatolia (Izmir, Söke) all the way along the southern coast via the gulf of Antalya to Adana and its hinterland up the Ceyhun river. The winter quarters are in the coastal river plains, while the summer ones are beyond the Taurus in the high plateaus of inner Anatolia (Denizli, Afyon Karahısar, Konya, Kayseri, Bolu, Sivas, Maraş). Settled Yörük are recorded for the same region and also in the areas of Manisa, Balıkesir, Kütahya and Eskişehir (cf. Andrews 1989, 59; Kunze 1994, *passim* and map at p. 73; *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (*TAVO*), map A VII 14, Wiesbaden 1987). Probably very few Yörük remain in the Balkan peninsula. In the 1980s, Svanberg came across *ca.* 200 Yörük who led a traditional life in some isolated hamlets in the mountains of Macedonia. According to him, they belonged to the Bektāshī religious community (I. Svanberg, *Gagavouzika and Juručki. Urgent tasks for Turkologists*, in *CAJ*, xxxii [1988], esp. 114-16). Most Yörüks are said to belong to the Ḥanafī school of Sunnī Islam, but there are also Alevî Yörük, about whom not much is known (Andrews 1989, 59, 62). Folklore studies and recent research on Yörük textiles refer to the preservation of pre-Islamic or shamanistic beliefs (Brüggemann 1993).

The Yörük dialects still await study in more detail. A recent study on the Anatolian dialects states that they show minor variations in vocabulary, phonetics and morphology in comparison with the dialects of settled Turks (Demir 1996).

The characteristic traits of the Yürük "black tent" (*kara çadır*), made from goat hair, as well as the textile arts of the Yörük, embroidered clothing, saddlebags (*heybe*), sacks (*çuval*) and, in particular, kelims and brocaded flatweaves, have now been quite well studied. The most comprehensive study of their flatweaves is by Brüggemann (1993), who, however, deals also with Türkmen ones, since he postulates that Turkish nomadic tribes shared over the course of time a common language of patterns, motives and techniques. Yörük folklore, customs, music and dances have been studied more systematically since the 1950s, but increased sedentarisation and interior and exterior migration have caused these traditional arts to fade away.

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and ed. P.A. Andrews with the assistance of R. Benninghaus, Wiesbaden 1989, 58-62, 265 and map 1; F. Bajraktarević, in *EI*[1] art. *Yürük*; D.G. Bates, *Differential access to pasture in a nomadic society. The Yörük of southeastern Turkey*, in *Perspectives on nomadism*, ed. W. Irons and N. Dyson-Hudson, Leiden 1972, 48-59; idem, *Nomads and farmers. A study of the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey*. Ann Arbor 1973; Th. Bent, *The Yourouks of Asia Minor*, in *J. of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, xx/3 (1891), 269-76; P.N. Boratav, *Textes de la tradition orale des Yörük et des Tahtacı*, in *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin*, ed. J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and R. Dor, Paris 1992, 129-35; W. Brüggemann, *Yayla. Form und Farbe und türkischer Textilkunst*, Frankfurt a. M. and Berlin 1993; V. Çabuk, *İA*, art. *Yörükler*; N. Demir, *Einige Merkmale yörükischer Dialekte*, in *Symbolae turcologicae*, ed. A. Berta, B. Brendemoen and C. Schönig, Uppsala 1996, 61-70 with a bibl. of earlier linguistic field-work; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, Istanbul 1957; Kemal Güngör, *Anadolu yörüklerin etno-antropolojik tetkiki*, Ankara 1941; H. İnalcık, *Osmanlılar'da raiyyet rüsûmu*, in *Belleten*, xxii (1959), 575-610; idem, *The Yürüks. Their origins, expansion and economic role*, in *Oriental carpet and textile studies*, i, ed. R. Pinner and W. Denny, London 1986, 39-65; idem, *The Ottoman state. Economy and society, 1300-1600*, in *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. H. İnalcık and D. Quataert, Cambridge 1994, 9-409, esp. 34-43; *Yörük. Nomadenleben in der Türkei*, ed. A. Kunze, Munich 1994; J.-P. Roux, *La sédentarisation des nomades Yürük du vilayet d'Antalya*, in *L'Ethnographie*, N.S. lv (1961), 64-78; M.-H. Sauner-Nebioglu, *Evolution des pratiques alimentaires en Turquie. Analyse comparative*, Berlin 1995 (Yörük cuisine from Denizli); M. Tsakyroglous, *Die Jürüken*, in *Das Ausland*, lxiv/18 (1891), 341-4, lxiv/19 (1891), 366-71; H. Wenzel, *Forschungen in Inneranatolien. II. Die Steppe als Lebensraum*, Kiel 1937. (BARBARA KELLNER-HEINKELE)

YOUNG TURKS [see YEÑI ʿOTHMĀNLĪLAR].

YOZGAT, a town of north central Anatolia, lying some 160 km/100 miles east of Ankara on both sides of a tributary of the Delice Irmak (lat. 39° 50' N., long. 34° 48' E., altitude 1,320 m/4,330 feet).

It was founded by members of the Djebbārzāde/Čapanoghlu family (supposedly *yoz* means "pasture, herd", while *gat* is a dialectal word for "town"). On record since 1116/1704, this dynasty, possibly of Mamalu-Türkmen background, constituted one of the major *aʿyān* lines of central Anatolia, controlling a territory far beyond its original power-base in the *sandjak* of Bozok (*wilāyet* of Rūm, see Özcan Mert, *XVIII. ve XIX. yüzyıllarda Çapanoğulları*, Ankara 1980). Very few towns existed in this region when the Djebbārzāde came to live in Yozgat sometime in the mid-12th/18th century. The settlement grew as the Čapanoghullarī encouraged immigration, part of it non-Muslim (V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 297; this author stresses the modern, well-built aspect of the town, which at that time possessed 15,000 inhabitants). Such urban development conformed to a pattern not rarely encountered in the 12th/18th century, when the Ottoman state encouraged its appointees to revive trade and communications; slightly earlier, Newshehir [*q.v.*] had been established, located only about 150 km/95 miles to the south. Muṣṭafā Pasha built the new town's principal mosque, along with a mausoleum for the founder's family (1192/1778). It was enlarged by his son Süleymān Beg in 1210/1795, who created a unique ensemble by transforming the *son djemāʿat yeri* of the older mosque into a link between the two structures (G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 400-2).

The next major event in the history of Yozgat pertains to the Turkish War of Independence, when in 1920 members of the Čapanoghlu family, still powerful in the area, in the name of Sultan Meḥemmed VI Waḥīd al-Dīn rebelled against the Nationalist forces led by Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk). The uprising was quelled by the Yeshil Ordu troops of Čerkes Edhem [*q.v.*]; however, the latter's demand that a governor deemed responsible for the incident be handed over to him for punishment was refused by Muṣṭafā Kemāl. These events are often regarded as the beginning of the rift between Atatürk and Cerkes Edhem (see art. *Yozgat*, in *Yurt ansiklopedisi, Türkiye il il, dünü, bugünü, yarını*, x, Istanbul 1982-4, 7646-7; contains extensive bibl.). They may also have caused the Turkish language to acquire the expression *bu işin altından bir çapanoğlu çıktı* to denote a troublesome situation. Present-day Yozgat is an *il* or provincial capital (over 36,000 inhabitants in the 1980s) and the centre of a largely rural area. A lack of industrial employment opportunities, and the fragmentation of village holdings, have led to large-scale emigration from this area.

Bibliography: See also Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1943, ii, 594-5 and index. (SURAIYA FAROQHI)

YÜCEL, ḤASAN ʿALĪ (1897-1961), Turkish statesman, educator and author.

He was born, the son of a post and telegraph inspector ʿAlī Riḍā and Neyyire, the daughter of an army colonel, in Istanbul on 17 December 1897. Ḥasan ʿAlī attended the *Wefāʾ Iʿdādīsi* between 1911-5, and then, after military service during the First World War, graduated from Istanbul University in 1921. Until 1927, he worked as a teacher in several lycées in Izmir (Erkek Muallim Mektebi) and Istanbul (Kuleli, Istanbul Erkek, Galatasaray) where he lectured on philosophy, literature and Turkish language. He continued his career at various posts in the Ministry of Education, and was sent to Paris to study the French educational system. In 1935 he was elected to Parliament as the representative for Izmir of the Halk Partisi, and in 1938 was appointed the Minister of Education, playing a leading role in the Turkish modernisation process by initiating various reforms within the educational and cultural spheres. The translation of various world classics and encyclopaedias, the establishment of the Ankara State School of Music, studies on the Turkification of language and the realisation of the Village Institutes project [see KHALKEVI] were among his major initiatives. After resigning from office in 1946 and from the party in 1950, he served as the consultant to İş Bankası Cultural Publications between 1956-60. During 1960, he worked on the Commission for the Preparation of the National Education Plan. He died in Istanbul, on 26 February 1961.

Throughout his life, Ḥasan ʿAlī wrote many books and articles for various newspapers and magazines, including *Akşam*, *Ulus*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Öncü* and *Dünya*. The most often recurring themes of his works were culture, education and philosophy; in them, he expressed his faith in modernisation harmonised with traditional values. He also wrote poetry and collected his works in several volumes.

Bibliography: 1. Selected works. *Goethe, bir dehanın romanı*, Istanbul 1932; *Türk edebiyatına toplu bir bakış*, Istanbul 1932; *Dönen ses*, Istanbul 1933; *Fransada kültür işleri*, Istanbul 1936; *Pazartesi konuşmaları*, Istanbul 1937; *Türkiyede orta öğretim*, Istanbul

1938; *İyi vatandaş iyi insan*, Ankara 1956; *Hürriyet gene hürriyet*, i, Ankara 1960, ii, Ankara 1966; *Kültür üzerine düşünceler*, Ankara 1974; *Geçtiğim günlerden*, Istanbul 1990; *Öğretmen-öğrenci köşesi*, Ankara 1995.

2. Studies. H.Z. Ülken, *Türkiye'de çağdaş düşünce tarihi*, ³Istanbul 1992, 468-9; S. Akşin, *Düşünce tarihi (1945 sonrası)*, in idem (ed.), *Türkiye tarihi*, v, Istanbul 1995, 229-30; M. Çıkar, *Hasan-Ali Yücel ve Türk kültür reformu*, ²Ankara 1998. (Aylin Özman)

YUʿFIRIDS, the first local dynasty to emerge in the Yemen in the Islamic period (232-387/847-997). The name is often erroneously vocalised "Yaʿfurids", but the 4th/10th century Yemeni scholar al-Hamdānī, who was a contemporary of the Yuʿfirids, makes it clear that Yuʿfirids is the correct spelling (*al-Iklīl, Südarabisches Muštabih*, ed. O. Löfgren, Uppsala etc. 1953, 36, and *al-Iklīl*, ii, ed. Löfgren, Uppsala 1965, 71).

The family was of Dhū Ḥiwāl, a tribe from Shibām-Kawkabān some 40 km/25 miles north-west of Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*]. The founder of the dynasty, Yuʿfir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥiwālī, had been waiting in the wings watching the increasing impotence of the ʿAbbāsid governors in Ṣanʿāʾ. In 232/837, after some skirmishes with, and a failed attack upon, the ʿAbbāsid forces in the Yemen, the Yuʿfirid army defeated the ʿAbbāsid governor, Ḥimyar b. al-Ḥārith.

We hear little of the rule of Yuʿfir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, other than that the dynasty held vast areas of the Yemen from Ṣaʿda [*q.v.*] in the north to al-Djanad near Taʿizz [*q.v.*] in the south, and for some time the Yuʿfirids maintained their outward allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād. In 258/872, the old and infirm Yuʿfir handed over the reins of power to his son, Muḥammad.

In 262/876 Muḥammad left the Yemen to perform the pilgrimage, leaving his son Ibrāhīm in authority. In 269/882, Yuʿfir, presumably to deny them a role in the government of the house, conspired with Ibrāhīm to have both Muḥammad and his brother, Aḥmad, murdered in the minaret of the mosque in Shibām. Such an appalling crime brought widespread chaos to the Yemen with many tribes in revolt against the perpetrator Ibrāhīm, who withdrew to Shibām. The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtamid despatched as governor to the Yemen ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn in a move to attempt to strengthen the hand of the Yuʿfirids, but he was unable to reach the country until 282/895. The new governor did manage to pacify the area around Ṣanʿāʾ.

At this particular juncture, our historical sources turn their attention elsewhere. With much of the north of the Yemen in complete chaos, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, the future first Zaydī *imām*, al-Hādī ilā ʾl-Ḥakk, entered Ṣaʿda in 284/897 and over the next few years a Zaydī imāmate was established there [see ZAYDIYYA]. The only historical information which we have on the Yuʿfirids at this time is that of their struggles against the Zaydī forces. In the south of the country, too, another dangerous enemy lurked. Two Fāṭimid-Ismāʿīlī propagandists, Manṣūr al-Yaman [*q.v.*] and ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, were building up a strong force and threatening to move northwards on Ṣanʿāʾ. The history of the period is now a confused account of tripartite power struggles in the whole of the country, involving Yuʿfirids, Zaydīs and Ismāʿīlīs.

Al-Hādī died in 298/911 and the two Fāṭimids in 302/915. This at last left the Yuʿfirids without serious threat. Asʿad b. Ibrāhīm, the leader of the dynasty, was able to establish peace in Ṣanʿāʾ and throughout much of the country, although we cannot be sure how far north his authority extended. When Asʿad died in 344/955, leaving no clear instructions for his succession, serious family squabbles broke out. Ṣanʿāʾ was lost and the last Yuʿfirid ruler, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳaḥṭān b. ʿAbd Allāh died in Ibb in 387/997, after a tour of Tihāma [*q.v.*] and the south, and this date marks the end of the Yuʿfirid house.

The Yuʿfirid mosque in Shibām stands to this day, although the minaret in which the 269/882 murders took place was replaced at a later date (see R. Lewcock and G.R. Smith, *Two early mosques in the Yemen: a preliminary report*, in *AARP*, iv [1973]). The tomb, set at right angles to the western outer wall of the mosque, mentioned a Yuʿfir, perhaps Yuʿfir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān himself, and local tradition has it that it is his tomb. A visit to the mosque in 1997, however, revealed that the tomb is now in ruins and no inscription immediately visible.

Bibliography: Detailed treatment of the Yuʿfirids is given in G.R. Smith, *The early and medieval history of Ṣanʿāʾ*, in R.B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock (eds.), *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, London 1983, 55-7, and in Smith, *The political history of the Islamic Yemen down to the first Turkish invasion* (*1-945/622-1538*) in W. Daum, *Yemen, 3000 years of art and civilisation in Arabia Felix*, Innsbruck and Frankfurt [1988], 130-1, both relying on primary and early sources including ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs, *Kanz al-akhyār fī maʿrifat al-akhbār*, B.L. ms. Or. 4581, now ed. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Madʿadj, Kuwait 1992, and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī al-ʿAlawī, *Sīrat al-Hādī ilā ʾl-Ḥakk*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus 1972. Mention should also be made of the excellent, though still unpublished, Ph.D. thesis of C. Geddes, *The Yuʿfirid dynasty of Ṣanʿāʾ*, University of London 1959. (G.R. Smith)

YUGOSLAVIA "land of the South Slavs", a Balkan state which came into being through the peace treaties consequent on the end of the First World War, 1919-20 (St-Germain, Neuilly, Trianon), as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes under the ruling house of its largest component, Serbia. According to the constitution which came into effect on 1 January 1921, this was to be a unitary state, but this was never fully achieved, and arrangements in August 1939 envisaged a federal structure. Such developments were cut short by the German invasion of April 1941, after which the territories of Yugoslavia fell under Axis (German, Italian, Bulgarian) occupation till 1944-5. After the Second World War, Yugoslavia came under Communist control, with the January 1946 constitution abolishing the monarchy and setting up a Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that lasted until the break-up of the federation in the early 1990s.

Such regions of what became Yugoslavia as Macedonia, South Serbia ("Old Serbia") and above all Bosnia and Hercegovina had substantial Muslim populations, comprising ethnic Turkish incomers and converted indigenous Slav peoples. Many of the former element returned to Turkey after 1919 [see MUHĀDJIR. 2], but substantial numbers of Muslims have remained in Bosnia, and in recent decades, the numbers of Muslims in the Kosovo region of South Serbia [see ḲOṢOWA, KOSOVO] have grown through the immigration thither of Albanians [see ARNAWUTLUḲ]. In the census of 1953, the last one which noted religious affiliation, 12% of the population of Yugoslavia was returned as Muslim.

See for the history in Islamic times of the various regions of Yugoslavia, BOSNA; ḲARADAGH; ḲOṢOWA; MAḲADŪNYĀ; ṢIRB; DALMATIA, in Suppl.; also MUSLIMŪN. 1, and the *Bibls.* there, especially A. Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, Berlin-Wiesbaden 1986. (Ed.)

YŪḤANNĀ b. SARĀBIYŪN, a Christian (Nestorian) physician of the 3rd/9th century. He wrote in Syriac a medical compendium (*kunnāsh*) in two different forms, one with seven, the other with twelve *maḳālāt*.

The second, called the large compendium (*al-kunnāsh al-kabīr*), was corrected by the Ṣābian Abu 'l-Ḥasan Thābit b. Ibrāhīm b. Zahrūn (d. 369/980). An extract was made by Yaḥyā b. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥīrī al-Mutaṭabbib al-Ḥalabī (who was still alive in 1198/1783). The complete work has been preserved in the Istanbul ms. Ayasofya 3716.

According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, the first compendium, called the small one (*al-kunnāsh al-ṣaghīr*), was translated into Arabic by the secretary Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥadīthī on behalf of the physician Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Nafīs. This translation is said to have been superior, stylistically speaking, to that of Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus al-Ḳunnāʾī (d. 328/940) and to that of the well-known annotator Ḥasan b. Bahlūl al-Awānī. This *kunnāsh* was translated by Gerhard of Cremona under the title *Practica Joannis Serapionis aliter breviarium nuncupata*; in later times this translation was often reprinted. The Latin translation led to a Hebrew one by Mōshē b. Mazliaḥ (Steinschneider, *Hebräische Übersetzungen*, no. 474). In this way, the structure and the contents of the work became known rather early. The seven treatises deal with: 1) diseases of body and nerves; 2) diseases of eye, mouth, lungs, breast and heart; 3) diseases of stomach, intestines, and those caused by worms; 4) diseases of liver, spleen, kidneys, bladder, gout; 5) skin-diseases, wounds caused by a bite, gynaecological diseases; 6) fever; 7) composite medicines (*aḳrābādhīn*).

Most of the quotations from Yūḥannā are found in al-Rāzī, the others in the *Dhakhīra* of (Ps.) Thābit, in the *Djāmiʿ* of Ibn al-Bayṭār, in the *Minhādj* of Kūhīn, in the *Aḳrābādhīn* of Ḳalānisī and others (enumerated in M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, 102-3). According to the critical al-Madjūsī who, in the preface to his main work, the *Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, reviews the achievements of his predecessors, not many positive elements are to be found in Yūḥannā's work: e.g., he finds fault with the latter for limiting therapy to medicaments and diets, while disregarding "manual treatment" (surgery); furthermore, there are allegedly many complaints about omissions, deficiencies and inaccuracies (see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 142-3).

From a quotation in Abū Sahl Bishr b. Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjzī's *al-Rasāʾil al-ṭibbiyya*, it might perhaps be concluded that Yūḥannā also wrote a *Kitāb fī ʿAshr maḳālāt li-Djālīnūs*, see Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, Göttingen 1966, 67 l. 18.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 296; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, 380; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 109, ll. 17-22; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i, 105-11; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 102-3; idem, *Yūḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte seiner Werke*, in *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, vi (1971), 278-96. For the tradition in Syriac, see A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 231, with the addendum on 353; G. Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 131; R. Degen, in *Medizinhist. Journal*, vii (1972), 122 n. 49.

(A. Dietrich)

YULBĀRS KHĀN, the Uyghur Turkish leader of a Muslim rebellion at Ḳomul [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Eastern Turkistan or Sinkiang [*q.v.*] during the 1930s, b. 1888, d. ? in the mid-1970s.

In 1928 the second Republican Chinese governor of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen, overthrew the last autonomous khānate of Central Asia, that of Ḳomul in the extreme eastern end of the province, adjacent to the frontiers with Mongolia and Kansu. His anti-Muslim policies provoked a rebellion there in April 1931 of the Uyghurs, and possibly some of the Tungans [*q.v.*], under the joint leadership of Yulbārs Khān, who had been an adviser and official of the last two Khāns of Ḳomul, and the less effective Khodja Niyāz Ḥādjdjī. Yulbārs appealed to the Han Muslim warlord of northwestern Kansu, Ma Chung-yin [*q.v.*], and the latter's intervention enabled local Turkish elements to take over most of southern Sinkiang and set up in September 1932 an "Eastern Turkestan Republic" based on Kāshghar [*q.v.*], which in November 1933 became the "Turkish-Islamic Republic of East Turkestan". Yulbārs and Khodja Niyāz, however, represented conservative Ḳomulī sentiment, seeking limited autonomy for Ḳomul rather than secession from China, and they were suspicious of local Muslim leaders who were prepared to call in Soviet Communist support. Yulbārs was a fluent Chinese speaker, and he was later to choose exile in Taiwan rather than Turkey.

It soon became clear that Ma Chung-yin was following his own interests rather than those of the Turkish peoples of Sinkiang, and in early 1934 his forces destroyed the Kāshghar republic, although further rebel activity was to continue there. Yulbārs fled to Nanking in 1937, but returned to Ḳomul in 1946 as an adherent of the Kuo Min-tang. He fought against the increasing power of the Chinese Communist in Sinkiang, but in the winter of 1950-1 had to flee to Tibet and thence to Taiwan, where he retained the post of governor of Sinkiang in exile, eventually dying there.

Bibliography: A.D.W. Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia. A political history of Republican Sinkiang 1911-1949*, Cambridge 1986, see index s.v. and esp. the biography at 254 (photograph at 50).

(C.E. Bosworth)

YŪNĀN refers to the ancient Greeks, reflecting the name "Ionians". *Yūnānī* means Greek (noun and adjective) and *al-yūnāniyya* or, less commonly, *al-yūnānī* (with or without *lugha* or *lisān*), the ancient Greek language. The vocalisation *yūnānī*, instead of *yawnānī* favoured by some (cf. al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, ed. W. al-Ḳāḍī, Beirut 1408/1988, viii, 11), is stated to be the generally accepted form by al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 536, and may have been favoured by the Arabic word formation *fuʿlān*. The ancient Near Eastern designation of the "Greeks" as Ionians had continued being used through the ages in the Near East and eventually became common, apparently through some Aramaic form, in Muslim civilisation as a kind of cultural artifact. Authors such as al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 161, 164 (referring to Ptolemy, *Ḳānūn*); al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 115; al-Samʿānī, *loc. cit.*, quoting Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī; *Kitāb al-Djaʿrāfiyya*, ed. Mahammad Hadj-Sadok, Damascus 1968, § 161, had no doubt that *yūnānī* was derived from the name of the biblical Yūnān b. Yāfith (Javan, the son of Japheth: Gen. x. 2, 4), although in the genealogy offered in al-Ṭabarī, i, 218, the form of the name is the traditional *Yawān*. In fact, the form *Yūnān* for Javan is not attested elsewhere in older times, at least as is known so far (Syriac *Yawnān* < Greek accus. *Iōnan*, for Jonah/Yūnus, is not applicable here). Although biblical names underwent as yet unexplained changes on their way into Arabic, in this case it seems likely that the noun/adjective *yūnānī*, derived on the model of Aram. *yawnāy* (Ar. *āʾī* > *-ānī*), was primary and led to a reconstructed form *Yūnān* for *Yawān*. In translations from the Greek, *yūnāniyyūn* is the ordinary rendering of *Hellēnes*, but occasionally also occurs for synonyms

like *Achaioi*, cf. *WKAS*, Letter L, 1629a, citing Artemidorus, whose Arabic translator also used an additional *yūnāniyyūn* to clarify Greek *palaioi* "ancients" (cf. E. Schmitt, *Lexikalische Untersuchungen zur arabischen Übersetzung von Artemidors Traumbuch*, Wiesbaden 1970, 386a). Plenty of information on everything Greek seeped, of course, from the Graeco-Arabic translation literature [see TARDJAMA. 2.] into wider learned circles, but only a few general points can be made here.

The internal Muslim geographic/cartographic tradition had no precise notion on where to locate the Yūnān, except for some vague generalities such as Athens being the capital of the ancient Greek philosophers or Macedonia being the country of Alexander the Great. Their status as the predecessor nation and dynasty to the contemporary Rūm [*q.v.*] was known but not widely understood among mediaeval Muslims, except some favourably placed scholars. Historical tradition and speculation preferably assumed an original habitat for the Yūnān in Asia Minor or Syria. There were other, highly speculative theories, as, for instance, one credited by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, book IV beg., to a 3rd/9th-century Christian source about an era dating from the departure of a legendary Yūnān from Babel and lasting until the merger of the Yūnān into the Rūm and their eventual disappearance. Following earlier interpretations of Gen. x. 2 and 4, Rome occasionally appears as a foundation of Javan and his descendants (*Djaʿrāfiyya*, § 187). Even al-Andalus could be said to have had them as its first rulers (Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, v, 323, 326, in the article on the conqueror of Spain Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*]).

The relationship of the ancient Greek language to the language of the (eastern) Rūm, which moreover involved the distinction between pagans and Christians, was widely acknowledged but again not known in detail, cf. the discussion by N. Serikoff, *Rūmī and Yūnānī*, in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, clxxv [1996], 169-94). The excellent knowledge of ancient Greek possessed by certain scholars in the Muslim world in early ʿAbbāsid times faded rapidly in the 4th/10th century. A few technical terms, book titles, names and the like continued to be widely recognised as ancient Greek and in some cases acquired the status of cultural icons, especially names such as Sukrāṭ, Aflāṭūn, Ārisṭūṭālīs (Arisṭū), Bukrāṭ and Djālīnūs. In general, however, even concerned Muslims like al-Kindī, al-Fārābī or al-Bīrūnī knew little, if anything at all, of the language. In some regions, learned Christian scholars retained some knowledge of Greek sufficient for translating minor texts into Arabic. In Western Islam, *ighrīkī*, *ighrīkiyya*, is occasionally mentioned as the correct designation of the ancient Greek language (Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, tr. R. Blachère, 58, 77; *IAU*, ii, 47, cf. F. Rosenthal, *The Classical heritage in Islam*, London 1975, 39, 195).

Notwithstanding all this natural lack of information about long past and forgotten historical reality, the fundamental importance of the ancient Greeks and their intellectual achievements for the formation of Islamic civilisation was fully realised among Muslims. It became, and has remained to this day, the subject of a never-ending and often passionate discussion between supporters and opponents, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Graeco-Arabic relations indeed occupy a central position in Islamic studies today; however, the meaning of the ancient Greek heritage for every and all individuals in Muslim intellectual life still needs comprehensive investigation. During the early centuries, a statement like that of the historian al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 106-7, characterised the ancient Greeks as "philosophising sages" who cultivated medicine, the "essential verities" (i. e. metaphysics), arithmetic, geometry, astronomy/astrology, agriculture, alchemy and elixirs as well as talismans and (magical) apparatus. This view would have found general concurrence at the time. In a way, it has remained the popular view throughout. At the same time, sophisticated learned schemes of organising all human knowledge began to evolve. They classified all the sciences, (scientific) medicine, logic and philosophy as the realm of the "non-Arabs", that is, predominantly, the ancient Greeks, as against the "Arab" disciplines concerned with matters of religion and language, literature and philology. In various forms, these classifications became standard throughout mediaeval Islam.

A vehement opposition to all learning connected to the ancient Greeks began at a very early date and intensified in the course of the centuries. The reasons were manifold, such as its evidently foreign and non-Muslim origin and its introduction into Arabic by mostly non-Muslim translators. Above all, it threatened a most severe conflict on the religious level in that it introduced ideas and methods contradicting traditional Muslim beliefs and raised the eternal problem of faith versus reason much more explicitly than had been the case before in the Near Eastern environment. This provoked an attitude of distance and hostility to the very term *yūnānī* and often the rejection of everything considered "Greek", as, for instance, the rejection of "philosophy" as heresy, pointedly expressed in the proverbial *man tafalsafa tazandaḳa* "he who philosophises commits heresy" [see ZINDĪḲ].

The struggle between defenders and opponents is exemplified, for instance, by the witty parody of a narrow-minded official who is represented as being shocked by the sacrilegious implications of Euclidean geometry (cf. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Akhlāḳ al-wazīrayn*, Damascus 1385/1965, 235-47, see also AL-SARAKHSĪ), or is seriously pictured in the debate about (Arabic) grammar and (Greek) logic led by al-Sīrāfī [*q.v.*], reported by the same al-Tawḥīdī in another work and most recently discussed by G. Endress, *Grammatik und Logik*, Amsterdam 1986, 163-299 (*Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie* 3 = B. Mojsisch (ed.), *Sprachphilosophie in Antike und Mittelalter*). By far the most detailed and instructive discussion of the subject remains I. Goldziher, *Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.* (1916), no. 8. In the end, a kind of compromise came about. While Greek logic and metaphysics as such were mostly, but not always, vilified and rejected, they played an often unacknowledged vital role in Muslim theological and juridical discussion. On the other hand, the Greek heritage in the sciences was accepted as indispensable, often with apologies and accompanied by efforts to prove the usefulness of those sciences for religious purposes, as in the case of mathematics and astronomy. And medicine continued to rely almost exclusively and without apology on the ancient Greek authorities and their writings [see ṬIBB].

Bibliography: For the history of Graeco-Arabic relations, cf. the fundamental study by D. Gutas, *Greek thought, Arabic culture*, London and New York 1998. The subject touches practically all spheres and levels of Muslim intellectual activity and thus much of the modern scholarly literature. The small selection of references given in this article may most conveniently be supplemented by the numerous articles in the *EI* devoted to Greek authors and sciences, see, for instance, FALSAFA and FALĀSIFA or the entries on pharmacology, medicine, agriculture, astronomy,

astrology, or alchemy as listed in P.J. Bearman, *Index of subjects*, [4]Leiden 1998. (F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-YŪNĪNĪ, ḲUṬB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FATḤ MŪSĀ b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, Syrian historian and Ḥanbalī *shaykh*, b. Damascus in 640/1242, d. Baʿlabakk in 726/1326, best known as the author of the *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-zamān*, a continuation of the *Mirʾāt al-zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 654/1256 [*q.v.*]). Al-Yūnīnī belonged to a scholarly family originally from Yūnīn, a small town in the region of Baʿlabakk; his family claimed descent from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādik [*q.v.*] and in some sources, bore the *nisba* al-Ḥusaynī. Following the death of his father, then that of his elder brother, he inherited the role of leader of the Ḥanbalīs of Baʿlabakk, an important centre of Syrian Ḥanbalism at the time. He conformed to the family tradition in his capacity of scholar and *shaykh*, in maintaining stable relations with the dynasty in power, and in his sympathetic attitude towards the Ṣūfīs.

His father Muḥammad Taḳī al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh (572-658/1176-1260) was linked to the Ḥanbalī Ṣūfī *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh al-Yūnīnī (534-617/1139-1220), whose daughter he married and whom he succeeded. His biographers present him as a Ḳādirī mystic who, like his father-in-law ʿAbd Allāh, claimed kinship with the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*]. His mother, Zayn al-ʿArab bt. Naṣr Allāh b. Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā, who died in 693/1294, came from a scholarly Syrian family. His half-brother Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī (621-701/1223-1302), a scholar known primarily as the transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, provided a list of al-Yūnīnī's masters, which has survived; cf. G. Vajda, *La mašyaḫa de ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Yūnīnī*, in *JA*, cclix [1971], 223-46. Finally, the marriage of his daughter to Aybak al-Iskandarī al-Ṣāliḥī, a Mamlūk thirty years her senior who died in 674/1276, consolidated the family's links with the Baḥrī Mamlūks.

Al-Yūnīnī first attended classes in Baʿlabakk and Damascus, where he was taught by the eminent masters of the various *madhhabs*. In 659/1260, the year following the death of his father, his elder brother ʿAlī, who had taken responsibility for his education, sent him to Egypt. He subsequently visited Egypt twice, in 675-6/1276-7 and then in 688/1289, taking the opportunity to pursue his research into *ḥadīth* and visit sages and Ṣūfīs; he also received *idjāzas* from scholars such as the Mālikī Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-ʿAṭṭār and the Shāfiʿī ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām [see AL-SULAMĪ]. His principal activity was the collection of testimonies and data concerning his contemporaries, original material that he later incorporated into his work. In 673/1275, he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca. When in 680/1281, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn was fighting the Mongols, he made his way to Ḥimṣ and participated in the campaign; he was subsequently to devote a biographical notice to a scholarly friend who accompanied him and who died in battle. After his third visit to Egypt, he spent most of his time in Baʿlabakk and in Damascus where he continued his compilation of information. It was on the death of his brother ʿAlī, assassinated in 701/1302 in his library, that he became *shaykh* of the Ḥanbalīs of Baʿlabakk and dedicated himself to this function, to the dissemination of knowledge and to the editing of his own works.

Al-Yūnīnī first chose to summarise a universal history which he admired, the *Mirʾāt al-zamān* by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, in a *Mukhtaṣar* of four vols. Then, around 680/1281, he decided to compose a supplement, with a chronicle of events starting from the year 654, the date of the death of the Sibṭ (and continuing until the year 711, judging from the manuscripts which have survived) which he entitled *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-zamān*. Al-Yūnīnī thus placed his *Dhayl* within a family of works: *al-Muntaẓam* by Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*], the *Mirʾāt al-zamān* by Ṣibt Ibn al-Djawzī and the *Ḥawādith al-zamān* of al-Djazarī [*q.v.*], with the pattern of chronological presentation comprising, for each year, a list of sovereigns and princes followed by an account of events (*ḥawādith*) and then obituaries (*wafayāt*). In spite of its title, *dhayl*, which identifies it as a "continuation" or "supplement", the originality of al-Yūnīnī's work was recognised by Western scholars as soon as the first volumes were published, on the initiative of Fritz Krenkow. Subsequently, Cl. Cahen described several manuscripts of the *Dhayl*, of which there exist two versions of unequal length. He made efforts to uncover the sources of the work and to identify reciprocal borrowings between the author and his contemporaries, while stressing the originality of the work. Ulrich Haarmann, and then Li Guo, have pursued this project, comparing al-Yūnīnī's work in particular with that of al-Djazarī. They have also analysed the role of al-Birzālī [*q.v.*] in the transmission of the works of the two authors. In his study devoted to al-Yūnīnī, *Early Mamluk Syrian historiography*, Li Guo has laid emphasis, largely in accordance with a formal analysis of the classification of obituaries, on the differences between the two versions of the text: one, more developed and with obituaries arranged in alphabetical order, contains personal testimonies, accounts and anecdotes that are not found elsewhere and that give information concerning the history of Baʿlabakk, of Damascus and of al-Shām in general; while in the second text, which is shorter, obituaries are arranged in chronological order and the other type of material is lacking.

The sources used by al-Yūnīnī are of various natures: chronicles and biographical dictionaries found in the library of learned Syrians of the time, such as Ibn Khallikān, Abū Shāma, Ibn Ḥammawayh al-Djuwaynī, Ibn Shaddād, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir and Ibn Wāṣil in particular, certain of these owing a great deal to Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, not to mention works relating more specifically to each region: the *Taʾrīkh Irbil* by Ibn al-Mustawfī, the *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād* by Ibn al-Nadjdjār or even the *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab* by Ibn al-ʿAdīm. To these may be added the official documents, judicial registers and correspondence to which al-Yūnīnī had access by virtue of his good relations with the Mamlūk officials, or indeed Ṣūfī works of the *manāḳib* [*q.v.*] genre which were familiar to him.

Currently, the state of edition of the *Dhayl* is as follows: years 654-86 were edited by Krenkow and Muḥammad Munīr al-Shādhilī; years 687-90 by Antranig Melkonian (unpublished diss.); and years 697-701 by Li Guo (thus the years 687 to 696 and 702 to 711 are not yet published). Continuing Cahen's work, Li Guo has also reconstructed families of manuscripts, of the *Mukhtaṣar Mirʾāt al-zamān* of the *Dhayl*, for which he has listed 23 manuscripts. What may be added here in this context concerns the identification of the "mysterious Istanbul manuscript" which has served as a basis for the edition of part of the text published in Ḥaydarābād (four volumes covering the years 654/1256 to 686/1287). In fact, while the years 654 to 672 (vols. i and ii and the first part of vol. iii) were edited on the basis of known manuscripts (those of Istanbul, Aya Sofya 3146, 3199 and of Oxford, Bodleian, Pococke 132), the section concerning

the years 673 to 686 (beginning at p. 111 of vol. iii and including the whole of vol. iv) is based on a manuscript which is imprecisely identified on the title pages. It is in fact a manuscript preserved in the B.L. London under the classification India Office Isl. 3452, but not featuring in the printed catalogue. The manuscript was copied by Krenkow in 1945-6 and served as the basis for the edition made by a group of Indian scholars under the direction of Muḥammad Munīr al-Shādhilī (cf. J. Sublet, *Un manuscrit égaré*).

Furthermore, a work of *manāḳib* has been attributed to al-Yūnīnī, but its authenticity is problematical. Li Guo relies on Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 155 no. 13042 (Kātib Čelebi 1834-44) and on Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 479, in saying that al-Yūnīnī, finding that Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī had devoted to al-Djīlānī only a very short notice, is said to have written a work intitled *Manāḳib ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī*. Some additional information may be supplied in this context. The Arabic manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France contains a copy dating from 961/1554 of which the first (corrupt) folio bears the title *Bahdjat al-asrār*. G. Vajda (in his unpublished notes on the manuscripts of the BnF) identified the text as *Manāḳib ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī wa-ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān al-Yūnīnī*. This is thus a case of apologetic biographies of both al-Djīlānī and of ʿAbd Allāh al-Yūnīnī, our author's father-in-law. Vajda considered the text identical to that of Berlin (Wetzstein 1855) which is, according to Ahlwardt's catalogue (no. 10097), the work of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, who died in 701/1301, our author's brother. It may be deduced from this that numerous members of the Yūnīnī family composed *Manāḳib ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī*, thus rendering homage to the Ṣūfī *shaykh* whose memory they all revered, and as a result confusion was created between members of this family. Li Guo also poses the question of the identification of a *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* that was allegedly composed by al-Yūnīnī but of which the text has not been found.

The cordial relations that al-Yūnīnī maintained with scholars and historians ensured that numerous biographical notices would be dedicated to him, although in his own time he enjoyed only a modest reputation. Thus al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*], who attended his transmission sessions in Damascus and in Baʿlabakk, paid him restrained homage.

Works such as the *Dhayl* contain an impressive store of materials for the history of Syria in the second half of the 7th/13th century and in the early 8th/14th century. The Syrian authors of the time may be considered as constituting a school, and analysis of their works entails a redefinition of the historiography of the region in the period of the first Mamlūks.

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(Jacqueline Sublet)

YUNNAN (Yün-Nan), a province in the southwest of China, bounded in the east by the provinces of Kuei-chou, Kuang-hsi and in the north by the province of Ssŭ-ch'uan, and in the south to west by Vietnam, Laos and Burma.

1. History.

The province, first established under the Mongol Great Khān Ḳubilay in A.D. 1253, received its name from that of ancient Yunnan county, which is identified with Hsian-yun Prefecture, Yunnan province. Yunnan Province is a highland country; the climate is generally mild, but agricultural products are not always plentiful. According to the statistics of the government of the People's Republic of China, the Hui (Muslim) population of Yunnan is given as 522,046 (1.36% of the total population of Yunnan province in 1990). They are mostly distributed in the eastern part of the province, mainly near rivers and roads. They live alongside Han Chinese and native non-Chinese minorities.

Under the T'ang dynasty, in the middle of the 8th century, a native tribe of Yunnan called *U-man* ("Black Barbarian"), which is identified with the Qaradjan belonging to the Thai race, rose to power in 937 and founded the Nanchao kingdom (with its capital at Tali). In the Sung period, the Nanchao kingdom was succeeded by the Tali one, which survived for about 150 years in the same territory up to the mid-13th century. Then came the Mongol domination over Yunnan province. In the historical sources for the T'ang dynasty, it is reported that Taji (i.e. Tādjīk, that is, Arab) soldiers who had come to help the dynasty as reinforcements, migrated to Yunnan province in the early 9th century, settling there and becoming the first Muslims in Yunnan; but this tale is uncorroborated elsewhere.

The origin of the Yunnan Muslims should probably be traced back to the early Yüan dynasty, when the Mongol Royal Prince (later Great Khān) Ḳubilay [*q.v.*], who marched into China proper, conquered the above-mentionned Tali kingdom. Many soldiers and merchants from West Asia, and Central Asian Uyghurs who were members of Ḳubilay's army, settled in the province, many of them being Muslims. A Muslim general, Sayyid-i Adjall Shams al-Dīn ʿUmar (1211?-79), who was reported to be of Bukhāran origin, is said to have surrendered to Čingiz Khān in Transoxiana in 1219, to have become Čingiz's vassal, and then to have participated in the expedition to China, subsequently being appointed civil governor of Yunnan in 1273. He is further said to have pacified local tribes and to have spread the Islamic religion there. The town of K'un-ming, situated in eastern Yunnan, now became the administrative capital, and was later also called Yunnan-fu (see further

on this implantation of Islam in Yunnan, AL-ṢĪN. 4.). Under the administration of Sayyid-i Adjall Shams al-Dīn and his descendants, Muslims in Yunnan, Ssŭ-ch'uan and Shen-hsi prospered in the later 13th century and were gradually absorbed into local society as time went on. After the collapse of the Yüan, the first Ming Emperor Ch'u Yüang-ch'uang in 1381 ordered that Han and Muslim generals should proceed to Yunnan to get rid of any Mongol remnants, and they established Ming rule there. In general, the Yunnan Muslims, like those of other provinces, were gradually Sinicised under the Ming; also, many Muslims immigrated from surrounding provinces into Yunnan.

Under the Ch'ing dynasty that took over from the Ming in the early 17th century, a policy began of colonising native peoples of Yunnan with the power of both Han Chinese and Hui armies. Chinese and Muslims gradually spread further into the province: the Muslim population of the province is reported to have reached at this time *ca.* 800,000, making it the second densely-populated province of Muslims in China next to Kansu [*q.v.*]. As the Ch'ing policy of colonisation and absorption of the native Yunnan population continued in the early 19th century, Chinese pressure increased, with friction between Muslims and Han Chinese, especially in the western region with its centre at Yung-ch'êng fu (Pao-an). Revolts of the Yunnan Muslims against the Ch'ing authorities now began to occur. Quarrels between Muslims and Han Chinese at Ch'u-hsiung fu in 1854 marked the opening of the Great Rebellion which continued and raged for eighteen years all over the province; for details, see PANTHAY and TU WEN-HSIU. After a period of subsequent repression, there was comparative calm, or at least an uneasy peace, for the Yunnan Muslim community. But with the triumph of the Communist régime in 1950 and its pursuit of a militantly anti-religious policy, the position of the Yunnan Hui, and their perceived "differentness" in a state which was pathologically suspicious of all non-Han religious and ethnic identities, worsened. In such a closed state, details of discrimination and persecution are largely lacking, but the lowest point of Hui fortunes under Communism was clearly reached during the Cultural Revolution, epitomised in the "Shadian Incident". Shadian is a village in southwestern Yunnan adjacent to the Vietnam border and has been famed since Ming times as a centre of Muslim piety and learning. After requests by the Hui of Shadian for the re-opening of their mosques had been refused by the local Communist Party authorities, in July-August 1975 units of the People's Liberation Army moved in, razed Shadian to the ground and massacred over 1,600 Hui of the district, with 866 killed from Shadian village alone. Not until 1979, after the Fall of the Gang of Four, were apologies given and reparations made; but Yunnan Muslims understandably remain suspicious of PRC government attitudes and policies. For details of the Incident, see Gladney, *Muslim Chinese*, 137-40.

2. The community.

Yunnan Muslims have been and are still engaged in farming, handicraft, retail trade (especially with Burma), salt manufacturing (salt mining), eating-houses, inns, transportation, pottery-making, etc. They were also engaged in the mining of silver, copper and tin in the employment of local Ch'ing authorities. The Yunnan Muslims are not dissimilar from those Muslims of other provinces of China. They are Chinese-speaking Muslims calling themselves either *Hui* (Muslim), *Hui-min* (Muslim people) or *ch'ing-ch'êng (pure-true) Hui-hui*, and now, under the People's Republic of China, they are called *Hui-tsŭ* (Muslim people). Each Muslim community is located around their own *ch'ing-ch'êng ssŭ* (mosque). There are now reportedly about 600 mosques in the region. As religious leaders, they usually have an *akhon* (leader of the worship), a *khalīfa* (student, apprentice), and sometimes an *imām* (hereditary leader of the worship), just as in other provinces. They observe the Two Great *ʿĪds*, the *mawlūd al-nabī* (Muḥammad's birthday), *ʿāshūrāʾ*, the *miʿrādj*, *barāʾat*, *shab-i ḳadar*, etc.

Most Yunnan Muslims follow the *ḳadīmī* or "old", "traditional" or "orthodox" form of Chinese Islam, basically that of Ḥanafism, as observed by 90% of all the Chinese Muslims. There are also the *Djahriyya* order and the *Ikhwān* movement among Yunnan Muslims. The *Djahriyya* originally appeared in Kansu province in the early 18th century. It had its own centres at Sining, Ning-hsia and also at Peking, and must have been propagated in Yunnan. For Djahrī practices, see KANSU and TAṢAWWUF. 8. In Chinese Islam. The *Djahriyya* was specifically called *Hsin-chao* or New Religion, i.e. new as opposed to the *Ḳadīmīs*. The Ikhwān maintain strict observance of the *Sharīʿa* and spurn membership of the *mêng-huan* or the *ṭarīḳa* institutions [see TAṢAWWUF. 8.]. In Yunnan the Ikhwān make up *ca.* 10% of all Muslims.

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(T. SAGUCHI)

YŪNUS B. MATTĀ, the prophet Jonah, son of Amittai (II Kings xiv. 25). The name entered Arabic ultimately from the Greek Septuagint rendering of the Hebrew, most likely transmitted through Christian Palestinian.

The Ḳurʾān mentions Jonah four times as Yūnus, without giving his father's name, once as Dhu 'l-Nūn (XXI, 87) and once (LXVIII, 48) as *ṣāḥib al-ḥūt* "the Man of the Whale". Yūnus is the only one of the major and minor biblical prophets who is mentioned by name in the Ḳurʾān; a prophet who is swallowed by a whale naturally figured significantly in the popular imagination. Yūnus is numbered among the apostles of God (IV, 163; VI, 86). Sūra X is named after Yūnus, and tells of a town which came to believe in the one

God and therefore its fate of "chastisement and degradation in the present life" was averted (X, 98). A paraphrastic rendering of the story of Jonah appears in XXXVII, 139-48 (cf. also XXI, 87-8): Yūnus, an apostle of God, fled on a ship which was overloaded. He was condemned by lot and a fish swallowed him. He was worthy of blame. If he had not praised God, he would have remained in the fish's belly until the resurrection. However, he was thrown sick upon a barren shore, and a gourd was caused to grow up over him. He was then sent to rule over a hundred thousand people who became believers and God gave them respite for a further period.

Al-Bukhārī and al-Nawawī quote a *ḥadīth ḳudsī* which says "No one can say he is better than Yūnus b. Mattā, even if his genealogy goes back to his father" (see Nöldeke, *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 257; W. Graham, *Divine word and prophetic word in early Islam*, The Hague 1977, saying 44); al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 366, quotes this simply as a statement of Muḥammad and provides the understanding that Mattā was Yūnus's mother's name and that the characteristic of being a prophet and carrying the name of one's mother was distinctive with ʿĪsā and Yūnus alone.

Muslim legend further develops the material. Yūnus served God in Nineveh at the time that he became enraged. The puzzle of why he became angry is answered in at least two ways:

(1) He became angry because his mission to warn the people of Nineveh of their need to repent in order to avoid their forthcoming destruction was so urgent that the angel Gabriel did not allow him time to mount a steed or put on a shoe before leaving.

(2) He was angry because the calamity that he had prophesied would befall Nineveh was delayed at the last minute, thus making him appear to be a liar worthy of death. Yūnus prophesied that the punishment would come after 40 days; on the 37th day the colour of the sinners changed. They repented, restored all that they had unjustly acquired, even the objects immured in their houses (cf. the principle enunciated in BT, *Gittin*, 55a); men, women, children and animals clothed themselves in sackcloth; suckling offspring, of both women and animals, were separated from their nurses. But on the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ, God granted forgiveness.

Urged by Satan, Yūnus embarked on the ship. The overloaded ship could not go backward or forward, a sign that a runaway slave was on board. Jonah confessed his guilt, but the sailors would not throw him into the sea; three times they cast lots and then threw down an arrow oracle (al-Thaʿlabī). Finally, Yūnus threw himself into the jaws of the whale (Ibn al-Athīr), which, it is said, had come from India on account of Yūnus (al-Kisāʾī). God commanded the whale, saying, "Whale, O whale! We shall not make Jonah into your sustenance! Rather We make you a retreat for him, a sanctuary" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 783). The threefold darkness (see Ḳurʾān, XXI, 87) of the inside of the fish, depth of the sea and the darkness of the night enveloped Yūnus. The fish was swallowed by another fish and then that one by still another (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, *ad* Ḳurʾān, XXI, 87, as a second opinion on the meaning of the "darkness"). God made the fish transparent so that Yūnus could see the wonders of the deep. He heard the songs of praise of the sea monsters just as the angels heard his prayers from the inside of the fish. It is disputed whether Yūnus remained 3, 7, 20 or 40 days in the fish. Hurled out upon the shore, he was given shade by a gourd tree, and was suckled by a goat (Ibn al-Athīr) or an antelope (al-Thaʿlabī) or a gazelle (al-Kisāʾī). Yūnus found shade under a gourd tree which then withered, causing him to lament. God then reproached him for not having lamented the 100,000 people whose death he sought. This admonition was impressed upon him by other means also: by fruit trees torn up, by the example of a potter who is anxious about his pots, and a sower who is anxious about his seeds. Then Yūnus had a shepherd announce his approach: the earth, a tree, and an animal of his herd, all miraculously bore witness to the truth of the message. These motifs reflect the apparent connection between Jonah and nature and especially the animal kingdom. The king ceded his throne to the shepherd, and himself went to live with Yūnus as an ascetic. Notably absent here are any of the messianic aspects of the story developed in the New Testament (Matt. xxii. 39, Luke xi. 29) and in the Midrash (L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1909-38, iv, 253, vi, 351 n. 38).

The feature that God forgives the sinful town on the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ suggests a Jewish basis for these developments in the legend; the Book of Jonah is recited in Jewish worship in the afternoon of the Day of Atonement, which was connected in early Islam to the fast of ʿĀshūrāʾ [*q.v.*]. According to al-Kisāʾī, Yūnus was conceived on ʿĀshūrāʾ (see W.M. Thackston, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisaʾi*, Boston 1978, 350 n. 90, for a list of other events in the lives of the prophets which happened on this day).

A legend, mentioned by al-Yāfiʿī [*q.v.*] in his *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*, probably originated at a later date and indicates the extent of the active development of legendary material throughout the centuries, even down to contemporary times (see e.g. P. Bachmann, *Das Skandalon des Propheten Yūnus und eine neue arabische Jona-Geschichte*: Yūnus fī baṭn al-ḥūt, *von ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Mikkāwī*, in J.M. Barral (ed.), *Orientalia Hispanica, sive studia F.M. Pareja octogenario dicata*, Leiden 1974, i, 55-76). Yūnus asked the angel Gabriel to show him the most pious person in the world. The angel showed him a man who lost his feet, hands and eyes one after another and, notwithstanding, put his confidence in God and gave himself up to Him (cited in R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1927, ii, 122, no. 77).

Al-Kisāʾī extended the miraculous elements to the earlier history of the prophet. His father was 70 when Yūnus was born. His mother, who became a widow soon after, had nothing left but a wooden spoon, which proved to be a cornucopia. As a result of a miraculous dream, he married the daughter of Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā (see ZAKARIYYĀʾ; here reflecting the chronological confusion surrounding this person). He loses his wife, both his sons and his property. He therefore will not pray with the others on the ship. In the end, everything is miraculously restored to him.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 782-9, tr. M. Perlmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. iv. The ancient kingdoms*, Albany 1987, 160-6; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, on X, 98, XXI, 87-8, LXVIII, 48; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Būlāḳ 1290, i, 143-5; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo n.d., 366-70; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922-3, 296-311; Abū Rifāʿa al-Fārisī, *Badʾ al-khalḳ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, in R.G. Khoury (ed.), *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam*, Wiesbaden 1978, 223-37; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Leipzig 1902, 188-9; J. Horovitz, *Jewish proper names and their derivatives in the Koran*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii (1925), 170-1; idem *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, 154-5; A. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary of the Quran*, Baroda 1938, 295-6; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Gräfenhainichen 1931, 407-10; D. Sidersky, *Les origines de légendes musul-*

manes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes, Paris 1933, 129-31; C.C. Castillo, *Jonas en leyenda musulmana*, in *al-Qanṭara*, iv (1983), 89-100.

(B. Heller-[A. Rippin])

YŪNUS b. ḤABĪB, prominent Baṣran grammarian and philologist (*ca.* 90-182/708-98).

In the early sources, his important position as a grammarian is indicated by the 230 occurrences of his name in both syntactic and morphological parts of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*. He is mentioned as a direct source of information in Abū ʿUbayda's *Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān* (transmitting Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ's teaching), and the books of al-Farrāʾ and al-Akhfash. In al-Djumaḥī's *Ṭabaḳāt*, Yūnus describes personally the development of grammatical studies from the early days of ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ (d. 117/728 [*q.v.*]). His fabulous readiness to share knowledge is mentioned by the early short biographical treatise of Abū Ḥāmid. The many details added by the later sources include a grandfather's name and *kunya* (both of these being ʿAbd al-Raḥmān), dates of life and origin. He is presented as a *mawlā* of several Arab tribes. A Persian origin was mentioned by a Shuʿūbī author (Talmon, *Arabic grammar*, 7 n. 35). A recurring anecdote seems to suggest attribution by some biographers of pro-ʿAlid sentiments to this scholar. The list of Yūnus's teachers and students seems to draw mainly on the meagre information extracted from the early sources referred to above. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions five books written by this scholar, of lexical and philological, not grammatical, character. These include *Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān, K. al-Lughāt, K. al-Nawādir* (*al-kabīr* and *al-ṣaghīr*) and *K. al-Amthāl*, cf. Sezgin, viii, 57-8, for possible traces of these books in later works. Yūnus's grammatical views presented in the *Kitāb* indicate a sophisticated systematic analogical reasoning, not much inferior to Sībawayhi's and al-Khalīl's.

Bibliography: Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862; H. Ṭaʿʿān, *Makhṭūṭ farīd nafīs fī marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, in *al-Mawrid*, iii (1974), 137-44; ʿA. Djabbūrī, *Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, ḥayātuhu wa-ārāʾuhu fī ʾl-ʿarabiyya*, in *Madjallat Ādāb al-Mustanṣiriyya* (1975-6), 97-136; G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976; R. Talmon, *Naḥwiyyūn in Sībawaihi's* Kitāb, in *ZAL* (1982), 12-38 (esp. the appendix); Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 57-8, 266 (including a detailed list of mediaeval sources), ix, 49-51; Talmon, *Arabic grammar in its formative age*, Leiden 1997.

(R. Talmon)

YŪNUS EMRE, an immensely popular Anatolian Turkish mystic poet of the second half of the 13th and the first quarter of the 14th century. The information on Yūnus Emre's life is fragmentary and inconclusive in many respects, being partly of a legendary character (see the hagiological writings especially of the Bektāshiyye) or dependent on the interpretation of some passages in his *Dīwān*.

Yūnus Emre's birthplace is uncertain; the likeliest site seems to be a village in the environs of either Sivrihisar (Eskişehir) or Bolu. There are indications that Yūnus Emre married and had one or more children and that he travelled quite extensively, not only in Anatolia but farther east to Damascus, Tabrīz, etc. There is no proof that Yūnus Emre studied at a *medrese*. On the other hand, he was certainly not illiterate (the allusions to illiteracy in his *Dīwān* should be seen in the light of the concept of being *ummī* [*q.v.*], which does not necessarily imply factual illiteracy). His considerable learning probably derives primarily from his *tekke* [*q.v.*] education and ambience.

It is not certain to which Islamic mystical order (*ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*]) Yūnus Emre belonged. The main assertions are that he was affiliated to the Bektāshiyye or the Mewlewiyye, but it has also been alleged that he was a member of the Khalwetiyye, the Ḳādiriyye, etc. On the evidence of passages in his *Dīwān*, Yūnus Emre's spiritual director and initiator (*murshid* [*q.v.*]) was Ṭapduḳ Emre, who, according to Bektāshī hagiology, was admitted to the order by Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh [see bektāshiyya]. On the other hand, Yūnus Emre's mention of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] in a few verses reflects a spiritual bond between him and the Mewlewiyye. His poetry documents him as deeply religious in conformance with the teachings of the Ḳurʾān and the *sīra* [*q.v.*], with an understanding of Islamic mysticism (*taṣawwuf* [*q.v.*]) in the tradition of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. Yūnus Emre's religious philosophy aims at "the unity of existence" (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*). This pantheistic view is complemented by the doctrine of "the perfect human being" (*al-insān al-kāmil* [*q.v.*]).

It is generally accepted that Yūnus Emre died in 720/1320-1, as documented by the entry on fol. 38b of the ms. *Mecmua* no. 7912 at the Beyazıd Umumî Kütüphanesi, Istanbul. The site of Yūnus Emre's grave is not certain. The fact that about a dozen graves (or *maḳāms*) situated all over Anatolia are attributed to him attests to his immense popularity. Of these, the grave in Bursa is almost certainly that of ʿĀshîḳ Yūnus (d. 843/1439-40), a mystic who wrote poetry in the manner of Yūnus Emre. For the rest, the grave that has found most credibility is that in the village of Sarıköy in the vicinity of Sivrihisar (Eskişehir), and in 1970 the mortal remains in this grave were transferred to the memorial grave built for the poet in Sarıköy.

Yūnus Emre is known to be the author of two works: a *Dīwān* and the *methnewī* called *Risālet el-nuṣḥiyye*.

1. The *Dīwān*. There are a great number of mss. of this work. *Medjmūʿas* (collections of literary works) also contain many poems by Yūnus Emre. The mss. show great discrepancies with regard to the number of poems, number and sequence of verses, etc. Yūnus Emre used the pen-name (*makhlaṣ* [see takhalluṣ]) *Yūnus*, occasionally in the form *Yūnus Emre(m)* or with attributes such as *Miskīn, Bī-čāre, ʿĀshîḳ*, and once each as *Ṭapduḳ Yūnus, Ṭapduḳlu Yūnus*. A considerable number of poems by poets using the pen-name *Yūnus*, or even an altogether different pen-name, have erroneously been attributed to him and included in mss. of his *Dīwān*. In fact, one of the most popular *ilāhīs* [*q.v.*] today, namely that starting *Shol djennetüñ ırmaḳları* * *Aḳar Allāh deyü deyü*, "Those streams of Paradise * Flow, calling Allah Allah", is generally attributed to Yūnus Emre, although it is actually by the poet ʿĀshîḳ Yūnus mentioned above.

The latest critical edition of the *Dīwān* (by M. Tatcı) contains 417 poems. Yūnus Emre composed a considerable number of poems according to the rules of the Arabo-Persian metrical system (*ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*]), albeit with frequent faults. Nevertheless, the greater part of his *Dīwān* is composed according to the original Turkic method of versification, wherein the verses are not based on quantity as in *ʿarūḍ* but on the number of the syllables and the stress positions (*parmaḳ ḥisābî* or *hedje wezni*). A third group of poems shows only traces of composition in conformance with *ʿarūḍ*, so that these poems must be regarded (at least until further mss. supply metrically more correct versions) as composed according to *parmaḳ ḥisābî*. Yūnus Emre's application of *parmaḳ ḥisābî* is very successful. On the other hand, the frequent *ʿarūḍ* mistakes are understandable as Yūnus Emre lived at a time when the application of the Arabo-Persian metres to the Turkish language was in

its initial phase. Furthermore, oral transmission of the poems through the centuries is certain to be responsible for a considerable number of the *ʿarūḍ* faults found in the mss.

The *ʿarūḍ* metre Yūnus Emre used by far most frequently is *aṣlī redjez* (*mustafʿilun-mustafʿilun-mustafʿilun-mustafʿilun*). Of the syllabic lengths of *parmaḳ ḥisābī*, he used almost all, including such rare lengths as 10 and 12 syllables. He used aural rhyme, without regard for total accord (Turkish *geč* rhyming with Arabic *muḥtādj*, for example). Apart from one short *methnewī* of 28 verses, all the poems in the *Dīwān* have the rhyme scheme of the *ghazel* [see TURKS. 4.]. The lengths of these poems also corresponds to the usual lengths of the *ghazel* (only a few poems have more than 15 verses and one has 45). A considerable number of these are totally or partially *musammaṭ*, that is, have "inner rhyme" (the rhyme scheme *aa, xa, xa*, etc. thereby becoming *xaxa* [the first verse is usually without "inner rhyme"], *bbba, ccca*, etc.). The *musammaṭ* poems are mostly in the above *aṣlī redjez* metre consisting of 16 syllables and are often metrically faulty; such a faulty verse is practically indistinguishable from a quatrain with lines of 8 syllables composed according to *parmaḳ ḥisābī*. The genres of poetry found in the *Dīwān* are predominantly the *ilāhī* (respectively the *nefes* [*q.v.*]) and the *nuṭuḳ* (didactic mystical poem). However, there are a few examples of other genres such as the *münādjāt* (supplication addressed to God), the *naʿt* (eulogy, especially of Muḥammad), the *miʿrādj-nāme* [see MIʿRĀDJ], the *shaṭhiyye* [see SHAṬḤ], etc.

Yūnus Emre's poems are in Old Anatolian Turkish. He expresses himself simply and directly, in the idiom of the common people, using similes, metaphors, expressions, sayings, etc. that are familiar to them. His use of Arabic and Persian words is restricted enough not to have hindered the (at least superficial) comprehension of the bulk of his *Dīwān*. Frequently, an Arabic or Persian word is used in close proximity to its Turkish synonym. Yūnus Emre contributed to the forming of a Turkish mystical vocabulary based on the classic Ṣūfī terms. The *Dīwān* contains quotations from the Ḳurʾān, the *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], the sayings of Ṣūfīs and allusions to Indo-Persian and Greek mythology and to folk tales.

The most recurrent theme in Yūnus Emre's *Dīwān* is mystic love. Yet he is no recluse and the conditions of everyday life are reflected in his poems. His mostly easily understandable religious and moral advice is couched in lyrical language of heartfelt sincerity and often great intensity of feeling. His poetry was of central importance in the dissemination of Ṣūfī teachings in Anatolia, influenced the *tekke* poetry of the following centuries, and played an initiative role in the application of the *ʿarūḍ* metric system to Turkish. The intense religious and humane feeling in his poetry has not lost its appeal today. It is not therefore surprising that his *ilāhī*s continue to be sung at events of a religious nature or that in 1946 Adnan Saygun composed his *Yunus Emre oratoryosu* using some of Yūnus Emre's poems as its libretto.

2. The *Risālet el-nuṣḥiyye*, a Turkish *methnewī* of 600 verses with a moralising didactic message, was composed in 707/1307-8. After an introductory section of thirteen verses in the metre *ramal* (*fāʿilātun-fāʿilātun-fāʿilun*), there is a short section in prose followed by the main text composed in the metre *hazadj* (*mafāʿīlun-mafāʿīlun-faʿūlun*). This *methnewī* shows a mastery of the rhetoric device of *teshkhīṣ* (anthropomorphism), but it does not possess the lyrical quality of the poems in the *Dīwān*.

Bibliography: For a comprehensive bibliography, see M. Tatcı, *Yunus Emre bibliyografyası*, Ankara 1988; A. Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre Divanı* (*metinler, sözlük, açılama*), Istanbul 1943; idem, *Yunus Emre ve tasavvuf*, Istanbul 1961; idem, *Yunus Emre: Risâlat al-Nushiya ve Dîvân*, Istanbul 1965; idem, *Yunus Emre (hayatı ve bütün şiirleri)*, Istanbul 1971; M.F. Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatı'nda ilk mutasavvıflar*, [2]Ankara 1966; F.K. Timurtaş, *Yûnus Emre dîvânı*, Istanbul 1972 (2nd enlarged ed. 1980); A.S. Erzi, *Türkiye kütüphanelerinden notlar ve vesikalar. I. Yûnus Emre'nin hayatı hakkında bir vesika*, in *Belleten*, xiv/53 (1950), 85-9; T.S. Halman (ed.), *Yunus Emre and his mystical poetry*, Bloomington 1981; J.C. Bürgel, *Grösse und Grenzen gewaltlosen Handelns. Aktualisierung islamischer Mystik in einem modernen türkischen Drama* [namely, Recep Bilginer's play "Yunus Emre"], in *WI*, N.S., xxiii-xxiv (1984), 1-25; N. Pekolcay and E. Sevim, *Yunus Emre'nin şahsiyeti ve Yunus Emre şerhleri. Yunus Emre'nin bir eseriyle ilgili şerhlerin yazmaları*, Ankara 1991; C. Kosal (ed.), *Yunus ilâhîleri güldestesi*, Ankara 1991; M. Bozdemir (ed.), *Yunus Emre, Message universel* (*Actes du Colloque*, Paris 1991), Paris 1992; A. Schimmel, *Yunus Emre*, in *Turkish Review*, vii/32 (1993), 67-90; *Uluslararası Yunus Emre. Sempozyumu bildirileri*, Ankara 1995; A. Özgüven, *Two mystic poets: Yunus Emre and William Blake*, in *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları*, xx (1996) (= *In memoriam Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı*, ii), 234-47; Tatcı, *Yûnus Emre Dîvânı*, 2nd revised ed., i (*inceleme*); ii (*tenkitli metin*); iii (*Risâlet'ün-Nushiyye: tenkitli metin*); iv (*Âşık Yûnus*, actually a collective edition of poems by ʿĀshiḳ Yūnus and other poets with the pen-name *Yûnus* without specification of the respective authorship), Istanbul 1997. (EDITH G. AMBROS)

YŪNUS AL-KĀTIB AL-MUGHANNĪ, Abū Sulaymān Yūnus b. Sulaymān b. Kurd b. Shahriyār, well-known musician and writer on music in the first half of the 2nd/8th century.

He was the son of a jurist (*faḳīh*) of Persian origin and a *mawlā* of the family of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām (Ḳuraysh). Yūnus was born and grew up in Medina. He entered the local *dīwān* as a scribe, hence his surname al-Kātib. Early in life, however, he was attracted by music, and he is said to have taken lessons mainly from Maʿbad [*q.v.*], but also from Ibn Suraydj, Ibn Muḥriz, al-Gharīḍ [*q.vv.*], and Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād al-Kātib. He was also a gifted poet. Whilst on a visit to Syria during the reign of Hishām (105-25/724-43) his fame in music brought him the patronage of the *amīr* al-Walīd b. Yazīd. This event forms the basis of a highly-coloured story in the 684th and 685th nights of the *Alf layla wa-layla*. Returning to Medina, Yūnus provoked a scandal by composing his *Zayānib*, a cycle of seven songs extolling Zaynab, a niece of the Successor (*Tābiʿī*) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī. On the accession of al-Walīd b. Yazīd in 125/743, Yūnus was summoned to the Damascus court where he was treated with "high honour and munificence". He was still alive under the early ʿAbbāsids. Having lost his voice he gave singing lessons by using chironomic signs. His best-known pupil was Siyāṭ (d. 169/785), a teacher of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*]. Hence a musical tradition and, at the same time, a literary *isnād* connects the masters Maʿbad, Yūnus al-Kātib, Siyāṭ, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, and Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*]. Yūnus died, around 147/765, at over eighty and possibly in Baghdād.

As a composer, Yūnus has a place among the great musicians of the classical era, as we know from the high esteem accorded his songs. They were even imitated by later musicians, in a so-called "Zayānib style"

(*ghinā' zayānibī*). As a singer, he seems to have been one of the *murtadjil* singers who used to accompany themselves by beating the musical metre (*īkā'*) with a wand (*kadīb*). Yūnus left several books on music and musicians. Among them was a record of the tonal system of the Medinan music school, called *K. al-Nagham*. From this book, a quotation on the division of the octave seems to have survived. He also composed a book on the renowned female singers (*K. al-Kiyān*), a collection of his own song texts (*K. Mudjarrad Yūnus*), and an extensive systematic collection (*tadwīn*) of song texts (*K. fī 'l-Aghānī*), also called *Dīwān Yūnus*. The latter contained, in the redaction known to Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*], 825 song texts by 35 male and female singers of the first two "classes" (*tabakāt*) in Islam. In a redaction described by Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān (d. after 449/1057 in Cairo), the number of song texts is said to have increased to 6,300. They were in alphabetical order, followed by complete musical indications, and by the names of the poet and the composer. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] quoted the book frequently in his *K. al-Aghānī al-kabīr*. He made use of this "fundamental source" (*aṣl*) in a redaction by al-Hishāmī (3rd/9th century) who had supplied the musical indications (*adjnās, ṭarā'ik*) omitted by Yūnus. The advanced and extensive literary production of Yūnus al-Kātib proves in itself that he cannot have been "the first" to write on music in Islam, as was often stated.

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(H.G. Farmer-[E. Neubauer])

YURT [see KHAYMA. iv].

YÜRÜK [see YÖRÜK].

YŪSHAʿ B. NŪN, the Joshua of the Bible. The Kur'ān does not mention him by name but alludes to him. When Moses wished to lead his people into the holy land and Israel was afraid to fight with the giants, they were encouraged by two God-fearing men (V, 20-6) who may be recognised as Joshua and Caleb. Neither can it be doubted that the young man (*fatā* = *naʿar*, Exod. xxxiii. 11) who accompanies Moses on a journey to al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] (not named) in XVIII, 60-64, is any other than Joshua (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 428).

Al-Ṭabarī was certainly well informed of the features of the biblical tradition concerning Joshua: the crossing of the Jordan with the ark, the spies, the fall of Jericho, the dishonesty of Achan, the artifice of the Gibeonites, the solstice, Bezek. However, Muslim legend has also supplied the figure of Yūshaʿ with features not found in the Bible, most of which parallel the material in the Haggada. Yūshaʿ was given the task of summoning the Children of Israel to the true faith (al-Ṭabarī, i 503-4). To enable Moses to depart this life without anxiety, Yūshaʿ was installed as a prophet in his lifetime (see L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1909-38, iii, 436-9). He was present at Moses's death and Moses's garments remained in Yūshaʿ's hands when Moses died. Yūshaʿ was suspected of having killed Moses but all the Israelites had a dream in which Moses refuted the suspicion to calm the affair. Yūshaʿ conquered the giants in Jericho, but the traditions vary as to whether the victory was won in the time of Moses or not until after his death. Balaam [see BALʿAM] supported the battle against the Israelites. In Ibn al-Athīr, the story is embellished; Balaam's wife was bribed to incite him to evil (see H. Schützinger, *Die arabische Baleam-Erzählung*, in *Isl.*, lix [1982], 195-221). Kur'ān, VII, 175-7 is also connected to Balaam. Yūshaʿ could not cross the Jordan for 40 days. He then prayed and the two hills on the banks became a bridge across which people could pass (al-Kisā'ī). Jericho was besieged for six months, and in the seventh the walls fell down at the blowing of the trumpets. The miracle in which Yūshaʿ makes the sun stand still is mentioned sometimes in connection with the conquest of Jericho and sometimes in the war against the united kings. In both cases, the story is told that Friday evening was close to arriving. If the sabbath began, the fighting could not be continued and the victory would be incomplete. Yūshaʿ wished to stop the sun; at first it refused, saying it was fulfilling divine orders just as Yūshaʿ was; finally, the sun agreed. After the victory, Yūshaʿ collected the booty and desired to offer it as a sacrifice but no flame came down from heaven to consume it (cf. Lev. ix. 24; I Kings xviii. 23-4; I Chr. xxi. 26; II Chr. vii. 1). There must have been some dishonesty. The lot pointed to Achan as the sinner. According to another tradition, Yūshaʿ summoned the heads of the tribes. The hand of the sinner stuck to the hand of Yūshaʿ. Al-Kisā'ī records another divine judgment; each tribe had a mark on Aaron's robe and the mark of the guilty tribe became distorted. A bull's head studded with pearls and jewels was found in the sinner's possession and was added to the booty. Flames then consumed the booty, including the bull's head, along with the sinner.

Yūshaʿ rooted out the inhabitants of Canaan, but a fraction of them migrated under the leadership of Ifrīkīs to Africa; their king Djirdjir (i.e. Gregory) was killed; from the others, the North African Berbers are descended.

In al-Ṭabarī, i, 558, the isolated tradition is found that the dead man conjured up by Ṭālūt (Saul) was Yūshaʿ rather than Samuel (cf. I Sam. xxviii. 11-19). The tomb of Yūshaʿ is a pilgrimage site, probably dating from pre-Islamic times, in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*, at Vol. V, 926b].

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(B. Heller-[A. Rippin])

AL-YŪSĪ, ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-ḤASAN b. Masʿūd, Moroccan man of letters (1040-1102/1631-91).

Of the Berber tribe of Aït Yūsī, he was born in

Fāzāz [*q.v.*] in the upper Malwiya region of Morocco. His travels first led him southwards to Marrakesh and then to Tāmgrūt, where he studied under the *shaykh* Muḥammad b. Nāṣir. He then went to the *zāwiya* of al-Dilā' [*q.v.* in Suppl.], where he enjoyed a long period of stability in his life until the destruction of this marabout principality by the 'Alawī sultan Mawlāy al-Rashīd in 1079/1688. Al-Yūsī was compelled to follow the sultan back to Fās, where he gave courses that enjoyed much popularity at the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*]. But rivalries and frictions with colleagues, as well as a nomadic temperament, prevented him from adapting to life in a large city. He gave up teaching and finally left Fās in 1084/1673 for further travels. He visited various shrines before spending a good while in Marrakesh, where he taught in the mosque of the Shorfa. Towards the end of his life he made the Pilgrimage, and died in Fās soon after his return. He is buried near the town of Sefrou, his mausoleum being the centre of a cult [see SUFRŪ].

Al-Yūsī's oeuvre covers several areas of scholarship. His *Ḳānūn fī ibtidā' al-'ulūm* is an attempt to define and classify the different sciences. The breadth of his interests can also be seen in his epistles (*Rasā'il Abī 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd al-Yūsī*, ed. Fāṭima Khalīl al-Kablī, 2 vols. Casablanca 1981), which touch on points of theology, law and mysticism. The most famous are those reproaching the ruler, as in the case of the epistle called *barā'at al-Yūsī* in which, not without boldness, he reproaches Mawlāy Ismā'īl for having disarmed the whole group of Moroccan tribes. In another one, known as the *djawāb al-kitāb* and composed in reply to a letter (now lost) from the same sultan, al-Yūsī dilates at length on the topic of scholars' relations with the sovereign power.

His *Dīwān* includes a *dāliyya* in honour of his master Ibn Nāṣir and a *rā'iyya* in which he evokes memories of the *zāwiya* of al-Dilā'. His verses have a mystical tone, and the most remarkable ones have a nostalgic feeling for his native land. He also compiled a collection of proverbs, *Zahr al-akam fī 'l-amthāl wa 'l-ḥikam* (ed. M. Ḥadjdjī and M. al-Akhḍar, 3 vols. Casablanca 1981). His *Muḥāḍarāt*, written in 1095/1684 (ed. Ḥadjdjī and Aḥmad Sharḳāwī, 2 vols. Beirut 1982) are conversations, of the *adab* genre: anecdotes, poetic quotations (including some in *malḥūn* [*q.v.*]), autobiographical confidences, travel narratives, and reflections upon such varied topics as sainthood, Mahdism, food customs in the *zāwiyas*, couscous and the story-tellers of the Djāma' al-Fnā. Despite the discrete nature of its subjects, this work remains an irreplaceable document on the ruling classes, scholars, saints and the common people of the time.

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(ABDELFATTAH KILLITO)

YŪSUF B. YA'ḲŪB, in the Ḳur'ān and later Islamic literature parallels, the Joseph of the Hebrew Bible and Jewish and Christian tradition. The character of Yūsuf is popular in Islamic pietistic and devotional literature, in prose and in poetry from the earliest commentaries until the present day.

1. In the Ḳur'ān.

Outside of sūra XII, Yūsuf is mentioned only twice. In VI, 84, he is merely listed among other biblical prophets, and in the following order: Ibrāhīm (VI, 83), Isḥāḳ and Ya'ḳūb, Nūḥ "[whom] We guided previously, and from his progeny, Dāwūd, Sulaymān, Ayyūb, Yūsuf, Mūsā and Hārūn". XL, 34 is included in a longer section treating the story of Moses, where it is stated that Yūsuf came before Moses with clear divine messages that were nevertheless doubted by his people, and that these same people thought that God would not send another prophet after him.

All other Ḳur'ānic references to Yūsuf occur in sūra XII, a complete telling of the Joseph story, the longest Ḳur'ānic narrative and the only lengthy chapter of the Ḳur'ān representing a single and complete literary unit. The Ḳur'ānic Joseph story not only exhibits a close intertextual relationship with the versions represented in the Hebrew Bible and post-biblical Jewish and Christian narrative exegesis, but also finds important parallels with the tale of Bellerophon of the *Iliad* and the pre-biblical Egyptian "Tale of two brothers". One of the central themes of sūra XII, that of al-'Azīz's wife making vain overtures of Yūsuf and then accusing him of attempting to force her, represents a common motif of folk literatures throughout the world (motif K 2111 in S. Thompson's *Motif index of folk literature*, v). Questions of "influence" and "borrowing" become extremely complex in light of such a complicated intertextuality. However, it is clear from a diachronic perspective that "biblicist" material—that is, deriving from the Bible and its exegesis—impacted the emergence of sūra XII, while Ḳur'ānic and post-Ḳur'ānic Islamic material in turn impacted later renderings of the tale in Jewish and Christian circles.

The Ḳur'ānic Yūsuf embodies the chief qualities of a prophet: knowledge, trust and uprightness. In contrast to the biblical rendering and biblical narrative in general, the Ḳur'ān depicts Yūsuf as protected from error through its portrayal of the positive moral attributes of patience, trust, veracity, judgment and discernment and absolute faith epitomised not only by the prophet Yūsuf but also by his father, the prophet Ya'ḳūb. This, among many other differences between the biblical and Ḳur'ānic renderings of the tale, reflects the different eras, cultures and contextual world views that the two versions reflect. Whereas the biblical version typifies the "heroic tale" portraying a sacred history of progenitors and patriarchs, the Ḳur'ānic version serves far more as a didactic tale in which positive and negative behaviours are clearly depicted and assessed through the conduct of the tale's actors. The Ḳur'ānic rendering thus reflects the realm of pietism which, in turn, parallels post-biblical Jewish and Christian exegetical reflections of the tale that serve largely as teaching parables about chastity, temptation, faith and uprightness in the face of adversity.

Recently, synchronic approaches to the narrative have been taken by Johns, Stern and Mir. Johns stresses the unique oral nature of the Ḳur'ānic telling and the use of repetition and "replays", while Stern has shown how the story may be seen as an allegorical rendering of the traditional biography of Muḥammad. Both Yūsuf and Muḥammad were accused by their detractors (brothers or tribal kin) of seeking superiority over others for their own personal ends, but their very critics could not understand until the end that the two prophets were asserting themselves only because God had thrust a special role on them for the purpose of bringing about their people's own salvation. Mir has demonstrated the chiastic structure of the narrative

by showing not only how the tensions built up in the first half of the story (1-44) are resolved in reverse order in the second half (45-100) but also how certain motifs recur antithetically and heighten the story's drama.

The didactic and moralistic nature of the Ḳur'ānic rendering leaves the main protagonists' characters largely flat and undeveloped, and fails even to provide names for those actors in the drama that do not personify right behaviour. This, along with the exceptional length and narrativity of the sūra, encouraged a great deal of thinking and discussion which resulted in voluminous exegesis on *Sūrat Yūsuf*.

2. In post-Ḳur'ānic literature.

Yūsuf is largely absent from the *Ḥadīth*. Direct and indirect exegesis of *Sūrat Yūsuf* may be found in the *Tafsīr* literature, the universal histories of al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Kathīr, etc., hagiographic literature (*ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* [*q.v.*]), and in the poetry and pietistic literatures of virtually all religious, ethnic and linguistic sub-groups in the vast Islamic world from Spain to China and from Russia to South Africa. These literatures fill in the obvious lacunae of the Ḳur'ānic telling, resolve and respond to conflicts and parallels with biblicist literatures, and capitalise on the nature and authority of the scriptural tale in order to promote various independent or creative ideas or perspectives on the religious, moral, spiritual or creative life. At the most basic level, names and narrative depth are provided for secondary characters in the Ḳur'ānic telling, including certain of Yūsuf's brothers, the trader(s) who purchase Yūsuf from his brothers, the Egyptian to whom he is sold, his wife, the king of Egypt, his servants who know Yūsuf in jail, etc. The Egyptian is known variously as Ḳiṭfīr, Iṭfīr, Ḳūṭifar, Ḳiṭṭin, etc., all deriving from the biblical name Potiphar. His wife is named Rā'īl, a development from the common Arabising pattern of Hebrew names (Ḳābīl and Hābīl, Sāmwīl, Rāḥīl, etc.), and, later, Zulaykhā (Zālīka, Zulayka). Some biblicist material not found in the Ḳur'ānic rendering sometimes appears in the exegetical literature. In a Malay telling, for example, al-ʿAzīz is referred to as Potiphar, and his wife is called Asnath rather than Rā'īl or Zulaykhā. So also do local *realia* appear in re-tellings of the tale, such as the brothers telling Yaʿḳūb in the Malay version that Yūsuf has been killed by a tiger rather than a wolf.

Reasons are provided in the secondary literature for difficult aspects of the Ḳur'ānic story. Yaʿḳūb's intense suffering over the purported loss of his son is a result of his slaughtering a calf before the eyes of its mother, because he did not share his meal with the hungry, or because he separated a young slave-girl from her parents. Yūsuf suffers initially because of his vanity or because he relies on human help before trusting totally in God.

Because Yūsuf's story of suffering has resonated with the Shīʿī tradition of redemptive suffering and endurance, his and his father's tribulations find a place in the Shīʿī *taʿziya* [*q.v.*] plays commemorating the suffering and martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn. These expand and heighten the torment and suffering depicted in the Ḳur'ānic rendering and associate them with the future suffering of al-Ḥusayn and his family. Yūsuf and Yaʿḳūb represent the best of human suffering until the rise of Islam and the extraordinary suffering of al-Ḥusayn, which exceeds that of the early prophets and therefore receives greater redemptive merit for his Shīʿī followers.

Yūsuf serves as a model of virtue and wisdom in pietistic literature. He is extolled in Ṣūfī manuals such as that of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj's *K. al-Lumaʿ* as a paragon of forgiveness, based on XII, 92. He also epitomises the chastity that is based on complete trust in God, for it was his absolute piety that prompted God to personally intervene to prevent him from the transgression of succumbing to sexual temptation (XII, 24). So, too, does he exemplify deep wisdom by, for example, knowing to instruct his brothers to throw his shirt over Jacob's face rather than simply giving it to him, because Yaʿḳub's joy in learning of his son's survival would make him forget to rub the shirt over his eyes and restore his eyesight (see XII, 93, 96).

The most frequent reference to Yūsuf's attributes in post-Ḳur'ānic literature is to his extraordinary beauty. His beauty was so exceptional that the behaviour of the wife of al-ʿAzīz is forgiven, or at least mitigated, because of the unavoidably uncontrollable love and passion that his countenance would rouse in her. Such portrayals are found in many genres of Islamic literatures, but are most famous in Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī's [*q.v.*] *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā*, which incorporates many of the motifs and attributes associated with his beauty in earlier works.

Certainly by the 7th/13th century, and up to the 10th/16th in Persian areas at the very least, Yūsuf was looked to by artists and rulers alike as a patron of the arts. The Ṣūfī Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī Dāya (d. 1256) dedicates his *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* to the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm Kayḳubād, likening him to Yūsuf in hopes of receiving his patronage, and a famous Ṣafawid illustrated manuscript of Djāmī's *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* has the name of the Tīmūrid sultan and patron, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā (d. 1476) inscribed over a portrait of Yūsuf on the eve of his wedding to Zulaykhā. On the other hand, Yūsuf's role as temporal ruler rendered him suspect among some pietists, for the pollution of wordly kingship rendered even Yūsuf a delay in being accepted into the Garden.

Like the other earlier prophets, Yūsuf possesses special insights, often mystical and certainly exceptional, that may be emulated by spiritual adepts and other religious seekers. But the exceptional motifs and symbols found in *Sūrat Yūsuf* give his persona an even higher status than most in Islamic religious literature and civilisation. Renard has aptly noted the broad impact of Yūsuf and his story on this culture. "The well and prison into which Joseph is thrown refer to all forms of adversity through which one must live in patience and trust. Allusions to Joseph's shirt have come to mean any experience that restores the blinded seeker's sight. The expression 'to cut one's hand', an allusion to the guests at Zulayka's dinner party, has become a coded reference to the seeker's experience of stark bewilderment in the presence of the Beloved. And Joseph's necessary separation from, and eventual reunion with, his father offers a perfect pattern to console the lover of God who seems to experience God's absence. Most of all, Joseph's beauty keeps the poets enthralled as the most apt image for the deepest of all experiences, the ever-present yearning for the source of all life and being. As Rumi writes of his own experience of longing for the Beloved, 'Like Jacob I am crying alas, alas; the fair visage of Joseph of Canaan is my desire'."

The very fact that the tale of Yūsuf represents the one complete literary narrative structured as such in the Ḳur'ān rendered it special significance in Islamic literary and cultural tradition. Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*] is quoted in al-Kisā'ī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* as saying, "God would never send any prophet without telling him the story of Yūsuf, just as He told it to our prophet Muḥammad".

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YŪSUF b. ʿABD al-HĀDĪ, in fuller form Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad... b. ʿAbd al-Hādī, also known as Ibn al-Mibrad, Ḥanbalī scholar and author, advocate of a revival of the *ḥadīth* studies which had once flourished at Damascus, b. end of 840/June 1437 or in the next year, d. 16 Muḥarram 909/14 September 1503.

He stemmed from a branch of the Ibn Ḳudāma [*q.v.*] line of the Ḥanbalī Maḳdisī families who had come in the 6th/12th century and founded the Damascus suburb of al-Ṣāliḥiyya [*q.v.*], but is not to be confused with another famous Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī from the same family, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 744/1344), see Marwān ʿAṭiyya, in *Madjallat Madjmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya al-Urdunnī*, xlix [1995], 91-166). Little is known of Yūsuf's professional life except that he lectured at the ʿUmariyya *madrasa* in al-Ṣāliḥiyya, and led a life of teaching and scholarship. A large number of Damascus manuscripts contain notes from his own hand certifying the audition of himself or of his pupils and family. Most of his own work consists of small booklets (*adjzāʾ*), unstructured and *isnād*-based, like the reading copies of *ḥadīth* which he used for study and teaching. His works, and the certificates related to them as well, are almost exclusively preserved in his own handwriting; it is thus obvious that his energetic activity did not meet with much response in his time. His personal library, of which he listed 600 titles, he gave to the ʿUmariyya, although his pupil Ibn Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] bought some works from Yūsuf's children, and much of the ʿUmariyya *waḳf* library was subsequently dispersed, with its remaining remnants incorporated into the Ẓāhiriyya library.

Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī is praised as both a *muḥaddith* and a *faḳīh* by his biographers, although his Ḥanbalī learning was more in the field of historical studies than legal ones. However, his works, only partly printed, go far beyond these fields to include theology, biography, *sīra*, *adab*, medicine, etc. He was especially interested in the topography of Damascus and its buildings, cf. his *Rasāʾil dimashḳiyya*, Damascus 1988, and *Thimār al-maḳāṣid fī dhikr al-masādjid*, Damascus 1975; he wrote a history of al-Ṣāliḥiyya, partly preserved in quotations by Ibn Ṭūlūn in his *Ḳalāʾid* and in the abridgement of Ibn Kanān, *al-Murūdj al-sundusiyya al-fatḥiyya fī talkhīṣ Taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya*, Damascus 1947. He also wrote brief treatises on aspects of everyday life, e.g. a *K. al-Ṭibākha* and a *K. al-Ḥisba*, ed. Ḥabīb Zayyāt, in *Machriq*, xxxv [1937], 370-6, 384-400). With the increased interest in him during recent decades, several of his specifically religious and legal works have been edited and published, e.g. in *fiḳh* and biography, his *K. Ḳawāʿid al-kulliyya fī 'l-ḍawābiṭ al-fiḳhiyya*, Beirut 1994; *al-Durr al-naḳī*, Djudda 1991; *Muʿdjam al-kutub* (mostly Ḥanbalī titles), Riyāḍ 1989; *al-Djawhar al-munaḍḍad fī ṭabaḳāt mutaʾakhkhirī aṣḥāb Aḥmad*, Cairo 1987; *Akhbār al-nisāʾ*, Ḥims 1993. On dogmatics and piety: *al-Tamhīd fī 'l-kalām ʿalā 'l-tawḥīd*, Riyāḍ 1997; *Baḥr al-damm fī man takallam fī 'l-Imām Aḥmad*, Beirut 1992; *Faḍl lā ḥawl wa-lā ḳuwwa illā bi 'llāh*, Damascus 1995; *al-Istiʿāna bi 'l-Fātiḥa*, Damascus n.d. On *Sīra*: *al-Shadjara al-nabawiyya*, Damascus 1994; *Iḳtibās al-iḳtibās bi-ḥall mushkil Sīrat Ibn Sayyid al-Nās*, Cairo 1937. In *adab*: *Itḥāf al-nubalāʾ bi-akhbār al-kuramāʾ wa 'l-bukhalāʾ*, Cairo 1989; and ed. Yusrā ʿA. ʿAbd Allāh, Beirut 1410/1990. See also for his life and lists of his works, Brockelmann, II², 130-1, S II, 130; Kaḥḥāla, xiii, 289; Fedwa Malti-Douglas, *Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī and his autograph of the* Wuqūʿ al-Balāʾ bil-Bukhl wa-l-Bukhalāʾ, in *BEO*, xxxi (1979), 17-50. A survey of his work is given by Ṣalāḥ Muḥammad al-Khiyamī, in *MMMA*, xxvi/2 (1982), 775-809.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, ed. ʿAbbās, ²Beirut 1982; Ghazzī, *al-Naʿt al-akmal bi-aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, Damascus 1982; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Ḳalāʾid al-djawhariyya fī 'l-taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya*, Damascus 1981-2; Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris*, Damascus 1988. For the role of the Maḳdisī families in Damascus, see S. Leder, *Charismatic scripturalism. The Ḥanbalī Maqdisīs at Damascus*, in *Isl.*, lxxiv (1997), 279-304. (S. Leder)

YŪSUF b. ʿABD al-RAḤMĀN b. Abī ʿUbayda **al-FIHRĪ** (*ca.* 72-142/691-759), last governor of al-Andalus before the accession to power of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I.

Great grandson of the conqueror of the Maghrib,

ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], he also belonged to one of the most prestigious Arab families to have settled in the Muslim West, renowned on account of its aristocratic Ḳurashī lineage and the participation of several of its members in the conquest of both shores of the Strait. Two brothers, Ḥabīb and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, sons of Abū ʿUbayda ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, accompanied the troops of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] at the time of the first crossing in the direction of al-Andalus. The former of the two remained in the Iberian Peninsula as lieutenant of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, son and successor of Mūsā, who was later assassinated. Subsequently, both brothers returned to Ifrīḳiya.

Yūsuf, born in Ḳayrawān, remained in Ifrīḳiya; after the return of his father, quarrels between the two of them induced him to leave for al-Andalus, governed at the time by Bishr b. Ṣafwān (103-9/721-7). He became governor of al-Andalus in 129/746 and was able to rely, initially at least, on the general support of the various factions dividing the Arabs of the Iberian Peninsula. But this unanimity was short-lived and the governor of al-Andalus, portrayed by the sources as a man totally manipulated by his lieutenant al-Ṣumayl b. Ḥātim [*q.v.*], was obliged throughout the term of his mandate to confront rebellions and revolts. With more or less ease he succeeded in suppressing the unrest; he even dared to rid himself of the tutelage of al-Ṣumayl, sending him away to govern the Upper March [see AL-THUGHŪR. 2.], a most difficult assignment. The latter came close to losing all prestige here, Yūsuf being unable—or unwilling—to come to his aid. Finally, rescued by members of his *djund*, al-Ṣumayl returned to his post in the service of Yūsuf without, apparently, bearing any grudge against the latter regarding the perils to which he had exposed him. Furthermore, when in 138/755 the Umayyad pretender ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya, the future ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*], arrived in al-Andalus, al-Ṣumayl remained loyal to his superior even though the Umayyad agents approached him in the first instance, recognising his power and his influence.

All attempts to reach a peaceful accord having failed, the confrontation between the Umayyad and al-Fihrī took place: the latter was defeated at the battle of al-Muṣāra near Cordova, in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 138/May 756. Yūsuf fled to Toledo, where he mustered a large army with the intention of resisting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya, but subsequently, in negotiations near Granada, Yūsuf agreed to surrender to the sovereignty of the Umayyad, retaining in exchange his life and his possessions (Ṣafar 139/July 756). Having established himself in Cordova, he was unable to resist for long the advice of those who incited him to attempt the recovery of his power; he escaped from the city and made his way to Merida, recruiting a significant contingent of troops before advancing on Cordova. But before reaching this city, he took the field against the governor of Seville, ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmar b. Marwān, suffering a bloody defeat at his hands. Once more, and for the last time, Yūsuf was forced to take flight. He was assassinated near Toledo in 142/759. According to some sources, his murderers were two of his slaves; according to others the perpetrators were the inhabitants of a hamlet which he was passing through, people who wanted to put an end to the war and knew that this would only be achieved through the death of one of the two adversaries, the loser.

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2. Studies. See those listed in the *Bibl.* to AL-ṢUMAYL B. ḤATIM. (L. MOLINA)

YŪSUF B. **ABI** 'L-**SĀDJ DĪWDĀD**, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, commander of Transoxanian Iranian origin who acted as governor of Ādharbāydjān, Arrān and Armenia for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs 288-315/901-28 as part of the short-lived line of Sādjid governors there established by his brother Muḥammad in 276/189-90. He was killed in battle near Kūfa by the Ḳarāmiṭa or Carmathians [see KARMAṬĪ] in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 315/February 928, the last effective governor of his line in northwestern Persia. For details of his career, see SĀDJIDS.

Bibliography: See that for SĀDJIDS, and add C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 147 no. 70. (ED.)

YŪSUF B. **ʿĀBID** AL-**IDRĪSĪ**, Moroccan mystic (*ṣūfī*) claiming Idrīsid descent, born *ca.* 966/1559, died 992/1584. After studying for six years at the *madrasas* of Fās and in the meantime visiting leading Moroccan Ṣūfīs, he proceeded in 990/1582 to Egypt to meet the leader of the Bakriyya order, Shaykh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī. Eventually Yūsuf arrived in Ḥadramawt and, in 1036/1627, at the age of seventy, he dictated there his *Multaḳaṭ al-riḥla*, an account of his journey from Morocco to Ḥadramawt, in which he gave the reasons for his departure to the East and his decision to settle in Ḥadramawt.

Nearly three-quarters of the ms. (120 folios, found in the Great Mosque of Tarīm in Ḥadramawt) deal with social and cultural life in Morocco during the reign of the Saʿdid sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. Yūsuf describes, at some length, the curricula at the various *madrasas* in Fās as well as the numerous Ṣūfī orders (*ṭarīḳas*) in Morocco. He also briefly describes the defence measures taken on Morocco's Atlantic coast to ward off Portuguese attacks.

In Cairo, Yūsuf b. ʿĀbid attended lectures on *tawḥīd* (dogmatic theology) at al-Azhar delivered by Shaykh Makhlūf al-Maghribī who informed him that Abū Bakr b. Sālim, Ḥadramawt's leading Ṣūfī, was expecting a young *sharīf* from Fās. "If you are a *sharīf*," Shaykh Makhlūf said to Yūsuf, "go to him, for he is your man." Yūsuf thereupon visited Shaykh Abū Bakr b. Sālim in ʿAynāt near Tarīm in Ḥadramawt, where the *shaykh* gave him a warm welcome and named him a teaching *shaykh*.

When Abū Bakr died eight months later (992/1584), Yūsuf thought of returning to Morocco, but he changed his mind as Shaykh Abū Bakr had urged his disciples to learn *ʿilm al-tawḥīd* at his hands, since Ḥadramawt was devoid of this *ʿilm*. At Sayʾūn mosque, Yūsuf lectured on al-Sanūsī's *al-ʿAḳīda al-ṣughrā* and became famous throughout Ḥadramawt for his lectures on *ʿilm al-tawḥīd.*

The picture depicted of Yūsuf b. ʿĀbid in the ms. is that of a Ṣūfī with a great thirst for knowledge and a fervent desire to meet prominent Ṣūfī leaders in Morocco and the East. The impression that comes across in the ms., however, is that of a second-rate writer who lacks style and originality.

Bibliography: Yūsuf b. ʿĀbid al-Idrīsī, *Multaḳaṭ al-riḥla*, ed. and annotated, with full introduction and bibliography, by Amīn T. Ṭībī, Casablanca 1988. (AMIN TIBI)

YŪSUF B. **TĀSHUFĪN** or TĀSHFĪN, ABŪ YAʿḲŪB, the real founder of the Almoravid dynasty

[see al-murābiṭūn] in North Africa (*r.* 453-500/1061-1106). According to tradition, he was born in 400/1009-10, but nothing at all is known of him until 453/1061 when his cousin Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar made him his lieutenant before himself returning to the Sahara to suppress a revolt. Yūsuf was a Berber from the Banū Turgut (Turguit) of the Ṣanhādja [*q.v.*]. He married the beautiful and redoubtable Zaynab al-Nafzawiyya, and on her advice, cleverly got rid of his cousin and completed the conquest of Morocco before passing across the Straits of Gibraltar into Spain to achieve his victory at Zallāḳa [*q.v.*].

Yūsuf's history is bound up with that of the Almoravids, and, enjoying the favour of the chroniclers, he is often placed in parallel with the Reyes de Taifas [see mulūk al-ṭawāʾif] whom he sent into exile, and the story of his relations with the poet-prince al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], exiled under surveillance to Aghmāt [*q.v.*], continue to inspire authors. Yūsuf laid down the foundations for a kingdom spanning North Africa and Spain, and introduced an innovation by adopting the title *Amīr al-Muslimīn* preceded by that of the fictitious caliph ʿAbd Allāh (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Le titre souverain des Almoravides*, in *Arabica*, ii [1955], 266-8). He appeared as a model Islamic prince, virtuous, even-tempered and sober. The historians' near-unanimity in his favour is explicable both by his personal qualities and also by a documentary aspect: virtually all information on him stems from the lost work by the official historiographer of the Almoravid dynasty, Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, his *al-Anwār al-djaliyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-murābiṭiyya*.

Yūsuf is said to have had a dark brown complexion (*asmar* can also mean a distinctly black colouring), and he may have been incapable of expressing himself in Arabic. With his ascetic and frugal habits, he remained faithful to his way of life and his desert costume; living off barley meal, milk products and camel meat, he seems to be the antithesis of the indolent and ostentatious princes of al-Andalus. He was pious, level-headed and generous towards the *fuḳahāʾ*, whom he never failed to consult, and avoided acts of cruelty. A great strategist, he put together a formidable army comprising Sudanese contingents, Christian mercenaries (*ʿUlūdj*) and the Saharan tribes of the Gudāla, Lamtūna [*q.vv.*] and Masūfa. This remarkable fighting instrument enabled him to secure the conquest of Morocco and much of the Iberian peninsula. He never hesitated in negotiations and entrusted great powers to his commanders. Enriched by the Saharan trade, he minted coins which became, for several centuries to come, the basis of the gold standard for the Mediterranean lands. His personal skills were shown in his bloodless removal of his cousin Abū Bakr and his attachment to his own side of his cousin's Saharan vassals. He is said to have used ruses to rid himself of uncertain allies like the ruler of the mountain Gzoula. The foundation of Marrakesh is attributed to him, although the city's bases were laid by Abū Bakr (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *La fondation de Marrakech (462/1070)*, in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Occident musulman*, ii, Algiers 1957, 117-20), but Yūsuf enlarged and embellished the capital, just as he did other major urban works in places like Sabta, Fās/Fez and Tilimsān/Tlemcen.

He died in Muḥarram 500/September 1106 and was buried in Marrakesh; he was succeeded by his equally long-reigning son ʿAlī.

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(Halima Ferhat)

YŪSUF b. **ʿUMAR** al-**THAḲAFĪ** [see al-thaḳafī].

YŪSUF AḲČURA (Akčurin, Akçuraoğlu) (1876-1935), Tatar nationalist and Pan-Turkist intellectual.

Born at Simbirsk, on the Volga, he began his education at military schools in Istanbul, continuing it in Paris (1900-3), at the Ecole des Sciences Politiques. Active within Young Turk circles in the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe, his intellectual make-up shows influences from the reform-minded Tatar revival in Kazan and the increasing interest in past Turkish culture in Istanbul. Thus equipped, he returned to Russia in 1904, teaching, writing in the Tatar press and entering politics, trying in this way to recruit Muslims for concerted action in the 1905 First Duma. He subsequently promoted the political and cultural organisation of such Muslims in a Pan-Turk perspective. Following the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, he emigrated to Istanbul. In order to preach his own cultural-nationalist and Pan-Turkist views [see pan-turkism], in 1911 he founded *Türk Yurdu*, editing and contributing to what soon became a first-class intellectual journal. In the Republic of Turkey, he participated in the Kemalist resistance, joined the People's Party, and was elected to the Grand National Assembly. In addition, he taught, lectured and published historical studies, which led to his election as first president of the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* [see madjmaʿ ʿilmī. iii].

In *Üč ṭarz-i siyāset* ("Three systems of politics"), he analysed the main lines of government policies in recent Turkish history: (a) Ottomanism, intended to unite all nationalities into one Ottoman nation; (b) Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*], aiming at basing Ottoman power on Islamic solidarity; and (c) Pan-Turkism [*q.v.*], whose goal was to establish "a political Turkish nationality based on race". A realist in his approach, Aḳčura examined each of the three for usefulness and feasibility, favouring Pan-Turkism, the main obstacle to whose achievement being internal, hence manageable. A stu-

dent of politics, he held that Pan-Turkism was the best panacea for the empire, by providing it with the cohesion of ethnic solidarity, internal and external, needed to save it from dismemberment or to rebuild it after a possible loss of territory. In the Kemalist Republic, whose founder had clearly rejected Pan-Turkism, Aḳčura still managed to defend the concept when writing its history in 1928 in *Türk yılı*. However, then and later he advocated Turkism (i.e. Turkish national solidarity), rather than Pan-Turkism, on the cultural level, with due respect to social and economic factors.

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(J.M. Landau)

YŪSUF, ʿALĪ (1863-1913), successful Egyptian journalist and editor of the influential newspaper daily *al-Muʾayyad*, which dominated the Muslim press from 1889-1913.

Shaykh ʿAlī Yūsuf was born in the remote village of Balṣafūra in Upper Egypt, to poor parents. His father died a year after his birth, forcing his mother to move with him back to her own village of Banī ʿAdī, where he was given a traditional religious education, memorising the Ḳurʾān by the age of 12. In 1881, at the age of 18, he left for Cairo, where he enrolled in al-Azhar. It seems that he quit his studies prematurely; the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II [*q.v.*] suggests in his *Mudhakkirāt* (published in *al-Miṣrī*, April-July 1951) that Yūsuf frequented the Teachers' School (*madrasat al-muʿallimīn*), but there is nothing to show that he received a diploma or even completed his studies there (Ṣāliḥ, 19).

Yūsuf's early ambitions were in the realm of poetry, and in 1885 he published a *dīwān* entitled *Nasamāt al-saḥar* ("Whiffs of dawn", Ṣāliḥ, 20-1; Kaḥḥāla, vii, 10 gives *Nasīm* or *Nasama*, cf. Brockelmann, S III, 84); it encountered little success, whereupon he quickly turned to writing prose of a more journalistic nature. From submission of articles, he moved to actual employment, learning the trade of newspaper editing first at Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāḳ's [see fāris al-shidyāḳ] daily *al-Ḳāhira*, and from there at *Mirʾāt al-Shark* sometime after 1884. After suspension of this latter daily in March 1886, he founded in 1887 his own weekly literary newspaper *al-Ādāb*, with the financial support of an al-Azhar crony, Shaykh Aḥmad Māḍī, who two years later would again come to his aid financially with the establishment of the Egyptian nationalist daily *al-Muʾayyad* that would set ʿAlī Yūsuf on the political map.

The first newspaper to be published by an Egyptian, *al-Muʾayyad* appeared on the streets a few months after publication of the pro-British *al-Muḳaṭṭam*, and quickly began serving as a forum for nationalist and reformist circles, backed by the Egyptian Prime Minister Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ Pasha, who had seriously fallen out with Lord Cromer, the British Consul-General. The paper soon gained a large following, publishing columns by such leading nationalists as Muṣṭafā Kāmil, Muḥammad Farīd and Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.vv.*], and reformists such as Rashīd Riḍā, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Ḳāsim Amīn (whose treatise on the emancipation of women, *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, was serialised), and al-Kawākibī [*q.vv.*]. Throughout its existence, *al-Muʾayyad* enjoyed the support of the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī, who had formed close personal ties with ʿAlī Yūsuf. When in 1898 the Khedive moderated his anti-British stance, after the Fāshōda [*q.v.*] incident between the British and the French, ʿAlī Yūsuf and *al-Muʾayyad* followed suit. This move would constitute a break with the more vehement anti-British nationalists and result *inter alia* in Muṣṭafā Kāmil and Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid [*q.v.*] founding rival newspapers, weakening the position of *al-Muʾayyad* as organ for the nationalist movement. The interdependency of khedival patronage, on the one hand, and unequivocal khedival policy support, on the other, effectively meant the dissolution of both the newspaper and its mirror political organisation, the Constititutional Reform Party (*Ḥizb al-Iṣlāḥ al-Dustūrī* [see ḥizb, at Vol. III, 515b])—formed by ʿAlī Yūsuf in 1907 in support of the Khedive and with his continued backing—upon ʿAlī Yūsuf's death in 1913.

Although history might judge his role as ephemeral, ʿAlī Yūsuf and his newspaper were a catalyst for some major reforms in the Egyptian state, in particular in the field of educational reform. One of two scandals that rocked Egyptian society, with ʿAlī Yūsuf in the middle, revolved around his refusing in 1896 to divulge the source of information he had published in defiance of British censorship; the case, which became known as "the telegraph incident", stands as a fine case of two press principles unrecognised at the time: freedom of expression and the confidentiality of sources. ʿAlī Yūsuf was acquitted, and he became a hero to the populace who applauded his standing up to their oppressors. The second scandal, in 1904 when he eloped with a daughter of one of the country's most venerated families against her father's wishes, introduced him to the seamier side of celebrity. His humble beginnings and unworthy trade—the press was not considered a particularly noble institution, despite his earlier successes—were not deemed suitable to a woman of his bride's background, and the marriage was annulled by court ruling, with a large part of the same populace now decrying his audacity. The Khedive and other powerful friends of ʿAlī Yūsuf intervened, however, and the father Shaykh ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Sādāt later did allow his daughter's marriage.

In 1912 ʿAlī Yūsuf resigned from *al-Muʾayyad* to succeed his brother-in-law ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Bakrī as head of the Ṣūfī order al-Wafāʾiyya (de Jong, 187 n.), only to die a year later, on 25 October 1913, of heart failure.

Bibliography: A comprehensive biography of ʿAlī Yūsuf and his influential newspaper is Sulaymān Ṣāliḥ, *al-Shaykh ʿAlī Yūsuf wa-djarīdat al-Muʾayyad. Taʾrīkh al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī rubʿ ḳarn*, 2 vols., Cairo 1990. An English study is the unpubl. Ph.D. thesis of Abbas Kelidar, *Shaykh Ali Yusuf, political journalist and Islamic nationalist. A study of Egyptian politics, 1889-1913*, Univ. of London 1967 (unseen); and idem, *Shaykh ʿAli Yusuf, Egyptian journalist and Islamic nationalist*, in Marwan R. Buheiry (ed.), *Intellectual life in the Arab East, 1890-1939*, Beirut 1981, 10-20. For a contemporary view, in particular of the marriage scandal, see A. Goldschmidt, Jr. (tr.), *The memoirs and diaries of Muhammad Farid, an Egyptian nationalist leader (1868-1919)*, San Francisco 1992, 112-14; see also Aḥmad Bahāʾ al-Dīn, *Ayyām lahā taʾrīkh*, ³Cairo 1967, 63-85; Salāma Mūsā, *al-Ṣiḥāfa, ḥirfa wa-risāla*, Cairo 1963, 22. An excellent recent work on journalism and the press is A. Ayalon, *The press in the Arab Middle East, a history*, New York 1995. For the Ṣūfī orders in Egypt, F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth century Egypt*, Leiden 1978.

(Peri Bearman)

YŪSUF al-BARM, sc. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm, a *mawlā* of Thaḳīf, rebel against ʿAbbāsid rule in eastern Khurāsān during the caliphate of al-Mahdī, d. 160/777 or shortly afterwards.

Yūsuf's rising was only one of a series of revolts by both Arabs and local Iranians in Transoxania and eastern Khurāsān during the early ʿAbbāsid period. Whilst the sources impute certain religious motives to Yūsuf, including use of the traditional slogan summoning to *al-amr bi ʾl-maʿrūf wa ʾl-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, it seems that the revolt was basically political and directed against the arbitrary power of the caliph and his governors. From Gardīzī's account, it appears that its epicentre was northern Afghānistān, the regions of Bādhghīs, Marw al-Rūdh, Gūzgān and Ṭālakān [*q.vv.*]. It was suppressed, largely by al-Mahdī's general Yazīd b. Mazyad, with Yūsuf being captured and then crucified at Baghdād. A further revolt in Khurāsān, by a grandson of Yūsuf's, is mentioned during al-Maʾmūn's caliphate.

Bibliography: The main sources are Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 478-9; Ṭabarī, iii, 470-1; and Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. ʿA.Ḥ. Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 126-7. Of studies, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 198, 201, 208; E.L. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule 747-820*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979, 166-7.

(C.E. Bosworth)

YŪSUF KĀNDHALAWĪ DIHLAWĪ, Mawlānā Muḥammad, the son of Muḥammad Ilyās (1885-1944), the founder of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat [*q.v.*], whom he succeeded in the leadership of this movement (d. 1965).

He was born in his ancestral village of Kāndhala in 1917. He studied exoteric religion with his father at Nizamuddin (Dihlī), and then later at the seminary of Sahāranpūr, which is associated with Deoband [*q.v.*], where his maternal uncle, Muḥammad Zakariyyā Kāndhalawī (d. 1982), also taught. The latter was his teacher of *ḥadīth*, whose two daughters he married. He devoted himself firstly to studying *ḥadīth* and wrote the *Īmānī al-Akhbār*, an unfinished commentary on the *Sharḥ maʿānī al-athār* commentary on the *ḥadīth* of Imām al-Ṭaḥāwī.

He was initiated into the Ṣābiriyya Čishtiyya brotherhood by his father, who from 1938 onwards forced him, despite his reticence, to take part in the missionary journeys of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat, where he showed his talents as an orator. On the death of his father in 1944 he was elected *amīr* of the movement and lived in its headquarters at Nizamuddin. He made five pilgrimages to Mecca (1938, 1955, 1959, 1961 and 1964), firstly with his father and then with hundreds of Tablīghīs. He died at Lahore (Pakistan) on 12 April 1965, and his body was interred at Nizamuddin.

The name of Muḥammad Yūsuf remains connected with the worldwide expansion of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat [*q.v.*, where further details are given]. He systematically, applied ideas which his father had tried to put into practice at the time of the pilgrimage in 1938. He firstly consolidated the enterprise of the movement in the subcontinent by creating secondary centres in Western Pakistan and then Eastern Pakistan (now Bangladesh). He then established it worldwide by sending missions to the Arab countries from 1946 onwards, to Western countries from 1950 onwards, and to Afro-Asian countries from 1956 onwards. The essential structure of his worldwide network was in place at the time of his death in 1965, however little this was recognised in that period.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Thānī Ḥasanī, *Sawāniḥ-i Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā Muḥammad Yūsuf Kāndhalawī*, Lucknow 1967; ʿAzīz al-Raḥmān Bidjnawrī, *Tadhkira-yi Mawlānā Muḥammad Yūsuf Ṣāḥib, amīr-i tablīgh*, Bhera (Sargodha, Pakistan) 1980; M. Gaborieau, *Muḥammad Yūsuf Kāndhalawī Dihlawī*, in M. Gaborieau, N. Grandin, P. Labrousse and A. Popovic (eds.), *Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du XIXᵉ siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, i, Paris 1992, 19-20; idem, *The transformation of Tablīghī Jamāʿat into a transnational movement under the leadership of Muḥammad Yūsuf, 1944-1965*, in M.K. Masud (ed.), *Travellers in faith. Studies of Tablīghī Jamāʿat as a transnational movement for faith renewal*, Leiden 2000.

(M. Gaborieau)

YŪSUF KARAM (1823-89), Maronite *shaykh* and notable from the village of Ihdin (northern Lebanon), who during the socio-religious hostilities in 1860 emerged as one of the most prominent leaders of the Christians—the other, very different one being Ṭanyūs Shāhīn [*q.v.*]—without, however, providing effective military support to his coreligionists fighting against the Druzes in central and southern Mount Lebanon.

Impelled by far-reaching political aims, Karam initially managed to be (alternately) on good terms with French, British, and Ottoman representatives in Lebanon. These relations rapidly deteriorated, when in 1861, and after the establishment of a new administrative order which was to be permanently headed by a governor (*mutaṣarrif*) of non-Lebanese origin, Karam's own hopes of appointment as governor over all Mount Lebanon came to nothing. Though the first *mutaṣarrif*, Dāwūd Pasha [*q.v.*], tried hard to win Karam's cooperation, the latter finally refused and started a rebellion from his northern home, thereby expressing a wide-spread discontent among the Maronite Christians who had hoped for greater political influence in the new system. After three years in exile, Karam returned, only to start a new revolt against the Ottomans who, on their part, avoided open fighting as much as possible. When, therefore, Karam's actions gradually petered out, the Ottomans declared

an amnesty and in 1867 sent Karam into a second exile, this time permanently, in Algiers and Europe. He died in Italy after many vain requests for permission to return to Lebanon. For ten years he was paid by Istanbul a considerable monthly stipend, which only stopped because of his ongoing polemical publications against the régime in Mount Lebanon and his contacts with various political groups and states.

In spite of Karam's total failure to change the *status quo* in Lebanon, dissatisfaction among the Maronites continued. Karam was held up by them, as well as by certain circles in France, as the supreme example of the Lebanese national hero. Biographers and local historians clearly testify to such a view of "Lebanese Christian nationalism". On the other hand, one must consider Karam's contacts with the Algerian *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir regarding an Arab confederation (i.e. a certain autonomy for Arabs within the Ottoman Empire), first still under Muslim leadership, but in the long run, on a non-confessional, secular and national basis. In this vein, the role and the success of freemasonry [see FARMĀSŪNIYYA], in general rather influential among intellectuals and politicians in these times, was obviously very crucial: an issue which, however, still needs further research.

Bibliography: K.S. Salibi, *The modern history of Lebanon*, London 1965, 68, 102-3, 112-14; F. Steppat, *Eine Bewegung unter den Notabeln Syriens 1877-78*, in *ZDMG*, Suppl. I (1969), 631-49; T. Touma, *Paysans et institutions féodales chez les Druses et les Maronites du Liban du XVIIe siècle à 1914*, Beirut 1971-2, 294-312, 315-33; J.P. Spagnolo, *France and Ottoman Lebanon 1861-1914*, London 1977, 58-65, 100-10 and *passim*; E.D. Akarlı, *The long peace. Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1920*, Berkeley etc., 1993, 37-8; ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Sinnū, *al-Nazaʿāt al-kiyāniyya al-islāmiyya fi 'l-dawla al-ʿuthmāniyya, 1877-1881*, Beirut 1998, 48-52. For other modern works and sources in Arabic, cf. the bibls. in the studies listed.

(A. HAVEMANN)

YŪSUF KHĀN RIḌWĪ, Mīrzā, Mughal commander and governor, d. 1010/1601-2.

The son of Mīrzā Aḥmad Riḍwī, he was appointed by the Emperor Akbar *ṣūbadār* or governor of Kashmīr in 995/1586-7. He imposed Mughal authority in the Kashmīr valley and secured the submission of the Čak [*q.v.* in Suppl.] chiefs. Yūsuf Khān himself rebelled against the Mughals in 1001/1592-3, but came back into favour and in 1003/1594-5 was *dārūgha* or superintendent of the Ṭop-khāna or arsenal.

Bibliography: Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the sultans*, Calcutta 1959, index; A.R. Khan, *Chieftains of the Mughal empire during the reign of Akbar*, Simla 1977, 18-19, 52; M. Athar Ali, *The apparatus of empire. Award of ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal nobility 1574-1658*, Delhi 1985, index for Akbar's reign. See also KASHMĪR. I.

(ED.)

YŪSUF KHĀṢṢ ḤĀDJIB, Turkish poet of the 5th/11th century whose work, the *Kutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*] ("Wisdom of Royal Glory"), completed in 462/1069-70, is the oldest monument of Islamic Turkish literature. He is not mentioned in any other source, so we must deduce what we know about him from the three surviving mss. of his work. (For the interrelation of the mss., see R. Dankoff, *Textual problems in* Kutadgu Bilig, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, iii [1979], 89-99.) Two of these contain a verse prologue, written perhaps a century after the work was completed, and all three contain a shorter prose prologue which appears to be a summary of the verse prologue. These prologues provide the information that the author was originally from Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*]; that he completed the work in Kāshghar, where he presented it to the king, Tavghač Bughra Khān; and that he was awarded the office of *khāṣṣ ḥādjib* or privy chamberlain. His patron has been identified as the Khān Ḥasan b. Sulaymān, ruler of the eastern branch of the Ḳarakhānids or Ilek-Khānids [*q.v.*]. Yūsuf himself names him near the beginning of the work, in a section entitled "Ode to spring and praise of Ulugh Bughra Khān".

The prologues also, trying to assimilate the work to known genres, somewhat contradictorily label it both as a "Mirror for Princes" (*Adab al-mulūk*, etc.) and a "Book of Kings" (*Shāh-nāma*). The only similarity it has to the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] is the use of the *mutakārib* metre. To be sure, Yūsuf does, in an introductory passage (ll. 276-80), identify the legendary hero of the Turks, Tonga Alp Er, with Afrāsiyāb, the ruler of Tūrān in the Persian epic, thus following a tradition also found in the work of his contemporary, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī [*q.v.*]. But in the body of the work, Tonga Alp Er appears only once (l. 5861) as the authority for one of the sententious sayings of political wisdom (*bilig*) attributed elsewhere to various anonymous Khāns and Begs. Still, one can say that Yūsuf, in attempting to assimilate the Inner Asian traditions of royalty and wisdom to the Irano-Islamic ideals of statecraft in a Turkish dress, was following the model of Firdawsī, who had consolidated the Iranian traditions of kingship within the framework of Islamic culture in a Persian dress (see Dankoff, *Qarakhanid literature and the beginnings of Turco-Islamic culture*, in *Central Asian monuments*, ed. Hasan B. Paksoy, Istanbul, 1992, 73-80; H. Inalcik, *Turkish and Iranian political theories and traditions in Kutadgu Bilig*, in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, Bloomington 1993, 1-18).

"Mirror for Princes" is a more accurate generic label. The *ḳut* ("glory, fortune") referred to in the title is the Turkish equivalent of Persian *farr*, designating the ruler's charisma, and *Ḳutadghu bilig* literally means "The wisdom that conduces to royal glory or fortune". The first half of the work is largely concerned with traditional matters of statecraft: the virtues of the king and his obligations to his subjects; the qualities and duties of the various courtiers; and the establishment of justice. The second half, however, introduces a new theme: the conflict between the political goals of the state and the religious conscience of the individual. Here Yūsuf incorporates Ṣūfī asceticism as an opposing, and ultimately complementary, ideal to the prevailing community and statecraft ethics; in this regard he may be considered a precursor of al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*].

Another original contribution of Yūsuf to the Mirror for Princes genre is to dramatise the issues in the form of dialogues, within a frame story, among characters with significant allegorical names. The king, Kün Toghdi ("the sun has risen"), who represents justice, longs for a good vizier, and his trusty chamberlain presents to him Ay Toldi ("the moon is full"), who represents fortune. Ay Toldi suffers a fatal illness, but before he dies he commends his son Ögdülmish ("praised"), who represents intellect, to the king's care. The king discovers the young man's virtues and appoints him as chief counselor. Ögdülmish advises the king well on worldly matters, and then informs him of a kinsman named Odhghurmish ("awakened"), who represents otherworldly concerns. The king summons Odhghurmish to court, and the latter, after refusing several times to abandon his life of ascetic withdrawal and religious contemplation, eventually visits the king

and gives him counsel of a moral and spiritual nature, before he too dies. The allegory, then, can be interpreted as follows: Justice, to be exercised properly, requires Fortune, Intellect, and Religion; but Fortune cannot be depended on, and worldly and otherworldly concerns are not easily reconcilable; thus Justice and Intellect are left to administer the realm.

Appended to the text in one of the mss. are two odes in which the author complains of old age and expresses disillusion with the world and the times. As a high court official, with leanings toward the solitary life (ll. 6570-1), Yūsuf apparently suffered within himself the conflicts which he portrayed in his work. In the course of writing a Mirror for Princes, he broke the traditional boundaries of that genre. Especially in the second part of the work, in the confrontation and reconciliation of the wise courtier and the Ṣūfī ascetic, Yūsuf achieved a dramatic portrayal quite unique in Islamic literature.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given above and the older literature in the *Bibl.* of KUTADGHU BILIG, see the Introd. to Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib, *Wisdom of royal glory (Kutadgu bilig). A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, tr. with an introd. and notes, by R. Dankoff, Chicago 1983, where older interpretations are weighed and criticised. The standard edition of the text is by R.R. Arat, *Kutadgu bilig. I. Metin*, Istanbul 1947. Arat also published the three mss. in facsimile, *Kutadgu bilig tıpkıbasım*, 3 vols. Istanbul 1942-3, and a modern Turkish tr. *Kutadgu bilig. II. Tercüme*, Ankara 1959, repr. 1974. For the English tr. by Dankoff, see above. There is also a Russian tr., Yūsuf Balasaguni, *Blagodatnoe znanie*, redaktsionnaya kollegiya Yu.A. Andreev . . . *et al.*, perevod S.N. Ivanova, vstupitel'naya stat'ya M.S. Fomkina, primečaniya A.N. Malekhovoi, Leningrad 1990. (R. DANKOFF)

YŪSUF AND ZULAYKHĀ, a popular story in mediaeval Islamic literature.

1. In Persian literature.

The Biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, who later received the name of Zulaykhā, entered into Persian literature mainly through Arabic sources, consisting first of Sūrat Yūsuf (XII) of the Ḳur'ān, and then of commentaries on this "most beautiful of stories" and traditions on the lives of ancient Prophets (*ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* [*q.v.*]). The many additions to the story as it was told in the holy scriptures were derived from the Hebrew Midrash and Christian works in Syriac (cf. the studies by M. Grünbaum), which were further elaborated in the post-Ḳur'ānic Muslim sources. An immediate influence of the former on Persian versions is unlikely, except in the case of Judaeo-Persian literature.

The Persian versions include full narratives, but also episodic anecdotes and incidental references which occur in prose works, didactic and lyrical poetry and even in drama. The motif was particularly suited to be used by Ṣūfī writers and poets as one of the most important models of the relationship between the manifestation of Divine beauty in the world and the loving soul of the mystic.

Persian commentaries on sūra XII often provide a mystical reading of the story, for instance in the 6th/12th-century *tafsīr* of Maybudī [*q.v.*]. An earlier commentary focussing on this Ḳur'ānic story is *Anīs al-murīdīn wa-rawḍat al-muḥibbīn* by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd b. Ḥasan Djayhānī, which was wrongly attributed to the Ṣūfī *shaykh* al-Anṣārī al-Harawī [*q.v.*] (see R. Levy, in *JRAS* [1929], 103-6). In 475/1082-3, the text was incorporated into Abū Naṣr Bukhārī's *Tādj al-ḳiṣaṣ*, a collection of prophetic legends (cf. Storey, i, 159, 1208, 1251; Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 96). Many similar works are extant, the most notable among them being *Djāmi' laṭā'if al-basātīn*, or *al-Sittīn al-djāmi'*, by Tādj al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (Storey, i, 29, 1195; Storey-Bregel', i, 185; ed. M. Rawshan, Tehran 1345 *sh.*/1966, repr. Tehran 2526 *Shāhanshāhī*/1977); *Ḥadā'iḳ al-ḥaḳā'iḳ* (known also by other titles) by Mullā Mu'īn al-Dīn Farāhī Miskīn (d. 907/1501-2; see Storey-Bregel', i, 125-6, iii, 1337; ed. Sayyid Dj. Sadjdjādī, Tehran 1346/1967-8); and *Kashf al-arwāḥ* or *Yūsuf-nāma*, by Pīr Djamāl Ardistānī (d. 879/1474-5; Munzawī, i, 55). As far as their contents are concerned, they do not differ much from the collections of edifying tales which also include both general and specialised writings (listed in Storey, i, 168-72; supplemented in Storey-Bregel', i, 529-36, iii, 1409-13).

To the Ṣūfīs, the Yūsuf story became a rich source of motifs to be used as examples for key concepts of their discourse. 'Ayn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] saw the Sūra from the beginning to end as a parable of "God's way" (*rāh-i Khudā*), which the mystic should travel (*Nāmahā*, ed. 'Alī-Naḳī Munzawī and 'Afīf 'Usayrān, Tehran 1348-50 *sh.*/1969-71, i, 366-8), more specifically of "the way of love": to understand the meaning of this story one should have the nature of a Zulaykhā and the nickname of a Madjnūn [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, ii, 130). According to Rūzbihān Baḳlī [*q.v.*], it contains emblems of two different kinds of love: the passion of a lover as well as the devotion of a father to his lost son (*'Abhar al-'āshiḳīn*, ed. H. Corbin and M. Mu'īn, Tehran-Paris 1958, 9; see also al-Hudjwīrī [*q.v.*], *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, tr. R.A. Nicholson, London 1911, 310). In his allegory of mystical love, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] introduced Yūsuf as the personification of eternal beauty as it is manifested in the created world (*Mu'nis al-aḥrār*, in al-Suhrawardī, *Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques*, ii, ed. S.H. Naṣr and H. Corbin, Tehran-Paris 1970, 267-91).

As far as we at present know, the story was first treated in narrative poetry by Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad Balkhī (*fl.* 4th/10th century) and Bakhtiyārī, a poet who cannot now be identified. Their works have perished, but they are both mentioned as predecessors by the still unidentified writer of a *mathnawī* entitled *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, probably dating from the 5th/11th century. It is extant now in at least two different redactions, the number of its distichs varying between 6,500 and 9,000 (cf. Rieu, ii, 545-6). The manuscripts show considerable discrepancies in the introductory parts of the poem, and these seriously aggravate the problem of the true authorship of this poem. It was composed in the *mutaḳārib* metre, also used in the *Shāh-nāma*. For long it has indeed been regarded as a work by Firdawsī [*q.v.*], an attribution which can be found already in the prose introduction to the redaction of the *Shāh-nāma* made in 829/1425-6 for the Tīmūrid prince Bāysunghur [*q.v.*]. According to some copies, the poet is said to have turned away from the writing of poems about ancient Iranian heroes to devote himself to a more pious subject. There are also passages indicating an origin in western Persia, but they do not match other facts known about Firdawsī's life. His authorship was accepted, among others, by the translator O. Schlechta-Wssehrd and the editors H. Ethé and H.M. Ṣiddīḳ, but has been challenged in recent scholarship. As an alternative, Sa'īd Nafīsī proposed the name of Amānī, an otherwise unknown poet who seemed to mention himself in a line of the poem which can, however, also be read differently. The most reli-

able clue for the dating is a dedication, found in one manuscript, to Shams al-Dawla Ṭughānshāh, the son of Alp Arslān, who in the second half of the 5th/11th century acquired a reputation as a patron of the poets at his court in Harāt [see SALDJŪḲIDS. VII. 1. Literature]. The poem still awaits a critical edition and a systematic investigation of its textual history (for a recent *status quaestionis*, see F. de Blois, in Storey-de Blois, v/2, 576-84).

In the "Firdawsī" version, the story is framed by the life of Yūsuf's father, the prophet Yaʿḳūb, and is told on the lines of traditional prophetic legend. Wahb b. Munabbih and his "son" Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, famous transmitters of the *Isrāʾīliyyāt* [*q.v.*], are mentioned as spokesmen. The religious significance of the subject is emphasised, but no mystical meanings are implied. There are several miraculous traits and emotional episodes are elaborated in particular. The poem is an interesting specimen of the romantic *mathnawī* before the time of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*].

In spite of its relative obscurity in the history of Persian literature, the impact of this poem is noticeable in later works, the oldest among which is the Judaeo-Persian version by Shāhīn-i Shīrāzī [*q.v.*]. It is as a part of his *mathnawī* on the Book of Genesis, now known as the *Bereshit-nāma*, written *ca.* 1358 in the metre *hazadj-i musaddas-i maḥdhūf*. Although Shāhīn was familiar with Hebrew sources, he based his work mainly on the Persian Muslim tradition, in particular the "Firdawsī" version (cf. Bacher, 117-24).

The most celebrated version in Persian was undoubtedly written by Mullā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī [*q.v.*] in 888/1483 as one of the parts of his *Khamsa* [*q.v.*]. The subject takes the place of Niẓāmī's *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*, with which this poem shares some features, including the metre, which happens to be the same as that used by Shāhīn. Djāmī turned the story into a mystical allegory explaining in numerous asides the spiritual teachings implied. The love story is placed in the foreground so that Zulaykhā's role becomes equal to that of Yūsuf. As a pair they personify the epiphany of eternal beauty and the responses to it on the part of the loving human soul.

Djāmī had many imitators, most of whom met with little success (see Munzawī, iv, 3331-46). The only exception is the *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Mullā Farrukh Ḥusayn Nāẓim [*q.v.*], a poet of the 11th/17th century at the court of the Beglerbeg ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān at Harāt. Although he mainly followed Djāmī's poem, he also refers to Firdawsī as a predecessor. Nāẓim's poem gained some popularity, especially in Central Asia. It was printed at Lucknow 1286/1869-70, and Tashkent 1322/1904-5; fragments were quoted by Hermann Ethé in the notes to his edition of the "Firdawsī" version.

The story of Yūsuf offered a very rich store of motifs to poets of lyrical *ghazals* which were not exclusively used in a religious context. In love poetry, Yūsuf appears as the supreme example of male beauty. To call a beloved person "another Yūsuf" or "the Yūsuf of the age" constituted a strong hyperbole. In nature scenes, the rose is a said to be a Yūsuf, reigning over the Egypt of the meadow. The story of his career provided the contrast between suffering and glory. This is often succinctly expressed by a pun on the words *čāh* ("the pit") and *djāh* ("honour"). The dimple in the beloved's chin is compared to the pit. Other elements of the story frequently used by *ghazal* poets are Yaʿḳūb's weeping over the separation from his son, his retirement to the "house of sorrows" (*bayt al-aḥzān*), his blindness and the recognition of Yūsuf's shirt by the smell, Zulaykhā being drawn from behind her chaste veil by her passion, and the Egyptian ladies who cut their hands instead of the oranges (for examples in *ghazals*, see Daniel Meneghini Correale and Riccardo Zipoli, *The collected Lirica persica*, i, Venice 1998). In the didactical *mathnawīs* of Sanāʾī, ʿAṭṭār, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Saʿdī [*q.vv.*] and others, the story is represented both through anecdotes and incidental references.

The aspect of suffering inherent in Yūsuf as a narrative character provided an obvious parallel to the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. In the *mathnawī* ascribed to Firdawsī, God's wish to comfort Muḥammad for the future suffering of his grandson is said to have been the reason for the revelation of Sūra XII. In *Yūsufiyya*, an outspokenly Shīʿī work written by Muḥammad Hādī Nāyīnī between 1243-50/1827-34, the stories of Yūsuf and al-Ḥusayn are brought together (Storey, i, 172; Storey-Bregel', i, 527). The cruel handling of Yūsuf by his brothers was also adopted in the repertoire of passion plays [see TAʿZIYA]. Popular prints of Yūsuf's story are still being sold in Iran (cf. U. Marzolph, *Dāstān-e Šīrīn*, Stuttgart 1994, 69-70).

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(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

2. In Turkish literature.

The revealed story of the prophet Yūsuf, amplified by authenticated commentaries, occupies a central place in al-Rabghūzī's [*q.v.*] prose stories of the Prophets in Khwārazmian Turkish, with interspersed poetry, completed in 710/1310. The author gives the arguments for its being the best of stories. Yūsuf, the dreamer of dreams, favourite of his father, cast into a well by his brothers, rescued and sold to the master of a caravan, led into Egypt, encounters the female protagonist, Zulaykhā, the wife of the mighty one of Egypt, ʿAzīz Miṣr [*q.v.*] named Ḳiṭfīr [*q.v.*]. Her beauty is second only to that of Yūsuf. She wishes to commit adultery with him; Yūsuf is acquitted but goes to prison, where he interprets dreams. Zulaykhā's love is eventually rewarded when as an aged, blind and poor widow, she is brought before Yūsuf. She recovers her youth, her beauty, and her sight, and Djibrīl performs their marriage (cf. that of Fāṭima [*q.v.*]). Zulaykhā is a virgin, Ḳiṭfīr having been an eunuch. They live together for eighteen years and have seven children.

The story provided enough realistic detail and drama to make it part of the "romantic" *mathnawī* [*q.v.*] tradition. The divinely-attested inclination of Yūsuf toward Zulaykhā (Ḳur'ān, XII, 24) could be invoked subliminally in every rendering of Zulaykhā's hopeless illicit love; a love that eventually mutated into contemplation of the divine beauty personified in Yūsuf.

Ḥamdī [*q.v.*] completed his Ottoman Turkish version soon after Djāmī [*q.v.*] in 897/1492. His *mathnawī*, written in the *khafīf* metre interspersed with *ghazals*, is considered the best Turkish poem on the theme. Putting some emphasis on Yūsuf and his envious brothers, Ḥamdī devotes much space to Zulaykhā, the daughter of King Taymūs, who marries Ḳiṭfīr by mistake, having fallen in love with Yūsuf in a dream; her attempts to obtain her desire by entreaty and by craft, and Yūsuf's almost faltering resolution, flight, and imprisonment; his appointment as *ʿazīz* of Egypt, followed by the death of Zulaykhā's husband, are described.

She ages through grief and is reduced to poverty and blindness, but turns in penitence to God and finds favour in His eyes. Yūsuf marries Zulaykhā, whose beauty and sight are restored to her; her love, however, has passed from love for Yūsuf to the love of the divine beauty, so that she flees from him and they are equal in their love. Reunited with his father and brothers, Yūsuf dies. Zulaykhā dies on his grave (*HOP*, ii, 151-72).

More research is needed into the old Turkish versions mentioned in ḲIṢṢA. 3 (a), including that by Shayyād Ḥamza [*q.v.*]; a Mamlūk version in Anatolian Turkish was composed by Ḍarīr [*q.v.*]; and a Čaghatay rendering was completed in 874/1469 by Ḥāmidī. For Kemālpashazāde's and Yaḥyā Beg's [*q.vv.*] versions, see MATHNAWĪ. Fuḍūlī's [*q.v.*] often-illustrated *Ḥadīḳat al-suʿadā'*, recounting stories and legends of prophets and saints, contains scenes from the life of the prophet Yūsuf and of Zulaykhā's love for him.

Bibliography: See ḲIṢṢA. 3 (a); MATHNAWĪ. 3. In Turkish; *HOP*, ii, 149; İsmail Ünver, *Mesnevî*, in *Türk Dili* (1986); Erika Glassen, *Die Josephsgeschichte im Koran und in der persischen und türkischen Literatur*, in F. Link (ed.), *Paradeigmata. Literarische Typologie des Alten Testaments*, i, Berlin 1989, 161-79; *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'. An Eastern Turkish version*, crit. ed. by H.E. Boeschoten, M. Vandamme and S. Tezcan, with the assistance of H. Braam and B. Radtke, vol. ii, tr. by Boeschoten, J. O'Kane and Vandamme, Leiden 1995. For iconography, see Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish manuscripts*, London 1981.

(BARBARA FLEMMING)

YŪSUFĪ, the *takhalluṣ* or pen-name of Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Khurāsānī, native of Khwāf and émigré to India, where he became physician to the Mughal emperors Bābur and Humāyūn [*q.vv.*] and a prolific writer on medical topics. It is also very probably the same Yūsufī who is the author of an *inshā'* collection (see below).

Several of his Persian medical works are extant, including a *Dalā'il al-bawl* on diagnosis through examination of the urine; a *Dalā'il al-nabḍ* on interpretation of the pulse; various *ḳaṣīdas* and *ḳiṭʿas* on medical topics; *rubāʿiyyāt*, on which he himself wrote a commentary, the *Djāmiʿ al-fawā'id*, with notes on the various diseases of the body; and a metrical treatise on food, *Mak'ūl u mashrūb* (most of these have been printed in India).

The *munshī* Mawlānā Yūsufī also worked for the Mughals, and in 940/1533-4 composed for his son Rafīʿ al-Dīn Ḥusayn and other students a collection of model letters, the *Badā'iʿ al-inshā'*, which was very popular in Muslim India. The book begins with a *muḳaddima* on the different kinds of modes of address which must be regulated by the relation of the correspondents to one another in rank; Yūsufī then divides the different kinds of correspondence (*muḥāwarāt*) into three parts: letters to persons of higher rank (*muräḳaʿāt*), of the same rank (*murāsalāt*) and to those of lower rank (*riḳāʿ*). Then comes a series of forms of letters which are divided into sections, such as sultans to sultans of higher, equal or lower rank, princes to sultans and princes, princesses to princesses, *amīrs*, grand-viziers, viziers, officials of the *Dīwān*, secretaries (*munshī*), sayyids (*sādāt*), *shaykhs*, judges, poets and astronomers. Then come what one might call private letters: to relations and friends on various occasions, e.g. if a reply has not been received, when on a journey, on grief at separation, longing for home, on returning soon, faithlessness, reconciliation, excuses, congratulations, condolences etc. A *khātima* gives examples of addresses (*ʿunwān*).

Bibliography: For the manuscript catalogues, see *EI*[1] art. s.v. See now C.L. Elgood, *A medical history of Persia and the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1951; Storey-de Blois, ii, 235-40, iii, 270; Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, 434, 476.

(E. BERTHELS-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

YŪSUFZAY, the name of a Pakhtū-speaking tribal confederation inhabiting the North West Frontier Province of Pākistān and divided into two broad groups: the Mandans (Mandanrs) who (together with the Baīzay Yūsufzays) inhabit the so-called Yūsufzay plain (mainly falling into Mardān district and divided into the *taḥṣīls* of Sawābī and Mardān); and (confusingly) the Yūsufzays of the valleys of Swāt, Pandjkōra, Dīr and Bunēr and of the region to the east of the river Indus lying on the western slopes of the Black Mountain. These two main groups are in turn subdivided into many smaller divisions. In terms of political organisation, the Yūsufzays may be described as an acephalous segmentary society in which considerable power was exercised by *khāns* and *maliks* and at various times by the numerous class of people with claims to religious sanctity (*sayyids*, *pīrs*, *faḳīrs*, *mullās*, etc.). In Swāt [*q.v.*], the descendants of one religious leader, the Ākhūnd of Swāt, created a state which endured from 1917 to 1969. In Dīr [*q.v.*], uniquely, *khāns* ruled continuously for over two hundred years.

The Yūsufzays moved into the region which they now occupy in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, expelled the Dardic-speaking Dilazāk population and took up agricultural life, apportioning the conquered land between the various lineage groups. A peculiar feature of the land settlement was the institution of *wēsh*, or periodic redistribution of the holdings, a practice which continued well into the 20th century. Under Mughal rule, the Yūsufzays alternately resisted and submitted, but from the end of the 17th century were more or less wholly independent, a status which they strove to maintain under Sikh rule. However, after 1849 the Mandans of the Yūsufzay plain were gradually brought under British administrative control (although there were frequent expeditions, chiefly against the Baīzays) and their country developed through irrigation, becoming a centre for the production of sugar cane and tobacco. The Mandans enlisted in the British Indian army in considerable numbers.

The Yūsufzays beyond the mountains, however, long retained their independence. During the 19th century, there was constant fighting among the *khāns* of Swāt, Pandjkōra, Dīr and Bunēr, and Yūsufzays from these regions clashed with British forces at Ambēla in 1863 and during the 1897 tribal uprising. Despite frequent raids from Swāt into British-administered territory, no British troops entered the Swāt valley until the Čitrāl Relief Expedition of 1895 [see ČITRĀL]. British authority also came into conflict with the Yūsufzays of the Black Mountain and several expeditions were launched against them, notably in 1888, 1891 and 1892. Dīr and Swāt were included in the Mālākand Political Agency in 1895; Bunēr and the Black Mountain Yūsufzays were dealt with separately. Under Pākistān, this system was at first continued but eventually Dīr, Swāt and Bunēr were incorporated as districts in the Mālākand division and designated as Provincially Administered Tribal Areas. It is difficult to estimate the number of Yūsufzays, but on the basis of the 1981 census for Mardān district and estimates for the mountainous valleys, the total was likely then to have been somewhere between 3 and 4 million.

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(M.E. YAPP)

YÜZELLİLİKLER, T., literally, "the 150 [undesirables]".

During the peace negotiations between the Allies and Turkey at Lausanne in 1923, Great Britain demanded that a general amnesty in Turkey should form part of the final settlement. The British were concerned that, otherwise, those inhabitants of Turkey who had been opposed to Muṣṭafā Kemāl and his nationalist movement in Anatolia would be persecuted. The Turkish delegation would not agree to an amnesty without exceptions, but it did not have at its disposal a list of persons whom it wanted excepted. Hence in the end, the Turkish representatives on the subcommission on minorities, led by Dr. Riḍā Nūr [*q.v.*], accepted a general amnesty but reserved the Turkish government's right to ban up to 150 (unnamed) Muslims from the country.

Drawing up the list of these 150 undesirables proved difficult. The Lausanne treaty was ratified without it and when the law on the general amnesty was passed on 16 April 1924, it was still not ready. Finally, on 23 April, a list was produced with only 149 names on it. After some discussion, one more person was added and on 1 June 1924 the list was accepted by Parliament. Those banned were all people who had opposed the nationalists in 1919-22. They fell into the following categories: persons from Sultan Meḥemmed VI's personal and political entourage; from his counter-insurgency forces (the *Ḳuwā-yi Inḍibāṭiyye*); members of the bureaucracy, the armed forces and the police; the renegade nationalist commander Čerkes Edhem's [*q.v.*] family and supporters; and journalists.

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(E.J. ZÜRCHER)

Z

ZĀʾ [see ZĀY].

ẒĀʾ, the seventeenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, numerical value: 900. The transliteration /ẓ/ reflects an urban/sedentary pronunciation as "emphatic" (pharyngealised) /z/. Sībawayh (d. 177/793 [*q.v.*]), however, describes the sound as an "emphatic" voiced interdental, thus /ḏ̣/ (iv, 436), and this is the way it is pronounced in those dialects, mainly Bedouin, that have preserved the interdentals. There is, however, an additional complication: with very few exceptions (in Northern Yemen, see Behnstedt, 5), all modern dialects of Arabic have coalesced the sounds represented by <ẓ> and <ḍ> into one sound, which is *grosso modo* pronounced /ḏ̣/ in the Bedouin dialects and /ḍ/ in the sedentary ones. In loans from the *fuṣḥā*, sedentary dialects, which do not have interdentals, imitate these sounds by using the corresponding sibilants, thus /ḏ̣/ > /ẓ/. Compare *muḏ̣āhara* > *muẓāhara* "demonstration" vs. the correct dialect correspondence in *ḏ̣uhr* > *ḍuhr* "noon". The two resulting

pronunciations were secondarily used to distinguish between *ẓāʾ* and *ḍād*, and this became the pronunciation in urban Standard Arabic which was also received into Western transliteration. In what follows the original /ḏ̣/ will be used instead of /ẓ/.

The phoneme /ḏ̣/ forms the "emphatic" unit of the interdental triad. For the articulation of the interdentals, see THĀʾ. Minimal pairs would be: *ḏ̣alla* "he remained" vs. *thalla* "he tore down", *dhalla* "he became humble", and also *ḍalla* "he went astray" (the /ḍ/ being, according to Sībawayh's description, a voiced "emphatic" lateral [see ḌĀD]).

The Arabic /ḏ̣/ appears in cognates as /ṭ/ in Aramaic, /ṣ/ in Akkadian, Hebrew and Ethiopic. The fact that this phoneme is represented mainly by voiceless realisations has prompted its Proto-Semitic reconstruction as */ṯ̣/. The voiced representative in Arabic may have something to do with the shift of "emphasis" from glottalisation to pharyngealisation. But apart from that, it is phonemically immaterial whether the "emphatic" unit in a triad is voiced or voiceless; it is simply marked by "emphaticness". As a matter of fact, a voiceless /ṯ̣/ is attested in some Northern Yemeni dialects of Arabic (see Behnstedt, 5-6, 183-4), and a voiceless /ṭ/ occurs in North African sedentary dialects (see Cantineau, 45).

For assimilations, especially in sandhi, see Cantineau, 42-3, and Fleisch, 86-7. In the conjugation of verbs, the following assimilations are noteworthy: *ḥafiḏ̣tu* > *ḥafiḏ̣ṭu* "I preserved", some grammarians even note *ḥafiṭṭu* (see Fleisch, 92). For the VIIIth form the most common assimilation of the infixed /t/ in **iḏ̣talama* is *iḏ̣ḏ̣alama* "he was wronged", but *iḏ̣ṭalama* and *iṭṭalama* are also mentioned (Fleisch, 95-6).

As already mentioned, most Bedouin dialects preserve the interdentals and thus /ḏ̣/. The same is true for a fair number of rural sedentary dialects. Otherwise, the sedentary dialects (urban as well as some rural dialects) shift the interdentals to dentals, thus /ḏ̣/ > /ḍ/. Unusual shifts of interdentals to sibilants (Kozluk-Sason group and some other dialects of Anatolian Arabic, Uzbekistan-Arabic) with /ḏ̣/ > /ẓ/, and to labiodentals (Siirt group and some other dialects of Anatolian Arabic) with /ḏ̣/ > /v/ have also been noted (Jastrow, 34-9).

The grapheme <ẓ> is identical with that of <ṭ>, and distinguished from it by a superscript dot. The reason for this is the "cognate" principle in Nabataean spelling: the Nabataeans realised that Nabataean /ṭ/ corresponded to both /ṭ/ and /ḏ̣/ in Arabic. They, therefore, used the grapheme <ṭ> to render both Arabic sounds, thus e.g. the name *Ḥanḏ̣alᵘⁿ* appears as *ḥnṭlw* in Nabataean inscriptions. The diacritical mark was added later; it is first attested in a papyrus by Ḳurra b. Sharīk [*q.v.*], dated Rabīʿ I, 91 = February 710 (Gruendler, 74b). Gruendler, 72-5, gives a description and tables for the development of the shape of *ṭāʾ/ẓāʾ* from Nabataean to Arabic.

In Persian and Persian-influenced languages, the sound /ḏ̣/ in Arabic words is pronounced /z/.

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ZĀB, with its pl. ZĪBĀN, the name of a region of the Algerian Sahara around Biskra [*q.v.*], extending over an area of *ca.* 150 km/100 miles from west to east and 40 km/25 miles from north to south.

1. Geography.

The Zībān form part of the great Saharan piedmont which stretches from Agadir to Gabès. Within this, they have a special dual role, the first role derived from their position at the narrowest part of the Maghribī mountain rim and at the opening of the great southern axis of communication of eastern Algeria (Skikda-Constantine-Batna-Biskra); and second, from the agricultural potential of the region, found hardly anywhere else in this piedmont, arising from suitable soils and important water resources. It is therefore not surprising that oases and important towns (e.g. Biskra) are to be found there and that the region has been attractive to the ruling powers of the Maghrib from Roman times onwards.

The Zībān comprise a depressed and short sloping surface, which starts off at 100 m/328 feet altitude on the southern slopes of the Atlas and ends in the salt flats of the Shaṭṭ Melhrir at 40 m/130 feet below sea level. From its piedmont nature, it has scattered soils of a muddy and fertile nature. From its contact with the Saharan Atlas, it has rich water supplies, including what were previously 80 rich springs, now tapped through bore holes. From its low-lying position and very dry atmosphere come the quality of its dates, the most famed being the Deglet Nour (Daglat al-nūr) variety. The Zāb Gharbī, in the west, has plentiful water and rich palm groves; the Zāb Sharḳī, in the east, has fewer deep water supplies but benefits from its position up against the Aurès (Awrās) Mountains and from flood waters, so that it is now a region of market-gardening irrigated by diesel pumps.

Thus the Zībān at present form a prosperous agricultural region, with 1.8 million palm trees spread over 20,000 ha and 16,000 ha of market gardens. With 22,000 workers engaged in agriculture, the Zībān are the leading agricultural region of the Algerian Sahara, ahead of the Wād Ghīr. This prosperity has been encouraged by legislation (1983) on land ownership, by a good network of local roads and by the founding of a certain number of agrarian centres. The total population is *ca.* 500,000, with its urban centre, Biskra, having over 150,000. This last has a central position within the region, is a great commercial centre for dates (with 100,000 palm trees there), as well as being the administrative centre of a *wilāya* and a gateway to the Sahara, commanding the Skikda-Tuggurt communications axis (a *route nationale* and railway). It now has a university, an airport and an industrial zone. It has no medina, but a centre laid out by the Europeans; thanks to its rapid expansion, the town has spread across the Wād Biskra (*ca.* 500 m/1,630 feet wide) to the left bank, so that three main bridges now link the two halves. See further, BISKRA.

2. History.

Little is known of the early history of the Zībān, but date cultivation goes back over two millennia. The name Zāb may be connected with Zabi, a Roman town in the vicinity of Hodna [see ḤUḌNA]. The Romans established some control over the region by constructing fortified places (Gemellae, Tolga, Vescera, Thouda and Badia), and the research of J. Baradez (in his *Fossatum Africae, recherches aériennes sur l'organisation des confins sahariens à l'époque romaine*, Paris 1949) has thrown light on the *limes* in this part of the Maghrib. The Sāḳiyat Bint al-Rās, a long trough running for 60 km/37 miles to the south of the Wād Djadī, marked along its length by mounds some 12 m/

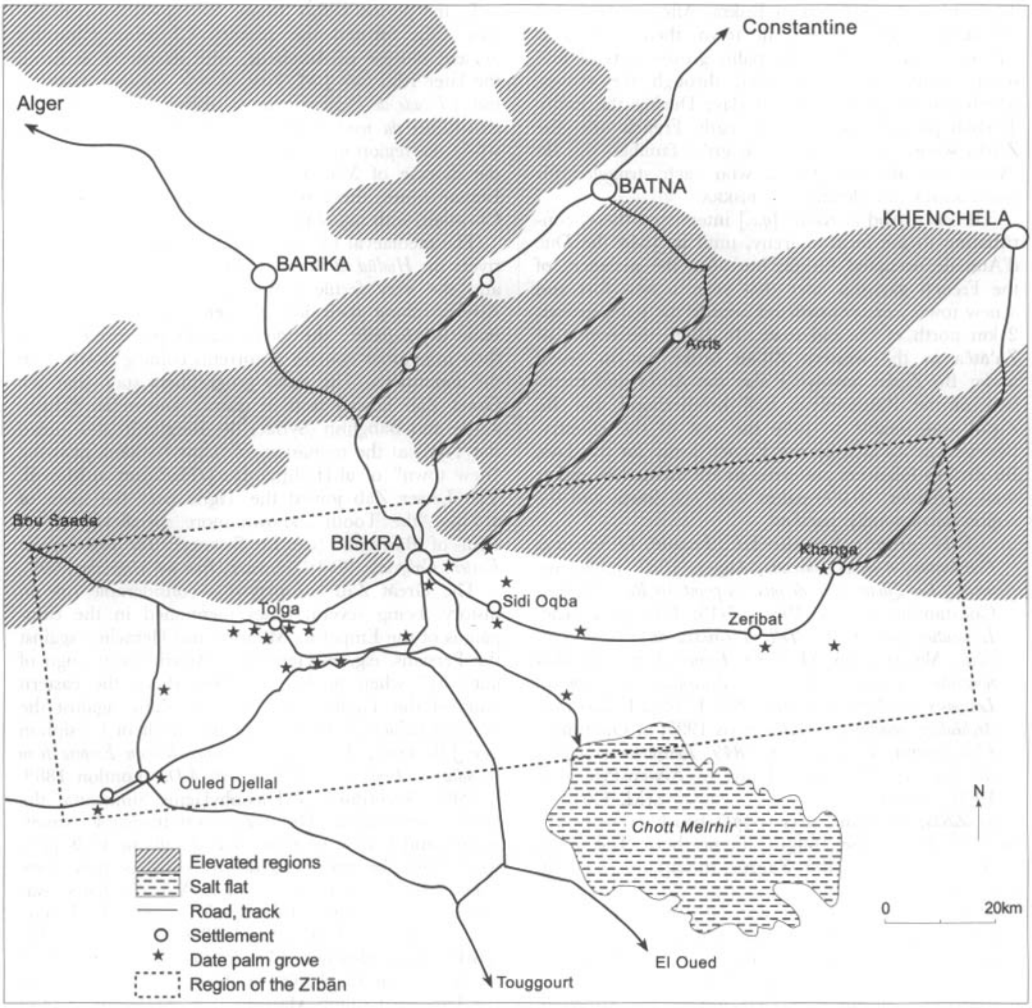
Constantine
Alger
BATNA
KHENCHELA
BARIKA
Arris
Bou Saada
BISKRA
Khanga
Tolga
Sidi Oqba
Zeribat
Ouled Djellal
Chott Melrhir
N
Elevated regions
Salt flat
Road, track
Settlement
Date palm grove
Region of the Zībān
0
20km
El Oued
Touggourt

40 feet in diameter, constituted an advance barrier of this *limes* against the nomads. From the 5th to the 7th centuries, Biskra was an episcopal see, and one bishop, Opta, was canonised as a saint.

It was in this region that in 63/683 the Arab commander ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*] was killed, near an oasis with a village that subsequently bore his name, Sīdī ʿUḳba. Under the Aghlabids, the Zībān enjoyed a period of prosperity. Biskra was surrounded by a rampart and ditch, suburbs grew up *extra muros*, and forts built for the Arab *djund*. In the 17th century, the Turks placed a garrison in Biskra. After an outbreak of plague there in 1740, the town, then on an elevation in the heart of the palm groves, spread into seven village centres scattered through the groves, which remain to the present day. During the entire Turkish period, and then the early French one, the Zībān were dominated by two great families, the Bū ʿAzzāz and the Ben Gana, who each struggled for sole control (for details, see BISKRA).

The *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] intervened there, contributing to the local anarchy, until in 1844 the Duc d'Aumale occupied Biskra; but after the massacre of the French garrison later that year, a new fort and a new town were constructed outside the palm groves, 2 km north of the old town. In 1849, the region of Zaʿatča in the western Zībān broke out in revolt under Bū Ziyān, involving also the Aurès and members of the Raḥmāniyya Ṣūfī brotherhood, but Bū Ziyān was unable to rally the rest of the country. Besieged in Zaʿatča by the French army for 52 days, Bū Ziyān's followers preferred to kill themselves rather than surrender; 10,000 palms were cut down, and the region substantially pacified.

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AL-ZĀB, the name of two left-bank tributaries of the Tigris [see DIDJLA] in northern ʿIrāḳ, both of them rising in the Zagros mountain chain in Kurdistān.

1. The Great or Upper Zāb (*al-Zāb al-akbar* or *al-aʿlā*) was already known to the Assyrians, as *Zabu ēlū* "the upper Zāb", and appears in classical Greek as Λύκος (cf. *PW*, xiii, cols. 2391-2), Byzantine Greek as ὁ μέγας Ζάβας, in Syriac as *Zābā* and in later Armenian as *Zav*. In Kurdish it is known today as the *Zē'-i Bādinān* and in Turkish as *Zap*. J. Markwart discussed possible etymologies and suggested a link with older Aramaic *dēbā*, also in Syriac, "wolf", older Armenian *gail* "wolf", a basic meaning which would account for the Classical Greek calque Λύκος (see his *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und armenischen Geographen*, Vienna 1930, 429-30).

It rises in the modern Turkish *il* of Van near the frontier with Persian Ādharbāydjān, flows southwards through Hakkâri into the Kurdish region of north-eastern ʿIrāḳ, where its waters are utilised by the Bakhma dam, and then flows southwestwards to its confluence with the Tigris 47 km/30 miles south of Mawṣil, having received as a right-bank affluent the Khāzir [*q.v.*].

2. The Lesser or Lower Zāb (*al-Zāb al-asghar* or *al-asfal*) was called *Zabū šupalū* "the lower Zāb" by the Assyrians, in Classical Greek Κάπρος (see *PW*, x, col. 1921) and in Byzantine Greek ὁ μικρὸς Ζάβας or ὁ ἕτερος Ζάβας. In Kurdish it is known today as *Zē'i Koya*. It is formed from the confluence of several streams, but the main stream rises just over the border from ʿIrāḳ in Mukrī Kurdistān. Within ʿIrāḳ, it flows southwards after the Dukān dam past the town of Altun Köprü [see ALTĪN KÖPRÜ] and meets the Tigris 80 km/50 miles above Takrīt [*q.v.*].

In the period before Islam, the region between the two Zābs formed the Eastern Christian Church's ancient diocese of Adiabene, with its centre at Erbil, the later Irbil (see J.M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne. Contribution à l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclésiastiques et monastiques du nord de l'Iraq*, Beirut 1965-8, i, 37 ff.), whilst the region to the north of the Upper Zāb formed the diocese of Marga (see *ibid.*, i, 225 ff.). In early Islamic times, these regions continued to be strongly Christian, with many monasteries spread through them.

The mediaeval Islamic geographers describe the two rivers (in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 76, **al-Zābayn*) and the very fertile plains (the granary of ancient Assyria) along their lower reaches, and called them both *al-Madjnūn* "the demoniacally-possessed" from their impetuous courses as torrents coming down from the mountains. The Arab geographers state that the Great Zāb flowed from a district known as *Mushangar and Bābghish (Syriac, Bēt Barghash) and joined the Tigris at the monastery of ʿUmr Bārḳānā near the "new town" of al-Ḥadītha [*q.v.*]/Ḥadīthat al-Mawṣil. The Lesser Zāb joined the Tigris near the town of al-Sinn "the Tooth", known more specifically as al-Sinn of Bārimmā (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 90-1; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 695).

The Great Zāb has played a considerable role in history, being several times mentioned in the campaigns of the Emperors Maurice and Heraclius against the Persians, e.g. in Heraclius's Assyrian campaign of later 617 when he led his army down the eastern bank of the Tigris, across the two Zābs, against the Sāsānid palace at Dastgird to the north of Ctesiphon (see J.B. Bury, *A history of the later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395 A.D. to 900 A.D.)*, London 1889, ii, 242). According to Theophylactus Simocatta, the lower course of the Great Zāb was navigable (ναυσίπορος), and it may be that inflated rafts or *keleks* [*q.v.*] were used for travelling downstream as they have been used up to modern times. A fierce battle was fought on its tributary the Khāzir between the Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and the rebel Ibrāhīm al-Ashtar (67/686) [see AL-KHĀZIR]; above all, it was on the banks of the Great Zāb that the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] was decisively defeated by the advancing revolutionary forces of the ʿAbbāsids led by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās in 132/750 (cf. M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East. The establishment of the ʿAbbāsid state—incubation of a revolt*, Jerusalem 1983, 13-14).

In modern ʿIrāḳ, attempts have been made to control the great volume of water and silt brought down each spring by snows melting in the Zagros Mountains, and to store water for irrigation purposes during the hot and dry summer, by the construction of dams at Dukān on the Little Zāb and Bakhma on the Great Zāb.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944, 102 ff. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ZABADĀNĪ, the name currently given to a town of Syria, and also to an administrative region (*minṭaḳa idāriyya*), to a smaller administrative unit (*nāḥiya*) composed of eight villages and six farms (*mazraʿa*), and to a river which flows from the north through the town. Various fanciful etymologies have been suggested from *zabad*, some of them alluding to its fertility. Whatever the case, Zabadānī was and still is known for the abundance of its apple trees.

Under the Byzantines, the town of Zabadānī was attached to the bishopric of the town of Abilla in Sūḳ Wādī Baradā, but after the Arab-Islamic conquest of Syria, the bishopric was moved to Zabadānī. A pottery oil-holder (*maṭra*), used by Christian pilgrims to hold sacred oil and dating back to the 6th century A.D., has been found in Zabadānī; it bears pictures of the Virgin Mary, the Angel and the Star, and has a Greek inscription saluting Mary.

Located on the northern edge of the Zabadānī plain in the Anti-Lebanon, at an elevation of about 1,200 m/3,940 feet above sea level, the town of Zabadānī counted in the early 1990s about 17,000 inhabitants. In the mid-1950s, one-fourth of its population were Christians. It then had six mosques, a Greek Orthodox church and a Greek Catholic church. The town is about 47 km/30 miles to the north-west of Damascus and is attached administratively to the Rural Area of the Governorate of Damascus (*Muḥāfaẓat Rīf Dimashḳ*). It is bounded on the north by Sirghāyā; on the east by Blūdān and Bakkīn; and on the south by Maḍāyā and the valley of the Baradā river. All these locations are major summer resorts for Damascenes and other Syrians.

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(Abdul-Karim Rafeq)

ZĀBADJ, ZĀBIDJ, ZĀBAG, the name of an island placed in the northeastern part of the Indian Ocean by the Arabic geographical writers. It appears as early as the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* of Sulaymān al-Tādjir and in the *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of Ibn Khurradādhbih (3rd/9th century) and then in almost all subsequent texts, and the title of its ruler, the Mahārādj[ā], is also regularly used from an early date.

The location of Zābadj in Southeast Asia is certain. The Arabic authors describe it as a trading empire, and place it in relation to known places, such as India, Ḳimār [*q.v.*] (Khmer = Cambodia) and Kalāh. From this there emerges that we have a country on the route between India and China, but further south than these; al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Tafhīm*, ed. R.R. Wright, London 1934, 16, actually places it on the equator. The authors state that the ruler of the country of Zābadj ruled from a capital of the same name over the islands of the "Eastern Sea", and amongst a considerable number of these islands are listed Djāwa, Kalāh and Wākwāk [*q.vv.*]. The Mahārādjā appears as main king in the land, but with subordinate governors (*maliks*) owing allegiance to him, and with a powerful army and navy. Abū Zayd, in G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes relatifs à l'Extrême Orient*, Paris 1913-14, ii, 95-7, has a long account of his attack on Cambodia, the only historical fact mentioned. One source describes people from dependent islands, and also from Cambodia, turning their faces towards Zābadj and prostrating themselves as a sign of their allegiance.

The capital Zābadj was a flourishing commercial centre and a rendezvous for foreign ships, those of the Arabs, the Indians and Chinese. The Zābadjīs are said to have traded as far as Africa and to have brought iron from there to sell on the Asian mainland (al-Idrīsī, tr. A. Jaubert, Paris 1836-40, 58). Foreign traders provided the state with much revenue. Local customs mentioned are ordeal by fire and the ceremony of *bersila* (i.e. sitting cross-legged out of politeness: the actual Malay word is used in the Arabic texts) before the Mahārādjā (*ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind*, ed. Van der Lith, 154, tr. Freeman-Grenville, 90).

The exact identification of Zābadj from the Arabic sources is virtually impossible, although it is almost certainly somewhere in the Western Indonesian archipelago. Early European scholars preferred Java, because of a similarity in names (Skr. *yava*, Gk. *iabadiou*) and the fact that extensive ruins there showed the previous existence of a large empire, but a strong case can also be made from these sources for Sumatra (since its products gold and camphor are described as coming from Zābadj) and a defensible case for Borneo. Ferrand produced the Indian term Djāwaka as the equivalent of Zābadj and of Chinese She-p'o-t'i = Sumatra. See further on this, W. Mahdī, *Wie hiessen die Malaien, bevor sie "Malaien" hiessen?*, in *Südostasien und Wir: Grundsatzdiskussionen und Fachbeiträge. Tagung des Arbeitskreises Südostasien und Ozeanien Hamburg 1993, Austronesiana*, ed. A. Bormann *et al.*, Munster 1993, 162-76.

Modern scholars have linked the Mahārādjā with the Buddhist Sailendra rulers of Southeast Asia, who seem to have been the only rulers to call themselves by this title before the 10th century; it is therefore probable that, when Arabic writers speak of the Mahārādjā, they are referring to that dynasty. Around this we must build all our hypotheses. The present theory with regard to the history of the Sailendras is that they first appeared in Java, and became the dominant dynasty there, soon after the reign of the Hindu Sanjaya about A.D. 760. By about 860, a younger branch of the family established itself on the throne of Śrīvijaya centred at Palembang and perhaps in later times at Malayu (Jambi), a throne which they held for over three centuries, or at least, the title of Mahārādjā remained with this kingdom until its dissolution. The Sailendra dynasty in Java had lost its control of Java by the beginning of the 10th century, hence all references originating after this time would apparently refer to the Sumatran kingdom. Similarly, all references before 860 would refer to Java. Any Arabic writer therefore who uses sources before 860 referring to the kingdom of the Mahārādjā would be dealing with the Sailendras in Java, and any Arabic writer using sources originating from the 10th century onwards would be talking about Sumatra. Thus the references of Ibn Khurradādhbih and possibly those of the other early geographers would refer to Java and not to Sumatra.

A major problem is identifying the place which Ibn Khurradādhbih, 46 (quoted by al-Idrīsī and in other texts), calls Djāba, near Salāhit, Harang (*H.z.l.dj* in al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, i, 81) and Māʾit, fifteen days' journey from the Spice Islands, with a king apparently a Buddhist, and producing coconuts, bananas and sugar-cane. From this text alone, it would appear that Djāba and the three neighbouring places were near

the southern tip of the Malay peninsula, since they fall on the route to China between the ports of Kalāh and Ḳimār. But there is a complication in that in both places where the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* mentions Zābadj, Ibn Khurradādhbih, 17, mentions Djāba; thus the former states that Kalāh is a kingdom of Zābadj and the latter that it belongs to the kingdom of Djāba al-Hindī. Also, Ibn Khurradādhbih mentions Buddhism as the religion of Djāba, but the expression Djāba al-Hindī could be expected to refer to a Hindu king there; possibly there were two Djābas, one Buddhist and one Hindu in faith. In fact, the name Djāba occurs in no other original text except in Ibn Khurradādhbih/al-Idrīsī, and if Djāba was in Sumatra, as the evidence suggests, it cannot be the same as Zābadj if this last, at this early stage, was located solely in Java. In any case, no more is subsequently heard of the name Djāba, unless its name is echoed in the later name of Djāwa. This is complicated by the fact that Java and Sumatra were frequently confused with one another and sometimes thought of as one island.

The next two relevant Arabic texts, those of Abū Zayd and al-Masʿūdī, stem from the mid-10th century, i.e. the time when the Sailendras ruled from Šrīvijaya (in Arabic, Sirbuza) only, but seem to show a mixture of earlier and later material. Thus mention of Sirbuza as an island in the empire of the Mahārādjā could stem from the period when the seat of the Mahārādjā was still in Java but the kingdom of Šrīvijaya was under his sway. Abū Zayd's account of the attack on Cambodia obviously comes from the Java period. Cambodia was subject to attacks like this from Java in the later 8th century (767-87), but after 802, the accession date of Jayavarman, threw off all relics of allegiance to Java. Also, Abū Zayd's account does not stress the importance of maritime trade, as one would expect with Šrīvijaya, but rather, of agricultural prosperity, which one would connect with Java. Al-Masʿūdī's information sounds more up-to-date and deals with a Zābadj which could quite easily be Sumatra. He stresses the importance of sea trade and that sailors from the Persian Gulf continually voyaged to Kalāh and Zābadj, all this connecting easily with Šrīvijaya, the later seat of the Sailendra Mahārādjā.

Thus the texts seem to suggest that Zābadj was formerly a toponym attached to the island of Java, and then the Arabic sources attached it to the Sailendra Mahārādjās as a kind of title, i.e. the king of Zābadj, and then to the empire which he controlled. After the fall of the Sailendras in Java *ca.* 907, the main court of the dynasty was transferred to Šrīvijaya but Zābadj still remained as a loose term for the Sailendra empire in general. Almost contemporary with this transfer of the name to the Sumatran empire, the Arabic sources begin to mention Šrīvijaya in the geographical and travel accounts as Sirbuza (with various readings). The position of this last is fairly obvious from the texts. The *ʿAdjā'ib al-Hind*, ed. Van der Lith, 176, tr. Freeman-Grenville, 104, places it at the extremity of the island of Lamūrī and on a bay which penetrates 50 farsakhs into the island. Apart from the exaggerated distance, the description could well apply to Palembang in southeast Sumatra. The local crocodiles are frequently mentioned. Arab sailors would apply the name of the town to the whole island.

Thus it appears that, from the time of al-Masʿūdī in particular, the Arabic authors had two names for the same thing, sc. Sirbuza and Zābadj. Insensible to or unaware of political conditions, they are interested primarily in Sirbuza for its trade, and regarded it as merely a province of the Mahārādjā's empire with its own governor or petty king, who levied dues on ships bound for China (*ʿAdjā'ib*, 111). The description of the place and its products is just what one would expect of the port of Palembang at this time. The term Zābadj, on the other hand, remained connected with the Mahārādjā and became more the name of an empire and less that of a place, so that even Sirbuza became "an island of Zābadj". The capital of the empire is unnamed, but is obviously a Sumatran town on an estuary. It is in fact only through studying non-Arabic sources that the Arabic Sirbuza can be shown as the capital of the Mahārādjā's empire. On Arabic evidence alone, one might think that the capital was further north and nearer the Malacca Straits, although it is possible that there were periods in the history of the empire when the capital was in fact further north, so that these sources may have in them an element of truth.

A further development in the history of Zābadj can be seen in Yāḳūt's mention (early 6th/12th century) of Djāwa (thus spelt with *wāw*, not the earlier *bā'*), which, he says, is the first part of China and is on the sea coast; merchants do not go to China, but only to Djāwa. This is likely to be Sumatra, since direct trade with China had been cut off and Arabic ships only went as far as Kalāh and Sirbuza at this time. The new Djāwa was an important trading centre, and this new reference tallies with the information of Marco Polo and other European authors that the island we know as Sumatra was called Java [the Less] (see Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, ii, 284, 286 n. 1). Authors like the historian Rashīd al-Dīn and the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (cf. *Riḥla*, iv, 224, 228 ff., tr. Beckingham, iv, 873, 876 ff.) show that Djāwa meant for them Sumatra. Also, contemporary information in Ibn Saʿīd (d. 672/1274) provides a full description of the island, although placed to the south of the islands of the Mahārādjā; he gives a town of Djāwa in the centre of the island, but has no mention here of Sirbuza. The Chinese annals mention no embassies to China from San-fo-ch'i between 1178 and 1370, although the Ming annals say that this place continued to send embassies until the end of the Sung dynasty, and it is possible that, during the 13th century, Šrīvijaya lost its importance in Southeast Asian trade, the state of Malayu on the Jambi river possibly taking its place, especially as other sources than the Arab ones do not mention Šrīvijaya at this time. The popular Filipino belief that Zābadj and "Sanfotsi" (San-fo-ch'i) are in fact to be located in the Philippines is based on uncritical readings of the terms in the sources (e.g. the 13th-century *Chu fan-chi*, 75 ff.) and would appear rather to be the product of nationalist zeal.

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(G.R. TIBBETTS and SHAWKAT M. TOORAWA)

AL-**ZABĀNIYYA** (A.), a word found in Ḳur'ān, XCVI, 18, usually interpreted by the commentators as the guardians of Hell or else the angels who carry off the souls at death [see MALĀ'IKA. 1]. A. Jeffery, The *foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 148, thought that an origin from Syriac *zabūrā*, the *ductores* who, says Ephraim Syrus, lead the departed souls for judgment was likely; but W. Eilers, *Iranisches Lehngut im arabischen*, in *Indo-Iranian Jnal.*, v (1962), 220, favoured an Iranian etymology, from MP *zen(dān)bān* "warder, keeper of a prison", NP *zindānbān*.

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AL-**ZABBĀ'**, the more common of the two Arabic names given in the Islamic sources to the famous Queen of Tadmur/Palmyra, the other being Nā'ila, undoubtedly identifiable with the Greek and Aramaic forms of her name, Zenobia and Bath-Zabbay, both attested epigraphically. Al-Zabbā' "the hairy (?)" was possibly her surname while Nā'ila was her given name.

In spite of embroideries and accretions that have accumulated around her in the Islamic sources, these are valuable as they document the Arab profile of the history of al-Zabbā', on which the Classical sources are silent, just as the Arabo-Islamic sources are silent on the Roman profile. The two sets of sources thus complement each other and the task of scholarship is to disentangle fact from fiction in the Islamic sources, and so reach the kernel of historical truth which they undoubtedly have.

Al-Zabbā' appears in these sources as the daughter of one ʿAmr b. al-Ẓarib, the ruler of Djazīra (Mesopotamia) and part of al-Shām. A military encounter between him and the Tanūkhid king of al-Ḥīra, Djadhīma [*q.v.*], left him dead, and al-Zabbā''s subsequent history became a story of revenge. She offered Djadhīma her hand in marriage, pretending that this would unite and strengthen their respective realms, and invited him to come to her in Palmyra. His counsellor, Ḳaṣīr, warned him of the ruse, but Djadhīma did not listen and proceeded from his castle on the Euphrates, Baḳḳa, to Palmyra, where he was trapped and where he died a dolorous death after al-Zabbā' asked her maid to open the veins in his arm. As a result, she became herself the object of revenge. Ḳaṣīr returned to al-Ḥīra, where he asked ʿAmr b. ʿAdī, Djadhīma's nephew and adopted son (who became the first Lakhmid king), to avenge the death of his uncle. This ʿAmr finally did by a ruse reminiscent of that of the Trojan Horse, which enabled him to enter Palmyra and overpower its garrison. Al-Zabbā', however, fled and died by her own hand after she sucked her poisoned seal-ring, thus avoiding being killed by ʿAmr.

The sources also speak of her construction of two castles on both banks of the Euphrates, one for herself and another for her sister Zabība, and of her campaign in north Arabia against Dūma and Taymā' and their two fortresses Mārid and al-Ablaḳ. This campaign and the episode involving Djadhīma and ʿAmr gave rise to many attractive Arabic proverbs.

The kernels of truth in these Islamic accounts may be presented as follows: (i) On chronological and other grounds, the encounter with Djadhīma is perfectly credible and it is just possible that Djadhīma did indeed meet his death at al-Zabbā''s hands. As for her own death, its Arabic account has to be wholeheartedly rejected since the incontestable Greek and Latin sources testify to her defeat by the Roman emperor Aurelian in A.D. 272, whose triumph in Rome she later graced. But Lakhmid participation in Aurelian's campaign against her is probably historical.

(ii) Her campaign against Dūma and Taymā' is also possible to accept, as is her construction of a castle on the Euphrates. Palmyra was a great caravan city, and it was natural that al-Zabbā' should have wanted to annex these important trade stations controlling the routes to Arabia and Mesopotamia. Her foundation on the Euphrates is attested in the Greek sources and is known as Zenobia, present-day Ḥalabiyya.

The extraordinary career of al-Zabbā' impressed the pre-Islamic poets of 6th-century Arabia, fragments of whose poetry on her have survived. The most complete of these is the one by the Ḥīran poet ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Dīwān ʿAdī b. Zayd*, ed. M. al-Muʿaybid, Baghdād 1965, 181-4; Ṭabarī, i, 756-68; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, ii, 217-23; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, i, 345-50; D.R. Hillers and Eleanore Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic texts*, Baltimore and London 1996; M. Piotrovsky, *The Arabic version of Queen Zenobia's (al-Zabbā') story*, in *Palestinskii Sbornik*, lxxxiv (1970), 170-84; G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1983, 136-7.

(IRFAN SHAHĪD)

ZABĪB (A.), dried grapes, raisins, or currants. In the mediaeval Islamic culinary tradition, raisins were deemed indispensable for meat dishes of chicken or mutton with a sweet-sour character, such as those of Persian origin called *zirbādj* or *sikbādj* [*q.v.*], in which the sweetness of the dried grapes (sometimes combined with another dried fruit like apricot or additional sugar) is balanced by the acidity of vinegar. In another kind of preparation, the meat is initially cooked in a vinegar and raisin stock. A dish called *zabībiyya*, probably of Egyptian provenance, was prepared from fresh fish with a sweet and sour spiced sauce poured over it. In the recipes for substantial main dishes, two kinds of raisin, *zabīb aḥmar* and *zabīb aswad* are mentioned. The best kind of raisin was large with a lot of flesh and small seeds.

Raisins occurred also in a variety of other domestic preparations. For example, a kind of "mustard sauce" to accompany fowl was made from raisin extract (*mā' zabīb*) and pomegranate seeds (presumably the acidic variety) in which dried spices, crushed almonds and salt were "dissolved". Raisins were also used in the preparation of a beverage called *fuḳḳāʿ*, a sparkling, fermented beer-like liquor. Certain home-made remedies, like the electuary (*maʿdjūn*), called for a large quantity of raisins, the seeds of which had to be removed before cooking; the preparation was used to avoid stomach disorders after eating greasy, fatty foods.

In the mediaeval medical literature devoted to dietetics, raisins are described as moderately hot and moist in character and as having a fattening quality. Abū

Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Zuhr (d. 557/1162) was of the opinion that wine made from raisins was weaker than that produced from grape juice.

In the Prophetic medicine (*al-ṭibb al-nabawī*) tradition, raisins are also very positively judged for their many benefits. Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]) provides two traditions, albeit unsound ones, in which raisins are described by the Prophet as excellent food which sweeten the breath and remove phlegm and fatigue; they were also said to strengthen the nerves, calm anger and contribute to a clear complexion. In a similar work attributed to al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), Tamīm al-Dārī [*q.v.*] is reported to have given the Prophet some raisins, which he then shared among his Companions; the Prophet also had *zabīb* soaked in water which he would drink the following day. To the Prophet's attitude to raisins there is added Ibn ʿAbbās's caution that, while the flesh contained a healing property, the seeds were harmful and should be spat out. Nonetheless, according to the traditionist al-Zuhrī, their value in the religious life was that anyone who wished to memorise *ḥadīth* should eat raisins.

Bibliography: C. Elgood, *Tibb-ul-Nabi or medicine of the Prophet*, in *Osiris*, xiv (1962), 33-192; anon., *Kanz al-fawāʾid fī tanwīʿ al-mawāʾid*, ed. M. Marín and D. Waines, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993; Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ, *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. K. Öhrnberg and S. Mroueh, Helsinki 1987; Irmeli Perho, *The prophet's medicine*, Helsinki 1995. (D. Waines)

ZABĪD, a town in the Tihāma [*q.v.*] coastal plain of Yemen, at about 25 km/15 miles from the Red Sea, in a region of fertile agricultural lands irrigated by two major *wādīs*, Zabīd to the south and Rimaʿ to the north. It is the centre of an administrative district, a *mudīriyya*, with the same name, which falls under the jurisdiction of the governorate of al-Ḥudayda [*q.v.*].

1. History.

Originally known as al-Ḥuṣayb, a village of the Ashāʿir tribe, Zabīd took on the name of the *wādī*, to which it owed its prosperity, when it was founded in Shaʿbān 204/January 820 by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ziyād [see ziyādids], who was sent by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn to quell the rebellion of the Ashāʿir and ʿAkk tribes. During his rule and that of his descendants (until 407/1016), Zabīd became the seat of government. Its location on the important commercial and pilgrimage route Aden-Mecca brought it substantial material and cultural wealth, and many important scholars from different parts of the Islamic world stopped in Zabīd and contributed to its growing reputation as the main centre for Sunnī religious learning in Yemen. Both the Ashāʿir and the Great Mosques, built by the prolific Ziyādid patron al-Ḥusayn b. Salāma (*r.* 373-402/983-1012), became focal points for scholars. Zabīd continued to be the political capital for successive dynasties: the Nadjāḥids (412-553/1022-1158 [*q.v.*]), and the Mahdids (553-69/1158-74 [*q.v.*]). This period is characterised by a number of Ḳarmaṭī and Ṣulayḥid [*q.vv.*] incursions into the Tihāma, during which Zabīd suffered intermittent assaults as well as capture by the Ṣulayḥids during the latter part of the 5th/11th century.

The Ayyūbid conquest of Yemen in 569/1174 confirmed Zabīd as the administrative and economic capital of the region, even though several of their rulers preferred to settle elsewhere. However, Zabīd enjoyed its heyday under the Rasūlids (626-858/1229-1454 [*q.v.*]). Although they made Taʿizz their capital, the sultans continued to favour Zabīd by spending their winters there. They also established numerous religious foundations which attracted many prestigious scholars, such as al-Fīrūzābādī [*q.v.*], whose tomb in Zabīd is still known as that of *Ṣāḥib al-Ḳāmūs*. The number of quarters, palaces, gardens, markets, and religious monuments was higher in Zabīd during the Rasūlid period than in any other town of Yemen, including their official capital Taʿizz. Al-Khazradjī reported that a survey of the mosques and *madrasas* of Zabīd, ordered by Sultan al-Ashraf Ismāʿīl in 795/1392, put their number at between 230 and 240 buildings. The Rasūlids also constructed several palaces and pavilions in the lush Wādī Zabīd, amongst the date plantations, which they used as retreats during the hunting season, and for the date-gathering festival, known as *subūt al-nakhīl*. Ibn al-Daybaʿ describes how blessed Zabīd was with water, where each house had its own well, while underground channels fed the orchards in the town and its environs: His list of fruits, as well as references to date palms, sugar cane and rice attest to the richness of local agriculture. The cultivation of cotton and indigo also helped to develop an indigenous textile industry. As late as 1936, Zabīd had 150 textile workshops.

Although the Ṭāhirids (858-923/1454-1517 [*q.v.*]) followed the Rasūlids' habit of using Zabīd as a winter residence, and continued the upkeep of religious buildings, the town began a steady decline in the late 9th/15th century. Reports of floods, fires, earthquakes and other natural disasters, point to its shrinking size. The demise of the Ṭāhirids at the hands of the Mamlūks, and the subsequent control of the Tihāma and Zabīd by their mercenaries, the Lewend [*q.v.*], between 927/1521 and 943/1536, accelerated this decline. During their first occupation of Yemen (945-1045/1538-1635), the Ottomans' use of Zabīd as one of their main bases led to repeated devastating Zaydī [see zaydiyya] attacks. The latter's victory and the consolidation of their power over the whole of Yemen meant the loss of Zabīd's role as a focus for Sunnī autonomy in the Tihāma. Furthermore, Yemen's period of economic boom in the 17th and 18th centuries resulting from the coffee trade, completely bypassed Zabīd, which was supplanted by al-Mukhā and Bayt al-Faḳīh [*q.vv.*] as the principal centres of mercantile activities. When Carsten Niebuhr visited Zabīd in the 1760s, he found that its buildings occupied only about one-half of the ancient area of the town. The emergence of al-Ḥudayda as the administrative centre of the Tihāma during the 19th and 20th centuries, and notably during the second Ottoman occupation (1872-1918) further overshadowed Zabīd, which also suffered from internal social unrest between 1902 and 1917.

2. Structure of the town.

According to al-Muḳaddasī, Zabīd was known as the Baghdād of Yemen owing to its circular shape, a characteristic that sets it apart from other Yemeni towns, and this seems to have remained unchanged throughout its history. A fortified mud wall with four gates was already in place in the 3rd/9th century, even though the first wall was attributed to al-Ḥusayn b. Salāma by several later historians. A second wall was built by the Nadjāḥid Abū Manṣūr Mann Allāh al-Fātikī sometime between 520/1126 and 524/1130, a third wall was erected by al-Mahdī b. ʿAlī or his brother ʿAbd al-Nabī between 554-69/1159-73, and a fourth one by Ṭughtakīn b. Ayyūb in 589/1193. Ibn al-Mudjāwir's drawing of the plan of Zabīd shows the walls as concentric rings. Ibn al-Daybaʿ noted the Ayyūbid wall as still standing in his day, although it had been restored many times, and its mud bricks

had been replaced by baked bricks during the Rasūlid period. Most reports mention the existence of four main gates: Bāb al-Shabāriḳ in the east, Bāb Ghulayfiḳa in the west, Bāb Sihām in the north and Bāb Ḳurṭub in the south, although al-Khazradjī refers to the restoration of eight gates during the reign of sultan al-Mudjāhid ʿAlī (*r.* 721-64/1322-63), which suggests the existence of a double wall. The four gates which still stand in Zabīd have kept the same names, with the exception of Bāb Ghulayfiḳa, which became known, as early as the 8th/14th century, as Bāb al-Nakhīl. Zabīd's wall was torn down in 1045/1635-6 on the orders of the Imām al-Muʾayyad bi ʾllāh b. al-Manṣūr following his victory against the Ottomans. It seems that Zabīd remained without a wall until it came under the control of Sharīf Ḥammūd of Abū ʿArīsh (*r.* 1798-1810). The wall was finally dismantled in the 1960s in order to sell its bricks. What remains of the walls is a trench which encircles the town.

Zabīd has 21,000 inhabitants according to the 1994 census, and is divided into four quarters: al-ʿAliyy, al-Djāmiʿ, al-Mudjanbadh and al-Djizʿ. It has a central covered market, which is rivalled by a new food market built in the mid-1980s on the northern side of town. The once important crafts of weaving and indigo dyeing have completely disappeared from Zabīd as a result of the influx of imported textiles and changes in fashion. Zabīd has lost its importance as a centre of Islamic learning, although its eighty-five surviving mosques and *madrasas* attest to its former glory.

The historical and aesthetic importance of Zabīd's distinctive religious and domestic brick architecture led to its being placed on UNESCO's list of historic towns in December 1993.

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AL-**ZABĪDĪ, MUḤAMMAD MURTAḌĀ** [see MUḤAMMAD MURTAḌĀ].

ZĀBUL, ZĀBULISTĀN, the name found in early Islamic times for a region of what is now eastern Afghānistān, roughly covering the modern Afghān provinces of Ghaznī and Zābul.

The early geographers describe what was a remote region on the far eastern frontiers of the *Dār al-Islām* in understandably vague terms as an extensive province with Ghazna [*q.v.*] as its centre. It thus emerges that it lay between Kābul and the Kābul river valley on the north and the territories around the confluence of the Helmand river and Arghandāb known as Zamīndāwar and al-Rukhkhadj [*q.vv.*], but the boundaries here were clearly very imprecise. The name appears in the 7th century Armenian geography as *Zaplastan* < MP *Zāpulistān* (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 39-40). Only one or two of the Arabic geographers mention it, e.g. al-Muḳaddasī, 299, who has *Djāwulistān*, but historians like al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī were familiar with the name because of raids into it by the Muslims during the first three centuries or so of Islam. For long, Arab expansion here was checked by a line of powerful rulers with the title of Zunbīl (the resemblance between Zābul and Zunbīl must, however, be fortuitous), who were probably epigoni of the Southern Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA]; the upland regions of Zābulistān seem to have been their summer quarters. Arab commanders had only occasional successes against these Zunbīls, such as when al-Manṣūr's commander Maʿn b. Zāʾida [*q.v.*] pursued this local ruler into Zābulistān (third quarter of the 8th century), and it was only the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] who in 256/870 penetrated through Zābulistān to Ghazna and Gardīz as far as Kābul (see C.E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 82-3, 120; idem, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542-3)*, Costa Mesa and New York 1994, 99-103).

Marquart devoted a detailed and complex study to the region, its rulers and its religious cult, approximating its name to the Buddhist pilgrim Hüan Tsang's *Tsau-kiu-č'a* (see *Bibl.*). The region was probably Islamised in the course of the 4th/10th century. Whether there was any connection between the older Zunbīls and the local family, the *Lawīks, who controlled Ghazna in the mid-century just before Alptigin [*q.v.*] and others of the Sāmānids' Turkish slave commanders took over there (cf. Bosworth, *Notes on the pre-Ghaznavid history of eastern Afghanistan*, in *IQ*, ix [1965], 16 ff.), is unknown. Sebüktigin's son Maḥmūd of Ghazna [see MAḤMŪD B. SEBÜKTIGIN] married a wife from a family of chiefs in Zābulistān, and is accordingly sometimes referred to as Maḥmūd-i Zāwulī. From the 5th/11th century onwards, the name fades from usage, but Zābul has been revived since the 1964 administrative reform in Afghānistān for the name of a modern province (see above).

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ZABŪR (A.), a term found in pre-Islamic poetry referring to a written text, and in the Ḳur'ān referring to divine scripture, in some contexts specifically to a scripture of David [see DĀWŪD], probably the Psalms.

The Arabic root *z-b-r* is associated with "stone" (*ḥidjāra*), and verbal forms from it convey such meanings as stoning, lining a well with stones or setting stones in walls according to an overlapping pattern (an unrelated word is *zubra*, said to designate a piece of iron). A further range of meanings associated with the root conveys the sense of reciting or writing a text. Here perhaps a dialect variation renders either *zabartu 'l-kitāb* or *dhabartu 'l-kitāb* as *ḳara'tuhu* "I recited/ read it". Western scholarship has tended to view the first range of meaning as the root's original sense and the second range a result of Biblical traditions. However, with the recent discovery of South Arabian cursive writing on palm ribs and wooden sticks it has become evident that *zabara* and *zabūr* refer to this particular way of writing; see W.W. Müller, *L'écriture* zabūr *du Yémen pré-islamique dans la tradition arabe*, in J. Ryckmans, Müller and Yusuf M. Abdallah, *Textes du Yémen antique inscrits sur bois*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1994, 35-9. This is reflected in Imru' al-Ḳays referring to the remains of an abandoned camp *ka-khaṭṭi zabūrin fī 'asībiyyin yamānī* "like the lines of a text written on Yemeni palm branches" and, in another context, *ka-khaṭṭi zabūrin fī maṣāḥifi ruhbāni* "like the lines of a text in the books of monks".

Western scholars have tended to understand *zabūr* as related to Hebrew *mizmōr*, with support from Arab grammarians who say that *fa'ūl* may have a passive meaning, the equivalent of *maf'ūl*. The root meaning of Hebrew *z-m-r* is "to make music", with the noun form *mizmōr* found in the Hebrew Bible for a poetic hymn or psalm in praise of God, and with cognates in Syriac *mazmōrā* and Ethiopic *mazmūr*. One may also note the similarity between *zabūr* and Biblical Hebrew *zāmīr* "song". The exchange of *b* with *m* may, however, be considered problematical. It is also possible that the Hebrew/Aramaic/Syriac *dibbūr, dibbūrā/d'vīrā*, meaning "speech" or "utterance" and often referring to revelation, represents a Semitic parallel. It may have influenced the meaning of the Arabic *zabara/ dhabara* as referring to a written text in pre-Islamic Arabia, thereby conveying the meaning of sacred or revealed text, although this becomes less likely now that we know that *z-b-r* refers to South Arabia (see above). Pre-Ḳur'ānic rabbinic Hebrew *dibbūr* does refer to revelation (Gen. Rab. 44:6, Lev. Rabb. 1:4, Song Rabb. 1:2:2, Yeb. 5b, San. 99b), and even revelation to gentile prophets (Gen. Rab. 74:7). The poetic and linguistic evidence therefore suggest that *zabūr* referred to text and perhaps even sacred text among some pre-Islamic Arabian communities, whether Jewish, Christian, or practitioners of indigenous Arabian religious traditions. By the time of the Ḳur'ānic revelations, the term was already known to refer to, among other things, a written text of scripture.

The root *z-b-r* occurs in the Ḳur'ān thirteen times. In some contexts it occurs as a plural, *zubur*, in parallel with *bayyināt* ("proofs" III, 184, XVI, 43, XXXV, 25), *al-kitāb al-munīr* ("enlightening scripture" III, 184, XXXV, 25), *dhikr* ("the reminder" XVI, 43), and *tanzīl* ("revelation" or "bringing down" XXVI, 192-6), thereby referring in general to revealed books. The reference to *zubur* in XXIII, 53 seems to denote different scriptures over which certain groups are divided and which contrasts with the undivided community of Islam (*umma wāḥida*) religiously obedient to God. In sūra LIV, al-Ḳamar, the plural *zubur* refers to heavenly books in which are recorded human deeds (vv. 43, 52-3), probably referring to a divine ledger in which human behaviour is recorded (*mustaṭar*) as a basis for final judgment (cf. vv. 48, 54). In contrast, XVIII, 96, refers to pieces of iron (*zubar al-ḥadīd*) by which Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn separates a people from the terror of Gog and Magog.

The singular *zabūr* occurs three times in the Ḳur'ān. Twice it refers specifically to a certain revelation given to David that is mentioned either within the context of prophethood in general (XVII, 54) or in a context referring to revelations given to Muḥammad and other prophets (IV, 163). In both places David is singled out as the recipient of a divinely given *zabūr* (*wa-ātaynā Dāwūda zabūran*). In XXI, 105, God is referred to as citing from what the context suggests is a recognised work: "We have written in the *zabūr* after the reminder (*min ba'd al-dhikr*) that My righteous servants shall inherit the earth (*anna 'l-arḍ yarithuhā 'ibādī al-ṣāliḥūn*)". This verse represents a close and rare linguistic parallel with the Hebrew Bible and, more pointedly, with Ps. xxxvii ascribed specifically to David (see vv. 9, 11, 29 which refer to the meek, the righteous or "those who wait upon the Lord" as they who shall inherit the earth (*yirshū 'āreṣ*); cf. K. Ahrens, *Christliches im Qoran*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxiv (1930), 29). It should be noted also in relation to Ḳur'ān, IV, 163, and XVII, 54, that the entire Biblical collection of Psalms is ascribed to David according to Jewish and Christian tradition.

Al-Ṭabarī collects the comments of early Ḳur'ānic exegetes in his *Tafsīr*, including definitions of terms such as *zabūr*, which vary depending on the verse. On XXI, 105, he records the meaning of *zubur* as "all the books of the prophets that God brought down to them" (Sa'īd b. Djubayr, Ibn Zayd), "the books revealed to the prophets after Moses" (Ibn 'Abbās, al-Ḍaḥḥāk), and "a specific book revealed to David" ('Āmir, al-Sha'bī). Al-Ṭabarī also defines the term in relation to its context. In his commentary on III, 184, it is a generic term for a book based on pre-Islamic poetic evidence. On IV, 163, he writes, "It is the name of the book that was revealed to David, just as He named the book that was revealed to Moses as the Torah and that which was revealed to Jesus as the Gospel and that which was revealed to Muḥammad as the Furḳān, because that is the name by which what was revealed to David was known. The Arabs say *zabūr Dāwūd*, and because of that the rest of the peoples know his book."

Apart from the question of the term *zabūr*, many passages in the Ḳur'ān that remind us of the Bible are reminiscent of the Psalms. It is likely that some form or forms of a Psalter circulated in pre-Islamic Arabia immediately prior to the rise of Islam. A fragment of a translation of the Psalms, dated on palaeographical grounds to the 2nd/8th century, the oldest known specimen of Christian-Arabic literature, was identified in Damascus by B. Violet. It contains an Arabic translation of Ps. lxxviii. 20-31, 51-61, in Greek majuscule writing. Al-Kindī, in his *Risāla* (composed *ca.* 204/819), and Ibn Ḳutayba, as cited in Ibn al-Djawzī's *Wafā'*, quote verses from the Psalms in literal translation. 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*] devotes a chapter of his "Book of Religion and Empire" (*ca.* 240/854) to the Psalms, and al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbīh*, 112) mentions Arabic translations of the Bible which include the Psalms. Recensions of the Arabic translation-commentary by Sa'd b. Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, i.e. Sa'adyā Gā'ōn (d. 330/942 [see SA'ADYĀ BEN YŌSĒF) of the Hebrew Bible, including the Psalms, exists to this day.

Bibliography: See also Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Beirut 1405/1984, iv, 198, vi, 27-8, xvii, 102-5; I. Goldziher, *Ueber muhammedanische Polemik gegen Ahl al-kitâb*, in *ZDMG*, xxxii (1878) (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii, 1-47), 351-2, 371, 377; T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, 698; B. Violet, *Ein zweisprachiges Psalmfragment aus Damaskus*, in *OLZ*, Berlin, iv (1901), 384-403, 425-41, 475-88; L. Cheikho, *Quelques légendes islamiques apocryphes*, in *MFOB*, iv (1910), 40 ff., 47 ff.; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1926, 69 ff.; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 148-9.

(J. Horovitz-[R. Firestone])

ZADJAL (a.), the name of a genre of vernacular strophic poetry that acquired literary status around 500/1100 in al-Andalus. It was cultivated by numerous Andalusian poets (the most famous being Ibn Ḳuzmān [*q.v.*]), later also spreading to the Maghrib and the Arabic-speaking East. Since the 7th/13th century its strophic structure is also encountered in the poetry of several Romance languages. In present-day Arabic the term *zadjal* may denote various types of dialect poems, even those with monorhyme. The non-technical meaning of *zadjal* is "a voice, sound or cry, or the uttering of the voice, etc.; a trilling, or quavering of the voice; or a prolonging of the voice, and modulating it sweetly, also a play, sport" (cf. Lane, *s.v.*). This etymology makes it probable that *zadjal* originally referred to sung poetry, songs (cf. also below, *The performance of the* zadjal).

1. In mediaeval Islam.

The language

The language of the Andalusian *zadjal* is only rarely the pure and regular Andalusian dialect. Since the poems were hardly ever really popular products, but mostly works of educated poets who, to be sure, endeavoured to speak like the people but also tried hard to bestow literary quality on their poems, and since the poets were accustomed to write in the Classical language, and were subject to the strictures of metre, rhyme, and length of line, one finds time and again influences and intrusions from the "higher register" of the Classical language and bastardisations in both directions (cf. F. Corriente, *Poesía dialectal*, 39). Some scholars go even further and speak of a "hybrid language drawn from both the spoken language and the literary" (T.J. Gorton, in *JAL*, ix [1978], 34; similarly A. Jones in *JSS*, xxvii [1982], 129, and Abu Haidar, *A study*). In the poems of al-Shushtarī (d. 668/1269 [*q.v.*]), consisting of *zadjals* as well as *muwashshahs* (sometimes difficult to distinguish), one encounters great linguistic multiformity. The gamut runs from poems entirely composed in Classical Arabic (mostly *muwashshahs*) via various intermediate stages (dialect poems with Classical "intrusions", e.g. nouns with *iʿrāb*, and, on the other side, high-register poems with dialectal insertions) down to *zadjals* composed entirely in Andalusian Arabic (cf. F. Corriente, *Poesía . . . aš-Šuštarī*, 19). In addition, one finds in al-Shushtarī also poems in Maghribī or Maghribī-influenced language; even poems in Eastern dialects, or approximations of such, and in mixtures of dialects seem to occur. The language of the older Eastern—Egyptian, Syrian, and ʿIrāḳī—*zadjdjālūn*, such as ʿAlī b. Muḳātil, al-Amshāṭī, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī *et al.* has not been much studied. Apparently these poets, whose models were Ibn Ḳuzmān and the other Andalusian *zadjdjālūn*, tried to imitate the Andalusian dialect in their *zadjals*, but did not have complete command of it (cf. the examples in al-Ḥillī, *ʿĀṭil*, 99 ff.; Ibn Ḥidjdja, 104 ff.; cf. Corriente, in *JAL*, xxviii [1997], 134-5).

Strophic structure

The basic form of the Andalusian *zadjal* ("*zadjal* proper") has the following rhyme scheme: *aa bbb a, ccc a, ddd a*, etc. If we call rhymes that change from stanza to stanza separate rhymes, and rhymes that keep re-occurring throughout the poem common rhymes, we may describe the present strophic structure as follows. The poem starts with two common rhyme lines (*maṭlaʿ*). The following first stanza consists of three lines with separate rhyme and one line with common rhyme (acting as "stanza closure"). The remaining stanzas all have the same rhyme scheme as the first. The rhyme of the last line in each stanza is thus the same throughout the poem and echos the rhyme of the initial *maṭlaʿ*. It is important to note that the rhyme scheme of the stanza closures (common rhyme lines) in the "*zadjal* proper" constitutes one-half of the rhyme scheme of the introductory lines (*maṭlaʿ*). This is true also for the less common variant with the rhyme scheme *abab ccc ab, ddd ab*, etc. *Zadjals* proper without *maṭlaʿ*, i.e. with the rhyme scheme *bbb a, ccc a*, etc., are rare in the early period; a few examples can, however, be found in the *Dīwān* of al-Shushtarī (e.g. nos. 40, 42). Ibn Ḳuzmān uses in the large majority of cases the structure of the *zadjal* proper (about two-thirds of the extant poems). The remaining poems have a different structure: The stanza closures here consist of at least two lines and always reflect exactly the introductory lines (if any), thus e.g. *aa bbb aa, ccc aa*, etc.; or *ab ccc ab, ddd ab*, etc.; or (without *maṭlaʿ*) *dedede abcb, fgfgfg abcb, hihihi abcb*, etc. Since this structure corresponds exactly to that of the *muwashshah* [*q.v.*]—some of the poems are known to be contrafacts (*muʿāraḍāt*) of famous *muwashshahs* (cf. Stern, 171 ff.)—and since these poems mostly also display the other peculiarity of the *muwashshah*, i.e. the *khardja*, they are called "*muwashshah*-like *zadjals*".

In length the *zadjals* vary greatly. While the *muwashshah*-like type, like the *muwashshah* itself, mostly consists of five or six (and occasionally up to eleven) stanzas, the *zadjal* proper may be much longer. The longest poem of Ibn Ḳuzmān is no. 9; it consists of 42 stanzas.

Terminology

Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, the most important theorist of the genre, calls *muzannam* those *zadjals* in which, contrary to rule, the Classical language (*iʿrāb*) is preponderant. To denote jocular or obscene *zadjals* he uses the term *bullayḳ*, those that contain lampoons he terms *ḳarkī*, and for those containing admonitions and wisdom he uses *mukaffir* (*ʿĀṭil*, 10). The terminology for the stanza and its parts is not uniform with the theorists. In al-Ḥillī, the entire stanza is called *bayt*, the introductory lines *maṭlaʿ*, and all the lines with common rhyme—not only those in the last stanza (!)—*khardja*. He applies the terms *ḳufl* and, more rarely, *ghuṣn* indifferently to single lines, irrespective of whether they have common or separate rhyme (cf. Hoenerbach, *ʿĀṭil*, German part, 20). The terminology of Ibn Saʿīd/Ibn Khaldūn is the clearest and most frequently used today; according to it, *bayt* = "stanza", *ḳufl* = "line with separate rhyme", and *simṭ* = "line with common rhyme" (cf. muwashshah).

The performance of the zadjal—zadjal *as poetry set to music*

We may assume as certain that the *zadjal* originally was sung; this assumption is suggested already by the etymology (cf. above). This, however, in no way means that a tune was composed right away to each *zadjal*. The poems of Ibn Ḳuzmān were in all

likelihood recited as a rule, and not sung. This is not true of the *zadjals* of al-Shushtarī; they were conceived as songs or at least imitate the structure of songs. In al-Shushtarī's *Dīwān*, one encounters numerous *zadjals* and *muwashshahs* in which the refrain line(s) are written out. This allows us to address the question of *zadjal* "performance". That the refrain line(s) were meant for a chorus can not only be deduced from internal evidence but is also attested in parallels in Hebrew poetry (cf. Stern, 16-17). In al-Shushtarī, there are *inter alia* poems with genuine refrain (e.g. nos. 14, 68, 84), and poems with so-called internal refrain (e.g. nos. 44-8, 50, 82, 83). The former are characterised in their basic form by the following scheme: *(aa) AA bbb a AA, ccc a AA, ddd a AA*, etc.; the latter, in contrast, have the following scheme: *a A bbb a A, ccc a A, ddd a A*, etc. (where A represents the refrain line in which the rhyme of the *matlaʿ*, i.e. the common rhyme, is taken up again). Thus, while in the first, the entire *matlaʿ* is repeated by the chorus as a refrain after each stanza (according to the Hebrew testimonies, the *matlaʿ*, too, sung first by the soloist will be repeated immediately by the chorus), in the second only the second line of the *matlaʿ* will be repeated by the chorus. Exact parallels to this performance technique exist not only in Hebrew-Andalusian poetry but also in the more or less contemporaneous Romance *zadjal* (thus in numerous *Cantigas de Santa María*).

Metrics and rhyme

The metrics of the Andalusian *zadjal*, like that of the *muwashshah*, were controversial for a long time. However, in recent years a consensus has to a large extent been reached among Arabists. Most agree that practically all *zadjal* (and *muwashshah*) metres can be scanned quantitatively, which means that the poets must have intended quantitative metres; they agree also that, apart from regular Khalīlian metres (*ramal, khafīf* and *basīt*), they also used numerous non-Khalīlian quantitative metres and feet ("extended, or expanded, Khalīlian system", according to Gorton, Jones and Latham). The question how occasional irregularities are to be explained is still controversial. While Corriente brings in his hypothesis of an "Andalusian accentual adaptation of *ʿarūḍ*" (cf. MUWASHSHAH), according to which e.g. unstressed long syllables may be counted as short, other scholars point to similar metrical licences that occasionally already occur in Classical Arabic poetry, especially in *radjaz* (cf. Ullmann, *Rağazpoesie*, 69 ff.), thus shortening (*idjtizāʾ*) and lengthening (*ishbāʿ*) of vowels (Gorton, in *JAL*, vi [1975], 24 ff.; Schoeler, in *BO*, xl [1983], 311-22; idem, in M. Forstner (ed.), *Festgabe für H.-R. Singer*, ii, 887-909). All sides also agree today that, in rare cases, one has to reckon with foot substitution (a procedure first noted by Corriente).

The rules for the rhyme in *zadjal* are stricter than they are in *kasīd*. The most important difference is that words with /ū/ or /ī/ before the rhyme consonant (*īK/ūK*) do not rhyme.

Themes

On the themes treated in Ibn Kuzmān's *zadjals*, see IBN KUZMĀN. However, a particular theme deserves to be pointed out here, one that is sometimes subsumed under the category of *madīh*, although the relevant poems differ greatly from the other praise poems. They are request or begging poems in which the poet, due to his impecuniousness and in a melancholy mood, requests a lamb from a sponsor for the *ʿĪd al-Adḥā* (nos. 8, 48, 82, 85, 118). Since the same theme is also treated in one of the extant *zadjals* of Ibn Kuzmān's predecessor Ibn Rāshid (cf. below), but never occurs in a *muwashshah* or a *kasīda*, one has to assume that this style belongs to the genre of *zadjal* in general. The original *zadjal* was possibly a popular or minstrel request song, introduced into élite literature by Ibn Rāshid and Ibn Kuzmān. In support of this one might adduce that also in the Romance *zadjal*, which is also originally a minstrel genre, request poems are typical (Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor*, stanzas 1650 ff., 1656 ff.; Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino, *El Cancionero de Baena*, nos. 196, 219). The *zadjals* (and *muwashshahs*) of al-Shushtarī, the other great *zadjdjāl* of whom a *Dīwān* is extant, are all of mystical content. It is again worth noting that the Romance *zadjal* was also adopted into the service of religion (*Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso el Sabio, Juan Ruiz, Villasandino; *Laude* of Jacopone da Todi).

The earliest poets

Some information on this point is provided by Ibn Kuzmān; further indications can be gleaned from the admittedly late and non-Andalusian poetics of the genre written by al-Hillī (*ʿĀtil*, 66) as well as in Ibn Saʿīd/Ibn Khaldūn (*Mukaddima*, iii, 404). Ibn Kuzmān names two predecessors: in the introduction to his extant *Dīwān*, 18-19, he refers to a certain (al-)Akhtal b. Numāra, from whom he quotes a few fragments. In the poems themselves he mentions Yakhlaf b. Rāshid (no. 134/10/2; no. 186/1/1). Ibn Rāshid appears to have been a slightly older contemporary of Ibn Kuzmān; two fragments of his have been preserved (*Mukaddima*, iii, 407; Stern, 185, 193 ff.). Al-Hillī, *ʿĀtil*, 16-17, answers the question as to the first *zadjdjāl* by giving a list of names in two groups. Among these only the already-mentioned Yakhlaf b. Rāshid can be considered a precursor of Ibn Kuzmān.

The genesis of the zadjal

About the genesis of the *zadjal* genre the indigenous tradition is much more reticent than about that of the *muwashshah*. The term *zadjal* for a popular poem or song is indeed attested early (in Ahmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's treatise on *hisba*, possibly from the first half of the 4th/10th century, and in the *K. ʿAbd al-Malik al-uskuf* from the middle of the 5th/11th century; cf. most recently J.T. Monroe, in *Oral Tradition*, iv [1989], 45 ff.). It is, however, very unlikely that the songs mentioned are *zadjals* in the later technical sense. A vernacular distich from the 4th/10th century has been identified as a kind of "proto-*zadjal*"; the lines rhyme according to the Arabic, not the Romance, system: *laban ummuh fī fummuh—rās ban Hafsūn fī hukmuh* (Ibn Hayyān, *Muktabas*, v, 64). This distich might probably be considered a parallel to the vernacular *khardjas* attested much later (cf. MUWASHSHAH) (thus Corriente, *Poesía dialectal*, 79-80).

The often-raised question concerning the derivation of the strophic structure and the rhyme scheme of the genuine *zadjal* (*aa bbb a, ccc a*, etc.) can be answered today with certainty: this structure has been taken from the *musammat* [*q.v.*]. A special form of the *musammat*, attested in the East at the latest since the 4th/10th century, displays this very structure. So far, three specimens of this type have become known: (Ps.?-)Hammād al-Rāwiya, in *Aghānī*, v, 27-8; Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, ed. Wagner, iii, 332-3 (no. 287 in the recension of Hamza al-Isfahānī); and (Ps.-)Imruʾ al-Kays, in Ibn Rashīk, *ʿUmda*, i, 179; to these should be added a Persian imitation by Amīr Muʿizzī (d. *ca.* 520/1126) (*Dīwān*, 597 ff.; for these *musammats*, see Schoeler, in *AS*, li [1997], 618 ff.). Three of these poems can be read either as a *musammat* or as a *kasīda* with regularly applied internal rhyme. This is impossible with the *musammat* of (Ps.-)Imruʾ al-Kays, since here all

lines have the same length; this poem thus exactly follows the structure of the *zadjal* in every respect.

Since Judaeo-Spanish poets (e.g. Ibn Gabirol) use this rhyme scheme already in the 5th/11th century in Hebrew liturgical poems (cf. Monroe, *op. cit.*, 44), this might be considered evidence that Arabic *zadjals* (in the technical sense) already existed at the time, to be imitated by the Hebrew poets. (The hypothetical Arabic models may have been popular or minstrel songs that had not yet ascended to élite literature.) However, this assumption is far from certain: the Hebrew poets may also have used as their models Arabic *musammats* of the above-mentioned structure. The derivation of the structure of the *muwashshah*-like *zadjal* poses no difficulties: it is simply an imitation of the *muwashshah* in the vernacular.

The trend to compose poetry in the colloquial soon also affected the *kaṣīd*: Mudghalīs (or Madghalīs), a younger contemporary of Ibn Kuzmān, composed so-called *kaṣā'id zadjaliyya*, of which numerous examples have been preserved (ed. W. Hoenerbach and H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, v [1952], 269-30). Summing up, the following can be said about the genesis of the *zadjal*: (1) Lines of poetry in the vernacular are attested in al-Andalus already in the 4th/10th century. (2) At a certain point in time (most likely in the 5th/11th century) this poetry, under the influence of a specific type of *musammat*, acquired the rhyme structure *aa bbb a, ccc a*, etc. (3) Finally, probably shortly before the time of Ibn Kuzmān (around 500/*ca.* 1100), poems of this type attained to literary status. Deriving the *zadjal* from hypothetical Romance models, as most recently tried again by Monroe (*op. cit.*), is speculative and seems to overlook the existing Arabic models.

Spread of the zadjal

Born in al-Andalus, the *zadjal* soon spread to the East. Outside Spain *zadjals* are first encountered in the Maghrib (cf. Stern, 200 ff.). There the genre was cultivated down to the middle of the 10th/16th century in the Andalusian vernacular, which had become the "classical" language of the *zadjal*. (The *malḥūn* [*q.v.*], written in the Maghribī dialect since the 10th/16th century, although also called *zadjal* and *kaṣīda zadjaliyya*, is entirely different from the "classical" *zadjal*.) In the first half of the 8th/14th century, imitations of literary *zadjals* in the manner of Ibn Kuzmān became very popular with court poets in the Mamlūk and Mongol spheres of influence, i.e. Egypt, Syria, and ʿIrāk (cf. W. Hoenerbach, in *Homenaje a Millás Vallicrosa*, i, Barcelona 1954, 725). In the 11th/17th century at the latest, minstrel *zadjals* in Egyptian, or would-be Egyptian, vernacular are attested in the written record (on these cf. Schoeler, in *Festgabe für H.R. Singer*, ii 902 ff., and M. Voegeli, *Manṣūbāt Ṣafā l-ʿAiš*, Lizentiatsarbeit, Basel 1994 unpubl.). Starting in the 19th century, scholars, initially all European, have collected and published folksongs from the Near East; these are called *zadjal*, especially in Lebanon (the terminology is, however, confused), and they often, but not always, display an identical or similar structure to that of its Andalusian counterpart (cf. Jargy, *La poésie*, with bibl., 321 ff.).

From the 13th century onwards, several Romance literatures have produced poems that have the exact same structure of the *zadjal* (in Galician: the majority of the *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso X [1221-84]; in Castilian: *estribotes* and *villancicos*, some poems in the *Libro de Buen Amor* of Juan Ruiz [1283-1351]; in Provençal: *dansas* and *baladas*; in French: *virelais* and *ballades*; and in Italian: *ballate, frottole, laude* of Jacopone da Todi [1236-1306]). Since one has here complete identity of the forms (predominantly poems of the rhyme structure *aa bbb a, ccc a*, etc., thus "*zadjals* proper"), and since in the performance there is evidence also for identical ways of presentation (use of the introductory lines as refrains—thus in many *Cantigas* of Alfonso X—as well as internal refrain), an assumption of a direct dependence of the Romance "*zadjal*" on the Arabic would seem difficult to counter (cf. Schoeler, *Muwaššah und Zağal*, 456-8).

Collections of Andalusian zadjals *and works on poetics*

The only two extant *dīwāns* are the *Iṣābat al-aghrāḍ fī dhikr al-aʿrāḍ* of Ibn Kuzmān (presumably only a selection from his poems, and even that not complete in the only extant manuscript) and the *Dīwān* of al-Shushtarī. The first and most important poetics of the *zadjal* (and other vernacular genres) is the *K. al-ʿĀṭil* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 749/1348 [*q.v.*]). The work contains numerous poems, from the Andalusian "classics" (among them poems by Ibn Kuzmān not contained in the *Iṣāba*) as well as from the author himself and other Eastern poets. Strongly dependent on this work is the *Bulūgh al-amal fī fann al-zadjal* by Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434). In contrast, the anonymous author of *Dafʿ al-shakk wa 'l-mayn fī taḥrīr al-fannayn* (9th/15th century) develops his own ideas. The *Safīna* of ʿAlī b. Mubārakshāh is also an important source for otherwise lost *zadjals*, even for some by Ibn Kuzmān (cf. Hoenerbach, in al-Ḥillī, *ʿĀṭil*, German part, 8 ff.).

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(G. Schoeler)

2. In modern times.

Zadjal is used nowadays as a term for a poem in vernacular Arabic, often one meant to be sung, or sung directly when improvised. The term is also used for vernacular poetry in general. The *zadjal* poet is called *zadjdjāl* as well as—in the context of improvisation—*kawwāl* [see shāʿir. 1. E].

In a restricted sense, *zadjal* may refer specifically to a non-classical strophic poem of the *murabbaʿ* type [see musammat], with four-line stanzas and an optional prelude (*maṭlaʿ* or *lāzima*), rhyming *aa bbba ccca*... (thus corresponding with the prevalent form of its Andalusian namesake, see above under 1.), or some other related pattern. In informal parlance, the term may include altogether different types of poems.

In its broadest sense, *zadjal* covers a wide range of subjects and a great variety of forms with a correspondingly large arsenal of technical terms not always clearly defined in the literature. Sometimes it comes close to being the equivalent of the general expressions *shiʿr ʿāmmī* ("colloquial poetry"), *shiʿr shaʿbī* (literally "popular", but often synonymous with "non-classical poetry") and *shiʿr ghayr muʿrab* ("poetry without *iʿrāb*", i.e. with non-classical grammar), and of such regional expressions as *malḥūn* [*q.v.*] (used in Morocco, Algeria, Yemen), *shiʿr kawmī* (Sudan, Lebanon), *ḥumaynī* (Yemen), and *shiʿr nabaṭī* [*q.v.*] (Arabia). But *zadjal* does not seem to embrace all vernacular poetry: it does not refer, as *shiʿr shaʿbī* may, to the truly popular poetry of folk literature. *Zadjal* may be couched in the "popular" language, but it is often practised by the educated and enjoyed by them as much as by the illiterate. For their part, the members of the modern Egyptian school of colloquial poetry, for whom the term *zadjal* has become associated with a traditionalism that is out of touch with modern ideas, stress the fact that they write poems rather than unsophisticated *zadjals*.

Elsewhere, no such negative associations are involved, as when al-Djirārī (50-61) argues for the adoption of the term *zadjal*—rather than *malḥūn* or ten other names—as the appropriate designation for any poem in Moroccan Arabic, or in Lebanon where *zadjal* features at festivals with poetic duelling between *zadjal* poets and their accompanying troupes (*djawkāt*, sg. *djawka*) and enjoys a huge popularity with wide sections of the public (Haydar, 202-10) as well as with the government (cf. the conference that it sponsored where a resolution was passed calling for the teaching of colloquial poetry in schools and universities: *al-Muʾtamar al-awwal li 'l-shiʿr al-ʿāmmī al-lubnānī 1995*, [Beirut] 1995-6, 202). The media, for their part, focus regularly on the *zadjal* (e.g. six pages on "500 years of colloquial poetry" in *al-Nahār* newspaper of 6 March 1999).

Lecerf (234-5), writing in 1932, divides the Lebanese forms of *zadjal* into the sung genres of *mawwāl* [see mawāliyā], *ʿatāba* [*q.v.*], *midjānā*, *dalʿōna* and *shurūkī* (*ab ab ab ab*); and the recited genres of *kaṣīd* (*ab ab ab ab*), *maṭlaʿ* or *muʿannā* (predominant type *aaba bbba ccca*), *karrādī* (heptasyllabic) and *djannāz*. He notes a preference for *shurūkī* and *kaṣīd* in Djabal ʿĀmil as against *muʿannā* and *karrādī* in the Lebanese mountains (221). The subject matter of Lebanese *zadjal* is varied: the topics of Khalīl's thematic anthology are nature, beauty, love, songs, customs, wisdom, the fatherland, society, and politics.

The related Palestinian improvised poetry (*shiʿr murtadjal* [see irtidjāl]) is divided by Sbait (214) into the genres of *ʿatāba*, *ḥidā*, *farʿāwī*, *mḥōraba*, *mʿannā*, *karrādī* and *kaṣīda*.

In common with the vernacular poetry of other regions, ʿIrāḳī poetry has forms that show many characteristics of Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian *zadjal*, but which are not normally designated as such. *Zadjal* is said to be extinct in ʿIrāḳ (Mādjid Shubbar, *al-Adab al-shaʿbī al-ʿirāḳī*, London 1995, 164-5), but it may be noted that the ʿIrāḳī poet ʿAbbūd al-Karkhī (1861-1946) is referred to as a *zadjal* poet (*shāʿir zadjalī*) in the introduction to the second edition of vol. i of his *Dīwān al-Karkhī* (Baghdād 1956).

As a literary form between the "high" *fuṣḥā* literature in standard Arabic and the literature in the colloquial, *zadjal* employs an intermediate language with characteristics originating from both. The metre appears to be quantitative and akin to those of the classical Arabic system [see ʿarūḍ], but extended with non-classical patterns and rules. According to D. Semah (*Modern Arabic zajal*, 82-3), "No evidence has ever been given to support the often-repeated claim that Arabic *zajal* is not composed according to the quantitative Khalilian metres, but is cast in syllabic metres, in which rhythmic regularity depends only on an equal number of syllables, irrespective of their length", but he qualifies this statement by adding that, with its seven syllables of random quantity, the Lebanese *karrādī* is an exception. Nor does he include the prosody of Maghribī vernacular poetry where the issue appears to be not so clear-cut [see malḥūn].

In 19th-century Egypt, *zadjal* widened its scope; it had entertained the élite as a literary pastime, and, in the case of the religious *zadjal*, expressed the devotion of pious Ṣūfīs, but it subsequently found a new function in the broader socio-political context of populist patriotism, especially in the wake of the ʿUrābī [*q.v.*] revolt. This development was furthered by the growing importance of the press and the rise of many specialised satirical magazines such as those under the editorship of Yaʿḳūb Ṣannūʿ (1839-1912 [see abū naḍḍāra]) and ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm (1845-96 [*q.v.*]). For his part, Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl (1828-98 [*q.v.*]) not only wrote *zadjals* but translated Western drama and other literary forms into vernacular poetry, thereby heralding the heightened literary status that the spoken idiom was to gain in a later era.

In the 20th century, *zadjal* continued to be a voice for political and social criticism. Satirical periodicals were launched by *zadjdjāls* such as Bayram al-Tūnisī (1893-1961 [*q.v.*]), Ḥusayn Shafīḳ al-Miṣrī (1882-1948), Maḥmūd Ramzī Naẓīm (1887-1959) and Badīʿ Khayrī in Egypt, and ʿAbbūd al-Karkhī in ʿIrāḳ. In the same

period, the Lebanese poet Rashīd Nakhla (1873-1939), who in 1932 received the title of *amīr al-zadjal*, is said to have combined a political career with the writing of 18,000 lines in vernacular Arabic, mostly in the sphere of traditional love poetry but with a new vitality that contributed, as did the poetry of al-Tūnisī and al-Karkhī in their countries, to the rise of the new trends in vernacular poetry. The transition to this new stage is particularly visible in the work of Mīshāl Ṭrād (1912-98) in Lebanon, Fu'ād Ḥaddād (1927-85) and Ṣalāḥ Djāhīn (1930-86) in Egypt, and Muẓaffar al-Nawwāb (b. 1934 in ʿIrāḳ). Their poetry moves from local to universal issues, from the concerns of the collectivity to those of the individual, from traditional forms towards a colloquial "free verse" or *shiʿr ḥurr* [see SHIʿR], and is couched in a new language with sophisticated imagery. There is a notable shift, for instance, from Djāhīn's early nationalistic *zadjals* to his volumes *Rubāʿiyyāt* ("Quatrains") and *Ḳaṣāḳīṣ waraḳ* ("Confetti"). This trend is continued by Sayyid Ḥidjāb in his *Ṣayyād wi-djinniyya* and is present in the work of a poet like ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Abnūdī (b. 1938). There is now a growing awareness with a wider public that the vernacular is as suitable a vehicle for the highest literary creation as any other language, as long as it is used poetically. It has even been suggested that the new colloquial poetry stands some chance of becoming the true successor of an obsolete and exhausted traditional *fuṣḥā* poetry (Semah, *op. cit.*, 91).

The appreciation of modern *fuṣḥā* and modern colloquial verse as equal partners had already surfaced with Luwīs ʿAwaḍ (1914-90) in his *Plutoland* (*Pulūtūlānd wa-ḳaṣā'id ukhrā*, Cairo 1947), and in the work of Saʿīd ʿAḳl (b. 1912) who, by using his adapted Latin script for the vernacular poems in his collection *Yāra* (1961), has distanced himself from tradition more than anyone before him.

The new perception of the role of the vernacular has not, however, put an end to the more traditional Egyptian *zadjal*, for the cultivation of which organisations such as the *Rābiṭat al-zadjdjālīn*, founded in Cairo in 1932 by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Abū Buthayna (1905-80), and the *Djamʿiyyat udabā' al-shaʿb* of Alexandria have continued to provide a framework with conferences and collective publications, notably of a nationalistic strain. The Egyptian crossing of the Suez canal into occupied Sinai in 1973, for example, produced a collection of seventy poems and *zadjals* under the title *Malḥamat al-ʿubūr* "the epic crossing" (ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Shalabī, Cairo 1975).

Political and social events all over the Arab world have sparked off the writing of *zadjals* throughout the modern period, written to a limited degree by workers (their short-lived poetic-social movement is discussed by Beinin), but more often by leftist intellectuals. The most popular and explicitly political representative in the second half of 20th-century Egypt is Aḥmad Fu'ād Nadjm (conventionally: Nigm) (b. 1929), who became famous for his partnership with the blind singer al-Shaykh Imām (1918-95). His poems are an indictment of the policies of the Nasser and Sādāt régimes.

Zadjal has a long-standing relationship with the popular song and the operetta (*masraḥ ghinā'ī*), with famous poets writing for famous singers: Badīʿ Khayrī for Sayyid Darwīsh (1892-1923), Aḥmad Rāmī (1892-1981) and Bayram al-Tūnisī for Umm Kulthūm [*q.v.*], and the Raḥbānī brothers and Saʿīd ʿAḳl for Fayrūz (b. 1936).

Zadjal has also provided all sorts of humoristic entertainment (early examples in F. Kern, *Neuere ägyptische Humoristen und Satiriker*, in *MSOS As.*, ix [1906], 47-9); special forms are the *fazzūra* or riddle (a favourite item during Ramaḍān) and *al-shiʿr al-halamantīshī*, burlesque poems in a mixture of standard and vernacular Arabic parodying famous classical examples (W. Stoetzer, *Classical poetry parodied: the case of Ḥusayn Shafīq al-Miṣrī (1882-1948)*, in *The Arabist* (Budapest Studies in Arabic), xv-xvi [1995], 229-38).

See also MALḤŪN, NABAṬĪ and the passage on "Writing dialects; dialectal literature" in AL-SHĀM, 3., at Vol. IX, 280.

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AL-**ZADJDJĀDJ**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. AL-SARĪ, Arabic grammarian who worked most of his life in Baghdād; he was born *ca.* 230/844 and died in 311/923. He was the main teacher of al-Zadjdjādjī [*q.v.*], who took his *nisba* from him. Among his other pupils are al-Fārisī, Ibn Wallād and al-Rummānī [*q.vv.*]. Al-Zadjdjādj himself had learnt grammar from both Thaʿlab and al-Mubarrad [*q.vv.*], combining in his own teachings what he had learnt from these representatives of both the Baṣran and the Kūfan schools. He may be regarded as the link between the old generations

of Kūfan and Baṣran grammarians and the new grammar that was developed in Baghdād in the 4th/10th century under the influence of Greek logic.

Among his writings are a number of lexicographical treatises (e.g. his treatises on the *khalk al-insān* and his book on the differences between *faʿaltu* and *afʿaltu*), and an important treatise on diptote and triptote nouns (*K. mā yanṣarif wa-mā lā yanṣarif*, ed. by H.M. Ḳarāʿa, Cairo 1971), which was the first to present a comprehensive theory of the phenomenon of incomplete declinability. His main work dealt with Ḳurʾānic philology, the *Maʿānī 'l-Ḳurʾān* (preserved in several manuscripts; the edition by I. al-Abyārī, 3 vols., Beirut 1986 of a work *Iʿrab al-Ḳurʾān* attributed to al-Zadjdjādj probably contains another, later book; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 100, and al-Abyārī's conclusions in his edition, iii, 1095-1100).

Al-Zadjdjādj remained an authority in the history of the Arabic grammatical tradition. His opinions are quoted for instance frequently by al-Rāzī in his Ḳurʾān commentary (more than 500 times, cf. Lagarde's index *s.v.*, Leiden 1996, 82-3); rather surprisingly, his favourite pupil al-Zadjdjādjī does mention him as his teacher, but when he quotes his opinion on complete and incomplete declinability from the *K. mā yanṣarif wa-mā lā yanṣarif* he does so without mentioning his name (cf. Versteegh, 1995, 164, 172, 174).

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AL-**ZADJDJĀDJĪ**, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN b. Isḥāḳ, famed Arabic grammarian. He was born in Nihāwand in western Persia in the second half of the 3rd century A.H. (i.e. around 860-70), received his training as a grammarian in Baghdād, and was active in Damascus and Aleppo. He probably died in Ṭabariyya (Tiberias), either in 337/948 or 339-40/949-50. Almost nothing is known about his life except for a few anecdotes. It is clear from his grammatical writings that he was a Muʿtazilī (he mentions with approval such typically Muʿtazilī tenets as *al-kalām fi 'l al-mutakallim* and the non-identity of *ism* and *musammā*; cf. Versteegh, 1995, 36 n. 20, 37 n. 21) and there is one report that mentions his Shīʿī leanings (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xv, 476 ll. 7-8).

Al-Zadjdjādjī's teachers are well known, since he himself gives a list of them in his *Īḍāḥ* (78-9); among them are not only grammarians belonging to the Baṣran school such as al-Zadjdjādj, al-Akhfash al-Ṣaghīr, and Ibn al-Sarrādj, but also those belonging to the Kūfan school, such as Ibn Kaysān, Ibn Shuḳayr and Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī [*q.vv.*]. As a matter of fact, al-Zadjdjādjī is proud to present himself as an intermediator between the two schools of grammar, stating that he reformulated the arguments of the Kūfan grammarians in Baṣran terms. His main teacher was al-Zadjdjādj [*q.v.*], from whom he received his *nisba* because of his long association with him. Among his own students are a few grammarians known as such from other sources (e.g. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Salama Ibn Sarrām, cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, i, 357, and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṣiḳillī, cf. *ibid.*, i, 515).

Al-Zadjdjādjī's chief fame rests on his *K. al-Djumal* "Book of summaries" (rather than "sentences", the usual meaning of this term in grammar), a didactic introduction to Arabic grammar (ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Paris 1957) of the kind that became popular in the 3rd-4th centuries; similar books were written by Ibn al-Sarrādj, al-Fārisī and Ibn Djinnī. In the *K. al-Djumal*, he simply lists the rules of Arabic grammar without going into explanations or controversies. This book became one of the most popular textbooks in the Arab world, especially in North Africa, where at one time more than 120 commentaries were current (Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 357); 49 commentaries are preserved in manuscripts, some of which have been published, among them those of al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 521/1127), ed. H.ʿA. al-Nashratī, al-Riyāḍ 1979, and Ibn ʿUṣfūr (d. 669/1270), ed. S.Dj. Abū Djanāḥ, 2 vols., Baghdād 1980-2 (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 89-94).

More interesting from a theoretical point of view is his *K. al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿilal al-naḥw* "Book of the explanation of grammatical causes" (ed. M. al-Mubārak, Cairo 1959), which deals with the *ʿilal* "causes" [see ʿILLA] of the discipline of linguistics. The term *ʿilla* in the title is essential for the understanding of al-Zadjdjādjī's theoretical principles, and at the same time difficult to understand. In the fifth chapter (*Īḍāḥ*, 64-6) he states that there are three kinds of linguistic causes: the *ʿilal taʿlīmiyya*, the *ʿilal ḳiyāsiyya* and the *ʿilal naẓariyya wa-djadaliyya*. These represent the levels of explanation grammarians provide for linguistic phenomena: the first category are the simple rules (such as those presented in the *K. al-Djumal*), and the second category the explanations of these rules in terms of resemblance and relative force of linguistic elements, but the third category contains extra-linguistic or logical explanations that justify the explanations of the second level. Al-Zadjdjādjī claimed that he was the first to write such a book; this assertion may be exaggerated, but nevertheless, his distinction of epistemological levels in linguistic explanations must be regarded as a unique contribution to the Arabic tradition, even though there are connections with other texts, e.g. al-Sīrāfī's commentary on the *Kitāb Sībawayhi*. Unlike the *K. al-Djumal* and perhaps because of its uniqueness, the *Īḍāḥ* does not seem to have had much impact on Arabic grammatical literature. There is only one manuscript and the book is rarely cited by later grammarians, although there are lengthy quotations in later compilations such as al-Suyūṭī's *Muzhir*.

Among the other books that have been preserved from his writings are a treatise on particles containing an *l* (*K. al-Lāmāt*, ed. M. al-Mubārak, Damascus 1969), a book on the functions of particles (*K. Maʿānī 'l-ḥurūf*, ed. Farhūd, 1982), a treatise on the etymology of the names of God (*K. Ishtiḳāḳ asmāʾ Allāh*, ed. al-Daḳḳāḳ, Damascus 1975), as well as several collections of notes and comments, the most important of which is the *K. al-Madjālis*, one of the most important sources on debates between grammarians (ed. ʿA.M. Hārūn, Kuwait 1962). Other books are mentioned by title in the sources, but have not been preserved in manuscript form, e.g. his *Risāla*, a commentary on the introductory chapters of the *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, which he himself mentions in the *Īḍāḥ* (41; cf. Versteegh, 1995, 32 n. 8). For a complete list see Sezgin (*GAS*, ix, 88-95) and Versteegh (1995, 3-6).

It is not easy to assess al-Zadjdjādjī's value and impact: as *ṣāḥib al-Djumal*, he was celebrated, but the original ideas in his *Īḍāḥ* are largely forgotten. This means that his special blend of grammar on a logically epistemological basis never caught on. In fact, later grammarians were more concerned with the

semantics and pragmatics of the Arabic language—apart from the traditional preoccupation with morphological and syntactic analysis—so that they had no time for the methodological points which al-Zadjdjādjī attempted to make. This applies in particular to such typical topics treated by him as the relative priority of noun, verb, and particle, or the explanation of the fact that the verb does not have a genitive, and that the noun does not have a jussive. Even with regard to the definition of the parts of speech, later grammarians tended to mention just a few definitions, whereas he analyses them in detail (*Īḍāḥ*, 48-55).

In general, what is characteristic of his work as a grammarian is his relentless quest for the "cause" or explanation of linguistic phenomena. Mention should also be made of his special style, a personal approach to polemics that is absent from most other grammarians. A comparison between al-Sīrāfī's and his own treatment of the same problem (that of the status of the weak consonants in the declension of the dual and the plural, cf. *Īḍāḥ*, 121-9, with al-Sīrāfī, *Sharḥ*, i, 214-23; cf. Versteegh, 1995, 224-5) makes clear that there is a large difference in style: al-Sīrāfī's presentation is dry and concise, whereas al-Zadjdjādjī makes an attempt to present the discussion as an actual debate.

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(C.H.M. VERSTEEGH)

ZADJR [see ʿIYĀFA].

ẒAFĀR, i.e. Ẓafārʾ, the name of the ancient capital of the South Arabian kingdom of Ḥimyar. The present small village of the same name on the ruins of the ancient town is located approximately 8 km/5 miles to the south of the town of Yarīm; the geographical co-ordinates of Ẓafār are lat. 14° 13' N. and long. 44° 24' E.

The identity of the site has been known in Yemen since Antiquity and is confirmed by Late Sabaic inscriptions found at this place. The site of Ẓafār is located at the foot of a hilltop with the ruins of an ancient castle, and remains of foundations and walls can be found at some points. Many fragmentary architectural elements, inscriptions and sculptures as well as items decorated with geometric designs, plant motifs, animal motifs, and various other motifs, like griffons, sphinxes, mythical creatures and signs of the zodiac, bear testimony to a strong influence of orientalised Hellenism in the 4th and 5th centuries. Ẓafār was already in existence in the middle of the 1st century A.D. Pliny (*Natural History*, vi, 104) mentions in the inland of Arabia Felix a town called Sapphar, which is the residence of the king, and the unknown author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (§ 22) writes that nine days' further inland from the Red Sea is Saphar, the capital, residence of Charibael, the legitimate king of the two nations, namely, of the Homerite and of the Sabaean; also Ptolemy (*Geography*, vi, 7, 41) calls Sapphar a metropolis. The earliest inscriptional evidence of Ẓafār occurs in the title "king of Sabaʾ and Dhū-Raydān", since the name Raydān in this title is that of the castle on the hill above the town of Ẓafār which is still known locally by the name of Raydān and which was the seat of the Himyarite kings. The town of Ẓafār is explicitly mentioned in a dozen Sabaic inscriptions, mainly in votive texts from the temple Awām in the oasis of Mārib [*q.v.*]. According to an inscription (Jamme 631) from the time of king Shaʿirum Awtar in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D., the town had to be defended from an Abyssinian army which had marched to Ẓafār. The text Iryānī 14 from *ca.* 270 reports that the two kings Yāsirum Yuhanʿim and his son Shammar Yuharʿish went from the castle of Raydān in the town of Ẓafār to the palace of Salḥīn [*q.v.*] in the town of Mārib, and from the inscription Iryānī 32 we learn that *ca.* 315, after a successful campaign against Ḥadramawt, the Himyarite army returned with rich booty into the town of Ẓafār.

Ca. 342 the Byzantine emperor Constantius II sent ambassadors under the leadership of a certain Theophilus to the ruler of the Himyarites, and as a result of the mission three churches were built, one of them in the capital Tapharon (Philostorgius, *Ecclesiastical history*, iii, 4). The first testimonies to Himyarite monotheism are to be found in two inscriptions from Ẓafār (Glaser 389 and Bayt al-Ashwal 2) dated to 378, in which king Malikkarib Yuhaʾmin and two of his sons record the building of the palaces Shawḥaṭān and Kallānum in their capital "through the power of their Lord, the Lord of Heaven". Ẓafār's further embellishment is documented by an inscription (Ẓafār Museum 1), which says that king Shuraḥbiʾil Yaʿfur erected a magnificent palace named Hargab in the capital in 457. The Abyssinian presence and influence are to be seen in an inscription (Ẓafār Museum 579) dated to 504, according to which the dedicators, whose names are clearly Ethiopian, refer to themselves as envoys and claim to have built a house in Ẓafār. When King Yūsuf Asʾar Yathʾar, who professed the Jewish faith, came to power, he launched military operations against the Abyssinians in Southern Arabia along with their allies the Christians. According to the testimony of the Sabaic rock-inscriptions Ryckmans 508, Jamme 1028 and Ryckmans 507, in 518 the Himyarite king killed the Abyssinians in Ẓafār, three hundred in number, and burnt the church there. An account of the persecution of the Abyssinians and Christians and of the burning of the church in the town of Ẓafār (*ṭpr, ṭypr*) and the massacre of all who

were in it, is also found in two Syriac hagiographic works (*The Book of the Himyarites*, ed. A. Moberg, Lund 1924, 7; the letter contained in *The Martyrs of Najrân, new documents*, ed. I. Shahîd, Brussels 1971, II A). The martyrdom of the Himyarite Christians prompted a military intervention and an invasion of an Abyssinian army under the Christian king Caleb Ella Aṣbeḥā, who conquered Yemen in 525. A vivid report on the capture of the royal city of Taphar by the Abyssinians is given in the *Acts* of Saint Arethas and his companions (chs. 35-7). The *Vita* of Gregentius (ch. 63), who later was installed as bishop in Ẓafār, lists three churches built by Caleb in Tephar. With the fall of the Himyarite kingdom, however, Ẓafār lost its imperial status, power and influence, and went into an irrevocable decline; it was already in mediaeval times a ruined site and became the small village it is still today.

The most detailed description of the ancient site of Ẓafār is given by the 4th/10th-century scholar al-Hamdānī [*q.v.*] in the eighth volume of his *Iklīl*, which deals with the antiquities of Yemen (*Iklīl*, viii, ed. M. al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥiwālī, Damascus 1979, 65-74). He says that, in addition to Raydān, which was the royal palace, there were two other castles in Ẓafār, named S̲h̲awḥaṭān and Kawkabān. The town had nine gates which are all enumerated by name. At these gates stood attendants (*awhāz*) who served as guards and without whose permission no-one was allowed to enter the town. Attached to the gate were bells (*maʿāhira*) which could be heard from a distance whenever the gate was opened or closed. Many verses of various poets are quoted by al-Hamdānī, in which Ẓafār is praised as a wealthy city of castles and in which the brightness and uniqueness of the royal palace Raydān is celebrated.

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(W.W. Müller)

ẒAFĀR, a former settlement on the Indian Ocean coast and modern name of the Southern Region of the Sultanate of Oman. In early, mediaeval and late mediaeval times it was never actually a port, and is now a ruined site called al-Balīd, a few miles to the east of the chief town of the southern region, Ṣalāla [*q.v.*].

In modern times, the name came to be used for the whole of the Southern Region of the Sultanate of Oman [see ʿUMĀN] and was officially Anglicised as Dhofar. There can be no longer any doubt about the correct vocalisation of the Arabic name, for both lexicographers (e.g. Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, Beirut 1955, v, 519-20) and geographers (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān*, Beirut 1979, iv, 60) are agreed that the name is of the pattern *faʿāli*, i.e. undeclinable and ending in *kasra*.

Despite local tradition that Ẓafār was a pre-Islamic settlement in origin, there is nothing to substantiate this. The idea may stem from the fact that the whole area was an incense growing one, though we know that the pre-Islamic incense port was SMHRM/SMRM, present-day K̲h̲awr Rawrī, east of al-Balīd (Jacqueline Pirenne, *The incense port of Moscha (Khor Rori) in Dhofar*, in *Jnal. Oman Studies*, i [1975], 81-96). Furthermore, its pre-Rasūlid [*q.v.*] history cannot be recounted in any great detail and it would be wise to commence with the Mand̲j̲ū/Mand̲j̲awiyyūn who arrived in the area after the decline of Sīrāf [*q.v.*] in the 5th/11th century, according to Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwir (*fl.* early 7th/13th century) (*T. al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1951-4, 270). According to Abū Mak̲h̲rama (d. 947/1540), Sultan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mand̲j̲awī, nicknamed al-Ak̲h̲al, was from a people known as Buluk̲h̲ and he died in 600/1203-4, upon which the dynasty came to an end (*T. T̲h̲ag̲h̲r ʿAdan*, in Löfgren (ed.), *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelatter*, Leiden 1936, 194-5). The historian of Ḥaḍramawt, Muḥammad al-Kindī (d. 1310/1892-3) (*T. Ḥaḍramawt*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibs̲h̲ī, i, Ṣanʿāʾ 1991, 97), generally following Abū Mak̲h̲rama closely, tells us, however, that Buluk̲h̲ (the text has Bulḥ) belong to the Yemeni tribe of Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲ [*q.v.*], but he gives no evidence for his statement. It was these settlers who built the nearby port of Mirbāṭ [*q.v.*], continues Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwir, thus called because it was initially where they tethered their horses.

Early in the 7th/13th century (our sources differ on the question of dates and even names), Ẓafār was taken over by a Ḥaḍramī family from Ḥabūḍa (Ḥabūẓa?) near S̲h̲ibām, the Ḥabūḍids. The account of the destruction and rebuilding of the settlement in the early 7th/13th century is found in some detail in Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwir's *Taʾrīk̲h̲* and, since he was a contemporary of these events, he can be paraphrased here. About 618/1221, the leader of the Ḥabūḍī family, Aḥmad, destroyed Ẓafār, fearing its capture by the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*] from Yemen. He then built a new town on the site, called al-Manṣūra, also al-Ḳāhira, although the name Ẓafār continued to be used. The town was well fortified with four gates; the air was good, the water sweet, and sugar cane and bananas grew well in the area. All the inhabitants were Ḥaḍramīs, perhaps, though Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwir does not mention this, brought by Aḥmad to populate his new town (265-6; G.R. Smith and Venetia Porter, *The Rasulids in Dhofar in the VIIth-VIIIth/XIIIth-XIVth centuries*, in *JRAS*, 1988/1, 28).

Space does not permit a detailed account of the remarkable Rasūlid conquest of Ẓafār in 677/1278. The reasons for the conquest and the three-pronged attack from Aden by a naval force, a second detachment travelling along the coastal route and a third which marched from the Yemen to Ẓafār via Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, no doubt to wave the flag there, are dealt with in Smith and Porter, *op. cit.*, 29-31, with full references. All this military effort proved unnecessary, for, after the rendezvous of the Rasūlid troops at Raysūt, the port of Ẓafār, the Ḥabūḍids capitulated when their leader, Sālim, was killed early on in the fray. The local inhabitants of the town were granted an amnesty by the Rasūlids, whose accompanying merchants soon began to open up trade in the area.

Thereafter, until the late 8th/14th century, there would seem to have been a Rasūlid presence in Ẓafār, on occasions an independent ruler of the house, on others a ruler dependent on the Rasūlid government centred in Taʿizz [*q.v.*] in Yemen (al-K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ī, *al-ʿUḳūd al-luʾluʾiyya fī taʾrīk̲h̲ al-dawla al-Rasūliyya*, GMS III, v, Leiden and London 1918, 134, 276, 277-8, 285). Apart from these few references, there is nothing of the history of Ẓafār to report until mention of

the rise of the Kat̲h̲īrīs [*q.v.*], a tribal group from the area, in the late 9th/15th century. In 867/1462-3, they took al-S̲h̲iḥr [*q.v.*], then the port of Ḥaḍramawt, and their subsequent history played out in the area of greater Ḥaḍramawt, in which we can, for convenience, include Ẓafār.

As for the site of Ẓafār, now called al-Balīd, and situated about 5 km/3 miles from Ṣalāla, the chief town of the Southern Region, it has been examined and studied in some depth by P.M. Costa (*The study of the city of Ẓafar (al-Balīd)*, in *Jnal. of Oman Studies*, v [1979], 111-50). Drawings, maps and photographs of the site are many, and what excavations have been carried out there are described in some detail. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the site is the Great Mosque (Costa's plan, fig. 25, fold-out opposite p. 133). The site which stretches along the sea shore is over one km/1,000 yards in length and it is perhaps worthy of mention that it is larger than the area of the Rasūlid capital, Taʿizz [*q.v.*].

The modern area of Ẓafār, the Southern Region of the Sultanate of Oman and one of its governorates (sing. *wilāya*), covers an area of about 120,000 km²/ 75,000 sq. miles, a third of the total area of the country. The population was estimated at about 160,000 (Oman Ministry of Information, *Sultanate of Oman, the promise and the fulfilment*, Muscat n.d., 30) in the 1980s, and the large majority are Sunnī S̲h̲āfiʿīs, unlike those of the Bāṭina coast and al-D̲j̲abal al-Ak̲h̲ḍar region of the north of Oman who follow Ibāḍī Islam [see ʿUMĀN]. The main towns and villages of the Ẓafār region are: Ṣalāla, Mirbāṭ [*q.vv.*], Ṭāḳa and Raysūt. Geographically, the region of Ẓafār can be divided into three: the coast with its fishing and agricultural settlements; the mountains which enjoy plentiful monsoon rainfall and are the home of cattle rearers; and the Nad̲j̲d, a desert area extending north from the foothills to al-Rubʿ al-K̲h̲ālī [*q.v.*]. For the languages spoken in Ẓafār, see ʿUMĀN, heading (the modern South Arabian languages), and 4. The modern Arabic dialects.

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(G.R. SMITH)

ZAʿFARĀN (A.) saffron, *Crocus sativus* L. or *Crocus officinalis* Pers., one of some eighty species of low-growing perennial plants of the family Iridaceae, found throughout the Mediterranean area, mid-Europe and Central Asia. A product, used in antiquity as an important source of yellow orange dye, was obtained from the stigma (*s̲h̲aʿr, s̲h̲uʿayra*) of the sterile cultigen *C. sativus*.

1. Domestic uses.

Saffron was, and remains, also widely used in Middle Eastern culinary traditions. In the extant Arabic culinary manuals of the mediaeval period (4th/10th to 8th/14th centuries), ranging in provenance from ʿIrāḳ to the Iberian peninsula, saffron appears frequently in a wide variety of domestic preparations. A representative selection of recipes may be found in the anonymous *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, probably of Mamlūk Egyptian origin.

In substantial dishes containing meat, often together with one or more vegetables, saffron was used to lend colour, a purpose sometimes explicitly stated in the recipe. For example, in a sweet-sour dish of Persian origin, *zirbād̲j̲*, chicken is tinted with saffron before vinegar is added to the cooking pot. However, in other cases, saffron is used to add flavour. One of the stages of preparation for *ṭabāhid̲j̲a* calls for a combination of saffron with honey, nuts, corn starch, pepper and various spices mixed together and added to the pot. The complement of the distinctive aroma of saffron was likely intended when, in a meatless recipe, it was sprinkled with sugar and rosewater on top of the finished dish; indeed, saffron is often found in combination with aromatic rose water [see MĀʾ AL-WARD, in Suppl.]. A mustard sauce, *k̲h̲ardal*, containing saffron and other dried spices, was mixed with brown vinegar, the preparation being used to prevent the "transformation" of fish.

Other, less known, domestic uses for saffron were its frequent appearance, among many other ingredients, in preparations for "home remedies" such as stomachics (*d̲j̲awāris̲h̲*), one such being said to sweeten the breath and prevent snoring. Finally, *māʾ zaʿfarān*, a clear liquid distilled from saffron, was used to scent clothing without leaving a trace of its colour.

Bibliography: Anon., *Kanz al-fawāʾid fī tanwīʿ al-mawāʾid*, ed. M. Marín and D. Waines, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993, index s.v.; Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ, *K. al-Ṭabīk̲h̲*, ed. K. Ohrnberg and S. Mroueh, Helsinki 1987. (D. WAINES)

2. As a medicament.

As well as being used in food preparation, saffron is one of the simple medicaments, abundantly cited in Arabic medical treatises. At the present time, it is used in traditional medicine of the Arab-Muslim domain (*ṭibb ʿarabī, ṭibb yūnānī*). It has been used since Antiquity (cited in the *Iliad*, xiv. 348) as an aromatic, colourant and simple medicinal herb. In mediaeval Islamic literature it appears under various names: *zaʿfarān* (the most common), *rayhaḳān, d̲j̲ādī, d̲j̲ād̲h̲ī* and *d̲j̲isān*. Dāwūd al-Anṭākī [*q.v.*] thought that the Syriac name of this herb was *kurkum*, but this term in fact denotes the curcuma, often mixed up with saffron on account of the similarity in colour. Saffron was cultivated in many parts of the Islamic world, but was also imported. Ibn al-ʿAwwām [see FILĀḤA. ii] gives a precise description of the plant's cultivation in al-Andalus, near to Seville (*K. al-Filāḥa*, i, 116-18). There were various varieties known in the classical period: the Mag̲h̲ribī and the Edessan (*ruhāwī*), but also the Frankish or Genoese (*ifrand̲j̲ī, d̲j̲anawī*). Al-Bīrūnī mentions Persian varieties (*iṣbahānī, rāzī* and *k̲h̲urāsānī*) and Syrian (*s̲h̲āmī*) ones. The products of the Sūs [*q.v.*], in southern Morocco, were especially appreciated, as stated by al-Anṭākī and the anonymous *Tuḥfat al-albāb*; contemporary Moroccan herbalists further mention the *zaʿfarān zebbūdī* (cultivated by the Zebbūd of the Sūs).

Saffron was considered to be a stimulant for the nervous system, but also an aphrodisiac, a tonic for the heart and a cordial (*mufarrid̲j̲*). It was used in the composition of collyria, as indicated by Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] (*Ḳānūn*, i, 306-7) and al-Anṭākī (*Tad̲h̲kira*, 178-9), since the powers of dissolving white specks in the eye and strengthening the eyesight were attributed to it. Finally, it was used as an emmenagogic, a diuretic and a lithotriptic, but also, on the fringes of magic, in amulets for helping with labour in parturition. At the present time, folk medicine uses the "ink" of saffron in the making of amulets bearing cabbalistic inscriptions aimed at combatting the evil eye. Another usage, fairly current in the medical treatises, is as a calming remedy for pains and inflammations of the ear. Since saffron was a precious and expensive product, fraudulent substitutes of all kinds were current, to the degree that Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] devotes a section of his

treatise to describing the techniques for verifying the authenticity of this simple (*imtiḥān al-zaʿfarān*) (*Minhādj*, 159). Most of the falsifications were done by using the curcuma rhizome (sc. that of *Curcuma longa* L., *kurkum*) or the bastard saffron (*Carthamus tinctorius* L., *ʿuṣfur*), because of their close resemblance to genuine or medicinal saffron.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ḳānūn fī ʾl-ṭibb*, Cairo 1877, 159; Bīrūnī, *K. al-Ṣaydana*, Tehran 1950, 311-13; *Tuḥfat al-albāb. Glossaire de la matière médicale marocaine*, ed. H.P.J. Renaud and G.S. Colin, Paris 1934, 69-70; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār (L'explication des noms de drogues), un glossaire de matière médicale*, ed. and tr. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1939, 66; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *K. al-Filāḥa*, tr. J.-J. Clément-Mullet, *Livre de l'agriculture*, Paris 1864-7, i, 116-18; Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār, *Minhādj al-dukkān wa-dustūr al-aʿyān*, Cairo 1870, 159; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xii, Cairo 1937, 125-6; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ulī ʾl-albāb*, Cairo 1864, repr. Beirut n.d., 178-9.

2. Studies. A. Issa Bey, *Dictionnaire des noms de plantes*, Cairo 1930, 60; E. Ghaleb, *al-Mawsūʿa fī ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿa*, Beirut 1965, i, 490; N.H. Henein and Th. Bianquis, *La magie par les Psaumes*, Cairo 1975, 121-2; Ahmad, G. Honda and W. Miki, *Herb drugs and herbalists in the Middle East*, in *Studia Culturae Islamicae*, v, Tokyo 1979; F. Sanagustin, *Contribution à l'étude de la matière médicale traditionelle chez les herboristes d'Alep*, in *BEO*, xxxv (1983), 84.

(F. Sanagustin)

AL-ZAFAYĀN, ʿAṬĀʾ B. USAYD (or Asīd) Abu ʾl-Mirḳāl al-ʿUwāfī al-Saʿdī, Umayyad *radjaz* poet, *fl. ca.* 80/700. His *Dīwān*, collected by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, has been only incompletely preserved (ten fragmentary poems, 230 verses) and published by W. Ahlwardt (*Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter*, ii, 1903, lx-lxv, 91-100; with four additional fragments, 30 verses). The *Dīwān* was in better condition when used by al-Ṣaghānī in the 7th/13th century.

Further fragments (41 verses), with corrections to the edition of Ahlwardt, have been collected in J. Hämeen-Anttila, *az-Zafayān and his place in literary history*, forthcoming in *Asiatische Studien*, where the history of al-Zafayān's *Dīwān* is discussed in detail.

Al-Zafayān is rarely quoted in philological literature and almost nothing is known of his life. One of his poems (no. 8) refers to the defeat of Abū Fudayk in 73/693 and another (no. 6) is dedicated to a Marwānid caliph with typical Marwānid propagandistic themes such as are also found in poems by Djarīr [*q.v.*]. The poems of al-Zafayān resemble those of his contemporary, al-ʿAdjdjādj [*q.v.*], and show the development towards polythematic *urdjūzas* [see RADJAZ]. Some of his poems exhibit the lexicographical orientation of the Baṣran *radjaz* poets, whereas in others al-Zafayān uses a simple and straightforward language.

There seems to have been another *radjaz* poet of the same name, al-Zafayān b. Mālik b. ʿAwāna, living in Baṣra a century later (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*; ii, 130-1), but almost nothing is known of his works.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 370.

(J. Hämeen-Anttila)

AL-ẒĀFIR BI-AʿDĀʾ ALLĀH, ABŪ MANṢŪR ISMĀʿĪL, twelfth Fāṭimid caliph and the ninth to reign in Egypt (born mid-Rabīʿ II 527/February 1133, *r.* 544-9/1149-54).

His four older brothers having predeceased their father, ʿAbd al-Madjīd al-Ḥāfiẓ, the latter appointed him, in writing, as heir to the caliphate. Al-Ẓāfir, at sixteen years of age, received the *bayʿa* on Sunday, 4 Djumādā II 544/10 October 1149, the day following the night of his father's death, at a time when Cairo was the scene of confrontation between Turkish cavalry and black military slaves. To pacify the troops, he distributed cash payments to them and promised to ensure their welfare. As soon as his vizier, Nadjm al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Fatḥ Salīm b. Muḥammad Ibn Maṣāl al-Lukkī al-Afḍal or al-Mufaḍḍal [see IBN MAṢĀL], a native of Barḳa, had eliminated the instigators of unrest in Shaʿbān/November, al-Ẓāfir, a young man of exceptional beauty, was free to devote his time to recreation in the company of his concubines. There then erupted the rebellion of the governor of Alexandria, Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Sallār (or Salār), who overthrew Ibn Maṣāl and had himself recognised by the Palace as vizier with the *laḳab* of al-ʿĀdil [see AL-ʿĀDIL B. AL-SALĀR]. He then sent his stepson, ʿAbbās b. Abi ʾl-Futūḥ [*q.v.*] Yaḥyā b. Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz b. Bādis al-Zīrī, accompanied by Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*] to execute (on 19 Shawwāl 544/11 February 1150, at Ibn Maṣāl's refuge at Dillas) the deposed vizier and his ally, Badr b. Rāfiʿ, who had been unable to protect the Arab tribes of the Delta.

A month earlier, in Ramaḍān 544/January 1150, Ibn Sallār had gathered together all the "cadets" of Cairo, *ṣibyān al-khāṣṣ*, sons of dignitaries and officers receiving military training. Hearing of a conspiracy amongst them against him, he executed the majority of them and sent the others to garrison the frontiers.

In Radjab 545/October-November 1150, a Frankish contingent attacked al-Faramā, which was sacked and burned. Less than a year later, Rabīʿ I 546/July-August 1151, al-ʿĀdil retaliated by sending a fleet to raid the Frankish coast, causing severe damage to Yāfā, ʿAkkā, Ṣaydā, Beirut and Tripoli and slaughtering a large number of Christian pilgrims. The expedition cost the Fāṭimid treasury 300,000 dīnārs, and in Cairo it was necessary to suspend the free distribution by the *dīwāns* of clothing and various other items. Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī [*q.v.*], then the prince of Aleppo, was tempted to support the efforts of the Egyptian fleet with a land attack on the Frankish positions, but concern about his relations with Abak, prince of Damascus led him to decide against it (M. Yared-Riachi, *La politique extérieure de la principauté de Damas 468-549 h./1076-1154*, Damascus 1997, 229-30).

In Muḥarram 548/April 1153, concerned at the pressure being exerted by the Franks, Ibn Sallār appointed ʿAbbās to conduct on his behalf the relief of the Egyptian garrison of ʿAskalān [*q.v.*] in Palestine, a relief which took place every six months. While ʿAbbās and his companions, including the renowned Usāma Ibn Munḳidh [see MUNḲIDH, BANŪ], were on the way, they became disenchanted with the idea of going and isolating themselves so far from Cairo in a fortress to which the Franks were laying siege. Arriving in Bilbays, they appealed to Naṣr, the son of ʿAbbās and a very close friend of al-Ẓāfir, to go and persuade the latter to appoint his father vizier in place of Ibn Sallār. The young man obtained the agreement of al-Ẓāfir, who refused him nothing, then went to the house where his grandmother was cohabiting with Ibn Sallār, beheaded him with a single sword blow and alerted his father by carrier-pigeon (Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*, ed. A. Ferré, Cairo 1972, 102-3). The next day, 12 Muḥarram 548/9 April 1152, ʿAbbās arrived in Cairo. He negotiated with al-Ẓāfir's courtiers and the latter appeared in the *manẓara* above the Bāb al-Dhahab (see A.F. Sayyid, *La capitale de l'Égypte jusqu'à l'époque fāṭimide. Al-Qāhira et Fusṭāṭ, essai de reconstitution topographique*, Beirut

1998, index at 727-32) brandishing the head of Ibn Sallār for all the people assembled at the gate to see, then had it exhibited in the *k̲h̲izānat al-ruʾūs* of the Palace. ʿAbbās was generally congratu-lated for his action, all the more so since Ibn Sallār, a man of no discernible qualities whatsoever, was detested for his greed and his cruelty. Both Ibn Ẓāfir and Ibn Muyassar give detailed accounts of the brutal and vindictive crimes perpetrated by him in the wake of his seizure of power. On the other hand, when the *faḳīh* Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Salafī al-Iṣfahānī arrived in Egypt, Ibn Sallār had a *madrasa* built for him in Alexandria, known as al-ʿĀdiliyya (completed in 546/1151-2), where Sunnī *fiḳh* was taught. He may also have been responsible for the appointment of a S̲h̲āfiʿī Sunnī, Abu 'l-Maʿālī b. D̲j̲umayʿ al-Arsūfī, to the post of grand *ḳāḍī* of Egypt. After his assassination, the vizier's Sunnī supporters appealed to the caliph al-Ẓāfir to punish the one responsible, in their view, for instigating the murder, Muʾayyad al-Dawla Ibn Munḳid̲h̲, whom they presented, rather curiously for non-Ismāʿīlīs, as a stranger to the Egyptian tradition, agent of a Syrian power hostile to the Fāṭimids and a person capable of actions detrimental to the reigning caliph. Ibn Munḳid̲h̲, informed of their threats and fearing for his life, shared with his friend ʿAbbās the unsavoury rumour that was circulating in the palace concerning the dubious relationship between al-Ẓāfir and Naṣr b. ʿAbbās. Ibn Munḳid̲h̲ urged the furious ʿAbbās to have al-Ẓāfir killed and replaced by another caliph. ʿAbbās then put pressure on Naṣr to kill the caliph. Al-Ẓāfir was invited by the latter to come, with a small escort, to spend a night at Dār al-Maʾmūn (or al-Maʾmūniyya, see Sayyid, *op. cit.*, 507-8, extensive bibl. on the episode in question), the vizier's residence, close to the palace. In the entrance hall, the members of the escort were slaughtered and the caliph himself, then twenty-one years old, was executed. The bodies were thrown into a nearby pit and then hidden under fragments of blue marble (early Muḥarram 549/later March 1154).

The following morning, alerted to the murder by his son, the vizier ʿAbbās presented himself openly at the Palace, on horseback, demanding to see the caliph on urgent business. He was sought everywhere, in vain. However, a minor slave in al-Ẓāfir's escort had witnessed the murder of the caliph, having hidden in an embrasure, and in the morning he informed the Palace. The women took to mourning while a guard was sent to tell ʿAbbās that the caliph had left the Palace the previous evening to visit his son and had not returned. ʿAbbās dismounted from his horse and with his escort forced his way into the Palace. Having installed himself in the great hall of the fountains, *ḳāʿat al-baḥr* (Sayyid, *op. cit.*, 466, perhaps known under a different term), where the caliph was accustomed to holding solemn receptions, he ordered that the two younger brothers of al-Ẓāfir, D̲j̲ibrīl and Yūsuf, be brought to him. They told the vizier that his son should be asked what had become of their brother. ʿAbbās ordered his men to kill the two princes, then went out to announce publicly that they had confessed to the murder of al-Ẓāfir. The vizier had al-Ẓāfir's son ʿĪsā, a child of five years old, brought to the same room, perched him on his shoulder, and before the assembled dignitaries of the Palace, introduced him as al-Fāʾiz bi-Naṣr Allāh, successor to his father whom his two uncles had assassinated. The officers of the court declared with one loud voice that they had heard and would obey. The newly appointed child-caliph, shocked by the sight of the blood-stained bodies of his uncles and intimidated by the vehemence of the cry of unanimous support, was permanently traumatised, and was never to regain his health or his sanity.

From this tragic reign of a declining dynasty, one salient feature to be noted is the Sunnī upsurge which marginalised the official Ismāʿīlism of the Fāṭimids at the same time as there developed a strong sense of Egyptian identity in confrontation with the Muslim powers of Syria, a sense which was the power-base of successive viziers, often accorded the title of *sulṭān* by the chroniclers. Also to be noted is the effectiveness of the Egyptian battle fleet, at a time when the army was incapable of defending ʿAsḳalān, which fell to the Franks in Rad̲j̲ab 549/August 1153.

Bibliography: The most complete account is in Ibn Muyassar, *al-Muntaḳī min ak̲h̲bār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1981, 141-4 and bibl. at 185-90; the list of sources, abundant for this period and all already exploited, may be found in Ibn Ẓāfir, *Ak̲h̲bār al-duwal*, notes and 21-7; Y. Lev, *State and society in Fatimid Egypt*, Leiden 1991, 61-3, 199-210; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-fāṭimiyya, tafsīr d̲j̲adid*, Cairo 1413/1992, 207-11, 433-55; J.Cl. Garcin (ed.), *États, sociétés et cultures du monde musulman médiéval, Xᵉ-XVᵉ siècle*, i, Paris 1995, pp. xlii-l, 113; C. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Egypt*, i, Cambridge 1998, 154, 168, 560-71; J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris 1969, i, 394-415 (analyses in detail the contribution of Christian sources for the period).

(TH. BIANQUIS)

ẒĀFIR AL-ḤADDĀD, ABŪ MANṢŪR (Abū Naṣr in al-Dānī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim in al-Maḳrīzī, see *Bibl.*) b. al-Ḳāsim al-Barḳī, Fāṭimid poet from Alexandria. His father was from D̲j̲ud̲h̲ām and his mother from Lak̲h̲m, tribes which had migrated to Egypt in early Islamic times. His date of birth is unknown. He died in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 528/Sept.-Oct. 1134 or Muḥarram 529/Oct.-Nov. 1134.

At first he worked as a blacksmith like his father, but was drawn to literature and frequented meetings of poets until they acknowledged him as one of their own. He wrote panegyrics on governors and judges in Alexandria and al-Fusṭāṭ, having settled down in al-Fusṭāṭ after 508/1114-15. There he praised the Fāṭimid caliphs al-Āmir and al-Ḥāfiẓ and the viziers al-Afḍal al-Maʾmūn, al-Baṭāʾiḥī, al-Akmal and others. In addition to panegyrics, the main themes of his poetry were love-poetry and descriptive poetry, excelling in descriptions of nature, both in Alexandria and in al-Fusṭāṭ; his descriptions of Alexandria evince nostalgic memories of his youth there.

Critics admired his poetry, lauding his tender and musical language and his knack for apt similes, and the critic M. Kāmil Ḥusayn (see *Bibl.*) has ranked him among the greatest poets of his age. ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī accused him of committing many linguistic mistakes, and other critics accused him of plagiarism. He was perhaps the first to compose *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥāt* [see MUWAS̲H̲S̲H̲AḤ] in Egypt and also wrote a *maḳāma* addressed to al-Dānī in the ornate style of his day.

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al-Risāla al-miṣriyya, ed. ʿA. Hārūn, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, i, Cairo 1951, 53-4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo n.d., v, 376-8.

2. Edition. *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥ. Naṣṣār, Cairo 1969.

3. Studies. Naṣṣār, *Ẓāfir al-Ḥaddād*, Cairo 1975; M. Zaghlūl Salām, *al-Adab fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-fāṭimī*, Alexandria 1994, 161-95; Sh. Ḍayf, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī*, vi, *ʿAṣr al-duwal wa 'l-imārāt*, Cairo 1980, 176, 251-6; M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-fāṭimiyya*, ²Cairo 1963; A. al-Nadjdjār, *al-Intādj al-adabī fī madīnat al-Iskandariyya fi 'l-ʿaṣrayn al-fāṭimī wa 'l-ayyūbī*, Cairo 1383/1964, 105-9, 149-55, 158-9, 164, 175-7, 181, 183-5, 202-3, 207-9, 234-5; ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm al-Ḳabbānī, *Maʿa 'l-shuʿarāʾ aṣḥāb al-ḥiraf*, Cairo 1967, 9-32. (Ḥusayn Nassar)

al-**ẒAFRA**, conventionally Dhafarah, the interior region of the shaykhdom of Abū Ẓaby [*q.v.*], now a constituent of the United Arab Emirates [see al-imārāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muttaḥida, in Suppl.], the undefined southern frontier of which marches with the easternmost part of Saudi Arabia. Al-Ẓafra forms the traditional territory of the Banū Yās [*q.v.*] and the Banu 'l-Manāṣīr [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: J.G. Lorimer, *Gazeteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOman and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, ii.A, 412-26. (Ed.)

ZAGHANOS PASHA (Greek forms Záganos, etc., cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*², ii, Berlin 1958, 128-9), Ottoman official and general of the 9th/15th century, Grand Vizier 1444-52 and commander-in-chief of the army 1452-64, in which last year he probably died. He was an ex-Christian of the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*], possibly of Greek or Albanian origin, and was both the son-in-law of sultan Murād II and father-in-law of Meḥemmed II [*q.vv.*].

He was tutor and chief counsellor of the latter, together with the second vizier, Shihāb al-Dīn Pasha. The two of them exercised considerable influence over Meḥemmed in persuading him in 1453 to pursue the siege of Constantinople when the Grand Vizier Khalīl Pasha Djandarli [*q.v.*] had temporarily considered lifting the siege for fear of possible Western intervention. After the conquest of the city and the execution of Khalīl, Zaghanos replaced him in his office, with a new tradition "whereby the most important positions in the central government were filled by the slaves of the sultans" (S.J. and Ezel K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976-7, i, 58; cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ⁵Ankara 1988, i, 430-1, 439-40, 479, 499, ii, 9-10; C.H. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 153, 156). In the preparations for the final assault on Constantinople, Zaghanos had played an important role in preparing pontoons and siege engines, and he also shared in the construction of Rūmeli Ḥiṣāri on the European shore of the Bosphorus (see S. Runciman, *The fall of Constantinople*, Cambridge 1965, 110-11, 118-19, 162-3; A. Savvides, *Constantinople in a vice. Some notes on Anadolu Hisarı (1395/6) and Rumeli Hisarı (1452)*, in *Acta Patristica et Byzantina*, viii [Pretoria 1997], 144-9; Imber, *op. cit.*, 146, 155 ff.). Both he and Shihāb al-Dīn were summarily dismissed in 1456, and Zaghanos was exiled to Anatolia. But this exile was only brief, for he soon appears as governor of Gallipoli [see geli-bolu], of Thessaly [see tesalya] and of the Morea [see mora] between 1457 and 1463 (see Savvides, *Problems of the Ottoman conquest and the spread of the conqueror in the Thessalian area* [in Greek], in *From Byzantium to the Turkish domination*..., Athens 1997, 296).

In October 1459 he succeeded Ismāʿīl Pasha as *ḳapudan-i deryā* and with his fleet attacked the Latin garrisons in Samothrace [see semedirek] and Thasos [see tashöz], and from spring 1460 he was involved in the conquest of most of the Byzantine despotate of the Morea as well as of eastern Attica and Boeotia. His atrocities in the Morean campaign led to his eventual replacement in the governorship there, according to Chalcocondyles (see K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, Philadelphia 1976-8, ii, 220-2; Uzunçarşılı, ii, 25; Savvides, *Morea and Islam, 8th-15th centuries: a survey*, in *From Byzantium to the Turkish domination*, 319 n. 173). He then completed the annexation of the Florentine duchy of Athens (1460), executing at Thebes its last ruler (see Savvides, *The Ottoman conquest of Thebes and Levadeia* [in Greek], Athens 1993, 36, 58-9). In 1463 he became commander-in-chief of the army and possibly governor of Macedonia, and it was at this time that he took into his harem Anna, daughter of the last Byzantine emperor of Trebizond [see ṭarabzun], eventually forcing her to adopt Islam. He died soon afterwards, probably in 1464.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): A. Nimet, *Die türkische Prosopographie bei Laonikos Chalcocandyles* [*sic*], Hamburg 1933, 42-4; F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time (1432-1481)*, Princeton 1978, index; Uzunçarşılı, i-ii, index; Setton, *op. cit.*, index; E. Trapp *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, fasc. iii, Vienna 1978, no. 6.415; Savvides, *Notes on Zaghanos Pasha's career*, in *Jnal. of Oriental and African Studies* [Athens], x (1999); and see the *Bibl.* to meḥemmed ii. (A. Savvides)

ZAGHARDJI̊ BASHI̊ (t.), the title of one of the three commanders who formed the *dīwān* or administrative focus of the Janissary corps of the Ottoman army (the other two being the Shamsundji̊ Bashi̊ and the Turnadji̊ Bashi̊). Since *zaghar* means "hound" and *zaghardji̊* "keeper of the hounds", the *orta* or company of the *zaghardji̊s* (no. 64 in the Janissary corps) was probably in origin part of the hunting force of the early Ottoman sultans (cf. also the Segbāns [*q.v.* in Suppl.]).

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ZAGHĀWA, the name given to a part Saharan, part-Sahelian tribe or people, who inhabit parts of the Republics of the Sūdān and Chad. They appear in the mediaeval Arabic sources and in more recent travel and anthropological literature in three distinct contexts:

(a) A pagan, albeit superficially Islamised, divine monarchy, which held sway within the existing territories of Wadai (Wādāy) and Kanem. E.W. Bovill, in his *Caravans of the Old Sahara*, Oxford and London 1933, remarked (264) that "Probably no event in the history of the Western Sudan had more far-reaching consequences than the Zaghawa invasion. Unfortunately we know nothing of its circumstances—how it came about, or the manner of its achievement", but H.A. MacMichael in his *The tribes of Central and North Kordofan*, 105-10, found it hard to quote solid historical evidence to justify this claim. Islamic sources are silent about such an "invasion". The Zaghāwa are described, in some detail, by several Arab geographers, notably al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 259/872-3); al-Muhallabī (d. 380/990), quoted by Yāḳūt in his *Muʿdjam al-buldān*; and al-Idrīsī (d. 548/1154) in his *Kitāb Rudjdjār*. The Zaghāwa were, in part, Berber-speaking (the Ṣadrāta) and were semi-sedentary. They possessed a capital that was located in the region of Borkou (Burkū).

According to Lewicki, the Zag͟hāwa included four peoples that were later to form a part of the Tubu of Tibesti [*q.vv.*], sc. the Teda, Daza, Bideyat and a group which have retained the name of the Zag͟hāwa. According to Isḥāḳ b. Ḥusayn al-Munad͟jd͟jim (d. *ca.* 340/950-1), they had a town in the area of the Baḥr al-G͟hazāl and others which are now hard to locate, Mānān and Tarāzkī, Sag͟hwa (which also denoted camel-breeding nomads) and S͟hāma. The Zag͟hāwa also controlled Bilma, Kawar and parts of Aïr (Ayar). These towns developed trading links with Egypt via Nubia, and with the Mag͟hrib via the oasis of Ouargla (Ward͟jalān) in Algeria. The chief items of exchange were wheat, sorghum, cowpeas and slaves. The Zag͟hāwa facilitated the diffusion of Nubian culture into the Central Sudan, especially in crafts associated with leather and metals.

One of the last of the Zag͟hāwa kings was the reputedly nominally Muslim Arkū b. Būlū (*r. ca.* 414-59/1023-67), who established slave colonies in Kawar and at Zaylā in the Fezzan [see FAZZĀN].

(b) The Zag͟hāwa were represented amongst the slave population in lower ʿIrāḳ during the ʿAbbāsid age. Seven Zag͟hāwa slave girls are mentioned by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī in his verse. A *g͟hulām*, whose name is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī and by Yāḳūt as Sālim al-Zag͟hāwī, played an active role in the great Zand͟j revolt (see J. Wansbrough, *Africa and the Arab geographers*, in *Language and history in Africa*, ed. D. Dalby, London 1970, 98-9, and M.A. Shaban, *Islamic history, a new interpretation*, ii, *A.D. 750-1055* (*A.H. 132-448*), Cambridge 1976, 110-13; and ZAND͟J. 2.).

(c) Today, the term Zag͟hāwa denotes a partially Islamised, linguistically distinct, mixed Negro and Hamitic tribal group, who are akin to the Tubu and who are to be found in the Eastern Sahara between Lake Chad and Dārfūr province in the Sudan Republic. They are associated with the Dād͟jū Sultanate of Sila. According to Henri Berre, citing A.J. Arkell, (8-12) the Dād͟jū (or Kabd͟ja) claim to be related to the Zag͟hāwa and to have emigrated from the east. Some lay claim to an Arab genealogy which attaches them either to the Banū K͟huzām (var. K͟hazzām, according to Arkell, but possibly to be read as D͟jud͟hām), or to the Banū D͟juhayna (see MacMichael, *op. cit.*, 111).

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ZAGROS, a mountain chain of western and southwestern Persia; the geographers of Classical times identified the Zagros Mountains as the range that separated the empires of Assyria (Mesopotamia) and Media (Central Persia).

This is one of the great Tertiary fold ranges of the Middle East, which begins in the high knot of volcanic mountains, Ararat, Nemrut and others, around Lake Van, and sweeps south-south-east to the eastern edge of the Persian Gulf. At the Straits of Oman the ranges turn eastwards through Fārs and Makrān, beyond where they bend sharply to the north to form the border ramparts between Baluchistan and Sind. The mountains of Muscat and Oman are the exposed section of a flooded pendent offshoot of these same ranges.

The name Zagros is nowadays applied to that part of this mountain system lying between Kurdistān to the north and Fārs to the south, approximately between the latitudes of 29° and 35° N. or the cities of Hamadān and S͟hīrāz.

The entire range imposes a very effective physical barrier to movement, because of its great width of some 250 km/155 miles, its structure of many parallel folds which rise to 4,000 m/13,100 feet, and the narrow and precipitous nature of the few valleys that cut through them. The Zagros therefore constituted the western defensive wall of Parthian and Sāsānid Persia against assaults from Imperial Rome and Byzantium. Subsequently, the same ranges for long formed the border zone between Ottoman and Ṣafawid territory, and along their western foothills runs the present political frontier between ʿIrāḳ and Iran.

At their northern extremity, the only way over the Zagros is an old caravan route along the Great Zāb river from Irbīl, through Ruwandiz, to Miyāndu'āb, and thence to Tabrīz. By widening, between 1928 and 1932, critical parts of the gorges at Ruwandiz and Berserini, this way was made fit for motor traffic. The high pastures in this region are occupied in summer by Kurdish tribes. Lower down, the oak forests have suffered severely from uncontrolled cutting. The foothills, with an annual rainfall of some 60 mm and with the aid of terracing and irrigation, can support vines, maize and rice. The population includes both Assyrian Christians and a substantial Turkish element that was moved here in Ottoman times. There was formerly a Jewish population of some significance, speaking either Arabic or Neo-Aramaic dialects; this group has now emigrated to Israel. Further south, between the rivers Diyālā and Dez, the Zagros ranges are at their widest and highest, and are made up of regular folds, of mainly limestone rocks, of a height of some 4,000 m/13,100 feet, with few outstanding peaks. These mountains receive an appreciable precipitation, of 100 mm/40 inches or more, from the winter cyclones. This falls mainly in the form of snow, which melts through the summer to supply the extensive pastures of the high valleys and plateaux between the ranges. Summer storms here provide a further water-supply.

These wide grasslands are in effect the preserve of the main mobile tribesfolk of Iran, the Lurs (including the great Bak͟htiyārī confederacy) and the Ḳas͟hḳāʾī

[*q.vv.*, and see also ĪLĀT]. Their population was estimated in Pahlawī times at between four and five millions, about a quarter of that of all Persia, and they could sometimes mount a threat to the central government, as in 1906. In winter these high plateaux are snow-bound, and the tribes have then to descend to the foothills and Mesopotamian plains.

This pattern of movement, with two migrations during the year, one up, one down, along established wide paths, is strictly speaking transhumant rather than nomadic. The tribes are at their most vulnerable during these movements, and it was then that, especially in the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī [*q.v.*], the army would waylay them and attempt to restrain them throughout the year in their winter camps. This enforced sedentarisation was a virtual death-sentence for both herds and herders.

The rivers of the high Zagros are active and powerful, and have in many cases captured the headwaters of their streams as far back as the main plateau. The watercourses pass through successions of isolated valleys separated by steep and narrow gorges or *tangs* which are practically impassable. In consequence, streams above and below these constrictions are often called by different names. Thus the river which begins as the Gamasiyāb is thereafter known as the Saidmarreh, and reaches the lowlands of Khūzistān as the Karkheh [see KARKHA].

It follows that these river plains are very isolated, and only accessible by *tāķs* or *kotals*, passes over the ranges. These very rarely link to make a continuous route across the whole mountain system. Much the most important through route is the Ṭāķ-i Girra, the ancient *Portae Zagriacae* or *Medicae*, the Zagros or Median Gates. This road climbs from Baghdād up the Diyālā river [*q.v.*], which occupies a natural rift opening a way through the outer ranges. The railway to Khāniķīn takes advantage of this gap. From there the well-used road passes by Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn and Karand, crosses the Paylak Pass to Bākhtarān (Kirmānshāh) in the valley of the Ķara Sū, and then goes by way of the Ṭāķ-i Bustān past the rock of Behistun (*Mons Bagistanus*) with its sculptures and trilingual inscriptions celebrating the conquests of Darius. Thence there is an easy approach over the plain of Čamčamāl to Hamadān, which under the name of Ecbatana was the capital of ancient Media.

Further to the east, there is another possible crossing of the heart of the Zagros, from the town of Dizfūl, along the lower Saidmarreh river and its tributary the Kashgan to Khurramābād, and thence to the fringe of the central plateau at Burūdjird. This, however, was never an important trade route, and is essentially a highway of seasonal movement for the Bakhtiyārī tribesfolk between their winter and summer quarters. At a slight distance to the east, the Trans-Persian Railway pioneered in 1935 the very difficult route up the Diz river valley from Dizfūl to Arāk.

The foothill ranges of the Pusht-i Kūh, about 2,000 m/6,560 feet high, separate the main Zagros from the plains of Khūzistān. Their gypsum rocks make poor saline soils, and support only a thin cover of scrub oak. The main oil fields of Iran are trapped in these hills, between Masdjid-i Sulaymān and Gačsarān. The tribes had to pass across this area on their seasonal migrations, and it was here that they were often ambushed.

Eastwards again, the high Zagros grades into the somewhat lower ranges of the province of Fārs, about 3,000 m/9,840 feet above sea-level at their highest. Rainfall here is appreciably less, the rivers less continuous and powerful, and the high plains often contain not streams of fresh water but salty lakes at the centre of systems of inland drainage, as in the Nirīz basin and the Daryā-i Mahārlū in the high plain of Shīrāz. Seasonal transhumance is much less common here than in the central Zagros, and most of the population relies on the scattered oases irrigated by cisterns and *ķanāts*.

The mountains are here crossed by two well-established caravan routes, from the port of Bushire (Būshīr) up the Shāhpūr valley to Kāzarūn and Shīrāz (improved by British troops in 1918-19); and from Bandar ʿAbbās by the Tang-i Zindān to Sīrdjān and Kirmān.

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(W.C. Brice)

al-ZAHĀWĪ, DJAMĪL ṢIDĶĪ (b. 18 June 1863 in Baghdād, d. 23 February 1936), neo-classical poet and eminent representative of the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāķ.

A son of the Kurdish élite family of al-Bābān from Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.*]—his father Muḥammad Fayḍī was *Muftī* of Baghdād and his mother of Kurdish upper-class origin also—he spent his childhood with his mother, who lived separately from his father. At about 7 years old he became his father's pupil in traditional Arabic learning at a time when modern-type Arabic schools did not exist in ʿIrāķ. The father encouraged his son's poetic attempts in Arabic and Persian, but Djamīl later confessed that his real interests were the "modern sciences", in which he acquired some knowledge self-taught from translations into the languages he knew: Arabic, Persian and Turkish (Kurdish was not yet a literary language). After teaching at the Sulaymāniyya School in Baghdād, he was appointed a member in the *Madjlis al-maʿārif* in Baghdād, later becoming director of the government printing house and responsible for the Arabic part of the official newspaper *al-Zawrāʾ* and also a member of the appellate court. In *ca.* 1903, having been summoned to the Porte in Istanbul, he visited Cairo and met with progressive Egyptian intellectuals. The Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, aware of al-Zahāwī's enmity towards the government, sent him as *wāʿiẓ ʿāmm* with a deputation to Yemen. After his return 11 months later, he was given a military rank and a medal, but his Young Turkish sympathies and a critical poem which he wrote on Ḥamīdian policies earned him two weeks' imprisonment and a return to Baghdād under guard but with a monthly salary. When the Constitution was restored, he became professor of Islamic philosophy at the *Djemʿiyye-i mülkiyye* and of Arabic literature at the *Dār ul-Fünūn* in Istanbul. Health problems caused him to return to Baghdād, where he taught the *Medjelle* [*q.v.*], later translated by him into Arabic, at the *Madrasat al-ḥuķūķ*.

His first books deal with varied topics: philosophy (1894, lectures in Turkish, 1906); horses and horse racing (1896); physical and philosophical questions of the universe (1897); chess (n.d.); a disputation concerning the condemnation of folk belief in miracles and saints, evidently meant to support ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's policy towards the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*] (1905 or 1907); and gravity (1910). In October 1896 he proposed in the Egyptian journal *al-Muķtaṭaf* a reform of

Arabic script (ed. al-Rashūdī, pp. 186-7). Only at the age of 40 did he return to poetry. He criticised the Arabic poetic tradition, characterising mono-rhyme and mono-metre as a straight-jacket. In 1905 he composed the first Arabic poem in *shi'r mursal* (*Dīwān*, 149). All his later poetry is in mono-rhyme and, mostly, mono-metre. Already his first *dīwān*, *al-Kalim al-manẓūm* (Beirut 1907), voices his religious scepticism and his role as a social and cultural critic and an advocate of progress in 'Irāḳ, foreshadowing his later anthologies *Dīwān al-Ẓahāwī* (Beirut 1924), *al-Lubāb* (Baghdād 1928), *al-Awshāl* (Baghdād 1934), *al-Thumāla* and *al-Ẓiyādāt* (publ. posthumously Baghdād 1939). The translation of 'Umar al-Khayyām's *Rubā'iyyāt* (Beirut 1924) inspired him to his own *Rubā'iyyāt* (Baghdād 1928), which criticise in short and pugnacious verses social injustice (especially as regards the position of Muslim women), and the contrast between 'Irāḳ's former glory and its present educational situation. He praises technical progress and supports the then highly-contested Darwinism. His audacious article *al-Mar'a wa 'l-difā' 'anhā* in the Egyptian newspaper *al-Mu'ayyad* (1910, publ. Nādjī, 255-8) scandalised orthodox circles. After a short (reading) drama *Layla wa-Sumayr* (in *Lughat al-'Arab*, v [1927], 578-608) he published his brilliant *Thawra fī 'l-djahīm*, an epic poem of 433 verses in the *khafīf* metre. Inspired by al-Ma'arrī's [*q.v.*] *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, and, probably, by Asín Palacios' *La escatologia musulmana en la "Divina comedia"* (1924), its main idea is that heaven's inhabitants were faint conformists, always submissive to the ruling élite and traditions, while hell's inhabitants, of whom he names eminent historical authorities from East and West, were intellectually independent, courageous, creative, and therefore dangerous. Finally, in an overwhelming fight they conquer heaven, the place that they deserve (ed. in *al-Awshāl*, German tr. Widmer, in *WI*, xvii [1935], 1-79). Al-Zahāwī himself considered his *Dīwān al-Nazaghāt* as the most provocative. After a several months' stay in Cairo in 1924, where his expectations for more tolerance were soon deeply disappointed, he delivered it to Salāma Mūsā [*q.v.*]. Published only by Hilal Nādjī, Cairo 1963, it openly and ironically, but with ambiguities, voices the poet's scepticism in nearly every religious principle of Islam. The complete work of al-Zahāwī still awaits publication.

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(WIEBKE WALTHER)

ZĀHID [see ZUHD].

ZĀHIDĀN, a city of southeastern modern Iran (lat. 29° 32' N., long. 60° 54' E.), this being the new name, adopted in the time of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī [*q.v.*], for the older settlement of Duzdāb.

Duzdāb/Zāhidān lies on the north-south highway connecting Čābahār on the Persian coast of the Gulf of Oman through Birdjand to Khurāsān (now of special importance as a supply link to the newly-independent central Asian republics), at some 40 km/25 miles south of the point where the borders of Iran, Afghānistān and Pakistani Balūčistān meet. Though situated in a harsh desert environment (average rainfall p.a., 75 mm/3 inches), the place has had a considerable commercial and strategic significance over the last century or so, and during the First World War it became the western terminus of the railway extended from Quetta [see KWAṬṬA] through the northern part of what was then British Balūčistān. There were plans in the 1930s to connect the railhead of Zāhidān with the Trans-Iranian railway constructed by Riḍā Shāh (see Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 550, 563); but it was not till the second half of the century that the railway was extended from Ḳum to Yazd and Kirmān city and beyond the latter for mineral traffic, although the passenger traffic line has not yet reached Zāhidān (see *The Middle East and North Africa*, 47th ed. London 2001, 560).

The present city of Zāhidān is almost wholly a modern one. In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of some 10,000, a mixture of Persians and Balūč (Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, viii, 218-19), which by the census of 1996 had grown to 419,518. It is the administrative centre for the province of Balūčistān and Sīstān, and has such amenities as an airport and a university.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ẒAHĪR (A.), conventional form *dahir*, an administrative term of the Muslim West.

Here *ẓahīr*, meaning "help, support", came to mean a royal decree issued by the sovereign and conferring an administrative prerogative, such as nomination to a political or religious post, or granting a privilege, either moral or material, upon the beneficiary. In the case of conferred privileges, the beneficiary could share them with his relatives or even pass them on to his descendants if the sovereign was generous enough to include such a favour in the document.

The early dynasties

The term first appeared under the Almohad dynasty (524-668/1130-1269), replacing another term, *ṣakk*, used earlier by the Almoravids (454-541/1062-1147) and the Andalusian *ṭā'ifa* kingdoms to refer to the same type of royal or princely decree. As such, the use of the term *ẓahīr* was especially associated with the royal administrative tradition in the Maghrib and Islamic Spain. The *ẓahīr* was, in the first place, a document the ruler delivered to a state official upon his appointment. In the case of a governor, it would define the administrative prerogatives and the territorial limits within which he would exercise his powers. Along with the royal decree, the governor would also receive a seal and a garment. A copy of the document was usually addressed to the subjects of the appointee in order to introduce the new official and reiterate the duty of obeying those representing the princely authority. The content of the *ẓahīr* was made known in a public reading, usually at the main mosque following the Friday prayer. An ambassador on mission to a foreign court was also supposed to carry a *ẓahīr* introducing him to the authorities of that country. In this case, the document was no different from an official letter of accreditation. In fact, in common usage, *ẓahīr* became synonymous with "royal letter", but *ẓahīr* in its strict sense refers to a document endowed with a legal binding power, which a letter does not necessarily have.

Another use of the document consisted in bestowing privileges upon merchants, dignitaries, religious figures or former state servants as a reward for their past services or in recognition of their loyalty to the sovereign. These privileges could be symbolic, in the form of "distinction and respect" (*at-tawḳīr wa 'l-iḥtirām*), or they could be material in the form of a regular allowance, land grant (*tanfīdha*), the right to farm taxes within a defined territory, or a trade monopoly. *Ẓahīrs* were also delivered to the *shaykhs* of the Ṣūfī lodges and to members of Sharīfian families to confirm their distinguished status or to corroborate their claim to a holy lineage, on the basis of which they would be entitled to a number of privileges, such as exemption from non-religious taxation, arbitrary impositions, *corvée* obligations and military service. They also involved respect (*tawḳīr*) and special treatment by the local authorities, thereby demonstrating the state's consideration for those whose descent or social distinction placed them above the common people.

The bestowal of such privileges by a Muslim sovereign by means of *ẓahīr* was not limited to his Muslim subjects. Christian or Jewish subjects were also among the beneficiaries. The Almohad ruler Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf II (1213-23) even wrote a *ẓahīr* in favour of a Christian monastery located beyond the northern Andalusian border, giving the monks the right to drive their cattle south to the more favourable grazing lands of the Almohad domains. The most famous Almohad ruler, Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (1184-99 [see ABŪ YŪSUF YAʿḲŪB AL-MANṢŪR]), also wrote *ẓahīrs* in favour of his Jewish subjects. The practice of extending *ẓahīr* privileges to Jews became even more common during the modern period with the growing role of Jewish merchants in domestic and international trade.

Under the Saʿdids and ʿAlawīs

Under the Sharīfian rule of the Saʿdī and ʿAlawī dynasties (916/1510-present day), the issuing of *ẓahīrs* became more frequent as a result of the special privileges acquired by the *sharīfs* and because of the proliferation of saintly lineages. The growing weakness of the central government and its inability to extend its effective rule to the whole country also meant that sultans were more disposed to grant privileges for those local religious and political figures who would return the favour and support the state's policies at the regional level. Under these two Sharīfian dynasties, the most common form of *ẓahīr* became the *ẓahīr al-tawḳīr wa 'l-iḥtirām* delivered to Sharīfian families, maraboutic figures, *shaykhs* of the Ṣūfī orders and faithful servants.

This form of *ẓahīr* usually conferred upon the holder and his relatives the two kinds of privileges mentioned above, moral and material. Every *ẓahīr* of this category was by definition a title of distinction conferred by the highest political and religious authority of the land. The mere fact of possessing such a document was enough to guarantee its holder special treatment by the local authorities and to free him from the exactions and abuses usually suffered by the common people. The royal decree could also involve material benefits, such as exemption from non-religious taxes, or even more, the authorisation to pay the legal religious taxes, normally due to the state treasury (*bayt al-māl*), to the poor among the grantee's relatives. In the case of *zāwiyas*, such a favour amounted to a practical exemption from religious taxation, since it was up to the *shaykh* of the *zāwiya* to decide how he would spend the proceeds of the *zakāt* and *ʿushr* [*q.vv.*]. In the case of an influential *zāwiya*, the sultan could also make concessions in the form of land grants, the right to collect taxes from tribes or villages for the benefit of the *zāwiya*, and even the right to nominate judges or other officials within the territory that fell within the *zāwiya*'s sphere of influence. The *ẓahīr* of respect could also turn the residence or the domain of the beneficiary into a sanctuary (*ḥaram, ḥurm* in Moroccan usage) where people and property would be immune from state prosecution or intervention.

By the end of the 19th century, the number of subjects holding *ẓahīrs* of distinction freeing them from state obligations had reached unbearable proportions. This inflation of *ẓahīrs*, in addition to the harmful effects of European consular protection, led to the deterioration of state finances. However, reforms by which *ẓahīr* privileges would be abolished, or at least limited, were doomed to failure since traditional groups benefitting from state-bestowed privileges vigorously opposed any attempt at reform which would harm their interests. Under the French protectorate régime, which ruled the country after 1912, and after Moroccan independence in 1956, the *ẓahīr* as a title of exemption from state obligations was *de facto* abolished, even if Moroccan sultans (after 1956, kings) continued to deliver *ẓahīrs* to reconfirm the Sharīfian status of those who held similar documents issued by their predecessors. The significance of such documents became purely honorific. Nowadays, usage of the term *ẓahīr* is strictly limited to legislation bearing the royal seal or to appointments to a high state position.

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(MOHAMED EL MANSOUR)

ẒĀHIR (A., pl. *ẓawāhir*), lit. the outward meaning of a word, language or event, a term of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]. It is the meaning first comprehended by the mind upon hearing a particular term or expression that potentially has two or more meanings. Deriving from a root suggesting a notion of strength, *ẓāhir* is applied to that meaning which in effect takes over the term, thus imparting it before it does the other meanings carried therein. That particular meaning is made prominent by virtue of conventional (*ʿurfī*) or technical (*ṣināʿī*) usage. Cast in opposition to *naṣṣ*, which designates a univocal term, *ẓāhir* is epistemologically probabilistic (*muḥtamal*). Yet *ẓāhir* is also contrasted with *khafī*, this being a term carrying an unclear meaning that is established or deduced only after a hermeneutical effort has been made. This interpretive activity is said to result in the *bāṭin* meaning of the term. Accordingly, the term *ẓāhir* stands somewhere in the middle of a spectrum whose two extreme ends are the *naṣṣ* and the *khafī*.

The term is also applicable to events, states or situations in so far as they are analysable in terms of discourse. If a Muslim is caught carrying wine, claiming that it is either not his or that he intends to ferment it into vinegar, then he would not be held liable if it can be shown that he is pious and of good character. In such an instance, it is said that the *ẓāhir* of his overall situation and character is an argument in his own vindication. It is in this sense that the jurists held the view that legal construction must, as a rule, be based on the *ẓāhir* (*al-bināʾ ʿalā al-ẓāhir wādjib*).

In the Ḥanafī school of law, the *ẓāhir al-riwāya* or alternatively *ẓāhir al-madhhab* is the most authoritative doctrine, that which is transmitted from Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī through a large number of channels by trustworthy and highly qualified jurists.

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(WAEL HALLAQ)

AL-ẒĀHIR WA 'L-**BĀṬIN** (A.), two terms of Arabic theological and philosophical discourse, the first, *ẓāhir*, meaning "outward, external, exoteric sense", hence "apparent, manifest sense", and the second, *bāṭin*, its antonym, meaning "hidden, inner, esoteric sense". This pair of words occurs together four times in the Ḳurʾān: in VI, 120, to describe the outwardness and the inwardness of a sin; in XXXI, 20, as adjectives to describe God's blessings, both manifest and hidden; in LVII, 3, as names of God to mean that He is the Outward and the Inward [reality], and in LVII, 13, as opposites portraying both the inside as well as the outside of a thing (*Muʿdjam alfāẓ al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*, Cairo 1409/1988, i, 141, ii, 732, 733; Lane, i, 219-22, ii, 1926-30).

The Shīʿa, both the Imāmīs and the Ismāʿīlīs, maintain that the Ḳurʾān has both an outer (*ẓahr*) as well as an inner dimension (*baṭn*). To support their contention they report a tradition wherein the Prophet is stated to have said, "Not a verse of the Ḳurʾān has come down [to me] but it has a *ẓahr* (a literal expression or an apparent meaning) and a *baṭn* (an interpretation or an inner meaning)" (al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Asās al-taʾwīl*, ed. A. Tāmir, Beirut 1960, 30; Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī, Beirut, n.d., i, 9; see also Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī [attrib.], *al-Tafsīr*, ed. M. al-Ghamrāwī, Cairo n.d., i, 2; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itḳān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl, Beirut 1988, iv, 196-8; *LA* and *TʿA*, s.v. *ẓ-h-r*). The aforementioned Shīʿī tradition further states that the inner dimension has yet another dimension; in fact, it states, there are up to seven or seventy inner dimensions (al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *al-Mīzān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, Ḳumm n.d., i, 7). Referring to the inner meaning or the interpretation (*bāṭin*) of the Ḳurʾān, the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ is reported to have said, "We can speak about a word in seven ways." One of the followers in the audience, expressing his surprise, asked, "Seven, O son of the Messenger of God?" The Imām replied, "Yes, [not only seven], but seventy" (*Asās al-taʾwīl*, 27).

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is reported to have said, "The apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) of the Ḳurʾān is elegant, and its inner meaning (*bāṭin*) is profound; the marvels [of the Ḳurʾān] cannot be fathomed and its wonders cannot be exhausted" (al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī, *Madjmaʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Hāshim al-Rasūlī and F. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, [Tehran] 1379/1959-60, ii, 9; see also *al-Mīzān, op. cit.*, i, 12). In his *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, Tehran 1388/1968, i, 228, Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Kulīnī states, "No-one except the *awṣiyāʾ* [i.e. the Imāms] can claim that they possess the whole of the Ḳurʾān, both its *ẓāhir* and its *bāṭin*."

The Prophet Muḥammad was the recipient of God's revelation, its transmitter and its interpreter. The Shīʿa, both the Imāmīs and the Ismāʿīlīs, maintain that God revealed both the Ḳurʾān (often called *tanzīl*, because it was sent down or revealed) and its exegesis (*taʾwīl* [*q.v.*]) to the Prophet. The Prophet, in turn, transmitted the revelation but reserved the transmission of its *taʾwīl* for the Imāms. The latter therefore have a unique relationship to the Ḳurʾān. In a well-known tradition, related by both Shīʿī and Sunnī traditionists (with some variations in the wording), the Ḳurʾān is presented as "the greater weight" (*al-thaḳal al-akbar*) and the Imāms as the "lesser weight" (*al-thaḳal al-aṣghar*). The Prophet, according to this tradition, is said to have told the Muslims, "I am leaving among you two things of great weight (*al-thaḳalayn*), the Book of God and my kindred (*ʿitratī*), the people of my House (*ahl baytī*, i.e. the Imāms), and these two shall never be separated until they return to me at the Pool (*ḥawḍ*) just like these two." Then the Prophet put together the index fingers of his two hands, coupling them and equalising them in all respects. He added "And not like this," and extended the middle and index fingers of his right hand, "because one reaches out beyond the other. Indeed, the likeness of these [two things of great weight], is Noah's ark. He who boarded it was saved, and he who left it was drowned" (al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-islām*, ed. Fyzee, Cairo 1963, i, 28, Eng. tr. Fyzee, revised and annotated by I. Poonawala, forthcoming; *al-Kāfī*, i, 294; *Madjmaʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, i, 9; Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*, ed. Muḥammad al-Albānī, Damascus 1961, iii, 255, 258, Eng. tr. J. Robson, Lahore 1975, ii, 1350, 1353; Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *th-ḳ-l*; transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Dārimī).

Thus it is apparent from the foregoing discussion that the *ẓāhir* (or *ẓahr*) and *bāṭin* (or *baṭn*) of the Ḳurʾān have been identified by the Shīʿa with the principles of *tanzīl* and *taʾwīl*. The former refers to the revealed text of the Ḳurʾān and the latter to its inner, esoteric meaning. Al-Kulīnī's *kitāb al-ḥudjdja*, in his *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, and al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *kitāb al-walāya*, in his *Daʿāʾim al-islām*, are eloquent testimonies and detailed accounts of their respective views on the subject. It should be noted, however, that in comparison with the Ismāʿīlīs' use of it, the principle of the *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* is used by the Imāmīs somewhat moderately. The Ismāʿīlīs, in contrast, assert that every exoteric meaning has an esoteric counterpart; therefore, all aspects of religion are divided into *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*. The former consists of exterior aspects, such as knowing the apparent meaning of the Ḳurʾān and performing the obligatory acts as laid down in the *Sharīʿa* [*q.v.*]. The latter, on the other hand, is comprised of knowing the hidden, inner, true meaning of the Ḳurʾān and the *Sharīʿa*. The *ẓāhir*, which represents the body, can be perceived by the senses, while the *bāṭin*, which represents the spirit, is derived by special knowledge called *taʾwīl*. The apparent meaning of the Ḳurʾān, the Ismāʿīlīs state, perishes in the opacity and servitude of legalist religion. It is necessary to bring out the transparency of its depth, the esoteric meaning. Attaining comprehension of *bāṭin/taʾwīl* is like a spiritual birth that enables the person to enter a new world, to accede to a higher plane of being. They further contend that the *ẓāhir* was the miracle of the Prophet while the *bāṭin* is the miracle of the Imāms (*Asās al-taʾwīl*, 31; Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Iftikhār*, ed. Poonawala, forthcoming, ch. xii). Al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Taʾwīl al-daʿāʾim*, ed. M. Aʿẓamī, Cairo n.d. and al-Sidjistānī's *K. al-Iftikhār* are good examples of Ismāʿīlī *bāṭin/taʾwīl* doctrine. The conviction that to everything apparent, literal, exoteric there corresponds something hidden, spiritual, esoteric, is the fundamental principle at the very foundation of Ismāʿīlī doctrine. *Bāṭin* is the central postulate of esoterism and of esoteric *taʾwīl* (hermeneutics). Because of their insistence on this principle, the Ismāʿīlīs are very often called *al-Bāṭiniyya* by their opponents, and they are

classified as extremist Shīʿa by the Muslim heresiographers (see ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, ed. M. Muḥyī al-Dīn, Cairo n.d., 281 ff.; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Wakīl, Cairo 1968, i, 192; al-Ghazālī, *Faḍāʾiḥ al-bāṭiniyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1964; I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte*, Leiden 1916; Abū Muḥammad al-Yamanī, *ʿAḳāʾid al-thalāth wa-sabʿīna firka*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ghāmidī, Medina 1414/1993, ii, 477). The Zaydīs are opposed to *Bāṭinī taʾwīl* as practiced by Ismāʿīlīs and Imāmīs. Druzes [see DURŪZ], on the other hand, affirm that the Bible, the Ḳurʾān and their own scriptures have esoteric as well as exoteric meanings. They further maintain that in addition to these two levels of meaning there is yet another level, called "the esoteric of the esoteric" (Samy Swayd, *The Druzes. An annotated bibliography*, Kirkland, Wash. 1998, 36).

The Ṣūfīs also maintain this principle of *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* with regard to the Ḳurʾān. The *tafsīr* of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]), one of the oldest extant works representing mystical interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, is a good case in point. At the basic level of interpretation al-Tustarī's division is twofold: *ẓāhir* (exoteric) and *bāṭin* (esoteric). The former aspect comprises mostly traditions (*aḥādīth*) explaining religious law, occasions of revelations, and other obvious matters, while the latter aspect comprises mystical explanations. Referring to the Ḳurʾān, at the beginning of the *tafsīr*, al-Tustarī states, "Its apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) is beautiful and its inner meaning (*bāṭin*) is profound, and no mind is capable of comprehending it" (*Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, Cairo 1326/1908, 2; G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam. The Qurʾānic hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī*, New York 1980, 139). Further explaining the meaning of the Ḳurʾānic verses, he states, "Each verse has four levels of signification: a *ẓāhir*, a *bāṭin*, a *ḥadd* and a *maṭlaʿ* (or *muṭṭalaʿ*). The *ẓāhir* is the recitation of that verse, the *bāṭin* is its [proper] understanding, the *ḥadd* defines what is lawful and what is unlawful, and the *maṭlaʿ* (the point of transcendency) or the *muṭṭalaʿ* (anagogical meaning) is the spectacle of the heart and its meaning intended by God" (see also al-Sulamī, *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-tafsīr*, in Böwering, *The mystical vision*, 140; this fourfold division is attributed by al-Sulamī to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in *Itḳān*).

Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī's (d. 412/1021) *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-tafsīr*, which holds a unique place in the history of Ṣūfī *tafsīr*, also uses the distinction of *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* (Böwering, *The Qurʾān commentary of Sulamī*, in *Islamic studies presented to Charles Adams*, ed. W. Hallaq and D.P. Little, Leiden 1991, 41-56; al-Sulamī, *Ziyādāt ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-tafsīr*, ed. Böwering, Beirut 1995, 1, 24, 38, 42, 43, 101, 106.) This trend of Ṣūfī esoteric interpretation of the Ḳurʾān was continued by Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī (d. 606/1209), Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), and others.

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AL-ẒĀHIR [see BARḲŪḲ; BAYBARS I].

AL-ẒĀHIR BI-AMR ALLĀH, ABŪ NAṢR MUḤAMMAD b. al-Nāṣir, 35th ʿAbbāsid caliph, *r.* 622-3/1225-6. In 585/1189 he was designated by al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*], as his father's elder son, to succeed him, but in 601/1205, probably under the influence of the Shīʿī vizier Ibn Mahdī, the caliph changed his mind and made his heir his younger son ʿAlī, more favourable towards Shīʿism than the elder one, who was very attached to Sunnī orthodoxy. To explain and justify this decision, a letter was produced, signed by two witnesses, in which the prince Abū Naṣr Muḥammad asked his father to relieve him of the function of *walī al-ʿahd*, which he felt incapable of assuming. However, ʿAlī died in 612/1215-16, and since the caliph had no other heir, Abū Naṣr was restored to his former status but kept under close surveillance until 615/1218-19 or 618/1221-2.

On his father's death, he was hailed as caliph at the end of Ramaḍān 622/beginning of October 1225 when he was more than 50 years old, and chose the regnal *laḳab* of al-Ẓāhir. His reign was only 9 months and 14 days, since he himself died on 14 Radjab 623/11 July 1226; but he is unanimously praised by the historians as a just, generous and pious ruler who gave extensive alms, freed unjustly-confined prisoners and restored to their owners lands confiscated by his father.

In the political and religious fields, he had hardly any time to accomplish any major work. The influence of the Ḥanbalīs increased in Baghdād, whilst as his external policy, the caliph tried to end the fratricidal strife of the Ayyūbid princes in Syria and Egypt, hoping to make them his own vassals. To this end he despatched Muḥyī al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Djawzī, son of the famous Ḥanbalī theologian [see IBN AL-DJAWZĪ] with robes of honour and investiture diplomas. In the economic and fiscal spheres, he undertook a series of important measures, at the risk of diminishing the state revenues, by forbidding uncanonical taxes (*mukūs*), abolishing the increases in land tax made by his father and attacking the frauds that were rife within the public treasury. He further combatted the excessive price rises of staple foods, especially at the time of the great famine which affected all of Upper Mesopotamia during the year of his reign. Within Baghdād, he had constructed a second bridge of boats across the Tigris and abolished the espionage and intelligence service set up in every quarter of the city by his father, to the great relief of the population.

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al-zamān, ed. Ḥaydarābād, viii, 522-3, 592, 636; Abū Shāma, *Dhayl*, Cairo 1947, 50-1, 145, 149; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, tr. Budge, London 1932, i, 389; al-Makīn Ibn al-ʿAmīd, in *BEO*, xv (1958), 135-6; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, iv, ed. Ḥasanayn Rabīʿ and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1972, 191-6; Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg. 443-4, Eng. tr. Whitting, 316-17; Suyūṭī, *T. al-Khulafāʾ*, Aleppo 1991, 412-14.

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(ANNE-MARIE EDDÉ)

AL-ZĀHIR LI-IʿZĀZ DĪN ALLĀH, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan (or Abū Hāshim) ʿAlī b. al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh, seventh Fāṭimid caliph and the fourth to reign at Cairo in Egypt.

After the death of al-Ḥākim on 27 Shawwāl 411/14 February 1021, Sitt al-Mulk [*q.v.*], the latter's half-sister, refused to recognise the rights of the heir presumptive, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) b. Ilyās, al-Ḥākim's cousin, designated *walī al-ʿahd* by the latter in 404/1014-5 and at the time governor of Damascus (A.F. Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-fāṭimiyya, tafsīr djadīd*, Cairo 1413/1992, 108-9, 117-18). Recalled to Cairo, he allegedly committed suicide some months later. Sitt al-Mulk, the favourite daughter of the caliph al-ʿAzīz, who had been constantly humiliated by the Palace since her father's death, secured the succession for her nephew, born in Ramaḍān 395/1005, who received the public *bayʿa* at sixteen years of age on 10 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 411/28 March 1021. The princess, who retained her Christian faith, was a true stateswoman, negotiating a treaty with Byzantium. She exercised the reality of power in the state until her death, which took place in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 413/February 1023. After the death of the princess, al-Ẓāhir was notorious until the end of his life for his political incompetence. Unlike his father, tormented to the point of insanity by his political, moral and religious responsibilities, al-Ẓāhir seems to have been a hedonist, enjoying the wine and the black slaves supplied to him by a Jewish merchant, the future *wazīr* Abū Saʿd Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Tustarī (Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Sayyid, Cairo 1981, 2-5). Al-Ẓāhir never showed any interest in the wielding of real power, and was the first Fāṭimid caliph to shift the responsibility for any important decision on to his entourage, inaugurating a tradition of personal impotence on the part of the Imām which was to persist until the end of the dynasty. His contemporary, al-Musabbiḥī [*q.v.*] wrote a chronicle of which a few months have been preserved, from 414-5/1024-5 (*La chronique d'Égypte*, ed. Sayyid and Th. Bianquis, Cairo 1978), recounting in detail on the one hand, the public life of the caliph, the reception of the military, administrative and religious hierarchy in the great hall, and solemn processions around Cairo and its neighbourhood (P. Sanders, *Rituals, politics and the city in Fatimid Cairo*, New York 1994, index at 231), and on the other, the secret and ruthless struggles erupting between the various nexuses of power at the heart of the palace, dominated by a faction of three civilians and a military eunuch who joined forces to deprive the caliph of all executive power (Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, ii, Damascus 1989, 391-8; idem, *Le fonctionnement financier des dīwāns centraux fāṭimides au début du Vᵉ/XIᵉ siècle*, in *AI*, xxvi [1992], 46-61).

The powerlessness of the state was evident when in 415/1024-5 Egypt experienced a serious famine, followed by an epidemic and rural and urban disorder, and the Fāṭimid presence in Syria was threatened by attacks on the part of three major tribes: Ṭayyiʾ Djarrāhids from Transjordan against Ramla, Kalb ʿAdawīs from Palmyra or Tadmur against Damascus and Kilāb Mirdāsids [*q.vv.*] from northern Syria against Aleppo (see Bianquis, *Une crise frumentaire dans l'Égypte fāṭimide*, in *JESHO*, xxiii [1978], 67-101; idem, *Damas et la Syrie*, ii, 399-511; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-fāṭimiyya*, 119-23 and index). However, the public teaching of the Ismāʿīlī doctrine with the aid of works written by the *ḳāḍīs* al-Nuʿmān and Ibn Killis continued in Egypt (see H. Halm, *The Fatimids and their traditions of learning*, London 1997). Propagandists sent secretly to the East enjoyed some success in southern ʿIrāḳ but failed in the Ghaznawid state, resolutely Sunnī and loyal to the ʿAbbāsids.

However, thanks to the efforts of two exceptional individuals, the most serious problems were resolved. In Cairo, in Rabīʿ I 418/ April-May 1027, the ʿIrāḳī *kātib* Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Djardjarāʾī, former steward of Sitt al-Mulk and a force in the palace since 415/1025, was appointed *wazīr*, an office that had been suppressed by al-Ḥākim and replaced by the *wisāṭa* and the *sifara*. In southern and central Syria, Fāṭimid domination was restored by the able Turkish general Anushtakīn al-Dizbarī [*q.v.*] who, despite the hostility of the *dīwāns* of Cairo, won a decisive victory over the Bedouin coalition at al-Ukhuwāna, to the east of Lake Tiberias (Rabīʿ II or Djumādā I 420/May 1029).

In 413/1023, a treaty between Byzantines and Fāṭimids, putting an end to the unfavourable relations existing between al-Ḥākim and the Emperor Basil II, was to have been concluded, but the death of Sitt al-Mulk led to its cancellation. In 418/1027, a provisional agreement guaranteed that, in the mosque at Constantinople, the invocation would be made in the name of the Fāṭimid Imām, and that the Basileus had the right to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, burned on the orders of al-Ḥākim, as well as all the churches in Egypt which had been destroyed and not transformed into mosques. In 423/1032, in an exceptional episode in the history of relations between Constantinople and the Muslim powers, a combined Fāṭimid-Byzantine expedition attacked the Druzes in the Djabal Summaḳ, driving them into caves and slaughtering them (see *Histoire de Yahya ibn Said d'Antioche*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, Fr. tr. Françoise Micheau and G. Troupeau, in *PO*, vol. xlvii, fasc. 4, no. 212, Tournai 1997, 152-3). It was not until 425/1034, after protracted negotiations brought together representatives of all the principalities of the Middle East, of which Yaḥyā al-Anṭāḳī gives a detailed account, that the definitive version of the treaty came into existence. It included a clause stipulating that in the event of famine, corn would be transferred from the better-off state to the needy one.

Al-Ẓāhir died on the eve of his thirty-second birthday, in mid-Shaʿbān 427/1036, and was succeeded by his son, Abū Tamīm Maʿadd al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: In addition to Musabbiḥī, *op. cit.*, Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*, ed. A. Ferré, Cairo 1972, 66 ff. is the most informative regarding this caliphate, giving the list of administrators and *ḳāḍīs*; see the numerous other traditional sources of Fāṭimid history, in particular Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, vi, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Cairo 1380/1961, 313-41; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. M.Ḥ.M. Aḥmad, ii, Cairo 1971, 124-83; see also

the detailed or annotated bibliographies in Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie*, ii, 705-40; L.S. al-Imad, *The Fatimid vizierate, 969-1172*, Berlin 1990, 197-224; Y. Lev, *State and society in Fatimid Egypt*, Leiden 1991, 199-210; M. Gil, *A history of Palestine, 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, 862-911; A.F. Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-fāṭimiyya*, 433-55; J.Cl. Garcin (ed.), *États, sociétés et cultures du monde musulman médiéval, Xe-XVe siècle*, i, Paris 1995, pp. xlii-l; C. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Egypt*, i, Cambridge 1998, 560-71; for an overview of the general topography of Cairo and the disposition of the caliphal palaces, consult A.F. Sayyid, *La capitale de l'Égypte jusqu'à l'époque fāṭimide: al-Qāhira et Fusṭāṭ, essai de reconstitution topographique*, Beirut 1998, 209-326.

(TH. BIANQUIS)

AL-MALIK AL-**ẒĀHIR GHĀZĪ**, GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN, Ayyūbid [*q.v.*] ruler of Aleppo, third son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, b. mid-Ramaḍān 568/end of April 1173, d. 20 Djumādā II 613/4 October 1216.

In Rabīʿ II 579/July-August 1183, after the conquest of Aleppo, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn made al-Ẓāhir nominal regent of the city under the tutelage of an *amīr*. Soon afterwards, in Shaʿbān-Ramaḍān 579/November-December 1183, he restructured his realm and gave Aleppo to his brother al-ʿĀdil [*q.v.*]. Al-Ẓāhir returned to the court of his father. The next restructuring occurred three years later after submission of the Djazīra [see ZANGIDS], when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn bestowed Aleppo on al-Ẓāhir, in Djumādā II 582/August-September 1186. During his father's campaigns against the Crusaders in 584/1188, al-Ẓāhir distinguished himself as a vigorous and able warrior.

At the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 589/1193, al-Ẓāhir held sway over the principality of Aleppo, from the Euphrates in the east, the borders of Armenian Cilicia in the north, the Crusader principality of Antioch in the west and the Ayyūbid principality of Ḥamāt [*q.v.*] in the south. In 589/1193 he reinforced al-ʿĀdil, who had to suppress the rebellion of the dependent principalities in the Djazīra. In the ensuing struggles for supremacy within the Ayyūbid house, al-Ẓāhir first sided with the coalition of the designated heir al-Afḍal [*q.v.*] and al-ʿĀdil against his ambitious brother al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān of Egypt. In Radjab 591/June 1195, when al-Afḍal's incapacity became apparent, al-Ẓāhir supported al-ʿAzīz, but the coalition of al-Afḍal and al-ʿĀdil proved stronger. A reconciliation mainly on the basis of the status quo was reached. During the final stages of the power struggle, al-Ẓāhir sided with al-Afḍal again, now against a coalition of al-ʿAzīz and al-ʿĀdil, who had become al-ʿAzīz's main supporter. As a result, al-ʿAzīz was acknowledged as supreme sultan in Egypt and al-ʿĀdil got Damascus. Al-Ẓāhir was confirmed in his possessions in 592/1196.

More struggles followed the death of al-ʿAzīz in Muḥarram 595/November 1198, extending over the next three years. Al-Ẓāhir favoured al-Afḍal again, now as regent for al-ʿAzīz's son, al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, in Egypt. Al-ʿĀdil, at that time besieging Mārdīn, was forced to withdraw in order to secure Damascus, besieged by al-Afḍal. In Shaʿbān 595/June 1199, al-Ẓāhir set out to join al-Afḍal. Finally, the coalition broke up, and they lifted the siege of Damascus soon afterwards. The first phase ended in 596/1200 when al-ʿĀdil took Cairo and deposed al-Manṣūr in order to become supreme sultan himself. However, al-Afḍal now became recognised as supreme sultan by his main supporter al-Ẓāhir and his northern Mesopotamian allies. Meanwhile, al-Ẓāhir consolidated his position in northern Syria by conquering various towns and an attack on Ḥamāt. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 597/August 1201, al-Ẓāhir and al-Afḍal besieged Damascus again for over a month, but without success. Finally, in Djumādā II 598/March 1202 al-Ẓāhir agreed to acknowledge al-ʿĀdil's suzerainty. He remained outwardly loyal but lived with the persistent threat that his uncle might seize his principality. When in 606/1209 al-ʿĀdil tried to conquer the Zangid principalities, al-Ẓāhir tried to maintain the balance of power in northern Mesopotamia and supported diplomatically the besieged lord of Sindjār [see ZANGIDS]. The marriage with al-ʿĀdil's daughter Ḍayfa Khātūn in 609/1212 and the designation of her son al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad, born in 610/1213, as heir, lowered the tension here.

After al-Ẓāhir came to terms with his uncle, he turned his attention mainly to the development of the principality of Aleppo. He launched major building projects on fortifications, on religious institutions and on the water supplies (*ḳanawāt*). He promoted commerce and trade, notably with the Venetians, who in 604/1207-8 were given privileged access to the mint of Aleppo for imported European silver (Pozza, Bates). From Egypt, important scholars and able officials fled to his court, namely, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Mammātī [*q.vv.*]. The historian Ibn al-ʿAdīm [*q.v.*] dedicated a treatise to al-Ẓāhir on the occasion of the birth of al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad (Brockelmann, I², 405).

At the end of al-Ẓāhir's reign, the ambitious Armenian king Leon II threatened his realm in the north. Al-Ẓāhir found a natural ally in Bohemund IV, Count of Tripoli and lord of Antioch. The conquest of the latter city by Leon II in 612/1216 finally brought al-Ẓāhir in closer contact with the Rūm Saldjūḳs.

Al-Ẓāhir died in 613/1216 after a severe illness. His three-year-old son al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad succeeded him under the tutelage of the *mamlūk* Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭoghrïl, whilst Ḍayfa Khātūn became in 634/1236 an influential regent of Aleppo for her grandson al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II [*q.v.*].

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(S. HEIDEMANN)

AL-**ẒĀHIR ČAḲMAḲ** [see ČAḲMAḲ].

ẒAHĪR-I FĀRYĀBĪ, or ẒAHĪR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌL ṬĀHIR b. Muḥammad AL-FĀRYĀBĪ, Persian poet of the 6th/12th century, born at Fāryāb (modern Dawlatābād) near Balkh about 550/1156, d. 598/1201. As a court poet he served patrons in various parts of Persia; the earliest known to us was ʿAḍud al-Dīn Ṭughānshāh, a local ruler of Nīshāpūr. In 582/1186-7 he went to Iṣfahān and three years later from there to Māzandarān, where he was attached to the *ispahbād* Ḥusām al-Dīn Ardashīr b. Ḥasan of

the Bāwandids [*q.v.*]. Still later he settled down at the court of the Eldigüzids or Ildeñizids [*q.v.*], writing panegyrics to the Atābegs Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ḳizil Arslān ʿUthmān (581-7/1186-91) and Nuṣrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Pahlawān (591-607/1195-1210). One of the *ḳaṣīdas* preserved in Ẓahīr's *Dīwān* is adressed to the Saldjūḳ Sultan Ṭoghrïl III (d. 590/1194). Towards the end of his life, he retired from the world and led a life of devotion in Tabrīz. In Rabīʿ I 598/December 1201 he died in that city and was buried at Surkhāb in the cemetery of the poets (Mustawfī, *Guzīda*, 737-8).

The *Dīwān* of Ẓahīr was collected shortly after his death by Shams-i Sudjāsī (d. 602/1205-6), who is probably also the author of a prose introduction handed down in some manuscripts (Storey-de Blois, v/2, 536). The best preserved part of his work are the *ḳaṣīdas* and the *muḳaṭṭaʿāt*. These poems were composed in the same learned style which marks the panegyrics of Anwarī and Khāḳānī [*q.vv.*]. In the 7th/13th century, the critical comparison between Anwarī and Ẓahīr became a topic of literary discussion in which the poets Madjd-i Hamgar and Imāmī participated (cf. the introduction to *Dīwān-i Anwarī*, i, 108-10). Saʿdī [*q.v.*] objected to Ẓahīr's extravagant use of hyperbole (*Būstān*, 40). His style as a court poet has been characterised as polished and graceful, but somewhat insipid (Browne, *LHP*, ii, 414). Of his *ghazals*, few seem now to be extant; most of the *ghazals* attributed to him in printed versions of the *Dīwān* were really composed by another Ẓahīr, a Shīʿī poet of the 10th/16th century. Some *ḳaṣīdas* by his contemporary Shams-i Ṭabasī have also been mistaken for works of Ẓahīr (see further de Blois, v/2, 558).

Bibliography: Anwarī, *Dīwān*, ed. M.T. Mudarris-i Raḍawī, i, Tehran 1347 *sh.*/1968; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 298-307; Dawlatshāh, 109-14; Saʿdī, *Būstān*, ed. Gh.H. Yūsufī, Tehran 1359 *sh.*/1980; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, ii, ³Tehran 1339 *sh.*/1960, 750-64; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 209; idem, in *Cambridge hist. Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, 577; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iii, Tehran 1350 *sh.*/1971, 2421-5; further references in Storey-de Blois, *Persian literature*, v/2, London 1994, 557-61, and *EIr*, s.v. Fāryābī.

(Cl. Huart-[J.T.P. de Bruijn])

ẒĀHIR al-ʿUMAR al-ZAYDĀNĪ, local ruler in northern Palestine in the 18th century (*ca.* 1690-1775).

His father and grandfather had already been *multazims* of Tiberias, and as a young man, Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar struck an alliance with the al-Ṣaḳr tribe of eastern Galilee and made Tiberias his first power base. The 1730s were filled with efforts to expand his realm and consolidate his rule. In 1738 he conquered the fortress of Djiddīn, which controlled the region of Tarshīḥa, Wabar and Abū Sinān, and Ṣafad surrendered to him shortly after. Ẓāhir's growing power between Tiberias and Ṣafad now straddled the trade route and communications between Damascus and Nablus and, by extension, those with Egypt. Repeated attempts by the governors of Damascus to dislodge him from Tiberias were defeated and ended in 1743 in a stalemate. Ẓāhir now turned his full attention westwards, aiming to control western Galilee, Acre and the lucrative cotton trade. By 1746 the French cotton merchants called him *gouverneur* of Acre. In 1751 he had walls built around the city and resided in it permanently. In 1768 he was given by the Ottoman government the title of "Shaykh of Acre, Amīr of Nazareth, Tiberias, Ṣafad, and Shaykh of all Galilee". By then he had forged a close alliance with his neighbours to the north, the Mutawālīs [*q.v.*]. At the zenith of his power now, but not strong enough against a determined Ottoman attack, Ẓāhir turned for support to ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr of Egypt. Between November 1770 and June 1771 Egyptian troops conquered all of Palestine and Damascus only to return abruptly to Egypt when their commander, Abu 'l-Dhahab, refused to carry on an open war against the sultan. Though deserted by his ally, Ẓāhir was able to consolidate and even expand his power, holding now the whole coast from Sidon to Jaffa and sending troops into the Ḥawrān.

The Ottoman government seemingly acquiesced in his growing power, but once peace with Russia was concluded in 1774, it turned against the rebel. Abu 'l-Dhahab was encouraged to move against him, but he suddenly died. The reprieve for Ẓāhir was, however, brief because the Ottoman government now sent a naval force under the *Ḳapūdān Pasha* Ḥasan. In August 1774 Acre was conquered and Ẓāhir was killed fleeing on 21 August 1775.

Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar was unique among his contemporaries in recognising that political power was not only based on troops but on a sound economy. He also was unusual in that he realised that excessive exploitation of the peasantry was detrimental to the increase of revenues in the long run. Greater productivity had to be encouraged through investment and not extortion. With his keen interest in the local economy and commerce, he is comparable to Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Egypt two generations later. It was Ẓāhir's recognition of the potential and the profitability of the cotton trade from Galilee via Acre to France for increasing his own revenues, which gave his political ambitions content and direction. He further realised that the profits could be all his if he exerted exclusive control over the cultivation and the trade of cotton, and this motivated his conquest of Western Galilee, the fortress of Acre and expansion along the coast. His policy of state economic monopoly was new to the region and was driven by the enormous profits to be made from cotton exports to France. The prosperity thus created brought a veritable boom to Acre, making it the most important city on the Syrian coast.

Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's rise to power was part of a general contemporary trend towards greater provincial autonomy. A severely weakened Ottoman empire was unable to prevent the ascendancy of the al-ʿAẓm family in Damascus, the defiance of the Mamlūks in Egypt and the consolidation of a completely new power centre in Acre and northern Palestine. Ẓāhir was—at least for a time—more successful than his contemporaries because he was able to finance his political aspirations by innovative economic policies and by linking up with European markets.

Bibliography: ʿA. al-Ṣabbāgh, *al-Rawḍ al-ẓāhir fī taʾrīkh al-Ẓāhir*, B.N. Paris, ms. arabe no. 4610; M. al-Ṣabbāgh, *Taʾrīkh al-shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar al-Ẓaydānī*, Ḥarīṣā 1935; Uriel Heyd, *Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, shalīṭ ha-Galīl*, Jerusalem 1942; A. Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1973; T. Philipp, *Acre, the rise and fall of a Palestinian city, 1730-1831. World markets and local politics*, forthcoming. (T. Philipp)

ẒAHĪR al-DĪN MARʿASHĪ b. Nāṣir al-Dīn, Sayyid, Persian commander, diplomat and historian of the Caspian region, b. *ca.* 815/1412, d. after 894/1489. He was a scion of the important family of Marʿashī Sayyids who dominated Māzandarān from the later 8th/14th century until the province's incorporation into the Ṣafawid empire by Shāh ʿAbbās I in 1005/1596 [see marʿashīs].

Ẓahīr al-Dīn stemmed from the main branch of the Marʿas̲h̲īs, that of Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ḳiwām al-Dīn (d. 801/1379). He owned estates at Bāzargāh in Gīlān, and was employed by Sultan Muḥammad II of the Kār Kiyā line in Gīlān and then by his son and successor Mīrzā ʿAlī (*r.* 881 or 883/1476-8 to 909 or 910/1503-5). He was sent to resolve militarily a succession dispute in adjacent Rustamdār and he led other expeditions, including an unsuccessful siege of Nūr in 868/1463. It was for Mīrzā ʿAlī that Ẓahīr al-Dīn wrote his *Tārīk̲h̲-i Tabaristān u Rūyān u Māzandarān*, extending from the origins of the local dynasties up to 881/1476 (ed. B. Dorn, St. Petersburg 1850; ed. ʿAbbās S̲h̲āyān, Tehran 1333/1954-5), and his *Tārīk̲h̲-i Gīlān u Daylamistān*, carried up to 894/1489 (ed. H.L. Rabino, Rasht 1330/1912), both valuable for the intricate history of the petty principalities of the Caspian region. Another work of his that is mentioned, but not apparently extant, is a *Tārīk̲h̲-i Gurgān u Rayy*, and he wrote verse, probably under the pen-name of Ẓahīr, which are quoted by him in his histories.

Bibliography: Dorn, *Sehir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristan, Rujan und Masanderan*, St. Petersburg 1850, 13-22; Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, GMS, London 1928, p. xxiii (résumé of the *Tārīk̲h̲-i Gīlān*); Storey, i, 361-2; Storey-Bregel, ii, 1073-4, 1076.

(C.E. Bosworth)

al-ẒĀHIRA, "the rearwards region", conventionally Dhahirah, the name given to the interior, landwards part of ʿUmān, that lying behind the D̲j̲abal Ak̲h̲ḍar range and merging into the desert fringes of the Empty Quarter [see al-rubʿ al-k̲h̲ālī]. The term al-Ẓāhira contrasts with that of al-Bāṭina, the coastlands of ʿUmān. The religious and political history of this "inner ʿUmān", and its social and cultural development, with local Ibāḍī elements mingled with Sunnīs, have frequently diverged from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman established for over two centuries in the coastal region [see bū saʿīd].

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al-ẒĀHIRĪ, K̲H̲ALĪL b. **S̲H̲ĀHĪN** [see ibn s̲h̲āhīn].

al-ẒĀHIRIYYA, a theologico-juridical school in mediaeval Islam which may be situated, among *mad̲h̲habs* as a whole, "at the furthest limit of orthodoxy" (R. Brunschvig, *Polémiques médiévales autour du rite de Mālik*, in *Études d'Islamologie*, ii [1976], 83). It is, furthermore, the only school that owes its existence and its name to a principle of law, Ẓāhirī in this case. Thus it relies exclusively on the literal (*ẓāhir*) sense of the Ḳurʾān and of Tradition, rejecting *raʾy*, but also *ḳiyās* [*q.vv.*], although the latter is retained by al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]) who is regularly cited as the point of departure of Ẓāhirī methodology (J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 63-4, Fr. tr. Paris 1983, 59). In other words, and to quote R. Arnaldez in *Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue*, Paris 1956, 199, Ẓāhirism "accepts only the facts clearly revealed by sensible, rational and linguistic intuitions, controlled and corroborated by Ḳurʾānic revelation".

Sources. As the best means of reconstructing Ẓāhirī thought, recourse should be had to the writings of its founder, the traditionist Dāwūd b. K̲h̲alaf (d. 270/884 [*q.v.*]). But it has long been known that nothing of his work has survived into the present day (I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, Leipzig 1884, Eng. tr., Leiden 1971, 26-30). We must therefore be content with the works of authors who quote him, in particular al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277 [*q.v.*]), al-S̲h̲aʿrānī (d. 973/1565 [*q.v.*]) and, most of all, the earlier authority Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1063 [*q.v.*] (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, 30-157). Following the lead of the Hungarian scholar, it has become customary to refer primarily to this Cordovan thinker who "illuminated, almost single-handedly in the Mālikī milieu, the literalist or Ẓāhirī school" (R. Brunschvig, *Pour ou contre la logique grecque chez les théologiens-juristes de l'Islam: Ibn Ḥazm, al-G̲h̲azālī, Ibn Taymiyya*, in *Études d'Islamologie*, i, 304-5).

For the constantly-burgeoning interest witnessed over more than a century in Ḥazmian studies, especially from the angle of Ẓāhirism, see A.-M. Turki, *Notes sur l'évolution du ẓāhirisme d'Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue, du Taqrīb à l'Iḥkām*, in *SI*, lix (1984), 175-7. As to the credibility of recourse to Ibn Ḥazm, in view of this rehabilitation, see also, by the same author, *Polémiques entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bād̲j̲ī sur les principes de la loi musulmane*, Algiers 1976, Ar. tr. [2]Beirut 1994; see especially the index of this edition, 551; here are to be found 16 references to Dāwūd, 14 in which Ibn Ḥazm is in agreement with his master, the two others showing rather a convergence with the son of Dāwūd, known to be a Ẓāhirī himself. This is useful for the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*] which are the subject at issue here, but it will be seen that this is also the case for the applied *fiḳh* [*q.v.*] where Ibn Ḥazm notes a scarce point of disagreement with the master.

Theological aspects. Here our exclusive source is Ibn Ḥazm in his *Faṣl fī 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwāʾ wa 'l-niḥal*, 2 vols., Cairo 1317-21/1899-1903 (Sp. tr. M. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*, 5 vols. Madrid 1927-32). In *Die Ẓâhiriten*, Goldziher drew substantially from the *Faṣl*, at that time still in manuscript. He stressed negation of the attributes (*ṣifāt*) except those mentioned in the Ḳurʾān; to underline Ibn Ḥazm's original contribution, he recalled that the Ẓāhiriyya were never called anything other than a *mad̲h̲hab fiḳhī* and that it therefore does not figure among the *mad̲h̲āhib kalāmiyya* (*op. cit.*, 123-56). Goldziher also dealt with this subject in his *Le livre de Moh. Ibn Toumert, Mahdi des Almohades*, introd. and Fr. tr., Algiers 1903, where he stated that the history of Muslim theology shows that Ẓāhirī *fiḳh* was in accordance with the most diverse dogmatic tendencies, and he insisted once more on the exclusive contribution of Ibn Ḥazm in creating a synthesis of Ẓāhirī *fiḳh* and of dogmatic Ẓāhirism.

M. Abū Zahra will serve as a guide for a considerable portion of this article; in his work on *Ibn Ḥazm, ḥayātuh wa-ʿaṣruh, ārāʾuh wa-fiḳhuh*, [2]Cairo 1393/1954, he analyses the various aspects of Ḥazmian thought, while underlining its originality by means of a brief but informative comparative study. He refers to the *Faṣl*, naturally, but also to the *Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, 8 vols. in 2, Cairo 1345-7/1927-9; as well as to the *Muḥallā fī 'l-fiḳh al-ẓāhirī*, 11 vols. in 8, Cairo 1347-52/1929-33. The principal and characteristic aspects of the Ḥazmian, and thus Ẓāhirī, credo are as follows. First of all, to exalt the oneness of God, while acknowledging the exclusive privilege enjoyed by His Prophets and Messengers in terms of the manifestation of miracles, the sign of sanctity and of keeping God free from anthropomorphism (*tanzīh*); and then to declare that God is one by means of His essence, while stressing the worth of His names, to the detriment of that of His attributes. In short, Ibn Ḥazm seeks to strip his credo of any trace of anthropomorphism (*tas̲h̲bīh*). God, he further maintains, is unique in His creative action (*k̲h̲alḳ wa-takwīn*). Also, the power

of man over his actions is affirmed not only in his continually active reality but also in his gradually surmountable limitations (*op. cit.*, 207-36).

On the fate reserved for the perpetrator of great sins (*murtakib al-kabīra*), Ẓāhirism oscillates between, on the one hand, clemency and divine pardon, and on the other, the Last Judgment (*ḥisāb*) and punishment, all those notions being explicitly supported by the sacred texts (*op. cit.*, 337-40). A.M. Turki, *L'engagement politique et la théorie du califat d'Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue*, in *Théologiens* (1982), 70, n. 10, following the lead of Abū Zahra, states that, while placing himself in a position of perfect continuity with regard to juridical classicism, Ibn Ḥazm sets forth instances which only the politico-social situation of his country could explain: legitimising the designation of a successor by the caliph already in place; and where no successor is named, occupation of the throne by the first claimant provided he is considered worthy, if only by one other person of equal worth. Notable here is the insignificant role played by the oath of allegiance (*bayʿa*) in this theory; also worth recording is the particular concern to show the political superiority of Muʿāwiya over ʿAlī [*q.vv.*]. Reverting to Abū Zahra's work, this author reviews the very detailed arguments presented by Ibn Ḥazm, still in the *Faṣl*, regarding the pre-eminence (*mufāḍala*) of the Companions. Ibn Ḥazm affirms categorically only the superiority of the wives of Muḥammad, and those of Abū Bakr and of ʿUmar. The concept of anteriority in time is also taken into account, in such a fashion that those who fought at the battle of Badr [*q.v.*] are superior to those who fought at the battle of Uḥud [*q.v.*], and so on throughout history (*op. cit.*, 253-9; cf. Turki, *L'idée de justice dans la pensée politique musulmane. L'interprétation d'Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue*, in *SI*, lxviii [1988], 5-28). Furthermore, and still in the context of this credo founded on absolute certitude, see *La réfutation du scepticisme et la théorie de la connaissance dans les Fiṣal*, in *Théologiens*, 159-98. The point at issue is the refutation of the principle of the absolute equality of proofs (*takāfuʾ al-adilla*) all of which is related to doubt; this leads the Ẓāhirī thinker to exalt his ardent faith, which is founded on the primary evidence of the senses and of reason (*op. cit.*, 196).

Legal aspects

(a) *Principles of law* (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*). The Ẓāhiriyya above all adopted a methodology which sought to rid *fiḳh*, as far as is possible, of any trace of subjectivity, confining it within the narrow limits of the evident meaning of the sacred text. Opposing the free use of opinion (*raʾy* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), and hence the imitation of those who practised it (*taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]), it called for an effort of search (*idjtihād* [*q.v.*]) which, far from being identified with Ḥanafī *raʾy* or with Shāfiʿī reasoning by analogy (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]), could only be involved with the search for a text. This current of thought has always been perceived as a continuation of Shāfiʿism. In fact, al-Shāfiʿī had recourse to *ḳiyās* in order to curb the free use of *raʾy* and to rebut *istiḥsān* [*q.v.*]. He rejected the consensus (*idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*]) of the ancient juridical schools to replace it with that of the unanimous Muslim community, for the good reason that it could only be realised on the basis of a body of Tradition which could not be overlooked by everybody. However, Dāwūd, a disciple of al-Shāfiʿī albeit an indirect one, systematised the methodological critique still further; thus he rejected *ḳiyās* on account of its recourse to the deductive principle of the motivation (*taʿlīl* [see ʿILLA]) founding the analogy; in parallel, he only admitted the validity of the consensus of the Companions. See details in Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, 18-36, but also Schacht, *op. cit.*, 55-60. The latter has shown that the Ẓāhiriyya were themselves unable to do without deductions and conclusions on the basis of the fundamental texts, but they attempted to present these conclusions as implied by these very texts (*op. cit.*, 59). In summary, everything happens as if through a process of syllogism, reliable according to Ibn Ḥazm's terms, because here the conclusion is included in the premises. This is the famous *dalīl* [*q.v.*] which will be observed at a later stage.

Here again, reference is to be made to the works of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* of Ibn Ḥazm. Although they cannot all be cited here (see Turki, *Polémiques*, 458), mention should be made of the *Iḥkām* and of *Marātib al-idjmāʿ fī 'l-ʿibādāt wa 'l-muʿāmalāt wa 'l-iʿtiḳādāt*, Cairo 1357; another expressive title amongst these works is to be noted, sc. that of the *Mulakhkhaṣ ibṭāl al-ḳiyās wa 'l-raʾy wa 'l-istiḥsān wa 'l-taḳlīd wa 'l-taʿlīl*, Damascus 1379/1960. But within the limited scope of this article, Abū Zahra and *Polémiques* will continue to be the major points of reference.

Ibn Ḥazm does not object categorically to *taḳlīd* as practised by mankind in general (*ʿāmmī*), but he prescribes an attitude of prudence and of vigilance, even a critical disposition if the individual is capable of this (Abū Zahra, 278-81). It has already been seen that the sacred text is defined as the Ḳurʾān, Tradition and the consensus of the Companions, or the *dalīl* drawn from one of these, and this has nothing in common with the *ḳiyās* of the jurists. The presumption of continuity (*istiṣḥāb* [*q.v.*]) is accepted, but not the pretexts (*dharāʾiʿ*) invoked to legitimise a judgement (*ḥukm* [*q.v.*]). The abrogation (*naskh* [*q.v.*]) of the Ḳurʾān is possible through the *sunna* [*q.v.*], which, in turn, may be abrogated by the Ḳurʾān. Ibn Ḥazm goes so far as to accept the abrogation of the Ḳurʾān through the *khabar al-āḥād* [see KHABAR AL-WĀḤID], a tradition owing its transmission to a single authority. *Taḳlīd* is always rejected, even if is practised with reference to a Companion (*op. cit.*, 282-340, 364-81, 429-39).

For an illustration of these fundamental principles, see *Polémiques*, where there is detailed study of the original points of view of Ibn Ḥazm, with references to the *Iḥkām* in particular. Virtually all of the aspects of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* are tackled, from a comparative angle. The overall scheme is as follows: problems of interpretation (81-93): formulation of the order; general sense; and particular sense of two contradictory traditions; problems of transmission of traditions (99-130); *khabar al-āḥād/sunna* and *ḥadīth/khabar mursal*; normative value of the practice (*ʿamal* [*q.v.*]) of the people of Medina; and licence for transmission of *ḥadīth* sc. *idjāza* [*q.v.*]. There follow the problems raised by the concept of consensus, as well as acceptance or rebuttal of reasoning by analogy (133-268, 271-393).

(b) *Application of the law* (*furūʿ*) [see FIḲH; UṢŪL]: here, reference will be made in particular to Ibn Ḥazm's *Muḥallā*, the study of which has been facilitated since the appearance of an index of topics, *Mawsūʿa taḳrīb fiḳh Ibn Ḥazm* (¹Cairo 1412/1992). It is possible to follow Goldziher, *op. cit.*, 30-53, and R. Strothmann, *EI*¹ art. *al-Ẓāhirīya*, in referring to the *Mīzān* of al-Shaʿrānī, who has preserved "a large number of decisions of the historical Ẓāhirīya" (Strothmann). A few typical examples picked out from the *Mīzān* by Strothmann are as follows. A point at issue is the prohibition imposed on vessels of gold and of silver and intended only for drinking; eating from them is permitted, since no prohibition is mentioned by the

hadīth. Cleaning the teeth with a tooth-pick in the course of ablutions is a necessity; knowingly neglecting to do this would render the prayer invalid. Wine, although forbidden, is not impure. There follows a host of examples concerning purification (*tahāra* [*q.v.*]); the minor (*wudū'* [*q.v.*]) and major (*ghusl* [*q.v.*]), as well as dry ablutions (*tayammum* [*q.v.*]): touching a copy of the Kur'ān in a state of impurity (*hadath* [*q.v.*]) is permitted. In *wudū'*, invoking the name of God is obligatory. Reciting the Kur'ān in a state of major impurity (*djanāba* [*q.v.*]) is permitted.

Schacht referred to the Hanbalī Muhammad al-Shattī (d. 1305/1887-8), author of a *K. fī masā'il al-Imām Dāwūd al-Zāhirī*, in which he assembles a large number of Dāwūd's decisions, compared with corresponding Hanbalite doctrines. Nevertheless the essential source remains Ibn Hazm. Goldziher made use of his *Ibtāl al-kiyās*, but on a small scale (42-67). But Abū Zahra devotes lengthy chapters to the topic of these decisions, almost all of them drawing on the *Muhallā*. The following are the most interesting points. On marriage, Ibn Hazm maintains that it is a legal obligation but one that is only incumbent on the man, and dependent on his eligibility for it; this follows from the Zāhirī notion that Kur'ānic solicitation (*talab*) constitutes a necessity (*luzūm*). Ibn Hazm asserts the equality of the slave and the free man in contracting marriage with four wives and in taking a concubine, all of these simultaneously. He declares as forbidden, marriage with a daughter-in-law and with one raised in the bosom (*fī hidjrih*) of a father-in-law, according to the Kur'ānic position; this, naturally, after dissolution of the alliance contracted with the mother. He acknowledges the right of the *kādī* to dissolve a marriage, but for a number of lesser reasons which he takes to be ordinary; thus no account is taken of the so-called latent vices of the husband, neither his prolonged absence, nor poverty preventing him from supplying the needs of his wife. In this last case it is she who is supposed to support her husband (441-63). See also Turki, *Femmes privilégiées et privilèges féminins dans le système théologique et juridique d'Ibn Hazm*, in *Théologiens*, 101-58.

The following are a few more original positions regarding legacies and wills. Any decision involving patrimony taken by a man suffering from a mortal sickness is declared valid, one's state of health having no legal status (Abū Zahra, 464-80). Ibn Hazm maintains that making a will is a duty subject to neither restriction nor condition of any kind whatsoever. It is certainly to the advantage of close relatives (*karāba*) having no hereditary rights, as is stipulated by a Kur'ānic verse which was never abrogated; in this last case it belongs to the one holding the authority to substitute himself for the *de cuius*, a testator who has defaulted in his lifetime.

Ibn Hazm also considers (in Abū Zahra, 497-8) the case of the grandmother whose hereditary capacity should amount to one-third of the patrimony if she is alone in her degree of kinship and in the absence of descendants and collaterals, brothers and sisters in this instance: he considers her as equivalent to a mother, in the latter's absence, which leads him to grant her a portion double that of her son—an unexpected solution, but drawn from the sacred text, Ibn Hazm asserts. See Turki, *Femmes* . . ., 147-9, for this specific case.

Still in the context of family law, Ibn Hazm rejects proportional reductions of hereditary portions (*'awl*) in cases where the total of these parts exceeds the unitary whole; here he adopts the viewpoint of the Companion Ibn 'Abbās, giving certain privileged shares to the detriment of others (in Abū Zahra, 498-504). Furthermore, gifts must be given to close relatives (*akārib*), orphans and paupers who are present at the time when the patrimony is being distributed; doing this is incumbent upon each heir but left to his discretion. In case of refusal, it belongs to the one holding the authority to act as executor in his place. This is, Ibn Hazm asserts, a position dictated by the Kur'ānic text, which should be taken literally, so long as no *dalīl* is opposed to it (504-6), and which assumes the implementation of the principle of *istishāb*.

Various cases of transactions (*mu'āmalāt* [*q.v.*]) follow. At the time of the conclusion of a deed of sale, performance of the witnessing required by law is an obligation which can be dispensed with only if there are no witnesses available. Otherwise, an offence has been committed, but the deed remains valid. If payment is to be made in advance, putting the deed into writing is obligatory. Otherwise, an offence has been committed, but the deed is not nullified. However, the obligation lapses in the absence of a scribe. This is what Ibn Hazm, on the basis of the Kur'ānic verse, takes to be a *fard* [*q.v.*], imposing a duty, which others consider to be simple guidance (*irshād*, 507-10). The option (*khiyār al-shart* [see KHIYĀR]) stipulated by the contracting parties to the agreement at the time of the conclusion of the deed of sale, is refuted by Ibn Hazm, on pain of nullification of the deed whatever the duration of the option (510-1).

A last example gives Ibn Hazm the opportunity to express his individualism, this time in relation to Dāwūd, as he chooses to cite him. The issue is the prohibition on hiring out land for agricultural purposes (*al-ard al-mazrū'a*); whatever the formula, the contract concluded can only be nullified. The only possibility envisaged by Ibn Hazm is a partnership, either for sowing (*muzāra'a* [*q.v.*]), yielding an agreed proportion of the produce of the land, or for a leasehold agreement (*mughārasa* [*q.v.*]). If a building is placed on the land in question it alone can be the object of the hire, from which the ground is excluded. For the details of this issue, see Ziaul Haque, *Landlord and peasant in early Islam*, Islamabad 1977, 80-9, 337-43.

History of the school. For the masters of Ibn Hazm, see Goldziher in *Die Zāhiriten*, who traced the roots of the school indirectly back to al-Shāfi'ī and, directly, to Dāwūd (19-106). This may be supplemented by Abū Zahra, 85, 268-72, and by S. Yafūt, 45-52, who supplies a list of 38 masters of Ibn Hazm.

For the followers of the Zāhirī school of Cordova, see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, 156-86, where there is a panorama of the most important representatives of the Zāhiriyya from the 5th/11th to the 9th/15th century. See also Abū Zahra, 516-23 and Camilla Adang, *Beginnings of the Zāhirī madhhab in al-Andalus*, in P. Bearman, R. Peters and F.E. Vogel, *The Islamic school of law. Evolution, devolution and progress*, forthcoming. A problem that merits mention is that of the Hazmian influence which might possibly have affected Ibn Tūmart (d. 520/1130 [*q.v.*]). Goldziher affirmed this, not on the level of dogma, on account of the Ash'arism of the Mahdī, but on that of the *usūl al-fikh*. See the two studies by R. Brunschvig, with references to Goldziher, *Sur la doctrine du Mahdī Ibn Tūmart*, and *Encore sur la doctrine du Mahdī Ibn Tūmart*, in *Études d'Islamologie*, i, 281-93, 295-302.

Bibliography: Given in the article, to be supplemented by the bibls. of S. Yafūt, *op. cit.*, 84-7 (Notes) and A.M. Turki, *Polémiques* and *Notes*.

(ABDEL-MAGID TURKI)

(al-)**ẒAHRĀN**, conventionally Dhahran, a town of Saudi Arabia (lat. 26° 18' N., long. 50° 05' E.) in the eastern province (*al-minṭaḳa al-s̲h̲arḳiyya*), situated in the Dammām oilfield just south of the Gulf port of al-Dammām. Near the site of the original discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia in 1938, the town did not really develop until after 1945 with the exploitation of oil by the Aramco company, one of whose main centres it still remains today. Situated on a hill in the town, the government-sponsored College, now University, of Petroleum and Minerals was established in 1964 and has an international reputation. Dhahran has a modern international airport and is now part of a vast urban and oil-producing ensemble stretching for some 40 km/25 miles from north to south along the Gulf, including the towns of al-Ḳaṭīf, al-Dammām and al-K̲h̲ubar [*q.vv.*], the point where the bridge linking Saudi Arabia with Bahrain Island leaves the mainland. Dhahran now (2000) has a population of 130,000.

Less than 20 km/13 miles to the north al-Ḳaṭīf remains famed for its palm groves, its date production and its gardens. It is this proximity which permits one to envisage the ancient history of Dhahran (even in the shape of a settlement of unknown name), confirmed by archaeology. The natural environment is relatively favourable: although located in a zone of *sabk̲h̲a* [*q.v.*] (a coastal zone with high salinity), the region has abundant springs and artesian wells, the basis of an active and long-established agriculture despite the arid climate. This last is confirmed by recent archaeological work in the immediate surroundings of Dhahran (P.B. Cornwall, 1940-1; H.R.P. and Violet Dickson, 1942; T.G. Bibby, 1962-5; and R. Stiehl 1964-6), which has produced large numbers of artefacts showing that the local hillocks were settled as soon as the waters of the Gulf receded (after 10,000 B.C.). Ceramic fragments of the Ubaid period (4th millennium B.C.) shows trade contacts with Mesopotamia, and the hundreds of burial tumuli have yielded objects indicating that the region of Dhahran formed part of the kingdom of Dilmun at the turn of the 3rd-2nd millennia B.C. (see on the archaeology of the region, D.T. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity*, Oxford 1990).

The actual name al-Ẓahrān does not appear in the Arabic historians and geographers, who call the region al-Baḥrayn or Yamāma [*q.vv.*]; they attest its richness, also known from the time of the Carmathian state there (8th-11th centuries [see ḳarmaṭī]), with the town of al-Ḳaṭīf often mentioned. Western travellers of recent centuries do not mention al-Ẓahrān either, although in the 1760s Carsten Niebuhr stressed the agricultural richness of the region, then under the control of the Banū K̲h̲ālid; in 1863 W.G. Palgrave halted in the small port of al-Ḳaṭīf, guarded to the south by the imposing fort of al-Dammām, but does not name al-Ẓahrān among the villages there. However, in the early 1870s, the Ottoman governor of ʿIrāḳ, Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], invaded the province of Ḥasā and introduced various projects for improving the agriculture of the al-Dammām–al-Ẓahrān region, and the latter name now starts to appear in Ottoman documents.

Bibliography: See the *Bibls.* to al-ḳaṭīf and naft. 3, to which should be added A.J. Cottrell (ed.), *The Persian Gulf states, a general survey*, Baltimore and London 1980, Part 2. (J.-F. Salles)

al-**ZAHRĀWĪ**, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Syrian Arab politician and journalist, author of numerous writings advocating political, social and religious reform [see iṣlāḥ. i.]. The date of his birth in Ḥimṣ is not certain; in Arabic sources, it ranges from 1855 to 1863 or even 1871 (see Tarabein, 118 n. 1, and ʿAllūs̲h̲, *Madk̲h̲al*, 12). He was born into a Sunnī family claiming descent from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and Fāṭima [*q.vv.*], and from the latter's honorific title, *al-Zahrāʾ*, the family derived its *nisba*. Over several generations, it had held the position of *naḳīb al-as̲h̲rāf* [*q.v.*] in Ḥimṣ.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd received his formal education at a *kuttāb* [*q.v.*] and at a *rüs̲h̲diyye* [see maʿārif. I. i.]. Later on, he studied privately with a number of local scholars who directed his interest, *inter alia*, to the writings of Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya and Ibn K̲h̲aldūn [*q.vv.*].

In 1890 or slightly later he was in Istanbul and then Cairo, and in this last place came into contact with a number of Arab and Turkish intellectuals critical of the régime of Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*]. He was in Istanbul for about four years from 1895 onwards, contributing articles to the Arabic section of the Turkish newspaper *Maʿlūmāt*. Regarded with suspicion by the Ottoman authorities, he was back in Damascus in 1899, at this time associating with Syrian Salafī circles [see salafiyya], but escaped to Cairo in 1902 or afterwards, where he wrote for a number of newspapers and journals such as *al-Muʾayyad*, *al-Djarīda* and *al-Manār* [*q.v.*].

After the restoration of the Ottoman constitution in 1908, al-Zahrāwī returned to Ḥimṣ. Soon afterwards he was elected deputy, for the provincial district of Ḥamāt, in the lower chamber of the Ottoman parliament. In the following years, as member of parliament and also as editor of an Arab newspaper that he had founded in Istanbul, *al-Ḥaḍāra* (1910-12), he made himself known as a defender of Arab rights. At the same time, however, he called on all subjects of the Ottoman empire to support this state against the encroachments of European imperialism (his articles published in *al-Ḥaḍāra* are reprinted in *al-Aʿmāl al-kāmila*, iii, see *Bibl.*).

After the dissolution of the parliament in 1912, the military coup of January 1913 and the subsequent repression of all Arab reform committees, al-Zahrāwī began openly supporting Arab nationalism. He was elected president of the first Arab Congress held in Paris in June 1913. In October of the same year, however, he travelled to Istanbul in order to establish new contacts with the C.U.P. [see ittiḥād we teraḳḳī djemʿiyyeti] government.

In January 1914 he was nominated member of the Ottoman senate. While his acceptance of this post was regarded as a betrayal by some, al-Zahrāwī defended his step by stating that the government had finally confessed its past mistakes towards the Arabs and intended not to repeat them. Rather, it would implement the reforms demanded by the Paris congress. As a member of the senate, he showed considerable moderation—at least in public—over Arab rights. However, when in December 1914 Djemāl Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], the commander of the Ottoman Fourth Army and military governor, arrived in Damascus, he had already been informed about the contents of French diplomatic documents implicating a number of Arabs, including al-Zahrāwī, in secret dealings with the Allies. Together with several others, al-Zahrāwī was publicly hanged in Damascus on 6 May 1916 (list of those executed in Tauber, *Arab movements*, 55).

Al-Zahrāwī's execution has made him a martyr of the Arab national movement, although some earlier and modern authors have viewed certain aspects of his career rather critically. As for the development of

his religious and political ideas, the publication of his *Aʿmāl kāmila* (see *Bibl.*) may finally allow a thorough analysis.

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AL-**ZAHRĀWĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim K̲h̲alaf b. al-ʿAbbās, important Andalusian physician. Virtually nothing is known of his life or education, though it is assumed from his *nisba* that he came from or resided in Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ [*q.v.*], near Cordova, where a royal residence and governmental centre was established in 325/936 by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir [see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. 3]. His residence there is confirmed by references within his writings to patients being "amongst us in al-Zahrāʾ" (*ʿindanā bi 'l-Zahrāʾ*). His direct connection with the court is a matter of speculation, though later (16th-20th-century) scholars assert his service to either ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, his son al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] or al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh [*q.v.*], the *de facto* ruler of al-Andalus from 368/978 to 392/1002.

Given his subsequent influence, the biographical sources are surprisingly limited. According to al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095 [*q.v.*]), he died in al-Andalus after 400/1009. Al-Ḥumaydī added that al-Zahrāwī was a person of distinction, religion, and learning, and that in the field in which he excelled, medicine, he wrote a large and famous book of great usefulness. After providing the title of al-Zahrāwī's treatise, al-Ḥumaydī quoted the fulsome praise of the work given by Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*]: "If indeed we were to say that no one in medicine has written a better summary with respect to expression (*ḳawl*) and practice (*ʿamal*), then we would speak the truth." No other details are provided. Ibn Bas̲h̲kuwāl (d. 578/1183 [*q.v.*]) repeats verbatim the account given by al-Ḥumaydī, adding only that al-Zahrāwī was mentioned amongst the teachers of one Ibn Sumayḳ. This latter fact was omitted by al-Ḍabbī (d. 599/1203 [*q.v.*]), who repeated (without credit) the account given by al-Ḥumaydī.

At what time and to what extent al-Zahrāwī's writings were known to Arabic writers outside of Spain has yet to be determined. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 668/1270 [*q.v.*]), writing in Syria, said that al-Zahrāwī was "experienced (*k̲h̲abīr*) with simple and compound remedies and outstanding in therapy (*d̲j̲ayyid al-ʿilād̲j̲*)." The short entry is of significance since no mention of al-Zahrāwī is to be found in the biographical sources on which Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa is known to have relied. It differs from Andalusian sources in that no dates are given and it states that he produced several treatises, one of which was known as *al-Zahrāwī* and one was entitled *al-Taṣrīf*, the latter being the largest, most famous, and the culmination of his thought.

Later historians add very little. Al-Maḳḳarī (d. 1041/1632 [*q.v.*]), giving al-Zahrāwī's name as K̲h̲alaf b. ʿAyyās̲h̲ al-Zahrāwī, quotes in full the *risāla* on the state of literature in al-Andalus by Ibn Ḥazm which praised al-Zahrāwī. Al-Maḳḳarī also gives the addenda to Ibn Ḥazm's *risāla* by Ibn Saʿīd al-Mag̲h̲ribī (d. 685/1286 [*q.v.*]), in which it is said that al-Zahrāwī's treatise served as one of the sources for the *materia medica* of Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248 [*q.v.*]). Kātib Čelebī (d. 1067/1657 [*q.v.*]) listed the *K. al-Taṣrīf* by al-Zahrāwī, stating that it consisted of 30 *maḳālāt*, most of which were on compound remedies arranged like *kunnās̲h̲āt* (a term often used for early Arabic, Greek, and Syriac therapeutic manuals).

The precise date of his death has been the subject of much speculation. According to the earliest sources, he died in al-Andalus after 400/1009. In the *De viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes*, completed in 1527 and attributed to Leo Africanus [*q.v.*], it is said that al-Zahrāwī was physician to al-Manṣūr [bi 'llāh], "*consiliarius*" of Cordova, and died in 404/1013 at the age of 101. Al-Maḳḳarī, in quoting Ibn Ḥazm's praise of al-Zahrāwī's book, inserted a phrase stating that he [Ibn Ḥazm] had encountered him and seen him himself (*wa-ḳad adraknāhu wa-s̲h̲āhadnāhu*); this statement was subsequently interpreted as meaning that Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) had met al-Zahrāwī (see Gayangos, 464-5 n. 134; Brockelmann, I^2, 276; Hamarneh and Sonnedecker, 19). Others suggested that he died in 500/1106-7 (see Casiri, ii, 136; Hamarneh and Sonnedecker, 20 n. 2).

His only preserved treatise is an enormous manual usually entitled *K. al-Taṣrīf li-man ʿad̲j̲iza ʿan al-taʾlīf* ("The arrangement [of medical knowledge] for one who is unable to compile [a manual for himself]"). The form and meaning of the title has generated considerable discussion, with the final word sometimes read as *al-taʾālīf* and interpreted as for one "who cannot cope with compilations" (Spink and Lewis, viii). Occasionally the last term is written as *taṣnīf* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 324). The titles *K. al-Zahrāwī* or *K. al-Zahrāwī al-kabīr* also occur in some manuscript copies.

The *Taṣrīf* is made up of 30 books (*maḳālāt*), of which the first (on general principles), the second and largest (on the symptoms and treatments of 325 diseases discussed in sequence from head to foot), and the thirtieth (on surgery) form almost half the volume. The rest are rather short and concerned with various aspects of pharmacology, including compound remedies, substitute drugs, and the preparation of medicaments.

While al-Zahrāwī relied extensively on earlier sources (especially Paulus of Aegina, Ibn Māsawayh, Sābūr b. Sahl, Isḥāḳ b. ʿImrān, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, al-Rāzī, and Ibn al-D̲j̲azzār), he also included his own experiences and case-histories, thus providing an important source for our knowledge of a practicing physician. Many claims have been made for his originality, though most have not sufficiently examined his sources. He certainly contributed a number of technological inno-

vations, including a concealed knife for opening abcesses in a manner that would not alarm the nervous patient, a variety of obstetrical forceps (though not for use in live births), new variations in specula or dilators, and a scissor-like instrument for use in tonsillectomies. The final book, on surgery, appears to be the first to have been illustrated with diagrams of instruments, for there is no evidence that Greek surgical writings were illustrated, except for a tenth-century Byzantine treatise on bonesetting.

In 870/1465-6 the surgical book was translated into Turkish by Sharaf al-Dīn Ṣābūndjī-oghlu for Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*]. The illustrator of this Turkish version, concerned with producing an entertaining manuscript for a royal patron, inserted a large number of colourful miniatures showing physicians at work, though these illustrations added nothing to the understanding of the surgical procedures or instrumentation (and had no subsequent influence in surgical literature).

In Europe the *Taṣrīf* may have had greater influence than in the Islamic world. The 30th book, on surgery, was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187) and widely influenced European surgical writing, especially that of Guy de Chauliac (d. *ca.* 1370) and through him the subsequent writing for several centuries. In the mid-13th century the first two books were translated into Hebrew and then into Latin and printed in Augsburg in 1519 as *Liber theoricae nec non practicae Alsaharavii.* At the end of the 13th century the 28th book, on the manufacture and preparation of medicaments from plants, minerals, and animals, was translated as *Liber servitoris* by Simon of Genoa and Abraham Judaeus of Tortosa and printed at Venice in 1471, with numerous subsequent printings. In Latin the author was known as Albucasis (with many variants) and as Alsaharavius (also with many variants), with the result that many early-modern European scholars thought they were two separate authors.

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(Emilie Savage-Smith)

ZAHRIYYĀT (A.), sing. *zahriyya*, from *zahr* "flower, blossom" (or, more precisely, "yellow flower, yellow blossom"), like *nawriyyāt* [*q.v.*], designates poetry dedicated to the description of flowers. The term is attested in the list of chapters of the *Dīwān* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*].

1. In Arabic.

Descriptions of meadows (*rawḍ, riyāḍ*) and flowers are encountered sporadically already in *djāhilī* poetry. In the *nasīb* [*q.v.*], the comparison of the scent of the beloved with the fragrance of a blooming meadow could result in a detailed description of the meadow (in the framework of a so-called extended simile). A famous example occurs in ʿAntara's *muʿallaka* (ll. 15 ff.); another in al-Aʿshā's *Waddiʿ Hurayrata* (ll. 14 ff.). In the context of his meadow description, al-Aʿshā presents one of the flowers in greater detail; its blossom he depicts with the (subsequently very frequent) metaphor "star".

Also in *djāhilī* poetry, in the description of the abandoned campsites of the beloved contained in the *kaṣīda* prologue, the depiction of its vegetation sprouting after rainfall could be included (e.g. in Labīd's

muʿallaḳa, l. 6). In the tradition of this motif one finds for the first time the comparison of flowering meadows with a variety of garments, mats, and similar objects—a comparison that later became part of the stock imagery of the genre. Garden flowers (partly with Persian names) are first mentioned by poets who were in contact with the court of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], impregnated as it was with a Persian life-style. Al-Aʿs̲h̲ā in particular, in the wine scenes of his *ḳaṣīdas*, names and describes numerous flowers that are used to adorn the wine tavern, especially roses and narcissuses. These descriptions mirror without doubt Persian mores and lifestyle; however, they cannot be used to prove the influence, on Arabic wine and flower poetry, of a hypothetical Middle Persian bacchic poetry.

The depictions of garden flowers in wine scenes lead in a direct line to the later *zahriyyāt* and subsequently develop further, mainly in the context of wine poetry (*k̲h̲amriyyāt* [*q.v.*]). Abū Nuwās (d. *ca.* 200/815) stimulated this development considerably; many of his wine poems contain detailed flower descriptions and garden and spring descriptions, since in his time carousals could be held outdoors. Some of his *k̲h̲amriyyāt* contain more lines describing flowers than those dealing with the wine and the party (e.g. *Dīwān*, iii, ed. E. Wagner, Stuttgart 1988, nos. 138, 293). Best known is the following much-quoted and imitated description of narcissuses: "[a wine] next to freshly-gathered narcissuses as if they were eyes, when we turn our eyes to them" (*ibid.*, no. 267, l. 12). The comparison of the narcissus with eyes (or the corresponding metaphor) is one of the most frequently used images in Arabic (and Persian) flower poetry [see NARD̲J̲IS].

Abū Tammām (d. *ca.* 231/845) resumed the tradition of depicting nature in the prologue of the *ḳaṣīda* and reached a new high point. In a famous panegyric for the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (*Dīwān*, ed. M.ʿA. ʿAzzām, ii, ²Cairo 1969, no. 71), he entirely replaces the *nasīb* by a long depiction of spring that also contains descriptions of the rain and of flowers of various colours. The spring description is at the same time connected with the praise in an ingenious way (spring as an imperfect image of the caliph). This innovation of Abū Tammām's acquired a model character in a singular way: numerous later Arabic poets (al-Buḥturī, Ibn al-Rūmī, al-Ṣanawbarī *et alii*), but also Persian, Hebrew, and Ottoman poets, started their *ḳaṣīdas* with spring descriptions.

In al-Buḥturī's (d. 284/897 [*q.v.*]) nature descriptions, the inventory of nature described becomes richer; in addition to flowers, he also pays attention to the wind and clouds, the song of birds, trees and rivers, and other elements of the landscape (e.g. the lands in bloom around al-Raḳḳa, in *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥ.K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1963 ff., iv, no. 903, ll. 12 ff.; the Tigris and the D̲j̲azīra, *ibid.*, no. 818, ll. 16 ff.). Within the *madīḥ* of his *ḳaṣīdas*, al-Buḥturī describes the garden of the *mamdūḥ*, at times together with his palace (*Dīwān*, iii, no. 641, ll. 25-6; cf. below). In a famous *ḳaṣīda* he develops out of the praise one of the most beautiful descriptions of the spring in Arabic poetry, the connecting thought being "Unto you came the merry spring" (*Dīwān*, iv, no. 791 ll. 25-30).

Probably the most important nature poet of the Arab East is al-Buḥturī's contemporary, Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]). In addition to prologues to *ḳaṣīdas* that often contained very detailed spring and flower descriptions (a meadow with many flowers in *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥ. Naṣṣār, Cairo 1973 ff., iii, no. 956; narcissuses in ii, no. 413; spring and red anemones in vi, no. 1223, ll. 14 ff.), he composed the first substantial independent flower poems. The most famous one is a poem of fourteen lines, in which the narcissus is given precedence over the rose (a pre-*munāẓara* [*q.v.*]) (*Dīwān*, ii, no. 470). This *zahriyya* was imitated or "refuted" countless times. Equally remarkable are a number of *rawḍiyyāt* that are unusual for the empathy for nature they express (see below, and also NAWRIYYA).

Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908 [*q.v.*]) draws above all "epigrammatic sketches" and "poetic snapshots" (G.E. von Grunebaum) of flowers. His main techniques are the bilateral simile and the metaphor. These poems, consisting mostly of only a few lines, can be found, together with other "ecphrastic epigrams" (J.Ch. Bürgel) in the chapter *Awṣāf* "Descriptions" of his *Dīwān*. However, Ibn al-Muʿtazz also resumes the tradition of garden descriptions in wine poetry. His well-known *muzdawid̲j̲a* "On criticising the morning draught" (*fī d̲h̲amm al-ṣabūḥ*) (*Dīwān*, ed. B. Lewin, Istanbul 1945-50, iv, no. 99) starts with a long flower and garden description; as with Abū Nuwās, the garden serves as the backdrop for the drinking party.

In al-Ṣanawbarī (d. 334/945-6 [*q.v.*]), the *zahriyyāt*, *rawḍiyyāt*, etc., form a separate genre. In addition to numerous short poems in the vein of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, he also composed many long "*ḳaṣīdas*" whose main or sole theme is a garden or spring or a field in bloom. Alongside a literary debate (a full-fledged *munāẓara*) (*Dīwān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1970, *takmila*, no. 123), in which, in reaction to Ibn al-Rūmī, he gives precedence to the rose over the narcissus, he also composed a "war of the flowers" (*Dīwān*, no. 77). Nature description can form a prologue to the panegyric *ḳaṣīda* with al-Ṣanawbarī also; moreover, it penetrates almost all other genres cultivated by him (see further, NAWRIYYA).

The perception of nature in later Arabic literature is predominantly optical, aiming at the decorative (G.E. von Grunebaum). In addition to the visual, acoustic (bird song) and olfactory impressions (flower scent) are expressed, though less frequently. The main means of description are simile and metaphor which serve to visualise mostly the form and colour of the flowers; the image donors are most frequently precious stones and metals ("roses like rubies") and parts of the human body ("roses like cheeks", "narcissuses like eyes"). The natural objects are often personified (Ibn al-Muʿtazz: "riders of drops of flowers on horses urged on in the morning by the whips of wind", *Dīwān*, iv, no. 111); the animation is often combined with a fantastic reinterpretation of real qualities (*tak̲h̲yīl* [*q.v.*], *ḥusn al-taʿlīl*) (Ibn al-Rūmī: "The cheeks of the roses glowed with shame"). In *zahriyyāt* like these, many of the motifs, images, rhetorical figures, and conceits can be found that are also characteristic for the poetry of European mannerism (cf. Bürgel, *Epigramme*, and Schoeler, *Naturdichtung*, 100 ff., 260-1).

Only rarely does one find something like a "romantic" feeling for nature, by which real human feelings are projected on to (personified) nature. This is the case e.g. in al-Buḥturī's famous spring depiction already mentioned: "There came to you serene Spring, strutting his stuff, laughing with beauty, so that he nearly talked; and Nawrūz, in the darkness before daybreak, has awakened the first roses which yesterday were still asleep . . ." (*Dīwān*, iv, no. 791, ll. 25 ff.).

Quite outside the customary is a small group of nature poems by Ibn al-Rūmī (cf. Schoeler, *Naturdichtung*, 219 ff.). The poet describes in these a nature

that lives its own life; a nature which through its splendour uplifts man and forces him to praise God; which animates man through the scent of its flowers and diverts him through its birdsong; and which through its cool breeze removes the sorrow of the sorrowful: "A northwind with a cool breeze which heals the heat of the fever of thirsting hearts: when it arises in the early morning in the clouded east, it removes the sorrow of the sorrowful . . . as if it came from the Garden of Bliss" (*Dīwān*, vi, no. 1179).

In the longer poems of al-Ṣanawbarī, one often notices a lyrical-hymnic tone; such passages sometimes replace or supplant the pure description: "Do you not rejoice at the olive trees of Biṭyās and at al-Ṣāliḥiyya with its cypresses and myrtles? . . ." (*Dīwān*, no. 180). At one point al-Ṣanawbarī regards the gardens almost as a sanctuary: "If I had for once the power to preserve the gardens, no base man would step on their grounds" (*Dīwān, takmila*, no. 13).

In al-Andalus flower and garden descriptions are among the favourite themes of the poets. One of the oldest Arabic anthologies from Spain, that of Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. *ca.* 440/1048), bears the title *al-Badīʿ fī waṣf al-rabīʿ* (ed. H. Pérès, Rabat 1940) and contains exclusively spring and flower poems; likewise, in the even older work on *tas̲h̲bīhāt* by Ibn al-Kattānī (d. *ca.* 420/1029), the *K. Tas̲h̲bīhāt as̲h̲ʿār ahl al-Andalus* (ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1966), the flower theme takes up much space.

In the 4th/10th century, under the ʿĀmirids, a new variety of *zahriyyāt* appears sporadically in al-Andalus: the short, improvised flower poem with panegyrical closure or secondary theme. Its most important representative is Ibn Darrād̲j̲ al-Ḳasṭallī (d. 421/1030 [*q.v.*]) (cf. e.g. *Dīwān*, ed. M.ʿA. Makkī, Damascus 1961, nos. 16-22, 149), who also composed a long panegyrical *ḳaṣīda* addressed to al-Muẓaffar, to which is prefixed as a prologue a famous description of a drinking party, a garden, and lilies (*Dīwān*, no. 15). The theme of the prologue is artfully connected with the main theme by *metaphora continuata* (drinking party = military campaign; the lily = fort, etc.).

For the 5th/11th century, Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1070-1 [*q.v.*]) should be singled out, although he is not a nature poet proper. In a poem addressed to his beloved Wallāda [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, Cairo 1957, 139), objects of nature participate in his longing, the relationship between man and nature being established by fantastic reinterpretations (*ḥusn al-taʿlīl*) ("the breeze . . . is feeble, *as if affected by pity for me*", "*it is as if the eyes of the flowers*, when they see my sleeplessness, *were weeping about that* [pain] which is in me [since they are covered with dew] . . .").

The most important nature poet of al-Andalus is Ibn K̲h̲afād̲j̲a (d. 533/1139 [*q.v.*]). In his *Dīwān*, descriptions of nature take up much, if not most, of the space. More commonly than with other poets, in Ibn K̲h̲afād̲j̲a the description of flowers and gardens is combined with other objects of nature, such as trees, rivers, dew, clouds and hills, all of these sometimes artfully intertwined, being treated in one single poem. The scenes of nature, very often combined with love and/or drinking scenes, can be lavishly appointed. An example is *Dīwān* (ed. M. G̲h̲āzī, Alexandria 1960), no. 113, in which the following themes are taken up: the dream image of the beloved, the night drawing to a close, daybreak, and the flowers on a hill and alongside a watercourse; this description of nature is framed by a love scene. Ibn K̲h̲afād̲j̲a's attitude toward nature is characterised by the fact that nature is almost constantly personified and/or seen in a relationship with man: "[a cloud] that has coined white dirhams of blossoms which fingertips of boughs have tendered *to you*" (no. 184, l. 4). Through his use of metaphors he frequently projects phenomena of the macrocosm on to the microcosm of horticulture ("An *arāk* tree that has erected over us a dewy sky, while the stars of the wine cups have been set into circular motion" (no. 221 m, p. 351).

In the foregoing, only eminent Andalusian poetic personalities who developed their own styles have been focused on; it must be stressed, however, that the average Andalusian flower poem, as found e.g. in anthologies, does not significantly diverge from the Eastern Arabic one. It may be noted, though, that in al-Andalus the theme of flowers and gardens is also taken up in strophic poems (*muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ, zad̲j̲al* [*q.vv.*]).

2. In Persian.

In Persian poetry, poetic spring and flower descriptions are already found in the great lyrical poets of the 4th/10th century: Rūdakī, Daḳīḳī and Kisāʾī [*q.vv.*]. Rūdakī, in clear continuation of the Arabic tradition of Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī (he mentions Abū Tammām in one of his poems by name, see S. Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl-u as̲h̲ʿār-i . . . Rūdakī . . .* iii, Tehran 1319/1940, 1016), opens one of his panegyric *ḳaṣīdas* with a detailed spring description which leads to a short bacchic description at the end (*ibid.*, iii, 968-70). In the 5th/11th century (in such poets as ʿUnṣurī, Farruk̲h̲ī, Manūčihrī and Ḳaṭrān), the spring description, often combined with a drinking party description, becomes a favourite, if not the most favourite, theme of the prologue of the *ḳaṣīda*. This may be explained by the fact that the Persian panegyrical *ḳaṣīda* was composed as a rule for a celebration, especially the spring celebration (*nawrūz*). Since also at the autumn celebration (*mihrd̲j̲ān*), poems were dedicated and recited to the *mamdūḥ*, we find, besides spring descriptions, many autumn descriptions (cf. Fouchécour, *Description*, 13 ff.). Apart from the *ḳaṣīda* prologue, nature descriptions can also be inserted in the *madīḥ* section, e.g. in the context of the description of the *mamdūḥ*'s palace (as in al-Buḥturī) (cf. *ibid.*, 5). Finally, the theme may also be treated in the framework of a *ḳiṭʿa*, either in a bacchic context or completely independently. This happened already in the 4th/10th century: among the collected fragments of Kisāʾī (ed. M.A. Riyāḥī, Tehran 1347/1968) one finds a few poems with the themes of spring (77, 84), the narcissus (78) and the water lily (85).

In most of the Persian spring descriptions in *ḳaṣīdas*, the focus is not on a garden as a whole, under which the details are subsumed; rather, the poet treats a whole series of nature objects and phenomena as objects in their own right (cf. Reinert, *Probleme*, 74). The effect of spring on man is often included in the description. Rūdakī treats the following in his already-mentioned *ḳaṣīda* prologue: spring (its colours, its fragrance, the rejuvenating effect it has on man), the sky with clouds, lightning, thunder, rain; the sun, the thawing of the snow, the brook, tulip, nightingale, starling and dove. One hundred years later, in a comparable nature scene in ʿUnṣurī (d. 431/1039-40), we have wind, tree, garden, lily, earth, sun, cloud, night, stars, mountain and snow (the last present, but not mentioned) (*Dīwān*, ed. Y. Ḳarīb, Tehran 1341/1962, 45). Again, almost one hundred years later, in Amīr Muʿizzī (d. *ca.* 520/1126), we find season, earth, garden, mountain, tree, meadow, cypress, rose bough, dove, nightingale, cloud, tulip, stars and snow (again, the last not mentioned) (*Dīwān*, ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, Tehran

1318/1939, 122-3). Finally, after another hundred years, Khāḳānī (d. 595/1199 [*q.v.*]) has the following: wind, branches with blossoms, sun, night, day, blossoms, moon, earth, cloud, pond, violet, brook, narcissus, rose bush, fragrant flowers, leaves, water, meadow, lily, cypress, tulip, jasmine, rosebud, mallow, dew, Judas tree, plane tree, ringdove, poppy, rose and nightingale (*Dīwān*, ed. M. ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1336/1957, 177). The Persian nature scenes are, accordingly, as a rule richer than their Arabic counterparts. In the realm of imagery, metaphorical expression (which supersedes the bilateral simile for the most part or uses it only in a subordinate function) plays from the beginning a much greater role than it does in Arabic poetry (where the simile remains an important means of imagery, especially in Ibn al-Muʿtazz but also in al-Ṣanawbarī). Characteristic for Persian nature depictions are the numerous personifications (thus already in Rūdakī, "the tulip is *laughing* from afar in the field"; "see that thunder that is *moaning* like a sad lover") (cf. Reinert, *Probleme*, 74). In later poetry, personification is very often combined with fantastic etiology (*ḥusn-i taʿlīl*): the juxtaposition of two nature objects is thus reinterpreted as a cause-effect relationship; the choice of images is harmonically adjusted (*murāʿāt-i naẓīr*, cf. Ritter, *Bildersprache*, 7 ff.): "From greenness the water donned verdigris-coloured chainmail; when the lily saw this, it created a chainmail-piercing lance" (fantastic reinterpretation of the shape of the pistil of the lily) (from the aforementioned *ḳaṣīda* prologue of Khāḳānī).

Added to the images customarily used in Arabic nature descriptions for natural objects and phenomena there are a number of new images in Persian, e.g. those taken from the religious sphere (the earth in spring is a paradise [full of houris]; spring brings to life like Jesus; the garden because of its colours is a temple of idols or a picture gallery of Mani; the tulip kindles the fire of Nimrod).

After the *ghazal* had superseded the *ḳaṣīda* as the most important lyrical genre, nature descriptions also increasingly penetrated the *ghazal*. Saʿdī (d. 691/1292 [*q.v.*]) begins some of his *ghazaliyyāt* with garden and spring descriptions and then, with a phrase like "then I thought of you—and forgot the gardens", switches to the *maʿshūḳ* (*Kulliyyāt*, ed. M.ʿA. Furūghī, Tehran 1337/1958, *Ṭayyibāt*, 525, similarly 532). With Ḥāfiẓ (d. 792/1390 [*q.v.*]), the garden and spring depictions can occupy the larger part of the *ghazal*. They are often connected with a call to drinking wine and to *carpe diem*; thus e.g. in the poem beginning "Now that in the meadow the rose has stepped from non-being into being, the violet has laid its head at [the rose's] feet in prostration" (*Dīwān*, ed. M. Ḳazwīnī and Ḳ. Ghanī, Tehran [1320/1941], no. 219). However, the garden description may also be the almost exclusive topic of a Ḥāfiẓian *ghazal*, as in poem no. 295: "In the early morning I went to the scent of the rosebed in the garden, in order to heal [my] sorrow like the sad/loving nightingale" (note that a consolatory effect is here attributed to nature).

Finally, in epic poetry [see ḤAMĀSA] the description of nature is frequently used as a frame into which the poet puts his protagonist. Such descriptions can be found already in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* (a spring description occurs e.g. at the beginning of Isfandiyār's fourth adventure). It is handled in virtuoso style by Niẓāmī (d. 605/1209 [*q.v.*]) (cf. Ritter, *Bildersprache*, 41 ff.). Very frequently, Niẓāmī depicts a landscape, often a spring landscape with many flowers, before he puts his hero on the stage. Niẓāmī uses nature as a staging area and as a décor of the epic action; however, he often establishes a relationship between nature and human affects; the former may be consonant or dissonant with a psychological condition (*ibid.*, 43). Thus in *Laylī-u Madjnūn* the story of Laylī's death is introduced by an autumn description, in which the images are chosen in such a way that they exactly conform to the psychological content of the subsequent narrative: "the cheek of the garden becomes pale . . ., the rose takes up the book of grief in its hand" (ed. W. Dastgirdī, 248; cf. Ritter, *ibid.*, 45).

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(G. SCHOELER)

ZAʿĪM (A., pl. *zuʿamāʾ*), "chief", "leader". Etymologically, *zaʿīm* denotes the spokesman of a group of individuals such as a tribe, or, metaphorically, claimant to the name of this group; but *zaʿīm* has long been used, according to different periods of history, in a political or military sense.

Of the seventeen occurrences of the term in the Ḳurʾān, in two cases (LXVIII, 40: *sal-hum ayyahum bi-dhālika zaʿīmun*; and XII, 72: *wa-anā bihi zaʿīmun*) it appears in the sense of "guarantor", "trustee", a meaning which recurs in numerous treatises of Islamic law. Al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*) notes for the Mamlūk state the meanings of "chiefs of the non-Muslim community" (in the expression *zuʿamāʾ ahl al-dhimma* applied

to the patriarchs of Christian communities, iv, 194) and of "military chief" (in Egypt, vi, 51), while the honorific title of *al-zaʿīm al-aʿẓam* may be applied to the caliph himself (v, 444, 448).

The *zeʿāmet* (Turkish pronunciation of *ziʿāma*) is a form of *tīmār*, military fief, an institution of the Ottoman patrimonial system borrowed from the Saldjūḳids [see TĪMĀR; ZEʿĀMET] and probably retained from the previous Byzantine institution. Attested since the beginning of the Ottoman period (Barkey, 36-7), it corresponded to a particularly extensive donation of land, allocated as a prebend to the chieftains of the Ottoman cavalry who controlled the provinces of the empire. In return for service in times of war and maintaining security in the province, the *zaʿīm* collected taxes on the sultan's behalf. This revenue linked to a title marks the correspondence between social power and the functions of individuals bearing certain titles, to the point where the *zeʿāmet* tended to become hereditary, and intense competition between *zuʿamāʾ* incited them to military confrontation.

The term *zaʿīm* has retained its military dimension, attested by the name of Zaʿīm-oghlu, the Egyptian general who led Muḥammad ʿAlī's expedition to the Ḥidjāz, at a time when the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] had fallen into disuse. In modern Egyptian usage, it is applied to the leaders of political parties, for example Sa'd Zaghlūl (1860-1927 [*q.v.*]), leader of the *Wafd* in the 1920s, and especially Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (1918-70 [see ʿABD AL-NĀṢIR, in Suppl.]). As the *Zaʿīm al-ʿarab*, the latter was the archetype of the *zuʿamāʾ*, authoritarian and charismatic leaders of the independent states of the Arab East in the second half of the 20th century, another example being the ʿIrāḳī ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim (1914-63 [*q.v.*]), *al-zaʿīm al-awḥad* "the unique leader".

In contemporary Lebanon, the organic institution of *zaʿāma* has gradually taken the place of the quasi-feudal relationship of the *iḳṭāʿ*, the latter having been abolished in the Ottoman reforms of 1858. Officially deprived of his military function, and having exchanged his status as tax-farmer (*multazim*) for the position of a landowner or a state official, the *zaʿīm* is a political entrepreneur whose function is to serve as intermediary between his community and the state—Ottoman empire, French mandatory power or Lebanese state—and to keep the inter-community game in balance. He is a central figure of the cliental system whereby a political leader, most often a parliamentary deputy, assures himself of the loyalty of a local community in exchange for economic redistribution (A. Hottinger, 104). The *zuʿamāʾ* of Lebanon have succeeded in perpetuating a system of balanced community élites by making their status hereditary (S. Khalaf, *Lebanon's predicament*, New York 1987, 125-43). Combining manipulation with coercion, they constructed sophisticated electoral machines which enabled them to maintain control of their clientele during the crisis of 1958 (M. Johnson, *Class and client in Beirut*, London 1986, 105-11) under the patronage of the "patron" *par excellence*, the President of the Republic. The civil war of 1975-90 signalled a revival of the institution of *zaʿāma*. Certain *zuʿamāʾ* had to surrender their prestige in rural areas (the Asʿad in southern Lebanon) or in urban ones (the Salām in Beirut) to new leaders enriched or made powerful by the war (E. Picard, *Les habits neufs du communautarisme*, in *Cultures et Conflits*, xv-xvi [1994], 49-70). But the key institution of the Lebanese social and political system retains its vitality.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, 1233-4. On the Ottoman institution, the article of reference remains that of J. Deny, *Zeʿāmet*, in *EI*[1], iv, 1221-2, which may be supplemented now by the article in *EI*[2] (s.n., S. Faroqhi) and by K. Barkey, *Bandits and bureaucrats. The Ottoman route to state centralization*, Ithaca and London 1994; see also the art. TĪMĀR. On usage of the term in the contemporary Arab East, see A. Hottinger, *Zuʿamāʾ in historical perspective*, in L. Binder (ed.), *Politics in Lebanon*, New York and London 1966, 85-105; B. Lewis, *The political language of Islam*, Chicago and Ithaca 1988, 59-60, 139-40; Y. Besson, *Identités et conflits au Proche-Orient*, Paris 1991, 131-40.

(ÉLIZABETH PICARD)

AL-**ZAʿĪM**, ḤUSNĪ (1889-1949), the first head of state in the Syrian Republic to arise out of a military coup.

An officer in the Ottoman Army and then in the Special Forces of the French mandate [see MANDATES and AL-SHĀM. 2 (b)], Ḥusnī al-Zaʿīm was born in Aleppo into a Kurdish family of Hamāt. He was imprisoned in 1944-5 for complicity with the Vichy army, but at independence, the colonel al-Zaʿīm was made inspector-general of the police. Wishing to put an end to the corruption (to which he himself was no stranger), on 30 March 1949 he overthrew the government of the President Shukrī al-Ḳuwatlī. He proclaimed himself Prime Minister, and on 25 June, Marshal and head of state with special powers, by a vote of 88.9% out of 816,321 electors. Inspired by the secularist, egalitarian and developmental ideas of Kemal Atatürk [*q.v.*], he imposed a new constitution which suppressed confessional representation, gave the right to vote to educated women, made a start on agrarian reform and abolished private *waḳfs*. Externally, fearing Hashemite ambitions, he moved closer to Egypt, Saudi Arabia and, above all, the Western powers, who had welcomed his seizure of power: France, ratifying on 16 April a financial agreement concluded on 7 February by Khālid al-ʿAẓm; and the United States, ratifying on 16 May an agreement with Aramco guaranteeing the free flow of the oil pipe line within Syria. On 12 April, he proposed to Israel, with which he had had secret negotiations since the end of 1948, to install 250,000 Palestinian refugees in the Djazīra [*q.v.*] in return for economic aid from the Truman government of the United States; these negotiations came to nothing through David Ben Gurion's refusal.

More concerned with personal glory than the national interest, and corrupted by the exercise of power, Ḥusnī al-Zaʿīm installed a police-controlled dictatorship in Syria, surrounding himself with a Kurdish praetorian guard, hounding his political opponents, from the Communists to the Muslim Brotherhood, and handling over Anṭūn Saʿāda, head of the Parti Populaire Syrien (PPS), for whose plot he had provided arms, to the Lebanese authorities on 8 July. He was overthrown on 13 July by a coalition of his former allies led by Colonel Sāmī al-Ḥinnāwī, and killed the next day by officers of the PPS.

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(ÉLIZABETH PICARD)

ZAʿĪM, MEḤMED [see MEḤMED ZAʿĪM].

ZAINUDDIN [see MAPPILA].

ZĀʾIRDJA (a.) or Zāʾiradja, a divinatory technique which, in the same manner as geomancy [see khaṭṭ] and *djafr* [*q.v.*], and under various outside influences, had a wide diffusion in the mediaeval Islamic lands. It involved a mechanical means of calculating portents, strongly imbued with magic and astrology, in which were strongly mingled the talismanic sciences, based on the *ʿilm al-khawāṣṣ* "knowledge of secret properties", the *ʿilm al-awfāḳ* "knowledge of conjunctions", *ʿilm al-ṭilasmāt* "knowledge of talismans" and *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* "knowledge of letters" [see ḥurūf]. *Djafr* and *ḥurūf* led to the *zāʾirdja*.

1. Origins and use in mediaeval Islam.

This mechanical technique (*ṣināʿiyya*) functioned with the aid of a series of concentric circles, like the *Ars magna* of Raymond Lull, combining the letters of the alphabet, geomancy and astrology. From Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 213-20, iii, 146-79, cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 243-4, there emerges that the table on which these calculations were made represented the image of the celestial sphere. It was formed from seven concentric circles, the largest of which had the names of the signs of the zodiac, while the fourth contained twelve circles in which were written numbers and letters. Four other circles occupied the four corners of the square in which was a circular table. The answer to a question posed to the device was implicitly contained in the question itself, whose consonantal elements were groups, differently combined, replaced by their numerical values and set out on the tablet. After having taken into account the degree of the ecliptic which rose at the horizon at the moment of operation, one proceeded to complex calculations from which there resulted a series of numbers. When these were converted into letters, they yielded a phrase giving the answer to the question posed.

There were several methods of using letters of the alphabet for divinatory aims, as set forth in a work attributed to Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]), the *K. Uṣūl al-ʿuḳūl fi ʾl-zāʾirdja* (ms. Köprülü, Fâzil Paşa 163, fols. 1-75; Bursa, Ulucami 3544, fols. 141b-194b). Two works on geomancy speak of *zāʾirdja ramliyya* (ʿUmar al-Khiṭāʾī), *al-Djadāwil al-zuhariyya fī īḍāḥ ʿilm al-raml wa ʾl-zāʾirdja al-ramliyya*, ms. Gotha 1317, Land. Br. 476; and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tūnisī (9th/15th century), *Kanz al-asrār al-khafiyya fī aḥkām al-zāʾirdja al-ramliyya*, Bankipore, xxii, 126, 2457.

This description is to be compared with the table described by E. Savage-Smith and M.B. Smith in *Islamic geomancy and a thirteenth century divinatory device*, Malibu 1980, which gives a precise idea of the workings of the features combined from geomancy and astrology. It concerns a metallic contrivance in the British Museum, of remarkable workmanship and signed by a certain Muḥammad Khuṭlukh al-Mawṣilī and dated 634/1241-2. It is composed of four main figures (*ummahāt*), from which were derived twelve secondary figures (*banāt*), thus a total of sixteen, placed in correspondence with the lunar mansions (cf. 32 ff.), starting from the principle of the action of the heavenly bodies on the various parts of the human body and the influence of the constellations on the various countries of the world. In the eyes of the astrologers and geomancers, this allowed them to foretell the fate of humans and to predict revolutions and wars (see the review by Fahd, in *BiOr*, xxxviii/5-6 [1987], cols. 773-6).

The use of tables is also attested for horoscopes, the best-known work on this topic being the *K. al-Zāʾirdjāt fi ʾl-hilādj wa ʾl-kadkhudāh* of the famous mathematician and astrologer Abū Saʿīd al-Sidjzī (*fl.* second half of the 4th/10th century, cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 177), who organises his subject-matter into five tables, referring to Greek sources (see Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 177-82).

Regarding the origin of this technique, the first mention of the term *zāʾirdja* goes back to Ṭumṭum al-Hindī (see Goldziher, in *OLZ*, xiii [1910], 59-61), who is reported to have himself commented upon one of his own works called *Zāʾirdja* (Sezgin, iv, 119, 4). As we have just seen, it was used by al-Sidjzī, as also by Abū Maʿshar (*ibid.*, iv, 151) and Māshāʾallāh (iv, 106). But the invention of the circular table and the mode of its use are generally attributed to Shams al-Dīn Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī (d. 698/1298?), author of *al-Risāla al-sabtiyya fi ʾl-zāʾirdja* (ms. Paris ar. 2694) and of the *R. al-Shuhrūr fi ʾl-zāʾirdja* (ms. Bursa, Ulucami 3544, fols. 195b-199b).

Bibliography: See Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 213-20, Fr. tr. de Slane, i, 245-53, and iii, 146-79, pages not tr. by de Slane, who give instead a long note and a description of the procedure (iii, 200-6). But Rosenthal, in his Eng. tr. i, 238-45, iii, 182-214, gives two reproductions after p. 204 of this table, and at the end of vol. iii, in a pocket, there is a transliteration and tr. of the constituent elements of this table. A contemporary of Ibn Khaldūn attests the veracity of the experience in question in iii, 163 ff., 201 ff., Eng. tr. iii, 199 ff. Cf. on this subject, H.P. Reinaud, *Divination et histoire nord-africaine du temps d'Ibn Khaldūn*, in *Hespéris*, xxx (1943), 213-21. Cf. an expansion of this art. in Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, repr. Paris 1987, 243-5.

(T. Fahd)

2. In mysticism and philosophy, and later survivals.

Texts of Ṣūfī inspiration hold *zāʾirdja* to be a path of awareness of the highest degree, allowing direct access to divine secrets, some of which, such as knowledge in the correct order of the Ninety-Nine Names of God [see al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā], guarantee entry to Paradise. Also found here are cosmological developments which insist on the correspondence (*rabṭ*) existing between heaven and earth and which could constitute the substructure on which the concentration of the diagram is based (Ibn al-ʿArabī (attrib.), *K. Uṣūl al-ʿuḳūl*, cf. O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Damascus 1964, ii, 519 n. 808, and Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 244-5 no. 6; among others, B.N. ms. arabe 2684, fols. 91a, 98a, or ms. 2694, fols. 2a, 12b; and the anonymous *K. Ṭuruḳ al-sālikīn wa-kunūz asrār al-ʿārifīn*, B.N. 2684, fols. 31-52, later than al-Sabtī (see 1. above) cited on fol. 39b, cf. especially the opening and fol. 391-b).

The *zāʾirdja* has attracted the attention of "Lullian" studies and of scholars researching into the history of numbers. D. Urvoy has established Lull's debt, in his *Ars magna*, to *zāʾirdja*, especially when purged of its esoteric and divinatory elements; see his *Penser l'Islam. Les présupposés islamiques de "l'Art" de Lull*, Paris 1980, 23, 89-90, iii, 162-4. It was thus that the philosopher Leibnitz came into direct contact with al-Sabtī's system.

As regards the practice of *zāʾirdja*, there are indications of its persistence in the 14th, 16th, 17th and even 19th centuries in North Africa (modern Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia) (Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 577; Leo Africanus, tr. A. Épaulard, *Description de l'Afrique*, Paris 1956, i, 219). The region of Ceuta in northern Morocco was probably the scene of important activity in the 6th/12th century; but E. Doutté did not mention having observed it at the beginning of the 20th century (*Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*,

Algiers 1908, repr. Paris 1994, 381-3). E.W. Lane encountered a simplified version of it in early 19th-century Cairo, see his *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. xi "Superstitions—*continued*," with an illustration of a table. Today, it is still practiced in Yemen by an adept of great regional renown, the *shaykh* Mahdī Amīn (cf. *al-Natīdja*, containing his annual predictions, where *z.y.r.dj.h* is noted on the fourth part of the cover). Furthermore, the treatise of ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ṭūkhī, *al-Zāʾirdja al-handasiyya fī kashf al-asrār al-khafiyya*, Cairo 1367/1948, 1-61, as also his *Zāʾirdjat al-Ṭūkhī al-falakī wa-hiya khulāṣat djāmiʿ al-zayāridj*, Cairo n.d., 139-87, also Beirut 1411/1991, seeks to perpetuate the practice.

Bibliography: See also L. Massignon, *Inventaire de la littérature hermétique arabe*, in A.-J. Festugière (ed.), *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, i, *L'astrologie et les sciences occultes*, Paris 1950, repr. 1989, appx. iii, 399; R.B. Serjeant, ch. *Islam*, in M. Loewe and Carmen Blacker (eds.), *Oracles and divination*, Boulder, Colo. 1981, 239-41, repr. in Serjeant, *Society and tradition in South Arabia*, Variorum, Aldershot 1996, no. XIV. (ANNE REGOURD)

ZĀKĀNĪ, ʿUBAYD [see ʿUBAYD-I ZĀKĀNĪ].

ZAKARAWAYH B. MIHRAWAYH, one of the earliest Ismāʿīlī missionaries in ʿIrāḳ. In modern literature, the name, a Persian diminutive of Zakariyyāʾ (originally Zakarōye), is often misread as Zikrawayh.

Zakarawayh came from the village of al-Maysāniyya near Kūfa and was the son of one of ʿAbdān's [*q.v.*] first missionaries; he propagated the Ismāʿīlī doctrine among the Bedouin of the tribe of Kulayb on the fringes of the desert west of Kūfa. When in 286/899 a schism split the Ismāʿīlī community, he was instrumental in doing away with his master ʿAbdān who had apostatised from the Ismāʿīlī doctrine and fallen away from the headquarters of the movement at Salamiyya [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA at Vol. IV, 198a-b]. Out of fear of blood vengeance, Zakarawayh had to go into hiding; in 287/900 he reappeared and was again active in missionary work among the tribes of the Syrian desert, Asad, Ṭayyiʾ and Tamīm [*q.vv.*]; his hiding-place and headquarters was the village of al-Ṣawʾar, 7 km/4 miles west of al-Ḳādisiyya. In 288/901 he sent two of his sons as missionaries to the Kalb in Palmyrene; it was these men, Yaḥyā, the "Man with the She-camel" (*ṣāḥib al-nāḳa*) and al-Ḥusayn, the "Man with the Birthmark" (*ṣāḥib al-shāma*), who in 289/902 won the support of several clans of this tribe for an armed rebellion against the ʿAbbāsid régime. They plundered the town of Ruṣāfa near the Middle Euphrates and besieged Damascus from December 902 until July 903 without success. This evidently pro-Fāṭimid rebellion seems to have been a premature undertaking on the part of Zakarawayh and his sons, unauthorised by the leaders of the Ismāʿīlī movement. It caused al-Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh's [*q.v.*] flight from Salamiyya, and after the rebellion had been put down by an ʿAbbāsid army in 291/903, the whole enterprise was disavowed by the Fāṭimids; in later Fāṭimid sources, Zakarawayh and his sons are the subject of a *damnatio memoriae*.

After this catastrophe, Zakarawayh renewed his subversive activities in 293/906. His hordes of Kalb Bedouin plundered Buṣrā and Ṭabariyya (Tiberias) in Syria and Hīt on the Euphrates; on the day of the Feast of the Sacrifice 293/2 October 906 they made a sudden attack on Kūfa. After having defeated caliphal troops who tried to destroy his headquarters at al-Ṣawʾar, Zakarawayh in November 906 attacked the second of the three caravans of ʿIrāḳī pilgrims at al-ʿAḳaba (today a border post between ʿIrāḳ and Saudi Arabia) and captured an immense booty. But on 10 January 907/22 Rabīʿ I 294, his partisans were attacked by ʿAbbāsid troops under the command of the general Waṣīf near the so-called ruins of Iram in Wādī Dhī Ḳār (*ca.* 160 km/100 miles west of Baṣra); in a two-day battle, the Bedouin suffered a crushing defeat, and Zakarawayh himself was mortally wounded. From the interrogation of his brother-in-law, the authorities in Baghdād got the detailed information concerning Zakarawayh's whereabouts which al-Ṭabarī made use of in his chronicle.

Bibliography: The main sources are Ṭabarī, iii, 2127, 2130, 2217-50, 2255-78; ʿArīb, *Ṣila*, 9-18, 36; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ed. al-Munadjdjid, vi, Cairo 1961, 47-83; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. al-Shayyāl, i, Cairo 1967, 155, 168-73. Of studies, see H. Halm, *Die Sohne Zikrawaihs und das erste fatimidische Kalifat (290/903)*, in *WO*, viii (1975), 30-53; idem, *The empire of the Mahdi*, Leiden 1996, 62-88, 183-90. (H. HALM)

ZAKARIYYĀʾ, also Zakariyyā, the father of John the Baptist, reckoned in the Ḳurʾān (VI, 85) along with John, Jesus, and Elias as among the righteous. The name most likely entered Arabic via its Syriac rendering. The Ḳurʾān gives the substance of Luke i. 5-25, as follows: Zakariyyāʾ guards the Virgin Mary [see MARYAM, at Vol. VI, 630] in the niche (*miḥrāb*) and always finds fresh fruits there. He prays to God; angels announce to him that a son will be born to him, Yaḥyā, a name not previously given to anyone, a pious man, a prophet, Jacob's heir, pleasing to God. Zakariyyāʾ thinks he is too old. As a sign, he is struck dumb for three days (Ḳurʾān, III, 37-41, XIX, 1-11, XXI, 89-90).

Later legend expands the Gospel story and says that Gabriel was the announcer (Luke i. 19) and that Zakariyyāʾ was struck dumb as a punishment for his doubts (Luke i. 20). It elaborates the details as follows: nineteen people anxious to take charge of Maryam wrote their names each on a reed; these were thrown into the pool of Siloam, and the reed with Zakariyyāʾ's name came to the top. Zakariyyāʾ grew old and resigned his office of custodian, which a reed oracle gave to Joseph, the carpenter. In Mary's niche there was winter fruit in summer and summer fruit in winter; this encouraged Zakariyyāʾ to pray that his aged body also might be fruitful out of season.

Muslim legend has Zakariyyāʾ the prophet die a death of a martyr. After Yaḥyā's death, he escaped into a tree which opened for him. But the hem of his cloak remained outside the tree. Iblīs betrayed him, the tree was felled and with it Zakariyyāʾ (al-Thaʿlabī, 341-2; Ibn al-Athīr, Būlāḳ 1290, i, 120). This is modeled on the Haggada and the martyrdom of Isaiah [see SHAʿYĀ, and references cited there].

Muslim legend amalgamates the Zakariyyāʾ of the Gospel with the prophet Zechariah, of whom the Haggada records that, after his martyrdom, his blood boiled until Nebuchadnezzar's general Nebuzaradan came. The latter sought to calm the spirit with the blood of Israel but in vain. Only his final threat to kill all of Israel calmed it. Muslim legend tells this of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ [*q.v.*, and references cited there]. Zechariah, son of the High Priest Jehoiada, who was martyred by King Joash (II Chr. xxiv. 22), is identified with Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, not only in Muslim legend but also in Christian apocryphal texts (*Protoevangelium Jacobi*, xxiv; this text

provides the parallel for a number of other elements in the story also).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 733-4, tr. M. Perlmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, iv, *The ancient kingdoms*, Albany N.Y. 1987, 119-20; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo n.d., 333-42; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922-3, 301-3; Abū Rifāʿa al-Fārisī, *Badʾ al-khalḳ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, in R.G. Khoury (ed.), *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam*, Wiesbaden 1978, 297-321; L. Baeck, *Secharya ben Berechja*, in *MGWJ*, lxxvi (1932), 233-319; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes*, Paris 1933, 139-40; C.C. Torrey, *The Jewish foundation of Islam*, New York 1933, 58, 67, 80; M. Gaster and B. Heller, *Der Prophet Jesajah und der Baum*, in *MGWJ*, lxxx (1936), 35-52, 127-8.

(B. Heller-[A. Rippin])

ZAKARIYYĀʾ al-ANṢĀRĪ, Abū Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā, Zayn al-Dīn al-Sunaykī, Egyptian scholar and Ṣūfī, born *ca.* 823/1420. After growing up in a humble milieu in the Sharḳiyya, he had the opportunity of making his way to Cairo to study Islamic sciences; he was the pupil of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī [*q.v.*]. At the same time, he frequented Ṣūfī circles and became associated with numerous initiatory "paths" (*ṭuruḳ* [see ṬARĪḲA]). In his role as scholar (*ʿālim*), he excelled in particular in Shāfiʿī law, for which he composed commentaries which soon became part of the courses in the *madrasas* (such as the *Sharḥ Rawḍ al-ṭālib*, Cairo 1313, 4 vols.). A renowned teacher, in the course of his long career he educated three generations of Shāfiʿī scholars from all parts of the Near East. On numerous occasions he refused the post of Shāfiʿī Grand Ḳāḍī (*ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*), but ultimately he was persuaded by the Mamlūk sultan Ḳāyitbāy to take on this function, which he exercised for a period of twenty years, from 886/1481 to 906/1500. When he received the honorific title of *shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*], he was even hailed by some as the "renovator" (*mudjaddid* [*q.v.*]) of the 9th century of the *hidjra*.

This renown acquired in the exoteric sciences enabled him to protect his spiritual life from any external scrutiny and to hide the social influence of his holiness (*walāya*): this amounted to the status of an authentic *malāmatī* [*q.v.*]. He succeeded in his enterprise, to the extent that posterity remembers him primarily as a great jurist. The pages dedicated to him by al-ʿAydarūsī, for example, present only the exoteric side of his personality (*Taʾrīkh al-nūr al-sāfir*, Baghdād 1934, 120-4). Only his closest pupils, such as al-Shaʿrānī [*q.v.*], who revered him, and certain Ṣūfī masters of Cairo, were aware of his spiritual dimension and were prepared to declare themselves on this subject (cf. al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1954, ii, 122-4; *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣughrā*, Cairo 1970, 37-45). Al-Anṣārī did, however, write in the domain of Ṣūfism (*al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya fī nafʿ arwāḥ al-dhawāt al-insāniyya*, ed. in *Ḥaḳīḳat al-taṣawwuf al-islāmī*, Cairo 1992, 5-25; a commentary on the *Risāla* of al-Ḳushayrī, Cairo 1957; and a commentary on the *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd* of Shaykh Arslān, in *Shurūḥ risālat al-shaykh Arslān*, Damascus 1969, 181-99). The great influence wielded by al-Anṣārī in Cairo at the end of the Mamlūk period is clearly reflected in late compilations of initiatory lineages (*asānīd*): M. al-Sanūsī, *al-Salsabīl al-maʿīn fī 'l-ṭarāʾiḳ al-arbaʿīn*, Beirut 1968; M. al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-aṣfiyāʾ bi-rafʿ salāsil al-awliyāʾ*, and *ʿIḳd al-djumān al-thamīn fī 'l-dhikr wa-ṭuruḳ al-ilbās wa 'l-talḳīn*, ms. dating from 1339/1920-1, private collection).

Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī incarnates in fact the model of the Ṣūfī scholar, equally at home in the exoteric and the esoteric sciences; such a profile is often encountered at the end of the mediaeval period. Al-Anṣārī died aged 101, in 926/1520, and was buried in Cairo in the sanctuary of the Imam al-Shāfiʿī.

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, Beirut n.d., iii, 234-8; Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, Beirut 1945, 196-206; E. Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, IFEAD, Damascus 1995, 553 (index), 517-18 (suppl.); idem, *Le voile des apparences, ou la double vie du grand cadi Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī*, in *JA*, cclxxxii/2, 271-80. (E. Geoffroy)

ZAKARIYYĀ KĀNDHALAWĪ SAHĀRANPŪRĪ, Shaykh al-Ḥadīth Mawlānā Muḥammad, an Indian traditionist and influential member and ideologist of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat [*q.v.*], d. 1982. He was related by birth to the leaders of this movement and closely linked with them.

Born in his ancestral village of Kāndhala in what was then the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh), he was educated in esoteric religious studies at the seminary in Sahāranpūr [*q.v.*], which was affiliated to the school of Deoband [*q.v.*], under the direction of his father. He also had Khalīl Aḥmad Ambathawī as his teacher of *ḥadīth* and as spiritual guide. In 1915 he was initiated, and in 1925 he was authorised to initiate other disciples into the major brotherhoods (Čishtiyya, Suhrawardiyya, Ḳādiriyya and Naḳshbandiyya [*q.vv.*]). From 1916 to 1969 he taught tradition at the seminary in Sahāranpūr, and he became director there in 1954. He published commentaries on two collections of *ḥadīth* (the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī). He made the pilgrimage to Mecca four times (1920, 1925, 1964 and 1967), but in 1969 he had to stop teaching because he was suffering from cataracts. He went to live in Medina in 1973, and there he died and was buried in 1982.

He is famous for his prominent role in the development of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat. Between 1924 and 1964 he published in Urdu a series of treatises on the merits (*faḍāʾil*) of the fundamental practices of Islam. These are known under the collective title of *Tablīghī niṣāb*, and they have been translated into several major languages (Arabic, English and French). To this day they form the basic manuals for the movement. Muḥammad Zakariyyā was a very influential counsellor to the successive leaders of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat, and he did much to extend the movement in Arabia, in England (he travelled there twice, in 1979 and 1981), and in locations around the Indian Ocean, such as Réunion, South Africa and East Africa (where he went, also in 1981).

Bibliography: The only work of his widely available is the *Tablīghī niṣāb*, Dihlī n.d., Eng. tr. *The teachings of Islam*, Dihlī n.d., Fr. tr. *Les enseignements de l'islam*, Dihlī-Saint-Denis de la Réunion n.d.). Concerning the contents of this volume and the use that can be made of it, see B.D. Metcalf, *Living Ḥadīth in the Tablīghī Jamāʿat*, in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, lii/3 (1993), 584-608. For the biography of Muḥammad Zakariyyā, see Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Nadwī, *Ḥaḍrat Shaykh al-Ḥadīth Mawlānā Muḥammad Zakariyyāʾ Ṣāḥib*, Lucknow 1982; M. Gaborieau, *Muḥammad Zakariyyā Kāndhalawī Sahāranpūrī*, in Gaborieau *et al.* (eds.), *Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du XIXe siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, i, Paris 1992, 20.

(M. Gaborieau)

ZAKĀT (a.), the obligatory payment by Muslims of a determinate portion of speci-

fied categories of their lawful property for the benefit of the poor and other enumerated classes or, as generally in Ḳur'ānic usage, the portion of property so paid.

1. Introduction
2. *Zakāt* in the Ḳur'ān
3. *Zakāt* in the *Ḥadīth*
4. *Zakāt* in Islamic history
5. *Zakāt* in Islamic law
   i. *Zakāt* on livestock
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   iii. *Zakāt* on gold and silver
   iv. *Zakāt* on mines (*ma'din*) and treasures (*rikāz*)
   v. *Zakāt* on merchandise (*tidjāra*, *'urūḍ*)
   vi. Holding period (*ḥawl*)
   vii. Persons subject to *zakāt*
   viii. Ownership
   ix. Debts
   x. Estimation
   xi. Recipients
   xii. Collection and payment
   xiii. Intention (*niyya*)
   xiv. *Zakāt* avoidance and non-payment
6. *Zakāt al-fiṭr*
7. *Zakāt* in Ṣūfism
8. *Zakāt* in the modern period

1. Introduction.

There is disagreement as to when the obligation of *zakāt* was imposed: according to a common opinion, this occurred in the month of Shawwāl of the year 2/624 after the introduction of *zakāt al-fiṭr* in Sha'bān of the same year, or, according to others, at the same time as *zakāt al-fiṭr*. Others place its introduction in the year 1/622-3 or 4/625-6 or even as late as 9/630-1 (al-Ṭabarī, iv, 1722, cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, Cairo 1378/1959, iv, 8-9)). Another popular opinion is that *zakāt* was introduced in general terms before the *hidjra* and then in detailed fashion in Medina. *Zakāt* is one of the "pillars" (*arkān*, *da'ā'im*) of Islam (cf. al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1418/1998, i, 19), and to deny its obligatoriness amounts to unbelief (*kufr*). Failure to pay *zakāt* when due is a grave sin (*kabīra*) (al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-Kabā'ir*, Cairo 1356, 32-7). Acceptance of *zakāt* on the part of those qualified to receive it is a collective obligation (*farḍ kifāya*) (Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī, *Ḍaw' al-shams*, 1394/1974, ii, 5-7).

Muslim scholars almost universally regard the term *zakāt* as Arabic in origin and derive it form the verb *zakā*, which has among its meanings "to increase" and "to be pure". *Zakāt*, on this view, takes its name from its functions of increasing, i.e. blessing, the property from which it is taken and purifying from sin those who give it or their property (Lane, iii, 1241). Modern scholarship has regarded the term as a borrowing, almost certainly from the Judaeo-Aramaic *zākhūthā* or righteousness, as evidenced by its orthography in the Ḳur'ān (A. Spitaler, *Die Schreibung des Typus ṣlwt im Koran*, in *WZKM*, lvi [1960], 217), and it has been suggested that *zakāt* was formed to rhyme with *ṣalāt*, another borrowing from Aramaic (C. Brockelmann, *Semitische Reimwortbildungen*, in *ZS*, v [1927], 14). While the use of the noun *zākhūthā*, unlike the related verb *z'kā* for alms, is not attested in Rabbinic writings (M. Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine period*, Ramat-Gan 1990, 177, cf. J. Horovitz, *Zakāt*, in *Isl.*, viii [1918], 137-8), in targumic literature *zākhūthā* functioned as the Aramaic equivalent for the Hebrew *ṣ'dāḳā*, which had from its original sense of righteousness come to serve as the ordinary term for alms and was borrowed with this sense into Arabic as *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*]. Although some of the *zakāt* rates have obvious parallels outside of Islam, e.g. one-tenth or one-fortieth (Mishna, T'rūmōth. iv, 3), there is no reason to doubt that the classical system of *zakāt* is unique to Islam.

Ṣadaḳa, in common use for voluntary alms, is also frequently used for *zakāt*, especially *zakāt* on livestock and crops. The use of *zakāt* in the sense of voluntary alms, if known at all, is rare (cf. al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmi' li-aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Beirut 1965, vi, 222 on Ḳur'ān V, 55). The forms of *zakāt*, including *zakāt al-fiṭr*, considered here, are in turn classified under the larger heading of *ṣadaḳa*, in a further, expanded sense that includes obligatory and voluntary alms as well, *kaffāra* [*q.v.*] (al-Suyūrī, *Kanz al-'irfān*, Tehran 1384, i, 318). *Zakāt* is sometimes used in a figurative sense, for any offering, even one that is intangible: thus praying for other believers is said to be the *zakāt* of one without property. *Zakāt* was used in mediaeval times for various taxes without a basis in Islamic teaching [see MAKS]. The choice of the term *zakāt* for these was likely prompted by its positive religious associations and its use for a compulsory payment, as opposed to voluntary *ṣadaḳa* (cf. H. Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, London 1972, 86, 96; P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (eds.), *Camb. hist. Iran*, Cambridge 1986, vi, 134, 541).

2. *Zakāt* in the Ḳur'ān.

The word *zakāt* occurs thirty-two times in the Ḳur'ān, always in the singular, and, according to some, only in Medinan passages (A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'an*, Baroda 1938, 153). In at least two such occurrences (XVIII, 81; XIX, 13) it bears the sense of righteousness. The command for Muslims to give *zakāt* is so often joined with the command to offer prayer (*ṣalāt*) that *zakāt* was later termed the "companion" (*ḳarīna*) of prayer. The same pairing occurs in connection with earlier prophets. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were instructed to pray and give *zakāt* (XXI, 73), as were the Israelites (II, 83, cf. VII, 156) and later Jesus (XIX, 31), and Ishmael so instructed his household (XIX, 55). Muslim exegetes, however, sometimes questioned whether the *zakāt* known before Islam was identical with *zakāt* as they knew it. Only in XXIII, 4 is "doing" or "practicing" (*fā'ilūn*) *zakāt* found in place of "giving", where *zakāt*, if it refers to alms, may bear the meaning of the practice of giving, rather than as elsewhere the portion of property to be given (cf. 'Īsā, *al-Muṣḥaf al-muyassar*, Cairo 1385, 445; R. Bell, *The Qur'ān*, Edinburgh 1937, i, 327; F. Rosenthal, *Sedaka, charity*, in *HUCA*, xxiii/1 [1950-1], 422 n. 39). The command to give *zakāt* is addressed to Muḥammad's followers in II, 110; XXII, 78; XXIV, 56; LVIII, 13; and LXXIII, 20, and specifically to Muḥammad's wives in XXXIII, 33. It is addressed to the Jews of Medina in II, 43. On the use of *ṣadaḳa* in the Ḳur'ān for *zakāt*, see ṢADAḲA. *Zakāt* may also be intended in some of the frequent references to spending (e.g. VIII, 3). *Mā'ūn* in CVII, 7 has also been interpreted as *zakāt* (al-Bayhaḳī, *Ma'rifat al-sunan wa 'l-āthār*, ed. al-Ḳal'adjī, Cairo 1411/1991, vi, 9).

Those entitled to receive *zakāt* are listed in IX, 60 (*āyat al-ṣadaḳa*), said to have been revealed after the battle of Ḥunayn (8/630 [*q.v.*]) in response to criticism by hypocrites [see AL-MUNĀFIḲŪN] of the equity of Muḥammad's distribution of *zakāt* (IX, 58-9), which until then had been left to his personal judgement (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1386/1966, 122). Institutionalisation of *zakāt* within Muḥammad's

lifetime is evidenced by the mention of agents for its collection in IX, 60, reportedly first sent out in the year 9/630-1, and by the requirement of the pagan Arabs that they practice prayer and give *zakāt* for their lives to be spared (IX, 5) and for them to become "brethren in religion" (IX, 11, cf. IX, 18; and cf. al-Bukhārī, iii, 7). In LVIII, 13 the obligation of giving of *zakāt* is opposed to the voluntary *ṣadaḳa* for an audience with the Prophet.

Muslim interpreters have found in the Ḳur'ān references to *zakāt* on crops (II, 267; VI, 141), gold and silver (IX, 34), merchandise (II, 267; LI, 19; LXX, 24), and mines (II, 267). A reference to the intention (*niyya*, see 5.xiii below) required for the validity of *zakāt* has been found in XXX, 39. Ḳur'ān IX, 103, sometimes said to have been revealed to provide a means of atonement (*kaffāra*) for specific individuals who repented of their misconduct (al-Ḳurṭubī, viii, 242-5), is nonetheless among the most cited verses in connection with *zakāt*. Ḳur'ān XXX, 39 contrasts the intended increase of wealth in usury (*ribā* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), which is vain in the estimation of God, with the genuine increase gained by those who give *zakāt*. The polytheists (*mushrikūn*) do not give *zakāt* (XLI, 7). The *munāfiḳ* will wish after he dies for another opportunity to obey the injunction to give *zakāt* (LXIII, 10: *fa-aṣṣadaḳa*).

Muslim jurists disagreed on the extent to which the Ḳur'ān provided adequate information for implementing the obligation of giving *zakāt*. A minority found a basis in the Ḳur'ān (IX, 103) for imposing *zakāt* on all property (*amwāl*) unless there was evidence to the contrary (e.g. the Zaydī *imām* al-Hādī, *K. al-Aḥkām*, 1990, i, 180), a position sometimes attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa. Others regarded the Ḳur'ānic provisions as insufficiently detailed (*mudjmal*) and in need of clarification from the Prophet, a position commonly ascribed to al-Shāfi'ī, who did in fact regard the clarification of the Ḳur'ānic provisions on *zakāt* provided by the *sunna* as paradigmatic of the relation between these sources of law (*al-Umm*, ed. Cairo, ii, 3).

There is disagreement whether the obligation of *zakāt* abrogated other Ḳur'ānic provisions for obligatory giving (e.g. II, 219) and more generally whether there are any Islamic obligations on property beyond *zakāt* (*fi 'l-māl ḥaḳḳ siwā al-zakāt*) (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, on the margin of al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-sāda al-muttaḳīn*, ed. Beirut, iv, 105-6; Ibn al-'Arabī, *K. al-Ḳabas*, ed. Walad Karīm, Beirut 1992, ii, 461-2).

3. *Zakāt* in the *Ḥadīth*.

Apart from the Ḳur'ānic list of beneficiaries, the other major elements of the law of *zakāt* are based on *ḥadīth*: the kinds of property subject to *zakāt*, the minimum quantity (*niṣāb*) in each case, the rate of *zakāt*, and the rule of a one-year holding period (*ḥawl*) (Ibn Mādja, *al-Sunan*, Cairo, i, 547). The best-known traditions regulating the *zakāt* due on camels and sheep are reports of written instructions for their collection (*kitāb*, *ṣaḥīfa*, *'ahd*) that came to be preserved as family heirlooms. These are the instructions of the Prophet to 'Amr b. Ḥazm whom he sent to Yemen (cf. al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan*, ed. 'Abd al-Wārith 'Alī, Beirut 1416/1995, viii, 41-2), the instructions that the Prophet is said to have prepared but was unable to issue before his death, and which were then implemented by Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and later by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, ed. 'Abd al-Bāḳī, Cairo, 175-6; Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan*, ed. al-Khālidī, Beirut 1416/1996, i, 458-9), and the instructions of Abū Bakr to Anas b. Mālik, whom he sent to collect *zakāt* in Baḥrayn (al-Bukhārī, iii, 39-41) (on these traditions, see 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ikmāl al-mu'lim bi-fawā'id Muslim*, ed. Ismā'īl, al-Manṣūra 1419/1998, iii, 489-90). The *zakāt* due on cattle appears in the Prophet's instructions to Mu'ādh b. Djabal, whom he sent to Yemen (Abū Dāwūd, i, 462), known, unlike the rest of Arabia, for its cattle-raising (al-Zarkashī, *Sharḥ al-Zarkashī 'alā mukhtaṣar al-Khiraḳī*, ed. al-Djibrīn, ii, 392-3, cf. al-Hamdānī, i, 201). In some formulations one can detect a mnemonic intent: "No *ṣadaḳa* is payable on less than *five* camel-loads of dates, on less than *five* ounces of silver, and on fewer than *five* camels" (al-Bukhārī, iii, 10). Similar details are found in the Shī'ī *ḥadīth* transmitted from 'Alī and the other *imāms*.

Both those who pay *zakāt* and those who collect are cautioned: the former to make sure that the collector leaves them well pleased, the latter not to exact more than is due, which is as bad as refusing to pay (al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, ed. 'Abd al-Bāḳī, Beirut, iii, 38). Owners of livestock need not pay with their most valuable animals, unless they freely choose to do so (al-Bukhārī, iii, 43). The collector who acts according to law is likened by the Prophet to the warrior in God's cause (*ghāzī*, *mudjāhid*) (al-Tirmidhī, iii, 37). While the instructions of Abū Bakr to Anas are preceded by the statement that those of whom more *zakāt* is demanded than is due are not to pay it, other traditions urge the *zakāt* payer to comply with exorbitant demands, for which the collectors will be held responsible (cf. al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, ed. al-Ṣabābiṭī, Cairo 1413/1993, iv, 147). There are also warnings to those who accept *zakāt* to which they are not entitled that what they acquire is only an ache in their heads and a burning in their innards.

Failure to pay *zakāt* is a sign of hypocrisy, and the prayers of those who do not pay *zakāt* will not be accepted. No poor person would ever go hungry, lack clothing or be hard-pressed if the wealthy paid their *zakāt*, but it is admitted that there is no obligation more demanding than the payment of *zakāt*. *Zakāt* serves as a purification (*ṭuhra*, *ṭuhūr*) of those who pay. It safeguards their other property, whereas giving voluntary alms (*ṣadaḳa*) heals the sick. No property at land or sea is ever lost except on account of the withholding of *zakāt*. *Zakāt* is never left commingled with other property without bringing about its ruin. Failure to pay *zakāt* brings on drought and loss of livestock, while the payment of *zakāt* ensures rain. Property on which *zakāt* has been paid is not the treasured-up gold and silver condemned in the Ḳur'ān (IX, 34), even when it is buried deep in the earth. On the Day of Resurrection (*ḳiyāma* [*q.v.*]), equivalent to fifty thousand years in this world, those who have not paid *zakāt* will be confronted by the *zakāt* they have withheld (cf. Ḳur'ān IX, 35): their gold and silver treasure (*kanz*) will pursue them in the form of a large fearsome serpent (cf. Ḳur'ān III, 180), with the cry: "I am your treasure," and those who have withheld *zakāt* from livestock will be trampled and gored by the animals they have not paid, now grown large and fat.

4. *Zakāt* in Islamic history.

According to the Islamic sources, the collection of *zakāt* was already in full force during the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad. He is said to have dispatched "innumerable" collectors of *zakāt*, some of them among the most famous of his Companions, such as 'Umar and 'Alī (al-Khuzā'ī, *K. Takhrīdj al-dalāla al-shar'iyya*, ed. Abū Salāma, Cairo 1401/1981, 544; Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 115). On the other hand, the *ḥadīth* indicates that the Prophet died before the definitive guidelines for the collection of camels and sheep were issued. The system of *zakāt* collection was gravely

threatened during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, when some of the Arabian tribes refused to acknowledge that the Prophet's authority to collect *zakāt* had passed to his successor. This movement in resistance to the collection of *zakāt* is associated with the apostasy of the *ridda* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] wars, but it became widely accepted among Muslim scholars that only some of those who withheld *zakāt* were true apostates, the others being more properly classified as rebels (*bughāt*) and not to be judged by the same standard as later Muslims who reject the obligation of *zakāt* (al-Khaṭṭābī, *Maʿālim al-sunan*, ed. al-Ṭabbākh, Aleppo 1352/1933, ii, 2-10, *locus classicus*).

Of the succeeding Rightly-Guided Caliphs, ʿUmar is reported to have had the greatest interest in the details of *zakāt* and its collection. To ʿUmar is attributed the institution of collectors posted on roads to collect *zakāt* from Muslim merchants (at the rate of 2.5%) as well as imposts on the merchandise of non-Muslim traders, both indigenous (*dhimmī*) and foreign (*ḥarbī*). From the rate applied to alien non-Muslim merchants of 10% (*ʿushr*), these collectors became known as *ʿushshār* (sing. *ʿāshir*). In the course of time, these collectors on bridges and in ports came to exceed the limits imposed by the law and acquired an exceedingly unsavory reputation for venality. ʿUmar is said to have been the first to take merit, and not merely need, into consideration in the distribution of *zakāt* (Muslim b. Abī Karīma, *Risālat Abī Karīma fi ʾl-zakāt*, ʿUmān 1982, 10). It was ʿUmar, too, according to some, who definitively declared that Islam had achieved such a state of security as to no longer need the services of "those whose hearts are to be won over," one of the Ḳurʾānic classes of recipients of *zakāt* (on these, see Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1387/1967, ii, 951-4, and AL-MUʾALLAFA ḲULŪBUHUM). But the most significant change in the practice of *zakāt* collection is attributed to ʿUthmān. This is the rule that the official collectors of *zakāt* have authority to demand payment on "apparent" (*ẓāhir, nāṭiḳ*) property only, i.e. livestock and crops, leaving owners the choice of paying *zakāt* on "unapparent" (*bāṭin, ṣāmit*) property, i.e. gold, silver and merchandise, either to the collectors or directly to the recipients of *zakāt*. It is said that ʿUthmān was concerned that rapacious collectors would enrich themselves with the property of the Muslims, and in fact allegations of corruption in the collection of *zakāt* were already made against ʿUthmān's collectors. Some, however, held that the Prophet himself never demanded payment of *zakāt* on *bāṭin* property (Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Kāfī*, ed. al-Shāwīsh, i, 328), and others have rejected the distinction entirely: the Zaydī *imām* al-Hādī insisted that it was a contrivance of jurists aimed at checking over-reaching collectors (*K. al-Aḥkām*, i, 192-3).

During the Umayyad period, zeal in the collection of *zakāt* grew. Muʿāwiya, for example, is said to have been the first to deduct *zakāt* from state stipends (J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 199-200). But the increasing lack of confidence in the integrity of administration of the *zakāt* system is reflected in the reported disagreement among early jurists whether it was still appropriate to pay *zakāt* to the official collectors. The position of Ibn ʿUmar (d. 73/692) that such payment would discharge one's obligation proved to be the most influential (cf. Madelung, *ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās and Shīʿite law*, in *Law, Christianity and modernism in Islamic society*, ed. Vermeulen and Van Reeth, Louvain 1998, 21-3). A review of existing practice in the collection of *zakāt* formed part of the reform of fiscal matters under ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 101/720 [*q.v.*]), and his rulings on questions of *zakāt* are widely, sometimes inconsistently, reported in later writings, along with references to his efforts to procure copies of instructions to collectors from the Prophet's day. A prominent feature of his rule was an effort to bring the *ʿushshār* into conformity with Islamic law. The establishment of a special government office, *dīwān al-ṣadaḳa*, for the receipt of *zakāt* occurred under the caliph Hishām (d. 125/743).

From the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798 [*q.v.*]), written in the form of counsel to the ʿAbbāsid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, it emerges that the system for the collection of *zakāt* in his day was both corrupt and inefficient. Collection of *zakāt* was in the hands of the collectors of *kharādj* [*q.v.*], who did not keep the proceeds distinct as required by law, while *zakāt* on merchandise collected by the *ʿushshār* was administered separately from the other forms of *zakāt* (*K. al-Kharādj*, with the commentary of al-Raḥbī, *Fiḳh al-mulūk wa-miftāḥ al-ritādj*, Baghdād 1975, i, 536-7). The joint administration of *zakāt* and the income of caliphal *awḳāf* (*dīwān al-birr wa ʾl-ṣadaḳāt*) introduced in 315/927 (Miskawayh, i, 152), suggests a decline in *zakāt* revenue.

Virtually nothing is known about the details of the official collection of *zakāt* throughout most of its history. References in the historical sources are scattered and meagre in detail, and the evidence of the Arabic papyri is limited (G. Khan, *Arabic papyri: select material from the Khalili Collection*, London 1992, 53). By contrast, the legal sources occasionally provide vivid details about such practices as the counting of livestock (al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, ii, 51, describing the procedure for collection for livestock of his uncle, a *zakāt* collector). Al-Shāfiʿī reports that collectors of *zakāt* on livestock were sent out in Muḥarram (ii, 14), while Mālik states that the practice was for them to go out in May (Saḥnūn, *al-Mudawwana*, ed. Muḥammad, Beirut 1419/1999, ii, 446, cf. *al-Khirshī ʿalā mukhtaṣar Khalīl*, ed. Beirut, ii, 161-2). The animals collected as *zakāt* were specially branded (with the words "for God", according to al-Shāfiʿī: see al-Muzanī, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, on margin of *al-Umm*, iii, 244; others state that the brand was "*zakāt*" or "*ṣadaḳa*"), although some jurists disapproved of this practice. The Ḥanafī al-Sarakhsī tells us that it was the custom of collectors to give receipts (*barāʾa*) (*al-Mabsūṭ*, ed. Beirut, ii, 161, 202), although their legal force was disputed, and this practice is corroborated by the papyri (Grohmann, *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library*, Cairo 1938, iii, 178-9, from 148/765-6) and historical sources (Ibn Yaʿḳūb, *Sīrat al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi ʾllāh*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, Ṣanʿāʾ 1417/1996, 29).

Little, too, is known about how governments distributed the proceeds of *zakāt* or the extent of corruption involved. Administrative costs, which in the worst case could run so high as to consume the entire *zakāt* collected, appear to have been high (cf. Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*, i, 536), and there is some evidence of *zakāt* farming (Khan, *Arabic legal and administrative documents in the Cambridge Genizah collections*, Cambridge 1993, 283-5, from 480/1088, cf. Khalid Abou El Fadl, *Tax farming in Islamic law (qibālah and ḍamān of kharāj): a search for a concept*, in *Islamic Studies*, xxxi/i [1992], 5-32). The local distribution encouraged by Islamic law would tend to facilitate the use of *zakāt* to reward favourites and cultivate clients. In any case, the example of the Imām al-Hādī (d. 298/911) in Yemen suggests the political obstacles that could face even a ruler of impeccable learning and religious conviction in his efforts to impose a system

of *zakāt* in accordance with the law (Madelung, *Land ownership and land tax in Northern Yemen and Najrān: 3rd-4th/9th-10th century*, in T. Khalidi (ed.), *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut 1984, 89-193).

The collectors of *zakāt* in some cases exercised further roles. In the time of the Prophet they were charged with teaching the elements of Islam (cf. al-Bukhārī, iii, 3-4), as were later the collectors sent out by the Imām al-Hādī (al-ʿAlawī, *Sīrat al-Hādī*, ed. Zakkār, Beirut 1401/1981, 45). Mālikī sources indicate that collectors of livestock possessed a limited judicial authority (*al-Khirshī ʿalā mukhtaṣar Khalīl*, ii, 149).

According to the Fāṭimid jurist al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974 [*q.v.*]), *zakāt* among the Sunnīs of his day was largely limited to private distributions to the poor, despite the approval by leading Sunnī jurists of payment to the state, and those who did pay *zakāt* in any form were a distinct minority (*Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, ed. Fayḍī, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 257-8, 261-2). By about the year 493/1100, governmental collection of *zakāt* across the Muslim world had become largely a thing of the past and has remained so ever since for the great majority of Muslims. The Andalusian Mālikī Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]) noted that the scholars of his day no longer made the coming of the *zakāt* collectors a condition for the obligation to pay, as had Mālik, in whose time they did regularly come (*K. al-Kāfī*, ed. al-Mūritānī, Riyāḍ 1398/1978, i, 311). Similarly, the Shāfiʿī Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210 [*q.v.*]) in the East writes of the collectors as a class of *zakāt* recipients that no longer exists (*al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo 1357/1938, xvi, 115), as does the ʿIrāḳī Mālikī Ibn ʿAskar (d. 732/1332) a century later (*Irshād al-sālik*, ed. Sūsa, 1989, 38). The Egyptian al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418 [*q.v.*]) reports that, in his day, the collection of *zakāt* was confined to the activity of the *ʿushshār* in the ports and to some limited collection of livestock (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 457-8).

Rulers with a reformist mission would, as might be expected, favour a revival of *zakāt* collection: the Almohads, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Rabie, 96), the Sokoto Caliphate, the Arabian Wahhābīs and the Sudanese Mahdists. In some cases, local dynasties were able to maintain a more or less traditional form of *zakāt* collection, but often alongside non-Islamic sources of revenue, into the modern period, for example, the ʿAlawīs of Morocco until 1901 and the Zaydīs of Yemen until the revolution of 1962. In Kuwayt, *zakāt* was collected on livestock, crops and fish until the increase in wealth brought about by the discovery of petroleum in the 1920s.

The general disappearance of official *zakāt* collectors did not in itself leave the distribution of *zakāt* to individual property owners, since there were intermediaries ready to fill the gap, ranging from local village *imāms* as in pre-colonial Malaysia to powerful Ṣūfī orders in Africa and elsewhere. Such intermediaries functioned as both recipients and collectors for further distribution. Sectarian groups typically developed their own channels for collection and distribution: The Shīʿī *imāms* were succeeded in this role by the leading jurists among the Twelver Shīʿīs, and by the *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* among the Indian Bohras (F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: their history and doctrine*, Cambridge 1990, 317; and see BOHORĀS). Among these groups, as among the Ibāḍīs, *zakāt* was largely confined to the community of fellow adherents.

5. *Zakāt* in Islamic law.

The law of *zakāt* is a hybrid between the elements of ritual and revenue-raising, elements that have historically competed for primacy and continue to do so today. Insofar as paying *zakāt* is a ritual act of purification, the focus is on the payer; as a system of revenue-raising, the centre of concern is the recipients, particularly the poor. The hybrid quality of the law of *zakāt* is most strikingly evident in the distinction sometimes made by Ḥanafīs between *zakāt* proper, which is said to be a pure act of worship, and the tithe (*ʿushr*) on crops, which is a form of revenue (*muʾna*, literally impost) with an element of worship (e.g. Shaykhzāda, *Madjmaʿ al-anhur*, ed. Istanbul, i, 214), but it is also apparent in the treatment in many Shāfiʿī legal texts, following al-Muzanī's (d. 264/878 [*q.v.*]) *al-Mukhtaṣar*, of the basic rules of *zakāt* in the section on ritual (*ʿibādāt*) and the rules for its distribution (*ḳasm*) separately in a section on revenues of the state. The dimension of *zakāt* as a source of revenue is, of course, especially prominent in its treatment in the relatively small but significant legal literature on governance (*aḥkām sulṭāniyya*) and public finance (*amwāl, kharādj*).

Zakāt is commonly classified as a tax on property rather than income, but this is only approximately correct, since, for example, *zakāt* is due on crops only once, when they are harvested, without the requirement of a holding period. In any event, the theory developed by the classical jurists to explain why *zakāt* is payable only on certain kinds of property appeals to the notion of "growth" (*namāʾ*): *zakāt* is due on property that represents growth or is devoted to growth, actually or virtually (*taḳdīr*[an]). Thus grazing livestock and trade goods represent property actually devoted to growth, and gold and silver, by their very nature as media of exchange, property virtually devoted to growth, while crops and mined minerals represent growth itself. The requirement of a holding period of one year (*ḥawl*), where applicable, is understood to provide an opportunity for such growth, and the fact that *zakāt* is paid out of growth encourages compliance (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bukhārī, *Maḥāsin al-islām*, Cairo 1357, 17). This theory gained near-universal acceptance, to the extent that it was even invoked as an explanation of the term *zakāt* (Ibn Rushd, *al-Muḳaddimāt*, ed. Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1408/1988, i, 271), and it remains popular today. The element of growth is even more obvious in the view of a minority of early jurists who are said to have imposed *zakāt* generally on property as soon as it was acquired (see below, 5.vi). One of the few opponents of the theory of growth was the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]) (cf. *al-Muḥallā*, ed. al-Bindārī, iv, 45, 146, 149, 187).

There is disagreement as to whether *zakāt* is an obligation *in rem* (*fī 'l-māl, fī ʿayn al-māl*) or *in personam* (*fī 'l-dhimma*). The former view, itself subject to several interpretations, is that commonly defended, but if fully pressed would, among other unacceptable consequences, make the recipients of *zakāt* co-owners of the *zakāt* payer's property (al-Zarkashī, ii, 460-2; cf. Walī al-Dīn al-Baṣīr, *al-Nihāya*, ed. ʿUmayrāt, Beirut 1416/1995, 113, where they are co-owners). A more limited, commonly cited implication of the dispute arises in the case of the owner of forty sheep who fails to pay *zakāt* for two consecutive holding periods. On the *in personam* analysis, his *zakāt* liability at the end of the two years is two sheep; on the *in rem* analysis only one sheep, since with one sheep from the flock now encumbered by *zakāt* there is no longer a *niṣāb* (minimum number of forty, see below) during the second holding period (Ibn Hubayra, *al-Ifṣāḥ*,

ed. al-Dabbās, Aleppo 1366/1947, i, 141). In fact, the law of *zakāt* is a product of the application to one degree or another of both views (cf. Ibn Radjab, *al-Ḳawāʾid*, ed. Saʿd, Cairo 1392/1972, 207). There is, in any case, universal agreement that qualified recipients of *zakāt* cannot exercise self-help in taking their share but must await distribution by the government or the individual *zakāt* payer.

The theme of fairness is central to the classical theory of *zakāt*. It is considered only just that, as a charitable sharing of wealth (*muwāsāt*), *zakāt* should be in the first instance payable from the very property on which it is imposed and only from property of average quality. It is also commonly held that the rate of *zakāt* is inversely related to the effort expended in producing the growth from which *zakāt* is due, as is particularly evident in the differential rate of *zakāt* for crops according to the method of irrigation used in their production (see below) (al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, ed. Beirut, ii, 389-90, but see al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, iii, 4, according to whom, the rationale for the different rates of *zakāt* is not knowable). Concern with fairness also appears in the balancing of interests between the payers of *zakāt* and its recipients that is attributed to the Lawgiver and that arises frequently in the discussions of the jurists.

Muslim jurists sometimes speculated as to the underlying reasonableness of the apparently arbitrary quantities that abound in the laws of *zakāt*. The Shāfiʿī al-Ḳaffāl al-Shāshī (d. 365/976) suggested that the *ṣāʿ* of grain paid as *zakāt al-fiṭr* could produce enough bread to feed a poor person for the day of the feast and the customary three-day celebration that followed, when no work would be available (al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Bādjūrī ʿalā Ibn al-Ḳāsim*, ed. Cairo, i, 280). Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1175/1762 [see AL-DIHLAWĪ]) proposed that the minimum amounts of agricultural produce and silver subject to *zakāt* were each enough to sustain for one year a family consisting of a husband, wife and one dependent, and were thus a reasonable measure of wealth (*Ḥudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha*, ed. Ḍamīriyya, Riyāḍ 1420/1999, ii, 727-8, tr. M.K. Hermansen, *The conclusive argument from God*, Leiden 1996, 297-8). Along similar lines, it was even suggested that the apparently complex rate of *zakāt* on camels was in fact the familiar 2.5% for gold and silver and merchandise (al-Sarakhsī, ii, 150). Such speculations have re-emerged in modern discussions of *zakāt* as contemporary theorists attempt to formulate a rationalised version of the traditional law.

Muslim jurists have often rested the authority of the government to demand the payment of *zakāt* on the protection (*ḥimāya*) it provides to property, an analysis most fully developed by the Ḥanafī jurists, who use it to justify the collection of *zakāt* on merchandise, a form of *bāṭin* property, by the *ʿushshār*. The *ʿushshār* acquire the authority to demand *zakāt* on such property when the owner takes it on to the public roads and brings it into the government's sphere of protection (Ibn al-Humām, *Fatḥ al-ḳadīr*, Cairo 1389/1970, ii, 224). This analysis the Ḥanafīs extend to the imposts demanded by *ʿushshār* on the property of non-Muslims (*ibid.*, ii, 227). A similar principle is reported to have been given practical application by the Ibāḍīs of ʿUmān *ca.* 1000, who would not collect *zakāt* from foreign Muslim merchants until a year of residency had passed, which established the requisite protection (al-Bisyawī, *Djāmiʿ Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Bisyawī*, ʿUmān 1404/1984, ii, 190). Likewise, an Ibāḍī *imām* taking office after a break in the imāmate must wait one year before collecting *zakāt* (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭṭafayyish, *Sharḥ al-nīl*, Beirut 1392/1972, iii, 286).

Niṣāb. *Zakāt* is due on property only if a minimum quantity (*niṣāb*, pl. *nuṣub*, *anṣiba*, literally "base", less commonly *daradja*) is held, e.g. five camels (on the introduction of *niṣāb* as a legal term of art, see Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl*, ed. Harrās, Cairo 1388/1968, 560-1, cf. Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 177). The *zakāt* payable increases with the amount of property held, and where, as in the case of livestock, such increases in the property subject to *zakāt* are not pro-rata (*bi 'l-ḥisāb*), but set at discrete increments, each of these increments represents a further *niṣāb*, with eleven such *nuṣub* in the most complex case, that of camels. The amount of property below the first *niṣāb* and between each subsequent *niṣāb* is termed *waḳṣ/waḳaṣ* (also *shanaḳ*) (cf. al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa 'l-lughāt*, Cairo n.d., i, 193-4). It is generally held that no *zakāt* is due on the *waḳṣ* between the *nuṣub*, hence the further term *ʿafw* for the *waḳṣ*. Thus the one sheep or goat due on nine camels (the second *niṣāb* being ten) is in fact due on only five, the four additional camels being *waḳṣ*, and should four of the nine perish after *zakāt* is due, there will be no proportionate reduction in the amount of *zakāt* to be paid.

As in other areas of Islamic law, there is considerable disagreement among Muslim jurists over the details of the law of *zakāt*. The discussion here focuses on the doctrine of the Shāfiʿī school with some notice of the most salient points of disagreement between the schools. Twelver Shīʿī law alone recognises cases where *zakāt* is recommended (*mustaḥabb*) but not obligatory (cf. al-Ḥalīmī, *K. al-Minhādj fī shuʿab al-īmān*, ed. Fawda, Beirut 1979, ii, 343), a categorisation that serves to reconcile conflicting evidence for and against the imposition of *zakāt*.

i. *Zakāt* on livestock (*ḥayawān*, *māshiya*, *naʿam*). *Zakāt* is imposed on camels (*ibil*), cattle (*baḳar*), and sheep and goats (*ghanam*) according to the number of animals owned. According to the great majority of jurists, for the calculation of the number of animals in the herd, male and female animals, young and old, healthy and diseased count equally. The Ẓāhirīs alone do not count animals under one year of age (*al-Muḥallā*, iv, 82). Animals of different breeds (*anwāʿ*), such as Bactrian and Arabian camels, cattle and water buffalo, are counted together, as are sheep (*ḍaʾn*) and goats (*maʿz*). *Zakāt* is normally due in the form of adult (over one year), female, healthy, and defect-free animals. The assumption throughout is that greater age and feminine gender increase the value of the animal. Except for the Ḥanafīs, who accept male and female cattle and sheep indifferently, male animals are acceptable only where indicated below or if all the animals in the herd are male. Where the entire herd consists of under-age or unhealthy animals or those suffering from defects, these are accepted as *zakāt*, except by the Mālikīs, who even in these cases require that *zakāt* be paid with healthy, defect-free, adult animals. Where the herd consists of animals of different breeds or of both sheep and goats, the *zakāt* is to be paid in the form of animals that reflect the relative values of the different breeds in the make-up of the herd. Thus for a herd consisting of thirty female goats and ten female sheep, the one sheep or goat due as *zakāt* for forty animals must be worth as much as three-fourths of a female goat and one-fourth of a female sheep. Apart from adjustments (*djubrān*) in the form of cash or sheep, admitted by some jurists in the case of camels alone, the *zakāt* payer who cannot supply the required animals from his herd is

required to acquire them in order to make payment. The Ḥanafīs accept in all cases payment of their value (*ḳīma*), even in the form of fewer but fatter animals (see below, 5.xii).

Pasturage. According to the great majority of jurists, a condition for the imposition of *zakāt* on livestock is that the animals be put out to pasture (*sawm*) for breeding or milk. Animals that subsist on fodder (*ʿalaf*) are not subject to *zakāt*, nor are animals that live on pasturage but are put to work by the owner or hired out for work. The Mālikīs impose *zakāt* on livestock without regard to whether the animals subsist on pasturage or fodder and, in the case of camels and cattle, whether or not they are put to work, a rule also followed by some Ẓāhirīs including Ibn Ḥazm (*al-Muḥallā*, iv, 144).

Camels. There is general agreement among the Muslim jurists as to the rate of *zakāt* on camels up to one hundred twenty as follows:

number of camels	*zakāt* due
5-9 camels	1 sheep or goat
10-14 camels	2 sheep or goats
15-19 camels	3 sheep or goats
20-24 camels	4 sheep or goats
25-35 camels	1 female camel in its second year (*bint maḵẖāḍ*)
36-45 camels	1 female camel in its third year (*bint labūn*)
46-60 camels	1 female camel in its fourth year (*ḥiḳḳa*)
61-75 camels	1 female camel in its fifth year (*d̲j̲ad̲h̲aʿa*)
76-90 camels	2 female camels in their third year
91-120 camels	2 female camels in their fourth year

Twelver S̲h̲īʿīs assess five sheep or goats for 25 camels and a *bint maḵẖāḍ* for 26-35 camels. This variation, based on a tradition from ʿAlī, was also accepted by Zayd b. ʿAlī (d. 122/740 [*q.v.*]) (*Corpus juris*, ed. Griffini, Milan 1919, 90), but not by later Zaydīs (cf. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī, *K. al-Muntaḵẖab*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1414/1993, 75) nor by the Ismāʿīlī al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān (*Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, i, 253). From 121 camels onwards, there is disagreement among the jurists: for the majority, the rate thereafter is one *bint labūn* per 40 head and one *ḥiḳḳa* per 50. The exceptional circumstance of *zakāt* on camels being payable in the form of another species is explained as arising out of a desire to avoid the hardship to both *zakāt* payers and *zakāt* recipients of fractional shares (*tas̲h̲ḳīṣ*) of camels.

Cattle and sheep. The *niṣāb* for cattle is thirty. The rate of *zakāt* is one cow or bull in its second year (*tabīʿ*) for every thirty head and one cow in its third year (*musinna*, *t̲h̲aniyya*) for every forty. The Mālikīs understand the animals required to be in their third and fourth years respectively. The S̲h̲āfiʿīs, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs impose this rate on multiples of thirty and forty, and according to them one *tabīʿ* is due for from 40 to 59 head of cattle. The Ḥanafīs impose *zakāt* at the rate of one-fortieth of the value of a *musinna* for each additional head from 40 to 59. For Ibāḍīs, the *zakāt* for cattle emulates that for camels, and they impose one sheep or goat for each five head of cattle to twenty-four and thereafter for each *niṣāb* substitute cattle of the required age for the corresponding camels (ʿAmr K. Ennāmi, *Studies in Ibāḍism*, [Libya] 1972, 108-9). The historian and jurist al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) imposed *zakāt* on cattle at the rate of one head per fifty (al-Sayyāg̲h̲ī, ii, 397), as did Ibn Ḥazm before he came to accept the view of the majority (*al-Muḥallā*, iv, 106).

The *niṣāb* for sheep and goats is forty. For forty sheep or goats, the *zakāt* due according to the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs is one female sheep in its second year (*d̲j̲ad̲h̲aʿa*) or one female goat in its third year (*t̲h̲aniyya*), while Mālikīs accept a goat in its second year. Abū Yūsuf and al-S̲h̲aybānī, but not Abū Ḥanīfa, accept animals under one year of age. For 121 animals, the *zakāt* due is two such sheep or goats, for 201, three, for 400, four, and thereafter the rate is one per hundred. The Twelver S̲h̲īʿīs impose four sheep or goats on 301 to 399, the rate thereafter being one animal per hundred.

Horses. Abū Ḥanīfa, opposed on this point by his disciples Abū Yūsuf and al-S̲h̲aybānī, imposed *zakāt* on horses, either females alone or a mixed herd of males and females. There is no *niṣāb*, so that *zakāt* is due even on a single horse, at the rate of either one dīnār per animal or, at the option of the owner, of five dirhams per 200 dirhams of the horse's value (2.5%). This rate is reported to have been applied to horses by the caliph ʿUmar. Although many Ḥanafī jurists preferred the view that horses were not subject to *zakāt*, Abū Ḥanīfa's opinion was approved by important authorities within his *mad̲h̲hab* (Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Ḥās̲h̲iyat radd al-muḥtar*, Cairo 1386/1966, ii, 282). Unlike the *zakāt* on other livestock, that on horses is not collected by the state (Ibn al-Humām, ii, 183). For Twelver S̲h̲īʿīs, *zakāt* on female horses is recommended, at the rate of two dīnārs per pure-bred animal (*ʿatīḳ*) and one dīnār per work horse (*bird̲h̲awn*) (al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, *Nihāyat al-aḥkām*, ed. al-Rad̲j̲āʾī, Beirut 1406/1986, ii, 376-7).

ii. *Zakāt* on crops (*ḥart̲h̲*, *ḥubūb wa-t̲h̲imār*, *nābit*, *k̲h̲ārid̲j̲ min al-arḍ*, *muʿas̲h̲s̲h̲arāt*). There is considerable disagreement among the jurists as to what crops are subject to *zakāt*, ranging from the Twelver S̲h̲īʿīs, who impose *zakāt* only on wheat, barley, dates and raisins, to the Ḥanafīs and Zaydīs, who impose it on virtually all products of the soil. In the middle are the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and Mālikīs, according to whom *zakāt* is due on dates and grapes and on crops of the sort cultivated and stored by humans as a staple foodstuff (*ḳūt muddaḵẖar*), to the exclusion of those products like vegetables that are not stored and those that are not staples like spices and condiments; the crops thus subject to *zakāt* include wheat, barley, rice, chickpeas and lentils, and for the Mālikīs, olives, *zakāt* on which is taken as oil. The Ḥanbalīs, somewhat more broadly, assess *zakāt* on crops that are measured by volume and stored, thus including almonds and pistachios, but continuing to exclude vegetables and most fruits. In addition to the four crops on which *zakāt* is obligatory, Twelver S̲h̲īʿīs recommend paying *zakāt* on crops that are measured by weight, but not on vegetables or fruits. Some jurists, including the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, impose *zakāt* on honey.

Apart from the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa that there is no *niṣāb* for crops, the universal *niṣāb* for crops is five *awsuḳ* (sing. *wasaḳ*), a measure of volume, which, like other legally significant measures of volume, is determined by the practice of Medina, and is reportedly equivalent to three hundred *ṣāʿ* according to the *ṣāʿ* of the Prophet. Legal texts commonly give approximate equivalents to this *niṣāb* in measures of weight, e.g. 609.84 kg. These approximations are intended as rough guides, it being understood that the *niṣāb* must be exactly satisfied (*taḥdīd*) before *zakāt* is due. The

niṣāb is applied to dates and grapes once they have been dried and to other crops once chaff and other foreign matter have been removed. The costs of preparing the harvest for measurement are borne by the *zakāt* payer. According to the Shāfiʿīs, for crops such as rice which are stored in but not eaten with their husks, the husks are deemed to constitute one-half of the harvest, and the *niṣāb* is fixed at ten *awsuk*. In the case of dates and grapes alone, the harvest, while still unpicked, is subject to a process on the part of the collecting authorities that estimates its yield as dry fruit (see below).

Varieties of a single species are combined for the purpose of determining whether the *niṣāb* exists; the Mālikīs go further and treat as single species wheat and barley, and so also all legumes (*kaṭānī*). The entire yield of a single species for a period of twelve lunar months is considered as a unit with respect to *zakāt*, without regard to different rates of ripening due to climate or other circumstances. The entire future yield becomes liable to *zakāt* once any dates or grapes ripen or other crops harden, and the owner of the crop at the time such ripening commences is liable for its *zakāt*. In the case of land leased for cultivation, Abū Ḥanīfa alone imposed *zakāt* on the owner of the land, not the lessee.

The rate of *zakāt* on crops depends on the mode of irrigation employed in their cultivation. Where the crop has been irrigated without expenditure on water or the employment of human or animal labour in conveying the water to the plants, the rate is 10% (one-tenth, *ʿushr*). This rate applies to crops watered by natural sources such as rain and surface (*sayḥ*) and underground water (*baʿl* land), as well as canals (*ʿatharī* land). The rate for crops that have been irrigated by water purchased for this purpose or with animal- or water-driven wheels is 5% (one-half of one-tenth, *niṣf al-ʿushr*). Twelver Shīʿīs in principle allow for a deduction of expenses incurred in the growing and harvesting of the crop, but jurists commonly counsel that this deduction not be taken (al-Khumaynī, *Zubdat al-aḥkām*, Tehran 1404, 119-20).

iii. *Zakāt* on gold and silver (*athmān, ʿayn, nakd, nādd*). *Zakāt* is due on gold and silver, whether in the form of raw metal, coins or manufactured objects, but, except for the Zaydīs, on no other metals or precious stones. Twelver Shīʿīs impose *zakāt* only on gold and silver coinage, whether or not it is in actual use. The *niṣāb* for gold is twenty dīnārs (*mithkāls*) (*ca.* 84.7 gr), present value *ca.* $800 US, and for silver 200 dirhams (five *ūkiyya*) (*ca.* 592.9 gr), present value *ca.* $90 US. The equivalences given for these in grams by Twelver Shīʿīs are 19% lower. Like other legally significant measures of weight, these are determined by the practice of Mecca. The weight of the dirham, previously variable, was reportedly fixed under ʿUmar I or ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and subsequently ratified by consensus, at ten dirhams to each seven *mithkāls*, the *mithkāl* having remaining unchanged from pre-Islamic to Islamic times (cf. M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 50). The majority of jurists, but not the Shāfiʿīs, Ẓāhirīs and Twelver Shīʿīs, combine gold and silver (*ḍamm, ḥaml*) in determining whether a *niṣāb* exists and in assessing *zakāt*. The calculation proceeds according to "units" (*adjzāʾ*), that is, according to the legal exchange rate of ten dirhams per dīnār, except for the Zaydīs and Ibāḍīs, who combine the metals according to actual market value (*takwīm*). The Mālikīs alone allow some slight leeway in the calculation of the *niṣāb* in the case of underweight coins that are accepted commercially. The rate of *zakāt* on each metal is 2.5% (one-fourth of one-tenth, *rubʿ al-ʿushr*), which is applied pro-rata for any amount above the *niṣāb*, except by the Ḥanafīs, Twelver Shīʿīs and Ibāḍīs, who apply it only to increments of forty dirhams or four dīnārs. There is some support in the Ḥanafī school for subjecting the value of coins made of base metal (*fulūs*) to the rule for gold and silver. Others treat such coins as merchandise.

Gold and silver in the form of decorative articles for wearing (*ḥaly*) are exempted from *zakāt* except by the Ḥanafīs, Zaydīs, Ibāḍīs and Ẓāhirīs. The exemption, however, is not absolute, and the Shāfiʿīs will, for example, impose *zakāt* when the owner intends some prohibited (*muḥarram*) or disapproved (*makrūh*) use or a permitted use in an exorbitant fashion (*isrāf*) or is holding the piece as a form of wealth (*kanz*).

iv. *Zakāt* on mines (*maʿdin*) and treasures (*rikāz*). According to the Sunnī schools, except for the Ḥanafīs, *zakāt* is due on gold and silver upon extraction from a mine. The *niṣāb* is that for gold and silver as above, and *zakāt* is assessed at the same rate (2.5%). The *niṣāb* is applied to the entire yield of a mine that has been continuously worked without justified interruption. The yield becomes subject to *zakāt* once in the possession of the *zakāt* payer, but the *niṣāb* is assessed and *zakāt* paid on the metals only after the removal of dirt and other extraneous matter, the cost of which is borne by the *zakāt* payer. The Ḥanbalīs extend *zakāt* to other metals and minerals, including petroleum, extracted by mining. According to the Shāfiʿīs, gold and silver in the form of buried treasure (*rikāz*) is subject upon discovery to the same *niṣāb* as gold and silver extracted by mining, but *zakāt* is assessed at the rate of 20% (one-fifth, *khums*). The treasure subject to *zakāt* is that which bears the marks of pre-Islamic times. Other jurists treat this fifth from buried treasures as *fayʾ* [*q.v.*].

v. *Zakāt* on merchandise (*tidjāra, ʿurūḍ*). This, potentially the broadest category of property subject to *zakāt*, is recognised by all except ʿIbn ʿAbbās, the Ẓāhirīs and, among later jurists, the Yemeni al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834 [*q.v.*]). It is among the recommended forms of *zakāt* according to the Twelver Shīʿīs. Apart from its support in *ḥadīth*, the imposition of *zakāt* on merchandise rested on the obvious ground of public interest (*maṣlaḥa ʿāmma*) (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *K. al-Kabas*, ii, 470), which made it unthinkable to exempt so large a source of wealth. *Zakāt* is due on all objects, including land and slaves, acquired for a consideration (*muʿāwaḍa*) for the purpose of sale for a profit. The *zakāt* is applied not to such objects directly but to their monetary value (*kīma*) as determined by a sale or by a valuation for *zakāt* purposes. The consideration need not be monetary, so that property acquired by a wife as her dower (*mahr*), if she intends it for trade, is subject to *zakāt*. The Ḥanbalīs require an affirmative act of acquisition but do not require that it be for a consideration. The Zaydī *imām* al-Hādī went further and imposed *zakāt* also on the value of objects acquired for their rental income (*mustaghallāt*) (Ibn Miftāḥ, *al-Muntazaʿ al-mukhtār*, Cairo 1332, repr. Ṣanʿāʾ, i, 450-1).

The *niṣāb* for merchandise is the same as that for gold and silver, and *zakāt* is assessed at the same rate (2.5%). For the purpose of determining the existence of a *niṣāb*, the value of the merchandise is combined with the value of the gold and silver of the *zakāt* payer. The Shāfiʿīs, who assess gold and silver separately, apply one or the other of these precious metals as the standard of valuation: the appropriate metal

to be used is that with which the object was acquired, if gold or silver was in fact the consideration. Where the consideration was some other object or was not monetary in nature, the appropriate metal is that which prevails as the measure of exchange in the community (*ghālib naḳd al-balad*) at the time of acquisition.

The Mālikīs alone distinguish between active traders (*mudīr*) and investors (*muḥtakir, muddakhir*), who look to long-term gain. The former need assess the value of their stock, combined with their holdings of gold and silver, once a year. The latter owe no *zakāt* until they sell their investments and then never for more than one holding period. An active trader can assume the status of an investor by a change of intention, but the change from investor to trader requires a change in intention coupled with a transaction.

Double zakāt: In light of a tradition (*lā thinā fī 'l-ṣadaḳa*) understood to prohibit a double application of *zakāt* to the same property for the same period, the jurists had to determine which category of *zakāt* was to be given priority when more than one applied, as in the case of grazing animals held for sale. In such cases, the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs give preference to the imposition of *zakāt* under the heading of livestock, the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs under that of merchandise. The Ḥanafīs extend the principle of avoiding a double incidence of *zakāt* to *zakāt al-fiṭr* and do not require that it be paid on behalf of slaves held for trade.

vi. Holding period (*ḥawl*). Except for the *zakāt* due on crops, mined gold and silver, and buried treasure, *zakāt* is imposed only if the property has been held for a period of one lunar year. There is almost universal agreement on the requirement of a holding period; the Companions Ibn Masʿūd and Ibn ʿAbbās are among the few reported to have held otherwise. Twelver Shīʿīs, following a tradition from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, consider the holding period to end with the sighting of the new moon of the twelfth month, although the next holding period begins only at the end of the twelfth month (al-Ḥillī, *Nihāyat al-aḥkām*, ii, 312).

In principle the majority of jurists require that a *niṣāb* of property subject to *zakāt* already be owned in order for the calculation of a *ḥawl* to commence and require that the *niṣāb* be maintained throughout the *ḥawl*, as opposed to the Ḥanafīs who allow a drop below the *niṣāb* during the *ḥawl*. There are, however, important exceptions made for growth, in the form of offspring or profits, from an original stock. The Mālikīs, for example, treat the offspring of livestock as sharing the *ḥawl* of their mothers, even when the latter begin the *ḥawl* below the *niṣāb*. Thus when a herd of four camels has been held for eleven months, the birth of a camel in the last month, or even on the last day, before the end of the *ḥawl* will suffice to reach the *niṣāb* of five camels and subject the herd to the *zakāt* of one sheep or goat. The Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs make a similar exception for trade goods, the value of which must meet the *niṣāb* only at the end of the *ḥawl*, provided that the increase is derived solely from a rise in value of the original stock of merchandise or from profit earned in trading with it. Because they do not combine gold and silver, the Shāfiʿīs further require that in order for this increase to share the *ḥawl* of the original stock it must be "unrealised", that is, not reduced to the precious metal designated for the valuation of the original stock. Again in principle, the majority of jurists, as opposed to the Ḥanafīs, do not attribute the *ḥawl* of the original *niṣāb* to additions acquired other than by growth (*fā'ida, māl mustafād*). Here, too, however, the Mālikīs make an exception for livestock and impute the *ḥawl* of an original *niṣāb* to animals of the same species acquired from outside the herd. Thus the owner of five camels owes two sheep for those five and for an additional five inherited on the last day of the original holding period. This rule has been explained as a concession to the convenience of the *zakāt* collector (al-Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr*, ed. Waṣfī, Cairo 1972, i, 593).

vii. Persons subject to *zakāt*. *Zakāt* applies almost exclusively to the property of private individuals. The property of the government, including the assets of the public treasury (*bayt māl* [*q.v.*]) is not subject to *zakāt* except according to some Zaydīs (Ibn Miftāḥ, i, 450, cf. C. Imber, *Ebu's-suʿud: the Islamic legal tradition*, Stanford 1997, 82-3; J.R.I. Cole, *Roots of North Indian Shīʿism in Iran and Iraq*, Berkeley 1988, 201). According to the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, property constituted as the corpus of a *waḳf* [*q.v.*] is not subject to *zakāt*, nor is the income (*ghalla*), when the beneficiaries are a general class such as the poor or the incumbents of an office such as *imām* of a mosque. When the beneficiaries of the *waḳf* are specified individuals, however, the income of the *waḳf* property is subject to *zakāt*. Thus *zakāt* is due on fruits or crops when the *niṣāb* is satisfied by the entire yield, without regard to the individual shares of the beneficiaries, according to the Shāfiʿīs (see below on co-ownership), while the Ḥanbalīs require that the share of each beneficiary amount to a *niṣāb* (cf. al-Mardāwī, *al-Inṣāf*, ed. al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1400/1980, iii, 14-15). The Mālikīs collect *zakāt* from the founder of the trust, whether the beneficiaries are specified individuals or a class. The Ḥanafīs require no *zakāt* from *awḳāf* except for the *zakāt* on crops, which they regard as an impost on the land itself.

According to the majority of jurists, the property of minors and those with an incapacity, like the mentally ill, is subject to *zakāt*, which is payable by their guardians. The Ḥanafīs do not impose *zakāt* on the property of the incapacitated with the exception of the *zakāt* for fruit and crops (cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 216-17) and *zakāt al-fiṭr*. The Twelver Shīʿīs regard the payment of *zakāt* on the property of minors, except livestock, as recommended. Except according to the Ẓāhirīs, slaves do not pay *zakāt* on property in their control. All Sunnī schools but the Mālikīs impose *zakāt* for such property on the slave-owner.

viii. Ownership. According to the Shāfiʿīs, where the property to which *zakāt* applies is subject to joint undivided co-ownership (*khulṭat shuyūʿ, ishtirāk, aʿyān*), the applicable *niṣāb* is assessed against the entire property so owned without regard to the size of the individual shares. Thus one sheep or goat is due on forty sheep or goats jointly owned by two individuals. Where the shares of the joint owners are unequal, the partner with the smaller share will have recourse against his co-owner for the amount of *zakāt* paid that exceeds his pro-rata liability, and each co-owner is authorised by law to pay *zakāt* on the entire property.

Where the property is individually owned but jointly managed (*khulṭat al-djiwār, al-awṣāf*), *zakāt* is assessed against the entire property so managed without regard to the size of the individual holdings. In the case of livestock, the test for determining whether joint management exists is the existence of common places for the watering of the animals, assembly prior to grazing (*masraḥ*), grazing (*marʿā*), and for keeping during the night, as well as the use of a common male for impregnation (*faḥl*) and common herdsmen. For fruit

and crops, joint management will be found where common watchmen are used for guarding and where the places for drying the fruit or winnowing the grain are common. Joint management of merchandise depends on a common shop (*dukkān*), and common guards and places of safekeeping as well as common appurtenances such as scales. Thus two individuals, each owning twenty sheep or goats, will be liable for the *zakāt* due on forty sheep or goats when they jointly manage their animals. The effect of joint management in this case is to create a liability to *zakāt* that would not otherwise exist, since neither individual's holding amounts to a *niṣāb*. In other cases involving livestock, joint management may have the effect of increasing an existing liability to *zakāt* or of diminishing it. Where some of the herd of a *zakāt* payer is co-owned or jointly managed while the rest is held independently, the favoured solution is to extend the effect of co-ownership or joint management to all his property (*k͟hulṭat milk*), rather than limit it to that portion actually co-owned or jointly managed (*k͟hulṭat ʿayn*) (al-Nawawī, *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn*, ii, 180).

The Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs recognise co-ownership and joint management as legally significant only in the case of livestock, with the Mālikīs requiring that the share of each owner amount to a *niṣāb*. Like the S͟hāfiʿīs, they require that the co-owners and joint managers all be subject to the law of *zakāt*, i.e. be Muslims. The Ḥanafīs, Twelver S͟hīʿīs and Ẓāhirīs give no recognition to co-ownership or joint management and look only to the property of each owner.

Possession. Although liability for *zakāt* is predicated on ownership, the law in some cases takes into account the separation of ownership from possession. Where the owner has no access to his property (*māl ḍimār*), as when it has been misappropriated or lost, the Ḥanafīs assess no *zakāt* on such property should it eventually be recovered years later, and the Mālikīs require the payment of *zakāt* for no more than one year. The S͟hāfiʿīs require that *zakāt* be paid for the actual time that possession was lost.

ix. Debts. Debts figure in the calculation of *zakāt* in two ways. To the extent that the *zakāt* payer is a creditor, there is the question of the payment of *zakāt* for the debts he is owed but has not collected. To the extent that the *zakāt* payer is a debtor, there is the question of what effect his debts are to be given in assessing the *zakāt* he owes.

The S͟hāfiʿīs include in the property subject to *zakāt* collectible currently due debts (*dayn ḥall ʿalā malī*), including a wife's claim for unpaid dower (*ṣadāḳ*), but not debts payable in livestock, inasmuch as the requisite grazing cannot occur. The Mālikīs apply *zakāt* to collectible currently due commercial debts of active traders. Debts uncollectible either because a case cannot be made against the debtor or the debtor is insolvent are treated according to the rules for misappropriated property. The Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs require no payment of *zakāt* that has accrued on debts until they are collected.

The Ḥanafīs deduct debts owed by the *zakāt* payer from the value of the property on which *zakāt* is payable, provided that such debts are subject to collection, in which category they include debts for unpaid *zakāt*. The value of such debts is applied in the first instance against the gold and silver and trade goods owned by the *zakāt* payer, any remaining debts being deductible from the value of livestock and crops. The Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs allow the deduction of debts from *zakāt* on gold and silver and trade goods only. The S͟hāfiʿīs make no allowance for the deduction of debts.

x. Estimation. In the case of dates and grapes, it is recommended that the ruler dispatch officials to estimate (*k͟harṣ, tak͟hrīṣ*) the eventual yield of the crop as dried fruit as a step in determining the *zakāt* due and ensuring that it be paid. According to the S͟hāfiʿīs, the estimator, who must be a reliable (*ʿadl*), free, male Muslim, can act singly and is authorised upon completing his estimation to offer the owner the option of eating or otherwise transacting in the raw fruit on the condition that the owner become personally liable (*taḍmīn*) for the *zakāt* due on the estimated yield. If the owner chooses not to accept this offer, he is not permitted to make any use of the crop until the *zakāt* has been paid. The practice of estimation is traced back to the Prophet, who employed a number of such estimators (al-Māwardī, *al-Ḥāwī*, ed. Matrad͟jī, Beirut 1414/1994, iv, 205). In the absence of an official estimator, the owner can avail himself of the advantages of the practice by resorting to two reliable men capable of performing the estimation (al-Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtād͟j*, Cairo 1386/1967, iii, 82). Some opposed the practice of estimation as unduly speculative, and al-S͟haʿbī (d. 103/721 [*q.v.*]) is reported to have denounced it as an "unwarranted innovation" (*bidʿa* [*q.v.*]). The Ḥanafīs do not recognise the practice at all. Only the Ḥanbalīs require that the estimator exempt one-third or one-fourth of the crop for the personal use of the owner.

xi. Recipients. Those entitled (*mustaḥiḳḳūn, maṣārif, ahl al-suhmān, ahl al-zakāt*) to receive *zakāt* fall into eight classes, enumerated in Ḳurʾān IX, 60, an enumeration understood to be exhaustive and exclusive. There is a dispute as to which of the first two classes, (1) the poor (*fuḳarāʾ*) and (2) the indigent (*masākīn*), is more disadvantaged, but the dispute is extraneous to the law of *zakāt*, and some even regarded these as a single class. In both *ḥadīt͟h* and legal literature the needy, as the most numerous and best-known recipients of *zakāt*, stand in for the other classes. The collecting agents (*ʿāmilūn alayhā*) constitute class (3). These include the official sent by the government (*sāʿī, muzakkī, muṣaddiḳ, ḳābiḍ, wālī al-ṣadaḳa*) and his assistants. From the rule that *zakāt* on livestock was to be collected where the animals were watered, the agent for their collection was sometimes termed *wālī al-māʾ*. The most controversial of the classes are (4) "those whose hearts are won over" (*al-muʾallafa ḳulūbuhum* [*q.v.*]). These, according to the S͟hāfiʿīs, include converts to Islam whose enthusiasm is in doubt and prominent converts who, it is hoped, will be able to win over others, as well as converts enlisted to deal with hostile non-Muslims or Muslims who refuse to pay *zakāt*. Some jurists, including the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs, regarded this class as having lapsed. Class (5) are the "slaves" (*riḳāb*), an expression commonly interpreted to refer to slaves who have contracted to purchase their freedom (*mukātabūn*) but are unable to make their scheduled payments. The Mālikīs, however, prefer that *zakāt* designated for this class be used to purchase the freedom of full slaves (*ḳinn*). The patronage (*walāʾ*) of such freedmen, according to the Mālikīs, inheres in the Muslim community as a whole, and not in the *zakāt* payer, a rule that removes any taint of self-interest from the payment. Class (6) are the debtors (*g͟hārimūn*) who lack the means to satisfy their debts. The S͟hāfiʿīs give preference in this class to those who have incurred indebtedness to avert possible violence among Muslims; these need not lack the means to pay their debt to qualify for *zakāt*. Those "in the path of God" (*fī sabīl Allāh*) constitute class (7). The most common interpretation is that these are the volunteers

engaged in *djihād* [*q.v.*]. They are to be given *zakāt* to meet their living expenses and the expenses of their military service (animals, weapons). The Twelvers came to adopt a broader interpretation that encompasses a range of public services, including the repair of mosques and bridges (H.M. Tabātabā'ī, *Kharāj in Islamic law*, London 1983, 25-6). The Ḥanafīs, among others, rejected the use of *zakāt* for such purposes on the ground that the valid payment of *zakāt* requires a transfer of ownership from one person to another (*tamlīk*). Finally, class (8) comprises the travellers (*ibn al-sabīl*) who in the course of their journey, or according to the Shāfiʿīs, even upon setting out, find themselves without immediately available assets to meet their expenses.

Given the nature of *zakāt* as a religious obligation, the law imposes a minimal burden of proof as to entitlement. Thus those who present themselves as poor will not need to establish their status by oath (cf. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1983, iv, 149-50) or by witnesses, unless some doubt arises. The prevention of unqualified claimants from taking *zakāt* is within the authority of the *muḥtasib*.

The Shāfiʿīs are the most demanding with respect to the allocation of *zakāt* to these classes. When distribution of *zakāt* is in the hands of the ruler, all existing classes are to be allotted equal shares, and to the extent that the collected *zakāt* permits, all those entitled under each class are to be given what they require. When the *zakāt* is distributed by the *zakāt* payer he, too, to the extent possible, is obligated to give *zakāt* to each qualifying recipient in his vicinity from the existing classes, but not necessarily in equal shares. At the very least, the private *zakāt* payer must give *zakāt* to three individuals from each class to discharge his obligation. By contrast, the Ḥanafīs permit distribution to a single individual from any class. Some later Shāfiʿī jurists accepted the validity of following (*taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]) the more lenient Ḥanafī rule.

Disqualifications. Disqualified from receipt of *zakāt* under classes (1) and (2), and according to the Ḥanafīs, all other extant classes except (3) and (8), are the wealthy (*ghanī*). There is disagreement on the test to be applied for determining wealth. The Shāfiʿīs, among others, apply a means test, i.e. one is wealthy if he can meet the expenses of the lifestyle, including food, clothing and shelter, to which he and his dependents are accustomed from his lawful property, distributed over an average lifetime (said to be sixty-two years), or from his lawful earnings. Such a person is said to possess a "sufficiency" (*kifāya*). Since the test is relative, ownership of a dwelling place, fine clothing or slaves does not in itself mean that a sufficiency exists. Opportunity to earn a sufficiency is significant only if the occupation is appropriate to one's station and will not interfere with the pursuit of religious knowledge if one has an aptitude for learning. The Ḥanbalīs, Mālikīs and Twelver Shīʿīs also apply a means test but look to sufficiency for one year; the Mālikīs, however, do not take into consideration the possibility of gainful employment, even when appropriate work is available. The Ḥanafīs apply a property test to determine wealth. For them wealth is ownership of the value of a *niṣāb* of property, whether or not subject to *zakāt*, above one's basic needs, without regard to one's possible earnings. The Shāfiʿī standard allows for the same individual to be both a payer and a recipient of *zakāt*, a possibility excluded by the Ḥanafīs (although for them not every "wealthy" person will owe *zakāt*). The difference in the tests used to determine wealth is indicative of fundamentally different notions of the function of *zakāt* as an instrument to transfer wealth. Consistently with their understanding of *zakāt*, the Shāfiʿīs provide that those of the poor with trades are to be given enough to set them up in their trade for life. Those without trades are to be given enough to purchase land from the income of which they can live without future dependence on *zakāt*. By contrast, the Ḥanafīs recommend that a poor person receive enough *zakāt* to relieve him of the need to beg for one day, while they disapprove of giving to a poor person property of the value of a *niṣāb*.

A further disqualification from receipt of *zakāt* is unbelief (*kufr*), although the early jurists al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) and Ibn Shubruma (d. 144/776) [*q.vv.*] are reported to have permitted giving *zakāt* to poor *dhimmīs* (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, Cairo 1388/1968, ix, 959). Many, but not the Shāfiʿīs, recognise an exception to this disqualification for class (4) and for menial tasks under class (3). Slavery is a disqualification except for entitlement under class (5), and the payer's own slave is always disqualified from receiving his *zakāt*. The majority of jurists hold that one cannot validly pay *zakāt* to one's direct ascendants or descendants, and husbands cannot pay *zakāt* to their wives, a rule which some extend to the payment of *zakāt* by wives to their husbands. A further disqualification, according to the majority of jurists, is descent from or a client relationship with the Family of the Prophet, for these are not to be demeaned by receiving *zakāt*, which has become soiled in the process of cleansing the property of its payers (*awsākh al-nās*). They are, however, permitted to receive *zakāt* from one another. There is disagreement whether the disqualification of the Prophet's relatives remains in effect when they fail to receive their allotted portion of revenue (*khums al-khums*), but there is a discernible tendency among later Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Twelver Shīʿī jurists to permit them to receive *zakāt*, although strictly within their needs. The question has remained a topic of lively debate among the Yemeni Zaydīs (ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdjrī, *K. al-Maḳāṣid al-ṣāliḥa*, Ṣanʿā' 1411/1991, 220-42, cf. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Djalāl, *Ḍaw' al-nahār*, Ṣanʿā' 1405/1985, ii, 333-40). Women, according to the Shāfiʿīs, are disqualified from receiving *zakāt* under classes (3) and (7). Strict piety is not a requirement for eligibility to receive *zakāt*, although it may be a ground for preference among competing claimants. Sectarian differences are potentially more significant. Twelver Shīʿīs go so far as to require that *zakāt* be paid only to Twelvers, and a Muslim who adopts Twelver Shīʿism must pay *zakāt* a second time for past years unless the recipients were Twelver Shīʿīs.

xii. Collection and payment. It is an obligation on Muslim rulers, following the example of the Prophet and the early caliphs, to send out officials to collect *zakāt* to assist property owners in fulfilling their obligation of *zakāt*. The ruler and his *zakāt* collectors are understood to represent the recipients of *zakāt*, whose best interests they are duty bound to safeguard. While this much is agreed upon, there is considerable disagreement among the jurists as to the scope for individual distribution when the state is fulfilling its obligation of collecting *zakāt*, for the distinction between *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* property does not in itself preclude the payment of all *zakāt* to the state (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 113). The Zaydīs, for example, insist that all *zakāt*, whether the property is *ẓāhir* or *bāṭin*, must be paid to the official collectors representing the legitimate government of the Zaydī *imām*. Any

other form of payment will not discharge the obligation of giving *zakāt*. While the majority of Sunnīs, following Ibn ʿUmar, recognise payment of *zakāt* to even a corrupt (*djā̲ʾir*) ruler as discharging the obligation of *zakāt*, the Ḥanbalīs prefer that the payer, where possible, personally undertake its distribution, even on *ẓāhir* property (Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-S̲h̲arḥ al-kabīr*, ed. Medina, ii, 673-5). In this they represent an attenuated version of a legal tradition that was unwilling to put *zakāt* into the hands of the rulers, who could be expected to ignore the rules for its distribution. Thus Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī (d. 161/778 [*q.v.*]) reportedly urged that one should even go so far as to swear falsely to the collectors to avoid paying them *zakāt* (*ibid.*, ii, 673). Among the Sunnī schools, the Mālikīs go furthest in their deference to the official collectors: they make the coming of the collector (*madjīʾ al-sāʿī*) a condition for the obligation of *zakāt* on livestock in addition to the passing of the *ḥawl*, so that payment before his coming is invalid. The S̲h̲āfiʿīs stand in the middle, preferring that *zakāt* on *ẓāhir* property be paid to the ruler, unless he is corrupt.

For the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and Mālikīs, liability (*ḍamān*) for *zakāt* requires, in addition to the passing of the *ḥawl*, actual possibility of payment (*tamakkun al-adāʾ*), which e.g. includes access to the property from which *zakāt* will be paid and the availability of qualified recipients. For the Ḥanbalīs, loss of all or part of the property after the *ḥawl* does not affect the *zakāt* due, while according to the Ḥanafīs, a loss, whether before or after possibility of payment, proportionately reduces it.

The majority of jurists require that *zakāt*, except for trade goods, be paid in kind, while the Ḥanafīs and Twelver S̲h̲īʿīs permit the payment of the value (*ḳīma*) of the *zakāt* in all cases. The Zaydīs permit payment of value when payment in kind is not possible (Ibn Miftāḥ, 1, 500; but see al-ʿAdjrī, *al-Maḳāṣid al-ṣāliḥa*, 218-9). The Mālikīs go only so far as to allow *zakāt* due in gold to be paid in its market value in silver and vice-versa. The requirement of payment in kind, even when strongly upheld, did not obviate constant recourse to valuation in the assessment of *zakāt*. The inconvenience of the rule against payment in cash led later S̲h̲āfiʿīs and Mālikīs to favour the Ḥanafī rule, which very likely reflected common practice.

There is disagreement as to whether it is better to pay *zakāt* privately or in the open (cf. Ḳurʾān II, 271), the majority of jurists favouring the latter view. The Mālikīs, however, prefer that one pay *zakāt* through an agent to preserve the piety of the act from self-aggrandisement. The religious quality of the act of giving is enhanced by a recommended prayer to be uttered by the payer and by a blessing uttered by the *imām* or collector (Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-S̲h̲arḥ al-kabīr*, ii, 678-9), the latter harking back to Ḳurʾān IX, 103 (cf. Ibn Saʿd, vii/1, 88, blessing by ʿUmar). Favoured months for the giving of *zakāt* are Muḥarram, Ramaḍān, D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḥidjdja (al-G̲h̲azālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, iv, 109-11), and Radjab. Ibāḍī jurists go so far as to suggest a collusive transfer and re-transfer of one's property to permit timing one's giving in a favoured month (al-Djannāwunī, *K. al-Waḍʿ*, ed. Aṭṭafayyis̲h̲, ed. ʿUmān, 175-6).

According to the S̲h̲āfiʿīs, the ruler, but not a private *zakāt* payer, is free to remove (*naḳl*) *zakāt* from the location of the property from which it has been collected. The *zakāt* payer is authorised to do so only in the event that the *zakāt* exceeds the needs of the local classes of recipients, in which case he may remove the *zakāt* for distribution in the nearest locality with qualified recipients. *Zakāt* for which no qualified recipients are found is retained for eventual future distribution. The Mālikīs prohibit removal and invalidate the payment of *zakāt*, unless it is removed to recipients as needy as those of the original location; the Ḥanbalīs prohibit removal but do not invalidate the *zakāt* so removed. The Ḥanafīs disapprove of removing *zakāt* unless it is for the purpose of distributing it to needy relatives or those in greater need than the local qualified recipients.

Finally, the death of the owner prior to the payment of the *zakāt* due does not terminate the obligation, according to the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs. According to the Ḥanafīs, it always does except for *zakāt* on crops, and according to the Mālikīs, if the unpaid *zakāt* was one or more years overdue. In those cases where the obligation of *zakāt* lapses on account of death, it may still be collectible, if only in part, if the decedent has so provided by will.

Pre-payment. Provided that a *niṣāb* exists, payment of *zakāt* may be made before the end of the *ḥawl*. The Ḥanafīs permit such pre-payment (*taʿdjīl*) for any number of years ahead, the Ḥanbalīs for up to two years, and the S̲h̲āfiʿīs for one. The Mālikīs permit pre-payment one month in advance, except for crops.

xiii. Intention (*niyya* [*q.v.*]). The validity of the payment of *zakāt* as an act of worship (*ʿibāda*) depends on the requisite intention, which must make reference to the payment of *zakāt* or obligatory *ṣadaḳa*, but need not specify the property on which *zakāt* is being paid. The necessity of such an intention was agreed upon by all except the Syrian jurist al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774 [*q.v.*]). There was, however, no agreement as to the role, if any, of an intention when the *zakāt* was collected by force from a recalcitrant property owner. There is evidence among later jurists of an attenuation of the requirement of an intention when one family member paid *zakāt* on behalf of another (ʿUlays̲h̲, *Fatḥ al-ʿalī al-mālik*, ed. Beirut, i, 163). There is no requirement that the payer must state to the recipient that the payment represents the giving of *zakāt*, and some jurists preferred that this not be done in order to spare the recipient embarrassment. When the *zakāt* is pre-paid, however, the failure to inform the recipient of the nature of the gift can prejudice the possibility of its recovery in the event of a change of circumstances rendering it invalid as *zakāt*.

xiv. *Zakāt* avoidance and non-payment. It is relatively simple to avoid the incidence of *zakāt*. The requirement of a holding period, especially, provided property owners with an easy means to do so. A collusive interfamilial transfer, for example, would terminate the *ḥawl*. This and other devices (*ḥiyal* [*q.v.*]) were a matter of controversy. The Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs treat them as void, the property remaining subject to *zakāt*; the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs disapprove of such transactions but regard them as valid and assess no *zakāt*. Such transfers are, in fact, reported of some wealthy Ḥanafī scholars, but their validity did not necessarily mean that they were not subject to criticism (M.L.R. Choudhury, *The Din-i-ilahi or religion of Akbar*, Calcutta 1952, 46). Further devices were employed to recover *zakāt* paid, and disqualified recipients similarly resorted to stratagems to circumvent the law (Ibn Miftāḥ, *al-Muntazaʿ al-muk̲h̲tār*, i, 539-42).

The great majority of jurists refused to follow a tradition authorising the imposition of a fine for non-payment of *zakāt* (Abū Dāwūd, i, 462; al-K̲h̲aṭṭābī, *Maʿālim al-sunan*, ii, 33-4). Failure to pay *zakāt*, however, may subject the property owner to corrective discretionary punishment (*taʿzīr*) either on the part of the collector or the *muḥtasib*, in addition to seizure of

the *zakāt* on *ẓāhir* property. It is generally held that delay in paying *zakāt* when due results in loss of testimonial capacity.

6. *Zakāt al-fiṭr*.

Zakāt (ṣadaḳat) al-fiṭr (also *zakāt al-fiṭra* (a later term), *zakāt Ramaḍān, zakāt al-ṣawm*) is a payment due on behalf of all Muslims, male and female, minor or adult, slave or free, in connection with the termination of the fast (*fiṭr*) of Ramaḍān. For the Ḥanafīs and Twelver Shīʿīs, it is also due on behalf of non-Muslim dependents of Muslims. As a *zakāt* for persons, not property, it is also termed *zakāt al-badan* and *zakāt al-raʾs*. The amount paid (*fiṭra*) purifies the one who gives it from his unseemly conduct and other shortcomings during the fast of Ramaḍān and at the same time relieves the poor from having to beg for food on the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* [*q.v.*] (Abū Dāwūd, i, 473). The practice of giving *zakāt al-fiṭr* is based on *ḥadīth*, although Ḳurʾānic verses are sometimes cited in support (e.g. LXXXVII, 14; cf. Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, *al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt*, ed. al-Ḥulw, Beirut 1999, ii, 301). The opinion that it was abrogated by the *zakāt* for property was almost universally rejected, and *zakāt al-fiṭr* is, according to the great majority of Muslim jurists, an obligation, but its denial does not amount to unbelief. The Ḥanafīs label it compulsory (*wādjib*), in accordance with their terminology for obligations that are not entirely beyond doubt. There is disagreement as to its classification as *ẓāhir* or *bāṭin*. According to al-Māwardī, the Shāfiʿīs of his day considered it to be *ẓāhir*, but, as he notes, there was a long-standing practice of distributing it personally (*Ḥāwī*, iv, 432), and it is thus commonly classified as *bāṭin*, but not by the Zaydīs (al-ʿAnsī, *al-Tādj al-mudhhab*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1380/1961, i, 222). One need not have fasted during Ramaḍān or even be subject to the fast for *zakāt al-fiṭr* to be due (cf. al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, ed. Cairo, repr. Beirut 1406/1986, ii, 70).

According to the Shāfiʿīs, those obligated to make the *zakāt al-fiṭr* payment are, with some exceptions, Muslims or non-Muslims, who are under a legal obligation to provide support (*nafaḳa*) for those persons on whose behalf it is due, and who also have the means to pay it (*yasār*). The means to pay *zakāt al-fiṭr* is defined as sufficient wealth to defray the cost of the payment beyond the needs of oneself and one's dependents (*maʾmūn*) for the day of the festival, such needs including food, clothing, shelter and the household services of slaves. The Ḥanafīs and Twelver Shīʿīs measure ability to pay *zakāt al-fiṭr* by wealth as for *zakāt* on property (see above).

It is agreed that *zakāt al-fiṭr* is payable in the form of wheat, barley, dates and raisins, to which list may be added other basic foodstuffs. The Shāfiʿīs, for example, add several milk products including dried curd (*aḳiṭ*), yogurt (*laban*) and cheese (*djubn*). The amount due is one *ṣāʿ* (*ca.* 2.03 litres) [*q.v.*], except that according to the Ḥanafīs, when payment is made with wheat, the amount due is one-half *ṣāʿ*, a rule traced back to both ʿUmar and Muʿāwiya. The Ḥanafīs also differ as to the size of a *ṣāʿ*, which they take to be the equivalent of eight Baghdādī *raṭls*, not five and one-third *raṭls* as the other schools have it. The Ḥanafīs and Twelver Shīʿīs admit payment of the value of the *zakāt al-fiṭr* due, and payment in cash is now in any case widespread (*ca.* $7 per person in the U.S.).

Although preferable that it be paid on the day of the feast prior to the festival prayer (in the absence of a valid excuse, it must be paid before sunset of the day of the feast), the Shāfiʿīs admit payment of *zakāt al-fiṭr* from the beginning of Ramaḍān, the Ḥanbalīs and Mālikīs two days prior to the festival, and the Ḥanafīs prior to Ramaḍān.

7. *Zakāt* in Ṣūfism.

Classical Ṣūfī sources portray the Ṣūfī as standing outside the system of *zakāt*. Owning no property, the true Ṣūfī pays no *zakāt*, and despite his poverty, the Ṣūfī's spiritual wealth disqualifies him as a recipient. The Ṣūfī writers, however, find ample scope for the giving of *zakāt* in a wider sense that encompasses acknowledgment of all the benefits bestowed by God. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj (d. 378/988 [*q.v.*]) records an opposing position among Ṣūfīs in favour of accepting *zakāt*, refusal to do so being regarded as prideful, and popular works like the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) and the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) [*q.vv.*] urged that preference in paying *zakāt* be given to the poor among the Ṣūfīs. The popularity of Ṣūfīs as favoured recipients of *zakāt* was noted by the Syrian Shāfiʿī jurist Taḳī al-Dīn al-Ḥiṣnī (d. 829/1426), himself a Ṣūfī, who warned against giving *zakāt* to heterodox or superficially pious groups whose Ṣūfī affiliation he called into question (*Kifāyat al-akhyār*, Beirut n.d., 121-2).

8. *Zakāt* in the modern period.

The period since approximately the Second World War has witnessed a re-examination of *zakāt* unprecedented since the formative period of Islamic law. During this time there has also been renewed interest in the implementation of the law of *zakāt*, both in the form of increased individual compliance and governmentally sponsored or mandated efforts at collection. Academic discussion of *zakāt* has taken place within the two camps of jurists and economists. Although Muslim jurists affiliated with the schools of law continue to develop the law of *zakāt*, more influential have been the writings of scholars with an independent point of view who have undertaken critically to survey the law of the classical period with a view to developing a law of *zakāt* appropriate for modern conditions. Efforts toward a revival of the institution of *zakāt* have led to the convening of frequent conferences, the publication of numerous manuals and pamphlets instructing Muslims how to fulfill their obligation of *zakāt*, and the formation of various private organisations that aim at assisting in this compliance. There have also been notable instances of governmental involvement in the collection and distribution of *zakāt*, and legislation has been enacted that mandates the payment of at least some forms of *zakāt*.

Even before this period, Muslim reformers had begun broadening the traditional purposes to which *zakāt* had been put. In his interpretation of Ḳurʾān IX, 60, Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] had urged that the class of "slaves" might now include not only individuals but societies "enslaved" by colonialism and that the *zakāt* for the "path of God" should go, not to a *djihād* waged with arms, but to one waged with the weapons of argument and persuasion in the interest of a restoration of Islam. Some interest in directing *zakāt* to wider social purposes than recognised by the traditional law was not new (cf. Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Ḥāshiyat radd al-muḥtār*, ii, 345-6, *ḥīla* to use *zakāt* for building a mosque); new was the willingness of the part of the reformers to resort to direct reinterpretation of the Ḳurʾān to attain their goals. One can already see in the reformers the shift from regarding *zakāt* primarily as an act of piety (an atttitude that, of course, still persists in some circles) to the emphasis on *zakāt* as the foundation of the Islamic social and economic system that dominates its modern revival.

Essential to the implementation of this vision of

zakāt is the insistence that Muslim governments must once again assume the duty of collecting *zakāt* and not leave its payment and distribution to the conscience of individuals. There is widespread agreement among the modernists that the classical distinction between *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*, according to which the government had authority to collect only the former, is no longer tenable, either because the distinction itself was not necessarily intended to be eternally binding or because under modern conditions of saving and investing very little property is truly *bāṭin*. They have also called for an expansion of the property base (*wiʿāʾ*) on which *zakāt* is to be assessed. The modernists have no inclination, as did some jurists of the past, to blur the distinction between *zakāt* and secular taxes (cf. Ibn Hadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā al-kubrā al-fikhiyya*, ed. Cairo, ii, 48; Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *op. cit.*, ii, 288-90), for *zakāt* is now seen as an entirely viable alternative to the latter.

It is now generally accepted that the generic *niṣāb* applicable to new cases is that for gold, which unlike silver has historically maintained its value. The rules for gold and silver are now widely applied to paper money, and the formerly held view that paper money be potentially treated as merchandise (ʿUlaysh, *Fatḥ al-ʿalī al-mālik*, i, 164-5) is no longer much in evidence, although it continues in the treatment of stocks and bonds. It has thus been urged that *zakāt* at the rate of 2.5% should be payable on horses and any other grazing animals with the value of the *niṣāb* for gold. Similarly, the *zakāt* for crops should encompass all produce from the soil, with the *niṣāb* for gold applicable to those crops not measured by volume. Furthermore, it is often argued, fairness dictates that the expenses incurred in the growing and harvesting of the crop be deducted in the calculation of the *niṣāb*. Similar arguments have been put forth to extend *zakāt* to all minerals derived from mining and to all products derived from the ocean, including fish. Rental income from buildings, factories, taxis, buses and ships has also been drawn into the scope of *zakāt*, at the rate for trade goods according to some, or the rate for crops according to others. Salaries from professions and trades should also be subject to *zakāt* as earned, once the *niṣāb* has been met, and the view dispensing with a holding period, formerly merely a legal curiosity, is now very much alive. A minority has gone so far as to call for an updating of the classical *nuṣub*.

Modernist writers have, like their reformist predecessors, insisted that the proceeds from the collection of *zakāt* be available for a wider range of purposes than the classical law generally allowed. They have also been concerned with the mechanisms of *zakāt* collection, and have argued that *zakāt* must be payable in cash to spare government agencies the costs of caring for livestock or storing foodstuffs. In general, however, discussions of the specifics of the administration of *zakāt* collection are less developed than those concerned with the property base and the rate of *zakāt*. Modernists are optimistic that under ordinary circumstances *zakāt* will generate sufficient revenues to fund "all the activities of a state" (Fazlur Rahman, *Major themes of the Qurʾān*, ²Minneapolis 1994, 41). They do, however, tend to acknowledge the possibility that states may, under one circumstance or another, need to find other sources of revenue. In the interests of equity, it is often held that non-Muslim citizens of Muslim states should be subjected to a tax that mirrors *zakāt*.

At the present time payment of one form or another of *zakāt* is enforceable by law in six Muslim nations: Saudi Arabia, Libya, Yemen, Malaysia, Pakistan and Sudan. Reference to the responsibility of the state for the implementation of *zakāt* appears in the Constitutions of Yemen (Art. 21), Pakistan (Art. 31) and Sudan (Art. 10).

Collection of *zakāt* in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is governed by Royal Decree no. 17/2/28/8634 dated 29 Djumādā II 1370/7 April 1951 which imposed *zakāt* on both individuals and companies with Saudi nationality. *Zakāt* on livestock and crops is under the jurisdiction of the General Bureau of Public Revenues of the Ministry of Finance aind National Economy, that on other items under the Zakāt and Income Tax Department of the Ministry. Special committees composed of both government officials and private citizens assess the *zakāt* due on livestock and crops, which the owners then pay directly to those whom local committees have determined to be entitled. *Zakāt* is also collected on the merchandise, cash and other liquid assets, but not the fixed assets, of businesses, and on the income of self-employed professionals, the latter at the rate of 1.25%, the law authorising individuals to personally distribute to the needy one-half of the *zakāt* otherwise due. The entire cost of collection is borne by the public treasury. The law imposes no penalties or fines for failure to pay *zakāt*, but administrative pressures have been brought to bear against companies that have failed to make their payments and in egregious cases there is the possibility of detention by the police.

The *Zakat Law* of Libya (Law 89 of 1971) applies to all property, including paper money and company shares, but provides for the compulsory collection of *zakāt* on only *ẓāhir* property. While drawing on Mālikī law for some details, it departs from it in its broader coverage of grains and fruits and its allowance of a deduction from the crop of the expenses of harvesting as well as in applying debts against livestock, and in admitting for the payment of *zakāt al-fiṭr* in cash. In the case of non-payment, the law imposes a penalty not to exceed double the *zakāt* due. Libyan law earmarks 50% of the proceeds of *zakāt* for distribution to the poor.

Compulsory collection of *zakāt* in the Yemen Arab Republic goes back to 1975. Its collection, including that of *zakāt al-fiṭr*, which is deducted from the salary of public employees in Ramaḍān, is under the Department of Duties (*maṣlaḥat al-wādjibāt*) of the Ministry of Finance. As in Saudi Arabia, collection of *zakāt* on livestock and crops depends on local assessment. The proceeds from *zakāt* collection are deposited in the Central Bank and disbursed by the Ministry of Finance as an integral part of the state budget. The costs of collection run as high as 25%. Individuals are authorised to distribute personally 25% of their *zakāt*.

The collection of *zakāt* in Malaysia is separately administered in each state by the Religious Affairs Councils. The property from which *zakāt* is taken varies from state to state, but the greatest sources of *zakāt* revenues are rice (*padi*) and *zakāt al-fiṭr*. Non-compliance is widespread, except for *zakāt al-fiṭr* (*ca.* $1 US per person), explainable in part by the preference, going back to colonial times, on the part of some growers to distribute *zakāt* personally (*zakat peribadi*) rather than pay it to the government (*zakat raja*). The law provides for fines and imprisonment for non-payment, but enforcement is reportedly lax.

The Pakistani and Sudanese laws have attracted the greatest interest inasmuch as they formed part of

larger programmes of Islamisation of the law. The Pakistani *Zakat and Ushr Ordinance of 1980* was enacted during the régime of General Zia ul-Haq [see ZIYĀ AL-ḤAḲḲ] and introduced by him as a fulfilment of what was considered by him as the centuries' long aspirations of the Muslims of the region. It departs from the classical law in imposing *zakāt* on various forms of what would traditionally have been classified as *bāṭin* property, including savings bank accounts, a measure justified by an appeal to Ḥanafī doctrine (cf. Tanzil-ur-Rahman, *Introduction of Zakat in Pakistan*, Islamabad [1981],15-21). The law differs from Ḥanafī teaching in imposing *zakāt* on the property of minors (*ibid.*, 24-5). Most of the traditional classes of property subject to *zakāt*, including gold and silver, trade goods and animals are left to self-assessment. The greater part of the Ordinance deals with the collection and administration of *zakāt* and provides for three levels of Zakat Funds, headed by the Central Zakat Fund, which receives the *zakāt* from savings accounts and other proceeds deducted at source, by far the greatest source of revenue under the Ordinance. The proceeds from the collection of *ʿus̲h̲r* go to the numerous Local Zakat Funds. Resistance by Pakistani S̲h̲īʿīs immediately led to an amendment providing for an exemption from the law for those Muslims following a recognised system of *fiḳh* who file a declaration that their faith and *fiḳh* do not oblige them to comply in whole or in part with the Ordinance.

Implementation of the Ordinance has been beset by substantial evasion through the transfer of savings accounts to current accounts before the annual valuation date of the first of Ramaḍān and even, it has been reported, by some conversions to S̲h̲īʿism by wealthy families. There have also been persistent complaints of corruption in collection and distribution. Low proceeds from the collection of *ʿus̲h̲r* led to the transfer in 1993 of its collection and administration from the Local Zakat Committees to the provincial revenue departments in the hope that that latter will be more successful in dealing with powerful landowners. One study of the operation of the Ordinance for the years 1987-8, while admitting some success in the goal of wealth redistribution, nonetheless concluded that the less wealthy were paying a disproportionate share of the *zakāt* and that in Sind the recipients were wealthier than the payers (G.A. Jehle, *Zakat and inequality: some evidence from Pakistan*, in *Review of Income and Wealth*, ii [1994], 205-16).

The Sudanese *Zakat and Taxation Act of 1984* (*Ḳānūn al-zakāt wa 'l-ḍarāʾib*), introduced as part of the Islamising movement during the régime of al-Numayrī (d. 1985), took the radical step of substituting *zakāt* for a wide range of taxes within the existing revenue system, a decision that precipitated a disastrous deficit in both the central and regional budgets. The *Zakat Law of 1986* remedied this situation and removed the administration of *zakāt* from the Ministry of Finance to the Ministry of Social Welfare and created a new Zakat Bureau (*dīwān*) separate from the existing tax system. Further changes were made under the *Zakat Law of 1990*. The reach of the Sudanese law is quite extensive, and it covers all the traditional classes of property subject to *zakāt* as well as the salaries of civil servants and professionals, and income from dairies, poultry farms and fisheries. *Zakāt* on crops has come to be collected in cash since practical problems arose in its collection in kind. *Zakāt* on livestock is also collected in cash, but implementation in this area has been hesitant. The law provides for payers to distribute personally 20% of their *zakāt*. A penalty not to exceed the *zakāt* due is imposed for non-payment.

The majority of Muslims continue to pay *zakāt* outside of a compulsory legal scheme for its collections and distribution. There has, however, been a movement across the Muslim world to create new intermediaries to receive voluntary payments of *zakāt*. Prominent among these are quasi-governmental agencies such as the Jordanian (1978) and Baḥraynī (1979) Zakat Funds (*ṣundūḳ al-zakāt*) and the more autonomous Kuwaytī Zakat House (*bayt al-zakāt*) (1982) and Egyptian Nasser Social Bank (1977). *Zakāt* paid to such agencies, like *zakāt* paid under the compulsory schemes, typically enjoys the advantage of being deductible from the national income tax. Some see in these voluntary schemes a stage on the way to compulsory collection, as in the case of Sudan, where the Zakat Fund (1980) preceded the Zakat Law. Only in Jordan did the Zakat Fund replace a scheme, albeit of limited scope, for compulsory *zakāt* collection (Law No. 35 of 1944). The activities of these intermediaries now often include the making of interest-free loans (*ḳarḍ ḥasan*), a form of assistance not provided for by the classical law of *zakāt*.

More informally-organised intermediaries continue to function throughout the Muslim world and among minority Muslim populations, both in competition with each other and sometimes in competition with legislated compulsory and voluntary schemes. Such organisations are increasingly taking advantage of modern technology such as the Internet to reach potential *zakāt* payers, and provision for payment by credit card is by no means uncommon. While insisting that *zakāt* has nothing to do with taxation, these new intermediaries have readily adopted the vocabulary (e.g. "zakatable") and trappings of modern systems of taxation, including more or less elaborate tables for calculation, and a variety of forms for "*zakāt* returns". Much, however, remains to be done in the effort toward greater compliance. For while virtually all Muslims are aware that there is an obligation of *zakāt*, accurate information about its implementation is far rarer and compliance is still very limited. A recent study of *zakāt* in rural Egypt indicated that, while 96% of the farmers knew that *zakāt* was an obligation, only 20% paid it on their crops, as compared with 76% who paid *zakāt al-fiṭr*, a relatively small obligation and one intimately associated with Ramaḍān (A.T. Abū Kurays̲h̲a, *al-Zakāt wa 'l-tanmiya*, Cairo 1999).

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(A. Zysow)

al-**ZAḲĀZĪḲ**, conventionally Zagazig, a town in the east of the Nile delta of Egypt, 90 km/55 miles to the northeast of Cairo. It is now the chef-lieu of the Sharḳiyya province, and in 1998 had almost 270,000 inhabitants.

The town was founded in the first third of the 19th century on the *baḥr* Muwīs, a canal following the ancient course of the Tanaitic branch of the Nile. The Egyptian ruler Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] entrusted to a specialist hydraulic engineer, Aḥmad al-Bārūdī, the construction of six dams on this canal and its branches, in order to irrigate the Sharḳiyya province as a whole. The original site of al-Zaḳāzīḳ corresponds to the dockside huts of mud and reeds built for the workers on the main dam, called Ḳanāṭir al-Tisʿa, at the bifurcation of the *baḥr* Muwīs and the *baḥr* Mashtūt. The only remarkable feature of this site was the archaeological tell of the ancient Bubastis (modern Tell Basta) at some kilometres to the southeast, at that time exploited by the *sabbākhūn*, and nearby, an ancient dam whose existence was going to be decisive for choosing the site of the new dam and for fixing the settlement. Work on the dams took from 1827 to 1832, and when they were completed, a permanent settlement, with more durable buildings, grew up on the site.

The name of the town, whose origin is controversial, is said to have come from a member of the family of a certain Aḥmad Zaḳzūḳ, which settled at the end of the 18th century half-a-kilometre to the north of the future dockyard, in a village which is said to have taken its name from the newly-arrived family/clan: Kafr al-Zaḳāzīḳ. Naturally, in the late 1820s, in order to complete the new dams, recourse would have been made to local manpower, and especially to the workers of Kafr al-Zaḳāzīḳ, including some of the descendants of Aḥmad Zaḳzūḳ, who are said to have called their dockside settlement Nazlat al-Zaḳāzīḳ. This patronymic would also be kept in the engineer Aḥmad al-Bārūdī's administrative documents and was definitively confirmed by Muḥammad ʿAlī when he visited the site shortly after its completion. However, other etymologies persisted more strongly in folk memory in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. Its origin was attributed to a species of fish like the carp, the *zaḳzūḳ*, pl. *zaḳāzīḳ*, caught in large quantities in the *baḥr* of Muwīs; at the present time, the preferred derivation is from the root *zaḳzaḳa*, denoting the twittering of the large numbers of birds in the trees along the main road of the town alongside the canal.

The town rapidly developed after its foundation, thanks to the transfer at an early date of the irrigation offices of the Sharḳiyya from Bilbays to al-Zaḳāzīḳ, followed a year later by the town's elevation to the rank of capital of the province (*mudīriyya*, now *muḥāfaẓa*) of the Sharḳiyya, all at the expense of Bilbays. Muḥammad ʿAlī considered al-Zaḳāzīḳ as having a more central site. The arrival of numerous officials was followed by that of merchants and the development of infrastructures, notably the arrival of the railway, making the town definitively the main centre of the Delta, so that it had 40,000 inhabitants in 1911. This population came from diverse origins, seen e.g. in the town's Coptic community; the family of Salāma Mūsā (1887-1958 [*q.v.*]), originally from Asyūṭ, settled in al-Zaḳāzīḳ in the years after its foundation.

The two first mosques there were built early, one by Muḥammad ʿAlī on the eastern bank of the canal and the other on the western bank by a government dignitary, the *amīr* Yūsuf, the so-called "Little Mosque". The third mosque, from the second half of the 19th century, well reflects the development and modernisation of the town, being built, with steel columns, by a local rich merchant, Sulaymān al-Sharbīnī. Today, however, most important in the town is the Mosque of the Conquest financed by the singer ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ḥāfiẓ, originally from the district. The town's Muslim community has further acquired, in less than two centuries, two tutelary saints, Abū Khalīl and Abū ʿĀmir, whose *mawlid* is celebrated by Muslims and Copts equally.

The town's prosperity derives nevertheless from economic and commercial activities. In the later 19th century, al-Zaḳāzīḳ became one of the main Egyptian centres for the corn trade, and above all for the preparation and marketing of cotton. Several dozen European merchants (English, French, Greek) invested capital in the cotton industry and installed factories for cotton ginning and spinning. This foreign presence, increasingly visible through the development of land and the building of churches and of colonial villas surrounded by gardens, led, in the 1870s, to conflicts

in the town between the locals and the newcomers; hence Aḥmad ʿUrābī [see ʿURĀBĪ PASHA], originally from this region, was to find strong support from the citizens of the town at the time of his revolt in 1881.

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(J.-M. MOUTON)

ZĀK̲H̲IR, ʿABD ALLĀH, polemicist, copyist, translator, printer and painter, born in Aleppo 1680, died at the Monastery of Mār Yuḥannā, al-S̲h̲uwayr, Lebanon, 30 August 1748. The son of a Greek Orthodox goldsmith, Zāk̲h̲ir learned his father's trade before studying with Christian scholars and the Muslim *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Sulaymān al-Naḥwī. He worked as a copyist for the Catholic missionaries in Aleppo amongst others, especially for the Jesuits, whose translations of works of theology and spirituality he also rendered into acceptable Arabic. After the Greek Orthodox former patriarch At̲h̲anāsiyūs Dabbās returned from Wallachia, having had two Arabic liturgical books printed there [see MAṬBAʿA. 1.B.1], Zāk̲h̲ir cooperated with him in setting up the first Arabic press in the Near East, using equipment, and with financial support, from Romania. Between 1706 and 1711, when it ceased working, this Aleppo press published 10 titles.

Zāk̲h̲ir's polemical writings date from 1722 onwards, when the break between Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics became open. Accepting Papal claims to supremacy, he refuted the Orthodox teaching on the issues that separated the two traditions. The target of Orthodox hostility, he left Aleppo for Lebanon, where he eventually settled at the monastery at al-S̲h̲uwayr. The press he set up there in 1733 was to function with interruptions until 1899; the first book it produced, in 1734, was *Mīzān al-zamān*, a translation of an ascetic work by the Jesuit J.E. Nieremberg.

In his original writings and correspondance, Zāk̲h̲ir demonstrates not only command of the *ʿarabiyya* (he was a contemporary of Ḏj̲armānūs Farḥāt [*q.v.*]) but also a well-developed rhetorical sense and capacity for argument; he was understandably feared as a polemicist. Though never ordained or a monk, he lived a life of asceticism and service to others, which earned him the title of *s̲h̲ammās* (lit. "deacon"). He is perhaps the first Arab painter to have left us a self-portrait, together with portraits of some of his contemporaries.

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(HILARY KILPATRICK)

ZAK̲H̲RAFA (A.), in Islamic art, "ornament, ornamentation". The word is connected with the noun *zuk̲h̲ruf* "gold" > "ornamental work" used in Ḳurʾān, XVII, 95/93, *bayt min zuk̲h̲ruf*, and there is an adjective *muzak̲h̲raf* "ornamented"; the origin of *zuk̲h̲ruf* seems to be in a deformation, via Syriac, of Grk. *zōgrapheō* "to paint", see Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 150.

Islamic ornament possesses certain qualities that, even if not exclusive to this art, are sufficiently distinct to be recognisable. One is that it is independent from the underlying structure, be it a building or an object of art. It therefore can easily be transferred from one material to the other, and from one technique to another. As in other civilisations, the ornament can be classified either by the elements of which it is composed or by the method by which it is organised. In addition, it can be interpreted symbolically, can communicate ideas or can have metaphoric qualities.

The most common elements are vegetal, geometric, epigraphic and figural. In order to create order and harmony—one of the most characteristic functions of Islamic ornament—it is organised by two principles: geometry and symmetry. To achieve this aim, the Islamic artist used a number of methods, the most typical being framing and linking. Plants may completely grow into each other and form an infinite pattern generally termed "arabesque" [*q.v.*].

The predominance of vegetal motifs in Islamic ornament hardly needs to be reiterated. Its development can broadly be divided into three main periods: the formative, roughly between the 7th and 10th centuries A.D.; the ornamental integration, from about the 10th to the later 13th centuries, and the final phases, from about the 14th to the 17th centuries. The first centuries are characterised by an enormous variety of motifs adopted from pre-Islamic civilisations. In the course of time, acanthus and vine leaves, palmettes, half-palmettes, lotus blossoms and grapes, to mention only the most common vegetal designs, were flattened out, became two-dimensional, and made into space for additional small ornamentation. Composed without background, divided only by bevelled lines, these ornaments create abstract designs that give the impression of uniform patterns, though their floral and vegetal origin is still recognisable. The best examples attesting to the transformation and integration of these elements into ornamental patterns stem from late 8th-century Syria and 9th-century Sāmarrā, from where they spread to Egypt and other parts of the Islamic world (Plate V, Figs. 1 and 2). Only Spain was less affected by these tendencies. Depending on Umayyad tradition, such as the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock [see ḲUBBAT AL-ṢAK̲H̲RA] or the eastern façade of Ms̲h̲attā [*q.v.*], deeply carved and feathery leaves are folded over, so that the design becomes three-dimensional instead of being flattened out.

In the following centuries, the changes within plant ornaments occur primarily in the central Islamic lands. Of particular importance is the development of the arabesque. While its preliminary stages may already date from the 11th century, it reached its full scope only in the following two centuries, culminating in Asia Minor, where full use of the potential qualities of the arabesque is attested from works made in Ḳonya (Plate V, Fig. 3). Because of the Mongol invasions, Central Asian motifs—lotus blossoms, peonies, composite flowers and the like—enrich the vegetal repertoire and remain a constant feature from the second half of the 13th century onwards. The earliest Chinese-inspired floral motifs seem to occur on ceramics, but were immediately adopted also in other media such as metal, wood, glass, textiles and manuscript illuminations. Assimilated to the Islamic tradition and taste, they became favourite motifs in Persian and Central Asian architecture, and by the second half of the 14th century, intricate and organically-growing floral patterns, transformed into flat, coloured faience mosaics,

become a common decoration on religious and secular buildings alike. Thanks to trade relations and wandering workshops, this vocabulary reached also Syria, Egypt and Turkey and brought about a new taste, which preferred a more exotic and less traditional floral répertoire. In the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, Ottoman Turkey in particular excelled in combining a multitude of stalks, buds and flowers from different origins, which in colour and composition remain unique (cf. the wares of Iznīḳ [*q.v.*]).

Although not used as ornaments on religious buildings or objects produced for religious purposes, animals and birds were part of the decorative répertoire from its very beginning. At first they reflect the same artistic traditions as the vegetal ornaments. Yet by the 9th century, first in Mesopotamia, and almost instantaneously in Egypt and Persia also, these animals become less realistic. Their bodies lose plasticity, details such as hair, felt or feathers are replaced by ornaments unrelated to their indigenous shape, and the whole figure is often adapted to the shape of the object it decorates. Or, following the bevelled style of Sāmarrā, the shape of a bird is transformed into an abstract pattern, composed of fully merged three-petalled lotus blossoms, half-palmettes and undulating stems (Plate VI, Fig. 4). In eastern Persia, this abstract style continued for some time, while in Egypt the animal figure become again more realistic. The number of species increases, and on portable objects of art fabulous, occasionally even grotesque creatures figure in the centre of an object as its major decoration. The fascination with imaginary animals, including Far Eastern dragons, unicorns, qilins and the like that appear after the Mongol invasion, culminates between the 12th and 14th centuries. In the following periods, realistic animal figures become less frequent, while Far Eastern creatures continue to appear in Persian and Turkish manuscripts (Plate VI, Fig. 5) and on tiles, textiles, rugs, etc.

As with the vegetal and figural motifs, so do squares, lozenges, circles, polygons and star patterns go back to much earlier civilisations. It was, however, the preoccupation with geometric forms and their development into virtuoso intricacies which, together with symmetry, became a dominating feature in Islamic ornament. Rectilinear patterns constructed of squares divided either diagonally or inscribed within each other were employed by Islamic artisans since early Islamic times. Pattern of lozenges, polygons and stars formed by either raised or recessed bricks feature on 10th to 12th-century Persian brick buildings, and transferred to stone appear in Anatolian stone carvings and on 13th to early 14th-century Persian faience mosaics. By using glazed and unglazed bricks, terracotta tiles and faience mosaics, Persian artisans differentiated between the various forms and highlighted the stellar elements. A good example of tile and faience decoration is the ornamentation of the Madrasa G͟hiyāt͟hiyya at K͟hargird (846-8/1442-5) (Plate VI, Fig. 6), where dark blue and light brown faience mosaics accentuate the centre of the stars, while strips of light blue glazed brick or terracotta and white glazed cut tiles form the overall stellar grid. Similar ornaments were used for the decoration of Ḳur'ān frontispieces, Egyptian 15th and early 16th-century *minbars*, or a wooden Turkish Ḳur'ān box from the mausoleum of Sultan Selīm II. Another decoration generated by geometric forms are stalactites or *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*]. In contrast to the patterns mentioned above, they are three-dimensional, and became one of the most conspicuous architectural ornaments created in the Islamic world. Finally, signatures, foundation inscriptions, quotations from the Ḳur'ān, proverbs and the like, often became the main and only decoration of buildings or objects of art. The latter, documented since the 8th century on ceramic, glass and metal objects, even precede inscriptions on architecture. In the course of the centuries, Islamic calligraphers invented a variety of styles, and the inscriptions became integrated into the rest of the decoration [see KHAṬṬ]. Limited in time and material is a script in which either the whole letter or part of it assumes a human or animal form. Except for the ornithomorphic script, which appears for the first time on 10th-century eastern Persian ceramics, it is limited to metalwork, produced between the mid-12th and late-13th centuries. Beginning with the early 14th century, inscriptions, written in either *nask͟hī* or *t͟huluth͟* styles, became a dominant feature in architecture as well as in minor arts. Mamlūk dignitaries favoured a radiating arrangement of the script which, set in roundels or polylobed medallions, was meant to glorify their names and titles. Perhaps the first sultan who used this device was al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] in the early 14th century (Plate VII, Fig. 7). These epigraphic roundels were equally favoured by high officers and other members of his dynasty. By the 15th century, only a few Mamlūk rulers continued to write their names and honorary titles in a radiant composition. They re-appear, however, in Ottoman epigraphic roundels of a religious content. The ornamental qualities of the script were fully exploited in epigraphic panels in which the words, made up of unadorned Kūfic letters, form a regular geometric design. This script was exclusively used for religious inscriptions, repeating the name of the Prophet, the names of the Imāms and various saints, or else the Muslim creed or *s͟hahāda* [*q.v.*]. After the mid-13th century, these decorative panels enjoyed considerable popularity in Anatolian, Egyptian and Persian architecture, wood carvings and manuscript illuminations, and this popularity has continued up to the present day.

The most common means of creating an overall pattern was by means of frames and borders, which outlined the primary motifs and set them into medallions, panels, cartouches and arches, giving the pattern an inner cohesion. Due to the survival of antique elements in Syrian, Egyptian and Coptic art, niches and arcades remained a relatively frequent feature until the end of the Mamlūk period. In other instances, round enclosures or arches were provided with lobed outlines, a feature that entered Islam from China long before the Mongol invasion. They often formed continuous bands, decorating objects of art and architectural monuments alike. In patterns where the decorative elements completely eliminated the background, the basic design was repeated in a reciprocating fashion, applicable to larger surfaces as well as to closed panels and frames. Carved with slanting outlines or painted on flat surfaces, they remained in vogue up to about the 14th century, often differentiated by their colour (Plate VIII, Fig. 8). Other methods of creating coherent overall designs involved placing different geometric forms next to each other; determining the structure of a pattern by continuously crossing and overlapping bands, or creating a three-dimensional design by arranging up to four decorative schemes one on top of the other.

Ornaments, however, also communicated—either explicitly or implicitly—certain ideas. Their interpretation remains equivocal. Yet it would seem that, aside from being aesthetically attractive, some of these orna-

ments evoked additional connotations. Among these one may suggest that fruit-bearing trees were recharged with ancient connotations of fertility, conveyed blessings to the deceased in the afterlife and had associations with Paradise. Flowers seem to have conveyed notions of well-being, while arches and arcades, because of their formal resemblance to the *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*], were occasionally charged with religious symbolism. As in the domes of Late Antiquity, which were decorated with whorls and stars, domes were now given cosmological symbolism, transforming a cupola or ceramic bowl into the vault of heaven. This is further enforced by Persian poems, in which the vault of heaven is called *ṭās-i nigūn* lit. "upturned bowl", i.e. "heaven", or *ṭās-i sipihr* "bowl of heaven". Other ornaments with metaphoric qualities are fish and water creatures (Plate VIII, Fig. 9), imitations of jewellery, or animal wheels. It has, however, to be reiterated that our quest for understanding the meaning of ornaments is still at its beginning and awaits future studies in depth.

Bibliography: E. Baer, *Islamic ornament*, Edinburgh 1998. Cf. G. Necipoğlu, *The Topkapi scroll. Geometry and ornament in Islamic architecture. With an essay on the geometry of the muqarnas by Moḥammad al-Asad*, The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Santa Monica 1995. (Eva Baer)

ZĀKHŪ, local pronunciation Zākhō, a Kurdish town on the Lesser Khābūr river [*q.v.*] in northern ʿIrāḳ, situated about 8 km/5 miles from the Turkish border and 20 km/12 miles from the Syrian border (lat. 37° 2' N., long 42° 8' E.). It became world-famous after the Gulf War (1990) when thousands of Kurdish refugees, fearing retaliation by the ʿIrāḳī army, tried to escape to Turkey but eventually were resettled in Zākhū or near it; as a result, by 1992 Zākhū's population rose to about 350,000 (?), compared to only about 30,000 (?) in 1950.

In addition to the largely Kurdish Muslim population, Zākhū had also a Christian community (Nestorians and Chaldaeans, Armenians, etc. totalling *ca.* 5,000 persons in 1992), and a Jewish community (about 350 families before their emigration en masse to Israel in the early 1950s). However, according to the table in M. Chevalier, *Les montagnards chrétiens du Hakkari*, 285, the estimates of various travellers vary widely. Each community lived usually in a separate quarter, close to its house of worship (4 churches, 2 synagogues, and a few mosques). The Kurds spoke the Kurmāndjī dialect of Kurdish [see kurds, kurdistān. v.], whereas the Christians and the Jews spoke Neo-Aramaic, each community having its own dialect. Zākhū's commercial and communal life centred around the river, which was, before the advent of motorised vehicles, the main route for the transport of materials from central Kurdistān to the Tigris plains, so that Zākhū was an important shipping centre. About seventy Jewish families in the town were loggers and raftsmen who transported goods and wood to Mawṣil and beyond on large rafts made of logs tied together alone or over inflated sheepskins [see kelek]. Other typical occupations included peddlers, butchers, weavers (mostly Christians), dyers (Jewish), shop owners (mixed), carpenters, farmers (mostly Kurds), teachers and government officials (mostly Christians). Zākhū may be an old town, and probably identical with the *bēṯ zākhū* ("House of Victory") mentioned in an 11th-century Syriac manuscript (Budge, 183; cf. Fiey, 261, 880: "B[ēt]Zāḥō"). Zākhū has three modern bridges, but a fourth one, made of huge stones and associated with a legend, is popularly assumed to be from the ʿAbbāsid period. The oldest synagogue there had an inscription dated 5568 (= 1798). Social and commercial relations between the communities were generally good, with the Jews feeling secure under the protection of the local Shemdīn *aghas*.

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(Y. Sabar)

al-**ZAḲḲĀḲ**, ʿAlī b. al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad al-Tudjībī al-Fāsī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan (d. 912/1507), famous Mālikī jurist, whose *laḳab* is explained in the sources as being unconnected with the trade of making skin vessels for holding wine. He studied Khalīl's *Mukhtaṣar* with Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim al-Ḳawrī al-Miknāsī al-Fāsī (d. 872/1468) and al-Mawwāḳ al-Gharnāṭī (d. 897/1492), whose *al-Tādj wa 'l-iklīl* he also transmitted. Al-Zaḳḳāḳ is the author of an *urdjūza* [see radjaz] in which he explained the basic principles of the Mālikī legal school, entitled *al-Manhadj al-muntakhab ilā uṣūl al-madhhab* (ms. National Library of Madrid); a commentary was written by Mayyāra (d. 1072/1662). He also wrote a famous *Lāmiyya*, known as *al-Zaḳḳāḳiyya*, of which many mss. are preserved. It was edited by Merad ben Ali, *La Lamiya ou Zaqqaqiya du jurisconsulte maroccain Zaqqaq, manuel maroccain de jurisprudence musulmane*, Casablanca 1927; a commentary was written by Aḥmad al-Mandjūr (d. 995/1587). The *Lāmiyya* shows the existence of solutions in which the *ʿamal fāsī* was adopted. In the last years of his life, al-Zaḳḳāḳ was *khaṭīb* in the mosque of al-Andalus at Fās. Some of his descendants were also famous scholars.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās*, ii, 476-7, no. 532, and *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, iii, 252; Aḥmad al-Mandjūr, *Fihris*, Rabat 1976, 57; Aḥmad Bāba, *Nayl*, 211; Ben Cheneb, *Étude*, 123-4, no. 70; Brockelmann, II, 264; S II, 376; Ziriklī, iv, 320; Kaḥḥāla, vii, 169; J. Berque, *Ville et université. Aperçu sur l'histoire de l'école de Fès*, in *Revue Historique du Droit Français et Étranger*, lxiv, no. 116 (1949), 90; M. Hajji, *L'activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque Saʿdide*, 2 vols. Rabat 1976-7, i, 171; F. Rodríguez Mediano, *Familias de Fez (siglos XV-XVII)*, Madrid 1995, 62, 199, 225, 260-1. (Maribel Fierro)

ZAḲḲŪM (a.), a tree that figures in Islamic eschatology as growing in Hell, with bitter fruit which the damned are condemned to eat. It is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān three times (XXXVII, 60/62; XLIV, 43; LVI, 52).

The lexicographers explain it as an evil-smelling tree that grows in the Tihāma, but also as a medically beneficial one that grows in the Jordan valley around Jericho; and as a foodstuff of the Arabs, composed of fresh butter with dates (see Lane, 1239a-b). Richard Bell, *The Qurʾān translated*, ii, 556 n. 1, cited as a parallel the same word in Syriac meaning "the hogbean"; Bell must have taken from Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 1148, *zḳwmʾ/zāḳōmā*, citing the agricultural treatise *Geoponika*, 115 l. 20, in which *zḳwmʾ* are something dried in front of a fire before eating, and where the word is probably a corruption of *ḳwmʾ*

Fig. 1. Vine plant in plaster in audience chamber (*dīwān*), Khirbat al-Mafdjar, *ca.* 725-30.

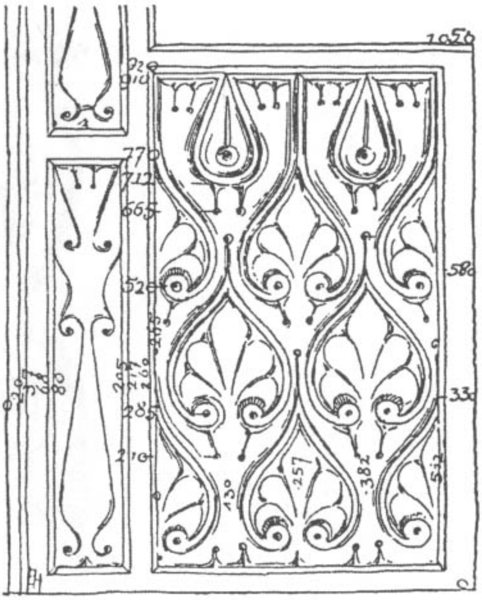

Fig. 2. Overall patterns of palmettes, lotus buds and trefoils aligned vertically. From house at Sāmarrā, *ca.* mid-3rd/9th century.

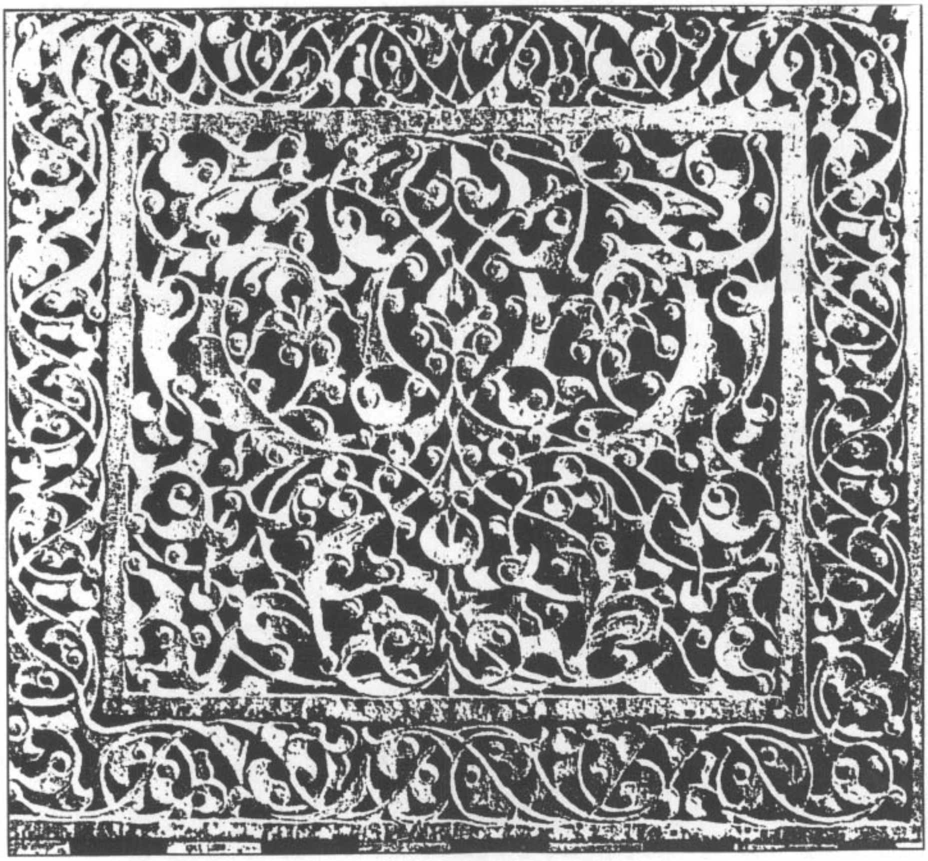

Fig. 3. Ḳurʾān stand elaborately carved with arabesques, *ca.* 1278-9, Ḳonya.

Fig. 4. Bird carved in wood. Egypt, Ṭūlūnid period. Paris, Musée de Louvre, Inv. MAO 459.

Fig. 5. Coloured drawing of dragons on foliage. Ottoman, mid-10th/16th century. The Cleveland Museum of Art 44.492.

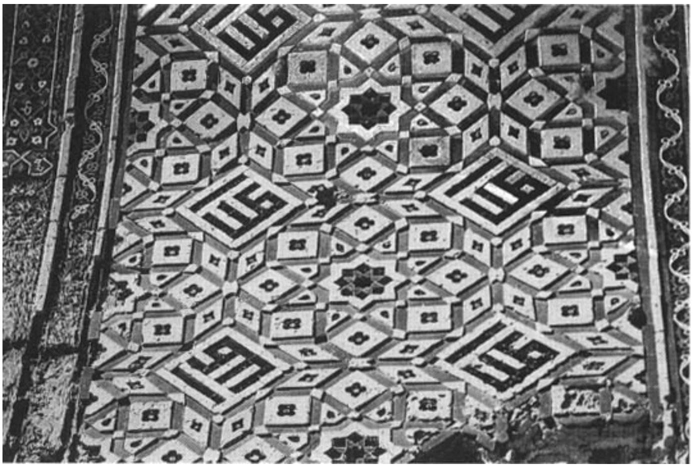

Fig. 6. Tile and faience decoration from the Madrasa G͟hiyāt͟hiyya, 846-8/ 1442-5.

Fig. 7. Radiating inscription. Incense burner of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn. Egypt or Syria, 693-741/1294-1340. The Nuhad es-Said Collection.

Fig. 8. Border pattern with reciprocating motif. Sulṭān K͟hān, begun 629/1231.

Fig. 9. Fish pond ornament at bottom of early 14th-century Persian brass bowl. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. H.3253.

and its Greek equivalent κύσμοι "lentils". In any case, it seems a long way from a tree with bitter fruit.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

ZAKLISE, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Greek island of Zakynthos, Ital. Zacinto, Fr. and Eng. Zante, the southernmost of the Ionian islands, lying off the westernmost tip of the Peloponnese [see MORA].

Lost to Byzantium in 1185, it passed under the control of various Western powers until 1328 when it was seized by the Italian Tocco family, whose Ionian Islands dominions were to prosper till the later 15th century, receiving large numbers of refugees from the Greek mainland. Zakynthos, together with Cephalonia and Levkas/Aya Mavra [see LEVKAS], was briefly captured in late 1479 by Aḥmed Pasha Gedik [*q.v.*], but recovered in the next year by Count Leonardo III Tocco. In 1483, however, the Toccos were driven out by Venice, who secured possession of it and Cephalonia by an annual tribute to the Ottoman sultan, maintained until 1699 (see D. Pitcher, *The historical geography of the Ottoman empire*, Leiden 1972, 65, 86-7, 132 and Map XVI; P. Soustal and J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallonia*, Vienna 1981, 77 ff., 278-9; arts. *Ionian Sea, Zakynthos* and *Tocco*, in *The Oxford dict. of Byzantium*, New York-Oxford 1991).

In the long Venetian period, Zakynthos suffered numerous Ottoman naval attacks and raids, in the 16th century commanded by Khayr al-Dīn Pasha, Ṭorghud Re'īs and 'Ulūdj 'Alī [*q.vv.*] (see W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, 483 ff.; idem, *The Ionian Islands under Venetian rule*, in *EHR*, xliii [1928], 209-39; A. Krantonelle, *History of piracy in the Tourkokratia*, 2 vols. Athens 1985-91, in Greek). Zakynthians participated in the battle of Lepanto in 1571, in the Russian-incited insurrection of 1770 and in the Greek War of Independence, when the island became a base for insurgents. It had been ceded by the Venetians to the French by the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797); there was a brief Russo-Turkish occupation (1799-1807); a French re-occupation (1807-14); and finally, it became a British protectorate until 1864, when the Ionian Islands were ceded to the kingdom of Greece.

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(A. Savvides)

ZALĪDJ (A., pl. *zalā'idj*, also *zallīdj*, a word somehow related to Perso-Arabic *lādjward/lāzward* "lapis lazuli" (see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 598; idem and W.H. Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, [2]Leiden 1869, 229), a mosaic composed of fragments of pottery squares with a coloured enamelled surface. The technique involved is more one of marquetry than mosaic, since the pieces are cut into shape according to the place they will occupy in the motif as a whole (G. Audisio, *La marquetterie de terre émaillée (mosaïque de faïence) dans l'art musulman d'Occident*, Algiers 1926, 8). Also attested for this technique is the Spanish term *alicatado* (see Dozy and Engelmann, *op. cit.*, 140). The usage of the term is essentially a Hispano-Maghribī one; the Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] compared *kāshānī* tiles on the buildings of Nadjaf in 'Irāḳ with the *zalīdj* of his own country (*Riḥla*, i, 415, tr. Gibb, i, 256).

The technique is first attested in ancient Persia and Mesopotamia, e.g. on the palace of Sargon (Seton Lloyd, *The art of the ancient Near East*, London 1963), and then used by the Romans and Byzantines. The use of pieces of marble of different colours runs through the centuries, to appear in a rather clumsy fashion in the Great Mosque of Cordova and in certain pavements at al-Madīna al-Zahrā' [*q.v.*]. For *zalīdj stricto sensu*, the main attestation is at the Ḳal'at Banī Ḥammād [see ḤAMMĀDIDS] (5th/11th century), where one finds enamelled bricks and genuine marquetry (G. Marçais, *Poteries et faïences de la Kalaa des Beni-Hammad*, Constantine 1913). After this, there is the minaret of the Kutubiyya in Marrakesh (586/1190), then the Great Mosque at Tlemcen/Tilimsān (679/1280), where Saldjūḳ influence from Konya is discernible, culminating in the Alhambra at Granada. The Western Islamic lands acquired the appropriate technology and seem to have been culturally propitious for a widening use—perhaps delayed by Almohad austerity—of the art of *zalīdj*, seen in its spread within the dynastic art of the Marīnids and Naṣrids [*q.vv.*].

At first, this use of enamelled marquetry work, resistant to weather, appears on exteriors, and especially on minarets and door surrounds (Chella near Rabat, and Tlemcen) and on the retaining walls of patios. But in the 8th/14th century it was interior use, within rooms that were lived in (especially at Seville and Granada and, to a lesser extent, at Fās), that provide the finest aesthetic usage of *zalīdj*: on pavements, niches, walls and columns, though only exceptionally in *miḥrābs* and prayer halls. Artists preferred flat surfaces, with symmetrical and repeating designs, usually on the lower parts of surfaces. Animal and human motifs are not found; the few epigraphic examples of these are to be found at Tlemcen and, above all, in the Alhambra (Tower of the Captive, Hall of the Two Sisters). The difficulty of cutting fragments with curved edges explains the rarity of floral decorations, although delicate curvilinear designs are to be found at the Alhambra (the above examples and the Hall of Ambassadors). Likewise rare, apart from a few Egyptian examples, are epigraphic motifs, difficult to execute. Use of the Kūfic script would have allowed the formation of curves and reverse curves, but was no longer fashionable in the 8th/14th century in the Muslim West, where arrangements and geometrical patterns reigned supreme. Rectilinear elements, combined with infinitely repetitive geometrical patterns, characterised Marīnid and Naṣrid decoration, which was inspired by Berber traditions but was adapted to Islamic taste.

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AL-**ZALLĀḲA**, a decisive battle which took place in Muslim Spain near Badajoz (479/1086) and was won by the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] in their first encounter with Alfonso VI of Castile.

Alfonso's capture of Toledo (478/1085) posed a great threat to the *Ṭā'ifa* princes of al-Andalus, driving them to seek the help of the Almoravid sovereign of Morocco, Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn [*q.v.*], who responded to their appeal and called on the Andalusī *amīrs* to join his campaign. On learning of the advance of the Muslim troops, Alfonso raised his siege of Saragossa

and sought help from Sancho Ramírez of Aragon and from other Christians beyond the Pyrenees. The ensuing encounter thus assumed the character of a holy war, just one decade before the first Crusade in the East.

The battle of al-Zallāḳa (Span. Sagrajas) took place on the plain of the latter name on the banks of the Guerrero, some 8 km/5 miles north-east of Badajoz, on Friday 12 Radjab 479/23 October 1086; hence the reference to the battle in Arabic sources as *Yawm (al-)ʿarūba* ("Friday encounter").

It is quite clear from the eyewitness account of ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn, the Zīrid *amīr* of Granada, that, in contrast to Alfonso's eagerness to engage in battle, Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn was extremely reluctant to do so and even hoped that Alfonso would give up and withdraw.

The Andalusī contingents were led by al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], king of Seville, while the Almoravid troops were deployed in such a way as to enable them to join battle as required. When the latter failed to arrive, however, some of the Andalusīs sought refuge within the city walls of Badajoz. The Almoravid sovereign, in the meantime, despatched a force to set fire to Alfonso's encampment, while he himself joined the fray with his big drums resounding like thunder in the hills and wreaking havoc on Alfonso's troops and horses. According to Ibn Abī Zarʿ, it was the Almoravid himself who set fire to Alfonso's encampment and then launched an attack on the Christian troops from the rear, annihilating most of them. Alfonso is said to have escaped with barely 500 survivors.

Details in Arabic sources about the battle have reached us primarily through the exaggerated accounts of later Muslim chroniclers such as al-Ḥimyarī, Ibn Abī Zarʿ and the anonymous author of the *Ḥulal*. It is surprising that the Zīrid *amīr* of Granada, himself a participant in the battle, has little to say about it. He simply refers to the encounter as the battle of Badajoz, and he does not give the day or date on which it took place, nor does he mention his role or that of other Andalusīs in the battle. All that he says is that Alfonso mounted a surprise attack, that Muslim troops were outnumbered, and that the Almoravid sovereign returned to Seville "safe and victorious" (*ʿalā ḥāli salāmat^in wa-naṣr*). Could it be that the Zīrid's brief and somewhat casual account is due to the fact that he and other Andalusīs did not distinguish themselves?

His defeat at al-Zallāḳa cost Alfonso the loss of a large number of his seasoned troops, checked the progress of the Reconquista, stopped the payment of tributes to Alfonso by the *Ṭāʾifa amīrs* and, above all, revived the hopes and raised the morale of the Andalusīs. The Almoravid sovereign's popularity with the Andalusī masses and, of course, with the *fuḳahāʾ*, was greatly enhanced. Although the Almoravids did not attempt to recover Toledo, their intervention helped to prolong Muslim presence in al-Andalus, which, to quote al-Marrākushī, had been on the verge of being handed over to the Christians.

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(Amin Tibi)

ZALZAL, Manṣūr b. Djaʿfar al-Ḍārib, famous lute-player at the early ʿAbbāsid court. He was a dark-skinned *muwallad* of humble, possibly "Nabatean" origin from Kūfa [see BARṢAWMA, in Suppl.]. Under the tuition of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*], his future brother-in-law who gave him an education in "Arab music" (*al-ghināʾ al-ʿarabī*), he became one of the rare musicians to be proverbially known as an instrumentalist without being a singer (*aṭrab min ʿūd Zalzal*). He seems first to have appeared at court under the caliph al-Mahdī (*r.* 158-69/775-85). Under Hārūn al-Rashīd (*r.* 170-93/786-809) he reached the highest class (*ṭabaḳa*) of court musicians. His best known pupil in lute playing was Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*]. During his lifetime, Zalzal had a well dug in the southern suburbs of Baghdād, and thus for centuries the place and the neighbouring quarter were known as Birkat Zalzal.

After having been imprisoned by Hārūn al-Rashīd, he is said to have died in 174/790. This date, mentioned by Ibn Taghrībirdī (who describes Zalzal as a lute player *and* a singer, and a *mawlā* of ʿĪsā b. Djaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr), can be questioned. Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī states that Zalzal's imprisonment under Hārūn al-Rashīd lasted for "about ten years", hence, when he was released "his hair and his beard had whitened". Accordingly, he may have died between *ca.* 185/801 and 193/809. In a *khabar* related in *Aghānī*[3], v, 280-2, Zalzal is still the hero of a contest with the lute player Mulāḥiẓ in the presence of the caliph al-Wāthiḳ (*r.* 227-32/842-7). This text, however, seems to suffer from inconsistency and anachronism. Zalzal's famous name may have slipped into the story to replace that of the less well-known lute player Rabrab, who was a contemporary of Mulāḥiẓ (*ibid.*, xi, 337).

In the history of music, Zalzal finds a place as the inventor of a lute called *ʿūd al-shabbūṭ* on account of its shape resembling the round and flat fish of that name. His name is also connected with the introduction of the middle, or neutral, third among the frets (*dasātīn*) of the lute. The interval was called *wusṭā Zalzal* and first described by al-Fārābī [*q.v.*]. It is the characteristic interval of the main mode of Arab music called *rāst* (see MAḲĀM). Al-Fārābī placed it at the ratio of 27:22 between the nut and the bridge of the lute (355 Cents above the pitch of the open string). This corresponds to the modern note *sīkāh* as given by 19th and 20th-century theoreticians from Syria and Egypt (Collangettes; Amīn al-Dīk). Ibn Sīnā defined the *wusṭā Zalzal* differently by giving it the ratio of 39:32 (342 Cents). His value reappeared also in the 19th century, namely, in the scale of Mīkhāʾīl Mushāḳa [*q.v.*].

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(H.G. Farmer-[E. Neubauer])

ZALZALA (A.), also Zilzāl, pl. *zalāzil*, earthquake, a fact of life in many parts of the Islamic world, from Morocco to Southeast Asia, a zone that coincides in large part with the great Alpide belt stretching from the Azores to the Indonesian archipelago. Along this zone of collision between the Eurasian plate to the north and various smaller tectonic plates to the south, the main areas of activity within the Islamic heartlands are the Anatolian fault zone, the Dead Sea-Jordan transform fault system, the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, the Alburz and Zagros ranges in Iran and the Chaman fault in Afghanistan (see Fisher, 11-23; Blake *et al.*, 26-7; Balland, 636-9; Gupta, 61-71; Barazangi; Jackson and McKenzie). (See Fig. 1.)

Earthquakes in Islamic belief, cosmology and science

The earliest surviving study of earthquakes in the Muslim world was written by <u>Dj</u>alāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, the Egyptian polymath (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]). His *Ka<u>sh</u>f al-ṣalṣala ʿan waṣf al-zalzala* lists some 130 earthquakes that occurred in the area from Spain to Transoxania, and was inspired by reading a report of the large earthquake of 702/1303 that was strongly felt in Egypt (al-Suyūṭī, 54-5; Ambraseys, Melville and Adams, 44). It is based on a thorough survey of the work of Muslim traditionists and Arabic chroniclers and is the fundamental source for understanding the mediaeval Islamic perception and knowledge of earthquakes (see, especially, Clément).

The name *Sūrat al-zalzala* is given to one of the early chapters of the Ḳur'ān (sūra XLIX), and the imagery of this verse, particularly the phrase *a<u>kh</u>ra<u>dj</u>at al-arḍ a<u>th</u>ḳālahā* "The earth brought forth its burdens", is often used to convey the terror of earthquakes, regarded as one of the forerunners of the Day of Judgement (*yawm al-ḳiyāma* [see ḳiyāma]; cf. Ḳur'ān, XVII, 58-9). Another Ḳur'ānic phrase "We turned their uppermost nethermost" (XI, 84; XV, 74) is also frequently found as a descriptive formula. There is disagreement over whether sūra XLIX is a late Meccan or early Medinan revelation. The experience of earthquakes that possibly lies behind it is recorded in the earliest Islamic traditions (*ḥadī<u>th</u>*), involving the Prophet and his Companions. Following an ancient chronological practice of naming years after a universally significant (and memorable) occurrence, the 5th year of the *hi<u>dj</u>ra* (626-7) was called the "Year of the Earthquake", according to al-Bīrūnī (*al-Ā<u>th</u>ār al-bāḳiya*, 31), apparently with reference to an event in Medina. The very birth of Muḥammad is said to have been heralded by an earthquake that shook the idols in the Kaʿba and damaged the palace of the <u>Kh</u>usraws at Ctesiphon (al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 5; al-Suyūṭī, 21), clearly a literary fiction. Several stories concerning Muḥammad and the first caliphs give an anthropomorphic portrayal of the earth, which does not know what it is doing and needs correction; ʿUmar b. al-<u>Kh</u>aṭṭāb is particularly violent in lashing the earth with his whip to restore it to order (see e.g. al-Suyūṭī, 22; cf. Clément, 265).

Al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] is conspicuous among mediaeval authors for his scientific discussion of geological processes, touching on the effects of earthquakes (e.g. in his *Taḥdīd*, 20-3), and citing Ibn al-ʿAmīd's lost work on the construction of cities, which seems to have taken a practical approach to earthquake hazard. On the whole, Classical theories that attributed earthquakes to subterranean winds or escaping gasses, formulated particularly by Aristotle (*Meteorologica*, 2.7-8, and developed by Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones*, 6.16-17, 20) and probably adopted by Muslim authors such as al-Kindī (see his lost work listed in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, 261; cf. Taher, *Traité*, 133), did not enjoy much currency. In so far as a physical or mechanical cause was envisaged, earthquakes were explained as the movement of the bull on whose horns the world rests, or of the fish which in turn supports the bull, though logically any such movement would shake the whole world rather than a specific region. Similar, but more precise, was the explanation that each territory was underlain by a root that went back to the mountain of Ḳāf [*q.v.*] which encircles the earth; when God wished to punish a people, he ordered the angel in charge to animate the appropriate root (al-Suyūṭī, 1, 3). Al-Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī (*al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rī<u>kh</u>*, ed. Huart, ii, 37, tr. ii, 35), would only accept this tradition on the doubtful authority of the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, and says its purpose was to popularise the idea that God was the prime mover, rather than an independent natural cause. Other early Arabic geographers and historians also had a reasonably "philosophical" view of earthquakes, though note al-Muḳaddasī's response to the destruction of Sīrāf on the Persian Gulf (cited in Miquel, iii, 105), similar to Abu 'l-Dardā''s sermon following an earthquake in Damascus in the mid-7th century (al-Maḳdisī, *loc. cit.*).

After the 10th-11th centuries, Muslim theory more generally eschewed even such pseudo-physical explanations and regarded earthquakes simply as the signs of God's will, being sent either to assist, or to warn, or, more usually, to terrify and punish the people, each type of sin meriting a particular correction. However, in view of the numerous contradictions in the writings of the theologians and traditionists, al-Suyūṭī preferred to view earthquakes rather as a sign of God's majesty and power (Clément, 272, 275-8). A later author, Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>azzār, writing in the aftermath of the earthquake of 984/1576, considers even the level of detail given by al-Suyūṭī to be redundant and in bad taste (cf. Taher, *Traité*, 133).

Nevertheless, in common with their European counterparts, Middle Eastern chroniclers were interested in recording earthquakes along with other natural phenomena. Some, such as Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī [*q.v.*], evidently believed that it was among their primary concerns and functions (cf. Rosenthal, 144-5 [on Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī],

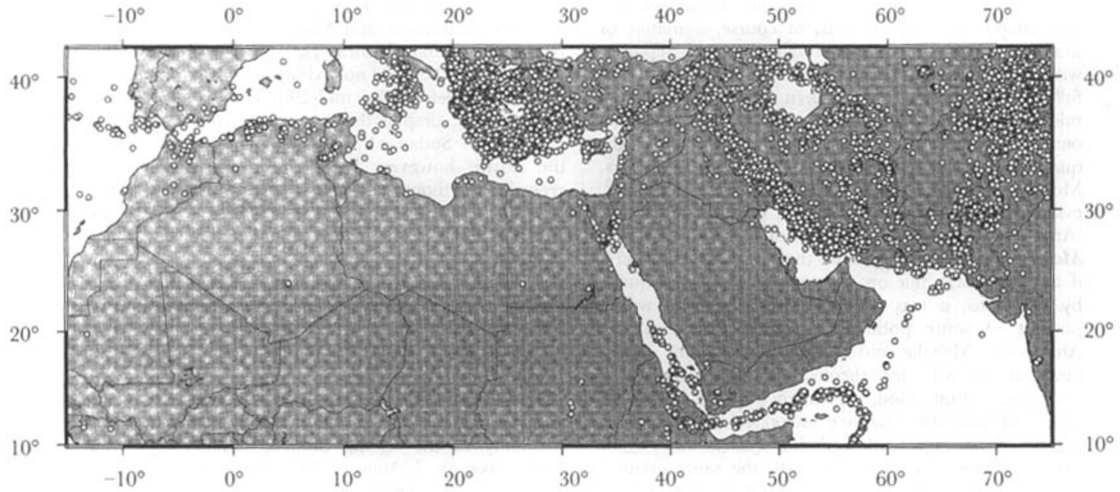

Fig. 1. Earthquakes from 1964 to 1997 (International Seismological Centre).

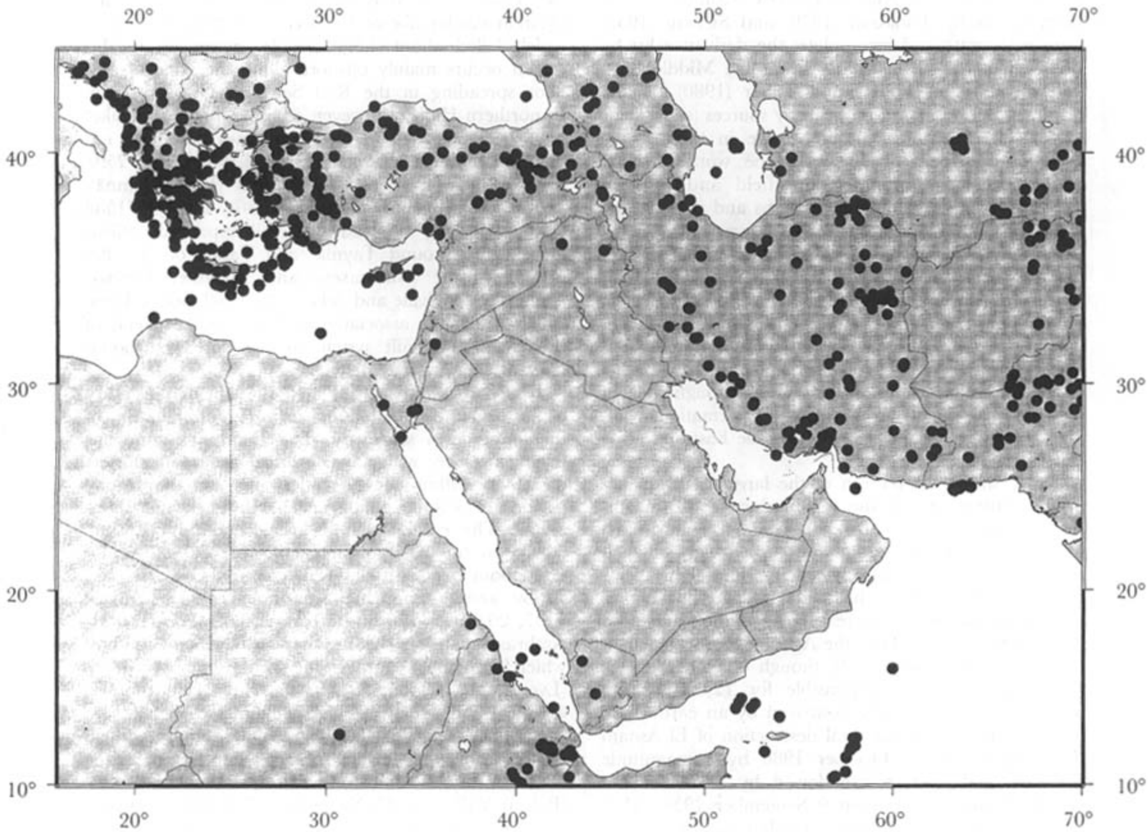

Fig. 2. Earthquakes of magnitude 6 and greater, 1900-98 (J.A. Jackson, *pers. comm.*).

252, 488). News of earthquakes and the destruction they might have caused was, of course, a matter of practical concern, and large events could be reported with a certain amount of detail, including (most usefully for the purpose of modern assessments of seismic activity) the names of the places affected. One outstanding example of this is the report of an earthquake round Ibb in Yemen in 549/1154 (Ambraseys, Melville and Adams, 34-7; al-Maneefi, esp. 151-62), evidently based on a detailed field investigation by al-ʿArashānī. Nevertheless, the title of his (lost) work, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-ʿibar*, indicates that here as elsewhere, if any gloss was put on the report of an earthquake by historians, it was normally that the event was a portent of some political or social upheaval (see Ambraseys, Melville and Adams, 7, for some examples), or, as with the theologians, understood as a punishment from God, which encouraged people to repent of their sins (*ibid.*, see index). Al-ʿArashānī also composed another work called *al-Ẓalāzil wa 'l-ashrāṭ* (Taher, *Traité*, 134), probably with the same orientation. Despite such views, in general the chroniclers do provide a full and often quite factual account of the seismicity of the region and of the largest events that have occurred.

Survey of regional seismicity

Apart from the work of al-Suyūṭī, no reliable integrated catalogue of Middle Eastern seismicity exists. Early works by Tholozan (1879) and Sieberg (1932) were inaccurate and incomplete; the derivative list by Ben-Menahem (1979) for the Levantine Middle East, and the work of Poirier and Taher (1980) for the historical period, based on primary sources (see Taher, *Corpus*), are the most comprehensive in their scope. For the best part of 40 years, the work of N.N. Ambraseys has dominated the field and inspired numerous studies of different regions and periods, the most substantial being on Persia, Egypt and Turkey (Ambraseys, *A reappraisal*). A significant contribution has also been made by researchers taking the Mediterranean world as their focus (e.g. Bousquet *et al.*; Guidoboni *et al.*). This modern, long-term research, which has concentrated on retrieving archaeological and historical evidence of earthquakes in the region as well as early seismological data, though still in progress, has greatly expanded the information available about the seismicity of the Middle East and adjacent areas.

Fig. 2 shows the pattern of the largest earthquakes in the central part of the region since 1900 (magnitude greater than 6.0). As can be seen, many parts of the Islamic lands do not show up strongly on such modern maps of world seismicity, although a few recent events indicate that the risk can be serious, particularly in view of increasing population and poor building techniques. Thus the Agadir (Morocco) earthquake of 29 February 1960, though of moderate size (magnitude 5.9) was responsible for 12,000 deaths. The town was previously destroyed by an earthquake in 1731. In Algeria, the total destruction of El Asnam (Orléansville) on 10 October 1980 by a magnitude 7.3 earthquake was foreshadowed by a smaller but equally disastrous event on 9 September 1954 (M = 6.8), and earlier destructive earthquakes in central Algeria in 1716 and Oran in 1790. The recent seismicity of Tunisia and Libya is low, though an earthquake of magnitude 5.4 caused damage and around 300 casualties at Barce in Cyrenaica on 21 February 1963. Historical evidence is also rather sparse for North Africa, partly due to a dearth of sources and low population density in most of the region. For further details and references, see Adams and Barazangi, 1012-13; Ambraseys and Vogt; Vogt and Ambraseys; Ambraseys, *Libya*; Ambraseys, Melville and Adams.

Similarly, there is no evidence of earthquakes in the Sudan before the mid-19th century (Ambraseys and Adams), despite the occurrence of a large event in southern Sudan on 20 May 1990 (M = 7.2). To the north, however, Egypt has a long history of recorded earthquakes, though few were sufficient to cause significant damage (see Tucker). Most of the stronger shocks experienced originated outside Egyptian territory, in the Hellenic Arc (such as the 702/1303 earthquake) to the north or in the Gulf of Suez–Gulf of Aqaba to the east (e.g. the events of 1212, 996/1588 and 1969). In Egypt itself, the earthquake of 12 October 1992 (M = 5.2), with an epicentre about 10 km south of Old Cairo, caused heavy damage to over 9,000 buildings, killed over 500 people and injured 6,500, a reflection largely of the high vulnerability of the ageing building stock. A previous earthquake on 7 August 1847 was probably a similar event and caused widespread damage and loss of life between Cairo and Beni Suef (Ambraseys, Melville and Adams).

The Arabian Peninsula is one of the most stable areas of the world and it is only in Yemen, in the southwest corner, that significant events have occurred (Ambraseys and Melville, *Yemen*), most recently the Dhamār earthquake of 13 December 1982 (M = 6.1), which killed about 2,500 people. Seismicity in this region occurs mainly offshore along the zone of sea-floor spreading in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden. In northern Ḥidjāz, however, several large earthquakes have been reported in historical times that have not recurred in the instrumental period, notably in 259/873 (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 624), 460/1068 (Ibn al-Bannāʾ, 250-1, 256; Ibn al-Djawzī, viii, 256), and 996/1588 (al-Shādhilī, 64; al-Isḥāḳī, 154), all apparently affecting the area round Taymāʾ and Tabūk on the Pilgrimage route (Ambraseys and Melville, *Evidence*; Ambraseys, Melville and Adams, 27, 36-2, 56-7). These events are to be associated with the southern end of the Dead Sea fault system at the northwest boundary of the Arabian plate.

It is particularly in this area that the past century of instrumental observation is not representative of the longer-term seismicity. The Dead Sea zone has been extremely active in historical times, in clusters of activity within a few decades, alternating with long periods of seismic quiescence (Ambraseys and Barazangi). The earliest periods are covered by Russell, partly on the basis of archaeological data (see also Guidoboni *et al.*). In the 12th century, Crusader and Arabic sources report major earthquakes on 12 August 1157, 29 June 1170 and 20 May 1202 (Poirier *et al.*; Ambraseys and Melville, *An analysis*), the second of which interrupted campaigning with a temporary truce (Lyons and Jackson, 39). In the early 15th century, a series of destructive shocks culminated in a severe earthquake on 29 December 1408 round Antioch (Ambraseys and Melville, *Faulting*) and again in the 18th century, a disastrous earthquake in the Biḳāʿ (Bekaa) Valley on 25 November 1759 killed between 10 and 40,000 people according to contemporary estimates (Taher, *Textes*; Ambraseys and Barazangi, 4011). The visual evidence for the damage in Baalbek has been investigated by Lewis. All these events were associated with surface faulting and, together with a series of similar events to the northeast during the 19th century, help to delimit an East Anatolian Fault zone that does not show up on the basis of instrumental

data (Ambraseys, *Temporary quiescence*). Details of other, smaller shocks in Syria and Palestine during the Ottoman period are presented by al-Ḥāfiẓ. One of the most severe earthquakes of this century, on 11 July 1927, caused widespread damage and about 500 casualties in the region north of the Dead Sea (Kallner-Amiran, 234-6), but was only of moderate magnitude (M = 6.2).

In Turkey, the North Anatolian Fault zone, delineated by a series of surface ruptures during the present century, has been more or less continuously active throughout recorded history. The largest earthquakes this century (M > 7.0) include those of 9 August 1912 (Saros-Marmara), 26 December 1939 (Erzincan, with more than 30,000 deaths), 18 March 1953 (Yenice Valley), 28 March 1970 (Gediz) and 24 November 1976 (Çaldıran), all causing heavy loss of life (Ambraseys and Finkel, *The Saros-Marmara earthquake*; Ambraseys, *Engineering seismology*, 17-70). The largest historical event along this fault zone was the earthquake of 17 August 1668, felt throughout northern Anatolia, with an estimated magnitude between 7.8 and 8.0 (Ambraseys and Finkel, *The Anatolian earthquake*; eidem, *The seismicity of Turkey*). For earlier centuries, see Guidoboni *et al.*; Ambraseys and White; and for an assessment of risk in Turkey, Kolars).

The Alpide belt continuing east through northern Persia has been the focus of persistent heavy seismicity in both historical and modern times (Ambraseys and Melville, *Persian earthquakes*; de Planhol; Berberian, *Historical record*; idem, *Natural hazards*; Taher, *Grandes zones*). As in the case of Turkey, most of the largest events have also been associated with faulting, and have caused heavy casualties. Among the most significant, from both viewpoints, are the earthquakes of 23 January 1909 (Silākhūr), 1 May 1929 (Kopet Dāgh), 6 May 1930 (Salmās), 1 September 1962 (Buyīn Zahrā), 31 August 1968 (Dasht-i Bayāḍ), 16 September 1978 (Ṭabas-i Gulshan) and the recent disaster of 20 June 1990, which killed around 40,000 people in the Rūdbār-Mandjīl area of Gīlān. Given the vulnerability of traditional Persian adobe brick dwellings, even relatively small earthquakes can cause devastation in rural areas.

Among historical events of particular importance are the Ḳūmis (Dāmghān) earthquake of 242/856, a series of destructive shocks in Ādharbāydjān that have ruined the historical monuments of Tabrīz, particularly in 1721 and 1780 (Melville, *Tabriz*; Dhukā'; Berberian, *Natural hazards*, 172-98), and a series of earthquakes in Nīshāpūr that destroyed the mediaeval city (Melville, *Nishapur*). Among the other important cities of Persia, Kāshān was severely damaged by two earthquakes in the 18th century (in 1755 and 1778) (Rota) and Shīrāz suffered a series of damaging events in the 19th century (1812, 1824, 1853 and 1862). Iṣfahān, on the other hand, has seldom been affected by earthquakes, one of the reasons for the survival there of many historical structures, particularly minarets (cf. Mihdī, 86). In contrast with northern and eastern Persia (for which see also the recent study of the 1549 earthquake by Szuppe), the Zagros belt, though clearly delineated by the instrumental record of earthquakes, has generated relatively few large events, much of the deformation occurring along this zone being taken up aseismically. Most of the moderate to large events in ʿIrāḳ are associated with the Zagros folded belt; the pattern of historical seismicity (Alsinawi and Ghalib) is distorted by the influence of the chief cities, Mawṣil and Baghdād, on the survival of reported felt data.

Further east, significant activity has been observed on the west-east Herat fault and its extension into Badakhshān, and the north-south Chaman fault zones, the latter associated at its northern end, in historical times, with a violent earthquake north of Kabul on 6 July 1505, felt as far as Agra (Bābur, 247-8; Badā'ūnī, i, 421-2) and at its southern extremity with a magnitude 7.6 event that destroyed Quetta on 30 May 1935 (for further details and references, see Quittmeyer and Jacob; Balland; Gupta, 67-71; and KWAṬṬA). In the same general region, on the modern Indian-Pakistan border and not far from a massive earthquake off the Makrān coast in 1945 (M = 8.0), a major event on 16 June 1819 in the Rann of Cutch caused the formation of the "Allah Bund" along a fault escarpment, with a total vertical displacement of 7-9 metres. The land level changes associated with this event, extensively discussed by Lyell and later supported by Charles Darwin's observations in Chile, were fundamental to the birth of the science of geology. Eight hundred years earlier, al-Bīrūnī had taken for granted the uplift of land from the sea (e.g. *Taḥdīd*, 17-18, 20-1), though it is true he was considering long-term processes rather than extreme catastrophic events.

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(C. Melville)

ZAMAKHSHAR, a small town of mediaeval Islamic Khwārazm [*q.v.*].

It lay between the small town of Nūzwār and Gurgandj [*q.v.*], the later mediaeval capital of the province. In the 8th/14th century Ibn Baṭṭūṭa placed it as a village four miles from the "city of Khwārazm", i.e. New Urgenč [*q.v.*], the city which had grown up after the Mongols had in 618/1221 devastated Old Urgenč (= the later Kunya/Kuhna "Old" Urgenč) (*Riḥla*, iii, 6, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iii, 543). It never seems to have been of more than modest size. Al-Muḳaddasī, 289, mentions that in the later 4th/10th century it had a citadel, prison, congregational mosque, walls with iron gates and a protective ditch with bridges that were drawn up at night. Its subsequent fame came from its having been the birthplace in 467/1075 of the philologist and Ḳur'ān commentator Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī [*q.v.*]. Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vi, 315-16, described it as "a large village like a small town". Whether it was sacked by the Mongols is unrecorded. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa implies that it was still in existence when he visited the great scholar's tomb (*kubba*) there in the first half of the 8th/14th century, but thereafter it fades from recorded history; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*2, 148-9, thought that the modern ruins of Zmukhshir almost certainly mark the site of mediaeval Zamakhshar.

Bibliography: See also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 454, 456.

(C.E. Bosworth)

al-**ZAMAKHSHARĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar, called Djār Allāh, one of the outstanding scholars of later mediaeval Islamic times who made important contributions, first, in the fields of the linguistic sciences of grammar, philology, lexicography and the collecting of proverbs, in which sci-

ences he was, despite his own Iranian descent, a strong proponent of the Arab cause *vis-à-vis* the Persophile partisans of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*]; and second, in the fields of theology and Ḳur'ān exegesis, his approach to these being that of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*], of whom he may be considered as one of their last significant representatives. He was born at Zamakhshar [*q.v.*] in Khwārazm on 27 Radjab 467/18 March 1075 and died at Djurdjāniyya in Khwārazm on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 538/14 June 1144, where Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, iii, 6, tr. Gibb, iii, 543, was still able to view his tomb.

Al-Zamakhsharī travelled extensively and stayed at least twice in Mecca to study grammar, theology and Ḳur'ānic exegesis, which gained him his *laḳab*. Among his teachers were Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Muẓaffar al-Naysābūrī and Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd b. Djarīr al-Iṣbahānī (d. after 507/1113-14; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, ii, 276); the latter was held responsible for the introduction into Khwārazm of Muʿtazilism, of which al-Zamakhsharī became an ardent follower. We do not have much information about his students; among them were the Persian *mufassir* Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī and Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Bā'idjuk al-Baḳḳāl al-Khwārazmī (d. 562/1167; Brockelmann, S I, 513); a female student of his, Zaynab bt. al-Shaʿrī, is mentioned by Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, v, 171 l. 22); his favourite student seems to have been Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Makkī (Brockelmann, S I, 513; d. *ca.* 550/1155).

Al-Zamakhsharī rejected the aims of the Shuʿūbiyya (*Mufaṣṣal*, 2); for him, Arabic is the language that has been selected by God for the revelation. Those who support the Shuʿūbiyya do not understand that Arabic grammar is the source for all the sciences, whose issues ultimately depend on the comprehension of the Arabic language and its grammar (*Mufaṣṣal*, 3 ll. 8-13). Not only that, but it is also the language that is used as the administrative language by the rulers of the Islamic empires, as shown by the fact that it is the language used on their coins.

Al-Zamakhsharī's most important grammatical work is the *K. al-Mufaṣṣal fi 'l-naḥw* (ed. J.P. Broch, Christiania 1859, rev. ed. 1879; in the introd., 4 ll. 5-6, he calls it the *K. al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣanʿat al-iʿrāb*), which is a compendium on Arabic grammar. The most obvious difference between this highly popular work and other grammatical writings, starting with the *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, is the arrangement of the material. Instead of the classic arrangement in syntax, morphology and phonology, al-Zamakhsharī chose to divide the treatment according to the three parts of speech (nouns, verbs and particles, with a fourth section about *mushtarak*, i.e. (morpho-)phonological topics that concern two or three parts of speech, such as *imāla*, *iddighām* and the treatment of the weak consonants). Within the sections on the noun and the verb, he first deals with constructions involving the nominative, then those involving the accusative and, finally, those involving the genitive or the apocopate. Morphological questions such as the diminutive in the nouns or the quadriliteral in the verbs are dealt with after the syntactic questions.

For all topics in the *Mufaṣṣal*, the treatment is similar: each chapter begins with a general definition and a general rule; this is followed by a number of *fuṣūl*, in which exceptions to the rule and special problems are dealt with, supported by quotations from poetry or the Ḳur'ān and including divergent opinions of other grammarians (Kūfan grammarians, for instance, are quoted 18 times). The grammarian quoted most frequently is Sībawayhi [*q.v.*] (73 times); the only other grammarians quoted with any frequency are al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (25 times), al-Khalīl (24 times) and al-Mubarrad (13 times) [*q.vv.*]. Al-Zamakhsharī does not very often express a personal opinion, at least not in the *Mufaṣṣal*; nevertheless, some of his divergent views are quoted by later grammarians (cf. Ḍayf 1968, 286-7). In the often-discussed matter of the regent of the predicate in a nominal sentence, he held that it is the *isnād* which governs both the topic and the predicate (*Mufaṣṣal*, 12-13). With regard to declension, he held that the nominal cases represent grammatical functions or meanings (*maʿānī*, whereas the verbal cases do not (*ibid.*, 109; cf. Sāmarrā'ī 1970, 334-9; Ermers 1999, 174-5). His view that the second and the fourth verbal measure differed in meaning in that both are causative, but the former is iterative as well (Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī*, 578), is connected with his general idea that meaning should be reflected in sound and *vice-versa* (cf. Sāmarrā'ī 1970, 285-94; Leemhuis 1977, 9).

With regard to the *shawāhid* used by al-Zamakhsharī, it may be noted that he accepted verses from modern poets (*muḥdathūn*, *muwalladūn*), such as Bashshār b. Burd and Abū Nuwās (e.g. in *Mufaṣṣal*, 103), as testimony of the language of the Arabs. This is noted explicitly by al-Baghdādī (*Khizānat al-adab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1979-86, i, 6-7).

The *Mufaṣṣal* was a popular work; the list in Brockelmann, I 344, S I, 507, contains a total of 24 commentaries, of which the best-known is that by Ibn Yaʿīsh [*q.v.*]. In spite of its elementary nature, the *Mufaṣṣal* has also exercised considerable influence on Western grammars of Arabic. It formed the basis for Caspari's grammar (1848) and, through its English translation by Wright, for all subsequent grammars of Arabic.

Al-Zamakhsharī occupied himself intensively with the *Kitāb Sībawayhi*. He wrote a commentary on its poetical *shawāhid* (Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 60, quoted by al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 388) and he played an important role in the reception of the *Kitāb*. Humbert (1995, 93-115) has shown that the Çorum manuscript of the *Kitāb* designated as Umumi Usul 2562-5 (completed in 647/1250) is a copy of al-Zamakhsharī's recension of the *Kitāb* (one of the later copies of this manuscript served as a basis for Derenbourg's edition under the siglum A). In this recension, al-Zamakhsharī collated several versions of the *Kitāb*, among them an Andalusī one, and added a large number of glosses from other grammarians, which are still unedited.

Among his other grammatical works (for a complete list with editions and manuscripts, see Brockelmann, I, 345-50, and *EI*[1] art. s.v. [Brockelmann]) are:

1. an excerpt from the *Mufaṣṣal* (*al-Unmūdhadj fi 'l-naḥw*; Fr. tr. of part of this treatise with commentary by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghānī al-Ardabīlī (d. 1036/1626) in de Sacy, *Anthologie grammaticale arabe*, [2]Paris 1829, repr. Osnabrück 1973, 240-80; Ar. text, 99-118);

2. a work on syntax (*K. al-Mufrad wa 'l-mu'allaf fi 'l-naḥw*);

3. a work on grammatical controversies (*al-Aḥādjī 'l-naḥwiyya*; ed. M. al-Ḥaḍarī, Ḥamā 1969);

4. a commentary on Ibn Durayd's [*q.v.*] *Maḳṣūra*;

5. a collection of 3,500 Arabic proverbs (*al-Mustaḳṣā fī amthāl al-ʿArab*; 2 vols. Ḥaydarābād 1381/1962; cf. Sellheim 1954, 145-51);

6. a commentary on al-Shanfarā's [*q.v.*] *Lāmīyyat al-ʿArab* entitled *Aʿdjab al-ʿadjab* (Damascus 1408/1987).

He also wrote a series of *maḳāmāt* containing moral exhortations to himself, on which he himself wrote a commentary.

In lexicography, al-Zamakhsharī wrote a thesaurus of the Arabic language, *Asās al-balāgha* (Cairo 1299/

1882, 1341/1922-3), and a bilingual Arabic-Persian dictionary, *Muḳaddimat al-adab* (ed. J.G. Wetzstein, Leipzig 1843-50); the manuscript of the latter work contains numerous glosses with information about Khʷārazmian, the Iranian language of al-Zamakhsharī's country of birth [see ĪRĀN. iii. Languages (c), in Suppl.]. He also compiled a list of expressions used in *ḥadīth* (*al-Fā'iḳ fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. ʿA. Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī and Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1971), and a geographical lexicon (*Kitāb al-amkina*, ed. M. Salverda de Grave, Leiden 1856).

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(C.H.M. VERSTEEGH)

For al-Zamakhsharī's contribution in the fields of theology, Ḳur'ānic exegesis, and *adab*, see Suppl.

ZAMĀN (A.), time.

1. In philosophy

Time, for those who recognised the authority of the Greeks, sc. the *falāsifa* [*q.v.*], had numerous meanings: it denoted the near millennium and a half that separated them from the "first master", and it signified that of which Aristotle (Arisṭūṭālīs [*q.v.*]) had propounded the theory in the 4th and 8th books of the *Physics*, a work which, ancient though it was, seemed to them as if written only yesterday; see *al-Ṭabīʿa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1964-65, 2 vols., tr. of the *Physics* by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn [*q.v.*], accompanied by commentaries of Abū ʿAlī b. Samḥ (d. 1207), of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. *ca.* 364/973-4), of Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]), of Abu 'l-Faradj b. al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043) and of a certain "Yaḥyā", under which name John Philoponus is currently recognised (sc. Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī [*q.v.*]); see also P. Lettinck, *Aristotle's "Physics" and his reception in the Arabic world, with an edition of the unpublished parts of Ibn Bājja's "Commentary of the Physics"*, Leiden 1994. This latter work adds to the analysis and paraphrase of the text and glosses appended to Isḥāḳ's translation, the commentaries of Ibn Rushd and Ibn Bādjdja [*q.vv.*] and gives, on the basis of the latter, the text of the ms. of Berlin, lost after the Second World War and recently rediscovered in Cracow). And time furthermore signified that "mobile image of eternity" which the demiurge of the *Timaeus* (37d), having become "Creator", had wanted to add to his work. Definitely, nothing of that with which the *falāsifa* nourished their thoughts was alien to time, to its essence, to its "cause" and to its duration, beginning with themselves and with the combination of distance and proximity which linked them to the Greeks. With the initial developments of *Physics*, iv, 10, setting forth *aporias* on the existence of time, the Arabic encyclopaedic tradition associates the definitions of it given by the *mutakallimūn*: for them, it is something imagined (*mawhūm*) and could indeed not exist (see below).

The *falāsifa*, for their part, were considerably less inclined to doubt its existence and conceived themselves to be its heirs. It was their duty to continue, to make fruitful, or at least to safeguard, that which the Greeks had bequeathed to them. The work demanded, as a condition of feasibility, a "history", a time appropriate to movements, to transfers of knowledge. In different ways, all assumed the representation of a cumulative and threatened science, of a durable culture whose fragile continuity enabled them to learn from their masters and to teach their disciples. All appealed equally for recognition of their right to be instructed by distant nations from which they were separated by history, geography, language and religion. See on this point, for al-Kindī [*q.v.*], the introduction to the *Livre sur la philosophie première*, in R. Rashed and J. Jolivet, *Œuvres philosophiques et scientifiques d'al-Kindī*, ii, *Métaphysique et cosmologie*, Leiden 1998; Arabic text and Fr. tr., 10-14, and in the *Risāla fī kammiyyāt kutub Arisṭūṭālīs* (*Rasā'il al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1950, i, 362-84) the distinction between a human science and a divine science, 372-3; for al-Fārābī, *Taḥṣīl al-saʿāda*, ed. Āl Yāsīn, in *Al-Fārābī, al-aʿmāl al-falsafiyya*, i, Beirut 1992, 181-2, Eng. tr. M. Mahdi, *Alfarabi's philosophy of Plato and Aristotle*, [2]New York 1969, 43; see also how the *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*, 2nd part, ed. M. Mahdi, Beirut 1970, gives an account of the "historical" development that has taken place since the invention of language, culminating in the perfecting of logic and philosophy, by way of the creation of religions and the caprices of their transmission. See also the account that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa attributes to al-Fārābī (*ʿUyūn al-akhbār fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. Müller, Cairo 1882, ii, 134-5, repr. Frankfurt 1995) of the transference from Alexandria to Baghdād of the teaching of philosophy (cf. the recent treatment of this subject by D. Gutas, *The "Alexandria to Baghdad" complex of narratives. A contribution to the study of philosophical and medical historiography among the Arabs*, in *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale*, x [1999], 155-93); for Abū Bakr b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], see Abu Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *K. Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, passim, fragments reproduced in P. Kraus, *Alchemie, Ketzerei, Apokryphen im frühen Islam*, Hildesheim-Zurich-New York 1994, 256 ff., text ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣāwī, Tehran 1397/1977; for Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*], see D. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian tradition*, Leiden 1988, 199-218; for Ibn Rushd, see e.g. *Faṣl al-maḳāl*, ed. G.F. Hourani, Leiden 1959, 9-11.

It is not easy to unravel in the representations of time permeating those of their works which have survived, how much derives from physics, from metaphysics and from cosmogony, from theology, ethics or political philosophy. Al-Kindī and Ibn Rushd devote to the question all or part of several of their works, the former bound to the eastern beginnings of this scholastic tradition, and the latter to his Andalusian upbringing. Several of al-Kindī's letters (see below) devote important considerations to it, while his dialectical monument, the *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, reserves for it the most vivid, in scale and extent, of its controversies. Between the two, all the *falāsifa*, from al-Fārābī to Ibn Ṭufayl [*q.v.*] by way of Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] and Ibn Bādjdja, have reflected aspects of their doctrines in a concept putting them into contact with the

mutakallimūn, since this concept engaged, among other motifs of controversy, the question of eternity (*ḳidam* [*q.v.*]) or of the creation (*ḥudūth*) of the world, but also of the Ḳurʾān, and with it, that of particular providence of causality furthermore; it was necessary for the time of the philosophers to be determined in relation to that which separated, for Islam, the creation of the world from its end and which was punctuated by the revival of prophecies, the so-called "scandal" of miracles and the rhythm of prayers (see L. Massignon, *Le temps dans la pensée islamique*, in *Opera minora*, ii, Beirut 1963, 606-12, R. Brunschvig, *Le culte et le temps dans l'Islam classique*, repr. in *Etudes d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, i, 167-77).

Encyclopaedic Arabic surveys devote to *zamān* composite and similar treatments; see e.g. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (i.e. Mullā Ṣadrā [*q.v.*]), *al-Ḥikma al-mutaʿāliya fi 'l-asfār al-ʿaḳliyya al-arbaʿa*, first *safar*, 3rd part, Tehran 1383 A.H., iii, 115-16; al-Īdjī, *al-Mawāḳif, sharḥ al-Djurdjānī wa-ākharīn*, Istanbul 1286, iii, 49-70 (*al-maḳṣad al-sābiʿ* and *al-maḳṣad al-thāmin*); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1204 [*q.v.*]), *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya*, Beirut 1990, i, 755-6 (the article by P. Kraus, *Les controverses de Fakhr al-dīn Rāzī*, repr. in his *Alchemie, Ketzerei*..., 190-218); Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ, *al-Kulliyyāt*, Beirut 1993, 486-7; special mention should be made of the originality of the *Faṣl fī māhiyyat al-zamān min aḳāwīl al-ʿulamāʾ*, in *al-Risāla al-ūlā fī bayān al-hayūlā wa 'l-ṣūra* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*], i, 13 ff., ed. al-Ziriklī, Cairo 1347/1928.

Al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, opens the article that he devotes to time with the mention of the doctrine of "some ancient philosophers" (*ḳudamāʾ al-falāsifa*). He cites by name only Plato (Aflāṭūn [*q.v.*]) and Aristotle and begins by presenting definitions of time corresponding, with the exception of the first, to those evoked by Aristotle in the doxographical survey of *Physics*, iv, 10, 218a 32-b 18 (*al-Ṭabīʿa*, 411-13): "Some declare that it is a substance separated from matter to which no body is attached, and which, by essence, does not accept that it is not (*lā yaḳbal al-ʿadam li-dhātihi*) and which is thus necessary through itself [...]. Some sages assert that it is the uppermost sphere [...]. Similarly, it is claimed that it is the movement of the uppermost sphere." The order and the sequence of the text testify to the dominance of the *Physics* since these remarks are followed immediately by the definition given by Aristotle himself: "He says: 'It is the measure of the movement of the uppermost sphere." Instead and in place of the first of the definitions mentioned (time is a substance), *Physics*, iv, 10, reveals *aporias* concerning the existence of time. In fact, al-Tahānawī kills two birds with one stone: the substantiality of time makes it possible to refer allusively to the traditions of Arab Neoplatonism (see below) and, turning the first definition into a *petitio principi*—if time existed as a substance, it could certainly not do other than exist, but... does it really exist?—to link the beginning of the Aristotelian treatise to the positions of the *mutakallimūn*: for them, time does not exist. It is valid only in the changing appreciation of discontinuous events, of "new events" (*mutadjaddidāt*) and recurrencies with no connection between them other than the entirely imaginary one where judgement gathers them together as a convenient way of dating them. Al-Tahānawī recalls the definition given it by the Ashʿarīs (see also al-Īdjī, *op. cit.*, 69 and al-Djurdjānī, *K. al-Taʿrīfāt*, s.v.): "It is a well-known new event whereby an unknown new event is measured as a means of dispelling obscurity" (*mutadjaddid maʿlūm yuḳaddaru bihi mutadjaddid mubham li-izālat ibhāmihi*); thus in "I shall come to see you at sunrise!", it is well known that sunrise will occur and the ignorance of the moment of the visit is dispelled by its imagined association with the expectation of the dawn. The unreality of time results from its wholly exterior determination (*lā yataʿayyan*), since two persons will date two events by reference to each other, interchangeably; thus it may be said "Zayd came when ʿAmr came" and "ʿAmr came when Zayd came". The definition retains only atomic facts, insular occurrences between which judgement builds imaginary bridges. It accords with that constellation, that "Milky Way of instants" in which L. Massignon recognised the Muslim vision of time and on which the theologians based their occasionalism (see for a critique of this position, J. Berque, *L'idée de temps dans le Coran*, in *Homenaje al Profesor Jacinto Bosch Vilà*, Granada 1991, i, 1155-64; the position of al-Ghazālī, as reported and discussed by Ibn Rushd in the *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 517 ff., illustrates occasionalism).

On the identity of those who saw in time a substance and did not, as Aristotle, see in it an accident, Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ gives an indication when, in compiling the *Kulliyyāt*, he mentions Plato, attributing to him the opinion that there exists, in the world of commandment (*ʿālam al-amr*), a substance which has never begun to be, which modifies itself, changes, renews itself and wears itself out in accordance with things which change and not only with truth and essence. This substance, with regard to the relationship of its essence with fixed things, is called "eternal" (*sarmadī*); it is called "perpetuity" (*dahr*) when it is anterior to things and "time" when it is concurrent with them. It is only superficially paradoxical to attribute to Plato, of whom Aristotle says (*Physics*, viii, 251b, 11; *al-Ṭabīʿa*, 810-11) that he is precisely the one never to have subscribed to it, the doctrine which holds that time, in its essence, is intemporal: the essence of time is indeed eternity, if in itself it is no more than "mobile image".

The identity mentioned by al-Tahānawī between time and the movement of the celestial sphere, or between time and the sphere itself can also claim the support of the *Timaeus*, which has the heavens and time born together with the setting in order of "that which was not in repose but moved itself without harmony and without order" (30a, tr. Robin; see de Boer, *EI*¹, art. *Zamān*: the Ancients attributed one and the other thesis, respectively, to Plato and to Pythagoras). Abū Bakr b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī avers very explicitly his Platonist allegiance: "That which Plato affirms on the subject of time is not in any way opposed to what I think" (in Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *K. Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, in P. Kraus, *Alchemie, Ketzerei*..., 269). He does not believe that he is at odds with the *Timaeus* when he affirms the existence of two quite distinct times: *al-zamān al-lābith* (*lābith* for "delay"), a number of movement of bodies, is concomitant with them, but it has, like the life of a man or the duration of a reign, a beginning and an end, i.e. it is *maḥṣūr*. It takes place in a limitless flux of "now" which, for its part, never stops, an "absolute time" which is extension and perpetuity, and has never begun: *zamān muṭlaḳ... huwa al-mudda wa 'l-dahr wa-huwa al-ḳadīm wa-huwa mutaḥarrik ghayr lābith* (*op. cit.*, 268; see for a synthetic presentation of the five principles of al-Rāzī, M. Mahdi, *Remarks on al-Rāzī's principles*, in *BEO*, xlviii [1996], 145-53).

It is in the same tradition of the *Timaeus*, but subject to monotheistic modifications and taken in terms of an entirely different inspiration, that the Neo-Platonist speculations of pseudo-Aristotle belong (see

the recent study by G. Endress, *L'Aristote arabe. Réception, autorité et transformation du Premier Maître*, in *Médioevo*, xxiii [1997], 1-42; C. D'Ancona Costa, *Recherches sur le Liber de Causis*, Paris 1995, and the art. of Maroun Aouad on the *Theology*, in R. Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, i, Paris 1989, 541-90). The *Theology* (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, in *Aflāṭūn ʿind al-ʿarab*, ²Kuwait 1977) and the *De Causis* (*K. al-Īḍāḥ fi 'l-khayr al-maḥḍ*, ed. idem in *al-Aflāṭūniyya al-muḥdatha ʿind al-ʿarab*, Kuwait 1977) develop an emanatist cosmogony which sets out the first principle as "the cause of time" (*ʿillat al-zamān*). The former of these apocrypha opens with the following declaration: the intention of the treatise is "to discuss sovereignty, to make appear that which is, what is the first cause, and show that perpetuity and time are subordinate to it..." (ed. Badawī, 6). The fifth *mīmar*, devoted to creation (*ibdāʿ*) denies to the "Creator" any form of temporality: whether they are temporal or not, things are accomplished in Him, complete and perpetual. It is only when they are expressed outside Him that those among them which are temporal "are extended" and "unfold" (*imtaddat wa-nbasaṭat*), that they admit the before and the after and become, to one another, causes of generation (*ibid.*, 67). In his commentary on the treatise, Ibn Sīnā distinguishes between the "domains" which keep the first principle away from generation and corruption: "The superior world is in the domain (*ḥayyiz*) of eternity (*sarmad*) and of perpetuity (*dahr*); it is a fixed world. It is not an innovating (*mutadjaddid*) world like that in which deliberation and remembrance supervene (*al-fikr wa 'l-dhikr*). The world of innovation (*ʿalam al-tadjaddud*) is the world of movement and of time" (*Arisṭū ʿind al-ʿarab*, ed. Badawī, Cairo 1947, 46; see also *al-Khayr al-maḥḍ*, 4-5; the first cause is "superior to perpetuity and is anterior to it" (*aʿlā min al-dahr wa-ḳablahu*), the Intellect is with perpetuity and the Soul is in the inferior domain of perpetuity and above time).

The heritage of the *Timaeus* placed in the first rank of philosophical preoccupations the question of eternity or of the creation of the world and of time. The work supported both interpretations, since according to Plotin, Proclus [see BURUḲLUS] and John Philoponus could equally lay claim to it. According to the former, if Plato is entitled to describe the world as a "benevolent god" (*Timaeus*, 34b, 8-9) it is because all reality, sensible or intelligible, emanates eternally from its author: it is a part of him. As for the demiurge, he is himself only an emanated hypostasis; for Philoponus, on the other hand, the demiurge becomes the God, henceforward the sole God, Who one day took the free decision to create the world (see K. Verrycken, *Philoponus' interpretation of Plato's cosmogony*, in *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale*, viii [1997], 269-318). From Proclus, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ had translated the proofs favouring the eternity of the world (see G. Endress, *Proclus Arabus. Zwanzig Abschnitte aus der Institutio Theologica in arabischer Übersetzung*, Beirut 1973); the *De Aeternitate Mundi contra Proclum* by Philoponus was also translated into Arabic but only a few fragments of this translation have been preserved. The hazards of the transmission of the Greek heritage to the Arabs gave rise to bizarre attributions: Proclus finds himself credited with propositions deriving from Philoponus, which is also the case for Alexander of Aphrodisias (see R. Goulet and M. Aouad, art. *Alexandros d'Aphrodisias*, in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, 125-39 and Aḥmad Ḥasnāwī, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise vs. Jean Philopon. Notes sur quelques traités d'Alexandre "perdus" en grec, conservés en arabe*, in *Arabic Science and Philosophy*, iv/1 [1994], 53-109). Alexander himself is reputed to be the author of texts that are in fact based on the *Elements of Theology* of Proclus (see F. Zimmerman, *Proclus Arabus rides again*, in *ibid.*, 9-51).

Against Philoponus, Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī aimed a riposte: *al-Radd ʿalā Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī* (ed. M. Mahdi, *The Arabic text of Alfarabi's work against John the Grammarian*, in *Medieval and Middle Eastern studies in honor of Aziz S. Atiyya*, Leiden 1972, 264-84, analysis and Eng. tr. by Mahdi, *Alfarabi against Philoponus*, in *JNES*, xxvi [1967], 233-60). Following Muhsin Mahdi (*ibid.*, 236), it is possible to identify succinctly two camps in this dialectical morass of arguments and attributions. On the side of Philoponus, to varying degrees, were: al-Kindī, Abū Bakr b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, the school of Christian philosophers of Baghdād in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, al-Ghazālī and Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī; confronting them in the opposing camp were al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bādjdja and Ibn Rushd. Shlomo Pinès has expressed some reservations regarding this division (*An Arabic summary of a lost work of John Philoponus*, in *IOS*, ii [1972], 320-52, repr. in *The collected works of Shlomo Pinès*, ii, Jerusalem-Leiden 1986, 294-326, 312-13 n. 266). Certainly, real affinities exist between the arguments of al-Ghazālī (*Tahāfut al-falāsifa*) and those of Philoponus, but al-Bayhaḳī is perhaps exaggerating when he suggests that "the majority of points evoked by al-Ghazālī (...) are a re-affirmation of the arguments of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī" (*Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. Shāfīʿ, Lahore 1953, 24, cited in Pinès, *ibid.*, 339). In any case, the belief of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī in a creation of the world and his critique of Aristotle are surely inspired by the religious motifs which al-Kindī and al-Ghazālī direct towards comparable themes.

Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], called *Awḥad al-Zamān*, himself occupies a singular place. His *K. al-Muʿtabar fi 'l-ḥikma*, Ḥaydarābād 1356, reviews in two instances, in pages marked by the seal of his throwing off all authority, the question of time (2nd part, 69-70 and 3rd part, 35-6). Instructive in this regard is the critique that he delivers of the distinctions between *sarmad, dahr* and *zamān* which Avicenna, glossing Plotinian texts, insists should insulate the All-Powerful from change. "We have explained that the being in every being (*wudjūd kulli mawdjūd*) is in an extension (*mudda*) which is time; that it is impossible for a being that is not in time to be represented. Those who, seeking to rescue the being of their Creator from time, affirm that He is in 'perpetuity' and in 'eternity' (*al-dahr wa 'l-sarmad*), even that His very being is perpetuity and eternity, may indeed have changed the names of time, but not its meaning" (*op. cit.*, 3rd part, 41). Abu 'l-Barakāt has recourse to the first certitude: the soul seizes time at the same time that it seizes itself and seizes being, before any other thing. It is a primary notion co-extensive with being: "It would be much better to say that it is the measure of being (*miḳdār al-wudjūd*) than declare that it is the measure of movement" (*ibid.*, 39). It follows that the Creator is, just as we are, in time.

Finally, if Ibn Ṭufayl is absent from this roll-call of the opposing camps, it is no doubt because Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān [*q.v.*], the protagonist of his narration, expounds both theses as a spectator but declines to take sides. The author furthermore professes externally equal allegiance to al-Ghazālī and to Ibn Sīnā (*Hayy ben Yaqdhân, roman philosophique d'Ibn Thofaïl*, Arabic text and Fr. tr. L. Gauthier, ²Beirut 1936, 61-5 of the tr., 80-6 of the text) and, according to the deductions of Ḥayy, the two positions lead to the same

consequences. Al-Tahānawī speaks as the echo of equivalence: "Know, according to what we have mentioned, that it is the same whether we say 'the world has been created by a temporal creation' (*hādith bi 'l-hudūth al-zamānī*) as is the opinion of the *mutakallimūn*, or by an 'essential creation' (*bi 'l-hudūth al-dhātī*), as is the opinion of the sages."

Al-Kindī often returns to the question of time (see *Oeuvres philosophiques et scientifiques d'al-Kindī*, ch. 2, *Philosophie première*, 26-38; on *L'unicité de Dieu et la finitude du corps du monde*, 135-47; on *La quiddité de ce qui ne peut être infini et que l'on appelle infini*, 149-55; *Pour expliquer la finitude du corps du monde*, 157-65, texts to which should be added the *Sermo de tempore* from the *Liber de quinque essentiis* [Latin text and Arabic tr. by Abū Rīda], in the second volume of this same scholar's edition of the *Rasā'il al-Kindī*, Cairo 1953, 33-5). For the sake of simplicity, his position reverts to the extension to time of the Aristotelian considerations of the *Physics*, iii, 5, 204a, 8-206a, 9, on the finitude of place. Furthermore, the Arabic translation of this last text is matched by a commentary of Philiponus which purports to prove by a mathematical argument the impossibility of an infinite in action and, in particular, that of an infinite time. For Philiponus as for al-Kindī, time must have a beginning and an end (see P. Lettinck, *Aristotle's "Physics"*. . ., 235-6). Doubtless the arguments of Philiponus would have inspired al-Kindī, who developed some very similar concepts. This heritage takes in his thinking the form of a definition of time which favours the transference to it of the finitude of the body; time is an interval, an extension, an extent measured by movement, *mudda ta'udduhā al-haraka, ghayr thābitat al-adjzā'* (*Risāla fī hudūd al-ashyā'*, ed. Abū Rīda, *Rasā'il*. . ., i, 167). The letter of the definition is not Aristotelian, but its spirit is not so far removed from that continuous quantity which, according to Aristotle, renders time interchangeable with movement in terms of measure (*Physics*, iv, 220b, 14-32). There appears, in any case, a genuine ambiguity in the writings of Aristotle, in the definition of the "now" (is it a simple mathematical limit or *plenum*, totality? See on this subject, V. Goldschmidt, *Temps physique et temps tragique chez Aristote*, Paris 1982, 147-8). This alternative definition is also to be found in a letter attributed to Alexander (*Makāla li-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī fī 'l-zamān*, ed. Badawī, in *Commentaires sur Aristote perdus en grec et autres épîtres*, Beirut 1971, 19-24; see in this regard the article by Aouad in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, 135). Its stated object is to disclose "the opinion of Aristotle on the nature of time and the demonstration of its quiddity, of its essence [. . .], without contradicting it in any respect. It is the number of the movement of the uppermost sphere [. . .], according to another definition, it is an extension numbered by movement".

When al-Kindī specifies the sense that he gives to *mudda*, sc. "extension is that in which there is existence (*mā huwa fīhi huwiyya*), meaning that in which a being is what it is" (*Philosophie première*, tr. Jolivet, 34-5), he transfers to time the limit of space: "The existence of the body of the universe is necessarily finite; it is thus impossible that the body of the universe be eternal" (*ibid.*). For al-Kindī, the world began and it will have an ending (see J. Jolivet, *Al-Kindī, vues sur le temps*, in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, iii [1993], 55-75: "We have shown that body, movement and time did not precede one another in existence; therefore neither body nor movement nor time is eternal, but there is an eternal essence at the beginning of existence" (*Philosophie première*, tr. Jolivet, art. cit., 66).

The position evidently contradicts the Aristotelian deduction of an infinite time and of an eternal movement (see *Physics*, iii, 203b, 13-7; viii, 1, 250b, 11-252b, 7, see respectively *al-Tabī'a*, 212-4 and 801-2; Lettinck, *op. cit.*, 217-18 and 563-4, and the arguments of Yahyā and of Abu 'l-Faradj). What may be retained from this "demonstration" is the formulation attributed to Alexander in the letter cited above: "The demonstrative proof (*burhān*) that time has neither generation nor beginning nor end is that generation supervenes only in time. We do not say 'he was', 'he shall be', 'he is', 'he was not' except in terms of time, and the same applies when we say 'before', 'after', 'when', etc. If somebody declares: 'previously, this time was not, but it is now' or 'it is now but afterwards it will not be', it follows necessarily that there is a time before time, and a time after the end of time. If the 'before' and the 'after', the 'was' and the 'will not be' did not require time, then the hour, the day and the month would not require it either. In itself, time is one. It does not multiply itself except according to our imagination. In itself it is one, permanent (*dā'im*), continuous (*muttasil*), in a single state (*'alā hāl wāhida*)" (*op. cit.*, 24; cf. the *Makāla* attributed to Alexander, *fī mabādi' al-kull bi-hasab ra'y Aristūtālīs al-faylasūf*, in Badawī, *Aristū* . . ., 264, l. 8: time is exempt from generation and corruption; on this treatise, cf. Aouad's art. in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* . . ., 135-6). The rest may be presented as the dialectical avatars of this simple argument in favour of the infinitude of time. Reduced to itself and invariably taken up by the encyclopaedias (e.g. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mabāhith*, i, 772-3), it amounts to this paradox: saying that time has an origin or an end amounts to denying that it has an end or an origin.

In the judgement of al-Fārābī, it could be in order to avoid the fate of Socrates (*hattā lā yanālahu* [. . .] *mā nāla Sukrāt*) and to reassure his co-religionists as to his orthodoxy that Philoponus undertook to contradict Aristotle on this point (*al-Radd 'alā Yahyā al-Nahwī, "The Arabic text"*, 277, Eng. tr. in *Alfarabi against Philoponus*, 256-7). But in doing this, he would have chosen to take inspiration from opinions institutionalised in religions, however remote they might be from the nature of things. To obtain a similar outcome without sacrificing the *Physics* of Aristotle, could have been the objective pursued by al-Fārābī himself in the treatment of time in his treatise on *L'harmonie entre les opinions de Platon et d'Aristote* (Arabic text and Fr. tr. Fawzi Mitri Nadjdjar and D. Mallet, Damascus 1999, 128-9; of al-Fārābī's commentary on the *Physics*, only the extracts quoted by Ibn Bādjdja and Ibn Rushd have been preserved): "Time results from the movement of the sphere and it is thus impossible that the creation of the latter should have a beginning in time. It thus becomes certain that [the sphere] results from a creation *ex nihilo* on the part of the Creator on a single occasion without duration in time and that, from its movement, time results." Al-Fārābī would thus preserve the Aristotelian analyses, sc. that, taken as a whole, the world has neither beginning nor end, and render them reconcilable with a Creator-God Who would be, of the world and of time, simultaneously the final and efficient cause (Mahdi, *Alfarabi against Philoponus*, 236; Pines, *An Arabic summary*, *loc. cit.*). Whatever reservations the Neo-Platonist texts of al-Fārābī may have inspired in him (see e.g. *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, 179), Ibn Rushd rallies to this position in the *Fasl al-makāl* (ed. Hourani, 19-20; see also *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, 124, Eng. tr. S. Van Den Bergh, *Averroes' Tahafut al-Tahafut*, London 1954, i, 73) when he accepts

that there exist three classes of beings. The first comprises that which is apprehended by the senses, brought into being by an efficient cause and preceded by time; the second comprises that which is apprehended by demonstration, which derives from nothing and which time does not precede (God); the third comprises the world taken as a whole (*al-ʿālam bi-asrihi*) which no time precedes but which derives from an efficient cause. It does no violence to the text to draw the conclusion that, according to Ibn Rushd, there is strictly speaking no connection between the "creation" of the world which philosophy conceives and the "creation" which the theologians, among whom Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī stands out, imagine on the basis of a *ḳiyās al-ghāʾib ʿalā ʾl-shāhid*. The reproach addressed to the former, of not giving credence to the erroneous results of their own analogies with generation, turns to the advantage of philosophy. It is in the same fashion that Ibn Rushd repels another of the three principal indictments issued by al-Ghazālī, that of not believing in the divine science of the particulars. As with the preceding question, here time is clearly the nexus of the dispute. Al-Tahānawī alludes to it by saying, if Abu ʾl-Barakāt is wrong and "if the Creator, the Most High, is not in time, there will not be in relation to Him past nor present nor future and therefore from His awareness of things which change there will ensue no change in His awareness".

Ibn Rushd reviews the question. It forms the subject of the *Ḍamīma*, of several lines of the *Faṣl al-maḳāl* (ed. Hourani, 18) and of the thirteenth dispute of the *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* (see on this subject Mahdi, *Averroes on divine law and human wisdom*, in *Ancients and Moderns. Essays on the tradition of political philosophy in honor of Strauss*, ed. J. Cropsey, New York-London 1964, 114-31). The solution of Ibn Rushd is in form very similar to that posited for the preceding question: in terms of knowledge man and God are solely homonyms (*ism al-ʿilm al-maḳūl ʿalayhimā bi-ishtirāk al-ism*). "To know" is said of one and of the other as *ṣārim* is said of the dawn and of the black night, and *djalāl* of a trifle and of enormity (*Faṣl, loc. cit.*). In God, knowledge (as with the other "attributes") added to Himself makes only one. His intellect is His essence; a pure act, it derives its intelligence from knowledge which is inclusive, since it causes all things which are. The *Tahāfut* concludes this point with several lines borrowed from a mystical feeling, the codification of which is associated, perhaps, in the spirit of their author, with the evocation of his senior Ibn Ṭufayl: "Such is clearly what is meant by the opinion of the Ancients when they affirm that God is Himself all the beings, with which He provides us in His munificence (*al-munʿim bihā*) and of which He is the author (*al-fāʿil*). This is why the mystical masters (*ruʾasāʾ al-ṣūfiyya*) say: 'He is that which He is' (*lā huwa illā huwa*). But only those who are rooted in knowledge know this. It does not need to be written, nor should all be required to make of it an article of faith. This is surely why the Law does not teach it. He who reveals it to those who should be ignorant of it commits a fault, as does he who hides it from those who should know it" (*Tahafut al-tahafut*, 463).

Bibliography: To the references cited in the article may be added Ḥusām al-Alūsī, *al-Zamān fi ʾl-fikr al-dīnī wa ʾl-falsafi ʾl-ḳadīm*, Beirut 1980, 55-66, which provides a useful synthesis, and H.A. Davidson, *Proofs for eternity and the existence of God in medieval Islamic and Jewish philosophy*, New York-Oxford 1987. See also ABAD; DAHRIYYA; ḤARAKA; KHALḲ; ḲIDAM.

(D. MALLET)

2. In the sense of timekeeping. See the entry Time in the *Index of subjects*.

ZAMĪNDĀR (P., lit. "land-holder"), a term used in Muslim India for landowners, possessors of estates.

It seems to be a term of exclusively Indian origin; it does not appear in pre-modern lexicons compiled in Persia, while, on the other hand, it occurs in fairly early Persian texts and in lexicons compiled in India. It is defined in an 8th/14th-century dictionary, the *Farhang-i Ḳawwās* as "controller of a territory". The historians Ḍiyāʾ Baranī (d. 758/1357 [*q.v.*]) and Shams Sirādj ʿAfīf (d. *ca.* 802/1400 [see SHAMS AL-DĪN. I. SIRĀDJ ʿAFĪF]) employ it generally for Hindu chiefs outside, as well as within, the limits of the Dihlī Sultanate. But by the second half of the 8th/14th century, the sense was extended to cover all holders of superior rights over land: in 754/1353, in a royal proclamation, village headmen (*muḳaddams*), land holders appointed by the administration (*mafrūḍiyān*) and landowners (*mālikān*), are all put under the general designation of *zamīndārs*. Yet until the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar (*r.* 964-1013/1556-1605 [*q.v.*]), the term does not seem to have obtained wide currency. It does not, for example, appear in Bābur's *Memoirs*.

The term seems to spring into wider use in texts written after 988/1580. The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, the great official manual and statistical record compiled by Abu ʾl-Faḍl ʿAllāmī (in 1003/1595 [*q.v.*]), adopted it (together with what was deemed to be its synonym, a freshly-coined term, *būmī*) as a blanket term for all rural superior holders of rights over land, in whatever varied ways the right might have originated, whether by its holder being the descendant of earlier chieftains, or having risen to local eminence through subordinating peasants to himself, or obtaining the land or any kind of right over it by purchase. Generally, however, the *zamīndār* was not part of the state apparatus, and his rights or jurisdiction did not derive from the Emperor's own nomination. But from Awrangzīb's reign (1068-1119/1659-1707), grants or even temporary assignments of *zamīndārī* rights begin to appear.

Moreland's assumption that the term was exclusively used for chieftains and that *zamīndārs* were not present in directly-administered areas of the Mughal empire, no longer holds when considered in the light of the tabulation of *zamīndār* castes in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* and the extensive documentation from the 11th/17th century that is now available.

The universalisation of the term *zamīndār* in Mughal administrative use was brought about by its replacing various local terms for corresponding agrarian rights, such as *satārahī* and *biswī/bīsī* in Awadh, *bhaum* in Radjasthān, *bānth/vanth* in Gudjarāt and *vartana* in Mahārāshṭrā (whence the *waṭan* of 12th/18th-century Mahārāshṭrā). The actual features of the right became subject to some general imperial regulations. It was held to be a proprietary right (*ḥaḳḳ-i milkiyyat*) and as such could be freely sold and purchased (except in case of chieftaincies), and was inheritable according to Hindu and Muslim laws. Women could also accordingly be *zamīndārs*. It entitled the holder to certain customary claims over the peasant's land (a particular charge or fee on harvest) together with levies on jungle and water produce. He was also paid an allowance (*nānkār*) out of the land-revenue (*māl/kharādj*), it being expected that he would collect the land revenue due from peasants within his jurisdiction. Should he fail to do so, he could be removed from a role in tax-collection, but then an allowance known as *mālikāna*

("proprietor's allowance" [see MĀLIKĀNE]) was still held to be due to him; this amounted generally to a tenth of the land revenue, except for Gudjarāt, where it amounted to a quarter.

There is some evidence that the *zamīndār* was entitled to allot uncultivated land to peasants and the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammed Aʿlā (early 12th/18th century) would even allow him the right to evict peasants, though in conditions of land abundance the right was not of much consequence.

The *zamīndārs*' territories were paralleled by those known as *raʿiyyatī* or purely peasant-held, which theoretically had no *zamīndārs*. Such villages might by sale or even by imposition of *zamīndārs* by the state, get converted into *zamīndārī* villages; conversely, *zamīndārī* villages might become *raʿiyyatī* by the decline or dispersal of the original *zamīndārs*.

The *zamīndārs* were of use to Mughal administration primarily as revenue-payers and revenue-gatherers. *Zamīndārs* who paid revenue not only on their own jurisdictions but also on those of other *zamīndārs*, began to be called *taʿallukdārs*, from the late 11th/17th century onwards. Inevitably, in many cases, the *zamīndārs* came to be treated almost on a par with other revenue officials, as in Awrangzīb's *farmān* to Rasikdās (1075/1666).

An essential attribute of *zamīndārī* was the maintenance of armed retainers by the *zamīndār*, a right fully recognised by the Mughal administration, as is evident from the testimony of the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, which gives the number of *zamīndārs*' retainers in the entire empire as exceeding 4.4 million and then goes on to give a detailed break-down of these figures by localities. These retainers were mainly foot soldiers (4,277,000) but also included 385,000 cavalry; *zamīndārs* in some localities are also shown as possessing elephants, guns and boats. The larger *zamīndārs* could also maintain their castles (*ḳilaʿčas* and *gaṛhīs*). The maintenance of an armed force was an essential means for enforcing their rights; and however much the Mughal authorities felt irritated by this presumption and possible potential for sedition, they themselves often needed the *zamīndārs*' assistance to collect the revenue.

The British in the beginning tended to treat the *zamīndārs* in the same manner as their Mughal predecessors. But the East India Company's drive for maximum revenue led to a financial crisis in Bengal, for which the system of Permanent Settlement was proposed as a solution. Proclaimed in 1203/1789 and confirmed in 1206/1792, this decreed the *zamīndārs* to be proprietors of the land but fixed a perpetual tax on them, which was theoretically set at $^{10}/_{11}$ of the rental, thus leaving only one-eleventh for the *zamīndārs*. It took time for *zamīndārs* to grow into landowners, helped partly by a slow expansion of cultivation and the 13th/19th-century inflation. A modified, short-term (and harsh) settlement was made with *zamīndārs* in upper Gangetic areas (1237/1822) and a very liberal one with the Pandjāb *zamīndārs* later in the century. On the other hand, settlements in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies (1230s/1820s) were termed "ryotwari" (*raʿiyyatwārī*), the revenue being fixed on the fields, and theoretically (though not so much in practice) excluding the *zamīndārs*. Here, too, commercialisation often led to the growth of landlordism which, in popular eyes, was seen to be a new form of *zamīndārī*.

In independent India, agrarian reform has especially been directed against the growth of landlordism; and the U.P. Zamindari Abolition Act of 1951 was the first important measure in this direction, followed by other laws of various degrees of radicalism in other states of the Indian Union.

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(SHIREEN MOOSVI)

ZAMĪNDĀWAR, the name found in pre-modern usage for a region of what is now eastern Afghānistān, also appearing in mediaeval Arabic usage as its Arabic equivalent Bilād al-Dāwar. The region straddled the courses of the upper Helmand river and the Arghandāb to the north of their confluence at Bust, hence it was bounded on the north by Zābulistān and al-Rukhkhadj [*q.vv.*] on the south and southeast, but the boundaries of all these regions were indeterminate, and Zamīndāwar, in particular, seems often to have been confused in the sources with that of Zābulistān.

The early Arabic geographers and historians mention it, usually as Bilād al-Dāwar, in connection with Arab raids from Sīstān and Bust into the region [see the references for these given in AL-RUKHKHADJ and ZĀBULISTĀN]. When the Arabs raided from Sīstān and Bust towards the end of the 7th century, Bilād al-Dāwar is mentioned as having its own *marzbān* (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 394). The celebrated shrine of the local deity Zūn or Zhūn [*q.v.*], cult centre of the local rulers, the Zunbīls, was located in Zamīndāwar. J. Marquart and J.J.M. de Groot, *Das Reich Zābul and der Gott Zūn, vom 6.-9. Jahrhundert*, in G. Weil (ed.), *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 280-1, 287, saw the title Zunbīl as a theophoric one going back to an MP original, **Zūn-dātbar* "Zūn the justice-giver" or **Zūn-dādh* "given by Zūn"; in the first case, the geographical name Zamīndāwar would also reflect this, from **Zamīn-i Dātbar* "land of the justice-giver".

In the 4th/10th century the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 111, comm. 345, mentions as amongst its towns Till or Dartall and Darghash, situated on the right bank of the Helmand, which were frontier posts (*thughūr* [*q.v.*]) against the pagan region of Ghūr [*q.v.*]; other towns mentioned by the geographers include Baghnīn and Sarwar. The Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī states that peacocks were bred in Zamīndāwar; that Maḥmūd of Ghazna regarded it as blessed because it was the first place his father Sebüktigin gave him to govern; and that on two or three occasions Maḥmūd used it as the base for attempts to raid into Ghūr (*Tārīkh-ī Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 111, 113, 120). The name of the province continued in use long after the Ghaznawid period.

Djūzdjānī mentions it several times. Bābur campaigned there in *ca.* 928/1522 against the Arghuns (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1922, 27, 337-9; cf. also Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. Elias and Ross, London 1895, 202); but in recent times the name seems to have dropped out of use.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 37 and index s.v. Dāwar; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 339, 345-6. (C.E. Bosworth)

ZAMM, a town on the left bank of the Oxus river [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ] in mediaeval Islamic Central Asia.

It lay some 190 km/120 miles upstream from Āmul-i Shaṭṭ [see ĀMUL. 2.] in the direction of Tirmidh [*q.v.*], hence this Āmul was sometimes called "the Āmul of Zamm", from Zamm's being the next crossing-place along the river (see e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 410). Zamm was significant as a crossing-place connecting Khurāsān with Mā warā' al-nahr [*q.vv.*]. It figures in historical accounts of the early Arab invasions of Transoxania as an entry-point for armies aiming at Paykand, Bukhārā, etc. (e.g. *ibid.*, 420; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1145-6, 1186, 1189, 1198, 1548, 1584-5). In the account of al-Ḥadjdjādj's operations against the rebel Ibn al-Ash'ath [*q.v.*] there is mentioned in Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's forces the *ṣāḥib* of Zamm, Ghazwān b. Iskāf, who had converted to Islam at al-Muhallab's hand (*ibid.*, ii, 1078). The 4th/10th century geographers often group Zamm administratively with Akhsīsak on the opposite bank of the river and say that it was the same size as Āmul; according to al-Muḳaddasī, Zamm was a considerable town with a covered market and a congregational mosque. Al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vi, 321-2, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 151, mention various *'ulamā'* from the town.

Ancient Zamm is marked by the modern town of Kerki (lat. 37° 53' N., long. 65° 10' E.), now within the Turkmenistan Republic.

Bibliography: See also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 403-4; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 80-1; idem, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 19. (C.E. Bosworth)

ZAMZAM (A.), the sacred well located at the perimeter of the sacred complex of Mecca. It is situated to the east of the Ka'ba [*q.v.*] alongside the wall where the "Black Stone", *al-ḥadjar al-aswad*, is enshrined, a little further from the centre than the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* [*q.v.*], the "station of Abraham". The well is currently a subterranean arrangement, also opening towards the east. The sacred water is distributed through taps (on earlier architectural features since the beginning of the 'Abbāsid era, see M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Pèlerinage*, 77-80, where is found information concerning the *ḳubba* [*q.v.*], the basin for ablutions and the circular basin around the curb-stone of the well where water for drinking was collected in buckets and lifted with the aid of a system of pulleys, to be subsequently transferred to pitchers or earthenware casks).

The noun *zamzam* is of onomatopoeic type. It is apparently to be associated with the qualificatives *zamzam* or *zumāzim* which denote, according to mediaeval Arabic dictionaries, an "abundant supply of water", *mā' zumāzim = kathīr* or, reverting to a regular sense of *mā'* in ancient contexts, a "water-point" regarded as "never drying up".

In the Islamic textual sources of the 'Abbāsid period, the Meccan well is integrated into a mythic discourse on the past which goes far beyond what seems to be authorised by the Ḳur'ānic text, which does not refer directly to the well. This mythic discourse can no longer be regarded as relating historical facts. A brief list of the numerous versions of accounts relating to the sacred well is to be found in Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, which reviews earlier data (s.v. *Zamzam*). The modern survey which, in the most thorough fashion, provides traditional information as well as references from the classical era to the administration of the well and the rituals associated with it, is that of M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes in *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 71-101; for the caliphal period, he relies especially on accounts relayed by Abu 'l-Walīd al-Azraḳī (d. 249/858) in his *Akhbār Makka*, ii, 39-61; he also quotes important visual evidence which the Andalusian pilgrim of the second half of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Djubayr, conveys in his *Riḥla* on the administration of the well and the veneration with which it was treated, a text expertly annotated by Demombynes in *Ibn Jobair. Voyages*, Paris 1949, introd. 15, tr. 103-4, 154, 162-6.

Explanations given in these mythic accounts are mostly constructed according to the sense—also of onomatopoeic type—which associates the qualificatives *zamzam* and *zumāzim* with a dull sound. This sound can apply equally well to a distant roll of thunder presaging rain, or to any guttural sound with closed mouth emitted by an animal (camel or horse, etc.) or by a man. In the last-mentioned case, it refers to a murmuring perceived as unintelligible and therefore ultimately as the vehicle for sacrality and for mystery. The abundant water of the water source could also be associated with this basic notion of sound.

The mediaeval Arabic sources generally attribute the murmuring of the *zamzama* to the sayings or to the prayer of the Zoroastrians [see AL-MADJŪS; ZAMZAMA]. Their association with the well of Zamzam is described in the following fashion: they made regular pilgrimages to Mecca on account of "their kinship with Abraham" (*sic*), and are said to have prayed, according to their own custom, over the sacred well. This account is relayed by the polygraph al-Mas'ūdī (whom Yāḳūt quotes by name; a passage effectively attested in the *Murūdj*, in the chapter *dhikr ansāb fāris*). In another version relayed by Yāḳūt (who is content to pass on successive explanations without expressing a preference for any of them), it is the angel Gabriel, Djibrīl, himself who is said to have murmured thus over the well, bearing in mind the fact that, in the sacred but non-Ḳur'ānic accounts relating the legend of Hagar and her son Ismā'īl, brought by Abraham to Mecca, it is the angel who makes an inexhaustible supply of water spring up for the woman and the child who are on the verge of dying of thirst (Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, i, *dhikr ḥafr zamzam*). Another account that is definitely later is even further from any context of origin. It is relayed by al-'Aynī, the annotator of al-Bukhārī (quoted by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 73) in his *'Umdat al-ḳārī'*. This account, which does not feature in the work of Yāḳūt, loses all etymological association with the word. According to al-'Aynī, the noun *zamzam* is to be understood as deriving from *zamāzima*, the precious "bridles" that the eponymous ancestor of the Sāsānids is supposed to have donated to the well.

However, it is apparent that not all of these accounts are of the same period or of the same provenance or purpose. An attempt to establish a chronology would be a worthwhile project. Thus the accounts relayed by Ibn Hishām and, in part, those of al-

Azraḳī, seem to belong to a more ancient stratum than those of al-Masʿūdī. The account of the pilgrimage of the Zoroastrians is not mentioned before the latter. On the other hand, there is very early reference to the story of Hagar and the discovery of the source of water (which was to be embellished and amplified in the later versions such as that of Yāḳūt) as well as the rediscovery of the source, accompanied by miraculous signs, attributed to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of Muḥammad. In the latter case, it is a typical revival story. This is taken to justify the function of giving water to pilgrims, *siḳāya*, which was to remain in the lineage of al-ʿAbbās, one of the sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, uncle of Muḥammad and ancestors of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty (on the *siḳāya* and the composition of the beverage known as *s̲h̲arāb, nabīd̲h̲* or *sawīḳ*, prepared by macerating raisins and subsequently dates—ingredients which could be pressed by hand, yielding a fermented liquor which was rapidly transformed by the heat into vinegar—doubtless to improve the taste of the water, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Pèlerinage*, 90-4).

Before its revival by the family of Muḥammad, the water source which had sprung up "in the time of Hagar" was dried up by God on account of the misconduct of the D̲j̲urhum [*q.v.*]. This tribe, supposedly of Yemeni origin, is associated with Ismāʿīl, who is said to have married into the tribe once he had settled in Meccan territory. Various accounts tell of this alliance, which is said to have been blessed by Abraham himself in the course of his visits to Mecca with the intention of finding his son.

The grandfather of Muḥammad is supposed to have found in the well that he had just rediscovered offerings consisting primarily of gazelles cast in gold and precious swords. Al-Masʿūdī sees this as proof of the coming of "Persians" to Mecca since, according to him, the local tribes would have been incapable of contributing such luxuries (*Murūd̲j̲*, ed. Pellat, Paris 1962, i, 215, 216; tr. and commentary on numerous accounts relating to Zamzam and to this episode, J. Chabbi, *Le Seigneur des tribus*, Paris 1997, 163-9, and 34-5 on Ḳurʾān, XIV, 35, 37). The last representative of the "Magians" is said to have been Sāsān, ancestor of the dynasty of the same name. The Sāsānids (destined to be vanquished by the Muslims) would subsequently turn away from this cult. According to this vision, which could be described as opportunist, converted Iranians are said thus to have rediscovered, through Islam, the lost religion of their forebears, making a form of return to sources. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, ²Berlin 1897, reckoned that, if offerings were brought to the Meccan site (without commenting on their nature, since the precious objects evoked is more than problematical), they would have been destined for the dry well located in the sacred enclosure of the Kaʿba rather than for the well of Zamzam with its plentiful water, even if it is the latter which seems to monopolise the accounts. The former, adjacent to the functioning well and situated in a place infused with sacrality, could have played the role of a simulacrum in a ritual of donation.

However, it does not appear that any of these accounts is associated with a Ḳurʾānic theme. On the contrary, in the vulgate, Abraham leads his family to Mecca for their safety (XIV, 35, 37). All of these narratives seem to derive from the exegetical imagination emanating from various milieux of the early ʿAbbāsid period. The models then constructed were clearly directed towards the quest for foundation stories, intended to establish a new Muslim identity which would become common to populations of different origin and traditions. The Persianisation of the account, as presented by al-Masʿūdī, is utterly foreign to the Ḳurʾān. It therefore appears, in this respect, particularly significant.

Even if these sacral accounts attributing a supernatural origin to the discovery of the water are left aside, it appears that the presence, and probably the consecration, of the well must have been considerably anterior to the Muslim period. In the absence of archaeological elements which have long been inaccessible, a hypothesis of historical topography should be proposed. It could be thought that the presence of this probably perennial water (Wellhausen describes it as a *Quelle*, a spring which is said to have been the only Meccan water, *Reste*, 76, n. 2; Gaudefroy-Demombynes relays the information given by mediaeval Arab geographers, according to which the well was allegedly supplied by three springs, *Pèlerinage*, 81; given the orientation of these springs, "towards the Black Stone", for example, it might be thought that myth is already beginning to dictate the narrative), in a place which is the confluence of numerous dry valleys in the lowest part (vulnerable to occasional flooding by pluvial streams; dates of devastating floods of the Muslim era are supplied by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, 39-41) of the Meccan site, called *al-Baṭḥāʾ*, the "hollow" or *baṭn Makka* "the belly of Mecca" (in the sense of cavity or basin for the retention of water).

It is on the basis of this singularity of terrain that the installation came about of the betylic complex which probably constituted the original perimeter of the Kaʿba and its adjacent sacred stones (al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa). This sacred complex would have taken precedence over the water-point, relegating it to second place in ritual and in representation.

Wellhausen had already proposed the hypothesis of the origin of the site on the basis of the water-point in his *Reste*, 76-7. The complex would then have pursued what was most likely to be a local development (there is no case, in fact, for adhering to the notion, all too evocative of an Islamic ideal, of the sacred Meccan site radiating its influence over the whole of Arabia), culminating in the "visit", *ʿumra*, to the sacred places of the city. The *ʿumra* [*q.v.*], often known as "Lesser Pilgrimage", probably attracted other citizens of western Arabia, Yat̲h̲ribīs and people of the neighbouring city of al-Ṭāʾif, but certainly not the prosperous Bedouin herdsmen of Nad̲j̲d. The Meccan visitation was apparently characterised by circumambulations (*ṭawāf* [*q.v.*]), still practised today, but also by sacrifices on various sacred rocks. That of al-Marwa is said to have been named, significantly, the "feeder of vultures", *muṭʿim al-ṭayr*. Such sacrifices are well attested before Islam (Wellhausen, *Reste*, 78) and even in ancient Muslim tradition (Chabbi, *Seigneur*, 322-4, 327-9). But this *intra-muros* sacrifice was subsequently to disappear, as did all the other Meccan sacrifices, to the benefit of the exterior site of Minā. The specifically Meccan pilgrimage of the *ʿumra* was thus to be distinguished from the unified pilgrimage with departure from the site towards ʿArafāt which was to become the Muslim pilgrimage (a combination of a pilgrimage of herdsmen, the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, with that of the *ʿumra* specific to Mecca). The instituting of the larger pilgrimage should thus be placed at the extreme end of the Medinan period with the "pilgrimage of farewell", *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲at al-wadāʿ*, in the tenth year of the Hid̲j̲ra, shortly before the death of Muḥammad.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes (*Pèlerinage*, 81) writes with

justification that "the cult of Zemzem... has not taken its place (in the pilgrimage) in the form of an obligatory rite"; he also draws attention (74-5) to doubts regarding "the sovereignty of Zemzem" under the Umayyads, who are said to have confiscated a spring on Mount Thabīr and to have used it to improve the supply of water to the lower city of Mecca. This aroused the hostility of the inhabitants, even though the water thus provided was more pure and more pleasant to drink than that of the sacred well.

Despite this downgrading of this cult at Mecca, the fervent faith of pilgrims, from early Islamic times to this day, has not ceased to lend outstanding qualities to the water of the well of Zamzam, which is perceived as bearer of *baraka* and as a "curative source" (*ibid.*, 81-2). It is stressed that Muḥammad drank this water and used it regularly for various purposes (prophetic traditions are to be found in Wensinck, *Concordance*, index of places, viii. In his article on Zamzam, Yāḳūt attributes to Mudjāhid, taken to be a habitual transmitter of Ibn ʿAbbās, the following words: "If you drink at Zamzam in the hope of a cure, God will cure you; if you are thirsty, God will quench your thirst; if you are hungry, God will satisfy you!" This fervour has led to modes of conduct which can be described as being of a magical type (e.g. linen dipped in the holy water to serve later as a shroud, calculated to avert the anger of certain jurists, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Pèlerinage*, 85; the question of ablutions, and which parts of the body may be sprinkled with the water of Zamzam is also posed, *ibid.*, 86). *Zamzamiyyāt*, small phials (of clay or metal) sealed and sold as containing water from the sacred well, are still today highly-prized by pilgrims and taken back by them to their own countries (on the role of accredited and licensed drawers of water, the *zamāzim*, pl. of *zamzamī*, since mediaeval times, see *ibid.*, 87, 88).

There are also popular traditions that other holy wells, e.g. the one in the Great Mosque at al-Ḳayrawān, are subterraneously connected with Zamzam.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): see the geographers for the elements concerning the well of Zamzam in the description given by each author of the Meccan stage of the Pilgrimage: Iṣṭakhrī, i, 15, 16; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 28; Muḳaddasī, iii, 72; Ibn Rusta, vii, 40-2 (the most detailed account); Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadānī, v, 18, 19, supplies a description strewn with mythical allusions (he mentions the curative properties of the water of Zamzam). Yaʿḳūbī, curiously, does not mention the well of Zamzam, but notes that the Meccans are watered by a system of canals supplied by wells dug on the order of a princess, daughter of the caliph al-Manṣūr, vii, 316. Nor is there any mention in the works of caliphal functionaries such as Ibn Khurradādhbih, vi, 132, or Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, vi, 187. See also Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245/860), *al-Munammaḳ fī akhbār Ḳuraysh*, 133 (the part played by Zamzam in a conversion), 333, 334 (the rediscovery of the well by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the exclusive right of *sikāya* awarded to him: all other members of the tribe fall ill). T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, Paris 1968, 208-12, presents pan-Semitic speculations regarding the sacred Meccan site and the well of Zamzam which appear difficult to sustain. See also on the development of the cult of Zamzam, G.R. Hawting, *The disappearance and rediscovery of Zamzam and the "well of Mecca"*, in *BSOAS*, xliii (1980), 44-54.

(JACQUELINE CHABBI)

ZAMZAMA (A.), in early Arabic "the confused noise of distant thunder" (Lane, 1249b), but widely used in the sources for early Islamic history for the priests of the Magians reciting and intoning the Zoroastrian prayers and scriptures, producing (to the Arabs' ears) an indistinct, droning sound. Thus in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1042, we have the *zamzama* of the Herbadhs, in 2874 the *muzamzim* or adherent of Zoroastrianism, and in 2880 *zamzama* for the Zoroastrian rites and *zamāzima* for the Magians in general.

The term may have passed into Christian Sogdian texts, probably in the early Islamic period, as *zmzmʾ*, see M. Dresden, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii/2, 1225.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

ZANĀNA (P.), conventionally Zenana, lit. "female, womanly", whence the particular use of the term especially in Muslim India for the private quarters of the womenfolk in a house, the equivalent of Arabic *ḥarīm* [*q.v.*], *ḥaram* and Turkish *ḥaramlïḳ*. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases*, 2London 1903, 980; and ḤARĪM.

ZANĀTA, the name in Arabic sources of one of the major groups of the Berber population which dominated the greater part of the Maghrib in the 4th/10th and then in the 7th-9th/13th-15th centuries.

Al-Masʿūdī was one of the first to compile an inventory of the nomads (*bawādin*) of his time, including a list of the names of Berber groups, twenty-seven in number, among which he located, in second place, the Zanāta. A century later, al-Bakrī supplies information regarding the geo-political characteristics of the group, with particular reference to the situation existing at the end of the 4th/10th century: the Zanāta were the masters of the central Maghrib; the seat of their political power was located at Tlemcen; they were most numerous between Tahart and Tlemcen, but they were encountered as far away as Constantine and beyond, and to the south they held Sidjilmāsa from 366/976-7 onward; and they were firmly established at Awdaghost at the end of the trans-Saharan route.

Transhumant stock-breeders (*ḳawm raḥḥāla*) as they certainly were, the Zanāta were also cultivators, and sedentary (*mutaḥaḍḍirūn*), al-Idrīsī was to say, describing their major rural settlement of Ibn Mudjabbir. They were also beyond any doubt traders, as is shown by their long-range activity on the western trans-Saharan route or indeed by the foundation, by one of their members, an Ifranī, of the old market of Fakkān. Finally, as a politico-military power, the Zanāta asserted themselves by means of their cavalry (*akthar Zanāta fursān*, according to al-Idrīsī).

In the 4th/10th century, their confederation effectively came to dominate a shifting Maghribī political landscape, benefiting from the diplomatic support, the politico-religious legitimacy and the state wealth of the Umayyad caliphs of Cordova from the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III onwards. At this time, the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] imposed their leadership over the Zanāta as a whole, with their tribal chieftains Muḥammad b. Khazar or Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya superseded by the chieftain of the Banū Ifran, among whom was Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] "the man on the donkey", instigator of a revolt against the Ṣanhādja Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya. Restoring their relations with al-Andalus, many of the Zanāta came to settle there and were recruited, especially under al-Manṣūr, in the caliphal armies. In the 5th/11th century they played their own game amid the struggles for power in Cordova and contributed

considerably, with the Ṣanhādja of the eastern regions, to the hastening of the end of the Umayyad caliphal régime.

Subsequently, as domination passed into the hands of two other major Berber groups, the Sanhādja Almoravids (422-541/1050-1147) and the Maṣmūda Almohads (525-667/1130-1269), the Zanāta were dispersed and, as minority groups, concluded alliances sometimes with the Almoravids, constituting, for example, an entire corps of the army of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, and at others with the Almohads, to whom they contributed administrative personnel (in the case of ʿAbd Allāh al-Zanātī or of the Zanāta of Tifsart) and military elements (the squadrons of Abū Ḥafṣ, according to al-Baydhaḳ, "are composed of Almohads as well as of Zanāta"). The Kūmiya, the tribe of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin himself, was also an offshoot of the Zanāta.

The collapse of the Almohads gave the Zanāta of the Banū Wasīn branch the opportunity to regain the political initiative and to assume power in the central and the western Maghrib with the dynasty of the ʿAbd al-Wādids at Tilimsān/Tlemcen (646-962/1248-1554) and that of the Banū Marīn at Fās (633-861/1235-1465 [see MARĪNIDS]). Although genealogically close, the two dynasties opposed each other in a cyclical fashion, and with the decline of the Marīnids, a third grouping appeared on the scene, the Banū Waṭṭās [see WAṬṬĀSIDS], who were to mark the final phase of the political power of the Zanāta in the Maghrib.

The second wave of the Zanāta was differentiated from the first by the development of alliances which had become inevitable with the Arab tribal chiefdoms which with their powerful contingents dominated the regions outside the city states. Arabisation became definitive under the reign of the Zanāta. This is clearly seen in the debate on the subject of their origins. It was not only authors such as al-Idrīsī who insisted on endowing them with a Muḍarī Arab ancestry ("Djana, the father of the Zanāta of the Maghrib is the son of Luwā, son of Barr, son of Ḳays, son of Yās, son of Muḍar"), but there is also the fact that all reasoning depended on the framework of Arab genealogical science, based on patrilineal descent, incompatible with the social and political organisation of Berber kinships. Ibn Khaldūn, the leading informant on the subject of the Zanāta, contributed extensively to an Arab reading of their history. At one point, however, he revives the question, when he credits them with "a language of their own among the Berbers, with a specific nature that is recognised as such and is distinct from other Berber dialects" (*ʿIbar*, vii/2). In another domain, al-Idrīsī holds that the Zanāta of his time are specialists in "the science of the omoplate", i.e. a form of divination, and following him Ibn Khaldūn adds (*Muḳaddima*, Fr. tr. Monteil, Eng. tr. Rosenthal, i, 229) that "among the people who have practised geomancy . . . and have written books on the principles of this art is Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zanātī". The writings of this author deserve scrutiny, since they have for some time constituted the obligatory reference for everything involving geomancy in Muslim Africa.

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(C. HAMÈS)

ZAND, an Iranian pastoral tribe of the eastern central Zagros, from which sprang a dynasty that ruled western Persia 1164-1209/1751-94.

The Zand belonged to the Lakk group of Lurs [see ILĀT], centred on the villages of Parī and Kamāzān near Malāyir. In 1144/1732 Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] launched punitive raids on several Zagros tribes and deported thousands of Bakhtiyārī and a number of Zand families to northern Khurāsān. After Nādir's assassination in 1160/1747, they made their way home, the Bakhtiyārī under ʿAlī Mardān Khān and the Zand under Muḥammad Karīm Beg (also called Tūshmāl Karīm, and later Karīm Khān [*q.v.*]). When Nādir's successors were unable to reassert Afshārid hegemony over Iṣfahān, these two chieftains in alliance occupied the former Ṣafawid capital in 1163/1750 in the name of a Ṣafawid princeling, whom they styled Ismāʿīl III. ʿAlī Mardān made an unsuccessful bid for sole power, but was defeated in battle and later (1167/1764) assassinated. Karīm Khān adopted his title of *wakīl al-dawla* or regent. Having defeated three other contestants for power by 1176/1762, he pacified most of western Iran from the Caspian littoral and Ādharbāydjān to Kirmān and Lār, and took up residence in Shīrāz from 2 Ṣafar 1179/21 July 1765 until his death on 13 Ṣafar 1193/1 March 1779.

Karīm Khān did not assume the title of *shāh*, being content with that of *wakīl*; this, moreover, he reinterpreted as *wakīl al-raʿāyā* "representative of the subjects", the designation of a local official appointed by the Shāh to investigate crimes and complaints of administrative abuse (Perry, *Justice for the underprivileged*). "Ismāʿīl III" predeceased him in 1187/1773, and the fiction of a Ṣafawid revival was finally dropped. Karīm Khān did not attempt to recover Khurāsān, which fell intermittently into the orbit of the Afghān monarch Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], but devoted his efforts to reviving trade and agriculture in Fārs and western Persia. He remodelled Shīrāz, adding a covered bazaar and other fine buildings that are still standing. He concluded commercial agreements with the East India Company at Būshahr (Bushire), the natural port of Shīrāz. His control over the outlying provinces (where he generally appointed local leaders as governors) was enhanced by marriage alliances and hostages kept at court, though these were never subjected to reprisals. One of them, Āghā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār, escaped from Shīrāz on Karīm Khān's death and began to consolidate Ḳādjār power at Astarābād.

The *wakīl* had neglected to make provision for his succession, and his four incompetent sons immediately became pawns in a power struggle between his brothers and cousins. Zakī Khān slaughtered most of his rivals even before the funeral, and ruled in Shīrāz in the name of Muḥammad ʿAlī; ʿAlī Murād Khān, of the Hazāra branch of the Zand, seized Iṣfahān in the name of Abu 'l-Fatḥ. When Zakī marched on Iṣfahān, his own men, outraged by the atrocities which he committed in the village of Īzadkhwāst, mutinied and killed him. ʿAlī Murād was distracted by a Ḳādjār threat, enabling Karīm's brother Ṣādiḳ Khān to seize

Simplified Genealogical Table of the Zand Dynasty

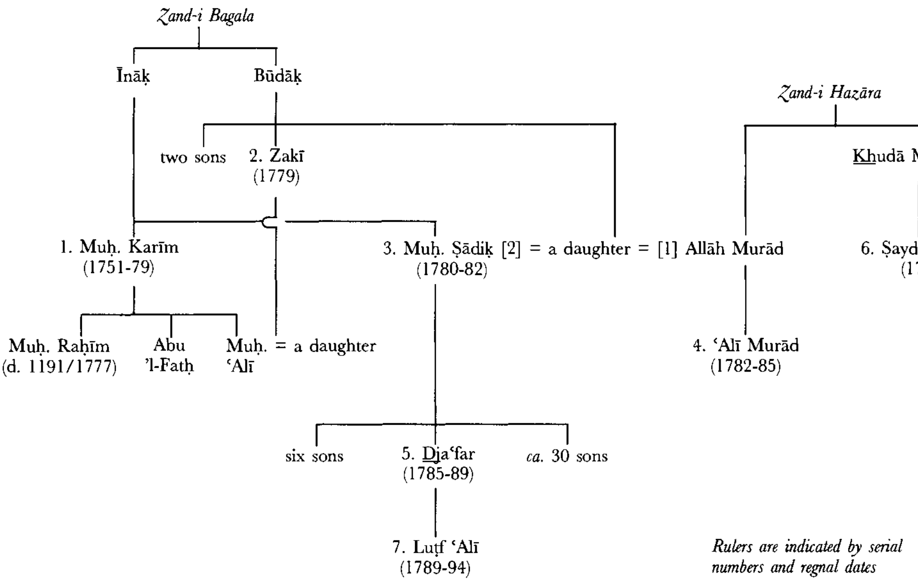

Shīrāz as effective ruler in 1195/1780. ʿAlī Murād captured Shīrāz the following year, killing Ṣādiķ and all his sons, but was again forced to march north against the Ķādjārs. His half-brother (and Ṣādiķ's son) Djaʿfar Khān marched on Iṣfahān, and ʿAlī Murād died on his way back to defend the city in Rabīʿ II 1199/February 1785. From this time forth, Zand control of northern Persia was relinquished to the Ķādjārs. Djaʿfar was twice driven from Iṣfahān to Shīrāz by the forces of Āghā Muḥammad Khān Ķādjār, and was poisoned and beheaded in 1203/1789 in a palace coup led by Ṣayd-i Murād Khān. Djaʿfar's eldest son, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān [*q.v.*], then at Kirmān, sought refuge and reinforcements from Shaykh Nāṣir of Būshahr and, aided from within Shīrāz by the *kalāntar* (mayor), Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, secured the Zand capital.

Luṭf ʿAlī's youth and courage appeared to have won him the support of the populace. He held Shīrāz against a Ķādjār assault, recaptured Kirmān and in 1205/1791 marched on Iṣfahān. Suspicious of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm's loyalty, he took the *kalāntar*'s son with him as a hostage; the *kalāntar* thereupon seized control of Shīrāz and, through his brother, fomented a mutiny in Luṭf ʿAlī's field army. From this time forth, Luṭf ʿAlī, with the gates of the Zand capital closed against him, fruitlessly sought support and refuge on the Gulf coast and in Kirmān, pursued by the Ķādjār army. In 1207/1792 Āghā Muḥammad entered Shīrāz in triumph. Luṭf ʿAlī was driven from refuge in Kirmān, where the Ķādjārs in reprisal killed or blinded the adult male population, and fled to Bam. Handed over by the governor, he was tortured and executed at Tehran in Rabīʿ II 1209/November 1794.

The dynasty's reputation rests on its founder Karīm Khān, who was able to weld together an army from the Iranian pastoral tribes of the Zagros and also to build a measure of trust and some lasting alliances with the bureaucrats and magnates of the major cities of western Persia (Iṣfahān, Shīrāz, Tabrīz and Kirmān). He endorsed the majority Twelver Shīʿa, without seeking the support of the *ʿulamā'*. Bandar ʿAbbās and other Gulf ports often withheld revenue, and the Turkmen Ķādjārs at Astarābād were never completely subdued. The *wakīl* took advantage of Ottoman weakness to occupy the rich port of Baṣra in 1190/1776, but his subsequent death forced a withdrawal and negated any commercial advantage. His shrewd economic policies and notable humanity (by the standards of the time) are recorded in many popular anecdotes. His successors, none of whom aspired to the title of *wakīl*, devoted their energies to internecine warfare; they were unable to inspire confidence in the urban establishment, as typified by Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, and so forfeited the Zand mandate to the Ķādjārs.

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See also ĶĀDJĀR; KARĪM KHĀN ZAND; LUṬF ʿALI KHĀN.

(J.R. Perry)

ZANDAĶA [see ZINDĪĶ].

AL-**ZANDJ** (A.), a term found in Arabic literature,

but apparently of non-Arabic origin, denoting the peoples of Black Africa, and especially those with whom the Arabs came into contact through their voyages and trade in the western part of the Indian Ocean and living in the eastern parts of Africa. For the territories in question, the term *bilād al-Zandj* was used.

1. As a territorial term.

Here, it forms the second of al-Idrīsī's four divisions of the eastern coast of Africa. The term first occurs in Strabo (A.D. 6), who uses a Greek form *Azania*; in Latin, Pliny (A.D. 79) writes of *Azania* as north of Adulis on the Ethiopian coast, and of a people whom he calls Zangenae, of uncertain location. In agreement with al-Idrīsī 1,100 years later, the anonymous Alexandrine *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*ca.* A.D. 50) describes Azania as the area of the coast from Ras Hafun in modern Somalia as far as Rhapta, a trading station of greatly disputed location. Claudius Ptolemy, whose present text on eastern Africa represents a revision probably edited *ca.* 400, places "Rhapta metropolis" on a river, possibly the Rufiji. Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Alexandrine merchant who travelled down the Red Sea in 524, and wrote his account in a monastery in 547, writes of an area called *Zingion* and of a Cape *Zingion*. All of these terms seem transitional to the form used by the Arab authors and in Swahili.

The *Bilād al-Zandj*, peopled by the Zunūdj, is an area whose name is cognate with the Swahili Unguja, still used in current speech for Zanzibar and for the ancient, deserted site of the former capital, Unguja Kuu. It is first attested by the poet Djarīr (d. 110/728-9), and by al-Djāḥiẓ. Buzurg b. Shahriyār of Rāmhurmuz (d. 342/953) speaks of trading visits to Zandj; the traveller al-Mas'ūdī visited Zandj in 303/916, and gives an account of its government and its trade. It was known to the geographers Ibn Ḥawḳal (4th/10th century) and al-Idrīsī (549/1154), and to Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī, whose geographical encyclopaedia was completed in 625/1228. Marco Polo did not visit Zandj; his description seems rather to have derived from ill-informed gossip in India *ca.* 1295. His statement that Zanzibar is an island 2,000 miles round suggests confusion in his mind between the mainland area described by the Arab authors and the island of Zanzibar. The pharmacological writer Ibn al-Bayṭar says that black rhubarb is called *zandj* from its colour and not from its provenance, but *zandj* and *zunūdj* mostly mean "black people" in Arabic literature, see 2. below. Likewise, the use of "Azania" by some southern African political movements is anomalous. In 1964, when the former Tanganyika united with the Republic of Zanzibar, it was thought necessary to find a new name for the political union. After discussion, the name Tanzania (< Tan[ganyika] + Zan[zibar] + ia) was decided upon, thus approximately recalling a history of the term already some 2,000 years old.

Before the colonial period there were no unitary states in the modern political sense but rather a series of coastal merchant states, self-governing as separate entities. For these individual states, see the articles listed below in the *Bibl.*, including those concerning trading relations.

The history of Islam in the region has not yet been written. The earliest reference is in al-Djāḥiẓ, and the second one to conversion to Islam of a mainland indigenous sovereign in Buzurg b. Shahriyar. So far only one ancient mosque, occupied for worship until the 9th/15th century, has been fully excavated. At Shanga, in the Lamu Archipelago, it was the ninth successive mosque on the same site, each successor mosque becoming slightly more elaborate than its predecessor: the most ancient of all has been ascribed by M.C. Horton on ceramic grounds to the mid-2nd/8th century, that is, to the period of Djarīr. The earliest mosque was a simple enclosure of reeds orientated towards Mecca, its successors constructed first in mud and wattle and finally, as the community became more prosperous, in stone, with a carved *miḥrāb*. There is no literary history of the mosques of the region, and inscriptions recording dates of foundation hardly occur before the 10th/16th century. The earliest such inscription, however, is that of the Friday Mosque at Kizimkazi, Zanzibar, 500[/1106-7].

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

2. The Zandj revolts in 'Irāḳ.

The Zandj, like many other black slaves originally from the East African coastlands (whether obtained by capture, purchased or received as tribute from tributary powers), were imported into 'Abbāsid 'Irāḳ in large numbers from an undetermined date onwards. Their living conditions must have been extremely harsh, since they rebelled three times within a space of two centuries.

(a) The first rising was in 70/689-90 during the time of Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh, the successor to Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. It seems to have been of small significance, since it apparently involved small bands of rebels engaged in pillaging, which were dispersed without great effort by the caliphal forces. The prisoners were beheaded and their corpses gibbeted (see references in Popovic, *La révolte des esclaves en Iraq au IIIe/VIIIe siècle*, 63).

(b) The second revolt took place five years later, in 75/694. It seems to have been more important and, above all, better prepared. The Zandj had a leader, one Rabāḥ (or Riyāḥ ?), called *Shīr Zandjī* "The Lion of the Zandj", and the authorities had to march against him twice in order to crush the rebels. The character of this revolt seems to have been more complex, but our information about it is scanty: "The information we possess on this movement does not allow us to uncover its true character; but one has to believe that it did not break out spontaneously and that the Zandj had been worked upon by a certain amount of propaganda" (Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ğāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 41-2).

(c) The third revolt of the Zandj is best known, for it caused a violent disturbance over fifteen years (255-70/869-83) in Lower 'Irāḳ and Khūzistān, causing innumerable material losses and tens of thousands of lives lost. It was the work of a remarkable person, apparently without scruples, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, called *Ṣāḥib al-Zandj* [see 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ZANDJĪ]. A revolutionary character, of obscure origins—but one able to approach the highest levels of power, such as

court circles of his period—he was a talented poet, educated, well-versed in the occult sciences, follower of various doctrines and instigator of several previous risings (notably in Baḥrayn and at Baṣra), and he succeeded in stirring up the greatest servile insurrection in the history of the Islamic world.

Four reasons underlie his success and the long duration of his revolt. These were, first, the extreme misery of these bands of slaves. The rebels were employed, according to our main source, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1742-87, 1835-2103, Eng. tr. D. Waines, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An annotated translation. XXXVI. The revolt of the Zanj*, Albany 1992, 29-67, 108-207, tr. P.M. Field, *XXXVII. The ʿAbbāsid recovery*, Albany 1987, 1-43, as workers on the soil, *kassāḥīn*, cultivating the earth of Lower Mesopotamia, removing the nitrous topsoil (*sibākh*) and putting it into small piles in order to render cultivable the ground of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab [*q.v.*] region; in the words of Massignon, *EI*[1] art. *Zandj*, "they were penned up in working gangs of 500 to 5,000 men, and dumped there permanently with only a few handfuls of meal, semolina and dates". Second, the region was suitable for guerilla warfare [see AL-BAṬĪḤA]. Third, there was the precarious nature of the central authority in Baghdād at this time (anarchy in the central lands, and severe problems in more distant provinces). Fourth, there were the personal qualities—as organiser, warrior and politician—of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad.

Two periods of the revolt can be clearly distinguished. The first (255-66/869-79) was one of expansion and success for the rebels; the central power was unable, for internal and external reasons, to combat them efficaciously. The rebels organised themselves, procured arms and fortified themselves within camps in inaccessible places, from where they launched their raids. After many ambushes and battles that went in their favour (for the "army" of the rebels was continually being strengthened by freed slaves), they seized temporary control of the main cities of Lower ʿIrāḳ and Khūzistān (al-Ubulla, ʿAbbādān, Baṣra, Wāsiṭ, Djubbā, Ahwāz, etc.). The ʿAbbāsid forces reoccupied, without great difficulty, the towns that the Zandj had taken, sacked and abandoned, but were unable to extinguish the outbreak or to inflict a decisive defeat on an enemy everywhere and nowhere. Also, since the government in Baghdād had other more urgent problems to solve, for several years the rebellion of the Zandj was relegated to the second rank of importance. During this time, the "Master of the Zandj" was solidly installed in the canal region, where he had his "capital" [see AL-MUKHTĀRA], minting his own coins, organising his "state" and attempting, with varying degrees of success, to establish links with other anti-caliphal movements of the time (e.g. those of Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ [see ḲARMAṬĪ] and of Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth [*q.v.*]).

The second period (266-70/879-83) was just a drawn-out agony before the final crushing of the movement. The suppression of the Zandj now became the prime consideration for the caliphate, which moved methodically, cleansing the territories before it and driving the Zandj to take refuge in the canal region, where they were subjected to a methodical siege directed by the regent al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*] and his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (the future caliph al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*]). Finally, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad was killed and his close companions and commanders taken as prisoners to Baghdād, where they were beheaded two years later, whilst some members of his family ended their days in prison.

One may conclude by saying that the Zandj revolt was both a political one, in its aim at securing power, and also a social one, aiming at relieving the harsh living conditions of one class of the population; but several important points involved in this remarkable episode merit an extended consideration (the personality of the revolt's leader, his alleged genealogy, his credo and ideology, the political and social organisation of the new "state", and its relations with the various classes of the population and with other movements of the time) which cannot be gone into here. One may nevertheless stress one essential aspect, sc. that if the movement has a unique place amongst various insurrections in the history of mediaeval Islam, it is because it put paid to a unique attempt, in the Islamic world, at transforming domestic slavery into a colonial-type slavery.

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(A. POPOVIC)

ZANDJĀN, a town of northwestern Persia, situated on the Zandjān Rūd, a right-bank affluent of the Safīd Rūd [*q.v.*]. It lies on the highway from Tehran and Ḳazwīn to Tabrīz at a distance of 314 km/195 miles from Tehran and 302 km/188 miles from Tabrīz, and at an altitude of 1,625 m/5,330 feet (lat. 36° 40' N., long. 48° 30' E.).

The mediaeval geographers mostly placed Zandjān in Djibāl province, usually linking it with Abhar [*q.v.*] or Awhar some 80 km/50 miles to its south-east, but they usually stated that it was on the frontier with Ādharbāydjān, and some authorities attributed it to Daylam or to Rayy. According to legend, it had been founded, as Shahīn, by the first Sāsānid Ardashīr b. Pāpakān (Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 61, tr. 67). It was conquered *ʿanwatan* in 24/645 by Arabs led by al-Barrā' b. ʿĀzib after Abhar and Ḳazwīn, and al-Balādhurī further narrates that, in the late 2nd/early 9th century, the people of Zandjān, weary of the depredations of bandits (*ṣaʿālīk* [see ṢUʿLŪK] and the oppression of local governors, placed themselves under the protection of the governor of northern Persia, Hārūn al-Rashīd's son al-Ḳāsim so that Zandjān and its region became part of the caliphal estates (*al-ḍiyāʿ al-khāṣṣa*) (*Futūḥ*, 322-3). In the 4th/10th century, it came within the sphere of local Daylamī dynasties like the Musāfirids [*q.v.*]. The Arab traveller Abū Dulaf [*q.v.*] visited it, noting mines of iron sulphate, borax and alum in the adjacent mountains; the manuscript of his *Second Risāla* records the name as spelt with initial *zh*, sc. Zhandjān (*Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 750)*, ed. and tr. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, § 11, tr. 34, comm. 71).

In the early 7th/13th century, Zandjān was held by the Khᵂārazm-Shāh's son Djalāl al-Dīn (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 702), but then devastated by the Mongols and its extensive walls demolished. For the Mongols, the upland pastures between the region of Zandjān and Tabrīz were favoured grazing grounds, and the name of the district Ūryād preserves the name of the Oyrat Mongols. Not far south of Zandjān was the Il-Khānid capital Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*], and the Il-Khān

Arghun was buried at nearby Sudjās (the *koruk-i Arghūn*, Mustawfī, 64, tr. 69). Zandjān shared in the general prosperity of northwestern Persia at this time, and Mustawfī fixed its revenues at 12,000 dīnārs plus another 8,000 from the hundred or so villages around it, and also stated that the inhabitants spoke "pure Pahlawī", i.e. a Median or northern form of Persian (*Nuzha*, 61-2, tr. 67).

In later times, fighting between the Ottomans and the Ṣafawids and their successors extended as far as Zandjān, but the town became best known in the 19th century as a centre of the Bābīs [*q.v.*], being the birthplace of one of the Bāb's leading supporters, Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥudjdjat al-Islām Zandjānī. The Zandjān rising of 1266/1850 by the Bābīs of the town, numbering only a few hundreds, caused a crisis for the Ḳādjār state, since government troops were for several months unable to quell the rebels, and the resistance of Zandjān may have influenced the decision to execute the Bāb himself in Shaʿbān 1266/July 1850 (see E.G. Browne, *Personal reminiscences of the Bábí insurrection at Zanján in 1850*..., in *JRAS* [1897], 761-827; Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and renewal. The making of the Babi movement in Iran, 1844-1850*, Ithaca and London 1989, 101-2, 397 and index; J. Walbridge, *The Babi rising in Zanjan: causes and issues*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxix/3-4 [1996], 339-62). Despite the bloody suppression of the outbreak, Zandjān continued to produce some of the leading Bābī and Bahāʾī figures (see Browne, *Materials for the study of the Bábí religion*, Cambridge 1918, 36).

Zandjān was formerly the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* of the same name in the province of Gīlān, but is now the *markaz* of an independent province of Zandjān. In the late 1930s it became a station on the Tehran-Tabrīz railway. Its population in *ca.* 1950 was 48,000, which had risen by the 1996 census to 286,295. Although somewhat detached geographically from the main Azeri speech area, the population of Zandjān is ethnically Turkish and essentially Turkish-speaking.

Bibliography: See also the older bibl. in Minorsky, *EI*[1] art. s.v.; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 221-2; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 729-31; Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, ii, 140-1; Sayyid Mūsawī Zandjānī, *Tārīkh-i Zandjān*, Tehran 1351/1972; L.W. Adamec (ed.), *Historical gazetteer of Iran. i. Tehran and northwestern Iran*, Graz 1976, 709-10; D. Krawulsky, *Īrān—das Reich der Īlḫāne. Eine topographisch-historische Studie*, Wiesbaden 1978, 325-6. (C.E. Bosworth)

al-**ZANDJĀNĪ** [see Suppl.].

ZANDJIBĀR (or al-zandjabār), officially spelt Zanzibar, is an island in lat. 6° S., with a capital of the same name. It is about 53 miles in length and 24 miles at its broadest. The area is about 640 sq miles. A channel about 20 miles wide separates it from the Tanzanian mainland. Its history and economy are bound up with the prevailing winds, the south-west and north-east monsoons, which set in with clockwork regularity. The south-west monsoon begins in March, bringing the *Masika*, or Long Rains, which last with decreasing vigour for about three months. The *Mvuli*, or Short Rains, fall in October and November. Until the coming of the steamship, the whole economy of eastern Africa depended on these monsoons.

Although linked with the mainland United Republic of Tanzania, Zanzibar is a self-governing territory, together with the island of Pemba [*q.v.*] and some small islands of trifling importance. Except for Tumbatu [*q.v.*], they are uninhabited, and visited only by fishermen and tourists.

1. The island and town of Zanzibar up to 1890.

(a) *In Antiquity and prehistoric times*

Before the coming of Islam to eastern Africa, certainly up to the 8th century A.D., there are only some scattered and casual allusions in Greek and Roman writers, for which see zandj. One major source, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, refers to it in *ca.* A.D. 50. It is an account of trading voyages down the eastern African coasts, along southern Arabia and as far as India, if not to China. It has links with Egypt and the western Indian Ocean. Scholars have disputed endlessly whether its reference to a single island, Menuthias, off the eastern African coast, is to Pemba or to Zanzibar or to Mafia. Ptolemy even thought the island to be Madagascar. Menuthias is said to have numerous rivers: Zanzibar has one only; Pemba has some streams, but also numerous deep inlets which, seen from the sea, resemble estuaries. It is low and wooded. Pemba reaches a maximum of 150 m above sea level, Zanzibar 100 m. Again, Pemba's deep inlets with hilly sides give the impression of a hilly island when seen from the sea, whereas Zanzibar is more uniformly level. Both islands are wooded. The inhabitants are said to be fishermen who employ fish traps, dug-outs and also "sewn boats", that is, with their timbers sewn together with coconut coir. The "sewn boats" are no longer constructed but the other practices survive. The balance of probability could swing either way.

Two of the sites so far excavated have pre-Islamic occupation levels, Fukuchani in the north and Unguja Ukuu in the south of the island. From these are imported sherds from the Persian Gulf and from Roman North Africa, at occupation levels dating probably from the 5th to 8th centuries A.D. The most recent excavations at Unguja Ukuu (1999) show that it was a major exporter of ivory to Egypt, whence to Constantinople and through the Mediterranean, via Pelusium. The evidence is based on the existence of sherds of Byzantine pottery and on carbon dating. In Unguja Ukuu there are found in middens of the same period bones of *rattus rattus*, the black rat, which is not indigenous of Africa but whose fleas are the vectors of bubonic plague. The first recorded outbreak of the Great Plague of 541-7, in which more than a quarter of a million people died in Constantinople alone, was at Pelusium, which makes it logical to ascribe the source to Zanzibar. Local pottery suggests that the inhabitants belonged to the Early Iron Age communities of East Africa, whose working of shells and iron formed part of the economy of the time.

(b) *Before the Portuguese*

Pending further investigation it can be said that the claims of W.H. Ingrams (*Zanzibar*, London 1931) and others, of the existence of a "Heliolithic Culture", or of the presence of Sumerians, Assyrians, Akkadians, Chaldaeans, Medes, Persians, Ancient Egyptians or Phoenicians, rest on no historical or archaeological foundation. There are Palaeolithic remains at Kilwa [*q.v.*] and of the Early Iron Age in Mafia [*q.v.*].

The Swahili *History of Pate* [see pate] whose redaction in its present state cannot be dated before 1810, claims that the fifth Umayyad caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (695-705), heard of East Africa "and that his soul desired to found a new kingdom". He sent Syrians, who founded "the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa". Other towns are mentioned in oral traditions, from Mogadishu as far as the Comoros.

Next, Hārūn al-Rashīd (*r.* 786-801 [*q.v.*]) is alleged to have founded many coastal towns, but not in Pemba

or Zanzibar. He is said to have sent Persians. There is no evidence to support these claims; they could well be 19th-century embroidery upon what could be known from 10th-century sources, such as al-Mas'ūdī and Buzurg b. Shahriyār. Neither of these refer to Zanzibar, but mention Ḳanbalū, most likely Ras Mkumbuu in Pemba. There, recent excavation has disclosed a mosque capable of accommodating seventy worshippers; it rested upon the remains of two earlier mosques, one of stone and the other of timber. The topmost building is possibly 10th century, the substrata from the 9th and 8th centuries, the earliest Islamic structures yet found in sub-Saharan Africa. It seems clear that Pemba, and particularly Ras Mkumbuu, had an importance that Zanzibar lacked.

Nevertheless, history is not entirely mute. The Arabic *History of Kilwa*, redacted as we have it perhaps *ca.* 1550, claims that Zanzibar gave refuge to a deposed sultan of Kilwa in *ca.* 1035, and then reinstated him on the throne. Not long afterwards, a mosque was built at Kizimkazi in Zanzibar, of which original sections still survive; it has an elaborate *miḥrāb*, with a carved foundation inscription dated 500/1107. This last is in a Kūfic script similar to a number of inscriptions excavated in Sīrāf. The stone, however, is of Zanzibar coral and so could only have been carved on Zanzibar. Local traditions assert that there was a local sultanate based on Kizimkazi, where a number of (later) stone buildings survive.

João de Barros preserves a second *History of Kilwa*, originally written in Arabic, in a Portuguese translation. It was redacted perhaps in 1505. It asserts that Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan of Kilwa (*r.* 1170-89) made himself "lord of the commerce of Sofāla" [*q.v.*], and of the islands of Pemba, Mafia and Zanzibar, and a great part of the mainland shore". In 1224 Yāḳūt's *Mu'djam al-buldān* reports that Languja was the residence of the King of the *Zunūdj*. Languja is a corruption of al-Unguja, still the ordinary Swahili name for Zanzibar. If not independent, he may have been a subject of Kilwa.

In 1865 a hoard of dīnārs was "discovered" in a mound in the centre of Unguja Ukuu, which was turned over in the hope of finding further treasure. One piece survived, dated to A.D. 797. There are now no visible standing walls earlier than the 19th century. A mosque was noted in 1920; its well is still in use. There are local traditions of a Portuguese *feitoria* ("factory" or trading agency) but nothing survives. Recent excavations conducted by the Zanzibar Director of Antiquities have disclosed buildings believed to date to the 10th century, with quantities of imported pottery, chiefly from the Persian Gulf, of the 8th to 10th centuries. Some sherds from there of African Red Slip pottery have been dated by radiocarbon dating to the 6th century. Occupation ceased in the 10th/11th century, with some reoccupation in the 16th. This site would certainly appear to be the Languja of al-Djāḥiẓ. Its abandonment may be linked to a decline in the market for *zandjī* slaves following the Zandj revolt. So far, it can be said that very many pieces of what is a jig-saw puzzle have been found; how to fit them together is another question.

Of possible relevance is the limited excavation that has taken place at Mkokotoni, in the northwest of the island and opposite Tumbatu. The first phase covers the 8th-10th centuries but is much eroded by the sea. Its stone buildings have been entirely robbed but cover an area extending 500 m along a low cliff. There is a hiatus until the 14th century, which is very rich in deposits. Particularly striking are the bead finds, in huge quantities that suggest either a huge store or their manufacture. Locals searching for beads have also found quantities of coins, both Chinese and Indian, but none of any local currency. It was here that a major coin hoard was found in 1984 and smuggled out of the country. It may have included three gold coins of al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān of Kilwa III (*r.* 1310-33), which were brought to London and of which casts were made in the British Museum. They were reported to have been "found at Tumbatu".

Returning to the historical record, the *History of Pate* already quoted asserts that the Pate ruler 'Umar b. Muḥammad (*r.* 1332-48) gained possession of all the Swahili towns from Pate as far as the Kerimba Islands but failed to take Zanzibar. There is no evidence elsewhere for this alleged event, which perhaps was no more than a raid.

In 1442, when there was a dispute about the succession to the throne in Kilwa, the *Amīr* of Zanzibar is said to have intervened but was bought off by a bribe of 100 gold *mithkāls*. At this time, Zanzibar had its own copper currency.

There are many minor traditions and legends associated with smaller sites. There are numerous traditions of people known in Swahili as Wa-debuli and Wa-diba (*wa-* being a prefix denoting the class). They had no fixed settlements but moved from place to place; the Wa-debuli could well have been itinerant Indian traders from the port of Daybul [*q.v.*] and the Wa-diba from the Maldive Islands, which the Arab geographers term Diba.

Midden excavations at Unguja Ukuu and Fukuchani have shown evidence of the diet of the people in the form of bone remains. Cattle, goat and sheep are not unexpected. Pig also are included. Chicken and pigeon, too, were eaten; the nearby ocean abounded, as it still does, in fish. Bone remains also included the Zanzibar Pouched Rat (*cricetomys gambianus* Cosensi) known locally as *buku*. They are reported to be nearly three feet long from snout to the end of the tail. It is unknown today for them to be eaten in Zanzibar but some non-Islamic groups on the mainland like them. Monkeys were also eaten in some quantity.

As to religion, al-Mas'ūdī reports (*ca.* 920) that the kings of the Zunūdj and their subjects were pagan. By the time of al-Idrīsī (1154), the inhabitants of Unguja, Swahili speakers, although mixed, were mostly Muslims. The excavated evidence from mosques suggests that al-Mas'ūdī was not well informed. Certainly, Islam was not the official religion of the kings whom he describes, but the process of Islamisation would have been a slow one, which, it may safely be assumed, had begun by the 8th century A.D. This is not to say that ancient beliefs did not linger on, as they still do today, notably in the Nairozi ceremonies [see NAWRŪZ. 2.] and those connected with *rites de passage*.

(c) *Under Portuguese hegemony 1505-1698*

For the Portuguese period local sources are silent, and we are dependent upon Portuguese historians and writers. Local traditions allege two fortified houses or farms to have belonged to the Portuguese, at Mvuleni and at Fukuchani, the latter built over an earlier pre-Islamic site.

In 1499 Vasco da Gama, returning from India, anchored off Zanzibar to take on provisions and water. It was for one night only; he and his men were eager to return home. Next, in 1503, a single vessel commanded by Rui Lourenço Ravasco arrived and cruised off the island, blockading it and capturing twenty local vessels laden with provisions. These, says Damião de Goes, he ransomed for money. It is alleged that the

locals opened hostilities with "many guns and arrows", to which Ravasco replied with a bombardment. Both sides accused the other, and subsequently Ravasco was censured in Lisbon. Nevertheless, Zanzibar paid a tribute of 130 gold *mithḳāls*—a sum compared with 1,000 paid at Kilwa and 100 at Pate.

In 1528 Nuno da Cunha's fleet lost its bearings and was driven up a creek in southwestern Zanzibar. A captive pilot conducted them to a safe anchorage. Two hundred sick men were left ashore, but it is not apparent whether a permanent *feitoria* was set up.

If, indeed, it was set up, it was not of stone. By 1571 Fr Monclaro S.J. reported that the ancient capital, "once as large as Kilwa.... is now destroyed and in ruins". Perhaps this was the result of Ravasco's bombardment, but "there were Kaffir rebels from the mainland, who kept the country in confusion". The people were in fear; the Portuguese fought the rebels, with the result that the King of Zanzibar made a gift of the island to Portugal "with great solemnities". Some Portuguese resided on the island and had their own chapel and chaplain. They were traders in cloth, beads, iron, ivory and some ambergris. The island was very fertile. There is no mention of a *feitoria*.

The first positive evidence of a *feitoria* comes from Edmund Barker of Ipswich, the Lieutenant of the *Bonaventure*, under Sir James Lancaster, who wintered there in 1591-2. He was told of the mean and spiteful dealings of the Portuguese by a Christian Moor, but with no details. Gaspar de São Bernardino O.P. reports that a cargo of slaves was carried from Zanzibar to Mombasa in 1606, but there is no reason to suppose that it was a regular item of trade. The King of Zanzibar is reported to have been friendly. João dos Santos O.P. speaks of the rough and high-handed conduct of the Portuguese. He had converted to Christianity a nephew of the king, whom he sent to Goa to be educated.

A report of 1606 speaks of Augustinian "vicars" at Lamu, Pate and Faza on the mainland, in addition to their convent at Mombasa, but not at Zanzibar. An Augustinian stationed in Zanzibar with a chapel is not mentioned until a Papal Bull of 1612. The two dates would seem to bracket the foundation of the chapel, as being an adjunct of the *feitoria*. Recent excavations in the centre of what eventually was reconstructed as an ʿUmānī fort suggest that it was on the site of a 12th-century fishing and trading village. Sgraffiato, Chinese celadon and monochrome porcelain, as well as local red wares have been found. The foreign connection was not just casual. A large hoard of copper coins, locally minted, has been found, and ascribed to the 14th or the 15th century.

Parts of the church still exist. It was cruciform. In 1710 the ʿUmānīs fortified it, rebuilding it completely in 1760. Nevertheless, in a strange way it has kept its name. In Swahili the fort is spoken of as *gereza*, a corruption of Portuguese *igreja* "church". In the 19th century, when the ʿUmānīs had ceased to use the fort as a residence, it was made into a prison. The name Gereza remained, to become the name for a prison wherever Swahili is spoken. In the 1920s it had a new twist of fortune. It was partly demolished to provide a railway station for the seven-mile line from the town to the plantations at Bububu. By 1946 it was derelict, and restored for use as a purdah Ladies' Club. In the 1990s it became an open-air theatre.

There is little trace today of the Portuguese period. The principal cultural legacy was of the slightest, some 120 words which passed from Portuguese into Swahili. It is intelligible that a quarter of them concern the sea and shipping. A second large group are of useful fruit, trees and vegetables, some of which—cashew, cucumber, lime, pawpaw, avocado and guava, potatoes, cassava (manioc), tobacco, and most usefully, *mboleo* "manure"—have taken permanent root. There is a small domestic vocabulary, and one for the games of dice and picquet. The Swahili word for a tavern or brothel, *dangelo*, derives from *danceador*. These are only a few examples. In the Torre do Tombo National Archives in Lisbon, and in the National Library, there is evidence of another kind, of Portuguese written in Arabic script, and of Swahili also. It would seem that for a time Portuguese was a *lingua franca* in the Indian Ocean until it was superseded by English.

The expulsion of the Portuguese from Fort Jesus, Mombasa, in 1698, does not seem to have had any immediate repercussions in Zanzibar. No appointment was made as successor to Fr. Manoel de Conceiçao O.S.A. as Vicar of Zanzibar, who had been murdered by tribesmen in 1694. A queen of Zanzibar, Fatuma or Fatima, gained peaceful possession, only to be subject to new overlords. The site of her palace is pointed out near the Gereza.

(d) *Under the ʿUmānī Arabs* ca. *1700-1890*

Now for more than a century history is almost silent. In 1712 a spy employed by the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa reported that the "Arabs" had constructed "a ridiculous fort" out of the *feitoria* and a stone house built by João Nunes at the end of the 17th century. The Swahili royalty remained in office, but control was in the hands of the Mazrūʿī [*q.v.*] rulers of Mombasa until their final eviction by Sultan Sayyid Saʿīd [*q.v.*] in 1837.

A. Sheriff's *History and conservation of Zanzibar Stone Town* gives valuable details of its expansion. The Portuguese *feitoria* and church may have had no more than palm-thatched huts around them. They lay on a peninsula connected to the mainland by a narrow isthmus. Two maps published by him, of 1846 and 1896, provide an instructive summary for the period. The peninsular buildings are almost exclusively from the 19th and 20th centuries; a creek separates the Stone Town from the mainland, on which, in 1846, very few constructions, all apparently huts, were to be found. The town thus consists, as now, of two parts, the Stone Town, the older part; and the opposite side of the creek known in Swahili as *Ngambo*, meaning "the other side". The creek, when kept clean, provided a sheltered harbour for Portuguese vessels; the shallow draught of the almost flat-bottomed Swahili vessels and boats meant that they were generally drawn up on shelving beaches, any larger vessels being propped up on stilts at low tide. By 1896 Ngambo had grown to four times the size of the Stone Town, a clear indication of mercantile prosperity.

Inscriptions and other evidence for the foundation dates of mosques are likewise instructive. The earliest mosque in the Stone Town is dated 1766; one other was built in the 18th century. Sayyid Saʿīd first visited Zanzibar in 1828, removing his court to Zanzibar only in 1842. Three mosques were erected in 1830 and one more in 1840. From 1850 to 1890, no less than twenty-seven mosques were erected, with five more in the present century. Scholarship was not deficient, and Sir Richard Burton, never slow to criticise, particularly admired the eminent knowledge of Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khaytānī, ḳāḍī of Zanzibar from 1841 to 1870. He wrote works of history and *fiḳh*, and was a poet. The greater number of mosques reflects population growth and the flourishing economy, of which C.S. Nicholls

has given a portrait in depth up to Sayyid Saʿīd's death in 1856. It is carried forward by M.R. Bhacker up to the proclamation of the British Protectorate in 1890. Traders were attracted from all quarters, Arabs from ʿUmān and Ḥaḍramawt, Indians (the majority), and American, British, French, German and Portuguese entrepreneurs. Sayyid Saʿīd said modestly "I am only a merchant", but truly he made Zanzibar a "metropolis of the Indian Ocean".

European immigrants and officials formed a more or less homogeneous society, the easterners deeply divided by race and sects. The Arabs and Swahili were of the Shāfiʿī legal school, save for the ʿUmānī rulers who were of the Ibāḍī branch of the Khāridjites. They had few differences with the Shāfiʿīs and were tolerant. Among Indians, Hindus were wholly apart, as were Parsis; among Indian Muslims were Sunnīs, Twelver Shīʿa and Khōdja Ismāʿīlīs, who predominated over the Dāʾūdī Bohorās and smaller sects. In addition, there were Sikhs and Baluch, these last providing the Sultanic guard. Few of them mixed with the local population. Whereas in former times Africans had brought their products to the coast, under Sayyid Saʿīd Indian-financed caravans now journeyed into the African interior as far as Uganda and Kinshasa. Islamic religious brotherhoods had members among them and set up pockets of their adherents along the trade routes. By the 20th century, substantial areas were Islamised. The Swahili, both in the town and countryside, still reflect syncretistic practices as part of their local traditions.

Sayyid Saʿīd had sixty or seventy concubines, in accordance with the regal dignity of the age. A number of palaces survive, of which many are mentioned in Princess Salme's (Emily Saʿid Ruete) memoirs (*An Arabian princess between two worlds*, tr. E. van Donzel, Leiden 1993, originally published as *Memoirs of an Arabian princess*, New York 1888). They provided homes for his numerous surviving children. His principal residence was at Mtoni, enlarged with Persian baths, a more spacious *ḥarīm* and stores as well as reception rooms, from a former private house. A short way away was a private mosque, a square *muṣallā*, the roof supported by a single column, and the *miḥrāb* set in the thickness of the wall in the Ibāḍī fashion. There was a separate palace at Dunga for the Mwinyi Mkuu, the last of the indigenous rulers, with a room for the royal *siwa* (horn) and drums.

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2. Since 1964.

The Zanzibar revolution in January 1964 brought a sudden end to the newly-independent sultanate. The revolution was organised by John Okello (b. 1937), a Ugandan worker who came to Zanzibar in 1959 and who believed that he had a God-given mission to lead a revolution of African liberation (J. Okello, *Revolution in Zanzibar*, Nairobi 1967, 72-3). Okello named established opposition figures as leaders of the new régime, with Abeid Karume (1905?-1972), head of the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), as president. Karume soon consolidated his position by securing the exclusion of Okello from Zanzibar in March 1964, and, in April, led Zanzibar into union with Tanganyika.

Karume established a radical, one-party régime similar to many in the Africa of the 1960s. During the revolution, Zanzibarians of Asian and Arab origin, who had been part of the old political and economic élite, were harassed and many were killed or fled. Karume continued these policies, with the result that the traditional Muslim scholarly and devotional leadership was weakened. Established lines of transmission of both Ṣūfī piety and Islamic studies were disrupted (Allyson Purpura, *Knowledge and agency: The social relations of Islamic expertise in Zanzibar Town*, Ph.D. diss., City University of New York 1997, unpubl., 136-9). During Karume's rule, the activities of Islamic organisations like the Ṣūfī orders were severely limited and Islamic scholarship restricted.

Karume was murdered in 1972, but the ASP one-party régime continued under his successor Aboud Jumbe (b. 1920). However, Jumbe moved away from the authoritarianism of Karume, reduced the commitment to leftist economic policies, and relaxed restrictions on Islamic organisations. In an attempt to gain religious support, he established BAMITA (*Baraza la Misikiti wa Tanzania*, Council of Tanzanian Mosques). In the early 1980s, support for Zanzibari separatism grew, and in 1984 Jumbe was forced to resign because he was unable to control these tendencies. His successor as president of Zanzibar (and Vice-President of Tanzania) was Ali Hassan Mwinyi, a close associate of Julius Nyerere, who succeeded Nyerere as national president when the latter retired in 1985. The next presidents of Zanzibar were Idris Abdul Wakil (1985-90) and Salmin Amour who won the last one-party elections in 1990 and also, by a bare 50.2% of the votes, the first multiparty election in 1995.

During the final two decades of the 20th century, Islamic activist sentiments have increased in Zanzibar. With the end of the authoritarianism of Karume, Muslim teachers and scholars began to reassert their position as intellectual and devotional leaders. Older Ṣūfī *ṭarīkas* had survived the times of suppression, and new groups of scholars inspired by Islamist movements in other parts of the Muslim world became more visible. By the 1990s, strict purist teachers such as Shaykh Khamisi Jafar were popular among the students and younger professionals, advocating a style of Islamic interpretation similar to that articulated by the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East.

Two incidents illustrate the revival of Muslim activism. In 1988, Sophia Kawawa, the wife of the then secretary-general of the Tanzanian ruling party, made disparaging remarks about the situation of women under Islamic law. This sparked major demonstrations in Zanzibar, reflecting both resentment against mainland control of island affairs and Islamic sensitivities. In 1993, it was announced that Zanzibar had joined the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). While this was popular in Zanzibar, a parliamentary commission declared the association to be unconstitutional and Zanzibar withdrew. It was clear by the late 1990s

that Muslim sentiments in Zanzibar had been significantly influenced by the global resurgence of Islam. This was expressed locally by increased demands for Zanzibar separatism and by more visible expressions of Islamist sentiments similar to those in other parts of the Muslim world.

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(J.O. Voll)

ZANGĪ, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar ʿImād al-Dīn b. Ḳasīm al-Dawla Aḳsunḳur b. Il-Turghān, Turkmen commander, governor of ʿIrāḳ, later ruler of al-Mawṣil and Aleppo (521-41/1127-46) and founder of the Zangid dynasty, d. 541/1146.

Early youth. Born in Aleppo in 480/1087-8, he was the last surviving son of the Saldjūḳ commander Aḳsunḳur [*q.v.*], who became governor of Aleppo 480-7/1087-94. After his father's death in 487/1094, Zangī was raised at the court of the governors of al-Mawṣil [*q.v.*] and distinguished himself in the internal warfare of rival Saldjūḳ princes and the wars against the Crusaders.

Governor in ʿIrāḳ 516-21/1122-7. In 516/1122-3 Zangī led a successful expedition against the Mazyadid *amīr* Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa [see mazyad, banū] in southern ʿIrāḳ. On behalf of Aḳsunḳur al-Bursuḳī [*q.v.*], governor of ʿIrāḳ and Zangī's protector, he was given his first appointment as governor of Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣra. In 519/1125 he crushed an army of the caliph al-Mustarshid [*q.v.*], who was trying to conquer southern ʿIrāḳ and expel the Saldjūḳs. On 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 519/4 January 1126 sultan Maḥmūd b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] appeared on the outskirts of Baghdād attacking the caliph. Reinforcing Maḥmūd, Zangī moved with a powerful army with surprising rapidity up the Tigris valley and decided the battle in favour of the sultan, who in Rabīʿ I 520/April 1126 appointed him governor (*shiḥna* [*q.v.*]) of Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ.

Establishing the amīrate 521-2/1127-8. Later in that year, Aḳsunḳur al-Bursuḳī, then governor of al-Mawṣil, Diyār Rabīʿa, Diyār Muḍar, parts of the Diyār Bakr and Aleppo, was assassinated. Maḥmūd finally made Zangī governor of al-Bursuḳī's provinces in exchange for his ʿIrāḳī ones. He placed two sons, Alp Arslān and Farrukhānshāh (Elisséeff, ii, 381, argued that they were the same person) under Zangī's tutelage and bestowed on him the title of Atabeg. Zangī made his formal entrance into al-Mawṣil in Ramaḍān 521/September-October 1127, and then took Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Naṣībīn, Sindjār, the Khābūr valley and Ḥarrān [*q.vv.*], some of them having been previously annexed by the Artuḳids. Under the constant pressure from the Crusaders, Aleppo had fallen into internal strife and anarchy. Zangī sent a force to restore order on entering the city in Djumādā II 522/June 1128, and was much welcomed in memory of the days of his father.

Consolidation of an autonomous amīrate within the Saldjūḳ empire 522-30/1122-36. Meanwhile in al-Rayy, the supreme sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*] had ordered Maḥmūd to take al-Mawṣil from Zangī and to bestow it upon Dubays. However, the caliph opposed Maḥmūd. After a meeting with Zangī in 523/1129, Maḥmūd finally confirmed him as king of the west (*malik al-gharb*). In the same year Zangī took Ḥamāt from the Būrids [*q.v.*] and in the next year the Crusader stronghold of Athārib near Antioch. In 525/1131 Zangī and the caliph al-Mustarshid became estranged over the issue of Dubays. After the death of sultan Maḥmūd in 525/1131, Zangī was drawn into the wars of succession amongst the Saldjūḳs. In retaliation for an attack on Baghdād by Zangī and Dubays in the previous year, the caliph besieged al-Mawṣil for three months in 527/1133, during which the Būrid of Damascus, Shams al-Mulūk Ismāʿīl, took the opportunity to regain Ḥamāt. In 528/1133-4 Zangī consolidated his power by occupying the strongholds in the vicinity of al-Mawṣil and in Diyār Bakr at the expense of the Artuḳids and the Kurds, who had supported the caliph previously. After the murder of al-Mustarshid in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 529/August-September 1135, Zangī allied himself with the new caliph al-Rāshid [*q.v.*] and the Saldjūḳ pretender Dāwūd in order to fight sultan Masʿūd. In 530/1135-6 Masʿūd conquered ʿIrāḳ and Baghdād, with Zangī and al-Rāshid fleeing to al-Mawṣil. Masʿūd in turn set up a new caliph al-Muḳtafī [*q.v.*], who was acknowledged throughout the empire except by Zangī; only later that year did he acknowledge Masʿūd, Sandjar and al-Muḳtafī as his overlords, receiving in return the territories he already possessed.

Period of expansion 529-38/1135-44. The only possibility of further expansion, without the risk of conflicts with the Saldjūḳs in ʿIrāḳ, lay in campaigns in the west, in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, at the expense of the Būrids, the Crusaders and the Artuḳids. In Djumādā I 529/February 1135, he laid siege to Būrid Damascus. Unexpectedly, the city was well defended, and Zangī only achieved recognition as overlord in Damascus. On his way back to Aleppo he regained Ḥamāt, then attacked outposts of the principality of Antioch, but at the end of the year, after an unsuccessful attack on Ḥimṣ, had to return to al-Mawṣil for affairs in ʿIrāḳ. However, in 531/1137 he resumed his military campaigns in Syria, and gained the strategic Crusader castle of Baʿrīn (Monsferrandus) between Tripoli and Ḥamāt.

In 531-2/1136-8 the Byzantine emperor John II invaded Cilicia and northern Syria. After allying himself with Raymond of Antioch, he attacked Aleppo, but unable to take the city by force, he besieged Shayzar [*q.v.*] instead; after accepting ransom money he returned to Antioch in Ramaḍān 532/May-June 1138. Later that year, Zangī obtained Ḥimṣ by diplomacy as a dowry from the Būrids, and re-occupied the lost strongholds between Antioch and Aleppo.

In 533-4/1139-40 Zangī made his last attempt to reach his ultimate strategic goal, Damascus, in order to complete his supremacy over the western parts of the Saldjūḳ empire. In 533/1139 he took Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*] by force and went on to besiege Damascus in Rabīʿ II 534/December 1139. He had to lift the siege five months later in order to fight the Crusaders, who had overrun the Ḥawrān, but returned for a sudden attack on Damascus on 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/22 June, only to withdraw in the end to al-Mawṣil. He had achieved two aims, the capture of the strategic fortress of Baʿlabakk dominating the fertile Biḳāʿ valley [*q.v.*] and suzerainty over Damascus. In the following years, Zangī had to check numerous raids by the northern Crusader states Antioch and Edessa as well as by the Artuḳids and the Kurds.

At the zenith of his power; the fall of Edessa. In 538/1143-4 sultan Masʿūd tried again to remove the overmighty Zangī, whom he held responsible for the continous unrest within his realm, but Zangī came to an agreement with the sultan and promised an indemnity. He turned his attention to the Artuḳid Diyār

Bakr, and utilised the absence of Joscelin II from his capital to seize Edessa after a 28 days' siege, on Saturday 26 Djumādā II 539/23 December 1144. This was the first Muslim reconquest of a major capital of the Crusaders. The victory led western Christianity to undertake the Second Crusade and earned Zangī an outstanding reputation as hero of *djihād* among the Muslims.

Zangī's death. In the following years Zangī faced many troubles and setbacks. After an unsuccessful siege of al-Bīra [*q.v.*], at the strategic crossing of the Euphrates, the Crusaders abandoned it to the Artukid ruler Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāsh, a vigorous opponent of Zangī. In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 539/May 1145 the Saldjūḳ prince Alp Arslān (Ibn al-Athīr) or Farrukhānshāh (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī and Ibn al-ʿAdīm) (see above) made an unsuccessful rebellion in al-Mawṣil. In 541/1146 Zangī set out to attack the ʿUḳaylid stronghold of Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar [*q.v.*], but some of his own *mamlūks* murdered him in the night of Sunday, 6 Rabīʿ II 541/14-15 September 1146. He was succeeded by his sons Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī in al-Mawṣil and Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd in Aleppo.

The historians, in particular Ibn al-Athīr, have bestowed the highest praise on Zangī for his political and military qualities and his achievements, especially with regard to the war against the Crusaders; nevertheless, they were aware of his unscrupulousness. Zangī was the first Muslim ruler who fought the Crusader states effectively; however, he never fought them with the same vigour as he did in the case of the strategically much more important Damascus. Ibn al-Athīr also praises him for the return of prosperity to al-Mawṣil and all his lands after the period of Bedouin domination and of continuous warfare amongst the Saldjūḳs, his main political aim to carve out an autonomous amīrate within the framework of the Saldjūḳ empire.

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(S. Heidemann)

ZANGĪ ĀTĀ or Zangī Bābā, Ṣūfī saint of Central Asia, d. 657/1259.

He was a shepherd from Tashkent, with swarthy colouring from his Arab origins, whence his name (*zangī* "black"). His father Tāsh Ātā was a descendant of Arslān Bāb, the master of the great saint of Central Asia, Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*]. Zangī Ātā was first of all initiated by his own father into the mystical way, and then, after his father's death he became the disciple of Ḥakīm Ātā, Aḥmad Yasawī's famous *khalīfa*. At Ḥakīm Ātā's death, he went on pilgrimage to his tomb in Khᵂārazm, and married Anbar Bībī, the saint's widow. The Naḳshbandī ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār [see aḥrār, in Suppl.] held Zangī Ātā in high regard, and claimed to have heard God's voice when he was at the saint's tomb in Tashkent. Zangī Ātā also cultivated the practice of "*dhikr* of the saw" (*dhikr-i arra*).

Amongst his four main *khalīfas*—Uzun Ḥasan Ātā, Sayyid Ātā, Ṣadr Ātā and Badr Ātā—the second of these was sent into the Dasht-i Ḳipčaḳ to spread Islam and to convert the ruler Özbeg Khān to that faith. In the 19th century, oral tradition attached Zangī Ātā to the Ḳādirī *ṭarīḳa* ("Khodrié", see Schuyler), which was, in reality, simply the Naḳshbandiyya-Djahriyya. Built on Tīmūr's orders, the ensemble around his mausoleum (16 km/10 miles from Tashkent) is one of the finest architectural works in Central Asia and one of the oldest pilgrimage places in the region. It comprises the saint's tomb, a *madrasa* dating from the 18th-19th centuries, a hostel for pilgrims, a mosque (1870), a minaret (1914-15) and a monumental portal. There is a great basin stretching out in front of the ensemble and a vast cemetery on one of its sides. Nearby is the tomb of his wife, Anbar Bībī. Each year, at the beginning of September, there was a religious festival in Zangī Ātā's honour, he having become the patron saint of Tashkent. The festival lasted two or three days, gathering together the whole population of Tashkent in prayers, communal meals and festivities. It was described in the second half of the 19th century by the American traveller Eugene Schuyler (*Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 138-40), and several traditions linked with the saint's mausoleum were collected by J. Castagné in his study of the saints of Central *Asia* (*Le culte des saints de l'Islam au Turkestan*, in *L'Ethnographie*, Paris 1951, 53-4). Since the break-up of the USSR, the pilgrimage has taken on a new life, and practices linked with popular Islam (healing sessions by *bakhshīs* [*q.v.*], amongst others) have taken place at the approaches to the funerary complex of Zangī Ātā. The saint's name further appeared in incantations put together by *bakhshīs* in the last century (see the text of a Ḳazaḳ *bakhshī* collected by Castagné).

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(Th. Zarcone)

ZANGIDS, a Turkmen dynasty which reigned over Syria, Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Rabīʿa [*q.vv.*] from 521-2/1127-8 onwards, in the tradition of Turkmen-Saldjūḳ collective familial sovereignty: in Aleppo until 579/1183, in al-Mawṣil until 631/1233, and with minor branches in Sindjār, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and in Shahrazūr.

The progenitor Aḳsunḳur [*q.v.*], a Turkish *mamlūk* commander in the service of the Saldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh, was appointed governor of Aleppo in 480/1087-8. During the wars of succession following the sultan's assassination, Aḳsunḳur was executed in 487/1094.

His eldest son and eponym of the dynasty, Zangī [*q.v.*], was raised and trained at the court of the governors of al-Mawṣil. In Rabīʿ II 520/April 1126 the sultan entrusted him with the military governorship of Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ. After the assassination of his protector Aḳsunḳur al-Bursuḳī [*q.v.*], the sultan gave Zangī the former possessions of al-Bursuḳī, al-Mawṣil, Aleppo and parts of the Djazīra. He placed one or two of his sons [see ZANGĪ] under Zangī's tutelage and bestowed on him the title of an *atābak* [*q.v.*], which became almost synonymous for the rulers of al-Mawṣil. During 521-2/1127-8 Zangī took possession of his realm, which had been rent by internal strife and had been annexed partially by the Artuḳids.

Zangī's policy encompassed four main directions. First, he consolidated his amīrate within the Saldjūḳ empire and made it almost autonomous. He took part in the continuous power struggles of the Saldjūḳ sultans, pretenders and the caliphs. In 523/1129 he achieved acknowledgement as king of the west (*malik al-gharb*) by sultan Maḥmūd [*q.v.*]. In the wars of succession after the murder of the caliph al-Mustarshid [*q.v.*] in 530/1136, Zangī sided with the short-reigning caliph al-Rāshid [*q.v.*], but was forced to acknowledge the new caliph al-Muḳtafī and the sultans Masʿūd and Sandjar as overlords.

The persisting political instability in Masʿūd's realm allowed Zangī to turn his attention to matters in Syria, the second direction. He launched four campaigns into the autonomous realm of the Būrids [*q.v.*] with the ultimate goal of conquering Damascus between 523/1129 and 533-4/1139-40. He never succeeded in this, though he gained Ḥamāt and Ḥimṣ [*q.vv.*], and eventually had to be content with the nominal overlordship.

The third direction of expansion was towards the Artuḳid and Kurdish principalities in Diyār Bakr. In various campaigns, raids and intrigues with the Artuḳid houses of Mārdīn and Ḥiṣn Kayfā he gained several strongholds there.

The fourth direction was towards the Crusader principalities. He seized fortresses mainly in the region between Antioch and Aleppo, and at the zenith of his power in 539/1144 conquered al-Ruhā [*q.v.*], the capital of the Crusader County of Edessa. This caused the Second Crusade and earned Zangī his outstanding reputation among Muslim historians as a hero of the *djihād*.

The succession of Zangī after his death in 541/1146 was disputed between his sons, but it resulted in practice in a division of territories between two of them, Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī in al-Mawṣil with the territories in Djazīra, and Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] in Syria and al-Ruhā. Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī first became the head of the family, and then later Nūr al-Dīn.

The principality of Aleppo. After the murder of his father, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd achieved control in Aleppo. He spent the first year of his reign in consolidating his territory, threatened by an unsuccessful attempt of Joscelin of Edessa to retake his capital with the help of the resident Armenians. He reached a conciliation with his brother Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, acknowledging the latter's suzerainty. In the south, Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur of Damascus, together with the Crusaders of Jerusalem, tried to regain territory and independence.

The first eight years were occupied with the unification of Syria under his rule. In July 1148 the leaders of the Second Crusade in Jerusalem made the ill-fated decision to attack Damascus, although the Būrids had been the allies of Jerusalem for years against Zangīd ambitions. Unur of Damascus had to call in Nūr al-Dīn. On his advance, the Crusaders lifted the siege. The year 544/1149-50 saw four major events favourable for Nūr al-Dīn. In Ṣafar 544/June 1149 he won a decisive battle against the Crusaders near Inab, where Raymond of Antioch was killed. He then took Afāmiya, Ḳalʿat Mudīḳ and Ḥārim. In Rabīʿ II 544/August 1149 his opponent Unur of Damascus died. In Djumādā II 544/November 1149 his brother in al-Mawṣil died and was succeeded by his third and younger brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd. The supremacy within the family confederation was disputed, but eventually it was agreed that Nūr al-Dīn should get the rich family treasure, which had been deposited in Sindjār, for financing the *djihād*, as well as the major cities in Diyār Muḍar and also Ḥimṣ. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 544/April 1150 Joscelin of Edessa was captured by Turkmens, which provided an opportunity for Nūr al-Dīn to seize the remaining strongholds of the former county of Edessa. In Ṣafar 549/April 1154 he finally conquered Damascus and extended his realm as far as Buṣrā and Ṣalkhad.

A power struggle in the already-weakened Fāṭimid caliphate in 558/1163 resulted in a competition between Amalric of Jerusalem and Nūr al-Dīn over political and military domination of Egypt as the key to hegemony in the region. Three times between 559/1164 and 564/1168, their armies both penetrated into Egypt. Finally, in Rabīʿ II 564/January 1169 Shīrkūh, the commander of Nūr al-Dīn's army, became master of Egypt as *wazīr* of the Fāṭimid caliph. After the death of the last Fāṭimid, al-ʿĀḍid, on 10 Muḥarram 567/12-13 September 1171, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who had succeeded his uncle Shīrkūh as *wazīr*, changed the *khuṭba* and *sikka* in favour of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd and the ʿAbbāsid caliph, thus re-establishing Sunnī supremacy in Egypt.

Two years before, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd had died in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 565/September 1170. Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, the leader of a faction hostile to Nūr al-Dīn, became the lord of al-Mawṣil. The question of supremacy within the Zangīd family was raised again. In 566/1170-1 Nūr al-Dīn conquered the Djazīra in order to restructure the Zangīd realm. Ghāzī II remained in al-Mawṣil but acknowledged Nūr al-Dīn's suzerainty. Nūr al-Dīn's candidate for al-Mawṣil, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī II, the younger son of Mawdūd, was compensated with Sindjār, but had to acknowledge the suzerainty of his brother in al-Mawṣil. With a united Syria, Diyār Muḍar and the rich province of Egypt, as well as the overlordship of al-Mawṣil and Diyār Rabīʿa, Nūr al-Dīn was at the zenith of his power in order to fight the Crusaders. In the following years, he tried to gain the Crusader castles Karak and Shawbak [*q.vv.*], but Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's increasing tendency to build up Egypt as his independent power base hindered these ambitions. Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd died on 11 Shawwāl 569/15 May 1174. He founded several urban institutions, *madrasas* and hospitals and restored the fortifications of the cities and citadels in Aleppo, Damascus and al-Mawṣil. He was the patron of Sunnī orthodoxy, to the detriment of the Shīʿī population and institutions.

He was succeeded by his son al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, an eleven-year-old boy. His uncle Sayf al-Dīn of al-Mawṣil immediately challenged his position and in 569/1174

reconquered the Zangīd Djazīra for al-Mawṣil. In the south, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn advanced from Egypt, taking Damascus and Ḥamāt in 570/1174. After a victory over the combined Zangīd forces in Shawwāl 571/April 1176, he revoked the fiction of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl's overlordship, thus creating a formally independent principality. When al-Ṣāliḥ died in Radjab 577/1181 he left a principality threatened by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and bequeathed to ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd of al-Mawṣil. However, instead of fighting Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, in Shawwāl 577/February 1182 Masʿūd exchanged Aleppo for Sindjār in order to expel Zangī II from the immediate neighbourhood of al-Mawṣil. During his first Djazīra campaign in Ṣafar 579/June 1183, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took Aleppo from Zangī II in exchange for Sindjār.

The principality of al-Mawṣil. After the death of Zangī, Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī became head of the family. The politics of the Mawṣil branch were intent on maintaining a balance of power and concentrated on the economic and cultural development of the principality. Ghāzī, his successors and the élite of al-Mawṣil became patrons of architecture and art, benefactors of religious institutions and scholars. When Ghāzī died in 544/1149, the *amīrs* of al-Mawṣil transferred the government to his younger brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd. An intervention by Nūr al-Dīn reduced the principality considerably (see above). Al-Mawṣil at that time was run by the powerful regent al-Djawād and the *amīr* ʿAlī Küčük [see BEGTEGĪNIDS]. Only in 554/1159 did al-Mawṣil once again enter the persistent Saldjūḳ power struggles, when ʿAlī Küčük briefly supported the Saldjūḳ pretender Sulaymān Shāh, who had been detained in al-Mawṣil for several years. The death of Mawdūd in 565/1170 resulted in a succession crisis, in which Nūr al-Dīn intervened. The realm of the successor Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II became rather diminished and divided (see above). However, as soon as Nūr al-Dīn died, Ghāzī extended his realm at the expense of his nephew al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl (see above). The weakness of the Syrian régime drove Ghāzī into war with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 570-1/1175-6. A treaty concluded in Muḥarram 572/July 1176 confirmed the status quo. Back in al-Mawṣil, Ghāzī II installed Mudjāhid al-Dīn Ḳaymaz as *wazīr*, who directed the affairs with only one interruption up to 595/1198. In 576/1180 Ḳaymaz administered the succession of the deceased *atābak* in favour of the brother ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd. The sons of Ghāzī II received only an *iḳṭāʿ*, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and al-ʿAḳr al-Ḥumaydiyya, both of which formed the nucleus of later Zangīd principalities.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn made two expeditions into the Djazīra, in 578-9/1182-3 and in 581/1185-6, in order to subdue the Zangīds and to direct the resources of the Djazīra to battlefields in Syria and Palestine. After his first campaign, the principality of al-Mawṣil became reduced to al-Mawṣil itself and Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and some territories east of the Tigris. Due to an intrigue, the powerful regent of al-Mawṣil Ḳaymaz was forced to step down in Djumādā I 579/August-September 1183. Sandjar Shāh of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and Yūsuf b. ʿAlī Küčük of Irbil saw the opportunity to secede from al-Mawṣil, and acknowledged the suzerainty of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. After ten months, Masʿūd re-installed Ḳaymaz. His immediate attempts to regain Irbil were the cause for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's second campaign. Both campaigns fragmented the Zangīd realm into five separate principalities, all of them acknowledging Ayyūbid suzerainty in the *khuṭba* and *sikka*: two Begtigīnid principalities (Ḥarrān/al-Ruhā and Irbil) and three Zangīd principalities (al-Mawṣil, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and Sindjār/Naṣībīn). On 27 Ṣafar 589/4 March 1193 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn died, and Masʿūd, Zangī II of Sindjār and other lords of the Djazīra tried vainly to break away. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother al-ʿĀdil [*q.v.*], the Ayyūbid lord of Mesopotamia, secured the Ayyūbid supremacy. In the aftermath of these campaigns, Masʿūd died on 29 Shaʿbān 589/30 August 1193, and Ḳaymaz directed the succession of Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh. In 594/1198, after the death of Zangī II of Sindjār, a clash over the possession of Naṣībīn resulted in a weakening of both principalities and the death of Ḳaymaz in Rabīʿ I 595/January 1199. The death of the formal head of the Ayyūbid house, al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān, in 595/1198 provided the opportunity for the three Zangīd principalities to rebel against al-ʿĀdil in favour of al-Afḍal ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān and his supporter al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī of Aleppo [*q.v.*]. Al-ʿĀdil succeeded in subjugating the Zangīd principalities. At the beginning of 601/September 1204, a treaty was arranged on the basis of the *status quo ante*. In 606/1209 al-ʿĀdil attempted to annex the Zangīd states, beginning with Naṣībīn, but Kökbürī of Irbil and Arslān Shāh joined forces in order to thwart al-ʿĀdil's ambitions. A reconciliation was achieved, but Naṣībīn and the Khābūr valley remained in the hands of al-ʿĀdil, and the Zangīds had to send provisions for his campaigns. In Radjab 607/January 1211 ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd II succeeded his father. Arslān Shāh had chosen his *mamlūk* Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' [*q.v.*] as regent of al-Mawṣil. Lu'lu''s power grew to such an extent that in 631/1233 he was able to depose the Zangīds from being *atābaks* of al-Mawṣil. Arslān Shāh's second son ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī III was compensated with the fortresses of al-ʿAḳr al-Ḥumaydiyya and al-Shūsh as *iḳṭāʿs*. In Rabīʿ II 615/July 1218 Lu'lu' secured the smooth succession for Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh II in al-Mawṣil. The death of al-ʿĀdil in Djumādā II 615/August 1218 encouraged rulers in the Djazīra to revolt and expand their territory. Zangī III took the fortresses of al-ʿImādiyya that were dependent on al-Mawṣil, which remained loyal to the Ayyūbids. He became master of the Kurdish mountain region north and northeast of the city, supported by Kökbürī of Irbil. Lu'lu' sought help from al-Ashraf Mūsā, the successor of al-ʿĀdil in the Djazīra. Lu'lu' in turn served al-Ashraf Mūsā as check on Ayyūbid enemies in the east. The caliph mediated a peace agreement. Soon afterwards, in 616/1219, Arslān Shāh II died and Lu'lu' secured the succession of the three-year-old al-Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd II, but Zangī III and Kökbürī challenged Lu'lu' in Kurdistān. From 620/1223 to 624/1227 an internal war broke out in the Ayyūbid realm, which strengthened Lu'lu''s power as ally of al-Ashraf Mūsā. When in 630/1233 Kökbürī died, he had bequeathed his territory to the caliph in Baghdād. He had been the last powerful advocate of the Zangid cause, and Lu'lu', now at the zenith of his power, could get rid of the last Zangīd of the al-Mawṣil line. In Rabīʿ I 631/December 1233 he received an investiture diploma for al-Mawṣil and the honorific of *al-Malik al-Raḥīm* as official recognition from the caliph.

The principality of Sindjār. This was set up by Nūr al-Dīn in 566/1170-1 for his nephew ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī II, who had to acknowledge his brother Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī of al-Mawṣil as immediate overlord. The relation between the branches in Sindjār and al-Mawṣil remained tense and frequently hostile. In 577/1182 Zangī II exchanged Sindjār with Masʿūd for Aleppo. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn conquered Sindjār as early as Ramaḍān 578/December 1182 and gave it in the next year,

together with Naṣībīn, the Khābūr valley, al-Raḳḳa and Sarūdj, to Zangī II in exchange for Aleppo (see above). The possession of Naṣībīn remained strongly disputed between Sindjār and al-Mawṣil. In Muḥarram 594/November 1197 Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad succeeded his father; in 595/1199 he joined the coalition against al-ʿĀdil, but was the first to recognise him as overlord again in 600/1204. In 606/1209 al-ʿĀdil captured the Khābūr valley and Naṣībīn and unsuccessfully besieged Sindjār. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn had a good reputation as a just ruler and a supporter of commerce. When he died in Ṣafar 616/April 1219, a violent dynastic crisis arose and within a year his two sons fought and succeeded each other. Then in Djumādā I 1617/July 1220 the last Zangīd ruler of Sindjār transferred his principality to al-Ashraf Mūsā.

The principality of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar. After the death of Ghāzī II in 576/1180, his son Muʿizz al-Dīn Sandjar Shāh obtained Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar as *iḳṭāʿ* within the realm of al-Mawṣil. It can be regarded as autonomous principality from 579/1183, when he acknowledged the overlordship of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn after the deposition of Ḳaymaz. Following the death of the Ayyūbid al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān, Sandjar Shāh took part in the rebellion against al-ʿĀdil, but in 600/1204 changed sides, now fighting Arslān Shāh in al-Mawṣil. Sandjar Shāh was murdered in 605/1208-9 and his son, al-Muʿaẓẓam Maḥmūd, succeeded him. Like his father, the latter is described as tyrannical, but he managed to rule for over forty years by keeping good relations with the Ayyūbids as well as with Luʾluʾ in al-Mawṣil. When he died in 648/1251, he was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Masʿūd Shāhānshāh, but Luʾluʾ absorbed this principality, too. With an investiture diploma from the Ayyūbid al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II, he conquered the city in 649/1251. The last ruling Zangīd was drowned in captivity on the way to al-Mawṣil.

The principality of Shahrazūr [*q.v.*]. This was the final result of the succession regulations in 607/1211. ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī III received the fortresses of al-ʿAḳr al-Ḥumaydiyya and al-Shūsh as *iḳṭāʿ*s. In 615/1218, when Luʾluʾ placed Arslān Shāh II on the throne of al-Mawṣil, Zangī III felt deprived of his claim and vainly attempted to displace Luʾluʾ with the support of Kökbūrī. When al-ʿĀdil died in the same year, Zangī III tried to extend his power into the northern region of al-Mawṣil. In 617/1220 he lost his fortresses and all his territorial gain to Luʾluʾ and fled to Ādharbāydjān, in 619/1222 attempting anew to regain his possessions but was compelled to abandon them in exchange for the distant Shahrazūr, acknowledging the overlordship of Kökburī. In Ramaḍān 633/May 1236 he was succeeded by his son Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh III. After his death in 14 Shaʿbān 642/15 January 1245, Shahrazūr was given to an *amīr* of the caliph, and four months later it was conquered by the Mongols.

After one-and-a-half centuries of Bedouin domination and urban decline in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, the Zangīds, following the Saldjūḳ conquest, brought back an urban-based political structure to the region. They rebuilt the devastated cities, and founded numerous urban and religious institutions. They promoted Sunnī Islam where Shīʿism had earlier prevailed. They cared for scholarship, commerce and the development of an indigenous currency. Together with the Artuḳids, they created at their courts a distinctive style of classical revival, and it may be said that the Zangīds laid the institutional foundation on which the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks could build.

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(S. Heidemann)

ZĀR, the name for a popular cult of spirits found in northeastern Africa and such adjacent regions as the Arabian peninsula.

1. In the Horn of Africa and the Arabian peninsula.

The *zār* ritual or practice seems to have originated in the Horn of Africa and, especially, in Ethiopia. According to E. Cerulli, the word (Ar. *zār*, Amharic *zar*, Somali *saar*, etc.), may be said to derive from "the name of the supreme god of the pagan Cushitic peoples, the Sky-God called in Agaw (Bilen) *djār*, and in the Sidamo languages (Kaffa) *yarō* and (Buoro) *darō*". The Italian scholar further thought that, in the context of Ethiopian Christianity, this god must have been reduced to the role of an evil spirit, one which has been likewise retained among the Muslims and, probably, among the Falasha. These propositions do not provide answers to all the questions involved, but are still of value in so far as they have not been replaced by more information. Etymologies deriving *zār* from the Arabic verb *zāra* "to visit" seem fantastic, although current in Arab milieux.

An important Cushitic people, the Oromo, who entered Ethiopia from the 16th century onwards, could have played an important role in the formation of the ritual and its diffusion. Nevertheless, it spread (sometimes with changes of name and assimilating local practices and beliefs) throughout northeastern Africa, the Maghrib and the Arabian peninsula, above all in the 19th century. Slaves carried off from the Horn of Africa contributed to this expansion and, in

more recent times, the Ethiopian, Eritrean and Somali diasporas. Links with other similar rituals in West Africa and the Arab world are clear but remain to be clarified.

In Ethiopia itself the *zar* ritual assumes many forms, but it is possible to discern a basic structure. It is devoted to spirits capable of sparking off illnesses and all sorts of accidents of life among those possessed by them. The *zar* can fasten on any person, but in order to make that person openly ill, spontaneously invoke a trance or provoke an accident, the person in question must have "a star easily gripped", receive a *zar* through heredity or find him or herself in one of the circumstances or the places favourable to and attractive for the *zar* (seasons, places, odours, the victim's failure to fulfil various usages or his or her faults towards the *zar*, etc.).

In practice, the *zar* ritual is only found in urban centres. Those who are possessed—comprising mainly women—form a sort of fraternity or sorority under the power of a healing man or woman (Amhar. *baläzar*) "superior possessed person", whom the very important *zars* allow to release sufferers from the less important *zars* who afflict them. The sick or possessed persons group themselves round the *baläzar* during the sessions (*wädadja*), during which spirits are evoked by clapping the hands or beating drums or by singing. The healer then proceeds to bring about peace between the *zar* and the possessed person. He makes the *zar* give his name and makes him "come down to" the sufferer, who then goes into a trance (*gurri*), and afterwards negotiates with him. The *zar* has to promise, after an exchange of sacrifices or presents (jewels, necklaces, etc., at the cost of the possessed person and which will be borne by him or her because he/she has become the incarnation of his or her *zar* or "mount"), not to trouble the sufferer any longer. In addition to propitiatory sacrifices of chickens, sheep, cows, etc., there are rites of expulsion (the sufferer is rubbed with the corpse of a slaughtered animal, into which the illness passes), ablutions in vegetable decoctions, the spitting out of quids of *ḳāt* [*q.v.*] chewed by the *baläzar* over the patient, unctions of coffee grounds, etc.

The *zar* are not demons (they have a white face, whilst demons have black ones), nor *budas*, nor *ḳolles*, nor *djinn*, but sometimes they have complex relations with these other spirits. The invisible world of these spirits is the image of Ethiopian society and its members. The *zar* wear clothes, eat, have their own special character (they are delicate and sensitive), temperaments, origins and histories. They include both males and females, they marry, and can even become crossed with demons and *djinn*, producing a class of métis or halfbreeds. Hence they have their own genealogies, and all social groups are represented.

Islamic elements are present within the ritual as a whole (proper names given to the *zar*, the vocabulary of the rituals, use of *ḳāt* which, in Ethiopia, is a "Muslim" plant, etc.), which leads one to think of a large involvement of the Ethiopian Muslim peoples—Oromo, Argobba, etc.—and a prominent role of the great Muslim centre of Harar [*q.v.*] in the diffusion of the cult into Somaliland on the one hand, and to Aden and the Yemen on the other. The Somalis themselves have been able to relay or strengthen this diffusion from their centres of emigration within the Arabian peninsula, such as Aden and Sūr in ʿUmān. At the present time, the *zar* ritual is widespread in the Persian Gulf region, not only on the Arab coasts but also on the Persian ones, in ʿUmān and in Yemen, especially at Aden and in the Tihāma. In this last region, introduction of the ritual is attributed to the Akhdām, a people of African origin who have to endure a special status and who have made music and dancing their specialities. The importance of the *zar* ritual in Saudi Arabia, where it has long been attested, is difficult to estimate.

The *zar* ritual displays not only medico-magical aspects but also has religious, sexual, familial and societal, legal and moral, economic, aesthetic and artistic aspects which cannot be gone into here. It has been attacked (and its adepts sometimes persecuted) by religious authorities, Christian and Muslim, by the British colonial power, by the Marxists of the former P.D.S.Y., and now by Islamic fundamentalists. It is often recognised within Islamic countries that the *zar* is a mental affliction and a means for women to create a space of freedom for themselves.

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(A. Rouaud)

2. In Egypt.

The existence of the *zār* ritual has been recorded on the shores of the Red Sea from 1860 onward, then in the remainder of the country, especially in Upper Egypt, in Alexandria and in Cairo. Its introduction into the harems of Egyptian and Turkish *pashas* is attributed to Sudanese and Ethiopian slaves and concubines.

The ritual structure of the *zār* is very flexible, facilitating its adaptation to different social, cultural and religious circles. The adepts are mostly women—of any

age, civil or socio-economic status and education—and Muslim. Christians and men, primarily homosexuals, participate sporadically in the rites.

The *zār* in Egypt has developed and enriched the ancient belief in possession by *dj̲unūn*: these spirits, living in an invisible world and capable of anger and even of infatuation with a woman, enter her body and provoke a state of trance, a physical or mental illness, or various other problems. The spirits of the *zār*, called "masters" (*asyād*), often grouped into families (of e.g. African, Egyptian, Turkish, European, Indian origin, etc.), are identified by name, sex, status or occupation (king, queen, soldier, physician, lawyer, schoolgirl, etc.), land of origin, place of residence (mountain, river, cemetery, mosque, the threshold of a house, etc.), religion (Muslim, Christian, Jewish, polytheist), clothing and ornamentation, colour, incense, an emotion or sentiment, and, finally, by songs and dances, foodstuffs and specific sacrificial animals (pigeon, chicken, sheep, calf, camel, etc.). These elements characterise and distinguish the spirits from one another and constitute the liturgy of the *zār*.

Once possessed, the victim organises ceremonies for as long as she lives and in different places, with the aim of being reconciled with the spirits. The possessed person, called "bride" (*ʿarūsa*), under the guidance of the chief celebrant, known as *kūdiya* (a term of unknown origin) or *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲a*, concludes a pact of alliance with her "masters", one after the other. The rite takes on the appearance of a marriage ceremony between the spirit and the adept, with the celebrant introducing at different times divination by dreams, called "discovery of traces" (*kas̲h̲f al-āt̲h̲ār*), the music and dance called "beating" (*dak̲k̲a*) which accompany the trance, ablutions and fumigation with incense, the use of different ritual objects, the sacrifice of edible animals, and offerings of foodstuffs and ritual meals. Currently, the groupings of ritual music are "the Egyptian", "the Sudanese" and a third which belongs to the Ṣūfī brotherhood of the master Abu ʾl-G̲h̲ayt̲h̲. The first is constituted by women who play drums and tambourines. The second is a mixed group that also includes dancers with a belt made from sheep-skin shoes (*mandj̲ūr*), and a leader who plays the lyre (*tambūra*), a sacred instrument, considered the dwelling-place of African spirits. Finally, the Ṣūfī one is constituted by dancers with little castanets, long hair and the *tannūra*, a large swirling woman's dress, and players of tambourines and flutes, who sing the praises of the Muslim saints.

The ritual structure reproduces the fundamental stages of a woman's life such as marriage, maternity and birth. These are staged according to a process of transformation: the novice, starting as the spouse of the spirit, subsequently becomes a mother and then a newborn child: the animal changes from its position as substitute for the spirit to that of substitute for the novice; it is slaughtered and the different parts distributed between the novice, the celebrant and the persons invited (the blood is poured over the novice, the meat and the entrails are cooked and eaten). Furthermore, there are ceremonies which are part of an initiatory process whereby the adept can become a celebrant, by passing through various ritual stages which permit her to progress and which are underlined by the adoption of different titles.

The Egyptian *zār* is not simply a therapeutic ritual; it is considered a religious ritual, and its celebrants and disciples are recognised as good Muslims. However, the spirituality of the *zār* transcends religions, whether they be Muslim, Christian or Jewish, while recognising them and embracing them in its ritual. It is thus considered a ritual of actualisation and of manifestation of the "grace" (*baraka*) of Allāh. The *kūdiya* becomes the vehicle of God's blessing, and assists the other possessed persons in their processes of transformation, by virtue of her special relationship with the spirits and her mastery of possession, which implies having the authority, knowledge and power necessary to perform the rites effectively. She is also called "she who knows the way" (*ʿārifat al-sikka*). Thus *zār*, while presenting the syncretic elements of the recognised religions, is thus revealed to be a specific and uniquely feminine-orientated religious form. Hence, while popular and widely diffused among various countries, *zār* is all too often misunderstood and opposed by men of religion, both orthodox and mystics, as well as by governments.

The religiosity of *zār* is expressed in the form of the union, "of love", between the "spouse of the *zār*" (whether she be possessed or celebrant) and the spirits. This marital relationship is confined to the rites in the case of possessed, but becomes permanent in the case of celebrants. Renewal of the alliance pact takes place through the constant performance of the rites. Each one of the ensemble of rites comprises variations of the model ceremony according to the intervention of a different spirit linked to a specific place and demanding the sacrifice of a particular animal. This initiatory process is the catalyst for the actualisation and organisation of the hierarchical universe of spirits and a particular cosmology, since *zār* appeals not only to natural or zoomorphic spirits but also to other categories, including the Christian saints Jesus and Mary, the family of the Prophet, and Muslim saints or mystics.

The Egyptian *zār* displays a complex structure combining a series of repetitive ceremonies. The celebrant is the pivot of the system around which the ritual unfolds and without her the rites could not take place while, at the same time, as a former possessed initiate herself, she is the culmination of the ritual system.

The rite of possession as thus defined shows that these ceremonies are only the links in a chain of initiation that leads from suffering to religious mastery. And this initiation is specifically feminine because any woman can, by successfully completing the ritual phases, become a *kūdiya*. The *zār* is thus differentiated from other initiatory rites, such as the rites of Ṣūfī brotherhoods, where ascent to the highest ranks of the religious hierarchy is achieved by way of a hereditary, essentially masculine path.

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(Tiziana Battain)

ZARĀDUS̲H̲TIYYA [see madj̲ūs].

ZARĀFA (a.), pls. *zarāfāt, zarāfī, zarāʾif, zurāfa*, the giraffe (in Persian, *us̲h̲tur-gāw-palang* "camel-cow-leopard"), a large African mammiferous animal, one of the two representatives of the Giraffid family and well

known through its western type *Giraffa camelopardalis* or cameleopard. In Antiquity, and according to all the ancient writers on natural history, the giraffe was considered as a hybrid coming from crossings of wild species of camelids, bovines and felines, male or female, and because of its long front legs and short back ones, as involving a limping and jerky gait.

It is astonishing that al-Damīrī makes no mention of the giraffe in his *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, nor does al-Ḳazwīnī in his *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*; only al-Djāḥiẓ speaks of it, refuting and criticising all the beliefs asserting that this large, long-necked beast was a hybrid (*Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1947, i, 38, 241-3). In short, one may say that the Arabs hardly knew the giraffe and were uninterested in it; for them, its only asset was the beauty of its spotted coat, since they regarded it as stupid, and only localised it in Nubia.

In astronomy, the Giraffe is the name given to a secondary boreal constellation situated between that of the Waggoner (*Mumsik al-aʿinna, Dhu 'l-ʿinān*) and that of the Little Bear (*al-Dubb al-aṣghar*).

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ZARAFSHĀN, conventionally Zerafshan, a landlocked river of Central Asia, now coming within Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

In early Islamic times, it was known as "the river of Sogdia", Nahr Ṣughd [see ṣughd] or "the river of Bukhārā" (see al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 293-4, tr. Wiet, 110-11; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 319-21; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 495-7, tr. Kramers and Wiet, ii, 475-7; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 55, 73, comm. 198, 211). It flowed westwards from sources in what the geographers called the Buttamān mountains, in fact, between what are now the east-west-lying ranges of the Turkistan mountains, separating the Zarafshān from the upper Sïr Daryā [*q.v.*] valley, and the Hissar mountains separating it from the rivers running southwards through Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*] to the upper Oxus. Its waters served a series of towns, from Pandjikath to Samarḳand and Bukhārā, and their agricultural areas, with a complex irrigation system for the Samarḳand district beginning at the village of Waraghsar "head of the dam"; al-Yaʿḳūbī says that the river was as important as the Euphrates. Ultimately, it petered out in marshes in the desert before it could reach the middle Oxus towards Khwārazm.

The name Zarafshān "gold spreader" (the mountains around its headwaters being famed as auriferous and bearing many useful other metals in early Islamic times) only appears from the 18th century onwards. An earlier name corruptly given in the text of al-Yaʿḳūbī, 293, tr. 111, was interpreted by Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 82, and then Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 30, as **Nāmik*, to be compared with the Chinese rendering *Na-mi*, and Marquart went on to suggest an etymology from Iranian *nāmik* "famed", citing the name for the river in Greek sources πολυτίμητος "highly honoured"; but all this remains speculation.

The mountain valleys where the Zarafshān rises have provided a refuge area for the Middle Iranian language, Yaghnobi [see īrān. iii. Languages, in Suppl.].

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ZARANDJ [see zarang].

ZARANG, Arabised as Zarandj, the main town of the early Islamic province of Sīstān. Its ruins lie a few miles north of what was in the late 19th and early 20th centuries the administrative centre of Persian Sīstān, Nuṣratābād or Nāṣirābād, modern Zābul. Its remaining traces are visible within the vast ruined site known as Nād-i ʿAlī, to the east of the present course of the Hilmand river [*q.v.*] before it peters out in the Hāmūn depression [see zirih] just inside Afghān Sīstān; the site has, however, been much depleted by periodic flooding and the re-use of its materials for local building. In recent years, a "New" Zarang has been founded as a minor administrative centre just inside the Afghān border.

Zarang is an ancient name. The province Zarangianē (< Drangiana) appears in the Greek text of Isidore of Charax (? *flor.* 1st century A.D.), and had already figured in the Behistun inscription of Darius I and the Persepolis one of Xerxes as *Zara(n)ka* or *Zra(n)ka*, Akkadian *za-ra-an-ga* (cf. W. Tomaschek, in *PW*, new ed. iv/2, cols. 1665-7, s.v. *Drungai*). In Sāsānid times, coins were minted at *Sakastān (*SK*) from the time of Shāpūr II (309-79) onwards, and specifically at Zarang (*ZR, ZN, ZRNG*) from the first reign of Kawadh I (488-97). Sīstān (i.e. Zarang) figures as the seat of a Nestorian bishopric in the acts of councils of 430 and 577; Christians are still mentioned there at the beginning of the 11th century.

In the first century of Islam, the Arabs first appeared before Zarang in 31/651-2 when ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] sent al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī against Sīstān. After a battle with the incomers, the *dihḳān* of Zarang decided to make a peace agreement and promised to pay an annual tribute of money and slaves, an arrangement confirmed by the Marzbān or Ispahbadh of Sīstān. Coins of Arabo-Sāsānid type were minted in Sīstān, presumably at Zarang (which appears on such coins as *ZR*) from the years 31 and 32 (cf. E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 132, 139). When in 33/653-4 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir appointed a new governor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, Zarang revolted and had to be pacified, this time with a heavier tribute; it was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's twelve-year governorship which now made Arab rule firm in Sīstān. Zarang now became a base for Arab raids further eastwards, to Bust and against the local rulers in eastern Afghānistān, the Zunbīls [*q.v.*], and beyond them, the Kābul-Shāhs. It remained the bastion of Arabic rule in Sīstān, even when, up to the 3rd/9th century, much of the surrounding countryside was controlled by anti-caliphal, Khāridjite bands.

The uncertain political situation in Khurāsān caused by Abū Muslim's revolt plunged Zarang into disorder, with various Arab tribal factions disputing power there; it was not until 138/755 that the caliph al-Manṣūr's authority was established. At the end of the 8th century, Sīstān and much of eastern Khurāsān was shaken by the thirty years' Khāridjite revolt of Ḥamza b. Ādharak. Although Zarang remained faithful to the ʿAbbāsid connection, its governors had little control over the countryside outside the city, and the forwarding of revenue from the province was cut off. In 206/821 the governor of Khurāsān, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn [*q.v.*], was able to appoint a governor for Sīstān, and taxation started flowing once more from the province to Nīshāpūr and, ulti-

mately, to Baghdād. But this period was short-lived, for the last Ṭāhirid governor in Sīstān, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥuḍayn al-Ḳūsī, had to abandon Zarang in 239/854 to local *ʿayyār* leaders, out of whom there emerged as *amīr* in Zarang Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār [*q.v.*].

For the next 150 years, till the Ghaznawid occupation of 393/1002, Zarang was the capital of the Ṣaffārids [*q.v.*], for the first part of this, of a vast empire in the Eastern Islamic world. In these years, Zarang reached a peak of prosperity. We have detailed descriptions of it from such 4th/10th century geographers as al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī, when the city was flourishing under the *amīrs* Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad and his son Khalaf. André Miquel has used these to put together a picture of Zarang as a typical Islamic *miṣr* or provincial capital, having the institutions of government and commerce and being integrated with the agrarian economy of its hinterland; he estimates that the whole urban area may have been 10 km/6 miles across (*La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11ᵉ siècle*, iii, *Le milieu naturel*, Paris-The Hague 1980, 211-15). It appears to have been basically a concentric-patterned city on the Baghdād model, with the three-fold division of a *rabaḍ*, suburb; a *madīna* or *shahristān*, town proper; and a *ḳalʿa* or *arg*, citadel. There were walls protecting both the *rabaḍ* and the *madīna*, the latter one with five iron gates. The *rabaḍ* had palaces built by Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr b. al-Layth respectively, and the *madīna* contained the citadel built by ʿAmr, housing his treasury, and also the Friday mosque and the government building or *dār al-imāra*. In a woodless and stoneless environment, the standard building material was sun-dried brick. There was a plentiful water supply brought by canals from the Hilmand when that river had an adequate flow, and when its flow was high, it was possible to sail in a boat along the final stretch, the Sanārūdh canal, up to the city itself. The surrounding agricultural area was rich, but the drawbacks were the scorching heat and the notorious "wind of 120 days" in spring and summer, which swept along the sand dunes so that barriers of brushwood, shrubs, etc., were necessary to protect the city's buildings.

The city suffered considerably in the rising of 393-4/1003-4 aimed at the Ghaznawid conquerors of Sīstān, with the Friday mosque plundered by the Ghaznawid troops and many people slaughtered; but it revived to become the capital of the Naṣrid *maliks* (421-622/1030-1225) and then of the Mihrabānid ones (from 633/1236 onwards). The actual name Zarang drops out of usage on coins and in literature around the mid-5th/11th century, to be replaced by locutions like *madīnat Sidjistān* and *shahr-i Sīstān*. It is assumed that the ancient Zarang, whatever its current name, continued on the same site until Tīmūr's sack of the Sīstān capital at the end of the 8th/14th century (see below). The Mongols had swept into Sīstān and reached Zarang in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 619/December 1222, killing there the Naṣrid *malik* Nuṣrat al-Dīn b. Yamīn al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, but it was Tīmūr's devastations, in Shawwāl 785/November-December 1383, which finally finished Zarang/Shahr-i Sīstān; hence in 826/1422 the Mihrabānid *malik* Shams al-Dīn began the construction of a new capital, Shahr-i Sīstān, on a fresh site called ?B.r.k or Mirak "well away from the sands and by the banks of the Hilmand", in the words of the local historian of Sīstān Malik Shāh Ḥusayn.

Bibliography: See for the geographers, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 37-9; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 335-8, and *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 110. For the general history of the city in both pre- and post-Islamic times, see C.E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, and idem, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542-3)*, Costa Mesa and New York 1994, indices, with full references; especially notable are Miquel, *op. cit.*, and G.P. Tate, *Seistan, a memoir on the history, topography, ruins and people of the country*, 4 parts, Calcutta 1910-12.

(C.E. Bosworth)

ẒARF (A., pl. *ẓurūf*), lit. "vessel, container", in grammar denotes a subset of nouns of place or time in the dependent (*naṣb, vulgo* "accusative") form indicating when or where the event occurs, e.g. *djalastu yawm-a-n warāʾ-a-hu* "I sat one day behind him". Because of their dependent form, the Arab grammarians classify them as objects of the verb, specifically as the "object of location", *mafʿūl fīhi*, lit. "thing in which something is done". Neither of the western terms "adverb" or "preposition" can properly be applied to these elements, whose noun status is confirmed by, amongst other things, the existence of diminutives such as *ḳubayla* and *buʿayda* "a little before", "a little after". The Greek origin of the term proposed by Merx in 1889 (*angeion* "vessel", cf. Versteegh and Elamrani-Jamal) is interesting but unverifiable. Whether *ẓarf* in the technical sense can really be traced back to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. *ca.* 175/791 [*q.v.*]) likewise cannot be proved (cf. Talmon), though at least we can be certain that it was fully current by the time of Sībawayhi (d. *ca.* 180/796 [*q.v.*]).

There are two general limitations: (a) not all *ẓurūf* have the full range of nominal functions, e.g. *ʿinda* "at", *thamma* "there", *maʿa* "with" (but note the indefinite form *maʿan* "together"), which makes them appear misleadingly similar to our adverbs and prepositions, and (b) nouns denoting a particular place (whether proper names or defined by the article) cannot normally function as *ẓurūf*: *dakhaltu 'l-bayta* "I went [into] the house" or *dhahabtu 'l-Shāma* "I went [to] Syria" are tolerated only as extensions of standard usage (*saʿat al-kalām*). This second limitation is probably universal, arising from the essential difference between what Sībawayhi calls a "point" in time (*waḳt fī 'l-azmina*) and a "point" in space (*waḳt fī 'l-amkina*) in his discussion of this topic (*Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg, i, 12, ed. Būlāḳ, 16). There was also considerable debate among the grammarians as to whether locative phrases can be predicates in verbless sentences, the consensus being that sentences of the type *zaydun ʿindaka* "Zayd is with you" presuppose an elided verb or participle such as *yastaḳirru*/*mustaḳirrun* "is situated".

Bibliography: Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1881-9, repr. Hildesheim, 1970, ed. Būlāḳ 1898-1900, repr. Baghdād [1965]; R. Talmon, *Arabic grammar in its formative age. Kitāb al-ʿAyn and its attribution to Ḫalīl b. Aḥmad*, Leiden 1997, 46-7. For Merx, see C.H.M. Versteegh, *Greek elements in Arabic linguistic thinking*, Leiden 1977, 8-9, and A. Elamrani-Jamal, *Logique aristotélicienne et grammaire arabe*, Paris 1983, 33-4. General sources. M.G. Carter, *Arab linguistics, an introductory classical text with translation and notes*, Amsterdam 1981, §18.0 (with further references); J. Owens, *Early Arabic grammatical theory, heterogeneity and standardization*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia 1990, index s.v. *ḏarf*; H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, 92 ff., 132; W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic language* ii, 109-12, 270.

(M.G. Carter)

ẒARĪF (a.), pl. *ẓurafāʾ*, denotes in mediaeval Islamic social and literary life a person endowed with *ẓarf* "elegance", "refinement", also translatable as "man of the world", "dandy", or, in the plural, "refined people".

The *ẓarīf* (or *mutaẓarrif*) is generally considered as a type of *adīb*, indeed *taẓarruf* is viewed as an intensification of certain features, intellectual, literary, social, and personal, that are held to characterise the man of *adab* [*q.v.*]. Interestingly, *ẓarf* was not deemed gender-specific: Ibn al-Was͟hs͟hāʾ (d. 325/936-7) refers to *baʿḍ mutaẓarrifāt al-ḳuṣūr* (*K. al-Muwas͟hs͟hā*, ed. Brünnow, 42). The first exponent of *ẓarf* as an individual who combined the literary and social dictates of refinement is held to be al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. in the first decade of the 9th century A.D. [*q.v.*]), although attempts to read his *dīwān* as a summa of *taẓarruf* are inconclusive and unconvincing, as are attempts to identify an emergent concept of *ẓarf* in the early Islamic period. Ibn al-Was͟hs͟hāʾ (*op. cit.*, 50), for example, presents al-ʿAbbās in a negative and foolish light, which is not what one would expect from a supposedly anachronistic codification of a defunct socio-ethical ideal based on the character of al-ʿAbbās as paradigmatic of that ideal.

Ibn al-Was͟hs͟hāʾ's work is to be viewed as part of the current that culminated in the Aristotelian ethics of the *Tahd͟hīb al-ak͟hlāḳ* of Miskawayh (*ca.* 320-421/ *ca.* 932-1030 [*q.v.*]), an attempt to harmonise an ʿAbbāsid vision of pre-Islamic *muruwwa* [*q.v.*], *adab* and *ẓarf* within an encompassing Islamic context; as such it is distinct from an exclusively and rigorously *ḥadīt͟h-sunna*-based ethic, such as that promoted, for example, by al-Buk͟hārī. The *K. al-Ẓahra* of Ibn Dāwūd endeavours to strike a balance between the two visions of an Islamic ethic. It is controversial to attempt to extrapolate theories of social stratification, class mobility, humanism or individuality from such texts, as they argue for and present visions of an Islamic order which are often in competition, but which were also often received in combination (see e.g. Bauer, *Raffinement und Frömmigkeit*).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ibn al-Was͟hs͟hāʾ, *K. al-Muwas͟hs͟hāʾ*, ed. R. Brünnow, Leiden 1886, also ed. Beirut 1965, German tr. D. Bellmann, *Das Buch des buntbestickten Kleides*, Leipzig-Weimar 1984, Span. tr. T. Garulo, *El libro del brocado*, Madrid 1990; Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī, *K. al-Ẓahra*, ed. A.R. Nykl and I. Tuqan, Chicago 1932.

2. Studies. G.E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1953, 221-58; M.F. Ghazi, *Un groupe sociale: les "raffinées" (Ẓurafāʾ)*, in *SI*, xi (1959), 39-71; J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968, 267-351 and *passim*; Lois Giffen, *The theory of profane love among the Arabs*, New York 1971, *passim*; W. Raven, *Ibn Dâwûd al-Iṣbahânî and his* Kitâb al-Zahra, Amsterdam 1989; S. Enderwitz, *Du* fatā *au* ẓarīf, *ou comment on se distingue?*, in *Arabica*, xxxvi (1989), 125-42; S. Bonebakker, Adab *and the concept of* belles-lettres, in J. Ashtiany *et alii* (eds.), *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature. ʿAbbasid belles-lettres*, Cambridge 1990, 16-30, esp. 19-24; A. Hamori, *Love poetry* (Ghazal), in *ibid.*, 202-18, esp. 208-15; J.L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam. The cultural revival during the Buyid age*, Leiden 1992; Enderwitz, *Liebe als Beruf*, Beirut 1995, 31-65; T. Bauer, *Raffinement und Frömmigkeit. Säkulare Poesie islamischer Religionsgelehrter der späten Abbasidenzeit*, in *Asiatische Studien*, 1 (1996), 275-95; idem, *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1998, 56-92; idem, *al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf. Ein literaturgeschichtlicher Sonderfall und seine Rezeption*, in *WZKM*, lxxxviii (1998), 65-107; Giffen, art. *Ẓarf*, in J.S. Meisami and P. Starkey (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic literature*, London 1998, ii, 821-2.

(J.E. Montgomery)

al-ZARḲĀʾ, conventionally Zarka or Zerka, a city of modern Jordan, situated 23 km/15 miles to the northeast of the capital ʿAmmān (lat. 32° 04' N., long. 36° 06' E., altitude 619 m/2,030 feet). It lies on a plateau bordering the desert and intersected by various small valleys which, in the winter, pour water into the Zarḳāʾ river, the main east-bank tributary of the Jordan after the Yarmūk river. The site is also known for its underground water and springs, recognised by mediaeval geographers and travellers, and Pilgrimage caravans used to halt there to replenish their water supplies.

There does not seem to have been any settlement there in the Mamlūk and early Ottoman periods, although a Ḳaṣr S͟habīb al-Tubbaʿī (a person about whom nothing is known) is mentioned there, and this *ḳaṣr* was restored and fortified by the Ottoman authorities in 1899 and garrisoned by their troops as protection against Bedouin marauders. In 1903, some 66 Čečen families, refugees from the Caucasus, were settled there, and subsequently, some Circassians. The small community was surrounded by a wall against Bedouin of the Ḥasan, Ṣak͟hr, Ruwala and S͟harārāt tribes. In 1910 nomads of the region took part in the rebellion against the Ottomans [see al-urdunn. 2. History (b)]. The Ḥid͟jāz Railway passed through al-Zarḳāʾ, with a station there. During the First World War, it was a communications and supply centre for the Ottoman army, but was occupied by the British in 1917. During 1918-20 it came within the S͟harīf Fayṣal b. al-Ḥusayn's amīrate based on Damascus, and from 1921 came within the new state of Transjordan under his elder brother Amīr, later King, ʿAbd Allāh.

The new administration in 1926 chose al-Zarḳāʾ to be the headquarters of the border force, so that security was established in the region. Military and administrative personnel began to move there, together with people from outside the country, including some arriving after the 1925 Druze revolt against the French mandatary power in Syria, and in the wake of the discovery of phosphates in the region. Christian immigration included Armenians, and in 1949 there also arrived 800 Palestinians, so that al-Zarḳāʾ became a town of significance. It has continued to expand, with a population in 1996 of 585,000 and with several industries, including an oil refinery.

Bibliography: Admiralty Handbooks, Naval Intelligence Division, *Palestine and Transjordan*, London 1943, 408-10, 469, 475, 483, 510; Kamal Salibi, *The modern history of Jordan*, London and New York 1993, index. (M.A. al-Bakhit)

ZARḲĀʾ al-YAMĀMA, lit. "the blue-eyed woman of Yamāma", a semi-legendary figure of early Arabic lore. She was endowed with such piercing eyesight that she could descry an object some thirty miles away, hence the proverb *abṣaru min Ẓarḳāʾ al-Yamāma*.

She belonged to the tribe of Ṭasm [*q.v.*], but was married to a member of the sister tribe D͟jadīs. After the massacre of the former by the latter, a survivor, her brother, invoked the aid of the South Arabian king Ḥassān, who marched against D͟jadīs in Yamāma. Although Ḥassān's army was camouflaged with leafy branches (cf. the march of Birnam Wood in Shakes-

peare's *Macbeth*), Zarḳāʾ caught sight of it and warned Djadīs, but they did not believe her, whereupon Ḥassān fell upon them unawares and massacred them. He captured Zarḳāʾ, gouged out her eyes, and found the veins of her eyes treated with antimony. He then crucified her on the gate of Djaww al-Yamāma. The kernel of truth in the account is discernible, supported by echoes in the genuine verses of three of the poets of the *Muʿallaḳāt*, al-Nābigha, al-Aʿshā and al-Ḥārith.

Yellow journalism in early Islamic times accused her of lesbianism [see siḥāḳ], involving the Lakhmid princess of al-Ḥīra, Hind bt. al-Nuʿmān (early 7th century). Ṭasm and Djadīs were "archaic" tribes that belonged to the category of *al-ʿArab al-bāʾida* "the extinct Arabs"; hence the three centuries or so that separate Hind from Zarḳāʾ invalidate the slanderous charge, already rejected totally by the sober ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī in his *Khizāna*.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 771-4; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, ii, 263-72; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, i, 351-4; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Yamāma; *Aghānī*, Beirut 1971, ii, 110; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1977, vi, 70-1. See also the *Bibl.* to ṭasm.

(Irfan Shahîd)

al-**ZARḲĀLĪ**, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Naḳḳāsh al-Tudjībī, known as Walad al-Zarḳiyāl (Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, Beirut 1985, 179-81, tr. Blachère, 138-9; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 57), Spanish Muslim writer on practical and theoretical astronomy, d. 493/1100. Although al-Zarḳālī is the conventional form of his name, in Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, Algiers 1920, 169-70, we have al-Zarḳālluh. It therefore seems likely that al-Zarḳālluh or al-Zarḳiyāl are the correct forms, and that al-Zarḳālī/Zarḳānī and al-Zarḳāla are classicised Eastern forms undocumented in Andalusī sources.

Life.

According to Isaac Israeli's *Liber Jesod ʿolam seu Fundamentum mundi* (1310), ed. Goldberg and Rosenkrantz, Berlin 1846-8, bk. IV, ch. vii, he worked as an instrument maker in Toledo for Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī [*q.v.*] and the Dhu 'l-Nūnid prince al-Maʾmūn amongst others. His patrons lent him the necessary books for teaching himself astronomy, so that he assumed a leading position in the group around Ṣāʿid, mentioned in the *Ṭabaḳāt* as belonging to the younger Toledan generation (*al-aḥdāth*), though he was active from at least 440/1048-9 onwards and must have begun his solar observations by the early 1050s at the latest. An anonymous Toledan contemporary states that he used a large-size instrument. Al-Zuhrī in his *K. al-Djaʿrāfiyya*, ed. Hadj-Sadok, 223-4, describes a water-clock that marked the date of the lunar month and that was built at Toledo by a certain Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, known as al-Zarḳāl, but it is doubtful whether he is referring to the same person.

Ibn al-Zarḳālluh (as he will be henceforth termed here) left Toledo for Cordova either at the beginning of the reign of Yaḥyā II al-Ḳādir or when Alfonso VI conquered Toledo. In Cordova, he was patronised by the ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*], to whom he had already dedicated a work on the use of the instrument called *al-ṣafīḥa al-ʿabbādiyya* in 440/1048-9, when the future ruler al-Muʿtamid was only eight or nine years old, and he continued his observations there until at least 480/1087-8, dying in Cordova on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 493/15 October 1100 (Ibn al-Abbār).

Works.

1. *Astronomical instruments.*

(a) A treatise on the construction of the armillary sphere, extant in an Alfonsine Castilian translation; see M. Rico, *Libros del saber de astronomía*, 5 vols. Madrid 1863-7, ii, 1-24.

(b) Two treatises on two variants of the same universal astrolabe, which he calls *al-ṣafīḥa al-mushtaraka li-djamīʿ al-ʿurūḍ* ("the common plate for all latitudes") [see shakkāziyya]. This instrument, also called *ṣafīḥa zarḳāliyya*, had, on its face, a double grid of equatorial and ecliptical coordinates and a ruler-horizon, and, on the back, a zodiacal scale, and orthographic projection of the celestial sphere, a sine quadrant and a diagram (circle of the moon) which, combined with a most elaborate alidade (transversal ruler), allowed the computation of the geocentric distance of the moon for a given time (R. Puig, *Los tratados de construcción y uso de la azafea de Azarquiel*, Madrid 1987; idem, *Al-Zarqālluh's graphical method for finding lunar distances*, in *Centaurus*, xxxii [1989], 294-309; J. Samsó, *Islamic astronomy and medieval Spain*, Variorum, Aldershot 1994, no. XV). At a later date, he seems to have dedicated a new account of his instrument to the same al-Muʿtamid, usually called *al-shakkāziyya*, divided into 60 chapters. The instrument is apparently a simplified version of the *ʿabbādiyya* type, with only one complete grid of equatorial coordinates and an ecliptical grid limited to the great circles of longitude for the beginnings of the zodiacal signs on its face, while its back resembles that of a standard astrolabe (Puig, *Concerning the ṣafīḥa šakkāziyya*, in *ZGAIW*, ii [1985], 123-39; idem, *Al-Šakkāziyya. Ibn al-Naqqāš al-Zarqālluh*, Barcelona 1986).

(c) Two treatises on the construction of the equatorium which he calls *al-ṣafīḥa al-zīdjiyya* (M. Comes, *Ecuatorios andalusíes*, Barcelona 1991, 189-236). The oldest reference to this instrument, a collection of Ptolemaic planetary models made to scale and used to solve graphically the problem of the determination of planetary longitudes, appears in the *Zīdj al-ṣafāʾiḥ* of Abū Djaʿfar al-Khāzin (d. *ca.* 350-60/961-71 [*q.v.*]) and, in al-Andalus, an earlier equatorium was designed by Ibn al-Samḥ [*q.v.*] *ca.* 416/1025-6. The latter instrument consisted of a series of plates kept within the mother of an astrolabe, but Ibn al-Zarḳālluh's equatorium is totally independent and represents all the planetary deferents and related circles on both sides of a single plate, while a second plate bears all the epicycles. The complexity of the Ptolemaic Mercury model led him to represent Mercury's deferent not as a circle but as an ellipse, which he identified as such: this is the first known instance of the use of conic sections in astronomy (Samsó and H. Mielgo, *Ibn al-Zarqālluh on Mercury*, in *Jnal. Hist. Astronomy*, xxv [1994], 289-96).

(d) Al-Marrākushī's *Djāmiʿ* attributes to Ibn al-Zarḳālluh a sine quadrant with movable cursor (*madjarra*) in the line of the *quadrans vetustissimus* (J.M. Millás, *La introducción del cuadrante con cursor en Europa*, in *Isis*, xvii [1932], 218-58; repr. in idem, *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia española*, Barcelona 1949, 65-110), although Ibn al-Zarḳālluh's cursor is only a graphic scale of solar declinations in which the argument used is the solar longitude and not, as in the *quadrans vetustissimus*, the date of the Julian year.

2. *Astronomical tables.*

(e) The *Toledan Tables* are known through a Latin translation; they seem to be the result of an adaptation of the best available astronomical material (al-Khwārazmī, al-Battānī) to the coordinates of Toledo made by a team led by Ṣāʿid and in which Ibn al-Zarḳālluh seems to have had an outstanding position (G.J. Toomer, *A survey of the Toledan Tables*, in *Osiris*, xv [1968], 5-174; L. Richter-Bernburg, *Ṣāʿid, the Toledan*

Tables, and Andalusī science, in D.A. King and G. Saliba (eds.), *From deferent to equant*, New York 1987, 373-401; R. Mercier, *Astronomical tables in the twelfth century*, in C. Burnett (ed.), *Adelard of Bath. An English scientist and Arabist of the early twelfth century*, London 1987, 104-12). In them, the mean motion tables are original and the result of observations, the parameter for the solar mean motion was not altered in Ibn al-Zarḳālluh's later works and it reappeared in the Andalusī-Maghribī school of *zīdjs* which begins with Ibn Isḥāḳ [see ZĪDJ]. Ṣā'id does not mention these tables, although they had been completed before the writing of the *Ṭabaḳāt* (460/1068); Abū Marwān al-Istidjdjī quotes repeatedly "our corrected *zīdj* (*zīdjunā al-muṣaḥḥaḥ*)" in his *Risāla fi 'l-tasyīrāt wa-maṭāriḥ al-shu'ā'āt* (ms. Escorial 939) dedicated to Ṣā'id from Cuenca.

(f) The *Almanac*, which has been preserved in Arabic, Latin and in an Alfonsine translation (Millás, *Estudios sobre Azarquiel*, Madrid-Granada 1943-50, 72-237; M. Boutelle, *The Almanac of Azarquiel*, in *Centaurus*, xii [1967], 12-19, repr. in E.S. Kennedy *et al.*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 502-10), is based on a Greek work computed by a certain Awmātiyūs in the 3rd or 4th century A.D., although the solar tables seem to be the result of the Toledan observations, and its purpose is to simplify the computation of planetary longitudes; for that purpose, Babylonian planetary cycles ("goal years") are used. After the completion of one of these cycles, the longitudes of a given planet will be the same on the same dates of the year as at the beginning of the cycle. Perpetual almanacs seem to be characteristic of Andalusian astronomy, and they were also used in the Maghrib and in mediaeval Spain.

3. *Astronomical theory.*

(g) A lost work in which he summarises his twenty-five years of solar observations and which was probably written between 467-72/1075-80. Its title was either *Fī sanat al-shams* ("On the solar year") or *al-Risāla al-djāmi'a fi 'l-shams* ("Comprehensive epistle on the Sun"). Its contents are known through secondary sources, both Arabic and Latin (Toomer, *The solar theory of az-Zarqāl. A history of errors*, in *Centaurus*, xiv [1969], 306-36; idem, *The solar theory of az-Zarqāl. An Epilogue*, in King and Saliba (eds.), *From deferent to equant*, 513-19; Samsó, *Isl. astr.*, no. X). In it, Ibn al-Zarḳālluh established that the solar apogee had its own motion of about 1° in 279 Julian years, and he designed a solar model with variable eccentricity which became extremely influential both in the Maghrib and in Latin Europe until the time of Copernicus [see SHAMS].

(h) A treatise on the motion of the fixed stars, written *ca.* 476/1084-5 and extant in a Hebrew translation (Millás, *Azarquiel*, 247-343; B.R. Goldstein, *On the theory of trepidation according to Thābit b. Qurra and al-Zarqalluh and its implications for homocentric planetary theory*, in *Centaurus*, x [1964], 232-47; Samsó, *Isl. astr.*, nos. VIII, IX). It contains a study of three different trepidation models, in the third of which variable precession becomes independent of the oscillation of the obliquity of the ecliptic. Trepidation had already attracted the attention of Ṣā'id and his team; the trepidation table extant in the *Toledan Tables*, which also appears in some manuscripts of pseudo-Thābit's *Liber de motu octaue sphere*, is probably due to the Toledan group and, according to Ibn al-Hā'im, Abū Marwān al-Istidjdjī wrote a *Risālat al-Iḳbāl wa 'l-idbār* ("Epistle on accession and recession").

(i) We have indirect references to two other lost theoretical works: one is a *Maḳāla fī ibṭāl al-ṭarīḳ allatī salakahā Baṭlīmūs fī istikhrādj al-bu'd al-ab'ad li-'Uṭārid* ("On the invalidation of Ptolemy's method to obtain the apogee of Mercury") mentioned by Ibn Bādjdja [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, Ibn al-Hā'im had read in Ibn al-Zarḳālluh's own writing (*bi-khaṭṭ yadihi*) a description of a modified lunar Ptolemaic model; the centre of the Moon's mean motion in longitude was not the centre of the Earth but was placed on a straight line linking the centre of the Earth with the solar apogee. The maximum correction in the lunar mean longitude amounted to 24'. This correction appears in Andalusī (Ibn al-Kammād) and Maghribī (Ibn Isḥāḳ, Ibn al-Bannā') *zīdjs* as well as in the Spanish canons of the first version of the *Alfonsine Tables.*

4. *Magic.*

Mss. Vienna 1421, B.L. 977 (Add. 9599), Cairo National Library Taymūr *Madjāmi'* 424 and *Ḥurūf wa-awfāḳ* 124 contain the only known magical work by Ibn al-Zarḳālluh, *Risāla fī ḥarakāt al-kawākib al-sayyāra wa-tadbīrihā* ("On the motions and influences of planets") (Millás, *Azarquiel*, 480-3; King, *A survey of the scientific manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library*, Winona Lake, Ind. 1986, B87, 50). These mss. contain, at least, two very different recensions of the text, and a third one appears in a summarised Latin translation in ms. Vienna lat. 5239 (J. Sesiano, *Un traité médiéval sur les carrés magiques. De l'arrangement harmonieux des nombres*, Lausane 1996, 10, 34). It is a treatise on talismanic magic which uses magic squares for the making of talismans.

Bibliography: Given in the text. The essential general survey is still Millás, *Azarquiel*; an updated revision is in J. Samsó, *Las ciencias de los antiguos en al-Andalus*, Madrid 1992, 147-52, 166-240.

(J. SAMSÓ)

AL-**ZARKĀLLUH** [see AL-ZARKĀLĪ].

AL-**ZARNŪDJĪ**, BURHĀN AL-DĪN, Muslim scholar and traditionist, probably from eastern Persia, who in the late 6th/12th or early 7th/13th century composed a popular treatise on educational etiquette and ethics.

Very little is certain about him; not even his *ism* is known, and his period can only be approximately stated. W. Ahlwardt in the Berlin Catalogue under no. 111 estimated that he flourished about 620/1223, but the correct date may be slightly earlier. The various authorities cited in his treatise *Ta'līm al-muta'allim* suggest that al-Zarnūdjī lived and wrote at the end of the 6th/12th or the beginning of the 7th/13th century. For example, he several times identifies Burhān al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Farghānī al-Marghīnānī [*q.v.*], author of the *Hidāya*, an important Ḥanafī textbook, as his teacher; his comments make it clear that he was writing after al-Marghīnānī's death in 593/1197. He also names as his teacher Fakhr al-Islām al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr al-Farghānī Ḳāḍīkhān [*q.v.*], who died in 592/1196. In another passage he records that the Shaykh Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Marghīnānī [*q.v.*] recited verses before him; al-Ḥasan had himself been the teacher of both Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī and Ḳāḍīkhān. He further tells us that he heard a story from Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Kāshānī; the reference is almost certainly to Abū Bakr Mas'ūd b. Aḥmad (d. 597/1191; see Brockelmann, *GAL*, I², 465). Finally, he tells us that Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, known as Imām Khʷāharzāda, recited something to him; this probably refers to a *muftī* of Bukhārā who died in 573/1177-8 (see von Grunebaum and Abel, 60). If we take all these data together, we come to the conclusion that al-Zarnūdjī may have flourished a little earlier than Ahlwardt thought, but his work was certainly composed after 593/1197.

Al-Zarnūdjī's only known work, *Taʿlīm al-mutaʿallim ṭarīḳ al-taʿallum* "Teaching the learner the method/way of learning", was one of the most popular examples of a common genre of mediaeval Islamic literature, sc. treatises outlining the proper manner of behaviour for individuals involved in the study of the religious sciences. As such, it parallels works by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Djamāʿa (d. 733/1333) and Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī (d. 916/1511), as well as portions of Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) famous *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*. Al-Zarnūdjī has much to say concerning the physical and mental conditions necessary for successful study, the manner of instruction, attitudes to the written and spoken word, and especially the ideal character of the teacher-student relationship.

There were a number of late mediaeval commentaries on the *Taʿlīm al-mutaʿallim*; on them, see Brockelmann, *GAL*, I², 606, S I, 837. The text itself was printed in Leipzig in 1838, in Cairo in 1311/1893-4, and in several modern editions. It was translated into English by G.E. von Grunebaum and Theodora M. Abel, *Instruction of the student: the method of learning*, New York 1947, and into Spanish by Olga Kattan, *Instruccion del estudiante: el metodo de aprender*, Madrid 1991.

Bibliography: In addition to the editions cited in the text, see M.A. Khan, *The Muslim theories of education during the Middle Ages*, in *IC*, xviii (1944), 418-33; J. Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo. A social history of Islamic education*, Princeton 1992. (M. Plessner-[J.P. Berkey])

ZARWĀNIYYA [see madjūs].

ZĀTĪ [see dhātī].

ZĀTĪ (SULAYMĀN) [see sulaymān dhātī, in Suppl.].

ZĀWA, a district and town of Khurāsān. The town (modern Turbat-i Ḥaydarī or Ḥaydariyya, see below) is some 140 km/88 miles south of Mashhad on the road to Gunābād and lies at an altitude of approximately 1,280/4,200 feet (lat. 35° 16' N., long. 59° 08' E.).

Al-Muḳaddasī, 319 n. *a*, describes it as being just a rural district with no town, but Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 128, names its *ḳaṣaba* as Rukhkh or Rīkh. In Il-Khānid times, the town of Zāwa seems to have flourished, with 50 villages dependent on it, producing silk and fruits (Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 154, tr. 152; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, ed. D. Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān zur Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1982, text 41). Its rise must have been at least in part connected with the *baraka* and the shrine of a local *shaykh*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar (d. 630/1232), founder of the Ḥaydariyya dervish order. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Zāwa and noted the ascetic practices of the Ḥaydariyya, including loading their limbs with iron rings and infibulation of the penis (*Riḥla*, iii, 79-80, tr. Gibb, iii, 583; cf. J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 39). Presumably after this time dates the transformation of the town's name to its contemporary one, Turbat-i Ḥaydarī, the shrine there—a brick-built mausoleum of the saint—being still venerated. In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of 2,354, which had risen by 1991 to 81,781.

Bibliography: See also Sir F.J. Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia, an account of the journey of the Persian Boundary Commission 1870-1872*, London 1876, i, 353; Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, i, 203, ii, 517; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 356; Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, ix, 196; Krawulsky, *Īrān—das Reich der Īlḫāne. Eine topographisch-historische Studie*, Wiesbaden 1978, 325-6; L. Adamec (ed.), *Historical gazetteer of Iran. II. Meshed and northeastern Iran*, Graz 1981, 650-5; M.R. Khusrawī, *Djughrāfiya-yi tārīkhi-yi wilāyat-i Zāwa*, Mashhad 1366/1988. (C.E. Bosworth)

ZAWĀḲĪL (a.), a shadowy group of Arab brigands and mercenaries active in al-Shām and al-Djazīra [*q.vv.*] during the ʿAbbāsid period (the etymology of the designation is unclear: the Arabic verb *zawḳala* means "to let the two ends of a turban hang down from one's shoulders").

Although most of the *zawāḳīl* known by name hail from Ḳaysī tribes (as noted by D. Ayalon, *The military reforms of Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim* . . ., 16-18, in *Islam and the Abode of War*, London 1994), they appear to have been a group of tribal outcasts, like many such brigand groups [see ṣuʿlūk and liṣṣ]. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Sulamī, for example, is mentioned with the famous Naṣr b. Shabath [*q.v.*] as one of the leaders of the *zawāḳīl* during the Fourth Civil War between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 845). He began his career as an escaped convict—as a soldier he had murdered his commander—and then took to brigandage in southern al-Shām (Michael the Syrian, 491/iii, 21). The ʿAbbāsid authorities certainly saw the *zawāḳīl* as social flotsam: al-Maʾmūn's letter to Naṣr derides the latter's followers as coming "from the near and distant corners of the lands, with their scum and worst elements, those thieves and robbers who have rallied to your side and those whom their land has spewed forth, or whose tribe has expelled because of their bad reputation within it" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1070-1, tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxii, *The reunification of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1987, 141-2).

The *zawāḳīl* are first mentioned in connection with the revolt of the Ḳaysī notable Abu 'l-Haydhām al-Murrī in and around Damascus in 176-7/792-3. In the Ḳays-Yaman factionalism preceding the revolt, a group of Ḳaysī tribesmen enlisted the aid of the *zawāḳīl* and "a group of *mawālī* of Ḳuraysh" to exact revenge for a slain kinsman. During the revolt itself, these *zawāḳīl* fought on the side of the Ḳaysiyya against the Yamanīs and the ʿAbbāsid authorities (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. ʿAmrāwī, Beirut 1995, xxvi, 66). One of their leaders was a Duʿāma b. ʿAbd Allāh, who had been one of a triumvirate of bandit leaders in southern al-Shām (*ibid.*, vii, 162). Shortly after the revolt, *zawāḳīl* are mentioned in 180/796-7 as participants in another explosion of tribal factionalism in al-Shām, which was summarily supressed by Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 639).

As might be expected, the collapse of central authority in al-Shām and the west with the death of al-Rashīd and the accession of al-Amīn in 193/809 provided an ideal context in which the *zawāḳīl* could achieve a degree of local autonomy or could otherwise derive profit. In the early years of al-Amīn's reign, the *zawāḳīl* leaders Naṣr b. Shabath and al-ʿAbbās b. Zufar terrorised the region around Ḳurus/Cyrrhus and co-operated against mutual rivals. One of the latter was the Ḳaysī ʿUthmān b. Thumāma from the region of Ḳinnasrīn, who later joined Naṣr. At Aleppo, the descendants of the ʿAbbāsid noble Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī called upon Naṣr, al-ʿAbbās and their followers to put down a rebellion of Yamanī tribesmen of Tanūkh (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 541; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 145-6; Michael the Syrian, 497/iii, 31).

Groups of *zawāḳīl* (under ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Sulamī) turn up as mercenaries yet again in 195/811 during the revolt of the Umayyad pretender Abu 'l-ʿUmayṭir al-Sufyānī against the local governor in

Damascus (Michael the Syrian, 491/iii, 21-2; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh Dimashk*, ed. A. Murād, Damascus 1984-, xviii, 111-12). In this conflict, the *zawāḳīl* supplied mercenaries to Abu 'l-ʿUmayṭir's predominantly Yamanī following and to the Ḳaysī counter-rebellion as well. Ibn ʿAsākir's account of the revolt has the Yamanīs scorn their foes as "these [mere] *zawāḳīl*" (*hādhihi al-zawāḳīl*), while later sending for contingents of their own (*baʿathū ilā zawāḳīlihim*).

Not long afterward, ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his followers left these events in Damascus and headed for al-Raḳḳa [*q.v.*], where they joined Naṣr b. Shabath, al-ʿAbbās b. Zufar, and a host of other *zawāḳīl al-Shām*, all responding to al-Amīn's call for irregular troops to assist him in his conflict against his brother al-Ma'mūn. It was here that a conflict broke out between, on the one hand, the *zawāḳīl* and the other Syro-Djazīran troops, and, on the other, al-Amīn's loyal troops from the *Abnā'* [*q.v.*] and the *ahl Khurāsān*. According to the account of al-Ṭabarī, the fighting broke out because one of the *Abnā'* had been among the ʿAbbāsid troops defeated during Abu 'l-ʿUmayṭir's revolt in Damascus, and he recognised his horse among those of the *zawāḳīl* assembled in al-Raḳḳa. In the ensuing mêlée, the *zawāḳīl* and their Syrian companions were routed; many fled back to their homes (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 842-5).

After the accession of al-Ma'mūn, the fate of the *zawāḳīl* becomes more obscure, compounded by the tendency of some authors to use the name as a term for brigands and mercenaries in general. After the débâcle at al-Raḳḳa, some of the *zawāḳīl* stayed on with Naṣr b. Shabath in his stronghold of Kaysūm in the Djazīra, from which he fended off the approaching armies of al-Ma'mūn. It seems, though, that the *zawāḳīl* were soon co-opted by the state, finding a niche in the ʿAbbāsid military. Indeed, Naṣr's defeated followers were absorbed into the army of the victorious general ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir and accompanied him to Khurāsān, where they were decimated in battle in 213/828 (al-ʿAẓīmī, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, ed. I. Zaʿrūr, Damascus 1984, 247). Some may also have joined later; al-Mutawakkil had a contingent of *zawāḳīl* in his army (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1463; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 362).

The final fate of the Syro-Djazīran brigand group or groups known as the *zawāḳīl* is unknown. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, writing in Aleppo *ca.* 640/1242, discusses the long-standing enmity between two local tribes, the Ḥabbāliyyūn of Asad and the Ḳaysī Zawāḳila of Kilāb (*Bughyat al-ṭalab min ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1988, i, 536-7), but the relationship of the latter to the *zawāḳīl* is only presumed. It may be that, over time, the *zawāḳīl* came to identify themselves as a separate tribe despite the diverse origins of their early members [cf. ḤILF].

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see I. ʿAbbās, *Ta'rīkh bilād al-Shām fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī*, ʿAmmān 1993; P.M. Cobb, *White banners. Contention in ʿAbbāsid Syria, 750-880*, Albany 2001, index at 221. (P.M. COBB)

ZAWĀRA, a small town in Persia lying some 15 km/9 miles to the northeast of Ardistān, on the southwestern edge of the central desert of the Dasht-i Kawīr (long. 52° 25' E., lat. 33° 30' N.). It falls administratively within the *ustān* or province of Iṣfahān and is the chef-lieu of a canton or *dihistān*. In *ca.* 1951 it had a population of 5,400; and according to the census of 1375/1996-7, one at that time of 7,710, representing 1,911 households.

This small and isolated place has played no role in wider Persian history, but is of significance for its surviving architecture. It clearly enjoyed prosperity and a local importance in Saldjūḳ and Il-Khānid times, attested by two monuments there. The Masdjid-i Pā Minār was restored, and a minaret built for it, according to an inscription on the latter from 461/1068-9, the time of Alp Arslan, by a local patron. The Friday mosque, from 530/1135, i.e. the reign of Masʿūd b. Muḥammad, provides the first dated example of a mosque with a central courtyard and four *īwāns* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: A. Godard, *Ardistān et Zawārè*, in *Athār-e Īrān*, i (1936), 285-309, ii, 351; Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, x, 104; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*, ²London 1976, 173-4; S.R. Peterson, *The Masjid-i Pa Minar at Zavareh. A restating and an analysis of early Islamic Iranian sources*, in *Artibus Asiae*, xxxix (1977), 60-90; Sheila S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana*, Leiden 1992, 137-9 no. 51, and pls. 90-3; R.M. Hillenbrand, *Islamic architecture, function and meaning*, Edinburgh 1994, 156, 487. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**ZAWĀWĪ** [see IBN MUʿṬĪ].

ZAWDJ (A., pl. *azwādj*), basically "two draught animals yoked together", from which, in both literary and dialectal Arabic usage, a number of senses have developed, including "piece of land which a yoked pair of beasts can plough in a determined time", "two things", "pair, couple", from which verbal forms have also developed. At the side of "one part of a pair", "half of a couple" (especially "spouse", and often with the fem. ending *-at* "wife"), the signification "couple, pair", though rejected by the purists, is attested from mediaeval Islamic times onwards, and the co-existence of the two concepts is frequent in most varieties of Arabic.

1. Etymology and early usage.

Although the classical philologists and lexicographers were convinced that it was a pure Arabic word, no Semitic parallel forms exist, and there is no doubt that *zawdj* stems from Grk. *zeugos* "yoke", probably via Aramaic; from this last, the word passed also into Rabbinical Hebrew, Ethiopic and Syriac. The word is thus distantly cognate with Skr. *jugám*, Lat. *iugum*, Ger. *Joch*, Eng. *yoke*, Fr. *joug*, etc. It must have been an early entrant into Arabic, since it appears in pre-Islamic poetry, e.g. in ʿAntara, and is frequent in the Ḳur'ān in various nominal and verbal forms (II, 23/25, 33/35, 96/102, 234, etc.). In the Ḳur'ān, the dominant usage of *zawdj* is in the sense of "spouse" = "wife, woman", but there are also several instances (e.g. XI, 42/40; XIII, 3; XXIII, 27; XLI, 49; LIII, 46/47; LXXV, 39) where the dual *zawdjayn* means "pairs, groups of two", which may be further specified as "... of man and woman". The later form *zawdja* "wife" nowhere appears in the sacred text. The differentiation of sex *zawdj/zawdja* is clearly a later development, but seems to have taken place by the end of the first century A.H., since *zawdja* "wife" is found in the poetry of al-Farazdaḳ and Dhu 'l-Rumma.

Bibliography: S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 106-7; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 154-5; J.W. Fück, *ʿArabīya. Untersuchungen zur arabischen Sprach- und Stilgeschichte*, in *Abh. Sächs. Akad. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, xlv/1, Berlin 1950, 25, 120, Fr. tr. *ʿArabīya. Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue et du style arabe*, Paris 1955, 38, 184. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Usage in the dialects of the Muslim West.

Whilst in numerous Eastern dialects, the metathesised form *djawz* (hence a homonym of the loan from

Persian *djawz* "nut") is used for "spouse" and "pair," in the Maghrib the form is without metathesis but often has assimilation of the voiced post-alveolar fricative and the voiced alveolar fricative, which may be regressive: *djūdj* and variants (esp. in the west: Morocco), or progressive (*zūz* and variants (esp. in the east: Tunisia, Libya). In numerous dialects, especially the urban ones of Algeria and Morocco, and for a long time back (as attested in mediaeval Maghribī, Andalusī and Sicilian Arabic, and also in Maltese), this form serves as a cardinal numeral "two". But in none of these has it completely eliminated the old **ithnayn*, the only word used when enumerating the cardinal numbers ("one, two, three . . .") and also the word appearing almost always in the composed numeral forms (a form like *jūj u khamsīn* "52" is rare, if not indeed exceptional). **Zawdj* "two" (sometimes in the diminutive, *zwayyidj*) is attested, either alone or at the side of **ithnayn* in dialects which have kept alive usage of the dual (and where its use often therefore serves to reinforce the dual), and alone in those which have only a "pseudo-dual"; it seems that there is a linkage between the disappearance of the dual and the replacement of **ithnayn* by **zawdj*.

The syntagm associating the noun of the object counted with the cardinal number has two constructions (which may be mutually exclusive or co-exist, according to different dialects): (a) *zawdj* + pl. noun, and (b) *zawdj* + particle (*d, dyāl*, etc.) + def. article + pl. noun (each of these constructions has a variant where the noun is in the sing., for certain types of collectives, or for certain units of measure, of money, etc.). In Maltese, there is a third construction in which the cardinal number assumes a special form when standing in the construct state (*zewdjt-*). In all the dialects concerned, the sense of "pair" remains in general for **zawdj*; it is sometimes distinguished from that of "two" by a special form in *-a* or by the diminutive *zwīdja*, but the plural remains in that case that of **zawdj*. The choice between collective or pl. in the noun of the object counted, or the use of the dual or pl. of **zawdj*, in some cases allows one to get round the ambiguities of "two", "pair", "element of a pair". Thus at La Chebba, Tunisia, one finds *zūz klāsṭ* or *zūzēn klāsṭ* "a pair of socks". Finally, one should note that some dialects (mainly Algerian, it seems) have made an ordinal number out of **zawdj*, sc. *jāwej* (La Saoura), *zāwadj* "second".

Bibliography: For the forms, usages and constructions of **zawdj* "two", this article has used the well-documented monograph of K. Mörth, *Die Kardinalzahlwörter von eins bis zehn in den neuarabischen Dialekten*, Vienna 1997, 25, 33-5, 138-49, 212-13 and map 6, and 302 sections *h* and *i*. For older attestations, see J. Blau, *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic*, [2]Jerusalem 1981, 117; F. Corriente, *A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle*, Madrid 1977, 88. (J. Lentin)

3. Usage in the dialects of the Muslim East [see Suppl.].

ZĀWĪ b. ZĪRĪ b. Manād al-Ṣanhādjī, the Berber founder of an independent taifa (*ṭā'ifa* [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀ'IF. 2]) or principality in Granada at the time of the dismemberment of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova and its first ruler (403-10/1013-19).

The Zīrids, who belonged to the Talkāta, the most important tribe of the Ṣanhādja [*q.v.*], had settled in the area between Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib. Zāwī and his followers, including the two sons of his brother Māksan, were among the prominent Berbers in North Africa who were invited by the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib* of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], to join him in his perennial campaigns against the Christians of northern Spain. Al-Muẓaffar's father al-Manṣūr, however, had his own misgivings about Zāwī, who was reputed to be cunning, shrewd and troublesome.

After the fall of the ʿĀmirids and the outbreak of civil strife in al-Andalus, Zāwī is said to have contemplated returning to North Africa but changed his mind when the people of Elvira sought his protection. In fact, the Zīrids played a decisive role in the course of events, and it was largely thanks to Zāwī that the Umayyad Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn was proclaimed caliph (Rabīʿ I 400/November 1008). If Zāwī had really intended to leave al-Andalus, one may well ask why he had stayed behind for eight years and taken such an active part (Ibn Ḥayyān describes Zāwī as "the spark that kindled the civil war after the ʿĀmirid dynasty") in events which secured for his people the rich province of Elvira.

It was the Berbers who had forced Sulaymān to divide between them the southern districts of al-Andalus and, consequently, the province of Elvira fell to Zāwī and his kinsmen. It is most unlikely that Zāwī's arrival in Elvira was, as claimed by the last Zīrid *amīr* of Granada (*Tibyān*, 59, tr. 45), in response to an invitation from the Elvirans, who had recently suffered so much at his hands. The Elvirans probably had no say in the matter. It is more likely that, prior to Sulaymān's re-entry into Cordova (403/1013), Zāwī had already established himself in Elvira and Sulaymān had to accept that as a *fait accompli*.

Aware of the bitter hostility of the Andalusians to the Berbers, Zāwī suggested that the people of Elvira move to the nearby and more defensible mountain fortress of Granada. Soon after, the Andalusians, led by the newly-proclaimed Umayyad caliph al-Murtaḍā, launched an assault but were routed just outside Granada, almost six years after Zāwī had settled there. The Zīrids' victory was swift and decisive, thanks mainly to the defection from al-Murtaḍā's ranks of the ʿĀmirid Khayrān of Almeria and of al-Mundhir b. Yaḥyā of Saragossa.

Shortly after his victory, however, Zāwī surprisingly decided to return to Ifrīḳiya, prompted no doubt by his keen awareness of the Andalusians' hostility and their numerical superiority. Moreover, he aspired to the throne of Ḳayrawān, whose occupant at the time was an eight-year-old Zīrid, al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*], a great grandson of Zāwī's brother Buluggīn. Ibn Ḥayyān also mentions Zāwī's obsessive fear that the Zanāta Berbers, traditional foes of the Ṣanhādja, might join forces with the Andalusians against the Zīrids, hence Zāwī's description of the Zanāta as "the real enemies" (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 402; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 131).

Zāwī, who was born and brought up in North Africa, must have felt isolated and insecure throughout his 18-year sojourn in al-Andalus, and it is not surprising that his thoughts should turn to his native land. Furthermore, the situation in North Africa had completely changed since his arrival in al-Andalus in 392/1002; the Fāṭimid caliphs had moved from Ifrīḳiya to Egypt; the Zanāta ruler of Fās, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, could no longer count on Umayyad support; and the internecine struggle, raging since 409/1014 between the Zīrids of Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*] and their kinsmen the Ḥammādids of al-Ḳalʿa [*q.v.*], had exhausted both sides.

Zāwī left Almuñecar (al-Munakkab) for Ifrīḳiya some

time in 410/1019-20, with the consent of al-Muʿizz who is said to have come out in person to greet him. At least initially, Zāwī's kinsmen in Ḳayrawān seemed to welcome his return, since they badly needed someone of his age and calibre to head the Zīrid house and fill the vacuum left by the death of al-Muʿizz's father. There were those amongst al-Muʿizz's *wazīrs*, however, who regarded "the accession of the child al-Muʿizz. . . ., over whom they had control, preferable to surrendering power to a shrewd character like Zāwī, over whom they had not a scrap of authority. Someone was therefore hired to administer poison to Zāwī, who died in that country" (*Tibyān*, 64, tr. 51). Ibn Ḥayyān says that Zāwī died in Ḳayrawān of the plague but does not give the date of his death; nor does *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh in the *Tibyān*.

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ZAWĪLA, the mediaeval Islamic capital of the Fazzān [*q.v.*], today south-western Libya (lat. 26° 11' N., long. 15° 06' E.).

Zawīla (Zuwayla) was established probably in the early 2nd/8th century. It did not yet exist in 46/666-7 when the Arab conqueror ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*] passed by the site, but had a century later become the centre of the region. It was then dominated by Hawwāra Berbers, predominantly Ibāḍīs.

After he had crushed the first Ibāḍī state in Tripolitania, the ʿAbbāsid general Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī sent a force to Zawīla. It fell in 145/762-3 and its leader ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥayyān al-Ibāḍī was killed. However, Zawīla remained an Ibāḍī centre. During the Rustamid period, it was partly under the control of Tāhart, but on the periphery of their influence. Thus both the Wahbī and other Ibāḍī currents (in particular the Khalafiyya [*q.v.*]) co-existed in the town. In 306/918-19, after the fall of Tāhart [*q.v.*], the Banū Khaṭṭāb established an independent Ibāḍī dynasty that lasted until the 6th/12th century. During at least part of the mediaeval period, the Fazzān was divided into two. The western region was then a separate polity dominated by the older capital Djarma (Garama), while the eastern and probably the richest part had Zawīla as its capital. Both followed the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*].

Zawīla was a prosperous town, with ample irrigation producing dates and vegetables. It had in the 3rd/9th century inhabitants from Khurāsān, Baṣra and other remote regions, and a lively Ibāḍī scholarship. The basis of its economy was the trans-Saharan trade through Kawar to the Lake Chad region, in particular to Kanem. The main trade item was slaves, but also other goods contributed to its prosperity. Zawīla also produced a special leather called *zawīla*. Besides the Berber majority, there was a smaller free population of Sudanic origin, either Teda [see tubu] or (proto-)Kanuri speakers. The Fāṭimids recruited a corps of *zawīla* soldiers from this group (hence the Bāb Zuwayla in their capital al-Mahdiyya and later in Cairo).

From the 5th/11th century, raiders from the Sudanic state of Kanem [*q.v.*] started to appear. The Banū Khaṭṭāb dynasty was ended in 572/1176-7, when an Armenian *mamlūk*, Sharaf al-Dīn Ḳarāḳūsh [*q.v.*] came from Egypt and conquered Zawīla and the Fazzān, passing on to Tripolitania. In the chaotic period that followed, Kanem increased its hold, and had by the end of the century taken effective control of the Fazzān. The rulers of Kanem established their own capital in Trāghan a few miles west of Zawīla.

Kanem retained control thoughout the 7th/13th century, but later their governors broke free and established an independent dynasty, the Banū Nasūr. In the early 9th/15th century, the province came under the (perhaps fluctuating) domination of the Ḥafṣids of Tripoli, and the capital was probably returned to Zawīla. At the same time, troubles in Kanem led to a reduction of the trans-Saharan trade that the town lived on. When trade later started to pick up, Zawīla had lost its rank of capital and trade centre. In the first half of the 10th/16th century, the Awlād Muḥammad dynasty took political power in Fazzan. They built a new capital at Murzuḳ [*q.v.*], slightly west of Zawīla. Trade now went there, and Zawīla soon thereafter declined into obscurity.

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(K.S. Vikør)

ZĀWIYA (a., pl. *zawāyā*), lit. "corner, nook [of a building]", originally the cell of a Christian monk and then, in the Islamic context, a small mosque, oratory or prayer room. In late mediaeval times, particularly in North Africa (see 2. below), the term came to designate a building designed to house and feed travellers and members of a local Ṣūfī brotherhood.

1. Architecture.

In plan, these buildings often comprised cells arranged around a courtyard. Both form and decoration resemble those used in other communal institutions such as the *madrasa*, and without epigraphic or textual evidence, it can be difficult to distinguish a *zāwiya* from another type of building. For example, a ruined building discovered at ʿAyn Ḳarwash in Morocco was first thought to be a house but then identified as either a *madrasa* or *zāwiya*.

Zāwiyas were often constructed around the tomb of the founder. As the number of disciples increased, the units were incorporated into larger complexes that not only provided space for teaching and accommodation for the devotees but also served as centres of pilgrimage, gathering, and retreat for the community at large. By nature agglomerative, these popular shrines were often restored and rebuilt.

Zāwiyas were introduced to Morocco under the Marīnids (614-869/1217-1465 [*q.v.*]). The sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (*r.* 731-49/1331-48) ordered a *zāwiya* in

the family necropolis known as Chella (Ar. Shālla), south of Rabāṭ on the site of the Roman outpost of Sala Colonia. Now ruined, the complex was a rectangular block (44 × 29 m) comprising a mosque, minaret, and several tombs, as well as the *zāwiya* proper in the northern third. Reached down a flight of steps, the two-story *zāwiya* was set around a large pool with fountains. Galleries on the long sides gave access to cells. On the east, or *ḳibla* end, was a sanctuary; facing it on the west was another hall and a small tiled minaret. Although the building is commonly identified as a *zāwiya*, the term is not used epigraphically. Abu 'l-Ḥasan's son and successor Abū ʿInān Fāris (*r.* 749-59/1348-58) built the *zāwiyat al-nussāk* outside Salé. Excavations have revealed an unusually spacious plan, but all that remains is a door.

Zāwiyas became more common and more elaborate in Morocco under the patronage of the Saʿdid (916-1069/1510-1659) and ʿAlawid (1041-/1631-) *sharīfs*, descendants of the Prophet who often allied themselves with local religious fraternities. The largest and finest *zāwiyas* were those endowed by rulers, such as the complex built in Marrakesh in the mid-10th/16th century for the *shaykh* al-Djazūlī (d. 869/1465 [*q.v.*]). His followers had been instrumental in bringing the Saʿdids to power, and al-Djazūlī became one of the seven patron saints (*sabʿatu ridjāl* [*q.v.*]) of the city. His *zāwiya* is a large, irregularly-shaped complex set around a court (Blair and Bloom, fig. 323). It includes a mosque, the saint's tomb, a cemetery for his followers, a school with a fountain, a residence for the superintendent who also served as leader of the order, a hospice for pilgrims and members of the order, ablution facilities and a bath across the street. These shrines were often recipients of lavish fittings and devotional objects including silken tomb covers and pilgrimage banners and illustrated prayer books (*ibid.*, figs. 331, 332).

Zāwiyas appeared in Tunisia during the period of Ḥafṣid rule (627-982/1229-1574). The oldest are thought to be in Ḳayrawān. The *zāwiya* of Sīdī Ṣāḥib (also known as the Mosque of the Barber), for example, was founded in the 8th/14th century around the grave of the Prophet's companion Abu 'l-Balawī but reconstructed in the 11th/17th century (*ibid.*, fig. 317), and the *zāwiya* of Sīdī ʿAbīd al-Gharyānī was begun by a Ḥafṣid prince before 724/1324 but only completed in 804/1402 when the present tomb was associated with it. The most celebrated in Tunis are those of Sīdī Ben ʿArūs (895/1490) and Sīdī Ḳāsim al-Djalīzī (*ca.* 901/1496). The latter is elaborately decorated with tilework reflecting the occupation of the founder, a maker of tiles (*zallīdj* [*q.v.*]) who had emigrated from Andalusia to Tunis, where his spiritual merits brought him to the attention of the Ḥafṣid princes.

Zāwiyas were also established in Mamlūk Egypt as institutions for popular Ṣūfism, distinct from the more formal *khānḳāh* [*q.v.*], and often built for foreign *shaykhs*. Many are mentioned in texts (al-Maḳrīzī, for example, lists 26 in Cairo), but the only building epigraphically designated a *zāwiya* is the one for Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 697/1298) in the southern cemetery of Cairo. Begun in 697/1297-8 as subsidiary rooms around the *shaykh*'s domed tomb (*ḳubba* [*q.v.*]), the stone complex was enlarged to a cruciform plan in 725/1325-6. Later in 736/1335-6 a large portal was added on the street side of the complex, now called a *zāwiya* in the foundation inscription. No patrons are mentioned, though the fine construction and lavish decoration bespeak significant funding. Texts suggest that there were many *zāwiyas* in 9th/15th-century Egypt, but the lack of surviving examples makes it difficult to say anything about their architectural form.

Turkish scholars also use the term *zâviyeli* to refer to a type of "Convent Mosque" with a domed or vaulted central hall flanked by side rooms or *īwāns* [*q.v.*]. This distinctive T-plan was common in the complexes built by the Ottoman sultans at Bursa, beginning with the one founded by Orkhān Ghāzī *ca.* 739/1339 (Blair and Bloom, fig. 171). The side rooms are thought to have been hostels for travelling dervishes and the religious brotherhoods who provided much of the support for Ottoman expansion. The term *zāwiya*, however, is not used in the foundation inscriptions for these constructions, which are called mosque (*masdjid*) or noble and blessed building (*ʿimāra sharīfa mubāraka*).

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(Sheila S. Blair)

2. In North Africa.

The term in North Africa denotes a social institution with a wide range of forms and functions. Sometimes rendered as "lodge" in English and "monastère" in French, the *zāwiya* is primarily a meeting place for spiritual pursuits and religious instruction. In this sense it is the Maghribī counterpart of the *khānaḳāh* or the *tekke* [*q.vv.*]. In the eastern Islamic world, the term *zāwiya* was often specifically applied to a smaller mosque or Ṣūfī meeting place (D.B. Little, *The nature of* khānqāhs, ribāṭs, and zāwiyas *under the Mamluks*, in *Islamic studies presented to Charles P. Adams*, Leiden 1991, 91-105). In the Maghrib, a *zāwiya* is typically associated with a religious lineage. Frequently housing a *walī*'s *ḳubba* or tomb and surrounded by a cemetery, it may be a shrine and a place of pilgrimage.

Beyond serving as the residence of the *shaykh* [*q.v.*] or head of the *zāwiya*, as well as his family and retainers, some rural *zāwiyas* also provide lodging for pilgrims (*funduḳ*) and contain libraries, schools, mosques, workshops and granaries stockpiled for local relief in times of famine. In addition, a *zāwiya* may function as an intellectual centre, a sanctuary offering asylum, and a political focus. In the past, *zāwiyas* often played an important commercial role by protecting trade routes and creating networks of exchange among its members. In contrast, a *zāwiya* in an urban setting is often not much more than a room where local members of a wide-ranging or regional *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] meet to perform *ḥaḍra* or *dhikr* recitation. Finally, beyond referring to an actual building, the word *zāwiya* in the Maghrib is also used to denote the *ṭarīḳa* itself and is synonymous for the *ṭarīḳa*'s collective membership.

Historically, the *zāwiya*'s financial support derived from *ḥubūs* [see WAḲF] lands and the gifts of pilgrims or its members' dues in the case of a *ṭarīḳa*; both sources of revenue are known as *ziyāra* or pilgrimage offerings. In theory, all revenues are charity and are thus considered divine gifts. Colonial governments

confiscated the *wakf* lands of *zāwiyas* in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in an effort to reduce their political power. Some *zāwiyas* continue to receive governmental stipends for their maintenance and preservation as part of the national patrimony. Over the past century *zāwiyas*, which were also opposed by reformist Salafī Muslims [see SALAFIYYA], have suffered a reduction in prestige and a limitation in their social role.

The *zāwiya* as an institution antedates the establishment of the Ṣūfī *ṭarīkas* in North Africa. It finds its sources in the *kubba* shrine as well as the *rābiṭa*, a hermitage to which a holy man retired and was surrounded by his followers, and the *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*], in the Maghrib an institution that had served *inter alia* as a centre for waging *djihād* [*q.v.*]. The *zāwiya*'s administrative organisation is, however, fundamentally that of the *ṭarīka*. The *shaykh* of the *zāwiya* acts primarily as a spiritual guide to the *zāwiya*'s members, but in some instances he is the descendant of the holy personage buried in the *zāwiya*'s shrine and thus an inheritor of his *baraka* [*q.v.*] or charisma. This distinction between *zāwiyas* affiliated with Ṣūfī orders and *zāwiyas* primarily associated either with a sharīfian descent or a holy lineage led colonial-era French commentators to make a distinction between "confrérie" or "brotherhood" *zāwiyas* and "maraboutic" *zāwiyas*.

Below the *shaykh* in the administrative hierarchy of the *zāwiya* is his *khalīfa* or deputy, sometimes also referred to as a *nā'ib* or *nakīb*. The *khalīfa* himself or an officer known in some instances as a *wakīl* has responsibility for the day-to-day operation of the *zāwiya* and oversees servants known as *khuddām* or *shuwwāsh*. Administering individual local *zāwiyas* is a delegate of the *shaykh* known as a *mukaddam* [*q.v.*], who initiates, instructs and supervises members. A *mukaddam* receives no official remuneration for his role. In some *ṭarīkas*, couriers known as *rukkāb* also served to link the local *zāwiyas* with the "mother" *zāwiya*.

Members of North African *zāwiya* can go by a variety of names: *aṣḥāb* "companions", *khuddām* "servants", *fukarā'* "poor men" and *ikhwān* "brothers". An individual seeking guidance from a *shaykh* is a *murīd* or aspirant. Female members are known as *khwatāt* "sisters" and are placed under the supervision of a female deputy of the *shaykh* known as a *mukaddama*. While *mukaddams* and *mukaddamas* are appointed by the *shaykh*, they are named with the agreement of the majority of the members of a *zāwiya*. Factors in their nomination include length of time in the *ṭarīka*, knowledge or ritual, moral character and personal qualities, piety, and an ability to maintain harmony among the *zāwiya*'s members. A family tie to the *shaykh* may be a positive factor but is not a requirement for being appointed a *mukaddam*.

Dhikr recitation sessions known as *ḥaḍra* provide regular, most often weekly, occasions for *zāwiya* members to gather. Presided over by the *shaykh*, the recitation is led by the *shaykh al-ḥaḍra*. In urban areas the character of the membership in the various *zāwiyas* typically reflects the social stratification of the community. Certain professions or one social stratum predominate in one *zāwiya*, with other professions predominating in another. On the occasion of anniversary celebrations of a *walī*, known as *mawāsim* [see MAWSIM], thousands of pilgrims may attend festivities at a *zāwiya*.

In rural areas, *zāwiya* heads often mediate in local tribal factional disputes or between the tribes and the central government. With the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] *ṭarīka* in Libya and the eastern Sahara in the 19th century, the creation of scores of *zāwiyas* led to the identification of a tribe with its *zāwiya*. In periods of weak authority by the Moroccan *makhzan* or central government, such as the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, some *zāwiyas*, like the Nāṣiriyya *zāwiya* in Tamgrūt [*q.v.*], were regional centres of power and operated almost as autonomous principalities. Other *zāwiyas* contested and occasionally sought to supplant the central government. At other times, for example, under the Ḥafṣids and under the Ḥusaynid Beys in 19th-century Tunisia, *zāwiyas* received governmental support and patronage.

In the 19th century, *zāwiya* membership was widespread; in 1880 Rinn estimated there to be over 355 *zāwiyas* in Algeria, with a membership of 167,019 out of an Algerian Muslim population of slightly less than three million (*Marabouts et khouan*). Estimates for Morocco put members in 1939 at between 5% and 10% of the population. While some *zāwiyas* and *ṭarīkas* took an active role in organising opposition to colonial rule, others have been condemned as collaborationist. Although the *zāwiyas* have generally been opposed by nationalists in North Africa, significantly the organisational model of the *zāwiya* was employed in Morocco by the Istiklāl or Independence Party [see ḤIZB. i, at Vol. III, 525]. Its leader ʿAllāl al-Fāsī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was referred to as the *shaykh*, and party members, self-styled *ikhwān*, called themselves ʿAllāliyya and ʿAllāliyyūn, organised local chapters known as *ṭā'ifas*, and levied dues known as *ziyāra*.

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3. In sub-Saharan Africa.

The institution of the *zāwiya* is linked, in Islamised black Africa, to the development of the network of Islamic brotherhoods (*ṭuruk*) and is consequently a late phenomenon (12th-13th/18th-19th centuries). Saharan staging-posts played a capital role, as models for the

functioning of *zāwiyas* and as instruments of diffusion.

Such was the case with the *zāwiya* of Shaykh Sīdī Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d. 1226/1811) in the region of the Azawad (Mali). It was through his teachings, writings and disciples, but also through the commercial network of his tribe, the Kunta [*q.v.*], that settlements of the Ḳādiriyya came into being in western Africa. Some Kunta *zāwiyas* were established at Timbuktu by one of the sons of the founder, Sīd Aḥmad al-Bakkāy (d. 1281/1865), and at Talaya, in the Adrār of the Ifoghas, in Tuareg circles, by one of the grandsons, Sīdī Bay (*ca.* 1281-1348/1865-1929). To them is owed the adherence to the Ḳādiriyya of the Djihādist ʿUthmān Dan Fodio (Sokoto) and of Shaykhū Aḥmadū (Māsina).

A second Saharan staging-post was provided by the *zāwiya* of Būtilimit of the Ahl Shaykh Sīdiyya, the founder of which, Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr (1195-1286/1780-1869) was raised among the Kunta. From this *zāwiya* was to emerge the Senegalese brotherhood of the Murīd of Aḥmadu Bamba Mbacké (1270-1346/1853-1927), whose *zāwiyas* covered the Wolof land and monopolised the cultivation of the groundnut [see MURĪDIYYA].

Shaykh Muḥammad Fāḍil (1176-1286/1780-1869) and his numerous descendants constituted a third staging-post of the Ḳādiriyya in the direction of black Africa. Located in the Mauritanian Ḥawḍ, his *zāwiya* extended his influence beyond the river Senegal into Gambia and Guinea. His son, Shaykh Saʿd Būh (d. 1336/1917), based at his *zāwiya* of Nimdjat (Mauritanian Trārza), educated numerous *talāmīdh*, including two leading Senegalese scholars, Shaykh Mūsā Kamara, the author of *Ẓuhūr al-basātīn* (1344/1925) and Siré-Abbas Sūh, the author of *Chroniques du Fouta sénégalais* (1331/1913).

All the *zāwiyas* of Ḳādiriyya allegiance are part of a pastoral Saharan society where activities take place either in the tent (*khayma*) or, sometimes, on the move, with herds and families. Occasionally, the *zāwiya* constitutes the origin of a fixed settlement, as in the case of the Sīdiyya at Būtilimit. Income is derived from stockbreeding but also from the gifts or *hadāyā* of pupils and the fruits of visits to shrines (*ziyāra*) performed by the *shaykh*. General and mystical instruction remains their principal function.

The Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] have also evolved through Saharan intermediaries, in the person of Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1246/1830) and his tribe of the Idawali. However, the centres of this brotherhood developed directly in black Africa. The best known of these *zāwiyas*, on account of its colonial history and its network of subsidiaries, has been that of Shaykh Ḥamāllāh (1301-63/1883-1943 [see ḤAMĀLIYYA]) at Nioro-du-Sahel (Mali). Some of its characteristics may be applied to the totality of African *zāwiyas*. Thus the family of the *shaykh*, teachers, disciples, students, and domestic staff, all live, eat and sleep in the *zāwiya*, perform the canonical prayers there (rather than in the mosque) and carry out the rituals of the *dhikr*. It is often a place of independence and economic wealth. Among the offshoots of the Ḥamāliyya of Nioro, the twelve current *zāwiyas* of Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) should be included. That of the Ḥamdallāhiyya quarter, built in 1378/1958 by Shaykh Doukouré has, for some time, been the rival of the *zāwiya* of the Kamsonghin quarter, founded in 1374/1954 by al-Ḥādjdj Būbakar Maiga. In the decade commencing 1348/1930, these two *shaykhs* had, respectively, been responsible for the creation of the *zāwiyas* of Djibo and Ramatoullaye, in the north of the country. Thus the transfer of centres of brotherhoods from rural zones towards the cities, and especially towards the capitals, appears to be a gradual but radical evolution since *zāwiyas* have been often transformed into institutions subject to national legislation and have lost some of their independence. The Ḥamāliyya have also reached the Ivory Coast with the establishment, from 1357/1938 onwards, of the *zāwiya* of Yaʿḳūba Sylla (d. 1408/1988), at Gagnoa, characterised as much by its commercial as by its religious activity. Also to be noted are branches in Niger (the *zāwiya* of Shaykh ʿAlī Gaty at Niamey-Karadjé, since 1366/1946), in Senegal, Mauritania, Nigeria and France.

The network of the Ḥamāliyya, broadly decentralised, has nonetheless retained a certain degree of coordination, both in regard to individuals and also in connection with religious considerations. This is much less the case with other centres of the Tidjāniyya, especially those in Senegal. Here, each *zāwiya* represents an independent unit and tends to be concentrated around a religious dynastic line. Such is the case of the *zāwiya* of Sy (al-Ḥādjdj Mālik Sy, 1272-1341/1855-1922), founded at Tivaouane in 1326/1906; and it is still the case of the closed community that resided at Madina-Gounasse from 1355/1936 onwards, on a utopian model, under the leadership of the Peul Mamadu Saydu Ba, and only became open to the outside world in 1397/1977, when the founder was succeeded by his heir. The history of the branch of Shaykh Ibrāhīma Nyās (1320-95/1902-75) whose *zāwiya* is at Kaolack, shows a break with the preceding model since from 1371/1951 onwards, it has been spreading in the north of Nigeria (Kano). Senegalese *zāwiyas*, without exception, practise annual gatherings which attract considerable crowds, e.g. the *Magal* of the Murīds at Touba, in honour of their founder, and the *Gamu* of Tivaoune, marking the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet.

These festivities have their equivalent in eastern Africa, with the celebration of the *mawlid* [*q.v.*] of the Prophet, which gives the *zāwiyas* the opportunity to exercise, at large gatherings, their mystical rituals. This part of Africa was affected at a later date and in a less dense fashion by the Ṣūfī brotherhoods, which often emanated from Somalia (cf. the role of Shaykh ʿUways, 1263-1327/1847-1909, of Brava). Worth mentioning among the *zāwiyas* of the Ḳādiriyya are that of Shaykh Ramiyya at Bagamayo (Tanzania, 14th/late 19th-early 20th centuries), that of Shaykh Mtumwa at Nkhota-kota (Malawi, 14th/early 20th century) and the *zāwiya* of the Ḥusayniyya at Isiolo (Kenya).

Attempts by the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] to migrate from Libya towards black Africa saw the creation of *zāwiyas* in Niger (Chemidour, 1279/1862) and especially in Chad (since 1318/1900: Bir Alali, Gouro, Ayn Galakka, etc.). These *zāwiyas*, political institutions in spite of themselves, were administered by Arabic-speaking foreigners and depended directly on the leading *zāwiya*.

The same centralism has persisted in the Sudan, with the Mīrghaniyya [*q.v.*] (or Khatmiyya) maintained by the descendants of the founder (al-Ḥasan al-Mīrghanī, 1235-86/1819-69, *zāwiya* of the Khatmiyya, in the Sudan; Sayyid Hāshim, 1265-1319/1849-1901, *zāwiya* of Massala, in Eritrea). Conversely, the Ḳādiriyya generated independent branches, such as the Madjdhūbiyya (12th/18th century), with its commercial *zāwiya* of al-Damīr, or indeed the Mikashfiyya (early 14th/late 19th century) and its village-*zāwiya* of Shikaynayba.

While the African movement of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods of the late 14th/20th century has adopted the path of urbanisation, of concentration in capitals and

of emigration out of Africa, past history indicates that the model of the *zāwiya* was rural and extremely diversified in its modes of organisation, its functions and material arrangements.

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ZAWZAN (in local Persian pronunciation, Zūzan), a town of mediaeval Islamic Khurāsān, now only a village in the *shahrastān* of Khʷāf in the province of Khurāsān (lat. 59° 52' N., long. 34° 21' E.). It lies 35 km/22 miles to the southeast of Khʷāf [*q.v.*] and 60 km/37 miles from the present Afghān frontier on a plain called the Djulga-i Zawzan.

The latest archaeological investigations on the site (2000) tend to show that colonisation of the then arid plain of Zawzan must have occurred after the introduction of *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] to bring water for irrigation; Polybius, *History*, x. 26, mentions these for the Seleucid period in the neighbouring province of Ḳūmis. The oldest archaeological layer at Zawzan itself seems to be Sāsānid, found beneath the ruins of the *ḳibla īwān* of the imposing mosque of Zawzan. An ancient tradition attributed the foundation of Zawzan to the establishment there of a fire temple (Yāḳūt, ii, 958), and the prophet and Zoroastrian reformer Bihʾāfrīd [*q.v.*], executed in 131/749 by Abū Muslim at the behest of the Zoroastrian priests, is said to have been a native Zawzanī (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, 210; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 119). The date of the Arab conquest of Zawzan is unknown, but may have occurred *ca.* 31/651-2 when ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] marched on Nīshāpūr (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2884-5; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 404).

In the first centuries of Islam, Zawzan was governed by local potentates with the title *raʾīs*, sufficiently independent and sometimes powerful enough to lead rebellions, e.g. in 444/1052 (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1356/1977, 172, tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 102). The countryside there was flourishing, and produced cotton cloth (*karbās*), felt and possibly also silk and madder (al-Muḳaddasī, 321; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 103; Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 154, tr. 152).

Remains of round or polylobed columns of fired brick of the first mosque there, the *djāmiʿ*, bear witness to the town's significance already in the 3rd/9th century, called by al-Muḳaddasī in the next century a *miṣr* (47, 50, 321; see map and the monumental epigraphic remains in Adle, *Masdjid wa madrasa-i Zawzan*, in *Āthār*, xv-xvi [1367/1989], 231-48, at 245). However, this *djāmiʿ* and its *īwān* became inadequate and were enlarged in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. One of the finest *miḥrāb*s of Persian mosques, made by one Abū Saʿd at the behest of the *raʾīs* Abū Muḥammad towards the end of the 5th/11th century, has been recovered almost intact from its surroundings. The town was important at this time for its artisans and its scholars, hence was known as "little Baṣra" (al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vi, 342; Yāḳūt, ii, 958-9). In the early Ghaznawid period it had produced the official and littérateur Abū Sahl Zawzanī, who served Sultan Masʿūd I but who was regarded by the historian Bayhaḳī as that ruler's evil genius (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 60-1); and slightly later, the *adīb* al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Zawzanī (d. 486/1093), who composed a well-known commentary on the *Muʿallaḳāt*, much used by early Western scholars writing on these poems, and on the famed *bāʾiyya* ode of Dhu 'l-Rumma (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 51, 397, ix, 256).

But it was on the eve of the Mongol invasions that Zawzan reached its apogee, when the *malik-i muʿaẓẓam* of Zawzan, Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Zawzanī, controlled a principality stretching eastwards towards Kābul and westwards to the frontiers of Fārs, and from near Nīshāpur to Hormuz and the shores of the Gulf of Oman; yet he never coined his own money, and acknowledged ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khʷārazm Shāh as his suzerain (see Adle, *Une contrée redécouverte: le pays de Zuzan à la veille de l'invasion mongole*, in Denise Aigle (ed.), *L'Iran face à l'invasion mongole*, Tehran 1997, 23-36). His residence, the *ḳalʿa-i ḳāhira*, situated in the citadel (*kuhandiz*) to the east of the town, is described as imposing by contemporary historians, and the remains of its 15 m high walls still dominate the hidden town. The town at that time had a quasi-rectangular plan, but thinking its second mosque inadequate, its lord began to raze it and to start on a third, yet more magnificent one. This was left unfinished because of his assassination in Shawwāl 614/January 1218, followed by the arrival of the Mongols three years later. The mosque (or *madrasa*, according to Sheila S. Blair, *The madrasa at Zuzan. Islamic architecture in eastern Iran on the eve of the Mongol invasion*, in *Muqarnas*, iii [1985], 75-9) comprised at that time an *īwān* to the east and another towards the conventional *ḳibla*, sc. to the west, vast and with a height of 30 m. It is dated Rabīʿ I 615/June 1218 on the façade, and inside has a great epigraphic frieze in *kashī* [*q.v.*] in the name of Abū Ḥanīfa and dated 616/1219. Terrified by the Mongols, the people of Zawzan prevented the last Khʷārazm Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn from taking refuge in the *ḳalʿa-i ḳāhira* (Adle, *op. cit.*, 35). Hence the town was spared but it was destroyed later by a violent earthquake that struck the region in 737/1336. The vault of the great *īwān* disintegrated and the palace of the lord of Zawzan, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Fīrūz, was destroyed, its owner being crushed to death in it; 30,000 to 40,000 people are said to have died in the region (Khʷāfī, *Rawḍa-i khuld*, ed. M. Farrukh, Tehran 1346/1948, 117; Faṣīḥī, *Mudjmal*, ed. Farrukh, 3 vols. Tehran 1339-40/1960-1, iii, 52-3; N.N. Ambraseys and C. Melville, *A history of Persian earthquakes*, Cambridge 1982, 44-5 and Fig. 3.7).

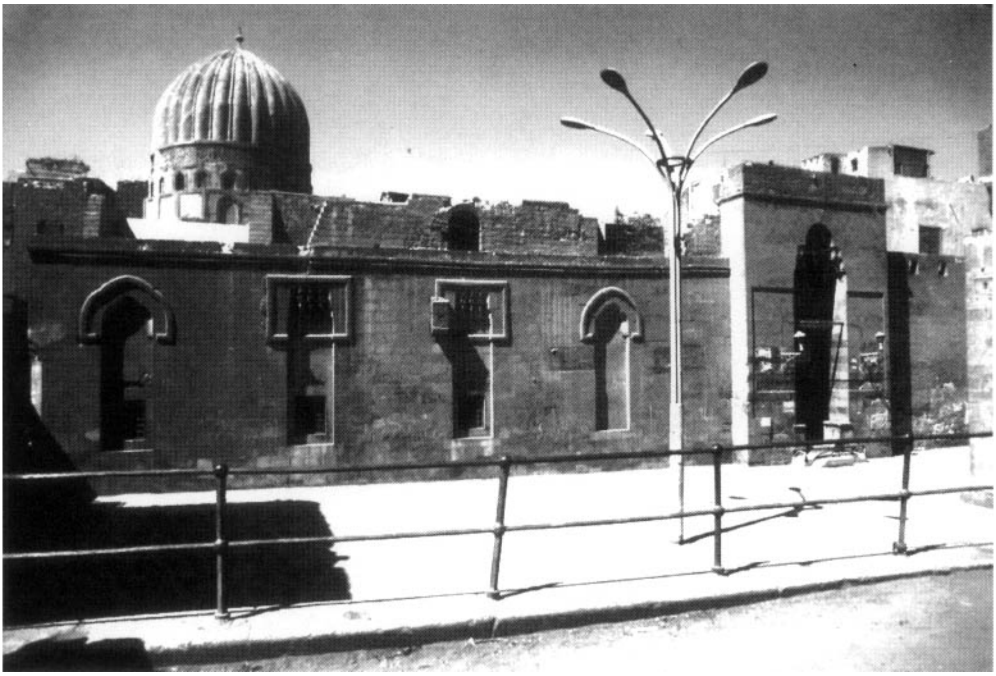

Zāwiya for the ʿAdawiyya *shaykh* Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 697/1298) in the southern cemetery of Cairo, as seen from the east. Photo: Jonathan M. Bloom, April 1978.

Zāwiya built by the Marīnid sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī in the family necropolis Shālla outside Rabāṭ, as seen from the south. Photo: Jonathan M. Bloom, July 1978.

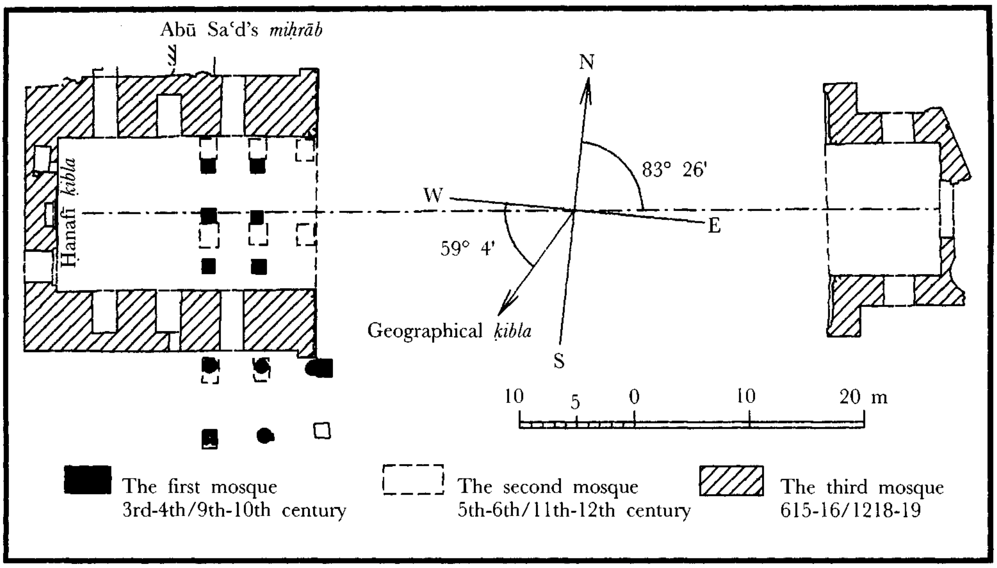

The monumental mosque at Zawzan.

Zawzan never recovered. Its present inhabitants are not indigenous to the region, but according to the accounts of elders, were largely brought from southwestern Persia—perhaps in the 18th century—in order to repopulate the cultivable land. Present family names there, e.g. the Arabic tribal name K͟huzāʿī, may reflect this. The population of Zawzan was only 680 in the late 1940s (*Farhang-i d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-Īrān-zamīn*, ix, 201) and 786 in 1966 (*Farhang-i ābādīhā-i kis̲h̲war*, iv, *Ustān-i K̲h̲urāsān*, Tehran 1347/1969, 16), but by the 1991 census it had reached 2,087 with the demographic explosion since the Islamic Revolution of 1969. Contrary to the people of the numerous neighbouring villages who are Ḥanafīs, the population of Zawzan has been since its repopulation wholly S̲h̲īʿī.

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ZĀY, also, more rarely, **ZĀ'**, the eleventh letter of the Arabic alphabet, numerical value 8. The former variant of the letter name retains the /y/ of the original letter name (as in Hebrew *zayin*), while the latter has the innovative ending *-ā'*, which occurred legitimately with *fā'* (Hebr. *pē*) and *hā'* (Hebr. *hē*) and then spread to *bā'* (Hebr. *bēt*), *tā'*/*t̲h̲ā'* (Hebr. *tāw*), *ḥā'*/*k̲h̲ā'* (Hebr. *ḥēt*), *rā'* (Hebr. *rēs̲h̲*), *ṭā*/*ẓā'* (Hebr. *ṭēt*), and *yā'* (Hebr. *yōd*), with loss of the final consonant of the original letter name.

The letter is transliterated /z/ and represents a voiced sibilant (*ḥarf al-ṣafīr*), which forms a triad with the unvoiced /s/ and the "emphatic" (pharyngealised) unvoiced /ṣ/. A neighbouring sound is the voiced interdental /d̲h̲/. Minimal pairs are: *zāda* "he increased" vs. *sāda* "he ruled", *ṣāda* "he hunted", and *d̲h̲āda* "he drove [s.o.] away".

For the "emphatic" variant /ẓ/, see ẒĀ'.

Arabic /z/ appears as /z/ everywhere else in Semitic. However, Egyptian transliterations of Northwest Semitic words show that the sibilants were earlier on pronounced as dental affricates (/t^s/, /d^z/, /$ṭ^s$/ [or, more likely, an ejective /$t^{s'}$/]), and this is usually posited for Proto-Semitic.

A number of roots in Arabic (and in other Semitic languages) show a variation between /z/ and /ṣ/, more rarely also between /z/ and /s/: *zaʿaqa* vs. *ṣaʿaqa* "he screamed", *bazaka* vs. *baṣaka* and *basaka* "he spat").

For assimilations that either produce or replace a /z/, both word-internally and in sandhi, see Cantineau, 47-8; Fleisch, 86-7. In the VIIIth form the infixed /t/ becomes /d/ after /z/: **iztāna* > *izdāna* "it became adorned", but the grammarians allow also total assimilation: *izzāna* (cf. Fleisch, 97).

In loanwords and transliterations from Greek, /z/ represents /ζ/, but a Syriac intermediary is likely in most cases: Ζευς > *Zāwus̲h̲* (and variants, see P. Kunitzsch, *Zeus in Bagdad*, in W. Diem and S. Wild (eds.), *Studien aus Arabistik und Semitistik Anton Spitaler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1980, 99-113), and ζευγος > Syr. *zawgā* > *zawd̲j̲* "one of a pair, spouse", Pahlavi /z/ is retained in Arabic: *nāzag* "lance" > *nayzak* "lance, meteorite". Several *nisbas* referring to Persian places have an intrusive *-z-* borrowed from Persian, as in *Rāzī* (from *al-Rayy*), *Marwazī* (from *Marw*), *Sid̲j̲zī* (from *Sid̲j̲istān*; used alongside *Sid̲j̲istānī*).

The dialects of Arabic have mostly preserved /z/.

The mosque at Zawzan. Façade of the main *īwān* just before the beginning of the restoration works in 1988.

In some Jewish dialects in North Africa, /z/ and /ž/ (< /dj/) coalesce and are pronounced either /z/ or /ž/, depending on the environment (cf. Fischer and Jastrow, 253). In some dialects the interdentals have been shifted to sibilants (Kozluk-Sason group and some other dialects of Anatolian Arabic and Uzbekistan Arabic), thus /dh/ > /z/ (Jastrow, 34-9; Fischer and Jastrow, 50). The same shift is also typical for loans from the standard language into sedentary dialects that have not preserved the interdentals; speakers try to imitate /dh/ by using /z/ (rather than the dialect equivalent /d/), compare the *fuṣḥā* loan *dhahāb* > *ẓahāb* "going" with the true dialect form *dhahab* > *dahab* "gold". A special case of de-emphatisation and assimilation is the frequent word *zghīr* < *ṣaghīr* "small" (also in the diminutive *zghayyir*).

The grapheme <z> has become identical in shape with <r> and is distinguished from it by a diacritical dot on top (already in the oldest Arabic papyrus, dated 22/643, see Gruendler, 22a). In carefully written manuscripts, the <r> may be additionally marked by a v-shaped sign on top (*ʿalāmat al-ihmāl*). One of the reasons for *zāy* and *rāʾ* acquiring the same shape is the fact that neither can be connected to the left in Nabataean cursive writing, a fact that is continued in the Arabic script (for the historical development of the shape, see Gruendler, 60-3).

In Persian, <z> is used to render /z/ in Persian words (and, of course, those Arabic words that have it). The phoneme /z/ may, however, be written <z>, <ẓ>, <dh>, or <ḍ>, depending on the Arabic etymology. The grapheme <z> is also used to create a grapheme for /ž/, by adding three triangularly arranged superscript dots. For Pashto, a special sign for retroflex /z/ has been developed which looks like a *rāʾ* with two dots diagonally across its middle, and in Kashmiri the Persian grapheme <ž> is used to write /ts/.

Bibliography: J. Cantineau, *Cours de phonétique arabe*, Paris 1960; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961; W. Fischer and O. Jastrow, *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, Wiesbaden 1980; O. Jastrow, *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen Qeltu-Dialekte*. Band I. *Phonologie und Morphologie*, Wiesbaden 1978; Beatrice Gruendler, *The development of the Arabic scripts*, Atlanta 1993. (W.P. Heinrichs)

ZĀYANDA-RŪD, lit. "river which increases", a river of the central basin of Persia which flows past Iṣfahān. It is so called because it was believed that springs along its course increased the volume of its water (Ibrāhīm Khān Taḥwīldār, *Djughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran AHS 1342/1963-4, 37). Early authors called it Zinda-Rūd. In the *Bundahishn* it is mentioned as Zendeh Rud (A. Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1898, 17). Abū Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āwī states that it was also known as Zarīn-Rūd, the "Golden River", because of the abundance and wealth which its waters bestowed on the land that it irrigated (*Tardjuma-i Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran AHS 1328/1949-50, 47-8).

The principal source of the river is the Čashma-i Djanān on the eastern slope of the Zarda Kūh [see iṣfahān, at Vol. IV, 98). After a run of about 18 km/11 miles it receives the waters of the Čihil Čashma and is then called Djanāna-Rūd. Further on it receives the Khursang River from Firaydan on the north and the Zarīna-Rūd from Čahār Maḥall on the south and is then known as the Zinda-Rūd. Flowing south-east, it enters the Āydughmish district of Lindjān and continues through Lindjānāt and Mārbīn to Iṣfahān, receiving from the left the overflow drainage from Tīrān and Karwan. Passing through Iṣfahān, it flows through Djay, Barzarūd, Karāridj, Barāʾān and Rūydasht into the Gāwkhānī marsh. A total of 105 major canals (*mādīs*) are led off from it between its entrance into Lindjān and its end in the Gāwkhānī (Houtum-Schindler, 17-18; Taḥwīldār, 37; Ḥusayn ʿĀbidī states that there are 150 canals (*Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān AHS 1334/1955-6, 76), but this is presumably a printer's error. All other authorities give 105). Writing at the end of the 19th century, Houtum-Schindler stated that in summer the Gāwkhānī had very little water, a few inches in depth covering about 15 square miles, but that in spring it formed a lake 35 miles in length and 8-10 miles in breadth and was in parts 15-18 feet deep (126). During the spring when the snows are melting, the river carries a considerable flow, part of which was formerly lost in flood water. In 1809 there was much damage done by flood water in Iṣfahān and the neighbourhood (Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, 213). In recent years, the Gāwkhānī has virtually dried up owing to the drawing off of water for irrigation higher up the river.

Fourteen bridges span the river. The first was a temporary wooden bridge a few miles above Lindjān, erected only in the spring season, and the fourteenth is near Warzāna in Rūydasht (Houtum-Schindler, 17-18; ʿĀbidī, 70-1 gives only thirteen). Five of these bridges are in the city of Iṣfahān: the Mārnān Bridge between Djulfā and Iṣfahān; the Allāhwardī Khān Bridge, called after ʿAbbās I's general of that name, also known as the Sī u Sih Čashma Bridge, connecting Iṣfahān with the eastern part of Djulfā [see ʿabbās i]; the Djūy Bridge and the Khādjū Bridge, built by ʿAbbās II [*q.v.*] on the ruins of an older bridge, and the Shahristān Bridge. During the reign of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, an iron bridge was also built over the river (ʿAlī Djawāhir Kalām, *Zinda-Rūd*, ²Tehran AHS 1348/1969-70, 47). Below the Warzāna Bridge there were three dykes for the purpose of raising the water to the lands on both sides of the river: the Band-i Marwān in Rūydasht; the Band-i Allāh Ḳulī Khān, built in the reign of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]; and the Band-i Shānzdah Dih built in the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (Houtum-Schindler, 19). Orders were apparently given for this last dam in 1100/1688-9 (Luṭf Allāh Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-i āthār-i tārīkhī-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān AHS 1344/1966-7, 637).

In the reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76 [*q.v.*]) an abortive attempt was made to divert water from the source of the Kārūn River into the Zāyanda-Rūd. When Iṣfahān became the capital of the empire under ʿAbbās I, the need to increase cultivation to feed the growing population and the fact that the land round Iṣfahān (the Maḥāll), which was watered by the Zāyanda-Rūd, belonged to the royal *dīwān*, made the availability of the water of the Zāyanda-Rūd and its regulation of special interest to the state. In 1027/1618 Shāh ʿAbbās sent Muḥibb ʿAlī Beg Lāla, the *sarāydār-bāshī* of the royal buildings, to Kūhrang to report on the possibility of diverting the water of the Kārūn (see R.D. McChesney, *Four sources on Shah ʿAbbās's building of Isfahan*, in *Maqarnas*, v [1988], 122) and subsequently Imām Ḳulī Khān Beglarbegi of Fārs, Ḥusayn Khān, governor of Luristān, and Djahāngīr Khān Bakhtiyārī were ordered to start operations. This attempt also proved abortive. In 1030/1620-1 Shāh ʿAbbās himself set out for the source of the Zāyanda-Rūd. New operations to cut through the mountain

were begun but remained unfinished (Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, Tehran AHS 1334/1956, ii, 949-50, 959). Work was renewed under ʿAbbās II, but again proved abortive as also were later projects. It was not until after the Second World War that the problem of feeding a growing population again brought the plan to divert the headwaters of the Kārūn into the Zāyanda-Rūd to the fore; it was accorded high priority in successive development plans. The diversion was finally accomplished in the 1950s and 1960s by means of a tunnel driven through the mountain ridge which forms the watershed between the Kārūn River and the Zāyanda-Rūd. Various plans were also put forward for the construction of storage reservoirs on the upper reaches of the river. Under the Third Development Plan (1962-8), a dam called the Shāh ʿAbbās Great Dam, was constructed, having a height of 95 m and a storage capacity of 450 million m^3, enabling (officially) 100,000 ha. to be irrigated in the Iṣfahān area and permitting the generation of 60,000 kw of electricity. By the time the Fourth Development Plan began, the dam was well established and the area it fed was gradually extended.

The basis of the division of the waters of the Zāyanda-Rūd is probably of great antiquity. The distribution in force in the mid-20th century went back at least to Ṣafawid times. The details are contained in a document known as Shaykh Bahāʾī's *tūmār*, which is (or was) held in the Department of Finance, Iṣfahān. Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Pārīzī mentions an edition published by the Department of Agriculture, Iṣfahān (*Siyāsat wa iktiṣād-i ʿaṣr-i Ṣafawī*, Tehran AHS 1348/1969-70, 89). The present writer has not been able to obtain a copy of this. The authorship and date of the *tūmār* are uncertain. The document contains the words "Written in the sealing office of the late Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 923/1517". This is clearly an anomaly. Shāh Ṭahmāsp did not ascend the throne until 930/1524; and Shaykh Bahāʾī, to whom the document is attributed, was not born until 953/1546-7. He became *ṣadr* of Iṣfahān under Shāh ʿAbbās I and may have been responsible for a revision of the traditional regulation of the river water. Among other anomalies in the document there is mention of various *mādīs* which had no share assigned to them in the original distribution. According to the *tūmār*, the water of the river was regulated in detail from the Kalla Bridge in Āydughmish to Warzāna in Rūydasht, having regard to the cropping needs of each *bulūk* or district [see MĀʾ. 6. Irrigation in Iran, at Vol. V, 873-4].

The present writer was told by an official in the Department of Agriculture, Iṣfahān, in 1938 that the regulation of the river water as laid down in Shaykh Bahāʾī's *tūmār* had some years previously fallen into disuse but that in 1928-9 local people had requested that it be re-activated and, in due course, the system, with some modifications, was again brought into force. She was also told that a *mīrāb* was not invariably appointed and was not necessarily from among the *kadkhudās* of Djay as Shaykh Bahāʾī's *tūmār* had laid down; if he was appointed, his wages were fixed on a daily basis and paid locally. If no *mīrāb* was appointed, each *bulūk* sent a representative to oversee the division of the water within that *bulūk* when its turn came. Ibrāhīm Taḥwīldār states that this was the case in 1877 (*Djughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, 128). The *mādī-sālārs* (those in charge of the major canals leading off from the river) were appointed locally and paid (in most cases) by the landowners. In recent years, with the increased flow of water after the construction of storage dams in the upper reaches of the river, major modifications have been made in the distribution of water.

Bibliography: Given in the article, and see A.K.S. Lambton, *The regulation of the waters of the Zāyanda Rūd*, in *BSOS*, ix (1939), 663-73.

(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

ZAYD B. ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN, great-grandson of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭima and leader of the revolt that gave rise to the Zaydiyya [*q.v.*] branch of the Shīʿa.

He was born in Medina in 75/694-5 according to his son al-Ḥusayn. This date seems more reliable than the year 79/698 or 80/699 usually mentioned by the Sunnī sources. He was thus at least 18 years younger than his brother Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, who became the head of the Ḥusaynids after the death of their father ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn in 94/712-13 and was widely recognised as the *imām* by the Shīʿa. Zayd's mother was a woman of slave origin from Sind named Djaydā, who is said to have been presented to his father by the Shīʿī rebel leader al-Mukhtār or was bought by the father. Zayd acquired a high standing in religious learning in his family and in Medina and is known to have transmitted from his father, his brother Muḥammad, Abān b. ʿUthmān, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Rāfiʿ.

As head of the Ḥusaynids, his brother Muḥammad entrusted him with the litigation on their behalf in the long-standing dispute between the families of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn over the control of the endowments (*ṣadaḳāt*) of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The case was pursued before the Umayyad governors of Medina Ibrāhīm b. Hishām (106-14/724-32) and Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik (114-17/732-5). The Ḥasanids were at first represented by Djaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and then by his brother ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, who was in fact in control of the endowments after the death of his father. The case evidently involved the leadership of the descendants of Muḥammad through Fāṭima and thence their potential claim on the caliphate. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, who harboured ambitions, at first for himself and later for his son Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH], is reported to have accused Zayd before the governor of aspiring to the caliphate although he, as the son of a non-Arab slave woman, was not qualified for it. When Zayd complained to his aunt Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn, the mother of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, about the insult to his mother, she encouraged him to answer by insulting herself. Zayd then took revenge by casting aspersions on his aunt's undignified conduct toward an earlier governor. As it became evident, however, that the governor Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik was using the dispute to discredit the Family of the Prophet in front of the public of Medina, Zayd broke off the litigation, assuring ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan that he would never again raise the case before the governor. Reports that the dispute was further pursued before the caliph Hishām do not seem to be reliable. According to another report, Zayd vainly tried to raise it before the caliph, who refused to receive him. A letter of Hishām to the governor Yūsuf b. ʿUmar confirms, however, that Zayd was engaged in litigation against ʿUmar b. al-Walīd, son of the caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, before Hishām (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 682). No details are known about the case.

When Khālid al-Ḳasrī was replaced as governor of ʿIrāḳ by Yūsuf b. ʿUmar in Djumādā I 120/May 738, he claimed, under torture by his successor, that Zayd and several other men of Ḳuraysh were in possession

of deposits of his. According to some accounts, it was Khālid's son Yazīd or his *ghulām* Ṭāriḳ who made the claim, but it must, in any case, have concerned deposits belonging to the deposed governor. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar informed the caliph Hishām, who sent for the Ḳurashīs. That Zayd was already present at the caliph's court, as some reports state, is unlikely. All of the accused denied the claims against them. Hishām cleared them of suspicion but insisted on sending them to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar in al-Ḥīra in order to confront them with their accuser. Zayd's son ʿĪsā was born in al-Ḥīra. As their accuser withdrew his charges, they were freed. While most of the Ḳurashīs returned to Ḥidjāz, Zayd stayed in Kūfa together with the ʿAbbāsid Dāwūd b. ʿAlī. The caliph now sent a letter to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar instructing him to send Zayd forthwith to Ḥidjāz and not to let him tarry. He had, so he wrote, observed Zayd in his dispute with ʿUmar b. al-Walīd to be argumentative, loquacious, apt to forge and to distort in his discourse, and to beguile men by the sweetness of his tongue. If he were allowed to stay among the Kūfans, who believed in the superior religious status of his family, he would incite them to rebellion, thus splitting the Muslim community.

Yūsuf ordered his deputy in Kūfa, al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt, to press Zayd to leave, but the latter, offering various excuses, remained four or five months in the town. When he left and reached al-Ḳādisiyya or al-Thaʿlabiyya, Kūfan Shīʿīs caught up with him and urged him to return, promising him massive support. They said they hoped he would become the Manṣūr who would overthrow the Umayyad régime. Dāwūd b. ʿAlī warned him of the fickleness of the Kūfans and continued on to Ḥidjāz, but Zayd decided to return. He stayed secretly, moving from tribe to tribe, for over ten months, interrupted by a two months' visit to Baṣra. He married two women of the tribes of Sulaym and al-Azd in order to strengthen his ties with them. His summons to the people called for *djihād* against the wrongdoers, redress of grievances and support of the Family of the Prophet in general against their enemies. Twelve or fifteen thousand men are said to have pledged allegiance to him in Kūfa. He also sent his summons abroad and gained followers in the Sawād, in al-Madāʾin, Baṣra, Wāsiṭ, Mawṣil, Upper Mesopotamia, Rayy and Djurdjān. Support for him was nevertheless patchy. Some *ʿulamāʾ* actively backed him, but others, while offering sympathy, expressed doubts that the Kūfans would stand up for him. Abū Ḥanīfa is said to have sent him money but to have excused himself from fighting. The Banū Hāshim, ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids, also failed to show solidarity, in part probably because of ambitions of others among them. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan is reported to have warned him in a letter of the well-known treachery of the Kūfans. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir's son Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ is said to have advised his followers to pledge allegiance to Zayd. Most of them withdrew their backing, however, when Zayd refused to condemn the conduct of the early caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. The sources stress this incident, describing it as the cause of the schism between the radical Imāmiyya and the moderate Zaydiyya.

As Zayd's presence in Kūfa was betrayed to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, he was forced to call the revolt before the date originally set. On Yūsuf's order, al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt had summoned the Kūfan leaders and warriors to the great mosque and detained them under a guard of Syrian soldiers. Thus less than three hundred men followed Zayd's call to revolt, though the number then swelled to around a thousand. They were fought mainly by a force of Syrians whom Yūsuf had brought to Kūfa. On the third day, Zayd was hit in the evening by an arrow penetrating his brain. He died when a physician or a cupper extracted it. Various dates are mentioned for his death. The most likely is Thursday, 2 Ṣafar 122/7 March 740. His followers sought to hide his body by burying him at night in a spot that they drenched with water. The location, however, was betrayed the next day, and his body was exhumed. His head was sent to Hishām in Damascus, who exhibited it and then sent it to Medina. His body was crucified on the Kunāsa in Kūfa and left there until after the death of Hishām some three years later, when his successor al-Walīd b. Yazīd ordered Yūsuf to burn it and scatter the ashes in the Euphrates. Revenge for Zayd became one of the slogans of the ʿAbbāsid revolution and, after its success, Hishām's remains were unearthed in Damascus, crucified and burned.

Zayd's activity as a scholar and his religious opinions are largely obscure. He was given the honorary title *ḥalīf al-Ḳurʾān* and numerous readings of his Ḳurʾān codex are cited in the Sunnī works on *ḳirāʾāt*. They do not reflect a notable Shīʿī tendency (see A. Jeffery, *The Qurʾān readings of Zaid b. ʿAlī*, in *RSO*, xvi [1936], 249-89, and *Further Qurʾān readings of Zaid b. ʿAlī*, in *ibid.*, xviii [1940], 218-36). Zaydī tradition has preserved various theological treatises ascribed to him. These are too disparate in style and doctrinal positions to be the work of a single author and may mostly be seen to represent currents in the early Kūfan Zaydiyya. A compendium of religious law attributed to him was collected by the Zaydī Ibrāhīm b. al-Zibriḳān (d. 183/799) on the basis of the transmission of the Kūfan Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī who claimed to have heard it from Zayd while visiting Medina as a pilgrim in five years. The work, first published by E. Griffini as *Corpus Iuris di Zaid b. ʿAlī* (Milan 1919), reflects Kūfan legal tradition and it is unlikely that Zayd had any significant part in it. Abū Khālid also transmitted a commentary on the difficult (*gharīb*) words of the Ḳurʾān (ed. Ḥ.M. al-Taḳī al-Ḥakīm, Beirut 1992). In these texts, Zayd appears as an anti-Ḳadarī supporter of predestination and as upholding a moderately anti-anthropomorphist concept of God. This agrees with the views of the early Kūfan Zaydiyya. Late Zaydī tradition describes him as agreeing with Muʿtazilī teaching.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 239-40; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii, ed. M. al-Fardūs al-ʿAẓm, Beirut 1996, 520-41; Yaʿḳūbī, 390-1; Ṭabarī, ii, 1667-88, 1698-1716; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 2220-25; Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1949, 127-51; Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiḳ bi ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ, *al-Ifāda*, ed. M.Y.S. ʿIzzān, Ṣanʿāʾ 1996, 61-7; C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imāmat Zaidite au Yemen*, Leiden 1960, 28-33, 307-12; R. Strothmann, *Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. ʿAlī*, in *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 1-52; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, esp. 53-61; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 552-60. (W. Madelung)

ZAYD b. ʿAMR b. Nufayl, a so-called *ḥanīf* [*q.v.*] and "seeker after true religion", who lived in Mecca before Muḥammad's mission (though some pronounced him a Companion of the Prophet). In a major battle before Islam Zayd reportedly led the Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] clan to which he belonged, the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb. The cycle of reports about him in Islamic historiography all but presents him as Muḥammad's precursor. Some scholars even went as far as declaring him a prophet who received revelations, and a

messenger sent to mankind. Precisely like Muḥammad before his call, Zayd is said to have practiced *taḥannuth* [*q.v.*] on Mt. Ḥirāʾ [*q.v.*]. Other rites attributed to him, such as prostration in the direction of the Kaʿba, are consonant with Islamic practice.

In a widespread account, Zayd appears as an old man leaning against the Kaʿba and claiming to be the only Ḳurashī holding on to the *dīn Ibrāhīm*. His claim to exclusivity smacks of competition with other Ḳurashīs who repudiated idol worship. Far more problematic, however, are reports involving Muḥammad in which Zayd is given a spiritual advantage over the future prophet. One account reportedly going back to his son Saʿīd b. Zayd [*q.v.*] (through his son and grandson), is a typical itinerary of a *ḥanīf* in quest of true religion. Zayd was travelling with Waraḳa b. Nawfal [*q.v.*], who soon became Christian, abandoning the search. Continuing his journey, Zayd learned from a monk that the religion he was looking for was about to be initiated in his own land. Having returned to Arabia, Zayd was offered by Muḥammad, but declined, the meat of an animal slaughtered in association with idol worship. Following Zayd's example, Muḥammad abstained from such meat and, what is more, abandoned idol worship.

At least some of these unorthodox statements originated with Zayd's offspring and other members of the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb. They were not discarded because they included an element of *dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* "proofs of prophethood". Instead, they gave rise to various forms of apologetics, since they contradicted the more comprehensive form of *ʿiṣma* [*q.v.*] or infallibility, which developed over the period preceding Muḥammad's mission.

Bibliography: The relevant entries in the Companion dictionaries; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk*, ed. ʿU.Gh. al-ʿAmrawī, Beirut 1415-/1995-, xix, 493-516; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Sh. al-Arnāwūṭ *et al.*, Beirut 1401-9/1981-8, i, 124-43; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1417/1996, 520-4; Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1387-1406/1967-86, index; M.J. Kister, *'A bag of meat': a study of an early* ḥadīth, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii (1970), 267-75, repr. in idem, *Studies in Jāhiliyya and early Islam*, Variorum, London 1980, no. VI; U. Rubin, *Ḥanīfiyya and Kaʿba: an inquiry into the Arabian pre-Islamic background of* dīn Ibrāhīm, in *JSAI*, xiii (1990), 85-112, at 99-103; idem, *The eye of the beholder*, Princeton 1995, index.

(M. Lecker)

ZAYD b. ḤĀRITHA al-Kalbī, or Zayd *al-ḥibb* "the beloved", a slave, and later a *mawlā* [*q.v.*] and adoptive son of the Prophet Muḥammad. The details of his early biography are disputed. One account has it that he was sold into slavery in Mecca by members of his own tribe.

However, according to al-Wāḳidī's [*q.v.*] account, Zayd's father died amidst his wife's tribe, the Ṭayyiʾ [*q.v.*], bequeathing to his son an unspecified number of camels. Certain Bedouin who hired the camels from the stripling, treacherously sold him at the market of ʿUkāẓ. The buyer was Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām who was trading on behalf of his paternal aunt Khadīdja [*q.v.*].

According to al-Kalbī's account, Zayd and his mother, while on a visit to her tribe, were attacked by horsemen of al-Ḳayn [*q.v.*] b. Djasr. The attackers sold Zayd at ʿUkāẓ to Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām who purchased him for Khadīdja. After her marriage to Muḥammad, Khadīdja gave him Zayd. In al-Kalbī's version, Zayd's father (who was still alive) vowed to look for his son. Having been discovered in Mecca by fellow tribesmen, Zayd chose to remain Muḥammad's slave, and in due course became Muḥammad's adoptive son.

Zayd's offspring transmitted—at least to the 4th/10th century—a different account. Zayd grew up in his mother's family and when she died, he remained with his grandfather. Then he was carried off by horsemen of the Fazāra [*q.v.*] who sold him at ʿUkāẓ to Khadīdja's paternal cousin, Waraḳa b. Nawfal [*q.v.*]. Zayd was recognised by a fellow tribesman, but chose to stay with Muḥammad. In this account Zayd's father (and, after a while, also his brother, Djabala) embraced Islam. As attested by the Companion dictionaries, the family managed to secure Companion status for both of them.

Zayd's earliest marriage link, with Muḥammad's dry nurse and *mawlāt* Umm Ayman (Baraka), took place in Mecca, probably not long after Muḥammad's call. She gave birth to Usāma [*q.v.*] eight or ten years before the Hidjra. Although Usāma was dark-skinned while Zayd was fair, a physiognomist [see ḳiyāfa] reportedly removed all doubts regarding Zayd's parentage.

Zayd's other marriages took place in Medina after the Hidjra. He married Muḥammad's cousin, Zaynab bt. Djaḥsh [*q.v.*] (whose mother was Muḥammad's paternal aunt). Zaynab's marriage to Muḥammad shortly afterwards gave rise to claims by the so-called Hypocrites, that Muḥammad was acting against his own ruling which prohibited marriage to the former wife of one's son. Consequently, a verse (Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 5) was revealed terminating the state of adoption and returning Zayd to his Kalbī affiliation. With regard to the same situation, Zayd is the only Companion of Muḥammad whose name appears in the Ḳurʾān (XXXIII, 37). Several years later Zayd married successively three women of Ḳuraysh, one of whom was yet another cousin of Muḥammad (the daughter of his paternal uncle, Abū Lahab [*q.v.*]). At some stage Zayd was married to a woman of the Medinan Khazradj [*q.v.*]).

Zayd, a fine archer who led several military expeditions, was killed in the battle of Muʾta [*q.v.*] of 8/629, aged fifty or fifty-five.

Bibliography: The entries on Zayd, his father Ḥāritha, and his brother Djabala, in the Companion dictionaries; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk*, ed. ʿU.Gh. al-ʿAmrawī, Beirut 1415-/1995-, xix, 342-74; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh Dimashk li-Ibn ʿAsākir*, ix, ed. N. Nashshāwī, Damascus 1405/1985, 122-31; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Sh. al-Arnāwūṭ *et al.*, Beirut 1401-9/1981-8, i, 220-30; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, Cairo 1959, 467-76; Muḳātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, ms. Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III 74, ii, fols. 86b-87a, 91b-93a.

(M. Lecker)

ZAYD b. al-ḤUSAYN b. ʿALĪ (1898-1970 or 1972), fourth son of the Grand Sharīf of Mecca, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] by a Circassian wife. His involvement in Hāshimī activities and politics was limited. He participated as a leader in the early stages of the Arab Revolt in Ḥidjāz in 1916. He was his father's representative in 1924 at a British-sponsored conference in Kuwayt which tried to resolve Hāshimī-Suʿūdī border differences. In 1947 he was a minister in London for ʿIrāḳ after Britain decided to refer the Palestine problem to the United Nations.

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of partition, Oxford 1990, 19, 22, 78; Kamal Salibi, *The modern history of Jordan*, London 1993, 68. See also HĀSHIMIDS. (Hussein Sirriyeh)

ZAYD b. THĀBIT, an Anṣārī [see ANṢĀR] Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad credited with a crucial role in the collection of the Ḳurʾān [*q.v.* at Vol. V, 404b-405b]. He belonged to the Banu ʾl-Nadjdjār of the Khazradj, or more precisely, to the ʿAbd ʿAwf b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Nadjdjār. His mother, al-Nawār bt. Mālik, was of the ʿAdī b. al-Nadjdjār. Much of the rather detailed biographical information about Zayd was preserved by *ḥadīth* transmitters from among his offspring who were intensely interested in the life and work of their great ancestor.

Zayd's father was killed in the battle of Buʿāth [*q.v.*], when Zayd was six years old; at the time of the Hidjra [*q.v.*], Zayd was eleven. His education between these events was of major importance for his career. Already before the Hidjra he acquired Arabic literacy at the *midrās* or *kuttāb* [*q.v.*] of a Jewish group called Māsika; his knowledge of the Hebrew or Syriac script presumably goes back to the same period.

Zayd's first-born son was probably Saʿīd, hence Saʿīd's mother, Umm Djamīl bt. al-Mudjallil of the Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], must have been Zayd's first wife. Widowed in Ethiopia, she arrived at Medina after the conquest of Khaybar [*q.v.*] in 7 A.H. with two small children. Neither of the children was called Djamīl, and it follows that she could have been married twice before marrying young Zayd.

As one of the Prophet's scribes, Zayd wrote down Ḳurʾān verses as well as letters to "the kings". Some said that Zayd was the scribe of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and he was also said to have officiated as *ḳāḍī* under ʿUmar and ʿUthmān.

Zayd's literacy was accompanied by a knowledge of arithmetic: he was a famous expert on the division of inheritances [see FARĀʾIḌ] and was considered an authority on calendrical calculations. Abū Bakr instructed him to calculate the *khums* of the Kinda [*q.v.*] captives brought to Medina from al-Nudjayr (in Ḥaḍramawt), and Zayd later collected their ransom. After the Battle of the Yarmūk, Zayd divided the spoils, having done the same for the Prophet at Khaybar and Ḥunayn [*q.v.*]. When food supplies sent by ʿUmar's governor in Egypt were to be distributed, Zayd prepared written orders for the transfer of subsistence (*ṣikāk*) which were made of papyrus [see ḲIRṬĀS] and stamped at the bottom; he was the first Muslim to prepare such orders. ʿUthmān appointed him over the treasury (*bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*]) after Zayd's predecessors had resigned because of ʿUthmān's illegal use of state money. In due course, ʿUthmān allowed Zayd to appropriate a surplus of more than 100,000 dirhams. However, a pro-ʿUthmānī source denies all this: the former officials grew old and were too weak to function; the surplus was of 1,000 dirhams only, and Zayd spent it on construction works in the Prophet's mosque.

When ʿUthmān was later besieged in his court, Zayd protected him in defiance of his fellow Anṣār, most of whom supported ʿAlī. Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] accused Zayd of being motivated by the many palm trees which he received from ʿUthmān. It should be borne in mind that at the *saḳīfa* [*q.v.*], immediately after the Prophet's death, Zayd—whose first wife was probably of the Ḳuraysh—eloquently supported the political supremacy of the *muhādjirūn* [*q.v.*] over the Anṣār.

Zayd was one of the few Anṣār who did not pledge their allegiance to ʿAlī; a pro-Shīʿī source explained that ʿUthmān appointed him over both the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] and the treasury. Obviously, Zayd was not a member of ʿAlī's administration, but at the beginning of Muʿāwiya I's [*q.v.*] reign we again find him in charge of the *dīwān* of Medina. Zayd advised Muʿāwiya and his governor in Medina, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], on various legal matters.

The dates given for Zayd's death range from 42/662-3 to 56/675-6. The large amount of gold and silver that he bequeathed had to be cut with a broad iron instrument called *mifrāṣ*; in addition, he left orchards and estates valued at 100,000 dīnārs, or, alternatively, at 150,000 dīnārs and 700,000 dirhams. Considering Zayd's humble starting-point, his career during the first half-century of Islam was phenomenal.

There is much controversy over the collection of the Ḳurʾān. One thing is, however, certain: when ʿUthmān looked for a qualified scholar to oversee the preparation of its official edition, Zayd's total commitment to the Ḳurashī cause was taken into consideration.

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ZAYDĀN, DJURDJĪ (b. 14 December 1861 in Beirut, d. 21 July 1914 in Cairo), outstanding representative of the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*] or Arabic cultural and literary renaissance of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Son of an illiterate Greek Orthodox cook who considered education, except for some reading and writing skills, unnecessary, Zaydān was more than any other Arab intellectual of his time a self-made man. His autobiography (Eng. tr. Th. Philipp, 1979, 1990) gives information on his amazing intellectual development, from being a waiter and cook in his father's small restaurant at the age of 11, to apprenticeship in a workshop for European-style shoes, to bookkeeping for his father, until his enrolment for studying medicine in the Syrian Protestant College in September 1881. He soon became top of his class, but left with some friends after an incident caused by one of the American teachers' lecturing on Darwinism, which the students ardently supported, claiming a right of free speech in this regard. Supported financially by a friend, he went to Cairo in 1883 to continue his studies, but the Armenian owner of the newspaper *al-Zamān* offered him its editorship, which he undertook till 1884. Then he joined Wolseley's expedition to relieve Gordon in Kharṭūm as a dragoman and

guide, and after its failure, returned to Beirut in 1885 to study Hebrew and Syriac. In the summer of 1886 he travelled to London, where he became acquainted with the works of European orientalists. Health troubles led him to return to Cairo, where he henceforth resided permanently. He was offered the job of administrative manager and assistant editor of the journal *al-Muḳtaṭaf* [see DJARĪDA i. A], which he took over for 15 months. After quitting this post, he produced his first books. In *al-Alfāẓ al-ʿarabiyya wa ʾl-falsafa al-lughawiyya* (1886, republ. 1904, 1964), which gained him membership of the Royal Asiatic Society of Italy, he applied evolutionary theory to languages. A historical study of Freemasonry—which highly attracted Arab intellectuals at that time [see FARMĀSŪNIYYA, in Suppl.]—and a book on the modern history of Egypt, used in schools, appeared in 1889. Probably for financial reasons, he became head teacher for Arabic at a Greek Orthodox School. In 1890 he published a small *General history*, intended as a textbook. Together with a friend, he founded in 1891 a small printing house which, however, closed down in 1892. Zaydān re-opened it alone in 1893 and renamed it in 1896 as the *Maṭbaʿat al-Hilāl*. In 1891 he published his first historical novel *al-Mamlūk al-shārid* (German tr. M. Thilo, 1917), whose success encouraged him to leave his teaching job. Up to his death, Zaydān published 22 novels, which were most recently republished with commentaries in 1984 and are still widely read. They have been translated into other oriental languages, such as Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Hindi and Uzbek Turkic. His goal was to awaken in the Arab public a historical consciousness and a pride in the great days of Arabo-Islamic history. Only *Djihād al-muḥibbīn* (1893) is a love story, probably based on his love for the Syrian Christian immigrant Maryam Maṭar, his wife since 1891. Enthusiastic in his youth about folk romances told in old Beirut, he wrote in a plain style mixing historical facts, events and personalities, such as famous persons like *al-Ḥadjdjādj ibn Yūsuf* (1902), *Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī* (1905) *al-Amīn wa ʾl-Maʾmūn* (1907), *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī* (1913) and *Shadjar al-Durr* (1914), with fictitious love stories, intrigues and adventures. This and his rather openly anti-Umayyad standpoint annoyed Arab nationalists and fundamentalists. Showing narrative skill, Zaydān produces tension and excitement, although his heroes are mainly either good or evil and remain static. Except where the historical facts stand in the way, he closes with a happy ending or a tragic death. He is incontestably the pioneer of the historical novel as a literary genre in Arabic.

Still of value today amongst his many scholarly works, with which he aimed to popularise Western knowledge and methods of work and thought, are *Tarādjim mashāhīr al-shark fi ʾl-karn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar* (1907, republ. 1960 as *Buhāt al-nahḍa al-ʿarabiyya*) and volume iv of his *Taʾrīkh Ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* (1910-13) since they provide information on contemporaries. The fourth volume of his *Taʾrīkh al-tamaddun al-islāmī* (i-v, 1901-6) was translated by D.S. Margoliouth into English (GMS IV, Leiden and London 1907) because amongst Zaydān's sources used for it were unpublished manuscripts. In his *al-ʿArab ḳabl al-Islām* (1907-8, republ. 1958) and other works he was certainly the first Arab intellectual to trace Arab history back to Hammurabi and the Pharaohs, thus creating a new Arab identity at a time of the emergence of Arab nationalism and an Arab bourgeoisie as a social class. In other publications, he characterised the Arabic language, one based on the Ḳurʾān but regarded as a living and developing organism, as the unifying link for all Arabs and the basis of their culture. In 1892 Zaydān founded *al-Hilāl*, a journal still existing today. In 22 volumes, he gave information on scientific developments and cultural events, and on European and Arab publications, later including (for female readers) information on health, hygiene and family problems; and he serialised his novels and longer essays. Deeply convinced of the civilising value of education and learning, he abstained, however (like other prominent Arab Christians of the *Nahḍa*), from political statements, except for espousing the cause of the Young Turks in 1908 and after, but he provided background information to political events and personalities. In 1910 he was offered a professorship of Islamic history at the Egyptian University, but this was withdrawn after heated debates occasioned by his Christian origin.

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(WIEBKE WALTHER)

ZAYDĀN, MAWLĀY [see SAʿDIDS].

ZAYDIYYA, a branch of the Shīʿa [*q.v.*] arising out of the abortive revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] in Kūfa in 122/740. During the preparations for the revolt, a part of the Kūfan Shīʿa withdrew their support from Zayd in protest against his refusal to condemn unconditionally the early caliphs preceding ʿAlī and backed Zayd's nephew Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ as their *imām*. This schism led to a lasting division of the Shīʿa into a radical and a moderate wing in terms of their religious break with the Sunnī Muslim community. The Zaydiyya, as the moderates, did not classify the Sunnī Muslims generally as infidels. In political terms, however, they were, in contrast to the radical but quietist Imāmiyya, militant, espousing revolt against the illegitimate Sunnī rule as a religious duty.

1. The early Kūfan phase.

The Zaydiyya was initially formed by the merger of two currents in Kūfan Shīʿism, the Djārūdiyya [*q.v.*] and the Batriyya [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The Djārūdiyya were named after Abu ʾl-Djārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir, a former companion of Zayd's brother Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, who backed Zayd's revolt when he was deserted by most of al-Bāḳir's followers. They brought some of the radical elements of al-Bāḳir's teaching into the Zaydiyya. Thus they rejected the imāmate of the three caliphs preceding ʿAlī, holding that ʿAlī had been appointed by the Prophet as his legatee (*waṣī*) and implicitly as his successor. Condemning the majority of the Companions and the Muslim community for their desertion of the rightful *imām*, they repudiated the legal tradition transmitted by the Sunnī traditionists and upheld the transmission of the religious law by the Family of the Prophet as solely legitimate. In contrast to the Imāmiyya, however, they did not confine legal teaching authority to their *imāms* but accepted in principle the teaching of any member of the *ahl al-bayt* qualified by religious learning. The Batriyya were at first a group of moderate Shīʿīs who were critical of some of al-Bāḳir's teaching and failed to accept him as their *imām*. While considering

ʿAlī as the most excellent of Muslims after the Prophet, they generally admitted the imāmate of his predecessors since he had pledged allegiance to them. They did not concede any superior knowledge to the Family of the Prophet, but recognised the religious knowledge handed down in the Muslim community as valid and allowed the use of individual reasoning (*idjtihād, ḳiyās*) in establishing the law. The Batriyya were part of the general Kūfan traditionalist movement. As Kūfan traditionalism became absorbed by Sunnism during the 3rd/9th century, the views of the Djārūdiyya came to prevail among the Zaydiyya.

The legitimate imāmate was at first not confined to the descendants of ʿAlī. Before the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, Kūfan Zaydīs backed ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], a descendant of ʿAlī's brother Djaʿfar. In the 4th/10th century there was still a group of Zaydīs known as Ṭālibiyya who recognised all descendants of ʿAlī's father Abū Ṭālib as eligible for the imāmate. The majority, however, considered only descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn as legitimate claimants. According to common Zaydī doctrine, the first three *imāms*, ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, were *imāms* by designation (*naṣṣ*) of the Prophet. After al-Ḥusayn, the imāmate became legally established through armed rising (*khurūdj*) and a formal summons (*daʿwa*) to allegiance by a qualified candidate. Among the qualifications, religious knowledge was emphasised. Many Zaydī *imāms* throughout the centuries have been highly educated religious scholars and authors. They were, however, generally not considered as immune from error and sin (*maʿṣūm*), although some late Zaydīs conceded such immunity to the first three *imāms*.

In theology, the Kūfan Zaydiyya were determinist, strongly opposed to the Ḳadariyya and Muʿtazila, though also admitting some responsibility of man for his acts. They were anti-anthropomorphist, but upheld the reality of the attributes of God against their reduction to descriptions of the divine essence by the Muʿtazila. They rejected the doctrine of the created nature of the Ḳurʾān, but did not insist on belief in its coeternity with God. Against Murdjiʾī doctrine, they taught that works were part of faith (*īmān*). Like the Ibāḍiyya, they classed the grave offender (*fāsiḳ*) as an unbeliever by ingratitude (*kāfir niʿma*), not by polytheism (*shirk*) or by denial of God (*djuḥūd*). Land under Sunnī domination was an abode of unbelief by ingratitude (*dār kufr niʿma*). As for the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*], this justified their revolt against the established order while also allowing them to associate peacefully with other Muslims.

In religious law, the Zaydiyya relied at first on the teaching of various ʿAlid authorities, among them Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, Zayd b. ʿAlī and Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, and sometimes on the claim of a consensus of the Family of the Prophet. In the 3rd/9th century four legal schools emerged on the basis of the teaching of Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd [*q.v.* in Suppl.], al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī [*q.v.*], al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd and Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Murādī. They are described by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlawī (d. 445/1053) in his *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ al-kāfī* as authoritative among the Kūfan Zaydiyya in his time.

Among the abortive revolts supported by Kūfan Zaydīs were those of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his brother Ibrāhīm in 145/762-3, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Ṣāḥib Fakhkh in 169/786, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh in 176/792, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā in 199/814, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim Ṣāḥib al-Ṭālaḳān in 219/834, and Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar b. Yaḥyā in 250/864. Thereafter, Zaydī activity successfully shifted to remote mountain regions south of the Caspian Sea and in Yemen, which tended to elude the control of the central government.

2. The Caspian Zaydiyya.

Zaydī Islam was first preached on a limited scale among the non-Muslim Daylamīs by the ʿAlid rebel leader Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] and his Kūfan supporters in 175/791-2. Much more effective was the missionary activity of some local followers of al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860) in western Ṭabaristān, the region of Rūyān, Kalār and Shālūs. Al-Ḳāsim's teaching in theology represented a shift from early Kūfan Zaydī doctrine to more anti-determinist and radically anti-anthropomorphist positions, dissociating God from evil acts and stressing the absolute dissimilarity of God to all creation. While distinct from contemporary Muʿtazilī doctrine, it paved the way for the adoption of Muʿtazilī theology among his later followers. His teaching in the religious law represented a Medinan moderate Shīʿī tradition relatively independent of Kūfan Zaydī school doctrine. In 250/864 the people of Rūyān revolted and invited the Ḥasanid al-Ḥasan b. Zayd from al-Rayy to lead them. Al-Ḥasan established the first Zaydī state, with the capital in Āmul. He officially supported Shīʿī ritual and law and Muʿtazilī theology, and is known to have written books on law and the imāmate. However, neither he nor his brother Muḥammad, who succeeded him and ruled until 287/900, was recognised as *imāms* by the later Zaydīs, and his teaching was ignored by the school tradition.

After the overthrow of Muḥammad b. Zayd, the Ḥusaynid al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh al-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥaḳḳ was active in Gīlākdjān and Hawsam [*q.v.* in Suppl.], converting the Daylamīs north of the mountain range and the Gīlīs east of the Safīd Rūd. In 301/914 he conquered Āmul and restored Zaydī rule in Ṭabaristān, reigning until his death in 304/917. Al-Nāṣir left numerous writings on law and theology and was generally recognised as an *imām*. His teaching differed to some extent from that of al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm. In its basic theses his theology was similar to al-Ḳāsim's, but also polemically anti-Muʿtazilī. In ritual and law he was closer than al-Ḳāsim to the Kūfan Zaydī tradition and often to Imāmī Shīʿī doctrine. Thus he adopted the Imāmī law of inheritance, repudiating the privileged position accorded to the agnates in Sunnī law, and the Imāmī prohibition of the irrevocable triple repudiation of the wife (*ṭalāḳ al-bidʿa*).

The Caspian Zaydiyya was thereafter divided into two rival schools and communities, the Ḳāsimiyya prevailing in western Ṭabaristān, Rūyān and the adjoining Daylam, and the Nāṣiriyya among the eastern Gīl and the interior Daylam. The Ḳāsimiyya maintained close ties with the family of al-Ḳāsim. His grandson Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] came to Āmul during the reign of Muḥammad b. Zayd, but aroused the suspicion of the latter by being addressed by some of his followers as *imām* and had to leave quickly. After he established Zaydī rule in Yemen, he was joined by groups of Zaydī volunteers from Ṭabaristān and Kalār. Al-Hādī's works on religious law were immediately adopted by the Ḳāsimiyya and commented upon by Caspian ʿAlid scholars. The close relationship between the Ḳāsimiyya and the Yemeni Zaydiyya was to continue for a long time. The Nāṣiriyya tended to look to the descendants of al-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥaḳḳ for leadership. All of these were given the *laḳab* al-Nāṣir, and al-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥaḳḳ's tomb in Āmul remained for centuries a place of pilgrimage for the Nāṣiriyya. However, only one of his descen-

dants, al-Ḥusayn b. Dja'far al-Nāṣir ruling in Hawsam (432-72/1040-80), gained recognition as a Zaydī *imām*. The antagonism between the two schools was initially intense until the Imām Abū 'Abd Allāh b. al-Dā'ī al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh (d. 360/970) actively promoted the thesis that both school doctrines were equally valid.

Conditions among the Caspian Zaydiyya, where often 'Alids without the full qualifications for the imāmate came to reign, or two or more 'Alids contemporaneously gained local support, required recognition of a rank of legitimate ruler below that of *imām*. These were commonly called *dā'īs* "summoners", and themselves frequently adopted titles composed with this term. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, his brother Muḥammad, and al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim, who succeeded al-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥaḳḳ, all took the title al-Dā'ī li 'l-Ḥaḳḳ, while others claimed the title al-Dā'ī ilā 'l-Riḍā, *al-riḍā* referring to the expected *imām* of the Family of the Prophet. Other Zaydī 'Alid rulers merely adopted the title *amīr*.

In spite of their mutual recognition, the two Caspian Zaydī communities often backed different rulers. After the final fall of the Zaydī rule in Āmul, Hawsam became the centre of learning of the Nāṣiriyya and the seat of an 'Alid dynasty founded by Dja'far b. Muḥammad al-Thā'ir fi 'llāh [*q.v.*], grandson of a brother of al-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥaḳḳ. Although their reign in Hawsam was often disputed by descendants of al-Nāṣir and others, they regularly regained control of the town. When Hawsam was replaced by Lāhīdjān [*q.v.*] as the chief town of eastern Gīlān in the 6th/12th century, descendants of al-Thā'ir came to rule there. Among the Ḳāsimiyya, Langā, located between Hawsam and Shālūs, became the seat of several *imāms* during the later 4th/10th and the 5th/11th centuries. Later, as much of the Zaydī territories in Rūyān and Daylamān came under the control of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, some Ḳāsimiyya *imāms* were active in eastern Gīlān.

Religious scholarship among the Ḳāsimiyya reached a peak in the *imāms* Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad bi 'llāh (d. 411/1020), and his brother Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiḳ bi 'l-Ḥaḳḳ (d. *ca.* 424/1033). Born in Āmul, both studied for some time in Baghdād and then belonged to the circle of the Būyid vizier al-Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, an active promoter of Mu'tazilī theology and Shī'ism, and of the Mu'tazilī chief *ḳāḍī* 'Abd al-Djabbār in al-Rayy. Both wrote major legal works and commentaries in the Ḳāsimiyya school tradition, though al-Mu'ayyad is sometimes considered the founder of a new school, the Mu'ayyadiyya. In theology they fully adopted the Baṣran Mu'tazilī school doctrine represented by 'Abd al-Djabbār. The close ties between Zaydiyya and Mu'tazila at this time were reflected in the increasingly pro-'Alid tendency in the Mu'tazilī doctrine on the imāmate. Two Mu'tazilī scholars and authors of the school of 'Abd al-Djabbār, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Bustī and al-Muḥsin b. Karāma al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī (d. 484/1101 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), became active Zaydīs. The numerous works of the latter, in particular, became prestigious among the Zaydiyya. Al-Mu'ayyad also wrote a treatise on Ṣūfī devotion, *Risālat Siyāsat al-murīdīn*, which remained influential in defining the Zaydī attitude to Ṣūfism. It praises the early Ṣūfīs from Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ to al-Djunayd, endorsing the ascetic, penitential and devotional aspects of their practice, but denounces the delusions of the Ṣūfīs that induce them to engage in practices contrary to the religious law, such as listening to chants and dancing.

In the course of the 6th/12th century, the Caspian Zaydiyya declined substantially, partly because of the expansion of Ismā'īlism which confined it to eastern Gīlān and partly because of quarrels between 'Alid pretenders backed by different factions. Little is known about developments in the following century and a half. In 769/1367-8 Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā b. Amīr Kiyā, backed by Zaydī penitents (*tā'ibān*), set out to conquer eastern Gīlān. He gained recognition as *imām* by the Zaydī scholars of Rānikūh and Lāhīdjān. His descendants ruled in Lāhīdjān on the basis of dynastic succession as Zaydīs until 933/1526-7, when Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān, with most of his Zaydī subjects, converted to Imāmī Shī'ism. The survival of a tradition of Zaydī learning in eastern Gīlān until that date is attested by a number of manuscripts of Zaydī texts written there in the last phase before the conversion.

3. The Zaydiyya in Yemen.

The Zaydī imāmate in Yemen was founded in 284/897 by al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm's grandson al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ, who had been invited by local tribes in the hope that he would settle their feuds. Although Shī'ī sentiments had been manifest in parts of Yemen since the rise of Islam, there is little evidence of specifically Zaydī activity before his arrival. Al-Hādī established his capital in Ṣa'da [*q.v.*]. He and his sons Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā (d. 310/922) and Aḥmad al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (d. 322/934), both of whom were consecutively recognised as *imāms*, were buried in the congregational mosque there, and Ṣa'da has ever remained the stronghold of Zaydī faith and learning in Yemen. Al-Hādī's teaching in the religious law, laid down in his *Kitāb al-Aḥkām* and *Kitāb al-Muntakhab*, was based on that of his grandfather al-Ḳāsim, but adopted more Shī'ī positions, for instance in prescribing the *ḥay'ala*, the Shī'ī formula of the call to prayer. It has remained basic for the Hādawiyya legal school, the only one authoritative among the Zaydiyya in Yemen. In theology, his doctrine was close to the contemporary Baghdād school of the Mu'tazila, but he did not expressly state his agreement with it. Regarding the imāmate, he upheld the Djārūdī position, unambiguously condemning Abū Bakr and 'Umar as usurpers.

After Aḥmad al-Nāṣir, the descendants of al-Hādī quarrelled among themselves and none gained recognition as *imām*. The imāmate was restored by al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh al-Ḳāsim al-'Iyānī (388-93/999-1003 [*q.v.*]), a descendant of al-Hādī's uncle Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim. Al-Manṣūr's son al-Ḥusayn al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh (401-4/1010-13) was also recognised as *imām*. His qualification of religious knowledge, however, was soon questioned. He defended himself, making extravagant claims that he equalled the Prophet in rank and that he was the Expected Mahdī. When he was killed in battle, his followers and his family asserted that he had not died and would return. Thus a sect arose, called the Ḥusayniyya. Led by descendants of al-Mahdī's brother Dja'far, the Ḥusayniyya, having acquired and fortified the impregnable mountain stronghold of Shahāra, became the main force of opposition to the Ismā'īlī rule of the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] in northern Yemen during the 5th/11th century.

In the same period another Zaydī sect arose, the Muṭarrifiyya [*q.v.*], founded by Muṭarrif b. Shihāb (d. after 459/1067). Muṭarrif explicitly based his religious teaching on the works of al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm, al-Hādī, and the early Yemeni *imāms*, as well as on some statements ascribed to 'Alī. He interpreted them, however, in an arbitrary manner, developing a theology and cosmology that deviated substantially from Mu'tazilī doctrine. This brought him in conflict with the Baṣran Mu'tazilī teaching espoused by the Caspian Ḳāsimiyya *imāms*. The Muṭarrifiyya also manifested distinct ascetic and pietist tendencies. On the basis of the doctrine

of *hidjra*, the obligation to emigrate from the land of injustice, that had been taught by al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm and other Zaydī authorities, they founded "abodes of emigration" where they congregated to engage in worship, ritual purification, ascetic practices and teaching. These *hidjras*, usually forming a protected enclave in tribal territory, became the prototype of the protected teaching centres called *hidjras* common among the later Yemeni Zaydiyya in general.

At first, during the Ṣulayḥid age, the Muṭarrifiyya could spread without strong opposition from the mainstream Zaydiyya. After the restoration of the imāmate by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Mutawakkil ʿalā ʾllāh (532-66/1137-70), they came under increasing pressure. Al-Mutawwakkil favoured the unity of the Zaydiyya in and outside Yemen, equally recognising the Caspian and Yemeni *imāms*. He acknowledged the pro-Shīʿī wing of the Muʿtazila as close allies, asserting that the founder of the Muʿtazila, Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ [*q.v.*], had received his doctrine from the Family of the Prophet. He furthered the teaching of Caspian Zaydī scholars and of Yemeni scholars who had studied with Zaydī scholars in the Caspian region, Rayy and Kūfa, and encouraged a massive transfer of Caspian Zaydī religious literature to Yemen. A leading part in this transfer and in spreading Caspian Zaydī and Muʿtazilī teaching was played by the *ḳāḍī* Djaʿfar b. Abī Yaḥyā Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Al-Mutawakkil severely criticised the Muṭarrifiyya and the Ḥusayniyya for splitting the unity of the Zaydiyya. The Imām al-Manṣūr bi ʾllāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (593-614/1197-1217), a strong supporter of Muʿtazilī theology, declared the Muṭarrifiyya dangerous heretics, persecuted them, and destroyed their *hidjras*. Both Ḥusayniyya and Muṭarrifiyya vanished during the 9th/15th century.

The domination of Muʿtazilī theology, as espoused by the school of *ḳāḍī* Djaʿfar, did not, however, remain unchallenged. The Sayyid Ḥumaydān b. Yaḥyā (early 17th/13th century) demonstrated in several of his treatises that the early Zaydī authorities, in particular al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm and al-Nāṣir li ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ, had differed on many points with the Muʿtazila, while accusing the latter of heretical innovations in numerous details of their teaching. He ignored the Caspian Ḳāsimiyya *imāms* and claimed, with tenuous arguments, that even al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza in reality did not support Muʿtazilī theology.

The teaching of the Imām al-Muʾayyad bi ʾllāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (719-47/1328-46), a prolific author, reflected a lack of sectarian zeal and openness to Sunnī learning. He praised Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān as early Companions of Muḥammad on a par with ʿAlī. He adopted the Muʿtazilī theology of the school of Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī which, in contrast to the school of *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, previously prevalent, recognised the reality of *karāmāt*, the miracles of Ṣūfī saints. His book on religious ethics *Taṣfiyat al-ḳulūb min daran al-awzār wa ʾl-dhunūb* was patterned on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* and quoted widely from the sayings of the early Ṣūfīs. He sharply criticised al-Ghazālī, however, for his approval of *samāʿ*, listening to music and singing by the Ṣūfīs.

The spread of Ṣūfī orders in the Sunnī lowlands of Yemen during this period put pressure on the Zaydiyya to re-examine their attitude to Ṣūfism. The militant anti-Shīʿī stand of these orders made it difficult to come to terms with them. A Zaydī school of Ṣūfism was founded, however, by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abi ʾl-Khayr, an initiate of the Kurdish Ṣūfī *shaykh* al-Kūranī [*q.v.*], and his disciple Ibrāhīm al-Kaynaʿī (d. 793/1391). Al-Kaynaʿī was closely associated with the Imām al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad (783-93/1371-91), and was able to found Ṣūfī communities and *hidjras* throughout northern Yemen. The majority of the *imāms* thereafter, however, were opposed to Ṣūfism and denounced the Ṣūfīs for their unlawful practices and fanciful claims of inspiration.

The stigmatising of Ṣūfism as heretical reached a peak under the Imam al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad (1006-29/1598-1620 [see AL-MANṢŪR BI ʾLLĀH]), the founder of the Ḳāsimi dynasty of *imāms*. Al-Manṣūr's anti-Ṣūfī polemics were partly provoked by the strong support of the Ṣūfī orders for the Ottoman Turkish occupiers of Yemen, against whom he fought a relentless war. He likened the Ṣūfīs to the Ismāʿīlīs, who had long been the arch-enemies of the Zaydiyya, describing them as Bāṭiniyya whose basic thought was derived from Zoroastrianism and Mazdakism, and he singled out Ibn al-ʿArabī for particular condemnation, calling him the chief of the Ṣūfī incarnationists (*ḥulūliyya*).

Al-Manṣūr generally upheld the Shīʿī foundation of the Zaydiyya by re-affirming the Djārūdī position on the imāmate. Inspired by Ḥumaydān's views, he stressed the differences between the teaching of the Zaydiyya and the Muʿtazila. While admitting that they agreed in their basic theological theses, he maintained that the early *imāms* had confined their teaching to what could be safely established by reason, the unambiguous text of the Ḳurʾān and the generally-accepted Sunna. They had not followed the Muʿtazila in their abstruse speculation and absurd fantasies.

Descendants of al-Manṣūr reigned Yemen until the fall of the imāmate in 1382/1962. Whereas some of his early successors were learned men in the Zaydī tradition, the later *imāms*, while still claiming the title of *imām*, in fact ruled on the basis of dynastic succession. As the Zaydī *imāms* gained control of the more populous and prosperous lowlands of Yemen, they found it increasingly expedient to accommodate the religious views and sentiments of the majority of their subjects. Thus they came to favour the neo-Sunnī school that first arose out of the teaching of the *sayyid* Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436). Ibn al-Wazīr, member of an ʿAlid family of distinguished Zaydī scholars, had accepted the Sunnī canonical collections of *ḥadīth* as unconditionally authoritative in religion. On this basis, he had systematically defended Sunnī school doctrine and criticised the opposing Zaydī teaching in his voluminous *al-ʿAwāṣim wa ʾl-ḳawāṣim fi ʾl-dhabb ʿan sunnat Abi ʾl-Ḳāsim*. He insisted, however, that he was not joining any Sunnī school and was simply employing sound, independent *idjtihād*. Major scholars and authors of his school were Ṣāliḥ b. Mahdī al-Maḳbalī (d. 1108/1696-7), Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Amīr (d. 1182/1768-9) and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834 [*q.v.*]). The latter, *muftī* and chief judge under several *imāms*, vigorously attacked traditional Zaydīs in his writings and, in his official position, persecuted some of their intransigent leaders. He gained wide recognition in the Sunnī world and is considered one of the founders of Islamic modernism. In the Republic of Yemen, Zaydī (Hādawī) law, as expounded in the *Kitāb al-Azhār fī fiḳh al-aʾimma al-aṭhār* and its *Sharḥ* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1437), is officially recognised as valid next to Shāfiʿī law. Official ideology, however, favours the neo-Sunnī school and is putting the traditional Zaydiyya on the defensive.

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ZĀYIRDJA [see ZĀʾIRDJA].

ZAYLAʿ, a port on the Gulf of Aden [see ʿADAN] and on the African coast, situated in lat. 11° 21' N., long. 43° 30' E. (Ar. Zaylaʿ, Somali Seylac, Audal; Fr., Ital., Eng. Zeila, Zeyla, etc.). In the colonial period it came within British Somaliland (1884-1960), and then in the Republic of Somalia, inaugurated in July 1960 by the union of the former British Somaliland and the Italian colony of Somalia [see SOMALI. 3. History]. The falling-apart of the Republic of Somalia, since 1991, has placed it once more in the newly-independent Somaliland, which has become independent *de facto* but has not as yet (2000) been recognised internationally.

The town is over 200 km/125 miles west of the capital Berbera [*q.v.*], but only some 40 km/25 miles from the frontier separating Somaliland from the Republic of Djibouti/Djibūtī [*q.v.*]. Opposite the town, which offers a secure anchorage, protected on the east by a peninsula, are the isles of Saʿd al-Dīn and, somewhat larger, of Aybat. The population of the hinterland is today made up of ʿIssas/ʿIse Somalis.

Zaylaʿ has through the centuries been one of the points of contact between the Horn of Africa and the outside world via the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Its port was in lively relationship with all the other ports of the region, with Tadjūrra, but above all with al-Mukhā [*q.v.*]/Mocha and the other ports of Western and Southern Arabia. It was also the point of arrival and departure for caravans connecting the coastlands with the southern part of the Ethiopian highlands. Certain of these started from the well of Tocoshah for Shoa and Christian Ethiopia [see ḤABASH, ḤABASHA], others from the well of Warambot for Gildessa. At Gildessa, the road bifurcated, one way going towards Erer and Ankober in Shoa, and the other to Harar [*q.v.*], where caravans entered by the Bāb al-Futūḥ. This last destination was the most important, to the point that Zaylaʿ could be called "the port of Harar". Other tracks then led towards the Arusi country, the southwest and the region of the East African lakes. Coffee, hides, gum, resin, fats, ostrich plumes, cattle, slaves, ivory, etc. were exported from Zaylaʿ; imports comprised rice, salt, tobacco, textiles, manufactured objects, etc. Hence it was via Zaylaʿ that Arab merchants penetrated into the southern part of the Horn of Africa, as also slave dealers, and with them, Islam and various outside influences.

The oldest mention of Zaylaʿ under that name is in al-Yaʿḳūbī (late 3rd/9th century), and most of the Arab travellers who crossed the region mention the town; however, it existed before this, at the time of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. It always played in the south the role that Maṣawwaʿ [*q.v.*]/Massawa played in the north, sc. that of a privileged access into Ethiopia. In the 7th/13th century, Zaylaʿ belonged to the sultanate of Ifat/Awfat [*q.v.*], from where the first attacks on Christian Ethiopia were launched in the 8th/14th century. Ethiopia at first successfully resisted. The Negus Yesḥāḳ defeated the ruler of Ifat, Saʿd al-Dīn [see ADAL] in 1415, but soon had to appeal to the Portuguese for assistance. Pedro de Covilham, sent by João II in 1487 to organise a Portuguese-Ethiopian alliance, arrived in the land via Zaylaʿ. After the permanent defeat of Islam and the incorporation of the Red Sea region into the Ottoman empire *ca.* 1540, the town received a governor who was dependent, according to various periods, on the Yemeni towns of al-Mukhā and al-Ḥudayda.

Some centuries later, it was also from Zaylaʿ that the second great Islamic attack on Ethiopia—this time by the Egyptians—was launched. In August 1875, Raʾūf/Rawf Pasha seized control of Zaylaʿ and its hinterland in the name of the Khedive Ismāʿīl Pasha [*q.v.*]. The Egyptians, however, were only nominally in control, and in order to protect caravans, they had to seek the help of the *ugās* of the ʿIssas and of Abū Bakr, the former "Sultan" of Zaylaʿ. From their base on the coast, the Egyptians seized Harar, occupying it for ten years and thus controlling the Zaylaʿ-Harar axis. At Zaylaʿ, they demolished the walls and four of the five gates, and prohibited the slave trade. On their departure, Major Hunter landed at Zaylaʿ in February 1884, inaugurating the period of British rule which lasted till 1960. At the same time, Ethiopia lost its outlet to the sea, which gradually became Eritrea Italiana. At various times, the British had the idea of ceding Zaylaʿ to Addis Ababa, which sought an outlet to the sea, in exchange for various advantages, mainly territorial, but the cession of Eritrea to Ethiopia in 1952 ended this possibility for the British.

The decline of Zaylaʿ, which had begun with the silting-up of its port, was largely accomplished by the mid-19th century. The creation of Djibouti (1896), the construction of the railway linking this new port with Addis Ababa (1897-1917), and the growing importance of Berbera (which had in its favour a location well to the south of Aden) brought about the definitive ruin of Zaylaʿ, whilst the relegation in importance of Harar, overshadowed by Diredawa, the new stopping-place on the railway, finalised the disappearance of the Zaylaʿ-Harar route. Today the town is reduced to a dilapidated village with a few hundred inhabitants, held by a small garrison of the army of Somaliland, although it has a radio mast for the service of the fishing industry.

Bibliography: Since there is no monograph on Zaylaʿ, the sparse items of information must be sought in the Arab and European travellers' accounts and in works about Ethiopia and Somaliland, their Islamisation and on the history of Egyptian expansion in the Red Sea region. See the various works of I.M. Lewis, esp. his *Modern history of Somalia. Nation and state in the Horn of Africa*, [2]London 1988 ([1]1965), and, for the references in them; J. Doresse, *Histoire sommaire de la Corne orientale de l'Afrique*, Paris 1971; R. Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian towns*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden 1982-5. Alfred Bardey, the employer of Rimbaud, has left a precious report of his first caravan journey, *Barr-Adjam. Souvenirs d'Afrique orientale, 1880-1887*, to which is prefixed J. Tubiana, *Le patron de Rimbaud*, Paris 1981. (A. ROUAUD)

ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN ("Ornament of the Worshippers") ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, the fourth Imām of the Twelver Shīʿa. His *kunya* is variously given as Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Abū Bakr, etc. According to many sources he was born (in Medina) in 38/658-9, though the years 33, 36 and 37 are also given. If accounts that he had not reached puberty at the time of the Karbalāʾ massacre (61/680) are to be trusted, this would put his birthdate forward to the 40s/660s; these accounts are, however, rejected by al-Wāḳidī and other authorities.

His mother's name is variously given as Barra, Ghazāla, Djaydā, etc.; some say that she was an *umm*

walad [*q.v.*] from Sind (or Sidjistān), while Shīʿī tradition has it that she was a daughter of the last Sāsānid emperor Yazdagird III and that her Persian name was Djihānshāh, Shahrbānū(ya) or Shāhzanān. Some say she threw herself into the Euphrates after the battle, but others maintain that she was among the survivors of Karbalāʾ. Shīʿīs refer to ʿAlī as *ibn al-khiyaratayn* "the son of the two elect" since, according to a tradition of the Prophet, the Ḳuraysh are the elect of the Arabs and the Persians are the elect of the non-Arabs.

Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn was not the only son of al-Ḥusayn called ʿAlī; another was killed at Karbalāʾ and is known as ʿAlī al-Shahīd. Some historians, including Ibn Saʿd, Ibn Ḳutayba, al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī, refer to him as ʿAlī al-Akbar and to Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn as ʿAlī al-Aṣghar. Others (e.g. al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān) maintain that Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn was the older of the two, and accordingly refer to him as ʿAlī al-Akbar and to his martyred brother as ʿAlī al-Aṣghar. For many Twelver authors, the title ʿAlī al-Aṣghar refers to an infant brother who was also killed at Karbalāʾ; some of these authors maintain that Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn was the middle brother (hence ʿAlī al-Awsaṭ), while the eldest was ʿAlī al-Shahīd; others reverse the position of the two older brothers.

At Karbalāʾ, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn is said to have been too ill to join in the fighting; after the battle Shamir b. Dhi 'l-Djawshan found him lying on a mat in the women's tent and ordered him to be killed but was overruled by ʿUmar b. Saʿd, the commander of the Syrian army. When ʿAlī was brought before ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād in Kūfa, the governor ordered his execution, but relented after pleas by al-Ḥusayn's sister Zaynab. ʿAlī and the other survivors were taken to Yazīd in Damascus, and he sent them back to Medina. The *mashhad ʿAlī*, forming part of the great mosque in Damascus, is said to have been built at the place of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's incarceration (cf. L. Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle*, Beirut 1988, 352).

In Medina ʿAlī led a pious life which earned him the honorifics Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, al-Sadjdjād ("he who constantly prostrates himself"), al-Zakī ("the pure") and Dhu 'l-Thafināt (referring to the calluses on his skin in the places touching the ground in prostration). Whenever the time of prayer drew near, he would tremble and go pale, and his devotional practices caused fears for his health. He was counted among the *bakkāʾūn* [*q.v.*], since for years he would weep for his father and the other martyrs of Karbalāʾ. He used to go out at night with his face covered in order to distribute charity (*ṣadaḳat al-sirr*), and it was only after his death that people discovered the identity of their benefactor. When his body was washed, marks were found on his shoulders, the result of his carrying heavy loads of food at night for the poor.

ʿAlī studiously avoided any involvement with the authorities and adopted a quiescent attitude towards the Umayyads and the Zubayrid anti-caliphate. After the battle of the Ḥarra (63/683), Muslim b. ʿUḳba [*q.v.*], acting on orders from Yazīd, treated him with respect and did not try to exact from him an oath of allegiance to the caliph. The reasons for this special treatment were that ʿAlī had been unwilling to be associated with the Medinan rebels and had sheltered the entourage of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, including Marwān's wife ʿĀʾisha bt. ʿUthmān, at his estate at Yanbuʿ. Non-Shīʿī sources describe a friendly relationship between ʿAlī and the caliphs Marwān and ʿAbd al-Malik: the former lent him money to purchase concubines and, before his death, decreed that his heirs should not demand that it be repaid; the latter consulted him about a message he had received from the Byzantine emperor. Shīʿī authors, in contrast, maintain that ʿAlī's dealings with the authorities were based on *taḳiyya*. ʿAlī proved magnanimous even when wronged: Hishām b. Ismāʿīl used to insult him during his four years as governor of Medina, yet after Hishām's dismissal by al-Walīd (7 Rabīʿ I 87/26 February 706) ʿAlī forbade his family and friends to speak ill of him. A famous story has it that when the future caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik came to Mecca on pilgrimage, he was unable to approach the Kaʿba because of the crowds; for ʿAlī, however, the crowds parted, allowing him unhindered access. On that occasion, al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*] is said to have improvised a poem in praise of ʿAlī, thereby arousing Hishām's ire; but the eulogy, which exists in various versions, has been judged to be mostly or entirely unauthentic (J. Hell, *Al-Farazdaḳs Loblied auf ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusain* (*Ẓain al-ʿĀbidīn*), in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, ed. G. Weil, Berlin 1915, 368-74; J. Weiss, in *Isl.*, vii [1917], 126-7). ʿAlī did not pledge allegiance to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, but he did escort his sister Sukayna bt. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] to ʿIrāḳ for her marriage with ʿAbd Allāh's brother Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], from whom he received a gift of 40,000 dīnārs.

Among the Shīʿa, ʿAlī at first enjoyed little support; most Shīʿīs turned to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, whose imāmate was promoted by al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*]. In their polemical writings, Twelver authors attempt to show that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya acknowledged ʿAlī's leadership; an oft-repeated story has it that the two agreed to abide by the ruling of the Black Stone in the Kaʿba; the stone miraculously spoke, upholding ʿAlī's rights. Abū Khālid al-Kābulī, who had originally adhered to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, is said consequently to have switched his allegiance to ʿAlī. In the view of some Ismāʿīlīs, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had been appointed by al-Ḥusayn as a veil (*sitr*) in order to protect ʿAlī's identity as the true *imām*; he was a temporary *imām* (*mustawdaʿ*, lit. "trustee"), while ʿAlī was the permanent *imām* (*mustaḳarr*). Following Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's death, a subgroup of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] reportedly recognised ʿAlī as *imām*; in contrast, due to ʿAlī's quietism most (but not all) Zaydīs did not regard him as an *imām* (cf. R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Ẓaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, 107; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Ẓaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 172).

The relationship between ʿAlī and al-Mukhtār was an uneasy one: when al-Mukhtār sent ʿAlī a gift of 100,000 dirhams, ʿAlī did not wish to accept it but dared not send it back; after al-Mukhtār's death he offered the sum to ʿAbd al-Malik, who told him to keep it. Various stories told about the two reflect the ambivalent attitude of Twelver authors to al-Mukhtār. Among these are the claim that al-Mukhtār was anxious to gain ʿAlī's support and only turned to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya after being rejected; and the report that ʿAlī publicly cursed al-Mukhtār; or the account that al-Mukhtār gained ʿAlī's gratitude by sending him ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād's head after the latter's death in the battle on the river Khāzir (67/686).

In Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections ʿAlī appears as a transmitter from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, from his father, his uncle al-Ḥasan and others. Among those who transmitted from him were some of his sons, as well as Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sabīʿī, al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba, ʿAmr b. Dīnār and al-Zuhrī. According to al-Zuhrī (who held ʿAlī in high esteem), he transmitted little (*kāna ḳalīl al-ḥadīth*).

ʿAlī is said to have died in 94/712 or 95/713; other dates mentioned are 92, 93, 99 and 100. He was buried in al-Baḳīʿ cemetery. Shīʿī authors maintain that he was poisoned on the orders of the reigning caliph al-Walīd or his brother Hishām. He is said to have had between eight and fifteen offspring, of whom four were sons from his wife Umm ʿAbd Allāh bt. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, the rest being from concubines.

A number of short texts are ascribed to ʿAlī, including a certain *al-Ṣaḥīfa fi ʾl-zuhd* (Kulīnī, *Kāfī*, viii, 14-7). He is also credited with a *Risālat al-Ḥuḳūḳ*, preserved (in two versions) in two 4th/10th century works: Ibn Bābawayh's *K. al-Khiṣāl* (Nadjaf 1391/1971, 529-36) and Ibn Shuʿba's *Tuḥaf al-ʿuḳūl* (Beirut 1394/1974, 184-95). ʿAlī's collection of prayers known as *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila* or *al-Ṣaḥīfa [al-kāmila] al-sadjdjādiyya* gained wide popularity; there are numerous redactions and over twenty commentaries, and it was translated into Persian in the Ṣafawid period. Fifteen "whispered prayers" (*munādjāt*) ascribed to ʿAlī have been added to several modern editions of the *Ṣaḥīfa*; an English translation of the entire work is now available (Imām Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, *The Psalms of Islam: al-Ṣaḥīfat al-kāmilat al-sajjādiyya*, tr. with an introd. and annotation by W.C. Chittick, London 1988).

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(E. Kohlberg)

ZAYN al-ʿĀBIDĪN, the regnal name of the Kashmīr Sultan Shāhī Khān b. Iskandar, greatest of the line of Shāh Mīr Swātī, hence called Bud Shāh "Great King", *r.* 823-75/1420-70.

It was his merit to put an end to the persecutions of his father Sikandar But-Shikan [*q.v.*], who had forcibly converted Hindus and destroyed their temples. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn now in effect abolished the *djizya*, allowed the rebuilding of temples, etc. The realm was secured by strong military policies, and internal prosperity secured by such measures as the digging of canals and the founding of new towns. He encouraged arts and crafts, and paper-making and book-binding were introduced from Samarḳand. Himself a poet in Persian, he patronised learning, and under him, the *Mahābhārata* and Kalhaṇa's metrical chronicle the *Rājataranginī* were translated into Persian. His reign was very much a Golden Age for Kashmīr, but much of his work was undone by his weaker successors.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ZAYN al-ʿĀBIDĪN MARĀGHAʾĪ, Persian merchant and writer (1255-1328/1839-1910).

From a Kurdish family which had recently become Shīʿī, Marāghaʾī from the age of sixteen engaged in the family trading activity. After failing at Ardabīl, he sought his fortune in the Caucasian region and became Persian consul-general at Tiflis in Georgia, where he again took up commerce but ruined himself helping indigent Persians. Fleeing to Russian territory, he surfaced in the Crimea and in Istanbul. Before the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 he was a cloth merchant at Yalta; he supplied the Imperial family with goods and assumed Russian citizenship, with his three children learning only Russian.

Ca. 1890, in search of his religious and national identity, he sold his trading business and went to Istanbul, moving amongst the Persian reformist milieux, and in 1904 abandoned his Russian nationality and re-assumed his Persian one. In Istanbul, he contributed to the reformist newspaper *Akhtar* and published anonymously, at Cairo, the first volume of his

Siyāhat-nāma-i Ibrāhīm Beyg, to which he later added two more volumes, only revealing his name at the end of the third one. In the style of James Morier's *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, he tells of the travels in Persia of a young Persian patriot, of liberal views, born in Egypt, in which he discovers the moral and political decadence of his land. Referring to Islam, citing Ṭālibūf [*q.v.*]/Talibov and influenced by Malkom Khān [*q.v.*], he displays the bad conscience of an idealistic patriot who only knows his country through travellers' accounts. His convincing ardour in denouncing despotism was to assure him a great, immediate success (reprints in Istanbul, India and even at Tehran in 1323/1905). As a good representative of the preconstitutionalist Ādharī milieu, linked with the Caucasus region, which spread within Persia the democratic ideal, Marāghaʾī was to inspire not only the revolutionaries of 1906 but also several succeeding reformers up to the present time, such as Aḥmad Kasrawī [see KASRAWĪ TABRĪZĪ].

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ZAYN al-ʿĀBIDĪN SHĪRWĀNĪ, called "Mast-ʿAlī Shāh", with the pen-name "Tamkīn", Persian scholar and mystic (1193-1253/1779-1837). He was born into a Shīʿī family of Shīrwān, accompanied his father Mullā Iskandar to Karbalā at five years of age and studied there for twelve years. Having made the acquaintance of the Niʿmatallāhī Ṣūfī masters Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh Dakanī and Nūr-ʿAlī Shāh Iṣfahānī (both d. 1212/1797), he made his way to Baghdād and thence embarked on a life of travel, punctuated by encounters with mystical masters or political leaders, whom he evokes in his major encyclopaedic works (for example, *Riyāḍ al-siyāḥa*, ed. Rabbānī, 129-30). Having crossed the Iranian plateau, he reached Kābul where he spent four years in the company of the master Ḥusayn-ʿAlī Iṣfahānī (d. 1216/1801-2). After the death of the latter, he travelled around India for eight years, then returned to Persia via Kābul and Khurāsān. From the Persian Gulf, he made his way to the Ḥidjāz and traversed the entire Arabian Peninsula from north to south. After the Pilgrimage and a stay in Mecca, he travelled to Egypt and then to Damascus and Istanbul, stopping for months at a time at each stage of the journey. On his return to Persia in 1229/1814, having enjoyed honorific receptions everywhere, he tried to establish his domicile in various places, finally settling in Shīrāz where he trained his disciple Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Raḥmat-ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1278/1861). Harassed by the Shīʿī clergy, he moved his residence to the vicinity of Iṣfahān. Once again the victim of a wave of anti-Ṣūfī intolerance, he tried to flee from Persia but in the process only narrowly escaped death and lost all his goods and his writings. After some time in Kāshān, he returned to Shīrāz (1241/1825-6), where he remained until a final Pilgrimage to Mecca, in the course of which he died. Since the accession of Muḥammad Shāh (1249/1834), protector of the Ṣūfīs, he had enjoyed a quiet life and the revenues of an estate given to him by the ruler.

In those of his works that have survived, Shīrwānī tells of the various places that he visited and expands upon the teaching of Ṣūfism and upon his personal philosophy. The Persian historian A. Hairi has shown that, fascinated by the Britons encountered in India, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn lost all critical sense (*Nakhustīn rūyārūʾī-hā*, 436-7). Rather than a mystical work, it is a mine of information on Niʿmatallāhī Ṣūfism and on the daily and cultural life of the early 19th century. Riḍā-Ḳulī Hidāyat was among the direct disciples of Shīrwānī.

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ZAYN al-DĪN b. ʿALĪ [see AL-SHAHĪD AL-THĀNĪ].

ZAYN al-DĪN, SHAYKH AḤMAD [see MAPPILA].

ZAYNAB [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

ZAYNAB bt. ʿABD ALLĀH al-MAḤḌ b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā, Umm al-Ḥusayn, the mother of the Ḥasanid ʿAlid martyr al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh [*q.v.*], who led a revolt in Medina in 169/786 during the caliphate of Mūsā al-Hādī. According to Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*, Nadjaf 1385/1965, 285-6, she and her husband were so famed for their religious devotion that they were known as "the pious couple", *al-zawdj al-ṣāliḥ*.

Bibliography: See also Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Damascus-Beirut 1356-74/1938-55, xxxiii, 169 no. 6825; and for her paternal ancestors, K. Öhrnberg, *The offspring of Fāṭima. Dispersal and ramification*, Helsinki 1983, Tables 16, 27. (Ed.)

ZAYNAB bt. DJAḤSH b. Riʾāb al-Asadiyya, one of the Prophet's wives, whom he married after her divorce from Muḥammad's freedman and adopted son Zayd b. Ḥāritha [*q.v.*].

Zaynab's mother was a maternal aunt of the Prophet, Umayma bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and her father, from the tribe of Asad, a client of the clan of ʿAbd Shams. One of the first emigrants to Medina, she was a virgin (according to some traditions, a widow) when Muḥammad gave her in marriage to Zayd. In the year 4/626 Muḥammad saw Zaynab alone in her house, was taken with her and had Zayd divorce her so that he himself might marry her, she being at that time about 35 years old. Zayd's scruples were set aside by the Ḳurʾānic revelation XXXIII, 37-8, and she received a dowry of 400 dirhams. Zaynab is reported as being proud of the circumstances of her marriage, and as saying that her marriage to the Prophet was superior to the other ones because it had the confirmation of divine revelation. The "verse of veiling", *āyat al-ḥidjāb* (XXXIII, 53), is said to have been revealed at the time of her wedding feast, and some traditions also connect LXVI, 1, with Zaynab and with the other wives' envy of her.

Zaynab was friendly with ʿĀʾis͟ha [*q.v.*], and supportive of her during the so-called "affair of the lie" (*ḥadīt͟h al-ifk*). Her charity was famed, as "the longest-handed" of the Prophet's wives; ʿUmar allotted to her a large stipend, but when she died (according to Ibn Saʿd, in 20/641), she was penniless, having given it all to the poor.

In medieval Christendom, the episode of Muḥammad's infatuation with Zaynab and his compelling Zayd b. Ḥārit͟ha to divorce her, was made much of by anti-Muslim propagandists (cf. L. Marracci, *Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani*, Padua 1691, 562; N. Daniel, *Islam and the West, the making of an image*, Edinburgh 1960, 31, 97-100, 292). Reacting to this, modern Muslim apologists and biographers of the Prophet have endeavoured to place it in a more favourable light (cf. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, Cairo 1936, 307 ff.; M. Lings, *Muhammad, his life based on the earliest sources*, London 1983, 212-14).

Bibliography: Ibn His͟hām, 734, tr. Guillaume, 495-6; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 71-82, Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb al-as͟hrāf*, i, ed. M. Hamidullah, Cairo 1959, 433-7; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkkās͟ha, 215, 457, 555; Ṭabarī, i, 1772-3, tr. I.K. Poonawala, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. IX. The last years of the Prophet*, Albany 1990, 134; Ibn Ḥad͟jar, *Iṣāba*, vii, 667-70; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 282, 361; Nabia Abbott, *Ayesha, the beloved of Mohammed*, Chicago 1942, 16-21, 46-7, 98-9; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 396; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Aʿlām al-nisāʾ*, Damascus 1379/1959, ii, 59-63; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, Paris 1969, 225-7. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ZAYNAB BT. **K͟HUZAYMA** b. al-Ḥārit͟h al-Hilāliyya, from the tribe of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*], one of the Prophet's wives, already known in the *D͟jāhiliyya* as Umm al-Masākīn "Mother of the destitute" from her charitable activities. Her first husband divorced her, and her second one, ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārit͟h, was killed fighting at Badr [*q.v.*]. Muḥammad then married her in either 4/626 or the preceding year when she was about 30 years old, and gave her a dowry of 400 dirhams; but according to al-Balād͟hurī, she died eight months later at the end of Rabīʿ II 4/early October 625. She was buried in the cemetery of Baḳīʿ al-G͟harḳad [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, viii, 82; Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb al-as͟hrāf*, i, ed. Hamidullah, 429; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkkās͟ha, 87, 135, 158; Ṭabarī, i, 1775-6, tr. Poonawala, 138; Ibn al-At͟hīr, *Usd al-g͟hāba*, v, 466-7; Nabia Abbott, *Ayesha, the beloved of Mohammed*, 12; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 396; Kaḥḥāla, *Aʿlām al-nisāʾ*, ii, 65. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ZAYNAB BT. **MUḤAMMAD**, daughter of the Prophet by his first wife K͟hadīd͟ja [*q.v.*], and said to have been his eldest one. Before Muḥammad began his public ministry, she married a rich man of Ḳurays͟h from the clan of ʿAbd S͟hams, her maternal cousin Abu ʾl-ʿĀṣ Laḳīṭ b. al-Rabīʿ.

She was in al-Ṭāʾif at the time of Muḥammad's *hid͟jra*, and did not follow him to Medina. Her husband, still a non-Muslim, was captured at Badr. Zaynab sent a necklace that had belonged to her mother K͟hadīd͟ja to ransom him, and the Prophet freed him on condition that Zaynab should come to Medina. On the way thither she was maltreated by al-Habbār b. al-Aswad and had a fall which caused her to miscarry; al-Habbār only escaped subsequent punishment for this by a timely conversion to Islam. Zaynab's husband was taken prisoner a second time in 6/627 during the expedition of al-ʿĪṣ, and freed by his wife's intercession. He became a Muslim in 7/628 and was re-united with his wife by a second marriage.

Zaynab died in Medina in 8/629. She had two children, ʿAlī, who died in infancy, and Umāma, who married ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib after Fāṭima's death.

Bibliography: Ibn His͟hām, 464-8, tr. Guillaume, 313-16; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 20-4; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkkās͟ha, 72, 127, 141-2; Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb al-as͟hrāf*, i, ed. Hamidullah, 357-8, 397-401; Ṭabarī, i, 1767, tr. Poonawala, 127; H. Lammens, *Fâtima et les filles de Mahomet. Notes critiques pour l'étude de la Sîra*, Rome 1912, index; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 120; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 38-9; idem, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 45, 322; Kaḥḥāla, *Aʿlām al-nisāʾ*, ii, 107-10; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 67, 124-5, 233-4, 582. (V. VACCA*)

AL-**ZAYNABĪ**, ʿALĪ B. ṬIRĀD (or ṬARRĀD) b. Muḥammad, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim S͟haraf al-Dīn, vizier to the two ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Mustars͟hid and al-Muḳtafī [*q.vv.*] in the first half of the 6th/12th century, b. 462/1069-70, d. 538/1144.

The *nisba* refers to descent from Zaynab bt. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, and this ʿAbbāsid descent doubtless helped al-Zaynabī's father Ṭirād or Ṭarrād, called D͟hu ʾl-S͟harafayn, to secure in 453/1061 the office of *naḳīb* [see NAḲĪB AL-AS͟HRĀF] of the Hās͟himī *s͟harīfs* and also to pursue a career in diplomacy on behalf of the caliphs. ʿAlī inherited this office after his father's death in 491/1098 and in 517/1123 combined it with the *niḳāba* of the ʿAlids also. He eventually acquired the *laḳab* of Niẓām al-Ḥaḍratayn from his liaison work between the two courts of the ʿAbbāsids and the Sald͟jūḳ sultans in Bag͟hdād.

He had already functioned as vizier to the caliph in fact if not in name, when in Rabīʿ II 523/March-April 1129 he formally became vizier to al-Mustars͟hid until succeeded by his bitter rival Anūs͟hirwān b. K͟hālid [*q.v.*] in 526/1132. Al-Mustars͟hid was murdered and his son al-Rās͟hid [*q.v.*] succeeded him in 529/1135, but the new caliph was deposed after a year by a *fatwā* of the *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ* at the instigation of al-Zaynabī; on the intervention of the Sald͟jūḳ sultan Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], al-Muḳtafī was made caliph with al-Zaynabī as his vizier (530/1136). The two men soon quarrelled, however; al-Zaynabī sought the protection of the sultan but was dismissed in 534/1139-40. He was soon afterwards reconciled to al-Muḳtafī and was able to return to Bag͟hdād. He died there in straitened circumstances on 1 Ramaḍān 538/8 March 1144, but, says al-Ṣafadī, he had nevertheless continued to pay allowances he had customarily made (*idrār*) to all his dependents and protégés.

Al-Zaynabī is conventionally praised in the sources for his piety and good works, and was the *mamdūḥ* of such poets of the time as Ḥayṣa Bayṣa [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn al-D͟jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix-x (death notice at x, 109); Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vii, 372; Ibn al-At͟hīr, x-xi, years 491, 501, 512, 516-17, 522-3, 526, 529-32, 534, 536, 538; Ibn K͟hallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iv, 454, tr. de Slane, iii, 151, cf. 154; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xxi, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥuğairī, Wiesbaden 1988, 155-6, with other biographical sources indicated at 155 n. 105; Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *Fak͟hrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 411-18, Eng. tr. Whitting, 295-9. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ZAYT (A.), in the classical lexicon, the oil or expressed juice of the olive (*zaytūn* [*q.v.*], botanical

name *Olea europaea* L.), although it could apply today to any oil. Here only the use of olive oil will be discussed. In his Book on Dietetics (*K. al-Aghdhiya*), al-Isrā'īlī (d. *ca.* 935) adds that oil extracted from any plant other than the olive was called *duhn.*

Cultivated throughout the Mediterranean basin since about 3,000 B.C., the fruit of the olive tree was used for cooking, as food, as a cosmetic and for lamp oils. It is in this last usage that *zayt* occurs in the famous Ḳur'ānic "Verse of Light" (XXIV, 35). This reference gave rise to Traditions from the Prophet who approved its use because it came from "a blessed tree". Graded according to the acidic content, the very best "virgin" oil would contain 1% of oleic acid, while poor oil with acidity too high for eating would be used as lamp oil. The term *zayt maghsūl* ("washed oil" or alternatively *zayt al-mā'*) might refer either to the Roman technique of removing a bitter glucoside from the fruit by first soaking it in a solution of lye followed by a thorough washing, or by crushing the olives and then purifying the liquid by floating it on water. Al-Isrā'īlī again notes that both the previously-mentioned terms refer to oil extracted (after crushing?) by means of hot water. On the other hand, in the dietetic treatise of the Andalusī author Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Zuhr (d. 557/1162), he says that the very best olive oil is taken from ripe olives that have not been mixed with salt or other substance, as this adulterates the fruit's moist elements and unbalances its nature; this may reflect a traditional Iberian taste for the more acidic grades of the oil.

Ibn Ḥabīb's (d. 238/853) small medical compendium preserves a couple of sayings attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad indicating the several uses of olive oil and its magical property of protecting from Satan for forty days anyone who is anointed with it. The composition of olive oil was described as hot and moist in the first degree. In the mediaeval Arab culinary tradition, represented by the anonymous *Kanz al-fawā'id* (see index s.v.), olive oil was employed in a variety of preparations. As a frying agent, it was also occasionally replaced by sesame oil (*shīradj*), as in the preparation of fish; in egg preparations, the two oils were often used together. Oil sprinkled over a prepared condiment lent its flavour to the dish. A mixture of salt, water and oil was used to clean chicken before cooking it, and oil was used in a herbal-based mixture in which to marinate fish.

Bibliography: Abū Marwān b. Zuhr, *K. al-Aghdhiya*, ed. and tr. E. García Sánchez, Madrid 1992; *Kanz al-fawā'id fī tanwīʿ al-mawā'id*, ed. M. Marín and D. Waines, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993; Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī, *K. al-Aghdhiya*, ed. F. Sezgin, Frankfurt 1986; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-ṭibb*, ed. C. Alvarez de Morales and F. Giron Irueste, Madrid 1992; T. Stobart, *The cook's encyclopaedia*, London 1980.

(D. Waines)

ZAYTŪN (A.), the olive and olive tree (*Olea europaea* L., the cultivated olive; *O. oleaster*, the wild one).

1. In materia medica and folklore.

Olives and their oil (*zayt* [*q.v.*]) have been used as a food and medicine since ancient times. In the Ḳur'ān, Sūrat al-Tīn, XCV, 1, we have an introductory oath "By the fig and the olive . . .".

According to Dioscorides, leaves of wild and cultivated olive are beneficial for the eyes, skin conditions, pains and inflammations (i, 137-140). Al-Zahrāwī describes the extraction and use of oils (*adhān*) notably various types of olive oil. Green unripe olives give *infāḳ* (*omphakion*: cf Dioscorides, i, 29); according to him, oil washed in water is *rikābī*, a "vehicle" for other ingredients (but see 2. below for another, more widespread explanation of the term). Olive oil is mentioned as useful in ointments (*marāhim*) which need astringent properties; his *maḳāla* 24 on ointments lists 86 prescriptions, of which 47 contain oil. He quotes Dioscorides that oil warms and softens the skin and protects from the cold (Albucasis 81, 90, 98-100, 114-15, cf. Dioscorides, i, 30) Ibn Sīnā recommends it for many internal and external ailments (*Ḳānūn*, i, 309-10). Al-Kindī uses oil for burns (nos. 120, 135) and abscesses (nos. 129, 131), whilst Galen recommends it for headache (310-12).

Olive oil has long featured in folk medicine, continuing up to the present time. It has the authority of the Prophet, for it is "from a blessed tree", and is recommended in particular for erysipelas, itch, ulcers, and skin eruptions (*Medicine of the Prophet*, tr. Johnstone, 227). In Persia of the 1930s, it was "much used in magical rites". Gabriel was said to have told Adam to plant an olive tree and from the fruit to extract an oil which could be used for any pain; thus it was said to cure "every illness except that one from which a person is destined to die" (Donaldson, *The wild rue*, 141, 144). Earlier, in Palestine, it is mentioned as being used for wounds (Canaan, *Aberglaube*, 69). In this region in the 1970s, it was recommended, in villages or by the local herbalist (*ʿaṭṭār*), for earache, sprains, as a massage on the throat for the tonsils, and on the joints for cases of acute influenza; with ghee (*samna*) and sesame oil (*shīradj*) it was used for ulcers on the leg. It could also be used with soap and egg white as a "plaster" for fractures, and was drunk in small quantities for kidney stone.

Modern Western use is mainly culinary, but also as eardrops and in compound oils.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdhiya*, Cairo 1874; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ḳānūn fī 'l-ṭibb*, Būlāḳ 1294/1877, repr. Beirut n.d.; T. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, Hamburg 1914; *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides . . . [translated by] John Goodyer 1655*, ed. R.T. Gunther, Oxford 1934; B.A. Donaldson, *The wild rue. A study of Muhammadan magic and folklore in Iran*, London 1938, repr. New York 1973; C.E. Dubler and E. Terés, *La Materia Médica de Dioscórides*, ii, Tetuan 1952; S.K. Hamarneh and G. Sonnedecker, *A pharmaceutical view of Albucasis . . .* (*Janus*, Suppl. 5), Leiden 1963; M. Levey, *The Medical Formulary or Aqrabādhīn of al-Kindī*, Madison 1966; *Kitāb Djālīnūs ilā Ghalukūn . . .* (Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ), Cairo 1982; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Medicine of the Prophet*, tr. P. Johnstone, Cambridge 1999.

(Penelope C. Johnstone)

2. Olive cultivation.

The domesticated olive tree was an important food plant in the Mediterranean region and Asia Minor during the Islamic era. The primary centre of cultivation was Syria and Palestine, but substantial groves were also found in Spain. In Egypt there was limited production of olives in the Delta, especially near Alexandria, according to al-Muḳaddasī and al-Ḳalḳashandī. Olives were cultivated in the Fayyūm and the Sīwa oasis since the Hellenistic period. Ethnographic descriptions of olive planting and the folklore surrounding olives focus on Syria and Palestine (see Crowfoot and Baldensperger, and Dalman), especially in reference to biblical studies (see Moldenke).

Information is available in the major mediaeval agricultural treatises about the cultivation of olives and their use in the form of olive oil (*zayt*), although much of this is copied from earlier classical texts. The

most extensive source on olive cultivation comes from the widely-quoted *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*] and reflecting much older practices in the region of ʿIrāḳ and Syria. According to this source, the best time for planting olive trees is when the sun is at the midpoint of the zodiacal house of Pisces until it reaches the middle of Taurus, during February and March; this general time frame is frequently reported in the mediaeval almanacs. In most cases, the young shoots should be irrigated, especially right after the planting, and manure is recommended. Classical sources quoted by Arab authors indicate that human dung is not suitable for fertilising olive trees. Much of the technical advice is mixed with magical claims for pomoting growth, protecting from pests and treating diseases, changing the taste or colour of the olives, and preparation of olive oil. For example, planting is said to be more propitious if the moon is waxing and is in the one of the two houses of Saturn.

A variety of methods are recorded for planting olive trees from shoots around the base of an existing tree. These are sometimes grafted with stock from wild varieties. The sources note that trees planted from seed, which usually occurs in late autumn, do poorly under domestication. The sources suggest planting in fine and pliable soil in locations protected from hot winds. Olives do not grow well in saline soils. Cultivation is preferable in the mountains because of the cool air.

Olive production occurs after the tree reaches maturity, generally in about 15 years. It is difficult to kill an olive tree by cutting it down, since new shoots will be sent up from the roots. In Palestine, excessive dew and heavy moisture can damage the pollen when the olive tree is flowering. The best olives come from trees which are 40-60 years old. Olives were traditionally harvested in November in Palestine and Syria, either by men climbing the trees and throwing the olives down or by beating the trees with sticks. Al-Aṣmaʿī quotes ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī that olives trees can survive up to 3,000 years (!).

One of the best varieties of olives was the Syrian *rikābī*, so-called because it was exported from Syria on camelback. Al-Thaʿālibī noted that this variety was especially regarded for the purity and clarity of its oil. *Rikābī* olives and their oil were exported widely in the Islamic world, including Yemen and Mecca, where olives were not grown.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Libro de agricultura* (*Kitāb al-Filāḥa*), Madrid 1802, i, 225-45; Ibn Waḥshiyya, *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya*, ed. T. Fahd, *L'agriculture nabatéenne*, Damascus 1993, i, 12-53; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 118; G.M. Crowfoot and L. Baldensperger, *From cedar to hyssop*, London 1931; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Gütersloh 1935, iv, 153-290; H.N. and A.L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, New York 1952, 156-60; M. Ṣāliḥiyya and I. al-ʿAmd (eds.), *Miftāḥ al-rāḥa li-ahl al-filāḥa*, Kuwait 1984, 191-3.

(D.M. Varisco)

ZAYTŪN, or more probably Zītūn, the name given in the later Arabic geographers (Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī [*q.v.*], who flourished in the 7th/13th century, being apparently the first to mention it) and in Muslim travellers like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] (who landed there after his Chinese voyage of *ca.* 1346-7) to a great commercial port of China. It is usually identified as Ch'üan-chou or Quanzhou in the modern Fukien or Fujian province, facing the Formosa strait (lat. 24° 53' N., long. 118° 36' E.) or possibly as the nearby Chang-chou or Zhangzhou near Amoy in this same province (lat. 24° 31' N., long. 117° 40' E.). In Sung and Yüan times (12th-14th centuries) it had a flourishing colony of Arab and Persian Muslim merchants, who lived in a separate urban area of their own with all necessary buildings for the practice of their cult and for the meeting together of Ṣūfīs, whilst the Christian community had its own suffragan bishopric there under the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Khānbalīḳ or Peking (one incumbent of Zaytūn is mentioned as Andrew of Perugia) and Franciscan convents.

Bibliography: Sir Henry Yule and H. Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither, being a collection of mediaeval notices of China*, 4 vols. London 1914, i, 169 ff., iv, 117 ff. (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account) and index; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, 3 vols. Paris 1959-73, s.v. *Çaiton*; A. Herrmann, *An historical atlas of China*, Edinburgh 1966, maps at 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44 etc.; and see mīnāʾ. 9; al-ṣīn at Vol. IX, 620-1, with further references. (C.E. Bosworth)

ZAYTŪN, in Ottoman usage Zeytūn, a town of southeastern Anatolia, now called Süleymanlı. The town (lat. 37° 53' N., long. 36° 50' E., altitude 940 m/3,080 feet) lies in the basin of the upper reaches of the Djayhān [*q.v.*]/Ceyhan river, and the old part of it rises in terraces on the slopes of a steep hill crowned by a Turkish-period fortress.

Its former Armenian inhabitants called it Zetʿun or Ulnia, or simply Kegʿ "village". An Aplgharip (? ʿAbd al-Karīb) of Fornos, to the southwest of Zaytūn, is mentioned at the beginning of the reign of Leon I of Little Armenia (1129-37) (*Rec. hist. Crois., Doc. arm.*, i, 636, iii, 636). On the other hand, the town of Zaytūn is first mentioned after the capture of the last Rupenid King of Little Armenia (1375). According to local tradition, the inhabitants came from the fortress of Ani or Anē-dzor, which probably lay in the Cilician plain. The earliest mention of the town which Alishan could find is in 1526 (Bishop Narses of Zethun, *Sissouan*, 199, 201). Paul of Aleppo calls Zaytūn in 1699 "the well-known town of the Armenians". The inhabitants were for long (till about 1864) able to maintain a certain independence. A rising broke out in 1819 as a protest against the heavy taxes imposed by the Porte. The people of Zaytūn resisted Ibrāhīm Pasha from Egypt on behalf of the Turks. The troubles of 1862 lasted till 1872 and broke out again in 1878 and 1884. In the summer of 1876 the residence of the governor was burned down; it was rebuilt in 1877. The conflagrations of 22 September 1884 and 26 July 1887 were much worse, and almost the whole of the town was destroyed. New unrest was caused by the outbreak of smallpox, from which 400 children in Zaytūn died in 1890. The worst was the uprising of 1895-6 following the general persecution of Armenians in Turkey. The governor of Marʿash besieged the little town in which 15,000 fugitives from the surrounding country had taken refuge; completely exhausted by bombardments, epidemics and lack of munitions, the defenders were only able to secure peace and an amnesty from the Porte through the intervention of the European Powers, notably France; they had to surrender their arms and were granted government by a Christian *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. The massacres during the First World War and shortly afterwards led to the migration of the surviving Armenians to Syria and beyond, and Zaytūn has since been a Turkish town.

In *ca.* 1880, the population of Zaytūn and its

surrounding district was estimated at nearly 36,000, including 27,500 Armenians and 8,300 Turks. It was the seat of an Armenian bishopric. The men of the town had been engaged in the iron mines of the Berit Dağı to the north of Zaytūn, and silkworms had also been reared in the region, as well as cultivation of the olive tree which gave the place its name.

In late Ottoman times, Zaytūn was the chef-lieu of a *kaḍā* in the *wilāyet*, formerly *sandjak*, of Marʿash [*q.v.*]. In modern Turkey, it comes within the *il* or province of Kahramanmaraş.

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ZAYTŪNA, Djāmiʿ al-, the celebrated mosque-university in the city of Tunis.

1. Archaeological survey and construction of the mosque.

Foundation. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bakrī (5th/11th century) gives two facts: the building by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḥabḥāb [*q.v.*] in 114/732-3 of a Friday mosque, *djāmiʿ*, and the building of a *masdjid* by Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] at the time of his capture of Tunis *ca.* 79/698-9 (*K. fī dhikr al-bilād Ifrīkiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, Algiers 1911, 37). This account has given rise to two theses, taken up by modern historians. Most of these trace the creation of the Zaytūna mosque to the end of the 7th century A.D., assuming that Ibn Ḥabḥāb rebuilt it. Lucien Golvin, on the other hand, considered that Ibn Ḥabḥāb built the original Zaytūna mosque but places the date in 116/734, the year in which he became governor of Ifrīkiya (*Essai sur l'architecture religieuse musulmane*, Paris 1974, iii, 152). In fact, there is nothing to confirm the thesis of a continuity between the two buildings, which al-Bakrī seems to describe as two separate buildings.

Do we have here a creation *ex nihilo*? Historians raise the question of the reconstruction of a former Byzantine church dedicated to St. Olive. Restoration work from 1969-70 allows one to affirm that the mosque was built on stone pillars which ran from west to east, being survivals of an ancient building covering a cemetery (conclusion of Ḥāmid al-Adjābī, director of the restoration work, in *Ifriqiyyata. Revue de l'Institut national des antiquités et des arts*, Tunis n.d., vii-viii, 15-24). Putting forward a new thesis, Muḥammad al-Bādjī Ibn Māmī believes that there may be here an ancient Byzantine defensive construction, with the Arab conquerors building their mosque within the ramparts of a fort (*Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*, in *al-Muʾarrikh al-ʿarabī*, Baghdād [Dec. 2000]).

The building and its history. The architectural history of the mosque and a description of it have been delineated by Golvin, *op. cit.*, iii, 159-62, and restated by Muḥammad al-ʿAzīz Ibn ʿĀshūr, *Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna, al-maʿlim wa-ridjāluhu*, Tunis 1991, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dawlātlī, *al-Zaytūna, ʿashra kurūn min al-fann al-miʿmārī al-tūnisī*, Tunis 1996. The mosque was built under the Aghlabids. Inscriptions bearing the date 250/864 testify that the prayer hall, if not the entire mosque, were reconstructed and enlarged, probably reaching their present area. During a second building spell, 380-5/990-5, under the Zīrids, were built the galleries of the court (*mudjannabāt*), the crypt (*dāmūs*) and the dome (*kubba*) of the Bāb al-Bahw. The Ḥafṣids completed the construction of the mosque: a *sikāya* or basin in 648/1250, restoration and decorative works in 676/1277, rebuilding of the wall of the prayer hall in 716/1316, construction of *maksūras* or antechambers in 751/1351 and 822/1419, etc. Significantly, the Ḥafṣids provided the great mosque of al-Zaytūna with a minaret *ca.* 842/1438-9 on the site of the modern minaret. The absence of a minaret, from the mosque's foundation till the mid-9th/15th century, seems to strengthen the hypothesis of an original fort in which watch towers replaced minarets for making the call to worship.

The actual building of the great mosque is the Aghlabid one restored and enlarged by the Ḥafṣids. The present prayer hall, a rectangle 56 m × 24 m, covering 1344 m², is much less spacious than ʿUkba b. Nāfiʿ's mosque at al-Kayrawān [*q.v.*]. It has fifteen naves, on average three metres wide, except for the centre and extreme ones which are wider (4.50 m). It has some common features with the mosque at al-Kayrawān: its T-shape, a dome before the *miḥrāb* and perpendicular naves on the base wall (A. Lézine, *Deux villes d'Ifrīqiya. Études d'archéologie, d'urbanisme et de démographie: Sousse, Tunis*, Paris 1971, 159). The pillars, mainly of marble, came from Roman or Byzantine buildings, probably at Carthage. The gallery-narthex, made up of a single east-west passage, is ornamented at its central part by the famous dome of Bāb al-Bahw, which gives on to a court 1,810 m². The present minaret, rebuilt in 1312/1894, is 40 m high and belongs to the Maghribī-Andalusī style.

Bibliography: See also Aḥmad Fikrī, *Masdjid al-Zaytūna, al-djāmiʿ fī Tūnis*, Cairo 1953; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954; Lézine, *Architecture de l'Ifriqiya, recherches sur les monuments aghlabides*, Paris 1966; idem, *Note sur les coupoles de la Grande Mosquée al-Zaytuna de Tunis*, in *ROMM*, ii (1966), 95-105; Naïdé Ferchiou, *Rinceaux antiques remployés dans la grande mosquée de Tunis: parenté de leur style avec celui de certains monuments de Carthage*, in *Antiquités africaines*, xvii (1981), 143-63. For the study of the different historical versions, see Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Waraḳāt*, Tunis 1965, i, 115-16; Golvin, *op. cit.*, 150-2. For the inscriptions dating the monument, see Slimane-Mostafa Zbiss, *Corpus des inscriptions arabes de Tunisie*, Tunis 1955, 27 ff.

2. Instruction in the mediaeval period.

Can one state, as a historically-attested fact, that the Zaytūna mosque was a centre for scholarship and instruction right from its foundation? Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb seems to have asserted this when he said "this is the oldest centre for instruction in the Arab world" (*Waraḳāt*, i, 31). Celebrated *ʿulamāʾ* were probably educated in its precincts, but explicit references to the Zaytūna are late. There were probably some

courses of instruction in the religious sciences and related spheres, given voluntarily by *ʿulamāʾ*, but nothing like organised teaching (Mahmoud Abdel Moula, *L'université zaytounienne et la société tunisienne*, Tunis 1971, 31).

As an analysis of the biographies of scholars attests, the Zaytūna only succeeded in overtaking in prestige the mosque of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ at al-Ḳayrawān at the beginning of the Ḥafṣid period, when the latter place declined and Tunis flourished as the capital of Ifrīḳiya (Muḥammad Ḥassān, *al-Madīna wa 'l-bādiya fi 'l-ʿahd al-ḥafṣī*, Tunis 1999, ii, 706). Nevertheless, higher education was by no means centralised on Tunis, nor, *a fortiori*, monopolised by right or in practice by the Zaytūna, even at the time of its apogee; the biographies of scholars show a multiplicity of centres of instruction in Ifrīḳiya, above all at al-Ḳayrawān, which was able to support some highly celebrated great masters, and in urban centres which were centres for more modest education. At Tunis, a certain number of well-known *ʿulamāʾ* were often summoned by the ruler to teach in the madrasas (al-Zarkashī, *Taʾrīkh al-Dawlatayn, al-muwaḥḥidiyya wa 'l-ḥafṣiyya*, Tunis 1289/1872-3, 41, 58).

The system of teaching, in its organisational principles, methods used and subjects of courses, was similar to that of other Islamic *djāmiʿs* [see MADRASA. I. 6]. Attendance was voluntary and students followed the courses of the monasters of their own choice. The rhythm of teaching was rather relaxed, with weekly holidays on Thursdays and Fridays, periods of leave, the Muslim festivals and, probably, no courses in the summer. There were no examinations, but certificates of *idjāza* [*q.v.*] attesting the following of a course and authorisation to teach it in turn. We have little information on the teaching at the Zaytūna before the 8th/14th century, when signs of the decline of Arab-Islamic culture began to appear (see IBN KHALDŪN, in Vol. III, 828a). Placing foremost the teaching of Islamic knowledge and the juridical-theological disciplines (Ḳurʾānic exegesis, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, Arabic grammar, division of inheritances, etc.), the instructor used manuals, résumés, explanations and commentaries on the works of the Golden Age masters (Muḥammad Ḥassān, *op. cit.*, ii, 709). Even so, these methods did not prevent the emergence of great scholars and outstanding personalities such as Muḥammad b. ʿArafa and Ibn Khaldūn. Increased affluence in the 8th/14th century meant that over 70 circles in mosques could be counted then.

The occupation of La Goletta on 14 July 1534 by the Spanish, their entry into Tunis, their breaking into the Zaytūna and the dispersion of its library, inevitably brought with them great traumas.

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3. Instruction in the modern and contemporary periods.

A widespread judgement is that teaching declined in the period of the transition of power from the Ḥafṣids to the Ottomans. This crisis, however, seems to have been rapidly surmounted, with teaching at the Zaytūna speedily recovering its audience. Introducing new norms for evaluating the *ʿulamāʾ*, sc. *al-riwāya* (transmission of knowledge) and *al-dirāya* (discernment), Ibn Abī Dīnār [*q.v.*] thought that all his contemporaries, some of whom had acquired great fame, were limited to *riwāya*, whilst Muḥammad Tādj al-ʿĀrifīn al-Bikrī and his son Abū Bakr were at a much higher level through their mastery of both *riwāya* and *dirāya* (*al-Muʾnis fi akhbār Ifrīkiya wa-Tūnis*, Tunis 1387/1967-8, 314-19). The editing of the *Dhayl* of Ḥusayn Khodja now allows a better knowledge of the disciplines taught and the manuals used, these being essentially late commentaries, *ḥāshiyas* and glosses (*Dhayl bashāʾir al-īmān bi-futūḥāt āl ʿUthmān*, Tunis 1975, 197-8, 201). Certain scholars, such as Muḥammad al-Ḥadjdjī (d. 1109/1696-7) became famed for editing a large number of abridgements.

In the 18th century, the Zaytūna benefited by a renewed wave of interest. Until then financially based essentially upon its *waḳfs*, the financing of courses was assisted by the Ḥusaynid Beys who used to pay salaries for the teachers out of the yield of the capitation tax (see for the measures taken by ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn Bey in 1183/1769-70, Ḥammūda b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *al-Kitāb al-bashī*, Tunis 1970, 204, 296). However, the Zaytūna continued to use the same methods of instruction, and one may further note that there was a serious regression in the teaching of the profane sciences.

In defining the evolution of teaching during the 19th century, a severe verdict must be pronounced, and Tunisian historians have often spoken of "a schlerotic system of instruction" (e.g. Ahmed Abdesselem, *Les historiens tunisiens des XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, essai d'histoire culturelle*, Tunis 1973, 81) and of a fixed, crabbed system of knowledge. Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition in Egypt (1798-1801) and the occupation of Algiers in 1830 revealed a European superiority, of which the military aspect was only a beginning. But the "establishment" of the Zaytūna opted for passive resistance to change, avoiding all idea of reform and upgrading. It was, however, from graduates of the Zaytūna that the reforming Tunisian élite was recruited, such as Maḥmūd Ḳābādū (1812-71), Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf (1804-74 [*q.v.*]), Bayram V (1840-99), etc., strengthened by the adherence to their ideas of the minister Khayr al-Dīn (1822-90 [*q.v.*]). The latter's master work, *Aḳwam al-masālik fi maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik*, published in 1867, affirmed the backwardness of the Muslim lands and called for an enlargement of the spheres of the sciences and knowledge as a *sine qua non* for the development of civilisation (89, 93, 122-8). Reform of the Zaytūna system of teaching became the order of the day from now onwards. As a supreme act of defiance against the *ʿulamāʾ*, Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf announced that "*idjtihād* had continued uninterruptedly" (Ṭayyib al-ʿAnnābī, *Wathāʾiḳ tūnisiyya*, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-Djāmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya* [1967], no. 4, 153-9).

Minded to abolish a fact of discrimination, on 24 February 1840 Aḥmad Bey gave to the Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ* the same treatment as their Ḥanafī colleagues. In practice, the Mālikī Zaytūna had had to integrate Ḥanafī teaching with their own since the establishment of the Ottomans, who favoured the scholars of that school. On 27 Ramaḍān 1258/1 December 1842 Aḥmad Bey reformed the organisation of the Zaytūna's functioning. Each *mudarris* had to give two courses a day in the different disciplines. Periods of holiday were henceforth fixed: two days per week, the two festivals of the *ʿĪds* and the month of Ramaḍān. The institution was placed under the control of *ḳādīs* of the two law schools and of the two *shaykh al-islāms*. Within the framework of this reform, the Bey nominated 30 *mudarrisūn*, following the pattern of parity between the two schools established by him and reserved for financing this the revenues of the *bayt al-māl* (Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, iv, 35, 65-7). During his time as

Grand Vizier (1873-7), Khayr al-Dīn had to take in hand, in parallel with the creation of the modern al-Ṣādiḳī college [see AL-ṢĀDIḲIYYA], the reform of teaching at the Zaytūna. His *manshūr* or circular of 28 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1292/26 December 1875, completed a month later, contained proposals for reorganising teaching at the Zaytūna, but an examination of the material (dominated by teaching of the religious sciences) and of the list of books used for teaching purposes shows that a certain sluggishness stifled the will to reform. A far-reaching innovation was that the internal reform envisaged instituting an academic handbook and regulated such topics as application to work and discipline (Mongi Smida, *Khereddine, ministre réformateur*, Tunis 1970, 320-7).

After the establishment of the French Protectorate (1881), the Zaytūna inevitably became a centre of dispute. Probably influenced by the development of modern education, its students organised to demand reform of teaching methods and programmes. The history of the Zaytūna, from 1910 to 1952, was marked by cycles of student unrest (1910-12, 1920, 1928-30, 1935-7, 1947-50) and desires for reform, studied by special commissions for this, but the results were below expectation. But, apart from the threefold system of primary (*ahliyya*), secondary (*taḥṣīl*) and higher education (*'ālimiyya*), the commissions were unable to envisage reforms or to introduce the teaching of the sciences (see Mukhtār al-'Ayyāshī, *al-Bī'a al-zaytūniyya 1910-1945*, Tunis 1990, 21-82, 143-75). Remarkably, this traditional system of education was to see developing within its midst, as a reaction, an avant-garde cultural movement, seen in the great poet Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shābbī (1909-40 [*q.v.*]) and the reformer Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād, who shook the Zaytūna establishment by publishing at Tunis in 1930 a book-manifesto advocating the freedom of women and abolition of polygamy, *Imra'atunā fi 'l-sharī'a wa 'l-mudjtama'*. The growing number of students at the Zaytūna (600 in 1881, 9,818 in 1927 and almost 20,000 in 1956), in the two annexes of Tunis and the sections created in the provinces (eight of these from 1949), showed the development of its recruitment.

After independence, primary and secondary education were undertaken by modern schools and colleges for public instruction. The Zaytūna was made into a faculty and then into a university specialising in the religious sciences and installed in modern premises; its rich library was integrated within the National Libraries of Tunis.

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On the Zaytūna library, see Muḥammad b. Khūdja, in *al-Madjalla al-Zaytūniyya*, i/1 (Radjab 1355/September 1936), 71-6, i/3 (Ramaḍān 1355/November 1936), 136-9; idem, *T. Ma'ālim al-tawḥīd*, 97-9; Ḥashā'ishī, *op. cit.*, 53-61.

(KHALIFA CHATER)

AL-**ZAYYĀNĪ**, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM B. AḤMAD b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, Moroccan statesman and historian of the 18th century.

Al-Zayyānī, a member of the great Berber tribe of the Zayyān in central Morocco, was born in Fās in 1147/1734-5. He received his education in this city. At the age of 23, he accompanied his parents on the Pilgrimage to Mecca and after an exciting journey, coming as well as going, which lasted over two years, he returned to Fās, where he obtained a position as secretary to the *makhzan* [*q.v.*] of sultan Muḥammad III b. 'Abd Allāh. His ability, his knowledge of Berber dialects and the course of events rapidly brought him to the fore; having played an active part in the suppression of a rising against the tribe of the Ayt Amālū, he gained the confidence of his ruler and was entrusted with negotiations with the various un-subdued Berber elements of the empire. He now travelled up and down Morocco incessantly and made several journeys to distant Tāfīlālt. In 1200/1786 al-Zayyānī was charged by the sultan with a mission to the Ottoman ruler 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I [*q.v.*]. He reached the Ottoman capital after many vicissitudes, and spent over three months there, which enabled him to write on his return a very full description of it. On his return, after carrying out several confidential missions, he was appointed governor of Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*], where he remained till the death of Muḥammad III b. 'Abd Allāh in 1204/1790.

The sultan's successor, his son Yazīd, put an end to the political career of al-Zayyānī, whom he hated. It was only by a miracle that the latter escaped death when Yazīd in 1206/1792 himself succumbed to a wound received in a fight against the pretender Hishām. Al-Zayyānī, at the time a prisoner in Rabāṭ, was set free and immediately took an active part in the proclamation at Meknès of another son of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh as sultan, Mawlāy Sulaymān (Slīmān). The latter gave him the office of governor (*'āmil*) of the district of the town of Udjda [see WADJDA], but on taking up his post, al-Zayyānī was attacked and defeated by the people he had been sent to govern. This misfortune gave him a distaste for public life, and he retired to Tlemcen, where he spent 18 months in studious seclusion, which only ended when he decided to undertake once again the journey to Istanbul, this time in a private capacity and to perform the pilgrimage for a second time. On his return in 1210/9175-6), he was summoned by Mawlāy Sulaymān and returned to Fās. In spite of his great age, he was now employed on a number of important missions and received the title of *dhu 'l-wizāratayn*, as the head of the sovereign's *makhzan*. He remained in office for several years, then was dismissed and died at Fās in 1249/1833 at the age of 99. He was buried in the *zāwiya* of the Ṣūfī brotherhood of the Nāṣiriyya in the Siyādj quarter.

Famous in Morocco as a statesman, al-Zayyānī was no less celebrated as a writer. In the course of his stirring life, he found time to write some fifteen books, almost all on history and geography. The first in date of these works was a general history of Islam entitled *al-Turdjumān al-mughrib 'an duwal al-Mashriḳ wa 'l-Maghrib*, in which he focussed on the Sharīfian dynasties of Morocco and which he later continued, keeping pace with events down to the year 1228/1813. The part of the *Turdjumān* relating to the 'Alids of Morocco was published and translated into French in 1886 by O. Houdas as *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812* (*PELOV*, 2nd ser., vol. xviii). It is a narrative, in parts a résumé, of events in Morocco from the foundation of the 'Alid dynasty to the early years of the 19th century. A more detailed version of this part of the *Turdjumān*, in which he dealt specially with events in which he had himself played a part, or of which he had been

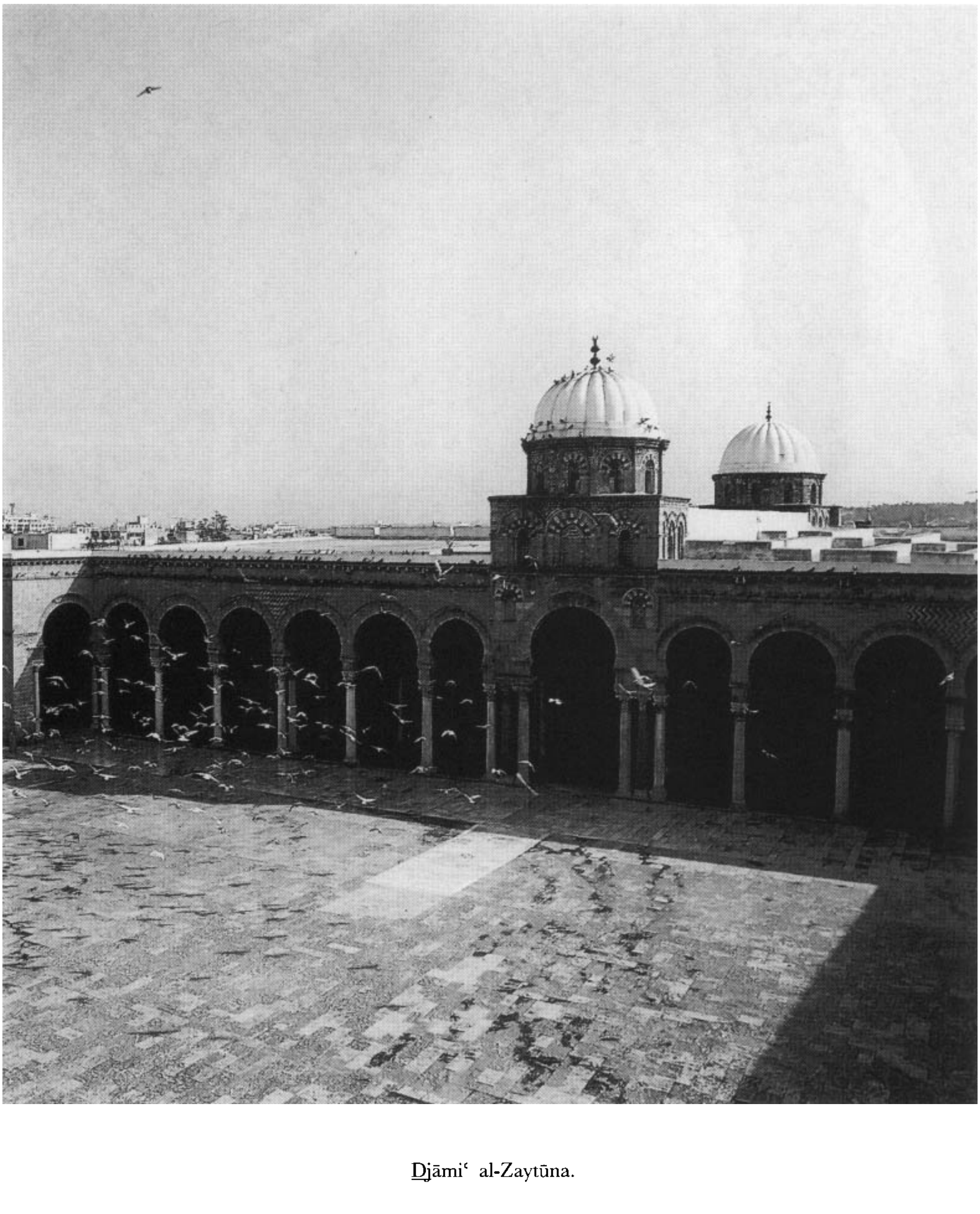

D̲jāmiʿ al-Zaytūna.

D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Zaytūna.

a witness, was later prepared by al-Zayyānī, and he gave it two different titles: *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf fī dawlat awlād Mawlāya ʿAlī al-Sharīf*, and *al-Rawḍa al-sulaymāniyya fī dhikr mulūk al-dawla al-ismāʿīliyya*. Another important work of his was a very full account of his various journeys, to which he added all kinds of digressions, literary, historical and biographical; he called it *al-Turdjumāna al-kubrā allatī djamaʿat akhbār mudun al-ʿālam barr^{an} wa-baḥrā*. This book, which is both *riḥla* and *fahrasa*, is also a very curious geographical treatise, with maps (e.g. a map of the seas, reproduced in Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens des Chorfa*, between pp. 188 and 189). All these works of al-Zayyānī are to be found in manuscript in Morocco in various private libraries. A complete list is given in *ibid.*, 167-8.

Al-Zayyānī's work is the principal source we possess, with the more recent *K. al-Istiḳṣā* of al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī [see AḤMAD AL-NĀṢIRĪ AL-SALĀWĪ], for the history of the ʿAlid dynasty of Morocco. It is full of valuable details and deserves serious study. It gives throughout an impression of accuracy and precision in historical as well as topographical matters. Information is given about innovations and social reforms and about the monumental history of the towns of Morocco. Al-Zayyānī also shows a remarkable acquaintance with events in Europe. Finally, all that he tells us about what he saw on his journeys to Istanbul is worth publishing in full.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

ZAYYĀNIDS [see ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS].

ZĀZĀ, an ethnonym designating the speakers of Zāzākī, an Iranian language spoken in southeastern Anatolia, to the northwest of the Kurdish-speaking regions. Its centre of dissemination is the triangle between the towns of Siverek, Erzincan and Varto. There are no reliable statistics about its number of speakers; in southeastern Anatolia they may number between 1.5 and 2 millions. About the same number of Zāzā have emigrated to the urban centres of Western Anatolia, and to Western Europe, during the last 40 years. These numbers include all "ethnic" Zāzā, however, a large number of whom may have become assimilated to Turkish or Kurdish in the meantime, with no longer an active command of their mother tongue.

The people. In religion, all Zāzā are Muslims, but in their home country they are divided into one northern and one southern group (of about the same size), the first of which follows the ʿAlawī Shīʿī religious confession, and the second which follows one of the Sunnī madhāhib (mostly the Shāfiʿī one). Their common religious confession connects the Sunnī Zāzā closely with the neighbouring (to the southeast) Sunnī Kurds. Therefore, the question whether all the Zāzā constitute one people has to be separated from the question (to be answered in the affirmative) whether Zāzākī is a language in its own right. As very little was known about the Zāzā and their language up to the early 1980s, it was always taken for granted that they are Kurds speaking a dialect of Kurdish. Only recently has Zāzākī been increasingly written (starting in the European diaspora), and parallel to this a growing number of Zāzā (mainly ʿAlawīs) have become aware of their own language, culture, and distinct identity. But to this day, many Zāzā still feel that their common cultural and political ties to the Kurds weigh more heavily and do not insist on a separate Zāzā ethnic identity.

The name "Zāzā" seems to have been a pejorative label originally, possibly suggesting incomprehensible speech (like English "bla bla"). Although as such it was not the self-denomination of the majority of Zāzā (many Sunnī Zāzā call their language *Dimlī*, some ʿAlawī Zāzā call it *Kirmāndjkī* or simply *zōnē mā* "our language"), it seems to have gained the widest acceptance today. The name *Dimlī* can be understood as pointing to the geographical origins of the Zāzā, if it is to be connected to the historical region of Daylam south to the Caspian Sea (there are no other sources relative to the Zāzā's earlier history).

The language. Zāzākī was not written or studied before the mid-19th century. It is a NW Iranian language; other NW Iranian languages that are most closely related to it include Gūrānī (spoken in southern Kurdistan) and the Iranian Ādharī dialects (e.g. Harzandī). Although Zāzākī has been heavily influenced by neighbouring (Kurmāndjī) Kurdish for a long time (especially in lexicon, phraseology and syntax), it is genealogically not a very close relative of Kurdish (as compared to Gūrānī and Ādharī). Zāzākī has undergone most of the sound changes that characterise NW Iranian, e.g. IE (Indo-European) **k'*/**g'* > Zāz. *s*/*z*, **g*(^{u})(*h*)^{pal} > *-ǰ-*, **tr* > (*hī*)*r*, **d*(*h*)*w* > *b*, **rd*/**rz* > *r̄*/*rz*, **sw* > *w* (e.g. Zāz. *zān-*, *ǰinī*, *hīre*, *ber*, *ser̄i*, *wen-* "to know, woman, three, door, year, to eat"; Kurdish has undergone only the first two of these, cf. *zān-*, *žin*, but shows SW development in: *sē*, *der*, *sāl*, *xō*).

Zāzākī noun morphology shows a system of two cases (rectus and obliquus), two numbers (sg., pl.), and two grammatical genders (m., f.). In addition, it can distinguish definiteness and animacy. In some dialects, a suffix *-(e)r* originating from the IE relationship suffix *-tér-* has been generalised as a feminine oblique ending. Attributive adjectives and nouns in genitive relation that qualify a (head) noun follow it immediately and are connected to it with an enclitic particle, the *iḍāfa*. Together with the inflectional endings that can precede them, the forms of the *iḍāfa* constitute a system of four cases, where a particle *-d-* (apparently borrowed from NW Semitic) is an important oblique marker (e.g. *lāžē mi* "my son", but *lāždē mi* "[to, of, etc.] my son").

The Zāzākī verbs distinguish three persons and two numbers, and, in the 2nd/3rd persons sg. of indicative verbs, also grammatical gender. The verbal system includes the following tenses: present (formed with the suffix *-(e)n*, not as in Persian and Kurdish with a prefix), analytical future, preterite, imperfect, perfect I/II and pluperfect. The present is formed from the present stem, and all past tenses from the preterite stem. The present subjunctive is formed from a third stem, the subjunctive one (from which can also be derived, with the suffix *-(i)y-*, passive forms).

Syntactically, Zāzākī is a SOV language and shows morphological split ergativity (only with verbal forms

derived from the past stem). In noun phrases (see above) the modifier always follows the head; there is a complex system of adpositions in which postpositions predominate, but in which there are also various pre- and circumpositions.

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ZEKĀ'Ī DEDE (1824-97), one of the most important 19th-century Turkish composers, often considered the last great master of the classical style. Born at Istanbul in Eyyūb, he became an expert calligrapher under his father's guidance, while his musical talent brought him to the attention of Ḥammāmī-zāde Ismā'īl Dede, who accepted him as a pupil. In 1845 he entered the service of Muṣṭafā Fāḍīl Pasha [*q.v.*], and spent the greater part of the following 13 years with him in Cairo, returning definitively to Istanbul in 1858, when Muṣṭafā Fāḍīl was appointed vizier.

Unfortunately, very little is known about his musical contacts and activities in Egypt, although he did compose a number of hymns to Arabic texts (*shughl*). In 1864 he entered the Mewlewī [see MAWLAWIYYA] order, and in 1884 became *ḳudümzenbashī* at the Bahāriyye *mewlewī-khāne*. He composed five vocal cycles (*āyīn*) for the Mewlewī ceremony, and a large number of hymns (*ilāhī*) and pieces in other religious genres, but his extensive output was by no means confined to these: it also included songs in the large-scale *ḳār* and *beste* forms as well as lighter *sharḳīs* [*q.v.*]. In addition he was an active and successful teacher who maintained traditional methods of oral tuition and transmission, thereby helping to ensure the survival of the repertoire he himself had been taught. Among his many pupils were a number of major composers and scholars, including Ra'ūf Yektā Bey, Ṣubḥī Ezgi, and his own son Aḥmed Irsoy, thanks to whose efforts much (although by no means all) of his work has been preserved.

Bibliography: Ra'ūf Yektā Bey, *Khodja Zekā'ī Dede Efendi* (*Esātīdh-i elḥān*, i), Istanbul 1318/1902; *Türk musikisi klasiklerinden. Mevlevi ayinleri*, Istanbul 1934-9; *ibid., Hâfiz Mehmed Zekâi Dede Efendi külliyatı*, 3 vols. Istanbul 1940-3; Y. Öztuna, *Türk musikisi ansiklopedisi*, ii/2, Istanbul 1976; C. Behar, *Aşk olmayınca meşk olmaz*, Istanbul 1998. (O. Wright)

ZENOBIA [see AL-ZABBĀ'].

ZENTA (Serbian Senta), a town on the right bank of the Tisza in the ancient Hungarian county of Bács-Bodrog, today in northern Serbia. A decisive battle was fought in its vicinity on 24 Ṣafar 1109/11 September 1697 between the forces of Sultan Muṣṭafā II [*q.v.*] and Prince Eugene of Savoy.

Ottoman rule in Hungary collapsed relatively rapidly after Buda was recaptured in 1686. Resistance to the allied Christian armies was sparse and took place along the Drava-Danube line only. Following a serious defeat at Szalánkemén (Stari Slankamen) in 1102/1691, where the Grand Vizier Köprülü Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*] also lost his life, and an abortive attempt to regain Waradīn [*q.v.*] in 1694, the next great Ottoman offensive started in 1697. This campaign, unprecedented since the siege of Eger [*q.v.*] and the battle of Mezőkeresztes [*q.v.*] in 1596, was led by the sultan in person. A successful assault on Titel encouraged the Ottomans to cross the Tisza. First, they simulated a march against Waradīn, but were in reality intent on reconquering Szeged, the key fortress blocking their route along the Maros to Transylvania, and they soon turned northwards. Misled by this stratagem, the allied troops left their post near Zenta and arrived at the Danube on 6 September. They had to return by a forced march to their original place, where a circumvallation was being constructed by the Turks. The fight between the two armies, numbering some 50-70,000 warriors on both sides (the Ottomans slightly outnumbering their enemy), started shortly before nightfall and quickly ended in a great Christian triumph. The Ottomans lost the Grand Vizier Elmās Muṣṭafā, the *agha* of the Janissaries, and several *sandjaḳ-begis*, as well as some 20,000 warriors.

The defeat at Zenta led to the Peace of Ḳarlofča [*q.v.*] (Karlowitz) in 1699, which put an end to a long period of wars and to Ottoman rule in most of the former Hungarian territories.

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ZERBADIS, Zerbadees, a term, of unknown origin, denoting a Muslim community in Burma [*q.v.*].

It was formerly used in a slighting or even contemptuous way to describe the offspring of Indian Muslim males and Burmese females—the latter usually being converts to Islam. Burma has always been and remains an overwhelming Buddhist country, and the Muslim minority was never more than 4% of the total population at any time. The latest complete figures are from the 1931 census and give a total of just under six millions. This includes (a) the Arakan [*q.v.*] Muslims, (b) Indian immigrant Muslims from British India, and (c) the Zerbadis, also known as "Burmese (or Burma) Muslims". The Zerbadis have been estimated as comprising just about a half of the total Muslim community. The 1931 census was the last complete count done (the returns for 1941 were destroyed in the Second World War) though partial returns for 1953 and 1954 suggest a Muslim presence of about the same percentage. However, as against this it should be remembered that many Indian Muslims left India in 1962-4 when severe restrictions were placed on those who were not "Burmese citizens". There are no data from 1964, when the imposition of military rule effectively closed down the institutions of civil society. The Zerbadis are culturally Burmese in all things except religion, but this was enough for the rather chauvinist Burmese to lump

them together with the Indian immigrant Muslims. Like the latter, they were targets in the severe anti-Muslim riots of 1938, though they had little in common with the Indian Muslims. But the fact of being Muslims militates against a full acceptance, despite the fact that they usually attend Burmese schools, speak Burmese and generally know no other language, except that some can recite by rote parts of the Ḳur'ān. The Zerbadi insistence on Burmese language was a major issue of contention between them and the Indian Muslims, who insisted on Arabic and, for the majority, Urdu. The result was an increasingly severe split between the communities, with the Zerbadis emphasising their identity as Burmese and having also their own separate associations. In politics, the Zerbadis were supporters of the Burmese National Movement, whilst the Indian Muslims looked towards India and the Muslim League. The former envisage a national integration for themselves in independent Burma, and object to pan-Islamism. For the majority Burmese population, this is not really enough; for them, one is only truly Burmese if one is Buddhist. Adherence to a "foreign" religion diminishes one's national identity.

This is nowhere more clearly illustrated then in matters of law. A prevalent question was to what extent the Burmese "Buddhist" (i.e. customary) law applied to Zerbadi matters? The issue arose because the female party to a marriage was ethnically Burmese and was related to Burmese Buddhists, as were her children. In certain matters, especially inheritance and wills, the rules of Burmese Buddhist law were more advantageous to the wife and female children than were those of the *Sharīʿa*. They should, therefore, apply on the twin grounds of ethnicity and kinship. The question was debated for the half century from the 1890s to the 1950s, the argument being that Burmese Buddhist law was a "customary law" and thus would be an exception to the rule that Islamic law applied in the affairs of Muslims. The result turned on the provisions of the Burma Laws Act of 1898 (section 13), which provided that each religious and racial group in British Burma had its own law: Burmese Buddhist law for Burmese, (Anglo-)Hindu law for Hindus, and (Anglo-)Muhammadan law for Muslims. The decisions given in the courts were consistent: Burmese Buddhist law could not apply as a customary exception. Islamic law had a clear and exclusive jurisdiction in Muslim matters. On a strictly technical reading of the legislation, this is an acceptable result. However, it is difficult not to suppose that judicial policy also played a part, i.e. the courts were most reluctant to create internal conflict by mingling the two different laws. Needless to say, this approach satisfied nobody, and in 1939 (in the wake of the 1938 riots) Buddhist women were protected by special legislation. But what was a "Buddhist" woman when married to a Muslim? This raises the vexed questions of conversion and apostasy which troubled the courts in British Burma from the 1860s onwards and were, of course, centred on the Zerbadis. It appears that conversion was for the purposes of marriage only, and quite often, conversion was merely "simulated". In such cases, "apostasy" was not allowed to end a marriage as the classical *Sharīʿa* would direct. Religion was not permitted to be used in such a way, and a conversion, once made, was binding in respect of divorce and succession.

The fate of the Zerbadis in post-1964 Burma is not clear. Assimilation to the Buddhist majority must be a possibility, given the sometimes minimal adherence to the religion of Islam.

The history of the Zerbadis is instructive as illustrating yet again the impossibility of maintaining a law that has no cultural roots in a foreign state. It can never be more than artificial and, given the Burmese identity of the Zerbadis and their wish to be identified with the majority Burmese, the future for Islam would seem problematical. But this may perhaps be too pessimistic a view.

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ZEYBEK, a generic name for the Turkish mountaineers in Western Anatolia, especially in the regions of Izmir, Aydın, and Manisa.

Various etymologies have been proposed for Zeybek, none completely satisfactory. Thus M.R. Gazimihal claimed that it derived from a place name among the Ḳirghiz in Central Asia (*Zeybek sözü*, in *Fikir*, no. 2 [1947], 20-3); H.H. Bayındır asserted that it came from *sağbek*, meaning a wise, trustworthy man (*Tarihte zeğbeklik ve musiki*, Aydın 1964, 17); and S. Türkoğlu suggested that it originated from either *su/sü bek*, meaning a military leader, or *zeyl-i beğ* (i.e. *dheyl-i beg*) meaning a kind of assistant to a *beg* (*Tarih içinde Zeybek kıyafeti*, in *III. Milletlerarası Türk folklor kongresi bildirileri*, Ankara 1987, v, 418).

The origin of the Zeybek as fiercely independent, swashbuckling mountaineers is unclear. Their roots may go back to the settlement of Türkmen or Yürüks [*q.vv.*] in Western Anatolia in the 13th century (Mehmet Eröz, ch. 7, *Zeybeklik ve Zeybekler*, in his *Millî kültürümüz ve meselelerimiz*, Istanbul 1983, 85-6), but they were not, as F. Babinger states (*EI*¹, art. *Zeibek*), a tribe. On the basis of close similarities in costume, it has been proposed that the Zeybek were the successors of the Levends (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *IA*, art. *Levend*), freebooters who overran parts of Western Anatolia between the 16th and 18th centuries (İ. Özboyacı, *Ege'de Zeybek giyimi ve kışlık olarak kullanılan "aba"*, in *III. Milletlerarası Türk folklor kongresi bildirileri*, v, 292).

The Zeybek do not appear in official Ottoman documents until the first half of the 19th century (Özboyacı, *ibid.*, 298). We do not know when they first appeared in folklore, but it was no doubt somewhat earlier. Ewliyā Čelebi (d. *ca.* 1684/1095) does not mention them except perhaps indirectly (cf. M.R. Gazimihal, *Sarı Zeybek*, in *Fikirler*, no. 6 [1947], 24). The first European traveller to describe the Zeybek was the Hon. George Keppel (*Narrative of a journey across the Balcan* . . ., London 1831, esp. i, 124-26, 339), followed by F.V.J. Arundell (*Discoveries in Asia Minor*, London 1834, ii, 212-14; for additional references to travellers' accounts, see W. Heffening, *Türkische Volkslieder*, in *Isl.*, xiii [1923], 251 n. 1).

The chiefs of the Zeybek communities were called *efe* and their assistants were called *kızan*. The *efe*'s word was law, even the decision whether or not a young man should marry or abduct a girl (on their character traits, see E.B. Şapolyo, *Efe, Zeybek, kızan* . . . *yaşayışları ve âdetleri*, in *Türk yurdu*, i [1954], 43-55, with early photographs).

The Zeybek apparently constituted a kind of militia for local notables at the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century. According to Keppel (*op. cit.*, ii, 124), the Zeybek were a band of mercenary mountaineers who were employed as body guards to the pashas. They also formed a kind of

guard in the coffee-houses and could levy a tax on travellers for their protection. Throughout the 19th century, they participated as volunteer units in the Ottoman Army (T. Baykara, *Zeybekler* [*Zeybek elbisesi giyme yasağı*], in *Belgelerle Türk tarihi dergisi*, no. 22 [July 1969], 59). They joined the Turkish Nationalists in 1920-2.

Today the term Zeybek applies not so much to the mountaineers of Western Anatolia but to their folk costume and dance (including music and song). The distinctive male dress of the Zeybek, which was noted by 19th-century travellers (the earliest illustration being the frontispiece in Keppel, i) and raised the ire of the Ottoman authorities, was as follows: on the head, a red fez around which was wrapped a headkerchief printed with flowers and with needle embroidered flowers along the edge; on the back, a striped quilted jacket with stiff collar, over it a double-breasted waistcoat of violet broadcloth embroidered with black braids, over it another waist coat called a *cepken* or *sallama* with eyehooks on the sleeves; from the waistcoats to the knees, baggy trousers (*şalvars*) made out of two metres of silk cloth and with black braids embroidered around the leg openings and on the borders of the pockets; at the waist, between the groin and the chest, a knitted sash over which was wound a shawl, over which was a weapons' belt made of black or red leather and attached with three rows of straps, and covering the torso up to the breasts; tucked into the front of the weapons' belt was a handkerchief embroidered with silver; on the feet, wool socks, light shoes called *yemeni* and gaiters from ankle to knee (M. Özbek, *İA* art. *Zeybek*).

In the 19th century, various Ottoman officials regarded the Zeybek's short baggy trousers in particular as offensive to the Muslim sense of propriety. A government attempt to forbid their dress in 1838 resulted in an uprising that could only be suppressed with much loss of life. Nevertheless, the Zeybek continued to wear their traditional costume. Attempts to suppress it in 1894 and 1905 were equally ineffective (see Baykara, *op. cit.*, 59-61).

As for the Zeybek dances, they are no longer confined to Western Anatolia. Indeed, variations on them have spread throughout much of Central Anatolia and even to the Western Black Sea region. Zeybek dances can be performed by one or more persons, men, women, or men and women together. The archetypical Zeybek dance, expressing bravery and heroism, is performed by one or two men, but always in solo character. This dance is preceded by a slow introductory part in which the dancer takes leisurely steps. This is done with the arms at the side, then at shoulder level, and finally outstretched with elbows as high as the shoulders and fingers snapping. Meanwhile, the dancer keeps one leg in half-bent position between hops, and from time to time drops to his knees (M. And, *Turkish dancing*, Ankara 1976, 159, illustrations in pl. 81). The main centres of Zeybek dances are still in the west: Izmir, Balıkesir, Muğla, Aydın and Denizli.

Bibliography: For additional references to those in the text, see Özbek, *İA* art. *Zeybek*, in which the emphasis is on dress and dance; A. Haydar Avcı, *Zeybeklik ve Zeybekler*, Hückelhoven (Germany) 2001.

(G. Leiser)

ZHŌB, a river of what is now the north-easternmost part of Pakistani Balūčistān, and also an administrative District of that province, with its centre in the town of Zhōb (the former Fort Sandeman, at lat. 31° 25' N., long. 69° 20' E.). In British Indian times, Zhōb was an administrative division of British Baluchistan. The river rises in the northern end of the Sulaiman range and flows in a southwesterly direction into the Gomal river. The present District comprised in 1981 27,129 km², with a recorded population of 361,647. The region is important for its position to the southwest of the Gomal Pass [see gūmāl, in Suppl.], one of the age-old conduits for peoples, commodities and ideas passing between highland Afghānistān and the Indus valley.

Ethnically, Pashtūns are most numerous in Zhōb, with the Kākaṛ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] as the main permanent residents of the Zhōb river valley. In the continuum of Pashto pronunciation, these Zhōb Pashtūn speakers fall within the middle of the conventional (but rather too hard-and-fast) division between speakers of "hard" and "soft" varieties of the language [see afghān. (ii)]. Sulaymān Khēl [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of the Ghalzay Pashtūns predominate among the more transient and commercially active Afghān nomads (variously called *kūčīs*, *lōhānīs* and *pōwindas*).

Little is known of the region's early history. Pashtūn genealogies and histories from the Mughal period give the Sulaiman range in eastern Zhōb as the destination of migrations from Ghūr [*q.v.*] by the immediate descendants of Ḳays ʿAbd al-Rashīd, progenitor of all the Pashtūns. On a firmer historical basis, Pashtūn tribal and Hindu merchant elements were to be found there by Mughal times, along with a development of agriculture by *kārīz* irrigation [see ḳanāt] and "tribal transit trade" via the frontier market towns of Ḳandahār and Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān [*q.vv.*]. The Zhōb district came within the Durrānī dominions shortly after Aḥmād Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] began to constitute his empire in 1747, but in the early 19th century was once more autonomous. British encroachment began in the 1830s but subsided after the First Afghan War (1839-42). In the 1870s and 1880s renewed British interest in Balūčistān and the Gomal Pass region, under the impetus of Sir Robert Sandeman, who founded the military centre of Fort Sandeman at the former Apozay, drew Zhōb into the British Indian orbit, and in 1890 the region was formally ceded by the Afghān government to British India.

Since then, Zhōb has come under various administrative arrangements. Its internal and external economic relations were transformed by the establishment of Fort Sandeman and the related establishment of the Hindūbagh (now Muslimbagh) and Ḳalʿa-i Sayfallāh *ḳaṣabas*. The most notable change of the period of Pakistani rule has been the almost complete replacement of mainly Hindu (principally Shikārpūrī) banking and trading communities by non-Pashtūn Muslim groups, such as Balūčī, Hindkō, Sirāikī, Pandjābī and Urdū speakers, and these minority ethnic groups remain vital components of Zhōb's society and economy.

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(Shah Mahmoud Hanifi)

ZIʿĀMET (T. < A. *ziʿāma*), a term of Ottoman Turkish military and land tenure organisation.

The *ziʿāmet* was in fact a larger size *tīmār* [*q.v.*], which in the 10th/16th century was worth between 20,000 and 100,000 *aḳčes*; in earlier periods, the limits were less clearly defined. In early 10th/16th century *idjmāls*, we sometimes encounter the heading "*tīmārhā-i zuʿamā ve erbāb-i tīmār*" which indicates that the expression *tīmār* was used generically, to encompass *ziʿāmet* as well (*387 numaralı muhâsebe-i vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm defteri* (*937/1530*), Ankara, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü (from now on DAGM), 1997, ii, 44, and elsewhere). The holder is known as a *zaʿīm*. Similarly to *tīmār*-holders, most *zaʿīms* served in the Ottoman army when called upon. *Zaʿīms* assigned to seaboard provinces also commanded detachments which were carried in ships of the navy (*12 numaralı mühimme defteri, 978-979/1570-72, özet, transkripsiyon ve indeks,* Ankara, DAGM 1996, ii, 37).

While at home, *ziʿāmet* holders might be ordered to pursue robbers after consultation with the local *ḳāḍī* (*3 numaralı mühimme defteri 966-968/1558-1560, özet ve transkripsiyon,* Ankara, DAGM 1993, 132). A *zaʿīm* with a reputation for local knowledge concerning the remote province of Menteshe might be charged with police duties in lieu of military service (*5 numaralı mühimme defteri (973/1565-66), özet ve indeks,* Ankara, DAGM 1994, 224, no. 1386). In other instances, we find *zaʿīms* along with other soldiers occupied as tax collectors (*ibid.*, ii, 118-19). Often *ziʿāmets* were granted to middle-level commanders such as those known as *ṣubashï*, who were responsible for urban citadels (Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's servants. The transformation of Ottoman provincial government, 1550-1650,* New York 1983, 12). The *idjmāl* register covering the *wilāyets* of Diyār-i Bekr, ʿArab and Dhu 'l-Ḳadriyye of 937/1530 records the issuance of *ziʿāmets* to the *mīr-alay* and *ser* [or *mīr-i*] *ʿasker* (*998 numaralı muhâsebe-i vilâyet-i Diyar-i Bekr, ʿArab ve Zü'l-Kadiriyye defteri* (*937/1530*), Ankara, DAGM 1998, i, 122, of the facsimile).

In areas bordering the Syrian desert, *ziʿāmets* might be granted to tribal dignitaries (*3 numaralı mühimme defteri,* 27). Such dignitaries also were assigned *ziʿāmet* as *odjaḳ*. This implied that they had to finance the soldiers to be drafted from their province; thus the *ziʿāmet*-holders of the eastern Anatolian *ḳaḍā* of Pertek, who belonged to the *djemāʿat-i millī*, in 979/1571-2 were required to contribute to the upkeep of the *piyāde* soldiers serving in the armies conquering Cyprus (*12 numaralı mühimme defteri,* Ankara, DAGM 1996, ii, 60). In border territory, special services might be rewarded by a *ziʿāmet*; thus in 973/1565-6, a Caucasian soldier who was to bring a Persian woman to Erzurum was to be awarded a *ziʿāmet* if he fulfilled his promise (*5 numaralı mühimme defteri, özet ve indeks,* 206, no. 1269). A fortress commander delegated to oversee the procurement of saltpetre also received a *ziʿāmet* (*12 numaralı mühimme defteri,* i, 110, no. 135).

Non-military dignitaries were occasionally awarded *ziʿāmet* as well. Thus a register from the reign of Bāyezīd II mentions an Ottoman princess possessing this source of revenue (N. Beldiceanu, *Le timar dans l'État ottoman, début XIVᵉ-début XVIᵉ siècle,* Wiesbaden 1980, 46). In 973/1565-6, a *reʾīs ül-kuttāb* enjoyed this privilege as well (*5 numaralı mühimme defteri* (*973/1565-66*), 151, no. 889). During the conquest of Cyprus, financial officials such as the *defter emīni* might receive a *ziʿāmet* (*12 numaralı mühimme defteri,* i, 329, no. 519).

The *ziʿāmet* normally fell into the category of *serbest* tax assignments. This implies that certain dues, the amount and type of which varied from one province to the next, could be retained by the *zaʿīm* himself; in non-*serbest tīmārs*, these were collected by the holder of a nearby *serbest tīmār*, such as the provincial governor (*sandjaḳbegi*) (Beldiceanu, *Timar,* 36-7). In exceptional cases when the collection of revenues was particularly difficult, a *zaʿīm* might receive permission to farm out his revenues, but the administration in the 10th/16th century was concerned that this practice might lead to the exploitation of the taxpayers (*6 numaralı mühimme defteri* (*972/1564-65*), Ankara, DAGM, 1995, ii, 57).

Similarly to *tīmārs*, the extent of *ziʿāmets* was, in principle, determined in the course of preparing the *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*]. Governors in outlying provinces occasionally asked for permission to make rearrangements, but this permission was often refused. Thus the *beglerbegi* of Dhu 'l-Ḳadriyye was warned that it was not permitted to divide the holding of a deceased *zaʿīm* as a fresh (*ḳïlïč*) *tīmār* among his sons (*5 numaralı mühimme defteri,* 146, no 850). Equally, the *beglerbegi* of Baghdād was not allowed to join an existing *ziʿāmet* to the *khāṣṣ* already enjoyed by a local governor (*12 numaralı mühimme defteri,* i, 94, no. 98). However, the situation might be different if a *ziʿāmet* was reported to be worth more than 200,000 *aḳčes*, in which case it might be taken from the holder and added to the *khawāṣṣ-i hümāyūn* in order to determine its veritable yield (*5 numaralı mühimme defteri,* 23-4, no. 121).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also Halil Sahillioğlu, art. *Zeʿâmet*, in *İA*.

(Suraiya Faroqhi)

ZĪB AL-NISĀʾ BEGUM [see MAKHFĪ].

ZIʾBAḲ (A.), mercury, a heavy silver-white metallic element which is liquid at atmospheric temperature and also called quicksilver (*argentum vivum*, ἄργυρος χυτός, ὑδράργυρος = Hg). It was first mentioned by Aristotle [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS] in his *De Anima*. Variant forms of the Arabic term include *zaybaḳ*, *zība/iḳ*, and *zāwuḳ* (< Persian *zhīwa* < Sanskrit ?). From ancient times, quicksilver was associated with the Graeco-Egyptian god Hermes-Thoth and his Roman counterpart Mercury; it is therefore ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos [see HIRMIS], the alleged founder of occult science, and represented by the sign of the planet mercury ☿ [see ʿUṬĀRID]. In the Islamic Middle Ages, quicksilver came mainly from mines in Spain and Central Asia [cf. MAʿDIN].

In alchemy [see KĪMIYĀʾ], quicksilver was considered a "spirit" (*rūḥ*), i.e. one of the ultimate elements or principles of which all material substances were supposed to be compounded, and a means of converting one metal into another. Thus it played a crucial role in the struggle of the alchemists to synthesise gold. Next to the theory of the elixir [see IKSĪR], the so-called quicksilver-sulphur method seemed to be the most promising approach to imitate nature, namely, by determining the exact ratio of these two baser substances as contained in gold, and by recreating the latter on the basis of this ratio. The alloys of quicksilver or amalgams were well known and employed for various procedures, as was cinnabar, its red crystalline sulphide and principal ore (HgS); quicksilver was further used in the construction of mechanical devices and clocks and in jewellery. Finally, and in consequence of the alchemists' concern to keep the making of gold a secret, quicksilver occurs in the relevant literature under more than 140 cryptonyms (*rumūz*).

In medicine [see ṬIBB], quicksilver was considered a "kind of silver" (*min djins al-fiḍḍa*), and Muslim physicians generally shared the attitude of their ancient fellow-medical men who hardly ever used it because of its toxicity. Warnings are frequent, particularly against the noxious properties of its "vapour" (*dukhān*), which was said to cause hemiplegia, tremors, fainting, loss of hearing and sight, madness, etc. However, an unguent prepared from the "dust" (*turāb*) of the sublimate, with either vinegar or rose oil, was supposed to cure itching and scabies when applied to the skin; this powder was also used as a pesticide to kill lice and mice and to drive out snakes, scorpions and other vermin.

Bibliography: A. Siggel, *Decknamen in der arabischen alchemistischen Literatur*, Berlin 1951, 11-12, 33-54; C.W. Wood and A.K. Holliday, *Inorganic chemistry*, ²London 1963, 388-90; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 224; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 260-1, 266-7; Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Ghassānī, *al-Muʿtamad fī 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*, ³Beirut 1395/1975, 212-13. (O. KAHL)

AL-**ZIBRIĶĀN** B. **BADR**, tribal leader and poet of the Tamīm [*q.v.*] who was a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad. His real name was al-Ḥusayn, but he was nicknamed al-Zibriķān "the moon" because of his beauty: he used to enter Mecca (at the time of pilgrimage) wearing a turban so as not to seduce the womenfolk; or he was given this nickname because in battle he wore a yellow turban (*yuzabriķu ʿimāmatahu*, i.e. in order to make himself visible to the enemy).

He belonged to the Bahdala b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm (see chart at Vol. X, 174); or more precisely, to the Khalaf b. Bahdala, Khalaf being al-Zibriķān's great-grandfather. Originally, though, he was of the Yashkur b. Bakr b. Wāʾil. He was married to al-Farazdaķ's [*q.v.*] paternal aunt.

Al-Zibriķān came to the Prophet Muḥammad as a participant in the Tamīm delegation [see WUFŪD], and was charged with levying taxes from part of the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt and from the Ribāb. (It is noteworthy that al-Zibriķān's mother was of the ʿUkl, who were a component of the Ribāb.) The rest of the Saʿd had another tax-collector, namely, Ķays b. ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*], and it appears that the Ribāb came under al-Zibriķān's authority so that the military balance within the Saʿd was maintained.

At the beginning of the *ridda* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Muḥammad reportedly asked both al-Zibriķān and Ķays b. ʿĀṣim—through a messenger—to co-operate in order to kill Musaylima [*q.v.*]. Al-Zibriķān is said to have remained loyal to Islam and to have brought to Abū Bakr the camels he had received as taxes. However, at some stage he must have had contacts with Musaylima and Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*]. During the conquest of ʿIrāķ, he was Khālid b. al-Walīd's [*q.v.*] deputy in al-Anbār [*q.v.*].

Al-Zibriķān was also employed as tax-collector by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Moreover, three of al-Zibriķān's sons-in-law were governors under ʿUmar. By far the most important among them was the governor in Kūfa, Saʿd b. Abī Waķķāṣ [*q.v.*]. The other two were in charge of regions which were closer to al-Zibriķān's tribal territory: the governor of ʿUmān and Baḥrayn, ʿUthmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ al-Thaķafī, and ʿUthmān's brother, al-Ḥakam, who was his deputy in Baḥrayn. (Al-Ḥakam's wife, Bakra bt. al-Zibriķān, was reportedly the first Arab woman who sailed the sea; this was no doubt related to her husband's expeditions across the Persian Gulf.) However, al-Zibriķān's goodwill was crucial not only for the state, but also for merchants traversing central Nadjd.

Al-Zibriķān was still alive at the time of Muʿāwiya I [*q.v.*]. His descendants in the Arabian desert and in al-Andalus were numerous. In al-Andalus they settled in a village called al-Zabāriķa (pl. of al-Zibriķān), and later in Talavera.

Bibliography: The relevant entries in the Companion dictionaries; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vii/1, ed. Ramzi Baalbaki, Beirut 1997, index; Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaķāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, Cairo 1394/1974, index; Ṭabarī, index; Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1387-1406/1967-86, index; *Naķāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaķ*, index; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 219; Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 260; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 200-1. (M. LECKER)

ZĪDJ, in Islamic science an astronomical handbook with tables, after the models of the Sāsānid Persian *Zīk-i Shahriyār*, the Indian *Sindhind* [*q.v.*], and Ptolemy's *Almagest* and *Handy Tables* [see BAṬLAMIYŪS]. A typical *zīdj* might contain a hundred folios of text and tables, though some are substantially larger than this. Most of the relevant astronomical and astrological concepts are clearly explained in the *Tafhīm* of al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*]. The history of Islamic *zīdjs* constitutes a major part of the history of Islamic astronomy [see ʿILM AL-HAYʾA].

i. ETYMOLOGY

Arabic *zīdj* (pl. *zīdjāt*) is best translated as "astronomical handbook"; although it normally contains tables, it is not merely a "collection of astronomical tables", but has explanatory material as well. Moreover (as Mercier has noted) Arabic authors apply this word also to Indian astronomical writings, although these do not contain tables. The Arabic word *zīdj*, which is also attested in the meaning "plumbline", was generally recognised to be a borrowing from Persian. Al-Khʷārazmī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 219) and al-Bīrūnī (*al-Ķānūn al-Masʿūdī*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1954, 271; English tr. and commentary on the passage by de Blois, *apud* Panaino, 155-7), derive it from Persian *zih* "bowstring". In fact, it comes from Middle Persian *zīg*, attested in the meanings "rope, towline" and also (in one post-Sāsānid work) "astronomical handbook". Although *zih* and *zīg* do come from the same root, they are not identical. Al-Bīrūnī claims that astronomical books are called *zīdjāt* because astronomers need to know about "chords" (*awtār*, literally "bowstrings"); for this alleged technical use of *zih* he compares Arabic *djīb* ("half-chord, sine"), which, as he says rightly, comes from Sanskrit *jīva* "bowstring". If Middle Persian *zīg* was really used for "chord" or "sine", one could indeed imagine that the Persians gave this name to astronomical handbooks because they contained trigonometrical tables.

The Indo-Persian dictionaries claim that *zīg* means "a weaver's warp" (*tār*), but the word is not in fact attested in this meaning in any text. Nallino, taking his cue from these lexica, thought that the *zīdj* had its name from the fact that the lines separating the columns of the tables look like the threads of a warp. Mercier has recently suggested that *zīg* is a translation of Sanskrit *tantra*, literally "warp, loom", but used in ancient India also to mean "textbook, system of learning" and applied specifically to certain astronomical treatises. Although this seems more apposite than Nallino's suggestion, it shares with it the difficulty that *zīg* ("rope") does not actually mean the

same as *tantra* ("warp"). Panaino, on the other hand, linked *zīdj* with the ancient Persian notion that the planets are attached to the earth by strings.

Bibliography: C.A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti*, v, Rome 1944, 120; R. Mercier, art. *Zīj*, in *Encyclopaedia of the history of science, technology and medicine in non-Western cultures*, Dordrecht [1997], 1057-8; idem, *From tantra to zīj* (unpubl. typescript); A. Panaino, *Tessere il cielo*, Rome 1998 (with detailed discussion of the etymology). (F.C. de Blois)

ii. The Scope of the *Zīdj* literature

1. *The number of* zīdjs *compiled in the Islamic Middle Ages.*

In the 7th/13th century, the Yemeni astronomer Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Fārisī was able to cite the names of 28 *zīdjs*, and the 10th/16th-century Indian encyclopaedist Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*] listed in his *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* the titles of 86 works of this genre. In 1956 E.S. Kennedy presented information on some 125 *zīdjs*. We now know that over 200 *zīdjs* were compiled in the Islamic world between the 2nd/8th and 13th/19th centuries. They constitute a major source for our understanding of the development and application of mathematical astronomy in the mediaeval period. Of these works, just less than one-half are lost and known only by references to their titles or their authors, but enough survive to convey a very clear impression of the scope and variety of the activities of the Muslim astronomers in this field and to reveal some of their most outstanding contributions.

Most *zīdjs* are intended to serve a single locality, in the sense that a terrestrial longitude underlies the solar, lunar and planetary tables and a terrestrial latitude underlies the tables for spherical astronomy. Some of the more important *zīdjs* were the results of serious observational programmes [see marṣad, and also Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam*]. However, many *zīdjs* were simply rehashings of earlier ones, with minor variations, such as a change of meridian for the planetary tables, or a new set of spherical astronomical tables for a different latitude. Such modified versions can be of singular historical importance if the original works are no longer extant. Not all *zīdjs* contain the extensive explanations of the astronomical and mathematical background typical of, say, Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Furthermore, there are numerous extensive sets of related tables which are not usually found in *zīdjs*.

Already in the 19th century, extracts dealing with observation accounts from the *Zīdj* of Ibn Yūnus had been published by A.P. Caussin de Perceval, and the introduction to the *Zīdj* of Ulugh Beg had been published by L.-A. Sédillot. Before 1950 only two *zīdjs* had been published in their entirety, namely, those of al-Battānī by C.A. Nallino and of al-Khwārazmī by H. Suter *et al.* (the latter is extant only in a form substantially different from the original). In 1952 J. Vernet published the canons of the *zīdj* of Ibn al-Bannāʾ. The *zīdj* of al-Bīrūnī was published in 1954-6, in an edition orginally prepared by M. Krause. In 1956 E.S. Kennedy published his survey of some 125 *zīdjs* and laid the foundation for serious study of this genre of literature. In 1962 O. Neugebauer published an English translation of the text of the *Zīdj* of al-Khwārazmī in the form in which it survives for us, together with a commentary and an analysis of the tables. The year 1985 saw the publication of a Byzantine recension of the *zīdj* of al-Fahhād by D. Pingree. Most recently, in 1999, a doctoral thesis by A. Mestres presented an analysis of the *Zīdj* of Ibn Isḥāḳ. Full references to these studies are found in the *Bibl.* Many studies of parts of other *zīdjs*, of specific topics in several *zīdjs*, or of individual tables of particular interest, have been published during the past 50 years; only a few of these will be mentioned in this article, although most are found in the collected studies and festschrifts listed in the *Bibl.* Also, certain mediaeval treatises on the concepts underlying *zīdjs*, of the genre *kutub ʿilal al-zīdjāt* [see ʿilla], have attracted attention: these include the works of al-Hāshimī, Ibn al-Muthannā, Ibn Masrūr, Ibn ʿEzra and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Fārisī. Others are lost (including those by al-Farghānī, al-Sarakhsī, Thābit b. Ḳurra and al-Bīrūnī), or are currently being studied (notably that of al-Samawʾal al-Maghribī, on which see Sezgin, *GAS*, vi, 65-6).

In the 1970s, various categories of tables not found in *zīdjs* were identified, many even more extensive than a typical *zīdj*. In view of the lack of any article on tables in general, called *djadwal* in Arabic, such tables will also be briefly treated below (see *Categories of Tables*). (The article djadwal deals mainly with magical arrangements of letters and symbols.)

2. *The purpose of a* zīdj.

A *zīdj* could provide astronomers with all that they needed in the way of theory and tables for such tasks as calculating the positions (longitudes and latitudes) of the Sun, Moon and five naked-eye planets, and the time of day or night from solar or stellar altitudes. In addition, the astronomer could use a *zīdj* to determine the possibility of lunar crescent or planetary visibility. Stellar positions he could simply take from the star-catalogue. Calculations for meridians other than that underlying the tables could be modified for the longitude differences apparent from the geographical tables. The astronomer could calculate the duration of twilight and the altitude of the Sun at midday or at the time of the afternoon prayer. He could apply the mathematical procedures outlined in the *zīdj* to specific geographical data and compute the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] of any locality. He could also determine the ascendant at a given time and the longitudes of the astrological houses, and having calculated the positions of the Sun, Moon and planets, he could set up a horoscope: it could be argued that this was the main purpose of *zīdjs*, but there is precious little historical evidence how these works were used in practice. In any case, there are a host of other useful operations one can learn from any *zīdj*. But a *zīdj* was only part of the astronomer's equipment. Other sets of tables were compiled which were not usually contained in *zīdjs* and which greatly facilitated some of the above tasks. In addition, various instruments were available, notably for solving problems relating to spherical astronomy and timekeeping [see asṭurlāb; mizwala; rubʿ; shakkāziyya].

3. *The regional schools of astronomy and their* zīdjs.

The earliest Islamic *zīdjs* from the 2nd/8th century were based on Indian and Persian models, but in the 3rd/9th century the Ptolemaic tradition was introduced and eventually predominated, if not universally. After the 4th/10th century, regional schools of astronomy developed in the Islamic world, with different authorities and different interests and specialities. They also achieved different levels of sophistication and had different fates, both with regard to their own internal development and to the nature of their encounter with the new Western science from the 16th century onwards. In the past few years, some attention has been paid to these regional schools, and the main studies are listed in the *Bibl.* In particular, each regional school had its favorite *zīdj* or *zīdjs*.

In the central lands of Islam, the *Mumtaḥan* tradition was important, together with al-Battānī and Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzdjānī. In Persia and Central Asia, numerous early *zīdj*s eventually gave way to the *Zīdj-i Īlkhānī* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. In Egypt, the *Ḥākimī Zīdj* of Ibn Yūnus was never surpassed. In al-Andalus, the *zīdj*s of al-Khwārazmī and al-Battānī, based respectively on the Indo-Persian and Hellenistic traditions, played a role perhaps greater than either deserved, and the contributions made by Ibn al-Zarkālluh were highly significant. In the Maghrib, the *Zīdj* of Ibn Isḥāḳ and a mini-version thereof prepared by Ibn al-Bannā' dominated the scene. In the late period, the only *zīdj* to achieve any kind of supremacy all over the Islamic world was the *Zīdj-i Sulṭānī* of Ulugh Beg (see below for details of these).

iii. AN OVERVIEW OF *ZĪDJ* PRODUCTION

1. *The Indo-Persian tradition.*

The first Islamic *zīdj*s were part of an Indo-Persian tradition which has a pre-Ptolemaic Greek origin. This is the case of the *Zīdj al-Arkand* written in Arabic in 117/735 probably in the Sind region, which is related to the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, composed in Sanskrit by Brahmagupta in 665. The same main influence appears in the *Zīk-i Shahriyār*, translated into Arabic *ca.* 175/790 as the *Zīdj al-Shāh*: it was used by an unidentified astrologer who, soon after A.D. 679, computed a series of horoscopes illustrating the early history of Islam. The *Zīdj al-Shāh* was also used by Māshā'allāh (see below), Nawbakht, ʿUmar b. Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī and al-Fazārī to compute the horoscope for the foundation of Baghdād on 30 July 762. Although neither the Pahlavi nor the Arabic texts of the *Zīdj al-Shāh* are extant, its main features are known from indirect sources studied by E.S. Kennedy and D. Pingree, who established, for example, the parameters of the mean motion of Saturn, Jupiter and the lunar nodes using the collection of historical horoscopes compiled by the Jewish astrologer of Baṣra Māshā'allāh (d. *ca.* 200/815) [*q.v.*, and also the art. in *DSB*] and computed with this *zīdj*. Both the *Zīdj al-Shāh* and the *Zīdj al-Arkand*—as well as, probably, other early *zīdj*s—were the vehicles by means of which the astrology of great conjunctions was introduced in Islam [see KIRĀN].

The third great *zīdj* within the Indo-Persian tradition was the *Sindhind*. This text seems to derive, indirectly, from the Sanskrit *Brahmāsphuṭasiddhānta* composed in 629 by Brahmagupta, through a work the title of which was probably *Mahāsiddhānta*. According to tradition, this *Mahāsiddhānta* was introduced in Baghdād in 154/771 or 156/773 by an Indian embassy sent to the court of the caliph al-Manṣūr. With the help of one of the members of this embassy, the astronomers Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ and al-Fazārī translated the Sanskrit text of the *Sindhind* into Arabic. Both these men compiled several *zīdj*s based on the *Sindhind* system, which was used by them to compute the tables of the mean motions of the planets, although the planetary equations were taken from the *Zīdj al-Shāh*. At the same time, the extant scattered indirect quotations from these *zīdj*s bear witness to the first limited appearance of Ptolemaic elements in Islamic astronomy (see D. Pingree, *The fragments of the works of Yaʿqūb Ibn Ṭāriq*, in *JNES*, xxvii [1968], 97-125; and idem, *The fragments of the works of al-Fazārī*, in *ibid.*, xxix [1970], 103-23).

The influence of the Indo-Persian tradition in future Islamic astronomy was secured by the revision of the *Sindhind* prepared by al-Khwārazmī (*ca.* 210/825) [*q.v.*, and also the art. in *DSB*], the first Islamic *zīdj* which is still extant, and which has been published and translated, albeit in a form substantially different from the original. Most of al-Khwārazmī's original text has not been preserved, but we do possess one complete Latin translation, made by Adelard of Bath (*fl.* 1116-42) of a revision of the *zīdj* by Andalusī astronomers. Other Khwārazmian materials can be recovered from various commentaries. See further van Dalen, *Al-Khwārizmī's tables revisited*, 196-211, and also below, iv. THE CONTENTS OF *ZĪDJ*S, 4.

2. *Al-Ma'mūn and the earliest Ptolemaic* zīdjs.

The first translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* was into Syriac. The date is not certain, but the Syriac translation clearly preceded the first Arabic one, prepared either by a certain al-Ḥasan b. Ḳuraysh for the caliph al-Ma'mūn (according to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ) or somewhat earlier by other translators for Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak (d. 189/805 [see AL-BARĀMIKA]), in effect the *wazīr* of Hārūn al-Rashīd (according to Ibn al-Nadīm). Neither of these translations is extant. The new translation from the Greek was achieved by al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar in 212/827-8. This survives in one complete manuscript and another fragmentary one. A related translation from the Greek is by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn [*q.v.*], prepared for the *wazīr* Abu 'l-Ṣaḳr b. Bulbul (d. *ca.* 280/890). Shortly thereafter, this was revised by Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*], whose version survives in ten manuscripts, only two of which are complete, the version of Isḥāḳ being available only in the form of quotations (by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ). The Isḥāḳ/Thābit version was edited by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] in 672/1274, whose version survives in several copies. Djābir b. Aflaḥ [*q.v.*] used the translations of both al-Ḥadjdjādj and Isḥāḳ that were available in al-Andalus in the 6th/12th century, and this is confirmed by the Latin translation of Gerard of Cremona, also from that century.

The Muslim astronomers were concerned from the outset to test and to improve what they found in the astronomical traditions to which they were heirs. Al-Ma'mūn's reign marks a turning point in the development of Islamic astronomy. Although al-Nihāwandī (*fl. ca.* 175/790) had made observations of his own in Djundishapur [*q.v.*], the first systematic programme of astronomical observations took place between 213/828 and 218/833 in the Shammāsiyya quarter of Baghdād (in 213/828, led by Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr) and in the monastery of Dayr Murrān in Mount Ḳāsiyūn, near Damascus (218/833, led by Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marwarrūdhī) [see MARṢAD]. Al-Ma'mūn may have sponsored these observations for astrological reasons (like his predecessor al-Manṣūr, he was a keen believer in astrology), although it seems probable that the main purpose of the programme was to reach definite conclusions about the problem of contradictory parameters and geometrical models in use in early Islamic astronomy, resulting from the simultaneous application of three main known traditions: Indian, Persian and Greek. The programme seems to have concentrated mainly on solar, lunar and stellar observations but it also determined new parameters for the mean planetary motions. Several *zīdj*s were written as a result of these observations: the official one was compiled by Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr and bore the title of *al-Zīdj al-mumtaḥan*. Other astronomers who were directly or indirectly associated with the observatories of Baghdād and Damascus also wrote their own *zīdj*s: among these, the *zīdj* of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib [*q.v.*] is the most prominent. This is extant in two manuscripts in Istanbul and Berlin. Only the former has been properly investigated, although it has not been published. The latter is a later recension.

Although Ḥabash (d. *ca.* 864-74) does not seem to have taken an active part in the Ma'mūnī observations, he used their results for the compilation of his *zīdj*. An analysis of both Ḥabash's and Yaḥyā's *zīdj*s shows that they are Ptolemaic in character and that they improved certain parameters, especially the solar ones. On the other hand, both *zīdj*s preserve a certain number of elements from the Indo-Persian tradition.

After al-Ma'mūn, Islamic astronomy followed along the same lines. Observations continued almost without interruption either in small private observatories or in more or less organised institutions with official support. These resulted in the compilation of new *zīdj*s in which the old Indo-Persian tradition seems to be forgotten (except in al-Andalus—see below, 4), and the tradition of the *Almagest* and the *Handy tables* was followed. The authors accepted Ptolemy's kinematic models but used new parameters and destroyed some dogmatic beliefs of the *Almagest*, such as the invariability of the obliquity of the ecliptic, the constant character of the precession of equinoxes, the immobility of the solar apogee, and the impossibility of annular solar eclipses. Some of the changes introduced are improvements, whilst others are understandable mistakes resulting from the fact that Muslim astronomers relied excessively on the accuracy of observations made in Antiquity and in their own times. In any case, it is obvious that Ptolemaic astronomy was not always followed unquestioningly. In particular, Muslim astronomers made substantial contributions to the development of spherical trigonometry and the solution of problems in spherical astronomy by projection methods.

3. *The major Mashriḳī* zīdjs.

It is possible to mention only a limited number of later *zīdj*s from the Mashriḳ, arranged here more or less according to the geographical location where they were compiled.

Al-Zīdj al-Ṣābi' of al-Battānī [*q.v.*, and also the art. in *DSB*] (Raḳḳa *ca.* 300/900), is a respectable and orderly work, if lacking the originality of the *zīdj*s of Yaḥyā and Ḥabash. This was one of the most important works for the transmission of Ptolemaic astronomy to Europe, but it enjoyed far less influence in the Islamic world (not least because there it had more competition). The tables of a *zīdj* were engraved on the mater and plates of an astrolabe [see ASṬURLĀB] in an instrument labelled *Zīdj al-ṣafā'iḥ* by Abū Djaʿfar al-Khāzin (Baghdād *ca.* 350/950 [*q.v.*]), of which an example survives in Berlin. Two *zīdj*s by Kūshyār b. Labbān (*ca.* 400/1000) [*q.v.*, and also the art. in *DSB*] entitled *al-Zīdj al-djāmiʿ* and *al-Zīdj al-bāligh* are extant in several copies of varying content.

The unique manuscript of a *zīdj* entitled *al-Madjisṭī* by Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzdjānī (*ca.* 370/970) [*q.v.*, and also the art. in *DSB*] alas lacks the tables; nevertheless, the sections on trigonometry and spherical astronomy are extensive and systematic and of considerable historical interest. The later, anonymous *zīdj* entitled *al-Zīdj al-shāmil*, was based on that of Abu 'l-Wafā', and was clearly of some influence, with some spherical astronomical tables for the latitude of Mardin.

Al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī by al-Bīrūnī (421/1030), dedicated to the newly-acceded Sulṭān Masʿūd I [*q.v.*] of Ghazna, is much more than an ordinary *zīdj*, being a great astronomical handbook, full of good sense, containing substantial information about the author's personal astronomical research as well as about the development of astronomy in Islamic regions until the author's time. The *Ḳānūn* was not as influential as it should have been (the same is true of al-Bīrūnī's other productions); some of the trigonometric tables were taken over in the *Zīdj-i Īlkhānī* (see below) and the geographical tables, albeit in a slightly modified form, as if read from a map, in the *Sandjarī Zīdj* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī (*fl. ca.* 1120, see the art. in *DSB*). No recensions or modified versions of the *Ḳānūn* have come to light. The *Sandjarī Zīdj* dedicated to the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar b. Malik Shāh, is another imposing work on which much more research needs to be done.

Several *zīdj*s, including one called *al-Zīdj al-ʿAlā'ī*, are associated with al-Fahhād (Shirwān, *ca.* 550/1150), none extant in their original form. The Yemeni astronomer Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Fārisī, as well as various Byzantine astronomers, used al-Fahhād's work and preserve for us substantial portions of it. Before we discuss later developments in Iran and Central Asia, we will mention the main activity in Egypt, Yemen and Syria.

A monumental work entitled *al-Zīdj al-Ḥākimī al-kabīr*, compiled *ca.* 400/1000 for the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim by Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*, and also the art. in *DSB*], is some four times as large as the *Zīdj*s of Yaḥyā and al-Battānī. Substantial parts of the work survive in manuscripts in Leiden, Oxford and Paris. Of particular historical interest are the accounts of observations by the author and his predecessors in ʿAbbāsid Baghdād. The *Ḥākimī Zīdj* was influential in later Egypt and also the Yemen. Thus e.g. the Geniza astrological almanacs as well as the mediaeval Yemeni ephemerides [see TAḲWĪM and also below, v. CATEGORIES OF TABLES NOT CONTAINED IN ZĪDJS, 3] are based on calculations using the mean motion and equation tables of the *Ḥākimī Zīdj*. The *Muṣṭalaḥ Zīdj* was the most popular *zīdj* in mediaeval Egypt, and relied heavily on the *Ḥākimī Zīdj*. Later Egyptian *zīdj*s include recensions of those of Ibn al-Shāṭir and Ulugh Beg.

Altogether, some 18 *zīdj*s are known from the Yemen, starting with al-Hamdānī [*q.v.*] in the early 4th/10th century, and the latest from the 13th/19th century. Their historical importance derives not only from the fact that they attest a serious Yemeni tradition of mathematical astronomy for close to a millennium but also from the fact that they preserve for us ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid materials which would otherwise have been lost (see King, *Astronomy in Yemen*).

Al-Zīdj al-djadīd of Ibn al-Shāṭir (Damascus *ca.* 750/1350; see the art. in *DSB*) contains equation tables based on the author's new planetary models, which represent the culmination of the Islamic activities to replace those of Ptolemy [see ʿILM AL-HAY'A]. This work merits detailed investigation. Several recensions were made for Damascus in later centuries, also one for Algiers and another for Cairo.

The major production of a group of astronomers working at Marāgha [*q.v.*] under Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and purportedly based on their observations is the *Īlkhānī Zīdj*, still in the Ptolemaic tradition. The parameters underlying the solar, lunar and planetary tables were, however, taken from Ibn al-Aʿlam and Ibn Yūnus, and the trigonometric tables lifted from Ibn Yūnus and al-Bīrūnī. What is new is the calendrical material [see TA'RĪKH. 2]. There is no influence of the important modifications of the Ptolemaic planetary models conceived by the Marāgha astronomers.

The *Zīdj-i Īlkhānī* was revised and corrected by Djamshīd al-Kāshī in his *Zīdj-i Khāḳānī*, a work completed towards 820/1420, before the end of the cycle of observations made by the team of astronomers at the Samarḳand observatory. These latter observations were, however, used by Ulugh Beg (796-853/

1393-1449 [*q.v.*]) to compile his *Zīdj-i Sulṭānī* (completed between 1437 and 1448), which is the last great Ptolemaic *zīdj* of the Islamic Middle Ages. This *zīdj* is extant in numerous manuscripts, yet to be sorted. The main parts of the *zīdj*, namely, the tables, have still not received the attention they deserve. (See, most recently, E.S. Kennedy, *Ulugh Beg as scientist*, and *The heritage of Ulugh Beg*, first published in idem, *Studies*, nos. X-XI.) Recensions were prepared for Damascus, Cairo, Istanbul, Tunis and India.

Two *zīdjs* for Istanbul were compiled by Taḳī al-Dīn (*ca.* 980/1580 [*q.v.*]) and remain to be studied. Turkish recensions of the astronomical tables of Cassini (d. 1756) and Lalande (d. 1807) and other European astronomers are available (see İhsanoğlu, *Introduction of Western science to the Ottoman world*).

From India we have the *Zīdj-i Nāṣirī*, compiled by Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar *ca.* 650/1250 for the Dihlī Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd b. Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish [*q.v.*]. A copy of this appears to be preserved in a private library in Tabriz (Storey, *PL*, ii/1, 52) but it has never been studied. It could be a work of considerable historical interest.

Later Indian *zīdjs* are based either on Ulugh Beg or on European works (see Khan Ghori, *Development of zīj literature in India*).

4. *Andalusī and Maghribī* zīdjs.

For al-Andalus and al-Maghrib, the history of astronomy has been studied more intensively than for other regions of the Islamic world. It is thus possible to place the activity relating to the compilation of *zīdjs* in a clearer historical perspective.

The first *zīdjs*, probably based on an Indo-Persian tradition, were introduced in al-Andalus in the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52); one of these was al-Khwārazmī's *Zīdj al-Sindhind* (D. Pingree, *Indian astronomy in medieval Spain*, in *Vernet Festschrift*, i, 39-48). This *zīdj* (see below, iv. THE CONTENTS OF *ZĪDJS*, 1) was the object of new recensions by Maslama al-Madjrīṭī (d. 398/1007-08 [*q.v.*]) and his disciples Ibn al-Ṣaffār (d. 426/1035 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn al-Samḥ (d. 426/1035 [*q.v.*]), as well as by Ibn Ḥayy (d. 456/1064) and ʿAbd Allāh al-Saraḳusṭī (d. 448/1056-7), who wrote a treatise on the errors of the *Sindhind* method. Of all these materials, only a disappointing fragment of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's version is extant in Arabic (M. Castells and J. Samsó, *Seven chapters of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's lost* Zīj, in *AIHS*, xlv [1995], 229-62), while Maslama's version has been preserved in the Latin translation of Adelard of Bath and in a recension by Petrus Alfonsi. Adelard's version contains materials derived from al-Khwārazmī's original *zīdj*, Maslama's modifications and additions and, probably, other later materials, such as the table, attributed elsewhere to a certain al-Ḳallās, as yet unidentified, for determining the visibility of the new Moon for a latitude of 41;35° (Saragossa?). Maslama introduced modifications in the chronological and in the mean-motion tables (al-Khwārazmī used the Persian calendar and the era of Yazdidjird III, while the extant tables use the Muslim calendar and the beginning of the Hidjra). He also adapted the radix positions of the lunar ascending node and of the mean oppositions and conjunctions of the Sun and the Moon to the meridian of Cordova which, in these tables as well as in a passage of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's canons, is placed at a distance of 63° west of Arīn (not 79;40° as in al-Khwārazmī's original *Zīdj*). This correction appears in a horoscope cast in Cordova and dated 328/940, and it has the effect of reducing the length of the Mediterranean to a much more reasonable value than was implied by Ptolemy. Other Maslamian additions can be found in trigonometric (sine and cotangent) and astrological tables such as those concerned with the equalisation of the houses and the projection of rays, computed for a latitude of 38;30°, presumably Cordova, and much better than the original tables of al-Khwārazmī, preserved in another source. (For an overview of the origin of the various tables in the Latin version see van Dalen, *Al-Khwārizmī's tables revisited*, 196-211.)

Al-Khwārazmī's astronomical tradition was never fully abandoned in al-Andalus or in the Maghrib. It was followed by Ibn Muʿādh (d. 485/1093) in his *Tabulae Jahen* (that is, the *zīdj* of Djayyān: Jaén in al-Andalus), of which only the canons are extant in a Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona (see H. Hermelink, *Tabulae Jahen*, in *AHES*, ii [1964], 108-12). Arabic passages of these canons as well as tabular materials have been discovered in late Maghribī sources (see Samsó and H. Mielgo, *Ibn Isḥāq al-Tūnisī and Ibn Muʿādh al-Jayyānī on the Qibla*, first published in Samsó, *Studies*, no. VI; A. Mestres, in *Vernet Festschrift*, i, 402-3, 435; Samsó, *ibid.*, ii. 601-10; and idem, in *ZGAIW*, xi [1997], 91-2).

Far more successful were the *Toledan Tables*, the result of an adaptation of the available astronomical material (mainly al-Khwārazmī and al-Battānī) to the coordinates of Toledo made by a group of Toledan astronomers led by the famous *ḳāḍī* Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070 [*q.v.*]). Even if the results achieved were not brilliant, the mean-motion tables are original and constitute the result of a programme of observations which must have begun earlier than 460/1068 and which was continued by Ibn al-Zarḳālluh (Azarquiel) (d. 493/1100 [see AL-ZARḲĀLĪ]), one of the collaborators of *ḳāḍī* Ṣāʿid, until much later. (On the *Toledan Tables* and Ibn al-Zarḳālluh's *Almanac*, see G.J. Toomer, *A survey of the Toledan Tables*, in *Osiris*, xv [1968], 5-174; L. Richter-Bernburg, *Ṣāʿid, the Toledan Tables, and Andalusī science*, in *Kennedy Festschrift*, 373-401; F.S. Pedersen, *Canones Azarchelis. Some versions and a text*, in *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Age Grec et Latin* (Copenhagen), liv [1987], 129-218; J.-M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Estudios sobre Azarquiel*, Madrid-Granada 1943-50, 72-237; and R. Mercier, *Astronomical tables in the twelfth century*, in *Adelard of Bath. An English scientist and arabist of the early twelfth century*, ed. C. Burnett, London 1987, 87-118, esp. 104-12. On the date of the *Toledan Tables*, see Samsó and H. Berrani, *World-astrology in eleventh century al-Andalus: the Epistle on* tasyīr *and the projection of the rays by al-Istijjī*, in *JIS*, x [1999], 293-312. An edition of the *Toledan tables* is being prepared by F.S. Pedersen.) These tables, like those of al-Khwārazmī, presented sidereal longitudes but added trepidation tables allowing the calculation of tropical longitudes. The topic of trepidation studied by several members of Ṣāʿid's team (Ṣāʿid himself, Ibn al-Zarḳālluh and Abū Marwān al-Istidjdjī), together with other theoretical innovations developed by Ibn al-Zarḳālluh (cycles that regulate the obliquity of the ecliptic, motion of the solar apogee, solar model with variable eccentricity, corrections in the Ptolemaic lunar model), became standard in the Andalusī and Maghribī tradition. Ibn al-Zarḳālluh also adapted a perpetual *Almanac* from a Hellenistic work computed by a certain Ammonius in the 3rd or 4th century A.D., which allowed astrologers to obtain planetary longitudes without all the computation involved in the use of a *zīdj*. (This was published in Millás Vallicrosa, *op. cit.*, 72-237; preliminary analysis in M. Boutelle, *The Almanach of Azarquiel*, in *Centaurus*, xii [1967], 12-19, repr. in Kennedy *et al.*, *Studies*, 502-10; corrections

by N. Swerdlow, in *Mathematical Reviews*, xli/4 [1971], no. 5149; also Samsó, *Ciencias de los Antiguos*, 166-71.) This kind of table was often used in al-Andalus, the Maghrib and mediaeval Christian Spain (see below on the tables of Zacut).

Ibn al-Kammād (active in Cordova *ca.* 510/1110) and Ibn al-Hā'im (*fl. ca.* 600/1200) wrote *zīdj*s in the Zarkāllian tradition. The former was probably a disciple of Ibn al-Zarkālluh and composed three such works, of which only one, *al-Muktabas*, is extant in a Latin translation, although materials from the other two can be recovered in Castilian translations or in Maghribī sources. Ibn al-Kammād (like Ibn al-Hā'im, Ibn Isḥāk, Ibn al-Rakkām in his *Shāmil Zīdj*, and Ibn ʿAzzūz al-Kusanṭīnī, on whom see below) apply the Zarkāllian motion of the solar apogee (1° in 279 Julian years) to that of the apogees of the other planets, which poses the problem of establishing whether this was Ibn al-Kammād's contribution or whether it already appeared in the lost work of Ibn al-Zarkālluh. Apart from Zarkāllian materials, Ibn al-Kammād also used other sources such as Yaʿkūb b. Ṭārik (*fl. ca.* 175/790) and the *Mumtaḥan Zīdj* of Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr (*fl.* A.D. 830), which seems to have been known to Maslama. Ibn al-Kammād deviated from Zarkāllian orthodoxy in several items, such as his trepidation model (in which trepidation of the equinoxes is connected to the oscillation of the obliquity of the ecliptic), and he was strongly criticised by Ibn al-Hā'im, who dedicated his *al-Zīdj al-kāmil fi 'l-taʿālīm* to the Almohad caliph Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (595-610/1199-1213). This work is not a standard *zīdj* as it contains an extremely elaborate set of canons (173 pages in the unique ms. Oxford Bodl. Marsh 618), with careful geometrical proofs, but no numerical tables. It also contains a great amount of historical information on the work done by the Toledan school in the 5th/11th century, as well as corrections in the Zarkāllian parameters. (On Ibn al-Kammād, see J. Chabás and B.R. Goldstein, *Andalusian astronomy*: al-Zīj al-Muqtabis [*sic*] *of Ibn al-Kammād*, in *AHES*, xlviii [1994], 1-41; idem, *Ibn al-Kammād's star list*, in *Centaurus*, xxxviii [1996], 317-34; J.L. Mancha, *On Ibn al-Kammād's table for trepidation*, in *AHES*, lii [1998], 1-11. On Ibn al-Hā'im's *Kāmil Zīdj*, see E. Calvo, *Astronomical theories related to the sun in Ibn al-Hā'im's* al-Zīj al-Kāmil fī 'l-taʿālīm, in *ZGAIW*, xii [1998], 51-111; and two new studies, R. Puig, *The theory of the moon in the* al-Zīj al-Kāmil fī-l-taʿālīm *of Ibn al-Hā'im (ca. 1205)*, in *Suhayl*, i [2000], 71-99, and M. Comes, *Ibn al-Hā'im's trepidation model*, in *ibid.*, ii [2001]. The *Muktabas Zīdj* seems to be the main source of the astronomical tables prepared in the 14th century for King Peter IV of Aragon (Chabas, *Astronomia andalusí en Cataluña: las Tablas de Barcelona*, in *Vernet Festschrift*, i, 477-525).

After Ibn al-Hā'im, the main development of Western *zīdj*s took place in the Maghrib. There, already at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the famous astrologer Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl al-Kayrawānī [*q.v.*] had composed a *zīdj* entitled *Ḥall al-ʿakd wa-bayān al-raṣd*, which has not survived. No other *zīdj*s are extant until *ca.* 600/1200, when we have the set of tables prepared by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ibn Isḥāk al-Tamīmī al-Tūnisī (*fl.* Tunis and Marrakesh *ca.* 589-619/1193-1222), which survive, among other materials, in a unique Ḥaydarābād manuscript (copied in Ḥimṣ in 716-17/1317). According to Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], Ibn Isḥāk's tables were based on observations made by a Sicilian Jew; this does not seem to be true and Ibn Isḥāk's authentic tables seem to derive directly from the Andalusī tradition. But Ibn Isḥāk's *zīdj* was left unfinished; it lacked an adequate set of canons and four "editions" at least of this work were prepared, in the Maghrib, by three different astronomers of the end of the 7th/13th and beginning of the 8th/14th centuries. One of them was the compiler of the Ḥaydarābād manuscript, who, *ca.* 665-80/1266-81, added to the original *zīdj* an impressive collection of materials (both canons and numerical tables) in which the predominant influence is clearly Andalusī, but the compilation was enormous and ill-suited for practical use. (See now the publications of A. Mestres listed in the *Bibl.*)

Ibn al-Bannā' of Marrakesh (654-721/1256-1321 [*q.v.*]) wrote his *Minhādj al-ṭālib fi taʿdīl al-kawākib* with an entirely different structure, mainly a selection of Ibn Isḥāk's tables accompanied by a readily comprehensible collection of canons which makes the *zīdj* accessible for the computation of planetary longitudes. This is accompanied by some formal modifications intended to make calculations easier: for the first time in the western Islamic world Ibn al-Bannā' uses "displaced" equations for the Sun and the planetary equations of the centre, and he applies the Ptolemaic lunar method of calculation to the computation of the equation of anomaly of Saturn and Jupiter which, like the Moon, have small epicycles. (See J. Vernet, *Contribución al estudio de la labor astronómica de Ibn al-Bannā'*, Tetuán 1952; Samsó, *Studies*, no. X; and Samsó and E. Millás, *The computation of planetary longitudes in the Zīj of Ibn al-Bannā'*, in *ASP*, viii [1998], 259-86.)

The two other "editions" of Ibn Isḥāk's *zīdj* were prepared by Muḥammad b. al-Rakkām (*fl.* Tunis and Granada, d. 715/1315). His two *zīdj*s are entitled *al-Zīdj al-shāmil fi tahdhīb al-Kāmil* and *al-Zīdj al-kawīm fi funūn al-taʿdīl wa 'l-takwīm*. The former was composed in Tunis in 679/1280-1 by copying, word for word, the canons of Ibn al-Hā'im's *Kāmil Zīdj*, but omitting all the careful geometrical demonstrations. To this he added the numerical tables of Ibn Isḥāk. The *Kawīm Zīdj* seems to contain a simplified rewording of the canons of the *Shāmil Zīdj* but it adds a few tables adapted to the geographical coordinates of Granada—after Ibn al-Rakkām's arrival in this city under Muḥammad II (671-701/1273-1302)—for which the author uses a latitude of 37;10°, identical to the modern value. (See E.S. Kennedy, *The Astronomical tables of Ibn al-Raqqām, a scientist of Granada*, in *ZGAIW*, xi [1997], 35-72. A partial edition of, and commentary on the *Shāmil Zīdj* is M. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Ḥisāb aṭwāl al-kawākib fi 'l-Zīj al-shāmil fī tahdhīb al-Kāmil li-Ibn al-Raqqām*, diss. University of Barcelona 1996, unpubl.) A third *zīdj* by Ibn al-Rakkām, *al-Zīdj al-mustawfi*, is extant in Rabat and Tunis, but the relation between it and the *Zīdj* of Ibn Isḥāk has not yet been studied.

The Andalusī tradition was also developed by two astronomers from Constantine who were active in Fez in the 8th/14th century. One of them is Ibn ʿAzzūz al-Kusanṭīnī (d. 755/1354), who compiled his *al-Zīdj al-muwāfik* correcting the mean motion parameters in Ibn Isḥāk's *zīdj* on the basis of observations made in Fez *ca.* 745/1345, later corrected using a peculiar "experimental" method: the mean motions were adjusted for casting horoscopes which could fit the historical reality of well-known events of the past, such as the battle of Faḥṣ Ṭarīf (El Salado, 741/1340). Other materials in this *zīdj* also derive from Andalusī sources, mainly Ibn al-Kammād, but it also contains interesting information such as tables of planetary velocities (also attested in the Alfonsine tradition), and

the oldest mention of a lunar cycle of 11,325 days which can be used for the computation of lunar longitudes using almanac techniques. (See Samsó, *Andalusian astronomy in 14th century Fez*: al-Zīj al-Muwāfiq *of Ibn ʿAzzūz al-Qusanṭīnī*, in *ZGAIW*, xi [1997], 73-110; idem, *Horoscopes and history. Ibn ʿAzzūz and his retrospective horoscopes related to the Battle of El Salado (1340)*, in *North Festschrift*, Leiden 1999, 101-24.) Ibn ʿAzzūz included in his *Zīdj* a table for planetary velocities that is also found in many Latin copies; the original compiler of this table has not been determined, but he was almost certainly Andalusī. (See Samsó, al-Zīj al-Muwāfiq, 88-9, 104-5; Goldstein, Chabás and J.L. Mancha, *Planetary and lunar velocities in the Castilian Alfonsine tables*, in *Procs. Amer. Philosophical Soc.*, cxxxviii [1994], 61-95.)

Another person of the same origin, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Ḳusanṭīnī, compiled a small *zīdj*, the canons of which were written in verse so that they could easily be learnt by heart. This work is the only known Western Islamic document extant in Arabic in which the planetary theory is Indian and not Ptolemaic. In addition to this material, ultimately due to al-Khwārazmī, this *zīdj* also however shows the influence of Ibn Isḥāḳ and Ibn al-Bannāʾ. (See E.S. Kennedy and D.A. King, *Indian astronomy in fourteenth-century Fez: the versified* Zīj *of al-Qusunṭīnī* [*sic*], in *JHAS*, vi [1982], 3-45, repr. in King, *Studies*, A-VIII.)

The *zīdj*s derived from Ibn Isḥāḳ were used in the Maghrib until the 13th/19th century, for they allowed the computation of sidereal longitudes which were used by astrologers. We have, however, a limited amount of information about observations made in the Maghrib in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries which established that precession exceeded the amounts fixed in "Andalusī" trepidation tables and that the obliquity of the ecliptic had fallen below the limits of Ibn al-Zarḳālluh's model and tables. This explains the introduction of eastern *zīdj*s in the Maghrib from the 8th/14th century onwards. In them, mean motions were tropical, trepidation was replaced by constant precession and there were no tables to compute the obliquity of the ecliptic. The *Tādj al-azyādj* of Ibn Abi ʾl-Shukr al-Maghribī (d. 680/1283) and the *al-Zīdj al-djadīd* of Ibn al-Shāṭir (d. 777/1375) were known in Tunis from the late 8th/14th century onwards, while the *Zīdj-i sulṭānī* of Ulugh Beg was known in the Maghrib towards the end of the 11th/17th, and it became very popular during the next two centuries. There were at least two Tunisian recensions of this *zīdj* prepared by Muḥammad al-Sharīf, called Sandjaḳ Dār al-Tūnisī, and by ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn Ḳuṣʿa al-Tūnisī; the former was produced in the late 11th/17th century and it contains, for the first time in the Maghrib, double-argument tables which combine the equation of the centre with the equation of the anomaly. The transmission was not all one-way; e.g. the Maghribī astronomer Abū ʿAlī al-Marrākushī [*q.v.*], who was active in Cairo *ca.* 680/1280, mentioned Ibn al-Zarḳālluh and Ibn al-Kammād in his monumental book on instrumentation, *Mabādiʾ wa-ghāyāt*. Also, the unique Ḥaydarābād manuscript of the *Zīdj* of Ibn Isḥāḳ was copied in Syria, and fragments attributed to the same author are found in various Yemeni sources.

The change of mentality represented by these eastern *zīdj*s also reached the Maghrib in the 10th/16th century through a different channel. The Jewish astronomer of Salamanca, Abraham Zacut, left Portugal in 1496 and lived in Fez, Tlemcen and Tunis until at least 911/1505. In one of these cities he compiled a new set of astronomical tables (1501) and his perpetual *Almanac* was translated from the printed Castilian version of 1496 into Arabic in the Maghrib in the early 11th/17th century by Aḥmad b. Ḳāsim al-Ḥadjarī. The new Arabic tables were the object of several commentaries. The *Almanac* represented not only a renewal of the old Andalusī tradition but also the introduction in the Maghrib of Alfonsine astronomy and of the astronomical research made in Southern France by Levi ben Gerson in the 14th century. It was still used in Morocco in the 19th century. (See Goldstein, *The Hebrew astronomical tradition: new sources*, in *Isis*, lxxii [1981], 237-51; idem, *Abraham Zacut and the medieval Hebrew astronomical tradition*, in *JHA*, xxix [1998], 177-86; and now Chabás and Goldstein, *Astronomy in the Iberian Peninsula. Abraham Zacut and the transition from manuscript to print*, in *Trans. Amer. Philosophical Soc.*, Philadelphia 2000.)

iv. The Contents of *Zīdj*s

1. *Sexagesimal alphanumerical notation.*

The entries in the tables in *zīdj*s and other corpora of tables are expressed sexagesimally, that is, to base 60, although integers are invariably expressed decimally. (In the modern notation standard in the history of the exact sciences, a number expressed in the form a,b;c,d stands for a × 60 + b + c ÷ 60 + d ÷ 3600.) The entries are written in Arabic alphanumerical notation [see abdjad], with the attendant traps for the careless copyist and the trusting reader. One of the challenges to modern investigators is the restoration of original values from carelessly-copied entries. The standard errors are inevitable or careless or compound. "Inevitable" refers to those cases where the omission of a diacritical point or two in one copy of a table invites an ambiguous interpretation in the next copy (thus, 14 ↔ 54 or 38 ↔ 33 or 80 ↔ 100). "Careless" refers to situations where the sloppy rendition of one letter or ligature leads to its misinterpretation as another (thus, 0 ↔ 5, 14 ↔ 15, 40 ↔ 47, 50 ↔ 7, 20 or 21 ↔ 9, 38 ↔ 18, 44 ↔ 47, or 18 ↔ 70). "Compound" refers to a combination of the previous two (thus 14 ↔ 15 ↔ 55 or 58 ↔ 18 ↔ 13 or 150 ↔ 87). (See R.A.K. Irani, *Arabic numeral forms*, in *Centaurus*, iv [1955], 1-12, repr. in Kennedy *et al.*, *Studies*, 710-21; Kennedy and Kennedy, *Islamic geographical tables*, x; Kunitzsch, *Sternkatalog des Almagest* (cited below, 10), i, 19-21; and King, *World-maps*, 161-63.)

2. *Chronology and calendar conversion.*

All *zīdj*s begin with one or more chapters and sets of tables devoted to the definition of the various eras and calendars in use at the time and place of writing, to methods of converting dates from one calendar to another, and to the problem of determining the *madkhal*, that is, the day of the week corresponding to the first day of a given year and month in a given calendar. The most common are the lunar Hidjra calendar and various solar calendars, including the Seleucid (Alexander), the Coptic (Diocletian), and the Persian (Yazdidjird), and, in the West, the Julian (A.D. and Spanish Era). The Persian calendar, using the Egyptian year of 365 days and no intercalation, is particularly convenient for astronomical purposes. Less commonly treated calendars are the Jewish, Syrian, Mālikī, Śaka and Chinese-Uighur [see taʾrīkh. 2.]. A few *zīdj*s treat the lunar mansions and the Arab system of dividing the year according to the mansions [see manāzil and anwāʾ].

3. *Trigonometry.*

All *zīdj*s contain trigonometric tables, usually of at least the sine (*al-djayb*) and the cotangent (*al-ẓill*) func-

tions. The sine, first used by Indian astronomers, replaced the Ptolemaic chord function (*al-watar*) amongst the Muslims. The argument of the sine was an arc (rather than an angle) θ of a circle of radius R units, where R is a base, usually 60, occasionally 1. In the Indian tradition R was usually taken as 150; in the Hellenistic tradition it was taken as 60. The mediaeval sine function is denoted by Sin θ and is related to Ptolemy's chord function and the modern function by: Sin θ = 1/2 Chd (2θ) = R sin θ. In timekeeping, the versed sine (*al-sahm*) [*q.v.*] was also used (Vers θ = R - Cos θ), and occasionally also the cosecant function (*kuṭr al-ẓill*) (Cosec θ = R^2/Cos θ = R cosec θ). The earliest sine tables, from the 3rd/9th century, gave values to three sexagesimal places for each 1° of argument. By the 9th/15th century, accurate tables were available displaying the function to five places for each minute of argument. This was achieved by first deriving a very precise value of Sin 1° and utilising a clever method of second-order interpolation. The cotangent function invariably had the solar altitude as argument, and used a base equal to the length of a gnomon, so that the function measures the length of the horizontal shadow cast by the gnomon. The units for the gnomon length used were 12 digits (*iṣbaʿ*, pl. *aṣābiʿ*), or 7 feet (*ḳadam*, pl. *aḳdām*), although other values were also used. Al-Bīrūnī has a detailed discussion in his treatise *On shadows* (*Ifrād al-maḳāl fī amr al-ẓilāl*). The cotangent function was also first tabulated in the 3rd/9th century.

Trigonometric functions were occasionally tabulated independently, that is, not in *zīdj*s. Various procedures were used for interpolation in tables [see TAʿDĪL BAYN AL-SATRAYN]. (See further Kennedy, *Zīj survey*, 139-40; Schoy, *Beiträge zur arabischen Trigonometrie*, in *Isis*, v [1923], 364-99, and idem, *Die Gnomonik der Araber*, Bd. I: F of E. von Bassermann-Jordan (ed.), *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*, Berlin and Leipzig 1923, both repr. in idem, *Beiträge*, ii, 448-83 and 351-447; al-Bīrūnī, *Shadows*, 71-80. See also J.L. Berggren, *Episodes in the mathematics of medieval Islam*, New York, etc. 1986, 127-56.)

4. *Spherical astronomical functions.*

The study of spherical astronomy, sc. the mathematics of the celestial sphere and of the apparent daily rotation of the sphere, was of prime concern to Muslim astronomers, not least because of the importance of astronomical time-keeping [see MĪḲĀT]. The formulae for deriving time from solar or stellar altitude were known from the 2nd/8th century onwards and are discussed in every *zīdj*. (On the basic tables for spherical astronomy, see Kennedy, *Zīj survey*, 140-1; D.A. King, *Astronomical works of Ibn Yūnus*; al-Bīrūnī, *Maḳālīd*; al-Marrākushī, *Mabādiʾ wa-ghāyāt*; Berggren, *Spherical astronomy in Kūshyār ibn Labbān's* Jāmiʿ Zīj, in *Kennedy Festschrift*, 15-33; Kennedy, *Spherical astronomy in al-Kāshī's* Khāqānī Zīj, in *ZGAIW*, ii [1990], 1-46, repr. in idem, *Studies*, no. VII.)

We can distinguish between several groups of functions that were regularly tabulated in *zīdj*s:

a. The solar declination as a function of solar longitude. Underlying such tables was a value for the obliquity of the ecliptic, a parameter which changes slowly with time [see MAYL; SHAMS; MINṬAḲA].

b. The half length of daylight for different latitudes, as a function of solar longitude, in equatorial degrees and minutes, or in hours and minutes. Sometimes the latitude-dependent tables would be presented for the climates of Antiquity [see IḲLĪM].

c. The right ascensions as a function of ecliptic longitude, defining the rising time of a given arc of the ecliptic (measured from the vernal point) over the horizon at the equator, and the oblique ascensions, defining the corresponding times for the horizons of different localities [see MAṬĀLIʿ]. Often the latter would be tabulated for a series of latitudes.

d. The solar meridian altitude, and less frequently the rising amplitude of the Sun and the solar altitude in the prime vertical, all for specific latitudes. Likewise the solar altitude in the azimuth of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] for specific localities, also tabulated for each degree of solar longitude.

e. Certain functions with no immediate astronomical significance were also tabulated on account of their utility in the computation of other functions. We may mention as examples such "auxiliary" functions as the tangent of the declination (labelled *fuḍūl al-maṭāliʿ li 'l-arḍ kullihā*), the sine of the right ascension (*djayb al-maṭāliʿ*), and the product of the cosines of the declination and the terrestrial latitude (*al-aṣl al-muṭlaḳ*) (see King, *SATMI*, i). The culmination of this activity was the compilation of sets of tables of a series of such functions, combinations of which could yield solutions to problems of spherical astronomy for any latitude. Of these only the auxiliary tables of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib are found in a *zīdj*: see further below, v. CATEGORIES OF TABLES NOT CONTAINED IN *ZĪDJ*S, 7.

Numerous other minor tables are found in corpora of tables relating to astronomical time-keeping, independent of *zīdj*s; see below, *ibid.*, 8. These collections also contain some more extensive tables for time-keeping; the only variety of these occasionally found in *zīdj*s is a table displaying the time (T) since rising of the Sun or any star as a function of the meridian altitude (H) and the instantaneous altitude (h), for a specific latitude: these tables are trapezoidal in shape since h < H and are called *zīdj al-ṭaylasān*, after the name of a shawl.

5. *Planetary mean motions, equations and latitudes.*

These constitute the hard core of all *zīdj*s. Extensive tables display the epoch positions and the mean motions (*wasaṭ*, pl. *awsāṭ*) of the "planets" (*al-kawākib al-sayyāra* or *al-mutaḥayyara*), that is, the Sun, Moon and five naked-eye planets. The tables are intended for a specific terrestrial longitude, usually that of the locality where the *zīdj* was compiled; if required, they can easily be modified to the meridian of another locality. The motions for a given number of completed years, months, days and hours are be added to the epoch positions (Ar. *aṣl*, Lat. *radix*) to derive the actual mean positions. These then needed to be modified by equations (*taʿdīl* [*q.v.*], pl. *taʿādīl*) to derive the true ecliptic positions (sometimes called *al-muḥkam* or *al-muʿaddal*). The operation of finding the true positions is called *taḳwīm* [*q.v.*], an expression also used for ephemerides. In the Ptolemaic tradition, the equations are calculated by successive applications of a series of auxiliary trigonometric functions for each planet [see SHAMS, and more especially ḲAMAR and TAʿDĪL]. (See Kennedy, *Zīj survey*, 141-2; Kennedy and H. Salam, *Solar and lunar tables in early Islamic astronomy*, in *JAOS*, lxxxvii [1967], 492-7, repr. in Kennedy *et al.*, *Studies*, 108-13.) More extensive double-argument tables for the equations are sometimes found in *zīdj*s (see M.J. Tichenor, *Late medieval two-argument tables for planetary longitudes*, in *JNES*, xxvi [1967], 126-8, repr. in Kennedy *et al.*, *Studies*, 122-4; C. Jensen, *The lunar theories of al-Baghdādī*, in *AHES*, viii [1971-2], 321-8; and G. Saliba, *The double-argument lunar tables of Cyriacus*, in *JHA*, vii (1976), 41-6), and sometimes tabulated separately (see below, *Categories of Tables*, 6). The apogees (*awdj*, pl. *awdjāt*) of the planets need to

be considered in such calculations, and their positions, which vary with time, were also tabulated. Occasionally, especially—but not only—in Andalusī and Maghribī *zīdj*s, we find tables relating to trepidation (*al-iḳbāl wa 'l-idbār*), the presumed oscillation of the equinoxes; see above, iii. An overview, 4. Additional auxiliary tables enabled the computation of the planetary latitudes (*al-ʿarḍ*). In the case of the Moon, a single table would suffice, the argument being the nodal distance, derived from the lunar longitude and the position of the ascending node, which was tabulated along with the mean motions. In the calculation of solar and lunar eclipses (see below), also the equation of time [see taʿdīl al-zamān], that is, the difference between true and mean solar time, with a maximum of around 30 minutes, had to be considered; tables for this function were likewise standard *zīdj*s. (See, most recently, Kennedy, *Two medieval approaches to the equation of time*, in *Centaurus*, xxxi [1988], 1-8, repr. in idem, *Studies*, no. VIII; van Dalen, *Al-Khwārizmī's tables revisited: analysis of the equation of time*, in *Vernet Festschrift* i, 195-252.) All of the necessary instructions for using these various tables are found in the typical *zīdj*.

6. *Planetary stations and visibility*.

Additional tables enabled the investigation of the direct and retrograde motions of the planets, their stations, and their visibility, which depends on their apparent elongation from the Sun.

7. *Solar and lunar parallax and eclipses*.

In *zīdj*s we also find tables for calculating the parallax of the Sun and Moon (*ikhtilāf al-manẓar*), preparatory to the prediction of eclipses (*kusūf* for the Sun and *khusūf* for the Moon [see kusūf]). This would be achieved by means of tables of the times of syzygies, of true solar and lunar motions in small critical periods of time, of apparent solar and lunar radii, and others. (See Kennedy, *Zīj survey*, 143-4; idem, *Parallax theory in Islamic astronomy*, in *Isis*, xlvii [1956], 33-53, repr. in idem *et al.*, *Studies*, 164-84.)

8. *Lunar visibility*.

Particular attention was paid by Muslim astronomers to the prediction of the visibility of the lunar crescent on the first evening after a conjunction of the Sun and Moon [see ruʾyat al-hilāl]. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, tables were prepared to facilitate such predictions, underlying which were limiting conditions on various functions based on the apparent positions of the Sun and Moon relative to each other and to the local horizon. Numerous such tables, of varying sophistication and complexity, are found in various *zīdj*s. (See, for example, King, *Some early Islamic tables for determining lunar crescent visibility*, in *Kennedy Festschrift*, 185-225, repr. in idem, *Studies*, C-II; and J.P. Hogendijk, *Three Islamic lunar crescent visibility tables*, in *JHA*, xix [1988], 29-44.)

9. *Geographical tables*.

Tables displaying longitudes and latitudes of numerous localities are standard in *zīdj*s. They have been published in various formats, that is, according to locality, source, increasing longitudes and increasing latitudes, by E.S. and M.H. Kennedy, who provided a valuable research tool (*Geographical coordinates of localities from Islamic sources*, Frankfurt am Main 1987) that is currently being extended by M. Comes of Barcelona. These geographical coordinates were included in *zīdj*s in order to facilitate the use of planetary tables for other meridians, for which the longitude difference has to be taken into consideration, and also for computing the *ḳibla*. A minority of tables also display the *ḳibla* for each locality.

10. *Star catalogues*.

In a typical *zīdj* we find a table displaying the ecliptic or equatorial coordinates of selected stars [see nudjūm]. Procedures for coordinate conversion are also described. The star catalogue in the Arabic *Almagest* has been published by P. Kunitzsch (*Claudius Ptolemäus-Der Sternkatalog des Almagest-Die arabisch-mittelalterliche Tradition*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1986-91; see also idem, *Studies*, as well as *Kunitzsch Festschrift*). More research is necessary to establish the relationships between individual star catalogues, not all of which are related in a trivial way to that in the *Almagest*. Thus, for example, the tables in the *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-kawākib, On constellations*, by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī [*q.v.*], and those in the *Zīdj* of Ulugh Beg, are essentially Ptolemaic (see E.B. Knobel, *Ulughbeg's catalogue of stars*, Washington, D.C. 1917; M.Y. Shevchenko, *An analysis of the errors in the star catalogues of Ptolemy and Ulugh Beg*, in *JHA*, xxi [1990], 187-201; K. Krisciunas, *A more complete analysis of the errors in Ulugh Beg's star catalogue*, in *JHA*, xxiv [1993], 269-80). Independent star-tables are found in the *Mumtaḥan Zīdj*, the *Ḥākimī Zīdj*, the *Huihui li* (a Chinese tr. of an independent Islamic *zīdj*), etc.

11. *Tables for mathematical astrology*.

*Zīdj*s usually contain tables useful for astrological purposes [see nudjūm, aḥkām al-] notably, for drawing up a horoscope for a certain moment or for a series of such moments, such as each year in the life of an individual. Given the horoscopus or ascendant, that is, the point of the ecliptic instantaneously rising over the horizon [see ṭāliʿ], one needs to determine the positions of the astrological houses and to assign the Sun, Moon and five naked-eye planets to the appropriate house, and then to investigate the supposed significance of their positions relative to each other. Some *zīdj*s contain tables displaying the ecliptic longitudes of the cusps of the houses as a function of the longitude of the horoscopus, for a fixed latitude. Occasionally we find tables displaying the longitude of the horoscopus as a function of the altitude of the Sun throughout the year or of various fixed stars, also for a fixed latitude. Various tables in *zīdj*s serve the astrological notions of the "projections of the rays" (*maṭāriḥ al-shuʿāʿāt*), the "year transfers" (*taḥāwīl al-sinīn*), the "excess of revolution" (*faḍl al-dawr*), and the duration of gestation (*makth al-mawlūd fī baṭn ummihi*) (see Kennedy and H. Krikorian-Preisler, *The astrological doctrine of projecting the rays*, in *Al-Abhāth*, xxv [1972], 3-15, repr. in Kennedy *et al.*, *Studies*, 372-84; several papers in Kennedy *et al.*, *Studies*, 311-84, and idem, *Studies*, nos. XV-XVIII; idem, *The astrological houses as defined by medieval Islamic astronomers*, in *Vernet Festschrift*, ii, 535-78, repr. in Kennedy, *Studies*, no. XIX; Hogendijk, *The mathematical structure of two Islamic astrological tables for casting the rays*, in *Centaurus*, xxxii [1989], 171-202; idem, *Mathematical astrology in the Islamic tradition* (dealing with houses, rays and progressions), in a forthcoming publication including selected papers given at a conference "New perspectives on science in medieval Islam" held at the Dibner Institute, Cambridge, Mass., 6-8 Nov. 1998; see also below, v. Categories of tables not contained in zīdjs, 12.) We may also find tables of the positions of the elusive, not least because fictitious, astrological body *al-Kayd* [*q.v.*]. Of all the aspects of mediaeval Islamic astronomy, mathematical astrology is the least researched.

12. *Analysis of tables and parameters*.

Already in the early 1960s, Kennedy applied the electronic computer to facilitate the analysis of medi-

aeval tables, an activity that was continued by some of his students and independently by R. Mercier. A third generation of younger researchers is currently active: statistical techniques have been applied to individual tables and groups of tables, notably by B. van Dalen and G. Van Brummelen. The former scholar has reactivated a file of over 2,000 parameters found in *zīdj*s which was started by Kennedy. (See Kennedy, *The digital computer and the history of the exact sciences*, in *Centaurus*, xii [1968], 107-13, repr. in idem *et al.*, *Studies*, 385-91; van Dalen, *Ancient and mediaeval astronomical tables: mathematical structure and parameter values*, Utrecht 1992; idem, *A statistical method for recovering unknown parameters from medieval astronomical tables*, in *Centaurus*, xxxii [1989], 85-145; G. Van Brummelen, A *survey of the mathematical tables in Ptolemy's* Almagest, in A. von Gotstedter (ed.), *Ad radices*..., Stuttgart 1994, 155-70; and Mielgo, *A method of analysis for mean motion astronomical tables*, in *Vernet Festschrift*, i, 159-80.)

v. Categories of tables not contained in *zīdj*s

The varieties of tables mentioned here rarely occur in *zīdj*s, sometimes because the individual tables were even more voluminous than a typical *zīdj*, occasionally because they are more suited to inclusion in treatises on instruments, or simply because they formed part of a corpus of tables for time-keeping for a specific latitude.

1. *Sexagesimal multiplication tables.*

These are tables of sexagesimal products m × n (m, n: 1, 2,..., 60) and they are common in the manuscript sources (*al-djadwal al-sittīnī*); they invariably contain some 3,600 entries. Less common were larger tables for m = 0;1, 0;2,... 59;59 and n = 1, 2,..., 60 containing some 216,000 entries (aptly called *al-djadwal al-sittīnī al-kabīr*). These were of use in the extensive sexagesimal calculations involved in working with a *zīdj*. (See further King, *On medieval Islamic multiplication tables*, in *HistMath*, i [1974], 317-323, and idem, *Supplementary notes*..., in *ibid.*, vi [1979], 405/17, repr. in idem, *Studies*, A-XIV and XV.)

2. *Trigonometric tables.*

In Mamlūk Egypt, the sine and cotangent functions for each minute of argument were tabulated separately. Such tables, to greater accuracy, were found in the *Sulṭānī Zīdj* of Ulugh Beg (see above), and these were also copied separately.

3. *Ephemerides.*

Ephemerides displaying positions of the Sun, Moon and five planets for each day of a given year were compiled already in Baghdad in the 3rd/9th century and the production continued in various centres until the 13th/19th century. [For details, see takwīm.]

4. *Auxiliary tables for compiling ephemerides.*

Since the motions of the Sun, Moon and planets are cyclical, a given set of tables defining one complete cycle can be used to calculate positions by simply plugging into the table at the right place for beginning of a given year: the positions for the entire year can then be derived with facility. This was recognised already in Antiquity, and some Islamic tables reflect this, for example, the tables of Ibn al-Zarḳālluh and Zakut, which could be used to calculate individual positions. Two other sets of such auxiliary tables specifically for generating ephemerides are known, but there are surely more: an anonymous set for the Sun and Moon, compiled in Persia at the end of the 5th/11th century, and tables for the Sun and Moon compiled by Ibn al-Madjdī in Cairo in the 9th/15th century, with tables for the planets contributed by various later Egyptian astronomers (see Kennedy, *A set of medieval tables for quick calculation of solar and lunar ephemerides*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix [1967], 327-34, repr. in idem *et al.*, *Studies*, 114-21; and idem and King, *Ibn al-Majdī's tables for calculating ephemerides*, in *JHAS*, iv [1980], 48-68, repr. in King, *Studies*, A-VI).

5. *Tables for determining lunar crescent visibility.*

In addition to the tables in *zīdj*s, we also find occasional sets of calculations for visibility over a series of months, or lists of minimum apparent distances between the Sun and Moon to assure visibility, with values given to the nearest degree for each zodiacal sign [see ru'yat al-hilāl].

6. *Double-argument planetary equation tables.*

In the case of the extensive lunar equation tables attributed to Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*], these are not presented in a *zīdj*, although the unique manuscript is labelled as such (see King, *A Double argument table for the lunar equation attributed to Ibn Yūnus*, in *Centaurus*, xviii [1974], 129-46, repr. in idem, *Studies*, A-V). Numerous later sets from Egypt to India were likewise copied separately.

7. *Auxiliary tables for solving spherical astronomical problems for all latitudes.*

Muslim astronomers compiled several sets of tables of trigonometric functions with no specific significance but so conceived that ordered applications of them could lead to the solution of problems of spherical astronomy (see already above, iv. The Contents of *zīdj*s, 4). Their progress in mathematical methods is well reflected in these tables, of which over a dozen sets are known (these are surveyed in King, *SATMI*, i-9). The four most significant examples are the following: the *Djadwal al-taḳwīm* of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib (Baghdād and Sāmarrā, 3rd/9th century) with five functions and 450 entries, found in his *Dimashḳī Zīdj* and also in the *Muṣtalaḥ Zīdj* (see Irani, *The* Jadwal al-taqwīm of *Habash al-Hāsib*, M.Sc. thesis, American University of Beirut 1956, unpubl.); the *Djadwal al-daḳā'iḳ* of Abū Naṣr b. ʿIrāḳ (Gurgān, *ca.* 400/1000) with five functions and 225 entries (analysed in C. Jensen, *Abū Naṣr's approach to spherical astronomy as developed in his treatise* The table of minutes, in *Centaurus*, xvi [1971], 1-19); the *Djadāwil al-dā'ir al-āfāḳī* of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Miṣrī (Cairo, *ca.* 700/1300), serving both as a table for finding the time of day or night from the altitude of the Sun or any non-circumpolar star and also as a universal auxiliary table, with a single main function for three independent arguments and a grand total of *ca.* 420,000 entries (see now F. Charette, *A monumental medieval table for solving the problems of spherical astronomy for all latitudes*, in *AIHS*, xlviii [1998], 11-64); and *al-Djadwal al-āfāḳī* of Shams al-Dīn al-Khalīlī (Damascus, *ca.* 760/1360) (see the art. on him in *DSB*, Suppl.) with three main functions and *ca.* 14,000 entries (see King, *Al-Khalīlī's auxiliary tables for solving problems of spherical astronomy*, in *JHA*, iv [1973], 99-110, repr. in idem, *Studies*, A-XI; also Van Brummelen, *The numerical structure of al-Khalīlī's auxiliary tables*, in *Physis*, xxviii [1991], 667-97). These tables are part of a tradition in Islamic astronomy of devising solutions to problems of spherical astronomy for all latitudes (see King, *Universal solutions in Islamic astronomy* (publ. 1987), and idem, *Universal solutions to problems of spherical astronomy from Mamluk Egypt and Syria* (publ. 1988), repr. in idem, *Studies*, C-VI and VII, and again in idem, *SATMI*, vi; see also idem, *World-maps*, chs. 2-4 and 9).

8. *Tables for time-keeping by the Sun and stars.*

Extensive corpora of tables of the hour-angle (*faḍl al-dā'ir*) and the time since rising (*al-dā'ir*), as well as the azimuth (*al-samt*), for specific latitudes were compiled [see mīḳāt]. All such tables are analysed in King, *SATMI*, i.

9. *Tables for regulating the times of Muslim prayer.*

The first tables for regulating the times of prayer [see MĪḲĀT; AL-SHAFAḲ] were compiled in the 3rd/9th century. All such tables are analysed in King, *SATMI*, ii.

10. *Tables for finding the* ḳibla.

Between the 3rd/9th and 8th/14th centuries, Muslim astronomers compiled various tables displaying the *ḳibla*, measured from the local meridian, as a function of longitude difference and latitude difference from Mecca [see ḲIBLA].

11. *Tables for constructing astrolabes and sundials.*

A series of Muslim astronomers addressed the problem of the calculation of the size and position of the various markings on astrolabes and sundials in trigonometric terms, as well as using the better-known methods of geometric construction [see ASṬURLĀB; MIZWALA, and also King, *Islamic astronomical tables*, 51-5].

12. *Astrological tables.*

There are all manner of astrological tables to be found in works other than *zīdj*s (Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 22-5, lists some important sources, mainly unstudied).

vi. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The scope of the *zīdj* literature and Islamic astronomical tables in general is a clear indication of the interest of Muslim scholars in astronomy for over a millennium. It is an accident of Islamic history that a few of these *zīdj*s became known in mediaeval Europe and that this spawned an interest there too. Alone the computational accuracy of the vast majority of the tables in the *zīdj*s is a clear sign of the competence of their compilers. Their errors, if they are original and not due to copyists, can provide useful clues to the way in which the tables were calculated. But the accompanying texts also merit our attention, and sometimes the tables cannot be understood without them. The study of Islamic mathematical astronomy is progressing slowly but constantly, and the reader should understand that this brief overview is intended to encourage the reader to consult Kennedy's *Zīj survey* and the many writings it has already inspired and will continue to inspire in the future.

Bibliography: The following abbreviations are used for various journals not listed in the *Abbreviations for periodicals*, etc.: *AHES: Archive for History of Exact Science; AIHS: Archives internationales d'Histoire des Sciences; ASP: Arabic Science and Philosophy; Centaurus: Centaurus—International Magazine of the History of Mathematics, Science, and Technology; HistMath: Historia Mathematica; HistSci: Historia Scientiarum* (Brussels); *HS: History of Science* (Cambridge); *IJHS: Indian Journal for History of Science; Isis: Isis—An International Review Devoted to the History of Science and its Cultural Influences; JHA: Journal for the History of Astronomy; JHAS: Journal for the History of Arabic Science* (Aleppo); *Physis: Physis—Rivista internazionale di storia della scienza; Suhayl: Suhayl—Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilisation* (Barcelona).

References to publications on individual tables as well as specific classes of tables are given in the text. This article is condensed from a more extensive overview in *Suhayl* (see below), ii (2001). The main study of *zīdj*s is E.S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. Amer. Philosophical Soc.* N.S., xlii 2 (1956), 123-77, repr. n.d. [*ca.* 1990], with separate pagination. See also J. Samsó, *Calendarios populares y tablas astronómicas*, in *Historia de la Ciencia Arabe*, Madrid 1981, 127-62. On categories of tables not contained in *zīdj*s, see D.A. King, *On the astronomical tables of the Islamic Middle Ages*, in *Studia Copernicana*, xiii (1975), 37-56, repr. in idem, *Studies* (see below), A-I (with addenda). A work still of prime importance is A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam* (Publs. of the Turkish Historical Soc., Series VII, No. 38), Ankara 1960, repr. New York 1981. Much of the most recent research on Islamic mathematical astronomy and astrology is collected in the *Kennedy Festschrift* and *Vernet Festschrift* (see below). On the mediaeval astronomers there are occasionally articles in this *Encyclopaedia* or in *DSB: Dictionary of scientific biography*, 14 vols. and 2 suppl. vols., New York 1970-80.

Several of the studies listed in this article are reprinted in various volumes to which references are abbreviated as follows: Goldstein, *Studies*: B.R. Goldstein, *Theory and observation in ancient and medieval astronomy*, Variorum, London 1985; Kennedy *et al.*, *Studies*: E.S. Kennedy, Colleagues and Former Students, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, ed. M.H. Kennedy and D.A. King, Beirut 1983; Kennedy, *Studies*: E.S. Kennedy, *Astronomy and astrology in the medieval Islamic world*, Ashgate-Variorum, Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt. 1998; King, *Studies*, A-C: D.A. King, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*, Variorum, London 1986, 2nd rev. ed., Variorum, Aldershot 1993 (A); *Islamic astronomical instruments*, Variorum, London 1987, repr. Variorum, Aldershot 1995 (B); and *Astronomy in the service of Islam*, Variorum, Aldershot 1993 (C); Kunitzsch, *Studies*: P. Kunitzsch, *The Arabs and the stars*, Variorum, Northampton 1989; Langermann, *Studies*: Y.T. Langermann, *The Jews and the sciences in the Middle Ages*, Variorum, Aldershot 1999; Lorch, *Studies*: R.P. Lorch, *Arabic mathematical sciences. Instruments, texts, transmission.* Variorum, Aldershot 1995; Millás Vallicrosa, *Estudios*, A-B: J.-M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Estudios*, and *Nuevos estudios sobre historia de la ciencia española* (first publ. Barcelona 1949 and 1960, respectively), repr. together in 2 vols., Madrid 1987; Nallino, *Scritti*, v: C.A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, v, *Astrologia—Astronomia—Geografia*, ed. M. Nallino, Rome 1944; Saliba, *Studies*: G. Saliba, *A history of Arabic astronomy. Planetary theories during the Golden Age of Islam*, New York and London 1994; Samsó, *Studies*: J. Samsó, *Islamic astronomy and medieval Spain*, Variorum, Aldershot 1994; Schoy, *Beiträge*: F. Sezgin *et al.* (eds.), *Carl Schoy. Beiträge zur arabisch-islamischen Mathematik und Astronomie*, 2 vols., Frankfurt 1988; Suter, *Beiträge*: F. Sezgin (ed.), *Heinrich Suter. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mathematik und Astronomie im Islam*, 2 vols., Frankfurt 1986; Vernet, *Estudios*, A-B: J. Vernet, *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia medieval*, Barcelona-Bellaterra 1979, and idem, *De 'Abd al-Raḥmān I a Isabel II, recopilación de estudios dispersos*, Barcelona 1989; Vernet (ed.), *Estudios*, A-B: idem (ed.), *Textos y estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo XIII*, and *Nuevos estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo de Alfonso X*, Barcelona 1981, 1983. Also important for the study of transmission of Islamic tables to Byzantium and Europe are Tihon, *Studies*: A. Tihon, *Études d'astronomie byzantine*, Variorum, Aldershot 1994, and Poulle, *Studies*: E. Poulle, *Astronomie planétaire au Moyen Âge latin*, Variorum, Aldershot 1996. Other studies are published in collected works, such as *Kennedy Festschrift*: D.A. King and G. Saliba (eds.), *From deferent to equant. A volume of studies in the history of science in the ancient and medieval Near East in honor of E.S. Kennedy*, in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, d [= 500] (1987); *North Festschrift*: A. Vanderjagt and L.L. Nanta (eds.), *Between demonstration and imagination. Essays in the history of science and philosophy presented to John D. North*, Leiden 1999;

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On various individual *zīdj*s of prime importance, see the following. On the *Zīdj* of al-Kh^w^ārazmī, see H. Suter *et al.* (eds.), *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muhammed ibn Musa al-Khwārizmī*, in *Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Skrifter*, 7. R., *Hist. og filos. Afd.*, 3/1 (1914), providing an edition of the Latin text; O. Neugebauer, *The astronomical tables of al-Khwārizmī*, in *ibid.*, 4/2 (1962), with Eng. tr. of the text and a commentary; Goldstein, *Ibn al-Muthannā's commentary on the astronomical tables of al-Khwārizmī*, New Haven 1967. In B. van Dalen, *Al-Khwārizmī's tables revisited. Analysis of the equation of time*, in *Vernet Festschrift*, i, 195-252, the various tables are sorted according to their Baghdādī or Andalusī origin. On the *Dimashkī Zīdj* of Ḥabash, see M.Th. Debarnot, *The Zīj of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib. A survey of MS Istanbul Yeni Cami 784/2*, in *Kennedy Festschrift*, 35-69. On the *Zīdj* of al-Battānī, see C.A. Nallino (ed., tr. and comm.), *al-Battānī sive Albatenii opus astronomicum*, 3 pts., Milan 1899-1907, repr. in one vol. Hildesheim and New York 1977, pts. I-II repr. Frankfurt 1969, pt. III (Ar. text) repr. Baghdād n.d. [*ca.* 1960]. On the *Ḥākimī Zīdj* of Ibn Yūnus, see A.P. Caussin de Perceval, *Le livre de la grande table Hakémite observée par le Sheikh ... ebn Iounis ...*, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 7 (An XII: 1804), 16-240 (separatum paginated 1-224); King, *The astronomical works of Ibn Yūnus*, dissertation, Yale Univ. 1972, available through University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. The *Zīdj* of Bīrūnī is available as al-Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, 3 vols., Ḥaydarābād 1954-6, publ. without the critical apparatus of the editor, M. Krause; see also the table of contents with commentary by Kennedy, *Al-Bīrūnī's Masudic Canon*, in *Al-Abhāth*, xxiv (1971), 59-81, repr. in idem *et al.*, *Studies*, 573-95. A Byzantine recension of one *zīdj* of al-Fahhād is published in Pingree, *The astronomical works of Gregory Chioniades*, i, *The Zīj al-ʿAlāʾī*, Amsterdam 1985-6. On the *Zīdj* of Ibn Isḥāḳ, see A. Mestres, *Maghribi astronomy in the 13th century. A description of manuscript Hyderabad Andra Pradesh State Library 298*, in *Vernet Festschrift*, i, 383-443; idem, *Materials andalusins en el Zīj d'Ibn Isḥāq al-Tūnisī* (ed. text and tables, with introd. and comm. in Eng.), diss., University of Barcelona 2000. On the *Zīdj* of Kāshī, see various studies by Kennedy, including *Spherical astronomy in Kāshī's* Khāqānī Zīj, in *ZGAIW*, ii (1985), 1-46, repr. in idem, *Studies*, no. VII; idem, *On the contents and significance of the* Khāqānī Zīj *by Jamshīd Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī* (*Islamic Mathematics and Astronomy*, lxxxiv), Frankfurt 1998. On the *Sulṭānī Zīdj* of Ulugh Beg, see Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oloug-Beg. Traduction et commentaire*, 2 vols., Paris 1847-53, for the text and the chronological tables. (D.A. King and J. Samsó)

ZIḤĀF (A.), refers in Arabic metrics to the optional reduction of a long to a short syllable (CVC → CV; or CV̄ → CV) or of two short syllables to one (CVCV → CVC; CVCV → CV̄; or CVCV → CV).

The alternation between two short syllables in one line and one syllable in another occurs in *wāfir*, *kāmil* and *mutadārik*; in the other metres the choice is between one long and one short syllable. Per line of verse, there usually are between four to six anceps positions that allow *ziḥāf* reductions.

In indigenous Arabic metrical theory or *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*], *ziḥāf* is presented as a deviation from the standard foot or *djuzʾ*, and, more particularly, from that part of the foot which is designated as *sabab* [*q.v.*]. Corresponding to the two types of reduction mentioned above, two types of *sabab* are distinguished: the *sabab khafīf*, defined as a moving letter + a quiescent letter (i.e. a consonant with a short vowel followed by a vowelless consonant: CVC), the second of which is elided in the case of *ziḥāf*, and the *sabab thaḳīl* or two moving letters (CVCV), the second of which becomes vowelless or is elided. Any such change thus concerns the second letter of the *sabab*, as is stated in the definition of *ziḥāf* as "a non-obligatory change, specific to the second letters of *sababs*" (*taghyīr mukhtaṣṣ bi-thawānī 'l-asbāb muṭlaḳ^an^ bi-lā luzūm*, al-Damanhūrī, 40).

Ziḥāf provides Arabic verse with versatility: four anceps positions will spawn 16 metrical variants, six as many as 64. It therefore contrasts with *ʿilla* [*q.v.*], the other change phenomenon of Arabic theory, which, being obligatory in all lines of the composition, provides rigidity rather than variation and is only a change insofar as it represents a departure from the idealised circle metre or *baḥr* [see ʿARŪḌ].

Arabic theory has special names for cases of *ziḥāf* where the second, fourth, fifth or seventh vowelless letter of the foot is elided (respectively *khabn*, *ṭayy*, *ḳabḍ* and *kaff*); cases where the second or fifth vowelled letter is elided (*waḳṣ* and *ʿaḳl*, respectively); and cases where the second or the fifth vowelled letter of the foot is rendered vowelless (*iḍmār* and *ʿaṣb*, respectively). E.g. in the foot *mustafʿilun* (– – ⏑ –) the variant ⏑ – ⏑ – is a case of *khabn* and – ⏑ ⏑ – a case of *ṭayy*; in *faʿūlun* (⏑ – –) the variant ⏑ – ⏑ is a case of *ḳabḍ*; in *mutafāʿilun* (⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –) the variant – – ⏑ – is a case of *iḍmār*.

A distinction is also made between single (*mufrad*) and double (*muzdawidj*) *ziḥāf* (respectively one or two cases of *ziḥāf* per foot). The four types of double *ziḥāf* are called: *khabl* (combines *khabn* and *ṭayy*); *khazl* (*iḍmār* + *ṭayy*); *shakl* (*khabn* + *kaff*); and *naḳṣ* (*ʿaṣb* + *kaff*). E.g. the foot *fāʿilātun* (– ⏑ – –) with *shakl* becomes ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑. Many of these *ziḥāfāt* are rare in practice and some do occasionally occur in ancient, but not in later poetry.

Arabic metrical theory discusses three aesthetic categories of *ziḥāf*: good (*ḥasan*), acceptable (*ṣāliḥ*) and bad (*ḳabīḥ*). In *ṭawīl*, e.g., the reduction of the long third or tenth syllable counts as "good" (it belongs to the system and is found in any poem in this metre); the reduction of the long sixth syllable of either hemistich, which is seldom found in later poetry, counts as "acceptable". The rare case of the reduction of the seventh syllable of the second hemistich in *Mufaḍḍaliyya*, 47 l. 2 (verse by Muraḳḳish) is "bad".

In Persian prosody, where Arabic metrical concepts are forced upon an essentially different type of metre, *ziḥāf* occurs as a technical term, but its function is different: it is not an element of variation within the same poem, but is used to distinguish one metre from the other, rather like *ʿilla*.

Bibliography: G.W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 77-114; M. Ben Cheneb, *Traité de métrique arabe* (= *Tuḥfat al-adab fī*

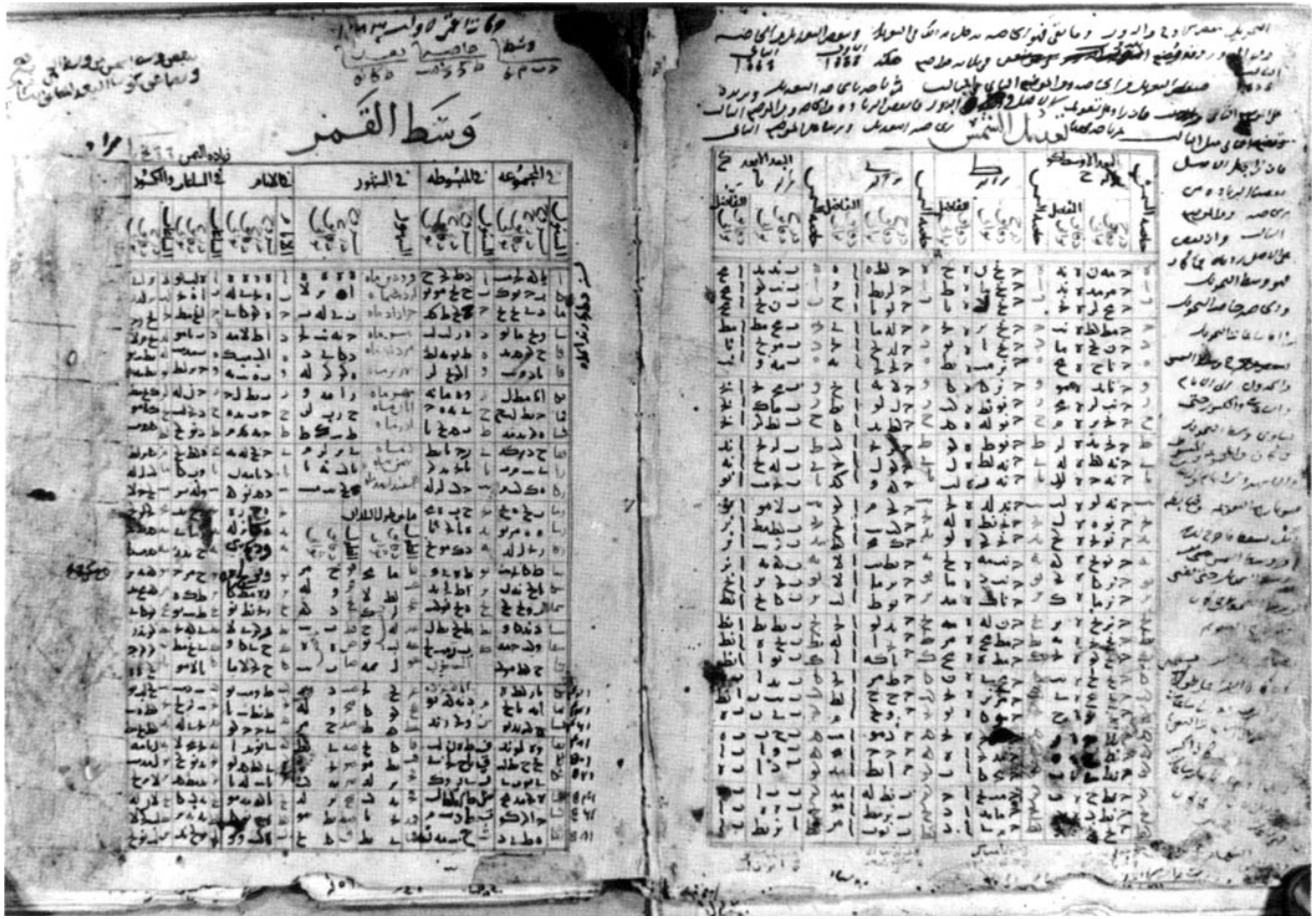

An extract from the solar and lunar tables in a Yemeni copy from *ca.* 650/1250 of the *Zīdj* of Kūshyār Ibn Labbān, compiled in Iran *ca.* 400/1000. (From ms. Cairo DM 400, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

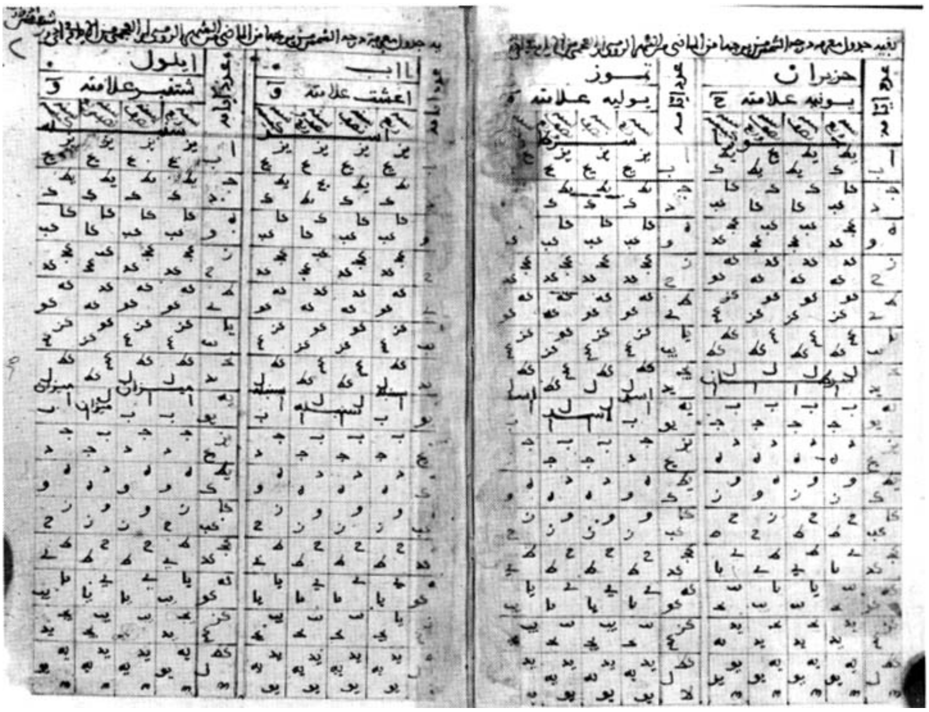

An extract from a set of Tunisian tables, copied *ca.* 1600, of the kind known in mediaeval scientific Arabic as *s̲h̲abaka*, which enable the user to determine the solar longitude at any date. (From ms. Cairo DM 689, fol. 1v, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

Solar tables in the astronomical handbook of the early 7th/13th-century Coptic scholar al-As'ad b. al-'Assāl, copied *ca.* 1200/1800. The entries are written partly in Arabic alphanumerical notation and partly in the cumbersome Coptic numerical notation. (From ms. Cairo DM 910,1, copied *ca.* 1800, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

The tables of a *zīdj* engraved on an astrolabe. This is the sole surviving example of an instrument known as *Zīdj al-ṣafā'iḥ*, "The astronomical handbook on the plates of an astrolabe", devised by the mid-4th/10th-century Khurasānī astronomer Abū Dja'far al-Khāzin, and constructed by Badī' al-Zamān Hibat Allāh in Baghdād in 514/1120-1. (Photo provided in the 1970s by the late Alain Brieux, Paris.)

Lists of festivals in the calendars of the Magians and the Christians, as well as the dates of the heliacal risings of various bright stars and lunar mansions in the Christian (Syrian) calendar. (From ms. Berlin Ahlwardt 5751, pp. 194-5, courtesy of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Preußischer Kulturbesitz).)

Part of the star-catalogue from the *Ḥākimī Zīdj* of Ibn Yūnus, giving the ecliptic coordinates (*ṭūl* and *ʿarḍ*, longitude and latitude) for some 58 stars calculated for 400 Yazdigird [= A.D. 1032]. (From ms. Cairo MM 188,2, fol. 81v, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

An extract from the geographical tables of the 8th/14th-century Damascus astronomer Ibn al-Shāṭir, from a copy of an Egyptian recension of his *Zīdj* for Cairo by the 9th/15th-century astronomer al-Kawm al-Rīshī. (From ms. Cairo DM 637,1, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

An extract from an early-12th/18th-century ʿIrāḳī recension of some anonymous 9th/15th-century geographical tables displaying longitudes, latitudes, *kiblas* and distances to Mecca of some 275 localities. (From ms. London B.L. add. 7489, fol. 58v, courtesy of The British Library.)

A table from a Mamlūk Egyptian manuscript showing a table for calculating the length of life of an individual from the longitude of the ascendant at his birth. The table was compiled by the late-2nd-century Hellenistic astrologer Vettius Valens. (From ms. Cairo DM 1108,4b, fol. 20v, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

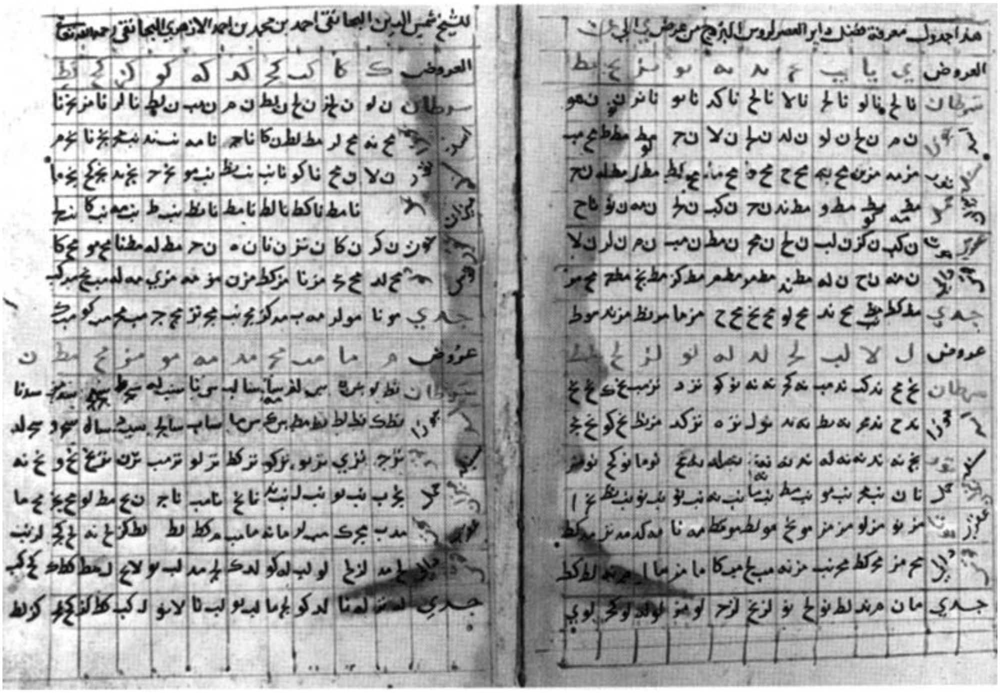

Parts of a table displaying the hour-angle at the beginning of the *ʿaṣr* prayer for each zodiacal sign of solar longitude and each degree of terrestrial latitude from 10° to 50°. (From ms. Cairo MM 33,2, fols. 6v-7r, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

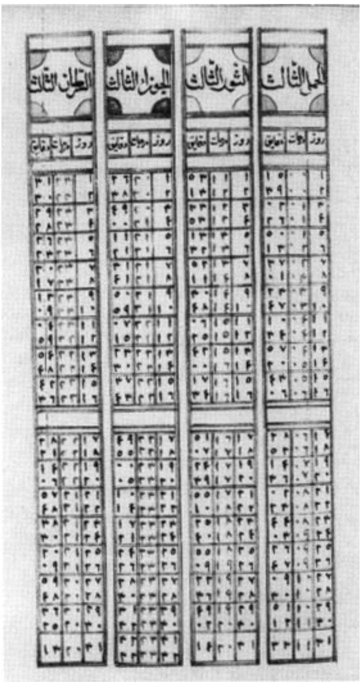

An extract from some tables in an Ottoman navigational compendium copied in 1276/1859. The precise purpose of the tables has not been determined. (From ms. Cairo DM 570, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

An extract from a sexagesimal multiplication table displaying the products of the numbers m × n, where m and n are integers from 1 to 59. (From ms Cairo Zakiyya 740, fol. 1v, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

An extract from a set of sine tables attributed to the late-4th/10th-century Egyptian astronomer Ibn Yūnus. (From ms. Berlin Ahlwardt 5752, fol. 13v, courtesy of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Preußischer Kulturbesitz).)

An extract from the sine tables in the *Zīdj-i Sulṭānī* of Ulugh Beg completed in 842/1438-9. (From an unidentified manuscript in Cairo, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

mīzān as͟hʿār al-ʿarab, ³Paris 1954, 8-20; Muḥammad al-Damanhūrī, *al-Irs͟hād al-s͟hāfī*, ²Cairo 1957, 38-60; L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres*, Cambridge 1976 (contains a full account of all *ziḥāf* forms in Arabic and Persian); W. Stoetzer, *Theory and practice in Arabic metrics*, Leiden 1989 (contains *inter alia* a short Arabic text on the aesthetic divisions of *ziḥāf*). A list of *ziḥāfāt* described as a set of erasure rules is given in G. Bohas, J.-P. Guillaume and D.E. Kouloughli, *The Arabic linguistic tradition*, London and New York 1990, 145-8.

(W. Stoetzer)

ZIMĀM (a., pl. *azimma*), lit. "rein, halter", refers to a department of the central administration in the mediaeval caliphate and then comes to refer in Fāṭimid times to a person in control, one holding the reins of power.

The *dīwān al-azimma*, an office of control and audit, is traditionally said to have been founded by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī in 162/778-9 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 522), when it seems that the task of overseeing and controlling all the *dīwān*s of the administration was too much for a single hand. H.F. Amedroz suggested that every *dīwān* came to have a *zimām* attached to it by way of control but that all the *azimma* might be held by one man, who had a general function of control over all the *dīwān*s (*Abbasid administration in decay, from the Tajarib al-Umam*, in *JRAS* [Oct. 1913], 829-32). M.G. Morony has, however, noted the existence of a department concerned with the registration of documents, headed by a *ṣāḥib al-zimām* (in the tradition of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ and al-Madāʾinī), in much earlier times and going back to the Sāsānids of Persia (*Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 66-7).

Under the Fāṭimids, the term had a wide range of meanings, including director of the treasury and major domo. It appears also in military and naval contexts, meaning "officer, commander", alongside such terms as *ʿarīf, raʾīs, muḳaddam* and *mutawallī*, but it must be pointed out that the structure of command in the Fāṭimid armed forces and navy is vague.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): See the sources mentioned in D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 112-14; Paula Sanders, *Ritual, politics, and the city in Fāṭimid Cairo*, New York 1994, index s.v. *zimām*.

(Ed.)

ZINĀ or **ZINĀʾ** (a.), unlawful sexual intercourse, i.e. intercourse between a man and a woman who are not married to one another nor in a state of lawful concubinage based on ownership (the relationship between the owner and his female slave). The Ḳurʾān disapproved of the promiscuity prevailing at that time in Arabia and forbade e.g. the prostitution of slave girls by their masters (XXIV, 33). Several verses refer to unlawful sexual intercourse. Some of these mention that it is a sin (*fāḥis͟ha*) and that it will be punished in the Hereafter (XVII, 32, XXV, 68-9). Most verses, however, deal with the legal aspects. Making *zinā* a punishable offence was a means to enforce the uniform system of marriage introduced by Muḥammad. IV, 15-16 lay down that both parties to it must be punished and required four witnesses for proving the offence. The punishment mentioned in IV, 15 for women committing *zinā*, viz. detention in their homes, is commonly regarded as abrogated by XXIV, 2, which verse stipulates that fornicators must be punished with one hundred lashes. XXIV, 3 ("The male fornicator (*zānī*) shall only marry a female fornicator or a polytheist and the female fornicator (*zāniya*) shall only be married to a male fornicator or polytheist") was regarded as problematical by later commentators. They generally hold that the verse has been abrogated by later verses.

The Ḳurʾān does not mention the punishment of stoning for *zinā*. The enforcement of this penalty is based on the *sunna*. Nearly all *ḥadīt͟h* collections include three *ḥadīt͟h*s that are central in the legal arguments about the punishment for *zinā*: one to the effect that the Prophet has enforced this punishment in a case of unlawful intercourse among Jews on the basis of the Torah (cf. V, 43-4); a second one, transmitted by Abū Hurayra and Zayd b. K͟hālid al-D͟juhanī relating that the Prophet, in a case of intercourse between a young man and a married woman, sentenced the woman to stoning and the young man to flogging and banishment for a year; and a third one in which ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb asserts that there was a revelation (*āyat al-rad͟jm*) to the effect that those who are *muḥṣan* [*q.v.*] and have unlawful intercourse are to be punished with stoning, but that this verse was left out in the final version of the Ḳurʾānic text, cf. Ibn Ḥad͟jar, *Bulūg͟h al-marām*, nos. 1230, 1232, 1236. The *ḥadīt͟h* related by Abū Hurayra and Zayd b. K͟hālid al-D͟juhanī has been the basis of the *fiḳh* doctrine, as we shall see. The jurists have argued that this *ḥadīt͟h* has specified the meaning of XXIV, 2 (or, according to some, even abrogated it). J. Burton has plausibly argued that the story about the verse of stoning was put into circulation by S͟hāfiʿī scholars who did not accept that a *sunna* can abrogate a Ḳurʾānic revelation and were forced to find a source with higher authority for the lawfulness of stoning for fornication (Burton, *Origin*).

All Sunnī schools of jurisprudence agree that *zinā* is to be punished with stoning if the offender is *muḥṣan*, i.e. adult, free, Muslim (except in S͟hāfiʿī law, where a *d͟himmī* can also be *muḥṣan*) and having previously enjoyed legitimate sexual relations in matrimony (regardless of whether the marriage still exists). The Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs require that both partners in the act be *muḥṣan* for stoning to be applied. Persons who are not *muḥṣan* are punished with one hundred lashes if they are free and with fifty lashes if they are slaves (cf. IV, 25), followed, according to all schools except the Ḥanafīs, with banishment for the period of one year (six months for slaves). The offenders must have acted out of their free will; a woman who has been raped (*mustakraha*) cannot be punished with the *ḥadd* penalty.

About homosexual intercourse, *liwāṭ* [*q.v.*], there is difference of opinion. The S͟hāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs regard it as *zinā*. If the act has been testified to by four male eyewitnesses, the active partner, if he is *muḥṣan*, is to be punished with stoning, the passive partner with flogging and banishment. The Mālikīs do not require *iḥṣān* for the imposition of stoning. According to the Ḥanafīs, homosexual intercourse can only be punished on the strength of *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*].

S͟hīʿī doctrine on *zinā* is somewhat different. Here *zinā*, in addition to heterosexual intercourse, includes a great variety of sexual behaviour: buggery, both with men and women, lesbian intercourse and petting. Furthermore, S͟hīʿī legal doctrine defines *muḥṣan* as an adult, free Muslim who is in a position lawfully to have sexual intercourse and whose partner is actually available and not e.g. imprisoned or absent on a journey. The punishments are the same as in Sunnī Islam. However, a non-*muḥṣan* can be sentenced to death if there are aggravating circumstances such as incest (intercourse between close relatives), rape or intercourse between a non-Muslim man with a Muslim

woman. Homosexual intercourse with penetration (*īḳāb*) is, according to the Shīʿī doctrine, to be punished with death by way of *ḥadd* punishment, whereby the *ḳāḍī* has the choice between execution with a sword, by stoning, by throwing the offender from a [high] wall or by burning him. If there has been no penetration, and in cases of sexual activity between women (*musāḥaḳa* [see SIḤĀḲ]), the *ḥadd* punishment is one hundred lashes.

Minimal proof for *zinā* is the testimony of four male eyewitnesses. The Shīʿīs, however, also admit the testimony of women, if there is at least one male witness, testifying together with six women. All witnesses must have seen the act in its most intimate details, i.e. the penetration (like "a stick disappearing in a kohl container (*mukḥula*)," as the *fiḳh* books specify). If their testimonies do not satisfy the requirements, they can be sentenced to eighty lashes for unfounded accusation of fornication (*ḳadhf* [*q.v.*]). If the accused admits the offence, the confession must be repeated four times according to the Ḥanafīs, the Ḥanbalīs and the Shīʿīs. Circumstantial evidence is not admitted, with one exception: under Mālikī law, pregnancy of an unmarried woman is regarded as evidence of fornication. However, even if the act has been proved, punishment can be averted by *shubha* [*q.v.*], viz. uncertainty about the unlawfulness of the proven act, due to circumstances that confer to it a semblance of legality, such as intercourse between two parties to a marriage that is null and void, between the master and a female slave of whom he is a co-owner or whom he has acquired on the strength of an invalid purchase, or between a blind man and a woman whom he takes for his wife or female slave.

In Saudi Arabia and in those countries where Islamic criminal codes have been introduced, *zinā* is a criminal offence to be punished according to the prescriptions of the *fiḳh* (Libya, Law 70 of 1973 on the introduction of the *ḥadd* punishment for *zinā*, which actually does not impose stoning but only flogging; Pakistan, Offence of Zina (Enforcement of Hudood) Ordinance, 1979; Penal Code of Sudan, 1991, arts. 146-52; Criminal Code of Iran, 1991, arts. 63-134; Penal Code of Yemen, 1994, arts. 163-281). According to reports of human rights organisations, the punishment of stoning has recently only been enforced in Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, Beirut 1993, viii, 157-212; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid wa-nihāyat al-muḳtaṣid*, Cairo 1960, ii, 433-40; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Bulūgh al-marām fī adillat al-aḥkām*, ²Riyāḍ 1997; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazīrī, *Kitāb al-Fiḳh ʿalā ʾl-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, v, *al-ʿUḳūbāt al-sharʿiyya*, Cairo n.d., 41-138; A. Bouhdiba, *La sexualité en islam*, Paris 1975; J. Burton, *The origin of the Islamic penalty for adultery*, in *Trans. Glasgow University Oriental Society*, xxvi (1978), 16-26; U. Rubin, "*Al-walad li-l-firāsh*". *On the Islamic campaign against zinā*, in *SI*, viii (1993), 5-26; R. Peters, *The Islamization of criminal law. A comparative analysis*, in *WI*, xxxiv (1994), 246-74. (R. PETERS)

ZINDĪḲ.

1. *The word.*

Zindīḳ, pl. *zanādiḳa*, abstract/collective noun *zandaḳa*, is an Arabic word borrowed (at least in the first instance) from Persian, and used in the narrow and precise meaning "Manichaean" (synonym: *Mānawī*, or the quasi-Aramaic *Manānī*), but also loosely for "heretic, renegade, unbeliever", in effect as a synonym for *mulḥid*, *murtadd* or *kāfir*. The earliest attestation of the word, in any language, is in the Middle Persian inscription of the Zoroastrian high priest Kirdīr on the so-called Kaʿba-yi Zardusht, from the end of the 3rd century A.D. (precisely at the time when the Sāsānid state was busy combating Manichaeism), which boasts of the author's success in suppressing various foreign religions and their followers, among them Jews, Buddhists, Brahmanists, Christians and *zndyḳ* (see Ph. Gignoux, *Les quatre inscriptions du mage Kirdīr*, Paris 1991, 60). Then, in the 5th century, the Armenian Christian author Eznik, in his polemics against Manichaeism, uses the word *zandik* to designate the followers of that religion, and it is applied in the same way by the Armenian historian Ełishe (whose date is the subject of controversy). Similarly, in Zoroastrian religious books in Middle Persian there are a fair number of passages where *zandīk* is used unambiguously in the sense "Manichaean" (collected in de Menasce). But also in Arabic, *zindīḳ* is quite commonly used for "Manichaean", that is, as the name for the follower of a specific religion; the usage as a vague term for Muslim or non-Muslim "heretics" is clearly secondary, though widespread. Muslim law denies Manichaeans the status of *ahl al-dhimma*, putting them in the same legal position as renegades from Islam, and it is evidently for this reason that the words *zindīḳ* and *mulḥid* became interchangeable. A parallel for this semantic development is the German word *Ketzer*, originally a deformation of the self-designation of the dualist Christian sect of the *Cathari* (i.e. καθαροι "pure ones") but then applied indiscriminately to all religious dissenters, finally becoming the usual German word for "heretic".

Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 167-8 = § 594) says that the name *zindīḳ* first appeared at the time of Mānī, and for the following reason: Zoroaster had once brought to the Persians a book called the Avesta (*bastāh*), together with a commentary called the *zand*, which was a clarification of the allegorical interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of the Avesta. Thus whenever anyone "introduced into their religion anything that was at variance with the revelation, namely the Avesta, and turned towards the allegorical interpretation, namely the *zand*, the Persians called him a *zandī*". The Arabs, he continues, changed this to *zindīḳ*. "The dualists (*thanawiyya*) are *zanādiḳa*, but with these are grouped together anyone else who believes in the doctrine of pre-eternity (*ḳidam*) and denies the creation of the world." Similarly, al-Samʿānī (*Ansāb*, s.v. *zandī*) says that Mānī was called a *zindīḳ* because he claimed that his book *Shābuhragān* was the *zand*, or commentary (*tafsīr*), of Zoroaster's book; ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*Tathbīt*, i, 170) also says that Mānī produced a *tafsīr* of the Avesta, but he does not link this with the name *zindīḳ*. On the other hand, al-Khʷārazmī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 37-8) says that it was Mazdak who brought forth a book which he called the *zand* and which he claimed contained the *taʾwīl* of the Avesta, and that consequently his followers took the name *zandī*. And al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, in J. Fück, *Documenta islamica inedita*, Berlin 1952, 79; missing in Sachau's edition), after saying much the same thing, goes on to claim that the name *zindīḳ* is applied to the Manichaeans only "in a figurative and metaphorical sense", as it is also to "the *bāṭiniyya* in Islam". In other words, the real *zanādiḳa* are the Mazdakites. This is naturally wrong, for, as mentioned, the word *zandīk* was used already by Kirdīr, 300 years before the time of Mazdak. But the explanation given by al-Masʿūdī is also quite untenable. The *zand*, which the Persians believed to have been revealed by their prophet, is not an "allegorical interpretation" of the Avesta, but a translation into Middle Persian (with commentary)

of what the Zoroastrians of the Sāsānid period perceived to be the literal meaning of the scripture; there can consequently be no question of the Manichaeans having turned away from the Avesta to the (Zoroastrian) *zand*, as al-Masʿūdī implies (see Darmesteter). Nor is there any evidence that the Manichaeans produced a *zand* of their own (as al-Samʿānī and ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār claim) or that they considered their religion to be an allegorical interpretation of the Avesta (as Schaeder has argued). In fact, extant Manichaean writings make it quite clear that they did not accept the Avesta as a genuine prophetic revelation. It seems rather that the etymology offered by al-Masʿūdī and his successors results from an analogy between Manichaeism and "the *bāṭiniyya* in Islam", i.e. Ismāʿīlism, and specifically from an attempt to tarnish the latter by association with Manichaeism. But this analogy is spurious. Manichaeism was not an esotericist, but a literalist religion, one which saw truth in the literal meaning of Mānī's own writings.

From the vantage point of modern linguistic knowledge it would seem more likely that Middle Persian *zandīk* was borrowed from Aramaic *zaddīḳ* "righteous" (thus already Bevan, in Browne, *LHP*, i, 159-60). We know from Syriac authors that Manichaeans used *zaddīḳē* as a designation for their "elect", that is, the full members of the Manichaean community, just as Muslim authors (Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Bīrūnī, etc.) use the equivalent Arabic *ṣiddīḳūn* for the Manichaean "elect" and *sammāʿūn* for the lower-ranking "auditors". The so-called dissimilation of the geminated stop to nasal plus stop can be observed in other Aramaic loan words in Persian, e.g. Persian *s̲h̲amba* "Saturday", versus Syriac *s̲h̲abbt̲h̲ā*, or Persian *gund* (cf. Ar. *d̲j̲und*) "army", versus Syriac *guddā*. It is naturally possible that already in Middle Persian the loan word *zandīk* was reinterpreted as **zandīg* "follower of a *zand*", but this is hardly the original meaning.

2. *The history of Manichaeism, especially in the Arab and Islamic world.*

The name of the founder of Manichaeism appears in Arabic as Mānī (Greek Μάνης, Latin Manes, Syriac and New Persian Mānē, in Persian poetry rhyming with *yā'-i mad̲j̲hūl*). He was born in 527 Seleucid (A.D. 216-17) in Babylonia and was brought up in a community of Elchasaites, a Jewish Christian baptist sect (Ibn al-Nadīm's *mug̲h̲tasila*). As a young man Mānī began to receive revelations from his supernatural "Twin", who eventually instructed him to leave the Elchasaites and propound his own gospel. He travelled extensively in the Persian empire, preaching. Early in the reign of the second Sāsānid ruler, S̲h̲ābuhr (Ar. Sābūr) I, probably in 240, or shortly thereafter, Mānī attached himself to the court of the emperor. Two of S̲h̲ābuhr's brothers converted to Manichaeism and the king himself was the dedicatee of Mānī's *S̲h̲ābuhragān*, a systematic account of his faith. Mānī retained the favour of S̲h̲ābuhr's son, Hormizd I, but fell out with his successor, Wahrām (Ar. Bahrām) I, who had the prophet thrown into prison, where he died, probably in 274 or 277. Manichaean texts, imitating Christian imagery, sometimes speak of Mānī's "crucifixion", just as those composed in the Buddhist environment of Central Asia refer to his death as an "entry into nirvāṇa"; Muslim authors, misled by the former phrasing, generally state that Mānī was actually crucified/gibbeted (*ṣuliba*).

The prophet's death was followed by a severe persecution of the Manichaeans in the Sāsānid realm, but missionaries had already put down firm roots outside of the empire, in Roman territory (especially in Egypt) and in Central Asia among the Iranian (mainly Sogdian) population. There is evidence for Manichaean missions among the Arabs as well. A Coptic text reports on how, during the reign of the Sāsānid Narseh (ruled 293-302), the Manichaeans were protected by a king called Amarō, in which we must see a Coptic spelling of the Arabic name ʿAmr. Narseh's own inscription at Paikuli mentions, in the list of his vassals, two kings of this name: "*'mrw* king of the Lak̲h̲mids" (evidently the ʿAmr b. ʿAdī of Arab tradition) and "*'mrw* [king] of the sons of Abgar" (perhaps an otherwise unrecorded member of the Arab dynasty at Edessa), but it is debated which of the two is intended by the Coptic text (see the relevant articles by Tardieu and de Blois, with different conclusions). A later tradition, reported by Ibn al-Kalbī, Ibn Ḳutayba and others, says that before Islam some of the Arabs were Christians, some Jews, some Zoroastrians (*mad̲j̲ūs*), and others *zanādiḳa*; this last religion was followed, it is claimed, by some of the Ḳurays̲h̲, who had it from al-Ḥīra (references, and discussion of the conflicting versions of this story, in de Blois, *The Sabians*, 48-50, where it is suggested that the *ṣābi'ūn* of the Ḳur'ān [see ṢĀBI' and ṢĀBI'A] might have been these Arab Manichaeans). The fact that *zanādiḳa* are mentioned alongside other specified religions would seem to indicate that the word is used here to mean "Manichaeans", and not undiscriminated "heretics", but it is naturally debatable whether the story has any historical value.

Despite harassment by the Sāsānids, a Manichaean community survived in Babylonia (ʿIrāḳ), which remained the seat of the *archegos* (Ar. *imām*), though his authority was contested by the Manichaeans in Transoxania (in Arabic called the Dīnāwariyya, from the Sogdian word for "elect"). After the Muslim conquest, Manichaeans benefited from the tolerance (or indifference) of the Umayyads. The *archegos* Mihr, who flourished at the time when K̲h̲ālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*] was governor of ʿIrāḳ (*ca.* 105-20/*ca.* 723-38), and who (according to his enemies) accepted luxurious gifts from the Muslim governor, made attempts to regain the allegiance of the Dīnāwariyya, but he was faced by dissent within his own community; this led to the formation of a rival faction under a certain Miḳlāṣ. ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār (*al-Mug̲h̲nī*, v, 18-9, quoting al-Mismaʿī) gives a brief account of the doctrinal differences between the Miḳlāṣiyya and what he simply calls "the Manichaeans" (evidently meaning the followers of Mihr), from which emerges that the former upheld the (in fact orthodox Manichaean) doctrine of the eternal damnation of the souls of sinners while the latter held the (revisionist) view that all particles of light (i.e. all souls) would eventually be liberated from darkness. Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, ed. Tad̲j̲addud, 397-8) quotes, from a pro-Mihrī Manichaean source, what must be a wildly exaggerated account of the successes of the Mihriyya in winning over the followers of the Dīnāwariyya and the Miḳlāṣiyya, but he goes on to indicate that the Miḳlāṣiyya in fact survived at least until the time of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42). A Sogdian Manichaean text (published by Sundermann) contains polemics against certain "Syrian" co-religionists, evidently Manichaeans from the Near East who had recently emigrated to Central Asia, and mentions the Mihrī and Miḳlāṣī factions, unfortunately in a broken context.

The only systematic Muslim persecution of Manichaeans that we know about began in 163/779 by order of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī and continued at least until the end of the reign of al-Hādī in

170/786. The sources do not give a clear indication of the reason for the persecution, but it is surely no coincidence that it occurred shortly after the conversion of the Uyg̲h̲ur rulers to Manichaeism in 762; Manichaeism became the state religion of an important neighbouring kingdom and was evidently henceforth perceived as a threat to the security of the caliphate. A special inquisitor, called *ṣāḥib al-zanādiḳa*, ferreted out the suspects, who were confined in a particular prison (*ḥabs al-zanādiḳa*). Those who abjured their beliefs were required to spit on the portrait of Mānī and released; those who refused were beheaded. After 170/786 we have reports only of sporadic persecution, and the Manichaeans succeeded in maintaining a limited presence in Bag̲h̲dād for another two centuries. Al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33) is said to have organised a debate between the Manichaean leader Yazdānbuk̲h̲t and Muslim theologians and to have given the former safe conduct and assigned guards to protect him from the mob, but other reports speak of the persecution of Manichaeans by the same caliph. Ibn al-Nadīm wrote that in the days of Muʿizz al-Dawla (334-56/945-67) he had personally been acquainted with "about 300" Manichaeans in Bag̲h̲dād, but that "now (i.e. in 377/987-8) there are not even five in the capital", though they still survived in Sogdiana, their leader residing in Samarḳand. And about a decade later al-Bīrūnī (*Āt̲h̲ār*, ed. Sachau, 209) similarly speaks of a thriving Manichaean community in Samarḳand, where they were called *ṣābiʾūn*. On the other hand, Ibn al-Nadīm's story, from a non-Manichaean source (ed. Tad̲j̲addud, 400-1), of how the Manichaeans migrated back and forth between Transoxania and ʿIrāḳ and how, at the time of al-Muḳtadir (*r.* 295-320/908-32), the Manichaeans in Samarḳand were protected from their Muslim overlords through an intervention of "the king of China", bristles with anachronisms and has little historic value.

After the 4th/10th century, there is no firm evidence for Manichaeism anywhere in the Islamic world, but it survived in Central Asia, even after the fall of the Uyg̲h̲ur kingdom to the Ḳirg̲h̲iz in 840, in the remnant Uyg̲h̲ur principality in the Turfan [*q.v.*] basin (in modern Xinjiang), probably until the time of the Mongol invasions.

3. *Muslim accounts of Manichaeism and of the so-called* zanādiḳa *in Islam.*

The earliest substantial Muslim description of Manichaean cosmology of which any trace survives is by Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ [*q.v.*] from about the middle of the 3rd/9th century; extensive and explicit quotations have been preserved by Ibn al-Malāḥimī and briefer extracts (quoted at second hand, via a lost work by al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbak̲h̲tī) from Abū ʿĪsā form the main substance of the accounts by ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, al-S̲h̲ahrastānī, Ibn al-Murtaḍā and others, though both al-Nawbak̲h̲tī and those who copied from him also had other documents at their disposal. Abū ʿĪsā is the principal source of the picture of Manichaeism in Muslim theological writings, a picture which, without being exactly wrong, is excessively schematic, overly cerebral and largely ignores the religious content of Manichaeism, namely, its ethics and its doctrine of personal salvation.

The most extensive, and most valuable account of Manichaeism by a Muslim author is in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm. This contains a sketch of the life of Mānī, a detailed summary of the Manichaeans' cosmology and eschatology, a description of their ethics and cultic practices, of the Manichaean sects after the prophet's death and a long list of books by Mānī and his pupils. Much of this is evidently derived from authentic Manichaean writings in Arabic that were not used by any other extant author, but it is interspersed with data from Muslim sources. Two uncredited quotations from Abū ʿĪsā's version (*Fihrist*/ Tad̲j̲addud, 393:3-5 and 393:23-394:21; cf. Ibn al-Malāḥimī, 562:5-9 and 563:11-565:ult., respectively) have been inserted, confusingly, into a much better account of the cosmological myth, and there is also some worthless material, e.g. the absurd statement that Mānī taught that Jesus was sent by the devil.

Al-Bīrūnī had access to translations of Mānī's own books, from which he brings some important quotations. Otherwise, Muslim accounts are of limited value. The verbose refutations of Manichaeism and other forms of dualism in Muslim writers are of real interest only for the history of Islamic theology. See also T̲H̲ANAWIYYA, where much of this is assessed differently.

After the above-mentioned account of Manichaeism, Ibn al-Nadīm appends a list of "the theologians who outwardly professed Islam but inwardly professed *al-zandaḳa*", of poets who fell into the same category, and of "the kings and grandees who were accused of *al-zandaḳa*", lists which can be supplemented from other sources. It is, however, impossible to confirm that any of these people were really Manichaeans and it is more likely that the only thing they have in common is that their enemies accused them of not being good Muslims, and consequently "secret *zindīḳ*s". It is clear that *zindīḳ* was used quite freely as a term of abuse; it is consequently futile for modern historians to attempt to construct a picture of the "*zanādiḳa* in Islam" as a coherent intellectual movement.

For example, the previously-mentioned Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ was himself suspected of Manichaeism evidently only because he wrote about (but also refuted) that religion. The poet al-Maʿarrī was accused of being a *zindīḳ* by his contemporaries mainly because he was a vegetarian, like the Manichaean elect. Many of the Ṣūfīs, beginning with al-Ḥallād̲j̲, were accused of *zandaḳa*, though their whole world outlook is diametrically opposed to Manichaean dualism. Even in the case of the famous littérateur, and universally decried *zindīḳ*, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], the evidence that he was ever really a Manichaean is not conclusive. Al-Mismaʿī (quoted by ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, *al-Mughnī*, v, 20; also in Ibn al-Malāḥimī, 590) reports, on the one hand, that Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ was a dualist who taught that Light manipulated (*dabbara*) Darkness and introduced itself into Darkness only for its own advantage; the idea that the mixture of Light and Darkness was intentionally provoked by the former is indeed a specifically Manichaean doctrine which distinguishes it clearly from Zoroastrianism and from other forms of dualism. But al-Mismaʿī goes on to say that "he rejected the disgusting stories which the Manichaeans told about the war between the two principles". The implication is thus that Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ was not a member of the Manichaean church (for which the cosmological myth was an indispensable article of faith), though he shared some of the theoretical premises of Manichaeism.

4. *Manichaeism and Islam.*

Until the end of the 19th century, Manichaeism was known only from reports in non-Manichaean sources, but the subsequent spectacular discovery of a large number of Manichaean manuscripts in Egypt (in Coptic and Greek) and Central Asia (mainly in Middle Iranian languages and Old Turkish) means that it is now possible to form a very precise picture of Manichaean doctrine and practice from original

sources. But there is much disagreement about the place of Manichaeism in the history of religion. Some scholars still regard Manichaeism as an essentially Iranian phenomenon, an off-shoot of Zoroastrianism, but the prevalent view is that its roots lie mainly in Western traditions, in Christianity or Gnosticism, and that, although Mānī was aware of Zoroastrianism (and of Buddhism), the influence of Iranian and Indian doctrines on his teaching was at best superficial.

As a dualist religion, which posited two co-eternal opposing principles of good (light) and evil (darkness), Manichaeism stands in a very stark contrast to Islam, with its implacable monotheism. Muslim theologians were quite right to insist on this difference. At the same time, the two faiths do have some points of contact. Both teach that God has instructed mankind through a series of prophets, all of whom brought essentially the same message at different times. Some Manichaean sources see Mānī as the successor of prophets from the Judaic tradition like Adam, Seth, Enosh, Shem and Enoch, others mention only the Buddha, Zoroaster and Jesus as his predecessors, yet others combine the two series. Mānī, like Muḥammad, is the "seal of the prophets" (discussed, with controversial conclusions, by Colpe and Stroumsa) and the Paraclete predicted by Jesus. The Buddha, Zoroaster and Jesus taught the pure religion, but did not commit their teachings to writing; the books that their followers now read were written after the deaths of the prophets and corrupted their teachings, but Mānī wrote down his own teachings and produced a definitive written account of the true religion (for a similar view in Islam, see TAḤRĪF). Finally, both Manichaeism and Islam deny that Jesus actually died on the cross. But it is doubtful whether any of this indicates a direct influence of Manichaeism on Islam. It is more likely that both share a common substratum in Jewish Christianity.

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ZINDJIRLI, Modern Tkish. Zincirli, a village of southeastern Turkey, lying in the Karasu valley between the Gâvur Dağları (Amanus) and the Kurd Dağı/Djabal al-Akrād, near the small town of Islahiye. It now comes within the western part of the *il* or province of Gaziantep.

A tell there, excavated by Berlin archaeologists 1888-1902, revealed the capital *Yʾdy*; the earlier vocalisation as Yaudi is now regarded as uncertain, but it is to be identified with the place known as Samʾal in the records of the Assyrian king Tiglath Pileser III. A stele of a later Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) has been found. There has been considerable interest in the official Aramaic inscriptions found at or near the site, particularly the colossal statue of the god Hadad erected by Panammu I, who styles himself *mlk yʾdy* "king of Yʾdy", and those erected as a result of building activity on the site by Bar-rakkab *mlk smʾl* "king of Samʾal", one in honour of his father Panammu II and another in which he swears allegiance to Tiglath Pileser, who allowed him to succeed to the throne after his father.

No trace of the name Samʾal seems to have survived into the Islamic period, and the origin of the recent Turkish name, literally "enchained, placed in a chain or series", remains obscure, unless it is a corruption of the name of the fortress Zandjtara mentioned by al-Nuwayrī (see Honigmann, in *EI*[1] s.v.).

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ZĪRIDS, the name of two mediaeval Berber dynasties of the Muslim West.

1. The Zīrids (Banū Zīrī) of Ifrīkiya

This was the first great Ṣanhādja Berber dynasty in North Africa, originating in the central Maghrib and established in al-Ḳayrawān in 361/972 by Buluggīn b. Zīrī [*q.v.*] on the departure of the fourth Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz [*q.v.*] to Egypt. The dynasty, collateral with the Ḥammādids of Ḳalʿat Bani 'l-Ḥammād [*q.v.*] and the Zīrids of Spain (see 2. below), ruled for some 176 years (361-543/972-1148) until the last *amīr*, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, lost the kingdom to the Normans of Sicily.

With the approval of the Fāṭimids, the dynasty's progenitor Zīrī b. Manād had founded a principality at Ashīr [*q.v.*] in *ca.* 328/940 as a bulwark against the anti-Fāṭimid Zanāta Maghrāwa [*q.v.*], allies of the Umayyads of Cordova. Zīrī's most signal service to the Fāṭimids was the relief of their capital al-Mahdiyya when it was about to fall into the hands of the Khāridjite rebel Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] in Ṣafar 334/September 945. Before moving to Egypt, and in recognition of Zīrī's loyalty, the caliph al-Muʿizz appointed Zīrī's son Buluggīn governor of Ifrīkiya and all the territory he could wrest from the pro-Umayyad Zanāta in the Maghrib. On assuming power, Buluggīn campaigned vigorously in the Maghrib and, in the course of his last campaign (368-73/979-84), he took Fās and Sidjilmāsa, but died on the return journey (21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 373/25 May 984). Five years before Buluggīn's death, Tripolitania (but not Sicily) was ceded to him by the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz.

Unlike his father, al-Manṣūr b. Buluggīn (373-86/984-96) began to act in every way like an independent ruler. As soon as he assumed power, al-Manṣūr declared to the notables of al-Ḳayrawān, "I am not one of those who get appointed and dismissed by a stroke of the pen, for I have inherited the kingdom from my father and my ancestors" (*Bayān*, i, 240).

Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (386-406/996-1016 [*q.v.*]) entrusted his uncle Ḥammād b. Buluggīn with campaigning against the Zanāta and promised to let him rule any territories he conquered. Having succeeded in his campaigns against the Zanāta in the central Maghrib, Ḥammād, who founded the Ḳalʿa in 398/1008, carved out for himself an independent entity immediately to the west of Ifrīkiya.

The realm of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (406-54/1016-62) was the largest the Berbers had held in Ifrīkiya, and his reign was the most luxurious and ostentatious (Ibn Khaldūn, vi, 158). Ifrīkiya seems to have enjoyed economic prosperity at the start of al-Muʿizz's reign, as attested by the abundance of the wheat crop particularly in the Bādja region, a fact which probably encouraged al-Muʿizz in 440/1049 to renounce his allegiance to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir and to proclaim his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids. The Fāṭimid caliph retaliated by encouraging the Arab nomad tribes of the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Sulaym [*q.vv.*] in Upper Egypt to overrun and ravage the Zīrid kingdom, thus ridding himself of a troublesome group of people and ensuring that they would bring about the downfall of the Zīrids. Al-Muʿizz's army was routed at Ḥaydarān, between Ḳābis and al-Ḳayrawān, on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 443/14 April 1052, and in 449/1057 al-Muʿizz had to abandon al-Ḳayrawān and take refuge with his son Tamīm, governor of al-Mahdiyya on the coast. The Hilālīs, meanwhile, occupied large parts of the interior. Ibn Khaldūn was the first historian to stress the destructive role of the invaders, comparing them to a cloud of locusts. More recently, however, it has been argued that the invasion was not so destructive and that, prior to the arrival of the Hilālīs, the Zīrid state was disintegrating and in decline.

With most of their territory overrun and ravaged by the Hilālīs, the Zīrids turned their attention to the sea; they built a fleet and sought to interfere in Sicily's affairs. In 416/1025-6, a Zīrid fleet, on its way to Sicily, was destroyed by a storm off Pantelleria. Between 417/1026 and 426/1035 the Zīrid fleet frequently raided Byzantine territory in the Adriatic and the Aegean Seas.

Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz (454-501/1062-1108 [*q.v.*]) inherited a kingdom politically divided and economically weak. As a result of the Hilālī invasion, Tamīm's authority was confined to the coastal strip stretching from Sūsa to Ḳābis. In 480/1087, in retaliation for Zīrid maritime raids, a combined Genoese and Pisan fleet occupied and sacked al-Mahdiyya and its suburb Zawīla and, in order to get rid of the invaders, Tamīm had to pay them a sum of 100,000 dīnārs. It was also during Tamīm's reign that the Normans of southern Italy completed in 484/1091 their conquest of Muslim Sicily. After a reign of almost 50 years, Tamīm left the kingdom in a worse state than before.

Yaḥyā b. Tamīm (501-9/1108-16) built a large fleet and launched several raids aginst Genoa and Sardinia. Under ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā (509-15/1116-21) relations worsened with Roger II of Sicily after the Zīrid had sought the help of the Almoravid sovereign ʿAlī b. Yūsuf for launching joint naval operations against Sicily. In 517/1123 an Almoravid flotilla occupied and sacked Nicotera in Calabria, an operation which Roger believed was instigated by the Zīrid, and so he launched a counter-attack against the Zīrid fort of al-Dīmās; this was, however, checked, thanks largely to the resistance of the Hilālī Arabs. In 529/1135 the Normans occupied the island of Djerba [see djarba] but, although it was nominally under Zīrid suzerainty, the Zīrid *amīr* of al-Mahdiyya failed to come to its rescue.

From the close of the 4th/10th century, the economy of Zīrid Ifrīkiya was in steady decline due to a number of factors, namely, the transfer of the Fāṭimid caliphate to Egypt, the destructive effect of the Hilālī invasion, the Norman occupation of Sicily, the frequent hostilities with the Ḥammādids and the Normans, the disruption of trans-Saharan trade as the caravan routes shifted from Ifrīkiya westwards to Almoravid Morocco and Ḥammādid Bidjāya (Bougie) and eastwards to Egypt, and the rise of the Italian maritime city-states and their growing control of Mediterranean trade.

Following further sea raids by the Almoravids on Norman territory, Roger II decided to seize al-Mahdiyya at a time when the Zīrid state was weakened by successive years of drought and famine. In the reign of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (515-43/1121-48), the Zīrid capital surrendered (543/1148) to a Norman fleet under the command of George of Antioch, and thus the Zīrid dynasty came to an end. Al-Ḥasan sought refuge with his Ḥammādid cousin, Yaḥyā b. ʿAzīz, who kept al-Ḥasan under surveillance in Algiers lest he establish contacts with the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in Marrākush. Al-Ḥasan, however, joined ʿAbd al-Muʾmin when the latter took Algiers in 547/1151. In Marrākush, al-Ḥasan kept urging the Almohad caliph to liberate al-Mahdiyya from Norman occupation until eventually this took place on 10 Muḥarram 555/22 January 1160. An Almohad governor was installed in the city, but al-Ḥasan was allowed to reside in Zawīla, where he spent eight years. On the death of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, al-Ḥasan was ordered by the new Almohad caliph, Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, to move to Marrākush, but on his way to the Almohad capital, al-Ḥasan died in Tamesna (563/1167).

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2. The Zīrids of Spain

This line was established in Granada by Zāwī b. Zīrī [*q.v.*] shortly after the fall of the ʿĀmirids [*q.v.* and see al-Manṣūr] and the outbreak of civil strife in al-Andalus. The dynasty, under four successive *amīrs*, lasted for almost 80 years (403-83/1013-90) until the last *amīr*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn [*q.v.*], was deposed by the Almoravids, who annexed Granada and Málaga to Morocco.

Following Zāwī's departure for Ifrīḳiya (410/1019), his nephew Ḥabbūs b. Māksan (410-29/1019-38) assumed power in Granada. Ḥabbūs impressed on his Ṣanhādja kinsmen the imperative need for unity since, like his paternal uncle Zāwī, he was very conscious of the Andalusians' hostility to, and numerical superiority over, the Ṣanhādja. He entrusted running the affairs of the kingdom to a Jewish vizier, Samuel Ibn al-Naghrilla (ha-Nagīd; Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl, in Arabic sources), a thing unprecedented in Muslim Spain.

Ḥabbūs was succeeded by his son Bādīs, whose long reign (429-65/1038-73) marked the zenith of Zīrid power in Spain. Initially, Bādīs had to deal with a rival to the throne, his cousin Yiddīr, as well as his neighbours who cast covetous eyes on his kingdom, hence Bādīs's suspicion throughout his reign of Andalusian and Berber elements among his subjects, and reliance even more than his father on Samuel Ibn al-Naghrilla and, later, on Samuel's son Joseph (Yūsuf) for running the affairs of his kingdom.

Bādīs managed to rid himself of Yiddīr and triumphed over Zuhayr, the *amīr* of Alméria who, on receiving news of Ḥabbūs's death, had marched against Granada in the hope of seizing it.

Bādīs grew in stature, becoming the redoubtable leader of the Berbers in opposing the aggressive and anti-Berber policy of al-Muʿtaḍid b. ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], king of Seville. Bādīs became so furious at al-Muʿtaḍid's annexation of the Berber-held principalities of Morón, Arcos and Ronda in 445/1053—thanks partly to the pro-ʿAbbādid sympathies of their Arab populations—that he is said to have seriously considered the massacre of the Arab population of Granada, had it not been for his Jewish vizier Samuel, who eventually managed to persuade Bādīs not to do so lest all Andalusians should rise against him. In 446/1054, al-Muʿtaḍid seized Algeciras and, to forestall a similar fate for Málaga, Bādīs proceeded to annex Málaga to his kingdom.

On the death of Samuel Ibn al-Naghrilla (448/1056), his son Joseph succeeded him as vizier, but, unlike his father, was detested by the Muslims of Granada because of his arrogance and the many favours he bestowed on his co-religionists. He is accused in Andalusian sources of having poisoned Buluggīn, heir presumptive to Bādīs, and of having conspired with the *amīr* of Almería, Ibn Ṣumādiḥ, to surrender Granada to him on condition that "a state for the Jews is established in Alméria with himself as prince" (*Bayān*, iii, 266). An uprising took place against the Jews of Granada on 10 Ṣafar 459/30 December 1066, as a result of which Joseph Ibn al-Naghrilla and some 3,000 Jews were massacred.

Bādīs's growing domestic troubles in the last five years of his reign whetted the appetites of his neighbours: al-Muʿtaḍid unsuccessfully tried to wrest Málaga from Bādīs (458/1066), while Ibn Ṣumādiḥ of Almería seized Guadix. Despite his advanced years and domestic troubles, Bādīs nevertheless repulsed the ʿAbbādid assault on Málaga, and recovered Guadix from Ibn Ṣumādiḥ (459/1067) and Jaén from his rebellious son Māksan.

By the end of Bādīs's reign, Granada grew into an important city surrounding the citadel on the west bank of the Darro (*Hadarro*). The Zīrids established their court in the old Alcazaba district, now part of the Albaicin. Two of the gates to the Zīrid fortress and large stretches of the wall which protected it have survived. A bridge on the Darro, still called "Puente del Cadi", was built in 447/1055 by the *ḳāḍī* of Granada ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Tawba and named after him *ḳanṭarat al-ḳāḍī*, as was the adjoining mosque immediately to the south of the bridge. Muʾammal, a *mawlā* of Bādīs, is credited with a number of public works in Granada, such as the public fountain at Bāb al-Fakhkhārīn and the poplar promenade along the bank of the Genil named after him (*Ḥawr Muʾammal*), which survived until the time of Ibn al-Khaṭīb three centuries later.

ʿAbd Allāh, son of Buluggīn b. Bādīs, succeeded his grandfather on the throne of Granada (465/1073), while his brother Tamīm became independent ruler of Málaga. Taking advantage of ʿAbd Allāh's youth, his neighbours (al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād of Seville in particular) cast covetous eyes on ʿAbd Allāh's territory. To avoid being attacked by al-Muʿtamid, who was in alliance with Alfonso VI, King of Castile, ʿAbd Allāh concluded an agreement with Alfonso whereby he undertook to pay him an annual tribute of 10,000 dīnārs. Fortunately for ʿAbd Allāh, al-Muʿtamid became embroiled with the *amīr* of Toledo, al-Maʾmūn b. Dhi 'l-Nūn [see dhu 'l-nūnids], who had managed to annex Cordova for a few months. A few years later, al-Muʿtamid was pre-occupied with Murcia where his favourite vizier Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*] sought independence (471/1079). ʿAbd Allāh seized the opportunity to get rid of his all-powerful vizier Simādja and assumed himself full power in his kingdom. The Zīrid then mounted successful expeditions against his brother Tamīm in Málaga and Ibn Ṣumādiḥ of Almería, both of whom had been encroaching upon his territory.

To check Alfonso's growing threat after his capture of Toledo (478/1085), ʿAbd Allāh joined al-Muʿtamid in appealing to the Almoravid sovereign Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn [*q.v.*] for assistance and, subsequently, took part in the battle of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]/Sagrajas (479/1086) and in the siege of Aledo castle. Growing suspicious and disillusioned, however, after the abortive siege of Aledo (481/1088), ʿAbd Allāh began to

strengthen his fortresses as a precautionary measure, probably having learnt a lesson from the failure of the Almoravids to seize Aledo castle. At the same time, the Zīrid sought to win over the Ṣanhād̲j̲a in Granada by enlisting more of their numbers in his service, thereby redressing the imbalance which, under Bādīs, had been tilted in favour of the Zanāta whom ʿAbd Allāh refers to as the outsiders (*al-ṣinf al-barrānī*), a step taken by him at that particular time probably in order to ingratiate himself with the Ṣanhād̲j̲a Almoravids.

Time and again in his memoirs (see below), ʿAbd Allāh claims that his defamation in the eyes of the Almoravids was the work of the *faḳīh* Ibn al-Ḳulayʿī and a number of disgruntled functionaries who had defected and falsely accused him of collusion with Alfonso VI against the Almoravids.

Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲ufīn's third crossing to al-Andalus (483/1090) had no objective other than the deposition of ʿAbd Allāh, who initially seems to have been bent on resistance but soon decided to surrender after seeing his fortresses fall one-by-one to the Almoravids without resistance. ʿAbd Allāh's Ṣanhād̲j̲a troops, on the one hand, had sided with their Almoravid kinsmen, while the masses in Granada welcomed the Almoravids because they sought to be free from the payment of taxes other than alms and tithes.

Having surrendered to the Almoravids (10 Rad̲j̲ab 483/8 September 1090), ʿAbd Allāh was exiled to Ag̲h̲māt [*q.v.*] in southern Morocco. Soon afterwards, his brother Tamīm was removed from Málaga and banished to al-Sūs [*q.v.*], but was allowed later to settle in Marrākus̲h̲, where he died in 488/1095.

It was during his exile in Ag̲h̲māt that ʿAbd Allāh, the last Zīrid *amīr* of Granada, wrote his memoirs, the *Tibyān*, in which he chronicled the history of the Zīrids since their arrival in al-Andalus up to the author's deposition by the Almoravids. Among the salient points emphasised in the *Tibyān* are: the division of the Muslims in 5th/11th-century Spain into two distinct and hostile groups (Andalusians and Berbers); the practice of dividing property by lottery among the Berber chieftains in al-Andalus; the reasons which led Ḥabbūs b. Māksan and his son Bādīs to appoint Jews, rather than Andalusians or fellow Berbers, as viziers; and the active, and often important, role of women in Berber society.

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ZIRIH, Zarah, an inland lake in Sīstān [*q.v.*], now straddling the borders of Persia and Afg̲h̲ānistān and the largest stretch of inland fresh water on the Iranian plateau. The name comes from Avestan *zrayah-*, O Pers. *drayah-* "sea, lake". The lake played a role in ancient Iranian legend about a Saos̲h̲yant or Redeemer, a son of Zoroaster, who would arise from it; Islamised versions of such legends describe King Solomon as commanding his army of jinn to lower the surface of the lake so that the land masses thereby appearing could be used for agriculture (see Bosworth, *The Saffarids of Sistan*, 36).

The mediaeval Islamic geographers emphasised the variability of the Zirih's extent, fed as it was by rivers from the mountains of central and eastern Afg̲h̲ānistān: the Helmand or Hilmand [*q.v.*], and the K̲h̲ʷās̲h̲, Farāh and Hārūt Ruds, with its maximum extent in the late spring when the snows had melted. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 55, cf. comm. 185, describes it as 30 *farsak̲h̲s* long by 7 wide, but sometimes it expanded so much that it flooded lowlands as far as the borders of Kirmān province. In mediaeval times, the reedy, shallow waters of the lake supported fishermen, whilst a flourishing agriculture along its shores was supplied by irrigation waters from the lake and its feeders (Ibn Ḥawkal, ed. Kramers, 405-6, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 417-18).

The lake has clearly shrunk in more modern times, judging by the descriptions of late 19th-early 20th century European travellers and officials (such as P.M. Sykes, C.E. Yate, and G.P. Tate and his colleagues on the Seistan Boundary Commission of 1903-5) of the Hāmūn depression as a whole; they also mention the cattle-raising along its shores and the population element of the *ṣayyāds*, fisherfolk and wildfowlers, who navigate through the reeds in cigar-shaped rafts of reeds called *tūtins*. Modern geographers estimate that the lake covers, at its maximum extent in May, some 1,158 sq. miles. However, intense summer evaporation reduces the water to three separate, permanent sheets of water, sc. the Hāmūn-i Hilmand proper, the Hāmūn-i Ṣābarī to its north and the Hāmūn-i Puzāk to its northeast. Also, water runs out of the southern end of the Hāmūn-i Hilmand in times of flooding and flows southeastwards through the Shela channel or Rūd-i S̲h̲alaḳ into the Gawd-i Zirih depression south of the Hilmand bend and in the extreme southwestern tip of modern Afg̲h̲ānistān. Irrigation works of recent decades along the course of the Hilmand in southeastern Afg̲h̲ānistān may have reduced the flow of water into the Hāmūn basin and adversely affected the hydrography and environment of Sīstān as a whole.

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ZIRYĀB, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Nāfiʿ, the greatest musician of Muslim Spain. His nickname Ziryāb (a black bird) is said to have referred to both his dark-coloured complexion and his versatile tongue.

Born, probably around 175/790, into a family of *mawālī* of the caliph al-Mahdī, Ziryāb was educated, at an early age, by Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*]. Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] introduced him to Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd (170-93/786-809) who, as later sources tell us, was greatly impressed by the young musician. This seems to have provoked Isḥāḳ's jealousy to the extent that Ziryād was forced to quit Bag̲h̲dād. Several years later

we find him in the service of the Aghlabid ruler at Ḳayrawān, Ziyādat Allāh I (201-23/817-38). After falling into disgrace he turned to the Umayyad court at Cordova, where, in the year 206/822, he was received by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52) who treated him with the greatest consideration. Being well versed in poetry, history, astronomy and geography, Ziryāb was considered the perfect boon companion (*nadīm*). He propagated also the latest fashion in cooking, clothing and the other arts of the *ẓurafāʾ* of the eastern capital. In Cordova he founded a music school in which he taught the theory and practice of the Mawṣilī school of Baghdād. Ziryāb died in Cordova, about forty days before his patron, at the end of Ṣafar 238 or beginning of Rabīʿ I/middle of August 852.

His pupils and three of his eight sons, in particular, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, secured the survival of his musical teachings. The philosopher and musician Ibn Bādjdja (d. 533/1139 [*q.v.*]) was still credited with a musical "enrichment" (*ziyāda*) of an "eastern composition" (*talḥīn mashriḳī*) once introduced and performed by Ziryāb. Several innovations regarding the lute and lute playing [see AL-ʿŪD. II] were ascribed to him. He is said to have added a fifth string to the four-stringed lute and to have attributed it to the soul (*nafs*), giving it the red colour of blood. Both coloured strings and the addition of a fifth string were, however, already familiar to his contemporaries in Baghdād. Another novelty attributed to Ziryāb was the use of the quill feather (*ḳādima*) of a vulture (*nasr*) instead of a wooden plectrum. He is also said to have used gut of young wolves for the production of the two lower strings of the lute, and to have propagated a different method of cleaning the silk used for the two higher lute strings. Finally, he pretended that his own lute was lighter by about one-third than other lutes. Ziryāb practised the eastern style of beginning a measured song (*basīṭ; ʿamal*) with an unmeasured recitative (*nashīd; istihlāl*), and he followed the eastern scheme of increasing lightness and tempo in text and music in a performance, thus supporting the development of the later musical form of the vocal "suite" or *nawba* [*q.v.*]. A collection of his song texts (*K. fī Aghānī Ziryāb*), described as "a very extraordinary collection" (*dīwān ʿadjīb djidd^an^*), was edited by the brother of one of his sons-in-law, the *adīb* Aslam b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Aslam b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

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(H.G. FARMER-[E. NEUBAUER])

ZISHTOWA, the usual Ottoman Turkish rendering of the Bulgarian town Svištov. In the Ottoman registers it appears variously as Zigitewa, Zigit, Zishtovi and Zishtowa. The town is situated on the right bank of the river Danube in its lower course, in the neighbourhood of the ancient city of Nove, where a small fortress was erected probably in the 12th-13th centuries A.D.; it was conquered by the Ottomans in 1388. In 1598 it was put to fire by the Wallachians. In 1791 the separate peace treaty between Austria and the Ottoman Empire was signed in Svištov. In 1810 it was destroyed by a Russian detachment and was in fact built anew. After the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-8, the town became part of the Bulgarian state.

Under the Ottomans, the settlement was first the centre of a *nāḥiye* and from the 17th century, a *ḳaḍā* in the *sandjaḳ* of Nikopolis. In the 18th and the 19th centuries, the town rose as a trade centre. With the opening of Austrian navigation along the lower course of the Danube in the 1840s, and the construction of its port, Svištov became the most important point on the lower course of the river.

After the seizure by the Ottomans, a small garrison was stationed in Svištov, but the majority of the population were Orthodox Christians, sc. Bulgarians and Vlachs; in the 18th century Greeks settled there too. The Muslim *maḥalle* appeared only in the 17th century, including an *imām* and a *müʾedhdhin*. After the Treaty of Carlowitz [see KARLOFČA], many Muslim families settled in Svištov, and new Muslim *maḥalles* came into being. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, in 1651-2 there had always been a small garrison consisting of 8 soldiers and a *dizdar* in the fortress of Svištov, with barracks and a mosque. The town (the *varosh*) was situated below on the river bank and comprised 300 houses. The census of 1865 recorded 4,554 Turks, 674 Bulgarians and 6,116 Gypsies, that is, 11,915 inhabitants altogether, and in 1874-5, 8,088 Muslims and 14,856 non-Muslims; nowadays, there are about 30,400 inhabitants altogether and 3,000 Turks. The *waḳf* documentation from the middle of the 17th century shows that there was a mosque in the town, the "New mosque" in the fortress, a *mekteb* and an *ʿimāret*. In the 18th and especially in the 19th centuries, new Muslim places of worship emerged, such as the Yïldïrïm Djāmiʿ (1728), the mosque at the Horse Market with a *medrese*, or all in all, according to the *sālnāme* from 1872-3, 19 mosques, 1 *medrese*, 1 *mekteb-i rüshdiyye* and 3 *mektebs*. In 1900 there was only one Turkish grammar school. A library was established by Dār ül-Saʿāde Beshīr Agha (d. 1746) at the Old mosque; some of the manuscripts are preserved in the town museum. Some of the mosques were preserved until the 1920s, but only one remains today. Under the Ottomans, a few churches were built.

There emerged around the port a significant business nucleus with *khān*s and warehouses. In the 1870s there were in Svištov 746 workshops, 170 *maghazas*, 17 *khāns*, 6 tanneries and 22 watermills. In 1765-6 a clock tower was built (today a monument of culture) as a *waḳf* of the *voyvoda* Hüseyn Agha b. ʿAlī. In the middle of the 19th century, Ḥādjdjī Emīn built all the *waḳf* fountains in Svištov. A two-metre column dedicated to the visit of Sultan Maḥmūd II is preserved in the town museum.

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ẒIYĀ GÖK ALP [see GÖKALP ZIYĀ].

ẒIYĀʾ AL-ḤAḲḲ, ḌIYĀʾ AL-ḤAḲḲ, conventionally Zia ul-Haq, Muḥammad (1924-88), called after his death *Shahīd al-Islām*, administrator of martial law and then President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan from 1977 till his death in an accident in 1988.

Born on 12 August 1924 at Djullundār into a modest family in the eastern Pandjāb, Zia ul-Haq belonged to the community of the Araʿins. He entered the then Indian Army at the end of the Second World War, and within the Pakistani Army rose rapidly through the various ranks. In 1976 the President Dhu 'l-Fiḳār ʿAlī Bhutto made him Joint Services Chief of Staff. Considering his youthfulness, it was hoped that he could be easily manipulated. The rigged elections of 1977 provoked an unprecedented wave of agitation, and on 5 July, Zia ul-Haq, at the head of a group of officers, arrested and detained Bhutto, proclaiming himself administrator of martial law. He refused to pardon Bhutto, who was accused of complicity in an assassination, and Bhutto was hanged in 1979.

In his first speeches, Zia presented himself as a simple *muʾmin* or believer to whom God had provisionally entrusted the government of Pakistan. He quoted the Ḳurʾān profusely, and never missed an occasion to make the point that he had performed the Ḥadjdj several times and prayed five times a day. He repeated that Islam was the cornerstone of Pakistan and that the *niẓām-i muṣtafā* was not on the agenda of the main political parties. To reinforce the legitimacy of his power and to make up for a lack of charisma compared with his predecessor, he met Mawdūdī [*q.v.*] and relied on the support of his party, the *Djamāʿat-i islāmī*. After the Soviet invasion of Afghānistān, Mawdūdī proclaimed *djihād* as legitimate.

From 1979 onwards, Zia promulgated a series of Islamic laws hailed by Mawdūdī as the first steps towards the installation of an Islamic state. The first series, known as the "Hudood Ordinances", created a category of "Islamic crimes", such as adultery, rape, theft, fornication, etc. These crimes were to be dealt with by special courts with the task of applying the Ḳurʾānic penalties. These courts were themselves placed under the authority of the Federal Sharia Court, made up of judges and *ʿulamāʾ*. In 1980, the second series of measures envisaged the Islamisation of the economic sector. Two islamic taxes, the *zakāt* and the *ʿushr* [*q.vv.*], were created. Bank loans were regulated on a basis of the Ḳurʾānic prohibition of usury, *ribā* [*q.v.*]. The law envisaged a division of the risks run by the borrower and the lender. Interest was fixed on the basis of a common agreement, and indexed according to the financial performance of the banks.

In 1985 the war in Afghānistān entered a new phase with the Soviet Russian retreat. Zia at last organised elections, which marked a decline in support for the *Djamāʿat*. He then decided to seek the support of the Muslim League and the ethnic parties. The break was made, and the *Djamāʿat* then accused Zia of using Islam for political ends. In the economic sphere, Zia introduced reforms which, aided by favourable economic circumstances, brought about a growth in the national income of 7%. On the international level, partly thanks to the Afghān War, he managed to get increased American support whilst at the same time moving closer to China. Inter-ethnic troubles persuaded him, certainly in a very gradual fashion, to move towards democracy. In 1988 he announced that new elections would take place, but on 17 August of that year he died in an aeroplane accident whose circumstances remain obscure.

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ŻIYĀ PASHA, ḌIYĀ PASHA, renowned Ottoman poet and essayist of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] era.

Żiyā Pasha's given name was ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd Żiyāʾ ül-Dīn. He was born in Kandilli on the Bosphorus in 1829, the son of Ferīd ül-Dīn Efendi, a native of Erzurum who worked as clerk in the Galata customs, and ʿIṭīr Khānïm. After graduating from the School of Literary Education (*Mekteb-i ʿUlūm-ï Edebiyye*), and having learned Persian and Arabic, he worked as scribe at the Grand Vizierate (*Ṣadāret-i ʿUẓmā Mektūbī Odasï*) for nine or ten years. During this period he frequented literary circles. Through the goodwill of the Grand Vizier Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*], he was engaged in 1855 as fifth scribe of the imperial palace (*Mābeyn-i Hümāyūn*) and promoted to fourth scribe in 1859. In this position he also learned French and started translating from this language.

In 1862 he was dismissed, and the rest of his career is characterised by his repeatedly being sent away to posts distant from Istanbul. In 1862 he was appointed governor (*mutaṣarrif*) of Cyprus, then member of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Medjlis-i Wālā-yï Aḥkām-ï ʿAdliyye*), governor of Amasya in 1863 and of Canik in 1865. In 1866 he was re-appointed a member of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances. When in 1867 the Grand Vizier ʿĀlī Pasha [*q.v.*] decided to send him away from Istanbul again as governor of Cyprus, Żiyā Pasha refused and on 17 May 1867 fled to Paris with Nāmïḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*], followed by other members of the Society of New Ottomans (*Yeñi ʿOthmānlïlar Djemʿiyyeti* [see YEÑI ʿOTHMĀNLÏLAR]). After a few months he went to London and published, initially there together with Nāmïḳ Kemāl and later on alone in Geneva, the newspaper *Ḥürriyyet* "Liberty".

In 1871 he returned to Istanbul and first became chairman of the Executive Assembly of the Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Dīwān-ï Aḥkām-ï ʿAdliyye Idjrā Djemʿiyyeti*), the executive branch of the newly-divided Supreme Council (*Medjlis-i Wālā*), then member of the legislative branch of the same, the Council of State (*Shūrā-yï Dewlet*), and lastly, under-secretary for educational affairs (*maʿārif müsteshārï*). After ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II's ascension to the throne in 1876, he worked together with Nāmïḳ Kemāl in the Constitution Commission (*Ḳānūn-ï Esāsī Endjümeni*). In 1877 he was again sent away from Istanbul, being appointed governor first of Syria, then of Konya and, in 1878, of Adana, where he died on 17 May 1880. His grave is in the cemetery of the Ulu Djāmiʿ in Adana.

Żiyā Pasha is a representative of the transition period of Ottoman literature from the *Dīwān* literature to western-oriented literature. More traditional and less consistent in his outlook on literature than Nāmïḳ Kemal, he was of a more political and ideological turn of mind than Shināsī Bey [*q.v.*] and influential through the articles he wrote in Europe on subjects such as justice, equality, individual morality, prevailing conditions, etc.

As a poet, Żiyā Pasha remained true to *Dīwān*

poetry, using (with only rare exceptions) *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] and classical forms such as the *ḳaṣīde*, *g͟hazel*, *terd͟jīʿ-i bend*, *terkīb-i bend*, etc. The main merits of his poems are their straightforward language and, above all, the innovative use of satire.

Besides his articles in newspapers (mainly in *Muk͟hbir* and *Ḥürriyyet*) and his translations from French (of works by Molière, J.-J. Rousseau, Fénelon *et alii*), he published the anthology *K͟harābāt* in 1874. This consists of three volumes of Turkish, Persian and Arabic poetry, and an introduction (in *met͟hnewī* verse) which is not consistent with his previous literary opinions as published in his essay *S͟hiʿr we ins͟hā* (*Ḥürriyyet*, no. 11, 1868). He included a considerable number of his own poems in this anthology, a fact which was severely criticised by Nāmiḳ Kemāl in his *Tak͟hrīb-i K͟harābāt* and *Taʿḳīb*.

Ziyā Pas͟ha's important satirical work is *Ẓafer-nāme*, which he wrote in Paris to criticise ʿĀlī Pas͟ha. It consists of a *ḳaṣīde* of 66 verses, the *tak͟hmīs* of this *ḳaṣīde*, and a commentary on the same. In *Rüʾyā*, which resembles Weysī's [*q.v.*] *K͟hʷāb-nāme*, he criticised ʿĀlī Pas͟ha and the Sublime Porte, and in *Werāt͟het-i Salṭanat-ï Seniyye*, which consists of two letters, Fuʾād Pas͟ha [*q.v.*].

Ziyā Pas͟ha's collected poems were published only posthumously (first ed. *Es͟hʿār-ï Ẓiyā*, Istanbul 1881).

Bibliography: Gibb, *HOP*, v, 41-111; M.K. Bilgegil, *Harâbât karşısında Namık Kemal*, Istanbul 1972; idem, *Ziyâ Paşa üzerinde bir araştırma*, ²Ankara 1979; *Başlangıcından günümüze kadar büyük Türk klâsikleri*, viii, Istanbul 1988, 341-3 (with further bibl.); H. Yorulmaz, *Terci-i bend ve terkib-i bend: Ziya Paşa*, Istanbul 1992; H. Tanyaş, *Bağdatlı Ruhi ve Ziya Paşa. Terkib-i bentler ve terci-i bent*, Ankara 1995; *Türk dili ve edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, viii, Istanbul 1998, 666-9; H. Kolcu, *Ziya Paşa'nın Zafernâmesine reddiyye ve tekzîbiyye*, Istanbul 1998. (Edith G. Ambros)

ZIYĀD b. ABĪHI, Abu 'l-Mug͟hīra, governor of ʿIrāḳ and the eastern provinces of the Umayyad caliphate during the reign of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.v.*].

Ziyād was born out of wedlock in al-Ṭāʾif, probably some time in the first year of the *Hid͟jra*, A.D. 622, or in 2/623-4, and died in al-T͟hawiyya (or al-T͟huwayya) near al-Kūfa in Ramaḍān 53/673. His name is variously given as Ziyād b. ʿUbayd, Ziyād b. Sumayya, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, Ziyād b. Ummihi (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, xvi, 179-80) and Ziyād *al-amīr* (Ibn ʿAsākir, xix, 164-5). A S͟hīʿī tradition relates that ʿĀʾis͟ha [*q.v.*] was accustomed to call him Ziyād b. Abīhi (the son of his father), since his father was not known (*Biḥār al-anwār*, xliv, 309). Lammens thought that this offending *nisba* appeared during the ʿAbbāsid era, while Ziyād himself used the *nisba* Ibn Sumayya or Ibn Abī Sufyān (Lammens, 43).

The sources diverge on the origin of Ziyād's mother, Sumayya. According to al-Balād͟hurī, she was a female slave of a Yas͟hkurī living in the suburbs of Kaskar (the place on which Wāsiṭ was built). Having been ill, he performed the *ḥad͟jd͟j* and was treated successfully in al-Ṭāʾif by the physician al-Ḥārit͟h b. Kalada al-T͟haḳafī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. He gave Sumayya to al-Ḥārit͟h, who was the natural father of Nāfiʿ and of the Companion (*ṣaḥābī*) Nufayʿ, known as Abū Bakra [*q.v.*]. Later, al-Ḥārit͟h gave Sumayya to one of his wife's slaves, ʿUbayd, who was *rūmī* (not necessarily of Byzantine origin, in many cases of Syrian origin). An allusion to this non-Arab origin appears in a version of Ziyād's reply to Muʿāwiya's letter: "He will find that I am a Persian [warrior] . . . after his adoption by Muʿāwiya, he became an Arab from the Banū ʿAbd Manāf" (*la-yad͟jidannī aḥmara ḍarrāb^an bi 'l-sayfi . . . fa-lammā iddaʿāhu Muʿāwiyatu ṣāra ʿarabiyy^an manāfiyy^an*, Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1981, 366-7).

Ziyād was born "on the bed of ʿUbayd" (*ʿalā firās͟hi ʿUbayd^in*, al-Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, ivA, 163-4). He was thus, according to *d͟jāhilī* usage and Muḥammad's precepts, the legal offspring of ʿUbayd, the owner of the bed (U. Rubin, *Al-walad li-l-firāsh*, 5-7). ʿAwāna al-Kalbī [*q.v.*] claimed that Sumayya was a female slave of the *dihḳān* [*q.v.*] of Zaydaward in Kaskar. She was given to al-Ḥārit͟h, who was invited to the region to treat the Sāsānid king (Kisrā) and later attended the *dihḳān* (Ibn ʿAsākir, 173).

Some traditions relate that Sumayya was the mother not only of Ziyād, but also of the Companion ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*]. Modern research proves that there were two different women named Sumayya, both connected with al-Ḥārit͟h (G.R. Hawting, *The development of the biography of al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada and the relationship between medicine and Islam*, 131-2). Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] reports that Ziyād (or his family) claimed that his mother was Sumayya (or Asmāʾ) bt. al-Aʿwar, from the Banū ʿAbd S͟hams b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm (al-Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, ivA, 169; *Ag͟hānī*¹, xvii, 67).

Ziyād became a Muslim during the caliphate of Abū Bakr [*q.v.*]. He was one of the first Muslim settlers in the great garrison town of al-Baṣra [*q.v.*]. He arrived with his half-brothers Nāfiʿ and Abū Bakra, accompanying the son-in-law of al-Ḥārit͟h b. Kalada, ʿUtba b. G͟hazwān al-Māzinī, the first governor of the new settlement. Ziyād was in his teens when his unusual abilities were first noticed. He began performing little jobs in the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] of Baṣra during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*].

Ziyād's first appearance in the public arena took place when he was very young. Al-Madāʾinī reports that Ziyād was 14 years old when ʿUtba asked him in 14/635 to be the distributor (*ḳāsim*) of the booty of al-Ubulla (Apologos), in southern ʿIrāḳ (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2388). He distinguished himself as an intelligent, open-minded secretary, who was devoted to his master and to public service. He showed an unusual aptitude for accounting and had an excellent command of epistolary art. The sources report that ʿUmar was impressed by some of Ziyād's letters and by the fact that the governor (*ʿāmil*) of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā al-As͟hʿarī [*q.v.*], appointed him as his *locum tenens* when he had to leave the city to take part in the conquests. ʿUmar summoned Ziyād to Medina and subjected him to a test. The results were remarkable. The caliph granted him 1,000 dirhams which he used to manumit his father ʿUbayd (al-Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, iv/A, 164-5) or his mother Sumayya (al-Ṣafadī, xv, 12).

It seems that in the same year he was appointed secretary (*kātib* [*q.v.*]), in the service of ʿUtba. After ʿUtba's death in 15/636, Ziyād pursued his career under four of his successors: Abū Mūsā al-As͟hʿarī, al-Mug͟hīra b. S͟huʿba [*q.v.*] of T͟haḳīf, both on behalf of ʿUmar, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir on behalf of ʿUt͟hmān and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās on behalf of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.vv.*] (Ibn ʿAsākir, xix, 169).

Ziyād's reputation grew when he was invited to Medina in 17/638 to testify in the case of al-Mug͟hīra, who had been charged with adultery. Three witnesses, including two of Ziyād's half-brothers, Abū Bakra and S͟hibl b. Maʿbad al-Bad͟jalī (*Tahd͟hīb*, iv, 305) so attested as required in Ḳurʾān, XXIV, 4, but Ziyād gave a partial testimony which meant the acquittal of al-Mug͟hīra and the flogging of those three. ʿUmar did

not conceal his relief (Abū al-ʿArab Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, *K. al-Miḥan*, ed. Yaḥyā Wahīb al-Djabbūrī, 1983, 284-5; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd, xii, 227-46).

In 36/656, after the battle of the Camel, ʿAlī appointed his cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās governor of Baṣra and named Ziyād responsible for the collection of the real estate taxes and the treasury (*ʿalā ʾl-kharādj wa-bayt al-māl*). ʿAlī's appreciation of Ziyād's talents was so great that he ordered his cousin to accept Ziyād's advice. However, Ibn al-ʿAbbās soon left the city to take part in ʿAlī's preparations against Muʿāwiya; he designated Ziyād as acting governor of the province (Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 295; Ps.-Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Imāma wa ʾl-siyāsa*, 105-6). At the end of the hostilities at Ṣiffīn (37/657), ʿAlī sent Sahl b. Ḥunayf as governor of Fārs, but the Muslim army there expelled him. ʿAlī then sent Ziyād, who won their confidence and was therefore able to collect the taxes (Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya wa-akhbār al-khulafāʾ*, ed. Sayyid ʿAzīz Bek, Beirut 1987, 545). It seems that Ziyād stayed in a fortress in Fārs for three or four years, and considered himself a representative of the legal government of ʿAlī, even after ʿAlī was murdered in 40/661. As a result of this, the fortress was called Ḳalʿat Ziyād (Ibn ʿAsākir, xix, 173) and later, Ḳalʿat Manṣūr (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, v, 160). Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, the emissary of Muʿāwiya, seized the offspring of Ziyād in Baṣra and threatened to kill them. Ziyād surrendered. ʿAwāna reports that Ziyād made use of the opportunity of Maṣḳala b. Hubayra being on his way to visit Muʿāwiya, and demanded that he ask the caliph if there was reason to believe the rumours claiming that Ziyād was the son of Abū Sufyān (Ibn ʿAsākir, 172-3). This seems to be the starting point of the idea of the *istilḥāḳ*, the official recognition of Ziyād as the son of Abū Sufyān.

The *istilḥāḳ* of Ziyād in 44/665 caused a strong reaction in the ranks of the Umayyad family: Muʿāwiya's son Yazīd and the Marwānids protested against this act. It was reported that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, Ziyād's predecessor as governor of Baṣra, threatened to procure a *ḳasāma* (50 persons who would swear in confirmation of something) attesting that Abū Sufyān never met Sumayya. The resolute intervention of Muʿāwiya silenced Ibn ʿĀmir. The Marwānids feared the results of the *istilḥāḳ*, which took place after ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] joined Muʿāwiya and became governor of Egypt. Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] reports that Muʿāwiya threatened to flog (*ḥadd al-ḳadhf*) some Marwānid leaders for having rejected the relationship and recognition of it, even though it was supported by witnesses, in confirmation with Ḳurʾān, XXIV, 4 (al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *al-Akhbār al-muwaffaḳiyyāt*, ed. Sāmī Makkī al-ʿĀnī, Beirut 1996, 155-63). Muʿāwiya paid money to soften the opposition to the adoption of Ziyād (al-Ābī, *Nathr al-durr*, ii, 33 a).

It seems that Ziyād's affiliation was a catalyst in the polemic within the new Muslim society about affiliation (*istilḥāḳ, diʿwa*) of an illegitimate child (*walad zinā*), a custom which was usual in the *Djāhiliyya*. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, to whom Muslim historians ascribe the institution of many legal proceedings, initiated the rule that a *walad zinā* born in the *Djāhiliyya* could be attributed to his biological father on condition that the father paid to the mother's owner the price of the child. In this case the child was liberated and affiliated with his father's pedigree. If the intercourse and the claim of genealogy had taken place in the Islamic period, the claim was annulled and the child continued to be a slave. Later jurists opposed this opinion and this may well be the reason for their disapproval of Ziyād's affiliation by Muʿāwiya (*LA*, s.v. *s-ʿ-ā*, xiv, 387). Pro-Umayyad authors pretended that Muʿāwiya had supposed that Ziyād's affiliation was legal (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-ʿAwāṣim min al-ḳawāṣim*, 248-57).

A few months after the *istilḥāḳ*, in Rabīʿ II or Djumādā I 45/July 665, Ziyād was nominated as governor of Baṣra and of the provinces which depended on it, Khurāsān and Sidjistān. His inaugural speech in the mosque of Baṣra just after his nomination is considered a masterpiece of eloquence. This discourse is named *al-batrāʾ* or *al-butayrāʾ* (Ibn ʿAsākir, xix, 179), "the truncated speech", since at the beginning of his address Ziyād did not praise God and did not bless the Prophet (*li-annahu lam yaḥmidi ʾllāha fīhā wa-lam yuṣalli ʿalā ʾl-nabī*) (*LA*, s.v. *b-t-r*). In it, Ziyād defined his policies very clearly: since transgressors, libertines and thieves predominated at Baṣra, he declared that he would inflict a penalty even if a person was merely suspect, and that he was ready to kill anyone who would not be ready to turn from his wrong ways. Ziyād promised to pay the stipends regularly, not to send the warriors too far away and not to keep them in the field overlong (*tadjmīr* [*q.v.*]).

After the death of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba in 50/670, Kūfa was added by Muʿāwiya to Ziyād's governorship. He used to spent the summer there, leaving Samura b. Djundab [*q.v.*] as substitute, and the winter in Baṣra, leaving ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth as his deputy in Kūfa. Ziyād is considered the first governor of these two towns together (*awwal man djumiʿa lahu ʾl-miṣrāni*). He had to face two hostile groups, the Khāridjites [*q.v.*] in Baṣra and the ʿAlids in Kūfa, in addition to the problems raised by the different clans. He used one group to control another. The Khāridjites transplanted their activities outside Baṣra. The ʿAlids persisted in their agitation in Kūfa under the leadership of Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī [*q.v.*]. Ziyād's predecessor, al-Mughīra, treated him with clemency. Ziyād forewarned Ḥudjr on several occasions and made it clear that he was ready to execute him if he continued to curse Muʿāwiya publicly (*idhā aẓhara laʿna Muʿāwiya*). Ziyād succeeded in isolating Ḥudjr and his supporters. In 51/671, Ḥudjr was arrested and sent to Damascus. He was put to death in Mardj ʿAdhrāʾ, east of Damascus, with six of his supporters. This capital punishment, the first political execution in Islam, had its expected effects (Shaban, *Islamic history*, 89-90; I. Hasson, *Recherches sur Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, sa politique tribale, militaire et agraire*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1982, 133-9, 157-60).

There are some reports indicating that Ziyād aspired to be elected by Muʿāwiya as heir to the throne (Ibn ʿAsākir, xix, 196-7), but the caliph acted rapidly and nominated his son Yazīd [*q.v.*] as *walī ʿahd*. Ziyād asked Muʿāwiya to add Ḥidjāz to his governorship. Al-Kalbī reports that the caliph complied with Ziyād's wish but that the appointment reached its destination only shortly before Ziyād's death (Ibn ʿAsākir, xix, 204-5).

Ziyād is known as one of the most gifted governors of the Umayyad era. He had a good understanding of his task as governor, and had a great influence on his successors concerning the conception of the duties of rulers. At the beginning of his rule, he gave several examples of severity to win the confidence of the population. He implemented important administrative reforms, first in Baṣra and later in Kūfa, aiming to put an end to the chaotic situation prevailing in these *amṣār* in consequence of the large influx of tribesmen. The system of the *ʿarīf* [*q.v.*] and *ʿirāfa* (small group

of tribesmen massed together for the purpose of the distribution of the stipends, *ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*]), set up in the time of ʿUmar, had became inefficient. This system was based on the nobility (*ashrāf*), whose status was fixed by their receiving from the government a grant of 2,000-2,500 dirhams annually (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, v, introd., 11). Ziyād gave rise to new *ʿirāfas* by joining related clans into larger tribal divisions. He created five groups (*k̲h̲ums*, pl. *ak̲h̲mās*) in Baṣra and four groups (*rubʿ*, pl. *arbāʿ*) in Kūfa instead of the seven groups (*subʿ*, pl. *asbaʿ*), as determined by ʿUmar. This reorganisation contributed to a better control of the cities (Shaban, *Islamic history*, 86-90; M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, 58). Ziyād updated the records of the *dīwān*, paid the *ʿaṭāʾ* regularly and succeeded in maintaining order and security not only in Baṣra and Kūfa, but in the entire eastern provinces.

In spite of his internal preoccupations in Baṣra, Ziyād used K̲h̲urāsān as a base to continue the conquests in the East. His lieutenants al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-G̲h̲ifārī, G̲h̲ālib b. ʿAbd Allāh (or Fuḍāla) al-Layt̲h̲ī and Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārit̲h̲ī re-established Muslim authority in Ṭuk̲h̲āristān. Balk̲h̲ and Ḳūhistān were reoccupied. It was reported that al-Ḥakam had crossed the River Oxus (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 81-2, 84, 109-11, 155-6).

Ziyād struck coins in the Sāsānid style bearing his own name in the form of "Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān" (Morony, *op. cit.*, 46). He initiated many development schemes, such as the digging of the canal called Nahr Maʿḳil in Baṣra, wrongly attributed to Maʿḳil b. Yasār (Ibn Durayd, *al-Is̲h̲tiḳāḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Bag̲h̲dād 1979, 181). He transferred population from one country to another. He conveyed 50,000 Arab families from Baṣra and Kūfa to K̲h̲urāsān to settle with the Muslim Arab army there. They formed the nucleus of the later Ahl K̲h̲urāsān. His deliberate intention was to establish a permanent Arab settlement in this province (M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East*, 66 n.)

Ziyād is charged with alleged cruelty: he mutilated or crucified some ʿAlids and mistreated their corpses (*Musnad Abī Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī*, ix, 79-80; *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, 202-3; Ibn Aʿt̲h̲am, *K. al-Futūḥ*, iv, 203; al-Mad̲j̲lisī, *Biḥār*, xliv, 126, 213).

Some sources indicate that Ziyād transmitted utterances of the Prophet, not directly but with ʿUmar's intermediacy. He is considered a Successor (*tābiʿī* [see TĀBIʿŪN]), belonging to the first class (*ṭabaḳa*) of the Baṣrans (K̲h̲alīfa b. K̲h̲ayyāṭ, *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, Riyāḍ 1982, 191). The pro-Umayyad author Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1149) regards him as a Companion (*al-ʿAwāṣim min al-ḳawāṣim*, 250). Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] said that he was a *zāhid*. He is regarded by some as an expert on the Ḳurʾān and its precepts, and as skilled in jurisprudence (Ibn ʿAsākir, xix, 165-7).

Ziyād was considered a first-rate orator. The question of the authenticity of his inaugural speech remains open, even though it is found in sources belonging to different genres and tendencies: *adab*, rhetoric, history and polemics (al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ii, 61-6; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-ak̲h̲bār*, ii, 241-3; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 73-5; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iv, 110-13; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *S̲h̲arḥ Nahd̲j̲ al-balāg̲h̲a*, xvi, 200-3). Fragments of Ziyād's speeches and utterances are often cited as examples of excellent oral or written expression. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd (i, 278-9) charged him with trying to imitate ʿAlī's style, considered as the highest level of Arabic after the Ḳurʾān and the sayings of the Prophet.

S̲h̲īʿī sources tried to discover early signs of his treachery and his dishonesty in the interval between the battle of the Camel and Ṣiffīn. Thus it is reported that ʿAlī reprimanded Ziyād for mistreating his emissary (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, xvi, 196). The same sources attribute Ziyād's talent and ingenuity to the fact of his being an offspring of illicit intercourse, since such offspring are intelligent (*awlād al-zinā nud̲j̲ub*^{un}) (al-Mad̲j̲lisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, lith. Tabrīz n.d., viii, 522).

Ziyād is supposed to be the first author of a treatise on *mat̲h̲ālib* [*q.v.*] (*GAS*, i, 261). If this is true, then he evidently collected reports on vices, immoral practices or habits, and sexual immorality, especially prostitution among the different tribes in the *D̲j̲āhiliyya* and early Islamic era, with the purpose of using them against his detractors.

The interest in Ziyād's history started at a very early stage. Treatises called *Ak̲h̲bār Ziyād b. Abīh* were composed by Abū Mik̲h̲naf, His̲h̲ām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yaḥyā al-D̲j̲alūdī (*GAS*, i, 262). In the literature of the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*], Ziyād occupies a noticeable place. He is often included in the category of the three or four shrewd politicians and statesmen (*dāhiya*, pl. *duhāt*) among the Arabs, the other three being Muʿāwiya, al-Mug̲h̲īra and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ.

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ZIYĀD B. ṢĀLIḤ AL-ḤĀRITHĪ [see ZIYĀD B. ṢĀLIḤ AL-KHUZĀʿĪ].

ZIYĀD B. ṢĀLIḤ AL-KHUZĀʿĪ, Arab commander in the service of Abū Muslim at the time of the ʿAbbāsid Revolt (d. 135/752-3).

He was one of the *naḳībs* [*q.v.*] chosen by Abū Muslim from the leaders of the Arabs in Khurāsān in 1340/747-8. With the triumph of the ʿAbbāsid cause, Abū Muslim appointed Ziyād governor of Bukhārā and Sogdia, where he suppressed a rebellion of the discontented Arab garrison in Bukhārā led by Sharīk (or Shurayk) b. Shaykh al-Mahrī (133/750-1). Shortly afterwards he commanded the Arab expedition sent into the land of the Turks beyond the Syr Darya in order to combat a Chinese army which had appeared in Central Asia and had attacked Čač or Shāsh (the later Tashkent [*q.v.*]). In a great battle near Talas or Ṭarāz [*q.v.*], known mainly from the Chinese sources, Ziyād won a great victory over the Korean general Kao hsien-chih and wrought great slaughter in his army (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 133/July 751); in effect, this was the end of Chinese intervention in the Western lands.

Ziyād's own downfall followed shortly after this, however. In 135/752-3 he rebelled in Sogdia against Abū Muslim, but was abandoned by his commanders. He fled to Bārkath, whose *dihḳān* handed him over to Abū Muslim for execution. It seems that Ziyād had not acted entirely of his own accord, but had been secretly promised the governorship of Khurāsān by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ if he would rise up against his over-mighty subject Abū Muslim.

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The above is not to be confused with his homonym and contemporary Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥārithī (from the Yemeni tribe of al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb [*q.v.*] or Balḥārith), who was governor of Kūfa for the last Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ, Ibn Hubayra, in 132/749-50 but who soon afterwards defected to the advancing ʿAbbāsids. See Patricia Crone, *Slaves on horses. The evolution of the Islamic polity*, Cambridge 1980, 172; M. Sharon, *Black banners from the east. II. Revolt. The social and military aspects of the ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Jerusalem 1990, 218-19. (C.E. Bosworth)

ZIYĀD AL-AʿDJAM, Ibn Salmā (or Sulaym, or Sulaymān, or Djābir, see al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, *Dhayl*, ed. al-Maymanī, 8) Abū Umāma, poet of the Umayyad period. Of Persian origin, he was a *mawlā* of the ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith, a branch of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*]. For his biography, the primary source is the *K. al-Aghānī*, most of the information being provided by ʿUmar b. Shabba and Ibn ʿĀʾisha.

According to Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, iv, 221), in 23/643 he is said to have participated with Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and ʿUthmān b. al-ʿĀṣ in the conquest of Iṣṭakhr, where he is said to have subsequently lived, according to Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 693). In fact, he spent his entire life in the entourage of governors of Khurāsān and of Fārs such as ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar (*Agh.*, xiv, 104-6), ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Khashradj (*ibid.*, x, 151, 155, xiv, 105; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 696) and ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn (*Agh.*, xiv, 106), whose patronage he sought.

He associated himself at an early stage with the Umayyad general al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v.*], whose victory over the Khāridjites near Nahr Tustar he applauded in a *bāʾiyya*, of which five verses have been preserved by al-Dīnawarī (*al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. ʿĀmir, Cairo 1960, 272), and numerous episodes in his life are linked to his connection with him and his family. In particular, it seems that al-Muhallab protected him and defended his rights even at the expense of his own sons; thus when al-Muhallab's son, Ḥabīb, tore a silk robe that Ziyād wore in the Persian fashion, in revenge for a previous quarrel in which his father had also given his support to Ziyād (*Agh.*, xiv, 103-4), he composed verses declaring that it was not only his robe that had been torn but also the skin of al-Muhallab. The latter again supported him and demanded that his son pay compensation (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, biography of al-Muhallab, no. 754). Evidently al-Muhallab feared his satirical mode, of which he had had a taste in two scarcely flattering verses composed by Ziyād on the subject of the circumcision, late in life, of al-Muhallab's father Abū Ṣufra. According to Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, iv, 222), Ziyād died *ca.* 100/718 and, according to *Agh.*, xiv, 10, in Khurāsān.

Ziyād owed his nickname al-Aʿdjam to the fact that he had a strong Persian accent; according to anecdotes cited by the *Aghānī*, his mastery of spoken Arabic was not perfect, either in pronunciation or even in grammar. Al-Muhallab presented him with a well-spoken slave to recite his poems on his behalf (*Agh.*, xi, 165), provoking a hostile reaction on the part of another poet at the court of al-Muhallab, al-Mughīra b. Ḥabnāʾ. In exchanges of invective between the two, al-Mughīra b. Ḥabnāʾ never tired of reminding Ziyād of his barbarous origins; he also poked fun at the Rabīʿa who, as a tribe, had asked for a barbarian "of *aʿdjamī* tongue" to defend their honour in his poetry (*Agh.*, xi, 166-7).

But his status as a *mawlā* did not prevent Ziyād from gaining a reputation as a political satirist or from being recognised as "our *lisān*" by the Rabīʿa (*Agh.*, xi, 167). The other poet of the court of al-Muhallab with whom Ziyād exchanged invective was Kaʿb al-Ashḳarī, of the Azd, in a conflict which erupted between the latter and the ʿAbd al-Ḳays. Ziyād attacked Kaʿb, vowing that he would make "him and his people the target of every tongue" (*Agh.*, xiii, 58-9). Even al-Farazdaḳ, who intended to attack the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, abandoned his project in the face of Ziyād's riposte (*Agh.*, xiv, 107-8; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, ed. Shākir, 431; verses also in Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 695-6). Ziyād also satirised the Banū Yashkur, in circumstances which vary according to the sources: Ibn

Ḳutayba (*Shiʿr*, 430) mentions the name of the Yashkurī poet Ḳatāda; Ibn Sallām quotes two of Ziyād's verses concerning this tribe, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 699; according to *Agh.*, xi, 171, cited by al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Hārūn, vi, 126, the Banū Yashkur approached their poet, Suwayd, asking him to reply to Ziyād, but he refused.

The acknowledged imperfections of his spoken Arabic did not prevent the recognition of his poetry, from the time of al-Aṣmaʿī onward (*Fuḥūlat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Khafādjī and al-Zaynī, Cairo 1953, 31), as a *ḥudjdja* and as linguistically irreproach-able, to such an extent that his verses are cited as grammatical or lexical *loci probantes* by, among others, Sībawayh; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 178, 324, 365-6, 632, although al-Mubarrad gives elsewhere a corrected version of the verse most cited as a grammatical *shāhid*; Ibn Khallikān, biography of Khālid al-Tamīmī, no. 215; Abū ʿUbayda, *Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, see *Khizāna*, x, 208-9, and Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 373-4; and al-Wahhābī, *Marādjiʿ tarādjim al-udabāʾ al-ʿarab*, *s.v.* He is also quoted several times in the *LA*. Some of the verses attributed to him have also been attributed to al-Akhṭal or to al-Farazdaḳ (Ibn Khallikān, biography of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, no. 816; the biographer adds here that he has seen the *dīwān* of Ziyād, as is also claimed by al-ʿAynī, *al-Maḳāṣid al-naḥwiyya fī sharḥ shurūḥ al-alfiyya*, Būlāḳ 1299, iv, 597, see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 199-200).

Ziyād's best known poem, and the best preserved (in particular by al-Yazīdī, *K. al-Amālī*, and by al-Bakrī in his *dhayl* to al-Ḳālī's *Amālī*, the *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, is his *ḥāʾiyya* on the death of al-Muhallab's son Abū Firās al-Mughīra, who predeceased his father in 82/701. This elegy has been translated and published, with discussion of the sources, by F. Krenkow, *The elegy upon al-Mughīra Ibn al-Muhallab*, in *Islamica*, ii [1926-7], 344-54; the remainder of Ziyād's production survives only in fragments, recently collected by Y. Bakkār, *Shiʿr Ziyād al-Aʿdjam*, Damascus 1983. By means of a detailed analysis of the sources and the fragments, Bakkār aims at defining more clearly the biography and the personality of this poet and does not exclude the hypothesis, formed on the basis of a passage in the *LA* (s.v. *ʿudjm*), that Ziyād was in fact, despite his linguistic failings, an Arab by birth. On the subject of the *ḥāʾiyya*, al-Bakrī (*Simṭ al-laʾālī*, 7-8) recounts numerous traditions, taken up by Krenkow and Bakkār, according to which this poem would be attributable not to Ziyād but to his fellow-tribesman al-Salatān al-ʿAbdī (on whom see Nallino, *La letteratura araba*, 920)—further evidence of the extent to which this *mawlā* was integrated into his adoptive tribe.

It is perhaps all this that Blachère refers to when he writes (*HLA*, 512) that, while the work of Ziyād remains inaccessible to us, his biographical data "make this individual one of the most interesting figures from the point of view of our knowledge of relations between the Arab world and Iran, in poetry, at this time".

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): *Tahdhīb taʾrīkh Ibn ʿAsākir*, v, 401-3; *Khizāna*, x, 4-9; C.A. Nallino, *La letteratura araba*, Rome 1948, 137-8; S.M. Yusuf, *Al-Muhallab and the poets*, in *IC*, xxiv (1950), 197-99, as well as the references cited in Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 373-4. (LIDIA BETTINI)

ZIYĀDAT ALLĀH [see AGHLABIDS].

AL-**ZIYĀDĪ**, ABŪ ḤASSĀN AL-ḤASAN b. ʿUthmān al-Shīrāzī (this *nisba* from some apparent connection with the Persian city; see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 381), judge, traditionist and historian of the early ʿAbbāsid period, b. 156/773 in Baghdād and died there Radjab 242/Nov.-Dec. 856 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1434, and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī) or the following year.

A traditionalist in his views and associate of al-Shāfiʿī, he was questioned under the *Miḥna* [*q.v.*] at the end of al-Maʾmūn's reign (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1121-5, 1128, 1132). But he came into his own under the more orthodox al-Mutawakkil and was in 240/854-5 appointed *ḳāḍī* of the Sharḳiyya quarter of Baghdād; whilst in office there, he had a certain ʿĪsā b. Djaʿfar (presumably a Shīʿī) flogged to death for insulting the Shaykhayn, i.e. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and ʿĀʾisha and Ḥafṣa (*ibid.*, iii, 124-6). He was regarded as trustworthy in relating traditions. He was close to the historian al-Wāḳidī [*q.v.*] and was himself the author of a history, now lost, which was an important source for Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, whence for al-Ṭabarī, on contemporary and near-contemporary history.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, see Indices; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, vii, 356-61 no. 3877; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, Cairo 1936-8, ix, 18-24; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 100; L. Massignon, *Cadis et naqībs baghdadiens*, in *WZKM*, li (1948), 108; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 316.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ZIYĀDIDS, a dynasty of southwestern Arabia centred on Tihāma [*q.v.*] between the years 203-409(?)/818-1018, but having control also in the northern highlands of the Yemen [see AL-YAMAN] and along the Indian Ocean coast. Unfortunately, our sources are late and little informed, there are discrepancies in the dates given and even the names of the later members of the family are unknown.

The dynasty is named after Muḥammad b. Ziyād, who traced his pedigree back to the Umayyad dynasty and who, during the caliphate of the ʿAbbāsid al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], became the protégé of his minister, al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*]. In 202/817 a letter arrived at the ʿAbbāsid court with news of a rebellion of tribes in Tihāma. Al-Faḍl b. Sahl advised al-Maʾmūn to despatch Muḥammad b. Ziyād there in order to crush it. Ibn Ziyād was duly sent with the additional order to build a new capital in Tihāma. After performing the Pilgrimage in 203/818, he pressed on south into Yemen. There he fought many hard battles against recalcitrant tribes and succeeded in winning control over the whole of Tihāma. In 204/819, he built the new capital, as he had been instructed, and it was named Zabīd [*q.v.*]. Before his death in 245/859, he extended the territory of the dynasty far beyond Tihāma: to Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], along the southern coast to al-Shiḥr [*q.v.*] and Mirbāṭ in modern ʿUmān, to Aden [see ʿADAN] and Abyan [*q.v.*] and north along the Red Sea coast to Ḥaly Ibn Yaʿḳūb.

Ibn Ziyād was followed in power by his son, Ibrāhīm (d. 283/896), he by his own son, Ziyād (d. 289/902), he by his own son, (Ibn) Ziyād (d. 299/911), who was succeeded by one Abu 'l-Djaysh. The latter died in 371/981 and this is the last name and last firm date in the history of the family; 409/1018 is, however, mentioned specifically as the date of the demise of the dynasty.

Bibliography: The Yemeni Arabic sources are all late, the best being: ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, in H.C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, 1-18 (Eng. tr.) and 1-14 (Ar. text); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Daybaʿ, *Ḳurrat al-ʿuyūn bi-akhbār al-Yaman al-maymūn*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, 2 vols., Cairo 1977; see also G.R. Smith, *The political history of the Islamic Yemen down to the first Turkish invasion (1-945/622-1538)*, in W. Daum (ed.), *Yemen: 300 years of art and civilisation in Arabia Felix*, Innsbruck and Frankfurt

1988, 130-1 (with full references); C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 98 no. 41.

(G.R. Smith)

ZIYĀNIYYA, a Maghribī branch of the Ṣūfī order of the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*].

The eponymous founder was Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Ziyān (d. 1145/1733), a descendant of the Prophet (*sharīf*) originally from the Moroccan southwest (Wadi Draʿa, near Figuig). At an early age he went to Sidjilmāsa and was initiated into Ṣūfism by a *muḳaddam* of the Nāṣiriyya [*q.v.*], Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAzza. On the latter's death, he left for Fās in order to complete his education in the Islamic sciences, notably under Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī (d. 1116/1704). According to Rinn, he was allegedly expelled from Fās by Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (*Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1884, 412); but the hagiographical work devoted to Ibn Abī Ziyān, the *Ṭahārat al-anfus wa ʾl-arwāḥ al-djismāniyya fī ʾl-ṭarīḳa al-ziyāniyya al-shādhiliyya*, mentions that it was his care for a "decent obscurity" which impelled him to return to his ancestral land (tr. of this work by A. Cour, in *RMM*, xii [1910], see 365). There at Kanādhā (or Kenadsa) he founded a *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] which became a beacon in the region. The brigands of the Sahara feared the saint, famed for his miracle-working and from now on known as "Mawlāy Būziyān"; this last extended his protection over all the caravans crossing his region (documents with the *shaykh*'s seal made these caravans inviolable, according to Depont and Coppolani, who reproduce this seal in *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 497). Devotees from the *zāwiya* often escorted the caravans, and soon Ibn Abī Ziyān had his own, involving him in extensive commercial activity. In the same realm of ideas, it was said that the *shaykh* had the supernatural power of facilitating the Meccan Pilgrimage when obstacles intervened (Cour, *op. cit.*, 378-9, 571-9).

The office of *shaykh* was always transmitted hereditarily among the Ziyāniyya, usually from father to son. The order's influence spread particularly in Algeria, notably at Algiers and Oran (see the table in Depont and Coppolani, *op. cit.*, 500). The Ziyāniyya remained faithful to the Shādhilī spirit, in both their *dhikr* [*q.v.*] formulae and their stress on knowledge of the esoteric sciences, and furthermore, in the sobriety of their behaviour (see Cour, 582-3). When the fame of Shaykh Ibn Abī Ziyān had spread throughout Morocco, he enjoyed the favour of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (*ibid.*, 579), and this positive attitude of the holders of political power towards the Ziyāniyya became generalised. Under the Protectorate, the French authorities appreciated the benevolent and pacific role of the leaders at the Kanādhā *zāwiya*, and Depont and Coppolani note that these last "gave appreciable services" to the French forces.

Bibliography: See also J.Cl. Garcin, *Assises matérielles et rôle économique des ordres soufis*, in G. Veinstein and A. Popovic (eds.), *Les Voies d'Allâh. Les ordres mystiques dans le monde musulman des origines à aujourd'hui*, Paris 1996, 221-2. J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 88, has only a brief mention of the Ziyāniyya as a branch of the Nāṣiriyya.

(E. Geoffroy)

ZIYĀRA (a., pl. *ziyārāt*), pious visitation, pilgrimage to a holy place, tomb or shrine.

1. In the central and eastern Arab lands during the pre-modern period
2. In the central Arab lands from 1800 to the present day
3. Amongst the Copts in Egypt
4. In the Maghrib
5. In Persia and other Shīʿī lands
6. The Turkish lands, including the Balkans and Central Asia
7. In Muslim India
8. In Indonesia
9. In Central and West Africa
10. In the Horn of Africa

1. In the central and eastern Arab lands during the pre-modern period.

Unlike the *ḥadjdj* [*q.v.*], the canonical pilgrimage to Mecca, and the lesser pilgrimage, the *ʿumra* [*q.v.*], the *ziyāra* lacked the authority of Scripture. Mediaeval Arabic and Hebrew sources frequently refer to Jews and Christians making a *ziyāra* to tombs and shrines of holy persons (cf. J.W. Meri, *Sacred journeys to sacred precincts. The cult of saints among Muslims and Jews in medieval Syria*, D. Phil. thesis, Oxford Univ. 1998), and Near Eastern Jews routinely undertook pilgrimages to holy places in the Holy Land, Bilād al-Shām, ʿIrāḳ and Persia.

The first and most fundamental sense of this word applies to visiting the graves of the dead (*ziyārat al-ḳubūr*), as is reflected in the various *Sunan* collections (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. graves), but never specifically in the context of saints and prophets. Other related expressions which appear in mediaeval sources include *safar* "journeying" and *safar ilā ziyārat al-ḳubūr* "journeying to visit graves". *Ḥadīth* traditions generally refer to the Prophet's stricture against visiting Christian places of worship, and his concern that Muslims would follow idolatrous and polytheistic practices and raise tombs above the ground [see masdjid. I. C. 4.]. The Prophet urged visiting the tombs of the deceased to pray and supplicate on their behalf. *Ziyāra* also appears in other contexts. Devotees made a *ziyāra* to mosques and other holy places, many of them associated with holy persons and their legends, e.g. springs, wells, caves, mountains, etc. *Ziyāra* was also made to dead saints (*awliyāʾ*), prophets, mystics and other holy persons [see walī]. Another type of *ziyāra* was made to such venerable objects as the Prophet's sandal (cf. al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mirʾāt al-zamān*, Ḥaydarābād 1954-61, ii, 45-6; Meri, *op. cit.*, 123-4). Devotees also visited living holy men (saints, Ṣūfīs) or other such individuals revered for their piety, learning, spiritual insight and *baraka* [*q.v.*]. (cf. M.M. Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice in medieval Damascus 1190-1350*, Cambridge 1994, 132-3; Meri, *op. cit.*, ch. 2).

One of the earliest records of Muslim theologians discussing the proper etiquette (*adab*) of visiting tombs dates from the 2nd/8th century. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]) expressed concern with the manner and custom of properly conducting oneself when visiting tombs; he rebuked people for forgetting its solemn purpose and for engaging there in unacceptable behaviour, such as eating (al-Turkumānī, *K. al-Lumaʿ fī ʾl-ḥawādith wa ʾl-bidaʿ*, ed. S. Labīb, Cairo 1986, i, 214).

(a) *Shīʿī* ziyāra *in Arab lands*

All Shīʿīs, wherever they resided, recognised the importance of making the *ziyāra* to the tomb of the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn and the other Shīʿī Imāms. Although the *ziyāra* was not in fact obligatory as the *ḥadjdj* was, a similar obligatory status, merits and recompense were nevertheless ascribed to it. The major Shīʿī *ʿatabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] or pilgrimage cities were almost a "secondary *ḳibla*". The threat of divine punishment for not performing the *ziyāra* figures promi-

nently in *ziyāra* traditions. Shīʿīs upheld the intercession of the Imāms for their followers, in contrast to the Sunnīs, among whom the orthodox scholars like al-Ghazālī and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya denied the intercession of saints but only attributed it to the Prophet.

Ziyāra traditions arose in the context of Sunnī-Shīʿī antagonism precipitated by the massacre of al-Ḥusayn and his party at Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*]. Performing canonical prayer (*ṣalāt al-farīḍa*) was equivalent to the obligatory status of performing the *ḥadjdj* and supererogatory prayer to that of the recommended *ʿumra*. Other Shīʿī traditions mention that performing the pilgrimage to Karbalāʾ on the day of ʿArafa equals "one thousand Pilgrimages, one thousand lesser pilgrimages and one thousand military expeditions with the Prophet..." (al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *K. al-Mazār*, Ḳum 1988, 20). Since the *ziyāra* did not represent a legal substitute or alternative to the *ḥadjdj*, the award of merits surpassing those of the *ḥadjdj* was explicit. Al-Ḥusayn's son Abū ʿAbd Allāh likened the requirements of setting out on a *ziyāra* to al-Ḥusayn to those of the *ḥadjdj*. "What is incumbent upon us (*mā yalzamunā*) is what is incumbent in the *ḥadjdj*" (Ibn Ḳūlūya, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, Beirut 1997, 250-1). A number of traditions further address the commendable status of *ziyāra* (cf. *ibid.*, Nadjaf 1356/1437-8, 141).

Shīʿīs placed greater emphasis on *ziyāra* ritual than did Sunnīs. In fact, no Shīʿī theologian opposed making a *ziyāra*. The institutionalisation of ritual contributed to the formation of pilgrimage centres in the towns and cities of ʿIrāḳ. Similarly, the devotional role ascribed to the Shīʿī Imāms and the Family of the Prophet in Fāṭimid Egypt continued with the successor Sunnī dynasties (C.S. Taylor, *Reevaluating the Shiʿi role in the development of monumental Islamic funerary architecture: the case of Egypt*, in *Muqarnas*, ix [1992], 3-10; C. Williams, *The cult of ʿAlid saints in the Fatimid monuments of Cairo*, in *ibid.*, i [1983], 37-52, iii [1985], 39-60).

(b) *Opposition to* ziyāra

Opposition to *ziyāra* crystallised after the founding of the Ḥanbalī school of jurisprudence in ʿIrāḳ. It was not its founder Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]), but rather subsequent generations of disciples who were concerned with Muslims engaging in *ziyāra* practices which violated the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. However, Ibn Ḥanbal at first forbade reciting the Ḳurʾān at funerals, but immediately changed his mind afterward (cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, iv, 492). Ḥanbalīs affirmed that so long as no precedent existed in the Ḳurʾān or Sunna for the veneration of saints and for making a *ziyāra* to tombs (with the exception of reading the opening chapter of the Ḳurʾān, supplicating on behalf of the dead and contemplating death and the Hereafter, etc.), *ziyāra* was to be considered an heretical innovation (*bidʿa*) and venerating saints as polytheism (*shirk*). They also rejected the *ziyāra* on the grounds that it encouraged immoral practices, such as the intermingling of the sexes, especially at festivals and on saints' days (*mawsim*).

One of the earliest Ḥanbalī condemnations of *ziyāra* came from the Baghdādī jurisconsult and resident of Damascus Ibn ʿAḳīl (d. 513/1119 [*q.v.*]), who castigates the ignorant and wretched (i.e. the common people) for practices "which they created for themselves", namely, glorifying tombs and physically coming in contact with them. Ibn ʿAḳīl argues that proponents of the cult of saints justified pilgrimage to tombs and shrines by invoking a tradition on the authority of the Companion Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 78/697) in which the Prophet visited the Mosque of the Aḥzāb on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday (G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl, religion and culture in classical Islam*, Edinburgh 1997, 209). On the basis of this tradition, he and later generations of Ḥanbalīs deliberated whether it was legal to perform *ziyāra* to saints' tombs, shrines (*mashāhid* [see MASHHAD]) and mosques with tombs in them. Devotees would engage in nights of religious devotion called *iḥyāʾ* during which they would recite the Ḳurʾān and pray. Such occasions, it was implausibly alleged, engendered immoral behaviour. Ibn ʿAḳīl refers to men and women committing immoral acts and to the expenditure of great sums of money. He further elaborates on objectionable rituals which include kindling lights, kissing tombs and covering them with perfume, addressing the dead with petitions, writing formulae on paper, taking earth from the tomb as a blessing, hanging rags on trees, etc. Such practices, he argues, were tantamount to *djāhilī* practices (Makdisi, *op. cit.*, 210).

Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]) was one of the foremost critics of the cult of saints and the author of several highly controversial legal opnions (*fatāwā*) and treatises concerning *ziyāra*, which provide insight into the rituals of saint devotion among Muslims and Christians throughout the Near East, particularly in Damascus, where he lived most of his life.

Ibn Taymiyya distinguishes between the heretical *ziyāra* (*al-ziyāra al-bidʿiyya*), which he associates with pagans, Jews and Christians, and the legal *ziyāra* (*al-ziyāra al-sharʿiyya*), which is enjoined by the Prophet. The former, tantamount to polytheism, is when "the visitor intends that his supplication be fulfilled at the tomb or that he supplicate the deceased, supplicate for rain through him and make a request of him or take an oath by God, requesting a need" (*Madjmūʿ fatāwā*, al-Riyāḍ 1991, xxvii, 31-2). However, Ibn Taymiyya does not deny the possibility that supplication can be fulfilled, going so far as to say that "if anything is granted, it should be attributed to the personal merit of the tomb's patron" (*Iḳtiḍāʾ al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm mukhālafat ahl al-djaḥīm*, Cairo 1950, 374). While some theologians acknowledged the symbiotic nature of the relationship between the living and the dead, Ibn Taymiyya argues that "in the legally permissible *ziyāra*, the living does not have need for the dead by making a request of him (*masʾala*) or seeking his intercession (*tawassul*). But rather, the dead derive benefit from the living, and God the Exalted has mercy upon the living who supplicate for the dead" (*Madjmūʿ fatāwā*, xxvii, 71).

Ibn Taymiyya's disciple Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 1275/1350 [*q.v.*]) continued his master's crusade against *ziyāra* practices which threatened orthodoxy and in a scathing polemic against them argued that mediaeval Syrians in performing *ziyāra* were observing rites (*manāsik*) similar to those of the Pilgrimage to Mecca (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāyid al-shayṭān*, Beirut 1986, i, 220-21, 304). Concerning such parallels, see Meri, *The etiquette of devotion in the Islamic cult of saints*, in *The cult of saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Essays on the contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. J. Howard-Johnston and P.A. Hayward, Oxford 1999, 263-86; idem, *Sacred journeys*.

During the early 20th century, the puritanical Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*], adherents of the doctrines of Ibn Taymiyya, destroyed the monuments that stood over the tombs of the Companions throughout the Ḥidjāz.

(c) *Affirming the* ziyāra

Writing in defence of the *ziyāra* in his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*])

took the opponents of *ziyāra* to task by affirming the existence of saints and the permissibility of making a *ziyāra* to all tombs. But he, too, qualified the true meaning of *ziyāra*, which he did not merely associate with saints. The presence of holiness made a pilgrimage site efficacious. Muslims possessed a universal sense of the holiness of the dead which manifested itself in the devotee's physical and spiritual contact with the site. Al-Ghazālī stresses the universality of the interpersonal experience of self-surrender and embracing the dead with all one's senses, a recurring theme in the pilgrimage guides (*op. cit.*, iv, 492).

Ziyāra should be conducted in accordance with the Sunna of the Prophet. For al-Ghazālī, the goals of *ziyāra* were contemplation, remembering death and obtaining blessings, a view with which even the Ḥanbalīs would agree. However, the devotee may obtain blessings only through his own contemplation and supplication and not through the dead saint. The exception is the Prophet. Al-Ghazālī cites two traditions, one of which commends *ziyāra*: "Visiting tombs is altogether recommended for remembrance (*dhikr*) and contemplation (*iʿtibār*). Visiting the tombs of the righteous is recommended for the purpose of seeking blessings [and] contemplation. The Messenger of God... forbade visiting tombs and then permitted that afterwards" (iv, 490). Al-Ghazālī then quotes a canonical Tradition related by ʿAlī in which the Prophet changed his mind about permitting Muslims to visit the dead.

Unlike the Ḥanbalīs, al-Ghazālī did not distinguish between *ziyāra* to the tombs of loved ones and those of saints. The goals were one and the same—supplicating to God on behalf of the dead. Since the Prophet visited his mother's grave, it is permissible for Muslims to visit all graves and remember the dead. However, the Prophet never kissed, lay upon or rubbed against tombs.

(d) *Pilgrimage literature*

Pilgrimage guides are collectively referred to as *kutub al-ziyārāt*. The guide was a companion for learned pilgrims to remember and invoke blessings upon the dead saint and to make a pilgrimage to his tomb or shrine. Although they reflect a variety of influences and traditions from the early Islamic period, pilgrimage guides provide a real sense of the variety of *ziyāra* ritual and thus constitute an important source for understanding the veneration of holy persons. Guides occasionally mention Jewish, Christian and common holy sites.

A number of factors contributed to the emergence of pilgrimage guides as a devotional genre. The Islamic territorial expansion from the 1st/7th to the 3rd/9th centuries led to Muslim scholars recording and commenting on the burial sites of the Prophet's Companions who had settled in the garrison towns and of those martyred in battle. Similar traditions, of varying degrees of authenticity, concerning the prophets and other scriptural figures are also frequently mentioned.

Ziyāra traditions evolved from *faḍāʾil* traditions which emphasise the Islamic nature and sanctity of a location by identifying the burial place of a prophet, martyr or hero. Such traditions extol the merits of particular cities, holy sites and saints. The systematic compilation of traditions contributed to the emergence of regional histories and pilgrimage guides for such cities as Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Kūfa and Nadjaf, and of other literary genres which often mention pilgrimage sites.

The only known specimen of pilgrimage literature for the entire Islamic world and parts of the Christian Mediterranean and Byzantium during the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries is the Syrian savant and ascetic ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī's (d. 611/1215 [see AL-HARAWĪ AL-MAWṢILĪ]) *K. al-Ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-ziyārāt* (ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953). Almost all of our knowledge of pilgrimages to shrines in the Arabian peninsula derives from this source. The author records sites and popular traditions concerning them, based on first-hand knowledge and second-hand accounts. Al-Harawī regularly includes popular traditions, which he indicates in a number of ways: "It is said" (*ḳīla/yuḳāl*), "according to local custom" (*kamā dhakarū/yadhkurūn*), or "according to what the people of the site mentioned" (*kamā dhakara ahl al-mawḍiʿ*). He often questions these traditions by stating that "the truth is..." (*wa 'l-ṣaḥīḥ anna*...).

The *Ishārāt* provided a basis for late mediaeval pilgrimage guides and regional histories, particularly in al-Shām. Unlike other pilgrimage guides, however, there is no evidence to suggest that it was employed during a *ziyāra*. In fact, the author dedicated the work to the ʿAbbāsid caliph (Y. Rāghib, *Essai d'inventaire chronologique des guides à l'usage des pèlerins du Caire*, in *REI*, xli [1973], 272-3). Morever, it is not as explicit as Egyptian pilgrimage guides in providing directions and distances. The *Ishārāt* is akin to a travel itinerary, but it does not provide distances between places or mention the time spent in a given location. In fact, the guide is a compilation from memory, trustworthy sources, and notes which may have survived being appropriated by the Franks in 588/1192. All pilgrimage guides employ a common language to refer to pilgrimage sites, a language not merely descriptive in nature but one indicative of the rituals that devotees performed and the sacred nature of sites.

In the absence of a universal tradition of pilgrimage guides, many traditions emerged which reflected a variety of local and regional practices as attested in the diversity of guides. Pilgrimage guides throughout the Islamic world tend to be derivative in nature, often relying upon previous traditions. The earliest known pilgrimage guide is of Shīʿī provenance, the *K. al-Ziyārāt* of the Kūfan jurist al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Faḍḍāl al-Taymī al-Kūfī (d. 224/838-9). No correlation exists between the growth of Shīʿī pilgrimage guides in ʿIrāḳ and the development of pilgrimage guides in Egypt. Neither the Egyptian or later Syrian guides betray a Shīʿī origin. Authors of Sunnī and Shīʿī guides rely upon the *faḍāʾil* literature for the purpose of glorifying a location. However, the Shīʿī guides also draw upon traditions attributed to a number of the Imāms, most notably the sixth Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*], which largely concern al-Ḥusayn, ʿAlī and other members of the Prophet's Family.

(e) *Shīʿī pilgrimage guides*

These are concerned with rites (*manāsik*) of *ziyāra* and not only with *adab* or etiquette as in the Sunnī case. *Manāsik* ordinarily and in Sunnī usage refers to the ceremonies and rites of the *ḥadjdj*. Shīʿī guides stress the importance of ritual behaviour to a greater degree than Sunnī ones. The earliest known Shīʿī guides include that of al-Kūfī (see above), Ibn Ḳūlūya's (d. 368/978-9) *Kāmil al-ziyārat*, his disciple Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nuʿmān al-Ḥārithī (al-Shaykh al-Mufīd)'s (d. 413/1022) *K. al-Mazār* and Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḳummī's (d. 368/978 or 379/989) *K. al-Mazārāt al-kabīr*. Such guides describe ritual behaviour and supplications pronounced before undertaking a pilgrimage, such as the types of rituals and rites which al-Shaykh al-Mufīd refers to as *manāsik*. He and Ibn Ḳūlūya cite traditions indicating that Shīʿīs placed

great emphasis on the *ziyāra* to ʿAlī's tomb in Nadjaf and that of al-Ḥusayn in Karbalāʾ. One such tradition of Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn states that "making a *ziyāra* to al-Ḥusayn ... is equal to and more meritorious than twenty pilgrimages to Mecca" (Ibn Ḳūlūya, ed. Nadjaf, 161). A similar tradition concerns visiting al-Ḥusayn on the day of ʿArafa.

Since prescribed ritual acts constituted a central part of Shīʿī *ziyāra* devotion, Shīʿī scholars and Imāms exercised control over its rites and urged devotees to make the *ziyāra* according to the traditions of the Imāms to the extent that not doing so was considered un-Islamic and would result in a shorter lifespan (*ibid.*, 43).

This is in contrast to the Sunnī *ziyāra*, in which little control existed. For the Shīʿī, performing the *ziyāra* had many benefits in addition to receiving the temporal benefits of performing the *hadjdj* and *ʿumra*, as well as dispelling sadness and expurgating sins. Wherever they resided, Shīʿīs observed the same rites and rituals. The formalisation and consolidation of ritual was a necessary corollary to the development of central pilgrimage centres, which did not exist for the Sunnīs.

Nor were local cults insignificant. However, local ritual practices were not preserved in pilgrimage guides, but have only survived in local histories. The Shīʿī Ḥamdānid ruler of Aleppo Sayf al-Dawla (*r.* 333-56/944-67 [*q.v.*]) was a devotee of saints who patronised and constructed shrines in Aleppo and its outlying villages.

It was incumbent upon the Shīʿī pilgrim to abstain from worldly pleasures. *Ziyāra* to the shrine of al-Ḥusayn in Karbalāʾ was a special experience which demanded the full participation of the devotee in the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn and the expression of great sorrow, not merely the sadness one expresses over the death of relations but rather its ultimate manifestation requiring the pilgrim to experience physical and emotional debilitation.

Unlike the majority of Sunnī guides, Shīʿī ones were written by prominent theologians, such as the aforementioned Ibn Ḳūlūya and his disciple al-Shaykh al-Mufīd. The latter's *K. al-Mazār* is divided into two parts, the first of which concerns the merits (*faḍāʾil*) of Kūfa, its [congregational] mosque and the Euphrates, etc. This is followed by a description of the *ziyāra* to ʿAlī's tomb and a discussion of the necessity of visiting that of al-Ḥusayn and the merits of performing the *ziyāra* to it, especially on various holy days. So highly developed were the *ziyāra* rites that Shīʿīs pronounced formulaic expressions at every stage. Shīʿī guides could perhaps be regarded as manuals for theologians who would instruct illiterate and common pilgrims in the ways of the group activity of *ziyāra*. The second part of the guide deals primarily with *ziyāra* to the Prophet Muḥammad and his Household, who were buried in Medina, and to the Shīʿī Imāms. Al-Shaykh al-Mufīd devotes a section to abridged supplications, which suggests that they were meant primarily for instantaneous memorisation before the performance of the *ziyāra* rather than for reading or study.

Shīʿīs also prayed special *ziyāra* prayers as at the tomb of the first Imām ʿAlī, which consisted of a series of supplications and recitations of particular chapters of the Ḳurʾān, placing the right and left cheek on the ground and pronouncing imprecations against the enemies of ʿAlī and those who wronged him.

These guides do not mention places in Syria to which ʿIrāḳī Shīʿī pilgrims undertook pilgrimage, as no Imāms were buried there. However, the Shīʿīs of Syria and Lebanon performed many of the same rites and rituals mentioned in these guides at local shrines as those done at the shrines of the Imāms in ʿIrāḳ and Persia. In spite of the absence of evidence concerning Shīʿī *ziyāra* rituals in Syria, Aleppan and Damascene Shīʿī theologians would have travelled to the holy cities of ʿIrāḳ, and theologians who hailed from the east and settled in al-Shām would have disseminated the proper teachings of the Imāms and taught proper *ziyāra* rites.

The earliest surviving Egyptian pilgrimage guide, which served as a basis for later works, is the *Murshid al-zuwwār ilā ḳubūr al-abrār* of the Shāfiʿī jurisconsult and *ḥadīth* scholar ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān (d. 615/1218) (publ. Cairo 1995). Like other guides, it begins with the sacred topography of the pilgrimage centre, in this case Djabal al-Muḳaṭṭam and the Ḳarāfa cemeteries. This is followed by descriptions of mosques and their endowers, historical accounts concerning the *ziyāra* and traditions concerning the dead hearing the living, discussion of the propriety of walking in the cemetery with sandals, formulas pronounced upon entering the cemetery, pilgrimage etiquette, and various ritual acts (making sacrifice, prayer, etc.). Finally, the author lists tombs, their efficacious qualities, associated rituals and exact pilgrimage routes. The guide was not merely descriptive but also prescriptive. In fact, it is replete with instructions and directions to the pilgrim as he walked from station to station. A contemporary of Ibn ʿUthmān, Madjd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nāsikh (d. *ca.* 696/1296-97), a minor Egyptian official in the service of the vizier Ibn Ḥanna, wrote a second guide, *Miṣbāḥ al-dayādjī wa-ghawth al-rādjī wa-kahf al-lādjī*. During the 9th/15th century, the Ṣūfī mystic Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Zayyāt (d. 815/1412) composed *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra fi ʾl-ḳarāfatayn al-kubrā wa ʾl-ṣughrā* (Cairo 1907). Another guide was composed by Nūr al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Khalaf b. Maḥmūd al-Sakhāwī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1482/3?), entitled *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb wa-bughyat al-ṭullāb fi ʾl-khiṭaṭ wa ʾl-mazārāt wa ʾl-tarādjim wa ʾl-biḳāʿ al-mubārakāt*. The Cairene *ziyāra* developed into an elaborate institution with learned guides known as *mashāyikh al-ziyāra* who conducted visitors (*zuwwār*) through the Ḳarāfa cemeteries on Djabal al-Muḳaṭṭam [*q.v.*].

Pilgrimage guides developed much later in al-Shām than they did in Egypt. However, most of our knowledge of mediaeval Syrian *ziyārat* derives from historical sources. In contrast to Egypt, where *ziyāra* literature was known in Fāṭimid and Mamlūk times, the earliest extant pilgrimage guide for Syria dates to the early 10th/16th century. The absence of institutionalised Sunnī control over the *ziyāra* as with the later *mashāyikh al-ziyāra*, and of an early tradition of scholarship centered around pilgrimage traditions, prompted the later appearance of guides. However, poems such as the one recited to the Damascene historian Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 572/1176 [*q.v.*]) on Mt. Ḳāsiyūn, praise the performing of the *ziyāra* to its pilgrimage sites. Muslims were accustomed to writing poetry about their holy places. Brief descriptions of pilgrimage sites are also found in geographical works like al-Dimashḳī's *Nukhbat al-dahr* and fuller accounts in travel itineraries like the *Riḥlas* of Ibn Djubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who routinely mention the pilgrimage sites in a given locality. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī (d. 873/1468) in his *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, ed. and tr. E.F.C. Rosenmüller, Leipzig

1828, consistently enumerates the congregational mosques, *madrasas*, shrines (*mashhads*), pilgrimage sites (*mazārāt*) and blessed sites (*amākin mubāraka*). The centrality of these designations in al-Ẓāhirī's work and the emphasis that he places on "blessed places" indicate the contemporary importance attached to places of pilgrimage. The 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries are characterised by increased activity in the compilation of pilgrimage traditions and descriptions of pilgrimage places and the rituals and legends associated with them. These works represent a transition from an oral to a written *ziyāra* "tradition" among scholars and historians in al-Shām. Historians such as Ibn ʿAsākir, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAẓīmī (d. *ca.* 556/1161 [*q.v.*]), Yaḥyā b. Abī Ṭayyiʾ (d. *ca.* 625-30/1228/33 [see IBN ABĪ ṬAYYIʾ]), Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262), Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285) and Ibn al-Shiḥna (d. 890/1485) [*q.vv.*] include in their histories detailed inventories of tombs, shrines and other monuments for the Mirdāsid, Ḥamdānid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods. Their works provide significant details concerning the founding of monuments, their efficaciousness, legends associated with them, and the practices and beliefs of the common people and their encounters with the holy. Some of these traditions are based on the personal experiences of the writers or their contemporaries. Notable is the prominence accorded to *ziyāra* traditions concerning the tombs of the Family of the Prophet, his Companions and the Followers throughout these works.

Ibn ʿAsākir dedicates a number of chapters of his *Taʾrīkh* to places of prayer, tombs and shrines in and around Damascus to which the *ziyāra* is made. One section includes nineteen traditions concerning the burial places of prophets and Companions narrated by a number of Companions and several reports by the Damascene historian Abū Zurʿa (d. 270/894), who is critical of the authenticity of a number of tombs, stating e.g. "Regarding Mudrik b. Ziyād, I did not find any mention of him, except on the tablet on his tomb from an unverifiable source. . . ."

Like al-Harawī's *Ishārāt*, the works of Ibn al-ʿAdīm and Ibn Shaddād reflect a popular level of discourse and also mention the activities of the people. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, who was a contemporary of al-Harawī, from whom he personally heard a number of accounts, devotes a chapter of his *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab* to "the pilgrimage sites (*mazārāt*), tombs of prophets and saints and the noble localities (*mawāṭin*) in Aleppo and its districts, which are known for the fulfilment of supplication" (ed. S. Zakkār, Beirut 1988-9, i, 459). The account includes 57 pilgrimage places for Aleppo and its districts, including accounts taken from al-Harawī and the author's father.

Ibn Shaddād dedicates three chapters of *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra* to pilgrimage sites in Aleppo, Damascus, Jordan, Palestine and Lebanon. He relies extensively on al-Harawī for Palestinian and Damascene *ziyārāt* and on Ibn al-ʿAdīm and Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ for Aleppan sites. The Ḥanbalī jurisprudent Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 744/1343), who was a member of the Maḳdisī family, also composed a number of no longer extant works, including a pamphlet concerning the *ziyāra* and another on the *ḥadīth* concerning the lives of the prophets and their graves. He also includes unique details concerning Ayyūbid pilgrimage sites.

Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546 [*q.v.*]), a prolific historian and commentator on the political and social climate of Mamlūk and early Ottoman Damascus, was one of the many devout believers who made the *ziyāra* on a regular basis to tombs and shrines in his native Damascus, judging by his numerous works which mention or are devoted to Damascus' pilgrimage sites and saints, including *Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān* and *al-Ḳalāʾid al-djawhariyya fī taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya*. Thirteen other compositions dealing with various aspects of the cult of saints are now lost but widely quoted in the aforementioned works and in his autobiography, *al-Fulk al-mashḥūn fī aḥwāl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn*. Two other works survive, the first of which, *Tuḥfat al-ḥabīb fīmā warada fi ʾl-kathīb* (cf. J. Sadan, *Le tombeau de Moïse à Jéricho et à Damas*, in *REI*, xlix [1981], 59-99), concerns the tombs of Moses in Damascus and Jericho, while *Ghāyat al-bayān fī tardjamat al-Shaykh Arsalān* is a brief biography of a 6th/12th-century Damascene saint and a description of his burial place. Women visiting shrines prompted Ibn Ṭūlūn to write the no longer extant *al-Tawadjdjuhāt al-sitt ilā kaff al-nisāʾ ʿan ḳabr al-Sitt*, against their visiting the reputed shrine of the Prophet's granddaughter Sayyida Zaynab in a village south of Damascus.

In *al-Ḳalāʾid al-djawhariyya*, which he composed about the history of al-Ṣāliḥiyya [*q.v.*] outside Damascus, Ibn Ṭūlūn dedicates a chapter to its famous pilgrimage sites and mausoleums. He begins by listing a number of grottoes, caves and *miḥrāb*s, mosques and *madrasas* followed by the most important tombs for which he provides detailed biographical accounts based on those of the Maḳdisī family and others. The Maḳdisīs also composed a number of important biographical works, parts of which survive.

The first known Damascene pilgrimage guide is Ibn al-Ḥawrānī's (d. 1000/1592) *K. al-Ishārāt ilā amākin al-ziyārāt* (Damascus 1981), which relies upon the works of Ibn Ṭūlūn, al-Rabaʿī's *Faḍāʾil al-Shām* and Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk*. Ibn al-Ḥawrānī wrote the *Ishārāt* in response to a request, intending "to guide [others] to righteousness so that it will serve as an aid to the one who sets out on pilgrimage (*ṭālib al-ziyāra*), obeying the words of God the Exalted, 'Let there become of you a community that shall call for righteousness'" (Ḳurʾān, III, 104). The guide, which includes over one hundred pilgrimage sites for Damascus and outlying villages and a number of other Syrian localities like Aleppo and its surrounding villages, tombs, shrines, mosques, minarets and sacred grottoes, opens with the praise of Damascus and its congregational mosque, the traditions concerning the head of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ [*q.v.*], the minaret where ʿĪsā will descend at the end of time and a number of individual shrines, such as the tombs of Hūd, al-Sayyida Ruḳayya and Nūr al-Dīn [*q.vv.*]. For each entry, the author provides a biography of the saint. The rest of the guide is ordered by location, beginning with the western part of the city, then proceeding to the southern, eastern and northern parts. The sixth chapter includes pilgrimage sites in the outlying villages. This is followed by a number of northern Syrian localities. Ibn al-Ḥawrānī includes pilgrimage sites on the basis of established *ziyāra* traditions, such as those found in the works of al-Rabaʿī, Ibn ʿAsākir and Ibn Ṭūlūn. The concluding chapter is devoted to *ziyāra* etiquette. According to Ibn al-Ḥawrānī, the *ziyāra* begins with the remembrance of God and the intent to perform pilgrimage. The author then indicates that the devotee reflects upon himself and his sins which prevent him from nearing God. He experiences a cathartic state in which he rebukes and scolds himself and then weeps. Then he supplicates God and reads from the Ḳurʾān, while being sincere in reaching his goal, and refrains from speaking foul words. *Ziyāra* was not only a means for fulfilment of personal supplications; the devotee was to

remember God and the Afterlife, pray and read the Ḳurʾān. This is the ultimate purpose of *ziyāra*.

Ḳāḍī Maḥmūd al-ʿAdawī's (d. 1032/1623) *K. al-Ziyārāt bi-Dimashḳ* (Damascus 1956), which is an acknowledged imitation of Ibn al-Ḥawrānī's *Ishārāt*, relies upon many of the same sources and a number of literary, devotional and historical works, and mentions 98 saints' tombs and other pilgrimage sites. An emphasis on biographical details renders this a biographical work rather than a pilgrimage guide to be employed during the *ziyāra*. Al-ʿAdawī is not explicit about the purpose for which the guide is to be used. However, it may be assumed that it served a similar commemorative function to Ibn al-Ḥawrānī's *Ishārāt*, but does not stress pilgrimage etiquette.

Yāsīn al-Faraḍī b. Muṣṭafā al-Djuʿfī al-Biḳāʿī al-Ḥanafī al-Māturīdī (d. 1095/1684), the author of the guide *al-Nubdha al-laṭīfa fi 'l-mazārāt al-sharīfa* is explicit about the purpose for which devotees should use it. Al-Biḳāʿī intended that the guide be employed during pilgrimage as an aid to remembering the saints who were buried in a particular location, perhaps even suggesting that the pilgrim should visit as many pilgrimage sites as he possibly can.

During the eighteenth century, the Damascene Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143?/1731 [*q.v.*]) undertook several journeys through Bilād al-Shām, Egypt and the Ḥidjāz in which he meticulously recorded details of the pilgrimage sites he visited, and in one of his several travel works, *al-Ḥaḍra al-unsiyya fi 'l-riḥla al-ḳudsiyya*, he undertook a 44-day journey from Damascus to Jerusalem in which he visited numerous shrines.

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(J.W. Meri)

2. In the central Arab lands from 1800 to the present day.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the visitation of the tombs of saints and other holy sites has continued to be a common feature of popular religious life in Egypt, Greater Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Arabia (for Shīʿī *ziyārāt*, see 5. below). As a result of enhanced security and comfort of travel provided by modern means of transport, there has even been a remarkable increase in the number of pilgrims visiting important shrines such as that of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā [*q.vv.*]. The same holds true for the *ziyāra* to the Prophet's tomb and to the old cemetery of Medina (see al-madīna and baḳīʿ al-gharḳad)—a visitation that is, of course, in most cases performed before or after the *hadjdj* [*q.v.*]. In this connection, it is to be noted that the destruction of tombs and shrines in Mecca, Medina and elsewhere in Arabia, at the hands of Wahhābīs [see wahhābiyya], has not in the long term resulted in a dramatic decrease of visitations to these places, at least not to the most important ones. (For a survey of the sites in Medina demolished since 1926, see e.g. Yūsuf Raghdā al-ʿĀmilī, *Maʿālim Makka wa 'l-Madīna bayn al-māḍī wa 'l-ḥāḍir*, Beirut 1997, esp. 401 ff.) However, any *ziyāra* there is to be performed, at least in principle, according to the strict rules of the Wahhābiyya and under the control of its representatives.

In other countries of the Arab East, the situation varies. For a number of reasons, including urban development measures and the confiscation of *waḳf* [*q.v.*] property by the state, many shrines (in particular the smaller ones) have become neglected or have even been demolished. Others, however, still flourish, and in fact a number of new ones have sprung up recently. Moreover, there are old shrines which, for one reason or another, have lately acquired a popularity they never had before. An interesting example of this phenomenon is the shrine of Sayyida Zaynab (*Ḳabr al-Sitt*) near Damascus, which is visited mainly, but not exclusively, by Shīʿīs (see Mervin, in *Bibl.*, and no. 25 [1996] of the journal *al-Mawsim*). In the case of Sayyida Zaynab, as well as with regard to Muslim sanctuaries in Jerusalem [see al-ḳuds], Hebron [see al-khalīl] and other *mazārāt* in Palestine (see, in particular, Canaan, in *Bibl.*), it is obvious that political circumstances, as in the past, have a considerable (positive or negative) influence on the actual performance of the *ziyārāt* and on the number of pilgrims participating.

In general, the *ziyāra* is popular especially with lower and middle-class women. Many educated Muslim men shun or even vehemently denounce all traditional forms of saint veneration, and in particular most of the *ziyāra* practices. At best, they demand that the rites be reformed according to the teachings of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*], i.e. be stripped of all words and deeds that, in their opinion, are *bidʿa* [*q.v.*].

More or less sharp criticism of what goes on at popular festivals [see mawsim and mawlid], such as prostitution and various forms of exploitation of the credulous, is to be found in modern Arabic literature. This criticism is voiced in works written by religiously conservative authors as well as by modernists and (even more so) by secularists. There are, however, many such writers who also point to the spiritual dimensions and social values which find expression in the *ziyārāt* and related practices (for Egypt, see Wielandt, in *Bibl.*).

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3. Amongst the Copts in Egypt.

Coptic Orthodox sites for *ziyāra* can be found throughout Egypt, shaping an entirely Christian topography. The origins of sites range from the 1st to the 20th centuries. The itinerary of the Holy Family during their flight to Egypt is marked by numerous holy places. Nowadays, Copts include holy rocks and trees in their *ziyāra*, while St. Mary and Jesus became venerated in churches and monasteries built on the legendary sites. The itinerary stretches from Sakha in the north to Asyūṭ in Middle Egypt. Some noteworthy places are Musturud (where now the Church of the Virgin Mary stands), Wādī 'l-Naṭrūn (currently with four large monasteries), and Old Cairo (the churches of Abū Sardja and Muʿallaḳa and two convents for nuns). At several convents and churches, such as at Dayr Dronka and Dayr al-Muḥarraḳ near Asyūṭ, large *mawlid*s developed besides the regular *ziyāra* (Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, *The Coptic Mouleds. Evolution of the traditional pilgrimages*, in N. van Doorn and K. Vogt, *Between desert and city. The Coptic Orthodox Church today*, Oslo 1997, 212-29).

Martyrs, saints (such as Mārī Girgīs, Abū Sayfayn, Sitt Dimyāna) and the Virgin Mary account for the majority of *ziyāra* sites, yet there are numerous local saints, some dating back to the 4th century A.D. Concurrent with the Coptic Church reform that started in the 1950s, many pilgrimage centres have been restored and re-shaped into new shrines which draw each week thousands of pilgrims who are in a process of rediscovering their Coptic heritage and history. An example of this development is the shrine of St. Menas at Maryūṭ, which was a large pilgrimage centre from the Late Roman Empire until the 9th century. In 1959 the Coptic Church built a new monastery, Dayr Abū Minā, near the site, and the relics of St. Menas were transferred from Cairo to Maryūṭ. The site gained in reputation after the remains of the popular Patriarch Kyrillos VI, who died in 1971, were laid there as well.

Concomitant with Islamic Egypt reinforcing its religious roots, Copts are purifying their *ziyāra* practices from non-Christian practices, beliefs and elements. Since the 1970s, *ziyāra* has evolved from an outing to a holy place characterised by indigenous practices, shared by Muslims and Christians alike, to a liturgical event orchestrated by the Coptic Church. Prayers are not extempore but made according to certain texts, requests made to saints go via priests and monks, *tamdjīd* (songs of praise about the saint) are sung from printed bulletins, while the *ziyāra* is supervised by church volunteers who ensure that the pilgrims obey the Church's teachings. Often a mass will be celebrated. As a result of this, the number of Muslim visitors whom these sites used to draw has drastically diminished.

An important aspect of *ziyāra* is to take home a sign of *baraka* [*q.v.*] in the shape of holy oil, a trinket with the saint's picture, or a small container with *ḥānūt* (fragrant balm that was put on the grave on the saint's day).

The goals of *ziyāra* are manifold: to pray for healing, to pronounce vows, or to deliver what was promised in an earlier vow. *Ziyāra* during *mawlids* is considered the prime time for baptising children and for exorcising evil spirits. Honouring the saint is an important aspect of *ziyāra*, thus reinforcing bonds between the living and the dead, and between the Church on earth and the Church Victorious. Churches organise bus tours to a series of sites, enabling Copts from all over Egypt to connect with each other, confirming their identity and faith.

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(Nelly van Doorn-Harder)

4. In the Maghrib.

In 760/1359, the former vizier and scholar of Granada, Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], was in Marrākush where he paid a reverential visit to the sanctuary of the patron saint of the Moroccan city, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī (d. 606/1205 [*q.v.*]). The Andalusī was impressed by the opulence of the sanctuary, financed by vast revenues. Daily, they normally revolved around the sum of "800 *mithḳāls*" but some days could "attain or even exceed 1,000 dīnārs". Such sums of money could not fail but arouse the greed of the staff of the sanctuary and to pose problems in regard to distribution. A witness to these disputes, Ibn al-Khaṭīb saw the issues being presented before judges; the degree of opulence of the religious institution was at stake. With their gifts, the masses of pilgrims who came periodically to test the miraculous powers of the dead saint generated covetable riches. Visitors accompanied their vows with coins "deposited in chests reserved for this purpose" (al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, vii, 273). In return, it was expected that the saint would intercede with God for the fulfilment of their desires. Underlying these transactions were the God-given prerogatives apparently exercised by al-Sabtī while still alive. Dead, the saint continued to dispense his *baraka*, by virtue of the theory according to which "the miracles of saints do not disappear on their death" (Ibn Ḳunfudh, *Uns*, 6-7). This was the view commonly held in the Maghrib of the 8th/14th century: the *post mortem* miracles of Abu 'l-ʿAbbas al-Sabtī were more numerous than those that he performed in his lifetime. Having paid him a visit in 1200, Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]) reported on the double nature, benign and malignant, of the powers of the saint: "He made ill and he cured, he made live and made perish, gave power to certain men or deprived them of it," he asserted (*Futūḥāt*, ch. 485). Furthermore, in his lifetime, the saint had been the object of a cult associated with both "the élite" and "the masses", and his entire mystical doctrine was based on the principle

of alms. After his death, his prestige increased—the city was symbolically placed under his protection—as did the number of pilgrims whose offerings made the fortune of those who managed his cult. How had these powers been acquired? Why did this human saint, first in his lifetime and subsequently after his death, become the object of a particular cult? Ibn Khaldūn gives the answer in a chapter of his *Muḳaddima*, of which a considerable part of the current historical anthropology of religious practices in the Maghrib is nothing more than a glossed version. Such saints would be included in what he says of the *fuḳahā'* and *ahl al-dīn wa 'l-ʿibāda*, who earn a great reputation, so that they are showered with presents by the pious, and become wealthy without any personal effort; they sit back, and people wonder how they have acquired such wealth and fortune (*Muḳaddima*, Eng. tr. Rosenthal, ii, 327-8, Fr. tr. Monteil, ii, 209).

Ibn Khaldūn was pointing to a phenomenon which, while quite ancient in the Maghrib, in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries took on an extraordinary growth, to such an extent that it revolutionised Maghribī religiosity and gave it a new configuration. Despite the opposition of the more rigorous *ʿulamā'*, in towns as well as in the countryside, the sacred became progressively structured around a new and burgeoning social force, the saints, to whom, since the 8th/14th century, our sources have applied the term marabouts (< *murābiṭ* [see RIBĀṬ]). Whence came the power of these individuals? The answer must lie in their capacity to represent themselves as "recipients of the divine" (J. Berque), a capacity from which derives their power to dispense good fortune as well as to inflict misfortune. It also comes from their functions of patronage, of arbitration and mediation in the city. As early as the time of Ibn Khaldūn, far from merely monopolising the devotion of the common people alone, the saints who imposed themselves on rulers and on other religious scholars as redoubtable protagonists also strongly affected the modes of belief of the whole of society. Men and women, "great" and "small", sought their goodwill. How is devotion to be manifested to a patron whose benevolence is sought, other than by periodically rendering him homage? It is thus that there developed one of the most outstanding expressions of Maghribī religious life, the *ziyāra*. This would come to rival the other forms of devotional travel (*ḥādjdj*, *murābaṭa*, etc.), becoming one of the principal institutions of Maghribī devotion virtually until the mid-20th century, and persisting in certain areas even today (F. Reysoo, *Pèlerinages au Maroc*, Neuchâtel-Paris 1991).

In its nature, *ziyāra* presents a double characteristic: it can be individual or collective. It engages individuals in a personal movement as it involves groups concerned for their collective destiny. Ultimately, it evokes urban as well as rural social structures. In other words, it is unitary in its status of "distance covered", whilst it is plural or multiform in terms of its content and its usages. Men as well as women, city-dwellers as well as rustics, artisans as well as peasants, scholars as well as the illiterate, governors and governed—all contribute to making of it a ritual gesture deriving its particularity from a precise arrangement combining energy, movement, space and time and setting out the specific requirements which are to be met in each instance.

In its capacity as an individual journey, *ziyāra* was not a feature of mediaeval Maghribī religiosity. Born in the central lands of Islam around the mid-8th century, it is seen, in the Maghrib, to belong in a continuity which makes of it an eminently spiritual journey. Leaving aside this form of *ziyāra*, one may concentrate on the form that engages and sets in motion crowds and numbers. In its capacity as a collective enterprise, *ziyāra*, which is easily transformed into local pilgrimage, is definitely one of the essential elements of the cult dedicated to Maghribī saints [see WALĪ. 2.]. Although in the majority of cases this collective *ziyāra* to a saint develops on the latter's death, there are cases where it comes into being in his lifetime. The *Tashawwuf* of Ibn al-Zayyāt al-Tādilī [see TĀDLĀ] offers examples of both instances. Tracing the life of a saint of Tādlā, who died in 536/1141, this hagiographic treatise relates that "his tomb was revered, and people come even now (early 7th/13th century) in search of healing by contact with the earth that covers him" (*Tashawwuf*, 106). With regard to the famous Abū Yaʿazza Yalannūr al-Hazmīrī or al-Haskurī (d. 573/1177), we read that "people came [to him] from all countries, he nourished them [at his own expense], he gave fodder to their mounts". Such generosity was expensive. To cover it, the saint would accept alms from his "brothers in God", sc. his disciples. There were also "the residents of neighbouring villages [who] gave hospitality to those who came to visit him" when their number was too large for them to be accommodated in his *zāwiya* (*Tashawwuf*, 164).

In order to understand how a local pilgrimage came into being, it is necessary to recognise that a *mazāra* is a social invention. It is a place which, because it is endowed with a symbolic efficaciousness, crystallises the expectations and the hopes of individuals and of groups, and the greater its size, the greater the prestige radiating from the "place of pilgrimage". For this to happen, a subtle equilibrium must be established between the expectations of individuals and of groups and their fulfilment in such a manner as to replenish the source. The expectations of individuals and of groups thus have the power of life and death over places of pilgrimage. Saints can experience success in their lifetime and sink into oblivion at their death. However, one such as Abū Yaʿazza (to take an example from a rural setting), or Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī (to take an example from an urban setting), were revered in their lifetime, and both of these saints have continued to be the object of ritual reverence to this very day. For a *mazāra* of importance to survive, it is often necessary that the populace, the religious élite and the governing class participate in its institutionalisation. The greater the extent to which the activity of these three protagonists converges, the better the prospects of the *mazāra* to endure and to radiate across an extensive geographical area. Thus Maghribī Sharīfism, in the 9th/15th century, was broadly a phenomenon simultaneously religious and political. Also, when the body of Idrīs II, the founder of the city of Fās, was "discovered" in 1437, it is obvious that the "discoverers" had a substantial interest in restoring the prestige of the Idrīsids and their religious claims (H.L. Beck, *L'image d'Idrīs II*, Leiden 1989). Conditioned by more than a century of belief in the ancestral prestige of the *shurafā'* [*q.v.*], society readily accepted the discovery. Moving to al-Ḳayrawān, the same considerations are seen presiding over the cult of Abū Zamʿa al-Balawī, a Companion buried in Tunisian soil. The veneration offered to him seems to have been linked to the belief that he was buried with some hair of the Prophet, whose barber he was. Although it is not known when this veneration began, it is clear that it is a late phenomenon, the reason being that the exact site where the pious individual

is buried is not known. The presumed site became the object of ritual interest in the 5th/11th century when a cemetery was created nearby. In the 8th/14th century, local Ṣūfism included it among pilgrimages to the most renowned sanctuaries of the town. Consecrated as an "official" *mazāra*, the presumed tomb of the saintly man was surmounted by an octagonal cupola which later was enlarged to become an architectural complex of the *zāwiya* type (S. Bergaoui, *La zâwiya Sahâbiyya de Kairouan a l'époque moderne*, in *SI*, lxxvi [1997], 103-32). Returning to Marrākush, and moving on to the 10th/16th century, the town is seen "inventing" a pilgrimage to the tomb of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149 [see ʿIYĀḌ B. MŪSĀ]). As to the reasons why the Moroccan city acquired a tomb four centuries after the death of its occupant, no doubt the need was felt for a man of impeccable orthodoxy to validate the ritual process which was being established under the name of *ziyāra* to the *sabʿatu ridjāl* (H. de Castries, *Les sept patrons de Marrakech*, in *Hesperis*, iv [1924], 245 ff.). Neither in his lifetime nor on his death did the theologian enjoy any particular charisma: "his tomb was little known for the place [where it was sited], was not much frequented until God revived the place though the good offices of al-Fallāḥ [a Ṣūfī saint, died in 1570]", writes the author of a biographical dictionary of the celebrities of Marrākush (al-Marrākushī, *Iʿlām*, ix, 341, quoted in K. Fekhari, *Le culte des saints à Marrakech*, Rabat 1996, 91). Examples of the "invention" of pilgrimages could be further multiplied, such as that established at the tomb of Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1390) at Fās (P. Nwyia, *Ibn Abbâd de Ronda*, Beirut 1961, 77-80); such items constitute one of the most thoroughly documented chapters of Maghribī hagiography.

Before the 9th/15th century, little information is available concerning these collective pilgrimages. Only one is genuinely known of: that which was witnessed by Ibn Ḳunfudh (d. 810/1407 [*q.v.*]) in 769/1367, when he was a judge in the land of Dukkāla, not far from the town of Aṣfī, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. He describes it as an assemblage bringing together "an incalculable number of persons". From the information supplied it is possible to gain an impression of the sociological composition of the pilgrims; those present included *ʿulamāʾ*, Ṣūfīs, and members of the general public. Ibn Ḳunfudh saw taking place, in the course of these proceedings, trance sessions in which sick people were encouraged to participate; they emerged, he claims, miraculously cured. This pilgrimage took place regularly, but unfortunately it is not known how and under what circumstances it came into being and who precisely was revered there. Other details, such as the question e.g. as to whether women participated in the event, are not available. It is not until the 10th/16th century that the sources begin to describe such assemblages.

Numerous *ʿulamāʾ* lent their authority to these pilgrimages. There were also many who, without denouncing the principle, deprecated the aberrations and the excesses which accompanied them. Because jurists were often called upon to make rulings on the rites involved in these pious visits, judicial material concerning the phenomenon is abundant from this period onward. The 11th/17th century, in particular, yields a rich harvest of judicial and hagiographical material. A Salafī scholar of Constantine, ʿAbd al-Karīm Lafgūn, devotes an entire work to denouncing "blameworthy innovations" (sing. *bidʿa* [*q.v.*]) in evidence in the cult of saints in his land. At the same time, he supplies a vivid portrayal of religious life in the region of Constantine. Among numerous examples, there is the following. A man acquires the reputation of a saint. He founds a *zāwiya* which resounds all day long with noisy, ecstatic seances inspired by *faḳīrs* who come, in large numbers, to congregate around the master. It is they who are responsible for the stewardship of the enterprise and they who visit tribes and villages in the locality to collect the "piety tax" (*djibāya*) and legal alms. The reputation of the saint is extended to cover almost the whole of the Constantine region. Each year, an immense procession (*rakb*)—the term is also used to denote the caravan of pilgrims to the Holy Places—consisting of city-dwellers, peasants and nomads traverses the land in the direction of the *zāwiya*. The pilgrims bring all kinds of offerings: "camels, horses, cattle, sheep" on the part of country people, "*raghīfs*, pieces of cloth, money" on the part of the city-dwellers. To stimulate their pious generosity, the saint reminds them that "he who brings nothing, leaves with nothing". As a result, rather than make the pilgrimage empty-handed, the less affluent prefer to beg. But it is not only the common people who make the journey; the upper classes also come flocking to obtain the favours of the saint. They offer "horses, clothes and money" (*Manshūr al-hidāya*, 133-4).

At the same time, another scholar, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, denounced further practices that were taking place at the eastern extremity of the Maghrib. Analysing a venerated place in the "*ribāṭ* of Salé", he states that "it is a place of pilgrimage (*mazāra*) where people seek the *baraka* of saints who used to be there". But he adds immediately that "of the latter, in our times, it appears that only one, Yaḥyā b. Yūnus, is very well known to the public, and even he is neglected in the records. Marīnid kings are also there: they are known." And in conclusion: "All that could be mentioned as sanctifying this place besides these two elements, and which is found in certain pseudo-historic writings, is without foundation or authority" (quoted in Berque, *Al-Yousi*, Paris 1958, 60).

To give a durable framework to these local pilgrimages, the marabouts often made contractual agreements (sing. *sharṭ*) with their flocks. Investigating, during the 1970s, what the author calls "the pilgrimage centre" of the Moroccan town of Boujad, Dale Eickelman heard it said that accords had linked the client tribes of the region to the *zāwiya* brotherhood of the Sharḳāwa since the time of the founder, Sīdī Muḥammad al-Sharḳī (d. 1010/1601) (*Moroccan Islam*, Austin, Texas 1976, 169). Credit is due to Jacques Berque for having been the first to draw attention to stipulations of this kind. From the late 1940s, he discovered among the Saksāwa of the High Atlas *sharṭs* between tribes and local saints; an example was published in his *Structures sociales du Haut Atlas*, Paris 1955, ²1978, 278. These contractual agreements were not confined to Morocco; for some which used to be current in the central Maghrib, i.e. in Algeria, see Houari Touati, *Entre Dieu et les hommes*, Paris 1994, 259.

Currently, some of these local pilgrimages continue to function with virtually the same degree of fervour as in former times. Such is the case of the Sbūʿ of Timimoun, which annually attracts thousands of pilgrims. But a *ṭaʿām* such as that of the Flitta—organised by the tribe in honour of its saint, Sidi M'ḥammad b. ʿŪda, who lived in the 11th/17th century—has not been held since the "Armed Islamist Groups" (GIA), fanatical adversaries of the cult of saints, destroyed this Algerian sanctuary in 1993. In the mid-1950s, it still featured among the most spectacular gatherings

of the plain (E. Dermenghem describes it as "one of the finest moussems of this type" in his *Le culte des saints dans l'islam maghrébin*, Paris 1954). The same applies to that held in the High Atlas in honour of Lalla ʿAzīza, a saint of the 8th/14th century. Revisiting the site in the footsteps of Berque, twenty years later, the sociologist P. Pascon observes *en passant* that "a returning emigrant declared openly that he would not sacrifice in accordance with outdated customs... In May 1976, to widen the road, the great *karkūr* [*q.v.*] of Lallā ʿAzīza was pushed into a ravine by a bulldozer... That year, in July, there was not enough attendance to justify the slaughter of a single bull at the sanctuary of the saint" (*Structures sociales du Haut Atlas*[2]).

These examples show that all kinds of factors have combined to hasten the decline of the great ritual assemblages of the Maghrib. Some result from socio-economic transformations, others from the assimilation of the majority of the population, and yet others from new modalities of religious socialisation of which the major promoter was initially the nation state, a role adopted today by political parties in Algeria and by groups which are tolerated in Morocco but prohibited in Tunisia, all of which regard themselves as Islamist.

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(Houari Touati)

5. In Persia and other Shīʿī lands.

(a) *Shīʿī* ziyāra *connected with the* mashhad *tradition*

Shrine culture connected with a *mashhad* [*q.v.*] "place where a martyr died", is a well-established tradition in Shīʿī Islam. The concept of *shahāda* or martyrdom suffered in the "path of God" [see SHAHĪD] played an important role in the development of belief in the sanctity of the Imāms' shrines. In Shīʿī piety, all Imāms are revered as martyrs, and their tombs are sites for annual visitation by Shīʿīs, who believe that their devotion (*wilāya* [*q.v.*]) to the martyred Imāms, expressed through these pilgrimages, will win forgiveness for their sins and a share in the final victory of the messianic Imām al-Mahdī [*q.v.*]. Pious Shīʿīs also look upon the shrines as places where they can share in the Imām's sanctity.

The Shīʿī shrines are richly endowed, and lavish gifts were bestowed by various Muslim rulers, especially by Shīʿī ones. Towns grew up around them, and the sacred areas (*ḥaram*) were adorned with magnificent and costly ornamentation. All the shrines have some architectural features in common. The tomb lies in a courtyard surrounded by arched halls and cells. Its walls are resplendently decorated with coloured tiles. The entrance to the main rectangular building is through a golden outer hall. In the middle of the central golden-domed chamber lies the shrine, surrounded by a silver enclosure (*dharīḥ*). Two golden minarets usually flank the entrance to the shrine.

The shrines are important centres of Shīʿī learning, and important seminaries (*madrasa* [*q.v.*]) grew up around them. Every Shīʿī longs to find a last resting place in the holy precincts of the beloved Imāms, and this has resulted in the development of extensive cemeteries at all the shrines, especially at Karbalāʾ, Nadjaf, and Mashhad [*q.vv.*], and in areas near these shrines.

Of all the Imāms, it is al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] who enjoys the status of the "Chief of Martyrs", having suffered the torments of thirst and hunger in the desert and having been slaughtered by his enemies at Karbalāʾ. His tomb was probably the first *mashhad* in Shīʿī piety, and was regarded as holy immediately after his martyrdom in 61/680 (al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, ci, *K. al-Mazār*, is a volume devoted to the merits of *ziyāra* to Karbalāʾ). The *mashhad* of ʿAlī at Nadjaf, near Kūfa, became a public shrine in the early ʿAbbāsid period (al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *K. al-Irshād*, Tehran 1351 *sh*./1972, i, 14). The *mashhad* at al-Kāẓimayn, near Baghdād, enshrines the tombs of al-Kāẓim and al-Djawād, the seventh and ninth Imāms. In Sāmarrāʾ, [*q.v.*] are buried al-Hādī and al-ʿAskarī, the tenth and eleventh Imāms. The eighth Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā is buried in Sanābad, in the district of Ṭūs, around which grew up the city of Mashhad. The tombs of Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter, and other Imāms buried in the graveyard of al-Baḳīʿ in Medina [see BAḲĪʿ AL-GHARḲAD] were levelled to the ground by the Wahhābīs in 1925. These Sunnī puritans regard the Shīʿī practice of venerating *mashhads* as polytheism (*shirk*) (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, Eng. tr. ii, 333).

Besides the Imāms, there are numerous shrines dedicated to the ancient prophets like Adam, Noah, Jonah, and others in and around Nadjaf, and around other towns in ʿIrāḳ, Palestine, Syria, and southern Turkey. The Imāms' sons and daughters (*imāmzāda* [*q.v.*] and *sayyida* or *bībī*) also receive special reverence in the *ziyāra* tradition. Among the *imāmzādas*, the most famous are the shrines of Sayyid Muḥammad, the son of ʿAlī al-Hādī, in Balad, some 56 km/35 miles south of Sāmarrāʾ, Shāh ʿAbd al-Aẓīm al-Ḥusaynī [*q.v.*] in Rayy, and Shāh Čirāgh in Shīrāz. The very unusual *mashhad al-siḳṭ* for al-Ḥusayn's miscarried fetus is located west of Aleppo opposite Mount Djawshan, where women pray for fertility (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 156, 308). Miraculous healing powers are attributed to all these places. Among the shrines dedicated to holy women among the *ahl-bayt* [*q.v.*] are those of Sayyida Zaynab bt. ʿAlī and Sayyida Ruḳayya bt. al-Ḥusayn in Damascus; Sayyida Zaynab and Nafīsa in Cairo; Bībī Fāṭima, daughter of Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the seventh Imām, in Ḳumm; Nardjis Khātūn, the twelfth Imām's mother, and Ḥakīma, the daughter of ʿAlī al-Hādī, the tenth Imām, in Sāmarrāʾ. In addition, the tombs of famous Shīʿī scholars are also visited in reverence for their contribution in keeping the Imāms' teachings alive. Thus in Nadjaf the tombs of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī are visited; in al-Kāẓimayn, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd and the Sharīfs al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī; and more recently, on the road to Ḳumm, the shrine of Āyatullāh Khumaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

Besides the mausoleums there are numerous historical places connected with the events of ʿĀshūrāʾ [*q.v.*] at Karbalāʾ which are described in the manuals (*miṣbāḥ al-zāʾir* and similar titles), forming a special genre of pious literature, listing the holy places and the recommended rituals of visitation composed by prominent Shīʿī scholars (see al-Madjlisī, *op. cit.*). Kūfa boasts of several historical mosques connected with the Imāms and their prominent disciples, which draw huge crowds.

(b) *Rituals connected with* ziyāra

Ziyara to the tombs of the Shīʿī Imāms and their descendants is a religious recommendation for the Shīʿīs (Ibn Ḳawlawayh al-Ḳummī, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, Nadjaf 1356/1937, 294). From early days, it was common for both the Shīʿīs and Sunnīs to undertake pilgrimages to these and other shrines. Unlike the *ḥadjdj*, *ziyāra* to these shrines may be undertaken at any time, although certain days are specially recommended, and in regard to some shrines, pilgrimage is associated with a special lunar month or season of the year. Thus the *ziyāra* of Sayyida Zaynab in Cairo is performed in Radjab; whereas that of Imām al-Riḍā in Mashhad is recommended in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda. That of

imāmzāda Sulṭān ʿAlī near Ḳās̲h̲ān is held on the seventh day of autumn. It is only the *ziyāra* of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ that, besides on major occasions like ʿĀs̲h̲ūrāʾ, is recommended every Thursday evening. On these evenings, the *mas̲h̲had* is thronged with crowds of pilgrims from many lands.

The performance of *ziyāra* is regarded by the pilgrims as an act of covenant renewal between the holy person and his devotees. This is a covenant of love, sincere obedience and devotion on the part of the believers. Through *ziyāra*, one participates in the suffering and sorrows of the Prophet's *ahl al-bayt*. People who cannot undertake the arduous and expensive journey to the shrines of the Imāms can go to the wilderness, or up onto a high roof in one's house, and then turn towards the *ḳibla* and pronounce the special salutations (*ziyāra-nāma*) meant for various specific occasions. Although distinction is made between the *ziyārāt* of the Imāms and of other holy persons, S̲h̲īʿī scholars have regarded it as permissible to show all of them honour and respect by addressing them in a prescribed way, some of these salutations being narrated directly from the Imāms. However, the *ziyāra* of the Imāms is followed by two units (*rakʿa* [*q.v.*]) of worship as a gift to the Imām whose *ziyāra* is being performed. It concludes with a petition for the Prophet and his family's intercession and praise to God.

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(Abdulaziz Sachedina)

6. The Turkish lands, including the Balkans and Central Asia.

In the Turkish world, the word, in its form *ziyāret*, denotes pilgrimage to and act of devotion at a saint's tomb, and is one of the words derived from this root (also *mazār, mezār, ziyāretgāh*) applied to the holy place itself. However, the names given to these holy places vary considerably according to the different regions; *tekke, türbe* in the Balkans and Turkey; *pīr, ocāg̲h̲, imāmzāda* in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān; *gunbez, langar, muḳaddas d̲j̲āy* in Central Asia, etc. In Chinese Turkistān, the characteristic feature of a saint's tomb, sc. a banner (*ʿalam*)—a long pole surmounted by an animal's tail (*turra, tug̲h̲-i mazār*), systematically to be found close by Central Asian mausolea, but more rarely in Turkey and the Balkans—has often given its name to the *ziyāra*, sc. as *tug̲h̲-ʿalam*.

In Turkey, each Ṣūfī brotherhood used to encourage its members to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the eponymous saint of the order or of the great *k̲h̲alīfa*s. But there also existed here a pilgrimage circuit which was traditionally accomplished by the pilgrim who then desired to go to Mecca: first of all he would visit the tomb of the Prophet's Companion, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī in Istanbul, and then that of the Ṣūfī Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bayrām Walī at Ankara (Hikmet Tanyu, *Ankara ve çevresinde adak ve adak yerleri*, Ankara 1967, 67). In Central Asia, given the distance from Mecca, certain *ziyāra*s functioned as substitutes for the sanctuary at the Kaʿba, and popular belief held that several pilgrimages to certain places could replace the Pilgrimage to Mecca. The most famous shrines here were the tomb of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳs̲h̲band at Buk̲h̲ārā; the Tak̲h̲t-i Sulaymān at Os̲h̲ in Ḳirg̲h̲izistān, called "the Second Mecca"; and the tomb of Abū Yūsuf Hamadānī at Marw/Mari in Turkmenistān, called "the Kaʿba of K̲h̲urāsān". Also, a reproduction of the Kaʿba, which was built some years ago near the little mausoleum of K̲h̲urāsān Bābā in the Kizil Orda *oblast* of Kazak̲h̲stān, is set forth by the family of its custodians as "the Second Mecca" of the Kazak̲h̲s. In eastern Turkistān, pilgrims would in the first place make a circuit of the tombs of Satuḳ Bug̲h̲ra K̲h̲ān at Artūs̲h̲, of Āfāḳ K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Hidāyat Allāh at Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar and Isḥāḳ Walī at Yarkand. But at the present time, the great pilgrimages of Sinkiang/Xinjiang are made to the tombs of Ordām Pādis̲h̲āh at Yangi Hisār and Tūyūk K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲ām at Turfān (see Abdürahim Häbibulla, *Uyghur etnografisi*, Shinjang K̲h̲älk Näs̲h̲riyati, Ürümči, i, [1993], 349).

The curators of these holy places are either simple keepers (*türbedār*) or descendants of the saint, usually Ṣūfīs. Their main function is to act as intercessors (*s̲h̲afāʿa*) for the pilgrims but they also instruct the visitors about the appropriate acts of devotion at the sites they control. Finally, they administer the alms and the offerings (money, cereals, animals, etc.), which are called, in Turkey and the Balkans, *adak, ned̲h̲ir* and sometimes *niyāz* or vow. In Central Asia, one finds also the terms *sadaka* and the Arabic-Persian-Turkish compound *nad̲h̲r-niyāzmanlik*. Women, kept away from places of devotion in orthodox Islam, form the greater part of visitors to a *ziyāra*; most saints are reputed to be able to solve problems strictly affecting women (sterility, marriage, etc.) and to cure all sorts of ailments (see Liliana Masulovic-Marsol, *Tombes de saints musulmans et guérison; une approche anthropologique*, in *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique*, Ankara 1996). But the reasons for pilgrimage are various, and concern men also: simple devotion, mystical interest, cures, social success, etc. The actual acts of devotion are, as a general rule, the same as those practised in the rest of the Islamic world but with some local peculiarities. Circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) is made round the tomb, habitually in an upright position but occasionally on all fours as at Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bektās̲h̲ in Anatolia, and at certain tombs is accompanied by fumigations (odoriferous and medicinal plants). *Ṭawāf* may also be made round a holy object situated near the tomb, such as a hundred-year old tree at that of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳs̲h̲band. Veneration may also be focused on an object other than the actual tombstone: a black stone and ram's horns at the previously-mentioned shrine; a cauldron at that of Aḥmad Yasawī at Turkistān [*q.v.*] in Kazak̲h̲stān and at Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bektās̲h̲; and suchlike. As well as circumambulation, the pilgrim sometimes kisses the tomb or the doorstep or the sides of the door leading into the funeral chamber, or any other object connected with the saint. Another usage, especially common in the Turkish world, is to hang pieces of cloth on nearby trees or the windows of the mausoleum. One sometimes even comes across inflated sheep's skins (e.g. tomb of Mūsā Kāẓim at K̲h̲otan in eastern Turkistān). The practice of settling down in a tomb, for some hours or a whole night, is attested at several tombs. The texts read by the person filling the role of intercessor are restricted to some Ḳurʾānic sūras (generally the *Fātiḥa*

and XXXVI, *Yāsīn*) and other formulae consecrated by centuries of practice, but also Persian poetry (e.g. ʿUmar Khayyām in Tādjīkistān) or Turkish chants called *gülbenk* or *terdjümān* (Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh). Certain great centres of pilgrimage (e.g. the last-named and Takht-i Sulaymān) offer, as well as the *ṭawāf*, a circuit punctuated by devotions done in grottoes, by rocks, near springs, sacred trees, etc. (e.g. at Takht-i Sulaymān; see Zaïm Khenchelaoui, *Le mythe et le culte de Salomon dans l'espace musulman*, doctoral thesis, EHESS, Toulouse 1998). Although condemned by Islamic orthodoxy, the *ziyāra* has maintained itself in the Turkish world because of its important role in popular religion. The rites of pilgrimage have admittedly undergone changes and have often disappeared round certain tombs under Marxist régimes in the Balkans, Central Asia and Sinkiang, as also in Kemalist Turkey. Also, the effects of desacralisation have deeply modified the functioning of the *ziyāra* in certain high places (e.g. at Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Walī, Takht-i Sulaymān and Āfāḳ Khwādja). Within Turkey, with the relaxation of Kemalist doctrines since the 1950s, and since the end of Communism in the former USSR, the *ziyāra* has been reconstituted on new foundations but still connected with the old traditions. In Sinkiang, although *ziyāra* is sometimes forbidden and sometimes tolerated but still regarded with disapproval, it remains a much-followed practice in popular circles (see Th. Zarcone, *Quand le saint légitime la politique. Le mausolée de Afâq Khwâdja à Kashghar*, in *Central Asian Survey* (1999).

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(Th. Zarcone)

7. In Muslim India.

Except in the north-east of Pakistan, where it can denote the place (generally a tomb) to which pilgrimages are made, elsewhere in the Indian subcontinent the term *ziyāra* (in the form *ziyārat*) signified an actual pilgrimage. A tomb which is visited is called a *mazār*, or, if it belongs to a famous saint, a *dargāh*, i.e. a palace, since the saint is treated as the true master of the territory, like a sultan [see WALĪ. 6.). The greatest places of pilgrimage in India are the tombs of the five great saints of the Čishtiyya brotherhood. It is said that a visit to these five tombs is worth a pilgrimage to Mecca. There are other saints, more localised but also very famous, such as Ghāzī Miyān [*q.v.*] at Bakraikh in northern India.

These visits may be made by individuals on any day, especially in the evening; individual and collective visits take place once a week, generally on a Thursday evening, or once a month. Big festivities are always organised once a year on the anniversary of the death of the saint. They are known as *ʿurs*, i.e. "(mystical) nuptials", and not *mawlid* "birth", as they are in the Arab world; they give rise to large pilgrimages where the faithful are present in great numbers. Here special attention will be paid to the great feasts in order to analyse the different elements of the pilgrimage.

Firstly, there is the journey itself, travelling from the place of residence of the pilgrim to the sanctuary and then back again. This is done, as it is for marriages, in a procession, with standard-bearers, musicians and even dancers, who are considered to be a good omen, at the front. The most famous procession in Indian history was the one to the sanctuary of Ghāzī Miyān in northern India, which was the one that the Mughal emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605 [*q.v.*]) liked to watch.

Then comes the veneration of the tomb itself, when the faithful all approach one by one to honour the saint who resides there. They touch the tomb, leave perfumes and flowers there, and often make a circumambulation. This is the *ṭawāf*, which in India is often performed clockwise, considered to be a good omen for Hindus, in contrast to a counter-clockwise motion in the Arab world. This is a sign of acculturation which seems to have been only little noticed.

Then there is the transaction which takes place between the believer, the saint and God. This is the most important moment for the pilgrimage and gives rise to conflicting interpretations. The strictly orthodox view, which is expressed in the wording of the invocation, the *duʿā'*, demands that the offerings and prayers be addressed directly to God, beseeching Him to grant merit to the saints and the faithful. The spontaneous interpretation by the faithful is quite different; in exchange for their prayers and their offerings they invoke the intercession (*shafāʿa*) of the saints to obtain favours for themselves, which are more often of a material rather than of a spiritual nature. The Muslim conquerors used to pray for victory; today, politicians continue to come and beg for success. These transactions may take the form of vows, a sort of commercial bargaining, where the believer undertakes to perform this or that offering in return for this or that favour.

A fourth element which is not always present is communal. Animals are sacrificed in the name of the saint, or the first fruits of the harvest are offered to him, and these are then consumed in a banquet.

A fifth element, which could be termed the ecstatic, uses music and dance as a medium. Ideally, it concerns mystical chants which are performed by specially trained musicians or *ḳawwāls*, and they may well induce ecstatic dances. The most beautiful climax, which is repeatedly found in Indian Ṣūfism, in particular at the tomb of Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī at Adjmer,

arises by dying from exhaustion in an ecstatic dance. These dances, however, may also change into a profane celebration with the dancers and prostitutes.

Finally, particular sanctuaries often have special features: for example, near the tomb of Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Čishtī in Pakistan there is a "doorway to heaven", and this is open only at the annual feast. Those who pass through it are certain to enter Paradise; Ghāzī Miyān cured those who were afflicted with leprosy.

Such pilgrimages allow the faithful to leave their everyday environment, to establish contact with the divine world by the intermediary of saints, and even to have a foretaste of the Hereafter through ecstasy. They return home with the hope of favours in this world and assurance for the Hereafter. Even though these great pilgrimages have borrowed Indian elements (they are often called *melā*, a fair, like the great Hindu gatherings), they still remain Islamic in their greatest features; they are focussed on the tombs of the saints and not on deities, and they appeal to the rites and mystical techniques characteristic of Muslims.

Bibliography: For a more detailed Bibl. see WALĪ. 6. For a general survey of the subject and the sources, see J.A. Subhan, *Sufism, its saints and shrines: an introduction to the study of Sufism with special reference to India*, [2]New York 1970 ([1]1938); C.W. Troll (ed.), *Muslim shrines in India. Their character, history and significance*, Dihlī 1989. Traditional Muslim views and those of the early Orientalists on pilgrimages and their timing are analysed in Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoires sur les particularités de la religion musulmane en Inde*, in *JA* (1831) ([2]Paris 1969, annotated English tr., *Muslim festivals in India*, Dihlī 1995); also in C.W. Ernst, *An Indo-Persian guide to Sufi shrine pilgrimage*, in G.M. Smith and Ernst (eds.), *Manifestations of sainthood in Islam*, Istanbul 1993, 43-67.

An ethnological analysis of pilgrimages can be found in I. Ahmad, *Ritual and religion among Muslims in India*, Dihlī 1981. For an analysis of the rituals, see M. Gaborieau, *The cult of saints among the Muslims of Nepal and Northern India*, in S. Wilson (ed.), *Saints and their cults. Studies in religious sociology, folklore and history*, Cambridge 1983, 291-308; idem, *Le culte des saints en tant que rituel: controverses juridiques*, in *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, no. 85 (1994), 85-98.

The different places of pilgrimage in the different regions of the Indian subcontinent are treated together in D. Matringe, *Pakistan*, Gaborieau and C. Champion, *Inde* and Lyndell-Jones, *Bangladesh*, in H. Chambert-Loir and C. Guillot (eds.), *Le culte des saints dans le monde musulman*, Paris 1995, 167-234.

For detailed studies of some of the greatest pilgrimages see e.g. P.M. Currie, *The shrine and cult of Muin al-din Chishti of Ajmer*, Dihlī 1989; R.M. Eaton, *Court of man, court of god. Local perceptions of the shrine of Bâbâ Farîd, Pakpattan, Punjab*, in R.C. Martin (ed.), *Islam in local contexts*, Leiden 1982, 44-61; Gaborieau, *Légende et culte du saint musulman Ghâzî Miyân au Népal occidental et en Inde du Nord*, in *Objets et Mondes*, xv/3-4 (1975), 289-318; idem, *Les saints, les eaux et les récoltes*, dans M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Lieux d'Islam. Cultes et cultures de l'Afrique à Java*, Paris 1996, 239-54.

(M. GABORIEAU)

8. In Indonesia.

Undertaking pilgrimages to spiritually or magically potent sites is a well-established practice in most parts of Indonesia. Spread throughout the archipelago, there are numerous sacred sites. Most of them are of local importance only but some attract visitors nationwide. Sites for *ziarah* (thus the Bahasa Indonesian form) can be divided in two main categories: graves of religious and worldly Muslim leaders such as saints, kings and high nobles; and sites that are considered laden with power due to their natural environment. The most popular Muslim saints are the *wali sanga*, the founders of Islam in Indonesia [see WALĪ. 7]. The graves of originators of *pesantren* [*q.v.*] (*kyai*) can have local fame and are visited weekly, especially by alumni and students of the *pesantren* (Z. Dhofier, *Tradisi pesantren, studi tentang pandangan hidup kiyai*, Jakarta 1985, Eng. tr. *The role of the Kiai in the maintenance of traditional Islam in Java*, Tempe, Arizona 1999). Most graves are part of a mausoleum, with the main saint in the middle and his students and family members buried around him. The reasons for undertaking a *ziarah* vary from making a request to the saint, praying to God and fulfilling a vow, to seeking blessing, power and esoteric knowledge (*ngelmu*).

Especially on Java, numerous pre-Islamic sites for *ziarah* still testify of the gradual process of Islamisation that accommodated syncretistic Javanese Hindu-Buddhist beliefs and practices (*agama jawi*). These influences on what later became orthodox Islam (*Islam santri*) shaped the customs practiced at many sites of *ziarah* (for a description of Javanese beliefs, see Koentjaraningrat, *Javanese culture*, Singapore 1985). Furthermore, pre-Islamic beliefs in the potency of certain natural areas, such as spiritually significant cosmic mountains, resulted in holy graves being placed on top of mountains. Pre-Islamic influences are especially noticeable in various architectural elements, such as the entrance gates to the graves of the *wali sanga* like Sunan Ampel and Sunan Giri in east Java and Sunan Bayat in Tembayat in central Java.

Certain locations are considered to be cosmic centres that possess the same degree of spiritual power as can be encountered in Mecca. Hence *ziarah* in the Malay world can be a substitute for those Muslims who cannot afford the *ḥadjdj* to Mecca. An example of such a centre is Mount Ciremai in Kuningan. Indonesian Muslims believe that climbing up and down this mountain three times can be considered equal to performing the Meccan Pilgrimage. Also, there are certain sites (such as Kubur Panjang at Leran near Gresik) where pilgrims go in preparation for the *ḥadjdj*.

The timing for performing a *ziarah* is determined by a complex system of the coinciding of weekly cycles based on the Muslim and the Javanese calendars. The nights prior to Fridays, when the first day of the five-day Javanese week coincides with the Muslim week of seven days (*Jumaat Kliwon, Jumaat Paing*, or *Jumaat Legi*), are believed to be times when the power of tombs is especially potent. On those nights, the main tombs are open, while during other days visitors can only derive blessing from the general atmosphere at mausolea. These specific times for *ziarah* are also considered the most beneficial in bringing requests for intercession to the saint. The students of a *kyai* traditionally gather at the grave of their master once a week, preferably on Thursday night. For the more Islamic Javanese pilgrims, the Eve of the first of *Sura*, the first month of the Javanese year, is the pre-eminent time to make a pilgrimage.

Customs practiced during *ziarah* also depend on the purely Islamic or purely Hindu-Javanese character of the tomb. In Imogiri (south of Yogyakarta), at the enormous mausoleum of the first Javanese Muslim kings of the Mataram empire, there are pilgrims who practice a wide range of purely Javanese practices, while others limit themselves to Islamic observances. The Javanese practices include ascetic feats and forms

of Javanese meditation (*semedi* and *tapa*) in order to obtain magical power with the help of the once-powerful king, and the bringing of offerings (*sesajen*) in the form of a blessed ceremonial meal (*slamatan*). At the same time, the Muslim character of the kings might be honoured by reciting the Ḳur'ān near their graves or by performing *tahlilan*, a type of *dhikr* (for *ziarah* to Javanese-Islamic sites, see Woodward, *Islam in Java*, ch. 5; J. Pemberton, *On the subject of "Java,"* Ithaca and London 1994, ch. 7).

At the tombs of Muslim saints, it is mostly Islamic customs which prevail, such as reciting the Ḳur'ān and performing *dhikr* or *tahlilan*. Once a year, a *khaul* is held to honour the day the saint passed away or was born. This celebration may take from one day to a week and is similar to the celebration of the *mawlid* [*q.v.*] in the Middle East. Common events of the *khaul* are speeches by Islamic leaders, recitation of the Ḳur'ān, fairs and selling or distributing food. On the saint's feast day, the fabric that has covered the tomb during the past year is replaced by new cloth. Pre-Islamic customs such as drinking holy water, sprinkling flowers on the tomb and sharing a meal of blessing (*slamatan*), are tolerated at nearly all shrines. One can only approach tombs through their custodians, the *juru kunci* ("key bearers"), who guard the proper rituals to be performed during the pilgrimage. Also, they are the bearers of the saint's hagiography and of the texts of prayers and formulae in Javanese and Arabic to be presented to the saint. Local *kyai* or other Muslim officials are always in charge of the Islamic rituals, such as the perfomance of *tahlilan*.

The popularity of *ziarah* in Indonesia may also be influenced by the prevalent custom of visiting the graves (*nyekar*) of deceased relatives, which is done mostly in the week prior to the beginning of Ramaḍān. The purposes of these visits range from cleaning the graves and the recitation of religious texts for the benefit of the deceased to seeking blessings from the deceased ancestors.

Ziarah is a widespread phenomenon throughout the Malay world. Snouck Hurgronje mentioned the visiting of the tombs of kings or Muslim saints in Aceh, exclusively for the fulfillment of vows (*The Achehnese*, Leiden 1906, ii, 293). Yet many Muslim groups have considered it incompatible with orthodox Islam. In Indonesia, Muslims affiliated with the more traditional Javanese-minded organisation of *kyai*, the Nàhdatul Ulama, are in favour of performing *ziarah*, while the Reformist grouping of the Muhammadiyah reject it. The relatively small amount of literature, contemporary and historical, about the practice of *ziarah* that is available has mostly been written by Western scholars; while for Malaysia, only one major article can be mentioned, that of R.O. Winstedt, *Karamat, sacred places and persons in Malaya*, in *Jnal. of the Malayan Branch of the RAS* (1924), 264-79.

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9. In Central and West Africa.

Ziyāra, originally a technical term for the visitation of tombs of saintly persons, has assumed a wider meaning in Central and West Africa. Whereas the term is often used in the sense of "holy place" in parts of Muslim Asia, in the African context *ziyāra* denotes a pious visit to a *shaykh* living or dead, as well as the visit to the celebrations of a saint's life. However, there are only scanty references to *ziyāra* in the literature.

The practice of *ziyāra* has spread with the expansion of the Ṣūfī orders, particularly the Ḳādiriyya and the Tidjāniyya [*q.vv.*]. Although historical evidence is meagre, it seems that tombs became the destination of pious visits in Aïr and in the area of Timbuktu [*q.v.*, and see KUNTA] in the course of the 16th century. The habit of such visits also started at the tomb of ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*] in Sokoto shortly after his death in 1232/1817. Probably as early as the first half of the 19th century, annual festivals were celebrated by members of both the Ḳādiriyya and the Tidjāniyya on the occasion of the *mawlid* [*q.v.*] of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (d. 561/1166) during the month of Rabīʿ I or the *ḥawliyya* of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī (d. 1230/1815) during the month of Ṣafar. There is also evidence that performing the *ziyāra* to the Prophet's tomb at Medina was the rule for most, if not all, Africans who undertook the *ḥadjdj*.

In the 20th century, the visitation to the tombs of saints has become a common practice for many ordinary Muslims in West and Central Africa. As an example, one might point to Senegal and its Holy Cities Touba and Tivaouane, which house the tombs of Aḥmadu Bamba, founder of the Murīdiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order and al-Ḥādjdj Mālik Sy, founder of the biggest branch of the Tidjāniyya in the country [see SENEGAL]. However, it seems that *ziyāra*, in the sense of visiting the tomb of a holy man, is not as widespread a practice in sub-Saharan Africa as it is in the Maghrib or in Egypt, a fact strongly (and perhaps over-) emphasised by Trimingham. There are few shrines to be found in the area, and even lower is the number of tombs surmounted by a *ḳubba*. Instead of visiting the dead, intercession is sought rather from the living.

In Senegal, *ziyāra* (Wolof, *siyare*) refers to the visit to annual festivals held on the occasion of a saint's birthday, death or other significant event in his life. The locus of these visits is not necessarily the saint's tomb. Touba is the destination of the *magal*, a pilgrimage held in the month of Ṣafar to commemorate the departure of Aḥmadu Bamba to his exile in Gabon in 1895. This festival has not been without political significance in the past and has in recent years attracted more than one million people annually. Apart from the great *magal*, members of the Murīdiyya order nowadays celebrate *magal* festivities for a growing number of more or less important religious leaders. Similarly, the leaders of the Tidjāniyya order mobilise their membership to attend regular meetings known as *gamou*, a term originally applied to the *mawlid* festivities held on the Prophet's birthday. The *gamou* during the month of Rabīʿ I remains the most important event in the *ziyāra* calendar of the Senegalese Tidjāniyya, but there are now similar festivals to commemorate Tidjānī leaders throughout the year.

Owing to the lack of research, it is difficult to say anything definite on the practice of *ziyāra* in other parts of West and Central Africa. We know of guidebooks for pilgrims and travel accounts written by Nigerian scholars on visiting the Prophet's tomb at

Medina or the tomb of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī at Fās. But apart from the case of ʿUthmān b. Fūdī, there is no evidence in the literature of festivals dedicated to the memory of Nigerian holy men, although we can assume that they exist, e.g. among the Ḳādiriyya of Kano. The Hausa and speakers of other African languages use the Arabic word *ziyāra* to refer to these pious visits. In the town of Nioro du Sahel (Mali), members of religious lineages organise annual events visited by followers from far away.

Apart from the pilgrimage performed to a saint's festival, the term *ziyāra* refers also to formal visits in various social contexts. In the broadest sense, *ziyāra* is an occasion at which people pay their respects to a holy man. The motives for such pious visits might range from *tabarruk*, i.e. the wish to participate in the saint's blessing, to more concrete concerns, such as asking the saintly person for supplicatory prayers (*duʿāʾ* [*q.v.*]) or for assistance in a specific worldly matter. Women and men may seek the *shaykh*'s help to find a remedy against infertility or may just visit the *shaykh* on account of his healing power; peasants may ask the *shaykh* to drive away locusts or to pray for rain.

Another peculiarity of *ziyāra* in West Africa is the practice of offering gifts to the *shaykh*. This custom has come to be so closely associated with pious visits that in some areas the term *ziyāra* not only means "visits", but also the donations that a *shaykh* receives from his disciples in kind or in money. A religious leader might undertake a journey to "collect *ziyāra*", particularly in cases where the followers are not able to make the trip to see their *shaykh*.

Ziyāra can be described as the direct link between a living *shaykh* of a Ṣūfī order and his followers. Members of the Tidjāniyya order affiliated with the Senegalese *shaykh* Ibrāhīm Niasse (d. 1395/1975) perform the *ziyāra* on the Prophet's birthday, when huge crowds gather for celebrations at Kaolack, the home town of Niasse, and in the city of Kano. In addition, Niasse used to call upon his followers to visit him at least once a year in order to submit a donation, receiving the master's *baraka* [*q.v.*] in return. For this purpose, a date is fixed annually after the harvest, the time when the disciples from rural areas are most likely to donate large amounts of money or contributions in kind. The followers were told that *ziyāra* is the key to the gates of right guidance and well-being. The same practice is continued by leaders of the Tidjāniyya affiliated to Niasse elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, who use the occasion to talk and preach to their followers. More recently, the disciples of Niasse in such countries as Senegal, Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad have introduced a festival on 15 Radjab to commemorate Niasse's birthday.

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10. In the Horn of Africa.

As in the rest of the Islamic world, *ziyārāt* are a common feature of Islam in the Horn of Africa. Primary and secondary source materials detailing such pilgrimages are limited; enough information exists, however, for us to draw a rough outline of these popular practices. The objects of veneration fall into roughly two categories. First are the grave sites of lineage ancestors esteemed for their position as eponymous clan founders and of traditional saints believed instrumental in the introduction of Islam to the region. The second category comprises more recent holy men associated primarily with the introduction of Ṣūfī *ṭuruḳ* [see ṬARĪḲA] in the late 19th century and venerated for their piety and direct connections with the divine. Whether seeking material assistance in this world or spiritual connection with the next, pilgrimages to the burial places of these blessed individuals play a central role in the lives of Muslims in the Horn and eastern Africa.

Among the most notable tombs belonging to the first category are those of Shaykhs Isaaq and Daarood, the eponymous founders of the Somali Isaaq and Daarood clan families, respectively. Believed to have been immigrants from southern Arabia, Somali tradition has provided both ancestors with Sharīfian credentials and sanctified their burial places as sites of annual pilgrimage. The *ziyāra* to Shaykh Isaaq's purported resting place, for instance, takes place soon after the grain harvest in the Isaaq heartland of the north. Thousands of pilgrims, primarily from the Isaaq clan as well as their client lineages, gather at the Shaykh's tomb in Mait on the northern Somali coast as well as at other shrines dedicated to him throughout the north. While taking the shape of a religious pilgrimage, as I.M. Lewis points out, the primary object of such celebrations is the reification of clan unity and social identity rather than supplication to the spirit.

The traditional burial places of holy men associated with the arrival of Islam in the Horn are also popular objects of pilgrimage. The most important sites include the tombs of Shaykh Mumin Abdullah in Bay and Shaykh Aw Barkadle near Hargeisa [*q.v.*], both located in Somalia, and the shrine of Shaykh Nūr Ḥusayn of Bale in Ethiopia. Venerated as the propagators of the true faith, they are also revered as patrons and protectors. The Somali clansmen in Bay visit Shaykh Mumin's tomb, largely in order to seek protection for their crops from predatory birds. Aw Barkhadle, renowned for destroying the evil magician Bu'ur Ba'ir, is viewed as a guarantor of fertility and guard against miscarriage. Shaykh Nūr Ḥusayn is venerated by the Oromo in Ethiopia as a general patron responsible for their overall well-being and serves as a central icon of their Muslim identity.

In addition to these sites of traditional figures, the tombs of more recent religious figures, especially those associated with the Ṣūfī movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, are also the objects of veneration. Tombs belonging to the primary initiators of the *ṭuruḳ* constitute the main sites of visitation, although lesser figures of each order are also fre-

quently visited by the pious. Among the most popular sites are the graves of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zaylaʿī in Kolonkool, Shaykh Uways Muḥammad al-Barāwī in Biyoole and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣūfī in Maḳdishū, all of whom were important figures in the powerful Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although individuals may visit the tombs of these saints for their own special intentions, the majority of pilgrims come seeking enlightenment and a spiritual closeness to the saint that in turn will place them in greater proximity to God. As one learned pilgrim to the tomb of Shaykh Uways noted, "there exists no barrier between the tomb of the Prophet and that of Uways" (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar, 155 ff.), the former being the place of closest human proximity to God. Such visits also serve as an opportunity to further an individual's own mystical knowledge by obtaining *idjāzāt* from the caretakers of each tomb, frequently the descendants of the deceased saint, for the right to recite and transmit various prayers and formulae believed to assist one on the path towards union with the divine.

The timing of pilgrimages as well as the ceremonies conducted at each varies from site to site. *Ziyārāt* to so-called "traditional" sites are frequently tied to important points in the local calendar. The pilgrimage to Shaykh Isaaq's tomb, for instance, occurs shortly after the annual grain harvest. In contrast, the annual visit to the tomb of Shaykh Mumin occurs in the spring, soon after the planting. In other cases, pilgrimages are tied to the lunar Islamic calendar. The *ziyāra* of Aw Barkhadle is held, for example, on the first Friday during the "dark period" of Djumādā I. Similarly, pilgrimages to the tombs of saints connected with the *ṭuruḳ* occur on the anniversary of each saint's death as marked on the lunar calendar. However, pilgrims, especially members of the *ʿulamāʾ*, continue to visit these sites throughout the year seeking blessings and spiritual enlightenment. An interesting combination of these two patterns occurs with the *ziyāra* connected with the tomb of Shaykh Nūr Ḥusayn of Bale. The main feast day for the saint is set on the traditional date of his birth, which is fixed on a Tuesday at the beginning of August according to the traditional Oromo calendar. The month is known in Oromifa as *jia* Shaykh Ḥusayn, or the Moon of Shaykh Ḥusayn. However, another feast day is held during the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* during the month of Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja coinciding with the end of the *ḥadjdj*.

Likewise, ceremonies surrounding each pilgrimage vary widely. The centerpiece of most visits is the viewing of the tomb in order to make supplications for oneself or on behalf of others. This is generally accompanied by numerous animal sacrifices and the recitation of *ḳaṣīdas* [*q.v.*] dedicated to the saint.

Visits to saints connected with the *ṭuruḳ* are largely limited to these activities, along with a heavy emphasis on sermons, religious lessons and frequent prayer. Visits to the tombs of "traditional" saints frequently include additional rituals required to complete the ceremony. At the *ziyāra* of Aw Barkhadle, for instance, a great deal of emphasis is placed on the veneration of various relics (including a gold embossed Ḳurʾān and a bed post purported to belong to the saint). A formal procession to a nearby hilltop believed to be the site of the saint's victory over the magician Buʾur Baʾir is the highlight of the pilgrimage, which is then completed with the performance of the *djumʿa* prayer. The pilgrimage to Shaykh Nūr Ḥusayn's tomb is even more tightly choreographed and includes numerous ceremonies that replicate elements of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Pilgrims enter the sanctuary via a gate called Bāb al-Salām, as do those who enter Mecca. They then proceed to kiss and touch a black stone known as the *darara bashu* that Nūr Ḥusayn is popularly believed to have brought from Mecca. Finally, pilgrims perform a ritual stoning of the devil in the nearby valley, Kachamsare, in imitation of the same *ḥadjdj* ritual.

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ZIYĀRIDS, a petty dynasty of Djīlī/Daylamī stock which ruled in the provinces at the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea, Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, from 319/931 to *ca.* 483/*ca.* 1090; their rise to power forms part of the general upsurge of the Daylamī peoples during the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries [see daylam]. In the earlier, more vital half of the dynasty's existence, members of the family were at times able to pursue independent policies, but at others, they had to acknowledge the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], and sometimes the Būyids [see buwayhids], as their suzerains; and after *ca.* 400/1011-12 they became vassals of the Ghaznawids for some 25 years and then of the Saldjūḳs. Unlike some others of the Daylamī princes of northern Persia who had inclinations towards Shīʿism, the Ziyārids were Sunnīs.

The founder of the line, Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār, claimed descent from the royal house of Gīlān. He rose to power as a mercenary commander within the vacuum of authority in northwestern Persia after the decline of direct caliphal control there, and by 322/934, shortly before his assassination, was master of Djībāl and even of Ahwāz. For details of his career, see mardāwīdj.

His brother and lieutenant, Wushmgīr, succeeded him in 323/935, and at the outset was able to hold on to Mardāwīdj's conquests in northern Persia. But after *ca.* 328/940 Ziyārid authority there was challenged by the rival Daylamī power of the Būyids, and Wushmgīr could only save his position by allying with the Sāmānids, who had ambitions of extending their control over Rayy and northern Persia; even so, he lost Ṭabaristān and Gurgān to the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla on two or three occasions. For details, see wushmgīr.

When Wushmgīr died in 357/967, his eldest son Bīsutūn claimed the Ziyārid succession, but this was disputed by his younger brother Ḳābūs, who secured

Genealogy of the Ẓiyārid dynasty

- Ziyār
  - Mardāwīdj (319-23/931-5)
  - Ẓahīr al-Dawla Wushmgīr (323-57/935-67)
    - Ẓahīr al-Dawla Bīsutūn (357-67/967-78)
    - Shams al-Maʿālī Ḳābūs (367-71/978-81, 388-402/998-1012)
      - Falak al-Maʿālī Manūčihr (402-20/1012-29)
        - Anūshirwān (420-?441/1029-?1049-50)
      - Dārā
      - Iskandar
        - ʿUnṣur al-Maʿālī Kay Kāwūs (441-*ca.* 480/1049-*ca.* 1087)
          - Gīlān Shāh (*ca.* 480-*ca.* 483/*ca.* 1087-*ca.* 1090)

the support of the Sāmānids. After a struggle, Bīsutūn gained control of Ṭabaristān and Gurgān through an alliance with the Būyids, marrying a daughter of ʿAḍud al-Dawla b. Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. On Bīsutūn's death in 367/978, Ḳābūs managed, with Būyid help, to set aside Bīsutūn's minor son and succeeded in the Ziyārid capital Gurgān. But after 369/970 Ḳābūs's relations with his protectors soured. He was ejected by a Būyid army from his principality, which was then placed under direct Būyid rule for seventeen years, whilst Ḳābūs remained an exile in Sāmānid Khurāsān. Only in 388/998 was he able to return, establishing good relations with the successor to the Sāmānids in Khurāsān, Maḥmūd of Ghazna, but ruling as an independent sovereign. For details, see ḲĀBŪS B. WUSHMAGĪR.

Ḳābūs's tyranny led to his downfall and replacement by his son Manūčihr in 402/1012, with his death in the following year. For the remaining eighty years or so of the Ziyārid dynasty's existence, the historical sources become much more sparse and then almost non-existent, and Ziyārid coins disappear after Manūčihr, so that much less is known about the later than the earlier Ziyārids. None of the later rulers reached the calibre of earlier ones like, say, Wushmgīr or Ḳābūs. Hence the dynasty lost much of its power and influence, even within the Caspian region, and never again played any role outside it. Manūčihr ruled as a tributary of Maḥmūd of Ghazna and married a Ghaznawid princess, but this did not preserve his lands from threatened ravaging by the Ghaznawid army in 419/1028 and he had to buy the troops off.

Manūčihr's young son Anūshirwān was in 420/1029 confirmed by Maḥmūd as his dead father's successor, with the requirement of continued tribute, but from 423/1032 till 431/1040 authority within the Ziyārid lands was usurped by a maternal relative of Anūshirwān's, Abū Kālīdjār b. Wayhān. Non-payment of tribute provoked a fresh Ghaznawid invasion of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān in 426/1035 until Abū Kālīdjār agreed to resume tribute to Sultan Masʿūd. Subsequently, Anūshirwān seems to have regained control in the state, but in 433/1041-2—Ghaznawid power having by now receded from Khurāsān—the Ziyārid territories were invaded by the forces of the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg, and the Ziyārids became tributaries of the Great Saldjūḳs.

The Ziyārids now enter their obscurest period. Anūshirwān possibly died in 441/1049-50. Yāḳūt alone mentions a certain Ḥassān as succeeding him, but this man's existence is otherwise unconfirmed. The last Ziyārids for whom we have firm information are Kay Kāwūs b. Iskandar b. Ḳābūs, the famed author of the *Ḳābūs-nāma*, named after his grandfather, who died *ca.* 480/*ca.* 1087 [see KAY KĀʾŪS], and his shadowy son Gīlān Shāh. The latter's end is wholly unknown, but he may have been overthrown by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of the Elburz region, with a consequent end to the dynasty *ca.* 483/*ca.* 1090.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ZMĀLA denotes in origin a tribe of western Algeria; secondly, a mode of semi-nomadic social organisation, illustrated notably by the celebrated community gathered round the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [see ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. MUḤYĪ ʾL-DĪN AL-ḤASANĪ] in the middle years of the 19th century; and thirdly, inspired by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's system and by others, under the Gallicised form *Smala*, an institutionalised strategic system adopted during the time of the French presence in Algeria.

1. The tribe of the Zmāla in history.

The Zmāla inhabited the lower northern slopes of the Tessāla, as well as the plain of Mlēta, traversed

by the Wād Ghāsūl which separated their territory from that of the Dwāyer (Dawā'ir [*q.v.*]). It was on this plain that Dwāyer and Zmāla gathered together after the sowing season (November), before migrating with their herds to the Tessāla in March, then returning to the plain for the harvest. Their economy was of a semi-nomadic type. A tradition refers the origin of the Zmāla back to the arrival of the army of the Sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Ismā'īl, in 1118/1707, but al-Mashrafī (12th/18th century) reckoned that Zmāla was in fact the name given to the Wnāzera, a segment of the Ulād 'Abd Allāh, of the confederation of Banū 'Āmir (Benī 'Āmer), an origin compatible with the subsequent absorption of various elements. After the capture of Oran [see WAHRĀN] in 1206/1792, Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Akḥal al-Kabīr rewarded the Zmāla for their military assistance in the siege by distributing land to them and permitting their leading families to settle in the town.

In 1830, the Bey of Oran had four *aghas*. The *Agha* of the Zmāla was obliged to levy taxes on the *r'āya* (= *ra'āyā*) tribes in the territory called Ya'ḳūbiyyat al-Sharḳ, to the south-east of Mascara. In exchange for public order services, the Bey granted them the use of inalienable land (*arḍ sābga*) which could be withdrawn from them in case of disloyalty to the government.

After the fall of Algiers, Dwāyer and Zmāla, led by al-Māzarī, nephew of Muṣṭafā b. Ismā'īl, attempted reconciliation with the Sultan of Morocco. Another group, commanded by Muṣṭafā b. Ismā'īl, remained loyal to the Bey of Oran. At this time, French troops took possession of the city in a surprise attack. The locality was to remain completely isolated until the conclusion of the Desmichels Treaty on 26 February 1834. During this period, intervention by the Moroccans in Tlemcen culminated in the pillage of the city.

Rallying for the most part to 'Abd al-Ḳādir in 1833, the Zmāla participated until 1835 in his *makhzen*. Twice in 1833 a French column raided the encampments of the Zmāla at the foot of Djebel Ṭafrāwī in the mountains of the Tessāla. The Zmāla were obliged to promise to abandon 'Abd al-Ḳādir, to settle on the plain of Messergin, supply hostages and pay taxes to the French.

After the signing of the Desmichels Treaty, discord erupted between the Benī 'Āmer and the Dwāyer, who were joined by some of the Zmāla. After several battles, a segment of the latter took refuge near Mers el-Kebir. It was not until June 1251/1835 that a majority of the Dwāyer and of the Zmāla submitted definitively to French authority, signing the so-called "Fig-tree" Convention on 16 June 1835. Dwāyer and Zmāla recognised French sovereignty, accepted Muslim chieftains appointed by the Governor-General, paid an annual tribute and supplied armed contingents, guides and spies, in return for protection against attacks by neighbouring tribes, pay and provisions during campaigns, and the replacement of horses killed in action. The Zmāla returned to Oran in July 1835 with some of the Dwāyer, some of the Ghrāba and a number of black Africans, leading to the creation by the French in 1845 of an enclave known as the "Black Village".

At the time of the Mascara expedition (25 November-12 December 1251/1835) [see AL-MU'ASKAR] the Algerian camp was weakened by the defection of Muḥammad al-Māzarī, who joined the French forces at the head of a group of Dwāyer and of Zmāla. He was named *khalīfa* of the Bey of Mostaganem and *Agha* of the plain of Oran.

In March 1837 a fixed camp was established at Messergin to protect the tents of the Dwāyer and of the Zmāla. Furthermore, after the signing of the treaty of Tāfna (30 May 1837), the French element remained a minority, while more than a third of the Dwāyer and three-quarters of the Zmāla were still with 'Abd al-Ḳādir. In 1837, pay was allocated to these irregular *spahis*, generally superior to that offered by 'Abd al-Ḳādir, who sought to attract them to his side, along with the Ḳurghlān [see ḲUL-OGHLU], offering them employment, cattle and land. Their role was generally limited to the functions of couriers, transport, surveillance and public order, escorting and relaying of posts. Thus they provided reconnaissance for the flanks and the vanguard of the two divisions sent 18 May 1841 from Mostaganem against Tāgdemt. In September of the same year, their number rose to about a thousand.

The dispersion of the *zmāla* of 'Abd al-Ḳādir (see below, 2 (a)) took place on 16 May 1843, but the intensification of the anti-French struggle was marked in 1845 by the abandonment of Oran in one night by those of the Dwāyer and the Zmāla who had remained loyal, camping in the shelter of the French artillery.

Subsequently, the Zmāla saw their territories considerably reduced. Thus from 1846 onward, the lands of the Zmāla were included in the zone destined for colonisation, to the north of the Oran-Mascara road. Marshal Bugeaud opposed their "constriction", preferring to see them fragmented around Oran. The Zmāla were then progressively resettled in inhospitable and mountainous zones, while their population grew from 5,250 to 6,230 between 1845 and 1866. In 1867, they were divided into two principal groups: one on the southern slopes of Djebel Murdjādjo, of some 600 persons, the other on the border of the Sebkha.

Like the rest of the Algerian population, they were decimated by famines and epidemics. Their water-courses were diverted, which not only had the effect of ruining the Zmāla but also permitted seizure of the salt-pans of Arzew, vital for the economy of Oran.

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2. The mode of social organisation.

Popularised during the French invasion of Algeria under the form *smala*, the term denotes that which a person or tribe carries when in motion, i.e. all one's goods, with nothing left behind (*lā yukhalif min mālihi shay'*, *LA*, *s.v. azmala*). The form given by Ibn Manẓūr, although it attests to an ancient use of the root in this sense, does not take into account a possible Berber origin. There is no reason not to envisage a hybrid. The extension of the term illustrates the fusion in operation between Berber and Arab tribes in the central Maghrib. Tribes of Arab origin moving through the Tell and the Sahara are sometimes called *zmēluya* Arabs and there exists an adjective of relation, *zmēlī*, formed on this root (e.g. among the Dwāyer).

A tribe, or a group of horsemen organised into a tribe, comes together and organises itself into a *zmāla* at a time of movement in an unsafe region or in a period of conflict. They are associated with a hostel or staging post (*ḳunāḳ*, *ḳnāḳ*) and placed under the authority of a holy person (*mrābeṭ* = *murābiṭ*) who lives in the encampment (*gaṭna*) and arbitrates cases in litigation. Responsible for the bivouac, especially from the point of view of security, he is exempt from tax. *Zmūl* horsemen patrol the roads and participate in the maintenance of order. They accompany the annual round of tax collection. Strategic roads, in particular, were dotted with these *zmāla* encampments. The horsemen were commanded by a *ḳayed ez-zmāla* endowed with a special bodyguard.

Such a type of "mobile capital" was necessary as a compromise method of gathering together the dispersed forces of Algeria to resist the French enemy. It also played a considerable role in the internal politics of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir.

(a) *The* zmāla *of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir*

The story of the *amīr*'s resistance to the French is told in the article ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. MUḤYĪ 'L-DĪN, and only the aspects relating to his *zmāla* will be addressed in the present article.

From 1839 onwards, the *amīr* had instructed his *khalīfa*s and all the dignitaries of Mascara and of Tlemcen to leave the town and live in tents in the *zmāla*. Combatants originating from all the regions of the former Regency and influential persons from the whole of Orania, including Algerians, joined the *zmāla* on an individual basis, as did Tunisians and especially Moroccans. The *amīr* used his troops and his horses in the traditional harassment tactic of *karr wa-farr* (charge and retreat). As the French struggled to cope with an elusive enemy, warfare became total from 1841 onward.

Numerous descriptions make it possible to envisage the structure and organisation of the *zmāla* at the zenith of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's powers. His personal tent was at the centre of his own *dawwār*, backing on one side against that of Lālla Zohra, his mother (d. 1279/1861), one of the few women venerated for her piety (*mrābṭa* = *murābiṭa*), and on the other that of his wife Khayra, his sister Khadīdja and his children. Adjacent to that of the *amīr* was the tent of the guests. On account of its size, the *zmāla* was a mobile city, with composition varying according to the regions traversed. This assemblage of soldiers and artisans principally comprised trades associated with the profession of arms: armourer (*shākmakdjī*), maker of rifle butts (*ḳondāḳdjī*), cutler (*būčāḳdjī*), blacksmith (*ḥaddād*), tailor (*khayyāṭ*, *ṭārzī*), saddler (*sarrādj*, particularly important), harness-maker (*brādʿī*), doctor and surgeon (*ṭabīb*, *djarrāḥ*), veterinarian (*ṭabīb al-ʿawd*), barbers (*berber*) and café proprietors (*ʿaskarī ḳahwādjī*).

At the time of its dispersal on 16 May 1843, near the source of the Wād Ṭāgīn, the population of the *zmāla* was estimated at between 25,000 and 60,000 persons, comprising more than 350 douars defended by 5,000 combatants (including 500 regular infantrymen and 2,000 horsemen). The nucleus extended over more than two kilometres.

A smaller structure, called *dāyra* (= *dā'ira*), was established in Morocco at the end of 1843 and served as a base for the *amīr*, despite attacks by Moroccan tribesmen and troops encouraged by France, especially after the Treaty of Tangier, completed by the Lālla Maghniyya Convention (10 September 1844 and 18 March 1845). The *dāyra* succeeded in resisting attacks until its surrender on 23 December 1847.

There exists a place called Zmāla (formerly Saint-Paul farm) in Kashrū, some 20 km to the south-east of Mascara, where ʿAbd al-Ḳādir would often spend time. Similarly, in 1840-1 there was a *zmāla* near Tāgdemt, an encampment consisting only, in the absence of the *amīr*, of a few tents pitched among the thorn bushes, this being the permanent residence of his mother, his wife and his servants.

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3. In the military and administrative history of French Algeria.

The concept is inseparable from French colonial strategy in Algeria, and its use involved essentially smalas of spahis and smalas of notables. From the outset of the war of conquest in Algeria of 1830, France adopted a policy of using Muslim troops raised from the country, notably the spahis, which it had employed in India during the previous century (Ar. form *ṣbāyḥī*, in Fr. *cipaye*, in Eng. *sepoy*; see SIPĀHĪ. 2 and 3). In face of the failure of the formation of regular units of zouaves and spahis recruited from the Muslims, often arising out of the infantry and cavalry contingents of the Regency, in practice not very active, inclined to rebelliousness and desertion, and expensive, the French Army took into its service the tribes of the old *makhzan* [*q.v.*] who lived in *zmālas*, encampments with their families and herds which they left behind when called to service (see above, 2). These goums of irregular spahis (*mkhāzniyya*) were formed because of the insufficiency in numbers of the regular cavalry (chasseurs, hussars, chasseurs d'Afrique and regular spahis) and because of the unsuitability of this last group for reconnaissance and espionage missions and for rapid action amidst Muslim populations. This model was then applied to the regular spahis in 1834.

In the early stages of the French conquest, the function of the *agha* (who headed a *zmāla*) was maintained in order to retain the appearance of a Muslim administration over the subject people. The *agha* was specifically responsible for police functions and the collection of taxes for the occupying power, and had no role at all in the defence of the Muslim subjects. These Muslim officials were easily dismissed in case of "softness". Their jobs were progressively suppressed with the progress of colonisation, though some were kept in a purely honorific role. This was the case with the *agha* Sī Ḥamza b. Abū Bakr (b. 1859), the religious head of the Ulād Sīdī Shaykh who at the beginning of the 20th century exercised his authority over thirteen tribes and had at his disposal a *makhzan* and a smala; he was responsible for the docility of the Muslims of the district of Aflu, which made up, with Tiaret, the indigenous commune of Tiaret-Aflou formed in 1874, as well as for the payment of levies and taxes as representative of the captain, who was head of the Arab bureau. He received a substantial salary in addition to a share of the "Arab levy" deducted from that granted to the caïds under his orders.

Three periods can be distinguished: (1) creation of the institution for serving local needs; (2) its organisation at the level of the whole country; and (3) the failure and abandonment of the system. The installation of smalas arose in the first place as a result of local initiatives, notably by the Arab bureaux, services that were essentially charged with the transmission of orders to the Muslims and their implementation, a watch over markets and the compiling of reports of all kinds about the situation of the Muslim population (Decree of 1 February 1844, *Le Moniteur Algérien*, 593, of 10 February 1844, 1-2), and which participated in expeditions against these last. In this way was disguised an information service in the heart of the tribes in direct relation with the military command of subdivisions and divisions, thereby facilitating police and repressive duties, of which the spahis were to become the chief instrument. This took place parallel to the formation of three regiments of spahis in 1841 (one per province), into which were incorporated the effective manpower of the "gendarmes maures" when these last were dissolved.

Towards the end of 1844, a smala was created at 2.5 km/1.5 miles south of Orléansville or al-Aṣnām, meant in the first place for the spahis of the Arab bureau (*mkhāzniyya*), and situated close to the "penitentiary for the local population" of Lālla ʿŪda, for which it furnished Muslim prisoners. At the same time, a smala of spahis was formed a little to the west, on a site of 500 ha (1844). Finally, to strengthen the work of pacification of the Muslim population and to consolidate the north-south axis from Ténès to Orléansville, Lapasset created at the end of 1844 or beginning of 1845 a smala for the goum of the *mkhāzniyya* of Ténès, made up of 20 paid cavalrymen, whose chief was, however, killed in 1845. This smala was destroyed by the insurgents of Bū Maʿza in November 1845 at the time when old Ténès was attacked, and replaced in early 1846 by a centre called Smala on the plateau of the Ulād Hennī, which dominates the town of Ténès.

The spahis were formed into three regiments (of Algiers, Oran and Constantine, respectively) on 21 July 1845. This led to the creation of fixed camps where the cavalrymen making up the smala could live with their families and herds in a dual traditional way of life and a military one. Each regiment had the same structure: a regimental depôt with the general staff, and six squadrons spread over the province. Only a few places were reserved for officers, with a local rank only, from the Muslims recruited to form the troops. The red and blue uniform was inspired by local traditions, with a clear Turkish influence: a short tunic, *djābādōlī*, worn over a waistcoat; breeches ending below the knee, *serwāl*; a white *ḥāyk* worn over the shoulders and kept in place by a thick rope of camel's hair, *brīma*; and above this, a white *barnūs* covered with a red one. The definitive administrative order setting up these smalas (3 August 1850) was followed by a report on the smalas of the three regiments of spahis corresponding each one to a province.

If the formation of a *burdj* allowed the families of the spahis a place of shelter in the event of a rebellion, these last were also hostages for the continued faithful allegiance of the cavalrymen when they went out on an expedition. Since it also made up an agricultural colony, a model farm for the surrounding populations, the smala eventually facilitated the introduction of new agricultural methods for the Muslim population and increased the rentable value of their cultivated land, whose industrial and commercial outlets were all in the hands of Europeans. It was above all a means to facilitate the progress of colonisation by the Muslims themselves by means of these provisional establishments, thus veiling European colonisation. The defence of the frontiers, often connected with the problems of emigration by tribes driven away by misery and various effects of the state of war against the French presence (insecurity, brigandage, etc.), also allowed a transfer of the cost of public security to the indigenous population. But the main and true aim was to recruit troops from the best Muslim cavalrymen and to tempt them with the best horses of the land, notably those of Orania, the most esteemed under the Regency, and the cheaper ones.

The use of spahis within a smala replaced the former functions of the *makhzan* of the Regency, and was to attract the sons of leading "tents" and great families (*ulād khayma kbīra* or *bayt kbīra*) which military defeat would have left unemployed, and it was also

a means of utilising and remodelling the remnants of the Algerian aristocracy.

A check to this plan arose from the fact that the smalas of spahis were only recruited from the poorer rural population, who rarely had even a poor horse (*kaydār* "nag"). These men had to be equipped from top to toe, but often sold their equipment after being recruited; they were nothing but a "motley band of the lowest classes, soldiers of fortune who were dying of hunger" (Lt.-Gen. Le Pays de Bourjolly), despised by the Muslim population but nevertheless useful because of their roles as scouts and spies (*shawwāf*).

Nor did the smalas ever fulfil their agricultural role, since they only received the lands left over from colonisation and little suitable for agriculture. The precariousness of occupation of the sites allotted to the smalas is seen in the frequent displacements which took them away from urban agglomerations in a southwards direction into the tribal heartlands. These latter tribes reacted strongly, seeing these Muslim colonists as intruders on lands taken from them by force, who helped to levy taxes and impose intolerable financial demands and were the instruments of fierce repression in times of rebellion. Moreover, ruined by the occupiers, they cared little about increasing yields from ungrateful lands, often suffered misery and want and were thus forced into emigration. Hence far from being an instrument of improvement for surrounding populations, the smala was often a witness to, and at times an active agent of, the pauperisation or disappearance of those populations (a rallying-point for beggars succeeded the smala of Wād Slī). The spahis were recruited from a population often little interested in the agricultural way of life, who preferred to retain their own family plots and who rarely occupied the lands entrusted to them. In these last cases, the spahi would leave the land to be cultivated by *khmāmsa* (agricultural workers remunerated by receiving a fifth of the crop), who, having only an annual contract, were little interested in improving the traditional methods of cultivation.

In January 1871, mutinies by the smalas of Madjbar, Bū Ḥdjar, al-Ṭarf, and above all, ʿAyn Gaṭṭar, linked with the rebellion of the Ḥnēnsha, when it was announced that they were to be sent to France after the defeat of 1870, provoked a fresh repression of the Muslim population. The flight of spahis of the smala of ʿAyn Gaṭṭar with their families and herds to Tunisia sounded the knell of French projects to develop docile troops on the model of the smalas. An opinion which became more and more widespread opposed this return of lands to Muslims and advocated their opening to colonisation in order to increase their rentability, which would also allow the full imposition of taxes from which the lands had hitherto been exempt. By 1914, despite their role as foci for recruitment, the sixteen smalas which the Second Empire had bequeathed to the Third Republic had all been suppressed, except for that of Sīdī Mdjāhed in the Tāfna region, near the Moroccan frontier, to which should be added that of al-Uṭayya near Biskra, set up in 1875. This last was disbanded in 1919, and the former soon after 1930, signifying the final defeat, in face of a civilian colonisation now all-powerful, of an adaptation of Bugeaud's model of the soldier-worker, a Muslim soldier-colonist and worker in the service of France.

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(H. Bencheneb, shortened by the Editors)

ZONGULDAK, a port on the Black Sea coast of Turkey (lat. 41° 26' N., long. 31° 47' E.), and the chef-lieu of an *il* or province of the same name.

The town only emerged in the second half of the 19th century when coal was found in the Zonguldak-Kozlu-Ereğli area, at a convenient distance from the Black Sea (see the art. s.v. in *Yurt Ansiklopedisi, Türkiye il-il, dünü, bugünü, yarını*, x, Istanbul 1982-4). When the Ottoman navy was about to change over to steamships, a local man named Uzun Meḥmed reportedly presented Sultan Maḥmūd II with the first sacks of Zonguldak coal, and actual exploitation began in 1848 (Erol Kahveci, *The miners of Zonguldak*, in idem *et alii* (eds.), *Work and occupation in modern Turkey*, London 1996, 173-200). The mining area was linked to a pious foundation, providing revenues for the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina (Ahmet Naim, *Zonguldak kömür havzası*, Istanbul 1934). However, between 1848 and 1865, the Ottoman authority officially in charge of the enterprise was the Khazīne-i Khāṣṣa, which transferred the actual running of the mines to English contractors. Until 1882, the sale of Ereğli-Zonguldak coal in the open market was not permitted. As a town, Zonguldak developed late; V. Cuinet records that, while *ca.* 1890 coal mining was already rather important, the only "habitation passable du lieu" was the structure housing the offices of local government (*La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, Paris 1894, 498). The population of the town in 1997 was 107,176, and that of the *il*, 612,722.

A high accident rate, low levels of production and the obligations of the Ottoman State to the Dette Ottomane after the 1875 state bankruptcy, from 1891 onwards obliged the government to resort to French investors and foreign skilled labour, and in 1896 a newly-formed company received a fifty-year concession for the exploitation of the mines and the construction of railways. Major shareholders were French,

including the Banque Ottomane, but there were also Ottoman investors. Increasing involvement by Ottoman subjects, including high-level officials, prompted the late Ḥamīdian government to attempt in vain to improve the mines. In the Ottoman parliament convened after the reinstatement of the constitution, there were protests against the high transportation fees charged by the company, which apparently aimed at the ruin of its Ottoman competitors (1909) (see D. Quataert, *Social disintegration and popular resistance in the Ottoman empire, 1881-1908. Reactions to European economic penetration*, New York 1983, 41-70). It was however only in 1937 that the government of the Republic bought back the mines, with a view toward securing a national energy supply in case of war, and in 1940 the entire mining area was nationalised.

Mine labourers. Throughout the 19th century, as in earlier periods, mining was not a full-time activity but was practiced by peasants recruited for labour in the mines on a part-time basis (Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, crafts, and food production in an urban setting 1520-1650*, Cambridge 1984, 176-7). A law of 1867 specified that all mineworkers, except for the engineers and foremen, had to be Ottoman subjects. This same law also introduced the obligation of villagers to work in the mines; this forced labour continued until 1921. Even today, miners are largely local men, and rotational labour by part-time peasants continues, especially among hewers. However, foreign labourers, including Montenegrins, Croatians and Hungarians, as well as other qualified workers and technicians, were also imported.

Considerable labour unrest first occurred in 1908, when wage demands, fear of mechanisation and a reaction against "outside" miners brought in from Sivas, triggered a wave of strikes; Ottoman local authorities tended to support the strikers against the foreign company. In 1940 obligatory service in the mines was reintroduced, and only abolished in 1948. From 1937 and into the 1940s, prison labour was employed on a considerable scale (Kahveci, *The miners*, 183-200). Private records and memoirs document the unsanitary conditions of life in the mines, and the high incidence of diseases such as tuberculosis, typhus and intestinal ailments. Only from the 1960s onwards did the mines become a focus of organised trade union activity, with a major strike in 1965. Large-scale demonstrations sparked by a long-term decline in real wages, occurred in the early 1990s as well (see on these topics, Mübeccel Kiray, *Ereğli, ağir sanayiden önce bir sahil kasabası*, Ankara 1964; D.A. Roy, *The Zonguldak strike. A case study of industrial conflict in a developing society*, in *MES*, xii [1974], 147-85; Sina Çıladır, *Zonguldak havzasında işçi hareketlerini tarihi, 1848-1940*, Ankara 1977; T. Nichols and Erol Kahveci, *The condition of mine labour in Turkey. Injuries to miners in Zonguldak, 1942-1990*, in *MES*, xxxi [1995], 198-227; Quataert and Nadir Özbek, *The Ereğli-Zonguldak coal mines. A catalog of archival documents*, in *The Turkish Studies Assoc. Bull.*, xxiii [1999], 55-67; Quataert, *Zonguldak maden işçilerinin hayatı, 1870-1920 başlangıç niteliğinde bazı gözlemler*, in *Toplum ve Bilim*, lxxxiii [1999-2000], 80-90). After employing up to 10,000 people in 1914, and 50,000 at the peak of mining activity, the coal mines are today in crisis and scheduled for privatisation.

Fixed capital and output. Zonguldak until late into the republican period had few links to the Anatolian interior, and handled all its trade by sea. The port was constructed after 1896 by the French mining company. Railways linking the different mines to the port also were constructed, but by the beginning of the First World War, the tunnels necessary for connecting the more remote mines to the port had not as yet been dug. Coal production in the early 20th century reached 500,000 tons per year, the foreign company's share amounting to over 75%. By the terms of their contracts, all mining entrepreneurs had to offer 60% of the coal extracted to the government at prices determined by the latter. Apart from the needs of the Navy, Izmir enterprises and households also came to depend on Zonguldak coal, and there were some exports to Greece and Rumania. Yet until 1913 the foreign company was not very profitable, in part because coal seams had been poorly chosen, and management problems were rife. But impediments placed in the company's way by a government hostile to foreign control of a crucial energy source equally limited profitability.

A study published in 1995 emphasised that low investment in the mines has remained typical of the republican period as well, resulting in the widespread use of out-of-date equipment. Much of the capital invested has been derived from international sources, down to 1965, particularly funds made available under Marshall Plan auspices, more recently from the World Bank. Today, Zonguldak coal has increasingly to compete in the Turkish market against the imported item.

Other industrial towns. It is one of the peculiarities of Zonguldak province that, apart from the central city, we find two major rival towns. Karabük is of even more recent origin than Zonguldak itself, having been founded in 1939. Partly for military reasons, the steelworks established in this locality, whose construction formed a major item in the Five-Year-Plan of 1932, were built at a considerable distance from the coast, with coal brought in from Zonguldak and raw iron from distant Divriği. The other important town in the province of Zonguldak is Ereğli (Bendereğli, Karadeniz Ereğlisi), which by contrast was a small but active port as early as the 10th/16th century (Faroqhi, *op. cit.*, 110-13). Up to the 1950s, Ereğli's harbour was only suitable for small craft, and the transportation of Zonguldak coal to steamships constituted an important activity, but since 1960, Ereğli has also become the site of a large steelworks, and a modern harbour has been built.

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(Suraiya Faroqhi)

ZSITVATOROK, the name of a peace-treaty signed by the Ottomans and the Habsburgs in 1606, and so-called ever since the negotiations leading to it started on boats at the confluence of the rivers Zsitva and Danube (the literal meaning of the word being "Zsitva mouth").

The peace treaty put an end to the so-called "Long" or "Fifteen Years' War", which was begun in 1593 and renewed each year, bringing smaller or bigger successes to both sides without a final victory. The revolt led by István Bocskai against the Habsburgs helped the Ottomans to a certain extent to strengthen their sometimes rather weak positions.

First, Bocskai and the Habsburgs came to an agreement in Vienna on 9 February 1606. Three-party talks started on 29 October, when the Emperor Rudolph II was represented by Ernst Molart, the Sultan Aḥmed I by ʿAlī, the *beglerbegi* of Buda, and Bocskai by Baron István Illésházy. The treaty, to be valid for 20 years, was signed on 11 November, amended in March 1608 at (Érsek-) Újvár (Nové Zámky), and ratified by the sultan—after long consideration—on 11 October 1608.

The peace treaty stipulated, among other things,

the following: (a) it was forbidden to attack castles and take prisoners; (b) earlier captives were to be freed; (c) the Habsburg Emperor was to hand over 200,000 florins as a once-and-for-all payment; (d) castles taken in the county of Nógrád were not to be returned to the Ottomans, but Esztergom with its vicinity remained in their hands, while the future of Kanizsa and its surroundings was to be decided later; and (e) taxes were to be collected locally and handed over by village mayors.

Bibliography: G. Bayerle, *The compromise at Zsitvatorok*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 5-53; K. Nehring, *Der Friede von Zsitvatorok*, in idem, *Adam Freiherrn zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel* (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 78), Munich 1983, 15-67. (G. Dávid)

ZUʿʿĀR (a., sing. *zāʿir*), lit. "rowdy, ill-behaved lads", a term used notably in the Egyptian and Syrian urban milieux during the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, and also with the sense of "gypsies", but, rather, in an extra-urban milieu. At the present time, we have in Lebanon and Palestine *azʿar* (pl. *zuʿrān*) "vagabond, brigand". Other forms that are found include *zuʿrūr* and *zaʿir*. The Arabic dictionaries place the term under the verb *zaʿara* "to copulate, have sexual intercourse". In fact, it should be connected instead with *dhāʿir* (pl. *dhuʿʿār*) "rascal, scoundrel", itself connected with the verb *dhaʿara* "to frighten, instil fear", apparently a variant or by-form of *dāʿir* (pl. *duʿʿār*) "dirty, debauched, rotten, evil, licentious", verb *daʿara* "to smoke a great deal like green or rotten wood which refuses to burn", cf. *bayt al-diʿāra* "brothel", *daʿira* "to be immoral".

The *zuʿʿār* are often connected with the mystical *ṭuruḳ* (see E. Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1995, index s.v. *zurʿān*; A. Raymond, *Égyptiens et Français au Caire 1798-1901*, Cairo 1998, 52-9).

Words for "rascals, scoundrels" are very numerous in both the spoken and written forms of Arabic, mediaeval and modern: *al-ʿāmma* "the plebs"; *awbāsh al-nās* "the scum of the people"; *al-ʿayyārūn* [see ʿayyār] "brave, swaggering youths"; *ahl al-sharr* "evildoers"; *al-djuʿaydī* "frightful, evil ones"; *djuʿaydiyya* "the populace"; *al-ghammāzūn* "those who screw up their eyes, intriguers"; *al-ghawghāʾ* "those who swarm like tiny beasts"; *ḥamalat al-silāḥ* "civilians bearing arms"; *al-ḥarāmiyya* "bastards", currently "highway bandits"; *al-ḥarāfīsh* [see ḥarfūsh] "troubled, agitated populace" (this is sometimes written *al-kharāfīsh*, cf. a similar verb *kharbasha* "to botch something, do untidy work"); *iḥranshafa* "to prepare to fight (of a cock), to begin to pay a forfeit (of a man)"; *al-kudya* "begging", *ahl al-kudya* "vagabonds"; *man lā yamliku ḳūt laylatihi* "a person who does not possess enough to eat for a single night of his existence"; *man lā yūdjadu wa-lā yuʿrafu idhā ṭuliba* "someone who cannot be found and cannot be recognised when one looks for him"; *al-mufsadūn wa 'l-mufsidūn* "those who are corrupted and those who corrupt"; *al-murdjifūn* "agitators"; *al-mushākilūn* "footpads, highwaymen"; *al-nuhabāʾ* "those who pillage"; *al-raʿāʿ* "the mob, thieves"; *al-ramadiyya* "tramps, vagabonds"; *al-ṣaʿālīk* [see ṣuʿlūk] "brigands, robbers"; *al-shuṭṭār* "lively, active ones"; *al-suʿāt* "the dregs of the people"; *al-sūḳa*, lit. "those led to pasture", "the flock under the ruling power", and pejoratively, "canaille"; *al-sukkāt* "rascals"; *al-ṭummāʿ* "those who are avid, covetous"; *yaʾkhudhūn al-khifāra* "those who run a protection racket"; *yaṭlubūn al-bāṭil wa 'l-fasād* "those who cultivate fraud and corruption (see the references to texts in Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, i, Damascus 1989, 671 n. 1).

In effect, marginal persons were numerous in mediaeval Arab society. They involved persons who had broken with traditional family solidarity, such as villagers who had to leave their holdings which were too small to support all the young adults of the kin group and went to the towns to seek a living; former Bedouin who had been obliged to throw off tribal links after the murder of a kinsman; Kurdish bandits (*al-akrād*) driven from their mountains by hunger; and soldiers abandoned by their masters, as was often the case with black slaves purchased cheaply to act as a largely non-specialised infantry corps and then left without food or upkeep when no longer needed on the battlefield. Others fell outside such solidarity groups from birth, such as the male children of child mothers or prostitutes, often recognisable by their short *nasab*s, with *ibn* "son of" followed by the name or sobriquet of a woman. They could even come from ethnic groups who refused integration into a controlled environment, such as the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], buffalo herders of Indian origin installed by the Sāsānids in the 5th century in the marshlands of Lower ʿIrāḳ and then displaced by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century to the plains of Antioch and Cilicia; or the Nūrīs/Nawar [see nūrī], limited-ranging groups of gypsies who were blacksmiths and tinsmiths, who, still up to the 20th century, would pitch their patched and tattered tents in the Syrian steppes in the vicinity of towns, in order to hire out the charms of their wives and daughters, and who would organise entertainments in the streets with small girls and trained animals like bears, goats and monkeys. All these marginal groups might themselves create a new collective solidarity around a fictitious *nasab*, like the Banū Sāsān [*q.v.*]; see C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, 2 vols. Leiden 1976; K. Zakhariya, *Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī, imposteur et mystique; relire les maqāmāt d'al-Ḥarīrī*, Damascus 2000, 121-8.

Their organised bands, *aḥzāb*, *ʿasharāt*, *ʿuṣab*, often residing near the gates either inside or outside a town, would march behind their banners to the sound of their drums and fifes (*al-ṭubūl wa 'l-zumūr*) and might be called by more glorious descriptive collective terms, such as the Muslim youths of Tinnīs, *shabāb shudjʿān* "brave youths", who in the opening years of the Fāṭimid presence regularly preyed on the rich Christian merchants, *al-aghniyāʾ al-naṣārā*, emptying their warehouses and debauching their womenfolk and daughters (see Sawīrus Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, ed. and tr. A.S. Atiya *et alii*, ii/2, Cairo 1948, Ar. text 88, Eng. tr. 131-3). When they were not exterminated by the regular troops, these bands might be gradually institutionalised into urban militias, called *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*] or into confraternities, bands of *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. See Cl. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane*, in *Arabica*, v (1958), 225-50, vi (1959), 25-56, 223-65; Bianquis, *op. cit.*, ii, 673-80; idem, *Le chevalier de la steppe, l'ânier de village, le cavalier de la citadelle: trois personnages de la transition en Syrie au XIe siècle*, in M.A. Bakhit and M.Y. Abbadi (eds.), *Bilād al-Shām during the Abbasid period*, ʿAmmān 1992, i (Ar. section), 429-44, ii (foreign languages section), 91-104; A. Havemann, *The Saljuq vizier and raʾīs in Syria. The struggle for urban self-representation*, in *IJMES*, xxi (1989), 233-42; J.M. Mouton, *Damas et son principauté sous les Saldjoukides et les Bourides, 468-549/1076-1154*, Cairo 1995; M. Yared-Riachi, *La politique extérieure de la prin-*

cipauté de Damas 468-549h/1076-1154, Damascus 1997, index at 321. Henceforth led by a *raʾīs*, they contributed towards the maintenance of order within the town and, if necessary, to its defence when it was besieged by a hostile army.

Bibliography: Given in the article; also, information kindly supplied by F. Sanagustin.

(TH. BIANQUIS)

AL-**ZUBĀRA**, a location on the north-west coast of Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*]. It was the main town on the peninsula until 1878, when it was largely destroyed. It now contains only the 1938 fort, built as a police station, and, 2 km further north, the ruins of a fortified settlement dating back to the 18th century. The surrounding land is flat, saline and barren.

In their late 17th-century migration from central Arabia, the ʿUtūb [*q.v.*] clans may have settled briefly around al-Zubāra before continuing towards present-day al-Kuwayt [*q.v.*] in the early 18th century. They included what became the early leading families in al-Kuwayt: the Āl Ṣabāḥ, the Āl Djalāhima and the Āl Khalīfa. In 1766, the Āl Khalīfa left al-Kuwayt again for al-Zubāra, shortly followed by the Āl Djalāhima. The town soon developed into a significant pearling centre and trading port, particularly after Baṣra [*q.v.*] fell to Persia in 1776. Countering a challenge to this new pre-eminence by the *shaykh* of Būshahr, the newcomers captured Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] (until then a Persian dependency) in 1783. Henceforth, the Āl Khalīfa settled on Baḥrayn, while retaining control over al-Zubāra (now increasingly eclipsed). Āl Khalīfa rule was challenged by Raḥma b. Djābir Āl Djalāhima until his death in 1826. Thereafter, the Āl Thānī family, based in the east of the peninsula, gradually increased its power, challenging the Āl Khalīfa's hold over al-Zubāra and north-western Ḳaṭar. Al-Zubāra at this time was described as a town of 400 houses.

The first treaty between the Āl Thānī and Great Britain in 1868 implied Britain's right to intervene in disputes with the Āl Khalīfa. In 1873, the British Political Agent awarded the latter customary rights and access but not sovereignty over al-Zubāra. In 1878, the Āl Thānī attacked and destroyed the town. Ḳaṭar's recognition in 1916 as a separate British protectorate failed to settle the matter. In 1937, Baḥrayn protested against a survey of the area's port potential; a section of the local Āl Naʿīm tribe sided with their traditional overlords, the Āl Khalīfa, and were attacked and defeated by the Āl Thānī. The Āl Khalīfa imposed an embargo, which became one of the causes for the sharp decline of northern Ḳaṭar, and indeed of the whole peninsula.

In 1944 the political agent negotiated an agreement granting Baḥrayn customary and grazing rights, although tension persisted. Only in 1950 was the Baḥraynī embargo lifted when the Āl Khalīfa's right to visit was again confirmed. The following year, many of the Āl Naʿīm who had left for Baḥrayn returned. Yet in 1953 Baḥraynī maps were published claiming sovereignty over al-Zubāra, and the following year, the claim was officially revived. Shaykh ʿAlī Āl Thānī in response reoccupied the fort and in 1956 added further police. In 1957, the British political agent ruled that Baḥrayn could no longer expect extraterritorial privileges in the area, thus finally establishing full effective Ḳaṭarī (Āl Thānī) control.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the issue of al-Zubāra was raised again by Baḥrayn in the context of the other territorial disputes between the two states. When Ḳaṭar unilaterally referred the Hawar islands dispute to the International Court of Justice in 1991, Baḥrayn protested. Its 1992 offer to make a new joint submission which would include all outstanding issues—also implying al-Zubāra—was refused by Ḳaṭar.

Bibliography: Extensive mention of al-Zubāra can be found in the following: Sir Charles Belgrave, *The Pirate Coast*, Beirut 1960; A. Abu Hakima, *History of Eastern Arabia 1750-1800*, Beirut 1965; J.B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968; R. Said Zahlan, *The creation of Qatar*, London 1979; J. Crystal, *Oil and politics in the Gulf. Rulers and merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, new ed. Cambridge 1990; J.C. Wilkinson, *Arabia's frontiers*, London 1991; R. Schofield (ed.), *Territorial foundations of the Gulf states*, London 1994.

(G. NONNEMAN)

ZUBAYDA BT. **DJAʿFAR** b. Abī Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], Umm Djaʿfar (d. 216/831-2), wife of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd [*q.v.*], mother of his successor Muḥammad al-Amīn [*q.v.*]. Her name was Amat al-ʿAzīz ("handmaid of the Almighty"), but she is known by her pet name Zubayda ("little butter ball"), given to her by her grandfather al-Manṣūr on account of her plumpness and radiant looks. Her beauty, intelligence, extravagance and generosity made her one of the most admired women in her time. She set the fashion at the caliphal court and added to its splendour by patronising scholars, poets and musicians, but she also spent fabulous sums on public works, especially in Mecca. Like her husband Hārūn al-Rashīd, she became a literary figure, appearing in *adab* anecdotes, as also in *Alf layla wa-layla*.

According to Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Beirut, v, 572) Zubayda was born in 145/763, whereas earlier sources only state that she was about one year younger than Hārūn, her cousin on the paternal and maternal side, her mother Salsal being Khayzurān's [*q.v.*] sister. Their marriage took place in 165/781-2, a happy union by all accounts, although not untroubled by rivalries and intrigues of the harem (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 309, ix, 88, xviii, 65, 307). In 170/787 her only child Muḥammad (al-Amīn) was born. Six months earlier, a Persian concubine had given birth to ʿAbd Allāh (al-Maʾmūn), whom Zubayda raised from infancy after his mother's death. She must have soon realised, however, that the highly intelligent, gifted ʿAbd Allāh threatened her son's succession to the caliphate. Although Muḥammad was designated caliph as early as 175/792, Hārūn's evident preference for ʿAbd Allāh and the growing rivalry between the brothers affected her increasingly in the years to come (cf. N. Abbott, *Two queens of Baghdad*, Chicago 1946, 170 ff.).

The part Zubayda played in the downfall of the Barmakids [*q.v.*] is difficult to assess (cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*, 191-200); her chief political concern remained the issue of succession. She used her Hāshimite alliances and her wealth in support of her son, who succeeded Hārūn in 193/809, but when in 195/811 an army was sent to Khurāsān against al-Maʾmūn, she urged the general ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā to treat her stepson with respect should he fall prisoner (Ṭabarī, iii, 817). During the turbulent events of the civil war, Zubayda suffered personal humiliation, first on the part of Baghdādī rebels in 196/812, later by al-Ṭāhir's [*q.v.*] Khurāsānian troops, who were also responsible for the murder of al-Amīn in 198/813 (Ṭabarī, iii, 846, 934). Her spirit seems to have been unbroken, however. She sent placating messages to al-Maʾmūn, avowing that he was ample compensation for all her losses, and eventually effected a reconciliation (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 433-4, no. 7802). Her quiet later years bear witness of the cordial relationship between them (cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*, 229-35).

Zubayda is commemorated for her philanthropic works, in particular the water supplies of Mecca and the pilgrim road (cf. Ibn Djubayr, *Travels*, ed. W. Wright, Leiden 1907, 208). In 193/808 she initiated an extensive system of waterworks centred around the ʿAyn Zubayda on the plane of ʿArafāt, including a subterranean aqueduct cut through the rocks at enormous costs [see MAKKA. 2]. The sources report her personal engagement in the planning and her persistence against the objections of the engineers (Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1858, i, 444-5; Ibn Khallikān, no. 228, tr. de Slane, i, 532). Zubayda died on 26 Djumādā I 210/10 July 831 in Baghdād. The place of her tomb is a matter of dispute (Abbott, *op. cit.*, 247-50).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Yaʿḳūbī, Beirut 1379-1960, ii, 428, 433-34; Dīnawarī, Cairo 1960, 396; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1962, index; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1344/1926, 191; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, Cairo 1965, 538, 567; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xiv, 176-8, no. 242. (RENATE JACOBI)

AL-**ZUBAYDĪ**, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN (Ḥumaydī, 180) b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Madhḥidj, a well-known Arabic philologist, *faḳīh* and poet, whose great-great-great-grandfather Bishr al-Dākhil (Ibn Ḥazm, 412) had come from Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] with the Umayyad army to al-Andalus (his genealogy goes back to the *Djāhiliyya* in Yemen). Al-Zubaydī was born in Seville *ca.* 316/928 into a scholarly family. The *ṭalab al-ʿilm* brought him to Cordova, the residence of the Umayyad caliphs, where he associated with his teachers, above all with Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*]. The young scholar attracted the attention of the caliph al-Ḥakam II (350-66/961-76) who, when still a prince, was a great promoter of art and science. He entrusted al-Zubaydī with the education of his son Hishām, the heir to the throne. He urged him to make his knowledge available for everybody in books, similar to the way he had already shown himself as an expert in a complementary work to Sībawayhi's [*q.v.*] famous grammar, namely, his:

(1) *K. al-Istidrāk ʿalā Sībawayh fī K. al-Abniya wa 'l-ziyāda ʿalā mā awradahu fīhi muhadhdhab^an*, additions and corrections on the structure of nouns, etc. (ed. I. Guidi, Rome 1890, repr. Baghdād *ca.* 1970; cf. *al-Mawrid*, iv/1 (1395/1975), 251-3; new ed. by Ḥannā Djamīl Ḥaddād, al-Riyāḍ 1407/1987; an excerpt is *Amthilat al-abniya fī Kitāb Sībawayhi, Tafsīr* Abī Bakr al-Zubaydī, *Sharḥ* Muḥammad Khalīfa al-Dannāʿ, Beirut 1996).

Al-Zubaydī then wrote three works, among which his biographies of grammarians and lexicographers from early times to his own days, in which he quotes his *K. al-Istidrāk* on p. 239:

(2) *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa 'l-lughawiyyīn*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1373/1954, ²1973, composed between the years 363/973-4 and 365/975-6. As he points out in the preface, the caliph put his personal material at his disposal, both orally and in writing (see R. Sellheim, in *Oriens*, viii [1955], 345-8). Al-Zubaydī's *Ṭabaḳāt* was used as a source by later biographers, and excerpts were made, one of which has been printed (F. Krenkow, Rome 1919).

To this period also belongs al-Zubaydī's work on "errors in language" (*laḥn* [*q.v.*]; cf. AL-ANDALUS. x) made by common people (cf. G. Krotkoff, in *Bull. of the College of Arts and Sciences, Baghdād*, ii [1957], 3-16; Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 254-5):

(3) *K. Laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, ed. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1964. Again, he thanks the caliph emphatically for his encouragement and assistance. Two hundred years later, Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] from Seville wrote an answer to this innovative treatise (cf. D. Reig, in *SI*, lxxvii [1993], 183-9). For an excerpt from al-Zubaydī's *Laḥn*, see the introduction of the editor, his general study, called *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa 'l-taṭawwur al-lughawī*, Cairo 1967, and his collected works *Buḥūth wa-maḳālāt fī 'l-lugha*, Cairo 1403/1982. Without examining the first edition, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar republished the work under the title *Laḥn al-ʿāmma*, Cairo 1981.

The third work published by al-Zubaydī at the instigation of the caliph was the highly-praised revised excerpt which he made from the first Arabic dictionary. Al-Zubaydī, too, is of the opinion that the work is only to be ascribed (*mansūb*) in its entirety to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*]. He must have finished it before the death of the caliph on 3 Ṣafar 366/1 October 976, for at the end he wishes him a long life (see further, Ḥumaydī, 47-9!):

(4) *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿAyn*, ed. Nūr Ḥāmid al-Shādhilī, 2 vols. Beirut 1417/1996 (cf. J. Kraemer, in *Oriens*, vi [1953], 207-8; Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 52-6, 254; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibrāhīm, in *al-Mawrid*, xvii/2 [1408/1988], 196-224, xvii/3, 189-214).

Al-Zubaydī rose to become *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* [*q.v.*], but he probably succeeded in returning to his native town Seville in the function of *ḳāḍī* only after the caliph's death and under the latter's successor, his own pupil Hishām. He died there on 1 Djumādā II/6 September 989. His son Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad, also one of his many pupils, died soon after 440/1048 as *ḳāḍī* in Almeria (Ḥumaydī, 36).

(5) *K. al-Wāḍiḥ fī ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya*, a highly-praised, clearly-arranged grammar, composed after the example of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, but shorter than others (ed. Amīn ʿAlī al-Sayyid, Cairo 1975; ed. ʿA. Khalīfa, ʿAmmān 1976; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 250). The work seems to have circulated in various versions (*riwāyāt*), perhaps as written notes taken during lectures (*madjlis*). Partial versions may have existed before al-Zubaydī came in contact with the court.

Shorter treatises about questions concerning the *K. al-ʿAyn* may also be considered as written notes taken during lectures, also indirectly through al-Ḳālī's *K. al-Bāriʿ* [see MATHAL. iii; AL-YAZĪDĪ], and not as independent works (cf. Ḳifṭī, *Muḥammadūn*, 209; Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 255, ix, 319), namely:

(6) *Istidrāk (?) al-ghalaṭ al-wāḳiʿ fī K. al-ʿAyn* [see LAḤN AL-ʿĀMMA];

(7) *Risālat al-intiṣār li 'l-Khalīl* (cf. Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 109);

(8) *al-Mustadrak min al-ziyāda fī Kitāb al-Bāriʿ ʿalā K. al-ʿAyn*;

(9) *K. Basṭ al-Bāriʿ* (cf. S.A. Bonebakker, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv [1961], 174);

(10) *al-Radd ʿalā Ibn Masarra*, or *Hatk sutūr al-mulḥidīn* (cf. Ibn Khallikān, *s.v.*) is a treatise against the doctrines of Ibn Masarra.

Al-Zubaydī is said to have composed biographies of later jurists in Cordova:

(11) *Akhbār al-fuḳahā' al-muta'akhkhirīn min ahl Ḳurṭuba* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *s.v.*).

In addition are mentioned a work on metrics:

(12) *al-Ghāya fī 'l-ʿarūḍ* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *s.v.*);

(13) *al-Taḳrīẓ* (cf. Ibn Khayr, 351); and an excerpt,

(14) *Ikhtiṣār*, from al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ms. in Tunis, see Pons Boigues, 92-3 no. 50).

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AL-ZUBAYR B. AL-ʿ**AWWĀM** B. KHUWAYLID, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳurashī al-Asadī, one of the most eminent Companions of Muḥammad, known by the surname *Ḥawārī* (a Geʿez loanword) *Rasūl Allāh* ("the Disciple or Apostle of the Messenger of God"). He is one of the ten Companions to whom Paradise was promised by the Prophet (*al-ʿashara al-mubashshara* [*q.v.*] or *al-mubashsharūn al-djanna*) and a member of the *shūrā* [*q.v.*] appointed by the dying caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to elect his successor. The name al-Zubayr is derived from *al-zabr, ṭayy al-biʾr bi ʾl-ḥidjāra*, casing of a well with stones (Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, 47-8) or a strong man (*LA*, s.v. *z-b-r*).

His mother, Ṣafiyya bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, was the Prophet's aunt, so that he was a cousin of Muḥammad and a nephew of his wife Khadīdja bt. Khuwaylid. A report asserts that al-Zubayr, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ were all born in the same year (al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, 499). Al-ʿAwwām died when al-Zubayr was very young and he was taken into the care of his uncle Nawfal b. Khuwaylid.

Al-Zubayr was one of the earliest converts to Islam: some claim that he was the fourth or fifth male who adopted the new religion. Reports disagree concerning his age when he followed Muḥammad. The best known states that he was 16 years old at the time. Ibn Isḥāḳ attests that Abū Bakr persuaded him, together with four other future members of the *shūrā*, to embrace Islam; the version of the Zubayrīs has it that he was eight years old when he followed Muḥammad and that, when he was 12, he drew his sword to protect him and became the first person who drew a sword in the way of God; to give more credibility to this version, a report claims that he converted to Islam with ʿAlī (Ibn ʿAsākir, xviii, 344-5; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, i, 41, 45). The contradictions between these versions are the result of debates within Muslim society concerning the precedence claimed in adopting the new religion (*sābiḳa*), according superiority to the first converts (cf. I. Hasson, *La conversion de Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān*, in *JSAI*, xxii [1998], 214-42).

Al-Zubayr took part in the first *hidjra* and returned with the first group to Mecca when rumours spread that the Meccans had become reconciled to Muḥammad since he was ready to recognise the three goddesses, al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā and Manāt [*q.vv.*]. Later, al-Zubayr, accompanied by his mother, migrated (*hādjara*) from Mecca to Medina.

Within the range of the institution called *al-muʾākhāt* ("brothering" [*q.v.*]), al-Zubayr was paired probably with the Awsī Salama b. Salāma b. Waḳsh or with the Khazradjī poet Kaʿb b. Mālik [*q.v.*]; earlier, in Mecca, he was paired with ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [see IBN MASʿŪD].

Al-Zubayr took part in most of the early battles. At Badr (2/624 [*q.v.*]), there were only two horsemen in the ranks of the Muslims; al-Zubayr was one of them. The Zubayrīs relate that the archangel Djibrīl and the angels who took part in this battle (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ii, 285-6) wore yellow turbans like that of al-Zubayr (Ibn ʿAsākir, xviii, 353-5). At Uḥud (3/625 [*q.v.*]), the Prophet expressed his admiration for Zubayr's valour. During the Battle of the Trench (al-Khandaḳ [*q.v.*]) in 5/627, al-Zubayr was sent by the Prophet to spy on the Banū Ḳurayẓa. Muḥammad said on this occasion: "Each prophet has his true disciple, and al-Zubayr is mine" (*li-kulli nabiyyⁱⁿ ḥawāriyyᵘⁿ wa-ḥawāriyya al-Zubayru*; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ii, 457). Just after the Battle of al-Khandaḳ, al-Zubayr and ʿAlī organised the massacre of Banū Ḳurayẓa, carrying out the sentence pronounced by Saʿd b. Muʿādh [*q.v.*] and approved by Muḥammad (al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ii, 513; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1499). During the Khaybar campaign (7/628), al-Zubayr distinguished himself more than any other warrior except ʿAlī. Throughout the course of the conquest of Mecca, al-Zubayr commanded the left wing of the Muslim army. At Tabūk (9/630 [*q.v.*]), al-Zubayr held the Prophet's "greatest banner", *al-rāya al-ʿuẓmā* (al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, iii, 996). After Muḥammad's death, al-Zubayr took part in the battle of al-Yarmūk (15/636 [*q.v.*]) and later ʿUmar sent him with 4,000 reinforcements to support ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in the conquest of Egypt.

With such a record, it is not surprising that al-Zubayr was described as "the bravest man of Ḳuraysh" (*ashdjaʿ Ḳuraysh*, al-Ṭabarī, ii, 805) or simply "the bravest man" (*ashdjaʿ al-nās, Aghānī*, xi, 125). But in a *munāfara* (disputation over claims to nobility), Ibn ʿAbbās is said to have charged him with cowardice at the Battle of the Camel: he fled and did not attack, he fought but did not persevere (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, ix, 327). In order to correct this impression, a pro-ʿAlid tradition claims that "he fled as a repentant and not out of cowardice".

A late report affirms that al-Zubayr served for a time as Muḥammad's secretary in the registration of the income from legal alms (*amwāl al-ṣadaḳāt*, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 91, citing al-Ḳuḍāʿī, *ʿUyūn al-maʿārif*).

Al-Zubayr, like many other eminent Companions who opposed ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib before, and particularly after his proclamation as caliph, was attacked in Shīʿī literature (E. Kohlberg, *The attitude of the Imāmī-Shīʿīs to the Companions of the Prophet*, see *Bibl.*; idem, *Some Imāmī Shīʿī views on the Ṣaḥāba*, in *JSAI*, v [1984], 143-75). The eighth volume (in the lithographic edition) of al-Madjlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār* records many such attacks; these form the main subject-matter of the Shīʿī literature known as *sabb al-ṣaḥāba* (cursing of the Companions). Al-Zubayr and the other leaders of the camp opposing ʿAlī in the Battle of the Camel (36/656) are designated in the Shīʿī tradition by the epithet *al-nākithūn*, i.e. rogues, rascals, "those who broke their compact". Abū Mikhnaf reports that al-Zubayr was the first leader who killed Muslim captives in cold blood, *ḳatalahum ṣabr^an* (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, ix, 321). Nevertheless Shīʿī attacks on al-Zubayr are moderate in comparison with those on Ṭalḥa, ʿĀʾisha, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and others, and favourable points are mentioned. Thus it is said that, in the events which led to the election of Abū Bakr as the first caliph, al-Zubayr supported ʿAlī, together with the Banū Hāshim and the bulk of al-Anṣār. In addition, the descriptions of the Battle of the Camel assert that al-Zubayr, despite the provocations of his son ʿAbd Allāh, did not take part in the fighting after his meeting with ʿAlī. It seems that the real reason for al-Zubayr's conduct in this battle derives from his disappointment in dropping behind Ṭalḥa in claims for the caliphate when ʿĀʾisha inclined to appoint Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr estimated that he did not have any chance to be elected caliph, even if his side won. It was thus best to leave.

The Sunnī reaction in support of al-Zubayr and other *ṣaḥāba* takes many forms. The most prevailing includes the enumeration of their virtues, *manāḳib*, and the harmonisation between Muḥammad's promise of Paradise to *al-ʿashara al-mubashshara* and the *ḥadīth* assuring Muslims who fought Muslims with Hell (Ibn ʿAsākir, xviii, 382-404; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-muḥriḳa*, 151-74). Al-Zubayr and his partners are considered as *mudjtahidūn* (those who strove to interpret what God wanted and what was better for Islam and the Muslims). The leaders of both camps fought *bona fide* and not for worldly gain, therefore, God will reward them in Paradise according to the Prophet's utterance "Whoever does *idjtihād* but errs will be rewarded; whoever does *idjtihād* and hits the mark, will be rewarded twice" (Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *K. al-Imāma wa 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-rāfiḍa*, ed. ʿAlī al-Faḳīhī, Medina 1994, 362-81; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Taṭhīr al-djanān*, Cairo 1965, 6). In order to point out al-Zubayr's abstemiousness and piety, it is reported that he had 1,000 slaves who had to pay to him a certain tribute, *ḍarība* or *kharādj*; he always gave this tribute to the poor for the sake of God; and he ceased to draw his allowance from the *dīwān* after ʿUmar's murder (Ibn ʿAsākir, xviii, 339, 343, 396-7, 399, 403).

Al-Zubayr, Ṭalḥa and ʿAlī are said to have secretly encouraged the agitation against ʿUthmān, each for his own reasons, but when they felt they had lost control over events, they tried to prevent the caliph's murder, and sent their children to protect him. After ʿUthmān's murder and the proclamation of ʿAlī as caliph, al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥa collaborated with ʿĀʾisha against ʿAlī and declared that ʿUthmān had been killed unjustly and that the new caliph was responsible for his death. They arrived in al-Baṣra, recruited an army and forced ʿAlī to fight them. The decisive Battle of the Camel took place near al-Baṣra in Djumādā I 36/November 656. Al-Zubayr was killed and was probably buried in Wādī al-Sibāʿ, known now as Baldat al-Zubayr, in the vicinity of al-Baṣra. He is variously reported to have died aged 64, 57 or 54.

After the *hidjra*, al-Zubayr had become one of the wealthiest Companions. He owned a large number of properties, including some large estates, such as al-Ghāba in the vicinity of Medina, al-Salīla in al-Rabadha; *dār al-Zubayr* and *masdjid al-Zubayr* in *sūḳ wardān* of al-Fusṭāṭ; and estates in Alexandria and Kūfa. Some were grants of land in Arabia from the Prophet, others were granted by ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, especially in ʿIrāḳ. His estate (*dār*) in the quarter of Banū Sulaym in al-Baṣra was vast and included markets and stores (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Mushākalat al-nās li-zamānihim*, ed. W. Millward, Beirut 1962, 13-4). In order to give an example of his fortune, it was reported that he sold one of his *dūr* for 600,000 dirhams (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, i, 57).

One of his wives was Asmāʾ [*q.v.*], the daughter of Abū Bakr and elder half-sister of ʿĀʾisha, who was known by her nickname *Dhāt al-niṭāḳayn* ("she of the two girdles").

In the chapters on the virtues (*faḍāʾil*) of the Companions, most *ḥadīth* collections dedicate a section to the merits (*manāḳib* and even *faḍāʾil*) of al-Zubayr (al-Bukhārī and al-Tirmidhī, *bāb manāḳib al-Zubayr*; Muslim and Ibn Mādja, *bāb faḍāʾil al-Zubayr*). It is said that al-Zubayr and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf obtained special permission to wear silk since they suffered from lice or scabies (*Musnad Aḥmad*, iii, 122, 127, 180, 192, 255; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *k. al-djihād*, vi, 100-1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *k. al-libās*, *bāb lubs al-ḥarīr li 'l-radjul*).

The *ḥadīth* corpus includes a very small number of traditions attributed to Muḥammad and cited by al-Zubayr. In addition to the "six canonical collections" (*al-kutub al-sitta al-ṣiḥāḥ*), traditions of al-Zubayr appear in many other collections, such as the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; Aḥmad b. ʿAmr al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*; Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī, *al-Musnad*; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*; ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid*; and al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿdjam al-kabīr*. The Zubayrī traditionists have an explanation attributed to al-Zubayr himself, who declared that he was afraid to relate something wrong, to ascribe it to the Prophet, and then to be punished in Hell, according to the *ḥadīth*: *man ḳāla ʿalayya mā lam aḳul yatabawwaʾ maḳʿadahu min al-nār* (Ibn ʿAsākir, xviii, 332-5).

Al-Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī (d. 236/851), a descendant of al-Zubayr, gives the names of ten of his sons in addition to several daughters. The best known are ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], the first child born in the Muslim

community in Medina, ʿUrwa [*q.v.*], Ḥamza, and Muṣʿab [*q.v.*]. Another descendant, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870), dedicates the extant part of his *Djamharat nasab Ḳuraysh wa-akhbārihā* to al-Zubayr's offspring. Al-Zubayr is said to have given his sons the names of martyrs, *shuhadāʾ*, hoping that they would die in the service of Islam.

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(I. HASSON)

AL-ZUBAYR B. **BAKKĀR** B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUṢʿAB, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, author of *akhbār* works which combine belles-lettres and history and belong to the oldest preserved books in this field.

He was born in 172/788-9 at Medina. As a descendant of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*] he was a prominent member of the illustrious Zubayrī family. When he died at Mecca in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 256/October 870, he had been *ḳāḍī* of the Holy City for the previous one and a half decades. His grandfather was a close associate of the caliph al-Mahdī and was appointed governor of Medina by Hārūn al-Rashīd, and his father also was for some time governor of Medina; but al-Zubayr chose the life of a scholar. According to an account transmitted only by Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 526, he left his home town because of a quarrel with the ʿAlids. In any case, he sojourned several times at Baghdād and Sāmarrāʾ. When he came to Baghdād for the first time, probably before the death of Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] in 235/849-50, he had already produced a version of his *Djamharat nasab Ḳuraysh wa-akhbārihā* (cf. the preface of Maḥmūd M. Shākir). His appointment to the office of *ḳāḍī* of Mecca by al-Mutawakkil seems have taken place at Sāmarrāʾ in 242/856-7, and if an anecdotal report is trustworthy (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 469), he had become some time before that date tutor to al-Mutawakkil's son al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*]. The introductory *isnād* of al-Zubayr's *Azwādj al-nabī* indicates further that he lectured in the year 246/865 at Sāmarrāʾ, and Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 123, mentions that he came to Baghdād for the last time in 253/867.

Unlike the more technically-oriented genealogical works (see, for instance, the *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh* of his uncle Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī [see MUṢʿAB]), al-Zubayr's *Djamhara* is rather a collection of *akhbār* structured in a genealogical order, and it thus develops the old narrative tradition of genealogical writing, as already reflected in the *Djamharat al-nasab* of Ibn al-Kalbī (ed. Maḥmūd Firdaws al-ʿAẓm, 3 vols. Damascus n.d. [*ca.* 1982-6] and ed. Nādjī Ḥasan, 2 vols. Beirut 1986), into a model which may be regarded a predecessor of al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*. Al-Zubayr's *Djamhara* treats the Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Ḳuṣayy and centres upon the Zubayrids. In contrast to this, his *al-Akhbār al-Muwaffaḳiyyāt*, of which only a minor part is known, offers an unstructured collection including a wide range of materials current in his time. Most of the *akhbār* deal with caliphs, governors and celebrities, who are depicted in situations of social and political significance or in the context of eloquence and rhetoric art. Many of these accounts are elaborated narratives emphasising the exemplary character of the person's behaviour. Poetry plays an important role in both works. These and other works (cf. Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fahrasa*, 467, 499, 534), were transmitted by firmly established *riwāyāt*, the most important among them being those of al-Ḥaramī b. Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 390), Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī (*ibid.*, iv, 177) and Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Dimashḳī (*ibid.*, iv, 171). According to the anecdotally-transmitted complaints of his wife, al-Zubayr also possessed a library. Many of the titles of al-Zubayr's works listed by Ibn al-Nadīm (123) deal with the work and life of poets; none of them, however, has survived in independent transmission, although more than 600 quotations from al-Zubayr in Abu 'l-Faradj's *Aghānī* have preserved many of these materials. He is also an often-quoted authority in other works of *adab* and history, such as al-Zadjdjādjī's *al-Amālī* or al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb*, and is to be considered among the finest representatives of Classical Arabic *akhbār* literature.

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al-nabī, ed. Sukayna al-Shihābī, Beirut 1403/1983, and, together with Ibn Zabāla, *Azwādj al-nabī*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-ʿUmarī, Medina 1401/1981.

2. Studies. Brockelmann, I², 146-7, S I, 215-16; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 317-18, *passim*, see index; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Familie al-Zubeir*, Göttingen 1878, 45 ff.; M. Fleischhammer, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb al-Aghānī*, unpubl. ms. Halle 1965, 106-8; S. Leder, *Prosa-Dichtung in der akhbār-Überlieferung*, in *Isl.*, lxiv (1987), 6-41. (S. LEDER)

ZUBDA (A.), derived from the root *z-b-d* with the basic meaning "foam(ing)", refers primarily to "cream (of milk), (fresh) butter", secondarily to "best part(s), essence, selection". In this transferred meaning it became a popular leading word of book titles, indicating that the work in question either encompasses the most important facts of its subject-matter (as e.g. in *Zubdat al-bayān fī tadbīr amrāḍ al-insān* "The essential information about the treatment of the diseases of man"; cf. Brockelmann, S II, 1031) or that it is an abridged version of some lengthier treatise (as e.g. with *Zubdat al-asfār sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Manār* "The essence of the books, Commentary upon M.M."; cf. Brockelmann, S II, 90). Occasionally the primary meaning of *zubda* is played upon, as e.g. in *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī ta'rīkh Ḥalab* "The cream of the fresh milk; about the history of Aleppo" (Brockelmann, I, 332). Less often than *zubda*, its plural form *zubad* is used in the same way. The popularity of *zubda* and *zubad* in book titles is documented by 71 titles starting with *zubda* (63) or *zubad* (8) listed in the register of Brockelmann, S III, 1165. (A.A. AMBROS)

ZUDJĀDJ, ZADJĀDJ and ZIDJĀDJ (A., sing. *zudjādja*), glass, syn. *kawārīr* "glass vessels, pieces of glass"; Pers. *ābgīna* or *shīsha*. It is mentioned in the Ḳur'ān (XXIV, 35) with the meaning of "glass container functioning as a lamp".

Glassmaking is often included in scientific works on mineralogy as a particular type of stone (see e.g. al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir*, Islamabad 1989, 191-3). In literary accounts, glass vessels and centres of glass production throughout the Islamic world are sometimes referred to, although they are invariably of generic nature. For example, Fusṭāṭ, Ṣūr, Antākiya, al-Khalīl, Ḥalab, Dimashḳ, Baghdād, Ḳādisiyya, al-Baṣra, Iṣfahān, Shīrāz and Istanbul are all mentioned as glassmaking centres at various times (a survey is in Lamm 1929-30, 484-508).

Glass had been manufactured in the areas conquered by the Muslim armies for centuries, especially in Egypt and along the eastern Mediterranean coast. The "invention" of glass blowing in the 1st century B.C. had transformed this medium from an expensive, time-consuming product into an affordable, multi-purpose one. The chemistry, technology, and manipulation of glass remained unchanged in the transitional period from late Antiquity to early Islam—glassmaking being a rather traditional craft that evolved with small but steady steps in the mediaeval period.

Glassmakers in the Islamic world continued to exploit artistically the wide range of available techniques of glass working, improving upon many, partially neglecting some, and reviving others. Most utilitarian objects were inflated on the blowpipe, shaped with different tools on the pontil (a solid iron rod attached to the base of the vessel after the blowpipe was cut off) and left undecorated. A large number of vessels were further manipulated with decorative effects in the so-called hot-worked technique. Designs were created applying glass trails, roundels, and splotches on the walls; patterns were impressed blowing the object directly in a decorated mould or making use of a tong-like tool that pressed both sides of an open-shaped vessel. The most sophisticated hot-worked objects present white trails applied in a spiral motion around the walls of a dark-coloured vessel, which are then incorporated in the surface with a rolling action against a smooth stone slab or marver, and patterned in festooned motifs with a pointed tool. This type of glass is often described as "marvered" or, better, "with marvered trails".

Cold-cut glass (glass that was abraded, incised, or cut away with hard-stone tools, rotating wheels, or drills in the lapidary technique after the vessel was shaped and left to harden and cool) was inspired by Roman and especially Sāsānid models, reaching new heights in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries.

The glass surface was often painted with a brush or a stylus and fired again to fix the pigments onto the surface. Early on, in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries, stained glass (usually known as "lustre-painted"), probably of pre-Islamic Egyptian origin, became popular in both Egypt and Syria. A lustrous film stained the glass surface permanently in various tones of yellow, brown, orange and red (sometimes combined) through a chemical reaction during the second firing. Difficult skills were required to control the temperature in the kiln to achieve the desired results without spoiling the shape of the re-heated vessel, skills that were perfected in the period of manufacture of enameled and gilded glass in the same areas in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. Enamelled glass made under the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks is the best known type of Islamic glass, thanks to its extraordinary polychrome appearance, the good condition of many objects, which were prized and collected through the centuries, and its technical accomplishment. Enamels, which are made of lead-rich glass pulverised and applied to the glass surface with a brush and an oily medium, and heavy gilding allowed the creation of painterly surfaces, including figural and vegetal motifs as well as calligraphic inscriptions. The texts, which often include the name of a sultan or an *amīr*, are extremely useful to establish the chronology of this extraordinary type of Islamic glass.

A clear art-historical development of shapes and decoration of Islamic glass is far from being entirely understood, notwithstanding the large number of extant objects and fragments. Even when it is obviously accomplished and expensive—and therefore made for wealthy clients—does glass only in rare instances include useful inscriptions, either moulded, incised or painted, that reveal the name of a patron or an artist, let alone a date. Glass was a commercial and artistic commodity across the entire Eurasian continent, shipped via land along the Silk Route and via sea on the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean; consequently, excavated objects or vessels with a hearsay provenance were not necessarily created in the immediate vicinity. In addition, glass was traded also in the form of cullet, either as broken vessels or raw lumps, for re-melting. This simplified technology allowed fuel to be saved, but it inevitably makes the interpretation of chemical and elemental analyses a difficult task. Such lack of direct and indirect information, combined with scant and elusive original literary sources, has prevented scholars of Islamic art and of the history of glassmaking from grasping this subject thoroughly.

Carl Johan Lamm's seminal work (Lamm 1929-30, followed by the more focused Lamm 1935 and 1941) represents the only attempt to present a general study

of Islamic glass thus far. The field has progressed slowly but steadily, and interest in Islamic glass has become particularly strong in the past twenty-five years. Earlier works that stimulated the recent interest in the field and are still looked upon as significant contributions—either as art-historical essays or archaeological reports—are Schmoranz 1898; Wiet 1912; Lamm 1928; Riis-Poulsen 1957; and Smith 1957, in addition to several articles that appeared in the *Journal of Glass Studies* since its first issue in 1959 (for example, Oliver 1961; Pinder-Wilson-Scanlon 1973; Bass 1984; Whitehouse 1993) and those in the *Annales* of the congresses of the *Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre* since 1958.

Although time is not yet mature for a manual of Islamic glass, its general development is clear within the context of Islamic art and of mediaeval glassmaking. During the first two centuries after the advent of Islam, shapes, colours and decoration changed little from the long-established traditions of blown and hot-worked glass in the former Roman-Byzantine provinces. Bottles and perfume containers with whimsical trailed and applied decoration—among them the so-called cage flasks in the shape of quadrupeds carrying a small bottle—and moulded ribbed bowls are the most representative objects from this period. In the formerly Sāsānid area, the tradition of cold glass cutting, especially overall facets to create honeycomb patterns, probably continued during this early period, although the chronology is unclear because the majority of the extant objects show later, 3rd-4th/9th-10th-century, shapes. Relief-cut glass represents one of the best artistic achievements of the early Islamic period, the undisputed extant masterpiece being the so-called Corning Ewer in cameo glass (the decoration was achieved by partially cutting away the layer of green glass that covered the clear glass vessel; see Whitehouse 1993). Ultimately belonging to the Iranian tradition of glass cutting, this ewer is also symbolic of the transfer of techniques across the Islamic world, its shape being clearly related to Fāṭimid rock-crystal objects [see BILLAWR]. As a general statement, it can be said that a taste for colourful, textured and complex surfaces is predominant in the former Roman regions (stained- or lustre-painted glass provides a good example). Colourful *millefiori* ("thousand flowers") tiles and small vessels revived this Roman tradition in the heart of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the 3rd/9th century. "Scratched" or finely incised coloured objects with a wealth of geometric and vegetal motifs, probably created in the same ʿAbbāsid area, were so prized that they found their way to tombs in China (An 1991). Clear, colourless glass presenting restrained, stylised motifs belongs instead to the eastern Islamic world, with the Mesopotamian area functioning as a sort of meeting point of the two traditions. This statement, with its many exceptions, holds true also throughout the history of mediaeval Islamic glass.

That tradition played an important part in Islamic glass production is confirmed by the continuous use of many techniques throughout the mediaeval period, although shapes and details in the decoration are helpful to better understand their chronology. Functional undecorated objects (among them inkwells, alembics and scientific tools), and vessels presenting applied trails, moulded patterns, impressed motifs, marvered threads and combinations thereof, ranging from the 3rd/9th up to the 7th/13th centuries, form the bulk of glass from the Islamic lands in museums and collections worldwide, although it is not possible to select outstanding examples in the brief space assigned to this entry. About sixty circular medallions with figural motifs and, sometimes, inscriptions originally set into windows of 6th/12th-century Ghaznawid and Ghūrid palaces in what is now Afghānistān, however, deserve to be mentioned as a group that has recently come to scholarly attention, which also highlights the role of glass in architectural decoration (Field-Prostov 1942; Carboni 2001, cat. no. 73).

Enamelled and gilded glass probably originated in the Syrian region in the 6th/12th century. It was sought after by affluent merchants and rich members of the community, and also became a popular article of trade in all directions. Under the Mamlūks, not only large mosque lamps but also a profusion of secular objects include the names of sultans and *amīrs*. This is the only extant group of Islamic glass objects that provides evidence of a fervent royal and courtly sponsorship for this medium. Economic and political decline and the challenge of European trade and industry in the 9th/15th century weakened also the manufacture of enamelled glass in the Mamlūk lands. This decline in glass production, which was preceded by a similar situation in the eastern Islamic area, marks a two-century gap in our knowledge of Islamic glass, corresponding to the Tīmūrid and early Ṣafawid periods in Persia and the early Ottoman era in the former Mamlūk regions. The industry must have almost died out, although we know, for example, that glass was made in Istanbul in the 10th/16th century (Rogers 1983), until Venetian, then Bohemian, English and Dutch glass invaded the market and indirectly encouraged local production. Virtually nothing is known of Ottoman glass, but a little more about functional vessels made in Iṣfahān and Shīrāz under the late Ṣafawid, Zand, and Ḳādjār dynasties (Charleston 1974; Diba 1983; Charleston 1989). Glass manufactured in the Mughal territories, instead, can be regarded as the only attempt to create artistically-motivated products (Dikshit 1969; Markel 1991; Carboni 2001, cat. nos. 104-6). Today, active but small glass factories creating vividly coloured bubbly glass, principally made with recycled cullet, can be visited throughout the Islamic world, in particular in Cairo and Damascus (see Henein 1974).

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(S. Carboni)

ZUHĀK, a historicised mythological tyrant of demonic nature who belonged to the Pīshdādiyān dynasty of Persian legendary history. (The form Zuhāk, if it exists at all, must be a mispronunciation of Perso-Arabic Ḍaḥḥāk, itself a re-interpretation of Middle Persian Dahāk, Avestan Azhī dahāka-, probably "snake-man"; cf. Vedic *azi-* "snake".)

According to Iranian tradition, recorded in Middle Persian, Persian and Arabic sources, Ḍaḥḥāk, also called Bīwarasp "possessor of a thousand horses", and a descendant of early Iranian world-kings, was the son of a king of the Arabs. Seduced by Satan (Ahrīman) he murdered his father, usurped his kingdom and attacked Djamshīd, the Iranian legendary king who had haughtily claimed divinity and therefore had lost the glory (*farrah*) bestowed by God on legitimate kings, seized him, had him sawed in half, captured his domain and reigned for a thousand years. His rule was characterised by severe oppression and bloodshed. Under him, drought caused famine and extreme hardship. Through Satan's machinations, two snakes grew on his shoulders. Following Satan's advice, he fed them daily with the brains of two youths to quell the torment they caused. A smith by the name of Kāwa (Kābī, in most Arabic sources) who had lost all but one of his sons to Ḍaḥḥāk's royal kitchen, made a banner of his leather apron and called upon people to rise against the tyrant. Farīdūn, a young man of royal lineage, who had been brought up in secret for fear of Ḍaḥḥāk, was sought out to head the rebellious force. He invaded the tyrant's palace, subdued him with his bull-headed mace, freed the two beauties from Djamshīd's harem whom Ḍaḥḥāk had abducted, put him in chains and sequestered him in Mount Damāwand where he will remain fettered until the restoration of the world by Soshyant, the saviour.

Azhī dahāka- (Pers. Azhdahā arabicised as Azdahāḳ; see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 201), the avatar of Ḍaḥḥāk, appears in the Avesta as a three-headed monster with three mouths and one thousand eyes. In Rigvedic traditions, *azi-* "snake" refers to monsters which block the passage of heavenly waters. In Middle Persian, *azhdahāg* assumes the meaning of monstrous dragons, of which the prime example is the one which is defeated and chained by Farīdūn. Rustam, the greatest warrior of Iranian legends, is said to be on his mother's side a descendant of Ḍaḥḥāk. This is supported by a tradition found in the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, ed. Bahār, 25, which places the origin of Ḍaḥḥāk in the east. It seems that later on, his birth place was transferred to the deserts in the west, and in some sources, in Yaman. According to Ibn al-Balkhī (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. R. Nicholson, 11), his mother was the daughter of Djamshīd. He is one of the chief figures in the *Kūsh-nāma*, an 11th-century Persian epic in verse. Some Arabs claimed him as theirs; Abū Nuwās boasts in a line quoted by al-Ṭabarī, i, 201, of Ḍaḥḥāk's belonging to the Arab race. In a line of Abū Tammām cited by al-Thaʿālibī (*Ghurar*, 35), he is mentioned as the foremost embodiment of violence and cruelty.

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307; Balʿamī's Persian version of Ṭabarī, ed. M.T. Bahār, 132-33; T̲h̲aʿālibī, *G̲h̲urar*, ed. H. Zotenberg, 17-35; and particularly Firdawsī, *S̲h̲āh-nāma*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh (K̲h̲āliḳī Muṭlaḳ), i, 55-86; Īrāns̲h̲āh, *Kūs̲h̲-nāma*, ed. D̲j̲. Matīnī, Tehran 1998; E. Yarshater, in *Cambr. Hist. Ir.*, iii/1, 372. For the development of the legend, Avestan passages and further Middle Persian sources, see P.O. Skjaervø, in *EIr*, iii, 191-9; for Ḍaḥḥāk in Persian literature, in folklore and in Armenian, see Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh, M. Omīdsālār and J. Russell, in *ibid.*, 199-203, 203-5, 205-6, respectively.

(E. Yarshater)

ZUḤAL, the planet Saturn. The name *Zuḥal* (diptote) is said to be connected with the Arabic root *z-ḥ-l* meaning "to withdraw or become distant"; according to various lexicons (e.g. *LA*, *TA*), the planet takes its name from the fact that it is "far removed, in the seventh heaven". This etymology clearly postdates the knowledge among Arabic writers of Greek cosmology, for whom Saturn is the farthermost planet in the cosmos; it would have made little sense within the context of the limited astronomy of the pre-Islamic Arabs. According to the *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, *zuḥal* was used as a metaphor for exaltedness (*ʿuluww*) as well as for being far removed; e.g., the poet al-Mutanabbī compared his patron Sayf al-Dawla's exalted state with that of *zuḥal*. Another name for Saturn found in texts from Spain and the Mag̲h̲rib is *al-Muḳātil* "the warlike", just as we have there *al-Kātib* "the writer" alongside of the usual name *ʿUṭārid* [*q.v.*] for the planet Mercury (see AL-NUD̲J̲ŪM and al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, i, 291). *Z-ḥ-l* does not seem to have cognates referring to Saturn in other ancient languages. (In contrast, the Akkadian name for Saturn *kajamānu* ("the steady one") evidently is the source for the Hebrew *kiyūn* (Amos v. 26) and Persian *kaywān*.)

According to ancient and mediaeval astronomy, the planets (from Greek πλανώμενοι "wanderers") are those celestial bodies that move with respect to the fixed stars as seen from the stationary Earth at the centre of the Universe. Thus in addition to our five planets observable with the naked eye (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn), the sun and moon were considered planets as well. In Arabic, the first five, which exhibit retrograde motion in the ecliptic, were called *al-kawākib al-mutaḥayyira* ("the straying [or perplexed] stars") to distinguish them from the planets in general, which were usually referred to as *al-kawākib al-sayyāra* ("the wandering stars") [see AL-NUD̲J̲ŪM]. Following Ptolemaic cosmology, Islamic astronomers placed Saturn in the seventh and outermost planetary system of orbs (*aflāk*, sing. *falak* [*q.v.*]) between the orb of the fixed stars and Jupiter's orbs. To bring about Saturn's observed motions, three solid rotating orbs were postulated (see Fig. 1): (1) a parecliptic (*mumat̲h̲t̲h̲al*) orb (centred on the Earth and in the plane of the ecliptic) whose convex (outer) surface (*muḥaddab*) was contiguous with the eighth orb of the fixed stars while its parallel concave (inner) surface (*muḳaʿʿar*) was contiguous with the convex surface of Jupiter's parecliptic (motion equal to precessional rate of fixed stars, 1°/100 yrs.); (2) an eccentric deferent (*ḥāmil*) for the epicycle nested within the parecliptic (mean motion in longitude of approx. 0;02°/day; eccentricity = 3 5/12 parts based on the deferent radius being 60); and (3) an epicyle (*tadwīr*), embedded within the deferent, that contained the actual planet (mean motion in anomaly of approx. 0;57°/day; radius = 6 1/2 parts). These mean motions lead to quite accurate values of 29.4 years for the mean tropical period

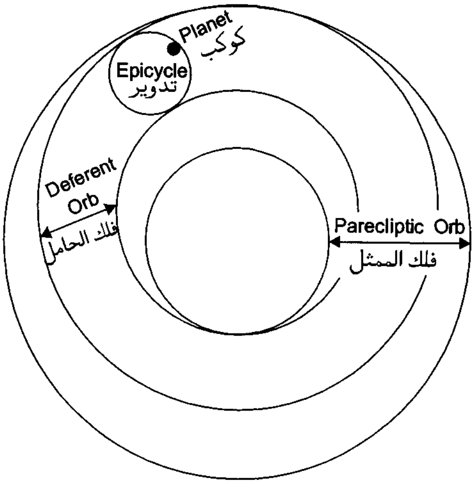

Fig. 1. Ptolemaic configuration (*hayʾa*) for Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn

and 1.035 years for the synodic ("anomalistic") period. Saturn's tropical period, the longest of the planets, led a number of Islamic astronomers to call for a thirty-year observational programme (see MARṢAD and A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam*, Ankara 1960, 163-6, 204, 288-9).

Ptolemy's exact values for motion in longitude and anomaly, given to six sexagesimal places, were slightly modified in various Islamic *zīd̲j̲s* [*q.v.*]. More drastic changes may be found in the precessional rate, which was given a more correct value of 1°/66 yrs. at the time of the caliph al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] and an even more accurate rate of 1°/70 years by the 4th/10th century. As with the other planets, Islamic astronomers proposed a number of modifications to Saturn's system of orbs to correct several non-uniform motions introduced by Ptolemy; these were considered violations of the accepted physics of the time, which required uniform circular motions in the heavens [see ʿILM AL-HAYʾA]. As for latitudinal motions, either above or below the ecliptic, these were brought about by inclinations of the deferent and complex motions of the epicycle (for which see Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn*, i, 188-94).

Saturn's parecliptic outer surface marked the boundary between the planets and the fixed stars, and as such delimited the minimum possible size for the universe (it being unknown whether the fixed stars were all on a single orb just beyond Saturn or on multiple orbs at greater distances). Its distance from the Earth was generally given as approximately 20,000 earth radii (about 80,000,000 miles), which is of course considerably smaller than the current figure. Saturn's boundary with Jupiter was about 14,200 earth radii from the Earth, so the "thickness" (*t̲h̲ik̲h̲an*) of Saturn's parecliptic (equivalent to the distance occupied by its system of orbs) was 5,800 earth radii. Saturn itself, based on rather dubious observational data, was taken to be about 77 times the volume of the Earth.

Zuḥal in astrology [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪD̲J̲ and NUD̲J̲ŪM (AḤKĀM AL-)].

According to a Sāsānid astrological theory, adopted by several early Islamic astrologers, Saturn-Jupiter conjunctions indicated important religious and political

changes and thus provided the basis for an astrological world history [see ḲIRĀN]. Saturn is the lord of Saturday. Its two domiciles (*baytān*ⁱ) are Capricorn (day-house) and Aquarius (night-house); it is also the day-ruler of the third triplicity (*mut̲h̲allat̲h̲a*), consisting of Gemini, Libra and Aquarius, the night-ruler of which is Mercury. It is also the companion (*s̲h̲arīk*) of the ruler of the first *mut̲h̲allat̲h̲a* (Aries, Leo and Sagittarius). Its exaltation (*s̲h̲araf*) is in the 21st degree of Libra (20th, according to some Indian and Roman sources), and its fall (*hubūṭ*) is in the 21st degree of Aries. Saturn's nature is cold, dry and male, and it is characterised as black, malefic and generally of bad omen. It is called "the greater star of misfortune" (*al-naḥs al-akbar*), Mars being the lesser. They are contrasted with the two planets of good fortune, namely Jupiter and Venus [see SAʿD WA-NAḤS; AL-SAʿDĀNⁱ].

In alchemy, *zuḥal* means lead.

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(W. HARTNER-[F.J. RAGEP])

ZUHARA, the planet Venus. The Arabic name is derived from the root *z-h-r* meaning "to shine, be radiant", appropriate for the brightest planet whose magnitude can reach -4.4; perhaps in consequence of this, it was sometimes referred to as the white planet (*LA*). *Z-h-r* does not seem to have cognates referring to Venus in other ancient languages. Its Persian name is *(A)nāhīd*.

From Antiquity it was well known that the "morning" and "evening" stars were in fact the same planet, and that this planet, Venus, stayed fairly close (within 48°) to the sun. According to ancient and mediaeval astronomy, the planets are those celestial bodies that move with respect to the fixed stars as seen from the stationary Earth at the centre of the Universe [see on these planetary conceptions, ZUḤAL].

Following Ptolemaic cosmology, Islamic astronomers placed Venus in the third planetary system of orbs (*aflāk*, sing. *falak* [*q.v.*]) between those of Mercury and the sun. To bring about Venus's observed motions, three solid rotating orbs were postulated (see Fig. 1): (1) a parecliptic (*mumat̲h̲t̲h̲al*) orb (centred on the Earth and in the plane of the ecliptic) whose convex (outer) surface (*muḥaddab*) was contiguous with the concave surface of the sun's parecliptic while its parallel concave (inner) surface (*muḳaʿʿar*) was contiguous with the convex surface of Mercury's parecliptic (motion equal to precessional rate of fixed stars, 1°/100 yrs.); (2) an eccentric deferent (*ḥāmil*) for the epicycle nested within the parecliptic (mean motion in longitude equal to the sun's mean motion of centre, i.e. approx. 0;59°/day; eccentricity = 1 ¹/₄ parts based on the deferent radius being 60); and (3) an epicycle (*tadwīr*), embedded within the deferent, that contained the actual planet (mean motion in anomaly of approx. 0;37°/day; radius = 43 ¹/₆ parts). These mean motions lead to quite accurate values of one tropical year for the mean tropical period and 584 days for the synodic ("anomalistic") period.

Ptolemy's exact values for motion in longitude and anomaly, given to six sexagesimal places, were slightly modified in various Islamic *zīd̲j̲s* [*q.v.*]. As with the other planets, Islamic astronomers proposed a number of modifications to Venus's system of orbs to correct several non-uniform motions introduced by Ptolemy; these were considered violations of the accepted physics of the time, which required uniform circular motions in the heavens [see ʿILM AL-HAYʾA]. For precession and latitude, see ZUḤAL.

According to Ptolemy, the nearest distance to Venus, which is the same as Mercury's farthest distance, was 166 earth radii (approx. 664,000 miles); this is the distance from the Earth to the concave surface of Venus's parecliptic. Its farthest distance was 1160 earth radii (approx. 4,640,000 miles), which was the same as the Earth's nearest distance to the sun. Thus the "thickness" (*t̲h̲ik̲h̲an*) of Venus's parecliptic (equivalent to the distance occupied by its system of orbs) was 994 earth radii. These numbers, of course, depend on being able to fit the two inner planets (Venus and Mercury) between the moon and sun; as such, there were attempts to observe Venus transiting the sun, where it would thereby appear as a spot. Such observations, which were reported by a number of astronomers, would help establish that Venus was below the sun, though not definitively since it might go around the sun in its epicycle. At least one astronomer, Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī (d. 666/1266), entertained the notion that Venus might be above the sun (see B.R. Goldstein, *Some medieval reports of Venus and Mercury transits*, in *Centaurus*, xiv [1969], 49-59; idem and N.M. Swerdlow, *Planetary distances and sizes in an anonymous Arabic treatise preserved in Bodleian Ms. Marsh 621*, in *Centaurus*, xv [1970], 135-70; cf. Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn*, 391, 517-24). The usual volume for Venus in Islamic astronomical texts was ¹/₃₆ of the Earth's volume (Ptolemy has ¹/₄₄; see Ragep, *op. cit.*, 523).

Zuhara in astrology [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪD̲J̲; NUD̲J̲ŪM (AḤKĀM AL-)].

Venus is the lord of Friday. Its two domiciles (*baytān*ⁱ) are Libra (day-house) and Taurus (night-house). It is the day-ruler of the second triplicity (*mut̲h̲allat̲h̲a*), consisting of Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn, the night-ruler of which is the moon, as well as day-ruler of the fourth triplicity, consisting of Cancer, Scorpio and Pisces, whose night-ruler is Mars. Its exaltation (*s̲h̲araf*) is in the 27th degree of Pisces and its fall (*hubūṭ*) in the 27th degree of Virgo. Venus's nature is cold and moist (phlegmatic) and female, and it is characterised as white, benefic and generally of good omen. It is called "the lesser star of good fortune" (*al-saʿd al-aṣg̲h̲ar*), Jupiter being the greater, contrasted with the two planets of misfortune, namely Saturn and Mars [see SAʿD WA-NAḤS; AL-SAʿDĀNⁱ].

In alchemy, *zuhara* means copper.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see the *Bibl.* for ZUḤAL.

(W. HARTNER-[F.J. RAGEP])

ZUHAYR B. ABĪ SULMĀ RABĪʿA b. Riyāḥ al-Muzanī, renowned poet of the pre-Islamic era, who, in the judgement of ancient critics, competed for first place with Imruʾ al-Ḳays and al-Nābig̲h̲a al-D̲h̲ubyānī [*q.vv.*] (Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, ed. S̲h̲ākir, 52, 64-5; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, ix, 146-7, 158; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, ed. Mubārak, 1, 90).

His father Rabīʿa belonged to the tribe of the Muzayna [*q.v.*], a minor tribe residing to the south of Medina as neighbours of the B. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*] and of the B. Murra (an offshoot of the Ghaṭafān), his maternal uncles. Rabīʿa stayed for some time among the Banū Murra with his mother, but after a dispute over the distribution of booty following a raid, he returned with her to the Muzayna (*Aghānī*, ix, 148). However, he did not remain among them long, since in the course of a raid against the Dhubyān, the Muzayna left him behind. He returned to the Murra, settled among them and married the sister of the poet Bashāma b. al-Ghadīr, who was thus the maternal uncle of Zuhayr (*Aghānī*, ix, 157). Zuhayr was born and grew up among the Ghaṭafān, and, according to Ibn Ḳutayba (*al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarā'*, ed. Shakir, 137), in none of his poems does he refer to his Muzayna ancestry.

Zuhayr is classed among the *muʿammarūn*, those having a remarkably long life, and a well-known verse of the *Muʿallaḳa* (v. 47) refers to his already advanced years; in another poem, which incidentally al-Aṣmaʿī does not consider authentic (rhyme, *liyā*, al-Shantamarī, ed. Ḳabāwa no. 17, Thaʿlab, ed. Dār al-Kutub, 283-92; cf. al-ʿAynī, *al-Maḳāṣid al-naḥwiyya fī sharḥ shawāhid shurūḥ al-alfiyya*, Būlāḳ 1299, ii, 267-69) and which tells of *dahr* and the decay of human things, Zuhayr mentions the fall of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir of al-Ḥīra [see LAKHMIDS] which took place in 602. He would thus have been living at the beginning of the 7th century (R. Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣide*, Wiesbaden 1971, 8) and, according to the *Aghānī*, ix, 148, at 100 years old he is said to have encountered the Prophet. The *Muʿallaḳa* was composed to celebrate the end of the War of Dāḥis [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ghabrā', between the ʿAbs and Dhubyān. This war is said to have lasted 40 years and to have continued some years after the *yawm* of Shiʿb Djabala [*q.v.*], which apparently took place around the year 550 or, according to a more widespread tradition, in the year 570. Thus the poem celebrates the end of this long war and the two chieftains of the B. Murra who concluded the peace, Harim b. Sinān and al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf.

The *Muʿallaḳa* of Zuhayr, unlike other *muʿallaḳāt*, is linked to a specific historical episode, which it evokes: the personal exploits of an individual of Murra, al-Ḥuṣayn b. Ḍamḍam, who, having not accepted the peace accords between the two clans, killed a member of the ʿAbs. The two chieftains of Murra took responsibility for payment of the blood-price, and peace was finally concluded (*Aghānī*, ix, 148-50). This justly famous poem opens with a long *nasīb* which colourfully describes the departure of the tribe of Umm Awfā; it then passes abruptly to a paean praising the generosity of the chieftains, which is intermingled with a description of the horrors of war and the men who wage it, identified directly, without the intermediary of any comparison, with animals that need to slake their thirst with water mixed with blood and to pasture on muddy ground. The poem ends with a section composed of verses having the form of a proverb, some of which have probably been added (see M.C. Bateson, *Structural continuity in poetry*, Paris-The Hague 1970, 50; G.J.H. van Gelder, *Beyond the line*, Leiden 1982, 59).

The *dīwān* of Zuhayr has been conserved with two principal commentaries (besides the commentaries on the *Muʿallaḳa* alone; cf. in this context M. Abū Ṣūfa, *al-Ḳaṣā'id al-ʿashr wa-maṣādir sharḥihā*, ʿAmmān 1986): the commentary of the Andalusian philologist al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī (d. 476/1083) and the commentary of the Kūfan Thaʿlab (d. 291/904). The former, which forms part of the commentary that al-Shantamarī composed on the *dīwān* of six pre-Islamic poets, presents Zuhayr's *dīwān* according to the Baṣran *riwāya* of al-Aṣmaʿī, which has been preserved in its entirety, while citing for certain poems the likewise Baṣran *riwāya* of Abū ʿUbayda, which has been preserved in part only. This recension contains 20 poems and has been edited numerous times: by W. Ahlwardt, without commentary, London 1870, by C. Landberg, with al-Shantamarī's commentary (*Primeurs arabes*, ii, Leiden 1889) and recently by F. Ḳabāwa, Aleppo 1970. This last edition adds a *Dhayl*, which contains the poems and fragments which feature in the collections of Thaʿlab and of the Kūfan Ṣaʿūdā' (tutor of the children of Muḥammad b. Yazdād, vizier of al-Ma'mūn, see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, i, 256, no. 476; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. Hārūn, v, 452, considers him "weak in grammar", but nevertheless frequently quotes his commentary). The commentary of Thaʿlab chiefly presents Zuhayr's *dīwān* according to the Kūfan *riwāya* of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, but he also collates the other Kūfan recensions (Ḥammād al-Rāwiya and al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī) and the Baṣran recensions, cf. K. Dyroff, *Die Geschichte der Überlieferung des Zuhairdiwans*, Munich 1892, 20, and Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-shiʿr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1956, 530-5. This collection contains 53 poems and fragments and was edited in 1944 by the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, and in 1982 by F. Ḳabāwa. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *op. cit.*, 526-42, and Shawḳī Ḍayf, *Ta'rīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī, al-ʿaṣr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1960, 305-6, are of the opinion that only al-Aṣmaʿī's recension should be taken as an authentic basis for an analysis of the poetry of Zuhayr.

Early Arabic criticism attributes to Zuhayr two particular qualities: that of being born into a family of great poetical talent (Ibn al-Aʿrābī [*q.v.*], *Aghānī*, ix, 158; al-ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, i, 110; Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, ii, 306; he was *rāwī* of Aws b. Ḥadjar, who had married Zuhayr's mother after the death of his father, Ibn Rashīḳ, i, 88, 99, Ḍayf, *Ta'rīkh*, 300; his maternal uncle was the poet Bashāma b. al-Ghadīr, *Aghānī*, ix, 157); and that of having worked very assiduously on the composition of his poems, something which could have required a great deal of time. Certain of the poems of Zuhayr are in fact called *ḥawliyyāt*, "poems which have been pondered over for a year" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 78, 144). Furthermore, Zuhayr belonged to a line of poets who were in their turn transmitters (*rāwī*) of a preceding poet (Ibn Rashiḳ, i, 198, 201). Without going so far as to suppose, as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and others after him have supposed, that "poetical schools" are involved here (M. Zwettler, *The oral tradition of classical Arabic poetry*, Columbus, Ohio 1978, 86-7; cf. also Ḍayf, *Ta'rīkh*, 306-7), it may be asserted that the poetry of Zuhayr does appear to be the fruit of a meticulous apprenticeship. According to the *khabar* of a poetical tenson or contest between Zuhayr and his son Kaʿb, transmitted only by Thaʿlab and Saʿūdā' (*Dīwān*, ed. Dār al-Kutub, 256-9; *Aghānī*, xv, 147-9), Zuhayr is said to have rebuked and even struck his son for composing poems before completing his education (cf. Blachère, *HLA*, 336 n. 1).

These affirmations, all of them pointing in the same direction, are reflected in the judgements of ancient critics and in their manner of citing the poetry of Zuhayr. Al-Aṣmaʿī, like his master Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā', did not have a high opinion of the "slaves of poetry" (*ʿabīd al-shiʿr*), those poets whose verses are polished and refined precisely because they have been

composed without recourse to natural talent (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 144, al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, i, 206, ii, 13, in reference to al-Ḥuṭayʾa, *rāwī* and disciple of Zuhayr), and for this reason he did not consider Zuhayr as a *faḥl*, preferring to him al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī (*Fuḥūlat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Torrey, in *ZDMG*, lvi [1911], 492; *Aghānī*, iii, 25).

On the other hand, critics of the classical epoch not only judged that this toiling over verse was a positive aspect of this poetry, but they were also often aware that this concern with form went beyond the mark of the verse taken in isolation. The expression *lā yuʿāẓilu fī/bayn al-kalām/bayn al-ḳawāfī/al-kalimatayn*, whereby ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb defined the poetry of Zuhayr (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 137-8; *Aghānī*, ix, 148; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 63), is thus explained in the *Risāla al-Mūḍiḥa* of al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/998), ed. Nadjm, 91, as avoiding pairing words that are not of the same genus. Al-ʿAskarī (*K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, 169) in the chapter dealing with *sūʾ al-naẓm*, gives a similar explanation, and adds that this defect, from which the greatest of the ancient poets were not exempt, is not to be found in the poetry of Zuhayr. At 107-8, this same critic cites an example of *madīḥ*, drawn from the *Muʿallaḳa*, in which the theme is developed over several verses, according to logical transitions which al-ʿAskarī does not fail to point out. It often happens that images or a *waṣf* are deployed over several verses which, while retaining their formal autonomy, are dependent one upon the other; Zuhayr is above all a skilled engraver, who represents both his poetical themes and his ideas by means of images which have, in every detail, a visual force.

Al-ʿAskarī also mentions other verses which are well constructed and well balanced (*Ṣināʿatayn*, 367, 401; Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 333) and he underlines, several times, the formal means whereby Zuhayr surmounts the difficulties of the end of the verse and of rhyme (*Ṣināʿatayn*, 466, 468-69; Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, ii, 3) and all the critics acknowledge in him the qualities of "weightiness" and of "solidity" (Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 64; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 144). Al-Marzūḳī (*Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa*, 9) interprets the ancient judgement of the poetry of Zuhayr attributed to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ("he praised people only for the qualities that they have", Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 63) not in the moral sense but in the poetical sense of a successful description (*iṣābat al-waṣf*).

Among poetic genres, *madīḥ* is the most frequently represented (11 poems out of the 20 most positively authentic), honouring in particular the chieftains of Ghaṭafān, and this corresponds to the expressions used by tradition in defining Zuhayr as *amdaḥ al-ḳawm* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 144) or indeed in saying that Zuhayr was *ashʿar al-nās... idhā raghiba* (judgment attributed to the grammarian Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, d. 182/798, in *Aghānī*, viii, 77; al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 29; Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 95), while recognising that he was not in thrall to the lure of gain (*ibid.*, i, 81). Numerous traditions refer to the praises addressed by Zuhayr to Harim b. Sinān as a monument *aere perennius*, while the gifts that Zuhayr received from him had been eroded by time (*Aghānī*, ix, 146); Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, *Naḳd al-shiʿr*, ed. Bonebakker, 33-4, cites long passages from the *madāʾiḥ* of Zuhayr, to serve as an "example".

Less numerous are the *hidjāʾ* poems. Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, ii, 66, 171, considered that in this poetical genre Zuhayr had proved himself a stylist both caustic and pure; cf. van Gelder, *The bad and the ugly*, Leiden 1988, 16. Other poems relate to personal affairs, such as his repudiation of his first wife, Umm Awfā (*Dīwān*, al-Shantamarī, no. 16; Thaʿlab, ed. Dār al-Kutub, 342; according to al-Yazīdī, *Amālī*, 133, Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb considered these verses apocryphal), who was jealous of his second wife, the mother of Zuhayr's sons Kaʿb, Budjayr and Sālim. The last-named died young, and Zuhayr composed a *rithāʾ* for him (not transmitted by al-Shantamarī; *Aghānī*, ix, 157; *Dīwān*, Thaʿlab, ed. Dār al-Kutub, 340-1). Four poems deal with the theft of camels belonging to Zuhayr, and the abduction of their herdsman by a member of the Banū Asad who, as a result of some menacing verses on the part of the poet, decided to send the slave back to him (*Dīwān*, Thaʿlab, ed. Dār al-Kutub, 164-83, 300-12; al-Shantamarī, nos. 5-8; cf. al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, v, 453-58; according to al-Aṣmaʿī, the first of these poems was the finest *kāfiyya* in the Arabic language).

Bibliography: There hardly exists a poetical study that does not mention the poetry of Zuhayr. In addition to sources given in the article, see Wahhābī, *Marādjiʿ tarādjim al-udabāʾ*, iii, 139-46; Fuʾād al-Bustānī, *Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā*, Beirut 1929; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Pre-Islamic poetry*, in *MW*, xxxii (1942), 147-53; A.J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes, the first chapter in Arabic literature*, London 1957, 90-118; M.J. Kister, *The Seven Odes*, in *RSO*, xliv (1969), 27-36; A. El-Tayib, ch. *Pre-Islamic poetry*, in *Camb. hist. of Arabic lit. Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, Cambridge 1983, 68-70; E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, i, Darmstadt 1987; J.E. Montgomery, art. *s.n.*, in J.S. Meisami and P. Starkey (eds.), *Encycl. of Arabic literature*, London and New York 1998, ii, 827; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 118-20, ix, 255-6.

(LIDIA BETTINI)

ZUHAYR B. DJANĀB, a semi-legendary tribal leader and poet, and the eponym of a tribal group belonging to the Kalb b. Wabara [*q.v.*] who flourished in the 6th century A.D. According to some, he was in command of the whole of the Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*].

Around the middle of the 6th century, Abraha [*q.v.*] put Zuhayr in charge of the two brother tribes, Taghlib b. Wāʾil and Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.vv.*]. Zuhayr raided them after they had rebelled against him, taking captive Kulayb b. Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] and his brother Muhalhil. At a later stage, Zuhayr and his tribe made up for their alliance with Mecca's enemy, Abraha, by joining the *Ḥums* [*q.v.*]. Moreover, Zuhayr subdued an attempt by the Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*; see also MURRA, at Vol. VII, 629a] to establish a rival sanctuary northeast of Mecca. His action is said to have been praised by the Prophet Muḥammad.

Zuhayr is supposed to have committed suicide, when he was disobeyed, by drinking unmixed wine. Among his offspring we find Maysūn [*q.v.*] who bore for Muʿāwiya I his son Yazīd [*q.vv.*]. The prominence of Ibn al-Kalbī in the reports about Zuhayr demonstrates the latter's importance in the tribal tradition of the Kalb, and that of the Ḳuḍāʿa as a whole, for at least two centuries into the Islamic era.

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2. Studies. H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 319-22; ʿĀdil ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Furaydjāt, *Zuhayr b. Djanāb al-Kalbī: akhbāruhu wa-mā tabaḳḳā min shiʿrihi*, in *MMMʿA* (Cairo), xxxviii (1994), 129-82; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 146; M.J. Kister, *Mecca and the tribes of Arabia*, in *Studies... in honour of David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon, Jerusalem and Leiden 1986, 33-57, at

43-52; M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, Jerusalem 1989, 37-41. (M. Lecker)

ZUHAYR b. ḤARB, Abū Khaythama al-Shaybānī al-Nasā'ī, traditionist of the early 'Abbāsid period. He was born at Nasā in Khurāsān in 160/776-7 but lived mostly in Baghdād, dying there in Sha'bān 234/March 849. He was amongst the seven scholars forwarded by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm to the caliph al-Ma'mūn for questioning over the createdness or otherwise of the Ḳur'ān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1116; see also miḥna). Regarded as a trustworthy, *thiḳa*, narrator of traditions, he was the author of a *Kitāb al-'Ilm* (publ. Damascus 1966).

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ZUHAYR b. ḲAYS al-Balawī (b. ?, d. 76/695), Arab commander, stemming from Balī, one of the Ḳuḍā'a [*q.v.*] tribes, of reputed Yemeni descent. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* i, 555-6, includes him among the Prophet's Companions and mentions his role in the conquest of Egypt, whilst al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 200, lists him as a *Ṣaḥābī* but in i, 258 as a *Tābi'* or Successor, showing that he belonged to the two groups.

He took part in the campaigns against the Maghrib in the time of 'Uḳba b. Nāfi' [*q.v.*], one of them against Surt/Syrte where, after its conquest, Zuhayr was left, together with 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Ḳurashī, at the head of the army; in another account, he is said to have been 'Uḳba's deputy, at the head of al-Ḳayrawān, fighting against the Berber chief Kusayla [*q.v.*] and defeating him.

Zuhayr also participated in the campaign against Ayla [*q.v.*] at the side of the governor of Egypt 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Djaḥdam, a partisan of the Zubayrids, against 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, but ended up by coming to an agreement with the latter when Ibn al-Zubayr's influence in Egypt declined and 'Abd al-'Azīz was established as *amīr* there. The latter appointed Zuhayr *amīr* of Barḳa [*q.v.*] and instructed him to attack the Byzantines. It is related that he defended himself against 'Abd al-'Azīz, who retained a grudge against him from his anti-Umayyad past in Egypt and who spoke slightingly of him; Zuhayr vigorously responded that a man like himself, who had taken part in the collection of the Ḳur'ān, should not be treated humiliatingly. When a Byzantine force from Constantinople attacked Barḳa, he died valiantly with his 70 companions before the rest of the troops could come to his aid, in 76/695.

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ZUHAYR, 'Amīd al-Dawla al-Ṣaḳlabī [see al-ṣaḳāliba], ruler of Almería middle 419-late 429/middle 1028-late 1038, originally a client (*mawlā*) of al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Abī 'Āmir, the famous *ḥādjib* of al-Andalus at the end of the late 4th/10th century.

During the period of turmoil which followed the fall of the 'Āmirids in 399/1009, a number of Ṣaḳlabī leaders left Cordova and managed to set up independent states on the eastern seaboard of Spain. Prominent among them was Khayrān, who ruled Almería (405-19/1014-28) and appointed his brother/companion (*ṣāḥib*) Zuhayr as his lieutenant in Murcia. Nominated by Khayrān as his successor in Almería, Zuhayr ruled an extensive territory extending from Almería to Játiva, Baeza and the approaches of Toledo. He even controlled Cordova itself for some fifteen months (425/1034).

Zuhayr is credited with building and later extending the great mosque of Almería and with improving the city's water supplies and fortifications. He is said to have sought, and complied with, the advice of the *fuḳahā'*. The description of Zuhayr by the author of the *Tibyān* as a stupid ignoramus does not accord with the accounts of Andalusian chroniclers, who speak highly of Zuhayr's piety, courage, astuteness and prudence.

Shortly after the accession of the Zīrid *amīr* of Granada Bādīs b. Ḥabūs (Ramaḍān 429/June 1038), the alliance which had existed between Zuhayr and Ḥabūs came to an end as a result of Zuhayr's alliance with Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Birzālī, lord of Carmona and leader of the Zanāta [*q.v.*] Berbers, traditional foes of the Ṣanhādja [*q.v.*] to which the Zīrids belonged. Zuhayr's alliance with the lord of Carmona was probably motivated by the expansionist policy of the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. 'Abbād, ruler of Seville, who in 426/1035 had installed the pseudo-Umayyad Hishām in Seville as caliph of al-Andalus. This Zuhayr and al-Birzālī adamantly refused to accept. According to the last Zīrid *amīr* of Granada, Zuhayr "on hearing of the death of Ḥabūs cast covetous eyes on Granada. He therefore marched on the city and duly encamped at a place known as Alpuente (*al-Fūnt*)" (*Tibyān*, 70, tr. 58). Having decided to open hostilities, Bādīs laid ambushes in ravines on Zuhayr's route and pulled down a bridge which the Ṣaḳlabī had to cross. On approaching the bridge, Zuhayr was set upon by Bādīs's men. At the very outset, Zuhayr's Negro detachment, some 500 strong, defected. Zuhayr himself, however, stood fast and ordered his fellow Ṣaḳāliba to engage the Granadans who, though outnumbered, routed the Ṣaḳāliba. "In the space of a single hour, it [Zuhayr's army] was routed with the loss of all its eunuchs (*khiṣyān*). Zuhayr, however, completely vanished and was not to be found either living or dead" (*Tibyān*, 70, tr. 59).

Almería was annexed, a month later, by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī 'Āmir of Valencia, who acquired a huge fortune from the possessions left by "his grandfather's *mawālī*" (*Dhakhīra*, i/2, 730).

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ZUHAYR, al-Bahā' [see bahā' al-dīn zuhayr].

ZUHD (a.), the material and spiritual asceticism facilitating closer association with the divine.

Zuhd constitutes one of the "spiritual virtues" considered not only by the mystics, but also by a large

number of believers, as essential to religious life in Islam. As such, it occupies a dominant place in the biographies of saints of the first centuries of the Hidjra. The term embraces numerous nuances, divided between two principal meanings: on the one hand, "renunciation" in the sense of detachment, of indifference to things of this inferior world; on the other, "asceticism" in the sense of privation, mortification, tests imposed on the carnal soul (*nafs*). The two terms of Ḳur'ānic origin, *ʿābid* and *nāsik*, have often been employed as equivalents of *zāhid*, although the former (in the plural *ʿubbād*) serves to denote the devotees of God, and the latter, more specifically, the one who performs sacrifices and performs rites. *Zāhidīn* (Ḳur'ān, XII, 20), the sole occurrence of the root, describes the merchants who sold Joseph after finding him in the pit in which his brothers had thrown him, "attaching no value to him" and therefore not considering him worth keeping. Their detachment here takes on a profane sense. To denote a certain form of spiritual renunciation, the Ḳur'ān uses paraphrases, as in the verse (LVII, 23): "Do not despair in that which escapes you and do not exult in that which has been given to you." Reference could also be made to III, 14; XV, 8; XVI, 96; XVIII, 7; XX, 131; XXIII, 55, 56; XXVIII, 60, 83; XXXI, 33; XLIII, 33-5.

Literature specifically devoted to renunciation comprises, out of 63 titles listed for the period between the 2nd/8th and the 10th/16th centuries (27 of which have survived to this day), 37 works dating from the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries. Their titles include, in addition to the word *zuhd*, which appears 45 times, one instance of *taṣawwuf* (taken as a synonym of *zuhd*); two of *bukā'* (weeping) and *dhamm al-dunyā* (contempt for this inferior world); four of *waraʿ* (abstinence through religious scruple); and, finally, eight occurrences of *raḳā'iḳ* (actions that elevate man), which would thus seem to be the closest equivalent, and the singular of which (*raḳīḳa*) can, as Roger Deladrière has pointed out, denote the precariousness of the life of ascetics. On the other hand, the anthology of al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1065 [*q.v.*]) throws light on the various nuances attributed to *zuhd* in the 4th-5th/9th-10th centuries: contentment with little (*ḳanāʿa*); isolation (*ʿuzla*); the effacement of self (*khumūl*); opposition to the lower soul and to passion (*mukhālafat al-nafs wa 'l-hawā'*); the limitation of hopes (*ḳaṣr al-amal*); the pressure to finish works before the end of life (*al-mubādara li 'l-ʿamal ḳabla bulūgh al-adjal*); zeal in obedience (*al-idjtihād fī 'l-ṭāʿa*); safeguarding the status of a servant (*mulāzamat al-ʿubūdiyya*); scrupulous piety (*waraʿ*); and vigilant piety (*taḳwā*). Some added poverty (*faḳr*), which denotes external deprivation as much as the absence of desire for riches; the latter includes, in a spiritual sense, the absence of desire for the blessings of the other world. On the other hand, Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]) draws a clear distinction, on the basis of a prophetic tradition, between *zuhd* and *taḳashshuf* (mortification of the flesh).

Expressing an opinion on the subject of renunciation has never been the exclusive preserve of the Ṣūfīs. Declaring that in the *Kitāb al-Zuhd al-kabīr* of al-Bayhaḳī, it is a traditionist, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 412/1021), and not a Ṣūfī who supplies most information concerning the renunciation of ascetics, mystics and gnostics, Deladrière has thrown light upon the essential role of the *ḥuffāẓ* in the elaboration of this literature. This affinity is confirmed by the fact that, in Twelver Shīʿī circles, *zuhd* was reckoned among the qualities required for the transmitter (*rāwī*) of Imāmī traditions.

The earliest works, such as those of Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797 [*q.v.*]), are primarily concerned with the actions and gestures of the Prophet Muḥammad—who appears to an increasing extent, in the course of the development of mystical literature, to be the most consummate model of the "renouncer"—and of his Companions, as well as certain epigoni, the one most often cited being al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]). The work of Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]) adds to this the renunciation practised by eleven sanctified individuals, from Adam to Jesus, and by the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. It is principally from the 4th/10th century onward that the leading protagonists of this literature become the mystics of the two preceding centuries: Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Ibn Adham, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, Bishr al-Ḥāfī, Sarī al-Saḳaṭī, Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh, Sahl al-Tustarī, al-Djunayd and al-Shiblī.

Goldziher advanced the hypothesis according to which the earliest prophetic traditions, those possessing the strongest guarantee of authenticity, tended towards a rejection of *zuhd*, whereas only late forgeries endorsed or extolled it. It is in any event certain that a large number of *ḥadīth*, corroborated by Ḳur'ān, XXV, 67, stressed the necessity of limiting the practice of asceticism and of observing a high degree of moderation.

In regard to the first four centuries of the Hidjra, it is difficult to establish a decisive distinction between the corpus of work emanating from the Ḥanbalīs or other traditionists and that of the mystics proper. The distinction was accentuated during the Mamlūk period, at which time the Ṣūfī or the *walī* only received the epithet of *zāhid* when he had distinguished himself through extreme corporeal asceticism. E. Geoffroy has declared that at the end of this period, Ḥanbalī authors, making abundant use of the terms *zāhid* and *ʿābid*, effected a very fine demarcation between adherence to Ḥanbalism and attribution of the term Ṣūfī, especially in Syria, while in the Ottoman period there was a general rapprochement between Ḥanbalism and Ṣūfism. In practice, being an ascetic has never implied adherence to Ṣūfism, although the consensus among mystics has always stressed the importance of this quality.

For the Persian Djāmī (d. 898/1492 [*q.v.*]), who clearly differentiates *zuhd* from true Ṣūfism, "ascetics consider the beauty of the other life in the light of faith and of certitude and do not despise this inferior world, but they are still veiled by the pleasure that is afforded them by the contemplation of Paradise; on the other hand, the true Ṣūfī is separated as by a veil from these two worlds, by the vision of primordial Beauty and of eternal love" (*Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Tawḥīdpūr, Tehran 1957, i, 10).

It is especially in the determination of the sphere of application of *zuhd* that the greatest differences arise. In the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries, two interpretations of the term were established: for some, it meant above all renunciation, not only of agreeable clothes, accommodation and foodstuffs, but also of comfort, sleep and all human relationships, sometimes including marriage; for others, it was a more internal and subjective asceticism, the renunciation of intentions and desires, which led to the concept of *tawakkul* [*q.v.*]. However, for many mystics, the two aspects were seen as going hand-in-hand.

Ibrāhīm b. Adham (d. 165/782 [*q.v.*]) is generally credited with a sub-division of *zuhd* into three stages, which is also found in the works of al-Sarrādj and could emanate from a later source: (1) renunciation of the world; (2) renunciation of the joy of having

devoted oneself to renunciation; and (3) the stage at which the world becomes so insignificant in the eyes of the ascetic that he is no longer interested in it. His disciple, Shaḳīḳ al-Balkhī, reckoned to be the first to have spoken of mystical states (*ʿulūm al-aḥwāl*), declares that *zuhd* constitutes the most elementary stage of those who practise sincerity (*ahl al-ṣidḳ*). It is followed by the stages of fear, of desire for Paradise, and of love of God. The beginning of *zuhd* consists in the training of the body to experience the hunger which will give release from the other preoccupations of this inferior world.

The Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*], just like the Khurāsānī spiritual leader al-Tirmidhī (d. 318/930) proposed a conception of *zuhd* which was to serve as a model for numerous mystical systems from the 3rd/9th century onward: genuine *zuhd*, that of the Prophet and of his Companions, is presented as a particular type of renunciation, which does not imply in any way a visible and material practice of asceticism, but a profound detachment, an attitude of the heart; ascetic practices may be admitted, if considered necessary, as a preparatory stage, as is affirmed, in a different context, by al-Djunayd. Such a form of renunciation presents an aspect that is entirely spontaneous, linked to a divine grace.

Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899 [*q.v.*]) adopted the same classification as did al-Balkhī: renunciation is followed by fear, and it consists in "the progressive detachment of the heart from every desire concerning this inferior world". The "renouncers" are subdivided according to three categories: "Some act thus in order to liberate their heart from all preoccupation other than obedience to God, the mention of His name and His service; others desire, through this influence, to become light and to pass quickly over the bridge which traverses Hell, knowing that those who are weighed down will be delayed and subjected to interrogation. Finally, others act thus through the desire for Paradise. They deprive themselves of the life of this inferior world and dedicate themselves to awaiting the reward of God. But the most elevated degree of renunciation consists in consenting totally to the love of God and accepting without reserve the state of servitude by the understanding of His will" (*K. al-Ṣidḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Cairo, 43).

For Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309 [*q.v.*]), renunciation consists in liberating the heart from the love of this inferior world and from the jealousy it may feel in regard to other people and the benefits they enjoy: "O ignorant one, cease to envy the creatures of this inferior world for what they have received. Your heart is preoccupied with what they possess and you become even more ignorant than they. In fact, they are preoccupied with what they have received and you, you are preoccupied with what you have not received" (*Tādj al-ʿarūs, ʿalā hāmish al-Tanwīr*, 11).

Zuhd has gradually acquired a place in the succession of mystical stations, but differences exist between one thinker and another, although all consider it as associated with the beginning of the way.

In Twelver Shīʿī traditions, it appears to be the least of the virtues of the believer, its highest level corresponding to the lowest level of "contentment with little" (*ḳanāʿa*), while Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/859 [*q.v.*]) states that the "ladder of *waraʿ* gives access to *zuhd*". For al-Dārānī (d. 205/820), spiritual heir of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the pinnacle of *zuhd* is abandonment to trust in God (*tawakkul*); it would be the same for al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), giving it precedence over *faḳr*. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī considers *zuhd* as the outcome of repentance (*tawba*) and the stage preceding combat against the carnal soul (*ʿadāwat al-nafs*). We have here a stage of the heart. "The world appears worthless in the eyes of renouncers, since an invisible part has been revealed to them. They therefore do not concern themselves in the least with the subsistence that could fall to their lot, and on this matter they trust in their Lord with an utterly tranquil heart. He who does not direct his regard towards the other life and magnifies in his own eyes the life of this world, even if he is completely withdrawn from the life of here below, wears nothing but rags and eats only grass, is not a true renouncer but only a man who compels himself to renounce" (*Nawādir al-uṣūl, aṣl* 106, *fī ḥaḳīḳat al-zuhd*, Beirut, 144).

Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]) likewise envisages *zuhd* as one of the first stages of the way. It is situated in the wake of isolation (*ʿuzla*), of retreat (*khalwa*) and the practice of scruple (*waraʿ*). According to him, it also precedes *tawakkul*.

Thus for Muslim as well as for Christian spiritual seekers (desert anchorites and mystics), interior renunciation is held to be much more important than spectacular practices of asceticism. The latter have, however, persisted into the present day in response to precise functions, for the ascetic himself as for his entourage.

Examples of extreme mortification are not lacking among the accounts of the lives of the early Ṣūfīs; it used to be said, for example, that Shāh al-Kirmānī (d. between 270/883 and 300/912) spent forty years without sleeping; Rūzbihān Baḳlī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]), told the story of a saint who had fasted totally for seventy days; Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr (d. 441/1049 [*q.v.*]), a Khurāsānī Ṣūfī and disciple of al-Sulamī, practised ascetic exercises over a period of seven years, in particular the *ṣalāt maḳlūba* which consists of reciting the Ḳurʾān and praying while suspended by the feet in a dark place.

Numerous Egyptians mystics, among others, are renowned for their impressive feats of asceticism. Shaykh Murshid declared to al-Shaʿrānī that he had not eaten more than one raisin per day over a period of forty years, to the point where the skin of his stomach adhered to that of his back. Al-Sayyid al-Badawī (d. 675/1276), the famous saint of Ṭanṭā who had adopted voluntary celibacy, possessed nothing of his own and burned out his eyes by staring at the sun from his terrace, spent forty days without drinking, eating or sleeping. He never took off his clothes or his turban, waiting for them to fall to pieces by themselves. His disciples, including Abū Ṭarṭūr, were renowned for their asceticism. In this context, some mystics took it as a point of honour to surpass Jesus, regarded by the majority of Ṣūfīs as a model of poverty, of mortification and of detachment from the concerns of this world. These manifestations of the Badawiyya, as those of numerous other mystical orders, have been subjected at all times to the censure of the *ʿulamāʾ*, whose efforts have been pursued, to little effect, into the present day.

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(Geneviève Gobillot)

ZUHDIYYA (a., pl. *zuhdiyyāt*), a pious, homiletic or ascetic poem, of the kind that flowered as a genre of Arabic poetry in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries. The noun *zuhd* [*q.v.*] denotes principally "asceticism", "renunciation (of the material world)", but the themes of the *zuhdiyya* are broader than this allows one to understand; collectively, the *zuhdiyyāt* articulate a general, God-fearing Islamic piety, exhorting mankind to be mindful of mortality and to a comportment of utter sobriety.

Though the *zuhdiyya* emerged as a distinctive genre in the early ʿAbbāsid period with the poetry of Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (d. 211/826 [*q.v.*]), it had its roots in an important register of pre-Islamic verse, and then, more particularly, in the pious/didactic poetry of two relatively minor Islamic poets, Sābiḳ al-Barbarī (d. 110/728) and Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs (d. 167/783-4 [*q.v.*]).

That the *zuhdiyya* was recognised in the mediaeval period as a genre in its own right can be gleaned from the divisions of poetry in *dīwāns* of individual poets (cf. Schoeler, *Einteilung*, 34 ff.). The first *dīwān* to be arranged according to theme/genre is al-Ṣūlī's (d. 335/946) recension of the *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās (d. *ca.* 198/813) which lists *zuhd* as the tenth (and final) category of poems. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 350/961), for the same poet, places the *zuhdiyyāt* as the sixth of eleven categories. Subsequent *dīwāns* containing ascetic poetry are: ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī's *dīwān* of Abū Tammām (d. *ca.* 232/845), where *zuhd* is one of eight themes; Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), whose *dīwān*, also arranged by al-Ṣūlī, contains a short, 10th, section on *zuhd wa-ādāb wa-shayb wa-ḥikma*; and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 750/1349) containing a final, 12th, section labelled *fī 'l-ādāb wa 'l-zuhdiyyāt wa-nawādir mukhtalifa* (a collection which contains few truly ascetic fragments.)

(a) *Antecedents.* The dominant thematic strain of the *zuhdiyya* is rooted in pre-Islamic poetry, particularly the elegiac tendency of much of the early corpus: the evocations of Man's mortality in a finite existence and of the despoiling effect of Time/Fate (*al-zamān*/*al-dahr*). In *Djāhilī* poetry, where such contemplation crystallises in aphorism, it is generally labeled *ḥikma* (lit. "wisdom") in later anthologies and manuals of poetry. *Ḥikma* penetrates and overlaps with the thematic and homiletic register of the *zuhdiyya*, which is a wisdom literature of sorts, drawing also on the *naṣāʾiḥ* of earlier poetry (cf. Muḥammad ʿAwīs, *al-Ḥikma fī 'l-shiʿr al-ʿarabī*, which symptomatically contains a section on the *zuhdiyya*).

However, pre-Islamic poetry's elegiac strain is distinct from the pessimism of *zuhd* in two fundamental respects. For it either suffuses elegies (*marāthī*), whose mood is pessimistic but whose function is nevertheless distinct from *zuhd*, or, in the poetry of *fakhr*, pessimism is transcended by the poet's enunciation of his own worth within the ethical and moral panoply of *muruwwa* (cf. Sperl, *Mannerism*, 71 ff.). Seldom, if at all, does pre-Islamic poetry give expression to the morose quietism of *zuhd*.

Insofar as his poetry contains an admixture of elegiac and religious themes, acknowledging life after death and buttressing didacticism with frequent references to the biblical prophets, the Christian poet of al-Ḥīra, ʿAdī b. Zayd (d. *ca.* 600), is viewed as the father of this genre. (Ironically, he is also described as the father of the *khamriyya* [*q.v.*] or wine poem in the genealogical histories of Arabic genres.) It is in this poet that we find the earliest significant treatment of the *ubi sunt* topos, which may have been inherited from the muse of earlier Christians of the region, but which was later Islamised in the *zuhdiyya* as a standard rhetorical feature, often stressed by passages of anaphora (the question *ayna* "where is . . .?" beginning a whole series of lines).

In early Islamic times, *zuhd* is understood to have been influenced largely by the ascetic teachings of al-Ḥasan of Baṣra, for whom the Prophet Muḥammad was a paragon of ascetic virtue (Hamori, 267). As an Islamic genre, the texture of the *zuhdiyya* is one rich in Ḳurʾānic allusion and quotation (*iḳtibās*); it also contains many elements of *ḥadīth*. But does Scripture support its ascetic tenor? To some extent this is certainly the case, and much can be made of verses in the Ḳurʾān which rail against human material greed (cf. e.g. XX, 131). This must be balanced, however, by an understanding of the Ḳurʾān's concomitant view of the fruits and blessing of the Earth (cf. e.g. XXXVI, 34-6). The *zuhdiyya* is an unstintingly lugubrious literature of admonishment that tends to ignore the spirit of such Ḳurʾānic verses.

(b) *Early development.* Much insight into the genre's development can be gleaned from the surviving poetry of Sābiḳ al-Barbarī (who was *imām* and *ḳāḍī* under the caliph ʿUmar II in the Syrian town of al-Raḳḳa). In his *Bayān*, al-Djāḥiẓ described (and decried) his poetry as *kulluhu amthāl*—a string of pious maxims. This is not entirely fair; indeed, some of his lengthier pieces are patterned in a way that may have influenced his successors. There is an emerging structure

in his work, and some of his poetry needs to be carefully examined in the light of a variety of retrospective allusions to it in the *dīwān* of Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya. There is a thematic consistency in his verse: addiction to this world is chided, remembrance of God is urged. A counseling temperament lends weight to such material, particularly in a poem addressed to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

Whilst striking parallels between Sābiḳ and ʿAdī b. Zayd exist, Sābiḳ himself foreshadows traits of Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya in being inventive with old motifs and transforming the semantics of the traditional lexicon of poetry. For example, *dār*, lit. "abode" (in ancient poetry, typically, the "abode of the beloved"), is made to refer to "this mortal world", and *araḳ* "insomnia", is caused not by the pains of love but by existential angst.

Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya's *zuhdiyya* rhyming in *lām* and beginning *li-man ṭalal^un usā'iluhu* (cf. Sperl's analysis, *Mannerism*, 82-96) bears comparison with Sābiḳ's identically rhymed *ta'awwabanī hamm^un kat͟hīr^un balābiluhu* (Kannūn, 20-2). Even more yielding is a comparison of Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya's *lā ya'manu 'l-dahra illā 'l-k͟hā'inu 'l-baṭiru* (*Diwan*, 153-4) with Sabiḳ's *bi-smi 'lladh͟ī unzilat min ʿindihi 'l-suwaru* (Kannūn, 6-9). The metre of the two poems is identical and they clearly display an affinity with each other that is more than simply due to generic features. The first and last lines of Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya's poem are virtual citations from Sābiḳ's, and seem to highlight the literary evocation of the earlier piece. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya's poem is shorter; it is also stylistically tighter, more economically structured, and more thematically homogeneous. The full literary implications of such observations require further study. The very least we can say with confidence is that Sābiḳ's poetry was in circulation during Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya's day.

Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs was a preacher in Baṣra who edified the crowd with gnomic verse, sermons and *ḥadīt͟h*s. His poetry of *sententiae*, proverbs and *naṣīḥa* (advice) enjoyed some success, judging from the diffuse spread of his poetry in the various sources—al-Buḥturī quotes 75 verses from 35 poems (i.e. in fragmentary form in his *Ḥamāsa*). Three of his poems in particular were celebrated, his *sīniyya*, his *kāfiyya*, and also a *zaynabiyya*, which has also been attributed to ʿAlī. He counsels sobriety, self-control, and ascetic virtue as a guarantee for peace of mind in this world and salvation in the next. Among the qualities he extols are: faithfulness to friends, holding one's tongue, reflection before speech, avoidance of unnecessary mirth, and awareness of the fact that, even when alone, one is observed by God. One's conduct should be an exteriorisation of inner virtue. Wealth is denigrated; were it to be distributed according to intelligence, most people would be beggars. One should trust unstintingly in God (cf. Chokr, 222-4).

There is little theology in these, or in any, *zuhdiyyāt*. However, there are some attitudes that are redolent of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, e.g. that of fatalistic resignation to the will of God, whilst espousing Ḳadarī views in assigning responsibility for sin (cf. Wagner, 123).

The close thematic and functional links between the *zuhdiyya* and sermon material (*waʿẓ/mawāʿiẓ*) emerge from a *ḳiṣṣat ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs maʿa rāhib al-Ṣīn* attributed to him (K͟haṭīb, 93-104): it treats of the futility of existence and chides the *abnā' al-dunyā* for trusting too much in their lot; there are elements here of *d͟hamm al-zamān* or complaints about the corruption of the age. And finally, we find a call to repent (*tawba*). Though accused of *zandaḳa*, and eventually executed on this charge in the reign of al-Mahdī, there is no evidence of heterodoxy in his verse. The polemical/Muʿtazilī view that he was a *dahrī* dualist ignores totally his genuinely homiletic poetry which appears to be authentic (Chokr, 226-31).

(c) *Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya.* The audience of this poet, once he came to write *zuhdiyyāt* to the exclusion of other poetry in the reign of Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd, was probably in part similar to that of Ṣāliḥ. His own views are recorded in the *Ag͟hānī*: "[*Zuhd*] does not appeal to kings, nor to transmitters of poetry, nor to students of lexical rarities; the people who really delight in it are ascetics, students of *ḥadīt͟h*, scholars of religious law, people who make a show of piety, and the common people, who most admire what they can understand" (Schoeler, *ʿAbbāsid belles-lettres*, 287-8). But if this reduces the status of his poetry on a purely linguistic level, we should be reminded of the complex literary relationships of his verse. He was a professional poet who gave himself exclusively to the *zuhdiyya* only after a conversion; in his early career he had composed in the other major genres, and he was certainly aware of the evolution of the poetic canon among his contemporaries. And it is said that he came to guard his genre jealously, warning fellow-poets from trespassing on his literary terrain (Abū Nuwās composed relatively few *zuhdiyyāt*: only 24 in the recension of al-Ṣūlī). Awareness of others—as a literary/poetic posture—is detectable in the details of his verse and in the way he constructed some of his more felicitous poems.

(d) *Structure.* Sperl has shown convincingly how individual *zuhdiyyāt* can be made up of carefully arranged and contrastive semantic, morphological and syntactical patterns. The apparent cohesion of themes in the *zuhdiyya* is achieved by more than the simple use of *anaphora* (and other types of repetition, themselves redolent of sermon material). The most visible technique is the occasional adaptation (or evocation) of the *ḳaṣīda* model.

In general, we should stress the following relatively enhanced qualities of his verse: the sometimes sustained semantic and metaphorical transformation of traditional imagery within single compositions; the tension that is sometimes felt between a purely ascetic tendency and the influence of dalliance (in its poetic manifestations)—this is more to do with (lapses of) temperament than structure; and the *zuhdiyya*'s existence virtually contiguous with the more secular, and even reprobate, genres of the Bag͟hdād circle of poets in the early ʿAbbāsid period. S.M. Stern expressed a facet of this cogently: "The worldly and other-worldly sentiments were not felt as being mutually exclusive, but as two aspects of the same conception of the world, opposing, yet at the same time counterbalancing and complementing each other. The same poet could at the same time contemplate and express both facets of his experience with equanimity. His primary and most frequently expressed attitude will be that of the enjoyment of the world; to this subject he will devote the overwhelming majority of his poetical productions. The contrary tendency will be satisfied with an occasional *zuhdiyya*, which will ultimately be inserted in his *dīwān* among other verses" (*Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, 81). This astute psychological evaluation further asserts the relatively subordinate status of the homiletic genre.

(e) *Later developments.* After Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, the *zuhdiyya* was never again so closely associated with an individual author (though mention must be made of Maḥmūd al-Warrāḳ, d. *ca.* 230/845). Yet ascetic poetry remained popular and found its way into many

subsequent anthologies; fragments of ascetic poetry are quoted in Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940) and al-Ibs͟hīhī (d. *ca.* 850/1446), to name but a few authors. In these collections, it is the affinity of this poetry with sermon material that emerges most noticeably; the literary quality of poems as a whole is almost totally ignored, and any sense of structural artifice is destroyed by their fragmentary arrangement (cf. esp. al-Buḥturī, who breaks poems down into *maʿānī*, e.g. *fī-mā ḳīla fī tawakkuʿ al-mawt wa 'l-ḥid͟hr minhu wa 'l-iʿdād li 'l-maʿād*, and *fī-mā ḳīla fī 'l-tuḳā wa 'l-birr*).

The survival—and certain developments—of the genre in later times are conveniently attested by Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1211): "The *muwas͟hs͟haḥ* treats of the same subject as the various kinds of *s͟hiʿr*, i.e. love, praise, mourning (*mart͟hiya*), invective (*hid͟jāʾ*) frivolity (*mud͟jūn*), and asceticism (*zuhd*)" (Stern, 42). None of these ascetic *muwas͟hs͟haḥāt* appear to survive—another marker of their minor status. However, there is some interesting evidence of the relationship between this ascetic mode and the dominant secular strain: "The special feature in these lost 'ascetic' *muwas͟hs͟haḥs* is that according to Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk they used to correspond to a given secular *muwas͟hs͟haḥ*, i.e. that *muʿāraḍa* used to be a rule in them, applied to a special purpose; the 'ascetic' *muwas͟hs͟haḥ* was considered as 'expiating' the sin committed through the poem which served as model" (*ibid.*, 82). This is reminiscent of the relationship one has detected between Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya and the poetry of his libertine contemporaries (though it is not quite the same as the scorn which could be directed against the *zuhdiyya* in the form of literary lampoon: Salm al-K͟hāsir (d. 186/802) mocked Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya for hypocrisy: *mā aḳbaḥa 'l-tazhīda min wāʿiẓ^in^/yuzahhidu 'l-nāsa wa-lā yazhadu*).

Some remarks should address the survival of *zuhdiyya* once it was eclipsed by Ṣūfī poetry from the 6th/12th century onwards (a subject on which there appears to be no sustained study). The final chapter of Ibn Ḥazm's (d. 456/1054) *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* contains two long poems on "the virtues of continence" (*faḍl al-taʿaffuf*). The second poem is a virtual manifesto of the *zuhdiyya* in the period of its decline, apostrophising the soul to live in *ḳunūʿ* and *tawakkul*, themes which by this time are associated more with the mystical register. In a central passage, some of the principal images of *Sūrat al-takwīr* and other sūras are woven into the text in a sustained and particularly felicitous way. We are reminded that, after Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, mastery of the register did not die, though no-one was ever again as prodigious, fluent and varied as he.

Finally, a fascinating permutation of the *zuhdiyya* in Arabic literary history is its role in the tale of the City of Brass in the *Arabian Nights*. This tale illustrates the survival intact of the poetry of *zuhd* right up to the pre-modern period, and evinces how Ḳurʾānic themes common to the classic *zuhdiyya* could be woven meaningfully into a narrative, delivering a richly textured message against the spiritual void of material wealth: *tazawwadū fa-inna k͟hayra 'l-zādi 'l-taḳwā* (II, 197). In this story, ascetic poetry dovetails strikingly with a mystical undercurrent of the kind that had essentially displaced the *zuhdiyya* in the sphere of popular religious poetry (cf. Pinault).

With the City of Brass in mind, Allen has suggested intriguingly how this register survives in the modern period, lending a profound resonance to Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr's celebrated poem, *al-Nās fī bilādī*.

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ZUHRA, a clan of Ḳurays͟h [*q.v.*] in Mecca, with the genealogy Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. G͟hālib b. Fihr.

In pre-Islamic Mecca, the clan seems to have been prosperous, and members of it had trading connections with ʿAbd S͟hams. In the factional disputes within Mecca, Zuhra were in the group led by ʿAbd Manāf, the *Muṭayyabūn* or "Perfumed Ones" [see LAʿAḲAT AL-DAM] and then in the *Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl* [*q.v.*] along with Hās͟him and al-Muṭṭalib. The clan acquired Islamic kudos from the fact that the Prophet's mother Āmina bt. Wahb [*q.v.*] was from Zuhra. Early converts from the clan included ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.vv.*], but there were also opponents of Muḥammad within Zuhra (including the grandfather of the famous traditionist of Umayyad times, Ibn S͟hihāb al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*], who fought on the side of Ḳurays͟h against the Muslims at Badr and Uḥud), and in 8/630, after the battle of Ḥunayn, Muḥammad judged it politic to conciliate three of the leaders

of Zuhra with presents of captured camels [see AL-MU'ALLAFA KULŪBUHUM].

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AL-**ZUHRĪ**, HĀRŪN B. ʿABD ALLĀH, judge in Egypt, considered the greatest Mālikī scholar there, d. 232/846.

A native of Mecca, he came to Baghdād, but nothing is known of his activities there until al-Ma'mūn nominated him *ḳāḍī* of Egypt on 14 Ramaḍān 217/13 October 832 (al-Kindī) or a few days later (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam), where he remained in post till 13 Ṣafar 226/12 December 840. As a judge, his career was marked by innovations. He moved his seat as judge, and sat in front of the mosque in winter and in the middle of it in summer, whilst keeping a distance between himself and the faithful at prayer, as also from his own scribes and his enemies. Regarding the judicial system, on his arrival in Egypt he took personal charge of all contentious cases, visiting the scenes in question with the parties involved, e.g. in the case of *ḥubus* or pious endowments, keeping track of the income from them, and paid close attention to other things, such as the financial situation and care of orphans, etc.

Al-Zuhrī, with his strong personality, seems to have enjoyed the favour and confidence of the caliph; he would allow no-one to sit next to him, but left a place there for the caliph only. His relations with al-Ma'mūn are documented concerning the episode of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*], in 218/833, the instructions regarding which were brought by Abū Isḥāḳ b. Hārūn to the governor of Egypt at the time, Kaydur Naṣr b. ʿAbd Allāh. The latter summoned al-Zuhrī, who bowed to the caliph's orders, apparently without hesitation, followed by the majority of the *fuḳahā'*. From that time onwards, al-Zuhrī would accept attestations by witnesses only if they recognised the createdness of the Ḳur'ān, and this remained the practice in Egypt until al-Mutawakkil's accession in 232/847. He does not seem to have been ferocious against non-compliant *fuḳahā'*, since al-Muʿtaṣim is said to have sent him a letter demanding that he act more rigorously, and when he refused to act thus, the Chief Judge Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād [*q.v.*] had the caliph remove him from office in 226/840.

Al-Zuhrī left behind in Egypt an impression of honesty, acquiring only a house for himself which he sold at the end of his period of office. Al-Marzubānī attributes some poetry to him.

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AL-**ZUHRĪ**, IBN SHIHĀB, i.e. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shihāb, d. 124/742, one of the founders of Islamic tradition in the widest sense of the word. The source material about him includes both biographical data and instructive anecdotes; the latter reflect both admiration for his achievement and criticism of his links with the Umayyads and of some laxity on his part regarding the transmission of *ḥadīth*.

Al-Zuhrī's first tutor (*mu'addib*) was probably the *mawlā* [*q.v.*] Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān al-Madanī. From ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaʿlaba b. Ṣuʿayr al-ʿUdhrī [see ʿUDHRA] (d. 87/706 or 89/708) al-Zuhrī learned the genealogy of his own clan, the Banū Zuhra. But when al-Zuhrī wanted to study *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], ʿAbd Allāh had to refer him to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab. Later, al-Zuhrī was a student of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and many others. A contemporary of his remarked that the assertive young al-Zuhrī did not outstrip his peers in knowledge; but at an assembly he would step forward from among them and present his questions, while they were held back by their youth.

Al-Zuhrī boasted of his excellent memory, but he doubtless kept records of the *ḥadīths* transmitted to him. His colleague, Abu 'l-Zinād, a *mawlā* of the Umayyads and their official, reported that al-Zuhrī used to carry with him writing tablets and written pieces of skins (*al-alwāḥ wa 'l-ṣuḥuf*). "We used to mock him," Abu 'l-Zinād added, as if regretting the fact that he himself had not followed the same practice. This colleague was believed to have said: "We used to write down only legal matters (*al-ḥalāl wa 'l-ḥarām*), while Ibn Shihāb wrote down everything he heard." Al-Zuhrī is supposed to have widened the concept of *sunna* common to his time. One colleague of his reported that, in their quest for *sunan*, both he and al-Zuhrī recorded everything traced back to the Prophet. But al-Zuhrī went on to write down *ḥadīth* transmitted on the authority of the Prophet's Companions, while his colleague argued that such *ḥadīth* did not form *sunna*. "He succeeded," the colleague concluded, "and I failed." According to al-Zuhrī, the caliph ʿUmar II ordered him, among others, to collect the *sunan*, which were later written down in booklets [see DAFTAR] sent each to another province.

For several decades, from the days of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān [*q.v.*] to those of Hishām, al-Zuhrī maintained a close relationship with the ruling house. He officiated at different periods as *ḳāḍī*, tax collector and *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] chief. Al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*] reported that al-Zuhrī had the rank of *amīr*; elsewhere al-Dhahabī said that "he had many dependants and servants, was a man of eminence, was dressed in the outfit of the *adjnād* and enjoyed high rank in the state of the Banū Umayya."

Encouraged by the ruling family, al-Zuhrī started "*ḥadīth* dictation sessions" attended by state officials. According to his own apologetic statement, he gave in to pressure from the rulers and immediately decided to hold similar sessions for scholars not affiliated with the state apparatus. One of the stimuli for the recording of *ḥadīth* is supposed to have been anti-Umayyad propaganda. Al-Zuhrī reportedly complained about ʿIrāḳī tampering with his *ḥadīth*: "We issue the *ḥadīth* [short as] a span and it returns (i.e. from ʿIrāḳ) [long as] a cubit." Al-Zuhrī is also believed to have said, "Had it not been for *ḥadīths* which we do not know pouring upon us from the East (*al-mashriḳ*), I would not have written down, nor allowed the writing, of one single *ḥadīth*."

The dictation sessions were attended, among others, by Shuʿayb b. Dīnār or b. Abī Ḥamza al-Ḥimṣī (d. 162/778-9), a *mawlā* of the Umayyads and a scribe of Hishām [*q.v.*] who was in charge of the caliph's *nafaḳāt* [cf. DĪWĀN, at Vol. II, 323b-324a]; no wonder

that Shuʿayb's "books" were said to resemble the records of the state register (*tushbihu kutuba 'l-dīwān*). Shuʿayb reportedly held about 1,700 of al-Zuhrī's *ḥadīth*s, and the figure gives one an idea of the amount of material processed in al-Zuhrī's sessions over the years.

In addition to *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, al-Zuhrī was also well versed in other fields of knowledge. An admiring student said about him that when he talked about eschatology (*fi 'l-targhīb* "arousing desire for Paradise"), he gave one the impression that he was only proficient in this topic, but the same happened when he talked about the prophets and the "People of the Book", or the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*, or the Bedouin and their genealogies.

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(M. Lecker)

al-ZUHRĪ, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (thus according to Ḥusayn Mu'nis; according to the author of *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā), the author of a geographical work, the *K. al-Djughrāfiya*.

This work has in the past been used by scholars who, knowing nothing about the author, have called him the "Anonymous of Almería". Al-Zuhrī appears in no biographical work, but the few personal details that can be gleaned from his book show him to have been an Andalusī of the 6th/12th century, a contemporary of al-Idrīsī, alive in 545/1150-1 and very knowledgeable about al-Andalus. His work is known under several other titles, including *K. al-Ṣafwa*, *K. al-Ṣafra* and also *K. al-Sufra*, this last seeming most appropriate ("Book of food for the traveller"). It has been edited by M. Hadj-Sadok in *BEO*, xxi (1968), 1-346, as *Kitāb al-Djaʿrāfiyya. Mappemonde du calife al-Ma'mūn reproduite par Fazārī (IIIe/IXe s.), rééditée et commentée par Zuhrī (VIe/XIIe s.)*; Hadj-Sadok used numerous mss., which have important divergences, and other copies exist, including six in Rabat libraries. The book thus seems to have enjoyed a wide diffusion, leading Mu'nis to view it as a popular guide for merchants and travellers, put together by someone without wide culture and in a fairly relaxed style. Al-Zuhrī used the word *djughrāfiya* in the sense of *mappa mundi*, and the extant text is merely the commentary on maps ignored by the copyists at the expense of the anecdotal and miraculous element [see ʿadjā'ib]. The *K. al-Djughrāfiya* was used by several Arabic authors; thus the anonymous *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya* cites a passage on the Almoravids absent from the edited text.

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(Halima Ferhat)

ZÜHRĪ AḤMED EFENDI [see newrokop].

ẒUHŪRĪ TURSHĪZĪ, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, Persian poet, d. 1025/1616. He was born *ca.* 944/1537 and raised in Khurāsān; although most sources identify his birthplace as a village in the district of Turshīz [*q.v.*], the poet himself states that he was born in Ḳā'in. He began his career in Yazd at the court of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mīr-i Mīrān, where he was acquainted with the poet Waḥshī [*q.v.*]. After spending several years in Shīrāz, he migrated to India in 988/1580. Settling in the Deccan, he entered the service of the Niẓām Shāhīs [*q.v.*] in Aḥmadnagar. After a brief period in the retinue of Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān [*q.v.*], Ẓuhūrī moved to Bidjapur *ca.* 1004/1596. He lived in this city until his death, working under the patronage of the ʿĀdil Shāh [*q.v.*] Ibrāhīm II and his minister Shāh Nawāz Khān. Ẓuhūrī was in contact with many of the major poets of the period, including Naẓīrī and Fayḍī. He was especially close to Malik-i Ḳummī [*q.v.*], marrying his daughter and co-writing several works with him.

During his lifetime, Ẓuhūrī was perhaps best known for his panegyric *ḳaṣīdas*, which were sometimes compared to the work of the ancient masters of the form. Though these poems were written for a wide range of patrons, including Shāh ʿAbbās and the Khān-i Khānān, the majority were dedicated to Burhān Niẓām Shāh II and Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II. Modern critics, however, tend to prefer Ẓuhūrī's *ghazals*, which constitute the largest section of his *dīwān*. His *dīwān* also includes stanzaic poems and a substantial body of *rubāʿīs*. Dedicated to Burhān II, Ẓuhūrī's *sāḳī-nāma* in rhymed couplets is the longest and perhaps greatest representative of this quintessentially Ṣafawid-Mughal genre. However, it was Ẓuhūrī's prose, in particular the collection known as *Si nathr*, that exercised the greatest influence on later writers. This work consists of three introductions dedicated to Ibrāhīm II: *Dībāča-i Nawras* prefaced a collection of song lyrics written by Ibrāhīm himself in a Deccani vernacular; *Dībāča-i Gulzār-i Ibrāhīm* and *Dībāča-i Khʷān-i Khalīl* both preceded collections of panegyric verse that were the joint efforts of Ẓuhūrī and Malik-i Ḳummī. These introductions were long regarded as models of rhymed, ornate prose. Several formal letters, including one addressed to Fayḍī, are also found in Ẓuhūrī's collected works. Two other prose works often attributed to Ẓuhūrī—*Pandj ruḳʿa* (a collection of love letters) and *Mīnā bāzār* (a description of the Bidjapur market)—are likely the work of Irādat Khān Wāḍiḥ, who died in 1128/1716 (see Ahmad, 337-52).

Bibliography: For brief biographies and a list of *tadhkira* sources, see Storey, iii, 280-1, and Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1364 *sh.*/1985, v/2, 977-88. The most important of these sources are collected and quoted at length in A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Kārwān-i Hind*, Mashhad 1369 *sh.*/1990, ii, 823-38. See also Fakhr al-Zamānī Ḳazwīnī, *Tadhkira-i maykhāna*, ed. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, Tehran 1340 *sh.*/1961, 363-412. Among the secondary sources, see M. ʿAbdu'l Ghani, *A history of Persian language and literature at the Mughal court*, Allahabad 1929-30, iii, 181-219; and Nazir Ahmad, *Zuhuri. Life and works*, Allahabad 1953, by far the most detailed and scholarly study of the poet currently available. Nazir Ahmad has also edited Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh's *Kitāb-i Nawras*, Lucknow 1955. For a listing of the manuscripts of Ẓuhūrī's poetic works, see A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iii, 1880 (*kulliyyāt*), 2419-21 (*dīwān*); and iv, 2875-77 (*sāḳī-nāma*). His *dīwān* and *sāḳī-nāma* have been lithographed in India; see *Fihrist-i kitābhā-yi čāpī-yi fārsī*, i, cols. 1554, 1571, and ii, col. 1900. For a listing of the many manuscripts and litho-

graphs of Ẓuhūrī's authentic and putative prose works, see Storey-de Blois, iii, 281-5. In addition to the translation listed in this source, a full Persian text and English translation of Ẓuhūrī's *Si nathr* can also be found in ʿAbdu'l Ghani, *History*, iii, 305-467. (P.E. LOSENSKY)

ZULĀLĪ-YI KHWĀNSĀRĪ, Persian poet from the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*]. Reports on his date of death range from 1016/1607 to 1037/1627-8, but the most probable seems to be 1024-5/1615-16. Little is known about his life. He was born in Khwānsār to the northwest of Iṣfahān and divided his life between these two towns. Although reputedly quiet and retiring by nature, Zulālī had close contacts with the Ṣafawid court, particularly with Mīr Bāḳir al-Dāmād Astarābādī [*q.v.*], his principal patron.

Although Zulālī composed *ghazals* and *ḳaṣīdas*, his enduring claim to fame is the collection of seven *mathnawīs*, entitled *Sabʿa-yi sayyāra* ("The seven planets"). *Ḥusn-i gulzār*, written in the metre of Niẓāmī's [*q.v.*] *Makhzan al-asrār*, consists of short anecdotes in a Ṣūfī-didactic framework. Of a similar structure is *Shuʿla-yi dīdār*, in the metre of Rūmī's *Mathnawī-yi maʿnawī*. The remaining five poems present continuous narratives. *Maykhāna* tells the story of the legendary king Djamshīd and the discovery of wine. Zulālī's *Dharra wa Khurshīd* is the tale of a dust mote's love for the sun, and another allegory of mystical love appears in *Ādhar wa Samandar*, written in the metre associated with the *Laylā wa Madjnūn* romance. The *Sulaymān-nāma* narrates Solomon's love for Bilḳīs in the heroic *mutaḳārib* metre. These six *mathnawīs* are all relatively short, containing 500-1,000 verses. Composed over the course of twenty years, *Maḥmūd wa Ayāz* concerns the legendary love of Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznawī for his slave boy. It is by far Zulālī's longest work and his most sustained effort to emulate Niẓāmī's *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*.

Zulālī's style is highly complex and innovative in its use of neologistic compounds and unprecedented similes and metaphors. In the opinion of most critics, his work is very uneven, with impenetrably opaque verses side-by-side with conceits of startling originality and beauty. This was apparently the result of the poet's intuitive, almost haphazard method of composition; according to Awḥadī Balyānī, he worked on all seven of his *mathnawīs* simultaneously. His works were left in a state of disarray on his death, and *Maḥmūd wa Ayāz* was redacted in its final form in India. He had a great influence on the later romance tradition throughout the Persian-speaking world. Ṭughrā-yi Mashhadī, a poet at the court of Shāh Djahān, composed a set of prose introductions to Zulālī's works entitled *Āshūb-nāma* to accompany the short introductions written by the poet himself.

Bibliography: For a list of *tadhkira* sources, see Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1364 sh./1985, v/2, 965-6. The most important of these are Amīn b. Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ed. Dj. Fāḍil, Tehran n.d. [1950s], ii, 484-5, and Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-i Naṣrābādī*, ed. W. Dastgirdī, Tehran 1352 sh./1973, 230-4. Zulālī receives only passing treatment in most literary histories: see Browne, *LHP*, iv, 252, and Rypka, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, 301. Manuscripts of Zulālī's *mathnawīs* are abundant, both individually and collectively; for full listings, see A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, under title of each work. Lithograph editions include: *Maḥmūd wa Ayāz*, Tehran 1302/1885 and 1321/1903, and *Mathnawī-yi Zulālī*, Lucknow 1290/1874. A recent edition of Zulālī's six shorter *mathnawīs*, prepared as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Isfahan 1374 sh./1995 by Amān Allāh ʿAlī ʿAskarī, provides the first critical edition of the poet's works. (P.E. LOSENSKY)

ẒULM (A., verbal noun of form I), basically meaning, according to the authoritative lexicologists, "putting a thing in a place not its own" (Lane, *LA*, *TA*), i.e. displacement. In the moral sphere, it denotes acting in such a way as to transgress the proper limit and encroach upon the right of some other person. In common usage, *ẓulm* has come to signify wrongdoing, evil, injustice, oppression and tyranny, particularly by persons who have power and authority. Frequently it is therefore used as the antonym to *ʿadl* [*q.v.*], *inṣāf* [*q.v.*] and *ḳisṭ* and (sometimes by expressing a slightly different shade of meaning) as a synonym to *baghy* (encroachment, abuse), *djawr* (oppression), *fisḳ* (moral deficiency [see FĀSIḲ]), *inḥirāf* (deviation), *mayl* (inclination) and *ṭughyān* (tyranny). Because of its general and comprehensive meaning the root *ẓ-l-m* is current in the vocabulary of religion, theology, philosophy, ethics, law and political theory.

1. In religion and ethics during the premodern period.

The word *ẓulm* and its derivatives are found in more than 280 places in the Ḳurʾān; it can be seen as one of the most important negative value-words in the sacred book. The warnings against oppression, the admonitions against injustice and the frequent emphasis on the principles of uprightness, equity and temperance in the Ḳurʾān and the prophetic dicta must be seen mainly as a reaction against the pre-Islamic tribal society which paid little or no attention to justice. That *ẓulm* is used as a generic term becomes obvious by the semantic equivalence or close relationship between *ẓulm* and terms such as *kufr* (e.g. II, 254; IV, 168-9) [see KĀFIR], *shirk* [*q.v.*] (e.g. II, 165; XXXI, 13), *fisḳ* (e.g. VII, 162) or *iʿtidāʾ* (transgression; e.g. V, 107); in addition, *ẓulm* is used in the sense of *dhanb* (offence; cf. LXV, 1; II, 35), *naḳṣ* (detriment; cf. XVIII, 33; XIX, 60) or *ḍarar* (harm; cf. II, 57). *Ẓulm* can be done to God (by man's transgressing the limits imposed by God; e.g. II, 229), to others (by going beyond the bounds of proper conduct in social life; by hurting someone seriously without any conceivable reason; e.g. XII, 75; XXI, 58-9), or even to oneself, each one of the preceding being in fact wrongdoing to oneself (*ẓulm al-nafs*): "Whoever does an injustice has wronged himself" (e.g. II, 231; III, 117; IX, 70; X, 44). The particular parameters decreed by God remain an insoluble mystery to men; sometimes, however, they are understandable in terms of the social good, e.g. when God designates usury as *ẓulm* (II, 279), or the devouring of entrusted orphan's property (IV, 2, 10), or the violation of rules concerning inheritance (IV, 11-14) and divorce (LXV, 1) prescribed by God.

The Traditions take up the warnings against the punishment of *ẓulm* in the Hereafter. Not only is the *ẓālim* himself damned but also the one who does not support the *maẓlūm* [*q.v.*] or curb the *ẓālim*. Prayers against an injust ruler will be granted in the other world; the triumph over the *ẓālim* is certain. Beside this predominant idea of compensation for *ẓulm* (an evident reflection of the historical circumstances), concrete examples of social injustice are mentioned, such as the usurpation of landed property; the delay in repaymeht of debts by someone who is rich enough to repay them (*maṭl al-ghanī*); the unjustifiable maltreatment of slaves or subjects; and the *ḳāḍī*'s unjust sentence. Only one kind of *ẓulm* is unpardonable,

s̲h̲irk, but the others either cannot be neglected or are excusable.

Although the Ḳur'ān affirms repeatedly that God does not do wrong (e.g. IV, 40; XVI, 33; XXIX, 40) and that He disapproves of injustice (e.g. III, 57, 140; XLII, 40), theological ethics could not be entirely divorced from the problem of theodicy or the conception of God's role in the world, and in particular, His relation to man. Therefore, two of the central theological and ethical questions were, can God do an injustice, and is there an individual responsibility for unjust acts? The Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] agreed on the premise that all God's acts are just acts, for everything done by God, including punishment for wrongdoing, is for the welfare of mankind and not for His own advantage. Following their insistence on divine justice and reason, they held that God by nature can do no injustice. Nor is it conceivable that He will ever do an injustice, because to will evil is evil. God can neither will the evil done by others nor initiate it. Whether God could be described as capable (*ḳādir*) of doing wrong and refraining from right, was, on the other hand, a highly debatable question in theological circles, including the Muʿtazila. Furthermore, divine justice meant according to the Muʿtazila that God was in some way obliged to provide "the optimum" (*al-aṣlaḥ*) for His creatures. The extreme emphasis on divine *ʿadl* and free will provoked a sharp reaction. The As̲h̲ʿariyya [*q.v.*] embraced the earlier tendency of Islam that declared God, in His unlimited omnipotence, the author of good as well as evil. All things, from human acts to natural events in the world, are the direct result of divine decree. God alone creates acts; man, however, "acquires" [see KASB] these acts and so can be deemed legally responsible for his deeds. What God does or decrees is by definition just; what He refrains from doing is unjust. Accordingly, injustice denotes actions improperly done, or done in violation of God's command.

Philosophical ethical treatises like those of Miskawayh or Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.vv.*] are based essentially on Greek theory, and on Plato and Aristotle in particular. As Aristotle said, justice is not a part of virtue but all virtue in its entirety; injustice as its opposite is not a portion of vice but the whole of vice. Since justice is essentially a notion of equivalence, whoever is in favour of disproportion and unequivalence is an unjust person. Injustice is the product of harm done by one man to another, either with or without intention, or it might be the result of imbalance and excess by irrational acts. Following Plato, four cardinal virtues and eight generic vices constituting either an excess or a defect in relation to the original virtues, are distinguished. Whereas justice is the most perfect virtue and the true mid-point (centre), injustice (oppression) and servility (suffering of wrong) are the extremes (peripheries). The mean is defined but not the peripheries. Analogous to the three criteria to determine justice and to ensure its application (divine law, just ruler and money), injustice is also of three types: violation of the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, repudiating the ruler's authority and violating the norms of equitable transactions involving money.

The *adab* [*q.v.*] literature scarcely deals with the conceptual aspect of justice and injustice; it essentially consists of quotations from the Ḳur'ān and *Ḥadīt̲h̲*, of guidelines, general rules, anecdotes, aphorisms and poems.

Since the first *fitna*, several opposition groups (K̲h̲āridjites and [Proto-] S̲h̲īʿa [*q.vv.*]) insisted on the duty to rise against illegitimate rulers representing *djawr* and *ẓulm*, or held that if believers found themselves in the *dār al-ẓulm*, i.e. a region where a true imāmate did not prevail, it was incumbent upon them to emigrate. (For *ẓulm* and its derivatives *ẓālim* and *maẓlūm* as technical terms of S̲h̲īʿī, especially Twelver, Islam, see MAẒLŪM.) Later jurists, defining justice as protection of the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, first limited the duty of resistance to unjust rulers by possibility. Sunnī jurists since al-G̲h̲azālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]) and Imāmī jurists, for rather different reasons and even before this, refused to permit rebellion against unjust government (in the case of the Imāmiyya, so long as the Imām was absent).

In political theory and in the Mirrors for Princes particularly, great emphasis is laid on justice: as a standard, though moral, quality demanded of the ruler and his officials, and as a guarantee for prosperity and social harmony. Nevertheless, the fear of civil war (*fitna*) and disturbance (*fasād*) leading to disorder and the need for stability finally resulted in the acknowledgement of existing power, whatever it might be. This was partly a reaction to the repeated politico-religious unrest and disorders; partly it was the result of the disagreement over who was the most excellent Imām or Sulṭān and of the absence of legal means and fixed procedures by which a tyrant could be made responsible and be deposed. (For the different functions of the *maẓālim*, see art. s.v.) Various traditions enshrining the duty of obedience to a ruler, even if unjust, and extolling the security provided by the exercise of coercive power, even if by an illegitimate ruler, as against the weakness of a just ruler which leads to anarchy, were put into circulation: "The tyranny of a sultan for forty years is preferable to the flock being left without a master for a single hour," and the like. The doctrine was evolved that, whether the ruler was good or bad, obedience to him was incumbent upon the Muslim because it was God's will that he held office. In practice, this attitude resulted in prevailing tyranny, the spread of political quietism and of the tendency to regard all authority as evil. Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (d. 808/1406 [*q.v.*]) or his follower Ibn al-Azraḳ (d. 896/1491) then contended that man is by nature oppressive and unjust.

In jurisprudence, there are two aspects of injustice, the substantive or internal aspect of law, and the procedural or external aspect. Whereas the first is measured by the adherence to the sacred law, the second or formal aspect of injustice is manifested in such corrupt practices as bribery, irregularity, inaccuracy and partiality in the application of the law, commonly named *fisḳ*.

That justice brings about prosperity, and tyranny the ruin of the country, respectively, is acknowledged by several authors. Ibn K̲h̲aldūn dedicates a whole chapter in his *Muḳaddima* to this aphorism. Attacks on property, he says, means a general destruction of the incentive to do business. Consequently, everything decays. Generally, social injustice is identified with taking property by force or unfair means, with the unjustified imposition of illegal taxes or tasks and with the use of subjects for forced labour.

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2. In contemporary political usage.

In the modern period, new experiences, perceptions and ideas, both at home and abroad, reshaped the theory and practice of politics in the Islamic lands. First, reports from Western lands, then the massive Western presence in the Islamic world changed Muslim perceptions of good and therefore also of bad government. The ideas and methods of the French Revolution, the German ideal of the Rechtsstaat, the example of English parliamentary government all had their impact. They were followed by such European ideas as nationalism, socialism, and the combination of the two in national socialism, each with its own definition of the functions and duties of the state, and of the circumstances when resistance to it is justified or even required.

The first external influences came from Western Europe, and the new ideal of government that they brought was that of constitutional, representative government, through elected assemblies. As good government was redefined, bad government was redefined as a departure from it. The old Islamic notions of *mashwara* and *shūrā* [*q.vv.*] were reinterpreted to provide a traditional Islamic justification for parliamentary democracy; the term *istibdād* was revived to connote autocratic personal government. As used in classical texts, it had a connotation of arbitrary and capricious rather than of illegitimate or tyrannical rule. It was used, for example, of a ruler who took decisions and actions on his own, without consulting his religious or bureaucratic advisors. In Arabic chronicles of the Mamlūk period it sometimes appears in a neutral or even in a positive sense, to indicate that one or another of contenders for power had got rid of his rivals and taken sole charge. In the 19th and 20th centuries, it came to be the term commonly used by advocates of liberal reforms to denounce the autocratic monarchs whom they wished either to restrain or to remove.

The rise of neo-Islamic movements brought a revival of the term *ẓulm*, and with it *ẓālim* and *maẓlūm*, to describe misgovernment, its practitioners and its victims. It was used in particular of rule by imperialists (understood to mean non-Muslims ruling over Muslims) and of apostates (used to condemn nominally Muslim rulers who adopt non-Muslim patterns of government and law). These terms figure prominently in the political statements of the Āyatullāh Khumaynī and more generally of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as well as of parallel movements in other Muslim countries. In the traditional Islamic world view, the converse of *ẓulm* is justice; in the democratic view, it is freedom. Modern Muslim thought and discourse reflect the meeting, and sometimes the contradictions, of the two.

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ZUMURRUD (a.), also Zumurrudh, the emerald, according to Islamic works on gemology, the second-best of the precious gems, after the *yāḳūt* [*q.v.*] "corundum" and before the *luʾluʾ* [*q.v.*] "pearl". The most valuable gem of the beryl group, it was often confused with *zabardjad*, the peridot, a confusion which may have started rather early. Max Bauer goes even

so far as to say that in ancient times the name "emerald" was applied loosely to green gemstones in general, such as tourmaline, jasper, malachite, and others (Bauer, *Precious stones*, ii, 317).

Etymology

The *Lisān al-ʿArab* lists *zumurrudh* as a synonym under *zabardjad* (with the variant *zabardadj*), and this is easily recognisable as a loan from Greek *smaragdos*, "emerald", probably via Aramaic (Syriac *(e)smaragda (e)zmarragda/smaragdos*). In the West, the Greek word *smaragdos* was received into Latin as *smaragdus*, which apparently developed into a Vulgar Latin form *(e)smaraldum* from which the Romance and, ultimately, the English forms derived.

Definition

Emerald ($Be_3 (Al,Cr)_2 Si_6 O_{18}$) is the green variety and most valuable gem of the beryl family; it owes its verdant green colour to a trace of the chromium ion (Cr_2O_3) in its crystal structure (Webster, *Gems*, 84).

The emerald green colour ranges from dark to light. The most valuable variety is of a saturated or very deep green (*mushbaʿ al-khuḍra*), without any other shade of colour, with good transparency (*djayyid al-māʾiyya*).

The next in value is known as *rayḥānī*, i.e. of basil leaf colour followed by the *silḳī*, of chard green colour. The least valuable is of light green colour (*anḳaṣ khuḍrat^an^*), dull or opaque (*aḳtar māʾiyyat^an^*) and with less brilliancy (*aḳall shuʿāʿ^an^*).

Physical properties

The only colour of emerald (*zumurrud*) is green. It is characterised by softness (*rakhāwa*) and brittleness (*takhalkhul*), extreme smoothness (*malāsa*), lustre (*ṣaḳāla*) and softness (*nuʿūma*) (al-Tīfāshī, *Azhār*, 85).

The various defects that decrease the value of the stone are: freckles (*namash*), inclusions (or patches) looking like African rye (*ḥarmaliyyāt*) and white veins (*ʿurūḳ*) (al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Djamāhir*, 161). An exclusive characteristic of the *dhubābī* variety of emerald is its influence on the snake's eyes, which was tested by al-Tīfāshī and found to be true (*Azhār*, 84). When an emerald of this kind is drawn near the snake's eyes, they bulge out of their sockets and burst. Other Arab gemologists made the same experiment with the *rayḥānī* and *silḳī* varieties, but the snake's eyes did not change.

Provenance

The earliest known mines of emeralds lie by the Red Sea in Egypt (Webster, *Gems*, 84). Emeralds have been found with Egyptian mummies. The appliances and tools used in the working of emerald mining have been found in the shafts of ancient mines dating back to the time of Sesostris *ca.* 1650 B.C. The ancient mines, known as those of Cleopatra, were rediscovered in 1818 by Cailliaud, a member of the expedition organised by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] (Webster, *Gems*, 84; Bauer, *Precious stones*, 110, 311).

Arab gemologists agree on the location of emerald mines as being in upper Egypt. Al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*] mentions that emeralds were still extracted from the mines near Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*] in Upper Egypt until the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], but the mines were then neglected until the 9th/15th century because of high extraction costs (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 455). Emeralds are found, according to al-Tīfāshī, embedded in a soft red earth inside the friable talc schist. They never occur in gem-gravels like rubies and diamonds, and their occurrence in Egypt is the same as that in the Ural mountains (Bauer, *Precious stones*, 310, 315). The best emeralds, which take the usual hexagonal elongated form of crystal, are extracted from the vein as one piece and called *ḳaṣaba* ("cane, filet, reed"), whilst the small ones extracted from the earth by sieving are called *faṣṣ* ("cabochon") (al-Tīfāshī, *Azhār*, 81-2). The beads cut from the small pieces are called "lentil-like" (*ʿadasiyyāt*) (*Djawāhir*, 163).

Medical and magical (talismanic) uses

While al-Bīrūnī is silent as regards the practical benefits of the emerald, al-Tīfāshī (*Azhār*, 85-6), Ibn al-Akfānī (*Nukhab*, 52), Ibn al-Wardī (*Kharīda*, 168) and al-Bayhaḳī (*Maʿdin al-nawādir*, 81-2) enumerate a number of what were in their time common beliefs about them, applicable to the best quality of emeralds. They say that the emerald strengthens the eyesight if one gazes at it for a long time; it guards against epilepsy if worn in a necklace or ring before the disease occurs; it saves from death if dissolved in water and drunk before the poison's effect starts; if drunk or hung externally over the liver and stomach, it stops acute dysentery, bleeding and leprosy; it repels venomous animals from the wearer; and it strengthens the teeth and the stomach if held in the mouth. Although al-Tīfāshī affirms that these benefits are exclusive to the best variety of emerald (*al-dhubābī*), all varieties can be hung on the upper arm and neck for talismanic purposes, and on the thigh of a woman in labour for speeding up child delivery (*Azhār*, 86, tr. Abul Huda, 195).

Value and prices

Al-Bīrūnī discusses the prices of emeralds, relating the value in dirhams to carat weight, starting with 2,000 dirhams for 4 carats and ending with 32,000 dirhams for 21 carats (*Djamāhir*, 164). The caliph al-Manṣūr bought the emerald ring known as *al-Baḥr* ("the Sea"), which weighed three *mithḳāls*, for 30,000 dīnārs (al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra*, 20), and al-Maʾmūn bought a piece of a *dhubābī zumurrud* that weighed two *mithḳāls* for 30,000 dīnārs (al-Bayhaḳī, *Maʿdin*, 81).

Historical records

The first emeralds and other precious stones to enter the Muslim treasuries or private possessions were obtained from booty during the battles with the Sāsānids such as al-Ḳādisiyya and Djalūlāʾ (15-16/635-7) and subsequent conquests.

Such emeralds were in the form of unset stones, encrustations on objects such as figurines, tables and other utensils, or carved in the shape of a spoon, a handle of a knife, a long rod, or set in jewelry as rings and strings. Encrusted and studded with emeralds and other precious stones were artifacts such as a gold figurine representing a horse, a ewer, a gold and silver table and a gold palm-tree (Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, *Hadāyā*, §§ 180, 189, 196, 201, 209, 215).

Caskets containing large amounts of emerald stones were to be found in the treasuries of the ʿAbbāsids and in those of the Fāṭimids (*Hadāyā*, §§ 150, 346, 357, 377, 412). Al-Rashīd had an emerald rod more than one cubit long (*Djamāhir*, 165; *Hadāyā*, § 28), and a similar rod was held by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāhir when he rode in processions (*Djamāhir*, 165-6; *Hadāyā*, § 28). Al-Rāḍī had, like al-Rashīd, a passion for precious beautiful items made of, or studded with, precious stones, and possessed [knife] handles, one of which was of emerald (*Hadāyā*, § 244). High-ranking courtiers and officials possessed valuable emerald items also, and a concubine of Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī is said to have given her personal physician an emerald spoon as a gift (*Djamāhir*, 165).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ibn Māsawayh, *K. al-Djawāhir wa-ṣifātuhā*, ed. ʿImād ʿAbd al-Salām Raʾūf, Cairo 1976; Djāḥiẓ, *al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Cairo 1966; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, Beirut 1979; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*; Bīrūnī, *K. al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir*,

Beirut n.d.; Tīfāshī, *K. Azhār al-afkār fī djawāhir al-ahdjār*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Ḥasan and Maḥmūd Basyūnī Khafādjī, Cairo 1977, tr. with comm. Samar Nadjm Abul Huda, *Arab roots of gemology—Best thoughts or the best of stones*, Lanham and London 1998; Ibn al-Akfānī, *Nukhab al-dhakhā'ir fī aḥwāl al-djawāhir*, Cairo n.d.; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-ʿadjā'ib wa-farīdat al-gharā'ib*, ed. Maḥmūd Fākhūrī, Beirut and Aleppo n.d.; Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr [attrib.], *K. al-Hadāyā wa 'l-tuḥaf*, tr. and ann. Ghāda al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Book of gifts and rarities*, Cambridge, Mass. 1997.

2. General reference works. M. Bauer, *Precious stones*, ii, London and New York 1968; C. Cipriani, *The Macdonald encyclopedia of precious stones*, London 1986; R. Webster, *Gems. Their sources, description and identification*, London and Boston n.d.

(Ghada al-Hijjawi al-Qaddumi)

ZUMURRUD KHĀTŪN, a Turkish slave, mother of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*] (575-622/1180-1225). She was politically active and continued the religious policy of her husband al-Mustaḍī' [*q.v.*] (566-75/1170-80) by favouring Ḥanbalīs, e.g. Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*], and interceding for them with her son. The sources praise her piety and generosity. She endowed *madrasas*, *ribāṭs* and mosques, and had a *turba* erected at the grave of the mystic Maʿrūf al-Karkhī [*q.v.*], together with a *madrasa*. On the occasion of her pilgrimage she allegedly spent 300,000 dīnārs for alms and on repairs of Meccan cisterns and water-supplies. In the year 580/1184-5 she accompanied al-Nāṣir on a politically important journey to Sāmarrā'.

When she died in Djumādā I 599/Jan.-Feb. 1203, her son grieved deeply. At the funeral he preceded her bier on foot. She was transported by ship on the Tigris, all the boat people standing up in her honour (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xiv, 213), and was buried in a *turba* built for her in her lifetime. Mourning continued for a year. Numerous elegies were composed, and her possessions, including jewels and clothes, were distributed on the caliph's order.

Bibliography: Abū Shāma, *al-Dhayl ʿalā 'l-Rawḍatayn*, Beirut 1974, index; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar*, ix, ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād, Baghdād 1353/1934, index; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 182; A. Hartmann, *An-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*, Berlin 1975, 180 and *passim*.

(Renate Jacobi)

ZŪN, Zhūn, the name of a deity of the district of Zamīndāwar [*q.v.*] in eastern Afghānistān, whose shrine there figures in historical accounts of the Arabs' and Ṣaffārids' penetration of the region.

In 33/654-5 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, governor of Sīstān for ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], raided into Zamīndāwar and attacked the "hill of Zūn" (*djabal al-Zūn*), entered the shrine and partially despoiled the idol there, telling the local *marzbān* that his sole object was to demonstrate the idol's impotence (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 394). Over two centuries later, in the accounts of the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth's campaigns in eastern Afghānistān, the shrine of Zūn is described as being set on a sacred mountain; the ruler there, the Zunbīl, was divine and was carried on a golden throne by twelve men (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, vii, 326). Marquart located this to the northwest of the Helmand river near Bishlang. See on these events, Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 19, 34-6; idem, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542-3)*, Costa Mesa and New York 1994, 99 ff.

The origins and affiliations of this cult are unclear; it was clearly not Zoroastrian or Buddhist. Marquart surmised that it might have been connected with the celebrated shrine of the Sun God Āditya at Multān. Bussagli has suggested the possibility of influences from the pre-Buddhist divine monarchy of Tibet. The title of the local ruler, Zunbīl, earlier forms perhaps **Zūn-dātbar* or **Zūn-dādh* [see zamīndāwar], may appear in Chinese sources as *Shun-ta*, and Christian ecclesiastical historians mention τζουνδαδέερ and *Zundaber*. See J. Marquart and J.J.M. de Groot, *Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Zūn vom 6.-9. Jahrhundert*, in G. Weil (ed.), *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 248-92, and the works of M. Bussagli and G. Scarcia discussed in the two books of Bosworth mentioned above. An origin in the religions of ancient Mesopotamia seems unlikely, *pace* T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, Paris 1965, 199-201, nor an etymology from Greek, *pace* Wahib Atallah, *Sur un vers de Ǧarīr. Etymologie de* zūn *et de* hirbid, in *Arabica*, xviii (1971), 49-54.

The end of the Zunbīls and the cult of Zūn was brought about by Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth's operations in the region from 253/867 onwards, with his killing of the Zunbīl in 237/871. Thereafter, all mention of Zūn and its devotees disappear, and we must assume that Zamīndāwar became gradually Islamised by the early 4th/10th century.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

ZUNBĪL, the putative title borne by a line of rulers in eastern Afghānistān in pre- and early Islamic times, who opposed the extension of Muslim arms into their region for some two centuries.

In the Arabic historical texts, there is uncertainty about the vocalisation of the name, with forms like *Rutbīl and *Ratbīl, etc. given. The origin of the title is quite obscure. Marquart was probably correct in seeing in it a theophoric name which included the element Zūn [*q.v.*] or Zhūn, the name of the god mentioned in the Arabic sources as worshipped in the region of Zamīndāwar [*q.v.*]; but other, less plausible etymologies have been suggested such as **zanda-pīl* "furious elephant" as an epithet (Persian!) given to the ruler by the Arabs when they encountered the Zunbīl in war. The most thorough recent discussions are by M. Bussagli and G. Scarcia, especially the latter's *Ancora su «ZNBYL»*, in *AIUON*, N.S. xvi (1966), 201-5, and *Zunbīl or Zanbīl?*, in *Yádnáme-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague 1967, 41-3.

The line of Zunbīls probably arose from the time when the Southern Hephthalites [see hayāṭila] dominated Afghānistān south of the Hindu Kush and northwestern India (5th and 6th centuries). They were implacable foes of the Muslims from the time of the first Arab raids through Sīstān and Bust [*q.vv.*] in the later 7th century till the 3rd/9th century, when the campaigns of the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] to Kābul and beyond seem to have brought the line of Zunbīls to an end, then permitting the Islamisation of eastern Afghānistān.

Bibliography: See also the references given in zūn, and especially the discussion of the title in Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan*, 85-6, 91-5. The course of the relations between the Zunbīls and the Muslims can be traced in the works of Marquart and de Groot and of Bosworth given in the *Bibl.* to zūn.

(C.E. Bosworth)

ZUNNĀR (a.), the girdle worn by the "Protected Peoples", *ahl al-dhimma* (in effect, by Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians), usually linked with the *shiʿār* or *ghiyār* [*q.v.*], patches of varying colour

worn on the *dhimmīs'* clothing to distinguish them from the Muslims. The *zunnār* was usually wider than the *minṭaḳa*, the general word for "girdle". The requirement of its usage is traditionally regarded in the sources as being part of the so-called "Covenant of ʿUmar [I]", now considered to have been a body of practices which grew up piecemeal and which did not reach full legal embodiment till the 3rd/9th century. See further DHIMMA and GHIYĀR. The term itself obviously stems from *zōnarion*, diminutive of Grk. *zōnē*, probably via Aramaic *zunnārā*; in Syriac, it denotes the girdle worn by monks. In Persian Ṣūfī poetry, it is often used for the locks of the beloved.

Bibliography: See the arts. mentioned in the text, and the references given in the *EI*[1] art. s.v.

(A.S. TRITTON*)

ZURAYʿIDS, a South Arabian dynasty of Fāṭimid allegiance (473-569/1080-1173), of Yām [*q.v.*], centred on the southern port of Yemen [see AL-YAMAN], Aden [see ʿADAN].

When the Maʿnids (Banū Maʿn), the then rulers of Aden, suspended their tribute to their masters, the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] in 473/1080, al-Mukarram Aḥmad marched on Aden for the Ṣulayḥids, drove out the Maʿnids and installed as joint rulers al-ʿAbbās and al-Masʿūd, sons of one al-Mukarram b. al-Dhiʾb, in return for their previous services to the Ṣulayḥid Fāṭimid cause. Al-ʿAbbās died in 477/1084 and his son, Zurayʿ, who gave his name to the dynasty (Banū Zurayʿ), took over as joint ruler with his uncle, al-Masʿūd. The situation remained thus until 504/1101. Seeing that the Ṣulayḥids were preoccupied elsewhere, the Zurayʿids repudiated their arrangement with them, and declared themselves independent rulers of Aden.

Our sources fail us badly, for there is little information on the independent dynasty. Its early history was one of struggles between the two branches of the family and all the problems of joint rule came to the surface (see Smith, *Ayyūbids*, ii, 63, for the complete family tree). In 533/1138 ʿAlī b. Sabaʾ b. Abi ʾl-Suʿūd b. Zurayʿ assumed full power. After his death shortly afterwards, his brother, Muḥammad b. Sabaʾ took over and reinforced control over much of southern Arabia, apart from Aden. Muḥammad was appointed an official Fāṭimid *dāʿī* by the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo. Muḥammad was able to bring much stability to the southern area of Yemen, and in 547/1152 purchased a number of fortresses to bolster his dynasty's position. He died in 548/1153 and was succeeded by his son, ʿImrān.

We know nothing of ʿImrān's reign. He died in 561/1166, and thereafter the effective control fell into the hands of Zurayʿid slave ministers. Upon the arrival in Aden in 571/1175 of the conquering Ayyūbid force coming to Yemen from Egypt [see AYYŪBIDS] in 569/1173, the ruling minister Yāsir b. Bilāl was put to death. It can be said, therefore, that the Zurayʿid dynasty was brought to an end by the Ayyūbid conquest of the country.

Bibliography: 1. Yemeni sources (relatively late and confused). ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, in H.C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, 64-80 (Eng. tr.), 48-59 (Ar. text); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī al-Daybaʿ, *Kurrat al-ʿuyūn bi-akhbār al-Yaman al-maymūn*, Cairo 1977, i, 304-19; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī fī akhbar al-ḳuṭr al-yamānī*, ed. Saʿīd ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1968, 241-84 (a Zaydī source, slightly confused).

2. Modern sources. Ḥusayn b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn wa ʾl-ḥaraka al-Fāṭimiyya fī ʾl-Yaman*, Cairo 1955, 345; G.R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen* (*GMS*, N.S. xxvi), London 1978, ii, 63-7; idem, *The political history of the Islamic Yemen down to the first Turkish invasion (1-945/622-1538)*, in W. Daum, *Yemen: 3000 years of art and civilisation in Arabia Felix*, Innsbruck and Frankfurt-am-Main 1988, 133; C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 104-5 no. 46.

(G.R. SMITH)

AL-**ZURḲĀNĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-BĀḲĪ b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī al-Mālikī (b. 1055/1645 in Cairo, d. here 1122/1710), renowned Mālikī jurist. His forefathers came from the village of Zurḳān in the province of al-Manūfiyya in Lower Egypt. Already his father ʿAbd al-Bāḳī (d. 1099/1688; see Brockelmann, II, 414) had made a name for himself at the al-Azhar University as a jurisprudent of the Mālikī school of law; he composed a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (d. 767/1365 [*q.v.*]).

Al-Zurḳānī himself was also a member of al-Azhar, where he taught *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* until his death. Alongside commentaries on works of his predecessors among the traditionists, he became above all known far beyond the borders of Egypt as the author of a copious commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] with the title *Abhadj al-masālik bi-sharḥ Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Imām Mālik*, soon to be known as *Sharḥ al-Zurḳānī* (printed several times in Cairo in 4 vols.; see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 462).

Manuscripts of his works are to be found in the Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, the library of al-Azhar, and in the Ẓāhiriyya Library, Damascus (see Kaḥḥāla, x, 124).

His *Muwaṭṭaʾ* commentary was written, according to his own indications in the preface and at the end of the work, between 1109 and 1112. He was guided by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī's [*q.v.*] commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. A source-analytical study of al-Zurḳānī's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* commentary has not yet been written. One may, however, consider as certain that he had direct access to the pertinent commentaries on Mālik's work, i.e. *al-Tamhīd li-mā fī ʾl-Muwaṭṭaʾ min al-maʿānī wa ʾl-asānīd* and *al-Istidhkār al-djāmiʿ li-madhāhib fuḳahāʾ al-amṣār* by the Cordovan scholar Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr [*q.v.*]. Al-Zurḳānī would have used the manuscripts of these works that are extant in the al-Azhar library. In addition to the canonical *ḥadīth* collections and *muṣannaf works*, he quotes, whether directly or not, the *K. al-Masālik fī sharḥ, Muwaṭṭaʾ Mālik* of Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148 [*q.v.*]), and the already classical biographical work on the Mālikīs by al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā [*q.v.*].

The structure and the style of the work permit us to infer that we are dealing here with a handbook for teaching purposes treating the basic tenets of Mālikī law as laid out in Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* in the *riwāya* of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī [*q.v.*]; as such it was beholden to the tradition of legal and traditionist scholarship as handed down in the *madhhab*. Independent or groundbreaking comments on the legal material presented by Mālik are not to be expected in al-Zurḳānī's work.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vi, 184.

(M. MURANYI)

ZŪRKHĀNA (P), lit. "house of strength", the traditional gymnasium of Iran.

The traditional *zūrkhāna* consists of a building whose architecture recalls a public bath (*ḥammām* [*q.v.*]). Its main room is often sunken slightly below street level to provide for constant temperatures and prevent

draughts that might harm the perspiring athletes, and access to it is possible only through a low door, forcing everyone to bow in respect while entering. Traditionally, admittance to the *zūrkhāna* was forbidden to women, non-Muslims, and prepubescent boys. At the centre of the room lies the *gawd*, a usually octagonal pit about a metre deep in which the exercises take place. The *gawd* is surrounded by spectator stands, behind which the walls are adorned with pictures of athletes and saints. Of particular importance is an elevated and decorated seat, the *sardam*, which is reserved for the *murshid* "guide" or "director". The *murshid*'s function is to accompany the exercises with rhythmic drumming and the chanting of verse from classical Persian poetry such as (but not limited to) Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* [*q.v.*] as well as poetry specific to the house of strength, most notably Mīr Nadjāt Iṣfahānī's *Gul-i kushtī* ("The Flower of Wrestling").

The standard attire for athletes is the *lung*, a cloth wrapped around the loins and passed between the legs; when wrestling, however, leather breeches (*tunbān*) are worn. The exercises take place in a standard order. After some warming up calisthenics, in the course of which one of the athletes may lift heavy wooden boards (*sang*) as he lies on his back outside the *gawd*, athletes do push-ups (*shinā*) and then swing Indian clubs (*mīl*), both exercises being accompanied by the *murshid*'s drumming and chanting. Individuals will then take turns to whirl at speed about the *gawd* (*čarkh*), and step forth to swing above their heads a heavy iron bow (*kabbāda*), on the cord of which are strung heavy rings. Until the 1940s the crowning event of a *zūrkhāna* session was wrestling (*kushtī*). With the introduction of international freestyle and graeco-roman wrestling, however, wrestling disappeared from the *gawd*. Traditional wrestling, which resembles the freestyle variety except that athletes are permitted to grab each other's breeches at the belt and at the reinforced hems, survived in a modernised form under the name of *kushtī-yi pahlawānī* ("*pahlawānī* wrestling"), but lost its organic link with the *zūrkhāna*. The loss of the institution's agonistic component lessened its attraction to young men, thus contributing to the decline of its popularity.

Traditionally, athletes were divided into a number of grades. These were, in ascending of seniority: *nawča* "novice", *nawkh*ʷ*āsta* "beginner", *pahlawān* "athlete", and, finally, each establishment's most accomplished member, the *mīyāndār*, who conducts the proceedings. Beginning in the 1940s, however, these grades gradually fell into disuse and were replaced by the standard international categories "cadet", "junior", and "senior", and, for *pahlawānī* wrestling, weight classes.

The vocabulary, rituals, ethos and grades of the *zūrkhāna* recall those of *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] and Ṣūfism [see TAṢAWWUF], but a direct filiation cannot be established. Popular religion, especially veneration of the first Shīʿī Imām, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, plays a major role in the institution, and proceedings are frequently interrupted by salvos of benediction (*ṣalawāt*). However, in the mid-20th century there were also a few Jewish and Zoroastrian *zūrkhānas* in Tehran, Yazd and Shīrāz; their rituals were adapted accordingly.

The origins of the *zūrkhāna* are shrouded in mystery. Wrestling has an old tradition in Iran, as evinced by many episodes recounted in the *Shāh-nāma*, most famously Rustam's bout with his son Suhrāb. According to Muslim traditions, the prophets Adam, Jacob and Muḥammad, as well as ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and his two sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn excelled at it. The patron saint of *zūrkhāna* athletes (as well as Turkish wrestlers) is the 8th/14th-century Ṣūfī Pahlawān Maḥmūd of Khʷārazm, better known as Pūryā-yi Walī.

Wrestling was patronised by the Saldjūḳs, Il-Khānids, Tīmūrids and Ṣafawids, and under the latter, wrestlers were organised in a guild headed by a *pahlawān-bāshī*. But the earliest known mention of *zūrkhāna* exercises occurs in a fragment dating from the Ṣafawid era, *Ṭūmār-i Pūryā-yi Walī*. The first Western traveller to describe a *zūrkhāna* was Reinhold Niebuhr, to whom we also owe the first graphic representation of one. Beginning in the early 19th century, the Ḳādjār rulers of Iran became enthusiastic patrons of wrestling, and consequently, *zūrkhānas* thrived. They were embedded in a town quarter's social structure and constituted an important part of community life. Some were frequented by craftsmen and tradesmen associated with the bazaar (*sūḳ* [*q.v.*]), some had a Ṣūfī membership, and still others were used by men of questionable mores on the fringes of legality, the *lūṭīs* [*q.v.*]. Later in the century, royal patronage led men of higher birth to participate in the exercises, a development that reached its peak under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (*r.* 1848-96 [*q.v.*]). With the advent of the Constitutional Revolution in 1905-6, royal patronage ceased, dealing a severe blow to the houses of strength, which became once again a feature of urban lower middle-class culture. In subsequent years, the introduction of modern Western sports and physical education diminished their appeal among athletically-inclined men, while cinemas drew spectators away. *Zūrkhānas* might have disappeared altogether, had it not been for the official millennial celebration of the poet Firdawsī's birth in 1934, on which occasion exhibitions of *zūrkhāna* exercises were held in public. They soon came to be termed *warzish-i bāstānī* "ancient sports", which implied that their origin lay in pre-Islamic times. This rendered it compatible with the official ideology of the two Pahlawī shāhs, which emphasised Iran's ancient Persian heritage at the expense of Islam. It became conventional wisdom that the *zūrkhānas* originated in the underground resistance activities of Iranian patriots against the Arab and, later, Mongol invaders, although there is no historical evidence for this.

From 1953 to 1978 *zūrkhāna* sports were mostly under the control of Shaʿbān Djaʿfarī, who benefited from royal patronage, having been one of the ringleaders of the August 1953 riots that accompanied the military *coup d'état* that ousted the Prime Minister Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*]. The Shāh rewarded Djaʿfarī with a modern clubhouse whose *zūrkhāna* was lavish by the humble standards of traditional houses of strength. The carefully choreographed exercises performed by the members of this club became an exotic tourist attraction for visiting foreign dignitaries and celebrities, including women. Led by Djaʿfarī, *zūrkhāna* athletes performed by the hundreds in Tehran's main stadium on such occasions as the Shāh's birthday.

After the Islamic Revolution, the authorities of the Islamic Republic emphasised the Islamic character of the institution and tried to popularise it again. To attract young people, boys were permitted into the *gawd*, and a plethora of competitions are held with the aim of turning the exercises into modern sport replete with point systems, records and champions. Whether these innovations can assure the survival in the long run of the *zūrkhāna* remains to be seen.

Zūrkhānas can be found in most Iranian cities. Outside Iran, they were introduced to ʿIrāḳ in the 1830s, where they existed until the 1960s. There are also

zūrkhānas in Ādharbāydjān and Afghānistān, although their rituals differ somewhat from those found in Iran.

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(H.E. Chehabi)

ZURNA, a woodwind musical instrument, the shawm, with a powerful sound, played in the open. *Zurna* (*zūrnā*) is the later Ottoman and modern Turkish spelling of the Persian and early Ottoman term *surnā* (*surnāy*), *ṣūrnā* or *ṣurnā* (*ṣurnāy*). The name spread throughout the countries of the former Ottoman empire, where it is still used in many places. In Egypt the instrument retained its traditional Arabic name *mizmār* [*q.v.*]; in Libya and Morocco it is called *ghayṭa* [*q.v.*].

The *zurna* is played with a double reed. Since the reed vibrates freely in the mouth cavity of the player, the instrument has a penetrating sound which the player cannot modify. It became the characteristic woodwind instrument of the Islamic world, played at ceremonial, military and festive occasions. In Ottoman times it served two different purposes. First, it was the prominent melody instrument of the *mehter* [*q.v.*] ensemble. Second, it was, and still is, the melody instrument of the popular pair of shawm and drum (*davul-zurna*), played mainly to accompany folk dances at festive occasions in the countryside. The folk *zurna* is characterised by a fork-shaped "spool" (*nezik*) in the head of the instrument. It was recently shown that this "ingenious invention" allows the instrument maker to fit the body of the *zurna*, in the region of the seven fingerholes and the thumbhole, with an easily made cylindrical bore instead of the traditional conical bore. It can be assumed that the fork was invented in the creative atmosphere of the Ottoman capital, from where it spread through the empire. A vivid impression of the guild of *zurna* makers and players, and of the varieties of the instrument known in 17th-century Istanbul is given by Ewliyā Čelebi.

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AL-**ZUṬṬ**, the form in early Arabic usage for the name of a northwestern Indian people, the Jhāts [see DJĀT], members of whom were brought into the Persian Gulf region in the first Islamic centuries and possibly earlier.

According to al-Balādhurī, the Sāsānid emperor Bahrām V Gūr (*r.* 420-38) transported Zuṭṭ from India to Khūzistān and the Persian Gulf shores; these subsequently became Muslim and were settled by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī [*q.v.*] at Baṣra, being attached to the tribe of Ḥanẓala of Tamīm. At least some of them were caught up in the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash'ath [*q.v.*], and after its suppression, the governor of the East al-Ḥadjdjādj demolished their houses, deprived them of their stipends and deported a certain number. Already in Mu'āwiya's reign, the caliph had moved some of the Zuṭṭ of Baṣra and some of the Sayābidja [*q.v.*], of Malaysian origin, from Lower 'Irāḳ to the 'Amḳ near Antioch and the Cilician plain around al-Maṣṣīṣa (in 49/669 or 50/670) (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 162, 373-4, 376-7). At the time of the Arab conquest of Sind (93/711), some of the Zuṭṭ of the Indus valley (probably including indigenous Sindīs as well as Jhāts) were transplanted by al-Ḥadjdjādj to the similar riverine environment of Lower 'Irāḳ, the Baṭā'iḥ or marshlands [see AL-BAṬĪḤA]. Both al-Walīd I and Yazīd I further moved groups of Zuṭṭ to northwestern Syria, together with water buffaloes for the hot coastal plains there (*ibid.*, 168, 376), but many Zuṭṭ clearly remained in 'Irāḳ. Whether the grandfather of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]) named as Zūṭī in al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 324-5, came from one of the Zuṭṭ groups of Lower 'Irāḳ (Zūṭī is said to have come "from the people of Kābul" and to have been a *mawlā* of Taym Allāh b. Tha'laba of the Bakr b. Wā'il) is uncertain.

There may have been further migrations of Zuṭṭ from India to the southern provinces of Persia and to Lower 'Irāḳ during early 'Abbāsid times (al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 355, tr. 455). They seem to have become a turbulent element of the population in the latter region, and al-Djāḥiẓ names the *Zuṭṭ al-ādjām* "Zuṭṭ of the thickets [of the lower 'Irāḳ marshlands]" as amongst the outlaws and predatory groups with whom his beggar chief Khālid b. Yazīd had kept company (K. *al-Bukhalā'*, ed. Ḥādjirī, Cairo 1958, 49, tr. Pellat, 70). In 205/820 the caliph al-Ma'mūn had to appoint commanders for the war against the Zuṭṭ of Lower 'Irāḳ. But the troubles continued, and his successor al-Mu'taṣim had to send the veteran commander 'Udjayf b. 'Anbasa against them in 219/834; this required a campaign involving amphibious operations, and after the Zuṭṭ were subdued, 27,000 of them, including 12,000 fighting men, were reportedly in 220/835 deported to Baghdād and thence to Khāniḳīn [*q.v.*] on the road to Djibāl and to 'Ayn Zarba [*q.v.*] on the Byzantine frontier in Cilicia. Zuṭṭ unrest does not seem to have had the same social aspect as the rebellion of the Zandj [*q.v.*] half a century later, but may have expressed general discontent with the centralising policies of the Baghdād government; however, its exact causes and motivations are unclear (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1044-5, 1069, 1166-70; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 355-6, tr. 455-6; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, vi, 362, 379, 389, 443-4, 446, vii, 80). The Zuṭṭ are mentioned in the late 4th/10th century, when a Būyid prince, Abū Naṣr Shāh-Fīrūz, in 390/1000 disputed control of Fārs with Bahā' al-Dawla, and gathered into his forces local groups there of Daylamīs, Zuṭṭ and Turks (Hilāl al-Ṣābi', in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid caliphate*, iii, 349; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 160), but thereafter, mention of the Zuṭṭ

as a special group seems to fade from historical record.

De Goeje in his monograph (see *Bibl.*) endeavoured to show that those Zuṭṭ who originally settled at Baṣra, but then scattered, including by a Byzantine deportation of them from ʿAyn Zarba when this last was attacked by the Greeks, were the ancestors of a part at least of the Gypsies [for whom see ČINGĀNE; LŪLĪ; NŪRĪ]. The modern Gypsy language, of obviously northwestern Indian origin, in fact contains few words of Arabic provenance, and de Goeje's thesis remains unproven.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

P. 702ª, **ASHRAF ʿALĪ**, *add to Bibl.*: Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Perfecting women: Maulana Ashraf ʿAli Thanawi's* Bihishti Zewar, *a partial translation with commentary*, Berkeley 1990.

VOLUME IV

P. 1091ᵇ, **KHĀSĪ**, l. 38, *for* Ustādh Djawhar [*q.v.*] *read* Ustādh Djawdhar [*q.v.*]

VOLUME VII

P. 560, **MUNADJDJIM**, Banū 'l-, note 7 to genealogical tree, for *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 318, nr. 2122, read *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 215, nr. 2688

VOLUME IX

P. 353ª, **SHARḲĀWA**, *add to Bibl.*: D.F. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam: tradition and society in a pilgrimage center*, Austin 1976.

VOLUME X

P. 89ᵇ, al-**TAFTĀZĀNĪ**, ll. 14-15 from bottom of article, *for* and a polemical refutation of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, *read* The refutation of the doctrine of Ibn al-ʿArabī often ascribed to al-Taftāzānī was written by his pupil ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. 841/1430). See Bakrī ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, *ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī: al-Wudjūd al-ḥaḳḳ*, Damascus 1995, 15-30.

P. 664ᵇ, al-**ṬŪR**, *add to Bibl. on the Arabic mss. of St. Catherine's*: Y.E. Meimaris, *Katalogos ton neon arabikon kheirographon tes hieras mones Hagias Aikaterines tou Orous Sina*, Athens 1985.

P. 868ª, **ʿUNAYZA**, *add to Bibl.*: Soraya Altorki and D.P. Cole, *Arabian oasis city: the transformation of ʿUnayzah*, Austin 1989.

VOLUME XI

P. 1ᵇ, **VIDJAYANAGARA**, l. 5 from bottom of first paragraph, *for* Konkar [*q.v.* in Suppl.] *read* Konkan [*q.v.* in Suppl.]

P. 126ᵇ, **WĀLIBA** b. al-**ḤUBĀB**, l. 3, *for* 2nd/9th century *read* 2nd/8th century.

P. 169ᵇ, **WĀSIṬ**, *add after l. 37*: During the struggle for ʿIrāḳ under al-Maʾmūn, there were, however, small issues of silver from Wāsiṭ in the years 200 and 203, and occasional issues in copper in 147, 167, 177 and 187 or 9.

P. 174ª, **WASM**, *add to Bibl.*: A second general study is E. Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der thamudenischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1904, 78-104, which argues that most of the brands originate from the South Semitic alphabet in its North Arabian form.

P. 177ᵇ, **WATHANIYYA**, *add to Bibl.*: G.R. Hawting, *The idea of idolatry and the emergence of Islam. From polemic to history*, Cambridge 1999.

P. 227ᵇ, al-**YADĀLĪ**, l. 14 from bottom, *for* (19 lines) *read* (19 folios)

opp P. 264, **YĀḲŪT** al-**RŪMĪ**, map, *for* Oxus (Sayḥūn) *read* Oxus (Djayḥūn), *and resituate Cairo on the right-side of the Nile*

P. 292ª, **YARMŪK**, *add to Bibl.*: W.E. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge 2003, 237-44.

P. 345-6, al-**YŪNĪNĪ**, *add the following table*:

Genealogical tree of the family of Mūsā al-Yūnīnī, author of *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-zamān*

- ʿĪsā
  - ʿAbd Allāh
    - Aḥmad Abu 'l-Ḥusayn
      - Muḥammad Taḳī Abū ʿAbd Allāh (573-658)
        - ʿAlī Sharaf Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (d. 701)
          - 2 sons and 8 daughters, among whom ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Muḥyī Abū Muḥammad (d. 747), Fāṭima (d. 730), Zaynab, Amat al-ʿAzīz (d. 754) and Muḥammad (667-737)
        - Mūsā Ḳuṭb Abu 'l-Fatḥ his mother is Zayn al-ʿArab bt. Naṣr Allāh (d. 693) (641-726)
          - Muḥammad Taḳī (d. 765)
            - Mūsā (who lived in 732 in Damascus)
          - a daughter (wife of Aybak al-Iskandarānī nāʾib al-Raḥba who died in his sixties in 674)
    - al-Ḥasan
      - ʿUmar
        - ʿAlī Nūr al-Dawla (d. 670)

P. 361b, **YŪSUF** AND **ZULAYKHĀ**, *add to Bibl.1.(c)*: ed. Aʿlā-Khān Afṣahzād and Ḥusayn Aḥmad Tarbiyat, in *Mathnawī-yi Haft awrang*, ii, Tehran 1378 *sh*./1999, 19-209.

P. 364a, **ẒĀʾ**, ll. 23-25, *read* a voiceless /ṭ/ for /ḍ/ is attested in some Northern Yemeni dialects . . ., and a voiceless /ṭ/ for /ḍ/ occurs in North African sedentary dialects
l. 42, *read* Uzbekistan-Arabic) with /ḍ/ > /y/,

P. 371b, **ZABĪD**, *add to Bibl.*: Barbara E. Croken, *Zabīd under the Rasulids of Yemen, 626-858 AH/1229-1454 AD*, unpubl. Ph.D. diss. Harvard University 1990; *Zabīd. Patrimoine mondiale*, in *Saba, revue trimestrielle*, v-vi (1999); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī, *Zabīd. Masādjiduhā wa-madārisuhā al-ʿilmiyya fi 'l-taʾrīkh*, Damascus 2000.

P. 404b, **ZĀʾIRDJA**, *add before final paragraph*: As for the history of numbers, in his description of the *zāʾirdja* Ibn Khaldūn called attention to the use of Arabic characters (*abdjād* [*q.v.*]) and *zimām*, or administrative, numerals, as well as *ghubār*, denoting the nine figures of Indian origin. With regard to the *zimām* numerals, this statement allows G.S. Colin to date the entry of the system of Greek numerals into Morocco and to declare that the *zimām* had spread in hermetic circles at the same time. But given their administrative, commercial or diplomatic use, recourse to them did not signify that they required the use of a code-breaker (*De l'origine grecque des 'chiffres de Fès' et de nos 'chiffres arabes'*, in *JA*, ccxxii [1933], 193-215). R. Lemay points out, from two astrological manuscripts, B.N. ar. 2582 (attributed to Abū Maʿshar), a MS from the 18th century (?), fol. 2r, and B.N. ar. 2584, fol. 2r, the list of correspondences between *abdjād* numerals and *zimām* (*Arabic numerals*, in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J.R. Strayer, i, New York 1982, 386ff.).

P. 548a, AL-**ZUBAYDĪ**, l. 4, *for* great-great-great-grandfather *read* great-great-great-great-grandfather

P. 548b, l. 30, *for* He died there on 1 Djumādā II *read* He died there on 1 Djumādā II 379

SUPPLEMENT

P. 20b, **ABU 'L-BAYḌĀʾ** AL-**RIYĀḤĪ**, *add after the last sentence of the text*: He was also the *rāwī* of Abū Nuwās, and the latter has devoted a *marthiya* to him (*Dīwān*, ed. Ghazālī, Cairo 1953, 572-4; cf. E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 356).

P. 28b, **ABŪ MĀḌĪ**, *add to Bibl.*: G.D. Salīm, *Ī. Abū Māḍī (1889-1957): dirāsāt ʿanhu wa-ashʿāruh al-madjhūla*, Cairo 1980.

P. 58a, AL-**ʿAKKĀD**, l. 6, *for* Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm *read* Shukrī

P. 103a, **AʿYĀṢ**, *add to Bibl.*: M.J. Kister, *"Call yourselves by graceful names . . ."*, in *Lectures in memory of Professor Martin B. Plessner*, Jerusalem 1976, 16, 25.

P. 163b, **ČAČ-NĀMA**, *add to Bibl.*: I. Habib, *A study of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf's outlook and policies in the light of the Chachnāma*, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Islamic Studies*, Aligarh, vi-vii (1962-3), 34-48.

P. 167a, **ČAD**, *add at the end of the article*: These negotiations finally resulted in the formation of a Transitional Government of National Union (GUNT), which did not, however, bring the internal dissensions to an end. The civil war started up again in 1980, and M. Goukouni Oueddaï secured victory over his opponents, thanks to the help of Libyan forces; he has even announced a plan for a union between Chad and Libya, but the FAN (Armed Forces of the North) continue the struggle in the eastern part of the country, simultaneously against the Libyans and the government troops (March 1981).

P. 241b, AL-**DJĀMIʿA** AL-**ʿARABIYYA**, *add at the end of the article*: In consequence of the treaty between Egypt and Israel and the Camp David negotiations, the seat of the Arab League has been moved to Tunis, and Shādhlī Ḳlēbī was elected Secretary General (27 June 1979).

P. 408a, AL-**IDRĪSĪ**, *add at the end of the article*: The oldest manuscripts (Princeton of 754/1353, Taymūriyya of 877/1473 and Manchester of 887/1482) and Ibn Abī Ḥadjala (*Sukkardān* [together with al-ʿĀmilī's *al-Mikhlāt*], ²Beirut 1399/1979, 460) give the title *Anwār ʿulwiyy al-adjrām*. In the *Anwār* al-Idrīsī mentions other books he wrote: *K. al-Adwār wa 'l-fatarāt*, *K. al-Djawhara al-yatīma fī akhbār Miṣr al-ḳadīma* and *K. Maṭlaʿ al-ṭāliʿ al-saʿīd fī akhbār al-Ṣaʿīd*; the latter title possibly served al-Udfuwī as a model for his prosopography of Upper Egyptian men of renown.
Add to Bibl.: al-Udfuwī, *al-Ṭāliʿ al-saʿīd al-djāmiʿ asmāʾ nudjabāʾ al-Ṣaʿīd*, ed. S.M. Ḥasan, Cairo 1966, 179-81, 534-6; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1331, v, 262, no. 902; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1387/1968, i, 554; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, ²Beirut 1399/1979, vi, 208b-c; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1379/1960, ix, 174a-b; A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library in Manchester*, Manchester 1934, 422-5, no. 262; U. Haarmann, *Regional sentiment in medieval Islamic Egypt*, in *BSOAS*, xliii (1980), 55-66; M. Cook, *Pharaonic history in medieval Egypt*, in *SI*, lvii (1983); a critical edition of *Anwār* has been prepared by U. Haarmann (Beirut 1991).

P. 566b, **MAḤKAMA**, *add to Bibl.*: See the writings by D. Pearl, in particular *Interpersonal conflict of laws in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh*, London-Bombay 1981; idem and W. Menski, *Muslim family law*, London 1998 (rev. ed. of D. Pearl, *A textbook on Muslim personal law*, London ²1987).

P. 570a, **MAḲĀṢID** AL-**SHARĪʿA**, l. 3, *for* of a ruling *read* of a possible ruling
1st line of third paragraph, read *Istiṣlāḥ* and *istiḥsān* [*q.vv.*] were discussed extensively by Mālikīs.
l. 2 from bottom, *for* Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. ʿAshūr, *read* Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir b. ʿĀshūr; *and change same in Bibliography.*
Add to Bibl.: Ṭūfī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍa*, Beirut 1987-89.

A

AL-ʿABBĀS B. AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN, eldest son of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*]. When the latter set off for the conquest of Syria, he entrusted the government of Egypt to al-ʿAbbās, his designated heir, but al-ʿAbbās was very soon persuaded to take advantage of his father's absence to supplant him. Warned by the vizier al-Wāsiṭī, Ibn Ṭūlūn got ready to return to Egypt, and his son, after having emptied the treasury and got together considerable sums of money, went off with his partisans to Alexandria, and then to Barḳa. As soon as he got back, on 4 Ramaḍān 265/30 April 879, Ibn Ṭūlūn tried to bring him back to reason, and, promising him pardon, sent to him a letter, whose text has been preserved by al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī (*Ṣubḥ*, vii, 5-10; reproduced also by Ṣafwat, *D̲j̲amharat rasāʾil al-ʿArab*, iv, 366-73); but the rebel remained deaf to all these approaches and decided to invade Ifrīḳiya at the head of a force of 800 cavalry and 10,000 black infantry, swollen along the way by some local contingents.

Al-ʿAbbās then claimed that the caliph al-Muʿtamid had named him as governor of Ifrīḳiya and demanded of the Ag̲h̲labid Ibrāhīm II that he should yield place to him. The latter responded by sending against him a force of cavalry, which met up with him at Labda but did not venture an engagement. Al-ʿAbbās now sacked Labda, even though the governor there had decided to yield to him, and then went on to lay siege to Tripoli. The Ibāḍī leader Ilyās b. Manṣūr al-Nafūsī organised resistance, and with the help of reinforcements sent by Ibrāhīm II, succeeded in putting the rebel army to flight (middle of 267/winter 880-1). Al-ʿAbbās was compelled to return to Egypt, but was captured in the course of a battle outside the city of Alexandria with an army sent by Ibn Ṭūlūn. He was brought to Fusṭāṭ, led round on a mule (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 183), condemned to execute personally the poet D̲j̲aʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥud̲h̲ār and others of his retinue considered to be responsible for his revolt, and finally flogged and thrown into prison. He probably did not remain there long, but his attitude nevertheless removed him from all possibility of succession to the throne of Egypt. On Ibn Ṭūlūn's death (D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 270/May 884), it was his son K̲h̲umārawayh [*q.v.*] who followed him, and al-ʿAbbās's protests were extinguished in blood.

Bibliography: The events are recounted in great detail by Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*, ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī, Damascus 1358, 252-5, and Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, Beirut 1959, 246-50; these basic sources and the data of other historians have been utilised by M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 347-52. (Ed.)

ʿABBĀS SARWĀNĪ, historian of the Mug̲h̲al period in India.

Little is known about him personally, but he was a member of a Sarwānī Afg̲h̲ān family which had settled in Banūr town (in the *sarkār* of Sirhind). His ancestor got 2,000 *bīg̲h̲ās* of land as a maintenance grant during the reign of Bahlūl Lōdī. It was resumed by Bābur in 932/1526, and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bāyazīd Sarwānī, the grandfather of ʿAbbās, had to leave for Rōh for this reason. S̲h̲ēr S̲h̲āh Sūr restored it to S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bāyazīd when the latter returned after the expulsion of the Mug̲h̲als in 947/1540. Islām S̲h̲āh Sūr also renewed it to S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī, the father of ʿAbbās. In 987/1579, it was again resumed by the state. ʿAbbās then entered the service of Sayyid Ḥamīd, a scholarly officer of Akbar. In 990/1582 he compiled at the instance of Akbar his famous *Tuḥfa-yi Akbar S̲h̲āhī*, generally known as the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i S̲h̲ēr S̲h̲āhī*. It is however, a biography of S̲h̲ēr S̲h̲āh Sūr and not history in the true sense.

The *Tuḥfa-yi Akbar S̲h̲āhī* was compiled when the short-lived Sūr dynasty had already passed into the limbo of history; and there was no hope left for the revival of Afg̲h̲ān power. Now an Afg̲h̲ān writer could get satisfaction only in magnifying the Afg̲h̲ān rule, so that ʿAbbās was in his work inevitably nostalgic about the past of the Afg̲h̲āns. In fact, he compiled his work with preconceived notions, practising the economy of truth when the facts were disparaging. Moreover, he is not a first-hand source. All, or almost all, his narratives relating to the life and career of S̲h̲ēr S̲h̲āh are based on the information supplied by the Sarwānī nobles who had served under the Lōdīs and the Sūrs and with whom he was connected by his own marriages. As descendants of K̲h̲ān-i Aʿẓam ʿUmar K̲h̲ān Sarwānī, the premier noble of the Lōdī Sultans, they were not expected to enquire about S̲h̲ēr S̲h̲āh's background, who had himself, and his father before him, been their servants before his rise to sovereignty. For this reason, information gathered by ʿAbbās about S̲h̲ēr S̲h̲āh's early career from his Sarwānī relations contains important gaps, some of which are filled by Mus̲h̲tāḳī's rambling account, available in the *Wāḳiʿāt-i Mus̲h̲tāḳī*. Despite its defects, the *Tuḥfa-yi Akbar S̲h̲āhī* is regarded as the major source for S̲h̲ēr S̲h̲āh's reign. It furnishes fairly detailed data about the early life of S̲h̲ēr S̲h̲āh and provides clues to important facts about his statesmanship. Later works, such as the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i K̲h̲ān-i D̲j̲ahānī* of Niʿmat Allāh Harawī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i S̲h̲āhī* of Aḥmad Yādgār and *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Dāwūdī* of ʿAbd Allāh, all compiled during the reign of the Emperor D̲j̲ahāngīr, contain very little additional information with regard to S̲h̲ēr S̲h̲āh.

Bibliography: 'Abbās Sarwānī, *Tuḥfa-yi Akbar Shāhī*, ed. Imām al-Dīn, Dacca 1964; Sir H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, iv, 301-433; Storey, i, 513-5; I.H. Siddiqui, *History of Shēr Shāh Sūr*, Aligarh 1971; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, New Delhi 1975, 234-8. (I.H. SIDDIQUI)

ABBREVIATIONS, sigla and conventional signs are nowadays called in Arabic *mukhtaṣarāt* "abridgements" or *rumūz* "symbols", but there does not seem to have been any specific term for them in the classical period, even though from the very beginnings of Islam copyists, scribes and specialists in all sorts of disciplines were led to use them. This is why it has been thought suitable to bring together here a list of the main abbreviations found in the mediaeval texts, together with some examples of those taken up by our contemporaries.

One should first of all recall that a certain number of the surās of the Ḳur'ān begin by groups of letters (the *fawātiḥ* or *ḥurūf mukaṭṭa'a/āt*), which remain curiously inexplicable despite the many interpretations thought up by inventive minds; the reader will find a table of them in the article AL-ḲUR'ĀN, where the signs indicating pronunciation to be found in various editions of the Holy Book are also considered.

It should also be noted that if the verb *sammā*, means notably "to pronounce the formula *bi-smi llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*," the formula itself is called the *basmala* [*q.v.*], whose form is obvious; cf. also the *ḥamdala*, the formula *al-ḥamdu li-llāh* "praise be to God", etc.

It is precisely these pious or optative formulae which, because of their frequency, led copyists and scribes to adopt various abbreviations, of which the most frequent are: *t'* = *ta'ālā* "may He be exalted"; *ṣ* = *ṣallā llāh 'alayh*, and *ṣl'm* = *ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wasallam* "may God confer His blessings [on the Prophet] and grant him peace"; *'m* = *'alayhi al-salām* "peace be upon him [sc. upon a prophet]"; *rḥ* = *raḥimahu llāh* "may God have mercy on him"; and *rḍh* = *raḍiya llāh 'anhu* "may God be pleased with him" after the name of a deceased person.

For their part, copyists used conventional signs, amongst which one may mention: *ṣ* = *ṣawābuhu* "the correct reading, to be read . . ."; *b* = *ba'da* "after" or *kh* = *mu'akhkhar* "placed after" and *ḳ* = *ḳabla* "before" to show that two words should be transposed (or also *m* = *mu'akhkhar* and *m* = *muḳaddam* for the same inversion); *ṣḥ* = *muṣaḥḥaḥ* "corrected, verified, the correct reading"; *kh* = *khaṭa'* "error" or *nuskha ukhrā* "another manuscript = variant"; *m* = *mudradj* "a word straddling two hemistiches of a verse"; *alkh* = *ilā akhirihi* "etc."; *h* or *ah* = *intahā* "end of quotation".

In technical works on grammar, theology, law, etc., the following may occur: *dj* = *djam'* "plural"; *djdj* = *djam' al-djam'* "double plural"; *m* = *mu'annath* "feminine", but also *matn* "text of the *ḥadīth*, etc."; *sh* = *sharḥ* "commentary" and *shāriḥ* "commentator"; *thnā* or *nā* = *ḥaddathanā* "there related to us"; *anā* = *anba'anā* or *akhbaranā* "[he] related to us (especially of a historical or other tradition"; *m* or *alm* = (*al*)-*ma'rūf* or (*al*)-*mashhūr* "(the) well-known, (the) famed"; *alẓ* = *al-ẓāhir* "the obvious, literal sense"; *wẓ* = *wa-ẓāhiruhu* "and its literal sense"; *ḥ* = *taḥwīl* "change in the *isnād*"; *ṣ* = *muṣannaf* "*ḥadīth* work" or *muṣannif* "author (of the work)"; *alm* = *al-muṣannif* "the author"; *yḳ* = *yuḳāl* "it is said"; *aṣ* = *aṣl*[an] "by no means, absolutely"; *ayḍ* = *ayḍ*[an] "also, equally"; *s* = *su'āl* "question"; *dj* = *djawāb* "reply"; *n* = *bayānuhu* "its explanation"; *ḥ* = *ḥaḳīḳa* "reality", "in truth"; *b* = *bāṭil* "false"; (*al*)*mḥ* = (*al*)-*muḥāl* "what is absurd, improbable"; *mm* = *mamnū'* "impossible, absurd"; (*f*)*lā nm* = (*fa*)-*lā nusallim* "we do not admit, recognise"; *ḥ, fḥ* = (*fa*)-*ḥīna'idh*[in] "and then, consequently"; *lā mḥh* = *la maḥālata* "without any doubt"; *kk* = *kadhālika* "thus"; *almṭ* = *al-maṭlūb* "the desired aim" or *al-muṭlaḳ* "the absolute".

Also found are: *s* = *sā'a* "hour", *d* = *daḳīḳa* "minute", and the names of the months: *m* = *Muḥarram*, *ṣ* = *Ṣafar*, *rā* = *Rabī'* I, *r* = *Rabī'* II, *djā* = *Djumādā* I, *dj* = *Djumādā* II, *b* = *Radjab*, *sh* = *Sha'bān*, *l* = *Shawwāl*, *n* = *Ramaḍān*, *dhā* = *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da* and *dh* = *Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja*.

It will be noted that these abbreviations are often formed by the first letter of the word; another letter may sometimes be chosen, without always there being a care to avoid confusion, so that it may well happen that the groups of letters have an ambivalence, which is not, however, very confusing.

At the present time, the proliferation of sigla, and the perennial desire to save time have multiplied the use of abbreviations, especially in the press and in commercial and financial documents, but also in scholarly works with an apparatus criticus, where one may find e.g. *dj* = *djuz'* "volume", *ṣ* = *ṣafḥa* "page", *s* = *saṭr* "line", *w* = *waraḳa* "leaf, folio", *a* and *b* or *w* and *ẓ* = *wadjh* and *ẓahr* "recto and verso", *m* = *masīḥī/iyya* "A.D.", *h* = *hidjrī/iyya* "A.H.", *m* = *malzama* "signature", *khṭ* = *makhṭūṭ* "manuscript", *ṭ* = *ṭab'a* "printed edition", etc.

An international abbreviation has yielded, as elsewhere, a genuine noun: *al-Yūna/iskū* "UNESCO". Expressions denoting Unions or Federations are replaced by initials: *dj.'.m* = *al-djumhūriyya al-'arabiyya al-muttaḥida* "the United Arab Republic", *a.'.m* = *al-imārāt al-'arabiyya al-muttaḥida* "the United Arabic Emirates", etc. Money and currencies, weights and measures are not outside this general tendency: *l.l.* = *līra lubnāniyya* "Lebanese pound"; *d* = *dīnār* (and also *daktūr* "doctor"); *dj. m.* = *djunayh miṣrī* "Egyptian pound"; *m* = millieme or *mitr* "metre"; *km* = *kīlūmitr* "km"; *s.m./ṣ.m.* = *s/ṣantīmitr* "cm"; *f* = *faddān* "feddan", etc. Addresses often have *ṣ.b.* = *ṣundūḳ al-barīd* "postal box", and commercial letter headings *sh.m.m* or *sh.a.l* = *sharika maḥdūdat al-mas'ūliyya* "Ltd. Co.".

The list of abbreviations could be considerably prolonged, but our list will be limited to those given above; one should however add that magazines and periodicals often use these to such an extent that only the initiates can unravel them. G. Oman (see *Bibl.*) has mentioned, as characteristic: *m.m.* = "Marilyn Monroe", and *b.b.* = "Brigitte Bardot"!

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'ABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ BAKR AL-MIYĀNADJĪ, called 'AYN AL-ḲUḌĀT AL-HAMADHĀNĪ, Shāfi'ī jurist and Ṣūfī martyr, born at Hamadhān in 492/1098. Born of a line of scholars, he studied Arabic grammar, theology, philosophy and law, and he is said to have, as an already precocious scholar, started his first book at the age of 14. Also, at the approach of puberty, he became a convert to Ṣūfism. In 517/1123, at the age of 25, he seems to have met Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, brother of the great theologian Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, who is said to have initiated him into Ṣūfī meditation and dancing, thus completing his spiritual conversion. Other masters of his

were Muḥammad b. Ḥammūya and a certain Baraka.

His spiritual reputation soon gained him many disciples, and he spent all his time in oral and written teaching, sometimes going beyond the limits of his physical strength for this and having then to retire for two or three months for recuperation. His activities soon provoked the hostility of the orthodox theologians. Provoked by his teachings on the nature of sainthood and prophethood and on submission to the Ṣūfī *shaykh*, and objecting to his usage of Ṣūfī terminology which gave the impression that he himself laid claim to prophetic powers, they brought an accusation of heresy against him before the Saldjūk vizier in ʿIrāḳ, who imprisoned him in Baghdād. It was there that he wrote his apologia, the *Shakwā 'l-gharīb*. Some months later he was set free and returned to Hamadhān, but shortly afterwards, at the time of the Saldjūk sultan Maḥmūd's arrival (reigned 511-25/1118-31), he was executed in a barbarous manner during the night of 6-7 Djumādā II 526/6-7 May 1131 at the age of 33. His premature death seems to have prevented al-Hamadhānī from founding a Ṣūfī monastery, setting up a Ṣūfī group and designating a successor; nevertheless, his numerous works, written in a fine style, have always found an audience.

His published works include his *Shakwā 'l-gharīb ʿan al-awṭān ilā buldān al-ʿulamāʾ*, an apologia in Arabic (ed. and Fr. tr. Mohammed ben Abd-el-Jalil, in *JA* (1930), 1-76, 193-297; ed. ʿAfīf ʿUsayrān, *Muṣannafāt-i ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt-i Hamadhānī*, Tehran 1341/1962; Eng. tr. A.J. Arberry, *A Sufi martyr, the apologia of ʿAin al-Quḍāt al-Hamadhānī*, London 1969); *Risāla-yi Lawāʾiḥ*, on mystic love, in Persian, ed. Raḥīm Farmanish, Tehran 1337/1958; *Zubdat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, in Arabic, ed. ʿUsayrān, in *op. cit.*; *Tamhīdāt* or *Zubdat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī kashf al-daḳāʾiḳ*, in Persian, ed. ʿUsayrān, in *op. cit.*, twice tr. into Turkish; *Nāmahā* or *Maktūbāt*, *Makātīb*, letters, in Persian, ed. ʿAlīnaḳī Munzawī and ʿUsayrān, 2 vols., Beirut and Tehran 1390/1971; *Risāla-yi yazdānshinākht*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, Tehran 1327/1948; and *Aḥwāl u āthār*, ed. Farmanish, Tehran 1338/1959.

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(J.K. Teubner)

ʿABD ALLĀH SULṬĀNPŪRĪ, called Makhdūm al-Mulk, son of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn of Sulṭānpūr (Pandjāb), a leading Indian theologian of the 10th/16th century. He studied under Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Ḳādir of Sirhind, and acquired renown as a scholar and for his command over Muslim jurisprudence, theology and history. He was held in high esteem by Humāyūn [*q.v.*], and Shēr Shāh (947-52/1540-5) gave him the title of *Ṣadr al-Islām*; under Islām Shāh (952-61/1545-54) he was the principal adviser of the king in religious affairs. Upon his return in 962/1555, Humāyūn again conferred on him the title of *Shaykh al-Islām*, and under the next king Akbar [*q.v.*], he received the title of *Makhdūm al-Mulk*. In 987/1579 he went to the Ḥidjāz and was received with much respect by the *Muftī* of Mecca. Makhdum al-Mulk, however, returned to India without performing the Pilgrimage, and is said to have issued a *fatwā* to the effect that the *Ḥadjdj* was not obligatory on the people of India because the journey by sea could not be undertaken without the European passports bearing the pictures of Mary and Jesus and because the land route lay through Shīʿī Persia.

Makhdūm al-Mulk was one of the signatories of the *Maḥḍar* of 987/1579 giving a high religious position to Akbar, but subsequently disowned it; he was in fact a very orthodox Sunnī and drew much criticism from Abu 'l-Faḍl. He died in 990/1582 in disgrace.

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(M. Athar Ali)

ʿABD al-ʿAZĪZ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fayṣal Āl Suʿūd (*ca.* 1291-1373/*ca.* 1880-1953), founder king (regn. 1319-73/1902-53) of the Kingdom of Suʿūdi Arabia. His mother was Sāra b. Aḥmad al-Sudayri. At four, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was entrusted to a tutor and became a *ḥāfiẓ* at eleven. Simultaneously (1309/1891), at al-Mulayda the Āl Rashīd of Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*] defeated and expelled the Suʿūds from Nadjd, so that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz grew up subsequently in al-Kuwayt, his father's exiled home.

In 1319/1902, the young hot blood retook al-Riyāḍ, expelled the Rashīdi governor, and proclaimed the restored Suʿūdi rule. Central Nadjd soon re-pledged loyalty to the Suʿūds, and al-Ḳaṣīm [*q.v.*] was gradually brought in. By 1330/1912, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had restored Suʿūdi rule throughout Nadjd.

In 1912, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz inaugurated his most imaginative policy, that of settling Bedouin in Wahhābism-centred agricultural colonies whose members were known as al-Ikhwān ("the brothers") [*q.v.*]. This movement simultaneously furthered Wahhābism, provided a new military force, reduced tribalism, and increased agricultural production; it brought with it profound social change, and the movement at its height counted some 150 colonies, one with 10,000 people. Ikhwānīs played a leading role in subsequent conquests, but ultimately revolted, charging the king with religious laxity, so that the founder of the Ikhwān himself suppressed them (1348/1930).

On the eve of World War I, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz expelled the Ottomans from eastern Arabia thus acquiring access to the sea. For ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, this war constituted a period of watchful waiting, but with the war's end, he resumed expansion. Djabal Shammar [*q.v.*] was occupied in 1340/1921 and its dependencies the next year. In 1337/1919 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz won an important border fight with the Hāshimīs, and in 1338/1920 annexed upland ʿAsīr [*q.v.*]. The end of his festering quarrel with the Hāshimīs began when the Hāshimī king, al-Ḥusayn, somewhat vaingloriously assumed the caliphate (1342/1924). The Ikhwān, affronted, entered al-Ṭāʾif, and Mecca opened its gates, despite the Hāshimīs' descent from the Prophet and long tenure in al-Ḥidjāz. By 1344/1926, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was proclaimed king of al-Ḥidjāz. His realm, now quite independent, stretched solidly across the peninsula in the first such broad unification in Arabia for many centuries. In addition, responsibility for the holy places, well discharged, converted ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from the leader of a minor sectarian polity into a central figure in Muslim and international eyes. His one remaining external dispute, with al-Yaman, was settled by a military victory followed by a treaty (1352/1934). In the same year, he unified his government as the Kingdom of Suʿūdi Arabia. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz treated defeated enemies magnanimously and, especially in al-Yaman, wisely restrained

himself. Much of this period was also spent negotiating with Britain; demarcated borders gradually emerged. During World War II, he maintained formal neutrality, but tilted toward the Allies, subsequently joining the United Nations and the Arab League.

Internally, this commanding monarch ruled traditionally but with his own extra wisdom and strength. He oversaw the successful implantation of the high-technology, American-run petroleum industry into an ultra-traditional society, from a first commercial find in 1356/1937 to the point when, at his death, production approached 1 million barrels/day and gave an annual revenue of $200 million. Oil revenues financed dramatic developments: water supplies, airports, telephones and radios, roads, electricity, deep water ports, a railroad, hospitals, and schools. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had a "marked tendency to uxoriousness". A study of 1952 indicates that he had 35 living sons. The number of his wives, many married ephemerally, was a legendary 300; in addition, he had concubines and slave women. Yet to some wives, he was faithful and always within the letter of Ḳurʾānic law.

All in all, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz laid the bases for the modernisation of his country and was one of the greatest leaders to arise in the Arabian peninsula.

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(R. Bayly Winder)

ʿABD al-ʿAZĪZ b. YŪSUF (Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Ḥakkār?), the private secretary and trusted adviser of the Būyid *amīr* ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] from the very beginning to the end of his reign, and then three times alternatively the vizier and in disgrace in regard to his sons Ṣamṣām al-Dawla and Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* below]. He is the author of a collection of official correspondence (*inshāʾ*), largely preserved in ms. Petermann 406 (Ahlwardt 8625), which is however limited to the period of ʿAḍud al-Dawla's reign (some fragments lacking here are cited in al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 89-90) and which, without securing him a place equal to his contemporaries Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ and Ibn ʿAbbād, merits the historian's consideration, above all for the narrative of events of the reign.

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(Cl. Cahen)

ʿABD al-BĀRĪ, Ḳiyām al-Dīn Muḥammad, early 14th/20th century *ʿālim* and *pīr* of the Farangī Maḥalī family [*q.v.* below]. Born in Lucknow in 1295/1878, he was descended on his father's side from a distinguished line of *pīrs* and on his mother's side from Malik al-ʿUlamāʾ Mullā Ḥaydar (d. 1256/1840-1), who had established the Hyderabad (Deccan) branch of the Farangī Maḥall family. ʿAbd al-Bārī was brought up in Lucknow, where he studied under many teachers, notably his uncle ʿAbd al-Bāḳī and ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt, the prominent pupil of ʿAbd al-Ḥayy [*q.v.*]. He travelled to the Ḥidjāz three times, in 1309/1891-2, 1321/1903-4 and 1330/1911-2, and also visited other parts of the Ottoman Empire. In Medina, where he came to know Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca, he both studied *ḥadīth* under Sayyid ʿAlī Witrī and taught.

With Abu ʾl-Kalām Āzād, ʿAbd al-Bārī was the first Indo-Muslim scholar to play a major role in modern Indian politics. He came to the fore as Muslims of the subcontinent became agitated over events in the Ottoman Empire just before World War One. In 1913, after returning from Mecca, with Mushīr Ḥusayn Ḳidwāī, he founded the Andjuman-i Khuddām-i Kaʿba [*q.v.* below]. After the War he played a leading part in launching the Indian *Khilāfat* movement: leading in 1918 the first *ʿulamāʾ* to attend the All-India Muslim League sessions, developing an alliance with Mahatma Gandhi, helping to organise the Central Khilāfat Committee in 1919, and throughout driving the agitation more extreme till in 1920 the Khilāfat movement adopted a policy of non-cooperation with the British government and, under its influence, so did the Indian National Congress. In these years ʿAbd al-Bārī's influence was at its zenith, a fact marked, at least among Indian *ʿulamāʾ*, by his election as the first president in 1919 of the *Djamʿ-iyyat-i ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*, which he had played a major part in establishing. But gradually in 1921 and 1922 he began to draw apart from the politicians as they refused to accept his view that force should be used to defend the *Khilāfat*. By 1923 the resurgence of communalism had driven him to defend Islam in India at the cost of Hindu-Muslim unity. Moreover, he continued to fight for the *Khilāfat*, although the issue had ceased to interest politicians. From 1925 he led the tremendous protest in India against Ibn Saʿūd, and died on 4 Radjab 1344/19 January 1926 while in the midst of his campaign.

ʿAbd al-Bārī knew that Muslims had to face the problems posed by the modernisation of their society. He was willing to support Muslims who sought western learning, sending boys to Aligarh College and making a donation to the Muslim University movement. In an endeavour designed to equip the children of *ʿulamāʾ* and *pīrs* for modern life along traditional lines, he established the Madrasa-yi ʿĀliya Niẓāmiyya at Farangī Maḥall in 1905. This offered an improved form of the Dars-i Niẓāmiyya, making "modern" subjects such as algebra and geography compulsory and offering practical subjects such as English to higher classes. ʿAbd al-Bārī was no less concerned about the future of mysticism. He felt that the ignorance of those who were mystics, as well as that of those who were not, was damaging the reputation of *taṣawwuf*. He was particularly concerned that mystics should adhere strictly to the *Sharīʿa*. It was on this account that around 1914 he revived a plan, first mooted by his father and others in 1896, to establish a *madrasa* to teach Islamic mysticism systematically. The plan was adopted as the aim of the *Bazm-i Ṣūfiyya-yi Hind*, an organisation which, with the support of many leading Indian mystics, was founded

during the *'Urs* of Mu'īn al-Dīn Čishtī at Adjmīr in 1916.

'Abd al-Bārī was one of the great teachers of his time, having at least 300 pupils. He wrote 111 books and pamphlets displaying wide learning in Persian as well as Arabic; as was customary in the Farangī Maḥall family, Ḥanafī jurisprudence was his most important field. Initiated into the Ḳādirī-Razzāḳī and Čishtī-Niẓāmī *silsilas*, he was an influential *pīr*, numbering several leading politicians, including Muḥammad and Shawkat 'Alī [*q.v.*], amongst his *murīds*. An independent-minded but emotional man, 'Abd al-Bārī was guided by the need to defend and strengthen Islam. He achieved fame and success, in part because of what he did but also in part because of who he was: the dominant member in his generation of the widespread and talented Farangī Maḥall family. In recent years he has been this family's most distinguished product.

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(F.C.R. Robinson)

'ABD al-LAṬĪF ČELEBI [see Laṭīfī].

'ABD al-NĀṢIR, Djamāl, Egyptian commander and statesman. His father, 'Abd al-Nāṣir Ḥusayn, came from the village of Banī Murr near Asyūṭ in Upper Egypt. He was a clerk in the post office and in 1915 moved to Alexandria. In 1917 he married the daughter of an Alexandrian coal merchant and on January 15th 1918, his first son, Djamāl, was born. The father was transferred several times during his son's early childhood and it was in Asyūṭ that Djamāl began his primary education. At the age of seven he was sent to Cairo to live with his uncle and to study there instead of moving around with his father. He also spent some time in the family village of Banī Murr when he was able to observe the life of the Egyptian peasant—its poverty and its daily toil, its dignity and solidarity. The village was a microcosm of Egyptian rural society. 'Abd al-Nāṣir's family belonged to the middle layer of small proprietors and tenants, a class largely dominated by others yet from which there was some outward movement into the towns and cities through education and government employment. This class gave 'Abd al-Nāṣir his roots in the Egyptian countryside and also his escape into another world.

In Cairo he went to al-Naḥḥāsīn school in Khān al-Khalīlī where he was able to experience at first hand the life of the bustling crowded quarters of Cairo, that other aspect of the poverty of Egypt. During this period he was greatly affected by the death of his mother and by his father's early re-marriage. This experience turned him against his father and strengthened his independence and perhaps also his introspection. He was noted from then on for his seriousness and thoughtfulness.

After an interval with his family in Alexandria 'Abd al-Nāṣir moved to Cairo where he spent five decisive years, 1933-8. He went to al-Nahḍa school and began to mix study with militant activity, protesting both against the British presence and the policies of the Egyptian politicians. He was exposed to the political currents of the time, of the *Wafd*, the National Party (*al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī*) and especially *Miṣr al-Fatāt*, the Fascist-type movement found by Aḥmad Ḥusayn. He felt deeply and personally the problems of Egypt and began to assume them inwardly himself, unconsciously following the example of those future leaders who take upon themselves the burdens of their people, and also searching for a future pattern for his own life. He admired the *Wafd* centred around its leader, Muṣṭafā Naḥḥās; he occasionally marched with *Miṣr al-Fatāt*. He wrote at the time: "[The Egyptian] only needs a leader who will lead him to battle".

In November 1935, when the British opposed the re-establishment of the Egyptian constitution, 'Abd al-Nāṣir marched with students on to the streets of Cairo and was wounded by a bullet fired by British troops. He was identified as an agitator and asked to leave his school. After a few months in 1936 as a law student in Cairo University, his sense of disillusion with the politicians who had "surrendered" to the British by signing the 1936 Treaty and with what he saw as the indifference of his fellow-students, led him to seek to join the army, in his opinion the best means available for effecting change. He had passed through his early personal crisis and took to the army as a positive means of action.

In 1936 the Egyptian army had lifted its restrictions on the middle and lower classes entering the officer corps. 'Abd al-Nāṣir was a member of the second entry of such men, an officer cadet in 1937 at the age of nineteen in the 'Abbāsiyya Military Academy. He was attracted to military life with its discipline and study, and was quickly promoted. Of his future companions in the revolution, he met 'Abd al-Ḥakīm 'Āmir in the academy and Zakariyyā Muḥyī al-Dīn and Anwar al-Sādāt in his first posting to upper Egypt. It is difficult to maintain that their plotting began at once but, being of similar age and background, they were united in their disrespect and even contempt for their senior officers, and this attitude was confirmed when he again met 'Āmir during their assignment to the Sudan.

The German successes in Libya and Egypt in 1940-1 led some Egyptian officers to see in the Axis their deliverers from British occupation. 'Abd al-Nāṣir stayed aloof from making approaches to the Germans, but his anger was aroused in February 1942 when Sir Miles Lampson, the British High Commissioner, with the support of British tanks imposed on King Fārūḳ a *Wafd* cabinet under Naḥḥās. 'Abd al-Nāṣir was ashamed that the army had taken no counter-action, but he at least felt that some officers had been shaken out of their apathy. In 1943 he was appointed an instructor at the Military Academy, and during his time there was able to make contact with a number of younger Egyptians who were also like him fired by the aim of liberating their country.

The period 1945-52 bears, with hindsight, the signs of the end of an era. Several factors combined to ensure that change eventually became inevitable. King Fārūḳ's political erraticness and scandalous private life debarred him as a serious political leader. The *Wafd* had lost most of its credibility, and the more extreme movements were left to clamour for a central role. The Arab disaster in Palestine had a profound effect on the minds of young Egyptian army officers, and the British reluctance to evacuate troops

first from the towns and then from the Suez Canal Zone confirmed their suspicions about the survival of British imperialist aims. The period was one of ferment and tension, so that even a personality less politically sensitive than 'Abd al-Nāṣir could not have remained unaffected, and he was in a sense torn during this period between his position as staff officer and his interests in "revolutionary" movements. He was introduced to Marxism by Khālid Muḥyī al-Dīn, a fellow officer and cousin of Zakariyyā, to the *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* by al-Sādāt, and to the left wing of the *Wafd* by Aḥmad Abu 'l-Fatḥ and others. At this time a group of officers began to meet regularly, comprising the above together with 'Āmir, Tharwat 'Ukāsha and one or two others. These so-called *Dubbāṭ al-Aḥrār* ("Free Officers") did not yet coalesce as a movement, having no common ideology but a determination to transform Egypt; but the figure of Djamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir emerged here as a leader.

It was events outside Egypt which decisively placed the Free Officers on course outwards revolution. In May 1948 the Egyptian army advanced into Palestine in an attempt to destroy the new state of Israel. 'Abd al-Nāṣir was commanding officer of a unit, and was immediately dismayed by the inefficiency and lack of preparedness of the Egyptians who were fighting against greatly inferior numbers; in the fighting he was himself wounded in the chest. After the second United Nations armistice (during which the Haganah improved its positions), the battle for the Negev began in October. 'Abd al-Nāṣir and his unit were trapped at Fallūdja, but together with several other Free Officers they held out against the Israeli forces and were eventually able to counter-attack. In retrospect, 'Abd al-Nāṣir saw this episode as a symbol of their determination to pursue the real fight against all those forces which opposed Egypt. He had fought the Israelis and had even admired them in their successful bid to oust the British from Palestine (during one armistice he had had an opportunity to talk to an Israeli officer), and had himself become more widely known. One general also made his name for heroism in the Palestine war, Muḥammad Nadjīb (Neguib).

The army returned home bitter in defeat and determined to begin the "real" struggle. The Free Officers began to issue propaganda denouncing the King, the régime and the army, to infiltrate the government, and to co-operate with other organisations. In October 1951 the Egyptian government abrogated the 1936 Treaty, and this action signalled the beginning of guerilla activity against the British troops remaining in the Canal Zone. The Free Officers played a certain part, issuing arms and training commandos, but it was largely students and members of the *Ikhwān* who bore the brunt of the fighting; 'Abd al-Nāṣir himself was biding his time conserving his energies.

Tension was also rising in Cairo. A particularly severe British retaliatory attack on the Ismā'īliyya barracks in January 1952 led to Black Saturday, January 26th, when much foreign and Egyptian property in Cairo was burned and several lives lost. Students, *Ikhwān* and the mob rampaged in a fury of revenge, and the army and police intervened only late in the day. It is still not clear who instigated the riots and how large a part, if any, the Free Officers played; but the events had at least demonstrated the desperate fury of the country and the lack of any solution offered by the régime.

Fārūḳ and his entourage continued their improvident course, seemingly careless of the country's plight. The Free Officers decided that a coup could no longer be postponed and began to make their final plans in July. The government had moved for the summer to Alexandria, and two army units favourable to the Free Officers were about to move to Cairo. On 20th July it became known that Fārūḳ was to appoint a new government, one of whose first actions would be to arrest some of the Officers. The latter advanced their plans; by the morning of 23rd July the key army and communications posts had been taken, with hardly a shot fired and only two lives lost. Although 'Abd al-Nāṣir had been the leader, General Muḥammad Nadjīb, the older and better-known man, became the new Commander-in-Chief, while arguments raged over the future form of government—should there be co-operation with civilian politicians, and what was to be the fate of Fārūḳ?

'Alī Māhir, an ex-premier, headed the new government. 'Abd al-Nāṣir stood out for the exile, rather than the execution, of Fārūḳ, and the ex-king sailed from Alexandria on 26th July. Nadjīb supervised the abdication while 'Abd al-Nāṣir remained in Cairo.

Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal has divided the political life of 'Abd al-Nāṣir (known in Egypt as "The Lion") into three parts: 1952-6, the Lion free; 1956-67 the Lion chained; 1967-70 the Lion wounded. By this division, Haykal saw him free until the Suez invasion to concentrate on Egyptian affairs; after 1956 he became chained to Arab and world affairs and a prisoner of his own success and personality; after the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 he was gradually weighed down by the burdens of office. These divisions may be qualified and modified, however. During the whole of his political life he was attempting both to legitimise his rule and to give Egypt a lasting political and social system. Until 1956 he was largely concerned with Egyptian internal affairs, but Suez thrust him on to the world stage, and while chaining him, in Haykal's phrase, he was at the peak of his popularity and success, at least until the dissolution of the Syrian-Egyptian union in 1961. The period 1961-7 saw him more closely chained and less successful, until the disaster of 1967, by which he was mortally wounded.

The Free Officers had no definite political programme before or at the beginning of their régime. No one ideology motivated the seizure of power; they had rather vague ideas about national independence, modernisation, democratisation, social justice and equality. The first years of power entailed a more precise defining of these ideas and forced 'Abd al-Nāṣir to determine his role in the new system. He was the centre of the new ruling body, the Revolution Command Council (R.C.C.) (*Madjlis Ḳiyādat al-Thawra*), although Nadjīb was its president, replacing 'Alī Māhir in September 1952, and 'Abd al-Nāṣir not yet publicly acknowledged.

The régime's first declared objective had been the expulsion of the British, and negotiations began immediately over the evacuation of the Canal Zone. Secondly, the direction of domestic policy was established by the agrarian reform law of September 1952 by which no one was allowed to hold more than 200 feddans of land. Thirdly, the régime set about eliminating opposition, i.e. the *Wafd* and especially the *Ikhwān*, who reacted by trying to foment opposition in the army, police and universities. In the early months of 1954 the *Ikhwān* waged what 'Abd al-Nāṣir termed a *djihād* against the régime, in an attempt to seize power themselves.

Within the Revolution Command Council, dis-

sensions arose between General Nad̲j̲īb, now President of the Egyptian Republic, and the younger officers. The older man had gained considerable popularity, but was opposed by his colleagues, who accused him of re-establishing relations with the old politicians and wanting to send the army back to its barracks. There were demonstrations in his favour, and the chaos of pre-revolutionary days seemed about to return. This was unthinkable to ʿAbd al-Nāṣir with his deeply authoritarian character, and he and like-minded colleagues isolated Nad̲j̲īb by the end of March 1954; he remained as titular president of the republic, while ʿAbd al-Nāṣir became president of the R.C.C. with *de facto* power.

In July 1954, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir signed a treaty with the British under which the Canal base would be evacuated within twenty months with the provision that it could be "re-activated" by the British in the event of an attack by an outside power on an Arab country or on Turkey. To many Egyptians, this was a capitulation to the West and was strongly opposed by the *Ik̲h̲wān*. On 24 October 1954 ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was addressing a crowd in Alexandria justifying the treaty when a member of the *Ik̲h̲wān* attempted to assassinate him. Haykal described this as a turning point in ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's career. Having already gained control of the army and state, his survival might also be seen as confirmation of that control, for charismatic leaders can only gain in prestige from "miraculously" surviving assassination attempts. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir now dominated the Revolution Command Council, the cabinet, the Free Officers and through them the Liberation Rally, his first attempt to organise political support. The *muk̲h̲ābarāt* (secret police) were his means of supervising the two latter bodies, and the basis of the régime was the army, whose members penetrated most aspects of civil life.

1955 was the year in which ʿAbd al-Nāṣir won his personal battle, and found the role he had written about in his *Falsafat al-t̲h̲awra* "Philosophy of the revolution": "In this region in which we live there is a role wandering aimlessly about seeking an actor to play it". In his writing he had criticised the masses for not enthusiastically following him after the coup. Now he was presented with a cause in which to lead them. The British had established the Bag̲h̲dād Pact with Nūrī al-Saʿīd of ʿIrāḳ as the lynch-pin. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, aware that he was compromised over the Suez base agreement, saw the Pact as an attempt by Britain, and especially by Eden, to maintain domination in the Middle East, and even to shift the centre of power away from Egypt to ʿIrāḳ, hence he determined to oppose it. In February 1955 he was visited by the proponents of non-alignment, Tito and Nehru, and was greatly influenced by them, especially by the Yugoslav. At the same time an Israeli attack on Gaza convinced him that the Americans were attempting to exploit his vulnerability. He now began to seek arms, first unsuccessfully from the West, and then from the Communist bloc.

His participation in April in the Bandung Conference of Non-aligned Nations made a deep impression on him, for he was hailed as a leader in the anti-colonialist fight and welcomed by an enthusiastic crowd on his return to Cairo. Seven months later he announced an arms contract with Czechoslovakia, though he was loath to sever contacts with the West, and in November he opened negotiations with Britain and America for a loan to finance the construction of the Aswān High Dam. In January 1956 a loan by the West was announced with conditions, notably that Egypt's budget had to be supervised by the lenders. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir hesitated for a time, having alienated France by his support of the Front de Libération Nationale in Algeria and Britain by his approval of King Ḥusayn's dismissal of General Glubb in Jordan; and finally in July the offer of the loan was withdrawn because, according to the U.S. Department of State, of doubts about Egypt's "ability to devote adequate resources to assure the project's success".

Such a rebuff was a severe blow to a man of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's temperament and he reacted angrily. Under a new constitution he had been elected President, with both the powers of head of state and of government, in June with 99.9 per cent of the votes. He announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, against which the British Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, reacted by denouncing the takeover as illegal; he also saw ʿAbd al-Nāṣir as a dictator threatening British security who had to be removed. To the Egyptians, however, the Canal was the symbol of imperialism and ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was the man who had defied the Old World and who had asserted the rights of the newly-independent. His popularity in Egypt was enormous and he was convinced that he could withstand Western attempts to make him retract.

Britain, France and Israel combined to attack Egypt, each for their own reasons, but united in fear and hatred of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, after attempts to organise forms of international supervision of the Canal had failed. On October 29th Israeli troops crossed into Sinai and the following day were reported to be within 20 miles of the Canal. The British and French ultimatum ordering both Egypt and Israel to withdraw to ten miles on either side of the Canal, was rejected by ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, and two days later British planes raided Cairo. On November 5th British and French troops landed in Port Said. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir convinced his followers of Egypt's ability to resist, but he was in fact facing defeat, and was only saved by American and Soviet pressure on his attackers. All foreign troops were compelled to leave Egyptian territory, and he emerged as victor in defeat, more popular and powerful than before, and a world figure.

His very success bore within itself the seeds of danger. He had confronted Israel and the West, not only on behalf of Egypt but also of other parts of the Arab world. He was being drawn into the politics of Arabism, with its twin goals of unity and the destruction of Israel, reaction and colonialism. Egypt, the strongest Arab state with its powerful leader, was the natural centre of the Arab world. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir had already shown his support for the Algerian national movement and thereby alienated France. The Voice of the Arabs radio broadcast continual anti-Western propaganda from Cairo. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir had rejected President Eisenhower's offer of American military support. At the same time Syria, the other centre of Arabism seemed to be slipping into a chaotic situation. Several factions, Baʿt̲h̲ists, Communists and rival nationalist groups, were competing for power. In January 1958 Syrian spokesmen informed ʿAbd al-Nāṣir that only union with Egypt could save their country. He was not immediately convinced, despite his professed belief in Arab unity, and made strong conditions for the Syrians which they nevertheless readily accepted. At the end of January the United Arab Republic came into existence with ʿAbd al-Nāṣir as president, welcomed with relief by the Syrians but not, it seemed, with any great enthusiasm by the Egyptian leader himself, nor by the Egyptian people, some of whom regretted the disappearance of the name of Egypt.

However, he received a great popular welcome in

Syria and appeared determined to make the union a success, if only by imposing his own will on the Syrians. Such an attitude was bound to cause resentment, and socialist measures, the dismissal of army officers, purges of politicians and the arrogant behaviour of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's man in Syria, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Sarrādj, all contributed to increase feelings of bitterness. By early 1961 the union was falling apart and in September a group of Syrian officers unilaterally took Syria out of the U.A.R.

ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was stunned, but, after a momentary determination to oppose the split by force, reluctantly withdrew Egyptian troops from Syria. To salvage his self-esteem and perhaps to keep the door open for further unions, he retained the title of U.A.R. for Egypt. His political life was complicated by another factor. The ʿIrāķīs had overthrown the monarchy in July 1958, had proclaimed their revolution and were disputing with him the leadership of the Arab world. Rivalry was intense, especially as ʿIrāķ claimed Soviet support and had refused to join the U.A.R. He had been dragged deep into inter-Arab disputes and saw his energies diverted into unprofitable avenues.

After the break-up of the U.A.R., ʿAbd al-Nāṣir felt isolated and to some extent withdrew into Egyptian affairs. In a speech of October 1961 he made some surprising admissions; "We fell victim to a dangerous illusion, to which we were led by an increasing confidence in ourselves and in others". He had neglected the economic development and the political organisation of Egypt. He would summon a congress of popular forces which would chart a more socialist and democratic course. In Egypt he had become in all senses the *raʾīs*, enjoying absolute power and now being corrupted by that power. He was the father-figure, protected by the *mukhābarāt*, imprisoning and torturing Communists, with an all-powerful police, and with judicial corruption. His entourage both protected and isolated him. He owed his popularity to the masses, yet he distrusted them, and none of his plans to involve the people more directly in government had very great success. He moved cautiously and pragmatically, approaching a socialist solution slowly. Despite his reliance on Russia, he had persecuted Egyptian Marxists and had no intention of imposing a totally communist programme on the country.

During the fifties there had been some nationalisation, but it was not until July 1961 that ʿAbd al-Nāṣir announced more radical measures. He introduced "Arab socialism" into Egypt—land ownership was reduced to a maximum of 100 feddans; banks and many other companies were nationalised; property was sequestrated; and the economy was to be totally planned. Smaller businesses were left in private hands. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was clearly reluctant, however, to follow too closely the Soviet pattern. His socialism was to be built on "national friendship" rather than class warfare and there was to be no enforced collectivisation of the peasantry. The Congress of Popular Forces was convened in May 1962 to discuss and approve a National Charter which embodied the ideology of the régime. A new single party, the Arab Socialist Union, was founded to succeed the National Union which had already taken the place of the earlier Liberation Rally.

The A.S.U. was ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's attempt to involve the people, in a strictly supervised way, in the government of Egypt. That it largely failed was partly due to the scarcity of enthusiastic and well-trained cadres. Traditional centres of power still held sway in many of the Egyptian villages and no great enthusiasm was shown for the A.S.U. In an attempt to strengthen the Union, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir even released imprisoned Marxists, some of whom in 1964 agreed to work within the organisation.

ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's economic policies were obviously influenced by his relationship with the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. He rejected Communism and was categorised by Soviet ideologists as a bourgeois nationalist, yet he was dependent on Russia for aid and Krushchev considered him an ally in the Middle East. Apart from arms, Russia had in 1960 agreed to finance the construction of Aswān Dam, which became both the symbol of Russo-Egyptian co-operation and of Egypt's rebirth. The dam was built to transform Egypt's economy and agriculture. It has not succeeded in all the ways intended, and in more ways than one it is ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's monument.

Despite his intention to concentrate on internal affairs, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's reputation and Egypt's position in the Arab world obliged him to continue to play a leading role. The most serious intervention was in the Yemen where in the autumn of 1962 an uprising had driven out the Imām. A republic was proclaimed which was immediately threatened by Saudi-backed royalist forces. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir sent an Egyptian army to support the revolution, an action he later regretted, for it was trapped for five years with a continuing drain of men and equipment, diverted away from a confrontation with Israel, the insoluble problem of his lifetime.

The Israelis had withdrawn from the Suez Canal after 1956, and United Nations troops had moved in between Israel and Egypt. The Arabs had made various plans for and propaganda about the destruction of Israel, but ʿAbd al-Nāṣir seemed determined not to let Egypt be engaged in war before the army was ready, or until Arab unity was achieved. However, he joined a pact with Syria in 1966 which trapped him into confrontation. Both Syria and Jordan clashed with Israel and he found himself shouldering their burdens and being ineluctably drawn into a conflict. He was now heard to talk of destroying Israel and of the impossibility of co-existence. ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm ʿĀmir and others convinced him that the army was strong and prepared, though after the war, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir claimed that he had not wanted to fight.

According to his version of the events leading to the war, in May he asked U Thant to withdraw the U.N. Emergency Force from the Israeli-Egyptian frontier, thus allowing the Egyptian army to face Israeli troops directly. The Russians had informed him that the Israelis were preparing to attack Syria, and by his moves in Sinai he intended to deter them; this information seems to have been either incorrect or at least exaggerated. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir claimed that the U.N. responded by insisting on withdrawing their troops both from the frontier and from Sharm al-Shaykh. The U.N. version is that Egyptian troops appeared at Sharm al-Shaykh and forced the U.N. to withdraw. Whichever version is correct, Egyptian troops were soon at the entrance to the Gulf of ʿAķaba and blockading the Straits of Tirān to Israeli shipping, and it was clear that Israel could not leave such a challenge unanswered. According to eyewitnesses in Cairo ʿAbd al-Nāṣir appeared at the time to be borne down by the inexorable, and he spoke of a moment of decision: either Israel must accept new discussions on the Palestine problem or war was inevitable.

ʿĀmir and Shams Badrān, the Egyptian War Minister, urged him in vain to strike first. Israel settled

the matter by a pre-emptive attack on June 5th which destroyed the Egyptian air force on the ground. By June 9th Egypt accepted a cease-fire, with Israeli troops once again on the Suez Canal. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir had led his country to a catastrophic defeat. He had no excuses. On television on June 9th he admitted his failures and announced his resignation. The reaction was immediate. All Egypt, it seemed, begged him to stay. Egypt and ʿAbd al-Nāṣir had together been defeated, and Egypt without him was unthinkable; the identification between leader and people appeared total. His resignation was rejected and the following day he resumed office.

His prestige was, however, diminished, a fifth of his country occupied, the Canal closed; he was confronted by a powerful enemy, and his armed forces were shattered. In the short period left of his life there was little he could do to restore the situation, yet as leader he was forced to try. Even the army was not prepared totally to support him. ʿĀmir was blamed for the defeat, arrested and allowed (or forced) to commit suicide, Badrān was imprisoned for life. Members of the secret police were arrested. In February 1968 the Air Force commanders were sentenced to imprisonment. Even so, the Egyptian people were not satisfied with ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's actions, and there was criticism of him, of the system and of the leniency of the sentences on the Air Force officers.

He responded by increasing the sentences and by urging the Arab Socialist Union to play a more creative and active role. This did not satisfy the people, and in late 1968 there were demonstrations in favour of more political freedom and even demands for his resignation. He had been called back by the people yet was unable to fulfil their expectations.

On the international scene, he was able to offer little that was constructive. At the Khartoum Arab summit in September 1967 he endorsed the Arab refusal to recognise or to negotiate with Israel, although he also seemed to accept the U.N. resolution 242 which entailed recognition of the sovereignty of all states in the Middle East. Soviet support in rebuilding his army at least gave him a position from which he could face Israel on a more equal footing. It led him to launch the war of attrition in 1969-70 during which the Israeli air force on several occasions attacked Egyptian territory. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir personally and on behalf of the Arabs could not bring himself to the point of negotiating a peace treaty with Israel, despite Soviet and American pressure. He made several moves which seemed to be leading towards negotiation, but he remained fettered by his position in the Arab world.

On 24 September 1970 King Ḥusayn of Jordan and Yāsir ʿArafat of the Palestine Liberation Organisation met in Cairo under ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's aegis to try to achieve reconciliation after Ḥusayn's suppression of the attempted Palestinian take-over in Jordan, and this was his last achievement. On September 28th he died of a heart attack, having suffered from diabetes for ten years and later from arteriosclerosis of his right leg. Despite a previous heart attack in September 1969 he had continued to work until the very end. His funeral in Cairo was marked with astonishing scenes of grief, devotion and disbelief amongst the thousands who surrounded his coffin. It was as though in a very real sense part of the soul of Egypt had died with him.

It is also possible that the mass hysteria of that day contained within itself a grain of relief. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir had dominated Egyptian life for some fifteen years and perhaps by 1970 Nasserism had run its course. He had guided Egypt through a period of intense change and political adjustment. He had seen the end of French and British imperialism and had felt his way towards a new relationship both with the United States and the Soviet Union. He had led Egypt into a relationship with an Arab world newly-conscious of its power and independence. He had had to face the problem of confronting Israel on behalf of that Arab world. As Haykal wrote, these historical conditions formed his destiny and laid on him a burden too great for any one man to bear, or in the words of another commentator, "being unable to solve Egypt's problems, [he] chose to incarnate them".

ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was thoroughly Egyptian, a Ṣaʿīdī who gave back to Egypt a sense of dignity. He remained a man of simple tastes and hard work who continued to live modestly in Cairo. His close friends were almost all political allies and he created with them an atmosphere of intrigue and conspiracy in government. He ruled Egypt through this élite, together with a network of interlocking security systems. He was cunning, mistrustful and a conspirator. He even distrusted the army, which he supervised with the *mukhābarāt*. He was a naturally passionate man, not averse to the use of violence and torture to subdue his opponents. He did not know how to create lasting institutions nor how to gather around him a strong governmental team.

He clearly inspired devotion both among his colleagues and among the masses in Egypt and elsewhere. His figure dominated Arab politics and gave rise to the formation of Nasserist parties in other countries. He was the symbol for many of Arab resistance to foreign influence and to internal reaction. He was the leader who, in Weber's terms, was able to lead the break-through in Egypt's history.

Bibliography: Much has been written about ʿAbd al-Nāṣir and Egypt under his régime. A survey of English and French studies written before 1967 can be found in D. Hopwood, *Some Western views of the Egyptian revolution*, in P.J. Vatikiotis, ed., *Egypt since the revolution*, London 1968; The most important works specifically on Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir appearing since that date are: J. Lacouture, *Nasser*, Paris 1971 (and Engl. tr., London 1973); R. Stephens, *Nasser*, London 1971; R.H. Dekmejian, *Egypt under Nasir; a study in political dynamics*, Albany, N.Y. 1972; A. Nutting, *Nasser*, London 1972; *Egypt and Nasser*. 3 vols. (Facts on File) New York 1973; M.H. Heikal, *The Cairo documents*, London 1973; Many works in Arabic have been published, especially since his death, both laudatory and critical, and these are too numerous to list here. One of the most revealing is by Haykal, *ʿAbd al-Nāṣir wa 'l-ʿālam*, Beirut 1972. Essential is ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's own *Falsafat al-thawra*, Cairo 1956 (English tr., Washington D.C. 1956). Also of use are memoirs by his colleagues, Anwar al-Sādāt, *Revolt on the Nile*, New York 1957, and Mohammed Neguib, *Egypt's destiny*, London 1955. Many of his speeches were also published.

(D. Hopwood)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ḤASSĀN B. THĀBIT AL-ANṢĀRĪ, poet of Medina and Damascus in the early Islamic period and son of the more famous eulogist of the Prophet, Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*]. He seems to have been born in *ca.* 6/627-8 or 7/628, and apart from visits to the Umayyad capital, to have spent most of his life in Medina. He died there, according to Ibn Hadjar, *Tahdhīb*, vi, 162-3, in *ca.* 104/722-3 at the age of 98 lunar years, long-lived like his father.

His father had latterly become a strong advocate of vengeance for ʿU̲th̲mān and a supporter of Muʿāwiya's cause, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān likewise became embroiled in the controversies of the day, including with the poet and supporter of the ʿAlids, Ḳays b. ʿAmr al-Nad̲j̲ās̲h̲ī [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān himself apparently was of a distinctly provocative and irascible nature, much given to satirising his contemporaries, and he also clashed with the Umayyad poet-prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam, brother of the future caliph Marwān (see *Ag̲h̲ānī*[1], xiii, 150-4, xiv, 123 f. = ed. Beirut, xiii, 279-86, xiv, 284 ff.), and then with the heir to the throne Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya over an alleged slight to the latter's sister in the *nasīb* of one of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's poems (see Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwia I*[er], in *MFOB*, ii (1907), 149-51); the moderation of Muʿāwiya protected him from retaliation, although the incident may possibly have sharpened the satires of Yazīd's protégé al-Ak̲h̲ṭal [*q.v.*] against the Anṣār in general. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was also a companion of his younger Anṣārī contemporary, the poet ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Aḥwaṣ [*q.v.*]. Only fragments of his verses have survived; these are significant, however, as showing a transitional stage to the poetry of the Ḥid̲j̲āzī school of al-Aḥwaṣ and then of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*], though he was clearly inferior in poetic talent to his father.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's son Saʿīd was also a poet of this Ḥid̲j̲āzī lyrical tradition, to judge by the few citations of his work in the *Ag̲h̲ānī* and other sources. He spent some of his career in the Ḥid̲j̲āz and some in Syria at the court of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and then in the latter's son al-Walīd's circle during His̲h̲ām's caliphate; the date of his death is unknown. See R. Blachère, *Hist. de la litt. arabe*, iii, 625, and Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 423.

Bibliography: There is no specific biography of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in the *Ag̲h̲ānī*, but see the *Tables alphabètiques* for references there to him. The scattered references of the *ṭabaḳāt* literature, etc., are given in Blachère, *op. cit.*, ii, 316-17, and Sezgin, ii, 422-3, see also Brockelmann, S I, 68, and Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 74. Of secondary literature, see in addition to the above, F. Schultess, *Über dem Dichter al Nağāšī und einige Zeitgenossen*, in *ZDMG*, liv (1900), 421-74 (material from al-Zubayr b. Bakkār's *Muwaffaḳiyyāt*); Lammens, *loc. cit.*; and W. ʿArafat, *Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, London 1971, i, Introd., 6-7. The surviving verses and fragments of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's poetic work have recently been gathered together by S. Makkī al-Ānī, *S̲h̲iʿr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān al-Anṣārī*, Baghdad 1971.

(C.E. Bosworth)

ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ AL-LĀHID̲J̲Ī [see LĀHID̲J̲Ī].

ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-ḤASANĪ AL-ʿALAMĪ AL-FĀSĪ, Moroccan astronomer and physician of the 19th century who lived in Fās, dying there in 1313/1895. Like some others of his fellow-countrymen, he tried to improve the instruments used for calculating the hours of the prayers (*tawḳīt* [*q.v.*]), and he describes one of these invented by himself in his *Irs̲h̲ād al-k̲h̲ill li-taḥḳīḳ al-sāʿa bi-rubʿ al-s̲h̲uʿāʿ wa 'l-ẓill*. Besides some commentaries (in particular, on al-Wazzānī, called *Abdaʿ al-yawāḳīt ʿalā taḥrīr al-mawāḳīt*, Fās 1326/1908), he wrote a *Dustūr abdaʿ al-yawāḳīt ʿalā taḥrīr al-mawāḳīt* (ms. Rabat K 980), which aimed at being a general manual based in part on translations of western scientific works, which he had got to know about in Cairo, where he had gone to study medicine; on his return, he also wrote a commentary on the *Tad̲h̲kira* of al-Anṭākī [*q.v.*], called *Ḍiyāʾ al-nibrās fī ḥall mufradāt al-Anṭākī bi-lug̲h̲at ahl Fās* (ed. Fās 1318/1900, 2nd edn., N.D.; with his treatise on haemorrhoids in the margins) and composed a reclassification of the material in this same work in *al-Tabṣira fī suhūlat al-intifāʿ bi-mud̲j̲arrabāt al-Tad̲h̲kira*. He further wrote an *urd̲j̲ūza* on surgery, but left unfinished a dictionary of technical terms found in medical works translated into Arabic. This author accordingly marks the transition between traditional medicine and the modern medicine, of which he had been able to acquire some idea during his stay in Cairo.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Ṭibb wa 'l-aṭibbāʾ bi 'l-Mag̲h̲rib*, Rabat 1380/1960, 86-9; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc*, Rabat 1971, 361-4 and bibl. given there. (Ed.)

ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB BUK̲H̲ĀRĪ, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, Ṣūfī saint of Muslim India.

He was the son of Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Buk̲h̲ārī, the descendant of Sayyid D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Buk̲h̲ārī, who had come to Multān from Central Asia and then settled down in Uččh at the instance of his *pīr*, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ Suhrawardī of Multān. His descendants became distinguished Suhrawardī saints during the latter half of the 8th/14th century owing to the eminence of Mak̲h̲dūm D̲j̲ahāniyān. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb received his early religious instruction in Uchha and then went to Multān for higher education. He is reported to have studied the religious sciences under S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad K̲h̲attū in Aḥmadābād (in Gud̲j̲arāt). At an early age, he went to Arabia on pilgrimage and whilst there benefited from local scholars. On his return to India he settled down in Dihlī, as most of the Suhrawardī saints of Uččh and Multān had moved there. He there became the *murīd* of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd Allāh Suhrawardī, the son of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Yūsuf Multānī and son-in-law of Sultan Bahlūl Lōdī. He also became an associate of Sultan Sikandar Lōdī. After some time, he left on the pilgrimage to Arabia for a second time. This time he went from Gud̲j̲arāt by ship, having on his previous trip travelled by land.

On his return to Āgra, in the beginning of the 10th/16th century. The Sultan accorded him a grand reception. In the year, 915/1509, he was sent to the Central Indian fort of Narwar (in modern Madhya Pradesh) which had been just been conquered and renamed by the Sultan *Ḥiṣār-i Muḥammad*, so that he could serve the religious cause there. Acting as *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām*, he supervised the construction of mosques and *madrasas*, and some mosque inscriptions contain his praise. In the same year, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Buk̲h̲ārī completed his commentary on the Ḳurʾān, in which the meaning of every verse was explained from a Ṣūfī point of view. The work is not extant, and only a few extracts, quoted by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ in his *Ak̲h̲bār-al-ak̲h̲yār*, are known.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Buk̲h̲ārī's association with the Sultan enhanced his influence and prestige in the ruling class, and as a result, a number of scholars and Ṣūfīs got stipends and land-grants from the state for their maintenance on his recommendation. But his relations with Sultan Sikandar Lōdī became strained towards the close of the latter's reign. It is said that on his arrival in Āgra from Narwar, the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ advised the Sultan to grow a beard as it was not proper for a Muslim monarch to shave his beard. The sultan tried to avoid discussion over the matter by giving evasive replies. Against the royal wishes, the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ insisted on eliciting a promise from the sultan. However, the sultan got annoyed and became quiet. On the departure of the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, he expressed his resent-

ment, remarking that he had become presumptuous over royal favour to him and that he did not know that it was because of this that people kissed his feet. When the Shaykh came to know of the sultan's remark through a courtier, he left Āgra in disgust and then spent the rest of his life in seclusion in Dihlī. He died in 931/1525 and was buried in Dihlī near the tomb of his *pīr*, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh.

Bibliography: Shaykh Rizk Allāh Mushtākī, *Wāki'āt-i Mushtākī*, Ms. British Museum Add. 11,633; Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥakk Muḥaddith, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1914; 'Abd Allāh, *Ta'rīkh-i Dāwūdī*, ed. Shaykh 'Abd al-Rashīd, Aligarh 1954; Aḥmad Yādgār, *Ta'rīkh-i Shāhī*, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, Calcutta 1939; Aḥmad Khān, *Shadjarayi-Suhraward*, Ms. Riza Library, Rampur; *Epigraphia Indica*, Arabic and Persian Supplement 1965, ed. Z.A. Desai, Calcutta 1966. (I.H. Siddiqui)

'ABD AL-WAHHĀB, Ḥasan Ḥusnī b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Yūsuf al-Ṣumādiḥī al-Tudjībī, born in Tunis 21 July 1884 and died at Salammbo in the suburbs of Tunis November 1968, was a polygraph and scholar born into a family of dignitaries and high officials of the Tunisian state. His eponymous grandfather, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Yūsuf, served in positions of administration and protocol in the entourage of the Beys while his father, Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, a senior official and interpreter with various Tunisian delegations in Europe, occupied a number of administrative posts under the French Protectorate, including that of *'āmil*, governor, of Gabès and of Mahdia; passionately interested in history, he wrote a history of Morocco that has never been published.

In 1904, on the death of his father, Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb was obliged to interrupt his short-lived higher studies in Paris where he was following a course in Political Science, for an administrative career in Tunis which was to last from 1905 to 1920.

Governor or *'āmil* successively of Djabanyāna in 1925, Mahdia in 1928 and Nabeul in 1935, he exerted himself particularly in the extension of education and the diffusion of culture in these regions through the establishment of primary schools in the Caïdate of Djabanyāna, through weekly lectures on the history of Tunis which he himself gave in Mahdia, and through the provision of books for the libraries of this town and of Nabeul.

Returning to the central administration in Tunis, in 1939 he was given responsibility, having been pensioned off, for the supervision of the *Habous* (properties held in mortmain). From May 1943 to July 1947, he was minister of the Pen (Chancellery and Internal Affairs) of the last Bey of Tunis Lamine or al-Amīn I.

Following the independence of Tunisia, he directed, from 1957 to 1962, the Institute of Archaeology and Arts where he introduced young Tunisians to archaeological pursuits, founded five museums in different parts of the country, of which four were museums of Arab-Islamic art to which he donated the whole of his private collection, and at the same time stimulated artistic and archaeological activity by the publication of articles and the writing of prefaces to books which he encouraged and assisted scholars to write.

His vocation as historian of Tunisia, put into effect from 1905 onward by the courses in the history of Tunisia which he gave at the *Khaldūniyya* [*q.v.*] and in the history of Islam which he conducted at the École Supérieure de Langue et Littérature Arabes from 1913 to 1924, was assisted by his transfer in 1920 to the General Archives of Tunisia, where he inaugurated a card-index system, then to the Supervision of *Habous*, and also by his work as governor in various parts of Tunisia, which enable him to gain a better acquaintance with the country, its recent history, its hitherto ignored cultural patrimony, its peoples, their ethnology and dialects. In 1933, he gave a series of lectures at the Institut des Études Islamiques at the University of Paris.

A member from its foundation in 1932 of the Arabic Language Academy of Cairo, in which he in effect represented the three countries of the Maghrib, he took an active part in the work of the various commissions, distinguishing himself by "an open-minded approach striving to conciliate modern needs with the norms of Muslim civilisation". He was also a member of the Academy of Damascus from its creation, of the Academy of Baghdad, a corresponding member of the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres from 1939, of the Egyptian Institute, and of the Madrid Academy of History, and of the executive committee of the *EI*.

As official delegate of the Tunisian government, he participated, from 1905, in the work of the majority of the International Congresses of Orientalists as well as in a number of seminars, which enabled him to forge fruitful and lasting relationships with numerous orientalists and oriental scholars.

While the title of Doctor *honoris causa* of the Academy of Cairo in 1950, and of the Academy of Algiers—then French—in 1960, confirmed the scholar's prestige, the Prize of the President of the Tunisian Republic crowned, on the very eve of the death of H.H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (7 November 1968), the achievements of a long and hard-working life.

His works comprise:

(a). In Arabic: *al-Muntakhab al-madrasī min al-adab al-tūnisī*, Tunis 1908, re-published in Cairo in 1944 and again in Tunis in 1968 in a new version under the title *al-Mudjmal; Bisāṭ al-'akīk fī ḥaḍārat al-Kayrawān wa shā'irihā Ibn Rashīk*, Tunis 1912; *Khulāṣat ta'rīkh Tūnis*, a summary of the history of Tunisia, published three times between 1918 and 1953 and brought up to date with each edition; *al-Irshād ilā kawā'id al-iktiṣād*, Tunis 1919; *Shahīrāt al-tūnisiyyāt*, Tunis 1934, 2nd ed. 1966; *al-Tārī*, in *al-Madjalla al-Zaytūniyya*, Tunis, May 1940; *Nissīm Ibn Ya'kūb*, in *al-Nadwa*, Tunis, January 1953; *al-'Ināya bi 'l-kutub wa-djam'ihā fī Ifrīkiyā' al-tūnisiyya*, in *RIMA*, i, (1955), 72-90; *al-Imām al-Māzarī*, Tunis 1955; *Waraḳāt 'an al-ḥaḍāra al-'arabiyya bi-Ifrīkiya al-tūnisiyya*, Tunis 1965-72 (3 vols.); *al-'Arab wa 'l-'umrān bi-Ifrīkiya*, in *al-Fikr* (Dec. 1968), 28-31.

(b). In French: *La domination musulmane en Sicile*, Tunis 1905; *Coup d'oeil général sur les apports ethniques étrangers en Tunisie*, Tunis 1917; *Le développement de la musique arabe en Orient, au Maghreb et en Espagne*, Tunis 1918; *Un témoin de la conquête arabe de l'Espagne*, Tunis 1932; *Deux dinars normands frappés à Mahdia*, in *RT* (1930), 215-18; *Un tournant de l'histoire aghlabide, l'insurrection de Manṣūr Ṭunbudhī, seigneur de la Muhammadiyya*, in *ibid.* (1937), 343-52; *Du nom arabe de la Byzacène*, in *ibid.* (1939), 199-201; *Villes arabes disparues*, in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, Paris 1950, 1-15; *Le régime foncier en Sicile au Moyen-Age (IXe et Xe s.)*, ed. and tr. of the *K. al-Amwāl* of al-Dāwūdī (in collaboration with F. Dachraoui), in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire d'E. Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, ii, 401-44.

(c). Editions of texts: *A'māl al-a'lām of Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (section relative to Ifrīkiya and to Sicily), in *Centenario della nascita di M. Amari*, Palermo 1910,

ii, 423-94; *Rasāʾil al-intiḳād* of Ibn S̲h̲araf, Damascus 1912; *Malḳā al-sabīl* of al-Maʿarrī, Damascus 1912; *Wasf Ifrīḳiya wa-ʾl-Andalus* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, Tunis 1920; *Kitāb Yafʿūl* of al-Ṣag̲h̲ānī, Tunis 1924; *al-Tabaṣṣur bi ʾl-tid̲j̲āra* of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, Damascus 1933, Cairo 1935 and Beirut 1966; *Adab al-muʿallimīn* of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, Tunis 1934; *al-D̲j̲umāna fī izālat al-raṭāna*, anon., Cairo 1953; *Riḥla* of al-Tid̲j̲ānī, Tunis 1958.

His works also include a number of articles in Arabic and in French, some of them still unpublished, the others appearing in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* and in periodicals of Tunisia, Europe and the Orient (see *al-Fikr* [Dec. 1968], 96, with a list of his articles published by this journal, some of which, as well as some of the titles mentioned above, have been reproduced in *Waraḳāt*, either because they are in a suitable context there or because their original edition has been exhausted).

Manuals or monographs, these works are for the most part dedicated to Arab history and civilisation in Tunisia in a perspective which embraces literature and also linguistic and religious studies, without however neglecting the "exact sciences" and the arts. They prefigure the author's greatest work, the fruit of sixty years of patient research, his *Kitāb al-ʿUmr*, the "work of his life", a posthumous work in several still unpublished volumes, a collection of biographical notes on some thousand scholars and men of letters who lived and worked in Tunisia since the Arab conquest, which he seems already to have foreshadowed in 1953 under the title *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Tūnis al-kabīr* "Great history of Tunisia" (Preface to the 3rd ed. of *K̲h̲ulāṣat taʾrīk̲h̲ Tūnis*), and publication of which he had entrusted to a Tunisian scholar M. el Aroussi el Metou (see especially *al-Fikr* [Dec. 1968], 86).

His only known experiment in the fictional genre, a short story, *Dernière veillée à Grenade*, written in French (in *La Renaissance nord-africaine*, Tunis no. 3, March 1905) and translated into Arabic (by Hamadi Sahli in *Ḳiṣaṣ*, Tunis, no. 17, Oct. 1970), prefigures the concern motivating him, in all his studies, for the revival of Arab-Muslim civilisation; in addition, he reveals gifts as a writer whose style and poetic imagination have already been noted (see Ch. Bouyahia, review of *Waraḳāt*, ii, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-D̲j̲āmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, iv [1967], 166-70).

Through the abundant wealth of his scientific contribution, which goes beyond the Tunisian domain into the broader spheres of Arab-Muslim culture, through the clarity of expression, the tautness and elegance of style, the work of Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, so varied in its unity, has already inspired and guided generations of scholars. Moreover, the influence of the scholar and the master, whose *mad̲j̲lis*, the last of its kind perhaps in Tunisia, was a veritable school, continues to be felt today, thanks to his collection of manuscripts, some thousand volumes strong, which he presented to the National Library of Tunis, where they constitute the bequest that bears his name (see catalogue published in *Ḥawliyyāt al-D̲j̲āmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, vii [1970], 133-272 and the announcement of the gift in his speech accepting the Prize of the President of the Republic of Tunisia, in *al-Fikr* [Dec. 1968], 85-7).

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): For Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's life: the sole source is his *Autobiography*, which appeared mainly in the Tunis daily *al-ʿAmal* for 8 Nov. 1968; *al-Fikr*, Dec. 1968, 87-95; *Ḥawliyyāt al-D̲j̲āmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, vi (1969), 35-55; *Waraḳāt*, iii, 1972, 11-29; largely used by Muḥammad Mahdī ʿAllām, *al-Mad̲j̲maʿiyyūn*, Cairo 1966, 66-8, and by Hilāl Nād̲j̲ī, *Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb*, in *al-Adīb*, Beirut, April 1967; and resumed in *al-Fikr* (Nov. 1968), 6-7; For his works: Ch. Bouyahia, reviews of the 3 vols. of *Waraḳāt*, in *Ḥawliyyāt...*, iii (1966), 215-27; iv (1967), 161-70; xi (1974), 275-94; idem, *Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb* in *Ḥawliyyāt...*, vi (1969), 7-9; M. Chemli, review of *S̲h̲ahīrāt al-tūnisiyyāt*, in *Ḥawliyyāt...*, iii (1966), 287-92; R. Hamzaoui, *Masālik al-lug̲h̲a min k̲h̲ilāl ḥayāt Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb wa aʿmālih bī-Mad̲j̲maʿ al-lug̲h̲a al-ʿarabiyya*, in *Ḥawliyyāt...*, iv (1969), 11-33; idem, *l'Académie de langue arabe du Caire, histoire et œuvre*, Tunis 1975, 97-9, and index; see also Sarkīs, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-maṭbūʿāt*, Cairo 1928, 758-9; Muḥammad Maṣmūlī, *Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb hal māt?* in *al-Fikr*, (Dec. 1968), 38-42; Ch. Klibi, in *ibid.*, 76-82; A. Demeerseman, *In memoriam*, in *IBLA*, 1968, No. 2, pp. i-iv.

(CH. BOUYAHIA)

ABDELKADER [see ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR].

ABDICATION [see TANĀZUL].

ABJURATION [see MURTADD].

ABKARIUS [see ISKANDAR AG̲H̲A].

ABROGATION [see NĀSIK̲H̲ WA-MANSŪK̲H̲].

ABSOLUTION [see KAFFĀRA].

ABSTINENCE [see TABATTUL].

ABU ʾL-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH [see ABŪ MAḤALLĪ].

ABU ʾL- ʿABBĀS AL-AʿMĀ [see AL-AʿMĀ AL-TUṬĪLĪ].

ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-BAṢRĪ, AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ B. IBRĀHĪM AL-KĀG̲H̲ADĪ, called (AL-)D̲J̲UʿAL, "Dung-beetle", influential Muʿtazilī theologian and Ḥanafī jurist, died 2 D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 369/19 June 980 in Bag̲h̲dād. He was born in Baṣra, at an uncertain date (293/905-6 according to *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, viii, 73, ll. 20 ff., following ʿAlī b. al-Muḥassin al-Tanūk̲h̲ī and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ; 308/920-1 according to the *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 174, pu.; 289/902 according to Safadī, cf. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-muʾallifīn*, iv, 27, n. 1). The nickname D̲j̲uʿal is not used in Muʿtazilī or Ḥanafī sources.

He left Baṣra at an early age, possibly forced by the constant danger presented by the Ḳarmathians [see ḲARMAṬĪ] since 311/923. He entertained contacts with the representatives of the Baṣran school of the Muʿtazila who lived now in ʿAskar Mukram in K̲h̲ūzistān, with Abū Hās̲h̲im (died 321/933) and especially with Abū Hās̲h̲im's disciple Ibn K̲h̲allād [*q.v.*]. But he lived mainly in Bag̲h̲dād, where he studied Ḥanafī law with Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Kark̲h̲ī (died 340/952; cf. *GAS*, I, 444). With respect to his theological views, he was isolated there; during the late years of al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ (died *ca.* 300/913 [*q.v.*]) the Muʿtazila had lost much of its prestige, perhaps due to the scandal caused by the books of Ibn al-Rāwandī [*q.v.*], and the wing of the school which still maintained some influence in the capital, namely Ibn al-Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īd (270-326/883-938 [*q.v.*]) with his disciples, strongly opposed Abū Hās̲h̲im's ideas. Abū ʿAbd Allāh therefore suffered serious deprivation during his studies (cf. the stories in Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, 325, pu. ff.; also in Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, 105, ll. 15 ff.). His teacher Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Kark̲h̲ī entertained relations with the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla (333-56/944-67) who rivalled with the Būyids in the game for political power in ʿIrāḳ (cf. *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, 326, ll. 17 f.); when he suffered from a stroke in 340/952, his disciples, among them Abū ʿAbd Allāh, ap-

proached the prince for financial support (cf. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 355, ll. 4 ff.). This may have initiated or at least strengthened those moderate Shīʿī leanings for which Abū ʿAbd Allāh became well-known afterwards. He used them, however, in order to win the favour of Būyid and Zaydī circles which had become decisive after Muʿizz al-Dawla had succeeded in taking over Baghdād in 334/945. He found support with Muʿizz al-Dawla's *wazīr* al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Muhallabī (339-52/950-63; cf. Hamdānī, *Takmilat Taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Kanʿān, 186, ll. 13 ff., and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, iii, 213, l. 10), who liked to surround himself with jurists (cf. Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, ii, 336, ult. ff.). Muʿizz al-Dawla himself did penitence in his presence during his last disease, in 356/967 (cf. Hamdānī, 192, apu. ff.). He gave private lessons in *kalām* to the Zaydī pretender Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (304-59/916-70) whom he managed to persuade, at the instigation of Muʿizz al-Dawla, to become *naḳīb al-ashrāf* in 349/960 (cf. al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī, *Sharḥ al-ʿuyūn*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, Tunis 1974, 372, ll. 16 ff.; Hamdānī, 188, l. 16; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, Nadjaf 1380/1961, 84, ult. ff.). When his disciple proclaimed himself *imām* in Gīlān under the title al-Mahdī li-dīn Allāh in 353/964, Abū ʿAbd Allāh saw himself exposed to persecution by the mob of al-Karkh who had been instigated against him by a member of the ʿAlid aristocracy, but his great prestige even among those who did not share his political leanings, saved him from the banishment planned by the government (cf. al-Nāṭiḳ bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ, *al-Ifāda fī taʾrīkh al-aʾimma al-sāda*, ms. Leiden Or. 8404, fol. 63b, ll. 5 ff.; shorter version also in al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī, 372, apu. ff.). Later on he counted among his pupils Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Muʾayyad billāh (333-411/944-1020) and his brother Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiḳ bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ (340-424/951-1033) who, although originating from an Imāmī family, took up the Zaydī claims in the Caspian region (cf. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 177 ff.).

Of greatest importance for his school and for the victory of Abū Hāshim's ideas was his friendship with the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, whom he may have met when he came to Baghdād in 347/958 with Muʾayyid al-Dawla, and whom he hailed as the "support of religion" (*ʿimād al-dīn*) or even as the expected Mahdī, although in the latter case only in a metaphorical sense. This must be dated to the year 366/976 or somewhat later, when the Ṣāḥib had been nominated *wazīr* by Muʾayyid al-Dawla in Rayy. He ordered Abū ʿAbd Allāh's epistle to be reproduced in golden letters and sent it among other gifts to Ḳābūs b. Wushmgīr [*q.v.*] who took over power in Ṭabaristān and Gurgān in the same year (cf. Tawḥīdī, *Akhlāḳ al-wazīrayn*, ed. Ṭandjī, 202, ll. 3 ff. and 208, ll. 6 ff.). He addressed Abū ʿAbd Allāh with the title *al-shaykh al-murshid* and agreed, in 367/978, on his recommendation to take over into his service his most promising disciple, ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], the later *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Rayy. Abū ʿAbd Allāh, at the peak of his influence, seems to have been in ill health; Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī remembered having seen him in 360/971, on the occasion of a reception for scholars given by ʿIzz al-Dawla, when the guests were conducted to him and when he was too weak to answer an attack launched at him by his colleague ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī, who represented the school of Ibn al-Ikhshīd (cf. *Akhlāḳ al-wazīrayn*, 202, ll. 11 ff.). He was buried in the *turba* of his teacher al-Karkhī; the mourning prayer had been said by the Muʿtazilī grammarian Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (286-377/900-87) who was in his eighties himself (cf. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 73, l. 19 and 74, l. 2).

Abū Ḥayyān did not like him, just as he disliked everybody connected with the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād. In his *Imtāʿ* (i, 140, ll. 3 ff.) he gives a sharpsighted characterisation of Abū ʿAbd Allāh's personality: imaginative, but bad in rhetorics and awkward in discussion; avid of wealth and prestige, but strongly committed to his "people"; skilfully using his political influence—a typical social climber. Several times he stresses the fact that Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAllāh al-Wāsiṭī, who seems to have been Abū ʿAbd Allāh's closest assistant for some time (cf. *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, 329, l. 9), left him out of personal disgust (cf. *Imtāʿ*, i, 140, ll. 10 ff., and ii, 175, ll. 10 ff.; *Akhlāḳ*, 213, ll. 5 ff.). He also mentions a number of other disciples (*Akhlāḳ*, 202, ll. 7 ff.), most of them young people from Khurāsān (*ibid.*, 210, ll. 12 f.), whom he calls a "bunch of unbelievers" and whose names were, as a matter of fact, usually not taken over into the Muʿtazilī *ṭabaḳāt*-literature. This bad reputation is perhaps to be explained by a certain trend towards scepticism (*takāfuʾ al-adilla*) for which at least one of them, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Naṣībī, was well known (cf., e.g., Tawḥīdī, *Muḳābasāt*, ed. Muḥ. Tawfīḳ Ḥusayn, Baghdād 1970, 159 f.), and which Abū Ḥayyān tries to impute to Abū ʿAbd Allāh, too (cf. *Akhlāḳ*, 212, ll. 5 ff., with reference to a conversation between Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī).

Abū ʿAbd Allāh's ideas have to be reconstructed mainly from the numerous quotations found in the works of Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār. The Ḳāḍī recognises his indebtness himself (cf. *Mughnī*, xx², 257, ll. 4 ff.), although frequently he did not share his teacher's opinions. He dictated some of his books in the presence of Abū ʿAbd Allāh, obviously when he lived in his house in Baghdād (cf. al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī, *Sharḥ al-ʿuyūn*, 366, ll. 5 f.); when he began his *Mughnī*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh was still alive (cf. xx², 258, ll. 8 ff.). A full evaluation of Abū ʿAbd Allāh's originality is, however, not yet possible. We get quite a lot of information about his pro-Shīʿī (Zaydī) arguments which he proferred in his *K. al-Tafḍīl* (for the title. cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, 107, l. 5). He based himself mainly on Shīʿī traditions, the trustworthiness of which he tried to prove with rational speculations about their historicity. Moreover, he practiced what was called *muwāzanat al-aʿmāl*, i.e. he weighed the virtues of ʿAlī and Abū Bakr against each other. In this he seems to have taken up the arguments of al-Iskāfī (died 240/854 [*q.v.*]), and he had to criticise Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī; he obviously avoided, however, open disagreement with Abū Hāshim (cf. *Mughnī*, xx¹, 216, ll. 7 ff.; 223, ll. 6 f.; 241, ll. 17 ff.; xx², 120, ll. 13 ff.; 122, ll. 3 ff.; 124, ll. 7 ff.; 125, ll. 4 ff.; 131, ll. 3 ff.; 132, ll. 19 ff.; 140, ll. 3 ff.). He never made any concessions to *rafḍ*; he drew Muʿizz al-Dawla's attention to the fact that ʿUmar had accepted Islam very early and that ʿAlī had given his daughter Umm Kulthūm in marriage to him (cf. Hamdānī, *Takmila*, 192, ult. ff.).

He showed great interest in epistemology, probably because of the fact that Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Kaʿb al-Anṣārī, a member of the rival school of Ibn al-Ikhshīd, still defended the ideas of al-Djāḥiẓ in his circle, among them certainly al-Djāḥiẓ's famous apriorism (cf. Tawḥīdī, *Akhlāḳ*, 203; for al-Djāḥiẓ, van Ess, in *Isl.*, xlii (1966), 169 ff. and Vajda in *SI*, xxiv (1966) 19 ff.). He transmitted Djubbāʾī's *K. Naḳḍ al-maʿrifa*, a critique of Djāḥiẓ's *K. al-Maʿrifa*,

and added remarks to it, obviously in his own *K. al-Maʿrifa* (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 175, ll. 4 f.), which were taken over by the Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār in his *Taʿlīk Naḳḍ al-maʿrifa* (cf. Ḥākim al-Djushamī, 367, ll. 10 f.). The book is quoted in *Mughnī*, xii, 131, ll. 19 ff.; the other numerous references (cf. *Mughnī*, xii, 9, ll. 7 ff.; 11, ll. 16 ff.; 12, ll 11. ff.; 28, ll. 9 ff.; 33, ll. 5 ff.; 46, ll. 5 ff.; 75, ll. 13 ff.; 81, ll. 5 ff.; 102, ll. 8 ff.; 118, ll. 6 ff.; 133, ll. 13 ff.; 187, ll. 18 ff.; 372, ll. 15 ff.; 442, ll. 12 ff.; 446, ll. 10 ff.; 513, ll. 15 ff.; 521, ll. 6 ff.; 532, ll. 5 ff.) may equally well go back to his *K. al-ʿUlūm* which is explicitly mentioned in *Mughnī*, xii, 235, l. 16.

In juridical hermeneutics, he departed from Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī's ideas. But he seems to have surpassed his teacher in many respects. Some of his views are quoted with the additional remark that he had them *ʿan Abi 'l-Ḥasan*; frequently, however, his name is mentioned alone. He impressed later generations with the precision of some of his definitions, but also with subtle speculations on *ʿāmm* and *khāṣṣ*, on *idjmāʿ*, on the *ratio legis* (*ʿilla*) in *ḳiyās*, on *akhbār*, on *naskh* (which, in contrast to many of his contemporaries, he also allowed concerning *ḥadīth*), etc. Numerous, although scattered, material is found in *Mughnī*, xvii, in Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's [*q.v.*] *Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* (cf. the index), and in an as yet unidentified work on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* preserved in the Vatican library (Ms. Vat. arab. 1100; cf. Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti*, 145 f., and Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 179 f.). Abū ʿAbd Allāh's own works in this domain, among them a *K. al-Uṣūl* and a *K. Naḳḍ al-futyā* (cf. *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, 326, l. 20), seem to be lost. In the "ethical" chapters of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, he circumscribed, like Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, the good only in a privative way (cf. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Muḥīṭ*, ed. ʿAzmī, 239, ll. 13 ff.); the affirmative definition was apparently reserved for evil, which received the greater share of attention. Evil is never chosen by man for the sake of itself, but only when he sees a need for it (cf. G. Hourani, *Islamic rationalism*, Oxford 1972, 95). Whereas Djubbāʾī and Abū Hāshim believed that the state of mind of an agent determines the quality of evil (evil becoming neutral when performed during sleep or in the state of unconsciousness), Abū ʿAbd Allāh upheld a more differentiated position (cf. *ibid.*, 41 f.). His ideas on *furūʿ* were formulated in his commentary on Karkhī's *Mukhtaṣar*, but also in some monographs where he treated the lawfulness of drinking *nabīdh* or of performing one's prayer in Persian (two typical Ḥanafī tenets) and the *mutʿa* marriage (which he deemed unlawful, in accordance with Zaydi *fiḳh* and in disagreement with Imāmī opinion; cf. *Fihrist*, 208, pu. f.).

In theology proper, he followed the line of the Baṣran school. Only a few personal traits can be recognised with sufficient certainty. In at least three treatises he attacked the doctrine of the eternity of the world, two of them focussing their polemics on special persons, Ibn al-Rāwandī and al-Rāzī (cf. *Fihrist*, 175, ll. 3 f.; 174, ult. f.; 175, l. 2). When he explained creation as an act of thinking (*fikr*) in order to avoid all material connotations, he seems to have taken philosophical critique into consideration (cf. Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* 548, ll. 11 ff.; *Muḥīṭ*, 332, ll. 15 f.). He attacked al-Rāzī also for his book against Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, probably about divine knowledge (cf. *Fihrist*, 175, ll. 1 f., and *Abi Bakr Rhagensis opera philosophica*, ed. P. Kraus, 167 f.). He did not accept the idea of *luṭf*; we never know whether an event which we interpret as a special "grace" (*luṭf*) for somebody is not the ruin of somebody else (cf. *Mughnī*, xiii, 67, ll. 15 ff.; also 155, ll. 4 ff.; obviously both quotations from his *K. al-Aṣlaḥ*, together with xiv, 62, ll. 12 f.). He refuted Ashʿarī's *K. al-Mūdjiz* (cf. al-Nāṭiḳ bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ, *Ifāda*, fol. 63a, ll. 5 ff. and Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Muḥīṭ*, 344, l. 4; also al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī, 372, ll. 1 f., where *naḳḍ* is to be read instead of *baʿḍ*; R. McCarthy, *The theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 167, 211 f., 229). Altogether, more than 20 titles of books can be traced.

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(J. van Ess)

ABU 'L-ʿALĀʾ AL-RABAʿĪ [see ṢĀʿID AL-BAGHDĀDĪ].

ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-FAḌL B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MURSHID AL-FĀRMADĪ, one of the greatest Ṣūfī masters of the 5th/11th century, born in 402/1011-12 at Fārmad, a small town in the vicinity of Ṭūs in Khurāsān, and the contemporary of the caliph al-Ḳādir and the Saldjūḳ princes Ṭoghril, Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh. He was highly respected by various political and religious dignitaries, including by the celebrated minister of the Saldjūḳs, Niẓām al-Mulk, who sought his advice and his spiritual favour. He was also respected as an eloquent preacher, and appreciated for his breadth of knowledge and the beauty of his oratorical language. He approached Ṣūfism after profound studies in the religious sciences, and can therefore be classified as one of the scholarly mystics. When he came to Nīshāpūr, he became one of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳushayrī's circle of students, and it seems to have been the latter who turned him towards preaching and who stimulated him to study profoundly the religious sciences. In his Ṣūfī training, he was directed spiritually by two great masters, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Djurdjānī and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kharaḳānī [*q.v.*]. The author of the *Asrār al-tawḥīd* relates in an

anecdotal form the circumstances of al-Fārmadī's adhesion to Ṣūfism under Ḳushayrī's direction first of all, and then under that of Djurdjānī, who encouraged him to preach from the pulpit and later gave him the hand of his daughter in marriage. None of al-Fārmadī's works remain, apart from a few brief poems in Arabic and a few sentences displaying his philosophy and thought. However, his influence on cultural life and mysticism can be gauged from the fact that the *Imām* al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] was one of his pupils and cites traditions on his authority. He was accordingly considered as the greatest Ṣūfī luminary of his age, who lustre is seen in the fame of his great disciple. Al-Fārmadī died in his native town in 477/1080.

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ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-**FĀRISĪ** [see AL-FĀRISĪ].

ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-**YŪSĪ** [see AL-YŪSĪ].

ABU ʾL-ʿAMAYTHAL, ʿABD ALLĀH B. KHULAYD B. SAʿD (d. 240/854), a minor poet who claimed to be a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim and who was originally from Rayy. He was in Khurāsān in the service of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] as a secretary and as tutor to Ṭāhir's son ʿAbd Allāh, whose children he further tutored and whose secretary and also librarian he was. In particular, he had the duty of judging the value of the poems addressed to his master, and it was in this capacity that he came to reject a poem by Abū Tammām, who protested violently. He was, indeed, very much attached to the classical ways, and it was doubtless for this reason that al-Ma'mūn so appreciated his poetic work, finding it superior to that of Djarīr. Bedouin in tradition and classical in mould, this poetry was largely made up of eulogies of the two Ṭāhirids, though nothing has survived of his poems addressed to Ṭāhir. His *dīwān* amounted to 100 leaves, according to the *Fihrist*, 234, and also contained eulogies of the sons of Sahl, al-Ḥasan and al-Faḍl.

Abu ʾl-ʿAmaythal ranks equally as a philologist, to whom various works of a technical character are attributed, sc. the *K. al-Tashābuh* (*al-Tashābīh?*), *K. al-Abyāt al-sā'ira* and *K. Maʿānī ʾl-shiʿr*, F. Krenkow published in 1925 his *K. al-Ma'thūr fī-mā'ttafaḳa lafẓuhu wa-khtalafa maʿnāhu*.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 280; idem, *Ḥayāwan*, i, 155, vi, 316 where, unless the text is corrupt, he is curiously described as a *rādjiz*; Ibn Ṭayfūr, *K. Baghdād*, Cairo 1368/1949, 164; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 85; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 135-6; *Fihrist*, 72-3, 234; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, i, 98; Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, 308 and index; Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, Cairo 1961-5, i, 20-1; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 14; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, No. 344, tr. de Slane, ii, 55-7; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, i, 102; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, i, 59; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 832, iv, 796; Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, i, 84; Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āt al-djanān*, ii, 130-1; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vi, 85; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *K. Baghdād*, Cairo 1368/1949, 164; Brockelmann, S I, 195; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture*, in *JSS*, xiv (1969), 58; J.E. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, Sorbonne thesis 1971, unpubl., 108 and index. (ED.)

ABŪ ʿAMMĀR ʿABD AL-KĀFĪ B. ABĪ YAʿḲŪB B. ISMĀʿĪL AL-T(A)NĀW(A)TĪ, Ibāḍī theologian who lived in the middle of the 6th/13th century. He studied in the oasis of Wargla/Wardjlān (in modern Algeria) with Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr, the famous Ibāḍī historian (cf. *EI*², I, 167), and also in Tunis, with what must have been Sunnī authorities there. He was a tribesman, and as such he does not entirely fit the model of the bourgeois scholar; he is reported to have come with his herds to the Mzāb and to have proselytised among the tribes of that region, one which was to become a stronghold of Ibāḍī faith later on.

His main work is the *K. al-Mūdjiz* (*Mūdjaz?*) *fī taḥṣīl al-su'āl wa-takhlīṣ al-dalāl* (or *wa-talkhīṣ al-maḳāl*), a rather voluminous manual of Ibāḍī theology and polemics against contrary opinions (for its contents cf. *ZDMG*, cxxvi (1976), 56 f.; for manuscripts, cf. *ibid.*, 56; Kubiak, in *RIMA*, (1959), 21, no. 26; Schacht, in *Revue Africaine*, c (1956), 391, no. 80; also in the libraries of Maḥfūẓ ʿAlī al-Bārūnī, Djerba, and Ayyūb Muḥammad, Djannāwan, Djādjū; ʿAmmār Ṭālibī, Univ. of Algiers, is preparing an edition). In addition, he wrote a commentary to the anonymous *K. al-Djahālāt*, a brief collection of questions and answers used by Ibāḍī missionaries for theological discussion (cf. *ZDMG*, cxxvi (1976), 43 ff.). His *K. al-Istiṭāʿa* seems to be lost. In *fiḳh* he dealt with the law of inheritance; his *K. al-Farā'iḍ* exists in a printed edition (cf. Schacht in *Rev. Afr.*, c (1956), 387, no. 52). Among his historical works are a *K. al-Siyar* (for mss., cf. Schacht, *op. cit.*, 141, and Lewicki, in *RO*, xi (1935), 165 n. 7: preserved?) and a *Mukhtaṣar ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh* (cf. Ennami, in *JSS*, xv (1971), 86, no. 17-1, and note by van Ess in *ZDMG*, cxxvi (1976), 57). An epistle concerning the problem of *al-waʿd wa ʾl-waʿīd* addressed to him by a certain ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Ghālib b. Numayr al-Anṣārī was incorporated by his contemporary Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Wardjlānī (died 570/1174; cf. *GAL*, S I, 692) into his *K. ad-Dalīl li-ahl al-ʿuḳūl* (cf. lith. Cairo 1306, 54-72).

Bibliography: (apart from the references mentioned in the article): Shammākhī, *Siyar* (lith. Cairo 1301/1883), 441 ff.; A. de C. Motylinski, in *Bull. Corr. Afr.*, iii (1885), 27, no. 68; T. Lewicki, in *REI*, viii (1934), 278, in *Fol. Or.*, iii (1961), 33 ff., and in *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, xiii (1971), 86; A. Kh. Ennami, *Studies in Ibāḍism* (Diss. Cambridge 1971, unpublished), 292 ff. (J. VAN ESS)

ABŪ ʿAMR AL-**SHAYBĀNĪ**, ISḤĀḲ B. MIRĀR, one of the most important philologists of the Kūfan school in the 2nd/8th century, and the contemporary of the two great figures of the rival Baṣran school, Abū ʿUbayda and al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.vv.*]. He was born in *ca.* 100/719 at Ramādat al-Kūfa, and derived his *nisba* from the Banū Shaybān because he was their neighbour and client and because he also acted as tutor to the sons of certain members of the tribe. After having studied under the masters of the Kūfan school, such as al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, he went out into the desert, where he lived for a considerable time amongst the Bedouins, collecting tribal poetry. Then he settled in Baghdād, where he taught until his death at an advanced age, since he died in *ca.* 210/825, by then more than a centenarian, leaving behind him sons and grandsons who transmitted his works. Amongst his pupils were the main Kūfan grammarians, sc. Thaʿlab, Ibn al-Sikkīt and Ibn Sallām [*q.vv.*].

Al-Shaybānī was famed above all as a transmitter (*rāwiya*) of old poetry. Thaʿlab records that he left for the desert armed with two inkholders and did not return until the ink had been exhausted. According

to his son ʿAmr, he collected the poetry of over 80 tribes, which he wrote out and arranged with his own hands in separate collections and then placed in the mosque of Kūfa. The collections have not come down to us, but they were abundantly used by later anthologists.

However, al-Shaybānī was equally known as a lexicographer especially interested in rare words (*nawādir*) and in dialect words and phrases (*lughāt*). Only one of the many works in this sphere attributed to him by the biographers has survived, the *K. al-Djīm*, so-called because it was unfinished and did not go beyond the fourth letter of the alphabet, although the sources term it equally the *K. al-Nawādir, K. al-Ḥurūf* and *K. al-Lughāt*. According to F. Krenkow, who proposed to edit it after the unique manuscript preserved in the Escurial, this work is a dictionary of words peculiar to the speech of the many tribes from whom al-Shaybānī collected poetry. It is of great lexical richness, and is all the more important for the knowledge of the old dialects, since Krenkow found from a detailed perusal of the *Lisān al-ʿArab* that later lexicographers did not use al-Shaybānī's work.

Finally, he is also said to have been a traditionist worthy of being relied upon, transmitting a large number of authentic *ḥadīths*; his most celebrated pupil here was the *imām* Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, whose son ʿAbd Allāh transmitted al-Shaybānī's work called the *K. Gharīb al-ḥadīth*.

The post-Ibn al-Nadīm biographers attribute to Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī several works which, according to the *Fihrist*, belong really to his son ʿAmr.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 116, S I, 179; *EI*[1], art. *al-Shaibānī* (Krenkow); Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, ii, 238. (G. TROUPEAU)

ABU ʾL-ʿANBAS AL-ṢAYMARĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ISḤĀḲ B. IBRĀHĪM B. ABI ʾL-MUGHĪRA B. MĀHĀN (213-75/828-88), a famous humorist of the ʿAbbāsid court, who was also a *faḳīh*, astrologer, oneiromancer, poet and man of letters, and who wrote some forty works, both serious and jesting, even burlesque and obscene. Of Kūfan origin, he was first of all *ḳāḍī* in the district from which he derived his *nisba*, Ṣaymara, near Baṣra, at the mouth of the Nahr Maʿḳil, but his vivid penchant for coarse humour very early earned him a reputation as a buffoon sufficient for him to be admitted to the court circle of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), whose courtier he now became. It is likely that he remained at court under his successors, and he is known to have enjoyed the favour of al-Muʿtamid (256-79/870-92). He died in the capital, but was buried at Kūfa.

Abu ʾl-ʿAnbas was quite an original character, and one is tempted to speak of his personality as being a split one, even though we are lacking in knowledge about the chronology and actual content of his works. It is well known that, from earliest Islamic times, the profession of buffoon paradoxically developed in Arabia (see F. Rosenthal, *Humour in early Islam*, Leiden 1956), but the fame of the humorists of the period was built essentially on their skill in making up amusing stories or in indulging in clowning to distract their masters, without really taking part in literary activity (it is insulting to number amongst them, as certain critics have gone so far as to do, a Djāḥiẓ, whose humour was of a quite different quality). Now, if our interpretation of the titles of Abu ʾl-ʿAnbas's works, listed in the *Fihrist* (151, 278; ed. Cairo, 216, 388) and Yāḳūt's *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ* (xviii, 8-14 = *Irshād al-arīb*, vi, 401-6) is correct, he may be considered on one hand, if not the creator, at least a prominent representative of a type of literature which was to culminate in the *maḳāma* and then in a burlesque or obscene type of *adab*, and on the other hand, as an astrologer, a *mutakallim* and perhaps even a serious depictor of society.

At the court, he acted as royal jester, and on occasion, he would be charged with expressing, in a facetious, impertinent and personal manner, the caliph's own feelings or opinions (see especially the oft-quoted episode concerning his reply to al-Buḥturī, when the latter had been rather offensive: al-Ṣūlī, *Ashʿār awlād al-khulafāʾ*, ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne, London 1936, 325; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 202-4 = § 2885-8; *Aghānī*[1], xviii, 173 = ed. Beirut, xxi, 537; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, 15-16; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 12-14; etc.). Like his predecessors, he could also make up amusing stories, since we read that these were gathered together, with his poetry, in an independent volume, passages from which may be found in authors like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (*ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1962, iv, 148) and even Ibn al-Djawzī (*Akhbār al-ḥamḳā wa ʾl-mughaffalīn*, Damascus 1345, 85, 111, 141, 143), and which attests the influence exercised by the inimitable Djāḥiẓian *adab* on the most serious of authors. In this respect, Abu ʾl-ʿAnbas probably differed very little from other "humorous figures" who, as we know from the *Fihrist*, left behind collections of stories; but he is distinguished from them by a series of works whose titles lead one to think that they were burlesque or scabrous. The *K. Faḍl al-sullam ʿalā ʾl-daradj* "Superiority of the ladder over the staircase", for example, must have been purely humorous, but the *K. Nawādir al-ḳawwād(a)* "Remarkable stories about pimps", to mention only this one work, must certainly have descended to pornography. After all, there emerges from a conversation between Abu ʾl-ʿAnbas and his crony Abu ʾl-ʿIbar (al-Ṣūlī, *loc. cit.*; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxiii, 77-8) that if he had abandoned scholarship (*ʿilm*) for *sukhf* and *raḳāʿa* i.e. obscenity and burlesque, it was because these last were much more profitable and lucrative. In the course of this dialogue, which took place in al-Mutawakkil's caliphate, Abu ʾl-ʿAnbas declares that he has written over 30 works on *sukhf* and *raḳāʿa*; does this mean that the lists which we possess are very incomplete, that the works which appear to be serious in content are not serious at all, or that after al-Mutawakkil's death, this writer came back again to topics less frivolous than certain titles would suggest?

Some of these titles recall works of al-Djāḥiẓ, to the extent that C.E. Bosworth (see *Bibl.*) has wondered whether Abu ʾl-ʿAnbas might have plagiarised the former writer's work; the possibility of an influence here must be seriously considered, since one finds in the list a *K. al-Ikhwān wa ʾl-aṣdiḳāʾ* and a *K. Masāwī ʾl-ʿawāmm wa-akhbār al-sifla wa ʾl-aghtām* and even a *K. al-Thuḳalāʾ* "Book of Bores"; in order to know the truth here, it would be necessary to know what lay behind these titles.

The poetry of al-Ṣaymarī has been referred to above; to judge by those poems available for reading, they were not all licentious and scatological, since they include the well-known line "How many sick persons have survived the physician and visitors, when all hope of cure had been given up".

The lists bring out the existence of at least one work which seems to be of a theological nature, the *K. Taʾkhīr al-maʿrifa*, which is alone cited—and doubtless deliberately—by Yāḳūt in his *Muʿdjam al-buldān* (s.v. Ṣaymara), whilst the same author enumerates some 40 titles in his *Irshād al-arīb*. In fact, Abu ʾl-ʿAnbas, called by Abu ʾl-ʿIbar a *mutakallim*, must apparently have been a Muʿtazilī, and because

of this he was dignified by being cited by Ibn Batta (H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Batta*, Damascus 1958, 170) amongst "the people of infidelity and error", who for him mean the Muʿtazila. On another level, one finds other titles which give the impression that Abu 'l-ʿAnbas was equally interested in "scientific" topics. If his *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-mutaṭabbibīn*, directed against charlatans and homeopathic physicians, strictly speaking belongs to the depicting of society, his *K. al-Radd ʿalā Abī Mikhāʾīl al-Ṣaydalāni* (?) *fi 'l-kimiyāʾ* may not be a general refutation of alchemy, and his *K. al-Djawārish wa 'l-daryākāt* might lead one to take him for a pharmacologist. The *K. Tafsīr al-ruʾyā* is quite explicable, since oneirocriticism can be connected with astrology, which gave Abu 'l-ʿAnbas a lasting fame. In fact, if the above-mentioned works suffered from the reaction of pietistic circles against *sukhf* and *hazl* in general, leading the *warrākūn* to cease at an early date copying them, Ṣaymarī's name still appears in manuscript catalogues, even though the titles given there hardly correspond at all to the following ones, figuring in the early lists: *K. al-Mawālīd*, *K. Aḥkām al-nudjūm*, *K. al-Mudkhal ilā ṣināʿat al-nudjūm* and *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-munadjdjimīn*. In fact, a *K. Aṣl al-uṣūl* attributed to him is preserved in both the B.N. of Paris (6608) and the B.M. of London (Suppl. Rieu, 775; cf. Brockelmann, S I, 396), but Ibn al-Nadīm asserts that he appropriated the *K. al-Uṣūl* of Abū Maʿshar, and al-Ḳifṭī (*T. al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, 410) accuses him of plundering other people's writings and putting them forward as his own compositions. There are several extant manuscripts of another work, the *K. fi 'l-Ḥisāb al-nudjūmī*, but the *K. Aḥkām al-nudjūm* mentioned in the early lists and by Brockelmann is merely the opening of the *Ḥisāb nudjūmī*, whose copy preserved in the Vatican is interesting, since it is dated 30 Rabīʿ I 1221/17 June 1806 and testifies to the continuing successfulness of this manual of astrology, and at the same time to the respect accorded to the author, al-Ṣaymarī, depicted as a most learned philosopher who left a masterpiece for posterity. G. Levi della Vida (*Elenco di manoscritti arabo islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City 1935, Nos. 955/8 and 957) is not far wrong in thinking that we have here another redaction of the *K. Aṣl al-uṣūl*, hence in the end, of a recasting of Abū Maʿshar's work. Consequently, it seems that there is nothing left of Abu 'l-ʿAnbas's genuine work, which therefore enjoys in the "scientific" sphere a spurious reputation. Even so, he must have enjoyed a certain importance, since Ibn Baṭṭa felt the need to criticise him. Also, as well as the *adab* writers who quote anecdotes of his, one famous author, Badīʿ al-Zamān, thought to make him a kind of romantic personality by reserving for him the *maḳāma* of Ṣaymara, in which Abu 'l-ʿAnbas is both narrator and hero. In this, he tells how, after having been rich and hospitable, he had been abandoned by his friends, had been transformed into a vagabond in the style of the age and hence able to acquire a knowledge of the frivolous poetry of the elegant circles and of the *sukhf* of the professional entertainers sufficient for him to recover his old position in Baghdād and then take his revenge on his faithless former friends.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources cited in the article, see Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 238; *Akhbār al-Buḥturī*, index; Ḳifṭī, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, Beirut 1390/1970, No. 101; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, 5; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 393; idem, *Muwashshaḥ*, 285; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 99; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 74; Suter, *Mathematiker*, Leipzig 1900, 30; Kaḥḥāla, ix, 38; Ziriklī, vi, 202; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 486-7; M.F. Ghazi, in *Arabica*, iv (1957), 168; Ch. Pellat, *Un curieux amuseur bagdādien: Abu 'l-ʿAnbas as-Ṣaymarī*, in *Studia or. in mem. C. Brockelmann*, Halle 1968, 133-7; C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*, Leiden 1976, i, 30-2; Muḥammad Bāḳir ʿAlwān, *Abu 'l-ʿAnbas Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Ṣaymarī*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxvi (1973-7), Arabic section, 35-50.

(CH. PELLAT)

ABU 'L-ASAD AL-ḤIMMĀNĪ, NUBĀTA B. ʿABD ALLĀH, minor poet of the ʿAbbāsid period, originally from Dīnawar. His talent was only moderate, and it was ʿAllawayh/ʿAllūya who rescued him from oblivion, since this singer, the poet's friend, introduced him to the great men of the age and, above all, set some of his verses to music, so that they enjoyed a great success. His career seems to have been quite a lengthy one. He is found, first of all, satirising as early as 153/770 two of al-Manṣūr's *mawālī*, Ṣāʿid and Maṭar (al-Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 124), and then frequenting Abū Dulaf al-ʿIdjlī [see AL-ḲĀSIM B. ʿĪSĀ], at whose court he was however eclipsed, it is said, by ʿAlī b. Djabala [see AL-ʿAKAWWAK]. After having previously sung the praises of the ruler of al-Karadj [*q.v.*], he launched at him a somewhat coarse diatribe and then turned to the former secretary of al-Mahdī, al-Fayḍ b. Abī Ṣāliḥ (on whom see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index), whose praises he now sang (al-Djahshiyārī, 164; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 256, calls the poet Abu 'l-Aswad). But the chronology of these events is uncertain, and it is even probable that, contrary to what the *Aghānī* asserts, his relations with al-Fayḍ (who died in 173/789-90) were anterior to his stay with Abū Dulaf. Amongst those whose patronage he sought, one even finds Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*], who gave him a modest gift and begged him to cease importuning him. It is, on the other hand, dubious that he was able to make a claim upon ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim (d. 275/888-9) and to address to him a lengthy anti-Shuʿūbī satire; but the intermediary whom he thanks for having secured for him satisfaction could well have been Ḥamdūn b. Ismāʿīl [see IBN ḤAMDŪN].

To judge by the few extant fragments of his verse, Abu 'l-Asad had no compunction about composing scabrous epigrams in order to get his revenge on people for the neglect which he sometimes received where he had expected a reward. But he was also able to express very delicate feelings, as in his elegy on Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 188/804 [*q.v.*]), whose outspokenness was nevertheless criticised.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see *Aghānī*, xiv, 124-35; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 171.

(ED.)

ABŪ ʿĀṢIM AL-NABĪL, AL-ḌAḤḤĀK B. MAKHLAD B. MUSLIM B. AL-ḌAḤḤĀK AL-SHAYBĀNĪ AL-BAṢRĪ, traditionist, born at Mecca in 122/740 but established subsequently at Baṣra, where he transmitted from a host of scholars (notably al-Aṣmaʿī) a large quantity of *ḥadīths* gathered by himself, and especially from several *tābiʿīs* or Successors. He was considered as trustworthy, and some of his *ḥadīths* were included in the great collections; his biographers assert that he never fabricated a single one, although he is said to have declared that pious men never lie so much as in regard to traditions from the Prophet (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 47, Eng. tr. 55). It is said that he was never seen with a book in his hand and that we was knowledgeable about *fiḳh*. Despite such details as these, little is known of his life. Physically, he was remarkable for the size of his nose, and this

particularity is one of the explanations given for his name of al-Nabīl. It is also recorded that he owed this name to his habit of wearing fine clothes, or because he freed his own slave in order to release Shuʿba [*q.v.*] from his oath not to transmit *ḥadīths* for a month. A final explanation seems the most plausible; some elephants passed through Baṣra, and all the population rushed out to see the spectacle, whilst he however stayed with his master Ibn Djuraydj [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who gave him the title of "noble". He probably died on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 212/5 March 828 at Baṣra.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 38; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii, 295; *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 163; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, iv, 450-3; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 28; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 416. (Ch. Pellat)

ABU 'l-ʿAZĀ'IM, Muḥammad Māḍī, an Egyptian and a political activist, was born in the town of Rashīd on 27 Radjab 1286/2 November 1869 and grew up in the village of Maḥallat Abū ʿAlī near Dasūḳ in the present-day Gharbiyya province. He studied at al-Azhar [*q.v.*] and at Dār al-ʿUlūm [*q.v.*]. He graduated in 1308/1890-1 and spent the subsequent twenty-five years as a teacher at various provincial government schools in Egypt and the Sudan as well as at Gordon College in Khartoum. At the latter establishment he taught Islamic Law from 1905 until August 1915, when he was forcibly repatriated to Egypt—following his refusal to declare himself in support of British administrative reforms in the Sudan, and his public opposition to these—where his freedom of movement was restricted to al-Minyā province. About a year later, in 1916, he was allowed to take up residence in Cairo, where he devoted himself to the propagation of his own conception of the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] order, into which he had been initiated by Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī [*q.v.*]. He had been actively proselytising on behalf of his *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*], which became known as al-ʿAzamiyya al-Shādhiliyya, already since the beginning of his teaching career, and had obtained a substantial following for himself in Egypt as well as in the Sudan. Al-ʿAzamiyya distinguished itself by the stress it placed upon inner-worldly asceticism in conjunction with active social commitment in conformance with the precepts of the Law, as opposed to the retraitist other-wordly asceticism and its underlying relatively negative appreciation of life in this world, as found implicitly or explicitly in the teachings of many *ṭarīḳas*. After 1916, however, when settled in Cairo, Muḥammad Māḍī ceased to look upon himself as merely head of a *ṭarīḳa*, but assumed the more comprehensive role of religious reformer (*mudjaddid*) instead, and consequently presented his *ṭarīḳa* as his conception of a revitalised Islam, which he elaborated over the following years in a variety of books and articles, notably in the periodicals *al-Saʿāda al-Abadiyya* (a bi-monthly published by one of Muḥammad Māḍī's disciples, ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥusaynī, from 1914 until 1923) and *al-Madīna al-Munawwara* (a weekly published from 1925 until 1927, and after 1927 until 1929, when it was merged with *al-Fātiḥ*, a periodical of the Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyīn, edited by Muḥammad Maḥmūd, as *al-Fātiḥ wa 'l-Madīna al-Munawwara*). The majority of these books as well as the periodicals were printed by the Maṭbaʿa al-Madīna al-Munawwara, a press established by Muḥammad Māḍī in early 1919. In his aversion to the British presence in Egypt, he committed himself to the case of the nationalists during the revolution of 1919, when he was twice arrested. On 20 March 1924, less than three weeks after the abolition of the caliphate in Turkey [see Khalīfa], he organised a meeting in Cairo, which was attended by scholars and religious dignitaries from all over the Islamic world, in order to discuss the implications of this event. This meeting ended in the foundation of the so-called Djamāʿat al-Khilāfa al-Islāmiyya bi-Wādī al-Nīl under his presidency. Because of its historical consequences, the foundation of this organisation must be considered as Abu 'l-ʿAzā'im's most notable achievement. It allowed him to mobilise an effective world-wide opposition against King Aḥmad Fu'ād's candidacy for the caliphate—to which he objected for religious and political reasons (cf. Aḥmad Shafīḳ, *Ḥawliyyāt Miṣr al-siyāsiyya*, Cairo 1929, iii, 105 ff.)—and thus determined the outcome of the Caliphate Conference held in Cairo in May 1926 and brought activity in support of Aḥmad Fu'ād's candidacy to an end. Muḥammad Māḍī died on 28 Radjab 1356/4 October 1937 and was buried in his *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] in Cairo near the mosque of al-Sulṭān al-Ḥanafī. Here, his shrine as well as the shrine of his son Aḥmad (d. 1970), who succeeded him as head of the *ṭarīḳa*, may be visited in a newly-built mosque (opened in January 1962), which houses the headquarters of the ʿAzamiyya *ṭarīḳa*.

Bibliography: The most extensive biography is ʿAbd al-Munʿim Muḥammad Shakraf, *al-Imām Muḥammad Māḍī Abu 'l-ʿAẓā'im, ḥayātuhu, djihāduhu, āthāruhu*, Cairo 1972. It contains the text of various relevant documents, evaluates his poetry, clarifies his position with respect to the idea of *al-insān al-kāmil* [*q.v.*], sets forth his conception of *tawḥīd* (based upon an unpublished treatise), and lists and summarises his works. To these must be added *Min djawāmiʿ al-kalim*, Cairo 1962; *al-Wadjdāniyyāt* (ed. ʿAbd Allāh Māḍī Abu 'l-ʿAzā'im), Cairo n.d.; *Dīwān* (ed. Muḥammad al-Bashīr Māḍī Abu 'l-ʿAzā'im), Cairo n.d. (mimeo); *al-Ṭarīḳa al-ʿAẓamiyya* (ed. Maḥmūd Māḍī Abū 'l-ʿAzā'im), Cairo 1328/1910, (important for his affiliations with various *ṭarīḳas*); and *al-Shifā' min maraḍ al-tafriḳa*, Cairo n.d., which caused the temporary imprisonment of Muḥammad Māḍī when it was interpreted as a concealed attack upon King Aḥmad Fu'ād (cf. *al-Wadjdāniyyāt*, 8). The treatise *Wasā'il iẓhār al-ḥaḳḳ*, Cairo n.d., should be excluded from Shakraf's enumeration. It was written by Muḥammad's brother, the journalist Aḥmad Māḍī (d. 1893), who had founded the newspaper *al-Mu'ayyad* together with ʿAlī Yūsuf [*q.v.*]. The treatise was published for the first time in Cairo in 1914, by Aḥmad's brother Maḥmud. The authorship was falsely assigned to Muḥammad Abu 'l-ʿAzā'im by his son and successor Aḥmad in the subsequent editions published under his auspices. For additional biographical materials, see Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādjī, *al-Turāth al-rūḥī li 'l-taṣawwuf al-islāmī fī Miṣr*, Cairo n.d., 170. For details about the history of the al-ʿAzamiyya *ṭarīḳa* and further references, see also F. de Jong, *Two anonymous manuscripts relative to the Ṣūfī orders in Egypt*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, xxxii (1975), 186-90. For the ʿAzamiyya in the Sudan, see J.S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949, 239 f. On his *mawlid*, see J.W. McPherson, *The moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1940, 140 ff. A small collection of letters written by Muḥammad Māḍī and transcripts thereof, which are in the possession of the ʿAzamī family, is preserved on microfilm at Leiden University Library. (F. de Jong)

ABŪ BAKR IBN ʿABD al-ṢAMAD [see ʿabd al-ṣamad].

ABŪ BAKR IBN AL-ʿARABĪ [see IBN AL-ʿARABĪ].

ABŪ BAKR AL-AṢAMM [see AL-AṢAMM in Suppl.].

ABŪ BAKR AL-KHARĀʾIṬĪ [see AL-KHARĀʾIṬĪ].

ABŪ BAKR AL-ZUBAYDĪ [see AL-ZUBAYDĪ].

ABU ʾL-BARAKĀT AL-ʿALAWĪ AL-ZAYDĪ, ʿUMAR B. IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD, Kūfan grammarian, jurisprudent, Ḳurʾān scholar and traditionist. He was born in Kūfa in 442/1050-1, heard *ḥadīth* in his home town and Baghdād, and stayed for some time, together with his father, in Damascus, Aleppo and Ṭarābulus. In Aleppo he read in 455/1063 the *K. al-Īḍāḥ* of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī which he later transmitted in Kūfa. There he finished on 5 Ramaḍān 464/26 May 1072 the reading of the *K. al-Djāmiʿ al-kāfī*, an extensive collection of Kūfan Zaydī *fikh* doctrine by the Sayyid Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī. He read it with the Sayyid ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muʿayya, who had heard it from the author, though he also transmitted directly from Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlawī with an *idjāza*. He taught and led the prayer in the mosque of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sabīʿī. Of his works on grammar, a commentary on the *K. al-Lumaʿ* of Ibn Djinnī is extant in manuscript (see Brockelmann, S I, 192). A descendant of Zayd b. ʿAlī, Abu ʾl-Barakāt personally adhered to Zaydī Shīʿī beliefs, though he generally concealed them from his Sunnī students and gave legal *fatwās* according to Ḥanafī doctrine. Only to Shīʿīs did he transmit partisan Shīʿī *ḥadīths* and rendered *fatwās* according to Zaydī law. In agreement with the Zaydī creed in his time, he upheld the doctrine of human free will and the createdness of the Ḳurʾān. He died on 7 Shaʿbān 539/2 February 1145 in Kūfa.

Bibliography: Samʿānī, f. 283b; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, ed Muḥ. Abu ʾl-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1967, 399 f.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād 1357-59/1938-41, x, 114; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 12-14; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, ed. Muḥ. Abu ʾl-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1950-73, ii, 324-7; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. A.M. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1382/1963, iii, 181; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, ed. Muḥ. Ḥasan Āl al-Ṭāliḳānī, Nadjaf 1380/1961, 263; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1331/1913, iv, 280-2; Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḳāsim, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Zaydiyya*, ms. photocopy no. 290 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 314.

(W. MADELUNG)

ABŪ BARĀKISH (A.) a name, no longer in use, given, according to localities, to two birds whose brilliant plumage is characterised by iridescent colours or shows a colour-scheme varying in the course of the seasons. The quadriliteral root *B-R-Ḳ-Sh*, probably derived from the triliteral *R-B-Ḳ*, has, like *R-Ḳ-Sh*, the sense of "to be variegated, mottled" and the substantive *birkish* indicates the result, synonymous with *talawwun*. The plural *barāḳish* has a superlative quality in expressions such as *bilād barāḳish* "a land decked with flowers" and it is used as a forename; it was the name of the wife of Luḳmān [*q.v.*], and of a bitch that became proverbial for her ability to foresee and to foretell with her barking the return to camp of the horsemen of her tribe. As for the plural of the composite noun *abū barāḳish*, it would theoretically be *ābāʾ barāḳish*, but this form is not found in literature.

(1) According to the uniform definition provided by Arab lexicographers, the true *abū barāḳish* corresponds to this description: "a small bird of the bushes with a greyish head, a scarlet breast and dark lower parts. Just like the porcupine, when excited it ruffles up all its plumage, showing a whole range of glittering colours". (al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 162, and root *B-R-Ḳ-Sh* in the Arabic dictionaries.) Though restrained and concise, this ornithological information is sufficient to identify the *abū barāḳish* as a ploceid, the male in the nuptial plumage of the weaver-bird (*tanawwuṭ nassādj*) the flame-coloured Franciscan or Grenadier, the English Durra-bird (*Euplectes oryx franciscana*), a resident both of the Sudan and of the southern coasts of the Red Sea. In fact, this industrious and gregarious bird, smaller in size than the house sparrow and with plumage that is generally brownish and rather dull, abruptly changes its livery in the mating season and its feathers become soft, velvety, long and finely shaped; the colours are striking: the breast, the back, the upper and lower caudal feathers covering the short tail (whence the expression found in some authors *thaḳīl al-ʿadjz*) are of the purest pink, while the crown of the head and the stomach have a sheen of glistening black. Nubia is the favourite territory of this bird, which was one of the first to be exported and which very soon came to be known to the Arabs. In the period of mating, the male courts three or four females, making a show of bringing them grains of millet, and throughout the period of nestbuilding he constantly asserts his proprietory rights by fluttering and hovering beneath each nest and ruffling all his feathers which sparkle in the light, accompanying his performance with a loud rustling of wings (*ḥafīf*). After the hatching of the young, the actor abandons his deceptive guise and returns to the gregarious life in large flocks whose greed causes sometimes considerable havoc in the cereal crops. The spectacular variations in colour of the plumage of the Grenadier weaver-bird provided for a poet of the Banū Asad an image whereby to stigmatise the inconstant nature of his enemies, and his proverbial lines (written in *kāmil metre*) *ka-abī barāḳisha kulla law/nin lawnu-hu yataḳhayyalu* "like *abū barāḳish*, whose colour resembles all colours", have determined the way in which the bird is remembered (see Ibn Ḳutayba, *Adab al-kātib*, Cairo 1355/1936, 204; al-Damīrī, *loc. cit.*; *LA*),

(2) For al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, in the margins of al-Damīrī, ii, 252) and for him alone, the *abū barāḳish* is a wader with a pleasant-sounding cry, with red beak and feet, of a size close to that of the stork and with plumage fluctuating in colour, in reds, greens, yellows and blues. The livery of this attractive wading-bird apparently provided Byzantine weavers with the inspiration for the creation of the precious dove-coloured shot silk called *abū ḳalamūn* [*q.v.*], a name which conversely was applied to the bird. Now, the only wader of the Mediterranean and oriental regions perfectly fitting this description is the Porphyrion or Blue Taleva/Purple Gallinule (*Porphyrio porphyrio*), better known however under the grandiose name of "Sultan-fowl". This marshland bird, half-a-metre in height, has feet and beak of a fine coral red and on its forehead a knob of the same colour; its rich blue plumage varies from indigo to turquoise with flashing tints of green, purple and bronze. When alarmed, the Sultan-fowl emits a brief, trumpet-like sound. Its Spanish name is "calamon", a vestige of the Arabic *ḳalamūn*, while Egypt has retained its ancient Greek name πορφυρίων arabised as *furfūr/furfur*, pl. *farāfīr*; Syria and ʿIrāḳ call it *burhān* and *suhnūn*. All these countries and Persia are also familiar with the "green-backed" subspecies (*Porphyrio aegypticus* or *madagascarensis*), very closely related to the main species and bearing the

names *dīk sulṭānī* "sultan-cock", *dīk al-mā'* "water-cock" aud *farkha sulṭāniyya* "sultan-pullet". The Sultan-fowl, easily domesticated, was highly thought of among the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans; it was bred in temples and placed under the protection of the gods. In Egypt, it is not unusual to see it in rural areas co-existing peaceably with domestic poultry. Because of the splendour of its plumage, the Persians awarded it the title *shāhmurgh* "king-bird", arabised in the forms *shāhmurk, shāhmurkī, shāmūrk, shamurk, shāhmurdj, shahmurdj*. In legends and stories of Persian origin, while the lion is the king of the animals, it is the Sultan-fowl that sits on the throne of the feathered race, and the peacock is only the vizier (see *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Beirut 1957, ii, 248 ff.). Al-Djāḥiẓ several times cites the Sultan-fowl (*Ḥayawān*, passim) as feeding on flies and small reptiles, which is accurate, the diet of this wader being both vegetable and carnivorous; having killed its prey with a violent blow of the beak, it holds it with one foot and tears it with the other, carrying off the morsels of flesh in its beak.

Thus the *abū barāḳish* of the poet of Asad was a weaver-bird, while al-Ḳazwīnī saw it as the Sultan-fowl, worshipped in antiquity, and one is inclined to believe that it was on his own authority that this naturalist, perhaps not knowing the Grenadier weaver-bird, identified the *abū barāḳish* with the *abū ḳalamūn/shāhmurk*; but his decision was regarded as law by his successors, and it should be recognised as such.

(3) In the Ḥidjāz, through a confusion on the part of the children of the nomads, attested by the philologist al-Azharī, *abū barāḳish* was used in place of *birkish* to denote the chaffinch (*Fringilla coelebs*), a finch well-known in all the Arabic-speaking countries and also called *shurshur* (in the Maghrib, *shershir, berkesh, zāneb*); this was simply an error ascribable to childish ignorance.

Finally, we may ignore the totally unfounded identification of the *abū barāḳish* with the bullfinch (*Pyrrhula pyrrhula*) suggested by the encyclopedia *al-Mawsū'a fī 'ulūm al-ṭabī'a* (Beirut 1965, i, no. 154), this western bird being practically unknown in the Near East, in Arabia, in Egypt and the Maghrib.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, there are mentions of the *abū barāḳish* in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 76; Kushadjim, *Maṣāyid.*, Baghdād 1954, wholly imprecise; Ornithology: A. Ma'lūf, *Mu'djam al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932, 111, 197; B. Al-Lūs (Allouse), *al-Ṭuyūr al-'irāḳiyya*, ii, Baghdād 1961, 29-30; A.E. Brehm, (*L'homme et les animaux*) *Les oiseaux*, Fr. edn. revised by Z. Gerbe, Paris 1878 ii, 701-3; F.O. Cave and J.D. Macdonald, *Birds of the Sudan*, London 1955, 374; R.D. Etchécopar and F. Hue, *Les oiseaux du nord de l'Afrique*, Paris 1964, 191-5 and 600 (index of Arabic names by F. Viré); idem, *Les oiseaux du Moyen-Orient*, Paris 1970; R.N. Meinertzhagen, *Birds of Egypt*, London 1930; L. Delapchier, *Les oiseaux du monde* (Atlas), Paris 1959, i, 125, ii, 130.

(F. Viré)

ABU 'L-BAYḌĀ' AL-RIYĀḤĪ, As'ad b. 'Iṣma, one of the most famous informants of the Baṣran philologists in the 2nd/8th century, notably, of al-Aṣma'ī [*q.v.*]. This Bedouin teacher, settled in southern 'Irāḳ, may have received his curious *kunya* (*bayḍā'* = "desert") from the admirers forming a circle around him. He also wrote poetry, transmitted by another teacher, a certain Abū 'Adnān, who is allegedly the author of several works (in particular, of a *K. al-Naḥwiyyīn* and a *K. Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, *Fihrist*, 68), and whom al-Djāḥiẓ praised greatly for his erudition aud his fine language (*Bayān*, 1, 212). Abu 'l-Bayḍā' also had as his *rāwiya* his son-in-law 'Amr b. Kirkira [*q.v.*], but his poetic work is almost wholly lost.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 66, 252; *Fihrist*, 66; Ibn Ḳutayba, *'Uyūn*, i, 71; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 118, 183; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 249; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vi, 89-90; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 224.

(Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ ḌABĪ [see abū ẓabī].

ABŪ DĀWŪDIDS [see bānīdjūrids].

ABU 'L-DHAHAB, *kunya* of Muḥammad Bey, a grandee of Ottoman Egypt. Acquired as a *mamlūk* by *Bulūṭ kapān* 'Alī Bey [*q.v.*] (the date, 1175, given in Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib*, i, 417, is obviously incorrect), he became the chief officer in his master's household as *khāzindār* in 1174/1760. When in 1178/1764-5 he was raised to the beylicate, he obtained his *kunya* by distributing a largesse of gold. In 1184/1770 he commanded the expeditionary force sent by 'Alī Bey to install a Hāshimite protégé in Mecca. As commander of the force sent by 'Alī Bey in 1185/1771 to co-operate with Ẓāhir al-'Umar against 'Uthmān Pasha al-Ṣādiḳ, governor of Damascus, he captured the city, but, when the citadel was on the point of surrender, withdrew with all his troops to Egypt. This curious development has been ascribed (e.g. by Volney) to the secret negotiations of 'Uthmān Pasha; the *iltizām* of Gaza and al-Ramla, which Abu 'l-Dhahab received in this same year (Cohen, *Palestine*, 49) may have been his reward. As master of an exceptionally large household of *mamlūks* and black slaves (*'abīd*), and as the head of a faction, he succeeded in 1186/1772 in ousting 'Alī Bey, who sought refuge with Ẓāhir al-'Umar. Lured into returning to Egypt with a small force, 'Alī Bey was defeated at al-Ṣāliḥiyya, and died a few days later (Ṣafar 1187/May 1773). Abu 'l-Dhahab was now the effective ruler of Egypt, where he established peace and security, so that internal trade revived. Unlike 'Alī Bey, he followed a policy of ostentatious loyalty to the sultan, and was gratified by investiture as *amīr Miṣr*, i.e. *shaykh al-balad* (Rabī' I 1187/June 1773). He was nevertheless as determined as his former master to control Syria, where he represented himself as the defender of the sultanate against the rebel, Ẓāhir al-'Umar. The *sandjak* of Gaza and al-Ramla was conferred on him in 1187/1773 (Cohen, *Palestine*, 148). The fact that he obtained the appointment as viceroy of Egypt of a fugitive Palestinian notable, Muṣṭafā Pasha Ṭūkān al-Nābulusī (not a member of the 'Aẓm family, as stated in Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib*, i, 418; cf. Cohen, *Palestine*, 56, n. 97), may also be linked with his Syrian aims. Early in 1189/March 1175, he led his army into Palestine to overthrow Ẓāhir. Jaffa was captured, and a massacre ensued. Ẓāhir fled from Acre, his capital, which was about to fall, when Abu 'l-Dhahab died suddenly of fever. His troops returned forthwith to Cairo.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib al-āthār* (Būlāḳ edn.), i, annals for the years indicated and obituary of Abu 'l-Dhahab on pp. 417-20; Volney, *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie* (ed. Jean Gaulmier), Paris and The Hague 1959, especially pp. 78-94 (dates on pp. 91-4 inaccurate); Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1973.

(P.M. Holt)

ABŪ DJA'FAR AL-ANDALUSĪ [see al-ru'aynī].

ABŪ DJA'FAR AL-RU'ĀSĪ [see al-ru'āsī].

ABŪ DJA'FAR AL-ṬŪSĪ [see al-ṭūsī].

ABU 'L-DJĀRŪD [see al-djārūdiyya].

ABŪ DULAF AL-ʿIDJLĪ [see AL-ĶĀSIM B. ʿĪSĀ].

ABU ʾL-FAḌĀʾIL [see ḤAMDĀNIDS].

ABU ʾL-FARADJ B. MASʿŪD RŪNĪ, Persian poet of the Ghaznawid period, was born and raised at Lahore, according to ʿAwfī, the earliest and most trustworthy authority for his life. The *nisba* Rūnī has been related by Indian writers of the 16th and 17th centuries to a place by the name of Rūn in the vicinity of Lahore (cf. e.g. Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, i, Calcutta 1864, 37; *Farhang-i Djahāngīrī* and *Burhān-i ķāṭiʿ*, s.v.). But already Badāʾūnī had to admit that this place could not be found anywhere in that area. Others (e.g. Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, lith. Bombay 1299/1882, 122) have suggested an origin from Rūna, a village in the Dasht-i Khāwarān near Nīshāpūr. This would mean that Abu ʾl-Faradj was descended from Khurāsānian settlers in the Pandjāb who must have come there after the conquest of the region by the Ghaznawids in the early 5th/11th century. The mentioning of a Sīstān origin that can be met with in some other sources probably goes back to a confusion with another Ghaznawid poet, Abu ʾl-Faradj Sidjzī.

The date of his birth is not known. Chronological indications that can be derived from his work make it likely that he started his career as a poet of the court of Lahore some time before Sayf al-Dīn Maḥmūd was installed there by his father Sulṭān Ibrāhīm as a viceroy (*wālī*, or *mālik*) of Ghaznawid Hindūstān in 469/1076-7. Abu ʾl-Faradj appears to have retained his position at the court of Lahore also under the successor of Sayf al-Dīn the later Sulṭān Masʿūd III, who was in residence there from 480-92/1087-99 (cf. on events in India under these two viceroys, C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 65-8). As he addresses the latter in most of the poems he wrote for him by the title of *malik*, it may be concluded that they belong to this period. The last poem by Abu ʾl-Faradj that can be dated with certainty is an ode he wrote at the occasion of the accession to the throne at Lahore of Masʿūd's son Shērzād after his father had become Sulṭān of Ghazna.

The relationship between the poet and the central Ghaznawid court is not quite clear. He wrote several poems for Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and, according to ʿAwfī, placed a *ķaṣīda* addressed to the sultan at the beginning of his *Dīwān*. There are also poems preserved which bear dedications to prominent officials of the central government, like the ʿāriḍ-i lashkar Manṣūr b. Saʿīd Maymandī who patronised other poets of this period as well. But apart from that, there are no indications of a stay of Abu ʾl-Faradj at Ghazna for any long period of time. As Lahore was a base for incursions into Hindu territory, in which the Sultan and his retinue also participated from time to time, most of these poems may very well have been written while the patrons from Ghazna were staying at that city temporarily on their way to a campaign.

It seems, therefore, likely that the scene of Abu ʾl-Faradj's career was mainly, if not entirely, the court of Lahore, where the young princes showed a greater interest in poetry than the Sultan himself, who has been depicted by historians as a stern and pious man. The only contemporary poet who as far as we know now was in personal contact with Abu ʾl-Faradj was Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*], another Iranian born in the Pandjāb. But the former is to be distinguished from the Abu ʾl-Faradj whom Masʿūd held responsible for his banishment from the court. (cf. *Dīwān-i Masʿūd-i Salmān*, ed. Rashīd Yāsimī, Tehran 1319/1940, Introduction).

The modern Iranian scholar Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī has connected one of the poet's *ķaṣīdas* with the conquest of Ķannawdj by Sulṭān Masʿūd III which he dates between 500 and 508 A.H. This would provide an approximate dating for the death of Abu ʾl-Faradj (cf. *Dīwān-i ʿUthmān-i Mukhtārī*, ed. Humāʾī, Tehran 1341/1962, 654 ff. and *passim*, and Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 85).

The work of Abu ʾl-Faradj, as we know it now, consists mostly of *ķaṣīdas*, and further of some quatrains and *muķaṭṭaʿāt*, as well as a few *ghazals* of a pre-classical type. The *ķaṣīdas* are comparatively short poems in which the emphasis is laid on the panegyric. In many cases, the conventional *nasīb* has been left out altogether. The poet developed the style of the panegyrical address of the Sāmānid and early Ghaznawid poets into various new directions. The texture of his verse became more knitted through the use of uncommon compounds, original metaphors and hyperboles, and through a greater density in the handling of rhetorical artifices. He also introduced references to elements of religious lore or of the sciences into his poetry with an unprecedented frequency. Through all these features, the work of Abu ʾl-Faradj heralds the great change in poetical style which took place in the course of the 6th/12th century and is commonly designated as the development from the Khurāsānian into the ʿIrāķī style (for brief analyses of the main characteristics of Abu ʾl-Faradj's poetry, see the works by Ṣafā, Mahdjūb and Dāmghānī mentioned in the bibliography).

The stylistic originality of Abu ʾl-Faradj was already recognised by his contemporaries and the immediately-following generations of poets. A remarkable instance of his influence is on Anwarī, one of the great masters of the Persian *ķaṣīda*, who did not conceal his indebtedness to this predecessor. The traces of this influence can be noticed in many ways, varying from direct quotations to a more general similarity of ideas, motifs and forms of expressions (cf. *Dīwān-i Anwarī*, ed. by M.T. Mudarris-i Raḍawī, i, Tehran 1347/1968, 104-8).

The wide range of Abu ʾl-Faradj's influence is further attested by the many quotations from his poems in the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* adaptation by Naṣr Allāh Munshī, written about 540/1145-6, and by the frequent use of his verses as *shawāhid* by Shams-i Ķays in his textbook on the theory of poetry. In more recent times, a renewed interest in his work emerged after the "return" (*bāzgasht*) to the earlier styles of Persian poetry which occurred in Iran during the late 12th/18th century (cf. Riḍā-Ķulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, *muķaddama*). The perpetual war waged with the non-Muslim neighbours of Ghaznawid Hindūstān is often reflected in his poems. But the identification of events and placenames is still hampered by the philological unsufficiencies of the text of the *Dīwān* as it is accessible at this moment.

It cannot be doubted that the collections of Abu ʾl-Faradj's poems differed already at an early date as far as their contents and arrangement are concerned. Even Anwarī could only find a selection (*intikhāb*) from which to make his own copy. The poem opening the *Dīwān*, according to ʿAwfī (= ed. Dāmghānī no. 53), is not the same as that which opens the collections contained in the oldest manuscripts known so far. The first printed text was an addition in the margin to a lithograph of the *Dīwān* of ʿUnṣurī (ed. by Āķā Muḥammad Ardakānī, Bombay 1320). A critical edition was published by K.I. Čaykin as an

annex (*ḍamīma*) to *Armaghān*, vi (Tehran 1304/1925) with a biography and annotations to the text by Muḥammad ʿAlī Nāṣiḥ. The recent edition by Maḥmūd Mahdawī Dāmghānī reproduces the text of its predecessor, adding variant readings from two ancient manuscripts, viz. a copy in the Chester Beatty Library (cf. *A catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures*, Dublin 1959, 4, no. 103) and a copy in the British Museum (cf. Ch. Rieu, *Supplement to the catalogue of the Persian manuscripts*, London 1895, 141, no. 211). Many manuscripts of the *Dīwān*, or of smaller collections of poems, still await to be examined (see e.g. A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iii, Tehran 1350/1971, 2214-6, nos. 21375-417; Aḥmed Ateş, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde Farsça manzum eserler*, i, Istanbul 1968, 212).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, Tehran 1955-7, *matn* 44, cf. *taʿlīḳāt* 115 ff., 194, 226; Abu 'l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh Munshī, *Tardjama-yi Kalīla wa-Dimna*, Tehran 1343/1954; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ed. Browne, ii, 241-5; ed. Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 419-23, cf. *taʿlīḳāt* 714 ff.; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳays al-Rāzī, *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, Tehran 1338/1959; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, Tehran 1340/1961, i, 339-44; Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, lith. Bombay 1299 A.H., 136-9; Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, lith. ed. Tehran 1295 A.H., i, 70-8; Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, 547-8; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v.; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, ii, Tehran 1339/1960, 470-6 and *passim*; Ḥusayn Nāyil, *Abu 'l-Faradj Rūnī*, in *Āryānā* (Kabul) xxii/1-2 (1342/1963), 19-24; M. Dj. Mahdjūb, *Sabk-i Khurāsānī dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1345/1966, 575-81 and *passim*; Maḥmūd Mahdawī Dāmghānī, *muḳaddama* and *taʿlīḳāt* to *Dīwān-i Abu 'l-Faradj Rūnī*, Mashhad 1348/1969. (J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

ABU 'L-FARADJ IBN AL-ṬAYYIB [see IBN AL-ṬAYYIB].

ABU 'L-FATḤ AL-BALAṬĪ [see AL-BALAṬĪ in Suppl.].

ABU 'L-FATḤ AL-BUSTĪ [see AL-BUSTĪ].

ABU 'L-FATḤ AL-DAYLAMĪ AL-ḤUSAYN B. NĀṢIR B. AL-ḤUSAYN, AL-NĀṢIR LI-DĪN ALLĀH, Zaydī Imām. There are some variants in the sources in regard to his own, his father's and his grandfather's personal names. He belonged to a Ḥasanid family which had been prominent in Abhar for some generations. Nothing is known about his life before he came to the Yaman after 429/1038 claiming the Zaydī imāmate. He gained some tribal support in northern Yaman and established himself in the Ẓāhir Hamdān region where he built the fortress and town of Ẓafār [*q.v.*] near Dhū Bīn. In 437/1045-6 he entered and pillaged Ṣaʿda, the stronghold of the descendants of al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], and committed a slaughter among the Banū Khawlān living in the area. Still in Shawwāl 437/April-May 1046 he occupied Ṣanʿāʾ. In the following year he gained briefly the allegiance of Djaʿfar b. al-Ḳāsim al-ʿIyānī, leader of a Zaydī faction which expected the return of his brother, the *Imām* al-Ḥusayn al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], as the Mahdī. Djaʿfar soon revolted against him, together with the Sulṭān Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥāshid b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, chief of the Hamdān, and expelled his representatives from Ṣanʿāʾ. Thereafter the Imām and Djaʿfar fought each other with changing fortunes for the possession of the fortresses of Athāfit and ʿAdjīb. The situation of Abu 'l-Fatḥ deteriorated further after ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī occupied the Djabal Masār in 439/1047 and quickly expanded his power over large areas of the Yaman. The *Imām* was soon deserted by most of his followers and was forced to move from town to town. In Rabīʿ I 444/July 1052 al-Ṣulayḥī defeated and killed Abū Ḥāshid b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥāshid and took possession of Ṣanʿāʾ. Abu 'l-Fatḥ now corresponded with Nadjāḥ, the lord of the Tihāma, inciting him against al-Ṣulayḥī. When he invaded the Balad ʿAns later in the year 444/1052-3, he was defeated and killed by al-Ṣulayḥī, together with some seventy supporters, at Nadjd al-Djāḥ and was buried in Radmān. His descendants were later known in the Yaman as the Banu 'l-Daylamī.

His Ḳurʾān commentary *al-Burhān* is extant in manuscript (*Fihrist kutub al-khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*, Ṣanʿāʾ n.d., 12; *Dār al-kutub: Ḳāʾimat al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muṣawwara bi 'l-mīkrūfīlm min al-Djumhūriyya al-ʿArabiyya al-Yamaniyya*, Cairo 1967, 6). A refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya [*q.v.*] sect is also ascribed to him.

Bibliography: Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, *al-Ḥadāʾiḳ al-wardiyya*, ii, ms. Vienna, Glaser 116, ff. 110a-113b; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī fī akhbār al-ḳuṭr al-Yamānī*, ed. S. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr and M. Muṣṭafā Ziyāda, Cairo 1388/1968, i, 246 f., 250; al-ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. Anastās Mārī al-Karmalī, Cairo 1939, 36 f.; H.C. Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892, 229 f.; Ḥ.F. al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, Cairo [1955], 82; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 205. (W. MADELUNG)

ABU 'L-FATḤ AL-ISKANDARĪ [see AL-HAMADHĀNĪ].

ABU ḤAFṢ AL-SHIṬRANDJĪ [see AL-SHIṬRANDJĪ].

ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-AḤMAR, the usual name of a philologist of Baṣra called ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan/al-Mubārak, who was taught by al-Kisāʾī [*q.v.*], whose eager pupil he was; after his master, he became tutor to the future caliphs al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. The biographical sources record that al-Aḥmar was originally a member of al-Rashīd's guard, so that, being very attracted to the study of philology, he was unable to attend al-Kisāʾī's teaching sessions except when he was not on duty in the palace. When the master came to give lessons to the young princes, al-Aḥmar rushed towards him, both when he went in and when he came out took his stirrup and escorted him, whilst firing questions on grammar at him. When al-Kisāʾī was afflicted by leprosy and unable to teach the princes any longer, he was afraid lest one of the great grammarians of the period, Sībawayh or al-Akhfash [*q.vv.*] might take his place; so he recommended as his own successor al-Aḥmar, who was in the end confirmed in the post. The biographical sources mention in this connection the custom whereby, after the first lesson, the new tutor received all the furnishings of the room in which he had been teaching; al-Aḥmar, whose house was too small to take this, saw himself offered now both a house and two slaves, one of each sex. Each day, he went along to learn that morning's lesson from al-Kisāʾī, who every month came to question his pupils in al-Rashīd's presence. In this way, al-Aḥmar acquired a vast amount of knowledge. He is said to have known 40,000 *shawāhid* verses and complete *ḳaṣīdas*, but he had no pupils and did not transmit al-Kisāʾī's knowledge orally. This latter rôle devolved on his rival al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*], but he was the author of two works, the *K. al-Taṣrīf* and the *K. Tafannun al-bulaghāʾ*. He died on the Pilgrimage road in 194/810.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 98; Khaṭīb Baghdādī,

T. Baghdād, xii, 104-5; Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1955, 89-90; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 147, Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, Cairo 1369-74/1950-5, ii, 313-17; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 59; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 321-2 = § 2523; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xii, 5-12; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 334; M. al-Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa*, Baghdād 1374/1955, 102; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 250-1; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, v, 79. (CH. PELLAT)

ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-ANṢĀRĪ, ʿALĪ B. MŪSĀ B. ʿALĪ B. ARFAʿ (Rāfiʿ) RĀSUH AL-ANDALUSĪ AL-DJAYYĀNĪ (515-93/1121-97), a preacher of Fez, and member of a family of whom one person (Ibn Arfaʿ Rāsuh) is mentioned in the 5th/11th century at Toledo as a composer of *muwashshaḥāt* (Ibn al-Khaṭīb has preserved ten examples in his *Djaysh al-tawshīḥ*, Nos. 49-58; cf. S.M. Stern, *Les chansons mozarabes*, Palermo 1953, 43-4; E. García Gómez, *Métrica de la moaxaja y métrica española*, in *al-And.*, xxxix (1974), 25). ʿAlī b. Mūsā's fame rests on a poem in 1,414 verses (rhyme *-tā*, metre *ṭawīl*) on the subject of alchemy and variously called *Dīwān shudhūr al-dhahab fi 'l-ṣināʿa al-sharīfa/fī fann al-salāmat*, and *Dīwān al-shudhūr wa-taḥḳīḳ al-umūr*. This poem's great vogue, whose author gained the name "Poet of the alchemists and alchemist of the poets", is shown by the great number of mss. and commentaries extant, and it was said that if he could not teach the making of gold, he could at least teach *adab*. Furthermore, this poet-alchemist left other writings, of a religious nature, *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī bi 'l-Ḳur'ān al-raḥmānī* (ms. BN. 2643) and *Djihāt fī ʿilm al-tawdjīhāt* (ms. B.N. 3253).

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, ii, 410; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, No. 319, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ii, 181-4; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 252; Brockelmann, I, 496, S I, 908, 2nd edn. I, 654. (ED.)

ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-BATTĪ, AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ, poet and littérateur, originally from al-Batt in ʿIrāḳ (Yāḳūt, i, 488), who was a member of the staff of al-Ḳādir's chancery (reigned 381-422/992-1031). When the future caliph had in 381/991 to flee from al-Ṭā'iʿ, al-Battī had already been in his service, since it was with him that al-Ḳādir sought refuge. Hence as soon as he succeeded to the caliphate, he appointed al-Battī to his *dīwān*, where he was in charge of the postal service and of intelligence. A Muʿtazilī in theology and a Ḥanafī in *fiḳh*, he had previously specialised in study of the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*, but with his new duties, he soon became for his colleagues the archetypal *adīb* with a vast knowledge of literature, a fine hand for calligraphy, and a certain talent for letter-writing and versifying which made him well-renowned. Since he was extremely witty, had a fierce humour and quick repartee, possessed a great store of anecdotes which he could retail in a sparkling fashion and had a good knowledge of music and singing, he shone with special brightness in the circles of the Būyids. He was intimately linked with al-Sharīf al-Raḍī [*q.v.*] who, on his death, in Shaʿbān 405/Jan.-Febr. 1015, dedicated to him his last composition; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā [*q.v.*] likewise wrote an elegy on him. His own poetry was comparatively mediocre, and it was really as a *rāwī* that he excelled. However, three works are credited to him, a *K. al-Ḳādirī*, a *K. al-ʿAmīdī* and a *K. al-Fakhrī*, whose contents are unknown but which must have been biographical in nature.

Bibliography: Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, iii, 100; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, Cairo 1392/1972, iv, 256, v, 224, 225, vii, 24; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *T. Baghdād*, iv, 320, xiv, 328; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 263; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii, 231-4; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 175; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iii, 254-70 (details here also on the dress of the *kuttāb*); Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 253; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 165; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifīn*, i, 319. (ED.)

ABU 'L-ḤASAN DJILWA, MĪRZĀ, Persian philosopher, poet and recluse. He was born in 1238/1823 in Aḥmadābād, Gudjarāt, where his father, Mīrzā Sayyid Muḥammad, member of a *sayyid* family from Ardistān, was engaged in trade. After a brief period in Bombay, Djilwa was brought to Iṣfahān by his father at the age of seven and began his education. When his father died seven years later, he decided to devote himself to learning, conscious of the scholarly and literary traditions of his family: Mīrzā Rafīʿ al-Dīn Nā'īnī (d. 1082/1671), a celebrated theologian and jurist, was among his ancestors; the poet Midjmar (d. 1225/1810) had been his paternal uncle; and even his father had composed poetry under the pen-name of Maẓhar. Djilwa took up residence at the Kāsagarān *madrasa* and soon developed a predilection for the rational sciences, in particular, for metaphysics. It was also at this time that he began the composition of poetry under the pen-name of Djilwa, which became the appellation by which he was generally known. In his autobiographical sketch, Djilwa does not mention the name of any of his teachers in Iṣfahān, remarking only that he soon tired of attending their lectures and therefore began to study independently and himself to offer instruction (le Comte Arthur de Gobineau, in his *Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, new ed., Paris 1928, 85, mentions a certain Mullā Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ardistāni whose teachers were Muḥammad Ḥasan Gīlānī and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Nūrī; it is possible that this Abu 'l-Ḥasan is identical with Djilwa). In 1274/1857 he came to Tehran and took up residence in the Dār al-Shifā' *madrasa*; the two narrow rooms allotted him there were to be his home for the remaining forty years of his life. He lived the life of a recluse, and although he had a number of aristocratic admirers and friends, such as Mīrzā Maḥmūd Khān Māzandarānī Mushīr al-Wizāra, who pressed invitations upon him, he scarcely ever left the *madrasa*. Surprisingly, however, despite his deep roots in traditional philosophy, Djilwa is recorded to have been a member of Mīrzā Malkum Khān's pseudo-masonic organisation, the *farāmūshkhāna*, and to have attended its meetings in the house of Djalāl al-Dīn Mīrzā (H. Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan: a study in the history of Iranian modernism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1973, 49-50). The only journey outside Tehran that he undertook was a brief one to Gīlān and Ādharbāydjān. He received at the *madrasa*, with some disdain, visits by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and the British orientalist, E.G. Browne (Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1927, 162). Among his principal pupils were the Niʿmatullāhī Ṣūfī, Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1324/1926) (see his *Ṭarā'iḳ al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Djaʿfar Maḥdjūb, Tehran 1339/1960, iii, 507), Sayyid Hāshim Ushkūrī (d. 1332/1914) (see Muḥammad Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ridjāl fī tarādjim al-ʿulamā' wa 'l-udabā'*, Nadjaf 1384/1964, iii, 271), and Sayyid Ḥusayn Bādkūba'ī (see preface by S.H. Naṣr to his translation of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī's *Shīʿite Islam*, Albany, N.Y. 1955, 22). Djilwa died in 1314/1897 and was buried in Rayy near the tomb of Ibn Bābūya. Later, an impressive structure was built over his grave by Mīrzā Aḥmad Khān Naṣīr al-Dawla and Sulṭān Ḥasan Mīrzā Nayyir al-Dawla. Djilwa was described by Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh as the "renewer of peripatetic philosophy in the fourteenth (Hidjrī) century", as opposed to his friend and contemporary,

Āḳā ʿAlī Ḥakīm-Ilāhī, who followed the school of illuminationism (*ishrāḳ*) (*Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ, loc. cit.*). But despite his great fame, he never composed original works, regarding independent writing on philosophy as "difficult or even impossible" after the achievements of his predecessors (autobiographical sketch quoted by Muḥsin al-Amīn in *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1380/1960, vi, 216), and he preferred instead to write commentaries and glosses on the work of Avicenna and Mullā Ṣadrā. Two of these have been printed in the margin of Ṣadrā's *Sharḥ al-Hidāyat al-Athīriyya*, Tehran 1313/1895. His *Dīwān* is also said to have been published.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad Riḍā Ḳummī, *Hadiyat al-aḥbāb*, Nadjaf 1349/1930, 11; Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz n.d., i, 419-20; Muḥsīn al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1380/1960, vi, 214-16 (including, in Arabic translation, the autobiographical account of Djilwa first printed in *Nāma-yi dānishwarān-i nāṣirī*); Mahdī Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i ridjāl-i Īrān dar ḳarnhā-yi 12 va 13 va 14-i Hidjrī*, Tehran 1347/1968.

(H. Algar)

ABU 'L-ḤASAN al-MAGHRIBĪ, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, poet and littérateur of the 4th/10th century whose origin is unknown. He seems to have undergone many vicissitudes, since he appears in the service of Sayf al-Dawla, of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād and of the ruler of Khurāsān, where he met Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, and he also resided in Egypt, in the Djabal, and in Transoxania, at Shāsh. The surviving verses of this great traveller are occasional pieces without any great originality, but he seems also to have been the author of several epistles and books, in particular, of a *Tuḥfat al-kuttāb fi 'l-rasāʾil* and a *Tadhkirat/Mudhākarat al-nadīm*, in which there were no doubt pieces of advice on style and valuable data on the literary circles of the age. He is also famed from the fact that he was probably the transmitter of al-Mutanabbī's work in the lands of the east, since Yāḳūt says of him that he was the *rāwiya* of the celebrated poet, encountered at Baghdād. However, if he made an apologia for the poet in his *K. al-Intiṣār al-munabbī ʿan faḍāʾil al-Mutanabbī*, followed by a *Baḳiyyat al-Intiṣār al-mukthir li 'l-ikhtiṣār*, he was equally the author—for reasons unknown to us—of a *K. al-Nabīh/Tanbīh al-munabbī ʿan radhāʾil al-Mutanabbī*, which must be the oldest criticism of the poet's work.

Bibliography: Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iv, 81; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvii, 127-32; R. Blachère, *Abou ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî*, Paris 1935, 227, 273-4; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 264. (Ed.)

ABU 'L-ḤASAN al-RABAʿĪ [see al-rabaʿī].

ABU 'L-ḤASAN al-RUMMĀNĪ [see al-rummānī].

ABŪ ḤAYYĀ al-NUMAYRĪ, the usual name for al-Haytham b. al-Rabīʿ b. Zurāra, a minor poet of Baṣra of the 2nd/8th century. The date of his death is given variously in the biographical sources, with dates ranging from 143/760 to 210/825, and the only point of reference which we have is the fact that he was considered as the *rāwiya* of al-Farazdaḳ (d. 110/728). Of Bedouin origin, Abū Ḥayyā must have lived for quite a long time in the desert, to judge by the verses which al-Djāḥiẓ cites in his *K. al-Ḥayawān*, and which other, subsequent authors cite, apparently considering him as an authority. This is not, however, the image that one gains of this personage by reading the notices of him in the biographical sources, since he became legendary for his cowardice (stories of his sword, pompously called *Luʿāb al-maniyya*, of a dog which frightened him to death, etc.), his tendency to romance and to boast about outstanding deeds of valour (in particular, he claimed to be able to converse with the *djinn*), and his weakness of mind (*lūtha*), which led to his being sometimes grouped amongst those possessed (especially as he was allegedly epileptic); more indulgently, al-Djāḥiẓ merely classes him amongst the foolish persons, *nawkā*, and forebears to reproduce anecdotes in which he is the hero and which could very well be invented tales.

The biographers state and repeat that Abū Ḥayyā wrote eulogies to the last Umayyads and the first ʿAbbāsids, but it very much seems, unless one is mistaken, that none of his panegyrics have been preserved. They further state that he wrote *urdjūzas* as well as *ḳaṣīdas*, but the great majority of his surviving verses are not in *radjaz* at all. According to the *Fihrist*, 231, his *dīwān* took up 50 leaves, and one must accept that this work was not lacking in quality, since isolated verses and fragments were appreciated by the critics. Although accusing him of some defects, notably a characteristic ingenuousness (al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 165; al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 227-8), they remark that his style was free from affectation and padding, though sometimes difficult; Abū ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿAlāʾ even judged Abū Ḥayyā to be superior to his fellow-tribesman al-Rāʿī [*q.v.*]. As a rule, the pieces of poetry which have been preserved have a descriptive, bacchic, satirical or elegiac character; according to Ibn al-Muʿtazz, the verses inspired by his wife, who died when still young, were often quoted.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 385, ii, 225, 229-30; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 749-50; idem *ʿUyūn*, index, idem, *Maʿārif*, 87; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ii, 105, 133; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 287; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 61-3; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, i, 69, ii, 185; Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, i, 97, 244; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xvi, 235-9; *al-Mukhtār minshiʿr Bashshār*, ed. 1353, 38, 39, 238; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 193; Ḥuṣrī, *Ẓahr al-ādāb*, 14-5, 198, 218-19; idem, *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, 217-9, 292, 22-3, 227, 477-8; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, No. 327; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 103; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Akhbār al-ḥamḳā wa-'l-mughaffalīn*, Baghdād 1966, 226; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 35; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 154, iv, 283-5; Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, i, 305; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 165, 208; idem. *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, ed. 1933, ii, 127; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, index; R. Basset, *Mille et un contes*, i, 536; Pellat, *Milieu*, 160; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 281-2; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 114; Wahhābī, i, 168-70. (Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ HIFFĀN, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥarb al-Mihzamī, collector of poetical *akhbār*, *rāwī* and poet in Arabic, (died between 255/869 and 257/871. Virtually nothing is known of his life, except that he came from a Baṣran family stemming from the B. Mihzam of ʿAbd al-Ḳays, and that he gloried in his Arab origin. He led a fairly poor and constricted life, to the point that he had to sell his clothing to procure food, and he complains of this frequently in his verses.

His reputation arises primarily from his role as a transmitter of poetical *akhbār*, and he has a place in the *isnāds* or chains of supporting transmitters of several important works, such as the *K. al-Aghānī*, the *Muwashshaḥ* of al-Marzubānī and the works of al-Ṣūlī and Ibn al-Djarrāḥ. He knew the circles of

the poets very well, and previous to his own activity, various of his paternal and maternal uncles had specialised in the collection and transmission of literary anecdotes. He was in contact with Abū Nuwās, whose protégé and *rāwī* he was, and through this connection he developed, and came in his own right to follow the activities of the great contemporary poets, and especially, of the libertine poets. As well as his own master Abū Nuwās, he frequented the company of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-Buḥturī, al-Khuraymī, and also al-Djāḥiẓ, Thaʿlab, al-Mubarrad, etc.

He himself put together a work called the *Akhbar Abī Nuwās*, which has come down to us, and a *K. Ṣināʿat al-shuʿarāʾ* and a *K. Akhbār al-shuʿarāʾ*, of which no trace has survived but were certainly used in the 3rd and 4th centuries by several writers of *adab* works.

Abū Hiffān was also a poet, but only a few dozen of his verses have been preserved, sc. fragments of eulogies addressed to ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān; of satires addressed to Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād and al-Buḥturī; epigrammatic exchanges, not always in the best of taste, with Abū ʿAlī al-Baṣīr, Saʿid b. Ḥumayd, Abu 'l-ʿAynāʾ and Yaʿḳūb al-Tammār, all these being his companions in nocturnal sessions; and a few love verses. It is surprising that nothing has come down to us from his wine poetry, which Ibn al-Muʿtazz says enjoyed a wide currency. Altogether, Abū Hiffān was a minor poet who has contributed, through his anecdotes, to our knowledge of the history and sociology of poetry in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries.

Bibliography: ʿA. Aḥmad Farrādj has edited the *Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1373/1953 (an edition with numerous verses in the text censored) with a bibliographical note, to be completed by Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, typescript thesis, the Sorbonne 1971, i, 116-7, and idem, *Les secrétaires poètes et animateurs de cénacles aux IIe et IIIe siècles de l'hégire*, in *JA* (1975), 265-315.

(J.E. BENCHEIKH)

ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN AL-BAṢRĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. AL-ṬAYYIB B. AL-ḤUSAYN, Muʿtazili theologian. Little is known about his education and early career. He originated from Baṣra where he heard *ḥadīth*. As he studied *kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* with Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār [*q.v.*], he must have visited Rayy for some time. With the Christian Abū ʿAlī b. al-Samḥ, a student of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, he studied philosophy and sciences, presumably in Baghdād. This is attested by a manuscript containing his redaction of the notes of Ibn al-Samḥ on the *Physics* of Aristotle. He may have also studied and practised medicine for some time if he is, as has been suggested, identical with the Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa as a physician contemporary with Abu 'l-Faradj b. al-Ṭayyib. Al-Dhahabī refers to him as *al-ḳāḍī*, but there is no other evidence that he ever held an official position. During the later part of his life he taught and wrote in Baghdād. As his two *uṣūl al-fiḳh* works, the *Sharḥ al-ʿUmad* and the *K. al-Muʿtamad*, were composed still before the death of his teacher ʿAbd al-Djabbār in 415/1024-5, he must have begun his teaching career in Baghdād before that date. He died in Baghdād on 5 Rabīʿ II 436/30 October 1044. The fact that the Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaymarī led the funeral prayer for him indicates that he belonged to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, not to the Shāfiʿī as suggested by some sources.

Of his works on the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, his commentary (*sharḥ*) on ʿAbd al-Djabbār's *K. al-ʿUmad* appears to be lost. His *K. al-Muʿtamad*, written later, has been edited together with his *Ziyādāt al-muʿtamad* and *K. al-Ḳiyās al-sharʿī* (ed. M. Hamidullah, Damascus 1965). This work became popular also among non-Muʿtazilī scholars and, according to Ibn Khallikān, formed the basis of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *K. al-Maḥṣūl*. None of his *kalām* works appears to be extant. The largest one, *K. Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, remained unfinished, as he had only reached the chapter on the *visio beatifica* before he died. On the *K. Ghurar al-adilla*, Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd [*q.v.*] wrote a commentary. A short fragment on the question of the imāmate extant in manuscript (Vienna, Glaser 114) is probably an extract from his *K. Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*. His theological doctrine can, however, be recovered from later references and especially from the extant parts of the *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (ms. Ṣanʿāʾ) of his student Maḥmud al-Malāḥimī, who quotes the *K. Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* extensively. Also lost are his refutations of two works of the Imāmī Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, his contemporary in Baghdād: the *K. al-Shāfī* on the imāmate and the *K. al-Muḳniʿ* on the doctrine of the concealment (*ghayba*) of the Twelfth *Imām*.

In his doctrine, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī was deeply influenced by the concepts of the philosophers and diverged from the Bahāshima, the school of Abū Hāshim al-Djubbāʾī represented by his teacher ʿAbd al-Djabbār. He was therefore shunned by the Bahāshima, who accused him of refuting his Muʿtazilī *shaykh*s in an unfair and injurious manner. This charge is repeated by al-Shahrastānī, who maintains that he was really a philosopher in his views (*falsafī al-madhhab*) but the Muʿtazilī *mutakallimūn* were not aware of this fact. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, too, suggests that he concealed his philosophical views under the forms of expression of the *kalām* theologians in order to guard himself from his contemporaries. Notable points on which he differed from the Bahāshima were his rejection of their theory of modes (*aḥwāl*) [*q.v.*] and their thesis that the non-existent (*maʿdūm*) is a thing, his indecision about their theory of atomism, his admission of the miracles of saints (*karāmāt*), and his reduction of the divine attributes of will, hearing and seeing to that of knowledge. Evidently also under the influence of the doctrine of the philosophers, he affirmed that the acts of man occur necessarily in accordance with their motive (*dāʿī*) thus, as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī pointed out, in effect undermining the Muʿtazilī doctrine of human free will.

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn's school was continued by his students, the Khwārazmian Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī and Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd al-Karkhī (d. 478/1086) who, like his teacher, also studied logic and philosophy and taught in Baghdād. According to Ibn al-Murtaḍā, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī adopted many of his views on the "subtleties" (*laṭīf*) of *kalām*, i.e. matters not touching fundamental dogma. His theological doctrine progressively exerted a strong influence among the Imāmiyya and, to a lesser extent, among the Zaydiyya.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 100; al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī, *Sharḥ al-ʿUyūn*, in *Faḍāʾil al-iʿtizāl*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, Tunis 1393/1974, 387; Shahrastānī, 19, 32, 57, 59; idem, *Nihāyat al-akdām*, ed. A. Guillaume, Oxford 1931, 151, 175, 177, 221, 257; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Iʿtiḳād firak al-muslimīn wa 'l-mushrikīn*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, Cairo 1356/1938, 45; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, 293 f.;

Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968-72, iv, 271 f.; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥ. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1963, iii, 654 f.; idem, al-ʿIbar, iii, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Kuwait 1961, 187; al-Īdjī, *al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Th. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, 106-12; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, iv, ed. S. Dedering, Damascus 1959, 125; Ibn Abi 'l-Wafā', *al-Djawāhir al-muḍī'a*, Ḥaydarābād 1332, ii, 93 f.; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-muʿtazila*, ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, Wiesbaden 1961, 118 f.; A.S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 193-5; S.M. Stern, *Ibn al-Samḥ*, in *JRAS* (1956), 33-41; M. Hamidullah, introd. to edition of *K. al-Muʿtamad*; *GAS*, I, 627; The section on consensus in the *K. al-Muʿtamad* has been translated and analysed by M. Bernand, *L'accord unanime de la communauté . . . d'après Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī*, Paris 1970.

(W. Madelung)

ABŪ ḤUZĀBA, al-Walīd b. Ḥunayfa (b. Nahīk in Ṭabarī, ii, 393) al-Tamīmī, a minor poet of the 1st/7th century. He was a Bedouin who settled at Baṣra and was a panegyrist, at the time of Ziyād b. Abīhi (45-53/665-72) or shortly after, of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd, governor of Fārs. His family urged him strongly to join the circle of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, before the latter's assumption of the caliphate (60/680); he finally decided to try his luck, but was not received by the prince, and he returned to Baṣra and joined up with the army. He was sent to Sīstān (Sidjistān), and from 60/680-1, under the orders of Salm b. Ziyād, he sang the praises of the governor Ṭalḥa al-Ṭalaḥāt [*q.v.*]; he recited a funeral elegy on the latter which contained critical aspersions on Ṭalḥa's successor, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbshamī, who had shown himself less generous to the poet. He also had occasion in Sidjistān to mourn the death of a certain Nāshira al-Yarbūʿī killed at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr, in an elegy set to music by Ibn Djāmiʿ [*q.v.*]. Finally, he returned to Baṣra and then, after various adventures, rallied to the cause of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] and was possibly killed at the same time as him (85/704).

Abu Ḥuzāba had the reputation of turning nasty when his hopes of reward were disappointed. He has left behind a certain number of *radjaz* poems, as well as *kaṣīdas* which have kept his name from falling into oblivion.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 255, iii, 381-2; idem, *Bayān*, iii, 329; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 72 and ii, 586; Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 188; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 153; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxii, 271-82; Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, 64; Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, 160; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 247.

(Ch. Pellat)

ABU 'L-ʿIBAR, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hāshimī, burlesque poet and member of the ruling family, who was born in *ca.* 175/791-2 in the reign of al-Rashīd and who died in 252/866, probably assassinated by an ʿAlid partisan. He is known by the name of Abu 'l-ʿIbar, a sobriquet which he made up himself, adding a letter each year, and in the end making it unpronounceable. He was carefully educated, had an acute literary sense and was a fine connoisseur of poetry. The severe al-Ma'mūn did not appreciate him, and even imprisoned him, but he welcomed the accession of al-Mutawakkil, giving himself up to all sorts of amusing deeds.

Since he felt his way blocked by the great poets of his time, and in particular, by Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī, he found it more profitable to devote himself to *ḥumḳ* and *sukhf*, thereby illustrating a tradition which was to continue with e.g. Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj and Ibn al-Habbāriyya [*q.vv.*]. Abu 'l-ʿIbar did not allow his membership of the caliphal family to constrict him, and cultivated a real burlesque art in his own life and writings, in which he displayed acrobatics. In reality, under the form of burlesque, satire is often hidden, and under the form of buffoonery, an element of suffering. Whether he invents new words, writes phrases devoid of sense, wittily parodies a scholar, or fishes with a line in the pond of the caliphal palace, he goes quite contrary to the accepted cultural norms, defies the usual patterns, confronts an atmosphere of seriousness with drollery, and in short, gives himself up to grotesque pieces of clowning which might have opened up a way for an original and new strain in Arabic literature. But for this, Arabo-Islamic culture would have had to accept new values alien to its own ones. The terms of *ḥumḳ* and *sukhf* show clearly the lack of esteem for these tentative efforts, which never had any really fruitful consequences [cf. Abu 'l-ʿAnbas above].

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, xxiii, 76-86; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Buḥturī*, 170-1; idem, *Awrāḳ*, ii, 323-33; Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ii, 354-6, No. 386; *Fihrist*, 223-4; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xvii, 122-7; Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, 120-1; cf. J.E. Bencheikh, *Le cénacle d'al-Mutawakkil, contribution à l'étude des instances de légitimation littéraire*, in *Mélanges Henri Laoust = BEO*, xxix [1977].

(J.E. Bencheikh)

ABŪ ʿIMRĀN AL-FĀSĪ, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Abī Ḥādjdj/Ḥadjdjādj (?), Mālikī *faḳīh*, probably born between 365/975 and 368/978 at Fās into a Berber family whose *nisba* is impossible to reconstruct. No doubt to complete his studies, but perhaps also because of other reasons hard to discern, he went to settle in al-Ḳayrawān, where his master was in particular al-Ḳābisī (d. 403/1012 [*q.v.*]). He is known to have stayed in Cordova with Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr [*q.v.*] and to have profited by the chance to follow the lectures of various scholars there, which his biographers list, without however giving the date of this journey. Soon after the end of the century, he went to the East, possibly spending some years in Mecca, since he made the Pilgrimage several times, and deriving further instruction from the *fuḳahā'* of the Holy City. In 399/1008-9 he was in Baghdād, benefiting from the teaching of al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]), a Mālikī like himself but an Ashʿarī in *kalām*, and it was in the ʿIrāḳī capital that he had the revelation of a theological doctrine in whose subsequent diffusion in the West he was to take part (see H.R. Idris, *Essai sur la diffusion de l'ašʿarisme en Ifrīqiya*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, ii (1953), 134-5). He returned to Mecca from Baghdād, and then in *ca.* 402/1011 returned via Egypt to al-Ḳayrawān, which he never seems then to have left apart from a last journey to the East in *ca.* 425/1033-4 or 426/1034-5. He died on 13 Ramaḍān 430/8 June 1039 in his adopted home; al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] was present at his funeral, together with a great crowd, and his tomb has henceforth been venerated as equal to that of a saint. His descendants still live in al-Ḳayrawān.

His biographers stress the breadth and diversity of his education, and mention in detail the numerous teachers whose courses he followed, both at al-Ḳayrawān and during his travels; and they make him in some way the heir of Mālikī teaching at the opening of the 4th/10th century. Nor do they omit to list all the pupils who thronged his courses, and they give the impression that he exercised a deep influence on intellectual activity in the juridical-religious domain. He was at the outset a specialist on the seven readings

of the Ḳurʾān, and then after his return from the East, turned to *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* and, to some extent, *kalām*. He attracted a host of disciples not only from Ifrīḳiya, but even from Spain, Sicily and Morocco, and several of these later made a name for themselves. Furthermore, he kept up a correspondence with scholars in distant places, who consulted him on points of doctrine, and he even gave *idjāzas* at a distance. It would be tedious to enumerate here all the pupils of his mentioned by biographers but one should mention that they included Ibn Sharaf [*q.v.*], and a person homonymous with the name of the author of the *ʿUmda*, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 419/1028), who was also a poet, and dedicated to him the greater part of his verse (see Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifriqiya sous les Zīrides*, Tunis 1972, 67, 116).

Two other pupils of Abū ʿImrān's ought to be mentioned also because they were associated with important historical events. At a date which, with Ibn Abī Zarʿ (*Ḳirṭās*, 122-3) can be fixed at 427/1035-6 (whilst Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, ii, 67, places the events in 440/1048-9, Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, 242, in 444/1052-3 and Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 258-9, in 447/1056, which is unlikely), the Lamtūna chief Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm passed through al-Ḳayrawān whilst returning from the Pilgrimage, attended Abū ʿImrān's courses and, realising the depth of his compatriots' ignorance, asked the great scholar to designate one of his followers to go and teach them. Abū ʿImrān then recommended to him one of his former pupils called Uggᵘag (Wadjdjādj in Arabic transcription), who had returned to his own land, and this latter scholar in turn designated ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn (see al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, new edn. Paris 1965, 165-6/311-12; *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*[1], 9; A. Bel, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, Paris 1938, 215; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au moyen âge*, Paris 1946, 238; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1949, i, 214; J. Bosch Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, Tetuan 1956, 49; and see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN). Now the anonymous author of the *Mafākhir al-Barbar* (ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au moyen âge*, Rabat 1934, 69) states that these two men impelled the Almoravids to expand out of the Sahara on the order (*bi-amr*) of Abū ʿImrān.

One would like to have exact details about this, but if the assertion is true, it shows the influence of the Ḳayrawānī *faḳīh*, which was, at all events, a profound one. His pupils transmitted his oral teachings and doubtless also his works (cf. Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, i, 440), which do not however seem to have been very numerous. Some of his *fatwās* have been preserved, in particular by al-Wansharīsī in his *Miʿyār* (but one should be careful, since the name "Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī" was fairly widespread; see e.g. Brockelmann, S II, 961; a *K. al-Dalāʾil wa 'l-aḍdād* is mentioned in the *Miʿyār*, x, 105, and a manuscript of *al-Iḥkām li-masāʾil al-aḥkām al-mustakhradja min Kitāb al-Dalāʾil wa 'l-aḍdād li-Abī ʿImrān al-Fāsī* has also been catalogued (1342-D. 1444) at Rabat). His *K. al-Taʿālīḳ ʿalā 'l-Mudawwana* is one of the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ's sources (*Madārik*, i, 56), who cites him frequently. He is moreover said to have made a selection of *ḥadīths* which was especially important and covered a hundred leaves, and a *Fahrasa* is attributed to him; finally, a manuscript of his *Naẓāʾir* is mentioned as existing at Algiers (Brockelmann, S I, 660-1). Some verses are also attributed to him.

Bibliography: In addition to sources already cited, see: Western biographical sources: ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-Madārik*, ed. A Bakīr, Beirut n.d., iv, 702-6 and index; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-īmān*, Tunis 1320, iii, 199-205; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1329, 344-5; Tādlī, *al-Tashawwuf ilā ridjāl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958, 64-6; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, ed. al-Ḥīla, Tunis, ix, 272-3; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwa*, Cairo 1952, No. 791; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, No. 1223; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, Madrid 1884, No. 1332; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, No. 679—Oriental biographical sources: Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, No. 3691; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 284-6; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 807; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, v, 30 (on p. 77, he makes Abū ʿImrān die in 458); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 247-8; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 483; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 278.—Studies: H.R. Idris, *Zīrides*, index; idem, *Deux maîtres de l'école juridique kairouanaise* . . ., in *AIEO Alger*, xiii (1955), 42-60 (detailed study, with rich bibliography).

(CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ ISḤĀḲ AL-FĀRISĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ (d. after 377/987), celebrated grammarian and also lexicographer of the golden age of grammatical studies in Baghdād during the 4th/10th century, and equally a poet. As a pupil of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987 [*q.v.*]) and of al-Rummānī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]), he belonged to the second generation of grammarians of this century, and more especially, to the first group "moulded by the pupils of al-Mubarrad", and he assured "the triumph of the method of Baṣra in Baghdād" (G. Troupeau). He wrote several works, in particular, on prosody, and like his master Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī somewhat earlier, criticised the work of the poet al-Mutanabbī.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 204-5; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 184; G. Troupeau, *La grammaire à Bagdād*, in *Arabica*, ix (1962), 399; R. Blachère, *Abouṭayyib al-Motanabbî*, Paris 1935, 242. (M. BERGÉ)

ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-FAZARĪ [see AL-FAZARĪ].

ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-MADJRĪṬĪ [see AL-MADJRĪṬĪ].

ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-WĀSANĪ [see AL-WĀSĀNĪ].

ABŪ KHALĪFA AL-DJUMAḤĪ [see AL-FAḌL B. AL-ḤUBĀB in Suppl.].

ABŪ MĀḌĪ, ĪLIYYĀ (1889-1957), poet and journalist of Lebanese origin, who spent his childhood in the village of al-Muḥaydiṯha near Bikfayā, his birthplace, but left his native land at the age of 11 to help his maternal uncle with his business in Alexandria. During his stay of some dozen years in Egypt, he was able to find time to acquire an advanced literary education, to learn a lot of classical and modern poetry and to frequent the circles of intellectuals who were in varying degrees engaged in political activities which roused the authorities' suspicions. Like so many of his compatriots, he began early to write poetry, which gave him an initial fame, and he was even able in 1911 to publish at Alexandria a first collection called *Tadhkār al-māḍī*, *Dīwān Īliyyā Ḍāhir Abū Māḍī*, which the critics were unanimous in considering of no great literary value. In this same year of 1911, he decided to leave for the United States and rejoin his brother, who was a merchant like his uncle. He then spent several years in Cincinnati, where he continued to write verse, and then abandoned trade for poetry and journalism, and went in 1916 to New York. There he published on arrival, under the title of *Dīwān Īliyyā Abū Māḍī*, a second edition of his first collection, but now augmented by some poems on social questions and inspired by Arabism and nationalism, which he had avoided inserting in the *Tadhkār al-māḍī*. Both these editions are very rare today, but they add nothing

to the poet's fame and have only an historical interest.

In New York, Abū Māḍī threw himself into journalism and took charge of editing *al-Madjalla al-ʿarabiyya* and then *al-Fatāt*. It is at this point that he became connected with the great names of *mahdjar* literature who were to found *al-Rābiṭa al-ḳalamiyya*; it was also there that he married the daughter of Nadjīb Diyāb, director of the *Mirʾāt al-Gharb*, of which he became chief editor 1918-29, i.e. until the time when he founded the monthly *al-Samīr*, which he transformed into a daily in 1936 and directed till his death on 23 November 1957.

Abū Māḍī's talent began to take shape in New York, with his poetic work partly spread by the periodicals to which he contributed and brought together in a new *dīwān*, *al-Djadāwil* (New York 1927; reprinted at Nadjaf three times between 1937 and 1949); with his fame thus assured, his poetic talent became more widely known in his last collection published during his lifetime, *al-Khamāʾil* (New York 1940; 2nd edn. Beirut 1948, with additions). Some further poems were collected together in 1960, after his death, as *Tibr wa-turāb*.

Within the limits of this brief article, it is not possible to go into the details of Abū Māḍī's poetic achievement, but the most striking feature for the reader is what might be called the philosophical tone of many of the poems, a succinct philosophy conveyed as a scepticism which is stressed many times. In this respect, the famous quatrains which appear in the *Djadāwil* and which have been thought worthy of separate publication under the title of *al-Ṭalāsim*, are characteristic; musing on the origins of man, the poet replies to the questions put in each strophe by a *lastu adrī* "I do not know" (which has inspired the *shaykh* Muḥammad Djawād al-Djazāʾirī to compose a reply: in his *Ḥall al-Ṭalāsim* [Beirut 1946], each strophe ends, somewhat presumptuously, with an *anā adrī* "I myself know"). His social, political and nationalist themes, already animating his first *dīwān*, became more refined and precise, and the poet was moved to act as a moralist in a well-known piece, *al-Ṭīn*, which condemns human pride, commends humility and advocates equality (see a commentary in Dj. Rikābī *et alii*, *al-Wāfī fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī al-ḥadīth*, Damascus 1963, 180-4; Fr. tr. in *Anthol. de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, iii, *La poésie*, by L. Norin and E. Tarabay, Paris 1967, 83-4). But the poet, in spite of his disquiet and his philosophical doubt, nevertheless had an optimistic and lively character which made him love life just as it is and made him proclaim his faith in the lasting value of art and literature. In his *Khamāʾil*, he chanted the praises of Lebanon, which at bottom he knew very poorly, and expressed his nostalgia for his native country, which he did not see again till 1948.

In regard to poetic technique, one might have expected Abū Māḍī to utilise free verse (*al-shiʿr al-ḥurr*), but in fact he remained faithful to classical metres, which he only abandoned in order to adopt a strophic pattern or, in his narrative poem of 79 verses *al-Shāʿir wa 'l-sulṭān al-djāʾir* (1933), to be able to employ several metres and sometimes alter the rhyme.

Abū Māḍī's successful poetical work, with its immediate accessibility to the reader, has tended to obscure his work as a journalist and the quality of his prose. It would undoubtedly be an exaggeration to maintain that all his contributions to the numerous *mahdjar* periodicals, on which he collaborated, are poems in prose. However, the poet's personality comes through constantly in his editiorals and in his articles, admittedly those on literary topics, but also in those on political, economic and social questions, which he treats in an eminently poetic fashion, displaying his reflective attitude and allowing the same preoccupations as those of his verses to appear through.

Bibliography: Abū Māḍī has already been made the subject of some studies, amongst which are Fatḥī Ṣafwat Nadjda, *Īliyyā Abū Māḍī wa 'l-ḥaraka al-adabiyya fi 'l-mahdjar*, Baghdad 1945; Zuhayr Mīrzā, *Ī. Abū Māḍī, shāʿir al-mahdjar al-akbar*, Damascus 1954; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Sharāra *Ī. Abū Māḍī*, Beirut 1961; Works on the literature of the *mahdjar* naturally include material on Abū Māḍī's work; on his prose, see in particular, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *al-Nathr al-mahdjarī*, Beirut 1964, index; idem, *Funūn al-nathr al-mahdjarī*, Beirut 1965, index; Amongst the numerous articles devoted to him, see Ilyās Abū Shabaka, *Ī. Abū Māḍī*, in *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, October 1932; Dj. ʿAbd al-Nūr, *Ī. Abū Māḍī*, in *al-Ādāb*, 1953; idem, in *Daʾirat al-maʿārif*, v, 101-4 (with bibliography); G.D. Selim, *The poetic vocabulary of Īlīyâ Ab Mâḍî (1889?-1957): a computational study of 47,766 content words*, Ph.D. thesis, Georgetown Univ. 1969 (unpublished); R.C. Ostle, *Ī. Abū Māḍī and Arabic poetry in the inter-war period*, in idem (ed.), *Studies in modern Arabic literature*, Warminster 1975, 34-45; Salma Khadra Yayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, i, 123-35. (Ed.)

ABŪ MAḤALLĪ (al-Maḥallī on coins) AL-FILĀLĪ AL-SIDJILMĀSSĪ, the name by which ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH is known, one of the chief pretenders who took part in the ruin of Morocco during the agony of the Saʿdid [*q.v.*] dynasty and whose brief spell of success has a useful illustrative value.

We know by his autobiography, which forms the beginning of his still-unpublished book, the *Kitāb Iṣlīt al-khirrīt fi 'l-ḳaṭʿ bi-ʿulūm al-ʿifrīt*, but which al-Ifrānī gives in his *Nuzha*, that he was born at Sidjilmāssa in 967/1559-60 into a family of jurists, which were said to be descended from the Prophet's uncle. His father was a *ḳāḍī*, and in the first instance took charge of his son's education, and then sent him to complete his studies at Fās, where the young man spent several years. After the accession of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr and the end of the troubles which had racked northern Morocco, he went to visit the tomb of the Berber saint Abū Yaʿazza [*q.v.*]; then, despite the great distrust he had felt for mystics, he became a convert to Ṣūfism and attached himself to the *shaykh* Muḥammad b. Mubārik al-Zaʿīrī and lived for eight years close to him. His master then sent him to Sidjilmāssa "in order to bring blessing on its inhabitants". In 1002/1594 Abū Maḥallī made the Pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return, he visited the eastern provinces of Morocco and finally settled with his family in the Sāwra valley, and in some place unknown to us now, devoted himself to God.

It was at this point that this first-rate jurist, now deeply affected by mysticism, proclaimed that he had received divine inspiration and gave himself out to be the *mahdī*. Al-Yūsī says that he was no longer content to put together, in an elegant style, legal works or mediocre poetry, but began to deal with subjects which showed that he had reached the point of possessing divine grace (*dhawḳ*) up to a certain degree. He probably also had within in him something of the thaumaturge, like so many other claimants to such powers. When in 1019/1610 he learnt

that the sultan Muḥammad al-Shaykh II had handed over the town of Larache (al-ʿArāʾish [*q.v.*]) to the Spaniards, he shared in the popular indignation, fanned the general wave of xenophobia and skilfully utilised the occasion to launch an appeal for the holy war and to proclaim the downfall of the Saʿdids. With a few hundred followers inflamed by his words and promises, he managed to seize Sidjilmāssa from its legal governor and set up there the reign of justice. His prestige grew so great that he was recognised as far away as Timbuctu and received delegations from distant tribes and even from the town of Tlemcen. He further began negotiations with the *zāwiya* of Dilāʾ [*q.v.* below].

Mawlāy Zaydān, Muḥammad al-Shaykh II's brother, who was ruling over Marrakesh and its region, took fright and organised a powerful army in the valley of the Wādī Draʿ. Abū Maḥallī marched on them immediately, and his opponents, convinced that he was supernaturally aided, laid down their arms and were crushed.

The pretender, benefitting from the sound advice of a renegade commander, did not hesitate to march on Marrakesh at the head of his rough and savage Saharan followers, whose numbers increased daily. Mawlāy Zaydān offered no resistance and retreated to Safi. On 20 May 1612 Abū Maḥallī occupied the royal *kaṣaba* and adopted all the insignia of royalty; and since supplies of gold continued to arrive in Marrakesh, he had minted in his own name fine-quality gold coins. Nevertheless, although he disapproved of foreign occupation of Moroccan territory, he had the sense to allow Christian merchants to continue their commercial activities. It is thanks to these last that we have first-hand information about the claimant and the immense prestige which he enjoyed amongst the troops and the peoples whom he had brought under his control.

Mawlāy Zaydān had prudently to leave Safi for the Sūs, where he got into contact with another religious leader, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Ḥāḥī, who enjoyed great fame and who promised to expel Abū Maḥallī from Marrakesh. He gathered together numerous bodies of troops and soon appeared with them near the southern capital. Abū Maḥallī came out to do battle at the head of his faithful Saharan troops, but at the beginning of the engagement was killed by a shot. His army believed that the divine favour had abandoned it and was unable to resist the attack. On 30 November 1613 Yaḥyā occupied the city and had his rival's head hung above the gateway of the *kaṣaba*.

The tragic spiritual and mental process which led a pious scholar to seek after temporal power and then to give himself out as a Messiah, finally ending up like a sorcerer's apprentice, remained in the Moroccan mind as such a baleful example that the chroniclers only mention it whilst at the same time praying for the divine pardon to Abū Maḥallī.

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ABŪ MANṢŪR B. YŪSUF, in full ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, wealthy Ḥanbalī merchant, the most important patron of the Ḥanbalī movement and a staunch supporter of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the 5th/11th century. Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf was for Baghdād and the caliph what Niẓām al-Mulk was for Khurāsān and the sultan. Both distinguished themselves from among their contemporaries by their political and administrative genius, as well as by their wealth and power, Abū Manṣūr accumulating his wealth through commerce, and Niẓām al-Mulk through power which he exercised in the name of the sultan.

In 453/1061, Abū Manṣūr saw to the destitution of the caliphal vizier Abū Turāb al-Athīrī whom he had replaced by Ibn Dārust. In 447/1055 it was Abū Manṣūr who had influenced the caliph to appoint Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī, a Ḥanafī, as *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* in order to placate the Ḥanafī Saldjūḳ conquerors. Three years later, Abū Manṣūr, who had been on friendly terms with the Saldjūḳs, was thrown into prison by Basāsīrī on the latter's return to Baghdād during the absence of his archenemy the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg. It was only after paying great sums of money that Abū Manṣūr regained his freedom, but he did not feel entirely safe until Ṭoghrïl Beg had returned to Baghdād, wresting it from the hands of Basāsīrī, stripping the latter of all the wealth he had accumulated, and killing him. In the affair of the marriage of Ṭoghrïl Beg with the caliph's daughter, a marriage which scandalised the caliph, Abū Manṣūr, along with Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī, played the role of mediator between caliph and sultan.

Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf was known for his good works and for the favours which he bestowed upon his contemporaries. Among his works was the reconstruction of the ʿAḍudī Hospital, al-[Bi]Māristān al-ʿAḍudī, which he also endowed with *awḳāf* properties in order to provide for its needs in perpetuity. Among those who benefitted from his largesse were the Ḥanbalī *ʿulamāʾ* and ascetics who enjoyed a great following among the masses, the preachers, the leading Hāshimīs and their followers, the Saldjūḳs' functionaries, including *shiḥna*s and the *ʿamīd*s, as well as the Bedouin and Turkish *amīrs*.

This wide influence enjoyed by Abū Manṣūr did not please Niẓām al-Mulk, and the rivalry between these two influential men can be seen in some of the events of the period. The founding of the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdād (inaugurated in 459/1067) is an instance in point. Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, for whom the *madrasa* was founded, having refused to assume the chair of law for religious reasons (the *maghṣūb*, or misappropriated character of the materials), was replaced by another Shāfiʿī, Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, chosen by Abū Manṣūr, with the concurrence of the caliph. The founding of the *madrasa* by Niẓām al-Mulk appears to have been considered by Abū Yusūf as interference in the latter's sphere of interest.

The rivalry between these two powerful and influential men also expressed itself quite clearly in the ideological sphere. While Abū Manṣūr was the great support and consolation of the traditionalist *ʿulamāʾ* in Bag̲h̲dād, men belonging essentially to the Ḥanbalī movement, Niẓām al-Mulk supported the rival As̲h̲ʿarī movement. And whereas Niẓām al-Mulk lent his support and bestowed his patronage upon men of the rationalist Muʿtazilī movement, Abū Manṣūr had reduced the Muʿtazilīs to silence in Bag̲h̲dād. It was because of him that the great Muʿtazilī professor of the period in Bag̲h̲dād, Abū ʿAlī b. al-Walīd, could not publicly profess his teachings in that city. The riot which occurred in Bag̲h̲dād in 460, led by the traditionalists against Ibn al-Walīd, was caused by the latter's reappearance in public to teach Muʿtazilism; Abū Manṣūr had disappeared from the scene at the beginning of that year. There is some evidence indicating that Abū Manṣūr's death was not a natural one, and that he had paid with his life for interfering with Niẓām al-Mulk's plans. For instance, the contemporary Ibn al-Bannāʾ, writing in his *Diary* about five months after the death of Abū Manṣūr, mentions a dream in which he saw Abū Manṣūr walking barefoot and, upon asking him the cause, replied saying that that "was the way to walk for those who complain of wrongdoing" (*hādhā ... mas̲h̲y al-mutaẓallimīn*). Elsewhere in the *Diary* (ii, 26, 47), the following invocation is made: "May God have mercy on the *blood* of [Abū Manṣūr] Ibn Yūsuf". The word *blood*, in this context, implies *bloodshed*, blood calling for revenge, or for justice. It is perhaps significant that the title *al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Ad̲j̲all* "the most eminent *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲*", applied only to Abū Manṣūr during his lifetime, is found later applied not only to his two sons-in-law, Ibn D̲j̲arada and Ibn Riḍwān, but also to Niẓām al-Mulk (E. Combe *et al.*, *Répertoire*, vii, Nos. 2734, 2736, 2737).

The two sons-in-law of Abū Manṣūr, though they inherited from their father-in-law his title, presented no threat to Niẓām al-Mulk. Ibn Riḍwān succeeded to Abū Manṣūr's position of influence with the caliph; but far from following in the footsteps of his father-in-law in opposing Niẓām al-Mulk, he became reconciled with him by effecting a marriage between his daughter and Niẓām al-Mulk's son. On the other hand, Ibn D̲j̲arada seems to have inherited the place of honour enjoyed by his father-in-law with the traditionalists, for whom he founded mosque-colleges (*masd̲j̲id*) in Bag̲h̲dād.

Bibliography: G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle (Ve siècle de l'hégire)*, Damascus 1963, 274 and n. 3 (bibliography cited); idem, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 30, 35-7; idem, *Nouveaux détails sur l'affaire d'Ibn ʿAqīl*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1967, iii, 91-126, *et passim*; idem, *Autograph diary of an eleventh-century historian of Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xviii-xix (1956-7), xix, 285, 296-7 *et passim*.

(G. Makdisi)

ABŪ MISMĀR, al-S̲h̲arīf Ḥammūd b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī, an important *s̲h̲arīf* of Abū ʿArīs̲h̲ who in the early years of the 19th century defended his independent state, based on the coastal plain of ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] (Tihāmat ʿAsīr) and embracing most of the Tihāma region of Yemen, against the encroachments of the Wahhābī Āl Saʿūd of Nad̲j̲d, the Zaydī *imāms* of Ṣanʿāʾ and the Ottomans under Muḥammad ʿAlī. Born in or before 1170/1756-7, he was descended from the Āl K̲h̲ayrāt *s̲h̲arīfs* who emigrated from Mecca to the al-Mik̲h̲lāf al-Sulaymānī district of lowland ʿAsīr early in the 11th/17th century. His death occurred in 1233, probably during Ramaḍān/July 1818 but possibly several months earlier.

While serving as the Zaydī *imām*'s governor of Abū ʿArīs̲h̲ in the mid-18th century, S̲h̲arīf Aḥmad, Ḥammūd's grandfather, declared his family's independence, although the *imām*'s suzerainty was recognised. Ḥammūd assumed power in about 1215/1800-1, and shortly afterwards had to expel a troublesome Wahhābī agent of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1218/1803), the chief of the Āl Saʿūd. But when in 1217/1802-3 Abū ʿArīs̲h̲ was captured by Abū Nuḳṭa (d. 1224/1809), the Wahhābī *amīr* of upland ʿAsīr, Ḥammūd declared allegiance to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He undertook to pay certain taxes to the Wahhābī chief and send a son to al-Dirʿiyya as hostage, in return for which he was appointed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's governor of lowland ʿAsīr. Aided by Wahhābī reinforcements, Ḥammūd subsequently captured from the old Zaydī *imām*, al-Manṣūr bi'llāh ʿAlī (1189-1224/1775-1809), and added to his own lands, the bulk of the Tihāma region of Yemen, including such centres as al-Luḥayya, al-Ḥudayda, Bayt al-Faḳīh, Zabīd and al-Ḥays, but not Mocha.

Ḥammūd's allegiance to the Wahhābīs was only nominal; and early in 1224/1809 he conspired with Aḥmad, the heir apparent to Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAlī, to replace Wahhābī suzerainty with that of the Zaydī *imām*, on condition that he himself was allowed to retain the Tihāma lands already under his control. Although his forces were twice defeated by those of Abū Nuḳṭa later that year, and despite occasional Wahhābī forays into the northern Tihāma thereafter, S̲h̲arīf Ḥammūd was able, with the aid of his competent vizier, S̲h̲arīf al-Ḥasan b. K̲h̲ālid al-Ḥāzimī, to hold control of both his ancestral lands and the extensive Tihāma territories acquired with Wahhābī help. He flirted alternately with the *imām* in Ṣanʿāʾ and the Wahhābī chief in al-Dirʿiyya just enough to forestall a serious military intervention by either.

Initially disposed to cooperating with Muḥammad ʿAlī against the Wahhābīs (1229/1814), Ḥammūd cooled towards him, owing to a series of Wahhābī victories over the Ottomans and his fear of the Egyptian viceroy's designs upon his lands. In 1233/1818, just a few days before his death, Ḥammūd's forces nearly annihilated an Egyptian army. His son Aḥmad ruler after him for about a year before submitting to Muḥammad ʿAlī's commander in the south and being sent to Egypt where shortly he died. Although Ḥammūd's lands were restored by the Ottoman sultan to the *imām*, the governorship of lowland ʿAsīr was awarded to a nephew of Ḥammūd.

Bibliography: The basic source for the life of S̲h̲arīf Ḥammūd Abū Mismār is his unpublished biography, *Nafḥ al-ʿūd*, by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bahkalī (a ms. of which is in the al-ʿAḳīlī private collection at D̲j̲āzān). This treats of the *s̲h̲arīf*'s life to 1225/1810-11, the remaining years being covered by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad ʿĀkis̲h̲ in a *d̲h̲ayl* entitled *Nuzhat al-ẓarīf*. Other mss. in which S̲h̲arīf Ḥammūd figures, sometimes prominently, are Luṭf Allāh D̲j̲iḥāf, *Durar nuḥūr al-ḥūr*; ʿĀkis̲h̲, *al-Dībād̲j̲ al-k̲h̲usrawānī*; al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawkabānī, *al-Mawāhib al-saniyya*; and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kibsī, *al-Laṭāʾif al-saniyya*. Of these works, *Nafḥ al-ʿūd*, its *d̲h̲ayl* and *al-Dībād̲j̲* were consulted by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ʿĪsā al-ʿAḳīlī in Part I of his *Min taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Mik̲h̲lāf al-Sulaymānī*, Riyadh 1958.

Other works providing useful information about S̲h̲arīf Ḥammūd's life are al-S̲h̲awkānī, *al-Badr al-*

ṭāliʿ, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 240 f.; Sh̲ānīzāde, *Taʾrīkh̲*, Istanbul 1290-1/1873-4, iii, 30 ff.; Ibn Bis̲h̲r, *ʿUnwān al-mad̲j̲d*, Riyadh 1967, 132-210, *passim*; Zabāra, *Nayl al-waṭar*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, *passim*; C. Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, Paris 1779, ii, 107; Henry Salt, *A voyage to Abyssinia*, London 1814, 123 ff.; J.L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, London 1831, ii, *passim*; R.L. Playfair, *A history of Arabia Felix*, Bombay 1859, 119-34.

(J.R. Blackburn)

ABU 'L-MUṬAHHAR AL-AZDĪ, an Arab writer who lived in the 5th/11th century, but since no known biographical source mentions him, his dates and the milieu within which he lived can only be inferred from his sole surviving work, the *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim* (one should however add the information of al-Bākharzī (d. 467/1075), who says that he knew in Iṣfahān a writer called Abū Muṭahhar, very likely our author). He must have lived between Baghdād and Iṣfahān, as emerges from a *munāẓara* between the two cities given in the *Ḥikāya*, before the Saldjūḳ assumption of power in ʿIrāḳ, which he never mentions. Concerning the rest of his work, he himself mentions an *Ḥikāya badawiyya*, now lost, and al-Bākharzī a *Ṭirāz al-dhahab ʿalā wishāḥ al-adab* (assuming that the same person is involved).

The *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī* (ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 19,313; ed. A. Mez, Heidelberg 1902) has remained till now a unique work in classical Arabic literature, a conscious variation of the highly-appreciated *maḳāma* genre [*q.v.*] which al-Hamadhānī had just launched and which al-Ḥarīrī (who lived just one or two generations after our author) was to bring to perfection. The novelty of the *Ḥikāya* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar in relationship to the *maḳāma* of the above two authors is the displacement of the centre of interest from the purely linguistic and formal aspect to the representation of a character and an environment in a genuine *mimesis* of reality (in this case, the bourgeois environment of Baghdād, with its bons viveurs and drinkers, amongst whom Abu 'l-Ḳāsim displays his bravura style and his vagabond's effrontery). This bravura style is also a linguistic one, and Abu 'l-Muṭahhar attaches himself by this means to the *maḳāmāt* writers; but whilst the latter remain merely that, and their heroes al-Iskandarī and al-Sarūdjī offer us nothing more than a somewhat monotonous and stereotyped cliché figure of a rogue, al-Azdī's Abu 'l-Ḳāsim is wholly alive, and to be compared more with the characters in Petronius's *Satyricon* and the "pícaros" of Spanish narrative literature. The text of the *Ḥikāya* raises a lot of philological problems for the language and sometimes the jargon used in it, but its literary importance is far from being limited to pure philology; the work of this 5th/11th century ʿIrāḳī writer, himself almost unknown, remained an isolated effort of its time, but heralding fields of interest and artistic currents of the future.

Bibliography: Mez, in the introd. to his edition; the arts. *Ḥikāya* in *EI*[1] and *EI*[2] by Macdonald and Pellat respectively; F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xx (1942), 33-45.

(F. Gabrieli)

ABŪ NUKHAYLA AL-ḤIMMĀNĪ AL-RĀDJIZ, a poet of Baṣra who owed his name to the fact that his mother gave birth to him by a palm tree (*nakhla*). He was given the *kunyas* of Abu 'l-Djunayd and Abu 'l-ʿIrmās and the name of Yaʿmar (or Ḥazn, or Ḥabīb b. Ḥazn) b. Zāʾida b. Laḳīṭ, but it is possible that he forged a fictitious genealogy to attach himself to the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm; in fact, al-Farazdaḳ, angry at being released from jail at his intervention, calls him a *daʿī*, and Ibn al-Kalbī does not cite him in his *Djamhara*. It is said that he was ejected by his father, on account of his ingratitude, and spent some time in the desert, where he improved his knowledge of the Arabic of the Bedouins and gained a certain fame. He then went to Syria and succeeded in attaching himself to Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], despite a personal inhibition which led him at first to attribute to himself an *urdjūza* of Ruʾba [*q.v.*], and then afterwards addressed eulogies to Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik and his successors, who showed their favour to him and gave him the largesse of which he was avidly hungry. He nevertheless had no scruples in going and presenting himself to Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ and in reciting to him an *urdjūza* in *dāl* which he had previously dedicated to Hishām. His panegyrics of the first ʿAbbāsids, filled with attacks on his former patrons, gained him the title of "poet of the Banū Hāshim", but his greed led in the end to his downfall. He wrote, and caused to be widely spread, a poem in which he urged al-Manṣūr to proclaim his own son Muḥammad (al-Mahdī) as heir-presumptive instead of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, whom al-Saffāḥ had designated heir. The caliph generously rewarded him and followed his advice, but he instructed him to flee to Khurāsān. However, one of ʿĪsā's agents pursued him, slaughtered him, stripped the skin from his face and threw his corpse to the vultures. This took place at some time shortly after 136/754.

Abū Nukhayla wrote some *ḳaṣīda*s, but above all favoured *radjaz*; he was involved in poetic contests with another famous *rādjiz*, al-ʿAdjdjādj [*q.v.*] and left behind a body of work considered good enough to be formed into a *dīwān*. This poetry is not always easy to understand, because of the Bedouinisms which abound in it, but it has a verve which is sometimes fairly coarse and a humour which disarmed his opponents and made his audience laugh, these last being more or less inclined accordingly to open their purse-strings. This was, indeed, the poet's sole object, and he seems to have been an inveterate demander of money. Cutting epigrams are to be found side-by-side with poems on hunting themes, elaborate panegyrics and unexpected elegies, since, despite an innate sense of ingratitude, the poet knew occasionally how to display his thanks, and especially after the death of al-Muhādjir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kilābī, who had been a kindred spirit. The critics, and especially Ibn al-Muʿtazz, considered him to have been a born poet, and much appreciated his work, which was widely-distributed in the 3rd/9th century.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 100 and index; idem, *Bayān*, iii, 225, 336; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 583-4; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 21-3; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 154; idem, Djamhara, iii, 504; Ṭabarī, iii, 346-50; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 118-20 = § 2332; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xx, 360-92; Ṣūlī, *Awlād al-khulafāʾ*, 310-14; Ḥuṣrī, *Ẓahr al-ādāb*, 925; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 78-80 = ed. Cairo, i, 153-7; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ii, 318-22; Ghars al-Niʿma, *Hafawāt*, index; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 219-20; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa*, 117; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 193-4; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 195; Nallino, *Littérature*, 159-60; Pellat, *Milieu*, 159-60; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 223; A.H. Harley, *Abu Nukhaylah, a postclassical Arab poet*, in *JRAS Bengal*, 3rd series, iii (1937), 55-70; Bustānī, *DM*, v, 145-7; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 331.

(Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ RAKWA [see AL-WALĪD B. HISHĀM].

ABŪ RASHĪD AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, Saʿīd b. Muḥammad, a theologian of the Muʿtazilī tradition of Baṣra and disciple of ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Hama-

dhānī [*q.v.*]. Originally a follower of the Muʿtazilī school of Baghdād, Abū Rashīd frequented the lectures of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, whose doctrine he came to follow in its entirety, surrendering his former adherence to the teaching of al-Kaʿbī and the Baghdādīs. Subsequently, having given up his circle (*ḥalḳa*) at Nīsābūr, he took up permanent residence at Rayy where, after the death of ʿAbd al-Djabbār in 415/1025, he became the acknowledged leader of the Baṣran Muʿtazila. The date of his death is unknown. Abū Rashīd's teaching insofar as it is revealed in the presently available sources, is essentially undistinguishable from that of ʿAbd al-Djabbār. His works include (1) *K. al-masāʾil fi ʾl-khilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa ʾl-Baghdadiyyīn* (Berlin 5125 = Glaser 12), the first part of which was published with a translation by A. Biram, *Die atomistische Substanzlehre aus dem Buch der Streitfragen*, Berlin 1902; a paraphrase of much of the work is found in M. Horten, *Die Philosophie des Abu Raschid*, Bonn 1910. This work (entitled in several of the section headings *al-Masāʾil fi ʾl-khilāf bayn shaykhinā Abī Hāshim wa ʾl-Baghdādiyyīn*) contains rather fulsome expositions of a number of the Baṣrans' philosophical theses, set forth against unelaborated theses of al-Kaʿbī, and grouped under fourteen major topics; and (2) *Ziyādāt al-Sharḥ* (cited in *K. al-Masāʾil*, fol. 112v°), of which a lengthy portion of the first part is published by M. Abū Rīda under the title *Fi ʾl-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1969 and a large part of a later section, though in a different rescension, is found in British Museum ms. Or. 8613. The *Sharḥ* in question is a work of Ibn Khallād, a disciple of Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*], that appears to have been completed by ʿAbd al-Djabbār. Other works, not currently known to have survived, are (3) *Dīwān al-uṣūl*, a lengthy work written for *taʿlīḳ* at the direction of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, divided into two sections, the first philosophical and the second theological, viz. (a) *al-Djawāhir wa ʾl-aʿrāḍ* and (b) *al-Tawḥīd wa ʾl-ʿadl*; (4) *al-Tadhkira*; (5) *K. al-Djuzʾ*; (6) *K. al-Shahwa*; (7) *Masāʾil al-khilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-Mushabbiha wa ʾl-Mudjbira wa ʾl-Khawāridj wa ʾl-Murdjiʾa*; and (8) *Naḳḍ ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*.

Bibliography: Besides the works cited in the text, see Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, Wiesbaden 1969, 116; R. Martin, *A Muʿtazilite treatise on prophethood*, diss. New York University 1976 unpublished; R. Frank, *Beings and their attributes*, Albany 1977, index; and also Brockelmann, S I, 244 and Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 626 f.

(R.M. Frank)

ABŪ RIYĀSH AL-ḲAYSĪ, Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī, *rāwī*, philologist and poet, originally from Yamāma, who settled at Baṣra and was famous at the beginning of the 4th/10th century for his exceptional knowledge of the Arabic language, genealogies and ancient poetry. He was a former soldier who had become a civil servant, and had the job of levying dues on the ships coming to ʿAbbādān. He was totally lacking in education and in tidiness, but his knowledge led to his faults being excused and overlooked. He had a powerful voice, and he spoke in the Bedouin fashion, expressing the *iʿrāb*, at a time when this was normally neglected in the spoken language. He was said to pose as a Zaydī. He died in 339/950 (but in 349/960, according to al-Suyūṭī, who moreover calls him Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad).

His clashes with Ibn Lankak (d. 360/970 [*q.v.*]), who found in his lack of cleanliness a vein of attack easy to exploit, would have been enough to save him from oblivion, but Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 6, goes as far as to assert that Ibn Lankak was eclipsed by al-Mutanabbī (d. 345/965) and by Abū Riyāsh, who both at this time were outstanding. If such an assertion is valid for the first-named poet, it hardly seems justified in regard to the second, since if Abū Riyāsh had been poet of remarkable quality, it is likely that posterity would have preserved his work more carefully; whereas only a limited number of his verses are extant, notably, apart from his replies to Ibn Lankak, a piece in praise of al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*], which nevertheless drew down on himself the poet's criticising Abū Riyāsh; he himself owed part at least of his fame to al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]), who had been his pupil, and to Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1058 [*q.v.*]). Abū Riyāsh is said not to have appreciated Abu Tammām's work, but nevertheless wrote a commentary on the latter's *Ḥamāsa*, which was criticised by al-Ḳifṭī but used especially by al-Baghdādī (who does not, however, cite it in the list of sources of his *Khizāna*, ed. Cairo, i, 33), and he thought it opportune to put together in his turn an anthology called *al-Ḥamāsa al-Riyāshiyya* (in the art. ḤAMĀSA, the reading *Abū Dimās* taken from the *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 120, should be corrected to Abū Riyāsh). This anthology must have enjoyed a certain fame, since al-Maʿarrī did not esteem his reputation damaged by completing a commentary on it, whose title only is known, *al-Riyāsh al-muṣṭanīʿī* (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iii, 157, in the biography of Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ; cf. M. Saleh, in *BEO*, xxiii (1970), 278).

Bibliography: Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 120-1; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ed. Cairo 1950, 25-6; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, ed. Cairo 1392/1972, ii, 158; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 123-31; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vi, 205, No. 2669; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 178; Fück, *ʿArabīya*, Fr. tr., 178; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 314.

(Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ SAʿD AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, the name currently given to ʿĪsā b. Khalīd b. al-Walīd, minor poet of Baghdād whose fame stems from his clashes with Diʿbil [*q.v.*]. The long dispute between the two poets was clearly a manifestation of the latent conflict between the partisans of Yemen and those of Nizār, and it was probably provoked by the famous *ḳaṣīda* of Diʿbil in praise of the South Arabs (ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *Shiʿr Diʿbil*, Damascus 1964, No. 212), to which Abū Saʿd replied by a poem in *-rāʾ* which achieved some fame in its time. After this incident, the Banū Makhzūm might well have closed their door to Diʿbil, but the fear which he inspired in them led them at that point to deny to their defender any connection with their clan, and on the advice of al-Maʾmūn, they issued a formal declaration to this effect (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xx, 127, 130). Abū Saʿd, who claimed to be descended from al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, then had inscribed on his ring *al-ʿAbd b. al-ʿAbd*; and al-Djāḥiẓ himself calls him *daʿī Banī Makhzūm* (*Bayān*, iii, 250-1; *Ḥayawān*, i, 265). The *Aghānī*, which has no special notice on Abū Saʿd, gives in its section on Diʿbil (xx, 121 ff.) some details on the two poets' attitudes and on the measures used by the latter expressly to humiliate his opponent. Having, in an epigram, dubbed Abū Saʿd as Ḳawṣara (a metonymy denoting a woman, but Ibn Ḳawṣara means pariah), Diʿbil hired children to chant it around the streets (*Shiʿr Diʿbil*, No. 119; *Aghānī*, xx, 123, 131; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 140), which enraged Abū Saʿd. For his own part, he took care to incite al-Maʾmūn (*Aghānī*, ii, 130) against the poet of the South Arabs who had abused him in one of his poems, and even asked him for authorisation to bring Diʿbil's head to the caliph (*Aghānī*, xx, 93, 130, 132); but the caliph refused this request, and advised him to limit himself to replying to the attacks. Diʿbil

allegedly even tried to murder his enemy (*Aghānī*, xx, 127); and if the report in *Aghānī*, xx, 125-7, of an apparent reconciliation is authentic, it must indicate Abū Saʿd's duplicity. Various pieces aimed against him have been gathered in *Shiʿr Diʿbil*, Nos. 68, 81, 96, 119, 223, 235; see also p. 293).

Abū Saʿd was also exposed to attacks from Diʿbil's cousin, the son of Abu 'l-Shīṣ (*Aghānī*, xx, 130-1; *Shiʿr Diʿbil*, 349), but he on his part made al-Ashʿath b. Djaʿfar al-Khuzāʿī his target, and the latter had Abū Saʿd flogged with a hundred lashes (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 139-40). In the end he left Baghdād to seek shelter at Rayy, where he died in the caliphate of al-Wāthiḳ *ca.* 230/845 (*ibid.*).

It is interesting to note that not only did Abū Saʿd take the trouble to introduce one of his own verses into a poem by Diʿbil (*Aghānī*, xx, 124), but also that a certain number of pieces are attributed to one or the other poet at the same time (*Shiʿr Diʿbil*, 289, 313, 322, 338). As well as the epigrams aimed at his enemies, Abū Saʿd addressed praises to al-Maʾmūn and wrote several pieces glorifying Nizār; the *Aghānī*, xx, 128, even speaks of a *daftar al-Nizāriyyāt*. Diʿbil's fame, since his works were spread far and wide, threw Abū Saʿd's work into the shade, although this last is by no means of inferior quality. To believe al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 329, Abū Tammām would have given half of his own work for a hemistich by Abū Saʿd which he particularly appreciated. Abū Saʿd, who constituted himself as defender of the North Arabs and by that fact also the defender of Sunnism against the Shīʿī Diʿbil, at a time of ethnic and religious conflicts, deserves to be no longer ignored by historians of Arabic literature; it happens fortunately that Razzūḳ Faradj Razzūḳ has just endeavoured to put together his *Dīwān* (Baghdād, 1971).

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *Shiʿr Diʿbil*, index; idem, *Diʿbil b. ʿAlī al-Khuzāʿī*, 2nd edn. Damascus 1967, 145 ff. and index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 190; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 250; idem, *Ḥayawān*, i, 262, 265; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 329, 347; idem, *Muʿdjam*, 98, 260; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 91; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 320; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 126, 139-41; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 339-40; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, v, 286; introd. to his *Dīwān*. (Ed.)

ABŪ SAʿĪD AL-KHAṬṬĀBĪ [see AL-KHAṬṬĀBĪ].

ABŪ SAʿĪD AL-SĪRĀFĪ [see AL-SĪRĀFĪ].

ABŪ SAYYĀRA, ʿUMAYLA B. AL-AʿZAL B. KHĀLID AL-ʿADAWANĪ, a personage of the end of the Djāhiliyya, said have been the first to fix the *diya* or pecuniary composition for murder at 100 camels and the last to lead the pilgrims, either at the departure for ʿArafāt (*ifāḍa*) or from al-Muzdalifa to Minā (*idjāza*), since the sources disagree on this point, and the more careful authors merely use the expression *dafaʿa bi 'l-nās*. This man, who probably owed his *kunya* to this function of his, a privilege of the Ḳaysī tribe of ʿAdwān (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 92 and ii, 142), became proverbial because he is said to have exercised this office, always mounted on the same black ass (which was, however, according to al-Aṣmaʿī and others, a she-ass, sometimes further described as one-eyed), for 40 years. As al-Djāḥiẓ amusingly points out (*Ḥayawān*, i, 139), no-one can doubt the longevity of this animal which, amongst all asses, lived the longest time; it gave rise to a proverb *aṣaḥḥ min ʿayr Abī Sayyāra* "more sturdy than Abū Sayyāra's ass" (al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, i, 422-3; Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, *Fasl al-maḳāl fī sharḥ K. al-Amthāl*, Beirut 1391/1971, 500-1); al-Djāḥiẓ provides a variant (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 257), *aṣbar min*... "having greater endurance than...".

Abū Sayyāra is compared, because of his humility, with ʿUzayr [*q.v.*] and with Christ, and his ass is cited by prominent people who preferred this humble form of mount.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, see Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vii, 215; idem, *Bayān*, i, 307-8; idem, *Bukhalāʾ*, 187; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, i, 122; Ṭabarī, i, 1134; Azraḳī, *Makka*, 120-1; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 164; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 116 = § 964; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, 295; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 450; *DM*, iv, 373. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ SHABAKA, ILYĀS (usual orthography, Elias Abou Chabakeh), Maronite poet, journalist and translator (1903-47). He was born in Providence, R.I., whilst his parents were travelling in the United States, but he spent all his life in Lebanon, dividing his time between his home in the village of Zūḳ Mīkhāʾīl (in Kisrawān), from which his family came, and the cafés and editorial offices of Beirut, to which he went each day.

His father held some estates in the region of Khartoum, but in 1914, when he went there, was murdered by bandits. Hence the young orphan had soon to interrupt his studies, especially as the French school at ʿAynṭūra, where he had been enrolled, was closed by the authorities during the First World War. He then resumed his studies, but never finished them, preferring to complete his education by plunging into reading the Bible and the French Romantics, which early inspired his first literary efforts. He was compelled to earn a living, hence taught for a while, but also contributed to several Lebanese newspapers, did translations, at the request of publishers, of a series of novels and dramas by French authors as varied as Lamartine, Henry Bordeaux, Voltaire, Edmond Rostand, Molière, the Abbé Prevost, Bernardin Saint-Pierre or Choukri Ghanem, and was even employed as a translator in the press and radio services of the French High Commission during the Second World War. He died of leukaemia on 27 January 1947.

The greater part of Abū Shabaka's original work is made up of seven collections of poems. The first, *al-Ḳīthāra* (1926) contains juvenilia which attest at the same time his great inexperience and a distinct poetic talent. This latter is clearly affirmed in *Afāʿī 'l-Firdaws* (1938), in which the poet has gathered together thirteen pieces written between 1928 and 1938. The basic source of his inspiration is love, its transports, its joys and its sufferings, and there can be clearly seen the influence of the French Romantics in this collection, which the native critics regard as one of the master-pieces of Lebanese poetry. Romantic feelings of nature inspire the next *dīwān*, *al-Alḥān*, a real hymn to nature as well as being at the same time a poetic description of the life of the Lebanese peasants. The poet reverts to the theme of love with *Nidāʾ al-ḳalb* (1944) and *Ilā 'l-abad* (1945). In this very same year, 1945, there appeared *Ghalwāʾ*, whose title is an anagram of the name Olga, the woman whom he had at last married after ten years of betrothal and who had naturally been his principal muse. Finally, in 1958 Abū Shabaka's friends put together in *Min Ṣaʿīd al-āliha* a number of pieces of occasional verse already published in periodicals.

Abū Shabaka had a deeply religious mind, a tormented soul, and was a enthusiastic reader of the Romantics. He was undoubtedly one of the main representatives of a school which has, in Lebanon,

followed, with a certain amount of side-stepping, a tendency long dormant in the West. This romantic movement is now outmoded in the East itself, but Abū Shabaka's work continues to attract young readers who appreciate pure poetry and have little taste for the politico-social preoccupations of engaged poets, who tend moreover to break loose from classical metres. Abū Shabaka generally respects these last, although he may at times adopt a strophic form or vary the rhymes and metres, as in *Ghalwā'*.

As well as his translations and a great number of articles which he left behind, Abū Shabaka wrote, as one might have expected, a *Lāmartīn* (1935) and a study of comparative literature, *Rawābiṭ al-fikr wa 'l-rūḥ bayn al-ʿArab wa 'l-Ifrandj* (1943). Lastly, a series of portraits of literary and political personalities, which appeared in *al-Maʿriḍ*, have been gathered together in one volume, *al-Rusūm* (1931).

Bibliography: The main studies are a collection of articles about the poet and dedicated to his memory by the most prominent names in contemporary Lebanese literature, *Ilyās Abū Shabaka*, Beirut 1948; Razzūḳ Faradj Razzūḳ, *Ilyās Abū Shabaka wa-shiʿruhu*, Beirut 1956; and Īliyyā al-Ḥāwī, *Ilyās Abū Shabaka, shāʿir al-djaḥīm wa 'l-naʿīm*, Beirut n.d. See also *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, iii, *La Poésie*, by L. Norin and E. Tarabay, Paris 1967, 96-8; A. Miquel, *Réflexions sur la structure poétique à propos d'Eliās Abū Šabaka*, in *BEO*, xxv (1972), 265-74; Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, ii, 424-52; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 367-8 (art. by F. Bustānī, with bibl.). A thesis is now in the course of preparation at the Sorbonne on poetic image in the work of Abū Shabaka. (Ed.)

ABŪ SHĀDĪ, Aḥmad Zakī (1892-1955), Egyptian physician, journalist, writer and poet, a man of an astonishing variety of diverse activities.

Born in Cairo on 9 February 1892, he had his primary and secondary education in his natal city, and then in 1912 went to study medicine in London, where he specialised in microbiology; at the same time, he became especially interested in apiculture and acquired quite an extensive knowledge of Anglo-Saxon culture and life which was to exert a deep influence on his literary production. On returning to Egypt in 1922, he was appointed to do research in microbiology, but also became at the same time busy with many other fields, and soon became secretary of several associations of beekeepers, agricultural industrialists, poultry rearers, etc. Furthermore, he quickly took over at the same time the secretaryship of the *Apollo* group inspired by Aḥmad Shawḳī and Khalīl Muṭrān. It was he who created and directed the journal *Apollo* from 1932 to 1934, at a time when he had just founded three other journals of a totally different nature: *Mamlakat al-naḥl* (1930), *al-Dadjādj* (1932) and *al-Ṣināʿāt al-zirāʿiyya* (1932). All these responsibilities in no way kept Abū Shādī from giving talks and lectures, from writing articles on all the subjects which interested him, and above all, from throwing himself into a literary activity which gives the impression of a remarkable breadth. A man like himself, rather too restless, inevitably provoked jealousies and enmities in those circles which were not ready to accept his ideas, especially those on modern poetry. It was perhaps the reactions to his innovations which made him in 1946 decide to emigrate to the United States. He worked on the transmissions of The Voice of America from New York and then Washington, where he died on 12 April 1955.

It is extremely difficult, in this brief notice, to evaluate his role in the evolution of contemporary Arabic poetry and to enumerate and classify his expositions of his ideas and the totality of his literary work. The latter is largely composed of poetry and theatrical works, and is characterised at base by an inspiration which is primarily Egyptian, both Pharaonic and Arab. He embarked on almost every poetic genre, at times giving himself up to romanticism and at times to symbolism, and even went so far as to found in 1936 an ephemeral journal called *Adabī* "My literary work". With regard to form, Abū Shādī used the framework of the *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*] and other strophic structures, but he was above all the proponent of blank verse (*al-shiʿr al-mursal*) and of free verse (*al-shiʿr al-ḥurr*), under the simultaneous influence of Anglo-Saxon poetry and of that of the *mahdjar*, and he tried to launch a literary movement in this sense.

In various commentaries which accompanied his collections, as also in his articles explaining his ideas and his work of criticism *Masraḥ al-adab* (Cairo 1926-8), he insisted on the primordial importance in poetry of metre; he freed himself from the fetters of rhyme, but respected up to a certain point classical metrics at the same time mixing different metres in one and the same poem (on this question and on Abū Shādī's influence, see S. Moreh, *Free verse* (al-shiʿr al-ḥurr) *in modern Arabic literature: Abū Shādī and his school, 1926-46*, in *BSOAS*, xxx/1 (1968), 28-51).

If he had enemies, he also made friends and admirers who busied themselves in collecting together his poetry into more or less coherent collections. Hence there appeared in this way *Miṣriyyāt* (1924); *al-Shafaḳ al-bākī* (1926); *Amīn wa-ranīn aw ṣuwar min shiʿr al-shabāb* (1925), on the initiative of Ḥ.Ṣ. al-Djaddāwī; *Shiʿr al-widjdān* (1925), on the initiative of Muḥ. Ṣubḥī; and *al-Muntakhab min shiʿr Abī Shādī* (1926) by ʿAbd al-Ḥamid Fu'ād.

As for the *dīwāns* published by Abū Shādī himself, the main ones of these are *Waṭan al-Farāʿina* (1926); *Ashiʿʿa wa-ẓilāl* (1931); *al-Shuʿla* (1933); *Aṭyāf al-rabīʿ* (1933, with an introduction by Khalīl Muṭrān and others); *Aghānī Abū Shādī* (1933); *Andā' al-fadjr* (1934: poems of his youth); *al-Yanbūʿ* (1934); *Fawḳ al-ʿubāb* (1935); *al-Kā'in al-thānī* (1935); *ʿAwdat al-rāʿī* (Alexandria 1942); and *Min al-samā'* (New York 1949). There must also be still further unpublished collections of poems written in America.

As well as his *dīwāns*, Abū Shādī left behind some fifteen novels and theatrical pieces whose Pharaonic and Arab inspiration is comparable with that of his poetry and in which the use of blank verse is not uncommon: *Zaynab, nafaḥāt min shiʿr al-ghinā'* (1924); *Mafkharat Rashīd* (1925); *ʿAbduh Bek* (1926); *al-Āliha* (1927, a symbolist opera); *Iḥsān* (1927, an Egyptian drama); *Ardashīr* (1927, an opera); *Akhnaton* (1927, an opera); *Néfertiti; Maʿshūkāt Ibn Ṭūlūn*; and *al-Zibbā' malikat Tadmur* (1927); *Bint al-Ṣaḥrā'* (1927, an opera); *Ihtidār Imri' al-Ḳays; Ibn Zaydūn fī sidjnihi; Bayrūn wa-Tīrīz*; and *Mahā* (a love story).

It is not possible here to speak at length about Abū Shādī's scientific works, but one should mention that he was at the same time the theoretician of free verse and the promoter of apiculture in Egypt, notably with his *Tarbiyat al-naḥl* (1930). Not forgetting that he was a physician, he also wrote *al-Ṭabīb wa 'l-maʿmal* (1928); and not forgetting either that he was a Muslim, he explained why he was a believer in his *Limā anā mu'min* (1937) and published in the year he died *al-Islām al-ḥayy*, all of which had not prevented him from praising freemasonry in

his *Rūḥ al-māsūniyya* (1926). Finally, one should mention his verse translation of the quatrains of ʿUmar Khayyām and Ḥāfiẓ (1931), as well as the one of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.

This brief survey can only give a partial idea of an exceptional personality, one who was discussed and criticised, but also admired, and who merits particular interest.

Bibliography: In addition to S. Moreh's article, the main monographs on him are Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghafūr, *Abū Shādī fi 'l-mīzān*, Cairo 1933; I.A. Edhem, *Abushady, the poet. A critical study with specimens of his poetry*, Leipzig 1936; and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ibrāhīm, *Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī, al-insān al-muntidj*, Cairo 1955; See also Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 373-4 (with bibliography); and N.K. Kotsarev, *Pisateli Egipta*, Moscow 1975, 31-4 (with bibl.), and index; Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, ii, 370-84.

(Ed.)

ABŪ SHAKŪR BALKHĪ, born possibly in 300/912-13, one of the most important Persian poets of the Sāmānid period. ʿAwfī's *Lubāb al-albāb* attributes to him a *mathnawī* in the *mutakārib* metre called the *Āfarīn-nāma*, completed in 336/947-8 and probably dedicated to the *amīr* Nūḥ b. Naṣr (331-43/943-54). Nothing is known about his life, but allusions in his verses suggest that he was a professional poet and had known setbacks in life. The only surviving parts of his work are short fragments and isolated verses quoted in dictionaries, anthologies and a few other works. These comprise some 60 lyrical distichs and some fragments of *mathnawīs* in various metres, but above all, about 140 *mutakārib* distichs which must belong to the *Āfarīn-nāma*, to which one should perhaps add almost 175 distichs cited anonymously in the *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* of ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥafṣ Iṣfahānī (7th/13th century), which seem to be extracts from the same work. This last was apparently a collection of anecdotes illustrating moral sentiments; maxims and moral sayings are prominent in the extant verses of Abū Shakūr, who was certainly the chief heir amongst the Persian poets of the 4th/10th century of the wisdom literature of pre-Islamic Iran. He must have enjoyed a great renown in his time; Manūčihrī mentions him as one of the ancient masters, along with Rūdakī and Shahīd Balkhī.

Bibliography: There is an edition of the fragments with a French translation, together with a notice on the poet and a bibliography, in G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 94-126, ii, 78-127; see also J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, index. (G. Lazard)

ABŪ SHURĀʿA, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Shurāʿa al-Ḳaysī al-Bakrī, minor poet of Baṣra who, during the course of the 3rd/9th century, took part in the social and intellectual life of his native town, and hardly left it, it seems, except to make the Pilgrimage or to visit places very close at hand. For the rest, his life is poorly documented. It seems unlikely that he was able, as Ibn al-Muʿtazz asserts (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 177-8), to praise al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) during the latter's lifetime, to have reached an advanced age in al-Maʾmūn's time and to die in the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61). In the first place, the *Aghānī* speaks of his relations with Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir (d. 279/892-3 [see ibn al-mudabbir]) at Baṣra, where the latter, according to his own words, acted as governor (it is not impossible that he was governor there before 252/866, but he is only mentioned as tax-collector in Ahwāz in *ca.* 250/864). One item of information concerning Abū Shurāʿa's meeting with Diʿbil (d. 246/860 [*q.v.*]) in Ahwāz is of no help. Moreover, al-Djāḥiẓ, so far as is known, cites him only once (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 314), repeating an epigrammatic verse aimed at al-Sidrī (cf. *Aghānī*, xxii, 435), whilst Abū Shurāʿa's name would certainly figure more often if he had been older. Moreover, several other authors cite five fairly mediocre verses of his (see Pellat, *Milieu*, 166) which he is said to have composed on al-Djāḥiẓ's death (255/868). Finally, his son Abu 'l-Fayyāḍ Sawwār, who was also a poet, went to Baghdād after 300/913, and it was he who indirectly furnished Abu 'l-Faradj with most of the information about his father. All these pieces of information lead one to think that Abū Shurāʿa died after 255 at a considerable age.

Although he was reputed to have written epistles and to have delivered eloquent discourses, he was mainly known as a versifier, and Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī even deigned to gather his works into a *dīwān* (*Fihrist*, 216). According to the *Aghānī*, his poetry was in the Bedouin tradition and fairly obscure, but the part of it now extant does not allow of a categorical judgement. As well as verses inspired by his ruinous generosity, he wrote mainly some fairly coarse epigrams, an attractive poem on Ibn al-Mudabbir's departure and some occasional verses which reflect the idle way of life led in Baṣra at this time by the poets, always lying in wait for some reward or ready to heap ridicule on some patron who had disappointed them.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given above, see *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxii, 178-9, 429-50; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 219; idem, *Muʿdjam*, 431 ff.; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, xii, 219-20; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 306; Sandūbī, *Adab al-Djāḥiẓ*, 195; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 383-4. (Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ SINBIL, an ancient village on the western side of the Nile between the first and second cataracts, in lat. 22° 22 north and long 31° 40 east. It lies *ca.* 175 miles south of Aswān. The French discoverers of the two huge rock-hewn temples built by Ramses II (1304-1237 B.C.) referred to it as Ipsamboul at the beginning of the 19th century. The name Abū Sinbil is a popular arabicisation ("father of an ear of corn") of the local Nubian designation, which is also known by many other variants in the spelling, e.g. Abū Simbil/Sinbūl/Sunbul/Sunbūl.

Abū Sinbil later became known as Farīḳ in the Official Government Register, being one of the villages within the financial jurisdiction of the Ibrīm (Piromi, *ca.* 35 miles north of Abū Sinbil) district until 1272/1855 when it became a separate administrative unit. In 1917 the name Farīḳ was dropped, and the village was given its former name, Abū Sinbil. Its irrigated land extends over several hundreds of acres.

Abū Sinbil became famous as the site of two rock temples which gave it its special artistic and religious significance. The temples, which represent some of the most spectacular examples of ancient Egyptian architecture, were unknown to the outside world until the discovery of the Smaller Temple by J.L. Burckhardt in 1813, and its opening by the Italian engineer Giovanni Belzoni in 1817.

The Great Temple of Abū Sinbil is carved in the rock and stands 33 m. high and 38 m. wide. The façade shows four colossal seated figures of Ramses II, two on either side of the entrance to the temple, each measuring 20 m. high. Ramses II dedicated this temple to the sun gods Amon Rē of Thebes and Rē-Horakhti of Heliopolis.

Less than 50 yards away was constructed the Smaller (northern) Temple, which was dedicated to Queen Nefertari, wife of Ramses II, in homage to the goddess Hathor. Its façade is decorated with six 35-foot statues of the Pharaoh and his wife.

The Abū Sinbil cliff had been buried by large sand drifts, which covered the Great Temple until its rediscovery by Burckhardt. But the Smaller Temple, which had not been buried, served the inhabitants of the nearby village Bilyānī (*ca.* 5 miles from Abū Sinbil) as a refuge from marauding Bedouin tribes from Nubia. Only modern Arab authors give particulars about the Abū Sinbil temples, based on French sources, and reports of the French archeological expedition which undertook the excavations at Abū Sinbil in the 19th century.

The original site was submerged by the Nile in 1966 as a result of the building of the Aswān High Dam. The two temples were salvaged from the rising waters of the Nile by sawing them into sections and re-erecting them on top of the rock face from which they were originally hewn.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-tawfīkiyya al-d̲j̲adīda*, Būlāḳ 1305, viii, 14-15; G. Rawlinson, *A history of Ancient Egypt*, London 1881, ii, 318-20; E.A. Wallis Budge, *Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan*[3], London 1911, 259-66; A.E.P. Weigall, *A guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, London 1913, 565-76; P. Bovier-Lapierre *et alii*, *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, Paris 1932, i, 160-1; S. Mayes, *The Great Belzoni*, London 1959, 132 ff.; Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfī li 'l-bilād al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1963, ii/4, 230-1; W. MacQuitty, *Abu Simbel*, London 1965, *passim*; G. Gerster, *Saving the ancient temples at Abu Simbel*, in *National Geographic Magazine*, cxxix/5 (1966), 694-742.

(R.Y. Ebied)

ABŪ TAG̲H̲LIB Faḍl Allāh al-G̲h̲aḍanfar al-Ḥamdānī, ʿUddat al-Dawla, Ḥamdānid *amīr* of Mosul [see ḥamdānids] and son of the *amīr* al-Ḥasan Nāṣir al-Dawla and a Kurdish mother, Fāṭima, born 328/940. He seems to have had a certain authority over his younger brothers, and when their father grew old, Abū Tag̲h̲lib seems to have obtained tacitly from them, except for Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Ḥamdān, who was born of another mother, authority to depose their father and imprison him in the stronghold of Ardumus̲h̲t in the D̲j̲abal D̲j̲ūdī to the north-east of Mosul. This operation was carried out with the complicity of Fāṭima in D̲j̲umādā I 356/beginning of May 967, and Nāṣir al-Dawla died there on 12 Rabīʿ I 358/3 February 969. As this act of deposition had been carried out without Ḥamdān's agreement, and Ḥamdān controlled the towns of Niṣībīn, Māridīn and Raḥba, with the addition of Raḳḳa, seized on the death of the Ḥamdānid of Aleppo Sayf al-Dawla, Abū Tag̲h̲lib secured support from the Būyid *amīr al-umarāʾ* in Bag̲h̲dād and master of the caliphate Bak̲h̲tiyār, and attacked Ḥamdān, forcing him to surrender Raḳḳa and evacuate Raḥba.

Abū Tag̲h̲lib continued the war against Ḥamdān, but the latter now obtained Bak̲h̲tiyār's support and re-entered Raḥba, whilst certain of Abū Tag̲h̲lib's other brothers now turned on him and took Ḥamdān's side. But a new offensive by him forced Ḥamdān to flee for refuge with the Būyid in Bag̲h̲dād. He now was able to consolidate his power in Mosul, seizing his brother's possessions and endeavouring to unite under his authority the territories of the Ḥamdānid amīrate of Aleppo held by his cousin, Sayf al-Dawla's son, and obtaining from the caliph al-Muṭīʿ lillāh an investiture patent for the united amīrates of Mosul and Aleppo. He extended his authority over Diyār Bakr and Mayyāfāriḳīn, where he left Sayf al-Dawla's mother and his sister D̲j̲amīla with a certain amount of authority, then seized Ḥarrān and Diyār Muḍar (359-60/969-70). Recalling that his father Nāṣir al-Dawla had been *amīr al-umarāʾ* in Bag̲h̲dād, whence he had been dislodged in 334/945 by the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla, Bak̲h̲tiyār's predecessor, Abū Tag̲h̲lib now dreamed of recovering this rôle in Bag̲h̲dād and becoming the real master of the caliphate. For his part, Bak̲h̲tiyār, with whom Ḥamdān was now living, was urged by the latter into warfare with Abū Tag̲h̲lib.

However, Bak̲h̲tiyār preferred to make an entente with Abū Tag̲h̲lib and to conclude an agreement with him confirming this last in his possessions, including Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Bakr, and this was sealed by Abū Tag̲h̲lib's marriage with one of Bak̲h̲tiyār's daughters. It is probable that one of the reasons behind this agreement was the threat to both parties from Fāṭimid ambitions. Hence both of them gave help to the Fāṭimids' enemy, the Ḳarmaṭī chief Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam, who received subsidies from them and was accordingly with their help briefly able to seize Damascus. Nevertheless, in the end Bak̲h̲tiyār yielded to Ḥamdān's solicitations. In 363/973 he marched against Mosul and took up a position at Dayr al-Aʿlā to the north of the town. Abū Tag̲h̲lib evacuated the town and made a diversion southwards as far as the gates of Bag̲h̲dād, provoking much excitement there. He then retired towards Mosul, and Bak̲h̲tiyār, though numerically stronger, entered into negotiations with Abū Tag̲h̲lib, who obtained an advantageous agreement. On returning to Bag̲h̲dād, and considering Abū Tag̲h̲lib's position as over-advantageous, he launched another expedition against Mosul. Again, negotiations were begun; Abū Tag̲h̲lib agreed to pay tribute to the Būyid, and received from the caliph the *laḳab* of ʿUddat al-Dawla "Support of the dynasty" in 974. His relations with Bak̲h̲tiyār remained friendly, and he gave support to the latter when the Būyid had to face a rebellion of his Turkish mercenary troops in Bag̲h̲dād itself.

The rebellion of the Turkish troops had led Bak̲h̲tiyār to appeal also to the head of the family, Rukn al-Dawla, who authorised ʿAḍud al-Dawla, ruler of Fārs, to march on Bag̲h̲dād, thus favouring the ambitions of the latter, who dreamed of securing ʿIrāḳ. Abū Tag̲h̲lib, pressed by the Turks who had overthrown Bak̲h̲tiyār, had left Bag̲h̲dād. ʿAḍud al-Dawla expelled the Turks, but now received the total submission of Bak̲h̲tiyār, whom he forced to abdicate, and also made an agreement with Abū Tag̲h̲lib, upon whom depended the supply of provisions for the city; the treaty previously made between Abū Tag̲h̲lib and Bak̲h̲tiyār was renewed and the Ḥamdānid excused from the payment of tribute. However, Rukn al-Dawla showed his opposition to ʿAḍud al-Dawla's treatment of Bak̲h̲tiyār and recalled ʿAḍud al-Dawla; Bak̲h̲tiyār accordingly resumed power in Bag̲h̲dād. But when Rukn al-Dawla died in 366/977, ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who had never renounced his ambitions in ʿIrāḳ, returned to Bag̲h̲dād in November 977.

Abū Tag̲h̲lib's position now appeared firm. But Ḥamdān, who had always remained in Bak̲h̲tiyār's entourage, persuaded the latter to attack Mosul, and Bak̲h̲tiyār advanced as far as Takrīt. Abū Tag̲h̲lib acted skilfully. He promised to aid Bak̲h̲tiyār in recovering Bag̲h̲dād and getting free of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, provided he would surrender to him Ḥamdān, and he marched on Bag̲h̲dād in concert with Bak̲h̲tiyār. But ʿAḍud al-Dawla defeated them near Sāmarrā and captured Bak̲h̲tiyār, whilst Abū Tag̲h̲lib fled. ʿAḍud

al-Dawla entered Mosul itself in June 978 and refused to negotiate in any way with Abū Taghlib. The latter fled to Niṣībīn and thence to Mayyāfāriḳīn, pursued by the Būyid troops. Deciding not to go to Bitlis, where his sister Djamīla had taken refuge, he entered the Kurdish mountain region of the Tigris affluent of the Khābūr al-Ḥasaniyya, perhaps with the hope of shutting himself up in the Ḥamdānid stronghold of Ardumusht. But in the end he decided to make for the region of the Tigris sources and the great loop of the Euphrates, where was the Byzantine rebel Sklēros, with whom he had been in contact and to whom he had promised help against the imperial troops. He was pursued by ʿAḍud al-Dawla's forces, and had an engagement with them at the beginning of 368/August 978 in the mountain region near Ḥiṣn Ziyād (Kharpūt), territory held by Sklēros. He was victorious in this, and stayed for some time at Ḥiṣn Ziyād. He hoped for a victory by Sklēros over the imperial army and help from the latter to reconquer Mosul, but Sklēros was subsequently beaten. Abū Taghlib arrived at Āmid in Diyār Bakr, having learnt that Mayyāfāriḳīn, held by his supporters, had been captured by the Būyids; he now fled with Djamīla to Raḳḳa, abandoning Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabīʿa to ʿAḍud al-Dawla.

The Būyid *amīr* rejected attempts by Abū Taghlib to negotiate with him, and he was unable to count on any help from his cousin Abu 'l-Maʿālī Saʿd al-Dawla in Aleppo, who had just recognised the suzerainty of ʿAḍud al-Dawla. He now further abandoned Diyār Muḍar, which had till then remained under his control, and decided to make for Fāṭimid territory and go to Damascus, not daring however, to go to Egypt itself. Abandoned by various of his brothers, exposed to the hostility of both the Fāṭimid troops and those of the rebel master of Damascus, Ḳassām, he attempted, with the support of one of the Arab tribes of Syria, the ʿUḳayl, to capture Ramla in Palestine from the Ṭayyī Mufarridj b. Daghfal b. al-Djarrāḥ. But he clashed with Fāṭimid troops, and in Ṣafar 369/end of August 979 he and his allies were defeated and he was handed over to Mufarridj, who, instead of delivering him to the Fāṭimid commander, killed him with his own hand. It seems that Abū Taghlib was killed at the instigation of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, whom Mufarridj had recognised as suzerain in 371 (see Madelung, in *JNES*, lxxvi (1967), 22, n. 29).

Such was the end, at the age of 40, of the last Ḥamdānid of Mosul, of Nāṣir al-Dawla's son, and of the Ḥamdānid amīrate of Mosul, where new powers were now installed but where memories of the Ḥamdānids long remained in the minds of the local population.

Bibliography: See for this, M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides de Djazîra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers 1950, where the vicissitudes of Abū Taghlib's career are set forth in ch. vi, 541-72.

(M. CANARD)

ABU 'L-ṬAMAḤĀN AL-ḲAYNĪ, ḤANẒALA B. AL-SHARḲĪ, *Mukhaḍram* Arab poet, considered to be one of those endowed with an unduly long life (al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, ed. Goldziher, in *Abh. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, 62, asserts that he lived 200 years). During the *Djahiliyya* he led the life of a brigand or *ṣuʿlūk* [*q.v.*] and of a libertine (especially, at Mecca, in the company of al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib), and he does not seem to have altered his ways in any measure after his conversion to Islam. He is said to have been killed at Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] in 13/634, but F. Bustānī (*DM*, iv, 408-9) believes that he died *ca.* 30/651, whilst the *Aghānī* asserts that he spent his last years among the Banū Shamkh of Fazāra, with whom he had sought refuge from the efforts of the authorities to arrest him for a crime committed by him. This source (ed. Beirut, xiii, 3-13) also recounts adventures of his whose authenticity raises serious doubts. It tells how Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān managed to set free Ḳaysaba b. Kulthūm (on whom see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 240 and ii, 464), who had been captured during the course of the pilgrimage; and it dilates on his own capture during a battle between two groups of the Ṭayyiʾ (Badjīla and al-Ghawth) and his ransoming by Budjayr b. Aws al-Ṭāʾī, who set him free and received eulogies in verse.

It is difficult to get an idea of Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān's poetic work, since although this was collected together into a *Dīwān* by al-Sukkarī (*Fihrist*, 224), only fragments of this have been preserved, and this only thanks to their fame, which led to several of them being set to music. The authenticity of the most-oft cited verse (metre *ṭawīl*, rhyme *thaḳībuh*) should nevertheless be regarded with caution; it appears in Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iii, 93) in a fragment attributed to Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra and given immediately after that of Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān, of which it forms part in the other sources; Ibn Ḳutayba (*ʿUyūn*, iv, 24; *Shiʿr*, 692) expressly attributes it to Laḳīṭ.

Finally, the existence of at least three poets bearing this same *kunya* (see al-Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 149-50) should demonstrate the need for the greatest prudence.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 187, iii, 235, 237; idem, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 473; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 348-9; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 294; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ii, 77-8, 258; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 298; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 46-7, 100, 436; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 317; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 670; Kushādjim, *Maṣāyid*, Baghdād 1954, 207, 209; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 360; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 75, 78, 244; idem, *Muʿdjam*, 149-50; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 426; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, No. 2011; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 154; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, ed. 1907, i, 185; Wahhābī, *Marādjiʿ*, i, 193-4; Ziriklī, ii, 322-3; Blachère, *HLA*, 318. (ED.)

ABU 'L-ṬAYYIB AL-LUGHAWĪ, ʿABD AL-WĀḤID B. ʿALĪ AL-ḤALABĪ, grammarian of the 4th/10th century, interested above all in lexicography (*ʿilm al-lugha*), whence his surname. He came originally from ʿAskar Mukram in Khūzistān, but left his natal town for Baghdād, where he studied under Abū ʿAmr al-Zāhid and Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī. Then he moved to Aleppo, whose ruler, Sayf al-Dawla, was attracting scholars from all disciplines. It was thus in Aleppo that Abu 'l-Ṭayyib found himself competing with the grammarian Ibn Khālawayh [*q.v.*], who had followed the same masters at Baghdād as himself and who had become tutor to Sayf al-Dawla's son. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib was killed in the massacre by the Byzantines when Aleppo was captured in 351/962. His most famous pupil was Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ, to whom Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī presented his *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, giving there information on Abu 'l-Ṭayyib's works, many of which, he stated, perished in the sack of Aleppo. His extant works include the following: *K. Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1955; *K. Shadjar al-durr*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Djawād, Cairo 1957; *K. al-Ibdāl* and *K. al-Muthannā*, ed. Tanūkhī, Damascus 1960; *K. al-Itbāʿ*, ed. Tanūkhī, Damascus 1961; and *K. al-Aḍdād*, still unpublished. In regard to the *K. al-Furūḳ*, cited by al-Suyūṭī in his *Muzhir*, i, 447, this seems to have been lost.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 190; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, vi, 210; ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, in *MMIA*, xxix, 175-83. (G. TROUPEAU)

ABŪ USĀMA AL-HARAWĪ, DJUNĀDA B. MUḤAMMAD, grammarian and lexicographer of the 4th/10th century, a native of Harāt in Khurāsān. He was the pupil of Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī and Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī, whose works he transmitted. After residing at Shīrāz, where he frequented the circle of the vizier the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], he went off to Cairo. There he taught in the Nilometer mosque (*Djāmiʿ al-Miķyās*) and, in company with the traditionist ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Saʿīd al-Miṣrī and the grammarian ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Anṭākī, he held lectures at the House of Knowledge (*Dār al-ʿIlm*). He was subsequently accused of preventing the rising of the Nile by casting spells on it, condemned to death by the caliph al-Ḥākim and executed in 399/1009. His biographers only provide the name of one of his pupils, that of Abū Sahl al-Harawī, and they attribute no works to him; however, a commentary by him, on the *Muʿallaķa* of Imruʾ al-Ķays, has come down to us.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 36; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 52; Yāķūt, *Irshād*, ii, 426; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i, 372, tr. de Slane, i, 337; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 213. (G. TROUPEAU)

ABU 'L-WALĪD AL-BĀDJĪ [see AL-BĀDJĪ].

ABU 'L-YUMN AL-ʿULAYMĪ [see MUDJĪR AL-DĪN].

ABŪ ZAʿBAL, an ancient village in Lower Egypt *ca.* 15 miles north of Cairo. Its original name was al-Ķuṣayr, under which designation it is mentioned by Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209) in his *Kitāb Ķawānīn al-dawāwīn*. It became known as Abū Zaʿbal from the end of the Mamlūk period, the first record of this name being found in a deed of *waķf* granted by Khāyir Bey al-Djarkasī, Ottoman governor of Egypt 923-8/1517-21, dated 10th Radjab 926. It had a population of approximately 2,000 people towards the end of the 19th century.

In 1827 Muḥammad ʿAlī founded a School of Medicine in Abū Zaʿbal, which was chosen because of its convenient location near the barracks of his army. The School was attached to the largest military hospital in Egypt, which had been built in Abū Zaʿbal in 1825. Muḥammad ʿAlī appointed the Frenchman Clot Bey (then Physician and Surgeon-in-Chief of the Egyptian army) as its first director. In order to overcome the difficulty posed by the language barrier between the students and the French and Italian professors, Clot Bey appointed a team of interpreters who were also entrusted with the translation into Arabic of the necessary medical textbooks. The first of these translations, *al-Ķawl al-ṣarīḥ fī ʿilm al-tashrīḥ*, was printed at the press of the Medical School of Abū Zaʿbal (also founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī) in 1248/1832 (the first book to be printed in Abū Zaʿbal).

To the Abū Zaʿbal School of Medicine were later added the School of Pharmacy (1830), the School of Veterinary Medicine (1831) and the School of Obstetrics (1832). The Medical School was transferred in 1837 to its present site at Ķaṣr al-ʿAynī (Cairo), a palace built in 870/1466 by Aḥmad b. al-ʿAynī, grandson of the Sultan Khushkadam.

The area around Abū Zaʿbal was the scene of considerable military activity during the Napoleonic occupation, Abū Zaʿbal itself being twice attacked by the French troops. When Napoleon's troops demanded an impost for the upkeep of the military from the people of Abū Zaʿbal on the 23 Ṣafar 1213/7 August 1798, they refused to give it, and as a result the French sacked the village and set it on fire. Five months later the French attacked Abū Zaʿbal again and seized all the cattle and the beasts of burden (on 30 Radjab 1213/11 January 1799). Al-Djabartī also records that Abū Zaʿbal was looted on 6 Djumādā I 1207/23 December 1792 by Murād Bey and his Mamlūk soldiers, who killed about 25 of the villagers, and arrested and imprisoned the *shaykh*s of Abū Zaʿbal.

Today Abū Zaʿbal is well-known for the large prison situated there.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār fī 'l-tarādjim wa 'l-akhbār*, Būlāķ 1297/1880, ii, 239-40, iii, 13, 14, 38; Muḥammad Amīn al-Khāndjī, *Mundjam al-ʿumrān fī 'l-mustadrak ʿalā muʿdjam al-buldān* [of Yāķūt al-Rūmī], Cairo 1325/1907, i, 109; Aḥmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Taʾrīkh al-Taʿlīm fī ʿaṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī*, Cairo 1938, 251-316; Naguib Mahfouz Pasha, *The history of medical education in Egypt*, London 1947, 14-16; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Taʾrīkh al-Tardjama wa 'l-ḥaraka al-thaķāfiyya fī ʿaṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī*, Cairo 1951, *passim*; Abu 'l-Futūḥ Riḍwān, *Taʾrīkh Maṭbaʿat Būlāķ*, Cairo 1953, 354-8; Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ķāmūs al-djughrāfī li'l-bilād al-Miṣriyya*, ii/1, Cairo 1954-5, 31. (R.Y. EBIED)

ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀʾ AL-FARRĀʾ [see AL-FARRĀʾ].

ABŪ ZAYD AL-ĶURASHĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-KHAṬṬĀB, *adīb* of the end of the 3rd/9th or of the beginning of the 4th/10th century, and known only as the author of the *Djamharat ashʿār al-ʿArab* (ed. Būlāķ 1308/1890). No personal details about the author can be derived from this collection, and the only relevant data are two *isnād*s, one (p. 13) going back to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (d. *ca.* 206/821 [*q.v.*]) through two intermediaries, and the other (p. 14) going back to Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231/846 [*q.v.*]) through one intermediary; these *isnād*s would thus allow us to date the *Djamhara* approximately to the end of the 3rd century. The mention (p. 165) of the *Ṣaḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī (d. *ca.* 398/1107-8 [*q.v.*]) is probably a reader's note incorporated in the text by a copyist. Another problem is raised by the references to a certain Mufaḍḍal, falsely identified (p. 1) with al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. *ca.* 170/786 [*q.v.*]), for this cannot be a case here of the author of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*; Brockelmann surmised that Abū Zayd al-Ķurashī and al-Mufaḍḍal might be two pseudonyms referring to Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/831 [*q.v.*]) and to the Kūfan anthologist, but this hypothesis hardly seems tenable. A.J. Arberry, for his part (*The seven odes*, London 1957, 23) prudently suggests, but without insisting upon this, an identification of Abū Zayd with ʿUmar b. Shabba (d. 262/875-6 [*q.v.*]).

After an introduction containing observations on the value of poetry for the philological point of view and on Muḥammad's interest in it, a comparison between the language of the Ķurʾān and that of the poets, a judgment on the merits of these last and some fragments attributed to Adam, Satan, the angels, the djinn, etc., the *Djamhara* comprises 49 *ķaṣīda*s written by 49 poets of the *Djāhiliyya* and the beginnings of Islam. These poems are divided into 7 groups, each of which should comprise 7 poets, but ʿAntara, mentioned in the introduction as one of the 7 of the second group, figures in the end (in the printed edn., though not in all the mss.) amongst the authors of the *muʿallaķāt*, so that this particular group comprises 8 poems and the following one 6 only. Abū Zayd chose the following terminology: *muʿallaķāt, mudjamharāt, muntaķayāt, mudhahhabāt/*

mudhbahāt, *marāthī*, *mashūbāt* and *mulhamāt*. He certainly is lacking in any critical spirit, but his *Djamhara*, which possesses no outstanding originality, offers some interesting variants and also the advantage of grouping together for the first time the *muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*] and of reflecting the public's taste at a time when the *ruwāt* had gathered together a considerable number of poetic productions and it had become convenient to select and to classify those which would ultimately constitute the Arabic humanities and, on the whole, the classical ideal.

Bibliography: Ibn Rashīk, *ʿUmda*, index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Cairo i, 33; F. Hommel, in *Actes du VIe Congrès Intern. des Orientalistes*, 387-408; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xlix, 290-3; M. Nallino, in *RSO*, xiii/4 (1932), 334-41; Brockelmann, S I, 38-9; Blachère, *HLA*, index; A. Trabulsi, *La critique poetique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955, 28-30; *DM*, iv, 331. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ ZAYD AL-**SĪRĀFĪ** [see AKHBĀR AL-ṢĪN WA-'L-HIND in Suppl.].

ABŪ ZURʿA, the *kunya* by which the Shāfiʿī scholar and jurist ʿAḤMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM, called IBN AL-ʿIRĀḲĪ, was best known. Abu Zurʿa, the son of a prominent Shāfiʿī jurist of Kurdish origin, was born in Cairo on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 762/14 October 1361. His mother was the daughter of a Mamlūk officer. For a time his father was the *ḳāḍī* of Medina. Abū Zurʿa studied in Cairo, Damascus, Mecca and Medina, and completed his education at an early age. He began his career as a *mudarris*, teaching *ḥadīth* and jurisprudence in various *madrasas* in Cairo. Appointed deputy Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* of Cairo, probably in 792/1390, he held this and other judicial positions outside the capital for twenty years, before he returned to resume his original function as *mudarris*. In 822/1419, he was summoned by Sultan Ṭaṭar to assume the position of Shāfiʿī grand *ḳāḍī* of Cairo—the foremost judicial office in the Mamlūk empire. The strict and honest manner in which he discharged his functions as chief magistrate won him the enmity of powerful Mamlūk *amīrs*, who pressured Ṭaṭar's successor, Barsbāy, into dismissing him from the office in 825/1421, after a tenure of barely fourteen months. Abū Zurʿa died on 27 Shaʿbān 826/5 August 1423, a few months after his dismissal.

At a time when corruption in the judiciary was rampant, and when prominent jurists were spending large fortunes to secure high judicial appointments, Abū Zurʿa stands out as a jurist and *ḳāḍī* of unusual integrity. A scholar of great prominence, he was also renowned for his personal modesty; upon his appointment as grand *ḳāḍī*, he proceeded to exercise his functions in his ordinary clothes, and considerable efforts had to be exerted before he was persuaded to don the customary ornamental robes for the dignity of the office. His contemporaries were unanimous in the praise of his character, learning and command of the Arabic language. He left a number of works on *ḥadīth* and jurisprudence, which were mostly commentaries on earlier works; he also wrote on other subjects and left a compilation of obituaries for the years 762-93 A.H. (now lost), an anthology of anecdotes about hypocrites (*Akhbār al-mudallisīn*), a commentary on an *urdjūza* (versified tract) on algebra, and some scattered verse.

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, i, 336-44; Ibn Taghrībirdi, *Nudjūm*, vi, 514, 516, 563, 578; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1321, ii, 116; Brockelmann, II, 66-7; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, i, 270-1. (K.S. SALIBI)

ABYAḌ, GEORGES (b. Beirut, 5 May 1880; d. Cairo, 21 May 1959), a Syrian Christian who became a prominent protagonist of the modern Egyptian theatre. After acting in school-plays, Abyaḍ attempted a career as a clerk; unhappy with this work, he moved in 1898-9 to Egypt, then the centre of the young theatre in Arabic. In Alexandria and Cairo, he attended theatrical performances, both local and foreign, then, with a group of Egyptian amateurs, repeatedly tried his own hand, with some success. The turning point in his career came when the Khedive ʿAbbās II Ḥilmī awarded him a stipend to study acting in France, where Abyaḍ stayed from 1904 to 1910. Sylvain, Director of the *Conservatoire* in Paris, became his teacher, mentor and model; but he was also impressed and inspired by such leading actresses as Sarah Bernhard. Upon his return to Egypt, Abyaḍ commissioned the translation of several plays into literary Arabic, without colloquialisms or slang, and assembled a troupe in Cairo to perform these and other works. In 1912, with packed halls, his troupe was virtually the first to perform plays in Arabic without music—for Abyaḍ introduced music, vocal or instrumental, only when it was organic to the play. The troupe was organised and re-organised, and it played in Cairo as well as on repeated tours in Egypt and other Arab lands. Although Abyaḍ sometimes had to act in vernacular comedies and dramas (to please and attract the public), his forte remained the tragedy in literary Arabic. From 1927, he acted occasionally in broadcast plays, and, in 1930, started to teach acting and diction at the newly-established Institute of Dramatic Arts and at various universities and schools. In 1931-2 he acted in the first Arabic talking film, a musical entitled *The Song of the heart*. Abyaḍ retired from the State National Theatre in 1942, but he continued to lecture, direct plays, and occasionally act in Egyptian films. He was the first President of the Actors' Union, which was established in 1943. Until his death, he was active in the intellectual circles of Cairo and Alexandria. Abyaḍ's main merits were that, almost single-handed, he created a classical non-musical Egyptian theatre in literary Arabic, modelled on the modern French theatre; he encouraged the production of translated and original plays; and he increased the respectability of acting as a profession, socially and financially (paying his actors a regular and adequate salary).

Bibliography: *al-Hilāl*, xx (1 Apr. 1912), 436-8; xxi (1 Nov. 1912), 125-6; xxxiii (1 June 1925), 906-9; Muḥammad Taymūr, *Muʾallafāt*, ii, Cairo 1922, 131-49, 161-2, 213 ff., 232-3, 236 ff., 241-58, 276-7, 285-6, 290 ff., 303-4; N. Barbour, *The Arabic theatre in Egypt*, in *BSOAS*, viii (1935-6), 178-81; Fāṭima al-Yūsuf, *Dhikrayāt*, Cairo 1953, 27-31, 36-7; Muḥammad Yūsuf Nadjm, *al-Masraḥiyya fi 'l-adab al-ʿArabī al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1956, 152-67, 245, 256, 415, 446, 449-50; J.M. Landau, *Studies in the Arabic theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958, 75-87, 93, 100, 113, 166, 189 (Arabic tr. by Aḥmad al-Maghāzī, Cairo 1972); Muḥammad Mandūr, *al-Masraḥ*², Cairo 1963, 40-2; Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm, *Sidjn al-ʿumr*, Cairo n.d. [1964], 140-3 (Italian tr. by G. Belfiore, *La prigione della vita*, Rome 1976, 87-9); Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn, *Ruwwād al-masraḥ al-miṣrī*, Cairo 1970, 81-2, 85, 89-91, 106; Suʿād Abyaḍ, *Djūrdj Abyaḍ: al-masraḥ al-miṣrī fī miʾat ʿām*, Cairo 1970; Fāṭima Rushdī, *Kifāḥī fi 'l-masraḥ wa 'l-sīnimā*, Cairo 1971, 28-30; Maḥmūd Taymūr, *Ṭalāʾiʿ al-masraḥ al-ʿarabī*, Cairo n.d., 43-7, 52-3; Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥadjdjādjī, *al-ʿArab wa fann al-masraḥ*, Cairo 1975, 85-7; T.A. Putints-

iyeva, *Tisyača i odin god Arabskogo teyatra*, Moscow 1977, 164-8, 171, 177, 200, 209, 228, 262.

(J.M. Landau)

al-**ABYĀRĪ**, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Hādī Nadjā b. Riḍwān b. Nadjā b. Muḥammad, a leading Egyptian author and grammarian who was born in 1236/1821 in Abyār in the Gharbiyya province of Lower Egypt. He was brought up in Abyār where he received his early education from his father and in one of the *kuttāb*s of the town. He studied at al-Azhar and later became a teacher there. Ismāʿīl Pasha entrusted him with the instruction of his children, and Tawfīḳ Pasha appointed him *imām* and *muftī* of his entourage, a post which he held until his death on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1305/28 July 1888. He belonged to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*.

Al-Abyārī is credited with the authorship of more than 40 books on various subjects, including grammar, Islamic mysticism, *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*. He corresponded with a number of leading scholars, including Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab and Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī. The collection of his correspondence with Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab in Beirut and with others on literary and linguistic topics, *al-Wasāʾil al-adabiyya fi 'l-rasāʾil al-aḥdabiyya*, was published in Cairo in 1301/1883. A dispute on certain linguistic matters between Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāḳ and Sulaymān al-Ḥarīrī al-Tūnisī led to an adjudication of the questions at issue by al-Abyārī, which judgement appeared in print in Cairo in 1279/1862 under the title *al-Nadjm al-thāḳib*. A number of his works remain unpublished.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda*, viii, Būlāḳ 1305/1888, 29; E. Zakhkhūra, *Mirʾāt al-ʿaṣr fī taʾrīkh wa-rusūm akābir al-ridjāl bi-Miṣr*, i, Cairo 1897, 239-40; Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, *Aʿyān al-bayān*, Cairo 1914, 222-31; Djūrdjī Zaydān, *Tarādjim mashāhīr al-sharḳ fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*, ii, Cairo 1903, 144-5; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya wa 'l-muʿarraba*, Cairo 1928, 358-61; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, iv, 322-3; Zakī Muḥammad Mudjāhid, *al-Aʿlām al-sharḳiyya fi 'l-miʾa al-rābiʿa ʿashra al-hidjriyya*, ii, Cairo 1950, 138-9; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, vi, 203-4. (R.Y. Ebied)

ACCESSION TO THE THRONE [see bayʿa, khilāfa].

ACCIDENT [see ʿaraḍ].

ACQUISITION [see kasb].

ACRIDOIDS [see djarād].

ACROBAT [see djānbāz].

ACT, ACTION [see ʿamal, fiʿl].

ADAGE [see mathal].

ĀDARRĀḲ, the name of a family of Berber "physicians", whose ancestor, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (d. 1070/1658-60) left the Sūs and settled at Fās; he must have used completely empirical methods, but nevertheless obtained significant results. Ibn Shakrūn [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was the pupil of a certain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ādarrāḳ, who was probably the son of the above-mentioned person, but the best-known member of the family was this Aḥmad's son, Abu Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad (b. *ca.* 1077/1666, d. 28 Ṣafar 1159/22 March 1746), who was attached to Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1082-1139/1672-1727). ʿAbd al-Wahhāb had also received a traditional education and had a certain talent as a versifier. In actuality, apart from a few poems of an ethico-philosophic nature, a *ḳaṣīda* in praise of the saints buried at Meknès (*Manẓūma fī madḥ ṣāliḥī Miknāsat al-zaytūn*), his biographers mainly mention some pieces having a certain connection with medicine: these comprise first of all a commentary on the *Nuzha* of al-Anṭākī and two *urdjūza*s, one complementing that of Ibn Sīnā, the other on the subject of smallpox (these works apparently lost); then a *ḳaṣīda* of 31 verses on the fine qualities of mint (*naʿnaʿ*), which exists in ms. (Rabat D 158 and D 1131; partial tr. in Renaud, *Médecine*, 104-5; Lakhdar, 189); and finally, an *urdjūza* of 179 verses on syphilis (*ḥabb al-Ifrandj*), based largely on al-Anṭākī's *Nuzha* and on the *risāla* of Ibn Shakrūn on sarsaparilla (*fi 'l-ʿushba al-hindiyya*), text published and tr. by Renaud and Colin, *Mal franc*, Arabic text 25-32, tr. 81-94.

Another Ādarrāḳ called Aḥmad is also cited as physician to Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1171-1204/1757-90).

Bibliography: Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās*, Rabat 1347-52/1929-33, v, 400-7; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, lith. Fās 1310, i, 226, ii, 251; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316/1898, ii, 34; Akansūs, *al-Djaysh al-ʿaramram*, lith. Fās 1336/1918, 94 ff.; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 310-11; H.P.J. Renaud, *Médecine et médecins marocains*, in *AIEO Alger*, iii (1937), 99-106; idem and G.S. Colin, *Documents marocains pour servir à l'histoire du "mal franc"*, Paris 1935, 31-5; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc*, Rabat 1971, 187-90 and bibl. cited there.

(Ed.)

al-**ʿADAWĪ**, Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhlūf, Azharī scholar and administrator, one-time *shaykh* of the Aḥmadī mosque in Ṭanṭā, born on 5 Ramaḍān 1277/18 March 1861 in the village of Banī ʿAdī, near Manfalūṭ in the Upper Egyptian province of Asyūṭ.

After the completion of his studies at al-Azhar [*q.v.*] in 1305/1887-8, when he was granted the degree of *ʿālim* [see ʿulamāʾ], and a short period of teaching at that institution, he was appointed Director of al-Azhar Library which was established and organised at his initiative. His commitment to the cause of reform in al-Azhar gave his further career its content and significance when, in the various high administrative offices he held within this institution—the most notable of which were the offices of *mudīr al-Azhar* and of the Religious Institutes attached to it, *mufattish al-awwal* and *wakīl al-Azhar*—as well as in the period in which he held the office of *shaykh* of the Aḥmadī mosque in Ṭanṭā, he was able to give inspiration and direction to the reformist efforts (cf. Aḥmad Shafīḳ, *Mudhakkirātī fī nisf ḳarn*, Cairo 1936, ii/2, 137 f., 140, 182, 233). He continued to do so after his resignation from all his administrative functions following a dispute with the Egyptian Sultan Ḥusayn Kāmil in 1915 (see ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Saʿīdī, *Taʾrīkh al-iṣlāḥ fi 'l-Azhar wa-ṣafaḥāt min al-djihād fi 'l-iṣlāḥ*, Cairo n.d., 142 ff.).

From the latter year onwards, he committed himself mainly to private teaching and to the writing of a variety of books and tracts, of which some forty were published, largely pertaining to legal issues and to *taṣawwuf* [*q.v.*]. He was an active member of the Sharḳāwiyya branch of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] and among the principal disciples of its founder Aḥmad b. Sharḳāwī al-Khalifī (1834-98). He died in Muḥarram 1355/April 1936.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, see the biographies by Ilyās Zakhkhūrā, *Mirʾāt al-ʿaṣr fī taʾrīkh wa-rusūm akābir ridjāl Miṣr*, Cairo 1897, ii, 455; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1954-9, vi, 326; Muḥammad ʿAbduh al-Ḥidjādjī, *Min aʿlām al-Ṣaʿīd fi 'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ ʿashr al-hidjrī*, Cairo 1969, 93-112, and Zakī Muḥammad Mudjāhid, *al-Aʿlām al-sharḳiyya fi 'l-*

miʾa al-rābiʿa ʿas͟hra al-hid̲j̲riyya, Cairo 1950, ii, 160, where additional references may be found as well as an enumeration of al-ʿAdawī's writings. A similar list may be found appended to several of al-ʿAdawī's publications. To these must be added *al-Taḳrīr al-awwal li-mas͟hyak͟hat al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Aḥmadī ʿan sana 1316 dirāsiyya*, Cairo 1327/1909, which was drawn up by him at the time when he was *s͟hayk͟h* of the Aḥmadī mosque in Ṭanṭā. For a summary of the reforms and improvements implemented by him at the Aḥmadī mosque, when he was in charge of that institution, see *D̲h̲ikrā tas͟hrīf Samū al-D̲j̲anāb al-ʿAlāʾ al-K͟hu-daywī al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿAbbās Ḥilmi al-T̲h̲ānī li ʾl-D̲j̲āmiʿ wa ʾl-Maʿhad al-Aḥmadī, sana 1332*, Cairo 1332/1913-4, 29 f.

(F. DE JONG)

ʿADĪ B. **ARṬĀT** AL-FAZARĪ, ABŪ WĀT̲H̲LA, official in the service of the Umayyads who governed ʿIrāḳ from Baṣra between 99/718 and 101/720. He was appointed to this office by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in place of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, and received the order to arrest all the sons of al-Muhallab. He managed to get hold of al-Mufaḍḍal, Ḥabīb, Marwān and Yazīd, but the latter escaped and returned to the attack. ʿAdī then raised the troops of Baṣra and had a trench dug round the town to prevent the rebels from breaking in, but these measures had no effect. In the event, Yazīd managed to get possession of Baṣra without much difficulty, and ordered the arrest of ʿAdī, who was killed at Wāsiṭ in 102/820-1 by Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd. There is, first of all, attributed to this governor's name a canal excavated at Baṣra in order to bring a satisfactory supply of drinking water, the *Nahr ʿAdī*, and secondly, an epidemic which broke out in 100/719, the *ṭāʿūn ʿAdī*.

Bibliography: D̲j̲arīr, *Dīwān*, 241; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, index; D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; *Ṭabarī*, index; Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 77, 349, 359, 369-70; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 130 and ii, 138; Yaʿḳūbī, *Hist.*, ii, 362, 370, 373; idem, *Buldān*, tr. Wiet, 94, 124; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, v, 453-4, 457 = § 2206, 2209; idem, *Tanbīh*, index; K͟haṭīb Bag͟hdādī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, xii, 306; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, v, 31, 42, 53, 64; Yāḳūt, i, 643, iv, 841; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd, *S͟harḥ*, i, 303; Caetani, *Chronographia*, 1205, 1239, 1244, 1248, 1260; Ṣ. al-ʿAlī, in *Sumer*, vii (1952), 78; Pellat, *Milieu*, index; Ziriklī, vi, 8.

(ED.)

ADĪB PĪS͟HĀWARĪ, SAYYID AḤMAD, Persian poet, was born *ca.* 1844 in the district of Pīs͟hāwar (Peshawar) in north-west India to a clan of nomadic *sayyids* who traced their spiritual lineage back to S͟hihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. While he was still a boy, his father and most of his male relatives were killed in fighting against the British government. He himself escaped to Kābul, and after spending several years in G͟haznīn, Harāt and Turbat-i S͟hayk͟h D̲j̲am, settled in Mas͟hhad, where he studied under a number of distinguished divines. For two years he was in Sabzawār at the feet of the famous Mullā Hādī Sabzawārī. During his stay in Mas͟hhad he became known as *Adīb-i Hindī*, "the Indian scholar". In 1884 he moved to Tehran, where he spent the rest of his life, and was honoured by Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh. He died in 1930. His writings include a *dīwān* of 4,200 Persian and 370 Arabic verses, a *mat̲h̲nawī* poem in the *mutaḳārib* metre, the *Ḳayṣar-nāma*, dedicated to the German Kaiser and describing the events of the 1914-18 war, two philosophica essays, a commentary on the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Bayhaḳī*, and an incomplete Persian translation of Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Is͟hārāt*.

Although his mother-tongue was Pas͟hto, Adīb Pīs͟hāwarī was regarded as a master of the Persian language, his wide reading and powerful memory enabling him to clothe his ideas in a high literary style. Nevertheless, although he took no active part in public affairs and lived an unwordly life, his poems show that he was well-acquainted with world events; he commented freely on such matters as the Russo-Japanese War, India's fight for freedom, pan-Islam, and the Great War. His early tragic experience had given him a lasting hatred of British imperialism, from which no doubt his support for the Kaiser in part stemmed. At heart he was a fervent nationalist and patriot. At the same time he placed no reliance on patrons, and was never known to have composed a panegyric. He may be regarded as the first of the new generation of poets who abandoned the classical themes and wrote about subjects closer to the lives of ordinary people.

Bibliography: Adīb's *Dīwān* was edited by ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rasūlī, Tehran 1933. His edition of the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Bayhaḳī* was published in Tehran in 1889, and the commentary was incorporated with corrections in Saʿīd Nafīsī's edition, 3 vols., Tehran 1940-53. The *Ḳayṣar-nāma* has never been published. Biographical information in: M. Ishaque, *Suk͟hanwarān-i Īrān dar ʿaṣr-i ḥāḍir*, i, Calcutta 1933, 1-8; Ras͟hīd Yāsimī, *Adabiyyāt-i muʿāṣir*, Tehran 1937, 10-3; M. Ishaque, *Modern Persian poetry*, Calcutta 1843, *passim*; Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Burḳaʿī, *Suk͟hanwarān-i nāmī-yi muʿāṣir*, i, Tehran 1950, 1-2; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 356-7; ibid., *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 374-5; Bozorg Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964, 34-5.

(L.P. ELWELL-SUTTON)

ADİVAR, ʿABD AL-ḤAḲḲ ʿADNĀN, modern Turkish ABDÜLHAK ADNAN ADIVAR, Turkish author, scholar and politician (1882-1955). He was born in Gelibolu (Gallipoli), while his father Aḥmed Bahāʾī, who came from a prominent *ʿulamāʾ* family of Istanbul, was *ḳāḍī* there. He studied medicine at the University of Istanbul and while a student, contributed to various newspapers and was in trouble with the Ḥamīdian police. Upon graduation he fled to Europe, spent a year in Paris and Zürich and settled in Berlin where he became an assistant in the Faculty of Medicine. After the restoration of the Constitution in July 1908, he returned to Turkey, taught at the University of Istanbul and was Dean of the Faculty of Medicine (1909-11). As a prominent member of the powerful Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), he contributed substantially to re-organising the Red Crescent and the Department of Health. In 1917 he married, by proxy, the prominent writer K͟hālide Edīb [*q.v.*]. Elected a deputy in the post-Armistice Ottoman Parliament, Dr. ʿAdnān (as he was known until 1940 when he took the family name Adıvar) left Istanbul secretly with his wife in order to avoid certain arrest and deportation by the British, and joined the Nationalist government in Ankara (April 1920), where he served as Minister of Health and of the Interior and as Deputy Speaker of Parliament. Later he joined dissident generals and former members of the CUP, with whom he founded the Progressive Republican Party (*Teraḳḳīperver D̲j̲umhūriyyet Firḳasi* [*q.v.*]), which represented the main opposition to Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pas͟ha (1924). In the summer of 1926, a Unionist conspiracy to assassinate Muṣṭafā Kemāl was discovered and several people were arrested. Dr. ʿAdnān was tried in his

absence as he had been in Europe for some months. Although he was acquitted, he and his wife did not return to Turkey until 1939. They lived in England and later in France where he worked as lecturer at the École de Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris, together with Jean Deny (1929-39).

When Ḥasan ʿĀlī Yüdjel (Yücel), the reforming Minister of Education (1938-46) decided that a Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* should be published, he appointed Adnan Adıvar its chief editor (1940); the latter organised the secretariat of the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* and successfully launched and directed it as an independent deputy (1950-4). He died in Istanbul on 1 July 1955.

Adnan Adıvar's main work is his book on the history of science in Turkey, prepared during his exile in France: *La science chez les Turcs ottomans* (Paris 1939), which he revised and enlarged in the second edition in Turkish, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim* (Istanbul 1943), where for the first time all the extensive data on the subject are put systematically together. Apart from an essay on Faust (*Faust, tahlil tecrübesi*, Istanbul 1939) and a study of the conflict of religion and science in history; *Tarih boyunca ilim ve din* (2 vols., Istanbul 1944), his remaining work consists of essays and articles on problems of general culture, history, science and politics which he published in daily papers; some of these have been put together in *Bilgi Cumhuriyeti haberleri* (1945), *Dur, düşün* (1950) and *Hakikat peşindeki emeklemeler* (1954).

Bibliography: *Yeni ufuklar*, special number, August 1955; Halide Edib Adivar, *Doktor Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar*, Istanbul 1956; Tahir Alangu, *100 ünlü Türk büyüğü*, ii, Istanbul 1974, 1259-65. (Fahir İz)

ʿADJMĀN, the smallest of the seven shaykhdoms of Trucial ʿUmān, which now comprise the United Arab Emirates (*al-Imārāt al-ʿArabīyya al-Muttaḥida* [*q.v.* below]). The shaykhdom proper measures about 100 square miles in extent, and there are two small enclaves, Masfūt and Manāma, in the interior. The total population is around 5,000. The leading tribal elements are the Ḳarātisa, Hamīrat and Āl Bū Dhanayn sections of the Āl Bū Khuraybān branch of the Naʿīm (or Nuʿaym), which is also to be found in the Buraymī Oasis and its vicinity. The ruling *shaykh*, from the Ḳarātisa section, is Rashīd b. Ḥumayd, who succeeded in 1347/1928-9.

Throughout the 13th/19th century ʿAdjman was little more than a client state of the neighbouring Ḳasīmī shaykhdom of Shārdja (al-Shārika [*q.v.*]). It subscribed independently, however, to the various engagements concluded between the Trucial Shaykhs and the British government during the century, from the General Treaty of Peace in 1235/1820 to the "Exclusive" Agreements of 1309/1892. Early in the century, as a consequence of Saʿūdi penetration of the area, the Āl Bū Khuraybān of ʿAdjmān, like most of their fellow Naʿīm, were converted to the Wahhābī pratice of Islam.

ʿAdjman's economy until recent years depended wholly upon fishing and subsistence agriculture. It is now sustained primarily by grants from the wealthier members of the UAE, notably Abū Dhabī (Ẓabī), and by concessionary payments from the Occidental Oil Company for exploratory rights in ʿAdjman territory and waters. (J.B. Kelly)

ADMIRAL [see kapudan].

ADVENTURER [see kazak].

AFĀWĪH (pl. of *afwāh*, sing. *fūh*) are spices, aromatic substances, which are added to food and beverages in order to increase pleasant flavour and promote digestion. In general they are vegetable products which are active through their contents of volatile oils or pungent substances. The classification according to the individual constituents of plants (fruits and seeds, blossoms and buds, peel, roots, etc.), in use at present, does not seem to have been in practice realised anywhere. It is possible that Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (end 3rd/9th century) has this in mind when he says that *al-afwāh* fall under various classes and types (*aṣnāf wa-anwāʿ*), and then quotes a verse each of Dhu 'l-Rumma and of Djamīl [al-ʿUdhrī], according to which there is a distinction between *afwāh al-nawr* and *afwāh al-buḳūl* (*Kitāb al-Nabāt. The book of plants*, part of the monograph section, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, 200 f., no. 757). An unsystematic list of food spices, among which are included the most common like salt (*milḥ*), is to be found in Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbar*, iii, Cairo 1348/1930, 296-9, under the heading *maṣāliḥ al-ṭaʿām*, where *maṣāliḥ* must have the plain meaning of "spices, food-flavourings". In Arabic the meaning of *afāwīh* is not sharply marked off from *ʿiṭr, ṭīb* "scents", and *ʿaḳḳār* (plur. *ʿaḳāḳīr, ʿuḳḳār*), "drugs" [see ʿaṭṭār]. The lexicographers call *al-afwāh* what is added to scents, and *al-tawābil* what is added to food (see Lane, s.v. *fūh*).

Specific monographs on *al-afāwīh* do not seem to be known. These substances are treated in their appropriate places in works on botany, pharmacognostics, medicine, knowledge of commodities, encyclopaedias and other writings. A list which is, to a certain extent, representative for the 4th/10th century, is to be found in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 367, containing 25 main kinds of spices: 1. *sunbul* spikenard, 2. *ḳaranful* clove, 3. *ṣandal* sandalwood, 4. *djawzbuwwā* nutmeg, 5. *ward* rose, 6. *salīkha* cassia, 7. *zarnab* (meaning doubtful, cf. Meyerhof's edition of Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, no. 137), 8. *ḳirfa*, cinnamon, 9. *ḳamuwa* (a kind of sonchus?, cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ, iv, 17, tr. Leclerc, no. 1775), 10. *ḳāḳulla* cardamom, 11. *kubāba* cubeb, 12. *hālbuwwā* small cardamom, 13. *manshim* carpobalsam, 14. *fāghīra* xanthoxylum, 15. *maḥlab* morello, 15. *wars* Flemmingia rhodocarpa, 17. *ḳusṭ* costus, 18. *aẓfār* (*al-ṭīb*), Strombus lentiginosus, 19. *birank* Embelia Ribes, 20. *ḍarw* lentisk gum, 21. *lādhan* ladanum, 22. *mayʿa* aromatic gum of the storax tree, 23. *ḳanbīl* Mallotus philippinensis, 24. *ḳaṣab al-dharīra* calamus, 25. *zabāda* civet.—Notable is the fact that one of the oldest and most utilised spices, pepper (*fulful*), with its *ca.* 700 different kinds, does not appear in this inventory.

In the section on knowledge of commodities in his handbook on mercantile science, Shaykh Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar al-Dimashḳī (probably 6th/12th century) enumerates, under the term *saḳaṭ* (plur. *asḳāṭ*, strictly speaking "refuse"), a list of spices which is quite different from that of al-Masʿūdī (*Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra ilkh*, Cairo 1318/1900, 21-4): under the "small spices" (*al-saḳaṭ al-ṣaghīr*) he mentions only the rhubarb (*rāwand*) and leaves the others out as being less important, but under the "great spices" (*al-saḳaṭ al-kabīr*) he reckons: 1. *nīl* indigo, 2. *baḳḳam* sapanwood, 3. *fulful* pepper, 4. *lubān* frankincense, 5. *maṣṭakā* gum mastic, 6. *dārṣīnī al-ṭaʿām* food-cinnamon, 7. *āl* yellow ginger, 8. *zandjabīl* ginger, 9. *zurunbād* redowary-root, 10. *khūlandjān* galingale, 11. *ḳusṭ* costus, 12. *lādhan* ladanum, 13. *ihlīladjāt*, kinds of myrobalan (see concerning this list, E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim 1970, ii, 11-5; H. Ritter, in *Isl.* vii [1917], 17 f.).

Scattered or unsystematically-arranged material for the knowledge of spices is to be found, as can be expected, in the encyclopaedias of the Arabic and Persian literature. Preliminary statements already appear in al-Kh^w^ārazmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895) under medicaments (169-80), while ample material is given by Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, the entire twelfth volume of which (Cairo 1356/1937) is devoted to this subject; scents (*ṭīb*), perfumery (*bakhūrāt*), many kinds of Galia moscata (*ghawālī*), perfumes made of aloe with various admixtures (*nudūd*), distillates (*mustaḳṭarāt*), oils (*adhān*) and certain perfumes (*nadūhāt*). Among these rubrics we find also descriptions of some of the spices already mentioned, such as sandalwood (39-42), spikenard (43 f.), cloves (45-8), costus (49-51), etc. All this is mixed up with detailed statements about other materials which can be counted among spices only with reservations or in no way at all. As in mediaeval Europe, ground spices were often adulterated, especially in times of distress. Here we only recall the original work of Djawbarī (*ca.* 615/1218), *Kitāb al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār wa-hatk al-astār*, which allegedly informs traders about deceitful devices in commerce and trade; it was printed several times in the Orient and urgently deserves a critical edition (now in preparation by S. Wild). The section on adulterations of spices and perfumes was translated into German by E. Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, i, 1970, 679-82).

Since there is hardly any spice which was not at the same time used as medicament, it is no wonder that the most comprehensive material on spices is to be found in the pharmacopoeias. These are essentially based on the *Materia medica* (ὕλη ἰατρική) of Dioscorides [see DIYUSḲŪRIDĪS]. This work, translated into Arabic at an early period, lived on in the Islamic world in ever-new compilations, expanded by a great number of drugs which the Arabs had come to know in the course of their conquests. The material is to be found on the one hand in pharmacognostic and pharmaceutical monographs, the development of which came to a certain conclusion with Ibn al-Bayṭār's great compilation, and on the other hand in the pharmaceutical sections of compendia on general medicine [see ṬIBB]. It should, however, be remembered that in these works spices are entered and described as medicines in the first place, not as condiments.

Together with cambric textiles, spices were considered as the most fashionable luxury; both products are often mentioned together as the most lucrative ones (Mez, *Renaissance*, 452 ff.). In Egypt, where for a long time corn had offered the best chances for investment, spices and drugs took its place after the Crusades. In the later Middle Ages, the spice trade, and the pepper trade in particular, was mainly in the hands of Egyptians and Venetians. A good survey on the spice trade under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks is to be found in G. Wiet, *Les marchands d'épices sous les sultans mamlouks*, in *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne*, série vii (1955), 81-147, with a rich bibliography. However, the autbor does not deal with particular spices, but with their general trade. Under the protection of the sultans this trade was carried out by important bodies of merchants, who forwarded the spices from India and South-East Asia to Europe by way of Egypt through the Red Sea or by way of Syria through the Persian Gulf. About these trading companies and their monopoly we have some detailed information, especially about the wealthy Kārimī [*q.v.*], who controlled the spice trade between the Yemen and Egypt. The "spice-wars" with the European ports in the Mediterranean, started by the Ayyūbids and continued by the Mamlūks and the Ottoman Turks, were waged on both sides with great ruthlessness. Internal policy was carried out, just as rigorously, especially by the Mamlūks: in 832/1429 Barsbāy founded a state monopoly of pepper and three years later he forced the wholesale merchants to buy from him for 80 *dīnārs* a *ḥiml* the pepper which they had sold to him earlier for 50 *dīnārs*. Even so, Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī not only maintained this monopoly system, but imposed additional heavy taxes on the merchants. Hopes of cutting out Egyptian middlemen were the decisive inducement for the Spanish and the Portuguese to search for a direct sea-route to India; but after the conquest of the Moluccas in 1607, the Dutch snatched the monopoly of the spice trade away from the Portuguese.

Bibliography: W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*, ii, Leipzig 1886 (new impr. Amsterdam 1959), 563-676; S.Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171-1517)*, Wiesbaden 1965 (solid investigation with valuable evidence, see index); L. Kroeber, *Zur Geschichte, Herkunft und Physiologie der Würz- und Duftstoffe*, Munich 1949, *passim*; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*³, Berlin 1891, index; H.A. Hoppe, *Drogenkunde*⁷, Hamburg 1958; *The legacy of Islam*², 217, 227, 234 with Bibl. at 243; Of the pharmacognostic and medical works, the following selection may be mentioned: Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ḳānūn fi 'l-ṭibb*, i, Būlāḳ 1294, 243-470; Bīrūnī, *K. al-Ṣaydala*, ed. and tr. Ḥakīm Muḥ. Saʿīd, Karachi 1973; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār. Un glossaire de matière médicale*, éd. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, index; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ limufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdhiya*, i-iv, Būlāḳ 1291, partial tr. L. Leclerc in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xxiii, Paris 1877; xxv, 1881; xxvi, 1883.

(A. DIETRICH)

AFḌAL AL-DĪN TURKA, more frequently referred to as Kh^w^ādja Afḍal-i Ṣadr, was a famous theologian in the reign of the Tīmūrid Shāhrukh Mīrzā [*q.v.*], and a member of an originally turco-phone family of Iṣfahān, whence the appelation Turka. In 845/1441, when Shāhrukh appointed his own grandson, Muḥammad b. Bāysonḳor as governor of a part of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī (al-Djibāl), Afḍal al-Dīn Turka was among the learned courtiers of this young prince. But later when, in consequence of Muḥammad's revolt, Shāhrukh came to Iṣfahān, Afḍal al-Dīn together with a number of other leading figures, were arrested as Muḥammad's accomplices and put to death by the order of Shāhrukh with no further inquiry (Ramaḍān 850/November 1446). Afḍal al-Dīn is responsible for a partial translation of Shahrastānī's *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, in which contrary to the original author, he did not confine himself to expose only the heretical doctrines, but endeavoured also to refute these heresies. This translation was originally made in 843/1439 for Mīrzā Shāhrukh, but later when Muḥammad b. Bāysonḳor came to ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī, a new version of the book was dedicated to him. Among other famous dignitaries of the Turka family we know of another Afḍal al-Dīn Turka (d. 991/1583), a grandson of our Kh^w^ādja Afḍal al-Dīn, and also a famous theologian of the Ṣafawid period who held for a time the office of *ḳāḍī* and *mudarris*, at Ḳazwīn, under the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I.

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Browne, 339; Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-

Kātib, *Taʾrīkh-i djadīd-i Yazd*, ed. I. Afshār, Tehran 1966, 241-2; Abū Bakr-i Tihrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, ed. Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer, Ankara 1962, 285-8; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdayn*, ii, 1946, 862-3; Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, Tehran 1970, 260; Mudarris-i Khiyābānī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tehran 1326/1947, i, 412-3; Djalālī-yi Nāʾīnī, ed., *Tardjuma-yi al-Milal wa ʾl-niḥal*, Tehran 1335/1956, 34-57 cf. Iskandar Beg Munshī, *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, index.

(A.H. ZARRINKOOB)

AL-ʿ**AFĪFĪ**, ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB B. ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. AḤMAD B. ḤIDJĀZĪ, an Egyptian mystic belonging to the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] order, after whom one of its branches is named al-ʿAfīfiyya. He was born in Minyat ʿAfīf in the present-day Minūfiyya province in the last quarter of the 17th century. After a period of study at al-Azhar under a number of notable scholars like the Mālikī *muftī* Sālim b. Aḥmad al-Nafrāwī, and Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-Sikandarānī al-Ṣabbāgh, he taught the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim at the *madrasa al-ashrafiyya* and confined himself to an ascetic way of life based upon the precepts of the Shādhiliyya order. He had been initiated into this *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] by the son of the founder of the Moroccan Ṭayyibiyya [*q.v.*], the Wazzānī *sharīf* Mawlā Aḥmad al-Tihāmī al-Tawwātī (d. 1715), from whom he had also received the khilāfa [*q.v.*]. In addition he held an *idjāzat khilāfa* of the Khalwatiyya order issued to him by Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī [*q.v.*].

His contacts with the Mamlūk *amīrs* who used to come and visit him in his house in Ḳaṣr al-Shawḳ and the generous way in which he gave away to his *murīdūn* most of what was presented to him as pious donations caused his circle of adepts to increase and to spread into the rural areas.

When he died on 12 Ṣafar 1172/15 October 1758, he was buried close to the mosque of Ḳāyit Bāy in a grave which was swept away by a torrent in the year 1178/1764-5. After this event his body was re-interred at a much higher site in the same area where a domed shrine was constructed over his tomb, together with a number of adjacent buildings at the expense of Muḥammad Katkhudā Abāẓa, a Mamlūk *amīr* and onetime *katkhudā* [*q.v.*] of Muḥammad Bey Abu ʾl-Dhahab [*q.v.*]. As reported by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, Būlāḳ 1297, i, 220 f., and iv, 163, the yearly *mawlid*, about which he makes highly derogatory remarks, was not celebrated until after this event. At the end of the 19th century it had become one of the larger popular *mawlids* in Cairo (cf. J.W. McPherson, *The moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941, 50, 174; Murray's *Handbook of Egypt 1888*, 209), and lasted for eight days (cf. ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, v, 50 f., xvi, 73). According to McPherson, 174, the *mawlid* was not celebrated any more by 1940, but in the fifties celebrations were held again (cf. *Madjallat al-Islām wa ʾl-Taṣawwuf*, i (Cairo 1958), no. 6, 82).

Al-ʿAfīfī has left no writings of his own, but his teachings have been summarised by one of his disciples ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ghuraynī, in *Risālāt al-Silsila*, and they mirror Shādhilī teaching as formulated by Aḥmad Zarrūḳ. The latter's *waẓīfa* [*q.v.*], known as *Safīnat al-Nadjā* [*li-man ila ʾllāh iltadja*] was incorporated into the *ṭarīḳa*'s liturgy and was adopted as part of the daily office prescribed for the *ṭarīḳa*'s members, to whom two of al-Zarrūḳ's treatises, *Risālat al-Uṣūl* and *Risālat al-Ummahāt* became standard reading at a later period, towards the end of the 19th century.

Followers of the ʿAfīfiyya order have been criticised on various grounds for wearing yellow headgear in imitation of al-Zubayr b. ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], who, according to one tradition, wore a yellow turban on the day of the battle of Badr. In defence of headgear of this colour, a small treatise was published by the order, written by Ibrāhīm al-Sadjīnī under the title *al-Aman al-akbar fī ʿayn man ankara libs al-aṣfar*.

Two branches of the al-ʿAfīfiyya *ṭarīḳa* were active in Egypt in 1958 (cf. Muḥammad Maḥmūd ʿAlwān, *al-Taṣawwuf al-islāmī, risālatuhu wa-mabādiʾuhu, māḍiyuhu wa-ḥāḍiruhu*, Cairo 1958, 72, 74).

Bibliography: The biographies by ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xvi, 72 f.; al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Kūhin, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1347/1928-9, 157 f.; and Muḥammad al-Bashīr Ẓāfir, *al-Yawāḳīt al-thamīna fī aʿyān ʿālim al-Madīna*, Cairo 1324-5/1906-7, are essentially reproduced from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, i, 220 f. A short biography may be found in Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-thānī ʿashar*, Istanbul/Būlāḳ 1291-1301/1874-83, iii, 143 f., which was utilised by Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabahānī, *Djāmiʿ karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1329/ 1911, ii, 139. On the construction of the mosque of al-ʿAfīfī in the second half of the 19th century, see ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, v, 51. Information about descendants of al-ʿAfīfī and *ʿulamāʾ* buried in the precincts of the mosque may be found in Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb wa-bughyat al-ṭullāb fi ʾl-khiṭaṭ wa ʾl-mazārāt wa ʾl-taradjim wa ʾl-biḳāʿ al-mubārakāt*, Cairo 1937, 54. The treatises by Aḥmad al-Zarrūḳ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghuraynī and Ibrāhīm al-Sadjīnī, referred to in this article were published by ʿAfīfī al-Waḳḳād in a collection under the title *Hidāyat al-sāʾil ilā madjmūʿ al-rasāʾil*, Cairo 1316. The order's chain of transmission of the *waẓīfa* and the *sanad* [*q.v.*], which are given in the treatise by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghuraynī referred to in this article, figure also in ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Zakī, *al-Nafḥa al-ʿaliya fī awrād al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1321, 220 f. (photomechanical reprint: Ṭarābulus (Libya) 1971).

A manual of religious instruction and mystical practice intended for the members of the ʿAfīfiyya order was written by one of its *khalīfas*, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Nabī Muḥammad Khaḍir, *al-Irshādāt al-dīniyya*, al-Minyā n.d. [1970]. Prayer manuals of al-ʿAfīfiyya are Fuʾād Ramaḍān, *Madjmūʿat aḥzāb*, Cairo n.d.; and Aḥmad Ḥasan (ed.), *Madjmūʿat awrād wa-aḥzāb li ʾl-sāda al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1351/1932-3.

(F. DE JONG)

AFLĪMŪN, FULAYMŪN, IFLĪMŪN, the Greek rhetorician and sophist Antonius Polemon (*ca.* 88-144 A.D.) of Laodicea (near modern Deñizli [*q.v.*] in western Turkey). He lived most of his life in Smyrna, and was the author of a book on physiognomy, which has been preserved, apart from one single Greek quotation, in an Arabic translation only. The translator is not known. Polemon's book (*K. Aflīmūn fi ʾl-firāsa*) presents the characteriological physiognomy, in contrast to the branch of physiognomy which aims at medical morphoscopy [see FIRĀSA]. It was believed that characteriological physiognomy provided an insight into someone's character by means of a skilful interpretation of his physical appearance (*al-istidlāl bi ʾl-khulḳ al-ẓāhir ʿalā ʾl-khulḳ al-bāṭin*). Polemon's book is divided into 70 chapters. Ch. 1 treats the characteristics of the human eye, and ch. 2 the characteristics of animals from which, by analogy, conclusions can be drawn about human nature; these constitute about half of the book. Then

follow chs. 3-30 on the different parts of the body, chs. 31-5 on the different nations of the world, chs. 36-40 on the colour of the parts of the body, chs. 41-8 on the growth of hair on the parts of the body, chs. 49-50 on the movements of the body, chs. 51-66 on several outspoken character types, and chs. 67-70 on several other topics connected with foretelling someone's destiny. The book appears to be authentic, as can be seen from the many Greek examples; thus mention is made of Oedipus (ed. Hoffmann, 111, 7), Cyrene (*ibid.* 119, 14), Lydia and Phrygia (*ibid.* 139, 13), Egypt, Macedonia, Phoenicia, Cilicia and Scythia (*ibid.* 237, 14-239, 2). The eyes of the Roman Emperor, Hadrian of whom Polemon was a favourite, are described (*ibid.* 149, 4). Polemon's opponent, Favorinus, is only too well recognisable in the anonymous and malicious description on p. 161, 8 ff. Allusion to the attempt on the Emperor's life is made on p. 141, 1 ff.

Polemon does not give a theoretical introduction to his method. He used materials from the *Physiognomicon* of Ps. Aristotle and gave his book a lively tone by including anecdotes about contemporaries and avoiding a monotonously scientific treatment of his subject (Stegemann, 1345-7). Polemon's name is mentioned by al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868 [*q.v.*]) in his *Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿA.M. Hārūn, Cairo 1938, iii, 146, 269-75, 284), with extensive quotations on the physiognomy of the dove (*firāsat al-ḥamām*), none of which however can be found in the Arabic physiognomicon as it exists now. Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 377/987 [*q.v.*]) mentions Polemon's book and, without naming its author, a *Firāsat al-ḥamām* (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 314). Mention of Polemon is also made by Ibn Ḥazm (413/1022 [*q.v.*]) in his *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* (ed. D.K. Pétrof, Leiden 1914, 30). The quotation by Ibn Ḥazm is only a faint echo of Polemon, ed. Hoffmann, 169, 1-4. An anecdote about Polemon and Hippocrates (a crude anachronism) in Ps. Aristotole, *Sirr al-asrār* (cf. ed. Foerster, ii, 187-90) found its way into Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (d. 646/1248 [*q.v.*]), *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, 91 l. 12-92 l. 2 and into Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 668/1270 [*q.v.*]), *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Müller, Königsberg 1884, i, 27-8.

Polemon's book was widely used and epitomised. An Arabicised short version is the edition of M.R. al-Ṭabbākh, Aleppo 1929. The characteristics of the several nations of the Hellenistic world (ed. Hoffman, 237-9, ed. al-Ṭabbākh, 46) are applied to peoples of the Islamic world. Another short version is MS Gotha 85 (3) (see bibliography), which lacks the specific Greek characteristics but is less adapted to Islamic taste than the Aleppo version. An evaluation of the texts written under the name of Polemon has not been undertaken so far. Polemon's book was probably a primary source of al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327 [*q.v.*]), *K. al-Siyāsa fī ʿilm al-firāsa* (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 161) and Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348 [*q.v.*]), *Asās al-riyāsa fī ʿilm al-firāsa* (MS Paris, BN, Arab. 2762). *Firāsa* was, and still is, a popular science with its uses both in court life, human relationships and the slave trade. The exact impact, directly or indirectly, of Polemon's work on the numerous tracts on physiognomy of later times, cannot now easily be discerned.

Bibliography: On Polemon in general see the art. *Polemon* (by W. Stegemann) in Pauly-Wissowa, xxi/2, cols. 1320-57, and F. Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 352-3. On Polemon's position in the Arabic *firāsa* tradition, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Strasbourg 1966, 384-6, and Y. Mourad, *La physiognomie arabe*..., Paris 1939, 44-6, with the literature cited there. Polemon's book was edited by G. Hoffmann, in R. Foerster, *Scriptores physiognomonici Graeci et Latini*, Leipzig 1893, i, 93-294 (= MS Leiden Or. 198 (1)). The only Greek quotation of Polemon preserved is given in *ibid.*, i, p. LXXVI. A Ps-Polemonic treatise is mentioned in *ibid.*; ii, 147-60 (= MS Gotha Arab. 85 (3)); Other MSS. of treatises going under the name of Polemon are mentioned by Fahd, *op. cit.* 384-6; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 96; Foerster, *Script. phys.*, i, p. LXXXVII (identical with Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, vii, 297, and (?) with MS Nuruosmaniye, *Defter*, no. 2388); and M.R. al-Ṭabbākh in his edn., introd. p. 2. The Greek physiognomicon ascribed to Polemon in *Aeliani variae Historiae Libri XIIII*, Rome 1545, ff. 79-91 is not authentic, as has been demonstrated by R. Foerster, in *De Polemonis Physiognomonicis dissertatio*, Kiel 1886, 10 ff.

(J.J. Witkam)

ĀFRĀG (al-Manṣūra), an 8th/14th century Marīnid royal camp-town (whence its name), commanding Ceuta from the heights west of the peninsula on which this old Moroccan (now Spanish) seaport is situated. Its site lies in an area of modern suburban development: in the north-east the line of its west wall stops short of the Ceuta-Punta Blanca coast road (Carretera de la Playa Benitez), and, from south-west to north-east, the trapezoid site is bisected lengthways by the Carretera de Torrones. More than half a kilometer of the west wall, including the remains of one of its three original gates, Bāb Fās, and its towers has survived. Construction techniques suggest Andalusian influence.

Āfrāg owed its existence to that of Ceuta, which, from around 1250, had acquired growing economic and strategic importance and become the great *entrepôt* of the western Mediterranean, boasting an economy thriving on commerce and privateering. Militarily, it was ideally suited to assist Islam in its struggle to maintain its increasingly precarious foot-hold in Spain: it had ships, harbours and a seafaring population equipped for war by land and sea; in good weather its ships could rapidly cross to Algeciras; its fortifications were formidable and, on its landward side, impregnable. However, because it could easily withstand assault and siege from the mainland, it had long enjoyed a profitable measure of independence and, at times under the ʿAzafids [*q.v.*], escaped Marīnid control altogether. Accordingly, when in 728/1327-8 the total collapse of ʿAzafid authority was followed by internal dissension, the Marīnid sultan Abū Saʿīd decided to assert his authority there once and for all. Among measures to achieve this end were decisions to demolish Ceuta's Outer Suburb (*al-rabaḍ al-barrānī*) wall, the most formidable barrier to access from the west, and to impart solidity and permanence to what had doubtless been the site of many an earlier siege camp. Like a similar foundation built by a dynastic predecessor outside Tlemcen, it was given the name al-Manṣūra. Abū Saʿīd is credited with the construction of a palace there with adjacent mosque as well as other buildings. Most of the wall and fortifications, however, seem to have been the work of Abu 'l-Ḥasan (931-52/1331-51). In the 9th/15th century Āfrāg was regarded as a suburb of Ceuta. Much of the place was still standing in the 18th century.

Bibliography: B. Pavón Maldonado, *Arte hispanomusulmán en Ceuta y Tetuán*, in *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, vi (1970), 72-6; J.D. Latham, *The strategic position and defence of Ceuta in the later Muslim Period*, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, ed. J.M. Barral, i/1, Leiden 1974, 454 and *passim* (also

in *Islamic Quarterly*, xv (1971), 195-7 and *passim*); al-Anṣārī, *Ikhtiṣār al-akhbār*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal with title *Descrip-tion musulmane au xve siècle*, in *Hespéris*, xii (1931), 145-76, ed. Ibn Tāwīt in *Tetuán* (1959), ed. A. Ben Mansour, Rabat 1969, *passim*; Spanish tr. by J. Vallvé Bermejo, in *Al-Andalus*, xxvii (1962), 398-442).

(J.D. Latham)

ĀGAHĪ, poetical name of Muḥammad Riḍā Mīrāb b. Er Niyāz Bek, Khīwan historian, poet and translator, born 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1224/17 December 1809 in the township Ḳiyāt, near Khīwa, in Khwārazm.

He belonged to Uzbek tribe of Yüz and to an aristocratic family, whose members were hereditary *mīrābs* (in the Khānate of Khīwa there were four high officials with the title *mīrāb*, members of the khān's council consisting of 34 *'amaldārs*). His uncle was Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb with the poetical name Mu'nis [*q.v.*], a poet, translator and historian. Āgahī studied in a *madrasa* and especially under his uncle, whom he repeatedly calls his *ustād*. After the death of Mu'nis in 1244/1829, he received the title and the post of his uncle (Āgahī, *Riyāḍ al-dawla*, MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, E-6, f. 334a). As a *mīrāb* he supervised the irrigation system in the country (a special interest in irrigation is noticeable in his historical works), but also, as other high officials, he usually accompanied the khāns of Khīwa in their military campaigns. In 1255/1839 he was ordered by Allāh-Ḳulī Khān to complete the history of the Khānate of Khīwa *Firdaws al-iḳbāl* written by Mu'nis, which had remained unfinished after his death (see *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C-571, f. 445a-b). Having completed this work, carrying it to the death of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān, 1240/1825, Āgahī proceeded with separate histories of Allāh-Ḳulī Khān and his successors, thus becoming a kind of official historiographer of the Khānate of Khīwa (formally such a post did not exist in the khānate). In 1268/1851 he resigned from the post of *mīrāb* because of an illness (see his *Djāmi' al-wāḳi'āt-i sulṭānī*, MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, E-6, f. 488a-b) and dedicated all his time to literary work until his death in 1291/1874, shortly after the Russian conquest of Khīwa (see Muḥammad Yūsuf Bek Bayānī, *Shadjara-yi Kh*wārazmshāhī, MS. of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tāshkent No. 9596, f. 4b).

His literary production in Čaghatāy was very considerable. Besides the continuation of the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl* of Mu'nis he wrote five other historical works, continuing one after the other till 1289/1872: (1) *Riyāḍ al-dawla*, history of Allāh-Ḳulī Khān (1240-58/1825-42) and the first two years of the reign of Raḥīm-Ḳulī Khān (1258-9/1843-4); (2) *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, history of Raḥīm-Ḳulī Khān (1258-62/1843-6); (3) *Djāmi' al-wāḳi'āt-i sulṭānī*, history of Muḥammad Amīn Khān (1262-71/1846-55), 'Abd Allāh Khān (1271/1855) and Ḳutlugh Murād Khān (1271-2/1855-6); (4) *Gulshan-i dawlat*, history of Sayyid Muḥammad Khān (1272-81/1856-64); and (5) *Shāhid-i iḳbāl*, history of the first eight years of the reign of Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II (1281-9/1864-72). Except for the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl* and the greater part of the *Riyāḍ al-dawla*, all of them are contemporary chronicles arranged in annalistic form, with their main subdivisions being the years of reign of respective khāns. Āgahī's accounts are based on his own observations as well as reports of other eyewitnesses, and, in some cases, on official documents. These chronicles are the most outstanding work of late Central Asian historiography "in regard to the minuteness of account and the quantity of facts" which they comprise (Barthold). His Turkī *dīwān* entitled *Ta'wīdh al-'āshiḳīn* includes mainly *ghazals*, but also *ḳaṣīdas*, *mathnawīs*, *mukhammasāt*, etc.; he wrote also some poems (mostly *ghazals*) in Persian.

Āgahī was also a prolific translator. At the beginning of his literary career he continued the translation into Čaghatāy on the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'* by Mīrkhwānd [*q.v.*] begun by Mu'nis (Āgahī translated the second half of vol. ii, vol. iii and, allegedly, vol. vii), and later translated a number of other Persian works: *Ta'rīkh-i djahān-gushā-yi Nādirī* by Muḥammad Mahdī Khān; *Durra-i Nādirī* by the same author; the 3rd vol. of *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī* by Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān; the *Gulistān* by Sa'dī; *Yūsuf wa-Zulaykhā* by Djāmī; *Haft paykar* by Niẓāmī (a prose translation); *Shāh wa-gadā* by Hilālī; *Zubdat al-ḥikāyāt* by Muḥammad Wārith; the *Ḳābūs-nāma*; the *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī* by Ḥusayn Kāshifī; and the *Miftāḥ al-ṭālibīn* by Maḥmūd Ghizhduwānī (cf. Storey, i/2, 973) (there exist MSS. of all above-mentioned translations, see Bibliography). In the preface to his *dīwān* he mentions also several other translations made by him, manuscripts of which, however, have still not yet been discovered: a *Ẓafar-nāma* [apparently by Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī]; *Salamān wa-Absāl* by Djāmī; the *Bahāristān* by Djāmī; [the memoirs of] Wāṣifī (cf. Storey-Bregel, 1123-6); *Tadhkira-yi Muḳīm-Khānī*; *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbar-Shāhī*; the *Hasht bihisht* by Amīr Khusraw; and also a *sharḥ* to the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* from Ottoman Turkish.

Bibliography: V.V. Bartol'd, *Istoriya kul'turnoy zhizni Turkestana* (1927), in *Sočineniya*, ii/1, 285-6; P.P. Ivanov, in *Materiali po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii*, ii, Moscow-Leningrad 1938, 23-7; Ḳ. Munirov, *Āgahī* [in Uzbek], Tāshkent 1959; idem, Munis, *Āgahī wa Bayānīning tarikhi atharlari* [in Uzbek], Tāshkent 1961; R. Madjidi, *Āgahī lirikasi* [in Uzbek], Tāshkent 1963; J. Eckmann, in *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, 389-90; H.F. Hofman, *Turkish literature*, section iii, Utrecht 1969, i/2, 48-52 (with additional references). On the MSS. of his original historical works see, besides the above-mentioned sources, L.V. Dmitriyeva *et alii*, *Opisaniye tyurkskikh rukopisey Instituta narodov Azii*, i, Moscow 1965, 106-18 (Nos. 97, 98, 100-2, 105-7, 110); *Sobraniye vostočnikh rukopisey Akademii nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, Tāshkent, i, 83-4, vii, 33-7. The MS. in the Istanbul University Library TY 82 (the only one known outside the Soviet Union) contains *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, *Riyāḍ al-dawla* and *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*. Russian translations of extracts from historical works: V.V. Bartol'd (1910), in *Sočineniya*, ii/2, 400-13 (epitomised translation from *Shāhid-i iḳbāl*); *Materiali po istorii karakalpakov*, Moscow-Leningrad 1935, 125-43; *Materiali po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii*, ii, Moscow-Leningrad 1938, 384-638. MSS. of the *dīwān*: see *Sobraniye vostočnikh rukopisey Akademii nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, vii, 128-9; separate poems: see *ibid.*, ii, 358, v, 125, vii, index. The *Dīwān* was published lithographically in Khīwa in 1300/1882 and 1323/1905 and in modern Cyrillic transcription in 1960 in Tāshkent (partial edition only). On the MSS. of his translations of Persian historical works see Storey-Bregel, 374, 375, 479, 910, 913; *Sobraniye vostočnikh rukopisey Akademii nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, iii, 111, v, 107, vii, 48, 68-9, 217-8.

(Yu. Bregel)

ĀGHĀ ḤASHAR KASHMĪRĪ (1879-1935), the

best-known Urdu dramatist. His actual name was Āghā Muḥammad Shāh and Ḥashar his *takhalluṣ*, while his *nisba* alludes to the country of origin of his father. The latter came from Kashmīr, and settled in Benares as a merchant. Here Āghā Ḥashar was born and educated, until in 1897 he ran away from home and made for Bombay. He feared his father's wrath for his misuse of money entrusted to him; and his appetite for the new Urdu drama form, which was flourishing in Bombay, had been whetted by the visit of a theatrical company to Benares. He worked as playwright for various companies in Bombay, and subsequently in several provincial capitals such as Hyderabad and Madras, writing over thirty plays. Many of them were extremely successful, and earned him a fine reputation, and also considerable wealth, which, however, he quickly dissipated. He later worked in films. He died and was buried in Lahore.

When he entered the field, the main lines of the Urdu dramatic form were already established. Āghā Ḥashar, by his technical brilliance and command of language raised it to its highest point. The form was hardly challenged until after the 1939-45 War. Common elements in the form were: the use of poetry and rhymed prose, often rhetorical to the point of bombast, prose being reserved for comedy or social drama; the development of subsidiary plots alongside the main one, as in Shakespeare; and historical or heroic themes, based on either Islamic and Indian stories or Shakespeare and other English dramatists, whose plays were freely adapted, with changes in locations and names of characters. Social themes were also employed. Violence and death were common on stage, as in *Sohrāb-o-Rustum* (1929, publ. Lahore 1959): yet adaptations of Shakespeare's tragedies might be given happy endings—thus *Safed Khwun* (1907, publ. Lahore 1954), based on *King Lear*.

Bibliography: For accounts of earlier Urdu drama, see Muhammad Sadiq, *History of Urdu litterature*, London 1964, 393-9; Ram Babu Saksena, *History of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 346-67; J.A. Haywood, *Urdu drama—origins and early development*, in *Iran and Islam—in memory of Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 293-302; Accounts of Āghā Ḥashar and his dramatic art are to be found in Waḳḳār ʿAẓīm, *Āghā Ḥashar awr un ke drāme*, Lahore 1956; and idem, *Urdū drāma—ta'rīkh-o-tanḳīd*, Lahore 1957. For the texts of the plays, those published by Urdu Markaz, Lahore, are recommended. Other and earlier editions are based on information supplied by actors; many were published in the author's lifetime without his authority. They differ substantially from Āghā Ḥashar's manuscripts, many of which are in the Nawāb of Rampūr's library. Of the Urdu Markaz series, apart from the two mentioned in the text, the following may be noted: *Ṣayd-i-haws* based on Shakespeare's *King John* (1954); *Asīr-i-ḥirṣ*, based on Sheridan's *Pizarro* (1954); *Khwubṣūrat balā* (1954); and *Pahla piyār* or *Balwā mangal* (1955). (J.A. Haywood)

AGHAOGHLU, Aḥmed (originally Aḥmed Aghayef, later Aghaoghlu Aḥmed and after 1934 Ahmet Ağaoğlu), Turkish writer and journalist (1869-1939). Born in Shusha, a town in the Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*] region of Ādharbāydjān, he was educated in his home town and Tiflis (Tbilisi) and later studied political science in Paris. In 1894 he returned home, where he collaborated with progressive and nationalist intellectuals like Ḥusayn-Zāde ʿAlī, Ismāʿīl Gaspirali (Gasprinski) [*q.v.*] and ʿAlī Merdān Topčibashi and contributed to various papers. After the restoration of the Constitution in Turkey in 1908, he went to Istanbul, joined the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and became a leader writer of the French daily *Jeune turc*. Together with Ḍiyā Gökalp, Yūsuf Akčura and Meḥmed Emīn (Yurdakul) he became one of the promoters of the Turkism movement (*Türkčülük*) which developed, with the foundation in June 1911 of the nationalist association Turkish Hearth (*Türk Odjaghi*) and its organ *Türk yurdu*, into an influential current in Turkish intellectual life after 1912. In 1913 Aghaoghlu was appointed professor of Turkish history in Istanbul University and continued his contributions to various papers. Elected deputy to Parliament and a member of the executive board (*Merkez-i ʿUmūmi*) of the CUP, in 1917 he accompanied the Turkish expeditionary force to the Caucasus as a political officer. On his return to Istanbul he was arrested by the British and exiled to Malta with other leading CUP members. Freed from Malta in July 1921, he joined the Nationalists in Ankara and was appointed director general of the Press. Elected to the Grand National Assembly, he contributed at the same time to the semi-official daily *Ḥākimiyyet-i milliyye* and taught at the newly-established Faculty of Law in Ankara. He was one of the founders of the short-lived Liberal Party (*Serbest Fırka*) of August 1930 and following its abolition in November of the same year, retired from political life, teaching in the Istanbul Faculty of Law until his retirement in 1933. He died in Istanbul on 19 May 1939.

Essentially a journalist and politician, Aghaoghlu is the author of the following major works: (1) *Üč medeniyyet* ("Three civilisations") Istanbul 1927, 2nd ed. in Roman script *Üç medeniyet*, Istanbul 1972; (2) *Serbest insanlar ülkesinde* ("In the land of free people"), Istanbul 1930; (3) *Devlet ve fert* ("State and individual"); and posthumously, (4) *Serbest Fırka hatıralan* ("Reminiscences of the Liberal Party"). Istanbul 1949. Aghaoghlu's innumerable articles published in various dailies have not been published in book form.

Bibliography: Samet Ağaoğlu (his son), *Babamdan hatıralar*, Istanbul 1940 (contains the author's reminiscences of his father, Aghaoghlu's own incomplete memoirs and impressions of a number of writers on A.A.); *idem*, *Babamın arkadaşları*² ("My father's friends"), Istanbul 1969. (Fahir İz)

AGRICULTURE [see filāḥa].

AGUEDAL [see āgdāl].

AḤĀBĪSH [see ḥabash, ḥabasha].

al-**AḤDAB** [see ibrāhīm al-aḥdab].

AḤMAD al-**HĪBA**, a religious leader of southern Morocco, and ephemeral pretender to the Sharīfian throne, known above all as al-Hība. He was born in Ramaḍān 1293 or 1294/September-October 1876 or 1877, the fourth son of the famous Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn [*q.v.*]. He was brought up and educated in his father's bosom, and his natural talents and temperament gave his teachers high literary hopes of him.

When his father died at Tiznīt in Shawwāl 1328/November 1910, he succeeded him at the head of the *murīdūn* of the order and was then at the peak of his responsibilities. However, when there was announced the signing of the Protectorate Treaty between France and sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], followed by the rumour of the latter's death and of the murder of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Fās by the French, he proclaimed himself sultan, organised his own *makhzan* [*q.v.*] and launched throughout the Sūs, and then through all Morocco, appeals for resistance. Soon the tribes of

the South (except for the ports) rallied to him, and before official letters announcing the accession of Mawlāy Yusūf [*q.v.*] could arrive, he appointed fresh officials with high responsibilities in the regions which had recognised him. He then used the way via Tīzī n'Maʿs̲h̲ū and followed the road to Marrakesh in an imperial procession. When he arrived before the southern capital, he met with hostility from the high political leaders, but was received with joy by the people of the Ḥawẓ [*q.v.*]. The new sultan entered Marrakesh on Sunday, 5 Ramaḍān 1330/18 August 1912, occupied the *ḳaṣaba* and installed himself in the palace of the ʿAlawīs. He had to face grave troubles immediately. Profiting by the great unrest which had seized people's hearts and minds, the *ʿasākir* troops, the floating population of the city and the hungry hordes which had followed the new *amīr* from Taroudannt, launched themselves into sacking the shops and imposing all sorts of exactions on the populace.

Al-Hība had secured the handing-over to himself of the few French residents, including the vice-consul of France, who had attempted to flee the city. In an endeavour to save their lives, Gen. Lyautey's troops got the order to go by forced marches to Marrakesh. Aḥmad al-Hība sent out to confront them about 5,000 men, who were crushed on 6 September at Sīdī Bū ʿUt̲h̲mān by Col. Mangin's column, in every way better-armed and better-led than the pretender's force. In front of the rapid French advance, al-Hība and his remaining supporters, the "blue men" quickly evacuated the city which they had occupied three weeks previously and fled into the Atlas, pursued by all those who has suffered from their extortions and insolent behaviour. Col. Mangin entered Marrakesh on 7 September 1912, with an enthusiastic welcome from the Jewish community; the majority of the Muslim population sullen and silent. Sultan Mawlā Yūsuf was then proclaimed, in an atmosphere of general relief, by the great religious and political leaders of the city and of the surrounding region, wearied by the disorders and insecurity.

Al-Hība withdrew first of all to base, whence he "reigned" over the Sūs over nearly eight months, after having refused nomination as the sultan's *k̲h̲alīfa* over all the south of Morocco. He was then expelled from his capital by the S̲h̲arīfian *maḥallas* [*q.v.*] sent against him from Marrakesh, and finally, continually defeated but always remaining proud, he died at Tiznīt in dignity on 18 or 24 Ramaḍān 1337/17 or 23 June 1919.

Bibliography: Ladreyt de Lacharrière, *Grandeur et decadence de Mohammad al-Hiba*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord* (1912), No. 65; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm al-Marrākus̲h̲ī, *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākus̲h̲*, i, Fās 1355/1936, 289-303; Gen. Lyautey, *Rapport général sur la situation du Protectorat du Maroc du 31 Juillet 1914*, Rabat N.D., 13-15; F. Weisgerber, *Au seuil du Maroc moderne*, Rabat 1947, chs. xxii-xxiv; G. Deverdun, *Marrakech, des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, i, 548-9; M.M. al-Sūsī, *al-Maʿsūl*, Rabat 1380/1960, iv, 101-246 (very full and lively account of the pretender and his adventures). (G. Deverdun)

AḤMAD b. **ʿĪSĀ** b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Zaydī leader and scholar, was born on 2 Muḥarram 157/22 November 773 in Kūfa. His father ʿĪsā b. Zayd, who was supported by many Zaydīs as their candidate for the imāmate, had gone into hiding in the houses of the Kūfan Zaydī traditionist al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy [*q.v.*] after the failure of the revolt of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] in 145/762-3. After the death of his father in 166/783 and of al-Ḥasan in 167/783-4, Aḥmad and his brother Zayd were brought to the caliph al-Mahdī, who took charge of their upbringing. He permitted them to reside in Medina, where Zayd died. Aḥmad remained there until he was denounced to the caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, it being alleged that the Zaydīs were gathering around him. On the order of the caliph, he and another ʿAlid, al-Ḳasīm b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, were brought to Bag̲h̲dād and put under the custody of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ. They escaped, however, and Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, according to al-Ṣafadī, led a revolt in ʿAbbādān in 185/801, but soon fled and went into hiding in Baṣra. This date for Aḥmad's escape and concealment would agree well with the report of al-Ṭabarī (iii, 651) that T̲h̲umāma b. As̲h̲ras was imprisoned by Hārūn in 186/802 "because he had been lying in the matter of Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā" and the report of al-D̲j̲ahs̲h̲iyārī (*al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳāʾ, Cairo 1357/1938, 243) that the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. K̲h̲ālid, when he fell into disgrace in the same year, was accused of having sent 70,000 *dīnārs* to Aḥmad in Baṣra. Al-Yaʿḳūbī's account (*Taʾrīk̲h̲*, 512) that Aḥmad was seized and imprisoned in al-Rāfiḳa in 188-804 appears mistaken, and the date may refer merely to the capture and execution of Ḥādir, the servant and assistant of Aḥmad, reported in the same account. According to one report, Aḥmad was discovered in Kūfa in the time of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, but left free because he was afflicted with cataracts. He died, after having become blind, in Baṣra on 23 Ramaḍan 247/1 December 861.

Like his father, Aḥmad was considered by many Kūfan Zaydīs as the most suitable candidate for the imāmate, though he refused, after his initial failure, to become involved in any revolutionary activity. He was also accepted by his followers as an authoritative teacher in religious matters. His doctrine was collected by some Zaydī transmitters who had access to him, in particular by the foremost Kūfan Zaydī scholar of the 3rd/9th century, Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Murādī (d. *ca.* 290/903), whose *K. Amālī Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā* (with additions from the transmission of other Zaydī authorities) is extant in manuscript. His *fiḳh* doctrine was based primarily on the traditions transmitted by Abū K̲h̲ālid al-Wāsiṭī from Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and by Abu 'l-D̲j̲ārūd from Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, though he occasionally also relied on other traditions or taught on his own authority. He thus represented a more strictly Zaydī (D̲j̲ārūdī) outlook, considering only the *ḥadīt̲h̲* of the *Ahl al-Bayt* as authoritative, in contrast to his father who, in accordance with the view of the Batriyya [*q.v.*], accepted the *ḥadīt̲h̲* transmitted by the Muslim community at large. Concerning the imāmate, however, he stood close to the Batriyya, apparently admitting the legitimacy of the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. In theology, he upheld the majority views of the early Kūfan Zaydiyya. He supported predestination and the creation of the acts of men by God versus human free will, held the Muslim sinner to be an "unbeliever by ingratitude" (*kāfir niʿma*) though not a polytheist (*mus̲h̲rik*), and refused to take a definite position concerning the question of the createdness of the Ḳurʾān. In the first of these doctrines he sharply differed from his contemporary al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], whose positions were closer to Muʿtazilī views.

His religious doctrine became one of the four *mad̲h̲habs* to which the Kūfan Zaydīs adhered in the 4th/11th century. Some Zaydīs are said to have restricted the imāmate to his descendants. His popu-

larity among the Shīʿa is also reflected by the fact that the leader of the Zandj rebellion [see ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ZANDJĪ] for some time claimed to be his grandson.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1368/1949, 420-5, 619-27; al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda*, Cairo 1357/1938, i, 120 f.; Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Dhikr akhbār Iṣfahān*, ed. S. Dedering, Leiden 1931, i, 80 (the account seems to rest at least partially on a confusion with another ʿAlid); al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, vii, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Wiesbaden 1969, 271 f.; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, ed. Muḥ. Ḥasan Āl al-Ṭāliqānī, al-Nadjaf 1380/1961, 288-90; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 80-3 and index *s.v.* Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zaid.

(W. MADELUNG)

AḤMAD b. MUḤAMMAD or MAḤMŪD, called MUʿĪN AL-FUḲARĀʾ, Transoxanian author of an important work on the religious leaders and saints of Bukhārā, the *Kitāb-i Mullāzāda* or *Kitāb-i Mazārāt-i Bukhārā*, in which the cemeteries of the city and their occupants are described. Since the last date mentioned in the book is 814/1411-12, the author must have lived in the reigns of Tīmūr and Shāh-Rukh [see TĪMŪRIDS]. From the number of extant manuscripts, the work was obviously popular in Central Asia. Extracts from it were first given by Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu Mongolskago nashestviya*, i, *Teksty*, 166-72, and a lithograph appeared at New Bukhārā in 1322/1904. Of secondary sources, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, Eng. tr.[3], 58; Storey, i, 953; O. Pritsak, *Āl-i Burhān*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 95-6 (the critical text of the *K.-i Mullāzāda* mentioned here as being in preparation as a Göttingen thesis never in fact materialised).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

AḤMAD b. MUḤAMMAD al-BARḲĪ [see AL-BARḲĪ, in Suppl.].

AḤMAD PASHA KÜČÜK ("the small"), d. 1046/1636, Ottoman military commander who took a prominent part in the revival of the Ottoman empire under Murād IV (1033-49/1623-40). Of Albanian origin, he began as a soldier and became commandant of the Türkmen troops. He became governor of Damascus for the first time in 1038/1629, but was soon recalled by the Porte to become governor of Kütahya. The sultan then charged him with suppressing the revolt of Ilyās Pasha, who was ravaging Anatolia, and he rapidly achieved success here and brought the rebel back a prisoner to Istanbul (1042/1632). He then became governor of Damascus again, with the charge of pacifying the Druze country, and whilst passing through the region of Aleppo suppressed the endemic state of revolt of the nomads in the mountainous zone to the north-west of the city.

Aḥmad Pasha easily managed to master the revolt of Fakhr al-Dīn II [*q.v.*], whom he took captive (1043/1633-4). As a reward for his many services, Murād IV appointed him to the vizierate with three *tughs* and bestowed upon him, by a *firmān* of 1046/1636, the whole of Fakhr al-Dīn's wealth, which included numerous buildings in Ṣayda, one of which was the *khān* for rice in the quarter near the port in the northwestern sector of the town (and not the *khān* of the French, as often stated, including by P. Schwarz in *EI*[1] art. SIDON). Aḥmad Pasha used these revenues for a *waḳf* in favour of the Holy Cities in Arabia and a *tekiyye* which he had built in the southern part of Damascus, outside the Bāb Allāh on the pilgrimage route; this is accordingly one of the rare monuments built in Damascus in the first half of the 17th century (it is known today as the mosque of al-ʿAssālī).

The pacification of Lebanon was hardly finished when he joined the forces campaigning against Persia as commander of the Ottoman vanguard, and he distinguished himself above all at the time of the great battle of Tabrīz. In the following year, Murād IV entrusted to him the defence of al-Mawṣil, where he found a glorious death in battle against the Persian troops (20 Rabīʿ II 1046/21 September 1636). He was buried in his *tekiyye* in Damascus.

It seems that during his Lebanese expedition, Aḥmad Pasha showed his usual severity, so much so that remembrance of "the year of Küčük" remained stamped on the popular memory in Mount Lebanon. Indeed, the Porte did not hesitate on future occasions (notably in 1214/1799) to remind the Druzes of this harshness. The terrible legacy of fear left behind in the local consciousness is probably the origin of the Lebanese legend of "Küčük". Aḥmad Pasha is represented as a polished traitor who engineered the ruin of his benefactor and then seized his possessions. The legend relates in effect that Aḥmad Pasha was an orphan brought up by Fakhr al-Dīn II, who appointed him tax-collector for southern Lebanon, but since he committed various financial defalcations, he had to leave his service and then sought Fakhr al-Dīn's ruin by accusing him at the Porte of wanting to make himself independent, for which he was rewarded by the wealth of the Maʿns.

Bibliography: There is a long, fairly confused biography in Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1862, i, 385-8, who, together with Sāmī Bey (*Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1888, i, 797), emphasises his courage and fidelity to Murād IV. Extracts from the text of the *waḳfiyya* of Aḥmad Pasha are in the Ẓāhiriyya at Damascus, No. 8518 (history), containing in particular the description of Fakhr al-Dīn's possessions; see A. Abdel Nour, *Étude sur deux actes de waqfs du XVI*[e] *et du XVII*[e] *siècles des wilayets de Damas et de Sayda*, Sorbonne thesis 1976. For a detailed account of Aḥmad Pasha's death, see Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1866, iii, 291-2. On his official career, see Von Hammer, *Histoire*, Paris 1838, ix, 275-6. On the "year of Küčük", see Chebli, *Fakhr al-Dīn II Maʿn*, Beirut 1936, 186 ff. One of the oldest versions of the Lebanese legend of Küčük is to be found in ʿĪsā al-Maʿlūf, *Taʾrīkh al-amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿnī al-thānī*[2], Beirut 1966, 202-10.

(A. ABDEL NOUR)

AḤMAD-I RŪMĪ, Persian Ṣūfī and author, who lived and worked in India in the first half of the 8th/14th century. Little is known of his life except that he travelled from *khānaḳāh* [*q.v.*] to *khānaḳāh*, preaching and composing his moralistic treatises for the residents of these convents. He has been incorrectly identified by Blochet as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Rūmī al-Ḥanafī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 582) and by Massignon as Sulṭān-i Walad's grandson, Aḥmad Pasha.

Aḥmad's most popular work, the *Daḳāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, is divided in 80 chapters, each opening with an *āya* or *ḥadīth*, which serves as a starting point for the discussion of some aspect of Ṣūfī doctrine. Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] is quoted frequently, and each chapter is concluded by a short *mathnawī* in imitation of Mawlānā. Like his later, similar composition, *Umm al-Kitāb* (727/1327) it is a first instance of a class of works expounding Mawlānā's teachings, without however constituting an actual attempt at a commentary of the *Mathnawī* (as Furūzanfar would have it in his *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī*, i, Tehran 1346, 10).

The instruction of the convent's residents takes a more practical turn in *al-Daḳā'iḳ fi 'l-ṭarīḳ*, a lengthy *mat̲h̲nawī* in 12 chapters on the relation between *murs̲h̲id* and *murīd*. Although Aḥmad describes himself as a "follower of Mawlānā", from his exposition of Ṣūfī praxis he does not appear as a Mawlawī in the strict sense of the word. Rather, Aḥmad's works indicate that Ṣūfī life in the 8th/14th century did not have to be organised along the formal lines of the later great orders.

One instance of lyrical poetry (a *g̲h̲azal*) occurs in a *Mat̲h̲nawī* manuscript in Edinburgh (Hukk, Ethé, Robertson, *Descriptive catalogue*, no. 281).

Bibliography: A.C.M. Hamer, *An unknown Mawlawī-poet: Aḥmad-i Rūmī*, in *Studia Iranica*, iii (1974), 229-49. (A.C.M. Hamer)

AḤMADĪ, a town about 30 years old some 20 km. south of Kuwayt City. During the early days of exploration for oil in Kuwayt, the Kuwait Oil Company (KOC), then owned in equal shares by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (later renamed British Petroleum) and by the Gulf Oil Corporation of the United States, established its base camp at Magwa (al-Maḳwa) not far north-west of the ridge known as Dhahr (al-Ẓahr), which with an elevation of *ca.* 120 m. is one of the few fairly high places in the state. In 1356/1938 KOC discovered oil south of the ridge at Burgan (Burḳān), destined to become one of the largest oil fields in the world. The involvement of Britain and later the United States in the Second World War delayed the first export of oil until 1365/1946. KOC gradually moved its field headquarters to the desert area of the ridge, which was renamed Aḥmadī (in Arabic al-Aḥmadī) in honour of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Āl D̲j̲ābir Āl Ṣabāh, then the Ruler of Kuwayt. Oil from Burgan and other fields, including one called Aḥmadī, is brought to a tank farm on the ridge, whence it flows by gravity to the nearby coast for shipment from the terminal of Mīnā' al-Aḥmadī. The company built at Aḥmadī a planned community with many amenities designed especially for the comfort and pleasure of the expatriate staff (British, Americans, etc.). With the passage of time, Kuwaytīs in increasing numbers received the training necessary to qualify them for higher positions in the company. The government also inaugurated and expanded in stages its participation in the ownership of KOC, culminating in a complete takeover in 1394/1975, with the original owners being retained to lend a hand in the operations. The town and the indigenous parts of the state have thus moved towards full integration.

Aḥmadī town is also the seat of the Aḥmadī Governorate (*muḥāfaẓa*). As Kuwayt endeavours to diversify its economy in order to escape undue dependence on the export of oil and natural gas, emphasis is placed on industrialisation. The largest industrial area in the state is now Shuaiba (al-S̲h̲u'ayba) on the coast of the Governorate south of Mīnā' al-Aḥmadī, with huge plants for generating electricity, distilling sea water, and manufacturing petrochemicals.

Bibliography: In addition to the general bibliography for KUWAYT, see *al-ʿArabī*, Kuwayt, S̲h̲awwal 1395 and Rabīʿ II 1396; *Mad̲j̲allat Dirāsāt al-K̲h̲alīd̲j̲*, Kuwayt, Rad̲j̲ab 1396; *The Kuwaiti Digest*, Kuwayt, Jan.-Sept. 1976. (G. Rentz)

AL-**AḤMAR** [see ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-AḤMAR, in Suppl.].

AḤMED, FAḲĪH, or Aḥmed Faḳīh, early Anatolian Turkish poet whose identity and date are controversial. He is accepted to be the author of the *Čark̲h̲-nāme*, a poem of about eighty couplets in *ḳaṣīda* form, which is found in the *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-naẓā'ir*, compiled in the early 16th century by Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Kemāl of Egirdir. It was first published by M. Fu'ād Köprülü as a specimen of early 13th century Turkish verse (*Anatolische Dichter in der Seldschükenzeit, ii, Ahmed Faḳīh*, in *KCsA*, ii (1926), 20-38). Mecdut Mansuroğlu, who edited the work in transcription, modified the text of the 16th century manuscript, adapting it to the linguistic characteristics of the 13th century. Recent research by T. Gandjei (*Notes on the attribution and date of the "Čarḫnāma"*, in *Studi preottomani e ottomani, Atti del Convegno di Napoli*, Naples 1976, 101-4) shows that there has been a confusion among several Faḳīh Aḥmeds and Aḥmed Faḳīhs mentioned in the sources and that the *Čark̲h̲-nāme* attributed to one of these cannot linguistically be dated earlier than the late 14th century. The *Čark̲h̲-nāme*, which is written in the literary language of early Anatolian (Ottoman) Turkish, repeats some of the *leitmotivs* of *dīwān* poetry: life is short, all the signs indicate that the end is near; none, even prophets and kings can escape death; consider the day of Judgement and repent; etc. (For a paraphrase in modern Turkish and evaluation of the poem, see Fahir Iz, *Eski türk edebiyatinda nazım*, ii, Istanbul 1967, Introduction).

Bibliography: A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 270. (Fahir Iz)

AḤRĀR, K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maḥmud Naṣīr al-Dīn (806-95/1404-90), a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the Naḳs̲h̲bandī order under whose auspices it became firmly rooted in Central Asia and spread also to other regions of the Islamic world; furthermore, the effective ruler of much of Transoxania for four decades. He was born in Ramaḍān 806/March 1404 in the village of Bāg̲h̲istān near Tas̲h̲kent into a family already renowned for its religious and scholarly interests. It was his maternal uncle, Ibrāhīm S̲h̲ās̲h̲ī, who first assumed the task of educating him and who sent him to pursue his studies in Samarḳand. Because of illness and lack of inclination on his part, Aḥrār soon abandoned his studies in Samarḳand, and according to his own admission never mastered "more than two pages of Arabic grammar". Throughout his life, indeed, he manifested a certain disdain for formal religious learning, assigning more importance to the enactment of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* and the practise of Ṣūfism. At the age of 24, Aḥrār went to Herat, and it was evidently there that his active interest in Ṣūfism was awakened. He associated with numerous *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* of the city without, however, offering his formal allegiance to any of them. The master to whom he gave his devotion was instead Yaʿḳūb Čark̲h̲ī (d. 851/1447), one of the principal successors of Bahā' al-Dīn Naḳs̲h̲band, eponymous founder of the Naḳs̲h̲bandī order, who had left Buk̲h̲ārā after the death of his master to settle first in Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān and then in the remote province of Čag̲h̲āniyān. Aḥrār had already had some dealings in Samarḳand with another Naḳs̲h̲bandī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Ḥasan ʿAṭṭār, son-in-law of Bahā' al-Dīn Naḳs̲h̲band, but ʿAṭṭār had seen little sign in him of spiritual talent, and advised him instead to learn the martial arts. Returning from Čag̲h̲āniyān to Tas̲h̲kent in about 835/1431, Aḥrār established himself as chief Ṣūfī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the city.

Aḥrār's rise to political prominence came in 855/1451, when he extended to the Tīmūrid prince Abū Saʿīd assistance that proved decisive in enabling him to capture the Tīmūrid capital of Samarḳand.

According to the account found in the biographies of Aḥrār, Abū Saʿīd, defeated in battle by a rival prince, ʿAbd Allāh Mīrzā, fled northward to Tas͟hkent, and in the course of his flight dreamed of the celebrated saint, Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*]. Yasawī introduced him to a luminous figure who would aid him in his struggle. Describing the figure he had dreamed of to the people of Tas͟hkent, Abū Saʿīd was told that it was none other than K͟hᵂād͟ja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār. Aḥrār was at the time absent from Tas͟hkent, and it was at the small town of Parkent (Fārkat) outside the city that Abū Saʿīd went to meet him. Aḥrār consented to aid him, on condition that he use his rule to enforce the *S͟harīʿa* and to alleviate the lot of the people. In the ensuing battle, ʿAbd Allāh Mīrzā was defeated, and Abū Saʿīd entered Samarḳand, soon to be followed by Aḥrār. Abū Saʿīd's battle against ʿAbd Allāh Mīrzā had been won, in reality, by his Uzbek auxiliaries, commanded by Abu 'l-K͟hayr K͟hān; it is said that they had intervened at the request of Aḥrār, but this is uncertain. In any event, Abū Saʿīd felt himself to be in the debt of Aḥrār and even, according to the chronicler ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, "regarded himself as being under his orders". Aḥrār's domination of Samarḳand became complete in 861/1457 when Abū Saʿīd transferred his capital to Herat. It survived the death of that prince in 874/1469, this death occurring in the course of a disastrous campaign undertaken with Aḥrār's advice; Abū Saʿīd's son, Sulṭān Aḥmad, proved even more devoted to Aḥrār than his father had been.

There are a number of episodes, apart from the conquest of Samarḳand in 855/1451, that may be mentioned as particularly illustrative of Aḥrār's political influence; his organisation of the defence of Samarḳand against an army from K͟hurāsān in 858/1454; his success in 865/1460 in persuading Abū Saʿīd to abolish the *tamg͟ha* in Buk͟hārā and Samarḳand, and to promise the abolition of it and all other non-*s͟harʿī* imposts throughout his realm; his mediation between Abū Saʿīd and a rebellious prince, Muḥammad D͟jūkī, at S͟hāhruk͟hiyya in the years 865/1461 and 867/1463; and his arbitration of three conflicting claims for the possession of Tas͟hkent in 890/1485.

Aḥrār expounded the reasons for his political activity in a number of explicit utterances, which make it clear that he sought ascendancy over rulers in order to secure justice and the implementation of the *S͟harīʿa*. He is thus reported as saying: "there must stand between the people and their ruling lords one capable of checking violence and oppression. The people are helpless, and have no recourse against the great. Hence it is necessary to convince kings not to transgress against God's law or to torment the people" (Mīr ʿAbd al-Awwal Nis͟hāpūrī, *Masmūʿāt*, ms. Institut Vostokovedeniya, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Tas͟hkent 3735, f. 131b). His sense of political mission is also apparent from the following utterance: "if we acted only as *s͟hayk͟h* in this age, no other *s͟hayk͟h* would find a *murīd*. But another task has been assigned to us, to protect the Muslims from the evil of oppressors, and for the sake of this we must traffic with kings and conquer their souls, thus achieving the purpose of the Muslims" (Fak͟hr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī, *Ras͟haḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, Tas͟hkent 1329/1911, 315).

In fulfilling this role, Aḥrār was aided by the gradual accumulation of a vast amount of wealth, which permitted him to bestow patronage and charity as well as to exercise political influence. He may, indeed, have been the largest landowner in Transoxania of his time. Documents survive indicating that he owned 30 orchards, 64 villages with their surrounding lands and irrigation canals, and scores of commercial establishments and artisan workshops in different cities (O.D. Ček͟hovič, *Samarkandskie dokumenti XV-XVI vv.*, Moscow 1974). Some of this property, worked partly by slaves of Indian origin, was used for the upkeep of Naḳs͟hbandī *k͟hānaḳāhs*, but it is evident that in many cases the purchase of land by K͟hᵂād͟ja Aḥrār was purely nominal; the property remained in the effective ownership of the sellers, who benefited from the security and prestige bestowed by the name of Aḥrār.

In addition to thus establishing, in his own person, Naḳs͟hbandī supremacy in Transoxania, Aḥrār extended the influence of the order to other regions. One of his principal followers, Muḥammad Ḳāḍī, travelled to the Mug͟hal rulers of Farg͟hāna and obtained their adhesion to the Naḳs͟hbandī order, thus laying the foundation for several centuries of both spiritual and temporal rule by Naḳs͟hbandī *k͟hᵂād͟jas* in Eastern Turkestan (see Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dug͟hlāt, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ras͟hīdī*, ms. British Museum or. 157, f. 67b). Others undertook to travel to the presence of Aḥrār in Samarḳand; by way of example we can mention Mawlānā ʿAlī Kurdī of Ḳazwīn and S͟hayk͟h ʿAyān Kāzarūnī, who introduced the Naḳs͟hbandiyya to western and southern Iran before it was swept away by the Ṣafavids (Muḥammad b. Husayn b. ʿAbd Allāh Ḳazwīnī, *Silsil-nāma-yi K͟hᵂād͟jagān-i Naḳs͟hband*, ms. Istanbul, Laleli 1381, f. 13a. Ff. 10a-14a of this work contain a complete list of the *murīds* of Aḥrār). Possibly most significant was the transmission of the Naḳs͟hbandī order to Turkey by another *murīd* of Aḥrār, Mollā ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī, since whose time the Naḳs͟hbandī order has maintained an uninterrupted presence among the Turks (see Kasim Kufralı, *Molla Ilahi ve kendisinden sonraki Nakşbendiye muhiti*, in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, iii [October 1948], 129-51).

Aḥrār died in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 895/February 1490, and a decade later Tīmūrid rule in Transoxania came to an end. Muḥammad S͟haybānī, the Uzbek conqueror of Transoxania, showed himself hostile to the sons of Aḥrār, confiscating much of the property they had inherited from their father, and putting to death K͟hᵂād͟ja Muḥammad Yaḥyā, his second and favourite son. However, Muḥammad S͟haybānī's nephew, ʿUbayd Allāh K͟hān, restored the major part of their lands and took pride in the coincidence of his name with that of the great Aḥrār. In general, the posthumous repute and influence of the *k͟hᵂād͟ja* were great, and the various branches of the Naḳs͟hbandī order that descended from him played a major role in the history of Central Asia down to the Russian conquest.

Bibliography: Materials on the life of Aḥrār are unusually copious. A complete bibliography is given in Hamid Algar, *The origins of the Naqshbandi order*, ii (forthcoming), which contains a full discussion of the career of Aḥrār. Here the following primary sources—all of them in Persian—will be mentioned: Mīr ʿAbd al-Awwal Nis͟hāpūrī, *Masmūʿāt*, ms. Institut Vostokovedeniya, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Tas͟hkent 3735; Fak͟hr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī, *Ras͟haḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, Tas͟hkent 1329/1911 (numerous other editions also exist, as well as Arabic and Turkish translations); Muḥammad Ḳāḍī, *Silsilat al-ʿārifīn wa-tad͟hkirat al-ṣiddīḳīn*, ms. Istanbul, Haci Mahmut Efendi

2830; and Mawlānā S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, *Manāḳib-i K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Aḥrār*, ms. Institut Vostokovedeniya, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Tas̲h̲kent 9730. There is mention of Aḥrār in most of the Tīmūrid chronicles, and a long encomium of him in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān D̲j̲āmīʾs *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (pp. 406-13 of the edition published in Tehran in 1336/1957 by Mahdī Tawḥīdīpūr). Most later manuals of Naḳs̲h̲bandī biography also contain accounts of Aḥrār, generally based on the *Ras̲h̲aḥāt*; see, for example, Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, *al-Mawāhib al-sarmadiyya fī manāḳib al-Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya*, Cairo 1329/1911, 155-72. Averse to formal learning, Aḥrār did not leave many writings; there survive from him, however, a commentary on a quatrain of obscure meaning attributed to Abū Saʿīd b. Abi ʾl-K̲h̲ayr, *S̲h̲arḥ-i hawrāʾiyya* (published by V.A. Zhukovskii as an appendix to his edition of Muḥammad b. al-Munawwarʾs *Asrār al-tawḥīd*, St. Petersburg 1899, 489-93), and two treatises, entitled *Risāla-yi wālidiyya* and *Faḳarāt* (numerous mss. of both are to be found in European, Turkish and Soviet collections; the former has been translated into both Ottoman and Čag̲h̲atāy Turkish). Some of his correspondence has also been preserved in Soviet collections, partly in autograph; see, for example, ms. Institut Vostokovedeniya, Tajik Academy of Sciences, Dushanbe 548. The branches of the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya descending from K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Aḥrār are enumerated in Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī, *Tibyān wasāʾil al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ms. Istanbul, Ibrahim Efendi ff. 34a-41b. Scholarly writing on Aḥrār has been done up to the present almost entirely in Russian: mention may be made of the pages devoted to Aḥrār in V.V. Bartoldʾs *Ulug Beg i ego vremya*, reprinted in *Sočineniya*, Moscow 1964, ii (2), 121-4, 205-17, Eng. tr. V. and T. Minorsky, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 117-18, 166-77, and a number of more recent studies concentrating on the socio-economic aspects of Aḥrārʾs activity: R.N. Nabiev, *Iz istorii politiko-ekonomičeskoi zhizni Maverannak̲h̲ra XV v. (zametki o K̲h̲odzha-Akhrare)*, in *Velikii Uzbekskii Poet—Sbornik Statei*, Tas̲h̲kent 1948, 25-49; Z.A. Kutbaev, *K istorii vakufnyk̲h̲ vladenii K̲h̲odzha Akhrara i ego potomkov*, doctoral thesis, Tas̲h̲kent University 1970; and O.D. Čekovič, *Samarkandskie Dokumenty XV-XVI vv.*, Moscow 1974.

(Hamid Algar)

AHRUN (Ahrūn) b. Aʿyan al-Ḳass, "the priest", presbyter and physician, who lived in Alexandria probably in the 7th century and belonged, with Paulus of Aigina, to the last great medical scholars produced by the Alexandrian School. A satirical verse of al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbdal [*q.v.*], in which a tax official of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bis̲h̲r b. Marwān, governor of Baṣra, is advised to have the offensive smell of his breath and nose cured by Ahrun before presenting himself to the *amīr* (D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, Cairo 1949-50, 247, 14 = 249, 8 = 250, 2; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, Cairo 1930, iv, 62; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, Cairo 1928, ii, 424), possibly offers a *terminus post quem* for the period in which Ahrun lived. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bis̲h̲r was governor under Yazīd II in 102/720-1 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1433, 1436).

Ahrun (probably = ʾAῤῥ ων) allegedly composed a medical compendium (Πανδεκτης, Σύνταγμα?) consisting of 30 books, which was translated into Syriac by a certain Gōsiōs (*The Chronography of Gregory Abu ʾl-Faraj . . . Bar Hebraeus*, tr. Budge, Oxford 1932, 57; see also M. Meyerhof in *Isl.*, vi (1916), 220 f.). Māsard̲j̲uwayh is said to have translated the work afterwards into Arabic under the title *al-Kunnās̲h̲* and to have added two more books. The information on this procedure is, however, defective and inconsistent (see *Fihrist*, 297; Ibn D̲j̲uld̲j̲ul, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. F. Sayyid, 61; Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 80; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, i, 109; Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Cheikho, 88; Barhebraeus, *Duwal*, ed. Ṣālḥānī, 157). The data are the more uncertain because it is not known when Māsard̲j̲uwayh was living. According to Ibn D̲j̲uld̲j̲ul, he is said to have translated Ahrunʾs work under the caliphs Marwān (64-5/684-5) or ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (99-101/717-20); according to others he belongs to the 2nd/8th or 3rd/9th century.

In any case, the *Kunnās̲h̲* must have been highly appreciated (*Kunnās̲h̲ fāḍil afḍal al-kanānīs̲h̲ al-ḳadīma*, Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, 324), although it was very badly arranged and difficult to consult even for specialists, according to the judgement of Abū Sahl Bis̲h̲r b. Yaʿḳūb al-Sid̲j̲zī (4th/10th century). For example, the twenty kinds of headaches (*ṣudāʿ*) are said to have been brought together in one place, while their causes, symptoms and treatments are discussed separately in various places. The subject-matter could thus only be mastered by lengthy readings (see Dietrich, *Medicinalia arabica*, Göttingen 1966, Arabic text, 6 ff.). Al-Mad̲j̲ūsī (*Kitāb al-Malakī*, i, Būlāḳ 1294, 4 f.) remarks that the work is bad and without value, especially for those who had not read Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳʾs translation—which thus also did exist.

The *Kunnās̲h̲* has not been preserved in complete manuscript, but it has survived in many quotations, especially in al-Rāzīʾs *Ḥāwī*. They have been brought together by Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, 88 f., and by Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 167 f. They can certainly be enlarged through systematic research, see e.g. Maimonides, *S̲h̲arḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 247; Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *Kitāb ʿamal man ṭabb li-man ḥabb*, ed. Maria C. Vazquez de Benito, Salamanca 1972, 89, 132, 135, 140. A judgment on the work will only be permitted after all the quotations attainable have been compiled systematically with the greatest possible completeness. Rāzī more than once quotes an abstract from the *Kunnās̲h̲* under the title *al-Fāʾiḳ*. It could not be verified whether the *al-Adwiya al-ḳātila*, mentioned by S. Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id in *RIMA*, v (1959), 278, is indeed a work of Ahrun, but Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id considers the attribution as doubtful.

Bibliography: given in the article. See further, Ullmann and Sezgin, and for the older literature, L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i, 1876, 77-81. (A. Dietrich)

ʿĀʾIS̲H̲A ḲANDĪS̲H̲A, a female spirit, diversely referred to as a *d̲j̲inniyya* (a female *d̲j̲innī* [*q.v.*]), an *ʿafrīta* [see ifrīt] or a *g̲h̲ūla* [see g̲h̲ūl], by the peoples of northern Morocco. Westermarck classifies her as one of the "individual spirits" whose characteristics are more explicitly elaborated than those of the run-of-the-mill *d̲j̲inn*. Although there is some difference of belief in her attributes, ʿĀʾis̲h̲a Ḳandīs̲h̲a is said generally to appear as either a wondrous beauty or an old, wrinkled hag with elongated nipples, pendulous breasts, and long finger nails. In both manifestations she has a hoofed foot of a camel, a goat, or an ass. She it thought to be jealous, arbitrary, whimsical, and quick-tempered—ever-ready to strangle or strike those who have offended her. Her victims, at least in the area around

Miknās, must undergo the rituals of the Ḥamādis̲h̲a [*q.v.* in Suppl.], her special devotees, to be rid of the symptoms of her attack: paralysis, sudden deafness, blindness, or mutism. In her beautiful manifestation she is an insatiable temptress. Once a man has succumbed to her—he is said to be married to her—he is in her absolute power and must follow her every command. His only redress is to plunge a steel knife into the earth before giving into her.

ʿĀʾis̲h̲a Ḳandīs̲h̲a is said to be married to a far less elaborated *d̲j̲innī*, Ḥammu Ḳiyu, and to live in the earth or under a river. Along the Moroccan littoral she is thought to live in the sea. The Ḥamādis̲h̲a claim that her favourite home is a grotto under a giant fig tree, near the sanctuary of Sīdī ʿAlī b. Ḥamdus̲h̲, one of the saints whom they venerate, on the D̲j̲ebel Zarhūn. This grotto is visited by ʿĀʾis̲h̲a Ḳandīs̲h̲a's followers, especially by women who are anxious for children or for relief from menstrual cramps and other gynaecological complaints. Such women smear henna on their ailing body and make a promise (*ʿār* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) to sacrifice a chicken or goat if they are relieved of their complaint. During the *musem*, or annual pilgrimage [see MAWSIM], to Sīdī ʿAlī's sanctuary, the grotto is the scene of wild, trance-like dances in which some of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a Ḳandīs̲h̲a's female followers grovel in the mud in imitation of pigs. ʿĀʾis̲h̲a Ḳandīs̲h̲a is said to like henna and to fear iron and steel. Her favourite colours are red and black. She has a preference for black benzoin and certain Ḥamādis̲h̲a melodies.

ʿĀʾis̲h̲a Ḳandīs̲h̲a is often indigenously confused with similar female spirits. She is, of course, identifiable with other female spirits in North Africa and the Middle East. Westermarck has related her worship to that of Astarte. The Ḥamādis̲h̲a claim that she was brought north from the Sudan by one of their saints, Sīdī Aḥmad Dg̲h̲ug̲h̲ī.

Bibliography: E.A. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926; V. Crapanzano, *The Ḥamadsha: a study in Moroccan ethnopsychiatry*, Berkeley 1973; idem, *Mohammed and Dawia*, in V. Crapanzano and V. Garrison (eds.), *Case studies in spirit possession*, New York 1977. (V. CRAPANZANO)

ĀḲĀ K̲H̲ĀN KIRMĀNĪ, MIRZA ʿABD AL-ḤUSAYN, also known as Bardsīrī (*ca.* 1270-1314/1853-96), a modernist thinker of 19th century Iran. He belonged to a well-to-do family of Kirmān. He studied Persian and Arabic literature, Islamic history, *fiḳh, uṣūl, ḥadīth*, mathematics, logic, natural philosophy, and mediaeval medicine under several teachers such as Mullā D̲j̲aʿfar, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Āḳā Ṣādiḳ, and Sayyid D̲j̲awād Karbalāʾī. He also learned some English, French, Turkish and Old and Middle Persian. In 1298/1880 he assumed a position in the Kirmān Revenue Office. After approximately three years, however, he suddenly abandoned his job and secretly left Kirmān for Iṣfahān because he was not willing to co-operate with the Nāṣir al-Dawla, the oppressive governor at that time of Kirmān. Thereafter he began to work for the governor of Iṣfahān, Ẓill al-Sulṭān, and at the same time he continued to study French under the Jesuits. Because of the trouble that the Nāṣir al-Dawla created for him, he, together with his close friend, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Rūḥī, went to Tehran in 1303/1885, but he could not stay there for the same reason. He and Rūḥī therefore, after spending a few months in Mas̲h̲had, proceeded to Istanbul towards the end of 1303/1886. Soon afterwards, they both went to Cyprus and each married a daughter of the then Bābī leader, Mīrzā Yaḥyā Nūrī, known as Ṣubḥ-i Azal.

While in Istanbul, Āḳā K̲h̲ān was living in poor circumstances; his mother and his brother had deprived him of the wealth to which he was due by inheritance. He had therefore to live on a modest income earned through teaching, as well through contributing to the Persian newspapers, such as the *Ak̲h̲tar* of Istanbul and Malkam K̲h̲ān's *Ḳānūn* published in London. He was one of the outspoken opponents of the 1890 Persian Tobacco Concession and other concessions granted by the S̲h̲āh, and his sharp criticism of Nāṣir al-Dīn made the latter so angry that "... while kicking the ground and chewing his lips, the S̲h̲āh said: 'Anyone who establishes correspondence with Āḳā K̲h̲ān, I will demolish his house over his head'" (Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i muʿāṣir yā ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, i, Tehran 1957, 125).

In addition to his press campaign, Āḳā K̲h̲ān joined the Pan-Islamic group headed by another bitter critic of the S̲h̲āh, Sayyid D̲j̲āmal al-Dīn Asadābādī "Afg̲h̲ānī", and he also corresponded with the Persian *ʿulamāʾ* of ʿIrāḳ. Because of these anti-S̲h̲āh activities, the Iranian government urged the Turkish authorities to extradite Āḳā K̲h̲ān and his close associates to Iran. This development coincided with the 1893-4 Armenian unrest in Turkey, and Āḳā K̲h̲ān was accused of cooperation with the rebels. An arrangement was therefore made that Turkey should exchange Āḳā K̲h̲ān and his friends for the rebellious Armenians who had fled to Iran. In the meantime (1314/1896), Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh was assassinated by a disciple of Afg̲h̲ānī, Mīrzā Riḍā Kirmānī; this incident expedited the process of Āḳā K̲h̲ān's extradition. Finally, in Ṣafar 1314/July 1896 Āḳā K̲h̲ān, together with two friends, Rūḥī and Ḥasan K̲h̲ān K̲h̲abīr al-Mulk, were beheaded in Tabrīz while Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, the later S̲h̲āh, was watching the scene.

Āḳā K̲h̲ān has been recognised as a distinguished forerunner of modernist thinking in Iran, of greater intellectual calibre than other contemporaries such as Malkam K̲h̲ān, Āk̲h̲ūnd-Zāda, and Mustas̲h̲ār al-Dawla Tabrīzī; for one thing, his linguistic ability provided him with a broader access to European sources on social, political, and philosophical thought. Despite his Pan-Islamic activity, he was anti-religious and quite hostile to many traditional practices.

As a modern school of thought, Bābīsm attracted Āḳā K̲h̲ān and for a while he became one of its adherents. Later, however, he turned against Bābīsm, and considered all religious sects to be useless (Firīdūn Ādamiyyat, *Andīs̲h̲ahā-yi Mīrzā Āḳā K̲h̲ān Kirmānī*, Tehran 1967, 66). In his thinking, he was influenced by European thinkers such as Voltaire, Spencer, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Guizot.

Āḳā K̲h̲ān's works, many of them unpublished and incomplete, include detailed accounts of materialism, anarchism, nihilism, nationalism, and the philosophy of religion. He had modernist interpretations of history and suggested a new methodology for Persian historiography; in regard to the arts, and particularly literature, he believed that they should be responsible to and representative of society. In his treatment of society, he proclaimed that "Wealth consists essentially of (1) material objects such as metals and mines, and (2) the labourers' wages. The true criterion for wealth is physical as well as intellectual labour alone ... not silver and gold, which are the means of exchange alone" (*ibid.*, 237-8).

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

ĀḲĀ NADJAFĪ, ḤĀDJDJĪ SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ IṢFAHĀNĪ (1845-1931), member of a very powerfully-established clerical family of Iṣfahān and himself an influential and wealthy religious authority in that city. Contrary to some of his clerical contemporaries, such as Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī and Muḥammad Kāẓim Khurāsānī [*q.v.*], Āḳā Nadjafī was not known as being devoted to the welfare and prosperity of the Muslims in general and the Iranians in particular. Rather, he has often been referred to as a grain hoarder, a venal, power-hungry religious leader, a usurper of other people's property, and an unjust judge. After his primary education under his father, who was also a powerful cleric, he went to Nadjaf and studied *fiḳh* and *uṣūl* under Shīrāzī and others. After his father's death in 1883, Āḳā Nadjafī was widely recognised as a religious leader in Iṣfahān: he led the prayers in congregation in the Shāh mosque, and performed judicial duties at home. Despite the governmental injunction, he went as far as to execute the judgements which he himself passed on civil and criminal cases. Many books on prayers, ethics, *fiḳh* and other Islamic subjects have been ascribed to him and were published at his own expense, but it is believed that they were not in reality written by himself (Mahdī Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i ridjāl-i Īrān*, iii, Tehran 1968, 327). Since he was a wealthy landowner, he naturally had much in common with the feudal governor of Iṣfahān, Ẓill al-Sulṭān; they often worked together, although at times this co-operation was replaced by hostility, conspiracy, and struggle.

Āḳā Nadjafī has been held responsible for two major disorders in Iṣfahān and Yazd, in which many people were murdered, on the accusations of Bābīsm and irreligiosity: once in 1890 and another time in 1902, both of which resulted in Āḳā Nadjafī's banishment to Tehran. He, along with many other people, protested against the Tobacco Concession of 1890 being given to a British company; he also favoured the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906. In both cases Āḳā Nadjafī appears less as a genuine lover of freedom than as an opportunist who hoped to increase his prestige, wealth, and influence in the light of those national movements. To preserve his power and wealth, Āḳā Nadjafī declared as unbelievers, and even at times had murdered, those who opposed him or who were critical of him (Mahdī Malik-Zāda, *Taʾrīkh-i inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, i, Tehran 1949, 166). Moreover, by 1911, Āḳā Nadjafī and his sons had made a volte-face and wished "to place their extensive landed property under foreign protection" (Cd. 5656. *Persia*, No. 1 (1911), G. Barclay, to E. Grey, Feb. 25, 1911, London 1911, CIII, p. 30).

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

AKAGÜNDÜZ, Turkish writer and novelist (1886-1958) whose original name was Ḥusayn 'Awnī. In his writings he used the pen-name Enīs 'Awnī which he later changed to Akagündüz. The son of an army major, he was born in a village of Alasonia, near Salonica, and was educated at the Kuleli military high school and the War College (*Mektebi ḥarbiyye*), which he left because of ill health, being sent to Paris for treatment where, for three years, he attended the courses of the Academy of Fine Arts and the Faculty of Law. Back in Salonica, he volunteered for the Action Army (*Ḥareket ordusu*) which was sent to quell the mutiny of 13 April 1909 (*31 Mart wak'asi*) in Istanbul. He was active as a journalist until 1919, when, because of his enthusiastic support of the Nationalists in Anatolia, he was arrested by the British and deported to Malta. Freed by the Nationalist government, he settled in Ankara where he combined the functions of a Member of Parliament with his career as a writer. He died in Ankara on 7 November 1958.

Akagündüz started his career in Salonica in close relationship with his friend 'Ömer Seyf el-Dīn, as a poet, short story writer and playwright. But he is primarily known as a novelist. Apart from his collection of verse *Bozghun* ("Débâcle", 1913) and his plays *Muḥterem ḳātil* ("Respectable assassin", 1914) and *Mai yıldırım* ("Blue thunderbolt", 1934), he is the author of several volumes of short stories and more than sixty novels, the most famous of which are *Dikmen yıldızı*, ("The star of Dikmen", 1928); *Iki süngü arasında* ("Between two bayonets", 1929); *Üvey ana* ("The step-mother", 1933) and *Yayla kızı* ("The girl of the plateau", 1940). Akagündüz's unsophisticated novels and short stories, written in an unpolished style with no claim to literary value, which were immensely popular in the 20s and early 30s, treat, with a certain element of realism, mainly of sentimental or tragic themes among ordinary people.

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(FAHİR İZ)

'AḲĀR (A.), a legal term denoting "immovable property", such as houses, shops and land, as opposed to *māl manḳūl* ("movable property"). As such, *'aḳār* is identical with "realty" or "real property". All property which is *'aḳār* is non-fungible (*ḳīmī*), but the two terms are not co-extensive, since animals, furniture, etc. are *ḳīmī*, although they do not constitute *'aḳār*.

The owner of *'aḳār* is deemed also to be the owner of anything on it, over it or under it, to any height or depth, so that ownership of land includes ownership of minerals beneath it and buildings and plants on it. Like personalty, realty may be held in joint ownership in Islamic law, without the shares being allocated (*mushā'*). As regards ownership of the foreshore and new land formed by natural processes, this is vested in the state in modern Islamic countries.

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(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

AKBAR B. **AWRANGZĪB**, Mughal prince. His mother dying when he was an infant, he was very affectionately brought up by Awrangzīb [*q.v.*]. In 1090/1679 he was deputed to lead an army against the Rathors, and after initially taking a vigorous part in the operations, he was won over to their side by the rebels. His own reasons for his defection are given in a letter to Awrangzīb in 1092/1681, where he criticises his father's hostility to the Rādjputs. However, his attempt at a surprise attack on his father at Adjmēr failed, and he had to flee, first to Shambhadji, the Marāthā ruler (1680-9), and then to Persia; where he died in 1116/1704; until his death, Awrangzīb continued to feel some anxiety of a threat from Persia.

A large number of letters written on behalf of Akbar are preserved in the well-known collection of Awrangzīb's letters, the *Ādāb-i 'ālamgīrī* (see *Bibl.*).

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(M. ATHAR ALI)

AKHBĀR AL-**ṢĪN** WA '**L-HIND**, the title by which are now designated two narratives concerning China and India which have, for various reasons, attracted the attention of Arabists.

Ms. 2281 of the B. N. contains amongst other things: I. fols. 2a-23b, an untitled and anonymous text which constitutes the basis of the work; and II. fols. 24a-56a, a sequel to the preceding, of which the author is named as Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī.

In 1718, the Abbé Renaudot published in Paris, under the title *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs mahométans qui y allèrent dans le neuvième siècle, traduites d'arabe, avec des remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces relations*, a version of I and II, which was in its turn translated into English and Italian; since he had supplied no precise information regarding the origin of the text, Renaudot was accused of committing a hoax, but the original (the actual ms. 2281, to which was added, as no. 2282, the copy made by the translator himself) was subsequently found in the Bibliothèque Royale and printed through the good offices of Langlès; it was, however, M. Reinaud who put it into circulation 34 years later, accompanied by a new annotated translation and an introduction, under the title *Relations des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et Chine dans le IXe siècle de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris 1845, 2 vols.). In 1922 G. Ferrand produced a new translation, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân en Inde et en Chine, rédigé en 851, suivi de remarques par Abû*

Zayd Hasan (*vers 916*), as vol. vii of the *Classiques de l'Orient*. Finally, in 1948, J. Sauvaget published in Paris the text, a translation of and a lavish commentary on no. I, as Aḫbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde rédigée en 851.*

Independently of the reactions provoked by Renaudot's version (see Sauvaget, p. xvi), the anonymity of the first of these narratives has given rise to discussions and hypotheses. Quatremère (in *JA* (1839), 22-5), thought rather unwisely to attribute it to al-Masʿūdī [*q.v.*]; Reinaud, on the basis of the name of Sulaymān al-Tādjir which is quoted in the text (§ 12 of the Sauvaget edition), thought that this last was the author; G. Ferrand, adopting this point of view, entitled his work *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, and V. Minorsky (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, index) is seen to follow him deliberately in speaking only of "Sulaymān the Merchant". It is true that these authors can claim support from an important authority, since Ibn al-Faḳīh refers (*Buldān*, 11; tr. H. Massé, 14) to Sulaymān al-Tādjir in a context other than the narrative in which his name appeared. However, H. Yule (*Cathay and the way thither*, London 1866, pp. cii-ciii) and after him P. Pelliot (in *T'oung-Pao*, xxi (1922), 401-2, xxii (1923), 116) have drawn attention to the fact that this Sulaymān was apparently only an informant, among others who remained anonymous.

As for the general title, it may be deduced from a remark figuring at the beginning of the "sequel" written by Abū Zayd, who says that his own contribution is *al-kitāb al-thānī min akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*; even if these words are more a general indication of the contents of the work, later authors have considered them as a title, notably al-Bīrūnī who, in his *Nubadh fī akhbār al-Ṣīn* (ed. Krenkow, in *MMIA*, xiii (1935), 388), claims to borrow a fact from the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, and there is no reason not to adopt this solution.

The anonymous narrative is called *al-Kitāb al-awwal* by Abū Zayd, who gives the precise date of 237/851. On the other hand, that of the *kitāb al-thānī* is not so precisely known; but we possess some information on the author of this "sequel", thanks to al-Masʿūdī, who incidentally commits an error in calling him, probably inadvertently, Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Sīrāfī, although he himself says that his surname is al-Ḥasan. The author of the *Murūdj* declares (i, 321 = § 351) that he met Abū Zayd at Baṣra, where he was resident in 303/915-16, and that he received information from him; in reality, Abū Zayd must have supplied him with the text of the two narratives which were put to extensive use in the *Murūdj*, often distorted by al-Masʿūdī's zeal for elegance.

Texts I and II are quite dissimilar; both are clearly recollections of journeys in exotic lands, but if the first is characterised by the quality of the observations of the author or of the merchants who gave him the information and probably constitutes the most ancient account of China, the second, later by about 70 years, seems less reliable. While the first narrative, without pretension of any sort, is in general exact and spontaneous, that of Abū Zayd, which had itself been moreover commissioned, is more laboured, gives much space to sailors' stories and to marvels, and betrays the tendency, resisted however by al-Djāḥiẓ, to introduce fables into this form of *adab*.

Other authors than al-Masʿūdī have exploited, directly or indirectly, admitting it or not, the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* (see Sauvaget, pp. xxiii-xxix), and it is astonishing that only one ms. of it has survived. It is, however, not impossible that parts of it were detached and passed into the oral domain, which would explain why at a fairly early date the texts ceased to be copied, although these texts were originally intended for a literate public.

Bibliography: Pre-1948 references appear in Sauvaget's work. See further, I. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 141-2; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*[2], Paris 1973, 116-26 and index.

(CH. PELLAT)

AKHBĀRIYYA, in Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism, means those who rely primarily on the traditions, *akhbār*, of the *Imāms* as a source of religious knowledge, in contrast to the Uṣūliyya [*q.v.*], who admit a larger share of speculative reason in the principles (*uṣūl*) of theology and religious law. Opposing traditionalist and rationalist currents were apparent in the Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿa from its beginnings in the 2nd/8th century. In the Buwayhid age, the three leading scholars, al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) and the Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), in confrontation with the traditionalist school of Ḳumm, put the rationalist Uṣūlī doctrine on a firm basis by adopting Muʿtazilī theological principles and elaborating a distinctive Ithnā ʿAsharī methodology of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*). Akhbāriyya and Uṣūliyya are first mentioned as antagonistic factions by ʿAbd al-Djalīl al-Ḳazwīnī, an Ithnā ʿAsharī scholar of Rayy writing *ca.* 565/1170, who characterises the former as narrowly traditionalist and literalist, the latter as basing the fundamentals of religion on reason and rational investigation.

Akhbārī opposition to the predominant Uṣūlī trend remained latent during the following centuries, until Mullā Muḥammad Amīn b. Muḥammad Sharīf al-Astarābādī (d. 1033/1624), encouraged by his teacher Mīrzā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Astarābādī (d. 1028/1619), articulated the Akhbārī position in his *K. al-Fawāʾid al-madaniyya* and thus became the founder of the later Akhbārī school. He proposed to restore the early Akhbārī doctrine which had remained undisputed until the time of al-Kulaynī (d. 328/929) and vigorously criticised the innovations of the three famous scholars of the Buwayhid age and, even more so, of the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), the Shahīd al-Awwal Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 786/1384) and the Shahīd al-Thānī Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 966/1558) in the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and theology. The basic theses which he affirmed against the Uṣūlī position included the doctrine that the *akhbār* of the *Imāms* take precedence over the apparent meaning of the Ḳurʾān, the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet and reason, since the *Imāms* are their divinely appointed interpreters. The apparent meaning of the *akhbār* which were accepted as sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) by the early Ithnā ʿAsharī community provide "customary certainty" (*yaḳīn ʿādī*), not merely probability (*ẓann*) as the Uṣūlī *mudjtahids* maintained. All *akhbār* contained in the four canonical collections of the Ithnā ʿAshariyya belong to the category of *ṣaḥīḥ*. The categories besided *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḍaʿīf*, weak, which the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, in imitation of Sunnī practice, introduced with regard to the reliability of the transmitters, are irrelevant. Also, consensus (*idjmāʿ*), which has been handled too laxly by the *mudjtahids*, is valid only if the inclusion of the *Imām* is absolutely certain and thus does not provide a source of the law separate from the *akhbār*. *Idjtihād*, leading to mere *ẓann*, and *taḳlīd*, i.e. following the opinions of a *mudjtahid*,

are forbidden. Every believer must rather follow the *akhbār* of the *Imāms*, for whose proper understanding no more than a knowledge of Arabic and the specific terminology of the *Imāms* is needed. If an apparent conflict between two traditions cannot be resolved by the methods prescribed by the *Imāms*, *tawakkuf*, abstention from a decision, is obligatory.

The Akhbārī school flourished during the following two centuries. Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī's teaching was expressly endorsed by the elder al-Madjlisī, Muḥammad Taḳī (d. 1070/1660), and adopted by Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. *ca.* 1091/1680), both inclining to Ṣūfism and philosophy. An influential champion of Akhbārī doctrine was al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī [*q.v.*] (d. 1104/1693), author of a vast collection of *akhbār* of the *Imāms*, *Tafṣīl wasāʾil al-shīʿa ilā aḥkām al-sharīʿa*, who strictly adhered to, and refined, Akhbārī methodology, refraining, however, from any polemics against the *mudjtahids*. His contemporary ʿAbd ʿAlī b. Djumʿa al-ʿArūsī al-Ḥuwayzī, author of the Ḳurʾān commentary *Nūr al-thiḳalayn*, also staunchly supported Akhbārī views. Al-Astarābādī's verbal attacks on the Uṣūlī *mudjtahids* were resumed by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥādjdj Ṣāliḥ al-Samāhīdjī al-Baḥrānī (d. 1135/1723), who in his *Munyat al-mumārisīn fī adjwibat suʾālāt al-shaykh Yāsīn* expounded some forty points of conflict between the Akhbārīs and the *mudjtahids*, and by the *Muḥaddith* ʿAbd ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Dirāzī al-Baḥrānī (d. 1177/1763-4) in his *Iḥyāʾ maʿālim al-shīʿa*. Among the more moderate supporters of Akhbārī positions were ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad al-Tūnī al-Bushrawī (d. 1071/1666), author of *al-Wāfiya fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the Sayyid Niʿmat Allāh al-Djazāʾirī al-Shushtarī (d. 1112/1700), and Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī (d. 1186/1773), brother of the previously mentioned ʿAbd ʿAlī b. Aḥmad and author of the *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn* and of the extensive and popular *fiḳh* work *al-Ḥadāʾiḳ al-nādira*. The latter originally upheld pure Akhbārī doctrine, but later he espoused an intermediate position between the two factions and blamed al-Astarābādī for having opened the door of slandering the *mudjtahids* and splitting the ranks of the Shīʿa.

In the second half of the 12th/18th century, Uṣūlī doctrine was forcefully restated by Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Bihbihānī (d. 1208/1793-4) in his *al-Idjtihād wa 'l-akhbār* and other works. He went so far as to denounce the Akhbārīs as infidels and was able to break their dominant position in Karbalāʾ. The last prominent representative of the Akhbāriyya, the *Muḥaddith* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Nabī an-Nīsābūrī al-Akhbārī, author of a *K. Munyat al-murtād fī nufāt al-idjtihād*, countered with polemical vituperation and cursing of the *mudjtahids*. He gained the favour of the Ḳādjār Shāh Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh for some time, but, having been denounced by the Shaykh Djaʿfar Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ [*q.v.*], was eventually exiled to ʿIrāḳ and, in 1233/1818, was killed by a mob in al-Kāẓimayn. Thereafter the Akhbāriyya rapidly declined. The only Akhbārī community known to have survived to the present is in the region of Khurramshahr and Ābādān.

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(W. MADELUNG)

ʿĀḲIL KHĀN RĀZĪ, MĪR MUḤAMMAD ʿASKARĪ, Mughal official and commander. He came from a family of the Sayyids of Khwāf [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān, but was born in India. He was in the service of Prince Awrangzīb from the very beginning. When Awrangzīb left the Deccan to contest the throne in 1068/1658, ʿĀḳil Khān was left in charge of the city of Dawlatābād. Subsequently, he was promoted to the rank of 1,500/1,000 and was made *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*] of the Dōāb. In 1092/1681 he was appointed as *ṣūbadār* of Dihli, and he held this post till his death in 1108/1696-7, having been promoted to the rank of 4,000/1,000.

A work called the *Wāḳiʿāt-i ʿālamgīrī or Ẓafarnāma-yi ʿālamgīrī* is ascribed to him. This contains a very interesting, but on occasions a highly-coloured, account of the war of succession and the opening years of Awrangzīb's reign. It does not always present a very flattering picture of Awrangzīb, and contains much information not found in the official history, the *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*. ʿĀḳil Khān was devoted to literary pursuits and was interested in poetry, leaving behind a *Dīwān* and a number of *mathnawī* poems.

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AL-ʿ**AḲḲĀD**, ʿABBĀS MAḤMŪD, one of the most influential figures in the development of Egyptian culture in the first half of the 20th century, littérateur, journalist, educator, polemicist and critic. Born in Aswān in 1889, he did not complete his secondary education but moved to Cairo at the age of fourteen. While taking a series of minor posts in the civil service, he began to make up for his lack of formal education by reading widely. He was particularly interested in literature, philosophy and the natural sciences, and among his greatest contributions was to pass on to a younger generation of Egyptians a synthesis of his views on these and other subjects. His writings on aesthetics and poetic theory show a strong influence of English writers such as Hazlitt, Coleridge, Macaulay, Mill and Darwin, and he was also acquainted with the ideas of Lessing, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche among the German philosophers. It was early in the 1910s that al-ʿAḳḳād met Ibrāhīm al-Māzinī, and the two men formed a firm friendship based both on a love of poetry (especially that of the English Romantics found in such works as Palgrave's *The Golden Treasury*) and on a distaste for the conventions of the neo-classical school of Egyptian poets personified by Aḥmad Shawḳī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm. Al-ʿAḳḳād wrote the Introduction to al-Māzinī's first collection of poetry (1913) and published two collections of his own during this decade, *Yaḳẓat al-ṣabāḥ* (1916) and *Wahadj al-ẓahīra* (1917). The same views on poetry were also shared by a third writer, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān

Shukrī, the best poet of the group. These three are often referred to as the "Dīwān School", but that is somewhat of a misnomer in that al-ʿAkkād and al-Māzinī alone were the authors of *al-Dīwān*, a blistering piece of criticism in which al-Māzinī accused Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm of madness and confusion while al-ʿAkkād attacked Shawkī's occasional poetry in the most caustic of terms. The three men seemed to have shared a common view of the nature and rôle of poetry, but it was al-ʿAkkād who provided much of the critical impetus for which the group is primarily remembered.

At the conclusion of the First World War, al-ʿAkkād became closely associated with Saʿd Zaghlūl, the leader of the Wafd, and began to write articles for the party's newspaper, *al-Balāgh*. Many of these articles on literature, aesthetics, religion and history were later collected into book form under such titles as *Murādjaʿāt fi 'l-ādāb wa 'l-funūn* and *Muṭālaʿāt fi 'l-kutub wa 'l-ḥayāt.* During the regime of Ismāʿīl Ṣidkī in the early 1930s when the constitution was revoked, al-ʿAkkād's fervent convictions led him to undertake the considerable risk of publishing a work criticising the ruling authorities, *al-Ḥukm al-muṭlak fi 'l-karn al-ʿishrīn*, for which he was imprisoned for nine months. This decade also saw the appearance of three more volumes of his poetry (*Waḥy al-arbaʿīn, Hadiyyat al-karawān*, and *ʿĀbir sabīl*), the novel, *Sāra*, and a series of biographies on famous figures from the early history of Islam. These latter works seem to form part of a trend in the 1930s whereby Egyptian intellectuals (including Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal) turned their attentions to religious biographical themes.

In 1938, al-ʿAkkād abandoned the Wafd Party and joined the breakaway Saʿdist group led by Aḥmad Māhir and al-Nukrāshī. However, the self-reliance and outspokenness which had served his purpose as a younger man seem to have turned progressively to scepticism, arrogance and extreme conservatism. He left the Saʿdist group and became essentially a one-man party. In the literary sphere, he not only vigorously opposed the new free verse poetry which began to emerge following the Second World War, but also changed his mind about the possibilities of blank verse in Arabic, something which he had encouraged Shukrī to experiment with in the earlier part of their careers. He joined a number of other conservative critics in opposing "committed" literature; in fact, as David Semah notes (*Four Egyptian literary critics*, Leiden 1974, 25) he seemed unwilling to accept any kind of criticism of his own views or to tolerate the idea that some of his earlier theories had been superseded.

Al-ʿAkkād's contributions to creative literature tend to be of interest more for historical reasons than for their intrinsic literary merit. He composed a large number of personal poems as well as some occasional ones, and translated a number of works from English (see Mustafa Badawi, *A critical introduction to modern Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1975, 109 ff.). In his novel, *Sāra*, the psychological insights into the relationship of the two lovers may have been on a new level of sophistication when compared with previous works in this genre, but the element of doubt and questioning which pervades the work (six of the chapters have questions as their title) reduces it to an almost abstract analytical plane. Several commentators have also pointed out that the attitude to women found in this work is more than a little autobiographical (Aḥmad Haykal, *al-Adab al-kaṣaṣī wa 'l-masraḥī*, Cairo 1971, 164; Hilary Kilpatrick, *The modern Egyptian novel*, London 1974, 32; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Diyāb, *al-Marʾa fī ḥayāt al-ʿAkkād*, Cairo 1969, 100 ff.).

The views of al-ʿAkkād on aesthetics and poetic theory propounded so forcibly in many of his works are also clearly visible in his writings on other poets, both ancient and modern. While he wrote numerous articles on ancient poets during the 1920s (such as on Imru 'l-Kays, Abū Nuwās, Bashshār b. Burd and al-Mutanabbī), it is his study of Ibn al-Rūmī published in book form in 1931, *Ibn al-Rūmī, ḥayātuhu min shiʿrihi*, which is widely regarded as his best literary study and especially as the one which permits al-ʿAkkād to use his own theories on psychology, race and poetics in an analysis of this somewhat neglected poet. Al-ʿAkkād's introduction of such objective criteria, often based on non-literary information, into the analysis of literature led to new insights into the Arabic poetic tradition of ancient times. However, it also tended to place more emphasis on the writer than the work of literature, and it was left to the next generation (and especially Muḥammad Mandūr) to restore importance to the work itself in literary analysis, while fusing into the critical process the best elements of the theories which al-ʿAkkād had developed.

In 1960, he was awarded the State Appreciation Prize for his contribution to Egyptian literature. Shawkī Ḍayf's work, *Maʿa 'l-ʿAkkād* (Ikraʾ Series no. 259, Cairo 1964) shows a picture of the aged bachelor browsing in the natural science section of his library (opp. p. 65). He died in 1964.

Bibliography (in addition to those works already cited in the text of the article): Shawkī Ḍayf, *al-Adab al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1961, 136; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Diyāb, *ʿAbbās al-ʿAkkād nāḳid*[an], Cairo 1965; Mounah Khouri, *Poetry and the making of modern Egypt*, Leiden 1971, passim; S. Moreh, *Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, passim; Nadav Safran, *Egypt in search of political identity*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961; A.M.K. Zubaydī, *Al-ʿAkkād's critical theories, with special reference to his relationship with the Dīwān school and to the influence of European writers upon him*, University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1966, unpublished; idem; *The Dīwān School*, in *JAL*, i (1970), 36; Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, i, 153-4, 163-75.

(R. ALLEN)

AKKĀR (A.), pl. *akara* (abstract *ikāra*), literally "tiller, cultivator of the ground", a word of Aramaic origin (see Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 128-9), borrowed into Arabic, apparently in the post-Islamic period (it does not appear in the Ḳurʾān), and applied to the peasantry of Aramaean stock in Syria and ʿIrāḳ; accordingly, the term had in Arabic eyes, like the name *Nabaṭ*, a pejorative sense (see *LA*[1], v, 85-6). Some of these peasants were sharecroppers who cultivated lands of wealthy landlords for one-sixth or one-seventh share of the produce and on *mukāsama* [*q.v.*] terms of contract (cf. Abū Yūsuf, *al-Kharādj*, Būlāḳ 1884, 52; Ibn Ḥawkal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, 218). Following the Arab conquest of the Fertile Crescent, the *akara* paid the lowest amount of poll-tax (*djizya*) at the rate of 12 *dirhams* per head per annum (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 271).

Social and economic conditions deteriorated for the *akara* during the ʿAbbāsid period. One finds them as itinerant farm labourers moving from village to village in search of work and working on estates

of land for the highest bidder among landlords (Ṣābī, *Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz, 259). They also worked on lands owned by Christian monasteries (Shābushtī, *al-Diyārāt*, 214-15). In a typical story we read of a certain *akkār* who was employed by a rich man of Baṣra as a domestic servant, possibly out of farming season. His work included husking rice, grinding it in a mill turned by an ox, and making bread for his master (Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, Cairo 1963, 129). Djāḥiẓ has evidently recorded in the story of the *akkār* and his employer the tale of the toiling labourers and the hard task-master of this epoch. Djāḥiẓ also mentions a certain *mashāyikh al-akara* (elder of the *akara*), which may be indicative of some form of organised social grouping of the *akara* headed by a revered *Shaykh* (cf. *Ḥayawān*, v, 32). The rural population of the Sawād of ʿIrāḳ, at least, seems to have continued to be Aramaic-speaking into the 3rd/9th century and perhaps until later; cf. the anecdote of al-Muʿtaṣim and the old *Nabaṭī* peasant of the Sawād in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 113-4 = § 2796.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see also Tanukhi, *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda*, Cairo 1903, i, 125-6; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1908, 195; al-Ṣābī, *The historical remains of Hilāl al-Ṣābī*, Leiden 1904, 91, 216, 254, al-Nawbakhtī, *Firāḳ al-Shīʿa*, Istanbul 1931, 61; Lane, *Lexicon*, i, 70-1; M.A.J. Beg, *Agricultural and irrigational labourers in the social and economic life of ʿIraq during the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid caliphates*, in *IC* (January 1973), 15-22. (M.A.J. Beg)

AL-**AḲSARĀYĪ**, Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, historian of Anatolia under the Saldjūḳs and Il-Khānids. The date of his birth is unknown, but it seems that he died at an advanced age in the 720/1320s. As an official in the Il-Khānid service, he was attached to the retinue of Mudjīr al-Dīn Amīr Shāh (the representative of the Mongol fiscal department in Saldjūḳ Anatolia, and then *nā'ib* from 1281 to 1291) until the latter's death in 1302. Ghāzān Khān then appointed him *nāẓir* or intendant of the *awḳāf* in the Saldjūḳ territories, and an uncertain date he acted as military commandant (*kutwāl* [see kōtwāl]) of Aḳsarāy, his natal town. He enjoyed a privileged view of the events of his time, and in 723/1323 put together in Persian his chronicle the *Musāmarat al-akhbār wa-musāyarat al-akhyār* which is, together with Ibn Bībī's work, one of the essential sources for Anatolian history in the period of Mongol domination. This period forms the subject of the fourth and last chapter of the work, the most important one, since it takes up three-quarters of the book and covers some 75 years contemporary with al-Aḳsarāyī himself. The chronicle is known only in two manuscripts (Ayasofya 3143, copied in 734/1334, and Yenicami 827, copied in 745/1345, both now in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul), and was hardly used by sub-sequent historians, with the exceptions of Ḳāḍī Aḥmad of Nigde (14th century) and the Ottoman compiler Münedjdjim Bashi (d. 1702), until it was rediscovered by Turkish historians at the end of the 19th century. In his preface to his critical and annotated edition of the text, Osman Turan conveys all the information known about the author, and gives an account of previous studies on the latter and his book.

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AḲŪNĪṬUN (Greek ἀκονιτον) appears frequently in Arabic medical writings as a particularly deadly poison originating from a plant root; it can denote a substance either (A) from the Mediterranean region, or (B) from India. Synonyms for (A) include *khāniḳ al-nimr*, *khāniḳ al-dhi'b*, *ḳātil al-nimr* and *bīsh*. This last, however, is the name generally accepted for (B). Aḳūnīṭun thus well exemplifies a constant problem of Arabic botanical literature: identification today of the actual plant referred to and of its Greek equivalent.

(A) Mediterranean region: ἀκονιτον as a poison in Greek writings: remedies are given by Nicander in his *Alexipharmaca* (95, lines 11-73). Theophrastos describes two types, (a) ἀκονιτον with a prawn-shaped root; (b) θηλυφονον or σκορπιον able to cure scorpion bite (*HP*, 9.16.4 and 9.18.2). Cf. Paulus of Aegina (Eng. tr. F. Adams, London 1844-8, III.28). Dioscorides similarly lists two types, in the reverse order, described in much the same terms: (i) = (b) above, with synonyms παρδαλιαγχης, καμμαρον, θηλυφονον, κυνοκτονον, μυοκτονον (IV. 77); (ii) = (a) above, synonym λυκοκτονον (IV.78). When Dioscorides was translated into Arabic, the possibility of regional variation in species was not always considered; some Greek names were transliterated, but in time most were given standard equivalents in Arabic. In the Julia Anicia MS, 6th century, marginal notes in Arabic explain ἀκονιτον (i) as *aḳūnīṭun* and *khāniḳ al-nimr*; (ii) as *khāniḳ al-dhi'b* (f. 66b).

The Arabic version of these sections (Bodleian MS Hyde 34) gives as synonyms for (i) *nabbāl* and *khāniḳ al-nimr* (f. 123a, marginal note). *Nabbāl* occurs also in the *Tafsīr* to Dioscorides by Ibn Djuldjul (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional MS 4981, f. 7a); in Ibn Djuldjul's *Supplement* to Dioscorides (MS Hyde 34, f. 198b) *nabbāl* is mentioned as a poisonous plant whose antidote is *bustān abrūz* (*Amaranthus tricolor* L.). Cf. F.J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, Madrid 1888, 395.

(B) India: *Bīsh*, although sometimes considered a synonym for *aḳūnīṭun*, refers to a far more poisonous plant (probably *Aconitum ferox* Wall) and is described as the most deadly of plant poisons by such writers as Thābit b. Ḳurra (*Dhakhīra*, ch. xxv, 143 (298)), Djābir b. Ḥayyān (*Gifte*, 56 = f. 46a-b, 104 = f. 95b, 185 = f. 179a), Ibn Waḥshiyya (*Poisons*, 84-5, 108), Ibn Sīnā (*Ḳānūn*, I, 276, III, 223), al-Bīrūnī (*Ṣaydana*, Arabic 81, Eng. 53). Most agree that there is little if any hope of recovery, even if the Great *Tiryāḳ* is administered. Ibn Sīnā distinguishes clearly between *bīsh* and the plant known as *khāniḳ al-dhi'b* etc., the latter being described separately (I, 424, 460).

(C) Possible identifications: Although (A) *Aḳūnīṭun* is often equated with an *Aconitum* sp. (e.g. Ghalib I.86, Nos. 1752-7, Issa 5.1, cf. W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabari*, Bonn 1969, 126, No. 157, where *bīsh* = ἀκονιτον), a modern botanist thinks it likely that the ἀκονιτον of Dioscorides was (i) a *Doronicum* sp., (ii) a *Delphinium* sp., possibly *D. staphisagria* or *D. elatum*. In the case of (B) *bīsh*, this did not have to be identified in the growing state, but was known to the Arabs as a deadly poison from India (Issa 4.19).

Bibliography: Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, ed. D.G. Kühn, Leipzig 1829; Dioscorides, *Codex*

Aniciae Iulianae picturis illustratus, nunc Vindobonensis Med. Gr. 1, Leiden 1906 (phototype edn.); *La Materia Médica de Dioscórides*, ii, ed. C.E. Dubler and E. Terés, Tetuan 1952; Bodleian MS Hyde 34; Theophrastus, *History of Plants*, ed. and tr. A. Hort, Loeb edn. London 1916; Nicander, *Alexipharmaca*, ed. A.S.F. Gow and A.F. Scholfield, Cambridge 1953; ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa ʾl-aghdhiya*, Cairo 1874; Thābit b. Ḳurra, *K. al-Dhakhīra fī ʿilm al-ṭibb*, ed. G. Sobhy, Cairo 1928; Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, ed. M.Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928; *The abridged version of "The Book of Simple Drugs" of Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ghâfiqî*. . ., ed. M. Meyerhof and G. Sobhy, Cairo 1932-40; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940; *Das Buch der Gifte des Ǧābir Ibn Ḥayyān*, tr. A. Siggel, Wiesbaden 1958 (with facsimile text); Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ḳānūn fi ʾl-ṭibb*, 3 vols., repr. Baghdād n.d. [= 1970?]; Ibn Waḥshiyya (translation): M. Levey, *Medieval Arabic toxicology: the Book on Poisons of Ibn Waḥshīya and its relation to early Indian and Greek texts*, Philadelphia 1966; al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Ṣaydana fi ʾl-ṭibb*, ed. and tr. H.M. Said, Karachi 1973; M. Levey, *Early Arabic pharmacology*, Leiden 1973; M. Meyerhof, *The article on aconite from al-Beruni's kitab as-Saydana*, in *IC*, xix/4 (1945); P. Johnstone, *Aconite and its antidote in Arabic writings*, in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, i/1 (1977); A. Issa, *Dictionnaire des noms des plantes en latin, français, anglais et arabe*, Cairo 1930; A. Siggel, *Arabisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch der Stoffe aus den drei Naturreichen*, Berlin 1950; E. Ghalib, *Dictionnaire des sciences de la nature*, Beirut 1965.

(P. Johnstone)

ĀL-I AḤMAD, Sayyid Djalāl, Iranian prose writer and ideologist (1923-69). His œuvre may be tentatively classified as comprising literary fiction on the one hand (*ḳiṣṣa, dāstān*), and essays and reports on the other hand (*maḳāla, guzārish*). This classification, however, only follows the author's own designation. Āl-i Aḥmad lacks the technical concern and sophistication of a contemporary like Ṣādiḳ Čūbak, and in terms of formal structure, this tends to blur the dividing lines, not merely between the "novel" (*ḳiṣṣa*) and the "short story" (*dāstān*), but also between the *dāstān*, often approaching the "narrative essay", and the *maḳāla*. Among biographical data, three factors stand out for their crucial influence on Āl-i Aḥmad's career as a writer: his birth in a Tehrani family of lower Shīʿī dignitaries; his occupation as a professional schoolteacher; and his vivid interest and, for a brief period, active participation in national politics.

The religious element is reflected in the early collections of short stories *Dīd wa bāzdīd* (1945), *Sih-tār* (1948) and *Zan-i ziyādī* (1952). Written after the "flight" from his traditional family background and adherence to the leftist ideologies of post-war political parties, they offer an ironic picture of the religious milieu of lower and middle class Tehran. A similar, if more outspoken aloofness pervades his *ḥadjdj*-diary of 1966, *Khassī dar mīḳāt*. While preserving a personal piety throughout his life, Āl-i Aḥmad is the critical observer, rather than the raptured participant. A tone of irony is seldom absent; yet it is generally mild and benevolent, occasionally even slightly nostalgic.

His life-long experiences as a schoolteacher prompted an interest in educational and, more broadly, cultural issues, as expressed in some of his most vitriolic articles (notably in *Sih maḳāla-i dīgar* (1959)). Moreover, they inspired the "novels" *Mudīr-i madrasa* (1958) and *Nafrīn-i zamīn* (1967). The former especially, which relates the alienation of a provincial school-principal, is counted among his most successful literary achievements. If indebted to an earlier prose-experiment in French literature, i.e. *Voyage au bout de la nuit* by Louis-Ferdinand Céline (1932), *Mudīr-i madrasa* convincingly established Āl-i Aḥmad's reputation as an innovator of Persian literary style. Its highly economic use of words, abundant colloquialisms and vivid, staccato rhythm has been described in a laudatory fashion as *inshāʾ-i kārīkātūrī* by Djamālzāda (cf. bibliography).

Some similarity exists between the development of Āl-i Aḥmad's religious attitudes and his political ones. After an intensive exposure to the orthodox milieu in the early stages (as son of a Shīʿī *rūḥānī*, as a devoted and prominent member of political parties), he proved in both instances incapable of conforming to collective, organised loyalty. His membership of the recently established communist *Tūda* party lasted from 1944 until early 1948 only; his subsequent adherence to the "anti-Stalinist" faction of Khalīl Malikī ended in early 1953, following bitter experiences with personal rivalries within this "Third Force" movement. He left the forum of organised politics, never to return. Among the literary documents of this political career, the short stories collected in *Az randjī-kih mībarīm* (1947) belong to the *Tūda* period. First printed at the party-press *Shuʿlawar*, it constitutes an effort to create "socialist-realist" literature. With its very explicit commitment, in some ways reminiscent of Buzurg ʿAlawī's work, it lacks the ironic, observing distance common to Āl-i Aḥmad's remaining œuvre, and was afterwards considered a failure by the author himself. *Zan-i ziyādī* was written after the breakaway from the *Tūda*, and contains the story *Khudādād-khān*, a sarcastic description of the ambitions, hypocrisy and luxuries of a leading party executive. The ideological importance of this collection further lies in the introduction which the author added to the second edition (1963), *Risāla-i Pawlūs bi-kātibān*. A "testament" according to the writer, it calls for literary honesty and commitment. In a less biblical fashion, this theme dominates many of his other essays: the conviction that "in our land, writing literature means waging a battle for justice", and that "the pen has become a weapon". Since the ending of the Mossadegh experiment in August 1953 and Āl-i Aḥmad's departure from party-politics, he saw this battle for justice as a cultural, rather than political one. Its primary target is not the external force of oppression, but the spirit of submissiveness which had turned his countrymen into voluntary, even zealous servants. This phenomenon was diagnosed as *gharb-zadagī* ("western-struckness" sc. blind worship and imitation of western civilisation), and its causes and symptoms are described at length in the essay of the same name (1962), which, in spite of its prompt confiscation by the authorities, remained Āl-i Aḥmad's most widely read and most hotly debated work. In search of a cure, he calls for an "inner revolt" (*ḳiyām-i durūnī*): a return to the classical virtues of unconditional devotion and self-sacrifice. This *shahādat* forms the central theme of *Nūn wa ʾl-ḳalam* (1961), an allegory tale explaining the failure of contemporary leftist movements.

Finally, mention should be made of the regional monographs which the author composed during his numerous travels throughout the country, trying to

recapture the "majesty" (*ʿiẓmat*) and "authenticity" (*aṣālat*) which he could no longer find in the capital. *Awrāzān* (1954), *Tātnis͟hīn-hā-i Balūk-i Ẓahrā* (1958) and *D̲j̲azīra-i K̲h̲ārg* (1960) have appeared as separate volumes; comparable studies of K̲h̲ūzistān, Yazd and the outskirts of the Kawīr have been included in his collected essays.

Bibliography: 1. Works by Āl-i Aḥmad, in addition to those mentioned in the text: *Sarguzas͟ht-i kandū-hā* (1333 *sh.*) is a symbolic *ḳiṣṣa* dealing with the abortive oil-nationalisation 1951-3. Not included in the four collections mentioned above are the short stories *D̲j̲as͟hn-i far-k̲h̲anda*, *K̲h̲ʷāhar wa ʿankabūt*, *K̲h̲ūnāba-i anār*, *S̲h̲awhar-i Amrīkāʾī* and *Guldastahā wa falak*. The first one is available through M.A. Sipānlū's anthology *Bāzāfarīnī-yi wāḳiʿiyyat* (Tehran 1352 *sh.*[3]). The other ones have been collected in the posthumously-edited and only narrowly distributed *Pand̲j̲ dāstān* (1350 *sh.*), which also contains a short autobiographical sketch dated Day 1347 *sh.*: *Mat̲h̲alan s̲h̲arḥ-i aḥwālāt*. The majority of Āl-i Aḥmad's numerous essays and travel reports were first published in periodicals and afterwards reprinted in the collections *Haft maḳāla* (1334 *sh.*), *Sih maḳāla-i dīgar* (1337 *sh.*), *Arzyābī-yi s̲h̲itābzāda* (1344 *sh.*) and *Kārnāma-i sih-sāla* (1348 *sh.*). These collections, however, are far from exhaustive, and a substantial number of articles remains scattered over the various magazins, for the later period notably *Andīs̲h̲a wa hunar*, *Āris̲h̲* and *D̲j̲ahān-i naw*. Certain other writings were completed by the author before his death, but have not yet been deemed suitable for publication. These include a novel (*Nasl-i d̲j̲adīd*) and diaries of his travels to Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union. Of the latter, two fragments have appeared in *Hunar wa sīnimā*, Nos. 1 (18 *Ād̲h̲ar* 1345) and 2 (25 *Ād̲h̲ar* 1345). Translations prepared by Āl-i Aḥmad were almost without exception done from or via French; well-known among these are his rendering of works by André Gide, Albert Camus, Eugene Ionesco and Dostoievski. Translations made from Āl-i Aḥmad's writings include *The old man was our eyes*, a monography on the poet Nīmā Yūs̲h̲īd̲j̲, in *The Literary Review*, Rutherford N.J., xviii (1974), 115-28, *The pilgrimage*, in *Life and letters*, lxiii (1949), 202-9, *Someone else's child*, in *Iranian Studies*, i (1968), 161-9, and *The school principal*, by J.K. Newton and M.C. Hillmann, Minneapolis and Chicago 1974; the preface to this volume also contains an English translation of the story *Guldān-i čīnī*.

2. Studies. See the cursory remarks in H. Kamshad, *Modern Persian prose literature*, Cambridge 1966, 125-6; B. Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964, 221-2; Miloš Borecký, in *MEJ*, vii (1953), 238-9; and M. Zavarzadeh, in *MW*, lviii (1968), 311-12. Opinions of Iranian critics may be found in the special Āl-i Aḥmad issue of the periodical *Andīs̲h̲a wa hunar*, v (1343 *sh.*), 344-489, including also a lengthy interview with the author. For more specific discussions, cf. D̲j̲amālzāda's review of *Mudīr-i madrasa* in *Rahnamā-yi Kitāb*, i (1337 *sh.*), 166-78; Riḍā Barāhinī, *Ḳiṣṣa-niwīsī*, Tehran 1348 *sh.*[2], 416 ff.; G.L. Tikku, in *idem* (ed.), *Islam and its cultural divergence*, Urbana, Chicago and London 1971, 165-79; and G.R. Sabri-Tabrizi, in *Correspondance d'Orient* 11, Brussels 1970, 411-18.

(G.J.J. de Vries)

ʿALĀʾ al-**DĪN K̲H̲ALD̲J̲Ī** [see k̲h̲ald̲j̲īs].

al-**ʿALAMĪ**, **ʿABD** al-**ḲĀDIR** [see ḳaddūr al-ʿalamī].

ALANGU, Tahir, Turkish author and literary critic (1916-73). The son of a naval officer, he was born in Istanbul and graduated from the Department of Turkish Studies of Istanbul University (1943). He taught Turkish literature in various high schools until 1956, when he was appointed to Galatasaray Lycée in Istanbul where he taught until his death on 19 June 1973. During the last few years of his life he was also a part-time lecturer at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul.

Two leading themes of his many books and large number of articles are firstly, Turkish folk-lore, and secondly, the modern Turkish novel and short story. As a literary critic and research worker, his judgments are based on sound scholarly research and are (with rare exceptions when his close friends are involved) balanced, responsible and fair. Alangu is the author of the following major works: *Cumhuriyetten sonra hikâye ve roman*, 2 vols, Istanbul 1959 and 1965, a comprehensive study on Turkish short story writers and novelists of the 1920-50 period, with copious examples of their works; *Ömer Seyfettin*, Istanbul, 1968, a monograph in the form of biographical novel of this pioneer of the modern Turkish short story; and his posthumous *100 ünlü Türk eseri*, 2 vols, Istanbul 1974, an anthology from 100 famous works from Turkish literature, with introduction and comments. The second volume of this work covering the last hundred years (1870-1970) is particularly valuable as it is based mainly on his own research. Unfortunately, many of his articles published in various journals and reviews have not yet been collected into book form. Alangu translated (from the German) several authors, and particularly from the Israeli author Samuel Agnon.

Bibliography: Mehmet Seyda, *Edebiyat dostları*, Istanbul, 1970; Behçet Necatiğil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*[8], 1975, s.v.

(Fahir İz)

ʿALĪ b. **ḤANẒALA** b. **ABĪ SĀLIM** al-Maḥfūẓī al-Wādiʿī al-Hamdānī, succeeded ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] as the sixth *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs in Yaman in 612/1215. As the country was passing through a critical period of internal strife after its occupation by the Ayyūbids, the *dāʿī* pursued a policy of non-interference in politics. He maintained good relations both with the Ayyūbid rulers of Ṣanʿāʾ and the Yāmid sulṭāns of Banū Ḥātim in D̲h̲amarmar which enabled him to carry out his activities without much difficulties. He died on 12 or 22 Rabīʿ I 626/8 or 18 February 1229.

Both his compositions, *Simṭ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* and *Risālat Diyāʾ al-ḥulūm wa-miṣbāḥ al-ʿulūm*, concerning *al-mabdaʾ wa 'l-maʿād*, are considered important works on *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* [*q.v.*]. The former, edited by ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī (Damascus 1953), is a *rad̲j̲az* poem, whereas the latter is an elaborate treatment of the subject and exists in manuscript.

Bibliography: The main biographical source, Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan, *Nuzhat al-afkār*, still in manuscript, is studied by Ḥ.F. al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, Cairo 1955, 291-7; Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharūčī, *Kitāb al-Azhār*, i, ed. ʿĀdil al-ʿAwwā, in *Muntak̲h̲abāt Ismāʿīliyya*, Damascus 1958, 195, 247; Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Mad̲j̲dūʿ, *Fihrist*, ed. ʿAlī Naḳī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 196-7, 269-70. For a detailed account, see Ismail Poonawala, *Bio-bibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977.

(I. Poonawala)

ʿALĪ b. MUḤAMMAD b. DJAʿFAR b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd al-Anf al-Ḳurashī, the mentor of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*], whom he succeeded as the fifth *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs in Yaman in 605/1209, came from a prominent al-Walīd family of Ḳuraysh. His great-grandfather Ibrāhīm b. Abī Salama was a leading chieftain of the founder of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, and he was sent by the latter on an official mission to Cairo. He studied first under his uncle ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn and then under Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī. After al-Ḥārithī's death, Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*] appointed ʿAlī b. Muḥammad as his deputy in Ṣanʿāʾ. He lived in Ṣanʿāʾ and died there on 27 Shaʿbān 612/21 December 1215 at the age of ninety. He headed a distinguished family of *dāʿīs*: for approximately three centuries the headship of the *daʿwa* was held by his descendants.

He was a prolific author and his works are held in high esteem by the community. The following works are extant. On *ḥaḳāʾiḳ*: 1. *Tādj al-ʿaḳāʾid*, ed. ʿĀrif Tāmir, Beirut 1967, English tr. (in summary form) W. Ivanow, *Creed of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1936. 2. *Kitāb al-Dhakhīra*, ed. Muḥammad al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1971. 3. *Risālat Djilāʾ al-ʿuḳūl*, ed. ʿĀdil al-ʿAwwā in *Muntakhabāt Ismāʿīliyya*, Damascus 1958, 89-153. 4. *Risālat al-Īḍāḥ wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. R. Strothmann, in *Arbaʿa kutub Ismāʿīliyya*, Göttingen 1943, 138-58. 5. *Risāla fī maʿnā al-ism al-aʿẓam*, ed. Strothmann in *ibid.*, 171-7. 6. *Ḍiyāʾ al-albāb*. 7. *Lubb al-maʿārif*. 8. *Lubāb al-fawāʾid*. 9. *Risālat mulḥiḳat al-adhhān*. 10. *al-Risāla al-mufīda*, a commentary on the *ḳaṣīdat al-nafs* ascribed to Ibn Sīnāʾ. Refutations: 11. *Dāmigh al-bāṭil*, refutation of al-Ghazālī's *al-Mustaẓhirī*. 12. *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿuṣūl*, refutation of Sunnīs, Muʿtazilīs, Zaydīs and *Falāsifa* who deny God all attributes. 13. *Risālat tuḥfat al-murtadd*, ed. Strothmann in *Arbaʿa kutub Ismāʿīliyya*, 159-70, a refutation of the Ḥāfiẓī-Madjīdī *daʿwa*. Miscellaneous: 14. *Madjālis al-nuṣḥ wa 'l-bayān*. 15. *Dīwān*, eulogies of the *Imāms* and his teachers, elegies, and valuable historical information about contemporary events in Yaman.

Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, son of the preceeding, He succeeded Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak b. al-Walīd as the eighth *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. He lived in Ṣanʿāʾ and died there on 22 Ṣafar 667/31 October 1268. His writings deal mainly with *ḥaḳāʾiḳ*. The following works have survived. 1. *Risālat al-Īḍāḥ wa 'l-bayān*. The section about the fall of Adam has been edited by B. Lewis in *An Ismāʿīlī interpretation of the fall of Adam*, in *BSOS*, ix (1938), 691-704. 2. *al-Risāla al-waḥīda fī tathbīt arkān al-ʿaḳīda*. 3. *ʿAḳīdat al-muwaḥḥidīn*. 4. *Risālat al-īḍāḥ wa-'l-tabṣīr fī faḍl yawm al-Ghadīr*. 5. *Risāla Māhiyyat al-zūr*. 6. *al-Mabdaʾ wa 'l-maʿād*, ed. and tr. H. Corbin, in *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, Tehran 1961, 99-130 (Arabic pagination), 129-200.

ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn, son of the preceeding. He succeeded his father as the ninth *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. He lived in Ṣanʿāʾ and then moved to ʿArūs, but following the Hamdānid repossession of Ṣanʿāʾ, he returned and died there on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 682/2 February 1284. His *al-Risāla al-kāmila* is extant.

Bibliography: Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī, *Tuḥfat al-ḳulūb*, in manuscript, (edition being prepared by Abbas Hamdani); Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan, *Nuzhat al-afkār*, manuscript used by Ḥ.F. al-Ḥamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, Cairo 1955, 284-91; Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharūčī, *Kitāb al-Azhār*, i. ed. ʿĀdil al-ʿAwwā in *Muntakhabāt Ismāʿīliyya*, Damascus 1958, 191, 193-4, 198, 247-8; Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Madjdūʿ, *Fihrist*, ed. ʿAlī Naḳī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 41-2, 80, 93-5, 123-7, 131, 140, 151, 153, 200-1, 229-37, 244-6, 257, 278; For a full description of works and sources, see Ismail Poonawala, *Bio-bibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977. (I. Poonawala)

ʿALĪ b. MUḤAMMAD al-TŪNISĪ al-IYĀDĪ, pro-Shīʿī poet of Ifrīḳiya, who was, according to Ibn Rashīḳ (*Kurāda*, 102), in the service of the Fāṭimid caliphs al-Ḳāʾim, al-Manṣūr and above all al-Muʿizz, whom he joined in his new capital in Egypt, despite his great age and the hazards of the journey. It was probably in Cairo that he died, in the same year as his protector, 365/976, according to Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (*Taʾrīkh*, 96), but later than this, according to Ch. Bouyahia (*Vie littéraire*, 39); these two authors place his birth in Tunis, apparently in order to explain his ethnic of al-Tūnisī, which in the 4th/10th century, and even later, referred merely to a small place adjacent to the ruins of Carthage (cf. Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān, *K. al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt*, ed. Yalaoui-Feki-Chabbouh, Tunis, 1978, 203, 332-3, and al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, 37). This *nisba* has caused him to be often confused with a later homonym, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Tūnisī, also the eulogist of an al-Manṣūr and an al-Muʿizz, but this time, Zīrids (cf. Bouyahia, *loc. cit.*). On the other hand, the ethnic al-Iyādī leads one to postulate an Arab origin, the Iyād being a component of a section of the Banū Hilāl, the Athbādj, who had established themselves in the region of Msila (see P. Massiéra, *Msila du Xe au XVe siècles*, in *Bull. de la Soc. hist. et archéol. de Sétif*, ii [1941], repr. in *CT*, No. 85-6).

The poet's fame reached the Spanish shores in his own lifetime; an anecdote of the same Ibn Rashīḳ (*ʿUmda*, i, 111) shows us the Andalusian Ibn Hāniʾ [*q.v.*] on his arrival in al-Ḳayrawān involved in hostilities with the poets already established there, but making specific mention only of al-Iyādī. However, despite the high esteem in which later critics held him, such as Ibn Sharaf (*Questions de critique littéraire*, ed. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1953, 9), no poem of his has come down to us in complete form; is this attributable to later Sunnī ostracism of the poet after the sudden change to the Zīrid régime, or a change in literary tastes? Whatever the reason may be, out of the 105 verses which the present writer has been able to gather together (*Ḥawliyyāt*, 1973, 97), only two fragments are Shīʿī in inspiration. These however are preserved by pro-Fāṭimid authors, these being firstly a rather poignant and moving relation of the end of Abū Yazīd, "the man on the donkey" (*Sīrat Ustādh Dhawdhar*, Cairo, 48, tr. M. Canard, 69) and secondly a eulogy in honour of al-Manṣūr (Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, vi, 117). The remainder is made up of well-turned, descriptive fragments, which abound richly in images, hence admired and gathered together for this reason by the anthologists; thus out of these last, al-Ḥuṣrī (*Zahr*, 189, 314, 1003) reproduces a description of the Fāṭimid fleet, armed with the fearsome Greek Fire, a picture of a galloping horse and a tableau of the splendours of the Lake Palace, Dār al-Baḥr, at Manṣūriyya.

In sum, al-Iyadi seems to have been a great poet, quite apart from his Fāṭimid allegiance, but our knowledge of his poetry—apart from his talent—remains till now only fragmentary.

Bibliography: Ibn Rashīḳ, *Ḳurādat al-dhahab*, ed. Bouyahia, Tunis 1972; Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Mudjmal taʾrīkh al-adab al-tūnisī*, Tunis 1968, 96; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifriqiya sous les*

Zīrides, Tunis 1972; M. Yalaoui, *Poètes ifriqiyiens contemporains des Fatimides*, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-Djāmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya* (Annales de l'Université de Tunis), 1973. (M. YALAOUI)

ʿALĪ EMĪRĪ (1858-1924), Turkish bibliophile and scholar. He was born in Diyārbekr, the son of Meḥmed Sherīf, a wealthy merchant from a locally prominent family. He learnt Arabic, Persian and the Islamic sciences from his great-uncle and private tutors. At the age of 18 he published in the local paper *Diyārbekr* a *djülūsiyye*, a poem commemorating the enthronement of Murād V which made his name widely known in educated circles. When ʿĀbidīn Pasha (the *Mathnāwī* commentator) came in 1879 to Diyārbekr as president of the committee of reform for the eastern provinces, he appointed ʿAlī Emīrī as secretary, and later took him to Salonika when he became the governor of that province. Thus there began his career as a civil servant which was to last for three decades. He served in diverse parts of the Empire until he retired in 1908. He died in Istanbul on 20 January 1924.

A life-long passionate collector of rare books, he saved many important manuscripts from destruction (e.g. the unique copy of Kāshgharī's *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*), and made copies of the rare books which he could not purchase. He conveyed his invaluable collection to the Shaykh al-Islām Fayḍ Allāh Efendi Library at Fātiḥ in Istanbul (1916), then re-named the Millet Library, of which he remained Director until his death. ʿAlī Emīrī wrote *dīwān* poetry with great ease and facility (but with not much talent), and his enormous output of several volumes is among his personal papers in the Millet Library. Except for the biographies of poets of his native Diyārbekr (*Tedhkire-yi shuʿarāʾ-yi ʿĀmid*, Istanbul 1325 *rūmī*/1909), very little of his research work on the Ottoman poets (with special emphasis on sultan and prince poets), has been published (and that mainly in his journal *ʿOthmānlī taʾrīkh we edebiyyat medjmūʿasi*, founded in 1920, 31 issues). ʿAlī Emīrī followed, in method and approach, the tradition of the classical *tedhkire* [*q.v.*] writers. The bulk of his manuscript notes is in the Millet Library. His study on the Eastern provinces, *ʿOthmānlī wilāyat-i sharkiyyesi*, Istanbul 1334 *rūmī*/1918, was of great use and was appreciated by the Nationalists in Ankara; Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (Atatürk) personally gave financial help to him in his old age. The list of ʿAlī Emīrī's other publications are given in Aḥmed Refīḳ and Ibnülemin M.K. Inal (see Bibl. below).

Bibliography: Aḥmed Refīḳ, *A.E.* in *TTEM*, No. 78 (1924); Ibnülemin M.K. Inal, *Son asır türk şairleri*, i, Istanbul 1930, 298-314; Muzaffer Esen, *Istanbul ansiklopedisi*, ii, Istanbul 1959, s.v. (FAHIR IZ)

ʿALĪ MARDĀN KHĀN, AMĪR AL-UMARĀʾ, a military commander of Kurdish origin, was one of the prominent nobles of Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia. During the reign of Shāh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42) he came under a cloud. He thereupon went over to the Mughal Emperor Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-58) and handed over the fort of Ḳandahār [*q.v.*] to the Mughals. He was given the rank of 5,000/5,000 by his new master in 1048/1638 and was appointed governor of Kashmīr. In 1050/1640 he was promoted to 7,000/7,000 and was appointed governor of the Pandjāb. In 1641 he was appointed governor of Kābul in addition to the Pandjab.

ʿAli Mardān Khān was connected with the construction of a major canal running from Ravi to Lahore, and laid out the famous Shalamār garden at Lahore. He died in 1067/1657 and was buried in his mother's tomb at Lahore.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, ii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1868; continuation by Muḥammad Wārith, *Bādshāh-nāma*, I. O. MS., Ethé 329 (see Storey, i, 574-7); Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, ii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1888-91; H.I.S. Kanwar, *ʿAli Mardan Khan*, in *IC*, xlvii (1973), 105-19. (M. ATHAR ALI)

ʿALLĀL AL-FĀSĪ, MUḤAMMAD, Moroccan statesman and writer (1907-74). Born at Fās, he was educated at the university of al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*]. From the age of 18 onwards, he took part in the diffusion throughout Morocco of the progressive movement of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*], and his militant attitude in favour of local nationalist aspirations, as well as his oratorical powers, soon led the government to confine him to a house, under guard, at Tāza. He was freed in 1931 and returned to Fās, where he began to lecture at the Ḳarawiyyīn; these lectures were however boycotted by certain religious leaders who feared that his unrestrained political attitudes might well cause difficulties for the Moroccan authorities in their relations with the French Protectorate. Al-Fāsī then took part in the delegation of the most influential nationalist leaders to the sultan of Morocco in 1934, when the document called *Maṭālib al-shaʿb al-maghribī* ("Demands for reform of the Moroccan people"), the first catechism of the nationalist movement, consisting of a complete programme for the reform and renovation of the land, especially in the politico-social sphere, was presented to the sovereign. The tergiversations and delays of the speakers engaged in this exasperated the more ardent of patriots, and led the *Kutlat al-ʿamal al-waṭanī al-maghribiyya* ("Moroccan bloc for national action") which had until 1934 worked in the background, to intensify its activities. Disorders broke out in 1936 in Fās, Salé and Casablanca, and the leaders of the bloc, including ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, were arrested. After their freeing almost immediately, the bloc decided to disband itself, and two parties were then formed, *al-Ḥaraka al-ḳawmiyya* and *al-Ḥizb al-waṭanī li-taḥḳīḳ al-maṭālib*, which merged in 1943 to form the single party of the *Istiḳlāl*, led from 1946 onwards by al-Fāsī. In the following year he fled to Cairo, where he organised the resistance movements against the French and Spanish Protectorates from a centre in the *Maktab al-Maghrib al-ʿarabī* founded in the Egyptian capital. He returned to Morocco in 1956, the year when his country gained its independence, and was nominated Professor of Islamic Law at Rabat and Fās and then Minister of State entrusted with Islamic affairs and a Deputy.

ʿAllāl al-Fāsī's work as a publicist, as well as a politician, continued to be most intense. At the beginning of 1957 he founded the newspaper *Le Sahara marocain* in order to promote the inclusion of Mauretania in Morocco, and in 1962, the monthly review *al-Bayyina*, which was at the same time Pan-Arab and Pan-Islamic and also concerned with culture and social progress. In all his work, the writer dealt with topics and problems of the Maghrib's history and politics, above all in regard to the modern and contemporary periods, with the exception of his *Maḳāṣid al-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya wa-makārimuhā* (Casablanca, n.d.), in which the author gathered together his lectures on law at the Faculty. Two books are devoted to an historico-juridical analysis of the French and Spanish Protectorates over Morocco: *al-Ḥimāya fī Marrākush min al-widjha*

al-taʾrīkhiyya wa 'l-ķānūniyya and *Ḥimāyat Isbāniyā fī Marrākush min al-widjha al-taʾrīkhiyya wa 'l-ķānūniyya* (publ. in Cairo 1947). His *al-Maghrib al-ʿarabī min al-ḥarb al-ʿālamiyya al-ūlā ilā 'l-yawm* (Cairo 1955), on the other hand, belongs to the usual class of historical compilations. His essay on *al-Ḥaraka al-istiklāliyya fī 'l-Maghrib al-ʿarabī* (Cairo 1948, 2nd ed. 1956) may be considered as an unpretentious contribution to our knowledge of Maghribī nationalism, especially in Morocco; there exist of these an English translation (New York 1954, repr. 1970) and a Spanish one. Other works comprise collections of lectures given in various capitals of the Arab world (as in *Ḥadīth al-Maghrib fī 'l-Mashrik*, Cairo 1956) and radio talks (as in *Nidāʾ al-Ķāhira*, Rabat 1959)—these last revealing the passionate character of the writer's political beliefs. *Al-Naķd al-dhātī* (Cairo 1952), of which there even exists a Chinese translation, is a self-criticism of the Arab world (particularly in regard to Morocco), in which the author analyses with a careful dialectic the recent past, and above all the present, in order to discern exactly the most effective way for Arabism to face up to the exigencies of modern life and to become part of European civilisation without at the same time renouncing its own particular genius and identity. In this, ʿAllāl al-Fāsī places himself in the forefront of the ideology of Islamic fundamentalism with its roots in Muḥammad ʿAbduh's [*q.v.*] thought, but at times he goes beyond this basic model when it is a question of penetrating more clearly to the heart of western thought.

Bibliography: There is information on ʿAllāl al-Fāsī in all the numerous works (mainly in French) on Morocco. There is a good source of documentation on his political activity in *Oriente Moderno*, esp. xvii (1937), 595, xix (1939), 429-30, and xxxii (1952), 1-31 *passim*. See also Anouar Abdel-Malek, *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*. ii. *Les essais*, Paris 1965, 190-6; and A. Laroui, *L'idéologie arabe contemporaine*, Paris 1967, passim.

(U. Rizzitano)

ʿALLAWAYH al-AʿSAR, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sayf, court musician in early ʿAbbāsid times, died in or shortly after 235/850. He was of Soghdian origin, *mawlā* (*al-ʿitķ*) of the Umayyads and *mawlā* (*al-khidma*) of the ʿAbbāsids. Ibrāhīm and Isḥāķ al-Mawṣilī taught him the "classical" *ḥidjāzī* music, but he prefered the "romantic" style of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and introduced "Persian melodies" (*nagham fārisiyya*) into Arab music. As a court musician, he started in the third class (*ṭabaķa*) under Hārūn al-Rashīd and continued to serve the caliphs up to al-Mutawakkil, but suffered from the rivalry of his more brilliant colleague Mukhāriķ. ʿAllawayh is described as being a master musician (*mughannī ḥādhiķ*), an excellent lutenist (*ḍārib mutaķaddim*)—being left-handed he used an instrument stringed in reverse order—and a skilful composer (*ṣāniʿ mutafannin*). Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī recorded 80 of his songs, using sources like ʿAllawayh's own *Kitāb* (or *Djāmiʿ*) *al-Aghānī* and the songbooks of ʿAmr b. Bāna, Ibn al-Makkī, Ḥabash and al-Hishāmī.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[3], xi, 333-60 (main source, see also indices); Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, Cairo 1949 (see indices); Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIķd*, vi, Cairo 1949, 31, 33, 37; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 132; Ṣūlī, *Awrāķ* (*Ashʿār awlād al-khulafāʾ*), 30; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, v, 9-13; O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, ii, Stuttgart 1933, 81-3; H.G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, 123; Kh. Mardam, *Djamharat al-mughannīn*, Damascus 1964, 163-4.

(E. Neubauer)

ALUS, Sermed Mukhtār, modern Turkish Sermet Muhtar Alus, Turkish writer (1887-1952). He was born in Istanbul, the son of Aḥmed Mukhtār Pasha, the founder of the Military Museum and a teacher at the War College. Educated mainly privately at Galatasaray Lycée, he studied law, graduating in 1910. As a student, he founded with two friends, the humorous paper *El-Üfürük* (1908) and contributed essays and cartoons to another humorous paper *Davul* (1908-9). His early interest in philosophy and social studies did not last long, and he turned to the theatre. Between 1918 and 1930, apart from a number of short stories which he contributed to various papers, he concentrated exclusively on the theatre, writing and adapting from the French many plays, some of which were performed in the Istanbul Municipal theatre (*Dār al-Bedāyiʿ*). Some of his plays were serialised in satirical weeklies (*Akbaba* and *Amcabey*). The year 1931 was a turning point in his literary career. He began to publish in the newspaper *Akşam* sketches of everyday life in Istanbul at the turn of the century, *Otuz sene evvel Istanbul* ("Istanbul thirty years ago") which were followed by stories, essays, autobiographical sketches, novels, etc. serialised in the same paper and in the dailies *Son posta, Cumhuriyet, Vatan, Vakit*, etc. and in the periodicals *Yedigün, Hafta, Yeni mecmua*, etc., all describing life in mansions, villas, *yalıs* (sea-side villas), famous resorts, or in the humble homes of Istanbul during the last decade of Ḥamīdian era.

An extremely prolific writer, he produced continuously until his death in Istanbul on 18 May 1952. Unfortunately the great bulk of his output (articles, essays, short stories, novels, memoirs) always accompanied by his own designs and sketches, remains scattered in many dailies and periodicals. Four of his novels have been published in book form: *Kıvırcık Paşa* (1933), *Pembe maşlahlı hanım* (1933), *Harp zengininin gelini* (1934), *Eski Çapkın anlatıyor* (1944). The plots in these novels, as in all Alus's writings, are loose and unimportant, and are only a pretext for describing and reporting the conversations of his pet characters, who are Ḥamīdian pashas, local beauties or toughs, snobs and simple people. Alus is the last representative of the popular entertainment narrative school inaugurated by Aḥmed Midḥat and continued by Ḥusayn Raḥmī, Aḥmed Rāsim and O.Dj. Ķaygïlï [*q.vv.*]; perhaps he is more akin to the latter in that he is more entertaining and simplistic without high claims to any moral or philosophic conclusions. In spite of his often unpolished, even sloppy, style and his weakness for the farcical, his work has a great documentary value for the spoken language, way of life, customs and folklore of the period.

Bibliography: Reşat Ekrem Koçu, in *İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, 1958-69, s.v. (the main source for all subsequent studies); Metin And, *Meşrutiyet döneminde Türk tiyatrosu*, Ankara 1971, 112.

(Fahir İz)

ʿAMʿAĶ, Shihāb al-Dīn Bukhārī, one of the leading Persian poets at the court of the Ilek-Khāns (Ķara-Khānids) [*q.v.*] of Transoxania. Late sources ascribe to him the *kunya* Abu 'l-Nadjīb (e.g. Taķī al-Dīn Kāshānī). It is not certain whether ʿAmʿaķ is a personal name or a *laķab* used as a pen-name. It cannot be connected with any existing Arabic, Persian or Turkish word. Dh. Ṣafā has

suggested a corruption of an original *ʿaḳʿaḳ* ("magpie") which occurs as the name of the poet in a manuscript of the *Dīwān* of Sūzanī. S. Nafīsī conjectured a possible Soghdian origin. The forms ʿAmīḳ and ʿAmīḳī, which can be found in some manuscripts of the *Bahāristān* of Dj̲āmī, are certainly to be rejected.

ʿAmʿaḳ was born in Buk̲h̲ārā, probably before the middle of the 5th/11th century. If any of the dates given for his death by later biographers viz. 542 (e.g. Dawlats̲h̲āh and Riḍā-Ḳulī K̲h̲ān Hidāyat), 543 (Taḳī al-Dīn Kās̲h̲ānī) or 551 (Ṣādiḳ b. Ṣāliḥ Iṣfahānī in *S̲h̲āhid-i Ṣādiḳ*) is correct, he would have lived to become a centenarian.

The earliest datable poems that are attributed to ʿAmʿaḳ are *ḳaṣīda*s written for the Ilek-K̲h̲ān Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm (460-72/1068-80). The poet must have lived at least till 524/1129-30, according to the anecdote that he was ordered to write an elegy for Sulṭān Sandj̲ar's daughter Māh-i Mulk K̲h̲ātūn, whose death occurred in that year (Dawlats̲h̲āh, on the authority of ʿAmʿaḳ's contemporary K̲h̲ātūnī), or even later if the prince Maḥmūd named in a fragmentary poem is identical with the Ilek-K̲h̲ān who was put on the throne of Samarḳand by Sandj̲ar in 526/1132.

Already during the short reign of K̲h̲iḍr b. Ibrāhīm (472-3/1080-1), ʿAmʿaḳ appears to have reached a dominating position at the court of Samarḳand. The story about his rivalry with Ras̲h̲īdī, told in the *Čahār maḳāla*, pictures him as an *amīr al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*. In his later years he is said to have lived a secluded life, communicating with his patrons through a son by the name of Ḥamīdī or Ḥamīd al-Dīn. ʿAmʿaḳ also wrote a poem for the Saldj̲ūḳ ruler Alp Arslān.

Although the greater part of ʿAmʿaḳ's poetry seems to have been lost, a small number of his *ḳaṣīdas* has been preserved in anthologies or in *madj̲mūʿa* manuscripts. There are also some quatrains attributed to his name. A *mat̲h̲nawī*-poem on the theme of Yūsuf and Zulayk̲h̲ā, which is said to have been written in such a way that it could be scanned according to two different metres, has, however, left no trace.

In spite of this early loss of the *dīwān*, estimated at 7,000 *bayts* (*Haft iḳlīm*), ʿAmʿaḳ appears to have had a remarkable influence on the poetry of his contemporaries as well as on that of the following generation. No one less than Anwarī styled him "a master of poetry" (*ustād-i suk̲h̲an*), and designed one of his poems on a model provided by ʿAmʿaḳ (cf. *Dīwān-i Anwarī*, i, Tehran 1347[2], 205, 274). This reputation was based, first of all, on the clever use ʿAmʿaḳ made of rhetorical artifices which were still a novelty in his time. A fragment of one of his *ḳaṣīdas*, in which the words *mūr* ("ant") and *mūy* ("hair") have been used in every line, is often quoted as an example of this. ʿAmʿaḳ was also renowned as a writer of elegies, but nothing more than the few lines he wrote at the request of Sandj̲ar has been preserved.

Another notable feature of ʿAmʿaḳ's poetry is the use of long and elaborate prologues to his odes. The most extreme example of this, a prologue of 100 *bayts*, contains the conceit of a spiritual journey to an imaginary world on the back of the donkey of ʿĪsā combined with satirical hints to the poet's rivals (*Dīwān*, ed. Nafīsī, 141 ff.). ʿAmʿaḳ had a distinct taste for fantastic images; in one of his many descriptions of nocturnal scenes, the night is represented as a preacher who from his pulpit extols the virtues of the poet's native town Buk̲h̲ārā (*op. cit.*, 176 ff.). According to D̲h̲. Ṣafā, the "fantastic simile" (*tas̲h̲bīh-i k̲h̲iyālī*) is also a major characteristic of the imagery ʿAmʿaḳ applied to the individual lines of his poems.

Bibliography: The *Dīwān* of ʿAmʿaḳ published at Tabrīz, 1307 *sh.* (624 *bayts*) is unreliable, as it contains several poems that actually belong to other poets. S. Nafīsī has assembled a collection of 806 *bayts* from various sources in *Dīwān-i ʿAmʿaḳ-i Buk̲h̲ārī*, Tehran 1339/1960. This volume lacks, however, precise references on the provenance of each item. The *ḳaṣīda*s written for the Ilek-K̲h̲āns have also been inserted into the *taʿlīḳāt* to Nafīsī's edition of *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Bayhaḳī*, Tehran 1332/1953, iii, 1301-23.

The most important sources containing fragments of his poetry are: ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ed. Browne, 181-9, ed. Nafīsī, 378-84, cf. *taʿlīḳāt*, 686-94; Ras̲h̲īd-i Waṭwāṭ, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr*, Tehran 1308/1929, 44-5; S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳays al-Rāzī, *al-Muʿdj̲am fī maʿāyīr as̲h̲ʿār al-ʿadj̲am*, Tehran 1338/1959, 351, 381; Dj̲ādj̲armī, *Muʾnis al-aḥrār fī daḳāʾiḳ al-as̲h̲ʿār*, ii, Tehran 1350/1971, 499; Dawlats̲h̲āh, 64-5; Dj̲āmī, *Bahāristān*, Dushambe 1972, 107; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, Tehran 1340/1961, iii, 409-20; Ḳāsimī, *Sullam al-samawāt*, Tehran 1340/1961, 53, cf. *ḥawās̲h̲ī*, 303-4; Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg Ād̲h̲ar, *Ātas̲h̲kada*, lith. Bombay 1299 A.H., 337-42; Riḍā-Ḳulī K̲h̲ān Hidāyat, *Madj̲maʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, lith. Tehran 1295 A.H., i, 345-50, ed. Tehran 1336/1967, ii, 879-88.

For manuscripts of *madj̲mūʿa*'s containing poems by ʿAmʿaḳ, see E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1912, ii, 48 ff.; Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1881, ii, 869, *Supplement*, 105; A.J. Arberry, in *JRAS* (1939), 379; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nusk̲h̲ahā-yi k̲h̲aṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iii, Tehran 1350/1971, 2551, nos. 24876-9.

Bibliographical references to ʿAmʿaḳ are to be found in Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, Tehran 1955-7, *matn* 44, 73, 74, cf. *taʿlīḳāt* 138 ff., 232 f. and 615, as well as in the *tad̲h̲kira* works mentioned above. See further Browne, ii, 298, 303, 335 f.; D̲h̲. Ṣafā, *ʿAmʿaḳ-i Bukhārāʾī*, in *Mihr* iii (1314-15 A.S.H.), 177-81, 289-95, 405-11; idem, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, ii, Tehran 1339/1960[3], 535-47; E.E. Bertel's, *Istoriya persidsko-tadžikskoy literaturî*, Moscow 1960, 461-6 and *passim*; S. Nafīsī, *muḳaddama* to his edition of the *Dīwān*, 3-127 and 206 ff.; Yu.N. Marr and K.I. Čaykin, *Pis'ma o persidskoy literature*, Tiflis 1976, 119-25.

(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

AMĀN ALLĀH, Amīr of Afg̲h̲ānistan and the successor and third son of Habīb Allāh [*q.v.*] by his chief wife, ʿUlyā Ḥaḍrat (d. 1965). He was born on 2 June 1892 in Pag̲h̲mān and educated at the Military Academy. Intelligent, energetic and hard-working, he was attracted to the nationalist and Islamic modernist ideas of Maḥmūd Ṭarzī (1866-1935), the editor of *Sirādj̲ al-ak̲h̲bār*, and in 1914 married Ṭarzī's daughter, Soraya (T̲h̲urayyā) (d. 21 April 1968). At the time of his father's murder on 20 February 1919, Amān Allāh, as Governor of Kābul, controlled the capital with its garrison, arsenal and treasury. Supported by the army, the younger nationalists and the Bārakzay faction, he resisted the claims of his uncle, Naṣr Allāh, and his eldest brother, ʿInāyat Allāh, and was recognised as *amīr* on 28 February.

Amān Allāh promptly asserted Afg̲h̲ānistān's in-

dependence from British control of her foreign relations. Possibly hoping to promote his goal by the threat of war, he despatched forces to the Indian frontier, but hostilities commenced on 3 May and endured until an armistice at the beginning of June (the Third Afghan War). By the Treaty of Rāwalpindi (8 August 1919) Britain recognised, by implication, Afg̲h̲ānistān's independence, although the Durand Line remained the frontier. After further negotiations at Mussoorie (April-July 1920) and in Kābul, a treaty of good neighbourliness was signed by Britain and Afg̲h̲ānistān on 22 November 1921. In the meantime Amān Allāh had obtained international recognition through treaties with the USSR (28 February 1921) and Turkey (1 March 1921). Relations were also established with Italy, France and Iran. In the early years of his reign Amān Allāh espoused a Pan-Islamic policy involving support for Indian Muslims, friendship with Turkey and Iran and the creation of a Central Asian federation under Afg̲h̲ān leadership including Buk̲h̲ārā and K̲h̲īwa, but the reassertion of Soviet control over Turkistān put an end to this project.

Amān Allāh's internal policy was one of rapid modernisation. His reforms came in two main bursts. In the period 1921-4 he reformed the structure of Afg̲h̲ān government, introducing the first budget (1922), constitution (1923), and administrative code (1923). He introduced legal reforms including a family code (1921) and a penal code (1924-5). The legal reforms were partly the work of ex-Ottoman advisors and influenced by Islamic modernism, being derived largely from the *S̲h̲arīʿa* but replacing *ʿulamāʾ* control by that of the state. Education was central to his reforms and he established new secondary schools and sent Afg̲h̲ān students abroad. His support of female education gave rise to bitter criticism from traditional groups. Amān Allāh made some effort to promote economic development by fostering communications (aircraft, radio and telegraph introduced, and railway surveys begun), reforming the currency (the rupee replaced by the *afg̲h̲ānī*), reorganising the customs, and helping light industry. The principal economic success of his reign, however, owed nothing to his efforts; this was the development of the *Ḳaraḳūl* and carpet industries following Uzbek immigration into the northern provinces. There was also some agricultural development. Amān Allāh's reforms were financed largely from domestic resources and lack of money imposed constraints which were especially marked in his military reforms. With the aid of foreign instructors (mainly Turks) Amān Allāh sought to develop a non-tribal national militia based on conscription for short periods, and at the same time to reduce military spending. The result was strong tribal opposition to conscription, and a disaffected, discontented and inefficient army. Hostility to centralisation, conscription and certain social reforms lay behind the K̲h̲ōst [*q.v.*] rebellion in 1924, which was suppressed only after a protracted struggle. For a time Amān Allāh was obliged to abate his reforming zeal.

In December 1927 Amān Allāh departed for a tour of Europe, returning to Kabul on 1 July 1928. His object, he explained, was to discover the secrets of progress; his conclusion was that these were the discarding of outworn ideas and customs. He summoned a national assembly (*Loe D̲j̲irga*) (28 August-5 September) and dressed the delegates in European clothes to hear his new ideas. At the last moment he was persuaded to omit his most far-reaching proposals, but his announced changes in the constitution, new social reforms, and increased taxes were sufficiently disturbing to his hearers. Unabashed, Amān Allāh repeated his proposals in a further series of five three-hour speeches delivered between 30 September and 4 October to an invited audience, which was treated to the spectacle of Queen Soraya dramatically unveiling herself.

Enraged by the social reforms, by their diminution of their own authority, and by new proposals by Amān Allāh to examine them in their proficiency to teach and to expel those trained at Deoband, the *ʿulamāʾ*, under the leadership of the Hazrat family of Shor Bazaar, denounced Amān Allāh as an infidel. The Āmir arrested the leaders, but in November found himself confronted by two tribal risings supported by *ʿulamāʾ*, one in the vicinity of D̲j̲alālābād, involving the S̲h̲inwārīs and other tribes, and the second in the Kūhistān, led by a Tād̲j̲īk bandit known as Bačča-yi Saḳaw. His inadequate forces divided, Amān Allāh was unable to resist the attack on Kābul from the Kūhistān, and his belated withdrawal of nearly all his reforms did not pacify the rebels. On 14 January 1929 Amān Allāh abdicated in favour of ʿInāyat Allāh and fled to Ḳandahār. ʿInāyat Allāh also abdicated on 18 January and the Bačča became ruler of Kābul with the title of Ḥabīb Allāh II. At Ḳandahār Amān Allāh rescinded his abdication on 24 January and sought help from Britain (which remained neutral), from the USSR (which briefly sent troops to northern Afg̲h̲ānistān), and from Afg̲h̲ān tribes. Although Amān Allāh received help from the Hazāras and some other tribes, he failed to command the support of the Durrānīs and the majority of the G̲h̲alzays, and was forced to turn back his advance on Kābul at G̲h̲azna. On 23 May he left Afg̲h̲ānistān for India and on 22 June sailed from Bombay to exile in Rome. He died in Switzerland on 26 April 1960 and was brought home and buried at D̲j̲alālābād.

Bibliography: The older biographies of Amān Allāh such as those by R. Wild, London 1932 and Ikbal Ali Shah, London 1933 have little value by comparison with modern studies based on the British archives. See Rhea Talley Stewart, *Fire in Afghanistan 1914-1929*, New York 1973; L.B. Poullada, *Reform and rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929*, Ithaca 1973; L.W. Adamec, *Afghanistan 1900-1923*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, and idem, *Afghanistan's foreign affairs to the mid-twentieth century*, Tucson 1974; V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan*, Stanford 1969. All these latter works contain valuable further bibliographies.

(M.E. Yapp)

AMĪD TŪLAKĪ SŪNĀMĪ, K̲h̲ʷad̲j̲a ʿAmīd al-Dīn Fak̲h̲r al-Mulk, poet of Muslim India. He was born in Sūnām, an important town (now in the district of Patiala in the Indian part of the Pand̲j̲āb) that had emerged as a centre of culture and learning in the 7th/13th century. ʿAmīd called himself Tūlakī along with Sūnāmī because his father was said to have migrated from Tūlak in K̲h̲urāsān to India. In the art of poetry, he was the disciple of a famous master, S̲h̲ihāb Mahmrā. He started his career as a poet in Multān, which had become the capital of a short-lived kingdom under Malik ʿIzz al-Din K̲h̲ān-i Ayāz and his son, Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn Abū Bakr (who died in 638/1241). Two of his *ḳaṣīdas* preserved in mediaeval anthologies are in praise of Sultan Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn. On the death of patron, he moved from Multān to Dihlī, and during the reign of Sultan Balban he was appointed *mustawfī* of the district of Multān and Uččh, placed under the charge

of Prince Muḥammad, who was later known as Khān-i Shahīd.

ʿAmīd's *dīwān* is not extant, but the poems contained in mediaeval anthologies and other literary works give us an idea of his greatness and excellence in the art of poetry, showing that he was one of the distinguished poets of the Dihlī Sultanate during the 7th/13th century, contributing to the growth of Indo-Persian literature. It emerges from his poems that he was interested in the philosophy of *Ishrāḳ* or illuminative wisdom as propounded and advocated by Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191).

Like most of his contemporaries, ʿAmīd was basically a poet of the *ḳaṣīda*, and his known poems largely comprise panegyrics on rulers, princes and noblemen. Among his poems, there are also one *Tardjīʿ-band*, two *ghazals* and one *hazl* (humorous poem); their characteristic features are simplicity, spontaneity, freshness of thought and beauty of diction. His *ḥabsiyyāt* (poems written in prison and depicting the prisoner's life [see ḤABSIYYA below]) shed light on the actual conditions in mediaeval jails. It should also be stressed that his *ghazals*, like those of Shaykh Djamāl of Hānsī, paved the way for the *ghazal*'s subsequent popularity as an independent branch of poetry.

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(I.H. Siddiqui)

AMĪN al-ḤUSAYNĪ, *muftī* and Palestinian leader. He was born in Jerusalem in 1893, the son of Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī. The Ḥusaynīs were a leading family in Jerusalem who claimed Sharīfī lineage although this was disputed by others, as on two occasions the line had passed through female members of the family. They had often held the office of *muftī* in the past, and three had been *muftī* in the period immediately before 1821: Muṣṭafā, Amīn's grandfather; Ṭāhir, his father; and Kāmil, his elder brother by another mother. The holding of this office enhanced the standing of the family, other members of which had held other high positions, including that of Mayor of Jerusalem and of deputy in the Ottoman parliament. Thus Amīn came from a family used to the prestige and authority of high office and also to rivalry on the part of the other leading families in Jerusalem. Moreover, the concept of Jerusalem as the third holiest city in Islam and of preserving it as such must have been at the very centre of their thoughts. The office of *muftī* gave the Ḥusaynīs a special role in this act of preservation.

Amīn al-Ḥusaynī had a varied education. He first attended a local Muslim school and then the Ottoman state school in Jerusalem. It seems that he also attended for a year the school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle where he studied French. In 1912 he went to Cairo and entered al-Azhar, but stayed less than a year and left without graduating and without the title of *ʿālim*. He immediately went to make the *ḥadjdj*, from which he returned to Jerusalem. His religious education was incomplete and did not qualify him for the office of *muftī*. Further education was received in the Ottoman army in which he served during the First World War. He undertook his basic training in the School of Officials, the *Mülkiyye*, in Istanbul and at the Military Academy. His war years were spent chiefly in an office in Izmīr. By virtue of this training he was permitted to wear the *tarbūsh*, the symbol of an Ottoman official but not of a religious dignitary.

On the conclusion of the war, Amīn returned to Jerusalem which was to be the base of his activities for the next nineteen years. He worked as teacher, translator and civil servant, but he soon turned to journalism and direct political activity. He was an intensely political man, possessed of great energy and organising ability and from the first inspired by two deeply-held ideas, Arab nationalism and a hatred of the Zionist attempt to change the character of Palestine. For him, Palestine was an Islamic Arab country belonging to the wider Arab world and he believed that any alteration of its basic Arab character would isolate it and its inhabitants from their Arab neighbours. He was convinced that the Palestinians had the right to determine the future form of government of their country, a right possessed by neither the British government nor the Zionist organisation. He also believed that European Jews settling in Palestine would spread customs and usages alien to the more traditional Islamic way of life. If change was to come in Palestine, it should be organic and internal and not imposed from outside. He devoted the rest of his life to a vain attempt to stem this tide of change.

Opposition to Zionism amongst the Arabs of Syria and Palestine grew in intensity once Jerusalem and Damascus had fallen to the Allied forces. The opposition was led by a group of young Palestinians, foremost amongst whom were Amīn al-Ḥusaynī and ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif. Verbal opposition in speeches and newspapers led to street demonstrations in September 1919. Editorials and sermons called for the shedding of Jewish blood if protests went unheeded. Amīn began to organise small groups of *fidāʾiyyūn* whose task was to strike against the Jews and the British. When in March 1920 the Syrian National Congress voted for Syrian independence, Palestine Arabs took to the streets in the belief that their country was included in the new state. ʿĀrif's newspaper *Sūriyya al-Djanūbiyya* published the headline: "Arabs arise! The end of the foreigners is near. Jews will be drowned in their own blood". Because of the Amīr Fayṣal's lack of strong leadership, the Palestinians tended to separate from his state and follow their own path. In April, the Arabs of Jerusalem in the prevailing tense atmosphere exploded from a demonstration into an assault on the Jewish population.

Amīn, who was leading the demonstration, was reported to have tried to restrain the rioters, but two days of trouble left five Jews dead and 211 wounded and four Arabs dead and 21 wounded. During the disturbances, Vladimir Jabotinsky's Jewish Self-Defence Group attempted to assassinate Amīn and ʿĀrif, whose *fidāʾiyyūn* tried to retaliate. British intelligence forestalled these attempts and the two had to flee to Transjordan after having been accused of provoking the riots. This was the first of a series of charges laid against Amīn during his lifetime. His precise role in the provocation can never be ascertained, but it is certain that he approved of all actions taken to discomfort the Jewish population and that he was not averse to the shedding of blood. The concepts of *djihād* and of the *fidāʾī* were in Islamic history associated with the possibility of death in the pursuit of a goal. All Muslims could

be summoned to a *djihād* in defence of Islam against a perceived threat, while the *fidā'ī* was always prepared to die himself while assassinating an opponent.

The first British High Commissioner in Palestine, Herbert Samuel, pardoned Amīn in August 1920 and he returned to Jerusalem. Samuel had issued the pardon in order to try to calm Arab feeling and to attempt to enlist Arab support for his policies. In March 1921 the *muftī* of Jerusalem, Kāmil al-Ḥusaynī, died. The British authorities had assumed the mantle of the Ottoman government and consequently the responsibility for religious appointments. In an election, local *'ulamā'* had to select three candidates for the office of *muftī*, one of whom would be approved by the government. The al-Ḥusaynī family campaigned for their nominee, *Ḥādjdj* Amīn, but he was not one of the three selected in April. It appeared however that he had some popular support in the country and the government was loathe to go against the wishes of the people. Samuel eventually decided that Amīn was his man and in May he was appointed Grand Mufti (*al-muftī al-akbar*), a title given by the British to enhance the status of the office.

Amīn's appointment as head of the Muslim community in Palestine did not settle the problem of the Muslim religious organisation of the country. In Ottoman times, the *sharī'a* courts had come under the general jurisdiction of the *Shaykh al-Islām* and the *wakfs* had been administered by the Ministry of *Awkāf*. The British assumed responsibility for these, but the Muslims soon demanded that they be allowed to run their own religious affairs. The government concurred and the Supreme Muslim *Sharī'a* Council (*al-Madjlis al-Shar'ī al-Islāmī al-A'lā*) was elected by leading Muslims. *Ḥādjdj* Amīn was chosen as *Ra'īs al-'Ulamā'* and President of the Council, as he later maintained, for life. He had thus, as a young man, consolidated his position as leader of the Palestinian Arabs both in their religious and their secular affairs. In March 1921 he wrote a Memorandum to the British Colonial Secretary, Winston Churchill, in which he outlined Palestinian resistance to Zionism and the ideas which were the foundation of his future policy—the complete prohibition of Jewish immigration, the abolition of the Jewish National Home and the establishment of an Arab government of Palestine.

The period 1921-9 was used by the Muftī to build up his following. As President of the Supreme Muslim Council, he controlled the *wakf* revenues, which were not used exclusively for charitable purposes. Preachers were paid to disseminate political propaganda and those who did not support his policies were dismissed. Financial assistance was given to Arab schools to instruct their pupils in the Arab nationalist spirit. Demonstrations and boycotts were encouraged. Money was also used to enhance the status of Jerusalem and its mosques in the Islamic world. To Amīn, the area of the *Ḥarām* was the very centre and symbol of his aspirations to preserve Jerusalem and Palestine as Arab and Islamic. In 1928 a screen was set up by the Western Wall of the sanctuary to separate male and female Jewish worshippers. This move was taken as a reason for protest and seen by Muslims as a Jewish encroachment on the *Ḥarām*. The Muftī felt the threat deeply, and encouraged propaganda to the effect that the Jews were planning to take over the Muslim holy places. A year later feelings between the two communities became so exacerbated that the Arabs attacked and committed atrocities amongst the Jews. 133 were killed by the Arabs and 116 Arabs killed by police action. The subsequent British government report did not accuse the Muftī directly of provoking the attacks, but blamed him for not doing enough to forestall them and for having played upon public feeling. The agitation had been conducted in the name of a religion of which, in Palestine, he was head. The British still saw him as a force for moderation, whereas it is clear that he was committed to an uncompromisingly anti-Zionist policy and that he would do everything in his power to frustrate the establishment of a Jewish National Home.

In 1931 he convened a Pan-Islamic Conference in Jerusalem which he attempted to use as a platform to further his anti-Zionist policy, although his position was challenged by other Palestinian leaders. He later travelled to other Muslim countries to gain political support and to raise funds. In 1935 he helped to found the Palestine Arab Party, a Ḥusaynī organisation under the presidency of Djamāl, the Muftī's cousin. The Party's policy was that of Amīn himself, and it attempted to prohibit the further sale of Arab land to Jewish settlers.

The year 1936 was a time of rising tension in Palestine, culminating in the Arab revolt. The increase in Jewish immigration caused by the rise of Nazism led the Arabs to fear the future takeover of their country by the Zionists. In April an Arab Higher Committee of Christians and Muslims was formed under the leadership of Amīn. It immediately supported a general strike, to be called off when the British government suspended Jewish immigration. Murderous attacks on Jews began to occur, but the brunt of the Arab effort was quickly turned against the British and those Arabs considered disloyal. The strike and the unrest continued until October. The British Commission appointed to investigate the disturbances apportioned a large share of the blame for them to the Muftī. The Arab Higher Committee under his chairmanship had clearly instigated illegal acts and had not condemned sabotage and terrorism. The Muftī had seen and encouraged the revolt as a movement of the people, largely peasants, who had risen to defend their country and their rights.

The British still clung to their hope of using Amīn as a moderating influence, but after the assassination of a government officer in September 1937, stricter regulations were introduced. The Arab Higher Committee was declared illegal and Amīn was removed from his post as president of the Supreme Muslim Council. Six members of the former were arrested and deported (although Djamāl al-Ḥusaynī escaped) and the Muftī, fearing arrest himself, fled to Lebanon. From there he fought a propaganda war against the British, while his followers contributed to the continuing unrest in Palestine or set about eliminating members of rival clans. He was not allowed to attend the London Conference on the future of Palestine in February 1939, although a four-man delegation of members of the disbanded Higher Committee was present.

In October 1939 the Muftī made another move, this time to 'Irāḳ. As German successes multiplied in the Second World War, he began to make approaches to the Nazis in the hope that at the end of the war he would be on the winning side. He sent his private secretary to Berlin in September 1940 to ask for German commitments to the Arabs—recognition of the complete independence of the Arab countries, the abrogation of the mandates,

and the right of the Arabs to solve the Jewish question in Palestine "in the national and racial interest on the German-Italian model". These latter words were the Nazi Secretary of State's report of his conversation with Amīn's secretary, and it is not clear exactly what the Muftī knew in Baghdād in September 1940 of the "model" on which the Nazis were solving the Jewish problem and how he would apply it in Palestine. However, his letter was noted in Berlin and he was able to build on it later. His pro-German feelings led to him to support Rashīd ʿAlī al-Gaylānī, the anti-British ʿIrāḳī politician who had become Prime Minister in March 1940. They both sought promises of material support from the Axis, and in April 1941 al-Gaylānī and his supporters carried out a shortlived pro-German coup. Promised German support was too little and too late, and a small British force was able to unseat him. Amīn had issued a *fatwā* urging all Muslims to support the coup and to fight the British, and when it failed he had once again to flee, via Iran to Italy.

He was warmly welcomed by Mussolini who hoped to use him for his own purposes. The Muftī was more interested in negotiating with the senior partner of the Axis in Berlin, and he arrived there in November 1941. Al-Gaylānī arrived later the same month and the two disputed for the position of spokesman for the Arab cause. Amīn claimed that he was the leader of the Arab national movement. He was the first to be received on November 20th by Hitler to whom he repeated his request for the formal recognition by Germany of the independence of the Arab countries. The Führer was non-committal. Nevertheless the Muftī assured him of the friendship and co-operation of the Arabs.

The period that the Muftī spent in Nazi Germany, November 1941 to May 1945 is the most controversial in his life. He had fled to Germany to escape the British and because he believed that the Axis would win the war. As a strict Muslim he could have had little sympathy with National Socialism as such, but his chief aim in life of ridding Palestine of the Jews coincided hideously with the Nazi final solution of the Jewish "problem". He therefore used all available anti-British and anti-Jewish sources in the naïve hope that he would be recognised by the Axis as the ruler of an independent Arab state. He never obtained written pledges from the Germans (although the Italians were more forthcoming), and he was used to the limit by Nazi propaganda. The Germans provided staff and finance for *Das Arabische Büro* from which the *Grossmufti* was able to send propaganda, both printed and broadcast, to the Middle East. He issued calls to the Arabs to rise against the British and the Jews and to destroy them both. "Only when Britain and her Allies are destroyed will the Jewish questions, our greatest danger be definitely resolved" (broadcast of 11th November 1942). He also helped to organise fifth columns in the Middle East and to establish Muslim and Arab units to fight in the German armies.

The greatest suspicions surround his attitude to, his knowledge of, and his possible encouragement of the Nazi extermination policy. Calls to Palestinians to rise and kill the Jewish settlers had been frequent since the Balfour Declaration; they had been the headlines of newspapers and the slogans of demonstrations, but they became much more sinister when proclaimed in Nazi Germany. The evidence produced to condemn him is difficult to substantiate. He is said to have been befriended by Eichmann, one of the chief executives of Hitler's policy. During his trial in Jerusalem in 1961, Eichmann denied having known the Muftī well, having met him only once during an official reception. The evidence for the friendship came from Dieter Wisliceny, one of Eichmann's aides, who months before the Nuremberg trials had begun to prepare an alibii for himself at the expense of Eichmann. Wisliceny went much further and accused the Muftī of being an "initiator" of the extermination policy. Other evidence of the Muftī's alleged role came from Rudolf Kastner (a Jewish leader in Hungary), who reported that Wisliceny had told him that "*According to my opinion*, the Grand Mufti ... played a role in the decision ... to exterminate the European Jews ... *I heard say* that, accompanied by Eichmann, he has visited incognito the gas chamber at Auschwitz". These reports coming only from Wisliceny must be questioned until substantiated from other sources.

It *has* been established that Amīn actively tried to prevent the emigration of Jews to Palestine from Nazi-occupied countries. With his aims in mind it is understandable that he would try to prevent an expansion of the Jewish population in Palestine. By his protests he might have influenced German actions, although Hitler had long ago formulated a policy of extermination which could not be contradicted. Eichmann had once offered the lives of a million Hungarian Jews for 10,000 trucks, but Hitler had insisted on extermination. All the Jews in Hungary had been condemned to death, and the voice of the Muftī was insignificant.

A further piece of evidence which has been adduced to condemn him is a broadcast he made in September 1944 in which he referred to the eleven million Jews of the world, when it is said that before the Second World War it was well known that the world Jewish population was seventeen million. Thus, it is alleged, the Muftī knew that precisely six million Jews had been murdered. In September 1944 the holocaust had not been completed, as Eichmann continued his activities at least into October 1944. Moreover, Eichmann is said to have spoken of 5 million victims. The Muftī's figure does not prove that he, alone with the top Nazi leaders, knew the full horror, but neither does it disprove that he knew at least in general terms of German atrocities. At a press conference in 1961 he denied that he knew Eichmann and that he had visited the camps. By his presence in Germany, by his propaganda and other activities, by his protests against Jewish emigration, he gave moral authority to Nazi policy. He was, however, never brought to trial as a war criminal, for the technical reason that he was not, from the British point of view, an enemy national. Amīn had chosen the wrong side in the war but as a Palestinian Arab nationalist he had had little choice. If the Nazis won they would adopt an anti-Jewish policy in Palestine, if the British, then they would continue to support the establishment of a Jewish National Home.

When the outcome of the war was clear he escaped again, first to Paris, 1945-6, and then back to the Middle East, to Egypt. During the war Palestinian politics had been rather muted, but in 1944 the Ḥusaynīs had decided to re-establish the Palestine Arab Party and soon called for the return to the exiled Ḥusaynī politicians. Amīh began to try to regain his former position and influence. He had become the symbol of Arab opposition to Zionism, and the Arab League, in an effort to end political quarrels amongst the Palestinians, ordered the dis-

solution of the Arab Higher Committee and the Higher Front (the anti-Ḥusaynī body) and the formation of the Arab Higher Executive with the Muftī as its chairman. He was not allowed by the British to return to Palestine and had to direct the resistance from outside. He continued to follow an uncompromising line, boycotting the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, refusing to contemplate any partition plans, and urging total opposition to the Zionists. As violence on both sides increased, the Higher Executive at the end of 1947 began to organise and direct military resistance. An Arab Liberation Army, owing partial allegiance to the Muftī, was created which later attempted to co-operate with other Arab armies.

Inter-Arab rivalry hindered co-operation, and after the proclamation of the State of Israel a split grew over Transjordan's ambitions in the West Bank of the Jordan. Egypt supported the Muftī and allowed him to settle in Gaza, where he announced in September 1948 the formation of a Palestine government. A self-constituted Assembly elected him its president and several Arab governments recognised the Gaza régime. However, the rump of Palestine was under Transjordanian control and its final annexation in April 1950 was not opposed by the Arab League. Henceforward the Muftī lost any real base of power and spent the rest of his life vainly trying to rally support for an effort to destroy Israel. Amīr ʿAbd Allāh of Transjordan appointed his own *muftī* and president of the Muslim Supreme Council.

In July 1951 ʿAbd Allāh was assassinated and Amīn was thought to be implicated although this was never conclusively proved. In 1951 he chaired a World Muslim Conference which he used as a platform to publicise his policy. He attended the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference in a minor capacity, having to accept the predominance of President ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In fact, the latter's lack of regard for him caused him to move to Beirut in 1959. He had more freedom of action in Lebanon, but no more authority. He tried various alliances, with President Ḳāsim of ʿIrāq, with the Saʿūdīs, with Jordan, all to no avail. In the shifting sands of inter-Arab politics, Amīn was now of little account. He moved about, to Damascus, to al-Riyāḍ and back to Beirut. In the Palestine movement, first Aḥmad S̲h̲uḳayrī and then the Palestine Liberation Organisation took over precedence.

Al-*Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲* Amīn died in Beirut on July 4th 1974. To the end, he proclaimed his unwavering belief that *his* country had been illegally given away by foreigners to other foreigners, both of whom had scant regard for its Arab and Islamic character. He spent his adult life trying to prevent a change in the character of Palestine. Through his intransigence, his desire to dominate his rivals and his inability to distinguish between his personal aspirations and his political goals, he ended by losing everything for himself and almost everything for the Palestinian Arabs.

Bibliography: Two works deal specifically with the Muftī, M. Pearlman, *Mufti of Jerusalem*, London 1947, written in an attempt to have him tried as a war criminal, and J.B. Schechtman, *The Mufti and the Fuehrer*, New York and London 1965, a fairer work but one taking too much for granted from Pearlman. Otherwise, references have to be sought in the many histories of the Palestine problem, and in works dealing with German relations with the Middle East and with Nazi policy towards the Jews. (D. Hopwood)

AMĪND̲J̲Ī b. **D̲J̲ALĀL** b. **ḤASAN**, an eminent Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī jurist of India, was the son of the twenty-fifth *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. He lived in Aḥmadābād in Gud̲j̲arāt and died there on 13 S̲h̲awwāl 1010/6 April 1602. His works deal mainly with jurisprudence and are considered a great authority on legal matters after the works of al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*]. The following works have been preserved: 1. *Masāʾil Amīnd̲j̲ī b. D̲j̲alāl*, in the form of questions, answers, and anecdotes bearing on legal issues, hence also known as *Kitāb al-Suʾāl wa ʾl-d̲j̲awāb*. The book contains many problems that are typically Indian, and although the book is in Arabic, the author uses many local Gujarati words and expressions. 2. *Kitāb al-Ḥawāshī*, consisting of problems in the form of questions and answers relating to the text of al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* and *Muk̲h̲taṣar al-āt̲h̲ār*. The problems discussed in the book throw some light on the social history of the Ismāʿīlī Bohra community. 3. *Ḥisāb al-mawārīt̲h̲*, concerning inheritance. 4. *Sharḥ al-muntak̲h̲aba al-manẓūma*, a commentary on al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *al-Urd̲j̲ūza al-muntak̲h̲aba* on jurisprudence. 5. *Sharḥ Asās al-taʾwīl wa-taʾwīl al-daʿāʾim*, a commentary on al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Asās al-taʾwīl* and *Taʾwīl al-daʿāʾim*.

Bibliography: Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Mad̲j̲dūʿ, *Fihrist*, ed. ʿAlī Naḳī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 37-8; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ al-ak̲h̲bār*, manuscript; Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Mullā D̲j̲īwābhāʾī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, Bombay 1301-11/1883-94, iii, 206, 252; Asaf A.A. Fyzee, *Compendium of Fatimid law*, Simla 1969 (both the works of Amīnd̲j̲ī b. D̲j̲alāl, Nos. 1 and 2 are used as sources); Ismail Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977. (I. Poonawala)

AMĪR KABĪR, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī K̲h̲ān (*ca.* 1222-68/1807-52), the most prominent reformist statesman of 19th century Iran. He was a son of Karbalāʾī Ḳurbān, the chief cook of the Ḳād̲j̲ār ministers ʿĪsā and Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Ḳāʾimmaḳām, through whom he found his way to the Ḳād̲j̲ār royal court. After receiving the necessary education in Arabic and Persian studies, he began his secretarial position in the court and rapidly achieved in succession the important titles of "Mīrzā", "K̲h̲ān", "Wazīr-i Niẓām", "Amīr-i Niẓām", and finally the highest of all, "Amīr-i Kabīr Atābak-i Aʿẓam". He also married Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh's sister, ʿIzzat al-Dawla.

The Amīr Kabīr served the Persian government in different capacities such as the State Accountant of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān in *ca.* 1240-5/1829-34 and as Minister of the Army in 1253/1837. Before being appointed as Grand Vizier in 1264/1848, the Amīr Kabīr took part in three diplomatic missions. In 1244/1828 he went to St. Petersburg with K̲h̲usraw Mīrzā in order to settle the problems caused by the murder of Griboyedov, the Russian special envoy to Iran. The second diplomatic mission was his accompanying, in 1253/1837, the then Crown Prince, Nāṣir al-Dīn Mīrzā, to Erivan for a meeting with the Russian Emperor. The Amīr was also appointed as the head of the Iranian mission to the "Erzurum Conference", which was held in Erzurum in 1259-63/1843-6 to deal with Ottoman-Persian territorial and border disputes.

During these missions to Russia and Turkey, the Amīr studied closely the processes of modernisation in those countries. In his term of office as a Grand Vizier, therefore, he made strenuous efforts to in-

troduce certain modernising measures into his own country. He took steps, for instance, towards the secularisation of Iranian legal systems, the separation of religion and state, toleration towards religious minorities, publication of newspapers, abolition of ceremonial titles, foundation of modern factories and schools, and so on. He did not, however, pay much attention to the limitation of the monarchic absolute power by establishing a law-making body in Iran; on this problem, he had reportedly said, "I had the intention of [establishing] constitutionalism (*konsṭīṭūsiyun*), but my big obstacles were the Russians" (Firīdūn Ādamiyyat, *Maḳālāt-i ta'rīkhī*, Tehran 1973, 88-9).

In the course of his service as a Grand Vizier, the Amīr created many domestic and foreign enemies for himself because, on the one hand, he limited bribery, injustice, and abuses of power committed by government officials and high dignitaries at court, including the Shāh's mother, Mahd ʿUlyā, and on the other hand he opposed the Anglo-Russian interventions in Iranian affairs. This hostility at court, together with the Anglo-Russian intervention, finally brought about the Amīr's execution in Kāshān some two months after his dismissal from the Grand Vizierate, and the succession to that position of Āḳā Nūrī, a protégé of the British.

Bibliography: Akbar Hāshimī Rafsandjānī, *Amīr Kabīr yā kahramān-i mubāraza bā istiʿmār*, Tehran 1967; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Amīr Kabīr*, Tehran 1961; Ḥusayn Makkī, *Zindigānī-yi Mīrzā Taḳī Khān-i Amīr Kabīr*, Tehran 1958; Firīdūn Ādamiyyat, *Amīr Kabīr va Īrān*, Tehran 1969; J.H. Lorentz, *Iran's great reformer of the nineteenth century: an analysis of Amir Kabir's reforms*, in *Iranian Studies*, iv (1971), 85-103; Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Kunfirāns rādjiʿ bi Amīr Kabīr*, Tehran 1930; Ḳudrat Allāh Rūshanī Zaʿfaranlū, ed., *Amīr Kabīr va Dār al-Funūn*, Tehran 1975 (a collection of speeches delivered by several Iranian scholars). See also the general histories of 19th century Persia.

(Abdul-Hadi Hairi)

AMĪR NIẒĀM, Ḥasan ʿAlī Khān Garrūsī (1236-1317/1820-99) was born into a distinguished Kurdish family of the Garrūs district in western Iran. His ancestors and relatives held important positions at the courts of the Tīmūrīds, the Ṣafawīds, the Afshārīds, the Zandīs, and finally the Ḳādjārs. After studying Persian, Arabic, history and calligraphy, he began his government service at the age of seventeen and, as a commander of the Garrūs regiment, he helped Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār's army to lay siege to the city of Harāt in 1253/1837. After that, the Amīr Niẓām (a title which he received from Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1302/1884) continued his administrative, political, military, and diplomatic duties with little interruption for approximately 62 years. His military missions include his victorious participation in the 1265/1848 expedition to Mashhad, and that of 1273/1856 to Harāt. He was also one of those military commanders who ended the Bābī movement in Zandjān in 1267/1850 and that of the Naḳshbandī Ṣūfīs led by Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh in Kurdistān in 1297/1879; the former success gained the Amīr Niẓām the title of "aide-de-camp" to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, and the latter the governorship of five western regions in Iran.

In the sphere of civil offices the Amīr Niẓām served, among other things, as Director of the Office of Royal Effects and Treasuries (1273-5/1856-8), as a member of the Grand Consultative Assembly (1283-8/1866-71), as Minister of Public Works (1289-99/1872-81), and as Governor of Kurdistān, Kirmān-Balūčistān, and other provinces at various times.

As Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's special political envoy, the Amīr Niẓām went to Europe and met the heads of state in London, Paris, Berlin, Brussels, and a few other European capitals in 1275/1858. It was on this trip that he was accompanied by 42 students seeking further education in Europe. Later, from 1276/1859 to 1283/1866, he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

The Amīr Niẓām is known to have refused to co-operate with the Shāh in putting into effect the Tobacco Régie Concession of 1890 which had caused wide-spread unrest in Ādharbāydjān. For this reason, he resigned from his position as vizier to the Shāh's heir-apparent in that province (Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Rūz-nāma-yi khāṭirāt*, Tehran 1971, 765-70 and *passim*). Curzon held that "the Amīr-i Niẓām was reputed to be a strong Russophile" (*Persia and the Persian question*, i, repr. London 1966, 415, 431). Besides, the Iʿtimād al-Salṭana reported that the Russians were insisting in sending the Amīr Niẓām back to his previous position in Ādharbāydjān (*Rūz-nāma*, 773). We also know that the Amīr Niẓām was popular with the Russians to the extent that he received the insignia of the order of the "White Eagle" from the Russian Emperor (Amīr Niẓām, *Munshaʾāt*, Tehran 1908, 14). It would accordingly probably be safe to assume that, in his opposition to the Tobacco Concession, the Amīr Niẓām was not inspired by a desire to protect national interests, but was, rather, protecting the interests of the Russians, the latter power being a firm opponent to the Concession.

The Amīr Niẓām had continued contacts with the West through his diplomatic missions abroad. He was one of the distinguished companions of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh during the latter's trip of 1290/1873 to Europe (Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, *Safar-nāma*, Tehran 1964, 12), a trip in which "Our principal goal", said the Shāh, ". . . is to learn about the basis of reform, development, and the means of interests and progress. We would like to see in person, and choose those things which are instrumental for the welfare and progress of the people in other countries" (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977, 15). In addition, the Amīr Niẓām was closely associated with intellectuals such as Malkam Khān and Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dawla Tabrīzī, two men who were widely known as apostles of modernist ideas (idem, *The idea of constitutionalism in Persian literature prior to the 1906 Revolution*, in *Akten des vii. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft, Göttingen, 15. bis 22. August* 1974, Göttingen 1976, 189-207). He even reportedly signed an oath, together with a number of Persian modernist thinkers, to work towards "the progress of our beloved people and country" (Firīdūn Ādamīyyat, *Andīsha-yi taraḳḳī va ḥukūmat-i ḳānūn: ʿaṣr-i Sipahsālār*, Tehran 1972, 249 ff.).

Despite all these facts, however, the Amīr Niẓām seems in practice to have followed very much the traditional ways characteristic of despotic régimes. Thus it is reported that he used to burn in furnaces bakers who were believed to have overcharged their customers, and mutilated Kurds when he was sent to suppress their uprisings. At one time, his hostility towards modernisation went so far as to have ʿAlī Ḳulī Ṣafarov bastinadoed and his Tabrīz newspaper

Iḥtiyādj banned in 1316/1898 because Ṣafarov had advocated the idea of industrialisation in Iran (Mahdī Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i ridjāl-i Īrān*, i, Tehran 1968, 367, under "Ḥasan ʿAlī").

The Amīr Niẓām's reputation as a learned man, a stylistically distinguished prose writer, an excellent calligrapher, and a tough bureaucrat made him so highly respected in the royal court that at one time, in 1316/1898, even Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh preferred to side with the Amīr Niẓām in the latter's conflicts with the royal heir-apparent, Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā (Mahdī Ḳulī Hidāyat, *Khāṭirāt va khaṭarāt*, Tehran 1965, 98-9). Among foreign observers, Curzon called him "a man of very strong will and determination" (*Persia*, i, 431). Dr. J.B. Feuvrier admired him as a "vieillard d'une intelligence supérieur, d'une grande expérience et d'une sagesse consommée" (*Trois ans à la cour de Perse*, Paris, n.d., 86).

The Amīr Niẓām wrote a book called *Pand-nāma-yi Yaḥyawiyya*; it consists of counsels given to a child of his, and has been published several times since 1315/1897 in Tehran and Tabrīz. This short book is also included in a collection of his epistolary prose called *Munshaʾāt*, already cited. This comprises letters written by the Amīr Niẓām to many Iranian political and religious figures, and provides much interesting and useful information about 19th century Iran. Some of his epistolary works can also be found in ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Amīr Niẓām Garrūsī*, in *Yādgār*, iii/6-7 (1947), 8-33, and in some other references given in the Bibliography below.

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(Abdul-Hadi Hairi)

AL-ʿĀMIRĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, philosopher who lived mainly in Persia, born early in the 4th/10th century in Khurāsān, where he studied with the well-known geographer and philosopher Abū Zayd al-Balkhī [see al-balkhī]. From about 355/966 he spent some years in Rayy, enjoying the patronage there of the Būyid vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd, and of his son and successor Abu 'l-Fatḥ [see ibn al-ʿamīd]. Al-ʿĀmirī also visited Baghdād at least twice, in 360/970-1 and again in 364/974-5. There he met many of the leading intellectuals of the day, but according to al-Tawḥīdī he was very coldly received, being regarded as an uncouth provincial. By 370/980 he had returned to Khurāsān, where he dedicated a treatise to the Sāmānid vizier Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-ʿUtbī (d. *ca.* 372/982), and composed another in Bukhārā in 375/985-6. Al-ʿĀmirī died in Nīshāpūr on 27 Shawwāl 381/6 January 992.

In his *K. al-Amad ʿala 'l-abad* (MS Istanbul Servili 179, edition by E.K. Rowson forthcoming), written only six years before his death, al-ʿĀmirī gives a list of his works, comprising seventeen titles, of which four are known to be extant: *K. al-Ibṣār wa 'l-mubṣar* (MS. Cairo, Taymūriyya *ḥikma* 98) on optics; two works on predestination, *Inḳādh al-bashar min al-djabr wa 'l-ḳadar* and *al-Taḳrīr li-awdjuh al-taḳdīr* (together in MS Princeton 2163 (393B)); and a philosophical defense of Islam entitled *K. al-Iʿlām bi-manāḳib al-Islām* (ed. A. Ghurāb, Cairo 1967). Omitted from the list are his Aristotelian commentaries, three of which (on the *Categories*, *Posterior Analytics*, and *De Anima*) he cites elsewhere. Also missing from the list is the *Fuṣūl fi 'l-maʿālim al-ilāhiyya* (MS Istanbul Esat Ef. 1933), a metaphysical work which paraphrases large sections of the famous *K. al-Khayr al-maḥḍ* (known in Latin as the *Liber de causis*). Another work possibly to be attributed to al-ʿĀmirī is the doxographical *K. al-Saʿāda wa 'l-isʿād* (facs. ed. M. Minovi, Wiesbaden 1957-8).

Al-ʿĀmirī's philosophy is a rather conventional amalgam of Neoplatonism and Aristotelianism, of a type familiar from works by such figures as his contemporary Miskawayh [*q.v.*], but his particular concern seems to have been to justify the pursuit of philosophy to the religious establishment. In the *Iʿlām* he attempts to show the *ʿulamāʾ* how philosophy and Islam can be seen as complementary rather than contradictory, illustrating his point by using philosophical methods in a programmatic demonstration of the superiority of Islam to other religions. The *Amad* similarly combines philosophical and dogmatic evidence in a discussion of the afterlife, as well as giving the *ʿulamāʾ* an elementary (and highly apologetic) introduction to the Greek philosophers. This conciliatory attitude towards Islam represents a conscious continuation of the tradition initiated by al-Kindī [*q.v.*], the master of al-ʿĀmirī's master al-Balkhī.

Al-ʿĀmirī's only pupil of note was Ibn Hindū [*q.v.*], and his influence on later figures seems to have been minimal. The massive impact of Ibn Sīnā, who began writing shortly after al-ʿĀmirī's death, all but obliterated his memory.

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Ṣiwān al-ḥikma, ed. ʿA. Badawī, Tehran 1974, 82 ff., 307 ff.; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Nadjāt*, Cairo 1357/1938, 271; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 411 f.; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1951, ii, 95; full bibl. in M. Minovi, *Az khazāʾin-i turkiyya*, in *Revue de la faculté des lettres de l'Université de Tehran*, iv/3 (1957), 60-87; Brockelmann, S I, 744, 958, 961; F. Rosenthal, *State and religion according to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī*, in *IQ*, iii (1956), 42-52; M. Arkoun, *Logocentrisme et vérité religieuse dans la pensée islamique d'après al-Iʿlām bi-manāḳib al-Islām d'al-ʿĀmirī*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xxxv (1972), 5-52; M. Allard, *Un philosophe théologien: Muhammad b. Yūsuf al-ʿĀmirī*, in *RHR*, clxxxvii (1975), 57-69.

(E.K. Rowson)

AMĪRĪ, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Adīb al-Mamālik, Persian poet and journalist, was born at Kāzarān near Sulṭānābād (mod. Arāk) in 1860. On his father's side he was directly descended from Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳāʾimmaḳām Farāhānī, statesman and writer of the early 19th century, while his mother was a member of the same family. After his father's death in 1874 the family was in serious financial difficulties, until in 1890 Mīrzā Ṣādiḳ took service with Amīr-i Niẓām Garrūsī, whom he accompanied to Tabrīz, Kirmānshāh and Tehran. During this period he acquired the titles *Amīr al-Shuʿarāʾ* (whence his *takhalluṣ* Amīrī) and later *Adīb al-Mamālik*. In 1894 he was in charge of the Government Translation Bureau in Tehran. Two years later he returned to Tabrīz, and after taking theological qualifications became Vice-Principal of the Luḳmāniyya College of science and medicine. For a time he published *Adab*, a literary and scientific journal, and in 1900 travelled by way of the Caucasus and Khīwa to Mashhad, and in 1903 to Tehran, in both of which cities he resumed publication of his journal. 1904 saw him in Baku, where he edited a Persian supplement to the Turkish periodical *Irshād*. After the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 he became editor of *Madjlis*, the record of the National Assembly debates, and later of the official periodicals *Rūznāma-yi Dawlatī-yi Īrān* and *Āftāb*; in between he started his own journal, *ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAjam*. In 1911 he entered the judicial service and held posts in Simnān, Sāwudjbulāgh, Sulṭānābād and Yazd. He died in Tehran in 1917.

Amīrī had a wide range of interests from geography, mathematics and lexicography to history, literature and astrology. He was well-versed in Persian and Arabic, in both of which he composed poems, and was familiar with a number of other languages. However, he was no ivory tower poet; his poems, following the new trend to re-unite literature and daily life, reflect the turbulent politics of his time, in which he was generally on the side of the Constitutionalists. His later writings are marked by social satire and revolutionary fervour.

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(L.P. Elwell-Sutton)

ʿAMR b. KIRKIRA, Abū Mālik al-Aʿrābī, *mawlā* of the Banū Saʿd, had learnt the *ʿarabiyya* in the desert and had settled at Baṣra. Since his mother had married Abu 'l-Baydāʾ [*q.v.*], he acted as *rāwiya* to this last, but he owed his fame to his incomparable knowledge of the Arabic language, since, according to an oft-mentioned tradition, he knew it in its entirety, whereas al-Aṣmaʿī had only one-third of it, Abū ʿUbayda (or al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad) half of it and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (or Muʾarridj) two-thirds of it. His speciality was rare words. Abū Mālik was allegedly the author of at least two works, a *K. Khalḳ al-insān* and a *K. al-Khayl*. Al-Djāḥiẓ was one of his auditing students.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iv, 23; idem, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 525-6; *Fihrist*, 66; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 249-50; idem, *Bughya*, 367; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 139; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 82; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 131-2.

(Ed.)

AMRŌHĀ, a district and town of mediaeval northern India, now a town. It arose as a metropolitan centre after the accession of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban to the throne of Dihlī in 664/1266. Since the Rādjpūt Rādjā of Kētehr or Katahr [*q.v.*] (modern Bareilly district in the U.P.) rose in rebellion and carried his depredations as far as the *iḳṭāʿ* of Badāʾūn, Balban attacked him in his own region, and having cleared the vast district, carved out the *iḳṭāʿ* of Amrōhā that comprised the area of the modern districts of Bareilly, Murādābād, Rāmpūr and Bīdjnore in Western Uttar Pradesh. For the consolidation of his authority, he brought the *iḳṭāʿ* under direct, *khāliṣa* administration and appointed efficient officers. As a result of this, the town of Amrōhā soon developed considerably with public buildings, a fort, mosques, *madrasas* and Ṣūfī *khānḳāhs*; Among all these, only the mosque constructed by an officer of Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Kayḳubād in 686/1287 is intact.

In the 8th/14th century Amrōhā became a centre of Muslim culture, and was held by a high noble of the sultanate. For instance, the Prince Khiḍr Khān, the eldest son of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, was appointed its governor towards the close of his father's reign. In the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, (725-52/1325-51), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found Amrōhā a beautiful city, placed under the joint responsibility of a number of important nobles. ʿAzīz Khammār, the governor, was in charge of its revenue affairs, while Shams al-Dīn Badakhshānī acted there as the army commandant. Besides, there was a *ḳāḍī*, Sayyid Amīr ʿAlī, to administer justice; a *shaykh al-Islām*, charged with the duty of looking after the religious affairs and providing maintenance land for the scholars, saints and other deserving persons; and 4,000 royal slaves stationed there under Malik-Shāh for military service. The Ḥaydarī *ḳalandar* dervishes also settled down there in quite large numbers.

During the reign of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh, Amrōhā lost its importance as a provincial capital, for administrative headquarters were shifted from here to Sambhal because of the contumacious activities of the Katehriya Radjpūt *zamīndārs*. However, Amrōhā continued as a centre of culture and learning, with many saints and scholars. Shaykh Čāʾildā, a descendant of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar of Adjodhān, was a respectable Ṣūfī saint in Amrōhā during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lōdī. The Masnad-i ʿĀlī Maḥmūd Khān Lōdī, the governor of the territory of Sambhal, gave Shaykh Čāʾildā two

villages in maintenance grant in the *pargana* of Nindru (now in the district of Bidjnore).

During the Mughal period, Amrōhā also produced famous Ṣūfīs and scholars, such as Shaykh Ibban Čishtī during the reign of Akbar. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, the famous Mīr ʿAdl (Chief justice) and Mawlānā Allāhdād (d. 990/1582), a leading scholar, also belonged to Amrōhā. Maṣḥafī Amrōhā'ī, the famous Urdu poet of the 18th and 19th centuries, was also born and educated there. Wiḳār al-Mulk, an associate of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and one of the founder members of the Aligarh Movement, also hailed from Amrōhā. It is now a *taḥṣīl* headquarters in the district of Murādābād in Uttar Pradesh.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. Jarrett, Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1927; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, iii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1868; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1862; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, iii, 436-40, Eng. tr. Gibb, iii, 762-4; ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. Usha, Madras 1948; Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith, *Akhbār al-akhyār* Dihlī 1914; Shams Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1890.

(I.H. Siddiqui)

al-**ĀMULĪ** [see ḥaydar-i āmulī, in Suppl.].

ANDJUMAN-i KHUDDĀM-i KAʿBA, a religious society founded by Indian Muslims in their period of great pan-Islamic fervour just before World War One. The Andjuman was started by Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Bārī [*q.v.* above] and Mushīr Ḥusayn Ḳidwāī [*q.v.*] of Lucknow who hoped to be able to defend Mecca and Medina by raising ten million rupees to build dreadnoughts and airships and to maintain armed forces. Such an ambitious programme proved impracticable, and the final constitution of the organisation published early in 1332/1914 declared that to defend the Holy Places it would: "(a) preach the aims and objects of the Andjuman to Muslims generally; invite them to join it; and induce them to render sincere service to the holy places; (b) spread Islamic ethics in the neighbourhood of the holy places; invite the attention of the inhabitants of those places to a knowledge of the religion; promote intercourse and unity among them; and persuade them to the allegiance and assistance of the guardian of the holy places; (c) promote relations between Muslims and the holy places and extend and facilitate means of communication with the holy places".

The leaders of the Andjuman came in large part from young western-educated Muslims of pan-Islamic predilections, for instance, Muḥammad and Shawkat ʿAlī [*qq.v.*], Dr. M.A. Anṣārī and Mushīr Ḥusayn Ḳidwāī, and *ʿulamaʾ* who were in some way connected with the Farangī Maḥall family [*q.v.* below] of Lucknow, for instance, ʿAbd al-Bārī, Shāh Aḥmad Ashraf of Kačawča and ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḳādirī of Badāʾūn. The *ʿulamāʾ* of Deoband, landlords, and men closely associated with government, were conspicuous by their absence. Nevertheless, many, including women, joined the Andjuman. By Shawwāl 1332/September 1914 the Andjuman had over 17,000 members, a central organisation in Dihlī and branches throughout India: moreover, it had grown faster and spread more widely than any other Indo-Muslim organisation.

The achievements of the Andjuman, however, were limited. One problem was that the Government of India, suspicious of the alliance between young western-educated politicians and *ʿulamāʾ*, refused to support it. The Andjuman's work was restricted to the *Ḥadjdj*, and here Shawkat ʿAlī strove to improve the conditions of Indian pilgrims and attempted to break the European monopoly of the pilgrim trade by setting up, with Turkish aid, a wholly Muslim shipping company. But the outbreak of World War One and the closing of the *Ḥadjdj* route put an end even to this work, and the organisation, without an obvious function, fell apart amidst squabbles between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the young politicians. In 1334/1916 ʿAbd al-Bārī moved its central office to Lucknow and the organisation was last talked of in 1336/1918 when he tried to restart it as a vehicle for a campaign to release Muslims who had been interned during the War.

The importance of the Andjuman lies more in what it portended than in what it achieved. In working to protect the Holy Places, the leading pan-Islamic politicians of the day, Shawkat and Muḥammad ʿAlī, met ʿAbd al-Bārī and became *murīds* of this very important *pīr*. More generally, young western-educated politicians came to appreciate the widespread influence in Indo-Muslim society of *ʿulamāʾ* like those of the Farangī Maḥall family. These same people were to come together again after World War One to organise a much greater effort for a pan-Islamic cause, the *Khilāfat* movement [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Mawlawī ʿInāyat Allāh, *Risāla-i ḥasrat al-āfāḳ ba wafāt madjmūʿat al-akhlāḳ*, Lucknow n.d. 16-17; Francis Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: the politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923*, Cambridge 1974, 208-12, 214-15, 279, 281, 287.

(F.C.R. Robinson)

ANĪS, Mīr Bābar ʿAlī (1217-91/1802-74), Urdu poet, was born in Fayḍābād (Fyzabad) [*q.v.*] into a family which had produced five generations of poets. Some of these, including his father Khāliḳ, wrote the characteristically Indian type of *marthiya* which thrived at public recitals in Lucknow, capital of the Shīʿī Nawābs of Oudh. This type, which may have originated in the Deccan, was devoted to the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī at Karbalāʾ (61/680). Anīs moved to Lucknow as a young man, and devoted his life to writing poetry, especially *marāthī*. He became the leading exponent of this form; thousands attended his readings in Lucknow, and in other Indian cities which he occasionally visited later in life. Some critics thought his contemporary and rival Dabīr superior, but this view is now discounted. By the time Anīs began writing, the main lines of the Indian *marthiya* had already been foreshadowed, if not fully established; and he used it to the full. Formerly in quatrains, it was now almost always in *musaddas* form. Starting as a short emotional and devotional lament, it was lengthened to over a hundred verses of varied content. Alongside the incidents involving al-Ḥusayn and his followers at Karabalāʾ, Anīs includes description of nature, such as landscape, the desert, and storms; character sketches of the protagonists; the horse, the sword; warlike accountrements; and a philosophising which gave universality to a superficially restricted theme. The language employs all the devices of rhetoric (*balāgha*), yet there is an inherent simplicity and sincerity which contrasted strongly with the Urdu *ghazal* [see ghazal, iv] then in vogue. It consequently won the approval of forward-looking critics and poets such as Ḥālī and Āzād, and occupies an important place in Urdu literary history. It says much for Anīs's artistry that he managed to sustain interest in an output estimated at 250,000 verses; but it is

hardly surprising that the form ceased to be widely cultivated after the end of the 19th century.

Bibliography: Critical accounts of Anīs and his *marāthī* may be found in Muhammad Sadiq, *History of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 155-63; Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīķī, *Lakhnāū kā dabistān-i shāʿirī*, Lahore 1955, which also contains examples from previous and subsequent *marthiya* poets. Ram Babu Saksena's *History of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, in a general chapter on "Elegy and elegy writers" (123 ff.), contains a genealogical table of Anīs's family (p. 136), showing the poets in the family before and after him.

Among critical studies of Anīs are Amīr Aḥmad, *Yādgār-i Anīs*, Lucknow 1924, and Djaʿfar ʿAlī Khān, *Anīs kī marthiya nigārī*, Lucknow 1951. Shiblī Nuʿmānī's *Muwāzana-yi-Anīs-o-Dabīr* is still the standard comparison of the two poets, though heavily weighted in Anīs's favour. There are numerous editions of Anīs's poetry, none complete. One of the fullest is *Marāthī Anīs*, ed. Nāʾib Ḥusayn Naķwī Amrotā, 4 vols., Karachi 1959. The three-volume edition of Nawāb Ḥaydar Djang, Badāūn 1935, is less full, but has an introduction by Niẓām al-Dīn Ḥusayn Niẓāmī Badāūnī.

(J.A. Haywood)

ANṢĀRĪ, Shaykh Murtaḍā, despite his being rather unknown in the West, is considered to have been a Shīʿī *mudjtahid* whose widely-recognised religious leadership in the Shīʿī world has not yet been surpassed. He was born into a noted but financially poor clerical family of Dizfūl, in the south of Iran, in 1214/1799; his lineage went back to Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 78/697), a Companion of the Prophet. After learning the recitation of the Ķurʾān and related primary subjects, Anṣārī studied under his uncle Shaykh Ḥusayn Anṣārī until 1232/1816 when he, accompanying his father, Muḥammad Amīn, went to visit the shrine cities of ʿIrāķ. While in Karbalāʾ, he attended the teaching circle of the then Shīʿī leader, Sayyid Muḥammad Mudjāhid (d. 1242/1826), who found Anṣārī a man of extraordinary genius and urged Anṣārī's father to let his son remain in Karbalāʾ. Anṣārī then studied under Mudjāhid until *ca.* 1236/1820, when Anṣārī, together with hundreds of other Iranian people, fled from Karbalāʾ due to the pressures imposed by the Ottoman governor at Baghdād, Dāwūd Pasha, after the growth of the Perso-Ottoman hostility at that time (S.H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 242-9; Sir Percy Sykes, *A history of Persia*, ii, repr. London 1963, 316 ff.). Anṣārī then returned to Dizfūl.

In *ca.* 1237/1821, Anṣārī again went to Karbalāʾ and attended the circle of the famous *mudjtahid* Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf al-ʿUlamāʾ (d. 1245/1829). In *ca.* 1238/1829 he proceeded to Nadjaf and continued his studies under Shaykh Mūsā Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ (d. 1241/1825), and after a year or so he again returned to his home town, Dizfūl. Heading for Mashhad in 1240/1824 with the intention of attending the circles for religious learning in different Iranian cities, Anṣārī joined the teaching circle of Shaykh Asad Allāh Burūdjirdī (d. *ca.* 1271/1854) in Burūdjird (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ṣāḥib al-Djawāhir, *Dāʾira al-maʿārif al-islāmiyya: Īrān va hama-yi maʿārif-i Shīʿa-yi Imāmiyya-yi Ithnāʿashariyya*, ii, n.d., 155, under "Asad Allāh") and that of Sayyid Muḥammad Bāķir Shaftī (d. 1270/1853) in Iṣfahān (Anṣārī's biography written by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Raḍawī al-Khwānsārī (*sic*), in Anṣārī, *Kitāb al-Matādjir* (*al-Makāsib*), Tehran 1908, 1), each for no more than a month. When Anṣārī met Mullā Aḥmad Narāķī (d. 1245/1829) in Kāshān, he decided to remain there because he found Narāķī's circle most congenial for learning. Narāķī also found Anṣārī exceptionally knowledgeable, saying that within his experience he had never met any established *mudjtahid* as learned as Anṣārī, who was then *ca.* thirty years of age (Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī, *Zindigānī va shakhṣiyyat-i Shaykh-i Anṣārī kuddisa sirruh*, Ahwāz (*sic*) 1960, 69).

In 1244/1828, Anṣārī left Kāshān for Mashhad, and after a few months living there he went to Tehran. In 1246/1830, he returned to Dizfūl, where he was widely recognised as a religious authority, despite the presence of other important *ʿulamāʾ* in that town. It is said that Anṣārī suddenly left Dizfūl secretly after sometime because he, as a religious-legal judge, was put under pressure to bring in a one-sided verdict in a legal case. He then arrived in Nadjaf in *ca.* 1249/1833 and joined the teaching circle of Shaykh ʿAlī Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ (d. 1254/1838) and, according to some sources, that of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Ṣāḥib al-Djawāhir (d. 1266/1849), but each for only a few months, and soon organised his own teaching circle independently.

Anṣārī's life as a distinguished religious scholar entered a new phase in 1266/1849 after he had received an overwhelming recognition from all the Shīʿī communities which formed a population then estimated at 40 million across the Muslim world, so that the institution of *mardjaʿ-i taklīd* [*q.v.*] reached its highest point. "The Twelver Shīʿī population of Iran," wrote one of Anṣārī's contemporaries, Muḥammad Ḥasan Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, "and the numerous Shīʿī groups who live in India, in Russia, in some of the Ottoman provinces, and in several other cities of Afghānistān, Turkistān, and elsewhere used to send to Anṣārī their endowment funds, alms taxes, one-fifth of their annual savings . . . and other similar payments, which amounted to 200,000 *tūmāns* [*ca.* $ 30,000.00] annually" (*al-Maʾāthir wa 'l-āthār*, Tehran 1888, 136-7).

Despite his vast income and his overwhelming leadership, Anṣārī, according to a number of eye-witness accounts, nevertheless denied his family a comfortable life and himself lived an ascetic life, as was evident from his appearance (cf. *inter alia*, Muḥammad Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ridjāl*, ii, Nadjaf 1964, 399-404). Instead, he gave the money to the poor and needy, to the students of religious schools, and at times to those Muslims who, on their way to visit the shrine of Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, were taken captive by the Turkomans. When Anṣārī died in 1281/1864 his wealth and belongings were worth only seventeen *tūmāns* (less than three dollars), for an equal amount of which he was in debt. One of his followers therefore took charge of the funeral expenses.

Anṣārī's piety, and above all his scholarly qualifications, deserved of course such recognition, but other factors also were certainly instrumental in establishing his leadership: the then great *mardjaʿ-i taklīd*, Ṣāḥib al-Djawāhir, shortly before his death declared Anṣārī to be the legitimate sole *mardjaʿ-i taklīd* of the Shīʿa. This endorsement was compounded with the earlier death of other distinguished religious authorities such as Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṣāḥib al-Fuṣūl (d. 1261/1845). In addition, this development was preceded by the gradual decline of Iṣfahān as religious centre, a process which had begun its course since the fall of the Ṣafawīd dynasty and was accelerated by the death of such religious authorities of Iṣfahān as Shaftī and Ibrāhīm

Karbāsī (d. 1262/1845). Consequently, Nadjaf began then to enjoy an unprecedented attention from the Shīʿa of Iran, and most of this attention was certainly focused on the person of Anṣārī.

Anṣārī not only established a new era in the history of the Shīʿī leadership but was also an important figure in the field of Shīʿī jurisprudence, being credited with introducing a new methodology in the field of *uṣūl*. His interpretation, for instance, of the "principle of no harm" (*ḳāʿida lā ḍarar*), which had long engaged the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, opened up a more settled way for practising *idjtihād* in general and for dealing with the problem of private ownership in particular. Anṣārī's system in jurisprudence laid great importance on the *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*'s being the most learned man of his time; he said that *ʿaḳl* (reason) and *ʿurf* (social conventions and common practices) are to be taken as criteria and bases for introducing new laws. His name is also mentioned as an authority with original views on such *uṣūl* subjects as the principles of *istiṣḥāb*, *barāʾa*, and *ẓann*, each of which were the subject of an independent study done by Anṣārī (for a concise definition of the above terms, cf. Djaʿfar Sadjdjādī, *Farhang-i ʿulūm-i naḳlī va adabī*, Tehran 1965, 51-3, 136, 359).

Anṣārī's school of thought has been clearly dominant in the Shīʿī clerical circles since the middle of the 19th century, and his views have been discussed and adopted by most of the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ*. A descendant of Anṣārī's brother has listed the names of 144 *mudjtahids* who have written commentaries on Anṣārī's various books (Anṣārī, *Zindigānī*, 354-87). Anṣārī's influence on the later *ʿulamāʾ* can also be found in the bio-bibliographical dictionaries compiled on the Shīʿī authorities (cf. *Bibl.*). The influence of Anṣārī's ideas is further seen in the laws made for various Shīʿī communities, because many of those who were involved in the process of law-making were either Anṣārī's disciples or were indirectly under the influence of his thought. The Persian civil law which was substantially based on the Shīʿī jurisprudence may be mentioned as an example; and the man who "translated into Russian the Islamic law according to which the Muslims of Caucasus were being tried in the legal courts" was Mīrzā Kāẓim Bey, a disciple of Anṣārī (Mahdī Khān Mumtaḥin al-Dawla Shakākī, *Khāṭirāt*, Tehran 1974, 110).

Anṣārī's circle of teaching was attended by numerous pupils, many of whom became great *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīds* of their times, e.g. Ḥusayn Kūhkamarī (d. 1291/1874), Muḥammad Īrwānī (d. 1306/1888), Ḥabīb Allāh Rashtī (d. 1312/1894), Muḥammad Ḥasan Shīrāzī (d. 1312/1894), and Muḥammad Kāẓim Khurāsānī (d. 1329/1911). There are also reports that Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī "Afghānī" was also a pupil of Anṣārī (Aṣghar Mahdawī and Īrādj Afshār, *Madjmūʿa-yi asnād va madārik-i čāpnashuda dar bāra-yi Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn mashhūr bi Afghānī*, Tehran 1963, 20) and that Afghānī studied in Anṣārī's circle for four years prior to Afghānī's departure from Nadjaf in 1270/1854 (Mīrzā Luṭf Allāh Khān Asadābādī, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl va āthār-i Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī maʿrūf bi Afghānī*, Berlin 1926, 21-2; but these accounts are controversial. It cannot be accepted that Anṣārī, despite his great caution in issuing a certificate of *idjtihād*, gave one to Afghānī, then only sixteen years of age (Khān Malik Sāsānī, *Siyāsat-garān-i dawra-yi Ḳādjār*, i, Tehran 1959, 186, nor has Luṭf Allāh Khān been correctly quoted by Nikki R. Keddie that "Shaikh Murtazā gave Jamāl ad-Dīn an *ijāzeh* (certificate of advanced knowledge)" (*Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī": a political biography*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1972, 15-16); rather, Luṭf Allāh reported that Anṣārī gave a certain certificate to Afghānī's father (Asadābādī, *op. cit.*, 15, 21 and the Arabic translation of Asadābādī's book by ʿAbd al-Naʿīm Muḥammad Ḥasanayn, Beirut 1973, 64; see also Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Andīshahā-yi Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī dar pīrāmūn-i inḥiṭāṭ-i musalmānān va inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, in *Vaḥīd*, nos. 225-9 [1978], 47-52, 57-61, etc.).

Despite his being a one-eyed man, Anṣārī was quite productive in writing. According to a report, he wrote over thirty books (Anṣārī, *Zindigānī*, 131-4), twenty-four of which are listed as Anṣārī's published works in Khānbābā Mushār, *Muʾallifīn-i kutub-i čāpī-yi fārsī va Arabī*, vi, Tehran 1965, nos. 126-35; many of these books have been published several times in India, ʿIrāḳ, and Īrān since 1267/1850. Two of his works are especially frequently consulted and have been considered by the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* to be of exceptional importance: *Farāʾid al-uṣūl* (*al-Rasāʾil*) on *uṣūl* and *al-Makāsib* on *fiḳh*, which were first published in Tehran in 1268/1851 and 1280/1863 respectively. Both these have constantly been used as text books in all Shīʿī circles.

One of the financial foundations with which many of the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* of ʿIrāḳ were knowingly or unknowingly connected was the so-called "Oudh Bequest". It was, in the words of the British Minister of Tehran, a "powerful lever which helped to promote good relations between the Persian ecclesiastics and myself and . . . afforded opportunities for influencing the leading Persian Ulema" (Sir Arthur Hardinge, *A diplomatist in the East*, London 1928, 323-4). The British authorities, however, did not succeed in influencing Anṣārī through the Oudh Bequest (Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, xl, Beirut 1960, 43-6). He received money only for a short period of time, and then rejected further sums (Maḥmūd Maḥmūd, *Taʾrīkh-i rawābiṭ-i siyāsī-yi Īrān va Ingilīs*, vi, Tehran 1953, 1743).

In the arena of politics and public affairs, Anṣārī was quite inactive. He refused to make use of his influence in the interest of his followers. Persian or otherwise, in their political and other struggles. Theoretically, however, he believed that the *ʿulamāʾ* are not only the custodians of religions, but are also unquestionably responsible for judicial and political affairs also (Hairi, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977, 60). Anṣārī's lack of interest in social and political issues has been criticised by contemporary modernist thinkers. Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhūnd-Zāda, for instance, said: "God has not given Anṣārī enough insight to understand why Īrān is in the state of collapse and why the Iranians are suffering abasement" (*Alifbā-yi djadīd va maktūbāt*, Baku 1963, 121), and Āḳā Khān Kirmānī [*q.v.* above] believed that Anṣārī contributed to the people's ignorance and perplexity (Firīdūn Ādamiyyat, *Andīshahā-yi Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī*, Tehran 1967, 66).

On the other hand, his aloofness from politics was warmly welcomed by the political authorities, who seem to have taken it as a sign of his asceticism. Thus we come across the reports that the governor of ʿIrāḳ referred to him as the Greatest Fārūḳ (i.e. one who distinguishes truth from falsehood) and that the British Ambassador allegedly said: "Anṣārī is either Jesus himself or his special deputy on earth" (Ḥasan Khān Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, *Taʾrīkh-i Iṣfahān va Ray va hama-yi djahān*, Tehran 1943,

inside the front cover). The cult formed around him led some people to say that Anṣārī had met with the Twelfth *Imām*.

Anṣārī has also been praised in Bābī literature as "... a man renowned for his tolerance, his wisdom, his understanding justice, his piety and nobility of character"; the leader of the Bahā'īs, Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī known as Bahā' Allāh [*q.v.*], included Anṣārī among "those doctors who have indeed drunk of the cup of renunciation"; ʿAbbās Efendī (ʿAbd al-Bahā') also referred to Anṣārī as "the illustrious and erudite doctor, the noble and celebrated scholar, the seal of seekers after truth" (Shoghi Effendi, *God passes by*, Wilmette, Illinois 1944, 143). Anṣārī is thus praised because he did not share the condemnation by other Shīʿī *ʿulamā'* of the Bābī faith and rituals. He did not attend the meeting convened by the Shīʿī *ʿulamā'* in Kāẓimayn in *ca.* 1863 for determining on the banishment of Bahā' Allāh and his adherents from ʿIrāḳ (Muḥammad Khān Zaʿīm al-Dawla, *Miftāḥ Bāb al-abwāb*, Cairo 1903, 347). According to Bābī sources, he did attend the meeting, but as soon as he was informed of the *ʿulamā'*'s actual design, he left, declaring that he was not acquainted with the new faith and that he had not witnessed in the Bābīs' demeanour anything at variance with Islam (E.G. Browne, ed. and tr., *A traveller's narrative written to illustrate the episode of the Bāb*, ii, Cambridge, 1891, 86-7).

Although Bābism appeared at the outset as a religious sect within Shīʿism, it did eventually assume a variety of political aspects, aspects which Anṣārī was very reluctant to deal with. It seems, therefore, that Anṣārī's lack of publicly-expressed opinions here was substantially a result of his lack of interest in and cautious attitude towards issues of political and public significance.

Anṣārī, however, remote from politics, did train disciples who made use of the highly influential position he had earned for the Shīʿī *ʿulamā'* of ʿIrāḳ by their taking part in contemporary social and political movements; thus Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī issued a *fatwā* against the Tobacco Concession (cf. *inter alia*, Firuz Kazemzadeh, *Russia and Britain in Persia, 1864-1914*, New Haven 1968, 241 ff.), and Khurāsānī [*q.v.*] actively supported the 1906-11 Persian Revolution and helped to depose the then Persian monarch (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Why did the ʿUlamā participate in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909?*, in *WI*, xvii (1976), 127-54).

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

ANTHROPOID [see KIRD].

ANZARŪT, greek σαρκοκολλα, is a gum-resin from a thorn-bush which cannot be identified with certainty; known from antiquity, it is used for medical purposes. Synonyms are: *anzarūt*, *ʿanzarūt*, *kuḥl fārisī*, *kuḥl kirmānī*; in Persian: *anzarūt* or *andjarūt*, *tashm* (< *čashm*), *kandjubā*, *kandjudha*, *kandjudak*, *bāzahr-i čashm* (so instead of *zahr djashm*, Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, see *Bibl.* below). Much has been written on this drug. Formerly, the species Penaea, belonging to the Thymelaeaceae, was generally considered to be the original plant, namely either *Penaea mucronata* L., or *P. Sarcocolla* L. or *P. squamosa* L. But in 1879 W. Dymock was able to prove that at least the Persian Sarcocolla is the product of what he called *Astragalus Sarcocolla* Dym. (Leguminosae). Widely known in antiquity, the drug has practically disappeared from the

European store of medicines, but, according to Meyerhof, it is still well-known in the Orient, especially in the drugmarket in Cairo.

According to Dioscorides, the yellowish bitter resin was above all useful for causing new flesh wounds (σάρξ "flesh", κόλλα "glue") scar over. Already al-Kindī used it as component of a good number of recipes (*Aḳrābādhīn*, see *Bibl.* below), among others for leprosy. The most detailed description is given by Ibn al-Bayṭār on the basis of Greek and Arabic sources as well as his own observations. The resin consumes the festering flesh of putrescent abscesses, assists the ripening of tumours, carries away mucus and yellow gall, and is a remedy for inflammations of the eye, for agglutinating eyelids and for excessive secretion of the eye. Taken internally, the resin is a strong purgative, but causes also the hair to fall out. The best Sarcocolla consists of crushed, white seeds, mixed with walnut oil. Measured out in different ways, it can be mingled with other drugs (sagapenum, myrobalanum, aloes, bdellium, etc.). When taken neat, the resin can be lethal; therefore, the dose should not be more than 2¼ *dirhams*. Ibn al-Bayṭār, however, maintains that he saw in Egypt women partaking, immediately after a bath, of up to 4 ounces of *anzarūt*, together with the pulp of the yellow melon, hoping to increase thus their corpulence.

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(A. Dietrich)

APE [see ḳird].

ʿĀR (a.), "shame, opprobrium, dishonour", has undergone in North Africa a semantic evolution analogous to that of the root *dh.m.m.* of classical Arabic, arriving at a sense close to that of *dhimma* [*q.v.*], that is to say, of "protection", with nuances which should be taken into account. A formula such as *ʿārī ʿalayk/ʿalīk*, "my shame upon you", contains visibly a threat against the person to whom it is addressed and means in effect "the shame shall be yours if you do not grant my request" (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, Paris 1925, 200, 215-6, where the challenge is addressed to a deceased saint and the appeal is for rain). When applied to a living person the formula presupposes a transfer of responsibility accompanied by a mystical sanction, the divine malediction which will not fail to afflict the man whose refusal is unjustified. To this sense of *ʿār*, current even in Tunisia, there is added in Morocco (where the term was adopted by Berber in the form *aʿar*, *lʿar*), a new sense which appears in expressions of the type: *anā f-ʿarək* "I am in your *ʿār*—under your protection" (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 396). The sense of "conditional malediction" (E. Westermarck, *Survivances païennes dans la civilisation mahométane*, Paris 1935, 87) continues to underly it, and from "mystical responsibility" (G. Marcy, *Le droit coutumier zemmoûr*, Algiers-Paris 1949, index, s.v. *aʿâr*), we pass into the material world when *ʿār* comes to designate the indemnity due in cases of breach of honour.

In fact the "throwing" (Arabic verb: *rma*, Berber: *gər*) of the *ʿār* is effected by means of practices already in part attested in the pre-Islamic period, for example touching the pole or the cords of a tent, taking a child in one's arms, etc. (see Wellhausen, *Reste*, 223 ff.), which permitted a solitary person or a fugitive to obtain the status of *dakhīl* or of *djār* and in consequence the protection of an individual, a clan or a tribe (cf. B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 88-9). J. Chelhod (*Le droit dans la société bédouine*, Paris 1932, 222 ff.) has called attention to three terms in current use, of which the connotations are close:

(1) *dakhīl* "an oppressed or hunted man who seeks the aid of his own tribe", according to a ritual comprising especially a gesture of humility; this practice, introduced by the formula *anā dākhil ʿalayk*, constitutes the *dakhala* and implies, on the part of the beneficiary, a recompense for the services rendered by the protector, henceforward responsible for the conduct of the affair in which his intervention has been sollicited. A much attenuated vestige of this type of requisition survives in the Oriental expression *dakhīlak*, which means nothing more than "I beg you";

(2) *ṭanīb* "a man who, to safeguard his rights, to escape from justice or to save his life, leaves the clan of his hirth, alone or with his family and goes to establish himself in a different tribe which promises to assist him". This term is to be linked with *ṭunub* "tent-cord" [see khayma], the suppliant being obliged, originally, to touch at least a cord of the tent of the one to whom he appeals; while in Morocco this gesture is still a part of the ritual, it has been forgotten in the Orient, where the *ṭanīb* pronounces the same formula as the *dakhīl*, but enjoys a wider protection and owes no indemnity; and

(3) *kaṣīr*, also a refugee, but entitled to make use of his prestige among his former group with which he has not severed all relations.

In all the cases cited above, the Bedouin who has granted his protection cannot again withdraw it, and if he falls short of his obligations, tacit or ex-

plicit, he will be forever marked by dishonour. Thus we return to the primitive sense of the word *ʿār*, which is not however used in the Orient in the same way as in Morocco. J. Chelhod (*op. laud.*, iii), who has drawn attention to the use of this word to designate a spouse (*ʿārī* = my wife), links it to *ʿawra* "nudity, modesty, etc.", but the two words do not belong to the same root and, what is more *ʿirḍ* "honour" is also used in the same sense (for Mosul, see A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*[2], Paris 1948, 45, n. 3). In this case, *ʿār* would seem rather to imply the idea that dishonour would affect the husband who did not protect his wife; one dare not go so far as to attribute to this term the sense of "protection", but there is found here a notion firmly rooted in the Arab mentality, the notion of honour upon which B. Farès has founded his entire thesis.

The Moroccan *ʿār* thus implies a transfer of responsibility and of obligation, for the supplicatee, to accord his protection to the suppliant, in default of which dishonour falls on the former, who is obliged to give satisfaction to the latter. This transfer can operate in a number of ways, with variable consequences. The most simple consists in saying *ʿār ʿalīk* "the *ʿār* on you" and making a material contact with the person to whom the appeal is made, for example touching the edge of his turban, or laying one's hand upon him or his mount. More serious is the case of a man guilty of a crime or a misdeed and pursued by his enemies: the pursuit must cease as soon as the suppliant has touched the ropes or the pole of the tent of the supplicatee or has penetrated his home: the result is still more spectacular when the latter is an interested party of the suppliant's victim. However, in such serious cases a more efficacious means consists in slaughtering an animal (Arabic *dbīḥa*, Berber *tam ghrust*) without pronouncing the *basmala*, so as to preclude the eating of its flesh, on the threshold of the house or at the entrance of the tent of the member of the alien tribe to whom appeal has been made. The latter is obliged to grant the request presented in this manner from the instant that he sets foot in the pool of blood or simply perceives it; here the efficacy of the procedure is due to the blood [see DAM, in the Supplement], which possesses magic power. Finally, to appeal for the aid of another tribe, to address a request to the authorities or to give force to a submission to central government, recourse would made to the *tʿargība* which consisted in hamstringing a horse, a camel or a bull and placing it in the posture of a suppliant.

Other procedures are still employed (see E. Westermarck, *op. laud.*, 87-107) which may be passed over without comment except to recall that the persons sollicited are not permitted to refuse and that they are bound, whatever their inner inclination, to protect the suppliant, and whatever the circumstances, to provide him with hospitality: a private house, and in more serious cases where the *ʿār* has been imposed on the tribe, a mosque, or the tomb of a saint enjoying a right of asylum rarely violated.

There was quoted at the beginning of this article an example of *ʿār* exercised with regard to a Tunisian saint. The Moroccans also use it towards their saints (see below), to whom they offer sacrifices to obtain their intercession; they also employ other procedures (heaps of stones, votary offerings, etc.) which doubtless rely more on sympathetic magic than on *ʿār* in the true sense of the word. In the same way, they assure themselves of the neutrality of djinns by immolations which could be interpreted as offerings and therefore unrelated to *ʿār*.

The latter is imposed, so it is understood, to obtain all sorts of things, from the most banal to the most important; to obtain pardon for an offence, to assure oneself of an intervention, to protect oneself from an enemy, to bring about a change of mind on the part of a father who has refused to give his daughter in marriage to a suitor, to oblige the parents of a murdered man to accept the *diya* and not to insist on vengeance on the guilty party; a douar can even impose it on another whose cooperation it is seeking, for example in the harvest.

Women can also have recourse to the *ʿār*, under the same conditions as men or using procedures of their own. In certain Berber tribes of Morocco, a woman who wishes to leave her husband may take refuge in an alien tent or house, kiss a beam or handle the mechanism of a mill: from that moment, the owner of the property must marry her and compensate the abandoned husband, or . . . take flight. A fugitive who has succeeded in sucking a woman's nipple obtains her protection and that of her husband, and cases are known of adoption by suckling (see G. Marcy, in *RAfr.*, lxxix (1936), 957-73) or even by simulated suckling [see for instance AL-KĀHINA].

As regards adoption, which does not exist in Islamic law, a particular aspect of *ʿār* in certain Berber tribes is an institution concerning an individual called, with nuances, *amazzal*, *amzyad*, *amḥaz*, *amḥars*, *awrith*, etc. It occurs in the case of a stranger to the group who, usually after committing some offence in his own clan (also sometimes one refused by a father whose daughter he has asked for in marriage), has imposed the *ʿār* and obtained the protection of another group which he makes henceforward the beneficiary of his work. He becomes *amazzal* when his protector has given to him in marriage his own daughter or another woman over whom he holds the right of *djabr* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; the marriage-price must be paid in work over a prescribed period. If the head of the family so decides, the *amazzal* may be adopted and may enjoy all the rights of a legitimate son, even though he is the daughter's husband. In certain parlances, a distinction is drawn between the *amḥars*, a term designating the stranger adopted by a man, and the *amazzal* in the true sense of the word; in this last case, a widow who is the head of a family may adopt a stranger whom she makes her concubine and whom she has the right to reject or to marry legally when the pre-arranged marriage-price has been paid in full. This institution gives rise to judicial arrangements, the details of which cannot be discussed here (see G. Marcy, *Zemmour*, index; G. Surdon, *Institutions et coutumes des Berbères du Maghreb*, Tangier-Fez 1938, 244-50).

In spite of the absence, in Berber speech, of an original term to designate *ʿār*, it is quite certain that this custom presents a number of autochtonous features which justify a treatment distinct from that of the ancient *djiwār* and its aspects which define within strict limits the protection accorded by oriental Bedouin to strangers to their tribe. However, orthodox opinion is particularly worried by the practice of throwing one's cloak or turban on the tomb of a saint, or furthermore, of slaughtering an animal there as a form of *ʿār*, and the *fuḳahāʾ* make the comment that the deceased would not be able alone to fulfil the request. They object in other

ways besides to the use of the word *ʿār*, and only permit these rites when their object is to obtain the *baraka* of the saint or when an animal is sacrificed for the distribution of its meat to the guardians of the sanctuary (see al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, i, 54-6).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see G. Kampffmeyer, *Texte aus Fes*, Berlin 1909 (text V); E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1928; idem, *L'ʿâr, the transference of conditional curses in Morocco*, in *Anthropological essays presented to E.B. Tylor*, Oxford 1907, 361-74; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*², Paris 1948, 187-220. (Ch. Pellat)

ARAGHŪN, Arabic name corresponding to the Spanish Aragon. In fact, this word has both a geographical and a political sense. As a geographical term, it refers to a river, dominated by the fortress of Shantamariyya, the first of the defensive system of Navarre (al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, no. 105). This watercourse rises on the southern slope of the Pyrenees, near Canfranc; after passing the town of Jaca, the Sierra de la Peña diverts it towards the west, watering Berdun, Tiermas, Sangüesa, Rocaforte, Aibar, Caparroso and Villafranca before joining the Arga and flowing into the Ebro in Navarre.

This *Wādī Araghūn* would seem to constitute the natural path of incursion into the Christian kingdom of Navarre. Having followed the river as far as Sangüesa, the Muslim forces followed the course of its tributary the Irati, in the direction of Pamplona. This is to be inferred from *Bayān*, ii, 148, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṭawīl marched in 298/911 towards Aragon with the object of capturing Pamplona and linking up there with ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Lubb." This is precisely the route used in the famous campaign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 312/924. The forces of the caliph, coming from Tudela, attacked the stronghold of Ḳarḳastal/Carcastillo on the river Aragon, Marḳwīz/Marcuella, Sangüesa, Rocaforte and Aibar, Lumbier and Pamplona (*Muḳtabis*, v, 123; *Bayān*, ii, 186; A. Cañada, *La Campaña musulmana de Pamplona. Año 924*, Pamplona 1976). In 325/937 we find the same juxtaposition of details when the general Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās was sent, with 1,500 horsemen, on a reconnaissance expedition, *ilā basīṭ Banbalūna wa-wādī Araghūn* (*Muḳtabis*, v, 271).

For Rāzī it was also a mountain range (*Crónica moro*..., ed. Catalan, Madrid 1975, 48-9) "E en su termino (de Huesca) ha ... otro (castillo) que ha nonbre Tolia, yaze cerca de la sierra de Aragon. E Aragon es muy nombrada sierra entre las Españas. E en ella yazen dos castillos muy buenos, el uno ha nonbre Sen e el otro Ben; e yazen en dos peñas que son encima de la sierra de Aragon, e corre por entre ellos un rrio de Flumen ... E de las sierras ... e logares nombrados en fortaleza, son en aquella tierra que se ayunta con monte Aragon que ha nonbre Monte Negro, e non lo podra pasar ome a cavallo, que ande bien, en menos de tres dias." Al-ʿUdhrī (*Masālik*..., 56) states that the town and district of Huesca "lies in the vicinity of the *Djabal Araghūn*, renowned among the Christians."

If it is accepted that this valley was the route employed by the various Muslim expeditions, not only towards the Christian centre of Jaca but also, and especially, towards Navarre, it must be assumed that it was organised as a "frontier" for the defence of Pamplona. This defensive function would create a centre for resistance and for counter-attacks. The "reconquest" of the valley of the Ebro would have been an enterprise of Aragon rather than Navarre, just as Castille had absorbed the old kingdom of Leon. The Christian advance at the expense of al-Andalus would henceforward be the product of these two "frontier" forces, *Kashtāla* [*q.v.*] and Araghūn.

In fact, these two kingdoms were to share between themselves their future conquests. This gave rise to various formal treaties: Tudellen (1151), Cazorla (1179) and Almizra (1244) (Roque Chabas, *División de la conquista de España nueva entre Aragón y Castilla*, in *Congreso Hist. Aragón*, Barcelona 1909), in which were fixed the respective zones of the legal expansion of Aragon and Castille. The former, having achieved by 1238 its own particular "reconquest", turned its attention to the sea. It was then that there took shape the broad outlines of its policy towards Africa (Ch. E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII et XIV siècles*, Paris 1965), the Mediterranean (Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and the kingdom of Naples—in competition with the Angevin dynasty), annexation of part of the Byzantine empire (the duchies of Athens and of Neopatria), of the island of Cyprus, and commercial relations with Mamlūk Egypt (A. Masia de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón y los estados del Norte de Africa*, Barcelona 1951; A. Lopez de Meneses, *Los consulados catalanes de Alejandria y Damasco en el reinado de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso*, Saragossa 1956; F. Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani nel Mediterraneo*, Palermo 1959; L. Nicolau d'Olwer, *L'expansio de Catalunya a la Mediterrania Oriental*, Barcelona 1926). After the union of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castille in 1474, Spain inherited this interventionist line to the Mediterranean: attempts at invasion of Algiers in 1519 and 1541 (directed against the piracy of the Barbarossa brothers [see ʿarūdj and khayr al-dīn barbarossa]), conquest of the island of Djerba (1520), the capture of La Golletta at Tunis (1535) (E.G. Ontiveros, *La politica norteafricana de Carlos I*, Madrid 1950) and the battle of Lepanto [see aynabakhti] in 1571.

But Araghūn above all has a political sense. According to al-Ḥimyarī (*Rawḍ*, no. 8), "it is the name of the territory of Gharsiya b. Shandjuh, comprising cantons (*bilād*), staging posts (*manāzil*) and districts (*aʿmāl*)". According to Maḳḳarī (*Nafḥ*, ed. Beirut, i, 137), "The fifth region passed through Toledo and Saragossa and their environs, towards the territory of Aragon, to the south of which lies Barcelona." As a political concept, its borders were constantly changing. Just as al-Andalus did not cease to contract in the course of the centuries, *Araghūn* constantly expanded. So its history is founded on the recession of the Muslim *thaghr al-aʿlā* [*q.v.*], sc. of the Upper March. Its growth took place at the expense of the neighbouring Hispano-Arab states; the Banū Ḳasī, Tudjībids, Banu 'l-Ṭawīl, Banū Hūd, Banū Razīn, Almoravids, Banū Ghāniya and Banū Mardanīsh [*q.vv.*], following a continuous advance during the 11th-13th centuries. The principal landmarks of this "reconquest" are the taking of Graus (1083), Monzón (1089), Alquézar (1091), Almenara (1093), Huesca (1096), Barbastro (1100), Balaguer (1105), Ejea and Tauste (1106), Tamarite (1107), Morella and Belchite (1117), Saragossa (1118), Tarazona and Tudela (1119), Calatayud and Daroca (1120), Alcañiz (1124), Tortosa (1148), Lérida, Fraga and Mequinenza (1149), Teruel (*ca.* 1157), Valderobes (1169), Caspe (1171), Majorca (1229), Morella (1232), Burriana (1233), Peñiscola (1234), Ibiza (1235), Valencia (1238) and Minorca (1287). The expansion

of Castile was fundamentally local, while that of Aragon took place in a wider context. Alfonso I was in a sense a crusader. The author of the *Ḥulal mawshiyya* (76) tells us that for his epic raid in 1225-6 against the Levante and Andalusia—which brought back numerous Mozarabs [*q.v.*]—"He chose, assembled and equipped 4,000 horsemen of Aragon, whom they selected with their squires. They agreed and swore by the Gospel that not one of them would desert his companion". First of all, a psychological offensive took place (articles by D.M. Dunlop, A. Cutler and A. Turki, in *Al-Andalus*, 1952, 1963 and 1966; Chalmeta in *RUM*, xx, 1972), followed by the Council of Toulouse in 1118 which proclaimed the expedition against Muslim Spain. There was also participation by numerous French troops, creating a greater "mass movement" and a change of tactics. Technical innovations (catapults and mobile siege-towers built by an expert, a veteran of the sieges of Nice, Antioch, and especially Jerusalem, Gaston de Béarn) made possible the capture of strongholds hitherto impregnable. The great campaigns of James I the Conqueror (the Balearic islands in 1229 and Valencia in 1238) were also to be considered as a crusade (R.I. Burns, *The Crusader kingdom of Valencia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967). The royal house of Aragon was systematically more tolerant than Castile towards the conquered Muslims. The treaties of capitulation seem all to have been inspired by the need to retain labourers and peasants (hence this was a policy different from "repopulation"). The first example was to be that of the conquest of Valencia by the Cid in 1094. Those, subsequently, of Saragossa, Tudela and Tortosa, as well as the later ones signed by James I, also correspond to this scheme (R.M. Menendez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1956, 483-93; R.I. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, Princeton 1973, 118-38, 173-83). These circumstances explain the importance of the Mudéjars (*q.v.*, and Macho Ortega, *Condición social de los mudejares aragoneses (s. XV)* in *Mem. Fac. Fa. Zaragoza*, i (1923), 137-319, and L. Piles, *La situación social de los moros de realengo en la Valencia del s. XV*, Madrid 1949), and later of the Moriscoes (*q.v.*, and T. Halperin Donghi, *Un conflicto nacional: moriscos y cristianos viejos en Valencia*, in *CHE*, xxiii-xxiv (1955), 5-115; xxv-xxvi (1957), 83-250; idem, *Recouvrements de civilisation: les morisques du royaume de Valence au XVI s.*, in *Annales*, xi (1956), 154-82; J. Reglá, *Estudios sobre los moriscos*, Valencia 1964; M.S. Carrasco Urgoiti, *El problema morisco en Aragón al comienzo del reinado de Felipe II*, Valencia 1969) in these regions where they were almost always vassals of local lords and bore the name of "exarico"/*sharīk* (E. Hinojosa, *Mezquinos y exaricos . . .*, in *Obras*, Madrid 1948, 245-56). It is the permanence of this *modus vivendi* which explains the fact that the vast majority of aljamiada [*q.v.*] literature comes from this region.

For the Arab historians, *Araghūn* means not only a region but also all the territories of the political entity embodied in the Kingdom of Aragon. In this context are included Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia. Al-Marrakūshī (*Muʿdjib*, 50-1, 235, 267) defines its extent in 621/1224 thus: "The Banū Hūd possessed the towns of this region (al-Andalus), Tortosa and its environs, Saragossa and its environs, Fraga, Lérida and Calatayud. They are now in the hands of the "Franks", belonging to the prince of Barcelona, and constitute the country known as *Araghūn*. The latter has the borders of the kingdom of Barcelona, to the French frontier. Neighbouring the Banū Hūd, there used to be Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz . . . who possessed Valencia and its surrounding territory. The Frontier was under the control of Abū Marwān b. Razīn, whose rule extended as far as the frontiers of Toledo. The four parts of Spain are ruled by four kings: one is constituted by the afore-mentioned Aragon and lies to the south-east . . . The first town, at the south-east border on the Mediterranean coast, is Barcelona, followed by Taragona, then Tortosa. In this region, the non-coastal cities are Saragossa, Lérida, Fraga, and Calatayud all under the rule of the king of Barcelona. It is the region called *Araghūn*". For Ḥimyarī (*Rawḍ*, no. 182), "Majorca lies one day's sail from Barcelona, *min bilād Araghūn*", and in 636/1238 "the Rūm entered into possession of Valencia, demanding capitulation and James/*Djākmuh malik Araghūn* took control of it". Finally, we find the equation *Araghūn* = the territories of the Kingdom of Aragon clearly expressed in the 14th century. Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, ed. Beirut, iv, 395) declares: "As for the king of Barcelona, in the Levante of al-Andalus, his territories are extensive and his kingdom is great. The latter includes Barcelona, Aragon, Jativa, Saragossa, Valencia, Dénia, Majorca, and Minorca." Speaking of the taking of Valencia by James I, he describes him as *malik* or *ṭāghiyat Araghūn*.

The origin of the future Navarre-Aragon heartland apparently dates back to the period of the Muslim invasions. It seems in fact that the Arabs only penetrated fairly superficially into the region of the Pyrenees (F. Codera, *La dominación arabiga en la Frontera Superior*, Madrid 1879; idem, *Limites probables de la conquista arabe en la cordillera pirenaica*, in *BRAH* (1906); J. Millas Vallicrosa, *La conquista musulmana de la region pirenaica*, in *Pirineos* (1946), ii, 53-67). Thus "the regions lying beyond the sierras of Santo Domingo and Guara, of Alquézar in Sobrarbe, Roda in Ribagorza, Agar in Pallars, like the highlands of Urgel, Bergada, Ripolles and Besalu in Catalonia" were not occupied.

Although the texts lack precision, they agree in asserting that Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] conquered Saragossa in 96/714. He marched for twenty days and captured a sea-port town, probably Taragona, if we are to believe the *Cronica del moro Rasis* (41-2), which attributes this deed to "*Tarife, el fijo de Nazayr*". Pamplona capitulated before 100/718, during the emirate of al-Ḥurr, and the *tābiʿīs* ʿAlī b. Rabāḥ al-Lakhmī and Ḥanash b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣanʿānī (Ibn al-Faraḍī, no. 913) countersigned it. This was hardly a durable submission, since "ʿUḳba conquered Narbonne. . . . Pamplona, where he established Muslims" (*Bayān*, ii, 29) and the *amīr* Yūsuf hurried thither with clearly insufficient forces, "Sulaymān b. Shihāb and al-Ḥusayn b. Dadjn against the Vascons of Pamplona" (*Akhbār madjmūʿa*, 75). After seven years of siege, Huesca surrendered (al-ʿUdhrī, 56-7) on conditions similar to those of Tudmīr [*q.v.*], under the governorship of al-Ḥurr or of al-Samḥ: "When the Muslims penetrated into Spain, the inhabitants of the mountain fortresses of Lérida and the High Aragon made a pact with them, and paid them tribute, without any argument" (*Crónica Rasis*, 42-3).

In 132/750, the situation of the valley of the Ebro began to pose serious problems when Yūsuf al-Fihrī sent there, as *wālī*, his adviser and *alter ego* al-Ṣumayl. In 136/753, there broke out the rebellion of ʿĀmir and the Banū Zuhra b. Kilāb, who, at the head of a coalition of Yemenīs and Berbers besieged him in

Saragossa. The Ḳaysīs relieved al-Ṣumayl while ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I attempted a crossing to Spain (*Akhbār*, 62-79). Later the *amīr* sent there his trusted lieutenant, the *mawlā* Badr. The Yemenīs Sulaymān b. Yaḳẓān al-Kalbī and al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī, by promising Saragossa to Charlemagne, encouraged him to undertake his ill-fated expedition of 778. This Upper March was always an extremely volatile zone and politically very unstable. We find there the Tudjībid Banū Salama in the region of Huesca, ousted by the "reign" of Bahlūl b. Marzūḳ. The loyal ʿAmrūs b. Yūsuf re-established authority there in the name of al-Ḥakam I, but the representative of the *muwallad* family of the Banū Ḳasī, Mūsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*], rebelled in 842 at Tudela, took possession of Saragossa and Huesca and declared himself the "third king of Spain". To curb him, the *amīr* Muḥammed installed at Calatayud and Daroca the Tudjībid Banū Muhādjir who, having succeeded, transformed themselves into autonomous "lords" of the March of a more-than-changeable loyalty. In the north, we find in the 10th century the Banū Shabrīṭ b. al-Ṭawīl at Huesca. All these peoples did not hesitate to play the Franks, the Arabs, the *muwallads* and the Navarro-Aragonese (with whom they had family ties) off against their rivals, Muslim as well as Christian. Such was also the policy of the Banū Hūd, who employed the Cid and were able for a long time to balance the ambitions of the Almoravids, the Aragonese, the Catalans, the Navarrese and the Castillians. In fact, it seems that, in about 228/843 there was legal recognition of the North-Pyrenean enclaves by the emirate of Cordova. Thanks to an annual tribute of 700 *dīnārs* and the status of vassalage, there was *iḳrār* [*q.v.*] of the territories of Iñigo and of Sancho (al-ʿUdhrī, 30).

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(P. Chalmeta)

ARAT, Reshīd Raḥmetī, up to 1934 G.R. Rachmati, modern Turkish Reşid Rahmeti Arat, Turkish scholar and philologist (1900-64). Born at Eski Üdjüm, to the south-west of Kazan, he was the son of ʿAbd al-Reshīd ʿIṣmet Allāh, of a family of *mudarrisūn* who emigrated from Kazan and set up a "hereditary" *madrasa* there. He attended various schools in his home town, and later in Ḳizilyar (Petropavlovsk) and in Harbin in Manchuria where he finished high school (1921). He joined cultural associations of the Kazan Tatars in Harbin and contributed to various papers. In December 1922 he left for Germany and he enrolled in Berlin University, where he was trained in Turkish philology by Willy Bang. He obtained his Ph. D. in 1927 with a thesis on *Die Hilfsverben und Verbaladverbien im Altaischen* which was published in *Ural-altäische Jahrbücher*, viii/1-4 (1927), 1-66. He then joined the teaching staff of the Department of Oriental languages at the University. In the same year he married Dr. Rabīʿa, also from the Kazan area, whom he had met in Harbin. In 1928 he was made a research assistant in the Prussian Academy. In 1933, following the university reform in Turkey, he was offered the chair of Turkish philology in the University of Istanbul where he taught until his death. He was the director of the Institute of Turcology (1940-50) founded by Fu'ād Köprülü in 1924 and a visiting professor in the SOAS London (1949-51). He died in Istanbul on 29 November 1964. R.R. Arat, who contributed greatly in introducing the historic and comparative approach to studies of Turkish language and dialects, was a scholar who preferred to limit his efforts to a given area and to deepen it rather then spread over many problems and cognate fields. He remained strictly interested in linguistic and philological problems and text criticism. He is the author of the following major works: *Zur Heilkunde der Uighuren*, 2 vols, Berlin 1930-2; *Die Legende von Oghuz Qaghan* (with W. Bang), Berlin 1932; *Türkische Turfan Texte*, vii, Berlin 1936; *Un yarlık de Mehmed II, le Conquérant*, in *Annali RISON*, xx (1940); Bābur, *Vekayi*, 2 vols, Ankara 1943-6; *Kutadgu Bilig* (critical edition), Istanbul 1947; *ʿAtebetü 'l-ḥakāyik* (critical edition and modern Turkish paraphrase), Istanbul 1951; *Yusuf Has Hacib, Kutadgu bilig* (Modern Turkish paraphrase), Ankara 1959; *Türk şivelerinin tasnifi*, fn *TM*, x (1953), 59-139 (a summary of former attempts to classify Turkish dialects, together with a new proposal; under the influence of his own dialect, Arat insisted on using the term *şive* (accent) instead of *lehçe* (dialect) of standard Turkish); *Eski türk şiiri* (Pre-Islamic and early Islamic Turkish verse, texts, modern Turkish paraphrase and notes), posthumous, Ankara 1965.

Bibliography: *Reşit Rahmeti Arat icin*—A memorial volume published by Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Ankara 1966, pp. x, xxx (the principal source for biographical and bibliographical data on Arat up to the date of publication).

(Fahir İz)

ARBAʿŪN ḤADĪTHᴬᴺ, a genre of literary and religious works centred round 40 *ḥadīths* of the Prophet.

This type of work has arisen, from one aspect, from the *ḥadīth* which says "The member of my community who learns 40 *ḥadīths* connected with the prescriptions of the faith will be raised to life by God among the authorities on the law and the scholars", and from another aspect, from certain secondary factors: the desire to be covered by the Prophet's grace, the hope of escaping the tortures of hell-fire, the intention of enabling oneself to see the great ones, etc.

Works in this category of *arbaʿūn ḥadīthᵃⁿ* may be written in prose, verse or in the two combined. The contents may also differ; some writers and compilers are content to gather together the *ḥadīths*, others add to them explanations, whilst yet others adorn and complete these texts by means of accounts, *āyāt* and homilectic material. The elements of works

in this general category are selected according to differing principles: *aḥādīth ḳudsiyya*, of divine inspiration [see ḤADĪTH ḲUDSĪ]; *khuṭbas* of the Prophet; *ḥadīths* chosen from amongst those texts easy for learning by heart; etc. *Arbaʿūn* collections are also found centred on a particular subject: the qualities of the Ḳurʾān, the essential principles of Islam, the Prophet and his Companions (or even his children and grandchildren), sects and mysticism, knowledge and the scholar, politics and law, the holy war, social and moral life, etc.

The genre is called *čihil ḥadīth* by the Persians and *ḳïrḳ ḥadīth* by the Turks. It developed first of all in Arabic and developed extensively. Amongst the oldest collections are those of Abū Bakr al-Ādjurrī (d. 330/942) and of Ibn Wadʿān (d. 494/1101). But the most celebrated is that put together by Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā al-Nawawī (631-76/1235-77), the object of numerous commentaries in Arabic and translations into other Islamic languages. The first *čihil ḥadīth* collections in Persian which have come down to us were written in the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, sc. the *Ṭabīb al-ḳulūb* of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Farawī and *al-Arbaʿūn al-Bahāʾī* of ʿImād al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. However, the most famous and most widely-disseminated collection is that composed in quatrains, the *Tardjuma-yi Arbaʿīn ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī (817-98/1414-92). The works of Nawawī and Djāmī were translated into Turkish and published on many occasions.

It should further be noted that the Turks not only appreciated highly the genre in question, but also composed didactic works full of teaching points. The oldest one of these in Turkish known to us is the *Nahdj al-farādīs* of Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī (8th/14th century), followed in the next one by Kemāl Ummī (translation after 815/1412) and also ʿAlī Shīr Newāʾī (845-906/1441-1501), and then in the 10th/16th century by Fuḍūlī (?885-963/?1480-1556), Uṣūlī (d. 975/1568), Newʿī (942-1007/1535-99), ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi Naṭṭāʿa (translation 979/1571) and Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (translation 1005/1597). This work of translation was further pursued with enthusiasm in succeeding centuries, the most important works being those of Meḥmed Khāḳānī (1011/1603), Ismāʿīl Rusūkhī (d. 1040/1631), Yūsuf Nabī (1052-1124/1642-1712), ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib (1120/1708), Münīf (1145/1733), ʿÖmer Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn (publ. 1326/1908) and Aḥmed Naʿīm (publ. 1343/1925).

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(ABDÜLKADIR KARAHAN)

ARGHIYĀN, the name found in mediaeval times for a district of northern Khurāsān. It lay to the south of Kūčān/Khabūshān [*q.v.*], straddling the hilly region of the modern Kūh-i Shāh Djahān and the Kūh-i Binālūd, around the sources of the Kashaf-Rūd. It is not to be identified with the district of Djādjarm [*q.v.* in Suppl.] lying further to the west, as was done by Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 392, an error perpetuated by B. Spooner in his *Arghiyān. The area of Jājarm in western Khurāsān*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, iii, (1965), 97-107). The name of Arghiyān's *chef-lieu*, Rāwnīr, appears in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, as Rāwīnī (restored by Aubin as Rāwnīr, see Bibl.); the correct form Rāw(a)nīr is further given in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 153, as the *ḳaṣaba* of this district of 71 villages, and by Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, i, 167-70, who visited the district personally and who has a long list of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Arghiyān.

In Tīmūrid times, we find the administrative coupling Djahān u Arghiyān, and then in the Ṣafawid period, Djahān-i Arghiyān is linked with the district of Kalīdar (thus as a single *tiyuldār* under Shāh Ṣafī in 1046/1636). By modern times, however, the name of Arghiyān dropped out of usage.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see the penetrating discussion of J. Aubin in *Réseau pastoral et réseau caravanier. Les grand' routes du Khurassan à l'époque mongole*, in *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, i (Geneva-Paris 1971), 109 ff.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ʿĀRIF ČELEBĪ, dervish mystic, grandson of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and the third *khalīfa* of the Mawlawiyya order, was born at Konya on 8 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 670/7 June 1272 as a son to Sulṭān Walad and Fāṭima Khātūn, the daughter of the goldsmith Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. His actual name was Djalāl al-Dīn Farīdūn. Mawlānā, who named him thus after his two grandfathers, gave him also the by-name Amīr ʿĀrif, from which the commonly-used Turkish form Ulu ʿĀrif has been derived.

An extensive biography with many hagiographic traits is contained in the eighth chapter of the *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn* by Aflākī [*q.v.*]. Being one of ʿĀrif's pupils, Aflākī was an eyewitness to a great part of his life and accompanied him on a number of his travels. ʿĀrif frequently wandered through Anatolia, but he made journeys to ʿIrāḳ and Persia as well. On one occasion, Sulṭān Walad sent him to the court of the Īl-Khān at Sulṭāniyya to remonstrate against the pro-Shīʿa policy adopted by Öldjeytü. In 712/1312, ʿĀrif succeeded his father as the head of the Mawlawiyya. His death occurred at Konya on 23 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 719/5 November 1320. His tomb is still extant in the Mawlawī *türbe*.

The anecdotes related by Aflākī depict ʿĀrif as a colourful personality. Through his conduct, he expressed the antinomian tendencies inherent in the Mawlawī tradition from its origin. He acted like a *rind* dervish and indulged in long and exhaustive *samāʿ* sessions which often gave rise to scandal.

Unlike his ancestors, ʿĀrif was neither prominent as a scholar nor as a writer. The only works known to us are collections of his *ghazals* and his quatrains which were all written in Persian. The rareness of these poems both in separate manuscripts and in collections of Mawlawī poetry suggests that they were not very highly appreciated in the literary tradition of the order. A manuscript in the Leiden University Library contains a collection of ʿĀrif's *ghazals* and *rubāʿīs* under the heading *al-Asrār al-ʿĀrifiyya* (Or. 1676 B/8, ff. 89a-130a).

Bibliography: Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1961, ii, 825-974; H. Ritter, *Philologika XI*, in *Isl.*, xxvi (1942), 127; Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, *Ulu Ârif Çelebinin rubaileri*, Istanbul 1949; Abdülbaki Gölpinarli, *Mevlanâ'dân sonra Mevlevilik*, Istanbul 1953, 65-95; idem, *Mevlânâ Müzesi yazmalar kataloğu*, Ankara 1971-2, ii, 211; iii, 21 f.

(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

ʿĀRIF, MĪRZĀ ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM, Persian revolutionary poet and satirist, was born in Ḳazwīn *ca.* 1880, and after studying Persian, Arabic, calligraphy and music, became a *rawḍakhʷān*, an occupation that he abandoned after his father's death.

At 17 he married a young girl against her parents' wishes, and two years later was obliged to divorce her; he never married again. Leaving for Tehran, he took service at the court of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh, where his singing attracted the attention of the sovereign and leading courtiers. Court life, however, did not appeal to him, and he returned to Ḳazwīn, where he remained until the 1906 Constitutional Revolution, of which he was one of the leading spirits. His outspoken and reckless verses, usually sung at public concerts, made him many enemies, including even his former friend the poet Īradj Mīrzā. In 1915 he joined the *muhādjarat* to Kirmānshāh, whence he went to Istanbul, returning to Persia in 1919. During the next few years he gave his support successively to Col. Muḥammad Taḳī Khān, the dissident gendarmerie officer in Khurāsān, Sayyid Diyā', and Riḍā Khān. In 1924 he campaigned in favour of the establishment of a republic, but after the accession of Riḍā Khān to the throne he was unable to continue his public concerts, and retired on a small government pension to Hamadān, where he died in poverty in 1934. His *Dīwān* was published in Berlin in 1924 together with an autobiography on the lines of Rousseau's *Confessions*.

ʿĀrif was a man of dervish-like disposition, and had no use for material wealth or respect for authority and position. His poetry is full of social satire, attacks on corruption, and nostalgia for Persia's great past, all couched in popular language free from classical artificialities.

Bibliography: After the edition of ʿĀrif's *Dīwān* published by Riḍā-zāda Shafaḳ, in Berlin 1924, further writings appeared in M.R. Hazār, *ʿĀrif-nāma-yi Hazār*, Shīrāz 1935, and Sayyid Hādī Ḥā'irī Kūrūsh, *Djild-i duwwum-i dīwān-i ʿĀrif*, Tehran 1942; Biographical information is to be found in E.G. Browne, *Press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 250-2; M. Ishaque, *Sukhanwarān-i Īrān dar ʿaṣr-i ḥāḍir*, i, Calcutta 1933, 191-218; Rashīd Yāsimī, *Adabiyyāt-i muʿāṣir*, Tehran 1937, 69-70; M. Ishaque, *Modern Persian poetry*, Calcutta 1943, *passim*; Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Burḳaʿī, *Sukhanwarān-i nāmī-yi muʿāṣir*, i, Tehran 1950, 159-61; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 352-3; ibid., *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 372-3; Bozorg Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964, 36-44.

(L.P. Elwell-Sutton)

ʿĀRIFĪ, Mawlānā Maḥmūd, Persian poet. Virtually nothing is known of the life of ʿĀrifī except the approximate dates of his birth and death (791-853/1389-1449), and that he belonged to the circle of poets that flourished at the court of Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] in the first half of the 9th/15th century.

The best-known of his works is a brief *mathnawī* of some 500 *bayts* entitled *Gūy u čūgān* or *Ḥālnāma*, which he composed in just two weeks during his fiftieth year to honour a prince Muḥammad, assumed to be Muḥammad b. Bāysonḳor (Browne, *LHP*, iii, 496). The subject of the poem is a mystical romance between a dervish and a prince whom he first sees playing polo. The game of polo provides the predominant imagery. R.S. Greenshields published an edition of this work, of which there are many good manuscripts, in 1931, and a translation of it under the title *The Ball and polo stick or Book of ecstasy*, in 1932 (both at London).

According to Dawlat-Shāh, ʿĀrifī was the author of numerous panegyrics of the kings and princes of his day, and of *ghazals* and *ḳitʿas* as well. The same source says that in addition he composed ten letters in verse addressed to Khwādja Pīr Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ and a versified work on Ḥanafī *fiḳh* called *Mā lā budd madhhab Imām Aʿẓam*. None of these works has yet been published.

Although the authors of contemporary *tadhkiras* credit him with an elegant style and considerable popularity, in the modern period his works have received only cursory mention.

Bibliography: ʿAlīshīr Nawā'ī, *Madjālis al-nafā'is, madjlis-i awwal*; Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, 439-40; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 490, 495-7; E. Yār-Shāṭir, *Shiʿr-i fārsī dar ʿahd-i Shāhrukh*, Tehran 1334/1956, 101-2, 176-8, 216-7.

(J.W. Clinton)

ARĪN [see ḳubbat al-arḍ].

ARNAB (a.), pl. *arānib*, in poetry, *al-arānī*. Grammatically this noun is feminine and denotes the hare with the general meaning of a leporid, either as a collective noun, or specifically the doe-hare (see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, viii, 95-9). In all the Arabic dialects the term maintains this meaning, but in Maghribī two plural forms are found, *rawānib* and *arnānib*. Today its archaic synonym *ḳuwāʿ* (fem. *ḳuwāʿa*) seems to have been forgotten. Arabic lexicographers relate *arnab* to a root *r-n-b* (see *LA*) according to the rules of triliteralism, but its etymology should perhaps be sought in Sumerian or Akkadian, from which a number of animal and bird names in Arabic are derived (like *dhi'b*, *ghurāb*, *iwazz*, *kurkī* etc.). Semantic equivalents to *arnab* are *khargūsh* in Persian, *tavsan* in Turkish, *awtul* (pl. *iwtal*, fem. *tawtult*, pl. *tiwtalin*) in Berber of the Maghrib, *emerwel* (pl. *imerwelen*, fem. *temerwelt*, pl. *timerwelīn*) from the verb *erwel*, "to flee", in Tamahaḳ, while *abekni* (pl. *ibekniten*, fem. *tabeknit*, pl. *tibeknītīn*) is little used.

Among the order of lagomorphs and the family of leporids, the genus *lepus* is represented in Islamic lands predominantly by the *lepus capensis* or Cape hare. Its breeding ground stretches from Africa (Cape of Good Hope) to China (Shantung, bordering on the Yellow Sea of Asia). In the Mediterranean zone it is found with the plains species, *l. granatensis* (Spain), *l. schlumbergeri* and *l. sherif* (Morocco), *l. mediterraneus* and *l. kabylicus* (Algeria), *l. tunetae* (Tunisia) and *l. rotschildi* (Egypt); in western Morocco the smaller *l. atlanticus* is also found. In the hills are found *l. marocanus* and *l. pediaeus* (Morocco) and *l. sefranus* (Algeria). The characteristically desert hare, *l. arabicus*, is found on the borders of the Sahara, together with *l. pallidior*, *l. harterti* and *l. barcaeus*, from Morocco to the Sinai peninsula. A systematic study of the hares of the Arabian Peninsula has yet to be made. The species *l. europaeus* is represented in the Near East in several isolated places as well as *l. syriacus* (Lebanon) and *l. judeae* (Palestine).

Literary authorities differ about the gender of the noun *arnab*; some see it as masculine with an associated feminine *arnaba* (see *al-Ifṣāḥ fī fiḳh al-lugha*, Cairo 1929, 391), but country people, both sedentary and nomadic, knew from very early times how to distinguish the sex and age of hares by a specific terminology which is unambiguous. The male, or buck, was called *khuzaz* (pl. *khizzān*, *akhizza*) or *ḥawshab* or *ḳuffa* (Maghribī *ʿakrūsh*). The female, or doe, was named *ʿikrisha* (Saʿūdī, *ʿidana*); while suckling she was called *djaḥmarish*. The levret was called *khirniḳ* (pl. *kharāniḳ*) or the *khawtaʿ*, and the weanling *suḥla* (Maghribī *kharbūsh*, *ḥarbūsh*; Tamahaḳ

eberdewel, pl. *iberdewēlen*, fem. *teberdewelt*, pl. *tiberdewēlīn*). From an ethnological point of view, these country folk knew the habits of the hare in detail and its simple form or lair (*makā* / *maḳ'* / *makw*, pl. *amkā'*, *khitl*, Maghribī, *margad*) did not escape the eyes of the herdsmen; it was found facing the prevailing wind behind a tuft of grass. Regions where hares were plentiful were named *mu'arniba/murniba* or *makhazza* or *mukharnika*, according to whether adults or young hares were predominant. Most of the Bedouin observations about the leporids have been recorded by the naturalists al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, ii, 215-217, margin), al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 20-3) and especially al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vi and *passim*). From these records scholars can learn that the hare has hair inside its cheeks, that it dozes with its eyes wide open, and that it is always on the alert and flees at the slightest danger, which has gained it a universal reputation as a coward. The doe, like a bitch or she-ass, menstruates from time to time and because of this impurity in the family of leporids, the species was not mounted by the djinn. The passion of the rut linked with the phenomenon of superfoetation in fertilising the doe led to a popular belief in the hare changing sex annually. In antiquity, it was also considered to be a case of hermaphroditism.

The enormous length of the hare's back legs in comparison with its front legs allows it to run extremely swiftly, and this is its chief means of defence. It can thwart the best saluki tracker set on its heels, especially on hard and hilly ground where it will make turns and back-casts (*murāwagha*) frequently, whence the saying "to swerve more than a hare", and the nicknames the hunters give it emphasise its speed, like *darrāma*, *dāmika hudhama*, *mukattiʿat al-suhūr* and *al-niyāṭ*. When a hare is surprised at its form, the leap (*nafdja*) it makes is so instantaneous and impetuous that it has become an illustration of the brevity of life on earth compared with the life beyond, as in the expression in *ḥadīth* form *mā al-dunyā fi 'l-ākhira illā ka-nafdjati arnab* "compared with the world hereafter, this present world is like a hare's leap" (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 352-3). Because of the many ruses they devise to avoid the hounds, hares and foxes are considered the most difficult of animals to catch. When hard pressed on loose ground, one of the commonest tricks is the *tawbīr* (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 357), which is an instinctive attempt to blur the tracks by placing the body weight on the back foot only. The back of the foot has a pad which is covered with hair and thus prevents the toes and claws from marking the ground.

The hare is certainly one of the most highly-prized game animals in Muslim countries, as elsewhere. To catch it, man has employed all kinds of ingenuity; he has caught it with nets (*ḥibāla*, pl. *ḥabāyil*), snares (*sharak*, pl. *ashrāk*) and traps (*mighwāt*, pl. *maghāwī*; *mughawwāt*, pl. *mughawwayāt*; *ḥukna*, pl. *ḥukan*), and he has hunted (*tarada*) with the help of trained beasts (*dawārī*) like the gazehound (*salūkī salūkī*, pl. *-iyya*), which always hunts by sight, and pointers or other hounds (*zaghārī*, pl. *-iyya*, Maghribī *ṭārūs*, pl. *ṭawāris*) which hunt by scent. The Persian lynx (*ʿanāḳ al-arḍ*) and trained birds of prey (*djawāriḥ*) are also used. He has used various weapons to attack the hare like the thrown cudgel (*hirāwa*, *zarrīṭa/zarwāṭa*), which the young shepherds of the plains of the Maghrib can wield so skilfully, as well as the sling (*mikhdhafa*, *miklāʿ*), the bow, then the cross-bow and eventually firearms. As well as man, the hare is surrounded by a number of natural enemies, carnivores and rapacious predators; it is especially threatened by the tawny eagle (*aquila rapax*) which is appropriately called *ʿuḳāb al-arnab* or *ṣaḳr al-arnab*. Hare flesh has no fat or tendons, owing to the alimentary eclecticism of the animal. It is instinctively attracted to certain aromatic and sweet plants, and the Bedouin expression *arnab al-khulla*, "the hare of the sweet plants" summarises the appreciation of the gourmet and the glutton (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 134). The gastronomic authority Abu 'l-Wadjīh al-ʿUklī, a man of the desert and one of the informants of al-Djāḥiẓ, gave pride of place to the hare in the metaphor "If the uromastix-lizard (*ḍabb* [*q.v.*]) had been a chicken, the hare would be a francolin (*durrādj*)" (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 353). Oriental cookery books esteem hare highly in their chapters on meats (see M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI* [1949], 107). To serve jugged hare (*arnabī*) or roast saddle of hare (*ʿadjz mashwī*) to a guest was a mark of honour, especially if one kept the kidneys for him; these were regarded as the finest morsel, as can be seen from the picturesque maxim *aṭʿim akhā-ka min kulyat al-arnab* "feed your brother with hare's kidneys", which meant using the tenderest words to console a friend in difficulty.

Al-Djāḥiẓ draws attention to the double benefit which the hare provides. Apart from its highly desirable flesh, its fine warm pelt also has a commercial value in the fur trade [see FARW] and the textile industry. An anonymous satirical line of verse (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 360) alludes to the trade in these terms: "When gentle folk move (among them), it is to see them touching hare skins with their hands wide open". The sentence expresses the scorn which has always attached to rabbit skin dealers. Rabbit skin is not distinguished from hare skin in the making of fabrics called *mu'arnab/murnab* and certain felts. The fur is also used to line gloves and slippers and to trim winter bonnets. It is not inconceivable that they were also used as counterfeit furs, which would normally be more highly priced, but the secrets of dyeing and other treatments were known only to the tricksters. The colour of the fur can vary from light brown almost to blonde according to the hare's habitat, and certain beige materials are called *marnabānī* "hare coloured"; conversely, in popular French the hare is known as "capuchin" because of the brown habit worn by the monks of that order. The hare's tail is black on top and immaculately white underneath; it is conspicuous even from a distance because the tuft is always erect. The Saharans have a name (*a*)*bū nawwāra*, "the one with the flower" which is used for the hare as well as for the fox.

As Islam expanded westwards to Spain and northeastwards to the Indus, Arabs were introduced to a second leporid, the rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*), both wild and domestic. Since there was no specific term for rabbit in the *ʿarabiyya*, *arnab* was used. At first they regarded the wild rabbit simply as a small hare, and it was sometimes called "levret" (*khirnik*). The duality of the term *arnab* in the East to cover hare and rabbit is a source of constant confusion, but one of the first to find difficulty with it was Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ. When he was translating the fables of Bidpay from Pahlavi, he encountered the typically Indian episode of the elephants who were looking for water and trampled over a rabbit warren (*arḍ li 'l-arānib*), crushing the inhabitants in their burrows (*djuḥr*, pl. *adjḥār*, *adjḥira*, *djaḥara*), but the

clever rabbit Fayrūz (= Felix) became their spokesman and drove away the elephants by a trick (see *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, Cairo 1931, 207-9). This story could not possibly be concerned with hares, for they do not live in colonies and they do not tunnel underground. Once the domestic rabbit was being bred on a large scale, it became necessary to add epithets to *arnab* to make the word more specific; *arnab barriyya* or *waḥshiyya* was used for the hare, and *arnab ahliyya* or *dādjina* or *baladiyya* for the domestic rabbit, but the wild rabbit hardly had any specific name. In the Muslim West the same confusion did not arise, because in Spain as well as in the Maghrib the wild and domestic rabbit kept its original Latin name *cuniculus* in Arabised form (compare Fr. *connil* or *connin*, Provençal *counièu*, Sp. *conejo*, Port. *coëlho*, It. *coniglio*, Eng. *cony*, Ger. *Kaninchen*, Swed. *kouin*). The Hispano-Arabic names *kunilya/ḳunilya*, *ḳullīn*, *ḳulayn* are still found in the Maghrib as *ḳanīn/ganīn* (sing. *-a*, pl. *-āt* and *ḳnāyen/gnāyen*), *ḳalīn* (pl. *ḳlāyen*), *kūnīn/gūnīn*, *ganūn* and Kabyle *agunin* (pl. *iguninen*). Besides *arnab*, Hispanic languages use *labbay* (pl. *-āt*), ultimately derived from Ibero-Roman *lapparo* (from *leporis*, Sp. *liebre*, Catalan *llèbre*, Prov. *lèbre*, Fr. *lièvre/lapereau/lapin*). As for Tunisia, Ibn Saʿīd (in al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, i, 122) notes that the practice of raising rabbits for fur was introduced there from Spain in the 7th/13th century; the wild rabbit is to be found only on some coastal islets, but it is common in Algeria (*cuniculus algirus*) and in northern Morocco.

According to Ḳurʾānic law, the flesh of a hare which has had its throat cut ritually may be consumed; the doctors of law agree unanimously about this, for the hare is a product of hunting and the animal is herbivorous and not carnivorous. It is true that some *ḥadīths* suggest that the Prophet Muḥammad abstained from eating hare, but no-one accepts this as a formal prohibition [but see ḤAYAWAN concerning the Rāfiḍīs]. This permission extended *ipso facto* also to the rabbit when the animal was introduced to Muslims. In al-Andalus, the rabbit was highly prized and the only restriction imposed on it was that it should not be sold around the Great Mosque. Instead, a place was chosen by the *muḥtasib* and there they had to be offered for sale properly slaughtered and skinned so that the meat could be seen to be fresh (see Ibn ʿAbdūn-Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane au début du XIIe* siècle, Paris 1947, 95-6).

In pre-Islamic times the Arabs attached great power to the hare's foot as a talisman (*kaʿb al-arnab*). It was considered to be a protection against all evil spells, and mothers would affix one of their children to preserve them from the evil eye [see ʿAYN]. Every man who went into a strange village would equip himself with one to protect him from evil spells, which were always to be feared in unknown territory.

In Greek medicine a number of specific virtues were accorded to particular organs of the hare. The flesh was thought to have laxative and aphrodisiac properties. Later Arab medicine confirmed the views of Hippocrates and Galen on this subject, but added some new empirical prescriptions. Perhaps the most important parts were the brain and the gastric juices (*infaḥa*); the brain was the best remedy for trembling and senility, and it could be applied to an infant's gums to suppress the pain in teething, but if it was mixed with camphor and drunk it was thought to be an infallible love philtre. The gastric juices and stomach tissue were mixed into a potion with a vinegar base and used as an antidote for all kinds of poison. It is interesting that modern science, whether by chance or not, knows no proven remedy which has any real chance of fighting the poison of the phalloïdine (death's cap) fungus other than the absorption of a mixture of minced brains and stomachs of leporids. Perhaps after all, Arab empirical medicine was not just pure fancy. Dried and powdered hare's blood had recognised healing qualities for sores and wounds and helped to extract foreign bodies like splinters and thorns; it was also used to treat arrow wounds. In surgery, leporid hair was used instead of cotton wool as an absorbent tampon and as a cap for ruptured veins and arteries.

Since Sāsānid times in Iran, hares and rabbits have held a position of not negligible importance in the field of Muslim art. They figure either as a decorative motif incorporated into a hunting scene or are themselves the main theme of inspiration. Besides the mass of Persian miniatures, probably the most typical representations of leporids are in illustrations of the incident mentioned above, where the wily Fayrūz harangues the king of the elephants; it is found in Syrian manuscripts of the 8th/14th century of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Paris B.N., ms. Ar. 3467, fol. 70, and Oxford Bodl. Libr., Pococke 400, fol. 99). Iranian ceramics, which also inspired those of Fāṭimid Egypt, frequently incorporate the motif of "the hare". There is a glazed ewer from Gurgān (6th/12th century, Paris Mus. Arts Déc.) which is decorated on its bulged-out sides with a frieze of hares chasing each other in an endless circle. Another example is the remarkable glazed Fāṭimid cup of the 5th/11th century (Paris Louvre, coll. F. Sarre), with its white base decorated with a beautiful hare strolling among the flora, symbolised by the stylised Kūfic inscription on its margin. Persian silks and carpets from every period, but especially from that of the Ṣafawid dynasty (10th/16th century), assert their inborn taste for nature. Animals are portrayed as living in an earthly paradise, with hares and gazelles gambolling among their carnivorous enemies, and there are hunting scenes commemorating famous slaughters by battues, of which the Chosroes were so fond. All these interpretations have been carefully represented in bronze, copper and ivory, and here also hares and gazelles have their proper place. The Fāṭimid goldsmiths in Egypt, following their Persian predecessors, were skilled in portraying animals and birds in metal, even on commonplace objects, as is shown by the famous "hare on the alert" bronze aquamanile. This is the proud possession of the Museum of Brussels (coll. Stoclet), and naturalists are amazed at its realism. The same Persian animal themes are found on carved ivory caskets (pyxes) from Egypt through Sicily to Muslim Spain, and in Mesopotamia they are even found on the stone of lintels and door cases in Artuḳid art (6th/12th century).

In zoology, the name *arnab baḥrī*, translated from the Latin *lepus marinus*, "sea hare", has been given to *aplysia depilans*, a nudibranch mollusc of the order *op isthobranchia*. It is found widely in the sea, and ancient man treated it with a profound disgust as much for its hideous appearance (it looks like a slug with a hare's head) as for the nauseating violet secretion which it emits in self-defence and which was thought to be a deadly poison (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, i, 23).

Finally, in astronomy *al-arnab* "Alarnab" is the Hare constellation found beneath the left foot of Orion, the legendary hunter. The first star of the

constellation is called "Arneb" (α *Leporis*, mag. 2.7; see A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, Algers [1951], 179-80).

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(F. Viré)

ARMOUR [see silāḥ].

ART [see fann].

ĀS, Arabic for the myrtle, *Myrtus communis* L. (Myrtaceae), the well-known fragrant, evergreen shrub, growing to over a man's height. The term, derived from Akkadian *āsu* came into Arabic through Aramaic *āsā*; the Greek term μυρσίνη (μύρτος) exists also as *marsīnī* (and variants). Much material has been collected by I. Löw (*Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 257-74), among which are many, more or less locally-defined synonyms. Occasionally, myrtle is mentioned in the *ḥadīth* (Dārimī, see Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 132b), by the Arab botanists and in the verses quoted by them (Dīnawarī, *K. al-Nabāt*, ed. B. Lewin, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1953, 25 f.; Aṣmaʿī, *K. al-Nabāt*, ed. al-**Gh**unaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 32), but the plant was mainly used as medicine. Like Dioscorides, the Arabs knew the black garden-myrtle (*al-ās al-bustānī al-aswad*) and the white field-myrtle (*al-ās al-barrī al-abyaḍ*), the leaves, blossoms and berries of which occasioned positive therapeutic results. The scent of the myrtle mitigates headaches and invigorates the heart. The extract is suitable for hipbaths which cure ulcers of the fundament and uterus; as a beverage it calms down the spitting of blood and cures coughs and diarrhoea. Dried and pulverished leaves of the myrtle remove putrescent boils and facilitate the growing of new flesh. Rāzī, otherwise critical and not given to superstition, curiously enough declares in his *Kitāb al-Khawāṣṣ* (preserved in Latin; of the Arabic text, only quotations are known) that a man, suffering from a boil in the inguinal region, may find mitigation by putting the stalk of a myrtle around his finger by way of a ring. The manifold symbolical meaning attributed to the myrtle on festive occasions by the Israelites, Greeks and Romans seems to have remained unknown to Islam; according to an Arab legend, it was brought from Paradise by Adam (Löw, *op. cit.*, 269).

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(A. Dietrich)

al-**ASAD** [see minṭaḳat al-burūdj].

ASAD b. MŪSĀ b. IBRĀHĪM b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam al-Umawī, Arab traditionist and author of ascetic writings. He was born in Egypt in 132/750 (according to others in Baṣra (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, i, 260), and died in Egypt in 212/827. He made his reputation as a *ḥāfiẓ*, *rāwī* or *akhbārī*, had disciples and was nicknamed Asas al-Sunna. He exchanged *ḥadīth*s with the majority of the Egyptians who are known to us from this period, in particular with ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa (97-174/715-90) and al-Layth b. Saʿd (94-175/713-91), a great master and one of the richest men in Egypt, into whose house he entered in disguise, following his flight from the persecution of the Umayyad family to which he himself belonged (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, vii, 321 ff.), but also with ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (118-81/736-97), an author of ascetic writings who, among his numerous masters, exercised the most profound influence on him, although the texts that are available to us show very few signs of this influence *expressis verbis*. Opinion is divided among Arab-Islamic writers as to the value of Asad's activity as a traditionalist; while al-Bu**kh**ārī calls attention to the reputation of his *ḥadīth*, al-Nasāʾī refutes this statement to some extent in declaring that he is "worthy of belief, but he would have done better not to write" (**Dh**ahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*). Since then, the tendency has been to attack him vociferously, pointing out the exaggerated side of his traditions, as is indicated by Ibn **Kh**aldūn's resumé on this subject (*Mukadimma*, 564-6). This distrust, like that shown towards the work of Ibn Isḥāḳ and many authors of the early period of Islam, is explained, not so much by the fact that some of his traditions go beyond the serious framework accepted by Muslim theological good sense, as by the fact that Ibn Mūsā was under no obligation to masters recognised as such by the major schools of *ḥadīth*. On this basis, the author's fate was no better than that of his master Ibn Lahīʿa, whose material has been taken into consideration and propagated by other means, and especially under other names (see R.G. Khoury, *Asad*, 28).

Asad is known primarily as transmitter of the *Kitāb al-Tīdjān* of Ibn Hi**sh**ām, more particularly of the part that is associated with Ibn Munabbih (Abbott, *Studies*, i, 12; R.G. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, 286 ff., esp. 292). Asad's interest in the Yemenī heritage is no doubt explained by the in-

fluence of the policies of Muʿāwiya on all his descendants, but also by the author's wish to borrow material for his own writings from a *ḳāṣṣ* as famous as Wahb. As a transmitter, he is also encountered in a number of historical and ascetic books, like the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (see *Bibl.*), where there is a large number of traditions linked with his name; these are, like the majority of those attributed to his Egyptian masters, of an ascetic and pious nature. Other works are further attributed to him: *Musnad Asad b. Mūsā* (Ibn Khayr, *Fihrist*, 141-2; Ibn al-Faraḍī); the four versions mentioned by the *isnāds* of Ibn Khayr were the work of one Naṣr b. Marzūḳ. Not one of them seems to have appeared in book form. Then there is a treatise entitled *Risālat Asad b. Mūsā ilā Asad b. al-Furāt* [142-213/759-828] *fī luzūm al-sunna wa 'l-taḥdhīr min al-bidaʿ* (Ibn Khayr, 299) (see R. Sayid, who seems to have discovered a manuscript of it). Ibn Khayr (270) also mentions *Faḍāʾil al-tābiʿīn*, a book that he attributes to Saʿīd, son of Asad, which Ibn Hadjar had seen in two volumes and which apparently contained, according to the last-named, a great deal of information afforded by the father (Asad) and his circle (Ibn Ḥadjar, *ibid.*). Finally, there is the *Kitāb al-Zuhd wa 'l-ʿibāda wa 'l-waraʿ* (Ibn Khayr, 270; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 91); this book seems to have been the author's most important work, and according to Ibn Khayr comprised several books (*kutub*) corresponding to the three parts of the title which he supplies. Unfortunately, only two copies of the *Kitāb al-Zuhd* are available to us, one of them preserved in Berlin (Sprenger, 495) the other in Damascus (Ẓahiriyya, madj. 100/1). The first was edited by Leszynsky who, in the guise of an introduction, devoted a study to the traditions of the book and compared them with their parallels in Judaism and Christianity, but was not at all concerned with the author himself. The author of the present article has re-edited this copy, also taking account of the second, and adding to it all the "certificates of reading" in both of them, with a study of Asad (see *Bibl.*). It will be appreciated that the word *kitāb* is used here in the most flexible sense, seeing that one of the two copies begins with the word *bāb*, which tends to give to all the *kutub* cited by Ibn Khayr on this subject the dimensions of a single work. This book perhaps best illustrates the influence of the author and his importance in the sphere of ascetic and pious literature in general from the formative period of Islam, for it is the second work of its kind, after the *Kitāb al-Zuhd wa 'l-raḳāʾiḳ* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, which provided a model for it, both in content and in title, although Asad does not acknowledge this. It is made up of a collection of traditions with eschatological questions, while the other lost portions, corresponding to the *Kutub al-ʿIbāda wa 'l-waraʿ* mentioned by the bibliographer must have contained the remainder of the themes encountered in the work of Ibn al-Mubārak; piety, ascetic meditation, etc. (see Khoury, *Asad*, 39 ff.; Abbott, *Studies*, ii, 237 ff.).

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(R.G. KHOURY)

AL-**AṢAMM**, ABŪ BAKR ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. KAYSĀN, died 200/816 or 201/817, early theologian and *mufassir*, commonly counted among the Muʿtazilīs, although always treated as an outsider by the Muʿtazilī *ṭabaḳāt*. In his youth he served, together with other *mutakallimūn* like Muʿammar, Ḥafṣ al-Fard and Abū Shamir al-Ḥanafī, as *adlatus* (*ghulām*) to Maʿmar Abu 'l-Ashʿath, a Baṣran physician with certain "philosophical" leanings (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 100, ll. 28 ff.). In the later days of Ḍirār b. ʿAmr [*q.v.*], i.e. in the last quarter of the 2nd century A.H., he created in Baṣra a circle of his own. Abu 'l-Hudhayl did not like him; he called him, with a Persian expression, *kharbān*, the "donkey-driver", obviously alluding to his low origin (cf. Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Dedering, 31, ll. 12 ff.). But Abu 'l-Hudhayl became influential only when he had been called to Baghdād by al-Maʾmūn after 204/819, at a rather advanced age; in Baṣra al-Aṣamm seems to have enjoyed the higher prestige (cf. Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, 267, ll. -5 and pu. f.). This may be due to his eventual relations with the Ibāḍiyya who had, at that time, not yet entirely left the town (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī introduces him as *ṣāḥib al-Ibāḍiyya* in his *Baṣāʾir*, ed. Kaylānī, ii, 825, ult. f.). But it may also be attributed to the fact that he was a prolific writer; Ibn al-Nadīm mentions 26 books, none of which is unfortunately preserved (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Fück, in *Shafīʿ comm. volume*, 68, ll. 5 ff.). All of them treated of theological and juridical subjects. But he seems also to have been a poet (if the ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaysān mentioned by Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 205, ll. 6 ff. is identical with him; cf. Goldziher, *Isl.*, vi (1916), 174, n. 2). At least he was known to be eloquent; al-Djubbāʾī still acknowledged him as such (cf. *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, 267, l. -6 and 268, l. 3; also the aphorism mentioned in Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 80, ll. 1 f.). With the authority of an expert, he passed a severe judgment on Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *Dhamm akhlāḳ al-kuttāb*, in *Rasāʾil*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, ii, 195, ll. 7 ff.).

His solidarity with certain Muʿtazilī ideas is attested by his repeated polemics against the pre-destinarians (al-Mudjbira; cf. titles nos. 5 and 14 in the *Fihrist*, also no. 11) and by his reflections about tawḥīd (cf. title no. 3). But he did not accept the tenet of *al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* (cf. Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 269, ult. ff.); he believed that the *fāsiḳ* remains a believer because of his monotheistic creed and because of the good deeds he has performed (ibid., 270, ll. 9 ff.). The

fāsiḳ will nevertheless be condemned to eternal punishment; for this al-Aṣamm did not base himself, like his Muʿtazilī colleagues, on Ḳurʾānic evidence (which refers to unbelievers), but on the unanimous judgment of the community (ibid., 278, ll. 3 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 45, ll. 10 ff. seems to be a wrong generalisation). His ideas on the principle of *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* (cf. *Fihrist*, title no. 9) equally did not entirely correspond to those of other Muʿtazilīs (cf. Ashʿarī, 278, ll. 7 ff.); he based himself on a peculiar exegesis of sūra III, 104 (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 171, ll. 10 ff.). He wrote about the createdness of the Ḳurʾān at a moment when other Muʿtazilīs did not yet touch the problem (cf. title no. 2); a fierce opponent of this doctrine, Yazīd b. Hārūn (died 205 or 206/820-822), saw him here as in line with Bishr al-Marīsī, who was younger than he and whom he may have influenced (cf. Bukhārī, *Khalḳ al-afʿāl*, in Nashshār-Ṭālibī, *ʿAḳāʾid al-salaf*, 129, ll. 16 ff.). It was perhaps for this reason that Thumāma b. Ashras recommended him to al-Maʾmūn when the caliph was still in Marw (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Fück, 67, ll. -4 ff.). He clashed with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, certainly because of his strongly anti-Shīʿī feelings (cf. *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, 267, apu. f. and title no. 13), but also because of Hishām's "anthropomorphism" (cf. title no. 10), and he attacked the *zanādiḳa* and the Dahriyya, probably in correspondence with the policy pursued by al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) and his successors (cf. titles no. 24 and 15).

The theological doctrine most strongly connected with Aṣamm's name was his denial of the accidents (*aʿrāḍ*), which put him in opposition to Ḍirār b. ʿAmr [*q.v.*] and may have brought him into a certain connection with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*; cf. Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, ii, 825, ult. ff.]. He seems to have proceeded from a sensualistic basis: only bodies are visible; qualities appearing on them cannot subsist by themselves and can therefore not be ascribed a separate existence (*ibid.*, also Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 335, ll. 12 ff.). In comparison with Ḍirār's ideas, this was perhaps not so much a difference in substance but in explanation and in the conceptual apparatus. Like Ḍirār, he was led to deny a separate existence of the soul (cf. Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 335, ll. 12 ff., and 331, ll. 6 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 70, l. 4 and 74, ll. 4 f.); like him he seems to have rejected the idea of *kumūn* (*q.v.*; cf. Ashʿarī, 328, ll. 14 f.). In any case, he was not an atomist; this is why he was attacked for his doctrine by Abu 'l-Hudhayl, who tried to show that juridical obligations are normally not concerned with man as a whole, but with one of his accidents (e.g. his prosternation in prayer, or his being flogged in case of adultery; cf. *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, 262, apu. ff.). Hishām al-Fuwaṭī, a disciple of Abu 'l-Hudhayl, seems to have been mainly shocked by the ensuing denial of movement (which, understood in a very broad sense, was considered as the only accident by al-Naẓẓām; cf. the title of Fuwaṭī's book in *Fihrist*, ed. Fück, 69, l. 1). Many opponents and, influenced by their polemics, the later heresiographers, tended to understand Aṣamm's denial of the accidental character of qualities as a denial of qualities as such (cf. Ashʿarī, 343, ll. 12 ff.; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 96, ll. 8 f./116, ll. 3 f.; *idem*, *Uṣūl al-dīn* 7, ll. 14 ff. etc.). He consequently also regarded the Ḳurʾān as a body, and may have derived its createdness from this; God is the only essence which is not a body. Under this aspect, the doctrine seems to have been taken over by Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir (*q.v.*; cf. Ashʿarī, 588, ll. 4 ff.).

In addition to these ideas, al-Aṣamm is frequently mentioned for his unusual views concerning political theory. Government (*imāma*) was according to him not an obligatory attribute of human society; the ideal community is the community of the righteous which can do without a ruler (cf. Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 272, l. 10 and 271, ll. 14 f.; many later sources like Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, 3, l. 7; Ghazzālī, *Faḍāʾiḥ al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. Badawī, 170, ll. -5 ff.; Rāzī, *al-Muḥaṣṣal*, 176, ll. 9 f. etc.). Government is therefore not prescribed by reason nor by revelation, but is a mere practical measure against human iniquity. Theoretically speaking, universal knowledge of the Ḳurʾān should be sufficient in order to keep a society in order (cf. Pazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Linss, 186, ll. 11 ff.); but the reality being imperfect, the Muslims always decided to choose somebody as their *imām*. This can only be done by consensus (cf. Ashʿarī, 460, ll. 6 f.; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 150, ll. 4 f./164, ll. 1 ff.; etc.), and once somebody has been agreed upon, the election is irreversible, even if a more appropriate (*afḍal*) candidate presents himself afterwards (cf. al-Nāshiʾ al-akbar, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, ed. van Ess, § 99). Armed resistance against a ruler is only allowed if this person has seized power in an unjust way and if the leader of the rebellion has been agreed upon by consensus (cf. Ashʿarī, 451, ll. 12 f.).

Applied to the historical reality of the past, this meant that al-Aṣamm accepted Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as the most appropriate candidates in the moment of their election. After ʿUmar's death, the *afḍal* was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, who demonstrated his virtue by renouncing the caliphate for himself; ʿUthmān was only second in rank after him (cf. Nāshiʾ, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, § 100). In contrast to him, ʿAlī was not elected by a *shūrā*, i.e. by consensus; his government was therefore unrighteous (ibid., § 101). This does not mean that all his measurements were unlawful *per se*; in the case of his war against Ṭalḥa and Zubayr and of his establishing the arbitration at Ṣiffīn, an impartial assessment would have to proceed from his intentions and those of his opponents, whether he acted out of mere despotism or in order to put things right again. But as these intentions are no longer known, we have to suspend judgment. It is clear, however, that Ṭalḥa and Zubayr had a certain superiority over ʿAlī (perhaps because they sought revenge for ʿUthmān) and that Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī was right when he deposed ʿAlī in order to give his community a single ruler (cf. al-Mufīd, *K. al-Djamal*, Nadjaf 1382/1963, 26, ll. 16 ff., tr. M. Rouhani, *La victoire de Bassora*, Paris 1974, 17, and, shorter, Ashʿarī, 457, ll. 13 ff.; ibid., 453, ll. 13 ff.). Muʿāwiya was right in his resistance against ʿAlī, because he had been legally appointed governor of Syria by ʿUmar and confirmed in his office by ʿUthmān; he would have only been obliged to hand over Syria to a ruler who had been elected by consensus (cf. Nāshiʾ, § 102).

Thus far Aṣamm's theory could be learnt from his books, mainly his *K. al-Imāma* (cf. *Fihrist*, title no. 7) which, for understandable reasons, encountered opposition especially from the Shīʿīs and from theologians sympathetic to them: from Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 162, l. 21), probably from the early Shīʿī Faḍl b. Shādhān (died 260/874; cf. Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 150, ll. 10 f.) and even much later from the *shaykh* al-Mufīd (died 413/1022), who also seems to quote from the original in his *K. al-Djamal*, 26, ll. 16 ff. Al-Nāshiʾ also preserves, however, an oral tradition from Aṣamm's closest adherents saying

that there may be several rulers at once in the Muslim community, provided that they are legally elected and co-ordinate their efforts in righteousness. He based this theory on the fact that the Prophet appointed governors for different regions and that, after his death, his prerogative had been transferred to the population of these regions, who may decide according to their consensus. For his own time, al-Aṣamm deemed this even to be the better solution: a condominium, with its smaller political entities, would allow closer contact between the people and the ruler (cf. §§ 103 f.). As to the origin of these ideas, Goldziher suggested the influence of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Περὶ βασιλείας which may have been translated thus early (cf. *Isl.*, vi (1916), 176 f. and Cheikho's edition of the text in *Machriq*, x (1907), 311 ff.; for an analysis of the text itself S. M. Stern, *Aristotle on the World State*, Oxford 1968, passim, M. Grignaschi in *BEO*, xix (1965-6), 14 and M. Manzalaoui in *Oriens*, xxiii-xxiv (1974), 202). But it seems easier to assume that they were stimulated by discussions in Ibāḍī circles in Baṣra (cf. *EI*², III, 658a, and Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 88).

Aṣamm's high appreciation of the consensus led him to the theory that the *ʿulamāʾ*, if they are sufficient in number not to agree on a lie, are able to issue laws (cf. Ash͟ʿarī 467, l. 6 f.). For their *id͟jtihād* is not a matter of mere probability; every true judgment is based upon an irrefutable proof. Among *mud͟jtahidūn* of different opinions, therefore, only one is right (cf. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *al-Muʿtamad*, ed. Hamidullah, 949, ll. 10 ff.). In principle, there is no difference between juridical and dogmatical verities in this respect (cf. Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-D͟jabbār, *al-Mug͟hnī*, xvii, 369, ll. 17 ff.); but we may distinguish between errors which lead to unbelief (about God and prophecy), other ones which lead only to sinfulness (*fisḳ*; about the *ruʾya* or about *k͟halḳ al-Ḳurʾān*, e.g.) and those which result in the mere imputation of a fault (*taʾt͟hīm*) as in juridical questions (cf. G͟hazālī, *Mustaṣfā*, ii, 107, ll. -6 ff.; S͟hīrāzī, *Lumaʿ*, Cairo, Ṣubayḥ, n.d., 76, ll. 17 ff.; Māwardī, *Adab al-ḳāḍī*, Bag͟hdād 1391/1971, i, 532 no. 1234; Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 244, ll. 7 ff.). Because of this rational criterion, even a sinful *ḳāḍī* may pass righteous judgments (cf. Māwardī, ibid., i, 634, no. 1579). On the other hand, the *āḥād*, isolated traditions (which, at that time, must have comprised the majority of *ḥadīt͟h* in the view of the Muʿtazila), cannot claim any value as criteria (ibid., i, 376, no. 787). In these ideas, which seem to have been characteristic for Baṣra (cf. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 356, ll. 10 ff.), al-Aṣamm was followed by Bis͟hr al-Marīsī [*q.v.*] and Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl Ibn ʿUlayya, who had been his *adlatus* *g͟hulām*) and who founded a quite influential juridical school in Egypt (he died, like al-Marīsī, in 218/832, cf. *Taʾrīk͟h Bag͟hdād*, vi, 20 ff. no. 3054, etc.; there were adherents of his in Rāmhurmuz even in the 4th/10th century, cf. *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, 316, l. 3).

A rational trend appears also to have permeated al-Aṣamm's *Tafsīr*. He defines the *muḥkamāt* as those verses, the veracity of which cannot be denied by any opponent as, e.g., all statements about the past; the *mutas͟hābihāt* are verses which tell something about the future and which reveal their truth only after reflection as, e.g., statements about the Last Judgment (cf. As͟hʿarī, 223, ll. 3 ff.; Bag͟hdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 222, ll. 4 ff.; Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-g͟hayb*, Cairo n.d., vii, 182, ll. -5 ff.). There are thus no verses which remain permanently obscure to human reason. Al-Aṣamm seems to have concentrated on the meaning of entire passages (*maʿnā*); he did not deal with philological problems. The verse containing the problematic word *abb* (sūra LXXX, 31) is counted by him among the *muḥkamāt*. Naẓẓām criticised his arbitrariness and did not distinguish him from non-Muʿtazilī commentators like Kalbī or Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (cf. D͟jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 343, ll. 5 ff.; translated by Goldziher, *Richtungen der Koranauslegung*, 111 f.). But he was quoted exclusively by D͟jubbāʾī in his lost *Tafsīr* (although perhaps only for one passage; cf. *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, 268, ll. 1 f.) and later on by Māturīdī in his *Taʾwīlāt ahl al-sunna* (cf. i, 59, ll. 4 ff.; 95, ll. 8 f.; 103, ll. 1 ff.), by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-T͟haʿlabī al-Nīs͟hābūrī (died 427/1035) in his *Kas͟hf wa 'l-bayān* (cf. *GAS*, i, 615), by Ḥākim al-D͟jus͟hamī (died 494/1101) in his voluminous *Tafsīr*, and by Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his *Mafātīḥ al-g͟hayb* (cf. iii, 230, ult. ff.; ix, 160, ll. 13 ff. etc.). D͟jāḥiẓ uses the work sometimes (cf. *Ḥayawān*, iv, 73, ll. -4 ff.; also 205, ll. 6 ff.?), and Ṭabarī may have known it, although he does not mention al-Aṣamm by name. But it was interesting mainly to theologically-minded commentators and accessible obviously only in the East. Whether the ms. Kılıç Ali 53/8 really contains the text (cf. *GAL*, S II, 984 no. 7) has still to be checked.

This Baṣran Muʿtazilī should not be confounded with another Muʿtazilī by the name of Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm who lived in Egypt and who initiated the *miḥna* there at the instigation of Ibn Abī Duwād. He was called Naṣr b. Abī Layt͟h and was at least one generation younger than ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaysān (cf. Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik*, Beirut 1387/1967, i, 516, ll. -5 ff.; 527, ll. 6 ff.; 564, pu. ff. etc.; cf. the index).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but cf. also amongst sources: As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 242, l. 2; 456, ll. 9 ff.; 458, ll. 3 ff.; 564, ll. 3 f.; Nawbak͟htī, *Firaḳ al-S͟hīʿa*, 14, ll. 1 ff. = Ḳummī, *Maḳālāt*, 14, ll. 3 f.; Ibn Baṭṭa, *Ibāna*, ed. Laoust, 91, ll. 15 f. and 92, l. 16; al-S͟harīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-muk͟htāra*², i, 63, ll. 10 ff.:³ 68, 4 ff.; Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-D͟jabbār, *al-Mug͟hnī*, xx², 61, ll. 1 f.; Bag͟hdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, 95, l. 7; idem, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 7, ll. 14 ff. and 36, ult. ff.; Abū Yaʿlā, *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Haddad, 37, l. 4 and 222, ll. 3 ff.; D͟juwaynī, *al-S͟hāmil*, i, 168, 6 f.; Pazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Linss, 11. pu. f.; S͟hahrastānī, *Milal*, 19, ll. 3 ff.; 51, ll. 5 ff.; 53, ll. 6 f.; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Diwald-Wilzer, 56, ll. 17 ff.; Ibn Ḥad͟jar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, iii, 427, ll. 2 ff.; Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 269, no. 258; Studies: M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 298 f.; A.S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 126 f.; A.N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956, index s.v. Abū Bakr al-Aṣam (*sic*).; H. Brentjes, *Die Imamatslehren im Islam*, Berlin 1964, 43, 52; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 42 f.; E. Gräf, in *Bustān*, x/2-3 (1969) 44; H. Laoust, *La politique de Gazālī*, Paris 1970, 231; H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād al-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, Index s.v. (JOSEF VAN ESS)

ASĀṬĪR AL-AWWALĪN "stories of the ancients," a phrase occurring nine times in the Ḳurʾān (VI, 25/25, VIII, 31/31, XVI, 24/26, XXIII, 83/85, XXV, 5/6, XXVII, 68/70, XLVI, 17/16, LXVIII, 15/15, and LXXXIII, 13/13; see also *EI*²,

IV, 980b, s.v. KHALḲ) and there "put exclusively in the mouth of unbelievers . . . expressing themselves against the Ḳur'ānic revelation or, more specifically, against the doctrine of the Resurrection, by referring to the *asāṭīr* of the former (generations) when similar, and in their opinion silly, things could already be found without being accepted" (R. Paret, *Der Koran, Kommentar*, Stuttgart 1971, 137). The commentators (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, to VIII, 31) connected its use at one point with the opponent of the Prophet, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥāriṯh. Travelling as a merchant to Fārs or al-Ḥīra, he saw Christians praying and reading the Gospels and, upon returning to Mecca, compared their activities to the Prophet's allegedly similar worshipping. More interestingly, another version (Ibn Hishām, 191 f.) says that al-Naḍr compared the Prophet's story-telling unfavourably with "the stories of the Persian kings and the stories of Rustum and Isfandiyār" he had learned in al-Ḥīra.

The fact that, with the exception of XXV, 5/6, all occurrences are at the ends of verses suggests a set expression that had been long in use. The appearance of *asāṭīr* in a verse by the *mukhaḍram* poet ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ziʿbarā, although attribution and date are uncertain, seems to support the assumption of its currency in Mecca in pre-Islamic times (cf. J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, 70; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 56 f.; P. Minganti, in *RSO*, xxxviii, (1963), 326 f., 351). With its general meaning hardly in doubt, most of the discussion has concerned the grammatical form and, more generally, the derivation of the word. It was declared a *plurale tantum*, or else entirely hypothetical singular forms were reconstructed (Lane, 1358b). Its widely accepted derivation from *s-ṭ-r* led to meanings such as "writings, written (accounts, stories)." It was glossed "lying stories," or *asādjīʿ* "rhymed prose pieces," or, frequently, *turrahāt* "obscure and confused statements." It was explained as reflecting *s-ṭ-r ʿalā* in the sense of "making up embellished stories for" (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, s. rad.). Later Muslims (as, strangely, also a modern scholar, D. Künstlinger, in *OLZ*, xxxix (1936), 482), imbued with respect for the cultural achievements of the "ancients," would ask themselves why the phrase should have been used in a negative sense when "the ancients wrote things containing knowledge and wisdom which it was not blameworthy to state", and give the answer that use of it was meant to criticise the Ḳur'ān as unrevealed or as difficult and obscure (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Zād al-masīr*, Damascus 1384-8, iii, 20, to VI, 25).

Orientalists, beginning, it seems, with Golius, have suggested a derivation from Greek *historia*; see, e.g., the references in T. Nöldeke and F. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 16; Horovitz; Jeffery; R. Köbert, in *Orientalia, N.S.*, xiv (1945), 274-6; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 28 f.; Paret, *op. cit.*). This is philologically possible and would make good sense. However, neither this etymology nor another connecting the word with Syriac *sh-ṭ-r* "stupidities" (Künstlinger) can be supported by proof, nor is there any compelling evidence for a South Arabian origin. For the time being, its connection with Arabic *s-ṭ-r* "to write" (possibly supported also by Ḳur'ān, XXV, 5/6) appears to have the best claim to being correct.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

ʿĀSHIḲ WEYSEL, modern Turkish Âşık Veysel (1894-1973), Turkish folk poet and the last great representative of the tradition of *Sāz shāʿirleri* [see ḲARADJAOGHLAN]. He was born in Sivrialan, a village near Sharkishla of Sivas province, the son of a farmer, Ḳara Aḥmed, whose family name of Shātiroghlu Weysel rarely used. Loss of sight in both his eyes at the age of seven followed smallpox. At ten he began to chant poetry accompanied by his instrument the *sāz* [*q.v.*]. An *ʿāshiḳ* of his own village and other wandering folk poets whom he came across and who discovered his talent, taught him poetry and music and encouraged him to continue. In 1931, in a traditional gathering of folk poets at Sivas, he was hailed as a prominent *ʿāshiḳ*. In 1933 he joined, as a volunteer, the 10th Anniversary celebrations of the Turkish Republic in Ankara, to which he went wandering on foot during several months, accompanied by a friend. He went all over Anatolia reciting his poems and playing his *sāz*. He performed many times on Ankara and Istanbul radios. For a short while (1942-4) he taught folk songs in the Village Institutes [see KÖY ENSTITULERI]. He died in his village on 21 March 1973. ʿĀshiḳ Weysel was married and had six children. Differing from many contemporary folk poets who joined the "social protest" literature of most modern writers, ʿĀshiḳ Weysel preferred to follow the classical tradition of folk poetry in the line of Ḳaradjaoghlan, Emrāh, Rukhṣatī and others, and he sang of love, friendship, nostalgia, separation, life's mutability and death. He is the author of *Deyişler* (1944) and *Sazımdan sesler* (1950). His collected works have been edited by Ümit Yaşar Oğuzcan as *Dostlar beni hatırlasın* (1970).

Bibliography: Ü.Y. Oğuzcan, *Aşık Veysel, hayatı ve şiirleri*, Istanbul 1963; S.K. Karaalioğlu, *Resimli Türk edebiyatçıları sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1974, s.v.

(FAHİR İZ)

ASHRAF AL-DĪN GĪLĀNĪ, Persian journalist and poet, was born in Rasht in 1871. He completed his early studies in Ḳazwīn, and from 1883 to 1888 was a theological student in Nadjaf. Returning to Rasht, he earned his living as a letter-writer until the Revolution of 1906, when he began the publication of *Nasīm-i Shimāl* (a name that he also sometimes used as his *takhalluṣ*). This weekly journal was suppressed after the counter-revolution of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh in 1908, but the following years Ashraf accompanied the Constitutionalist forces on their successful occupation of Tehran, where he resumed publication of his journal. Although he admired Riḍā Khān, he abandoned public life after the latter's accession to the throne in 1925, and devoted him-self to literary pursuits. Apart from his poems, which mostly first appeared in *Nasīm-i Shimāl*, he wrote a novel in verse and prose and works on history and philosophy. He died in poverty and ill-health in 1934.

Though Ashraf's poetic talent was not up to the level of some of his contemporaries, he was an influential innovator in the use of colloquial vocabulary and style. He was an ardent supporter of constitutionalism and social reform, including the emancipation of women, and a fervent patriot who often cited the example of Persia's great past. *Nasīm-i Shimāl* was regarded as one of the best literary journals of its day.

Bibliography: Ashraf's poems were collected in *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, Tehran 1919, and *Djild-i duwwum-i Nasīm-i Shimāl*, Bombay 1927; Biographical details in: E.G. Browne, *Press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 182-200; M. Ishaque, *Sukhanwarān-i Īrān dar ʿaṣr-i ḥāḍir*, i, Calcutta 1933, 146-70; ibid., *Modern Persian poetry*, Calcutta 1943, passim; Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir

Burkaʿī, *Sukhanwarān-i nāmī-yi muʿāṣir*, ii, Tehran 1951, 250-5; Muḥammad Ṣadr Hāshimī, *Tāʾrīkh-i djarāʾid wa madjallāt-i Īrān*, iv, Tehran 1953, 295-9; Bozorg Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964, 51-5.

(L.P. Elwell-Sutton)

ASHTURKA, Asturka, the Spanish town of Astorga, the Asturica Augusta of the Roman period, capital of the Conventus Asturum, already by then a focal point for communications (J.M. Roldán, *Iter ab Emerita Asturicam. El camino de la Plata*, Salamanca 1971), and later a halting-point on the "route of the herds" (R. Aiken, *Rutas de trashumancia en la Meseta castellana*, in *Estudios geográficos*, xxvi (1947), 192-3) and on the "road to St. James" (C.E. Dubler, *Los caminos a Compostela en la obra de Idrisi*, in *And.*, xiv (1949), 114; N. Benavides Moro, *Otro camino a Santiago por tierra leonesa*, in *Tierras de León*, v (1964). Al-ʿUdhrī compares it with Saragossa (F. de la Granja, *La Marca Superior en la obra de al-ʿUdrī*, in *Estudios Edad Media Corona Aragón* (1967), 456). Astorga was another *urbs magnifica*, although Theodoric destroyed it in 456 (A. Quintana, *Astorga en en tempo de los suevos*, in *Archivos Leoneses* (1966). Al-Idrīsī says that Astorga was "a small town, surrounded by a green countryside" (E. Saavedra, *La geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid 1881, 67, 80; H. Muʾnis, *Taʾrīkh al-djughrāfiya wa 'l-djughrāfiyyīn fi 'l-Andalus*, Madrid 1967, 265).

Astorga was captured by Ṭārik b. Ziyād in 95/714. In 718 there was formed to the north of it the kingdom of the Asturias, which nevertheless did not include all the territory of the Conventus Asturum (G. Fabre, *Le tissu urban dans le N.O. de la péninsule ibérique*, in *Latomus* (1970), 337). The region was settled by Berbers, who rose against the Arabs in 123/740-1 (*Akhbār madjmūʿa*, 38, tr. 48). The Christian advance which overcame the Muslims and expelled them from the whole of Djalīkiya (133/750-1) compelled them "to cross the mountains towards Asturka" (*ibid.*, 62, tr. 66). It seems definite that in this region, the Berber element has left behind an enduring ethnic imprint (= Maragatos (?); P. Guichard, *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente*, Barcelona 1976, 143 n. 5, 146). Alfonso I reconquered Astorga in 753-4, but it was not repopulated till *ca.* 854 (C. Sanchez Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, Buenos Aires 1966, 261-2; *idem*, *Repoblación del reino asturleonés. Proceso, dinámica y proyecciones*, in *CHE*, liii-liv (1971), 236-49) or in 860 (J.M. Lacarra, *Panorama de la historia urbana en la peninsula desde los siglos V al X*, in *Settimane... Spoleto*, 1958, 352). In 179/795 the town was attacked by Hishām I's general ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Mughīth (A. Fliche, *Alphonse II le Chaste et les origines de la reconquête chrétienne*, and A. de la Torre, *Las etapas de la reconquista hasta Alfonso II*, in *Estudios sobre la Monarquia asturiana*, Oviedo 1971, 115-31, 133-74). In 267/878, al-Mundhir launched an expedition against Astorga. We possess documents dating from that year proving the presence there of Mozarabes (M. Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, Madrid 1919, 107-11), who played a key role in the repopulating of the town (L.C. Kofman and M.I. Carzolio, *Acerca de la demografía astur-leonesa y castellana en la Alta Edad Media*, in *CHE*, xlvii-xlviii (1968), 136-70). Under Alfonso III, Astorga, by now properly organised, was part of a defensive line with Coimbra, Leon and Amaya (Sanchez Albornoz, *Las campañas del 882 y del 883 que Alfonso III esperó en León*, in *León y su historia*, i (1969), 169-82). The bishopric was re-established there (A. Quintana Prieto, *El obispado de Astorga en los siglos IX y X*, Astorga 1968), and its bishops played an important role in political life (L. Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la Bula de la Cruzada en España*, Vitoria 1958, 84-5, 155, 184, 203, 386, 521, 681, 683; H. Salvador Martínez, *El "Poema de Almería" y la épica románica*, Madrid 1975, 48-9, 399). It was attacked by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] in 385/995. It fell into decay at the beginning of the 14th century. In the 15th century the "marquisate of Astorga" was formed there (A. Seijas Vazquez, *Chantada y el señorío de los Marqueses de Astorga*, Chantada 1966).

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(M.J. Viguera)

ASMĀʾ Bint ʿUmays b. Maʿd al-Khathʿamiyya, a contemporary of the Prophet (d. 39/659-60). Her mother, Hind bint ʿAwf b. Zubayr, called al-ʿAdjūz al-Djurashiyya, was famous through the illustriousness of her sons-in-law, amongst whom were included the Prophet, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 91, 109), as well as of Asmāʾ's husbands. In fact, the latter probably married in the first place Rabīʿa b. Riyāḥ al-Hilālī, by whom she had three sons, Mālik, ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Hubayra; but all the sources agree that she was successively the wife of (1) Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, by whom she had three further sons, ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAwn and Muḥammad, with whom she emigrated to Abyssinia, where she saw for the first time biers, introducing them subsequently into usage in Arabia; the continuance of Djaʿfar's line was assumed by Muḥammad; (2) Abū Bakr, by whom she had Muḥammad; and (3) ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, by whom she further had Yaḥyā. Despite all these marriages, she was not considered to be one of the famous *mutazawwidjāt*, and the number of sons which she brought into the world does not seem to have attracted particular attention.

On the other hand, she is considered to be the authoress of a *Kitāb* which Yaʿkūbī cites (*Historiae*, ii, 114, 128) and which must have contained *ḥadīths* of the Prophet; that Asmāʾ should have made such a compilation, which would circulate in Shīʿī circles, is a priori suspect, even though ʿAlī's main wife, Fāṭima, would have been able to hand on to Asmāʾ the doings and happenings concerning her father. Furthermore, the Sunnīs seem to have accepted only with reservations *ḥadīths* transmitted by this woman (cf. I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 9, Fr. tr. L. Bercher, Paris 1952, 10-11, Eng. tr. Barber and Stern, London 1967-71, ii, 22).

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(Ch. Pellat)

al-**ASMAR**, ʿAbd al-Salām b. Salīm al-Faytūrī, 16th century revivalist of the ʿArūsiyya order, was born on 12 Rabīʿ I 880/16 July 1475 in the coastal oasis of Zlīṭen (Zalīṭan, Zlīṭan; obsolete forms, Zalītan, Yazlītan, Yazlītīn, Izlītan) in Tripolitania. He belonged to the Faytūriyya (Fawātir) tribe, whence his *laḳab*, while the nickname al-Asmar was given to him by his mother who had been ordered to do so in a dream. He received his early mystical training from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Dūkālī, a *khalīfa* [*q.v.*] of the ʿArūsiyya order, who initiated him into this *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] and to whose circle of disciples he belonged for seven years. According to the canonised history of the order, he received additional instruction from eighty other *shaykhs* before he started to manifest himself as the revivalist of al-ʿArūsiyya, whose coming had been predicted by the founder of this *ṭarīḳa* Aḥmad b. ʿArūs (d. 868/1463). His proselytising efforts involved him in tribal rivalries and led to accusations of sorcery and heresy being brought against him. On various occasions he was expelled from villages and from tribal territories, where he must have aroused the hostility of the population because of his denunciations of the prevailing marriage customs (cf. *WK*, 113; see Bibliography), mourning rites (cf. *WK*, 117), and of the relatively free social intermingling of the sexes in tribal society (see e.g. *WK*, 127). He was expelled from the town of Tripoli, where he had settled in the early 16th century, and where he had become an increasingly popular religious leader, by the local ruler, who may well have considered ʿAbd al-Salām's proselytising activities as part of a Ḥafṣid [*q.v.*] plot aimed at his overthrow and the re-establishment of the dynasty's power in the area. The actual revival of the *ṭarīḳa* did not start until after he again took up residence in Zlīṭen, where he established a *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] in the territory of one of the local tribes, the Barāhima, who had come to accept his claims to sainthood. Here he died in Ramaḍān 981/January 1574.

ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar gave a new direction to the original ʿArūsiyya of which he amended the ritual and to which he added his own body of teachings. He obliged his adherents to wear white clothes (*WK*, 100 ff.), forbade smoking (*WK*, 70), and introduced the playing of the *bandīr* (*duff*) during the *ḥaḍra* [*q.v.*], claiming that he had received an authorisation to this effect from heaven (al-Mulaydjī, 257 ff.; see bibliography). In addition, he prohibited self-mutilation during the *ḥaḍra* (*WK*, 201) and stressed the importance of attending these occasions by proclaiming that attendance was half the *wird* [*q.v.*] and that absence consequently meant abandoning the *wird* (*WK*, 170; *Rawḍat*, 307), which had come to consist of a number of *awrād* composed by ʿAbd al-Salām himself, in addition to the original ʿArūsī *wird* (cf. Mulaydjī, 393 ff.). He claimed that the ʿArūsiyya were the original Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*], which was the *ṭarīḳa* practised by the most intimate companions of the Prophet (*Rawḍat*, 104), and that its outstanding nature was testified to by the fact that in a miraculous act, the angels had written the names of the *shaykhs* mentioned in the *silsila* [*q.v.*] on the *lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ* [*q.v.*] (*WK*, 267). Moreover, he taught that anybody who knew his speech by heart, i.e. who memorised everything which had been written down—he himself was an analphabetic—of that which he had ever said (which was partly codified in *ḳaṣīdas* [*q.v.*] sung during the *ḥaḍra* and on other ceremonial occasions) would be protected by God in this world and in the next (*WK*, 217), and that his adherents would be assisted by him, wherever they were, by means of his miraculous omnipresence (*WK*, 262; this belief is also expressed in the introductory lines to every *ḳaṣīda* composed by him, viz. *al-asmar fī kull^un dīwān, kursīhi fī 'l-wasaṭ al-ʿalī . . .*). Members of the order were moreover required to direct their lives in accordance with a number of ethical precepts and admonitions elaborated by ʿAbd al-Salām in a set of rules known as *al-Waṣiyya al-kubrā*, which is very similar to the Ṣūfī tracts on *ādāb* [*q.v.*] of earlier eras. To abandon the *ṭarīḳa* was considered as equal to apostasy and would, as was taught, not be considered as such only by those belonging to the order, but by God himself (*WK*, 260). ʿAbd al-Salām exhorted his adherents to adopt al-Sanūsī's *ʿaḳīda* in matters of *tawḥīd* (*WK*, 3), but urged them at the same time to pay tribute to Ibn al-ʿArabī as the greatest *walī* [*q.v.*] of all times—except for the Prophets and the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad—and stressed him as the pillar of the *ṭarīḳa* (*WK*, 245).

The period in which ʿAbd al-Salām lived, largely coincided with the turbulent era in which the Ḥafṣids, the Spaniards, local tribal chiefs, the Knights of Saint John and the Ottomans, had all become involved in the struggle for control of Tripolitania. This caused conditions of life to become increasingly unsettled, and must have made it possible for an exclusivist mystical salvationist movement, like the one into which the original ʿArūsiyya had been elaborated by ʿAbd al-Salām, to flourish and spread the way it did.

Throughout the collections of sayings and texts attributed to ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar, the *ṭarīḳa* is referred to as al-ʿArūsiyya. It does not seem to have been referred to as al-Salāmiyya until in the 19th century in Tunisia (cf. Muḥammad Muḥammad Mashīna, *al-Anwār al-ḳudsiyya fī 'l-kashf ʿan ḥaḳīḳa al-ṭarīḳa al-Salāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1365, 9), where the order had obtained a substantial membership, in particular in the southern parts (cf. Mustafa Kraïem, *La Tunésie pré-coloniale*, Tunis 1973, ii, 129).

Nowadays, the names ʿArūsiyya and Salāmiyya are used more or less synonymously throughout North Africa, except for Egypt where the names refer to two distinct branches, which emerged there in the 19th century. Active lodges of the *ṭarīḳa* of ʿAbd al-Salām may be found in Tunisia (see al-Ṣādiḳ al-Rizḳī, *al-Aghānī al-Tūnisiyya*, Tunis 1967, 129 ff.), in Egypt, where it has a wide-spread membership (see Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Faḥḥām, *Ibn ʿArūs wa 'l-ṭarīḳa al-ʿArūsiyya*, in *al-Funūn al-shaʿbiyya*, iv (Cairo 1970), no. 15, 71), and in Libya (see Djamīl Hilāl, *Dirāsāt fī 'l-wāḳiʿ al-Lībī*, Tripoli 1969, 141 f.; ʿAbd al-Djalīl al-Ṭāhir, *al-Mudjtamaʿ al-Lībī, dirāsāt idjtimāʿiyya wa-anthrūbūlūdjiyya*, Ṣaydā/Beirut 1969, 325 ff.; and *al-Muslim*, xx (Cairo 1969), no. i, 23). The shrine of ʿAbd al-Salām at Zlīṭen has significance, as a centre of pilgrimage; religious education is provided at the establishment attached to it known as *al-maʿhad al-asmarī* (cf. Mulaydjī, 23).

Bibliography: *al-Waṣiyya al-kubrā* (abbreviated in the article as *WK*, with reference to the paragraphs in which it is sub-divided), also known as *Naṣīḥat al-murīdīn li 'l-djamāʿa al-muntasibīn li 'l-ʿArūsī*, was published in Cairo n.d., in Tripoli (cf. O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 339-49, 351), and in Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Mulaydjī, *Fī hāmish ḥayāt Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar*, Tripoli 1969, 422-529. This book contains also ʿAbd al-Salām's

Waṣiyya al-ṣughra (which is essentially a summary of the *Waṣiyya al-kubrā*), the texts of various prayers (*aḥzāb*) composed by him (402-19), a collection of his admonitions as well as a list of works (largely unpublished) containing data about al-Asmar's life (247 ff.). The biography presented in it is based upon oral information collected by the author (cf. 93) and upon materials contained in Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Makhlūf al-Munastirlī, *Tanḳīh rawḍat al-azhār wa-munyat al-sādāt al-abrār fī manāḳib Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar*, Tunis 1325/1907-8. This work, also known under the title *Mawāhib al-raḥīm fī manāḳib Mawlānā al-Shaykh Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Salīm* (cf. *Tanḳīh*, 4), is an abridgement of the unpublished *Rawḍat al-azhār wa-munyat al-sādāt al-abrār fī manāḳib Ṣāḥib al-Ṭār*, by Karīm al-Dīn al-Barmūnī, a disciple of ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar. A sample of al-Asmar's poetry, reflecting his ideas, may also be found in al-Rizḳī's book referred to in the article and in ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar, *Safīnat al-buḥūr*, Cairo 1969. For a defence of playing the *bandīr* (*duff*) in this *ṭarīḳa*, see Muḥammad Muḥammad Mashīna, *Risālat al-ḳawl al-maʿrūf fī aḥkām al-ḍarb bi ʾl-dufūf*, contained in Mashīna's *al-Anwār al-ḳudsiyya* (see the article). For details about the history of al-Salāmiyya and al-ʿArūsiyya in Egypt and further references, see F. De Jong, *Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-linked institutions in 19th century Egypt*, *passim*, Leiden 1978. In addition to these references and the references in the article, see the biographies by Ṭāhā Muḥammad Mashīna al-Tādjūrī, *al-Ṭarīḳa al-Salāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya*, in *Madjallat al-Islām wa ʾl-Taṣawwuf* (1959), no. 10, 79-81; Sālim b. Hamūda, *al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar*, in *al-Muslim* xiii (Cairo 1962), no. 8, 16-20; Muḥammad al-Bashīr Ẓāfir, *al-Yawāḳīt al-thamīna fī aʿyān madhhab ʿālim al-Madīna*, Cairo 1324-5/1906-7, 200 f.; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Cairo 1346/1927-8, i, 147.

(F. de Jong)

ASSASSINS [see ḥashīshiyya].

ASSOCIATION [see andjumān, djamʿiyya].

ASYLUM [see bast, bīmāristān].

ʿATABĀT (a. "thresholds"), more fully, *ʿatabāt-i ʿāliya* or *ʿatabāt-i muḳaddasa* ("the lofty or sacred thresholds"), the Shīʿī shrine cities of ʿIrāḳ—Nadjaf, Karbalāʾ, Kāẓimayn and Sāmarrā [*q.vv.*]—comprising the tombs of six of the *Imāms* as well as a number of secondary shrines and places of visitation.

Nadjaf, 10 km. to the west of Kūfa, is the alleged site of burial of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 41/661) (another shrine dedicated to ʿAlī is that at Mazār-i Sharīf in Northern Afghanistan; see Khʷadja Sayf al-Din Khudjandī, *Karwān-i Balkh*, Mazār-i Sharīf, n.d., 18 ff.). His tomb is said to have been kept secret throughout the Umayyad period, and was marked with a dome for the first time in the late 3rd/9th century by Abu ʾl-Haydjāʾ, the Ḥamdānid ruler of Mosul; this early structure was repaired and expanded by ʿAḍud al-Dawla the Buwayhid in 369/979-80 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 518). Karbalāʾ, 100 km. to the south-west of Baghdād, the site of the martyrdom and burial in 61/680 of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, became very early a centre of Shīʿī pilgrimage; according to Shīʿī tradition, the first pilgrim was Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who visited the site forty days after the death of Ḥusayn. Endowments were settled on the shrine (known as Mashhad al-Ḥāʾir, "shrine of the garden pool") by Umm Mūsā, mother of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (Ṭabarī, iii, 752), but it was temporarily destroyed in 236/850 by an ʿAbbāsid less favourable to the Shīʿa, al-Mutawakkil: he caused the site to be flooded (Ṭabarī, iii, 1407). By the time that Ibn Ḥawḳal visited Karbalāʾ in 366/977, the shrine had evidently been restored (ed. J.H. Kramers, i, 166), and it was expanded, like that at Nadjaf, by ʿAḍud al-Dawla in the late 4th/10th century (Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.*).

From the Buwayhid period onward, Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ, the two most important of the *ʿatabāt*, have in fact had a common destiny, each receiving patronage and pilgrimage from the successive conquerors and rulers of ʿIrāḳ. Thus Malik Shāh the Saldjūḳ visited both Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ in 479/1086-7 and bestowed gifts on the shrines (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 103). Spared by the Mongol invaders, the two shrines prospered under Il Khānid rule. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Djuwaynī Ṣāḥib al-Dīwān had a hospice erected at Nadjaf in 666/1267 to accomodate pilgrims, and also began the construction of a canal linking the city with the Euphrates (ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayn iḥtilālayn*, Baghdād 1354/1935, i, 263, 310). In 703/1303, Ghāzān Khān visited both shrines: in Nadjaf he built a lodging for the *sayyids* resident there (*dār al-siyāda*), together with a further hostel for pilgrims, as well as improving the canal constructed by Djuwaynī, and he bestowed similar favours on Karbalāʾ (Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Taʾrīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 191, 203, 208). After his capture of Baghdād in 803/1400, Tīmūr made a pilgrimage to Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ and presented gifts to the shrines (al-ʿAzzāwī, *op. cit.*, ii, 240).

In the 10th/16th century, ʿIrāḳ became an object of dispute between the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans, and both sides endowed and patronised the shrines of Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ during their periods of control. Shāh Ismāʿīl the Ṣafawid visited and bestowed gifts on the two shrines in 914/1508, as well as restoring the canal at Nadjaf dug in Il Khānid times (al-ʿAzzāwī, *op. cit.*, iii, 316, 341). Sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī made a similar pilgrimage to Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ after his conquest of ʿIrāḳ in 941/1534, and had a new irrigation canal dug at Karbalāʾ, called *al-nahr al-sulaymānī* after him (al-ʿAzzāwī, *op. cit.*, iv, 29, 36-7). Shāh ʿAbbās I restored ʿIrāḳ and the *ʿatabāt* to Ṣafawid control in 1032/1623; this new occupation, terminated by Murād IV in 1048/1638, led to a further enriching and expansion of the shrines at both Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ. Again in the years 1156-9/1743-6, parts of ʿIrāḳ, including Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ, were temporarily removed from Ottoman sovereignty, this time by Nādir Shāh; he is variously reported to have had the main dome at Karbalāʾ gilded, and to have plundered the treasury at the shrine. This was the last time that Ottoman rule of ʿIrāḳ was threatened from Iran, but throughout the 13th/19th century royal Iranian patronage of both Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ continued, and it is this that accounts for the largely Iranian appearance of the shrines in the present age. Āghā Muḥammad Khān, the first Ḳādjār monarch, had the dome at Karbalāʾ regilded, and endowed the tomb at Nadjaf with a golden grill (H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1785-1906; the role of the Ulama in the Qajar period*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, 42). Following his example, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had the minarets at Karbalāʾ gilded, as well as reconstructing the dome out of gold bricks; Muḥammad Shāh provided for the repair of the damage inflicted on Karbalāʾ by the Wahhābīs during their incursion of 1216/1801; and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh himself visited the *ʿatabāt* in 1287/1870 and commissioned

various work in Nadjaf, Karbalāʾ and Kāẓimayn (Algar, *op. cit.*, 48, 104, 167). Gifts and endowments were also sent to the *ʿatabāt* by the rulers of various Shīʿī principalities in India, especially Oudh (J.N. Hollister, *The Shīʿa of India*, London 1953, 107, 112, 162-3).

Kāẓimayn (also known as Kāẓimiyya), the third of the *ʿatabāt*, formerly a separate city on the right bank of the Tigris but now virtually a suburb of Baghdād, is the site of the tombs of the seventh and ninth *Imāms*, Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 186/802) and Muḥammad al-Taḳī (or al-Djawād) (d. 219/834). It occupies a geographically central place among the *ʿatabāt*, being situated between Sāmarrā to the north and Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ to the south, and has always received a steady flow of pilgrims. Unlike Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ, it did not escape the Mongol invasion unscathed, and was extensively damaged by fire during conquest of Baghdād in 656/1258. Most of the existing structures in Kāẓimayn date from the time of Shāh Ismāʿīl, who was particularly lavish with his patronage in Kāẓimayn because of his claim to descent from the seventh *Imām*. The work begun under his auspices was completed by Sultan Sulaymān in 941/1534 and restored and expanded by several Ḳādjār monarchs in the 19th century. The major courtyard (*ṣaḥn*) at Kāẓimayn was built in 1298/1880 by Farhād Mīrzā, a Ḳādjār prince. Also buried in Kāẓimayn are two early Shīʿī scholars, Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) and Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044); two sons of Mūsā al-Kāẓim, Ismāʿīl and Ibrāhīm; Ṭāhir b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, a son of the fourth *Imām*; Khadīdja bint al-Ḥasan; and Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn (L. Massignon, *Les saints musulmans enterrés à Bagdad*, in *Opera minora*, ed. Y. Moubarac, Beirut, iii, 100-1).

Sāmarrā, the fourth of the *ʿatabāt*, contains the tombs of the tenth and eleventh *Imāms*, ʿAlī al-Naḳī (d. 254/868) and Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/873), as well as the cistern (*sardāb*) where the twelfth *Imām*, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, entered the state of occultation (*ghayba*) in 260/873 and where too he is destined to reappear at the beginning of his renewed manifestation at the end of time.

The *ʿatabāt* play a role of great importance in the life of Shīʿī Islam, functioning almost as a secondary *ḳibla*. They are above all places of pilgrimage (*ziyārat*), visited by countless Shīʿīs from Iran, the Indian subcontinent and elsewhere. Pilgrimage to the *ʿatabāt* consists primarily of circumambulating the sacred tombs while reading a series of traditional prayers (*ziyāratnāma*) and fervently caressing the golden grills enclosing the tombs; one may also seek the intercession of the *Imāms* or make to them a vow (*nadhr*). Karbalāʾ, which contains the tombs not only of Ḥusayn but also of his half-brother, ʿAbbās, and his son, ʿAlī Akbar, is in particular much frequented by pilgrims, who after their return home may prefix the title "Karbalāʾī" to their names. The soil of Karbalāʾ, having been moistened with the blood of Ḥusayn, is deemed to possess special properties; from it is generally fashioned the clay disc (*muhr*) on which the Shīʿa place their foreheads when prostrating in prayer. When diluted in water, the soil also yields a beverage (*āb-i turbat*) thought to have theurgical and curative properties; the sick, the dying, and women in labour are caused to imbibe it, and it is lightly sprinkled over the face and lips of the dead (H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 38, 96; B.A. Donaldson, *The wild rue*, London 1938, 205). The dust accumulating on the grill around the tomb of Ḥusayn is also highly regarded; it is carefully collected for its curative properties (Donaldson, *op. cit.*, 67), and is sometimes used in India as a lining for tombs (Hollister, *op. cit.*, 155). Burial at the *ʿatabāt* is considered highly desirable, again with a marked preference being shown for Karbalāʾ; corpses are often transported for burial from Iran and India to the *ʿatabāt*, where vast cemeteries have sprung up, particularly at Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ. Traditionally numerous pious Shīʿīs have also gone to spend their last years in the *ʿatabāt* as "neighbours" (*mudjāwirūn*) to the *Imāms*.

The *ʿatabāt* have also occupied an important place in the intellectual and theological life of Shīʿism, the *madrasas* situated there drawing scholars and students from every region of Shīʿī population; Nadjaf, frequently entitled Dār al-ʿIlm, is the chief centre of learning today in the Shīʿī world. In the 12th/18th century, after the Afghān sack of Iṣfahān, many Iranian Shīʿī scholars took refuge in the *ʿatabāt*, and it was there—above all in Karbalāʾ—in the last quarter of the century that the long-standing controversy between the Akhbārī and Uṣūlī schools of *fiḳh* was settled in favour of the latter. Although centres of religious learning revived in Iran in the Ḳādjār period, the *ʿatabāt* continued to exert their attraction, and most leading scholars either resided and taught there, or studied for a time before returning to Iran. When in the late 19th and early 20th centuries an important segment of the Iranian *ʿulamāʾ* clashed with the Ḳādjār monarchy and supported the constitutional movement, the *ʿatabāt*—particularly Nadjaf—came to function as an important base of clerical operations beyond the reach of the Iranian state. The role of three great constitutionalist *mudjtahids* resident in Nadjaf—ʿAbd Allāh Māzandarānī, Muḥammad Kāẓim Khurāsānī and Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khalīlī Ṭihrānī—deserves particular mention (see Abdul-Hadi Haʾiri, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the clerical residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977). *Mutatis mutandis*, Nadjaf has fulfilled a similar function in recent years, following the exile there in 1963 of Āyat Allāh Khumaynī. The Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* resident in the *ʿatabāt* have also exerted influence on the 20th century history of ʿIrāḳ; they played, for example, a directive role in attempts to thwart the imposition of a British mandate on the country (ʿAbd Allāh Fahd al-Nafīsī, *Dawr al-Shīʿa fī taṭawwur al-ʿIrāḳ al-siyāsī al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1973, 80 ff.).

Finally, mention may be made of the fact that the *ʿatabāt* are of interest not only to the Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿa, but also to the adherents of various branches of Ismāʿīlism; although they hardly ever make the *ḥadjdj*, they frequently perform pilgrimage to Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ (Hollister, *op. cit.*, 289, 391) and it is probable that a number of Nizārī *Imāms* of the post-Mongol period are buried in Nadjaf (W. Ivanow, *Tombs of some Persian Ismāʿīlī Imams*, in *JBBRAS*, xiv (1938), 49-52). The Bektashīs, who in many ways may be considered a crypto-Shīʿī sect, also used to maintain *tekkes* in Nadjaf, Karbalāʾ and Kāẓimayn (al-ʿAzzāwī, *op. cit.*, iv, 152-3; Murat Sertoğlu, *Bektaşılık*, Istanbul 1969, 319).

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(H. ALGAR)

ATAČ, NŪR ALLĀH, modern Turkish NURULLAH ATAÇ (1898-1957), prominent Turkish essayist and literary critic, the guiding spirit of the Turkish contemporary linguistic and literary renewal for two decades (1935-55). Born in Istanbul, the son of Meḥmed ʿAṭā', civil servant and writer (1856-1919), better known as the translator of J. von Hammer's *GOR* (from the French version), Atač signed his writings as Nūr Allāh ʿAṭā' until the introduction of family names in 1934, when he changed ʿAṭā' into Atač and later dropped Nūr Allāh altogether. Of his various pen-names, the most frequently used one was Kavafoğlu. Atač's education was irregular. He attended various schools (including Galatasaray for four years and then the Faculty of Letters), without finishing either. Although he spent some time in Switzerland during the First World War, his thorough knowledge of the French language and literature was, like all his accomplishments, mainly self-acquired. Atač made his living as a teacher, translator and constant contributor to a great number of newspapers and periodicals. He taught French literature and French in various schools of Istanbul, Ankara and the provinces, and served as a translator in government departments including the office of the President of the Republic. He died in Ankara on 17 May 1957.

Atač started his literary career in 1921 with poems, critical reviews and theatrical criticism in the famous fortnightly *Dergāh*, to which all the leading writers of the time and many young talents were contributors. At this period he was particularly interested in the theatre and wrote theatre reviews mainly in the daily *Aksham* (see Metin And, *Ataç tiyatroda*, Istanbul 1973). Later he concentrated on literary criticism, and closely following the day-to-day developments of the literary scene, wrote articles of criticism untiringly in more than sixty newspapers and periodicals, particularly in *Aksham, Akşam, Ḥākimiyyet-i milliyye, Milliyet, Varlık, Yeni adam, Tan, Son posta, Haber, Tercüme, Ülkü, Türk dili, Cumhuriyet, Pazar postası, Dünya*, and most frequently of all, *Ulus* (see Konur Ertop, *Ataç bibliyoğrafyası*, in *Ataç*, ed. *Türk Dil Kurumu*, Ankara 1962). Atač developed the essay, a much-neglected field in Turkish literature, into an independent *genre* of which he became a recognised master, and had many followers. He wrote thousands of essays on literature, classical and modern, on cultural change and problems of culture in general, on individual writers, etc. with a very personal, natural, concise and unadorned style. In the early 1940s he espoused the language reform movement and gave it great support and impetus, increasing its prestige in literary circles. It is no exaggeration to say that he became the greatest master of the nascent contemporary Turkish prose, and his style was taken as the model by many young writers. This prose was to supersede that of the pre-1930 masters like R.Kh. Karay, Reshād Nūrī Güntekin [*q.vv.*] and others. Although Atač's authority as a literary critic is controversial because he chose a subjective and impressionistic approach to criticism according to his own temperament and personal taste, it is unanimously accepted that it is his sharp flair as a critic which discovered and launched many young talents on to the literary scene (e.g. Orhan Veli Kanik, F.H. Dağlarca, etc.). Restless, impatient, aggressive by temperament and equipped with a piercing mind and armed with "methodical doubt", Atač waged an unrelenting war against fanaticism, intolerance, sentimentality, "poetical" artificiality, clichés and ready-made thoughts and formulae. He was a conscious extremist in language reform and believed that only the "self-sacrifice" of some extremists would nullify the harm caused by the ultra-conservatives. Atač studied 15th century prose works, particularly Merdjümek Aḥmed's masterly translation of Kay Kā'ūs's *Ḳābūs-nāma* [see KAY KĀ'ŪS B. ISKANDAR] and used them as the model for a new style. He experimented successfully with a new syntax which included inversion (*devrik tümce*), which naturally exists in spoken Turkish and which was frequently used in early Turkish writings before the syntax of the written Turkish was "frozen". Atač coined a number of neologisms, some of which survived and were incorporated into the language (for a list of Atač's neologisms, see *Ataçın sözcükleri*, ed. Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1963). Atač left several thousand essays and articles, some of which (mostly his post-1940 writings) have been published in book form in 10 volumes: *Günlerin getirdiği* (1946), *Karalama defteri* (1952), *Sözden söze* (1952), *Ararken* (1954), *Diyelim* (1954), *Söz arasında* (1957), *Okuruma mektuplar* (1958), *Günce* (1960), *Prospero ile Caliban* (1961), *Söyleşiler*, 2 vols. (1964) Atač's diaries covering the years 1953-7 have been published in two volumes as *Günce*, Ankara 1972.

Atač also made perfect examples of literary translation in Turkish. He translated more than 50 literary works from ancient Greek, Latin and Russian authors (via French), and in particular, directly from French, the most famous of which being his translation of Stendhal's *Le rouge et le noir* rendered as *Kırmızi ve siyah* (1941), second edition as *Kızıl ile kara* (1946).

Bibliography: Tahir Alangu, *Ataç'a saygı*, Ankara 1959; Konur Ertop, Introduction to his complete works published by *Varlık: Günlerin getirdiği-karalama defteri*, Istanbul 1967, 5-69; Asım Bezirci, *Nurullah Ataç, eleştiri anlayışı ve yazıları*, Istanbul 1968; Mehmed Salihoğlu, *Ataç'la gelen.*; Türk Dil Kurumu (ed.), *Ölümünün 10. yıldönümünde Ataç'ı anış*, Ankara 1968. (FAHİR İZ)

ATALİḲ, Turkic title which existed in Central Asia in the post-Mongol period, with the same original meaning as the title *atabeg* [see ATABAK].

In the *ulus* of Djuči (the Golden Horde) and its immediate successors, as in the khānates of Ḳazan and Ḳirim and the *ulus* of Shiban (Aḳ Orda), as well as in the Čaghatāyid state in Mogholistān, the *atalïḳ* was, in the first place, a guardian and tutor of a young prince and, in this capacity, an actual governor of his appanage. The sovereign himself (khān or sulṭān) also had an *atalïḳ* who was his close counsellor and confidant, often playing the role of the first minister. The *atalïḳs* were nominated from among the Turkic tribal nobility, the senior begs (*amīrs*). It seems that, according to Turkic nomadic custom, a ruler should always have an *atalïḳ*; it was a kind of control over his conduct exercised by the tribal aristocracy. Tīmūrid and Shaybānid sources often also use, instead of the term *atalïḳ* and in the same meaning, the term *atakä*, or *ätäkä* (most probably,

a contracted form from *ata-äkä*, or *atabeg-äkä*, *atalïk-äkä*, where *äkä* is "the elder brother", which was also a usual form of polite address in Eastern Turkic, added to proper names and titles). The post of *atakä* (*atalïḳ*) was entrusted often to a *kökältāsh* "foster-brother" (also *ämildāsh*); these persons were brought up together with the princes of the ruling dynasty, which created a special relationship (*kökältāshī*) between the two sides (see *Tawārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma*, ed. by A.M. Akramov, Tashkent 1967, facsimile 270, lines 4250-4, and 272; Russian tr. from the *Shaybānī-nāma* by Binā'ī, in *Materialï po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV-XVIII vekov*, Alma-Ata 1969, 98, 100; V.V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Issledovaniye o Kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevičakh*, pt. 2, St. Petersburg 1864, 438; V.V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya*, ii/2, 212; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, ii, 9 (No. 419), 481 (No. 343), iv, 402-3, with further references).

In the Uzbek khānates of Central Asia, the meaning of the title *atalïḳ* was gradually transformed. In Bukhārā, till the beginning of the 18th century, "the great *atalïḳ*" (*atalïḳ-i buzurg*) was the senior *amīr* and the first minister (hence his epithets *ʿumdat al-umarāʾ* and *wizārat-panāh*). In the Ashtar-khānid period, he often appears in historical sources together with the *dīwān-begi* [*q.v.* below], who was the second figure in the government. He could be at the same time governor of a province; *atalïḳ* Yalangtush Biy, who was *ḥākim* of Samarḳand in the first half of the 17th century and became famous by his building activity, was a semi-independent ruler. There was also, besides him, an *atalïḳ* of the khān's heir residing in Balkh with the same functions in his respective region. In the reign of ʿUbayd Allāh Khān (1114-23/1702-11), the *kosh-begi* [*q.v.*] became the head of the civil administration in Bukhārā, he being an official of mean origin—probably as an attempt of the khān at cutting down the influence of the Uzbek aristocracy. But the importance of the *atalïḳ* did not diminish; already earlier, at the end of the 17th century, the *atalïḳ* in Balkh became independent ruler of this province, and in the middle of the 18th century Muḥammad Raḥīm Atalïḳ of the Mangït [*q.v.*] tribe founded a new ruling dynasty in Bukhārā, having killed the last khān of the Ashtarkhānids. Muḥammad Raḥīm was proclaimed khān in 1170/1756; his uncle and successor Dāniyāl Biy (1172-99/1758-85) preferred to remain *atalïḳ*, enthroning puppet khāns of Čingizid origin, but his son Shāh Murād eliminated these khāns and proclaimed himself *amīr*, which later remained in Bukhārā the title of the Mangït rulers par excellence. In the administrative manual *Madjmaʿ al-arḳām* compiled under Shāh Murād in 1212/1798, the post of *atalïḳ* is defined as that of senior *amīr*, who was charged specifically with oversight of the irrigation of the Zarafshān valley from Samarḳand to Ḳarakul, and, at the same time, was the *mīrāb* of the main city canal of Bukhārā, Rūd-i Shahr, as well as *dārūgha* [*q.v.*] of the *rabad* of Bukhārā (see facsimile in *Pis'menniye pamyatniki Vostoka 1968*, Moscow 1970, 50-1; cf. A.A. Semenov, in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, v [1948], 144-7). But already in the first half of the 19th century, the *atalïḳ* became a purely honorary rank (the highest in the hierarchy of 15 ranks in Bukhārā) given very rarely. In 1820 a semi-independent governor of Ḥiṣār, father-in-law of the *amīr*, had this rank (see G. Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenburg à Boukhara, fait en 1820*, Paris 1826, 259; cf. V. L. Vyatkin, in *Izvestiya Sredneaziatskogo otdela Russkogo geografičeskogo obshčestva*, xviii [1928], 20); in 1840 the *atalïḳ* was also a father-in-law of the *amīr*, a ruler of Shahrisabz (see N. Khanïkov, *Opisaniye Bukharskogo khanstva*, St. Petersburg 1843, 185). Under the last two *amīrs*, only the governor of Ḥiṣār (who had also the title *ḳosh-begi*) was given the rank of *atalïḳ*.

In the Khānate of Khīwa, *atalïḳ* was originally also a guardian and counsellor of the khān and of princes (sulṭāns) who ruled in their appanages. Abu 'l-Ghāzī [*q.v.*] in his *Shadjara-yi Turk* (ed. Desmaisons, text, 252, tr. 269) says about an *atalïk* (in the middle of the 16th century) that he was "the mouth, tongue and will" (*aghïzï, tili wa ikhtiyārï*) of his sulṭān. Russian sources of the 17th century compare the *atalïḳs* in Khīwa with the Russian boyars (see *Materialï po istorii Uzbekskoy, Tadžikskoy i Turkmenskoy SSR*, Moscow-Leningrad 1931, 266). According to Mu'nis [*q.v.*] (*Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C-571, f. 65b), Abu 'l-Ghāzī Khān, reorganising the administration of the khānate, established posts of four *atalïḳs*, who were members of the khān's council of 34 *ʿamaldārs*. Later they were called "the great *atalïk*" (*ulugh atalïḳ*, cf. *ibid.*, ff. 112a, 118b); they represented four tribal groups (*tupä*) into which all Khᵂārizmian Uzbeks were divided: Uyghur and Nayman, Ḳungrat and Ḳiyat, Mangït and Nukuz, Ḳanglï and Ḳïpčaḳ. One of the "great *atalïḳs*" was the *atalïḳ* of the khān (see *ibid.*, ff. 69b, 101b). In the first half of the 18th century, the *atalïk* of the khān was a most powerful figure in Khīwa, but from the 1740s onwards he was pushed somewhat into the background by another dignitary, the *ïnak* [*q.v.* below]. It is not clear whether in the time of Abu 'l-Ghāzī there existed only the four *atalïḳs* mentioned by Mu'nis; but in the middle of the 18th century there was quite a number of them. In 1740 a letter to the inhabitants of Khīwa sent by the Khīwan dignitaries from the camp of Nādir Shāh was signed by eleven *atalïks* (see *Geografičeskiye izvestiya*, 1850, 546-7). Apparently, already at that time, as in the 19th century, the title *atalïḳ* was given also to the chiefs of the Uzbek tribes; such an *atalïḳ* was senior *biy* in his tribe, and his title was usually hereditary, though it had to be confirmed by the khān. In the 19th century this title was granted also, as a purely honorary distinction, to some Turkmen tribal chiefs (see Yu. Bregel', in *Problemï vostokovedeniya*, 1960, No. 1, 171; cf. idem, *Khorezmskiye turkmenï v XIX veke*, Moscow 1961, 129). In 1859 this title was introduced also for the chiefs of the Karakalpak tribes (see Yu. Bregel', *Dokumentï arkhiva khivinskikh khanov po istorii i etnografii karakalpakov*, Moscow 1967, 58). The number of the "great *atalïks*" increased before 1873 from four to eight (see A.L. Kuhn's papers in the Archives of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, file 1/13, 105-6). As distinct from the other tribal chiefs, they were considered among the *umarā-yi ʿaẓām*. The *atalïk* of the khān, who in the 19th century always belonged to the khān's tribe, the Ḳungrat [*q.v.*] and was mostly a relative of the khān, was considered as the senior *amīr* in the khānate; in the first half of the 19th century he still exercised some influence as the khān's counsellor, but later this post lost its importance.

Less is known about the role of *atalïks* in the Khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*]. The ruler of Farghāna and the founder of the Ming dynasty of this khānate, Shāhrukh Biy (early 18th century) received the title *atalïḳ* from the khān of Bukhārā (see V.P. Nalivkin, *Histoire du khanat de Khokand*, Paris 1889,

68). In the 19th century, governors of large provinces (such as Tās͟hkent and K͟hudjand) also sometimes had this title; they could be not only Uzbeks: Ḳanāʿat S͟hāh Atalïḳ, the governor of Tās͟hkent in 1850s and early 1860s, was a Tādjīk. Apparently, the *atalïḳ* in the K͟hānate of K͟hoḳand, as well as in Buk͟hārā of the same period, was considered rather an honorary rank than an official post.

In Eastern Turkestan under the Čag͟hatāyids in the 16th and 17th centuries, the title *atalïḳ* preserved its original meaning. The governors of provinces (princes of the ruling house), the k͟hān's heir and the k͟hān himself had their *atalïḳs*, who were always senior Turkic *beks*. The *atalïḳ* of the k͟hān was at the same time the governor (*ḥākim*) of Yārkand, and that of the heir the governor of Aḳsu or K͟hotan (see S͟hāh Maḥmūd Čurās, *Taʾrīk͟h*, ed. by O.F. Akimus͟hkin, Moscow 1976, text 30, 52, 64 et *passim*). The ruler of the last independent Muslim state in Eastern Turkestan, Yaʿḳūb Bek [*q.v.*], styled himself Atalïḳ G͟hāzī; apparently he received the title of *atalïḳ* on being sent from K͟hoḳand to Kās͟hg͟har as a counsellor and guardian of Buzurg K͟hʷādja.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see V.V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya*, ii/2, 390, 394; A.A. Semenov, in *Materialï po istorii tadžikov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, ii, Stalinabad 1954, 61; H. Howorth, *The history of the Mongols*, ii, 869-70; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, ii, 69-71 (No. 490); M.F. Köprülü, *IA*, art. *Ata*, at the end.

(Yu. Bregel)

ATAY, Fāliḥ Rïfḳī, Turkish writer, journalist and politician (1894-1971). He was born in Istanbul, the son of K͟halīl Ḥilmī, an uncompromising traditionalist and *imām* of a mosque at Djibāli on the Golden Horn. He was educated at Merdjān high school, where his teacher, the poet Djelāl Sāhir, encouraged him to publish his early poems, and at the Faculty of Letters. His elder brother, a progressive officer, provided him with all the advanced literature from Nāmïḳ Kemāl to Tewfīḳ Fikret [*q.vv.*]. Fāliḥ Rïfḳī began his career as a journalist in 1912 in Ḥusayn Djāhid's [*q.v.*] *Ṭanīn*, the organ of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), where he wrote once a week his *Istanbul mektūblarï* ("Istanbul Letters)." These and his later articles in the same paper during the Balkan War were full of emotional, patriotic and anti-reactionary spirit. After serving briefly in the chancery of the Sublime Porte, he was appointed to the Private Secretariat of Ṭalʿat Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], then Minister of the Interior, whom he accompanied on his trip to Bucharest, whence he sent his first travel notes, a *genre* in which he would later excel. He was at the same time contributing to various periodicals, particularly *S͟hehbāl*. At the outbreak of the First World War he was called up as a reserve officer and accompanied Djemāl Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], the Commander of the Fourth Army in Syria, as his adjutant and private secretary. When Djemāl Pas͟ha returned to Istanbul as Minister of the Navy, he appointed him deputy-director of his secretariat which he combined with instructor at the naval N.C.O.s' school. When at the end of the War the CUP leaders fled the country, Fāliḥ Rïfḳī founded, with three of his friends, the daily *Aks͟hām*, becoming known as a staunch defender of the Nationalist movement in Anatolia (1918-22) versus the journalists who backed the collaborationist Istanbul government. In the autumn of 1922 he left for Izmir, which had just been liberated on 9 September, to meet Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pas͟ha, who had invited him together with other prominent journalists. Muṣṭafā Kemāl told them that "the real battle is beginning now" and urged them to enter political life. Elected deputy for Bolu in 1923, Fāliḥ Rïfḳī became the leader writer of the daily semi-official *Ḥākimiyyet-i milliye* (later re-named *Ulus*) founded by Muṣṭafā Kemāl. He remained in Parliament for 27 years until the defeat of the Republican People's Party in the general elections of 14 May 1950, when he moved to Istanbul and wrote a weekly column in *Cumhuriyet* until he founded his own daily *Dünya*, which he published until his death in Istanbul on 20 March 1971.

Essentially a journalist and always concerned with the "topical", Atay had literary talents far beyond those of a routine journalist. He excelled in the essay, sketches, travel notes and autobiographical writing. An anti-traditionalist and a dedicated Kemalist, he devoted all his writing career to defend and support the reforms achieved by the Republican régime. He fought relentlessly and uncompromisingly for the survival of a modern, progressive and secular Turkey. No matter what he wrote about, the lesson which he drew remained the same: No going back.

A great master of modern Turkish prose, he used, like R.K͟h. Karay and ʿÖmer Seyf el-Dīn [*q.vv.*] the spoken Turkish of ordinary people and wrote in a concise, but vivid, colourful and very personal style, carefully avoiding all artificialities of the earlier generations of writers. Except for certain doubts towards the end of his life, Atay was a great supporter of the language reform movement, revived by government support in the 1930s, and his handling of the reformed language became the model for young writers until the appearance of Nūr Allāh Atač [*q.v.* above], the linguistic and literary "guru" of the generations between the 1940s and late 50s. It is perhaps because of this fascinating style that his readers are seldom worried about the lack of depth in some of his writings, which brilliantly observe, describe and report, but do this without much sophistication. Atay is the author of more than thirty works, but the great bulk of his essays and articles published in newspapers and periodicals have not yet been published in book form. His major works are: (1) *Ates͟h we günes͟h* (1918) and *Zeytindaği* (1932), the two published in one volume as *Zeytindaği* (1970), impressions of the First World War in Palestine and Syria which are powerful sketches of the end of the Ottoman Empire; *Denizaşırı* (1931), *Yeni Rusya* (1931), *Taymis kıyıları* (1934), *Tuna kıyıları* (1934), *Hind* (1944) are evocative travel notes on respectively Brazil, Soviet Russia, England, the Balkans and India; *Gezerek gördüklerim* (1970), selections from travel notes; *Çankaya* (in two vols., 1961, revised one volume edition, 1969) is the most important and comprehensive of Atay's many books on Atatürk and his achievements. It has powerful sketches of Atatürk and interesting character-studies of the many people of his time. The second edition has been substantially altered in places and anti-Inönü passages have been bor-rowed from Y.K. Karaosmanoğlu's political memoirs (*Politikada 45 yıl*, 1968) and introduced here to discredit the former Commander of the Western Front during the War of Liberation, both writers having broken with İsmet İnönü, for political reasons, towards the end of their lives; *Başveren inkılapçı* (1954), a monograph on ʿAlī Suʿāvī (1839-78), the controversial writer and revolutionary.

Bibliography: Baki Süha Ediboğlu, *Falih Rıfkı Atay konuşuyor*, Istanbul 1945; B. Necatiğil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1975, s.v.; Tahir Alangu, *100 ünlü Türk eseri*, ii, Istanbul 1974, 1124-31.

(Fahir İz)

ATHĀTH (a.), furniture. The Arabic language lacks terms adequate to express the concept of furniture. Taking into account the mutual overlapping of the notions of "furniture", "table-ware", "carpets", "household objects" and "utensils", Arabic frequently has recourse to approximative terms and to broader categories (combinations of two expressions, for example (*farsh* = carpets, bedding and furniture; *āla* = crockery and household objects; *farsh* and *āla* may be used in combination; *adāt* = utensils etc.; *athāth* = literally, belongings, various household objects and (especially in modern Arabic) furniture; *farsh* and *athāth* may be used in combination; *matā*ʿ = personal property, domestic items, etc.).

In the mediaeval Muslim home, life was conducted relatively close to the ground. Meals were served to the diners in a kind of "serving-dish" with or without legs (the receptacle being separable from its support or not, as the case might be) which was laid on a carpet on the floor. The diners did not have individual plates but served themselves directly from the dish placed on a low table (*khuwān, mā'ida, daysak, fāthūr, mudawwara, muḥawwal, muʿtaṣamāt, simāṭ*, the majority of these terms indicating a very small round table; some, like *simāṭ*, a low oblong table) each of them sitting on a "seat" adapted to the appropriate height (a cushion [*wisāda, mirfaḳa, tuk'a, miswara, numruḳ*, and even *mikhadda* which was originally a pillow], a pair of cushions super-imposed, a cushion folded in two, the carpet itself, etc.). The table was removed from the room as soon as the meal was completed.

It is understandable that such scenes should have misled western travellers and even some orientalists who described the interior of the Muslim household as being "empty", "uninhabitable", etc., without considering that the dimensions of furniture are frequently adapted to the way of life, to the manner of sitting, and to taste. However it would be incorrect to suppose that all mediaeval Arabic furniture was low. Carpenters and other craftsmen constructed trestles and benches of a fair height for various purposes outside the private house; they also made chairs with legs of wood or metal [see kursī] and throne-like seats (*sarīr, takht*), but such seating arrangements were not used at meal-times. A high stool was somewhat exceptional in the Middle Ages and it focussed attention on the person seated there (a prince, the head of the family, sometimes an ordinary individual) in relation to the others present.

The hierarchy of heights in sitting (on a throne, on a high stool, on two superimposed cushions, on one cushion folded in two, on a single ordinary cushion, on the carpet itself, on the ground, this last position indicating humiliation, humility or mourning) only reflects the categories and class-distinctions of etiquette. Another aspect of the stratification of classes is reflected in the range of materials and qualities: beds with legs, a sign of luxury, beds without frames, and lower down the scale the *martaba*, a good-quality mattress stuffed with down, simple mattresses laid on the ground and serving as a bed at night, simple mattresses, mats and carpets for sleeping on, piles of rags and scraps of clothing for the same purpose (only the poorest slept on the ground); cushions and pillows stuffed and covered with choice materials, silk for example, and at the other end of the scale, rags or simply a stone serving as pillow for a poor man.

The very high "western style" thrones such as those appearing in Umayyad iconography, seem to have been copied from Byzantine models and do not reflect true conditions in the court (see V. Strika, in *AIUON* xiv/2 (1964), 729-59); but cf. O. Grabar, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, especially 53-6, who puts into perspective the remarkable development of etiquette already taking place in the Umayyad court). According to mediaeval texts, another kind of throne, a long sofa for reclining, was quite widely known in the courts of the Umayyads, of the ʿAbbāsids and of local princes (such as the Ikhshīdids). The sovereign could invite a friend to sit beside him, on the same *sarīr* (hence quite a long seat); he could alternatively recline on it. The overlapping of the concepts mattress-seat-throne-bed (for example, from the Persian; *takht* can mean any of the following: board, seat, throne, sofa, bed, calculating tablet, chest or box) did not prevent the evolution of ceremonial and the differentiation of functions (a seat or a throne for public or solemn audience, or for private audience, feasts etc.) from establishing or re-establishing in usage thrones and narrow seats (of Persian manufacture, for example) and long and more elaborate thrones. Towards the end of the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th centuries, the use of the bed with frame (for reclining and sleeping) became fashionable in high society and among the bourgeoisie. The belief of certain orientalists that the bed did not exist in the mediaeval Muslim world is only partially correct: unsprung mattresses were more common (even in documents from the Cairo Geniza, many mattresses are to be found serving as relatively inexpensive beds; among the dowries of young brides there is mention of a very small number of beds with frames, extremely expensive, and between these two categories is the *martaba*, which would correspond in function with the divan-bed of the present day).

To return to the subject of tables: *mā'ida, khuwān* and *sufra* are synonymous: they refer to the small eastern "table", the first two to a solid "table" (the attempts on the part of mediaeval philologists to differentiate between them were quite arbitrary) while the third (and sometimes also *naṭ*ʿ, as well as *mā'ida*, exclusively in the context of the Ḳur'ān and its commentaries and in certain passages in the literature of *ḥadīth*) was applied to a skin stretched out on the ground and serving, not only among the early Bedouins, but also in circles of sedentary Arabic civilisation, various functions in the home and in the country (in dialect, *sufra* is an ordinary table and *sufradjī* is a waiter in a restaurant or a cafe). This is one of the characteristic cases which raises the question whether the continuity of sedentary habits (from the Persians, Byzantines, from the ancient Syrian and Egyptian stocks, etc.) was an exclusive characteristic of daily life in the mediaeval Muslim world, in the sense that it is reflected in the use of furniture, and if there was not here a minimal contribution on the part of the Bedouin element, betrayed in the spread of ancestral customs through the disappearance of the high furniture of the Byzantine metropolis in favour of the low furniture which existed in Iranian civilisation and in certain local Aramaeo-Syrian and ʿIrāḳī centres, as is revealed by the mediaeval lexicographers and commentators (*tustkhuwān* and *fāthūr*, for example). Nevertheless, specimens of wooden furniture from

the Middle Ages are available to us and we have ceramic objects designed to imitate them (supports sometimes containing cavities to accommodate jugs, resembling the supports-plus-shelves attested by the texts; some of these still exist today: *mirfaʿ* or *kursī*-plus-*ṣīniyya*, in various Muslim lands lying far apart from one another); iconography also shows a certain standardisation, in spite of regional styles, of way of life and of taste throughout the whole of the Muslim world (household objects, such as tables, being exported from one country to another).

The mediaeval Muslims made use of a whole range of chests, cases and boxes (*ṣundūḳ, takht, ḳamṭara, muḳaddima, safaṭ*), as well as recesses and racks (*rufūf*), but they had no cupboards as such.

The Mongols introduced the use of a higher type of square table, but the essential nature of the "oriental style" way of life has been preserved up to the very threshold of the modern age (Turkish and Persian miniatures attest this, *grosso modo*). Even in the 19th and early 20th centuries, travellers, writers and orientalists (E. Lane for Egypt, Lortet for Syria, E. Jaussen for Palestine, for example) were still describing such a way of life; some elements (such as beds with frames) introduced from abroad, or under foreign influence, were still called *frandjī* in certain semi-urban centres, at the beginning of the present century. The modern age has made fashionable the use of European style furniture and the original form of the "oriental" way of life, with its abundant taste and comfort, has tended to disappear.

Bibliography: J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche-Orient médiéval*, Leiden 1976 (esp. the bibliographical index, 155-69). (J. SADAN)

ATHŪR, modern ḲALʿAT SHARḲĀT, a large ancient mound on the west bank of the River Tigris in the *vilāyet* of Mawṣil, about 250 km. north of Baghdād and about 100 km. south of Mawṣil, in 35° 30' N and 45° 15' E. It is strategically placed on a spur of the Djabal Ḥamrīn and is identified with Ashur, one of the capital cities of ancient Assyria. In the middle of the 3rd millennium, it was occupied by migratory tribes coming either from the west or the south, and was venerated as the religious and sometime political centre of Assyria until it was captured by the Babylonians in 614 B.C. This battle devastated the city and it was not reoccupied as a city again. Ashur is the name not only of the place but also of the local deity, and it occurs in Akkadian, Aramaic and Greek sources. The site was known by the Turks under the name Toprak Kalʿe, "Earth Citadel". The meaning of the element *sharḳāt* in the Arabic name is not known, but it is probably to be explained as an independent proper name. It is not mentioned by Arab geographers; the earliest reference to it is in the 18th century, and it is the name used by later Western travellers.

The site was described by C.J. Rich, who visited it in March 1821, and it was subsequently investigated by J. Ross (1836), W. Ainsworth with E.L. Mitford, A.H. Layard and H. Rassam (1840), and again by Layard and Rassam (1847) on behalf of the British Museum, when an important statue of Shalmaneser III (858-825 B.C.) was found. In 1849, after excavations by J. Talbot, J. Oppert, E. Hincks and H.C. Rawlinson, an inscribed historical prism recording the history of the reign of Tiglath Pilesar III (744-727 B.C.) was found, and two duplicate copies of this inscription were discovered by Rassam in 1853 in further British Museum excavations under the general supervision of Rawlinson. Several inscriptions from the reign of Adad Nirari III (810-783 B.C.) were discovered by G. Smith in 1873. The most rigorous excavation of the site was conducted between 1903-13 by the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft, first by R. Koldewy and then by W. Andrae and others, which followed the presentation of the site to Kaiser Wilhelm II by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II.

To the north and east the site is naturally protected by the river and the escarpment, and the only necessary fortifications were buttressed walls. Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.) records the building of a semicircular sallyport tower of rusticated masonry which is probably the earliest of its kind. To the south and west it was more heavily fortified. After an early period of dependence upon the south during the Third Dynasty of Ur (2112-2004 B.C.), it begins a separate history. Evidence about life in Ashur for the earliest period comes from the documents of an Assyrian group of traders working in Anatolia at the ancient city of Kanesh, modern Kültepe, in Turkey, but the earliest palace is that of Shamshi Adad I (1813-1781 B.C.), and spacious private houses with family vaults beneath the floors have been found in the north-western area. Much of the history of this period has to be reconstructed from an archive of the letters of Shamshi Adad which were discovered at Mari (modern Tell Ḥarīrī) in eastern Syria. He controlled Ashur after it had been subject to Naram Sin of Eshunna (modern Tell Asmar). Although he did not use Ashur as his capital city, preferring Shubat Enlil (modern Chagar Bazar), he did build there a temple to Enlil, the local god of Nippur (modern Niffar), and the one who traditionally named the king and entrusted to him the symbols of royal power.

During the period of Cassite domination in Mesopotamia, Puzur Ashur III (*ca.* 1490 B.C.), made a treaty with Burnaburiash I of Babylon, and in Ashur he records rebuilding part of the Ishtar temple and a section of the southern city wall. Building operations of this kind are often recorded on clay cones which were inserted between the courses of the new brickwork. Ashur Nadin Akhe II (1402-1393 B.C.) secured Egyptian support for his country and received gifts of gold from the Pharaoh.

Official lists of the Assyrian kings have been found and these are an essential source for establishing a framework of the classical history of the site. They often contain more than fifty names and record the length of each reign. Other lists record the names of the temples there, but only a few of the 34 mentioned have actually been identified. The architectural features of these early buildings are similar to those of Old Babylonian buildings, but the lengthening of the sanctuary on its main axis and the positioning of an altar in a deep recess are distinctively Assyrian features.

The traditional founder of the Assyrian empire was Ashur Uballiṭ (1365-1330). At the beginning of his reign he was subject to Tushratta of Mitanni, but in 1350, with the help of Supplilulíumas, the Hittite king, he was able to attack and annexe the Mitanni areas in northeast Mesopotamia. Ashur Uballiṭ called himself *šarru rabu*, the great king, equal in status to the Pharaoh, and was a severe threat to the Babylonians. Two of his letters to Akhnaten have been preserved in the famous archive from Tell al-Amarna, Egypt (see Knudtzon (1915), nos. 15-16). He called his country *mat Aššur*, the Land of Ashur, while the older name of Subartu was used by the Babylonians, possibly in a deprecatory sense. Even so, Assyrian royal inscriptions

are composed in the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian because, presumably, such language had a traditional air of refinement. His son Enlil Nirari (1329-1320 B.C.) fought against Babylon, and Arik Din Ili (1319-1308 B.C.) harassed the Akhlamu, the Semitic tribes to the west. Adad Nirari I (1307-1275 B.C.), by his battles with the Cassites and the Mitanni, was eventually able to unite Mesopotamia into an empire, but the territory he gained was later eroded because of the rise of the Hittites and the unsatisfactory defences against the tribes to the east.

Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 B.C.) records building a new royal city in the north at Kalkhu (modern Birs Nimrūd) and his son Tukulti Ninurta I (1244-1208 B.C.), also built a new residence but much nearer, just to the north-east, which he named Kar Tukulti Ninurta, "the Quay of Tukulti Ninurta" (modern Tulūl ʿAḳr). He records having captured Marduk god of Babylon, and a figure of primary importance in Babylonian mythology who was later to be assimilated into Assyrian versions of religious texts. Despite these alternative capitals, Ashur was still used as a political centre from time to time, yet it gradually became primarily a religious centre. By the 10th century B.C. it was overshadowed by Kalkhu and Nineveh, and the later kings chose these northern sites as capitals from which to administer their empire.

The city was attacked and devastated by the Babylonian ruler Nabopolassar (625-605 B.C.) in 614 B.C. two years before he destroyed Nineveh and brought the Assyrian empire to an end. Afterwards, there is only scanty documentation from which to reconstruct the history of this important site. Under the Babylonians, it was probably only sparsely inhabited, for Cyrus the Great, when he conquered Babylon in 539 B.C., claims: "To the sacred cities on the other side of the Tigris as far as Ashur . . ., the sanctuaries of which have been ruins for a long time, I returned the images which used to live therin and established for them permanent sanctuaries" (from the *Cyrus Cylinder*, the basic historical source for the Persian conquest of Babylon). The name occurs again in the Old Persian text of the *Behistun Inscription* but the only other inscriptional evidence comes from Aramaic documents from the site; these used to be dated to the Parthian period, and taken as evidence that the names of the old Assyrian gods survived in the community until the 3rd century A.D., but they are now said to come from the 7th century B.C. As a geographical name A<u>th</u>urā may refer simply to the town but in Greek sources it is clear that Ἀτουρία refers to the whole northern area. The site seems definitely to have declined in importance under the Sāsānids, and A<u>th</u>ōr in Syriac indicates simply a parish which continued until the late Middle Ages.

The Arab geographers refer to A<u>th</u>ūr (sometimes written Aḳūr); it is, however, defined by them not as modern Ḳalʿat <u>Sh</u>arḳāt but as an earlier name for Mawṣil, and also as the name of the province which was later called al-<u>Dj</u>azīra [*q.v.*]. The ruin associated with the name is described as near to al-Salāmiyya, 4 km. N.W. of Nimrūd. They also make the observation that al-<u>Dj</u>azīra, which practically coincides in area with Assyria, is a name derived from A<u>th</u>ūr. Although it is clear that a ruin was still known at this site, the name A<u>th</u>ūr has been transferred erroneously to the ruin near al-Salāmiyya; this transposition was influenced by the fact that there were two famous capitals of Assyria in the north and is similar to the case of Baghdad, which travellers of the Middle Ages until Pietro della Valle (1616-17) considered to be the site of ancient Babylon. According to Layard (1853), 165, the hill in the corner of the ruins of Nimrūd was still called "Tell A<u>th</u>ūr".

It is surprising that there appears to be no mention of the name <u>Sh</u>arḳāt before the narratives of European travellers. Rich (1821) mentions it, and it is described more fully by Layard (1849), 3, who says "We entered Mosul on 10th April 1846. During a short stay in that town we visited the great ruins which have been generally believed to be the remains of Nineveh. We rode also into the desert and explored the mound of Kalah Shergat, a vast ruin on the Tigris about fifty miles below its junction with the Zab". He did not identify it with Ashur; all he could say was, "A few fragments of pottery and inscribed bricks discovered after a careful search amongst the rubbish which had accumulated around the base of the great mound, served to prove that it owed its construction to the people who had founded the city of which Nimrod is the remains" (*loc. cit.*). But later, during the river trip from Mawṣil to Ba<u>gh</u>dād, he was told of a connection in folklore between the two names, based on the ancient dam in the river: "The Arab explained the connection between the dam and the city built by Athur, the lieutenant of Nimrod, the vast ruins of which were then before us, and its purpose as a causeway for the mighty hunter to cross to the opposite palace now represented by the mound of Hammam Ali." (*op. cit.*, 6). These traditions may still survive in local villages.

Today the site is situated on the edge of the rainfall zone, so that agriculture relies on artificial irrigation. Local inhabitants often rely on employment outside the village to supplement their income, and some of the men and boys have become particularly skilful assistants for archaeological excavations. Most of the settled population belong to the <u>Dj</u>ubūr tribe; although the *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>* of this branch lives at Kayyarā further up the valley, there is a mansion at <u>Sh</u>arḳāt, 8 km. north of the site, belonging to <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> A<u>dj</u>il al-Yawir of the <u>Sh</u>ammar. The population density of the area is 4.8 per sq. km., which reflects its relative poverty. <u>Sh</u>arḳāt is the headquarters of a *nāḥiya*, the smallest administrative unit in ʿIrāḳ.

Bibliography: For a general topographical description of the area, see Admiralty, Intelligence Division, *Geographical Handbook: Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927 and G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1953. The site itself is fully described by E. Unger, in E. Ebeling and B. Meissner, *Reallexicon der Assyriologie*, Leipzig 1928, 170-96, but for an accurate historical assessment, more modern works should be consulted. See in general, I.E.S. Edwards *et alii* (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge 1973, Part ii, Ch. 1 (by J.R. Kupper), Ch. 2 (by M.S. Drower) and Ch. 5 (by C.J. Gadd), and more specifically D. Oates, *Studies in the ancient history of Northern Iraq*, London 1968.

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with H. Luhrs and H. Lucke); lxi (1921); lxiii (1924); lxxi (1932, H.J. Lenzen); lxxii (1935) and lxxvi (1938). A series of monographs by Andrae and others have been published in the following volumes of *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*: x (1909); xxiii (1913); xxiv (1913); xxxix (1922); lvii (with H.J. Lenzen, 1933); lviii (1935); xlvi (1924); liii (1931).

In the same series, editions of the cuneiform texts discovered at the site have been published as follows: xvi (1911) and xxxvii (1922) by L. Messerschmidt and O. Schroeder; xxviii and xxiv (1915-23) by E. Ebeling; xxxv (1920) by Schroeder; lxiv (1954) and lxvi (1955) by C. Preusser; lxv (1954) and lxvii (1955) by A. Haller; lxii (1956) by F. Wetzel and others. The Aramaic ostraca and tablets were published originally by M.M. Lidzbarsky, also in the same series, xxxviii (1921), but the more recent edition by H. Donner and W. Rollig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1969, Texts 233 and 234-6, should now be used.

The Arab geographers referring to the site are as follows: Ibn Rustih, 104, tr. Wiet, 115, equating At͟hūr with Mawṣil; and Yāḳūt, i, 119, 16; 340, 5; 118, 18. For D̲j̲azīrat Aḳūr, see *ibid.*, ii, 72, 13; 231, 9, which coincides with the Iḳlīm At͟hūr/Aḳūr, "the region of Ashur", mentioned only by al-Muḳaddasī, 20, 3 (see also 27, 10, and 28, 7). For [D̲j̲azīrat] Aḳūr as an older name for the D̲j̲azīra, see also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 86.

For the records of early travellers, see C.J. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836, ii, 137 ff.; J. Ross, in *JRGS*, ix (1839), 451-3; W. Ainsworth with A.H. Layard and E.L. Mitford, in *JRGS*, xi (1842), 4-8; Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, London 1849, ii, 45-63, 245, 581; idem, *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853; V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, Paris 1867-70; H. Rassam, *Asshur and the land of Nimrod*, New York 1897. (M.E.J. Richardson)

ĀTISH, Khwād̲j̲a Ḥaydar ʿAlī (d. 1263/1847), Urdu poet, was born in Faizabad (Fayḍābād [*q.v.*]) probably around 1191/1778, according to A.L. Ṣiddīḳī (see *Bibl.*, below). His ancestors are said to have originated in Bag͟hdād, whence they came to Dihlī. His father moved from there to Fayḍābād and died during the poet's youth. As a result, Ātis͟h's formal education was curtailed, though he supplemented it by avid reading. In early manhood, he led the life of a fop and a roué, and carried a sword. But his aptitude for poetry was noticed, and he was taken to Lucknow. There he was trained by the poet S͟hayk͟h G͟hulām Hamadānī Muṣḥafī, and was soon recognised as a leading *g͟hazal* poet, along with his chief rival, S͟hayk͟h Imām Bak͟hs͟h Nāsik͟h. Such poetical rivalries were a familiar feature of Lucknow cultural and social life, but—as we see in the case of Ātis͟h—they did not always involve personal animosity. Indeed, he ceased to write poetry after the death of his rival.

Modern critics regard Ātis͟h as the greater poet of the two. Urdu *g͟hazal*, as he found it, tended to be rich in vocabulary and ornate in style, with similes, metaphors, and other rhetorical devices which were at times far-fetched and exaggerated. Ideas were largely stereotyped, with much concentration on the physical features of the beloved such as tresses (*zulf*) and face (*ruk͟hsār*) as in Persian models. Ātis͟h seems to have been an independent-minded eccentric in his private life, and this is reflected in his poetry to some extent. He would not write poetry for patronage, though he accepted a small pension from the King of Oudh (Awadh [*q.v.*]). He spurned wealth, living like a dervish in a broken-down house. He was humble to the poor but haughty to the wealthy. In his verse, he was not a great innovator, but neither was he a slavish imitator of time-honoured poetical techniques. Thus while he did not radically change the form and style of *g͟hazal*, he frequently appears less artificial than his predecessors and contemporaries, writing in a more natural language nearer to everyday speech as used by the educated of Lucknow; perhaps his lack of formal education encouraged this tendency. He was criticised for using non-literary turns of phrase, and mis-spelling Arabic words—the latter perhaps deliberately, in the interests of rules of prosody, or to reflect actual pronunciation of these words in Urdu. In short, we at times sense spontaneity and even sincerity in his verse, and his literary language became accepted as a model. His poetical output of over 8,000 verses is practically entirely composed of *g͟hazals*.

Bibliography: Ātis͟h's poetry was published originally in two *dīwāns*—the first in 1845 in Lucknow under the poet's supervision; the second, which contains many of his best poems, was published in the same city after his death by his pupil, Mīr Dūst ʿAlī K͟halīl in 1268/1851. Many editions of his collected poetry have since been published, for example the *Kulliyyāt* in Cawnpore 1871 and 1884. There is a useful introduction by Ẓāhir Aḥmad Ṣiddīḳī in *Kulliyyāt-i Ātis͟h*, Allahabad 1972. Short critical accounts of the poetry will be found in Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i ḥayāt*, 379-93 in the Lahore edition of 1950; Abu 'l-Layt͟h Ṣiddīḳī, *Lak͟hnāu kā dabistān-i-s͟hāʿirī*, Lahore 1955, 525-41; Muḥammad Sadiq, *History of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 138; and Ram Babu Saksena, *History of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 111-13; Further information may be found in S͟hayk͟h G͟hulām Hamadānī Muṣḥafī, *Riyāḍ al-fuṣaḥā'*, Dihlī 1934, 4-9; Karīm al-Dīn and Fallon, *Tad͟hkira-i-s͟huʿarā'-i-Hind*, Dihlī 1838, 354; Ṣafīr Balgrāmī, *D̲j̲alwa-i-k͟hiḍir*, 2 vols., Ara, Bihar 1882, ii, 106 f.; K͟hwād̲j̲a ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf ʿIs͟hrat Lak͟hnawī, *Āb-i baḳā'*, Lucknow 1918, 11-19, 170-7; *Memoirs of Delhi and Faizabad*, English tr. of Fayḍ Bak͟hs͟h, *Ta'rīk͟h-i-faraḥ bak͟hs͟h*, Allahabad 1889, 266-302; and Iʿd̲j̲āz Ḥusayn, *Kalām-i-Ātis͟h*, Allahabad 1955; For a general picture of Lucknow cultural life in the first half of the 19th century, see Abdul Halim Sharar, tr. E.S. Harcourt and Fakhir Husain, *Lucknow: the last phase of an oriental culture*, London 1975.

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ATLANTIC [see al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ].

AVARICE [see buk͟hl].

AVRAM CAMONDO [see camondo].

AWRABA, a Berber tribe of Morocco. Ibn K͟haldūn, *ʿIbar*, Fr. tr. de Slane, i, 286, provides all the information which we have on the early history of this tribe, which formed part of the sedentary Barānis [*q.v.*]. Certain of these appear to have been Christians. At the time of the Muslim conquest, they held the premier place among the North African Berber tribes because of their forcefulness and the bravery of their warriors. Ibn K͟haldūn also gives us the names of the tribe's main branches and those

of the most outstanding chiefs whom they had before the Arabs' arrival. The celebrated Kusayla [*q.v.*], who was probably a Christian, is said to have been their *amīr*, as of all the Barānis. He rebelled, and was defeated and killed in 62/682, and it was after his death that the Awraba (or Awriba?) no longer directed the resistance against the invaders.

The tribe makes its real appearance in the history of Morocco by making Shīʿī doctrines triumphant there, even though these were contrary to the Khāridjī ones embraced by the Berbers in the preceding century. It was indeed under the protection of the Awraba chief, Abū Laylā Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, that the ʿAlid fugitive Idrīs I [*q.v.*] established himself in 172/788 at Walīla, the ancient Roman town (the present Volubilis), situated in the little mountain massif of Zarhūn, north of Meknès.

These mountain folk called themselves descendants of the Awraba of the Aurès, driven out of the central Maghrib after Kusayla's death, as also were those elements of the Awraba to be found in the regions of the Zāb [*q.v.*] and the Ouarsenis [*q.v.*].

Like several of the northern Moroccan tribes, the Awraba professed Muʿtazilī doctrines; they were accordingly favourable to the ʿAlids and regarded the nomination of an *imām* as a necessary obligation for the community. This is why Abū Laylā could without difficulty have himself proclaimed sovereign *imām* of his own tribe and of the neighbouring tribes (4 Ramaḍān 172/5 February 789) a few months after Idrīs's arrival in the Zarhūn. The Awraba then successfully took part in Idrīs I's work of Islamisation. Idrīs II showed his gratitude badly towards his father's benefactor, since he had him executed 20 years later, on the accusation of having relations with the Aghlabid ruler of al-Ḳayrawān, who recognised the authority of the hated ʿAbbāsids, but this action was doubtless also from reasons of local politics.

At Idrīs II's death (213/828) and after the disastrous division of Morocco between his sons, troubles broke out within the principalities thereby established. The Awraba and the Berber coalition put an end to them (221/836) by giving allegiance to the nine-years old ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, ruler of Fās, assuring tutelage over the kingdom till the young *imām*'s majority. ʿAli died after a peaceful reign of 13 years. New disputes now divided Morocco between rival factions, and finally, in 251/866, the Awraba recognised ʿAlī's cousin, ʿAlī b. ʿUmar.

Awraba were still in contact with the principality of Nukūr [*q.v.*], and in mediaeval times, they were to be found in Algeria, at Niḳaws (N'gaous) and in the region of Bône. They never disappeared completely, and re-appear in the historical texts, e.g. under the Almohads; at first (559/1164) they espoused the cause of a rebel and were opposed to the Almohads, but then in 580/1184 rallied to them in order to go and fight in Spain. They appear further under the Marīnids, being specially mentioned in the texts concerning the meetings for the holy war in al-Andalus, and one of them commanded the renowned "volunteers for the faith". In 707/1308, some Awraba chiefs involved in the revolt of a pretender, were executed on the orders of the sultan Abū Thābit, and their bodies exposed in crucifixion on the encircling walls of Marrakesh.

At the present time, some of their former tribes (the Ladjāya, Mazyata and Raghiwa) are established on the banks of the Wādī Wargha, to the north of the Zarhūn.

Bibliography: al-Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā*, index; ʿAbd Allāh Gannūn, *al-Umarāʾ Idrīs*, in *Mashāhir ridjāl al-Maghrib*, No. 33; and see arts. BARĀNIS, BERBERS, IDRĪS I and II, IDRĪSIDS, KUSAYLA, WALĪLA.

(G. DEVERDUN)

AʿYĀṢ, a component group of the Meccan clan of Umayya or ʿAbd Shams, the term being a plural of the founder's name, a son of Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Ḳuṣayy called al-ʿĪṣ or Abu 'l-ʿĪṣ or al-ʿĀṣ(ī) or Abu 'l-ʿĀṣ(ī) or ʿUwayṣ, these being given in the genealogical works as separate individuals, but doubtless in fact one person (on the two orthographies al-ʿĀṣ and al-ʿĀṣī, the former explicable as an apocopated Ḥidjāzī form, see K. Vollers, *Volksprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, Strassburg 1906, 139-40). The group formed a branch of the clan parallel to that of Ḥarb b. Umayya, from whom descended Abū Sufyān, Muʿāwiya [*q.vv.*] and the Sufyānids. Amongst the sons of al-ʿĀs, etc., were ʿAffān, father of the caliph ʿUthmān [*q.v.*]; al-Ḥakam, father of the caliph Marwān I [*q.v.*] and progenitor of the subsequent Marwānids; Saʿīd [*q.v.*], governor of Kūfa under ʿUthmān and of Medina under Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān; and al-Mughīra, whose son Muʿāwiya was the mutilator of the Prophet's uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the father of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān's mother ʿĀʾisha.

Because of the strenuous hostility shown to the Prophet by al-ʿĀṣ (he was killed, a pagan, at Badr) and his son Muʿāwiya, and because of al-Ḥakam's ambiguous role in the first years of Islam (as the "accursed one" banished by the Prophet), the family was often regarded by later Islamic sources with especial rancour; Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, however, found some contemporary favour with the Hāshimī clan and the supporters of ʿAlī, see Lammens, *Moʿâwia Ier*, in *MFOB*, i (1906), 27-8.

Bibliography: see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, i, *Tab.* 8, 9, ii, *Register*, 202; Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 98-9; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 45 ff., 103, ed. Cairo 1378/1958, 73 ff., 166; See also UMAYYA B. ʿABD SHAMS.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ĀYATULLĀH (ĀYAT ALLĀH, current orthography Ayatollah), a title with an hierarchical significance used by the Imāmī, Twelver Shīʿīs, and meaning literally "Miraculous sign (*āya* [*q.v.*]) of God". In order to understand its sense and its implications, one has to consider the recent evolution of certain institutions worked out by the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*.

Since the dominating attitude of Imāmism has been dictated by the doctrine that all political power—even if exercised by a Shīʿī—is illegitimate during the occultation of the Hidden Imām, it has only been comparatively late, from the Ṣafawid period (907-1135/1501-1722) onwards, that political theories have taken shape and an hierarchy within the top ranks of the *mudjtahids* [*q.v.*] has been formed. After their long disputes against the Akhbārīs [see AKHBĀRIYYA in Suppl.] and Ṣūfīs, the Uṣūlīs [*q.v.*] in the course of the 19th century elaborated the theory according to which at every given moment there could only be one unique *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] "source of imitation" (see Algar [1969], 5-11, 34-6, 162-5, etc.; Binder, 124 ff.). This title of *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] was subsequently applied retrospectively to numerous *mudjtahids* (for lists of the *nāʾib-i ʿāmm*s of the Hidden Imām going back to Muḥammad Kulaynī, d. 329/940, see Bagley [1972], 31; Fisher, 34-5; Hairi, 62-3). During the 1960s, several discussions took place

concerning the manner of selection and the functions of the *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*, at the very time when the Āyatullāh Burūdjirdī (d. 1961), recognised as the sole *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* by the mass of Imāmī Shīʿīs, disappeared (Algar [1972], 242; for some reserves about this recognition, see Binder, 132). Drawn up by religious leaders and laymen, a collective work called *Baḥthī dar bāra-yi mardjaʿiyyat va rūḥāniyyat*, dealing in particular with Imāmī institutions and on links with the political authority, appeared at Teheran in December 1962 (a brief analysis by Lambton, 121-35). After the disappearance of Burūdjirdī—whose attitude to politics had been one of quietism—the institution of the *mardjaʿiyyat* seems to have spread out widely (in 1976, there were six *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīds* of first rank, including the Āyatullāh Khumaynī; Fisher, 32). However, from 1963 onwards, a certain consensus seems to have grown up around the Āyatullāh Khumaynī, the main religious opponent of the Pahlavī régime (Algar [1972], 243); but it also seems that the consensus over the *mardjaʿiyyat-i kull* of the Āyatullāh Muḥsin Ḥakīm Ṭabāṭabāʾī of Nadjaf (d. 1970) was at least partially realised in *ca.* 1966 (Bagley [1970], 78, n. 7; this *āyatullāh* enjoyed the favour of the Shah; see Algar [1972], 242-3).

From the time of the protest against the Tobacco Concession (1891-2), the *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*—who at that period resided in the holy places of ʿIrāḳ, the ʿAtabāt [*q.v.* in Suppl.]—often took the lead in the fight of opposition to Ḳādjār autocracy and to foreign domination. This association of the *mudjtahids* with political opposition seems to have been clearer with the grant of the title *āyatullāh.* In practice, this *laḳab* seems first of all to have designated the two great leaders of the constitutional revolution, the *sayyids* ʿAbd Allāh Bihbahānī and Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī (*Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā*, s.v. *Āyatullāh*). It has since been applied to numerous great *mudjtahids* (sometimes retrospectively), independently, it appears, of their political attitudes. It tends to replace in current usage (but not in the actual hierarchy) certain titles such as that of *ḥudjdjat al-Islam* which nowadays can mean any and every *ākhund* (this latter term tending, despite its pejorative character, to supplant that of *mullā*).

As with that of *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*, attribution of the title is above all a question of opinion. In effect, above the title of *mudjtahid* the level of respect accorded and the religious chief's charisma depend on the consensus of the mass of faithful. The *āyatullāh* is placed at the top of the hierarchy, amongst the élite of the great *mudjtahids*. At the summit of all is to be found the *āyatullāh al-ʿuẓmā* (the "greatest miraculous sign of God"), the supreme *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* or *mudjtahid.* This rank seems to have been first of all accorded to Burūdjirdī (Binder, 132). There seems also to be at Ḳum a limited sort of college which makes decisions about the title (*ibid.*, 134). This clearly reinforces the position of Ḳum, which has become the "symbolic capital" of Iran since the Āyatullāh Khumaynī's return (the title *Imām* sometimes applied to him seems to be taken from ʿIrāḳī usage).

Although they are sometimes of modest origin, the great majority of *āyatullāhs* are now *sayyids* (whereas the great *ʿulamāʾ* of the past were not always from this class). Marriages and alliances traditionally reinforce the strength of religious leadership (see Fischer, genealogical tables, 33-4). Whether he be *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* or not, the *āyatullāh* excercises a double role of manager within his sphere of activity. On the administrative level, he controls the levying of various religious taxes, the direction of pious gifts and property in mortmain (*waḳf* [*q.v.*], controlled by the state under the Pahlavī régime), the distribution of various grants and alms, the administration of centres of learning, etc.; on the intellectual and spiritual level, he is responsible for education. His influence on the social level is limited by his faithful followers: the students and those who bring their financial support to him (Fisher, 41).

The role and influence of the Iranian *āyatullāhs* are now very diverse. Their prerogatives have increased through the progressive installation of an Islamic Republic since the events of winter 1978-9. But, despite the abolition of the monarchy, they are inevitably subject to all the hazards of political power and to the pressures of antagonistic forces (secularism, communism, the growth of nationalisms, religious particularisms, etc.). There is at least one *āyatullāh* in each province and several in each main centre of religious teaching (*ḥawda-yi ʿilmī*). Thus there are 14 traditional *madrasas* at Ḳum directed by *āyatullāhs*, of whom some have attained the rank of *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* (Fisber, table, 23).

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(J. CALMARD)

ʿAYN AL-ḲUḌĀT AL-HAMADHĀNĪ, ʿABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ BAKR AL-MIYĀNADJĪ, Shāfiʿī jurist and Ṣūfī martyr, born at Hamadhān in 492/1098. Born of a line of scholars, he studied Arabic grammar, theology, philosophy and law, and as an already precocious scholar, began writing his books at the age of 14. Also, at the approach of puberty, he became a convert to Ṣūfism. In 517/1123, at the age of 25, he seems to have met Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, brother of the great theologian Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, who initiated him into Ṣūfī meditation and dancing, thus completing his spiritual conversion. Other masters of his were Muḥammad b. Ḥammūya and a certain Baraka.

His spiritual reputation soon gained him many disciples, and he spent all his time in oral and written teaching, sometimes going beyond the limits of his physical strength for this and having then to retire for two or three months for recuperation. His activities soon provoked the hostility of the orthodox theologians. Provoked by his teachings on the nature of sainthood and prophethood and on submission to the Ṣūfī *shaykh*, and objecting to his

usage of Ṣūfī terminology which gave the impression that he himself laid claim to prophetic powers, they brought an accusation of heresy against him before the Saldjūḳ vizier in ʿIrāḳ, who imprisoned him in Baghdād. It was there that he wrote his apologia, the *Shakwā ʾl-gharīb*. Some months later he was set free and returned to Hamadhān, but shortly afterwards, at the time of the Saldjūḳ sultan Maḥmūd's arrival (reigned 511-25/1118-31), he was executed in a barbarous manner during the night of 6-7 Djumādā II 526/6-7 May 1131 at the age of 33. His premature death seems to have prevented Hamadhānī from founding a Ṣūfī monastery, setting up a Ṣūfī group and designating a successor; nevertheless, his numerous works, written in a fine style, have always found an audience.

His published works include his *Shakwā ʾl-gharīb ʿan al-awṭān ilā ʿulamāʾ al-buldān*, an apologia in Arabic (ed. and Fr. tr. Mohammed ben Abd-el-Jalil, in *JA* (1930), 1-76, 193-297; ed. ʿAfīf ʿUsayrān, *Muṣannafāt-i ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī*, Tehran 1341/1962; Eng. tr. A.J. Arberry, *A Sufi martyr, the apologia of ʿAin al-Quḍāt al-Hamadhānī*, London 1969); *Risāla-yi Lawāʾiḥ*, on mystic love, in Persian, ed. Raḥīm Farmanish, Tehran 1337/1958; *Zubdat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, in Arabic, ed. ʿUsayrān, in *op. cit.*; *Tamhīdāt* or *Zubdat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī kashf al-daḳāʾiḳ*, in Persian, ed. ʿUsayrān, in *op. cit.*, twice tr. into Turkish; *Nāmahā* or *Maktūbāt*, *Makātīb*, letters, in Persian, ed. ʿAlīnaḳī Munzawī and ʿUsayrān, 2 vols., Beirut and Tehran 1390/1971; *Risāla-yi yazdānshi-nākht*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, Tehran 1327/1948; and *Aḥwāl u āthār*, ed. Farmanish, Tehran 1338/1959.

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(J.K. Teubner)

ʿAYN AL-MULK MULTĀNĪ, official and military commander under the Dihlī sultans of India.

His actual name and early career are not known. Contemporary writers mention him by his honorific title, ʿAyn al-Mulk, with the *nisba* Multānī because he hailed from Multān; the 9th/15th century chronicler Yaḥyā Sirhindī calls him ʿAyn al-Mulk-i Shihāb signifying that his father's name was Shihāb. However, ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī started his career in the reign of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1316), and soon attained to an important position in the official hierarchy, showing excellence in both penmanship and military generalship. Amīr Khusraw showers praises on him in his works, depicting him as a learned statesman in peace time and a veteran general on the battlefield. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī speaks of him as one who was wise in counsel, widely travelled, ripe in experience and much distinguished for his sagacity and successful tackling of complicated problems.

His first important assignment was his posting in Mālwā as the *muḳtaʿ* or governor of Dhār and Udjdjayn in 704/1305. In Mālwā, he not only consolidated the sultan's rule, but also subdued the recalcitrant *zamīndārs* of Central India. In 716/1316, he held the territory of Deogīrī (in modern Maharashtra), when he was recalled to Dihlī by Malik Nāʾib just after Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn had died. En route he received another order from Dihlī directing him to proceed to Gudjarāt, where rebels had captured the province. In compliance to Malik Nāʾib's order, ʿAyn al-Mulk turned aside, but had to halt in Čitōr as many fellow-nobles in the royal army refused to march after Malik Nāʾib had been killed and the policy of the new ruler, Sultan Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, was not known. After a few days, the new Sultan sent him and other nobles *farmāns* ordering them all to go to Gudjarāt and establish peace and order there.

On arrival, ʿAyn al-Mulk tried to solve the problem diplomatically. He wrote to the leaders of the rebellion that the murder of their leader Alp Khān had already been avenged, as the culprit (Malik Nāʾib) was now dead, and for this reason they should not persist in rebellion. He also warned them of the serious consequences if they did not submit to the central authority. In response to his letter, many rebels joined his camp. Only Ḥaydar and Zīrak fought against the royal army and they were easily routed. Having settled the affairs of Gudjarāt, he then returned to Dihlī.

In 718/1318, he was sent to Deogīrī when Malik Yak Lakhī, the local *muḳtaʿ*, rose in rebellion. This time he was appointed as *wazīr*, with Malik Tādj al-Dīn, son of Khwādja ʿAṭāʾ as *Mushrif* and Mudjīr al-Dīn Aburdja as military commandant. In 720/1320, he was present in Dihlī when Sultan Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh was killed by the allies of Khusraw Khān. Though ʿAyn al-Mulk was not in alliance with Khusraw Khān, the latter honoured him with the title of ʿAlam Khān in order to win him over to his side. Soon afterwards, Ghāzī Malik, the *muḳtaʿ* of Depālpur, organised a movement against Khusraw Khān aiming at revenge for the murder of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, persuading all the important nobles, including ʿAyn al-Mulk, to help him against the regicide. ʿAyn al-Mulk, afraid of Khusraw Khān's agents, showed Malik Ghāzī's letter to the usurper, and thus assured him of his own loyalty. Ghāzī Malik, anxious to win him over, again wrote a letter to him. This time ʿAyn al-Mulk expressed his sympathy with Ghāzī Malik's undertaking and promised not to participate in the battle against any party because he was in Dihlī, surrounded by the allies of Khusraw, and could not take up arms against him. On achieving the throne, Ghāzī Malik, who assumed the title of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and apparently retained ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī in his service.

According to ʿIṣāmī, ʿAyn al-Mulk joined Ulugh Khān (later Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ) on the Warangal expedition of 722/1322. Since the siege of Warangal became prolonged and Ulugh Khān insisted on capturing the citadel, the officers got tired and many of them mutinied, although ʿAyn al-Mulk remained loyal. This was the last expedition that he had joined, for we do not hear of him afterwards.

Certain mediaeval as well as modern scholars have confused ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī with ʿAyn al-Mulk Māhrū, who is the author of the famous work, *Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*. Māhrū was a noble of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's and Fīrūz Shāh's entourage. ʿIṣāmī distinguishes ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī from Māhrū by calling the latter ʿAyn al-Dīn. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī differentiates between them by making different statements about their qualities, stating that ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī could not only wield the sword successfully but was also adept in diplomacy and penmanship, while Māhrū had no experience of military generalship, since he belonged to the class of scribes and clerks. Shams al-Dīn Sirādj ʿAfīf presents Māhrū as the creature of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. Further, most of the letters and documents contained in the *Inshāʾ-i Māhrū* were drafted in Fīrūz Shāh's reign, and only a few belong to the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ; there is no letter written by Māhrū during

the reigns of the latter's predecessors. In short, ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī and ʿAyn al-Mulk Māhrū were two different persons belonging to different generations.

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(I.H. Siddiqui)

AYTĀKH AL-**TURKĪ** (d. 235/849), a Khazar military slave or *ghulām* [*q.v.*] who had been bought in 199/815 by the future caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, and who played an important role in the reigns of his master, of al-Wāthiḳ and of al-Mutawakkil. At the opening of al-Wāthiḳ's caliphate, he was, with Ashnās, the "mainstay of the caliphate". After being commander of the guard in Sāmarrā, in 233/847 he was made governor of Egypt, but delegated his powers there to Harthama b. Naṣr (Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, ii, 265; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, v, 136). It was he who, in this same year, seized and put to torture the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt. At this time, he was combining the functions of *ḥādjib*, commander of the caliphal guard, intendant of the palace and director of the postal and intelligence system; but he laid these duties down in 234/848 in order to go on the Pilgrimage. When he returned, he was arrested by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab, and he died of thirst in prison the following year. It is said that al-Mutawakkil confiscated from his house a million *dīnārs*.

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ĀZĀD, Abu 'l-Kalām, reviver of Muslim thought in India and influential politician of the first half of the 20th century. Born in Mecca in 1888, he received in Calcutta, where his family settled in 1898, an austere and rigorously orthodox education. With great precocity he made his début in the literary world at the age of fourteen with an article published in the Urdu language magazine *Makhzan*. At the age of sixteen he made the acquaintance of the remarkable poet Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī [*q.v.*], on whom he made a strong impression, and shortly after he met Mawlānī Shiblī Nuʿmānī who immediately recognised his exceptional qualities and took him to Lucknow to teach him journalism, entrusting to him the editing of his journal *al-Nadwa*.

In July 1912 Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād published the first issue of his journal *al-Hilāl*, which very quickly earned him a vast audience, thanks to the original composition of the publication, to its articles dealing with subjects of the most burning relevance, and to the fiery and poetic style of the author. This enterprise was suspended by the British government at the start of the 1914-18 war, and Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād then launched, in 1915, another periodical, *al-Balāgh*, which had only a short existence since the writer was expelled from Bengal in 1916. The texts published in *al-Hilāl* and *al-Balāgh* have been collected in two volumes bearing the title *Maḳālāt-i-Āzād*.

Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād continued and extended the work begun by Shiblī with the object of encouraging the *ʿulamāʾ* to participate in the most modern developments of civilisation. As a theologian experienced in the disciplines of the most traditional religious thought, he provoked the *ʿulamāʾ* into an increasingly sharp awareness of social and political problems. In 1920 he rejoined the ranks of the Indian Congress Party and participated more or less overtly in the *Djamʿiyyat al-ʿulamāʾ-i-Hind* [see DJAMʿIYYA. India and Pakistan], an Indian association of Muslim theologians which showed itself always sympathetic to a political scheme of nationalistic tendency, with the object of driving the British colonial power from Indian territory. An ardent opponent of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1817-1898 [*q.v.*]) and of the movement which the latter launched in founding the university of ʿAlīgaṙh, Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād revived the pan-Islamic proposals of the great reformist Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and exhorted the Muslims of India not to remain passive observers of the upheavals which were transforming the world, but to associate themselves with the struggle whose primary object was to free them from the foreign yoke, so that they could subsequently participate actively in the complex and fruitful changes which, in the modern era, contribute to the prosperous life of free nations. But was there not in this attitude a contradiction between pan-Islamism, ideally asserted, and nationalism as constantly practised in a context where, in the event, India, once independent, could not be other than a nation dominated by the Hindu community?

In the more strictly theological sphere, Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād expressed his opposition to Sir Sayyid in numerous articles in *al-Hilāl* and especially in the introduction to his celebrated work *Tardjumān al-Ḳurʾān*, a project which he had conceived when he established himself at Rānčī after his expulsion from Bengal in 1916, but of which the first part was not published until 1931. According to Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, the Ḳurʾān must be disencumbered of all artificial interpretations founded on a philosophy and a terminology more or less borrowed from the Greeks; it is necessary also to resist the temptation of wishing to consider the Holy Book only from the point of view of its conformity with newly-discovered scientific laws. If we wish to restore to the Ḳurʾān its original atmosphere, the exercise of *idjtihād* must become a vital experience, in the course of which each article of faith will be confronted by the abrasive forces of scepticism so that the individual will emerge from the process more positive in his belief and more enthusiastic in his actions.

When in 1947 the Indian sub-continent was divided to permit the creation of Pakistan, Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād chose to stay in India, and he became minister of National Education in the Central Government, a post which he held until his death in 1958.

Attention should also be drawn to two other important works by this author, who contributed much to the development of the Urdu language: *Tadhkira* (published in 1920), a selection of autobiographical memories, and especially *Ghubār-i Khāṭir*, which has the form of a collection of letters addressed to a friend by Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād during his imprisonment in the fort of Aḥmadnagar between 9 August 1942 and 15 June 1945. Finally, the work which the author wrote in English, *India wins freedom* (Calcutta 1959) constitutes a valuable document for the historian.

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(A. Guimbretière)

ĀZĀD, Muḥammad Ḥusayn (1830-1910), Urdu writer, was a leading exponent of "new" Urdu prose, and a pioneer of the reaction against the Persian tradition in Urdu poetry, with its emphasis on *ghazal* and its preoccupation with ornate, stylised language.

Born in Dihlī, he was the son of one of the first leading journalists of north India. He was educated at Delhi College, and acquired a mastery of both Arabic and Persian. By 1854, he was editor of his father's newspaper, the *Dihlī Urdū Akhbār*. A love of poetry was fostered in him by the poet Dhawḳ (1789-1854), who was a friend of his father's. However, the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and its aftermath completely changed his life, and its effect probably never left him. His father was executed for treason by the British authorities, and he himself fled and became a wanderer. In 1864 he arrived in Lahore, where he was to reside for the remainder of his life. He obtained a minor post in the Panjab Ministry of Public Instruction. He twice visited Persia, and in 1865 he accompanied an Indian Government secret mission to Bukhārā, aimed at investigating Russian penetration of that region.

In his early years in Lahore, he quickly won the confidence of local British dignatories, including Colonel Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction. He wrote several educational works, including a Persian course in two books, and, in Urdu, Volume ii of *Ḳiṣaṣ-i-Hind*, a three-volume series of Indian historical stories. Though designed for students, the latter book won the admiration of more mature readers, for its vivid style. In 1865 Dr. G.W. Leitner, Principal of Government College, founded the *Andjumān-i Pandjāb*, a literary society, and Āzād was appointed secretary in 1867. One project of the Society was to encourage the reform of Urdu poetry, and Āzād threw himself whole-heartedly into this. For nearly a year, monthly *mushā'aras* (poetical contests) were held, a set theme being specified in advance for each meeting. These themes, which included "the rainy season", "winter" and "patriotism", were chosen to discourage the use of antique poetical diction. Āzād opened the series with a lecture on the nature of poetic art, and wrote poems for the meetings. Nevertheless, even allowing for criticism based on prejudice or personal animosity, Āzād's poetry hardly enhanced his reputation; and it was not he, but Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī, [*q.v.*] who also took part in the *mushā'aras*, who came to be recognised as the pioneer of the "new" poetry, both for his verse and his critical writings. Nevertheless, a reappraisement of Āzād's verse is overdue. It is uneven in quality; but there is strength and drive behind a poem like *Ūlū 'l-'azmī* (Resolution).

Āzād wrote some important prose works, which were better received than his verse, and indeed ultimately gained him recognition as a great—some would say the greatest—master of Urdu prose. Yet he was destined never to be free from some hostile, even carping, criticism. *Nayrang-i khayāl* (1880) is a collection of thirteen allegorical essays, translated—with minor changes and interpolations—from the English of Samuel Johnson, Addison and their contemporaries. *Sukhandān-i-Fārs*, based on his lectures on Persian language and literature, dates from 1872, but was not published until 1907. However, his fame rests chiefly on his long critical account of Urdu poetry, *Āb-i-ḥayāt* (1881). His last major work, *Darbār-i-akbarī* (1898), is a dazzling account of the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar [*q.v.*], but, despite its rich style, it is often described as a failure. Āzād's prose is imaginative and colourful, far removed from the straightforward style of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Ḥālī. Muhammad Sadiq (*History of Urdu literature*, 300) says that it "recalls old patterns in its syntactical peculiarities and word-arrangement", and adds, perhaps with a little exaggeration, that its syntax seems Persian. Āzād was not directly involved in the 'Alīgaṙh Movement, but was highly respected by its leaders. Ḥālī wrote complimentary reviews of *Nayrang-i-khayāl* and *Āb-i-ḥayāt*.

The last twenty years of Āzād's life were marred by periods of mental illness bordering on insanity. Personal tragedies, and overwork—including his edition of Dhawḳ's *Dīwān*—have been blamed for this. He died in Lahore in 1910.

Bibliography: In addition to information given above, some of the many reprints of Āzād's works may be mentioned; thus for *Āb-i-ḥayāt*, Lahore 1950, Faizabad 1966. As for *Darbār-i-akbarī*, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, editor of the Lahore edition of 1910, claims in his preface that his text is more complete and more in keeping with Āzād's intentions than the original (1898) edition of Mīr Mumtāz 'Alī. There is a Lucknow edition n.d., but *ca.* 1965. For *Nayrang-i-khayāl*, there is a Karachi edition of 1961. Āghā Muḥammad Bāḳir has edited selected articles by Āzād (*Maḳālāt Mawlānā M.Ḥ. Āzād*, Lahore 1966). *Ḳiṣaṣ-i-Hind* was reprinted in Lahore (1961) and Karachi (1962). Selected letters have been published: *Maktūbāt-i-Āzād*, Lahore 1907, and *Makātīb-i-Āzād*, Lahore 1966. The collected poetry was published as *Naẓm-i-Āzād*, Lahore 1910.

Among critical biographies, Muhammad Sadiq's *Muhammad Husain Azad—his life and work*, Lahore 1965, is of prime importance. The same author's shorter account in his *History of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 288-302, includes a conveniently brief analysis of Āzād's prose style (297-301), with extracts. In Urdu, there is Djahān Bānū Begum's *Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād*, Hyderabad Deccan, 1940. Among detailed studies of *Āb-i-ḥayāt*, mention must be made of Riḍāwī Mas'ūd Ḥasan's *Āb-i-ḥayāt kā tanḳīd muṭāla'a*, Lucknow 1953. Ḥālī's reviews of *Nayrang-i-khayāl* and *Āb-i-ḥayāt*, originally published in the 'Alīgaṙh University Gazette, are available in *Kulliyyāt-i-nathr-i-Ḥālī*, Lahore 1968, ii, 176-83 and 184-94.

(J.A. Haywood)

ĀZĀDĪ (p.), freedom, synonymous with Arabic *ḥurriyya* [*q.v.*]. Deriving from the Avestan word *ā-zāta* and the Pahlavi word *āzāt* (noble), the word

āzādī has as long a history as Persian literature itself. It was employed by Persian writers and poets such as Firdawsī, Farrukhī Sīstānī, Gurgānī, Rūmī, Khāḳānī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, and Ẓahīr Fāriyābī in a variety of meanings including, for instance, choice, separation, happiness, relaxation, thanksgiving, praise, deliverance, non-slavery, and so on (see Dihkhudā, art. *Āzādī*, in *Lughat-nāma*, ii/1, 86-7). In modern times, the idea of social and political liberty has also been expressed by the term *āzādī* (and sometimes by the term *ikhtiyār*), the latter sense of which will be dealt with below in reference to the Iranian world.

From its very nature, the modern connotation of *āzādī* has been associated with the process of Western impact on Persian culture and therefore its history. Considering the fact that the activities of the British East India Company (from 1600) coincided with the mass migration of Persian writers and poets to India, plus the information brought to India by travellers such as Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn, who recorded his impression of Europe in 1767, it would be logical to conclude that the Persian emigrants to India were among the first eastern people to have been exposed to European new ideas. It seems, however, that no noticeable Western influence can be observed in the Persian writings of the 17th century. The earliest favourable, but brief, account known to us of Europe is that of Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn (d. 1766), who wrote in 1732 that some of the European countries enjoyed laws, a better way of life, and more stable systems of government, and regretted not to have taken a trip to Europe, as was suggested to him by an English captain (Ḥazīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḥazīn*, Tehran, 1953, 92-3, 110-11).

One of the earliest, and relatively detailed, accounts in the Persian language of European social and political institutions belongs to a Shūshtarī-born émigré of India, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Mūsawī Djazāʾirī, who learnt about the new ideas which had developed among the newly-born middle class of Europe and had been imported to India. Writing in 1801, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf dealt with modern topics such as freemasonry, equality, liberty and the function of the administration of justice in England. He also made reference to the British system of mixed government, i.e. the division of power among the king, the lords, and the subjects (*raʿāyā*), the latter being obviously considered as the propertied men who were entitled to elect and be elected.

For more detailed descriptions of modern ideas, including that of *āzādī*, one may look into the eyewitness accounts, the most widely quoted of which are those of Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib Iṣfahānī, son of another émigré to India, and Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī of Iran. Both Abū Ṭālib, who travelled and lived in Europe from 1798 till 1803, and Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, who studied in England from 1815 till 1819, wrote in detail about the type of liberty which then existed in England. Some differences, however, may be observed in their accounts: Abū Ṭālib seems more critical of the British system; he found, for instance, freedom of the press somewhat harmful, and refused to accept membership of freemasonry (cf. his *Maṣīr-i Ṭālibī*, Tehran 1974, 152, 195-6). Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, on the contrary, called England with admiration *vilāyat-i āzādī* (land of freedom), and joined freemasonry with great interest (*Safar-nāma-yi Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī*, Tehran 1968, 189, 207, 374). As a matter of fact, most, if not all, of the Persians who went to Europe throughout the 19th century became freemasons, and learnt there to propagate the type of freedom which was understood by the masons and included in their famous slogan of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* (Ismāʿīl Rāʾīn, *Farāmūshkhāna va Farāmāsūnrī dar Iran*, i-iii, Tehran 1968; Maḥmūd Katīrāʾī, *Farāmāsūnrī dar Iran*, Tehran 1968).

In Europe, such ideas as liberty, equality, laissez-faire and so on, were developed in the course of the struggles between the old feudal system and the newly-born capitalism, so that for the "Third Estate", liberty meant freedom from the yoke of feudalism and the freedom for private enterprise. Accordingly, this concept of liberty expressed could have had little meaning for the Persian audiences who were still experiencing their own type of "feudalism" at that time, and it must have appeared as an entertaining fiction.

One of the consequences of the development of capitalism in the West was the latter's need, among other things, of raw materials, cheap labour and profitable investments in other parts of the world. At the turn of the 19th century, Iran appeared to the then great powers, i.e. England, France and Russia, as important both strategically and economically. Since Iran found itself too weak to survive Western encroachments, the Persian government saw it as indispensable to take certain measures for strengthening of the country through modernisation, so that students such as Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ were dispatched to Europe to acquire modern sciences. Although the internal and external forces supporting the old régime of Iran were still strong, the process of modernisation did not come to a standstill. In addition to sending students abroad, there were several diplomatic missions to Europe during the reigns both of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834) and Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48). Missions such as those of Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḥasan Īlčī (England, 1814), Khusraw Mīrzā (Russia, 1829), and Adjūdānbāshī (Austria, France, and England, 1834) helped the Iranian ruling circles to obtain more information about the European ideas and institutions. A number of memoirs, such as Khusraw Mīrzā's, do indicate a misunderstanding by some of the Iranian diplomats of the idea of liberty. However, there appeared also intelligent accounts of parliamentary systems in European countries.

In the outset of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's reign (1848-96), a wide range of modernising measures were initiated by the Amīr Kabīr. In 1858 Mīrzā Djaʿfar Khān Mushīr al-Dawla formed his government, modelled roughly on European cabinet systems. Believing in Djaʿfar Khān's progressive thought, Mīrzā Malkam, another modernist, wrote to him a long letter urging him to reform the system of government and to separate the powers. He declared the opinions of the Iranian people to be free, *āzād*. Shortly after the appearance of Malkam's letter, an anonymous author touched upon the necessity for free elections and freedom of the press (MS. Madjlis library, Tehran No. 31856/4147, *Daftar-i Tanẓīmāt*, in *Madjmūʿa-yi āthār-i Mīrzā Malkam Khān*, Tehran 1948, 24-6). In the same year (1858), when an Italian nationalist, Orsini, attempted the life of Napoleon III, Farrukh Khān Amīn al-Dawla was on a diplomatic mission to Paris. He wrote not only of the French parliament, but he also described with favour the remarks made in a letter to the Emperor by Orsini on patriotism, liberty, and the freedom of Italy, for whose sake he had taken that action; Farrukh included a Persian translation of that letter in his memoires (Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh Sarābī, *Makhzan al-wakāyiʿ: Sharḥ-i maʾmūriyyat va musāfarat-i Farrukh Khān Amīn al-Dawla*, Tehran 1965, 354-86).

In 1866 an anonymous author wrote a treatise on social and political affairs, and paid special attention to the ideas of freedom and equality and their applicability to Islamic teachings. He classified "commendable freedom" (*ikhtiyār-i mamdūḥ*) into six types which included freedom of speech, assembly and publication (Ms. Madjlis Library 137; for an account of this exceptionally interesting work, see Abdol Hossein Haeri, *Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-yi Madjlis-i shūrā-yi millī*, xxi, Tehran 1974, 135-8).

The last few decades of the 19th century witnessed a number of important changes from within and from without; constitutional movements took place in many European and some Asian countries; more efforts were made by powerful and industrially advanced nations to colonise other countries; and Anglo-Russian rivalries in Iran were intensified. These developments, together with other factors, exposed Iran to new ideas and predisposed towards the establishment of a new order involving a degree of political freedom for the subjects. The modernising measures undertaken by Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Sipahsālār (d. 1881), and the appearance of newspapers such as *Īrān*, *Wakāyiʿ-i ʿadliyya*, *Waṭan*, *Niẓāmī*, *ʿIlmī*, and *Mirrīkh* in the 1870s, and the emergence of writers and social critics such as Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhūnd-zāda (d. 1878), Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dawla Tabrīzī (d. 1895) and Malkam Khān (d. 1908), may be studied against the background of those developments. The critics fought earnestly for the establishment of a free enterprise system and the destruction of the old social structure, and this involved agitation for a limited freedom of election, freedom of speech, etc. Some of the modernists like Malkam and Sipahsālār went as far as not only to advocate foreign investment in Iran, but also played an active role in encouraging it. They seem to have understood the concept of liberty as defined in Europe. Ākhūnd-zāda, for instance, propounded the view that no reconciliation is possible between liberty and Islam. He also saw freedom as preserved through freemasonry activities (Farīdūn Ādamīyyat, *Andīshahā-yi Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhūnd-zāda*, Tehran 1970, 148-9). Out of expediency, however, most of the writers gave their definition of liberty some Islamic colouring; they likened, for instance, freedom of speech with the Islamic concept of *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *The idea of constitutionalism in Persian literature prior to the 1906 Revolution*, in *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft, Göttingen, 1974*, Göttingen 1976, 189-207).

At the same time, there appeared two more groups of intellectuals who also wrote about freedom. Writers such as Mumtaḥin al-Dawla (d. 1921), an experienced diplomat, and Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Farāhānī, who visited Russia, Turkey, and the Ḥidjāz from 1884-5, found *āzādī* to be quite harmful. In 1870, while sitting at the place reserved for the diplomatic corps in the British parliament, Mumtaḥin al-Dawla witnessed a serious attack waged by one of the members on the Queen and the institution of monarchy in Britain. At this point, Mumtaḥin envied the British members of parliament their freedom of speech, but did not believe that the Persians could have the same privilege in the near future; accordingly, he flatly discredited the Iranians' struggles for freedom during the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 (Mahdī Khān Mumtaḥin al-Dawla Shakākī, *Khāṭirāt-i Mumtaḥin al-Dawla*, Tehran 1974, 188-9, 210-11). To Farāhānī, freedom appeared to be a destructive element in history; he held that no system could survive unless it was based on one-man rule (*Safar-nāma-yi Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Farāhānī*, Tehran 1963, 139-46).

A third group of intellectuals, which also included some men from the first group, emerged in reaction to the intensification of foreign rivalries, the spread of governmental corruption and tyranny, and above all the concessions made to foreigners. The works of Ḥādjdj Sayyāḥ (d. 1925), Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Marāghaʾī (d. 1911), Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Rahīm Tabrīzī Talibov (d. 1911), Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī (d. 1896), and some of the writings of Malkam and Afghānī (d. 1896), are the best representative expressions of the people's response to the existing political and economic situation in Iran. To Afghānī, freedom meant the replacement of the existing tyrannical régime by a benevolent government. Other writers especially Talibov, however, attached more meanings to the idea of freedom. The latter defined it in full details as involving the franchise and freedom of the press, assembly, and opinion. All of the men in this group opposed the existing "feudally" based social system and advocated a free enterprise system not dependent on foreign concessions, foreign goods, or foreign interventions.

It was during the same period that a number of reformist intellectuals, headed by Aḥmad Dānish (d. 1897), also began to emerge in Bukhārā. Dānish's most important political and philosophical work *Nawādir al-waḳāyiʿ* (written 1875-82), was devoted to the necessity of social reforms and freedom of the people from the tyranny of the then Bukharān Amīr. His disciples such as Shāhīn, Sawdā, Asīrī, ʿAynī, and many others followed his steps (Jiri Bečka, *Tajik literature from the 16th century to the present*, in J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 485-605). In a later period we also see revolutionary pieces of poetry such as "Surūd-i Āzādī" by ʿAynī and "Bi Sharaf-i Inḳilāb-i Bukhārā" by ʿAkkāsbāshī (Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAynī, *Namūna-yi adabiyyāt-i Tādjīk 300-1200 hidjrī*, Moscow 1926).

This period also coincided with some measures of modernisation in Afghānistān. To the Afghāns, because of the Anglo-Russian rivalries throughout the 19th century, political *āzādī* simply came to mean the independence of their country from foreign encroachments, in connection with which a number of short-lived periodical papers such as *Kābul* (1867) and *Shams al-Nahār* (1875) came into being. The Afghāns' approach to the idea of freedom was best represented in their first important weekly paper, *Sirādj al-Akhbār-i Afghāniyya* (1911), where problems of modernisation and national independence were dealt with in a highly sophisticated manner. Its chief editor, Maḥmūd Ṭarzī, argued that "genuine national development and progress were possible only when a society enjoyed complete independence, sovereignty, and freedom" (Vartan Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan*, Stanford 1969, 178). This type of argument about liberty was pursued by later papers such as *Amān-i Afghān*, *Ittiḥād-i mashriḳī* and many others (Said Qassim Reshtia, *Journalism in Afghanistan*, in *Afghanistan*, ii (1948), 72-7).

In the course of the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11, the idea of freedom was approached by the factions involved in the Revolution in three different ways. One of the groups, influenced principally by Islamic teachings, was in favour of freedom, but a type of freedom consonant with Islam. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nāʾīnī (d. 1936), for instance, defined freedom as an opposite to slavery,

but like Montesquieu (*De l'esprit des lois*, i, l. iii, ch. viii) held that living under despotism was itself equal to slavery; therefore, freedom may be achieved only by the replacement of the existing tyrannical régime of Iran (Hairi, *Shī'ism and constitutionalism in Iran* [see *Bibl.*], 173-80, 218-19). The second group, to which belonged the Tabrīz revolutionaries, had a better insight into European ideas, together with a close association with the Russian revolutionaries, so that they interpreted freedom in a more western sense. In their approach both groups emphasised particularly the downfall of despotic rule in Persia and the ending of foreign intervention as being integral parts of freedom. The third group, i.e. the supporters of the old régime, under the leadership of Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (d. 1909), opposed any principles of democracy, and especially the concepts of liberty and equality, which appeared to the Shaykh as detrimental to Islam (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shaykh Fazl Allāh Nūrī's Refutation of the Idea of Constitutionalism*, to appear in *Middle East Studies*). The latter group even organised many mob demonstrations in which the people chanted: "We want no liberty; we want the Prophet's religion".

The Anglo-Russian agreements of 1907 and 1915, and the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1919 gave rise to a number of nationalist movements, such as those led by Kūčak Khān [*q.v.*], Khiyabānī [*q.v.*], and Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Pisyān. After the 1917 Russian Revolution, the Soviets withdrew the claims of the Tsars against Iran, so that freedom meant exclusively the abolition of the 1919 treaty and the freedom of Iran from any foreign intervention which could limit its independence. The newly-established Communist Party of Iran (1920), which co-operated with some of these movements, added a socialist colouring to the idea of freedom by propagating the idea of freedom of the peasants from the landowners through dividing up the latter's lands among the former.

Towards the end of the Ḳādjār dynasty, a number of poets and writers, such as Mīrzāda 'Ishḳī, Muḥammad Farrukhī Yazdī, Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Lāhūtī, wrote very critically about the freedom of the Persian people both from internal tyranny and from external influences; some of them met an untoward fate. Under Riḍā Shāh's reign (1925-41) the term *āzādī* was used only in rare cases; for instance, the newspaper *Iṭṭilā'āt* used *āzādī* in the sense of the freedom from the Ḳādjār dynasty or from the movements and rebellions which had existed in Iran. In 1932 Riḍā Shāh outlawed the Communist Party, but the activities of some of the communists led by Dr. Taḳī Arānī (d. 1939) continued. In their literature, e.g. in *Dunyā*, social and political concepts, including liberty, were defined from the socialist point of view. Some other intellectuals such as the woman poet, Parwīn I'tiṣāmī (d. 1941), wrote about freedom in a symbolic and subtle way, but their general message was the freedom from the existing situation.

The period following Riḍā Shāh's abdication (1941-53) witnessed a campaign for the nationalisation of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The new Communist party, now calling itself *ḥizb-i tūda-yi Īrān* (founded in September 1941) held freedom to be the nationalisation of the oil. However, it also saw freedom in the establishment of better relations with the Soviet Union so that Iran might evolve a Communist government. To the nationalists, on the other band, freedom depended not only on the nationalisation of the oil but also on the extinguishing of Russian and all other foreign influences in Iran. These ideological conflicts culminated under Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ's 28 month-rule, a period referred to by his supporters as *dawra-yi āzādī* ("the epoch of freedom"), during which for the first time popular involvement in politics was allowed to a certain extent and the activities of opposing political parties plus the campaigns of the press belonging to different political wings were some-what tolerated. This period came to an end in August 1953 when Muṣaddiḳ's government was overthrown by the army.

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

ʿAZAFĪ, BANU'L-, family of notables prominent in the annals of medieval Ceuta (Sabta [*q.v.*]) and descended from a Ceutan *faḳīh* by the name of Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. *al-ḳāḍī* Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Lakhmī, whose ancestor Muḥammad al-Lakhmī was known as Ibn Abī ʿAzafa, whence "Azafī". There is no reason to suppose that the ʿAzafids were descended from Madjkasa Berbers, as some 8th/14th-century Ceutans alleged. A gratuitous (but not wholly unreasonable) assumption of more recent date is that the family was of Andalusian origin.

Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās was born on 17 Ramaḍān 557/30 August 1162 and died on 7 Ramaḍān 633/16 May 1236. From all accounts he was a man of profound piety, and, throughout his adult life, he taught *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* in the Great Mosque of Ceuta. It was on his initiative that the festival of the Prophet's nativity (*mawlid*; vulgar *mūlūd*, *mīlūd*) was introduced into the Maghrib, and it was undoubtedly his example that in after times inspired his son Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim to adopt the custom of celebrating the *mawlid* as a public festival on a grand scale. At the time of his death, Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās was writing and had possibly almost completed his *K. al-Durr al-munaẓẓam fī mawlid al-Nabī ʾl-muʿaẓẓam*, the purpose of which was to promote his idea of celebrating the *mawlid* and putting an end to the celebration of non-Islamic festivals. The *Durr*, which is extant and has been carefully studied by F. de la Granja (see *Al-Andalus*, xxxiv (1969), 1-53) is ascribed by some to Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim, who actually seems only to have put the finishing touches to a largely completed work. Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās was also the author of a work entitled *Diʿāmat al-yaḳīn fī zaʿāmat al-muttaḳīn*. By the time of his death in 1236 both he and his family must already have achieved a position of eminence in Ceuta, for not long before the loss of Seville to Ferdinand III (end of 1248) one of that city's most notable families, the Banū Khaldūn, anticipated the disaster by emigrating to Ceuta where they contracted matrimonial alliances with the sons and daughters of "al-ʿAzafī".

The First *Dawla*. For thirteen years after the death of Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās, the history of the ʿAzafid family is shrouded in obscurity. Not so the troubled history of their native Ceuta. The period was one of Almohad decline, Ḥafṣid intervention in the Muslim West and spectacular Christian triumphs in Spain which cost Islam both Cordova and Seville, to say nothing of Valencia, Murcia, Jaén and Játiva. In 1243 the governor of Ceuta, a certain Abū ʿAlī b. Khalāṣ, withdrew his allegiance to the Almohad caliph and shortly afterwards acknowledged the sovereignty of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyāʾ. After the death of Ibn Khalāṣ, which more or less coincided with the fall of Seville, the Ceutans were in no mood to tolerate his successor, Ibn Shahīd, an ineffectual cousin of Abū Zakariyyāʾ. The Sevillan disaster loomed large in their preoccupations: their ships had fought on the Guadalquivir, and their harbours had witnessed a sizeable influx of Sevillan refugees—among them Shaḳḳāf, the hated *ḳāʾid* who had actually surrendered the keys of Seville to Ferdinand. There was, too, one aspect of Ḥafṣid administration which this mercantile people deeply resented—the exactions of its customs officer, Ibn Abī Khālid. Such was the position when news of Abū Zakariyyāʾ's death reached Ceuta (29 Radjab 647/7 November 1249 or, more probably, 27 Ramaḍān 647/3 January 1250).

This was the signal for action. As the most widely respected notable, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-ʿAzafī was approached by Ceuta's *ḳā'id al-baḥr*, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Hadjbūn al-Randāhī, and persuaded to consent to the overthrow of the regime and, in the event of success, to assume leadership of the community. The plan, as executed by al-Randāhī, but not quite as envisaged by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, resulted in the decapitation of Shakkāf and Ibn Abī Khālid. Ibn Shahīd was deported, and the ʿAzafid, after assuming control, declared Ceuta's allegiance to the Almohad Caliph al-Murtaḍā (reg. 646-65/1248-66), who duly appointed a governor. The Almohad governor's stay was short: after only a few months in Ceuta, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim expelled him and sent the caliph a letter of explanation which he accepted.

What arrangement followed is unclear. We are only told that in 654/1256-7 the ʿAzafid became absolute ruler of Ceuta, which he took over and administered with great application and total devotion to the interests of its inhabitants. What is certain is that, despite his *de facto* autonomy, he remained loyal to the tottering throne of al-Murtaḍā and even defended his interests when the occasion demanded.

Considering that Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was, in his day, a key figure in the western Mediterranean, specific information on his life and rule is so sparse that most of what can be said of him must be deduced from his ascertainable policies. Born between 606/1209-10 and 609/1212-13, he was around forty when he came to power and seems to have had a maturity of judgment to match his years and such as to militate against rash ventures. His primary aim was to create and maintain a strong and prosperous Ceuta at a time when it was fast becoming not only a prime military objective for Castile, but also a target for ambitious Marīnids seeking control of Morocco. He therefore set about strengthening Ceuta's defences and evidently profited from a truce with Castile against handsome tribute over two consecutive two-year periods (? 1251-5). At the same time he aimed at stabilising, conserving and developing Ceuta's already extensive trans-Mediterranean trade, notably with Barcelona, Genoa and Marseille. Within about ten years, Ceuta seems to have gained real naval and economic strength. In 659/1261 her first real test came when the prospect of a Naṣrid Ceuta lured Ibn al-Aḥmar of Granada into launching a naval assault on the place—a venture that ended in disaster for Granada. As long as he lived, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim remained keenly alive to the dangers threatening Islam in the West and always took whatever measures were necessary to combat them. Thus, in 662/1263-4 we find him co-operating with the Marīnids as they launch their first *djihād* in Spain. In the years immediately following, we find him endeavouring to achieve and maintain stability between Ceuta and the Atlantic coast and, to that end, bringing a weak and divided Tangier (665/1266-7) under his control. Then, at the end of 1274 or early in 1275 we see him apparently sacrificing his autonomy to the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf, but in fact skilfully extricating him from an alliance concluded with Aragon and potentially dangerous to Islam. In practice he sacrificed little: a yearly "gift" to the Marīnid assured him virtual independence. Thereafter he made common cause with the ruler in prosecuting the *djihād* in Spain. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim died on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 677/27 April 1279, leaving Ceuta rich and powerful at sea.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was succeeded by his son Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad, an unambitious and self-effacing man, who was content to leave the administration of Ceuta to his elder brother Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd Allāh. Little is known of a third brother, Abū Muḥammad Ḳāsim, but he may have been a senior military officer, since he commanded a Ceutan expeditionary force in Spain in 1285. Abū Ṭālib carried his father's policy of co-operation with the Marīnids a stage further by proclaiming all territory under ʿAzafid jurisdiction to be Marīnid and by abandoning the trappings of royal authority enjoyed by his father. He also actively participated in the *djihād*, and in July 1279 at the relief of Algeciras, then blockaded by Alfonso X, it was ʿAzafid ships that formed the backbone of the Marīnid fleet which utterly routed the Castilians. But gradually the certain rewards of peaceful trade, notably with the Crown of Aragon, began to have greater appeal than the uncertainties of the *djihād*. Marīnid setbacks in Spain in the 1290s and commitments in the Maghrib encouraged the ʿAzafids first to withhold their dues to Fez and then, in 1304, to rebel against the sultan Abū Yaʿḳūb, who, without Aragonese naval assistance, was powerless to impose his will. But ʿAzafid independence was short-lived: in May 1305 Naṣrid forces were enabled by a disaffected garrison commander to seize Ceuta. All members of the ʿAzafid family were deported to Granada, where they remained, royally treated by Muḥammad III until his deposition in March 1309.

The Second *Dawla*. In July 1309 Naṣrid Ceuta, following an internal rising, capitulated to the Marīnid Abu 'l-Rabīʿ, who then allowed the ʿAzafids to return from Spain and settle in Fez. There Yaḥyā, a son of Abū Ṭālib, met and found favour with Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān, the very prince who was to gain the throne on Abū 'l-Rabīʿ's death (November 1310). In 710/1310-11 Yaḥyā was made governor of Ceuta and returned with the family to his native city. His brothers Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī were appointed, respectively, *ḳā'id al-baḥr* and superintendent of the naval shipyard. However, the temporary success of the sultan's rebel son Abū ʿAlī resulted in their recall to Fez late in 1314, and during their stay there the ageing Abū Ṭālib died. In 715/1315-16 Yaḥyā returned to Ceuta as Abū Saʿīd's governor, leaving his son Muḥammad as a guarantee of his continuing allegiance to Fez, but accompanied by the rest of the family. Soon after, Abū Ḥātim died and was survived by at least one son, Ibrāhīm.

Once back in Ceuta, Yaḥyā soon put himself at the head of a council of notables (*shūrā*) and, with the aid of a Marīnid pretender, succeeded both in retrieving his son and in proclaiming and maintaining Ceuta's autonomy. In 719/1319, however, he chose to effect a reconciliation with Abū Saʿīd and to remit taxes in exchange for recognition as Marīnid governor. His motive in so doing was probably growing apprehension at the popularity, in Ceuta, of an ambitious Ḥusaynid *sharīf* who bore him a personal grudge and was, at the same time, respected by Abū Saʿīd. When Yaḥyā died at some date in or after 722/1322-3, he was succeeded by his apparently ineffectual son, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad, who governed under the tutelage of his cousin Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, admiral of the fleet (*ḳā'id al-asāṭīl*). Details of the situation that in due course culminated in the ʿAzafids' downfall are unclear; we know only that their authority collapsed, that Abū Saʿīd marched on Ceuta in 728/1327-8, and that disaffected notables surrendered the ʿAzafids to him. The reasons for the ʿAzafids' downfall are complex, but, as their enemy, the Ḥusaynid *sharīf* Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad,

soon emerged as president of Ceuta's *shūrā*, it is hard not to see in him one major cause of their undoing.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that the ʿAzafids were all taken to Fez where they were usefully employed—under surveillance—in the administration. The Marīnids bore the family no ill will, and indeed Muḥammad b. ʿAlī reappears as admiral of Abu 'l-Ḥasan's fleet which in 1340 almost annihilated the Castilian fleet off Algeciras. Ten years later he was still admiral of the fleet when he fell in action fighting the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*] in the Chélif plain.

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(J.D. Latham)

ʿAZAMIYYA (*ṭarīḳa*) [see abu 'l-ʿazāʾim].

al-**AZDĪ**, *nisba* formed from the tribal name of Azd and borne by a family of Mālikite *ḳāḍīs* of Baghdād, who will be treated under ibn dirham, the name of their ancestor.

al-**AZDĪ**, Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād b. Zayd, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ḳāḍī (199-282/814-95), Mālikī *faḳīh*, originally from Baṣra, who in 246/860 succeeded Sawwār b. ʿAbd Allāh as *ḳāḍī* of Baghdād East. After having been removed from office in 255-6/869-70, he was restored to office, transferred to Baghdād West in 258/871-2 and then given charge of both halves of the city from 262/876 till his death; he was then supreme *ḳāḍī* without having the official title, although currently described as *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*. He was also sent as an envoy to the Ṣaffārid who had invaded the province of Ahwāz in 262/875-6.

This *ḳāḍī* was equally a specialist in the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* and *kalām* and knowledgeable about grammar and *adab*. He was very opposed to all innovation, refuting al-Shāfiʿī and Abū Ḥanīfa and spreading Mālikism through ʿIrāḳ. He was the author of a considerable number of works: the *K. Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, *K. al-Ḳirāʾāt*, *K. Maʿānī 'l-Ḳurʾān*, *K. al-Iḥtidjādj bi 'l-Ḳurʾān*, *al-Mabsūṭ fi 'l-fiḳh*, *K. al-Amwāl wa 'l-maghāzī*, *K. al-Shafīʿa*, *K. al-Ṣalāt ʿala 'l-nabī* (ms. Köprülü, 428), *al-Farāʾiḍ*, *K. al-Uṣūl*, *Shawāhid al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *K. al-Sunan*, five *Musnads*, *K. al-Shufʿa* and several refutations.

His works were known in Spain, probably thanks to his nephew Aḥmad al-Duḥaym b. Khalīl (278-338/891-949), and are often cited (see Ibn al-Faraḍī, *BAH*, vii, No. 110; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, *BAH*, ix, 51-2, 148, 247-8, 303-4). In particular, his *K. Aḥkam al-Ḳurʾān* (cited elsewhere only in the *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 57) was copied by Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh [*q.v.*]; see Ch. Pellat, in *al-And.*, xix/1 (1954), 77.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, vi, 284-90; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 180 ff.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 178; ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, ed. Bakīr, iii, 168-81; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 92-3; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 129-40; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa-'l-Muttaḳī*, tr. M. Canard, 107-8; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 193; Brockelmann, S I, 273.

(Ch. Pellat)

AZOV, Sea of- [see baḥr māyuṭis].

AZRŪ, Berber "stone", "pebble", and above all, "rock", the name of numerous villages in North Africa dominated by a rock or built at its foot, on its slopes or on its summit. One of these in Morocco, in the middle of the ancient province of the Fazāz and lying at 1,200 m. height, has become a small town of 15,000 inhabitants. In 1901, the Marquis de Segonzac estimated the population at only 1,400 (woodcutters, including 200 Ayt Mūsā Jews), and in 1940 there were still only 3,500.

Azrū is well-placed at the junction of two great imperial highways, now modernised: Fās to Marrakesh, and Meknès to the Tafilālt, and has become an important market for livestock. Two further facts have contributed to its growth: firstly, in 1914 a French military post was set up there to control the great Berber confederation of the Banī Mgīld (who speak a Tamazight dialect and are of Ṣanhādja origin), and this made it an administrative centre; and secondly, in 1927 a "Berber" secondary college was founded there, confirming its demographic development and making it a lively and enduring cultural focus.

Azrū's strategic position has resulted in its frequent appearance on the pages of Moroccan history. In 534/1140 the Almohads, under the orders of the caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and after a check which had scattered them, established themselves there firmly, and the *amīr* took a wife there, who was to be the mother of the prince ʿAbd Allāh, the future governor of Bougie. In 674/1274, under the Marīnids, one of the natural uncles of sultan Yaʿḳūb rebelled against him and entrenched himself in the Azrū mountain; the ruler besieged him there, reduced him to submission and pardoned him. In 1074/1663-4 Mawlāy al-Sharīf came to encamp at Azrū. The *ʿulamāʾ* and *shurafāʾ* of Fās came to him there and proclaimed him ruler; but the prince prudently remained at Azrū for that summer. In 1093/1684 Mawlāy Ismāʿīl journeyed in force into the Fazāz mountains in order to subjugate the Ayt Idrasen tribe who had been committing all sorts of depredations in the plain of the Sāʾis. On his approach, the tribe fled towards the upper part of the valley of the Wādī Mulūya, and the sultan profited by their absence to build at Azrū a *ḳaṣaba* garrisoned by 1,000 cavalrymen. Pushed back into the highlands, and cut off from their agricultural lands, the Ayt Idrasen sued for peace and obtained it in return for harsh conditions of *amān*. In 1226/1811 sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān, at the head of an army from all the provinces of the empire and of those Berbers who had remained faithful to him in his misfortunes, marched against the tribes of the Igerwān and the Ayt Yūsī. His ill-led troops suffered a bloody and humiliating defeat before Azrū, and were only kept safe through the protection of the Ayt Idrasen, the foes of 1093/1684. The "Azrū affair" had widespread repercussions throughout Morocco, and deprived the sultan of all his prestige; he never recovered, and died soon after.

The *ḳaṣaba* of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl is more or less in ruins today, but the modern town is developing rapidly, and is famous for its woollen carpets woven by a prosperous workers' co-operative. Thanks to the beauty of its location and to the magnificent cedar forests in the vicinity, Azrū has also become a flourishing tourist centre.

One should be careful not to confuse the above Azrū—as do the authors and interpolators of the *Ḳirṭās* and the *Dhakhīra*—with the place of the same name which dominates Tafarsit, in the country of the Banī Tūzīn in northern Morocco; it was here that, under the Marīnids, Ṭalḥa b. Yaḥyā took refuge and then left it after getting an authorisation to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca. See al-Bādīsī, *al-Maḳṣad*,

Fr. tr. G.S. Colin, *Vie des saints du Rif*, in *AM*, xxvi (1926), 209 n. 4.

Bibliography: Zayyānī, *al-Turdjumān al-mu'rib*..., extract ed. and tr. O. Houdas, *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812*, Paris 1886, index; Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā*, Cairo 1312/1894, tr. of vol. iv by E. Fumey, *Chronique de la dynastie Alaouie au Maroc*, in *AM*, ix-x, index; Marquis de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc (1899-1901)*, Paris 1903, index; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, 144-5; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1950, index; and see arts. ATLAS, BERBERS and MOROCCO.

(G. DEVERDUN)

BĀ ḤMĀD, Moroccan grand vizier whose real name was Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī. His grandfather was a black slave belonging to the sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān (1206-38/1792-1823), whose *ḥādjib* he had become [see ḤĀDJIB in Suppl.]. His father likewise became *ḥādjib* to Sayyidī Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1276-90/1859-73), and then became grand vizier during the reign of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1290-1311/1873-94); he enjoyed a miserable reputation, but his immense fortune allowed him to connect his name with the Bāhiya palace in Marrākush, whose building he undertook (inscription of 1283/1866-7, in G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions*, No. 206). He himself was said to be the offspring of a Spanish mother, and he had several children, amongst whom are mentioned Saʿīd, Idrīs—who both held important offices—and Aḥmad, called Bā Ḥmād. The latter was born in 1257/1841-2, and was first of all *ḥādjib* to Mawlāy Ismāʿīl who was the *khalīfa* in Fās of his brother Mawlāy al-Ḥasan. He then occupied the same office for that sultan. Since he had been responsible for the education of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥasan, he favoured the accession to the throne of that prince, then 14 years old (1894); he took the title of grand vizier and, leaving the young sultan to amuse himself with childish pleasures, exercised real power in the state with sufficient political astuteness and authority to prevent Morocco falling into anarchy. Bā Ḥmād, whose strong personality has left behind a lasting impression, constructed in Marrākush the reservoir of the Agdal which bears his name, undertook various public works in the towns, and above all, continued his father's work; he enlarged the Bāhiya, apparently without any preconceived plan, on the site of some 60 houses and he purchased 16 gardens to form its parkland. He died on 17 Muḥarram 1318/17 May 1900, and was buried in the royal mausoleum of Mawlāy ʿAlī al-Sharīf (poetic epitaph in Deverdun, *Inscriptions*, No. 176).

Bibliography: Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf al-nās*, Rabat 1929 ff., i, 372-96, ii, 511, iv, 370-81; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm, *Iʿlām*, Fās 1926-39, ii, 209-10, 255-61; L. Arnaud, *Au temps des Méhallas*, Casablanca 1951, 128; G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956; idem, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, index.

(ED.)

BĀBĀ NŪR AL-DĪN RISHĪ, the son of Shaykh Sālār al-Dīn, an Indian holy man, was born in the village of Bīdjbehāra, 28 miles south-east of Srīnagar, in about 779/1377. Although a Muslim, he has been called *rishī*, because he was more influenced by the ideas and practices of the Hindu Sadhūs and Rishīs than by those of Muslim *Ṣūfīs* and saints. From the age of thirty, Nūr al-Dīn began to withdraw to caves for meditation and prayers. He finally renounced the world and its pleasures and left his wife and children. In his last days he subsisted only on one cup of milk, and towards the end he took nothing except water, dying at the age of 63 in 842/1438. He is the patron saint of the Valley, and is greatly revered by its people. His sayings and mystical verses, like those of Lallā Ded, are sung and recited all over Kashmīr. His tomb in Črār, 20 miles south-west of Srīnagar, attracts thousands of people, both Muslims and Hindus, every year.

The tendency to asceticism became more pronounced among the followers of Nūr al-Dīn Rishī, called Rishīs after him. They did not marry; they abstained from meat and subsisted on dry bread and wild fruits; and they lived away from human habitations, leading a life of piety, self-denial and simplicity. They moved from place to place, planting shady and fruit-bearing trees for the benefit of the people. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl, the Rishīs "were looked upon as the most respectable class in the Valley." But in recent years, owing to their worldliness and greed, respect for them has declined, except among the very ignorant.

Bibliography: Abu 'l Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. Blochmann, Calcutta 1927; Ḥādjdjī Muʿīn al-Dīn Miskīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Kabīr*, Amritsar 1322/1904; Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmīr under the Sultans*, Calcutta 1959.

(MOHIBBUL HASAN)

BĀBŪNADJ (Babūnak), from Persian *bābūna*, is the common camomile, primarily *Anthemis nobilis* L. (Compositae), also called Roman camomile, but also *Matricaria chamomilla* L. (Comp.) and other varieties. The nomenclature is rather confused; it can indeed hardly be expected that the various kinds of the camomile were kept apart with precision. The term is derived from χαμαίμηλον ("apple of the earth") and was known to the Arabs partly in a transcribed form (*khamāmālūn*, and variants), partly as borrowed translation (*tuffāḥ al-arḍ*). The relatively clearest determination is perhaps offered by an anonymous pharmacobotanist of Spanish-Arabic origin (very probably Abū ʿAbbās al-Nabātī b. al-Rūmiyya, 561-637/1166-1240): "There are three kinds of *al-bābūnadj*, the stalks, leaves and general form of which are similar to each other. The distinction between them is to be found in the colour of the blossom-leaves which enclose the yellow, situated in the middle of the blossoms, for the blossoms of these three kinds are yellow in the middle. In the white kind they are enclosed by small leaves which are white inside and outside, in the purple-coloured kind by small leaves which are blue inside and outside, and in the yellow kind by small leaves which are yellow inside and outside. The distinction between the white and the chrysanthemum (*al-ukhuwān*) lies in the scent, for the chrysanthemum assumes [extraneous] scents, and all these kinds have a pleasant scent" (Nuruosmaniye 3589, fols. 108b, 23-109a, 4). In general, *bābūnadj* corresponds to the ἀνθεμίς of Dioscorides (*Materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, ii, Berlin 1906, 145-7 = lib. iii, 137), and appears therefore also transcribed as *anthāmis* (and variants). *Ukhuwān* just mentioned, which is uncommonly often equated with *bābūnadj*, is otherwise used by the Arabs to render the παρθένιον (*barthāniyūn*, and variants) of Dioscorides (*op. cit.*, lib. iii, 138), by which we should probably understand the medical *Matricaria chamomilla*, still in use today. Ibn al-Bayṭār, on the other hand, says that the "white" kind of camomile described by Dioscorides and called *ukhuwān* by the Arabs, has been replaced by *bābūnadj* (*Djāmiʿ*, i, 73, 11-13 = Leclerc no. 220, at the beginning).

The blossoms of the camomile, which contain an

oil that checks inflammations, were used as a medicine for loosening spasms and for stimulating easily the peristaltic motion; infusions made from the blossoms ("camomile tea") were utilised externally for baths, compresses and rinses at inflammations of skin and mucous membranes, in both antiquity and in Islam in a manner similar to present practice.

Bibliography: For full information on camomile, see A. Dietrich, *Zum Drogenhandel im islamischen Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1954, 51-5, with bibliography. Further see *La "Materia médica" de Dioscorides*, ii (Arabic tr. Iṣṭifan b. Basīl), ed. Dubler and Terés, Tetuán 1952, 299 f.; *The medical formulary or Aqrābādhīn of al-Kindī*, tr. M. Levey, Madison etc. 1966, no. 29; Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydala*, ed. H.M. Saʿīd, Karachi 1973, Arabic, 58-61, Eng. 38-40 (*ukhuwān*); Ghāfiḳī, *Djāmiʿ*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. ḳ 155 i, fols. 83a-84a; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, Ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 34b; Ibn Biklārish, *Mustaʿīnī*, Ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz. iii, F. 65, fol. 20b; Ibn al-Djazzār, *Iʿtimād*, Ms. Ayasofya 3564, fol. 6a; Ghassānī, *Muʿtamad*, Beirut 1975, 12 f.; Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xx, Ḥaydarābād 1387, no. 1 (*ukhuwān*); Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Būlāḳ, i, 264 f.; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1362, ii, 35 f.; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371, i, 68 f.; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xi, Cairo 1935, 286-91 (important, *ukhuwān* in the *tashbīhāt* of Arabic poetry); H.G. Kircher, *Die "einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Bonn 1967, no. 30; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-ḥikma des ʿAlī ibn Sahl Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, no. 93.

(A. Dietrich)

BACTROMANCY [see istiḳsām].

BADAJOZ [see baṭalyaws].

BĀDGĪR (p.), literally "wind-catcher", the term used in Persia for the towers containing ventilation shafts and projecting high above the roofs of domestic houses. They are also erected over water-storage cisterns and over the mouths of mine-shafts in order to create ventilation through the tunnels below. In domestic houses, cooler air is forced down either to rooms at ground level or to cellars (the *zīr-i zamīn*), and it provides an early form of air conditioning. The towers are usually substantial, square-sectioned structures with rows of apertures in all four walls, and are divided internally by thin mud-brick or timber and mud-brick partitions and baffles; but not enough of the surviving *bādgīrs* (which are mainly situated on the central plateau of Persia, e.g. around Yazd, or in the south near the Gulf coastlands, and are now often falling into disrepair with the advent of modern methods for cooling air and water) have been examined scientifically to ascertain exactly how the difference in air pressure required to create a down-draught is achieved. See H. E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 15, 106, and E. Beazley, *Some vernacular buildings of the Iranian plateau*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, xv (1977), 100-1 (both with illustrations). Marco Polo mentions the *bādgīrs* of Hormuz on the Persian Gulf coast as the only things which make life bearable there in summer, and other travellers, such as Pietro della Valle and Figueroa, have left good descriptions of them (see H. Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, London 1871, ii, 383-4).

The wind-shaft or wind-catcher was equally known in the mediaeval Arab world and has continued in use to the present day. Indeed, it seems that such contrivances were known in the buildings of the Ancient Near East, such as those of Pharaonic Egypt and Babylon. In mediaeval Arabic, the device was known by the term *bādahandj* or *bādandj*, arabised from the alternative Persian term to *bādgīr*, *bād-handj* (see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 47). Already in the early ʿAbbāsid palace of Ukhayḍir in ʿIrāḳ [see architecture I. (3). The ʿAbbāsid caliphate] we find square-sectioned ventilation shafts in the walls, and the word *bādgīr* appears in ʿIrāḳ as *bādjīr*. It seems probable that ʿIrāḳ formed the intermediate stage of the contrivance's spread westwards, in its new phase of life during Islamic times, to Syria and Egypt. The *bādahandj* was already a feature of the landscape in early Fāṭimid times, for the astronomer Ibn Yūnus (d. 399/1008-9) [*q.v.*]) discusses the correct orientation of what was normally a single aperture at the top of the shaft, since the prevailing cooler wind in Egypt is from the north or north-west. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231-2 [*q.v.*]) states that the large and ornate wind-shafts of his time cost up to 500 *dīnārs* to construct. The earliest surviving example from Cairo seems to be the shaft in the *ḳibla* wall of the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ (555/1160), see K.A.C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, Oxford 1952-9, i, 284-5. The *bādahandj* is mentioned in the *Thousand and one nights*, and the litterateur ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ghuzūlī (d. 815/1412-3 [*q.v.*]) devotes a chapter of his anthology the *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr* to the *bādahandj* in poetry and literature (see F. Rosenthal, *Poetry and architecture: the Bādhanj*, in *Jnal. of Arabic Literature*, viii [1978], 1-19). In modern Egypt, the usual term for the contrivance became *malḳaf* "[wind] catcher", noted by Lane in his *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. xxiv, and still in use (see S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English dictionary of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, Cairo 1895, 544: "ventilator, air-shaft, wind-sail"); in domestic houses, the air-shaft usually led down to the public rooms of the *ḳāʿa* or *mandara*, or else to another chamber used for sleeping (see A. Lézine, *La protection contre la chaleur dans l'architecture musulmane d'Égypte*, in *BEO*, xxiv [1971], 12-15).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see A. Badawy, *Architectural provision against heat in the Orient*, in *JNES*, xvii (1958), 125, 127-8 and Figs. 4, 6, 8; and see also khaysh.

(C.E. Bosworth)

BĀDHĀM, BĀDHĀN, Persian governor in the Yemen towards the end of the Prophet Muḥammad's lifetime. A Persian presence had been established in the Yemen *ca.* 570 A.D. when there had taken place a Yemenī national reaction under the Ḥimyarī prince Abū Murra Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [see sayf b. dhī yazan] against the Ethiopian-backed governor Masrūḳ b. Abraha. The Persian Emperor Khusraw Anūshirwān had sent troops to support Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, and eventually, a Persian garrison, with a military governor at its head, was set up in Ṣanʿāʾ. It was the progeny of these Persian officials and soldiers, who intermarried with the local Arab population, who became known as the Abnāʾ [*q.v.*].

The Arab sources recount the story of the Persian occupation of the Yemen and give the names of the succession of Persian governors, beginning with Wahrīz and his descendants and closing effectively with Bādhām, who seems himself to have been unconnected with Wahrīz's family (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 945-51; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Cairo

1960, 64; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 162-7 = ed. Pellat, §§ 1015-20; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, i, 447-51).

Bādhām seems to have been governor in Ṣanʿāʾ during Muḥammad's Medinan period, and when Muslim control began to be extended towards South Arabia at a time just after Heraclius's defeat of the Sāsānids, the Persian community's position must have become increasingly isolated and vulnerable; by now, they can have been little more than one of several local groups contending for mastery in the Yemen. Bādhām and the Abnāʾ may accordingly have been inclined to receive Muḥammad's overture sympathetically, but whether this involved anything more than an acknowledgement of distant political suzerainty is uncertain. The sources record Bādhām's conversion to Islam under the year 10/631-2, together with that of other Abnāʾ leaders such as Fīrūz al-Daylamī and the Abnāwī scholar Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1763; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 304; Caetani, *Annali*, ii/1, 358, 369). Western scholars have, however, been suspicious of this story of the conversion of Bādhām and the Abnāʾ, and Caetani described it as "a pious fiction of the Muslim traditionists, in order to give a flavour of orthodoxy to Bādhām's nominal submission to Islam" (*ibid.*, ii/1, 371). The first *Ridda* War in the Yemen, under ʿAyhala b. Kaʿb, called al-Aswad or Dhu 'l-Khimār [see AL-ASWAD], now supervened. Bādhām died at this point; his son Shahr succeeded temporarily to some of his power in the Yemen in 11/632-3 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1864), but was killed by al-Aswad. Muslim political authority was probably not imposed in the Yemen by Abū Bakr's generals till 12/633-4. In any case, these events marked the end of any degree of Persian control in the Yemen, though the Abnāʾ continued as a distinct social group well into the early Islamic period (cf. al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ff. 17b-18a, ed. Hyderabad, i, 100-2).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Nöldeke-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 220 ff.; Caetani, *Annali*, ii/1, 358, 369-71, 661-85; idem, *Chronographia islamica*, i, 113, 123; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen 1944, 368-70, 373; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 118, 128-30. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**BADHDH**, a district and fortress of northern Ādharbāydjān, famous as being the headquarters of the Khurramī rebel Bābak [*q.v.*] in the first decades of the 3rd/9th century. The exact site is uncertain, but it must have lain in the modern Ḳaradja-Dagh, older Maymad, the ancient Armenian region of Pʿaytakaran, to the north of Ahar and south of the Araxes River, near Mount Hashtād-Sar, at some spot between the modern districts of Hārand, Kalaybar and Garmādūz (V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 116 and Addenda et corrigenda slip). Bābak's fortress there was stormed by the caliphal general the Afshīn Ḥaydar [*q.v.*] in 222/837 (Ṭabarī, iii, 1198 ff., tr. E. Marin, *The reign of al-Muʿtaṣim (833-842)*, New Haven 1951, 29 ff.). The only early Islamic geographer or traveller to give first-hand information about al-Badhdh is Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*], who travelled from Tiflis to Ardabīl via al-Badhdhayn (this ostensibly dual form reflecting an original Badhīn ?), probably leaving the Araxes valley and going up the Kalaybar River. He speaks in his Second *Risāla* of a mine of red *Yamānī* alum there whose product was called *Badhdhī*; he also mentions that local traditions about Bābak were still strong a century or more later, with Khurramī sympathisers in the area expecting the return of a Mahdī (*Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, ed. and tr. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, § 15, tr. 35-6, comm. 75). A later source mentioning al-Badhdh, Ḳazwīnī's *Āthār al-bilād*, Beirut 1380/1960, 511, repeats Abū Dulaf's information; and Yāḳūt's entry, *Buldān*, i, 529, is laconic and uninformative.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

BADHL AL-**KUBRĀ**, songstress and *rāwiya* in early ʿAbbāsid times, died before 227/842, probably in 224/839. She was born as a mulatto (*muwallada ṣafrāʾ*) in Medina and brought up in Baṣra. Djaʿfar, a son of the caliph al-Hādī, acquired her and, after 193/809, she became a favoured *djāriya* of al-Amīn and gave birth to a son of his. Being a pupil of Ibn Djāmiʿ, Fulayḥ and Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī she preserved the "classical" *ḥidjāzī* style of Arab music, preferring verses by *ḥidjāzī* poets also for her own compositions. She was a good songstress and lutenist (*ḍāriba*), a *ẓarīfa*, and was famous for having a répertoire of about 30,000 songs. For ʿAlī b. Hishām she compiled a *Kitāb fi 'l-aghānī* which contained 12,000 song texts (without musical indications), and this became one of the sources of Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī (22 quotations). ʿAlī b. Hishām rewarded her with 10,000 *dīnārs*, and when she died, she left a fortune, which was inherited by the descendants of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Amīn. Among her pupils were Danānīr and Mutayyam al-Hāshimiyya.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*³, xvii, 75-80 (see also indices); Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*¹, 28-9, 43; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, v, 85-8; H.G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, 134; K. al-Bustānī, *al-Nisāʾ al-ʿarabiyyāt*, Beirut 1964, 104-7; Kh. Mardam, *Djamharat al-mughannīn*, Damascus 1964, 148-50. (E. NEUBAUER)

AL-**BADĪʿ** [see MARRĀKUSHĪ].

BĀDIYA (A.) meant, in the Umayyad period, a residence in the countryside (whence the verb *tabaddā*), an estate in the environs of a settlement or a rural landed property in the Syro-Jordanian steppeland.

For Musil, the *bādiya* was the successor to the summer encampment called by the old Syrian Bedouin name of *al-ḥīra*. At the opening of the 20th century, the sense was restricted by archaeologists to the desert castles. They went so far as to construct theories about the attraction of the Bedouin way of life for the Umayyads and about the conservatory role of the desert in upholding certain very persistent traditions stronger than those of the nascent Islam. Since the Umayyads were of urban Meccan origin, it is hardly necessary to look for an atavistic Bedouinism in order to explain their preferences for the *bādiyas*. The new masters of Syria replaced, in the towns as in the countryside, the old landholders, whose territories, abandoned at the time of the Islamic conquest, were part of the plunder distributed to the great men. It was said that they sought outside Damascus, their official capital, purer air, the freshness of summer nights, protection against epidemics and vast, open spaces for hunting; in fact, the Umayyads had a keen sense of the value of the land and the possibilities of financial return from fertile agricultural properties.

The agricultural development of Syria goes back well into Roman times. Exploitation of the soil developed in regions where the water supply was difficult, necessitating an elaborate system of irri-

gation and water conservation which could only be undertaken with state aid or the injection of private capital and which was not to survive the downfall of the Umayyads. One very often finds an adaptation of earlier Romano-Byzantine or Ghassānid installations as at Ḳaryatayn, the Byzantine Nazala, at Ḳuṭayfa, Ptolemy's Atera, at the Roman station of Usays or at the classical and Byzantine centre of Bayt Rās [*q.v.*]. Alternatively, there were new buildings erected, as at the two Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayrs [*q.v.*] or at Ḳaṣr al-Ḥallābāt. These were not "desert palaces" so much as "palace-towns", to be considered as essentially Umayyad and constructed on the plan of the small forts inherited from the *castra* of the *limes*, which had themselves been replaced by the rural foundations of the Ghassānids. There is virtually no Umayyad construction which does not utilise classical structures or earlier foundations. No residence is to be found in the deep desert, and they are all built in a zone within the *limes* which had been cultivated and populated since Hellenistic times and had been protected against any possible occupation by Bedouins who might damage the crops. After harvest, the sheep-raising tribes were allowed to pasture their flocks on the cultivated lands, which then benefited from their dung.

The *bādiyas* are generally to be found where there is a water supply, either on a line of transhumance, thus permitting contacts with the Bedouin tribes, or else near some great artery of communication like the routes from Damascus and Boṣrā towards Taymāʾ, the road from Damascus to Ḳarḳīsiyā [*q.v.*], and the route which runs along the cultivable margin of the *Hamad* from Ruṣāfa of al-Nuʿmān as far as Taymāʾ, passing through Tadmur or Palmyra, Bakhrāʾ [*q.v.*], Djabal Says [*q.v.* below] and Ḳaṣr Burḳuʿ [see BURḲUʿ below]. Their construction along the communication routes permits one to attribute a function of *khāns* [*q.v.*] or caravanserais to them, in particular for certain constructions in the Wādī ʿAraba listed by J. Sauvaget.

The Umayyads liked to stay to the south of Damascus, on the Ghassānid sites of Djābiya and Djillik [*q.vv.*], and often spent the winter in the Jordan valley at al-Sinnabra or in the palaces built at Khirbat al-Minya and Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.vv.*]. Their movements around were often dictated by the need to visit agriculturally productive centres. They had a special liking for the region of the Balḳāʾ [*q.v.*], where their residences among the mild oases are numerous around Mshattā [*q.v.*], an unfinished work of the caliph al-Walīd II [*q.v.*], which marks the end of the architectural evolution of the *bādiyas*.

Bādiya can be a synonym of *ḳaṣr* [*q.v.*], when it is a question of a residence erected within a four-sided enclosure with dimensions recalling those of Roman small forts. The walls are provided with round towers, unknown in Roman and Byzantine fortifications. There is a central courtyard within on to which open rooms grouped in separate units and forming *bayts* and backed by blind external walls which keep the environment cool and increase the building's defensive potential. The disposition of internal arrangements is on the axes, and opposite the entrance gate flanked by monumental towers is an audience chamber usually basilical in plan with apse at the end of greater or lesser importance. On the floors above are lodging suites of rooms divided according to the same plan as those on the ground floor. These last are decorated with marble slabs, stucco work, frescoes and mosaics. In the immediate vicinity of the princely residence there may well be a mosque and a bath, as at Djabal Says. Certain *bādiyas* were used as centres for hunting (*mutaṣayyad*), like Abāʾir or Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra. A good picture of the architectural activities of the Umayyads in the *bādiya* is given by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī in his *K. al-Aghānī*.

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(N. ELISSÉEFF)

BADR-I ČĀČĪ, fully BADR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD ČĀČĪ, poet of the 8th/14th century Dihlī Sultanate. A native of Čāč (Shāsh, Tashkent), he migrated to India and rose to favour at the court of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*], who conferred on him the style of *Fakhr al-Zamān*. His *ḳaṣāʾid*, which contain references to a number of contemporary events, with the dates often expressed in chronograms, constitute an important source for a period which is notoriously obscure and controversial. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that his *Shāh-nāma*, an epic chronicle of Muḥammad's reign completed in 745/1344-5, has not survived: it was still extant in the late 10th/16th century, when the Mughal historian Badāʾūnī (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ed. M. Aḥmad ʿAlī, Calcutta 1864-9, 3 vols., *Bibl. Indica*, i, 241) describes it as a "treasure".

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(P. JACKSON)

BADR AL-MUʿTAḌIDĪ, ABU 'L-NADJM, commander-in-chief of the armies of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902). He was the son of one of al-Mutawakkil's *mawālī*, whose name cannot be established with certainty (Khurr or Khayr?), and was first in service as an equerry to al-Muwaffaḳ, gaining from that time the favour of the future caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, who, whilst still regent after al-Muwaffaḳ's death (Ṣafar 278/June 891), made him chief of police in Baghdād and then, after his accession, com-mander of all the forces. Badr led several expeditions into various regions (Fārs, al-Djazīra, ʿIrāḳ, etc.) in order to re-establish the military situation which had been rendered insecure by the Ḳarāmita [*q.v.*]. At the same time, he played a political role of prime importance, for he became all-powerful, with a complete domination over the caliph, exercising a veto over everything. He gave

one of his daughters in marriage to al-Muʿtaḍid's son, the future al-Muḳtadir, increasing his influence still further. He had the right to be addressed by his *kunya*, and the poets, and Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī in particular, did not fail to include him in their eulogies of the caliph. It was because of his exceptional position that he acquired the name of "al-Muʿtaḍidi", distinguishing him moreover from several homonyms.

In 288/901 he pleaded in favour of al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh [see SULAYMĀN B. WAHB] who was made vizier thanks to his intervention, but who failed to show him much gratitude for it. In fact, Badr refuse to take part in his machinations against the sons of al-Muʿtaḍid, so that al-Ḳāsim, fearing denunciation, took care immediately on the accession of al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8) to blacken Badr in the eyes of the new caliph and probably to profit also by the hostility towards Badr of certain other commanders. Badr fled to Wāsiṭ, but was invited to return to Baghdād under a guarantee of *amān*; in the course of his trip up the Tigris, he was attacked on the heights of al-Madāʾin by al-Ḳāsim's agents, who cut off his head whilst he was at prayer and sent it to al-Muktafī (6 Ramaḍān 289/14 August 902). His body was left on the spot and was later carried away by his family for burial at Mecca. This murder was denounced by the poets and imputed to the caliph, who might have been expected to heave a sigh of relief at seeing the head of the once-powerful general whom he had at first honoured on accession, but who seems however to have reproached his vizier for it.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 2209-15 and index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 114, 216 ff. = § § 3242, 3360-6 and index; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, 94; idem, *Wuzarāʾ*, *passim*; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 172, 316-17, v, 110, viii, 114; Ghars al-Niʿma, *Hafawāt*, 206; Ibn al-Abbār, *Iʿtāb al-kuttāb*, Nos. 49, 50, 52; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 170-1, 357-9; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 201; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 129; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 34-6; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index, and bibl. cited there. (CH. PELLAT)

BAGHR [see MĀRID].

BAHĀʾ AL-DAWLA WA-ḌIYĀʾ AL-MILLA, ABŪ NAṢR FĪRŪZ KHĀRSHĀDH B. ʿAḌUD AL-DAWLA FANĀ-KHUSRAW, Būyid supreme *amīr*, who ruled in ʿIrāḳ and then in southern Persia also from 379/989 to 403/1012) after 381/992 with the further honorific, granted by the caliph al-Ḳādir, of Ghiyāth al-Umma, and towards the end of his life, those of Ḳiwām al-Dawla and Ṣafī Amīr al-Muʾminīn). He was the third son, after Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Marzubān and Sharaf al-Dawla Shīrzīl, of the great *amīr* ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who had built up the Būyid confederation into the mightiest empire of its time in the Islamic east.

On ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death in Shawwāl 372/March 983, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, as the eldest son, succeeded as *amīr al-umarāʾ*, but his succession was disputed by Sharaf al-Dawla, and internecine warfare followed, in which the young Bahāʾ al-Dawla was also involved. Finally, in Ramaḍān 376/January 387 Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's position in Baghdād became parlous; he submitted to Sharaf al-Dawla, who now became the supreme *amīr*, and was partially blinded and im-prisoned at Sīrāf. However, Sharaf al-Dawla died in Djumādā II 379/September 989, and Bahāʾ al-Dawla, whom Sharaf al-Dawla had nominated before his death as his successor, assumed power in Baghdād as *amīr al-umarāʾ* at the age of 19. He thus began a reign of 23 years, long by Būyid standards. This reign falls into two roughly equal parts, the first filled with warfare against rivals like his uncle Fakhr al-Dawla ʿAlī of Ray and Djibāl and Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, now escaped from incarceration, until by *ca.* 1000 he had consolidated his power in Fārs and Kirmān and was able to make Shīrāz, his father's old capital, the centre of his own dominions for the rest of his lifetime, acknowledged by all the Būyid princes as supreme *amīr*.

At the outset of his reign, Bahāʾ al-Dawla recognised Ṣamṣām al-Dawla in Shīrāz as an equal ruler controlling Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān. In 381/991 he deposed the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ [*q.v.*] in favour of his cousin al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], whom he hoped to find more tractable; this proved in fact the case, and the new caliph agreed subsequently in 383/994 to become betrothed to Bahāʾ al-Dawla's own daughter, though she died before the marriage could take place. The *amīr* also secured from the caliph at this time a fresh grant of titles; and it is from this year that the ancient Iranian title *Shāhanshāh*, used unofficially by his father, appears on his coins (cf. W. Madelung, *The assumption of the title Shāhānshāh by the Būyids and "The reign of the Daylam* (Dawlat al-Daylam)", in *JNES*, xxviii [1969], 174-5). Bahāʾ al-Dawla now had to defend ʿIrāḳ and Ahwāz against the ambitions of Fakhr al-Dawla (who, urged on by his vizier the Ṣāḥib Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād [see IBN ʿABBĀD], had on ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death himself assumed the title of *Shāhanshāh* and the implied headship of the Būyid family), and northern ʿIrāḳ against various local Arab and Kurdish chiefs. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, after his escape, took advantage of unrest in ʿIrāḳ and of Bahāʾ al-Dawla's preoccupation with internal strife in Baghdād—the divisions of the Sunnī and Shīʿī populace and of the Turkish and Daylamī elements in the Būyid army—and seized Ahwāz and Baṣra. Bahāʾ al-Dawla secured the alliance of the ruler of the Baṭīḥa, Muhadhdhib al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Naṣr, and of the Kurdish prince Badr b. Ḥasanūya [see ḤASANAWAYH]. Even so, his vizier and general Abū ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Muwaffaḳ could make little headway against Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's skilful commander Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Ustādh-Hurmuz. After several oscillations in the fortunes of war, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla was in 388/998 assassinated near Iṣfahān by Abū Naṣr Shāh-Fīrūz, a son of ʿAḍud al-Dawla's cousin and former rival ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār. Abū ʿAlī b. Ustādh-Hurmuz now came over to Bahāʾ al-Dawla's side with the remnants of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's Daylamī troops. Once Abū Naṣr Shāh-Fīrūz had been killed in Kirmān, Bahāʾ al-Dawla was sole master of the southern provinces of Persia, Fārs and Kirmān, and of their dependency ʿUmān. Two years later, his implacable enemy Fakhr al-Dawla died, and his successors in Ray and Hamadhān, the young and inexperienced Madjd al-Dawla Rustam and Shams al-Dawla Abū Ṭāhir respectively, acknowledged Bahāʾ al-Dawla's supreme overlordship, as coins minted at Ray from 400/1009-10 and at Hamadhān from 401/1010-11 attest.

Bahāʾ al-Dawla now moved his capital from ʿIrāḳ to Shīrāz, captured from the temporary control of the sons of ʿIzz al-Dawla, and never returned from it to Baghdād. The move eastwards showed that he regarded southern Persia as the heartland of the Būyid dominions, and except for the brief occupation in 390-1/1000-1 of Kirmān by the Ṣaffārid Ṭāhir b. Khalaf, the Persian lands remained generally peaceful. But the relinquishing of Baghdād as capital meant a distinct relaxation

of control in ʿIrāḳ, which was henceforth entrusted to governors (for much of this period, until his death in 401/1010-11, to the ʿAmīd al-Djuyūsh Abū ʿAlī b. Ustādh-Hurmuz) at a time when powerful enemies were rearing their heads there. Bahāʾ al-Dawla's departure for Fārs allowed the caliph al-Ḳādir to enjoy more freedom of action and tentatively to assert his authority, especially over the protection of Sunnī interests against Shīʿī policies of the Būyid *amīr* [see AL-ḲĀDIR BIʾLLĀH for details]. Above all, the confused situation in ʿIrāḳ after ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death and the squabbling of his sons in Fārs over control of the empire had allowed local Arab potentates in ʿIrāḳ to extend their power at Būyid expense, so that direct Būyid authority was to be for much of Bahāʾ al-Dawla's reign confined to Baghdād and Wāsiṭ and their immediate vicinities. In northern ʿIrāḳ there were the ʿUḳaylids [*q.v.*] of Mawṣil; Bahāʾ al-Dawla sent against the *amīr* Abu ʾl-Dhawwād Muḥammad several expeditions, but could not entirely quash his power, and after Abu ʾl-Dhawwād's death in 386/996, his nephew Ḳirwāsh b. al-Muḳallad (after 391/1001) carried on the struggle. In central ʿIrāḳ, the Asadī *amīr* ʿAlī b. Mazyad was ever ready to stir up the Bedouins of the Khafādja and Muntafiḳ groups [*q.vv.*] against Būyid rule, whilst in the south of the country a rebel called Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās b. Wāṣil in 393/1003 seized Baṣra and invaded Ahwāz, having driven out from the Baṭīḥa Muhadhdhib al-Dawla. In 396/1006 a coalition of Badr b. Ḥasanūya's Kurds and Ibn Wāṣil's forces were able to besiege Baghdād, but the capital was saved by Ibn Wāṣil's being captured and then executed (397/1006). An attempt was made to conciliate the Arab *amīrs* of ʿIrāḳ, so that the ʿUḳaylid Ḳirwāsh b. al-Muḳallad was in 396/1005-6 awarded the *laḳab* of Muʿtamid al-Dawla and the Mazyadid ʿAlī in 397/1007 that of Sanad al-Dawla. Also, the new governor for Bahāʾ al-Dawla in Baghdād after 401/1010, Fakhr al-Mulk Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, defeated the ʿUḳaylids, drove off the Khafādja and managed to make peace with the Kurds, who in fact ceased to be such a threat to the Būyid position in ʿIrāḳ after Badr's murder in 405/1014-15.

In Djumādā II 403/December 1012 Bahāʾ al-Dawla died at Arradjān, probably en route for Baghdād. His corpse was taken to Baghdād and then, like that of his father, interred near the grave of the *Imām* ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib at Nadjaf near Kūfa. It appears that during his lifetime, Bahāʾ al-Dawla's (eldest?) son Abū Manṣūr had been the *walī al-ʿahd*, for his name, with the title of *amīr al-umarāʾ*, appears on an inscription at Persepolis dated 392/1002, but this son had died in 398/1008. Hence just before his death, he had nominated his 19-year old son Sulṭān al-Dawla Abū Shudjāʿ as supreme *amīr*; the latter after his accession appointed his brothers Djalāl al-Dawla and Ḳiwām al-Dawla as governors in Baṣra and Kirmān respectively. The ensuing struggles amongst Bahāʾ al-Dawla's sons, combined with the ambitions of the Arab *amīrs* in ʿIrāḳ and distant pressure from the Ghaznawids and then the Saldjūḳs in the east, were soon to destroy the precarious unity of the Būyid empire inherited by Bahāʾ al-Dawla from his father.

It is not easy to form a clear picture of Bahāʾ al-Dawla's character and personality, and he suffers in the sources by comparison with his father. They describe him as tyrannical to his entourage, avid for gold and niggardly over its disbursement, but these vices were not unfamiliar among other members of the Būyid family, and were in large part a reflex of the recurrent financial crises of the later Būyids and their desperate search for money and for fresh *iḳṭāʿ* land with which to pay their troops.

Concerning his cultural interests, little is known specifically, and the first half of his reign was in any case largely taken up with warfare. The historian and philosopher Miskawayh [*q.v.*] served as a secretary in his administration, and despite the absence of mention of outstanding poets in his circle at Shīrāz (Thaʿālibī in his *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*, ed. Eghbal, i, 16-18, 26-30, mentions only two poets of note, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Mughallis and Abū Saʿd ʿAlī al-Hamadhānī), there is reason to suppose that Bahāʾ al-Dawla continued the tradition of patronage of Arabic learning established by ʿAḍud al-Dawla before him. Certainly, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla had as his vizier for two years Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, Ibn Saʿdān [*q.v.* below], whose circle of scholars is known to us through the works of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, and Sharaf al-Dawla was the patron of the distinguished astronomer Abū Sahl al-Kūhī [*q.v.*]. Abū Naṣr Shāpūr b. Ardashīr (d. 416/1025 [see SĀBŪR B. ARDASHĪR in *EI*[1]]), who served Bahāʾ al-Dawla as vizier on several brief occasions during the first part of his amīrate, seems to have been a scholar of outstanding calibre, considered by Thaʿālibī as worthy of a separate section in his anthology because of the amount of poetry dedicated to him by such figures as Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Babbaghā, Ibn Luʾluʾ and Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (*Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. Damascus, ii, 290-7, ed. Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iii, 129-36); whilst the governor for Bahāʾ al-Dawla in Baghdād (and subsequently for his successor Sulṭān al-Dawla) Fakhr al-Mulk was the patron of the poet Mihyār al-Daylamī [*q.v.*] and of the mathematician of Baghdād Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Karadjī [*q.v.*; the *nisba* to be corrected thus from the "al-Karkhī" frequently found in western sources], the latter dedicating to the governor his treatise on algebra *al-Kitāb al-Fakhrī fi ʾl-djabr wa ʾl-muḳābala*.

Bibliography: Miskawayh's chronicle stops short of Bahāʾ al-Dawla's reign, but much detailed historical material is to be found in the *Dhayl* of Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī (up to 389/999) and in the surviving fragment of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ's *Taʾrīkh* covering 389-93/999-1003 (both sources forming vol. iii of Margoliouth and Amedroz's *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, tr. vol. vi, the latter source being utilised by H.F. Amedroz for his study *Three years of Buwaihid rule in Baghdad, A.H. 389-393*, in *JRAS* [1901], 501-36, 749-86). These specifically Būyid sources can be filled out and supplemented by the general chronicles of Ibn al-Athīr, ix, Ibn al-Djawzī, vii, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, the latter two especially important for events in Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ.

Of secondary literature, there are connected accounts of Bahāʾ al-Dawla's amīrate and of the cultural life of the period in Mafizullah Kabir, *The Buwaihid dynasty of Baghdad (334/946-447/1055)*, Calcutta 1964, 77-91, 179 ff.; in H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 67 ff. and index; and in idem, ch. *Iran under the Būyids*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, ed. R.N. Frye, Cambridge 1975, 289-96; The extensive bibliography in Busse's book expands and brings up-to-date that of the article BUWAYHIDS [*q.v.*].

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

BAḤRIYYA. I. The navy of the Arabs up to 1250. Although Near Eastern writers in mediaeval

times did not address themselves specifically to the subject of *baḥriyya*, references to seafaring activities made by Arab, Byzantine, southern and western European chroniclers, geographers and travellers, as well as pertinent details found in the Arabic papyri and the Geniza documents, provide a considerable body of information concerning the rise and fall of the Arab navy.

The naval requirements of the Arabs were dictated by the necessity of defending their Mediterranean territories—stretching from Cilicia and Syria in the East to the Spanish Levante seaboard in the West—and of protecting their shipping, as well as by their offensive operations against Christian enemies in the Mediterranean. Until the appearance of aggressive Italian fleets and the coming of the Crusaders, Muslim sea power, along with that of the Byzantines, constituted the dominant factor in mediaeval Mediterranean naval history.

The organisation and command structure of the *baḥriyya* were affected by the policy and strategy of the caliphate. In the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, the naval organisation involved several naval districts and distinct, self-controlled fleets. The naval districts, with their strategic ports (*thag̲h̲r*, pl. *thug̲h̲ūr* [*q.v.*]) and warships, remained under the jurisdiction of commanders appointed by the caliph and responsible for the supervision of the construction and equipment of the ships; for their safety in the winter bases; for the selection of the entire naval personnel; for gathering and analysing naval intelligence; and for giving operational orders. With the decline of the caliphate, the organisational logistic, and operational responsibility for the *baḥriyya* rested with those dynamic régimes whose power was based on the coastal provinces, whether they enjoyed a sovereign status, as was the case of the Fāṭimids, or that of local dynasties, like the Ag̲h̲labids, the Ṭūlūnids, the Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īdids and the Ayyūbids [*q.vv.*].

An essential feature of the *baḥriyya* were the *dūr al-ṣināʿa* (sing. *dār al-ṣināʿa* [*q.v.*]). These naval installations served not only as operational bases, but also as shipyards, naval arsenals and as the manpower centres supplying sailors and combat personnel. The number and activity of these installations depended on the degree of concern for naval matters of individual régimes. The latter ensured the operations of the installations by raising taxes specifically earmarked for naval expenditure; by procuring raw materials needed for the construction and fitting of warships; and by conscripting the necessary manpower. The Muslim naval inventory involved a great diversity of combat and supportive vessels. In fact "the Muslim navy not only had a variety of names for a single type, but a single name for a variety of types" (A.M. Fahmy, *Muslim naval organization*, 137).

A fleet (*al-usṭūl* [*q.v.*]) was commanded by the *rāʾis al-usṭūl* (commander of the fleet) selected from among the top naval officers (*al-ḳuwwād*), but the care of weapons and direction of naval action were discharged by the chief sailor (*ḳāʾid al-nawātiya*). The crews of the warships were made up of sailors (*nūtī*, pl. *nawātiya*); oarsmen (*ḳad̲h̲d̲h̲āf*); craftsmen and workmen (*d̲h̲awu ʾl-ṣināʿa wa ʾl-mihan*); as well as of the fighting men, such as the naphtha throwers (*al-naffāṭūn*) and the marines. The actual fighting involved both the bombardment with combustible projectiles, and the subsequent ramming, boarding and hand-to-hand combat of the marines. The latter were employed also for landing raids.

The early history of the *baḥriyya* was highlighted by the raids against Cyprus in 28/649 and 33/655; by the victory over a Byzantine armada in the Battle of the Masts (D̲h̲āt al-Ṣawārī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) in 34/655; and by the two sieges of Constantinople in 54-69/763-9 and 98-9/717-18), during which the Muslim fleets attempted to blockade maritime access to the imperial capital, and supported logistically the Arab land forces. In that period Muslim squadrons raided Sicily in 32-3/652 and 46/666-7, temporarily occupied Rhodes in 52/672 or 53/673 and Arwād (Cyzikus) in 54/673, and raided Crete in 55/674. In the first half of the 3rd/9th century, the position of the *baḥriyya* was enhanced by the reassertion of Muslim influence over Cyprus [see ḳubruṣ] and the conquest of Crete [see iḳrīṭis̲h̲]; both these strategic islands facilitated offensive operations against Byzantine possessions. Regular Muslim fleets were stationed at Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, ʿAkkā, Tyre, Sidon and Ṭarsūs. In the Western Mediterranean, the navy of the Ag̲h̲labids engaged in relentless attacks against Sicily [see ṣiḳilliyya] and the southern and western shores of Italy from the naval base of Tunis.

The pursuit of ambitious political goals in Egypt and Syria by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (254-70/868-84) entailed both an expansion of naval installations, especially those of ʿAkkā, and the strengthening of naval squadrons. His example was emulated by Muḥammad b. Ṭug̲h̲dj al-Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īd (323-34/935-46); but neither the fleet of the Ṭūlūnids nor that of the Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īdids proved to be very effective. The former was annihilated in 293/905 by a small ʿAbbāsid fleet, the latter was unable to support Crete and Cyprus against the resurgent Byzantine navy. On the other hand, in 291/902 the Muslim *baḥriyya* achieved a great success when Ag̲h̲labid naval forces conquered Sicily.

Following the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete (350/961) and Cyprus (352/963), the difficult task of upholding the prestige of the *baḥriyya* was taken over by the Fāṭimids. Having inherited strong naval traditions from the Ag̲h̲labids, the Fāṭimids undertook a major expansion of the fleet. Their powerful naval squadrons proved instrumental in contesting supremacy in the western Mediterranean. Malta, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic and other islands were attacked. In 324-5/934-5 a Fāṭimid fleet harried the southern coast of France, took Genoa, and coasted along Calabria, carrying off slaves and other booty. In 344/955 another Fāṭimid fleet raided the coasts of Umayyad Spain. In 358/969 a powerful Fāṭimid armada participated in the conquest of Egypt. Concerned with the offensive operations of the Byzantines, as well as with the need for preserving the unity of their realm, which stretched from North Africa to Syria, the Fāṭimids attached great importance to the status of their navy. They founded a "Department of the Holy War or of Maritime Constructions": (*Dīwān al-Djihād aw Dīwān al-ʿAmāʾir*). Ships were built in Alexandria, Damietta, at the island of Rawḍa, in Miṣr, and in the new dockyards of al-Maḳs, which alone is credited with producing 600 vessels. Availability of the services of the Syrian *thug̲h̲ūr*, such as Tyre and Tripoli, extended the operational capacity of the Fāṭimid fleet in the eastern Mediterranean.

In the 5th/11th century the power of the *baḥriyya* began to decline. The North African provinces slipped away from the Fāṭimids. The fleets of the Italian mercantile republics asserted their preponderance in the western Mediterranean and began

to raid with virtual impunity the Algerian and Tunisian shores. The dynamic Normans conquered Sicily and Southern Italy, and then began preparing for expansionist moves in Eastern Mediterranean. In the first half of the 6th/12th century, the victories of the Crusaders were facilitated by the decline of Fāṭimid naval forces, and resulted in the loss of all Islamic coastal towns with the exception of ʿAskalān. After the surrender of that fortress in 548/1153, the coast of Egypt became an easy target for Norman, Italian and Byzantine squadrons.

An attempt to challenge the Christian naval power was made by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (567-89/1171-93), the supplanter of the Fāṭimids. He increased the salaries of the sailors, re-fortified Egyptian naval bases, and created a special office of the fleet (*dīwān al-usṭūl*), to which several branches of Egyptian revenue contributed. In 574-5/1179 his fleet counted 80 vessels, of which 60 were galleys and 20 transports. Although the revitalised navy achieved some success during Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's struggle against the Crusaders (including an effective counter-attack in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 578/February 1183 against a daring Frankish penetration of the hitherto immune Red Sea waters), it proved impotent to prevent the movement of Christian fleets bringing new hosts of European warriors eager to fight against the Muslim conquerors of Jerusalem. The Third Crusade (585-7/1189-91) did not recover the Holy City, but it delivered a mortal blow to the Egyptian navy, whose squadrons tried suicidally to support the garrison of ʿAkkā blockaded by a tremendous concentration of European fleets. According to al-Makrīzī (766-845/1364-1442), "After the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn the affairs of the fleet were given little attention . . . Service in the navy was considered to be a disgrace to such an extent that to call at an Egyptian 'You sailor!' was treated as an insult. What a change from the days when the names of the sailors were invoked in the prayers of the people, and from the times when these very sailors had been called the soldiers of God, waging the Holy War against the foes of Allāh!"

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(A.S. Ehrenkreutz)

II, III [See Vol. I, 945 ff.].

BAKHĪT al-MUṬĪʿĪ al-ḤANAFĪ, Muḥammad, *muftī* of Egypt from 1914 until 1921. He was born in the village of al-Muṭīʿa in the province of Asyūṭ on 10 Muḥarram 1271/24 September 1854. After completion of his studies at al-Azhar in 1292/1875, he remained attached to that institution as a teacher until 1297/1880, when he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of al-Ḳalyūbiyya province. This was the beginning of his career in the judiciary, in which he served as provincial judge in various resorts, as *ḳāḍī* of Alexandria, as *ḳāḍī* of Cairo, and in a number of other high positions such as the office of Inspector and the office of *muftī* in the Ministry of Justice, prior to his appointment as *muftī* of Egypt on 21 December 1914. In the course of his career he was involved, either directly or indirectly, in notable events of the day, such as the intrigues against reform in al-Azhar, as sponsored by Muḥammad ʿAbduh (cf. Aḥmad Shafīḳ, *Mudhakkirātī fī niṣf ḳarn*, Cairo 1936, ii, part 2, 35), the complications surrounding the marriage of ʿAlī Yūsuf (*ibid.*, 61), and the events of 1921, preceeding Egyptian independence (cf. Shafīḳ, iii, 275 ff.). He was a member of al-Rābiṭa al-Sharḳiyya [*q.v.*], but resigned from this association in 1925 in protest to the efforts of some of its members to bring about the annulment of the intended trial of ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ (cf. Aḥmad Shafīḳ, *Aʿmālī baʿd mudhakkirātī*, Cairo 1941, 183 f.). The latter's *Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm* was severely criticised by Muḥammad Bakhīt in his *Ḥaḳīḳat al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm*, Cairo 1344/1925-6. This book, as well as publications with suggestive titles such as *al-Murhafāt 'l-yamāniyya fī ʿunuḳ man ḳāla bi-buṭlān al-waḳf ʿalā 'l-dhuriyya*, Cairo 1344/1925-6; *Irshād al-ḳāriʾ wa 'l-sāmiʿ ilā anna al-ṭalāḳ idhā lam yuḍif ilā al-marʾa ghayr wāḳiʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30; *Ḥudjdjat Allāh ʿalā khalīḳatihi, fī bayān ḥaḳīḳat al-Ḳurʾān wa-ḥikam kitābatihi*, Cairo 1932, reflect Muḥammad Bakhīt's active intellectual involvement with the various issues of his time, such as the disputes pertaining to the translation of the Ḳurʾān, the position of women, and the campaign for abolition of the *waḳf ahlī*. Other publications such as his *Tanbīh al-ʿuḳūl al-insāniyya limā fī āyāt al-Ḳurʾān min al-ʿulūm al-kawniyya wa 'l-ʿumrāniyya*, Cairo 1344/1925-6; *Tawfīḳ al-Raḥmān li-tawfīḳ bayn mā ḳālahu ʿulamāʾ al-hayʾa wa-bayn mā djāʾ fī aḥādīth al-ṣaḥīḥa wa-āyāt al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1341/1922-3; and *al-Djawāb al-shāfī fī ibāḥat al-taṣwīr al-fūtūghrāfī*, Cairo n.d.; and *Risāla fī Aḥkām ḳirāʾat al-fūnūghrāf*, Cairo 1324/1906-7, show his concern with problems arising out of the confrontantion of Islam with the results of Western science and technology. Muḥammad Bakhīt died on 20 Radjab 1354/18 October 1935.

Bibliography: For biographies, see Zakī Fahmī, *Ṣafwat al-ʿaṣr fī taʾrīkh rusūm mashāhīr ridjāl Miṣr*, Cairo 1326/1908-9, 501 ff.; Ilyās Zakhūrā, *Mirʾāt al-ʿaṣr fī taʾrīkh rusūm akābir ridjāl bi-Miṣr*, Cairo 1916, ii, 467; Sulaymān al-Zayyātī, *Kanz al-djawhar fī taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo n.d., 172 ff.; and the weekly *al-Islām* (Cairo; ed. Amīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān), iv (1935), 30, 38 f. (an obituary containing biographical data).

(F. de Jong)

BĀḲĪ BI'LLĀH, Khwādja, *Ṣūfī* saint of Muslim India, born in Kābul in 971/1563-4. His father, Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Salam Khaldjī Samarḳandi, was a scholarly *Ṣūfī*, and his mother a descendant of Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 896/1491), the distinguished saint of the Naḳshbandī order. [see aḥrār, khwādja, above]. He completed his early

education and then studied the religious sciences under the guidance of Mawlānā Ṣādiḳ Ḥalwā'ī, who had stayed in Kābul at the persuasion of Mīrzā Ḥakīm in 978/1570-1 on his way back from the Ḥidjāz to Samarḳand. After some time, he accompanied Ḥalwā'ī to Transoxiana, and there he outshone other students of his in Islamic theology. As he was inclined towards piety and Ṣūfism, he visited the famous Ṣūfīs and developed a desire for spiritual perfection. Hence he turned to India and wandered about here and there in the Pandjāb, spending nights in vigil and performing mystical exercises, to the point that his health was adversely affected.

Having spent sometime in the Pandjab and Kāshmīr, Bāḳī bi'llāh again went to Transoxiana in 1000/1592 in search of a spiritual guide. In Samarḳand, he became the disciple of the Naḳshbandī saint Mawlānā Khwādjagī, who acquainted him with the teachings and philosophy of his order. He adopted the teachings of Shaykh Aḥrār and returned to India towards 1007/1599, settling down in Dihlī as a founder of the Naḳshbandī order there and gathering a number of disciples, including some of the leading grandees and scholars. Shaykh Farīd Bukhārī, one of Akbar's prominent nobles, also became his disciple, and met all the expenses of his *khānḳāh* in Dihlī. As regards his teachings, he emphasised the importance of right faith, strict adherence to the Islamic *Sharīʿa*, constant meditation and the service of man; to him, this was the essence of Ṣūfism, and no importance was attached to other mystic experiences. He considered Ibn al-ʿArabī's philosophy of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* ("unity of being") as a narrow lane, while ʿAlā' al-Dawla Simnānī's concept of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* he declared to be a wider road.

Bāḳī bi'llāh died in 1011/1603 leaving a number of distinguished disciples to further his work. It was largely due to him that the Naḳshbandī order subsequently gained popularity in India and became one of the important orders there, making an impact on the religious life of the Indian Muslims which can be felt even today.

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BAKR b. al-**NAṬṬĀḤ**, Abu 'l-Wā'il, minor poet of Baṣra, who belonged to the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il and who eulogised Rabīʿa; but it is not known for certain whether he was descended from Ḥanīfa b. Ludjaym or from his brother ʿIdjl (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 141), so that he is sometimes given the *nisba* of Ḥanafī and sometimes that of ʿIdjlī. He spent part of his life in Baghdād, and according to information given in the *Aghānī* (xix, 38), he is even said to have received for some time a stipend from the *dīwān* of al-Rashīd. However, he seems to have led a fairly restless life in search of patrons, being avid for rewards. He is moreover made into a *ṣuʿlūk*, a brigand of the highways, because he boasted of using his sword in order to earn his living; but the only relevant episode here mentioned in the sources is an attack by the hordes of Abū Dulaf al-Ḳāsim b. ʿĪsā al-ʿIdjlī (d. 225/840 [*q.v.*]) after the latter had remarked to Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ that he was always boasting of his bravery but never put it to the test. For the rest, his relations with Abū Dulaf are unclear; according to one tradition, he was recruited into his army and received a stipend until the end of his life, whilst another tradition describes him as coming every year to the master of al-Karadj asking for money to buy an estate allegedly adjacent to his own existing one. Whatever the truth, he eulogised his benefactor, above all in a fine *ḳaṣīda* of 90 verses which has been preserved by Ibn al-Muʿtazz. Abū Dulaf's brother, Maʿḳil b. ʿĪsā, interceded on his behalf for the prince to pardon Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ's indiscretions, which led to similar eulogies on Maʿḳil and an elegy on his death. Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ also mourned the death of Mālik b. ʿAlī al-Khuzāʿī, at whose side he had fought in campaigns against the Khāridjīs of the district of Ḥulwān. He is also found in Kirmān, where he received a regular stipend, and at the side of Mālik b. Ṭawḳ [see al-raḥba], to whom he dedicated some panegyrics. However, the chronology of all these events is far from certain, and it is most unlikely that he could have praised the latter person (who died in 260/874), at least if he himself died in 192/808, which an allusion to his loss in the *Dīwān* of Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (ed. Beirut 1964, 105, rhyme *-ātā*, metre *sarīʿ*) seems to support.

The critics recognised that he handled with talent the various poetical genres, though at the same time criticising him for certain exaggerations on occasion. His eulogies and elegies remain within the Bedouin tradition, but several poems in which he hymns a *djāriya* called Durra have a more modernist form; it was because these were set to music that Bakr b. al-Naṭṭāḥ merited a notice in the *Aghānī*. Out of his total poetic production, which ran to a hundred or so leaves (*Fihrist*, 232), Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr made a selection (*Ikhtiyār shiʿr Bakr b. al-Naṭṭāḥ*) which Yāḳūt cites (*Udabā'*, iii, 92).

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al-**BAKRĪ**, Muḥammad Tawfīḳ b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, Egyptian religious dignitary. He was born in Cairo on 27 Djumādā II 1287/24 August 1870, and was appointed *naḳīb al-ashrāf* [*q.v.*], *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya* (head of the *ṭarīḳas* [*q.v.*]), and head of al-Bakriyya [*q.v.*] in January 1892 in succession to his deceased brother ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, obtaining life-membership of the *madjlis shūrā al-ḳawānīn* (Legislative Council) and of the *djamʿiyya al-ʿumūmiyya* (General Assembly) in that very same year. During the period in which he held the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya*, various regulations for the *Ṣūfī* orders in Egypt were introduced. These regulations, which were in force until 1976, allowed him to re-establish the authority over the orders to which the head of al-Bakriyya had been legally entitled since 1812, and

which had declined dramatically under his predecessor ʿAbd al-Bāḳī.

As *naḳīb al-ashrāf*, he was forced to abdicate in January 1895 by the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī, who must have aimed at curbing al-Bakrī's aspirations to political significance, as was suggested by Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī (92 ff.; see bibliography). Following this event, relations between al-Bakrī and the Khedive grew progressively worse when the latter sought to mobilise Ottoman support in his attempts to assert his position over Lord Cromer, the British proconsul. This was totally unacceptable to al-Bakrī, since it ran counter to the unadulterated Egyptian nationalism which he advocated. In consequence, he showed himself to be aggressively antagonistic to ʿAbbās Ḥilmī's policy, to a degree which brought him close to being faced with legal prosecution for lèse-majesté (cf. Aḥmad Shafīḳ, *Mudhakkirātī fī nisf ḳarn*, Cairo 1936, ii/1, 248 f.; Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *al-Ittidjāhāt al-waṭaniyya fī 'l-adab al-muʿāṣir*, Cairo 1954, i, 94). When the Khedive changed his policy and turned to the Egyptian nationalists in his effort to achieve freedom from British tutelage, relations improved considerably, and in early 1903 Muḥammad Tawfīḳ was again installed as *naḳīb al-ashrāf*, in succession to ʿAlī al-Biblāwī [*q.v.*], who had been appointed *Shaykh* of al-Azhar. Concommitant to and as the result of this *rapprochement* between the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī and Muḥammad Tawfīḳ, the latter became gradually more implicated in the Khedive's policy, notably in his efforts aimed at the deposition of the *muftī* of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who was a protégé of Cromer's, when the Khedive called upon him for mediation on various occasions (cf. Shafīḳ, *Mudhakkirātī*, ii/1, 348, ii/2, 34 ff., 95 f.; Fahmī, 103 ff.). On the political scene he manifested himself, moreover, as an advocate of parliamentary government, for which he campaigned in the Legislative Council as well as in the Press. He was committed to pan-Islamism, and was actively involved in the movement when he presided over the preliminary meetings for the foundation of the Universal Islamic Congress (*al-Muʾtamar al-Islāmī al-ʿĀmma*), proposed by Ismāʿīl Gasprinsky [*q.v.*], held in the palace of the Bakrīs in Cairo at the end of 1907. From the latter year onwards, relations between al-Bakrī and the Khedive again become strained when Eldon Gorst, who had succeeded Cromer to the proconsulate at the beginning of that year, managed to win ʿAbbās Ḥilmī away from the nationalists and obtained his support for British policies. This caused the relationship between al-Bakrī and the Khedive to deteriorate into one of the mutual distrust and hostility, which must have contributed to the severe paranoia which forced al-Bakrī to abdicate at the end of 1911. In 1912, he left Egypt for Beirut, where he was confined to a mental hospital until early 1928 when he returned. He died in Cairo in August 1932.

In addition to Muḥammad Tawfīḳ al-Bakrī's significance for the *Ṣūfī* orders in Egypt, which have been under the lasting impact of an administration which was at least partially designed by him and which was instituted under his auspices, he is also notable for his literary activities. He founded a short-lived predecessor of the Academy of the Arabic Language, he compiled an anthology of *radjaz* poetry (*Arādjīz al-ʿArab* Cairo 1313/1895-6)—about which it was rumoured that it had not been compiled by him at all but by Aḥmad b. Amīn al-Shinḳīṭī (cf. *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, xix (Cairo 1895), 930 ff.; xx, 44 ff.)—and he published a selection from the works of eight poets from the ʿAbbāsid period (*Fuḥūl al-balāgha*, Cairo 1313/1895-6), in addition to a collection of poems and *maḳāmas* in the style of al-Ḥarīrī written by himself (*Sahārīdj al-luʾluʾ*, Cairo 1907. A selection from this work was published by ʿUthmān Shākir under the title *al-Luʾluʾ fī 'l-adab*, Cairo 1927). As a poet, he is considered as one of the last representatives of the classical tradition.

Bibliography: The most extensive biography is Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī, *Muḥammad Tawfīḳ al-Bakrī*, Cairo 1967, referred to in the article. It contains amongst others a lengthy discussion of his publishing activities and of his literary output, and gives further references. An autobiography is to be found in his *Bayt al-Ṣiddīḳ*, Cairo 1323/1905, 11 ff. For a discussion of the nature of his authority over the *Ṣūfī* orders in Egypt, and of the impact of the regulations introduced under his auspices and of his political activities, see F. de Jong, *Al-Mashāyikh al-Bakriyya and the transformation of their authority in 19th century Egypt*, in A. Dietrich (ed.), *Akten des vii. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen 1976, 224 ff.; and idem, *Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-linked institutions in 19th century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, ch. v, where additional references may be found.

(F. DE JONG)

BALANCE [see MINṬAKAT AL-BURŪDJ; MĪZĀN].

AL-**BALAṬĪ, ABU 'L-FATḤ ʿUTHMĀN** B. ʿĪSĀ B. MANṢŪR B. MUḤAMMAD, TĀDJ AL-DĪN, grammarian, poet and *adīb*, originally from the town of Balad on the Tigris, which also had the name of Balaṭ (see Yāḳūt, i, 721), whence his *nisba* of al-Balaṭī, sometimes given in the diminutive form of al-Bulayṭī. Abu 'l-Fatḥ went first of all to teach in Syria, and then, when Saladin assumed power in Egypt (567/1171), he migrated to Cairo where the new sultan allotted to him a fixed stipend and appointed him to teach grammar and the Ḳurʾān in one of the mosques of the town. He remained there till his death on 19 Ṣafar 599/7 November 1202; his corpse was not discovered till three days after his death because the people of Cairo were preoccupied by the famine then raging and were unconcerned with each other.

Thanks to ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (519-97/1125-1201 [*q.v.*]), who knew him personally, and to a *sharīf* called Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī (apparently not to be confused with the famous geographer) who had been his pupil and who was in contact with Yāḳūt (d. 626/1129), we possess a very detailed physical description of this scholar and information on his habits. He was tall, corpulent, with a lofty forehead, a long beard and a ruddy complexion; he was very susceptible to cold, always wrapped himself up, took a thousand precautions when he went to the *ḥammām* and hardly went outside in winter. He had the reputation of being extremely learned in all the literary fields, but his personal conduct left something to be desired; he apparently sought the company of dissolute persons and sometimes got drunk.

The examples which have been preserved from his poetry show that it was of traditional type, and some poems show a special aptitude for verbal pyrotechnics in the vein of his time (all through one *ḳaṣīda*, a differing word in each verse which could be read equally well in the three grammatical cases; a rhyme in *-ūnū* which exhausts the lexicon's possibilities; a schema *mafʿala* arbitrarily constructed; etc.). Nevertheless, he also wrote a long poem in

praise of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*], in which Saladin's secretary is placed above al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn ʿAbbād and Ibn al-ʿAmīd, as well as a *muwashshaḥa* whose *khardja* is not however in accordance with the rules, since it is in literary Arabic.

Al-Balaṭī is, in addition to his peetry, the author of various works: a *Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ al-kabīr*, a *K. al-ʿArūḍ al-ṣaghīr*, a *K. al-ʿIẓāt al-mūkiẓāt*, a *K. al-Nayyir*, a *K. Akhbār al-Mutanabbī*, a *K. al-Mustazād ʿala 'l-mustadjād min faʿalat al-adjwād*, a *K. ʿIlm ashkāl al-khaṭṭ*, a *K. al-Taṣḥīf wa 'l-taḥrīf* and a *K. Taʿlīl al-ʿibādāt*.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xii, 141-67; idem, *Buldān*, i, 721, ii, 735; ʿImād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr, Ḳism shuʿarāʾ al-Shām*, ii, 383; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, no. 279; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 150-1; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 323-4; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Istanbul, *passim*; Brockelmann, S I, 530; Bustānī, *DM*, V, 24-5; M.Z. Enani, *Le muwaššah en Orient*, Sorbonne thesis 1973 (unpublished), 90-1.

(CH. PELLAT)

BALBAN, GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN ULUGH KHĀN, the most prominent of the slave Sultans of Dihlī, was originally a Turkish slave of the Ilbarī clan. A member of the famous corps of Forty Slaves or *Čihilgānī* raised by Sulṭān Iltutmish, Balban rose, by dint of sheer merit and ability, to be the minister and deputy (*nāʾib-i-mamlakat*) of the ascetic king Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh (644-64/1246-65), to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. As *de facto* ruler during Maḥmūd's reign, he checked the forces of disintegration and infused vigour into the administration. The experience which he earned during his deputyship stood him in good stead when he inaugurated his own reign in 664/1266 as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, following the death of the childless Maḥmūd. Many and varied were the problems which beset Balban as he set to administer the country ruined by internal anarchy and threatened with foreign invasion. The treacherous manoeuvrings of the Turkish nobility, the growing intensity of the Hindu resistance and the mounting menace of the Mongol inroads, combined to create a situation which called for realistic approach, coupled with a will to take bold action.

As a typical oriental monarch, he advocated the theory of the divine right of the king and rigidly insisted on the observance of court ceremonial. For refractory nobles, he thought the assassin's dagger or poison to be the only remedy and he got rid of most of them by a liberal use of both. With firm determination and concentrated drive, he brought the Mewati insurgents to their knees and suppressed the uprising of the Hindus of the Dōāb. For repelling the Mongol marauders, he put his able and trusted son Muḥammad Khān in command of an elaborate defence arrangement along the north-western frontiers, and as a result, the advance of the Mongols was effectively halted. At home, the army was reorganised, an efficient espionage system perfected and art and literature liberally patronised. The celebrated Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*] was one of the literary luminaries of his court. As a result of this vigorous administration, perfect peace and prosperity prevailed over his kingdom, except for an insurrection in distant Bengal. After persistent flouting of the king's will by the governor of that province, Ṭoghrīl Khān, Balban had to take personal charge of a strong military expedition which resulted in the rebellious governor being caught and slain. His adherents were taken by the Sulṭān to Lakhnawtī [*q.v.*] where they were publicly punished by impalement. This exemplary chastisement was also intended to be served as a stern warning to his son Bughrā Khān, whom he appointed governor of Bengal before returning to Dihlī.

Balban's beloved son Prince Muḥammad, whom he had designated his heir, was killed early in 685/1286 in a fierce engagement with the Mongols. This bereavement eventually brought about his own death a year later in 686/1287; this sounded the death-knell of the Slave-King dynasty, for the Khaldjīs took over the reins of the Dihlī sultanate only three years later.

Bibliography: Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1860-6; Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1888-9; Elliott and Dowson, *History of India*, iii;.; Sir Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge history of India*, iii, Cambridge 1928; A.B.M. Ḥabībullāh, *Foundation of Muslim rule in India*, Lahore 1945; A.L. Srivastava, *The sultanate of Delhi*², Agra 1953; P. Hardy, *Historians of medieval India*, London 1960, index; G. Hambly, *Who were the Chihilgānī, the forty slaves of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish of Delhi?*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, x (1972), 57-62; Muḥammad ʿAzīz Aḥmad, *Political history and institutions of the early Turkish empire of Delhi (1206-1290)*, Indian edition, Delhi 1972.

(ABDUS SUBHAN)

SĪDĪ **BALLĀ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH IBN ʿAZZŪZ AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-SHĀDHILĪ AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, a cobbler of Marrakesh to whom thaumaturgic gifts were attributed and who died in an odour of sanctity in 1204/1789. His tomb, situated in his own residence at Bāb Aylān, has been continuously visited because of its reputation of curing the sick. Although he had not received a very advanced education, Ibn ʿAzzūz nevertheless succeeded in leaving behind an abundant body of works, dealing mainly with mysticism and the occult sciences, but also with medicine. However, his works display hardly any originality, and none of them has interested a publisher despite the success in Morocco of his *Dhahāb al-kusūf wa-nafy al-ẓulumāt fī ʿilm al-ṭibb wa 'l-ṭabāʾiʿ wa 'l-ḥikma*, a popular collection of therapeutic formulae (see L. Leclerc, *La chirurgie d'Abulcasis*, Paris 1861, ii, 307-8; H.P.J. Renaud, in *Initiation au Maroc*, Paris 1945, 183-4); his *Kashf al-rumūz* concerning medicinal plants is equally well-known. Out of his three works on mysticism, the *Tanbīh al-tilmīdh al-muḥtādj* is perhaps the most original since it endeavours to reconcile the *sharīʿa* with the *ḥaḳīḳa* [*q.v.*]. Finally, in the field of the occult sciences, his *Lubab al-ḥikma fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-ʿilm al-asmāʾ al-ilāhiyya*, of which at least one manuscript survives, is a treatise on practical magic and divinatory magic.

Bibliography: On the manuscripts of Sīdī Ballā's works, see Brockelmann, S II, 704, 713; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 253-6; see also Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl Muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*, Casablanca 1960, ii, 446, 449; ʿA. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-Maghribī*², Beirut 1961, i, 304-5, 310.

(ED.)

BALYŪNASH, also **B.NYŪN.SH** (in Leo Africanus *Vignones*, in Marmol *Valdeviñones*), Portuguese Bulhões, Spanish Bullones, site of a once-important *ḳarya* 8 km. W.N.W. of Ceuta, beneath Sierra Bullones (Djabal Mūsā). Its name is from the Spanish Romance *bunyólex* "vineyards", *not* Bū or Benī Yūnus/-ash, etc. Surrounded on land by mountains, Balyūnash lies in a small valley dropping sharply to a creek in a bay set in a narrow part

of the Straits of Gibraltar. Bérard thought it the home of the Homeric Calypso's cave. Its Roman precursor has been named as Exilissa.

In Islam the area's history may well have begun with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], who is said to have crossed to Algeciras in 93/712 from what became Marsā Mūsā, later within the orbit of Balyūnash. Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 260) associates the emergence of Balyunāsh proper with a palace built among gardens by Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (Almanzor) and protected by a fortress on the shore. In the 5th/11th century Balyunāsh was certainly known to the geographer al-Bakrī as a large, fertile and populous place. Thereafter its importance grew with that of Ceuta. In 1342 it witnessed a battle between ships from a Marīnid-Naṣrid fleet and vessels from a Castilian fleet covering Alfonso XI as he besieged Algeciras. The heyday of Balyūnash—lauded as an Eden by poets from the 6th/12th century onwards—apparently came with the 8th/14th century. Details of its buildings, water resources, the range of its horticulture, arboriculture, etc. have been left by al-Anṣārī, a native of the area until 1415 when the Portuguese occupation of Ceuta brought about its desertion. In 1418 Balyunāsh was briefly the estate of one João Pereira, a Portuguese courtier from Ceuta.

Mediaeval Ceuta, a relatively barren, isolated and arid peninsula, can be seen as the *raison d'être* of Balyūnash. A resort for princes and the rich, who had fortified villas there, the latter was certainly a rich source of fresh food and above all flowing water, which, in Marīnid times at least, must have been fed directly to Ceuta as indeed it is today. Ruins still to be seen there bear marks of Andalusian architectural and artistic influence.

Bibliography: L. Torres Balbás, *Las ruinas de Belyuneš*, in *Tamuda*, v (1957), 275-96 (contains translation of al-Anṣārī's description, for Arabic text of which see *Hespéris*, xii (1931), *Tetuán* (1959), and ed. A. Ben Mansour, Rabat 1969; see also J. Vallvé's tr. in *Al-Andalus*, xxvii (1962)); B. Pavón Maldonado, *Arte hispanomusulmán en Ceuta*, in *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, vi (1970), 69-107 plus plates; G. Ayache, *Beliounech et le destin de Ceuta*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, xiii (1972), 5-36; R. Ricard, *Études sur l'histoire des Portugais au Maroc*, *passim*; G.S. Colin, *Étymologies magribines*, in *Hespéris* (1926), 59 f. (on the name).

(J.D. Latham)

BĀNĪDJŪRIDS or Abū Dāwūdids, a minor dynasty, probably of Iranian but conceivably of Turkish origin, which ruled in Ṭukhāristān and Badakhshān, sc. in what is now Afghan Turkestan, with a possible parallel branch in Khuttal, sc. in what is now the Tadzhik SSR, during the later 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries.

The genealogy and history of the Bānīdjūrids are very imperfectly known, despite the attempts of J. Marquart, in his *Ērānšahr*, 300-2, and R. Vasmer, in his *Beiträge zur muhammedanischen Münzkunde. I. Die Münzen der Abū Dā'udiden*, in *Numismatische Zeitschr.*, N.F. xviii (1925), 49-62, to elucidate them through the sparse historical references and the meagre numismatic evidence. It seems that they sprang from one Bānīdjūr, a contemporary of the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī, who had connections with Farghāna, and his son Hāshim (d. 243/857-8) was ruler of the mountain districts of Wakhsh and Halāward on the upper Oxus. But the first member of the family known with any certainty is Dāwūd b. al-ʿAbbās, who was governor of Balkh from 233/847-8 onwards, being still there when the Ṣaffārid Yaʿkūb b. al-Layth captured the city temporarily in 258/872. Dāwūd fled to Samarkand in Sāmānid territory (sc. to refuge with his suzerains ?) but returned to Balkh shortly afterwards and died there in 259/873 (Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 77-8). It was probably this Dāwūd (thus according to Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 50, *pace* Marquart), and not the Dāwūd b. Abī Dāwūd of the Khuttal local rulers (see below), who at one point in his career made a raid south of the Hindu Kush against the local ruler Fīrūz b. Kabk, who was probably from the family of Zunbīls of Zābulistān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 180; cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 42, 127-8).

Dāwūd b. al-ʿAbbās's kinsman (? nephew) Abū Dāwūd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ruled in Balkh from 260/874 onwards, after having already controlled Andarāba and Pandjhīr in Badakhshān, the latter place important for its silver mines; during the years 259-61/873-5 Yaʿkūb b. al-Layth took over Pandjhīr and minted coins there, but in 261/875 Abū Dāwūd Muḥammad was once more able to issue his own coins from there (Vasmer, *Über die Münzen der Ṣaffāriden und ihrer Gegner in Fārs und Ḫurāsān*, in *Num. Zeitschr.*, N.F. xxiii (1930), 133-4). If the information of the local historian of Bukhārā Narshakhī is correct, Abū Dāwūd Muḥammad was still ruling in Balkh in 285/898 or 286/899, when ʿAmr b. al-Layth summoned him, together with the Farīghunid *amīr* of Gūzgān and the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, to obedience (*Ta'rīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, 87, cf. Vasmer, *Beiträge*, 54-5).

A parallel line of governors ruled north of the Oxus in Khuttal at this time [see khuttalān], and Ibn Khurradādhbih, *loc. cit.*, describes the ruler of Khuttal in *ca.* 272/885-6, al-Ḥārith b. Asad, as the kinsman of Dāwūd b. al-ʿAbbās, governor of Balkh; on the evidence of certain extant coins of his, he was still ruling in 293/906-7. Nevertheless, Vasmer thought that the apparentation of al-Ḥārith b. Asad's line to the main stock of the Bānīdjūrids was dubious. These Khuttal princelings minted coins in the early 4th/10th century, and the rebellious governor of Khurāsān Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī in 336/947 received help from the *amīr* Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar, whom Vasmer, however, attached to the direct offspring of Abū Dāwūd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (*Beiträge*, 59 ff.), cf. Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 36, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, 157, and Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 248. We do not know how long the power of these putative Bānīdjūrids in Khuttal lasted, although there was certainly a line of local rulers in Khuttal during the early Ghaznawid period, and a sister of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, the Ḥurra-yi Khuttalī of Bayhaḳī, was possibly married to one of these rulers, cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 138, 237, and idem, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay. The dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 148.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Vasmer, *Beiträge*, 53, has a conjectural genealogical table, followed by Zambaur in his *Manuel*, 202, 204.

(C.E. Bosworth)

BARBER [see čelebi; ḥallāḳ, in Suppl.].

BARDALLA, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD al-ʿArabī b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī, prominent Moroccan *ḳāḍī* in the reign of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*]. Born in Fās on 2 Djumādā II 1042/15 December 1632, he died there on 15 Radjab 1133/12 May 1721

and was interred outside Bāb Gīsa (al-Djīsa) on the left, or Ḳarawiyyīn, bank of the Wādī Fās.

Mainly because of its non-Arabic origin, "Bardalla" is vocalised differently in the Arabic sources, and, in some, one encounters corrupt forms such as in Bin Dalla. Understandably, we find inconsistencies in European spellings (Bordola, Bordala, Berdella, etc.). This last form most nearly represents the pronunciation of the family name as found in 20th century Fās, and it closely accords with the only two forms which—on the basis of scrutiny of manuscripts and inquiry from informed local sources—can be considered acceptable, viz. Bardalla, Burdalla. The Andalusian origin of Muḥammad al-ʿArabī's family suggests that the etymology is to be sought in a Romance diminutive in *-ello* of an epithet corresponding to, say, the modern Castilian *pardo* "brown", "dusky". Such a name is quite probable (see FILĀḤA, vol. iii, 901, col. 2, and cf. N.gh.rāl.h < Negrello, and on *-uh* > *a* (*tāʾ marbūṭa*), cf. also Ibn Sīda [*q.v.*] < Ibn Sīduh).

A respected jurist and teacher, Muḥammad al-ʿArabī seems to have been a popular and influential religious leader. During the first half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th, notably between 1088/1677 and 1118/1706-7, we see him, against the background of the mosque of al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*], serving in various religious capacities—*muftī*, superintendent of religious endowments (*nāẓir al-awḳāf/aḥbās*), *khaṭīb* and *imām*, and, last but not least, *ḳāḍī* of Fās (*ḳāḍī ʾl-djamāʿa*). In this last office his career was somewhat erratic because of dismissals and reinstatements by the sultan. Thus from 1088/December 1677, when he replaced one Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Madjdjāsī, he had at least five or six separate terms of office. His initial troubles seem to have stemmed from the attempts of al-Madjdjāsī to cling to office and his later ones from the effects of local politics and rivalries. In 1116/1704 he was denounced to Mawlāy Ismāʿīl for performing the *ṣalāt* over his dead rebel son, Mawlāy Muḥammad al-ʿĀlim, but the sultan's wrath can have done him little harm, for we find him leading the Eclipse Prayer at al-Ḳarawiyyīn in 1118/1706. A man of evident integrity, he is described in one source as "the last just *ḳāḍī* of Fez".

Bibliography: In addition to Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 306 (see references in n. 1), 309, 312, 403, see the new edition and English translation, by Norman Cigar, of al-Ḳādirī's *Nashr al-mathānī* (= part I of a D. Phil. thesis, Oxford 1976 (details in *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 3 (1976), 43 f.)), i (tr.), 23 and n. 8, 26, 29, 30 f., 35, 46, 54 f.; ii, 94, etc.; Mawlāy Sulaymān, *K. ʿInāyat ūlī ʾl-madjd bi-dhikr āl al-Fāsī b. al-Djadd*, Fās 1347, 27, 26, 40, etc.; al-Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, vii, Casablanca 1957, 54, 91, 106, 107, 113; In Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā* there are references to parts of two works preserved in the private library of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bardalla in Fās, one dealing with the early ʿAlawids, the other treating of the *ṣulaḥāʾ* of Fās, but they seem to be the work of Muḥammad al-ʿArabī's son despite the index reference (*Dalīl*, Casablanca 1960, 1965, i, 42 (no. 69), 145 (no. 525), ii, 608 (index), cf. ii, 441 (no. 2034)). (J.D. LATHAM)

BĀRHA SAYYIDS (Bārha from the Hindī numeral *bārah* "twelve"), the name applied from Akbar's reign onwards to those in possession of a certain group of twelve villages in the Dōʾāb (Muẓaffarnagar district, U.P.).

After the establishment of the Īlkhānid Mongol kingdom in Persia and ʿIrāḳ in *ca.* 656/1258, many Sayyid families migrated to India and obtained grants of villages in the area extending from the Pandjāb to Bihār. Some of them were endowed with qualities of leadership and not only exercised effective control over their own villages, but rallied the support of the neighbouring village leaders, generally Hindus. The authenticity of their claims to be Sayyids was always suspect, but their chivalry and heroic achievements made them indispensable to the Dihlī *sulṭāns*. The ancestor of the Bārha Sayyids, Abu ʾl-Faraḥ, left his original home in Wāsiṭ [*q.v.*], in ʿIrāḳ, with his twelve sons at the end of the 7th/13th or in the 8th/14th century, and migrated to India, where he obtained four villages in Sirhind [*q.v.*]. By the 10th/16th century some of Abu ʾl-Faraḥ's descendants had taken over the Bārha villages in Muẓaffarnagar. In the reign of Akbar, the Bārha Sayyids occupied a place of distinction, and nine of them held *manṣabs* [*q.v.*] ranging from 2,000 to 250, the total family *manṣab* being 8,550, a very high position in the Mughal hierarchy. Naturally, with the Bārha villages as a nucleus, the Sayyids owned extensive *djāgīrs* [*q.v.*] in the region. Their pride in their Indian birth greatly appealed to the local Hindu leaders, who helped them to raise the strong contingents they led in the Mughal imperial wars. Occupying a distinguished place in the vanguard, like many Rādjpūt warriors, they preferred to fight as footsoldiers.

By the reign of Awrangzīb, although ostensibly they maintained their traditional loyalty, they were impelled by ambition to join in the scramble for political power. For example, Sayyid Ḥasan ʿAlī (afterwards ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb al-Mulk) and his younger brother Ḥusayn ʿAlī, known as the Sayyid brothers, by helping Farrukh-Siyar [*q.v.*] succeed to the throne in 1124/1712, obtained for themselves the highest civil and military positions in the government of their puppet emperor. They abolished the *djizya* and tried to conciliate the Rādjpūts; but by giving too much administrative power to their favourite, Lāla Ratan Čand, a Vaishya, they dislocated the entire administrative machinery. Finally, in 9 Djumādā II 1131/29 April 1719, they deposed and strangled Farrukh-Siyar. They then raised four puppet rulers to the throne, one after the other. However, early in the reign of the fourth puppet emperor, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*], they and their supporters were defeated by an opposition party under the leadership of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*]. On 6 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1132/9 October 1720, Ḥusayn ʿAlī was assassinated, and, on 14 Muḥarram 1133/15 November 1720, ʿAbd Allāh was defeated near Āgra, taken captive and killed in his Dihlī prison on 1 Muḥarram 1135/12 October 1722.

The Bārha Sayyids were Shīʿīs, and many Sunnī Sayyid families, such as that of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī [*q.v.*], who lived in their neighbourhood, exerted themselves to ensure that the Bārha Sayyids did not recover their political power.

Bibliography: Besides the works cited in BAHĀDUR SHAH I, DJAHĀNDĀR SHĀH and FARRUKH-SIYAR, see Munawwar ʿAlī Khān (ed.), *Istiṣāl-i Sādāt-i Bārha*, India Office Ms. 4002; H. Blochmann (tr.) and D.C. Phillot (ed.), *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1939, i; Shāh Walī Allāh, *Maktūbāt-i Shāh Walī Allāh*, Raḍā Library, Rāmpūr (U.P.), *Sulūk Fārsī* no. 604; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, Delhi 1975.

(S.A.A. RIZVI)

BĀRIZ, D̲j̲ABAL, a mountainous and, in early Islamic times, apparently wooded region of the Kirmān province in Iran, described by the mediaeval historians and geographers as the haunt of predatory peoples like the Kūfičīs or Ḳufṣ and the Balūč [see BALŪCISTĀN, KIRMĀN and ḲUFṢ]. It is the steepsided granite chain running in a NW-SE direction from the mountain massif of central Kirmān (sc. the massif which culminates in such peaks as the Kūh-i Hazār and the Kūh-i Lālazār), to the south of the towns of Bam [*q.v.*] and Fahrad̲j̲; the geographers count it as amongst the *garmsīrāt* or warm regions [see ḲIS̲H̲LĀḲ] of Kirmān province. The D̲j̲abal Bāriz rises to 12,450 feet, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* states that it possessed mines of lead, copper and lodestone.

The actual name appears variously in the sources as Bāriz, Bārid̲j̲ān, etc., the modern form being Kūh-i Bāričī, and appears to be old. Herodotus mentions Παρικάνιοί who paid tribute to Darius and supplied infantry for Xerxes' army (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 31), and Ṭabarī, i, 894, says that K̲h̲usraw Anūs̲h̲irwān re-established Sāsānid control over the people of al-Bāriz after the anarchy of Ḳubād̲h̲'s last years. Until the early ʿAbbāsid period, the D̲j̲abal Bāriz remained a stronghold of Zoroastrianism. The Kūfičīs or "mountaineers" of the region resisted the attempts of Yaʿḳūb b. Layt̲h̲ to assert Ṣaffārid control over Kirmān, and it was probably only after this time (sc. the later 3rd/9th century) that Islam began to penetrate there. The geographers of the following century describe the people of the mountain as savage robbers and brigands, whom the punitive expeditions of Yaʿḳūb b. Layt̲h̲, the Būyids Muʿizz al-Dawla and ʿAḍud al-Dawla, and the Seld̲j̲ūḳ Ḳāwurd b. Čag̲h̲rī Beg quelled only temporarily (see C.E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichīs or Qufs in Persian history*, in *Iran. Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xiv (1976), 9-17). Only two villages, Kaftar and Dihak, are mentioned as market centres for the mountain. The D̲j̲abal Bāriz long remained an inaccessible place, and Sir Percy Sykes describes it as still being a haunt of thieves when he was British Consul in Kirmān (*A fifth journey in Persia*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, xxviii (1906), 433).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Sald̲j̲ūḳiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. M. Bastānī-Pārīzī, Tehran 1964, 6, n. 1; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 65, 125; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 316-17; *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, London 1945, 88, 95, 98, 106, 391; For European travellers in the region, see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**BARḲĪ**, *nisba* of a S̲h̲īʿī family of which one member, Abū D̲j̲aʿfar AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD b. K̲h̲ālid b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, enjoys a considerable renown in Imāmī circles. When the ancestor of the family, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, was imprisoned and put to death by Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-T̲h̲aḳafī (governor of ʿIrāḳ from 120/738 to 126/744 [*q.v.*]) following the suppression of the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī (122/740 [*q.v.*]), his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān escaped and established himself at Barḳa, in the region of Ḳumm, whence the ethnic name al-Barḳī, to which there is sometimes added, for the purpose of avoiding confusion, the name al-Ḳummī (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 572, s.v. "Barḳa", gives the *nisba* precisely, but in the Egyptian edition of his *Muʿd̲j̲am al-udabāʾ*, iv, 132, al-Barḳī becomes al-Raḳḳī). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad was accompanied by his son K̲h̲ālid, who was still a child; the son of this last, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (correcting Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, *loc. cit.*), would appear to be the first member of this family to participate in the transmission of S̲h̲īʿī tradition. A supporter of ʿAlī al-Riḍā (d. 203/818 [*q.v.*]) and of his son Muḥammad al-D̲j̲awād (d. 219/834) whom he certainly visited, he was the author, (if we are to believe Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Cairo ed. 309-10; cf. al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 153) of a number of works, sc. the *Kitāb al-ʿAwīṣ*, *K. al-Tabṣira*, *K. al-Rid̲j̲āl* (on transmitters of traditions ascribed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) and the *K. al-Maḥāsin*, which poses an interesting problem of composition and attribution. If we are to judge by the details supplied by Ibn al-Nadīm this *K. al-Maḥāsin* would be a collection of "books" (*kutub*), that is, of chapters constituting a sort of encyclopaedia of knowledge which a good S̲h̲īʿī would be obliged to possess in order to conform to tradition: Kurʾān, history, geography, ethics, divination from dreams, etc. However, Ibn al-Nadīm, who probably did not have the opportunity to examine all these *kutub*, numbers about eighty of them and adds that the son of Muḥammad, Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Aḥmad, composed three works of his own: the *K. al-Ihtid̲j̲ād̲j̲* (a subject already dealt with by the preceding), *K. al-Safar* and *K. al-Buldān*, "more developed than that of his father."

Now the author of the *Fihrist* is, curiously, the only one to attribute a first version of the *K. al-Maḥāsin* to Muḥammad b. K̲h̲ālid. Yāḳūt totally ignores this individual, whom he mentions neither in the *Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān*, nor in the section of the *Muʿd̲j̲am al-udabāʾ* (iv, 132-6) devoted exclusively to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and probably incomplete; basing himself, without admitting it, on the *Fihrist* of al-Ṭūsī (20-2), he lists a total of ninety-six titles, not specifying that they constitute the *K. al-Maḥāsin* mentioned above, but giving the impression all the same that the number of these *kutub* is variable and asserting that he has personal knowledge of those that he enumerates; he judges this Barḳī "worthy of credence, reliable" (*t̲h̲iḳa*), although he reproaches him for relying on feeble transmitters (*ḍuʿafāʾ*) and for taking as a basis *ḥadīt̲h̲s* transmitted directly by representatives of the second generation (*marāsīl*).

The same reproach is directed at him—and in the same terms—by S̲h̲īʿī writers who describe how he was temporarily expelled from Ḳumm because of the defects of his methods; these authors ignore too the father of Aḥmad; they declare that this last was very wise and learned, composed verse and had many disciples (although the ones that they mention by name mostly belong to a later period); they make him an associate of Muḥammad al-D̲j̲awād (which would seem hard to accept) or of ʿAlī al-Hādī (d. 254/868) and a contemporary of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42); they make no mention of his successors; and they suggest that he died in 274/887-8 or in 280/893-4.

The articles which the S̲h̲īʿī *rid̲j̲āliyyūn* devote to him are conveniently reproduced by Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī in his *Aʿyān al-S̲h̲īʿa* (ix, 266) and most completely by al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, who was responsible for the second edition of the *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin* (Nad̲j̲af 1384/1964, two volumes bound in one; the first edition, by D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, Tehran 1370 (?) remained inaccessible to the author of the present article).

It must in fact be said that this celebrated *K. al-Maḥāsin*, which appears to have enjoyed great influence over a long period, has not survived in an

integral form, although it has not totally disappeared, and eleven of its "books" have been preserved: (1) *al-Ashkāl wa 'l-ḳarā'in* (11 *bābs*); (2) *Thāwab al-a'māl* (123 *babs*); (3) *'Iḳāb al-a'māl* (70 *babs*); (4) *al-Ṣafwa wa 'l-nūr wa 'l-raḥma* (47 *babs*); (5) *Maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam* (49 *babs*); (6) *al-'Ilal* (1 *bab*); (7) *al-Safar* (39 *babs*); (8) *al-Ma'ākil* (136 *babs*); (9) *al-Mā'* (20 *babs*); (10) *al-Manāfi'* (6 *babs*); (11) *al-Marāfiḳ* (16 *babs*). These titles almost all appear, in the same form, in the ancient lists, where there is also reference to *kitāb*s derived from *bāb*s in the published chapters. So we possess one-sixth or one-seventh of the original work, which is essentially a collection of *ḥadīth*s attributed to the Prophet and to the *Ahl al-Bayt*, in particular to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, simply classified and reproduced without any interference on the part of the compiler. To judge by what has survived, the collection constituted a sort of *muṣannaf* of a particular type grouping together all the traditional elements that the Imāmī considered to be essential, both in matters relating to the faith and in questions of everyday life. All the same, a certain lack of order dominates the classification of traditions, so for example we find *ḥadīth*s concerning bread in the chapter devoted to water (no. 9), whereas we would expect to find them in the preceding chapter (*al-Ma'ākil*), which is extensive and contains references to a long list of foodstuffs. The titles enumerated in the lists give the impression that the author did not neglect literary formation, poetry and other cultural fields, which makes the more regrettable the loss of so many chapters, no doubt considered less indispensable by posterity. It is probable that the *kitāb*s formed independent fascicules, which would explain both how they could be so easily lost and why authors cannot agree either on their number or their order.

A comparison between Ibn al-Nadīm's list and all the others might perhaps allow an insight into the respective roles of the father and of the son in the compilation of the *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin*, but this would be a hazardous enterprise and ultimately of doubtful benefit. In other respects, the presentation of these lists is such that it is impossible to see clearly whether Muḥammad or his son wrote works that were not included in the composition of the *K. al-Maḥāsin*; it is however possible that one or the other left biographies of *ridjāl*, and al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 12 = § 8) mentions among the sources, attributing it to Aḥmad, a *Kitāb al-Tabyān* which no doubt had a historical or a hiero-historical character.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the article): Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh*, v, 4; Ḳummī, *Ta'rīkh-i Ḳum*, 277; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 262; Shī'ī authors (including those whose notices are given in the introd. of the *K. al-Maḥāsin*): Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, 55; Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il*, iii, 552; Karbalā'ī, *Muntahā 'l-maḳāl*, lith. 1302, 41, 42; Mīrzā Muḥ. Astarābādī, *Manhadj al-maḳāl*, lith. Tehran 1307; Māmaḳānī, *Tanḳīḥ al-maḳāl*, 82-4; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, lith. Tehran 1306, 13; Modern biographers: Kaḥḥāla, ii, 97; Ziriklī, i 195; see also F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², 501.

(CH. PELLAT)

BARṢAWMĀ AL-ZĀMIR, ISḤĀḲ, famous flute player in early 'Abbāsid times, died after 188/804. He was a dark-coloured *muwallad* of humble origin, son of a "Nabataean" woman from Kūfa. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī brought him to Baghdād, gave him an education in "Arab music" (*al-ghinā' al-'arabī*) and introduced him to Hārūn al-Rashīd. He accompanied the singers in the concerts at court, belonging first to the second class (*ṭabaḳa*) of court musicians, and later on was promoted by the caliph to the first class. Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī knew "nobody being more competent in their profession than four persons: al-Aṣma'ī as an expert in poetry, al-Kisā'ī in grammar, Manṣūr Zalzal as a lute player and Barṣawmā as a flautist".

Bibliography: *Aghānī*³, v, 176, 227, 241, 255, vi, 164-5, 297, 303, 304, xix, 294, xx, 358; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 17; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iḳd*, vi, Cairo 1949, 31-2, 37; Pseudo-Djāḥiẓ, *Tādj*, 39, 41; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, ii, 272-73; H.G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, 94, 116.

(E. NEUBAUER)

BASBĀS is the fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*), belonging to the family of umbellal plants. The term *bisbās*, used in the Maghrib for fennel, indicates in the Eastern countries the red seed-shell of the nutmeg (*Myristica fragrans*), known as Macis, while the term *basbāsa*, not to be confused with the two other terms, indicates only nutmeg in the entire Arab world. The most often used synonym of *basbās* is *rāziyānadj*, borrowed from the Persian. The complete nomenclature, also taken from other oriental languages, has been brought together by I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, iii, 460-5. The Greek term μάραθ(ρ)ον is found as *mārathūn* (and variants) in the Arabic medical inventories. Like in Dioscorides, this term indicates the garden fennel (*basbās bustānī*), *Anethum foeniculum*, while ἱππομάραθον (*ibbūmārathūn*, and variants, strictly speaking "horse fennel"), which is mostly mentioned in connection with the garden fennel, apparently stands for the wild fennel. The term *basbās djabalī*, likewise used for the latter, is confusing, for the "mountain fennel" (Seseli) does not belong to the genus Foeniculum. Other kinds mentioned cannot as yet be determined.

The volatile oil extracted from the fruits of the fennel has a strongly fragrant scent and a bitter, camphor-like smell. It loosens phlegm and was, in the form of fennel-tea or fennel-honey, used, as it is now, against coughs and flatulence. A decoction of the flower stalk was considered to be a diuretic and to further menstruation; mixed with wine it was used as a medicament against snake bites, while the pressed juice is praised as an ophthalmic remedy. The leaves and fruits were added to food as a spice. Aṣma'ī counts them among the precious spices (*Nabāt*, ed. Ghunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 13 ff.). Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī praises their aroma, remarks that the plant thrives on wild soil and proves both observations with verses (*Nabāt. The Book of Plants*, ed. B. Lewin, 59 f.). Fennel has been used as spice from Old Egyptian times until today. Ibn al-'Awwām consecrates a special chapter to the cultivation of the fennel (*Kitāb al-Filāḥa*, tr. Clément-Mullet, ii, Paris 1866, 250 f.). Curious is the assertion of Nuwayrī (*Nihāya*, xi, 82), that vipers and snakes, when leaving their holes in spring, rub their eyes at the fennel shrub in order to be able to see again; the same is mentioned repeatedly by Ḳazwīnī (see Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arab. Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, 336, 386).

Bibliography: Dioscurides, *Materia medica*, ed. Wellmann, ii, Berlin 1906, 81 f. (= lib. iii, 70, 71); *La "Materia médica" de Dioscorides*, ii (Arabic tr.) ed. Dubler and Terés, Tetuán 1952, 271; *The medical formulary or Aqrābādhīn of al-Kindī*, tr. M. Levey, Madison etc. 1966, 242; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, Ms. Paris ar. 3004, fols. 49a, 256a; Ibn Biklārish, *Musta'īnī*, Ms. Naples, Bibl.

Naz. iii, F. 65, fol. 82b; Ibn al-Djazzār, *Iʿtimād*, Ms. Ayasofya 3564, fol. 58a-b; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, no. 351; Anonymous [Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī b. al-Rūmiyya?], Ms. Nuruosmaniye 3589, fol. 102a-b; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 93, ii, 134 f., tr. Leclerc, nos. 286, 1019; Ghassānī, *Muʿtamad*, ed. M. al-Saḳḳāʾ, Beirut 1975, 23 f. and 182-4; *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansur ... Harawi*, tr. A. Achundow, Halle 1893, 167, 210; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 358; Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xx, Ḥaydarābād 1387, 535-9 (no. 378); Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Būlāḳ, i, 277, and 429 f.; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1362, ii, 178; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371, i, 74 f., 165; H.G. Kircher, *Die "einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Bonn 1967, no. 34; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-ḥikma des ʿAlī ibn Sahl Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, no. 318; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*, Berlin 1891, 948-50.

(A. Dietrich)

BASHKARD, BASHĀKARD, Europeanised form Bashkardia, a region of south-eastern Iran, falling administratively today within the 8th *ustān* or province of Kirmān and in the *shahrastān* or district of Djīruft, of which it comprises one of the nine constituent rural areas (*dihistānhā*), see *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, viii, Tehran 1332/1953, 49. It is the mountainous hinterland of western Makrān, lying to the east of Mīnāb near the Straits of Hormuz and bounded on the north by the southern fringes of the Djāz-Muryān depression; the peaks of the Māriz range within it rise to just over 7,000 feet. The whole region has been, and still is, extremely remote and inaccessible, and only in recent decades has a measure of control from Tehran been extended over a people formerly much given to raiding and brigandage. The main settlement is at Angohrān, but the population is everywhere sparse; the *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, London 1945, mentions 100 reeds huts at Angohrān, and a total population for Bashkardia of an estimated 8,000 families; the *Farhang, loc. cit.*, mentions 108 settlements (*ābādī*), with a population of *ca.* 6,700.

The people of Bashkardia are ethnically Iranian and Shīʿī in *madhhab*; at least until very recently, the social structure there included a slave element, both negroid and native Iranian. It was first speculated by Tomaschek that the modern Bashkardīs could be the descendants of the mediaeval Islamic Kūfičīs or Ḳufṣ, the predatory people of Kirmān and Makrān provinces often linked in the sources with the Balūč [see balū-cistān and ḳufṣ]; for a discussion of this, see C.E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian history*, in *Iran. Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xiv (1976), 9 ff. The actual name Bashkard (Bashākard is a form apparently exhibiting a pseudo-Arabic broken plural) is unattested till the mid-19th century, when the first Europeans, Col. E. Mockler and E.A. Floyer, visited the region; Dr. I. Gershevitch, who stayed in Bashkardia for some months in 1956, has nevertheless suggested that the name might derive from the dominant Persian tribe, to which the Achaemenids themselves belonged, of the Pasargadae, located by Ptolemy in Carmania (= Kirmān). The Bashkardī language is very aberrant from New Persian, and exists in two forms, a northern and a southern group of dialects. It contains certain old Iranian words not surviving elsewhere, e.g. the hardwood *djag* or *djakh*, identifiable with the O. Pers. *yakā*- wood used in the construction of Darius's palace at Susa, see Gershevitch, *Sissoo at Susa (O. Pers. yakā = Dalbergia Sissoo Roxb.)*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 317-20, xx (1958), 174.

Bibliography: The main items in the exiguous bibliography of Bashkardia are given by Bosworth in *art. cit.*, 11, n. 13; of special note are the works of Floyer and A. Gabriel, and most recently, of Gershevitch, *Travels in Bashkardia*, in *Jnal. of the Royal Central Asian Society*, xlvi (1959), 213-24, and F. Balsan, *Étrange Baloutchistan*, Paris 1969; Linguistic material was collected by Gershevitch, but has not yet been published *in toto.*; for sections of it so far accessible in print, see Bosworth, *art. cit.*, 13, n. 20.

(C.E. Bosworth)

BASHKUT, Djewād Fehmī, modern Turkish Cevat Fehmi Başkut, Turkish playwright and journalist (1905-71). He was born in Edirne and educated at an Istanbul high school, choosing journalism as his career when he was still a very young man. He began to write plays in the early 1940s and became very popular. Of his 23 plays, most of which were performed in the city theatre (*Şehir tiyatrosu*) of Istanbul, the best known are *Küçük şehir* ("Little town") 1946; *Paydos* ("Break") 1949; *Harput'ta bir Amerikalı* ("An American in Kharput") 1956; and *Buzlar çözülmeden* ("Before the thaw") 1964. His plays are sentimental and unsophisticated renderings of human dramas and comic situations, with an edifying approach. He writes in an easy style at times tending to be somewhat literary and pedantic.

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(Fahir İz)

BASQUES [see bashkunish].

BATRIYYA or **BUTRIYYA**, the pejorative designation for a group of moderate Shīʿīs in the time of Muḥammad al-Bāḳir (d. 117/735) and for the moderate wing of the early Zaydiyya [*q.v.*] who did not repudiate the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Their position was opposed to the more radical Shīʿī stand of the Djārūdiyya [*q.v.*], who considered ʿAlī the only legitimate immediate successor of the Prophet. The name is most often derived in the sources from the nickname *al-Abtar* of Kathīr al-Nawwāʾ and explained as referring to their "mutilating" (*batr*), either of the legitimate rights of the family of the Prophet, or of the recitation of the *basmala* in the prayer which they performed only with a subdued voice, or of the caliphate of ʿUthmān, which they repudiated for the last six years of his reign. The first of these explanations is clearly the most plausible one and points to an origin of the name in internal Shīʿī controversy.

Imāmī sources name the Kūfans Kathīr al-Nawwāʾ, Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣa (d. 137/754-5), al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba (d. 112/730 or 115/733), Salama b. Kuhayl (d. 122/740), and Abu ʾl-Miḳdād Thābit al-Ḥaddād as the chiefs of the Batriyya in the time of Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, and describe them as not recognising his full rank as *imām* and sole authority in religion and as criticising him for ambiguities in his teaching. ʿUmar b. Riyāḥ, who at first recognised the imāmate of al-Bāḳir, later also renounced him and joined the Batriyya after he had found al-Bāḳir contradicting a previous statement and proffering *taḳiyya* as an excuse.

Though only a few of the leaders of the Batriyya are expressly mentioned as participants in the rising of Zayd b. ʿAlī in 122/740, it may be assumed that the early Batriyya generally inclined towards supporting him, as his attitude toward the first caliphs was close to their own. The Zaydī Batriyya held that ʿAlī was the most excellent of men after the Prophet, but admitted the legitimacy of the imāmates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, since ʿAlī had voluntarily pledged allegiance to them. Concerning ʿUthmān, they either abstained from judgment or renounced him for the last six years of his reign. Unlike the Djārūdiyya, they did not ascribe a superior knowledge in religious matters to the descendants of ʿAlī, but accepted the *ḥadīth* transmitted in the Muslim community and admitted the use of individual reasoning (*idjtihād, raʾy*) in order to close gaps in the *Sharīʿa*. Thus they did not adopt the specifically Shīʿī theses in various points of the ritual and law and belonged to the traditionalist school of Kūfa in their *fiḳh* doctrine. A leader of the Batriyya in the revolts of Zayd and of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh (145/762-3) was the traditionist and *faḳīh* Hārūn b. Saʿīd al-ʿIdjlī, whose supporters, known as the ʿIdjliyya, were probably recruited from among his tribesmen. Equally prominent among the Zaydī Batriyya was the traditionist and theologian al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 168/784-5), who supported the candidacy of Zayd's son ʿĪsā to the imāmate and concealed him from the ʿAbbāsid authorities. ʿĪsā b. Zayd, in spite of his preference of the Shīʿī position in some ritual matters (see L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Divagazioni su due Rivolte Alidi*, in *A Francesco Gabrieli*, Rome 1964, 328 ff.), generally inclined to Batrī views. A son of al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy led a group of Kūfan Batriyya in the revolt of Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh in the mountains of Daylamān [see DAYLAM] (*ca.* 176/792), but was soon alienated by Yaḥyā, who, espousing strictly Shīʿī ritual, disapproved of some of his practices. Also to be counted among the chiefs of the Batriyya is the *kalām* theologian Sulaymān b. Djarīr al-Raḳḳī [*q.v.*], although his supporters were often mentioned as a group separate from the Batriyya. He participated in the debate about the imāmate in the circle of the Barmakids, and a community of his followers survived in ʿĀnāt for some decades. In the 3rd/9th century, the Batriyya quickly disintegrated as the Kūfan traditionalist school was absorbed in Sunnism, while within the Zaydiyya, the Djārūdī views concerning the imāmate prevailed and Zaydī *fiḳh* was elaborated on the basis of the doctrine of the family of the Prophet.

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(W. MADELUNG)

AL-**BATTĪ** [see ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-BATTĪ, in Suppl.].

BAWRAḲ (*būraḳ*) is natron, sesqui-carbonate of soda, a compound of various salts containing mainly sodium carbonate (soda). Derived from the Persian *būra*, the term does not indicate borax in the modern sense (Natrium biboracicum), but has given its name to it. The Arabic lexicographers know the *bawraḳ māʾī, b. djabalī, b. armanī, b. miṣrī* (= *naṭrūn*), *b. al-ṣāgha* ("borax of the goldsmiths", Chrysocolla), *b. al-khabbāzīn* (or: *al-khubz*) and *b. ifrīḳī*. Since unbiased elucidations of these terms are almost completely lacking, this enumeration is almost valueless. Al-Khwārazmī (*Mafātīḥ*, ed. van Vloten, 260) mentions, furthermore, the *bawraḳ zarāwandī* and also the *tinkār* which is made artificially; both are known as tincal until today. Further information about the nomenclature, also in other languages, is given in Moattar, *Ismāʿīl Ǧorǧānī* (see *Bibl.*). In his cosmography, Dimashḳī distinguishes between *bawraḳ* and *tinkār*; he says that both have a natural and an artificial kind and that both kinds of the latter were used in melting and purifying minerals (Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arab. Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, i, 713). The fact that there existed a class of borax-traders (*bawraḳī*) indicates that trade in these various sodium compounds required specialised knowledge. This trade was apparently lucrative: Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 346 (tr. Kramers-Wiet, ii, 339) mentions a borate (*milḥ al-bawraḳ*) which was delivered from Lake Van to the bakers in ʿIrāḳ and Mesopotamia (*bawraḳ al-khabbāzīn*, see above); this denomination comes from the bakers who used to coat the bread with borate dissolved in water before putting it into the furnace, in order to give it a prettier and more shiny appearance. The particularly valuable *bawraḳ al-ṣāgha* (see above) was exported with great profit from Kabudhān to ʿIrāḳ and Syria.

The books on mineralogy mention the numerous find-spots and kinds of *bawraḳ*. Like salt it is found either as a liquid in water or as a solid on the surface of the soil. It is white, grey or red, and causes all kinds of solid substances to melt. *Naṭrūn*, a kind of *bawraḳ*, cleanses the body and beautifies the skin; it is also used in chemistry as a reagent against impurities (J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1912, Arab. text 118, tr. 173).

In antiquity *bawraḳ* (*naṭrūn*) was known as νίτρον, which is different from our saltpetre (Nitrum). At that time, as in Islamic times and nowadays, it was gained from lakes which have no discharge, in which it was left behind as a gleaming crust as a result of evaporation. According to Ghassānī and Ibn al-Ḳuff (see *Bibl.*), *naṭrūn* is "Armenian borax", but they also say that the best *naṭrūn* comes from the Egyptian saltlakes. It was widely used in therapeutics, especially to treat skin-diseases like itching, scaly eruptions, scabies, pimples and boils, and also to cleanse fresh wounds. Dissolved in wine, honey or water, it purifies dirty and purulent sores. Taken internally, it has a loosening effect, softens the bowel motions and dispels flatulence. In al-Kindī's collection of prescriptions, it is an ingredient of various tooth-powders. Spread on the eyes, it removes the so-called hard white spot (*bayāḍ al-ʿayn al-ghalīẓ*); however, especially in the treatment of the eyes, quackery took possession of this substance (according to Djawbarī, *al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār*, cf. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 765 ff.).

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426 f.; *The medical formulary or Aqrābā*<u>*dh*</u>*īn of al-Kindī*, tr. M. Levey, Madison etc. 1966, 248; Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydala*, ed. H.M. Saʿīd, Karachi 1973, Arab. 102 f., and 363, tr. 79, 322; Ibn Biklāri<u>sh</u>, *Mustaʿīnī*, Ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz, iii, F. 65, fol. 25b.; Maimonides, <u>*Sh*</u>*arḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, no. 51; Ibn al-Bayṭār, <u>*Dj*</u>*āmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 125-7, tr. Leclerc, no. 381, with many quotations from sources.; <u>Gh</u>assānī, *Muʿtamad*, Beirut 1975, 41 f.; F. Moattar, *Ismāʿīl Ğorğānī und seine Bedeutung für die iranische Heilkunde insbesondere Pharmazie*, Marburg 1971, 299 f. (no. 135): *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansur . . . Harawi*, tr. A. Achundow, Halle 1893, 162 f., 316; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 92; Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xx, Ḥaydarābād 1387, 134-7; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, i, Būlāḳ, 267 f.; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Ta*<u>*dh*</u>*kira*, Cairo 1371, i, 87 f.; *El Libro Agregà de Serapiom*, ed. G. Ineichen, ii, Venice 1966, 77; H.G. Kircher, *Die "einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Bonn 1967, no. 39; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-ḥikma des ʿAlī ibn Sahl Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, no. 153; M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen-âge*, i-iii, 1893 (new impression 1967), with many references (see Indices).

(A. Dietrich)

BAYʿAT AL-RIḌWĀN, the name given to an oath exacted by the Prophet from some of his followers during the Medinan period.

During the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] in <u>Dh</u>u 'l-Ḳaʿda of the year 6 (March 628), a report reached Muḥammad that the Meccans had killed ʿU<u>th</u>mān b. ʿAffān, who had gone into Mecca to negotiate a truce. Muḥammad realised that he would lose face unless ʿU<u>th</u>mān's death was avenged, and summoned the members of the expedition to take an oath of allegiance to himself. There are different versions of the content of the oath. Some held it was a pledge not to flee; others that it was a pledge "to the death" (*ʿalā 'l-mawt*); and one man (Sinān) is said to have pledged himself to do "what was in Muḥammad's mind" (*ʿalā mā fī nafsika*). To fight the Meccans would have been very dangerous since the Muslims, as pilgrims, were lightly armed, and this was doubtless why Muḥammad asked for the pledge and why it is described as a pledge "not to flee" or "to the death". If the third version is correct, it indicates a formal increase in Muḥammad's autocratic power, which is known to have been increasing informally about this period. One man, al-<u>D</u>jadd b. Ḳays, refused to take the oath and appears to have shortly afterwards been deposed by Muḥammad from being chief of the Anṣārī clan of Salima. The incident is mentioned in Ḳurān, xlviii, 18: "God was well pleased (*raḍiya*) with the believers when they pledged themselves to you under the tree." From this is derived the name *Bayʿat al-riḍwān* which may be translated "the pledge of good pleasure" or "the pledge which pleased (God)". It is also known as "the pledge of the tree", and those who made the pledge here were later honoured as the *Aṣḥāb al-*<u>*shadj*</u>*ara*, "the men of the tree". It has been suggested that the tree might have been a sacred one in pre-Islamic times. At a later period, there was a mosque on the spot (Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, iii, 113 = *Ma*<u>*gh*</u>*āzī*, 35; Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 104).

Bibliography: Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 746; al-Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, ii, 603 f.; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 50 f., 234; A.J. Wensinck, etc. *Concordance*, s.v. *bāyaʿa*, *bayʿa*, <u>*shadj*</u>*ara*, etc.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

BAYHAḲĪ SAYYIDS, a religio-political group active in the political life of early Islamic Ka<u>sh</u>mīr. The Bayhaḳī Sayyids migrated to Ka<u>sh</u>mīr from Dihlī in the time of Sulṭān Sikandar (791-816/1389-1413), and played a very important part in the social and political life of the Valley until its conquest by the Mu<u>gh</u>als in 996/1588. Owing to their descent from Prophet Muḥammad, through his daughter Fāṭima, they were treated with great respect by the Sulṭāns, who gave them <u>*dj*</u>*āgīrs* and high offices and entered into matrimonial relations with them. At first they were unpopular and aroused both the anger and jealousy of the Ka<u>sh</u>mīrī nobles, because, conscious of their high birth, they behaved arrogantly and joined those elements who were critical of Hindū practices and ceremonies and wanted the enforcement of the <u>*Sh*</u>*arīʿa* and the Islamic way of life. But gradually they began to identify themselves with the aims and aspirations of the Ka<u>sh</u>mīrīs, who, thereupon, accepted them as their leaders on account of the abilities they displayed as soldiers and administrators.

The chronicles give such exaggerated accounts of the exploits of the Bayhaḳī Sayyids in Ka<u>sh</u>mīr that it is difficult to disengage fact from fiction. The first Bayhaḳī Sayyid, however, about whom any reliable evidence exists was Sayyid Muḥammad, who gave his daughter, Tā<u>dj</u> <u>Kh</u>ātūn, in marriage to Sulṭān Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (823-74/1420-70); and later his grandson, Sayyid Ḥasan, was married to the Sulṭān's daughter. On the death of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's son and successor Ḥaydar <u>Sh</u>āh (874-6/1470-72), Ḥasan <u>Sh</u>āh, who succeeded him, made Sayyid Ḥasan his *Wazīr*; and since Sayyid Ḥasan succeeded in setting up Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh, Ḥasan <u>Sh</u>āh's minor son, as Sulṭān in 889/1484, he continued as *Wazīr*. But his arrogance and his opposition to Hindū customs and practices aroused the anger of the Ka<u>sh</u>mīr nobles, who plotted against him, and early one morning they entered the fort of Naw<u>sh</u>ahr in Srīnagar, where they were holding court, and killed him and his thirteen followers. His two sons, Sayyid Hā<u>sh</u>im and Sayyid Muḥammad, who were not in the fort at the time, carried on the struggle against the enemies of their father, but they were defeated and exiled from the country along with their followers. But after two years the Sayyids were recalled, and under the leadership of Sayyid Muḥammad, they once again became active in the struggle for the throne between Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh and Fatḥ <u>Sh</u>āh, intriguing with and making alliances with different groups as suited their interests. In the end, Sayyid Muḥammad succeeded in 898/1493 in becoming *Wazīr* of Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh, but in 910/1505 he was defeated and killed by his rivals. This, however, did not demoralise the Sayyids. Instead, when Mīrzā Ḥaydar Du<u>gh</u>lāt established his power in Ka<u>sh</u>mīr (948-58/1541-51), Sayyid Ibrāhīm, the son of Sayyid Muḥammad, joined the Ka<u>sh</u>mīr nobles in overthrowing him.

Under the Čak Sulṭāns also, the Bayhaḳī Sayyids continued to play an important part. ʿĀlī <u>Sh</u>āh Čak (978-86/1570-78) appointed Sayyid Mubārak the son of Sayyid Ibrāhīm as *Wazīr*, and took his advice on all important matters. But on Alī <u>Sh</u>āh's death, Sayyid Mubārak set aside the latter's son Yūsuf <u>Sh</u>āh on grounds of incompetence and declared himself Sulṭān (986/1578). Yet, after a few months he was overthrown by the nobles, who were

denied by him any share in the government. In spite of this, he joined Yaʿḳūb Shāh, Yūsuf Shāh's son and successor, in the struggle against the Mughal armies sent by the Emperor Akbar to conquer Kashmīr. Finding resistance to the Mughals fruitless, he submitted to the Mughal commander Ḳāsim Khān Mīr Baḥr on 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 994/9 December 1586, and was sent to Āgra. Akbar wanted Sayyid Mubārak to accompany Yūsuf Khān Riḍwī, who was ordered by him to proceed to Kashmīr to relieve Ḳāsim Khān. But Sayyid Mubārak refused; so he was imprisoned and sent to Bengal. His son, Abu 'l-Maʿālī, also fought side by side with Yaʿḳūb Shāh against the Mughals, but he was taken prisoner. This was the end of the significant role which the Bayhaḳī Sayyids had played for over 150 years of Kashmīr history.

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BAYRAḲ [see ʿALAM].

AL-**BAZDAWĪ** [see AL-NASAFĪ].

BEDOUINS [see BADW].

BEERSHEBA [see BĪR AL-SABʿ].

BEHZĀD. [see BIHZĀD].

BEKAA. [see BIḲĀʿ].

BELOMANCY [see ISTIḲSĀM].

BELUCHISTAN. [see BALŪCISTAN].

BENĪ MELLĀL, formerly Ḳaṣaba Benī Mellāl (from the name of the tribe living around it), or sometimes Ḳaṣaba B. Kush, a town of Morocco roughly equidistant from Casablanca, Marrakesh and Fās. It lies on one of the slopes of the Dīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.], at an altitude of 620 m./1,980 feet, in this piedmont region between the Middle Atlas and the wide, historic plain of the Tādlā, of which it has recently become the official chef-lieu.

The town is built around the fortress or *ḳaṣaba* built towards 1099/1688 by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, restored in the 19th century by Mawlāy Sulaymān and since once again restored. The Vauclusian spring of Asardūn to the south of the town leads one to think that Benī Mellāl, like all the other centres of the Dīr, e.g. Aghmāt, Damnāt [*q.vv.*], etc., goes back to ancient times, but no traces of prehistoric life have as yet been discovered there. It is possible that Benī Mellāl is Ḥiṣn Daī, the little capital which Yaḥyā b. Idrīs inherited in the 3rd/9th century at the time of the division of his father's kingdom. It is mentioned by the Arab geographers as a fortress and an important market centre. In 534/1140 or 535/1141 it was occupied by the Almohads.

The demographic explosion of the town has been remarkable. In 1918 it had an estimated 3,000 inhabitants; now it has 60,000, and the increase between the 1952 and 1960 censuses has been 81%. This undoubtedly stems from its administrative role today, one of the results of agricultural development of the great alluvial plain of the Tādlā or else of the very important hydraulic reservoir works and irrigations improvements made over the last 30 years. Benī Mellāl's importance has grown still further from its role as a market centre for provisions of the Berber tribes in the Middle Atlas valleys, and also those of the central Grand Atlas (especially the Wādī Tadghat). A very lively fair is held in the town centre every week, where curious coverlets of thin rugs (*ḥanbal*) in gaudy and evanescent shades of colour are sold, and are much appreciated.

Superb gardens, rich olive-groves and flourishing orchards of mulberry trees, oranges and pomegranates, extend as far as the scarp out of which gush six abundant and pure springs of water. In the midst of this oasis is the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Aḥmad b. Ḳāsim, whose minaret is attributed to the great Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tashfīn (it is more probable that it was the work of his grandson Tashfīn, who passed through Benī Mellāl before going on to die in Orania). The town has now become a centre for tourist excursions into the mountains, and has promise of a great future.

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BESTIARY [see ḤAYAWĀN].

THE **BEYOND** [see ĀKHIRA].

AL-**BIBLĀWĪ**, ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, 26th *shaykh* of al-Azhar. He was born in the village of Biblāw near Dayrūṭ in Upper Egypt in Radjab 1251/November 1835. After a period of study and teaching at al-Azhar [*q.v.*], he was employed at the Khedivial Library and became its Director (*nāẓir*) for a short period in 1881 and 1882. In the wake of the ʿUrābī insurrection in 1882, he was removed from this office, to which he had been appointed thanks to the help of his friend Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī [*q.v.*], one of the insurrection's principal protagonists. Subsequently he held the office of *khaṭīb*, and from 2 Ṣafar 1311/14 August 1893 onwards the office of *shaykh khidma* of the Ḥusayn mosque in Cairo. In addition to the latter office he was appointed *naḳīb al-ashrāf* [*q.v.*] on 6 Shawwāl 1312/1 April 1895, following the abdication of the former *naḳīb*, Muḥammad Tawfīḳ al-Bakrī [*q.v.*]. During his term of office, which was to last until the end of 1320/March 1902, a set of regulations was promulgated, the so-called *lāʾiḥat niḳābat al-ashrāf* (cf. *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*, 17 June 1895, no. 67), which made the incumbent to this office virtually an official within the Ministry of *Waḳfs* and a subordinate to its *nāẓir*. His appointment as *shaykh* of al-Azhar on 2 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1320/1 March 1903 in succession to Salīm al-Bishrī, who had been deposed because of his efforts to frustrate implementation of the reforms provided for in the law of 20 Muḥarram 1314/1 July 1896, was the result of a compromise between the Khedive and his ministers, who had originally favoured other candidates. Only two years later, on 9 Muḥarram 1323/15 March 1905, he found himself compelled to resign when his inability to deal with the obstruction of his efforts to implement reforms had reduced his authority to a unacceptably low level. He died shortly afterwards on 30 December 1905.

Bibliography: Biographies may be found in Aḥmad Taymūr, *Tarādjim aʿyān al-ḳarn al-thālith ʿashar wa-awāʾil al-rābiʿ ʿashar*, Cairo 1940, 81-5; and Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Biblāwī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Ḥusaynī*, Cairo 1324, 57 ff.; The biographies by Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, v, 171 f., and by Muḥammad Zakī Mudjāhid, *al-Aʿlām al-sharḳiyya*, Cairo 1950, ii, 140, are mainly based upon Taymūr's. For additional data see ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī, *Taʾrīkh al-iṣlāḥ fi 'l-Azhar wa-ṣafaḥāt min al-djihād fi 'l-iṣlāḥ*, Cairo n.d., 67 f.; and Aḥmad Shafīḳ, *Mudhakkirātī fī niṣf ḳarn*,

Cairo 1936, ii, part 1, 214; part 2, 65 f.; *Aʿmāl Madjlis Idārat al-Azhar min ibtidāʾ taʾsīsihi sana 1312 ilā ghāyat sana 1322*, Cairo 1323/1905-6, 119 ff. gives an overview of the controversies and disturbances which occurred in al-Azhar during al-Biblāwī's term of office and the way in which he dealt with these. His *al-Anwār al-ḥusayniyya ʿalā risālat al-musalsil al-amīriyya*, Cairo 1305/1887-8, was a text studied at al-Azhar; cf. *al-Azhar fī 12 ʿām^an^*, Cairo n.d. (1965).

(F. de Jong)

BIBLIOMANCY [see kurʿa].

BIGHĀʾ, the Ḳurʾānic term (XXIV, 33) for prostitution. "Prostitute" is rendered by *baghiyy* (pl. *baghāyā*), *mūmis* (pl. *-āt, mayāmis/mayāmīs, mawāmis/mawāmīs*), *ʿāhira* (pl. *ʿawāhir*), *zāniya* (pl. *zawānī*). etc.; a more vulgar term, although we have here a euphemism, is *ḳaḥba* (pl. *ḳiḥāb*), which the lexicographers attach to the verb *ḳaḥaba* "to cough", explaining that professional prostitutes used to cough in order to attract clients.

Although M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (*Mahomet*², Paris 1969, 48) saw in the legend of Isāf and Nāʾila [*q.v.*] the "reminiscence of sacred prostitution", no such custom seems to have existed amongst the pagan Arabs; T. Fahd considers moreover that the legend in question is edifying in its aim and "has as its intention putting pilgrims on guard against sacred prostitution as it was practised in the Syrian temples". However, it is quite possible that vestiges of pagan ceremonies continued sporadically in islamised regions, in particular, amongst certain Berber tribes.

In any case, pre-Islamic Arabia certainly was familiar with the world's oldest profession which was, at least in the larger centres of population, carried on by free women, spinsters, widows or divorced women, reduced by misery to trafficking in their own bodies, but mainly by slaves "working" for their masters. These women were recognisable, as elsewhere, by the banners which they flew at the doors of their dwellings; they accepted all comers as clients; if they produced a child, the latter was entrusted to the official responsibility of the man whom the physiognomists (*ḳāfa* [see kiyāfa]) designated as the father, the latter not having the right to refuse. These items of information are given, on the authority of ʿĀʾisha, by al-Bukhārī (*Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Nikāḥ, bāb* 36, vii, 19-20; tr. O. Houdas, *Les traditions islamiques*, iii, 565-6), who mentions the preceding usages as one of the three forms of *nikāḥ* forbidden by the Prophet, the two others being the *istibḍāʿ* and a kind of polyandry. *Istibḍāʿ* consisted of a man who feared that he himself could not sire a robust offspring placing his wife in the hands of a better progenitor. In the *nikāḥ al-rahṭ*, the woman in question takes a group of husbands (less than ten) and, if she has a child, attributes the paternity to one of this group, who is unable to refuse it. Al-Bukhārī does not in this passage cite temporary marriage, *mutʿa* [*q.v.*], which was likewise prohibited. In his *K. al-Bukhalāʾ* (ed. Ḥādjirī, 112, tr. Pellat, 179), al-Djāḥiẓ uses the expression *zawdj nahārī* "husband by day", the sense of which is hard to determine, but may allude to a very fleeting type of temporary marriage.

A form of more or less disguised prostitution was always the fate of the lower level of singing girls [see ḳayna] attached to haunts of pleasure and taverns (it should be noted that the modern Arabic term for "brothel", *mākhūr*, comes from Persian *māy-khūr* "wine-drinker"). It was indeed a tavern-keeper (*khammār*) who is said to have procured for Abū Sufyān the woman who was to give birth to Ziyād b. Abīhi; the traditions concerning the recognition of the latter's collateral affiliation (*istilḥāḳ*) by Muʿāwiya reveal the existence in al-Ṭāʾif of a quarter of the courtesans (*ḥārat al-baghāyā*) inhabited in particular by slave girls belonging to the famous "physician of the Arabs", al-Ḥārith b. Kalada [*q.v.* below], to whom they had to pay a tax (see e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 21 ff. = §§ 1778 ff.), as was the usual practice for slaves working on their own account or employed by third parties. The Medinan ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*] is also said to have practised this same form of exploitation, this being allegedly the origin (see the Ḳurʾān commentaries on xxiv, 33; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xviii, 132-4, al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, xii, 254-5, etc.) of the verse condemning this practice: "And do not constrain your maidservants (*fatayāt*) to prostitution (*bighāʾ*), if they wish to live in reputable marriage (*taḥaṣṣun*), in order that you may seek the chance gains of this present life; if anyone compels them thus [he will bear the sole responsibility for it], for God, who is merciful and compassionate, will pardon them after compulsion has been laid upon them". Thus the Ḳurʾān does not expressly condemn prostitution, and is content to forbid any woman being compelled to practise it.

For his part, the Prophet must certainly have spoken about the prostitutes, examples of whom he must have seen in Mecca and Medina (see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v. *baghiyy*, i, 204), but the most significant *ḥadīth* seems to be the one in which he forbids payment for the services (if the word *mahr* is correctly interpreted here) of the prostitute and the gains (*kasb*) from prostitution (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Ṭalāḳ, bāb* 51; tr. Houdas, iii, 642). It was a roundabout way of prohibiting what was considered as a dishonourable activity, but one in the end adjudged by posterity as a necessary evil.

In practice, despite pious persons who inveighed from time to time against an institution which was regarded as incompatible with Muslim ethics, prostitution has always flourished in Muslim lands, keeping itself, under necessity, discreet, as in Fās, where at certain periods the police authorities suppressed it severely, shaving the heads of women thus misbehaving, parading them through the streets of the town and then expelling them, and insisting on their being buried in a special part of the cemetery (R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 580). This seems to have been a special case, and the severity does not always seem to have been completely successful. Although travellers and historians are sparing of details, there are pieces of information testifying to the existence of more or less freelance prostitutes as well as the existence of brothels in the various Islamic cities. Thus al-Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 407) saw a brothel at Sūs, near the mosque, whilst Leo Africanus speaks of taverns at Fās with whores residing in them (tr. Épaulard, 191) and prostitution at Tunis (385). According to al-Ḳifṭī (*Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 298), the *muḥtasib* of Latakia put up for auction the favours of the public women and issued to the successful bidders a ring which they had to show if they were met at night with one of the women.

Indeed, at all times prostitution was not merely tolerated but even recognised officially and very often was subject to a tax payable to the public treasury. At Fās, the headman of the quarter had the task of supervising the courtesans and of prevent-

ing disorders, but in general, it was the *muḥtasib* who fulfilled this function (see P. Chalmeta, *El "señor del zoco" en Espana*, Madrid 1973, index, s.v. prostitutas). However, the manuals of *ḥisba* do not mention the existence of a precise regulatory scheme, and Ibn ʿAbdūn, for instance, is content to forbid the denizens of places of public resort to show themselves bareheaded outside the house (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispaniques de ḥisba*, Cairo 1955; idem, *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947, § 168). In al-Andalus, the tax imposed on them was curiously called *kharādj* ("land tax" [*q.v.*]) and the brothels called *dār al-kharādj* (or *dār al-banāt*), whilst the prostitutes themselves were called *kharādjiyyāt* (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 207, where the text should be corrected) or even *kharādjayrāt* (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 445-6). It is further known that ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] imposed a tax on the whores of Fārs (al-Muḳaddasī, 441) and that the Fāṭimids did likewise in Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 89).

As in many other lands, various categories of women might be distinguished. At the bottom of the scale were the somewhat wretched women who hired rooms in caravanserais by the town gates or near the centre, and in addition to the rent, paid a due to the keeper of the caravanserai; but there were also procurers who brought them clients, mainly strangers visiting the town; peasants, seasonal workers, soldiers, etc. Some of these women certainly sank to the level of the rogues and vagabonds whose various activities have been described by C.E. Bosworth in his *The mediaeval Islamic underworld* (Leiden 1976, 2 vols.). At a higher level, brothels proper catered for a more affluent clientele. As in pre-Islamic al-Ṭāʾif, special quarters were reserved for prostitution, which the authorities were thereby more easily able to control. This system has remained down to our own time, and a visit to these localities, which are sometimes picturesque, may even be recommended to tourists, male and female, by guides and travel agents; this is especially the case in regard to Bousbir (< Prosper) at Casablanca and the street of "dancing girls" of the Ouled Naïl at Bou Saada (Algeria).

The practice of early marriage among the Muslims, who can take four legitimate wives and as many concubines as they can afford to keep, ought in the natural course of things to have set bounds to venal love-making. However, many young men from the modest levels of society were unable to find their sexual initiation otherwise than by recourse to prostitutes, and legal marriage entailed financial burdens which men from the masses of people were not always in a position to undertake, especially if they had to migrate away from their original home. Furthermore, the Ḳurʾānic prohibition could always be easily circumvented by procurers and procuresses lured on by the prospect of gain, whilst the easy facilities for husbands in regard to the repudiation of their wives [see ṬALĀḲ] threw on to the streets women who did not always have the possibility of returning to their families.

Bibliography: There does not seem to have been produced any monograph on prostitution in mediaeval Islam. In the list of writings of Abu ʾl-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī [*q.v.* above] a *K. Nawādir al-ḳuwwād* (?) and a *K. al-Rāḥa, wa-manāfiʿ al-ḳiyāda*, which may possibly have dealt with pimps, are to be found, but these have not survived. In addition to sources cited in the article, see A. Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 361-4; A. Mazahéri, *La vie quotidienne des Musulmans au moyen âge*, Paris 1947, 64-5; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 557-9 and index; al-Markaz al-ḳawmī li ʾl-buḥūth al-idjtimāʿiyya, *al-Bighāʾ fī ʾl-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1961; a fairly well-developed study by a sociologist is that of A. Bouhdiba, *La sexualité en Islam*, Paris 1975, 228-39 and the bibl. cited there. On male prostitution, see LIWĀṬ. (ED.)

BIHBIHĀNĪ, ĀḲĀ SAYYID MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR, Shīʿī *mudjtahid* and proponent of the Uṣūlī [*q.v.*] *madhhab*, often entitled Waḥīd-i Bihbihānī or Muḥaḳḳiḳ-i Bihbihānī, and commonly regarded by his Shīʿī contemporaries as the "renewer" (*mudjaddid*) of the 12th Hidjrī century. He was born in Iṣfahān some time between the years 1116/1704-5 and 1118/1706-7. After a brief period spent in Bihbihān, he was taken to Karbalāʾ by his father, Mullā Muḥammad Akmal, whose principal student he became, while studying also under Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳummī. Mullā Muḥammad Akmal had studied under Mullā Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, the great divine who had dominated Iranian Shīʿism in the late 11th/17th century, and had also married his niece. The young Bihbihānī, who came to exercise a similar dominant role at the end of the 12th/18th century, was thus both spiritually and genealogically related to Madjlisī. It is related that after completing his studies in Karbalāʾ, Bihbihānī intended to leave the city, but was dissuaded from doing so by the appearance of the *Imām* Ḥusayn to him in a dream, instructing him to stay (Muḥammad Bāḳir Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa ʾl-sādāt*, Tehran 1304/1887, 122). In obedience to the dream, he stayed on, and engaged in fierce controversy with adherents of the Akhbārī school of *fiḳh*, which at that time was predominant in Karbalāʾ as well as the other *ʿatabāt* [see AKHBĀRIYYA above]. The controversy between the Akhbārīs and the Uṣūlīs, centering on various questions of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and particularly on the permissibility of *idjtihād*, was an ancient one, but had become particularly acute in the late Ṣafawid period and the middle part of the 12th/18th century. Before the appearance of Bihbihānī, the Akhbārīs were so assured in their dominance of the *ʿatabāt* that anyone carrying with him books of Uṣūlī *fiḳh* was obliged to cover them up for fear of provoking attack. By the end of his life, however, Bihbihānī had been able almost completely to uproot Akhbārī influence from the *ʿatabāt* and to establish the Uṣūlī position as normative for all of the Twelver Shīʿa. He accomplished this change partly by debate, polemic and the composition of written refutations of the Akhbārī school, the most important of which was *Kitāb al-idjtihād wa ʾl-akhbār*. Hardly less effective was the demonstration of the prerogatives of *mudjtahid* that he provided. One of his pupils, Shaykh Djaʿfar Nadjafī (d. 1227/1812), records that he was constantly accompanied by a number of armed men who would immediately execute any judgement that he passed. The example that he thus gave was to be followed by numerous Iranian *ʿulamāʾ* of the Ḳādjār period. Another target of Bihbihānī's hostility was the Niʿmatallāhī Ṣūfī order; such was the enmity that he nurtured for them that he gained the title of *ṣūfīkush* (Ṣūfī-killer). He died in 1206/1791-2 or 1208/1793-4, and was buried near the tomb of the *Imām* Ḥusayn in Karbalāʾ. Bihbihānī is credited with more than sixty works; the titles of twenty of them are listed in Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, new ed., Tabriz n.d., i, 52, and a further fourteen

titles are preserved in autograph in the library of Bihbihānī's descendants in Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh (see Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-<u>sh</u>īʿa*, Beirut 1378/1959, xliv, 96). It is said that his writings on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* were compiled into a single work by one of his pupils, Sayyid Mahdī Ḳazwīnī. The number of his pupils was very large; among the most influential we may mention his sons, Āḳā Muḥammad ʿAlī, who settled in Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh and inherited his father's violent hatred of the Ṣūfīs, and Āḳā ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn; <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> <u>Dj</u>aʿfar Na<u>dj</u>afī, author of a number of important works on Uṣūlī *fiḳh*; and three *mu<u>dj</u>tahid*s who dominated the life of Iṣfahān in the first quarter of the 19th century—Ḥā<u>dj</u><u>dj</u> Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Kalbāsī, Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir <u>Sh</u>aftī, and Sayyid Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm. But his influence extended far beyond the generation of *mu<u>dj</u>tahid*s he trained; through his theoretical vindication of the Uṣūlī position and his practical demonstration of the function of *mu<u>dj</u>tahid*, he was in effect the ancestor of all those *mu<u>dj</u>tahid*s who have sought since his time to assert a guiding role in Iranian society.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Tunukābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehran 1304/1887, 147-8; Muḥammad Bāḳir <u>Kh</u>ʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-<u>dj</u>annāt* 123; ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad Riḍā Ḳummī, *Hadiyat al-aḥbāb*, Na<u>dj</u>af 1349/1930, 100; Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, i, 51-2; Muḥammad ʿAlī Bīdābādī, *Makārim al-ā<u>th</u>ār dar aḥwāl-i ri<u>dj</u>āl-i dawra-yi ḳā<u>dj</u>ār*, Iṣfahān 1337/1958, i, 220-5; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-<u>sh</u>īʿa*, xliv, 94-6; Muḥammad Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ri<u>dj</u>āl fī tarā<u>dj</u>im al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-udabāʾ*, Na<u>dj</u>af 1384/1964, i, 121-3; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1785-1906: the role of the Ulama in the Qajar period*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1969, 34-6; ʿAlī Dawwānī, *Ustād-i kull Āḳā Muḥammad Bāḳir Bihbihānī b. Muḥammad Akmal maʿrūf ba Waḥīd-i Bihbihānī*, Ḳumm n.d.; H. Algar, *Religious forces in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, vii, ch. xiv (forthcoming).

(H. Algar)

BIHRANGĪ, Ṣamad, Persian prosewriter (1939-68). Bihrangī's birth in a lower-class, Turkish-speaking family in Tabrīz and his eleven-years' employment as a primary schoolteacher in rural Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān are attested in the greater part of his *fārsī* writings. These, both fictional and non-fictional, largely deal with village life in his native province and with the specific problems of a cultural minority region. His concern for the plight of Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ānī peasant youth prompted a series of educational essays, as well as some twenty children's stories, the chief foundation of his present fame. Notable for their "ideological" content rather than for strictly literary merits, Bihrangī's children's stories no longer recommend the conventional virtues of obedience, cleanliness and modesty, but aim at imparting "a correct view of the dark, bitter realities of adult society". Accordingly, his stories picture the needy, powerless village children, their search for freedom and their revolt against ignorant parents, local landlords or urban aristocracy. The political commitment felt in most of these stories contributed to Bihrangī's considerable popularity among the dissident intelligentsia; at the same time, it gave rise to an increasingly restrictive censorship of his writings by the Iranian authorities and to a vast wave of rumours at his sudden death in September 1968, reportedly a drowning accident. More explicit views on society and literature are present in Bihrangī's essays, notably the insistence on straightforward, firmly committed writing and contempt for the "defeatist pseudo-intellectualism" of westernised Tehran. The tenets of his educational criticism are roughly similar to those earlier voiced by the author Āl-i Aḥmad [*q.v.* above], both a schoolteacher and a writer like himself; rejecting the unquestioned adoption of American teaching methods and finding the current textbooks inapplicable in a classroom with Azeri Turkish-speaking pupils, Bihrangī designed an alternative "textbook for village children": the completed but yet unpublished *Alif-bā barā-yi kūdakān-i rūstāʾī*.

Bibliography: The greater part of Bihrangī's writings first appeared in newspapers and periodicals under various pseudonyms, such as Ṣād, Ḳārānḳū<u>sh</u>, Bihrang, Bābak, etc. Thirteen of his children's stories were posthumously collected in *Ma<u>dj</u>mūʿa-yi ḳiṣṣahā*, Tabrīz 1348 <u>sh</u>., which also contains a chapter on *Adabiyyāt-i kūdakān* (originally published as part of a review-article in *Rahnamā-yi Kitāb* xi (1347-53 sh.), 48-5), outlining the author's conception of children's literature. Not included in this volume are his most successful story, the internationally awarded *Māhī-yi siyāh-i kūčulū*, separately published in Tehran 1347 <u>sh</u>., and the collection *Tal<u>kh</u>ūn wa čand ḳiṣṣa-i dīgar*, Tehran 1349 <u>sh</u>. A number of his educational essays appeared as *Kand-u-kāw dar masāʾil-i tarbiyatī-yi Īrān*, Tabriz 1344 <u>sh</u>.[2], while other articles on various subjects were posthumously edited as *Ma<u>dj</u>mūʿa-yi maḳālahā*, Tabrīz 1348 <u>sh</u>.; this collection contains several chapters on Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ānī culture and language, including the four articles listed in Af<u>sh</u>ār's *Index iranicus* ii, Tehran 1348 <u>sh</u>., 84, 415. An anthology of translated folktales was separately edited in collaboration with B. Dihḳānī: *Afsānahāyi Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān*, i: Tabrīz 1344 <u>sh</u>., ii: Tehran 1347 <u>sh</u>. Finally, Bihrangī prepared some Persian translations from modern Turkish poetry and prose.

A valuable secondary source is the special Bihrangī issue of *Āra<u>sh</u>*, ii/5 (Ā<u>dh</u>ar 1347 <u>sh</u>.).; for additional information, cf. ʿA.A. Darwī<u>sh</u>iyān's short monograph *Ṣamad <u>dj</u>āwidāna <u>sh</u>ud*, Tehran 1352 <u>sh</u>.[2] and G.R. Sabri-Tabrizi, *Human values . . .*, in *Correspondance d'Orient*, xi (1970), 411-8. Bihrangī's political role as a "totally involved revolutionary artist" is stressed by Th. Ricks in *The little black fish and other modern stories*, Washington, D.C. 1976, 95-126; his folklore studies are passingly mentioned by L.P. Elwell-Sutton in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, Edinburgh 1971, 253-4; Of the children's stories, a German translation has appeared in B. Nirumand ed., *Feuer unterm Pfauenthron*, Berlin 1974, 19-35; English translations include two different renderings of *Māhī-yi siyāh . . .* in *The Literary Review*, xviii/1 (Rutherford, N.J. 1974), 69-84, and in *The little black fish . . .*, *op. cit.*, 1-19. For other translated stories, cf. M.C. Hillmann, ed., *Major voices in contemporary Persian literature*, and M.A. Jazayeri, ed., *Literature East and West*.

(G.J.J. de Vries)

BINN, a term of the Druze religion. In this, the Binn were conceived of as one of a number of earlier races or sects whose names are also mentioned in the Druze writings, such as the Rimm and the Ṭimm. The Binn were said to have been a group of inhabitants of Ha<u>dj</u>ar in the Yemen who believed in the message of <u>Sh</u>aṭnīl, the incarnation of Ḥamza

in the Age of Adam. According to the Druzes, the city was originally called Ṣurna (meaning "Miracle" according to Ḥamza), and Shaṭnīl came there from India. He called on the people to renounce polytheism and worship al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh [*q.v.*] as their sole deity. Those who accepted his message he commanded to "be separate" (*yabīnūn*) from the polytheists; as a consequence they were known as al-Binn. This etymology is clearly unsatisfactory, and it is possible that a Persian origin should be sought for this term.

One of the Druze *dāʿīs*, al-Ḥārith b. Tirmāḥ of Iṣfahān refused to obey Shaṭnīl, and was expelled from the number of the *dāʿīs*, being dubbed "Iblīs". He became the *imām* of the polytheists in Ṣurna (the *djinn* in the Druze account). When one of the Binn met another, he would say: "Flee from (*uhdjur*) Iblīs and his party!". As a result, Ṣurna acquired the name of Hadjar.

Bibliography: H. Guys, *Théogonie des Druses*, Paris 1863, 35 and n. 70, 104; C.F. Seybold, *Die Drusenschrift: Kitāb Alnoqaṭ waldawāir. Das Buch der Punkte und Kreise*, Kirchhain 1902, 71; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Ṭāʾifat al-Durūz*, Cairo 1962, 116; D.R.W. Bryer, *The Origins of the Druze Religion*, in *Isl.*, liii (1976), 8.

(R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young)

BISĀṬ (a.), pls. *busṭ/busuṭ*, *absiṭa*, which implies the general meaning of extensiveness (thus in Ḳurʾān, LXXI, 18), is a generic term for carpet, more specifically, one of fairly large dimensions. Any kind of carpet with a pile is called a *ṭinfisa*; if it is decorated with multicoloured bands, a *zarbiyya* (*zirbiyya*, *zurbiyya*, pl. *zarābī*; cf. Ḳurʾān, LXXXVIII, 16); if it is decorated with a relief design, a *maḥfūra*; whilst a prayer carpet is called a *sadjdjāda* (modern Turkish *seccade*), and the collective *sadjdjād* is sometimes used as a generic term (on the numerous Arabic terms, see W.H. Worrell, *On certain Arabic terms for "rug"*, in *Ars Islamica*, i (1934), 219-22, ii (1935), 65-8). The word *kilīm*, applied to a woollen rug generally long and narrow in shape, is often taken to be of Turkish origin (see e.g. Lokotsch, No. 1176), but seems rather to be Iranian (Persian *gilīm*). Sumak, not far from Bakū, and the districts of Verne and Sile in the southern Caucasus, have given their name to a type of flatwoven carpets. The etymology of *ḳālī* (vars. *ghālī*, *khālī*, modern Turkish *hali*) is unclear; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 20, remarks that the carpets (*busuṭ*) called *ḳālī* are manufactured at Ḳālīḳalā (= Erzerum [*q.v.*]), but since this word was difficult to pronounce, the *nisba* has been shortened. Although this particular term is generally considered to be Turkish in origin, it is unattested in ancient Turkish texts; it is, however, used by Gardīzī [*q.v.*] and may therefore be of Iranian origin (detailed study in Doerfer, No. 1405).

(Ed.)

i. Carpets of the central and eastern Islamic lands

1. Technique

For the manufacture of oriental carpets, sheep's wool, cotton, silk, goat-hair and camel-hair are used, which are prepared, spun and partly wound. The foundation consists of warp-threads (Fr.: *chaîne*, Ger.: *Kette*) stretched the length of the loom, and weft-threads (Fr.: *trame*, Ger.: *Schüsse*) run in horizontally. For knotted carpets which form the bulk of the products, one or several weft rows are inserted between knot rows, the latter forming the pile. In Turkey, the Caucasus and the regions of northwestern Persia inhabited by the Kurds, the Turkish or Gördes knot (so called after the Turkish town of Gördes [*q.v.*]), has been commonly used. But whilst the Persian or Senneh-knot (so-called after the Persian town of Senneh, today called Sanandadj [*q.v.*]) is commonly associated with Persia, India and Turkestan, the Gördes knot is also found in Persian rugs and the commonly-accepted geographical demarcation must be treated with reserve (for diagrams of these two knots see *IA*, v/1, 137). Kilims, and Sumak, Verne and Sile rugs are flat woven, with no pile. Until aniline and chromate dyes were introduced in the eighties of the 19th century, only natural dyes were used (see C.E.C. Tattersall, *Notes on carpet-knotting and weaving*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1961; A.N. Landreau and W.R. Pickering, *From the Bosporus to Samarkand, flat-woven rugs*, The Textile Museum, Washington 1969).

2. History

a. Early Stages

The oldest known knotted carpet was discovered in 1949 in the tomb of a local prince in Pazyryk, in the Altai Mountains. By means of other finds in the tomb, it may be dated to the 4th century B.C. There are as yet no indications as to the place of its manufacture, but the suggestion of its manufacture in Achaemenid Persia has been put forward. Its technique (3,600 Turkish knots to the square decimetre) and its design, in Achaemenid style, are of a remarkable perfection; it is one of, and the most important of, the three extant pieces of evidence for a highly-developed art of knotting of this early date. It shows in a developed form the composition of a central field surrounded by borders, which consist of a wide main border and several subsidiary or guard borders, characteristic of all oriental carpets.

Very small fragments of carpets, conjecturally dated between the 3rd and 6th centuries A.D., were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein during his Turfan expeditions (at Lop Nor). These, however, are not knotted carpets but napped fabrics, in which the pile is produced by the wefts, introduced first as loops and later split (see A. Stein, *Ruins of desert Cathay*, London 1912, 380, plate 116, 4). The "Spanish knot", on the other hand, always tied around a single warp, is used in a fragment discovered by Le Coq in Kucha during the fourth Turfan expedition, the earliest possible date of which is the 5th-6th century (see F. Sarre, *Ein frühes Knüpfteppich-Fragment aus chinesisch-Turkestan*, in *Berliner Museen* (1920-1), 110). The piece is too small and the design too faint to permit any conclusions about the carpets of this period. The many small fragments of knotted carpets from Fusṭāṭ can hardly be dated (see M.S. Dimand, *An early cut-pile rug from Egypt*, in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, iv (1933), 151 ff.; S.Y. Rudenko, *The world's oldest knotted carpets and fabrics*, Moscow 1968 (in Russian); R.B. Serjeant, *Material for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, ix (1942), 54 and xv-xvi (1951), 29).

b. Turkey

Konya carpets.

The development of oriental knotted carpets can be traced to a certain extent only from the 7th/13th century onwards. The oldest coherent group comes from Anatolia. In 1907 F.R. Martin discovered three large and several small fragments in the

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque at Konya, to which were given the generic name "Konya carpets". Shortly afterwards, smaller fragments of the same type were found in the Eşrefoğlu mosque at Beyşehir. The date of the enlargement of the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque, 1218-20, provides a date *post quem* for these carpets, but they do not necessarily belong to the 7th/13th century. Their designs and technical execution are simple and the knots are not very close. Where they survive, the borders with their heavy Kūfic character or large stars predominate over the inner motifs, which have small, all-over, repeat patterns. See F.R. Martin, *A history of oriental carpets before 1800*, i, 113, ii, plate xxx; K. Erdmann, *Siebenhundert Jahre Orientteppich*, Herford 1966, 117; R.M. Riefstahl, *Primitive rugs of the "Konya" type in the mosque of Beyshehir*, in *The Art Bulletin*, xiii/2 (1931), 16 ff.; E. Kühnel, *Islamic art and architecture*, London 1966, 94 and Pl. 37b; and Pl. I.

Anatolian animal carpets.

The styles of Anatolian carpets of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries are attested by reproductions in Italian paintings of the period. They are characterised by a series of square or octagonal motifs filled with stylised animals. The best known fragment of such a carpet, which is in the Islamic Museum of Berlin, shows on a yellow ground two octagons, set in squares, in which are found a dragon and a phoenix, the pair borrowed from Chinese mythology (Kühnel, *Islamic art...*, 109-10 and pl. 42b). A fresco of Domenico di Bartolo, dated between 1440 and 1444, shows a carpet with a corresponding motif treated in an almost similar way. Another carpet from a church in Marby, preserved in the Statens Historiska Museet in Stockholm, is closely connected in design, technique and colouring with the Berlin fragment. See C.J. Lamm, *The Marby rug and some fragments of carpets found in Egypt*, in *Svenska Orientsällskapets Årsbok*, 1937, 51 ff.; K. Erdmann, *Der Türkische Teppich des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Istanbul n.d. [1957]; R. Ettinghausen, *New light on early animal carpets*, in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift E. Kühnel*, Berlin 1959, 93; and Pl. II.

"Holbein" and "Lotto" carpets.

On the portrait of the merchant Gisze, painted by Hans Holbein the Younger in 1532 and kept in the Picture Gallery of the Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, can be seen a carpet that serves as tablecloth. It represents a further group of Anatolian carpets which appear frequently on paintings from the middle of the 15th century until the end of the 16th century; these are characterised as "small-patterned Holbein carpets", and a fair number of them have survived. Their design, too, is based on squares with inset octagons in vertical and horizontal rows. The octagons are formed by bands knotted several times and the corners of the squares are filled by stylised arabesque leaves, which, joined together, merge into diamond-shaped linking motifs. Variety of colours within the squares of some specimens produces a kind of chessboard effect. In the details, these carpets correspond with the so-called large partitioned Holbein-carpets, the pattern of which is limited to a few broad, clearly separated motifs which are ranged only lengthwise. The decoration of the borders is mostly based on Kūfic characters. In the earlier designs the vertical strokes which have been directed to the edging of the carpet are clearly recognisable. Later on they develop into a twined band without definite orientation. Red, with brownish shades, blue, yellow, white and green are dominant. The large-partitioned Holbein-carpets are believed to have been made in Bergama, the small partitioned ones in Uşak. See Pls. III, IV.

The fourth type of early Ottoman carpets is also localised in Uşak. These are the so-called Lotto-carpets, because they appear among others, on the paintings by the Italian painter Lorenzo Lotto. They are also called "carpets with arabesque tendrils", since all specimens of this group show a red foundation covered with a yellow net of tendrils, arabesque leaves and palmettes. As is the case with the small patterned Holbein-carpets, their arrangement is basically determined by a system of octagons set in squares, while the fillings of the spandrels form also diamond-shaped figures. More often than the Kūfic-borders, those of the Lotto-carpets are made up of undulating tendrils, multifoiled lozenges and later on, alternating cloud bands. See Pl. V.

Medallion and Star Uşaks.

In the 11th/17th century the early Ottoman patterns are replaced by Persian-influenced arrangements of motifs which characterise the Medallion and Star-Uşaks. The centre of the Medallion-Uşaks is usually marked by a pointed oval-shaped medallion with a flamboyant outline and a floral innerdesign. Lengthwise on both sides shield-shaped pendants are attached to the medallion. In the corners of the field quadrants of a differently shaped medallion appear. The composition can be understood as being a part of a system of staggered rows of medallions. Examples showing greater parts of the pattern prove this. The usually red ground colour between the medallions is traversed with entangled, angularly drawn tendrils. The Star-Uşak, with staggered star-shaped medallions, connected by lozenges, is a variant of the Medallion-Uşak. Both types occur frequently on Dutch 17th century paintings. Like the Lotto-carpets, the Uşaks were manufactured in coarse, misconstrued versions far into the 18th and 19th century (see K. Erdmann, *Weniger bekannte Uschak-Muster*, in *Kunst des Orients*, iv, 79 ff.; and Pls. VI, VII).

"Bird" and "Tschintamani" carpets.

Uşak-carpets with a white ground both in field and border are rare. Two simple patterns can here be distinguished: the "Tschintamani" and the "Bird" motifs. The first, in all-over repeat, consists of two parallel undulating lines and three balls arranged in a triangle over them. This motif is undoubtedly of Far Eastern origin. From the 15th century onwards it is known as a pattern for clothing in Persian and Turkish miniatures, and from the 16th century it was popular on Turkish textile fabrics. The "Bird"-motif consists of horizontal and vertical running stripes crossing each other, and is composed of rosettes and leaves, the form of which superficially looks like birds. Both patterns have often been copied in the 20th century.

Transylvanian carpets.

An important group of small-sized Anatolian carpets from the 17th to 19th centuries, showing analogy with the Uşak-carpets, are the Transylvanian carpets, so-called because they have survived in great number in the churches of Transylvania. Besides some smaller versions of the Lotto-, Bird- and Tschintamani-patterns, they are mainly prayer-

rugs, the inner-fields of which are arch-shaped to represent the *miḥrāb*, often in connection with one or more pairs of columns. They form a link with the Turkish prayer rugs of the 18th and 19th centuries from Gördes, Ladik and Milas (see E. Schmutzler, *Altorientalische Teppiche in Siebenbürgen*, Leipzig 1933; J. de Vegh and Ch. Layer, *Tapis turcs provenant des églises et collections de Transylvanie*, Paris 1925; M. Mostafa, *Turkish prayer rugs*, Cairo 1953; Turkish Rugs, *The Washington Hajji Baba*, The Textile Museum, Washington 1968).

c. Egypt

Mamlūk, Ottoman and Chess-board carpets.

Fifteenth-century Mamlūk Egypt saw the origin of clearly recognisable carpets with a kaleidoscopic design, consisting of stars, rectangles and triangles, filled with small leaves, shrubs and cypresses. Their wool is soft and glossy, and the colours normally range between cherry-red, vivid green and bright blue. The many-sided star-like ornaments and the arrangement of the motifs towards the centre show a stylistic connection with the inlaid metal-work, the wood and the leather fabrics and the book-illuminations of the Mamlūk period. Only a few large-sized Mamlūk carpets have survived, among which one with a silk pile counts as one of the most beautiful carpets in the world (Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst). More numerous are small specimens with a medallion that takes up the entire width of the carpet, to the upper side and bottom of which a tightly patterned rectangular field is attached. An essential distinction between the Mamlūk and the Anatolian carpets lies in the fact that the former are characterised by groups of patterns and not by regular repeat patterns from which, within a constant internal relation as far as size is concerned, variable formats can be chosen. In the borders rosettes usually alternate with oblong cartouches. European and Oriental sources mention Cairo as an important centre of the knotting industry at least from 1474 onwards.

After Egypt was conquered by the Ottomans in 1517, the Mamlūk carpets were replaced by carpets manufactured in the Ottoman court-style. Their luxuriant floral decoration presents a sharp contrast to the geometrical patterns of the Mamlūk carpets. The palmettes and rosettes, the feathered lanceolate leaves and the naturalistically treated tulips, pinks and hyacinths are also to be found on the contemporary textiles and on pottery and tiles of Iznik. It would therefore seem obvious to deduce that the carpets also were manufactured in Turkey. However, in their fineness, technique and colour-scheme, they differ completely from the rest of the Anatolian carpets, but match to a considerable extent the Mamlūk carpets. It is therefore plausible that they were manufactured in the Cairene workshops after models made by Ottoman artists. This theory is supported by some hybrid types, *i.e.* Mamlūk carpets with elements of Ottoman carpets, and vice versa. The products of the Cairene workshops were of a special quality, as may be seen from the fact that Murād III in 1585 summoned eleven master carpet-makers together with their materials from Cairo to Istanbul. It is as yet unknown whether they carried out there a special order or established a local weaving-industry. Among the Ottoman carpets are some prayer rugs. Ewliyā Čelebi mentions the use of Egyptian prayer rugs in Anatolia in the middle of the 17th century. See Pls. VIII, IX.

The chess-board carpets hold an intermediate position between the Mamlūk and the Anatolian carpets. Their basic motifs are clearly Mamlūk in character: a star with eight rays on which small cypresses, blossoms and rosettes are radially directed, stands in a hexagon or octagon which is itself placed in a square. The way in which this motif is dealt with, the use of various-sized sections of the pattern, the coarse wool, and the weft (which is always red) point however at Anatolia. The colours are restricted to bright blue, vivid green and red, and thus come near to the Mamlūk carpets. Moreover, these chessboard carpets have the Persian knot in common with the Mamlūk and Ottoman carpets. As their place of origin E. Kühnel proposed the area around Adana in Anatolia; Rhodes and Damascus have also been suggested. They can be considered to have originated between the middle of the 10th/16th and the end of the 11th/17th centuries (see E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, *Cairene rugs and others technically related, 15th-17th cent.*, Washington 1957; K. Erdmann, *Kairener Teppiche*, i, *Europäische und islamische Quellen des 15.-18. Jh.*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 179; idem, *Mamluken- und Osmanenteppiche*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii (1940), 55; idem, *Neuere Untersuchungen zur Frage der Kairener Teppiche*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iv (1961), 65).

d. Persia

α. *Tīmūrid carpets.*

The oldest Persian carpets which have been preserved date from the first half of the 10th/16th century. They represent culminating points of the art of carpet knotting which are inconceivable without earlier stages. Tīmūrid miniatures of the 9th/15th century represent indeed with great accuracy various genres of carpets. Roughly, two basic types can be distinguished. First a small-pattern group with geometrical design, consisting of repeating squares, stars and crosses, hexagons, octagons or circles. They resemble contemporary tile-patterns. The motifs are framed by bright, small bands which interlace into stars or crosses and in between into knots. The central field is monochrome or is divided in chess-board style with contrasting colours. In the borders a Kūfic-like writing stands out from a dark background. The relation to the small-patterned Holbein carpets is unmistakable.

This type is replaced by arabesque and flower patterns towards the end of the 9th/15th century. The finest specimens are to be found in the miniatures of the painter Bihzād [*q.v.*]. He belonged to the school of Herāt and was in 1522 entrusted with the direction of the library of S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl I in Tabrīz. A direct influence on the royal carpet manufacturies is thus possible. In this new style with arabesque-patterns, construed lines cross the field—symmetrical to both axes—and outline semi-circles, circles, multi-foils, cartouches and ellipses. These forms intersect, creating segments which are emphasised by their colour and by their arabesque tendril decoration. There are also carpets in which medallions are arranged over arabesques, and others with a simple decoration of scrolls on a monochrome ground. Instead of the stiff Kūfic borders, elegantly twisted tendrils are used. These general principles and individual motifs form the bases of the Ṣafawid carpets of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (see A. Briggs, *Timurid carpets*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii, 20, and xi-xii, 146).

β. *Ṣafawid carpets.*

Dating. Four carpets with a date inserted and some

documents provide the basis for dating the carpets which were manufactured in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries under the Ṣafawids: (1) the carpet with the hunting scene, designed by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Djāmī and now in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, with the date 929/1522, occasionally also read 949/1542; (2) the famous Ardabīl carpet by Maḳṣūd Kāshānī, dated 946/1539-40, manufactured together with one or even two others for the tomb mosque of Shaykh Ṣafī; then, after a gap of more than 100 years, (3) a "vase" carpet in the museum of Sarajevo, 1067/1656, by Ustādh Muʾmin b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Māhānī; and finally (4) a silk carpet by Niʿmat Allāh Djawshaḳānī, dated 1082/1671, from the mausoleum of Shāh ʿAbbās II in Ḳum. Other inscriptions are of a literary character.

A group of silk carpets with larger fields, executed with gold and silver threads, the so-called "Polish"-carpets, represent the style prevalent around 1600 and in the first half of the 17th century (Pl. XV). With the aid of documentary evidence they can be dated as follows. In 1601 the Polish king Sigismund Vasa III ordered such a carpet in Kāshān. In 1603 and 1621 Shāh ʿAbbās I had five specimens sent as gifts accompanying an embassy to the Signoria of Venice. Besides, contemporary reports of European travellers contain many references to these carpets. European paintings, which contribute to the dating of Anatolian carpets, are of no help in this respect as far as the Persian carpets are concerned. Only the "Herāt" carpets occur frequently on Dutch paintings of the 17th century. The Ṣafawid miniatures show that at the beginning of the 10th/16th century the basic types of carpets had been developed. The reproductions are, however, not sufficiently differentiated for conclusions to be drawn from the schools of painting about periods of their origin and localisation. Dates are to a high degree determined by stylistic aspects, the quality of the design and realisation and the shape and various degrees of development of the singular forms being weighed one against another. The margin for a subjective judgment remains thus relatively large.

Localisation. Because of their patterns and technical singularities, the Ṣafawid carpets, with some exceptions, can be divided into clearly discernible groups. It is however difficult to see the relations of these groups with the historically-established knotting centres. Undoubtedly the successive capitals Tabrīz (from 1502), Ḳazwīn (from 1548) and Iṣfahān (from 1596-7) had their court weaving manufactories. It is possible that the early Ṣafawid carpets came into being in Tabrīz under the influence of Bihzād. It is surprising that no attempts have been made to localise carpets at Ḳazwīn. The work-shops of Iṣfahān are sufficiently documented. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier describes even their exact locality in the *Maydān* area. The manufacturing of silk so-called "Polish carpets" and woollen carpets is proved to have taken place in Iṣfahān. Apparently Kāshān was known before Iṣfahān for its silk weaving. Pedro Teixeira mentions already in 1604 carpets from Kāshān with gold and silk, beautiful brocades and velvets, and the fame of the town was evident in 1601 when King Sigismund Vasa III ordered from there silk carpets, worked with gold. So late as 1670 Chevalier Chardin calls Kāshān the centre of the silk-industry. See Pl. XIV.

The woollen carpets, however, cannot be classified since they are only very summarily dealt with in travellers' accounts. In his appraisal of the quality of Persian carpets, Pedro Teixeira, who left Goa in 1604 and travelled to Europe through Persia, puts those from Yazd in the first place, those from Kirmān—further characterised in 1684-5 by Engelbert Kaempfer as carpets with animal patterns made from the best wool—in the second place, and those from Khurāsān in the third. Thadäus Krusinski mentions the provinces of Shīrwān, Ḳarabāgh, Gīlān, the towns of Kāshān, Kirmān, Mashhad, Astarābād and the capital Iṣfahān as localities in which court weaving manufactories were erected under Shāh ʿAbbās I. Tabrīz was important during the 16th century, but in the 17th century it is hardly mentioned any more. Indications of the regions of origin, like north-western Persia (Tabrīz), southern Persia (Kirmān) and eastern Persia (Herāt etc.), which have become quite current in the literature on oriental carpets, represent rather a description of a particular type than a concrete localisation. The discovery of oriental sources like town chronicles, descriptions of weaving manufactories or patterns for designs, might clear up this problem.

Compartment rugs. The "Compartment rugs" of the Ṣafawids are derived from the carpets with arabesque pattern of the Tīmūrid period. The early specimens resemble their painted examples so closely that one is tempted to give them an earlier date. A Compartment rug in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and its companion in the Musée historique des tissus, Lyons, thus belong entirely to the Tīmūrid tradition; the net-like pattern consisting of eight-lobed rosettes surrounded by shield-shaped motifs formed by interlaced bands and the East Asian motifs which fill these fields, such as the dragon, the phoenix and cloud bands as well as the arabesque tendrils in the background and the vertical arranged cartouches of the borders can easily be connected with Tīmūrid miniatures. If dated to the beginning of the Ṣafawid period, both carpets could have been manufactured in Tabrīz. To this pair of carpets belong some later variants with a raised medallion, establishing the transition to the medallion carpets of North-West Persia, and other variations with shields and quatre-foils in alternating rows. The overlapping fields, found in the carpets in Bihzād's miniatures, are seen again on several 17th century "Polish" carpets.

Carpets with hunting scenes and animals. The influence of miniature-painting is most evident on the carpets with hunting scenes and animals. Except for a few carpets with figures arranged asymmetrically, the scenes are adjusted symmetrically on the background, both in horizontal and vertical directions. An arrangement of medallions is put above this, usually with one medallion in the centre and quarters of medallions in the corners of the field. The hunters, on foot or horseback, attack lions, leopards, gazelles, deer and hares with spears, swords and arrows. Together with a great variety of birds, these animals appear also on the carpets with only animals, on which fights between deer or bull and lion, or between the *ch'i lin* or Chinese unicorn and dragon are in the foreground. The "Chelsea" carpet of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (pl. X), with its net of medallions connected by diagonally arranged pointed ovals, holds a middle position between the Compartment rugs and the traditional carpets with medallions and animals. An upward and downward string of arabesque leaves divides the border in interlocking parts of contrasting colours. As "reciprocal pinnacle border", it was, in a simpler form, very popular on the later Ṣafawid carpets. Among the carpets which are close to the miniatures,

two large, silk carpets with hunting scenes, in Vienna and Boston (see below), are conspicuous. To these are closely connected some silk woven carpets and about 12 woollen carpets (the so-called "Sanguszko" group).

Carpets with figures flourished in the 10th/16th century under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. Apart from the mastery of the designs, their technical realisation is exemplary. They are an expression of court luxury. Such carpets were undoubtedly manufactured in Tabrīz, but the stylistic and technical differences point to other weaving centres as well. Under Shāh ʿAbbās I carpets with figures lose their importance, so that the few specimens of the 11th/17th century are mere offshoots of the 10th/16th century carpets.

North-west Persian Medallion-carpets. Together with a series of medallion carpets with figures, a restricted group of carpets which have in common a medallion on a background that is filled with tendrils is localised in north-western Persia, including Tabrīz. The most conspicuous specimen is the Ardabīl carpet, according to its inscription dated 946/1539-40. A star-shaped medallion, with corresponding quarter medallions in the corners of the field, appears above a fourfold symmetrical double system consisting of elegant spiral tendrils (see Rexford Stead, *The Ardabil carpets*, J. Paul Getty Museum, California 1974). More characteristic is a simpler class of carpets with medallions on a continuous, somewhat clumsily designed pattern of scrolls with small repeat. Here too the medallions are star-shaped and, as in the case with all medallion carpets of the 10th/16th century, they clearly stand out from the pattern of the background. Often secondary designs are added of a vertical cartouche and a shield-pendant, mostly to be found lengthwise on both sides. Border patterns consist of alternating cartouches and rosettes or a continuous, mirrored repeat of short, interlaced arabesque tendrils. Particularly striking in these carpets is their relatively long format. See Pl. XI.

Herāt carpets. The Herāt carpets normally have no medallion. They are characterised by a variety of large palmettes with flamboyant contours, which cover the points where most delicate spiral scrolls split and touch the symmetrical axes. The colour of the field is almost always purple, that of the borders dark green or deep blue. On the specimens of the 10th/16th century the spiral scrolls are tightly connected. The design is dense, with many bizarre cloud bands and often intermingled with animals and scenes of animal fights. The rich use of East Asiatic motifs has led scholars to localise these carpets in eastern Persia; it is indeed proved that high-quality carpets were manufactured in Khurāsān and its capital Herāt.

In a later type, the arrangement of tendrils is looser and wider, the cloud bands are less frequent and more clumsy, and animals are completely absent. The pattern is determined by palmettes and long, often two-coloured lanceolate leaves, also simplified. The details and borders show parallels with the "Polish" carpets, and therefore this type of Herāt carpets too can be dated to the 11th/17th century. It is as yet undetermined whether these are identical with the woollen carpets manufactured in Isfahan. Such "Herāt" carpets were exported to India and there imitated. It is difficult to distinguish between Persian and Indian workmanship. So far unambiguous criteria are lacking (see below). These carpets are the only type of classical Persian carpets which appear frequently on European paintings, especially the Dutch genre-paintings of the 17th century. These "Herāt" carpets were evidently a valuable commodity to Europeans, for they have been preserved in great quantity mainly in Portugal and Holland, countries which through their East India Companies had close commercial relations with Persia and India. See Pl. XII.

"Vase" carpets. In contrast with the medallion and "Herāt" carpets, the "vase" carpets have mostly a rising pattern which is mirrored only with respect to the longitudinal axis. The direction is determined by blossoming shrubs and, on many of these carpets, by receptacles which have the form of vases of Chinese porcelain, filled with flowers, from which the name of this group of carpets is derived. Typical is the division of the field by means of oval lozenges. Three groups of lozenges, pushed one against the other, are mostly intersected. They arise from undulating pairs of tendrils which touch each other and retreat behind magnificent flowers. The lozenges may however also be outlined clearly by tendrils or broad lanceolate leaves and be filled up with various colours. Occasionally, the arrangement of lozenges is absent and there remain entangled rows of flower-vases or shrubs arranged in a staggered pattern. Sometimes also patterns of arabesques occur, intermingled with shrubs and in connection with medallions. Striking are the wealth of colours, especially conspicuous in large-sized rosettes and palmettes, and the combination of these stylised flowers with naturalistic bushes. The borders are relatively small and the inner or outer guards are often lacking.

Opinions differ about the date of the "vase" carpets. Some fragments with very luxuriant décor and vivid lineation recall stylistically the best "Polish" carpets, with which they can be dated to the beginning of the 17th century. It is still under discussion whether the pieces of the main group, which are designed in a clearer and stiffer way, originated before or after these fragments. Some are of later date, as is shown by the impoverishment of the pattern. More difficult is the decision about others, which are rich in details notwithstanding the rather simple pattern. The "vase" carpet of the museum of Sarajevo, dated 1656, is not typical. Its extraordinary well-executed design and the fact that figurative motifs are in general lacking, favours the opinion that most of the "vase" carpets originated in the 11th/17th century. Southern Persia (Kirmān) is regarded as the region of their manufacture (see K. Erdmann, review of *A survey of Persian art*, in *Ars Islamica*, viii, 174 ff.). See Pl. XIII.

Garden carpets. Ṣafawid gardens with their geometrical division by rectilinear canals, as e.g. Hazār Djarīb near Iṣfahān, and the garden at Ashraf, laid out by Shāh ʿAbbās I in 1612, are reflected in the garden carpets. With their canals and basins with fish and ducks, bordered by trees and bushes in which birds and other creatures frolic, these carpets represent "portable gardens" which are accessible all year round. The earliest specimen is probably a garden carpet in the Jaipur Museum. According to an inscription on the back, this "foreign carpet" arrived at the palace in Jaipur on 29 August 1632, probably by order or as a gift. Apart from this one, only two other garden-carpets from the Ṣafawid period have survived. The type lives on in a later, restricted group which can be distinguished from its Ṣafawid predecessors by the schematic outline of the details, although the general principle remains the same. They may have been manufactured in north-western Persia from the second half of the 18th century until sometime in the 19th century (see M.S. Dimand,

A Persian garden carpet in the Jaipur Museum, in *Ars Islamica*, vii (1940), 93; and Pl. XVI, no. 17).

"Portuguese" carpets. The ten to fifteen "Portuguese" carpets all go back to the same model and form thus the most coherent group. They owe their name to the representations of sailing ships with European-dressed persons on board and a man who emerges from the water among fishes and sea monsters. The representation is repeated four times in the corners, and recalls the ornamental motifs on European maps. One of the interpretations of that scene is that it depicts the arrival of Portuguese ambassadors in the Persian Gulf. From the combination of oriental and European motifs it was further concluded that these carpets were intended for Portuguese in Goa. The rest of the filling of the fields is also unusual. It consists of a lozenge-shaped middle field with four small, pointed oval medallions and irregularly notched and feathered outline, surrounded by concentric interlacing stripes of various colours. In the earlier specimens these stripes are vivid and irregularly forked, in the later ones they are rectilinear, parallel and regular. While there is no doubt about dating them to the 17th century, their place of origin still remains uncertain. Formerly these carpets were considered to have originated in southern or central Persia, but now some scholars have proposed India. Neither hypothesis is supported by convincing proofs (see C.G. Ellis, *The Portuguese carpets of Gujarat*, in *Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. R. Ettinghausen, New York 1973, 267).

Silk carpets. The change in style which the Ṣafawid carpets underwent between the 10th/16th and the 11th/17th centuries, is especially recognisable in the silk carpets. The most famous and largest carpet of this kind is the so-called Vienna hunting carpet which was in the possession of the Austrian imperial house and is now in the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna. The use of silk for pile, warp and weft produces a very fine texture and gives the possibility for an extremely precise design. So it is not only because of its costly material that this carpet heads the figurative medallion carpets oriented towards the miniature painting and dating from the period of S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp. Its size of 6.93 × 3.23 m. corresponds with that of the large, woollen, knotted carpets. Many details are executed in gold and silver brocade. It is said to have originated from Tabrīz or, more probably, from Kās͟hān, known for its silk industry. A silk hunting carpet from the collection of Baron M. de Rothschild, which can be compared with the Vienna carpet, is now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Some thirteen small-sized silk carpets, which K. Erdmann called the "small silk carpets of Kās͟hān" (*Siebenhundert Jahre Orientteppiche*, 143), are related to these two. Apart from four carpets with animals and animal fights in a rising, symmetrical arrangement, they also represent the type of the early medallion carpets. Representations of persons and peris are lacking. They return on some woven silk carpets, also mostly of small size, which fit in stylistically with the figurative woollen carpets of the "Sanguszko" group, and among which a fragmentary hunting carpet in the Residenzmuseum at Munich stands out. Because of its size, theme and quality of delineation it is directly related to the Viennese hunting carpet. It must, however, be taken into account that the technique of a woven carpet does not permit the elegant lineation of a knotted one. All these woven carpets have pointed oval medallions with transverse cartouches, borders with alternating cartouches and quatrefoils. In comparison with the knotted silk carpets the use of gold and silver brocade on large fields is new, and not only with respect to the emphasising of details. If the making of the Vienna hunting carpet, which undoubtedly figures at the beginning of the development, is dated to about the middle of the 16th century, then the "small silk carpets of Kās͟hān", the figurative woven carpets and the woollen carpets of the "Sanguszko"-group present the style of the second half of the 16th century.

Contrasting with the new figurative woven carpets, there is a large group of woven carpets with purely floral decor, in which a coarsening of the lineation is recognisable. In two of these carpets—one completely preserved in the Residenzmuseum in Munich (Pl. XI) and the lengthwise half of another in the Textile Museum in Washington—the arms of the Polish king Sigismund Vasa III have been woven. As is known from documents, the king ordered in 1601 silk carpets worked with gold from Kās͟hān. In a bill of 12 September 1602 pairs of carpets are mentioned, together with the sum of five crowns for the weaving of the royal arms. In 1642 an undefined number of carpets came as dowry into the possession of the Elector Philip William of the Palatinate by his marriage to princess Anna Catherina Constanza, a daughter of Sigismund III. Among these carpets were undoubtedly not only the woven carpets with the arms but certainly also the other woven carpets and the "Polish" carpets, now in the Residenzmuseum. The carpets with the arms thus illustrate the style of woven carpets about 1600. They form the starting point for a chronological order of the floral woven carpets, which with their latest specimens may reach as far as the second half of the 17th century. In the shape of their medallions, however, they remain related to the early Ṣafawid carpets.

The view that carpets with figurative representations were no more in fashion in the 17th century is confirmed by the knotted silk carpets, the large fields of which are brocaded with gold and silver threads, and the manufacturing of which flourished under S͟hāh ʿAbbās I. At first these carpets were thought to be of Polish origin and therefore were called "Polish carpets". The group includes now about 230 specimens, which came into the possession of European courts or churches as gifts of ambassadors or on order. They were however not only intended for export but were also in Persia a sign of wealth and luxury, and bear witness to the court taste in the beginning of the 17th century. Since these "representation" carpets, in contrast to the woollen carpets, evoked again and again the admiration of European travellers, they form rich source material, much more so than any other kind of Ṣafawid carpets. And thus it can also be ascertained that the main group was produced in the court manufactory in the *Maydān* area of Iṣfahān. In the "Polish" carpets the relaxation of the 16th century rules for the form of the carpets is unmistakable. This is shown by the shifting from lines to fields, which finds expression in the abandoning of the monochrome foundation and in the loss of the clear delineation of the medallions against the background. Characteristic is further a luxuriant, merely floral décor.

Production in great quantities brought about a rationalisation of the design, as can easily be shown from the many specimens known. This kind of production necessitated also economy in the material, as may be seen from the preference for smaller sizes

and above all from the use of cotton besides silk in the weft.

The patterns can be reduced to about a dozen basic systems, mostly present in the few large-sized carpets. Variety is brought about by a difference in choice of various details, by different medallions and borders and by variations of colours. Apparently these carpets were preferably knotted in pairs, because until today 25 exact pairs are known, harmonising even in the borders and the division of colours. Continuing the tradition of Kās͟hān, where the earliest of these carpets may have originated, the uniform style of the "Polish" carpets was probably developed in Iṣfahān at the beginning of the 17th century, after the court was transferred there in 1005/1596-7. The "Polish" carpets, characterised by an obvious negligence in the discipline of the drawing, may date from the second half of the 17th century. The destruction of the Ṣafawid dynasty by the Afg͟hāns in 1722 put an end to the manufacture of brocade textile (see K. Erdmann, *Persische Wirkteppiche der Safawidenzeit*, in *Pantheon* (1932), 227; F. Spuhler, *Der figurale Kaschan-Wirkteppich aus den Slgn. des regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, in *Kunst des Orients*, v/1 (1968), 55; T. Mánkowski, *Note on the cost of Kashan carpets at the beginning of the 17th century*, in *Bull. of the American Inst. for Persian Art and Archaeology*, iv (1936), 152; M.S. Dimand, *Loan exhibition of Persian rugs of the so-called Polish type*, Metropolitan Museum New York 1930; F. Spuhler, *Ein neuerworbener "Polenteppich" des Museums für Islamische Kunst*, in *Berliner Museen*, N.F., xx/1, 27; idem, *Seidene Repräsentationsteppiche der mittleren bis späten Safawidenzeit*, inaugural thesis, Berlin 1968, to be published by Faber and Faber, London).

γ. *18th and 19th Centuries*

The few carpets from the 18th century abandon to a great extent the tradition of the two preceding centuries. Simpler repeated patterns with plant motifs like trees, shrubs, forked leaves, palmettes and rosettes are preferred. In the 19th century production revives. The old centres of Tabrīz, Iṣfahān, Kās͟hān, Kirmān and K͟hurāsān with Herāt gain new importance with mostly large carpets. In Tabrīz and Kās͟hān small-sized silk carpets are knotted too, also as prayer rugs. The arrangement of the medallions on a monochrome or small-patterned background is preferred. A typical design of the 19th century is the "Herātī" pattern, spread all over Persia. The main element of its repeat is a lozenge with four lanceolate leaves which run parallel to the sides and a rosette in the centre. The *boteh* or almondstone pattern is equally popular. The figural carpets have their origin in the hunting and animal carpets of the 10th/16th century and came mainly from Tehran and Kirmān. Elements of the classical pattern are geometrised and distorted. Peculiarity and liveliness cannot be denied to the products of the 19th century. This is especially true for the carpets from the surroundings of the town of Bid͟jār, which are, moreover, of outstanding quality. Characteristic is an extremely fine carpet, dated 1209/1794 (formerly in the McMullan collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York), which in colouration and structure belongs to the Bid͟jār carpets and for the drawing of which a pattern of a "vase" carpet was used. A series of later Bid͟jārs can be connected to this one.

In contrast with the preceding centuries, there have been preserved from the 19th century not only carpets from the manufactories, but also carpets that were made by tribes and villages for their personal use, and village products of cottage industries, marketed in the larger towns. They are usually small-sized. Their charm lies in their originality. To these belong carpets from the towns of Hamadān, Saruḳ, Bid͟jār, Herīz, Senneh and Kirmāns͟hāh and from the Kurdish tribes in the neighbourhood. Some of the patterns of the Bak͟htiyāris living to the west of Iṣfahān are based on the Iṣfahān-style. The Ḳas͟hḳā'ī nomads around S͟hīrāz use both purely geometrical forms and flowers and animals (see A.C. Edwards, *The Persian carpet*, London 1953) (see further on tribal carpets, Section iii below).

e. India

During the 16th and 17th centuries carpets sometimes of very high perfection were manufactured in the towns of Āgra, Lahore and Jaipur, evidently without any preceding Indian tradition in this field of handcraft. The stimuli surely came from Persia. Under the Mug͟hal Akbar I (1556-1605), a strong tendency towards Ṣafawid taste was developing. This led to the summoning of Persian artists and craftsmen and affected all the artistic activities under Akbar's successors D͟jahāngīr, S͟hāh D͟jahān and Awrangzīb until about 1700. Between 1625 and 1630 European influences too made themselves felt. In the present state of research it is not possible to establish a chronology of the Indian carpets of the Mug͟hal period. It is plausible that the separate groups did not replace one another but existed contemporaneously. Some fragments with grotesque animal patterns which are rooted in Indian mythology are to be placed at the beginning of the development and dated perhaps as early as the 16th century. The miniatures in the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu 'l-Faḍl [*q.v.*], dated 1602-5, give us an idea of the carpets *ca.* 1600. With their ogival medallions, scrolls and cloud-bands, they correspond to the Persian carpets of the 16th century, so that the actual origin remains obscure. In the same way the Indian carpets of the later "Herāt" type cannot with certainty be separated from their Persian predecessors. A group with pattern of scrolls stands out more clearly; it is characterised by lanceolate leaves at the ends of the scrolls, formed by leaves of blossoms which overlap like scales. This group is represented by a carpet which was ordered in Lahore and presented in 1634 by Mr. Robert Bell, now in the possession of the Girdlers' Company of the City of London. Also authentically Indian is a carpet with scenes of animal fights, carrying the arms of the Fremlin family (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London), which helps to distinguish the Indian animal carpets from the Persian ones. R. Skelton has proved convincingly that a naturalistic flower style arises in miniature painting between 1620 and 1627, towards the end of the reign of D͟jahāngīr. This style, encouraged by the import of European botanical works, spread to carpets and textile fabrics and did not hesitate to employ plastic effects in its design, produced by gradations of colour. A carpet with rows of blossoming shrubs lies underneath Awrangzīb's throne on a portrait painted around 1660. A date *post quem* is thus available for quite a number of extant carpets of this kind, with cherry-red background and a fine arrangement of colours. Such a date is valid too for the extraordinarily tight-knotted prayer rugs with a central blossoming bush, standing out from a flat landscape. Apparently both types did not originate before the second quarter of

the 17th century and may have reached their peak of popularity about the middle of that century. Their differing quality indicates that they were manufactured in various centres. In the 18th and 19th centuries the Indian carpets seem to have been made only for export and are artistically without consequence (see R. Skelton, *A decorative motif in Mughal art*, in *Aspects of Indian Art, Papers presented in a symposium at the Los Angeles Country Museum of Art*, October 1970, Leiden 1972, 147; and Pls. XVI, XVII).

f. The Caucasus

The stylised, archaising representations of pairs of animals, dragons, trees, bushes, etc. on the Caucasian dragon and tree carpets caused F.R. Marquart in 1908, in the first chronology of Oriental carpets, to place these carpets at the beginning of the development and to date them to the 13th/14th centuries. This opinion however is contradicted by the evident influence the Ṣafawid carpets have had on these "dragon" carpets, as is shown by the floral motifs, animals and scenes of animal fights. These carpets got their name from the dragons which are mostly distorted until they are unrecognisable. The dragons are inserted into a rising lozenge-shaped design, made from diagonal stripes. This arrangement and the narrow borders point to a relation with the "vase" carpets. According to modern opinion, only a few of these carpets date back to the 17th century. Together with their Caucasian versions, most of them are derived from the 18th century tree-carpets and floral carpets with spiral tendrils and have their origin in the Shirwān/Ḳarabāgh area. Some of the Caucasian carpets of the 17th and 18th centuries are of considerable size, which indicated that they were manufactured in urban manufactories. In accordance with the sense of decoration of the rural population, a profusion of bright patterns with large fields in lively colouration developed in the 19th century from the above-mentioned wealth of forms. With their geometrical design these small carpets and runners—there are no more large-sized carpets in this period—stand out clearly from the Persian carpets of the 19th century. The most important knotting centres were Ḳazaḳ, Shirwān, Dāghistān, Ḳarabāgh, Mūghān, Tālish, Gandja and Ḳuba (see A. Sakisian, *Nouveaux documents sur les tapis arméniens*, in *Syria*, xvii (1936), 177; M. Ağaoğlu, *Dragon rugs, a loan exhibition*, The Textile Museum Washington 1948; U. Schürmann, *Teppiche aus dem Kaukasus*, Brunswick n.d., Eng. tr. Grainge, Basingstoke 1974; Catalogues: *Kaukasische Teppiche*, Museum für Kunsthandwerk Frankfurt 1962; C.G. Ellis, *Caucasian carpets in the Textile Museum*, in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens*, in *Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, Istanbul 1969, 194; and Pl. XVII, no. 20).

g. Spain

In a survey of knotted carpets as expressions of Islamic handicraft, the early Spanish carpets should also be mentioned. The so-called synagogue carpet of the Islamisches Museum, Berlin (I, 27), is probably the oldest and may belong to the 14th-15th centuries. They are often large-sized pieces in a style which prefigures the later "Holbein" carpets. The colours of the Spanish carpets are marked by stronger contrasts. The "Turkish" group may date from the 15th/16th centuries and is succeeded by works with Renaissance elements. Alcaraz, Letur, Cuenca and Valencia are known as knotting centres. The technical peculiarity of the Spanish carpets consists in the fact that the knot is always twisted about a warp (see J. Ferrandis Torrés, *Exposición de alfombras antiguas españolas*, Madrid 1933; E. Kühnel, *Maurische Teppiche aus Alcaraz*, Pantheon 1930, 416; E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, *Catalogue of Spanish rugs, 12th cent. to 19th cent.*, The Textile Museum, Washington 1953).

h. Turkestan

The varieties of the Turkoman productions are determined by the use that is made of them, especially as furnishing of the tent [see KHAYMA, iv, Central Asia]. Small carpets serve as floor-coverings, as curtains for the entrance, corresponding in format and design with a prayer rug, as tent-bands which border the upper edge of the round *yurt*. Various bags to store supplies, saddlebags and camel-ornaments are also knotted. They all have in common a deep-red to dark-purple ground and an all-over, geometric, repeat design in bright red, blue, white and (rarely) green and yellow. The way in which the *gül*, the star-shaped to octagonal leading motif which has the function of a tribal sign, is executed, may indicate the particular nomadic tribes: Tekke Turkomans, Yomuts, Čavdirs (Tchodovs), Ersaris and Sariḳs, to whom can be linked the Balūč in the west and the Afghāns in the south. The way in which transposed rows of principal and subordinate *güls* are arranged, already existent on carpets to be seen on Tīmūrīd miniatures and on "Holbein" carpets, suggests a long tradition in the knotting art. Since, however, any support for an accurate dating is lacking, one hesitates to date single specimens to the 18th century (see A. Bogolubow, *Tapis-series de l'Asie centrale faisant partie de la collection réunie par A. Bogolubow*, St. Petersburg 1908 (new edition: A.A. Bogolyubov, *Carpets of Central Asia*, ed. J.M.A. Thompson, London 1973); H. Clark, *Bokhara, Turkoman and Afghan rugs*, London 1922; A. Thacher, *Turkoman rugs*, New York 1940; U. Schürmann, *Zentral-Asiatische Teppiche*, Frankfurt 1969, Eng. tr., *Central Asian rugs*, London 1970; V.G. Moshkova, *Kovry narodov sredney Asii Konza 19-20 vv.*, Tashkent 1970, Ger. tr., *Die Teppiche der Volken Mittelasiens*, Hamburg 1974.

3. Public Collections of Oriental Carpets

Europe. The most important collections are in Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst; London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Istanbul, Türk ve Islâm Eserler Müzesi; Berlin, Islamisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (East Berlin) and Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (West Berlin). Also in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Florence, Museo Bardini; Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe; Leningrad, Hermitage; Lisbon, Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian; Lyons, Musée Historique des Tissus; Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli; Munich, Residenzmuseum and Bayerisches Nationalmuseum; Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

U.S.A. The most important collections are in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Washington, The Textile Museum. Also in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Arts; Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts; Los Angeles, County Museum; Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art; St. Louis, City Art Museum of St. Louis.

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Private collections and handbooks: J.V. McMullan, *Islamic carpets*, New York 1965; M.H. Beattie, *Die orientalische Teppiche in der Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza*, Castagnola 1972; P.M. Campana, *Il tappeto orientale*, Milan 1962; G. Cohen, *Il fascino del tappeto orientale*, Milan 1968; R. Hubel, *Ullstein Teppichbuch*, Berlin, Frankfurt, Vienna 1965; K. Erdmann, *Siebenhundert Jahre Orientteppich*, Herford 1966 (Eng. tr. M.H. Beattie and H. Herzog, *Seven hundred years of oriental carpets*, London 1970).

(F. Spuhler)

ii. In the Muslim West

In the Muslim West, the term *bisāṭ*, pl. *busuṭ* is attested, notably by Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, who uses it to describe the revenues paid every year by the Aghlabids to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs; under the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, there is mention of 120 carpets (*busuṭ*). It may thus be supposed that these were precious objects of real artistic value and one's natural inclination is to think of "the carpet on which the sovereign and his ministers are seated" (Dozy, *Suppl.* i, 85, col. 2). Unfortunately, nothing is known of these carpets which were presumably manufactured in the large cities, al-Ḳayrawān and its satellites ʿAbbāsiyya or Raḳḳāda, in particular. Does the fact that these products were intended for the highest dignitaries permit us to suppose that, as early as this period, there was at least one *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] in Ifrīḳiya? A workshop of this kind is attested at Mahdiyya in the period of the Fāṭimid al-Manṣūr (*Djawdhar*, tr. Canard, 75), and there is mention of the manufacture of carpets there. It would seem legitimate to suppose that, under the Aghlabids, there was the capacity for weaving luxury carpets (no doubt inspired by the carpets of the East) intended for the caliphs and for the most senior officials of the Muslim world.

The term *bisāṭ* is also employed by Yāḳūt (7th/13th century), who mentions *busuṭ* in the region of Tebessa and describes them as sumptuous, well-made and long-lasting. Should these carpets be seen as the ancestors of the lock-stitched carpets which, until recently, still constituted one of the principal items of tent furniture, especially in the region of Tebessa: the tribes of the Nememsha, the Ḥarakta, the Mahadba and the Ḥamāma? The most ancient of these products, with strictly geometric decoration, appear to perpetuate the old local traditions such are still to be found in the Djebel Amour, as well as in the Moroccan Middle and High Atlas.

Bisāṭ is not at the present time employed in any part of North Africa, where various other Arabic words are used to designate these long, polychrome, woven fabrics: *ḳṭīf* or *ḳaṭīfa*, *maṭraḥ*, *frāsh*, *farrashiyya*, while in Morroco, Berber or Berberised words are also used (P. Ricard, *Corpus*); as for the carpets manufactured in the towns (al-Ḳayrawān, Guergour, Nedroma, Rabat, Mediouna), they are called *zarbiyya*, pl. *zrābī*, or *sadjdjāda*, pl. *sadjdjādāt*. These carpets are strongly influenced by the carpets of Anatolia and of old Andalusia.

The existence of *busuṭ* carpets in Muslim Spain is attested by various authors, in particular at Murcia. These products were much valued in the Orient (al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 123). Yāḳūt speaks of the *busuṭ* of Elche (Alsh) (i, 350); but the expression *waṭāʾ* is preferred when describing the carpets of Chinchilla or of Baza, the reputation of which extended as far as the Orient.

In the modern and contemporary period, the centres of traditional lock-stitch weaving in North Africa are distributed as follows:

(1) Carpets woven usually by men (*reggām*), generally within the tent:

Tunisia: the Ḥamāma, the Mahadba, the Durayd, the Ouled bou Ghanem tribes.

Algeria: the Nemensha, the Ḥarakta, the Maadid, the Hodna tribes. See Pl. XVIII.

All these carpets are characterised by ancient, essentially geometric patterns, with compositions that vary little, and a colour scheme reduced to two or three shades, and by apparently more recent patterns inspired by the carpets of Anatolia, characterised by one or several central polygonal motifs (*miḥrāb*) framed by orthogonal fillets. The multiplication of *miḥrābs* permits the creation of carpets of large dimensions. They are all polychrome, red being the dominant background colour.

The carpets of the Djebel Amour (Algeria) have remained faithful to geometric décor and to ancient local compositions; there are only two dominant colours, red for the background and dark blue for the motifs (recently replaced by black). At the edges there are fringes woven with a polychrome geometric design. These carpets are comparable with certain Moroccan woven products of the Middle Atlas. See pl. XIX.

Morocco: carpets of the High Atlas: Haouz of Marrakesh, Ouled bou Sbaa, Aīt Ouaouzguit, etc.; carpets of the Middle Atlas: Zemmour, Zaian, Beni

M'tir, Beni Mguild, Aīt Youssi, Marmoucha, Aīt Saghrouchen, Beni Alaham, Beni Ouaraīn, etc.

All these carpets manufactured among Berber tribes are of geometric design and employ only a limited range of colours.

(2) Carpets of urban manufacture showing Anatolian influence (woven by women):

Tunisia: al-Ḳayrawān, Tunis, and various coastal cities where the influence of al-Ḳayrawān has been effective for about a century, there being sometimes local types with a fair degree of originality, (Bizerta in particular).

Algeria: Cuergour and Sétif (at this present time in the process of disappearing), Souf, Ḳalʿa of the Banū Rached (influenced by Andalusian products).

Morocco: Rabat-Salé, Casablanca, Mediouna (also influenced by Andalusia).

All these carpets were, or still are, woven in the home, as a family business.

In the contemporary period, the manufacture of carpets, an export product, is tending to become an industry, especially in the major cities such as al-Ḳayrawān, Tunis, Tlemcen, Rabat-Salé, Casablanca, and also in the more modest towns such as Nabeul, Bizerta, Tebessa, Cherchel, etc.

Bibliography: Giacobetti, *Les tapis et tissages du Djebel Amour*, 1932; P. Ricard, *Corpus des tapis marocains*, 4 vols. 1923-24; L. Poinssot and J. Revault, *Tapis tunisiens*, 4 vols. 1937-57; L. Golvin, *Les arts populaires en Algérie*, 6 vols. 1950-6. (L. Golvin)

iii. Tribal rugs

1. Nomenclature. Until the 1960s few writers on carpet history except, perhaps, A.C. Edwards (*The Persian carpet*, London 1975), distinguished between the output of cities, villages and tribal groups, and only in the past twenty-five years has the ancient life style of Central Asia's pastoral nomads attracted anthropologists, making it possible to isolate and study their artefacts.

The custom of marketing an area's rugs in the local town has obfuscated classification—for instance, Bergama has lent its name to rugs made by villagers and tribes in its hinterland, while Bukhara is still the popular label for the rugs of the Tekke Türkmen. Such misleading nomenclature, coined in the last century, is now being superseded by more precise classification. Similarly, confusing technical terms, with variants in different countries, are being replaced by clearer terminology, based on I. Emery's work (*The primary structure of fabrics*, Washington, D.C. 1966). In the past the words *carpet* and *rug* (and in French the word *tapis*) have been used synonymously, leading to difficulty in the study of documentary evidence. *Carpet* is now used to define a knotted article of some size, say, 300 by 240 cm. and upwards, while a *rug*, also of knotted pile, is smaller, measuring up to about 300 by 200 cm. Both words have been used to define flat-weave articles as well, and these are now named after their technique, for instance, *kilīm* or *gelīm*, which is tapestry-woven, and *sumak*, after *sumak* weft-wrapping. Only knotted pilework is discussed here.

2. Technique. There are a number of knots of which, as noted in Section i. 1 above, the two most common are the Gördes or Turkish knot and the Senneh or Persian knot. Both are of known antiquity; the Pazyryk rug, dating from the 4th to 3rd century B.C., was made with the Turkish knot, while the Basadar fragments, possibly a century older, show the Persian knot. Again, these terms have proved confusing. The second was named after Senneh, in northwestern Iran, but in the area of modern Sanandadj the Turkish knot predominates. Consequently, although the so-called Turkish knot is the most commonly used in Turkey, both knots are found in Iran and both have been found in the same rug. Classification by knot only, therefore, should be regarded with caution. Each has different characteristics: the Turkish knot is symmetrical, the two tufts lying evenly on either side of the warps, and it is suited to a longer pile, while the Persian knot is asymmetrical, the tufts slanting to the left or right of the warps, and is favoured where clear definition of a complex pattern is required. Some scholars have now adopted the term *symmetrical* for the Turkish knot and *asymmetrical* for the Persian.

Description of designs is also prone to variation and many names have been arbitrarily coined by Europeans. A floor carpet can be described as follows: first, the central field and its ornament (some German writers, however, use the word *field* to define the motifs), while the borders are numbered starting from the inner one and specifying the main, or largest, border and the guards or narrow bands which divide them. This system may be adapted to describe saddle-bags, tent-bags and animal trappings.

In city workshops, fixed vertical looms make large pieces possible, and women knotters work from a cartoon under male supervision. Villagers use both vertical and horizontal looms, while among the tribes the latter is normal. The tribal loom (Pl. XX), evolved into streamlined simplicity, consists of wood warp beams, pegged into the ground. It is light, easily transported and flexible since it can be used to weave tapestry or, with the addition of a tripod supporting heddle rods, can be adapted for knotting or various compound weaves. It is necessarily small, and tension is difficult to control since it may be moved while a rug is being made. While cotton warps are favoured in cities and villages, tribal rugs until recently were knotted on wool warps, or a mixture of wool and goat hair, giving them their characteristic suppleness. Tribal wool is of fine quality, carefully selected and dyed. Vegetable dyes were retained longer by the tribes than by settled weavers, and a much-admired feature is the variations in tone, known as *abrash*, due to the dyeing of small batches of wool as required. Most of the dye plants like madder, weld and indigo are common, and it is the recipes which give colours their individuality.

The technique of knotting varies. In southern Iran knots are tied with the fingers and cut with a knife, while up in the north-west the wool is pulled through the warps with a hooked tool, at the other end of which is the cutting-blade. Having begun with up to 20 cm. of flat-weave, known as an "end", the weaver ties one, two or more rows of knots and between these inserts a row or two of plain-weave wefts, packing them down firmly with a carpet comb (Pl. XXI) to hold the knots in position. The cording at the sides is put in as the work progresses. Tribal weavers will use an old rug as a model and are free to improvise, especially on detail. The rug is finished with another "end" and the excess warps form the fringes. Clipping of the pile, requiring great skill, is done by tribeswomen as they go along, while in city workshops the knots are roughly slashed and the finished carpet, looking like an unkempt hedge, is clipped by a specialist. Tribal knotting varies from the coarse, shaggy pile of

Yürük rugs to the fine, velvety surface of Türkmen bags. Each has its own attraction, since the design is evolved to enhance the quality of the wool.

3. History. The carpet from Barrow 5 at Pazyryk (see S.I. Rudenko, *Naseleniya gornogo Altaya v Skifskoe Vremya*, Moscow-Leningrad 1953. Eng. tr. M.W. Thompson, *Frozen tombs of Siberia*, London 1970, 298-304) pushed back the beginnings of carpet history from the 6th century A.D. to the late 3rd century B.C. It is, however, a sophisticated piece, both in technique and design, arguing a long-developed tradition. It is unlikely that it was made by the Altai people, and it more plausibly reflects an eclectic taste for exotic imports. The Pazyryk burials, however, provide invaluable evidence of the life style of these Central Asian pastoral nomads, putative ancestors of later tribal groups, which was notable then, as now, for the major part played by textiles in their economy and cultural heritage. With their wealth based on their animals, and their sources of conflict pasturage and water, they made seasonal migrations, as do the Bak̲h̲tiyārī, the Ḳas̲h̲ḳā'ī and K̲h̲amseh in Iran today. They produced a class of mounted warriors who revolutionised warfare for both the Romans and the Chinese, gave rise to innumerable legends and bred distrust and fear among urban dwellers. It is likely that the women undertook the spinning and weaving, and even today these activities are considered effeminate by tribesmen with the memory of an élite warrior caste (Pl. XX). It can be surmised that knotting originated among even earlier pastoral nomads living in a harsh winter climate who were naturally reluctant to slaughter their animals and, as an alternative to fleeces, evolved a warm, tufted fabric. K. Erdmann and others believed that knotting may have developed among Turkic peoples in West Turkestan, (Erdmann, *Der orientalische Knüpfteppiche*, Tübingen 1955, Eng. tr. C.G. Ellis, *Oriental carpets*, Fishguard 1976, 14-16) and it would seem likely that it arrived in Anatolia with the Sald̲j̲ūḳs in the 11th century A.D., where it was established by the 13th century as is attested by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ pieces from the mosque of 'Alā' al-Dīn in Konya (now in the Türk ve Islam Müzesi, Istanbul, illustr. in O. Aslanapa, *Turkish art and architecture*, London 1971). Also, Marco Polo, writing of his visit to Anatolia in 1271-2, says that the finest carpets in the world were made in Konya, Sivas and Kayseri, while Abu 'l-Fidā, quoting Ibn Sa'īd, who died in 1274, says that Aḳsarāy's carpets were exported "to all countries", and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the 14th century mentions that Turkish carpets were widely exported. Since many tribes surviving into modern times claim Turkic descent, it is no surprise to find design elements which are traceable to Sald̲j̲ūḳ pilework. The all-over geometricised repeat, found in the Konya pieces, is a characteristic of Türkmen floor rugs, while octagons, hooked medallions and eight-pointed stars, together with border motifs (always the most conservative element in rug design), like the angular scrolling stem, key fret and arrowhead, are ubiquitous in tribal rugs and village rugs from Turkey, the Caucasus and Iran. Some of the creatures which appear frequently on Akstafa, Ḳas̲h̲ḳā'ī and K̲h̲amseh rugs also have a long pedigree, for their distant ancestors appear in Italian paintings of the 13th to 15th centuries, copied from rugs imported to Italy from Asia Minor (for a detailed discussion of painting evidence see *Bibl.*) *The marriage of the Virgin*, painted in the early 14th century by Niccolo di Buonacorso, in the National Gallery, London, shows a carpet with repeating octagons, each enclosing a large-tailed bird, precursor of the fantastic birds knotted into 19th century rugs from south-western Iran; while of surviving knotted examples, similar birds appear in one of the Konya fragments, and the Marby rug, of early 15th century date, now in the Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, has two octagons, each enclosing a pair of crested birds on either side of a stylised tree (see C.J. Lamm, *The Marby Rug and some other fragments of carpets found in Egypt* (see above section i. 2. 6. for full ref.).

Since they were subjected to continuous wear, very few tribal rugs of a pre-19th century date have survived (although notable exceptions are the Türkmen rugs in the Ethnographic Museum, Leningrad, unpublished in the West), making it impossible to write a coherent history. It can be inferred, however, that these ancient patterns persisted in spite of the revolutionary changes in 16th century Iran under royal patronage, emulated in Ottoman court workshops, where the influence of illuminators and bookbinders emphasised the centre of the carpet and introduced a large new répertoire of motifs. The village and tribal traditions seem to have developed independently of the cities but, although they were inevitably more conservative, there is evidence of borrowing and of organic growth; and 19th century rugs show considerable diversity in the treatment of old themes.

The 19th century, which saw the earliest European documentation of the Central Asian tribes, also marked a watershed, for the definition of the national frontiers of Iran, Russia and Afghanistan dealt a major blow to pastoral nomadism, and this century has seen wholesale settlement.

The ethnically most homogeneous tribal confederacy was the Türkmen, who retained their exclusivity until their territory on the Trans-Caspian steppes was split up in the 1880s. Modern study has demon-strated major shifts of influence within the confederacy, however, with tribes like the Salur and Sarïḳ, powerful in the 17th and 18th centuries, being overtaken in the 19th by the Tekke and becoming extinct as tribal entities (see S. Azadi, *Türkmenische Teppiche*, exhibition cat., Hamburg, Eng. tr. 1970, *Turkoman carpets*, London 1975, 13-14 for detailed lists of tribes and *ṭā'ifehs*).

Türkmen pilework is justly famous for its hard, glossy wool, excellent vegetable dyes and fine knotting, normally using the asymmetrical or Persian knot (but see M.H. Beattie, in *The Turcoman of Iran* [see Bibl.], 38-41, for exceptions), and Türkmen rugs are unmistakable with their ground and borders of the same colour, always red, but varying from the clear tones of Salur and Tekke to the ox-blood of the Sarïḳ and aubergine of the Yomut, and having in the central field an all-over repeat of *güls* which, when used as primary ornament, served as a tribal totem, *tamg̲h̲a*, exclusive to the tribe which used it. Tekke floor rugs (Pl. XXII) have octagonal *güls* quartered by a lattice to enclose trifoliate forms identified by Moskova as birds (see Azadi, *op. cit.*, 20-41) and also of totemic significance, while the Yomut owned a number of *güls* including the *kepse*, based on plant forms, and the *dïrnak*, a hooked diamond enclosing birds (illustr. in Azadi, *op. cit.*, and U. Schurmann, *Central Asian carpets*, London 1969, pls. 15-25). It is known, however, that the Sarïḳ and Tekke used older forms of the *gül* than those featuring in 19th century rugs, while secondary *güls* and border patterns pose complex

problems, since it is now suggested that these may be the ornaments originally belonging to another tribal group which was subjugated or absorbed. Moreover, a subjugated tribe, having lost its right to its primary ornament, possibly transferred it to small items like bags, while the victorious group might incorporate the weaker tribe's primary ornament in its own smaller pieces. Ersarî rugs are unusual in showing strong outside influences and, in addition to classic Türkmen motifs, large central medallions are introduced to bags while floor rugs and prayer rugs may have floral patterns, treated semi-naturalistically and in a higher tonal key (illustr. in Azadi, *op. cit.*, pls. 7, 9, and 36, and Schurmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 41-56). As well as floor rugs, the Türkmen women used to knot many articles for their own use, including the tent-band, *yolami, bu, yup,* which encircled the tent lattice with the knotted pattern on a white plainweave ground facing inwards; the *engsi* or *ensi*, a handsome rug with a cruciform design which acted as a tent door; the *kapunik*, a fringed decoration hung over the inside doorway; and a variety of bags, from saddle-bags, *khordjin*, large storage bags, *čoval*, to smaller ones, *torba*, for specific purposes like storing bread, spindles, etc., These articles performed the functions of storing the household equipment, transporting it on the migration and giving the interior of the round, felt-roofed tent an appearance of tapestry-hung splendour.

The finest knotting was reserved for covers, *tainaktsha*, for the much-valued horses, and the Yomut, who made the widest variety of articles and patterns, used to knot a set of trappings for the bridal camel, consisting of pentagonal flank hangings, *asmalïk* (discussed in detail in R. Pinner and M. Franses, *Turkoman studies*, i, London 1979), frequently patterned with hooked stems or lozenges (Pl. XXIII), and matching knee-hangings, *diyah dizlik*, while the two bundles of tent-poles lashed to a camel when on the move would each have a bag-shaped cover, *uk bash*, fitted over their protruding ends.

Türkmen patterns have been influential, the two groups which have borrowed most substantially from them being the Afghān and the Balūč. Modern Afghān rugs are knotted in the towns of Pakistan. Old ones, however, made by tribes related to the Ersarî in northern Afghānistān, had qualities of their own. With a medium high pile, using the asymmetrical or Persian knot, their central fields show an adaptation of the Tekke *gül*, without the lattice, although the squarish octagons are quartered and enclose trifoliate stems and leaves. They have more minor ornament than modern examples, and their colours, which include blues, yellows and browns on a red ground, are in a higher key. Borders include geometricised plant forms, also borrowed from the Türkmen, and angular ribbon. Commercial success has resulted in the standardisation of patterns and colours, and rugs are often chemically washed to produce the "golden Afghans" popular in the West.

A black-tented people, the Balūč nomadise in arid country now forming parts of Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. They utilise the good but undurable wool of their sheep and undyed camel hair for warps, wefts and knotting, the Turkish or symmetrical knot being more favoured, to produce a long, medium coarse pile. Distinctive features are the elaborately beautiful ends in a variety of flat-weaves, and a limited range of dark colours: blues, blackish browns, several reds and white. Their patterns reflect borrowing from Türkmen, Caucasian and Afshār sources, absorbed and reproduced in a characteristic manner. Floor rugs show octagons and Yomut borders, or all-over floral repeats treated semi-naturalistically and resembling Ersarî-Beshir rugs, this type being more commonly made in Iran. Their most typical product is the small prayer-rug with a stylised "Tree of Life" on an undyed camel hair ground.

Among the several tribes of Lur origin in western Iran, the Bakhtiyārī still migrate twice-yearly over difficult country in the Zagros mountains, in the proximity of other Lurs and of Mamassānī, Ḳashḳā'ī and Khamseh. Few of the so-called "Bakhtiyārī" rugs are tribal pieces, but were made by villagers in the Čahār Maḥall area, near Iṣfahān (see Edwards, *op. cit.*, 309-12, pls. 354-64). The Bakhtiyārī do very little weaving now, but still make a type of bag which is unique to them, the front and back of which are in flat-weave, usually *sumak* weft-wrapping with, along the bottom and up the sides, a strip of rather coarse, shaggy pile in the Turkish or symmetrical knot. This gives durability and is visually pleasing when the bags are stacked in the tent. Favourite motifs are 8-pointed stars in octagons, rosettes, the *Z-boteh* and borders of scrolling stem, while the flat-weave areas share these motifs and often have animals as well. Sizes vary from a very large saddle-bag, *talïs*, and bedding-bag, *mafrash*, and storage bags which can be loaded on to pack animals, *rūkati*, to small, lavishly decorated bags, *namak-dān*, with narrow necks for pouring. Colours are rich dark reds, browns and blues, with white cotton in the flat-weave areas. These bags, hardly known in the West, are often bought by the Khamseh and Ḳashḳā'ī and can be seen in their tents.

The Afshārs, another tribe of Turkic descent, are believed to have been deported from Ādharbāydjān to Kirmān province by Shāh Ismā'īl in the 16th century. Surrounded by Persian villagers, their tribal identity became blurred, so that it is difficult to distinguish a nomad from a village Afshār rug. Both knots are found. Old tribal pieces show a colour scheme of rich mid-blues, a clear red, yellow and ivory, and favour the diamond medallion layout, but the Persian *boteh* is often used as an all-over repeat, known as *dehadj*, and the chicken, *murghī*, found all over Fārs, is a favourite, while more naturalistic floral designs have been borrowed from Kirmān carpets. Borders, which are finely organised, range from rosettes, medallions and angular scrolling stem to Iṣfahānī floral ornament.

The tribal situation in Fārs province in south-western Iran has long been a complex one, since it is nomad country *par excellence*, with the Zagros mountains and hill valleys in the north and warmer plains south of Shīrāz, so that the migration routes of a number of tribes have impinged on one another. The two largest tribal confederacies, the Ḳashḳā'ī and the Khamseh, were founded for political reasons, the Ḳashḳā'ī during the 18th century and the Khamseh in 1861-2. The major *ṭā'ifeh*s of the Ḳashḳā'ī are Turkic, with some Lurs, Afshārs and Persians, while the Khamseh consists of five tribes of Turkic, Persian and Arab stock. Some tribespeople, however, are settled in villages, while of other groups like the Bolvardi, small sections belong to the Ḳashḳā'ī and the rest are villagers with no tribal allegiance. There has been wholesale borrowing of patterns and, since both knots are used, consequent difficulty in rug classification. The Ḳashḳā'ī have a reputation for the finest rugs. Their most typical composition, three stepped or hooked medallions in

the central field, is shared by the Khamseh and other tribes, but in Ḳashḳā'ī pieces each medallion encloses a motif described as a crab or a stretched sheepskin but more likely a stylised plant form (Pl. XXIII). This simple scheme is garnished with detail: hooked octagons, rosettes, the Persian *boteh*, the Chinese knot and flower sprigs, as well as a menagerie of creatures like stylised peacocks, porcupines, gazelles, goats (Pl. XXIVa), hawks, chickens and bees, powdering the ground with a nice sense of space. Another type has repeating *botehs* all over the central field, a layout shared by the Afshārs. Main borders include the calyx and scrolling stems of city carpets (Pl. XXIII), but the narrow guard bands often retain older forms like the oblique stripe and reciprocal diamond. Skilled dyeing, for which the Shesh Bolūkī Reshkūlī and Bullū were renowned, produced a sharp, clear red, several blues, a rich, creamy yellow, apricot, and soft dark brown and green, skilfully juxtaposed against ivory. Rug patterns are repeated on saddlebags of fine workmanship (Pl. XXIVb), chickens are shown here drinking at a fountain. Tent bags are generally made in flat-weave, but the Ḳashḳā'ī have lavished sumptuous trappings on their horses, including saddle covers and horse-cloths to cover the animals when they are tethered, which have knotted patterns on a plain-weave ground, while fringed chest and rump bands are still made, often embellished with blue beads against the Evil Eye.

Some attributions of designs to specific *ṭā'ifehs* have been made (J. Allgrove, in *The Qashqā'i of Iran*, exhibition cat., Manchester 1976, 64-95, pls. 5-8, 37-46), but the ethnic complexity of all the Fārs tribes and the eclectic nature of their patterns are barriers to precise classification.

The role of the tribeswomen who have always been responsible for the textile crafts extends into other areas for, since their rugs are the visual manifestation of tribal culture, the women have been the artists of the tribe and custodians of tribal traditions, a phenomenon unknown in the West; similarly, in this situation artists are not a specialist class, but have made for their own use artefacts both functional and of great beauty, bringing to mind Rudenko's comment concerning the Pazyryk textiles on the "astonishing skill and care lavished on the most trifling of articles". These are powerful reasons for studying tribal knotting in its own context.

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(J. ALLGROVE)

BITUMEN [see ḲAṬRĀN].

1. Saldjūḳ. Ḳonya carpet. Türk ve Islâm eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul, No. 685. Publ. by K. Erdmann, *Der orient. Knüpfteppich*, fig. 2.

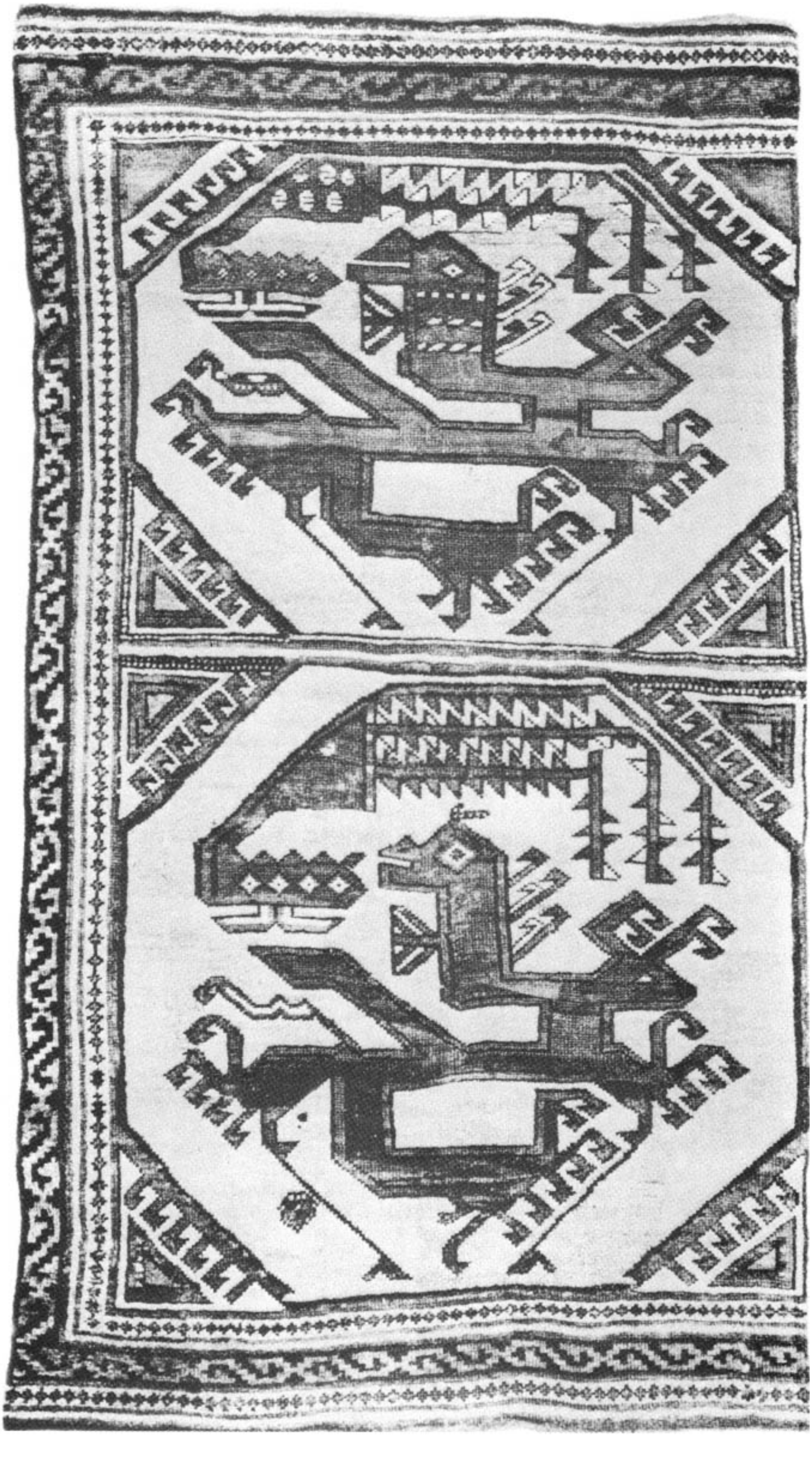

2. Carpet with "dragon-phoenix" pattern, Anatolia, 14th century, Islamisches Museum, East Berlin, No. 74.

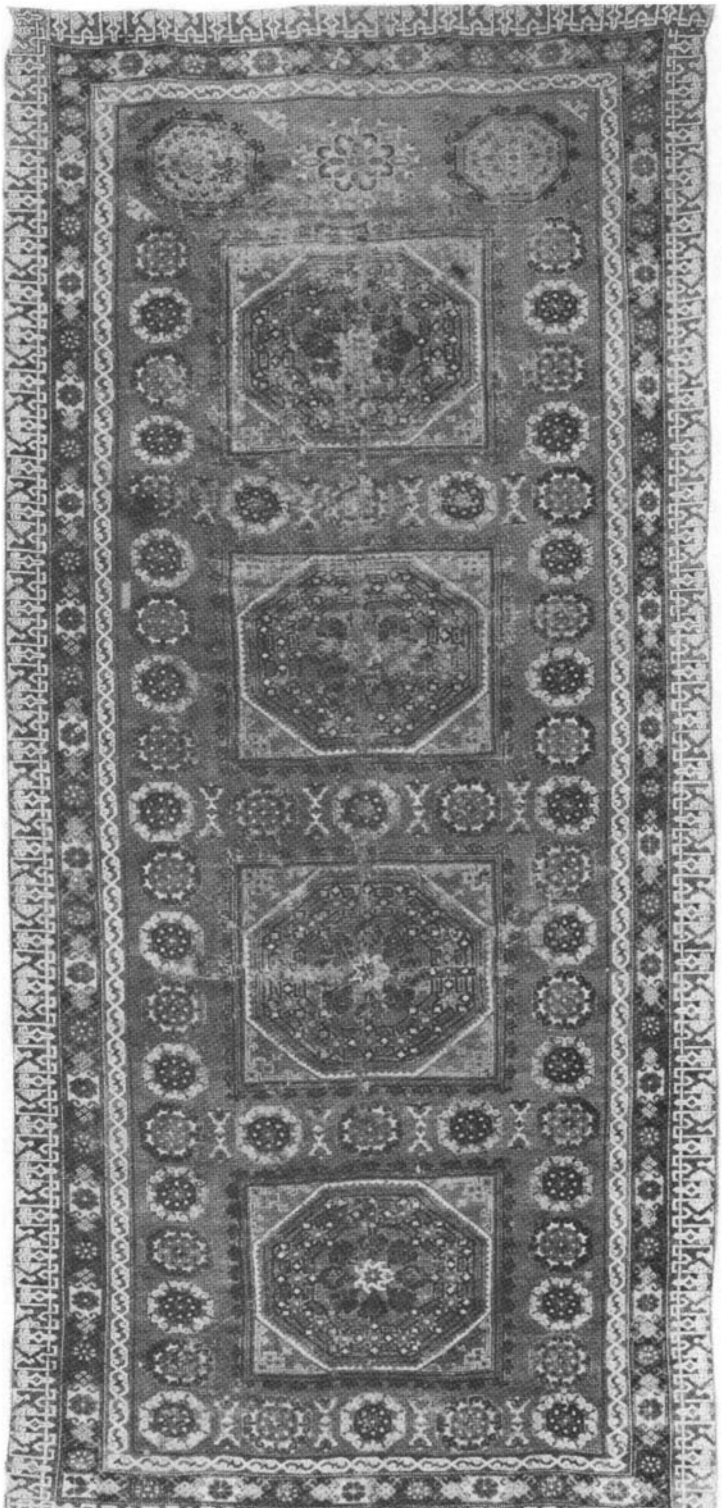

3. Ottoman. "Holbein" carpet, large type. Museum für Isl. Kunst, Berlin, No. I, 5526.

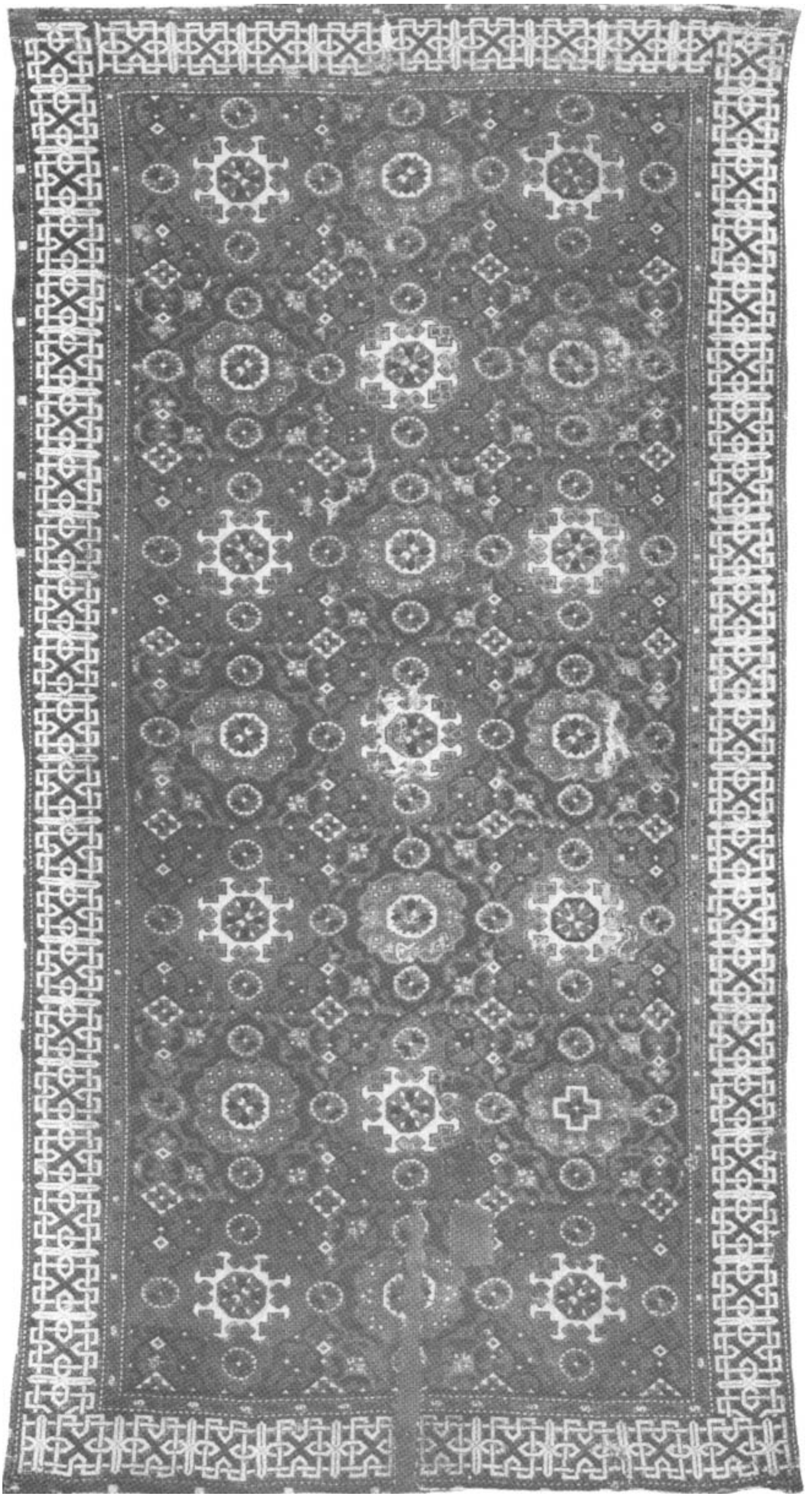

4. Ottoman. "Holbein" carpet, small type. Museum für Isl. Kunst, No. 82,894.

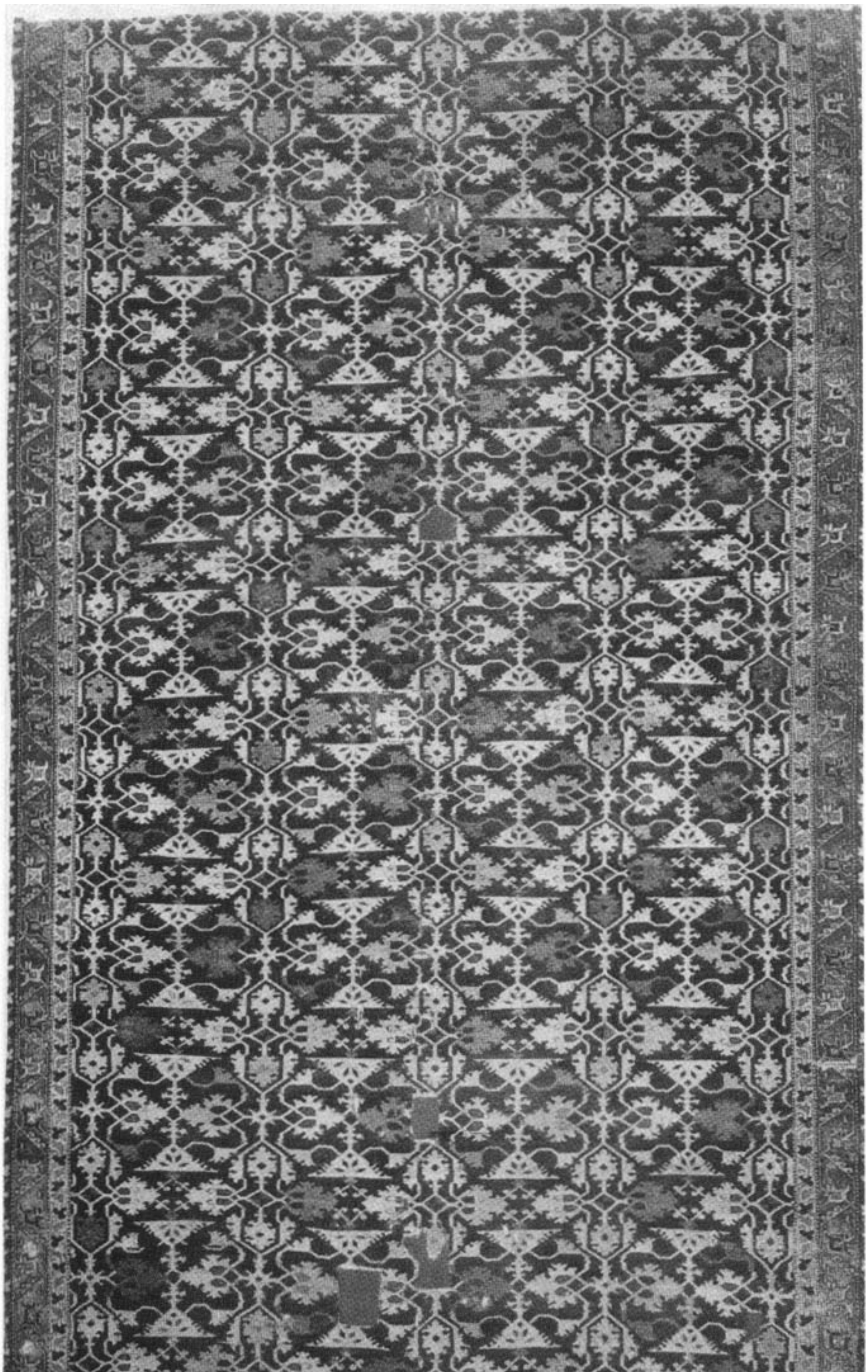

5. Ottoman. Lotto carpet, Museum für Isl. Kunst, Berlin, No. 82,707.

6. Ottoman. Medallion pattern ʿUs̲h̲āḳ carpet. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. T 71/1914. Publ. in *Guide to a collection of carpets*, V. and A. Museum, 1920, pl. XVI.

7. Ottoman. Star pattern ʿUs̲h̲āḳ carpet. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 58.63. Gift of Joseph McMullan, 1958. Publ. by J.V. McMullan, *Islamic carpets*, 1965, No. 67.

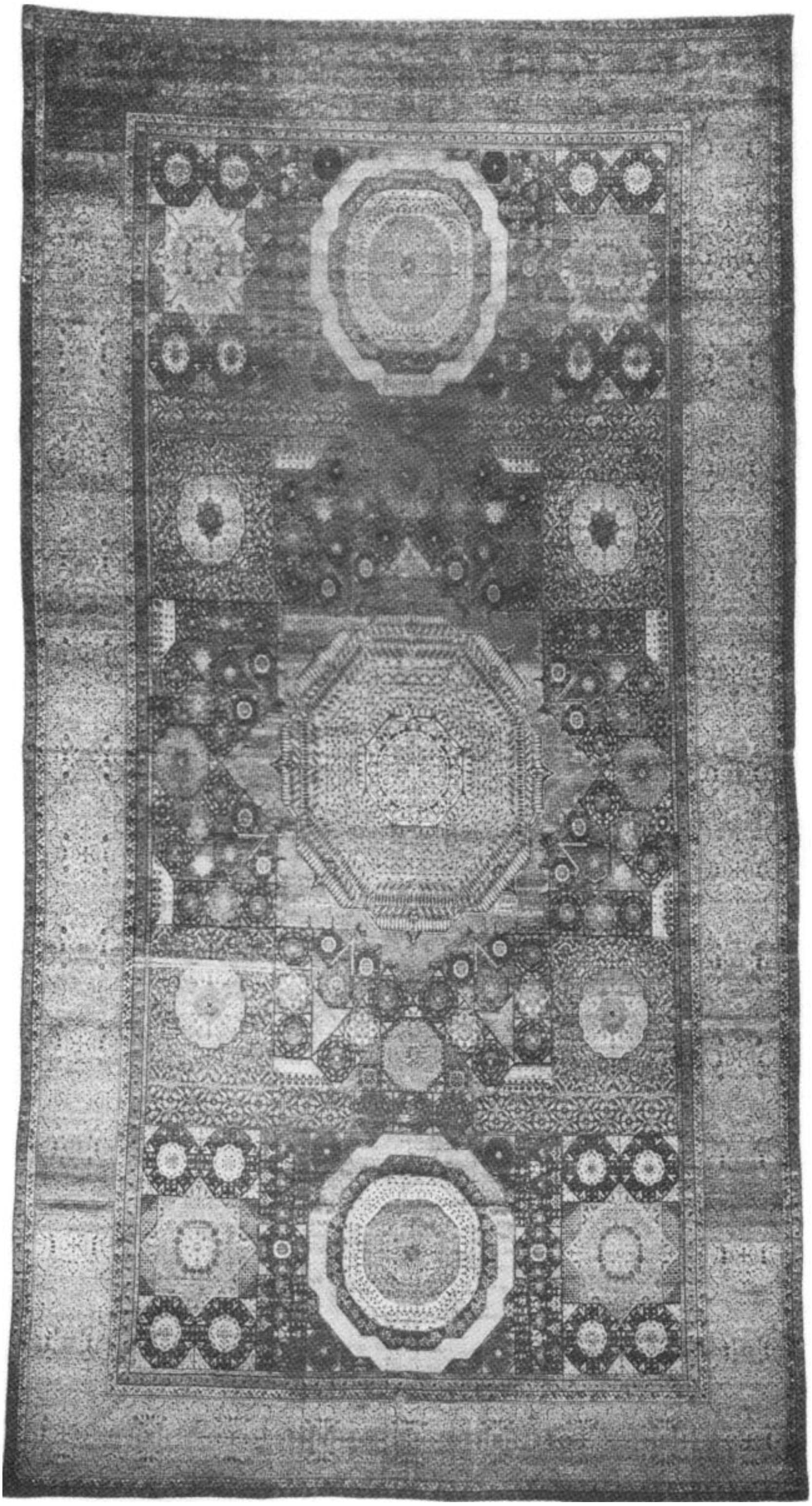

8. Mamlūk. Silk carpet, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna. Publ. by S. Troll, *Altorientalische Teppiche*, 1951, pl. 40.

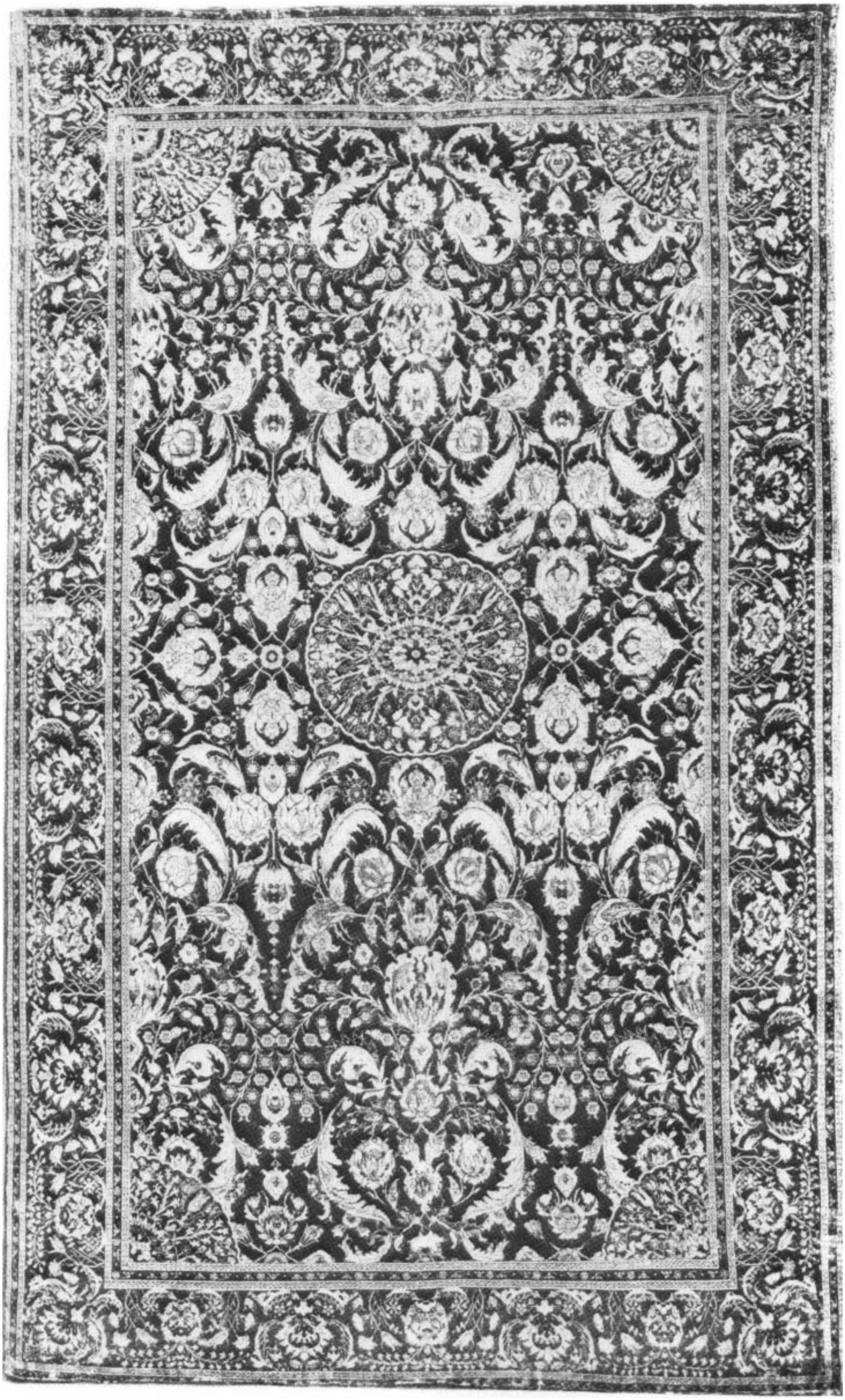

9. Ottoman. Collection de la Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, No. 7861. Publ. in *Arts de l'Islam*, exposition août 1971, No. 5.

10. Ṣafawid. "Chelsea" carpet, V. and A. Museum, No. 589/1890.

11. Ṣafawid. Medallion pattern carpet from north-western Persia. Museu Nacional de Arte antiga, Lisbon. Publ. in *L'Art de l'orient islamique*, 1963, No. 72 (Collection of the Gulbenkian Foundation).

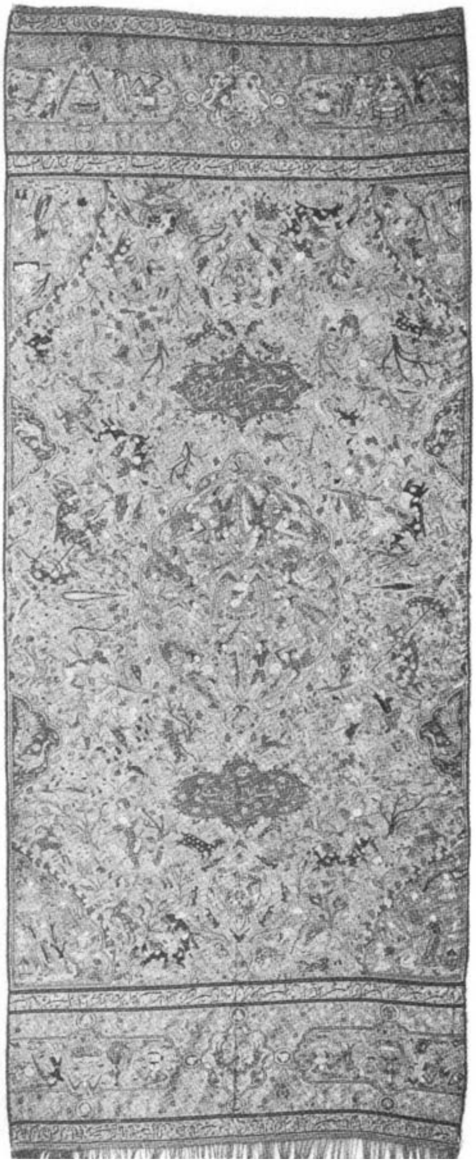

12. Ṣafawid. Woven silk carpet (389 × 152 cm., fragment), Residenzmuseum, Munich. Publ. by K. Erdmann, *Siebenhundert Jahre Orientteppiche*, 1966, pl. 1, fig. 24 (complete view).

13. Ṣafawid. Herāt carpet, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst. Publ. by Troll, *op. cit.*, No. 24.

14. Ṣafawid. Carpet with "vase" pattern, V. and A. Museum (17' 1" × 10' 10"). Publ. by A.U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, pl. 1227.

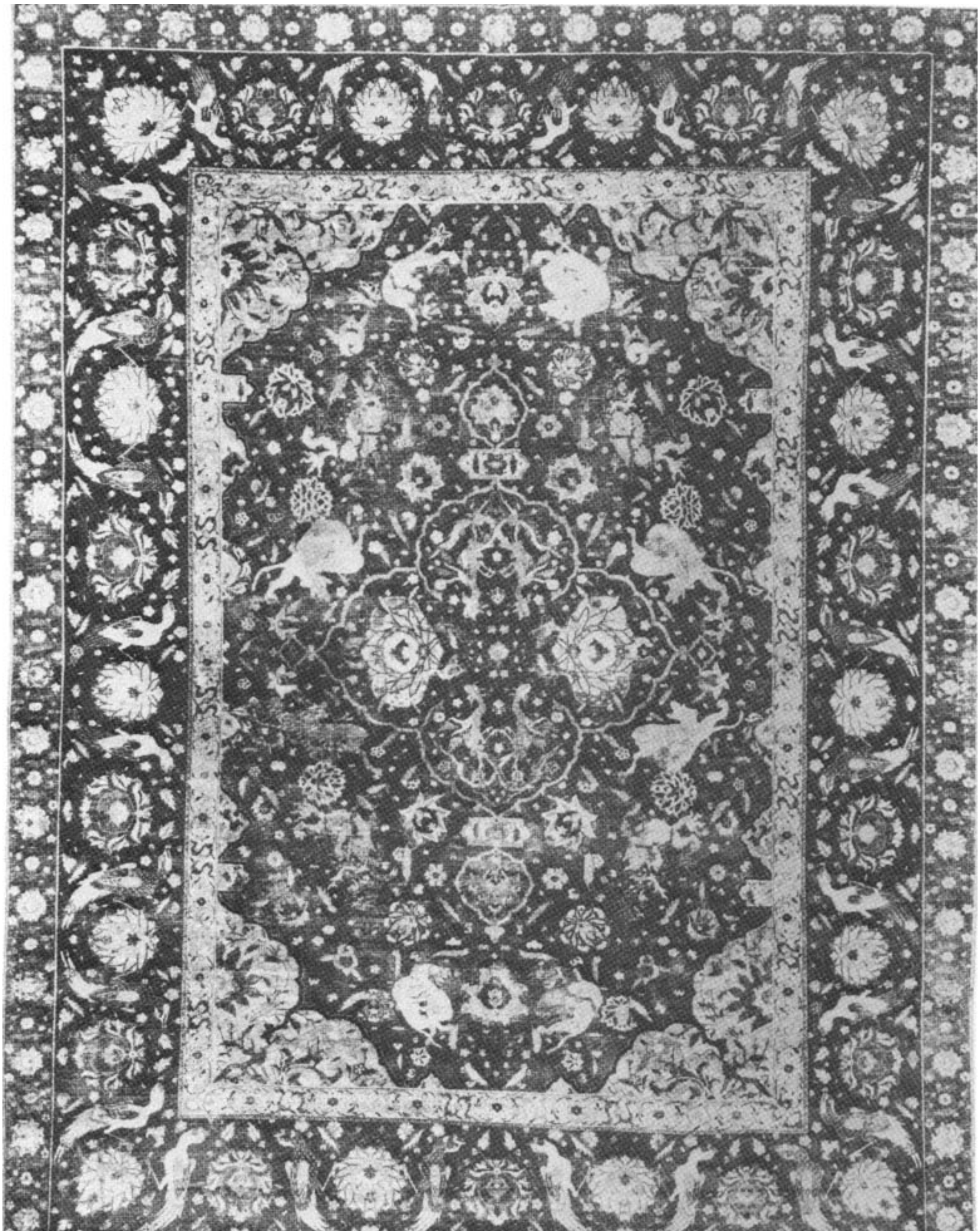

15. Kā<u>sh</u>ān. Silk carpet, Museu Nacional de Arte antiga. Publ. in *L'Art de l'orient islamique*, No. 70 (Collection of the Gulbenkian Foundation).

16. Ṣafawid. So-called "Polish" carpet, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 45.106. Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1945.

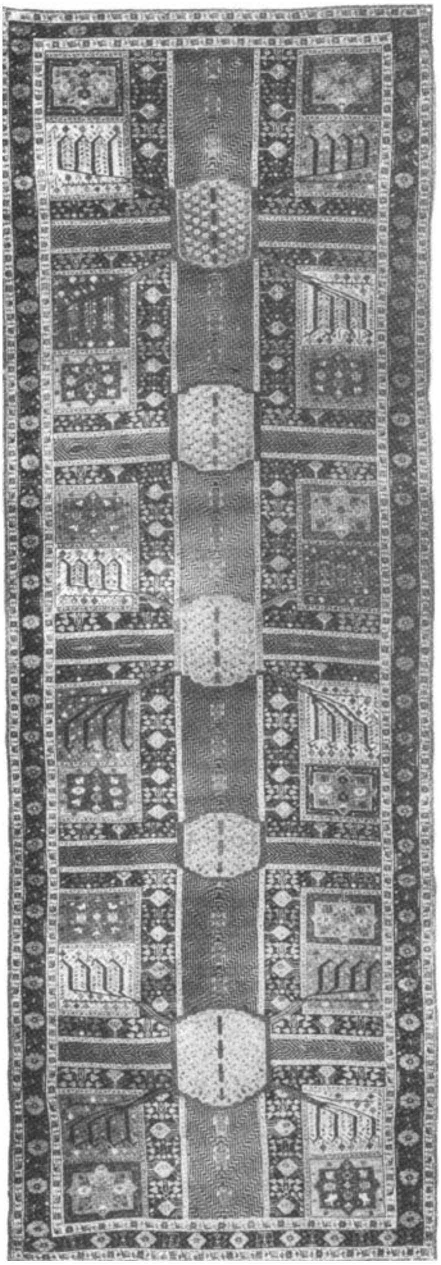

17. Carpet with "garden" pattern, Museum für Isl. Kunst, Berlin, No. I. 41/69.

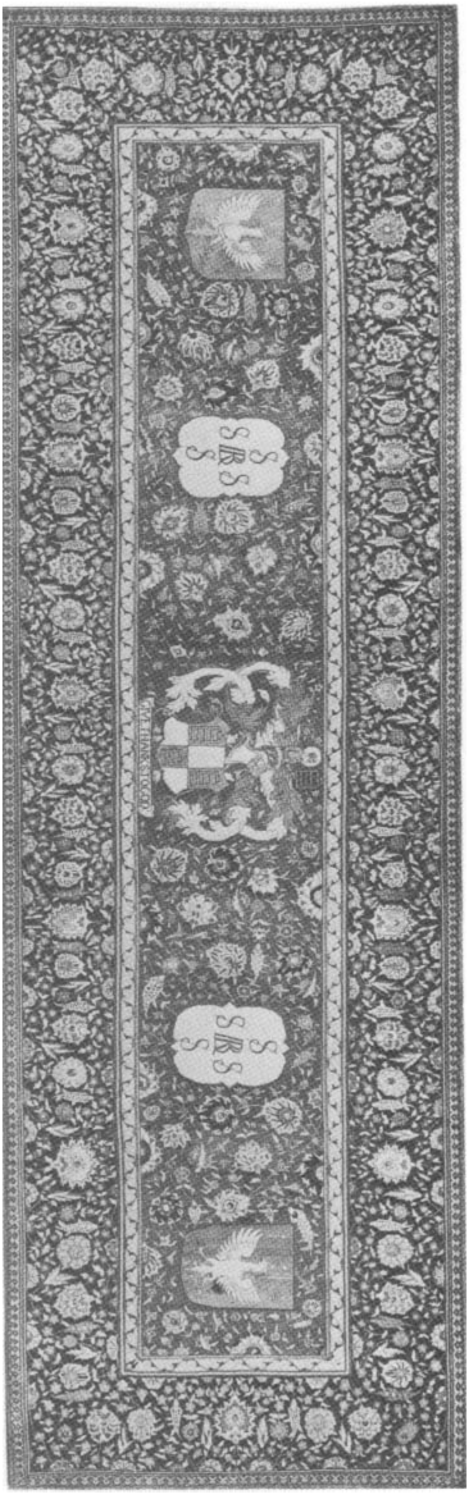

18. India. "Girdler" carpet, The Girdlers' Company, London. Publ. by Kendrick-Tattersall, *Handwoven carpets*, 1922, pl. 33.

20. Caucasus. Carpet with dragon design, Museum für Isl. Kunst, No. I. 2.

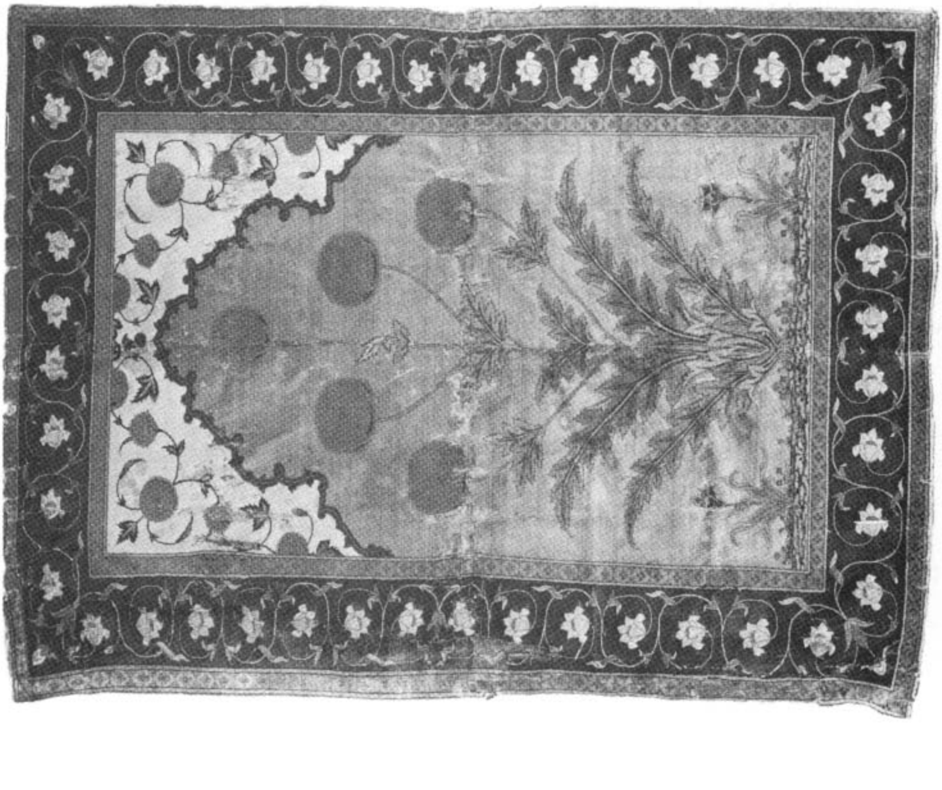

19. India. Mug͟hal prayer rug. Collection of J. Pincket, Belgium.

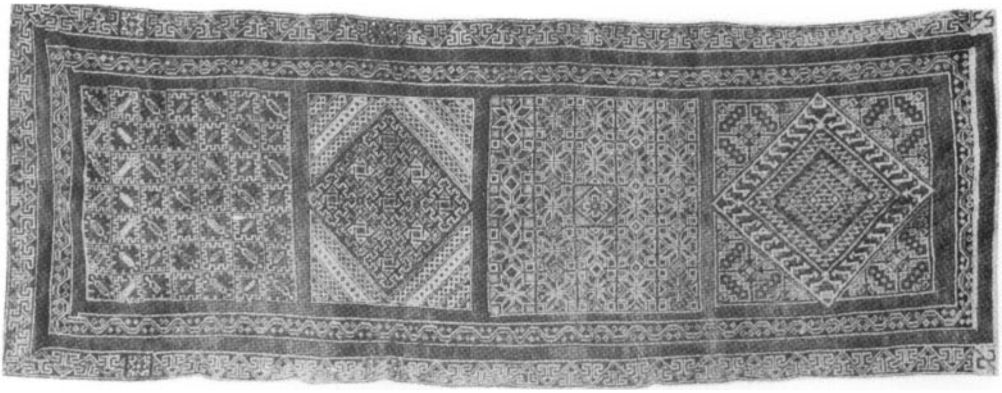

21. Carpet of the Ḥarakta (Algeria).

22. Carpet from Guergour (Algeria).

23. Carpet of the Nememsha (Algeria).

24. Carpet of D̲jebel Amour (Algeria) (reverse).

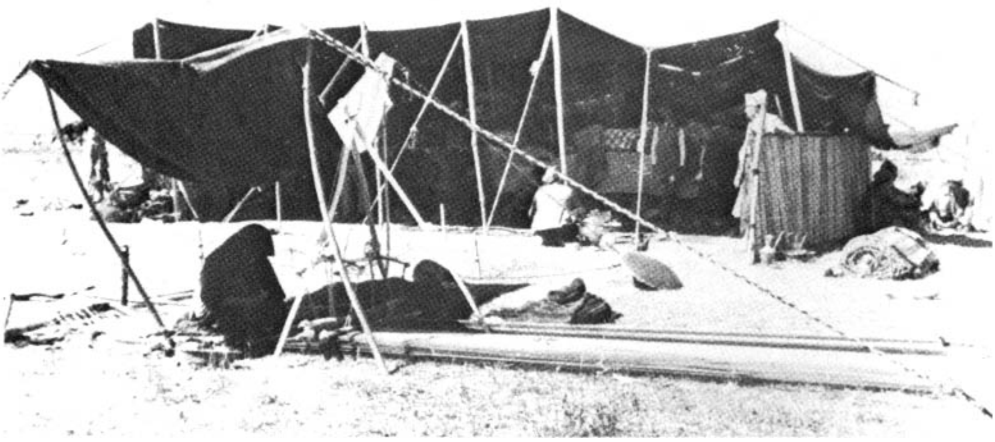

25. Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī tent with loom at K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲eh D̲j̲amak̲h̲, 1944 (Photo: Dr. O. Garrod).

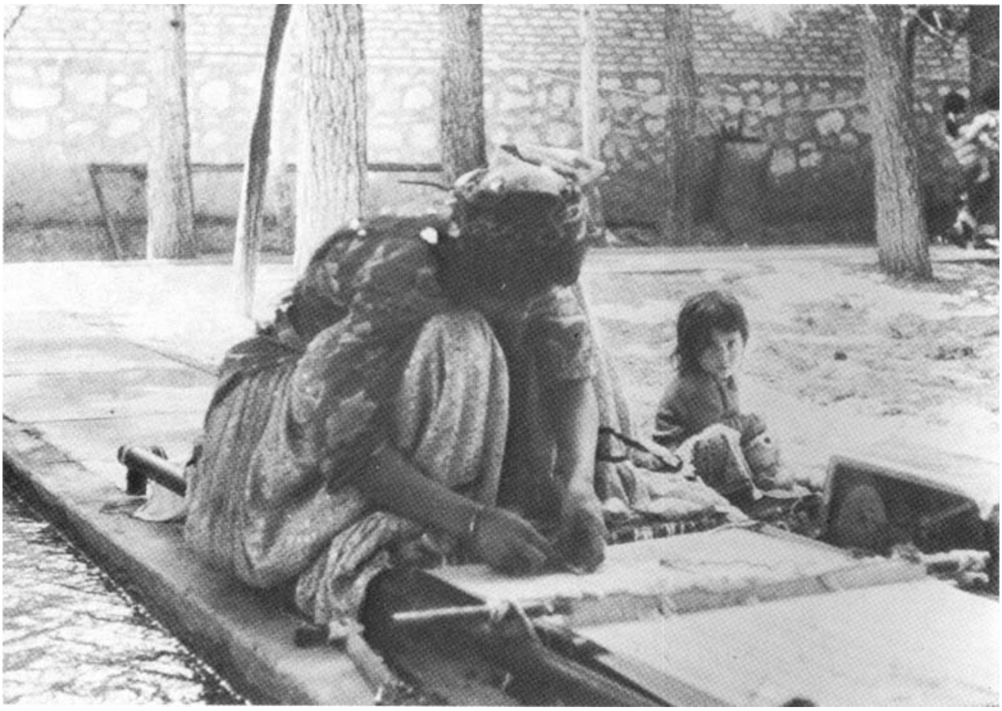

26. Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī woman spinning (Photo: P. Wallum).

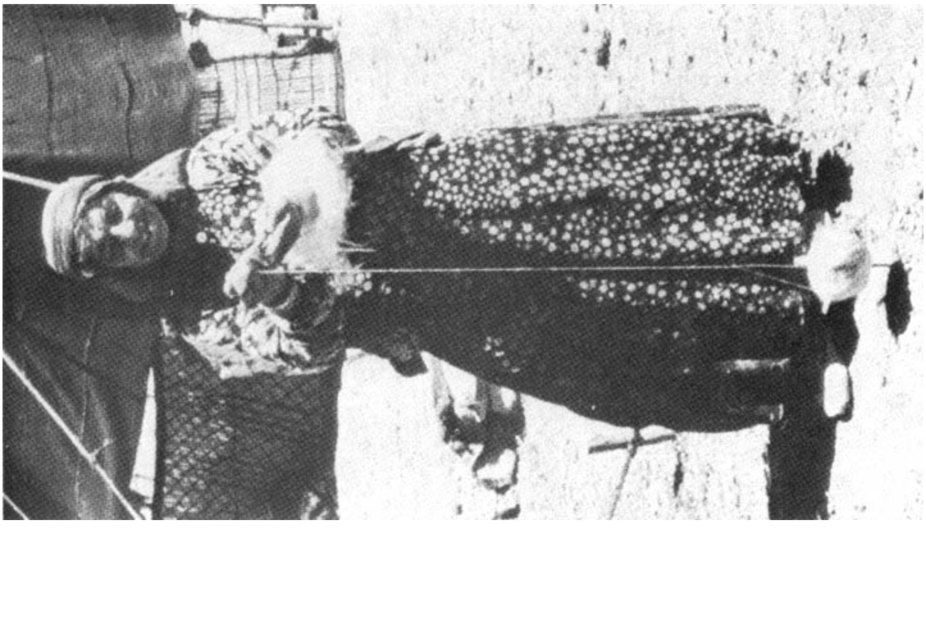

27. Carpet knotting at the Tribal Weaving School, S͟hīrāz (Photo: J. Allgrove).

28. Packing down the wefts (Photo: P. Wallum).

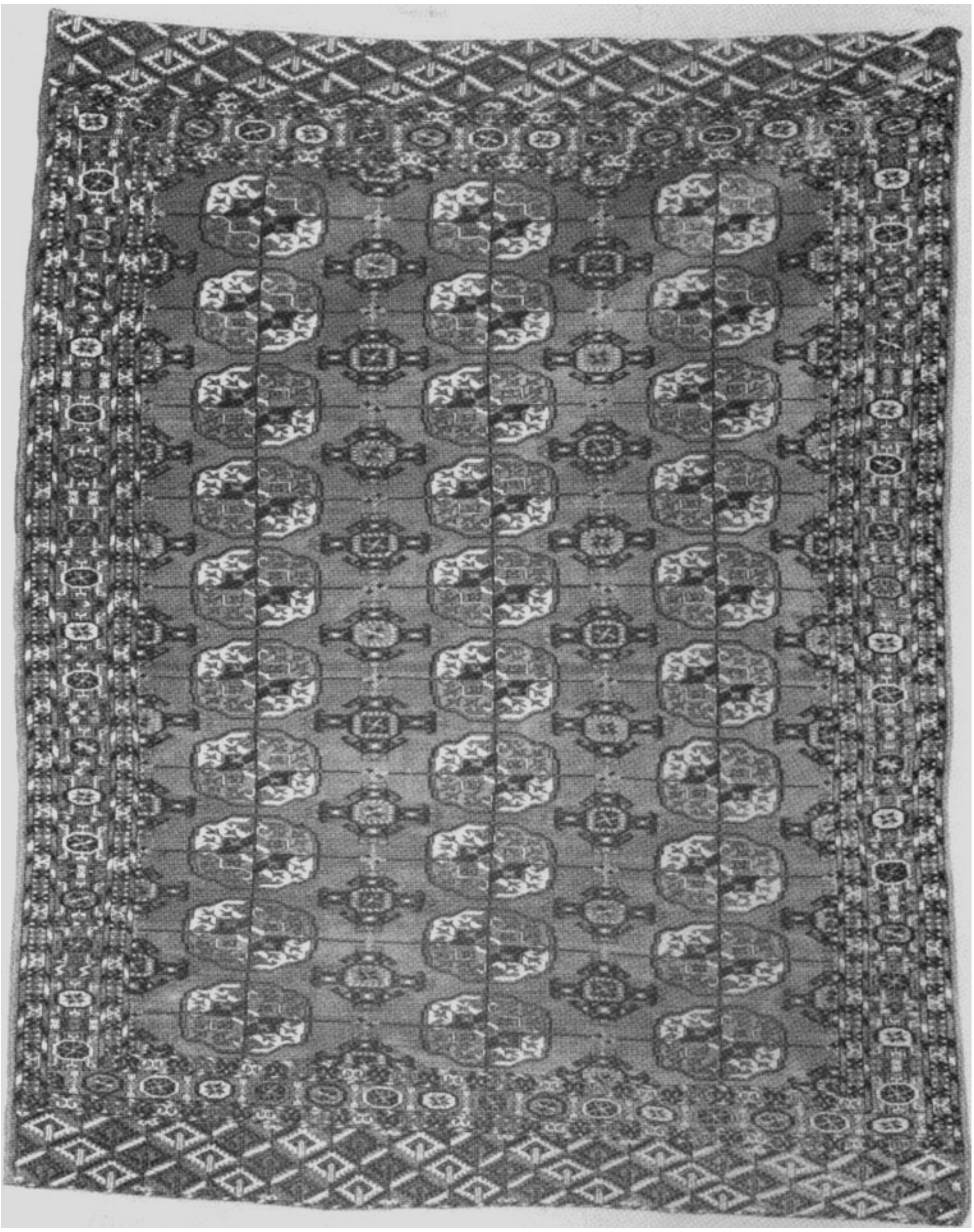

29. Floor rug, Tekke Türkmen (Sotheby's, London).

30. *Asmalïk* (camel flank hanging), Yomut Türkmen (Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester University).

31. Floor rug, Ḳas͟hḳāʾī, Raḥīmlu of the Ṣafī K͟hānī *Ṭāʾifeh* (Private collection).

32. a, b. Saddle-bag faces, Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī (David Black Oriental Carpets).

BIYĀR, AL-**BIYĀR** (A. "wells, springs"), modern Biyārdjumand, a small town on the northern edges of the Great Desert, the Dasht-i Kavīr, of Persia. The mediaeval geographers describe it as being three days' journey from Bisṭām and 25 *farsakhs* from Dāmghān, and as falling administratively within the province of Ḳūmis [*q.v.*], although in Sāmānid times (4th/10th century) it seems to have been attached to Nīshāpūr in Khurāsān. It was the terminus of an only-moderately frequented route across the northeastern corner of the desert to Turshīz in Ḳūhistān.

We have in Muḳaddasī, 356-7, 372, an especially detailed description of the town, considering its moderate size and importance, lying as it did off the great highway connecting western Persia with Khurāsān; this is explicable by the fact that Muḳaddasī's maternal grandfather had emigrated thence to Jerusalem. He mentions that Biyār had good cultivated fields and orchards, and grazing grounds for sheep and camels; the rather scanty water supply was carefully controlled in irrigation channels. There was an inner citadel approached through a single gateway, but there were three iron gates in the outer walls. There was no Friday mosque, and the inhabitants were all Ḥanafīs, strongly opposed to the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*]; nevertheless, Muḳaddasī states elsewhere (365) that the Karrāmiyya had a *khānaḳāh* in Biyār. He further stresses the building skills of the Biyārīs, above all in the medium of mud brick. Politically it came within the Sāmānid dominions at this time, and coins in the name of the Sāmānid *amīrs* were minted there between 298/910-11 and 369/979-80; a coin is also extant of the Ghaznawids, from the year 426/1035, the eve of the passing of the provinces of Khurāsān and Ḳūmis into Saldjūḳ hands (E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzpragungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 83). Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut i, 517, mentions several scholars produced by Biyār, amongst whom were some noted Ḥanafī ones. Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 148, refers to the town's good cereals, but apart from these mentions we possess little information on the place.

A few European travellers, beginning with Forster towards the end of the 18th century, began to cross the northern edge of the Great Desert and to pass through Biyār, by now known as Biyārdjumand (the "Bearjemund" of Capt. C. Clerk, in *Jnal. of the Geographical Soc.*, xxxi (1861), 53). There were in Clerk's time some 200 houses there, with a good water supply from *ḳanāts* and gardens and fields; in the nearby hills, the Kūh-i Biyārdjumand, copper, galena and marble were obtained, cf. W. Tomaschek, *Zur historische Topographie von Persien. II. Die Wege durch die persische Wüste*, in *SBWAW*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., cviii (1885), 632-3. At the present day, Biyārdjumand is the chef-lieu of the *bakhsh* of the same name, in the *shahrastān* of Shāhrūd, in the second *ustān* of Iran; its population is *ca.* 2,600, see Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā'-yi Irān*, iii, 54.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article) : Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 366, 368; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 823-6; A. Gabriel, *Durch Persiens Wüsten*, Stuttgart 1935, 119-20; idem, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 303; H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der Šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von der Anfangen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 123. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

BIYIKLI [see MEHMED PASHA].

BLAZON [see RANK].

BLESSING [see BARAKA].

BOAT [see SAFĪNA].

BÖLÜKBASHĪ, RIḌĀ TEWFĪḲ, modern Turkish orthography RIZA TEVFİK BÖLÜKBAŞI, Turkish poet and writer (1866-1949). He was born in Djisr-i Muṣṭafā Pasha in Rumelia (Dimitrovgrad in present-day Bulgaria, formerly Čaribrod) while his father Khōdja Meḥmed Tewfīḳ Efendi, a civil servant and teacher, was *ḳāyïmaḳām* there. His mother, a Circassian slave girl, died when Riḍā was eleven years old. His grandfather Aḥmed Durmush Bölükbashī was a guerilla leader from Debra in Albania who had fought against the Greeks during the rising in the Morea ([Feridun] Kandemir, *Kendi ağzından Rıza Tevfik* ("Rıza Tevfik from his own mouth"), Istanbul 1943, 94-7, 109). After attending various schools (including the Alliance Israélite school and Galatasaray) in Istanbul, he finished in the *rüshdiyye* (high school) of Gelibolu (Gallipoli), his family town, and entered the school of political science (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*), whence he was however expelled for political activities and insubordination. He switched to medicine, and after several temporary suspensions, graduated in 1899. He worked as government doctor at the Customs Office in Istanbul until the restoration of the Constitution in July 1908, when he joined political life. An enthusiastic member of the ruling Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI], he was elected deputy for Edirne, but soon broke with the CUP leaders and joined the opposition and became one of the leading figures of the Liberal Union [see ḤÜRRIYYET WE IʾTILĀF FIRḲASĪ] (Refik Halid Karay, *Minelbab ilelmihrab*, Istanbul 1964, *passim*). He taught philosophy at the University of Istanbul and Turkish literature at the American Robert College. He served as Minister of Education in 1918 and was made president of the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi Dewlet*) in 1919. As a member of the collaborationist Ottoman government, he signed the treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920), which sealed his fate in the eyes of the Nationalists. Student protests forced him to give up his chair in the University (1921) and he fled the country following the Nationalist victory in Anatolia (September 1922). His name was later included in the list of the 150 undesirables [see YÜZELLILIKLER]. After a brief stay in Egypt, he served for seven years in the government of *Amīr* ʿAbd Allāh (a former fellow-deputy in the Ottoman Parliament) in Jordan, spent a year in the USA and eventually settled in Djūniyya in Lebanon, where he lived with his wife in retirement until he returned to Turkey in 1943, five years after the general amnesty of 1938. He died in Istanbul on 31 December 1949. Although Riḍā Tewfīḳ is known by the nickname *Feylesof* ("The Philosopher") on account of his numerous publications on philosophical topics (see below), which are mainly works of compilation (but which greatly contributed to the teaching of modern philosophy in Turkey), his real contribution to Turkish literature is as a poet. In the late 1890s a young poet, Meḥmed Emīn (Yurdakul) [*q.v.*], suddenly appeared on the literary scene and made a sensation by his use of spoken Turkish, syllabic metre and the use of popular subjects. He was greeted as a guide and innovator, but did not have any following as his poetry was uninspired, awkward in style and totally lacking in musical effect. In contrast, Riḍa Tewfīḳ, who started his career in the same period by writing poems on the line of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid and Tewfīḳ Fikret [*q.vv.*] found, in the early 1900s, the

key to a regeneration of Turkish poetry; he was able to capture the style, language and inner warmth of leading poets and popular mystic (dervish) poets without blindly imitating them, but re-creating their warm and lively atmosphere in a modern garb [see ḲARADJAOGHLAN, ḲAYGHUSUZ ABDĀL and YŪNUS EMRE]. His success ushered in a new trend which was later moulded into a school by Ḍiyā' (Ziya) Gökalp, that of the *Millī edebiyyāt* ("National literature"). Riḍā Tewfīḳ did not abandon the *ʿarūḍ* like most of his younger colleagues of the new school, but used it in parallel with the *hedje*. His influence on succeeding generations of poets continued in the 1920s and early 1930s and his style began to date only with the appearance of Orkhan Welī (Orhan Veli) Kanık and Fāḍil Ḥüsnī (Fazıl Hüsnü) Dağlarca, who revolutionised all concepts in Turkish poetry.

Riḍā Tewfīḳ Bölükbashī is the author of the following major works: *ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid we mülāhaẓāt-ī felsefiyyesi* ("A.H. and his philosophic reflections"), Istanbul 1329 *rūmī*/1913; *Felsefe dersleri* ("A course of philosophy"), i, Istanbul 1330 *rūmī*/1914; *Mufaṣṣal Ḳāmūs-ī felsefe* ("A comprehensive dictionary of philosophy"), i, Istanbul 1330 *rūmī*/1914; *Étude sur la religion des Hoûroufîs*, in Cl. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Hoûroufîs*, Leiden 1909; *Serabı ömrüm* ("Mirage of my life"), Lefkose (Nicosia) 1934, 2nd ed. Istanbul 1949, (contains all his poems, except some political satires); *Ömer Hayyam ve rübaileri*[2], Istanbul 1945, Introd.

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(FAHİR İZ)

BOOTY [see FAY', GHANĪMA].

BORNEO, a large island (area 292,000 sq. miles/755,000 km^2) straddling the equator in the Indonesian archipelago, and mainly covered with tropical rain forest. The spinal range of mountains rises to 13,455 ft./4,100 m. in Mount Kinabalu in the northeastern tip of the island. Politically, the greater part of the island has since 1949 formed the Indonesian region of Kalimantan (a name which Indonesia also applies to the whole island); along the northern coast lie Sabah, the former British crown colony of British North Borneo and Sarawak, both of whom joined the Malaysian Federation in 1963, and the British-protected sultanate of Brunei [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The following article deals only with the Indonesian part of the island; see also BORNEO in *EI*[1].

Indonesian Kalimantan is divided into four provinces (*daerah tingkat I*): Kalimantan Barat (Western Kalimantan, 157,066 sq. km., 2,019,936 inhabitants, capital: Pontianak), Kalimantan Tengah (Central Kalimantan, 156,552 sq. km., 699,589 inhabitants, capital: Palangka Raya), Kalimantan Selatan (Southern Kalimantan, 34,611 sq. km., 1,699,105 inhabitants, capital: Banjarmasin), and Kalimantan Timur (Eastern Kalimantan, 202,619 sq. km., 733,536 inhabitants, capital: Samarinda). South and Central Kalimantan originally formed one province, until on 23 May 1957, the area was divided because of the opposition of the Dayak people against the "Malays" (Muslims) in the southern parts.

1. *Earlier History*. In Sambas (north-western Kalimantan), which had been a Buddhist cultural centre already in the 6th century A.D., a descendant of the sultan's family of Johore established a sultanate at the time of Brunei's conversion to Islam (between 1514 and 1521), and Malays began to settle in the area. Chinese workers were brought to work in the gold mines, but in 1770 they revolted and formed semi-independent "republics" (*kung si*). Islam had little influence on them, and only after 1965, when they were required to confess one of the acknowledged religions in Indonesia, did a few of them become Muslims. Sambas has remained a stronghold of Malay culture. The area of Lawei, an old Javanese colony, and Matan on the Pawan river, turned to Islam soon after the conversion of the sea ports in northern Java. Sukadana, having—like Sambas—experienced the influence of Buddhist Sri Vijaya, was islamised mainly by Malay and Arab traders from Palembang, which at that time (first half of 16th century) was under the rule of Demak. In 1608-9 Surabaya imposed its dominance, until in 1622 Sultan Agung of Mataram wiped out the influence of his main rival. Only in these areas of south-western Kalimantan Barat, did classical Javanese (*Kawi*) remain "the sultan's language", in Ketapang e.g. until this century, although in this place only a *panembahan* resided. The 18th century saw the rise of the sultanate of Pontianak, founded in 1771 by an Arab adventurer, Sharīf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of a Ḥaḍramawtī and a princess of Matan. Pontianak always stressed its Arabic background and claimed that its understanding of Islam was a notably pure one.

According to tradition, Demak initiated the spread of Islam in southern Kalimantan, seizing the opportunity for this when at the beginning of the 16th century a conflict occurred between two pretenders, Pangeran Samudra and Pangeran Tumenggung, in the course of which the former appealed to the help of Demak. This was granted, and Samudra became the founder of the Muslim sultanate of Banjarmasin, acknowledging the supremacy of Demak (1520). His successors ruled until 1860, when the Dutch colonial government abolished the sultanate after the revolt of Hidāyat, the legal heir to Sultan Adam (d. 1857). Like other revolts in 19th century Indonesia, his movement was inspired by the idea of *djihād*. At present, the area of the former sultanate is part of the province of South Kalimantan, with the *kabupaten* of Hulu Sungai (east of the Barito river) as one of the strongest Muslim areas on the island. In the earlier days of the sultanate, its ruler exercised his influence in most of the trading centres on the southern coast, like Sampit, Kota Waringin, etc., which became centres for the propagation of Islam among the neighbouring Dayak tribes; some of them, however, further withdrew to the interior. Although the impact of Javanese customs and manners was strong, the literary language was Malay, influenced by local idioms and Javanese. J.J. Ras emphasises that in spite of its particularities, even *basa Banjar* (Banjarese colloquial) should be counted among the numerous Malay dialects (*Hikajat Bandjar*, 7-12). This explains also why the Banjarese Muslims and above all their *ʿulamā'*, felt a special obligation to present themselves as authentic teachers of Malay Islam after the *bahasa Indonesia* was proclaimed the offical medium of communication in the archipelago (1928). On the other hand, they distinctively separated themselves linguistically and, as a consequence, culturally, from the Dayak tribes, for whom the term "Malay" and "Muslim" became

identical. Becoming a Muslim (= Malay) means for a Dayak to loose his social relationships. Only a few Dayak tribes became Muslims, e.g. the Bakumpai, a former sub-tribe of the Ngaju Dayak (Danandjaja, 139, in consent with Mallinckrodt).

In East Kalimantan, Pasir and Kutai [*q.v.*] saw the rise of colonies of Buginese traders and ship-builders from South Sulawesi, soon after their homeland had turned over to Islam (1605-11). According to tradition, the first teacher of Islam in Pasir was an Arab, while Makassarese preachers, among them the miraculous Tuan Tunggang Parangan, were active in Kutai. Like in South Sulawesi, Islam in Kutai seems to have been mixed with many animistic survivals and remained weak throughout the 18th century. The sultans had their *kraton* in Tenggarong, between Samarinda where most of the Buginese settled, and the Dayak area. Their story is told in the *Salasila Kutai*, written in Malay.

2. *Modern developments*. As the sultans both in East and West Kalimantan during the times of Dutch supremacy were relatively independent in their internal jurisdiction, Islamic law, more or less modified by the local customary (*adat*) law, played a significant role. Courts were closely attached to the palace. After independence, the Indonesian government tried to bring these "religious courts" under the authority of the local branches of the Ministry for Religious Affairs (Lev, *Islamic courts*, 78 f.). On the other hand, Islamic law has also influenced the *adat* law of the non-Muslim Dayaks.

Since the beginning of the century, Sambas, Pontianak and Banjarmasin have been caught up in Islamic modernist movements. The Malay periodical *al-Imām* (since 1906), partly inspired by Ras͟hīd Riḍā's *al-Manār*, was distributed in Pontianak and Sambas. The "Serikat Islam", the oldest nationalist move-ment, held a congress in Kalimantan in 1923. In 1930, the traditionalist "Nahdlatul Ulama" established its first branches in Banjarmasin and Martapura, and South Kalimantan remained, besides East Java, a stronghold of this party until 1942. The modernist "Muhammadiyah" became active in 1927, its first branch being opened in Banjarmasin. *Muballig͟hūn* or propagandists from Java and Minangkabau were sent there, some of them being former attendants of the "Thawalib" schools in West Sumatra. Their progress seems to have been slow; at the Muhammadiyah's national congress in 1929, no participant from Kalimantan was noted. In 1935, the movement had 29 branches on the island. It is active in *daʿwa* or missionary and educational work by building schools, clinics, and distributing pamphlets and books, its activities reaching now the Hulu (up-river) areas and the border districts between West Kalimantan and Sarawak. In Banjarmasin, a government-related "Institut Agama Islam Negeri" (I.A.I.N.) has been established, whereas in Pontianak a branch of the *Fukuctas Tarbiyah* of the I.A.I.N. Jakarta Ciputat is active. A branch of the same I.A.I.N.'s *Fakultas Ushuluddin*, now in Singkawang, is to be moved to Pontianak.

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(O. SCHUMANN)

BRAHMANS [see BARĀHIMA].

BRICK [see LABIN].

BRIGAND [see FALLĀK̲, K̲AZAK̲, LIṢṢ, ṬARĪK̲].

BRUNEI, a sultanate on the northern coast of Kalimantan (Borneo [*q.v.*]), 5,765 sq. km. (2,226 sq. miles) in area with *ca.* 145,000 inhabitants. The capital is Bandar Seri Begawan (before 1970 called Bandar Brunei or Brunei Town), with *ca.* 45,000 inhabitants. Its principal landmark is the great Mesjid Omar Ali Saifuddin, built after World War II. Since the 6th century A.D., trade relations existed with China. Occasionally tribute was paid, not only to China but also to Buddhist Sri Vijaya (South Sumatra) and Majapahit (Java), where it was mentioned among other Bornean tributaries in *ca.* 1365. *The S͟hāʿir Awang Semaun*, probably the oldest legendary account of Brunei's history, narrates how the 14 sons of "sultan" Dewa Emas Kayangan, who was of celestial origin, founded the empire of Brunei. The youngest brother was the warrior Semaun, their leader Awang Alak Betatar. When the sultan of Johore sent his daughter to be married to the sultan of Sulu, she was abducted and married to Alak Betatar. The sultan of Johore finally agreed to this state of affairs and installed Alak Betatar as the first Muslim sultan of Brunei, bestowing on him the regalia of Johore (Brown, 134 f.). As Sultan Muhammad he is said to have reigned from 1405 to

1415. His successor Aḥmad married his daughter to an Arab from al-Ṭāʾif, and their son Sulaymān became the ancestor of the later sultans of Brunei.

There seems to have existed, however, a rival pagan kingdom besides the Muslim sultanate, which gave the impression, in 1514, to the Portuguese that Brunei was still heathen. When Antonio Pigafetta, an Italian member of Magellan's expedition, visited Brunei in 1521, he mentioned that the sultan (Bulkiah I, the fifth of his dynasty) was waging heavy warfare against a rival pagan kingdom in the same harbour. Finally, Sultan Bulkiah succeeded in safeguarding his supremacy and brought Brunei to the climax of its glory, ruling over most of "Borneo" (hence its name), the Sulu Islands and parts of Mindanao and Luzon. It was the Spaniards, however, who, since 1578, from their stronghold in Manila, successfully began to confine Brunei's strength to the northern coasts of Borneo, from where, in their turn, pirates intimidated the Spanish, and other, fleets. During the 19th century, the territory of Brunei was encircled decisively. In 1841 most of Sarawak was ceded to Sir James Brooke. In 1888, Brunei became a British protectorate. Later, in 1906, the sultan was granted the right to supervise matters which concern Religious (Islamic) and Customary Law (*adat*-law). In 1959, however, when a new constitution was introduced—the first written one in Brunei's history—his juridical functions were turned over to the courts. Nevertheless, his internal position was also strengthened considerably, as a number of rights of the former resident were transferred into his hands. Brunei became "an internally self-governing Islamic Sultanate under British protection". Only security and foreign affairs were still handled by the British, who from now on were represented by a High Commisionary.

New perspectives for Brunei's future opened when in May 1961, Tengku Abdul Rahman as the Prime Minister of the Malayan Federation, forwarded the plan for a new federation, Malaysia, which was to include, besides the Malayan Federation, Singapore, Sarawak, British North Borneo (now Sabah), and Brunei. At the beginning, Sultan Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin's attitude was a positive one, in the hope that he would be able to join the *collegium* of the nine Malayan sultans who were to elect the Yang Dipertuan Agung from among themselves as the nominal Head of State for a period of five years. In a memorandum, prepared by the Malaysia Consultative Committee in February 1962, it was further stated that Islam was to be the official religion in the Federation (Gullick, 64), another matter favourably received by Brunei with its outspoken Malay tradition, contrasting to the other North Bornean territories where Islam is followed only by minorities and where the Malays were not acknowledged as *bumiputera* (indigenous).

But the sultan met with opposition from the "Party Ra'yat" (People's Party), led by Shaikh A.M. Azahari, which had gained 22 out of 23 possible seats when the Legislative Council of Brunei was elected in October 1962. Azahari himself had not run for a seat, and there is some doubt whether he is a Brunei citizen (Brown, 127); he is known to have fought against the Dutch in the Indonesian Independence War. On 6 December 1962, his followers staged a revolt, somewhat untimely, because Azahari at that time happened to be in Manila. His aim was to form a Negara Kalimantan Utara ("State of North Borneo"), including Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah, with the sultan as nominal ruler and himself, Azahari, as Prime Minister. With British help, however, the revolt was soon suppressed, Azahari stayed in exile abroad, but the strong opposition of Indonesia and the Philippines against the formation of Malaysia, which probably inspired Azahari's policy, now came into the open. Finally, the sultan in July 1963 decided that Brunei should not join Malaysia, officially because of his dispute with Sarawak about the Limbang valley which nearly divides his territory into two enclaves; but problems about the distribution of the profit of Brunei's rich oil fields (exploited since 1929 by the British Shell Company) may also have affected the decision.

Since 1974, the question of Brunei's independence has become acute again. Sultan Sir Hassanal Bulkiah, ruling since his father's abdication in 1967, is again opposed by Azahari who opts for a more democratic and completely independent Brunei (now without Sarawak and Sabah), with the sultan as the mere symbolic head of state. Azahari, still in exile, sees the future of Brunei based on a *Trisila* ("Three Pillars", obviously in distinction to Malaysia's and Indonesia's *Pancasila* or "Five Pillars") of (a) the Islamic Religion, (b) Nationalism, and (c) Democracy. The national colours he proposes are still those of the former "State of North Borneo", sc. red and white (like Singapore and Indonesia), with a green triangle symbolising Islam.

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(O. Schumann)

BŪ ʿAZZA [see ABŪ YAʿAZZA].

BUBAS̲H̲TRU (**BOBASTRO**), also spelt BUB.S̲H̲.T.R., BĀB.S̲H̲.T.R. and, frequently from the 5th/11th century, BAS̲H̲.T.R. or BUS̲H̲.T.R., a mountain stronghold famed as the headquarters, first, of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], leader of Andalusian resistance, mainly south of Cordova, to the Umayyads from 267/880-1 until his death in 305/917, and, then, of his sons until 315/928. The precise location of Bobastro, often confused (as in *EI*[1] i, 1250) with Barbastro (Barbas̲h̲turu) in Huesca province, has proved a thorny problem. Erroneously identified by Dozy with Castillón, near Teba (Málaga province), it was believed by Simonet to be situated 6 km. east of Ardales in the Mesas of Villaverde (Málaga province). His view prevailed, and in the 1920s it was identified with a site excavated above the Hoyo de Chorro near the railway running from Cordova to Málaga via Bobadilla. This identification was accepted by Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. mus.* i, 303 n. 1), and it remains acceptable to some. It has, however, been challenged by J. Vallvé Bermejo, who, after meticulous examination of all available evidence, some of it new, has cogently argued that the facts of the Bobastro campaigns as reported by our sources point to a site much further to the south-east. This site, he submits, is to be sought not far from the present Cortijo de Auta in the Sierra del Rey, north of Riogordo (Málaga province) and the name Bobastro to be seen in a toponym recorded in a 15th-century source, viz. Postuero, otherwise Corral del Encina (Repartimiento de Comares). The origin of the name—which survives in one form or another elsewhere in Spain—is very likely Iberian.

During the anti-Umayyad rebellion, Bobastro was frequently the scene of military activity, and

indeed it was there that the *amīr* al-Mun<u>dh</u>ir died in 275/888 while pressing a siege. In 278/891 his successor ʿAbd Allāh tried to take the place, but failed. Subsequent attempts made by his sons Muṭarrif (280/894) and Abān (291/904 and 294/907) to attain the same objective also came to nothing. Not until 316/928 was Bobastro finally subdued after a decade of slow but sure policy pursued by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. So far as we can glean, Bobastro thereafter remained an important Umayyad garrison until it fell to the Berbers who defeated Muḥammad II's troops on the banks of the Guadiaro in 400/1010. For the years 1039 and 1047 we have passing references to Bobastro under the Ḥammūdid "party kings" of Málaga, and in 1147 we find it sheltering al-Mahdī's brothers after a rising in Seville against the Almohads who had just occupied the city. By the 7th/13th century the fortress was in ruins.

Bibliography: All the main references are contained in J. Vallvé Bermejo, *De Nuevo sobre Bobastro*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxx (1965), 139-74. Apart from a study of the boundaries of Rayya (roughly Málaga province), this monograph provides a good index of place-names. (J.D. Latham)

BUDŪḤ, an artificial talismanic word formed from the elements of the simple three-fold magic square

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

expressed in *Ab<u>dj</u>ad* by

د	ط	ب
ج	ه	ز
ح	أ	و

Other groups of letters from that square are similarly, but not see generally, used, e.g. بدط, زهج, واح, and together بطدز هج واح. From some, also, larger squares are built up, as a four-fold on بدوح and a six-fold on بطدواح. In the older Arabic books on magic (e.g. *<u>Sh</u>ams al-maʿārif* of al-Būnī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], d. 622/1225) this formula plays a comparatively minor part; but after it was taken up by al-<u>Gh</u>azālī and cited in his *Munḳi<u>dh</u> min al-ḍalāl* (ed. Cairo 1303/1886, 46, 50, tr. W. Montgomery Watt, *The faith and practice of al-Ghazālī*, London 1953, 77, 79-80), as an inexplicable, but certain, assistance in cases of difficult labour, it came to be universally known as "the three-fold talisman, or seal, or table of al-<u>Gh</u>azālī" (*al-wakf, al-<u>kh</u>ātam, al-<u>dj</u>adwal, al-mu<u>th</u>allath li'l-<u>Gh</u>azālī*) and finally has become the foundation and starting point for the whole "Science of Letters" (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf*). Al-<u>Gh</u>azālī is said to have developed the formula, under divine inspiration (*ilhām*), from the combinations of letters كهيعص and حمعسق which begin Sūras XIX and XLII of the Ḳurʾān, and which by themselves are also used as talismans (Reinaud, *Monuments musulmans*, ii, 236). For the process, see the *Mafātīḥ al-<u>gh</u>ayb* (ed. Cairo 1327/1909, 170 ff.) of Aḥmad Mūsā al-Zarḳawī, a contemporary Egyptian magician, and on the subject in general, the sixth and seventh *Risālas* in that volume. Others trace the formula back to Adam, from whom it passed down to al-<u>Gh</u>azālī (cf. the *al-ʿInāya al-rabbāniya*, 44, and *al-Asrār al-rabbāniya*, 16 of Yūsuf Muḥammad al-Hindī, an early 20th century Egyptian writer on magic). In all this, al-<u>Gh</u>azālī's established reputation as a custodian of mystical knowledge and especially of the book *al-<u>Dj</u>afr*, evidently played a part (*JAOS*, xx, 113; Goldziher, *Le livre de Ibn Toumert*, 15 ff.). Another suggested origin is the Arameo-Persian name of the planet and goddess Venus, *Bīdu<u>kh</u>t* ܒܝܕܘܟܬ, بيدخت G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, 128 ff.). But though this name appears in the *Fihrist*, 1, 311, 7, with magical and diabolical associations and is quoted very occasionally in connection with Zuhara (e.g. Maḳrīzī, *<u>Kh</u>iṭaṭ*, 1324/1906, i, 8; <u>Th</u>aʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 1314/1896-7, 29—both with misprints) it appears to be totally unknown in magical or *<u>Dj</u>inn* literature. Yet the name evidently passed early into South Arabic, became used there as a feminine proper name and as a feminine epithet, "fat" and was confused with the root بدح (*LA*, iii, 484, *sub* بدح). Other standing in Arabic it does not have. Further, when Budūḥ is associated with a particular planet, it is with Saturn (*Zuḥal*) and its metal is lead (Zarḳāwī, *Mafātīḥ*, 170), not copper as Venus would require. Hardly worthy of mention is Von Hammer's fancy that Budūḥ is one of the names of Allāh (*JA*, 1830, 72) though it may have a Turkish basis (and see, too, de Sacy, below), and the derivation he suggests or the story told by Michel Sabbagh to de Sacy (*Chrest. arabe*, iii, 364 ff.) that it was the name of a pious merchant whose packages and letters never went astray, though that may well be a popular Syrian explanation. In magical books there are few cases even of personifying the word (e.g. *Yā Budūḥ* in *al-Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* by Ḥā<u>dj</u>dj Saʿdūn, 21), but for the popular mind Budūḥ has become a *<u>Dj</u>innī* whose services can be secured by writing his name either in letters or numbers (*JA*, Ser. 4, xii, 521 ff.; Spiro, *Vocabulary of colloquial Egyptian*, 36; Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, 296, with *Ḳayyūm* as though a name of Allāh; Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt*, 387). The uses of this word are most various, to invoke both good and bad fortune. Thus, in Doutté, [*op. cit.*], against menorrhagia (234), against pains in the stomach (229), to render one's self invisible (275) and against temporary impotence (295). Lane's Cairo magician also used it with his ink mirror (*Modern Egyptians*, ch. xii), and so in several magical treatises. It is also engraved upon jewels and metal plates or rings which are carried as permanent talismans, and it is inscribed at the beginning of books (like *Kabīka<u>dj</u>*) as a preservative, e.g. in *al-Fatḥ al-<u>dj</u>alīl*, Tunis 1290. But by far the most common use is to ensure the arrival of letters and pacages.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn <u>Kh</u>aldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 131, 135, 139-40, 142-3, 157, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 163-4, 168-9, 174, 176-8, 193; Reinaud, *Monuments musulmans*, ii, 243 ff., 251 ff., 256; W. Ahrens, *Studien über die "magischen Quadrate" der Araber*, in *Isl.*, vii (1917), 186-250; idem, *Die "magischen Quadrate" al-Būnī's*, in *Isl.*, xii (1922), 157-77; E. Wiedemann, *Zu den magischen Quadraten*, in *Isl.*, viii (1918), 94-7; G. Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten*, in *Isl.* xiii (1923), 227-55; T. Canaan, *The decipherment of Arabic talismans*, in *Berytus*, iv (1937), 100 ff.; W. Pax, *Der magische Kreis im Spiegel der Sprache*, in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, xiii (1937), 380; Carra de Vaux, *Une solution arabe du problème des carrés magiques*, in *Revue de l'histoire des sciences*, i (1948), 206-12; L. Fischer, *Zur Deutung des magischen Quadrates in Durers MELENCOLIA I.*, in *ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 308-14;

H. Hermelink, *Arabische magische Quadrates mit 25 Zellen*, in *Sudhoff's Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, xliii (1959), 351-4. (D.B. Macdonald*)

BUFFALO [see djāmūs, in Suppl.].

BUGHĀT [see mārid].

BUḲʿA means etymologically "a patch of ground marked out from adjoining land by a difference in colour, etc." or "a low-lying region with stagnant water" (see Lane, *s.v.*); the latter sense is obviously at the base of the plural Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*] to designate the (originally) marshy valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges in Syria, and doubtless at that of the name al-Buḳayʿa for a settlement near the Lake of Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] (see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 352). From these senses it acquires the broader one of "province, region, tract of land", as in the classical Arabic geographers (for Muḳaddasī, 31, tr. Miquel, 70, *buḳʿa* is a simple synonym for *mawḍiʿ*), and this seems to have been the farthest development of the term in the Muslim West (see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 103b, who registers this latter sense only).

However, in the central and eastern parts of the Islamic world, *buḳʿa* acquired, apparently during the Saldjūḳ period, the sense of "dervish convent", "mausoleum", or in general "a building for pious, educational or charitable purposes". The transition here in sense clearly arises from the Ḳurʾānic phrase *al-buḳʿa al-mubāraka* (XXVIII, 30), traditionally interpreted as "the blessed hollow", the place where God spoke to Moses from the burning bush. From Saldjūḳ times onwards, *buḳʿa* appears in epigraphic phraseology. Thus an inscription of Yaghī-basan b. Ghāzī b. Dānishmand (537-60/1142-65) from Niksar and dated 552/1157-8 describes the construction of a *buḳʿa mubāraka*, probably to be interpreted as a dervish convent (see M. Van Berchem, *Épigraphie des Danishmendides*, in *ZA*, xxvii [1912], 87 = *Opera minora*, Geneva 1978, ii, 703, with further references to *CIA*, i. *Égypte*, nos. 44, 459, and iii. *Asie Mineure*, 24). It was likewise used in the Syro-Palestinian region from Ayyūbid times onwards, e.g. in 595/1198 to describe at Jerusalem a school (*maktab*) originally endowed by Saladin, and Van Berchem noted that in this same city, a Djāmiʿ al-Nisāʾ adjacent to the *Ḥaram* was still called al-Buḳʿa al-Bayḍāʾ, perhaps from its white rough-cast walls (*CIA*, ii. *Syrie du Sud, Jérusalem Ville*, i/2, 110, 112, no. 39, ii/1, 130, no. 176). Some three-and-a-half centuries later, we find the Ottoman Sultan Süleymān I described on a restored fortress at Jerusalem as *khādim al-ḥaramayn wa 'l-buḳʿa al-aḳdasiyya* (*ibid.*, i/2, 147, no. 45). In these instances, there still appears to be an ambivalence of meaning, with the double sense of the land on which the building stood and that of the building itself, one intended for religious or charitable uses.

Nevertheless, in the Turco-Iranian world the connection of the term *buḳʿa* with dervish convents and with mausolea, especially those of Ṣūfī saints, seems certain; such structures, whatever their precise architectural form and plan, would always be felt as "blessed places" in the Ḳurʾānic sense. In the biography of the Ṣūfī Shaykh Abū Saʿīd al-Mayhanī, the *Asrār al-tawḥīd* of Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar (written in the last quarter of the 6th/12th century), *buḳʿa*, in one place *buḳʿa-ī az khayr*, is synonymous with *khānakāh* [*q.v.*] in the sense of "dervish convent" (ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, Tehran 1332/1953, 44, 146, 331, cf. F. Meier, *Abū Saʿīd-i Abū l-Ḫayr (357-440/967-1049), Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Tehran-Liège 1976, 305, n. 75, 310 and n. 115). B. O'Kane has gathered together instances of buildings described, usually in their inscriptions, as *buḳʿas*, from the Anatolian region (after the Dānishmandid instance, see above, for the periods of the Rūm Saldjūḳs and the *beyliks*) and from the Iranian one (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, extending as far eastwards as the Tīmūrid Shāh-i Zinda in Samarḳand), and has noted that the term seemed eventually found more favour in those regions than in the Arab one; see his *Tāybād, Turbat-i Jām and Timurid vaulting*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xvii (1979), 94-6.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

BUḲRĀṬ, Hippocrates, the most famous physician of antiquity, was born *ca.* 460 B.C. on the island of Cos, and died *ca.* 375 in Larissa (Thessaly). He sprang from the Asclepiads, an old native family of physicians, where the name Hippocrates occurred repeatedly. Already in antiquity he was considered an exceptional and model physician. This prestige was due to Galen [see djālīnūs] in the first place, who brought to its culmination the "Hippocrates-revival" which had started in the 2nd century A.D. and thus determined the image of Hippocrates for the whole period to come; in Islam as in Europe, Hippocrates became the symbol of "the true physician". It is the more astonishing that hardly any of the many writings transmitted under his name can be traced back to him with full certainty. Dependent on the classification, the size of this "Corpus Hippocraticum" varies, but it comprises at least 60 writings. To the Arabs Hippocrates was well-known; his name appears as Buḳrāṭ, with suppression of the Greek ending like in Suḳrāṭ (Socrates) and Dīmuḳrāṭ (Demokritos), and also as Ibuḳrāṭ and Abuḳrāṭ. The forms Ibuḳrāṭīs, Abuḳrāṭīs, etc. are older; Syriac influence is still present in Hīfūḳrāṭīs, Īfūḳrāṭīs.

There is no lack of biographical information about Buḳrāṭ among the Arabs; the longest section is found in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, i, 24-33. Buḳrāṭ's teachers are mentioned here (24, ll. 16-17), his father Īraḳlīdis (Heracleides) and his grandfather Buḳrāṭ; besides his father, the ancient sources name also others, like Herodicos of Selymbria (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyklopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft*, viii, 1912, 978 f.). He is said to have lived up to the age of 95. The Arab biographers, to be sure, often present misleading information, e.g. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*op. cit.*, i, 24, ll. 22-3) says that Buḳrāṭ was trained on Rhodes, Cnidos and Cos, while Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (*Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 90 at the end to 91, 1) makes him stay for a while in Fīrūhā (i.e. Βέροια = Aleppo, in the text identified with Ḥimṣ; see also Barhebraeus, *Taʾrīkh Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Cheikho, 85) and Damascus; both pieces of information perhaps mean no more than that Buḳrāṭ travelled far and wide, as was already known in antiquity. On the other hand, one may assume that the Arabs retained scattered biographical data which are not found elsewhere. They were also right in stating that the Corpus Hippocratium does not go back to one single author and that there have been several physicians of this name: the mathematician Thābit b. Ḳurra names four *Baḳāriṭa* or *Buḳraṭūn* ("Hippocraticians", one might say), the first of whom (in fact the second) would have been the famous Buḳrāṭ (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 293 f.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *op. cit.*, 100).

The Arabs also knew about the unconfirmed statement of Galen according to which Hippocrates declined a lucrative offer of Artaxerxes I to come to the Persian court (P. Bachmann, in *NAWG*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1965, 20 f.). Again and again he is commended for his care of the sick and his personal devotion; he allegedly was the first to found a hospital (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 27, ll. 1-2). Evidently, the "Hippocratic oath" was also known to the Muslims, naturally in a somewhat different form; it can be found in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 25 f. and has been translated by F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zurich 1965, 250-2. But Bukrāṭ was admired not only as the great physician but also as the master of alchemy, astrology and magic (M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1972, 155, 288 f., 389); as such he gave his name to the handbook of Hellenistic magic which has become famous and notorious under the name *Picatrix* (distorted from *Bikrāṭīs* "Hippocrates").

It is impossible to say to what extent the Arabic cannon of Hippocratic writings coincides with the Greek one. We would probably have more accurate information if had come down to us Galen's work, now lost, Περὶ τῶν γνησίων καὶ νόθων Ἱπποκράτους συγγραμμάτων, which existed in Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's translation as *Kitāb fī kutub Bukrāṭ al-ṣaḥīḥa wa-g̲h̲ayr al-ṣaḥīḥa* (G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, in *AKM*, xvii/2, Leipzig 1925, no. 104). We know several bibliographical compilations of various size. The first to be mentioned is the valuable survey of the following 10 works, *ca.* 259/972, compiled by the historian al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ed. Houtsma, i, 107-29): *K. al-Fuṣūl* Αφορισμοι, *K. al-Buldān wa-'l-miyāh wa-'l-ahwiya* Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων, *K. Māʾ al-s̲h̲aʿīr* Περὶ πτισάνης, *K. Taḳdimat al-maʿrifa* Προγνωστικόν, *K. al-Dj̲anīn* Περὶ γονῆς. Περὶ φύσιος παιδίου, *K. al-Arkān* (or: *K. Ṭabīʿat al-insān*) Περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου, *K. al-G̲h̲id̲h̲āʾ* Περὶ τροφῆς *K. al-Asābīʿ* Περὶ ἑβδομάδων, *K. Awdj̲āʿ al-nisāʾ* (Γυναικεῖα; cf. however, M. Ullmann, *Zwei spätantike Kommentare zu der hippokratischen Schrift "De morbis muliebribus"*, in *Medizin-historisches Journal*, xii [1977], 245-62), *K. Abīd̲h̲īmiyā* Ἐπιδημίαι. This text has a specific value in so far as Yaʿḳūbī has added more or less detailed indices to six of these titles, so that their identification can be assured through comparison with texts that have been preserved (cf. M. Klamroth, *Über die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Jaʿqûbî*, in *ZDMG*, xl [1886], 189-203).

Another canon of 10 works, all commented upon by Galen, is given by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 288, who also names the translators. They partly coincide with those given above, but instead of *K. Māʾ al-s̲h̲aʿīr*, *K. al-Dj̲anīn*, *K. al-G̲h̲id̲h̲āʾ*, *K. al-Asābīʿ* and *K. Awdj̲āʿ al-nisāʾ*, we find here: *K. al-ʿAhd* Ὅρκος, *K. al-Amrāḍ al-ḥādda* Περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων *K. al-Kasr* Περὶ ἀγμῶν, *K. al-Ak̲h̲lāṭ* Περὶ χυμῶν and *K. Ḳāṭāṭiyūn* (read: *Ḳāṭyaṭriyūn*) Κατ' ἰητρεῖον. Barhebraeus (*Duwal*, ed. Cheikho, 35) names 9 Hippocratical works, all of which appear in both of the inventories given above, while there is added the *K. S̲h̲idj̲ādj̲ al-raʾs* Περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τρωμάτων.

The by far most detailed classification is found in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 31-3; a corpus of *ca.* 61 titles, thus nearly the same number as in the Greek list. Around 30 of them are considered authentic by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. However, only 12 of these are marked as important; they are found in the lists given so far; for the others, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 31-5; Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 38-47. From the indications given on the title-pages and colophons of the manuscripts as well as in the lists of titles, it cannot always be established with certainty who were the Arabic translators of the works. In any case, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ and his school were at the head. But there is no inventory of translations from Hippocrates's works drawn up by Ḥunayn himself, as is the case for his translations from Galen's writings. Bukrāṭ is extremely frequently quoted by the Arab physicians. The following works of the Arabic corpus have been published so far: 1. *K. al-Fuṣūl. The Aphorisms of Hippocrates*, translated into Arabic by Honain Ben Ishak, ed. J. Tytler, Calcutta 1832; 2. *K. Taḳdimat al-maʿrifa*, ed. M. Klamroth in *ZDMG*, xl (1886), 204-33; 3. *K. Tadbīr al-amrāḍ al-ḥādda. Hippocrates: regimen in acute diseases*, ed. and tr. M.C. Lyons (*Arabic Technical and Scientific Texts*, i), Cambridge 1966; 4. *Ḳāṭyaṭriyūn. Hippocrates: In the Surgery*, ed. and tr. by Lyons (ibid., iii), Cambridge 1968; 5. *K. Ḥabal ʿalā ḥabal. Hippocrates: On superfoetation*, ed. and tr. J.N. Mattock (*ibid.*, iii), Cambridge 1968 (cf. Ullmann, *Die arabische Überlieferung der hippokratischen Schrift "De superfetatione"*, in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, lviii [1974], 254-75); 6. *K. Ṭabīʿat al-insān. Hippocrates: on the nature of man*, ed. and tr. Mattock and Lyons (*ibid.*, iv), Cambridge 1968; 7. *K. fi 'l-amrāḍ al-bilādiyya. Hippocrates: on endemic diseases* (*airs, waters and places*), ed. and tr. Mattock and Lyons (*ibid.*, v), Cambridge 1969; 8. *K. fi 'l-Ak̲h̲lāṭ. Hippocrates: de humoribus*, ed. and tr. Mattock (*ibid.*, vi), Cambridge 1971; 9. *K. fi 'l-G̲h̲id̲h̲āʾ. Hippocrates: de alimento*, ed. and tr. Mattock (*ibid.*, vi), Cambridge 1971. 10. *K. al-Adj̲inna. Hippocrates: on embryos* (*On the sperm and on the Nature of the child*), ed. and transl. M.C. Lyons and J.N. Mattock (*ibid.* vii), Cambridge 1978.

An effort should be made to establish a Corpus Hippocraticum Arabice, an aim which is admittedly still rather far away, but to which the above-mentioned editions form important preliminary studies. To this corpus should certainly be joined the Arabic translations of Galen's commentaries as well as the most important commentaries and paraphrases of the Arab physicians.

Bibliography: The Arabic sources for the life and works of Hippocrates, the new material in manuscripts which has become widely known, especially after the last World War, and the relevant secondary literature have been put together by M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1970, 25-35, and F. Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, Leiden 1970, 23-47. Further important are: M. Steinschneider, *Die arab. Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, new impression Graz 1960, 298-318; H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte*. First part: *Hippokrates und Galenos*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1905), Abh. iii; G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāḳ und seine Schule. Sprach- und literargeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den arabischen Hippokrates- und Galen-Übersetzungen*, Leiden 1913; H. Ritter and R. Walzer, *Arabische Übersetzungen griechischer Ärzte in Stambuler Bibliotheken*, in *SBPr. Ak. W.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1934), xxvi.—General: L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i, Paris 1876, 231-6; *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*, begr. von Th. Puschmann, hg. von M. Neuburger

und J. Pagel, i, Jena 1902, 196-268; P. Diepgen, *Geschichte der Medizin*, i, Berlin 1949, 77-94.

(A. Dietrich)

AL-**BULAYṬĪ** [see AL-BALAṬĪ, in Suppl.].

BULBUL SHĀH, *Ṣūfī* saint of mediaeval India. Bulbul Shāh, whose real name was Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn, was a Mūsawī Sayyid and a disciple of Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Fārsī, belonging to the Suhrawardiyya order. He entered the Valley of Kashmir in the reign of Rādjā Suhādeva (1301-20) from Turkistān with 1,000 fugitives, fleeing before the Mongol invasion. Rinčana, a Ladakhi prince, who seized power from Suhādeva, possessed an inquisitive and a restless mind and was dissatisfied with both Buddhism, his own religion, and Hinduism, the religion of his subjects. Having come into contact with Bulbul Shāh, and learning from him about Islam, he was so much impressed by its teachings which, unlike those of Buddhism and Hinduism, were simple and free from caste, priesthood and ceremonies, that he became a Muslim and adopted the name of Ṣadr al-Dīn on the advice of the saint. The next person to embrace Islam was Rawančandra, Rinčana's brother-in-law; and according to one tradition Bulbul Shāh was able to convert nearly 10,000 people to his faith.

Rinčana built for Bulbul Shāh a *khānakāh* [*q.v.*] on the bank of the river Jehlam and endowed it with a number of villages, from the income of which a *langar* (free kitchen) was opened. Bulbul Langar has disappeared, but a quarter of Srīnagar, bearing the name of the hospice still exists. Rinčana also built near the hospice a mosque, the first ever to have been built in Kashmīr. It was destroyed by fire, and a smaller mosque was built in its place. Bulbul Shāh died in 728/1327 and was buried near it.

Bibliography: Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmīr under the Sultans*, Calcutta 1959; R.K. Parmu, *History of Muslim rule in Kashmīr*, Delhi 1969; Muftī Muḥammad Shāh Saʿādat, *Bulbul Shāh Ṣāḥib* (Urdu), Lahore 1360/1941; Hādjdjī Muʿīn al-Dīn Miskīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Kabīr*, Amritsar 1322/1904.

(Mohibbul Hasan)

AL-**BŪNĪ**, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Kurashī al-Ṣūfī Muḥyī 'l-Dīn (variants Taḳī al-Dīn, Shihāb al-Dīn), Arab author who wrote around forty works on magic. Hardly anything is known about his life; the date of his death (622/1225) was found by the present writer only in Hādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf al-ẓunūn, passim*, cf. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, ii, 26; Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 90 f.). He came originally from Būna (ʿAnnāba [*q.v.*]). It is doubtful that he transmitted information on the construction in 425/1033 of the Sīdī Bū Marwān mosque in that place, in a work called *al-Durra al-maknūna* (cf. G. Marçais, in *Mélanges William Marçais*, Paris 1950, 234), since this work does not appear in the catalogues of his writings. He is said to have died in Cairo and to have been buried in the Karāfa cemetery near the tomb of ʿAbd al-Djalīl al-Ṭahāwī (d. 649/1251) (Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra fi 'l-Karāfatayn al-kubrā wa 'l-ṣughrā* [written in 804/1401], Baghdad n.d., 268).

Al-Būnī's main work is the *Kitāb Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif*, published in 4 volumes, Cairo n.d. [1905]. In 40 chapters, the headings of which are clearly arranged in Ahlwardt's Catalogue no. 4125, it contains a collection both muddled and dreary of materials for the magical use of numbers and letters-squares, single Kurʾān-verses, the names of God and of the mother of Mūsā, indications for the production of amulets, for the magical use of scripts etc., all matters belonging to the field of the *ḥurūf* [*q.v.*] or *awfāḳ*. In ch. 7 appear even the words with which Jesus is supposed to have resuscitated the dead. The work exists in three forms, a short one which is the oldest, a long one and a middle-sized one (cf. H.A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei*, Berlin 1930, 67; *ibid.*, 68-86 contains the translation with commentary of the chapters on the "seven seals" and the "highest name of Allah"). The number of manuscripts which became known in the course of time is considerable; the oldest—if the colophon is authentic—dates from 618/1221, thus from the author's lifetime (Manisa, Genel Küt., 1445, cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 230-3). The work is a compilation based rather on current popular customs than on literature transmitted from Hellenistic superstition, since sources are hardly mentioned. Like all magic, these practices serve to realise wishes and longings and to ward off hardships, by trying to influence "supernatural" powers which cannot be grasped by the intellect or the senses. At the end of the work, al-Būnī therefore states that the mysteries of the letters (*al-ḥurūf*) cannot be proved by logical intellect, but only by insight into divine wisdom. He expresses himself in the same way in another work, the *Kitāb Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt fī asrār al-ḥurūf al-ʿulwiyyāt* (the title is variable; I did not have access to the lithography of Cairo 1317), quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 140 (Engl. tr. Rosenthal, iii, 174; Fr. tr. Monteil, iii, 1106). In his *Risālat al-Shifāʾ li-adwāʾ al-wabāʾ* (cf. M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 249), Ṭāshköprüzāde (d. 968/1560) copied much of al-Būnī's magic to warding off the plague.

Most of the other works circulating under the name of al-Būnī seem to be more or less accurate extracts from the *Shams al-maʿārif*; their relation to one another and to the main work is still to be investigated. We may mention here the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl wa 'l-ḍawābiṭ*, a kind of introduction to the secret sciences; the *Kitāb Sharḥ sawāḳiṭ al-Fātiḥa al-sharīfa* on the consonants *th, dj, kh, z, sh, ẓ, f*, which do not occur in the first Sūra; the *al-Lumaʿ al-nūrāniyya* on the highest names and several writings on the divine names (enumerated in Fahd, *op. cit.*, 237 f.). In addition to Goldziher's earlier studies, G. Vajda has pointed to Jewish and pseudo-Jewish elements in the *Shams al-maʿārif*, especially with regard to the names of God, the angels the idea of *thaḳūfa* (from Hebrew *teḳūfā*, something like "quarter of a year" and several other derived meanings): *Sur quelques éléments juifs et pseudo-juifs dans l'encyclopédie magique de Būnī*, in *Goldziher Memorial Volume*, i, Budapest 1948, 387-92. J. Ruska deserves the credit for having drawn attention to the abstruse chapter on alchemy in the *Shams* and its sources; since this chapter fits somewhat unnaturally in the work, it may indeed have been added by a later author who was familiar with al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Asrār* (cf. *Isl.*, xxii [1934], 307-10).

Bibliography (in addition to the works quoted in the article) : the excellent study of W. Ahrens, *Die "magischen Quadrate" Al-Būnī's*, in *Isl.*, xii (1922), 157-77; in addition, G. Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten*, in *ibid.*, xiii (1923), 227-35, and again, Ahrens, *ibid.*, xiv (1925), 104-10; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, *passim*; Brockel-

mann, I², 655 f., S I 910 f.; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 234, 390 f., 415. (A. Dietrich)

AL-BURAK AL-ṢARĪMĪ (Ṣuraymī in Ibn al-Kalbī), (al-)Ḥadjdjādj b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 40/660), a Khāridjī who is said to have been the first to proclaim that "judgement belongs only to God" (*taḥkīm*; cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo edn., 917), but who is famed in history because of his being one of the three plotters sworn to kill simultaneously ʿAlī b. Abi Ṭālib [see ibn muldjam], ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, [*q.v.*] and Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān. Al-Burak accordingly proceeded to Damascus and stabbed Muʿāwiya whilst he was praying, but only managed to wound him in the hip. According to tradition, the attack had two consequences: firstly, the "marriage vein" (*ʿirḳ al-nikāḥ*) was severed, so that Muʿāwiya was unable to beget any more children, and secondly, the latter decided that in future he would pray inside a *maḳṣūra* (but see the ironical remark of al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 161, where a dog is said to have led him to take this precaution).

When al-Burak was arrested, he immediately told Muʿāwiya about the plot hatched against the three persons. He asked him to await news of the attack on ʿAlī, and proposed to Muʿāwiya that he should go and kill the caliph if Ibn Muldjam had failed and then return and throw himself on Muʿāwiya's mercy. From this point, the accounts diverge. According to some, Muʿāwiya had him executed on the spot; according to others, he threw him into prison and freed him when he heard of ʿAlī's death. According to the apparently most current account, he had his hands and feet (or one hand and one foot) cut off and sent him to Baṣra, where Ziyād b. Abīhi put him to death when he learnt that he had had a child born to him whilst Muʿāwiya remained henceforth sterile.

Bibliography: Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 993; Ṭabarī, i, 3456-7, 3463; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 206; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, ii, 229; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 427, 436-7 = §§ 1730, 1739. (Ch. Pellat)

BURḲUʿ or **ḲAṢR BURḲUʿ**, a ruin situated in northern Jordan about 25 km. northwest of the pumping-station H 4, now a small village on the road from Mafraḳ to Baghdād. Here one of the earliest Islamic inscriptions, dated 81/700, is preserved. A *ḥarra*-plain of about 650 m. altitude surrounds the ruin, which lies on the northeast bank of the Wādī Minḳād. About 2 km. northwest of Burḳuʿ, the wādī is blocked by a modern dam forming a small lake which contains water from late autumn until summer. The alignment of the foundations of the southwest-part of the *ḳaṣr* suggests that a similar dam existed there in the 7th century A.D.

The building was first visited in 1928. An archaeological report on the site was published in 1960 (H. Field, *North Arabian desert archaeological survey 1920-1950*, Cambridge Mass. 1960, 94-9). The building was re-studied in 1974 by H. Gaube, *An examination of the ruin of Qaṣr Burquʿ*, in *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, xix, (1974), 93-100 and 207-14.

The remains consist of a plain enclosure-wall at the northwest and the southwest sides, and ranges of rooms at the southeast (five rooms) and the northeast sides (six rooms), enclosing a courtyard where there is a rectangular tower. Enclosure and rooms show traces of repeated repairs, plan alterations and reconstructions. The masonry of the structure is of poor Hauranian style (basalt blocks on the inner and outer faces, with a filling of lumps of basalt and clay). However, a thorough technical examination permits the isolation of five different stages of building-activity which can partly be connected with chronological evidences provided by inscriptions found at the spot. These inscriptions are: a Greek inscription from the 3rd century A.D. (Field, *op. cit.* 161 ff.); a Greek inscription from Byzantine times (Gaube, *op. cit.* 97); an Arabic inscription with the name of the *Amīr al-Walīd* (the later caliph Walīd I), dated 81/700 (*RCEA*, no. 12; Field, 154 f.; Gaube, 97); an Arabic inscription dated 782/1380 (Gaube, 97), and an Arabic inscription dated 812/1409 (Gaube, 97 f.).

In the course of its centuries-long use, Ḳaṣr Burḳuʿ served different purposes. The nucleus of the site, the rectangular tower in the courtyard, was a Roman-Byzantine watch-tower controlling one of the main caravan-roads from Arabia to Syria. All installations to secure the water supply of the place (the artificial lake and two reservoirs) are most probably contemporary with the tower. In the 5th or the 6th century A.D. this advanced post was transformed into a monastic settlement and some rooms were built to the southeast of the tower. By Walīd's order, rooms northeast and southeast of the tower and the enclosure were added. At this time Burḳuʿ served as a modest country-residence. It proves that in Umayyad times important members of the ruling family erected even small and rather primitive buildings. Later, in the Ayyūbid period, the building was restored and was most probably used as a *khān*.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (H. Gaube)

BURNOUS [see libās].

BURŪDJIRDĪ, Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī (1875-1961), the greatest religious authority (*mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd-i muṭlaḳ*) of the Shīʿī world in his time. He belonged to a well-established and wealthy clerical family from which emerged distinguished figures such as Sayyid Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (d. 1797). After primary education in his home town, Burūdjird, he moved to Iṣfahān in 1892 and studied *fiḳh, uṣūl*, philosophy and mathematics under several specialists including Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Durčaʾī. In 1902 he went to Nadjaf and attended the lectures of Khurāsānī [*q.v.*] and others until 1910, when he went back to Burūdjird with the intention of returning to Nadjaf, but the death both of his father and Khurāsānī in 1911 made him remain in Burūdjird. Despite the fact that Burūdjirdī was closely associated with Khurāsānī during the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11, we do not know of any co-operation between Burūdjirdī and Khurāsānī in the latter's constitutionalist campaign. This is an indication of Burūdjirdī's conservatism in the field of politics, which continued to present itself during Burūdjirdī's sole leadership from 1947-61.

While in Burūdjird he was recognised as a respected religious authority in the western part of Iran. He was so popular in his region that in 1926, when he was temporarily living in Ḳum, he was urged by the Burūdjirdīs to return to Burūdjird; he lived there until 1944. At this time the Ḳum Circle for Reli-gious Studies which had been founded by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḥāʾirī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1921 was being run by three men (Ṣadr, Ḥudjdjat, and Khwansārī [*q.v.*]). It was envisaged that due to his priority in age, experience and background in religious leadership, Burūdjirdī would be able to

reorganise the Circle which, under the government's pressures, and especially after Ḥā'irī's death in 1937, hadbeen greatly diminished. To this end Burūdjirdī was cordially invited to Ḳum in December 1944. After the death of Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan Iṣfahānī and Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Ḥusayn Ḳummī in Nadjaf in 1946 and 1947 respectively, Burūdjirdī was unquestionably acknowledged as the sole *mardja'-i taklīd* in the whole Shī'ī world and held this title until his death.

During his leadership, many religious activities were undertaken: several libraries, hospitals, mosques, and religious schools were established or revived in different locations in Iran and other countries, including 'Irāḳ and Germany; the publication of a number of religious books were subsidised; religious emissaries were dispatched to Europe, USA, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Africa. The Ḳum Circle for Religious Studies, which had become only a convenient alternative to that of Nadjaf during Ḥā'irī's leadership, now proved to be the most important clerical centre in the Shī'ī world. Thanks to this centrality, many students and specialists of Shī'ism formerly living in Nadjaf and elsewhere joined the Ḳum Circle, to the extent that their number exceeded 5,000, and for the first time the Nadjaf Circle looked to Burūdjirdī for assistance, financial or otherwise.

In the field of scholarship, Burūdjirdī made noticeable contributions; in addition to regular teaching and handling religious affairs, Burūdjirdī wrote a number of books on *fiḳh* and *uṣūl*, several of which were never published; one speciality of his was *ḥadīth*. He has been widely acknowledged as the initiator of a new scheme which facilitates the process of determining the number and the extent of authority of the *ḥadīth* transmitters; it determines the time gap existing along the chain of transmitters, so that the classification of the *ḥadīths* into *mursal* and *musnad* becomes easy. His scheme also helps to identify the identical names which appear in the chain of *ḥadīth* transmitters and to disclose any distortions or alterations there. Finally, it classifies the transmitters into 36 groups, each with distinguishable characteristics.

Another area of Burūdjirdī's concern was Sunnī-Shī'ī relations; to this end, Burūdjirdī closely cooperated with the Cairo *Dār al-Taḳrīb bayn al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyya* and entered into correspondence with the Azhar rectors such as Shaykh Maḥmūd Shaltūt. This relationship, it is believed, resulted in the issuing of a *fatwā* in which Shaltūt declared Shī'ism to be as true a Muslim creed (*madhhab*) as other *madhhabs* which have been followed by the Sunnīs, and invited all Muslims to recognise it (see the Peer Mahomed Ebrahim Trust, *Shiaism explained*, Karachi 1972, pp. x ff.).

In the arena of politics Burūdjirdī remained rather inactive. At times, however, he favoured the Shāh of Iran and some of the factions tied to the Royal Court. On a certain occasion, the Shāh even went to Ḳum and visited Burūdjirdī at home. In 1952, during the general election for the 17th Iranian Parliament, Burūdjirdī was considered as a supporter of a Ḳum feudal candidate, Abu 'l-Faḍl Tawliyat, who was also supported by the Court. In the Shāh-Muṣaddiḳ struggles, Burūdjirdī was widely recognised as being opposed to some of the measures taken by the latter and was happy over Muṣaddiḳ's downfall in 1953. In 1952 a member of the *Fidā'iyyan-i Islām* [*q.v.*] and then a friend of Muṣaddiḳ, Khalīl Ṭahmāsbī, who was accused of the assassination of the former prime minister 'Alī Razmārā, went to Ḳum to visit Burūdjirdī, but he refused to meet with Ṭahmāsibī. In other political matters, which did not form Burūdjirdī's immediate concern, he was very reluctant to interfere. During the Palestine movement of 1947-8, for instance, a demonstration was organised in front of his house urging him to condemn Israel, to which he did not respond; however, in the end he prayed for the victory of the Palestinians and anathematised the Israelis (according to a leaflet picked up by the present writer on the street in Ḳum at the time).

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

BURUSHASKI is the language of the Burūsho, who form the majority of the population of the isolated principalities of Hunza and Nagir [*q.v.*] in the western Karakoram. It is probably used by about 20,000 persons. A closely related dialect, called Werčikwār, is spoken in the Yāsin valley further west towards Čitrāl. The language was no doubt formerly current over a larger territory than at present. Al-though it shares much vocabulary with the Dardic languages Shiṇa of Gilgit and Khowār of Čitrāl [see DARDIC and KĀFIR LANGUAGES], Burushaski has no known genetic relationship either with the neighbouring Aryan, Turkic, or Sino-Tibetan languages or with any other group, e.g. Causasian, Dravidian, etc. This may be shown by the numerals 1-10: *hi, ālti, īski, wālti, tsindi, mišīn, tale, āltam, hunti, tōrimi.* Characteristic features are (i) the division of nouns into four classes, approximately: human, (hm) masculine and (hf) feminine, (x) non-human animate and objects conceived as units, and (y) inanimate, amorphous and abstract, (ii) the occurrence of a plethora of plural suffixes, and (iii) the pervasive use of "possessive" personal pronoun prefixes with both nouns and verbs.

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(D.N. MACKENZIE)

AL-**BŪṢĪRĪ**, SHARAF AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SA'ĪD B. ḤAMMĀD AL-ṢANHĀDJĪ, an

Egyptian poet of Berber origin, born on 1 Shawwāl 608/7 March 1212 at Būṣīr [*q.v.*] or near to Dalāṣ (see Yāḳūt, *s.v.*) in Upper Egypt. He was in fact known also by the *nisba* of Dalāṣī, it being said that one of his parents originated from Dalāṣ and the other from Būṣīr; he also had a composite *nisba*, al-Dalāṣīrī, but this last was never very current. He followed the courses of the Ṣūfī Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Mursī (d. 686/1287; see al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., ii, 12-18; P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh*, Beirut 1972, index) and was also involved in the first developments of the Shādhiliyya order [*q.v.*]. He spent ten years in Jerusalem, and then resided at Medina and Mecca before settling at Bilbays [*q.v.*], where he held a minor administrative job (*mubāshir*; see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 451). He died at Alexandria, at a date which varies in the sources between 694 to 696/1294-7, and was buried at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam, near to al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*].

Al-Būṣīrī was a skilled calligrapher, a traditionist and a celebrated reciter of the Ḳurʾān, but his name has been immortalised by a poem of his in praise of the Prophet, the *Burda* ode [*q.v.*], upon which a host of commentaries have been written and which has enjoyed up to the present time an extraordinary success. It has not, however, thrown wholly into the shade another work of his on the same theme, *al-Ḳaṣīda al-hamziyya fi 'l-madāʾiḥ al-nabawiyya* or *Umm al-Ḳurā fī madā khayr al-warā*, printed and commented upon several times. Al-Būṣīrī is furthermore the author of a *Lāmiyya* in praise of the Prophet, of *al-Ḳaṣīda al-muḍariyya fi 'l-ṣalāt ʿalā khayr al-bariyya*, of the *Dhukhr al-maʿād ʿalā wazn Bānat Suʿād*, of a *Yāʾiyya*, of *al-Ḳaṣīda al-khamriyya* and of some secular pieces more or less written for various occasions.

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AL-**BUSTĀNĪ**, name of a Lebanese family distinguished in the field of Arabic literature, which from the *muʿallim* Buṭrus al-Bustānī to Saʿīd S. al-Bustānī represents the various stages of the *nahḍa* and marks the contribution of the Lebanon to the Arab literary renaissance. Also, from the old *Encyclopaedia* of Buṭrus al-Bustānī to the present-day *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif* of F.E. al-Bustānī, a period of a century embraces the wide range of activities covered by Lebanese and Arab scholars in the sphere of general culture. A detailed comparison of these two generations of writers and of their methods of investigation and erudition shows more plainly than by any other means, the long road that the Lebanese travelled in their quest to acquire and to benefit from the knowledge and the methods of the West. The Bustānīs, in waves that were successive and intense, took turns in the service of the Arabic language.

A Maronite family, whose cradle was in northern Lebanon, it was drawn, at the end of the 16th century, in the time of the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn II, towards Dayr al-Ḳamar, to take advantage of the Maʿnid peace and the commercial prosperity of the region. The descendants of this prolific family were not slow to settle in other districts of the Shūf, such as Dibbiyya, Ibkishtīn and Mardj.

In a period of less than a hundred years, we see that dozens of representatives of this family have occupied posts of supreme importance in the administration, the bar, the judiciary, the civil service and most of all in education, in the press and in literature. It was their idea to found a National School for the purpose of grouping together all the children of the country without religious segregation. Also, it was they who took the initiative in the sphere of encyclopedias and modern dictionaries. It was to one of them finally that the Lebanese government entrusted, in 1953, the task of founding the Lebanese University. In the following pages we shall confine ourselves to mentioning, by way of example, and in alphabetical order, some famous names among the Bustānīs of the past who have done service to Arabic letters.

1. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bustānī (1854-1930), eminent teacher and lexicographer, born at Dibbiya, studied at the National School of Beirut under two distinguished *shaykhs*: Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī and Yūsuf al-Athīr. After founding, in Cyprus, with Iskandar ʿAmmūn, a review *Djunaynat al-akhbār* which had little success, he devoted his energies to education. In a career spanning forty years, he acquired high renown and formed, at the College of Wisdom and the Patriarchal College, an élite of poets (Wadīʿ ʿAḳl, Bishāra al-Khūrī, Shiblī al-Mallāṭ, Amīn Taḳī al-Dīn, etc.) and of journalists (Dāwūd Barakāt, Yūsuf al-Bustānī, etc.) and of writers (Shakīb Arslān, Isʿāf Nashāshībī, etc.). It was in the course of this career, and mainly for the benefit of his disciples, that ʿAbd Allāh al-Bustānī composed the majority of his writings. To assist in the teaching of Arabic, he prepared a dictionary, *al-Bustān* (2 vols. Beirut 1927-30), and an abriged version *Fākihat al-Bustān*. It was also for their benefit that he composed a number of plays, some inspired by French dramatic art (*La Guerre des deux Roses, Brutus*, etc.), some taken from the storehouse of Arab history (*Djassās, assassin de Kulayb, ʿUmar al-Ḥimyarī*, etc.) In recognition of his versatile achievements, he was elected a member of the Arab Academy of Damascus, and president of the short-lived Lebanese Academy.

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2. Buṭrus b. Būlus al-Bustānī (1819-83) was born at Dibbiyya and first attended the village school, then the college of ʿAyn Warḳa, where he spent ten years, between 1830 and 1840. In order to help his mother, who had just lost her husband, in the task of raising and supporting his brothers, he refused the offer of a scholarship and went to Italy to complete his religious training at the Maronite College in Rome. It seems that he applied himself to learning English while at ʿAyn Warḳa, which was to serve him well in his future contacts with the Protestant missionaries. He settled finally in Beirut where he lived for forty-three years, and pursued a most distinguished career. His arrival coincided with the troubles caused by the departure of the *amīr* Bashīr II and the withdrawal of Egyptian troops. He made the acquaintance of some American missionaries, with whom he formed a friendship that grew stronger in time and contributed to his conversion to Protestantism. It was at this period that he met the doctor Cornelius Van Dyck, who was then a young physician working with the missionaries; he had just established himself in Beirut

and was eager to learn the language of the country. From 1846 to 1848, having temporarily left the city, he helped his friend in the school at ʿUbey, which the latter founded and which enjoyed a high reputation in this period. It was there, for the benefit of his pupils, that Bustānī composed his two educational manuals *Kashf al-ḥidjāb fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb* and *Bulūgh al-arab fī naḥw al-ʿArab*; it was also there that his eldest son Salīm was born. On his return to Beirut in 1848, the American Consulate employed him as an interpreter, a post that he held until 1862. During this period, he continued to educate himself, to learn European and Semitic languages with the object of assisting Dr. Smith in his venture of translating the Protestant Bible. His energy was also reflected in a large corpus of lectures, articles and pamphlets. In 1860, he published his magazine *Nafīr Sūriyā* ("The Syrian bugle"); then in 1863 he founded his famous National School which continued to operate until 1875 and rendered the country very valuable service. In 1870, he undertook the publication of his two periodicals *al-Djinān* and *al-Djanna*, followed a year later by *al-Djunayna*. The major achievements of Buṭrūs al-Bustānī were, besides his school and his reviews, his contribution to the translation of the Bible, his large dictionary *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, edited in 1870 and the *Encyclopaedia*, the first volume of which appeared in 1876. He died while involved with this task, and he was able to produce only six volumes. His son Salīm applied himself to this work and added two further volumes. The encyclopedia in question came finally to a halt with the eleventh volume and was never completed.

The influence of al-Bustānī at his apogée was very deep. Lucid, far-sighted and sincere, he made accurate judgements of the state of his country from a national, cultural and moral point of view; then he set to work, applying himself to projects the achievement of which would seem impossible for one man alone. He saw clearly, in a setting of considerable obstacles, of a confused political situation, of intolerance and of opposition to Turkish rule, the long path that must be travelled in the quest for an authentic social and cultural renaissance. An indefatigable craftsman, of bold and progressive spirit, he devoted himself to his work and was involved with it to the very last days of his life.

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3. Buṭrus b. Sulayman al-Bustānī (1893-1969), born at Dayr al-Ḳamar where he barely completed his primary studies, and went to live in Beirut with his brother Karam (see below, 4). Self-taught, his thorough linguistic and literary education was the fruit of assiduous personal effort. He first achieved distinction with his grammatical knowledge and his understanding of ancient texts which he analysed and annotated to make them accessible to his readers. In 1923 he founded his review *al-Bayān* which he edited until 1930. Here he dealt with literary and social themes, analysed new works appearing in the Lebanon and in the Arab countries and encouraged the study of comparative literature. In the course of its publication, *al-Bayān* was both a magnet and a support for young Lebanese writers. The world economic crisis forced Buṭrus to give a different direction to his vocation. Henceforward he devoted his efforts to education and to all that might facilitate his task as teacher. It was to introduce his pupils from the Brothers and the College of Wisdom to Arabic literature that he composed, in three volumes, his valuable textbook *Les auteurs arabes*. The first of these volumes (1931) covers the period from the pre-Islamic age to the Umayyads, the second (1934) deals with the ʿAbbāsid age, the third with al-Andalus and the *nahḍa*. Later, in 1943, this series was crowned by a fourth volume, an anthology. Even though scientific method is not respected scrupulously in his writings, Buṭrus excels through the purity of his style and the accuracy of his comments. The last years of his career were spent at the Lebanese University.

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4. Karam al-Bustānī (1888-1966) was born at Dayr al-Ḳamar, studied in the Jesuit school there, then went and settled in Beirut with his brother Buṭrus (see above, 3.); here he applied himself simultaneously to a number of tasks: teaching, journalism and critical editing of ancient texts. Over a number of years, he was associated with Catholic missionary establishments (Jesuits, Franciscans, Sacre Coeur, Friars, etc.), where he taught Arabic literature. At this time he was collaborating in various Lebanese reviews and journals that were then in fashion (*al-Bark*, *Lisān al-ḥāl*, *al-Arz*, *al-Makshūf*, etc.) and he gave generous assistance to his brother Buṭrus in the editing of his review *al-Bayān*. His thorough knowledge of Arabic and his erudition are shown in his study and editing of Arabic manuscripts and most of all in a series of collections of poetry (*Dīwān Ibn Zaydūn, Dīwān Ibn Khafādja, Dīwān Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī, Luzūmiyyāt al-Maʿarrī, Dīwān al-Khansāʾ*, etc.). As regards original production, the work of Karam is confined to a small number of works of a historico-social nature (*Légendes orientales, Princesses du Liban, Femmes arabes*).

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5. Saʿīd b. Salīm al-Bustānī (1922-77) born at Mardj (in the Shūf), studied in Beirut at the College of Jesuit Fathers, then at the Institute of Oriental Literature, and pursued his studies in France, where he obtained a State Diploma in Arabic and a Doctorate of Letters. On his return to Lebanon, he occupied some important posts at the Lebanese University. In 1974, he was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Administration, then, in 1977, Dean of the Faculty of Literature. In the course of his brief university career, he published his thesis *Ibn ar-Rūmī, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Beirut 1967). In addition, he contributed to the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* and to the *Dāʾirāt al-maʿārif* of F.E. al-Bustānī. In university circles, Saʿīd al-Bustānī was associated with bilingualism and western culture, and he defended his positions of principle vigorously. The hope of the Lebanese élite, he died in mid-struggle, carried off suddenly by an incurable disease, leaving a number of important works unfinished.

6. Salīm b. Buṭrus (1846-84) journalist and novelist, born at ʿUbey. He studied in the centres established in the north of the Lebanon by Protestant missionaries recently arrived from America to compete with the propaganda diffused over two centuries by the Catholic missionaries. As teachers, he also had his father Buṭrus and Nāṣīf al-Yāzid̲j̲ī, who introduced him to the subtleties of Arabic. At the age of sixteen (in 1862) he entered the service of the American Consulate in Beirut as an interpreter, a post that he held for ten years. Then his father called upon him to collaborate with him in his many projects, especially in the running of the National School, the editing of his reviews and the elaboration of the *Encyclopaedia*. Thanks to his knowledge of foreign languages, his civic sense and his literary and philosophical training, Salīm gave a new impetus to the Renaissance, and turned it in directions other than those pursued by the generation of his father, of N. Yāzid̲j̲ī, At̲h̲īr, Aḥdab and others. The West influenced his thinking and his conception of society. He went far beyond the cultural level deemed sufficient by his contemporaries and tackled new and original genres in vogue in the West. He displayed this tendency towards innovation in several spheres. First, in participating in the activities of literary societies and cultural associations, in particular in belonging to the Syrian Scientific Society in which he played a significant role; he occupied the post of vice-president, and for the benefit of members and friends, he composed some plays, most notably *Mad̲j̲nūn Laylā*, in six acts, performed on the 11th May 1869, and greeted by Beirut audiences as a masterpiece. Later, he was tempted to pursue this line of activity further and he composed more plays in which prose and poetry lie side-by-side and blend harmoniously. Later, he found in his father's various reviews a useful medium for dealing with subjects fashionable in the western press. The columns of *al-D̲j̲inān* (1870-86) discussed moral and civic questions never dealt with before in Arabic journals of this period. The obsequious journalist, the flatterer of power and high authority (and such men were the general rule at that time), came under attack in Salīm's articles from a thinker fired with civic concern and patriotism, believing sincerely in his mission as social reformer. The titles of his surveys and articles suffice by themselves to reveal the breadth of the spectrum of social, moral, economic and political problems that he studied. We shall quote, by way of example, the following titles: *Birth and evolution of nations, Factors of progress, Methods of education, The role of economics in the evolution of society*, etc. In addition, he blazed the first trail of the modern Arabic novel. Taking the ancient heritage as a base, he tackled subjects with a historical theme and thus sketched the path later to be followed by Nak̲h̲la al-Mudawwar and D̲j̲. Zaydān.

Among his works we shall mention the following:
(a) Nine novels published in serial form in *al-D̲j̲inān* between 1870 and 1879;
(b) Some twenty short stories composed directly in Arabic or translated from French or English (published at the same period in the same review);
(c) *A history of France*;
(d) *A history of Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt and Syria*;
(e) *Statesmen*.

These three last were also published in *al-D̲j̲inān*.
(f) Volumes vii and viii of the *Encyclopaedia* (and valuable participation in the editing of the first six volumes).

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7. Sulaymān b. K̲h̲aṭṭār al-Bustānī (1856-1925), politician and writer, born at Ibkis̲h̲tīn, a small village in the neighbourhood of Dibbiyya (S̲h̲ūf). He studied at the National School, attending the Arabic classes of Nāṣīf al-Yāzid̲j̲ī and Yūsuf al-At̲h̲īr, and gaining a knowledge of the French, English and Turkish languages, as well as the sciences that were then in vogue. His artistic temperament was noticed by Buṭrus, his illustrious father, who took care of him and invited him to collaborate in his educational work, the editing of his reviews *al-D̲j̲inān, al-D̲j̲anna* and *al-D̲j̲unayna*, and the preparation of the *Encyclopaedia*. Invited to Baṣra, Sulaymān founded there a modern-style educational establishment, then he spent eight years in Bag̲h̲dād where he occupied some very important administrative posts. A tireless traveller, Sulaymān visited many countries, notably Turkey, Egypt, India and Iran, as well as European and American states. Resuming his work on the *Encyclopaedia*, he settled in 1896 in Cairo and he contributed substantially to the editing of the tenth and eleventh volumes. In 1904, he accomplished his greatest work, a translation of the *Iliad* into Arabic verse (1260 pages of introduction and text). From this time onward he devoted his energies to politics, participating in the activities of various parties that were then proliferating in the Arab countries. His attitude was, initially, favourable towards the Ottomans, and this earned him, in 1908, when the Constitution was put into effect, election as representative of the *vilāyet* of Beirut in the Ottoman parliament, and later, in 1913, appointment to the post of Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry. The change in policy on the part of the Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909), and the opposition of Sulaymān to Turkey's entry into the First World War against the Allies, obliged him to retire from the government and leave Istanbul, going into exile first in Switzerland (1914-19) then in Egypt (1919-24) and finally in New York where he died a year later, totally blind.

In general, the literary output of Sulaymān is hardly extensive and does not appear to equal that of Buṭrus or Salīm; but thanks to his political involvements, his participation in the activities of literary circles and reformist parties, and his innumerable articles in the Arabic press, his work had a profound influence on the development of Arab aspirations and democratic views in regard to Ottoman rule. Setting aside his translation of the *Iliad*, the thorough research that he conducted by way of introduction to the translation, reveals to the Arabic reader, for the first time, a cultivated mind, familiar with Greek, Latin and modern sources, and involved in considerations related to comparative literature, something totally ignored at that time in Arab literary circles.

In *ʿIbra wa-d̲h̲ikra*, or *l'État ottoman avant et après la Constitution*, published in Egypt (1908),

Sulaymān shows himself as a reformer, following the path blazed by his predecessors, and he expresses, in a clear and direct style, his ideas concerning different styles of government, liberty, tyranny, and the means of exploiting the resources of the Ottoman caliphate, as well as various procedures to be adopted for the modernisation of the state. In addition, a number of manuscript works are attributed to him, including *l'Histoire des Arabes*, and a book of *Memoirs* in English. In the Lebanese civil war of 1975-6, the house where Sulaymān was born in Ibkishtīn was not spared; it was plundered and partially destroyed, and his library suffered the same fate.

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8. Wadī' al-Bustānī (1836-1954), born at Dibbiyya, studied at the American school of Sūk al-arb, then at the American University of Beirut where he obtained his B.A. in 1907. He was involved in an astonishing range of activities. Following in the tracks of previous and contemporary members of the Bustānī family, he applied himself to literature and to travels in Arabia, especially to the Yemen (1909) and to the Far East (1912) where he became a friend of Tagore. He returned to Egypt, then, after 1917, occupied some very important administrative posts in Palestine, at that time under British Mandate. In 1953, he left Haifa to return to his native country and there he spent the last year of his life. Two major principles dominated his long career. The first was reflected in his participation in all the efforts to preserve the Arab identity of Palestine. The second, more important, and more fortunate in its results, consisted essentially in a long list of Hindu or Western books translated from English, a language which he knew thoroughly. Thanks to him, the major works of Lord Avebury came to be known in Arabic, notably *The pleasures of life* (Khartoum 1904), *The meaning of life* (Beirut 1909), *The fruits of life* (Cairo 1910) and *The beauties of nature* (Cairo, 1913). Other authors, too, attracted his attention; he translated *The Quatrains of Khayyām* (Cairo 1912), and some poems of Tagore which he published under the title *The sardine fisher* (Cairo 1917). His most remarkable and successful achievement was without doubt the translation of the Sanskrit epic of the *Mahābhārarata* (Beirut 1952), as well as other epic or semi-epic works from ancient India.

Other than translations, his principal works are:
(a) *Lyrics of the War* (Poems, Johannesburg 1915);
(b) *The absurdity of the Palestine Mandate* (Beirut 1936);
(c) *Palestinian poems* (Beirut 1946);
(d) *The Quatrains of Abu 'l-'Alā'* (manuscript).

Bibliography: M. al-Bustānī, *Kawthar al-nufūs*, 362-75; idem, *al-Salsabīl*, 189-96; Y. Dāghir, *Maṣādir*, ii, 196-9; A. al-Djundi, *A'lām al-adab wa'l-fann*, ii, 263-5; 'U. Kaḥḥala, *Mu'djam*, xiii, 163; Y. Sarkis, *Mu'djam al-maṭbū'āt*, 561; L. Shaykhū, *Ta'rīkh al-ādāb al-'arabiyya*, 166; Zirikli, *A'lām*, ix, 127-8.

(J. ABDEL-NOUR)

BUṬRUS KARĀMA, Christian Arab official and writer, the son of Ibrāhīm Karāma, was born in Ḥimṣ in 1774. Together with his father he was converted from the Greek Orthodox faith of the Karāma family to Greek Catholicism. As a result they were forced to migrate to Acre, where Buṭrus entered the service of the Pasha 'Alī al-As'ad (1806). In 1811 he moved to Lebanon, where he was employed by the *amīr* Bashīr al-Shihābī [see BASHĪR SHIHĀB II] as a tutor to his sons and as head of his chancellery. After Bashīr's deposition in 1840, Buṭrus accompanied him to Malta, and later to Constantinople, where he became a secretary of the Sultan and court interpreter, thanks to his mastery of both Arabic and Turkish. He died in Istanbul in 1851.

Buṭrus composed many poems in Arabic, the majority of which were collected in his *dīwān* entitled *Sadj' al-ḥamāma fī Dīwān al-Mu'allim Buṭrus Karāma*.

When one of his Arabic compositions was attacked by a Muslim critic, he replied with a spirited *maḳāma* in which he maintained the proposition that excellence in Arabic letters and mastery of the Arabic language was not dependent on being a Muslim. Notwithstanding the point of this dispute, it was conducted along thoroughly Islamic lines, with opposing views being expressed in verse, and Buṭrus himself uses forms of expression which differ very little from standard Islamic formulae, e.g. his *maḳāma* begins "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds: Ruler of the Day of Judgement . . ."

Fair-minded Muslim critics appreciated the worth of Buṭrus's poetry, and one, 'Abd al-Djalīl al-Baṣrī (1776-1854), composed a poem in which he adjudicated between Buṭrus and his chief detractor, finding in favour of the former.

Bibliography: Djurdjī Zaydān, *Tarādjim mashāhīr al-shark fi 'l-karn al-tāsi' 'ashar*, Cairo 1903, ii, 189-92; L. Cheikho, *al-Ādāb al-'arabiyya fi 'l-karn al-tāsi' 'ashar*, in *Al-Machriq*, x (1907)-946-8, 1039-44; Sarkis, *Mu'djam*, cols. 1550-1; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, iv, 303-5; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'-allifīn*, iii, 47-8; R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, *The "Khāliyyah" ode of Buṭrus Karāmah: a nineteenth-century literary dispute*, in *JSS*, xxii (1977), 69-80.

(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

BUZZARD [see BAYZARA].

C

ČAČ-NĀMA, a Persian history of the Arab incursions into Sind in the 1st/7th and 8th centuries, with an introductory chapter concerning the history of the province on the eve of the Arab conquest (ed. Dā'ūdpota, New Delhi 1939, 14-72) and an epilogue describing the tragic end of the Arab commander

Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim and of the two daughters of Dāhir, the defeated king of Sind (*ibid.*, 243-7). According to the author, ʿAlī b. Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr Kūfī (about whom see Storey, i, 650), the *Čač-Nāma* is a translation of an Arabic book which Kūfī found some time after 613/1216-17 in the possession of the *ḳāḍī* of Alōr, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī . . . b. ʿUthmān al-Thaḳafī (*ibid.*, 9-10). No details about the author and name of that book are given. However, a comparison between the *Čač-Nāma* and Arab historians such as Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 431-46) bears out the Arab provenance of those parts of the book that describe the battles leading to the conquest of Sind; Kūfī might well have used Madāʾinī's *Kitāb Thaghr al-Hind* and *Kitāb ʿUmmāl* (or *Aʿmāl*) *al-Hind* (*Fihrist*, 100; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v. 315; cf. A. Schimmel, *Islamic literatures of India*, Wiesbaden 1973, 12). The *Čač-Nāma* seems to have preserved Madāʾinī's tradition concerning India in a much fuller fashion than classical Arab histories. On the other hand, the book also comprises a considerable amount of material which probably reflects a local Indian historical tradition. The part dealing with the rise of the Čač dynasty (14-72), the story of Darōhar, Djaysinha and Djanki (229-234), and some traditions attributed to a Brahman called Rāmsiya (179) and to "some Brahman elders" (*baʿḍī mashāyikh-i barāhima*) (197; cf. also 206[11]) deserve to be mentioned in this context.

The extensive account of the relationship that developed between the Arab conquerors and the local population, which may well reflect a local Muslim Indian tradition, is perhaps the most meaningful and fascinating part of the *Čač-Nāma* (208 ff.). Here Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim is said to have given his unqualified blessing to the social characteristics of India and to have sanctioned both the privileges of the higher classes and the degradations of the lower ones. He upheld the central and indispensable function of the Brahmans and confirmed the privileges accorded to them by ancient tradition. As for the lower classes, represented in the *Čač-Nāma* by the Djaṭs [*q.v.*] (al-Zuṭṭ in Arab historiography), Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim confirmed the disabilities imposed upon them by the deposed Čač dynasty (208 ff.). Some of these disabilities bear a striking similarity to the discriminatory measures employed against the *ahl al-dhimma* according to Islamic law. It is fascinating to observe the way in which the *sharʿī* injunctions were transposed into the Indian milieu and probably blended with local custom. Even more fascinating is the transformation of the injunctions themselves: they are not applied to all non-Muslims, irrespective of class, because of their refusal to embrace Islam; they serve rather as an instrument to demonstrate and perpetuate the inferior social status of an ethnic group. The *Čač-Nāma* occasionally sounds like a document intended to accord Islamic legitimacy to the Indian social structure, to sanction the privileges of the Brahmans and to confirm the degraded status of the lower classes. It seems to be a historical and even religious justification of the persistence, under Islam, of a social system which is in sharp conflict with the Islamic world view. It may be considered an illustration of Imtiaz Ahmad's statement that ". . . if the formal Islamic ideology rejects caste, the actual beliefs held by the Muslims not only recognise caste distinctions but also seek to rationalise them in religious terms" (*Caste and social stratification among the Muslims*, New Delhi 1973, p. xxviii).

Bibliography: The *Čač-Nāma* was published by Dāʾūdpota, New Delhi 1939; Manuscripts: British Library Or. 1787; India Office, Ethé 435; cf. Storey, 650-1; Translations: M.K. Fredunbeg, *The Chach Namah, an ancient history of Sind giving the Hindu period down to the Arab conquest*, Karachi 1900; Elliot and Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867, i, 131-211 (description and partial translation); Makhdūm Amīr Aḥmad and Nabī Bakhsh Khān Balōč, *Fatḥ-Nāmayi Sind*, Ḥaydarābād (Sind) 1966 (Sindī translation and commentary; not used by the present author); cf. Storey, i, 651; Analyses: I.H. Qureshi, *The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, The Hague 1962, 37 ff.; F. Gabrieli, *Muhammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī and the Arab conquest of Sind*, in *East and West*, xv (1964-5), 281-95; P. Hardy, *Is the Chach-Nāma intelligible to the historian as political theory?* in Hamida Khuhro (ed.), *Sind through the centuries*, Karachi 1978; Y. Friedman, *A contribution to the early history of Islam in India*, in M. Rosén-Ayalon, ed., *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 309-33; idem, *The origins and significance of the Chach Nāma* (forthcoming).

(Y. Friedmann)

ČAD, Chad, a region of Inner Africa. The Republic of Chad (area: 1, 284,000 km²; population: about 4,000,000 in 1975) is one of the four states which emerged from the former French Equatorial Africa. The country stretches over 1,600 km. from south of latitude 8° N. to the north of latitude 23° N. Consequently, climate and vegetation vary from savannah woodland with an annual rainfall of more than 1,000 mm. in the south to the arid desert of the Sahara in the north. Chad is torn between two conflicting orientations, between North and Equatorial Africa.

Islam has created a measure of cultural unity in the northern and central parts of Chad, but it has also contributed to the alienation of the region south of latitude 11° N., which remains almost untouched by Islam.

About one million members of the Sara tribe form the main element among the Bantu population of the better-watered south. The Sara are also the largest single ethnic group in Chad as a whole. For centuries the Sara, together with other peoples of the south, were the target for slave raiding from the north.

Farther north the open country between latitudes 12° and 15° N. attracted waves of migrants, mainly nomads, from the north (the Tubu) and from the east (Arabs and Arabised groups). The nomads played an important role in the history of that region which saw the emergence of islamised African states.

Kānim, the earliest state in this region [see kanem], was first mentioned by al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Taʾrīkh*, ed. Houtsma, 219) in the second half of the 3rd/9th century. The state of Kānim and its Kanembu people evolved as a result of an interaction between rulers of nomad origin (probably Tubu from Tibesti) and the indigenous population at the northeastern corner of Lake Chad. An interpretation of the Arabic sources (Ibn Saʿīd, ed. Vernet, 1958, 28; al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Hamaker, 1820, 206; a *maḥram* in Palmer, *Sudanese memoirs*, iii, 3) suggests that the rulers of Kānim became converted to Islam in the 5th/11th century, undoubtedly through the influence of Muslims who moved along the trade route from Tripoli via Fazzān [*q.v.*] to Lake Chad. By the 7th/13th century Islam had spread to other

sectors of the population. People from Kānim went on pilgrimage to Mecca and came to study in Cairo, where a *madrasa* for Kānimī students was established in the 640s/1240s (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, 1922, iii, 266).

The ruling dynasty of Kānim claimed descent from Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [*q.v.*], and became known as the Saifawa. In the second half of the 8th/14th century the Saifawa were forced to evacuate Kānim because of harassment by the Bulala. The Bulala were probably an offshoot of the same dynasty who had mingled with one of the earliest Arab nomad groups coming from the east. The Saifawa moved to Bornu [*q.v.*] at the south-western corner of Lake Chad (now in Nigeria). After a transitory period the Saifawa rebuilt a state in Bornu, which towards the end of the 10th/16th century, under the reign of Idrīs Alawōma, regained its hegemony over the Chad basin. Kānim was reconquered by the Saifawa, who preferred to stay in Bornu. The Bulala rulers of Kānim became vassals to Bornu. About the middle of the 17th century the Bulala were removed from Kānim by the Tundjur, who had been themselves pushed out of Wādāy [*q.v.*]. Authority over Kānim rested with the *alifa* (from the Arabic *khalīfa*), who was nominally a deputy of the Saifawa rulers of Bornu. In the first half of the 19th century the *alifa* paid allegiance to the *sulṭān* of Wādāy, but in the second half of the century he came under the patronage of the Arab Awlād Sulaymān.

Arab nomads made their impact on Chad since the 14th century, when offshoots of Arab tribes which had penetrated the Nilotic Sudan advanced westwards across Kordofan and Dār Fūr. In the Chadian *sāḥil*, on the fringes of the Sahara, the Arabs maintained their traditional way of life as camel breeders, but those who had to seek pasture farther south abandoned the camel and became cattle pastoralists (*baḳḳāra*). They mixed with the local population but retained their Arabic dialect. Though they are divided into many tribes, these Chadian Arabs are generally referred to as Shuwa Arabs [*q.v.*]. To the south, the Arabs reached as far as 11° N., and through their contact with the local population contributed to the spread of Islam. In most cases the Arabs accepted the authority of local rulers though they became involved in intra-state and inter-state politics.

Wādāy, on the western boundary of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*], lay on the route of the Arab nomads. The first Muslim rulers of Wādāy were the arabised Tundjur, but they did little to spread Islam among the local population. The spread of Islam is associated with ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Djāmiʿ, of the Arab Djaʿaliyyīn [*q.v.*]. He had propagated Islam among the Maba of Wādāy and then mobilised them in a *djihād* against the Tundjur rulers. The Tundjur had been ousted and ʿAbd al-Karīm established a new dynasty which has survived to the present time. Until the middle of the 18th century Wādāy had been considered vassal to Dār Fūr, but then its *sulṭāns* asserted their independence and expanded south and west to reach the peak of their power in the 19th century. In 1850 the capital of Wādāy moved from Wara to Abeshe (Abeché). In 1851 H. Barth (*Travels*, 1857, iii, 566) wrote: "The Wadawy faqihs and *ʿulamāʾ* are the most famous of all the nations of the Sudan for their knowledge of the Kuran, the Fulbe or Fellani not excepted."

In its westward expansion, Wādāy came into conflict with Bornu, mainly over the kingdom of Baghirmi [*q.v.*]. The latter emerged at the beginning of the 16th century southeast of Lake Chad on the right bank of the Shari river, in a region which had formerly been raided for slaves. Under the influence of Bornu, its rulers adopted Islam, but the islamisation of the population of Baghirmi was a longer process, as remarked by Barth (*Travels*, 1857, ii, 561): "Their adoption of Islam is very recent, and the greater part of them may, even at the present day, with more justice be called pagans than Mohammedans". During the 18th century, when the power of Bornu declined, Baghirmi prospered mainly on trade in slaves procured in raids to the south and the south-east. But in the 19th century both Bornu (which had recovered under the *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānimī) and Wādāy claimed Baghirmi as tributary. Pressed between her two powerful neighbours and exposed to raids and exactions from both directions as well as from Fazzān, the kingdom of Baghirmi disintegrated. Its destruction was completed in 1892 and 1897 by Rābiḥ.

Rābiḥ b. Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*], one of the flag-bearers of the slave trader Zubayr Pasha in the Sudan, retreated westwards after his master had been defeated by Gessi Pasha. At the head of a slave army he skirted the powerful Wādāy and occupied the disintegrating Baghirmi in 1892. He then invaded Bornu, which had been caught unaware, sacked its capital Kūkawa [*q.v.*] and became master of the whole Chad basin. He wrought destruction by his slave raids and punitive expeditions until he was overcome in 1900 by the advancing colonial troops of France, Germany and Britain. Though Rābiḥ had considered himself for some time a follower of the *mahdī* of the Sudan, he had little interest in religious affairs. Only in one corner of Chad does he seem to have contributed to the spread of Islam. Dār Runga, south of Wādāy, had been for centuries a hunting ground for slaves, separated from the Muslim north by a hostile boundary. The absence of Muslim settlements or even itinerant traders beyond this boundary inhibited the spread of Islam. Rābiḥ made Dār Runga a base for slave raiding farther to the south, and it was during this period that people adopted some Arab customs, Arabic garb and rudiments of an Arabic dialect. This process of acculturation, which brought also the spread of Islam, was most evident among chiefs and in the trading villages which developed at that time.

Most of the Arab tribes in Chad came from the Nilotic Sudan. The northern approaches through the Sahara had always been blocked by the Tubu and the Tuareg. But in 1842 a section of the Awlād Sulaymān, who had been defeated by the Ottomans in Fazzān, migrated south to the region just north of Kānim. During the second half of the 19th century, the Awlad Sulaymān fought against the Tubu and Tuareg. Feuds among those nomads were somewhat mitigated towards the end of the century when the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] became established among both the Tubu and Awlad Sulaymān as well as in Wādāy.

In 1835 Muḥammad al-Sharīf, who later became the *sulṭān* of Wādāy, met Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*] in Mecca. Closer relations between the leaders of the Sanūsiyya and the *sulṭāns* of Wādāy developed during the reign of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf (1858-74), when the two parties cooperated in reviving trade along the route from Benghazi to Wādāy via Kufra. Sanūsī traders enjoyed virtually a monopoly over this trade, and the influence of the Sanūsiyya among the Saharan nomads contributed to greater security for the caravans. Successive

centres of the Sanūsiyya—Djaghbūb (1856-95), Kufra (1895-9) and Ḳūrū in Borku (1899-1902)—were along this route. The southward shift of the centres of the Sanūsiyya indicates the growing importance of this region for that order.

In 1874 the Sanūsī leader Muḥammad al-Mahdī (1859-1902) exerted his influence to settle a succession dispute in Wādāy. The successful candidate Yūsuf (1874-98) became a devoted adherent of the Sanūsiyya. In 1909 the Sanūsīs encouraged the *sulṭān* of Wādāy to resist the French colonial occupation. In Kānim, the Sanūsī *zāwiya* of Bi'r ʿAlālī led resistance to the French from November 1901 to June 1902. Because of their involvement in anti-colonial resistance, the activities of the Sanūsiyya came to an end after the French occupation. The Sanūsiyya still have some adherents in Kānim and Wādāy, but the predominant *ṭarīḳa* in Chad is the Tidjāniyya. The rulers of Wādāy and Baghirmi, as well as the *alifa* of Mao (Kānim), are Tidjānīs. The Sanūsiyya, however, still maintain their influence among the Tubu of Tibesti.

Though the Tubu had been nominally Muslims for a long period, Islam had had little impact on their life until their exposure to the Sanūsiyya. The Tubu who had successfully resisted outside cultural and political influences, accepted the Sanūsī traders and teachers. Traditionally the Derde, the spiritual and temporal head of the Tubu in Tibesti, had only limited authority over his tribesmen, and Derde Shay (d. 1939) believed that greater commitment to Islam and the application of the *Sharīʿa* would enhance his personal authority. He invited Sanūsī teachers to teach the Tubu the ways of Islam. Though there is still considerable laxity in observing Islamic rituals and customs, the Tubu have become aware of their Islamic identity. Tubu elders often refer to the pre-Sanūsiyya period as their *djāhiliyya*.

The Tubu are divided into two main groups: the Teda whose centre is in Tibesti and the Daza who live in Borku and Ennedi. The latter were exposed to the influence of *ʿulamāʾ* from Bornu and Wādāy and seem to practise Islam with greater conformity. With greater security under colonial rule, traders and teachers were able to move more freely and farther away. The growing number of pilgrims from Nigeria and other parts of West Africa who passed through Chad as well as foreign merchants from Nigeria, Fazzān and the Sudan who operate in Chad, added to the impact of Islam on public and private life.

Some ethnic groups which in the past had sought refuge from the agression of the islamised states gradually came out of their isolation, mixed with other groups and adopted Islam. In 1910 Islam had reached only a few notables among the Buduma on the islands of Lake Chad, but in the middle of the century all the Buduma were considered Muslims. Though there are no exact figures, it is estimated that more than half of the population of Chad are Muslims.

Chad was of great strategic importance for France as the link between its African possessions of French Equatorial Africa, French West Africa and French North Africa. In the heartland of Africa and remote, more than any other territory in Africa, from seaports, the conquest of Chad, and subsequently its administration and development, posed numerous logistic problems. Only in 1920 did the French complete the "pacification" of Chad, when they overcame the resistance of the Tubu, who had been inspired by the Sanūsiyya.

In 1920 Chad was also constituted into a separate territory. In the delineation of its boundaries a crucial decision was made to include the Sara and other Bantu tribes south of 11° N. in Chad rather than in Oubangui-Chari (the present Central African Republic), where culturally-related ethnic groups live. It was this decision which gave Chad its bipolar structure of the non-Muslim Bantu south and the Muslim, partly arabised, north. Hence Chad is internally divided—there are no clear boundaries with its neighbours. Ethnic groups in Chad often feel closer to their own kins, or to related groups beyond the international boundary, than to other ethnic groups in Chad. In the colonial period and after independence, the authorities had to withstand powerful centrifugal tendencies.

In 1929 the French introduced the cultivation of cotton as a cash crop in the south, and the Sara were the first to integrate into the modern sector of the economy and to reap its benefits. It was also among the Sara that the French recruited troops to their colonial army, and the Sara continue to dominate the army also after independence. Protestant and Catholic missionaries opened schools in the south and an educated élite emerged among the Sara.

The Muslims in the central and northern parts of Chad had their own system of Islamic education and were reluctant to send their children to French schools, or even to government (non-missionary) schools. Only a few sons of Muslim chiefs were sent to study in French schools in the first years of colonial rule. They returned to hold positions in the administration and were able to articulate support for the traditional authorities. Young Muslims preferred to go for advanced studies to Cairo and Khartum, but on their return they discovered that because of their lack of French education they could not be employed by the administration. This frustration, combined with Islamic militancy which they had acquired in the Arab countries, led to their being considered a threat both to the colonial administration and to their own traditional authorities. As a remedy, an Arabic-French school was opened in Abeshe in 1952, under the patronage of the sultan of Wādāy, in order to keep students away from Arab countries and to give them both an Islamic and French education.

The French preferred to rule the central and northern provinces of Chad through their *sulṭāns* and chiefs. Following their initial resistance to colonial encroachment, the *sulṭāns* of Wādāy, the *alifa* of Mao, the Derde of the Tubu and lesser rulers, cooperated with the French administration and were able to retain, and sometimes even to strengthen, their political and religious authority. Only in the 1950s did the French introduce a series of reforms in local government which imposed some limitations on the power of the traditional rulers. But the latter faced an even greater threat with the introduction of elections to representatives assembies and with the emergence of political parties. With the support of the administration, the *sulṭāns* were able for some time to send their own men to the territorial assembly. But in 1957, with an almost universal franchise, the neutrality of the administration and the decline of the chief's powers, the radical *Parti Progressiste Tchadien* (PPT), which had been engaged in grassroots politics, became dominant. The PPT's basis of power was among the Sara who were better educated, more advanced economically and more articulated politically. The PPT exploited divisions

among Muslim politicians, some of whom represented the interests of the traditional rulers while others, who had been exposed to influences from Cairo, North Africa and the Sudan, followed a more radical orientation.

When the Republic of Chad became independent in August 1960, the PPT had a marginal majority in coalition with minor political groups and individual politicians. Its leader, François Tombalabaye, became the first president of the republic. In the following years, Tombalabaye consolidated his power by gradually eliminating political rivals as well as ambitious allies. He relied on the support of the Sara, his own tribesmen, who dominated the armed forces. Most of the university graduates in Chad were also from among the Sara and they were appointed to senior political and administrative positions. But Tombalabaye sought also the cooperation of the traditional rulers, such as the *sulṭān* of Wādāy and the *alifa* of Mao. In order to appease them, he restored some of the powers that the *sulṭāns* had lost in the reforms during the last years of colonial rule. In order to maintain a semblance of national unity, he had Muslim ministers in his cabinet, some of whom were brought back to the government after periods of isolation in prison or in the political wilderness.

Muslims in Chad felt humiliated when they found themselves ruled by the people of the south, whom they had considered for centuries savage infidels and a fair game for slave raids. The Muslims found it hard to adjust to the change in the balance of powers, and resentment increased when Sara officials replaced the French not only in the capital but also in the territorial administration.

Since 1966 sporadic clashes between the government forces and dissidents spread from the south-eastern provinces of Salamāt to the provinces of Wādāy, Ba<u>th</u>a and Ba<u>gh</u>irmi. Disturbances occurred simultaneously also farther north in Borku, Ennedi and Tibesti. Widespread unrest was channelled into a co-ordinated rebellion by the FROLINAT (*Front de Liberation Nationale*), a radical movement which sought to overthrow the régime of Tombalabaye, to eradicate survivals of French colonialism and to foster closer relations with the Arab countries. Though couched in ideological terms, the rebellion was really an escalation of the conflict between north and south, in which the historical, cultural and religious background had current economic and political implications.

Until February 1972, FROLINAT operated almost freely from Libyan and Sudanese territories. Since then the Sudan has effectively sealed its border with Chad. In the middle of 1972 Libya also agreed to withdraw its support from the rebels, but it still harbours the leaders of FROLINAT and does not stop the supply of provisions and arms into Chad from Libya. French troops were sent to Chad, and they succeeded in establishing a measure of security in the eastern and central provinces. But following the withdrawal of the French troops the government's control of the countryside remained rather fragile.

In Tibesti there is not a clear line between Tubu tribesmen who support FROLINAT and those who fought in the name of the Derde, their spiritual and temporal leader. Through most of the colonial period the Tubu nomads of the farthest north were under French military administration. By agreement with President Tombalabaye this military administration continued after independence until 1964, when French troops have been replaced by Chadian troops who were mainly from among the Sara. These troops had hardly been prepared for the subtle task of governing the non-compliant Tubu nomads, and the situation has been aggravated by mutual distrust. Following a violent confrontation between troops and tribesmen, the military command resorted to collective punishment and detained for some time the Derde and his sons. In defiance of the government, the Tubu nomads deserted the oases and moved with their herds into the desert, as they had done also in the first years of colonial rule. The Derde and his sons took refuge in Libya, and from there directed the resistance of the Tubu.

On 13 April 1975 a military coup brought to power General Malloum who, like the deposed President Tombalabaye, was a member of the southern Sara tribe. The new government had only a partial success in achieving national reconciliation whereas the military situation deteriorated even further. In February 1978 a northern offensive extended the area controlled by FROLINAT to a point only 250 km from the capital Ndjamena (the former Fort Lamy). Their advance was checked only by French troops who had hastily been flown in. The internal conflict had international implications, and Libya, together with Chad's two other neighbours—Niger and Sudan—brought the representatives of FROLINAT and the Chadian government to agree on a cease-fire. For the first time, after twelve years of fighting, there were at least formal arrangements for negotiations aiming at the rebuilding of Chad on the basis of equality between the north and the south. These negotiations, how-ever, are bound to be difficult and lengthy [See also the Addenda and Corrigenda].

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(N. Levtzion)

ČAKS, a tribal group which emigrated to Kas͟hmīr from Dardistān under their leader Lankar Čak during the reign of Rād͟jā Sūhadeva (1301-20). S͟hams al-Dīn (739-42/1339-42), the founder of the Sultanate in Kas͟hmīr, made Lankar Čak his commander-in-chief, patronising the Čaks in order to counteract the power of the feudal chiefs.

During the early part of Sulṭān Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's reign, Pāndū, the leader of the Čaks, organised a strike as a protest against corvée labour, and set fire to the Sulṭān's palace and some government buildings. As a punishment, the Sulṭān ordered the destruction of all the houses of the Čaks in Trahgām, 25 miles north-west of Bārāmūla. Pāndū escaped, but was captured and executed along with all the members of his family fit to bear arms. Thus suppressed, the Čaks remained quiet for some years. But taking advantage of the weakness of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's successors, they recovered their position, and engaged themselves in the struggle for power against their rivals, the Māgres. When Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dug͟hlāt (845-55/1441-51) established his rule in Kas͟hmīr, they suffered an eclipse. But by making common cause with the nobles against him, they brought about his downfall; and in the struggle which followed his death, they succeeded in securing for themselves large *d͟jāgīrs* and the *wizārat* from the reigning Sultans. They became so powerful that in 968/1561 G͟hāzī K͟hān Čak set aside Ḥabīb S͟hāh, and declared himself king, becoming the first Čak Sulṭān. He was a good administrator, generous, tolerant and just, but also at times ruthless; he was the first Kas͟hmīr Sultan to introduce the practice of blinding and mutilating the limbs of political opponents.

The Čaks ruled Kas͟hmīr from 968/1561 to 996/1588. The outstanding ruler of the dynasty was Ḥusayn S͟hāh, who was generous, and although a good S͟hīʿī, liberal towards both the Sunnīs and Hindūs. A man of cultured tastes, he wrote verses in Persian and enjoyed the society of poets, artists and learned men of all religions. His brother ʿAlī S͟hāh succeeded him, following his policies and ruling from 978/1570 to 987/1579.

The weakest ruler among the Čak Sulṭāns was Yūsuf S͟hāh. It was he who surrendered to Rād͟jā Bhagwān Dās, Emperor Akbar's commander, without offering any resistance (24 Ṣafar 994/14 February 1586), and made a treaty with him, according to which his kingdom was to be restored to him. But Akbar denounced the treaty and imprisoned him. Later, Yūsuf S͟hāh was given a *manṣab* of 500 and sent to Bihār. He died on 14 D͟hu'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 1000/22 September 1592, and was buried at Biswak in the Patna district.

Yaʿḳūb S͟hāh, the son of Yūsuf S͟hāh, denounced the treaty and declared himself sultan. He carried on the struggle against the Mug͟hals, and inflicted defeats on the Mug͟hal commander, Ḳāsim K͟hān. Meanwhile, Yaʿḳūb's intolerance towards the Sunnīs, who were compelled to recite the name of ʿAlī in the public prayers, antagonised their leaders, who appealed to Akbar for help. The emperor sent Yūsuf K͟hān Riḍwī to Kas͟hmīr, accompanied by some Kas͟hmīr chiefs who acted as guides. Yūsuf K͟hān, by adopting a policy of conciliation won over many Kas͟hmīr nobles, and at the same time sent a force against Yaʿḳūb. The latter continued to resist, but finding himself alone and isolated, he surrendered when Akbar arrived in the Valley early in Rad͟jab 996/June 1588. He was imprisoned and died in Muḥarram 1001/October 1592 and was buried, like his father, in Biswak.

Although leaderless, the Čaks continued to resist the Mug͟hals, but were ruthlessly crushed. D͟jahāngīr's governor of Kas͟hmīr, Iʿtiḳād K͟hān (1032-7/1623-7) hunted them down and killed them; eventually, they escaped to the hills and remote villages, taking up agriculture and other peaceful pursuits.

The Čak rule, though short-lived (968-96/1561-88), was culturally important, for the Čak Sultans, like the s͟hāh Mīrs, encouraged education, patronised poets and scholars and promoted arts and crafts. Two outstanding poets and scholars of the period were Bābā Dāwūd K͟hākī and S͟hayk͟h Yaʿḳūb Ṣarfī; and the most noted calligraphist was Muḥammad Ḥasan, who entered Akbar's service and was given the title of *zarrīn ḳalam*. Under D͟jahāngīr and S͟hāh D͟jahān also, the most prominent calligraphists were those of Kas͟hmīrī origin.

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ČAMLÎBEL, Fārūḳ Nāfid͟h modern Turkish Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel, Turkish poet and playwright (1898-1973). He was born in Istanbul, the son of Süleymān Nāfid͟h, a civil servant in the Ministry of Forests and Mining (Orman we Maʿādin Neẓāreti). After high school he began to study medicine, but soon abandoned it to turn to journalism and teaching. He taught Turkish literature in Kayseri (1922-4), Ankara (1924-32) and Istanbul high schools and the American Robert College (1932-46). He was elected a deputy for Istanbul of the Democratic Party (DP) and served 14 consecutive years (1946-60) in Parliament until his arrest with other DP deputies by the Committee of National Unity (*Milli Birlik Komitesi*) which carried out the Revolution of 27 May 1960. He was detained on a Marmara island (*Yassıada*) until his acquittal 16 months later. He died on 8 November 1973 on board ship during a cruise in the Mediterranean. Fārūḳ Nāfid͟h (as he was known until 1934 when he added Čamlıbel) began to write poetry at the age of 17 using the traditional *ʿarūḍ* metre. His early works *S͟harkîñ sulṭānlarî* ("The Sultans of the East"), Istanbul 1918, and *Gönülden gönüle* ("From heart to heart"), Istanbul 1919, reveal the strong influence of Yaḥyā Kemāl [*q.v.*], who was the dominant literary figure of the period. The impact upon him of Ḍiyāʾ (Ziya) Gökalp's teaching was most marked, and from then

on he wrote in the line of the popular bards (*saz s̲h̲āʿirleri*), becoming the most important member of the group called *Bes̲h̲ hed̲j̲ed̲j̲i s̲h̲āʿir* (five poets using syllabic metre, the others being Yūsuf Ḍiyā', Ork̲h̲an Seyfī, Enīs Behīd̲j̲ and K̲h̲ālid Fak̲h̲rī): *Dinle neyden* ("Listen to the flute"), Istanbul 1919, and *Čoban česhmesi* ("Shepherd's fountain"), Istanbul 1926. But he did not completely abandon the *ʿarūḍ*, which he used (like his contemporaries) whenever he thought the subject matter lent itself better to this metre, as his *Suda ḥalḳalar* ("Circles on the water"), published in 1928 in *ʿarūḍ*, shows. In 1933 Fārūḳ Nāfid̲h̲ published a selection of his poems under the title *Bir ömür böyle geçti* ("A whole life gone by like this"). He collected his humorous poems *Tatlı sert* ("Bitter sweet") in 1938, and his epic poems *Akıncı türküleri* ("Raider's songs") in 1939. Then followed a long silence until the publication of his *Zindan duvarları* ("Prison walls") in 1967. These are impressions of his prison days, in a rather outdated and hackneyed style, in the form of *ḳiṭʿa* (and not *rubāʿī* as stated by Mehmed Kaplan, *Cumhuriyet devri Türk şiiri*[2], Istanbul 1975, 31-3, *passim*). An anthology selected from all his works was published by the Ministry of Education in 1969, *Han duvarları* ("Inn walls", which is the title of his most popular poem). A master of form, Čamlîbel wrote unsophisticated romantic and sentimental poems of love, with no particular depth of feeling, but in an easy, flowing, polished and harmonious style which made him one of the most popular poets of the 1920s. Following the trend of the period, he also wrote patriotic and epic-historic poems, and many poems eulogising Anatolia (and its people), these being increasingly popular subject-matter for literature under the inspiration of the Nationalist movement following the First World War. Čamlîbel is also the author of a number of verse plays, mostly inspired by political motives (e.g. *Akın* ("Raid"), Istanbul 1932), except for his powerful *D̲j̲ānawār* ("The monster"), Istanbul 1926, a vivid portrayal of the chronic conflict between peasants and landowners in Anatolia. Čamlîbel also attempted one novel, *Yıldız yağmuru* ("Rain of stars"), Istanbul 1936.

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CAMONDO, Avram, financier, philanthropist, and reformer active amongst Istanbul's Jewish community (d. 1873). Born in Venice, he arrived in Istanbul and entered the banking business midway through the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd II (1808-39). As his influence and power increased, Camondo became the *ṣarrāf* (personal banker) of a number of Ottoman officials, most notably of the Grand Vizier Muṣṭafā Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a, with whom he established extremely close ties. Camondo later became financial representative of the Baron Hirsch interests and at times acted in concert with the firms of Rothschild and Bleichröder.

In 1854 Camondo became a member of the *Intiẓām-i S̲h̲ehir* Commission, a body charged with advising the central government on measures necessary for the modernisation of Istanbul [see baladiyya]. To carry out the extensive plans of this commission, the Ottoman government in 1858 created an autonomous municipal council in G̲h̲alaṭa [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the European district of the capital. From 1858 until 1861 Camondo was a leading member of this council, which marked the first systematic effort to provide Istanbul with the services and amenities of a modern European city.

Camondo's efforts at modernisation were also directed toward the Jewish community of Istanbul, which by the 19th century was marked by extreme ignorance and fanaticism. In 1854 he founded a modern school at Pīrī Pas̲h̲a, where Turkish and French were studied in addition to scripture. The resulting attempt by conservatives to excommunicate him provoked a serious conflict in the Jewish community, which was resolved in favour of the liberal faction only because of the intervention of the Ottoman government. Camondo then became head of the Jewish Community Council and continued the task of educational reform. In 1870 he took up permanent residence in Paris, but continued to provide Istanbul's Jewish community with synagogues and educational institutions. After his death, his body, in accordance with his will, was returned to Istanbul and buried in Sütlüd̲j̲e.

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(S. Rosenthal)

ČAWDOR, or Čawdîr, one of the major tribes of the Turkmen [*q.v.*].

It appears already in the lists of 24 Og̲h̲uz tribes given by Maḥmūd al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī (i, 57; D̲j̲uwaldar) and Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn (ed. A. Ali-zade, Moscow 1965, 80, 122: D̲j̲āwuldur). The tribe participated in the Sald̲j̲ūḳ movement; the famous *amīr* Čaḳa, who founded an independent Turkmen principality on the Aegean coast at the end of the 11th century, is said to be a Čawdor. The tribal name (in the form Čawundur) was registered in Anatolia in the 16th century (see F. Sümer, *Oğzlar*, Ankara 1967, 315-17). The main part of the tribe, however, remained in Central Asia or returned to it from the west. In the *S̲h̲ad̲j̲ara-yi Tarākima* by Abu 'l-G̲h̲āzī [*q.v.*] (ed. A.N. Kononov, text 61, Russian tr. 68), the Čawdor are mentioned among those tribes which came to Mangîs̲h̲lak [*q.v.*] after disturbances in the Og̲h̲uz *īl*. It remained on Mangîs̲h̲lak till the 19th century, longer than any other Turkmen tribe. In his *S̲h̲ad̲j̲ara-yi Turk* (ed. Desmaisons, text, 210, tr. 224) Abu 'l-G̲h̲āzī mentions the Čawdor only once, in the account of the Turkmen tribes which paid tribute to the Uzbek k̲h̲āns of K̲h̲[w]ārazm at the beginning of the 16th century. The Čawdor are mentioned in this connection together with another old Og̲h̲uz tribe, the Igdir (in a form "Igdir D̲j̲āwuldur"); together they are said to pay three-fourths of the tribute imposed on Ḥasan-ili. The term Ḥasan-ili (Esen-ili in the Turkmen pronunciation; also Esen-K̲h̲ān-ili) has continued to exist till the present time, but its exact meaning is not quite clear; it seems that latterly it has been applied mainly to the Čawdors themselves and sometimes only to one of their main clans, the Ḳara-Čawdor. Besides the Čawdor and the Igdir, the Ḥasan-ili group included also the tribes of the Abdāl, Būzači (Boz Ḥād̲j̲ī), Burund̲j̲iḳ and Soyinad̲j̲i (Soyin Ḥād̲j̲ī). In the 19th century all of them, except the last one, were mostly considered only as different clans of the

same tribe Čawdor; in some descriptions, however, they appear as separate tribes.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the dwellings of the Čawdor were located mainly in the northern part of Mangi̊shlaḳ, where the Būzači peninsula still preserves the name of one of the above-mentioned clans. From the early 17th century, they were exposed to a strong pressure both from the north, by the Kalmuks [*q.v.*], and from the south, by the Khānate of Khīwa. As a result of this pressure in the late 17th and the early 18th century, a part of the Čawdor and the Igdir as well as all the Soyinadji migrated to the region of the Volga Kalmuks, and, together with the Kalmuks, they became Russian subjects (see V.V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya*, ii/1, 613-14). At the end of the 18th century, they moved to the Northern Caucasus, and now they live on the rivers Mani̊č and Kuma in the region (*kray*) of Stavropol; in 1960 their total number was estimated as more than 5,000. The greater part of the Čawdor moved however in the first half of the 18th century to Khwārazm. At the end of this century their main centre, Čawdor-ḳala, was in Arāl, in the north of Khwārazm, and they were the allies of the independent Uzbek rulers of the town of Ḳungrat in their wars with the khāns of Ḳhīwa. After the victory of Ḳhīwa over the Ḳungrat [*q.v.*] in 1810, part of the Čawdor returned to Mangi̊shlaḳ, but in the 1830s and 1840s they finally left Mangi̊shlaḳ for Khwārazm under the pressure of the Aday Ḳazaḳs, and since then their centre has become the town of Porsi̊ (now Kalinin), about 30 miles to the east from Old Urgenč. Only an insignificant number of Čawdors still remain on Mangi̊shlaḳ.

On Mangi̊shlaḳ the Čawdor were nomads, though the number of their cattle was relatively small and an important part of their economy was fishing and seal-hunting on the Caspian sea. In Khwārazm they became sedentarised farmers. Their exact number is unknown; the estimations of the late 19th and the early 20th century vary between 3,500 and 17,000 families.

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(Yu. Bregel)

ČĀY-KHĀNA, lit. "tea-house", a term covering a range of establishments in Iran serving tea and light refreshments, and patronised mainly by the working and lower middle classes. The term *ḳahwa-khāna*, "coffee-house", is used almost synonymously, though coffee is never served. This latter name, however, tells us something of the history of this institution, for most of which we have to rely on the accounts of the European travellers. One of the earliest references occurs in Chardin's *Voyages* (ii, 321), where in his description of Iṣfahān in about 1670 he speaks of "les cabarets à café, à tabac, et pour ces boissons fortes qu'on fait avec le suc du pavot." There is no mention of tea here, nor in Hanway's *Journal of Travels*, written nearly a hundred years later, nor even in Malcolm's *History of Persia* compiled at the beginning of the 19th century. Up to this point it seems that coffee remained the popular drink, but by 1866 Lycklama a Nijeholt was able to write that tea "forme la boisson ordinaire des divers habitants de la Perse" (ii, 105), though elsewhere he mentions that coffee as well as tea was served to him by the Imām Djumʿa of Iṣfahān. Yet even he does not use the term *čāy-khāna*, though he does mention that the word *ḳahwa-khāna* was applied to part of the servants' quarters in a large Persian house. E.G. Browne in 1887 records a stop at "a little roadside tea-house" near Tehran, and adds, "Many such tea-houses formerly existed in the capital, but most of them were closed some time ago by order of the Shah. The reason commonly alleged for this proceeding is that they were supposed to encourage extravagance and idleness, and, as I have also heard said, evils of a more serious kind. Outside the town, however, some of them are still permitted to continue their trade and provide the '*bona fide* traveller' with refreshment, which, need-less to say, does not include wine or spirits." (*A year amongst the Persians*, 82). Elsewhere Browne mentions frequently the serving of tea at private entertainments, but never coffee.

Evidently, then, a fairly sudden change of habit took place during the first half of the 19th century, though why tea should suddenly have been preferred to coffee (neither of which grew in Īrān at that time) is not clear. It is not even certain when tea first became known to the Iranians. Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, written in the first half of the 5th/11th century, gives a detailed account of *čāy*, but only as a plant grown and used in China. According to a Ṣafawid manuscript referred to without quotation by Farīdūn Ādamiyyat in his *Amīr-i Kabīr wa Īrān*, tea was drunk in Īrān in Ṣafawid times; but the same author suggests that the widespread introduction of tea-drinking into Īrān was due to Amīr-i Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who in 1849 received gifts of silver samovars from the Russian and French governments on the occasion of the coronation of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, and encouraged the craftsmen of Iṣfahān to copy them. From then on, tea began to be imported in significant and increasing quantities, mainly the black tea of India, which was preferred to the milder Chinese. Tea was not actually grown in Īrān, and specifically in the Caspian area, until 1896.

The first dictionary appearance of the word *ḳahwa-khāna* is in Francis Johnson's, published in 1852; but the word *čāy-khāna* does not appear until the most recent dictionaries (e.g. Dihkhudā, pt. 41, 1338/1959). Even the omniscient Haim (1935) does not list it, but under *ḳahwa-khāna* adds the definition "[in Persia] a tea-house". However, the word *čāy-khāna* was certainly in common use by that time; indeed A.V. Williams Jackson met it as early as 1903, when he found along his route "mud cabins which served as tea-houses (*chāi khānah*)" (*Persia past and present*, 34).

At the present time the terms *čāy-khāna* and *ḳahwa-khāna* are to some extent interchangeable, but the former tends to be used for the small way-

side establishments catering primarily for travellers (cf. Dihkhudā's definition "places on the highways and caravan routes where formerly carriage horses were changed"). Since the coming of motor transport most of these have disappeared, while others have acquired a degree of sophistication appropriate to the bus passengers who now constitute their main clientèle. By contrast the word *kahwa-khāna* usually designates the tea-shops in the towns and large villages, which serve as meeting-places for the local (male) community (a very few have curtained-off compartments for women). Both types of establishment serve much the same fare—tea, prepared with the aid of a large samovar, bread and cheese, eggs, perhaps *āb-i gūsht* or some other such simple dish, and of course the *kalyān* (water-pipe). (Coffee is obtainably only in the more sophisticated, European-style café (*kāfa*), patronised by wealthier clients, where tea, ice-cream, soft drinks, and French pastries are also to be had). For entertainment, there is the *takhta-yi nard* (backgammon board), and often the *nakkāl*, who recites long dramatic episodes from the *Shāh-nāma*, or traditional epics and folktales in prose or verse. In Ādharbāydjān a similar role is often filled by the *ʿāshik*, who recites mystical poetry in Turkish, Arabic or Persian, accompanying himself on a stringed instrument. Dervish fortune-tellers (*rammāl*) are also commonly to be seen. In times of high political activity the *kahwa-khāna* may serve as a centre for the dissemination of news and views. Browne, in *The Persian revolution*, 143, quotes an unnamed Persian correspondent, writing on 19 June 1907: "In many of the *Qahwa-khánas* professional readers are engaged, who, instead of reciting the legendary tales of the Shāh-nāma, now regale their clients with political news."

Many of the older *kahwa-khānas* are decorated with paintings and frescoes dating from Ḳādjār times. These may depict religious scenes (the martyrdom of Ḥusayn, for instance, or the *Miʿrādj* of the Prophet), *Shāh-nāma* episodes (the death of Rustam, the court of Ḍaḥḥāk, the fight between Bīzhan and Hūmān), love-stories (Laylā and Madjnūn, Shīrīn bathing), and dancing girls, musicians and entertainers at the royal court.

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, ed. and tr. Hakim Mohammed Said, Karachi 1973, i (introduction), 84-5, ii, (translation), 128-9 (Arabic), 105-6 (English); *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, Paris 1686; Jonas Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea with a journal of travels*, London 1753; Sir John Malcolm, *The history of Persia*, London 1815; *ibid.*, *Sketches of Persia*, London 1828; T.M. Chevalier Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie, au Caucase et en Perse*, Paris 1872; Farīdūn Ādamiyyat, *Amīr-i Kabīr wa Īrān*, Tehran 1323/1944, ii, 248-50; E.G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893; *idem*, *The Persian revolution*, Cambridge 1910; A.V. Williams Jackson, *Persia past and present*, New York 1906; Īradj Nabawi, *Tāblū-hā-yi kahwā-khāna'ī*, Tehran N.D. (*ca.* 1973).

(L.P. Elwell-Sutton)

ČAYLAḲ TEWFĪḲ, modern Turkish Çaylak Tevfik, Turkish writer and journalist (1843-92). A self-taught man, he was born in Istanbul and became a civil servant. He started his career in Bursa and continued in Istanbul where he published the papers *ʿAṣīr* ("Century", later renamed *Leṭā'if-i āthār*) and *Teraḳḳī* ("Progress"). In February 1876 he published his best-known paper, the humorous *Čaylaḳ* ("The Kite"), which became his nick-name and which ceased publication in June 1877 after 162 numbers. In 1877 he went, with a delegation, to Hungary for a month and on his return he published his impressions as *Yādigār-i Madjaristān* ("Souvenir of Hungary"). Čaylaḳ Tewfīḳ is the author of the following works: *Ḳāfile-i shuʿarā'*, alphabetically arranged biographies of poets (which stop at the letter *dāl*); *Istanbul'da bir sene* ("A year in Istanbul"), Istanbul 1297-9 Rūmī/1881-3, his best known work, the general title of a series of five books, consisting of realistic descriptions of everyday life in Istanbul. The subtitles of the work are (1) *Tandīr*; (2) *Maḥalle kahwesi*; (3) *Kāghidkhāne*; (4) *Ramaḍān gedjeleri*; and (5) *Meykhāne*. Čaylak Tewfīḳ pioneered the Naṣr al-Dīn Khōdja literature in modern Turkish, and published three volumes containing about 200 stories on him, *Leṭā'if-i Naṣr al-Dīn, Bu Ādem* (1883) and *Khazīne-i Leṭā'if* (1885).

Bibliography: *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, xi (1961-3), 407-8; Behçet Necatiğil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*[8], Istanbul 1975.

(Fahir İz)

ČEH, the Ottoman term for the inhabitants of present-day Czechochoslovakia, mainly Bohemia and Moravia, but partly also Slovakia. The Arabs did not use this term, although the territory was known to them at least since the end of the 3rd/9th century. In the so-called "Anonymous relation" on East European and Turkish peoples, preserved by a group of early and later Muslim geographers (Ibn Rusta, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Gardīzī, al-Bakrī, Marwazī, ʿAwfī), the name of Svatopluk (spelled variously as Sw.n.t.b.l.k., Sw.y.t.m.l.k., etc.) ruler of the Great Moravian Empire (871-94), is mentioned. The name of his land (Mirwāt, M.r.dāt) is also given in some sources, but its localisation is erroneously shifted too far to the east (cf. Ibn Rusta, 142-5, tr. Wiet, 160-3; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, §§ 42, 46; Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, 99-100, ed. ʿAbd. al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 275; Marwazī, ed. Minorsky, 22, 35).

Al-Masʿūdī must have had an excellent informant (probably a Slavonic slave from this region) on the ethnic and political situation in Central Europe, since his relation is entirely independent of other sources and rich in detail not to be found elsewhere. In the list of Slavonic tribes and their rulers we find also the name of Wenceslaus (Prince of Bohemia, 926-35), spelled as Wān.dj Slāw, but only as ruler of the Dudlebs (Dūlāba), one of the many Czech tribes at this period (*Murūdj*, iii, 62-3 = §§ 905-6; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 102 ff., wanted to read another ethnic name in the list Ṣāṣīn as Čāḥīn [= Czechs], but this is unlikely as the context points rather to the Saxons). In his *Tanbīh*, 62, al-Masʿūdī describes the Danube (Danuba) and the Morava (Malawa) rivers and mentions also the Slavonic peoples Bāḥmīn (Bohemians; this can be read also as Nāmdjīn, the Slavonic term for the Germans), and Murāwa (Moravians).

The most copious and detailed information about the territory of Czechoslavakia and its peoples is to be found in Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb's [*q.v.*] narration, who visited these countries in the sixties of the 10th century and could well be called the discoverer of Central Europe. He names the successor and brother of Wenceslaus, Boleslav I (935-67) as the ruling prince over Prague (Frāgh), Bohemia (Būyāma) and Cracovia (Krakūwā). His detailed account is full of precious information about the economic and commercial situation, and brings many facts about the life, manners and customs of the people, as well as a few Slavonic words. His description of Prague is

the oldest extant in the literature, and the whole account belongs to the most valuable sources of early Czech history. Unfortunately his relation is not conserved in its entirety, but only in excerpts in al-Bakrī's *al-Mamālik wa'l-masālik*; some fragments are preserved by al-Ḳazwīnī and by the late Maghribī geographer Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī in his *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* (Bibl. Nat. Rabat, Ms. no. 238).

After the 4th/10th century, the country of the Czechs and Slovaks wanes from the horizon of Arab and Persian geographers. The only exception is al-Idrīsī, who in two sections (vi, 2 and 3) mentions Bū'āmiyya (Bohemia), but under this name he understood two different countries, as is to be seen from the list of towns belonging to it. His first Bū'āmiyya represents Slovakia (and partly northern Hungary) with the towns of Bāṣū (either Bratislava, formerly Poszon, or Vácov), Aḳrā (Jager, Erlau), Buṭash or * -nsīn (either Bíteš in Moravia, or Trenčín in Slovakia), Shubrūna (Sopron), Niṭram (Nitra), etc. The second Bū'āmiyya, in which the towns of Ifrāḳāṭ (Prague) and Māsla (Meissen) are located, forms, according to al-Idrīsī, a part of his Allamāniyya (Germany). All this shows that he had rather vague knowledge about this part of Europe, borrowing his information from various sources and being unable to harmonise it (cf. Lewicki, *Polska*, part 2, *passim*).

The next time the Muslim peoples came into contact with the territory of modern Czechoslovakia was under the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman expansion in the 11th/17th century touched also some southern regions of present-day Czechoslovakia, these regions then forming a part of the Hungarian kingdom. Following the Battle of Mohács in 1526, the Turks successively conquered Buda in 1541 and Esztergom in 1543 and occupied the village of Kakat (today Štúrovo), where they built a small fortress, called Cigerdelen Parkani; this was the beginning of Ottoman rule over Czechoslovak territory. In 1544 they conquered the fortress Fil'akovo in eastern Slovakia and Nógrad and Szécsény in northern Hungary. This territory was then organized into four *sandjaks*, those of Esztergom, Nógrad, Szécsény and Fil'akovo, where more than 90 villages and hamlets on the territory of present-day Czechoslovakia were located.

During the so-called Fifteen-Years' War of 1593-1606, the Ottomans lost the larger part of this region, so that afterwards only about 200 villages remained under their rule.

The greatest military enterprise of the 11th/17th century, the campaign of Köprülü Aḥmed Pasha against the Hapsburg monarchy in 1663-4, touched again Czechoslovak territory. In 1663 the Turkish army conquered the important fortresses of Nové Zámky (Uyvar, Neuhäusel, Érsekújvár), Nitra and Levice as well as many smaller fortifications. After the peace of Vasvár of 14 August 1664, the fortress of Nové Zámky, together with 786 villages and hamlets in southern Slovakia, remained in Ottoman hands (cf. *Defter-i mufaṣṣal-i eyālet-i Uyvar*, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tapu Defterleri, Nos. 115-698). Out of this territory a new *eyālet* was constituted with its headquarters in Uyvar. Ottoman rule lasted here until the reconquest of Nové Zámky in 1685, whereas in the eastern regions of Slovakia it persisted till a year later, when the township of Rimavská Sobota paid for the last time taxes to the Ottomans.

Since the treaties between the Ottomans and the Hapsburg monarchy were frequently infringed, the frontiers remained unstable and underwent many changes. The Ottoman administration considered all villages inscribed in the tax-registers or *defters* as its own territory and insisted firmly on this view, whereas the opposite party was not willing to accept this state of affairs. There thus emerged a wide frontier zone under the fiscal jurisdiction of both parties, i.e. a condominium. The inhabitants were forced to pay taxes to both sides; the levy of taxes on the disputed territory led to incessant fighting, to punitive expeditions for non-payment, to raids and plunderings of villages as well as to dragging-away of peoples into captivity or slavery. The main raids occurred against Rožňava and Jelšava in 1556, Gemer in 1569, Vráble in 1584 and 1630, Krupina in 1654, Žarnovice in 1654, etc. The marauding raids, chiefly by Tatar troops, devastated many times the whole region of the Váh and Nitra rivers (1543, 1552, 1575), as well as eastern Moravia (1530, 1599, 1663).

The only Turkish traveller who visited the territory of Czechoslovakia was Ewliyā Čelebi, who travelled in the southern regions in 1660-6 and also took part in the campaign of 1663-4. He visited and described the following towns and fortresses: Nové Zámky (Uyvar), Komárno (Komaran), Parkán-Štúrovo (Cigerdelen Parkanî), Šurany, Košice (Kashsha), Fil'akovo (Filek), Hlohovec (Galgofča) and Bratislava (Podjon), cf. *Seyāḥat-nāme*, vi, 46-51, 278-392; vii, 133-6, 335-45.

Two participants in the same campaign have also left accounts: Muṣṭafā Zühdi in the *Ta'rīkh-i Uyvar* (Halis Efendi Ktph., No. 2230) and Meḥmed Nedjātī in the *Ta'rīkh-i sefer-i Uyvar* (Revan Ktph., No. 1308), both written in 1665. In the Turkish historical literature the events of war on Czechoslovak territory were described in some detail by Ibrāhīm Pečewī (conquest of Fil'akovo, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 139-40; of Sobotka, ii, 140; the siege of Komárno, ii, 154-6). Kātib Čelebi gave an account of events of the Fifteen-Years War in his *Fedhleke*, i, 19-20, 132-6, 261-2.

Bibliography: Arabic accounts: J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 95-160; T. Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿkūba z podroży do krajów słowiańskich v przekazie al-Bekrī-ego*, Cracow 1946; T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sasednie w świetle "Ksiegi Rogera" geografa arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrīsī-ego*, 2 parts, Cracow-Warsaw 1945-54; I. Hrbek, in *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici*, iii, Brno 1969; Ottoman period: L. Fekete, *Az Esztergomi szandszak 1570. évi adóösszeírása*, Budapest 1943; J. Blaškovič, *Some notes on the history of the Turkish occupation of Slovakia*, in *Acta Univ. Carol., Orientalis Pragensia*, Prague 1960, 41-57; idem, *Rimavská Sobota v case osmanskotureckého panstva* (*Rimavská Sobota at the time of Ottoman Turkish rule*), Bratislava 1975 (= Turkish documents, translation and commentary).

(I. Hrbek - J. Blaškovič)

CITRUS [see muḥammadāt].

ČOBĀN-OGHULLARÎ, a family of *derebeys* [*q.v.*] in Ottoman Anatolia, who controlled the districts (*nāḥiyes*) of Tiyek, Ekbez and Hacılar in the eastern parts of the Amanus Mountains or Gâvur Daği (in the hinterland of Iskenderun [see iskandarūn] in modern Turkey). They claimed hereditary power in the area from the time of Sultan Murād IV (1032-49/1623-40), when the latter, in the course of his campaign against the Persians in

Baghdād, granted these districts to a local shepherd (*čobān*). By the 19th century, the family was divided into two branches, one controlling Tiyek and Ekbez and the other Hacilar. The Čobān-oghullarī played a part in the attempts of the more powerful *derebey* families of the Cicilian region to maintain their local autonomy against the Porte in Istanbul, and were at times allied with e.g. the Kücük ʿAlī-oghullarī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: see A.G. Gould, *Lords or bandits? The derebeys of Cilicia*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 491.

(ED.)

D

DABBĀGH (A.), "tanner", frequent as a *nisba* in mediaeval and modern Arabic. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the tanners were Jewish craftsmen. During the lifetime of the Prophet, his Companions, such as al-Ḥārith b. Ṣabīra, Sawda, Asmāʾ bint ʿAmīs and others, were associated with tanning. Saʿd b. ʿĀʾidh al-Ḳaraẓ, one of the Companions of Muḥammad, was busy trading in fruit of the acacia (*ḳaraẓ*) which was widely used as a material for the processing of leather. During the Umayyad, ʿAbbāsid and Mamlūk periods, there were many Jewish and Arab tradesmen engaged in tannery. Djāḥiẓ mentions Jewish tanners; al-Samʿānī and Ibn al-Athīr, on the other hand, cite numerous names of Arabs who were well-known not only as *dabbāghs*, but also as transmitters of traditions and religious lore.

The tanners worked and lived in the suburbs of towns and villages, and had their separate lanes (*darb*) in the markets known as *darb al-dabbāghīn*. They had their shops close to the camel-market of Mirbad in Baṣra during the Umayyad period. The shops of *dabbāghūn*, together with those of fishmongers, were situated in the markets of Karkh in Baghdād, away from the shops of the perfumers (*ʿaṭṭārūn*). The *muḥtasib* supervised the artisans' works and prevented the *dabbāgh* from using oak galls (*ʿafṣ*) instead of acacia fruits (*ḳaraẓ*) for leather processing, and cautioned the tanners not to mix hides of ritually-slaughtered cows with those of animals like horses, mules and donkeys which had died natural deaths without being properly slaughtered.

The *dabbāgh* does not appear prominently in Arabic anecdotes and humorous tales, whereas the weaver (*ḥāʾik*) and the cupper (*ḥadjdjām*) was often portrayed as a comic character in Arabic literature. The relative silence of Arabic *udabāʾ* about tanners was partly due to the social isolation in which the *dabbāghūn* worked and lived. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī expresses the accepted view about the *dabbāgh*, the *ḥāʾik* and the *ḥadjdjām*, that they are *siflat al-nās*, men of mean status. The ʿAbbāsid government, from time to time, imposed extraordinary taxes (*maks*) on skilled artisans, including tanners, but these fiscal measures were temporary. We find some evidence which suggest that the witness (*shahāda*) of craftsmen of low status like the sweeper (*kannās*), tanner, cupper and weaver was not acceptable in law; some Mālikī jurists, however, pleaded in favour of the waiving of this restriction and the acceptance of their *shahāda*. Ibn ʿĀbidīn and some other jurists, while discussing the law of *kafāʾa*, debated the question whether the tanners were eligible to contract marriages outside their own social group, and Arab prejudices against the *dabbāghs* clearly hindered upward social mobility among tanners through marriages with families of higher status.

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(M.A.J. BEG)

AL-**DABBĀGH, ABŪ ZAYD ʿABD** AL-**RAḤMĀN** B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-USAYDĪ, b. 605/1208-9, d. 699/1300, was, according to the eyewitness and probably interested testimony of al-ʿAbdarī, the unique true scholar in al-Ḳayrawān of his time. If one can believe an anecdote which states that he owed his cognomen of al-Dabbagh to the fact that his great-grandfather disguised himself as a tanner in order to avoid the office of *ḳāḍī*, he must have stemmed from an ancient family of Ḳayrawānī *faḳīhs*. Al-ʿAbdarī, who visited him in 688/1289 and received from him a general *idjāza* for the transmission of his whole work, praises his hospitality, fine appearance, amiability, lofty mind and breadth of knowledge. He was well-versed in all the traditional Islamic sciences, was a felicitous poet and excelled above all in *ḥadīth*. His masters had been numerous (over 80), and he devoted to them, in the fashion of the time, a *barnāmadj* or catalogue, which has survived. He also wrote a work on *ḥadīth*, *al-Aḥādīth al-arbaʿīn fī ʿumūm raḥmat Allāh li-sāʾir al-ʿālamīn*, a history, *Taʾrīkh Mulūk al-Islām* and a collection of edifying *vitae*, *Djalāʾ al-afkār fī manāḳib al-anṣār*; none of these works has come down to us.

However, al-Dabbāgh owed his reputation above all to his *ṭabaḳāt* devoted, in a chronological order by dates of death, to the saints and scholars who had either lived in al-Ḳayrawān or had visited it. According to al-ʿAbdarī, this was called *Maʿālim al-īmān wa-rawḍat al-riḍwān fī manāḳib al-mashhūrīn min ṣulaḥāʾ al-Ḳayrawān*, and was in two big volumes. He drew substantially on the oldest sources, and especially on the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Abu ʾl-ʿArab and the *Riyāḍ* of al-Mālikī. Al-Dabbāgh's work was in turn copied and enlarged firstly by Ibrāhīm al-ʿAwwānī (d. *ca.* 719/1320), and above all by another Ḳayra-

wānī, Ibn Nādjī (d. after 839/1435), who completed it by adding biographical notices of the scholars of his own century and by interpolating all through the earlier texts personal remarks generally introduced by the verb *ḳultu* "I say". Hence al-Dabbāgh's work is only known to us through this definitive work in four volumes given to us by Ibn Nādjī with the title *Maʿālim al-īmām fī maʿrifat ahl al-Ḳayrawān*. In sum, we have here a collective work which, by means of anecdotes and edifying stories, brings to life before our very eyes and in successive layers, the highly diverse world of piety and *fiḳh*. The Tunis edition of this (1320-5) is very poor, but has been re-edited in a more critical way by Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ (i, Cairo 1968), which has however now stopped after the first volume and seems unlikely to continue. For his part, M.H. al-Hīla has made a very useful index which is unfortunately only available in roneotyped form and has had little circulation.

Al-Dabbāgh was buried in al-Ḳayrawān at the Tunis Gate, in the enclosure reserved for his ancestors and called the Silsilat al-Dhahab ("Golden chain"). He was in fact the descendant of a famous line of Anṣār.

Bibliography: ʿAbdarī, *al-Riḥla al-maghribiyya*, ed. M. al-Fāsī, Rabat 1968, 66-7; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim*, iv, 89-92; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *Ḥulal*, ed. M.H. al-Hīla, Tunis 1970, i, 262-70 (largely repeats ʿAbdarī); R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafsides*, Paris 1947, ii, 382-3.

(M. TALBI)

DABĪR (P.) "scribe, secretary", the term generally used in the Persian cultural world, including the Indo-Muslim one (although in the later centuries it tended to be supplanted by the term *munshī*, so that Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, London 1886, 328, record "dubeer" as being in their time "quite obsolete in Indian usage"), as the equivalent of Arabic *kātib* and Turkish *yazīdjī*. The word appears as *dipīr/dibīr* (Pahlavi orthography *dpy(w)r*, see D.N. MacKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*, London 1971, 26) in Sāsānid Persia to denote the secretaries of the government departments, an influential body in the state, and a chief secretary, *Ērān-dibīrpat* or *dibīrān-mehisht* is mentioned in such sources as the *Kārnāmag-i Ardashīr*; see, for instance, Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 104, tr. Carra de Vaux, 148, giving the *dafīrbadh* as the fourth of the five great dignitaries in the Sāsānid state. A knowledge of writing and secretaryship was considered part of a gentleman's education, and the *Kārnāmag* records that Ardashīr learnt *dibīrih* at Bābak's court (see M. Boyce, *The Parthian* gosān *and Iranian minstrel tradition*, in *JRAS* [1957], 32-3). From Sāsānid usage it passed into Armenia, where we find mentioned a chief secretary, *drapet Areacʿ* (H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, Leipzig 1897, 145). The origin of the word is seen in Old Iranian **dipibara* "bearer of writing", and this originally Iranian word passed during pre-Islamic times into more westerly languages, such as Aramaic and Armenian; for etymological details, see W. Eilers, *Iranisches Lehngut im arabischen Lexikon: über einige Berufsnamen und Titel*, in *Indo-Iranian Jnal.*, v (1961-2), 216-17.

For the functions of *dabīrān* in Islamic times, see KĀTIB, ii and iii, and also DIWĀN, iv and v.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Nöldeke-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, 444-5; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen 1944, index.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ḌABUʿ, ḌABʿ (A. *ḍubʿ, ḍubuʿ, ḍibāʿ, aḍbuʿ, maḍbaʿa*), grammatically feminine singular nouns designating the hyena (Persian: *kaftār*, Turkish: *ṣırtlan*, Berber: *ifis*, pl. *ifisen*) irrespective of sex or species (see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, viii, 95-9). From this vague generic term, additional forms have been derived to differentiate the sexes: *ḍibʿān*, pl. *ḍabāʿīn* for the male (alongside *dhīkh*, pl. *dhuyūkh*) and *ḍibʿāna*, pl. *-āt*, for the female. The word *ḍabuʿ* (preferable to *ḍabʿ*) is of Sumero-Akkadian origin and is found in several languages of the Semitic group, most notably in Hebrew with *ṣebūʿa* (Jeremiah, xii, 9) and its plural (*ṣebūʿīm* in the Biblical toponym of the "Valley of the Seboim" or "Valley of the Hyenas" (I Samuel, xiii, 18), currently the valley of the Wādī Abū Ḍabʿa, tributary of the Wādī al-Ḳilt, to the west of Jericho. The Arabic dialects of the present day have all retained the original name of the animal in the forms *ḍbaʿ* and *ḍabᵃʿ* (fem. *ḍabʿa*, pl. *ḍbūʿa*).

The hyena family comprises four species, distributed geographically throughout Africa and from Arabia to Bengal; this means that the majority of Muslim peoples, and especially all Arabic and Berber speakers, have always been familiar with this repulsive carrion-eater, closely related to the dogfamily. The species that is most widely distributed, from the Atlantic coast of North Africa to India, is the striped hyena (*Hyaena hyaena* or *Heaena striata*) which lives a solitary life, occasionally in pairs, at altitudes of up to 1,500 metres and is essentially nocturnal. It is distinguished by its hide, varying in colour from grey to a dingy shade of yellow, and by its erect dorsal mane (*marāfīl*) which accounts for *ʿarfāʾ*, one of the many epithets applied to the animal. Its den (*widjār, ḥidn, rudjma, ʿirān*) is usually a deep, vaulted burrow under an outcrop of rock. Litters consists of five or six cubs (*furʿul, furʿulān*, pl. *farāʿil*, and in poetry, *bahdal, fartanā, hubayra, hinbar, hinnabr, hunbuʿ*). In Africa, the southern limit of its habitat is the mid-Sahara, where it is called, in Tamahaḳ, *erkeni/terkenit*, pl. *erkeniten/terkenitin*. The Arab nomads of the Sahara regions, for reasons of superstitious euphemism, refer to it as *bāb marzūḳ* "lucky door". The second species, found only in Africa, is the spotted hyena (*Hyena crocuta*), in Arabic *ḍabuʿ raḳṭāʾ*. Stronger and more ferocious than the former, this hyena has no mane and its hide is reddish with black speckles. It is found throughout Africa south of the Sahara, and its habitat overlaps that of its striped cousin in the central desert regions, where it is called *tahūri*, pl. *tihūryawin*; it is common in the Sudan and Eritrea under the name *marfaʿīn/marfaʿīl/marfaʿīb*. Its behaviour differs considerably from that of the striped hyena; a strong gregarious instinct causes it to live in packs (in dialect: *mḍabʿa*, pl. *mḍābiʿ*), each one of which may include more than a dozen members. Hunting in groups, both by day and night, the members of a pack pose a formidable threat to cattle and deer, and they have been known to attack isolated travellers; within the pack, a strict law regulates the distribution of captured prey. Much less prolific than the striped hyena, the spotted hyena has no more than one or two cubs to a litter. The other two species of hyena, the brown hyena (*Hyaena brunnea*) and the aard-wolf (*Proteles cristatus*), an insectivore, are virtually unknown in the Arab countries, being confined to central and southern Africa.

The Greeks, who knew of the hyena through the writings of Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.*, vi, 32) and Hero-

dotus (iv, 192), had only two words for the animal: ὕαινα and γλάνυς, while the Arabs, many centuries before Islam, employed a wide vocabulary of terms to describe both the physical appearance and behaviour of the hyena (see Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 69-72); ancient Arabic poetry contains the bulk of this terminology, which has virtually disappeared from contemporary speech. The first thing which struck the Bedouin about the appearance of the hyena was its swaying and limping gait (*hanbala, hunbuʿa*), owed to the fact that its forequarters are higher and more powerful than its hindquarters. This trait earned the animal a whole range of pejorative epithets with the general sense of "lame", such as: *dhayʾal/djayal, ʿardjāʾ, mathʿāʾ, khāmiʿa, khutaʿ, khalaʿlaʿ, khazʿal*, etc. The effect of this ignominious gait is aggravated by the animal's bandy forelegs, on account of which it was called *ʿaythūm, ʿathāmi, fashāḥi* and *naʿthal*, while its thick, matted and mangy coat gave rise to the names *bāḳiʿ, aʿthāʾ/ʿathwāʾ/ʿithyān, umm ʿithyāl* and *ghunāfir*. Because of its black jowls and muzzle, it was known as *rashmāʾ* and *umm rasham*, and because of its ungainly and misshapen body, *ḥadādjir, ʿafshalīl, umm riʿm* and *umm dabkal*. Its nocturnal habits and appetite for carrion earned it a number of epithets with the general sense of "vileness", "filth", such as *djayʿar/. djaʿāri, ḳutham/ḳathāmi, ḳashʿ, khanʿas* and *madrāʾ*. It has always inspired disgust, with its necrophagous instinct and its habit of raiding cemeteries and unearthing and consuming freshly-interred corpses; as a result of this repugnant behaviour, the hyena earned uncomplimentary nicknames such as *umm al-ḳubūr* "mother of the tombs", and *nabbāsh al-ḳubūr* or *naḳāthi*, "grave-digger".

Al-Djāḥiẓ amassed a considerable quantity of information on the hyena by collecting legends relating to the animal in Bedouin circles, and he mentions this reprehensible behaviour, without himself believing in it, in connection with the coupling with swollen, unburied corpses of enemies slain in battle or of executed criminals (*Ḥayawān*, v, 117, vi, 450). He also mentions the fact that, like the hare, the hyena was alleged to be a hermaphrodite. Furthermore, this hermaphroditism was believed to be alternate, not simultaneous, the same individual being male one year, female the next. In reality, such legends may have arisen from the fact that the female hyena is seen to possess a strangely hypertrophied external genital organ, allowing it to be mistaken for a male. On account of its contact with corpses and its menstrual cycle, the hyena was regarded in the superstitious minds of the nomads as something essentially unclean, and for this reason could not serve as a mount for the genies (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 46). According to another fable, it was believed that by penetrating the shadow cast by a dog in the moonlight, the hyena could make the animal fall from the wall or the terrace where it was standing; the dog would then be eaten.

All in all, the hyena was regarded as a totally reprehensible and ill-omened beast, as is suggested by epithets with the sense of "mother of calamity" (*umm ḳashʿam, umm khinnawr, umm nawfal*), while its nocturnal rallying cry (*khaff, khafkhafa*), resembling a sardonic laugh, and its raucous growl of anger (*nawf, ḳushaʿ*), have always been of a type calculated to terrify the traveller stranded in the countryside, looking anxiously for the reassuring lights of an encampment or a village. To meet at night the animal known in different regions as "the crier" (*al-khaffūf*), "the growler" (*umm ʿattāb*), "the host of the road" (*umm al-ṭarīḳ*), "mother of the sands" (*umm al-rimāl*) and "the mother of the hill" (*umm al-kalada*) is a sign of bad luck; striking a light is the only way of banishing this unwelcome companion, this animal which joins forces with the wolf (*akhū nahshal*), the jackal and the vulture in consuming the scraps left behind by the lion, the panther, the leopard or the caracal lynx. Another, more empirical means of protecting oneself against any possibility of attack from the hyena was to carry on one's person pieces of colocynth (*ḥanẓal*) or sea-onion (*ʿunṣul*) or to rub the skin with black nightshade (*ʿinab al-thaʿlab*), plants whose smell is repellent to the hyena. On the other hand, the underground cave where the hyena sleeps during the day is often shared by some snake or other large reptile with which it coexists peaceably; this explains the hyena's most widely-spread nickname *umm ʿāmir* "mother of the serpent".

In spite of its ferocious and formidable appearance, the hyena is, in fact, characterised by cowardice; once captured and muzzled and seen in daylight, the animal is so terrified that it gives the impression of total bewilderment and stupidity. This well-known behaviour led the Bedouin to coin the phrase *aḥmaḳ min ḍabuʿ* "more foolish than a hyena" and the epithet *ḍabaʿta/ḍabaghta/ḍabaghṭarā* "stupid", described the animal before being used as a word of reproof for silly or mischievous children. In the Maghrib, a brutal or foolish person is contemptuously described as *maḍbūʿ* or *mḍabbaʿ*, implying that, in the words of the proverb *klā rās ḍbaʿ*, "he has eaten a hyena's head". Although the young of the species, if caught before the age of weaning, is easily domesticated and proves very much attached to its master, the adult is quite untamable, as is shown by the tragic story of the kind Bedouin who gave refuge to a hunted hyena and was eaten in his sleep as a reward for his benevolence, an episode which gave rise to the proverbial expression *mudjīr umm ʿāmir* "protector of the hyena", applied to excessive hospitality shown towards a stranger. The incorrigible and unsociable temperament of the adult hyena and its latent malevolence gave rise to the metaphorical sense of the word *ḍabuʿ*, as used by the Arabs to describe years of drought and the distress and misery which accompanied them (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 446-7). Still more explicit was the old adage *khariʾat bayna-hum al-ḍibāʿ* "the hyenas have defecated between them", used in reference to rival tribes divided by implacable hatred. Comparison to the hyena, as to the monkey [see ḲIRD] and the pig [see KHINZĪR], was a grievous insult in Arabic as in Persian; in the latter, *rū-yi kaftār* "face of a hyena" was used to describe repulsive features inspiring distrust (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 452).

Belief in hybrid forms produced by matings of the hyena and the wolf was firmly entrenched in the Arab mentality, and al-Djāḥiẓ was the first to dare to refute it categorically (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 181-3). According to the latter, copulation of a male hyena with a she-wolf would have produced the *simʿ*, a creature renowned for its agility (see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt*, ii, 27-8), identified by modern naturalists with the Cape hunting-dog (*Lycaon pictus*), a canine. An inverse crossing would have produced the *ʿisbār* (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 115-6), probably to be identified with the aard-wolf, a species of hyena mentioned above. According to another legend dating from the early years of Islam, the *simʿ* and the *ʿisbār*, offspring of the hyena and the wolf were, in fact, the progeny of two tax-collectors, transformed into these two carnivores by Allah as a punishment for their greed (*Ḥayawān*, v, 80, 148-50); this alleged pu-

nishment gives historical force to the unfortunate reputation for usury acquired in this period by tax-collectors and money-changers. Still more extravagant was the idea of the evolution of the giraffe (*zarāfa*), according to the following process: in Abyssinia, a male hyena mates with a "wild" she-camel, producing a hybrid (unknown and unnamed!) which, mating in its turn with, according to its sex, a male or a female oryx, gives birth to the giraffe as a definite product. Although this comical explanation defies all the laws of genetics, it does, for the simple-minded, account for the physique of the giraffe; it has the low hindquarters of the hyena, the long neck of the camel and the thin legs and cloven hooves of the antelope. Taking into consideration the colour of its hide, orange speckled with black, we can understand its compound name in Persian: *ushturgāv-i palang* "camel-bovine-panther" and its current scientific name, borrowed from the preceding, *Giraffa camelopardalis* L.

In pre-Islamic Arabia the hyena does not seem to have been the object of a taboo. It was considered a game-animal and there was no objection to its meat being eaten in times of hardship; there was even a trade in the animal, and according to some compilers of tradition (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 82, and al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, same edition, ii, 235), it was sold between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, on the Pilgrims' Route. In later times, the question of the legality of the consumption of the meat of this canine-toothed carnivore was answered differently by the four judicial schools of orthodox Islam. This is understandable, since the Prophet Muḥammad, when asked to give a ruling on this vexed question, replied in an ambiguous fashion, saying that he himself did not eat it, but that it was a form of game (*ṣayd*) and could therefore be consumed. The exegetes expounded this advice at some length, arguing that the hyena does not hunt living prey as predatory animals do, an argument which holds good only for the striped hyena, the sole species known in Arabia. As a result, consumption of the meat of the hyena is regarded as permissible by the Shāfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs (see H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, 224; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, 47-8; E. Gräf, *Jagdbeute und Schlachttier im islamischen Recht*, Bonn 1959, 143, 233). Mālik b. Anas and his followers were more reticent, considering the consumption of the meat of this scavenger "worthy of reproof" (*makrūh*). As for Abū Ḥanīfa, he maintains categorically that this meat is absolutely impermissible, on the basis of the formal prohibition applying to all carnivores equipped with canine teeth.

Whatever the motive, consumption or destruction, the capture of the hyena was a practice that always had enthusiasts, using the best means available according to the time and the place. In Islamic countries, the simplest and oldest method of hunting, no doubt dating back to prehistoric times, was to trap the animal with cords in the burrow itself. The brave man who had the audacity to confront this adversary, in spite of its terrible bite, was obliged, as a preliminary, to undress and to arm himself with cords tied into slip-knots; he would then approach his quarry as stealthily and silently as possible and muzzle and hobble the creature without, apparently, encountering any resistance. In this delicate operation the hunter relied not only on his own courage, but also, and most of all, on the magic power of formulae proclaimed in a loud voice at the moment of contact with the beast; in the East, the most efficacious formula was: *Umm ʿĀmir nāʾima*! "Umm ʿĀmir is asleep!" Another injunction was more distateful (see *LA* under *ʿm-r*): *khāmirī Umm ʿĀmir abshirī bi-djarād ʿaẓlā wa-kamarⁱ ridjāl katlā*. "Go back Umm ʿĀmir, go and play with mating grasshoppers and the penis of slain men!" In the Maghrib, the hunter, having invoked the local saint, said, with more delicacy: *hāti yeddek nehennīhā*. "give me your foot and I shall dye it with henna." It should be emphasised that the first condition for success was, before embarking on the enterprise, to seal up the smallest fissure capable of shedding light into the burrow; the hunter was obliged to operate in total darkness, as in indicated by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 48); he could, for his personal safety, arm himself with a short dagger (see L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, Paris 1927, 29-30). Arab authors who have described hunting, like the poet Kushādjim [*q.v.*] in his *Kitāb al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid* (ed. A. Talas, Baghdād 1954, 103, 213-15) from the 4th/10th century, or the encyclopaedist of fieldsports ʿĪsā al-Asadī, in his monumental *Djamhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara* from the 7th/13th century (ms. Escurial 903, fols. 162b-163b), have given accounts of various procedures, other than that described above, for the capture of the hyena; these include the hunting-trap, using a ditch fenced in with stakes, the kennel-trap with a guillotine-style door (*ridāha, ridāʿa*) or the snare (*kiffa*) with a running knot to catch the paw. Each of these devices was accompanied by a bait (*rimma*) consisting of the carcase of some animal. In more recent periods, metal traps with tongues have replaced all devices previously in use. Such traps should be large and very powerful, because in many case the hyena's vice-like jaws are strong enough to bend steel. The Mamlūk Ibn Manglī, summarising the works of al-Asadī in his *Kitāb Uns al-malāʾ bi-waḥsh al-falā*, in the 8th/14th century, gives the following advice, the fruit of his personal experience, to the mounted hunter: "When pursuing the hyena on horseback, the animal should be approached from the left-hand side; an archer, if right-handed, should overtake it on the left flank. If the hunter is armed with a lance or a sabre, he should attack at very close quarters. Nevertheless, it is said that if the hyena charges at you from the right, you will be unable to strike it, although if it approaches you on the left, it is vulnerable and you will have it at your mercy, if Allah wills." With much less style and finesse, the general practice in the Maghrib is simply to stun the hyena with a club, having first smoked it out of its lair, the same procedure as is used in Europe for the fox, the badger and the polecat. Heavy and sudden rainfall can sometimes force the hyena to evacuate its flooded burrow; a fact illustrated by the old Arabic expression used to describe torrential rain *sayl djārr al-ḍabuʿ* "a flood to drive the hyena outside".

The truth is that the hyena has never enjoyed any kind of favour on the part of Muslim communities because the animal, while alive, is of absolutely no use to them. At the very most, in ancient Arabia the shepherd could hope for its presence when his flock was threatened by a wolf since, according to his not illogical reasoning, so long as these two carnivores were in violent competition with each other, his sheep were safe, which explains the shepherd's prayer *Allahumma ḍabʿ^an wa-dhiʾb^an*! "Oh Allah, [send me at the same time] a hyena and a wolf." There was a time when, in certain regions, the hyena could play the role of the Hebrew scapegoat; in cases of persistent drought where all other propitiatory rites had failed, the procedure of last recourse was to tie the hyena

to a wall by its tail and to set dogs on it, torturing it for three days before killing and burying it; with the evil destiny thus exorcised, rain was sure to come soon. Such is the interpretation laid on these obscure ritual practices by the mythologists.

In spite of everything, the hyena should not be unjustly abused because, wherever it lives in proximity to man it is, with the jackal and the vulture, a factor in biological equilibrium, contributing to the elimination of decomposing organic matter, the source of all diseases and epidemics. In Islamic countries, the rural populations willingly accept the presence of the hyena in spite of its unpleasant instinct for digging (*ḏjayyāf*); at night, the animal is present in large numbers on the outskirts of encampments and villages, disposing of the garbage and waste products thrown out without any regard for hygiene.

In ancient medicine, as practised by the Greeks and later by the Arabs, the hide of the hyena, in all its forms, offered a wide range of therapeutic properties, the most valued being the supposed aphrodisiac quality of its brains and genital organs when dried and made into powder; but this drug only had a generative effect on the man and induced frigidity in the woman. Bearing in mind the mutual hostility between the live hyena and the dog, it was quite logical to extend this hostility beyond death and to use the remains of the former to repel the latter; also, carrying in one's person a piece of hyena's skin or its dried tongue gave protection against dog-bites and, consequently, rabies. Similarly, anointing oneself with grease from a hyena would prevent dogs from barking at one's approach; this practice was well-known to burglars. Applying the same grease to a placid dog would immediately transform it into a ferocious animal. A hyena skin buried at the entrance to a house was a permanent means of denying access to all dogs and, hung up outside a village, it kept all pestilence at bay. Wrapped round the sieve or the measure used in the handling of grain, this skin preserved the seed against depredation by grass-hoppers and birds; with fruit trees, the same effect could be achieved by the use of the animal's claws. In addition, the head and the tongue of the hyena were lucky talismans; the former promoted fertility in a dovecote and the latter, hung in a room where a banquet or a wedding feast was to take place, guaranteed enjoyment and was a protection against unpleasantness. On the basis of the hyena's power of vision in the darkness, its gall, used as an eye-wash, was believed to prevent cataract and make nyctalops. Finally, the dried heart of a hyena, hung as a talisman round at a child's neck, was a sure means of improving spirit and intelligence; and the right paw of the animal, attached to the arm or the leg of a woman in labour, assuaged the pains of child-birth and guaranteed a successful birth. To this list of major qualities a large number of secondary properties could be added, and one might conclude that the hyena, for which the Arabs had no sympathy in its lifetime, the outlaw al-S̲h̲anfarā excepted (see his *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab*, vv. 5, 59), was reconsidered and enjoyed a measure of favour after its death, on account of its numerous beneficial contributions to medicine and magic, two areas which were then regarded as being one.

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(F. VIRÉ)

DABŪSIYYA, a town of mediaeval Transoxania, in the region of Soghdia, and lying on a canal which led southwards from the Nahr Ṣug̲h̲d and on the Samarḳand-Karmīniyya-Buk̲h̲ārā road. The site is marked by the ruins of Ḳalʿa-yi Dabūs near the modern village of Ziyaudin (= Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn), according to Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 97. It lay in a prosperous and well-watered area, say the mediaeval geographers, and Muḳaddasī, 324, cf. R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 101, mentions in particular the brocade cloth known as Wad̲h̲ārī produced there.

Dabūsiyya's main significance in history was as the place of a victory in 394/1094 of the last Sāmānid Ismāʿīl al-Muntaṣir [see ISMĀʿĪL B. NŪḤ] over the Ḳarak̲h̲ānids before his final defeat and death, and also the scene of a sharp but indecisive battle between the Ḳarak̲h̲ānid ʿAlītigin or ʿAlī b. Ḥasan Bug̲h̲ra K̲h̲ān [see ILEK-K̲H̲ĀNS] and his Salḏjūḳ allies on one side and the G̲h̲aznawid governor of K̲h̲ʷārazm, Altuntas̲h̲ [*q.v.* and also K̲H̲ʷĀRAZM-S̲H̲ĀHS] on the other, in which the latter was mortally wounded (see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 270, 295-6). Dabūsiyya apparently flourished at this time and was a mint-town of the early Ḳarak̲h̲ānids (see Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). During the Mongol period, Dabūsiyya and Sar-i Pul both opposed Čingiz K̲h̲ān's hordes in early 617/1220 (Ḏjuwaynī-Boyle, i, 102, 107, 117), and operations around it between warring Ozbeg princes are recorded by Bābur in the opening years of the 10th/16th century (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 40, 124, 137).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

DACTYLONOMY [see ḤISĀB AL-ʿAḲD].

DĀGH U TAṢḤĪḤA, "branding and verification", a term used in Muslim India for the branding of horses and compilation of muster rolls for soldiers. The system of *dāg̲h̲* (horse branding) was first introduced in India by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K̲h̲alḏjī (695-715/1296-1316), and was revived by S̲h̲ēr S̲h̲āh Sūrī (947-52/1540-5). The system of double ranks (*d̲h̲āt* and *suwār*) made its appearance during the second half of Akbar's reign. The motive probably was to compel every *manṣabdār* actually to maintain the number of horses and cavalry men expected of him for imperial service. But dishonesty among the nobles was found to be so widespread that a mere paper edict could not remove it. Therefore, to check all evasions of military obligations, Akbar introduced *dāg̲h̲* (branding) for the horses and the *čihra* (descriptive rolls) for the men. Detailed rules were framed for *dāg̲h̲ u taṣḥīḥa*. Each *manṣabdār* had to bring his horses and men every year for branding and inspection; in case of delay, assignment of one-tenth of his *ḏjāgīr* was withheld. Nobles whose

d̲j̲āgīrs were remote were not expected to bring their horses to the muster before twelve years, but after six years since the last muster, one-tenth of their income was withheld. If a *manṣabdār* was promoted to a higher *manṣab* and three years elapsed since he last presented his horses at a muster, he received a personal increase of salary, but was allowed to draw the allowances for the increased number of his men only after the first muster. He then obtained assignments against his old and new men.

The entire machinery of branding and inspection was controlled by the *Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī-yi mamālik* (or *Mīr bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī*) in the central administration. He had under him *bak̲h̲s̲h̲īs* posted at the capitals of *ṣūbas* or provinces. The actual work of branding and inspection was done by an officer known as the *Dārūg̲h̲a-yi dāg̲h̲ u taṣḥīḥa*, who reported to the *bak̲h̲s̲h̲īs*. This department was very important for maintaining the Mug̲h̲al army up to prescribed standards, and the decline in the quality of Mug̲h̲al troops in the 12th/18th century was widely ascribed to the collapse of the *dāg̲h̲ u taṣḥīḥa* system.

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(M. ATHAR ALI)

DĀḤIS, the name given to a pre-Islamic war waged during the latter half of the 6th century A.D. between two closely related tribes of G̲h̲aṭafān, the Banū ʿAbs and the Banū D̲h̲ubyān, or more accurately the Banū Fazāra, a sub-tribe of D̲h̲ubyān. The war took its name from a stallion called Dāḥis, over which the quarrel arose, and which became proverbial for bad luck.

The real reasons for the war are probably to be sought in the enmity generated by the domination by ʿAbs of all G̲h̲aṭafān, as well as Hawāzin, which had reached its peak around the middle of the century but had begun to decline with the death of Zuhayr b. D̲j̲ad̲h̲īma, the chieftain of ʿAbs [see G̲H̲AṬAFĀN]. The war, which is said to have lasted forty years, continued until some years after the Day of S̲h̲iʿb D̲j̲abala, on which ʿAbs joined with ʿĀmir against D̲h̲ubyān and Tamīm; this battle is traditionally dated in the year of the Prophet Muḥammad's birth.

The major events of the war, as well as their proper sequence, are clear from our sources, although many details are uncertain, since the main primary source shows signs of a tendentious recasting to give added prominence to the two leaders, Ḳays b. Zuhayr b. D̲j̲ad̲h̲īma al-ʿAbsī and Ḥud̲h̲ayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī of D̲h̲ubyān.

The most detailed study of the first part of the war down to the Day of al-Habāʾa is by E. Meyer, *Der historische Gehalt der Aiyām al-ʿArab*, Wiesbaden 1970, 50-65, who gives a full bibliography. The main primary source is the commentary on the *Naḳāʾiḍ*, i, 83-108, which is a continuous narrative on the authority of al-Kalbī (probably the son His̲h̲ām, d. 206/821-2), *Ag̲h̲ānī*[1], xvi, 24-33; [3]xvii, 187-208, gives the same account almost verbatim on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860), Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/824-5), Muḥammad b. Saʿdān (*fl.* 3rd/9th century), but stops with the death of Ḥud̲h̲ayfa on the Day of the Well of al-Habāʾa, omitting the latter half of the war and the final conclusion of peace. Other accounts are those of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *al-Fāk̲h̲ir*, Cairo 1380/1960, 219-35 (quoted verbatim by Maydānī, *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-amt̲h̲āl*, Cairo 1959, ii, 110-21), and Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, Beirut 1965, i, 566-83, neither of whom cites his authorities. The latter version is considerably curtailed and at the same time is eked out by the addition of dialogue and transitional passages to make the story more interesting and to fill in gaps in the narrative. A much shorter account also from Abū ʿUbayda, in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, v. Cairo 1946, 150-60, is divided into *ayyām*.

All the primary accounts differ considerably one from another. We shall first summarise the main events of the war as they are related in the *Naḳāʾiḍ* and then point out the more important differences in the other sources.

Dāḥis was ill-omened even before his birth, since the owner of his sire tried but failed to recover the seed deposited in the womb of the dam, because the pair had mated without his knowledge or consent. The stallion grew up to be a swift runner and eventually became the property of Ḳays b. Zuhayr of ʿAbs, who seized him in a raid (83-5).

Different reasons are given for the ill-will between Ḳays and Ḥud̲h̲ayfa, but whatever the cause, it eventually culminated in a horse-race arranged between the two. Each agreed to run a stallion and a mare. Ḳays ran Dāḥis and al-G̲h̲abrāʾ and the entries of Ḥud̲h̲ayfa were al-K̲h̲aṭṭār (or Ḳurzul) and al-Ḥanfāʾ. To make sure of winning, Ḥud̲h̲ayfa stationed men along the course who seized and held Dāḥis until the other horses passed. When released, Dāḥis overtook the two horses of Ḥud̲h̲ayfa and would have come in second behind al-G̲h̲abrāʾ, but again the Banū Fazāra intervened and beat off the leaders, preventing them from finishing first. Both sides claimed victory, and the wager was not paid (85-8).

First blood in the conflict was drawn by Ḳays, who while on a raid killed ʿAwf b. Badr, the brother of Ḥud̲h̲ayfa. The bloodwit of 100 camels was paid by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-ʿAbsī. Despite this, Ḥud̲h̲ayfa retaliated by sending a group of men, among whom was his brother, Ḥamal b. Badr, against Mālik b. Zuhayr, the brother of Ḳays, who was married to a woman of Fazāra and living in the vicinity. Ḥamal kills Mālik, and when al-Rabīʿ hears of this, he leaves the *d̲j̲iwār* of Ḥud̲h̲ayfa, which he had enjoyed up to this time, and joins Ḳays (88-92).

At this point there is a digression to explain an estrangement that had occurred between Ḳays and al-Rabīʿ, who had stolen a coat of mail belonging to Ḳays. The murder of Mālik, however, reconciles the two men, who combine their forces against Ḥud̲h̲ayfa (90). They demand the return of the camels that had been paid as blood money for ʿAwf, but Ḥud̲h̲ayfa refuses. Then another brother of Ḥud̲h̲ayfa, Mālik b. Badr, is killed by a certain D̲j̲unaydib ak̲h̲ū Banī Rawāḥa, a distant relative of Ḳays (93-4).

Peace is then sought by al-Aslaʿ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbsī, who gives several young boys to Fazāra as hostages. Ḥud̲h̲ayfa, however, is implacable. He gets possession of the boys and kills them one by one, forcing them to call on their fathers for help as he shoots them to death with arrows. Among the boys were Wāḳid b. D̲j̲unaydib and ʿUtba, the son of Ḳays b. Zuhayr (93-4).

Next follows a series of battles in which ʿAbs are victorious. On the Day of K̲h̲āt̲h̲ira, at which Ḥud̲h̲ayfa was not present, Fazāra lost several prominent men, among them al-Ḥārit̲h̲, another brother of Ḥud̲h̲ayfa (94). Ḥud̲h̲ayfa mustered his forces and set out in pursuit of ʿAbs, but fell into a trap laid

by Ḳays, who sent off the animals and non-combatants in one direction, and together with his warriors went in another. As he expected, Ḥudh̲ayfa and D̲h̲ubyān followed the animals, and, as they scattered to gather in the plunder, ʿAbs fell on them unexpectedly and wreaked such slaughter that al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād and his brothers begged him to desist. This battle was known as the Day of D̲h̲ū Ḥusā (94-5). Ḥudh̲ayfa and his brother Ḥamal escaped the carnage, and with a few companions came to the Well of al-Habāʾa, where they were finally hunted down by a group of ʿAbs, among whom was S̲h̲addād, the father of the poet ʿAntara. Both Ḥudh̲ayfa and Ḥamal were killed. The *Naḳāʾiḍ* adds as an after-thought that it was said that Ḥudh̲ayfa killed the mother of Ḳays, whom he found among the animals, on the Day of D̲h̲ū Ḥusā (95-6).

From this point, the fortunes of war change. The rest of the chronicle is given over to the wanderings of ʿAbs, who, hard-pressed by the combined forces of D̲h̲ubyān, leave their homeland in an attempt to find allies or *d̲j̲iwār* among the Arabs who were not of G̲h̲aṭafān. They first defeat the Banū Kalb on the Day of ʿUrāʿir; then they go to the Banū Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt, who give them a pledge of security for three days, but attack them later and are defeated on the Day of Farūḳ. Then ʿAbs go to the Banū Ḥanīfa in al-Yamāma, but find no support with them. They finally find *d̲j̲iwār* with ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, but it is given grudgingly and ʿAbs are subjected to indignities. It is during this period that they participate in the Day of S̲h̲iʿb D̲j̲abala referred to above. Thereafter they leave ʿĀmir and go to the Banū Tag̲h̲lib. Tag̲h̲lib react favorably to their request and send a delegation to consult with ʿAbs, but among the delegates Ḳays recognises an old enemy, Ibn K̲h̲ims al-Tag̲h̲libī, who had killed al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim, the man who had avenged the murder of Ḳays's father. Ḳays slays Ibn K̲h̲ims and the chances for *d̲j̲iwār* with the Banū Tag̲h̲lib are ruined (98-104).

Thereafter, weary of war, Ḳays sends his tribe home to try to make peace with D̲h̲ubyān. After some difficulties this is accomplished, but Ḳays himself refuses ever again to be a *mud̲j̲āwir* of any house of G̲h̲aṭafān and departs for ʿUmān, where he later dies. Peace is concluded with D̲h̲ubyān by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād and the rest of the Banū ʿAbs (104-8).

It is clear that whoever put together this account of the war—al-Kalbī or his informants—was a partisan of ʿAbs. Ḳays is made to appear as a paragon of forbearance (*ḥilm*) and Ḥudh̲ayfa an unmitigated villain. Ḳays in the beginning attempts to call off the wager, which was made without his consent, because he realises that it can only lead to trouble. Ḥudh̲ayfa insists on running the race, and then wins it only by cheating. He later on sends Ḥamal to kill Mālik b. Zuhayr, although he had previously accepted the bloodwit for his brother ʿAwf, and now refuses to return the camels. Ḳays lets one of his sons go as a hostage in an effort to bring about peace, and Ḥudh̲ayfa kills him with the other children in a barbarous manner. Later on he kills Ḳays's mother. Finally, at the end, at the Well of al-Habāʾa, Ḥudh̲ayfa shows himself a coward and has to be pushed into the fray by his brother Ḥamal. Ḳays, who was not present, expresses in verses his regret at the incident and refers to Ḥamal as "the best of men", and says he would weep for him forever, were it not that he had behaved unjustly.

In the other sources, Ḳays does not appear in such a good light, nor is Ḥudh̲ayfa so wicked. According to *ʿIḳd*, v, 151, Dāḥis and al-G̲h̲abrāʾ raced against each other and not as a team. The wager was between Ḳays and Ḥamal b. Badr, the owner of al-G̲h̲abrāʾ, who arranged the deception, and thus appears as instigator of the war instead of his brother.

Ḳays is said to have killed not the brother, but Mālik (or Nadba), the son of Ḥudh̲ayfa, whom his father had sent as a messenger to ask for payment of the wager. As a messenger his person should have been sacred, but Ḳays said grimly, "I'll pay you later", and then thrust his spear through his back (*ʿIḳd*, v, 152; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 572).

The killing of the children is told in two separate episodes. Rayyān b. al-Aslaʿ is taken prisoner, but is released by Ḥudh̲ayfa and gives his two sons and nephew as hostages. Ḳays kills Mālik b. Badr and only then does Ḥudh̲ayfa in retaliation kill the two sons of Rayyān, who die calling for their father. He is prevented from killing the nephew by the boy's maternal uncles, who were apparently of Fazāra (Ibn al-Athīr, i, 576). Later, ʿAbs agree to pay Ḥudh̲ayfa ten bloodwits for his losses and give as hostages a son of Ḳays and a son of al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād. Ḥudh̲ayfa is only able to get his hands on the son of Ḳays, but captures two other ʿAbsīs and kills the three of them together. It is not actually stated that this last group were children (*ibid.*, 577). In still another account of this incident, Ḳays is made to bear the blame for foolishly insisting on giving hostages against the advice of al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād, who wished to stand and fight (Maydānī, ii, 114). In general, the other sources give much more importance to al-Rabīʿ than does the narrator in the *Naḳāʾiḍ*.

According to the *Naḳāʾiḍ*, Ḳays was not present at al-Habāʾa when Ḥudh̲ayfa and Ḥamal were slain, but he is there in the other versions, egging his comrades on with the cry *labbaykum* in answer to the cries of the children as they were murdered (*ʿIḳd*, vi, 157; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 579).

ʿAbs and D̲h̲ubyān were permanently reconciled, and the war of Dāḥis had no political aftermath that affected the course of events after the advent of Islam. For later Muslims, the most important results of the war were literary, since it is the best-documented of all the wars of the pagan Arab tribes. Several famous poets participated in it or allude to it in their poetry. Among them are ʿAntara b. S̲h̲addād, Nābig̲h̲a al-D̲h̲ubyānī, Labīd, whose mother was of ʿAbs, and the ʿAbsī leaders Ḳays and al-Rabīʿ. The memory of the major events in the struggle was doubtless still fresh when scholars began to collect the poetry and anecdotal material connected with it, though it is likely that the minor incidents, the personalities of the participants, and the real causes of the quarrel had already been invested with an aura of romanticism. Probably the very quantity of data facilitated this process which is apparent in the surviving accounts. Even as late as the Umayyad period, the war was exploited for *fak̲h̲r* and *hid̲j̲āʾ* themes; several Arabic proverbs and proverbial expressions are said to have originated in the dialogue between Ḥudh̲ayfa and Ḳays (Maydānī, nos. 537, 613, 821, and 1530), and Dāḥis became a permanent part of Arabic folklore and literature as a symbol of bad luck and enduring enmity, embodied in the proverbs *as̲h̲ʾam min Dāḥis* and *ḳad waḳaʿa baynahum ḥarb Dāḥis wa ʾl-G̲h̲abrāʾ* (*ibid.*, nos. 2033, 2925).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *Amt̲h̲āl al-ʿArab*, Istanbul 1300, 26 ff. (not seen); al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xv, Cairo 1949, 356-63 (copies *ʿIḳd*); G.W. Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, ii, 275-83 (= Maydānī); Abū Tammām, *Hamasae*

carmina, ed. Freytag, i, 222-3, 232, 449, 450-1 (all quite brief); Ibn al-Kalbī, Hi<u>sh</u>ām b. Muḥammad, *Nasab al-<u>kh</u>ayl*, ed. G. Levi della Vida, Leiden 1928, index (genealogies of Dāḥis and the other horses); W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, i, Tafeln 130, 132 (genealogies of <u>Dh</u>ubyān-Fazāra and ʿAbs); idem, *Aiyām al-ʿArab*, in *Islamica*, iii (*Supplement*, 1930) 1-99 (literary aspects of *ayyām*-literature). (J.A. Bellamy)

DĀʾIRA SANIYYA, the term used for the administration of crown lands in the Ottoman Empire during the last quarter of the 19th century. *Saniyya* lands were the *mulk* (private freehold) of the Sultan. They were administered by a well-organised establishment, the *Dāʾira Saniyya*, which had branch offices in areas where these lands were abundant. After the revolution of 1908, Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II ceded his private properties to the state. The lands continued to be called *saniyya*, but they were transferred to the newly-formed department of *al-Amlāk al-mudawwara*.

Within months of the accession to the throne of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, vast areas of the richest agricultural lands in ʿIrāḳ had been registered as his private property. Most of these lands were in the Ḥilla-Dīwāniyya, ʿAmāra, and Baṣra districts. They were acquired by all possibles means, from expropriation by imperial order to *bona fide* purchases with the sultan's money. The *Saniyya* Land Department in ʿIrāḳ had close ties with the army, the only source of trained engineers and surveyors able to collect the revenues. The lands continued to be farmed out by *iltizām*; tribes occupying *saniyya* lands persisted in considering them as their tribal *lazma*. The Sultan received from *saniyya* lands both the *mallākiyya* (owner's share) and the tithes. Tenants were granted certain privileges in order to induce them to remain on these lands.

In Egypt, the term was related to the Muḥammad ʿAlī dynasty. Land given by Muḥammad ʿAlī and his successors to themselves or to members of their family originally was called *<u>dj</u>iflik* (pl *<u>dj</u>afālik*), and Ismāʿīl adopted the term *<u>dj</u>afālik saniyya* or *<u>dj</u>afālik al-dāʾira al-saniyya*. By 1880 the *Dāʾira Ṣaniyya* lands amounted to 503,699 feddans, most of them in Upper and Middle Egypt. This land was pledged as security for two loans contracted by Ismāʿīl in 1865 and 1870 and consolidated and unified in 1877 and 1880. After Ismāʿīl's deposition and in the course of the liquidation of Egypt's debt, the *Dāʾira* lands passed into the control of the state, and only a small part was later restored to the princes in a final settlement in 1893 or repurchased by them. The bulk was sold to land companies and private persons. In 1898 British capital formed the syndicate which later became the Daira Sanieh Company and disposed of all *Dāʾira* lands on behalf of Egypt's creditors. The operation was completed by March 1906, resulting *inter alia* in a considerable increase in the area owned in large estates.

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(G. Baer)

DAKAR, the capital of Senegal, is situated at the tip of the Cape Verde peninsula. Its position is the westernmost outpost of the ancient world (its longitude reaches 17° 16' W. at the point of the Almadies). The region of Dakar, which covers almost the whole of the peninsula, is subdivided into three parts: (1) An eastern highland area (more than 100 m. in altitude); the N'Diass range rises some 70 m. above lake Tanma; to the east, the relief consists of hills or low plateaux with very gentle slopes not exceeding 40 to 50 m.; (2) the tip of the peninsula; from Fann Point to Bel-Air Point, the coastline is very jagged; numerous capes (Fann Point, Cape Manuel, Bel-Air Point) define the bays (Soumbedioune, the Madeleines, Bernard, Port of Dakar, etc.); the altitude is very modest, except at Cape Manuel (40 m.); (3) In the north-west of the region, the coast-line is more or less jagged, with a series of capes; the Cape of Yoff, Cape of the Almadies. Here, by contrast, the contours are higher, with the Mamelles (100 m.), and with plateaux at altitudes of between 30 and 50 m. A vast plain links the two mountainous regions of the Cape Verde peninsula. The centre of this plain is a marshy area with stable dunes. In the north, a strong cordon of dunes forms a distinct barrage for sea-farers and isolates a whole series of lakes: lake Yovi, lake Tanma, lake Retba, lake Mbebeusse, etc. To the south there is a cordon of shifting dunes.

The peninsula of Cape Verde has a special climate totally different from that of the interior of the country. During the "bad season" or rainy season, which lasts from mid-June to October, temperatures reach 25° to 27° C., the air is humid, and there is an average of 600 to 650 mm. of rainfall, the maximum being in the month of August. The singular feature of the climate is the length of the "good season", or dry season, which lasts from November to mid-June. Temperatures are mild (19° to 23°), owing to the proximity of the sea, but especially to the cold current of the Canaries, which hugs the Senegal-Mauretanian coast, and to the *alizé*, the sea-wind of the Azores, which bars the way to the *harmattan* (a hot and dry wind).

Historically, the peninsula of Cape Verde was part of the kingdom of Kayor. It was visited in 1444 by the Portuguese Denis Diaz. While Gorée, an island lying 3 km. to the east provided a transit centre for European navigators and for the slave trade, and was the residence of governors controlling the whole of the coastline as far as Gabon, Dakar was nothing more than a tiny village occupied by fishermen of the Lebou tribe (a branch of the Wolof). It was on 25 May 1857 that the captain of the vessel *Protet*, in agreement with the leaders of the theocratic Republic of the Lebou, officially hoisted the French flag at Dakar, which henceforward became a port of call on imperial communications routes to south America. In 1895, a general government was formed charged with co-ordinating the policy of the governments of the different colonies constituting French West Africa (A.O.F., l'Afrique Occidentale Française). The governor of Senegal was, however, actually installed at Saint-Louis, capital of the A.O.F.

It became a naval base in 1898, the capital of the A.O.F. in 1902 with a governor-general, the focal point of the major axes of communication between the A.O.F. and metropolitan France, and the seat of the Grand Federal Council in 1957. Dakar also became the capital of the colony of Senegal from 1957 onwards, then that of the Federation of Mali (comprising Senegal and the former French territories of the Sudan), and finally that of Senegal after the accession of the country to international sovereignty in 1960.

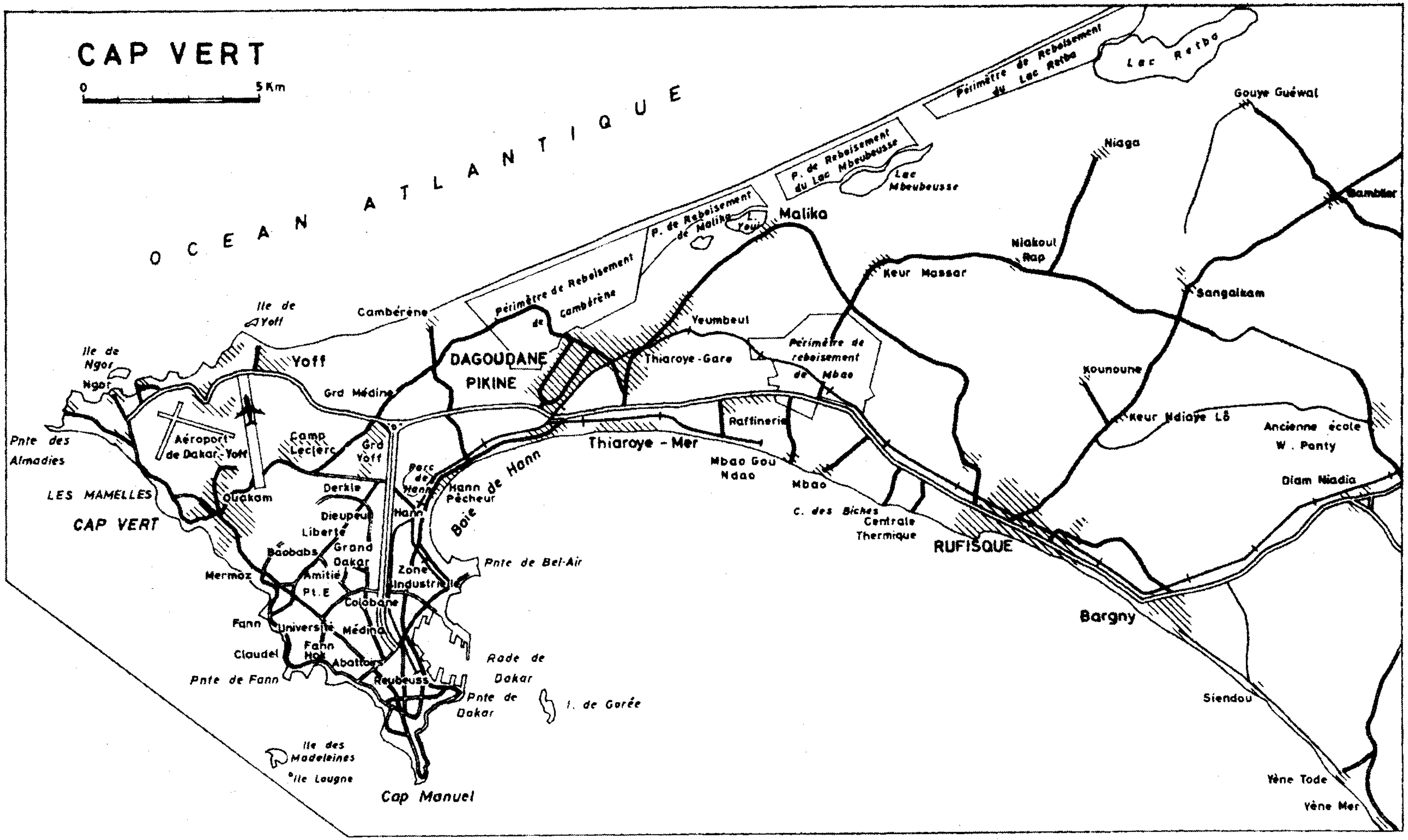
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Niaga
Bambiler
P. de Reboisement de Malika
Malika
Niakoul Rap
Keur Massar
Sangalkam
Périmètre de Reboisement de Cambérène
Cambérène
Ile de Yoff
Yeumbeul
Périmètre de reboisement de Mbao
Kounoune
Ile de Ngor
Ngor
Yoff
DAGOUDANE PIKINE
Thiaroye-Gare
Grd Médine
Keur Ndiaye Lô
Ancienne école W. Ponty
Raffinerie
Pnte des Almadies
Aéroport de Dakar-Yoff
Camp Leclerc
Grd Yoff
Thiaroye - Mer
Mbao Gou Ndao
Parc de Hann
Hann Pêcheur
Baie de Hann
Diam Niadia
Mbao
LES MAMELLES
Ouakam
Derkle
Hann
C. des Biches
Centrale Thermique
RUFISQUE
CAP VERT
Dieupeul
Liberté
Baobabs
Grand Dakar
Mermoz
Amitié
Pt. E
Zone Industrielle
Pnte de Bel-Air
Colobane
Bargny
Fann
Université
Médina
Claudel
Fann Hock
Abattoirs
Rade de Dakar
Pnte de Fann
Reubeuss
Pnte de Dakar
I. de Gorée
Siendou
Ile des Madeleines
Ile Lougne
Cap Manuel
Yène Todé
Yène Mer

Officially the administrative, economic and religious capital, Dakar comprises urban sectors with remarkably clear-cut divisions, regulated by the plans of 1946 and 1961. The former established four zones: (1) A mixed African and European residential zone on the western sea-board as far as Yoff (the airport); (2) A commercial and administrative zone centred on the southern region, bordering on the commercial port; (3) An industrial zone, from the main jetty to Thiaroye; and (4) Finally, a group of reserved territories, *non aedificandi* sectors.

The 1961 plan modified the earlier very little; the only changes were the specialisation of the industrial zone, the constitution of an important university centre, and the designation of the new urban centre of Dagoudane-Pikine as the co-ordination centre for the direct plan.

With reference to the urban structure, the town of Dakar occupies the south-eastern extremity of the tip of the peninsula. It is the region which has developed round the port, on the south-eastern plateaux and on the southern part of the plain where is situated the Medina. The essential characteristic of this urban zone is that it is almost the only area having buildings of solid construction. Grouped within it are the national organisations of a political nature, the administrative services, the entire wholesale trade, almost all the banks, insurance companies and real-estate organisations. The plan of the town is not a homogeneous unity; the port sector, the most ancient, is in the form of rectangles, squares or triangles; the south-eastern sector is of the radiocentric type with a series of roundabouts; the central part is of chequer-board form with narrow streets, whilst in the south, urbanisation is least advanced.

The town of Dakar comprises several quarters: the business quarter, an ancient nucleus, having as its centre the Kermel market, with several old administrative buildings, the main post-office, the town-hall, an area which is very busy in the morning and deserted at night; the western quarter centred on the Place de l'Indépendance, very modern and full of activity (banks, estate agencies, travel agencies and insurance offices); the heterogeneous central quarter which consists rather of services establishments and of wholesale houses, and is a centre of the textile trade and of traditional commerce; the human population is very mixed there, with Lebanese and Syrians, French, Portuguese Cape Verdeans, Moors, Toucouleurs, etc.; and the administrative quarter with high-rise public buildings: the National Assembly, the Presidency of the Republic, the government ministries building, the embassies, hospitals, the Palais de Justice. It is also a residential quarter.

The northern sector of the town of Dakar comprises an eastern section with some buildings of solid construction in an area of insalubrious shanties (Rebeuss) a central section, with waste-ground and some large buildings (Colis Postaux, the École Malik Sy, the Great Mosque, the Institut Islamique, the Polyclinique) and some industrial establishments: Huilerie Petersen, Brosette, Air Liquide, etc.

The third industrial zone contains export and import industries (oil-works, large mills, maritime industries and light industries). This zone is not built up: it is mostly waste-ground with some market-gardens and shanty-towns (Darou Kip, Maka-Colobane, etc.).

The *Grande-Médina* comprises several quarters: the *Gueule-Tapée*, relatively urbanised with many solidly-built houses, and some large modern establishments (the Mandel maternity hospital and dispensary, municipal nursery, etc.); *Fas*, barely urbanised, with very few asphalted roads, dotted with shanties giving place more and more to modern developments (the O.H. L.M. Centre). It is there that the Independence monument and the Kennedy girls' lycée are situated; *Colobane*, a quarter identical to Fas; *Gibraltar*, entirely residential, with some stylish villas constructed by the O.H.L.M.

Grand-Dakar constitutes the most recent, the most extensive and the most populous zone of urban development of Dakar. A very modern urbanisation exists alongside patches of shanty-town. It consists of the following quarters: Fann-Hock, Fann-Residence, Mermoz, Point E and Zone B, a superior residential zone (the University, the École normale supérieure, the École nationale d'économie appliquée, the Blaise Diagne and Delafosse Lycées, numerous embassies and luxury villas for governement ministers). In the centre of Grand-Dakar there are some small self-contained estates: Zone A, Cité du Port de Commerce et des Douanes, the estates of Bopp and of Wâgouniaye.

The allotments of the north encompass, between the Avenue Bouguiba and the Route du Front de Terre: the Cité de Police, the Karak, the simple or multistoreyed villas of the Sicap, the quarters of the Castors, of *Derkle* and of the *Cité des Eaux*, some villas of the O.H.L.M. I and II.

The *Grand-Dakar* with its shanty-towns is the quarter with the densest population (500 to the km^2). The dominant characteristic is insalubrity. It lies between streets 10 and 13. SICAP and the O.H.L.M. are beginning to apply there a modern urbanisation policy.

Dakar and its suburbs. In the immediate hinterland of the town is a zone where the influence of Dakar is shown by certain characteristic features; installation of industrial establishments as far as MBao where there is a petrol refinery and where there begins the free industrial zone of Dakar-marine; the military camps of Quakam and of Camberene, the international airport of Yoff and its technical buildings; the major telecommunications establishments grouped at Yeumbel and to the north of Rufisque, a military conglomeration situated 30 km. from the capital; the presence of residential estates accommodating the workers of Dakar; the estates of the Almadies, of Ngor, of the airport, of Sabe, of Grand-Yoff, of the Patte d'Oie, the villas of the O.H.L.M., Guediawaye, Pikine, Thiaroye and Diaksaw.

Dakar also maintains reciprocal trading relations with certain villages in its close vicinity, providing the villages with fish and vegetables and furniture in exchange for various types of merchandise. These villages are Hann-Pêcheur, Oukam, Ngor and Yoff.

Demography. Dakar, which had only 20,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the century, today numbers more than 350,000. The census of 1961 gave a total population of 302,920 for the town of Dakar and 71,780 for the surrounding area. The same investigation listed 45,000 non-Africans, of whom 29,180 were French, 9,900 Lebano-Syrians, 5,800 Métis, 500 Antillese and about a hundred North Africans. With the exception of the Lebanese community, this non-African population has tended to diminish as a result of the Africanisation of cadres and the reduction of the French military presence.

The African population in 1961 numbered in total 398,060, or 9/10 of the population of Cape Verde (443,560). There are some thirty tribes represented, but five predominate: the Wolof (203,840 or 51.2%),

the Toucouleurs (50,480 or 12.6%), the Lebou (36, 860), the Sereres (25,980), and the Peul and Foula (23,900), a total of 341,060.

The Lebano-Syrians deal in commercial activities. The Africans practise fishing and agriculture (the Lebou), or are agents in public services (functionaries and members of the security forces), workers in personal services (the Toucouleur, Peul, young Sereres and Diola) or members of the liberal professions (lawyers, bailiffs, experts in various fields). Industries employ as many people as do the services. Commerce involve the employees of European commerce (clerks, bookkeepers, administrators), tradesmen based in the African quarters and vendors in the markets with a strong colony of Foula from Guinea (Konakry).

Religions. The two main religions practised in Senegal are Islam and Christianity (both Catholic and Protestant), and it is at Dakar that they are officially represented.

The primary religion of Senegal, after the virtual disappearance of animism, is Islam. In fact, 90% of Senegalese are Muslims, as are 4/5 of the population of Dakar. Unlike Christianity, Islam in Senegal takes on a traditional, even local, character. The Muslims of Senegal, of the Mālikī rite, belong, in a general sense, to a religious fraternity (*ṭarīḳa*) led by a marabout, their spiritual chief. As a result of the rural exodus, Dakar is the meeting-point of all the fraternities existing in the country. From Dakar thousands and thousands of pilgrims travel once a year towards Touba, capital of Murīdism [*q.v.*], a fraternity founded by Shaykh Aḥmadu Bamba Mbacké in *ca.* 1895, or towards Tivaouane, capital of the Tīdjāniyya order. These two towns are certainly religious capitals, but it is at Dakar that contacts between the temporal (the secular state) and the spiritual take place. Periodically, the various religious leaders leave their respective capitals to meet the governmental authorities in Dakar.

The different fraternities represented in Dakar are: (a) The Tīdjāniyya [*q.v.*], of which the present spiritual chief is the "caliph" (*khalīfa*) El-Hadji Abdoul Aziz Sy, the third son of the late El-Hadji Malick Sy (1850-1922). The *khalīfa* has his official residence at Tivouane, a *zāwiya* founded by his father; however, he possesses houses in Dakar which provide him with a *pied à terre* and serve as accomodation for the *ṭālibs*, disciples who generally conduct Ḳur'ānic schools. These residences are constantly changing when the *khalīfa* is moving through the capital. A large number of the members of the Sy family reside in Dakar, and each one, in his home, has his following of *ṭālibs*.

While speaking of the Tīdjāni at Dakar, one cannot ignore El-Hadji Seydou Nourou Tall, grandson of El-Hadji Omar Tall (1796-1864), a man of the first importance both in the religious and the political sphere, whose residence is constantly full of Senegalese Toucouleur and Malian disciples.

(b) The Murīds. With the rural exodus of the peasants from the Baol, where are situated Touba and the *zāwiya* of *Shaykh* Aḥmadu Bamba, Dakar contains a significant number of Murīds, who every year make the Magal, or pilgrimage to Touba. Almost all the members of the MBacké family reside either at Touba, at MBacké, at Diourbel or in the neighbouring villages, and to our knowledge, only Serigne Shaykh MBacké, grandson of Shaykh Aḥmadu Bamba, representing the industrialist tendency of Murīdism, resides permanently in Dakar. He owns many houses there and a quarter bears his name (Sicap Serigne Cheikh); his residence is remarkable for the daily crowds of *ṭālibs* and of dependents. When the *khalīfa* is on his way to Dakar, the crowds become more numerous, each man pressing forward to express his allegiance to his spiritual leader; the *ṭālibs* sing poems by the founder of Murīdism or recite the Ḳur'ān for the whole length of the journey. Dakar becomes a sort of Touba during the entire visit of the *khalīfa*, the Shaykh Abdul Ahad MBacké.

(c) The Ḳādiriyya, who have several important centres in Senegal. Senegalese pilgrims often travel to Baghdād, where there is the tomb of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], founder of the fraternity, but every year thousands of Ḳādirī adherents make their way to Nimzat, in Mauretania, where the order arose. NDiassâne in Senegal is the most important centre of the Ḳādirī fraternity. As in the case of the others, many associations of Ḳādirī *ṭālibs* exist in Dakar. They are very active, especially during visits of their *khalīfa*, grandson of Shaykh Sa'd Buh, one of the propagators of the sect in Senegal. In Dakar, the Ḳādiriyya has its own quarter in the Gueule-Tapée on street 6.

(d) Of recent creation (1890), the fraternity of the Lâye is less widespread than the previous three groups. The Lâyes take their name from Libasse (a corruption of al-'Abbās), better known as Limâmou Lâye (Imām Allāh) (1843-1909), marabout and founder of the order whose influence remains limited to the Cape Verde peninsula, more particularly among the Lebou. It was from a base at Yoff that the founder preached his doctrine.

The present *khalīfa* is Shaykh Sidinā Mandione Lâye; he lives in Camberence, a village not far from Dakar.

(e) The Tīdjānī sub-group of the Niassenes is based at Kaolack. In Dakar, Maryama Niasse (daughter of the late El-Hadji Ibrahima Niasse, founder of the subsect) lives in Malik Sy Avenue and receives visitors coming from all parts of Senegal, as well as from Nigeria, Egypt, Ghana, Dahomey, etc. Her brother, also in Dakar, supervises an important Ḳur'ānic school whose renown stretches beyond the frontiers of the country.

In addition to its role as a capital, Dakar is the meeting-point of all the fraternities existing in Senegal, where the Muslim religion, because of its importance, enjoys a number of official institutional benefits conferred by the secular state.

At the University of Dakar, in the Faculty of Literature, there is an Arabic section, and there is a department of Islamology at the I.F.A.N. (Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire).

The Great Mosque of Dakar is a religious institution of an official nature. Its construction was 90% financed by the state. The *Imām* is appointed by the Lebou community, but paid and housed by the government. The Friday prayer in the Great Mosque is transmitted only by the radio-masts of the O.R.T.S. and on the occasion of major Muslim festivals, the head of state is always officially represented by the Prime Minister. In the precinct of the Great Mosque is the Islamic Institute of Dakar, which was inaugurated in 1974 by the President of the Republic and which has as its purpose basic research, education and Islamic instruction.

Catholicism is under by a Senegalese archbishop who has his seat in Dakar, the centre of the activities of the Catholic Church in Senegal. The Church contributes very effectively to education; it administers infant, primary and secondary schools which

are officially recognised by the Government and receive valuable subsidies from it.

Protestantism is poorly represented in Senegal; the Protestants administer some infant schools which are also recognised by the State.

Educational, sporting, cultural, artistic, manufacturing and touristic institutions are almost all centralised on Dakar. The only Senegalese University—with its Faculties and Institutes, the I.F.A.N. and its major schools, of which the Ecole Normale Supérieure provides higher education, basic research and the formation of higher cadres—is situated in Dakar. The Institutes of Applied Research (Institute of Nutritional Technology, the O.R.S.T.O.M., the Institute of Development and of International Organisations, the Institute of Oceanographic Studies of Thiaroye, the B.A.N.A.S., the Pasteur Institute, the Institute of Psychiatric research, the Institute of Applied Leprology and the National Institute of Arts, are also based on the capital. There are in Dakar 12 centres of technical, professional, industrial and catering training, 112 primary and secondary schools and centres of General Education, without counting the Customs Service, Military Health, Gendarmerie and Police training schools. All the museums are situated in Dakar or in Gorée.

An administrative, economic, human, cultural and religious focus, forced brutally into contact with contradictory elements generating conflict between the modern and the traditional, anxious to overcome these contradictions and reduce these tensions so as to progress towards an integral and harmonious development, Dakar tends to be concerned not only with its own destiny, but more realistically, with that of the whole of Senegal.

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(Amar Samb)

DAKHALIEH [see dakahliyya].

al-**DALĀL**, Abū Zayd Nāḳid, *mawlā* of the Fahm tribe, musician and *ẓarīf* in Medina, born about 70/690, died about 145/762. Like his teacher Ṭuways (d. 92/710) he was a *mukhannath*—hence the proverb "more effeminate than al-Dalāl"—and is said to have been castrated by order of one of the caliphs, either Sulaymān or Hishām [but see Khaṣī]. His musical gifts and ready wits he used as an entertainer of Quraysh women and a singer at weddings, accompanying himself on a tambourine (*duff*). He composed highly artistic (*kathīr al-ʿamal*) melodies in a style called *ghinā' mudʿaf*, most of them on verses by contemporary poets. Yūnus al-Kātib recorded one, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī 19, and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī 30 of his song texts in their *kutub al-aghānī*, the latter using sources like the songbooks of al-Hishāmī and Ḥabash and the *Akhbār al-Dalāl* by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī.

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(E. Neubauer)

DALMATIA (Dalmacija in Serbocroat), a historic province of Yugoslavia, formerly covering parts of the Federal Republics of Croatia (the territory of contemporary Dalmatia), of Montenegro and a very small section of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I. Generalities

Skirted by the Adriatic Sea, Dalmatia stretches in a north-west-south-east direction at the foot of the Dinaric mountain ranges (Velebit, Svilaja, Biokovo) from the peninsula of Istria (according to some authors, only from the island of Pag) to the Albanian frontier, marked by the river Bojana.

But in fact, the territory designated by historians and geographers under the name Dalmatia is an area without strictly defined borders; these borders have indeed changed a number of times over the centuries. During the periods when the hinterland was controlled by powerful states (Croatia, Zeta, Bosnia, Hungary under the Angevins and the Ottoman Empire at its zenith), the territory of Dalmatia was limited to the Adriatic islands and to a few strongly fortified towns. In times of disintegration among the continental states, Dalmatia extended further into the interior of the Balkan Peninsula.

At the present day, the term broadly covers the central part of the Yugoslav Adriatic coast, that is, the coast-line from west of Velebit to the source of the river Zrmanja, and from there, in a south-easterly direction, to the frontier of Montenegro. The two other parts of the Yugoslav littoral are on one side *Severno Primorje* (the northern littoral): the peninsula of Istria, the gulf of Kvarner, as well as part of the coast in a south-easterly direction; and on the other side *Crnogorsko Primorje* (the Montenegrin littoral): the coast between Herceg Novi and the Albanian frontier.

Dalmatia comprises three geographical regions:

(a) the littoral, flat in places, steeply sloping in others, indented with deep gulfs and well sheltered anchorages;

(b) the interior of the country, with poorly defined limits; and

(c) the numerous islands which make up the Dalmatian archipelago.

The climate of Dalmatia is Mediterranean, although it is colder to the north of Split on account of the wind known as *bura* (called βορέας or βορρᾶς by the Greeks, *aquilo* by the Romans).

In the past, the economy depended most of all on fishing, on the rearing of sheep, the growing of cereals, olives, vines and fruit-trees; today, additional sources of income are industry, shipbuilding and tourism. Ports worthy of mention include Split, Šibenik, Zadar, Ploče, Gruž (the port of Dubrovnik, formerly Ragusa) and with regard to the Montenegrin littoral, Bar (for the contemporary period), without forgetting the bay of Kotor, with Tivat, Kotor, Perast, Risan and Herceg Novi; whereas Rijeka (formerly Fiume), the principal port of Yugoslavia, situated at the end of the gulf of Kvarner, is not generally regarded as a city of Dalmatia (the territory of which, as stated above, is reckoned to lie further to the south) but as a city of "the Adriatic coast".

II. History

A. The pre-Ottoman period.

Inhabited since Neolithic times, Dalmatia was populated in the Bronze Age by Illyrian tribes, one of which would seem to have born the name Delmates/ Dalmates. (This was in any case the name given by the Romans, after the 1st century, to their province of Illyricum or Hilluricum.)

From the time of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., the Greeks began establishing trading-posts (and later, colonies) on a number of islands (Vis, Hvar, Korčula, etc.) as well as in some of the coastal towns (Solin, Trogir, etc.). In the 3rd century B.C., there are records of raids by Celtic tribes.

The Illyrians of Dalmatia subsequently underwent conquest by the Romans, a conquest which was accomplished in stages, provoking wars of resistance and numerous revolts on the part of the indigenous population against the invader. Six centuries later, in 297 A.D., the enormous Roman province of Dalmatia (which stretched from Istria to Skadar, and from the Adriatic to Sava, Kolubara and Zaprada Morava) was divided by Diocletian into two regions: *Dalmatia* and *Praevalis* (*Provincia Praevalitana*), the latter approximately covering the territory of present-day Montenegro, with part of Albania, of Macedonia and of Serbia.

Under Byzantine rule from the 5th century on wards, Dalmatia also suffered invasion and temporary subjugation at the hands of various barbararian peoples, first the Ostrogoths, then the Avars; subsequently, it was swamped by the influx of Slavic tribes, who arrived in the Balkans in the 6th and 7th centuries.

During the following centuries, the various regions of Dalmatia passed successively (although belonging effectively, or nominally at least, to the Byzantine Empire) under the domination of the Franks, the different Croatian and Serbian states (Hrvatska, the Principality of Neretva, Zahumlje, Travunija, Duklja, etc.) and the Normans.

In the intervening period (in the 3rd/9th century), there are records of raids by the Arabs against the Dalmatian coast, in particular an unsuccessful siege of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), which seems to have lasted fifteen months, in 252/866-7 (cf. Theophanes Continuatus, *Historia de vita et rebus gestis Basilii* . . ., ed. I. Bekkeri, Bonnae 1838, 289-90; G. Musca, *L'emirato di Bari* (847-871)[2], Bari 1967; U. Rizzitano, art. ĪṬALIYA, in *EI*[2]).

From the 11th century onwards, domination of the northern part of Dalmatia was contested by the Venetians, the Croats (*Regnum Croatiae et Dalmatiae*), and the Hungarians, and domination of the southern part by the various local Bosnian and Serbian principalities and kingdoms.

Between 1205 and 1358 a large portion of Dalmatian territory was held by Venice. During this period, there was a raid by the Mongols, who, while in hot pursuit of King Béla of Hungary, devastated the suburbs of Split and ransacked the town of Kotor in March 1242 (cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, Paris 1948, 332-3).

Between 1358 and 1409 Dalmatia fell under the domination of Angevin Hungary (*regna Dalmatiae et Croatiae*), then under that of Venice (1409 and 1420-1797), although for a long time previously, many of the towns had often existed in a more or less (or totally) autonomous state, as was the case of Dubrovnik in particular (cf. M. Novak, *Autonomija dalmatinskih Komuna pod Venecijom*, Zadar 1965).

B. The Ottoman period.

(For the Republic of Dubrovnik, see RAGUSA; for the history of the coastal region to the south of Dubrovnik, see ḲARA DAGH̲, i.e. Montenegro (Crnogorsko Primorje).

The conquest of the Balkan Peninsula by the Ottomans, and their break-through in the direction of Vienna, changed the map of Dalmatia yet again. In fact, throughout the period of the Ottoman Empire's greatest power, Venice controlled only the Adriatic islands, the cities of the coast and a narrow coastal strip stretching as far as Omiš, while the littoral between the rivers of Cetina and Neretva (Makarsko Primorje), and the entire hinterland, were in the hands of the Turks (*sandjak Lika*, *sandjak Klis*, and *sandjak Hercegovina*). It was only after the beginning of the decline of Ottoman power (end of the 17th century), that Venetian Dalmatia began once more to extend into the interior of the peninsula.

Venetian rule in Dalmatia in the 15th and 16th centuries operated on a feudal pattern. The land belonged to the nobility, the majority of whom were of foreign stock. In the towns the artisans and tradesmen were not permitted to take part in municipal councils. There are records of numerous popular rebellions against the feudal landlords. Maritime commerce was reduced to the advantage of that of Venice. Agriculture, on the other hand, became rather more prosperous (especially on the islands), mainly as a result of the influx of peoples fleeing from the Turks. In the course of the next two centuries, there is evidence of a major transformation of Dalmatian society, a transformation which coincided with the decline of Venice. Finally, we should take note of the emergence of a Dalmatian culture of a very high level.

(a) *From the arrival of the Turks to 1570*

The first Ottoman raids against northern Croatia began in 820/1417, those against Dalmatia a little later. In 1432 the Turks invaded the region of Zadar, and soon after 1463 that of Senj; subsequently, in September 1468, they mounted attacks against Zadar, Sibenik and Split, then they once more devastated the region of Zadar in 1470, those of Split and of Trogir in 1471, of Modruša (in the region of Lika not far from Senj) in 1486, etc. But it was the region of Makarska (at the foot of the mountain of Biokovo) which was most exposed to the Ottoman attacks. From the years 1465-70 onwards, the Turks were in control of the entire hinterland, with the towns of Ljubuški, Vrgorac and Imotski. A little further to the north, Omiš (which was to keep up a valiant resistance throughout the Ottoman period) repelled the first attack, that of 1498. (On the frontiers of Venice in Dalmatia in the 15th century, see M. Šunjiė, *Pomjeranje mletačkih granica u Dalmaciji i odnosi sa susjedima tokom XV stoljeća*, in *Godišnjak Društva Istoričara B.i.H.*, xv [1964], 47-62.)

The pressure on Dalmatia became still more intense after the decisive defeat inflicted on the Croats by the Turks (*cladis croatica*) at Krbavsko Polje near Udbina (1493), and especially during the Venetian-Turkish war of 1499-1503. Having once again devastated the territories of Split, Trogir, Šibenik, Zadar and Nin, the Ottomans took control of the whole of Makarsko Primorje (from Cetina to Neretva) (on the conquest of Makarska, see V. Trpković, *Vilajet Primorje*, in *Godišnjak Društva Istoričara B. i. H.*, xiv [1963], 229-37), as well as the salient of Bosiljina (Busoljina?) lying between Trogir and Šibenik (1501).

The peace treaty signed at the beginning of 1503

had little effect on the situation on the ground, with Turkish troops continuing to attack and devastate Dalmatian territories: an attack on Split in 1507, on Omiš in 1509, on Skradin in 1512; the capture of Čačvina (in Posušje) of Nutjak (on the river Cetina) and of Vir (near Imotski) in 1513; in 1514 attacks on Skradin and Knin, and the capture of Karin; in 1515 an attack on the fortress of Klis; in 1520 the plunder of the region of Split; in 1522 a fresh siege of Klis (by Khosrew Beg [*q.v.*], the illustrious *sandjakbeg* of Bosnia), the capture of Knin (cf. V. Klaić, *Knin za turskoga vladanja (1522-1688)* in *Serta Brunsmidiana*, 1928, 257-62) and of Skradin; in 1523 the capture of Ostrovica (an important strong-point, controlling secondary strategic areas to the south of Velebit), the destruction of Nadin and of Vrana; in 1524 the capture of Sinj (according to some authors the town of Sinj was taken in May-June 1513. cf. H. Šabanović, *Evlija Čelebi, Putopis*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost 1967, 151 n. 14); in 1526 the capture of Gabela, etc.

Thus, after the year 1524, the Turks held all of the hinterland between the rivers Cetina and Zrmanja, with the exception of the fortresses of Klis (besieged again in 1531, finally taken in 1537) and of Obrovac (taken in its turn in 1527), while Venetian Dalmatia was limited to the islands, a narrow coastal strip to the south of Velebit, and the territory lying between Omiš and Novigrad (minus the salient of Bosiljina).

Also to be noted in this period are a number of popular revolts (revolts of the *pučani* against the feudal landlords), which we may add to the long list of similar revolts of the preceeding centuries. Worth mentioning are the revolt at Šibenik of 1510, and most important of all the great rebellion of the island of Hvar (1510-14) which had repercussions not only in Split, Šibenik and Zadar, but also in many other regions of Dalmatia.

The Venetian-Turkish war of 1537-40, which followed the capture of the fortress of Klis (1537) and the siege of Omiš by the Turks, brought ruin once again to the regions of Split (which was henceforth to have the river Jadro as its frontier) Trogir, Šibenik and Zadar, and led to the destruction of Vrana (on the town of Vrana under the Ottoman domination, see S.M. Traljić, *Vrana pod turskom upravom*, in *Radovi JAZU*, ix [Zadar 1962], 337-58; idem, *Vrana injeni gospodari u doba turske vladavine*, in *Radovi* . . ., xviii [Zadar 1971], 343-77) and of Nadin (1537-8), while the Venetians briefly regained control of Skradin and ransacked the town. Shortly after, in 1540, the territory (*župa*) of Poljica passed into Ottoman hands, and was granted special status (cf. A. Sućeska, *O položaju Poljica u Osmanskoj državi*, in *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, xvi-xvii [Sarajevo 1966-7 (1970)], 77-91; idem, *O državno-pravnom položaju Poljica pod turskom vlašću*, in *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu*, xvii/3-4 [1967], 386-94; idem, *O položaju Poljica u osmanskoj državi*, in *Poljički Zbornik*, ii [Zagreb 1971], 61-72; idem, *O posjedovnim odnosima u Poljicama u svjetlu poljičkih turskih isprava*, in *Godišnjak Pravnog Fakulteta*, xxii [Sarajevo 1974], 411-22). It was probably in the same period, certainly during the first half of the 16th century, that the little town of Jablanac (to the south of Senj, opposite the island of Rab) was razed to the ground. It was not until the following century that the ruined town began to recover (on the general situation, see G. Stanojevic, *Dalmacija i crnogorsko primorje u vrijeme mletačkoturskog rata 1537-39 godine*, in *Istorijski Glasnik*, Belgrade 1960/3-4, 87-112).

The peace, signed in October 1540 (after a suspension of hostilities for three months in 1539), had the effect of ceding to the Ottomans all the territories which they had previously occupied. In addition, the Turks were given war reparations.

The truce lasted for thirty years. During this period efforts were made to heal the ravages caused by a near-century of devastation and misery. Agriculture and stock-rearing, which had been very severely affected, improved, mainly as a result of the influx of people fleeing the occupied regions. Fishing also prospered, but commerce and craftsmanship were not so fortunate.

But it was a fragile truce, broken daily by the raids of the famous *Uskoci* on Ottoman territory. These were commando bands of guerrillas, based in Dalmatia (principally in Senj) and conducting military operations within the conquered territories; at sea they committed acts of piracy which did not only affect the Turks. In addition, they did not hesitate to engage in conflict with the Venetians, who hunted them most energetically, but would appeal to them for help when the occasion arose (cf. V. Vinaver, *Senjski Uskoci i Venecija do Kiparskog rata*, in *Istorijski Glasnik*, 1954/3-4, 43-66; G. Stanojević, *Prilozi za istoriju Senjskih Uskoka*, in *Ist. Gl.*, 1960/1-2, 111-141; idem, *Jedan dokumenat o senjskim Uskocima*, in *Vesnik Vojnog Muzeja JNA*, vi-vii [Belgrade 1962], 97-108; and naturally the same author's major work *Senjski Uskoci*, Belgrade 1973, as well as the two volumes of archive material published by B. Desnica, *Istorija Kotarskih Uskoka*, Belgrade, SANU, 1950-1; and S. Pavičić, *Raseljavanje staroga stanovnistva Senja i okolice, nastanjivanje uskoka i njihovo djelovanje*, in *Senjski Zbornik*, iii [Senj 1967-8], 324-70).

In the towns there was a remarkable florescence of Dalmatian culture, of literature especially, written either in Latin or in the language of the country, the most significant writers being Marko Marulić (1450-1524), Hanibal Lucić (1485-1553), Petar Hektorović (1487-1572) and others. Three other authors, equally celebrated, deserve greater attention, because they devoted many of their works to study of the Turks, and may therefore be regarded as the ancestors of "Yugoslav orientalism". They are: Feliks Petančić (Felix Brutus Petancius, de Petanciis, Petancius, Ragusinus Dalmata) (*ca.* 1455-*ca.* 1517) of Ragusa; Ludovik Crijević Tuberon (Ludovicus, Aloysius de Cerva, de Crieva, Cervarius, Tubero) (1459-1527) also of Ragusa; and Antun Vrančić (Verantius, Vrantius, Wrantius, Vrancich) (1504-73) of Šibenik,

The writings of the first of these include a *Historia imperatorum regni Turcici* (or *Historia Turcica*) the manuscript of which is in Nuremberg; *De itineribus in Turciam* . . . (or . . . *Quibus itineribus Turci sint aggrediendi* . . .), ed. Vienna 1522; *Genealogia turcorum imperatorum* . . . (or *Descriptio Turcicae*) the manuscript of which is in Budapest (see D. Kniewald, *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela*, Belgrade, SANU, 1961; M. Kurelac, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vi, 474).

The writings of the second include: *De Turcarum origine, moribus et rebus gestis commentarius*, ed. Florence 1590; *Commentariorum de rebus, quae temporibus eius in illa Europae parte, quam Pannonni et Turcae eorumque finitimi incolunt, gestae sunt, libri xi*, 1st ed. Frankfurt 1603, 2nd ed. (under the title *Syndromus rerum Turcico-Pannonicarum*) Frankfurt 1627, 3rd ed. in J.G. Schwandtner, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricum*, ii, 107-381, 4th ed. Dubrovnik 1784 (see K. Krstić, in *Enc. Jug.*, ii, 390-1).

The third (who personally visited Turkey on a number of occasions and lived there for four years) wrote: *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim anno MDLIII*... ed. Venice 1774; *Diarium legationis nomine Maximiliani II*... *ad portam ottomanicam suscepta a.C. 1567*, ed. in M.G. Kovacich, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, Budae 1798; *Ratio itineris in Turciam facti per Danubiam*, ed. in *ibid.*; *Expeditionis Solymani in Moldaviam et Transylvaniam*... ed. Budapest 1934 (see M. Kurelac, in *Enc. Jug.*, viii, 534-5).

(b) *From the Cyprus War (1570-3) to the Cretan War (1645-69)*

Having refused to cede the island of Cyprus to the Ottoman Empire in 1569, Venice found itself engaged in another war against the Turks, which lasted from 1570 to 1573. The effects of this war were to the detriment of Dalmatia, in spite of the crushing defeat inflicted on the Ottoman fleet at the battle of Lepanto (October 1571), a battle in which a number of Dalmatian ships, with local crews, also took part (see *Lepantska bitka. Udio hrvatskih pomoraca u Lepantskoj bitki 1571 godine*, Zadar JAZU, 1974). In fact, Venetian successes in Dalmatia were ineffectual; Klis was besieged in 1571 and occupied briefly in 1572, as was Skradin, which the Venetians evacuated after demolishing part of its fortifications. Makarska was also besieged, but without success.

The Ottomans, on the other hand, ransacked the island of Mljet (1572), attacked the island of Korčula (cf. V. Foretić, *Turska opsada Korčule godine 1571*, in *Vesnik Vojnog Muzeja*, v/2 [Belgrade 1958], 61-91), burned the island of Hvar (1571) devastated the region of Split on a number of occasions (taking Solin and Kamen (according to H. Šabanović, *op. cit.*, 155, n. 37, the city of Kamen was taken as early as 1537), also the regions of Trogir, of Šibenik and of Zadar where they took Zemunik (which according to other sources had been captured in 1539, cf. H. Šabanović, *op. cit.*, 162, n. 92), besieged Novigrad, and occupied Nin for some time (for the town of Nin, see S.M. Traljić, *Nin pod udarom tursko-mlatčkih ratova*, in *Radovi*..., Zadar 1969, 529-48). The peace treaty of March 1573 restored the situation that had existed before the hostilities, but the Turks retained Zemunik and strategic positions around Solin. Mention should also be made of the unexpected capture of the fortress of Klis by a combined group of *Uskoks* and people of Split (7 April-31 May 1596), an exploit which had significant repercussions throughout Dalmatia.

After these distressing events, and in spite of continual border skirmishes, relations between the two Dalmatian territories (Turkish territory and Venetian territory), became gradually more correct and increasingly normalised. Trade with the Turkish-occupied hinterland developed, as did an important trans-Balkan commerce, in which, especially after 1592, the port of Split played a dominant role (see V. Morpurgo, *Daniel Rodriguez i osnivanje splitske skele u XVI stoljeću*, in *Starine JAZU*, liii [1966] 364-415).

But there were other towns, Trogir and Zadar for example, which established close commercial relations with the Ottomans, for the most part selling salt, and buying wheat, meat, cheese and wool (see S. Traljić, *Trgovina Bosne i Hercegovine s lukama Dalmacije i Dubrovnika u XVII i XVIII stoljeću*, in *Pomorski Zbornik*, i [Zadar 1962], 341-71). This normalisation of relations lasted more than seventy years, from 1573 to 1645, in other words, until the war of Crete.

(c) *From the War of Crete (1645-69) to 1683*

This long period of peace was broken in the spring of 1645 by a new Venetian-Turkish war which lasted a quarter of a century. Many things had changed in the meantime, both within the Ottoman Empire (the heyday of which was now long past), and in Europe. But the outcome of the war was once again favourable to the Ottomans, except however in Dalmatia.

On Dalmatian soil, the most significant military actions took place between 1646 and 1649. In 1646 the Ottomans mounted a lightning raid into northern Dalmatia, in the regions of Šibenik and Zadar. The town of Novigrad was taken (3 July 1646) as were Biograd and Nin, but an attack on Šibenik was repelled (October 1646). In the course of their counter-attack, the Venetians and Dalmatians laid siege to Skradin, and recaptured it briefly in 1647. In 1646 the region of Poljica, and, in February 1647, that of Makarsko Primorje (the littoral between the rivers Cetina and Neretva), severed their ties with the Ottoman Empire and allied themselves to Venice (Poljica nevertheless was compelled for some time to pay a *kharādj* to the Ottomans). (On the position of Poljica in the 17th century, see V. Mošin, *Poljičke konstitucije iz 1620 i 1688*, in *Radovi Staroslovenskog Instituta JAZU*, i [Zagreb 1952], 175-206.)

In 1647 the Venetians (the bulk of whose army was made up of Dalmatians and of Slavs who had fled from the regions under Ottoman rule) recaptured the towns of Zemunik, of Novigrad, of Vrana and of Nadin, before inflicting a further defeat on the Turks outside Šibenik (August 1647). Recovering Ostrovica, Obrovac, and for a brief period Drniš (where all the Turkish fortifications and monuments were demolished), the Venetians attacked Knin and Vrlika, and regained definitive control of Biograd (1648), and, most significant of all, of the famous stronghold of Klis (30 March 1648). The Ottoman reaction was not slow in coming; shortly afterwards, Turkish troops devastated the region of Poljica and that of Ravni Kotari in the vicinity of Biograd.

Finally, in 1649, major military operations came to an end, when there was an outbreak of plague in Dalmatia, especially in Šibenik and in Zadar, followed by a period of widespread famine (see G. Stanojević, *Dalmacija u doba Kandijskog rata 1645-1669*, in *Vesnik Vojnog Muzeja JNA*, v [Belgrade 1958], 93-182; idem, *Trgovina robljem u doba Kandijshog rata, 1645-1669*, in *Istorijski Glasnik*, 1958/3-4, 105-112; D. Kečkemet, *Dva odlomka iz "Povijesti Kandijskog rata u Dalmaciji" Šibenicanina Franje Divnića (Difnika)* in *Mogućnosti*, xx [Split 1973], 876-88; S.M. Traljić, *Turskomletačke granice u Dalmaciji u XVI i XVII stoljeću*, in *Radovi Inst. JAZU*, xx [Zadar 1973], 447-58).

For some time previous to this, there are records of a large-scale migration of Slavic peoples known as *Vlasi* (sing. *Vlah*) or *Morlaci* (sing. *Morlak*)—these are clearly to be understood as being armed men—towards Dalmatian territory, daily swelling the ranks of the guerrilla commando bands (*hajduci*, sing. *hajduk*, and *uskoci*, sing. *uskok*). The latter made constant invasions of Ottoman territory (Lika, Bosnia, Herzegovina), mounting attacks and ambushes far into the interior, pillaging, killing, burning and kidnapping on their way. At the same time, Hadjuci and Uskoci conducted a policy sometimes favouring Venice, sometimes Austria, but more often the latter. A state of permanent minor war was thus perpetuated on both sides of the frontier, a situation well described in Yugoslav popular epic poetry (from both the Christian and the Muslim side), with a full gallery of heroes, all of whom are well-known historical figures. (There are a great

many publications dealing with the *hajduks*. Particularly worth mentioning are the works of D. Popović, *O hajducima*, Belgrade 1930-1, 2 vols., and R. Samardžić, *Hajdučke borbe protiv Turaka u XVI i XVII veku*, Belgrade 1952.)

In the context of larger-scale battles, mention could be made of the defeat of a Venetian-Dalmatian force outside Knin (1654), and the ravages perpetrated by Ottoman troops in 1657-8 in the regions of Split, Šibenik and Zadar, with a raid on the island of Brač, following an attack on Split (1657).

The peace treaty was signed in 1671. In Dalmatia, the position of the Venetians was then more favourable, since they retained Klis and its surrounding area, the region of Poljica, and the littoral to the south of Omiš (Makarsko Primorje) (it may be noted that *de jure*, this last territory should have remained under Ottoman control, but it belonged *de facto* to Venice). The whole of Dalmatian territory under Venetian rule was henceforward known as *acquisto vecchio*, and the frontier with Turkey became a fortified line called *linea Nani* (1671) (see I. Grčić, *Jedna mletačka agrarna operacija u Dalmaciji*, in *Zadarska Revija*, ii [Zadar 1953], 65-76; V. Omašić, *Mletačko-tursko razgraničenje na trogirskom području nakon Ciparskog i Kandijskog rata i njegove posledice*, Trogir 1971).

The brief period of peace which followed lasted some fifteen years. It was not long enough to allow Dalmatia to recover from the ruin caused by long years of war, nor to revive its shattered agriculture and commerce, not to mention the epidemics and famines which had weakened the country to a considerable extent. Split quickly regained its status as the leading port for commerce between Italy and the Balkans. The port of Zadar was then of secondary importance.

The Ottoman military operations and the situation in Dalmatia in this period are documented in a sometimes whimsical but entirely first-hand account written by the famous Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited these areas in about 1660; the *Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, 458-72, 476-78, 480-91, 494-500 (see the excellent annotated translation by H. Šabanović, *E.Č.*, *Putopis*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost 1967, 149-67, 175-91, 195-204).

(d) *From 1683 to the Treaty of Sremski Karlovci (26 January 1699)*

The decisive defeat of the Ottomans beneath the walls of Vienna (September 1683) signalled the end of their presence in Dalmatia, where a large-scale popular insurrection broke out. The Muslims of the area panicked and fled towards the interior of the empire. Within a short time the whole of northern Dalmatia had been liberated; even before the end of the year 1683, Skradin, Karin, Vrana, Benkovac, Obrovac and Drnič were in the hands of the rebels, the Turks retaining only the cities of Knin and Sinj.

Venice entered the war in the spring of the following year (1684), and Dalmatia was the scene of a large number of military operations; Sinj was recaptured from the Ottomans in September 1686, Knin, Vrlika and Zvonigrad in 1688, Vrgorac between 1690 and 1694, Gabela in 1693, while the territories of Trogir, Šibenik and Zadar were finally liberated.

The peace treaty was signed at Sremski Karlovci in January 1699. Venice retained the areas she had conquered, and her territory in Dalmatia (which bore the name *acquisto nuovo*) extended as far as the new fortified frontier (*linea Grimani*), in other words, Knin-Vrlika-Sinj-Zadvarje-Vrgorac-Gabela. In addition, each of these strategic points was surrounded by a neutral zone covering the range of a day's march. In return, Venice ceded to the Ottomans the territories conquered in Herzegovina. In turn, the Republic of Dubrovnik was enabled, with Austrian support, to free itself from Venetian influence; Turkey thus had access to the Adriatic Sea in the form of two narrow corridors, that of Sutorina (near Herceg Novi) in the south, and that of Neum-Klek in the north. The latter, nine kilometres long, is nothing more than a tiny gulf, situated to the south of the mouth of the river Neretva (on this period in general, see G. Stanojević, *Dalmacija u doba Morejskog rata 1684-1699*, Belgrade, Vojno Delo, 1962; on the new frontier between Dalmatia and the *pas̲h̲alïk* of Bosnia, see E. Kovačević, *Granice bosanskog pašaluka prema Austriji i Mletačkoj republici prema odredbama Karlovačkog mira*, Sarajevo 1973.)

(e) *From 1699 to the Peace of Požarevac (21 July 1718)*

At the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th one, Venetian Dalmatia witnessed a spate of popular uprisings (such as, for example, that of the region of Vrana in 1692, and that of Bukovica and Ravni Kotari in 1704), caused in part by the penurious economic state of the peasantry, in part by the aggressive policy of the Roman Catholic church towards the Orthodox one.

On the military level, a new war against the Turks broke out in December 1714. Thanks largely to indirect aid from Austria, Venice scored a number of successes in Dalmatia; in 1715 Sinj repulsed the final siege by the Ottomans, and in 1717 Venetian-Dalmatian troops definitively recaptured the town of Imotski. These victories were augmented by successes achieved in Herzegovina, where the Venetians took the town of Mostar in 1717 (cf. G. Stanojević, *Dalmacija za vreme mletačko-turskog rata 1714-1718*, in *Istorijski Glasnik*, 1962/1-4, 11-49; S.M. Traljić, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo na Zadarskoj Krajini XVIII stoljeća*, in *Radovi JAZU*, iv-v [Zadar 1959], 409-24; M. Perojević—T. Macan, *Odjek Bečkog rata na Makarskom Primorju i u Hercegovini 1683-1723*, in *Historijski Zbornik*, xxiii-xxiv [Zagreb 1970-1], 179-214).

The peace treaty of Požarevac (July 1718) obliged Venice to give up all her conquests in Herzegovina, including the town of Gabela. In Dalmatia, however, her territory was enlarged through the addition of the region of Imotski, which led to some minor adjustments to the frontier of 1699. Thus the whole of Dalmatia was liberated from the Ottomans and came under Venetian control, with the exception of the two corridors of Neum-Klek and Sutorina (see the monograph by G. Škrivanić, *Dnevnik Dubrovčanina Mihajla Pešića o Požarevačkom mirovnom kongresu 1718 godine*, Belgrade 1952; L. Katić, *Prilike u splitskoj okolici poslije odlaska Turaka*, in *Starine JAZU*, xlvii [1957], 237-77).

The new frontier, *linea Mocenigo* (1721-3), passed to the east of the cities of Metković, Imotski, Sinj, Vrlika and Knin and extended as far as Klek and Žabska Gora, and all Dalmatian territory belonging to Venice was henceforward knowns as *acquisto nuovissimo*.

The Muslim inhabitants who had not succeeded in leaving Dalmatian territory in time were very soon forcibly converted, mostly by the Franciscans (cf. J. Cvijić, *Balkansko Poluostrvo*[2], Belgrade 1966, 337 which gives details borrowed from S. Zlatović, *Franovci države presvetog otkupitelja i Hrvatski puk u Dalmaciji*, Zagreb 1888, 233-4, 236-7, and from M.V. Batinić, *Djelovanje franjevaca u Bosni i Hercegovini za prvih šest viekova njihova boravka*, Zagreb 1881-7,

ii, 147). On the Muslim inhabitants of Dalmatia who emigrated to Bosnia-Herzegovina, see M. Petrić, *O migracijama stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini Doseljavanja i unutrašnja kretanja*, in *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja*, xviii (Etnog.) [Sarajevo 1963], 10-11.

C. After the Ottomans

Dalmatia remained under Venetian rule until the dissolution of the Republic in 1797. It was subsequently part of the Austrian Empire (1797-1805), the French Empire (1805-9), then one of the Illyrian Provinces (1809-13), before returning to the Austrian Empire (1815-1918).

After 1878 a number of Muslims from Herzegovina (which in that year became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) came and settled in Dalmatia. After a certain period of time they had grown considerably in number, and as a result the Muslim religious community (Ḥanafī rite) of Dalmatia was officially recognised by the Austro-Hungarian government, on 15 July 1912 (see *Reichgesetzblatt für Oesterreich 1912*, 875, paras. 1-7; M. Begović, *Organizacija Islamske verske zajednice u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji*, in *Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke*, god. xxiii, drugo kolo, knjiga xxvii (xliv) br. 5, 25 November 1933, p. 379; the same, *Islamka verska zajednica*, in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, iv, 372).

From 1920 to 1941 Dalmatia was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, then from 1941 to 1945 it was divided between fascist Italy and the Ustachi Croatian State (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*), finally, since 1945, it has belonged to the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (as part of the People's Republic of Croatia).

In 1971, there were roughly 4,000 Muslims in Dalmatia (the total number of Yugoslav Muslims at the time was a little over three million, of whom 18,457 lived in Croatia; see K. Hadžić, *Brojnost i rasprostranjenost muslimana u Jugoslaviji*, in *Takvim* [Sarajevo 1975], 119-34).

Bibliography: There has as yet been no study of Dalmatia in the Ottoman period (15th to 18th century) which takes into account simultaneously local, Turkish and Venetian sources. It is true that the existing documentation is indeed enormous, and that a large portion of this (archive documents in particular) is accessible only to a very small number of specialised researchers. Naturally, emphasis should be laid on the writings of Yugoslav historians and Turcologists who have in the past produced an impressive number of studies, monographs and articles on this subject. It should be noted however that the bulk of these publications have been primarily concerned with the Republic of Dubrovnik, and that consequently it is most difficult to present a bibliography concentrating exclusively on the history of the territory of Dalmatia as strictly defined.

An excellent general survey by J. Tadić is to be found in *Istorija naroda Jugoslavije*, ii, Belgrade 1960, 247-74, 519-30, 595-601, 1145-60. This work also contains a wise and intelligent analysis of the sources (the Ottoman sources are simply mentioned) and the entire bibliography available at that date (cf. 266 ff., 528 ff., 1159 ff.).

For a convenient list of Yugoslav publications on Dalmatia since 1945, see J. Tadić (ed.), *Dix années d'historiographie yougoslave 1945-1955*, Belgrade 1955 (see especially 217-55. 268-71, 374-84, 410-15, 540-54, 566); J. Tadić (ed.), *Historiographie yougoslave 1955-1965*, Belgrade 1965 (especially 113-42, 201-20 and *passim*); D. Janković (ed.), *The historiography of Yugoslavia 1965-1975*, Belgrade 1975, (esp. 136-59, 185-96 and *passim*).

In addition to the Ottoman historians (Nāʿimā, Res̲h̲īd, Pečewī, etc.) and the major histories of the Ottoman Empire (those of von Hammer, Zinkeisen, Iorga, etc.), special attention should be drawn to the following works: G. Cattalinich, *Storia della Dalmazia*, 3 vols., Zadar 1834-5; Š. Ljubić, *Pregled hrvatske povijesti*, Rijeka 1864; V. Lago, *Memorie sulla Dalmazia*, Venice 1869; V. Lamansky, *Secrets d'État de Venise*, St. Petersburg 1884; J.N. Tomić, *Grad Klis u 1596 godini*, Belgrade 1908; J. Tadić, *Španija i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*, Belgrade 1932; L. Voinovitch, *Histoire de Dalmatie*, 2 vols., Paris 1934; J. Ravlić, *Makarska i njeno Primorje*, Split 1934; B. Poparić, *Povijest senjskih uskoka*, Zagreb 1936; G. Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije*, 2 vols., Zagreb 1944; A. de Benvenuti, *Storia di Zara*, 2 vols., Milan 1944-53; J. Radonić, *Rimska Kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje od XVI do XIX veka*, Belgrade 1950; I. Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku*, Belgrade 1952; A. Ujević, *Imotska Krajina*, Split 1953; G. Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia*[3], Padua 1954; L. Katić, *Solin od VII do XX stoljeća*, Split 1956; G. Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 2 vols., Split 1957-61; V. Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XVIII veku*, Belgrade 1960; R. Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika*, Belgrade 1962; B. Djurdjev and M. Vasić, *Jugoslovenske zemlje pod turskom vlašću do kraja XVIII stoljeća*, Zagreb 1962; G. Novak, *Jadransko more u sukobima i borbama kroz stoljeća*, Belgrade 1962; E. Albrecht, *Das Türkenbild in der ragusanisch-dalmatinischen Literatur des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1965; *Grad Zadar, presjek kroz povijest*, Zadar 1966; M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću*, Sarajevo 1967; G. Stanojević, *Jugoslovenske zemlje u mletačko-turskim ratovima XVI-XVIII veka*, Belgrade 1970; T. Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*, Belgrade 1973.

Finally, one should add those articles already cited in the present article: A. Strgačić, *Upadi osmanskih gusara u predjele Zadarskih otoka*, in *Zadarska Revija*, ii/4 (1953), 195-204, iii/1 (1954), 44-53; S.M. Traljić, *Zadar i turska pozadina od XV do potkraj XIX stoljeća*, in *Grad Zadar* (Zadar 1966), 206-28; A.J. Soldo, *Prilozi proučavanju agrarno-društvenih odnosa u Gornjem primorju od XVI do polovine XIX stoljeća*, in *Makarski Zbornik* (1970), 337-80; A. Rube-Filipi, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje u doba mletačko-turskih ratova s osvrtom na povijest naselenja*, in *Radovi Inst. JAZU* xix (Zadar 1972), 405-98.

(A. Popovic)

DAM (A.), pl. *dimāʾ* "blood", also "blood-guilt" [see diya, ḳatl]. In the present article it will be appropriate to mention the numerous blood sacrifices offered by the Muslims, but we will not concern ourselves with the theory, nor is it our intention to list them [see d̲h̲abīḥa, ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲, ʿīd al-aḍḥā]. We will confine ourselves to a brief survey of the beliefs relative to blood and the uses to which it is put or to which it may be put by Muslims in the various circumstances where the sacrifice of an animal is required, and the role attributed to it in magic and therapy.

Arabic texts of the Middle Ages speak of four cardinal humours: black bile (*sawdāʾ*), phlegm (*balg̲h̲am*), yellow bile (*ṣafrāʾ*) and blood, associating this last with joy and with the second string (*mat̲h̲nā*) of the lute (see al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, § 152), and asserting that it is dominant in March, April and May (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iii, 425 = § 1313). But these ideas

are late and unknown to the Ḳur'ān, which, setting aside the story of the creation of man represented by a clot of blood (*ʿalaḳa*, XXII, 5, XXIII, 14, XL, 69/67, LXXV, 38) and the dietary prohibition (see below), makes only one brief reference (VII, 130/133) to the miracle of the river turned into blood (Exodus, vii, 17-21) and does not even mention the bleeding of the nose (*ruʿāf*) among the sufferings inflicted by God upon the ancient peoples of Arabia as punishment for their impiety (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, § 47 and index). The Ḳur'ān gives no information as to the place occupied by blood during the Djāhiliyya where, however, gory sacrifices were not lacking (see J. Chelhod, *Sacrifice*, *passim*), nor as to the conception that the Arabs had of it. However, for them, as for the Hebrews (Genesis, ix, 4; Leviticus, xvii, 11, 14), the soul of all flesh was in the blood, and oaths were sworn on the *dam* or the *dimā'*, as well as on the pagan deities (see *LA*, s.v. *d. m. y.*). A distinction was drawn between *rūḥ*, air circulating within the body, and *nafs*, the soul for which blood, itself sometimes designated by the same word (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 309-10 = §§ 1190-1; *LA*, s.v. *n. f. s.*), is the vehicle: only animals possessing a *nafs sā'ila*, that is to say blood, render impure the water in which they die. The soul of a murdered man, leaving the body with the spilt blood (see Chelhod, *op. laud.*, 102-3), then took the form of a bird (*hāma*, *ṣadā*) which did not cease to haunt the tomb of the victim and could not be set at rest until the blood of an enemy had been shed there; thus J. Chelhod also sees in blood-vengeance a human sacrifice owed to the spirit of the deceased. An analogous belief per-persists in various parts of the Mediterranean area: throwing stones upon the scene of the crime has the effect of covering the voice of the blood appealing for vengeance and contributes to the immobilising of the soul of the deceased (cf. Westermarck, *Ritual*, i, 549; Jaussen, *Moab*, 335-6; Servier, *Portes de l'année*, 33-4 [see also KARKŪR, RADJM]. If blood that has been spilt thus appeals for vengeance, it is because the earth has no longer absorbed it since the murder of Abel (Ḳur'ān, V, 30-5/27-32) and the ten punishments that it incurred for hiding him from view (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 201); the earth therefore feels the utmost aversion for blood, except perhaps for that of the camel, (*ibid.* iii, 136, iv, 201), but this last idea is borrowed from Aristotle. And if, after some sacrifices, the blood that has been shed disappears the next day, it is because it has been drunk by errant souls (Servier, *op. laud.*, 325). Even in the view of Muslims who do not believe in the *hāma*, the blood of the victims of an unjustified murder does not cease to stop seething until proper vengeance has been taken; that of John the Baptist has become proverbial in this respect (al-Djaḥiẓ, *Nābita*, in *AIEO* Alger, x (1952), 312; Balʿamī-Zotenberg, i, 569).

Since the blood is the vehicle for the soul, it is understandable that among the Hebrews, its consumption was forbidden (Genesis, ix, 4; Leviticus, iii, 17, vii, 26, xvii, 10, 12, xix, 26; Deuteronomy, xii, 16, xv, 23; I Samuel, xvi, 33), and it is probable that even before the prohibition enunciated by the Ḳur'ān (II, 168/173, V, 4/3, VI, 146/145, XVI, 116/115), the pagan Arabs—but not the Christians—generally abstained from it. Nevertheless, if we believe the commentators, they used to eat a sort of black pudding made from camels' blood (al-Bayḍawī, on Ḳur'ān, II, 173; Chelhod, *op. laud.*, 175) and, according to al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 96), they used to drink as a tonic the blood extracted by the phlebotomist, the free-thinkers asserting that meat is only blood transformed. In this regard, it will be recalled that one of the reason invoked as a justification for the refusal to pay a salary to the blood-letter is that before Islam he used to sell the blood to third parties and that this type of sale was forbidden by a *ḥadīth* (cf. R. Brunschvig, *Métiers vils en Islam*, in *St. Isl.*, xvi (1962), 47). In another connection, a group of Ḳuraysh was given the name *Laʿaḳat al-dam* [*q.v.*] "lickers of blood" because of their practice of licking their fingers after dipping their hands into a receptacle containing the blood of a camel, as a means of sealing an alliance. There are scarcely any attestations of the practice consisting, in cases of the adoption by the tribe of a foreign element, of mixing the blood of the adopted man with that of a representative of the group, but in southern Turkey there still exists the "fraternity of blood", effected by the making on the wrist a gash which is sucked by the contractants (J.-P. Roux, *Traditions*, 324).

The ancient Arabs considered the blood of kings to be a specific remedy for rabies (*kalab*) and possession (*khabal*), and it may have happened that it was preserved for this purpose (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 5, 310; idem, *Tarbīʿ*, § 69; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 192-3 = § 1049; see also the legend of Djadhīma [*q.v.*] in which blood plays a certain role); this belief is still alive (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 139-40; Doutté, *Magie et religion* 85).

Al-Djāḥiẓ mentions (*Bukhalā'*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 198, 200), somewhat as an exception, the practice of Bedouins who, dying of thirst in the desert, were constrained, after exhausting the contents of the first stomach of a camel, whose purpose was ultimately to provide them with water, to slaughter another; they collected its blood, which they beat carefully so as to separate the sediment (*thufl*) from the serum (called *mā'* = water); this alone they drank; this drink was called *maddūḥ* (cf. *LA*, s.v. *dj. d. ḥ.*; Chelhod, *Sacrifice*, 175).

Drinking the blood of an enemy does not seem to have been a current practice, in spite of the hatred which tribes sometimes held for one another; there is indeed a recent attestation of it (Jaussen, *Moab*, 177, n. 1), but it is exceptional. On the other hand, an arrow stained with the blood of an enemy (*sahm mudamm*[un]) and returned to the archer who had dispatched it was retained as a lucky talisman (*tabarruk*[an]) by the latter (*LA*, s.v. *d. m. y*).

Without being obsessed by blood, the ancient Arabs were especially superstitious about menstruation [see ḤAYḌ] and considered the woman thus indisposed (*ḥā'iḍ*) as impure and disqualified from performing certain acts. After Islam, the notion of impurity remained, but the Ḳur'ān (II, 222) confined to sexual relations the prohibition affecting women during the period of menstruation: and it is said that if this prohibition is infringed, Satan interposes between the partners. From another point of view, it is not impossible that the prohibition regarding the consumption of the hare and the rabbit, differently justified by Deuteronomy, xiv, 7, derives, in certain sects [see ARNAB in Suppl.] in part at least from the fact that the doe, which is believed to menstruate, naturally does not purify itself; the hyena is a similar case, and as a result these two animals cannot serve as mounts for the djinn (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 529, vi, 46).

Once it has left the veins of a living being, blood is at the same time impure and taboo, for it is through blood that a link is established between

man and God, where it is a case of canonical sacrifices, between men and the invisible powers in the case of immolations which, although permitted, have retained a pagan character. Once it begins to flow, it is the blood which "gives to the ceremony its true sense of expiation, of purification and of protection" (Servier, *op. laud.*, 83).

Although the Ḳurʾān (XXII, 38/7) states with regard to sacrifices, "neither their flesh nor their blood shall reach Allāh, but only the piety coming from you shall reach Him" (cf. Amos, v, 21-2), a *ḥadīth*, retained only by al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mādja (no. 3126) but often quoted, proclaims: "the blood [of the victim sacrificed for the Great Feast] finds its place in the presence of Allāh even before it has touched the ground" (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ed. 1278, i, 252; Westermarck, *Survivances*, 199; Chelhod, *Sacrifice*, 59), and such is doubtless the belief of the Muslims. The more abundant it is, the greater its power, and it is essential that the victim has been completely emptied of blood before dying (besides, it is this total effusion which renders legitimate the consumption of the butcher's animals, and the list of dietary prohibitions which figures in the Ḳurʾān (II, 168/173 and especially V, 4/3) is instructive in this regard, since it declares illicit all animals killed accidentally and not ritually bled to death, except in cases of necessity).

Independently of the role played by the blood of the sacrifice of the Great Feast in actually conveying the sacred offering from the Believer to God, it possesses protective and curative properties sometimes put to profitable use. It is thus that in Iran a piece of cotton is dipped in the blood of a sheep that has been immolated and allowed to dry; if a child has pains in the throat, a morsel of this cotton is put into water which he is made to drink (H. Massé, *Croyances*, 142). In Kabylia, blood is mixed with cattle dung which is smeared on a sheltered wall and administered in fumigations (*Fichier de Documentation berbère*, 1964/4, 12); in the same region a woman takes a little blood to mark the forehead of a child less than one year old (*ibid.*). In certain tribes, the mistress of the house still smears the posts and the lintel of the door with it to protect her home (Servier, *op. laud.*, 346); it is also poured over a ploughshare to consecrate it (*ibid.*, III-2; among the Zaghāwa (M.-J. Tubiana, 149) it is the hoes that are sprinkled with the blood of a he-goat, but in different circumstances). On the occasion of the feast of ʿĀshūrāʾ [*q.v.*] it is the practice to dip in the blood of a sacrificed animal branches of rose-laurel which are hung between the stable and the living-quarters (Servier 370); elsewhere blood is sprinkled on the threshing floor (Koller, 325).

In the few examples mentioned above, magical practices have come to be grafted on to rites considered orthodox; more numerous and more obvious are the vestiges of paganism which appear in the multifarious sacrifices offered to the djinn [see DJINN], those invisible powers whose existence orthodoxy was obliged to admit. Just as during the Djāhiliyya one became united with the divinity by pouring blood over the rocks which were their home (cf. T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, Paris 1968, 103, on Isāf and Nāʾila [*q.v.*]), similarly, one enters into communication with the protective genies or wards off the maleficent spirits by means of blood poured on the altar of the home or on high places especially frequented by spirits. Although it is difficult to arm oneself against the hostile attentions of the djinn which haunt the places, very dangerous for men, where blood flows abundantly, especially abattoirs (see Doutté, *op. laud.*, 86; Westermarck, *Survivances*, 14, 165; Servier *op. laud.*, 60-1), it is very easy to protect oneself against invisible spirits by means of the blood of sacrifices which, while attracting them, also annuls their maleficent power. This is why the life of superficially Islamised populations is marked by immolations, often modest in scale, which are followed by anointings and sprinklings with the purpose of gaining protection from enemy spirits of the nether world, and of obtaining in some measure the goodwill of the protective genies of the house or of the tent or of those who can assure the prosperity of fields and herds.

The threshold or the door (cf. Jaussen, *Moab*, 343), the central pole of a tent, the mill or the hearth (cf. J.-P. Roux, *Traditions*, 255) are the true domestic altars; but every new object is likewise consecrated by offering the blood of an animal to the protective genies of the home. When a tent is constructed, or an old one enlarged or a part of it replaced, the central pole is smeared with blood (Jaussen, 399). In Morocco, a woman smears a pole of the tent with the blood of an animal when her first child is born (E. Laoust, *Transhumants*, 58) to assure herself of numerous progeny. In the land of Moab, marriages are the occasion for a number of successive immolations, and in the course of the last at any rate, the bride is sprinkled with the blood of the victim. In the present day, in Iran [see KHAYR], masons still sacrifice an animal before starting to build, so that its blood may protect them against any accident which might cause their own to be shed. There seems little purpose in recording further examples of this type which the ethnologists have noted in the course of their inquiries.

A problem of a different order is posed by the blood sacrifices which, in agricultural areas, accompany all work in the fields: ploughing, harvesting, threshing, etc. It seems that blood is not encountered in rites designed to bring rain [see ISTISḲĀʾ], but the Zaghāwa who sprinkle it in the fields and in river beds (M.-J. Tubiana, index) can hardly be the only ones who do so. E. Laoust (*Mots et choses berbères*, 315) has noticed in one Moroccan tribe an interesting annual custom which takes place on a Wednesday or a Thursday before ploughing begins: in a hole dug in the first piece of land to be sown and then ploughed, the farmer slaughters a sheep and smears with the blood his own right foot, then the left foot of the *khammās* responsible for the ploughing; on to the pool which forms at the base of the hole, a little earth is thrown and on this the farmer scatters grains which he thrusts into the ground with his hand; this place is henceforward sacred. E. Laoust suggests two interpretations of this rite: to ward off the evil influences of the djinn, or to restore to the soil the vital forces of growth. The two explanations are, it seems, both to be accepted, for they are confirmed on the one hand, by the practice which consists of fixing with blood, after the harvest, the force liberated by the work in the fields, on the other hand the practice of sprinkling the sheaves with it, of spreading it in various places and of smearing it on the clogs of the beasts that tread the grain on the threshing-floor (*ibid.* 391). After the harvest, the jars containing the grain are also smeared with blood (Servier, *op. laud.*, 254). As for livestock, it too is protected by anointings, as is done in the land of Moab, to a newly-bought mare or to a new-born filly (Jaussen, 354).

In the times when it was still possible to hunt

big game, in the Moroccan Rīf, some of the blood of each animal killed was set aside to be offered to the spirits of the rocks with the object of lessening the ferocity of the lions (Koller, 331).

Springs are also haunted by djinn. At Sefrou, Morocco, in the autumn, a black or seven-coloured goat or a white cockerel is slaughtered beside one of them, and the blood of the animal is poured into the water (H. Basset, *Grottes*, 89). In the case of hot springs, the bathers arm themselves against evil spirits by sprinkling the basin with the blood of a victim (Jaussen, 359-360).

As well as djinn, deceased saints must be appeased by immolations (See Servier, *op. laud.*, 179). In the land of Moab, for example, blood is cast on to the lintel of a sanctuary (Jaussen, 356). Blood still serves as the vehicle for the conditional malediction imposed upon a saint or another man, or for the transfer of responsibility in the practice of *ʿār* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and, on the contrary, for the honour done to the host for whom an animal has been slaughtered (Chelhod, *Sacrifice*, 185).

In another context, it plays a particular role in the taking of virginity, and it is well known that on the day after a wedding, a cloth stained with the blood of the bride must be exhibited. In Kabylia, the water used to wash it is poured out at the foot of a pomegranate tree, the symbol of fertility (Servier, *op. laud.*, 144).

The preceding topic brings us back to menstrual blood, which possesses particular properties. In folk-medicine, it is recommended as an antidote for dog-bites, scurvy and freckles and serves also to preserve the firmness of the breasts, but it also possesses a magical power since seafarers can protect themselves against the dangers of tempests and against the threat of a sea monster called expressively *ḥūt al-ḥayḍ* "fish of the menses", by fixing to the stern of their ship a cloth stained with this blood. Al-Damīrī, in his *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, from whom these details are borrowed (s.v. *insān*) provides in every account, under the heading of *khawāṣṣ* "properties" data concerning the use of the blood of animals in magic and medicine. By its very nature, its uses in the preparation of philtres are fairly limited in number. These are a few examples: the blood of the parrot (*babbaghāʾ*), dried, powdered and spread between friends transforms their friendship into hatred. Sprinkling a mixture of the blood of a weasel (*ibn ʿirs*) and of a rat or a mouse (*faʾr*) and water brings discord to families. The blood of a shemule (*baghla*) buried under the threshold of a house prevents rats and mice from entering. If a man can keep about his person a quantity of the blood of a fox (*thaʿlab*), he is safe from all forms of trickery.

Virility can be improved or restored thanks to the blood of the *tinnīn* (*sic* [*q.v.*]), of the frog (*ḍifdaʿ*) of the sparrow (*ʿuṣfūr*) or of the hedgehog (*ḳunfudh*), while that of the cat (*sinnawr*) and of a kind of pigeon (*shafnīn*) is a guarantee against feminine infidelity; that of the swallow (*khuṭṭāf*) even deprives a woman of all sexual desire. If the blood of the frog prevents the growth of hair and causes the teeth to fall out, that of the fox encourages growth of the children's hair, and that of the lizard called *sāmm abraṣ* prevents loss of hair; against the re-growth of eyebrows (though al-Damīrī speaks of eye-lashes), the blood of the chameleon (*ḥirbāʾ*), of the bear (*dubb*) and of the jerboa (*yarbūʿ*) is efficacious.

In folk-medicine, again, the blood of the tortoise (*sulaḥfāt*) is effective against pains in the joints and stiffneck. That of the hare (*arnab*) causes scurvy and freckles to disappear; like that of the horse (or of the mare, *faras*), it has contraceptive properties. To cure maladies of the eyes, the blood of the viper (*afʿā*), of the mole (*khuld*), of the cockerel (*dīk*) or of the wood-pigeon (*warshān*) may be used; that of the cockerel is also a remedy for insect-bites and that of the mole or the weasel seems to be supremely efficacious against scrofula. The blood of the stag (*ayyil*) is efficacious against bladder-stones and that of the bull against haemorrhages; that of the pigeon (*ḥamām*) cures styes, stops nose-bleeds and, with oil, soothes the pain caused by burns; the effects of a dog-bite are alleviated by means of the blood of the hedgehog. Deafness can be cured with the blood of the wolf (*dhiʾb*), while that of the monkey (*ḳird*) has salutary effects in treating dumbness. A leper benefits from anointing himself with the blood of a ewe (*ḍaʾn*) or of a ringed pigeon (*fākhita*); abscesses are treated with the blood of the peacock (*ṭāwūs*), when they are serious, of the starling (*zurzūr*) if they are benign. The blood of the beaver (*ḳundus, kalb al-māʾ*) is effective against incontinence of urine, that of the ichneumon (*nims*) restores lucidity to a man who is possessed and finally, that of the crow (*ghurāb*) cures habitual drunkenness if it is mixed with wine, for which it inspires a definitive distaste. This is one of the few cases where the blood of an animal is imbibed; in the majority of cases mentioned above, it is used in the form of ointments, but whatever the manner in which it is utilised, it must, in principle at least, for this is not the case with some of the animals mentioned, come from a licit animal, which has been ritually slaughtered (al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed. and tr. Bercher, Algiers 1949, 321).

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(Ch. Pellat)

AL-DĀMAGHĀNĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB B. ḤAMMŪYA B. ḤASANAWAYH, Ḥanafī jurist who, as Chief *Ḳāḍī* of Baghdād, stands at the head of a family dynasty holding the positions of *ḳāḍī* or *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* down through the years. The following sketch is based mostly on *al-Djawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya* by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Abi 'l-Wafāʾ al-Ḳurashī (d. 775/1373). The best way to distinguish between them is

by the use of their patronymic (*kunya*) and first name (*ism*). Among the eighteen identifiable members of this family, three distinguished themselves from among the others; namely, the eponym Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (no. 1), his son Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī (no. 2), and one of their last descendants Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAlī (no. 15). The eponyms *kunya* and *ism* are also those of the latter's brother (no. 16), and for this reason, the eponym was referred to—not it seems, in the contemporary documents, but later—as *al-Kabīr*, the Elder; this was in order to distinguish him from all the rest, not merely from his much later descendants who were too far removed to cause confusion and who had the same *kunya* and *ism* (nos 4 and 16), but of whom none was referred to as *al-Ṣaghīr*.

1. Dāmag͟hānī the Elder was born in 398/1007 in Dāmg͟hān in the province of Ḳūmis [*qq.v.*], where he was first educated and pursued his initial studies in law. He then came to Bag͟hdād in 419/1029 at the age of 21. Here he continued his studies of law under the two great masters of Ḥanafī law, al-Ḳudūrī (d. 428/1037) and al-Ṣaymarī (d. 436/1045). The jurisconsult Ḳudūrī, famous for his work on law, known especially by his name, *Muk͟hṭaṣar al-Ḳudūrī*, with numerous commentaries (see a list in *GAL*, I, 183, Suppl. I, 295), was also one of his teachers of *ḥadīt͟h* (see the certificate or *samāʿ* dated D͟hu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 423 in the Köprülü Library (Istanbul) no. 1584, fol. 41b).

Coming from humble beginnings, Abū ʿAbd Allāh experienced material difficulties in pursuing his studies in the great capital. The *madrasas* had not yet begun to flourish in Bag͟hdād, with their endowments for the benefit of students as well as the teaching staff. He had therefore to work, as other needy students did, and pursue his studies at the same time. He took a job as night guard which also allowed him to study by the light of the guard's lamp. He studied hard and learned by heart the current textbooks on law. One night he was surprised by a son of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, now an old prince who, admiring his knowledge of the law, invited him to come to his residence on Thursdays and aided him materially.

When the Chief *Ḳāḍī* of the caliph al-Ḳāʾim died in 447/1055, the year that the Saldjūḳs defeated the Buwayhids, the caliph consulted with the wealthy Ḥanbalī merchant Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] regarding his replacement. He wanted someone who was more knowledgeable in the field of law than the deceased. Abū Manṣūr suggested al-Dāmag͟hānī, who was thus qualified, but whose appointment would also please the *wazīr* of the Saldjūḳ Ṭog͟hrïl Beg, ʿAmīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī [*q.v.*]. Previously, the post of chief magistrate had been particularly reserved for adherents of the S͟hāfiʿī law school. Assigning it to a member of the Ḥanafī school, which was also that of the Saldjūḳ Sultan and his *wazīr*, was an act dictated by political expediency, not by al-Dāmag͟hānī's superior knowledge of the law; for there were other jurisconsults of the S͟hāfiʿī school, from which previous chief magistrates were chosen to serve, who were more highly qualified than he was, namely Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058), the great S͟hāfiʿī jurisconsult of the period; al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), the celebrated author of *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*; Abū Isḥāḳ al-S͟hīrāzī (d. 476/1083), disciple of Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, his repetitor (*muʿīd*), and first professor at the Madrasa Niẓāmiyya of Bag͟hdād; and Abū Naṣr b. al-Ṣabbāg͟h (d. 477/1084), disciple of Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, classmate and later colleague and rival of Abū Isḥāq al-S͟hīrāzī, and believed by Ibn K͟hallikān to be even more knowledgeable in S͟hāfiʿī law than al-S͟hīrāzī.

After his appointment, the fortunes of al-Dāmag͟hānī changed. Only three years after his appointment, his residence was rich enough to attract the attention of burglars, and again later, in 493/1100, when his son Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī was the occupant.

Dāmag͟hānī the Elder was considered in his day as one of the leaders of his legal school, with some reputation in the field of disputation (*munāẓara*). He continued in his post as *Ḳāḍī ʾl-Ḳuḍāt* for thirty years, under the caliphs al-Ḳāʾim (d. 467/1075) and al-Muḳtadī (d. 487/1094). He served as a substitute-*wazīr* under both caliphs, refusing to accept the vizierate itself and not wanting to exceed his position as *Ḳāḍī ʾl-Ḳuḍāt* (Ibn al-Djawzī [also *apud* Ibn ʿAqīl], *Muntaẓam*, ix, 210, 11. 15-16: *fa-abā taʿaddiya rutbati ʾl-ḳaḍāʾ*). This genuine modesty was perhaps due to a gentle personality as well as to his humble beginnings. The period of his life when he lived in poverty, hardly having enough to eat, was also perhaps the cause \of his becoming a voracious eater when he could afford to buy all the food he wanted. One anecdote (*Muntaẓam*, ix, 24, 11. 3 ff.) tells of his finishing off a thirty-pound (*raṭl*) plate of pastry at the end of a copious meal at a banquet given by the caliph's *wazīr* Fak͟hr al-Dawla b. Djahīr. He died in 478/1085.

Only one work on law has come down to us from al-Dāmag͟hānī, the *Kitāb Masāʾil al-ḥīṭān wa ʾl-ṭuruḳ* (Berlin Ms. 4982). His biographers do not cite any works for him. Among his students was Abū Ṭāhir Ilyās al-Daylamī (d. 461/1069), who was the first professor of law at the great Madrasa of Abū Ḥanīfa founded the same year as the Niẓāmiyya of Bag͟hdād (see *GAL*, I, 460, Suppl. I, 637, and bibliography cited; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 171 ff. n. 6, and index, s.v. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmag͟hānī).

Here follows a list of his descendants with full names, according to the enumeration in the sketch below, all of whom were known by the *nisba* of al-Dāmag͟hānī.

2. Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [*q.v.* below].

3. Abū Djaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, Muhad͟hd͟hib al-Dawla (d. 518/1124); became a *s͟hāhid*-notary under his father (no. I); appointed as *ḳāḍī* of the East Side quarter of Bāb al-Ṭāḳ in Bag͟hdād, and of the stretch from upper Bag͟hdād to Mawṣil, by his brother (no. 2) when the latter became *Ḳāḍī ʾl-Ḳuḍāt* (23 S͟haʿbān 488/28 August 1095) (*Djawāhir*, i, 287-8).

4. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Tādj al-Ḳuḍāt (d. 516/1122); became *s͟hāhid*-notary under his father (no. 2), who appointed him as his representative magistrate in Bag͟hdād and elsewhere; when his father died, he was put up as candidate for the post of *Ḳāḍī ʾl-Ḳuḍāt* to succeed his father, but was not appointed; was sent as ambassador of the caliph to Transoxania and died during the mission at 38 years of age (*Djawāhir*, ii, 96).

5. Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Alī (d. 540/1145); was appointed *ḳāḍī* of the West Side quarter of Kark͟h in Bag͟hdād, and later of the whole of the West Side quarter of Bāb al-Azadj (*Djawāhir*, i, 82; al-Tamīmī al-Dārī al-G͟hazzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 117; *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-saniyya fī tarādjim al-ḥanafiyya*, i, 473).

6. Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (d. 555/1160); substituted for his brother (no. 5) as *ḳāḍī* of the West Side quarter of Kark͟h (*Djawāhir*, i, 199-200).

7. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d. 561/

1166) (see *Djawāhir*, i, 214-5, where the year of death is given as 461, erroneously, because (a) the day of death is given as Friday 11 Radjab, and 11 Radjab was a Friday for 561, but a Wednesday for 461, and (b) the biographical notice cites him as a brother of "Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan" (no. 6), who died in 555/1160. One more discrepancy appears at the end of the notice where the author of the *Djawāhir* quotes Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 643/1245) as citing the father (no. 2) of this Dāmaghānī as his informant regarding the son, which is not possible).

8. Abū Manṣūr Djaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 568/1172-3); born in 490/1097, he studied *ḥadīth* under the two Ḥanbalīs Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalwadhānī (d. 510/1116), known for both *ḥadīth* and *fikh*, and Yaḥyā b. Manda (d. 511/1118), the great *ḥadīth*-expert (*Djawāhir*, i, 179).

9. Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 575/1179); studied *ḥadīth* under the great *ḥadīth*-expert Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī al-Baghdādī (d. 524/1130) (*Djawāhir*, i, 196).

10. Abu 'l-Muẓaffar al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (d. 579/1183); his brother (no. 12) accepted him as *shāhid*-notary in 552/1157 and appointed him as his representative magistrate in the quarter of the Caliphal Palace on the East Side of Baghdād (*Djawāhir*, i, 207-8).

11. Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad (d. 582/1186); his brother (no. 12) accepted him as *shāhid*-notary in 552/1157 and appointed him *ḳāḍī* in the West Side quarter of Karkh in Baghdād, then also in Wāsiṭ; he spent a lifetime in his career as *ḳāḍī*, in Wāsiṭ and Baghdād, between dismissals and reappointments (*Djawāhir*, i, 188-89).

12. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad (d. 583/1188); was appointed *ḳāḍī* in the Karkh quarter of Baghdād's West Side in 540/1145 following his father's (no. 5) death. Then when the *Ḳāḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Zaynabī died in 543/1149, he was appointed *Ḳāḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt* in his place, at the age of thirty, by the caliph al-Muḳtafī. He was confirmed in his appointment under the caliph al-Mustandjid, who then dismissed him. The caliph al-Mustaḍī' reappointed him, and, the appointment being confirmed later by the caliph al-Nāṣir, Abu 'l-Ḥasan continued to serve until he died. When he was dismissed by al-Mustandjid, he kept to his home, where he pursued his study of the religious sciences, considering himself as still the *Ḳāḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt*, and all the *ḳāḍīs* as his authorised representatives, "because a *ḳāḍī*, unless guilty of moral depravity, may not be dismissed" (*li-anna 'l-ḳāḍiya idhā lam yaẓhar fisḳuh, lam yadjuz ʿazluh*, *Djawāhir*, i, 351, ll. 9-10) (Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fi 'l-tārīkh*, xii, 329; *Djawāhir*, i, 350-2; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-ẓāhira*, vi, 104).

13. Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 575/1180); was accepted as *shāhid*-notary by his father (no. 12) on Monday, 12 Radjab 575/Thursday 13 December 1179), who made him his assistant magistrate in the city of Baghdād; he died at the age of 29, less than three months after his appointment (*Djawāhir*, ii, 91).

14. Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (d. 592/1196); was accepted as *shāhid*-notary by his uncle (no. 12) on 12 *Shawwāl* 575/Tuesday 11 March 1180), three months after his cousin (no. 13), and was entrusted with the controllership of the caliphal burial grounds in the East Side quarter of al-Ruṣāfa. He died young (*Djawāhir*, ii, 40).

15. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn (died Sunday 30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 615/17 February 1219); was appointed *ḳāḍī* in 586/1190, and dismissed in 594/1198; was reappointed as *Ḳāḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt* in 603/ 1207, and dismissed once again in 611/1214; was highly esteemed for his knowledge of the law according to the various schools of juridical thought, as well as for belles-lettres (Abū Shāma, *Tarādjim ridjāl al-ḳarnayn al-sādis wa 'l-sābiʿ*, 110-11; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fi 'l-tārīkh*, xiii, 82;

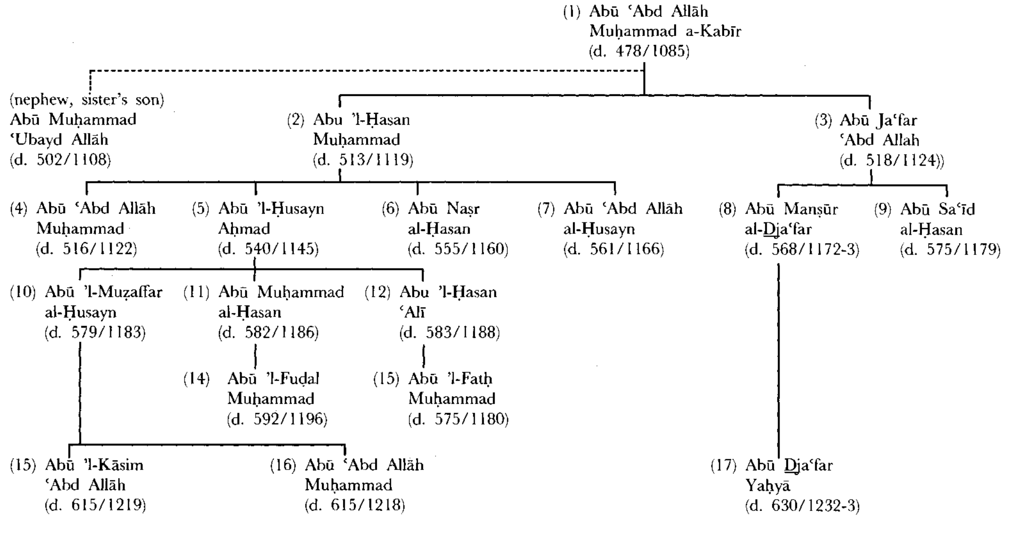

Djawāhir, i, 273-4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-ẓāhira*, vi, 223).

16. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn died Wednesday 16 Shaʿbān 615/7 November 1218, three and-a-half months before his brother (no. 15); was accepted as *shāhid*-notary by his brother (no. 15) on 20 Shawwāl 603/20 May 1207, who appointed him as his representative magistrate in Baghdād, a post he kept until his brother's dismissal on 12 Radjab 611/17 November 1214 which entailed his own dismissal; he died four years later without reappointment (*Djawāhir*, ii, 48).

17. Abū Djaʿfar Yaḥyā b. Djaʿfar (d. 630/1232-3); he is known to have learned *ḥadīth* from his father (no. 8) and to have taught the subject, according to al-Mundhirī (Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm b. ʿAbd al-Ḳawī, d. 656/1258), who received authorisation (*idjāza*) by correspondence from Abū Djaʿfar, on more than one occasion, to teach on his authority, one in particular arriving from Aleppo in Shawwāl 620/October-November 1223). (*Djawāhir*, ii, 211).

The author of the *Djawāhir* gives the orthography of the ethnic name al-Dāmaghānī and says that it is the name of *Ḳāḍī ʾl-Ḳuḍāt* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī (no. 1) and of a group of his descendants (see *ibid.*, ii, 306). The author cites a nephew (the son of a sister) of Dāmaghānī (of no. 1), ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. al-Husayn, Abū Muḥammad al-Dāmaghānī (d. 502/1108), who was accepted by the uncle as a *shāhid*-notary (*Djawāhir*, i, 340-1).

Another Dāmaghānī (fl. 494/1102), ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh, was also accepted as *shāhid*-notary by Abū ʿAbd Allāh (no. 1), but his identification as a member of the family is not certain (*Djawāhir*, i. 274).

There are other persons noted with this name, but with no apparent relationship to this family.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*; Abū Shāma al-Maḳdisī, *Tarādjim ridjāl al-ḳarnayn al-sādis wa ʾl-sābiʿ*, Cairo 1366/1947; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa ʾl-nihāya*; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Abī ʾl-Wafāʾ al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanafiyya*, Ḥaydarābād 1332/1914; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-ẓāhira*, Cairo 1383/1963; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIᵉ siècle*, Damascus 1963, 172-5 and index, *s.vv.* Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Dāmaghānī and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī; Brockelmann, I, 460, S I, 637.

(G. MAKDISI)

AL-DĀMAGHĀNĪ, ABŪ ʾL-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. HAMMŪYA, son of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Dāmaghānī [*q.v.*]. He was born in 449/1057, studied law, and was accepted as *shāhid*-notary by his father in 466/1073-4, and was appointed by him *ḳāḍī* of the East Side quarter of Bāb al-Ṭāḳ in Baghdād and of a part of the countryside, a jurisdiction which was that of his maternal grand-father Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Aḥmad al-Simnānī, who had just died in 466/1074 (see *Djawāhir*, ii, 95-6). In the year of these two appointments, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Dāmaghānī was only 16 years of age; such appointments at that age were unheard of.

He held the post of *ḳāḍī* first under the two caliphs al-Ḳāʾim and al-Muḳtadī, until his father died in 478/1085, and was succeeded by the Shāfiʿī jurisconsult Abū Bakr al-Shāmī. Upon the latter's death in 488/1095, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan was appointed as *Ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt* and held the post under the caliphs al-Mustaẓhir and al-Mustarshid until his death in 513/1119. He held also the post of substitute-*wazīr* under these two caliphs, sharing the post with others.

There are some anecdotes regarding Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Dāmaghānī which shed light on how he was regarded by some of his contemporaries among the jurisconsults. In one of these, he is said to have refused to accept the testimony of a person who came to him at the behest of the caliph al-Mustaẓhir. When the latter asked for an explanation, he replied that on the Day of the Last Judgment God would hold him responsible for his actions, not the caliph who appointed him. Another anecdote concerns the Shāfiʿī jurisconsult Abū Bakr al-Shāshī (d. 504/1110) who came to Dāmaghānī to pay him a visit. The *Ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt* did not show him respect by rising for him, so Shāshī turned on his heels and left. That was in the 480s. It was not until after the year 500/1106-7 that they came together again on the occasion of a ceremony for mourning over a fellow jurisconsult's death. Shāshī arrived first and took his seat. When the *Ḳāḍī ʾl-Ḳuḍāt* entered, everyone rose except Shāshī, who did not budge. Dāmaghānī wrote to the caliph Mustaẓhir complaining that Shāshī did not respect the representative of the religious law. The caliph wrote back: "What do you expect me to say to him? He is your senior in age, a more excellent [jurisconsult], and more pious. Had you risen for him, he would have done the same for you". Shāshī also wrote to the caliph complaining of Dāmaghānī's disdainful treatment of men of religious science, and included the following two verses: "A partitioning screen, conceit, and excessive vainglory / and painstaking reaching for the heights / If all this had come as a result of ability / it would be easy to accept, but it comes as a result of coming from behind (meaning that he succeeded his father, riding on his coat tails)". The caliph finally brought the two jurisconsults together and they made up their quarrel. But the anecdote ends on a note which shows that Shāshī had not quite forgiven the magistrate. Dāmaghānī sat with Shāshī, presumably in the presence of other learned men, and began to give a list of the questions of law that his father, Dāmaghānī the Elder [*q.v.*], had discussed in sessions of disputation, together with the names of his fellow disputants in each case. When Dāmaghānī had mentioned several of these questions, Shāshī made the following remark, laden with subtle sarcasm: "How excellently you have memorised the titles of these disputed questions!"—meaning that Shāshī was good for superficial memorisation, but not good enough for even memorising the disputations themselves, let alone understanding them.

Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*], who had a great respect for Dāmaghānī the Elder as one of his teachers of disputation, had no respect at all for the son Abu ʾl-Ḥasan, to whom he addressed two letters which appear to be open ones written, not in the second, but in the third person (see the French tr. of both letters in Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 467-71). In these, Ibn ʿAḳīl compares father and son, laying stress on the inferior qualities of the son. He held against the son the fact that, at one of his sessions as chief magistrate, he cried at the top of his voice that there were no longer any jurisconsults of the rank of *mudjtahid* [*q.v.*]. Ibn ʿAḳīl considered this a thoughtless attack against the doctrine of consensus or *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*], a doctrine which God had instituted above that of prophecy, since the Prophet of Islam was the seal of the prophets, not to be followed by other prophets. God thus instituted the doctrine of the consensus of His community in the place of the succession of

prophets. He also held against Abu 'l-Ḥasan his neglect of the learned men of Bag͟hdād in favour of those from K͟hurāsān. He accused him of doing so for the purpose of gaining a broader reputation, presumably because these men would spread his name far and wide on their travels back and forth to their home provinces.

Ibn al-Ḏj̲awzī (d. 597/1200), who gives a lengthy biography of Abu 'l-Ḥasan and is our source for Ibn ʿAḳīl's two letters, nevertheless speaks well of him, stating that he was a religious man, with a sense of honour, with generosity and integrity, and that he was knowledgeable in the field of *s͟hurūṭ*, i.e. the writing of formal documents. Among his teachers, the Ḥanbalī *Ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066), Abū Bakr al-K͟haṭīb (d. 463/1071), al-Ṣarīfīnī (d. 469/1076), and Ibn al-Naḳūr (d. 470/1078) are cited as those who taught him *ḥadīt͟h*, and is said to have related traditions in turn. He studied law under his father and his brother [see under DĀMAG͟HĀNĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, Nos. 1 and 3].

Abu 'l-Ḥasan died in 513/1119 after having served for close on 30 years as magistrate and chief magistrate. He was buried at his home in the quarter of Nahr al-Ḳallāʾīn on the West Side of Bag͟hdād where his father was buried, and the remains of his father were transferred to the shrine of Abū Ḥanīfa on the East Side. (G. MAKDISI)

DAMASCENING [see MAʿDIN].

DANDĀNḲĀN, DANDĀNAḲĀN, a small town in the sand desert between Marw and Sarak͟hs in mediaeval K͟hurāsān and 10 *farsak͟hs* or 40 miles from the former city. The site of the settlement is now in the Turkmenistan SSR, see V.A. Zhukovsky, *Razvalinï Starago Merva*, St. Petersburg 1894, 38. The geographers of the 4th/10th century mention that it was well-fortified and was surrounded by a wall 500 paces in circumference, the baths and a *ribāṭ* or caravanserai lying outside this wall (Ibn Ḥawkal², 436-7, 456, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 422, 440; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 105). When Yāḳūt saw it in the early 7th/13th century, it was ruinous and abandoned, with only the *ribāṭ*, the minaret and the walls outstanding, apparently because of the encroaching sands, though he quotes a work of Samʿānī's, the *Kitāb al-Taḥbīr*, that its ruin dated from a sacking by the G͟huzz in S͟hawwāl 553/November 1158 (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 477). Both Yāḳūt and Samʿānī (*Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, v, 381-3) list many scholars who stemmed from Dandānḳān.

The place's main claim to historical fame arises from the fact that, outside Dandānḳān's walls in the parched and largely waterless desert, there took place one of the decisive battles of eastern Islamic history. In Ramaḍān 431/May 1040 a force of highly-mobile Türkmens under the Saldj̲ūḳ leaders Tog͟hrïl and Čag͟hrï Beg defeated a more heavily-armed but largely demoralised G͟haznawid army under Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd, and this victory gave the Saldj̲ūḳs control of the former G͟haznawid province of K͟hurāsān (see B.N. Zak͟hoder, *Dendanekan*, in *Belleten*, xviii (1954), 581-7, and Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, index).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

DANIEL [see DĀNIYĀL]

DĀR AL-ḤADĪT͟H.

I. Architecture.

The first *dār al-ḥadīt͟h* [*q.v.*] founded by Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus served as a prototype for similar establishments set up in Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Egypt and Palestine during the Zangid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods. Unfortunately, this particular building is now virtually a ruin. The façade is completely disfigured by little shops built on the site of the rooms situated to the north of the courtyard. Of the building as a whole, some traces still exist: the walls of a prayer room with some vestiges of the *miḥrāb* decoration; the façade of this prayer room, made up of three bays; the courtyard on to which it opened; and the basin in its centre. These few remains have nevertheless allowed Jean Sauvaget to reconstruct the plan of the building (*Le Dār al-ḥadīth de Nour al-dīn*, in *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, i, Paris 1938, 15-25). This plan fitted into a small, almost square rectangle (16.30 × 17.20 m. overall). It comprised a room with a *miḥrāb* ranging all along the south wall, which opened on to a central, square courtyard through a large, high central bay flanked by two other bays of more modest dimensions. Each of these bays was made up of a rectangular opening surmounted by a lintel and a curved, pointed arch. The central arch was supported on two rectangular pillars, whilst the lateral ones were supported on the piers of the doorway. Two rectangular and symmetrical rooms, one of them communicating with the prayer room, opened on to the lateral façades of the courtyard, and each communicated with a little vaulted room making up the east and west angles of the northern façade of the buildings as a whole. The central part of this last was made up of a passage way which led both to the central courtyard and also to two further small, vaulted rooms which themselves led to the courtyard. In the centre of the courtyard was a basin for ablutions.

The arrangement here, simple and functional, allows one to identify exactly the role of each of the various rooms: the prayer room at the end, teaching rooms at the sides, and possibly, the janitor's lodgings in the rooms along the façade.

Sauvaget has emphasised the relationship between the plan above and those of the oldest *madrasas* in Damascus, the difference being essentially in a reduction of the dimensions and the replacement of the *īwāns*—specific features of *madrasas*—by lateral rooms. Even so, the distinction between the two types of building was not always clearly made. To cite only one example, the Ḍiyāʾiyya, founded in Damascus by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maḳdisī before 643/1245, is given as a *dār al-ḥadīt͟h* by Ibn Ṭūlūn (*al-Ḳalāʾid al-dj̲awhariyya fī taʾrīk͟h al-madāris*, Damascus, 1949, 76) and as a *madrasa* by al-Nuʿaymī (*al-Dāris fī taʾrīk͟h al-madāris*, Damascus 1948, i, 80).

The opening of the first *dār al-ḥadīt͟h*, was followed by the founding of numerous similar institutions based on Nūr al-Dīn's building; unfortunately, these have almost all disappeared. Of the 16 establishments listed by al-Nuʿaymī, Damascus has now only the remnants of Nūr al-Dīn's *dār al-ḥadīt͟h*; the fine doorway with stalactites of that of Tingiz, built in 739/1338 and whose interior has been completely rebuilt (cf. Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut 1932, 69, no. 44); and a few remnants of walls incorporated in shops or houses. As a result, we are forced to go back to the written sources in order to get information about the architecture of the *dār al-ḥadīt͟hs*; but these are very laconic on this particular aspect, and the passages on these institutions concern themselves almost wholly with the lives of the teachers there. Alone of them Ibn Ṭūlūn devotes a few lines to the buildings themselves, and from him we learn that certain of them were mere

II. Historical development [see ii, 125 6].

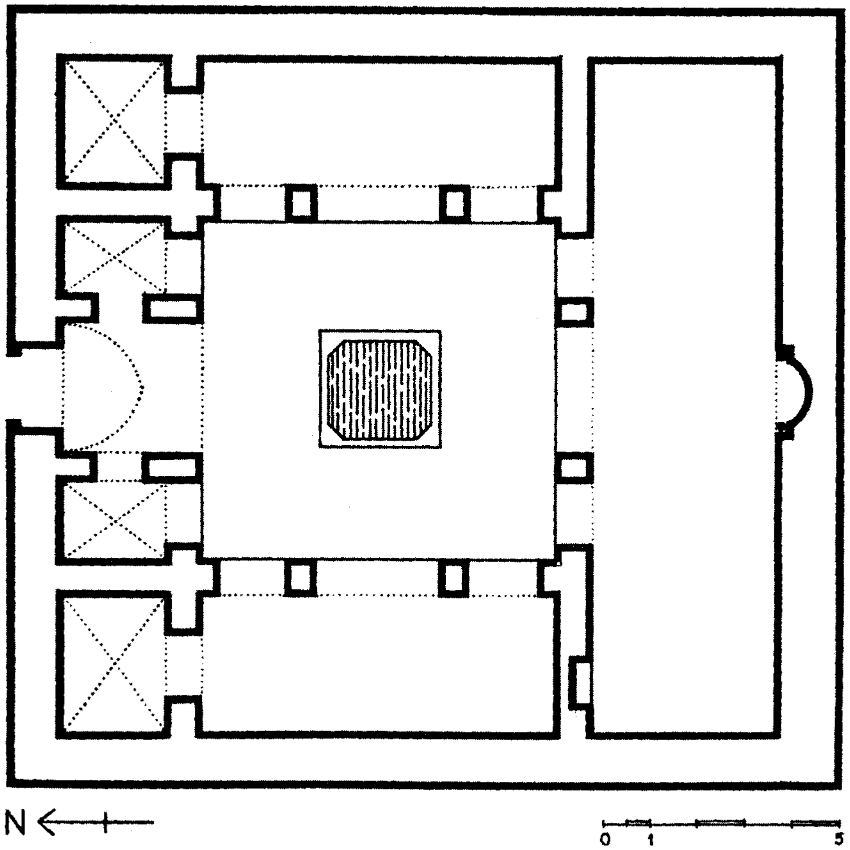

Fig. 1. Plan of Nūr al-Dīn's *dār al-ḥadīth*, after J. Sauvaget.

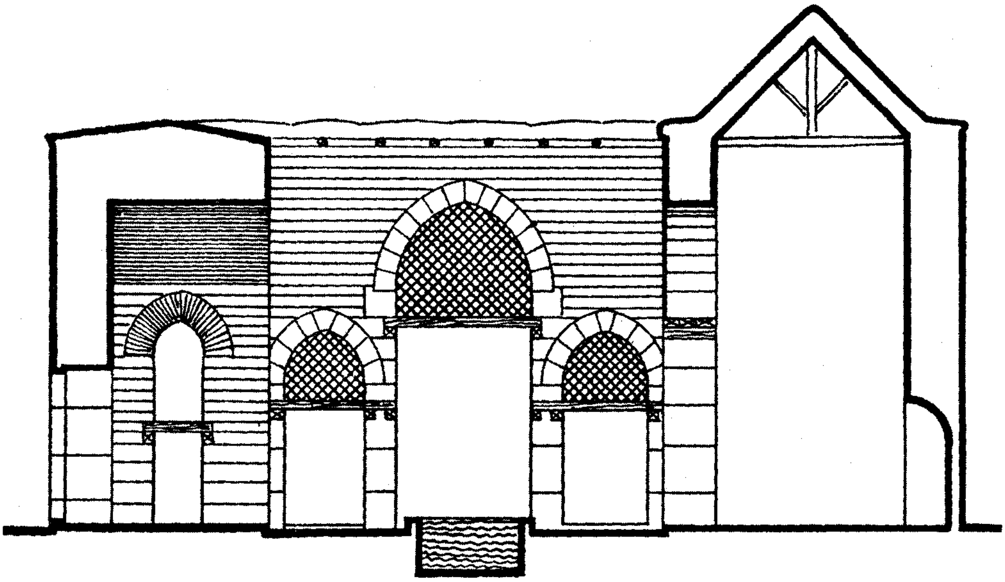

Fig. 2. Elevation of Nūr al-Dīn's *dār al-ḥadīth*, after J. Sauvaget.

rooms within the house of the *shaykh* who was giving out instruction. Thus the Shaḳīshaḳiyya, founded in Damascus by Ibn Shaḳīshaḳa in 656/1258, was only the modest dwelling of this master (cf. al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, i, 81). The Ḍiyāʾiyya (see above) had a plan resembling that of the Nūriyya, but the rooms meant for students were spread over two floors (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḳalāʾid*, 83). The Ḳalānisiyya, founded in *ca.* 729/1328 by the vizier Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (not to be confused with the historian of the same name), had a very extensive hall, provided with three large windows looking on to the Nahr Yazīd, several doors giving access to it, a paved courtyard and a minaret (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *op. cit.*, 86). The Niẓāmiyya, founded towards the middle of the 9th/15th century by the *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* Niẓām al-Dīn ʿUmar, showed a structure even more close to that of the *madrasas.* Three *īwāns* opened on to a court in whose centre was an ablutions cistern. The southern *īwān* had a *miḥrāb*, and the eastern side was provided with a *riwāḳ* reserved for women (*ibid.*, 88).

Sometimes the *dār al-ḥadīth* had a *ribāṭ* or *khānḳāh* [*q.v.*] annexed to it, or else the founder's own tomb or *turba* might be adjacent to it. This was the case with the Nāṣiriyya, founded by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf on the southern slopes of Mount Ḳāsiyūn [*q.v.*] some time before 659/1261. This imposing architectural complex, built on the banks of the Nahr Yazīd and decked out with yellow and white stones, was topped by a minaret and also included a mill. According to Ibn Ṭūlūn, *op. cit.*, 94, it was one of the finest houses in Damascus; but by his time, it had been entirely destroyed and even its site had vanished.

In Aleppo, there are still some remains of the *dār al-ḥadīth* founded by Ibn Shaddād Yūsuf (the biographer of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) in 618/1221, as attested by the text of a foundation inscription carved on a stone block inserted in a modern wall of the reconstructed building. According to the summary plan deduced by Herzfeld, there remains a rectangular room 16.50 × 6 m. overall, with a *miḥrāb* and three openings. In the north-eastern corner, an entrance contiguous to the room's north wall and at the beginning of another wall perpendicular to the latter gives on to what was possibly the *dār al-ḥadīth*'s courtyard (Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, ii, pl. CXXXVIIa).

The Kāmiliyya of Cairo, founded there by al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn in 622/1225 on the model of the Nūriyya, is chronologically the second of the *dār al-ḥadīth*s (cf. al Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 375). Some remains of this building still exist, in particular, an *īwān*, whose pointed-arched vault is faced in fired brick and is supported on the walls and on stone piers (photograph by J.C. Garcin, in *Annales Islamologiques*, vii [1967], pl. XII).

These various examples suffice to show how the architecture of the *dār al-ḥadīth* remained dependent on that of the *madrasa*, when indeed it was not included in it. (S. Ory)

II. History [see Vol. II, 125-6].

DĀR ṢĪNĪ, or Dārṣīnī (Persian *dār čīnī* "Chinese wood") is the Chinese cinnamon (*Cinnamomum cassia*), next to the Ceylonese cinnamon (*Cinn. zeylanicum*) the most valuable spice from plants of the cinnamon species, of the family of the Lauraceae, perhaps the oldest spice altogether. The rind of the branch of the cinnamon-tree was used in China as medicine, aromatic substance and spice already in the 3rd millennium B.C., and reached the Near East and the Mediterranean countries in the 2nd millennium. It cannot be established with certainty with what original plant *dārṣīnī* is to be associated, since in the pharmacognostic texts *Cinn. cassia* is also rendered by *salīkha*, which allegedly is not identical with *dārṣīnī*. The Greeks (Dioscorides) called the class κιν(ν)άμωμον, and the rind of the Chinese κασσία; the Arabs speak accordingly of *ḳinnāmūmun* (and variants) and *ḳāsiyā* (*ḳassiyā*); in Spanish-Arabic texts it even appears in the Romance form *djinnamū* (*cinamomo*), cf. M. Asin Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances*, Madrid Granada 1943, no. 196. Since Ceylonese cinnamon was exported rather late from the island, hardly before the 14th century A.D., *dārṣīnī*, according to its name, can only indicate Chinese cinnamon during the whole previous period.

The older Arab botanists (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, no. 814) did not know what to do with the term *ṣīnī* and associated it with an unidentified drug *ṣīnīn* mentioned by al-Aʿshā (*Dīwān*, ed. Geyer, 201). Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī (d. *ca.* 320/932) was perhaps the first to perceive that cinnamon came indeed from China, see al-Ghāfiḳī [*q.v.* below], *al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. ḳ 155 i, fol. 130a, 11. Like the numerous other Asiatic spices, cinnamon was imported mainly by the sea route, the most important transit-port being ʿAdan (W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge*, Leipzig 1885-6, index s.v. Cannelle).

The Arabs knew a whole range of kinds of *dārṣīnī* which cannot be determined more closely: the "real Chinese cinnamon" (*dārṣīnī al-Ṣīn*), an inferior kind (*dār ṣūṣ*), the "real cinnamon rind" (*al-ḳirfa ʿalā 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*), the "clove-rind" (*ḳirfat al-ḳurunful*), the "pungent cinnamon" (*al-ḥādd al-madhāḳ*), etc. As spice for food, there served not only the tubular rind of the cinnamon-tree, but also its leaves, blossoms and unripe berries. The pleasant scent is caused by the volatile oil extracted from the rind. Taken as a medicine, cinnamon reduces and softens thick substances, strengthens the stomach, liver and spleen and counteracts their sluggishness, quickens the activity of the heart, invigorates the eyesight and is effective against poisonous bites and stings of scorpions. Spread on excrement and urine, it does away with their nasty smell.

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al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371, i, 149; Ibn ʿAbdūn, *ʿUmdat al-ṭabīb*, Ms. Rabat. Bibl. Gén. 3505 D, fols. 61b-62a; *El Libro Agregà de Serapiom*, ed. G. Ineichen, ii, Venice 1966, 89 f.; F. Moattar, *Ismāʿīl Ǧorǧānī und seine Bedeutung für die iranischen Heilkunde*, Diss. rer. nat. Marburg 1971, no. 64; H.G. Kircher, *Die "ein-fachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Bonn 1967, no. 99; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-ḥikma des ʿAlī ibn Sahl Rabban at-Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, no. 292; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*[3], Berlin 1891, 592-8; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 1924, 107-13.

(A. Dietrich)

DARAK (A.), *ḍamān al-darak*, in Islamic law the guarantee against a fault in ownership. As the most important of the various guarantees aimed at protecting the new legal status brought about by the conclusion of a contract of sale, the *ḍamān al-darak* ensures that the seller will make good should the buyer's title be contested by a third party. It is possible, for instance, that prior to the conclusion of the contract and without the knowledge of the two contracting parties, a third party had inherited all or part of the property sold, it had been given in *wakf*, a neighbour had exercised his right of pre-emption, or a creditor had claimed the property in settlement of a debt against the seller. Thus the *darak* rises from a rightful claim of ownership (*istiḥkāk*) before the contract has come into being, while a claim established after this (because a defect is discovered, or the object sold perishes before delivery, for instance) is not covered by the *darak* guarantee. Further, the seller is liable to the buyer only and not to another person to whom the property may have been transferred.

There is a difference of opinion on how the seller discharges his obligation; return of the price was the norm, but arguments are made for the return of the property itself, or its equivalent, if it is fungible, or its value together with the value of such improvements as had been made by the buyer at the time the claim was raised. The *ḍamān al-darak* is usually confined to contracts for the sale of immovable property, but in the formularies for written contracts we see that the guarantee could be given for movables of value as well, such as slaves, walls (considered movable because they could be dismantled for their materials), and palm trees (sold separately from the land and perhaps uprooted). It is not included in contracts in which the property is delivered at a later date, but rather, a separate witnessed document containing the guarantee is drawn up after delivery takes place. Nor is the guarantee given in conveyances in which the alienor receives no consideration, as in a deed of gift. The importance of this guarantee and the variety of formulas employed to express it reflect the concern of Islamic law for the protection of ownership and bona fide acquisition.

Bibliography: The term *darak* is defined in Lane, iii, 874; Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 436-7; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, London 1964, 139; al-Sarakhsī, *K. al-Mabsūṭ fi'l-furūʿ*, Cairo 1324-31/1906-13, xxx, 173-4, 180, 183, 187-8; Discussion of various aspects of the legal status and the formulae is to be found in the *shurūṭ* works, e.g., J.A. Wakin, *The function of documents in Islamic law: the chapters on sale from Ṭaḥāwī's "Kitāb al-Shurūṭ al-Kabīr"*, New York 1972, index, s.v.; al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Mukātabāt al-badīʿa fīmā yuktab min umūr al-Sharīʿa*, in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ix, 12; Marghīnānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Ẓahīriyya*, MS British Museum, Rieu Suppl. 4305, fol. 19a; *al-Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya*, Calcutta 1251, vi, 424-6. Since this guarantee is a prominent feature of the contract, examples of its use in practice are found frequently in the extant deeds of sale. For examples, see A. Grohmann, ed., *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library*, i, 146, 162, 169, 175, 182, 187 and *passim*; J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, *Trois actes de vent damascains du début du IV/X siècle*, in *JESHO*, viii (1965), 173; W. Hoenerbach, *Spanisch-islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos*, Berkeley 1965, 41-2, 272; for earlier Near Eastern parallels, see R. Yaron, *On defension clauses of some oriental deeds of sale and lease, from Mesopotamia*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, xv, 15-22. See also ḌAMĀN.

(J.A. Wakin)

DARB ZUBAYDA, the pilgrim highway running from al-ʿIrāḳ to the Holy Cities of the Ḥidjāz, named after Zubayda bint Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

The main section of the Darb Zubayda, from Kūfa to Mecca, is something over 1,400 km. in length. The branch to Medina leaves the main road at Maʿdin al-Naḳira, which is also the point at which the road from Baṣra joins it. From Maʿdin al-Naḳira to Mecca the distance is about 500 km., and from the same point to Medina it is about 250 km. Between Maʿdin al-Naḳira and Mecca, the section of the road lying between Maʿdin Banī Sulaym and al-Mislaḥ has an alternative route which runs: Maʿdin Banī Sulaym-Ṣufayna-Ḥādha-al-Mislaḥ. This latter route lies across the Ḥarrat Rahaṭ, and was used for the sake of its superior water resources. For the most part, the preparation of the track of the road consisted in clearing the ground of boulders, rocks, etc., but at least one stretch (near Baṭn al-Agharr) was paved, at the expense of Khāliṣa, the lady-in-waiting of the mother of al-Rashīd (al-Ḥarbī, *K. al-Manāsik*, Riyāḍ 1389/1969, 305).

Fayd, the midway station of the road, was the seat of the *amīr al-ḥadjdj* and the road superintendent (*ʿāmil al-ṭarīḳ* or *wālī al ṭarīḳ*) [see further, FAYD, below] and was provided with fortifications (*ḥuṣūn*) and markets. The main route of the Darb Zubayda had 54 recognised stations (*manāzil*). Stopping places for the evening meal were known as *mutaʿashshā*.

There is no archaeological evidence for the use of the Darb Zubayda route before the Umayyad period, but it must have been in use at least from the time of the foundation of Kūfa in the reign of ʿUmar I.

Al-Ḥarbī (*al-Manāsik*, 309) states that ʿUthmān had wells dug at Fayd, and Ṭabarī mentions that among the places at which ʿAlī stopped on his way from Medina to Kūfa in 36/656 were al-Rabadha, Fayd and al-Thaʿlabiyya. Similarly, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī stopped at *inter alia* al-Ḥādjir, Zarūd, Zubāla and al-ʿAḳaba. These are all major stations of the Darb Zubayda.

The ʿIrāḳ-Mecca road was a leading concern of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, to the extent that as a well-maintained, reliable highway it may be regarded as an ʿAbbāsid foundation. Al-Saffāḥ set up milestones and established fire-beacons (*manār*) along the whole route from Kūfa to Mecca (Ṭabarī, iii, 81; Ibn al-Athīr, Cairo edn., iv, 344), and he also constructed forts (*ḳuṣūr*) along the northern section from al-Ḳādisiyya to Zubāla. Al-Manṣūr provided the road with hostels, and under this caliph the first road superintendent was appointed. The names of at

least 21 of these superintendents have been preserved. Al-Mahdī enlarged the forts, constructed water tanks, sunk wells and renewed the milestones. It was during his reign that Yaḳṭīn b. Mūsā, the most outstanding of the road superintendents, was appointed (161/777). His incumbency lasted ten years, during which time the pilgrim road was noted for its convenience, comfort and safety (Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Beirut and Riyāḍ 1966, x, 133).

Al-Ras̲h̲īd constructed cisterns, sunk wells and built forts along the road, but he was outshone in these works by his wife Zubayda, whose contribution is mentioned in laudatory terms by many mediaeval writers. Al-Ḥarbī refers to at least eleven places which were provided with water facilities and rest-houses or fortifications at her instigation, and states that a cistern of a circular type (*birka mudawwara*) was known as a "Zubaydiyya" (*al-Manāsik*, 288). Much of Zubayda's work was devoted to the smaller stations at intermediate points between the larger stopping places, which suggests that her objective was to minister to the needs of poorer pilgrims who had to make their long journey on foot. For the upkeep of the water installations in Mecca she left endowments with a yield of 30,000 *dīnārs* per annum, and it is probable that she provided funds for the upkeep of the road itself in the same way. It may be noted that the mediaeval writers record the names of many wealthy individuals, both men and women, who made the upkeep of the road the object of their benefactions.

Among the later caliphs, al-Wāthiḳ, al-Mutawakkil and al-Muḳtadir were particularly active in maintaining and improving the road. Evidence of the contribution of al-Muḳtadir is provided by a Kūfic inscription on stone, dated 304/917-17, which refers to improvements being carried out under the supervision of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*].

From the 3rd/8th century, the security of the road was increasingly disturbed by tribal raids, beginning with that of the Banū Sulaym in 230/844. In 294/906 occurred the first of many attacks on pilgrim traffic by the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*], and these were to continue for over thirty years. The last pilgrim caravan organised under an ʿAbbāsid caliph was that of 641/1243, when al-Mustaʿṣim's mother performed the pilgrimage, taking with her 120,000 camels (al-Nahrawālī, *K. al-Iʿlām bi-aʿlām bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām*, ed. Wüstenfeld, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, iii, Leipzig 1857, 178).

After the fall of Bag̲h̲dād in 656/1258, pilgrim traffic was often diverted through Damascus, but the Darb Zubayda continued to be used intermittently in later centuries, the frequency of traffic depending largely upon the presence or otherwise of a stable administration in Bag̲h̲dād. The use of the road in the 19th century is attested by European travellers such as Lady Anne Blunt, Huber and Musil.

The coming of motor transport in the 20th century had led to the final abandonment of the Darb Zubayda, although its cleared track is still everywhere visible, as are many of the waymarks (*aʿlām*), which usually consist of cairns of stones of over 2 m. in height. Two undamaged milestones from the ʿAbbāsid period have survived, and are now preserved in the Riyāḍ Museum of Antiquities. One of these uses the system of the post-stage (*barīd* [*q.v.*]), the other that of miles. Most of the water facilities of the road can still be identified, even though many of these are sanded up; they include square, rectangular and circular tanks, some of which are connected with settling tanks and flood diversion walls. Many of the wells are still in use by local tribesmen. The foundations of rest-houses and forts may still be seen at many points along the road, and in several cases (e.g. Ḳaṣr Zubāla, Ḥiṣn Fayd and al-ʿAḳīḳ) more substantial ruins testify to the high level of workmanship bestowed on the public facilities of the road.

Bibliography: see, in addition to the works mentioned in the text: Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 125-8 131-2; Ibn Rusta, 174-80; al-Yaʿḳubī, *Mus̲h̲ākalāt al-nās li-zamānihim*, ed. W. Millward, Beirut 1962, 24-6; Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1907, 203-13; ʿArīb al-Ḳurṭubī, *Ṣilat Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ṭabarī*, Leiden 1897, 54, 59, 123-4, 130-1; Lady Anne Blunt, *A pilgrimage to Nejd*, repr. 1969, 32, 64, 57-8, 70-1, 84; C. Huber, *Voyage dans l'Arabie Centrale, Hamād, Šammar, Qaçîm, Hedjâz*, in *Bull. Soc. Géographie*, VIIᵉ séries (1885) No. 6, 104-48, A. Musil, *Northern Neǵd*, New York 1928, 205-36 and *passim*; N. Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, Chicago 1946, 238-9, 245-6, 250, 258-9; Saad A. al-Rāshid, *A critical study of the Pilgrim Road between Kufa and Mecca (Darb Zubaydah), with the aid of field-work*, Leeds Ph.D. thesis, unpublished (includes plans and illustrations).

(Saad A. al-Rashid and M.J.L. Young)

ḌARĪBA (1)—(6): See Vol. II, 142-58.

(7)—Indonesia. The classical Malay chronicles are not very eloquent about matters of taxes and tolls, and the collections of *undang-undang*, or laws, are more concerned with court rituals than with legal or fiscal questions. More materials are available for the tax regulations under the Dutch administration. Thus F. de Haan's eminent work on *Priangan. De Preanger Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811*, 4 vols., Batavia-The Hague 1911 ff., contains a lot of valuable information. But with regard to the Islamic kingdoms and sultanates in the archipelago which flourished in the 16th and 17th centuries, similar detailed studies, although probably less voluminous, are still a desideratum. In this article, the official orthography for Malay and Indonesian is used, except in quotations and the more generally known term of *shahbandar* (not: *syahbandar*).

The rise of the Islamic kingdoms and sultanates developed in two different settings: there are (a) the maritime centres, starting with Pasai (1202) and Malakka (1403), later being continued by Aceh (early 16th century), Demak (1478-1546), Banten (1525), Ternate (end of 15th century), Tidore (idem), Makassar (1605), Banjarmasin (begin of 16th century) and Pontianak (1771) which based their economics mainly on sea trade, whereas (b) Mataram (1582) retained an outspoken agrarian character, although, in the course of time, it gained suzerainty over a number of important seaports in Java and some oversea provinces on other islands.

(a) For the maritime sultanates, the backbone of their welfare was the harbour, and its administration had to be handled with special care. The most important functionary in the harbour administration was the *shahbandar*, or harbour master. He was usually appointed by the local ruler or sultan and chosen from among the foreign traders who had settled in the port. No salary was given to him. In big harbours, more than one *shahbandar* were sometimes active. Thus Malakka is reported to have had four of them at the same time during the period of its florescence before the Portuguese conquest (1511). The same holds true for Banda Aceh Darussalam during the reign of Iskandar Muda (1607-36). In such a case, each *shahbandar* was responsible for certain

national groups, including the one from which he originated himself. In Malakka, one *shahbandar* had to take care of the Gujarati traders, another one looked after the other "western" traders from India, Persia, Arabia, Pegu (Burma) and North Sumatra, a third one dealt with those originating "east" of Malakka like Palembang, Java, the Moluccas or the Philippine islands, and the fourth one was responsible for the Chinese.

The *shahbandar* had to supervise the merchandise, take care of its transport and storage, inspect the markets and guarantee the security of the ships and the well-being of their crew, passengers, and tradesmen. When a ship entered the harbour, he had at once to inspect it and estimate the value of the goods. Based on his estimation, tolls were fixed and those objects chosen which had to be presented as gifts to the sultan or ruler and other high officials. The owner of the chosen gift, however, had to give his consent. Otherwise, according to the *Navigation and commercial law of Amanna Gappa* (Codex 130, chapter xxxv, see below), this gift would have a personal character and the captain had to pay for it. The collected tolls had to be handed over by the *shahbandar* to the *tumenggung* who headed the civil administration of the whole city, including the harbour.

The import tax which was demanded in Malakka was not the same for all traders. Those originating "from above the wind", i.e. the West, had to pay 6% of the value of their merchandise. Only food supplies from Siam, Pegu (Burma), the western coast of the Malay peninsula and northern Sumatra were exempted.

Besides this import tax, 1 to 2% of the value had to be presented to the ruler, the *bendahara* (treasurer), and the *tumenggung*. After the *shahbandar* had reached agreement with the captain and the traders, he was to bring his gifts to their destinates. Tomé Pires observed that the Gujarati traders in particular, who were sailing with considerably sized vessels, used another procedure to pay their taxes. They asked a delegation of ten traders to re-estimate the whole merchandise loaded on their boat, take 6% of its total value and present it directly to the *tumenggung*. Thus all duties were paid at once, including the different kinds of gifts for the ruler and his officials. On the other side, the *shahbandar* responsible for the Chinese, Siamese and the people from Liu Kiu, on his turn, sometimes freed his clients from all kinds of taxes, but then he expected an appropriate "gift", choosing himself those goods he thought to be suitable.

If a trader wanted to settle at Malakka, he had to pay 3% as taxes, and in addition to this another 6% as royal taxes. For Malays, however, this latter sum was reduced to 3% only (Tjandrasasmita, 74 ff.).

Other regulations were valid for tradesmen originating from lands "below the wind", i.e. in the East. Formerly, they seem to have been free from any kind of taxes. It was just expected that their gifts to the ruler and high officials should be appropriate and this could mean at least as high as the official taxes and tolls for the traders from the West. Later on, they also had to pay 5% for their goods, except again for food supplies.

In Banda Aceh, the *shahbandars* together with their secretaries (*keureukön*, Malay: *karkun*) and other personnel were responsible to the *Balai Furdah*. This was a special office for levying the harbour dues, linked to the *Bayt al-Māl* (Z. Ahmad, 92), which was headed by the Sri Maharaja Lela and the *penghulu kawal*, or supervisor of the guard. These officials, too, were not real employees of the sultan, but it was expected that they should gain their living from the gifts the merchants had to deliver.

In relation to sea trade, the following kinds of tolls and taxes (*adat wasé*) were known in Aceh: the *hadia langgar*: a gift for the permission to cast the anchor; the *adat lhôk*, for those ships anchoring in the harbour; the *adat memohon kunci*, to "ask for the key", i.e. to get permission for disembarkment after the other taxes have been paid; the *adat mengawal*, a donation for those Acehnese who guarded the ship during its stay in the harbour; the *adat ḥaḳḳ al-ḳalam*, a kind of registration fee; the *wasé kuala*, demanded by the *shahbandar* for disembarking or loading certain goods, for preserving the water supply for departing ships, and help for those stranded; the *adat cap*, to be paid with goods or in money to get the seal or permission of the sultan for sailing; the *adat kain*, a roll of textiles to be presented by the Indian and European merchants when getting the *adat cap*; the *adat kain yang ke dalam*, i.e. textiles destined for the court; etc. (Tjandrasasmita, 77 ff.; Hoesin, 116 f.).

From the time of Iskandar Muda, every merchant had to pay an additional tax, the *usur* (A. *ʿus̲h̲r*), for the sultan. Differences between the taxes to be paid by Muslim and Christian merchants are mentioned but not explained.

Of equally high importance for the income of the ruler and his functionaries was the market. Here, the *hariya* was in charge of securing the payment of a number of duties claimed by the *adat*; the *adat hariya*, a rent to be paid by merchants who kept their goods in a storehouse which had to be prepared by the *hariya*; the *adat kamsen*, to be taken from merchants as an insurance against robbery; the *adat tandi*, a fee for the clerk weighing the goods in the market; and the *adat peukan*, demanded from people going to the market.

All these taxes and tolls mentioned above had to be transferred either by the *shahbandar* or the *hariya* to the *ulèë balang*, or district chief, who at the same time served as the local military commander. He distributed part of this money to some of his civil servants, whilst another part had to be presented annually to the court. Like the *shahbandar, hariya*, or other senior officials, the *ulèë balangs* did not receive a salary.

For the people living in the villages, some other kinds of taxes were known. Those farmers who received irrigation waters for their rice fields had to pay the *adat blang*, or *adat buèt umong*. Rent rates to be paid by tenants ranged from 50% to 20% of the yields and depended on the situation of the land. If someone had a cause to be settled, he had first to pay the *adat peutoè* which permitted him to bring his cause to the court (*hak ganceng*). The judge (*kali, ḳāḍī*) and other elders sitting in the court session were entitled to receive the *adat tuha*.

Besides paying their taxes either in kind or money, the villagers had also to give their services voluntarily to the *ulèë balang* or the *keutjhik*, or village chief, e.g. in preparing their rice fields. This had to be done in *gotong royong* (cooperation) by the villagers, without receiving any compensation but being provided with food.

Taxes which were not under the competence of the *ulèë balang* were those levied on forest products (*adat glé*) and the *adat peutuha* for bringing the pepper to the market; trade with pepper was a major concern of the sultan himself.

Complementary to these duties, which were more

or less based on customary law (*adat*), the obligations imposed by the *sharīʿa* according to the Shāfiʿi *madhhab* had also to be fullfilled. Special attention was given to the handing-over of *zakāt*. If someone was reluctant, he had to be admonished either by the *keutjhik* or the *teungku meunasah* who was specifically in charge of supervising those aspects of village life related to the *sharīʿa*.

In the port of Banten, West-Java, which was, besides Jambi, one of the main trading places for pepper, taxes were usually fixed incidentally, varying from ship to ship. Chinese traders usually had to pay 5% of the value of their goods, but the Dutch ships in particular often were faced with discriminatory high fees, which *inter alia*, stimulated them to strengthen their own new port of Batavia (1619). Besides the import taxes, a fee for anchoring had to be paid. Two-thirds of the whole sum were to be delivered to the sultan, the rest was for the *shahbandar*. Export taxes for local products, including pepper, were lower than those for products of foreign origin.

Since the rise of the first Muslim kingdom in Java with its centre in Demak (1478/1546), the seaport of Japara became the dominant trading centre of the island. It was able to maintain this position under the rule of the first rulers of Mataram, who were usually not too much interested in sea trade, concentrating their main interests in the agrarian interior of Java. Under Sultan Agung (1613-46) and the *susuhunan* Amengku Rat I (1646-77), Japara was for some time the capital of Mataram's East-coast province, headed by the *wedana bupati*, with the title *tumenggung*. The city itself, as well as the other ports, was governed by the *kyai lurah*. It is not clear whether it was to him or to the *wedana bupati* that the *shahbandar* and another official met by a Dutch visitor in 1631, the *petiat-tanda* "who supervised all fiscal offices and dominated all the river mouths", were responsible. At all events, it was in the end the main task of the *wedana bupati* to collect all custom duties from the ports, all taxes from his coastal province and those overseas tributaries (*daerah upeti*) which were directly under the supervision of one of the *bupatis* in his province, e.g. Palembang which was under Demak, Sukadana under Semarang, or Jambi which was directly under Japara. Part of the collected deliveries, especially those from the export trade of rice, which was the monopoly of the *susuhunan* himself and until 1657 was allowed to be traded only in Japara, had to be transferred to the court.

In the later years of Amengku Rat's I reign, and especially after the introduction of his policy of centralisation, the higher provincial functionaries were displaced, and the ports directly ruled by the *shahbandars* as *quasi*-governors. They were now directly responsible to the court, i.e. to the *wedana gedong* as the royal treasurer and storekeeper and had to spend much of their time there, which made it easier to control them. Simultaneously, Amengku Rat I introduced a new form of taxation, i.e. money taxation, in exchange for the formerly-used system of taxation which was based on natural and craft products. To increase the income of the court, he also farmed out the provincial revenues out to the officials and then demanded a specific annual sum to be delivered. In the course of time, the whole foreign trade, not only the export of rice, became a state monopoly (Schrieke, i, 184 f.).

Since the days of the Hindu empire of Majapahit, the tolls to be paid in the central and east Javanese ports on the north coast had been very low, and were sometimes completely unknown, as in Gresik before 1612. Only Tuban formed an exception, and this was severely criticised by the Chinese. Moreover, certain nationalities could be exempted from fees, like the Dutch in Japara under Sultan Agung, or the Chinese, the latter certainly profiting from the fact that a number of *shahbandars* in the north Javanese port were of Chinese descent. But again, gifts were expected to be forwarded by them.

Another commercial centre attractive for merchants from the East as well as from the West was Makassar (Ujung Pandang), which since pre-Islamic days was known too for its free and open attitudes towards trade and its small demands of tolls. Although not directly dealing with questions of taxes and tolls, the *Navigation and commercial law of Amanna Gappa*, a Buginese codex compiled around 1676 and edited by Ph.O.L. Tobing in 1962 ([2]1977), gives interesting hints about the financial obligations and rewards of the community living together for some time on the same ship. During the journey, the traders are not considered as passengers, but are divided into three or four classes of crew members with special tasks and duties given to each of them. Those categorised as "regular crew" may leave the vessel only after having bailed the water from the vessel and paid a fee for "descending" from the ship. The "casual crew" members, however, are free to leave the vessel whereever they want, without paying anything. For each class, the volume of merchandise as well as the part of the hold in which to put their goods are fixed. The freight rate is determined by the distance between the home port and the port of destination, for which detailed data are given.

The sum collected with the freight rates determines the income of the owner of the ship and its senior crew, i.e. the captain, the coxswain, and the *jurubatu* who has to take soundings and cast the anchor: if neither the captain nor the other two are friends of the owner of the ship, than the proceeds have to be divided into two equal parts, one for the owner and one for the other three. If one of them is a friend of the owner, than two-thirds are for the owner.

A number of regulations deals with the sharing of profit or loss between the dealer and the owner of the goods. According to the principle of *bagi laba*, profit or loss have to be divided equally between both of them, if, in case of a loss, this is not due to negligence on part of the dealer. Otherwise, he has to compensate for it. Another principle states that the family of the dealer, if the goods get damaged because of his negligence, cannot be claimed to participate in compensating for the loss (ch. vii). The principle of *bagi laba* knows, however, some modifications. When the dealer has not yet returned and the owner has good reason to assume to that his partner is dead, he may claim a certain sum from his partner's family, but not more than half of the original capital. After that, he loses any right on the goods, even if his partner eventually reappears and has been succesful. If the dealer in fact has died and suffered a loss by his own fault, then his family has to compensate in full (ch. xii).

Debts, too, demand special regulations. If a debtor has sold his properties but cannot yet repay his debts, he has for some time to serve as a slave with his creditor until his debts are extinguished. After that, no claim may be made, even if the debtor becomes a wealthy man (ch. xiv).

If a passenger-tradesman dies on the way and his

heirs cannot be found, his goods have to be turned over to the captain who may trade with them and enjoy the profits. Returning to the domicile of the deceased, however, his property must be handed over to his family, either in money or in kind (ch. xvi).

All these regulations are very similar to those relating to land tenure in the village (*desa*), and as a matter of fact, during its voyage the vessel is considered as a microcosmos in the same way as is the *desa* ashore, representing the cosmic order which has to be preserved through harmonious relationships among its inhabitants. The "owner" of this microcosmos stays outside of it, but he is represented by his deputy and his deputy's helpers. This deputy does not receive a salary, but has to live, like his helpers, from what he collects as rent, or taxes.

(b) Mataram, as the most powerful Islamic kingdom in Indonesia, did not base its economics on sea trade but on the products of its agrarian interior in Java. It continued the main spiritual and administrative traditions of the last Hindu empire of Majapahit which was destroyed by Demak in 1478. The student of its taxation system has to note with regret, however, that the late B. Schrieke did not live to implement his plan of writing a history of Javanese taxation (Schrieke, i, 26). The data collected and evaluated in such a study would not only have been helpful in obtaining a clearer picture about the fiscal and economic development of the Javanese kingdoms, and especially of Mataram, but might also have provided a well-documented basis for studies on the religio-cultural currents in Javanese society which continually gave rise to millenarian movements among the peasantry, caused by the deteriorating economic situation which again was mainly the result of the burden of taxes levied on the farmers.

Basically, the structure of the village (*desa*) and the kingdom were not much different. The village chief, and similarly the ruler in the greater context, were considered as the representatives of the deity and thus entitled to consider the land of the *desa*, or the main lands of the kingdom, as their own property, which they then rented out to the people. In some village societies, this conviction was modified: not the village chief himself, but the village community, owned the land, and the council of the elders had to decide who of the villagers might farm a certain piece of land. Thus in Kediri, East Java, all the land was named *haqullah*, whereas in Banten and Krawang, West Java, only uncultivated land was considered as *haqullah*, whereas cultivated land became *haquladam* (Kartohadikoesoemo, 238). If someone died or moved to another *desa* without leaving an heir behind, his land fell back under the authority of the *desa*. In some places, land was redistributed after a certain time cycle. Someone who wanted to sell "his" land had to notify the village government and pay the *uang paseksèn*.

The communal understanding of land ownership is evident in the Law Codex of Majapahit, which was, on the whole, still used in Mataram. Para. 259 states that anyone who had asked for permission to farm a rice field but afterwards leaves it uncultivated, has to restore by other means the value of the rice he might have yielded. In para. 261, anyone who leaves an already cultivated rice field on its own, with the result that the crop get spoiled or is eaten by animals, is categorised as a thief, and that could mean capital punishment (Slametmuljana, 37, 165).

The relationship between the village and the central authority was maintained mainly via the taxes and labour obligations. As the land was never in fact considered as being the property of the farmer, he had to pay the *upeti*, which means tribute. This tax might rise to 50% of the harvest, but it could always be changed, according to the general situation. Besides this, a capitation tax, housing taxes, dues for different kinds of offences against the laws, etc. were known. Special taxes had to be delivered at occasions like child birth, wedding ceremonies and services for a deceased person. These could sometimes, if they coincided with warfare or other disasters, bring the villagers to the edge of ruin (cf. the report by C. van Maseyck, quoted by Schrieke, ii, 147). The special war tax which Sultan Agung raised mainly among the foreigners during his military operations in East Java (Surabaya) in 1625, is recorded as follows: all married Chinese had to pay 22½ reals, unmarried Chinese 18 reals, married Javanese in the coastal regions who had been his subjects for many years 4½ reals, unmarried and young men 4½ reals, all recently-acquired slaves from Madura and Surabaya ¼ real. This tax was repeated in the following year (Schrieke, ii, 148 f.). At times it was compulsory to purchase some kinds of spices, rattan, and cotton, and above all rice, the trade with which was, as already mentioned, a state monopoly under Amengku Rat. I. A major occasion to deliver the collected taxes at the court was the *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr*.

Labour obligations due to the ruler included the building of the *kraton* (palace), important streets or other state projects, and, in times of war, help the army mainly as carriers. The village chief and other district potentates, too, were entitled to summon the villagers for forced labour. Thus the principle of *gotong royong*, or cooperativeness, became more and more abused. Eventually, a *desa* could also be exempted from taxes but instead it was charged with the maintenance of a sanctuary.

Another source of income for the district rulers were the toll gates on streets and rivers which, especially since the middle of the 18th century when their number increased enormously, did great damage to inland trade, and therefore time and again contributed to the rise of social unrest.

Upeti, or tribute, had also to be delivered by a vassal or a dependency as a sign of loyalty, or by an ally as reward for any kind of help received before. It could be delivered in kind or money and could also comprise beautiful girls, rare animals or plants. Another way of fulfilling the duties towards the ruler was to send man-power. The annual tribute imposed, e.g., on Palembang in 1668, was one rix-dollar *per capita* (Daghregister 1668-9, quoted by Schrieke, ii, 227).

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(O. Schumann)

DARYĀ KHĀN NOḤĀNĪ, local governor in Bihār under the Dihlī sultans. His original name is not known, Masnad-i ʿĀlī Daryā Khān being his honorific title. He was the third son of Masnad-i ʿĀlī Mubārak Khān Noḥānī, Sultan Bahlūl's *muḳtaʿ* or governor of the province of Karā and Manīkpūr. Daryā Khān Noḥānī attached himself to Prince Niẓām Khān (later Sultan Sikandar Shāh) during the reign of Sultan Bahlūl Lōdī. The first important event of his life was the battle of Ambāla, fought between Prince Niẓām Khān and Tatār Khān Yūsuf Khayl, the rebel *muḳtaʿ* of the Pandjāb in 890/1485. In 895/1490 he again fought on the side of Sultan Sikandar Shāh against his own father, who had joined the camp of the rival prince, Bārbak Shāh, and in 901/1496, Sikandar Lōdī appointed him as *muḳtaʿ* of Bihār in reward for his services.

In Bihār, Daryā Khān found that the Afghāns' capture of the eastern territories was easier than retaining control over them, for the rule of the overthrown Sharḳī dynasty [*q.v.*] had struck deep roots, and the Muslim *ʿulamāʾ*, the Hindu *zamīndārs* and the common people had been deeply attached to the Sharḳī house for generations. But he gradually succeeded in consolidating Afghān rule there, taking measures to win over local support. He extended generous patronage to the scholars and made generous landgrants to the Ṣūfīs and *Sayyids*; and the old educational institutions were maintained, while tombs and mosques were repaired. Thus the town of Bihār grew into a metropolitan centre under his governorship.

During the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm Lōdī, certain political events caused an estrangement between him and the sultan, although he had fought against his own son-in-law, Islām Khān Sarwānī, the rebel in Karā in 925/1519. In 930/1524, Nāṣir Khān Noḥānī, the elder brother of Daryā Khān, rebelled against the sultan in the Ghāzīpur *sarkar*, and his flight to Bihār turned the sultan against Daryā Khān. In an attempt to save himself, Daryā Khān himself rebelled against the sultan and strengthened the defences of Bihār fort; but soon afterwards he died, leaving his son, Bahār Khān, as his successor. His son and grandson ruled over Bihār till the year 936/1530, when Shēr Khān Sūr supplanted the Noḥānī rule by his own.

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(I.H. Siddiqui)

DASHT-I ḲĬPČAḲ, the Ḳïpčaḳ Steppe, was the Islamic name of the territory called Comania by Christian writers: the great plains of what is now Southern Russia and Western Kazakhstan. Both names were given while this region was still dominated by the Ḳïpčaḳ or Comans (the Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ is mentioned in the *Dīwān* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who died between 465/1072 and 470/1077): they were retained when it passed under the control of the Golden Horde [see BATU'IDS], who subjected and absorbed the Ḳïpčaḳ whilst adopting their speech in place of their native Mongolian. John de Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck travelled through the Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ during the reign of Batu [*q.v.*]. Carpini, who traversed it from end to end, supplied for the first time the modern names of the great rivers he crossed: the Don and the Volga. Rubruck, who entered the steppe via the Crimea, described it as a "vast wilderness" extending in places over thirty days in breadth, in which there was "neither forest, nor hill, nor stone, but only the finest pasturage". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit to the region occurred during the reign of Özbeg (712-42/1313-41). Like Rubruck he approached it from the south, through the Crimea; from Saray he proceeded in a westerly direction until he reached Byzantine territory. What little we know about social conditions in the Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ is derived almost entirely from Rubruck and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

Bibliography: W.W. Rockhill, *The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern part of the world*, London 1900, 8-9, 12-13, 91-94; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ii, 356 ff., tr. Gibb, ii, 470 ff.; B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*[2], Wiesbaden 1965, 5-6, 274-80.

(J.A. Boyle)

DATES [see TAMR].

DAVID [see DĀWŪD].

DAWĀT, ink holder, a synonym for *miḥbara*, "inkwell". The term is also used for *miḳlama*, a place for keeping the *ḳalam* or pen, and more generally for *ḳalamdān*, penbox.

Islamic treatises describe the various ways of preparing ink and give different accounts of inkwells, *miḥbara* or *dawāt*, that were used in their time. The *dawāt* is, according to al-Ḳalḳashandī, "the mother of all writing tools", and "a scribe without an inkpot resembles a man who enters a fight without a weapon". Following traditional religious relationships between the art of writing, meaning the transcribing of the "Word of God", the Ḳurʾān and the tools used for writing, various Islamic writers prohibit the use of inkwells made of precious metals, and call for the omission of human and animal forms in their decoration. However, the 4th/10th century poet al-Kushādjīm already accused the learned men of his time of being proud of their gold-and-silver-decorated inkpots. The religious prohibition of depicting human and animal forms was also disregarded.

The use of glass pots and the preference for the round shape, as suggested by al-Ḳalḳashandī, are documented by some 3rd/9th to 4th/10th century inkpots that have been preserved (Baer, *Inkwell*, n. 4; *The arts of Islam*, Hayward Gallery, 1976,

nos. 117-8, with octagonal outer form). A fragmentary cylindrical cast-bronze vessel found at Nī<u>sh</u>āpūr suggests that this type of inkwell was used in Eastern Iran as early as the Sāmānid period.

In the course of the 6th/12th century, particularly during its second half, cylindrical bronze inkwells were produced in different Iranian workshops. They were of comparatively small size, and each was originally covered with a separate lid with a domed centre. Lid and body were generally provided with small loops or handles for fastening the pot to the hand of the scribe, and they were decorated with traced and inlaid silver and copper ornaments. Several signed inkwells from the mid-6th/12th to the early 7th/13th centuries, including some of <u>Kh</u>urāsānian workmanship, have been preserved. On two of them the decoration includes a human figure, presumably the owner of the inkwell, proudly presenting a cylindrical object of the same type as the vessel itself (Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, ex-Kofler collection, and London, Victoria and Albert Museum). The covers of the Iranian inkwells are surmounted by a lobed dome that rests on a flat cylindrical collar. In the Syrian specimen, a hemispherical dome rests directly on the horizontal rim, and is surmounted by a pear-shaped finial terminating in a round knob. Both traditions blend in an early 7th/13th century inkpot in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Baer, *Inkwell*). Three West-Iranian, early Ṣafawid inkpots signed by Mīrak Ḥusayn Yazdī point to the continuation of this type in the 10th/16th century. Apart from cylindrical caskets with small glass receptacles for ink and other writing implements, penboxes with a separate compartment for the *ḳalam* were used since early times. The earliest known so far is a bronze *ḳalamdān* dated 542/1148 in the Hermitage which has the shape of a parallelepiped. It is closed and has two openings on opposite ends, one for the ink and the other for the *ḳalam*. More common is the open, originally East-Iranian, wedge-shaped type made in two parts, in which the inner, compartmented box could be entirely removed. These penboxes were probably placed in a belt, and were commonly used in the Ottoman empire.

Rectangular open boxes with a hinged or separate cover are apparently based on wooden models. The earliest known metal penboxes from the middle of the 6th/12th century are round-ended, and these continued to be popular after the Mongol conquest; but in Mamlūk and Ottoman times, the rectangular penbox was more common. It was imitated by the Chinese in blue and white porcelain for export to the Near East and by Iznik potters working in the early 10th/16th century. A good example of its kind, decorated with a pseudo-Kūfic inscription and floral scrolls in pale blue on white, is kept in the Godman collection in England.

Dawāt and *ḳalamdān* are depicted in miniatures as early as the late 6th/12th century (*K. al-Diryāḳ*, Bishr Farès, *Le livre de la thériaque*, Cairo 1953, Pls. VII-IX). A round-ended penbox is shown in the *<u>Dj</u>āmiʿ al-tawārī<u>kh</u>* copy in the University Library on Edinburgh (*Survey*, Pl. 827 A), while a small inkpot attached to a penbox of the easily portable type is painted by Behzad in a mosque scene of the *Bustān* of Saʿdī in Cairo, dated 893/1488 (*Prop. Kunstgeschichte*, no. 333).

Bibliography: General information based on literary sources can be found in A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, i, Vienna 1967, 117-27. There is no comprehensive study of the *dawāt* in visual art. For a short survey, see E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst*, Berlin-Leipzig 1942, 80-4. One type of inkwell has been studied by E. Baer, *An Islamic inkwell in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, in R. Ettinghausen (ed.), *Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1972, 199-211. The writer is preparing a comprehensive study of the *dawāt* in Islamic art and civilisation. Representations of the different types are included in general books on Islamic and Persian art and in exhibition catalogues: A.U. Pope (ed.), *A survey of Persian art*, London-New York, 1939-64; J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler (eds.), *Die Kunst des Islam*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Bd. 4, Berlin 1973; *The arts of Islam*, Hayward Gallery, 8 April - 4 July 1976, The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976; A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Le bronze Iranien*, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris 1973. Signed metal inkwells and penboxes are listed in L.A. Mayer, *Islamic metalworkers and their works*, Geneva 1959 (incomplete).

(E. BAER)

DĀWIYYA and **ISBITĀRIYYA**, the Arabic name for the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers respectively. With the partial and very late exception of the Teutonic Knights (see below), the other military orders established in Syria during the Crusades went unnoticed (or at least unnamed) by Arabic writers. Since it is impossible to give here even a summary history of these extraordinary organisations, which in any case belong more to European than to Islamic civilisation, we shall restrict our consideration to two questions: (1) when and by what channels did the terms *dāwiyya* and *isbitāriyya* enter the Arabic language; and (2) how fully did Muslim historians understand and attempt to describe the orders?

Isbitāriyya and its common variant *isbitār* are simply arabised forms of Latin *hospitalis*, "lodging-place for wayfarers", perhaps influenced by *hospitalarius*, "hospitaller" in a literal sense. (For the Latin terms, see J. Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, 277 n. 5 *et passim*.) Two other variants, *istibār* and *istibāriyya*, which seem especially characteristic of later writers beginning with Ibn Wāṣil [*q.v.*], plainly represent the assimilation of a foreign word to the Arabic *maṣdar* pattern *iftiʿāl*. Though the etymology is clear, we do not however know precisely when the Muslims of Syria first became aware of the Hospitallers as a distinct group in the Frankish army. The first recorded mention of them is in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (*<u>Dh</u>ayl taʾrī<u>kh</u> Dima<u>sh</u>ḳ*, ed. Amedroz, 339), who simply lists them without further explanation as members of a Frankish force overwhelmed near Bāniyās in 552/1157. We must therefore assume that by this date the term *isbitāriyya* was in common use among Syrian Muslims. It had doubtless become current only recently, since the Hospitallers did not play a major military role before 530/1136, when they were assigned the stronghold of Bayt <u>Dj</u>ibrīn (Bethgibelin) by King Fulk, while the real foundations of their power were laid only in 539/1144 with the cession to them of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [*q.v.*] (Crac des Chevaliers) by Count Raymond II of Tripoli.

In the passage just mentioned, Ibn al-Ḳalānisī also names the Templars as members of the defeated Frankish detachment; as with the Hospitallers, this is the oldest Arabic reference to the Templars, and again the term used for them, *Dāwiyya*, is left unexplained. Hence we must assume that by 552/1157 the Templars also were commonly perceived

Fig. 1. Inkwell with domed cover. Bronze, engraved and decorated with interlacings, the signs of the zodiac and blessings. East Iran, probably late 6th/12th century. Philadelphia Museum of Art, no. 30.1. 45 A & B. Photograph E. Baer.

Fig. 2 a and b. Cylindrical inkpot with receptacles for ink and writing implements. Bronze, incised and inlaid with silver. Decorated with mounted falconers, and animated scrolls. Probably Iran, 7th/13th century. Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, no. 90.431.

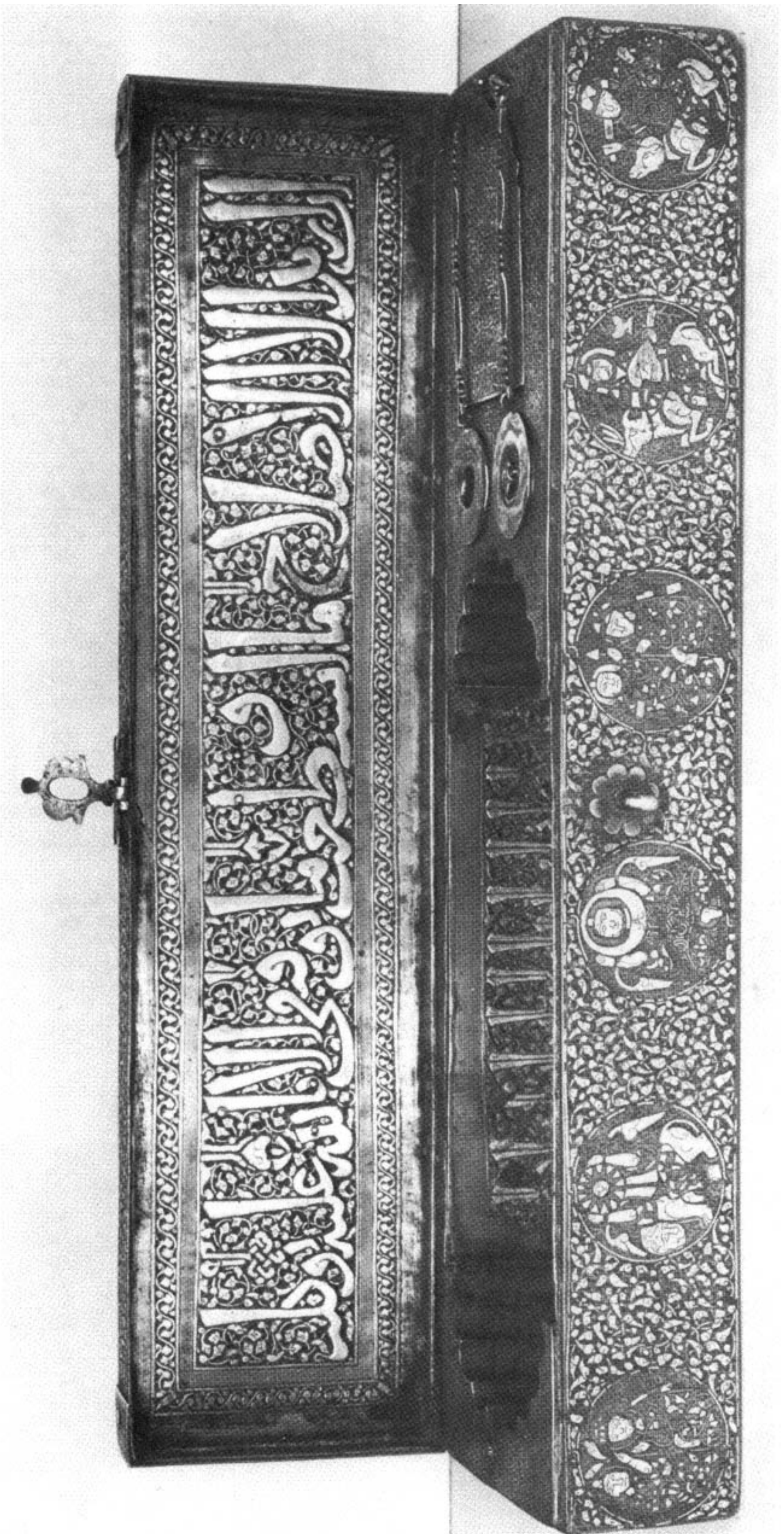

Fig. 3. Rectangular penbox. Brass, incised and inlaid with silver and copper. Decorated with the signs of the zodiac. 7th/13th century. London, British Museum, given by A.W. Franks, 1884. Photograph courtesy L.A. Mayer Memorial, Jerusalem.

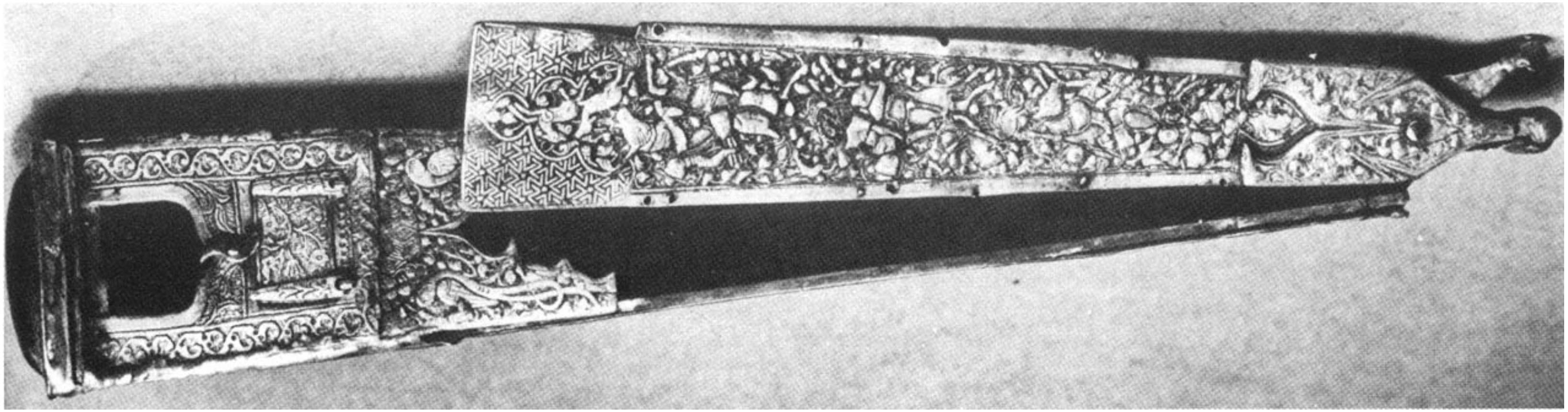

Fig. 4. Wedge-shaped penbox. Brass, incised and inlaid with silver and gold. Perhaps north-west Iran, mid-7th/13th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.509. Photograph courtesy L.A. Mayer Memorial, Jerusalem.

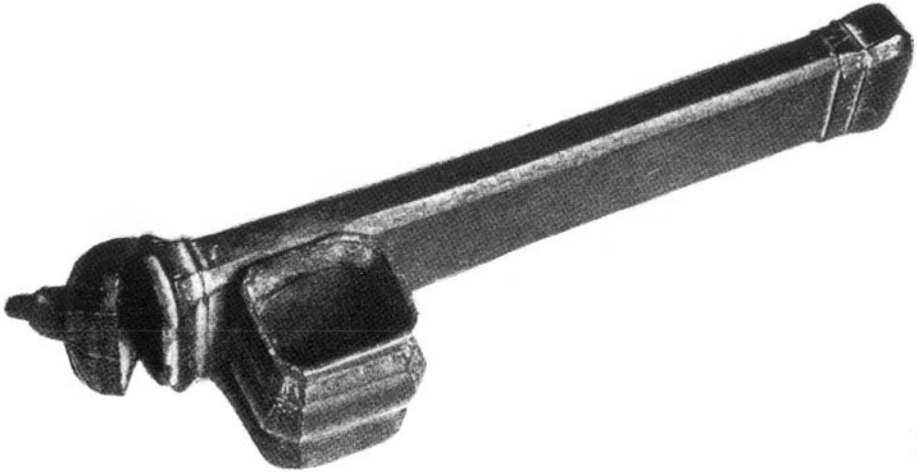

Fig. 5. Penbox. Brass, engraved. Syria, 13th/19th century. Private Collection. Photograph E. Baer.

as a familiar and distinct element within the Frankish army. Indeed, Usāma b. Munḳidh, writing some three decades after the event, records a visit to the Aḳṣā Mosque in Jerusalem in the years 532/8-1138-44; it was then partially occupied by the Templars, whom he calls "my friends" (*aṣdiḳāʾī*). (*K. al-Iʿtibār*, ed. Hitti, Princeton 1930, 134-5). At the time of Usāma's visit, the Templars had been formally recognised as an order of the Church for only ten years or so (at the Council of Troyes, 1128), and their origins went back only to 1119. As in the case of the Hospitallers, therefore, the Muslims of Syria were not slow to become aware of this new element in Frankish society.

On the other hand, the use of the word *Dāwiyya* for the Templars raises real problems. For many reasons, one cannot accept Hitti's suggestion that *dāwiyya* is a "corruption of a Syriac word for 'poor', the original name of the order in Latin being Pauperes Commilitones Christi" (*History of the Arabs*[8], 644 n. 3). Rather, it seems best to derive the word from Latin *dēvōtus*, Old French *devot*, "one who has vowed himself to God's service". Phonetically, this etymology seems to fit both *dāwiyya* and its variant *daywiyya* reasonably well. Moreover, though it is true that the Templars did not ordinarily call themselves *dēvōtī*, this term accurately characterises their status and outlook, and may well have been the way in which they were described to the Muslims by local informants. (Cf. the descriptions of them by William of Tyre, *RHC, hist. occ.*, i, 520; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and tr. J.B. Chabot, Paris 1899-1914, iii, 201-3, 207-8).

As to the understanding of the orders displayed by the Muslim writers of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, we should not expect any full or accurate descriptions, for this would have required an insight into the corporate nature of Frankish society such as the Muslims did not possess (cf. CRUSADES and IFRANDJ). The Franks are often perceived and characterised as individuals in the Arabic texts, but they are very rarely seen as members of a socio-economic class, nationality, or corporate entity; the observations of Usāma b. Munḳidh, Ibn Djubayr, and Ibn Wāṣil (*Mufarridj*, iv, 248-51) represent the furthest limit of Muslim knowledge and concern in this period. Nevertheless, it remains curious that the Templars and Hospitallers were perceived early on as a group apart from other Frankish warriors and yet their precise nature was never investigated.

Throughout the Saldjūḳ and Zangid periods notices on the orders are extremely rare in the Arabic texts; it is only in the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, especially in the years of the reconquest and the Third Crusade (583-8/1187-92), that they become fairly common. This new prominence is certainly due in part to the orders' greatly increased military and political importance during and after the 1170s, but it is equally owed to the writings of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, which were the chief source for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's reign even for his own contemporaries (e.g. Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ, Ibn al-Athīr). ʿImād al-Dīn's *al-Fatḥ al-ḳussī* shows him to be rather well-informed on the orders and suggests some progress in the Muslims' understanding of them; he knows which castles belong to which, he can give an accurate description of their buildings in Acre and Jerusalem, he seems to have some sense of their internal organisation (though he never discusses it explicitly). He respects the military qualities of both orders, but reserves his fiercest invective for the Templars. One of the ugliest passages in Arabic literature, unique in its gloating and brutality, is surely that which he devotes to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's massacre of Templar and Hospitaller prisoners after Ḥiṭṭīn. Ibn al-Athīr uses ʿImād al-Dīn's information to make a point of his own—the orders' boldness and fanaticism make them a standing threat to the Muslims, and sound public policy requires their extermination. Indeed, he sharply criticises Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on those occasions when he decides to release Templar and Hospitaller prisoners instead of summarily executing them. (Ibn al-Athīr [Beirut reprint, 1966], xi, 531, 538, 558; xii, 22-3).

For the Ayyūbid period after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (589-658/1193-1260), there are only scattered reports on the orders, but the language used suggests a rising level of knowledge and sophistication. In a long report on al-Manṣūr Muḥammad of Ḥamāt's campaign against the Hospitallers in 599/1203 (*Mufarridj*, iii, 141-50), Ibn Wāṣil refers to them for the first time as *bayt al-istibār* (*domus hospitalis*), an expression which is henceforth common for both orders and which seems to imply some sense of their corporate nature. Likewise, for the first time they are called *al-ikhwa* (*fratres*), a term suggesting a similar conclusion. Finally, all officers of the orders had previous been named simply *muḳaddam*, whatever their real rank; now, however, Ibn Wāṣil distinguishes two subordinate officers, *muḳaddam al-turkubliyya* (Turcopolier) and *ḳūmiṣ min al-baḥriyya* (perhaps Commander of the Ship; cf. Riley-Smith, *op. cit.*, 329-30). Though Muslim writers never display a systematic knowledge of the orders' internal structure, this passage at least signals increased contact and familiarity. On a different level, there is a remarkable passage in Ibn al-Athīr (xii, 465-6, *anno* 623) which suggests some comprehension of the special tie which bound the Templars and Hospitallers to the Papacy, and which also demonstrates that Muslim authors had access to Christian informants for their information about such things.

The Mamlūk chronicles *per se* seem to add little that is new to the Ayyūbid texts, but they do reproduce a number of treaties between the Mamlūk sultan and various European rulers which reveal a sound assessment of the place of the orders in the Mediterranean balance of power, and whose precise terminology suggests a fairly accurate knowledge of their internal organisation. Thus in a treaty of 686/1287 between al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn and the King of Aragon, the orders are identified as potential enemies of Egypt and Aragon equal to the Papacy, to the Genoese and Venetians, and to the Byzantines (Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, 345). Again, when Ḳalāwūn dictated the terms of a truce with Acre in 682/1283, he recognised that the royal *bailli* could no longer command the obedience of all the Franks there, and so the chiefs of the orders were included among the signatories to the treaty. Especially striking is the precise and accurate titulature assigned to these men (*ḥaḍrat al-muḳaddam al-djalīl ifrayr* [Templars]; *al-muḳaddam ifrayr* [Hospitallers]; *al-marshān al-adjall ifrayr . . . nāʾib muḳaddam* [Teutonic Knights]). It is in this document that the Teutonic Knights appear to be identified for the first time as a separate entity, under the name *bayt al-isbitār al-amn* (the last word doubtless being an error for *al-almān*) (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 985-6, 995). Whatever knowledge of the orders may be ascribed to the historians and chancery of the early Mamlūk period, however, it would develop no further. For with the fall of Acre (690/

1291), the dissolution of the Templars (1307-14), and the transfer of Hospitaller headquarters to Rhodes (1306-10), Syro-Egyptian Muslims no longer had any real reason to take note of the orders. Henceforth, only the Hospitallers of Rhodes were to play any part in Islamic history, sc. that of the Ottomans.

Bibliography: The literature and published documentation on the orders is of course overwhelming, but the bulk of it refers to their European branches rather than to Syria. (This is especially true of the Templars, whose central archives were destroyed when the order was abolished in the years 1307-14.) The best general history of the orders remains H. Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, Berlin 1908; For the Hospitallers in Syria, we have an excellent recent study by J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310*, London 1967. For the Hospitallers in Rhodes (1306-1523), the most recent overviews are the chapters by A. Luttrell and E. Rossi in K.M. Setton, ed., *A history of the Crusades*, Madison, Wisc. 1975, iii, 278-339. Due to the lack of archival materials, there is no serious modern work which focuses on the Templars in Syria; however, A.J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, London 1973, is a detailed study of their role in Spain during the *reconquista*. The political and diplomatic role of the orders in the East is of course presented in the standard works on the Crusades. Archival materials can be approached through two major collections: *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St-Jean de Jérusalem* (1100-1310), ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, Paris 1894-1906; and *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple*, 1119?-1150, ed. Marquis d'Albon, Paris 1913. An extremely rich source for the Hospital's Rhodian period is the *Catalogue of the records of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the Royal Malta Library*, ed. J. Mizzi, V. Borg, A.Z. Gabarretta, Malta 1964. As suggested in the text, the Arabic sources all but ignore the orders during the Saldjūḳ and Zangid periods. For the Ayyūbid period, the most interesting references are in ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Fatḥ al-ḳussī fi 'l-fatḥ al-Ḳudsī*, ed. Landberg, Leiden 1888; tr. H. Massé, Paris 1972; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, ed. al-Shayyāl *et al.*, Cairo 1953. In the early Mamlūk period, valuable information is yielded by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-ẓāhir* (on Baybars), ed. A.A. Khowaiter (SOAS thesis, 1960); idem, *Tashrīf al-ayyām* (on Ḳalāwūn), ed. M. Kāmil, Cairo 1961; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIḳd al-djumān*, fragments publ. in *RHC, Hist. or.*, ii; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, unpubl. (see Brockelmann, II, 44, S II, 43). In general, Ibn al-Furāt, *T. al-duwal wa'l-mulūk*, vii-viii, ed. Zurayḳ and ʿIzz al-Dīn, Beirut 1936-8, gives the most reliable extracts of unpublished 7th/13th century materials. Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, ed. M.M. Ziyāda, Cairo 1934, though late and of little use in itself, is important because of the editor's careful indexes and cross-references. Among Eastern Christian sources, Kinnamos (Greek), Matthew of Edessa (Armenian), Bar Hebraeus and (of highest importance) Michael the Syrian (Syriac) may be mentioned.

(R. STEPHEN HUMPHREYS)

DAWLAT KHĀN LODĪ, 27th ruler of the Dihlī sultanate, was the son of Maḥmūd Khān Lodī and a cousin of Mallū Iḳbāl Khān. Native Persian chroniclers say nothing about the early history of this Afghān nobleman of Dihlī who emerged as a dominant figure during the early years of the 9th/15th century when Tughluḳid authority was on the verge of dissolution. He served Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd II, the last ruler of the dynasty, both as private secretary with the title *ʿAzīz al-Mamālik* ("Great one of the State") and as military governor of the Dōʾāb. On the death of the Sulṭān in 815/1412, the *amīrs* offered the throne of Dihlī to Dawlat Khān Lodī, who thus assumed power, but without the honours of royalty, as incorrectly mentioned by Firishta, ii, 292; for the Tughluḳid monarchy after Fīrūz Shāh's death in 790/1388 had become a moribund institution, as evidenced by Badāʾūnī in his *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, i, 266, where he speaks of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's writ as extending only from Dihlī to Palam, a suburb of the capital.

The first act of Dawlat Khān Lodī on becoming ruler was to move out of the capital towards Katahr, where he received the allegiance of Narsingh Ray and other Hindu landlords. But he had to retreat from Kalpi in the face of fierce onslaughts by Ibrāhīm Shāh, the Sharḳī ruler of Djawnpūr [see SHARḲIDS]. Dawlat Khān's downfall came at the hands of his arch-rival Khiḍr Khān of Multān, who taking advantage of the prevailing disorder in and around Dihlī, attacked the capital in 816/1414. Dawlat Khān took refuge in the fortress of Siri, which was invested by Khiḍr Khān for four months. At last, he capitulated, and was sent prisoner to Ḥiṣār-Fīrūzshāh, where he soon died. The Dihlī Sultanate henceforth enjoyed a fresh lease of life for a little more than a century, with Khiḍr Khān becoming the first ruler of the Sayyid dynasty.

Bibliography: Mahdī Ḥusayn, *The Tughluq dynasty*, Calcutta 1963; E. Thomas, *The chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 2nd enlarged edition, Delhi 1967; Yaḥyā al-Sarhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, Calcutta 1931. (ABDUS SUBHAN)

DAWR (A. pl. *adwar*), "revolution, period"; the periodic movement of the stars, often coupled with *kawr* (pl. *akwār*), "great period" (see *Risāla* no. 35 of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, [*q.v.*]: *Fi'l-adwār wa 'l-akwār*). In the doctrines of the extreme Shīʿī sects, the period of manifestation or concealment of God or the secret wisdom.

The Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*]; According to the earliest Ismāʿīlī doctrine, history is composed of seven *adwār* of seven "speaking" (*nāṭiḳ*) prophets, each of whom reveals a new religious law (*sharīʿa*): Adam Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad and the Mahdī or Ḳāʾim. Each *nāṭiḳ* has his trustee (*waṣī*) who reveals the inner (*bāṭin*) meaning of the respective *sharīʿa*. The seventh *nāṭiḳ*, the *Ḳāʾim*, will abrogate Muḥammad's *sharīʿa* and restore the pure *tawḥīd* [*q.v.*] of the times before Adam's fall. The period between each two *nāṭiḳs* is called "the little period" (*al-dawr al-ṣaghīr*). The whole cycle from Adam to the Ḳāʾim (*al-dawr al-kabīr*) is also called "period of the concealment" (*dawr al-satr*), because the gnosis (*ʿilm*) is concealed by the outward (*ẓāhir*) law and is only known by the initiates. During the period of concealment, the seven planets rule the world. Before the *dawr al-satr*, there was a period of manifestation or revelation (*dawr al-kashf*) during which the twelve angels of the Zodiac kept the unadulterated pure *tawḥīd*; at the end of time, the Ḳāʾim will bring forth a new *dawr al-kashf*. In the literature of the Ṭayyibiyya [*q.v.*], an eternal alternation of *satr* and *kashf* is supposed.

The Druzes [see DURŪZ]: In the Druze canon,

the periods of reincarnation of the Divine Creator are called *adwār*. The 13th treatise counts 70 *adwār*, each of 70 × 70 × 1000 years.

The Nuṣayrīs [*q.v.*]: Like the Ismāʿīlīs, the Nuṣayrīs assume a cycle of seven *adwār*, in which the Divine "Sense" (*maʿnā*) incarnated himself in Abel, Seth, Joseph, Joshua, Āṣaf (the vizier of Solomon), Simon Peter and ʿAlī, while his "Name" (*ism*), i.e. his prophet, was incarnated in Adam, Noah, Jacob, Moses, Solomon, Jesus and Muḥammad.

The conception of the seven periods of revelation seems to derive from old Jewish-Christian traditions like those preserved in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies; it is a well-known topic in the speculations of certain Gnostics and Manichaeans (see T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918, 322 ff.; H.H. Schaeder, *Die islamische Lehre von vollkommenen Menschen*, in *ZDMG*, lxxix (1925), 213 ff.).

Bibliography: Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī, *K. Ithbāt al-nubuwwāt*, ed. ʿĀ. Tāmir, 181 ff.; C.F. Seybold, *Die Drusenschrift Kitab Alnoqat waldawair*, Kirchhain 1902, 84; R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairîs*, Paris 1900, 42 f.; H. Corbin, *Le temps cyclique dans le mazdéisme et dans l'ismaélisme*, in *Eranos Jahrbuch*, xx (1952), 149 ff.).

(H. Halm)

DAYN (A.), like *obligatio* in Latin, means literally "debt", but also expresses the idea of "claim". This predominance of the passive aspect makes it necessary to specify the sense of the relationship; hence when one says *lahu dayn*, this means that an obligation is due to someone, i.e. he is a creditor, whereas with *ʿalayhi dayn*, this means someone has an obligation to fulfil, i.e. he is a debtor. Claim and indebtedness are thus two aspects of the obligation, according to whether the active or the passive side is in mind, and this is why it seems more exact to speak of "obligation" for *dayn*.

The obligation (*dayn*) which is a personal right is opposed to that in an object (*ḥaḳḳ fi 'l-ʿayn*). The idea of *dayn* rests on that of *dhimma*, a word which has a very wide sphere of applicability: it is the capacity of being subject to the law, in fact the basis of an obligation. Hence patrimony and *dhimma* come together in practice. It is thus easily understandable why the *dayn* is classified by Muslim authors among goods or chattels (see al-Māwardī, *Adab al-ḳāḍī*); in effect, it is an incorporeal possession belonging to the creditor and existing in the patrimony or personal estate of the debtor, so that this possession makes necessary an "action" on the debtor's part (see Abū Ḥanīfa's definition of the *dayn*: that it is an action required (*muṭālaba*)). But this connecting obligation, this link, is often thrust into the background, and authors confuse the right and the thing which is the object of the right (cf. the analogy of the distinction of *Schuld* and *Haftung* in German for the obligation, and *dayn* and *muṭālaba* in Arabic). The obligation (*dayn*) must be distinguished from its object (*ʿayn*) or personal action (*dhimma*). The obligation which has as its object a non-fungible, determinate thing (*dayn fi 'l-ʿayn*) is different from the obligation which has as its object a personal action (*dayn fī dhimma*). In regard to obligations which have a determinate thing (*ʿayn*) as object, the expression *dhimma* is not used; if the debtor refuses to hand it over, his personal patrimony is not responsible for it.

The sources of obligation (*dayn*). Obligation or *dayn* can arise out of a contract (loan, sale, surety, transaction or marriage), or out of a tort requiring reparation.

The elements of obligation (*shurūṭ al-dayn*). Obligation necessarily presupposes (a) at least two persons, i.e. a person who is required to perform a certain act, the debtor (*madīn, maṭlūb*), and a second person to whom the fulfilment of this performance is due, the claimant (*rabb al-dayn, ṭālib*). The word *gharīm* indicates the two of them (Latin *reus*). But there can be several principals involved, claimant or debtors, as when there is joint responsibility for the obligation. (b) An object, i.e. the performance which is obligatory and which the other party is legally entitled to exact; a multiplicity of objects is possible (the case of alternative obligation). (c) A cause; Muslim authors often understand by this the origin of the obligation.

The effects of the obligation. This last can be completed or not completed. Where it is completed, see below, there results the extinguishing of the obligation. If it is not completed, the claimant has a right to recover damages because of loss suffered through the non-completion of the obligation. A formal notice is not necessary: *Dies interpellat pro homine*. From the very fact of non-performance, the debtor is presumed to be at fault, and must prove either force-majeure or act of God (*amr al-sulṭān, ḍarūra, ʿudhr* or *āfa samāwiyya*).

Modalities of the obligation sc. settlement and stipulations. In principle, only monetary claims can be affected by a settlement. This last is always presumed in the interest of the debtor. The stipulations can be suspensive or resolutory, but there is a reluctance to validate conditional obligations.

Extinguishing of the obligation. The usual method here is through payment, but there are other ways, e.g. dation in payment (*istibdāl*), extinction of the debt through one debtor or creditor succeeding to the estate of another, substitution of a new obligation, compensation, etc.

Modern legal phraseology translates *dayn* by "claim", and to this are added several epithets: an assigned or assignable claim, a certain one, an unsecured, simple one, a commercial one, a contested one, a dubious one, one which is due, a guaranteed one, etc. (see the translations of these terms in the *Dictionnaire des termes juridiques et commerciaux, Français-Arabe*, by Mamdouh Hakki, s.v. "créance".

Bibliography: Chafik Chehata, *Théorie générale de l'obligation en droit musulman*, i, Cairo 1936; Ibn ʿĀṣim al-Mālikī al-Gharnāṭī, *al-ʿĀṣimiyya*, 117; al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, 133, 210, 211, 267; Kāsānī, vii, 174. For modern works in Arabic, see Ṣubḥī Maḥmaṣānī, *al-Naẓariyya al-ʿāmma li 'l-mūdjabāt wa 'l-ʿuḳūd*, Beirut 1948. (A.M. Delcambre)

DEBT [see dayn].

DECLAMATION [see shiʿr].

DECLENSION [see iʿrāb].

DECORATION [see fann].

DEED (juridical) [see ʿaḳd].

DEFAULT OF HEIRS [see mīrāth].

DEHKHUDĀ, ʿAlī Akbar (1297-1375/1879-1955), poet, satirist and lexicographer of modern Iran. During the constitutional revolution (1905-9), he acquired a reputation as poet and satirist. But later, with the rise of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī [*q.v.*], he gave up all political activities, devoting himself to literature and philology. Besides the satirical pieces, the so-called *Čarand u parand*, in which his very sarcastic humour secured vast popularity for the journal *Ṣūr-i Isrāfīl*, his literary

output includes a Persian translation of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* (unpublished), a review of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīwān* (ed. S.N. Taḳawī and M. Minūwī, Tehran 1307/1928), a four-volume collection of Persian proverbs and aphorisms, called *Amthāl u ḥikam* (*Madjmā' al-amthāl*, as cited in E.E. Bertels's *Očerki*, is not the correct title of the published volumes), and the extensive lexicon, *Lughat-nāma*, which has had to be published mainly as a posthumous work and is still in progress. While Dehkhudā is generally considered a pioneer in modern, simple prose-writing, his poetical work—except for a few pieces published in popular periodicals—seems rather of a turgid and pedantic character, though often well-spiced with humour.

Bibliography: The *Lughat-nāma-yi Dehkhudā*, of which 203 fascicules in about 22,796 pages, in folio, of 3 columns each, have so far (March 1976) been published), contains an introductory volume (fascicule 40) in which more details on the author's life and work are given, (cf. also *Dīwān-i Dehkhudā*, ed. M. Mu'īn, Tehran 1334/1955; Dehkhudā, *Amthāl u ḥikam*, 4 vols., Tehran 1308-10/1929-30; Y. Āryan-Pūr, *Az ṣabā tā nīmā*, Tehran 1350/1931, ii, 77-105; Browne, *LHP*, iv, 469-82; idem, *The press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, index; E.E. Bertels, *Očerki istorii persidskoy literaturi* (with penetrating critical remarks), Leningrad 1928, 125-27); P. Avery, *Modern Iran*, London 1965, 129-30; A. Bausani and A. Pagliaro, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, indices; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, index; Gh. Youssofi, in *ZDMG* (1975), 117-32.

(A.H. Zarrinkoob)

DEMESNE [see ḌAY'A].

DEMIRDĀSHIYYA, a branch of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order named after Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī, an Azeri Turk as is suggested by his name. According to 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1954, ii, 147 ff. (cf. Maḥmūd Rabī' and Ḥasan Ḳāsim (eds.), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-albāb wa-bughyat al-ṭullāb fi 'l-khiṭaṭ wa 'l-mazārāt wa 'l-tarādjim wa 'l-baḳā' al-mubārakāt*, Cairo 1937, 15 f.), he had belonged to the community of mystics which had gathered around 'Umar al-Rūshānī (d. 892/1486), a protégé of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] ruler Uzun Ḥasan and a *khalīfa* [*q.v.*] of the second *pīr* [*q.v.*] of the order Yaḥyā al-Shirwānī (d. 869/1464).

The biographies written in the late 19th and early 20th century by Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Nabahānī, *Djamī' karāmāt al-awliyā*, Cairo 1329, ii, 9 f., and Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, *Nabrās al-muhtadī fī idjtilā' anbā' al-'Ārif bi-Allāh Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī*, Cairo 1364/1944-5, state that Muḥammad Demirdāsh had originally been a *mamlūk* of the Sultan al-Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn Ḳāyit Bāy [*q.v.*] and the *murīd* [*q.v.*] of Aḥmad b. 'Uḳba al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 895/1489-90) before he joined the disciples of al-Rūshānī in Tabrīz, from where he is said to have returned to Egypt towards the end of Ḳāyit Bāy's reign. This version is in accordance with the contents of the official biographies published on behalf of the *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] at the beginning of the 20th century (appended to Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī, *Risāla fī ma'rifat al-ḥaḳā'iḳ wa 'l-ma'ānī min ḳawlihi "Wa laḳad ātaynāka sab'an min al-mathānī"*, Cairo n.d., 27-34 and 55-63), which are mainly based upon unpublished sections of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī's *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī tarādjim al-sāda al-ṣūfiyya*.

Muḥammad Demirdāsh was an adherent of Ibn al-'Arabī's metaphysics, and he must have been influenced by the teachings of the Shādhiliyya order in which he had been initiated by his first spiritual master Aḥmad b. 'Uḳba (cf. Demirdāsh, *Risāla fī Ma'rifat al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, 32 f., 62), as appears in his treatises *al-Ḳawl al-farīd fī ma'rifat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo n.d., and in *Risāla fī Ma'rifat al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, mentioned earlier in the article. The liturgy of the order refers in no way to any special kind of mystical theology, as was noted by E. Bannerth, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 20, who described the *ṭarīḳa*'s *ḥaḍra* [*q.v.*]—*maḥyā* in the terminology of the order—and the ceremonial surrounding the yearly occasion of retreat (*khalwa*) for a period of three days at the end of Sha'bān, as it was practiced in the 1960s (see bibliography). It is not unlikely, however, that the liturgy may have mirrored the influence of Ibn al-'Arabī's thinking upon Muḥammad Demirdāsh at an earlier stage, since we have no evidence of a fixed ritual until about a century after his death in 929/1524, when his great-grandson and *khalīfa* Muhammad al-Ṣaghīr composed a treatise in *radjab* metre, entitled *Tuḥfat al-ṭullāb al-rā'imīn ḥaḍrat al-wahhāb wa-uṣūl al-ṭarīḳ*, Cairo n.d., which codified the ritual and has been the principal manual of the order ever since.

Among others, this manual gives the rules for the so-called *hūwiyya*, the most characteristic part of the ritual in which the head of the order, a number of *nuḳabā'* (sing. *naḳīb* [*q.v.*]) and some members form a circle turning anti-clockwise (or occasionally two circles, one moving clockwise and the other circle moving anti-clockwise), while calling "*hū, hū*". This part of Demirdāshī ritual has been subject to outside criticism in the past (cf. 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Arbilī, *Ḥudjdjat al-dhākirīn wa-radd al-munkarīn*, Alexandria 1299/1881-2, 43 ff., and 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Kitāb al-Ḥaḳīḳa wa 'l-madjāz fī riḥlat al-Sha'm wa-Miṣr wa 'l-Ḥidjāz*, ms. Berlin 6146, fols. 242a ff.).

From the days of Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī until the present, ceremonial gatherings have been confined to the only existing *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] of the order, situated in the present-day 'Abbāsiyya quarter of Cairo. The original establishment and the surrounding land had been donated to Muḥammad Demirdāsh by Sultan Ḳāyit Bāy (cf. *Risāla fī Ma'rifat al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, 59). It was visited by Ewliyā Čelebi (cf. *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1971, xiv, 206) as well as by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (cf. *Kitāb al-Ḥaḳīḳa*, fol. 224) towards the end of the 17th century, which suggests that the establishment must have been of some importance at that time. The *zāwiya* complex with its *khalwa* cells has been described by 'Alī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 112 f., as it was in the 1860s and by E. Bannerth a century later.

The order experienced a severe setback at the end of the 18th century when it was plundered by French troops (cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib al-āthār*, Cairo 1297/1879-80, iii, 95), and continued to rank among the less prominent *ṭarīḳa*s in Cairo until the 1880s, when it experienced a revival under the leadership of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh Bāshā, the founder of the Cairene hospital named after him. After his death in 1929, a dispute about the succession occurred, in which the then *muftī* of Egypt 'Abd al-Madjīd Salīm intervened (cf. Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, *al-Sayyid al-Badawī*, Cairo n.d. 182). This dispute ended in the formal investiture of 'Abd al-Raḥīm's six-year old grandson,

equally named ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, and the appointment of the principal *naḳīb*, Amīn al-Ṣayyād, as his *wakīl* or regent, specifically charged with the task of managing the *ṭarīḳa*'s affairs. The latter's son Ḥusayn was head of the order in the 1970s.

Active membership of the order has never spread outside Cairo. This has been the direct consequence of the requirements set upon the potential *murīd*. Anyone desiring membership had to attend the weekly *ḥaḍras* of the order held near the shrine of its founder for a period of at least two years. During this period he had to be under the surveillance of one of the order's *nuḳabāʾ*, who were always residents of Cairo. The latter had to judge the personality of the candidate, and could propose him for initiation to the head of the order (cf. Zakī Muḥammad Mud̲j̲āhid, *al-Aʿlām al-s̲h̲arḳiyya*, iii, 110).

Traditionally there were never more than twelve *nuḳabāʾ* at one time. New *nuḳabāʾ* were elected by the head of the order in consultation with the *nuḳabāʾ* already in office (cf. Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Bus̲h̲ārī, *Tuḥfat al-albāb wa-hidāyat al-ṭullāb fīmā yad̲j̲ibu ʿalayhim min al-ādāb*, Cairo 1322/1904-5, 81 f.).

The mosque and shrine of Demirdās̲h̲ are the scene of an important weekly *ziyāra*-day (cf. F. De Jong, *Cairene Ziyāra-days. A contribution to the study of saint veneration in Islam*, in *WI*, xvii (1976), 34 ff.), and of *mawlid* celebrations in the second half of S̲h̲aʿbān (cf. J.W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt* Cairo 1940, 257 f. and E. Bannerth, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 129).

Bibliography: For further detail and additional references, see E. Bannerth, *La Khalwatiyya en Égypte. Quelques aspects de la vie d'une confrérie*, in *MIDEO*, viii (1964-6), 3-7; idem, *Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdāšiyya Sufis in Kairo*, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 116-32 (which contains a German translation of the section about *k̲h̲alwa* in the *ṭarīḳa*'s manual *Tuḥfat al-ṭullāb*); idem, *Islamische Wallfahrtsstätten Kairos*, Cairo 1967, 74 f., and M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in modern Egypt. An essay in the sociology of religion*, Oxford 1973, *passim*; The section on al-Demirdās̲h̲iyya in B.G. Martin, *A short history of the Khalwatī order of dervishes*, in N.R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, saints and sufis. Muslim religious institutions since 1500*, Berkeley-London 1972, 290-5, is largely based upon Bannerth's work.

The treatises by Muḥammad Demirdās̲h̲ al-Muḥammadī and by Muḥammad Demirdās̲h̲ al-Ṣag̲h̲īr mentioned in the article have been published, together with another treatise by the *ṭarīḳa*'s founder, *Kitāb al-Darad̲j̲a al-ʿulyā fī maʿārid̲j̲ al-awliyāʾ*, by Muḥammad Nūr Ṣāliḥ al-Sird̲j̲ānī under the title *al-Mad̲j̲mūʿa al-Demirdās̲h̲iyya*, Cairo 1348/1929-30; This collection contains also a section with biographical data on a number of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* of the order and a biography of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Muṣṭafā al-Demirdās̲h̲ Bās̲h̲ā compiled by Muṣṭafā Adham Bek Munīr, 52 ff.

For other biographies of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, see Zakī Muḥammad Mud̲j̲āhid, *al-Aʿlām al-s̲h̲arḳiyya*, Cairo 1955, iii, 109 ff., which gives also additional information about the order's religious practice, and Muḥammad Sulaymān Badawī, *Nabd̲h̲a yasīra min ḥayāt ustād̲h̲inā al-fāḍil ... ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Muṣṭafā al-Demirdās̲h̲ Bās̲h̲ā*, Cairo n.d. Other publications of the order, containing historical data, liturgical texts and rules, are *al-Nafaḥāt al-ḳudsiyya fī awrād al-ṭarīḳa al-Demirdās̲h̲iyya*, Cairo n.d.; Muḥammad Labīb al-Ḥalabī and Ḥusayn Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī (eds.), *al-Fuyūḍāt al-nūrāniyya fī maḥyā al-ṭarīḳa al-Demirdās̲h̲iyya*, Cairo n.d.; and Muḥammad Nūr Ṣāliḥ al-Sird̲j̲ānī, *Risālat al-Silsila al-d̲h̲ahabiyya fī tarād̲j̲im rid̲j̲āl al-sāda al-K̲h̲alwatiyya al-Demirdās̲h̲iyya*, Cairo 1319/1901-2.

On the position of al-Demirdās̲h̲iyya in 19th century Egypt, see F. De Jong, *Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-linked institutions in 19th century Egypt* Leiden, 1978, *passim*; Additional data on the history of the order may be found in F. De Jong, *Two anonymous manuscripts relative to the Ṣūfī orders in Egypt*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, xxxii (1975), 186-90; Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Mezhepler ve tarikatlar tarihi*, Istanbul 1964, 193, is full of conflicting detail. (F. de Jong)

DEMOGRAPHY. Demographers who study Islamic nations are concerned with population numbers and population change in those nations. Their works have, with a few exceptions, been recently written. This is due to the nature of the study. Though many of the basic principles of demography have been known for centuries demography as a field of study is relatively new. It is also dependent on statistical sources—records of population from censuses, surveys, and registration lists—that did not exist in many Muslim countries until very recent times. Because of this late development, many demographic topics have been little studied and for some Muslim countries no adequate demography has been written.

There are few demographic studies of Muslim population as such, and demographers have most often not been concerned with religion. Thus in the indexes of books of the demography of Islamic countries the words "Islam" or "religion" either do not appear or only a few references are cited. In addition, some countries with significant Muslim populations have become officially indifferent or even hostile to religion. The communist countries of Eastern Europe and Asia do not list any association by religion in their censuses. This makes historical or comparative analysis of Muslim population extremely difficult. Those in the "Muslim" category in the 1897 Russian Imperial census, for example, cannot be traced in the 1926 Soviet census, which only lists ethnic and linguistic groups, not religions.

For countries such as Saudi Arabia, Turkey, or Iran, of course, Total Population and Muslim Population are, in effect, the same. For other countries, however, especially those in South Asia and Africa, differential studies of the Muslim population would be valuable, though they are seldom done. Religion is usually not a consideration. This is especially true of the modern demographic sample surveys, which produce high-quality information on fertility, mortality, and marriages, but which often do not even ask the informants' religion.

For these reasons, much of the demographic material discussed below is not data or analyses of Muslim population, but of the population of Muslim countries. The distinction is real and important.

In historical documents and colonial records, terms such as "census", "survey", and "population estimate" are often used in a confusing manner. It is thus valuable to define exactly what is meant by the words used to describe basic demographic statistics. The following are definitions of the four sources of demographic data as they are usually defined and as the terms are used here:

Estimates. Estimates are not actual counts of the population. They range from wild guesses on

the populations of entire nations to well-reasoned analyses based on incomplete or slightly inaccurate census returns.

Registration. In Muslim lands, registration data have always been kept by governments. Ideally, a population register records a person by age and sex and lists his date of birth and death and, perhaps, events such as marriage and conscription. More usually, births, deaths, and other events are registered separately, total numbers of births, deaths, etc. are published, and no attempt is made to keep a record of each individual. The former is usually called a Population Register, the latter a Register of Vital Events.

Sample surveys. Surveys ask demographic questions of a scientifically selected sample of the population, often 5% to 10%. The surveys take various forms, but are usually intended to find information on demographic variables, particularly fertility, in a detailed manner not possible in a census. Surveys are normally used to supplement information gained through a census. In countries such as those in the Sahel in Africa, though, in which taking censuses long proved impossible, "sample censuses" were taken instead.

Censuses. The census is the basic source of quality demographic data. To be a census, an enumeration must be intended to be an actual count of the members of the population of an area. It must be held in a short period of time. Every census should ask age, sex, and residence of all inhabitants, and questions on marital status, occupation, religion, and others are usually included also. Collections of registration data are not censuses.

Though the census and registration practices of each Muslim country have differed, some phenomena have been universal. In a Muslim nation's early census or registration records, females are undercounted. Children are also undercounted, and a person seldom knows his exact age, so age-specific data is incorrect. As education, economy, and experience with national statistics grows, these problems lessen.

With few exceptions, completeness and reliability of a nation's population statistics improve as time advances. Few Muslim nations have accurate historical statistics. For this reason, in Muslim nations historical demography depends on modern demography. Only by examining modern and accurate demographic data can an historical demographer gain the basic knowledge of fertility and mortality that he needs to evaluate historical records.

What follows are descriptions of the demography of nations with a Muslim majority or a large Muslim minority. They are arranged by geographic region and nation and two sorts of works are considered—government statistics and analytical/descriptive studies. Censuses are listed by year in which they were taken, not by issuing agency or publication year, for reasons of space. The articles and books cited deal with population and demography as a whole, not with specific subjects such as migration or fertility. Those interested in studies of specific demographic topics will find ample resources in the bibliographies of the works discussed below.

I. Mediaeval Islam

There is no reliable demography of Medieval Islam. Materials from which demographic calculations could be made, such as tax registers and military payrolls [see dīwān] were kept by mediaeval Islamic governments, but have not survived.

Like the mediaeval Europeans, Muslims were little interested in population numbers for their own sake. Furthermore, the Muslim world felt no need to keep religious statistics, and so it possesses no analogies to the baptismal and marriage records of Western Europe. Though the great geographers and travellers of mediaeval Islam often mentioned the "great size" of cities, the "large number" of people in an area, or gave fanciful estimates of the size of armies, they did not often offer even rough estimates of population numbers. This was reasonable, because there was no way geographers, travellers or others could have known population numbers. No one had counted the population and, as has been proven by the multitudes of erroneous "estimates" of population made in all areas of the world, the only way accurately to know the size of a population is to count it. The enumerations needed for population analysis were not made in the Islamic world, or at least have not been found, prior to the second great period of Islamic expansion, the Turkish empires. In the empires, the keeping of population statistics was the province of the state. Beginning in the late 14th century, the Ottoman government began to keep accurate counts of households in the Empire for taxation purposes. Similar counts were taken by the emperor Akbar in Mughal India, and may have been taken in Ṣafawid Iran.

Non-statistical sources. While demography is essentially a statistical study, non-statistical sources can be used to illuminate areas of population history for which statistics are unavailable. The most obvious area in which this is true is migration. Large-scale migration of Arabs, Mongols, and Turks in Islamic times were recorded by geographers and historians. The populations of cities can be at least roughly estimated through archaeological evidence and through measurements of contemporaries such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who simply measured the size of city walls to gain a picture of the city's size and (by analogy) its comparative population. (Much evidence of this sort is available in Le Strange, *Lands*.) There are numerous quasi-statistical sources for specific demographic events. An example of this type of material is al-Maḳrīzī on the plagues and famines of Egypt, whose material is analysed by Michael Dols (*The Black Death in the Middle East*, Princeton 1977); for a translation of al-Maḳrīzī's work, see G. Wiet, in *JESHO*, v/1 (1962). Such sources give estimates of numbers dying, being born, or leaving a city or an area. It should be stressed that such sources can be used to gain an impression of the scope of demographic events, no more. Their population numbers are usually suspect. Much information may be available from analyses of geographers' accounts of the amenities of towns—baths, mosques, etc.—but this research remains to be done. As to accuracy, the Muslim commentators, who often knew well the areas of which they spoken, are much to be preferred to European sources.

One source of mediaeval Islamic demography is the system of records of Islamic law. The codes of the schools and fragmentary surviving judicial decisions can at least give an impression of what was religiously-accepted in marriage and divorce and in matters that affect fertility, such as lactation, polygamy, and contraception. Basim Musallam has made good use of this type of material in his work on contraception (*Sex and society in Islam. The sanction and medieval techniques of birth control* (diss., Harvard University 1973). Unfortunately, legal codes and court decisions do not necessarily reflect actual practice of the majority of Muslim society, and for

this reason legal matters have limited usefulness as demographic sources.

The fact that demographic evidence on mediaeval Islam is almost non-existent has not meant that estimates have not been made. Josiah Cox Russell has been in the forefront of those using materials such as estimates of city sizes and poll tax revenues to arrive at population totals. (See *Late ancient and medieval population*, Philadelphia 1958; *Late medieval Balkan and Asia Minor population*, in *JESHO*, iii/3 [1960], 265-74; *The population of medieval Egypt*, in *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, v [1966], 69-82; and others.) Russell's work is often based, however, on unverifiable secondary sources, vague estimates of army sizes and taxation by historians who lived centuries after the fact, the calm acceptance of population figures drawn without examination from sources such as *La Grande Encyclopédie* and *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, and incredible logical jumps that conveniently provide estimates when not even poor data is available. Russell does show that estimates are possible from fragmentary evidence, but this evidence must be much more carefully analysed than he and those who have followed him have done.

The use of non-demographic evidence to find population totals seems to work better for urban than rural areas. A good example of this type of analysis, though for a later period than mediaeval Islam, is André Raymond's *Signes urbains et étude de la population des grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane*, in *BEO*, xxvii (1974), 183-93. Ch. Pellat has made a demographic study out of unusual material in *Peut-on connaître le taux de natalité au temps du Prophète*, in *JESHO*, xiv/2 (1971) 107-35, which shows that an exceptional amount of information can be drawn from limited data. Also, his *Quelques chiffres sur la vie moyenne d'une categorie de Musulmans*, in *Mélanges d'Islamologie*, Leiden 1974, 233-46, is a pioneering study in the use of biographical references for extracting demographic information.

(Many works on mediaeval Islamic history have uncritically used population estimates as part of their descriptions. For examples of this, see two studies by Eliyahu Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'orient médiéval*, Paris 1960, esp. 237, 238, 272, and 273, and *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1976, esp. 290 and 291, see also his *Un mouvement migratoire au haut Moyen Âge: migrations de l'Irak vers les pays méditerranéens*, in *Annales E.S.C.* (1972/1), 185-214.)

II. Ottoman Empire

The 16th and 17th century Ottoman population registers (*defters*) were among the first European state records that can be used as population sources. Since the records were not kept primarily as data on population, however, they must undergo considerable manipulation before they can yield total population estimates, and they do not provide information on other demographic variables, such as fertility and mortality.

The study of Ottoman *defters* was effectively begun by Ömer Lutfi Barkan, who analysed the registers for total population, city size, and economic change (see especially, *Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire ottoman aux xve et xvie siècles*, in *JESHO*, i/1 (1957), 9-36). Many other scholars have used the *defters* found in the Ottoman archives and local collections in former Ottoman possessions, and the registers have yielded population data on the empire as a whole, on provinces and on cities. Only a few of these studies can be listed here:

General studies. Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda büyük nüfus ve arazi tahrirleri ve hakana mahsus istatistik defterleri*, in *Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, ii (1940), 20-59, 214-57; idem, *Tarihî demografi araştırmaları ve Osmanlı tarihi*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, x (1951), 1-27; idem, *Research on the Ottoman fiscal surveys*, in *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M.A. Cook, London 1970.

Regional studies. Cook, *Population pressure in rural Anatolia, 1450-1600*, London 1972; W.-D. Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical geography of Palestine, Transjordan and southern Syria in the late 16th century*, Erlangen 1977; A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century*, Princeton 1978; B. McGowan, *Defter-i Mufassal-i Liva-i Sirem: an Ottoman revenue survey dating from the reign of Selim II*, diss., Columbia University 1967; Halil Inalcik, *EI²* art. ARNAWUTLUK; Leila Erder and Suraiya Faroghi, *Population rise and fall in Anatolia*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, xv/3 (1979), 322-45.

Urban studies. H. Lowry, *The Ottoman tahrir defters as a source for urban demographic history: the case study of Trabzon (ca. 1486-1583)*, diss., UCLA 1977; İnalcık, *EI²* art. ISTANBUL. R. Jennings. *Urban population in Anatolia in the sixteenth century, a study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum*, in *IJMES*, vii/1 (1976), 21-57.

The *defters* themselves are described and discussed in DEFTER-I KHĀKĀNĪ. Facsimiles and translations of *defters* are given by Cohen and Lewis, Cook, and İnalcık, *Hicri 835 tarihli suret-i defter-i sancak-i Arnavid*, Ankara 1954.

Ottoman *defters* were primarily kept as financial and military records and it would be a mistake to consider them to be highly reliable demographic sources. Certain groups were not counted (Barkan, *Essai*, 20-1), certain ones undercounted (C. Issawi, *Comment on Professor Barkan's estimate of the population of the Ottoman Empire in 1520-30*, in *JESHO*, i/3 [October 1958], 329-33). The registers were usually household counts, and comparisons between household numbers in two time periods may be confused because of changing household sizes. Nevertheless, the Ottoman *defters* are an incomparable source for the historical demography of the Middle East, especially when they are used as part of a detailed investigation of local, as opposed to empire-wide, population, society and economy.

After *ca.* 1700 the *defter* records cease, this being probably a sign of diminished central authority in the Empire.

In the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd II, the Ottoman empire once again began to collect population statistics. Unlike the 16th and 17th century *defters*, the new registration was the base of a system of military conscription. Each male in the empire was to be recorded in population registers (*taḥrīr-i nüfūs*), at first by general age group ("youth" and "adult" or "youth", "adult", and "aged"-categories corresponding to one's availability for military service). By the 1840s, though, the registers were being kept, at least in some areas, in much greater detail; each male was recorded by age, household, and his relationship to the head of the household. The *taḥrīrs* were periodically updated through "events" (*wuḳūʿāt*) registers in which were recorded births, deaths, conscriptions, and migration. During the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II,

registrations of females were kept, as well as those of males, but female registration was only successful in northern and western Anatolia and in the European sections of the empire (see Enver Ziya Kural, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı*, Ankara 1940; Fazila Ikbal, *1831 tarihinde Osmanlı imparatorluğunda idarī taksimat ve nüfus*, in *Belleten*, xv, no. 60, 617-28; and J. McCarthy, *Age, family and migration in nineteenth-century Black Sea provinces of the Ottoman Empire*, in *IJMES*, x [1979], 309-23).

The totals collected from the Ottoman registration system in provinces were published at intervals in the provincial yearbooks (*sāl-nāmes*), listing population by province, sub-province, and district, and often by religious group and sex. At various times the central government updated the data across the empire and published the data in what have been erroneously been called "censuses". Three of the "censuses" have been translated and reproduced (Kural; Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman population records and the census of 1881/82-1893*, in *IJMES*, ix [1978], 237-74; McCarthy, *International historical statistics: the late Ottoman empire*, Boston 1981). It should be noted that the Ottoman population totals by province uniformly underestimate the number of women and children in the province, and thus totals must be augmented by from 10% to 30%, depending on the province.

The uses of Ottoman figures for the study of the historical population of the Middle East are obvious. Simply stated, no one but the Ottoman government counted the population and no one but the Ottoman government even remotely knew what the population was. Data on total population from *sāl-nāmes* and "censuses" is increasingly being used in population studies. It is, however, the archival records of population that hold the greatest promise. When these records are available and utilised, accurate studies on fertility, mortality, and population change in the Ottoman Empire will be possible.

The 19th century Ottoman registration system has been described by Karpat (*Ottoman population*) and S. J. Shaw (*The Ottoman census system and population, 1831-1914*, in *IJMES*, ix/3 [1978], 325-37). For examples of the uses of *sāl-nāme* and "census" population records, see Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun iktisadi şartları hakkında bir tetkik*, Ankara 1970; Leila Erder, *From trade to manufacture in Bursa*, diss., Princeton University 1976; and McCarthy, *The Muslim population of Anatolia, 1878-1927*, diss., UCLA, 1978.

Contemporary European sources on Middle Eastern population in Ottoman times will only be mentioned briefly here. Those that were accurate were drawn from Ottoman data, and thus are only valuable if they provide population statistics of areas for which the original Ottoman data is unavailable. The most valuable of the European sources are the books of Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, 4 vols., Paris 1890-4; *Syrie, Liban, et Palestine*, Paris 1896). Cuinet collected, amended, and published Ottoman population statistics, as well as data on the social and economic life of Ottoman Asia. No other European source can in any way compare with Cuinet. (Those interested in European sources should consult N. Michoff, *La population de la Turquie et de la Bulgaria au XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, recherches bibliographico-statistiques*, 4 vols., Sofia 1919-35, and the various volumes of *Die Bevölkerung der Erde*, a supplement of *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Gotha, especially vol. xi, 1901, 3-23.)

Nineteenth and early 20th century Ottoman geographers were not greatly superior to the Europeans. Though they often used data from Ottoman government records, the geographers had little appreciation of the proper use of population statistics. The one exception is the *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām* of S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Sāmī Fras̲h̲eri (6 vols., Istanbul 1889-99), which is demographically superior to the others.

III. Middle East

Demography is dependent on government statistics, which are produced by individual political units. Perhaps for that reason, there have been few works on Middle Eastern demography that cross national boundaries in their analysis and even fewer that treat the Middle East, or even the Arab world, as a unit. Volumes on Middle Eastern demography (such as J.I. Clarke and W.B. Fisher, *Populations of the Middle East and North Africa* New York 1972) are usually collections of chapters or articles that study each country individually. This is unfortunate, since many phenomena such as nomadism, polygamy, folk beliefs on contraception, and fertility levels would be best studied for the Middle East in general, as well as for individual areas. (Two examples of the broader approach illustrate its benefits: *Muslim attitudes toward family planning*, ed. Olivia Schieffelin, New York 1967; Oladele Olawayi Arowolo, *Correlates of fertility in Muslim populations*, dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1973.)

Some studies of the population of the Arab World have been made, though these are usually divided internally by national boundaries. Of them, studies by G. Baer, *Population and society in the Arab East*, Westport, Conn. 1964, and M.A. el-Badry, *Trends in the components of population growth in the Arab countries of the Middle East*, in *Demography*, ii (1965), 140-86, are valuable, but now out of date. A more recent article by Youssef Courbage and Philippe Fargues is an introduction to the demography of the Arab states, *La population des pays arabes d'Orient*, in *Population*, xxx, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1975), 1111-41. K.C. Zachariah has compared the accuracy and availability of data from the Arab states, *The demographic measures of Arab countries. A comparative analysis*, in Cairo Demographic Centre, *Demographic measures and population growth in Arab countries*, Cairo 1970, 279-326. (See also the international analysis of demographic problems in Part I of *Demographic aspects of socio-economic development in some Arab and African countries*, ed. S.A. Huzayyin and T.E. Smith, Cairo 1974, and G. Sabagh, *The demography of the Middle East*, in *MESA Bulletin*, iv/2 [15 May 1970], 1-19.)

Population studies for Middle Eastern nations are published in the international sources listed below and, for 1968 and 1973, in the *Population bulletin* of the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia, nos. 10 and 11 (January to July 1976, Beirut 13-26).

Greater Syria. Issawi has collected European statements on the population of Greater Syria in the 19th century (*The economic history of the Middle East, 1800-1914*, Chicago 1966, 209-10), the best of which were based on Ottoman figures. For the period prior to 1918, the best sources on Syrian population are the state records of Ottoman Syria. Of these, the printed population records of Ottoman Greater Syria have been analysed by J. McCarthy (*Population of the Ottoman Fertile Crescent*, in *Procs. of the Congress on the Economic History of the Middle East, 1800-1914*, Haifa 1980). After 1918, Greater Syria was divided into Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine, and

the statistical histories of the three new nations diverged.

In Syria, the French mandatory powers made a population count in 1922, which they updated and published in 1926. This count cannot be called a census, since much of it was based not on actual enumeration, but on population totals given by village leaders. Its totals are too low, as were those of the first census of independent Syria in 1947, which did not count nomads. Modern censuses were taken in 1960 and 1970. (The Syrian government printed, in addition to the results of the census of 1970 itself, volumes of analysis of the census results by K.E. Vaidyanathan.) For an analysis of modern Syrian population and demographic variables, see Mouna Liliane Samman, *La population de la Syrie, étude géo-démographique*, Paris 1978; Samman makes extensive use of Izzat Nouss, *La population de la Syrie, étude démographique*, Paris 1951.

The population of Lebanon in the 19th century has been analysed by Youssef Courbage and Ph. Fargues, *La situation démographique au Liban*, Beirut 1974, ii, ch. I. European estimates are detailed in D. Chevallier, *La société du Mont-Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe*, Paris 1971. Both studies are marred by their lack of consideration of Ottoman statistics, except insofar as those statistics appeared in French works such as Cuinet's *Syrie, Liban, et Palestine*. The bulk of the Courbage and Fargues' work is, however, a good study of modern Lebanese population. The French mandatory administration attempted to enumerate the population of Lebanon in 1921, 1932 and 1941. Even the best of these counts, that of 1932, was deficient and undercounted the Muslim population. For political reasons, no modern census has been taken, and only limited evidence exists on demographic variables such as fertility and mortality (see D. Yaukey, *Fertility differences in a modernizing country*, Princeton 1961). What data exist come from demographic surveys, which are described in *Available demographic data in the Lebanese Republic*, in *Population Bulletin* of the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia, nos. 10-11 (Jan.-July 1976), 240-3. J. Chamie, *Religion and population dynamics in Lebanon*, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1977, has described the unusual religious-demographic situation in Lebanon.

In Palestine, the British took an incomplete census in 1922 and a more complete count in 1931. They also recorded migration, an important phenomenon in Palestine, but probably missed much Muslim population movement, especially that of Bedouin. Since the 1948 War and the division of Palestine, Israel has taken censuses in 1961 and 1972, begun a registration system in 1948 (often listed as "the Census of 1948"), and held numerous sample surveys of the population. Jordan has taken censuses in 1952, 1961, 1971, and 1979 and a fertility survey in 1976. The results of the 1952 Jordanian census are very deficient, and those that came from the 1948 Israeli registration count somewhat deficient.

Estimates and census data for Palestine have been presented in great detail by R. Bachi, *The population of Israel*, Jerusalem 1976. Bachi's volume, which is an extremely valuable source, must be used with care for the period 1880-1922. For that period, he avoids using actual Ottoman population statistics and substitutes British and other estimates without justification. Cer-tain other events with large demographic implications, such as the 1948 and 1967 Wars, are also incompletely and, as regards demography, inaccurately covered. The book is very good, however, on the analysis of Israeli statistics. See also, D. Friedlander and C. Goldscheider, *The population of Israel*, New York 1979, and various analytical volumes published by the Israeli government as part of its census publications.

A. Thavarajah, *Mid-decade demographic parameters of Jordan and population growth*, in *Demographic measures*, 55-75, has adjusted reports on population found in Jordanian censuses and registration records. He provides a good brief introduction to the problems of Jordanian data collection from 1952 to 1965. A much more detailed analysis comes in the Jordanian government's *Analysis of the population statistics of Jordan*, Amman 1966, which describes in detail the country's vital registration system, as well as its censuses, and the accuracy of both.

ʿIrāḳ. M.S. Hasan wrote the first study of the population of ʿIrāḳ in the 19th century, *Growth and structure of Iraq's population, 1867-1947*, in *Bulletin of the Oxford University Institute of Statistics*, xx (1958), 339-52. Hasan, however, accepted as accurate and reliable three types of data—Ottoman statistics as presented by Cuinet, European estimates, and the ʿIrāḳī census of 1947—and none of these can be considered accurate without extensive revision. Three Ottoman provinces made up the area of present-day ʿIrāḳ—Mawṣil, Baghdād, and Baṣra. Only in Baghdād were Ottoman population statistics fairly accurate, and even in Baghdād there was a significant undercount of women and children, an undercount reflected in Cuinet. European sources had no idea what the population was. Even the 1947 ʿIrāḳī census was an undercount. As a result, Hasan's figures must be rejected. The best source of total population numbers for Ottoman ʿIrāḳ is the series of estimates published by the Ottoman government in the *sāl-nāmes* of the ʿIrāḳī provinces (McCarthy, *Population of the Ottoman Fertile Crescent*).

The ʿIrāḳī government took censuses in 1927, 1934 and 1947. While the completeness of the censuses improved over time, each one produced an undercount. This was in part due to the use of census records as conscription records. K.C. Zachariah has found numerous errors in the early censuses, *Use of census data for estimating demographic measures of Iraq*, in *Demographic measures*, 27-54. The censuses taken in 1957, 1975, and 1977 are more reliable. See also Fāḍil al-Anṣārī, *Sukkān al-ʿIrāḳ*, Damascus 1970.

Arabian Peninsula. The best sources on the population of early 20th century Arabia are three geographic works: Shams al-Dīn Sāmī Frasheri, *op. cit.*; ʿAlī Djewād, *Memālik-i ʿOthmāniyyeniñ djughrāfyā lughāti*, Istanbul 1895; and J.G. Lorimer, *Gazeteer of the Persian Gulf*, Calcutta 1908-1915. The first two offer estimates based on the reports of Ottoman government officials, the third offers the estimates of British consular and intelligence officers, travellers, and merchants. None of the three is useful for anything but rough approximations of population numbers.

In 1947, Nello Lambardi published what he stated were population figures taken from Yemeni government records, *Divisioni amministrative del Yemen con notize economiche e demografiche*, in *OM*, xxvii/7-9 (July-Sept. 1947), 143-62. The statistics appear to have been part of a tax register of men and animals. Women and children were surely undercounted, but no figures by age and sex were kept, so the extent of the undercount cannot be determined. The Yemeni data are the only data for South Arabia before the

1970s. The British did keep a register of births and deaths in Aden, but the undercount, especially of mortality, was great.

In most parts of the Arabian Peninsula, no accurate census was taken before the 1970s. Only Kuwait and Bahrain were statistically advanced at an earlier date. The Gulf States have held censuses in the following years: Kuwait—1957, 1961, 1965, 1970, 1975; Bahrain—1941, 1950, 1959, 1965, 1971; Qatar—1970; United Arab Emirates—1968, 1975. Oman expects to take a census in 1981. South Yemen took a census in 1973, followed by North Yemen in 1975. Saudi Arabia discarded as under-enumerations the results of a census taken in 1962-3 and has never published the results of its 1974 census (though figures from the census were printed in Abdel Rahman al-Madani and Muhamed al-Fayez, *The demographic situation in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, in *Population Bulletin*, 185-89). See also Zachariah, *Trends and components of population growth in Kuwait*, in *Demographic measures*, 81-114; Fisher, *Southern Arabia*, in Clarke and Fisher, *op. cit.*, 274-90; A.G. Hill, *The demography of the Kuwaiti population of Kuwait*, in *Demography*, xii/3 (Aug. 1975), 537-48, and *The demography of the population of Kuwait*, in *Population Bulletin*, xiii (July 1977), 42-55; Population Division of the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia, *An overview of the population situation in Bahrain*, in *Population Bulletin*, xiv (June 1978), 57-69.

Turkey. Rather than continue the Ottoman registration system, the Turkish Republic decided to draw its population enumerations from a system of censuses which followed the Western model. In this it emulated the Balkan countries, each of which had taken a census when it became independent from the Ottoman Empire.

Turkey held its first complete census in 1927 and has held quinquennial censuses since 1935. (For a description of the Turkish censuses, see *A critical review of demographic data obtained by Turkish population censuses*, in *Turkish demography: Proceedings of a Conference*, ed. C. Shorter and Bozkurt Güvenc, Ankara 1969.) The 1927 census is deficient, especially for the eastern provinces of Turkey, but provides useful information and can be adjusted (McCarthy, *Muslim population*, 185-223). From 1935 the Turkish censuses are, along with the Egyptian censuses, the best source of demographic information in the Middle East. Turkey has also held a series of sample demographic surveys, of which the most valuable is the Turkish Demographic Survey. See Nusret Fişek, *Demographic surveys in Turkey*, in *Turkish demography*, 1-18, and the volumes of the Turkish Demographic Survey, Ankara 1965-. The modern Turkish registration system has only produced published statistics for births, deaths, and marriages in the central cities of provinces and these are incomplete due to under-registration and migration.

The best short introduction to Turkish demography is an article by Shorter, *Information on fertility, mortality, and population growth in Turkey*, in *Turkish demography*, 19-42, and in *Population index*, xxxiv/1. More detailed coverage is in Figen Karadayı *et alii*, *The population of Turkey*, Ankara 1974. Turkey's demographers have produced a large and detailed literature in Turkish, French, German and English on Turkish demography. This work is listed and sometimes annotated in the fine bibliographies edited by Behire Balkan, *Türkiye nüfus bibliyografyası*, Ankara 1967, continuing. See also Necdet Tunçdilek and Erol Tümertekin, *Türkiye nüfusu*, Istanbul 1959; Yakut Bulutoğlu, *La structure par âge et la mortalité de la population de la Turquie*, Paris 1970; and Ilhan Tekeli, *Evolution of spatial organization in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic*, in *From Medina to Metropolis*, ed. L. Carl Brown, Princeton 1973, 244-73.

Iran and Afghānistān. There are no reliable demographic statistics extant for Iran until well into the 20th century. In fact, the only contemporary statements on Persian population before World War I that have been published are European estimates, mainly dating from *ca.* 1900. The Ṣafawī and Ḳādjār registers have not been found, or at least not analysed and published. However, G.G. Gilbar has studied critically European estimates of the population of Ḳādjār Iran and the effects of epidemics and wars on the population and has made projections of population size, in his *Demographic developments in late Qajar Persia, 1870-1906*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xi (Haifa 1976), 125-56. See the comments and reports on Iranian population by Issawi in his *Economic history of Iran, 1800-1914*, 26-35, and in his *Population and resources in the Ottoman Empire and Iran*, in *Studies in eighteenth-century Islamic history*, ed. T. Naff and R. Owen, London 1977, and J. Bharier, *A note on the population of Iran*, in *Population Studies*, xxii, 274-5.

The Iranian government made unsuccessful attempts at population registration from 1928 onwards, and carried out an urban "head count" between 1939 and 1941 in 25 cities (B.D. Clark, *Iran: changing population patterns*, in Clarke and Fisher, 68-96). Censuses were held in 1956 and 1966, but the censuses, while providing the first fairly reasonable population data on many parts of Iran, included significant undercounting of women and of certain geographic areas and minority groups, especially nomadic Kurds and Turks.

Bharier has projected the population of Iran from 1900 to 1970 in his *Economic development of Iran, 1900-1970*, Oxford 1971, 24-8, which incorporates material from his *A note* and other articles by Bharier. Djamchid Momeni, *The population of Iran, a dynamic analysis*, Tehran 1975, 25-30, gives a slightly different set of estimates for the same period. Of the two, Bharier's analysis and estimates are superior. His estimates of total population size, rural and urban populations, and migration give a broad idea of population change in Iran from 1900. Given the paucity of the data, no more can be expected.

The following can serve as an introduction to the modern population and demography of Iran: *The population of Iran, a selecion of readings*, ed. Djamshid A. Momeni, Honolulu 1977; Djamshid Behnam and Mehdi Amani, *La population de l'Iran*, Paris 1974; and various publications of the Institute for Social Studies and Research in Tehran.

Afghānistān's geographical features and the nomadic nature of many of its people have made even the rough estimation of population in Afghānistān a great task. Population sample surveys of Afghānistān were taken in Afghānistān in 1960 and 1968-9, the latter providing detailed information on demographic variables.

These surveys have been described by L. Dupree, *Population review 1970: Afghanistan*, in *American Universities Field Staff Reports*, South Asia Series, xv/1 (Dec. 1970), and Hamidullah Amin and Gordon B. Schilz, *A geography of Afghanistan*, Omaha,

Nebraska 1976, 153-64. Amin and Schilz print useful results of the surveys, but they too readily accept survey and registration data in questionable areas, such as records of female population and completeness of registration, and thus their work must be used with care.

Afghānistān conducted a more complete sample survey of sedentary population in 1971-3 (*National Demographic and family guidance survey of the settled population of Afghanistan*, 4 vols. 1975). The survey provided the first accurate data on the majority of the population. It was followed by a census in 1979, the results of which are not available. Government registration of males was begun in Afghānistān in 1952, but has produced no useful statistics and is surely incomplete. The best analysis of the Afghān population appears in the analytical volumes (1, 2, and 4) of the 1971-3 National Demographic and Family Guidance Survey. See also two articles by Dupree, *Population dynamics in Afghanistan*, in *Field Staff Reports*, South Asia Series, xiv/7 (April 1970), and *Settlement and migration patterns in Afghanistan: a tentative statement*, in *Modern Asian Studies*, ix/3 (July 1975), 397-413. J.-Ch. Blanc, *L'Afghanistan et ses populations*, Brussels 1977; J. Trussel and Eleanor Brown, *A close look at the demography of Afghanistan*, in *Demography*, xi/1 (Febr. 1979), 137-51. For Russian articles on Afghānistān, see T. I. Kukhtina, *Bibliografiya Afganistana*, Moscow 1965.

IV. North Africa

The populations of North Africa, like those of the Middle East, are usually studied individually, nation by nation. Only a few works have drawn together statistics from various nations into a picture of North African population as a whole. See, for example, Mahmoud Seklani, *Croissance démographique comparée des pays du Maghreb, 1950-1960*, in *Revue Tunisienne des Sciences Sociales*, vi/17-18 (June 1969), 29-51, and J. Vallon, *Les populations de l'Afrique au Nord du Sahara: Maroc, Algérie, Tunisie, Libye, Égypte*, in *Populations*, xxv/6 (Nov.-Dec. 1970), 1212-35. Amor Benyoussef, *Population du Maghreb et communauté économique à quatre*, Paris 1967, uses population as a basis for analysis of social and economic similarities of the Maghrib countries.

Unlike the Middle East, there are few good sources of historical population statistics for the Maghrib. Those that do exist do not go farther back than the 19th century, though one can hope for the future discovery and use of Ottoman registers for earlier periods.

Morocco. The political and statistical situation of colonial Morocco was so fragmented that no reasonably accurate statistics for the entire country exist before 1960. Prior to Morocco's independence and unification in 1956, the Spanish colonial power only attempted one census, in 1950, while the French in their zone took counts in 1921, 1926, 1936, 1947, and 1951-2. All except the French 1947 "census" were undercounts. In 1947 the government counted ration cards to establish population numbers, and war-time illegalities seem to have caused an actual overcount, see G.H. Blake, *Morocco: urbanization and concentration of population*, in Clarke and Fisher, 404-5. The Moroccan censuses of 1960 and 1971 gave more reasonable totals, and the undercount of women and children seen in other censuses of Muslim countries was slight in Morocco in 1971. Two sample surveys of Moroccan population have been held, in 1961-3 and 1971-3.

La population rurale du Maroc by D. Noin (2 vols., Paris 1970) gives full analyses of all demographic phenomena, including historical estimates of the population and an excellent bibliography. The work is essential to an understanding of Moroccan demography and demographic history. K. Krotki and R. Beaujot have analysed the accuracy of Moroccan population statistics and arrived at revised figures in *La population marocaine: reconstitution de l'évolution de 1950 à 1971*, in *Population*, xxx/2 (March-April 1975), 335-67. *La population du Maroc* (by the Institut National du Statistique et d'Économie Appliquée of Morocco, Rabat n.d.) is a reasonable summary of basic demographic measures on Morocco, but is disappointing in its lack of detailed analysis or bibliography.

Algeria. Algeria has one of the longest series of censuses of any developing country. The French began enumerating settled Algerian population and nomads (by "tent", not by person) in the entire country in 1856. Before 1886, a certain amount of estimation was used for remote areas, and it was only in 1886 that the French attempted actually to count the entire population. Even then, however, distrust of the colonial government and the difficulties of counting nomads and certain other parts of the population produced a serious under-enumeration; see G. Negadi, *Les sources de la démographie en Algérie*, in *La population de l' Algérie*, Algiers 1974 (?), 1-3. From 1886 to 1911 and from 1921 to 1936 the French held quinquennial censuses of Algeria. After the Second World War, censuses were taken by the French, then by the Algerian government in 1948, 1954, 1960, 1966, and 1977.

Despite their long series, the Algerian censuses only gradually improved in completeness and produced significant undercounts in all censuses prior to 1966. Added to the ubiquitous problems of under-enumeration of women and children, census-takers in Algeria experienced special problems with nomads and with migration to Europe. (For a detailed description of the first reasonably-accurate Algerian census and the problems mentioned above, see Abdelaziz Bouisri, *Technique, méthode, et résultats du recensement de la population Algérienne*, in *Revue Tunisienne*, vi/17-18 (June 1969), 95-125.)

Algeria's vital registration system was begun by the French, but under-registration was extremely high, perhaps 30 %. Since independence this figure has improved to 10-15 % of vital events unregistered; see M.L. Fares, *Population growth and socio-economic development in Algeria*, in *Demographic aspects*, 398-9). The country took a major National Demographic Survey in 1969-71 which has provided the best estimates of fertility and trends available.

In addition to the articles mentioned above, the following can be consulted as basic descriptions of Algerian population and demography: A.M. Bahri *Population et politique en Algérie*, in *Revue Tunisienne*, vi/17-18, 65-88; Zachariah, *Basic demographic measures of Algeria*, in *Demographic measures*, 1-25; A. Bouisri and F. de Lamaze, *La population d'Algérie d'après le recensement de 1966*, in *Population*, xxvi, numéro spécial (March 1971), 25-46; G. Negadi *et alii*, *Situation démographique de l'Algérie*, and the other articles and the bibliography in *La population de l'Algérie*, in *Population*, xxviii/6 (Nov.-Dec. 1973), 1079-1107.

Tunisia. Both the Ottoman government and the Tunisian Beylik kept registers of population, mainly as taxation records. J. Ganiage has examined these registers and deduced from them the population of Tunisia *ca.* 1860; see *La population de la Tunisie*

vers 1860. Essai d'évaluation d'après les registres fiscaux, in *Études Maghrebines*, Paris 1964, 165-98, and in *Population*, xxi/5 (Sept.-Oct. 1966), 857-62). As is usually the case, the local records are far superior as sources of demographic information than any estimates by travellers or consuls. (For a brief summary of early estimates, see Mahmoud Seklani, *La population de la Tunisie*, Tunis 1974, 13-22.)

The French government of Tunisia and later the Republic held censuses in 1921, 1926, 1931, every ten years from 1936 to 1966, and in 1975. (Censuses of the European population of Tunisia were held earlier than 1921.) The first census seems to have undercounted the population due to the enumerators' dependence on tax registers (Clarke, *Tunisia: population patterns, pressures, and policies*, in Clarke and Fisher, 350; Seklani, *op. cit.*, 18-19), so it is perhaps not proper to call it an actual census. The latter censuses have shown the usual undercount of women and younger children. Various surveys have provided a more detailed demographic picture than seen in the censuses, especially the Tunisian Demographic Survey of 1968 (J. Vallin and G. Paulet, *Quelques aspects de l'enquête nationale démographique tunisienne*, in *Revue Tunisienne*, vi/17-18, 227-48).

Though death registration in Tunisia is very incomplete, since 1958 births seem to have been better recorded; see S. Zaghloul, *Demographic parameters of Tunisia*, in *Demographic measures*, 231, 233.

Tunisia has a well-developed statistical system. M. Picouet describes the system and gives an overview of available data in *Les sources de la démographie tunisienne à l'époque contemporaine*, Tunis 1972. The population itself is described, from the 19th century to 1990, in Seklani's *La population de la Tunisie*. See also: Hachemi Chtioui, *La croissance de la population et des resources en Tunisie pendant la période coloniale*, in *Revue Tunisienne*, vi/17-18, 53-64; A. Marcoux, *La croissance de la population de la Tunisie*, in *Population*, xxvi, numéro spécial (March 1971), 105-24; and the various publication of the Centre d'Études et de Recherches Économiques et Sociales of the University of Tunis and of the Tunisian Institut National de la Statistique.

Libya. The first population statistics for Libya were the Ottoman registration (males only) records for the Provinces of Benghazi and Tripoli. The Italians took censuses in 1931 and 1935 which under-enumerated the nomadic population, but counted the city regions with greater accuracy, see Pan Chia-Lin, *The population of Libya*, in *Population Studies*, iii/1, 100-25. Independent Libya has held three censuses: 1954, 1964, and 1973. Statistics have improved with time, and an undercount in 1954 had greatly improved by 1973, though the 1973 census was still probably incomplete in coverage of nomads.

Compared to the other North African countries, very little has been written on the demography of Libya. R.G. Hartley, *Libya: economic developments and demographic responses*, in Clarke and Fischer, 315-47, describes population and economy, but provides very little analysis of Libyan demographic data. The best descriptions of the Libyan demography are the short *Demographic parameters of Libya*, by S. Zaghloul, in *Demographic measures*, 115-36, and a monograph by the Libyan census department, *Population growth, fertility, and mortality based on the 1973 Populations Census*, Addis Abbaba (UNECA) 1979.

Egypt. Egyptian population before 1800 has been estimated on the basis of taxes paid, land cultivation, and contemporary statements on city sizes, none of which have resulted in anything but very rough approximations. On these estimates, see W. Cleland, *The population problem in Egypt*, Lancaster, Penn. 1936, 3-6. The first attempt at scientifically counting the Egyptian population was made by members of the French Expedition in 1800. It was followed by an enumeration, based on tax registers, made by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1821. Both of these early attempts resulted in considerable undercounts. The first relatively accurate population count in Egyptian history was taken by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1846, this time drawn from household registers similar to those mentioned above for the Ottoman Empire in the same period. A census along modern lines was taken in 1882, but its figures were once again too low. See J. McCarthy, *Nineteenth century Egyptian population*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, xii/3 (Oct. 1976), 1-40, which includes correction factors for the 1882 figures.

The British took decennial censuses from 1897 to 1947. Except for a large undercount in the 1917 wartime census, the British censuses are good population records. The amount of undercounting diminished as the census series went on. Attempts to take a census of the new Egyptian Republic were frustrated in 1957 by war conditions, though preliminary results were reported. The Egyptian government carried out successful censuses in 1960 and 1976, and a sample census in 1966. Registration of births and deaths has been done since the middle of the 19th century and, though it has never been complete, the registration of vital events in the 20th century has been accurate enough to provide a general picture of fertility and mortality patterns. By the standards of the developing world, Egypt has an excellent series of demographic statistics.

An article by A.B. Mountjoy, *Egypt: population and resources*, in Clarke and Fisher, 291-314, is a readable and non-technical summary of the Egyptian population after 1966. For more analytic treatments, see M.S. Khodary, *Use of census age distributions for estimating basic demographic parameters of the U.A.R.*, in *Demographic measures*, 249-78, and V.G. Valaoras, *Population analysis of Egypt (1935-1970)*, Cairo Demographic Centre, *Occasional Paper* no. 1, Cairo 1972. Atef M. Khalifa, *The population of the Arab Republic of Egypt*, Cairo 1973, is the best comprehensive description of the population. See also Issawi, *Population and wealth in Egypt*, in *Demographic analysis: selected readings*, ed. J. Spengler and O.D. Duncan, Glencoe, Ill. 1957; Egypt, Central Agency for Public Mobilisation and Statistics, *The increase of population in the United Arab Republic and its impact on development*, Cairo 1969, esp. 1-30; Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, Princeton 1971; Egypt, Djihāz tanẓīm al-Usra wa 'l-sukkān, *al-Aṭlas al-sukkānī li-Djumhūriyyat Miṣr al-ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1977.

The general works on Middle Eastern population cited above usually include the demography of Egypt among their studies. Many monographs on the populations of the Middle East and Egypt are published by the Cairo Demographic Centre.

V. Sub-Saharan Africa

Islam is dominant across North-Central Africa from Mauritania to Somalia, and there are significant Muslim minorities in both East and West Africa. Demographic knowledge of this area only begins with the period of colonial domination. Though a few traveller's accounts of the populations of small areas exist for an earlier period, there are no accurate

figures for the total populations of large areas until well into the 20th century.

The type of demographic statistics available for sub-Saharan African countries depends on whether the colonial ruler of a nation was England or France. England was generally more able to take census statistics of its sub-Saharan possessions than was France. Only at the very end of colonial rule, though, were the English censuses remotely successful counts of population. Before that time, numerous censuses were taken of the non-native populations, or of the populations of cities, or of selected areas, but the first actual censuses of entire countries were only taken after World War II.

Before the War the British did produce a wealth of estimates of African population. These range from simple estimates based on observation to complex approximations made by comparing the characteristics of areas that had been enumerated with those that had not and estimating that similar areas had similar population numbers. Both estimates and censuses made in British Africa are considered in detail and thoroughly analysed by R.R. Kuczynski, *Demographic survey of the British Colonial Empire*, 2 vols., Oxford 1948. Kuczynski collected censuses, estimates, and other data and drew from them accurate estimates of total population, fertility, mortality, and migration. While more recent studies have questioned certain sections of his analyses, Kuczynski's work still stands as a monument to careful scholarship.

The first reliable population data from East African censuses come from the British East African censuses of 1948. These were followed by censuses taken in Kenya in 1962, 1969, and 1979, in Tanzania in 1957-8, 1967, and 1978, and in Uganda in 1959 and 1969. Sample surveys have not been as important in East Africa as in West Africa and the Sahel and population registration has not proved effective.

For an introduction to the demography of East Africa, see Simeon Ominde, *The population of Kenya-Uganda-Tanzania*, Nairobi 1975. Melte Monsted and Parveen Walji, *A demographic analysis of East Africa*, Uppsala 1978, go more deeply into analysis and interpretation of demographic phenomena. An article by J.G.C. Bleeker, *Demography*, in *East Africa: its people and resources*, ed. W.T.W. Morgan, Nairobi, London and New York 1972, 41-58, and the ch. on population in R.M.A. van Zwanenberg and Anne King, *An economic history of Kenya and Uganda*, Nairobi 1975, 3-22, are both brief summaries of the known population history of the area. To date, the most complete and detailed analyses of any country in East Africa are in *The demography of Tanzania*, ed. Rushdi A. Henin, Dar es Salaam n.d., whose articles analyse the results of the demographic survey of Tanzania. On pre-1970 censuses and registration of births and deaths in the area, see the brief description and bibliography by D.A. Lury, *Population data of East Africa*, in *The population of Tropical Africa*, ed. J.C. Caldwell and Chukuka Okonjo, New York 1966, 44-70.

In West Africa, no complete census was ever taken in Nigeria, Ghana, or Sierra Leone while they were under British colonial rule, though in-exact counts were taken in Ghana in 1948. Ghana has held decennial censuses since 1960 and Sierra Leone censuses in 1963 and 1974. In Nigeria, following upon a series of population estimates and partial censuses beginning in 1866, the British took a census in 1952-3 that was relatively reliable. Since then, each Nigerian census has proved to be more unreliable than the last. See R.K. Udo, *Population and politics in Nigeria*, in Caldwell and Okonjo, 97-105. Nigeria has held censuses in 1952-3, 1962, 1963, and 1973.

Unlike Nigeria, the censuses of Ghana and Sierra Leone have proved to be reliable. Sierra Leone censuses have exhibited only a slight, *ca.* 5 %, undercount and the Ghana censures are of a similar level of reliability. See T.E. Dow Jr. and E. Benjamin, *Demographic trends and implications*, and S.K. Gaisie, *Population growth and its components*, in *Population growth and socioeconomic change in West Africa*, ed. Caldwell, New York 1975, 427-54, and 346-66.

S.K. Gaisie and K.T. de Graft-Johnson, *The population of Ghana*, Legon, Ghana 1976, have summarised the demography of modern Ghana, but they mention little on historical population. For historical data, see Marion Johnson, *Census, map, and guessestimate: the past population of the Accra Region*, in *African historical demography*, Edinburgh 1977. See also T.E. Hilton, *Ghana population atlas*, London 1960; *Symposium on population and socioeconomic development in Ghana*, ed. N.O. Addo, *et alii*, Legon 1968; *Interdisciplinary approaches to population studies*, Proceedings of the West African Seminar on Population Studies, Legon 1972; and the three articles by Gaisie in *Population growth.*

Any studies of Sierra Leone should begin with G.M.K. Kpedekpo and G. John, *A bibliography on population and development planning in Sierra Leone*, Freetown 1979. The best short description of the Sierra Leone population are J.I. Clarke, *Population growth in Sierra Leone*, in Caldwell and Okonjo, 270-7, and M.F. Harvey, *The nature of movement of the population*, in *Population growth*, 455-72.

P.O. Olunsaya has briefly summarised historical and modern data on Nigeria in his *Population growth and its components: the nature and direction of the population*, in *Population change*, 254-74. It is symptomatic of the deficiences of the Nigerian census system that the only general book on Nigerian population is mainly a study of sample surveys (F.L. Mott and Olanrewaju J. Fapohunda, *The population of Nigeria*, Lagos 1975). I.I. Ekanem, *The 1963 Nigerian census: a critical appraisal*, Benin City 1972, has a good, brief introduction (30-45) to the statistical history of Nigeria. See also H.O. Emezi, *Nigerian population and urbanization, 1911-1974, a bibliography*, Occasional Paper no. 10 of the UCLA African Studies Center, 1975.

The Sudan has held three demographic sample surveys—1955-6, 1964-6 and 1967-8—and one census, in 1973. (The 1955-6 survey is often erroneously called a census.) Registration of births and deaths is extremely deficient. Despite increasing accuracy over time, all statements on Sudan's population have been undercounts, especially undercounts of nomads. Because of flaws in census and survey materials, much of what is known of Sudan's population comes from demographic analyses of defective data. For such analyses, see especially P. Demeny, *The demography of the Sudan*, in W. Brass, *et alii*, *The demography of Tropical Africa*, Princeton 1968, 466-514, and Zachariah, *Use of population and housing survey data of the Sudan for estimating its current demographic measures*, in *Demographic measures*, 169-93. The most complete picture of the Sudanese population is given in *The population of Sudan*, Khartoum 1958, but the book too often relies on defective data from the 1955-6 survey and even this data is out-of-date. The articles listed above and K.S. Seetharam and A. Farah, *Population trends*

and economic development in Sudan, in *Demographic aspects*, 149-69, give a more accurate picture of the population.

That the French in Africa were not as active as the British in taking censuses was largely a function of the type of colonial territory which they held. The countries of the Sahel—Chad, Niger, Mali, and Mauritania—are ones in which holding an accurate census historically proved to be near impossible. Complete counts of population were hindered by the problems of counting nomads, lack of trained census takers, and the prohibitively high costs of censuses in what were extremely poor nations. Chad has never had a census, and the other three countries only held their first censuses in 1976-7, with uncertain results. Instead of censuses, demographers of the Sahel have relied on "sample censuses" of 5 to 10 % of the population. These have yielded the only fairly reliable data on fertility and mortality of the area. See S.P. Reyna, *Chad*, and Issaka Pankoussa, *et alii*, *Niger*, in *Population growth*. A similar, though more statistically reliable, set of sample surveys and post-1975 censuses has been held in other areas of formerly French Africa. Pre-independence "censuses" of French Equatorial Africa were actually either estimates or what are called administrative censuses. The latter are counts drawn from tax registers, administrative records, or attempts to assemble the population at market towns to be counted and have proved to be uniformly incorrect.

L. Verrière has described Senegal in 1965 (*La population du Sénégal*, Dakar 1965), basing his work on the 1960-1 sample survey, which was highly deficient. See also P. Metge, *Le peuplement du Sénégal*, Dakar 1966. The article by B. Lacombe, B. Lawry, and J. Vaugelade, *Senegal*, in *Population growth*, 701-19, is a better description of the population. A. Podlewski has described the population of Cameroon in *Population growth*, 543-64, but little else has been written on the country's population. See also J.-M. Cohen *et alii*, *Afrique Noire, Madagascar, Comores—Démographie comparée*, Paris 1967; *Demographic transition and cultural continuity in the Sahel*, ed. D.I. Pool and S.P. Coulihaly, Ithaca, N.Y. 1977.

Historical demography of Africa is necessarily hindered by the lack of sources. Unfortunately, the Muslim areas of Africa are often those with the worst potential for historical population statistics, since no "parish registers" or missionary records of conversions exist for African Muslims. Nevertheless, the application of sophisticated techniques of demographic and historical analysis is producing data on African Muslim populations of the past, particularly in the 19th century. An example of scholarly effort on African population, *African historical population*, Proceedings of a Seminar at the University of Edinburgh 1977, includes studies on the Sudan, the Ivory Coast, and French Equatorial Africa, all areas of significant Muslim population, and analyses of population statistics of East and West Africa. G. Ayoub Balamoan, *Migration policies in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1884-1956*, Cambridge, Mass. 1977, has demonstrated that limited African data can be used to establish sound historical knowledge on migration, demographic change, Muslim topics such as the Pilgrimage, and even political events. Many of the works mentioned above on modern African demography have sections on historical demography as well. The volumes by Kuczynski are particularly important for identifying historical statistics and their sources.

Most of the new nations of Africa have taken censuses since independence. F. Gendreau has published a list of censuses, and sample surveys, taken in all the countries of Africa between 1946 and 1975, see *La démographie des pays d'Afrique, revue et synthèse*, in *Population*, xxxii/4-5 (July-Oct. 1977), 930-1 (Some of the censuses listed by Gendrean were not complete or accurate enough to be listed as censuses by the United Nations.) More recent censuses are listed in the United Nations Demographic yearbook (described below).

There are not many general works on the demography of sub-Saharan Africa. *The demography of Tropical Africa*, ed. Brass *et alii*, Princeton 1968, is a pioneer work, not only in African demography, but in the study of the populations of developing nations. E. van de Walle's *Characteristics of African demographic data* in the volume (12-87) is an excellent summary of the types of errors found in African censuses and surveys. Gendreau lists the populations of cities and countries in his article *La démographie*, and considers the accuracy of various types of data-gathering techniques—censuses, administrative censuses, and surveys. For a geographic approach to African population, see W.A. Hance, *Population, migration, and urbanization in Africa*, New York 1970. The best source on West Africa is *Population growth and socioeconomic change in West Africa*, the articles of which consider first the demographic variables for the region as a whole, then for specific nations. Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Ghana are particularly well represented.

For a brief introduction to sub-Saharan African population, see the chapter by J.C. Caldwell in *General history of Africa*, ed. A.H. Boahele, Paris 1975, or Chantal and Yves Blayo, *The size and structure of African populations*, in *Population in African development*, ed. P. Cantrelle, Liège n.d. (The other articles in the Cantrelle volume, papers from a 1971 conference, are detailed studies of specific problems in African demography.) The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (Addis Ababa) publishes continuing series on African demography, especially the *Demographic handbook for Africa* and the African Population Studies Series. The bibliography by the United States Library of Congress, *Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Washington 1978) mentions few articles specifically on population, but a number of articles cited as ethnographic have demographic uses. See also: *Essays on African population*, ed. K.M. Barbour and R.M. Prothero, London 1961, which should be used only as a source of references on early data, since the articles accept inferior, usually colonial, data in their analyses; *Population growth and economic development in Africa*, ed. S.H. Ominde and C.N. Ejiogu, London, Nairobi, Ibadan 1972; D. Morrison *et alii*, *Black Africa, a comparative handbook*, New York and London 1972.

VI. Caucasus and Central Asia

There are no accurate statistics of the number of Central Asian Muslims in what is today the U.S.S.R. until the 19th century. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ch. 1, mentions a few Chinese and Arab statements on the populations of cities and numbers in armies, but these are no more than improbable guesses, e.g. the city of Samarḳand having 500,000 citizens. In the late 19th century, travellers such as Curzon (*Russia in Central Asia*, London 1889) and Schuyler (*Turkistan*, New York 1877) occasionally reported city sizes, taken from Russian records, fairly accu-

rately, though not figures on total population. See A. Zeki Velidi Toğan, *Bügünkü Türkili ve yakın tarihi*, Istanbul 1942-7, 27-8.

The first census of Central Asia was taken in 1897 by the Russian government. The vassal states of Khīwa and Bukhārā were not included in this census, since they were nominally not included in the Russian Empire, and the populations of the two states are accordingly only known from contemporary estimates. See Timur Kocaoğlu, *The existence of a Bukharan nationality in the recent past*, in *The nationality question in Soviet Central Asia*, ed. E. Allworth, New York 1973, 151-8. Estimates of the population of Bukhārā and Khīva have been discussed and analysed by F. Lorimer in *The population of the Soviet Union: history and prospects*, Geneva 1946, 129, and more completely by L. Kroder, *Peoples of Central Asia*, Bloomington, Ind. 1963, 172-3. Like all censuses of traditional areas, the 1897 census figures are incomplete, especially for Muslim women and young children. Nevertheless, its data are excellent when compared to the type of poor estimates that must serve for previous periods.

The first complete census of Russian (Soviet) Central Asian Muslims was taken in 1926, followed by censuses in 1939, 1959, 1970, and 1979. Official estimates of the Central Asian population were also made by the imperial government in 1911 and the Soviet government in 1956 (Kroder, 178, 190).

Since the Soviet state is atheistic, it does not recognise religious distinctions and the category "Muslim" does not appear on the Soviet censuses. A student of Muslim population in the Soviet Union must consider instead the population of multitudinous "ethnic groups" whose antecedents were Muslims. Comparison of Imperial statistics on Muslims with Soviet statistics on "ethnic groups" is very difficult, as is analysis of Soviet Muslim population. Most demographic analyses of Central Asia or the Caucasus are done by region or republic, i.e., multi-ethnic or multi-religious subdivisions, or by ethnic or linguistic groups, not religion.

I.M. Matley's *The population and the land*, in *Central Asia: a century of Russian rule*, ed. Allworth, New York and London 1967, is a good general article on Imperial and Soviet Central Asian population, as is ch. 7, *Demography*, of Krader's *Peoples of Central Asia*. General volumes such as *The nationality question in Soviet Central Asia*, and R.A. Lewis *et alii*, *Nationality and population change in Russia and the USSR*, New York 1976, contain large sections on Muslim populations and helpful bibliographies. The best analyses of demographic variables in Central Asia and the Caucasus are in A.J. Coale *et alii*, *Human fertility in Russia since the nineteenth century*, Princeton 1979, ch. 3. Though not a demographic text, A. Bennigsen and Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Islam in the Soviet Union*, New York 1967, should be consulted for material on the Muslim family and bibliography. Demographic information, usually on total population, is scattered throughout the articles on the Turkish peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus in *Türk dünyası el kitabı*, Ankara 1976. Articles on population and modern demography appear in the journal *Vestnik Statistiki* (Moscow).

For sources of demographic information and bibliography, see U.S.S.R., Akademiya Nauk, Geoğraficeskoe Obshestvo Soyuza SSR, *Geografiya neseliniya v SSSR, osnovnie problemi*, Moscow 1964, chs. 2-4; G.J. Demko, *Demographic research on Russia and the Soviet Union: a bibliographic review and evaluation*, in *Demographic developments in Eastern Europe*, ed. L.A. Kosinski, New York 1977, 94-119. Barbara Anderson has compiled an excellent detailed list of Russian and Soviet statistical publications, *Data sources in Russian and Soviet demography*, in *Demographic developments*, 23-63.

VII. Indian Subcontinent

The Indian subcontinent, comprising the modern states of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, has a long and detailed statistical history. The Mughals instituted a population, land, and tax registration system, and much demographic information from the Mughal period, and perhaps earlier, exists in local archives in the subcontinent (Ajit Das Gupta, *Study of the historical demography of India*, in D.V. Glass and R. Revelle, *Population and social change*, London 1972, 425). Little use has been made, however, of anything but population estimates as they appear in histories and chronicles, which sometimes themselves drew on contemporary government records. The first to make use of these population estimates was W.H. Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, London 1920, who based his population estimates on the relation of total population to reports of the area of cultivated land and to reports of the sizes of armies. His figures for total population have been improved on and generally supported by J.M. Datta, *Re-examination of Moreland's estimate of the population of India at the death of Akbar*, in *Indian Population Bulletin*, i/1 (Delhi April 1960), whose historical and demographic methodology was far superior to that of Moreland. K. Davis, *The population of India and Pakistan*, New York 1951, 24, raised Moreland's figures, as did Das Gupta, 425-30.

Estimates of mediaeval Indian Muslim population have been carefully catalogued by K.S. Lal, *Growth of Muslim population in medieval India, A.D. 1000-1800*, Delhi 1973. He has demonstrated that painstaking analysis of all types of sources—geographers' accounts, government records, histories, and censuses and registration records from small areas—can provide useful demographic statistics. Despite the completeness of Lal's work, his conclusions remain rough estimates only, many on the level of informed guesses.

British residents of the East India Company, and later the Empire, made numerous population reports in the 19th century. At first they resorted to devices such as counting houses, ploughs or villages and multiplying by set number, but later censuses of certain areas such as Bombay and Madras were taken, and these formed the basis of British population estimates for wider areas (Das Gupta, 419-35). Lal (224-52) has listed a number of early 19th century British censuses and estimates, but the most complete listing is in E. Thornton, *Gazeteer of the territories under the Government of the East India Company and of the Native States*, 4 vols., London 1854.

The first complete British census of the Indian subcontinent was taken in 1881, following an incomplete census in 1871. Figures in the 1881 census were too low, but have been adjusted by P.C. Mahalonobis and D. Bhattacharya, *Growth of the Population of India and Pakistan, 1801-1961*, in *Artha Vijñāna*, xviii/1 (March 1976), 1-10, and by K. Davis, ch. 4. Up to 1931, British censuses of the subcontinent gradually improved, until by the 1931 and 1941 censuses they were among the best in the colonial world.

On early Indian subcontinent population, see

also Zachariah, *An historical study of internal migration in the Indian sub-continent*, New York 1964; Government of India, *Report on the population estimates of India, 1820-1930*, Delhi 1975; T.G. Kessinger, *Historical demography of India*, in *Peasant Studies*, v/3 (July 1976), 2-8.

After independence, the Indian and Pakistani governments continued the censuses. India kept to the British decennial census plan and held censuses in 1951, 1961, 1971, and is planning a 1981 census. Pakistan took censuses in 1951, 1961, and 1972; Bangladesh in 1974. Of the three countries, India's census totals seem to be the closest to correct. Pakistan's census probably undercounts by 7-8 %. D. Natarajan, *Indian census through a hundred years*, New Delhi n.d., gives a detailed view of the Indian censuses. All three countries have held sample surveys which have been especially valuable in evaluating fertility. See, for example, Bangladesh, Census Commission, *Report on the 1974 Bangladesh retrospective survey of fertility and mortality*, Dacca 1977, and World Fertility Survey, *Pakistan fertility survey*, First report, Karachi? 1976.

India's size and economic situation, as well as its long series of available statistics, makes it the developing country most studied by demographers. Hundreds of articles are written each year on facets of Indian demography, and it is impossible to consider this vast literature here. Kingsley Davis's volume, mentioned above, is a good introduction to the demography of India up to independence. The Indian Registrar General's Office has published a general introduction to Indian population, *The population of India*, Delhi 1974, and a *Bibliography of census publication of India*, Delhi 1972. For a more complete review of the Indian statistical tradition, population, and demography, see Asok Mitra, *India's population: aspects of quality and control*, 2 vols., New Delhi 1978. See also R.H. Cassen, *India: population, economy, and society*, New York 1978.

Information on modern censuses and surveys of Pakistan and its demography is well summarised in Mohammad Afzal, *The population of Pakistan*, Islamabad 1974. L. Bean has written a short introduction to the subject in *The population of Pakistan, an evaluation of recent statistical data*, in *MEJ*, xxviii/2 (1974), 177-84. Though the area of Pakistan has been included in studies on the historical demography of India, studies of purely Pakistani historical demography have been done as well: A.S.M. Mohiuddin, *The population of Pakistan: past and present*, diss., Duke University 1962, and Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, *District Boundary changes and population growth for Pakistan, 1881-1961*, Dacca n.d. Earlier studies of Pakistani demography all include Bangladesh as East Pakistan.

See also *Studies in the demography of Pakistan*, ed. W.C. Robinson, Karachi 1965; A.D. Bhatti, *A bibliography of Pakistan demography*, Karachi 1965; Sultan S. Hashmi, *Main features of the demographic condition in Pakistan*, Karachi 1963; T.P. Schultz and Julie da Vanzo, *Analysis of demographic change in East Pakistan*, United States Agency for International Development Report by the Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, Cal. 1970; K.J. Krotki and Khalida Parveen, *Population size and growth in Pakistan based on early reports of the 1972 census*, in *The Pakistan Development Review*, xv/3 (Autumn 1976), 290-318.

VIII. Southeast Asia

Indonesia. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, European colonial agents estimated the population of Java, basing their figures on records of the Dutch East India Company. These estimates, the first of their kind, were gross underestimates. The first attempts at accurate enumeration of the population were made by the British during their brief rule in Indonesia (1811-16), when population registers were made. The Dutch seem to have maintained these registers fitfully until 1880. At that time they enforced more complete registration, to be used as conscription records for compulsory labor. Probably because all who could do so naturally avoided such a registration, these registers also produced a large undercount of population. Widjojo Nitisastro has analysed early material on the population of Indonesia in his *Population trends in Indonesia*, Ithaca and London 1970, and has concluded that the Dutch figures on total population are generally useless. Their main use should be as part of complete analyses of small demographic areas. Bram Peper has concurred in Widjojo Nitisastro's analysis and has used alternative demographic methods to calculate the population of 19th century Java; see his *Population growth in Java in the 19th century*, in *Population Studies*, xxiv/1 (March 1970), 71-84.

The Dutch colonial government took a census in 1920 in Java, but included few other areas of Indonesia and undercounted Java. Another colonial census was held in 1930, with wider coverage and better results. Independent Indonesia has taken censuses in 1961 and 1971. Some areas were estimated rather than enumerated in 1961 and the 1971 census is superior. A number of sample surveys have also been taken in the 1960s and 1970s.

Widjojo's volume is the most complete description of the Indonesian population (to 1970), but it must depend on the 1961 census. *The population of Indonesia* by the Demographic Section of the University of Indonesia (Lembago Demografi) is more complete for the later period. G. McNeill and Si Gde Made Mamus, *The demographic situation in Indonesia*, Papers of the East-West Institute, no. 28, Honolulu 1973, accurately summarise the available demographic information on the country.

See also J.M. van der Kroef, *The Arabs in Indonesia*, in *MEJ*, vii/3 (Summer 1953), 300-23 (Van der Kroef too readily accepts Dutch colonial estimates of population as accurate); J.N. Bhatta, *A social science bibliography of Indonesia*, Djakarta 1965; N. Iskandar, *Some monographic studies on the population of Indonesia*, Djakarta 1970; and Masri Singarimbun, *The population of Indonesia: a bibliography*, Yogyakarta 1974.

Singapore-Malaysia. The British began to take population counts in the areas of Singapore-Malaysia in 1824, and made 14 enumerations between 1824 and 1860, none of which can be called reliable. Modern censuses were taken in Singapore in 1871 and 1881 and in both Singapore and the Malayan territories decennially from 1891 to 1931. As British colonial power expanded over new areas of Malaysia, the new areas were brought into the census; see Saw Swee-Hock, *The development of Population statistics in Singapore*, in *Singapore Statistical Bulletin*, 1/2 (Dec. 1972), 87-93. After World War Two, the British took censuses in 1947 and 1957. The independent federation of Malaysia held a census in 1970, as did Singapore, which had seceded from the federation in 1965. Though registration of deaths and births in Malaysia has only been reasonably complete since *ca.* 1970, the census results since 1921 have been reliable. On registration data, see J.A.

Palmore, *et alii, The demographic situation in Malaysia*, in *Population and development in Southeast Asia*, ed. J.F. Kanter and L. McCaffrey, New York 1975, 64-6. Sample surveys have been taken in the 1960s and 1970s.

Saw Swee-Hock has briefly described changes in population sizes in Singapore in *Population trends in Singapore, 1819-1967*, in *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, x/1 (March 1969), 36-49, and given a more complete description of Singapore's demography in *Singapore, population in transition*, Philadelphia 1970. Saw's analysis of population by "race" offers an accurate picture of Muslim demography, i.e. the demography of the Muslim peoples of Singapore. Dorothy Z. Fernandez *et alii, The population of Malaysia*, is a good introduction to demographic statistics on Malaysia, though it contains little analysis of the population. Those interested in historical population should consult C.A. Vlieland, *A report on the 1931 census and certain problems of vital statistics*, London 1932, esp. chs. 3, 13.

See also T.E. Smith, *Population growth in Malaya: an analysis of recent trends*, London 1952; L.W. Jones, *The population of Borneo*, London 1966. Many monographs and articles on modern Southeast Asian population are published by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.

IX. General

The populations of Muslim lands have been included as part of the estimates in works on world historical population. The more detailed volumes, such as A.M. Carr-Saunders' *World population: past growth and present trends*, Oxford 1936, or M. Reinhard's *Histoire générale de la population mondiale* (with A. Armengaud and J. Dupaquier, 3rd ed., Paris 1968), contain fairly extensive statements on the populations of Muslim lands. It must be remembered that these estimates have mainly collected and reproduced scholarship that has been done on the various geographic areas of the world by others, so that researchers might be better served by consulting the more primary works, which contain more detailed analyses. The authors of studies of world population history are forced to provide estimates for regions and times for which population numbers are actually unknown. As has been seen above, Muslim lands are often among those whose historical populations are unknown, so estimates of the populations of those lands in world population books must be used with caution. In addition to Carr-Saunders and Reinhard, see the summary article by J.D. Durand, *Historical estimates of world population: an evaluation*, University of Pennsylvania Population Studies Center, Philadelphia 1974, and United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *The determinants and consequences of population trends*, 1, New York 1973, ch. 2 (vol. ii is a bibliography on world population).

General bibliographies. Many articles on the demography of the Islamic World do not appear in the standard bibliographies on Islam, such as *Index islamicus*, since the bibliographies do not usually include technical demographic journals within their purview. The best source of information on works on any facet of demography is *Population index* (Princeton, quarterly), one of the most thorough and valuable bibliographies in the social sciences. In addition to hundreds of journals, the *Index* examines all relevant bibliographies from other disciplines for materials on demography. See also *Bibliographie internationale de la démographie historique* (Paris); *Review of population revues* (Paris); and *International population census bibliography*, 6 vols. and suppl., Austin, Texas 1965-8, new vols. in preparation.).

General statistics. The best source of recent demographic statistics on a country is usually the published census, sometimes updated by intercensal estimates in the nation's statistical yearbook. The United Nations *Demographic yearbook* (New York, annual) summarises statistics on population, fertility, mortality, and other demographic topics for all nations. Each year's edition of the *Demographic yearbook* also features detailed statistics on special topics such as marriage or international migration. See also the United Nations *Population and vital statistics report*, published quarterly (New York), which contains topical information.

From 1969 to 1978, the Population Council of the United States published short descriptions and statistics on the demography of various nations in its *Country profiles* (New York 1969-78). The United States Bureau of the Census publishes brief descriptions of selected nation's demography in the series *Country demographic profiles*.

(J. McCarthy)

DEMON [see DJINN, SHAYṬĀN].

DERBOUKA [see DARABUKKA].

DERIVATION [see ISHTIḲĀḲ].

DESERT [see BADW, ṢAḤRĀʾ].

DESK, WRITING [see KITĀBA].

DESTINY, FATE [see AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA-'L-ḲADAR].

DEVIL [see IBLĪS, SHAYṬĀN].

DHABĪḤA means both the sacrifices of a victim and the victim itself. In addition to the religious sacrifices studied in the art. DHABĪḤĀ, there exist a host of others, meant for special occasions (*dbīḥa* in Maghribī Arabic; Berber *taməghrust*; etc.), which have been treated at length in the art. DAM above. On the blood sacrifices practised before the advent of Islam, see in particular ʿATĪRA and NADHR, and also J. Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, and the bibliography cited there.

(Ed.)

DHĀT AL-ṢAWĀRĪ, DHŪ 'L-ṢAWĀRĪ, GHAZWAT AL-ṢAWĀRĪ, "the Battle of the Masts", the names given in the Arabic sources to a naval battle between the Arabs and Byzantines in the latter part of ʿUthmān's caliphate. The locale of the engagement is not wholly certain, but was probably off the coast of Lycia in southern Anatolia near the place Phoenix (modern Turkish Finike, *chef-lieu* of the *kaza* of that name in the *vilayet* of Antalya).

As governor of Syria, Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] seems to have inaugurated a policy of building up Arab naval power in order to counter Byzantine control of the Eastern Mediterranean, and in 28/648-9 Cyprus had been attacked [see ḲUBRUS]. The Muslim fleet at Dhāt al-Ṣawārī comprised ships from the Syrian coastal ports and from Alexandria, and was under the command of either the governor of Egypt ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAʿD] or of a certain Abu 'l-Aʿwar; the Byzantine fleet was commanded by the Emperor Constans II Pogonatus in person. The exact date of this is unsure, but was either 31/651-2 or 34/654-5 (both dates in al-Ṭabarī, i, 2865, but 34/655 in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 50); nor are the details of the battle clear, whilst those which we do possess have been given many semi-legendary touches. However, the Muslim forces gained a decisive victory, and Constans had to flee

to Sicily, where he was assassinated in 668. That the Arabs failed immediately to follow up this triumph, and did not attack Constantinople itself until Muʿāwiya's reign (in 52-8/672-8), was probably the consequence of mounting *fitna* within the caliphate, culminating in ʿUthmān's murder in 35/656 although they were able to sack Rhodes in 33/653-4, just after Dhāt al-Ṣawārī, if we adopt the earlier chronology for the battle.

Bibliography: For the Arabic, Syriac and Greek sources, see Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, ii, 360; See also J. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern in der Zeit der Umaijiden*, in *Nachrichten der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Ph.-Hist. Kl., iv (1901), 414-47; C.H. Becker, in *Cambridge mediaeval history*, ii = *Islamstudien*, i, 96-7; M. Canard, *Les expeditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende*, in *JA*, ccviii (1926), 61-121; P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 200-1; G.F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early mediaeval times*, Princeton 1951, 57-9; Y.ʿA. Hāshmī, *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī, a naval engagement between the Arabs and Byzantines*, in *IQ*, iv (1961), 55-64; E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland, das Mittelmeer unter byzantinischer und arabischer Hegemonie (650-1040)*, Berlin 1966, 18-21. For the Byzantine point of view, and especially for the effect of this defeat on subsequent Byzantine naval policy, see H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer: la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe-XVe siècles*, Paris 1966, 17 ff.

(C. E. Bosworth)

DHIKRĪS, Zikrīs, a Muslim sect of southern Balūčistān, especially strong amongst the Balūč of Makrān [*q.v.*], but also with some representation amongst the Brahūīs of further north. The sect's name derives from the fact that its adherents exalted the liturgical recitations of formulae including the name and titles of God, sc. *dhikr* [*q.v.*], above the formal Muslim worship, the *ṣalāt* or *namāz*.

The Dhikrīs were believed by Hughes-Buller to stem from the North Indian heterodox movement of the Mahdawiyya, the followers of Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī of Djawnpūr (847-910/1443-1505), who claimed to be an *imām* with a revelation superseding that of Muḥammad the Prophet [see AL-DJAWNPŪRĪ and *EI*[1] art. MAHDAWĪS]. Adherents of the Mahdawiyya would have brought their doctrines to the remote region of Makrān via Farāh in eastern Afghānistān, where Muḥammad Mahdī Djawnpūrī was buried. The rise of the Dhikrīs in Makrān is apparently contemporaneous with that of the local line of Bolēday Balūč *maliks* in Makrān (early 17th century); both they and their successors after *ca.* 1740, the Gičkīs, were strong adherents of the Dhikrīs, and their heterodoxy brought down upon them several attacks by the orthodox Sunnī Khān of Kalāt, Mīr Naṣīr Khān (d. 1795) [see KILĀT and G.P. Tate, *History of the Ahmadzai Khans of Kalāt*].

Because, as with other unorthodox sects in Islam, its opponents spread slanderous reports about the immorality of the Dhikrī sect (incestuous practices, community of goods, etc.), the Dhikrī adherents were often driven to practice dissimulation in religion or *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], and it is accordingly not easy to obtain a clear picture of their doctrines and practices. It seems that these were consolidated in the early 18th century by Mullā Gičkī and that they included the idea of *ta'wīl* of the Ḳur'ān by the Mahdī, whose interpretation had replaced Muḥammad of Mecca's literal one; the non-necessity of observing the Ramaḍān fast; and the superiority of *dhikr* over *ṣalāt*. These formulae of *dhikr* are to be recited six times daily in special huts called *zikrānas* which are not orientated towards the *ḳibla*. Instead of pilgrimage to Arabia, the Dhikrīs established a Kaʿba or shrine of their own at the Koh-i Murād near Turbat, in the district of Kēč in central Makrān, with a sacred well of its own, the *čāh-i zamzam*. British observers noted that the *mullās* of the Dhikrī communities had considerable influence.

Hughes-Buller's information relates to the first decades of this century, when he noted that the sect seemed to be on the decline, and it is difficult to ascertain the present status of the sect, if indeed it survives at all in Balūčistān now; the 1961 Pakistan population census reports mention the existence of Dhikrīs in Makrān and Las Bēla [*q.v.*], but they may be repeating information stemming from British Indian times.

Bibliography: R. Hughes-Buller, *Baluchistān District gazeteers series*. vii. *Makrān*, Bombay 1906, 48-50, 116-21, 304; *Imperial gazeteer of India*[2], vi, 276-80; and see M. Longworth Dames, *EI*[1] art. *Balōčistān. Religion, education*, etc. (C.E. Bosworth)

DIALECT [see ʿARABIYYA and other languages].

DIAMOND [see ALMĀS].

DICTIONARY [see ḲĀMŪS, MUʿDJAM].

DIGITAL COMPUTER [see ḤISĀB AL-ʿAḲD].

DIKE [see MĀʾ].

AL-**DĪKDĀN**, a fortress situated on that part of the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf called the Sīf ʿUmāra, not far from the island of Ḳays [*q.v.*], and famous in the 4th/10th century. It was known under three designations, Ḳalʿat al-Dīkdān, Ḥiṣn Dikbāya and Ḥiṣn Ibn ʿUmāra, as well as the Persian one Diz-i Pisar-i ʿUmāra (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 126). It stood guard over a village of fishermen and a port which could shelter some 20 ships, and according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (tr. Kramers and Wiet, 268-9), following Iṣṭakhrī (140), no-one could get up to it unaided, since one had to be hoisted up by means of cables and a kind of crane or hoist. He adds that it was, for the Banū ʿUmāra, an observation post from which they could watch the movement of ships on the sea: "when a vessel approaches, they bring it to a halt and demand a percentage of its cargo". The name of this fortress (= "tripod", "trivet", see Ibn Khurradādhbih, Glossary, 211), which al-Masʿūdī considered as one of the wonders of the world (*Murūdj*, ii, 69 = § 501), is to be explained by the configuration of the land on which it was perched.

The geographers connect it with al-Djulandā b. Kanʿān (Ibn Ḥawḳal) or K.rk.r (*Ḥudūd*, tr. 143; cf. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Azdī, *Ḥikāya*, 138 l. 3; but it is probable that these two names are a deformation of al-Mustakīr, see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 216 and ii, 264). The Banū ʿUmāra claimed to be descendants of al-Djulandā and stated that their ancestors had established themselves in the district in the time of Moses. Now al-Djulandā and his family are known to have been kings in Yemen (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 265, 266; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, No. 1295; M. Hamidullah, *Le Prophète de l'Islam*, index; etc.); on this basis, they levied dues on all merchandise and probably indulged too in piracy, since the Ḳur'ānic verse (XVII, 78/79) ". . . a king who was behind them, taking every ship by force" was applied to them. In reality, the Banu ʿUmara were probably a family of the Azd [*q.v.*] of ʿUmān who had settled in Fārs at an unknown date and who con-

trolled the Sīf ʿUmāra during a period difficult to define precisely. Yāḳūt (ii, 711) certainly states that the Āl al-Djulandā (the name of several lords of Fārs) were still powerful in his own time, but he only cites (ii, 966), after al-Masʿūdī (*loc. cit.*), ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmāra who died in 309/921-2 after having reigned over the island of Zīrbādh for 25 years; his brother (?) Djaʿfar b. Ḥamza who reigned six months; and his son Baṭṭāl b. ʿAbd Allāh who succeeded his uncle (?), who had been assassinated by his *ghilmān*. At all events, the fortress was in ruins at the time of al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 242).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned above, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 45; Schwarz, *Iran*, 77; Le Strange, 256-7; Barthold and Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 39-40, 377, 396.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-**DILĀ'**, an ancient place in the Middle Atlas region of Morocco which owed its existence to the foundation in the last quarter of the 10th/16th century of a *zāwiya* [*q.v.*], a "cultural" centre meant for teaching the Islamic sciences and Arab letters, and at the same time spreading the doctrine of the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] order, more precisely the branch known as the Djazūliyya [see AL-DJAZŪLĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD], and also sheltering the needy and travellers. In 1048/1638, the *zāwiya dilāʾiyya* or *bakriyya* (from the founder's name, Shaykh Abū Bakr Ibn Muḥammad) was moved a dozen kilometres and gave birth to a new complex, enjoying a certain importance, in a spot now occupied by the *zāwiya* of the Ayt Isḥāḳ, 35 km. southwest of Khnīfra and 64 km. northeast of Ḳaṣbat Tādlā. Impelled by the founder's drive, who belonged to a family possessing vast estates and rich revenues, the *zāwiya* developed considerably, especially after 1012/1603, for during the troubled period which followed the death of the Saʿdid sultan al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], it provided a safe haven for students coming from the traditional urban centres and, thanks to its library and to the members of the Dilāʾiyyūn family, aided by scholars from outside seeking refuge and staying at al-Dilā', intellectual resources which were quite appreciable. The subjects taught there comprised, in addition to Ṣūfism, the Ḳurʾānic readings, *ḥadīth*, *fikh*, logic, grammar, *adab* and a little astronomy for determining the hours of prayer.

Abū Bakr (d. 1021/1612) seems to have limited himself to dispensing his teaching to students of the *zāwiya*, but his descendants have left behind a fairly important work which has been partly reviewed by M. Ḥadjdjī (*al-Zāwiya al-dilāʾiyya*, 251-3). His successor Maḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 1046/1636) was in particular the author of a *Fahrasa* (of which one ms. exists in a private library) and of a collection of *ḥadīth*s, *Arbaʿūn ḥadīth^an^* (ms. Rabat 1295 Dj.). At his death the direction of the *zāwiya* passed to his son Maḥammad al-Ḥādjdj (d. 1082/1671), who very soon transferred the centre to its new site and brought it to its full development. Scholars and literary figures like al-Maḳḳarī and Ibn al-Ḳāḍī [*q.vv.*] had already stayed at al-Dilā', but the new *zāwiya* attracted quite a numerous group of scholars, among whom the most remarkable was certainly al-Yūsī [*q.v.*].

Maḥammad al-Ḥādjdj took part in the renaissance of Arabic culture in Morocco which was owed to the *zāwiya dilāʾiyya*, although he did not participate very actively in this intellectual movement. Already in his father's lifetime he had undertaken minor expeditions which had been crowned with success, and he now turned resolutely towards military action, taking advantage of the decadence of the Saʿdids [*q.v.*]. Operations began in 1048/1638, and the head of the *zāwiya* combatted, in this same year and on the banks of the wādī al-ʿAbīd, a Saʿdid army sent from Marrakesh. Two years later, after various adventures, he had managed to establish his authority over the northwestern quarter of Morocco and, on 1056/1646, he reached as far as Tāfīlālt. In 1061/1651 he proclaimed himself sultan of Morocco and established diplomatic relations with various European powers. However, countermovements soon followed in various towns, and after some successes over other claimants to power and over the Spanish, he was finally beaten in 1079/1668 by the ʿAlawī sultan Mawlāy al-Rashīd [*q.v.*]. He was forced to submit to the latter, who merely exiled him with his family to Tlemcen, but allowed his troops to plunder the riches of the *zāwiya dilāʾiyya* and then had the complex—whose site has only recently been identified—razed to the ground.

The Dilāʾiyyūn later established themselves at Fās, where they soon came to form a kind of religious and intellectual aristocracy whose prestige was only surpassed by that of the Fāsiyyūn [see AL-FĀSĪ in Suppl.]. Only a grandson of Maḥammad al-Ḥādjdj, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1091/1680) tried in 1088/1677 to rebel against Mawlāy Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] in the region of al-Dilā', but he was defeated in the next year on the banks of the wādī al-ʿAbīd. Some of Abū Bakr's descendants still live today in various towns of Morocco, in particular, at Fās, Casablanca and Rabat (see Ḥadjdjī, *op. cit.*, 255-6, and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 299, with genealogical tables).

After Maḥammad b. Abī Bakr (see above), his son Aḥmad al-Ḥārithī (d. 1051/1641) composed a grammatical commentary which seems to have been lost, but it was another of his sons, Muḥammad, called al-Murābiṭ from his ascetic way of life, who was apparently the first to enjoy a wide audience beyond the confines of Morocco; he was indeed the author of various works which were in some demand in their time, amongst which have been preserved *al-Maʿāridj al-muntaḳāt ilā maʿānī al-waraḳāt* (*fiḳh*; Ms. Rabat 276 K), *Natāʾidj al-taḥṣīl fī sharḥ al-Tashīl* (of Ibn Mālik; grammatical commentary in 4 vols. known as far as Egypt), *Fatḥ al-Laṭīf ʿalā 'l-basṭ wa 'l-taʿrīf fī ʿilm al-taṣrīf* (grammar; lith. Fās 1316), and other works (see G. Vajda, in *Hespéris*, xlviii [1956], 215-16). This grammarian survived the destruction of al-Dilā' and died in Fās in 1089/1678. Two other members of the family became especially well-known in Fās. The first, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Masnāwī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Masnāwī b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥammad b. Abī Bakr (1072-1136/1661-1724), was a preacher and *imām* at the Abū ʿInāniyya *madrasa*, *muftī* and *shaykh al-djamāʿa* (i.e. dean of the professors). He has left behind several works, notably a genealogical treatise on the descendants of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], the *Natīdjat al-taḥḳīk fī baʿḍ ahl al-sharaf al-wathīḳ* (lith. Fās 1309/1891; ed. Tunis 1296/1879; partial Eng. tr. T.H. Weir, *The first part of the Natíjatu 'l-tahqiq*, Edinburgh 1903); his output comprises, in addition to treatises on genealogy, law and mysticism, a poem of 40 verses written just before his death in order to seek God's pardon and recited at Fās at burials, and finally *al-Maḳāma al-fikriyya fī maḥāsin al-zāwiya al-bakriyya* (see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 301-2; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 152-8 and bibl.). The other Dilāʾī worthy of note is Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdj b. Muḥammad b. Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, who died accidentally

between Mecca and Medina after having made the Pilgrimage (1141/1729). Several of his works have been preserved: poems glorifying the Prophet; *Ẓahr al-ḥadāʾik* (ms. Rabat 306 K) and *al-Ẓahr al-nadī fi ʾl-khuluḳ al-muḥammadī* (ms. Rabat 157 D), an *urdjūza* on the Chorfa *Durrat al-tīdjān* (mss. Rabat 498, 522, 1180, 1244 K; lith. Fās), etc. (see Lakhdar, 166-8).

Bibliography: The basic Arabic sources are still unpublished: Yāzighī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-azhār al-nadiyya fi ʾl-taʿrīf bi-ahl al-zāwiya al-dilāʾiyya al-bakriyya* (*urdjūza*; ms. Rabat 261 D). Tāzī, *Nuzhat al-akhyār al-marḍiyyīn fī manāḳib al-ʿulamāʾ al-dilāʾiyyīn al-bakriyyīn* (ms. Rabat 1264 K). Ḥawwāt, *al-Budūr al-ḍāwiya fi ʾl-taʿrīf biʾl-sādāt ahl al-zāwiya al-dilāʾiyya* (ms. Rabat 261 D). These sources, the Moroccan historians in general and the documents of various origin which are concerned with the political, diplomatic and military events, during the period of Maḥammad al-Ḥādjdj, have been utilised by M. Ḥadjdjī for his excellent monograph, *al-Zāwiya al-dilāʾiyya wa-dawruhā al-dīnī wa ʾl-ʿilmī wa ʾl-siyāsī* (Rabat 1384/1964), to which one should in the first place direct the enquirer, who will find there both biographies of the main members of the Dilāʾiyyūn and also a detailed bibliography. In his thesis on *L'activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque saʿdide* (Rabat 1976-7, 2 vols.), this same author has devoted a section to the *zāwiya* (551-7), and the index, s.vv. Dilāʾ, Dilāʾī and Dilāʾides, enables one to track down various items of scattered information.; For the period after the destruction of the *zāwiya* at al-Dilāʾ, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 298-303; and M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie ʿalawide*, Rabat 1971, index s.v. Dilāʾī.

(Ch. Pellat)

DINET, Alphonse, *Etienne* (1861-1929), French painter of oriental subjects and writer who assumed the name Nacir Ed Dine (Nāṣir al-Dīn) when he became a convert to Islam.

He was born in Paris on 28 March 1861, and studied under several well-known painters (Galland, Bouguereau, Robert-Fleury). After a first trip to Algeria (1884), he won a scholarship which allowed him to return there in 1885, and from then onwards he led a nomadic life there for several months of each year, until he settled at Bou Saada (Bū Saʿāda) in 1907. It was in this region of the southern part of Constantine province that he met in 1889 an educated Algerian, Sliman ben Ibrahim (d. 1953), who having rescued him, at the risk of his own life, during a local disturbance, became an inseparable friend and constant collaborator of his, even in Paris. Contact with Muslims gradually detached Dinet from the Christian faith, which he renounced in 1913 and discreetly embraced Islam; he renewed publicly his profession of faith in the New Mosque of Algiers in 1927.

His artistic output, considerable in quantity and of high quality, comprises mainly Algerian and Arab scenes and landscapes, which very quickly brought him wide celebrity, even beyond the ranks of the Société des Orientalistes founded in 1887 by Léonce Benedite, which he immediately joined. Before the end of the 19th century, several of his tableaux were on display at various museums: *Les terrasses de Laghouat* (Luxembourg Museum), *Vue de M'sila* (Pau Museum), *Charmeurs de serpents* (Sydney Museum), etc. After having illustrated the 1898 edition of Devic's *Les aventures d'Antar*, he enhanced with his own compositions texts gathered together or edited by Sliman ben Ibrahim and translated by his own hands, in particular, *Rabia el-Kouloub* [*Rabīʿ al-ḳulūb*] *ou le printemps des coeurs* (three Saharan legends, Paris 1902); *Tableaux de la vie arabe* (Paris 1904, 1928), which contain fine reproductions of 24 oil paintings (including his own portrait and that of Sliman) accompanied by a presentation and commentary by the latter translated into French; *Mirages, scènes de la vie arabe*, Paris 1960; *El Fiafi oua el-Kifar* [*al-Fayāfī wa ʾl-ḳifār*] *ou le désert* (Paris 1911); and *Khadra, danseuse Ouled Nail* (Paris 1909, 1926). His most famous work, again written in collaboration with Sliman and published simultaneously in two parallel versions, French and English, at Paris in 1918, remains nevertheless *La Vie de Mohammed, Prophète d'Allah*. The Algerian painter Mohammed Racim (Rāsim) also contributed to illustrating this luxury work, which has never been re-published in its entirety (a recent reimpression only has some colour prints and one of Racim's aquarelles; a standard edition unillustrated, has appeared in Paris 1927, 1937, 1947, 1961, 1975 and 1977).

Two years after his official conversion, Dinet and Sliman ben Ibrahim made together the Pilgrimage to the holy places of Islam. Although he claimed to have taken "no notes, no drawing, no photographs" during his stay in Arabia, there appeared magnificent plates showing scenes of the Pilgrimage as illustrations for the *riḥla* which appeared in French from "El Hadj Nacir ed-Dine E. Dinet et El Hadj Sliman ben Ibrahim Baâmer" and with the double title *al-Ḥadjdj ilā Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām* (in Arabic script) and *Le Pèlerinage à la Maison Sacrée d'Allah*, together with the date 1347. In fact, this narrative, written on the return from the pilgrimage of 1347 and completed on 6 (*sic*; read 25) Rabīʿ II 1348/30 September 1929, came off the press in Paris at the beginning of 1930 (2nd edn. 1962), just a few weeks after its principal author's death (24 December 1929). His funeral took place on 28 December at the Great Mosque in Paris (in whose foundation he had himself been concerned) in the presence of leading personalities and of the representatives of several Muslim governments. His corpse was taken to Bou Saada and buried in the tomb which he had made there, and which tourists are still today invited to visit (see Guides Bleus, *Algérie*, s.v. Bou Saada); the house there he lived has been made into a Dinet Museum by Sliman ben Ibrahim.

This highly-talented painter of oriental topics deserves a notice in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* not only because he died a Muslim, but also because he can be considered as a fervent apologist for the faith which he had assumed. Several of his written works caused a certain stir in the Islamic world, especially in Egypt, thanks to his friend Rāshid Rustum, who in 1929 published at Cairo *Ashiʿʿa khāṣṣa min nūr al-Islām*, the translation of a lecture by Dinet called *Rayons de lumière exclusivement islamiques* (2nd edn. Paris 1966). Tawfīḳ Aḥmad was to translate, in the *Madjallat Djamʿiyyat al-Shubbān al-Muslimīn*, the latter part of his *Pèlerinage*, and ʿUmar Fākhūrī was to issue at Damascus, in *Ārāʾ gharbiyya fī masāʾil sharḳiyya*, a version of his *L'Orient vu de l'Occident* (Paris n.d.) under the title *al-Sharḳ kamā yarāhu al-Gharb*. This last is a very detailed critique of the studies of Lammens, Nöldeke, De Goeje, Sprenger, Snouck Hurgronje, Grimme, Margoliouth, etc., which was subsequently to be extensively used by the Azharī *shaykh* ʿAbd

al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd in the substantial introduction prefaced to his translation of *La Vie de Mohammed, Prophète d'Allah*, made, in conjunction with his son Muḥammad, from the original edition as *Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh* (Cairo 1956). It is rather surprising that Dinet's *Sīra* which, as we have seen, had a lively success among French-reading circles, did not draw the attention of the Egyptians during the 1930s, at a time when Haykal was in part inspired, in his *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, by *La Vie de Mahomet* of E. Dermenghem published at Paris in 1929; possibly, like this last author (p. IV), they regarded it as too traditionalist. It is a fact that Dinet and Sliman ben Ibrahim affirmed that they had based themselves exclusively on the works of Ibn Hishām, Ibn Saʿd, etc. and on the *Sīra ḥalabiyya*, and they remark that "the study of innovations" introduced by "modern orientalists" into the Prophet's biography have led them "to assert that, at times, they were inspired by an Islamophobia hard to reconcile with science and little worthy of our age".

It can easily be seen that the detailed criticism which makes up essentially *L'Orient vu de l'Occident* gave ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd valuable arguments against the "orientalists" and in favour of a *sīra* of traditional character which must have been pleasing to its readers, since a second edition of his translation appeared in 1958. The translator analyses Nāṣir al-Dīn's apologetical methods and, basing himself on the latter's writings, demonstrates the superiority of Islam over Christianity. As opposed to the works of the Arabists whose researches tend only to set forth the reality of Islam, without any polemical intentions, Dinet's principal Islamological works seem to have as their aim less a scientific study of his new religion than a glorification of it and an encouragement to the whole world to follow his example. His viewpoint is very clearly summed up in a paragraph of his *Pèlerinage*, where he affirms that Islam responds "to all the aspirations of different kinds of believers. Having a supreme simplicity with Muʿtazilism, wildly mystical with Sufism, it brings a sense of direction and a consolation to the European or Asian scholar, without stepping on the absolute freedom of his thought, as much as to a Sudanese negro whom it snatches away from the superstitious worship of fetishes. It exalts the soul of the practically-minded English merchant, for whom "time is money", as much as that of the deist philosopher, and that of the contemplative of the East as much as that of the Westerner carried away by art and poetry. It will even seduce the modern medical man by the logic of its repeated ablutions and the rhythm of its bowings and prostrations equally salutary to the care of the body as to the health of the mind. The freethinker himself, who is not inevitably an atheist, will be able to consider the Islamic revelation as a sublime manifestation of that mysterious force called 'inspiration' and will admit it without difficulty, since it contains no mysterious element inadmissible by reason".

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ḌIRĀR b. **ʿAMR**, Abū ʿAmr al-Ghaṭafānī al-Kūfī (*ca.* 110-200/*ca.* 728-815), important Muʿtazilī theologian, disciple of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 131/749). In contrast to many other early Muʿtazilīs, he was of pure Arab extraction; he belonged to the ʿAbd Allāh b. Ghaṭafān in Kūfa. He founded his prestige, however, through his teaching in Baṣra where Wāṣil had lived. By profession he is said to have been a *ḳāḍī*. After 170/786 we find him in Baghdād in the circle of the Barmakids, where he took part, together with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, the Ibāḍī scholar ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd, the Zaydī Sulaymān b. Djarīr, and others, including non-Muslim theologians, in the famous debates arranged by Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, the *wazīr* of Hārūn al-Rashīd. This position exposed him to certain suspicions: the *ḳāḍī* Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djumaḥī (d. 174/790 or 176/792) outlawed him because of *zandaḳa*. But, in the presence of Barmakī protection, this seems to have been a mere verbal menace. In reality, Ḍirār had attacked the *zanādiḳa* and the *mulḥidūn* in several books; he seems to have lent intellectual support to the governmental measurements against the Manichaeans since the time of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85). He not only applied the methods of dialectical theology (*kalām*); he also analysed them and tried to propagate them among the masses, through a *risāla ilā ʾl-ʿāmma* (cf. Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Dedering 31, ll. 10 ff.), which may have been identical with his *K. Ādāb al-mutakallimīn* or his *K. ilā man balagha min al-muslimīn*. He was an extremely prolific writer: 57 titles of books are listed in the *Fihrist*, more than those of any other Muʿtazilī.

This is all the more astonishing as neither Kaʿbī in his *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn* nor the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār in his *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl* (nor, consequently, Ibn al-Murtaḍā in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*) allow him a biography; they did not consider him a Muʿtazilī. Nor did al-Khayyāṭ, when Ibn al-Rāwandī identified the Muʿtazila with Ḍirār's ideas. But Ibn al-Rāwandī is in line not only with non-Muʿtazilī writers like al-Nawbakhtī or al-Bazdawī and al-Dhahabī, but also with Muʿtazilī authors like Ibn al-Nadīm and al-Nāshiʾ al-akbar, who count Ḍirār among those numerous Muʿtazilīs who did not exactly correspond to the canonical school dogma established in the *uṣūl al-khamsa*. These five principles were apparently first formulated by Abu ʾl-Hudhayl, and it is with Abu ʾl-Hudhayl and Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir that opposition against Ḍirār emerged. Their verdict determined the later school tradition, but it did not succeed in suppressing Ḍirār's writings. Those who avowed their indebtedness to his ideas are therefore mostly found outside the Muʿtazila: Ḥafṣ al-Fard in Egypt and other Ḥanafīs in Baṣra and elsewhere. A Ḍirāriyya group is attested in Armenia by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī (*al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, 212, l. 3). His influence in theology as well as in jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*) can be ascertained during at least two generations, although the opposition, Muʿtazilī as well as non-Muʿtazilī, frequently preferred, in such cases, to talk about "Djahmīs" instead of Ḍirārīs.

This was an old reproach: Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir had claimed, in his *Urdjūza* written in prison under Hārūn al-Rashīd, that Ḍirār and his school had succumbed to the influence of Djahm b. Ṣafwān. What was true in this was that Ḍirār had reacted against Djahm's rigid determinism: he had conceded

that God creates (*khalaḳa*) everything including man's actions, but he also insisted that man, in order to be responsible for his actions, simultaneously does them himself, either immediately or through "generation" (*tawlīd*). In order to describe man's share in them, he used the Ḳur'ānic term *kasaba* or *iktasaba* which does not yet mean "acquisition" here, but rather the mere performance of the act (cf. M. Schwarz in *Islamic philosophy and the classical tradition, essays presented to R. Walzer*, Oxford 1972 367 f.); he stressed man's freedom of choice (*ikhtiyār*) by assuming a capacity (*istiṭāʿa*) already *before* the act. The concept is clearly synergistic; Ḍirār openly talked about two "agents", God and man. This is where Abu 'l-Hudhayl and Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir saw a sin against the spirit of the school; they eliminated the idea that God "creates" anything in human actions. Ḍirār could, however, argue convincingly with an example like the Ḳur'ān: when somebody recites the Ḳur'ān, not only his recitation, *ḳur'ān*, is heard, but also the Ḳur'ān as created by God. The equivocalness of the word (*ḳur'ān* and Ḳur'ān) added to the suggestiveness of the theory.

Outside the sphere of man, Ḍirār supported God's omnipotence by an elaborate metaphysical system based on the exclusively accidental structure of the creation. Each body consists of a network of indispensable accidents, i.e. qualities without which it would not exist, but which may be realised in a spectrum of varieties best described by their extremes: temperature ("hot or cold"), extension ("long or short"), weight ("light or heavy"), consistence ("humid or dry"), nature of its surface ("rough or soft"), colour, taste, odour, etc. In their agglomeration (*ta'līf* or *idjtimāʿ*), they form its nucleus; there is nothing like a "substance". But they do not have a separate existence either; isolated, they are a mere abstraction. Other accidents which are not indispensable like movement, pain (in human beings) etc. may occur, but they do not form "part" of the body. They do not possess any endurance (*baḳā'*) and are therefore created anew in every moment (cf. Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, 305, ll. 11 f. and 359, ult. ff.). A body for long does not lose its individuality, as less than half of its basic qualities have been replaced by their contrary. Change of any kind may be explained through this process; here Ḍirār and his adherents seem to have absorbed certain Aristotelian ideas, especially the concept of ἀλλοίωσις (*istiḥāla*, cf. *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 254 ff.). The entire model is, of course, not Aristotelian; Ḍirār criticised Aristotle for his doctrine of substances and accidents in a separate treatise (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Fück, in *Shafi comm. volume*, 69, title no. 14). The system does not allow for any self-determining and independent nature of things (*ṭabīʿa*); this is why it was rejected offhand by Ḍirār's contemporary Muʿammar and later on by an-Naẓẓām, who joined a tradition which was more coloured by Stoic ideas [see KUMŪN]. The consequences were especially visible in the definition of man: he is a conglomerate of "colour, taste, odour, capacity, etc.", but there is no independent and immortal soul.

Using two surprisingly elaborate philosophical terms which were never applied again by the Muʿtazila, Ḍirār differentiated in everything which exists between its *anniyya* "existence" and its *māhiyya* "quiddity". Opposition arose when he transferred this distinction to God: we know God's *anniyya*, but we ignore the plenitude of His *māhiyya*. For we can infer the aspects of his essence only through rational conclusion; but we know from ourselves that an outsider is never able to explore the hidden sides of our nature to the same extent that we are aware of them ourselves. This is why we must be satisfied with negative theology: "God is omniscient" merely means that He is not ignorant. Full knowledge will be attained only in the Hereafter; then God's essence will be recognised, not through the *ru'ya bi 'l-abṣār* as many non-Muʿtazilī theologians believed, but through a sixth sense created for this purpose by God. This theory seems to have been prepared by Abū Ḥanīfa and was taken over by a number of Ḥanafīs during the following two generations. Later Muʿtazilīs may have seen in it too strong a limitation of revelationary evidence and of the intellectual potential of *kalām*; the theory still depended on Djahm's concept of the total transcendence of God.

They may have felt more familiar with Ḍirār's idea to differentiate between two aspects of God's will: "God's will" may be identical with what happens, but also with what He only wants to happen, in His commandments. The latter alternative leaves room for man's *iktisāb*; sin, the crucial problem of Ḍirār's theory of the two "creators", seems to have been explained by him through *khidhlān*, "abandonment (by God")" (ἐγκατάλειψις). On the other hand, God would always be able to make all unbelievers believe, by His grace (*luṭf*; cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iii, 165, ll. 7 ff. and iv, 192, ll. 9 ff.). This may have been a mere theoretical assumption. The idea was given up by most later Muʿtazilīs in favour of the concept of *al-aṣlaḥ*, but Ḍirār was still followed in it by Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir.

Djahmī spirit may also survive in Ḍirār's denial of the punishment in the tomb; already Shaḥḥām, Abu 'l-Hudhayl's youngest disciple, could pretend that no Muʿtazilī ever shared this radicalism (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, 72, ll. 3 f.; also *Ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, 201, ll. 17 ff.). Ḍirār's doctrine, however, that Paradise and Hell do not yet exist, but will be created during the Last Judgment, and that Adam therefore lived in a terrestrial garden, was accepted by many later Muʿtazilīs like Hishām al-Fuwaṭī, ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān, Abū Hāshim, etc. It looks like an inversion of Djahm's thesis that Paradise and Hell are finite *a parte post*; but its immediate intention may have been to avoid certain pre-destinarian arguments which inferred from the actual existence of Hell the predetermined necessity of Evil (cf. *Mélanges d'Islamologie, Volume dédié à A. Abel*, Leiden 1974, 108 ff., with reference to a longer passage of Ḍirārī theology preserved in Ibn Hishām's *K. al-Tīdjān*). Ḍirār's thesis created difficulties not only in Ḳur'ānic exegesis, but also with respect to several well-known *aḥādīth*, for instance about the nocturnal ascension (*miʿrādj*) of the Prophet or about the martyrs entering Paradise immediately after their death.

This latter point, however, did not bother him very much: he did not accept isolated traditions (*akhbār āḥād*) as a proof in theological questions (*aḥkām al-dīn*), and in his time most *aḥādīth* still had this character of *āḥād*. The only epistemological criterion which, besides the Ḳur'ān, he found safe enough to base upon it religious truth after the death of the Prophet, was consensus (*idjmāʿ*); in this he was followed by al-Aṣamm (*q.v.*], who took over the Muʿtazilī circle in Baṣra after him. Ḍirār's attack against *ḥadīth* had been formulated in his *K. al-Taḥrīsh wa'l-ighrā'*; he had pointed to the

fact that all sects used to rely on different and mutually contradicting *aḥādīth*. It is possible, though unprovable, that the beginning of Ibn Ḳutayba's *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* reflects Ḍirār's argumentation (cf. *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift O. Spies*, Wiesbaden 1967, 184 f.).

Belief was, according to Ḍirār, closely linked to intellectual understanding; it begins therefore only with mental maturity (*kamāl al-ʿaḳl*). Simple people who do not rationalise their convictions may always live in unrecognised unbelief (cf. Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 282, ll. 2 ff.). But true belief from a Nabataean counts higher than from an Arab, because the Arabs were distinguished by the fact that the Prophet was elected from among them, whereas the Nabataeans always have to transgress the barrier of contempt for not having produced any prophet. If a Nabataean therefore ever entered into competition with a Ḳurashī concerning the caliphate, preference should be given to the Nabataean as the more appropriate (*afḍal*) candidate. This would have the additional advantage that a Nabataean does not have a powerful clientèle and could therefore more easily be deposed if necessary. The Ḳuraysh thus do not possess the monopoly of the caliphate, according to Ḍirār; long before him the superiority of neo-Muslims had been defended by similar arguments (cf. A. Noth in *Isl.*, xlvii (1971), 178 f.). Nevertheless, Ḍirār did not doubt that the first four caliphs were *afḍal* in the moment of their election. Judgment becomes difficult only with the Battle of the Camel. In this case, renowned Companions with equally good reputation stood against each other. The result was that both factions for ever lost their trustworthiness, even if met separately. Ḍirār compared this situation with two believing Muslims entering a house and one of them being heard from outside pronouncing a formula of blatant unbelief, but both of them being found dead afterwards; there would be no criterion then to find out the unbeliever among them, and *both* of them would have to be treated as such. In the context of the simile, the death of the two opponents stood for the impossibility of getting reliable historical information about the events of the First Civil War. This neutralistic attitude had been prepared by Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ and was continued, with slight variations and a different comparison, by Abu 'l-Hudhayl (cf. al-Nāshiʾ al-akbar, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, § 90 and introduction, 46). The Shīʿa understood it as a critique of ʿAlī; in later times, they transmitted reports about discussions in which Ḍirār had been defeated concerning the problem of *imāma* by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam or ʿAlī b. Mītham (cf. al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra*, ²9, ll. 4 ff., ³9, ll. -6 ff.).

Ḍirār rejected ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd's and Ubayy b. Kaʿb's recension of the Ḳurʾān on the ground that their *ḥarf* was not revealed (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, 107).

Bibliography: Sources and further detail are given in J. van Ess, *Ḍirār b. ʿAmr und die "Cahmīya"* in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 241 ff. and xliv (1968), 1 ff.; Scattered reports are also found in *Ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, Tunis 1974, index s.v.; Yaʿḳūbī, *Mushākalat al-nās li-zamānihim*, ed. W. Milward, Beirut 1962, 25, l. 4; Abū Rashīd al-Naysābūrī, *Fi'l-tawḥīd*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1385/1965, 591, ll. 5 ff.; Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ, *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Ḥaddād, Beirut 1974, 101, ll. 8 ff.; al-Ṣābūnī, *al-Bidāya min al-kifāya*, ed. Khulayf, Cairo 1969, 107, ll. 7 ff.; Murtaḍā b. al-Dāʿī, *Tabṣirat al-ʿawāmm*, ed. Iḳbāl, index s.v. None of them brings new material. For studies see also M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 139 ff.; L. Massignon, *La Passion de Hallâj*, new ed. Paris 1975, index s.v.; A.S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 69 ff.; W.M. Watt, in *JRAS* (1943), 234 ff.; idem, in *MW*, xl (1950), 97 ff.; idem, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 189 ff. and index s.v.; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, index s.v.; L. Gardet, *Études de philosophie et de mystique comparée*, Paris 1972, 102 ff.; H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād as-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, index s.v.

(J. VAN ESS)

DISSOLUTION [see FASKH].

DITCH [see KHANDAḲ].

DIVINE DECREE [see AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA-'L-ḲADAR].

DĪWĀN-BEGI, the title of high officials in the Central Asian khānates in the 16th-19th centuries.

The title appears first, apparently, in the Tīmūrid period, when its bearer, a Turkic *amīr* of one of the tribes of the Čaghatāys, was in charge of military affairs and of the affairs of the Turkic subjects, and stood at the head of *dīwān-i imārat* (or *dīwān-i aʿlā*) (see H.R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 169-71). The title had the same meaning in the state of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] (see J.E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, Minneapolis-Chicago 1976, 11). In the Ṣafawī state in Iran, the *dīwān-begi* was one of the seven *arkān-i dawlat* (members of the *madjlis-i aʿlā*) and was the high justiciar, who tried, jointly with the *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*, the major crimes, as well as civil cases, controlled all *Sharīʿa* courts and was a court of appeal for the whole kingdom (see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, text, 20b-22b, tr. 50-1, comm. 119-20). There is very little information about the *dīwān-begi* in the Shaybānid [*q.v.*] state in the 16th century, besides the fact that this title did exist; in the *ʿAbd Allāh-nāma* by Ḥāfiẓ Tanish [*q.v.* below] it appears very rarely and without definition of its functions.

More detailed information comes only from the time of the Ashtarkhānids [see DJĀNIDS]. The *Baḥr al-asrār* by Maḥmūd b. Walī (second quarter of the 17th century) mentions the *dīwān-begi* in a description of the ceremonial at the court of the Ashtarkhānids in Balkh as being among the officials who were sitting on the left side of the khān, near the tripod (? *si pāya*; see V.V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya*, ii/2, 391, 396; cf. M.A. Abduraimov, *Očerki agrarnikh otnosheniy v Bukharskom khanstve v XVI—pervoy polovine XIX veka*, i, Tāshkent 1966, 73, where a reference is made to an account of a Russian ambassador to Bukhārā in the 17th century, who mentions that the throne of the khān of Bukhārā was raised above the level of the floor of the reception room by six steps; probably, the throne of the ruler of Balkh was raised above the level of the floor by three steps, and the expression *ba-ḳurb-i si pāya* can mean "near the three steps [leading to the throne]". This interpretation, however, remains dubious. Cf. also Quatremère, in *Notices et extraits*, xiv/1, 496, where *si pāya* is explained as "une charpente"). In the administrative manual *Madjmaʿ al-arkām* compiled in Bukhārā in 1212/1798, the *dīwān-begi-yi kalān* is described as an official second in the rank after the *atalīḳ* [*q.v.* above]; he was entrusted with the state finance, mainly with the collection of *kharādj* [*q.v.*], as well as with the supervision of the irrigation in the region of Ḳara-ḳul (see facsimile in *Pis'menniye-*

pamyatniki Vostoka 1968, Moscow 1970, 55; Russian tr. by A.A. Semenov, in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, v [1948], 147). Russian ambassadors in Bukhārā in 1669 also describe the *dīwān-begi* as the second high-ranking official after the *atalīk* and mention that he received the credentials from the ambassadors and passed them to the khān (see *Nakaz Borisu i Semenu Pazukhinīm* . . ., St. Petersburg 1894, 49, 55, 76). The Ashtarkhānid chronicles confirm that one of the duties of the *dīwān-begi* was the reception of ambassadors (see *Ta'rīkh-i Mukīm-Khānī* by Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī, Russian tr. by A.A. Semenov, Tāshkent 1956, 89). In the 19th and early 20th centuries, under the Mangīt [*q.v.*] dynasty in Bukhārā, the *dīwān-begi* had similar functions, though he was now the second figure after the *kosh-begi* [*q.v.*], and not the *atalīk*. He was called also *kosh-begi-yi pāyān* ("the lower *kosh-begi*"), because his residence was at the foot of the *ark* (the citadel) of Bukhārā, and *zakātči-yi kalān* ("head of the collectors of *zakāt*" [*q.v.*]). He was the deputy of "the great *kosh-begi*" (*kull-i kosh-begi*), and in the absence or during an illness of the *amīr* he governed the country together with the *kosh-begi*. Both under the Ashtarkhānids and the Mangīts, besides this *dīwān-begi* residing in Bukhārā, there were also *dīwān-begis* of main provincial rulers, such as those of Balkh, Čārdjūy, Ḥiṣār, with similar functions. Under the Mangīts, the honorary rank of *dīwān-begi* (the third from the top in the hierarchy of Bukhārā) was given also to various officials not necessarily connected with financial affairs, such as governors of some towns. In Ḳaratigin [*q.v.*], both under the independent *shāhs* and under the domination of Bukhārā, *dīwān-begi* was the first deputy of the ruler, and he was in charge of state finance as well as of the ruler's estate (see N.A. Kislyakov, *Očerki po istorii Karategina*, Stalinabad-Leningrad 1941, 183). In the semi-independent principality of Ura-Tubä [*q.v.*] in the 19th century, *dīwān-begis* were low officials—local tax-collectors, subordinate to the *sarkār*, who was in charge of the collection of *kharādj* and of irrigation in the principality (see A. Mukhtarov, *Očerk istorii Ura-Tyubinskogo vladeniya v XIX v.*, Dushanbe 1964, 53). The title *dīwān-begi* could be given also to supervisers of finance in large private estates, such as those of the Djūybārī *shaykhs* in the 16th century (cf. P.P. Ivanov, *Khozyaystvo džuybarskikh sheykhov*, Moscow-Leningrad 1954, 60).

In the Khānate of Khīwa, the post of *dīwān-begi* was probably established only in the early 19th century. In any case, neither the local historian Mu'nis [*q.v.*] in his *Firdaws al-iḳbāl* nor other sources mention this title earlier, and it is not included in the list of 34 dignitaries (*'amaldār*) established by Abu 'l-Ghāzī Khān [*q.v.*] (cf. *Firdaws al-ikbāl*, MS of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C-571, f. 65b). This title is mentioned by Mu'nis for the first time in his account of the events of 1222/1808, when two *dīwān-begis* appear simultaneously (*ibid.*, f. 272a). Also later, there were at least two *dīwān-begis* in Khīwa. They are mentioned among the high officials of the state along with the *kosh-begi* and the *mehter* [*q.v.*]; they were usually of mean origin, often Persian slaves. N. Murav'yev (1821) mentions *dīwān-begis* as unimportant officials subordinate to the *kosh-begi* and the *mehter* (see N. Murav'yev, *Puteshestviye v Turkmeniyu i Khivu*, Moscow 1822, ii, 63); none of other Russian descriptions of the khānate compiled in the first half of the 19th century mentions them at all. In the reign of Allāh-Ḳulī Khān (1240-58/1825-42), the chief *dīwān-begi* was entrusted with the collection of *zakāt* and customs (see N. Zalesov, in *Voyenniy sbornik*, xxii [1861], No. 11, 65), and it remained his main duty till the end of the 19th century. Besides him, there was a *dīwān-begi* in charge of khān's estates and a *dīwān-begi* of the governor of Hazārasp (a senior relative of khān or his heir). In the reign of Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II (1281-1328/1864-1910), the chief *dīwān-begi* Muḥammad Murād ("Mat-Murad" of Russian sources) became the most influential person among the Khīwan dignitaries and was considered as a first minister by Western observers (cf. e.g. H. Moser, *A travers l'Asie centrale*, Paris 1885, 238).

In the Khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*], the title *dīwān-begi* is also attested, though no explanation is available about the duties of its bearer. It seems, however, that it was more a rank than an administrative post, and its position was the same as that of *dīwān-begi* in the hierarchy of Bukhārā (between the ranks of *parwānači* [*q.v.*] and *atalīk*). Radjab Dīwān-begi, executed in 1236/1820, is said to have had the highest title in the khānate, *wazīr al-wuzarā'* (see V.P. Nalivkin, *Histoire du khanat de Khoḳand*, Paris 1889, 140-1), which indicates, apparently, that he was considered the head of the civil administration; but before that he is mentioned as a governor (*ḥākim*) of Tāshkent (*ibid.*, 125, 135).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the text, see: A.A. Semenov, in *Materialī po istorii tadžikov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, ii, Stalinabad 1954, 57, 61, 66; M. Yu. Yuldashev, *Khiwa khanlīgida feodal yer egalīgī wa dawlat tuzīlīshī* [in Uzbek], Tāshkent 1959, 263-4.

(YU. BREGEL)

DJABAL SAYS, the name of a volcanic mountain in Syria situated *ca.* 105 km. southeast of Damascus. Around its west and south sides runs a small valley opening to the southeast into a large volcanic crater. In years with normal rainfall, this crater is filled with water for about eight months. A reservoir near its centre makes Djabal Says one of the few secure waterplaces in the region, where sometimes more than a hundred nomad families camp in autumn. At the mouth of the valley on the southeast-slope of Djabal Says and opposite to it, on the fringe of another slope, remains of numerous buildings are preserved. The site was first visited in 1862 by M. de Vogüé and excavated from 1962 to 1964 by K. Brisch. The ruins consist of a considerable number of houses, a mosque, a church, a *ḥammām*, some storehouses for provisions, *khāns* and/or barracks, and a palace.

The *palace* is situated on the south side of the valley. It consists of a rectangular enclosure, *ca.* 67 m. × 67 m., from which eight towers (four at the corners, one in the middle of each side) project. Entrance is given through a door in the central tower of the north-side. Behind the door one enters a tunnel-vaulted vestibule at the back of which is a doorway, opening into a great entrance hall which leads to a courtyard, *ca.* 31 m. × 31 m. This courtyard is surrounded by ranges of rooms (54 excluding the small rooms in the hollow towers and the entrance hall) most of which are organised into eight groups (*buyūt*) of five or six rooms. In addition to this, there are three pairs of rooms and four isolated rooms, two of which served probably as staircases. An arcade ran around the paved courtyard in front of the rooms. In the centre of the courtyard is a cistern. The lower parts of the walls consist of basalt blocks on the inner and outer faces with fillings of lumps of basalt and mortar rising up at

some places to a height of *ca.* 2 m. The upper parts of the walls were built of mud bricks. An exception is the entrance tower, the upper parts of which are also of basalt. Most of the basalt sections and some of the brick sections of the walls are preserved. No traces of ceilings were found. De Vogüé, who visited Djabal Says more than a hundred years ago, saw brick vaultings. The building had originally two floors and is stylistically linked with two other palaces, Minya (see KHIRBAT AL-MINYA] and Kharrāna [*q.v.*].

The *ḥammām, ca.* 150 m. east of the palace, measures *ca.* 16 m. × 17 m. It consists of a large eastroom, *ca.* 10 m. × 4.5 m., with a semicircular exedra in the north. Its south side opens into two rooms, *ca.* 3.5 m. deep. The east room can be entered by a door from the east. At its west side, it is connected with four smaller rooms, three of which served as the apodyterium, tepidarium and calidarium of the bath. The lower parts of the walls resemble those of the palace. The upper sections are built of burnt brick. All rooms with the exception of the west room seem to have been covered by vaultings or domes of burnt brick. The west room was probably not covered at all. The building resembles closely Ḥammām al-Ṣarākh [*q.v.*] in Jordan.

The *mosque, ca.* 70 m. west of the palace, is a square building measuring *ca.* 9.5 m. × 9.5 m. The preserved lower sections of its walls are built of basalt. It can be entered by two doors from the north and the east. The interior of the building is divided into two equal parts by two arches running east-west and resting on a pier in the centre and on wall piers. Here, as in the palace, the upper parts of the walls seem to have been built of mud bricks. If this was the case, they could only have carried a wooden roof.

Other buildings. Probably the most interesting feature of Djabal Says is that, in addition to the above-mentioned buildings, a considerable number of more modest structures is preserved. At the south-side of the valley in an area stretching from the *ḥammām* (the easternmost structure), *ca.* 300 m. to the west, the traces of more than 15 other buildings can be seen. The majority of them are of almost square shape and consist of ranges of rooms around three or four sides of a central courtyard. They are of poorer architectural quality than the palace, the *ḥammām* and the mosque. Some of these buildings were doubtlessly built at the same time as the palace and served as storehouses and barracks or *khāns*, whereas some are obviously later. The latter seem to be contemporary with a few smaller buildings whose plans resemble those of simple farmhouses (one range of rooms with a courtyard in front of it). Opposite the valley, at the southeastern foot of Djabal Says, in an area stretching *ca.* 400 m. from southwest to northeast and *ca.* 100 m. from southeast to northwest, some thirty other buildings are to be found. Almost all of them have courtyards with rooms at one, two, three or four sides. The most conspicuous structures among them are: a building with towers at its corners looking like a palace in miniature, a structure next to it, which Brisch thinks was a mosque, and a one-naved church resembling the large room of the *ḥammām.*

Literary sources (al-Bakrī and Yāḳūt) tell us that the caliph al-Walīd (86-96/705-15) had a residence at Usays, a waterplace east of Damascus, which is doubtlessly identical with our site. This conclusion is supported by inscriptions found on the spot. One of them bears the name Usays, in some others the names of sons of al-Walīd are mentioned. Hence the palace, the *ḥammām*, the mosque (which Brisch thinks to be later than the palace) and some of the buildings next to the palace, can be attributed to al-Walīd. Some other buildings are definitely later than the palace, because building material from the palace was used in their construction. It is hard to determine whether there were only two periods of building activity or more. Around the south side of the church a group of very small houses with rather irregular plans is clustered. These differ from the plans of most of the buildings at Djabal Says and might represent a third period of building activity, earlier or later than the two already isolated. A pre-Islamic date is suggested by the church (but we also find a church in the Umayyad settlement of ʿAndjar [see ʿAYN AL-DJARR] in Lebanon), by an inscription found at Djabal Says with the name of the Ghassānid ruler Ḥārith b. Djabala, dated 528, and by a Roman coin.

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(H. GAUBE)

DJABALA B. AL-ḤĀRITH, Ghassānid chieftain [see GHASSĀN] of the pre-Islamic period, who made his début in Ghassānid - Byzantine relations *ca.* 500 A.D., when he mounted an offensive against Palestina Tertia but was beaten by Romanus, the *dux* of that province. Shortly afterwards in 502, Byzantium concluded a treaty with the Ghassānids and recognised them as its new allies (*foederati*). Throughout the remaining part of the reign of the emperor Anastasius (491-518), the sources are silent on Djabala, who was probably not yet the Ghassānid king but was acting as the general of his father, al-Ḥārith b. Thaʿlaba.

In the reign of the emperor Justin (518-27), Djabala came into prominence, now as the king of the Ghassānid federates, whom he ruled from al-Djābiya [*q.v.*], his seat in the Djawlān. By that time, the Ghassānids had been won over to Monophysite Christianity and had become its staunch supporters. However, the return of Byzantium to the Chalcedonian position and Justin's expulsion of the Monophysite bishops alienated the Ghassānids and their king, who consequently would not take part in the defence of the oriental provinces against the Persians and their Lakhmid allies, and could not come to the succour of their coreligionists in South Arabia during the reign of Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*]. But in all probability, it was he who enabled al-Aws and al-Khazradj of Medina to achieve an ascendancy over the Jewish tribes there, Abū Djubayla of the Arabic sources being none other than Djabala himself or one of his relatives.

With the accession of the emperor Justinian (527-65), there was a reconciliation with the Monophysites; the Ghassānids under Djabala returned to service to fight the wars of Byzantium against the Persians and the Lakhmids, but Djabala was not destined to live much longer. His more illustrious son, al-Ḥārith b. Djabala, is attested as king already in 529, and the presumption is that Djabala died at the battle of Thannuris in Mesopotamia in 528, commanding the Ghassānid contingent in the

Byzantine army against the Persians; the Syriac authors remember him under the nickname of Aṭfar.

In the list of Ghassānid buildings, three are attributed to Djabala, sc. al-Ḳanāṭir, Adhruḥ, and al-Ḳasṭal.

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(I. A. Shahid)

DJĀBIR b. **ʿABD ALLĀH** b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām b. Kaʿb b. Ghanm b. Salima, Abū ʿAbd Allāh (or Abu ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, or Abū Muḥammad) al-Salamī al-Khazradjī al-Anṣārī, Companion of the Prophet. His father, ʿAbd Allāh, was one of the seventy men of Aws and Khazradj who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance at the ʿAḳaba Meeting [see al-ʿaḳaba] and committed themselves to defend him. His father is also recorded in the list of the twelve *nuḳabāʾ*, the chosen group from among the seventy; Djābir himself had attended the Meeting as a very young boy, and is therefore counted in the list of "the Seventy" and in the honourable list of those who embraced Islam together with their fathers. His father prevented him from taking part in the two encounters at Badr and Uḥud, leaving him at home to look after his seven (or nine) sisters. A report according to which he attended the battle of Badr and drew water for the warriors is denied authenticity by al-Wāḳidī and marked by him as an ʿIrāḳī tradition. On the Day of Uḥud, Djābir lost his father, his mother's brother ʿAmr b. al-Djamūḥ and his cousin Khallād. Djābir's father distinguished himself in the fight and was the first Muslim warrior killed in this battle. The Prophet did not object to Djābir mourning for him, and gave him permission to uncover his face. ʿAbd Allāh was buried according to the Prophet's ruling as a martyr on the spot where he fell, clad in his garment, with his wounds still bleeding. The Prophet personally suggested that he should act as father to Djābir and put ʿĀʾisha in his mother's place. On the day following the battle of Uḥud, Djābir asked, and was granted permission to join the force dispatched by the Prophet to Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad. After that, Djābir accompanied the Prophet on 18 or so expeditions.

The Prophet showed great concern for Djābir and his family and often came to his dwelling. Djābir's family, who were familiar with his tastes, used to prepare for the Prophet his favourite kind of meal. On one such visit the Prophet blessed the family of Djābir and their abode, on another he cured Djābir of fever by sprinkling on him water which he had used for ablution. The Prophet gave his approval for Djābir to marry a woman who was not a virgin, and who would take care of his sisters. By his blessing, he helped Djābir to pay a debt which his father owed to the Jew Abū Shaḥma, and he invoked God's forgiveness for him when he bought his camel (*laylat al-baʿīr*).

After the death of the Prophet, ʿUmar appointed Djābir chief (*ʿarīf*) of his clan. During the military operations of the conquest of Damascus he was sent as a member of an auxiliary force dispatched to Khālid b. al-Walīd. On another occasion he was dispatched by ʿUmar with a small group to al-Kūfa. When the rebellious Egyptian troops advanced to Medina in order to besiege the house of ʿUthmān, Djābir was among the group sent by the caliph to negotiate with them and appease them. He is said to have fought on the side of ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn (37/657) and then to have returned to Medina. During the expedition of Busr b. Arṭāt (40/660), Djābir was compelled to swear allegiance to Muʿāwiya; this he did in precautionary dissimulation (*taḳiyya* [*q.v.*]), after having consulted Umm Salama, the wife of the Prophet. This is a new trait of character, indicating Shīʿī sympathies, and is one of the earliest cases of *taḳiyya* mentioned in the texts. As an indication of Djābir's attachment to Medina and to the relics of the Prophet, one may adduce the report that he and Abū Hurayra prevailed upon Muʿāwiya to leave the *minbar* of the Prophet in Medina and not to transfer it to Syria. He is said to have visited the court of ʿAbd al-Malik and to have asked him for some grants for the people of Medina. When the force sent by Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya against Medina (63/683) entered the city, Djābir openly voiced his objection, circulating an utterance of the Prophet about the punishment which would befall people who affrighted the city. He was saved from death by Marwān when a man, enraged by his words, attacked him intending to kill him. After the victory of al-Ḥadjdjādj over Ibn al-Zubayr (73/692), al-Ḥadjdjādj ordered the hands of some of the opponents of the Umayyad rule to be stamped in the same way as was done to the *dhimmīs* and Djābir was among those opponents. Djābir's sharp criticism and unkind words with regard to the rulers, especially al-Ḥadjdjādj, provoked the latter's caustic remark that Djābir displayed the same pride as the Jews (by which, of course, the Anṣār were meant).

Djābir died at 78/697 at the age of 94 (other reports, however, give varying dates). He is said to have been the last survivor of the group of 70 Anṣār who attended the ʿAḳaba Meeting, thus fulfilling a prediction of the Prophet. The prayer over his grave was performed by the governor of Medina, Abān b. ʿUthmān, or according to another tradition, by al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf when he came to Medina after his victory over ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

Djābir is noted as a most prolific narrator of traditions from the Prophet. The number of those going back to him is estimated at 1,540; al-Bukhārī and Muslim recorded 210 *ḥadīths* transmitted by him in their compilations, and the subject-range of his transmission is extremely wide. Of special interest are Djābir's reports about events which he witnessed and details furnished by him about expeditions in which he took part. Djābir was highly respected by the scholars of *ḥadīth* and is counted in the lists of reliable transmitters and the *aṣḥāb al-futyā*. He used to recite his traditions in the mosque of Medina; his sessions of *ḥadīth*-transmission were attended by a wide circle of students, who would discuss the traditions of their master after leaving the mosque. A composition known as *ṣaḥīfat Djābir* contained a great number of traditions recorded by him. Scholars of *ḥadīth* were eager to circulate traditions on his authority, without always observing the necessary rules of *ḥadīth* transmission. Even a distinguished pious scholar like al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was suspected of reporting some traditions on the direct authority of Djābir, although he never was

his disciple. The impressive list of those who transmitted his traditions includes the names of three of his sons: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAḳīl and Muḥammad. His descendants are said to have settled in North Africa, in a place called al-Anṣāriyya.

In Shīʿī tradition, Djābir was granted an exceptionally high rank. The *ḥadīths* recorded in Shīʿī sources on his authority touch upon the fundamental tenets of Shīʿī belief: the mission of ʿAlī, his qualities, his authority over the believers, the graces granted him by God, the divine virtues of his descendants and the duties of allegiance and obedience incumbent upon the believers. It was the *imām* al-Bāḳir who asked Djābir about the Tablet which God sent down to Fāṭima and which Djābir got permission to copy. In this Tablet God named the *imāms* and established their order of succession. It is noteworthy that, according to some versions, the *imām* compared the copy of Djābir with the Tablet in his possession and stated that the copy is a reliable and accurate one. In another story, Djābir confirms the accuracy of the unusual report about the *hidjra* as told him by the *imām*. Djābir is credited with the *ḥadīth* about the appointment of ʿAlī as *waṣī*, which forms the base of the Shīʿī interpretation of Sūra LIII, 1-4. It was he who reported the utterance of the Prophet that ʿAlī is the *ṣirāṭ mustaḳīm*, the right path to be followed. The *imām* al-Bāḳir stressed that Djābir was privileged to possess knowledge of the correct interpretation of Sūra XXVIII, 85, which, according to him, refers to the *radjʿa*, the re-appearance of the Prophet and ʿAlī. Among further Shīʿī traditions reported on Djābir's authority is the one which states that there are two weighty things left by the Prophet for the Muslim community: the Ḳurʾān and his Family (*al-ʿitra*). Another tradition has it that the angel Djibrīl bade the Prophet proclaim the vocation of ʿAlī and his descendants, the *imāms*, and tell the Muslim community about ʿAlī's distinguished position on the Day of Resurrection and in Paradise. The Sunnī version of Djābir's report that the first thing created by God was the Light of Muḥammad had its Shīʿī counterpart, traced back to Djābir, which said that this Light was split into two parts: the Light of Muḥammad and the Light of ʿAlī, and that it was later transferred to the succeeding *imāms*. It is on the authority of Djābir that the significant tradition which states that the last persons to be with the Prophet when he died were ʿAlī and Fāṭīma is reported. Some of his traditions relate the miracles of ʿAlī. ʿAlī ascended to Heaven in order to put down the rebellion of the wicked *djinn*, who denied his authority and a luminous angel prayed in his place in the mosque. Another miracle happened when ʿAlī walked with Djābir on the bank of the Euphrates: a very high wave covered ʿAlī; when he reappeared completely dry after a short time, he explained that it had been the Angel of the Water who greeted and embraced him.

Djābir is distinguished in the Shīʿī tradition by a significant mission entrusted to him by the Prophet: he was ordered to meet the *imām* al-Bāḳir and to convey to him the greetings of the Prophet, which he did. This created a peculiar relationship between the elderly bearer of the good tidings and the young recipient, the *imām* al-Bāḳir. According to tradition, the two used to meet, and some of the traditions transmitted by al-Bāḳir are told on the authority of Djābir and traced back to the Prophet. It is evident that the idea that the *imām* might have derived his knowledge from a human being is opposed to the principles of the Shīʿa. It had thus to be justified that it was merely done in order to put an end to the accusations of the Medinans, who blamed al-Bāḳir for transmitting *ḥadīths* on the authority of the Prophet, whom he had never seen. As the traditions reported by Djābir and those independently reported by the *imām* and revealed to him by God were in fact identical, the insertion of Djābir's name between the name of the *imām* and that of the Prophet was quite a formal act, with no significance. A few traditions are indeed reported with names of some Companions inserted between the *imām* and the Prophet. In one of the traditions it is explained that this insertion may make the *ḥadīth* more acceptable to people, although it is obvious that the *imāms* knew more than that Companion whose name was inserted between the *imām* and the Prophet.

The close relationship of Djābir with the family of ʿAlī is also exposed in the story relating that Fāṭima bint ʿAlī asked Djābir to intervene and to persuade Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn to cease his excessive devotional practices which might be harming for his health. It was a sign of respect and faith that, when Ḥusayn asked his enemies on the battle-field of Karbalāʾ to save his life, quoting the utterance of the Prophet that he and his brother were the lords of the youths of Paradise (*sayyidā shabāb ahl al-djanna*), he referred to Djābir who would vouch for the truth of the utterance. Djābir is said to have been present at the grave of Ḥusayn shortly after he was killed and to have met there the family of Ḥusayn who were sent back by Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya. Another Shīʿī tradition reports about his visit to the grave of Ḥusayn and his moving speech over the grave.

Djābir had intimate relations with the family of ʿAlī and especially with the two *imāms* Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and al-Bāḳir. There are some Shīʿī attempts to link him with Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ and to fix the date of his death at the beginning of the 2nd century A.H.

Finally, the high position of Djābir in Shīʿī tradition is expressed by the fact that he was placed in the list of the four persons who clung to the true faith and in the list of the nine persons to whom ʿAlī promised that they would be in Paradise.

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DJĀBIR AL-DJUʿFĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH or ABŪ MUḤAMMAD B. YAZĪD B. AL-ḤĀRITH, Kufan Shīʿī traditionist of Arab descent. His chief teacher seems to have been al-Shaʿbī [*q.v.*] (d. 100/718-19). Among other well-known traditionists, from whom he related, were ʿIkrima, ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ and Ṭāwūs. Initially, he held the moderate Shīʿī views widespread among the Kūfan traditionists. Later he joined the more radical Shīʿī circles looking to Muḥammad al-Bāḳir (d. *ca.* 117/735) and his son Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ for religious guidance. According to some Sunnī heresiologists, he became the leader of the extremist Shīʿī followers of al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd after the latter was killed by Khālid al-Ḳasrī, governor of Kūfa, in 119/737. Imāmī sources, on the other hand, report a statement of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ commending him for having said the truth about the *imāms* while condemning al-Mughīra for lying about them. This makes it appear unlikely that Djābir actually belonged to the Mughīriyya, who recognised the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh as their *imām*, but does point to some relationship between him and al-Mughīra. According to another Imāmī report, Djābir first aroused the suspicions of Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, governor of Kūfa (120-6/738-44), and then incited the people of Kūfa against his successor, Manṣūr b. Djumhūr (126/744). According to most sources, he died in 128/745-6. Other death dates given for him are 127/744-5 and 132/749-50.

Sunnī *ḥadīth* criticism was divided concerning his trustworthiness. His transmission was evidently accepted at first as reliable and highly accurate but later, as his Shīʿī attitude became more radical, he was shunned. Thus Sufyān al-Thawrī and Shuʿba related on his authority and noted his reliability, though critical judgments are also reported from them. Abū Ḥanīfa is said to have condemned him as a notorious liar who claimed to have a *ḥadīth* for every legal question. Among the authors of the canonical collections of *ḥadīth*, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Mādja quoted a few traditions in which he appears in the chain of transmitters. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim excluded him, the latter quoting negative reports about him in the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo [1963?], i, 15). The standard accusations against him were that he believed in the *radjʿa* [*q.v.*] and that he claimed secret knowledge of many thousands of *ḥadīth*s which

he would not divulge. The Imāmī attitude to him was also ambiguous. While he was considered a loyal supporter of the *imāms* al-Bāḳir and al-Ṣādiḳ, he was described as "mixed-up" (*mukhtalit*) by scholars opposed to extremist tendencies. Several Imāmī traditionists who related from him, ʿAmr b. Shimr, Mufaḍḍal b. Ṣāliḥ, Munakhkhal b. Djamīl and Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, were accused of extremism and considered weak transmitters. The *ghulāt*, on the other hand, recognised him as the most intimate disciple of Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, who was fully initiated into the mysteries of the gnostic knowledge and superhuman nature of the *imām*, and they ascribed miraculous qualities and powers to him. It is uncertain to what extent reports later circulating under his name among the *ghulāt* go back to Djābir, whatever his relations with the contemporary Shīʿī extremists. An early Imāmī source states that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, leader of the extremist followers of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], after the latter's death in 131/748-9, spread extremist doctrines about metempsychosis, pre-existence of the human souls as shadows (*aẓilla*) and cyclical history (*dawr* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), ascribing them to Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī and Djābir al-Djuʿfī "who were innocent of them" (see al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 31).

The Imāmī scholar al-Nadjāshī (d. 450/1058) mentions the following books of Djābir as still available to him: *K. al-Tafsīr*, *K. al-Nawādir*, *K. al-Faḍāʾil*, *K. al-Djamal*, *K. Ṣiffīn*, *K. al-Nahrawān*, *K. Maḳtal Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, and *K. Maḳtal al-Ḥusayn*. Djābir occasionally appears in al-Ṭabarī's Ḳurʾān commentary and his *Taʾrīkh* as a transmitter of Ḳurʾān exegesis and in the latter work also as a transmitter of reports on the caliphate of ʿAlī and the death of al-Ḥusayn (see Ṭabarī, index s.v. Djābir al-Rāwī). It is unlikely, however, that al-Ṭabarī was quoting directly from any works of Djābir. Extensive quotations of his reports concerning the battle of Ṣiffīn and the caliphate of ʿAlī are contained in the *K. Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim. Naṣr's authority for them was, however, ʿAmr b. Shimr, who is accused by the Shaykh al-Ṭūsī of having made additions to Djābir's books.

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(W. Madelung)

DJABR (A.), compulsion in marriage exercised upon one or other of the prospective partners, under conditions which vary according to the judicial schools. The right of *djabr* is foreseen neither by the Ḳurʾān nor by the *Sunna*, and a *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 42) actually declares that neither the father nor any other person may give in marriage without her consent a virgin or a woman who has already been under the authority of a husband; the Prophet himself consulted his daughter Fāṭima before giving her in marriage to ʿAlī, but it seems that the majority of early Muslim jurists preferred to follow an ancient Arab custom. Later traditions confirm their point of view, and all the schools made *djabr* a point of doctrine, without always employing this term, which does not appear with this particular sense in the classical dictionaries.

In general, this right belongs to the master when applied to slaves of both sexes, on condition that they suffer no damage (see ʿABD), or to the father, grandfather or testamentary guardian (*waṣī*) in other cases; in principle, the *walī* [see WILĀYA] is only considered to exercise this right by the Ḥanafīs, and by the Mālikīs in the case of an orphan girl who does not have a *waṣī*. Except when subject to impediment [see HADJR], boys normally acquired the right to consent to their marriage after puberty [see BĀLIGH], so that they escaped from *djabr* at an early age, in the legal sense at least. So it is upon girls that the arrangements relative to matrimonial compulsion have the most relevant effect in classical Muslim law.

According to the Ḥanafīs, even the *walī* may arrange a marriage in the name of children of either sex who are below the age of puberty, and in the case of the girl in particular, this applies whether she is a virgin or not. On attaining puberty boys and girls enjoy a right of choice (*khiyār*) if they have been married by their *walī mudjbir*, who according to this school may be chosen from among a wide range of agnatic relatives; if it is the father or the grandfather who has exercised the right of *djabr*, however, no annulment is possible. A slave woman given in marriage by her master against her will may also annul her marriage if she is enfranchised.

According to the Shāfiʿīs, the *walī* may not give a virgin girl in marriage without her consent, at least tacit; only the father or the grandfather in fact exercises the right of *djabr*, but in this school, it is the notion of virginity which is crucial, the loss of virginity, whether legal, accidental or illegal, conferring upon the interested party the right to consent to her marriage (or re-marriage) even if she is still below the age of puberty.

For the Ḥanbalīs, the conditions for the exercise of the right of *djabr* approximate to those of the Mālikīs, who show themselves the most rigorous in combining the notions of impuberty and of virginity. In fact the father has the right to give his daughter in marriage without her consent, not only if she is subject to impediment, as in the other schools, but also, with certain restrictions, if she is a virgin, whether past the age of puberty (she may even be an old maid) or below it; he exercises the right of *djabr* equally over a pre-pubescent girl deflowered after a legal marriage, and over a post-pubescent girl deflowered accidentally or illegally. There is no right of choice, but the father is obliged to respect the principle according to which the partners must be well-suited [see KAFĀʾA]. So in order to escape the paternal *djabr*, the daughter must be past the age of puberty and legally deflowered (*thayyib*) or, if she has preserved her

virginity after the age of puberty, she must be emancipated in respect of property, or married for a year or less and divorced, or a widow whose marriage has not been consummated. The *walī* other than the father is never *mudjbir*, that is to say that he only has the right to give a girl in marriage when she is past puberty, but her consent, more or less tacit, is then required; having become *thayyib*, she must give an explicit consent through the intermediary of her *walī*.

Among the Imāmī Shīʿīs, the right of *djabr* belongs to the father, and, with certain reservations, to the grandfather. In early times, it was applied to the virgin daughter whatever her age, but ultimately it was decided that the post-pubescent virgin is no longer subject to it.

Such is the theory. In practice, the governments of the majority Muslim states, whether independent or under foreign protectorate, have long ago attempted to curb the right of *djabr* by fixing the age of marriage at twelve and above for girls and by forbidding the *ḳāḍīs* to conduct unduly premature weddings; but is has not always been possible to exercise a very strict control. In the states which have modern legal systems, this right has been totally abolished or restrained by the necessity of the mutual consent of the parties, even if the mediation of the *walī* is still required (if the latter refuses, it is possible to have recourse to the judge). There remain, however, vestiges of it in the most modern legal codes, such as that of Morocco which provides (art. 12) that the judge has the right to use compulsion in a case where it is feared that a girl will misbehave if allowed to remain a spinster.

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(CH. PELLAT)

DJABRIDS, a dynasty based in al-Aḥsāʾ [*q.v.*] in eastern Arabia in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries. The Banū Djabr descended from ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa b. ʿUḳayl.

The founder of the dynasty was Sayf b. Zāmil b. Djabr, who supplanted the Djarwānids of ʿUḳayl [see AL-ḲAṬĪF]. Sayf's brother and successor Adjwad was born in the desert in the region of al-Aḥsāʾ and al-Ḳaṭīf in Ramaḍān 821/October 1418. Adjwad in his fifties was strong enough to become involved in the politics of Hormuz on the other side of the Gulf. He told the Medinan historian al-Samhūdī how he had visited the tomb of Kulayb, the hero of the saga of the war of al-Basūs, in Ḥimā Ḍariyya [*q.v.*], a tomb revered by a Bedouin cult. Adjwad extended his authority westwards into Nadjd and towards ʿUmān in the east, where he gathered tribute. He won fame as a captain who had suffered many wounds in battle. At the same time he was distinguished for his piety; he diligently collected books of the Mālikī law school to which he adhered, a school with many followers in eastern Arabia. Some of the Mālikī judges whom he appointed were converts from the Shīʿa. He made frequent pilgrimages, the last being in 912/1507, when he was said to have led a throng of 30,000. His generosity was such that the Bedouins of eastern Arabia still remember him as a sort of latter-day Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī. The traces of a fort near the village of al-Munayzila in al-Aḥsāʾ are known as Ḳaṣr Adjwad b. Zamīl.

With the arrival of the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf in 913/1507, Albuquerque learned of the power of the Djabrids. Adjwad had just died, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom was Muḳrin. The famous pilgrimage in 926/1520 by Muḳrin, whom the Egyptians visiting Mecca regarded as "the lord of the Bedouins of the East", is described in AL-ḲAṬĪF.

Back from al-Ḥidjāz, Muḳrin in Shaʿbān 927/ July 1521 encountered a Portuguese force that had descended on the island of al-Baḥrayn. Having married a daughter of the Amīr of Mecca, Muḳrin had brought with him Turkish craftsmen and sailors to build and man a fleet to oppose the Christian enemy and had strengthened his army with 400 Persian archers and 20 Ottoman sharp-shooters. The battle took place on land. After a heroic resistance, Muḳrin fell gravely wounded and died three days later.

In 928/1521 Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, the Djabrid field commander in ʿUmān, joined the Portuguese in expelling the Persian garrison from Ṣuḥār on the coast of the Gulf of ʿUmān, and the Portuguese recognised Ḥusayn as the new governor there, describing him as master of the whole stretch of territory southwards to Ẓafār on the Arabian Sea.

As the 10th/16th century wore on, the Djabrids grew weaker in the face of an Ottoman advance from the north and incursions by the Sharīf of Mecca from the west. Rāshid b. Mughāmis of the Muntafiḳ, an Ottoman subject, dealt the Djabrids a crippling blow in 931/1524-5. An inscription in Masdjid al-Dibs in al-Hufūf, the capital of al-Aḥsāʾ, bears the name of the first Ottoman governor, Meḥmed Farrūkh Pasha, and the date 963/1556.

In 986/1578-9 the Sharīf Ḥasan b. Abī Numayy, while besieging Miʿkāl in the oasis of al-Riyāḍ, captured a number of the leading figures there, among whom there may have been members of Banū Djabr. Three years later the same Sharīf took towns and forts in al-Khardj and al-Yamāma. On the way home, the Sharīf was attacked by Bedouins of Banū Khālid, whom he routed. This incident lends credence to the likelihood of a direct connection between the Djabrids and this tribe, particularly its section named the Djubūr.

Bibliography: al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, Cairo 1326; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, i, Cairo 1353; ʿUthmān b. Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-madjd*, n. pl. 1391; A. de Albuquerque, *Comentarios*, Coimbra 1923; J. de Barros, *Decades da Asia*, Lisbon 1628;

M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii/i, ed. W. Caskel, Wiesbaden 1952; W. Caskel, *Ein "unbekannte" Dynastie in Arabien*, in *Oriens*, ii (1949), 66-71; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Nāṣir al-Ḥumaydān, *al-Taʾrīkh al-siyāsī li-imārat al-Djubūr fī Nadjd wa-shark al-djazīra al-ʿarabiyya, 820/1417-931/1525*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb, Djāmiʿat al-Baṣra*, No. 16 (1980) (detailed study; includes genealogical table); idem, *Nufūdh al-Djubūr fī shark al-djazīra al-ʿarabiyya baʿd zawāl saltatihim al-siyāsiyya, 931/1525-1288/1871*, in *op. cit.*, No. 17 (1980).

(G. Rentz)

DJĀDJARM, a town in the western part of mediaeval Khurāsān in Persia, now a town and also a *bakhsh* or sub-district in the *shahrastān* or district of Budjnurd in the Khurāsān *ustān*. It lies at the western end of the elongated plain which stretches almost from Bisṭām in the west almost to Nīshāpūr in the east, which is drained by the largely saline Kāl-i Shūr stream, and which is now traversed by the Tehran-Nīshāpūr-Mashhad railway.

The mediaeval geographers, up to and including Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 392-3, 430), advert to the fertility of the region of Djādjarm, which they describe as a well-fortified town, with cereals and fruit, and with water from springs which was conveyed to the field by *kanāts*. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982), tr. Minorsky, 102, describes it as "the emporium of Gurgān, Ḳūmis and Nīshāpūr". It lay on an important caravan route which ran westward from Nīshāpūr through Djuwayn, along the plain and then by the Dīnār-Sārī defile through mountains down to the Caspian lowlands; it was this route which Masʿūd of Ghazna's army took in 426/1035 when that ruler marched against the Ziyārid prince of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān Manūčihr b. Ḳābūs, see Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 448-9. In the Mongol and Il-Khānid periods this route was particularly well-traversed, and the Spanish envoy Clavijo gives a detailed account of his journey via Djādjarm, see *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406*, tr. Le Strange, London 1928, 176.

In Ṣafawid and Ḳādjār times. Djādjarm clearly declined, and the earlier fertility largely disappeared; the region doubtless suffered until the later 19th century from the insecurity engendered by Türkmen incursions into northern Khurāsān. C.E. Yate in the 1890s estimated that Djādjarm had 500 houses; B. Spooner in 1961 estimated that the town had 800 households or *ca.* 5,500 persons. It seems, therefore, that the town has received a modest amount of prosperity in recent decades; the main cash crop of the district today is cotton.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see B. Spooner, *Arghiyān. The area of Jājarm in western Khurasan*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, iii (1965), 97-107, and J. Aubin, *Réseau pastoral et réseau caravanier, les grand'routes du Khurassan à l'époque mongole*, in *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, i, Geneva-Paris 1971, 105-30 (corrects certain errors of Le Strange and Spooner, especially the wrongful identification of the mediaeval district of Arghiyān with Djādjarm). For the *ʿulamāʾ* of Djādjarm, see Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, iii, 160-1, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 92.

(C.E. Bosworth)

DJĀDJARMĪ, a *nisba* referring to Djādjarm [*q.v.* above] in western Khurāsān, the name of two Persian poets, father and son, who flourished in the Mongol period.

1. The elder, Badr al-Dīn b. ʿUmar, made his career under the patronage of the Djuwaynīs [*q.v.*], a clan originating from the same area, which came to political power under the early Il-Khāns. He was in particular connected with the governor of Iṣfahān, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Djuwaynī (d. 678/1279). The contemporary poet Madjd-i Hamgar, who also belonged to the circle of this patron, is said to have been his teacher. Badr al-Dīn used as his pen-name either Badr or Badr-i Djādjarmī. He wrote elegies on the death of Bahāʾ al-Dīn, of Shams al-Dīn Ṣāḥib-Dīwān and on the death of the mystic Saʿd al-Din Hammūʾī, another close relation of the Djuwaynīs. His own death occurred in Djumādā II 686/August 1287. Fragments of his poetry have been preserved in the anthology compiled by his son, but he also retained the attention of the *tadhkira*-writers (cf. e.g. Dawlatshāh, 219 ff.; see further Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh*, 558). Although the pretentious title *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* has become attached to his name, his works represent the average of the poetry of his age. Notable are two poems of a didactic nature: a short *mathnawī* in the metre *khafīf* on palmoscopy (*ikhtilādj* [*q.v.*]), and a *kaṣīda* dealing with prognostics (*ikhtiyārāt* [*q.v.*]) based on the position of the moon in the various *burūdj* (cf. *Muʾnis*, ii, 861-75 and 1218-21).

2. Muḥammad b. Badr, the son, is only known through his extensive anthology of poetry entitled *Muʾnis al-aḥrār fī daḳāʾiḳ al-ashʿār*, which was completed in Ramaḍān 741/February-March 1341. It is distinguished from the works of the *tadhkira* type by the lack of any biographical data concerning the poets whose works are represented in the collection, as well as by its method of arrangement. The collection contains poems of about 200 different poets from various periods, but the emphasis is on the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. The anthologist frequently quotes his father, and has inserted some specimens of his own work as well. Apart from that, the Iṣfahānī poet Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], one of the early masters of the so-called "Irāḳī style", appears to be a distinct favourite. The poems have been arranged into thirty chapters according to their subject-matter, genre or poetical form. Most of them are unabridged. This anthology constitutes a valuable source for the study of mediaeval Persian literature in many respects. It has preserved much material from the Il-Khānid period, but also from earlier periods, that otherwise would have been lost. Chapter xxvii, on *rubāʿiyyāt*, contains a special section devoted to ʿUmar Khayyām, with a group of thirteen quatrains (added as an appendix to the edition of the *Robaʿiyyat-e Hakīm ʿOmar Khayyām* by Fr. Rosen, Berlin 1925). The nature of its arrangement provides a number of starting-points for the investigation of poetical genres.

The *Muʾnis al-aḥrār* has already been used as a source by Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat (cf. *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, lith. Tehran 1295, i, *muḳaddama*). But it became widely known only through the discovery of an autograph, dated Ramaḍān 741/February-March 1341, which formerly belonged to the Kevorkian Collection. This manuscript at first attracted the attention of art historians on account of a series of pictures illustrating, firstly, a poem entitled *ashʿār-i muṣawwar*, especially composed for illustration by *ustād* Muḥammad al-Rāwandī, and, secondly, the *ikhtiyārāt-i ḳamar* by Badr al-Dīn. The miniatures have been attributed to the Īndjū school of painting at Shiraz. The manuscript has been described in detail in the catalogue of the *Exhibition of the Kevorkian Collection ... exhibited at the Galleries of Charles*

of London . . . New York, March-April 1914, no. 264. After the auction of the collection in 1927, the six folios containing these paintings were dispersed to several public and private collections (cf. K. Hilter, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekwesen*, liv (1937), no. 48, and H. Buchtal, O. Kurz and R. Ettinghausen, *Ars Islamica*, vii (1940), 155, no. 48; see also Basil Gray, *La peinture persane*, Geneva 1961, 60 ff., but the interpretation of the pictures there is to be corrected). The literary contents of the manuscript were examined by M. Ḳazwīnī (*Bīst maḳāla*, ed. by ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1313/1934[1], 138-55; ed. Tehran 1332/1953[2], ii, 184-206; in English in *BSOS*, v (1928-30), 97-108). Several other copies, all, however, of a much later date, have since come to light (cf. e.g. A.J. Arberry, in *JRAS* (1939), 380-1; M.-T. Dāni͟shpaz͟hūh, *Madjalla-yi dāni͟shkada-i adabiyyāt-i Tihrān* viii (1339/1960), 504 ff.; Ṭabībī in the introduction to the second volume of his edition). The text has been edited by Mīr Ṣāliḥ Ṭabībī (2 vols., Tehran 1337-50/1958-71), who has supplied most of the lacunae in the autograph from the later manuscripts as well as from other sources.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the article, see F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati*, Wiesbaden 1963, 117 f.; G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, Tehran-Paris 1964, 6; D͟h. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīk͟h-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, iii/1, Tehran 1353/1974[2], 558-67; Sotheby's Spring Islamic Catalogue, Monday 23rd April 1979, 84, no. 144.

(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

DJAʿFAR B. ABĪ YAḤYĀ, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌL B. AḤMAD B. ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. ISḤĀḲ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-BUHLŪLĪ AL-ABNĀWĪ, Zaydī, scholar and *ḳāḍī*. His ancestors, including his father, were Ismāʿīlī *ḳāḍīs* of Ṣanʿāʾ under the Ṣulayḥids and Ḥātimids. His brother Yaḥyā (d. 562/1167) served the Ismāʿīlī Zurayʿids of ʿAdan as a panegyrist and judge. Djaʿfar converted to Zaydism at an unknown date and at first adhered to the doctrine of the Muṭarrifiyya [*q.v.*]. After the arrival of the K͟hurāsānian Zaydī scholar Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaḳī in Ṣaʿda in 541/1146, Djaʿfar studied with him. Al-Bayhaḳī represented the doctrine of the Caspian Zaydiyya and, with the support of the Zaydī *Imām* al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (d. 566/1170), who also studied with him, vigorously fought the Muṭarrifī heresy. In 545/1151, when al-Mutawakkil temporarily succeeded in wresting Ṣanʿāʾ from Ḥātim b. Aḥmad, he appointed Djaʿfar *ḳāḍī* of the town. *Ḳāḍī* Djaʿfar accompanied al-Bayhaḳī, when he left the Yaman, in order to pursue further studies with him and, after al-Bayhaḳī's unexpected death in al-Tihāma, continued his journey alone. He is known to have studied and received authorisation for the transmission of books in Mecca, in Kūfa, where he was present in D͟hu 'l-Ḥidjdja 550/February 1156, and in Rayy, where he received an *idjāza* on 1 Djumādā I 552/13 June 1157. His chief teacher in Rayy was the Zaydī scholar Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Kannī, from whom he later transmitted numerous works in the Yaman. In 554/1159 he returned to the Yaman and renewed his service to the *Imām* al-Mutawakkil. In this year he stirred up Sunnī antagonism in Ibb by propagating Muʿtazilī theology. He settled in Ṣanāʿ near Ṣanʿāʾ and taught in his *madrasa*, attracting numerous students as well as the strong opposition of the Muṭarrifiyya, who built their own *madrasa* next to the mosque of the town. In Waḳas͟h, the centre of Muṭarrifī learning, he debated with the prominent Muṭarrifī scholars Muslim al-Lahdjī and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yahīrī. In Djumādā I 556/May 1161 he preached at the funeral of the son of the *Imām*, who continued to support him in his struggle against the Muṭarrifiyya. He died in 573/1177-8 and was buried in Sanāʿ.

Ḳāḍī Djaʿfar played the most conspicuous role in the introduction of the religious literature of the Caspian Zaydī community to the Yaman. Through his transmission of this literature as well as through his own works, said to number more than thirty, in all fields of religious learning, he became the founder of a school which recognised the Caspian Zaydī *Imāms* as being equally authoritative teachers with the Yamanī *Imāms*, and he espoused the Baṣran Muʿtazilī doctrine in theology and legal methodology already adopted by most Zaydīs outside the Yaman, thus restoring ideological unity within the Zaydiyya. His school became predominant in the Yamanī community under the *Imām* al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217), who supported its views in his own many writings and waged a war of extermination against the Muṭarrifiyya.

Bibliography: Anonymous Yamanī chronicle, ms. Ambrosiana H 5, fols. 21b, 23b, 40b, 43b, 45; Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaḳāt fuḳahāʾ al-Yaman*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, Cairo 1957, 180; Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, i, ms. Ambrosiana B 130, fol. 139; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim, *G͟hāyat al-amānī*, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀs͟hūr, Cairo 1388/1968, i, 302; al-Siyāg͟hī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, Cairo 1347-49/1928-30, i, 12-14; al-Djundārī, *Tarādjim al-ridjāl*, in Ibn Miftāḥ, *al-Muntazaʿ al-muk͟htār*, i, Cairo 1332/1913, 9 f.; Brockelmann, I, 508, S. 1 344, 699 f.; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 204, 212-16. (W. MADELUNG)

DJAʿFAR B. MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN, Ismāʿīlī author and partisan of the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*]. He was the son of the first Ismāʿīlī missionary in Yaman, al-Ḥasan b. Faraḥ b. Ḥaws͟hab b. Zādān al-Kūfī, known as Manṣūr al-Yaman [*q.v.*]. When in the year 286/899 the chief of the Ismāʿīlī propaganda, ʿUbayd Allāh, claimed the imāmate, Manṣūr al-Yaman acknowledged him; the letter by which ʿUbayd Allāh tried to prove his ʿAlid descent has been preserved in Djaʿfar's *al-Farāʾid wa-ḥudūd al-dīn* (see H.F. Hamdani, *On the genealogy of Fatimid caliphs*, Cairo 1958). When after the death of Manṣūr al-Yaman (302/914-15) his sons were excluded from the leadership of the community in Yaman, they fell away from allegiance to the Fāṭimids, except Djaʿfar (see Mālik al-Yamānī, *Kas͟hf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. al-Kawt͟harī, 217). He came to the Mag͟hrib during the reign of the second Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḳāʾim (322-34/934-46); and under al-Manṣūr (334-41/946-53) he fought against the K͟hāridjī rebel Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*]. The merits of his father secured him the financial support of the caliph al-Muʿizz (341-65/953-75), when he was forced to pledge his house in al-Manṣūriyya (Ṣabra) to a creditor (see *Sīrat al-Ustād͟h Djawd͟har*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M.ʿA. S͟haʿīra 126 f.). The date of his death is not known; possibly he composed his *Taʾwīl al-zakāt* only in the last year of al-Muʿizz (see W. Madelung, *Imamat*, 96). The date 280/990 for his *Asrār al-nuṭaḳāʾ* has certainly no solid basis (see Madelung, *loc. cit.*); there is therefore no reason to take him for a grandson of Manṣūr al-Yaman, and all sources agree that he was his son.

Djaʿfar's works (see W. Ivanow, *Ismaili literature*, Tehran 1963, 21 f.; P. Kraus, in *REI*, vi (1932), 486 f.; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 578 f.) mostly treat of the allegorical exegesis (*taʾwīl*) of the Ḳurʾān and of the ritual duties (e.g. *al-Riḍāʿ fi 'l-bāṭin; Taʾwīl*

al-ḥurūf al-muʿdjama; Taʾwīl al-farāʾiḍ; Taʾwīl al-zakāt; Taʾwīl sūrat al-Nisāʾ). His *Asrār al-nuṭakāʾ* is a collection of legends of the prophets from Adam to Muḥammad. The gist of the "Book of the intervals and conjunctions" (*K. al-Fatarāt wa 'l-ḳirānāt*) ascribed to him, which P. Kraus (*loc. cit.*) incorrectly assigns to the later Ṭayyibiyya [*q.v.*] literature, consists of prophecies which expect as the Mahdī [*q.v.*] "the Fourth, the Seventh of the second heptad" (sc. of the three hidden *Imāms* and the four Fāṭimid caliphs), i.e. al-Muʿizz. The *Kitāb al-Kashf* ascribed to Djaʿfar contains six older treatises from early Fāṭimid times which have been clearly put together in the time of al-Ḳāʾim (see Madelung, *op. cit.*, 52 ff.).

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(H. Halm)

DJAGHATAY [see čaghatay].

DJALĀL al-DĪN MANGUBIRTĪ [see djalāl al-dīn khʷārazm shāh].

DJALĀLĀBĀD, a town of eastern Afghanistān, situated in lat. 34° 26' N. and long. 70° 27' E. at an altitude of 620 m./1, 950 ft. It lies in the valley of the Kābul River some 79 miles from Peshāwar to the east and 101 miles from Kābul city to the west, and is on the right bank of the river. As well as being roughly midway along the historic route connecting Kābul with the beginning of the plains of northern India, Djalābād is also strategically situated to command routes into Kāfiristān [*q.v.*] (modern Nūristān) and today, routes run northwards from it up to the Kānur and Alingār River valleys.

The area around Djalābād is that of the ancient Nangrahar (contemporary pronunciation, Nungrihar or Ningrahar; the name has now been revived, in the latter version, as the name of a modern Afghān province, see below), which was a flourishing region culturally and religiously, forming part of the Gandhara of the Sakas and then Kushans. Buddhism was strong there, and the early 7th century Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-Tsang records it as Na-ka-lo-ho = * Nagarahāra; cf. G.H. Macgregor, in *JASB*, xiii (1844), 867-80, T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India, 629-645 A.D.*, London 1904, 182-90, and *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, comm. 252-3. The Buddhist antiquities of the region have been exploited and looted since the 19th century; serious archaeological investigation dates from the work of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan 1923-8 at Hadda a few miles south of Djalālābād, mainly at Tepe Kalan stupa (J. Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Hadda*, Mems. DAFA, iv, Paris 1933, and vi, Paris 1930), and this has recently been continued by Sh. Mustamandī (*Nouvelles fouilles à Hadda (1966-1967) par l'Institut Afghane d'Archéologie*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, xix (1969), 15-36, cf. L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 306). This region of Nangrahar has also at times been included in the eastern part of that of Lamghān or Lamghānāt [*q.v.*].

The comparatively low-lying and sheltered valley here of the Kābul River gives Djalābād what Dupree has-called a "Mediterranean, dry-summer, sub-tropical climate" (this is in fact more accurate than Humlum's term "monsoon climate"). Rain falls mainly in the three winter months, and the mild climate has meant that Djalālābād has for long been a winter residence place for many Kābulīs and a winter haven for tribesmen of the climatically harsh slopes of the Safīd Kūh to the south of the river valley and of the Kāfiristān fringes. At present, Djalālābād is the centre of a rich area for the growing of sugar cane by irrigation, rice, fruits, etc., and a Ningrahar irrigation project, built around a dam in the Darunta gorge, has recently been undertaken. Ethnically, the Djalālābād region comprises some Tādjīk villagers but mainly Pushtūns of the Ghilzay, Shinwari, Khugiyani, Mohmand and Safi tribes.

The actual town of Djalālābād only appears in Islamic history during the Mughal period, and Akbar is said to have founded it in *ca.* 978/1570. Nādir Shāh Afshār campaigned in the district, and defeated the Pushtūn tribes at nearby Gandamak. It is during the 19th century that the town really comes into prominence. The American traveller Charles Masson was there in *ca.* 1826-7, and states that he discerned the ruinous mud walls of two earlier towns on the site, the contemporary town being the smallest of the three. The then governor of Djalālābād was Nawāb Muḥammad Zamān Khān b. Asʿad Khān, a nephew of Dōst Muḥammad [see dūst muḥammad], and the revenue of the whole province of Djalālābād, including that from the Tādjīk villages and from Laghmān, amounted to three lakhs (i.e. 300,000) of rupees (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842 (repr. Karachi 1974), i, 174-80; Sir Thomas Holdich, *The gates of India*, London 1910, 352 ff.).

Shortly after Masson's visit, Djalālābād was seized and sacked by Dōst Muḥammad in his expansion from Kābul (1834). It then played a crucial role in the First Afghan War (1839-42). It was occupied by Major-General Sir Robert Sale's brigade of the British forces ("the illustrious garrison") from November 1841 till April 1842 against the attacking Afghān army of Muḥammad Akbar Khān, and fortified by the British troops, despite a severe earthquake there in February 1842 which damaged the defences. It was Djalālābād that the remnants of Major-General William Elphinstone's ill-fated army straggled back from Kābul in January 1842, the town being only relieved three months later by Major-General George Pollock (see J.A. Norris, *The First Afghan War 1838-1842*, Cambridge 1967, 371 ff.). During the Second Afghan War (1879-80), Djalālābād was again occupied by British troops, who built a defence post, Fort Sale, one mile to the east of the town. It had now become a favoured winter residence of the *amīrs* of Kābul, and in 1892 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān [*q.v.*] built a palace and garden near the western gate of the walled town. When in 1919 the *amīr* Ḥabīb Allāh [*q.v.*] was assassinated in the Laghmān district, his brother Naṣr Allāh was briefly proclaimed king at Djalālābād, but abdicated in favour of his nephew Amān Allāh b. Ḥabīb Allāh. During the Third Afghan War, which followed these events almost immediately, Djalālābād was bombed from the air by the British (cf. L.W. Adamec, *Afghanistan 1900-1923, a diplomatic history*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 107-8, 117, 122). It was amongst the Shinwaris and other Pushtūn tribes of the Djalālābād region that the *amīr*Amān Allāh [*q.v.*, in Suppl.] endeavoured in 1928 to exert his centralised authority and to end the extortion of protection money (*badraḳa*) from caravans travelling to Peshāwar, provoking a rising of the Shinwaris in which, amongst other things, the rebels sacked the British consulate in Djalālābād; this rising, and the poor performance

of the royal Afghān army against it, were contributory causes of Amān Allāh's downfall and abdication in 1929 (cf. L.B. Poullada, *Reform and rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929, King Amanullah's failure to modernize a tribal society*, Ithaca and London 1973, 162 ff.).

The modern town has since 1964 been the provincial capital of Ningrahar; its population was estimated by J. Humlum at 20,000-30,000, swollen during the winter by the influx of Kābulīs and others (*La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 140). It has by now lost the protective wall and the bazaars of the old city, and the modern town has expanded towards the west. Djalālābād also possesses a military airport, originally built with US aid for civil purposes.

Bibliography (in addition to sources given in the article): *Imperial gazetter of India*, Oxford 1908, xiv, 11-13; *Area handbook for Afghanistan*, Washington D.C. 1973, index; and the general histories of Afghānistān (Fraser-Tytler, Masson and Romodin, Klimburg, etc.), especially for the events of the 19th century.

The name Djalālābād occurs elsewhere in the Central Asian and Indo-Afghān worlds. For the Djalālābād in the modern Kirghiz SSR, see the article s.v. in *EI*[2]. For the Djalālābād in Sīstān (= Dōshak), see Holdich, *op. cit.*, 335, 497. For the Djalālābād in the Shāhdjahānpūr District of Uttar Pradesh in India, situated on the Ganges and in lat. 27° 43' N. and long. 79° 40' E., said to have been founded by the Tughlukid Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, and the Djalālābād in the Muẓaffarnagar District of Uttar Pradesh, in lat. 29° 37' N. and long. 77° 27' E., said to have been founded by one Djalāl Khān under Awrangzīb, see *Imperial gazetteer of India*, xiv, 13-14.

(C.E. Bosworth)

DJALĀLĪ, a term in Ottoman Turkish used to describe companies of brigands, led usually by idle or dissident Ottoman army officers, widely-spread throughout Anatolia from about 999/1590 but diminishing by 1030/1620. The term probably derives from an earlier (925/1519) political and religious rebellion in Amasya by a Shaykh Djalāl. Official Ottoman use appears in a petition (*ʿarḍ*) as early as 997/1588 (Divan-i Kalemi 997-8-C), where the term identifies unchecked rebels (*ashkiyāʾ*) engaging in brigandage. Analysis of the three-decade period of *Djalālī* revolts indicates that these leaders had in common certain objectives which arose through deteriorating social and political conditions in Anatolia.

First, constant warfare for decades on the Ottoman boundaries expended men and treasure, leaving large areas of the Anatolian heartland without proper protection from local outlaws. By the later 10th/16th century, the Ottomans found themselves unable to move militarily beyond the lines generally established by Sulṭān Sulaymān Ḳānūnī, both in Hungary and is Persia. Hostilities continued with the Habsburgs from 1002/1593 until the Treaty of Zsitvatorok (11 November 1606); war in the east with the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] continued from 1012/1603 until the Treaty of Amasya in 1021/1612.

Second, deterioration in the economic stability of the Empire brought about serious imbalances. Monetary inflation, due largely to Mexican silver from Europe, caused a rapid increase in prices which affected daily-wage soldiers who, when pay was in arrears, increasingly either refused to fight or revolted. When the central government found itself without funds to disperse, it devised new sources of cash: sale of offices to wealthy purchasers, demands for increased tribute from subject nations, the sale of lands formerly administered by cavalrymen (*tīmārs* [*q.v.*]), debasement of the coinage, and the increase of peasant taxes. Food shortages, even widespread famine, occurred due to limited agricultural technology, a decade of drought (985-1577 to 993/1585), increase in population, heavy demands by Ottoman armies in both Europe and Persia, scorched-earth policies by the Ottoman and Persian armies in eastern Anatolia, and illegal sale of grain to European markets.

Third, as in other areas of the Mediterranean, Ottoman lands experienced unrest and banditry among classes normally quiescent. Peasants (*reʿāyā*) on cavalry lands sold as *iltizām* [*q.v.*] found their new absentee landlords interested more in profits than traditional patronage. Legally tied to their lands, peasants felt the oppression of the new landowners, whose excesses could not be bridled, and that of the tax collectors, many of whom could hardly be differentiated from brigands. With technological changes in warfare, increased numbers of Muslim *reʿāyā* enlisted as daily-wage musketeers (*sekbān*), returning to Anatolia after their campaigns jobless but expert in the military arts. Another normally tranquil group were students training in *madrasas* [*q.v.*] for positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy. Frustrated especially because their number far exceeded available positions, they wandered in groups across rural Anatolia, some preaching religious revival, and most of them participating in anti-social violence against small villages and lonely travelers (Akdağ, *Celâlî isyanları*, 85-100).

Fourth, misguided leadership within the Ottoman government kindled the great *Djalālī* rebellions. After the astonishing Ottoman victory over the Habsburgs at Ḥāč Owasī (Mezö-Keresztes [*q.v.*]) in Hungary on 23 October 1596, the newly-appointed grand vizier Čighāla-zāde Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*] declared forfeit the property and the lives of all who deserted (*firārī*) from the battle. The *Firārīs*, whose several thousands included many high-ranking officers, fled to Anatolia where they joined the forces of the *Djalālī* leader Ḳarāyazīdjī ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm and fought successfully against Ottoman armies for several years. The unsuccessful actions of important Ottoman generals, including Naṣūḥ Pasha against the *Djalālī* Ṭawīl Khālīl at Bolvadin (1014/1605), and Farhād Pasha's [*q.v.*] anti-*Djalālī* campaign of 1015/1606, demonstrated the need for greater military organisation and discipline in recognition of the seriousness of the rebellions.

Where Ottoman leadership often failed because of personal incompetence, bureaucratic sluggishness, and court intrigue, local *Djalālī* chiefs proved themselves master strategists and attractive leaders, with objectives in many ways unique in Ottoman history. Unlike most rebels, they did not attempt to establish a bureaucratic state and a taxation system, to coin money, or to have their names read in the Friday mosque prayer (*khuṭba*). The *Djalālī* leaders primarily desired a place for themselves in the established Ottoman order, usually accepting a pardon from the weak government, leading to the offer of positions as *sandjaḳ begis* or *beglerbegis*. At such a time, their rank and file became salaried and, as *ʿaskerīs* [*q.v.*], non-taxed. When they failed to obtain governmental recognition, both leaders and led lived on plunder, pillaging villages or outlying city districts, demanding enormous ransoms of the urban dwellers and incurring the hatred of the coun-

tryside. *Djalālī* bands ruled wide areas of Anatolia, communicated with one another, and occasionally acted in unity. Though commonly branded as proponents of the Persian Shāh ʿAbbās and of Shīʿa Islam, sectarian fervour played little part in their activities. Neither the Persian monarch nor any other foreign power gave them official recognition.

A different kind of rebellion occurred contemporaneously in northern Syria and is often erroneously considered to be a *Djalālī* revolt, possibly because of a short-lived alliance with some *Djalālī* leaders (Shidyāḳ, *Akhbār al-aʿyān*, 133). Djānbūlādoghlî ʿAlī Pasha based his revolt on the power of his well-known Kurdish family and Turkoman retainers, as well as on regional loyalties in Aleppo and Damascus. Official recognition came in the form of an alliance with the Grand Duke of Tuscany (Fondo Archivisto Modiceo, No. 4275 is the Italian copy of the treaty) and a vague understanding with the Ṣafawid Shāh (Wāsiṭī, *Talkhīṣāt*, f. 11b).

The dangerous international implications of Djānbūlādoghlî's revolt were not missed by the newly-appointed (1015/1606) grand vizier, the nonagenarian Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha. On the occasion of peace in Hungary, he immediately marched toward Aleppo, established military discipline, used a variety of loyal non-Anatolian as well as *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] forces, whom he paid promptly, and smashed the Syrian rebel Djānbūlādoghlî at Oruč Owasî near Lake ʿAmīḳ (1016/1607). Six months later he turned against the great *Djalālīs*, took advantage of their fickle individualism, pardoned some, executed most, and routed the army of Ḳalenderoghlî Meḥmed at Göksün Yaylasî, though the rebel leader fled to Persia. A year later Murād Pasha executed the last great *Djalālī* leader, Muslu Čawush.

In the years following Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha's death (1020/1611), though *Djalālī* faded from official use in the *Mühimme defterleri*, the term remained in Ottoman historical writing to identify certain Anatolian rebels. Ewliyā Čelebi in the mid-11th/mid-17th century mentions the "*Djalālī* Pashas" (*Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, 104), and Naʿīmā (*Taʾrīkh*, v, 155) describes the activities of a 12th/18th-century rebel as *Djalālīlik* ("like a *Djalālī*"). Today, the memory of the *Djalālīs* remains only in the folk songs of the Anatolian hero Köroghlu [*q.v.*].

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(W.J. GRISWOLD)

DJAMĀL AL-DĪN IṢFAHĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ, Persian poet of the later Saldjūḳ period, and father of a better-known poet Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*]. A goldsmith and miniature painter in his early years, he left his workshop, as his son tells us, to study, acquiring extensive theological knowledge, traces of which are to be found as characteristics in his ʿIrāḳī-styled poetry. Continuous eye troubles, a speech impediment, a large family of at least four sons, and a short tour through Ādharbāydjān and Māzandarān, very likely in search of more generous patrons, constitute all the details we know from his personal life. Besides local grandees of the Āl-i Ṣāʿid and Āl-i Khudjand, to whom he dedicated flattering *ḳaṣīdas*, his other patrons included some Saldjūḳ princes of ʿIrāḳ and a number of local rulers of Ādharbāydjān and Māzandarān. Among contemporary poets, he paid equivocal lip-service to Khāḳānī [*q.v.*], held friendly correspondence with Ẓahīr-i Fāryābī, and wrote mordant satires against Mudjīr-i Baylaḳānī. He also paid homage to

Anwarī and Ras͟hīd-i Waṭwāṭ [*q.vv.*], who seem to have ignored him rather disdainfully. D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn's ascetic ideas—including the idea of renunciation—are best presented in the *ḳaṣīdas* which he wrote in the fashion of Sanāʾī, though these are far inferior to Sanāʾī's ones. His *Dīwān*—comprising *ḳaṣīdas*, quatrains, and *g͟hazals*—contains no less than 10,000 verses and displays the lucid and flowing ʿIrāḳī style. D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn is said to have died either in 588/1192 or in 600/1203, the former being more likely.

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(A.H. Zarrinkoob)

D̲J̲AMĀL ḲARS͟HĪ, sobriquet of Abu 'l-Faḍl D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. K͟hālid, scholar and administrator in Turkestān during the Mongol era. He was born at Almalïg͟h around 628/1230-1, his father a *ḥāfiẓ* of Balāsāg͟hūn and his mother originating from Merw. He enjoyed the patronage of the local Turkish dynasty founded at Almalïg͟h [*q.v.*] by Būzār (or Uzār), and obtained a position in the chancellery there. In 662/1264, however, he was obliged to leave Almalïg͟h, and for the remainder of his life resided at Kās͟hg͟har, though travelling widely in western Turkestān.

In 681/1282 he composed a Persian commentary (*ṣurāḥ*) on the great lexicon *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* of D̲j̲awharī [*q.v.*], subsequently adding to it a historical and biographical supplement. D̲j̲amāl Ḳars͟hī's *Mulḥaḳāt al-Ṣurāḥ* is in fact the only historical source we possess emanating from the Central Asian state founded by Ḳaydu [*q.v.*]. Extracts of the work, which includes particularly valuable sections on the Ḳarak͟hānids [see ilek-k͟hāns] and the Mongol rulers of Turkestān [see čag͟hatay k͟hānate], surveys of various Central Asian cities, and biographies of local divines, were edited by Barthold in *Turkestan*, Russ. ed., i, 128-52. The *Mulḥaḳāt* was completed soon after the accession of Ḳaydu's son Čapar [*q.v.*] in 702/1303, the latest date mentioned.

The date of D̲j̲amāl Ḳars͟hī's death is unknown. The surname is due to his connection with the rulers of Almalïg͟h (*ḳars͟hī* = "palace"), and is not a *nisba* from *Ḳurays͟h* as was formerly supposed.

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(P. Jackson)

al-D̲J̲ĀMIʿA al-ʿARABIYYA, the Arab League. Established at the end of the Second World War, this reflects the desire to renew the original unity, a desire which has continued to be active in Muslim communities following the decline and subsequent collapse of the Arab-Islamic empire.

It was during the final years of the 19th century and before the First World War that Arab nationalists became aware of their national homogeneity, based on a common language and destiny, and on a similar way of life and culture (*kawmiyya* [*q.v.*]).

Egypt, reverting to the cause of Arabism between the two World Wars, in order to put an obstacle in the way of Hās͟himite designs (a plan for a Greater Syria conceived at ʿAmmān, or for a Fertile Crescent, put forward by Bag͟hdād) took the initiative of assembling in Alexandria representatives of the Arab States regarded as being independent. This meeting, marked by the signing of a protocol (7 October 1944), laid the foundations of a unity which was ratified the following year in Cairo, where on 22 March 1945 the Pact of the Arab League was signed by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Trans-jordan and Yemen.

Subsequently, the League has been joined by the following countries: Libya (1953), Sudan (1956), Tunisia and Morocco (1958), Kuwait (1961), Algeria (1962), South Yemen (1967), the United Arab Emirates, Ḳaṭar, Baḥrayn and ʿUmān (1971), Mauritania and Somalia (1974) and Djibouti (1977). Furthermore, the Palestine Liberation Organisation has been admitted, first in the capacity of an observer (1965), then as a full member (1976).

The text adopted by the founders after long discussion, is remarkable for its flexibility and its simplicity. It specifies that the object of the League is "the forging of links between the member States and the coordination of their policies" with the aim of fostering collaboration in respect of each one of them.

The components of the Organisation are currently the following:

— The Council of the League, the supreme body, which can meet at the level of Heads of State, Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers. Summit meetings composed of Heads of State since 1964 have been:

1. Cairo (13-17 January 1964).
2. Alexandria (5-11 November 1964).
3. Casablanca (13-18 January 1965).
4. Khartoum (29 August-2 September 1967).
5. Rabat (21-23 December 1969).
6. Algiers (24-29 November 1973).
7. Rabat (26-29 October 1974).
8. Cairo (25-26 October 1976).

The council decides questions of administration by a simple majority, but in all important cases, decisions are only binding if they have been taken unanimously. Conversely, they are binding only on the States that have voted for them (art. 7).

— Five other councils, at ministerial level (common defence, economics, information, health, youth) were instituted in 1950.

— Ten permanent committees are charged with studying various questions entrusted to them and submitting in various cases projects for resolution or recommendations.

— An administrative tribunal and a committee of financial control are directly responsible to the Council of the League.

— Seventeen specialised agencies have been instituted by particular agreements to investigate common technical problems.

— The permanent Secretariat-General, which is directed by a Secretary-General elected by a two-thirds majority, himself assisted by a number of additional secretaries, comprises several departments and controls specialised bureaux, institutes and social centres. Three Egyptians have successively held the office of Secretary General of the Arab League:

— ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAzzām Pas͟ha (March 1945-October 1952),

— ʿAbd al-K͟hāliḳ Ḥassūna (October 1952-May 1972).

— Maḥmūd Riyāḍ (since 1 June 1972).

The Secretariat-General maintains permanent delegations to the United Nations in New York and

Geneva, as well as Information Offices in the principal foreign capitals (Washington, New York, Ottawa, Paris, London, Bonn, Geneva, Brussels, Rome, Madrid, Buenos-Aires, Brasilia, Tokyo, New Delhi, Dakar, Lagos, Nairobi and Addis Ababa).

Since the creation of the Organisation various plans for reform have been proposed by different states: Syria (1951), Iraq (1954), Morocco (1959, 1963), Algeria, Iraq and Syria (1964). These projects have never come to fruition. Since June 1967 this subject has only been tackled by experts.

Conflicts between member States have not been lacking, leading to almost constant disputes between two or more of the partners. These have been motivated by various factors: frontier disputes, local subversion, differences over the choice of foreign policy, differences of approach concerning the manner of conducting the war or of obtaining peace in the Israeli-Arab conflict, abortive attempts at union, ideological rivalries, personal antagonisms and a permanent struggle for supremacy. Generally, the States concerned have avoided referring their quarrels to the Council of the League. They have preferred to solve their differences by seeking the arbitration either of bilateral diplomacy or of other, larger organisations, such as the U.N.O. or, since its inception in 1963, the O.A.U. In a number of cases, certain members have failed to attend meetings. Sometimes the tactics adopted by Egypt, by the very fact that the latter is host to the League, paralyse its activity. But to this day no decisive schism has interfered with its workings.

The League, which has supplied a considerable quantity of aid to liberation movements and has assisted the emancipation of Arab nations, serves in fact as a forum where mutual aggressions and rivalries may be diminished, and where, after the confrontation, a measure of co-existence develops.

In the economic sphere, it has given birth in 1948 to a bureau for the boycott of Israel, in 1950 to the Union of Chambers of Arab Commerce, Industry and Agriculture and in 1957 to the Council of Arab Economic Unity. It has played a not inconsiderable role in the matter of oil, organising congresses and providing facilities for meeting and observation attended by experts from all parts of the world, sessions which have themselves led to the establishment of groups of producing States such as O.P.E.C. (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) in 1960 and O.P.E.A.C. (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Arab Countries) in 1968.

It is in the name of the League that attempts have been made since 1964 to organise an Arab Common Market, which has never got beyond the stage of a free-trade zone limited to Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Jordan.

More recently there have been founded the A.F.E.S.D. (Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development) (1973), the Union of Arab Banks (1975), the Arab Institute for the Guarantee of Investments (1975) and the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (1975). Since 1973 the League has played a major role in the Arab-European dialogue and in Arab-African co-operation.

Handicapped by the weight of mentalities whose evolution remains very slow, paralysed by the political rivalry of member States, affected by the turbulence of an unstable international world, the League nevertheless plays a role that often goes unnoticed as a centre for contacts, exchanges and studies where Arabs may meet, learn to understand one another, overcome their difference and arrive at common solutions [See also the Addenda and Corrigenda].

Bibliography: Studies on the League are numerous but often partial. As the basis for a bibliography, one may consult A.M. Gomaa, *The foundations of the League of Arab States. Wartime diplomacy and inter-Arab politics, 1941 to 1945*, London-New York 1977; R.W. McDonald, *The League of Arab States, a study in the dynamics of regional organization*, New Jersey 1965; A. el-Telawi, *Le Secrétariat-général de la Ligue des États Arabes*, Paris II thesis (goes up to 1971). The activities of the League may be followed in specialist journals like *Cahiers de l'Orient contemporain*, Paris 1945-69; *Orient*, Paris 1957-69; and *Maghreb-Machrek*, Paris, since 1964. An overall view is given in the *Fiches du monde arabe*, Beirut. A recent publication by the League in Cairo is the monthly bulletin in Arabic, *Djāmiʿat al-duwal al-ʿarabiyya*, from January 1978.

(R. SANTUCCI)

DJAMMĀL (A.) camel-driver or cameleer, also an owner of and hirer of camels (hence synonymous here with *mukārī*) and a dealer in camels; Persian equivalent, *ushturbān*.

During the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic periods camel caravans travelled enormous distances between the main centres of population and trade. Our sources indicate that relatively high wages were earned by the *djammālūn* during the ʿAbbāsid period. The *djammāl*, it also seems, came under the jurisdiction of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] officials in Islamic towns. The conduct of the camel-men came under some criticism from writers like Djāḥiẓ and Ibn al-Djawzī. Ibn Saʿd cites a tradition that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb chastised a *djammāl* for overburdening a camel. However, the great expansion of international trade between regions during the ʿAbbāsid period gave the camel-men a significant role to play in Arab society, and they were one of the most important groups of transport-workers. It was during this epoch of greatness of Islamic civilisation that we find some *djammālūn* among the transmitters of the Prophetic traditions (*aḥādīth*). Ibshīhī [*q.v.*] tells a tale that the caliph al-Muʿtamid awarded a pious *djammāl* a monthly allowance of 30 *dīnārs*, besides a royal gift of 500 *dīnārs* in cash. In contrast to their mediaeval glory, the modern camel-men's trade is regarded as demeaning and low (*danī'*), and on some of the pilgrim roads to Mecca, one could hear a lot of critical comments about the conduct of the *djammālūn* until very recent times.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1958, vii, 127; al-Shaybānī, *al-Makhāridj fi'l-ḥiyal*, Leipzig 1930, 12; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 307-8; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭā'if al-maʿārif*, Cairo 1960, 128; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, Cairo 1970, ii, 341, 408; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, Hyderabad 1963, iii, 319-25; Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo 1952, ii, 81; Ḳalyūbī, *Ḥikāyāt*, Calcutta 1856, 168; M.S. al-Ḳāsimī, *Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, Paris 1960, i, 83.

(M.A.J. BEG)

DJAMMŪ, a region of northern India, lying between lat. 32° and 33° N. and long. 74° and 76° E. and extending east of the Čenāb. It is bounded on the south by the Sialkōt district of the Pandjāb and on the north by Kashmīr, of which it now constitutes a province, covering an area of 12,375 sq. miles. Its capital, the town of the same name, is situated on the right bank of the Tavī.

The original name of this ancient principality, which lay in the valleys of the Tavī and the Čenāb, was Durgara, from which is derived the ethnic term Dogrā for its mountaineer inhabitants. Even the name Durgara, however, figures for the first time only

in copper-plate grants of the early 10th century, and Djammū appears to be referred to in Kalhana's *Rādjatarangīnī* as Babbapūra (Babor). During the reign of the great Kashmīr king Kalaśa (1063-89), Djammū was tributary to Kashmīr, and his subordination continued into the 12th century, when the decline of their powerful neighbour enabled the *rādjās* to assert their independence.

At this time, Čakradeva, ruler of Djammū, played a part in the struggle between the last Ghaznawid sultan in the Pandjāb, Khusraw Malik b. Khusraw Shāh (555-82/1160-86) and the rising power of the Ghūrids [*q.v.*]. Čakradeva allied with the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muhammad against Khusraw Malik and his Khokar allies, who had been harrying Djammū and refusing allegiance to its ruler, their suzerain (see C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 129-30).

The *vamśāvalī* of the *rādjās* of Djammū supplies a long list of rulers, often with very few details of their reigns, and the chronology can only occasionally be fixed by reference to external sources. Tīmūr, in the course of his invasion of this region in 801/1398-9, forcibly converted the *rādjā* of Djammū to Islam, and this is probably the Bhīm-dēv (d. 1423) whom we find on the throne over the next few decades; but his successors reverted to Hinduism. This did not preclude co-operation with Hasan Shāh of Kashmīr in resisting the invasion of Tatar Khān Lūdī, governor of the Pandjāb, around 1480, while during the troubled reign of Muhammad Shāh (1484-7), Parasramdēv of Djammū intervened in Kashmīr's internal politics, putting to death a great number of *sayyids*.

In the 16th century Djammū was divided into two states, Djammū and Bahū (Bao), separated by the Tavī. Both principalities, which were reunited in the next century, followed the other hill states in accepting the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor Akbar, and remained subject to his successors until the 18th century. With the transfer of power in the Pandjāb after 1165/1752 to the Afghāns, whose authority was weaker, the hill chiefs were able to recover a certain independence. Under Randjit-dēv (d. *ca.* 1780), who reduced Kishtwār to subjection, Djammū extended as far as the Ravī in the east and in the west even beyond the Čenāb. Randjit-dēv himself, however, was obliged to pay tribute to the Sikhs, and after his death the disputes among his sons enabled him to consolidate their hold upon the region. In 1819 the Sikh ruler Randjit Singh conquered Kashmīr, and for his services during the campaign Dulāb Singh, a descendant of Randjit-dēv's brother, was in the following year made Rādjā of Djammū. He embarked on an energetic programme of conquest, reducing Ladākh (1834) and Baltistān (1841). With the death of Randjit Singh in 1839, the Sikh empire fell into decline, and Gulāb Singh stood aloof from the first war with the British (1845-6), acting subsequently as mediator. By the treaty of Amritsar of 16 March 1846 he received from the British, for the sum of 75 *lakhs*, Kashmīr and all the mountainous territory between the Indus and the Ravī. For the later history of Djammū, see Kashmīr.

Bibliography: F. Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, London 1875; *Imperial gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1907-9, xv, 94 ff.; J. Hutchison and J.P. Vogel, *History of the Panjab hill states*, Lahore 1933, ii; G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashīr: a history of Kashmīr*, Lahore 1949, ii; R.K. Parmu, *A history of Muslim rule in Kashmir 1320-1819*, New Delhi 1969.

(P. Jackson)

DJĀMŪS (Ar., fem. *djāmūsa*, pl. *djawāmīs*) designates the Indian buffalo or water buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*), with, in other regions, the species *arni*, *fulvus* and *kerabau*; it is the βοῦς ἄγριος or βούβαλος mentioned by Aristotle as found in the wild state in Arachosia, the present-day Balūčistān (see *Hist. Anim.*, ii, 1 (4) and French translation by J. Tricot, Paris 1957, i, 115-6). The African buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*), which is unsuitable for domestication and which the Sudanese call *djāmūs al-khalāʾ* "Buffalo of the wilderness", is quite unknown to the Arab writers. The term *djāmūs* (in Berber *talhamust*, pl. *tilhamusin*) is an arabisation from the Islamic period of the Persian composite noun *gāv-i mīsh* "bull-sheep" (which al-Djāhiz transcribes as *kāwmāsh*/*kāwmīsh* in *Hayawān*, i, 152, ii, 182, v, 459, vii, 243), given to this domesticated bovine whose facial profile is reminiscent of that of the ram, with the short and upturned muzzle, the narrow and slightly arched forehead and the long, flat, ringed horns, set very far apart and curving horizontally towards the rear; the long tail has earned the beast, in some localities, the dialectical name of *dhunbūb* (from *dhanab* "tail").

The domestication of the Indian buffalo took place relatively recently in the historical era, since we note that Aristotle speaks of it as a wild species which corresponded to the bull as the wild boar corresponds to the pig. As for Europe, the historian Paul Warnefrid, according to Paul the Deacon, states that it was in 596, during the reign of the Lombard king Agilulf, that the first buffaloes appeared in Italy, in the Pontine marshes; they had already been introduced some time previously into Eastern Europe, notably in the lower Danube valley, whence they rapidly spread towards the North. In the time of Albert the Great, who describes them perfectly, they were to be found not only in Hungary where they had remained, but in all the Slavonic regions and in the neighbouring Germanic provinces. As for the Arabs, they did not really discover the animal until after the 1st/7th century, with the Islamic expansion into Persia and Afghānistān. As soon as the Muslim conquest reached India, the new rulers were quick to exploit the buffalo, a creature in which they discovered special qualities not possessed by the bull, qualities which contributed to a great extent to the cultivation of vast tracts of low-lying and marshy ground that were hitherto unexploitable. The semi-aquatic nature of the Indian buffalo, whose natural habitat is marshland, added to a powerful physical constitution and a strong herd instinct, made it the ideal instrument for clearing these impenetrable areas of the ferocious animals, lions especially, which infested them. In fact, as al-Djāhiz so rightly says (*Hayawān*, vii, 119-120), the buffalo, the elephant [see fīl] and the rhinoceros [see karkaddan] are the three "great herbivores" (*ruʾasāʾ al-bahāʾim*), daring to confront and overpowering the "carnivorous lords" (*sādāt al-sibāʿ*). In groups, buffaloes become formidable, posing to the danger that threatens them the moving rampart of their massed horns, forming a protective ring around the females, the calves, and even their human masters (see al-Damīrī, *Hayāt*, i, 183). Moreover, the buffalo is an extremely distrustful creature with a vigilance that cannot be cheated, to such an extent that the ancients claimed that it never slept on account of a worm lodged in its brain (see al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib . . .*, in the margin of al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 203). The intrepid resistance posed

by the buffalo to the lion, defined by the admiring al-Djāḥiẓ as "stout-heartedness" (*shadjā'at al-ḳalb*, *Ḥayawān*, vii, 142) very soon came to the attention of the herdsmen, then to that of the Muslim rulers who, taking advantage of this fighting instinct, reinforced it by sheathing the horns of the animals in copper or iron, thus improving their armament before sending them out against the great beast (see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, x, 124).

The earliest introduction of buffaloes into the Near East is attributed to the powerful governor of Syria Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.v.*] who used his political skill to transfer *en masse* the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], and their large herds of buffalo, from the eastern frontiers of the Tigris, to which point they had already penetrated, into the region of the 'Awāṣim [*q.v.*] and of the 'Amḳ [*q.v.*] of Antioch which was infested by lions. These Zuṭṭ or Djat [*q.v.*] (pl. Djitān, see *Ḥayawān*, v, 407, n. 2), semi-nomadic Indo-Aryans from Sind, a people highly rebellious in the face of any constraint, were at that time essentially breeders of buffaloes, and their steady progress westward was to be an important factor in the proliferation of these Indian bovines around the Mediterranean basin. The northern frontier region of Syria received a second influx of buffaloes, 4,000 according to Ibn al-Faḳīh (see *Abrégé du Livre des pays*, French tr. H. Massé, Damascus 1973, 137), under the caliphate of al-Walīd I and for the same reason, sc. danger and instability caused by lions. Then the caliph Yazīd II repeated the operation for the benefit of Cilicia and the lower Orontes (see AL-'ĀṢĪ). Finally, it was again from these same regions that the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mu'taṣim was obliged, in 222/837, to deport the entire Zuṭṭ nation, which was settled along with its buffaloes in the vast Mesopotamian lowland region of al-Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*]; this draconian measure came as a result of the raids and acts of brigandage indulged in by these turbulent and perpetually rebellious Indo-Aryans, a large number of whom had been transplanted thither by the energetic Umayyad governor al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf al-Thaḳafī, who transported them by sea from Daybul [*q.v.*], after their capture in 94/712 by the general Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Thaḳafī. They were to give their name to the Nahr al-Zuṭṭ, one of the marshes situated between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra (see Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv, 840, and *Ḥayawān*, v, 399); these are the same people who, seven centuries later, arrived in western Europe and were nicknamed, according to the various countries, "Tsiganes", "Bohemians", "Egyptians/Gypsies/Gitanos", "Romanies", etc. After this deportation, buffaloes did not however disappear from Lower Mesopotamia since, following the Zuṭṭ, Arab tribes, including the Bāhila [*q.v.*] and the Banu 'l-'Anbar [see TAMĪM], continued to breed them; this species of bovine prospered exceedingly and, in the 4th/10th century, al-Mas'ūdī could write (*Murūdj*, ii, § 870): "As for buffaloes, in the Syrian border region, they draw chariots of the greatest size; like the bulls . . . [of al-Rayy/Rages] . . . they bear in their nostrils a ring of iron or of copper. The same custom is observed in the province of Antioch . . . large numbers of buffalo are also found in 'Irāḳ, and especially in the *ṭufūf* of Kūfa and of Baṣra, in the *Baṭā'iḥ* and the neighbouring regions." In our own times, some Shī'ī Arab tribes, including the Āl Bū Muḥammad and the Ma'dān, still make their livelihood through the rearing of the buffalo to the south of al-'Imāra (Amara) on the approaches to the Hawr al-Ḥammār, and the butter which they produce supplies the market of Baghdād.

In Egypt, the domesticated buffalo (in dialect *gāmūs*, *gāmūsa*) guaranteed the prosperity of agriculture in the Nile valley from the Delta to Aswān. Its introduction into the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs was owed to the Muslims, and seems to have been contemporary with that experienced by Syria and the 'Awāṣim; the major Arab historians make no mention of the question, but it may be supposed that the first creatures arrived there carrying or drawing equipment in the rearguard of military contingents coming to take up garrison duties. Whatever the case may be, the fellah whose livelihood was bound up with the periodic flooding and subsiding of the great river found in the buffalo the ideal partner for the efficient agricultural exploitation of the muddy soil left by the receding of the water; there, as in the rice swamps of the Far East, the buffalo manoeuvres easily and its docility makes it the best draught-animal for this kind of terrain. Furthermore, it is able to defend itself against the irritations of mosquitoes by wallowing in the mud of the tributaries in the manner of the pachyderms, and it spends the hottest hours of the day agreeably, submerged up to the nostrils in the tidal waters; its presence along the banks of the Nile proved decisive in the elimination of the crocodiles which infested them (see al-Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, ii, 203). The number of buffaloes in Egypt grew so quickly and so extensively that in the 7th/13th century, al-Maḳrīzī tells us (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, ch. xxxix) certain sultans, in their constant quest for increased revenue, imposed an excessive annual tax of three to five *dīnārs* per head, which at that time represented half of the value of the animal; this crushing burden on the fellah was fortunately abolished in the following century. It was in the course of the 8th/14th century that the intrepid Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa became acquainted with and appreciated, first at Damietta and then in the Indies, the excellent milk of the buffalo (*Riḥla*, Cairo 1928, i, 17, ii, 12). In Ceylon (*ibid.*, ii, 136) he consumed buffalo steaks, then, putting into port at Kaylūkarī (ii, 158) while on his way to China, he was offered, among other presents, two female buffaloes by the local princess.

To the many advantages offered by the buffalo to the peasantry dependent on the great rivers of Islam, an additional asset that should be mentioned was the use by craftsmen of its hide, which was particularly resistant and ideal for the manufacture of shields (see *Ḥayawān*, vii, 86). It was much in demand by the savage Bedjā herdsmen [*q.v.*] for their nomadic journeys between the Upper Nile and the Red Sea (see *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, ch. xxxii); from terms such as "buffleterie" (French), "buff-belts" (English) we know of the high value placed upon this leather for the equipment of European soldiers up until the last century. In mediaeval oriental medicine, fumigations making use of this leather were recommended for the elimination of house-bugs, while the salted fat of the animal was held to be an ointment effective in the prevention of scabies and leprosy.

In the Maghrib, the buffalo (in dialect: *ẓāmūs*) is hardly known except in one small herd of about fifty animals living wild on the banks of the Tunisian lake of Ischkeul. The origin of this herd is obscure; the general opinion is that these buffaloes were imported from Italy at the beginning of the 13th/19th century, during the reign of Aḥmad Bey [*q.v.*]. But the studies of L. Joleaud and L. Lavauden (see *La chasse et la faune cynégétique en Tunisie*, Tunis 1920, 14) tend to show that these animals are

the last remnants, having reverted to the wild, of the buffaloes once the property of the Carthaginians; such a thesis seems extremely hazardous, in spite of everything. In Algeria, finally, where the buffalo is not present, the term *djāmūs* (or *zāmūsh*) designates women's bracelets carved from the horns of the animal. In reference to this term, it is to be noted that some authors have given the title *djāmūs al-baḥr* "river buffalo" to the hippopotamus (see FARAS AL-MĀʾ).

Bibliography: Besides the sources quoted in the article, see R. Thévenin, *L'origine des animaux domestiques*, Paris 1960, 78; L. Guyot and P. Gibassier, *Les noms des animaux terrestres*, Paris 1964, 38-9; Yarkin Ibr., *Büffelzucht und Büffeltype in Anatolien*, in *Ann. Univ. Ankara*, iii (1948-9), 209-40.

(F. VIRÉ)

AL-**DJANBĪHĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-NABĪ (other forms are Djinbayhī and Djunbayhī), Egyptian author of a variety of tracts of which the majority have as a central theme the denunciation of what is seen as the various manifestations of decay of Islamic civilisation in Egypt.

He was born in 1842 in the village of Djinbāwāy (Djinbawāy, Djimbaway) in the *markaz* of Itāy al-Bārūd in al-Buḥayra province. After a period of study at al-Azhar, he held the office of *khaṭīb* in al-Muṭahhar mosque in Cairo. He resigned from this office at an early age and returned to his village (cf. *Iʾtilaf al-maʿānī wa ʾl-mabānī fī takhmīs ḳaṣīdat Abī Firās al-Ḥamdānī*, Cairo n.d., 16), where he devoted himself to what he saw as his mission: to struggle for the victory of Truth, i.e. of Islam as conceived by him, and to exhort the Islamic world to this end (cf. *Tasliyat al-ṣadāra wa ʾstinhāḍ al-wizāra*, Cairo n.d., 13). These exhortations were set forth in a number of books and pamphlets permeated with a strong mystical strain, and supported by quotations from authors belonging to the Shādhiliyya order [*q.v.*] into which al-Djanbīhī himself had been initiated. They were directed against Christian missionary activity (cf. *Taṣḥīḥ al-tardjīḥ bayn Muḥammad wa ʾl-Masīḥ*, Cairo 1321/1903-4; *Muthabbit al-ʿaḳl wa ʾl-dīn fī ʾl-radd ʿalā sufahāʾ al-mubashshirīn*, Cairo n.d.; and *Masmūm al-asinna wa ʾl-shihām fī ʾl-radd ʿalā man shawwashū al-afkār bi-daʿwā tanwīr al-afhām*, Cairo n.d.), against journalism (cf. *Kashf al-izār ʿan mushawwahāt al-awzār*, Cairo 1902, *passim*; *al-Sirādj al-wahhādj fī ʾl-dalāla ʿalā ashraf minhādj*, Cairo n.d. 73 f.; *Aṣdaḳ al-naṣāʾiḥ al-nahī ʿan al-mūbiḳāt wa ʾl-ḳabāʾiḥ*, Cairo n.d., 159), against the foundation and character of the Egyptian University (*Balāyābūz al-ʿaṣriyya tanshuruhā al-Djāmiʿa al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo n.d.), and against Western science and scholarship (cf. *Risālat al-Ḥabīb wa-dalālat al-ṭabīb*, Cairo n.d., 68, 99; *al-Razāyā al-ʿaṣriyya lishubbān al-umma al-Miṣriyya*, n.p., n.d. (approx. 1923), 32). In addition, he denounced the *ʿulamāʾ* for not being able to counter the decay envelopping Islamic civilisation (cf. *Aṣdaḳ al-naṣāʾiḥ*, 13; *Ḥāfiẓat al-ādāb wa-mawḳiẓat al-albāb*, Cairo 1316/1898-9, 30), and condemned demands for independence as un-Islamic and political demonstrations as *bidaʿ* to which in the past only the Khawāridj [see KHĀRIDJĪS] had delivered themselves (cf. *al-Razāyā al-ʿaṣriyya*, 52 f.). At the same time, he criticised Lord Cromer (cf. *al-ʿAmal al-mabrūr fī radaʿat ahl al-ghurūr*, Cairo n.d., 136; *Risālat al-Ḥabīb*, 29), whom he saw as not just aiming at maintaining political domination, but as directed in the final resort at establishing religious domination (cf. *Aṣdaḳ al-naṣāʾiḥ*, 147); wrote against the calls for *iṣlāḥ* of those belonging to the reformist movement—which he saw as not being different from al-Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*; cf. *al-Razāyā al-ʿaṣriyya*, 60 ff., 147]—and attacked and denounced its inspirers Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ʿAbduh (cf. *Ẓahzahat al-zāʾighīn ʿan munāwasha al-mutawassilīn*, preceeding *Irshād al-Shaykh Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb*, mentioned below, 18, 63; *Aṣdaḳ al-naṣāʾiḥ*, 120 ff.; *al-Razāyā al-ʿaṣriyya*, 46 ff.), as well as its representatives such as Ḳāsim Amīn and Muḥammad Farīd Wadjdī (cf. *Irshād al-umam ilā yanbūʿ al-ḥikam*, Cairo 1338/1919-20, 90; *al-ʿAmal al-mabrūr*, 49 f.; *Aṣdaḳ al-naṣāʾiḥ*, 110 f.). The most provocative of his publications (which are still awaiting a proper evaluation) is a book entitled *Irshād al-Shaykh Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb ilā ṭarīḳ al-ināba wa ʾl-matāb*, Cairo 1336/1817-8. It contains a lengthy and profound attack upon Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb al-Subkī [*q.v.*], the founder of the Djamʿiyya al-Sharʿiyya li-Taʿāwun al-ʿĀmilīn biʾl-Kitāb wa ʾl-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, commonly known as al-Subkiyyūn. It must be considered as one of the more significant treatises written against al-Subkī's conception of Islam (cf. F. De Jong, *Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-opposition in 20th century Egypt*, in F. Rundgren (ed.), *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Stockholm-Leiden 1975, 87 f.). Muḥammad al-Djanbīhī died in 1927.

Bibliography: A biography by Badawī Ṭāhā ʿAllām is prefaced to Muḥammad al-Djanbīhī, *Hamm baṭnī ʿabaṭanī*, Cairo 1954 (2nd ed.). See also the biographical notes by ʿAbd al-Karīm Salmān in the postscript to the edition of *Iʾtilāf al-maʿānī* mentioned in the article. This booklet is the only one of al-Djanbīhī's publications mentioned by Brockelmann, S I, 440. To the works referred to in the article and the ones listed by Sarkīs, 714 f. must be added *Karam al-rubūbiyya wa-sharaf al-ʿubūdiyya*, Cairo 1927; and *Nashr al-asrār al-bashariyya min ṭawāyā al-akhlāḳ al-muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1319/1901-2.

(F. DE JONG)

DJAND, a mediaeval town on the lower reaches of the Sīr Daryā in Central Asia, towards its debouchure into the Aral Sea, in what is now the Kazakhstan SSR; its fame was such that the Aral Sea was often called "the Sea of Djand".

Djand is first mentioned by certain Muslim geographers of the mid-4th/10th century, in particular, by Ibn Ḥawḳal, and following him, by the anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (wrote 372/982). Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions three settlements on the lower Sīr Daryā amongst the Oghuz Turks of that region: Djand; the "New Settlement", (al-Ḳarya al-ḥadītha, appearing in the Persian sources as Dih-i Naw, and in later Turkish contexts as Yengikent (Kāshgharī, tr. Atalay, iii, 149-50: Yenkend) or Shahr-kent (e.g. in the *K. al-Tawassul ila ʾl-tarassul*, Nasawī's *Sīrat Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn* and on certain coins); and Khuwāra. Of these, al-Ḳarya al-ḥadītha was the largest, being provisioned with corn from Transoxania when there was peace between the Turks and Muslims, and lying on the left bank of the river at 10 stages from Khwārazm across the Ḳizil Ḳum [*q.v.*], at two stages from the Aral Sea shore, and 20 stages from Fārāb or Pārāb, the later mediaeval town of Otrār [see FĀRĀB]. This town was the winter residence of the ruler of the Oghuz, the Yabghu. The ruins of al-Ḳarya al-ḥadītha probably lie at the modern Djānkent-ḳalʿa, near the old Khīwan fort of Djān-ḳalʿa and 22 km./14 miles downstream from Kazalinsk. Djand lay further upstream, on the right bank of the river, not far from the modern Qyzyl-Orda (the

Perovsk of Tsarist Russian times); the Russian archaeologist P. Lerch and the American traveller E. Schuyler identified its site with an old Kirghiz cemetery and the ruins at Khorkhut, a station on the Orenburg-Tashkent postroad (now the track also of the railway), but this identification is not entirely certain (see Schuyler, *Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Turkistan. Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 62-3; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, ii, 95-6). The site of Khuwāra is totally unknown, and it disappears from mention after the end of the 4th/10th century.

The three settlements were important as entrepôts for trade with the Inner Asian steppes, and Gardīzī (mid-5th/11th century) mentions the route which ran from Fārāb to Yengi-kent and thence to the lands of the Kimäk [*q.v.*] on the banks of the Irtysh (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 258). All three settlements had a population of Muslim traders in the 4th/10th century. Barthold assumed that these Muslims had themselves founded the settlements as trading-posts, independent of any policy on the part of the Sāmānids to extend their power into the pagan Turkish steppes (cf. his *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 49, and *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*. iii. *A history of the Turkmen people*, 92). Recently, however, the results of investigations by Soviet archaeologists in the lower Sïr Daryā area have suggested that these places had a pre-Islamic history; S.P. Tolstov has spoken of these in his *Goroda Guzov*, in *SE*, iii (1947), 55-102, as "Hunno-Turkish" settlements, resettled and refortified in the 4th/10th century, whence the name "New Settlement". As well as these three places on the lower Sïr Daryā, there is mention in the sources of other Turkish towns on the middle course of the river, such as Ṣawrān and Sïghnāḳ (the latter on the site of the present-day ruins of Sunaq-qurghan), and Idrīsī, possibly utilising information of over two centuries before from Djayhānī, names over ten settlements of the Oghuz on the Sïr Daryā; other sources mention that the Oghuz already in the 4th/10th century included both nomads and sedentaries (see Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 263-4; O. Pritsak, *Der Untergang des Reiches des Oğuzischen Yabğu*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 399-401; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 211-13).

At all events, Djand was an important centre of the Oghuz towards the end of this century, and it plays a rôle in the semi-legendary accounts of Saldjūḳ origins, those called in Mīrkhwānd the *Malik-nāma*. The eponymous founder of the family, Saldjūḳ b. Duḳāḳ, is said to have come to Djand with his followers, to have become a Muslim and to have relieved the Muslim population of the town of the tribute levied on them by the still-pagan Oghuz Yabghu; finally, he was buried there. From these events dated the hostility between the two branches of the Oghuz, that of Saldjūḳ and that of the Yabghu (Ibn al-Athīr, Mīrkwānd, etc., utilised in Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[2], 178, 257, Cl. Cahen, *Le Malik-Nameh et l'histoire des origines seldjukides*, in *Oriens*, ii (1949), 43-4, and Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 219-21). The conversion of the Yabghu nevertheless followed *ca.* 390/1000, and he assumed the Islamic name of ʿAlī; Gardīzī records this conversion under the year 393/1003 and states that ʿAlī contracted a marriage alliance with the last Sāmānid Ismāʿīl al-Muntaṣir [*q.v.*] (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 64, ed. Ḥabībī, 176; Pritsak, *op. cit.*, 405-6).

Djand now became for some 50 years the centre of an Oghuz principality which played an important part in the diplomatic and military policies of the great powers of the region, sc. of the Ghaznawids, who after 408/1017 controlled Khwārazm, and the Ḳarā-Khānids or Ilek-Khāns [*q.v.*] of Transoxania. As for Yengi-kent, the original seat of the Yabghu, we can only assume that it must have passed into the hands of the Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.*], who were at this time expanding their power within the steppes and who came to control much of the middle Sïr Daryā as far up as the Isfīdjāb-Shāsh region, which accordingly long remained a pagan area. The Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī in his *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, and a later source like Abu 'l-Ghāzī's *Shadjara-yi Tarākima*, mention the ruler in Djand Shāh Malik b. ʿAlī, sc. the son and successor of the Yabghu, and the local historian of Bayhaḳ, Ibn Funduḳ, gives him the full name of Abu 'l-Fawāris Shāh Malik b. ʿAlī al-Baranī (concerning this *nisba*, see Z.V. Togan, *Umumî türk tarihine giriş*, i, Istanbul 1946, 181), with the honorifics of Ḥusām al-Dawla and Niẓām al-Milla. The hostility between the two branches of the Oghuz, the line of the Yabghu in Djand and the Saldjūḳs in Transoxania and the northern fringes of Khurāsān, made Shāh Malik the natural ally of Masʿūd of Ghazna against his rebellious governors in Khwārazm and against the Ḳarā-Khānids, and in 429/1038 the sultan appointed Shāh Malik as his governor in Khwārazm; but when, in Shaʿbān 432/April 1041, the latter was triumphant and occupied Khwārazm, Masʿūd had already been deposed and was dead (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 297-303; Cahen, *Le Malik-Nameh*, 49-55; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 238-9, 241).

The fortunes of the Saldjūḳs were, however, in the ascendant after their victory at Dandānḳān in 431/1040. By 435/1043-4 they had secured Khwārazm, and Shāh Malik was forced to flee from Djand, which also passed under Saldjūḳ control. Yet the subsequent pre-occupations of the Saldjūḳs in Persia and the west apparently allowed Djand to slip from their hands, doubtless into those of the local Ḳïpčaḳ. In 457/1065 Alp Arslan had to lead an expedition to Djand and Ṣawrān; the ruler of Djand submitted, and was confirmed there as governor on behalf of the Saldjūḳs (Barthold, *op. cit.*, 298, 302; Pritsak, *Der Untergang des Reiches des Oğuzischen Yabğu*, 408).

Under the Khwārazm-Shāhs [*q.v.*], Djand and the middle Sïr Daryā reaches, together with the Manghïshlaḳ peninsula [*q.v.*] to the east of the Caspian Sea, were regarded as important frontiers (*thughūr*) against the pagan Ḳïpčaḳ. Atsïz led a campaign from Djand into the steppes early in his reign, probably *ca.* 527/1133. Because of Atsïz's humiliation at the hands of his suzerain, the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar, who in the winter of 542/1147 had invaded Khwārazm, Djand was lost to the Shāhs, and passed to Kamāl al-Dīn b. Arslan Khān Maḥmūd, the grandson of Sandjar's Ḳarā-Khānid nephew Arslan Khān Muḥammad, ruler of Samarḳand. According to Djuwaynī, Atsïz and his army appeared at Djand in the spring of 547/1152, on pretext of organising an expedition against the Ḳïpčaḳ, and Kamāl al-Dīn was seized and deposed. The Shāh's eldest son Il Arslan was now appointed governor of Djand, an indication of the importance attached to it, and the allotting of this governorship to a Khwārazmian prince became henceforth frequent; Tekish was governor at his father Il Arslan's death, and under Tekish, the prince Malik Shāh was governor. Various expeditions from Djand against the Ḳïpčaḳ are recorded in the later 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries, e.g. in

the winter of 577/1181-2 by Malik Shāh b. Tekish, in the winter of 591/1194-5 by Tekish himself against Sighnāk and Kayir Buku Khān, chief of the Oran tribe of the Kipčak, and in the autumn of 606/1209 by the Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 324, 328-9, 337, 340, 361-3). It was during the course of an expedition northwards from Djand into the Kipčak steppes that Khwārazmian troops first clashed accidentally with Čingiz Khān's Mongols, according to Nasawī, in 612/1215-16, although the exact chronology is uncertain here (see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 369-71).

In the strategy of their invasions, the Mongols regarded Djand as an important point. The Khwārazm-Shāh's governor in Djand and Shahr-kent or Yengikent was Kutlugh Khān, who had 10,000 cavalrymen in the latter town. The Mongol commander Čin-Temür was at first repulsed from Djand, but returned in the spring of 617/1220. Djand surrendered peacefully, but was sacked, and the official of the Mongols ʿAlī Khwādja from Kizhduwān near Bukhārā was appointed governor, retaining this office, according to Djuwaynī, till his death. Yengi-kent (the Iankint of John of Plano Carpini) was likewise taken, apparently without resistance, as was the town of Barčligh-kent or Barč-kent (Carpini's Barchin) at a so-far unidentified spot on the Sir Daryā between Djand and Sighnāk. Čingiz's eldest son Djoči then used Djand as a base for the attack on Gurgāndj in Khwārazm in the next year (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 83, 86-90; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 415-16; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, i, 277-8). It was around this time that Yāḳūt wrote about Djand, mentioning that its population was of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* and that one of its famous men was the poet and stylist, resident in Khwārazm, the *Ḳāḍī* Yaʿḳūb b. Shīrīn al-Djandī, pupil of Zamakhsharī and contemporary of Samʿānī (cf. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, iii, 350); Yāḳūt noted that the town was now in the hands of the Tatars, and nothing was known of the fate of its inhabitants (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 168-9).

In fact, Djand continued to enjoy a modest prosperity under the Mongol Great Khāns and then under the Čaghatayids, and it appears on an early 14th century Chinese map as Jan-di. An 8th/14th century Čaghatay source attributes the construction of mosques, *madrasas*, etc. in Djand, Barč-kent, Otrār and Ṣawrān to the Özbeg Khān Ergen, son of Sasi Buḳa; but Djand and Barč-kent apparently ceased to exist as towns towards the end of that century (see Barthold, *Four studies*. ii. *Ulugh Beg*, 101).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

DJANDJĪRA, the Marāthā corruption of the Arabic word *djazīra* "island", is the name of a former native state in the heart of the Konkan on the west coast of India. It actually owes its name to the fortified island of Djandjīra (lat. 17° 45' N. and long. 73° 05' E.), lying at the entrance of the Rajapuri creek, half a mile from the mainland on the west and 48 km. south of Bombay. The impregnable fort, which has an excellent command over the Arabian Sea, rose to prominence under the Niẓām Shāhī [*q.v.*] rulers of Aḥmadnagar towards the end of the 9th/15th century when a Ḥabshī or Abyssinian adventurer named Sīdī Yāḳūt, in the service of Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh (892-915/1487-1509), was made commander of the fortress island, which was also consequently called Ḥabsān. The ruler of the island used to be a Sunnī Muslim known as Sīdī, but later on he came to be known also as Wazīr and Nawāb. The Sīdīs of Djandjīra were a prosperous community of skilled seamen, noted for their tenacity and fighting spirit, expressed in the warfare and activities of a long and chequered career extending over four-and-a-half centuries.

By the middle of the 11th/17th century, the Sīdīs of Djandjīra were firmly established as an effective, though small, naval power on the west coast maintaining on behalf of the Sulṭān of Bidjapūr a powerful fleet for protecting the maritime trade and for providing transport for Muslim pilgrims bound for Mecca. Later on, the Sīdīs transferred their fleet to the service of the Mughals, who were more willing than the Sulṭāns of Bidjapūr to offer them protection against the mounting menace of the Marāṭhās. Hence in 1080/1670 Awrangzīb made the Sīdī Admiral of the Mughal navy and gave him an annual grant of four lakhs of rupees (400,000) for the maintenance of the fleet.

The most remarkable aspect of Djandjīra's history was its invincibility in the face of determined onslaughts by the Marāṭhās under three generations of their chieftains, i.e., Sāhādjī, Sīvādjī and Sambhadjī—father, son and grandson—to whom conquest of the tiny Djandjīra was a matter of prestige. The concerted attempts of the Peshwa and the Angres in the early 18th century failed to diminish Djandjira's power of resistance. It survived all native challenges and continued to hold its own even as the country passed under the British paramountcy, which adopted a policy of non-interference in the Sīdī's administration. Moreover, the Djandjīra ruling power obtained possession of the port of Djaʿfarābād on the south coast of Kathiawar. This singular independent status of the state continued till 1287/1870 when, following a breakdown in law and order there, the Sīdī had to conclude a treaty with the British government, resulting in the introduction of a Resident British Officer.

The erstwhile state of Djandjīra, which consisted of three municipalities—Murud, Shriwardhan and Djaʿfārābād—merged with the state of India when the sub-continent attained independence in 1947. At present, Djandjīra proper is included in the Murud municipality of the Kolaba district of Maharashtra state.

Bibliography: D.R. Banaji, *Bombay and the Sidis*, London 1932; ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirʾat-i-Aḥmadī*, Baroda 1927-30; *Maharashtra State Gazetteer* (*Kolaba District*), Bombay 1964.

(Abdus Subhan)

AL-DJARĀDATĀN[I] "the two locusts", the name given to two slave singing girls who, according to legend, lived in the time of the people of ʿĀd [*q.v.*] and belonged to a certain Muʿāwiya b. Bakr al-ʿImlāḳī (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 235-6 and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index). When the delegates of the people of ʿĀd came to make the pilgrimage to Mecca in order to obtain rain, the two girls so charmed them that Muʿāwiya had to make up some verses to recall them to the object of their mission; but they forgot in the end to make the *ṭawāf*, and it was this failure of duty which led to the destruction of the people of ʿĀd. The names of these two legendary slave girls vary considerably in the sources. According to al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, Cairo 1315, ii, 250-1), one was called Warda and the other Djarāda; according to Ibn Badrūn (65), they were called Ḳaʿādi and Thamādi (or Nafādi and Taʿādi), but the sole point of interest in these indications is the form *C[1]a C[2]ādi*, characteristic of a certain number of feminine names. It is possible that just one of them was called Djarāda,

since al-Djafādjī (*Shifā'*, 85) says that this name was later applied to all singing girls [see Ḳayna], and that the dual was formed according to a well-known principle (cf. al-Baṣratān[i], etc.).

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbī'*, § 151; Ṭabarī, i, 234-6; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iḳd*, vii, 28; Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 107; Maydānī, i, 138-9 (three proverbs arising out of the girls); *Aghānī*, index; Ma'arrī, *Ghufrān*, index; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *al-Ḳiyān wa 'l-ghinā' fi 'l-'aṣr al-djāhilī*[2], Cairo 1968, 73-5.

Also, 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān [*q.v.*] is said to have possessed two singing girls known as al-Djarādatān[i], called Ẓabya and al-Ribāb. Ibn Djud'ān allegedly gave them to Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt [*q.v.*] as a reward for the poet's addressing eulogies to him.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbī'*, index; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, i, 351; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *op. cit.*, 84-5 and index. See also Ḳayna.

(Ch. Pellat)

DJARĪDA

i-vi.—See Vol. II.

vii.—India and Pakistan

This article defines the Muslim press as those newspapers both owned and edited by Muslims. The definition does not include either newspapers in languages normally associated with Islam, for instance Persian and Urdu, with which Muslims have had nothing to do, or newspapers edited by Muslims but owned by men of other faiths.

The Muslim press originated in the government and private newsletters of the Mughal period. There was the *waḳā'i'*, a confidential letter by which the emperor was informed of developments in his dominions, and the *akhbār*, a semi-public gazette by which information was transmitted to the court. Amongst other groupings in Indian society, based on common political or commercial interests, private newsletters circulated. They were handwritten and several copies of each were produced. Large numbers were noted leaving Dihlī in the 1830s and they were influential in Oudh (Awadh) up to 1857.

Muslim newspapers in modern form began to emerge in the 1830s. Among the first were the *Samachar-Sabharajandra*, a weekly in Bengali and Persan published by Shaykh 'Ālim Allāh from Calcutta between 1831-5, and the *Ṣayyād al-akhbār* published in Urdu from Dihlī in 1837 by Syed Mohammad Khan (Sayyid Muḥammad Khān), the elder brother of Syed Ahmed Khan (Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*]). The introduction of Urdu lithography in 1837 gave a boost to the development of the press in north India, and by the 1840s several Muslim newspapers were being published.

In the second half of the 19th century, the Muslim press grew steadily. It flourished primarily in north India, though it had outposts in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. Its major centres were Lahore, Dihlī, Lucknow and Calcutta, and its major languages Urdu and Bengali. Very few specifically Muslim newspapers were published in English, though the *Punjab Observer* is worthy of note. Most leading newspapers were weeklies, and only the *Paisa Akhbār* founded in Lahore in 1888 sustained daily publication over a long period. Among the most influential newspapers, though not those with the largest circulation, were the two edited by Syed Ahmed Khan from 'Alīgaṛh, the *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* and the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*. The former educated its readers primarily in the religious and social aims of the 'Alīgaṛh movement, and the latter instructed them in its educational and political aims. The range of subjects which these publications covered indicated a general trend; newspapers were becoming less concerned with literary exercises and sectarian religious polemic, and more with local, national and international affairs.

During the 19th century, the Muslim press, like the Indian press generally, grew in response to the increasing activity of government and the citizen's increasing awareness of the world beyond his locality. Nevertheless, nothing contributed more to the foundation of new Muslim publications, and to major increases in the circulation of newspapers already in existence, than upheavals in the world of Islam. Indian Muslims had powerful pan-Islamic sympathies. This point is made graphically by the striking expansion of the Muslim press which coincided with the last years of the Ottoman empire, in fact from the Italian invasion of Tripoli in 1911 to the abolition of the caliphate in 1924. Newspapers were founded: in 1911 Muḥammad 'Alī's *Comrade*, in 1912 Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād's *al-Hilāl*, Ḥamīd al-Anṣārī's *Madīna* and 'Abd al-Bārī's *Hamdam*, in 1913 Muḥammad 'Alī's *Hamdard*. These new publications and established ones sold on a hitherto unknown scale; the weekly *al-Hilāl* achieved a circulation of 25,000, while Ẓafar 'Alī Khān converted his *Zamīndār* from a weekly selling 2,000 copies into a daily selling 30,000. There was a dramatic improvement in the quality of production; both *al-Hilāl* and *Hamdard* were printed rather than lithographed. There was a similar improvement in journalism; *al-Hilāl* was written in new and forceful Urdu, while *Comrade* was the equal of any contemporary Anglo-Indian weekly. These newspapers greatly stimulated and even created political agitations, and government acknowledged their influence by gagging them. They also brought their editors, men such as 'Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād and Muḥammad 'Alī, to the forefront of Muslim politics.

During the 1920s and 1930s the Muslim press, though never as strong or as vociferous as the Congress or Hindu press, continued to grow. Some of the great newspapers of the pan-Islamic era died, for instance *al-Hilāl* and *Comrade*, but others such as *Zamīndār* and *Madīna* continued. Fresh newspapers were founded; in 1922 *Muslim Outlook*, the first English-language Muslim daily of importance, and in 1927 *Inḳilāb*, the leading Urdu daily of the 1930s. Both were published in Lahore.

It was not until the 1940s that the Muslim press began to compete on equal terms with that of the Congress. Muslim newspapers played a major role, a role which still has adequately to be evaluated, in winning support for the All-India Muslim League's campaign for Pakistan. As in the pan-Islamic era, it showed that it was most effective when religious and political issues were combined. Among the leading League newspapers were *Andjām* in Urdu and *Dawn* in English from Dihlī, *Nawā'-i Waḳt* in Urdu from Lahore, *Hamdam* in Urdu from Lucknow, and *Āzād* in Bengali and *Star of India* in English from Calcutta. Not all Muslim newspapers supported the League, for instance *al-Djam'iyyat*, the voice of *Djam'iyyat al-'ulamā'*, and *Madīna* were distinctly pro-Congress, but by the 1940s pro-League newspapers both in numbers and in circulation far outstripped their Congress Muslim rivals.

The partition of the subcontinent in 1947 in large part destroyed the Muslim press as it had existed. In India, despite the country's vast Muslim population, a specifically Muslim press has been unimportant; among the leading Muslim newspapers are *Radiance* and *al-Djam'iyyat*. Pakistan, on the other hand,

has developed a press of considerable dimensions both in English and in the various regional languages. In West Pakistan the leading newspapers in English are *Dawn* and *Pakistan Times* and in Urdu *Nawā'-i Waḳt* and *Mas͟hriḳ*; in East Pakistan up to 1971 the leading English newspaper was *Morning News* and the leading Bengali newspaper *Āzād*. By the late 1960s the Pakistan press was producing 800,000 newspaper copies daily, of which more than three-quarters were in languages other than English. This vigorous newspaper industry existed in spite of heavy restrictions upon press freedom imposed by government and in spite of growing competition from commercial radio and television.

Bibliography: There is no work devoted specifically to this subject. The newsletter is dealt with by J.N. Sarkar in S.P. Sen, ed., *The Indian press*, Calcutta 1967; A.S. Khurshid examines the growth of the Pakistan press in his contributions to A.S. Khurshid, ed., *Press in Muslim world*, Lahore 1954, and J.A. Lent, ed., *The Asian newspapers' reluctant revolution*, Iowa 1971. Aspects of the provincial Muslim press are treated in N. Gerald Barrier and Paul Wallace, *The Punjab press 1800-1905*, Ann Arbor 1970, and M.N. Islam, *Bengali Muslim public opinion as reflected in the Bengali press 1901-1930*, Dacca 1973. For the Indian press generally, see J. Natarajan, *History of Indian journalism*, Part ii of the *Report of the Indian Press Commission*, Dihlī 1955; and M. Chalapathi Rau, *The press*, Dihlī 1974.

(F.C.R. Robinson)

viii.—East Africa

The history of the press and its development and use among East Muslims is very brief. The Muslim intelligentsia, however, have received and read newspapers and journals from other parts of the Muslim world, particularly from Egypt, from the closing years of the 19th century until the present.

It was such connections that helped develop the first interest in establishing local media. The first Muslim to do so was S͟hayk͟h al-Amīn b. ʿAlī b. Nāfʿi Al-Mazrūʿī [see kenya, muslims in], a Muslim scholar of Mombasa who was familiar with the works and publications of al-Afg͟hāni, Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Ras͟hīd Riḍā. Newspapers and journals like *al-Manār* were regularly read by S͟hayk͟h al-Amīn and a coterie of Muslim scholars on the East African coast. Concerned about the low status of Muslims and Islam in this region, S͟hayk͟h al-Amīn decided to use the press to raise the level of Muslim religious, cultural and political consciousness, very much along the lines of the Middle Eastern reformers.

First he founded a modest-sized paper called simply *al-Ṣaḥīfa*. Shortly afterwards, in 1932, he established a more substantial paper, appropriately called *al-Iṣlāḥ*. The paper was financed by the founder, with contributions from well-wishers, and was published in two parts, a Swahili one and an Arabic one, the former being often a virtual translation of the latter. Thus a wider readership was achieved through the use of Swahili, the *lingua franca* of Eastern Africa. It discussed issues relevant to the political, economic and religious situation of the East African coast and regularly included news from the rest of the Muslim world, with which the editor of the paper often called for greater solidarity.

In 1932, S͟hayk͟h al-Amīn was appointed *Ḳāḍī* of Mombasa. His new duties compelled him to hand over the running of *al-Iṣlāḥ* to another Muslim scholar, S͟hayk͟h ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥas. There developed a noticeable difference in approach and style in the paper, which was not now as popular and effective, so that the paper declined and its publication ended soon afterwards. S͟hayk͟h al-Amīn had continued to write and published booklets on Islam after his appointment as *Ḳāḍī*, and, in 1937, as Chief *Ḳāḍī* or *S͟hayk͟h al-Islām* of Kenya. One such booklet was a reproduction of selected articles from *al-Iṣlāḥ* which was published under the title of *Uwongozi* (Swahili "Guidance").

Even so, it was left to the Aḥmadiyya sect [*q.v.*, and see kenya, muslims in] to expand the publishing of newspapers. Their arrival in the 1930s had earned them the immediate hostility of the orthodox Muslim communities, and S͟hayk͟h al-Amīn himself carried out a campaign to discredit them in East Africa. Nevertheless, in Tanzania they founded two newspapers, one in Swahili, *Mapenzi Ya Mungu* ("The Love of God") and one in English, *East African Times*. Both papers reflected the characteristic militant defence of Islam, lengthy exposition of its teachings and their relevance to modern society, and regular theological challenges to Christians and Christianity. It is certain that these two papers have contributed to the relative success of the Aḥmadī sect in Tanzania.

It was in Tanzania also that a Muslim monthly journal, *The Light*, was founded in the 1960s by the It͟hna ʿAs͟harī community, modestly printed and completely financed by members of the community.

A general comment to be made about these publications, including the other journal irregularly produced by the Ismāʿīlī community, *Africa Ismaili*, is that each one of them has a limited distribution. The two journals hardly go beyond the communities concerned. The two Aḥmadī newspapers are regarded as heretical propaganda, and thus not appreciated by other Muslims as representing authentic religious views or the ideal way of reflecting the image of Islam in East Africa. An acceptable, popular Muslim press has yet to emerge.

(A.I. Salim)

ix.—South Africa

The implantation of Islam in the extreme south of the African continent took place in three stages. The first Muslims arrived there in 1667, Malayan slaves whom the Dutch had imported as manual labour to improve their new colony of the Cape. Their slave status prevented these Malays from practising their Islamic religion and from possessing land, and they only obtained a place of worship in 1797. They were unable also freely to move about and were compelled to stay in the Cape, so that Islam was unable to expand beyond this limit.

However, the importation after 1860 of a second wave of manual labourers was necessitated by the growing development of new crops in the territories of the white settlers (Boers) at the time of the "great Trek" or migratory movement of 1834-9. Hence from 1860 until the beginning of the 20th century, the owners of sugar cane plantations, a crop which was very prosperous in Natal, brought in Indian farm workers, some of whom were Muslims. Islam was thus implanted at two points in what became after 1910 the Union of South Africa, one in the south and one in the west. The economic crisis which began in 1929 threw a considerable number of Indian farm workers out of a job and compelled them to seek another living. Some of them settled in Durban, the capital of Natal, whilst the remainder spread throughout the land towards the Cape, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Port Elisabeth

and other South African towns. Thus the third and last phase of the implantation of Islam in South Africa was completed.

The opening of the 1960s was an important period for the Muslim community there, and it marks the beginning of its organisation and its expansion. This process was inaugurated by certain Indian Muslim leaders, who aimed at stimulating the feelings of the diverse ethnic elements of the Muslim community into a consciousness that they were above all Muslims and that, in the light of this, they should work for the progress of the Muslim community. In effect, the Malay and Indian Muslims had previously thought of themselves as belonging rather to their own ethnic community, and their activities, above all those of the very active Indians, had taken place within the framework of their original communities.

This movement brought about the creation after 1960 of several Muslim organisations, such as the association of South African Muslim women or even the association of South African Muslim butchers. It was also during this period of intense activity that the Muslim press came into being, thanks to its launching by a Muslim of Indian origin, M. Sayyed, in the shape of a fortnightly called *Muslim News*. Its first number appeared at the beginning of January 1961, and had 12 pages, eight in English and four in Urdu, and was edited and printed at Athlone, a district on the eastern edge of Cape Town where many Muslims live. In 1971 the four Urdu pages disappeared, and since that date, *Muslim News* has contained only eight pages in English. It styles itself the only South African Muslim newspaper; however, there exist two bulletins, the *Ramadan Annual* and the *Muslim Digest*, published both by one press group, the Makki one.

Muslim News was meant essentially to inform South African Muslims about religious and cultural activities of the community, and likewise to give exhortation on the practices of the Islamic faith. Without departing from these original aims, it evolved in 1973 in another direction by assuming a distinct political aspect. Condemnation of *aparthei* and of white domination was expressed in the course of articles which became more and more specific and violent in tone, a condemnation which arose from a lively denunciation of the very difficult living conditions of the non-white population of South Africa. After the publication of articles criticising government policy on these topics, the direction and editorship of *Muslim News* were in December 1975 and again in March 1976 brought before the courts in the Cape; but the journal has nevertheless continued to appear.

A perusal of *Muslim News* allows one to appreciate the efforts made by the Muslim community of South Africa to improve their precarious conditions of living. Great improvements have actually been achieved in various fields, such as health and education. An orphanage has been built, health services have been set up in districts where they were lacking, and finally, numerous mosques and *madrasas* have been constructed and a programme of Islamic studies organised. All this has come to fruition from contributions and from the gifts of a few very rich Muslims.

Finally, *Muslim News* at times highlights in its columns the lack of unity within the Muslim community of South Africa, one mainly due to dissensions between the three great national Muslim associations, the Muslim Judicial Council, the Muslim Assembly and the Ashura (< *s̲h̲ūrā*). These are essentially quarrels between personalities trying to assert their own pre-eminence. They have no effect at all on the South African Muslim community's sense of solidarity, and are in fact tending now to disappear; this can only strengthen the community's determination, for despite its numerical smallness (200,000 members out of a total population of 22 millions) it is certainly one of the most vigorous Muslim communities of the southern hemisphere.

(P. Gorokhoff)

x.—The Ḳumuḳ [see ḳumuḳ].

DJĀWARS (< Persian *gāwars*) is millet, *Panicum miliaceum* L. (Gramineas), one of the oldest cultivated plants. While in Europe it is now almost only used as fodder, millet plays a prominent role as cereal and victuals in many areas of Asia and Africa. Although the ancient Spartans ate millet, Dioscorides considers millet as the least nutritious of all cereals (*De materia medica*, ed. Wellmann, i, 1907, 173 f. = lib. ii, 97). This is adopted by the Arab translator (*La "Materia médica" de Dioscorides*, ii, ed. Dubler and Terés, Tetuan 1952, 179), who renders the Greek κέγχρος with *kank̲h̲arūs* (and variants). But already Ibn Māssa, a contemporary of Ḥunayn, says that millet, cooked in milk, or broth mixed with millet flour and fat, is an excellent food (see Ibn al-Bayṭār, *D̲j̲āmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 156, 15-16). On the nomenclature, the following can be remarked: occasionally, *kank̲h̲arūs* is understood as both *d̲j̲āwars* and *d̲h̲ura*, and the first of these is equated with the Mozarabic *banīs̲h̲uh*; cf. Anonymous (Ibn al-Rūmiyya?) Nuruosmaniye 3589, fol. 89b, 21; on *banīs̲h̲uh* (Romance *panizo*), see M. Asin Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances*, Madrid-Granada 1943, no. 406. Others consider *d̲j̲āwars* as a kind of *duk̲h̲n* (also *alūmus* < ἔλυμος), by which may be meant the small sorghum (Pennisetum spicatum), widespread in the Sudan and also called Moorish millet, while *d̲h̲ura*, also called *d̲j̲āwars hindī* "Indian millet", indicates the great sorghum (*Sorghum vulgare*). In his book on plants, Abu Ḥanīfa equates *duk̲h̲n* with *d̲j̲āwars* and considers it as a kind of *d̲h̲ura* (*The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1953, no. 405). In the conrse of time, *d̲h̲ura* has become the leading expression for millet. Bīrūnī knows already the Turkish term *dārī* for this (*Ṣaydala*, ed. Ḥakīm Muḥ. Saʿīd, Karachi 1973, Arab. 130, Engl. 106), and names the Indian synonyms.

As a foodstuff, *d̲j̲āwars* has the inconvenience of causing constipation, of being hard to digest and of promoting urine, but the constipation effect can be removed by adding fat or purgatives, and also by diluted wine or by baths. On the other hand, when applied in a warm compress, it proves to be a good remedy against gripes and cramps. It has an astringent effect and is therefore suitable to be used as nourishment for those suffering from dropsy, whose stomachs should be contracted and whose bodies should be "desiccated".

Bibliography (apart from the titles already mentioned) : Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xx, Ḥaydarābād 1387/1967, 248-51 (no. 207); *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansur . . . Harawi*, tr. A. Ch. Achundow, Halle 1893, 177; Zahrāwī, *Taṣrīf*, Ms. Beşir Aga 502, fol. 502a, 7-8; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn* (Būlāḳ), i, 288; Ibn ʿAbdūn, *ʿUmdat al-ṭabīb*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. 3505 D, fols. 33a, 5-6; 36a, 16-19; Ibn Biklāris̲h̲, *Mustaʿīnī*, Ms. Naples. Bibl. Naz. iii, F. 65, fol. 29b; G̲h̲āfiḳī, *al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. ḳ. 155 i, fol. 116a; P. Guigues, *Les noms arabes dans Sérapion*, in *JA*, 10ème série (1905), v, s.v. *Ieuers* (no. 285); Mai-

monides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿukkār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 70; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, i, 156, tr. Leclerc, no. 460; Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, *Muʿtamad*³, ed. M. al-Sakkā, Beirut 1395/1975, 63; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, Ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 59a (cf. also A. Dietrich, in *Mélanges d'islamologie dédiés à A. Abel*, Leiden 1974, 105); Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 102 f.; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 96; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 1928, 738-46; *El Libro Agregà de Serapiom*, ed. G. Ineichen, ii, Venice 1966, 137, s.v. *iocuers*.

(A. Dietrich)

al-DJAWBARĪ, ʿABD al-RAḤĪM (not ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr Djamāl al-dīn al-Dimashḳī, dervish and alchemist from Damascus who travelled and wrote in the first half of the 7th/13th century. He spent some time in Egypt (before 613/1216, and in 620/1223, 623/1226 and 624/1227) and in Northern Syria (Āmid, Anṭākiya, Ḥarrān, Konya, al-Ruhāʾ) and travelled through the Biḳāʿ and the Ḥidjāz (Djidda, al-Madīna). He claims to have been also in Cyprus, Baḥrayn and India.

Al-Djawbarī wrote between 629/1232 and 646/1248-9 upon the request of the Artuḳid al-Malik al-Masʿūd (in 629/1232 ruler of Āmid and Ḥiṣn Kayfā) his book *al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār* ("The selection in the unveiling of Secrets"). This is a concise encyclopedia of tricks, practices and devices used by fraudulent Ṣūfīs, false alchemists, beggars, impostors, drug-sellers, jugglers, quacks etc. i.e. the mediaeval Islamic underworld, known as the Banū Sāsān [see sāsān, banū]. The book is modelled after the *Kashf al-dakk wa-īḍāḥ al-shakk* of Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*], which is lost. Al-Djawbarī lived himself by some of these practices, and the *Mukhtār* is a colourful mine of first-hand information for the social and cultural history of the Islamic Middle Ages. Al-Djawbarī's entertaining personality also caught the interest of some of the political rulers of his time; he proudly relates that he blackmailed a fraudulent alchemist from the Maghrib out of ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Muʿ-azzamī's (died 646/1248-49) court by threatening to divulge the secret of his competitor's method to make gold. The book combines realism and psychological insight, a certain knowledge of mechanics medicine and botany with a familiarity with alchemistic and hermetic writings and an enlightened, if naive, scepticism towards many things miraculous.

The *Mukhtār* falls outside the scope of traditional mediaeval Islamic literature and scholarship and is written in careless "Middle-Arabic", full of jargon and dialectical expressions. It has been printed several times (Damascus 1302/1885; Istanbul n.d., Cairo 1316/1898 and several times n.d.). All printings are incomplete, expurgated and unreliable. The author of this article is preparing an edition, based on the available manuscripts. Two further books of al-Djawbarī, a treatise on geomancy and *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm fī ʿilm al-rūḥāniyya wa ʾl-tandjīm*, a work on the occult sciences and astrology, are lost. The *Kitāb al-Siḥr al-ḥalāl fiʾl-alʿāb al-sīmawiyya wa-baʿḍ fawāʾid ṣināʿiyya mudjarraba*, printed after some of the Cairo editions, has been erroneously ascribed to al-Djawbarī, and is in reality a translated extract of a 19th century French treatise on "magie naturelle".

Bibliography: All information concerning al-Djawbarī has to be gathered from his *Mukhtār*. Al-Djawbarī's importance has already been noted by M. Steinschneider, *Ǵauberi's "entdeckte Geheimnisse, eine Quelle für orientalische Sittenschilderung*, in *ZDMG*, xix (1865), 562-77; idem, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*, Anhang II: *Ǵauberi's "entdeckte Geheimnisse"*, in *Abhandlungen für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vi/3, Leipzig 1877; and M.J. de Goeje, *Ǵaubari's "entdeckte Geheimnisse"*, in *ZDMG*, xx, (1866), 484-510; A considerable part of the *Mukhtār* has been translated by E. Wiedemann, who stressed, perhaps overmuch, al-Djawbarī's importance for Islamic natural sciences, cf. the list of translated passages in S. Wild, *Jugglers and fraudulent Sufis*, in *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies. Visby 13-16 August, Stockholm 17-19 August 1972 = Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Filologisk-filosofiska serien 15*, Uppsala 1975, 58-63; Cf. further C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature.* Part One. *The Banū Sāsān in Arabic life and lore*, Leiden 1976, 14-15, 24, 106-18, and M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (*Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abteilung, Ergänzungsband VI, 2. Abschnitt), 254, 367.

(S. Wild)

DJAWHAR

(i) Substance. [see Vol. II].

(ii) Jewel, jewelry

Whether or not *djawhar* had the meaning "jewel" from the beginning of this word's usage in the Arabic language is uncertain, but this meaning is well-attested from early in the Islamic era. For example, both *djawhar* and the plural *djawāhir* are used in the Paris manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Aḥdjār li-Arisṭāṭālīs* (publ. with tr. and comm. in 1912 by J. Ruska as *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*—see p. 92 for the above-mentioned terms), a work which Ruska dated to some time before the middle of the 3rd/9th century. The Arabic lexicographers from at least as early as the 4th/10th century give "jewel" as a meaning for *djawhar* (e.g. in the *Tahdhīb al-lugha* of al-Azharī [*q.v.*]). This usage continues throughout the centuries to the present day, traceable both in historical literature and in, for example, the 12th/18th century dictionary *Tādj al-arūs* (for a more complete listing of the definitions by the Arabic lexicographers, see Lane's *Lexicon*, s.v. *dj-h-r*).

The word *djawhar* makes no appearance in the Ḳurʾān, even though there are specific references to both jewelry (gold bracelets, XVIII, 31 and XLIII, 53; silver bracelets, LXXVI, 21; bracelets of gold and pearls, XXII, 23 and XXXV, 33) and precious stones (*yāḳūt*, ruby, LV, 58; *mardjān*, small pearls or coral, LV, 22 and LV, 58; and *luʾluʾ*, pearls, XXII, 23, XXXV, 33 and LV, 22). In four of the five passages mentioning the wearing of bracelets the verb *yuḥallawna* is used. From its root, which means "to adorn", another common word for jewelry in general (*ḥaly*) is derived (see Lane, s.v. *ḥ-l-y*). However, *djawhar* was clearly the most important single term for jewelry or jewels in the Arabic language during its reign as the *lingua franca* of the Islamic world.

Let us now turn from the consideration of words used for jewels to an attempt to form a picture of the objects themselves. That is, what kinds of jewels did the peoples of the regions under consideration make, collect, wear or otherwise use in the various historical periods in which they lived? This art-historical question, an extensive, as opposed to intensive, definition of the word *djawhar*, shall

constitute our main concern in what follows. This will mark the first attempt ever made at a survey of Islamic jewelry, and thus must be regarded as provisional in certain respects.

1. Early Islamic jewelry (1st-4th/7th-10th centuries)

Any history of Islamic jewelry ought to begin with examples from the earliest centuries of Islām. However, to the best of our knowledge, there are very few extant pieces datable to before the first half of the 5th/11th century in either the eastern or western parts of the Muslim world. Consequently, in attempting to reconstruct a picture of the jewelry in vogue during the first three hundred and seventy-five years of the Islamic period we are forced to turn to pictorial or sculptural representations in addition to literary descriptions.

The available representations show that the jewelry and other body-adorning and costume elements worn during the period were very strongly influenced by the Roman, Byzantine and Sāsānid ornaments found current in the countries conquered by the Muslims. A few examples should suffice to illustrate this point.

The ball-shaped earrings depicted on the sculpture from Khirbat al-Mafdjar (R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar*, Oxford 1959, Pl. XXII, 4) and the teardrop shaped examples in the paintings at Sāmarrā' (E. Herzfeld, *Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, Berlin 1927, Pl. LXXI, top) compare very closely with those found on Sāsānid rock reliefs and coins (S. Fukai and K. Horiuchi, *Taq-i-Bustan*, Tokyo 1972, ii, Pl. IX and A.U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, London and New York 1938, iv, Pl. 251 F, H, J, K, N, O). Sāsānid prototypes (Fukai and Horiuchi, *op. cit.*, i, Pl. XX) can also be found for some of the head ornaments depicted in a manuscript of al-Ṣūfī of 399/1009 (E. Wellesz, *An early al-Ṣūfī manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii, Fig. 10) and for the belt fittings in a wall painting from Nīshāpūr datable to before 1000 A.D. (Fukai and Horiuchi, *op. cit.*, i, Pl. LXIV, and W. Hauser and C.K. Wilkinson, *The Museum's excavations at Nishapur*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* [April 1943], Fig. 45).

Western influence, on the other hand, can readily be seen in some of the jewelry depicted in the wall paintings at Ḳuṣayr 'Amra. The heart-shaped pendants worn by one of the female figures (M. Almagro, L. Caballero, J. Zozaya and A. Almagro, *Qusayr 'Amra*, Madrid 1975, Pl. XXVII, top) bear very close comparison to Roman pieces (*Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, xviii/2-3, Oberlin, Ohio—hereinafter abbreviated *Allen*—Fig. 68), as does the shorter necklace of oval elements worn by the same figure (L. Pollak, *Klassisch-Antike Gold-schmiedearbeiten*, Leipzig 1903, Pl. XVI, No. 396). A scalloped and jewelled necklace worn by one of the male figures as well as one consisting of a series of pendant elements adorning a female figure (Almagro *et alii*, *op. cit.*, Pls. XI and IX) have close Byzantine parallels (A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, i, Berlin 1970, Pl. 49, and Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 17.190.1667).

The vogue for breast ornaments held in place by crossed straps, seen so often on the figures in Ḳuṣayr 'Amra, (Almagro *et alii*, Pl. XVII, top) probably entered the Islamic repertoire from the West also (for a Greek example, see H. Hoffman and P. Davidson, *Greek gold*, 1965, Fig. D), although the earliest example known to these authors is from 2nd century B.C. India, the country which also seems to be the ultimate source for the waist ornaments seen in the paintings in our late 1st/early 8th century Jordanian bath (S. Swarup, *The arts and crafts of India and Pakistan*, Bombay 1957, Pl. 88, left and 104 left).

Thus during the earliest centuries of the Muslim era, the jewelry traditions of the Roman, Byzantine and Sāsānid realms seem to have been important as models for Islamic jewelry. Having seen how close the Islamic representations often are to their apparent models, one is tempted to speculate that, to some extent, the scarcity of early Islamic jewelry may be due to our ignorance, and that many of the pieces now classified as Roman, Byzantine and Sāsānid are in fact Islamic in date. Another major factor accounting for the "disappearance" of jewels, especially when it comes to the larger and more valuable stones and pearls, was their re-use in new stringings or settings in accord with the taste of the times. From the remarkable series of large stones, especially diamonds and spinel "rubies", which were inscribed with the names of Persian and Mughal rulers, we know that such stones had considerable histories (discussed in greater detail below); for example, the inscriptions in the name of Nādir Shāh in two large spinels and a teardrop-shaped emerald show concretely how in these cases stones from one treasure were re-used by a subsequent owner (in one case as an armband, and in the other, on a string of prayer beads—see V. Ball, *A description of two large spinel rubies, with Persian characters engraved upon them*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, iii/3, 380-400 and Pl. X; V.B. Meen and A.D. Tushingham, *Crown jewels of Iran*, Toronto 1968, 46, 64-5 and 67).

We know from a number of literary accounts concerning the period at present under discussion not only that early Islamic rulers collected precious stones, but that they also used them in ways similar to those which we can verify from much later periods.

In one of the most informative and detail-laden works among those which deal with notable treasures, the *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa 'l-tuḥaf* of al-Ḳāḍī al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr (ed. M. Hamidullah, Kuwait 1959), we have in § 18 the following: "al-'Alā'ī recounted in the *Kitāb al-Adjwāb* that Ṣabīḥ, the secretary, said that 'Umar b. Yūsuf (i.e. Yūsuf b. 'Umar) al-Thaḳafī sent to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik a red ruby which was bigger than his palm and a pearl of the greatest possible size. The messenger came in to him. He could not see the face of Hishām because of the height of his throne and the number of cushions. He took the stone and the pearl from him and said: Has he written down their weight? Then he said: Where are the likes of these two to be found?" What is particularly interesting about the above account is that it is such large stones and pearls which were considered appropriate for the ruler and that he was fully aware that the real way of recording such items was by weight. Hishām's questions become even more meaningful when we know that, according to al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*], al-Rashīd, who also received many comparable gifts, was a great admirer of valuable stones and that he sent the jeweller Ṣabāḥ, the grandfather of al-Kindī [*q.v.*], to Ceylon to buy stones (see Mohammad Jahia al-Haschmi, *Die Quellen des Steinbuches des Berūnī*, Bonn 1935, 14). Not so incidentally, these gifts (sc. the ruby and the pearl) were appropriate to kings not only because of their size but also because they were among the most valued gems in the Islamic world from earliest to latest times, although one often suspects that the huge red rubies, *yāḳūt*,

cited are either red tourmalines or spinels, even though there were those competent to differentiate. For an example of methods used for such differentiation, we may point to al-Bīrūnī who recorded the specific weights of stones in relation to sapphire, which he gave the arbitrary value of 100. Thus the pearl "is 65 and a third and a quarter" (see F. Krenkow, *The chapter on pearls in the book on precious Stones by al-Berūnī*. Part II, in *IC*, xvi/1 [1942], 26-7).

Specific literary accounts and numerous recorded gifts and purchases as well as pictorial evidence exist which establish the prevailing hierarchy of value in stones. According to al-Bīrūnī in his *Kitāb al-Djamāhir fi 'l-djawāhir* (as cited by E. Wiedemann, *Über den Wert von Edelsteinen bei den Muslimen*, in *Isl.*, ii [1911], 348), there are three outstanding precious gems, the ruby (*yāķūt*), the emerald (*zumurrud*) and the pearl. Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, 348 n. 1) also informs us that in f. 5a of the *Steinbuch des Aristoteles* it says that the pearl, the *yāķūt* and the *zabardjad* (topaz) and their kind are preferred by people over other precious stones. For a concrete example, we may cite another passage from the *K. al-Dhakhā'ir* (§ 33) which recounts gifts given to al-Mutawakkil by a favourite slave girl consisting of twenty tamed gazelles, with twenty Chinese saddles with small saddle-bags containing musk and ambergris and other perfumes, "And each gazelle had a female slave attendant with a golden belt, having in her hand a golden rod, at whose tip was a jewel, a ruby or an emerald or some other from the jewels of high value."

It is hardly possible to estimate real prices; thus that given for the famous Djabal (see al-Mas'ūdi, ed. Pellat, index) varies considerably according to the sources. Wiedemann states, in *op. cit.*, 346, and following al-Dimashķī, that it must have weighed 14½ *mithķāls* (according to Kahle's conversion figures, in *Die Schätze der Fatimiden*, in *ZDMG*, N.F. xxxiv [1935], 336, this would amount to about 64 gr. or 320 carats) for 80,000 *dīnārs*. Furthermore, according to the same source, al-Rashīd is said to have paid 90,000 *dīnārs* for a pearl named *al-Yatīma*, "the Orphan". The weight is not given, although weights for pearls of this name are mentioned in several other accounts of the early Islamic period. In the light of the comments of al-Bīrūnī as cited by Krenkow (*art. cit.*, Part I, 407) and of the passage, also from al-Bīrūnī, cited below, it would seem that this name, along with *Farīda*, "Unique", was given to any large pearl, perhaps especially to those pear- or teardrop-shaped, for which no match could be found.

Further accounts of the early Islamic period indicating the value placed on certain stones are the following, all taken from the above-cited *K. al-Dhakhā'ir*:

(i) In the time of the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, the "king of India" sent as a present to Djunayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the then governor of Sind, a jewel-studded camel mounted on a silver, wheeled under-carriage, and its udders were full of pearls and its throat was full of rubies, both of which could be made to pour forth. Djunayd sent this on to Hishām, who appreciated it highly. "It amazed Hishām and everyone who was in his company, and it remained in the Umayyad treasury until it passed to the 'Abbāsids" (§ 15).

(ii) There is an account (§ 27) of a gift sent to al-Rashīd, by "one of the kings of India", of "an emerald rod longer than a cubit. At its head was the image of a bird of red rubies, and it was invaluable." We are told that this bauble passed down through the 'Abbāsid family, serving for at least part of the time as a plaything for royal children, to al-Mu'taṣim, who ordered a search for the (at that point) missing ruby-encrusted bird (valued, we are told, at 100,000 *dīnārs* by one 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad) which had become separated from it but which was found, under threats of punishment, by the treasurers.

(iii) We read (§ 29) that al-Ma'mūn corresponded and exchanged gifts with a king of India, and that the Indian king's letter to al-Ma'mūn mentioned the gifts he was sending: "And the gifts were a cup of red ruby, the opening of which was one span wide by one finger thick, full of pearls, each of which weighed a *mithķāl*. They totalled 100 pearls ..."

For the actual use of precious stones in jewelry, there is considerable evidence that in this early Islamic period, as in the previous Roman and Byzantine periods as well as in much later periods such as the Mughal one in India, many of the larger precious stones were bored and strung on cords, chains, wires or whatever was appropriate. Remarkably graphic literary confirmation of this is afforded by al-Bīrūnī's treatment of the emerald, as cited by Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, 351), when he says that emerald jewels or beads (*kharaza*) are called reeds or tubes (*ķaṣaba*) because of their long form and because one bores through them. This has a remarkable ring of veracity because of what we know of the longish crystalline formation of the emerald, as well as the great number of presumably Byzantine necklaces which incorporate just such bored sections of emerald crystals. This practice of boring and stringing precious stones as beads was not confined to emeralds. The following passage from the *K. al-Dhakhā'ir* (§ 37) does not furnish certain proof of this, but gives an indication of its likelihood. We are told that when al-Mutawakkil was returning from Damascus, in 244/858, he was met by his mother's servant, with gifts from "al-Sayyida" Ķabīḥa, the mother of al-Mu'tazz. Their amount was 400,000 *dīnārs*." This enormous treasure included "a string of beads of jewels of an unknown value." From the same work (§ 14), we hear again of "beads of great jewels" in a casket of jewels which had been brought by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz when he came to Cairo from his previous capital in Tunisia.

Occasionally we are fortunate enough to find passages which describe or unconsciously indicate not only the precise kind of gem involved, but also the arrangement or manner of stringing of these jewels. Once more from the *K. al-Dhakhā'ir* (§ 22) we learn that "Mu'nisa, the slave girl of al-Ma'mūn billāh, gave to Mutayyam, the slave girl of 'Alī b. Hishām ... with the knowledge of al-Ma'mūn, a necklace whose central pearl was like an egg of a sparrow, and black beads whose value was 10,000 *dīnārs* (at this value the only imaginable black beads are black pearls of fine quality—we know that, according to al-Bīrūnī, on the authority of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn of Rayy, court jewellers to Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Maḥmūd's treasury included black pearls—see Haschmi, *op. cit.*, 15), and four stones of red rubies and four stones of emeralds on its right and left, between them the precious beads of gold. The continuing necklace had dates (*balaḥ*—here surely meant to indicate the shape of the beads) anointed with perfume (*ghāliya*). Mutayyam found the dates anointed with perfume (*ghāliya*) elegant and delightful; her joy could not be increased by the remaining jewels." Although we cannot be absolutely certain of the arrangement here, the general picture is quite clear; that called up in the imagination by this and

the passage to follow is amazingly like that which one gets from the accounts of the likes of Tavernier (see *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, London 1889, ii, 150) as well as what one actually sees being worn by Mug͟hal rulers in their miniature paintings (see below in section on Mug͟hal India). Another very graphic passage from the early Islamic period is found in al-Bīrūnī's chapter on pearls (Krenkow, *op. cit.*, II, 25), in a section discussing the egg-shaped pearl: "The pearl called al-Yatīma weighed three *mit͟hķāls* and it was called al-Yatīma (orphan) because its shell had gone before a sister [pearl] could be born [in it]. Likewise, a similar one was called Farīd (unique) when its equal could not be found and it was necessary to make it the centre of a necklace which is called qilāda." Elsewhere in the same work (Krenkow, *op. cit.*, Part II, 33), al-Bīrūnī is arguing against "coral" and for "small pearls" as being the correct understanding of the term *mard͟jān*, and we get an idea of his sense of what is proper as regards the combination of stones with pearls. He quotes a passage from Abū Nuwās and then comments: "'Crowned with pearls and marjān like a rose betwixt red anemones.' So he thinks that the white pearl is adorned in the necklace between two reds, meaning the ruby and the coral. Such a necklace would be uncommon and of bad taste. On the contrary, the small pearls are put between every large pearl and two encompassing rubies filling the place between them, holding them apart; then on account of their polish, the redness of the ruby glistens and can be compared with the redness of gold."

Other such accounts about the combination of rubies, emeralds and pearls of various sizes could be given, but perhaps those cited above are sufficient to indicate something of the nature of a type of jewelry that seems to have had currency throughout the centuries in most of the Islamic world and of which we have nothing but the literary accounts and pictorial representations, together with some of the stones (in such repositories as the Iranian crown jewels and the Topkapi in Istanbul). What we do have left to us in something of its original form, although of less intrinsic value, is of greater historical importance, for it provides us with a better picture of the changes in artistic taste from period to period.

As regards those few objects datable to the early Islamic period, they fit very well into the pattern established for those adornments found in the paintings and reliefs discussed at the outset, i.e. they exhibit a dependence on Roman, Byzantine and/or Sāsānid models. However, these objects also show a development away from the older objects in terms of decorative motifs or principal designs, an Islamisation of their pre-Islamic models. Perhaps the most striking example of this is an amulet case excavated at Nīs͟hāpūr which can be dated before 1000 A.D., on the basis of its epigraphic decoration (Fig. 1). Sāsānid as well as Byzantine prototypes exist for the general shape (M. Negro Ponti, *Jewelry and small objects from Tell Mahuz (North Mesopotamia)*, in *Mesopotamia*, v-vi [1970-1], Fig. 85, No. 36, and W. and E. Rudolph, *Ancient jewelry from the collection of Burton Y. Berry*, Bloomington, Indiana 1973, Fig. 153), but its elaborate yet beautiful integration of form and decoration are peculiarly Islamic, as is its nielloed Kūfic inscription.

Also datable to the same period on epigraphic grounds are two belt fittings excavated at Nīs͟hāpūr, one of which is shown in Fig. 2. Unlike the smooth-edged and undecorated fittings on the depiction of the horseman in the Nīs͟hāpūr wall painting discussed earlier, these two sculpted and decortéd objects may have been part of a set like that in Fig. 3. The latter should be dated to the 3rd/9th century on the basis of its close comparison with the fittings depicted in a painting from Sāmarrā' (E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXV, right).

Some of the finger rings from Nīs͟hāpūr also seem to be datable to this period. The silver as well as the gold ring pictured in Fig. 4a and b both show a dependance on Roman models (E.H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the finger rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities*, British Museum London 1907, Pl. XV, 526, Pl. XIII, 469), and as will be discussed later, the silver ring can be seen as a precursor of a type of Sald͟jūķ Persian ring.

2. Early mediaeval jewelry (5th-7th/11th-13th centuries)

Once we move into the early mediaeval period, not only do we have many more extant jewelry examples than we did for the early Islamic period, but we are also able to establish firmer dates for them. The reasons for the survival of these relatively large groups of objects, as well as the explanations of the lines of development which brought the art to this brilliant flowering during the early mediaeval period, continue to elude us. The jump from the few early objects just discussed to the objects we are about to present is often a very large one indeed.

Pivotal pieces for the study of early mediaeval jewelry in greater Iran are a pair of bracelets, which are illustrated in Fig. 5a-b. Each of the four hemispheres flanking the clasp of each bracelet bears a flat disk of thin gold at its back, which was decorated by pouncing it over a coin, in this case a coin bearing the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Ķādir billāh (381-422/991-1031). The late Dr. George Miles was of the opinion that the style of the coins used was that of those minted in 390/1000, 397/1007 and 419/1028, during the rule of Maḥmūd of G͟hazna, and that they were probably struck in the mint of Nīs͟hāpūr. As the gold discs were most probably embossed over relatively new coins, a dating to the first half of the 5th/11th century seems quite secure.

There are a large number of extant bracelets in both gold and silver which are analogous to these, although none are as fine or as elaborate. The main characteristics of this group of bracelets are the four hemispheres flanking the clasp, the tapering of the shank toward the clasp and the twisted effect of the former; or alternatively, a non-tapered shank is subdivided into ball-shaped sections.

Pre-Islamic jewelry has again served as a model for these bracelets, which show a continued conservatism and traditionalism in the medium. Examples of coins and imitation coins on jewelry are quite numerous in the Byzantine period; and the twisted effect of the shank must ultimately derive from Greek bracelets with similar shanks (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 45.11.10—see Hoffman and Davidson, *op. cit.*, Fig. 61b). Those with shanks subdivided into ball-shaped sections must have had as their ultimate models Roman rings and bracelets as well (*Allen*, Fig. 107).

The hollow gold and silver rings from Nīs͟hāpūr with stone settings which we saw earlier seem to have given rise to the type of ring seen in Fig. 6. Its epigraphic and vegetal decoration in niello place it very neatly in the early mediaeval period, more particularly in the 6th/12th or 7th/13th centuries; and furthermore, the type of setting with its heavy

claws is very typical for Persian jewelry of this period. The bracelet illustrated in Fig. 7a-b, whose mate is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, shares many of the features seen in the last object discussed. Four of its elements take the form of truncated pyramids (as does the bezel of the ring), and bear the heavy claws to hold the now-missing stones. It also prominently features epigraphic decoration in niello.

The granulated treatment of the border on the obverse of the pendant in Fig. 8a-b, the settings with heavy claws and the niello-like decoration, relate this object to the bracelet just discussed. A feature we have not met with before, however, is that found on the reverse—a double twisted wire decoration laid on the gold sheet. This method of decorating a plain gold surface was very popular in Iran during the period in question and can be seen on a pair of earrings, one of which is shown in Fig. 9, which bear close comparison with a pair found in Russian excavations (in the region between the Sea of Azov and Moscow) whose finds can be dated between the 1170s and 1240 (G.F. Korzukhina, *Russkie kladî IX-XIIIvv*, Moscow 1954, pl. LX). The open-work beads decorating the upper part of these earrings were also an important feature of Iranian jewelry at this time. Another pair of earrings, seen in Fig. 10, are composed of three such beads. There are many variations of such three-bead earrings from 6th/12th and 7th/13th century Iran, and a large number of similar ones were found in the Russian excavations already mentioned (for example, Korzukhina, *op. cit.*, pls. XLV, XLVIII, XXXI, XXXIII, etc.).

Fig. 11a-b illustrates a type of ring which seems not to have been in vogue in the Islamic world before the second half of the 6th/12th century. However, once introduced, it enjoyed great popularity and variety. The most essential features of this ring type are a cast shank, often with anthropomorphic terminals, and polygonal bezels. The prototypes, again, are to be found in Greek as well as Roman rings (Marshall, *op. cit.*, fig. 61, and pl. XVI, 552). The ring chosen to illustrate the type is a particularly fine example, with four of the six corners of the bezel decorated with human heads, the crown itself consisting of a repeating geometric pattern executed in openwork filigree and the shank bearing harpies and terminating in double-bodied harpies. Although not as elaborate as our example, many rings of this type were found in the Russian excavations mentioned above whose finds can be dated between the 1170s and 1240 (Korzukhina, pls. XXXVII, 3, XXXVIII, 3, XLV, 4, etc.). The style of the animals as well as the technique employed on the belt fittings in Fig. 12 relate this object very closely to the above ring.

Because the geometrical design and its mode of execution on the two hair ornaments in Fig. 13 are identical to that on the ring in Fig. 11a-b, these objects must be dated to the same time, if not to the same workshop. Between the bronze core and the gold exterior of these ornaments there was a textile which was probably brightly coloured, and this must have heightened the impact of these striking pieces. Hair ornaments had a long pre-Islamic history, and tubular ones are still current in the Middle East today.

The earrings featuring polyhedral beads in Fig. 14 must also be similarly dated, since two hair ornaments with closely related beads were found in the Russian excavations mentioned above (Korzukhina, pl. LIX). Their sophisticated and ingenious transformation of the spherical bead into a pentagonal dodecahedron is quite in keeping with the extraordinary amount of sophistication at the time in the usage of geometric solids as the forms of beads, weights, etc., especially notable in the finds from the Metropolitan Museum's excavations at Nīshāpūr.

A cache of jewelry and 82 gold coins found in Tunisia about 50 years ago allows us to establish relatively firm dates for certain types of jewelry executed in the Fāṭimid realms (G. Marçais and L. Poinssot, *Objets kairouanais, notes et documents*, xi/2, Tunis 1952, 467-93, and Marilyn Jenkins, *Fāṭimid jewelry, its subtypes and influences*, in *Kunst des Orients*, in press); and this in turn allows us to date certain closely related objects from the Fertile Crescent.

Marçais and Poinssot have shown that the jewelry in this cache was made before the end of the year 436/1045, and Jenkins has demonstrated that it was very likely produced in Egypt. She has also delineated a number of characteristic features of this jewelry, thus permitting a considerable broadening of the group. On the basis of these works, it seems likely that the gold objects about to be discussed, as well as many others closely related to them, were all produced in a relatively short period of time before 436/1045.

Each sub-type enumerated below will be introduced by one or more Fāṭimid objects datable by means of the Tunisian cache. These groupings grew out of Marc Rosenberg's theory of "the battle of granulation and filigree", in which he suggests an historical progression proceeding from those pieces on which granulation, consisting of grains of more than one size—most often set on paired wires—was the dominant decorative device, to those on which grains are also placed on paired wires but on which the granulation and filigree could be said to be on an equal footing. The third sub-type incorporates only a small amount of granulation; and the final phase shows the complete displacement of granulation by filigree (see Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst auf technischer Grundlage, Granulation*, iii, Frankfurt 1918, 96-104). The closely similarity among the objects comprising the various sub-groups makes it highly likely that the "battle" was a quick one, at least in the case of Fāṭimid Egypt.

Examples of the finest and most decoratively complex type of Fāṭimid gold work are the openwork biconical and spherical beads in Fig. 15 exhibiting filigree work and granulation with grains of more than one size. Another example of this particular phase of Fāṭimid jewelry is a gold bracelet with a tapered tubular shank and heart-shaped terminals in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (G. Breitling *et alii, Das Buch vom Gold*, Lucerne and Frankfurt 1975, 239, No. 6). The area where the shank meets the terminals bears three large grains, or more properly, shot. This bracelet bears close comparison with one in the Damascus Museum, also with heart-shaped terminals but with a twisted-wire shank (*Catalogue du Musée National de Damas*, Damascus 1969, Fig. 119, right). The latter may in turn be compared with several excavated in Russia in finds datable to the 5th/11th and turn of the 6th/12th centuries (Korzukhina, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV). All this confirms that this group of bracelets with tubular or twisted-wire shanks and heart-shaped terminals, whether made in Egypt or somewhere in the Fertile Crescent (as is probably the case with the bracelet in the Damascus Museum), were contemporary with the beads illustrated in Fig. 15 (which are datable by means of the Tunisian cache) and consequently must date before 436/1045.

Another bracelet which must be placed in this finest and decoratively most complex phase is that seen in Fig. 16a-b, which has a mate in the Damascus Museum. The twisted effect of its tapered shank and the four hemispheres flanking its clasp, as well as the treatment of the area where the shank meets the clasp, relate it very closely to the Persian bracelet illustrated in Fig. 5a-b, which is probably datable to the early 5th/11th century. However, the type of bosses on the clasp, the style of wirework on the back of the clasp and the treatment of the shank relate the Freer bracelet more closely to contemporary objects made in Egypt. We therefore attribute this bracelet to a workshop in the Fertile Crescent, most probably in Syria, where both Egyptian and Persian influences would very likely be found.

Also contemporary and made either in Egypt or the Fertile Crescent are a group of six bracelets with twisted-wire shanks whose clasps bear granules in two triangular arrangements, flanked on two sides by groups of three contiguous shot, on either side of a set stone (*Catalogue du Musée National de Damas*, Fig. 119, second from right; *Collection Hélène Stathatos*, iv, *Bijoux et petits objets*, Pl. XI, and p. 73, Figs. 11 and 12; and the European art market). The manner of usage of the grains on the clasps of these bracelets is closely related to that on the "blimp-shaped" beads on the necklace in Fig. 15.

The next Fāṭimid sub-type is illustrated in Fig. 17a-b. Unlike the beads discussed above, this pendant bears grains of only one size, and the filigree and granulation can be said to be equally important.

Those objects exhibiting filigree with only a very sparse use of granulation, such as the bracelet in Fig. 18 with repousséed shank, are examples of the next sub-type. Bracelets with repousséed shanks bearing geometric designs, sometimes filled with human figures, were a later development of such bracelets (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 58.37, and A. de Ridder, *Collection de Clercq catalogue*, vii/1, pl. XII, No. 1279).

Another example of this phase is the pair of earrings in Fig. 19. However, the use of undecorated hollow hemispheres as well as the tapering of the edges to a point take them out of the Egyptian milieu and, as was the case with the bracelet in Fig. 16a-b and several other objects mentioned above, perhaps a provenance in the Fertile Crescent should be suggested for them (cf. Zakiyya ʿUmar al-ʿAlī, *Islamic jewelry acquired by the Iraq Museum* [in Arabic], in *Sumer*, xxx, Pl. 8; Paris, Grand Palais, *L'Islam dans les collections nationales*, Paris 1977, No. 363; and Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 95.16.2-3). Closer to its Egyptian prototypes than the above, but incorporating Persian elements as well, is another earring which also must have been made in the Fertile Crescent (Hayward Gallery, *The arts of Islam*, London 1976, No. 239).

As we have said, the final phase in Fāṭimid jewelry is represented by those objects with no granulation at all, their decoration being executed solely in filigree or in filigree combined with a technique other than granulation, such as cloisoné enamelling. Two examples can be seen in Figs. 20 and 21. The latter may be compared with the biconical bead in Fig. 15 (see also L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art, Jerusalem, No. J75, the wirework of which is closely related to that on the back of the clasp of the bracelet in Fig. 16a-b), but here three biconical beads are combined to form a necklace spacer, a type of combination also seen in the material from Ur (C.L. Wooley, *Ur excavations*, ii. *The Royal Cemetery*, Oxford 1934, pl. 146a), as well as from Cyprus of the first half of the first millenium B.C. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 74.51.3297). Another type of tripartite spacer can be seen on the necklace in Fig. 15.

In the medium of silver, the earring shown in Fig. 22 has a shape and the box-like construction which we have seen often in the jewelry from the Fertile Crescent. These features, in addition to the style of its nielloed vegetal and epigraphic decoration, place it in the early part of the period under discussion.

Towards the end of what we have called the early mediaeval period, one of the Islamic lands west of Iran (probably Syria) produced the silver and gilt bronze belt illustrated in Fig. 23, other elements of which are in the Benaki Museum, Athens. According to Mr. Benaki's records (see Berta Segall, *Museum Benaki, Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten*, Athens 1938 No. 323, and p. 190) the inscription on the buckle is in the name of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl, who was twice the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus and who was killed in battle at Cairo in 648/1250 (mistakenly said in Segall to have taken place in 1266). Although there was a Mamlūk sultan of the same name who ruled in the 8th/14th century (743-6/1342-5), the titular formulae which one can read on the buckle do seem closer to those of the Ayyubid ruler than of the Mamlūk one.

3. Late mediaeval jewelry (8th-11th/14-17th centuries)

For reasons still largely unclear to us, when attempting to deal with the jewelry art of the late mediaeval period, we are faced with a situation similar to that in the early Islamic period. That is, there are very few extant pieces from any part of the Muslim world datable to this period, and therefore we are again forced to turn to pictorial representations in addition to literary descriptions for our main picture of the jewelry of this important four-hundred-year period.

It is probable that the representations of jewelry in Persian miniatures do not give us a full and adequate picture of the jewelry in vogue at the time, even for the upper classes. This is partly due to the very limitations of the Persian miniature art itself in terms of what it could show; and one gets the feeling that convention played some part in what jewelry the painter chose to decorate his figures, just as painters' conventions had a part in the architectural forms and decoration represented in these miniatures. However, it does seem on the other hand that the representations do reflect in a general way the types and, as will be seen, the changing styles of jewelry worn. With Mug̲h̲al miniatures, the representations are more detailed, and give a feeling of being less fanciful, more indicative of a specific time, place and object.

The necklace in Fig. 24a-b is one of two extant pieces of 8th/14th century gold jewelry known to the present authors (the other is a head ornament in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 565, which is very closely related to the gilded silver head ornament found in a 14th century tomb at Novorossiisk, for which see R. Zahn, *Sammlungen der Galerie Bachstitz*, ii Berlin 1921, pl. 123). The shapes used in the wire and stone work on the obverse of the necklace's two principal elements, as well as the contours of these elements themselves, relate it closely to the crown of Anūs̲h̲irwān in a page from

the Demotte *Shāh-nāma* (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 52.20.2, see I. Stchoukine, *La peinture iranienne sous les derniers ʿAbbasides et les Il-Khans*, Bruges 1936, ms. no. XV, no. 24), and the style of the chased design as well as the motifs on the reverse of these elements clearly point to the same period. In addition, the overall Chinese feeling is in line with what we might expect at this time.

To come back to the miniature mentioned above, we might point out that both of the principal figures wear simple gold hoop earrings and that this fashion can be seen in other representations of the period. For example, in a miniature probably painted in ʿIrāḳ in *ca.* 771-81/1370-80 (R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, New York 1962, 178) we see very similar earrings worn by the Archangel Isrāfīl.

We may take this occasion to say that the wearing of earrings by men is a custom with a very long history in the Near East, being well-attested in for example, Assyrian, Achaemenian and Sāsānid reliefs. We have already referred in section 1 above to a man wearing earrings in a wall painting from Sāmarrā', and we have literary evidence that earrings were worn by pre-Islamic Arabs: al-Bīrūnī in his chapter on pearls (Krenkow, *op. cit.*, I, 407) quotes an extract from al-Aswad b. Yaʿfur [*q.v.*] which contains the phrase "... runs a man with two pearls [in the lobes of his ears] . . .". This custom continued in the Islamic world, although not universally, until the beginning of the modern period, as attested by, for example, paintings of the Mongol, Tīmūrid, Ṣafawid and Mug̲h̲al schools.

A belt of gilded silver consisting of 62 elements was found in the 14th century tomb at Novorossiisk mentioned above (R. Zahn, *op. cit.*, pls. 121, 122). The overall style of the belt, as well as the decoration on the triangular and rectangular pieces, relate it to two earlier belts illustrated in Figs. 12 and 23.

Turning to the more western part of the Muslim world, several gold bracelets can be quite securely placed in 8th/14th century Mamlūk Egypt or Syria. Continuing the bracelet tradition in this part of the world as discussed above, these have hollow shanks—plain or giving a twisted effect—but they now terminate in animal heads. The clasp is round and tabular, and the one in the Benaki Museum, Athens, is decorated with an Arabic inscription (B. Segall, *op. cit.*, No. 319, and Cairo, *Islamic art in Egypt 969-1517*, April 1969, No. 20).

At the turn of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th century in Iran we not only see the continued use of the type of belt already discussed (M.S. Ipsiroğlu, *Painting and culture of the Mongols*, New York n.d., fig. 47) but we also begin to see the use of a new belt type consisting of a large gold roundel or roundels on a cloth or leather strap, a type which appears soon to have superseded the older style and which was to remain in vogue in Iran for centuries to come (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 57.51.20, *MMA Bulletin*, N.S., xvi [1957], 56, and No. 33.113, *MMA Bulletin*, xxix [April 1934], 59-60, fig. 2).

One of these latter miniatures (57.51.20) also shows a new fashion in the decoration of the female visage: strings of beads framing the face, being secured by the headcloth at the top of the head and passing under the chin. As we shall see, this type of ornament was still in vogue in Iran in the Ḳād̲j̲ār period. This popular Tīmūrid fashion is also in evidence in two other miniatures, one from *ca.* 829/1426 and the other from between 1470 and 1480, which also show us examples of Tīmūrid earrings. These appear to be either plain gold hoops, hoops with a single pendant tear-drop pearl (seen earlier in paintings from Sāmarrā') or gold hoops with four pendant paired pearls (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.13, fol. 17b; see New York, Asia House Gallery, *Muslim miniature paintings from the XII to XIX century*, 1962, 58, no. 41, and No. 57.51.24; *MMA Bulletin*, N.S., xvi [April 1958], 232).

As regards the fashion in bracelets during the Tīmūrid period, a miniature from a *Haft paykar* manuscript shows bathing women wearing simple strings of beads at their wrists (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.13, fol. 47a, *MMA Bulletin*, N.S., xxv [May 1967], 325, fig. 16). One of a pair of cast silver bracelets with dragon-headed terminals and bearing on the top an Arabic inscription can be seen in Fig. 25. At least two other examples of this type are extant, and it may represent a simpler and later version of the Mamlūk bracelets discussed above with animal heads flanking their clasps.

The cast gold and jade seal ring illustrated in Fig. 26 may have developed out of the type of ring illustrated in Fig. 11a-b, as they have several important features in common: the technique of casting, followed by a significant amount of chasing; shanks which have anthropomorphic terminals and which are decorated with designs on two levels; and a lozenge adorning the centre of the shank (for the universal importance and use of the seal ring throughout Islamic history, see K̲H̲ĀTAM and MUHR).

The necklace seen on the woman in the detail of a miniature from a manuscript dated 853/1450-1 in Fig. 27 points both backward and forward in time. The central element is related to one of those on the necklace in Fig. 24a-b, whereas the overall composirion is identical to what we shall see is the most popular type of Ṣafawid necklace represented in miniatures, although the rosettes here are two-dimensional elements instead of spherical beads as in the case of the Ṣafawid necklace.

Naṣrid Spain is better represented by extant jewelry than other areas during this period. The necklace illustrated in Fig. 28 consists of five pendant elements and five beads. The pendant elements show an indebtedness to Fāṭimid jewelry in their box-like construction, the use of gold loops on their circumference for stringing pearls or semi-precious stones, and their combination of gold and cloisonné enamel as well as of filigree and granulation. However, they are not as laboriously executed as the best Fāṭimid pieces, and the work has been further decreased by simply pouncing a gold sheet over the decorated front side of the pendant to produce the decoration on the back, a peculiarity of Naṣrid jewelry.

As indicated earlier, the vogue for beads framing the face continued in the Ṣafawid period but, in addition, two other types of head ornament—whose sources of inspiration were probably earlier crowns—were very popular during this period. Examples are to be seen in Figs. 29 and 30, both of which appear to be of gold set with stones.

The necklace shown in Fig. 27 was the immediate precursor of that worn by the woman in Fig. 30. The elements and their arrangement are identical, except that the flat rosettes set with a single stone in the 853/1450-51 miniature have, seventy-five years later, become what appear to be granulated spheres set with multiple stones. The central element has also changed from an apparently carved or painted piece to a gold pendant set with stones. Another type of necklace which we see represented in Ṣafawid paintings, worn as a choker or close to the throat, consisted of a central triangular, sometimes bejewel-

led, gold element flanked by two smaller gold elements on a string of pearls; and we see Iranian women in paintings of this period wearing a series of strings of beads, plain or bearing a single pendant (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 52.20.6, unpublished, and a wall painting from the Čihil Sutūn (1057/1647) in Iṣfahān, unpublished). These paintings also show a continued vogue for bracelets consisting of simple strings of beads.

Also at the Čihil Sutūn, we encounter on the statues at the edge of the pool an early example of the bejewelled tripartite armband which was to have such popularity in the Ḳādjār period (Fig. 31).

The new belt type, which was first observed in Persian miniatures dating to around 1400 A.D., was further elaborated upon in the Ṣafawid period. The elements are jewelled and the number represented on a given belt is increased (Fig. 32). Two complete Ṣafawid belts and a buckle are extant (Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, vi, pl. 1394a-c).

The types of earrings current in Ṣafawid Iran show, for the most part, a continued conservatism at least as far as the representations are concerned. We find gold hoop earrings and gold hoops with a single shot at the bottom or at the bottom and two sides. There are also variations on the type of earring consisting of a gold hoop with a pendant pearl which in one case consists of three pendant stones, blue, white and red (Fig. 33). In addition to these, we also see more complex pendant earring varieties couposed of gold, pearls, rubies or garnets and emeralds or in some cases composed of the aforementioned stones, but depicted in the miniatures in a way that is not detailed enough to permit a description.

Some of the ring types represented in the miniatures of this period include: archer's rings, usually indicated in black; seal rings and others represented with white and green stones (we may mention the one depicted with a white stone—in Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 1970.301.7, unpublished—which very much resembles in style that illustrated in Fig. 26); plain gold rings with rectangular bezels; and gold thumb rings.

Another Ṣafawid fashion seen depicted is the wearing of bandoliers, an example of which can be seen in Fig. 33. This one incorporates gold beads, amulets, a rosette and a gold pendant. Others of the period bear jewelled elements (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 12.224.4, miniature unpublished).

Recognisable representations of jewelry in Ottoman miniatures are almost non-existent. A rare instance shows Meḥemmed II wearing a white archer's ring and a ring set with a blue stone (N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974, pl. I). A hint of the kinds of treasures on hand in Tavernier's time (in addition to arms, utensils and the like enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds and other precious stones), can be had from the following:

"But what is most precious in that Chamber and transcends all the rest, is a strong Coffer all of Ironwork, which contains another, of about a foot and a half square, wherein there is a vast Treasure. When this Coffer is open'd you see a kind of Gold-Smiths Jewel Box, wherein are ranked all sorts of Jewels of highest value, as *Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds*, a huge number of excellent Topazes, and four of those Gems, call'd *Cats-eyes*, which are so beautiful, that they are not to be valu'd. Having satisfy'd your curiosity with the former, you come next to certain little Drawers full of several Jewels, great Roses of Diamonds, Pendants, other Roses of Rubies and Emeralds, Strings and Chains of Pearls and Bracelets. There stands aside by itself a Cabinet, where are the Sorgouges, or the things wherein are fasten'd the Heron-tops, which the Grand Seignor wears in this Turbant. They are as it were little handles, made in the fashion of Tulips, cover'd over with the most precious Stones of the Seraglio, and 'tis into this that the Heron-top enters, that rich Plume of Feathers . . . Of these Handles, some are higher and more precious than others: and my Oversear of the Treasury assur'd me, that, of all sorts of them, great and small, there are above a hundred and fifty. The lesser ones serve only for the Campagne, and the great ones, which are the richest, are reserv'd for the Pomps and Magnificences of the Court, and when the Grand Seignor marches in Ceremony to *Constantinople*. If he has a desire to satisfie his sight with the lustre of his precious Jewels, he Orders the Coffer to be brought into his own Chamber; but if he calls for some particular Piece of the Treasury, he gives order to the *Chasnadarbachi*, to fetch it, and that Chief Officer of the Treasury cannot enter it, without abundance of mysterious precautions" (*The six voyages of John Baptista Tavernier* . . . (and) . . . *The description of the Seraglio*, made English by J.P., London 1678, ch. viii, "A relation of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio", 46-8). Aside from the familiar strings of pearls, it is of interest to note that the treasury contained at this time a number of rose-cut diamonds, rubies and emeralds.

One such rose-cut diamond adorns the top of an hexagonal box, at present in the Hazine, the body of which is formed from a huge hollowed-out emerald crystal. According to an inscription on a mounting for one of its suspension hooks, this box was made by order of Sultan Aḥmed I in 1025/1616. The settings employed in this piece are extremely similar to those used in contemporary western Europe, while other objects in the Topkapı Hazine bear close comparison with Persian and Indian objects as regards techniques employed. For example, a dagger with a solid emerald handle which purportedly was presented to Meḥemmed IV by his mother Turkhān Sulṭān during the consecration of the Yeñi Djāmiʿ in 1073/1663 exhibits not only enamelling very similar to that which we associate with Ḳādjār Iran, but also the type of thickly encrusted surface which gives the impression of the stones having been pushed through the thin gold sheet from the back. A further closer study of the jewel treasures in the Topkapi would no doubt prove instructive regarding the nature if not the origins of the Ottoman style in jewelry.

Although few major pieces of Mughal jewelry from before the late 18th century remain extant, we are for a number of reasons in a better position to formulate an idea of the jewelry art of the earlier centuries of the Mughal period than we were in attempting to arrive at some picture of the jewelry of, for example, Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid Iran or of Ottoman Turkey. First of all, there is a large body of extant material dating from the late 18th to the 20th centuries, which, given the amazing tenacity of forms and traditions in Indian jewelry, gives us a rich context in which to consider the bits of evidence for the jewelry of the earlier centuries of the Mughal period. Secondly, for those curious about the jewels of this period, the miniatures produced under the Mughals are almost invariably much more detailed and therefore contain much more information for those who study the objects depicted. And thirdly,

we have a wealth of precise verbal accounts of the jewels, thrones, etc., of the Mughal court, especially those of the sharp and knowledgeable J.B. Tavernier.

One real disadvantage for the would-be student of Mughal jewelry is the lack of available information about the jewelry of India during a very long period prior to the one with which we are here concerned. It may have been noticed that this article has not include any discussion of jewelry made under the Dihlī Sultanate. Pieces must exist, perhaps unrecognised or unpublished, in Indian museums or private collections; but we do not know definitely about such jewelry and have no real notion from any source as to its nature. Despite the absence of extant pieces from some extensive periods of time, it seems safe to say, on the basis of observation of recent and contemporary work and of study of such pictorial records as the highly detailed sculptures, that India has the longest unbroken jewelry tradition of any nation on earth, as well as the greatest variety of jewelry forms, functions and techniques. For the period from the beginning of British domination to the present, there are many studies of particular regional and/or technical types and styles, and we will make no attempt to survey or summarise this material here. We shall content ourselves rather with a presentation of some of the notable features of the adornment associated with the period of the glory of the Mughal Empire, and their continuation into the later period, namely the 18th and 19th centuries.

Aside from whatever may have been the tradition at the time of the Mughal conquest in the 10th/16th century, we may safely assume that a considerable amount of Tīmūrid tradition passed southward with the royal family, its treasures and entourage, and that Tīmūrid tradition in turn represented an amalgamation of other Islamic, and to some extent Central Asian and Chinese traditions.

Our best evidence for the jewelry styles of the periods of the emperors Akbar until Awrangzīb (963-1119/1556-1707) are the miniatures painted under their patronage. A striking confirmation of the veracity of these paintings is afforded by a statement of Tavernier concerning what he saw during the reign of Awrangzīb (*Travels in India*, ii, 150), that there is "no person of any quality that does not wear a Pearl between two color'd stones in his Ear." Although the following paintings are somewhat earlier (e.g. Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 30.95.174, no. 11, "Akbar giving audience . . .," *ca.* 1590-1600, unpublished; and Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 55. 121.10.29, portraits of three nobles, all of whom have this type of earrings, and a huntsman, from the Shāh Djahān Album, period of Djahāngīr, 1014-36/1605-27, unpublished), they invariably show earrings with a precious stone (ruby or emerald) between two pearls, confirming the style of earring described by Tavernier. The discrepancy of detail may be due to a change in the arrangement by Awrangzīb's time, or may result from a confusion on Tavernier's part, as he had just been describing a pearl in the emperor's collection, the largest perfectly round one he had ever seen and one for which the emperor was unable to find a mate. If he could have paired it, Tavernier says, he would have made of them earrings, each with a pair of rubies or emeralds on each side, "according to the custom of the Country" (*loc. cit.*). This preference for the combination of pearls, rubies and emeralds coincides with what was said above in section 1, and one sees the combination everywhere in Mughal (as indeed, in Tīmūrid, Ṣafawid and Ḳādjār) paintings. The only other colour commonly seen is blue (sapphire), but this latter occurs much less often than the other three.

Of course, we know that from ancient times India was the land of precious stones, and that even stones which did not originate in India itself, such as the rubies of Burma, often found their way to other countries by way of India. Furthermore, India herself was a major market for stones from early times, even for those stones which had to come from considerable distance, such as the emerald (coming from Egypt). India and her immediate neighbours such as Ceylon, "Indo-China" and the mountains of Badakhshān produced an amazingly large variety consisting of most of the precious stones known up to this day. The *Ratnaparīkṣa*, or "Appreciation of gems", a compilation of Indian tradition about gemstones, their varieties, qualities, sources, etc., which was apparently compiled as a technical guide before the 6th century A.D. (L. Finot, *Les lapidaires indiens*, Paris 1896), exhibits a surprising degree of knowledge and a surprisingly systematic approach in dealing with a wide variety of stones. In it, we find the canonisation of the "nine gems": the ruby, the diamond, the cat's-eye (chrysoberyl), the "hyacinth" (zircon?), the topaz, the sapphire, the pearl, the coral and the emerald (Finot, *op. cit.*, 171). Despite this great variety, there is already expressed in this compilation a strong hierarchy of preferences, with the diamond considered first among gems. The order of treatment of our other major stones is: pearl, ruby, sapphire, and emerald.

Thus it is not at all surprising that we see Mughal rulers and noblemen represented as wearing earrings, turban ornaments, bracelets and necklaces of a variety of lengths and arrangements consisting almost solely of large pearls, rubies, sapphires and emeralds. For example, in Fig. 34 we see a painting from the Shāh Djahān Album which depicts Djahān with his son Shudjāʿ. Aside from the jewelry worn by the pair, which consists of pearls, emeralds and rubies, the painting is of additional interest as it shows Djahān with a ruby between the fingers of his right hand and other rubies and emeralds in a dish held in his left hand. We are making no assumptions in interpreting the red stones as rubies, the green as emeralds, etc., as the following passage from Tavernier (*loc. cit.*) shows. He describes and offers a line drawing of a large pearl belonging to Awrangzīb: "Numb. 4. Is a great perfect pearl, as well for its Water as for its form, which is like an Olive. It is in the midst of a Chain of Emeraulds and Rubies, which the Great Mogul wears; which being put on, the Pearl dangles at the lower part of his Breast."

Perhaps something should be said here about the diamond, in light of its mention in connection with the *Ratnaparīkṣa* as well as Tavernier's ample testimony not only to the presence of diamonds in the Ottoman Treasury (see above), but the great amount of mining, cutting and use of diamonds in India in his time (*op. cit.*, ii, *passim*).

As is well known, India was *the* great source of diamonds up until their discovery in Brazil and South Africa, and as the *Ratnaparīkṣa* and other early Indian texts indicate, the Indians were using the diamond as a jewel well before Muḥammad's time. Indeed, even as early an author as Pliny (Book xxxvii, 15) seems to speak of the diamond under the term *adamas* and he calls it the most valued of human possessions, having been for long only known to kings.

But he also seems to confuse it with other stones; and his assertion that it cannot be broken even by hammer blows on an anvil has the status of mere legend. He does speak of its use to engrave other stones and such usage probably has a more ancient history than we shall ever be able to establish.

According to Finot (*op. cit.*, p. xxx), certain of the early Indian texts with which he deals indicate that it is undesirable to cut diamonds and that the ideal form is the perfect octahedral crystal (*op. cit.*, p. xxvii). What is most important to notice here, however, is that the practice of cutting the diamond was known to them. Even as late as Tavernier's time (see ii, 56, of Ball's translation), such an expert on gems as he could say of cleaving diamonds (to avoid wastage by simply grinding away material) that the Indians "are much more accomplished than we are."

Al-Bīrūnī, cited by Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, 352), seems to offer contradictory information regarding the use of the diamond in the early Islamic period. He says on the one hand, that the people of Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ only use the diamond for drilling (and cutting) and poisoning, and on the other, that a "drachme" of diamond in one piece costs one thousand *dīnārs*, whereas if in small pieces the price is one hundred *dīnārs*. This price quotation seems to clearly indicate a gemstone usage, not an abrasive one, where only small pieces are used anyway. In any case, according to al-Bīrūnī in another place in his stone book (as cited in Haschmi, *op. cit.*, 28-9), the diamond is mentioned by poets of the Djāhiliyya and the Umayyad period (Imruʾ al-Ḳays and Abu ʾl-Nadjm respectively). Again from al-Bīrūnī (Haschmi, *op. cit.*, 13), in citing a treatise by Naṣr b. Yaʿḳūb al-Dīnawarī comes much more solid and detailed information, according to which the Buwayhid Muʿizz al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Buwayh (ruler in ʿIrāḳ 334-56/945-67) gave his brother Rukn al-Dawla a ringstone of diamond which weighed three *mithḳāls*. Furthermore, he says (*loc. cit.*) that Manṣūr b. Nūḥ al-Sāmānī (either Manṣūr I 350-65/961-76 or Mansūr II 387-9/997-9) had several ringstones, of which one was a diamond, and that "one never saw a larger diamond".

Thus it seems fairly certain that the diamond was known as a gemstone throughout the Islamic Middle Ages. How these diamonds were cut and set we do not know. Even the Mughal miniatures show nothing which to our knowledge can be identified as a diamond. The earliest inscription on a diamond of which we are aware is one in the name of Niẓām Shāh with the date 1000/1591-2, now in the Iranian crown jewels (Meen and Tushingham, *op. cit.*, 46, unpictured "rose-cut" diamond, 22.93 ct.).

To return to our discussion of the forms of Mughal jewels, another ubiquitous item in Mughal paintings is finger rings which come in some variety, although their details are generally not possible to ascertain, except for the colour (and by deduction, the type) of the gemstones. One well-known type of ring that is identifiable is the archer's ring (discussed above under Ṣafawid Iran), which we know from many extant examples, usually of jade and often inlaid with gold and precious stones. Another form of jewel usually associated with men is the *subḥa* or string of prayer beads. These beads were of course made of every variety of material from wood and bone to stones of all sorts. The passage cited above (in section 1) about the inscribed stones in the Iranian crown jewels shows that Nādir Shāh had a *subḥa* with emeralds, and there are in fact representations in Mughal miniatures of precious stone *subaḥ*. For example, a painting of Akbar done in the period of Djahāngīr (1014-36/1605-27), a detail from which is seen in Fig. 35, shows Akbar fingering a string of prayer beads consisting of large rubies, sapphires and pearls. Although the number of beads is not correct for Muslim prayer beads (being neither 33 nor 99), this must be attributed to a mistake, casual or otherwise, on the part of the artist.

Certain fashions already noted in 9th/15th to 13th/19th century Iran are also to be seen in the Mughal miniatures. Among these are the bandolier, which passes over one shoulder and down under the opposite arm, on which is strung various jewelled charms, including amulet cases of a form similar to that from Nīshāpūr (Fig. 1) and those in Iranian miniatures (see Fig. 33) and of which numerous Mughal examples from the 18th and 19th centuries exist (e.g. Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 15.95.137 and 138, unpublished).

In another miniature in which we can observe such bandoliers (Fig. 36), we see a profusion of clearly-depicted jewelry. Most of the ladies shown have chokers fitting high on the neck which consist of a central jewel (a large ruby or emerald set in a square or rectangular gold "box") held by three rows of pearls which complete the circuit of the neck. Another type of choker seen is one consisting of a series of closely-placed rectangular gold and stone jewels forming a continuous band bordered on top and bottom by a single row of pearls. Most persons also have intermediate-length pendants, apparently held by silk cords, which also consist of large central stones (rubies or emeralds) set in a simple rectangular or elliptical gold box, with pendant pearls. In addition, one sees the strings of large and small stone beads and pearls which are universally represented and described. We see here also a lady wearing the type of jewelled tripartite armband discussed above as seen on a statue from the Čihil Sutūn (extant Mughal examples from the 18th and 19th centuries include Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 15.95.40, 41 and 41.100.118, both unpublished). Other types of arm decorations seen in this rich miniature include: apparently solid gold armbands which fit at the elbow; a wide tapered close-fitting bracelet set with pearls, sapphires and rubies; another bracelet very similar to a choker described above, with a large ruby set in gold and held by two rows of pearls; and an upper-arm band which is similar to another of the chokers, with a series of stones set in rectangular gold settings and bordered with rows of pearls. Finally, we may mention some of the types of ear and more nose rings seen. There are several examples of the type of earring with the stone between two pearls discussed above, but there they have also a pendant teardrop-shaped pearl. The same type of ring, but without the pendant pearl, occurs as a nose ring. The other major type of earring is a large, disc-like one of gold set with stones large and small and sometimes with a pendant pearl. Some of these (particularly that on the lady in the centre) bear a rather close resemblance to the star-like element on the head-ornament (Fig. 37a). The position also was similar since this element rested at the side of the head at the ear.

The detail of this piece (Fig. 37b) shows that granulation was an art which continued at a high technical and artistic level in India. This technique has existed in India from at least the 1st-2nd centuries A.D., as the jewelry excavated at Sirkap, Taxila, now in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, Dihlī, shows (see *The art of India and Pakistan*,

catalogue of an exhibition held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London 1947-8, ed. Sir Leigh Ashton, New York [1948?], figs. 180 and 186).

The way in which the elements in the necklace from Taxila (Ashton, *op. cit.*, fig. 180) fit together almost in the manner of a jigsaw puzzle has striking parallels in any number of 18th and 19th century Indian necklaces, (one example of which is shown in Fig. 38). In these and a myriad of other ways, the jewelry art of India displays an astounding tenacity for the preservation of traditions.

Another striking demonstration of this traditionalism is to be found in the pair of bracelets in Fig. 39. Bracelets of this type are well-known and exhibit an ingenious type of pivoting clasp closed with a threaded pin. The universally-used type of clasp pin in Islamic jewelry outside India and in one or two isolated examples of the 8th/14th century, is one which is held in place by friction. But a pair of bracelets found at Puszta Bakod in Hungary (now in the National Museum, Budapest, see Franz M. Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters*, Potsdam 1931, 221-2 and Figs. 252 and 254; and M. Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, i, 123 and Figs. 141-3) and dating from the period of the tribal migrations (perhaps 5th-7th centuries A.D.), displays not only terminals of snout-to-snout beasts in a manner very reminiscent of our Indian ones, but they, like the Indian ones, are closed by a counter-clockwise threaded screw. This type of screw closure is found on a variety of types of Indian jewelry, and almost invariably the threads are made not by cutting but, like those on the much earlier bracelets just mentioned, by soldering on to the pin and into the hole which receives it coils of wire with regular spaces between (Feldhaus, *op. cit.*, 221-2, traces the screw closure in jewelry back to at least the 5th century A.D., as it is found in a fibula from the grave of Childerich, d. 481). It should be noted that all of the above mentioned jewelry found in Europe which exhibits the screw closure is of the type with hammered-in garnets, a type which was widespread in Europe and Asia between about the 4th and (depending on the region) the 10th or 11th centuries. The screw pin may have come to India with some of these migrating peoples.

Our pair of bracelets exhibits two other features for which Mug͟hal and post-Mug͟hal India is justly celebrated. The white jade shanks are inlaid with gold forming graceful floral patterns, the leaves and flowers of which are formed by stones set into the gold. Although sporadically practised in Turkey and Iran, possibly under Mug͟hal influence, this art in those areas did not rival that in India either in level of technique and artistry or in longevity.

The gold terminals of these bracelets are covered with brilliant enamels which demonstrate a masterful control of the medium. Jaipur is best known for this type of enamelling, which is perhaps best described as "encrusted", in which three-dimensional forms are covered. Additionally, details are sometimes cut into the metal under transparent enamels to contribute to the liveliness of the effect. The literature on the subject of Indian arts and crafts from the 18th to the present century contains much information on Indian enamelling, and we will not dwell upon it, beyond saying that the art here reached one of its greatest consummations. These enamels, of course, like other precious techniques from time immemorial, adorned and bejewelled a whole array of objects which were not jewelry in the modern sense such as arms, thrones, utensils and the like, and as such they constitute a branch of jewelry.

As we suggested at the outset, the subject of Indian jewelry is an enormous and complex one, especially because of the wealth of evidence in the sculptures and paintings and the variety of recent and contemporary forms. And this situation, combined with the great dearth of known pre-18th century pieces, leaves one in a great state of puzzlement about where all the older pieces went. We can of course explain this to some extent by remembering that even within families it was customary to reset stones in the latest style, especially after passage from one owner to another, and in the process to melt down the precious metals for re-use. To cite a particularly notorious case of radical and wholesale change of ownership, that of the Mug͟hal royal treasures, we know that most of what was on hand when Nādir S͟hāh took Dihlī was immediately transformed into ingots for ease of transport (Meen and Tushingham, *op. cit.*, 11); and of course the stones and pearls were hauled away, either to be remounted or simply deposited in the Iranian treasury. Such "radical and wholesale changes of ownership" have of course been taking place throughout Islamic (and other) history, and we can well imagine that many of the stones that were in the Mug͟hal treasury at the time of Nādir S͟hāh's visit had in turn formed part of the treasuries of various earlier houses. The Mug͟hal treasury may for instance have included stones that had once belonged to some ʿAbbāsid or Fāṭimid caliph. Such would be impossible to prove in the absence of inscriptions on the stones; but there are tantalising bits of information to be found. For example, when one compares the weight reported (23 *mit͟hḳāls*, which by Kahle's precise formula of one *mit͟hḳāl* = 4.414 gr.—and not 4.5 gr., to which he rounds it off—gives 101.5 gr. or 507.5 carats) for a large balas ruby which was part of the enormous loot dispersed from the Fāṭimid treasury during the chaotic period in al-Mustanṣir's reign (see Kahle, *op. cit.*, 336, 356) with that of the largest known balas ruby in the world, now in the Iranian crown jewels (reported as 500 ct. by Meen and Tushingham, *op. cit.*, 46, 47, 67), one is struck by the agreement in weight. Of course it may be a coincidence, but the embers of hypothesis are fanned when we know that Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh told Dr. Feuvrier, his physician in the 1890s, that "the hole . . . was pierced to take a cord by which it hung around the neck of the Golden Calf" and that "this ruby came from a king of Abyssinia, and had been brought back from India by Nādir S͟hāh" (Meen and Tushingham, *op. cit.*, 67).

Despite the various reasons for and the mechnisms of the transformation and transfer of jewels from one period and region to another, one is still left in a quandary. In the case at hand, where are all the pieces of the period which were not in the Mug͟hal royal treasury? Surely some were kept as family heirlooms or got buried, to be found later?

We must believe that future excavations, in conjunction with heightened awareness on the part of researchers in museums and on historical texts, will continue to provide information on this as well as other periods where we are faced with these hard-to-explain lacunae.

4. The final phase of the tradition (18th and 19th centuries)

The conservatism in style which has been noted as a major characteristic of the three broad periods covered so far continues in the final phase of the Islamic jewelry tradition which is to be treated here.

In Ḳād͟jār Iran, bandoliers were still fashionable

for men and women (S.J. Falk, *Qajar paintings*, London 1972, pls. 2, 26, 46, 47), although instead of the metal amulets and pendants sometimes set with stones seen on the Ṣafawid examples, the Ḳād̲j̲ār ones seem to have consisted solely of pearls or of elements composed of pearls and/or precious stones. The style of the belts in Iran during this period remained essentially the same.

Strings of beads were still worn on the wrists (Falk, pls. 26 and 43), in addition to bracelets composed of precious stones set into square bezels hinged one to the other, as well as plain gold bangles (Falk, pls. 17, 23, 25).

One of the latter paintings referred to above (that in pl. 17) also shows a continuation of the vogue for a string of pearls framing the face. In the Ḳād̲j̲ār period, however, the pearls only appear to have extended from ear and the strings are longer so as to serve as necklaces (Falk, pls. 19, 20). There was also an elaboration of jewelled head ornaments, especially for women, in the Ḳād̲j̲ār period. These were worn either pendant from their head cloths or in combinations serving as simple or elaborate head-dresses (Falk, pls. 5-7, 18-21). An example of one of these pendant elements can be seen in Fig. 40a-b. The small and large elements are hinged together and a ring is attached to the top of the former. The two projecting ornaments are removable, for decorating the top of a feather (Falk, pls. 5, 20). A similar object, in this case used to decorate the foreheads of Jewish and Muslim brides in the region of Buk̲h̲ārā, can be seen in Fig. 41a-b. Influence from the Indian subcontinent is very obvious on this subject, as on much Ḳād̲j̲ār jewelry, particularly in the manner of setting the stones.

A very popular type of earring in Iran during the 18th and 19th centuries consisted of a series of hemispheres or cones, hung one below the other, with pendant elements (Falk, fig. 1). These were executed in enamel, sheet metal or in filigree, with either pendant pearls or balls, repoussé- or wire-decorated metal sheets of a combination of both (see Fig. 42). A prototype for this kind of earring is to be found in 1st or 2nd century India (The Royal Academy of Arts, London, *The art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 22, No. 185). Another popular earring type can be seen in Fig. 43. This variety consists of a semi-circular lower part often decorated with dragon-headed terminals and spherical or knob-like protrusions around its circumference (Falk, figs. 3, 4). Again, these were executed alternatively in enamel, sheet metal and filigree.

A very fine example of the ubiquitous Ḳād̲j̲ār armband, referred to earlier in connection with the Ṣafawid example, can be seen in Fig. 44a-b, here executed in gold, enamel and precious stones.

Aside from a continued vogue for strings of beads at the neck (Falk, pls. 14, 38), pendants or roundels set with precious stones on strings of pearls or beads were a popular necklace type during the Ḳād̲j̲ār period (Falk, fig. 7, pls. 17-19). The last painting also shows a necklace bearing a central element very similar in shape to that seen in Fig. 27.

To the best of our knowledge, aside from the new pieces in the Topkapı Hazine (most of which are either turban ornaments or belt buckles of well-known types), very little Ottoman jewelry of any significance made and used in Turkey itself has survived from the period in question. However, we can learn a considerable amount about fine Ottoman jewelry of this period from that made in the more distant regions of the Ottoman empire and even from Morocco. When one compares pieces which can be attributed to Istanbul (*Collection Hélène Stathatos. ii. Les objets byzantins et post byzantins*, Limoges 1957, pl. XI, nos. 79, 80, 82 and pl. XIII, nos. 107-9) with the gold jewelry from Morocco of the same period, one feels quite justified in stating that the provincial craftsmen were drawing at least some of their inspiration from the Turkish capital. The similarity is so great, in fact, that one can safely use such Moroccan pieces to fill in the large gaps in the Istanbul jewelry.

The style of the gold work on the Moroccan head ornaments in Fig. 45 is very close to that on the diadem and the oval pendant in the Stathatos collection. That iconography was also shared can be seen on the necklace in Fig. 46. The double-headed bird, whose body is set with stones and from whose tail extend pendants of pearls and precious stones, is very close to a pendant in the Stathatos collection. The two enamelled cylindrical beads on this necklace, however, are descendants of those seen on the Naṣrid necklace in Fig. 28.

The necklace in Fig. 47a-b combines precious stones on the obverse with enamelling on the reverse, which is another feature of the Istanbul jewelry.

The largest body of Muslim North African material, however, has a series of styles all its own assuming a myriad of forms and drawing its inspiration from a variety of periods and areas. There is a rather detailed literature on the subject which can be studied by those with a particular interest (see *Bibl.* below). A study of the literature on this jewelry, which extends into the 20th century, as well as the later Indian jewelry, provides insights into the ways various earlier pieces and types were worn, and gives an idea of their overall effect. The same can be said for ethnographic studies, which often provide the best documentation of recent and contemporary jewelry from the various regions whose earlier jewelry productions have been discussed above.

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(M. KEENE and M. JENKINS)

DJAWHARĪ, ṬANṬĀWĪ, modernist Egyptian theologian. He was born in 1278/1862 in the village of Kafr ʿAwaḍ Allāh Ḥidjāzī in the Nile Delta to the south-east of al-Zaḳāzīḳ. He studied at al-Azhar [*q.v.*] and at Dār al-ʿUlūm [*q.v.*] from 1889 until 1893 when he graduated. After his graduation, he worked as a school-teacher at various primary and secondary schools until his retirement in 1922, except for the period between 1908 and 1914 when he taught at Dār al-ʿUlūm (ethics, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and grammar) and at the Egyptian University (Islamic philosophy).

He is the author of an impressive oeuvre of nearly thirty published books—some of which were translated into a number of other Oriental languages—and numerous articles on a variety of subjects published in different periodicals throughout the Islamic world. The majority of his writings constitute an effort to show how the teachings of Islam, and in particular, the contents of the Ḳurʾān, were in accordance with human nature, and with method, theory and findings of Western modern (19th and early 20th century) science, with which he had familiarised himself mainly through popular accounts in English.

His principal work is his Ḳurʾān commentary, *al-Djawāhir fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*, Cairo 1923-35, in 26 volumes, which was analysed extensively by J. Jomier, *Le Cheikh Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī (1862-1940) et son Commentaire du Coran*, in *MIDEO*, v (1958), 115-74. The scope and nature of Ṭanṭāwī's writings and the extensive learning displayed by him, drew the attention of European orientalists like D. Santillana, M. Hartmann and Carra de Vaux, who gave mostly eulogising analytical accounts of some items (cf. Carra de Vaux, *Les penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris 1926, v, 275-284; M. Hartmann, *Schaich Ṭanṭāwī Dschauharī. Ein moderner egyptischer Theolog und Naturfreund*, in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, xiii (1916), 54-82; D. Santillana, *Kitāb ayna 'l-insān* (review), in *RSO*, iv (1911), 762-3).

Throughout his life, Ṭanṭāwī Djawharī showed a theoretical as well as practical interest in spiritism, as appears from passages in many of his writings and in particular from his books *Kitāb al-Arwāḥ*,

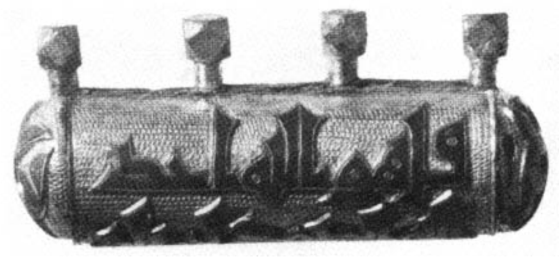

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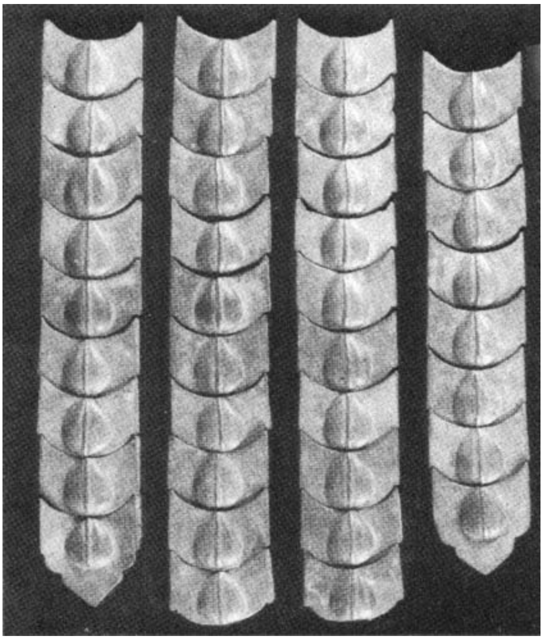

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1. Silver amulet case worked in repoussé with cast elements and niello inlay. From the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Nīs͟hāpūr, Rogers Fund, 1939. Probably Nīs͟hāpūr, probably 4th/10th century. Tehran, Mūzeh-i Īrān-i Bāstān.

2. Bronze belt fitting, cast, from the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Nīs͟hāpūr, Rogers Fund, 1939. Probably Nīs͟hāpūr, probably 4th/10th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 40.170.214, Rogers Fund 1939.

3. Bronze belt fittings, cast. Probably ʿIrāḳ or Iran, 3rd/9th century. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Everett Birch, St. Thomas, V.I.* (Illustrations marked with an asterisk are photographs by courtesy of Patti Cadby Birch.)

4a-b. (a) Silver ring, hollow, fabricated from sheet. From the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Nīs͟hāpūr, Rogers Fund, 1939. Probably Nīs͟hāpūr, probably 4th/10th century. Tehran, Mūzeh-i Īrān-i Bāstān.

(b) Gold ring, hollow, fabricated from sheet. From the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Nīs͟hāpūr, Rogers Fund, 1939. Probably Nīs͟hāpūr, probably 4th/10th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 40.170.156.

6. Gold ring, decorated with niello and set with turquoise and pearls. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. Freer Gallery of Art, No. 57.3. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*

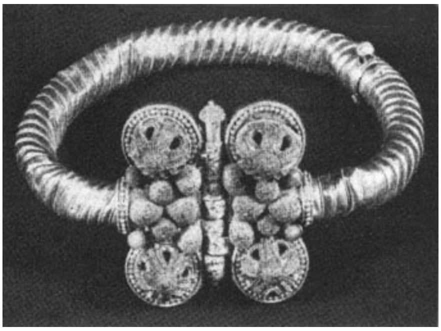

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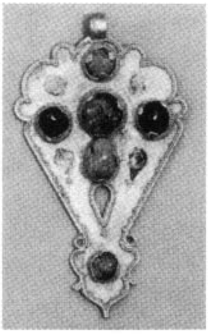

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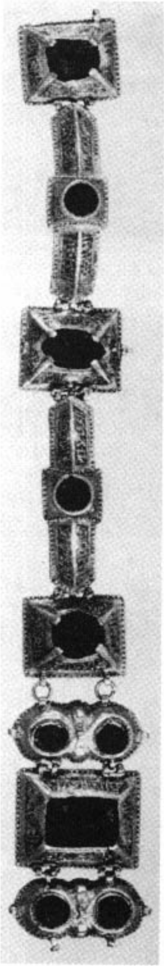

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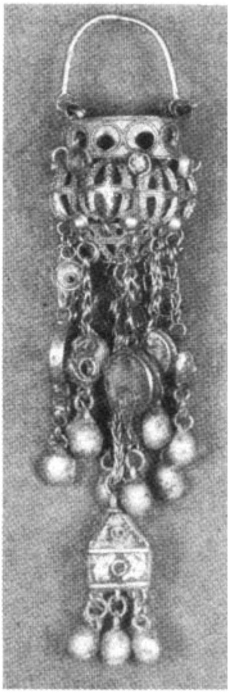

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5a-b. Pair of gold bracelets, fabricated from sheet with applied twisted wire and granulation. Eastern Iran, probably early 5th/11th century. (a) Freer Gallery of Art, No. 58.6. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.
(b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 57.88, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1957 (detail of underside of clasp).

7a-b. Gold bracelet, hollow, fabricated from sheet, decorated with niello and granulation. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. Freer Gallery of Art, No. 50.21. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*

8a-b. Gold pendant, fabricated from sheet, decorated with engraving, twisted wire and granulation, set with garnets, turquoise and other precious stones. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1977.9, Purchase, Richard Perkins Gift, 1977.

9. Gold earring, one of a pair, fabricated from sheet, decorated with twisted wire and granulation and incorporating loop-in-loop chains. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Takustrasse 40, 1 Berlin 33-Dahlem, No. J 57/71.*

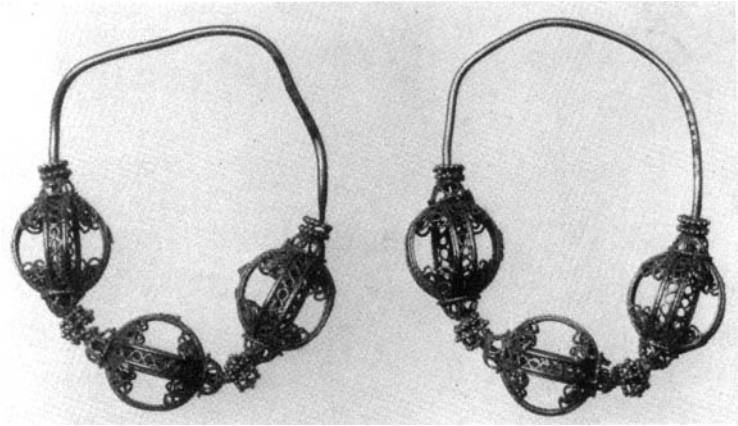

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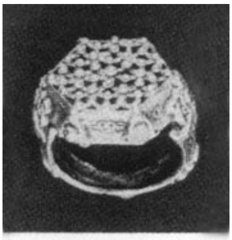

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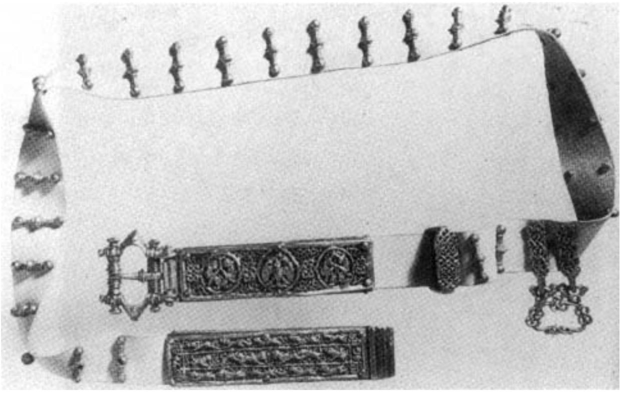

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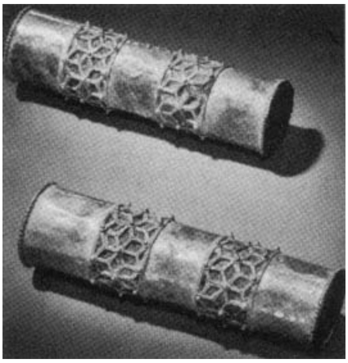

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10. Pair of gold earrings, fabricated entirely from wire and granules. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 52.4.5-6, Rogers Fund, 1952.

11a-b. Gold ring, cast, fabricated and engraved. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1976.405, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Everett Birch, 1976.

12. Set of silver-gilt belt fittings, cast and chased. Iran or Anatolia, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, No. 1959 7-22 1-5.*

13. Pair of gold hair ornaments with bronze core, decorated with twisted wire and granulation and (formerly) coloured cloth. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 52.32.9,10, Rogers Fund, 1952.

14. Pair of gold earrings, fabricated from sheet, decorated with twisted wire and granulation. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1979.7.3ab, Purchase Richard S. Perkins Gift, Rogers Fund, Louis E. and Therea S. Seley Purchase Fund for Islamic Art, Norbert Schimmel, Jack A. Josephson, and Edward Ablat Gifts.

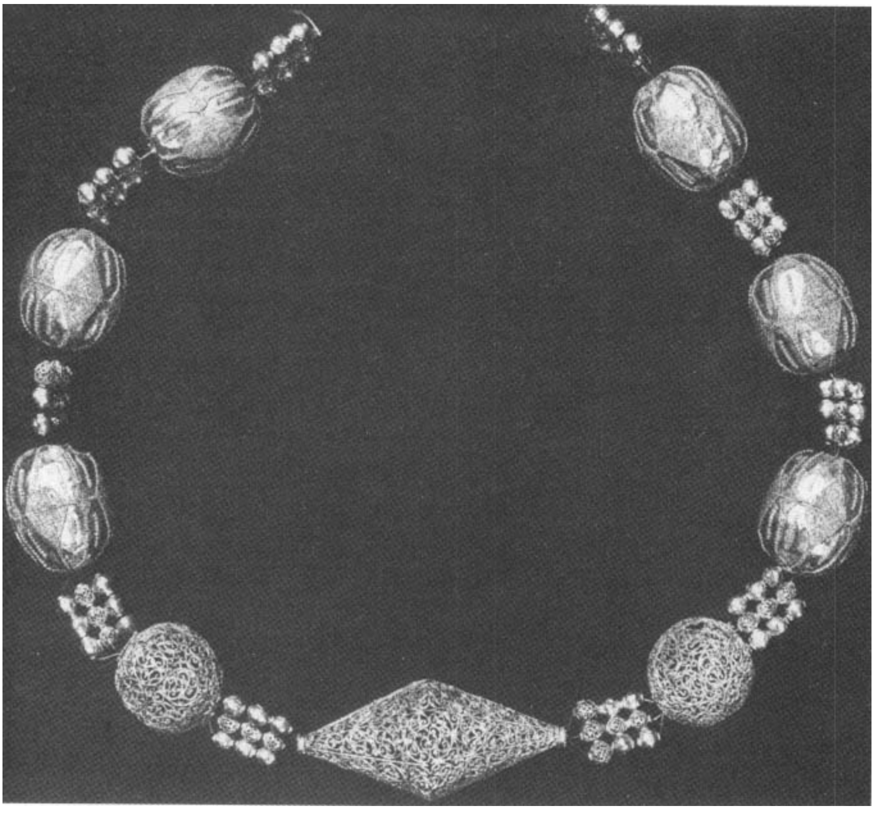

15. Group of gold beads, fabricated from sheet, and/or twisted wire decorated with granulation. Egypt, 5th/11th century. Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

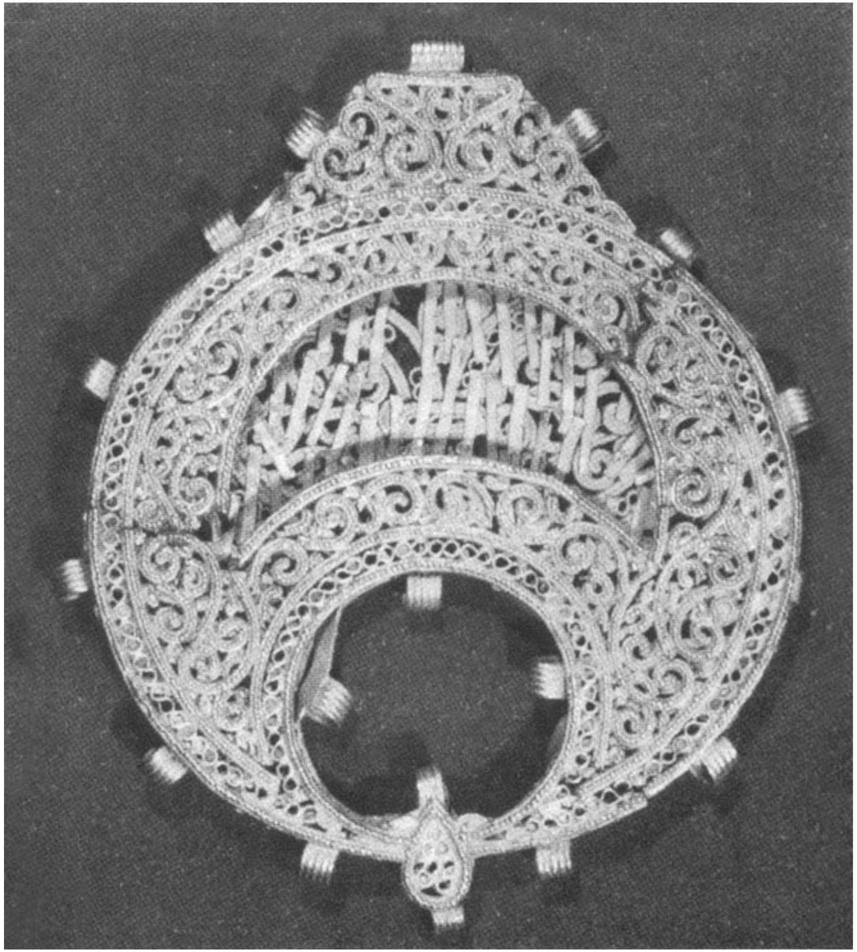

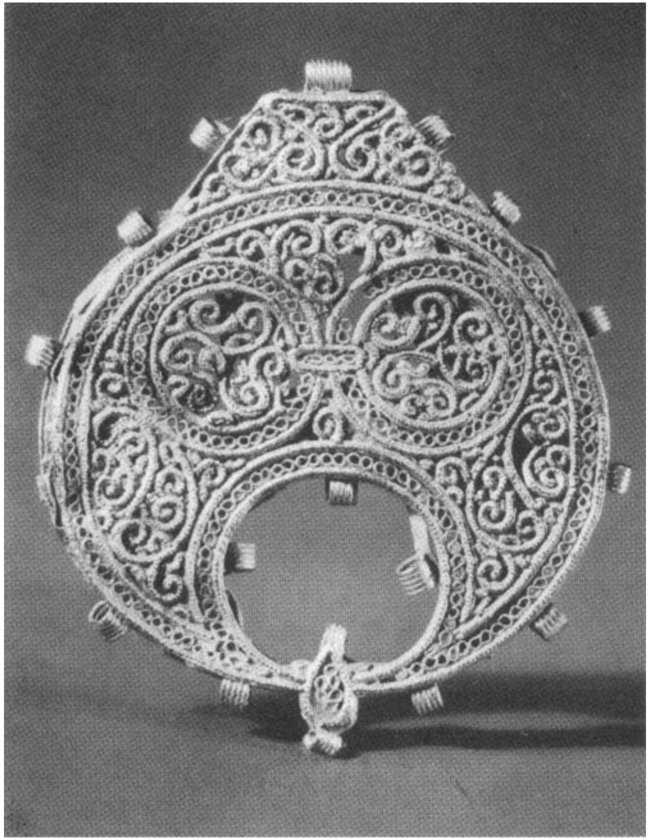

17a-b. Gold pendant, constructed of twisted wire on flat strips of gold, decorated with granulation and (formerly) cloisonné enamel and pearls and/or semi-precious stones. Egypt, 5th/11th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1974.22, Purchase, The Friends of the Islamic Department Fund, 1974.

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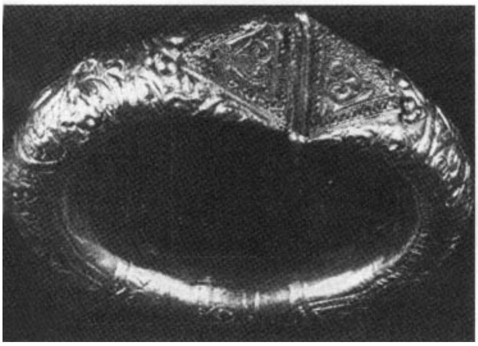

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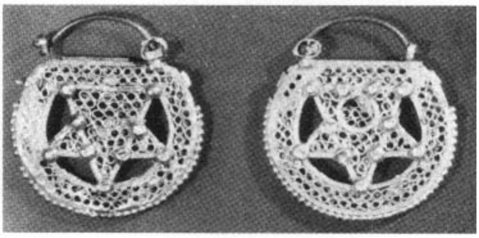

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16a-b. Gold bracelet, fabricated from sheet and twisted wire, decorated in repoussé and granulation. Probably Syria, 5th/11th century. Freer Gallery of Art, No. 48.25. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*

18. Gold bracelet, fabricated from sheet and decorated with twisted wire, repoussé and shot. Egypt, 5th/11th century. L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art, Jerusalem.

19. Pair of gold earrings, fabricated of wire and decorated with shot and hollow hemispheres. Probably Syria or ʿIrāḳ, 5th/11th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 39.157.1,2, Rogers Fund, 1939.

20. Gold pendant, fabricated from wire and strips of sheet, set with cloisonné enamel and unidentified green stone. Egypt, 5th/11th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 30.95.37, The Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915.

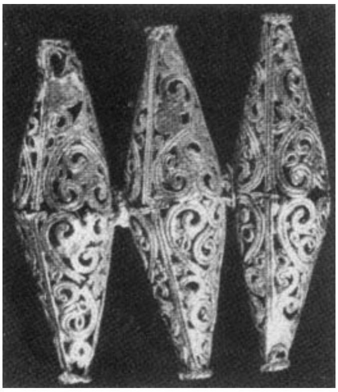

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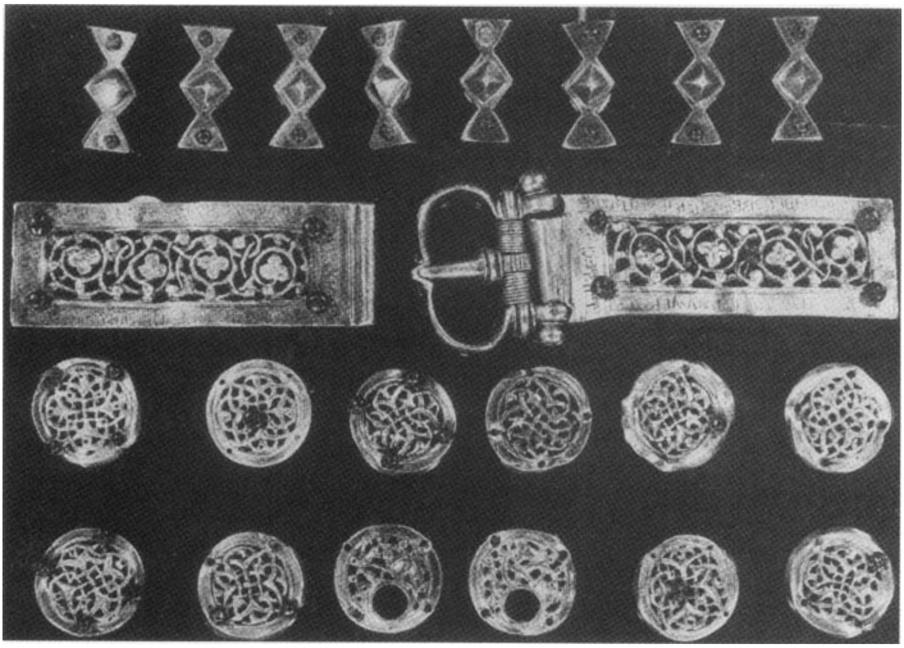

23

21. Gold "spacer" bead, constructed of wire. Egypt, 5th/11th century. Israel Museum.

22. Silver earring, fabricated and decorated with niello. Syria or Egypt, probably 5th/11th century. Israel Museum.

23. Set of silver and gilt bronze belt fittings. Cast, fabricated and *ajouré*. Probably Syria, 7th/13th century. L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art.

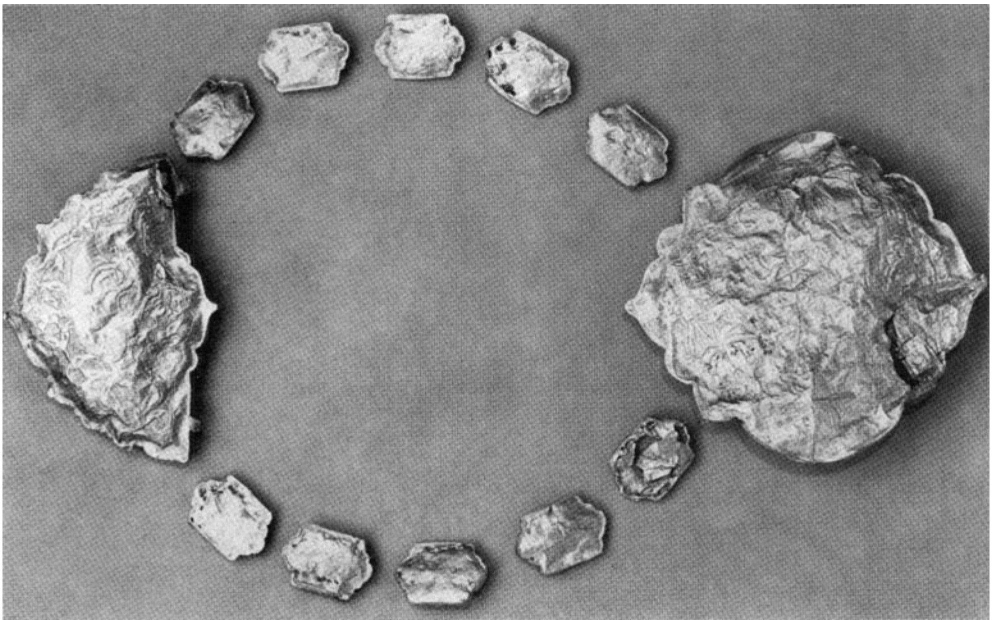

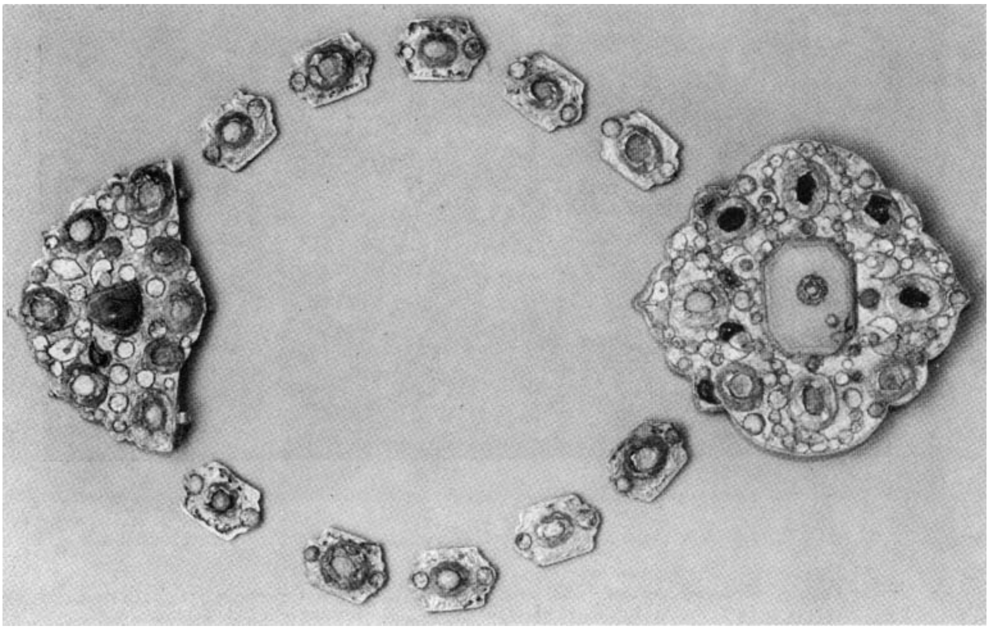

24a-b. Gold necklace, fabricated from sheet, embossed and set with turquoise, glass and unidentified stones. Iran, 8th/14th century. Private Collection, New York.

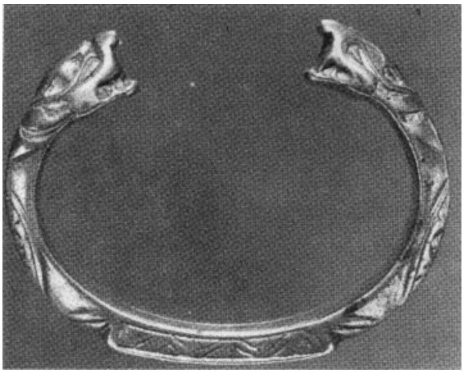

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25. Silver bracelet, cast and chased. Iran or Transoxiana, probably 9th/15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 64.133.3, Fletcher Fund, 1964.

26. Gold ring, cast and chased, set with jade sealstone. Iran or Transoxiana, probably 9th/15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 12.224.6, Rogers Fund, 1912.

27. Detail from a miniature from a manuscript of the *Khāwar-nāma*, 1450-51. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 55.125.2, Rogers Fund, 1955.

29. Detail from "Bahrām Gūr in the Red Palace", page from the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, 931/1524-5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.7, fol. 220a, Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913.

28. Elements from a gold necklace, fabricated from sheet and wire, decorated with granulation and cloisonné enamel. Spain, probably 9th/15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 17.190.161, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.

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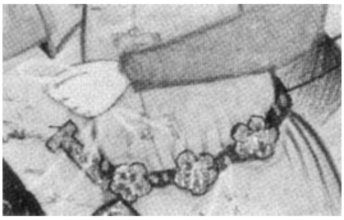

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30. Detail from "Bahrām Gūr in the Yellow Palace", page from the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, 931/1524-5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.7, tol. 213a, Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913.

31. Detail from arm of statue, Čihil Sutūn, Iṣfahān, Ṣafawid period.

32. Detail from "An old woman complains to Sulṭān Sandjar", page from the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, 931/1524-5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.7, fol. 17a, Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913.

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33. Detail from a drawing of a youth. Ḳazwīn, *ca.* 988/1580. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1973.92, Fletcher Fund, 1971 and Rogers Fund, 1972.

34. Detail from a miniature painting depicting S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān and his son S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ, from the S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān Album, India, period of D̲j̲ahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 55.121.10.36, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation gift, 1955.

35. Detail from a miniature painting depicting "The glorification of Akbar", from the S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān Album, India, period of D̲j̲ahāngīr. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 55.121.10.22, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation gift, 1955.

36. Ḥarīm scene, from an album, Mug͟hal India, Period of S͟hāh D̲jahān (1037-68/1628-57). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 30.95.174, no. 26, The Theodore Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915.

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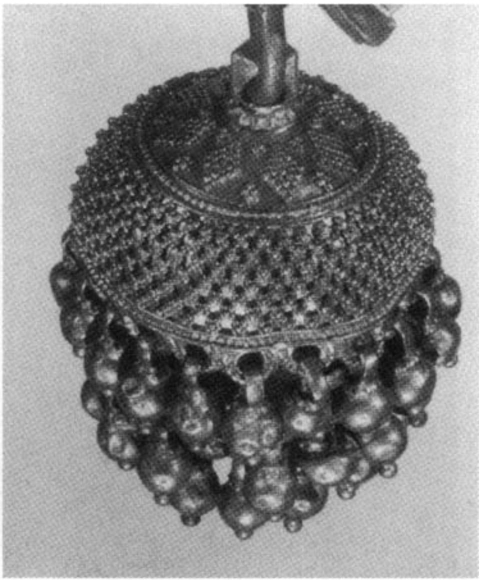

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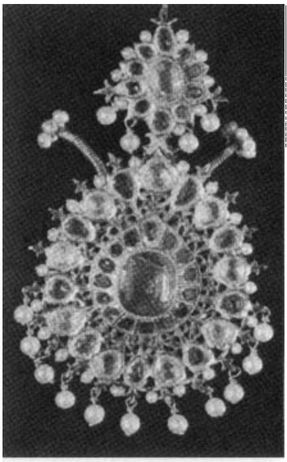

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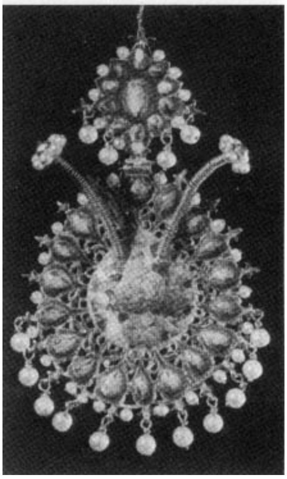

37a-b. Gold head ornament, fabricated of wire and sheet, decorated with granulation and set with various stones. Northwestern India, 18th-19th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 15.95.105, Kennedy Fund, 1915.

38. Gold necklace set with various stones, back enameled, probably Jaipur work, 18th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 19.111.3, Rogers Fund, 1919.

40a-b. Gold head ornament, set with precious stones and pearls, back enamelled. Iran, 19th century. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff, New York.

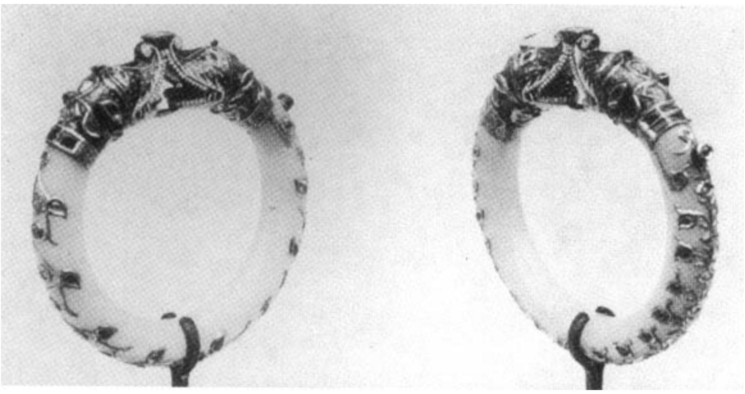

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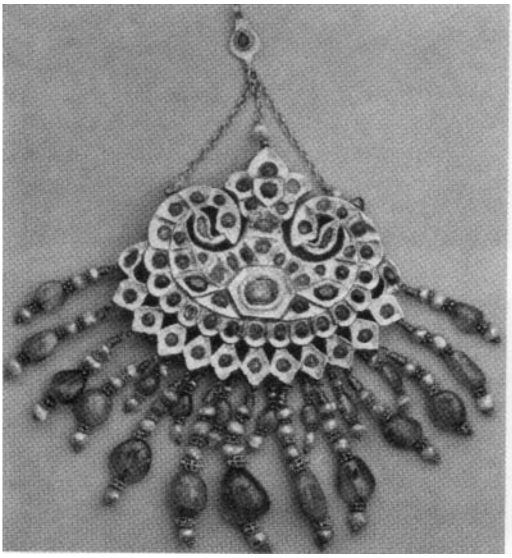

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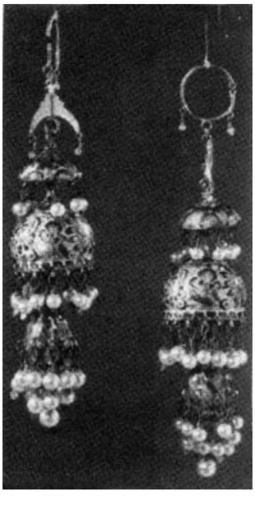

42

30. Pair of bracelets, shanks of white jade, inlaid with gold and set with precious stones, terminals gold with enamel, India, 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 02.18.770,771, Gift of Heber R. Bishop.

41a-b. Gold head ornament fabricated from sheet, shot and wire, back worked in repoussé, set with precious stones. Bukhārā, 19th century. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.

42. Pair of gold earrings, enamelled and with pendant pearls. Iran, 19th century. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.

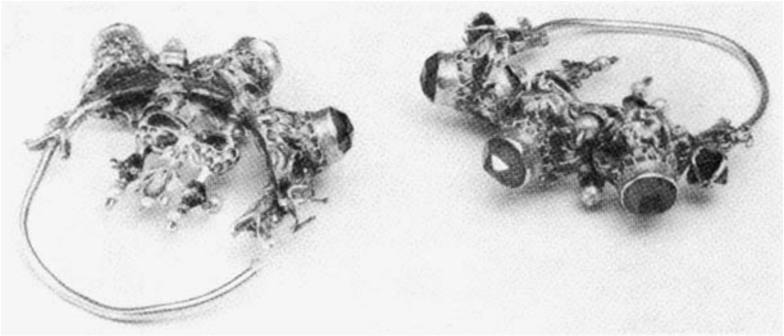

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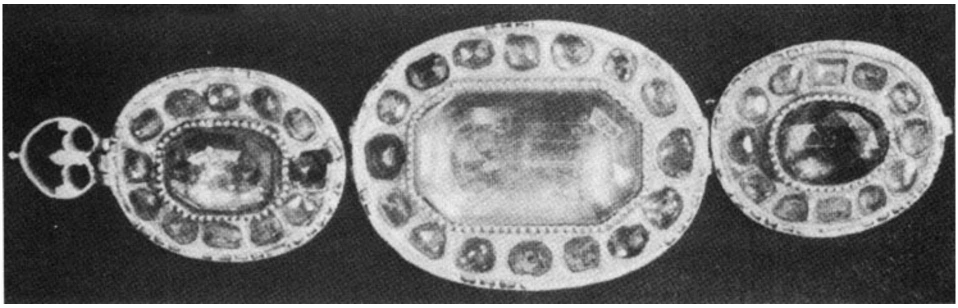

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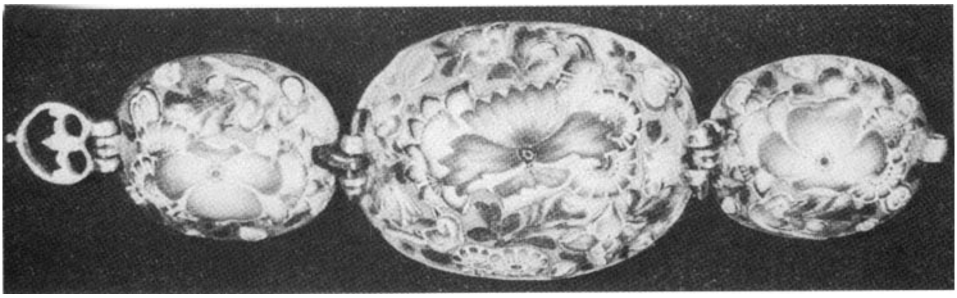

44b

43. Pair of gold earrings, enamelled and set with facetted, coloured glass "stones". Iran, 19th century. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.

44a-b. Gold armband, set with precious stones, back enamelled. Iran, 19th century. Negārestān Museum, Tehran.

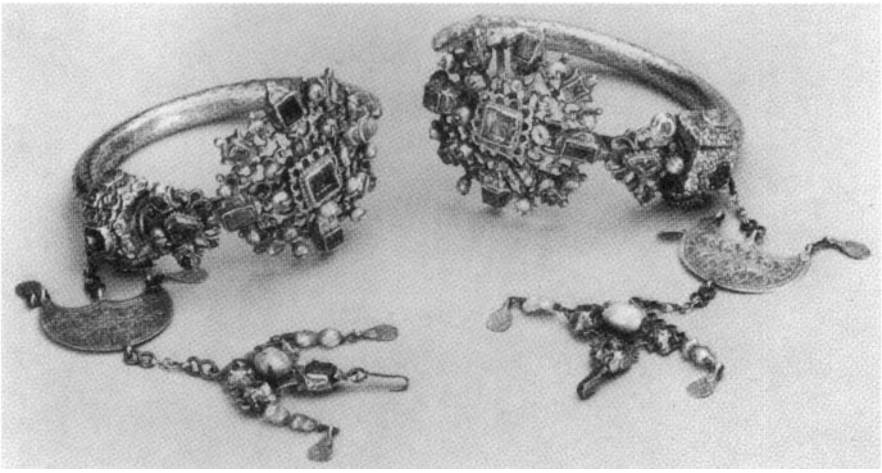

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45. Pair of gold head ornaments, set with precious stones and pearls. Morocco, 18th-19th centuries. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.

46. Gold necklace, with enamelled elements and strung with (probably original) pearls, set with precious stones. Morocco, 18th-19th centuries. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.

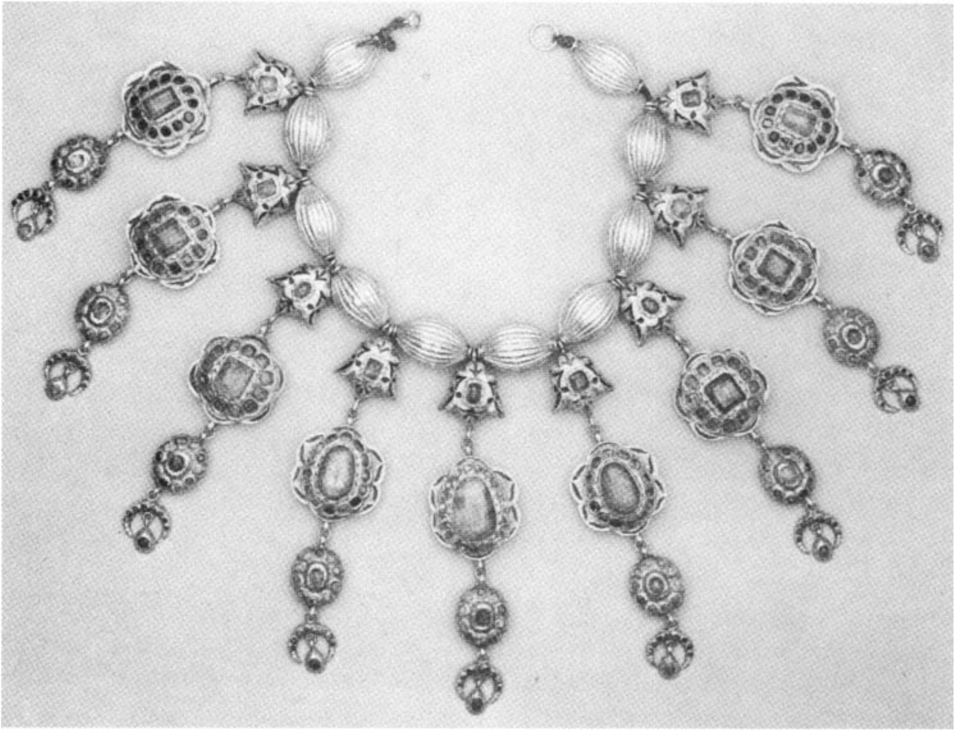

47a

47b

47a-b. Gold necklace, decorated with enamel and set with precious stones. Morocco, 18th-19th centuries. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.

Cairo 1910, 1920, 1931, *Barā'at al-'Abbāsiyya Ukht al-Rashīd*, Cairo 1936, which is a defence of al-'Abbāsa's innocence of adultery, in defiance of the contentions presented by Djirdjī Zaydān in his similarly-named novel, written upon instruction from the spirit of Harūn al-Rashīd, and *Aḥlām fi 'l-siyāsa wa-kayfa yataḥakkak al-salām al-'āmm*, Cairo 1935, in which he presents in a series of revelations an all-enfolding view of the fundamental order, in accordance with which human existence should ideally be. Ṭanṭāwī Djawharī was an active member of the spiritistic association of Aḥmad Fahmī Abu 'l-Khayr (d. 1960) known as *Djam'iyyat al-Ahrām al-Rūḥiyya*. Decause of this profound commitment to spiritism, his writings were criticised and shunned by Azhar circles (cf. 'Abd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad al-Dimyāṭī, *al-Wisāṭa al-rūḥiyya*, Cairo 1368/1949, 57-9), but no formal action aimed at the prohibition of any of his books has ever been taken. Outside Egypt, however, his works were forbidden for some time at the end of the 1920s by the Dutch censor in the Netherlands Indies (cf. *Mir'āt al-shark, Madjalla adabiyya akhlākiyya idjtimā'iyya* (Djokjakarta), iv-v (Oct.-Nov. 1928), 63-5), while his unconventional Kur'ān commentary was banned in Saudi Arabia (cf. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa 'l-mufassirūn*, 3 vols., Cairo 1961-2, iii, 174).

He was the official Egyptian candidate for the Nobel Prize (cf. *al-Risāla* (Cairo), vii (1939), 188, 326) when he died in January 1940.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see the literature mentioned in the article by Jomier. The latter article contains a biography of Ṭanṭāwī pieced together from the biographical material scattered throughout the *tafsīr* and supplemented by oral information obtained by Jomier from members of Ṭanṭāwī's family in the early 1950s. See for additional biographical material, F. de Jong, *The works of Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī (1862-1940). Some bibliographical and biographical notes*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* xxxiv/5-6 (1977). This article also gives details about Ṭanṭāwī's books not mentioned by Brockelmann, *GAL*, S III, 329 ff. and in the article by Jomier. In addition, see Ilyās Zakhūrā, *Mir'āt al-'aṣr fī ta'rīkh wa-rusūm akābir ridjāl Miṣr*, Cairo 1897, ii, 225-8; C.C. Adams, *Islam and modernism in Egypt. A study of the modern reform movement inaugurated by Muḥammad 'Abduh*, London 1933, 245-7 (based upon M. Hartmann's article mentioned in the text); 'Alī al-Djanbalāṭī, *Fī dhikrā Ṭanṭāwī Djawharī*, Cairo 1962, and Ra'ūf 'Ubayd, *al-Insān rūḥ lā djasad*, Cairo n.d., 299 ff.

(F. de Jong)

DJĀWĪDHĀN KHIRAD (P.) "eternal wisdom", the title of a kind of Iranian *Fürstenspiegel* whose earliest known mention, occurs in a work by al-Djāḥiẓ, now lost, containing the memorable sayings of wise men and poets (see al-Khafādjī, *Ṭirāz*, 108), the *Istiṭālat al-fahm*. Judging by an extract which has been preserved, this author recounts, on the authority of al-Wāḳidī, the conditions in which the *Djāwīdhān khirad*, the spiritual testament written "just after the Flood" by the mythical king Hūshang [*q.v.*] for his sons and successors, was allegedly rediscovered. When al-Ma'mūn was proclaimed caliph in Khurāsān, the king of Kābulistān sent to him a *shaykh* called Dhūbān bearing a letter in which the ruler stated that he was sending him the most magnificent present in the world in the person of this wise man who, adds al-Djāḥiẓ, used the *sadj'* of the diviners (!) and gave apposite replies to questions put to him. When al-Ma'mūn arrived in Baghdād, Dhūbān pointed out to him the hiding-place at Ctesiphon/al-Madā'in of a casket of black glass containing a piece of brocade in which were preserved one hundred leaves. Dhūbān informed the caliph's secretary, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*], that it was the *Djāwīdhān khirad* translated from the language of Hūshang into Persian (= Pahlavi) by Gandjvar b. Isfandiyār, vizier of the king of Īrānshahr. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl had each leaf read out and explained, one after the other, by a certain al-Khiḍr/al-Khaḍir b. 'Alī, then put the text into Arabic. However, since the leaves as given to him were in a state of disorder, he had to pass by a great part of them. The tradition adds that al-Ma'mūn, when he heard about this translation, could not prevent himself from expressing his admiration.

Such is the legend concerning the discovery of the *Djāwīdhān khirad*, the fate of whose Pahlavi original is unknown. Neither is anything known about what happened to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's Arabic text, which must have been in circulation for a certain period before being itself translated into Persian. R. Henning (in *ZDMG*, cvi [1956], 73-7) thinks that it could possibly have been preserved in the *Yatīmat al-sulṭān* attributed to Ibn al-Muḳaffa' (ed. Kurd 'Alī, in *Rasā'il al-bulaghā'*[2], Cairo 1365/1946, 145-72) which displays several points in common with the *Djāwidhān khirad* of the historian-philosopher Miskawayh [*q.v.*].

The latter avers that, after having been struck, when a youth, by the enthusiastic judgment on the *Djāwīdhān khirad* by al-Djāḥiẓ, he felt compelled to bring it to light again, and that his untiring researches at last enabled him to find a copy with a *mōbedhān mōbedh* of Fārs. Even conceding that this information has a base in reality, it is regrettable that Miskawyh gives no indication as to what language it was written in. It might be supposed *a priori* that it was a copy of the Pahlavi original, but such a hypothesis seems hardly plausible if one gives attention to the complete harmony, in Arabic, between the wording of an important number of sentences of the *Yatīmat al-sulṭān* and this author's own *Djāwīdhān khirad*, for in this latter case, Miskawayh certainly did not retranslate a Pahlavi text, even though he was capable of this, as his usage of other Iranian texts inacessible in Arabic demonstrates.

The interest of this anthology of Miskawayh (ed. 'A. Badawī, Cairo 1952, under the title *al-Ḥikma al-khālida*) consists essentially in the author's clearly-manifested intention of inculcating that "among all the nations, intelligences concur in following the same way, and neither differ according to the countries involved nor change with the elapsing of time", after having pinpointed many resemblances between the wisdom of the ancient Iranians, illustrated by the document which he claims to have rediscovered and the Pahlavi texts which he has utilised, and that of the Indians, Arabs and Greeks. In order to achieve his aim, he conveys to the reader "a rambling succession of moral reflections or philosophical discourses borrowed from various sources" to which the libraries of Ibn al-'Amīd and 'Aḍud al-Dawla [*q.vv.*] had enabled him to find easy access (on these sources, see M. Arkoun, *Contribution à l'humanisme arabe au IVᵉ/Xᵉ siècle: Miskawayh philosophe et historien*, Paris 1970, 146-58; from a more general point of view,

Arkoun has devoted an extended study to Miskawayh's work, *Introduction à la lecture du Kitâb "Jâvîdân khirad"*, as a preface to the Persian version of Shushtarī, in *Wisdom of Persia*, xvi, Tehran 1976, 1-24). Miskawayh's extensive readings provided him with a rich documentation on the wisdom of the Persians (5-88), the Indians (89-100), the ancient Arabs (101-208), the Greeks (282-4) and the "modern Muslims" (285-342). Especially worthy of note is the Table of Cebes (229-62), and this Arabic adaptation has since a long time back attracted the attention of orientalists (Span. tr. P. Lozano y Casela, *Parafrasis árabe de la Tabla de Cebes*, Madrid 1793; ed. and tr. Suavi, *Le Tableau de Cébès ou l'image de la vie humaine*, Paris 1873; R. Basset, *Le Tableau de Cébès*, Paris 1898; and see Arkoun, *Contribution à l'humanisme arabe*, 158-60).

Bibliography (in addition to works cited above): S. de Sacy, *Mémoire sur le Djavidan Khired*, in *Mém. Acad. des Inscrs. et B.-L.*, ix (1831), 1-31; Ethé, in *Gr. Iran. Phil.*, ii, 346; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maymanī, in *MMIA*, ix (1929), 129-39, 193-200 (reprinted in Kurd ʿAlī, *op. cit.*, 469-85); Brockelmann, I, 242, S I, 584; A.J. Arberry, *Javidhan khiradh*, in *JSS*, viii (1963), 145-58; for a more detailed analysis, see MISKAWAYH.

(CH. PELLAT)

DJAWZ is the nut in general, and in particular the class of the walnut (*Juglans regia* L.), rich in varieties. Term and object are of Persian origin (*gawz*), as correctly recognised by the early Arab botanists (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1953, 86, l. 14). They also relate that the walnut-tree is widespread in the Arab peninsula, especially in the Yemen, and that its wood is appreciated because of its firmness; shields made from wood of the walnut-tree are mentioned also in poetry because of their hardness: *ṣaḥīfatu tursin djawzuhā lam yuthakkabi* (*op. cit.*, 16, l. 2 and 86, l. 17; *Dhayl Dīwān Ibn Muḳbil*, ed. ʿIzzat Ḥasan, Damascus 1381/1962, no. 4). In Islamic times, Iran remained an important area for the cultivation of the walnut-tree. Geographers occasionally describe the differences in climate in view of the trees that are found: walnut-trees grow in cold regions, date-palms in hot regions, according to Muḳaddasī, 459, 463. For the cultivation areas in particular, see P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, new impr. Hildesheim 1969, 29, 38, 72, 98, 159, 272, 421, 882, and B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 402, 406. In Andalusia the walnut was also called by the Romance term *nuez* = *nuwādjī* in Anonymous, Nuruosmaniye 3589, fol. 88a, l. 24, *nūdj(ī)* in M. Asīn Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances*, Madrid-Granada 1943, no. 383.

Since the walnut had allegedly been imported by the Persian kings, the Greeks called it κάρυα βασιλικά (plur.), *kāriyā bāsilikā* (and variants) in the Arabic translation of Stephanos. It was considered hard to digest and noxious to the stomach; when taken on an empty stomach, it causes nausea, expels tape-worms and, when taken with figs and rue, it is effective against deadly poisons. In the course of the centuries, the Arab physicians and pharmacists acquired considerable new knowledge about the healing power of the nut; the fresh fruit, crushed and mixed with honey, is a proved collyrium against the dimness of the eyesight; shell and leaves are astringent and therefore effective against the trickling of urine. By applying a mixture of walnuts and onions, the poison introduced by the bite of a rabid dog can be extracted. Blonde hair can be dyed black by a mixture of pulverised iron and the fresh nut shells, crushed while still green. Other preparations are effective against psoriasis; by washing the mouth with decoctions, soft gums are strengthened. The juice of the leaf removes suppurations of the ear, the ashes of the shell staunch internal and external bleedings, and the fruit pulp of old, grilled nuts is effective against boils on the head. Walnut oil acts as a solvent and alleviates pain. Certain noxious secondary effects of the walnut, such as headaches and yellow gall, can be avoided by taking oxymel or by sucking sour pomegranates, etc. It was generally believed that sleeping under a nut-tree had a slimming effect.

In a more general sense, *djawz* is synonymous with *thamar* and indicates the fruits of a whole range of plants of oriental origin. The latin *nux* may have taken this meaning from Arabic pharmacology in the same way as *granum* took the meaning of *ḥabb*; one might compare the combinations of these terms in Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 233 and 239-41 respectively. Here may be enumerated, after Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, i, 175-8, tr. Leclerc, nos. 526-38, only the fruits most frequently combined with *djawz*: 1. *Djawz bawwā* or *djawz al-ṭīb*, the nutmeg, *Nux moschata*.—2. *Djawz māthil*, the thorn-apple, *Datura stramonium* L.—3. *Djawz al-ḳayʾ*, the nux vomica.—4. *Djawz al-ruḳaʿ*, another kind of nux vomica, *Elcaia iemanensis Forsk.*—5. *Djawz al-khums*, an Indian nut which is not further definable.—6. *Djawz ʿabhar*, undefined.—7. *Djawz al-ḳaṭā*, a kind of succulent herb, *Sedum cepaea*.—8. *Djawz al-zandj* (perhaps to be read *al-rīḥ* because it is said that the fruit is effective against *al-ḳawlandj al-rīḥī*, the windy colic), probably *Sterculia acuminata*.—9. *Djawz al-anhār*, probably synonymous with *djawr al-ḳaṭā*, above no. 7.—10. *Djawz al-shark*, the Abyssinian nut, *Unona aethiopica* (?).—11. *Djawz al-kawthal*, an Indian nut, *Gardenia dumetorum* (?).—12. *Djawz armāniyūs*, the Abyssinian nut, = 10 (?).—13. *Djawz djundum*, fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. For further material, see Dozy, i, 233; M. Meyerhof's commentary on Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, no. 82; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*³, Berlin 1891, Index s.v. Nux.

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(A. DIETRICH)

AL-**DJAWZĀʾ** [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ].

AL-**DJAYHĀNĪ**, surname of viziers of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], of whom one at least wrote a famous *Kitāb al-Masālik wa ʾl-mamālik* which has never been found in spite of the hopes raised by S. Janicsek (*al-Djaihani's lost* Kitab al-masalik valmamalik: *is it to be found at Mashhad?* in *BSOS*, v/1 (1926), 14-25; see also V. Minorsky, *A false Jayhānī*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1949), 89-96). The identity of the author of this work poses a problem difficult to solve.

Ibn Faḍlān (*Risāla*, ed. A.Z.V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939, text § 4, tr. 6, tr. M. Canard, in *AIEO Alger*, xvi (1958), 54) relates that a Djayhānī, who bore the title *al-shaykh al-ʿamīd*, obtained for him an audience with the young Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/913-43 [*q.v.*]) and arranged for his lodging at the time of his journey to Bukhārā in 309/922; he refers only to the *nisba* of this individual and makes no mention of any literary activity whatsoever. In 336/947, when revising the *Murūdj*, al-Masʿūdī as yet had no knowledge of the *Kitāb al-Masālik*, but he mentions it in the *Tanbīh* (ed. Ṣāwī, 65) some years later (before 346/957), and summarises its contents: a description of the world, marvels, cities, capitals, seas, rivers, peoples and the places that they inhabit, without reference to the relevant itineraries (cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 7), and without passing judgment; for him, the name of the author is Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad.

Ibn al-Nadīm, in 377/987-8, four times mentions a Djayhānī (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed. 198[2], 219, 473). In the first passage, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr, vizier of an unspecified ruler (*ṣāḥib*) of Khurāsān, is the author of the *K. al-Masālik*, of a *K. al-Rasāʾil* written wholly on behalf of a secretary of state, and of two other works, the titles of which are unclear; without doubt the titles that should be expected (cf. Dodge's translation, i, 302) are: *K. al-ʿUhūd li ʾl-khulafāʾ waʾl-umarāʾ* (which was apparently a formulary) and *K. al-Ziyādāt fī K. al-Nāshiʾ fī ʾl-Maḳālāt* (which might have been a supplement to the *Maḳālāt* of al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar, a text of which has been published and annotated by J. van Ess in *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut 1971). Immediately after, Ibn al-Nadīm devotes to al-Balkhī (d. 322/934 [*q.v.*]) quite a long article in which he describes the circumstances under which the latter lost the protection of the vizier of Naṣr b. Aḥmad, Abū ʿAlī al-Djayhānī, who was a dualist (but Abū ʿAlī was no longer vizier at the time of the death of al-Balkhī; see below); D.M. Dunlop, (*EI*[2] art. AL-BALKHĪ) makes this Djayhānī "the son of the geographer". Subsequently (219) Ibn al-Nadīm accuses Ibn al-Faḳīh [*q.v.*] of having plagiarised al-Djayhānī's book; apparently it is the *K. al-Masālik* which is in question, but this source is not mentioned in the *K. al-Buldān*, which is extant, and it is impossible to assess the degree of truth in an assertion of this kind. Finally, in the fourth passage (473), it is Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Djayhānī who appears among those ostensible Muslims who were secretly *zindīḳs* [*q.v.*]; it is not impossible that this Djayhānī is the same as the one previously described as a dualist and also the same as the one whom al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023) quotes (*Imtāʿ*, i, 78-90) in order to refute the opinions violently hostile to the Arabs which this writer had expressed "in his book".

So far, we possess only a date (309/922), two *kunyas*, Abū Allāh and Abū ʿAlī, and two names, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. With the same *kunya* and the same name as those in the *Tanbīh* of al-Masʿūdī, Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, xvii, 156-9) introduces the Djayhānī who exercised to some extent the functions of regent at the court of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad from the time of his accession in 301/913; it is evidently of this vizier that Ibn Faḍlān speaks (see above). Yāḳūt, who was well acquainted with the *K. al-Masālik* (*Buldān*, i, 7 and 394, with reference to Soghdia), does not mention its title and confines himself to indicating the *kunya* of the author, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; it is in any case remarkable that, in his article on Djayhān (ii, 181), he mentions only one Djayhānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, vizier of the Sāmānids at Bukhārā and the author of works, in regard to which he refers the reader to his *K. al-Akhbār*. It is nevertheless under the name of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr that, copying Ibn al-Nadīm, he places, in his *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ* (iv, 190-2), the biographical article regarding the Djayhānī who wrote the *K. al-Masālik*; he borrows from a *K. Farīd al-taʾrīkh* on the history of Khurāsān some verses composed against this vizier, of whom he says that after having served under Manṣūr b. Nūḥ (350-65/961-76 [*q.v.*]), he was dismissed by Nūḥ b. Manṣūr (366-87/977-97 [*q.v.*]) in 367/978. For the first time, we have two dates: 301 and 367. Al-Ṣafadī (*Wāfī*, ii, 80-1, no. 389, and viii, 53-4, no. 3463) copies, under the same headings (in other words, respectively, Aḥmad and Muḥammad) the two articles of Yāḳūt which he nevertheless considers suspect; the correct reading seems to him to be Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (no. 1664) opts for Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, but Kaḥḥāla, while following this last biographer (*Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, ii, 165) and attributing to Aḥmad, who was still alive in 367/978, the *K. al-Masālik*, the *K. al-Rasāʾil* and the *K. al-ʿUhūd*, has no scruples about a contradiction and makes Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (ix, 25) the author of the *Rasāʾil* and the *Masālik*, following the *K. Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* of Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī.

It is not unusual for the commonness of names such as Muḥammad and Aḥmad to lead writers and their copyists astray, but here, we have the clear impression that the Sāmānids employed three viziers bearing the *nisba* of al-Djayhānī: the first (I), who served in the entourage of Naṣr b. Aḥmad at his accession, must have been called ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. NAṢR; he was replaced, no doubt in about 310/922, by Balʿamī [*q.v.*], Abu ʾl-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh, whose successor was ABŪ ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-DJAYHĀNĪ (II); this last was vizier from 326 to his death in 330/937-42 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 283), that is, at the end of the reign of Naṣr b. Aḥmad, and there is no reason to suppose that he was not the son of (I); no doubt it was his own son, ABŪ ʿABD ALLAH AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. NAṢR (III) who was deprived of his office, according to Yāḳūt, in 367/978, and replaced by al-ʿUtbī.

Among these three individuals, who clearly seem to belong to the same family, one should attempt to ascertain which is the author of the *K. al-Masālik* (the other three works mentioned are too little known to be taken into consideration). V. Minorsky (preface to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, xvii), V.V. Barthold (*ibid.*, 16, 23) and A. Miquel (*La géographie humaine du monde musulman*[2], Paris-The Hague 1973, xiii-xxiv) opt, with D.M. Dunlop and Sarton (*History of science*, i, 635-6), for no. I, which seems however unlikely, since it is probable that his book would

have been known to al-Masʿūdī—who is in fact the only one to refer to the name of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad—before the revision of the *Murūdj* (332/943). The association of no. II with al-Balkhī would incline us to attribute the *K. al-Masālik* to him, but his *kunya* of Abū ʿAlī rules out such an identification, since the author of this work is always Abū ʿAbd Allāh.

In these circumstances, it is legitimate to suggest, as a hypothesis, that the *K. al-Masālik* is a family work, perhaps begun by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (I), continued by his son Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (II) and completed by his grandson Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (III) in the years immediately following 330/941-2. Examples of this kind are not rare in Arabic literature (see AL-BARḲĪ in Suppl., IBN SAʿĪD AL-MAGHRIBĪ, etc.) and it is probably the plurality of authors which gives rise to confusions which the other exploitable sources do not enable us to solve, although they supply some information regarding the work in question.

Ibn Ḥawḳal (writing in *ca.* 375/985) declares (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*², text 329, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 322) that he took with him in the course of his travels, which certainly began in 331/943 but stretched over a long period, the books of Ibn Khurradādhbih, of al-Djayhānī and of Ḳudāma, but he regrets possessing the first two which have monopolised too much of his attention, and he does not seem to rate them very highly, although he does not hesitate to exploit al-Djayhānī (453/438) insofar as regards Khurāsān, visited by him in the third quarter of the 4th century. Al-Muḳaddasī (375/985), who also utilises him on a number of occasions, is more explicit; in his *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm* (3-4; tr. Miquel, Damascus 1963, §§ 10-11), he describes Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Djayhānī (without further qualification) as a philosopher, astronomer and astrologer and adds that he gathered together people "who were acquainted with foreign countries in order to inquire from them concerning the different states, their resources, their access routes, the height at which the stars revolve there, and the position occupied there by the shadow . . . For him this was a means of conquering these countries, of getting to know their resources and of perfecting his knowledge of the stars and of the celestial sphere". While acknowledging his merits, al-Muḳaddasī seems subsequently to reproach al-Djayhānī for having developed at length the physical geography of the countries described, thus neglecting some important facts. Finally, Gardīzī, who was writing between 440 and 443/1049-52, confirms al-Muḳaddasī's suggestion by declaring (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, Berlin-London 1928, 28-9) that al-Djayhānī was in contact with correspondents residing in areas stretching from Byzantium to China, obtaining written information and making selective use of the material.

The *K. al-Masālik* perhaps consisted of seven volumes (cf. note on ms. C. of al-Muḳaddasī, tr. Miquel, *op. laud.*, 14), but the information supplied by this note is confusing and should be treated with all the more caution seeing that it is hardly likely that Ibn Ḥawḳal would have encumbered himself with such a voluminous work (unless, of course, it was an abridged version that he carried about with him). It must in fact have supplemented the *K. al-Masālik* of Ibn Khurradādhbih, with which moreover it appears sometimes to be confused. On account of this, some authors attribute to this work a particular political stamp, but the information consists above all of purely geographical data, unpublished and difficult to obtain otherwise, which must have been of interest to other writers, and we cannot but be astonished as the disappearance of a work so widely exploited. The debt of the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, of Gardīzī and others to al-Djayhānī has been the object of scholarly speculation on the part of Minorsky and of Barthold (see prefaces to the *Ḥudūd*, xvii-xviii and 23-6), but it is clear that too many uncertainties remain for absolutely firm conclusions to be reached.

Bibliography: in addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see also Marquart, *Streifzüge*, xxxi-xxxii and *passim*; A. Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, xxiii-xxv, 92-5, and index.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-DJAZARĪ, BADĪʿ AL-ZAMĀN ABU 'L-ʿIZZ ISMĀʿĪL B. AL-RAZZĀZ, engineer who worked in al-Djazīra during the latter part of the 6th/12th century. His reputation rests upon his book, *Kitāb fī maʿrifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya* (ed. and tr. D.R. Hill, *The book of knowledge of ingenious mechanical devices*, Dordrecht 1974), which he composed in 602/1206 on the orders of his master Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, a prince of the Artuḳid dynasty [*q.v.*] of Diyār Bakr. All that we know of his life is what he tells us in the introduction to his book, namely that at the time of writing he had been in the service of the ruling family for twenty-five years. The book is divided into six categories (*nawʿ*), the first four of which each contains ten chapters (*shakl*), but the last two only five each. The categories are as follows: (1) water-clocks and candle-clocks; (2) vessels and pitchers for use in carousals; (3) vessels and basins for hand-washing and phlebotomy; (4) fountains and musical automata; (5) water-lifting machines; and (6) miscellaneous. There are many illustrations, both of general arrangements and detailed drawings, and these are of considerable assistance in understanding the text, which contains many technical expressions that have since fallen into disuse. Some thirteen manuscript copies, made between the 7th/13th and the 12th/18th centuries, are extant to bear witness to the widespread appreciation of the book in the Islamic world (listed in Hill, 3-6; to which must be added Topkapı Saray mss. H 414 and A 3350). There are, however, no references to al-Djazarī in the standard Arabic biographical works of the Middle Ages, and there is no known translation into a European language before the 20th century.

Only one of the complete machines, a twin-cylinder pump driven by a paddle-wheel, can be said to have direct relevance to the development of mechanical technology. Many of the devices, however, embody techniques and mechanisms that are of great significance, since a number of them entered the general vocabulary of European engineering at various times from the 7th/13th century onwards. Some of these ideas may have been received directly from al-Djazarī's work, but evidence is lacking. Indeed, it seems probable that a large part of the Islamic mechanical tradition—especially water-clocks and their associated mechanisms and automata—had been transmitted to Europe before al-Djazarī's book was composed [see ḤIYAL, in Suppl.]. Even leaving aside the question of direct transmission, we still have a document of the greatest historical importance. First, it confirms the existence of a tradition of mechanical engineering in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East from Hellenistic times up to the 7th/13th century. Al-Djazarī was well aware that he was continuing this tradition and was scrupulous in acknowledging the

work of his predecessors, including Apollonius of Byzantium (?), the Pseudo-Archimedes, the Banū Mūsā (3rd/9th century), Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 534/1139-40), and a certain Yūnus al-Asṭurlābī. Other writings and constructions, whose originators were unknown to al-Djazarī, are also mentioned. Secondly, his use of and improvement upon the earlier works, together with his meticulous descriptions of the construction and operation of each device, enables us to make an accurate assessment of the level of achievement reached by the Arabs in mechanical technology by the close of the 6th/12th century.

Bibliography: Eight valuable articles on al-Djazarī's work were published in the early years of this century by E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, listed in *Der Islam*, xi (1921), 214; see also Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, ii, index, 846; The miniature paintings from two of the manuscripts are discussed in A.K. Coomaraswamy, *The treatise of al-Jazarī on automata*, Boston 1924; See also Brockelmann, S I, 902. For the other writers mentioned, see ḤIYAL, in Suppl.

(D.R. HILL)

AL-**DJAZARĪ**, SHAMS AL-MILLA WA 'L-DĪN ABŪ L-NADĀ MAʿADD B. NAṢR ALLĀH, ʿIrāḳī composer of *maḳāmāt*; a native of Djazīrat al-ʿUmar, he died in 701/1301. His *al-Maḳāmāt al-Zayniyya*, which were written in 672/1273 for the author's son Zayn al-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Naṣr Allāh, are a good example of the imitations of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. The external form of the work follows that of al-Ḥarīrī precisely: there are 50 *maḳāmāt*, most of which are named after towns. The various episodes are linked together by a common hero, Abū Naṣr al-Miṣrī, and a common narrator, called al-Ḳāsim b. Djiryāl al-Dimashḳī. The narratives of al-Djazarī's *maḳāmāt* are overwhelmed with the ingenious puns, elaborate rhymes and other forms of wordplay for which they provide the vehicle. The lavish use of rare words to provide long series of phrases ending in the same rhyme makes an immediate understanding of the *maḳāmāt* difficult. They copy the form of their famous model to the point of exaggeration, but do not have the inspired wit of its contents.

Brockelmann records six surviving MSS of *al-Maḳāmāt al-Zayniyya* (II, 205, S II, 199). In addition there are 13 selections from al-Djazarī's work in the Leeds Ar. MS 169, whose principal contents are the *Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*. The selections from al-Djazarī are from the following *maḳāmāt: al-Ḳudsiyya, al-ʿĀniyya, al-Djīmiyya al-Shīrāziyya, al-Iskandariyya al-Khayfā', al-Dimashḳiyya, al-Ḍabṭā', al-Djamāliyya al-Djūniyya.*

Bibliography: Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, ii, col. 1785; Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*; for some specimens of Djazarī's rhymed prose and verse, together with English translations, and a full list of the 50 titles of his *maḳāmāt*, see R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, *Shams al-Dīn al-Jazarī and his Al-Maqāmāt al-Zayniyyah*, in *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*, vii (1975), 54-60.

(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

DJAZZĀR (A.), "slaughterer", of camels, sheep, goats and other animals. These formed a distinct group of workers in mediaeval Arab society, quite apart from the *ḳaṣṣāb* and *laḥḥām*, the two terms used for the butcher. In modern times, however, the *djazzār* is synonymous with the latter terms. Djāḥiẓ and other writers use the words *djazzārūn* and *ḳaṣṣābūn* alongside each other to show them as separate groups; there were *dār al-djazzārīn* in Medina and Mecca during the 1st century A. H.; while there were many *sūḳ al-djazzārīn* as well as *sūḳ al-ḳaṣṣābīn* in Baghdād and other Islamic cities throughout the Middle Ages. The word *djazzār* seldom appears as a *nisba* with Arabic names, though *ḳaṣṣāb* is often used as an occupational surname among the Arabs.

The *djazzār* was required to be an adult (*bāligh*) and a sane (*ʿāḳil*) Muslim who would utter the name of God at the time of each slaughter. The *muḥtasib* saw to it that the *djazzār* slaughtered animals free from illness or defects. The non-Muslim (*dhimmī*) butchers practised their trade side-by-side with their Arab colleagues in the Middle East and North Africa. Friday was the weekday when most slaughtering of animals took place, according to Djāḥiẓ.

Unlike craftsmen of low prestige like tanners and cuppers, the slaughterers and butchers were not socially ostracised in Arab society. The Prophet forbade one of his relatives to employ a *khādim* [*q.v.*] in the trades of a slaughter (*djazzār*), or butcher (*ḳaṣṣāb*), cupper (*ḥadjdjām*) or goldsmith (*ṣā'igh*), (al-Kattānī, *al-Tarātib*, ii, 106). The *djazzār* was usually a free person (*ḥurr*). The slaughterers were disliked by Arabs for the uncleanliness (*nadjāsa*) of their work. Ibn al-ʿImād cites a case of an unscrupulous *djazzār* who utilised a dead animal for selling its meat, and the case was perhaps not untypical. Some Arab *udabā'* discussed the professions of the nobility (*ṣināʿāt al-ashrāf*) and cited the names of many Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] like al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, ʿĀmir b. Kurayz, and Khālid b. Asīd, among *djazzārūn* in their early careers. The *djazzārūn*, according to Djāḥiẓ, could never be rich, and their economic condition remained unchanged in Arab society over a long period. During the Buwayhid period, the slaughterers, butchers and other tradesmen had to pay additional imposts (*maks*), although they were usually exempt from taxation. The daily earnings of a *djazzār* in Egypt during the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (386-411/996-1020) was one *dīnār*, which was an exceptionally high income for a worker.

The slaughterers and butchers are portrayed in Arabic history books as groups of persons with violent tempers. The butchers were expelled from the Round City of Baghdād by Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr for their tendency towards violence. Ṭabarī records that the *djazzārūn* rioted in Mecca in 262/875-6, producing 17 casualties and jeopardising the pilgrimage of many people. For this and other reasons, a minor Arab poet echoed the sentiments of the public by saying that he did not wish to live in a locality where a slaughterer would be his neighbour. Al-Lubūdī, a jurist of the Mamlūk period, came to the conclusion that the occupation of the *djazzār* was undesirable (*makrūh*), because it bred hard-heartedness among men. Despite these criticisms, however, one gets the impression that the slaughterers were not generally despised in Islamic society.

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Ansāb, Hyderabad 1963, iii, 268; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb*, Beirut n.d., i, 276; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Baghdād 1968, 34-36; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, London 1938, 97-105; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, iv, 208; al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, Beirut 1971, ii, 765; al-Kattānī, *Niẓām al-ḥukūma al-nabawiya* (known as *al-Tarātib al-idāriyya*), Beirut n.d., ii, 105-6; H.H. Abdul Wahab, *Waraḳāt*, Tunis 1965, i, 238-41 (writes about a Banu ʾl-Djazzār, of Tunis, in the 4th/10th century, who bore the *nisba* of *al-djazzār*, but they ceased to be slaughterers; instead they became famous by practising medicine (*ṭibb*)); ʿAbbās al-Azzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḍarāʾib al-ʿIrāḳiyya*, Baghdād 1959, 25-7; *Alf layla wa-layla*, Beirut 1909, iii, 16-19; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Lubūdī, *Faḍl al-iktisāb*, Chester Beatty Ms., 4791, f. 57b.

(M.A.J. Beg)

AL-**DJAZZĀR PASHA**, Aḥmad, the dominant political figure in southern Syria (the *eyālets* of Sidon and Damascus) during the last quarter of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th. A Bosnian by origin (some sources assert that he was of Christian parenthood), he was born *ca.* 1722; the story of his early life is confused with legend. He apparently began his career at the age of sixteen as a soldier of fortune in Istanbul, where he entered the service of the Grand Vizier Ḥakīm-Oghlū ʿAlī Pasha. In 1756, when his master was sent to attend to the affairs of Egypt for two years, he accompanied him there and stayed behind to attach himself to the local Mamlūk military system. His Mamlūk patron, ʿAbd Allāh Bey, was administering the Buḥayra district in the Delta region as *kāshif* when he was murdered by the local Bedouins in the course of a rising. The *shaykh al-balad* ʿAlī Bey (1760-73) appointed Djazzār to succeed his master as *kāshif* of the district, raising him to the rank of Bey. It is alleged that Djazzār came to be so-called (*djazzār* = "butcher") as a result of the ferocity with which he proceeded to subdue the Bedouins of the Delta; it is possible, however, that Djazzār was his original surname, or that it was a *nom de guerre* which he adopted at the start of his career to promote his image as a competent professional soldier.

Djazzār remained attached to ʿAlī Bey in Egypt for several years. By 1768, however, he had become dangerously compromised in Mamlūk political intrigues. Fleeing Cairo, he returned for a short while to Istanbul; it was probably then that he first became officially attached to the Ottoman state as an agent. He then proceeded to settle in Syria, where he set out to establish for himself a large *mamlūk* household and a private army of Bosnian, Albanian, North African and other mercenaries which became the basis of his personal power.

Between 1768-74 the Porte was involved in a war with Russia; in the course of the hostilities, a Russian naval squadron appeared in the eastern Mediterranean, and Russian agents were sent to Acre (ʿAkkā) to encourage the powerful chieftain of Galilee, Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar, to join ʿAlī Bey of Egypt in a revolt against the Porte (Ḍāhir had successfully usurped power in the southern parts of the *eyālet* of Sidon, with Ottoman acquiescence, since the 1730). It was after Ḍāhir rose in revolt that Djazzār was sent in 1772 by the governor of Damascus to defend Beirut, which had shortly before been bombarded and pillaged by Ḍāhir's Russian allies. Since 1749, Beirut had been controlled by the Shihāb *amīrs* of Mount Lebanon; technically, however, it was part of the *eyālet* of Sidon (as was, indeed, the whole of the Shihāb domain). The ruling Lebanese *amīr*, Yūsuf Shihāb (1770-88), was opposed to Ḍāhir, and happy at first to see Djazzār established in Beirut. However, when Djazzār refused to honour the Shihāb claim of suzerainty over Beirut, Yūsuf Shihāb turned to his old adversary Ḍāhir for help, and the latter summoned the services of the Russian squadron against Djazzār. Beirut was bombarded for a second time in 1773 and besieged by land and sea for four months before its garrison was starved into surrender. Djazzār fled the town and was given refuge for a time by Ḍāhir in Acre. Betraying his host at the first opportunity, he fled to Damascus, smuggling out with him a convoy of Ḍāhir's munitions. Delighted by his persistent loyalty, the Porte raised him to the rank of Pasha and appointed him *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia, then *mütesarrif* of the *sandjak* of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār in Anatolia In 1775. Later in that same year, when Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar was finally defeated and killed by his own men, Djazzār was appointed *beylerbeyi* of the *eyālet* of Sidon, and established the seat of his government in Acre. In the following year, he was confirmed in the government of the *eyālet* with the rank of *wazīr*, and continued in the office and rank until his death in 1804.

In Acre, Djazzār used his *mamlūk* household and his private army to set up a régime of remarkable stability; his policy of ruthless repression, and the cruelty with which he meted out punishments, made him the object of general fear. On one occasion, in 1790, a group of his officers and *mamlūks*, supported and possibly prompted by his political enemies in Istanbul and by the French traders in Acre, staged a rebellion against him which was almost successful, but the rebellion was crushed by a surprise action and never repeated. Despite the constant intrigues against him in Istanbul, Djazzār's mandate in the *eyālet* of Sidon was annually renewed, without interruption, for twenty-nine years—a record without precedent in the his-tory of Ottoman provincial administration. On four different occasions (in 1785, 1790, 1799 and 1803), the *eyālet* of Damascus was also entrusted to his care. At a time when the general decline of the Ottoman state was encouraging rebellion and the usurpation of power in the provinces, an efficient and loyal governor in Syria, which was an area particularly prone to insubordination, was badly needed, and Djazzār was just the man for the job. In the coastal *eyālet* of Sidon, which was already overshadowing the inland *eyālet* of Damascus in importance because of the increasing European (and particularly French) maritime trade with the Levant, Djazzār suppressed the unruly Mitwālīs (Twelver Shīʿīs) and other tribes of the hill country of Galilee and northern Palestine, and established his administration firmly in the area. While he was not able to destroy the Shihāb emirate in Mount Lebanon, he did manage to exploit the Maronite-Druze confessional jealousies and the political factionalism prevailing there to reduce the Shihāb *amīrs*, who had once fought successful wars against the governors of Damascus, into docile and subservient fiscal agents. In Acre, Sidon and Beirut, he was careful to keep the lucrative commercial activity going, but at the same time took strict measures of control to derive the maximum profit from it for himself. He established a personal monopoly over the cotton and grain trade in his territory, and also made heavy impositions on the silk trade; as a result, he amassed a huge fortune, which contributed to the perpetuation of his power. His payments of the required tribute to the Ottoman

treasury, though at times unpunctual, were always correct. In 1799, when General Bonaparte advanced northwards from Egypt to occupy Syria, Djazzār, assisted by the British, successfully repelled his attack on Acre and forced him to retreat; he thereby set the seal on the failure of Bonaparte's eastern venture, and paved the way for the final expulsion of the French from Egypt two years later.

Despite the great power which he came to wield in southern Syria, Djazzār administered the *eyālet* of Sidon in strict loyalty to the Porte, and not in the manner of the *mutaghalliba*—the tribal chieftains and military adventurers who seized the opportunity of Ottoman decline to establish autonomous principalities in the provinces. In Syria, the *mutaghalliba* (like Ḍāhir in Galilee, and the Shihābs in Mount Lebanon) normally sought to promote their power by catering politically to the fierce particularism of the local tribes and sects, of whom the Maronites and Druzes of Mount Lebanon and the Mitwālī and other tribesmen of Galilee and northern Palestine were prime examples. They also tended to identify themselves with the interests of the new and predominantly Christian merchant class which thrived on the import-export trade with Europe. In Mount Lebanon and Beirut, the close association of the Shihāb *amīrs* with the Maronite silk merchants was reflected by the conversion of an increasing number of the *amīrs* from Sunnī Islam to Christianity; in Acre, Ḍāhir had favoured the Christians generally, and surrounded himself with Christian agents and advisers. Like Ḍāhir, Djazzār by necessity employed competent Christians (of the Sakrūdj, Iddī, Ḳālūsh and Mārūn families) as secretaries, treasurers and stewards; he was careful, however, not to pamper the Christians as a community, and most Christians who served him ended up in prison, in the torture chamber, or on the gallows, with their fortunes confiscated and their families reduced to destitution. Likewise, Djazzār cared little for the support of the tribesmen and peasants of the mountain hinterland, whom he knew to be venal and fickle, and ultimately undependable. Instead, he appears to have sought popularity among the Sunnī Muslim populace of the towns by appealing to their instinctive sentiments. At a time when the Ottoman state, as the universal Muslim state, was suffering repeated defeats and humiliations at the hands of Christian powers, the high-handed manner in which Djazzār dealt with the local Christian bourgeoisie, and with the French and other European traders in Acre and Sidon, could only have met with strong approval among the urban Muslims, particularly those of the lower classes. The Pasha's repressive policy towards the crypto-Maronite Shihābs and the heterodox Druzes and Mitwālīs must certainly have had the same effect. As governor of Beirut in 1772-3, Djazzār had armed the Sunnī Muslims of the town to help in its defence against the Russians. As ruler of the *eyālet* of Sidon, his unwavering championship of the Ottoman cause, which was the cause of Islam, probably secured for him some popularity among the lower Muslim classes of the coastal towns. Whatever the extent of this popularity was, it has remained unrecorded, because the available accounts of his régime were not written by his supporters but by the Christians, the foreigners and the Muslim notables who, as communities and sometimes possibly as individuals, had suffered at his hands and were unanimous in branding him as a bloodthirsty tyrant.

On the whole, the Djazzār régime represents the last reassertion of the Ottoman imperial prerogative in the traditional manner against the particularist tendencies in Syria, before the radical social and political changes of the 19th century. His determined efforts to break the stubborn local autonomies foreshadowed the policy of centralisation of the *Tanẓīmāt* period.

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DJEBEDJI (T. "armourer"), the name given to a member of the corps of "Armourers of the Sublime Porte" (*Djebedjīyān-i dergāh-i ʿālī*), a *Ḳapî Ḳulu* [*q.v.*] Corps closely associated with the Janissaries [*q.v.*]. Their function was to manufacture and repair all arms, ammunition and other equipment belonging to the Janissaries and, on campaign, to transport this equipment to the front, distribute it to the Janissaries and to collect it at the end of the campaign, keeping a record of losses and repairing damaged items.

The Corps was presumably founded shortly after the Janissaries and, until the late 10th/16th century, its recruits came from the *pendj-yek*, the principle by which the state took one in five of prisoners of war and the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*]. However, the system broke down when the *djebedjis*, like the Janissaries, received permission to marry and recruit their own children and native Muslim to the Corps.

Like the other *Ḳapî Ḳulu* Corps, the *djebedjis* were divided into thirty-eight divisions (*orta*), the first of which was divided into 59 sections (*bölük*). Each *orta* represented a different craft in the repair or manufacture of guns, gunpowder and other war materials. The chief officer of the Corps was the *djebedji bashî*, under whom came the *bash ketkhudā*, who usually succeeded him if his post fell vacant, and four other *ketkhudās*. Another officer was the *djebekhāne bash čawushu*. A *bölük bashî* commanded each *orta*, and under him was the *oda bashî*, and the chief craftsmen, called *usta*. The central barracks of the Corps was in Istanbul, but its members served in turn in the frontier fortresses of the Ottoman Empire. A group of *djebedjis* would always accompany a Janissary garrison. Their total strength varied according to the size of the Janissary Corps; there were about 500 *djebedjis* in the mid-10th/16th century and their numbers fluctuated between about 2,500 and 5,000 in the 12th/18th century.

The Corps was abolished, together with the Janissaries, in 1241/1826.

Bibliography: see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtında kapukulu ocakları*, ii, 3-21, of which the foregoing is a summary. (ED.)

DJEBEL [see DJABAL].

DJELAL ED-DIN ROUMI [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN RŪMĪ].

DJEZZAR [see DJAZZĀR].

AL-DJILDAKĪ, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamir b. ʿAlī b. Aydamir, Egyptian alchemist, who died in 743/1342 or later. He was the last outstanding Muslim adept of his art, of encyclopaedic, though rather uncritical, learning. Almost nothing is known of his life; he himself, however, tells that he spent more than 17 years on extensive travels, which lead him to ʿIrāḳ, Asia Minor, the Maghrib, Yemen, Ḥidjāz, Syria, and Egypt, where he ultimately settled. Al-Djildakī represents the mystical and allegorical trend in Muslim alchemy, but there is evidence that he had real experience in practical operations and chemical substances. His interests extend also to the *khawāṣṣ*, i.e. the magic properties of things, and to pharmacology, medicine and astrology, especially the attribution of metals and other substances to the seven planets. He often reflects on the parallels between natural and alchemical processes, and he attacks Ibn Sīnā who denied the possibility of artificial transmutation (see *Avicennae De congelatione et conglutatione lapidum*, ed. E.J. Holmyard and D.C. Mandeville, Paris 1927, 6-7). His very numerous works, which still exist in many manuscripts, are valuable for the history of alchemy through his philologically-accurate quotations from his predecessors. He is familiar with Djābir b. Ḥayyān's theory of balances as well as with his biography (see P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, in *Mems. de l'Inst. d'Égypte*, xliv (1943), xlv (1942), indexes). Among other Greek, Indian and Persian authorities he refers to Hermes [see HIRMIS], Cleopatra (see M. Ullmann, in *WZKM*, lxiii-lxiv (1972), 161-73), the caliph ʿAlī and Khālid b. Yazīd [*q.v.*], and he also composed lengthy commentaries on writings of Apollonius (see BALĪNŪS), Ibn Umayl [*q.v.*], Ibn Arfaʿ Raʾs, and al-Sīmāwī.

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DJISR MANBIDJ [see ḲALʿAT NADJM].

DJIRGA (Pashto; cf. H.G. Raverty, *A dictionary of the Pukhto, Pushto, or language of the Afghāns*, London 1867, 330b), an informal tribal assembly of the Paṭhāns in what are now Afghānistān and Pakistan, with competence to intervene and to adjudicate in practically all aspects of private and public life among the Paṭhāns.

In the course of his abortive mission to Shāh Shu-djāʿ and the Durrānī court of Kabūl in 1809 [see AFGHĀNISTĀN. v. History (3) (A)], Mountstuart Elphinstone described the *djirga* system as alive and vital, with assemblies at various levels, from the village at the bottom up through the clan or *khēl* to the tribe or *ulus* at the top, with a *djirga* of subordinate chiefs around the tribal *khān*; but he observed that it was a model frequently modified or disrupted rather than a neat hierarchy of institutions. He noted too that the *djirga* was the principal means of administering criminal justice, where an offended party had not already avenged his wrongs in blood, and of determining amounts of compensation due to a victim; and he adjudged it a useful and tolerably impartial institution (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*[3], London 1839, i, 215-26). At the very apex of the system, the Amir of Afghānistān might summon a "great (*loya*) *djirga*" of leading chiefs for consultation at critical junctures.

The political division of the Paṭhāns in the course of the 19th century into those to the east of what became the Durand Line and in British India and those to the west in the independent kingdom of Afghānistān eliminated the *loya djirga* as an effective expression of feelings of the whole Paṭhān nation, although the institution was eventually incorporated into the political structure of modern Afghānistān as a representation of all ethnic and social groups with the state, and not merely of the Paṭhāns; for the *djirga* in Afghānistān of the last two centuries, see MADJLIS. 2. Afghānistān.

On the British side of the Frontier, the *djirga* has continued as an instrument of democratic tribal expression; it was, for instance, tribal *djirgas* which in November 1947 signified the adhesion of the North-West Frontier Province to the nascent Pakistan, and in February 1980 a *djirga* of Paṭhān and Balūč chiefs and notables met at Sībī in northern Balūčistān to affirm opposition to further Soviet Russian encroachment after the latter power's occupation of Afghānistān towards the end of 1979. As far back as the second half of the 19th century, a modified and less authentic type of *djirga* had been made part of the Frontier Crimes Regulations, originally promulgated in 1872. Under this arrangement, cases involving tribal honour, blood feuds and women could be withdrawn from the magistrates' courts and arhitrated upon by a *djirga*, which was however in this case a group of tribal elders appointed by the magistrate and acceptable to both parties. Here the *djirga* was an ancillary of British Indian law, though after *ca.* 1880 in the recently-pacified parts of northern Balūčistān and the newly-administered tribal areas of the North-West Frontier Province, the *djirga* was adopted as a substitute for the formal legal system, thus in effect enshrining Paṭhān custom.

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DJUDHĀM (A.), leprosy or Hansen's disease.

I. *Terminology*. A number of Arabic terms that may refer to leprosy were created on the basis of the symptomatology of the disease. Aside from the distinctive symptoms of advanced lepromatous leprosy, various terms were adopted that were descriptive of leprous lesions, but they were not restricted exclusively to leprosy. No clinical cases of leprosy are reported in the mediaeval medical literature that might clarify the terminology. There can be little doubt, however, that *djudhām* referred to leprosy, particularly of the lepromatous type. The term was used in pre-Islamic Arabia; it was derived from the Arabic root of the word, meaning "to mutilate" or "to cut off," and is descriptive of serious disfigurement that occurs in cases of lepro-

matous leprosy. Thus, *adjdham* (pl. *djadhmā*) may mean "mutilated" from having an arm or foot cut off, or "leper" and "leprous" (al-Murtaḍā, *Ghurar al-fawā'id*, Cairo 1954, i, 5). Conversely, the use of this root would strongly suggest that the lepromatous form of the disease existed in pre-Islamic Arabia. Considerable confusion exists concerning terms other than *djudhām*; the difficulty is certainly due to the numerous forms that leprosy may take, particularly in its early stages and its mimicry of other skin diseases. The term *baraṣ* was definitely used to name leprosy, but it could be applied to other skin disorders. This term was also used in pre-Islamic Arabia. It was derived from the Arabic root that may mean "to be white or shiny." Emphasis on the whiteness of the skin in the Arabic medical accounts of *baraṣ* and *bahaḳ* may have referred to the hypo-pigmentation occurring in the early stages of dimorphous leprosy or the macules and infiltrated lesions of tuberculoid leprosy. Depending on the context, white and black *baraṣ*, white and black *bahaḳ*, *waḍaḥ*, and *ḳawābī* were often used to name leprous symptoms. In addition, the following terms could apply to leprosy, but they were rarely used—some are clearly euphemistic: *abḳaʿ*, *akshar*, *arḳaṭ*, *aslaʿ* (*sulʿ*), *barash*, *bayāḍ* (*bayḍā'*), *dā' al-asad*, *dā' al-ḳuʿṭāl*, *muraḳḳaʿ*, *sū'* (*aswā'*).

II. *Medical history*. There is no persuasive evidence that true leprosy occurred in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, or Persia before the time of Alexander the Great. It must have existed much earlier in India, the Far East, and probably central Africa. *Soraʿat*, the so-called leprosy of Leviticus, does not correspond to any modern diagnosis of the disease; it was a non-specific condition and essentially a non-medical notion. The *lepra* (Gr. *leprós*, "scaly") mentioned in some of the Hippocratic writings was also a skin ailment that cannot be identified and was probably not related to leprosy. It was not before 300 B.C. that true leprosy entered the sphere of medical science. At that time, physicians of Alexandria became acquainted with its lepromatous form and named it *elephantiasis* because of the thickening and corrugation of the skin. The tuberculoid type, however, was not yet clearly distinguished from other, non-specific skin eruptions. Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS], in the 2nd century A.D., inadequately described what he called *elephantiasis graecorum* and *lepra* (*Ad glauconem*). The earliest and best description of leprosy was given by a contemporary of Galen, Aretaeus of Cappadocia (*Extant works*, ed. and tr. F. Adams, London 1856, 123-9/366-73, 236-40/494-7); Aretaeus' pathology and treatment of the disease were important because they strongly influenced later Greek physicians whose works were translated into Arabic. With the single exception of Aretaeus, however, the pathogenesis of leprosy was explained in late Roman medicine by the theory of humours. Leprosy was due primarily to a predominance of black bile, the melancholic humour, in the body. The disease was considered by the Greek doctors to be both contagious and hereditary. The victims were believed to be unclean and specifically marked by strong venereal desires. There was an increasing recognition of the polymorphous character of leprosy, particularly of the milder tuberculoid type. The disease in advanced stages was considered incurable. All the ancient authors failed to mention the loss of sensation, which is a conspicuous symptom of the disease. The treatment of the diseased consisted of bloodletting, cauterisation, purgation, baths, fomentations, diets, and invariably the theriac of vipers. Together with the classical descriptions of leprosy, the various treatments entered into Arabic medical science.

The earliest indisputable proof of leprosy in the Middle East has been found by Møller-Christensen in two skeletons from Egypt (Aswān) that date from about A.D. 500. Therefore, there can be little doubt that genuine leprosy existed from the early Islamic period and that Muslim doctors had sufficient opportunity to observe it. Practically every Arabic writer on medicine discussed leprosy. The earliest account seems to have been the *K. fi 'l-djudhām* by Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh [*q.v.*]. The work is apparently lost, but it was frequently quoted by later Arabic authors; an anonymous treatise does exist that contains the opinions of Ibn Māsawayh as well as those of al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā (A.Z. Iskandar, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts*, London 1967, 70 f., 126). The first full account of leprosy in Arabic medicine is to be found in al-Ṭabarī's *Firdausu 'l-Ḥikmat* (ed. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928, 318-25); the pathology and therapeutics of the disease are largely consistent with the earlier Greek medical texts. Arabic writers who discussed leprosy include the following: al-Kindī (*Fihrist*, tr. Dodge, New York 1970, ii, 621; *Medical formulary*, tr. Levy, Madison 1966, 60, 158, 233 *et passim*), Yūḥannā b. Sarābiyūn, Thābit b. Ḳurra (*K. al-Dhakhīra*, ed. Sobhy, Cairo 1928, 7, 29, 138-41; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 124), al-Rāzī (*K. al-Ḥāwī*, Hyderabad 1970, iv, 59 f., 65, 73, 93, xxiii/2, 1-33, 47-72, 88-120), Ibn Abi 'l-Ashʿath (Ullmann, *Die Medizin*, 139), ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī (*Kāmil*, Cairo 1877, i, 310 f., ii, 194-6), Abū Manṣūr Ḳumrī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī, Ibn Sīnā (*Ḳānūn fi 'l-ṭibb*, Būlāḳ 1877, iii, 140-6, 281-7), al-Djurdjānī, Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAlā' Zuhr (Albucasis, *On surgery and instruments*, ed. and tr. Spink and Lewis, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1973, 142-9), Ibn al-Ḳuff (*K. al-ʿUmda*, Hyderabad 1356/1937, i 155 f., ii, 48-51), Ibn Masʿūd al-Shīrāzī, al-Azraḳī (*Tashīl al-manāfiʿ*, Cairo 1304/1887, 275 f., 291-4), Nafīs b. ʿIwaḍ and Ghiyāth b. Muḥammad.

The medical textbook of al-Madjūsī [*q.v.*] is quite important because it was one of the first Arabic works to be translated into Latin (*Liber pantegni*). Its translation by Constantinus Africanus [*q.v.*] was decisive for the Western terminology of leprosy. The translator could not use the word *elephantiasis* in translating al-Madjūsī's account of leprosy because in Arabic the term (*dā' al-fīl*) was already used for the present-day disease of that name. In this situation, Constantinus seized upon Biblical usage, where the Latin translation of Hebrew and Greek was *lepra*; he therefore translated *djudhām* as *lepra* rather than *mutilatio*, which would have been more precise and would have avoided the stigma attached to *lepra*. As it was, the use of *lepra* for leprosy in general caused confusion with the Hippocratic use of the word and extended the application of the name with its evil connotations to a wider range of skin disorders. Al-Zahrāwī's work was also translated into Latin and became well-known in Europe. In his discussion of leprosy, al-Zahrāwī made a significant contribution to medicine by describing, for the first time apparently, the neurological symptoms of the disease. It is difficult to believe that local anaesthesia had not been observed among lepers much earlier. In the Middle East, the loss of sensation caused by leprosy was noticed by Ibn al-Ḳuff; the source of his observation is unclear. (The leprosy of Baldwin IV [d. 1206], king of the

Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, is described by William, bishop of Tyre; the narrative contains the only incontrovertible clinical evidence of the anaesthetic symptoms of leprosy in the Middle East [*A history of deeds*, tr. Babcock and Krey, New York 1934, ii, 296, 460].) The description of insensitivity by al-Zahrāwī was repeated in the Western medical literature, at least from the 12th century. It served as a means of distinguishing lepers and excluding them from society. As opposed to the Galenic tradition of the other works, al-Azraḳī's work may be regarded as a good example of "Prophetic medicine" (*al-ṭibb al-nabawī*). Al-Azraḳī's quasi-medical discussion of leprosy may well reflect popular beliefs and practices that persisted throughout the mediaeval period alongside those of professional medicine. Moreover, it was a common practice during the mediaeval period to attribute to stones the ability to ward off disease; for leprosy, topaz (*zabardjad*) was reputed to have this property (M. Ullmann, *Neues zum Steinbuch des Xenokrates*, in *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, vii [1973], 71).

In sum, the Arabic medical writers borrowed heavily from Hellenistic sources, but their works were not entirely imitative. The description of leprosy in the Arabic medical textbooks followed the encyclopaedic form of ancient manuals; the descriptions of leprosy were brief, non-clinical, and largely theoretical. The Muslim understanding of the disease was most clearly indebted to the earlier sources in its adoption of the humoural theory to explain the illness. Care and treatment were also consistent with Hellenistic practices; however, Arabic medicine introduced a greater variety of simple and compound medications. Furthermore, the Arabic doctors adopted the view that leprosy was contagious and hereditary. Yet they did not view the disease as fiercely contagious, and their writings lack any element of moral censorship of the diseased. Moreover, the medical texts did not recommend flight from the leper or his isolation from the community. The influence of this non-condemnatory attitude toward the disease and its victims in Muslim society is impossible to gauge, but it would be reasonable to assume that through the activity of Muslim doctors it weighed against the selective discrimination and segregation of lepers. Generally, the Arabic writers paid greater attention to leprosy than the Hellenistic doctors. In the classification and description of the disease Muslim doctors made significant advances. The earlier writers distinguished, for the most part, between *elephantiasis* and leprosy. The Arabic writers tended to regard *elephantiasis-djudhām* as one form of leprosy. Concerning the symptomatology of leprosy, the Arabic doctors refined the description of the skin lesions and called attention to the neurological signs. Despite its own inherent difficulties, the Arabic terminology was more appropriate and detailed than that of the classical authors. It is probable that Arabic terminology influenced Byzantine nomenclature. Finally, Arabic medical understanding of leprosy was important because it was conveyed to the West and formed the basis for European knowledge of the disease until the 17th century.

III. *Social history*. The Arabs in pre-Islamic Arabia were afflicted by leprosy, along with a large number of other communicable diseases. Leprosy is attested by the famous Arabic poets of the period. The first important figure in the history of the Arabs before Islam who probably suffered from some form of leprosy was Djadhīma al-Abrash [*q.v.*] or al-Waḍḍāḥ, the king of al-Ḥīra, who played a dominant role in the politics of Syria and ʿIrāḳ in the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Two famous pre-Islamic poets may also have been stricken by the illness. The first, ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ, on the basis of his name, may have been leprous. Leprosy would account for his wife's aversion from him, which is mentioned in his poetry (C. Lyall, *The Dīwān*, Leiden-London 1913, 6, 33-6, 38 f.). The second and more famous was al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza al-Yashkurī [*q.v.*], who wrote the seventh of the *Muʿallaḳāt*.

The Ḳurʾān mentions in two places the healing of the lepers (*al-abraṣ*) by Jesus (III, 48 and V, 110). More important for their influence on Muslim society are the *aḥādīth* that were attributed to the Prophet concerning leprosy. The best-known of these traditions is the statement that a Muslim should flee from the leper as he would flee from the lion. Similarly, another familiar tradition asserts that a healthy person should not associate with lepers for a prolonged period and should keep a spear's distance from them (Wensinck, *Handbook*; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Būlāḳ ed., viii, 443; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, iv, 69; *LA*, xiv, 354 f.). The two pious traditions are prescriptions for social behaviour and appear to deal with both moral and medical difficulties posed by the leper. The traditions may have strengthened the desire of Muslims to avoid those individuals who were conspicuously afflicted by the disease because it was morally as well as physically offensive. Leprosy was believed by some to be a punishment by God for immorality. Consequently, leprosy was often invoked as a curse on a Muslim for his immoral behaviour. Medically, both traditions seem to express an implicit belief in contagion. The idea of contagion is also found in other traditions that are unrelated to leprosy and in the medical and non-medical literature. Nevertheless, the belief in contagion was denied by the Prophet in a number of other traditions which state that disease comes directly from God. The tradition advising flight from the leper is, in fact, preceded by a complete denial of contagion in the collection of al-Bukhārī. Thus the issue of contagion is quite contradictory; it was the subject from an early time of religio-legal discussion that attempted to harmonise these traditions. The contradiction was not resolved; it would appear that many witnessed contagion and found justification for it in the traditions, while the more religiously inclined may have adhered to the principle of non-contagion. The latter were partially justified in the case of leprosy because it is only moderately contagious and some individuals are not predisposed to it at all. There were also traditions that recommended supplication to God for relief from leprosy, for the matter should not be left entirely to fate.

The legal status of the leper was directly related to the pious traditions. Leprosy is not discussed in the Arabic legal texts as a separate subject, but it is treated as a disability within such broad areas as marriage, divorce, inheritance, guardianship, and interdiction of one's legal capacity [see ḤADJR]. Because leprosy was considered a mortal illness, the leper was limited in his legal rights and obligations—along with the minor, the bankrupt, the insane, and the slave. The leper's status seems to have been particularly close to that of the insane in legal matters, especially in regard to marriage and divorce: a marriage could be dissolved by either person

because of the disease. In Mālikī law, a man in an advanced state of leprosy should be prevented from cohabiting with his slave wives and still more so with his free wives, which is consistent with a belief in the hereditary nature of the malady. Also, Mālikī law allowed an automatic guarantee of three days, at the expense of the seller of slaves, against any "faults" in a slave; the guarantee was extended to one year in case of leprosy. In addition, the development of leprosy in a slave might be a cause for his manumission.

In general, the differing religio-legal traditions served as the bases for various interpretations of the disease. These traditions account for the wide spectrum of behaviour by and toward the leper, ranging from his total freedom of action to segregation in lep-rosaria. The range of popular responses to the leper is reflected in early Arabic literature that deals with leprosy and other skin irregularities. Al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn Ḳutayba [*qq.v.*] collected poetry and narrative accounts on this subject. Al-Djāḥiẓ's compilation of material is to be found in his *al-Burṣān wa 'l-ʿurdjān* (Cairo 1972, 8-110), which is concerned with a large number of physical infirmities and personal characteristics. The author's objective is to show that physical infirmities and peculiarities do not hinder an individual from being a fully active member of the community or bar him from important offices. Al-Djāḥiẓ maintained that such ailments are not social stigmas but are what may be called signs of divine blessing or favour. The afflicted were spiritually compensated by God and special merit should be attached to their lives. Thus he countered the contrary opinion that the infirm should be disparaged or satirised for their afflictions. Most of the poets quoted by Ibn Ḳutayba also appear to say that skin disorders should not be the cause of scorn and revilement but should prompt the sufferer to repentance (*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, iv, 63-7). Ibn Ḳutayba and al-Djāḥiẓ cite numerous references to leprosy in Arabic poetry, as in the fierce poetic duels of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, and mention those poets who were themselves leprous, such as Ayman b. Khuraym [*q.v.*]. There are other historical reports of probable instances of the disease in early Islamic history, such as that of Ibn Muḥriz [*q.v.*].

The most important political figure in early Islam who was probably afflicted by leprosy was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān [*q.v.*]. It is reported that he suffered from "lion-sickness" i.e. *djudhām*. He was given many medications for the ailment, but they were ineffective. Therefore, his physicians advised him to move to Ḥulwān [*q.v.*] because of the sulphurous springs there, and he built his residence there (Abū Ṣāliḥ, *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, ed. and tr. B. Evetts in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vii, Oxford 1895, 154). Shortly after the time of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, we have the brief but significant statement of al-Ṭabarī that the caliph al-Walīd I was in Syria, probably Damascus, in 88/707 and conferred a number of benefits upon the people. Al-Ṭabarī says "He awarded the lepers [*al-mudjadhdhamīn*] and said: 'Do not beg from the people.' And he awarded every invalid a servant and every blind man a leader" (*Taʾrīkh*, vi, Cairo 1964, 496). As with the invalids and the blind, the caliph apparently made provisions for the lepers in some manner. The passage is ambiguous, but it seems that he had the lepers separated from the rest of the population (E. Browne, *Arabian medicine*, repr. Cambridge 1962, 16 f.). This act of al-Walīd is traditionally considered by Arabic historians to be the institution of the first hospital in Islam (cf. S. Hamarneh, *Development of hospitals in Islam*, in *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, xvii [1962], 367). The first hospital is alleged by al-Maḳrīzī to have been built by al-Walīd in the year 88/707, and the caliph "provided for doctors and others in the *māristān*, and he ordered the restraint of the lepers [*al-djadhmā*] lest they go out, and stipends for them, and provisions for the blind." (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, repr. Cairo 1970, ii, 405; see also BĪMĀRISTĀN and A. ʿĪssā, *Histoire des Bimaristans*, Cairo 1928, 95). One may well imagine that the caliph created a hospice—*dār al-marḍā*, later called a *māristān* or *bīmāristān* in the ʿAbbāsid period—for the afflicted of the city, comparable to Byzantine practice (see D. Constantelos, *Byzantine philanthropy and social welfare*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1968, 78 *et passim*). The later hospitals of the ʿAbbāsid period treated leprosy and other chronic ailments in special quarters (S. Hamarneh, *Medical education and practice in mediaeval Islam*, in *The history of medical education*, ed. C. O'Malley, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1970, 41).

Leprosy certainly existed in the Middle East during the mediaeval period, but there is no way of determining its extent. Individual cases of leprosy are occasionally mentioned in the historical literature, such as that of Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], who died of leprosy about 560/1164. We know as well that leprosy afflicted the Jews because there is considerable material about lepers in the Geniza, especially in letters from Tiberias, where they sought healing in the hot springs and the air of the place (J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine*, Oxford 1920-2, i, 166 f., ii, 192-5). According to Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (*Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, 1938, ch. xlii), the *muḥtasib* or market inspector [see ḤISBA] must not allow people suffering from leprosy to visit the baths. Also from Egypt, a *waḳf* of the Mamlūk sultan Barsbāy [*q.v.*] states that those afflicted especially with leprosy (*djudhām aw baraṣ*) should not be employed (A. Darrag, ed., *L'acte de waqf de Barsbay*, Cairo, 1963, 56). The specific discrimination against lepers in these two instances appears to show that the theological proscription of contagion had very little practical effect (see M. Ullmann, *Islamic medicine*, Edinburgh 1978, ch. vi). Furthermore, lepers commonly begged in the streets of the cities, despite the pious endowments on their behalf and laws against mendicancy. While many must have been genuinely leprous, it was not unusual during the mediaeval period for men and women to feign the disease by intentional disfigurement in order to receive public charity (C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*, i, Leiden 1976, 24, 84, 100). Deception of the opposite kind was also common in the slave market, where a buyer had to be on his guard against the concealment of leprous sores on the bodies of slaves. During the later Middle Ages, the reappearance of plague must have destroyed large numbers of lepers because of their exceptional vulnerability to diseases other than leprosy. The Black Death in the mid-8th/14th century and the serious recurrences of plague thereafter may account for the particular depopulation of lepers among a generally-diminished population.

In the Islamic West, leprosaria were established and special quarters were designated for lepers. The quarters seem generally to have been located outside the walls of many Muslim cities, often in conjunction with leper cemeteries (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. and tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i, 60 f., 229, ii, 399; E. Lévi-Provençal,

Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane, i, 188, iii 335, 382, 434). The first Muslim hospital appears to have been built in al-Ḳayrawān, and near it was situated a separate building called the *dār al-djudhamā*, where lepers received medical treatment (Hamarneh, *Development of hospitals*, 375). Further west, the Almohad sultan Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr founded hospitals ior lepers (see BĪMĀRISTĀN and R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 72, 110). Sulphur springs were considered to be particularly beneficial for lepers in North Africa as they were in the Middle East (E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 44, 484 ff., 497 ff.; Legey, *Essai de folklore marocain*, Paris 1926, 158; C. Grey, ed. and tr., *Travels of Venetians in Persia*, London 1873, 144; Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*).

In Anatolia, the Ottomans built hospitals in the later Middle Ages, similar to the Byzantine *xenodochia*. A leper house was built at Edirne in the time of Murād II (d. 855/1451) and functioned for almost two centuries. Before this foundation, the Turks had constructed others in Sivas, Kastamonu, and Kayseri. In 936/1530 Sulaymān II built a leprosarium in Scutari, which survived until modern times. An important leper house was founded as a *wakf* by Sultan Selīm I in 920/1514 near Istanbul, which operated until 1920; it is described by A. Süheyl Ünver in his article, *About the history of the leproseries in Turkey*, in *Neuburger Festschrift* (1948), 447-50.

The traditional ways of dealing with lepers in Muslim society lasted well into the 19th century. Lepers and leprosaria were particularly noticed by Western travellers, and their accounts add to our knowledge about the plight of the diseased (*Ulrich J. Seetzen's Reisen*, Berlin 1854-9, i, 120 f., 277 f.; Klingmüller, *op. cit.*, 49; D.L. Zambaco, *Voyages chez les lépreux*, Paris 1891; *Aus einem Briefe des Herrn Consul Wetzstein an Prof. Fleischer*, in *ZDMG*, xxiii (1869), 309-13). There is no reliable observation of true leprosy by Western travellers in the Middle East during the mediaeval or early modern periods. The only exception is the report of leprosy in Egypt by Prosper Alpini in his *Medicina Aegyptorum* [1719], 56). Europeans' concern about the disease was often heightened by their belief in its highly contagious nature (M. Clerget, *Le Caire*, ii, Cairo 1934, 16; *Description de l'Égypte*, i, Paris 1809, 492-8, ii/2, Paris 1822, 697; Clot-Bey, *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, ii, Paris 1840, 356 f.). Leprosy was also probably common in the countryside, but most of our documentation comes from the urban centres. Leprosy as well as syphilis and elephantiasis frequently occurred in Egyptian villages in the 19th century and were poorly treated (J. Walker, *Folk medicine in modern Egypt*, London 1934, 23). Today leprosy remains a health problem in the Middle East and North Africa.

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(M.W. DOLS)

DJUHAYNA [see ḲUḌĀʿA].

DJULFĀ (in Armenian, Julay), a town on the River Araxes, on the northern border of Ādharbāydjan, once in Armenia and now in the U.S.S.R. Also, in 1014/1605, Shāh ʿAbbās I founded a suburb of Iṣfahān bearing the same name, to accommodate the Armenians transferred by him from the original town.

I. Djulfā in Ādharbāydjan is situated in lat. 38° 58' N, long. 45° 39' E, and is built on the northern bank of the Araxes besides an old bridge (Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAli Yazdī, *The history of Timur-Bec*, London 1723, 265-6); it lies in the ancient canton of Gołtʿn, mentioned in Armenian literature as early as the *History* of Moses of Khoren (J.A. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie*, Paris 1818, i, 1267, 133, 237, ii, 365, 423). Lying on the edge of a volcanic belt extending south-east into Iran, the surrounding land is rocky and barren, although suitable for the cultivation of the vine—

Moses of Khoren refers to Goltʿn as *ginewēt* ("wine rich"). On the main route northwards from Tabrīz to Nakhidjevan and Tiflis, in the 10th/16th century Djulfā became the centre of a flourishing community of Armenian merchants, trading as far afield as Europe, India and Central Asia, and with a special interest in the traffic of silk. According to Cartwright, at the end of the century the population was 10,000, with 2,000 houses (John Cartwright, *The Preachers Travels . . .*, London 1611, 35-6).

After his successful campaigns against the Ottoman Turks, Shāh ʿAbbās I resolved to depopulate eastern Armenia and to create an empty tract between himself and his enemy. To this end, he transferred the major part of the population to Persia, estimated at some 60,000 families, including numbers of Georgians and Jews besides Armenians. The exodus is described by the Armenian chronicler Arakʿel of Tabrīz, who refers to it as the great *sürgün* ("exile, expulsion") (Arakʿel of Tabrīz, *Livre d'histoires*, St. Petersburg 1874, tr. M. Brosset); it was considered disastrous in the eyes of the Armenians, who composed many bitter folk-songs lamenting their eviction from a prosperous area. Shāh ʿAbbās I captured Djulfā in 1013/1604, and recognising the useful role that the merchants might play in his own economy, transferred them to Iṣfahān; he gave them three days to gather their possessions, and then destroyed the town and bridge. Although Djulfā was ruined, a few Armenians made their way back later in the 11th/17th century. Remains of churches and the ancient cemetery still survive. The extension of the Russian railway system to Tabrīz through Djulfā, and its establishment before the first World War as a stage on the Indo-European telegraph line, led to an increase in its importance; it now serves as a frontier post between Iran and the U.S.S.R.

II. New Djulfā (in Armenian, Nor J̌ulay) is situated in lat. 32° 40' N, long. 51° 41' E, and forms a suburb of Iṣfahān built on the south bank of the Zāyanda-rūd river, linked to the Čahār Bāgh in Iṣfahān by the Allāhwardī Khān bridge. It was created in 1014/1605 by Shāh ʿAbbās I, to house the Armenians transferred from old Djulfā on the Araxes. Other Armenian emigrants were settled in Iṣfahān itself, but subsequently moved to New Djulfā in 1065-6/1654-5, where the mixed geographical origin of the population was reflected in the names of the different quarters, such as *Hirvanli* (Erevan), *Nakshivanli* (Nakhidjevan) (Chardin, ii, 97). The population of New Djulfā has been estimated at 15,000-20,000 to start with, rising to 30,000 by 1630. Some 50,000 more Armenians were settled in 24 villages in the countryside around Iṣfahān. The spiritual head of the community was a Bishop, owing allegiance to the Catholicos at Etchmiadzin, and responsible for Armenians throughout Persia, as well as those in Baṣra and Baghdād (Gregorian, *op. cit.*, 667).

Shāh ʿAbbās I helped the newcomers to establish themselves in New Djulfā, even assigning Persian masons and engineers to assist them. His support of the Djulfā merchants in international trade was of immense consequence, both of tbe Persian economy and their own good fortune. The strength of their position was assured in 1027/1618, when the Armenian merchants secured the monopoly of the silk trade abroad, wresting the privilege from the British. A measure of the significance of this monopoly is the estimated volume of the silk crop in Persia, more than 4 million pounds in the early 11th/17th century rising to 6 million pounds by the 1670s (C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran: 1800-1914*, Chicago 1971, 12). A further advantage was gained in Russia in 1078/1667, when Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich granted the Armenians special privileges, including the right to travel north from Astrakhan and deal directly with European buyers. The main advantage to Shāh ʿAbbās I was the skill of the merchants in foreign trade, coupled with their reputation for honesty and diligence. With New Djulfā at the centre, an international trade network was established, with Armenian merchants settled as far afield as Tonkin, Siam, Java, the Philippines, India, the Near East, Holland, France, England, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden and Spain. Spices, cotton goods and porcelain were brought from the Far East and India; silk was exported from Persia to Europe; in return, a large variety of European goods was imported into Persia, including cloth, glass, clocks and watches, metal-work and oil paintings. As one traveller observed, "All the commodities of the East were made known to the West, and those of the West serve as new ornaments for the East . . . in the midst of Persia is now (*ca.* 1112/1700) seen everything that is curious throughout all the countries where the merchants have extended their correspondence" (J.P. de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717, iii, 232-3).

Shāh ʿAbbās I accorded the Armenians something close to equal status with his Muslim subjects; New Djulfā was organised as a separate entity within the city, under the jurisdiction of its own *kalāntar* [*q.v.*], responsible for the collection of taxes, and a *kadkhudā* for the maintenance of civic order [see Iṣfahān, Vol. IV, p. 103]. Foreign embassies and missions were generally housed in New Djulfā; as the Armenians were skilled linguists and often acted as interpreters and intermediaries, this gave them a double advantage in the conduct of exchanges between the foreigners and the Persian court. Foreign missionaries, such as the Jesuits, Dominicans and Carmelites, were also established in New Djulfā; so were foreign craftsmen, like jewellers, gunsmiths and watchmakers, who often took Armenian wives. Shāh ʿAbbās I took a personal interest in the affairs of the Armenian community, visiting them in New Djulfā and even attending religious festivals, such as Christmas and Easter. In 1029/1619, he took part in a special ceremony on the banks of the Zāyandarūd, afterwards dining and spending the night with his Armenian hosts (P. della Valle, *Voyages*, iii, 100-13).

The increasing wealth of the Armenian community was reflected in the erection of numerous churches and private houses erected in New Djulfā in the first half of the 11th/17th century. The churches, of which thirteen still survive, combine Armenian plans with Persian construction, brick replacing the Armenian traditional use of dressed stone; two of the churches have onion-shaped domes with double shells. The decoration is an eclectic mixture of Armenian, European and Persian elements. The interiors of the two largest churches, Surb Amenaperkitch (All Saviour's Cathedral) and Meydani Betghahem (Bethlehem Church), contain carved gilt stucco, *cuerda seca* tile panels, and wall-paintings in European style; the paintings are probably the work of Western artists and Armenian assistants. New Djulfā was also a centre for copying and illuminating manuscripts; a number of these are among the collection of almost 700 Armenian manuscripts in the Museum adjacent to the Cathedral, which also contains other items of historical

interest. A few private houses still survive of the Ṣafawid period, either built round a central courtyard, or in the middle of a walled garden, with separate quarters for men and women. Several are decorated with wall-paintings in European manner, as well as in more conventional Persian style. When Sir Thomas Herbert visited the house of the *kalāntar* K͟hʷād͟ja Naẓar in 1038/1628, the impropriety of the wall-paintings earned his disapproval.

The Armenians were responsible for introducing a number of Western innovations, the most significant of which was the printing-press using cast metal type; the first Armenian work printed in New D͟julfā was the Book of Psalms (*Saghmos*), which appeared in 1638.

S͟hāh ʿAbbās I's friendly policy towards the Armenian minority continued under his successors, S͟hāh Ṣafī and S͟hāh ʿAbbās II, but by the second half of the 11th/17th century, during the reign of S͟hāh Sulaymān, relations between the Persians and the Armenians became strained. In the 12th/18th century under Nādir S͟hāh, the Armenians suffered excessive taxation and other penalties, and many Armenians emigrated, particularly to India. At present the Armenian community is reduced to less than 500 families. A large Armenian cemetery, with several thousand carved gravestones, including those of a number of Europeans, lies to the south of the town.

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the Armenian cemetery at Isfahan, in *JRAS*, xi (1919).
(J. Carswell)

DJULLANĀR is the blossom of the pomegranate (< Persian *gul-i anār*), in Greek βαλαύστιον, accordingly *bālawustiyūn* (with variants) in the Stephanos-Ḥunayn translation. It is the blossom of the wild pomegranate tree (*rummān barrī*), also called *al-mazz* by the Arab botanists. It is mentioned in passing by Aṣmaʿī (*K. al-Nabāt*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 36) and described in detail by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (*Le dictionnaire botanique*, ed. M. Hamidullah, Cairo 1973, no. 1028). According to this source, the tree grows in the Yemen highlands, puts forth blossoms (*djullanār*) but does not bear fruit and has a hard, inflammable wood. The outer layers of the seedshell—and not the blossoms themselves, as the texts have it—yield a jelly-like, tasty juice which produces a satisfying effect and is used as a medicine. *Djullanār al-arḍ* is occasionally put together or compared with the Hypokistis (*hibūḳistīdhās* = ὑποκιστίδος), a pulpy herb growing in the roots of the Cistus and also used for extracting juice. Both also largely correspond as far as healing effect is concerned, as was already emphasised by Dioscorides in the respective sections: they have an astringent effect and are good for gastric complaints, dysentery and enteric ulcers; they knit together fresh wounds, staunch venous and arterial blood and secure loose teeth (*al-asnān al-mutaḥarrika*); applied on the head in compresses with vinegar, they check congestion of the blood to the brain. In the absence of blossoms, one can also use the shells of the pomegranate.

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(A. Dietrich)

AL-**DJURDJĀNĪ**, Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 471/1078), philologist and literary theorist, was born in Gurgān where he spent his entire life, about which very little is known. He studied grammar with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī, a nephew of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī. Yāḳūt alone (*Irshād*, v, 249) reports that he was also tutored by al-Ḳāḍī al-Djurdjānī, but later on (vii, 3) asserts that al-Fārisī was his only teacher.

To his contemporaries, al-Djurdjānī was famous mainly as a grammarian whose work included such popular manuals as *Miʾat ʿāmil* and *K. al-Djumal*, as well as *al-Mughnī* (a commentary in 30 volumes on Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī's *K. al-Īḍāḥ*) and a short version of it called *al-Muḳtaṣad*. He also wrote on *iʿdjāz* (the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān), etymology and prosody, and he compiled an anthology of the poetry of Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and al-Mutanabbī.

However, to later generations and especially to modern scholars, al-Djurdjānī's reputation rests on his powerful and sophisticated theoretical work on stylistics, syntax, poetics and poetic imagery, which many critics have compared with modern literary theory, demonstrating that he anticipated a number of the most recent trends in the study of poetic structure. His books *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz* and *Asrār al-balāgha* have won him wide acclaim as the founder of the two "sciences" *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and *ʿilm al-bayān*. He himself does not, however, use these phrases as technical terms designating two independent branches of literary analysis.

Al-Djurdjānī's exploration of poetic structure originated as an inquiry into the mysteries of *iʿdjāz*, but soon developed into a comprehensive theory on the nature of language, meaning, the imagination and poetic imagery. Going beyond the dualism of *maʿnā* (meaning) and *lafẓ* (words), he argues that eloquence and expressiveness are functions neither of meaning nor of words but of the construction (*naẓm*) of linguistic elements into harmonised syntactic patterns determined by a set of rules which form the grammar of the language. In other words, construction is nothing but *murāʿāt maʿānī al-naḥw* (lit. "observing the meanings of grammar").

At the roots of al-Djurdjānī's theory of construction lies a psychological view of the nature of literary creation. He believes that the linguistic structure of a literary composition is underlined by a structure of experience and that the order of words in the former follows the order of meanings in the psyche (*nafs*) which is presupposed by the intellect (*ʿaḳl*). Identifying some of the basic syntactic structures in Arabic, he explores the correspondence in them between the structure of language and the structure of thought. He then outlines a symbolic theory of language according to which language is a system of relations (a concept fundamental to modern linguistics) governed by two principles: the arbitrary nature of linguistic signs and the conventional nature of language itself. The first principle means that there is no inherent relation between a word and its referent and, therefore, a word in isolation does not possess any qualities which render it better or worse than any other word. In fact, a word does not mean much until it has entered into a set of syntactic relations with other words. Consequently, the same meaning cannot be expressed in two different ways. Any syntactic change in a composition generates changes on the semantic level. Thus the unit of linguistic analysis ceases to be the single word and becomes the fully meaningful formulation in which every element is an organic part of the total structure. No element is extraneous or superfluous. This applies to all aspects of structure, including imagery.

Al-Djurdjānī identifies two distinct ways of expression, one direct, the other indirect. The content of the first he calls "meaning", that of the second the "meaning of meaning". Meaning is conveyed by literal statement, the meaning of meaning by meta-

phorical language, *kināya* and one type of *tamthīl*. An image is thus viewed not as an alternative to, or ornamentation of, literal statement (as widely believed in both Arabic and western criticism until this century), but as a distinct act of imaginative creation which expresses a meaning otherwise impossible to express.

The *Asrār* is devoted to the study of imagery, its nature, function, relationship to thought and various forms. Al-Djurdjānī identifies two types of *madjāz*, one pertaining to language (*lughawī*), the other to the intellect (*ʿaklī*) and differentiates the types of *madjāz* based on transference from those involving no transference, distinguishing sharply between two fundamental relationships, contiguity and similarity. The latter he asserts to be the *raison d'être* of *istiʿāra* [*q.v.*]. Refining the concept of *istiʿāra* further, he denies the dominant view that *istiʿāra* involves transference. One type of *istiʿāra* he shows clearly to be based on proportional analogy and to involve no transference of a single word at all, the other type (involving the usage of a single word) he defines in contextual terms. *Istiʿāra*, he believes, consists in using a word to refer to a thing other than its original referent, on the basis of some similarity revealed between the referents, while however still possessing its original meaning and thus becoming a double-unit underlined by tension. In this fashion he anticipates I.A. Richard's work which has revolutionised the study of metaphor.

All types of imagery, except *kināya*, originate in similarity, and similarity, al-Djurdjānī argues, is a sharing (*ishtirāk*) of an attribute, or set of attributes, between two entities, which may occur either in the attribute itself (*fī 'l-ṣifa nafsihā wa-ḥaḳīkat djinsihā*, or in something presupposed by or resultant from the attribute (*fī ḥukm*[in] *lahā wa-muḳtaḍā*). Similarity also varies in its remoteness and intensity from one image to another. Al-Djurdjānī uses these basic distinctions to classify the various types of imagery and explore their imaginative and stylistic role. He thus establishes two inseparable criteria to define an image: the imaginative basis underlying it and the linguistic apparatus in which it is formulated. *Tashbīh* is thus differentiated from *tamthīl* and *istiʿāra*, and the ambiguous structure involving the copula "Zaid is a lion" is described as an intensified simile (*tashbīh balīgh*) rather than an *istiʿāra* (a distinction not yet made sufficiently clearly in modern European criticism). Consequently, al-Djurdjānī denies the interchangeability of *tashbīh*, *tamthīl* and *istiʿāra*.

The central piece of al-Djurdjānī's work on *istiʿāra* is his classification of its types according to the nature of the dominant trait or point of similarity in each type. This fundamentally anti-Aristotelian classification represents one of the latest developments in the analysis of metaphor in European studies (cf. K. Abu Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī's classification of istiʿāra with special reference to Aristotle's classification of metaphor*, in *Journal of Arabic Literature*, ii (1971)).

Throughout his analysis, al-Djurdjānī uses psychological criteria of a strong Gestaltian nature. He also hints at an organic approach to poetry according to which a poem is to be studied as an organic whole whose parts interact with, and modify, each other, their interaction being determined by the dominant emotion underlying the poem. His practical criticism is a fine example of the power of this approach to illuminate aspects of the poem which would remain otherwise hidden.

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(K. Abu Deeb)

DOG [see kalb].
DOGMA [see ʿaḳīda].
DOMAIN [see ḍayʿa].
DOME OF THE ROCK [see ḳubbat al-ṣakhra].
DONATION [see hiba].
DOVE [see ḥamām].
DRAFSH-I KĀWIYĀN [see kāwa].
DRAGOMAN [see turdjumān].
DRAGON [see tinnīn].
DROMEDARY [see ibil].
DRUGGIST [see ʿaṭṭār].

al-**DUWAYḤĪ**, Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Dunḳulāwī al-Shāʿiḳī, Ṣūfī shaykh of Nubian extraction and belonging to the Shādhiliyya order, and a disciple and *khalīfa* [*q.v.*] of Aḥmad b. Idrīs [*q.v.*]. He was born in 1228/1813 in Duwayḥ near Dunḳulā (Dongola) on the Nubian Nile and belonged to the tribe of the Shāʾiḳiyya. He joined the religious community of Aḥmad b. Idrīs in 1246/1830 in the town of Ṣabyā in ʿAsīr [*q.v.*], where the latter had sought refuge from prosecution for heresy by the Meccan *ʿulamāʾ*, and succeeded him as leader of the Aḥmadiyya (al-Idrisiyya) *ṭarīḳa* upon his death in 1254/1837. Rivalries about the *ṭarīḳa* leadership, which involved the two most notable of Aḥmad b. Idrīs's disciples, Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*], caused him to leave Ṣabyā. He went first to Egypt and later to the Sudan where he propagated the order. Finally, he settled in Mecca where he faced charges of heresy on two occasions in 1273/1856-7 brought against him at the instigation of competing factions from among Aḥmad b. Idrīs's disciples. These charges were dropped due to intervention by the Ottoman governor of the Ḥidjāz, and on the second occasion due to intervention by the *shaykh al-ʿulamāʾ* of Mecca. Le Chatelier (see Bibliography) reports that he was one of the most popular *shaykhs* of Mecca, in particular with Indian pilgrims who flocked to his *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] and from whom he received substantial donations. After his death in 1291/1874, when the *ṭarīḳa*, which had by then

become known as al-Rashīdiyya and had obtained a membership in Syria, Egypt, Sudan and Yemen, has passed under the leadership of his successor Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 1909), his nephew, a decline set in. A distinct branch, al-Ṣāliḥiyya [*q.v.*] developed in Somalia under the latter's disciple Muḥammad Gūlēd al-Rashīdī (d. 1918; cf. E. Cerulli, *Somalia. Scritti vari editi ed inediti*, Rome 1957, i, 187 f.) and allegiance to the Meccan *zāwiya* as the *ṭarīḳa*'s principal centre ceased to be paid by Ibrāhim's *khulafāʾ* in Egypt. In the latter country, an independent branch known as al-Dandarāwiyya emerged under the leadership of the son of one of Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd's *khulafāʾ*, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Dandarāwī (d. 1950), which obtained membership in Egypt and in Somalia in particular (cf. al-Mīrghanī al-Idrīsī, *Daʿwat al-ḥaḳḳ fi 'l-ṭarīḳa al-Dandarāwiyya al-Idrīsiyya*, Cairo 1952, *passim*).

The claims by members of al-Rashīdiyya that their *ṭarīḳa* embodied the purest form of Aḥmad b. Idrīs's teachings were disavowed by Āmīn al-Rīḥānī, *Mulūk al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1951[3], i, 285 ff., who based his conclusions upon personal observations of religious practice of a Rashīdiyya group in Aden.

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For publications of the order, see Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dandarāwī, *Sanad al-ṭarīḳa al-Aḥmadiyya al-Idrīsiyya al-Rāshīdiyya al-Muḥammadiyya*, Alexandria, n.d.; Mūsā Āghā Rāsim (ed.), *Awrād . . . Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd*, Alexandria 1309/1891-2; Publications of al-Rashīdiyya al-Dandarāwiyya are Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Naṣr al-Ḥarīrī (ed.), *Awrād al-Aḥmadiyya*, Cairo n.d.; Farādj Aḥmad al-Salīmī, *al-Durar al-naḳiyya fī awrād al-ṭarīḳa al-Dandarāwiyya al-Idrīsiyya*, Alexandria n.d.; ʿAbd Allāh al-Yamanī, *al-Awrād al-Aḥmadiyya al-Rashīdiyya al-Dandarāwiyya, al-ṣalāt al-ʿaẓīmiyya*, Beirut 1387/1967-8.

(F. DE JONG)

DYNASTY [see DAWLA].

E

EAGLE [see ʿUḲĀB].

EBONY [see ABANŪS].

EBLIS [see IBLĪS].

EBRO [see IBRUH].

ECLIPSE [see KUSŪF].

ECONOMIC LIFE [see FILĀḤA, MĀL, ṢINĀʿA, TIDJĀRA, etc.].

EDICT [see FARMĀN].

EKINČI B. ḲOČḲAR, Turkish slave commander of the Saldjūḳs and governor for them in Khwārazm with the traditional title of Khwārazm-Shāh [*q.v.*] in 490/1097. He was the successor in this office of Anūshtigin Gharčaʾī, the founder of the subsequent line of Khwārazm-Shāhs who made their province the centre of a great military empire in the period preceeding the Mongol invasions. According to Ibn al-Athīr, x, 181-2, Ekenči was one of Sultan Berk-Yaruḳ's slaves (but according to Djuwaynī, ii, 3, tr. Boyle, i, 278, one of Sandjar's slaves), and was appointed to Khwārazm by Berk-Yaruḳ's representative in the east, the Dād-Beg Ḥabashī, probably when Berk-Yaruḳ came himself to Khurāsān early in 490/1097. Ekinči did not enjoy power there for long, however, being killed later that year by a conspiracy of *ghulāms*, his successor as Khwārazm-Shāh then being Anūshtigin's son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. Ekinči's son Ṭoghrïl-tigin is mentioned also by Ibn al-Athīr as a subsequent rebel against Ḳuṭb al-Dīn.

Ekinči came from the Ḳun tribe [*q.v.*] of Turks, and Minorsky surmised that he was the transmitter of information about that group in Marwazī's *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān* (*Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazi on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, tr. 29-30, comm. 98, 101-2), noting that he must have been a person experienced in and knowledgeable about Central Asian affairs in order to have been appointed governor in Khwārazm.

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ELECTUARY [see ADWIYA].

ELIČPUR, ILIČPUR, modern AČALPUR, a town of the mediaeval Islamic province of Berār [*q.v.*] in southern Central India, lying near the headwaters of the Purnā constituent of the Tāptī River in lat. 21° 16' N. and long. 77° 33' E. Up to 1853, Eličpur was generally regarded as the capital of Berār, after when Amraotī became the administrative centre.

The pre-Islamic history of Eličpur is semi-legendary, its foundation being attributed to a Jain Rādjā called Il in the 10th century. By Baranī's time (later 7th/13th century), it could be described as one of the famous towns of the northern Deccan. The Dihlī Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī captured it in 695/1296 during his first expedition against the Rādjā of Deogīrī Ramačandra [see DAWLATĀBĀD], who was made tributary to the Sultans; and when

Deogīrī finally fell in 719/1318, Eličpur and Berār came under direct Muslim rule. Under the Bahmanīs [*q.v.*], it was the capital of Berār province, and featured prominently in the campaignings of the Khaldjī ruler of Mālwa [*q.v.*], Maḥmūd Shāh (839-65/1436-62) against the Bahmanīs, being sacked in 870/1466, so that the Bahmanī Sultan Muḥammad III Lashkarī was compelled to cede to Mālwa Berār as far as Eličpur [see also KHĒRLA]. From 890/1485 to 980/1572 Eličpur was under the Bahmanīs' epigoni, the ʿImād-Shāhīs [*q.v.*]. Under the Mughals, it was at first placed in the shade by the new centre of Bālāpur, but soon regained its importance as the capital of the *ṣūba* of Berār, with a fort being built there of brick and stone; according to the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl, the revenue of Eličpur (which came within the *sarkār* of Gāwil, see below) amounted to 14 million *dāms* (ii, tr. H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1949, 237, 240).

But after the rise of the first independent ruler in Ḥaydarābād, the Āṣaf Djān Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 1161/1748 [see ḤAYDARĀBĀD. b. Ḥaydarābād State], Eličpur sank to only local significance under governors of the Niẓāms. The governor Salābat Khān erected various public buildings in the town in the early years of the 19th century, and he and his son Nāmdār Khān held the title of Nawwāb of Berār till the latter's death in 1843 and the subsequent extinction of the line.

In later British India, Berār was taken over in 1853 from the Niẓām as the "Hyderabad Assigned Districts", nominally on perpetual lease, and then it became *de facto* part of the Central Indian Province. Eličpur, by now the largest town in Berār (population in 1901, 26,082, including 18,500 Hindus and 7,250 Muslims), gave its name at first to one of the Districts of Berār, but in 1905 it was incorporated in the Amraotī (Amravati) District. In the present Indian Union, Eličpur is now called Ačalpur and falls within the Amravati District of the Nagpur Division of Maharashtra State. The 1971 census gave population figures of 43,326 for Ačalpur town and 24,125 for Ačalpu camp.

The monuments of Eličpur include a famous shrine or *dargāh* of the Muslim warrior ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ghāzī, described as a kinsman of Maḥmūd of Ghazna (like the much more celebrated Sālār Masʿūd, buried at Bahrāʾič in Uttar Pradesh [see GHĀZĪ MIYĀN]), but more probably a commander of Fīrūz Shāh Khaldjī's. To the south of Eličpur is the hill fortress of Gāwilgaṛh [*q.v.*], and there is a group of Jain temples at Muktagīrī nearby.

Bibliography: *Cambridge history of India*, iii, index; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*², xii, 10-21; A.C. Lyall, ed., *Gazeteer for the Haidarabad Assigned Districts, commonly called Berar*, Bombay 1870, 144-8; s.v.; Fitzgerald and A.E. Nelson, eds., *Central Provinces District Gazeteers, Amraoti District*, Bombay 1911, 30-100 *passim*, and 394-401.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ELLORA [see ELURĀ].

EMANCIPATION [see TAḤRĪR].

EMERALD [see DJAWHAR, ZUMURRUD].

ENCYCLOPAEDIA [see MAWSŪʿA].

ENSIGN [see ʿALAM].

EPITHET [see NAʿT, ṢIFA].

ERG [see ṢAḤRĀʾ].

ERGUN, SAʿD AL-DĪN NÜZHET, modern Turkish SADETTİN NÜZHET ERGUN, Turkish scholar and literary historian (1901-46). Born in Bursa, he was educated at the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul University and taught Turkish literature in various secondary schools in Anatolia and later in Istanbul, where he also worked as a librarian. He started his career as a scholar while he was a teacher in the Konya lycée, with a book on the folk-lore of Konya. A hard-working and prolific scholar, his works are based on first-hand research into what is mostly original manuscript material, this being presented with only limited criticism. He is the author of a great number of studies and monographs on many classical and folk poets and on some modern writers. His major works are *Konya khalḳiyyat we harthiyyātî*, (with Meḥmed Ferīd), Istanbul 1926; *Khalḳ shāʿirleri*, 3 vols, Istanbul 1926-7; *Karacaoğlan, hayatı ve şiirleri*, Istanbul 1932 (a pioneer work on the great folk poet); *Baki divanı*, Istanbul 1935; *Türk şairleri*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1936-45 (his most important work, published in fascicules comprising alphabetical biographies of poets, together with examples, which stopped at the letter F, in the 96th fascicule); *Türk musikisi antolojisi* 2 vols, Istanbul 1943; *Cenap Şehabettin*, Istanbul 1934 (a pioneer work on C. Ş., whose poetical works are put together for the first time in this monograph); and *Bektaşi şairleri ve nefesleri*, Istanbul 1944.

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(FAHIR İZ)

ERMINE [see FARW].

ERSARÎ, one of the major tribes of the Turkmen [*q.v.*] in Central Asia.

The name is not mentioned in the lists of the Oghuz tribes by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī and Rashīd al-Dīn. It appears for the first time in historical works of Abu 'l-Ghāzī [*q.v.*] written in the 17th century. According to the Turkmen tradition as rendered by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (*Shadjara-yi Tarākima*, ed. A.N. Kononov, text, 67-9, Russian tr., 72-3), Ersarî Bay (the eponym of the tribe?) was the great-grandson of Oghurdjik Alp, a descendant of Salur Ḳazan (cf. on this personage, *Kitāb-i Dedem Korkud, passim*), who left ʿIrāḳ after a quarrel with Bayandur Bek and came to Mangishlaḳ [*q.v.*] with a part of the Salur tribe. Thus this tradition indicates the genealogical kinship of Ersarî with the well-known Oghuz tribe Salur (Salghîr of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī). In another place of the same work (text, 73-4, tr., 75), Abu 'l-Ghāzī tells that Ersarî Bay, who lived in the Balkhān [*q.v.*] mountains, was a contemporary of Shaykh Sharaf Khʷādja of Urgenč, who wrote for him, on his request, the *Muʿīn al-murīd*, a religious and didactic treatise in verse, in Turkī (about the book, written in 713/1313-4, and the author, see: A.N. Samoylovič, in *Mir-Ali-Shir*, Leningrad 1928, 138; A.Z. Velid, [Togan], in *Türkiyat mecmuası*, ii [1928], 315-30; J. Eckmann, in *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, iii 279 f.). Ersarî Bay appears also in another place of *Shadjara-yi Tarākima* (text, 78, tr., 77-8) as an ancestor (*ulugh ata* "great-grandfather") of the tribe Ersarî, which owned a number of springs in the Great and Little Balkhān mountains. The Turkmen tradition, as related by Abu 'l-Ghāzī, places this story in the middle or the second half of the 14th century (after the death of the khān of the Golden Horde Berdi Bek, 1359); the same tradition shows that the tribe Ersarî was already rather numerous by that time, so that its origin must be related to some earlier period rather than the beginning of the same century, when Ersarî Bay allegedly lived.

Ersarī Bay was probably an historical figure; his tomb, known as Ersarī Baba, is situated near the south-eastern corner of the Ḳara-Boghaz gulf, on the heights bearing the same name Ersarī Baba, and was described by Russian traveller N. Murav'yev in the early 19th century, as well as by modern archeologists. The latest archeological researches in western Turkmenia, apparently, confirm also the Turkmen genealogical tradition connecting the Ersarī with the Salur (see S.P. Polyakov, *Etničeskaya istoriya Severo-Zapadnoy Turkmenii v sredniye veka*, Moscow 1973, 122-3, 102-4).

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Ersarī were spread over a vast territory in western Turkmenia, from Mangīshlaḳ to the Little Balkhān mountains. Not only the tribe itself, but also its main clans are mentioned in the *Shadjara-yi Turk* by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, text, 237, 267, 315, tr., 254, 286, 337) in connection with the history of the Khānate of Khīwa in the 16th century. At the beginning of this century, the Ersarī were at the head of the tribal group known as the "outer Salur" (*Tashḳī Salur, ibid.*, text, 209, tr., 223), which included also the tribes Teke [*q.v.*], Sarīḳ [*q.v.*] and Yomut [*q.v.*], nomadising between Mangīshlaḳ and northern Khurāsān, while the "inner Salur" (*Ički Salur*), or the Salur proper, remained in the north-west of Mangīshlaḳ. However, already by the end of the same century, the Ersarī began to move eastwards, partly as a result of pressure from the north by the Mangīt [*q.v.*], but mainly because of growing desiccation of western Turkmenia, salinisation of wells and shortage of pasture. At the beginning of the 17th century, at least part of Ersarī returned to Mangīshlaḳ, but in the second quarter of the same century they were finally driven out of this region, this time by the Kalmuks [*q.v.*]. For a short time, during the reign of Isfandiyār Khān (1032-52/1623-42), Ersarī apparently played some role, together with the Salur, in the Khānate of Khīwa, but they had to leave it as a result of the military campaigns of Abu 'l-Ghāzī and his son Anūsha against the Turkmens described in *Shadjarayi Turk*. Apparently, at that time the Ersarī migrated to the middle course of the Āmū Daryā [*q.v.*], the Labāb (cf. A. Vámbéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, London 1864, 231), where they have remained till the present time. There are also, probably, some indications of another route of their migration, through Marw (either directly from Mangīshlaḳ and Balkhān or from Khwārazm) and Marūčak to the Afghān Turkestan. In 1740 they fled before the army of Nādir Shāh which marched on Bukhārā along the Āmū Daryā, and came again to Mangīshlaḳ (Muḥammad Kāẓim, *Nāma-i ʿālam-ārā-yi Nādirī*, facsimile ed., Moscow 1965, ii, f. 257a), but in the next year they returned to their homes.

On the Āmū Daryā, the Ersarī became mostly sedentarised and settled in a narrow strip of land (from 4 to 20 miles wide) along the river, mainly on its left bank from Denau in the north to Kalīf in the south, where they were occupied with farming based on irrigation. This territory formed a part of two *wilāyat*s of the Khānate of Bukhārā, those of Čārdjūy [see ĀMUL] and Karkī; now it forms the Čardjou region (*oblast'*) of the Turkmen Soviet Republic. Shortage of land suitable for cultivation caused permanent emigration during the 19th century, especially to Afghān Turkestan, where Ersarī settled in the regions of Andkhūy [*q.v.*], Aḳča and Mazār-i Sharīf [*q.v.*]. It seems that cattle-breeding was for these groups of Ersarī of greater importance than for their kinsmen on the Āmū Daryā.

The exact number of Ersarī has never been known. Figures given by 19th century travellers vary greatly (from 25 to 110 thousand families); at present, neither in the Soviet Union nor in Afghānistān are there any statistical data on individual Turkmen tribes.

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(Yu. Bregel)

ESʿAD PASHA, Saḳīzlī Aḥmed, twice Ottoman Grand Vizier and holder of various high offices, military and civil, born in Scios (Tkish. Saḳīz) in 1244/1828-9, son of Meḥmed Agha, locally known as *Ḳule aghasī*. A graduate of the War College at Istanbul (Ḥarbiyye [*q.v.*]), Esʿad was appointed aide-de-camp to Fu'ād Pasha [*q.v.*], who, when Grand Vizier, appointed him as director of the Ottoman military school in Paris as well as military attaché. Esʿad in 1868 became lieutenant-general (*ferīḳ*) commanding Bosnia-Herzegovina and governor-general (*wālī*) of Scutari (Ishḳodra). His career, military and civil, was a succession of appointment, dismissal and reappointment, characteristic of this period: field-marshal or commander (*mü<u>sh</u>īr*) of the First Army (Istanbul), *wālī* of Yemen, minister of war and commander-in-chief (*serʿasker*), commander-in-chief of the Fourth Army and *wālī* of Erzurum, *wālī* of Ankara (for one day only), *wālī* of Sivas, Minister of Marine, again *serʿasker*, Grand Vizier from 15 February till 15 April 1873, *wālī* of Konya, field-marshal commanding the Fifth Army in Syria and *wālī* of Damascus, again Minister of Marine, and from 26 April till 29 August 1875 again Grand Vizier, then Minister of Works, and *wālī* of Aydīn. He visited his birthplace Scios again, and he died at Izmir in the same year of 1875. Esʿad Pasha was chosen for the suite of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz on his European tour in 1867. But his lack of political experience caused him to stay only a short while at the top; thus he could not deal effectively with the revolt in Herzegovina (July 1875). In politics, Esʿad seems not to have belonged to a leading group. He was a young military man enjoying the Sultan's favours up to a point, but was a mere figurehead in politics.

Bibliography: Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, ii, 910; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 342 f.; İ.H. Danişmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1971,

iv, 243 f., 247 f., 249 f., 251, v, 86 f., İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadriazamlar*, Istanbul 1940-53; For the general background, see F. Bamberg, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Angelegenheit....*, Berlin 1888, 424-44, 448; E.Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, vii, 72, 74 ff., 133 f., 136; R.H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman empire 1856-76*, Princeton 1963 (repr. New York 1973), 168, 292 ff., 297, 306 f.; *Tanzimat I*, Istanbul 1940, 974, 976, portrait on plate 53.

(A.H. de Groot)

ESENDAL, Memdūḥ Shewket, modern Turkish Memduh Şevket Esendal, Turkish short story writer and politician (1883-1952). He was born in Čorlu in Eastern Thrace, the son of Kahyabeyoghlu Shewket, a modest farmer of an immigrant (*göčmen*) Turkish family from the Balkans. He did not have any regular schooling but was self-taught; then when his father died in 1907, he looked after the family until 1912 when the Balkan War broke out and the family moved to Istanbul. He had joined the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in 1907; at the outbreak of the First World War he was appointed inspector of the CUP, so that he was able to get to know at first-hand conditions of life in Anatolia and in Thrace. In 1919 he fled to Italy to avoid arrest by the occupying forces, but soon after he was invited to Ankara by Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, who sent him as the representative of the Nationalist government to Ādharbāydjān. He continued with mainly a diplomatic career (with short intervals as teacher or member of Parliament) and served as ambassador in Tehran (1925-30), Kabul (1932) and Moscow (1932-8), and as Secretary-General of the Republican People's Party for four years (1941-5). He was elected deputy for Bilecik in 1946 and served until 1950. He died in Ankara on 16 May 1952.

Because of his absorbing political and diplomatic engagements, he wrote very irregularly and at lengthy intervals and generally signed his writings with the initials M. Sh. and later (after 1934) M. Ş. E.; occasionally he used pen-names such as Mustafa Yalınkat and M. Oğulcuk. Although a contemporary of the pioneer short story writer 'Ömer Seyf al-Dīn [*q.v.*], he did not begin to publish his short stories (written mostly much earlier) until 1925 in the periodical *Meslek*. Esendal's short stories differ substantially, in subject matter, plot and style from the "classical", Maupassant-type short stories preferred by most of his contemporaries. There is hardly any plot in them; they are character studies or sketches of the moods of ordinary people with emphasis on women, written in spoken Turkish, in a most natural, and spontaneous manner, without any elaboration or embellishment, and imbued with human warmth and optimism. Only a small number of his short stories have been published in book form. Some remain in the collection of periodicals and newspapers, some have never been published and are in the hands of his heirs. The published volumes are *Hikâyeler I* and *II* (1945). Some stories, with the addition of new ones, were post-humously published under the titles *Temiz sevgiler* (1965) and *Ev ona yakıştı* (1972). Esendal is the author of three novels which have the same characteristics of his short stories: *Mīrāth*, serialised in *Meslek* (1925) but not published in book form; *Waṣṣāf Bey*, never published; and *Ayaşli ve Kiracıları* (1934), an interesting and realistic series of sketches of characters in the early days of Ankara as the new capital.

Bibliography: Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten sonra hikâye ve roman*, ii, Istanbul 1965, 1063-84; S.K. Karaalioğlu, *Resimli Türk edebiyatçıları sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1974, 143-4; *Türk ansiklopedisi*, xv, Ankara 1967, s.v.

(Fahir İz)

ESHREF, Meḥmed, modern Turkish Mehmet Eşref, Turkish satirical poet (1846-1912). He was born in Gelenbe, near Manisa, in Western Anatolia the son of Ḥāfiẓ Muṣṭafā, of the Usuoghullarï family. He attended for a while a *madrasa* in Manisa, where he learnt Arabic and Persian, and after serving as a government official in neighbouring provinces, went to Istanbul (1878), where he passed the required examination to become a *Ḳāyïm-maḳām* and served as such in various parts of Anatolia, including in distant *ḳaḍās* in the East and Eastern Black Sea region. By this time, his virulent satires imbued with anger against the injustice, tyranny and corruption of the Ḥamīdian régime, which were known all over the country, reached the ears of the Palace. When he was serving at Gördes, near Manisa, following a *zhurnal* (report), his house in Izmir was searched and he was arrested (1902), brought to Istanbul and detained for seven months and then sentenced to one year's imprisonment. On the completion of his term, he was allowed to go to Izmir (1903) where he became a very popular character, although under strict supervision. In 1904 he fled to Egypt where he continued to write his satirical poems against 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II and his régime.

Eshref is the author of the following works, all published in Cairo: *Dedjdjāl* ("Antichrist"), 2 vols. 1904-7; *Istimdād* ("S.O.S."), 1906; *Ḥasb-i ḥāl* ("Friendly talk"), 1908; *Shāh we pādishāh*, 1908; and *Īrānda yangïn var* ("Iran is burning"), 1908. Returning to Istanbul after the restoration of the Constitution in July 1908, Eshref began to publish a weekly humorous paper *Eshref*, where he re-published poems of his Egyptian period as well as new ones. He died in Ḳara-aghač near Manisa on 22 May 1912.

Eshref had a passionate temperament and a boundless satirical power, but he lacked a sense of balance in his literary expression and skill in verse technique. His satires, like those of the 17th century poet Nef'ī [*q.v.*], are often unrefined and even vulgar. However, he wrote many unforgettable satirical lines which are still frequently quoted with satisfaction, even though the language and style are antiquated.

Bibliography: Mustafa Şâtim (Eshref's son), *Meşhur şair Eşref'in hayatı*, Izmir 1943; Cevdet Kudret, *Eşref, hicviyeler*[3], Istanbul 1970; *Türk ansiklopedisi*, xv, Ankara 1967, 473; Tahir Alangu, *100 Ünlü Türk eseri*, s.v.

(Fahir İz)

ESPARTO [see ḤALFĀ'].

ESHREFOGHLU 'Abd Allāh, also known as Eshref-i Rūmī, Turkish poet and mystic, the founder of the Eshrefiyye branch of the Ḳādiriyya Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa* (d. 873/1469). His father Eshref left Egypt as a young man and settled in Iznik (Nicea). Eshrefoghlu himself was educated in Bursa where he was introduced to the famous 9th/15th century saint Emīr Sulṭān [*q.v.*], on whose recommendation he went to Ankara where he joined the famous *shaykh* and mystical poet Ḥādjdjī Bayram, who liked him and gave him his daughter in marriage. On Ḥadjdjī Bayram's instructions, Eshrefoghlu went first to Izmit, and then to Ḥamā, where he worked with Ḳādirī *shaykh*s, and then returned to Iznik, where he set up a convent. His reputation soon spread as far as Istanbul, and Maḥmūd Pasha

(Welī) (d. 878/1474), the famous *wazīr* of Meḥemmed II, became one of his disciples. Es͟hrefog͟hlu died in Iznik, where he is buried. The Es͟hrefiyye *ṭarīḳa* which he founded is a blend of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] and the Bayramiyya, with special emphasis on isolation and asceticism.

Es͟hrefog͟hlu's poems are written in a warm and flowing style where both *ʿarūḍ* and *hed͟je* metres are used, following the poetic and mystic traditions of Yūnus Emre [*q.v.*]. His *dīwān* was printed in Istanbul in 1280/1864 and in Roman script in 1944 (edited with an introduction by Asaf Halet Çelebi). A further popular edition was published in 1972.

Es͟hrefog͟hlu is also the author of many popular mystic works on an edifying nature, the most famous of which is *Muzakkī 'l-nüfūs* ("The Purifier of souls"), which remained a practical manual of dervish life for centuries and is a masterpiece of 9th/15th century Turkish prose; it was printed in Istanbul in 1281/1865 (for a good MS., see Konya, Archeol. Libr. no. 5452; for specimens based on MSS, see Fahir İz, *Eski Türk edebiyatında nesir*, Istanbul 1964, 70-92).

Bibliography: Ismet Parmaksızoğlu, in *Türk ansiklopedisi*, xv, 1967, 477-8; A. Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de mezhepler ve tarikatlar*, 1969, *passim* (with further bibliography). (FAHİR İZ)

ESRĀR DEDE, Turkish Mewlewī poet of the 18th century, a close friend and protégé of the great poet G͟hālib Dede [*q.v.*]. Born in Istanbul, Esrār was trained as a Mewlewī dervish in the Galata convent, under the supervision of G͟hālib Dede, its *s͟hayk͟h*. He died in 1211/1796-7 before his master (who wrote a famous elegy for him) and was buried in the convent cemetery.

Esrār wrote mystical poems in the line of G͟hālib Dede. His little *Dīwān* has not been edited. Esrār Dede is also the author of an incomplete *Ted͟hkire-yi s͟huʿarā'-i mewlewiyye* which contains the biographies of more than 200 Mewlewī poets. The work, which has also not been edited, is based on Ṣāḥib Dede's *Sefīne-i mewlewiyye* and was published in a shortened form by ʿAlī Enwer under the title of *Semāʿk͟hāne-i edeb* (Istanbul 1309 Rūmī/1893).

Bibliography: Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 207-11; A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan sonra mevlevilik*, Istanbul 1953, *passim*; S.N. Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, s.v.

(FAHİR İZ)

ETHICS, ETHOLOGY [see AK͟HLĀḲ].

ETYMOLOGY [see IS͟HTIḲĀḲ].

EUBOEA [see EĞRIBOZ].

EULOGY [see MADĪḤ].

EXCHANGE VALUE [see ʿIWĀḌ].

EXPIATORY OFFERING [see KAFFĀRA].

EYYŪBOG͟HLU, BEDRĪ RAḤMĪ, modern Turkish BEDRİ RAHMİ EYUBOĞLU, Turkish poet, writer and painter (1913-75), younger brother of the following. He was born in Görele, near Trabzon on the Black Sea. Educated at Trabzon lycée and the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts, he spent two years in Paris for further study in painting. On his return (1933) he was appointed to the staff of the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts, where he taught until his death from cancer on 21 September 1975.

His writings and sketches began to appear in *Yeni adam* in 1933. As a painter he became interested in folk arts and crafts and studied popular motifs in rugs, scarves, socks and colour patterns, and was greatly inspired by them. In his predominantly descriptive poetry, which brougbt a new tone to contemporary Turkish verse, he used the same colourful technique, strongly influenced by folk poetry and music. His first volume of verse was published in 1941: *Yaradana mektuplar* ("Letters to the Creator"), followed by *Karadut* ("Black mulberry") in 1948. Then several volumes followed which were all put together in *Dol karabakır dol* (1974). His essays, written in an informal small-talk style, were posthumously published in book form, *Delifişek* (1975) and *Tezek* (1976).

Bibliography: Asım Bezirci, *Dünden bügüne türk şiiri*, Istanbul 1968; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*[9], Istanbul 1978, s.v.

(FAHİR İZ)

EYYŪBOG͟HLU, ṢABĀḤ AL-DĪN RAḤMĪ, modern Turkish, until 1934 SABAHATTİN RAHMİ, afterwards SABAHATTIN EYUBOĞLU, Turkish essayist, writer and translator (1908-73). Born in Akçaabat (Polathane) near Trabzon, the son of Raḥmī Eyyūbog͟hlu, a civil servant, he was educated in Trabzon. He then went to France on a government scholarship and studied French literature and aesthetics in Dijon, Lyon and Paris universities (1928-32). Becoming lecturer (*doçent*) in French literature in the University of Istanbul (1933-9), he was invited, together with some of his colleagues, by Ḥasan ʿĀlī Yüd͟jel (Yücel), the reforming Minister of Education (1938-46), to Ankara where he served respectively as member of the Advisory Board (*Talim ve terbiye kurulu*) deputy chairman of the Office of Translation [of world classics], and teacher at the Hasanoğlan Higher Village Institute [see KÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ]. Back in Istanbul after one year's study leave in France, he taught in Istanbul Technical University (1951-8). Because of his liberal ideas, he was arrested and detained for several months in 1971, during the emergency régime of 1971-2. He died in Istanbul of a heart attack on 13 January 1973.

Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn Eyyūbog͟hlu developed a theory of nationalism which is mainly based on Kemalism, with particular emphasis on secularism and "populism" (*halkçılık*) and with the addition of the notion of an "Anatolian" people accepting as "ours" all the peoples, arts and cultures which have flourished on Anatolian soil (without distinction of race, language and faith). Many of his essays elaborate on this theme, rejecting rival ideologies like Turkism, Turanism, Islamism and Westernism. His numerous essays were published in various periodicals, particularly *Varlık*, *İnsan*, *Yaprak* and regularly in *Yeni ufuklar*, and they cover a great range of subjects from literature, language and cultural change to art, folklore and politics. He always laid special emphasis on the need for the fusion and identification of intellectuals with ordinary people in order to develop an original culture.

Eyyūbog͟hlu writes in a simple straightforward style and is considered, together with Atač, as a master of contemporary Turkish prose. However, he lacks Atač's originality and conciseness and is often shallow and repetitive. His major contribution is his translations from the French, some of which are masterpieces of the genre (see below). Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn Eyyūbog͟hlu is the author of the following major works: *Mavi ile kara* ("Blue and Black"), Istanbul 1961, enlarged edition 1967, a selection of his essays; *Sanat üzerine denemeler* ("Essays on art"), Istanbul 1974, published posthumously, contains most of the essays omitted from the previous work; *Yunus Emre*, Istanbul 1971, an impressionistic study of the 13th century Turkish poet; and *Turan yolunda* ("On the way to Turan"), Istanbul 1967, which satirises Pan-Turanism and is based on a misreading

of the allegory in André Malraux's autobiographical work *Les noyers de l'Altenberg*. Among more than fifty titles of his translations, the following are outstanding: Montaigne's *Essais*, Rabelais' *Gargantua*, verse translations of La Fontaine's *Fables* and ʿUmar Khayyām's *Rubāʿiyyāt* (mainly based on a Turkish paraphrase). Eyyūboghlu collaborated in the preparation of several art books and in the making of films on early Anatolian culture.

Bibliography: Mehmed Seyda, *Edebiyat dostları*, Istanbul 1970 (contains autobiographical notes); *Yeni ufuklar*, special number, March 1973; *Milliyet san'at dergisi*, no. 17 (26 January 1973) (complete list of his works and translations). (FAHIR IZ)

F

FABLE [see MATHAL].

al-FAḌL b. al-**ḤUBĀB** b. Abi Khalīfa Muḥammad b. Shuʿayd b. Ṣakhr al-Djumaḥī, (d. 305/917-18), littérateur, poet, traditionist and *ḳāḍī* of Baṣra. He was a *mawlā* of Djumaḥ of Ḳuraysh and the nephew, on his mother's side, of Ibn Sallām [*q.v.*]. He was born in and died at Baṣra, where he made himself the transmitter of a fairly extensive number of religious, historical, literary and genealogical traditions. He also received a legal training sufficient for him to act as the *ḳāḍī* of Baṣra towards 294/907 with functions delegated by the Mālikī *ḳāḍī* Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb b. Ismāʿīl al-Azdī, whose seat of office was in eastern Baghdād (L. Massignon, in *WZKM* [1948], 108) but who also had jurisdiction over southern ʿIrāḳ (Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo 1366/1947, ii, 182).

At this time, Abū Khalīfa was already famous in his native town, where he was in contact with well-known personages, especially the Tanūkhīs [*q.v.*]; he had a particularly deep knowledge of Arabic poetry, taught the works of his maternal uncle and was himself the author of a *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ al-djāhiliyyīn* and a *Kitāb al-Fursān*. He also gathered into a *dīwān* the poetry of ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān [*q.v.*], which brought him accusations of Khāridjī sympathies, but Shīʿī tendencies were also imputed to him, and one verse implies that in *fiḳh* he was a Ḥanafī. His works do not seem to have survived, and his verses only exist in part, but his name is often cited in *adab* works. He is, moreover, the hero of a certain number of anecdotes in which his tendency to express himself in rhymed prose is ridiculed. One of these, if it is authentic, allows one to affirm the survival at the end of the 3rd century of a Baṣran tradition which sent as delegates to the caliphal court orators charged with expressing, in rhymed prose, the people's complaints, who had always cause to lament the hardness of the times and the arbitrary ways of the local authorities. Abū Khalīfa, as the mouth-piece of a delegation sent to al Muʿtaḍid (279-98/892-902), was able to obtain satisfaction through provoking his audience to mirth because of the affected nature of his speech (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 128-34 = §§ 3264-70). His biographers classify him amongst the blind scholars.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, Cairo edn., 165; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaḳī*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, 29, 208; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, ii, 27-8, iv, 183; Masʿūdi, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, ii, 8, no. 2557; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 429; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al ādāb*, 825; Zubaydī, *Naḥwiyyīn*, index; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 204-14 and index; Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himyān*, 226; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 373; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 373, Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 246; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 285. (CH. PELLAT)

FAḌL al-**SHĀʿIRA**, al-Yamāmiyya al-ʿAbdiyya, Mawlāt al-Mutawakkil, Arab poetess, died in 257/871 (or 260/874). Born probably as a *muwallada* and brought up in Baṣra, she was presented to and later on freed by al-Mutawakkil. She was called the "most gifted poetess of her time" by Ibn al-Sāʿī and, being a good songstress and lute player too, held a famous literary circle in Baghdād. Amongst her admirers were the poet Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd and the musician Bunān b. ʿAmr al-Ḍārib. Ibn al-Djarrāḥ (quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm) knew a small collection of her poetry. Her verses were set to music by several contemporary court musicians.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[3], xix, 300-13 (see also indices); Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*[3], 426-7; *Fihrist*, 164; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *Nisāʾ al-khulafāʾ*[2], 84-90; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, Cairo 1951, 253-5; Suyūṭī, *Mustaẓraf*, 50-6; Cl. Huart, *La poétesse Fadhl*, in *JA*, sér. 7, xvii (1881), 5-43; F. Sezgin, GAS, ii, 623-4; M. Stigelbauer, *Die Sängerinnen am Abbasidenhof um die Zeit des Kalifen Al-Mutawakkil*, Vienna 1975, 31-4. (E. NEUBAUER)

FAITH, BELIEF (in God) [see ʿAḲĪDA].

FAKHR-I MUDABBIR, the *shuhra* of Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Manṣūr Mubārak Shāh al-Ḳurashī, Persian author in India during the time of the last Ghaznawids, the Ghūrids and the first Slave Kings of Dihlī (later 6th/12th century-early 7th/13th century).

His birth date and place are both unknown, but he was a descendant, so he says, on his father's side from the caliph Abū Bakr and on his mother's from the Turkish *amīr* Bilgetigin, the immediate predecessor in Ghazna of Sebüktigin and father-in-law of Maḥmūd of Ghazna; he may well have been born and reared in Ghazna itself. He first appears in Multān as a youth during the reign of the last Ghaznawid sultan in the Pandjāb Khusraw Malik b. Khusraw Shāh. After the defeat and deposition of this last in 582/1186 by the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn or Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām, Fakhr-i Mudabbir went to Lahore and undertook genealogical researches there for thirteen years. The fruits of all this work were his extensive genealogical tables, extending from the Prophet to the Ghūrids' slave commanders in India, the *Shadjara-yi ansāb*, extant in a unique British Museum ms.; this book was brought to the attention of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], and led to Fakhr-i Mudabbir becoming *persona grata* in court circles. It was to the Dihlī sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish [see ILTUTMISH] that he dedicated his other great Persian prose work, the *Ādāb al-ḥarb* (see on this, below), and since he des-

cribes himself as being by then an infirm old man (*pīr-i ḍaʿīf*), he probably died before the end of that sultan's reign in 633/1236.

There is some uncertainty over the possible identification of our Fakhr-i Mudabbir with a Fakhr al-Dawla wa'l-Dīn Mubārak Shāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marwarrūdhī mentioned by the literary biographer ʿAwfī in his *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 113-17, as a good poet in Arabic and Persian and a *nadīm* or confidant of the Ghūrid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām (558-99/1163-1203). E. Denison Ross, in his edition of the introduction and early part of the *Shadjara-yi ansāb*, London 1927, accepted this identification. Storey, however, rejected this, despite a similarity of names, adducing detailed arguments in his *Persian literature*, i, 1166-7, and his reasoning seems conclusive; the poet Mubārak Shāh al-Marwarrūdhī seems to have been the author also of works on astronomy and ethics.

The main claim of fame of Fakhr-i Mudabbir himself is his authorship of the *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa'l-shadjāʿa*, or as the name appears in one of the extant mss., the *Ādāb al-mulūk wa-kifāyat al-mamlūk* (edition by Aḥmad Suhaylī Khʷānsārī, Tehran 1346/1967, unfortunately based on the shorter mss. and not on the fuller India Office one, which has 40 *abwāb* or chapters as opposed to only 36). This is both a treatise on kingship and statecraft (hence partaking of the "Mirrors for princes" genre) and also a rather theoretical and idealised consideration of the art of war. In addition to advice on tactics, the organisation of troops, the use of various weapons, etc., the book is liberally interspersed with historical anecdotes, giving it a distinct value as a historical document, above all for the development of the eastern Islamic world. The eighteen anecdotes relating to the Ghaznawids have been translated into English by Miss Iqbal M. Shafī as *Fresh light on the Ghaznavīds*, in *IC*, xii (1938), 189-234; they furnish useful information on the dynasty not found elsewhere. A translation of the whole work into a western language would be welcome.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 1164-7; C.E. Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii (1963), 16, also in *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London 1977; idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040, Edinburgh* 1963, 20-1. (C.E. Bosworth)

FAḲĪR OF IPI, the name given in popular parlance to Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān, Pathan *mullah* and agitator along the Northwestern Frontier of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent in both the later British Indian and the early Pakistani periods, d. 1960.

A member of the Torī Khēl group of the ʿUthmānzay Wazīrs of North Wazīrīstān, probably one of the most unreconciled of the Pathan tribes of the Frontier in British times, he came to especial prominence in 1936-7, inflaming the Tōrī Khēls and the Mahsūds of the Tochi valley against the British military presence, and then retreating to a series of caves at Gorwekht near Razmak, not far from the Afghān frontier, which served as his headquarters for the rest of his life. In 1941 he was apparently contacted by Axis agents from the German and Italian embassies in Kabul with a view to raising the frontier against Britain, but nothing much materialised. After the Partition of 1947 between India and Pakistan, the Faḳīr actively identified himself with the Afghān-sponsored "Pashtūnistān" movement, and after 1950 became president of a southern "Pashtūnistān" local assembly based on Gorwekht, where stocks of food and arms and a small Pashto printing press were kept. He died in 1960.

Bibliography: J.W. Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, The Hague 1963, 51, 76, 160, 184-6, 202, 237; W.K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan, a study of political developments in Central and Southern Asia*³, London 1967, 310. (C.E. Bosworth)

FAMILY [see ʿĀʾILA].

FA'R (A., pl. *fi'rān, fi'ara, fu'ar*) masculine substantive with the value of a collective (noun of singularity *fa'ra*) designates, like the Persian *mūsh*, firstly, among the Rodents (*ḳawāriḍ, ḳawāḍim*), the majority of types and species of the sub-order of the Myomorphs (with the Dipodids, Glirids, Murids, Spalacids and Cricetida), secondly, among the Insectivores (*ākilāt al-ḥasharāt*), the family of the Soricids. The term is applied equally well to the largest rats as to the smallest shrews and gerbils. The adjectives of abundance *fa'ir, fa'ira, maf'ara* and *muf'ira* which are derived from it contain the same general idea, so that, in texts, *fa'r* and *fi'rān* always present a problem of discrimination between rats and mice; this lack of precision persists with the dialectal form *fār* pl. *fīrān*, as well as with its Berber equivalent *agherda* pl. *igherdayen*.

However, jointly with this collective of broad semantic extent, several more precise nouns fortunately help towards a skeleton classification of all this prolific world of mammals which flee the light and whom humanity treats, in general, as undesirables, by reason of the depredations to which their way of life forces them. Without pretending to be able to apply, with the existing Arabic philological resources, a scientific system which proves most complicated, it is, nevertheless, possible to give a glimpse of all the known species of the Muslim populations by dividing these species under one of the four following most significant rubrics: *djuradh, fa'ra, khuld* and *yarbūʿ*.

A. Djuradh (pl. *djirdhān, djurdhān*) and its derivative *djirdhawn*, with the dialectal forms *djred, djūred* in the Maghrib and *djardūn* in Syria, defines all rats of a large size without distinction of species. Among the numerous strains of rats, the ordinary man of every people has for long recognised two categories according to their ethology, the town-dwellers and the rustics, and the fable of the meeting between the town rat (*ḥaḍarī*) and the country rat (*rīfī*) remains one of the themes of fables common to all literatures. The majority of rats whose life is linked with towns are of a large size (*ʿadal* pl. *ʿidlān*), the Brown rat (*Mus decumanus*) or "Sewer rat", which is grey-brown, hence his name *marnab* (Maghrib: *ṭubba*, Tamaḥaḳ *taghūlit*, pl. *tighūlitin*) and the Black rat (*Mus rattus*), both of which owed their rapid extension of their area of distribution to the maritime commercial traffic in the Mediterranean basin since the high Middle Ages. It was the same for the Alexandrian rat (*Mus alexandrinus*) also called "palm rat" or "roof rat" (*Mus tectorum*) and whose chosen habitat is in high places (granaries, terraces, the tops of date-palms) and not in the infrastructure of buildings. Proper to Egypt, this rat was introduced into Italy by merchant shipping; it makes a nest at the top of palms and, when it is hunted, is able to let itself fall to the ground without injury by blowing himself up like a balloon. In the

large oases it is confused with the "palm rat" (Saharan: *ṭunba*, Tamaḥaḳ *akkolen*), an erroneous name of a small ground squirrel (*Euxerus erythropus*) which feeds on dates. Still included among the "true rats", so the naturalists say, there must also be cited the large burrower rat of Egypt and Arabia called the Fat sand rat (*Ps. obesus*) which is cream-coloured. All the Maghrib used to know the Striped rat or "Barbarian rat" (*Arvicanthus barbarus*) by the name of *zurdānī* (Tamaḥaḳ *akunder*, pl. *ikunderen*). Numerous geographical strains, such as the *Mus calopus* and *Mus peregrinus*, still remain to be studied in Morocco.

In the vast group of country rats, scourge of farmers and habitual nourishment of nocturnal predators, the Voles and Field-mice (types *Arvisola, Microtus* and *Apodemus*), confused under the name of *ʿakbar* (Hebrew *ʿakbār*, in I. Sam. vi, 4-5; Isaiah ii, 20, lxvi, 17; Levit. xi, 29), have had since the most ancient antiquity the just reputation of being terribly harmful. The most common, the Common vole (*Microtus arvalis*) *ʿakbar ḥakli, faʾrat al-ghayṭ*, is present in all the cultivated zones, along with the strains *Mus micrurus* in Persia and *Hypudoeus syriacus* in Syria; a close neighbour in Egypt is the semi-aquatic "Nile rat", *djuradh al-Nīl* (*Arvicanthis niloticus*), while the Sudan has its opposite number in the "Khartoum rat", *djuradh al-kharṭūm* (*Arvicanthis testicularis*). The Field mouse (*Apodemus sylvaticus*), *dathīma, faʾrat al-ḥirādj* (in Syria, *djurdhān*) prefers living in trees, and is found in company with the Dormouse, the Garden dormouse (types *Glis, Myoxus, Eliomys*), *djuradh sindjābī, karkadūn*, and the Small dormouse (*Muscardinus*), *zughba*. On the Saharan borders lives Munby's dormouse (*Eliomys munbianus lerotinus*), *thadghagath* in Berber, which the Tuareg eat on occasion, as well as the Goundis (types *Ctenodactylus* and *Massouteria*), *kundī/gundī*, Tamaḥaḳ *telūt, taralemt*, large, very suspicious, burrowing rodents rather similar to the Cobaye (*Cavis porcellus*). It is perhaps to the latter as well as to the Hamsters that the Arab philologists attribute the name of *yahyarr*, defined as being "the largest of all the rats".

Al-Djāḥiẓ was happy to record all the information that he had been able to glean on the subject of rats (*Ḥayawān*, v, 245 ff. and *passim*). Regarded as noxious creatures, he tells us that in Khurāsān and Antioch the rats are particularly aggressive, holding their own against cats and going as far as nibbling the ears of sleeping persons; the frightful trench wars with their train of rats which our century has known, alas, only confirm these sayings. Their depredations and their less engaging aspects arouse in every man repulsion, as nothing resists their inexorable incisors, unless it is metal. On the other hand, al-Djāḥiẓ shows, out of concern for justice, a positive aspect in the presence of these parasite hosts; if they invade a dwelling, it is because they find there something to satisfy their appetites and so it is a sign that it enjoys a certain prosperity. Hence the wish expressed in this old adage is understandable: *akthar*[a] *'llāh*[u] *djurdhān*[a] *baytik*[a] "may Allah multiply the rats of your house". With the same intention, a storyteller of Medina used to offer up this prayer: *Allahumm*[a] *akthir djurdhānanā wa-aḳill*[a] *ṣibyānanā* "O Allah, give us many rats and few children", evoking implicitly the danger of misery which overpopulation could bring about. On the contrary, the expression *tafarraḳat djirdhān*[u] *baytihi* "the rats of his house have dispersed" may be an image of being wrecked by poverty; in our days and with the same idea, sailors may see a sign of the inescapable loss of the ship when the rats desert it. Furthermore, rats often show proof of ingenuity; faced with an oil container, the rat will know how to sample the contents by dipping in its tail a number of times. Caught in a cage, it soon manages to escape with the help of its sharp teeth. In the countryside, rats take care not to dig their hole (*khabār*) on roads in order to avoid the danger of being trampled by beasts of burden. Some rats may be attracted, like the so-called "thieving" Magpie (*ʿakʿaḳ*), by anything which shines and steal jewels and money, and the adage *asraḳ min djuradh* "more thieving than a rat" is truly spoken; al-Damīrī records, with reference to this, (*Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 191-2) the discovery, in the time of the Prophet, of a cache concealing several *dīnārs* thanks to a rat, and the one who discovered it had full possession of the find, which was attributed to divine intervention.

Before Islam, certain rats, especially the country ones, were hunted for their flesh, as were the uromastix lizard [see ḌABB], the hedgehog and the porcupine [see ḲUNFUDH] and the jerboa (see below). These primitive tastes did not disappear immediately with Islam since, according to Abū Zayd al-Naḥwī (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 44, v, 253, vi, 385), the famous *radjaz* poet Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj [*q.v.*], of the 2nd/8th century, used to feast on roasted rats caught in his own house.

In the Ḥidjāz, the palm rat used to be so common that the expression *umm djirdhān* "mother of rats" designated metaphorically the top of the date palm where the animal chose to live, and *djurdhāna* became the name of a variety of date. Finally, authorities on horses gave the name *al-djuradhān*[i] "the two rats" to two symmetrical dorsal muscles of the horse because of their shape.

B. FAʾRA, while being the noun of singularity of *faʾr*, designates more especially the mouse and every small rodent which resembles it. The Common mouse or "grey" mouse (*Mus musculus*), *faʾrat al-bayt*, present wherever there is man, numbers numerous geographical strains, of which *M. m. gentilis, algirus, far* and *Hayii* are to be found in the Maghrib, *M. m. variegatus* in Egypt, *M. m. pretextus* in Syria and *M. m. flaviventris* in Arabia.

At every time, the mouse was at the origin of misdeeds, seen as catastrophes, coming unexpectedly to disturb daily life. Already in the Ark of Noah, according to the legend, its depredations excited the complaints of the women, from which resulted the creation of the pair of cats, then that of the pair of pigs [see KHINZĪR]. The Prophet Muḥammad himself had set a trap to get rid of this "little rascal" (*fuwaysiḳa*) which, according to several traditions, had only just missed setting fire to his house by pulling, in order to nibble it, the wick of the lighted lamp; thanks to the immediate intervention of the master of the house, the only damage it did was to make a hole in his prayer carpet. From this episode, which was no doubt authentic and not the first of its kind, an irrevocable curse fell upon the mouse, which was then added to the list of the four execrable species (*fawāsiḳ*), i.e. the crow, [see GHURĀB], the kite, *ḥidāʾ*, the scorpion [see ʿAḲRAB] and the biting dog [see KALB], a list to which Mālik b. Anas added the lion [see ASAD], the panther, *namir, nimr*, the leopard [see FAHD] and the wolf [see DHIʾB], to be destroyed at all times and everywhere in Islam, even by the pilgrim in a sacralised

state. It was, furthermore, enjoined on the young community to extinguish every lamp at night, in their homes and in the mosques, and not to do as the Christians who imprudently left permanently lighted a sanctuary night-light in their churches and chapels (*Ḥayawān*, v, 121, 269, 319).

Before Islam, the mouse scarcely enjoyed, among the Arabs, any greater credit, since it passed as being the metamorphosis of a Jewish sorceress to some and that of a dishonest crow to others (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 477). In addition, some proverbs such as *alaṣṣ min fa'ra* "more thieving than a mouse", *aksab min fa'ra* "more hoarding than a mouse" presented it as a pilferer and an inveterate miser. In the climate of such a reputation one can understand the energetic refutation with which al-Djāḥiẓ opposes (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 298 ff.) the words of the Avesta which propose that the mouse was a creation of Ormuzd, genius of Good, while the cat was that of Ahriman, genius of Evil.

The words *fa'ra* and *birr* include, apart from the Common mouse, all the other species of small rodents such as the Dwarf mouse (*Micromys minutus*) also called *ẓubāna*, the Arian mouse (*Mus arianus*) called *siḳṭim*, the Desert mouse (*Mus barbarus*) or *faṣʿa'* and *fa'rat al-ṣaḥrā'* and all the representatives of the *Acomys* type or Spiny mouse, *ḳunfuʿ/ḳinfiʿ*, with *A. viator* in Tripolitania, *A. Cahirinus* in Egypt, *A. Chudeau* in Mauritania and *A. dimidiatus* in Iran. *Fa'ra* also extends to cover the small insectivores with a very elongated snout which form the Shrews (of types *Sorex*, *Crocidura*, *Suncus*, *Elephantulus*). More precisely, the Shrew is called *ẓabāba* and the Arab authors speak of it as deaf because of the absence in it of an external ear (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 317). It bears in addition the names *fa'rat al-bīsh* "wolf's-bane mouse" and *fa'rat al-samm* "poison-mouse" by reason of its supposed resistance to the poison of venomous plants, whose roots it nibbles at the time when insects are in short supply.

Arab poets and prose writers have often dealt with the atavistic hostility of the cat towards the mouse, which it makes its favourite prey; the ancestral cat-and-mouse antagonism is well set in relief by the old expression *lā yaʿrif^u hirr^an min birr^in* "he doesn't know a cat from a mouse" being applied to one who is completely ignorant.

There should also be mentioned an extension of the use of *fa'r* and *fa'ra* to designate other animals having the appearance of rats and mice. Also to be found is *fa'r al-būṣ* "cannaies rat" given to the aulacode (*Aulacodus*) as well as *ḳubāʿ*; the *fa'r al-khayl* "horses' rat" is the Polecat, the *fa'rat al-khayl* "the horses's mouse" is the Weasel [see IBN ʿIRS], the *fa'r firʿawn* "Pharaoh's rat" is the Ichneumon (*nims*) and the *fa'r al-thayyil* "Scutch-grass rat" is the Golunda, a countryside predator of the rice-plantations. Finally, by contamination between the roots *F-'-R* and *F-W-R*, *fa'ra* is wrongly substituted for *fāra* "odour" in the names *Fa'rat al-ibil* (for *fārat al-ibil*), a special odour which camels emit once they are watered, after being satiated with fragrant plants, and *fa'rat al-misk* "odour of musk" (and not "musk rat"), a name given to the contents of the musk vesicle (*nāfidja*) of a "small animal" (*duwaybba*) hunted in Tibet and which, despite its false name *djuradh al-misk* "musk rat", is not a rat (*Ḥayawān*, iii, 514, v, 301-4, vi, 27, vii, 210-11). Al-Djāḥiẓ adds that the name of *fa'r al-misk* is given to certain house rats which emit a characteristic odour similar to musk.

C. KHULD (pl. *khildān* and dial. *khlūda*) and its doublet *djuldh* (pl. *madjālidh*, *manādjidh*), of Aramaic origin (Hebrew *ḥōled* in Levit. xi, 29), is the name of the Mole rat or Blind rat (*Spalax typhlus*) a vegetarian rodent and burrower widespread in Egypt, in the Near East and in Arabia, especially in Yemen; it there takes the place of the common mole (*Talpa europaea*) which does not exist there. This Mole rat is also called *abū aʿmā*, *fa'r aʿmā* "blind rat" because its very small eyeball disappears beneath a cutaneous fold; similarly, the absence in it of an external ear made it said (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 112, iv, 410; *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 297 ff.) that it was also deaf and that it only guided itself underground by its sense of smell. Furthermore, its great distrust is at the origin of the proverbial expression *asmaʿ min khuld* "with hearing finer than that of the Mole rat". So believing it blind, deaf and an insectivore, the ancients supposed that it fed itself by staying with its mouth open at the entrance of its hole and swallowing the flies which came to settle on its tongue (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 112).

Known since the most ancient antiquity, the Blind Mole rat (the ἀσπάλαξ of Aristotle) was however more familiar to the Arabs as it was, according to the sayings of all the Muslim authors, the direct agent of Allāh in the breaking of the famous dam of Ma'rib [see MA'RIB] around the year 542 A.D. It was said to have provoked by its labyrinth of galleries the fatal fissures through which the mass of devastating waters burst forth, the *sayl al-ʿarim* mentioned in the Ḳur'ān (XXXIV, 15-16). With the word *ʿarim*, probably of Ḥimyarite origin, the Arab philologists tentatively saw in it a plural (sing. *ʿarima*) signifying at once "dikes", "rats" and "torrential rains" (*LA*, s.v. *ʿ-R-M*). Although archaeologists have established the majority of the combined causes of this catastrophe (poor maintenance, silting up and hence raising of the level, flooding of the wadi and perhaps simultaneous earth tremors) which brought about a diaspora of the local tribes, it is the Mole rat which, in the general opinion, remains the instrument of this divine chastisement. It is not, however, to be ruled out that it played its part in the collapse of the gigantic earth dike, magnificently linking the works at the two ends of the dam, for this eager borer of the soil lives in sizable colonies and is particularly prolific; the proverb *afsad min khuld* "more ravaging than a Mole-rat" is there to confirm its misdeeds.

As for the mole (of the two strains *europaea* and *romana*), it is only known in the Maghrib, and it is to the Latin *talpa* that it owes its names *ṭawbīn/ṭūbīn* in Hispano-Moorish (cf. Spanish *topo*) and *ṭūbba* in the modern dialects; compared to a rodent, it is also named *fāra ʿamyā* "blind rat". By failing to distinguish between the mole and Mole rat, the majority of Arab lexicographers, with *khuld*, maintained the confusion between these two quite different species. For a good system, it seems that in modern Arabic *khuldiyyāt* defines clearly the Spalacids and *ṭawbiyyāt* the Talpids.

D. YARBŪʿ (fem. *-a*, pl. *yarābīʿ*) having passed to *djarbuʿ* pl. *djrābī* in dialects (Pers. *mūsh dō pā*, Tamahaḳ, *edewi*, pl. *idewan*), designates at once the jerboa in general (types *Dipus*, *Jaculus*, *Alactagalus*, *Alactaga*), and the gerbil and the jird (types *Gerbillus*, *Meriones*, *Psammomys* and *Pachyuromys*). All these small rodents and leapers of desert and steppe are very similar in appearance, gait and ways; each of them can be compared with a miniature kangaroo with a long tail ending in a brush rather

like a spear and its head, hence its ancient name of *dhu 'l-rumayḥ* "with the small spear" given to every species. The Arabs, nevertheless, distinguished the jerboa and gerbil, calling the former *yarbūʿ shufārī* "the great" and the latter *yarbūʾ tadmurī* "the small"; in our own time, the Marāzīg of Tunisia make the same difference with *shāḥī* and *fār aḥmar*. From Africa to Arabia, as many geographical strains of jerboas are enumerated as of gerbils and jirds, but, without attempting a system for the most part complicated, it is to be maintained that the most common jerboa is that said to be of Egypt (*Jaculus jaculus* or *Jaculus aegyptius*) which is to be found from Mauritania to the Arabo-Persian Gulf; it is this of which the Arab authors speak and al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, v, 260, v, 385) then al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt*..., ii, 409) mention some similarities between its behaviour and that of the hare [see ARNAB, above], notably in their common ruse of *tawbīr* or *zamūʿ* consisting of only resting, in light soil, on the shaggy pads (*zamaʿāt*) of the heels in order to leave the faintest possible tracks. But it is especially for its genius at escaping (*nifāḳ*, *tanfīḳ*) when it is hunted that the jerboa is famous among the Bedouins who, at all times, eagerly hunted it as choice game. By day, the jerboa lies asleep at the bottom of its underground lair with many obstructed outlets, with a small pile of spoil earth showing them on the outside. The hunter who, in order to dislodge it, sounds the corridors of the burrow with a long stick cannot divine the exit from which the animal is going to spring out; if it finally comes out, it is with such bounds and such abrupt swerves that it very often keeps in check the most alert saluki. After tens of metres of frantic running, it soon seeks to plunge back into the ground. These retreat outlets of the jerboa bear the names *nāfiḳāʾ*, *ḳāṣiʿāʾ*, *rāhiṭāʾ*, *dāmmāʾ* (see Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 92), and it is from the first of these words (root *N-F-Ḳ*) that there is derived (according to the philologists and exegetes) the Ḳurʾānic meaning of *nifāḳ* "dissimulation, duplicity, hypocrisy" in the matter of faith (al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt*..., ii, 408-9).

In the pre-Islamic period, the Bedouins used to refrain from hunting the jerboa by night for, like the hedgehog and porcupine [see KUNFUDH], it passed for a mount of the *djinn*. Jerboas, gerbils and jirds live in small societies, of which each one colonises a sector (*arḍ marbaʿa*), and it was also believed that, as with the monkeys [see ḲIRD], they each had a chief in the role of nocturnal sentinel of the group and ensuring a permanent surveillance for the security of the young (*dirṣ*, pl. *adrāṣ*, *durūṣ*) who could easily stray, as the proverb says *aḍall min walad al-yarbūʿ* "straying more than the young of the jerboa"; if the chief relaxed his vigilance, he was hunted and replaced.

Finally, the great round, jet black eye of the jerboa is used as an image in the Maghrib, where *ʿayn al-djarbūʿ* designates a large buck-shot for shooting large game and, in Tunis, the colour "mouse grey" is called *djarbūʿī* "jerboa grey".

Of all these small creatures of the soil (*hasharāt al-arḍ*) which *faʾr* represents, only the jerboa, in Ḳurʾānic law, was recognised as legal for consumption by three of the four juridical schools of orthodoxy, the Ḥanafīs contesting this legality. For all the other rodents, the prohibition of consumption relates not only to their flesh, but also to every commodity in which they have put their teeth (*suʾr al-faʾr*) "rats, mice scraps") and every alimentary liquid (oil, milk, honey, vinegar, etc.) in which one of them has fallen (*faʾir*); also any product "contaminated" cannot be put on sale.

In urban areas, the destruction of invading rats and mice has always been a permanent necessity and the means employed, in mediaeval Islam, were very varied, but their absolute efficacy was rarely assured. The most widespread method was poisoning with the aid of baits prepared for the purpose; the poisons which they contained were either of vegetable or chemical origin. As toxic plants they used the sea-onion (*scilla maritima*), *ʿunṣul baḥrī* called *baṣal al-faʾr* "rat onion", the rose bay (*nerium oleander*), *diflā*, *samm al-ḥimār* "donkey's poison" and the hyoscyamus (*hyoscyamus albus*), and *bandj*. Among chemical products they had vitriol (*ḳalḳand*), sulphur of arsenic (*shakk*, *shubha*, *rayb*, *rahadj*) or "ratsbane" (*samm al-faʾr*), called in ʿIrāḳ *turāb hālik* "killer earth", which was extracted in Khurāsān, and litharge (*murtaḳ*, *murdāsandj*); oxgall, donkey's urine and iron filings were also included in these preparations. Another practice was to smoke out the holes of the rodents by burning cumin, horn of horse's hoof and natron (*naṭrūn*). Cages were made with several systems of fall-traps and box-traps in pottery, whose patterns are still in use, but the simplest and most effective was that which al-Asadī (*Djamhara*, ... ms. Escurial, Ar. 903, fols. 165b-166a) advocates in the 7th/13th century and which consists of a basin filled with water and on which is placed a rolling-pin (*shawbak*), baited in the middle with some dripping or cheese; attracted, the greedy rodent, creeping along this unsteady pole, makes it shake unavoidably with its own weight from one side to the other and ends up by drowning. Complementing all these stratagems, a permanent hunt was assured in homes and shops by small domestic carnivores such as the cat, the aforementioned weasel, the civet (*zabād*) and the genet (*djarnīṭ*). The protection of doves [see ḤAMĀM] against the rats which preyed on the eggs consists, in our own time still, of encircling the outside of the flight grilles with a covering of completely varnished ceramic squares at the bottom of a slope; sometimes the exit holes consisted of pottery pipes going well outside in order to place an insurmountable obstacle in the way of every climber, and this is a method constantly employed in the pigeon-houses which adorn the Nile Valley. To all these direct means of defence must be added the rich arsenal of magic formulas, talismans and conjuring practices which serve to reinforce in the imagination the chances of success; of these, one of the most widespread was to kill a mouse, cut off its tail and bury it in the communal room of the house.

In ancient healing, the specific virtues attributed to the corporeal elements of rodents were relatively limited. The head of a mouse placed in a linen cloth and applied to the head was used to dispel migraine and headache. The eye of a rat carried as a talisman allayed malaria; the upper lip of a Mole rat had the same effect, while the blood of the latter was a beneficial eye-lotion for all ocular troubles. The spoil earth of its galleries and its brain mixed with rose water made a good plaster against gout. Finally, one of the most curious and useful properties was that of the urine of a mouse which, it appears, perfectly erases ink on parchments. It is to be supposed that the difficulty was in procuring a little of this precious liquid, but it could be achieved by capturing in a small cage-trap, one or a number of mice and rigging up at the bottom of the device a small spout leading to a bottle. It was then suffi-

cient to provoke a sudden irruption of the house cat in order to achieve, under the effect of the terror, among the captives, the awaited physiological reaction of urination; it is this, at least, which al-Damīrī (*op. cit.*, ii, 2009 suggests, who seems to have experimented with this stratagem with the aim of reusing parchments, this material being always very highly valued in the Middle Ages.

From this glimpse of the manner in which Muslim opinion treated rats and mice, these terrible carriers of plague and cholera, it is evident that in Islam they scarcely enjoyed any more credit than in Christianity and that there was no good to be expected from this race of parasites on the fruits of man's labour; the experience which this old Moroccan adage conceals: *el-fār mā ka-yūled g͟hēr ḥaffār* "the rat/mouse can only beget a grave-digger" sums up well this general contempt.

Bibliography (apart from the references cited in the text): Amin al-Maʿlūf, *Muʿd͟jam al-ḥayawān. An Arabic zoological dictionary*, Cairo 1932; E. Ghaleb, *al-Mawsūʿa fī ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿa, Dictionary of natural sciences*, Beirut 1965; L. Lavauden, *Les vertébrés du Sahara*, Tunis 1926; M. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touareg*, Paris 1951; Fīrūz Iskandar, *Rāhnamā-yi pistāndārān-i Īrān, Guide to mammals of Iran*, Tehran 1977.

(F. Viré)

AL-FĀRĀBĪ, Abū Ibrāhīm Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm, lexicographer. The early sources are sparse in regard to him. Only Yāḳūt gives him a whole notice (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 61-5 = *Irs͟hād*, ii, 226-9); al-Suyūṭī reproduces a few extracts from this adding nothing (*Bug͟hya*, i, 437-8); and al-Ḳifṭī speaks of him only incidentally in his *Inbāʾ* (i, 52-3), in his notice on Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī.

His date of birth is unknown, but he probably died in 350/961 (the date given by Brockelmann, I², 133, and Kraemer, 212). He was the maternal uncle of al-D͟jawharī, author of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* (d. *ca.* 400/1009 [*q.v.*]), which keeps al-Fārābī within the 4th/10th century and exludes the date of 450/1058 (Yāḳūt, vi, 62; cf. al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāʾ*, i, 53). He lived in his natal town of Fārāb [*q.v.*]. Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, reports, however, on the authority of the *ḳāḍī* Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳifṭī (father of the author of the *Inbāʾ*) from the Yemen, where he resided, that al-Fārābī went to the Yemen, lived in Zabīd, composed there his *Dīwān al-adab* and died there also, before he had been able to teach it, at a date *ca.* 450 A.H.; but Yāḳūt himself, on the basis of all the historical details which he had brought together (vi, 63-5), rejects the reports of the *ḳāḍī* Yūsuf (vi, 65). Yāḳūt bases himself here on, in particular (vi, 63), the fact that he had read as follows, written in al-D͟jawharī's own hand, *ḳaraʾtuhu ʿalā Ibrāhīm, raḥimahu Allāh, bi-Fārāb* "I read it [sc. the *Dīwān al-adab*] at Fārāb with [Abū] Ibrāhīm [the author]". Elsewhere Yāḳūt says (vi, 159, notice on al-D͟jawharī), "I found at Tibrīz a copy of the *Dīwān al-adab*, written in al-D͟jawharī's hand (*bi-k͟haṭṭ al-D͟j.*) in the year 383". It is also appropriate to consider the old mss. to be mentioned further on.

For his part, al-Ḳifṭī (*Inbāʾ*, i, 52) repeats an anecdote which brings in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī in order to explain how the Yemenis were able to believe that al-Fārābī had come to the Yemen, as they asserted; this anecdote has pungency, but hardly any value.

The *Dīwān al-adab*'s editor, Aḥmad Muk͟htār ʿUmar, in his sketch of the author (i, 3-10), also rejects this alleged trip to Yemen (6) and considers it reasonable to think that he went to Buk͟hārā and Bag͟hdād, especially as he would only have been able to find in the latter city the necessary material for the composition of the *Dīwān al-adab*; hence it is very probable that it was put together in Bag͟hdād. All this, however, is a question only of probabilities. For al-Fārābī's sources, see *ibid.*, i, 31.

He taught his book at Fārāb and it became known in neighbouring regions (i, 7), and it was there that the earliest study on his work appeared, in the shape of the *Tahd͟hīb Dīwān al-adab* of al-Ḥasan b. al-Muẓaffar al-Naysābūrī, a *lug͟hawī* who lived in K͟hʷārazm and died in 442/1050-1 (*ibid.*).

The *Dīwān al-adab* [*fī bayān lug͟hat al-ʿArab*], according to the complete title in the Oxford ms. (Kraemer, 212) is an original dictionary. The vocabulary is set forth according to the forms (*wazn*); under each *wazn*, in the alphabetical order of the *last* radical consonant. This innovation had a great renown in Arabic lexicography; al-D͟jawharī adopted this arrangement for his *Ṣiḥāḥ*, and it became widespread. Al-Fārābī nevertheless retained something of al-K͟halīl's way: he divided the subject-matter up into six *kutub* (1) the *Kitāb al-sālim*; (2) the *K. al-muḍāʿaf*, (3) the *K. al-mit͟hāl*; (4) the *K. d͟hawāt al-t͟halāt͟ha* [the *ad͟jwaf*]; (5) the *K. d͟hawāt al-arbaʿa*; and (6) the *K. al-hamza*. In each *kitāb* there came first the nouns and then the verbs, strictly separated.

This dictionary arranged by *wazn* is a precious aid for Arabic philological studies, for it permits one to study these *wazns*. But for practical consultation it is not easy. Aḥmad Muk͟htār ʿUmar's edition is with the *murād͟jaʿa* of Ibrāhīm Anīs, who opens the first volume with a *taṣdīr*. So far, three volumes have appeared at Cairo (1394/1974 and each following year), and a fourth will give the *Kitāb*s 5 and 6 and indices. Brockelmann lists 30 mss. (I², 133, S I, 195-6, III, 1196); the editor cites 23 of these (i, 31-2), but has based his text on five, and especially on the two oldest, from 391 and from before 390 (i, 57-60).

Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa in his *Kas͟hf al-ẓunūn* confused the *Dīwān al-adab* with al-Zamak͟hs͟harī's *Muḳaddimat al-adab*, see the editor's *muḳaddima* (p. *t*), and there is also a confusion between al-Fārābī the lexicographer and al-Fārābī the philosopher (*ibid.*).

The *Dīwān al-adab* had a deep influence on al-D͟jawharī's dictionary, which not only followed the arrangement by the last radical, but also took over the same subject matter, making Kopf observe justly [see AL-D͟JAWHARĪ] that the latter's own contribution was minimal. Al-Fārābī's work also had an influence, in regard to method, on the *S͟hams al-ʿulūm* of Nas͟hwān al-Ḥimyarī, according to the editor (i, 52-3), and on two Arabic-Persian dictionaries, those of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Zawzanī (d. 486/1093) and of Abū D͟jaʿfar Aḥmad al-Bayhaḳī (d. 504/1110-11). It was further the model, in regard to form, of the Turkish dictionary by Maḥmūd al-Kās͟hg͟harī, the *Dīwān lug͟hāt al-turk* (Kraemer, 212).

Lost works of al-Fārābī include a *Bayān al-iʿrāb* and a *S͟harḥ Adab al-kātib*, mentioned by Yāḳūt (vi, 63). Al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*³, i, 211, gives an extract from a *K. al-Alfāẓ wa 'l-ḥurūf* on the value of the tribes for their *ʿarabiyya*. He begins it thus: *ḳāla Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī*, which was the *kunya* of the philosopher, and the editor, following Ibrāhīm Anīs, sees here an error by al-Suyūṭī (as earlier by Abū Ḥayyān) and prefers to connect the work with Abū Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī the lexicographer. Both these scholars are unaware of the *K. al-Ḥurūf* of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, published in Beirut

1969 (Recherches, Série 1, vol. 46) and edited by Muḥsin Mahdī. *K. al-Ḥurūf* is the oldest title by which the work has been known, but since Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa it has been known as the *K. al-Alfāẓ wa 'l-ḥurūf* (*muḳaddima*, 34). Al-Suyūṭī's citation is indeed there (147, and not at the beginning), but not word-for-word; it seems that al-Suyūṭī made a résumé of what al-Fārābī said and then added something of his own, according to the editor's explanation (*muḳad-dima*, 40). Hence there is no reason for attributing to the lexicographer al-Fārābī an allegedly lost *K. al-Alfāẓ wa 'l-ḥuruf*.

Bibliography: J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 201-38; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbā' al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, i, Cairo 1369/1950; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt fī ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt*, i, Cairo 1384/1964. There is a description of the *Dīwān al-adab* by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, in *al-Muʿdjam al-ʿarabī, nash'atuhu wataṭawwuruhu*, i, Cairo 1375/1956, 176-81, exposition by the editor at i, 10-53; See also the authors cited in the text.

(H. Fleisch)

FARĀMŪSH-KHĀNA (P. *farāmūsh* "forgotten" and *khāna* "house"), the word used in Iran to designate a centre of masonic activities. The term seems to have originated in India, where a masonic lodge was first founded by the British in 1730. The earliest known references in Persian sources to the idea of freemasonry in general and to Indian masonic activity in particular can be found in the writings of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Shūshtarī Djazā'irī, a Persian émigré to India. Writing in 1801, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf believed that the reason why the Indians and the Persian-speaking people of India call the freemasons *farāmūsh* was that whatever questions were put to them—many of whom were Muslim—they answered: "It is not in my memory" (*Tuḥfat al-ʿālam*, Ḥaydarābād 1846, 292). The usage might have easily passed from India to Īrān, as, in the opinion of ʿAbd al-Ghanī Mīrzāyev, it also passed from there to the Persians of Central Asia, where Aḥmad Makhdūm Dānish of Bukhārā saw elements of absolute happiness for mankind in the idea of a *farāmūsh-khāna*, see his *Asnād-i djadīd rādjiʿ bi farāmūsh-khāna va baʿdī az maḳāṣid-i ahl-i ān*, in *Djashn-nāma-yi Muḥammad Parwīn Gūnābādī*, ed. Muḥsin Abu 'l-Ḳāsimī, Tehran 1975, 409-20).

One of the early Persian-speaking travellers to Europe who gave an account of freemasonry was Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib Iṣfahānī, son of another Persian émigré to India. He travelled and lived in Europe from 1798 till 1803. While in London (21 January 1800 to 7 June 1802), Abū Ṭālib, who was in close association with a number of distinguished English men and women, was urged to join "the freemasons who are being called *farāmūshān* by foreigners". Being somewhat critical of freemasonry, Abū Ṭālib claims to have refused the offer, but he describes in detail a high-class and colourful party to which "no one but the freemasons" were invited (*Maṣīr-i Ṭālibī*, Tehran 1973, 151-2).

The first Iranian person known to have joined freemasonry in Europe was ʿAskar Khān Afshār Arūmī, a high-ranking dignitary of the Ḳadjār royal court. ʿAskar Khān, who was on a diplomatic mission to the court of Napoleon, was initiated into the lodge of the Philosophic Scottish Rite in Paris in 1808. The second initiate is known to have been Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḥasan Khān Īlčī, the first Iranian ambassador to England. He was initiated in London in 1810 under the guidance of Sir Gore Ouseley who, after Īlčī's initiation became the British Ambassador to Iran. Īlčī's friendly relations with the British were so close that he received a monthly payment from the East India Company from 1810 till his death in 1846. Another early Iranian man to have been happily initiated into freemasonry was Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī, one of the students sent to England in 1815. Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ joined the *farāmūsh-khāna* in London in 1817. A "Mr. Harris" who was known to Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ as "the chief of the *farāmūsh-khāna*" had honoured him with two masonic ranks. A week before his departure from London, Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ was urged by Mr. Harris to attend their masonic lodge in order to receive the rank of a master in masonic hierarchy; "otherwise", Harris said to Ṣāliḥ, "you will go back to Iran with defects" (Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, *Safar-nāma*, Tehran 1968, 189, 372, 374).

Generally speaking, almost all the Iranian notables who went abroad in the 19th century, either as exiles like Riḍā-ḳulī, Nadjaf-ḳulī, and Taymūr, three Ḳadjār princes (in 1835), or as diplomatic representatives such as ʿAbd Allāh Garmrūdī (in 1839), Farrukh Khān Amīn al-Dawla (in 1857), and many others, were initiated into freemasonry lodges. According to some reports, the Iranians were very curious to find out about freemasonry; they were given the impression that freemasonry had an oriental origin and that the Persians should revive this ancient tradition. Masonic activity particularly appealed to Iranian modernist thinkers because of the attachment of the impressive and generally misleading slogan "liberté, égalité, fraternité" to continental freemasonry. Thus we see spokesmen of modernism such as Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī "Afghānī" and Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhūnd-Zāda well-inclined to freemasonry. It seems, however, that Ādjūdānbāshī, who believed that the *farāmūsh-khāna* "lacks anything which may bring benefit to religion and state", was one among few exceptions (Muḥammad Mushīrī, *Sharḥ-i ma'mūriyyat-i Ādjūdānbāshī*, Tehran 1968, 398).

Despite their existence in Īrān, the Iranian masons do not seem to have carried on any noticeable masonic activity during the first half of the 19th century. However, in 1858 Mīrzā Malkam Khān Nāẓim al-Dawla who had been initiated into the *Sincère amitié*, a masonic lodge in Paris, in 1857, established for the first time a *farāmūsh-khāna* in Tehran. Malkam had reportedly secured Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's full consent for this, but his *farāmūsh-khāna* was not recognised by any internationally-known masonic lodge. Many distinguished individuals joined the *farāmūsh-khāna*. Accounts of the motives behind the establishment of the *farāmūsh-khāna* are abundant, but it seems clear that through this secret organisation, Malkam was able to introduce his audiences to modern social and political ideas. However, some internal forces, including traditionalist conservatives, and external elements such as the Russians, turned Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh against it, so that he declared its abolition in 1861 in these words: "From now on, if the phrase *farāmūsh-khāna* comes out of anyone's mouth, let alone his possible involvement in its organisation, he will be most severely punished by the government" (Maḥmūd Katīrā'ī, *Farāmāsūnrī dar Īrān*, Tehran 1968, 74).

Malkam Khān's *farāmūsh-khāna* was accordingly closed, but the secret activities did not entirely die out. Those who were acquainted with the *farāmūsh-khāna* gathered together secretly and, after the assasination in 1896 of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, they

founded a secret society called the *Djāmiʿ-i ādamīyyat* ("League of Humanity") on the basis of Malkam's *farāmūsh-khāna* and propagated Malkam's ideas. This secret society was headed by ʿAbbās-ḳulī Khān Ādamiyyat and composed of distinguished Iranians; it was actively involved in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906. Certain members of this society organised a masonic lodge (*ibid.*, 95), and, according to Ismāʿīl Rāʾīn, the society itself contributed to the forward-ing of British policy in Īrān (*Farāmūsh-khāna va farāmāsūnrī dar Īrān*, i, Tehran 1968, 576-7). This society was banned by Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh in 1908. The *andjuman-i ukhuwwat* which began to operate openly in 1899 and was active in the Constitutional Revolution is also known to have been formed of members obedient to the international masonic lodges.

Although Sir Arthur Hardinge speaks of a certain amount of masonic activity in Īrān at the turn of the present century (Ismāʿīl Rāʾīn, *Andjumanhā-yi sirrī dar inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, Tehran 1967, 45 ff.), it seems that the first internationally-recognised masonic lodge was established in Tehran in 1907 by the Grand Orient de France and called "Loge du Réveil de l'Iran". Some of the men initiated into this lodge were among the most active participants in the Persian Constitutional Revolution, and some of them, like the Sardār Asʿad (Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī-ḳulī Khān Bakhtīyārī) were regarded as pro-British (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Why did the ʿulamāʾ participate in the Persian Revolution of 1906-1009?*, in *WI*, xvii (1976), 127-54). Later on, more masonic lodges were established in Shīrāz (1919), Ābādān (1920), Masdjid-i Sulaymān (1924), and Tehran (1951, 1957). Also, an American lodge was founded in Tehran in 1962; to this lodge were reportedly affiliated the Rotary Club, World Brothers' Club, and Moral Re-armament (Rāʾīn, *Farāmāsūnrī*, iii, 11-477).

Due to the secret character of freemasonry, literature on Persian masonic experience was quite scanty and fragmentary until recently. Some treatises were written for and against the Malkam *Farāmūsh-khāna* in the 1860s, but they were not then published (for the text of two such treatises, consult Katīrāʾī, *op. cit.*, 159-93). Apparently the first Persian book which was wholly devoted to the subject was published in India in 1874. For more elaborate accounts of Persian freemasonry, we have to had wait until the 1960s, when a number of informative books and articles appeared, although most of them were largely inaccurate and poorly-documented. The most informative of all is Rāʾīn's above-quoted three-volume work (1968) which contains, among other things, the names of many living Iranians who have been affiliated to masonic lodges. The author's own name, however, was omitted "despite his alleged membership of an American affiliated lodge" (Hamid Algar, *An introduction to the history of Freemasonry in Iran*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, vi (1970), 293).

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

FARANGĪ MAḤALL, a family of prominent Indian Ḥanafī theologians and mystics flourishing from the 12th/18th century to the present day. The family traces its ancestry through the great scholar and mystic Khwādja ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī of Harāt to Ayyūb Anṣārī, the Prophet's host in Medina. It is not known when the family migrated to India but, according to the family biographers, one ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn settled in Sihālī of the Awadh [*q.v.*] province of north India during the 8th/14th century. His descendant, Mullā Ḥāfiẓ, was acknowledged as a distinguished *ʿālim* by the emperor Akbar who made a generous *madad-i maʿash* grant in his favour in 967/1559 (Anṣārī, *A very early farmān of Akbar*, see *Bibl.*). In 1103/1692 the great-great-grandson of Mullā Ḥāfiẓ, Mullā Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, who was also hailed as a leading *ʿālim* of his time, was murdered in a squabble over land and his library burned. The emperor Awrangzīb recompensed his four sons by assigning to them a European indigo merchant's palace in Lucknow and by granting pensions to support their scholarly work. Around 1106/1695 the family moved from Sihālī to the palace which was known as Farangī Maḥall.

The descendants of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn made Farangī Maḥall into a centre of learning which for 250 years attracted scholars not only from all parts of India but also from places as far away as Arabia and China. Teaching was the profession of most Farangī Maḥallīs and the man who first established their reputation was Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn [*q.v.*], the third son of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn. In the early 12th/18th century he made Farangī Maḥall into the biggest centre of learning in north India. Students from outside Lucknow were boarded at the city's Tīla mosque, which had room for 700, and the expenses involved were met in part by the Mughal emperors (Anṣārī, *Bānī-i Dars-i Niẓāmī*, 88-9). Yet there was at this time no *madrasa* in Farangī Maḥall, and no central organising institution; members of the family simply taught in their homes those who came to them. This remained the pattern of teaching for over 200 years. Attempts were made to found a *madrasa* in the 19th century, but only in 1323/1905 did one Farangī Maḥallī, ʿAbd al-Bārī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], coordinate the efforts of his relatives and bring them within an institutional framework. This Madrasa-yi ʿĀliya Niẓāmiyya continued its work until the 1380s/1960s.

Although Farangī Maḥall always remained their base, many of the descendants of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn travelled widely as teachers. Some like ʿAbd al-Bārī and ʿAbd al-Bāḳī (b. 1286/1869-70) taught in Medina; others taught and set up *madrasas* in India. Notable amongst these are: the great logician, Mullā Ḥasan (d. 1209/1794-5), who left a reputation in Rampūr capable of winning respect and support for the teaching efforts of the Farangī Maḥall family nearly 200 years later; the extremely successful Malik al-ʿUlamāʾ Mullā Ḥaydar (d. 1256/1840-1), who established the Hyderabad branch of the family and brought Farangī Maḥall into a continuing association with India's most powerful Muslim state; but most important of all, ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm [*q.v.*] who in the sixty years before his death in 1225/1810-1 taught in Lucknow, Shāhdjahānpūr, Rampūr, Buhār and finally in Madras where, through his teaching and through the *madrasa* which he set up in the Wālādjāhī mosque, he inspired a revival of learning in South India.

In Lucknow and wherever they travelled, the Farangī Maḥall family pioneered a new curriculum known as the *Dars-i Niẓāmiyya*. Till recently this curriculum has formed the basis of most *madrasa* courses in India, including that of the *Dār al-ʿulūm* at Deoband. The *Dars-i Niẓāmiyya* was created by Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn. It is designed to direct the student only to the most difficult or most comprehensive books on each subject, so that he is both forced to think and has a chance of finishing his education by the age of sixteen or seventeen. The curriculum has been criticised for placing to much emphasis on the rational sciences. This seems unjustified. It stipulates no specific bias and insists on no particular books. It is at bottom a way of teaching and the emphasis is left to those who use it.

Members of the Farangī Maḥall family also wrote much, and amongst the most prolific were Mullā Mubīn (d. 1225/1810-11) and ʿAbd al-Bārī who wrote 111 books. Of course, many of their books were glosses and super-glosses on the classical texts they taught, but there were also works on mysticism and collections of poetry; there were biographies like ʿInāyat Allāh's *Tadhkira-yi ʿulamāʾ-i Farangī Maḥall* which is the major source of family history; and then there was a variety of work from versatile scholars like Walī Allāh (1182-1270/1768-1853) who ranged from a commentary on the Ḳurʾān in five volumes to a treatise on government, *Ādāb al-salāṭīn*. Works which should be noted in particular are: Mullā Ḥasan's text on logic which has been popular for nearly 200 years amongst those teaching the *Dars-i Niẓāmiyya*, Baḥr al-ʿUlūm's study of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, and Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn's work on the life and deeds of his friend and *pīr*, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ of Bānsa, *Manāḳib-i Razzāḳiyya*. The works of one prolific scholar, who wrote almost entirely in Arabic, stand before all. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī's *al-Siʿāya fī kashf mā fī sharḥ al-wiḳāya*, his al-*Taʿlīḳ al-mumadjdjad* and his *Ẓafar al-amānī* establish him as one of the greatest scholars of recent times [see ʿABD AL-ḤAYY]. These books, together with his collection of *fatāwā*, are still much used by Muslims both inside and outside India and have led to Lucknow being known as the "city of ʿAbd al-Ḥayy".

The scholarship of the Farangī Maḥall family placed particular emphasis on jurisprudence and logic, which was to be expected from *ʿulamāʾ*, many of whose pupils were initially destined to become government servants and who with this in mind were patronised by the Mughal emperors. They represented a distinctly different tradition to that founded by Shāh Walī Allāh [*q.v.*] of Dihlī in the 12th/18th century and sustained by the Deoband school from the 13th/19th century. The Farangī Maḥallīs fostered the skills designed to support Muslim states; the followers of Walī Allāh were concerned to develop the resources to enable Muslims to cope with the loss of political power. They looked

back to classical Islam emphasising in their scholarship the Ḳur'ān and the *Ḥadīth*. Followers of the two traditions of course crossed swords. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy had a notable exchange with Nawwāb Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān [*q.v.*], the leader of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth (Saeedullah, 93-101), while ʿAbd al-ʿAlī debated so successfully with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of Dihlī, Shāh Walī Allāh's son, that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz felt compelled to address him as Baḥr al-ʿUlūm or "Sea of knowledge" (ʿInayāt Allāh, *Tadhkira*, 141). A further feature of the Farangī Maḥall tradition was tolerance, and though Lucknow is renowned for its Shīʿī-Sunnī quarrels, many Shīʿīs sat at the feet of these learned Sunnīs. Their independence of mind was another characteristic. Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn, for instance, gave *fatāwā* at variance with many of those in the great legal guide of his time, the *Fatāwā Ālamgīrī* (Anṣārī, *Bānī-i Dars-i Niẓāmī*, 163-4), while the great strength of ʿAbd al-Ḥayy as a scholar was his capacity to cast aside precedent and go back to first principles in promoting an understanding of Islam. Much work needs to be done before the scholarly achievement of the Farangī Maḥall family can be fully appreciated, but Shiblī Nuʿmānī did not exaggerate when, after visiting Farangī Maḥall in 1313-14/1896, he summed it up in these words: "This is the Cambridge of India" (Shiblī, 99).

The Farangī Maḥallīs, however, were not just scholars; they were also, to a man, mystics. Even ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, whose grave is one of bare earth open to the skies, stressed the benefits of visiting the shrine at Bānsa and in his will urged his relatives to study Imām al-Ghazālīs's *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*. As in their scholarship, the mysticism of the Farangī Maḥallīs with its heavy concentration on the saint's tomb and the celebration of *ʿurs* contrasted strikingly with the later Walī Allāh-Deobandī tradition which eschewed such practices. Moderate supporters of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, they continued to study and to teach the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī up to the 20th century. Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (d. 5 Shawwāl 1136/27 June 1724), the illiterate *pīr* of the Ḳādirī order, was the saint to whom all members of this learned Farangī Maḥall family looked. They regarded their association with ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ as crucial to their spiritual well-being, while the *sadjdjāda*s of his shrine at Bānsa some 30 miles from Lucknow were careful to pay the scholars of Farangī Maḥall especial respect. There are also three important centres of devotion within the family. The shrine of Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn in Lucknow, which is renowned for the benefit it can bring the mentally disturbed and scholars in difficulty; the shrine of Shāh Anwār al-Ḥaḳḳ, and his successors and followers, which is also in Lucknow; and the shrine of Mawlānā ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm which is in the Wālādjāhī Mosque at Triplicane, Madras. There are, furthermore, three important *silsilas* which run through the family: the Ḳādirī flowing from Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ of Bansa, the Čishtī-Niẓāmī from Shāh Ḳudrat Allāh Niẓāmī of Ṣafīpur, and the Čishtī-Ṣābirī which goes back through Mullā Ḳuṭb al-Dīn to Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh of Allāhābād, the great proponent of Ibn al-ʿArabī, to Shāh Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ of Radawlī.

By the present century, the springs of Indian mysticism were failing, but where they still flowed, the Farangī Maḥall family were often prominent. They had connections with many of the major shrines in North India. They taught the sons of many *sadjdjāda*s at the Madrasa-yi ʿĀliya Niẓāmiyya, the calendar of which was arranged to enable students to attend important *ʿurs*. Consequently, the Farangī Maḥallīs were given much respect. The last important *pīr* of the family was ʿAbd al-Bārī. His influence was ramified widely throughout North Indian society, where his disciples ranged from the cadets of great landed families to politicians such as Muḥammad and Shawkat ʿAlī and to relatives of the *sadjdjāda*s of the most important shrine in India, that of Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī at Adjmīr. His influence, and that of Farangī Maḥall, was demonstrated when at the *ʿurs* of Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī in 1334/1916 he played the leading role in founding the Bazm-i Ṣūfiyya-yi Hind, which aimed to revive and to reform Indian mysticism.

From the time when they were established in Farangī Maḥall, the descendants of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, through the expansion of the family, through teaching, through writing, through giving *fatāwā* and through providing spiritual leadership, made wide connections throughout Indo-Muslim society. As modern politics developed, these connections represented a significant network of influence reaching from Lucknow to Madras and from Karachi to Chittagong. When the Farangī Maḥallīs wished to organise an India-wide movement, as in the campaign to protect the holy places of Islam embodied in the Andjuman-i Khuddām-i Kaʿba [*q.v.* in Suppl.] founded in 1331/1913, or in the campaign to support the Sharīf Ḥusayn against Ibn Saʿūd in 1343-4/1925-6, their activities were based on this network. Moreover, it played a similar role when Farangī Maḥallīs joined "modern" politicians in the great religio-political movements of the period. They were in the forefront of those driving forward the Indian *Khilāfat* movement up to the end of 1338/1920, while they were again prominent in the revival of the All-India Muslim League after 1356/1937. In all these campaigns Farangī Maḥall *ʿulamā'* promoted policies which, as in most other things, Deobandi *ʿulamā'* either found difficult to support or opposed outright. This Deobandi opposition only serves to illuminate the point that the Farangī Maḥallīs were the first *ʿulamā'* to enter modern Indian politics. Men such as ʿAbd al-Bārī, Salāmat Allāh and ʿInāyat Allāh, orators, writers and builders of organisations, were important channels through which modern politicians based in Dihlī and Lucknow made contact with the Muslim masses.

The contributions of the Farangī Maḥallīs to Muslim education, learning and politics over three centuries make them remarkable among Indo-Muslim families. Family tradition itself helps to explain this record of sustained achievement. Each generation has placed great emphasis on maintaining the family's standards of learning and mystical knowledge. And this process has been helped by the way in which the family has kept together; however far Farangī Maḥallīs strayed in search of a living, most returned to Lucknow to marry, to find solace in times of difficulty and to die. Moreover, the family has remained united except for one division which developed over the succession to Baḥr al-ʿUlūm in Madras. Only from the middle of the present century, as Islamic education has retreated before western education and as the partition of the subcontinent has divided the family between India and Pakistan, has the hold of family tradition weakened, and the record of achievement declined.

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(F.C.R. Robinson)

FARAS AL-MĀʾ (A., pl. *khayl al-māʾ*, *khuyūl al-māʾ*) and synonyms *faras*, *al-baḥr faras al-nahr*, *faras nahrī*, *ḥiṣān al-baḥr*, denoting the hippopotamus, are nothing other than Arabic translations of its Greek name ὁ ἵππος ὁ ποτάμιος in the works of Herodotus, then ἱπποπόταμος in the works of Galen and Aristotle; Herodotus also calls it ὁ ἵππος τοῦ Νείλου, whence *faras al-Nīl* "horse of the Nile" and Pliny simply translated the Greek as *equus fluviatilis*. In Nubia it bears the name *birnīk* and in the Touareg country, *agamba* (pl. *igambaten*) and *bango* (pl. *bangōten*). The epithets *khinzīr al-māʾ* (Kazimirski) and *djāmūs al-baḥr* (Amīn al-Maʿlūf) attributed to the hippopotamus seem to be errors of definition.

Belonging to the order of non-ruminant artiodactylae, this bulky African pachyderm (*Hippopotamus amphibius*) forms, with its dwarf relative from Liberia, the recently-discovered pygmy hippopotamus (*Choeropsis liberiensis*), the family of hippopotamids, which is closely related to the suids and whose habitat at the present stretches over central and south-eastern Africa, from Senegal to Ethiopia and the Transvaal. In the mid-Quaternary period it was present in large numbers in Europe and North Africa, as is proved by fossile remains. It was widespread throughout the Sahara in the Neolithic period and at the dawn of recorded history; Hannon, in the course of his famous journey, came across the animal in a river which was probably the Saguiet-el-Hamra flowing to the north of the Rio de Oro. The Nile was a home for these creatures the whole length of its course, including the Delta, until very recent times, since the Neapolitan doctor Zerenghi captured a pair of them in a ditch-trap, in 1609, near Damietta. At the beginning of the 19th century, according to Rüppel, the hippopotamus was still common in Nubia, but today, in order to find it, one must travel down the Nile to a point well beyond Khartoum; the shrinking of its habitat and the rapid drop in its numbers are due to the combined action of the progressive drying-up of the Sahara and associated regions and uncontrolled destruction on the part of man, black as well as white.

The first mention of the hippopotamus appears to be Biblical, since exegetes identify it with the *Behemoth*, the brute beast (arabised as *bahīmūt*, associated with the root *B-H-M*) described in the Book of Job (xl, 10-19), as being one of the first works of God and as embodying blind force along-side the "Leviathan" (possibly the crocodile); whatever the case may be, it is very probable that the waters of the Jordan were acquainted with the creature in those remote times. Common throughout ancient Egypt, the hippopotamus, the walking scourge of crops, was the incarnation, in local mythology, of the maleficent goddess Thoueris, partner in evil to the crocodile god Sobek; a statuette in varnished blue ceramic (Paris, Museum of the Louvre) dating from the 11th Dynasty, or about two thousand years before the Christian era, definitely constitutes one of the most ancient representations of the pachyderm. After the Bible, it is in the works of Herodotus (*Histories*, ii, 71) that we find the oldest description of the "horse of the Nile" based on information, now lost, given by Hecate of Miletus (6th century B.C.); Aristotle was to reproduce this account (*Natural history*), tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, i, 127) and after him, a number of authors including Plutarch, Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo, Pausanias and Pliny. For all of them, the image of the hippopotamus is that of a cloven-footed beast like the cow, with a mane and with a horse's whinny, but with a very large and snub nose, and with the tail and tusks of the wild boar. It kills and eats the crocodile and devastates crops on the banks of the river; it is the size "of a donkey" and its hide, impenetrable so long as it is kept dry, is used to make javelins, shields and helmets. In spite of the exhibition of hippopotami at Rome on the occasion of triumphs, and especially at that of Augustus after his victory over Cleopatra, in spite of the presence of a specimen in the menageries of Heliogabalus, and in spite, finally, of a precise description of the animal given by Achilles Tatius and repeated, in the year 325 of the present era, by Eusthatus of Cappadocia, the western world was to remain until the Renaissance in almost complete ignorance of the hippopotamus, to the extent that in his *Treasury*, the Florentine Brunetto Latini (13th century) could still write: "l'ypopotame est un peissons qui est apelez cheval fluviel por ce que il naist el flun de Nile." The creature only began to be known with the accounts, in 1544, of P. Gilles and P. Belon who were able to observe at leisure, in Constantinople, one of these animals kept in captivity. In the East, Arab authors, cosmographers and encyclopaedists, while retaining the assertions of Aristotle, were able nevertheless to collect, from Nubia and Abyssinia, more precise information. Thus al-Djāḥiẓ, without himself knowing the animal, reproduces on the subject (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 129-45, 250) some interesting details supplied by travelling merchants. He declares notably that the traces left by the hippopotamus, in the course of its nocturnal sorties, on the muddy banks of the Nile, shows to the river farmers the farthest limit to which the river will rise when in flood, and that, if captured young, the hippopotamus is easily domesticated and used to be kept in homes in close proximity to women and children; this was said to be an effective means of protecting them from the jaws of the ever-lurking crocodile. When it leaves the river to graze, adds al-Djāḥiẓ, the hippo-

potamus goes a considerable distance and only starts browsing while returning to the water, as if it has calculated in advance the quantity of food that will be necessary for it during the night. Its teeth had the power, among the Nubians, to soothe their frequent stomach ailments, caused by their crude diet of raw fish and their habit of drinking muddy water; the invalid would wear one of these teeth over his stomach. Besides, the internal organs of the hippopotamus were regarded by them as a good remedy against the periodical seizures of epileptics at the time of new moons (*ṣarʿ al-ahilla*). To these observations, al-Masʿūdī adds (*Murūdj*, § 805) that while feeding, the hippopotamus deposits its excrement here and there and that the intact seeds that it contains ensure a regrowth of the vegetation. However, this manner of restitution did little to compensate for the havoc wreaked in the planted fields, whose owners were often obliged to suppress the creatures that were to blame for the damage; in order to do this, they did not hesitate to sacrifice generous portions of lupins (*turmus, tirmis*) offered to the greedy pachyderms, which would gorge themselves with them before returning to the water and soon after burst with meteorism.

Those who, after these two authors, made mention of the hippopotamus were content to repeat what had previously been said. It is, however, curious to find that al-Idrīsī, describing the Nile and Nubia (*Nuzhat*, climate I, section 4), devotes only two lines to the animal, stating that it has webbed feet. Still more astonishing is the lack of attention paid to it by al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ch. xx) in the context of "wonders of the Nile"; repeating al-Masʿūdī, he adds only that the animal is present in large numbers in the mining district of the Shanḳīr, on the double bend of the river. Al-Damīrī completes all the preceding with his customary rubrics about the permissibility of eating it, the particular qualities of its organs and the animal's role in oneiromancy. Thus we know (*Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1356/1937, ii, 221-2) that according to the scheme of Ḳurʾānic law, the flesh of the hippopotamus may be consumed because it is a wild herbivore "resembling" a horse. We also learn that the skin of the pachyderm, buried in the middle of a village, protects the latter from every scourge; that after burning, the ashes of this skin mixed in a paste with flour of the vetch (*kirsanna*) makes a plaster which, in three days, cures abcesses; and that the gall, after prolonged soaking, is dried to make a powder for treating eyes affected with the dark cataract (*al-māʾ al-aswad*). What al-Damīrī omits to mention is the high value accorded to the ivory of the teeth and tusks of the hippopotamus. In fact, this ivory was exported from East Africa along with that of the elephant [see ʿĀDJ and FĪL] and the "horn" of the rhinoceros [see KARKADDAN], but at a higher price because of the superiority of its grain, of which the pure white does not grow yellow in the course of time; confused with the ivory of walrus-tusks under the name *rohart* (Nordic in origin), the West imported it as a high-quality material for craftsmen of inlaid goods, of high-class cutlery, and, most of all, of artificial dentures; the production of synthetic materials with resin base destroyed this market to some extent.

In short, all these mediaeval texts relating to the hippopotamus are nothing more than echoes of accounts where imagination frequently prevails over reality; also, the only true Arab testimony of real documentary value concerning the animal remains that of the indefatigable Moroccan globe-trotter Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who saw it with his own eyes in its Nigerian habitat. In fact, having left Sidjilmāsa and crossed Mauretania and the vast desert of the Touaregs, he came, in the course of the year 754/1353, to the Muslim kingdom of Mali [*q.v.*] on the Niger which, like all men at that time, he believed to be a branch of the Nile. There he was in the very heart of hippopotamus country, since *mali* is its name in Bambara, in Malinka and in Mandingo. His first encounter with the animals took place in the vicinity of a broad bay (*khalīdj*) in the river (possibly Lake Debo) which he had to cross by boat with his caravan (*Riḥla*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 201). ". . . There were there," he tells "sixteen enormous quadrupeds which astonished me and which I took to be elephants in view of their large numbers in this same place. Then I saw them plunge into the water of the river and I consulted Abū Bakr b. Yaʿḳūb (the caravan guide) about these huge creatures. They are, he explained to me, "horses of the river" (*khayl al-baḥr*) that have left the water to graze on dry land. They are larger than horses, but they have the mane, the tail and the head, although their foot is that of the elephant. I had occasion to see these hippopotami again when we travelled down the Nile (= the Niger) in canoes from Timbuktu (*Tunbuktū*) to Gao (*Kūkū*, formerly called Gogo); they were swimming in the middle of the river, lifting their heads above the surface and breathing noisily. For fear of these animals the canoists moved closer to the bank lest they capsize us. The natives have a cunning method for fighting these beasts; they use javelins of which the (barbed) iron tip is pierced with a hole through which they thread strong cords. They attack the animal with these throwing-weapons and, if the spear strikes the foot or the withers, the iron becomes deeply embedded; all the hunters then have to do is drag the victim to the bank with the ropes; they then dispatch him and feed on his flesh. Hence the abundance of bones strewn the whole length of the banks of the river." We may add that, since then, the massacre has not ceased and has intensified with the coming of the Whites to Africa; the hippopotamus provided, to a considerable extent, the subsistence of the armies fighting in the Cameroons at the time of the First World War, and it has since paid a heavy tribute to suppliers of shipyards and to local militia chiefs, without counting "safari" enthusiasts in search of spectacular trophies. Some partial measures towards the protection of the animal have fortunately intervened in some modern African states, for there can be no doubt, as an English explorer has written, ". . . that once civilization has driven the hippopotami away from an African river, that river loses one of its greatest charms and one of its major ornaments."

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FARMĀSŪNIYYA (a.), freemasonry (also in Arabic: *Firmāsūniyya, Māsūniyya* and *Bināya Ḥurra*; in Turkish, *Franmasonluk, Farmasonluk, Masonluk*).

I. In the Ottoman empire and its successor states.

Freemansonry first penetrated the Empire via lodges (Arabic *maḥfil*; Turkish *mahfel, loca*) established by Europeans. As many of the lodges were established without the authority of organised freemasonry, they were frequently short-lived. Several lodges were reported in Aleppo, Izmir and Corfu in 1738, in Alexandretta in the early 1740s, in the Armenian parts of Eastern Turkey in 1762 and in Istanbul in 1768 or 1769. Individual freemasons—although not lodges—were reported in Tunisia in 1784 (Jews of Livornese origin) and a year later in Algeria (local Muslims). In Egypt, lodges were allegedly set up by French officers during the Napoleonic Occupation. Despite the small number and limited activities of freemasons in the 18th century, the Ottoman authorities restricted them, with only moderate success, as early as 1748. More information is available on masonic activity since the 1820s, especially among foreigners and local Christians and Jews in Istanbul, Izmir, Syria, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus and other parts of the Empire. From the mid-19th century onwards, more and more international freemasonic organisations founded lodges in the main population centres of the Empire, through their European residents. The spread of freemasonry was indeed a facet of European influence; it progressed more rapidly in areas under European political control, e.g. in Algeria after 1830 (1851: 842 freemasons in 14 lodges), Tunisia after 1881 (1910: more than 300 freemasons) and Egypt after 1882. European economic penetration had an impact as well; the first lodge in Jaffa was set up by French railway engineers in 1891. Robert Morris, an American freemason who toured Asia Minor in 1868 and founded the first lodge in Jerusalem, in that year calculated that 17 English, 15 French and 8 Italian lodges were active throughout the Empire. Actually there were more; by the end of the century, there was hardly a city or town of importance without at least one lodge. Christians, Muslims and Jews mingled freely in these lodges (although certain lodges were preponderantly of one faith, such as Sion's Lodge, founded among the Izmir Jews in 1870), which were among the few meeting-places for members of different faiths, as well as for foreigners and natives. This created a language problem, and the ritual was sometimes performed in more than one language. Membership figures were generally modest—between approximately one dozen and one hundred per lodge—but the importance of freemasonry was enhanced by such important persons as the Algerian *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (1864), Meḥmed Ras̲h̲id, *wālī* of Syria (1868), D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Afg̲h̲ānī [*q.v.*], Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] and several members of the Khedivial family (from the 1860s onwards). Moreover, many local freemasons were people-of-means—generally of the upper middle classes—because of the relatively high membership dues. This remains true, to a great extent, to this very day.

It was perhaps inevitable that the lodges would serve, at times, as nuclei for anti-establishment and even revolutionary political activity, owing to their clandestine nature. Prince Ḥalīm, Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Egypt in 1867-8, attempted to use the freemasons in his struggle against the Khedive Ismāʿīl. In 1876, the deposed Sultan Murād V unsuccessfully sought to enlist the assistance of the freemasons in Istanbul to ensure his safety from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's designs and probably even for launching a counter-coup. Early in the 20th century, masonic lodges, mostly those in Salonica, served as a cover for the meetings of leaders of the Young Turks, of whom at least one, Ṭalʿat, was an active freemason. There is, however, no conclusive evidence that freemasonry as such played a role in the preparation and implementation of the Young Turk Revolution. True, freemasonry could—and did—operate more freely in the post-Ḥamīdian era (it had been proscribed during ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's reign), although only for a short period, as Enwer forbade its activities soon after World War I broke out. Persistent rumours about freemansonry have nonetheless discredited it in Republican Turkey and some of the Arab states (in Syria and Egypt freemasonry is prohibited; in several others, it is severely limited). This is hardly due to the number of freemasons: There were about 500 freemasons in Turkey in 1923 and *ca.* 2000-2400 between 1930 and 1935—when all lodges were closed down. They reopened in 1948 as an Association of the Masons of Turkey (Türkiye Mason Derneği) which has been publishing since January 1951 a periodical, *Türk Mason Dergisi*, renamed *Mason Dergisi* in July 1973. Turkish membership reached 2,367 in 1966; figures for other Middle Eastern states are not available, but seem to be equally modest (e.g. in 1931, there were *ca.* 1500 in Palestine and *ca.* 1000 in Tunisia) and declining since the disappearance of the Mandates and Protectorates. Rather, freemasonry's universalist and international character, partly beyond the state's immediate control, awakened suspicion in nationalist circles, while the non-Muslim origins of its founders and the marked secularist spirit in many of the lodges aroused animosity among devout Muslims. Freemasonry's social and educational philanthropy has been resented, as well, which may explain why many, if not most published works on freemasonry, in both Arabic and Turkish, tend to attack rather than defend it. Several of those printed in the Arab states link freemasonry and Zionism (without tangible proof), denigrating both. Such works have been published in Turkey, too, where the most prolific exponent of anti-freemasonry was Cevat Rifat Atilhan. Recently, Turkish organs sympathetic to the Nationalist Action and National Salvation Parties have systematically been presenting freemasonry as evil and hostile to both Turkey and Islam. These attitudes notwithstanding, masonic activity continues in Turkey and nearly all the Arab states, with varying degrees of success.

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(J.M. Landau)

2. In Persia. For this, see FARĀMŪSH-KHĀNA, above.

FAROUK [see FĀRŪḲ].

FARRUKHĀN, the name of two *iṣpahbadhs* of Ṭabaristān: Farrukhān Djīlānshāh, ancestor of the Dābūyid dynasty of Ṭabaristān and of the Bādhuspānid dynasty of Ruyan, and Farrukhān the Great, his great-grandson and the second Dābūyid *iṣpahbadh* of Ṭabaristān.

1. Farrukhān Djīlānshāh, *iṣpahbadh* of Ṭabaristān at the time of the Arab conquest, in about 22/643. He claimed to be the great-grandson of Djāmasp, brother of the Sāsānid king Kawādh I (488-531), at least according to Ibn Isfandiyār, 97, who asserts that he ruled over the south-Caspian provinces (Ṭabaristān, Djīlān, Daylam) and the land of the Khazars and the Slavs; but his titles contradict these assertions, in fact, according to Balʿamī, iii, 493; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119, tr. 91; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2659, he adopted the pompous titles: Djīl Djīlān, Iṣpahbadh Iṣpahbadhān, Iṣpahbadh Khurāsān, Padhishkhwārdjarshāh, which are to be translated as: King of the people of Djīlān, chief of the *iṣpahbadhs* (of Ṭabaristān), (holding his office from the) *iṣpahbadh* of Khurāsān, king of the mountain regions (of Ṭabaristān). If then control of the land of the Khazars and Slavs is to be excluded, there is no reason to suppose that Farrukhān exercised effective control of Daylam and Djīlān, in spite of his title of Djīlānshāh, which simply indicates that he was a native of Djīlān, as is confirmed by Balʿamī, iii, 493. In fact, Daylam and Djīlān are not mentioned among Farrukhān's possessions in the treaty of capitulations which he concluded with the general Suwayd b. Muḳarrin, in 22/643 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2659-60). All that is attested by the sources is that Farrukhān, profiting from the decline of the central Sāsānid power, enjoyed autonomy over Ṭabaristān, and occupied a senior position with regard to the other local chieftains. His allegiance to the Sāsānids is shown by the fact that he sent military contingents to the battle of Nihāwand (21/642) which decided the fate of the Iranian plateau (al-Balādhurī, 280; al-Dīnawarī, 141).

After their victory, the Arab armies marched against the northern provinces of Persia and took control of al-Rayy (in spite of the intervention of troops sent from Ṭabaristān, Balʿamī, iii, 489), of

Dunbāwand, Ḳūmis and Djurdjān, thus encircling Ṭabaristān. Also, "when the *ispahbadhs* of Ṭabaristān became aware of these facts, they went to consult their suzerain, upon whom they all depended, and who lived at Āmul, in the centre of the province. This was a powerful man, a Gīlānī, his name was Farrukhān and he was called *ispahbadh* of the *ispahbadhs*..." (Balʿamī, iii, 493). Farrukhān advised submission with the payment of a meagre 500,000 *dirhams* in tribute for Ṭabaristān (Balʿamī, iii, 493-4; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2659-60), which was far less than the sum paid to the Sāsānids, according to Ibn Isfandiyār, 118. This submission was to prove purely formal, hence this led in 30/651 to an expedition by Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, which initially met with fierce resistance (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2836, ii, 1322; Balʿamī iv, 334-5; al-Balādhurī, 334-5; Ibn Isfandiyār, 98). The local historians indicate neither the length of the reign of Farrukhān, nor the date of his death, but state that his son Djīl Djāwbara seized control of Daylam and Djīlān (which were reckoned to form part of the possessions of Farrukhān Djīlānshāh), raised an army there and threatened to invade Ṭabaristān (another of his father's territories). The King of Kings Yazdgird III (632-51) was obliged to accept the *fait accompli* and to invest Djīl Djāwbara with the title Djīl Djīlān, Padhishkhwārdjarshāh (Ibn Isfandiyār, 97; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 42).

Now these events are placed in the 35th year of the new Persian era, which corresponds to 667 A.D., if the era in question is that of Yazdgird III, who fled from his capital, Ctesiphon-Seleucia, in 637 A.D., and was assassinated in 31/651. One might suppose that Farrukhān Djīlānshāh had been deposed, which would explain the reconquest by his son, but the strangest thing is that Ibn Isfandiyār, 97, claims that Djīl Djāwbara established his capital at Fūman, in Djīlān, reigned 15 years and divided his territories among his elder son Dābūya (eponymous ancestor of the Dābūyids) and his younger son Bādhuspān (eponymous ancestor of the Bādhuspānids [*q.v.*]; the Dābūyids continued to dominate the other local princes of Ṭabaristān (the Zarmihrids of Miyāndurūd near Sāriya; the Ḳārinids of the Ḳarīn mountains; Bāwandids of the Sharwīn mountains; the Marzbāns of Ṭamīsha; etc.) and had their capital at Āmul, while the Bādhuspānids controlled Rūyān. On the other hand, the death of Djīl Djāwbara is placed by the local historians in the year 50 of the new era of the Persians, which corresponds to 682 A.D., if the era in question is that of Yazdgird III. Now Ṭabaristān inaugurated its own era on the 1st Farvardīn I/27th Shawwāl 31/11th June 652, and the year 50 of the era of Ṭabaristān corresponds to 82-3/701-2. This shows that the exploits attributed to Djīl Djāwbara are probably a legendary account, inspired by the etymology of his name Djāwbara, which means "he who rides a bull"; according to the local sources, Djīl Djāwbara disguised himself, for a reconnaissance of Ṭabaristān, by pushing in front of himself two cows from Djīlan (Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 39; Rehatsek, in *JBBRAS* (1876), 438). As for the new era of the Persians, it is the era of Ṭabaristān (since the length of the reigns of the Dābūybid *ispahbadhs*, as given by the local historians, corresponds within a few years to the dates shown by the Dābūyid coinage discovered up to the present) rather than that of Yazdgird III (which differs by 20 years from the era of Ṭabaristān). So we have a reign of Farrukhān Djīlānshāh lasting until roughly 61/680; his successors were his son Djīl Djāwbara who reigned 15 years (*ca.* 62-77, 681-96), then Dābūya who "reigned over Ṭabaristān in a severe and inflexible manner" (Ibn Isfandiyār, 98) for 16 years, that is *ca.* 77-92/696-710, and finally Farrukhān the Great, surnamed *Dhu 'l-Manāḳib* ("the Virtuous"), who reigned for 17 years according to the local sources.

2. Farrukhān the Great, great-grandson of Farrukhān Djīlānshāh, and second *ispahbadh* of the Dābūyid dynasty of Ṭabaristān. His reign begins with the issue of coinage in the name of the Dābūyid *ispahbadhs*, dating from the year 60 of the era of Ṭabaristān 93/711. The coinage consists of silver half-drachmas, of the same type as the Sāsānid dirhams of Khusraw II (590-628), but their originality lies in the fact that they are dated by the era of Ṭabaristān, which begins on the 1st Farvardīn 21 of the era of Yazdgird III, corresponding to the 11th June 652 (according to Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, viii (1854), 173-4, and not 651 as is supposed by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 133). The year of issue is indicated on the left on the reverse side of the coins, in Pahlavi, of which the writing is ambiguous, which explains how its interpretation may be difficult and sometimes uncertain. It is thus that Unvala insists that there are two princes: Farroxᵛ (the Farrukhān the Great of the local sources) who reigned 10-11 years, from 60 to 70 T., and another prince, whom he calls Farroxᵛān, who would be the son of Farroxᵛ, and who would have reigned 8-9 years, from 72 to 79 T. (reproduction of the coinage of Farrukhān the Great, of the years 60, 63 65-70 75, 77 T. in Unvala, Plate). To justify this distinction, he stresses the difference in the orthography of the names: Farroxᵛ and Farroxᵛān, which is also found in Ibn Isfandiyār, 114. This historian mentions in the reign of the last Dābūyid, Khurshīd, a Fakhrān and a Farrukhān, both sons of Djusnas. Furthermore, Unvala declares that the coins of Farroxᵛ have no marginal inscription on the right, whereas those of Farroxᵛān bear the words *apd* and *nwak* (= "miraculous, marvellous, good"), after the year 72 T. (Unvala: 7, § 3; 8, § 4, 5, 7, 9, 10; 30, § 10; n. 6; 31, § 11, 15). These arguments did not convince J. Walker (according to Unvala, 7-8, § 4), who thinks that the reference is to the same individual, Farrukhān the Great, of whom the local historians speak (reproduction of the coinage from 60-2, 65-70, 75, 77, in Walker, i, Pl. xxiii), but does not give reasons.

In our opinion, there are important objections to Unvala's hypothesis: seeing that Ibn Isfandiyār distinguishes so carefully the sons of Djusnas, there is no reason why he should confuse Farroxᵛ and Farroxᵛān. On the other hand, Unvala (8, § 4; 31, § 15) makes Farroxᵛān the son of Farroxᵛ "as the patronymic indicates", which is not conclusive, for Fakhrān and Farrukhān are two brothers, and not father and son. Finally, the supplementary marginal inscriptions do not imply *ipso facto* the existence of two persons: in fact the coins of the governor of Ṭabaristān Hāniʾ b. Hāniʾ have marginal inscriptions on the right, which vary (reproduction in Walker, i, Pl. xxv, 12-15, xxxviii, 12-15); some of them mention only the name of the governor, other bear the initial ع of عدل (= "justice") above the name (according to Unvala: 12, § 6). There is no question here in Unvala's mind of two distinct governors.

On the other hand, the anonymous coinages of 134 T., 135 T., and 137 T. are of three varieties: the first are marked *nwak(u)*, *nwak*, ععع (= "very, good"); the second *Djarīr*, *nwak(u)*, ع; the third *apd*

and *nwak(u)*, *apd* and *nwak*, *apd* and ع (according to Unvala: 12, § 9; 10, § 25; reproduction in Walker, iv, Pl. xxvi, 15-17, xxvii, 1-9, 13, xxxviii, ii, 14). The Pahlavi words *apd* and *nwak* are thus homologues of the initial ع of عبد, and it is clear therefore that a Farrox^{v} and a Farrox^{v}ān cannot be distinguished in the manner employed by Unvala.

According to Ibn Isfandiyār, 27, Farrukhān the Great took control of the territories lying between Ṭabaristān and Nīshāpūr, and put an end to the incursions by the Turks of Dihistān with whom he made a truce. This respite was put to advantage in reinforcing his realm, so well that when hostilities were resumed, the Turks were crushed at Tūrān-čar or Turīsha. This narrative in fact recalls an episode of the reign of Khusraw I (Christensen, *Sassanides*, 380), which was associated elsewhere with the grandfather of Farrukhān the Great, Djīl Djāwbara. This story is not to be believed, especially since Ibn Isfandiyār states elsewhere (105) that Farrukhān maintained friendly relations with the governor of Khurāsān, Ḳutayba b. Muslim (86-96/702-15) [*q.v.*]. All these errors are explained by the fact that the local historians claim that the Dābūyids ruled over Ṭabaristān, Gīlān and Daylam because they bore the title Gīl Gīlān, Iṣpahbadh Iṣpahbadhan (king of the Gīls, Iṣpahbadh of the Iṣpabadhs). Now, neither Gīlān nor Daylam was under the rule of Farrukhān the Great, for Ibn Isfandiyār, 99-100, mentions an attack made by the Daylamīs against Ṭabaristān, an attack which was frustrated by a trick. Similarly, when Yazīd b. al-Muhallab tried to conquer Ṭabaristān in 97/717, Farrukhān the Great "appealed for help to the King of Daylam who sent him 10,000 men" (Balʿamī, iv, 228). These Daylamī reinforcements and the nature of the terrain, suitable for ambushes, saved the *iṣpahbadh* from annexation of his territory, but he was obliged to consent to a heavy tribute to obtain the withdrawal of Yazīd's troops (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1320-1, 1327-9; al-Balādhurī, 336-8; Ibn Isfandiyār, 105-7, presents a different version, which cannot be accepted). Farrukhān the Great concerned himself with the development of Ṭabaristān until his death, *ca.* 110-12/728-30. He was succeeded by his son Dādhburzmihr who reigned for 12 years (Ibn Isfandiyār, 108) until *ca.* 122/739.

Bibliography: In addition to the Arabic sources (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*; Ibn al-Faḳīh; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*; Ṭabarī; Ibn al-Athīr) and the Persian ones (Balʿamī; Ibn Isfandiyār, abridged tr. E.G. Browne; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i* Ṭabaristān, ed. B. Dorn, St. Petersburg 1850; E. Rehatsek, *The Bāw and Gāobārah Sepahbuds along the southern shores of the Caspian*, in *JBBRAS*, xii (1876), 410-45, there should be added J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*; Mordtmann, *Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlevi Legenden, iii. Abteilung, Münzen von Tabaristan*, in *ZDMG*, viii (1854), 173-80; H.L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Les dynasties de Māzandarān de l'an 50 H. à l'an 1006 H (672-1597/98) d'après les sources locales*, in *JA*, ccxxviii (1938); J.M. Unvala, *Numismatique du Ṭabaristān*, Paris 1938; J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian coins in the British Museum*, London 1941; M. Rekaya, *Les provinces sud-caspiennes de la conquête arabe au milieu du IIIe siècle de l'H./642-864*, typed mémoire, Paris-Sorbonne 1968, abridged in *RSO*, xlviii (1973-4), 117-52.

(M. Rekaya)

FĀRŪḲ, King of Egypt, son of King Fuʾād (1923-36) [see FUʾĀD AL-AWWAL] and Queen Nazlī (*née* Ṣabrī), grandson of the Khedive Ismāʿīl (1863-79) [see ISMĀʿĪL PASHA], was born in Cairo on 21 Djumādā al-ūlā 1338/11 February 1920. He was proclaimed Crown Prince on 13 April 1922, officially named Prince of the Ṣaʿīd (Upper Egypt) on 12 December 1933, and proclaimed King of Egypt on 28 April 1936 in succession to his father who died on that day. He officially ascended the throne on 6 May 1936. On 20 January 1938 he married Ṣafīnāz Dhu 'l-Fiḳār, daughter of Judge Yūsuf Dhu 'l-Fiḳār, Vice-President of the Alexandria Mixed Court of Appeals. Ṣafīnāz was given the name and title of Queen Farīda of Egypt. There were three daughters from the marriage, before it was dissolved in November 1948, when Fārūḳ divorced Farīda. On 6 May 1951 Fārūḳ, at thirty-one, married Nārimān Ṣādiḳ, the seventeen-year old daughter of Ḥusayn Fahmī Ṣādiḳ, who was already betrothed to Zakī Hāshim, an Egyptian official of the United Nations Secretariat. She bore him a son, Crown Prince Aḥmad Fuʾād, who was born in Cairo on 16 January 1952.

Fārūḳ's intended education was suddenly cut short at sixteen when his father died. It is, however, unlikely that he would have taken to serious study in preparation for his royal duties even had his father lived longer. Until he was fifteen, Fārūḳ was tutored at home. His English governess, Mrs Ina Taylor, was generally in charge. She tried to impart the main features of a typically English formative education into a prince living in ornate, European-modelled palaces, but in which much of court life, practice and behaviour remained a mixture of imported European formalities and native Ottoman oriental standards. His father tried gradually to introduce the young prince to his future royal duties. Thus Fārūḳ was made Chief Scout of Egypt in 1933 at the tender age of thirteen. A year before that he had made his first appearance in a public function. The following year, 1934, he deputised for his father at the Air Force celebrations in Heliopolis. At fourteen and fifteen he cut a dashing young figure of a handsome, polite prince. King Fuʾād, however, was a politically-involved monarch. Between 1930 and 1935, crucial years in Fārūḳ's life, Fuʾād was involved in one constitutional or political crisis after another, an economic depression, and mounting opposition from the so-called popular political parties such as the Wafd. He hardly had much time to devote to his son. Consequently, Fārūḳ spent those crucial formative years mostly with his three sisters, his governess, his mother and her female relatives. His only frequent male companions were palace servants, guards and his French gymnastics master. It is not known, for instance, if during those formative years, he had any male friends of his age.

Fārūḳ failed to gain a place at Eton. Nevertheless, his father sent him to England in 1935 with a view to entering the Royal Military College, Woolwich. He was accompanied by his officially-designated tutor Aḥmad Ḥasanayn (Pasha), a Balliol man, champion fencer and famous explorer, who was later to have a great influence over the young king, especially in the period from 1941 to 1945. The notoriously anti-British General ʿAzīz ʿAlī al-Maṣrī accompanied Fārūḳ as his military tutor. Fārūḳ failed the entrance examination to Woolwich, but he was allowed to attend some lessons two afternoons a week. The rest of the time he spent at Kenry House, Kingston Hill, Surrey, where he settled with his entourage in October 1935. Sgt.-Major W.H. Parker looked after his physical fitness train-

ing, including fencing. Fārūķ's six-month sojourn in England was short and of limited education value since he attended no formal or regular course of study. He did, however, acquire a taste for London's attractions, particularly its famous shops.

Returning to Egypt upon the death of his father, Fārūķ could not assume his full royal duties until he had attained his majority which, by the Hijra calendar reckoning, was to be in August 1937. Until then a Regency Council, consisting of his uncle Prince Muḥammad ʿAlī, ʿAzīz Pas͟ha ʿIzzat and his maternal uncle S͟harīf Pas͟ha Ṣabrī, acted for him. ʿAlī Māhir, a man close to King Fuʾād, had been Prime Minister since January of that year, and generally exerted a direct influence over the new young monarch. Subsequently, as Chief of his Royal Cabinet and Prime Minister again in 1939-40, he was to complicate Fārūķ's relations with the more popular leader of the Wafd, Muṣṭafā Naḥḥ ās Pas͟ha, embroil him in contacts with the Axis powers and thus further exacerbate his relations with the British Ambassador Sir Miles Lampson especially, and the British generally. Another early, dubious influence on the young inexperienced king was that of S͟hayk͟h Muṣṭafā al-Marāg͟hī, S͟hayk͟h of the Azhar, a man who was also close to his father and who harboured anti-Wafdist, anti-British sympathies. Both these men, as well as others among his courtiers, were to involve Fārūķ in the treacherous shoals of Egyptian politics from 1936 to 1952. They seemed to counter the influence of his mentor, Aḥmad Heiubareiodot;asanayn, an ambitious though dexterous and consummate politician, who somehow tried to smooth relations between the king, the political parties and the British.

Fārūķ, however, began his reign quite auspiciously as a highly-popular young monarch. His month's tour of Upper Egypt in January-February 1937 was a great success and the envy of the politicians. A second tour of Europe in April-July 1937 seemed to initiate Fārūk into the less edifying delights of European capitals. By 1940, before he was 21, the men around him, led by ʿAlī Māhir, had fully acquainted him with the need jealously to guard his political prerogatives against the Wafd and the British. Thus he tacitly approved of Māhir's use of certain new radical youth movements, such as the Young Egypt Society, and of the Azhar in order to push forward his leadership of a national Islamic regeneration. When, at the insistence of the British, ʿAlī Māhir was dismissed as Prime Minister in June 1940, Fārūķ was left at the mercy of the politicians and Britain's war needs. In fact, as early as 29 November 1937, Sir Miles Lampson, who did not particularly like Fārūķ and whose relationship with him resembled that between Cromer and the young Khedive ʿAbbās (Ḥilmī) II [*q.v.*] from 1892 to 1914, cabled to the Foreign Office in London:

> HM by all indications is shaping for the role of traditional oriental despot... His ultimate overthrow will occur when Nahhas goes....

Lampson was forty years older than Fārūķ and his opinion of the young Egyptian king may have been influenced accordingly. What is certain, however, is that Lampson did not appreciate Fārūķ's flouting of British war interests in his persistence appointed governments of his choice, his refusal to deal firmly with several crises in 1940-1, occasioned by Italy's entry into the war and the collapse of France, and his continued connections with ʿAlī Māhir and his anti-British agitation through the use of extremist political groups such as the National party, the Muslim Brethren, the Young Egypt Society and the Azhar. It seems that he took Aḥmad Ḥasanayn's advice in appointing both the Ḥasan Ṣabrī and Ḥusayn Sirrī coalition governments (June 1940-January 1942). But neither of these governments was strong enough to deal with the exigencies of war. Both were open to the machinations of the palace and to the attacks of the majority Wafd party. Actually, the latter began to agitate against them in order to recapture the initiative in the nationalist cause. Naḥḥās Pas͟ha in June 1941, when the British were being pressed by Rommel's forces practically at the gates of Alexandria, approached the British with a view to his returning to power. The timing was crucial, for Britain was in a most difficult military position in Greece and the Western Desert. When Naḥḥās threatened to foment popular agitation in the country, Lampson felt he must act. It was the concatenation of these events that suggested vigorous British intervention in Egyptian affairs. The intervention was to prove fateful for the career and future of Fārūķ.

Amidst anti-government and anti-British demonstrations in January 1942, largely inspired and organised by pro-ʿAlī Māhir elements, the King procrastinated over severing diplomatic relations with Vichy France. When his Prime Minister Ḥusayn Sirrī, did so, the King dismissed his Foreign Minister, a move against which the British protested vehemently, leading to the resignation of the Sirrī government on 1 February. A British request that Naḥḥās be invited to form a government went unheeded for three days, while Fārūķ gathered the leaders of all the political parties in his palace to discuss the crisis. As Lampson did not specify in his Note to the King what kind of government Naḥḥās might lead, Fārūķ invited him to lead a national coalition government. But Naḥḥās insisted on a purely Wafdist cabinet, which the King would not accept.

When Lampson marched into ʿĀbdīn Palace at 9 p.m. to confront Fārūķ, accompanied by General Stone, GOC British Land Forces, and backed up by a battalion of armoured troops that had surrounded the Palace, he did not do so with the intention of imposing on the King a purely Wafdist government. Rather, the ultimatum he read to the King demanded his abdication. Fārūķ, however, on Ḥasanayn's advice, offered with alacrity the compromise formula of a purely Wafdist government headed by Naḥḥās.

The so-called Palace Incident of 4 February 1942 had paradoxical consequences. It made Fārūķ, temporarily at least, very popular with Egyptian nationalists as well as with the Egyptian officer corps, but created a permanent rift between him and Naḥḥās of the Wafd, whom he planned to dismiss at the earliest opportunity. It also deepened the incurable antipathy between him and Lampson. In fact, Fārūķ acquired a deep resentment for the British in general. A motor accident in al-Ķaṣṣāṣīn on 15 November 1943 added to his fears, fantasies and resentments. Yet after the Battle of Alamein, he had no choice but to affect an overtly pro-British attitude.

Immediately after the War, Fārūķ faced serious political problems in the country, made even more difficult by the greatly strengthened violent movement of the Muslim Brethren [see AL-IK͟HWĀN-AL-MUSLIMĪN], army officer conspiracies, Communist and other extremist groups. He escaped annually to Cyprus or Europe on prolonged summer holidays.

He grew corpulent, lazy and coarse. He seemed to sleep most of the day and wander at night, accompanied by his trusted servants Antonio Pulli, Ernesto Verucci, Pietro Garo, his ADC ʿUmar Fatḥī and his Albanian bodyguards. He divided his time between the Auberges des Pyramides and the Helmia Palace nightclubs, his various private garçonnières in Cairo and Alexandria, and the Royal Automobile Club gambling table in the centre of modern Cairo. The insecurity and unhappiness of his childhood, and his interrupted or nonexistent education, added to his inferiority complex and inability to concentrate. He was estranged from his wife and mother and sought escapist pleasures in the company of women procured for him by his servants. He became addicted to all kinds of pills, hormonal preparations, a variety of elixirs, food and gambling. He acquired a mania for collecting coins, stamps, pornographic literature, aids and ephemera. He became more elusive, unpunctual and socially impossible, with his coarse practical jokes, kleptomania, compulsive boasting and bad sportsmanship, characterised by a streak of cruelty. He could neither lead—and thus mitigate the internecine warfare between Egyptian politicians—nor be led by anyone other than by sycophantic courtiers like his Press Adviser, Karīm T͟hābit, or his Business Adviser, Elias Andrawus. He lived in the gilded cages that were ʿĀbdīn, Ḳubba, Muntazah and Ra'sal-Tīn palaces, or in his fortress-like estate at Ins͟hāṣ, 35 miles from Cairo, where 2,500 *feddāns* of the best agricultural land produced citrus fruits and housed a model poultry farm. He coveted everything which he did not own, including other men's women and possessions.

Fārūḳ's scandalous European holiday from August to October 1950 prompted a petition signed by most opposition party leaders and politicians protesting against his shameful behaviour. At the same time, extremist groups led by Young Egypt, and other underground organisations such as the new Free Officers and the Marxists, openly called for the overthrow of his régime. Considered widely to have committed the ill-equipped and unprepared Egyptian army to the war in Palestine in order to indulge his rivalry with King ʿAbd Allāh of Jordan, and openly accused of having profited from arms purchases connected with that war, his marriage to Nārimān in 1951 and the birth of the Crown Prince in January 1952 did not improve Fārūḳ's image or fortunes. The rot was too advanced. By autumn 1951 Fārūḳ was set on a collision course with the stirring forces in the country, chief among them the Free Officers. He appointed the pro-British Ḥāfiẓ ʿAfīfī Pas͟ha as Chief of his Royal Cabinet and recalled his ambassador to Britain, ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿAmr, to serve as his political adviser. More significant was his attempt to pack senior military posts with his own men, such as General Ḥaydar, the Chief of Staff, and General Husayn Sirrī ʿĀmir, who replaced General Muḥammad Nad͟jīb (Naguib) as Commander of the Frontier Defence Force.

The violent events which accompanied the problems of Anglo-Egyptian relations since 1946 culminated in the Wafd's demagogic but fateful unilateral abrogation of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in October 1951 and the explosion of the mob that burned the centre of modern Cairo on 26 January 1952, Black Saturday, and these gave Fārūḳ the pretext to dismiss Naḥḥās and the Wafd from power. A succession of palace-appointed ephemeral governments, including one led by his old mentor ʿAlī Māhir, were unable to deal with the drifting, explosive political situation. In the meantime, Fārūḳ had himself proclaimed a *Sayyid*, or descendant of the Prophet, a most unlikely genealogical claim in view of his Macedonian-Albanian forefathers. Neither Lampson nor his successors were able or willing either to deal with Fārūḳ firmly or to conjure up a for-mula to resolve the impasse. Nor was a Conservative government in London after 1951 willing to play an imperial role in Cairo, barely four years after leaving India.

Yet Fārūḳ's security agents had uncovered the real threat to his throne, namely, the Free Officers. His courtiers, however, were suspicious of each other as always, ever-solicitous and sycophantic, but were incapable of concerted action. Equally, the politicians were sunk in their petty quarrels, all anxious to keep the Wafd, by now weakened and relatively corrupt, out of power at any cost. On the very day when Fārūḳ in Alexandria ordered the arrest of the Free Officer conspirators at 9 p.m. (22 July 1952), the latter seized power three hours later.

Fārūḳ believed that the British were behind the army conspiracy. Even though he tried to contact British GHQ in the Canal for help, he did not trust them. Instead he sought the help of the Americans with a view to saving his and his family's lives. Ironically, his father's old friend and his own erstwhile mentor and adviser, ʿAlī Māhir, brought Fārūḳ the army officers' demands, signed by Naguib, requiring the dismissal of his immediate entourage of courtiers. Two days later on 26 July ʿAlī Māhir returned as Prime Minister of the new military régime with the order for Fārūḳ to abdicate in favour of his infant son, Crown Prince Aḥmad Fu'ād, and to leave the country permanently by 6 p.m. Less than a year later in June 1953, the monarchy in Egypt was abolished in favour of a republic.

Like his grandfather the Khedive Ismāʿīl, Fārūḳ sailed off to Naples on the Royal Yacht "Maḥrūsa" with his family, gold ingots and over two hundred pieces of luggage. He had been depositing money in Switzerland, Italy and the United Stated for many years, at least since the end of the Second World War. What he could not take with him were the vast tracts of land (over 30,000 *feddāns*) and palaces, and his remarkable coin, stamp and pornographic collections. He finally settled in Rome. His daughters from his marriage to Farīda were packed off to Switzerland, and his second wife Nārimān soon returned to Egypt with her mother. She was divorced from Fārūḳ and remarried a Dr. Adham Naḳīb. Fārūḳ reverted to his life of girlfriends and nightclubs, a familiar massive and rotund figure in the bistros and nightspots of Rome, interspersed with occasional visits to Switzerland and to the gambling tables of Monaco, which principality had granted him citizenship.

Two weeks after he had left a heart clinic in Switzerland, he drove one of his Italian girl friends to a roadside inn, the "Île de France", for dinner around midnight. He suffered a heart attack while just starting to enjoy the Havana cigar which he had lit after a gargantuan dinner. He died two hours later at 2.08 a.m. on 18 March 1965 in a Rome hospital, aged 45 years, 2 months and 7 days. At the request of his family and according to his will, he was buried in Cairo two days later very quietly and in the dead of night, alongside his forefathers. His was the last effective reign of the Muḥammad ʿAlī dynasty, founded by that soldier of fortune from Kavalla in 1805.

Bibliography: J. Bernard-Derosne, *Farouk, la déchéance d'un roi*, Paris 1953; T.E. Evans (ed.), *The Killearn diaries*, London 1972; B.St.C. McBride, *Farouq of Egypt, a biography*, London 1967.

(P.J. VATIKIOTIS)

FASĀ'Ī, ḤĀDJDJĪ MĪRZĀ ḤASAN, Persian scholar of the 19th century and author of a historical-geographical work on his native province of Fārs, the *Fārsnāma-yi Nāṣirī* (the latter part of the book's title being a reference to the Ḳādjār sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, in whose reign Ḥasan Fasā'ī wrote).

He was born, according to the autobiography inserted into his book, in 1237/1821-2 in the small town of Fasā [*q.v.*] in Fārs, of a family which had been prominent in the intellectual and religious life of Shīrāz for at least four centuries; various members of it had been famed for their scholarship or their administrative expertise, and one of his forebears, Niẓām al-Dīn Mīrzā Aḥmad, had been vizier to the Ḳuṭb-Shāhī ruler of Golconda in the Deccan, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad (1020-83/1611-72) [see ḲUṬB-SHĀHĪS]. Ḥasan Fasā'ī himself studied theology and then medicine, practising in Shīrāz as a physician and becoming involved in a protracted legal dispute over his family's ancestral pious foundations or *awḳāf*.

In 1289/1872 the governor of Fārs, Mīrzā Masʿūd Ẓill al-Sulṭān, commissioned him to use earlier cartographical work of his to make a general map of the province. Subsequently, he came to enjoy the favour and patronage of another governor, the reformist Farhād Mīrzā Muʿtamad al-Dawla (on whose draconian measures in Fārs see E.G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*[3], London 1950, 115-18, and also Storey, i, 204), travelling extensively around southern Persia in the entourage of the governor's son Iḥtishām al-Dawla. Then in 1296/1879 Farhād Mīrzā ordered him to compose a geography of Fārs on the basis of his maps. This eventually became the *Fārsnāma-yi Nāṣirī*, in two volumes, one on the history of Fārs from the beginning of Islam till his own days (in fact, up to 1300/1883), and one on its geography and topography. A lithographed edition was printed at Tehran in 1313-14/1895-6; the author's own death took place at some unknown date after this. The historical section is written on the traditional Islamic annalistic pattern. The author utilises earlier histories of Persia and of Fārs, and for his especially valuable treatment of the Ḳādjār period, he quotes archival material, including diplomatic letters and treatises, as well as eyewitness accounts of events. All in all, the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī* may be regarded as the culmination of the long tradition of annalistic historiography in Persia, much as Djabartī's chronicle was for that science in Egypt.

Bibliography: The *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī* has been recently reprinted at Tehran in 1965; the section on the Ḳādjār dynasty and Fārs under its rule has now been translated into English by H. Busse, *History of Persia under Qājār rule*, New York 1972, with a useful introduction; See also Storey, i, 353, and Storey-Bregel, ii, 1031-5.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**FĀSĪ**, individual *nisba* of the members of a prominent family of Moroccan scholars. Descended from the Ḳurayshite clan of the Banū Fihr, originally established in Spain but settling in Fās at the end of the 10th/16th century, this family is known collectively under the name Fāsiyyūn, while the citizens of the town are called rather Ahl/Āl Fās. In view of the fact that the article AL-FĀSIYYŪN in Volume II of the *EI* deals with the population of Fās in general, it has been considered useful to collect in this Supplement the basic facts relating to the members of this line who have contributed the most actively, over the last four centuries, to religious, intellectual and literary life, without limiting themselves simply to passing on a varied, and still highly appreciated, form of teaching.

In general, the genealogical tree drawn by E. Lévi-Provençal (*Chorfa*, 242) continues to be valid, and we shall confine ourselves to referring the reader to it; the accounts devoted by the learned historian to the most notable personalities of the Fāsiyyūn have lost none of their value, but they can be considerably enlarged and made more accurate in the light of documents, mostly manuscripts, that are now available. The work of Muḥammad al-Fāsī and M. Hajji in Arabic or in French, of ʿA. Gannūn in Arabic, of M. Lakhdar in French and of still others, enables us to acquire an increasingly clear view of the merits of a group of eminent scholars who could, however, be better served by a detailed monograph in view of the extensive documentation provided by biographical sources, whether long-established or recently discovered.

I. — ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN [*q.v.*] Yūsuf (d. 18 Rabīʿ I 1013/14 August 1604) was the founder, in Fās, in the district of the Ḳalḳaliyyūn (see Le Tourneau, *Fès*, Casablanca 1949, index), of the *zāwiya* of the Fāsiyyūn, which was given the name Sīdī ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī.

II. — His brother Abū Zayd ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN b. Muḥammad (d. 1036/1626) founded a second *zāwiya* in the same district and wrote commentaries and annotations of religious works; a number of these have been published, notably *al-Anwār al-lāmiʿāt fī sharḥ Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, lith. Fās 1317/1899.

III. — Among the four sons of Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, AḤMAD AL-ḤĀFIẒ (971-1021/1564-1612) also wrote commentaries on works relating to liturgical pieces (*al-djahr bi 'l-dhikr*, lith. Fās) or ecstatic dancing (*ḥukm al-samāʿ wa 'l-raḳṣ*, lith. Fās).

IV. — The brother of the latter, Abū ʿAbd Allāh/Ḥāmid MUḤAMMAD AL-ʿARBĪ (988-1052/1580-1642) was the author of a number of works, among which the *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin min akhbār al-Shaykh Abi 'l-Maḥāsin* (lith. Fās 1324) is important for the account that it gives of his father and the early history of the family.

V. — The following generation is represented most notably by ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR (1007-91/1599-1680) [*q.v.*], b. ʿAlī (960-1030/1553-1621) b. Abi 'l-Maḥāsin who left only some *responsa*, but whose prodigious scholarship and teaching inspired his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (no. VI) to write two hagiographic pieces (*Tuḥfat al-akābir fī manāḳib al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir* and *Bustān al-azāhir*) and a treatise relating to his disciples (*Ibtihādj al-baṣā'ir*); this last has been studied by M. Ben Cheneb, in *Actes du XIV*^e^ Congrès des Orient., vi, Paris 1907).

VI. — The son of the preceding, Abū Zayd ʿABD AL-RAḤMAN (1042-96/1631-85), has been made the subject of an article in vol. I of the *EI*; add to the bibliography M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire*, 88-95, and bibliography cited; see also ʿAMAL, 3.

VII. — Another great-grandson of Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, Abū ʿĪsā/ʿAbd Allāh MUḤAMMAD AL-MAHDĪ (1033-1109/1624-98) b. Aḥmad (d. 1062/1653) b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, was the author of a number of important works some of which have survived, on the Ḳur'ānic readings, the *Sīra*, law, mysticism etc. and most notably of a biography of Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *al-*

Djawāhir al-ṣafiyya (ms. Rabat D 1234), an abridgement of his *Rawḍat al-maḥāsin al-zahiyya.*

VIII. — Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib (d. 1113/1701) b. Muḥammad (d. 1116/1704) b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (no. V) left no works of importance, but his cousin Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (1058-1134/1648-1722) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (no. VI) was the author of several works, among which attention should be drawn to a *fahrasa* [*q.v.*]. entitled *al-Minaḥ al-bādiyya fī 'l-asānīd al-ʿāliyya* and used by al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] (ms. Rabat K 1249; see also al-Maknāsī, *Ahamm maṣādir*, 121-2).

IX. — Abū Madyan Muḥammad (1112-81/1701-68) b. Aḥmad b. Maḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (no. V), preacher and teacher at the Ḳarawiyyīn, wrote, besides conventional commentaries, some literary compositions of which the titles are sufficiently revealing: *al-Muḥkam fī 'l-amthāl wa 'l-ḥikam, Tuḥfat al-arīb wa-nuzhat al-labīb* (ms. Rabat D 590, fols. 81 b - 144 b; summarily edited and translated into Latin by Fr. de Dombay, Vienna 1805), *Madjmūʿ al-ẓuraf wa-djāmiʿ al-ṭuraf* (ms. Rabat K 1717, fol. 2-93); these are *adab* compilations.

X. — Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (1118-79/1706-65) b. Aḥmad b. Maḥammad, brother of the preceding, was the author of biographical works of which only one, a short treatise on the Chorfa of Morocco, would appear to have survived.

XI. — The son of the preceding, Abu l'-ʿAbbās Aḥmad (1166-1213/1753-99) composed, on his return from the Pilgrimage (1211/1796) a *riḥla* of which a number of manuscripts exist and which has recently been published by M. El Fasi (Rabat); this story of a journey is remarkable among works of the genre on account of the simplicity of the style, the detail of the description and the accuracy of observation.

XII. — His brother Abū Mālik ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (1172-1213/1758-99) was a poet who wrote a *fahrasa* partially in verse, a monograph on the Ṣiḳilliyyūn Chorfa (ms. Rabat G 97) and an *urdjūza* on the Ḳādiriyyūn (ed. Tunis).

XIII. — A descendant of Muḥammad al-ʿArbī (no. IV), Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar (1125-88/1713-74) b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-ʿArbī was a polygraph who composed various commentaries, annotations, letters of a judicial nature and a *Dīwān* containing numerous imitations of more or less well-known poems on subjects generally of a mystical flavour.

XIV. — A distant cousin of the preceding, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (1130-1214/1718-99) b. ʿAbd al-Salam b. Maḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad al-ʿArbī (no. IV) specialised in the Ḳur'ānic readings, to which he devoted a number of writings that have in part survived.

XV. — Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir (1246-85/1830-68) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is considered to be one of the most brilliant members of the family, although he went against the example of his parents and entered government service; as Palace secretary he was a member, in 1276/1860, of a diplomatic mission sent to London, to the court of Queen Victoria, by Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad (1276-90/1859-73) and, on his return, composed an account of his journey which has just been published by M. El Fasi. As usual, the traveller expresses his wonder at the novelties that he has seen and relates his experiences in language that is simple and devoid of all pretension.

XVI. — Finally, one should mention ʿAbd al-Kabīr (d. 1296/1879) b. al-Madjdhūb (d. 1260/1844) b. ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ b. Muḥammad (no. IX) a preacher of Fās who is said to have been the author of a chronological index entitled *Tadhkirat al-muḥsinīn bi-wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-ḥawādith al-sinīn*, which is still missing.

Were one to attempt to assess the contribution of the Fāsiyyūn to Arabic culture and literature, it would appear from their impressive corpus of writings that they contributed most of all, as much by their teaching as by the commentaries and annotations that they composed, to the maintenance of the classical tradition in the intellectual capital of Morocco; some of them were composers of verse, but not one of them proved to be a true poet. Hence we can doubtless declare without injustice that their most tangible contribution consists in their *fahrasas*, their accounts of journeys, and their monographs on their family or on certain of its members.

Bibliography: In addition to the general biographical works, see especially Muḥammad al-Fāsī (no. IV), *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin*, lith. Fās 1324; Sulaymān al-ʿAlawī, *ʿInāyat ūlī 'l-madjd bi-dhikr āl al-Fāsī b. al-Djadd*, Fās 1347/1928; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, index; M. El Fasi, in *Hespéris*, xxix (1942), 65-81; ʿA. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī*², Beirut 1961, index; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire*, index; M. Hajji, *L'activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque saʿdide*, Rabat 1976-7, index.

(Ch. Pellat)

FAṢṢĀD, ḤADJDJĀM (A.), two terms denoting blood-letter (*faṣṣād*, lit. "phlebotomist" and *ḥadjdjām*, lit. "cupper"). Al-Djāḥiẓ indicates that *ḥidjāma* (cupping) and *faṣd* (phlebotomy) are similar professions. Some pseudo-scientific books on phlebotomy and blood-letting were written by reputable physicians in ʿAbbāsid Baghdād and Aghlabid Ḳayrawān in the 3rd/9th century, e.g., Yuḥannā b. Māsawayh (d. 243 H./857) wrote a *Kitāb al-Faṣd wa'l-ḥidjāma* ("Book of phlebotomy and blood-letting"), and Isḥāḳ b. ʿUmrān (d. 279/892) wrote in Ḳayrawān a medical treatise called *Kitāb al-Faṣd* (cf. Ibn Djuldjul, *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbā' wa'l-ḥukamā'*, Cairo 1955, 65, 85). The phlebotomist was required by customary law to be learned and reliable in the anatomy of organs, veins, muscles and arteries, and he practised his craft in consultation with a physician. They bled veins of the human body and also performed circumcision (*khitān*) for men as well as women in Arab society. Phlebotomy involved some hazards. Many persons actually died as a result of improper venesection, according to Ibn Bassām al-Muḥtasib. Arab customary law made the *faṣṣād* liable to pay compensation in the event of injury or death of a patient resulting from careless opening of veins. This was probably the reason why the *muḥtasib* stipulated that the *faṣṣādūn* should practise their craft in public places and that they must keep a number of their instruments, including lancets, in good condition. Among Muslim jurists, Abū Ḥanīfa reckoned phlebotomy as a recommendable practice (*sunna*), and not a compulsory duty, but others regarded it as a compulsory duty. Available evidence suggests that the *faṣṣād* had a better social position than the *ḥadjdjām*, and that there was no stigma attached to the phlebotomist's profession.

Ḥidjāma (cupping) was a less hazardous profession than *faṣd*, but it was also a less popular work than phlebotomy. The *ḥadjdjām* existed in pre-Islamic Arabian society and continued to render service to Islamic society until recent times. The cupper is a much-satirised character in Arabic tales, and had a

very low status. Unlike the phlebotomist, the cupper practised blood-letting on parts of the human body other than veins, and used his cup for relief of pain or itching.

Abū Ṭayyiba was a *ḥadjdjām* who served the Prophet Muḥammad and was much honoured in early Islamic society. He performed *ḥidjāma* on men as well as women. Although *ḥidjāma* was permitted by the *sunna*, there are conflicting Islamic traditions about it. A saying attributed to the Prophet described the earnings of a cupper as evil (*khabīth*), analogous to the earnings of a whore. Some other traditions state that the cupper was paid in cash and kind by the Prophet. The anti-*ḥadjdjām* traditions are likely to be apocryphal and they only express the prejudices of the Arabs of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods. Arab writers cite instances of cuppers, including the poet Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, who did not accept any fee for *ḥidjāma* from their clients. Tuesday and Saturday were regarded as auspicious days of the week for *ḥidjāma*, according to an Arab taboo of the ʿAbbāsid and Mamlūk periods.

A proverbial saying of the 3rd/9th century crystallised public opinion: "A look in the mirror of the *ḥadjdjām* is demeaning (*dana'a*)." The cupper was said to be given to gossip, and the allegation was illustrated by anecdotes about Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] and a cupper, and also about Hārūn al-Rashīd [*q.v.*] and a talkative *ḥadjdjām*. The social isolation of cuppers probably led some of them to narrate traditions (*aḥādīth*) on chains of narrations from one *ḥadjdjām* to another only, says al-Samʿānī. The prejudice against the cupper may be explained in part by the fact that body services were generally considered repugnant, and also partly by the fact that most cuppers were men of inferior social origins, such as *mawālī* and slaves. The cupper was disqualified from giving valid testimony (*shahāda*) in a court of law, and the *ḥadjdjām* was deemed unfit to marry a woman from a social group outside his profession; one source further states that the son of a *ḥadjdjām*, irrespective of his merits, was automatically unsuitable to be a boon-companion (*nadīm*) of the sovereign.

Bibliography: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313/1896, iii, 464; Aslam b. Sahl al-Razzāz al-Wāsiṭī, known as Baḥshal, *Ta'rīkh Wāsiṭ*, ed. Gurguis ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1967, 171; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il*, ed. Sandūbī, Cairo 1933, 127; idem, *al-Bukhalā'*, Cairo 1963, 118; idem, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938, iii, 32; Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Tādj*, Cairo 1914, 23-4; Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo 1947, ii, 54; al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, London 1921, i, 174; al-Thaʿālibī, *Khams rasā'il*, Istanbul 1301/1883, 131; idem, *Arbaʿ rasā'il*, Istanbul 1883, 204; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Taṭfīl*, Damascus 1346/1927, 83-4; Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, *Maḳāmāt*, Beirut 1924, 180; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, Hyderabad 1964, iv, 69; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mustaḳṣā*, Hyderabad 1962, i, 40, 270; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Baghdād 1968, 110-18; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, London 1938, 159-64; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* (basic), Beirut 1961, ii, 462-3; Bar-Hebraeus, *The laughable stories*, tr. E.A.W. Budge, London 1897, 122-8, Syriac text, 98-103; Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, Cairo 1308-10/1890-2, i, 66; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Rafʿ al-malāma ʿamma ḳīla fi'l-ḥidjāma*, Chester Beatty ms., 3317, ff. 59a-66b; Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Sharīf, *Makka wa'l-Madīna fi'l-djāhiliyya wa-ʿahd al-Rasūl*, Cairo 1965, 38, 221-2; R. Brunschvig, *Métiers vils en Islam*, in *SI*, xvi (1962), 49 ff.

(M.A.J. Beg)

FATE [see al-ḳaḍā' wa-'l-ḳadar].

FAYD, an important settlement in Nadjd during mediaeval times, now a village, situated in lat. 27° 8' N. and long 42° 28' E. It lies on a plain in the borderlands between the two regions of the Djabal Shammar to the north-west and al-Ḳaṣīm [*q.v.*] to the south-east, some 80 miles/130 km. south-east of Ḥā'il [*q.v.*]. The early Islamic geographers locate it in the territory where the pasture grounds of the B. Ṭayyi' and the B. Asad marched together, near to the frequently-mentioned "two mountains of Ṭayyi'", sc. Salmā and Adjā'. Bakrī, followed by Samhūdī, describes it as a famous *ḥimā* [*q.v.*] of pre-Islamic times, and they and Ḥarbī mention that when the chief of Ṭayyi' Zayd al-Khayl b. Muhalhil became a Muslim, the Prophet renamed him Zayd al-Khayr and awarded him Fayd as a *ḳaṭīʿa*. Apparently there was a popular belief that its full name was Fayd b. Ḥām b. ʿAmalīḳ after the first dweller there. Accordingly, the settlement probably existed in some form during the Djāhiliyya, especially as it is mentioned in early poets like Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā and al-Shammākh (Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāḳ al-Ḥarbī, *K. al-Manāsik wa-amākin ṭuruḳ al-ḥadjdj wa-maʿālim al-djazīra*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyadh 1389/1969, 306-9; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, iii, 1032-5; Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā'*, iii, 1102).

Fayd's importance under Islam came from its position being roughly half-way along the pilgrimage route from Kūfa in ʿIrāḳ to Mecca and Medina, that route known subsequently as the Darb Zubayda [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Already in the earliest decades of Islam, the caliph ʿUthmān is said to have done irrigation works there (Ḥarbī, *op. cit.*, 309; Samhūdī, *loc. cit.*); in the early ʿAbbāsid period, similar charitable works are attributed to al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and the vizier al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ; whilst in the 4th/10th century, the Būyid *amīr* ʿAḍud al-Dawla made further improvements, according to Muḳaddasī (see below). It now became a place of fair importance, and the Arabic geographers and travellers describe it as possessing two well-fortified citadels, a bath, a Friday mosque and many other amenities. It had ample supplies of running water from springs and from wells, used to irrigate date palm groves and stored in cisterns. Supplies of food and fodder were kept there for the pilgrims, and heavy baggage could be deposited there with reliable agents and recovered when the pilgrims returned from the Ḥaramayn. It was consequently the headquarters of the state-appointed warden of the pilgrimage and its route across Arabia, the *amīr al-ḥadjdj* or *ʿāmil al-ṭarīḳ*, and his contingent of guards (see Ḥarbī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 127; Ibn Rusta, 176, tr. Wiet, 204; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 312, tr. Wiet, 146; Muḳaddasī, 108, 254; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 205-6, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst, 214; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, iv, 282-3). The arts of peace must also have been cultivated to some extent, since Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, lists certain *ʿulamā'* stemming from Fayd.

The stationing of the *amīr al-ḥadjdj* at Fayd was vital, for travel along the pilgrimage route was always fraught with dangers from the predatory Bedouins or from schismatics, and the historical annals abound with accounts of attacks [see ḥadjdj. iii. The Islamic Ḥadjdj]. Thus in 294/906-7 the Ṭayyi' besieged al-Muktafī's *amīr al-ḥadjdj* Waṣīf b. Ṣuwārtigin in Fayd for three days (Ṭabarī, iii, 2278;

Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut 1385-7/1965-7, vii, 553); in 312/924 the Carmathians under Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī massacred near there a large part of the pilgrimage caravan of the East and elsewhere (ʿArīb, *Ṣilat T. al-Ṭabarī*, 118-19; Hamadānī, *Takmilat T. al-Ṭabarī*, ed. A.Y. Kanʿān, Beirut 1961, i, 43); whilst in 412/1021-2 the Nabhān of Ṭayyiʾ, under their chief Ḥammād b. ʿUdayy, besieged in Fayd the pilgrimage from Khurāsān financed by Maḥmūd of Ghazna, after receiving already a payment of 5,000 *dīnārs* as protection-money [see KHUWWA], but were finally repelled (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, viii, 2; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 325). Ibn Djubayr, *loc. cit.*, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, i, 409-10, tr. Gibb, i, 252-3, record that in their time, the pilgrims entered Fayd in warlike array in order to ward off the Bedouins.

In later times, Fayd began to lose its importance in favour of Ḥāʾil when the pilgrimage route began to pass through the latter town and caravans went via the oasis of al-ʿAdwa (cf. A. Musil, *Northern Neğd, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1928, 66). It is first described in its more modest circumstances by European travellers in the later 19th century. W.G. Palgrave passed through it en route from Ḥāʾil to al-Ḳaṣīm (*Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-63)*, London and Cambridge 1865, i, 227-30), as did C.M. Doughty, when Fayd was in the territories of Ibn Rashīd, *amīr* of Ḥāʾil (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1921, ii, 19). Musil says that it comprised only 35 huts, inhabited by Tamīmīs. It is now a large village, with date palms, pasture for beasts and a good supply of fresh water. The mediaeval settlement lies about one mile/1½ km. to the north, and has remains of buildings and cisterns, and possibly of a mosque, together with deep wells; these constructions have been much reduced in recent times by stone-plunderers.

Bibliography: Given substantially in the article, but see the survey of earlier historical and geographical information in Musil, *loc. cit.*, Appx. IV, The station of Fejd in history, 216-20, and now the doctoral thesis of S.ʿA.ʿA. al-Rashīd, *A critical study of the Pilgrim Road between Kufa and Mecca (Darb Zubaydah), with the aid of field-work*, Leeds 1977 (unpublished), with a full description and plan of the site.

(C.E. Bosworth)

FAYḌ-I KĀSHĀNĪ, the pseudonym by which Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā, called Mawlā Muḥsin, one of the most prolific Shīʿī theologians of his time, is better-known. He was a poet, philosopher, expert on *ḥadīth* and skilled authority on Shīʿī law; his mind dominated most of the religious sciences of his time, and his writings touched on several differing domains.

The exact date of his birth is unknown, but he died in 1091/1680 at an advanced age, so that he must have been born, in the town of Ḳum(m), in *ca.* 1007/1598. After initial studies in his natal town, he left for Shīrāz to hear the lectures of the famous philosopher Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, who gave to him one of his daughters in marriage. His incisive mind allowed him to assimilate a large range of subjects, but he was generally recognised as one of those theologians especially attached to the traditions of the Prophet and the *Imāms*, and as a traditionalist scholar, was the adversary of the philosopher and founder of the Shaykhī trend of thought, *Shaykh* Aḥmad Aḥsāʾī [*q.v.*]. However, he incurred equally the hostility of some traditionalist theologians who opposed certain of his mystical ideas. He was, in fact, a poet who also excelled at the philosophical sciences. His main work is undoubtedly the *Abwāb al-djinān* ("Gates of paradise"), written in 1055/1645; as a philosophical mystic, his intuition and incisive mind made him close to al-Ghazālī. His other works include the *ʿIlm al-yaḳīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, which is an exposition of the principles of Shīʿī faith, apparently modelled philosophically on Ibn Sīnā's *Ishārāt*, since it is made up of a series of *uṣūl* or principles just as Ibn Sīnā's work is a series of *ishārāt* or indications. His second important work here is the *Minhādj al-nadjāt*, in which Kāshānī deals with the practice of the principles of Shīʿī faith. It is divided into chapters corresponding to the five articles of faith, (1) the divine unity; (2) the divine justice; (3) prophethood; (4) the imamate; and (5) the resurrection.

Kāshānī's abundant output comprises over 90 works in Persian and Arabic, in all of which is discernible his predilection for poetry; all of his prose is sprinkled with his own verses or with those of the great Persian and Arabic poets, e.g. the Arabic text of his *Kalimāt maknūna* is full of Arabic and Persian quatrains. Several others of his family were noted as scholars, and especially his brother, the author of several works on ethics.

Bibliography: Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, 522-42; Fayḍ-i Kāshānī, *Mirʾāt al-ākhirāt*, introd., 1; Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, i, 177, 179, 181, 183. (M. Achena)

FAYOUM [see al-fayyūm].

FAYṢAL b. **ʿABD** al-**ʿAZĪZ** b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd (*ca.* 1323-95/*ca.* 1906-75), king of Suʿūdi Arabia (regn. 1385-96/1964-75). His mother was Ṭurfa Āl al-Shaykh. Educated traditionally, the young prince rode in battle at the age of 13 and soon became his father's stalwart commander; at the same age, he began his diplomatic career when, in 1337-8/1919, his father deputed him to congratulate the English king on the defeat of Germany. Abroad, he made characteristically acute independent observations of Western society and, most exceptionally, ultimately learned English and French privately. Soon after ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.* in Suppl.] conquered al-Ḥidjāz (1345/1925), he appointed Fayṣal viceroy of the new province and foreign minister. He lived most of the next thirty years in al-Ḥidjāz, but diplomacy took him to Europe frequently, and, following the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States (1359/1940), to that country also.

Fayṣal had a total of four wives. First was Sulṭāna b. Aḥmad al-Sudayrī, by whom he had ʿAbd Allāh. In 1350-1, he married ʿIffat b. Aḥmad Āl Thunayyān, a relative raised in Turkey. They had six sons: Muḥammad, Suʿūd, Turkī, Saʿd, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and Bandar. Around 1359/1940 he married Ḥayya b. Turkī b. Djalwī, and they had Khālid. All the sons were educated in the United States and England as, reportedly, were several of his six (?) daughters. Of his wives, two were divorced years before his death, and one died; ʿIffat remained his constant helpmate and encouraged him to more liberal attitudes toward women.

Before King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz died in 1373/1953, he had arranged that his eldest living son, Suʿūd, should succeed him, and he had designated Fayṣal as Suʿūd's successor. Fayṣal served as prime minister for part of Suʿūd's reign as well as foreign minister. The reign did not prove successful. In 1376-7/1957 Fayṣal had several stomach operations in the United States, and when he returned home, he found

the kingdom in some disorder and near bankruptcy. Senior members of the royal family decided to ease out Suʿūd, who in 1377/1958 "voluntarily" surrendered power to Fayṣal while remaining king nominally. By 1379-8/1960 Suʿūd reasserted himself, but the family will prevailed, and in 1384/1964 Fayṣal was proclaimed king.

Intelligent and equally at home in Bedouin tent or Western capital, King Fayṣal proved a masterful ruler. Domestically, he faced with considerable success the challenge of leading a very conservative traditional society, propelled by unprecedented oil-based revenues, into the modern world. Externally, he opposed Israel and communism, headed the conservative Muslim bloc, and maintained friendship with the United States. After ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's [*q.v.* in Suppl.] death in 1390/1970, Fayṣal reached an understanding with the new Egyptian leader al-Sādāt, financed Egypt and Syria in the Arab-Israeli war of 1393/1973 and participated fully in the subsequent oil embargo and in the phenomenal OPEC-sponsored oil price increases.

When shot down in *madj̲lis* [*q.v.*] on 26 March 1975 at the age of 70 by a youthful royal assassin, King Fayṣal's country had been set on a peaceful course of modernisation and was a major force in Arab and world affairs. Personally, he enjoyed wide respect for his astute politics, his piety, and his simple ways. He was succeeded by his brother K̲h̲ālid.

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(R. Bayly Winder)

al-**FAZĀRĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (?) Muḥammad, Sunnī poet of al-Ḳayrawān and contemporary of the first four Fāṭimids. His life, like that of many of his contemporaries in Ifrīḳiya, is very little known. Thus there is no notice of him in the ancient sources, unlike his grandfather Ibrāhīm (?), classed by al-K̲h̲us̲h̲anī amongst the Muʿtazila; convicted of *taʿṭīl*, the "stripping away of God's attributes", he was executed for it. As for his father, ʿĀmir, ʿAbd Allāh or ʿAlī, he is classed by al-Zubaydī amongst the grammarians of the Ifrīḳiyan capital; he is said to have appropriated the sums of the *k̲h̲arādj̲* which he had collected in the Sahel of Tunisia on behalf of the S̲h̲īʿī caliphs and to have taken refuge in Egypt. These two "stains" on Abu 'l-Ḳāsim's lineage brought him the gibes of a certain Muḥammad al-Tūnisī, who may have been, we think, his pro-S̲h̲īʿī compatriot al-Iyādī [*q.v.*]. Nearer our own time, H.H. Abdul Wahab has given a brief notice of him, from which it appears that the poet was born and lived at al-Ḳayrawān and that he died in 345/956, but these are pieces of information of little reliability since they are not based on any explicit source.

Some 112 verses only of al-Fazārī's poetry, scattered in the *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* of al-Mālikī, have been recovered and put together by M. Yalaoui: a *ḳaṣīda* against the "ʿUbaydīs", but largely made up of a lively eulogy of al-Ḳayrawān and its scholars; a fragment of another satire against the Fāṭimids, but more violent in its language; and an elegy in memory of al-Mammasī, one of the "85 martyrs" of al-Ḳayrawān who fell in the ranks of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*]. To these gleanings should be added the 63 verses of the *Ḳaṣīda Fazāriyya* dedicated to al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] after his victory over the K̲h̲āridjī. This poem seems to owe its fame not so much to the originality of its laudatory themes as to its curious prologue, viz. 33 verses in which the poet passes in review the legendary heroes of the Arabic knightly tradition, in a laboured parallel between these great names and that of the dedicatee, as if the poet, ashamed of his palinode, were reducing to a strict minimum the eulogy of a recent adversary.

In sum, al-Fazārī is a minor poet, but a representative one, at the side of his compatriot Sahl al-Warrāḳ, of the Mālikī current in urban Ifrīḳiya, divided between his hatred of the Fāṭimids and his distrust of the revolutionary tendencies of the "man on the donkey", Abu Yazīd.

Bibliography: The poetry of al-Fazārī has been edited by Yalaoui in the *Annals of the University of Tunis* (*Ḥawliyyāt* [1973], 119 ff.); see also al-K̲h̲us̲h̲anī, *Classes des savants de l'Ifriqiya*, ed. Ben Cheneb, 220; al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, B.N. Paris ms. 2153; Ibn Nādjī al-Dabbāg̲h̲, *Maʿālim al-īmān*, Tunis 1320; al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa 'l-lug̲h̲awiyyīn*, Cairo 1954, 272; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, No. 531; Brockelmann, S I, 148; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 659; H.H. Abdul Wahab, *Mudj̲mal taʾrīk̲h̲ al-adab al-tūnisī*.

(M. Yalaoui)

FEISAL [see fayṣal].

FENNEC [see fanak].

FERGHANA [see farg̲h̲āna].

FIBRE, NET [see ṣayd].

FIDĀʾ (a., pl. *afdiya*) "redemption, repurchase, ransoming". The dictionaries give several meanings for *fidāʾ* and its derivatives, amongst which *fidāʾī* offers especial interest [see fidāʾī, fidāʾiyyān-i islām]. Another word derived from the same root, *fidya*, appears in the Ḳurʾān to denote the fast which compensates for the days of Ramaḍān in which fasting has not been practised (II, 180/184, 192/196) or the impossibility of purchasing a place in paradise (LVII, 14/15). The verbal forms *fadā, tafādā* and *iftadā* are more common there (e.g. *fadaynā-hu* in regard to the ransoming of Ismāʿīl, XXXVII, 107), but the sole occurrence of *fidāʾ* (XLVII, 4-5/4) concerns the ransoming of captives of war taken from Muḥammad's enemies: "When you come up against the infidels, smite their necks, then, when you have made wide slaughter among them, tie fast the bonds; then either set them free as an act of grace or by ransom until the war lays down its burdens". The present article deals with the ransoming of Muslims, prisoners or slaves held by unbelievers, in the West. For the East, see lamas-ṣu. (Ed.)

The most perfect form of *fidāʾ*, recommended in

the West by the Mālikī *fuḳahā'* as a means of redeeming believers held captive in Christian territory, is the payment of this ransom in the form of pigs and wine previously submitted by *dhimmīs* to the Islamic community, this contribution then being reckoned acceptable as an element of the payment of the *djizya* owed by these tributaries. But this did not often happen.

More frequently, *fidā'* operates on a financial basis. In principle, it is the Muslim state which has the obligation to provide the necessary money, deducting it from public funds; however, the ransom is usually put together by relations or friends of the captives, and it consists of contributions made for this purpose by individuals. In 578/1182, for example, in the time of the Almohad caliph Abū Ya'ḳūb Yūsuf, the town of Seville ransomed, at a price of 2,700 *dīnārs*, seven hundred of its citizens who had been captured by Alfonso VIII of Castille; this money had been raised by appeals made for this *fidā'* in the mosques of Seville.

The devout individual who devotes himself totally or episodically to the ransoming of Muslims held captive by infidels is called *al-fakkāk*. It is not often that such an agent is able to travel alone and spontaneously in Christian territory for the purpose of arranging the release of captives; the "infidel" power tends to be uncooperative. In 1318, for example, the king of Aragon rejected a request from his subjects in Lorca, asking him to grant safe-conducts authorising the free movement of "*alfaqueques moros*" across his estates (*Registre de Chancellerie* no. 244, of the *Archives de la Couronne d'Aragon*, Barcelona, fo. 234).

In practice, *fidā'* is often linked to a reciprocal act of compensation; the liberation or ransom of Christian prisoners or slaves in the hands of Muslims. In fact, in a case where the infidel refuses to allow the Muslims whom he holds to be ransomed in any other way, Islam permits these men to be exchanged for Christian captives, even if the latter are subsequently likely to take up arms against the *dār al-Islām*.

At the same time, one should note the appearance in a Christian context of an equivalent of the Muslim "redeemer": he is called *alfaqueque* in Castillian, *exea* in Catalan (from the Latin *exire* "to go out"). To some extent, members of the Trinitarian and Mercedarian religious orders, of which the former arose at the end of the 12th century, the latter at the beginning of the 13th, may be regarded as Christian *alfaqueques*. The term *al-fakkāk* thus comes to denote not only the Muslim who ransoms one of his brothers, but, in a more general sense, the man who liberates a captive.

In principle, every *fakkāk* is respected by the opposing side: neither his liberty of his dignity is compromised. Sometimes, however, this rule is not followed. In 772/1371, for example, a Catalan "*alfaquech*" or "*exea*", from the island of Ibiza, was detained in Granada, although he arrived there armed with a safe-conduct from the Naṣrid sovereign; he was acting as guide to a group of Granadans whom he had ransomed in the Balearic Isles and whom he was in the process of returning to their compatriots. The sultan ordered his release once he was satisfied as to the authenticity of the official safe-conduct with which had been given to the Catalan, but he refused to set free some other Christians, who had accompanied this accredited "*alfaquech*" to Granada.

In the liberations thus effected, the *fidā'* is clearly supplemented by a commercial enterprise, where the operative is inspired by the profit-motive. The agents who used their own funds to ransom Muslim slaves held in Christian lands and subsequently negotiated their return to Muslim territory, sought to profit by the operation; on their return, they repeated the process elsewhere, in the opposite direction. Very often, Jews took on the role of commercial *alfaqueques*: in 1004, for example, the Count of Barcelona granted to four Jews the right to ransom and to restore to Islamic territory Muslim captives held in Catalonia.

Most often, liberations were effected in the course of diplomatic transactions, claims and exchange of ambassadors; normally, an ambassador acted as "redeemer", where necessary retaining a specialist *fakkāk* in his entourage. Examples of liberations by exchange made in the context of these missions and negotiations are: in 713/1313, between Bougiots held as slaves in Majorca, and Majorcan slaves in Bougie; in 1321, between Catalan slaves in the Naṣrid kingdom and Granadans held captive in the lands of the Crown of Aragon; also, in 837/1434-5 between subjects of Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon and Sicily, held prisoner in Ḥafṣid territory, and Tunisian slaves in the lands of King Alfonso; etc.

There were other ways in which the *fidā'* could operate; sometimes, a Muslim captive sends for a number of co-religionists from his own land and makes them hostages, as a guarantee for the ransom which he has promised and which he himself goes to raise. This was the course followed by, for example, in Oviedo, *ca.* 287/900, by an important member of the court of Cordova, who left in his place one of his sons, two of his brothers and a nephew, who had come to the Asturias for this purpose. Sometimes, a slave concludes a "contract of liberation" (contract of "talliage") with his proprietor: either because he is authorised to collect money, or because he is hired out to a third party and is allowed to keep the supplementary payments given him by the latter when the occasion arises, or because he makes his living in one way or another, or because he receives money from home, such a captive is free from the day that he succeeds in remitting to his master the sum required within a period determined under the contract. In 703/1303, for example, two Muslim slaves in the kingdom of Valencia were authorised by their proprietor to travel round the country to raise a certain sum within ten months, demanding from their co-religionists (the free Muslims of the kingdom) "alms of precept" and "supplementary gifts". This fact is known to us from a deed drawn up by a *ḳāḍī* of Valencia in Rabī' I 703, preserved in the archives of the Kingdom of Aragon in Barcelona; this is a document designed to facilitate fundraising on the part of slaves who were bearers of it, introducing them to all *fuḳahā'*, *'ulamā'*, *imāms*, *shaykhs*, administrators, notables and other Muslims living in the territory of the King of Aragon.

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linden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe méditerranéenne*, i, Bruges 1955; ii, Ghent 1977.

A remarkable work inspired by a ransom mission is that of Ibn ʿUthmān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], *al-Iksīr fī fikāk al-asīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Fāsī, Rabat 1965.

(Ch.-E. Dufourcq)

FIGS [see tīn].

FINDIKOGHLU, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Fakhrī, modern Turkish Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu (1901-74) (he also occasionally used his original name Aḥmed Khalīl), Turkish sociologist and writer. He was born in Tortum near Erzurum in Eastern Anatolia, and graduated from the School of Posts and Telegraph (*Posta-Telgraf mekteb-i ʿālīsi*) in 1922, and also from the Department of Philosophy of Istanbul University (1925). He taught philosophy and sociology in various schools in Erzurum, Sivas and Ankara, until in 1930 he went to France on a government scholarship and obtained a Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Strasbourg (1936), being then appointed lecturer (*doçent*) in the University of Istanbul. In 1937 he transferred to the Faculty of Economics, where he became Professor in 1941. He died in Istanbul on 16 November 1974.

Fîndîkoghlu became interested at an early stage in literature and folk-lore, and published poems and studies on folk poets (e.g. *Bayburtlu zihni*, 1928). Later, he concentrated on research about Ḍiyāʾ (Ziya) Gökalp and Ibn Khaldūn and on problems of social change in their legal and sociological implications, and also on the co-operative movements, making considerable contributions to both these fields. From being a moderate liberal, he developed into an extreme conservative and traditionalist, and in his many articles in various periodicals, particularly in his own *İş* ("Action"), he waged a relentless war against reformist tendencies and against all innovations (e.g. he signed Fındıkoğlu Ziyaeddin Fahri instead of Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, as the former was more in keeping with old Turkish usage). He joined the opponents of the language reform movement and carefully avoided all neologisms in his writings.

Fîndîkoghlu is the author of the following major works: *Ziya Gökalp, sa vie et sa sociologie*, Nancy 1935; *Essai sur la transformation du code familial en Turquie*, Paris 1935; *Ibn Haldun'un hukuka ait fikirleri ve tesiri* ("Ibn Khaldūn's ideas on law and their impact"), 1939; *Ahlak tarihi*, 3 vols., 1945-6; *Sosyalizm*[2] (1965); *Kooperasyon sosyolojisi* (1967).

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(Fahir İz)

FINDIRISKĪ, Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Mīrzā Ḥusaynī Astarābādī, known in Persia as Mīr Findiriskī, Persian scholar and philosopher. He was probably born in Iṣfahān, where he studied and spent much of his life. He also travelled extensively in India, and died in Iṣfahān in 1050/1640-1. His tomb is located in the Takht-i Fūlād cemetery, and this shrine is visited by many devotees throughout the year. Mīr Findiriskī was one of the most famous of the philosophers and scientists of the Ṣafawid period, respected by both Shāh ʿAbbās and the Mughal court in India, yet little is known of the details of his life. In Iṣfahān he taught the sciences, and especially the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā, above all the *Shifāʾ* and the *Ḳānūn*, and such well-known figures as Āḳā Ḥusayn Khʷansārī, Muḥammad Bāḳir Sabzawārī, Radjab ʿAlī Tabrīzī, and possibly Mullā Ṣadrā, studied with him. Yet he was far from being merely a rationalistically-oriented philosopher; he was also a Ṣūfī, an alchemist, a profound student of Hinduism, a gifted poet and one who was believed by his contemporaries to possess supernatural powers. Besides being, along with Mīr Dāmād and Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀmilī, one of the main figures of the "School of Iṣfahān", Mīr Findiriskī was also the most notable intellectual link between the tradition of Islamic philosophy in Persia and the movement for the translation of Sanskrit texts into Persian in India which is usually associated with the name of Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*].

Few works survive from Mīr Findiriskī's pen, but those which do are all of exceptional interest. Perhaps the most important of his works, which is also unusual in both its theme and treatment in the annals of Islamic philosophy, is the Persian *Risāla-yi ṣināʿiyya*, which concerns the metaphysical study of human society. In this work, various occupations and professions in society are placed in a hierarchy corresponding to the hierarchy of knowledge and also of being. Another of this treatises, *Risāla-yi ḥarakat*, again in Persian, deals with a refutation of the Platonic ideas upon the basis of Aristotelian physics. This is quite surprising, because Mīr Findiriskī is the author of one of the most famous philosophical *ḳaṣīda*s of the Persian language, beginning with the verse:

> Heaven with these stars is lucid,
> pleasing, and beautiful;
> Whatever exists in the world above,
> has in the world below a form.

These verses clearly confirm the reality of the archetypal world.

As a matter of fact, this *ḳaṣīda* is the best-known of Mīr Findiriskī's works in Persia, and one upon which his philosophical reputation rests. It was commented upon by such later figures as Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khalkhālī and Ḥakīm ʿAbbās Dārābī. In his Persian answer to the question of Āḳā Muẓaffar Kāshānī on whether there is analogy in quiddities, he follows those who believe in the principality of quiddity, and is far from the position of a metaphysician of being such as Mullā Ṣadrā. Mīr Findiriskī, this contemporary of Michael Meier and Robert Fludd, was also widely known as an alchemist, and in fact was buried in an iron coffin to prevent his body from being stolen. He is thus the author of an Arabic treatise on alchemy, as well as a Persian poem on the royal art, both of which have been discovered recently but remain unedited. Finally, he is the author of a summary of the *Yoga Vasiṣtha* and a voluminous commentary upon the Persian translation of this work by Niẓām al-Dīn Pānipātī, both of which are also still unedited. This commentary is without doubt one of the peaks of the intellectual encounter between Islam and Hinduism. Although only these few works survive from Mīr Findiriskī, and the manuscript of the *Uṣūl al-fuṣūl* on Hinduism and a history of the Ṣafawids attributed to him have never been discovered, he remains a vivid and lively figure in the later history of Islamic philosophy in Persia and survives to this day, even in the consciousness of the common people, as one of the greatest sages of the Ṣafawid period.

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(Seyyed Hossein Nasr)

FIRDOUSI [see firdawsī].

FIROUZ [see fīrūz].

FIRRĪM, Pirrīm, a stronghold in the Elburz Mountains mentioned in mediaeval Islamic times as held by the Iranian native princes of the Caspian region, firstly the Ḳārinids and then the Bāwandids [*q.vv.*]. Its exact position is unfortunately not fixed in the itineraries of the geographers, and an authority like Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 377, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 367, following Iṣṭakhrī, merely mentions it as the capital of the Ḳārinids since pre-Islamic times, where their treasuries and materials of war were stored; Yāḳūt adds to this information that it was one stage from Sārī, the town of Ṭabaristān in the coastal region (iii, 890; ed. Beirut, iv, 260). The information that Firrīm was the fortress of the Ḳārinids was anachronistic by these geographers' times, since the execution of Māzyār b. Ḳārin in 225/840 meant the extinction of that dynasty; it probably passed soon after then to the Kāwūsiyya line of the Bāwandids, who were certainly installed there in the 4th/10th century.

In the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) we have quite a detailed description of the Kūh-i Ḳārin, the district in which Firrīm was situated, and of the town itself, with some interesting sociological and folkloristic observations. Much of the population of the district was still Zoroastrian, but Firrīm contained Muslim immigrants, merchants and artisans; the Bāwandid Ispahbads' military camp was half-a-*farsakh* outside the town itself (tr. Minorsky, 135-6). A certain amount of Muslim settlement may have taken place from early ʿAbbāsid times onwards, since Ibn Isfandiyār in his *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, abridged tr. E.G. Browne, Leiden-London 1905, 122-3, records that al-Manṣūr's governor Abū Khuzayma al-Tamīmī (143-4/760-1) placed a garrison in Firrīm of 500 men under Khalīfa b. Bahrām. It is also recorded that Māzyār established a mosque in Firrīm (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 306, tr. Massé, 362). From mentions in the sources on the confused fighting in northern Persia amongst Daylamī and other adventurers during the Būyid period, it seems that the Bāwandids continued to hold Firrīm. They minted coins there with legends of Shīʿī type, usually acknowledging on them the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the Būyids of Ray as their suzerains, during the second half of the 4th/10th century (coins of Rustan b. Sharwīn, reigned *ca.* 353-69/*ca.* 964-80, and of Shahriyār b. Dārā, reigned *ca.* 358-96/*ca.* 969-1006, the first perhaps with his power contested), though their extant issues from 499/1105 onwards are all from the Sārī mint (see G.C. Miles, *The coinage of the Bāwandids of Ṭabaristān*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 443-60, and idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, 373, 375).

None of these pieces of information enables us to fix with sureness the exact location of Firrīm. P. Casanova, in *Les Ispehbeds de Firîm*, in *ʿAjabnâma, A volume of oriental studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, ed. T.W. Arnold and R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1922, 117-21, argued for an identification with the mediaeval and modern town of Fīrūzkūh [*q.v.*] on the Tehran-Sārī highway. Minorsky, on the other hand, in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 387, thought that Firrīm must have lain on the western branch of the Tidjīn-Rūd, to the south-south-east of Sārī and north of Simnān. Certainly, the geographers were not sure whether it should be attached administratively to Sārī and Ṭabariṣtān or to Ḳūmis [*q.v.*] on the southern slopes of the Elburz, cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 162, tr. 158. The fact that in early 20th century Persia there was a *bulūk* or district called Farīm in the larger division of Hazārdjarīb (H.L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, London 1928, 56-7) may strengthen the latter identification, but is is probably only really archaeological exploration which can finally decide.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see for the coins minted at Firrīm, E. von Zambaur, in *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschr.* xlvii (1914), no. 472 (discusses all issues then extant), and idem, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, Wiesbaden 1968, i, 185-6 (coins from 225-840 (ʿAbbāsid) to 746/1345-6 (Il-Khānid)).

(C.E. Bosworth)

FĪRŪZ SHĀH KHALDJĪ [see khaldjis].

FISH [see samak].

FLOOD [see māʾ].

FLUTE [see nāy].

FONDOUK [see funduḳ].

FOSTAT [see al-fusṭāṭ].

FOUAD [see fuʾād].

FOULBÉ [see fulbé].

FREEDOM [see djumhuriyya, ḥurriya].

FREEMASONRY [see farāmūsh-khāna, farmāsūniyya].

FRIEZE [see khirḳa, ṣūf].

FŪDHANDJ (*fawdandj, fawtandj*, etc.) is mint *Mentha* L. (Labiatae). The term is of Persian, and ultimately of Indian origin (*pūdana*), which explains the various ways of transcription in the Arabic rendering. Under the name *ḥabaḳ* mint was well-known to the Arab botanists (Aṣmaʿī, *K. al-Nabāt*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 17). They describe it as a fragrant plant with an acrid taste, square-sectioned stalk and leaves similar to those of the willow. It often grows near water and resembles the water-mint, called *nammām*. The Beduins considered it as a means to check in both man and animal the longing for coitus (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. D. Lewin, Uppsala-Wiesbaden, 1953, no. 247, and *Le dictionnaire botanique*, ed. M. Hamidullah, Cairo 1973, no. 840).

The Arabic nomenclature of the mint is abundant, as was already the Greek one, but it is rather confused, and so the identification of the individual kinds is made considerably difficult. Ibn Djuldjul [*q.v.*] of Cordoba equates the καλαμίνθη of Dioscorides, which appears as *ḳālāminthī* (and variants) in Stephanos-Ḥunayn, with *fūdhandj* (see Anonymous, Nuruosmaniye 3589, fol. 99a-b) and knows the following three kinds of it: (a) *fūdhandj nahrī*, the "river-mint", also called *dawmarān*, apparently *Mentha aquatica* L.; (b) *fūdhandj djabalī*, the "mountain-mint", also called *nābuṭa* (< Latin *nepeta*, cf. F.J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, Madrid 1888, 397 f., with Mozarabic complementary forms), probably *Mentha*

tomentella Link; (c) *fū<u>dh</u>an<u>dj</u> barrī*, the "wild mint", also known as *<u>gh</u>alī<u>kh</u>un* (γλήχων), *Mentha pulegium* L.

This simple basic pattern was completed and differentiated by later pharmacologists. For the river-mint there appear the Arabic terms *nammām*, *ḥabaḳ al-māʾ* and *ḥabaḳ nahrī*, in Egypt *ḥabaḳ al-timsāḥ*, in Andalusia the Mozarabic *mantarā<u>sh</u>taruh* (*mastranto*, etc., see Simonet, *op. cit.*, 359); the last term indicates in fact another kind, namely *Mentha rotundifolia* L. In the literature of translations the river-mint probably corresponds with σισύμβριον = *sisinbaryūn* (and variants). The mountain-mint is later mostly equated with the "rocky" (*al-ṣa<u>kh</u>rī*) and with the wild mint (according to Ibn al-Waḥshiyya in Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, Cairo 1935, 69, 7). In Mozarabic the wild mint is called *bulāyuh*, *fulāyuh* (*poleo* < Latin *pulegium*, German *Polei*, see Simonet, *op. cit.*, 452), and also *<u>gh</u>ubayrāʾ* or *ʿirmid*. To this should be added above all the "cultivated mint" (*fū<u>dh</u>an<u>dj</u> bustānī*), that is, the pepper-mint, *Mentha piperita*, the ἡδύοσμον *īdiyāsmun* of the literature of translation, well-known and favoured as *naʿnaʿ* or *nuʿnuʿ*. Other kinds are also mentioned, which can be omitted here; they are not at all to be connected with the genus mint (like *fayṭal*), or only with some restriction (like *ṣufayrāʾ*).

As still today, mint had a many-sided medicinal effect, above all from the menthol contained in the volatile oil of the leaves of the peppermint. For the preparation of fragrant peppermint tea, Ibn Waḥ<u>sh</u>iyya (in Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, 70) recommends a method which is based upon all kinds of superstitious notions. The juice of the river-mint, taken with honey, has a strong heating and sweat-producing effect; taken with water, it helps against shooting pains and sciatica, promotes menstruation, drives off the tape-worm and is useful against jaundice since it opens up the sluggishness of the liver. Mountain-mint dilutes thick and stickly fluids which accumulate in the breast or lungs, and secretes them. Peppermint, taken with vinegar, does away with nausea and vomiting and checks haemorrhages. On the specific effect of menthol is based its use, common until now, for diarrhoea, gripes, flatulence and, above all, catarrh of the respiratory tubes. A few verses praising the fragrant peppermint tea are found in Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, 71 f.

Bibliography: (besides the titles already mentioned): Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, ed. Wellmann, ii, Berlin 1906, 40-8 = lib. iii, 31-5; *La "Materia médica" de Dioscorides* (Arabic tr. and ed. Dubler and Terés, Tetuán 1952, 253-6; Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xxi, Ḥaydarābād 1388/1968, 243-51 (no. 621), with many quotations and recipes; *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansur . . . Harawi*, tr. A.Ch. Achundow, Halle 1893, 238 f.; Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>azzār, *Iʿtimad*, Ms. Ayasofya 3564, fols. 83a-84a; Zahrāwī, *Taṣrīf*, Ms. Beşir Ağa 502, fol. 508b, 29-32; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn* (Būlāḳ) i, 409 f.; Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydala*, ed. H.M. Saʿīd, Karachi 1973, Arab. 296, Engl. 256; Ibn ʿAbdūn, *ʿUmda*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. 3505 D, fols. 130a, 19-131a, 2; Ibn Biklāri<u>sh</u>, *Mustaʿīnī*, Ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz., iii, F. 65, fol. 78b; Ibn Hubal, *Mu<u>kh</u>tārāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1362, ii, 157 f.; P. Guigues, *Les noms arabes dans Sérapion*, in *JA*, 10ème série (1905), v, s.v. *fandenegi* (no. 175); Maimonides, *<u>Sh</u>arḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 309; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *<u>Dj</u>āmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, iii, 170-2, tr. Leclerc, no. 1712; Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, *Muʿtamad*, ed. M. al-Saḳḳāʾ, Beirut 1395/1975, 372-4; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, Ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 221a-b; <u>Gh</u>assānī, *Ḥadīḳat al-azhār*, Ms. Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, fol. 93a; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Ta<u>dh</u>kira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 252 f.; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 283, 325; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*[3], Berlin 1891, 722-9; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 1924, 75-8; *The medical formulary or Aqrābā<u>dh</u>īn of al-Kindi*, tr. M. Levey, Madison etc., 1966, 312 f.

(A. Dietrich)

FUĶAHĀʾ al-MADĪNA al-SABʿA, the seven "jurists" of Medina, to whom tradition attributes a significant role in the formation of *fiḳh*. J. Schacht, who was especially interested in these *fuḳahāʾ*, wrote (*Esquisse d'une histoire du droit musulman*, Paris 1952, 28; cf. idem, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 31): "The Medinans . . . traced back the origin of their special brand of legal teaching to a number of ancient authorities, who died in the final years of the first and the early years of the second century of the Hegira. In a later period, seven of them were chosen as representatives; these are the 'seven jurisconsults of Medina' . . . Almost none of the doctrines attributed to these ancient authorities can be considered as authentic. The transmission of the judicial doctrine of Medina only becomes historically verifiable at the same period, approximately, as in Iraq, with Zuhrī (died in the year 124 of the Hegira)." It may further be noted, in this context, that the name of al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*] figures prominently in the enumeration, by the biographers, of those who supposedly formed the audience of the seven *fuḳahāʾ*. J. Schacht (*The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 22 ff.; 243 ff.) is also able to show that the list of these jurisconsults, to some extent variable, but finally fixed *ne varietur*, rests on no foundation, and he considered that in fact it is a question of a conventional group of *tābiʿūn* mentioned for the first time in definitive form by al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933) in his *<u>Sh</u>arḥ maʿānī l-ā<u>th</u>ār* (Lucknow 1301-2, i, 163), then by Abu ʾl-Fara<u>dj</u> al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967) in the *A<u>gh</u>ānī* (ed. Beirut, ix, 136, 145). He recognises, however, that this list was definitely drawn up at an earlier date, although he cites no reference in this context. Now the *Fihrist* (ed. Cairo, 315) mentions a work of Ibn Abi ʾl-Zinād (d. 174/790-1 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) entitled *Raʾy al-fuḳahāʾ al-sabʿa min ahl al-Madīna wa-māʾ <u>kh</u>talafū fīhi*, which creates the impression that this group—whose composition had been probably already fixed—was felt, towards the middle of the 2nd century A.H. not only as a historical reality, but also as early evidence of the doctrinal pluralism accepted by Islam, since it was possible to find out divergencies of opinion from among equally-respected "scholars". The fact remains, however, that the seven *fuḳahāʾ* chosen would appear above all else to be purveyors of tradition, for whom the sources are, in the nature of things, almost all the same. In addition, it may justifiably be supposed that their reputation was established considerably later than the time of their disappearance, since the date of death of the majority of them is not known with certainty; one might however expect it to be fixed in the year 94/712-13, designated precisely by the name *sanat al-fuḳahāʾ*, since according to tradition a number of them are said to have died in that year.

Whatever the case may be, the definitely-adopted list comprises the following personalities, with regard to whom it has not been judged beneficial, following

the studies of J. Schacht, to undertake researches into the works of *fiḳh*:

I. — Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, a prominent Ḳurayshite who became blind and was surnamed al-Rāhib or Rāhib Ḳuraysh on account of his piety. Al-Ṭabarī (ii, 272) is the only one to give him the name of ʿUmar, and Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel (Tab. 23) mentions only two other sons of ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. al-Ḥārith. Too young to serve as a combatant at the Battle of the Camel [see al-djamal], he remained in Medina, where he became intimate with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, who commended him to the care of his son al-Walīd. He passed on some *ḥadīths* of Abū Hurayra and of the wives of the Prophet to a number of traditionists, among whom the most notable would appear to be al-Zuhrī. He died in 94/712-13.

Bibliography: Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 303-4; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 282, 588, 599; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut, no. 117; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Beirut 1388/1968, ii, 383; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 132-4 = §§ 1889-90; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 104; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 672-3; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhīb*, xii, 30-2; Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himyān*, 131.

II. — Khāridja b. Zayd b. Thābit al-Anṣārī, Abū Zayd (d. 99 or 100/717-19) son of the Prophet's secretary. Appointed *muftī* of Medina, he collected traditions from his father and passed them on, most notably to al-Zuhrī.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 211; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 223; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iii, 74-5; idem, *Iṣāba*, no. 2136; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, vi, 24-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 118.

III. — ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Abū ʿAbd Allāh (b. *ca.* 23/644, d. between 91 and 99/709-18), grandson of the first caliph through Asmāʾ bint Abī Bakr [*q.v.*]. He was considerably younger than his brother ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], in whose activities he played no part; in fact, he avoided involvement in politics, but it was he who is said to have brought to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, in 73/692, the news of the defeat and death of the anti-caliph. He lived subsequently in Medina, where he is said to have written, on the instruction of ʿAbd al-Malik, a series of epistles on the beginnings of Islam. He collected traditions from his aunt ʿĀʾisha, from his mother, from his father (?) and from Abū Hurayra and passed them on notably to his own sons, to Sulaymān b. Yasār (see below) and to al-Zuhrī. The biographers tell that he was most courageous and that he endured in silence the amputation of a foot.

Bibliography: Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 245 and index; Ṭabarī, i, 1180, ii, 1266; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, index; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 19 and ii, 575; Ibn Khallikān, no. 416; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 420-1; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, 180-5; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 20.

IV. — Sulaymān b. Yasār al-Hilālī, Abū Ayyūb/Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥman/Abū ʿAbd Allāh (d. *ca.* 100/718-9) *mawlā* of Maymūna, wife of the Prophet, who passed on traditions acquired from ʿĀʾisha, Ibn (al-)ʿAbbās, Abū Hurayra and others and whose audience included notably al-Zuhrī.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 459; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 266; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 270; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 302-3; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv, 228-30; Masʿūdī, v, 462 = § 2214; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 134.

V. — ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba b. Masʿūd al-Hudhalī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, great-nephew of ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [*q.v.*], who collected traditions from his father, from Ibn (al-)ʿAbbās, from Abū Hurayra and other Companions and had a number of transmitters, in particular al-Zuhrī. He was extremely learned, according to his biographers, and he is said to have been the teacher of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz at Medina. He is known as a Murdjiʾite. He owes to his skill as a poet his inclusion in the *Aghānī* (ed. Beirut, ix, 135-47) and it is in the chapter devoted to him that Abu ʾl-Faradj enumerates twice (135, 145) the seven *fuḳahāʾ*, the second time with reference to a passage in which ʿUbayd Allāh is supposed to cite his six colleagues; Schacht (*Origins*, 244) believes with some justification that this is a fabrication invented for the requirements of circumstances; it seems in fact to have a mnemonic quality, like two verses (with rhyme-*djah*) quoted by Ibn Khallikān in the article on Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUbayd Allāh, who was blind, died in about 98/716-7 and was buried at al-Baḳīʿ.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 356 and index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, i, 14 and index; Ṭabarī, index; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ii, 126-7; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 250, 251, 588; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, index; Masʿūdi, *Murūdj*, v, 376 = § 2129; Ḥuṣrī, *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, 4; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 94/215; Ibn Khallikān, no. 356; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 400-1; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, 180-5; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, i, 74; Abu Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, ii, 188; Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, 197-8; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 114; Ziriklī, iv, 360.

VI. — Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab b. Ḥazn al-Makhzūmī, Abū Muḥammad. A true Ḳurayshite, this oil merchant collected traditions from his father-in-law Abū Hurayra and from other Companions and acquired a great reputation for piety and knowledge in the domain of *ḥadīth*, of *fiḳh*, and of *tafsīr*. Given the title Sayyid al-Tābiʿīn, he seems to have been preferred to the other *fuḳahāʾ* by the Medinans, who subsequently abandoned his doctrine, which was different from that of Mālik (cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 7) but was judged sufficiently important to merit a monograph by al-Dhahabī. Politically, he affirmed his desire for independence by refusing to recognise Ibn al-Zubayr, which cost him sixty strokes of the lash, then refusing to pay allegiance to the sons of ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Walīd and Sulaymān, which earned him a second flogging. His biographers also speak of his ability to interpret dreams. The date of his death varies considerably in the sources, but it is possible to pinpoint the year 94/712-13. He was buried at al-Baḳīʿ.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 22 and ii, 501; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, index; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Ibn Saʿd, index; Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 345; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 276; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 148, 254, 255, v, 118 = §§ 1479, 1581, 1874; Ibn Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 167, 168; H. Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, 51; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 94/125; Maḳdisī, *Création*, index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 262; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 283-5; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv, 84-8; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, i, 51-3; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 102-3; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, i, 228; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 31, 97.

VII. — al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān/Abū Muḥammad. Grandson of

the first caliph, and, as the story goes, of the last Sāsānid, because his mother was allegedly one of the three daughters of Yazdadjird (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index, s.v. Shahrbanū), he was adopted by his aunt ʿĀʾisha after the death of his father in 38/658. He transmitted to al-Zuhrī and to a number of other recipients traditions from his aunt and from several Companions, including Abū Hurayra. He died in *ca.* 106/724-5 at Kudayd and was buried at al-Abwāʾ [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 322; Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, 175, 588; Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī. *Nasab Kuraysh*, 279; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab, 21; Ibn Saʿd, index; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, ii, 183; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 463 = § 2214; Makdisī, *Création*, vi, 80; Ibn Khallikān, no. 533; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 89/205; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 507-8; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tadhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 333-5; Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, 230; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 135.

(CH. PELLAT)

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES [see DJANĀZA].

FUR [see FARW].

G

GADĀʾĪ KAMBŌ, SHAYKH, Ṣūfī saint of Muslim India.

He was the eldest son of Shaykh Djamālī Kambō (d. 941/1535), an important Suhrawardī Ṣūfī saint, who enjoyed the status of poet-laureate at Sikandar Lōdī's court and later served the Mughal emperors, Bābur and Humāyūn as their courtier. Having completed the customary education, Shaykh Gadāʾī perfected himself in the exoteric as well as esoteric sciences of the Ṣūfī. His father then made him his *khalīfa* or spiritual successor, with permission to enrol *murīds* or disciples in the Suhrawardī order. On Shaykh Djamālī's death, he inherited half of his father's huge fortune as the remaining half going to his younger brother, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, known as Ḥayātī. In recognition of his father's services, Humāyūn made Gadāʾī his courtier in place of Djamālī. Gadāʾī was also a gifted poet and musician, composing verses both in Persian and Hindi, his musical compositions in Hindi being famous during Akbar's reign.

After Humāyūn's defeat by Shēr Shāh Sūr near Kanawdj in 947/1540, Gadāʾī fled to Gudjarāt out of fear of the Afghāns, for the Indian allies of the Mughals had to be punished, and from there went to Arabia for the pilgrimage. On his return he remained in Gudjarāt where he was joined by his *murīds*, some of whom belonged even to Afghān families, and he became famous in Gudjarāt for his opulent sessions of *samāʿ*.

With the restoration of Mughal rule in India in 962/1555, the political situation changed, and Gadāʾī again joined Akbar's court in the Pandjāb some time before the second battle of Pānīpat took place in Muḥarram 964/November 1556. Bayram Khān Khān-i Khānān, who had become the regent, appointed Gadāʾī as *Ṣadr* of the Mughal empire for old friendship's sake as well as for political reasons, hoping that Gadāʾī would act as a liaison between the Mughals and the Indian élite. But the Mughal historians of Akbar's reign, who generally compiled their works after the fall of Bayram Khān, are critical of Shaykh Gadāʾī, accusing him of arrogance, high-handedness and favouritism in the distribution of land-grants and stipends among the Shaykhs, Sayyids, scholars and other deserving persons. Akbar also complains in his *farmān* to Bayram Khān, issued at the time of the latter's dismissal, that one of his misdeeds was the elevation of Shaykh Gadāʾī to the *Ṣadārat* in preference to Sayyids and *ʿulamāʾ* of nobler origin. In fact, all such complaints and grievances were concocted to provide Akbar with a pretext for removing Bayram Khān from power.

According to Shaykh Rizk Allāh Mushtākī, the earliest source, Gadāʾī played an important role at the beginning of Akbar's reign, and the regent consulted him on every matter because of his familiarity with Indian affairs. The Tūrānī nobles got annoyed with him when he did not join hands with them against the Shīʿī Bayram Khān, in spite of the fact that he himself was an orthodox Sunnī. He retired largely from politics after Bayram Khān's dismissal and settled in Djaysalmer. After a few years, Gadāʾī came back to Dihlī and spent his last years as a Ṣūfī there. On his return, Akbar showed him much respect, most probably for his past services at the crucial time of his reign, and his land was also restored to him. Being wealthy, Gadāʾī led a luxurious life; he was very fond of participating in the *ʿurs* ceremonies of the past saints of Dihlī, and spent much money on arranging *samāʿ* sessions. He also acquired a number of beautiful slave girls and enjoyed their company in his old age. He died at Dihlī in 976/1568-9 and was buried inside the tomb of Shaykh Djamālī in Mihrawlī.

Bibliography: ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Kazwīnī, *Nafāʾis al-maʾāthir*, MS. Mawlānā Āzād Library, Aligarh; ʿĀrif Kandahārī, *Taʾrīkh-i Akbarī*, also known as the *Taʾrīkh-i Kandahārī*, ed. Imtiyāz ʿAlī ʿArshī, Rampur 1962; ʿAbd al-Ḥakk, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Delhi 1914; ʿAbd al-Kādir Badaʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1869; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, ii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta; Niʿmat Allāh Harawī, *Taʾrīkh-i Khān-i Djahānī*, ii, ed. Imām al-Dīn, Dacca 1950; Niẓām al-Dīn, *Ṭabakāt-i Akbarī*, ii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta; Rizk Allāh Mushtākī, *Wākiʿāt-i Mushtākī*, MS. British Museum Add. 11,633; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, New Delhi 1975, 53-4, 233, 228.

(I.H. SIDDIQUI)

GALENA [see AL-KUḤL].

GALLEY [see SAFĪNA, SHĀNIYA].

GANGES [see GANGĀ].

GANGŌHĪ, ʿABD AL-KUDDŪS, a prominent Ṣūfī saint of Gangōh (Sahāranpūr district, Uttar Pradesh, India). Kuṭb al-ʿĀlam ʿAbd al-Kuddūs b. Ismāʿīl b. Ṣafī al-Dīn Ḥanafī Gangōhī was born *ca.* 860/1456 and received his Ṣūfī formation at Rudawlī, a Čishtī centre (*khānkāh*) in the region of Awadh that was organised by Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥakk Rudawlawī (d. 837/1434) and is supposed to derive its

tradition from ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ṣābir (d. 690/1291) of Kalyar, the founder-figure of the Ṣābiriyya branch of the Čis̲h̲tiyya. Though nominally the disciple and successor (*k̲h̲alīfa*) of his brother-in-law, Muḥammad b. ʿĀrif b. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs appears to have been initiated into Ṣūfī practices by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Piyārē, an old servant at the *k̲h̲ānḳāh*. In 896/1491 ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs migrated to S̲h̲āhābād (midway between Sirhind and Pānīpat) at the suggestion of Sikandar Lōdī's *amīr* ʿUmar K̲h̲ān Kāsī. When Bābur sacked S̲h̲āhābād in 932/1526, ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs moved across the D̲j̲amnā River to Gangōh where he died in 944/1537 (not in 950/1543 as noted in *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*), and is venerated at his shrine until today.

His most important disciples are his son, Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 982/1574) who collected the anecdotes about his father in the *Laṭāʾif-i Ḳuddūsī* (Dihlī 1311/1894; including the reminiscences of the Afg̲h̲ān soldier Dattū Sarwanī); his chief *k̲h̲alīfa*, D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Thānēsarī (d. 989/1582), the author of *Taḥḳīḳ arāḍī al-Hind* (Karačī 1383/1963), to whom Akbar paid a visit (Storey, i, 17, no. 25; 1198); and ʿAbd al-Aḥad (d. 986/1578), the father of Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*]. His grandson ʿAbd al-Nabī b. Aḥmad (d. 990/1582), known as the author of two Arabic treatises (*GAL* S II, 602), held for some time the office of *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* at Akbar's court. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs wrote commentaries on Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* and Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. The scope of his influence as a spiritual guide during the period of transition from Lōdī rule to the Tīmūrid empire is reflected in the collection of his letters, *Maktūbāt-i ḳuddūsiyya* (Dihlī 1287/1870; abridged, Dihlī 1312/1895), some of which were addressed to Sikandar Lōdī, Bābur and Humāyūn as well as to various Afg̲h̲ān and Mug̲h̲al nobles. His works also include the *Anwār al-ʿuyūn fī asrār al-maknūn* (Lak̲h̲naʾū 1295/1878; ʿAlīgaṛh 1323/1905; Lak̲h̲naʾū 1327/1909) which records the sayings of Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Rudawlawī; a Ṣūfī tract, *G̲h̲arāʾib al-fawāʾid* (D̲j̲ahd̲j̲d̲j̲ar 1314/1897?); and two mystical treatises entitled *Nūr al-hudā* and *Ḳurrat al-ʿuyūn* (MS Ethé 1924, 14 and 16). His brief compendium of Ṣūfī principles, *Rus̲h̲d-nāma* (D̲j̲ad̲j̲d̲j̲ar 1314/1897), advocates a popularised version of *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* [*q.v.*], alludes to Nathapanthī Yogic practices and includes a series of Hindī verses (added in the margin of MS Princeton 113). ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs was renowned for mystic states under the spell of *d̲h̲ikr* [*q.v.*] which were induced by his fervent practice of *samāʿ* [*q.v.*] and *ṣalāt-i maʿkūsa* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Abu ʾl-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, Calcutta 1948, iii, 417; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Ak̲h̲bār al-ak̲h̲yār*, Dihlī 1332/1914, 221-4; Muhammad b. Ḥasan G̲h̲awt̲h̲ī Mandawī, *Gulzār-i abrār* (= *Ad̲h̲kār-i abrār*, tr. Urdū), Lāhawr 1395/1975, 239-40; Muḥammad Hās̲h̲im Kis̲h̲mī Badak̲h̲-s̲h̲ānī, *Zubdat al-maḳāmāt*, Kānpūr 1308/ 1890, 96-101; Dārā S̲h̲ikōh, *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ*, Kānpūr 1301/1884, 101 (no. 118); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Čis̲h̲tī, *Mirʾāt al-asrār*, *ṭabaḳa* 23; Muḥammad Akram Barāsawī, *Iḳtibās al-anwār* (= *Sawāṭiʿ al-anwār*), Lāhawr 1313/1895, no. 30; G̲h̲ulām Sarwar Lāhawrī, *K̲h̲azīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Kānpūr 1312/1894, i, 416-18; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Murādābādī, *Anwār al-ʿārifīn*, Bareilly 1290/1873, 349-58; Lakhnaʾū 1293/1876, 411-20; Storey, i, 967 f., no. 1279; S. Nūrul Ḥasan, *Laṭāʾif-i Ḳuddūsī, a contemporary Afg̲h̲ān source*, in *Medieval India Quarterly*, i (1950), 49-57; Iʿd̲j̲āz al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḳuddūsī, *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Gangohī awr unkī taʿlīmāt* [Urdu], Karačī 1961; S. Digby, *Dreams and reminiscences of Dattū Sarwanī*, in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, ii (1965), 52-80; 178-94; ʿAzīz al-Raḥmān, *Tad̲h̲kira Mak̲h̲dūm ʿAlī Aḥmad Ṣābir Kalyarī*, Dihlī 1391/1972 (quoting an anonymous *Sawāniḥ-i Ḳuddūsī*); S. Digby, *ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Gangōhī*, in *Medieval India: a miscellany*, iii, ʿAlīgaṛh 1975, 1-66.

(G. Böwering)

GARDEN [see bustān].

GAZ, a measure of length in use in Muslim India, considered equal to the *d̲h̲irāʿ*, which was treated as a synonym for it. Sixty *gaz* formed the side of the square *bīgha*, a traditional measure of area. Five thousand *gaz* made the length of a *kuroh* (Persian) or *krosa* (Sanskrit), the traditional measure of road-length.

The length of the *gaz* varied, often according to locality and also according to the subject of measurement (land, cloth, etc.). There is no way of knowing the standard length of the *gaz* under the Dihlī Sultans. But under Sikandar Lōdī (894-923/1489-1517) the measure known as *gaz-i Sikandarī* was about 30 inches long. The Mug̲h̲al Emperor Humāyūn increased it to 30-36 inches. This measure continued in use until 994/1586, when Akbar instituted the *gaz-i ilāhī*, equal to *ca.* 32-32½ inches.

The *gaz-i ilāhī* was the standard unit of measurement during the reign of Akbar, and continued to be so during the reign of D̲j̲ahāngīr. During the reign of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān, a slightly longer measure, the *d̲h̲irāʿ-i S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahānī*, of about 32.80 inches, was introduced for calculating road lengths; while a much smaller *gaz* was brought into use for measuring area.

Bibliography: Abu ʾl-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1867-77; Irfan Habib, *The agrarian system of Mughal India*, Bombay 1963, Appendix A; W.H. Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, London 1920, 54; see also d̲h̲irāʿ. (M. Athar Ali)

GEHENNA [see d̲j̲ahannam].

GEMINI, TWINS [see minṭaḳat al-burūd̲j̲, nud̲j̲ūm].

GENESIS [see takwīn].

al-**G̲H̲ĀFIĶĪ**, Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Sayyid, Spanish-Arabic pharmaco-botanist, native of the fortress G̲h̲āfiḳ near Cordova. His dates are not known, but he may have died around the middle of the 6th/12th century. He was considered to be the best expert on drugs of his time; he elaborated thoroughly the material transmitted from Dioscurides and Galen and presented it in a concise, but appropriately complete form in his *Kitāb al-Adwiya al-mufrada*. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ii, 133, 14), Ibn al-Bayṭār was accustomed to take this work continuously with him on his scientific journeys, together with a few others. Other writings of al-G̲h̲āfiḳī are not known.

M. Meyerhof repeatedly expressed as his belief that al-G̲h̲āfiḳī was the most important pharmacobotanist of the Islamic Middle Ages (latterly expressed in *S̲h̲arḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār. Un glossaire de Matière médicale composé par Maïmonide*, Cairo 1940, introd., xxix f.). In accordance with our actual knowledge, Ibn Samad̲j̲ūn and Ibn al-Rūmiyya, both also Spaniards, will have to be put on the same level as al-G̲h̲āfiḳī. The three of them, especially Ibn al-Rūmiyya, were primarily not pharmacists but botanists; because of their exact description of

plants they were copied by Ibn al-Bayṭār, not entirely—as Meyerhof thought—but to a great extent. The Arabic text of al-Gh̲āfiḳī has become known only in recent times; until then one had to depend on a Latin translation from which M. Steinschneider compiled a list of drugs, *Gafiki's Verzeichnis einfacher Heilmittel*, in *Virchow's Archiv für pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie*, lxxvii (1879), 507-48; lxxxv (1881), 132-71. To the manuscripts enumerated in M. Ullmann, *Medizin im Islam*, 277, should be added a valuable copy, found in Tamgrut and now preserved in Rabat, which contains the first part of the work (up to the letter *ẓāy*) (cf. Sh̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad al-Fāsī, in *Trudy 15. Meždunarodnogo Kongresa Vostokovedov*, ii, Moscow 1963, 19).

Al-Gh̲āfiḳī arranged his collection according to the *abd̲j̲ad* alphabet. Names of drugs beginning with the same letter appear twice under this letter: firstly as heading of a *ḳism fī 'l-kalām 'alā 'l-adwiya*, in which the drugs are described in detail and the sources relating to this are mentioned, then again in a *ḳism fī sh̲arḥ al-asmā'*, i.e. a short list of synonyms from various languages. As sources are mentioned Dioscurides, Galen, al-Rāzī, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, Ibn Samad̲j̲ūn, Isḥāḳ b. 'Imrān, Masīḥ (al-Dimash̲ḳī), al-Ṭabarī ('Alī b. Rabban), Ibn Wāfid, Ibn Sīnā, an unknown person (*mad̲j̲hūl*, often), Ibn Māssa, Ibn Māsawayh, al-Isrā'īlī (Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān), *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*—to name only those who occur most; personal observations of the author often form the conclusion. The status of the manuscripts now known is sufficient to justify a critical edition of this important work.

A century after al-Gh̲āfiḳī, Barhebraeus [see IBN AL-'IBRĪ] composed an extract from his book on drugs under the title *Muntak̲h̲ab Kitāb D̲j̲āmi' al-mufradāt li-Aḥmad . . . al-Gh̲āfiḳī*, available in an edition, with translation and valuable commentary, by M. Meyerhof and G.P. Sobhy, that unfortunately reaches only as far as the letter *d̲h̲āl*, *The abridged version of "The book of simple drugs" of Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ghâfiqî by Gregorius abu 'l-Farag (Barhebraeus)*, fascs. 1-3, Cairo 1932, 1933, 1938. The discovery of the Gh̲āfiḳī manuscripts was the reason for the interruption of the edition of the *Muntak̲h̲ab*.

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(A. DIETRICH)

AL-GH̲ĀFIḲĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM [see AL-KABTAWRĪ].

GH̲ALAṬA, a district, now called Beyoğlu, of Istanbul [*q.v.*], which occupies the broad angle of land between the lower northern shore of the Golden Horn (K̲h̲alīd̲j̲) and the Bosphorus. Historically, Gh̲alaṭa comprises more particularly (a) the quarters *intra muros*, i.e. the site of the (formerly) walled Genoese colony of Pera which surrendered on terms (*vire ile*) to Meḥemmed II in 1453; and (b) the post-conquest area of largely "Frankish" and Greek settlement *extra muros*, known to the Ottomans from the early 16th century as Beyog̲h̲lu and to non-Muslims as Pera. "Greater" Gh̲alaṭa—i.e. the area of at least partial "Frankish" settlement—in the 16th to 18th centuries and subsequently was bounded by what were commonly regarded as its suburbs: on the Golden Horn the Muslim quarter of Ḳāsîm Pash̲a, the site of the Ottoman arsenal (*tersāne-yi 'āmire*) and, on the Bosphorus, that of Ṭopk̲h̲āne, which developed after the conquest around the state cannon-foundry (*topk̲h̲āne-yi 'āmire*) outside the Porta de li Bombarde/ Ṭopk̲h̲āne ḳapîsî.

Gh̲alaṭa (from the quarter "of the Galatians" in the early Byzantine settlement of Sykai) was of little significance until the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and the restoration of Byzantine rule in Constantinople. The original concession situated in a *locus apud Galatham*, granted to Genoa in 1267, lay along the lower shore of the Golden Horn, between the present-day Atatürk bridge and the ferry terminus at Karaköy, with its landward limits marked by what is now Voyvoda D̲j̲addesi and Yanîḳ Ḳapî Ṣoḳag̲h̲î. This settlement was burned by the Venetians in 1296; rebuilt and surrounded by a ditch; delimited by an Imperial edict of 1 May 1303 (translation in Belin, *Latinité*, 129); destroyed once more by fire in 1315 (*accessit . . . igne accidentali quasi tota Peyre combusta est*); and, despite a Byzantine interdiction, fortified on the land side and rebuilt in the following year. Thus established, Gh̲alaṭa *intra muros*, the "communità de Peyre", self-governing under the authority of a *podestà* sent out annually from Genoa, developed rapidly to reach its final form and extent in the years immediately preceding the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. The first extension to the original *enceinte* was constructed in 1348-9, enclosing a triangle of steeply rising ground with its base formed by the eastern half of the long land-wall and its apex marked by the massive circular Torre di Christi, i.e. the Gh̲alaṭa Kulesi which has ever since been the major landmark and symbol of the district.

From this time, i.e. from the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Republic of Genoa and its colony of Pera cultivated close relations with the rising power of the Ottomans—cf. the letter of the Signoria dated 21 March 1356 to "Messer Orcham, grande amiraio (*i.e. amīrī kabīrī*) de la Turchia", from which it is clear that the Genoese of Gh̲alaṭa—"li nostri de Peyra che sum vostri figi e servioi e veraxi"—were already closely involved in commercial relations with the Ottomans and acting as their political allies against Venice and Byzantium. By the latter part of the same century, if not earlier, Muslim merchants must have been a familiar sight on the streets of Pera: the agreement concluded in 789/1387 between Murād I and Genoa (Belgrano, 146-9) provided for the partial exemption from customs dues of "Turks" who were engaged in commercial activities in Gh̲alaṭa, and in the reign of Bāyezīd I Ottoman envoys were received by the *podestà*, and members of leading Perote families were sent to the Ottoman court as ambassadors (Belgrano, 153, 160).

In the late 14th/early 15th centuries, almost certainly in response to the first Ottoman siege of Constantinople by Bāyezīd I, Gh̲alaṭa *intra muros* took on its final form. The districts which lay immediately to the west of the original concession and the extension of 1348-9 were enclosed by a wall which

ran from the Tower to the Golden Horn, and slightly later the entire eastern quarter of Ghalaṭa, fronting the Bosphorus, was also enclosed by a wall. The total area of Ghalaṭa *intra muros* was thus brought to approximately 370,000 square metres, the circuit of the outer wall being approximately 2,800 metres (cf. J. Gottwald, *Die Stadtmauern von Galata*, in *Bosporus*, N.F. iv [1907], 22).

The fortifications of Ghalaṭa were further strengthened and improved by the efforts of successive *podestàs* in the last decades of Genoese rule. Most of the surviving or recorded inscriptions date from this period (cf. the collections, made from the 17th century onwards, by Covel, de Mas Latrie, Belgrano, Gottwald, etc., listed in the *Bibliography*). The Genoese colony at this time played an ambiguous role between the Ottomans and the Christian powers, e.g. in 1444 field-guns ("canons et cullevrines") were supplied from Ghalaṭa to Murād II (Wavrin, *Recueil de chroniques*, v, 49). Even at the last hour, when the fate of Constantinople was sealed, the authorities in Pera made desperate attempts to avoid the inevitable conquest by the Ottomans. In 1452 a semi-circular curtain-wall was built on the uphill side of the Tower in order to provide protection from artillery bombardment, but in the new era of gunpowder and greatly-improved siege guns, Ghalaṭa and its defences were vulnerable from the heights to the north of the Tower. On 30 May 1453, the day following the fall of Constantinople, Ghalaṭa surrendered. The last *podestà* and the principal citizens were allowed to depart and the colony passed into Ottoman hands.

The preliminary agreement to surrender Ghalaṭa had been concluded in the Ottoman camp on 28 or 29 May; by the terms of the capitulation itself (cf. N. Iorga, *Le privilège de Mohammed II pour la ville de Péra* (*1er juin 1453*), in *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la section historique*, ii [1913-14], 11-32; E. d'Allegio d'Alessio, *Traité entre les Génois de Galata et Mehmet II* (*1er juin 1453*), in *Echos d'Orient*, xxxix [1940], 161-75), Ghalaṭa, *urbem nostratium pulcherrimam et singularem* (Adam de Montaldo, *Genuensis*, "de Constantinopolitano excidio", ed. C. Desimoni, *Atti Soc. Ligur. Patria*, x [1874], 342), was placed under the authority of an Ottoman *voyvoda*. The inhabitants were permitted to retain "their property and houses; their shops and their vineyards; their mills and their ships; their boats and their merchandise entire; and their women and children according to their wishes". The property of the inhabitants who had fled was confiscated by the state. The inhabitants were given freedom to trade in the Ottoman Empire and to come and go by land and sea without paying any taxes except the poll-tax. The existing churches were to remain in the hands of the inhabitants, who might hold services in them, but without sounding bells or clappers. No new churches were to be built. Further conditions excluded the male children of the inhabitants of Ghalaṭa from the *devshirme* [*q.v.*]: "we shall not take their children as janissaries", and prohibited the settlement of Muslims in Ghalaṭa.

Under Ottoman rule, "greater" Ghalaṭa came to be constituted one of the three important *ḳāḍīlïḳs* of the *bilād al-thalātha*, i.e. Eyyūb, Ghalaṭa and Üsküdar; much of the area appears rapidly to have been established as *waḳf*. The topography of Ghalaṭa *intra muros* in the Ottoman period has received considerable attention (cf. in particular A.M. Schneider and M.Is. Nomidis, *Galata. Topographischarchäologischer Plan*, Istanbul 1944; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen 1977, *passim*), and both western and Islamic literary sources are largely known (for a survey of the latter see E. Rossi, *Galata e i geografi turchi*, in *Studi bizantini*, ii [1927], 67-74). Detailed work on the demographic, social and administrative history of Ghalaṭa in the high Ottoman period must await the full exploitation of the relevant Turkish archival materials (cf. the list for Istanbul generally in *EI*², iv, 244-5 by H. İnalcik).

The four centuries between the Ottoman conquest and the late Tanẓīmāt period were marked in Ghalaṭa by a slow but steady process of demographic change, cf. in particular, K. Binswanger, *Untersuchungen zum Status der Nichtmuslime im osmanischen Reich des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1977, 128-46. The guarantees given by Meḥemmed II for the security of the churches and the reservation of the area *intra muros* to non-Muslims were soon disregarded (e.g. by the conversion of the church of S. Paolo (e S. Domenico) *ca.* 880-3/1475-8 and the subsequent (late 9th/15th century) settlement around what thereby came to be called the ʿArab Djāmiʿi of large numbers of Muslim refugees from Spain (B. Palazzo, *Arap Djami ou Eglise Saint-Paul à Galata*, Istanbul 1946; Müller-Wiener, 79 f.). Partly-Muslim quarters also rapidly came into existence in the parts of Ghalaṭa which were not covered by the capitulation of 1453, i.e., the strips of land outside the walls along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn and the hilly area to the north of the Tower. Two centuries after the conquest, Ewliyā Čelebi noted (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, Istanbul 1314, 426-36) that in the reign of Murād IV, Ghalaṭa possessed 60,000 Muslim and 200,000 non-Muslim inhabitants, divided amongst eight Muslim, seventy Greek, three "Frank", i.e. Latin, and two Jewish quarters (*maḥalle*).

Simultaneously with the establishment and growth of Muslim settlement occurred changes in the composition of the Christian population of Ghalaṭa. Elements of the Latin population were enumerated in 1580-1 as 500 *kharādj*-paying subjects of the sultan; 5,000 liberated slaves; 2,000 slaves "of all nationalities"; five or six hundred "étrangers de passage", mostly from Spain, Sicily and Venice; one hundred staff of embassies and a further six or seven thousand slaves (? including the labour corps of the arsenals at Ṭopkhāne and Ḳāsïm Pasha). Many of these post-conquest Latin elements in Ghalaṭa later came to claim a more exalted pre-conquest lineage.

After 1453 the walls of Ghalaṭa lost most of their significance, and from the early 10th/16th century, settlement on the heights of Pera, e.g. by the "bey's son" Luigi Gritti, son of a doge of Venice and confidant of the Grand Vizier Ibrahīm Pasha, from whom the district took its name of Beyoghlu, increased. The envoys of Venice established themselves there early in the reign of Süleymān I, sending their despatches "da li vigne di Pera". Pera in this period was thinly populated, a salubrious locality forming an easy refuge from the plague-infested alleys within the walls (cf. T. Bertelé, *Il Palazzo degli ambasciatori di Venezia in Costaninopoli*, Bologna 1932, 81). In the building of an embassy in this quarter, Venice was to be followed in the 16th century by France and England and, later, by Holland and other European states which sent envoys to reside at the Ottoman court, a fact which, above all others, gave to Beyoghlu its special character until the 20th century.

The greatest change since the conquest to affect

Ghalaṭa occurred in the middle of the 19th century. In 1844 de Mas Latrie could still describe Ghalaṭa as "une ville franque, qui existe en entier avec son donjon, ses tours, ses églises, ses crénaux". Within twenty years, the walls, with the exception of the Tower and some fragments, were demolished and the land-wall ditch filled in. This act, together with the construction of one, later two bridges across the Golden Horn, the rapid expansion of Pera/Beyoghlu to the north in the latter part of the 19th century; the granting of a degree of municipal autonomy to Beyoghlu and the construction of a short underground railway (1884) from Karaköy to the heights of Pera and of tramways, began the final effacement of Genoese and Ottoman Ghalaṭa *intra muros* as an identifiable entity. Since then, the process has accelerated, and the development of a new economic centre of gravity in Beyoghlu on the axis of Taksim-Harbiye, when coupled with the decline into insignificance of the non-Muslim indigenous population of Beyoghlu and the demolition of older quarters for urban renewal and road-widening, has tended to erase further the differences between Ghalaṭa and the rest of Istanbul.

Bibliography: Besides the bibliography of works on Istanbul, many of which deal incidentally or in part with Ghalaṭa, cf. in particular: F.W. Hasluck, *Dr. Covel's notes on Galata*, in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xi (1904-5), 50-62; E. d'Allegio d'Alessio, *Galata et ses environs dans l'antiquité*, in *Revue des études byzantines*, iv (1946), 218-37; idem, *Traité entre les Génois de Galata et Mehmet II* (1er juin 1453), in *Echos d'Orient*, xxxix (1940), 161-75; idem, *La communauté latine de Constantinople au lendemain de la conquête ottomane*, in *Echos d'Orient*, xxxvi (1937), 309-17; J. Sauvaget, *Notes sur la colonie génoise de Péra*, in *Syria*, xv (1934), 252 ff.; J.M.J.L. de Mas Latrie, *Notes d'un voyage archéologique en Orient*, in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartres*, ii/2 (1845-6), 489-544; J. Gottwald, *Die Stadtmauern von Galata*, in *Bosporus: Mitteilungen des deutschen Ausflugvereins "G. Albert"*, N.F. iv (1907), 1-72; V. Promis, *Statuti della colonia Genovese di Pera*, in *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, xi (1870), 513-780; E. Rossi, *Galata e i geografi turchi*, in *Studi bizantini*, ii (1927), 67-80; Cornelio Desimoni, *Memoria sui quartieri dei Genovesi a Constantinopoli nel sec. xii*, in *Giornale ligustico di Archaeologia, storia e belle arti*, i (1874), 137-80 (in Constantinople proper); idem, *I Genovesi e i loro quartieri in Constantinopoli nel secolo xiii*, in *ibid.*, iii (1870), 217-76 (deals with the original Genoese concession in Ghalaṭa); V. Promis, ed., *Continuazione della Cronaca di Jacopo di Voragine*, in *Atti Soc. lig. di storia patria*, x (1874), 493 ff.; Rossi, *Le lapidi genovesi delle mura di Galata*, in *ibid.*, lvi (1928), 143-67; M. de Launay, *Notices sur les fortifications de Galata*, Constantinople 1864 (not seen); idem, *Notice sur le vieux Galata*, in *Univers* (Constantinople), Nov. 1874; Dec. 1974; Feb. 1875; Mar. 1875 (not seen); G.I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la mer noire au xiiie siècle*, Paris 1929, 89-114; idem, *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du xiii s.*, Bucharest 1927; L.T. Belgrano, *Documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera. Prima serie*, in *Atti soc. lig. di storia patria*, xiii (1877-84), 97-336; 2*a serie*, 931-1004; G. Hofman, S.J., *Il Vicariato apostolico di Constantinopoli, 1453-1830*, Rome 1935 (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, no. 103); M.A. Bélin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, Paris 1894; Djelāl Esad, *Eski Ghalaṭa*, Istanbul 1913; S. Eyice, *Galata ve Kulesi*, Istanbul 1969; A.M. Schneider and M.Is. Nomidis, *Galata: topographisch-archäologischer Plan*, Istanbul 1944; Ö.L. Barkan and E.H. Ayverdi, *Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri 953 (1546) tarihli*, Istanbul 1970, *passim*; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāhat-nāme* i, Istanbul 1314, 426-36; Ḥüseyn Aywānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳāt al-djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1282, ii, *passim*; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen 1977; *EI*², art. *Istanbul* (H. İnalcık); *İA*, art. *Istanbul: Galata* (S. Eyice), both with extensive bibliographies. Historical plans of Ghalaṭa in de Launay (reproduced in Belgrano, *Atti*, xiii, *ad finem*), Schneider and Nomidis, Djelāl Esād and Müller-Wiener, 321.

(C.J. Heywood)

GHANAM (A.), a femine singular noun with the value of a collective (with the plurals *aghnām*, *ghunūm* and *aghānīm*) designates the class of small livestock with a predominance, according to the countries, of either sheep (*shāʾ al-ḍaʾn*, *shiyāh al-ḍaʾn*, *ḍāʾina*), or goats (*shiyāh al-maʿz*, *māʿiza*). Like the two other collectives *ibil* [*q.v.*] "camelidae" and *khayl* [*q.v.*] "equidae", *ghanam* defines one of the three aspects of nomadic pastoral life covered by the term *badw* [*q.v.*] as well as an important activity of the sedentary agriculturalist countryfolk [see FILĀḤA], who may be periodic migrants; small livestock constitute for the one group a direct and unique source of subsistence (*kanī al-ghanam*) with the milk, fleece, hide and rarely the meat and, for the others, an extra product negotiable in the fairs through the intermediary of the sheep merchant (*djallāb*).

The root *gh-n-m* implies the acquisition of goods by means other than those of barter and purchase; the synonyms *ghunm* and *ghanīma* [*q.v.*] "booty, war trophy" set in relief this idea, excluding from it any allusion to the means of illegal and immoral appropriation. Also, *ghanam* (dialect. *ghnem*/*ghlem*) is understood in the sense of "sheep-goat patrimony" (see Ḳurʾān, VI, 146/147, XX, 19/18, XXI, 78) completing with *baḳar* [*q.v.*] "cattle" the full meaning of *naʿam* "livestock" (pl. *anʿām*, used 32 times in the Ḳurʾān). In Arabic, it is the equivalent of the Latin nouns *peculium* and *pecunia*, derived from *pecus* "herd". Parallel with *ghanam* and with the same meaning, one finds, especially in the Maghrib, the terms *māl* [*q.v.*] and *kasb*/*kisb* [*q.v.*], whence the dialectal *ksība*/*ksīb* "flock of sheep" (cf. Berber *ulli*, from the radical *l* "to possess").

Although the Ḳurʾānic verse (VI, al-Anʿām, 144/143) saying: "[Allah has provided you] with eight species of animals in pairs, two for the sheep and two for the goats . . ." does not make any discrimination between the two species, a long polemic between intellectuals reported by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, v, 455 ff.) brought into opposition the partisans of the sheep and those of the goat. However, this sheep-goat duality was not new, since echoes of it are found in the two monotheistic religions prior to Islam. In fact, to the degradation of the goats, the Jews had their rite of the "scapegoat" at the time of their Festival of Atonement, while Christian demonology saw in this animal an incarnation of the devil. By contrast, sheep enjoyed the favour of the two communities, as they were favourites of God; there is the ram of Abraham, the paschal lamb, the symbol of the mystical lamb applied to Christ and the parable of the "good shepherd" wisely leading his "sheep" (Vulgar Latin *ovicula*, from *ovis*). The Arabs, long

before Islam, used to sacrifice a ewe (*ʿatīra*) to their divinities, in the month of Radjab, whence its name of *radjabiyya*, by way of prayer and as an act of thanksgiving; while in the Maghrib and Tunisia in particular, the cult of the ram was widespread, reminiscent of the Egyptian cult of Ammon Ra, and it was only definitively abolished by the energetic repressions of the Aghlabid *amīrs*, in the 3rd/9th century (see T. Lewicki, *Culte du bélier dans la Tunisie musulmane*, in *REI* [1935], 195-200; G. Germain, *Le culte du bélier en Afrique du Nord*, in *Hespéris*, xxxv [1948], 93-124). In veneration for Abraham, Islam preserves the rite of the sacrifice of the sheep on the 10th of the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the day of the pilgrimage [see ḤADJDJ], culminating at Minā [*q.v.*] called *yawm al-naḥr* "day of slaughter"; for all the Muslim countries it is the "feast of the sacrificial victims" (*ʿīd al-aḍḥā*) or "feast of the offerings" (*ʿīd al-ḳurbān*) and, in the Maghrib, "the great feast" (*al-ʿīd al-kabīr*). Engaging in historico-religious arguments, the apologist for the sheep would point out the superiority of the former over the goat on account of its wool, its milk and its flesh; furthermore, in grazing, the sheep does not have the "acid tooth" of the goat which uproots the plants, damages the bushes by devouring the buds and breaks down buildings by its need to climb over everything, whence the proverb *al-miʿzā tubhī wa-lā tubnī* "the goat destroys and does not build". Finally, the sheep with his thick fleece and covering tail decently conceals his posterior, whereas the stump of tail of the goats, shamelessly raised, is a defiance to modesty, not to mention the goatish odour which makes the company of the *tayyās* "goat-herd" shunned. Linguistically, to call someone a *tays* (pl. *tuyūs*, dialect. *tīs*) was a great insult and, notably, in the expression *mā huwa illā tays fī safīna* "he is only a goat in a boat", alluding to the nauseous and persistent smell which the animal leaves wherever it has stayed. On the contrary, the nickname *kabsh* "ram" was eulogistic and flattering, especially in the metaphor *huwa kabsh min al-kibāsh* "he is a chief ram", synonymous with *huwa faḥl min al-fuḥūl* "he is a chief stallion", i.e. "he is a champion". Against these notions is the defender of the goats *ṣāḥib al-māʿiz*, in whom one should see, at the time, either the Ḥidjāzī or the Yemenī, their respective homelands being particularly abundant in goats; for such a person, the goat outclasses the sheep as much by the varied products which it supplies as by its vitality and resistance. In the society of goat-herds one would say of an energetic man: *huwa māʿiz min al-ridjāl* "he is a goat among men", whereas one would snub the incapable weakling with *mā huwa illā naʿdja min al-niʿādj* "he is only one of the ewes". Apart from the important place occupied by goats' hair, as smooth (*sabad*) as flock (*mirʿizz*), the equal of wool (*labad, ṣūf*) among weavers, goats' hide was and still is the principal material for containers, bags, straps, shoes, cloths and covers (see the list in *Ḥayawān*, v, 485); although camel-breeders, the tribesmen of Muḍar remained faithful to their red tents of goats' hide.

In fact, this polemic, puerile as it may appear, was not solely literary, for it was the reflection of an old antagonism dividing the tribes according to the kinds of husbandry that they practised; a series of more or less authentic Prophetic traditions testifies to this antagonism between breeders (see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt*, s.vv. *shāt*, ii, 41-8; *ghanam*, ii, 186-92; *maʿz*, ii, 326-7; *ḍa'n*, ii, 76-80, and *Ḥayawān*, v, 503-8) and one of the most typical says "Pride (*fakhr*) is characteristic of the owners of horses, brutal roughness (*djafā'*) of the owners of camels, and serenity (*sakīna*) of the owners of small livestock". Among the great nomadic camel-breeders scorn for the small nomadic sheep-breeders was expressed by degrading proverbs such as *al-ʿunūḳ baʿd al-nūḳ* "the she-goats after the she-camels", stigmatising the misfortune of a group forced by poverty to give up camels for small livestock, for, to them, this meant really a descent, since *al-ẓilf lā yurā maʿ al-khuff* "the cloven hoof [of the small livestock] is not seen alongside the hoof [of the camel]". All these tribal oppositions arising from the kinds of husbandry were to vanish with Islam, for the position of the Prophet in favour of small livestock was very clear; having been a shepherd himself, he was pleased to say "Among all things, small livestock is an invitation to modesty and an incitement to choose poverty, leaving aside grandeur and pomp; prophets and just men were pastors of small livestock". In his eyes, the sheep-goat association was for man a divine gift and he used to say, moreover, "I recommend you to have the greatest care for sheep, clean their mucus (*rughām*) and clear their enclosure of every thorn and stone, for these animals are also to be found in Paradise", advising the shepherd to perform his prayers near the fold. Small livestock also provide him with a metaphor to express his aspirations for the Islamisation of the conquered regions by encouraging the crossing of beasts with a black fleece (= the Persians) with those with a white fleece (= the Arabs, of superior race).

In the linguistic domain, sheep and goats were defined by a considerable number of terms which the great Arab philologists of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries attempted to gather together in specialised works, of which very few have been preserved for us. One of the first seems to be al-Naḍr b. Shumayl (d. 203/818) [*q.v.*] with his *Kitāb al-Ghanam*, the fourth volume of his huge encyclopaedia of Bedouin life, the *Kitāb al-Ṣifāt*. At a later date there are a *Kitāb Naʿt al-ghanam* and a *Kitāb al-Ibil wa 'l-shā'* of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 214/829) [*q.v.*], a *Kitāb al-Ghanam* ascribed to al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. *ca.* 215/830 or 221/835) [*q.v.*], the *Kitāb al-Shā'* (ed. Haffner, 1895) of al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828) [*q.v.*] and, finally, a *Kitāb al-Ghanam wa nuʿūtihā* of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) [*q.v.*]. Ibn Sīduh gives an idea of the extent of ancient terminology concerning goats and sheep in his *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (vii, 176-95; viii, 2-20) in the chapter *kitāb al-ghanam*, consisting of about forty pages. To this ancient base must be added the other mass of material contained in the different Arab and Berber dialects, from ʿIrāḳ as far as the Atlantic Ocean, of the tribes devoted to the husbandry of small livestock. The scanning of several lexicons dedicated to these dialects, such as that of G. Boris for South Tunisian (*Parler arabe des Marazig*, Paris 1958) or that of Cl. Denizeau (*Parlers arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, Paris 1960) allows the evaluation of a minimum of two hundred terms, the elementary word-store which each tribal group uses in the exercise of its pastoral activity; this approximate figure still remains well below the reality for some sections. Such an abundance of vocabulary sets in relief the vital character which the husbandry of sheep and goats presents for a mass of Muslim populations, sedentary as well as nomadic; this linguistic richness is not specifically that of the Arabic language, but is to be found among Turkish-speaking shepherds as

well as Persian-speaking ones and Berber speakers.

In spite of this plethora of terminology, it remains hard to define precisely the many strains of sheep and goats belonging to the Arabs and other Islamised peoples, just as in the West the zoötechnicians have had some difficulty in unravelling the skeins of the domestic strains of the sheep (*Ovis aries*), undoubtedly descended from an oriental wild sheep (*Ovis ammon*), as well as those of the goat (*Capra hircus*), possibly a descendant of the Aegagrus or Pasang (*Capra ibex aegagrus*), as these two species are naturally polymorphs. Among the sheep one can distinguish, according to the language and in a very general manner, the strains with a large fatty tail (*alya*) or Barbary sheep (= from Barbary or the Maghrib), those with a long, non-fatty tail, those with long hoofs peculiar to India and Guinea and from which derive the strains of Northern Europe and, finally, those of Spain with the "merinos" introduced from the Maghrib under the dynasty of the Marīnids whose Hispanicised name it has kept. All these strains are subdivided, according to the desired aim of their breeding, into wool sheep and dairy sheep; the sheep kept for its meat, despite the absolute legality of the consumption of its flesh, has not attained in the lands of Islam the importance that it has attained in feeding Western Christendom.

On the subject of zoological strains, the Arab authors and al-Djāḥiẓ in particular (*Ḥayawān*, v, and vi, *passim*, see index), speak only of a few, especially in Arabia, the most widespread being distinguished by some typical anatomical anomaly such as dwarfishness. Also among the species with a very foreshortened shape there is the *ḥadhaf* "the docked one" of the Ḥidjāz and Yemen with a black fleece and almost without a tail and ears; similar was the *ḳahd*, but with a russet-coloured fleece. Baḥrayn had the *naḳad* "puny beast", a stunted sheep, but a good wool producer, whose small size gave rise to the image *adhall min al-naḳad* "slighter than the dwarf sheep". In Yemen the *ḥaballaḳ* is still bred, itself a dwarf, and the *ṭimṭim* with shorn ears and with a woolly dewlap under the throat; whereas the *sādjisī* was large and its wool of a pure white, while the *djalam* of Ṭā'if, very high on its hooves, had a fleece so smooth that it appeared bald; it was of African origin. Among the strains with a fatty caudal wen, apart from the Barbary sheep (dial. *maẓmūẓī*), the "Caracul" [see ḲARĀ KÖL] of Central Asia cannot be omitted, with its long wavy black fleece whose lambs were frequently sacrified for their precious coat called ("breitschwanz" or "astrakhan" [see ASTRAKHĀN].

As for the goats, it can be maintained that the majority of the strains of Arabia and the Near East were of African origin. The *nūbiyya* "Nubian" and the *ḥabashiyya* "Abyssinian" goat were distinguished from each other, both large with broad, hanging ears and a short fleece. Quite similar was the *ḥadaniyya* (from Mount Ḥadan) in Nadjd and whose hair was black or deep red. The *shāmiyya* "Syrian" strain was long-haired, being related to the strains of Asia whose most renowned representative across the centuries remains the "angora" (*anḳarī*) [see ANḲARA] from the name of the great Turkish commercial centre where its "flock" (*mirʿizz, mirʿizzā, mirʿizzā'*, see *LA* under *r-ʿ-z*; *Ḥayawān*, v, 483; *Kitāb al-Tabaṣṣur*, tr. in *Arabica*, i [1954], 158, §§ 10-11) was woven (*thawb mumarʿaz*) and exported, but which came, in fact, from the herds of Armenia and the Causacus of Tibetan stock. The success which the textile "mohair" (an Arabo-English term derived from *mukhayyar* "chosen" with the complement of "hair") still has on the world market and the different "camelots" (diapered, waved, moiré and watered) testifies to the high quality of the goat fleeces and confers on them an equal rank in value to that of the best sheep's wools. It is the same with the goats of Kashmir and Tibet, whose silky down covered with long gander is collected daily by carding and woven and gives the shawls of India their renown.

Among the pastoral peoples, nomadic and sedentary, the methods of husbandry of each species have hardly varied since antiquity, having attained by experience a degree of adaptation which would be hard to improve upon. For the former, the rhythm of the seasons unfolds in a permanent quest for even only slightly green pastures (*marāʿī*) and unpolluted watering places, in the steppes bordering the great deserts, for access to the luxuriant, jealously-guarded oases is forbidden to them just as that to the private *ḥimā* was forbidden to them in pre-Islamic times. In Africa as well as in the East and in Asia, these movements are apparently organised, i.e. codified, according to ancestral agreements in the manner of customary right based on group precedence; there is no need to dwell on the interminable conflicts which these questions of pasturage can lead to, especially in the period of drought. At tbe beginnings of the agricultural zones and after the cereal harvests, contracts of location of pasture (*sarḥa*) on the stubble and fallow can be concluded between cultivating owners and wandering or migratory shepherds (*ʿuzzāb*). The encampment or *dawār* [*q.v.*] "circle of tents" is placed as near as possible to a well [see BI'R], a spring or a pool offering the watering place (*mawrid*) indispensable for the animals. The circular area delimited by the tents (*murāḥ*), whose enclosure is completed by a barrier of thorny brushwood, assures the flock of a relative nocturnal security reinforced by the vigilance of these half-wild dogs called with precision "camp dogs" [see KALB]. The twice-daily milking takes place after the separation of the unweaned young, before the morning departure of the flock for pasturage and in the evening on its return from the watering place; in the East it is mostly the men who perform it, whereas in the Maghrib it is one of the numerous women's chores (see G.S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, Paris 1939, 214-18). The fresh milk (*ḥalīb*) is immediately churned by swinging in the goatskin container (*shakwa*) hung on posts; there is derived from it, on the one hand, buttermilk (*laban*) consumed immediately either as a drink or as a food or put to curdle with the rennet (*infaḥa*) to make a mild cheese (*djubn*) whose residual whey (*mā' al-djubn*) is given to the lambs and kids or incorporated in culinary preparations. On the other hand, the fresh butter (*zubda*), unwashed and separated from the buttermilk, is immediately put in the goatskin, sometimes salted, to obtain, after it has become rancid, preserved butter (*samn*), a substance based on the fat and used in all foods [see GHIDHĀ']. To consume the fresh milk and the butter as it comes from the churn would be, in the eyes of the Bedouin, an unthinkable waste in view of the three or four sub-products present in the milk; hence comes the interest shown in the goatskin churn and its contents in this dialectal metaphor from the Maghrib *yeddoh fī sh-shekwa idhā mā djbed el-lben yedjbed ez-zebda*! "He has his hand in the churn; if he does not draw out buttermilk, he will draw out butter!" to describe someone who has

found a situation which is very lucrative and not very tiring, and parallel to the French image "avoir trouvé un bon fromage" (cf. American English "He became a big cheese").

Apart from the two daily necessities of the watering and the milking, the shepherd's year numbers several major activities for the life and survival of men and beasts. First, at the beginning of winter, there is the shearing (*dj̲azza*) of the wool-bearers and the shearer (*dj̲azzāz*) has to know how to manage the shears (*dj̲alam*) with dexterity and rapidity on the animal, while it is held on the ground; the mass of wool obtained (*dj̲azīza*) will serve as exchange currency in the oases for utensils and durable foodstuffs (dates, sugar, flour etc.). Another crucial period and, perhaps, the most harrassing for those responsible for the flock who have to stay awake day and night, is that of the parturition (*nitādj̲*) of the pregnant females with all the care demanded by mothers and newborn, lambs and kids being confused at the beginning under the names *sak̲h̲la* (pl. *sak̲h̲l, sik̲h̲āl, suk̲h̲lān*) and *bahma* (pl. *baham, bihām*). The latter, as they grow, take on different names whose system of nomenclature will not be treated exhaustively here, as it varies from one region to another. If a birth threatens to be difficult and may endanger the life of the female in labour and that of the young, there is no hesitation in practising a Caesarian section and the offspring saved is called *ḥullān, ḥullām*. In ancient terminology, the distinction between lamb and kid only appeared clearly at the age of weaning (*fiṭām*) around four or five months. Until then, the young lamb-kid (*bad̲h̲adj̲, farīr, furār, furfur*), is left to its mother, but when it is over three months, the teats are progressively taken from it, ending by their being forbidden it, the maternal mammaries being enclosed in a bag (*s̲h̲amla, s̲h̲imāl*), which may be made of a hedgehog skin [see ḲUNFUD̲H̲]; a gag (*faṭṭāma*) is also used, applied to the muzzle of the young in the company of its mother. In the hours of milking the young are kept apart. After weaning, the kid becomes a *dj̲afr* (pl. *dj̲ifār*) and the lamb *k̲h̲arūf* (pl. *k̲h̲irfān*) and, before it is one year old, the sex is distinguished, with *dj̲ady* and *ʿutʿut* for the he-kid, *ʿanāḳ* for the she-kid, *ḥamal* and *immar* (dial. *ʿallūs̲h̲*) for the he-lamb and *rik̲h̲l* and *immara* for the she-lamb. When one year has passed, with the goats, the male is the *ʿatūd* or the *ʿarīd*, then, around two years, the *dj̲adhaʿ* or *tays*, whereas the female becomes *ʿanz* or *ṣafiyya*; progressively each of them are called *t̲h̲anī, rabāʿī, sadīs* and after seven years, *sālig̲h̲*. The he-goat sire is, in the dialects, the *ʿatrūs*. As for the sheep, by a similar terminological graduation, one arrives at the *kabs̲h̲* for the ram and the *naʿdj̲a* for the reproductive ewe; castration of the males is not always practised, for it is proscribed by Ḳurʾānic law and the he-lambs and kids remaining are taken, in the care of the *dj̲allāb*, to the abattoirs (*madj̲zar* pl. *madj̲āzir*) of the urban centres or delivered directly to the butcher (*ḳaṣṣāb*) of the nearest village. Those which supply the feasts and ceremonies of the tribal group are only an infinitesimal part.

According to the social organisations peculiar to each Muslim people, the groupings of sheep and goats can be very variable as to the number of heads of livestock; also, the term "troupeau" (French) and "flock" (English), without numerical precision, do not have a direct correspondent in Arabic. The small family flock of ten to forty animals (*ḳaṭīʿ*, dial. *rasla, ḳaṭʿa, nūba*) is called *fizr*, if there are only sheep, and *ṣubba*, if there are only goats. With the hundred, one speaks of *ḳīnā* of sheep and *g̲h̲īnā* or *ḳawṭ* of goats. With two hundred, it is the *k̲h̲iṭr* and above that the *waḳīr* without distinction of species. The joining together, for common needs, of several *waḳīr* with their dogs and carrier donkeys forms a *firḳ* or a *mug̲h̲nam*, which may number several thousand head; such a moving mass can be described further as a *g̲h̲anam mug̲h̲annama* (comp. "a sea of sheep and goats") and with this idea of multitude it will be said, *aḍʿana 'l-ḳawm wa-amʿaza* "the group is very rich in sheep and goats".

Equally highly variable is the condition of the pastor (*rāʿī*, dial. *sāriḥ*, Berber *ameksa, amadan*), shepherd or goatherd, or most often, both at once, according to the framework of the society in which he is integrated. Among the sedentaries, a youth suffices to guard the few beasts of the family circle, but, in some villages, the livestock of each is gathered into a single flock which may be quite large, each animal bearing the mark of its owner, and they also have recourse to a professional shepherd. He is engaged under a renewable seasonal contract covering two seasons (*kamāla*, either summer-autumn, or winter-spring) and he is paid mainly in kind. On the day of his engagement he receives a small sum as a deposit, the outer garment (*ʿabāʾ, burnus*, Morocco *sel-hām*) indispensable against inclement weather, a large woollen haversack (*kurz, ʿamāra*) to carry his personal possessions and, also, for those of the newborn who may arrive during the journey for pasture, and a crook (*ʿukkāz, ḥanfa*) which can be a strong club as a defensive weapon. He is assured of daily food and at the expiry of his contract, he has the right to twenty lambs and kids (*ridāya*). In the case of his contract not being renewed, he gives back the deposit, the cloak and the haversack. In fact, the good shepherd is automatically re-employed and his services for the same employer can last a lifetime (see Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 216 ff.).

However small a flock may be, the shepherd has to be vigilant at all times; he must prevent the animals from trespassing on the cultivated lands, round up the stragglers, ward off every danger from predatory carnivores and thieves, assist a female in her labour and take care of the newborn. He is bound to compensate for every animal that dies through his negligence, but if a wolf or lion or panther kills it despite his intervention, he is cleared, if he can bring the carcase (*biṭāna*) to justify himself. This last clause hardly functions nowadays where governments have practically eliminated the insecurity reigning in the isolated regions, but the danger from thefts has not entirely disappeared. In addition to his dog, the shepherd may have the help of a youngster (*rassāl*) to keep the young apart while their mothers are milked or to lead the animals in small groups to the watering place. It is in this school that the boys learn the craft. Even among his flock the shepherd finds auxiliary help with, on the one hand, the "leader" (*dalūl, marīʿ, marīr*) wearing the chief's alfa collar (*s̲h̲abbāḥ, s̲h̲aband*), and old ram or billy-goat whom the flock follows blindly in ranks fleece against fleece and, on the other hand, the "haversack bearer" (*karrāz*), whose solid horns scarcely suffer from this extra burden. In the evening, the flock having returned to its covered or open fold (*zarb, zarība, marḳad, ḥaẓīra, ṣīra*), the shepherd goes to eat with his master and returns to sleep among his animals. They, confident in the man, obey his orders expressed by fixed onomatopaeic calls such as *birbir*! to gather them together, *sikk*!, *ik̲h̲t*!, *ḥerr*!, *tītī*!, *terr*! to urge them

on, *hish*!, *kahkah*!, *tahtah*!, to stop them and *hirhir*! to invite them to the water. Contrary to the usage in Christendom, the animals of flocks, in Islam, do not wear bells.

In the mountainous regions (the Atlas, Lebanon, Sinai, etc.) an annual migration takes place following the periods of the growth of herbage at high altitude. For these fixed migrations the flocks of several clans or villages are joined together and the long line of horns and undulating chines slowly climbs the slopes accompanied by the cohort of dogs, mules and donkeys charged with the food and necessary impedimenta for camps of several months. For this occasion, each owner delegates a man in charge (*ka^{cc}ād*) to coordinate and control the movements of the group and to ensure the feeding of the shepherds. This putting out to grass (*tarbīʿ*) can be prolonged for four or five months according to the atmospheric conditions encountered at the high altitudes. During the hot hours and the night, the animals are put under cover in caves (dial *kattīn, maʿzab, shakīf*) and other natural shelters.

Among the small sheep nomads, all the men are shepherds and their life is much harder than that of the sedentary shepherds, for it is linked to a constant quest for pastures and drinkable water, while having to face the merciless competition of the great camel nomads.

The condition of the shepherd of small livestock, nothwithstanding the eulogistic Prophetic traditions, concerning him, seems always to have been the object of disrepute in general Muslim opinion; to be a *shāwī* still retains a pejorative nuance (see W. Marçais and A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, i, Paris 1925, 257-9, nn. 37 and 39). In the eyes of the cultivator, the shepherd passes for a pilferer, when he is not reproached with particularly shameful practices with his animal (*Hayawān*, v, 458). In pre-Islamic Arabia the protection of the livestock was often the task of slaves and, in the Middle Ages, this scorn for the pastor might also be reinforced by racial oppositions (see Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbers*, i, 106). Al-Djāhiz cites (*Bukhalāʾ*, French tr. Ch. Pellat, *Le livre des avares*, Paris 1951, 198) this Bedouin's curse hurled at his adversary: "If you lie, may you draw milk seated" (= may Allah change your noble she-camels into vile ewes). In the Maghrib, the shepherd is in the lowest rank of the country proletariat, writes W. Marçais (*op. laud.*), lower than the *khammās* and the jobbing workman and, in the mouth of the countrywomen with their unpolished language, the supreme insult hurled at a rival is that of "maid for shepherds".

In spite of so much disgrace and by force of circumstances, the pastor of small livestock remains, in all the lands of Islam, one of the indispensable artisans, ensuring the subsistence of the rural and civic populations. Furthermore, the shepherds, constantly observing nature and the sky, and this since the domestication of the goat and sheep (the verb *raʿā* means at the same time "to pasture the flock" and "to observe the stars"), have made a great contribution through their experience acquired in the progress of the astronomy and meteorology proper to each season. To be convinced, one has only to consider the sum of precise evidence preserved, in a concise form, in the rhymed sayings that these contemplators of the heavenly vault composed for each of the twenty-eight *anwāʾ* of the year (see Pellat, *Dictons rimés, anwāʾ et mansions lunaires chez les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, ii [1955], 17-41); these sayings mention the notable influences on the flocks of the evolution of time in the course of the twelve months; for the craftsman, their laconicness is very telling. By way of example, two of these sayings taken from the fifty best known will suffice to sketch the rough contrasts of climate which the shepherd had to endure. The first evokes the dog-days and the scarcity of water (Pellat, No. 14) in these brief terms, "When Sirius rises [at the end of June] in the morning (*safarā*), if you do not see rain (*matarā*), do not give food to the she-lambs or he-lambs (*immarā*) . . ." [for they will risk dying of thirst]. The second relates to mid-December when the water becomes ice (Pellat, No. 32), "When *al-Naʿāʾim* ("the Ostriches", i.e. γ, δ, ε, η, σ, φ, τ, ζ, Sagitarii) rise, the animals stay motionless (*al-bahāʾim*) because of the constant (*al-dāʾim*) ice, and the cold awakens every sleeper (*nāʾim*)". With this monthly guide to the constellations the shepherds regulate their migrations which, far from straying, lead them where their flocks will find the best conditions of subsistence.

Apart from the vicissitudes arising from the harsh weather to which the animals of the flock are exposed, they can also be the victims of accidents and individual or collective illnesses. In the past, with the lack of effective therapeutics, the shepherds had to lament a percentage of certainly high losses. Epi-demics (*wabāʾ, mawtan*) would occur periodically with their terrible consequences; spontaneous abortion (*ikhdādj, iskāt, ikhfād*), agalactia (*shisās*) and sterility (*ʿukr*). The causes were attributable especially to many neighbouring viruses of the brucella type entailing brucellosis or Maltese fever (*hummā mālitiyya*) and foot-and-mouth disease (*djilākh, hummā kulāʿiyya*). The sheep pox (*amīha, nabkh*) also ravaged them, as did coccidiosis (*djuʿām*), bringing on diarrhoea and anaemia. Sarcoptic mange or "black-muzzle" (*naghaf*), psoroptic mange (*kuhāl*, dial. *bū tagga*), gastro-intestinal strongylosis and flukeworm due to the small fluke of the liver (*Dicrocoelium lanceolatum*), all leading to aqueous or dry cachexia, also destroyed a good number of animals. Microbial infections of the feet and hooves such as foot rot (*iltihāb al-fawt*) and hoof inflammation (*kuwām*), which could lead to the dropping-off of the horn cover and decalcification of the instep (*ʿukāb, khumāl*), condemned their immobilised victims to enforced slaughter. Infections of the respiratory tubes were endemic, with pleuropneumonia of goats (*kasaba*, dial. *bū farda*), pulmonary strongylosis provoking sneezing (*kudās, nathīr*) and mucus or glanders (*mukhāt, zikhrīt, rughām*), attested by the Prophetic tradition cited above. Finally, cases of cenurosis or turnsick (*thawal*, dial. *bū nshīnīsh*) were frequent, as were swellings (*hubāt*) and convulvus of the oesophagus (dial. *farrās*) due to dehydration. Against this cohort of invisible enemies constituted by the microbes, the shepherd would find himself totally unarmed, attempting, despite everything, some empirical treatments for the external infections. Purulent sores were cauterised with a red-hot iron (*kayy*), and mange (*djarab*) and ringworm (*karāʿ*) are, even nowadays, treated by the application of tar (*katrān, kīr*). It is with tar also that the waters of the brackish or magnesian watering place are purified (*mashadj*) and, in Syria, a billy-goat or ram carries around his neck a cow-horn (*battāl*) full of this substance to provide for the hour of watering. Many other therapeutics, sometimes extravagant, mixed with conjuratory magical practices take place everywhere in Islam, as in Christendom, and the list would be very long.

Meanwhile, in modern times, veterinary science is propagated under the auspices of the authorities of each state, and competent services periodically bring effective prophylactic measures, to the countryside by means of vaccination (*talkīh*), disinfection (*tathīr*) of contaminated sites and by injection (*hakn*) of powerful medications absorbed into the body of the sick patients; it can also be confirmed that at present the flocks of sheep and goats of the Muslim countries are almost freed from the scourge of the great epidemics.

Man has very often known how to exploit to his profit the natural gentleness and docility of sheep and goats, and the servility in which he keeps them makes them the object of griefs with which the ram reproaches him in the course of the whole philosophical "colloquium" which the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' [*q.v.*] hold with the domestic animals in their memorable *Epistles* (see *Rasā'il*, ed. Beirut 1957, ii, 215). In fact, sheep and goats had not only to feed their dominator, but also to amuse him; jugglers and circus performers would be seen distracting the market crowds with their "knowledgeable" (*lakina*) sheep and goats in association with dogs and monkeys [see KIRD] in turns of balance and dance, and the Meccan sheep (*shāt makkiyya*) passed as particularly gifted in this kind of exercise (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 218). In the East and the Near East the public still shows an indefatigable taste for ram fights (*niṭāḥ*), giving rise to bets which can reach large sums; the organisation of these fights is the affair of the *kabbāsh*, breeder-selector of rams, whose lucrative profession was not besmirched with the disfavour of that of the goatherd (*ma'āz*), for it satisfied the innate passion of orientals for the game.

The names taken from the vast Arabic terminology concerning small livestock are numerous in the fields of zoology and astronomy. In the former are found *'anz/'anza*, designating at the same time the females of the vulture, the eagle and the houbara bustard; it is also the name of the reef heron (*Egretta gularis*), while the glossy ibis (*Plegadis falcinellus*) is nicknamed *'anz al-mā'* and *ma'azat al-mā'* "water goat". *'Anz al-mā'* is also the trigger fish (*Balistes capriscus*) and *'annāz* "goatherd" used to designate the black stork (*Ciconia nigra*), one of fourteen homologous birds (*ṭuyūr al-wādjib*) for the sporting bands of crossbow shooters (*rumāt al-bunduk*) until the 7th/13th century. As for the *na'dja* "the sea ewe" (*na'djat al-baḥr*) represents both the turnstone (*Arenaria interpres*) and the oyster-catcher (*Haematopus ostralegus*), which are generally confused. The great white oryx and addax antelopes [see MAHĀ] are nicknamed *ni'ādj al-raml* "ewes of the sands" and the diminutive *nu'aydja* is applied the wood ibis (*Ibis ibis*). The manatee (*Manatus*) is called "sea lamb" and, finally, the cattle egret (*Bubulcus ibis*) is nicknamed *abū ghanam* because of its symbiosis with the flocks which it clears of flies and parasites of the fleece.

In astronomy, "the shepherd" is the constellation of Ophiuchus (or Serpentarius) with the star *Katf al-rā'ī* "the shepherd's shoulder" (= β *Ophiuchi*) called wrongly "Celbalrai" (*kalb al-rā'ī* "the shepherd's dog"). A similar error is that of some authors who named *rā'ī* and *kalb al-rā'ī* the stars γ *Cephei* and ρ, κ *Cephei*; the same applies to "Rigel" (β *Orionis*) which is *ridjl al-djawzā'* "Orion's foot" and not *rā'ī al-djawzā'*. By contrast, *rā'ī al-na'ā'im* "the shepherd of the ostriches" corresponds to λ *Sagittarii*. The constellation of the Coachman (*Auriga*) is named *'annāz* "goatherd", a name confused with *'anāk al-arḍ* "ground lynx" or caracol designating the star γ *Andromedae*. In the Coachman, the star "Capella" (α *Aurigae*) answers to the names *al-'ayyūk* "the she-kid" (= Alhayoc), *al-'anz* "the she-goat" and *al-'atūd* "the young ram" (= Alhatod). In the same constellation belong *al-djadyān* "the two kids" (ζ, η *Aurigae*) with the former (*mukaddam*) and the latter (*mu'akhkhar*). The first zodiacal constellation, the Ram (*al-ḥamal*), comprises *al-naṭḥ* or *al-nāṭiḥ* "that which butts" (= α *Arietis*) which with β *Arietis* represents "the two horns of the Ram" (*karnā 'l-ḥamal*). Finally, *al-djady* "the kid" applies, on the one hand, to the tenth zodiacal constellation, Capricorn, with the star "Algiedi" (= α *Capricorni*) and, on the other, to the polar star or "Algedi" (= α *Ursae minoris*), an abbreviation of *djady al-farkadayn* "kid of the two young oryx" i.e. the kid of the region of β and γ *Ursae minoris*. One must not forget that for a thousand years the Pole Star was, not λ, but β *Ursae minoris* (for all these stars, see A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, Alger, ix [1951], 76-210; P. Kunitzsch, *Untersuchungen zur Sternnomenklatur der Araber*, Wiesbaden 1961).

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G̲H̲ANĪMAT KUNḎJĀHĪ, Muḥammad Akram, poet of Mug̲h̲al India and exponent of the "Indian style" (*sabk-i hindī* [*q.v.*]) in the Persian poetry of the subcontinent.

He was born at an unknown date in the first half of the 11th/17th century at Kunḏjāh, a small village in the Guḏjrāt district of the northern Panḏjāb (now in Pakistan). He was an adherent of the Ṣūfī order of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*], but apart from stays in Kas̲h̲mīr, Dihlī and Lahore, did not go very far from his native village, where he died in *ca.* 1106/1695. His works comprise a *Dīwān*, mainly of *g̲h̲azals*, and a *mat̲h̲nawī* poem written in 1092/1681 called the *Nayrang-i ʿis̲h̲ḳ* "Talisman of love", a romance set in contemporary India with mystical and symbolical overtones (*Dīwān*, ed. G̲h̲ulām Rabbānī ʿAzīz, Lahore 1958; *Nayrang-i ʿis̲h̲ḳ*, ed. idem, Lahore 1962, replacing Nawal Kishore texts). Aziz Ahmad has detected in the *mat̲h̲nawī*'s sensuousness and sentimentality signs of Mug̲h̲al decadence (*Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, 227). A. Bausani, whilst conceding this charge, has pointed out the interest of G̲h̲anīmat's poetry as examples of the peculiarly "Indian style", and has suggested that his fondness for lengthy compound expressions echoes the enormous compound epithets of Sanskrit poetry of the *Kāvya* style, especially as G̲h̲anīmat's century was one of considerable Muslim-Hindu cultural interaction, in which, for instance, several Sanskrit works were translated into Persian at the Mug̲h̲al court (*Indian elements in the Indo-Persian poetry: the style of Ganimat Kungāhī*, in *Orientalia hispanica sive studia F.M. Pareja octogenario dicata*, ed. J.M. Barral, Volumen I *Arabica-Islamica*, pars prior, Leiden 1974, 105-19).

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G̲H̲ĀRŪḲA, a system whereby a debtor landowner transfers part of his plot, and the right to cultivate it, as security on a loan until redemption. Other Arabic terms for the same system were *rahn ḥiyāzī* and *bayʿ bi'l-istig̲h̲lāl*, and in Ottoman Turkey *istig̲h̲lāl* (Pakalın, ii, 97). This is the French *antichrèse.* It is not identical with *al-bayʿ bi'l-wafāʾ* (the French *vente à réméré*), i.e. a "conditional sale" to the lender to be nullified as soon as the debt is redeemed, a system preferred by fellahs who hesitate to part with the material possession of their land. In fact, however, the difference was small, since according to the latter contract too the creditor often "leased" the land to his debtor, i.e. the yield of the land served as interest on the loan in the form of "rent". Both systems were rather common prior to the 19th century because Islamic and Ottoman law did not provide for mortgages, but they did not disappear after the introduction of mortgages, because of administrative difficulties involved in the latter.

G̲h̲ārūḳa is a form of usury, and as such prohibited by the *s̲h̲arīʿa.* According to all four law schools or *mad̲h̲āhib*, a profit derived from a pledge belongs to the debtor and the creditor is not allowed to gain from it. A Mālikī Azharī has even stated explicitly *wa-mā tafʿaluhu al-ʿāmma min al-g̲h̲ārūḳa ḥarām* (Shenouda, 39 n. 1). The Ḥanafī school, however, has created a loophole by making it lawful for the debtor to cede of his own free will the profit from the pledge to the creditor (*Multaḳā al-abḥur, faṣl* entitled *rahana raḏjulun ʿaṣīran; Hidāya*, book xlviii, ch. 4).

Early this century, *g̲h̲ārūḳa* seems to have been common usage in Egypt. One of the customary systems of pledging land in ʿIrāḳ was identical with the Egyptian *g̲h̲ārūḳa* (S.M. Salīm, *al-Čibāyis̲h̲*, Bag̲h̲dād 1957, ii, 281).

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G̲H̲ASSĀL (a.), lit. "a washer of clothes and also of the dead", is nearly synonymous with the word *ḳaṣṣār* (al-K̲h̲aṭīb, cf. *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Baghdād*, vi, 127). In classical Arabic there are a number of terms for corpse-washer such as *g̲h̲assāl al-mawtā*, *g̲h̲āsil al-mawtā* and simple *g̲h̲āsil.* The modern Arabic term for a washer of clothes is *g̲h̲assāl*, but the corpse-washer (*g̲h̲āsil*) in Syria is also called *mug̲h̲assil.*

The act of washing the corpse, putting a shroud on it, attending the funeral prayers and burying the deceased are some of the obligations on all Muslims, according to the *S̲h̲arīʿa.* The minimum qualification of the *g̲h̲āsil* is that he must be well-versed in the *Kitāb al-Ḏjanāʾiz* (the book of funeral rituals) in Islamic jurisprudence. The corpse-washer is required to wash the dead body three times according to standard Islamic practices. In the case of a female corpse, the daughter of the deceased, a near relative or a female corpse-washer (*g̲h̲āsila*) is employed for ritual washing. The corpse-washer must not look at the genitals of the deceased or divulge any knowledge of physical deformities of the *mayyit.* It is, therefore, necessary that the *g̲h̲āsil* should be a trusted (*amīn*), reliable (*t̲h̲iḳa*) and an honest (*ṣāliḥ*) Muslim, says Ibn Ḳudāma. A tradition of the Prophet reads: "Let the trustworthy persons wash your corpse" (*al-*

Mughnī, ii, 379). Some individuals performed the work of corpse-washing out of an inner sense of piety (*wara*ʿ), asceticism (*zuhd*) and observance of the *sunna*, wrote Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.

Under normal circumstances, the male as well as female corpse-washers performed their work without any interference from government officials. But during the Fāṭimid rule in Egypt, the caliph al-Ḥākim imposed a number of restrictions on outdoor activities of women, who were prevented from going out of their house, from entering a public bath (*ḥammām*) and from asking a cobbler to make shoes for them. Consequently, every female corpse-washer (*ghāsila*) had to seek a special permission or license from the *ṣāḥib al-maʿūna* and judicial authorities to practise her trade from the year 405/1014 onwards (cf. *al-Muntaẓam*, vii, 269). However, some writers tend to suggest that a similar ban on female corpse-washers was enforced for the first time in the year 253/867 in Egypt under ʿAbbāsid administration. The *ghāsil*'s work was probably a part-time occupation; it usually earned him an adequate wage which, of course, varied according to capability of payment of hirers, who naturally came from all strata of society. At least in one untypical case, a *ghāsil* sold off garments like a *ḳamīṣ* and a *djubba* worn by a deceased person and thereby earned an extra sum of eight *dīnārs*, besides his usual wage, in the late Mamlūk period (*ca.* 905/1500). The profession of the corpse-washer has tended to become hereditary in some countries of the Middle East until very recent times, but in non-Arab Muslim countries we do not find the existence of a professional group of corpse-washers.

The *ghassāl*, washer of clothes, has been one of a group of manual workers since early Islamic civilisation serving mostly the middle and the upper classes of society. He had to adhere to a code of conduct outlined by *ḥisba* officials. The washerman was asked not to beat more than one set of clothes on his washing stone and not to press garments against wooden tools, in order to avoid damage. They were advised to wash clothes in clean water and not to mix up one customer's garments with another's. However, the washerman (*ghassāl*) and the bleacher often ignored this code of conduct and gained widespread notoriety for their untrustworthiness in mediaeval Arab society, according to one *ḥisba* official and writer. The *ghassāl*, it appears, not only washed clothes of customers but also cleaned up dilapidated sites of the ʿAbbāsid city of Baghdad. During the Buwayhid period, Fakhr al-Dawla bought at a price of three *dīnārs* some old stones from rings from a *ghassāl* who had found the precious objects while cleaning up the ruined sites of the city. One of these stones turned out to be a ruby and another a turquoise and both were set into a gold ring which fetched 20,000 *dīnārs* (Ibn Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, Beirut 1966, 293-4). During the Saldjūḳ period, some *ghassālūn* were arrested for their alleged dishonesty. The *ghassāl*, says Djāḥiẓ, did not have any surplus income, but he lived on his meagre earnings, all of which he spent daily.

In the modern period, the work of washing clothes has been performed in Syria and Egypt by the washerwoman, *ghassāla*. These poor women workers visit the houses of the wealthy to wash and clean clothes and earn between three and six piasters (*kirsh*) for each garment they wash. They supply soap, washing tools and their labour and in return get a cash wage as well as food from their employers. The wages of *ghassālāt* in Egypt were lower than those of Syria during the early decades of the 20th century.

The social position of the corpse-washer (*ghāsil*) has been higher than that of the washer of clothes (*ghassāl*). This difference has been influenced by Arab and Islamic traditions. A number of statements attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad describe corpse-washing as a meritorious work which delivers the *ghāsil* from sin (cf. *al-Mughnī*, ii, 379). In contrast with this favourable position of corpse-washer, the washer of clothes had a low status, due to the servile nature of his work. The word *ghassāl* was rarely used as a name indicating profession during the classical period of Islamic civilisation. Moreover, the *ghassāl*, like other workers of despised status, such as the cupper (*ḥadjdjām*), the veterinarian (*bayṭār*), the sweeper (*kannās*), the watchman (*ḥāris*), the fishmonger (*sammāk*) and the tanner (*dabbāgh*), were denied the honour of being addressed by their patronymic (*kunya*) in Arab society (cf. Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, Damascus 1964-6, i, 355).

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(M.A.J. Beg)

GHAWTH (a.), literally "succour, deliverance", an epithet of the *Ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*] or head of the Ṣūfī hierarchy of saints. It is used of him only when he is thought of as one whose help is sought, but that, from the nature of the *Ḳuṭb*, is practically always; thus it is a normal sequent to *Ḳuṭb*. Other, however, say that the *Ghawth* is immediately below the *Ḳuṭb* in the Ṣūfī hierarchy. In Sunnī Islam, such a figure as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*] came to be thought of as the institutor of Sunnism and the *Ghawth* of his time; and we also find an allusion to the term in the title of one of the pseudepigraphia of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], sc. the *Ghawthiyya* or *Miʿrādjiyya*, a questionnaire on Ṣūfī terminology.

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(D.B. Macdonald*)

GHAZAL.

i, ii. — See Vol. II, s.v.

iii. In Ottoman Turkish literature.

After their conversion to Islam, the Turks adopted and assimilated Arabo-Persian cultural institutions, but in literature they tended to follow the Persian type. Thus it was the Persian *ghazal* rather than the Arabic one which became a model both in Eastern (Čaghatay) and Western (Ottoman) Turkish litera-

ture. The Turkish *ghazal*, which became the most popular poetical form after the *mathnawī* [*q.v.*], is very similar to the Persian *ghazal* from the point of view of technique [see GHAZAL. ii. In Persian literature]. It is a short poem of 5-15 *bayts*, with a single rhyme. In the first *bayt*, called the *maṭlaʿ*, both *miṣrāʿ*s rhyme together; the last *bayt*, in which the author mentions his *makhlaṣ* ("pen-name") is called *maḳṭaʿ*. The content is of love, mystical or real, the joys of life, wine, the beauties of nature, etc. There are also edifying and didactic *ghazals* which concentrate on *ḥikmet* [see ḤIKMA], philosophical statements on the world, human destiny and actions, such as the majority of the *ghazals* of the 11th/17th century poet Nābī [*q.v.*]. Each *bayt* of a *ghazal* is an independent unit in content, and need not be connected with the preceding and following *bayt* except by rhyme. Occasionally a *ghazal* may have a unity of subject, in which case it is called *yek-āvāz* ("one harmony"). The most commonly-used metres in the Turkish *ghazal* are *hazadj*, *ramal*, *radjaz*, *muḍāriʿ* and *mutaḳārib*. One shortcoming of Turkish poets writing in *ʿarūḍ* is particularly striking in the *ghazal* form. This is *imāle* (*imāla*) (the reading of a short vowel as a long one in Turkish, which has no long vowels, simply for the sake of metre), which no master of versification ever succeeded in completely avoiding, so much so that the *imāle* (considered by some as a proof of the existence of long vowels in Turkish, see *Bibl.*) ended up by being considered as an embellishment during the post-classical period. Most folk poets (*Sāz shāʿirleri*), with rare exceptions [see ḲARADJAOGHLAN] occasionally used *ʿarūḍ* and also wrote *ghazals* in imitation of *dīwān* poets (M. Fuad Köprülü, *Saz şairleri*², Istanbul 1962, Introd.). The *ghazal* form was cultivated in Turkish literature from the 7th/13th century until the second half of the 19th one, and then only sporadically by some modernist and neo-classicists (see Köprülü-zāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, TURKS III. *Ottoman Turkish literature*, in *EI*¹). Turkish biographies of poets (*tedhkire-yi shuʿarāʾ*) list the names of several hundred poets who each produced a *dīwān* (the bulk of which, as a rule, consists of *ghazals*), but only half a dozen outstanding and about a dozen minor poets wrote *ghazals* which rise above the level of mediocrity and have a claim to art. Although Turkish poets (both Čaghatay and Ottoman) were inspired and influenced by classical Persian poets, it would be a superficial judgment to consider the former as blind imitators of the latter, as is often done. A common technique and limited vocabulary, and the same world of imagery and subject matter based mainly on Islamic sources, were shared by all poets of Islamic literatures (see Fahir Iz, *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım*, ii, Istanbul 1967, Introd.), and a mere parallelism of these in poets of the same or diverse languages might easily tempt one to draw easy and misleading conclusions (as e.g. by Hasibe Mazıoğlu, *Fuzuli-Hafiz*, Istanbul 1962). A closer study reveals that outstanding Turkish poets of the early periods such as Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, Nesīmī [*q.v.*], ʿAlī Shīr Newāʾī, Nedjātī, and many of the classical era like Fuḍūlī, Bāḳī, Shaykh al-Islām Yaḥyā, Nefʿī, Nāʾilī and particularly Nedīm [*q.vv.*] and others, wrote, under common conventions, many original *ghazals* with a strong personal flavour (for a chronological selection of Ottoman Turkish *ghazals*, see Fahir Iz, *op. cit.*, i). Many Turkish *dīwān* poets, particularly Nefʿī and Nedīm, were conscious of this originality and they expressed their own feelings in many of their *ghazals* and *fakhriyyes*. It is fair to say that outstanding Turkish classical authors managed to retain their personal and their Turkish character, even though using Persian set themes, figures, conceits and imagery, in the same way that Corneille and Racine remained French in spite of their use of Greek and Latin poetical conventions, characters and plots. During the literary *Tanẓīmāt* movement of the mid-19th century, the *ghazal* continued to be cultivated partly by modernists like Ḍiyāʾ (Ziyā) Pasha, Nāmîḳ Kemāl and others, and exclusively by the "neo-classicists" of the so-called *Endjümen-i shuʿarāʾ* group (Leskofčalî Ghālib, Yeñishehirli ʿAwnī, etc.). In contemporary Turkish literature the *ghazal* form was revived by Yaḥyā Kemal Beyatlî (1884-1958 [*q.v.*]), who from 1918 until his death wrote a number of *ghazals* in the language and style of some 17th and 18th century poets (particularly Nāʾilī and Nedīm) which were posthumously collected in a book as *Eski şiirin rüzgâriyle* ("With the breath of past poetry"). These very popular and successful pastiches did not go beyond being curiosities, and the *ghazal* form was not practised after the 1920s except by an occasional traditionalist or for humourous and satirical purposes (e.g. in Khalil Nihād Boztepe's *Sihām-i ilhām* (1921) and Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel's *Tatlı sert* (1938).

Bibliography: M. Fuad Köprülü, art. *Aruz* in *İA*; Ahmed Ateş, art. *Gazel*, in *İA*, Muʿallim Nādjī, *Iṣṭilāḥat-î edebiyye*, Istanbul 1307 rumi/1894, 166-78; Gibb, *HOP*, i, 80; Aḥmed Ṭalʿat, *Khalḳ shiʿirleriniñ shekil we newiʿleri*, Istanbul 1928; Talât Tekin, *Ana Türkçede aslî uzun ünlüler*, Ankara 1975.

(FAHIR İZ)

GHĀZĪ KHĀN, Indo-Muslim military leader. Known to Kashmīr chroniclers as Sulṭān Ghāzī Shāh Čak, he was the son of Kādjī Čak, the leader of the Čaks [*q.v.*] and a powerful chief. Nothing is known of Ghāzī Khān's early life except that in 933/1527 Ghāzī with other chiefs defeated the Mughals sent by Bābur to help Sikandar, son of Sulṭān Fatḥ Shāh, against Muḥammad Shāh the reigning Sulṭān of Kashmīr. Next year, however, the Čaks were defeated, and Ghāzī Khān, who fought under his father, was taken prisoner. In the middle of 959/1552, he joined the Kashmīr nobles to defeat Haybat Khān Niyāzī and his Afghān followers. Towards the end of 962/1555, he became *Wazīr* of Sulṭān Ismāʿīl Shāh by setting aside his cousin Dawlat Čak and blinding him. Early in 963/1556, Abu 'l-Maʿālī, a turbulent Mughal noble, having escaped from the wrath of Akbar, invaded Kashmīr, but Ghāzī Khān defeated him, and then suppressed the rebellion of Kashmīr nobles, who were against him. In the summer of 967/1560, Akbar sent Ḳarā Bahādur, a cousin of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, with an army to invade Kashmīr, but the latter was defeated at Radjaurī and then at Danaor.

In 968/1561, under the pretext that Ḥabīb Shāh (964-8/1557-61), grandson of Muḥammad Shāh and his own nephew, was incompetent, Ghāzī Khān set him aside and himself ascended the throne, assuming the title of Sulṭān Naṣīr al-Dīn Ghāzī Čak and thus laying the foundation of the Čak dynasty. He was brave, able and a man of strong will. He suppressed rebellions, established law and order and successfully defended Kashmīr against the Mughals. He was a cultured man and a poet and patronised learned men; but he was also the first Kashmīr ruler to introduce the practice of blinding his political rivals and cutting off their limbs. In his old age he suffered from leprosy, which impaired both his health and eyesight; hence he entrusted the work of the govern-

ment to his brother, Ḥusayn Khān. Later, he changed his mind and tried to recover power, but Ḥusayn Khān deposed him and himself ascended the throne. Ghāzī Shāh died after four years in 974/1566-7 at the age of 58.

Bibliography: the best accounts of Ghāzī Shāh are in the anonymous *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, India Office ms. 509, and in Ḥaydar Malik's *Ta'rīkh-i Kashmīr*, I.O. ms. 510; see also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmīr under the Sulṭāns*, Srinagar 1974; G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashīr*, Lahore 1948-9. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

GHĀZĪPŪR (area, 1.473 sq. m.), a District in the easternmost part of the state of Uttar Pradesh in India. It lies in the great alluvial plains of the Ganges and extends in equal portions on either side of the river. Though one of the smallest in size, it is one of the most thickly-populated and closely-cultivated districts of the state. For administrative purposes, it is divided into four *taḥṣīls*, namely Ghāzīpūr, Muḥammadābād, Saʿīdpūr and Zamāniyya. Paddy, wheat, cotton, sugar and tobacco are the traditional products of the district.

Ghāzīpūr is obviously a name of Muslim origin, and the Hindu tradition, which ascribes the foundation of Ghāzīpūr town to the eponymous hero Rādjā Gādhī, who called his stronghold Ghāzīpūr, has no historical basis whatsoever. Though the territory constituting the modern District has a long history going as far back as the days of early Indo-Aryan colonisation, the town was not really founded until about the middle of the 8th/14th century. According to reliable local records, during the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, one Čakāwa Mandhāta, a descendant of the famous Rādjā Prithiwīrādj of Dihlī, obtained a large tract of land at Kathāwat near the present village of Ghausegunj in the *taḥṣīl* of Muḥammadābād and later, building a fortress there, declared himself independent of the Dihlī Sulṭān. It is said that once his nephew and heir seized a Muslim girl, whose widowed mother appealed to the Sulṭān for the redress of the affront. Responding promptly, the then ruling Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluḳ despatched a band of 40 warriors under one Sayyid Masʿūd, who reached the place in 730/1330, and in a battle fought on the site of Ghāzīpūr town, Masʿūd slew the rebellious Rādjā. The Sulṭān thereupon granted Masʿūd the estates of his vanquished enemy, with the title of Malik al-Sādāt Ghāzī, which gave the name to the newly-founded city. Masʿūd Ghāzī left behind six sons, one of whom, Sayyid Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, was married to the daughter of Sayyid Muḥammad and had himself two sons, Sayyid Dūst Muḥammad and Sayyid Yaḥyā; the descendants of the former settled in the village of Para, while those of the latter in Nonhera, both situated in the *taḥṣīl* of Ghāzīpūr.

For the greater part of the 9th/15th century, Ghāzīpūr remained part of the dominions of the Sharḳīs [*q.v.*] of Djawpūr, after whose decline it reverted to the possession of the Dihlī Sulṭān. After the battle of Pānīpat in 932/1526, the Mughal emperor Bābur [*q.v.*] annexed Ghāzīpūr to his conquests of northern and eastern India. Ten years later, it went out of Mughal hands, following Humāyūn's defeat by Shīr Shāh in the decisive engagement fought at Baxar, close to the southern borders of the district. Ghāzīpūr remained under the peaceful administration of the Afghāns till it was recovered for the Mughals in 974/1569 by ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān Khān-i Zamān, governor of Djawnpūr, from whom the town Zamāniyya derives its name. Abu 'l-Faḍl in his *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* speaks in detail of Ghāzīpūr as being a flourishing *sarkār* in the *ṣūba* of Allāhābād. Sādāt Khān, the first Nawwāb-Wazīr of Awadh or Oudh [*q.v.*], placed Ghāzīpūr in charge of ʿAbd Allāh Khān, a native of the district, who has left his imprint on the city by his magnificent buildings, whose ruins still exist. With the taking over of the district by the British in 1781, Ghāzīpūr enjoyed undisturbed peace till the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 which took a heavy toll of life and property in the eastern part of the district, bordering Bihār. Normalcy could not be restored until five months of complete confusion had elapsed.

Ghāzīpūr town, which is the headquarters of the District of the *taḥṣīl* of the same name, stretches along the north bank of the Ganges for nearly four km. Before the introduction of the railways, it used to be a centre for trade and river-traffic. Among the antiquities of the town, the most notable are the ruins of the Čihil Sutūn or "Hall of the Forty Pillars", which was the palace of the above-mentioned ʿAbd Allāh Khān, who lies buried in the garden known as *Nawāb kī Čahār Dīwārī*. Another landmark is the tomb of Lord Cornwallis, who died there in 1805; this consists of a domed structure supported on twelve Doric pillars, with a marble bust executed by Flaxman.

Bibliography: *The imperial gazetteer of India*, xii, 1908; *Ghazipur District gazetteer*, Allahabad 1909; *Census of India* 1961, xv/4, Delhi 1965. (ABDUS SUBHAN)

AL-**GHAZZĀL**, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. AL-MAHDĪ AL-GHAZZĀL AL-ANDALUSĪ AL-MALAḲĪ, the secretary of the sultan of Morocco Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1171-1204/1757-89), who entrusted to him various diplomatic missions. In 1179/1766 he was the head of a delegation sent to negotiate an exchange of captives with Charles III of Spain; he was received with great honour in Madrid, and was able to return to Morocco with a Spanish mission which made a peace treaty with the sultan and an agreement about the exchange of prisoners. In 1182/1768 he was sent to Algiers to oversee the exchange of Algerian with Spanish prisoners and accomplished this with success. However, the Spanish king, after the sultan had besieged Melilla in 1185/1771, had to renounce the terms of the treaty made between the two rulers and drawn up by al-Ghazzāl, so that the latter fell into disgrace. He retired to Fās, where he died in 1191/1777 and was buried in the *zāwiya* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī [see AL-FĀSĪ, above].

This diplomatist left behind an account of his journey to Spain called *Natīdjat al-idjtihād fi 'l-muhādana wa 'l-djihād*, of which numerous mss. are extant; a résumé was made by Bodin in *AM*, iii (1918), 145-85, and it was published by A. Bustānī at Tetuan in 1941. Al-Ghazzāl's *riḥla* is doubly interesting. From the historical aspect, it is a valuable document since the author gives details about the aim of his mission and lists the names of the Muslim prisoners; from the literary point of view, although it is written in rhymed prose, it describes the stages of the journey and gives a picture of Spain under Charles III. He notes, like other travellers in Europe, the things which were new to him, but shows himself somewhat partial, insisting on the superiority of his own country.

He is, furthermore, the author, notably, of epistles in praise of his sultan and of a biography of the head of the ʿĪsāwa religious order, *al-Nūr al-shāmil* (ed. Cairo 1348/1929).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 327-30; H. Pérès, *L'Espagne vue par les voyageurs musulmans*, Paris 1937, 23; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Casablanca 1960, i, 124, 167, 174, 234, ii, 366-7; Brockelmann, S II, 712; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 249-52 and bibl. given there.

(ED.)

AL-GHAZZĪ, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM [B. YAḤYĀ?] B. ʿUTHMĀN B. ʿABBĀS AL-KALBĪ AL-ASHHABĪ (441-524/1049-1129), Arabic poet of the Saldjūḳ period.

He was born in Ghazza [*q.v.*] at a time when that town was still under Fāṭimid rule, but as a Shāfiʿī Sunnī and as a person especially proud of emanating from the Imām al-Shāfiʿī's own birthplace, his life was to be orientated towards the East, where the establishment of the Saldjūḳs favoured a resurgence of Sunnī orthodoxy. He was studying in Damascus in 481/1088 as a pupil of the traditionist Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Maḳdisī (d. 490/1096, see Brockelmann, S I, 603), but then left for ʿIrāḳ. Disappointed at Ḥilla in his expectations of the Mazyadid Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaḳa, he spent some time at the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdād during the caliphate of al-Mustaẓhir, but then departed for Persia, where he spent the remainder of his long life, travelling extensively in search of congenial patrons.

He was in Ādharbāydjān and Shīrwān, where he was again disappointed, this time by the Yazīdid Shīrwān-Shāh Farīburz b. Sālār; in Iṣfahān, where he stayed with a member of the Banū Faḍlūya, the Shabānkāraʾī Atabegs of Fārs; in Kirmān, where he enjoyed the patronage of the vizier of the local Saldjūḳ *amīrs* Nāṣir al-Dīn Mukram b. ʿAlāʾ; and also in Khurāsān, where he journeyed as far as Samarḳand and the court of the Ḳarakhānids. Here in the farther east of the Saldjūḳ empire he seems to have found favour with the Sulṭān Sandjar at Marw, and it was there that the scholar ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Samʿānī [*q.v.*] met him at the end of al-Ghazzī's life when he had, so al-Samʿānī says, reached 90 years of age but had apparently fallen into poverty. Al-Samʿānī, in his *Mudhayyal* to the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* of al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], cited by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, met him in Marw, where al-Ghazzī was staying at the local Niẓāmiyya *madrasa*. When al-Ghazzī left for Balkh on his last journey, he sold about ten *riṭls*' weight of the autography manuscripts of his poems, which al-Samʿānī was subsequently able to acquire and to copy out from them over 5,000 verses; the remainder of his verses, however, al-Ghazzī also sold, and these later perished in a fire at Balkh. Al-Ghazzī died before he could reach Balkh, and his body was taken there for burial.

Nearly 5,450 verses of his *dīwān* survive, in a considerable number of manuscripts, but clearly in the course of a long life as a panegyric poet al-Ghazzī must have written much more than this; al-Samʿānī says that he was "sparing" (*ḍanīn*) of recording his poetry. It seems probable that the extant manuscripts stem ultimately from al-Samʿānī's copy. The great majority of his verses are in the genre of eulogy, addressed to 58 different *mamdūḥūn*; it seems that al-Ghazzī was willing to travel anywhere in the hope of reward. The rest of his poetry can be classified as satire, *ʿitāb*, etc., with some erotic poems addressed *more temporis* to boys. Al-Ghazzī enjoyed considerable contemporary renown, at a time when Arabic poetry was still in its post-ʿAbbāsid period of florescence, so that ʿImād al-Dīn could say that his poetry became proverbial in its time and that he was one of the quadrumvirate of great contemporary poets, together with his friend and correspondent Abū Ismāʿīl al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭughrāʾī and with Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad al-Abīwardī and Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Arradjānī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī. *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr, ḳism shuʿarāʾ al-Shām*, ed, Shukrī Fayṣal, Damascus 1375/1955, i, 3-75 (the principal source); Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, viii, 133-4; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, xi, 15-16; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, i, 57-62, No. 18, tr. de Slane, i, 38-42; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 44; Brockelmann, I², 294, S I, 448; ʿAlī Djawād Āl Ṭāhir, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa bilād al-ʿAdjam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdād 1961, i, 177-84.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-GHIṬRĪF B. ʿAṬĀʾ AL-DJURASHĪ, ʿAbbāsid governor. He was the brother of the famous Khayzurān [*q.v.*], the Yemeni girl of slave origin who married the caliph al-Mahdī and was mother of the two successive caliphs al-Hādī and al-Rashīd. Al-Ghiṭrīf is also given the *nisba* of "al-Kindī" in the biography of him by Gardīzī (probably stemming from al-Sallāmī's lost *Taʾrīkh Wulāt Khurāsān*) and by al-Samʿānī, and may accordingly have been a *mawlā* of the great South Arabian tribe of Kinda [*q.v.*] (*Ẓayn al-akhbār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 96, 129-30). From complete obscurity, as a slave who watched over vineyards at Djurash in the Yemen, his fortunes rose with Khayzurān's great influence in the state and from his position as *khāl*, maternal uncle, of the caliphs. A daughter of his, ʿAzīza, married Hārūn al-Rashīd. In 170/786-7 he was appointed governor of the Yemen (Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, ii, 742; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 481; *Aghānī*¹, xiii, 13), and then in 175/791-2 governor of Khurāsān, Sīstān and Gurgān in succession to al-ʿAbbās b. Djaʿfar, an office which he held until he was replaced in 177/793 by Ḥamza b. Mālik al-Khuzāʿī (Khalīfa, ii, 745; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 488; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Cairo 1960, 387; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 590-1, 612, 626, 740; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ*, Beirut 1961, 164-5; al-Azdī, *Taʾrīkh Mawṣil*, 277). Establishing himself at Bukhārā in order to deal with the disturbed situation in Transoxania, with internal threats and threats from the Turks of the Central Asian steppes (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 198 ff.), al-Ghiṭrīf despatched an expedition in 175/791-2 under ʿAmr b. Djamīl into Farghāna against the *Yabghu* of the Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] and one under his deputy Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim against the Khāridjite rebel in Sīstān al-Ḥuḍayn of Ūḳ (Gardīzī, 129-30; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, 153-4, tr. M. Gold, Rome 1976, 121-2; Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs...*, Rome 1968, 85). The sources are silent concerning al-Ghiṭrīf's career after his dismissal from Khurāsān, but a scion of his, one Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghiṭrīfī, is mentioned in one later source on Transoxanian history, see R.N. Frye, *City chronicles of Central Asia and Khurasan: a history of Nasaf?*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 167 = *Islamic Iran and Central Asia (7th-12th centuries)*, London 1979, XXXII; presumably this last is the traditionist Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ribāṭī al-Ghiṭrīfī of Gurgān mentioned by al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, f. 410a.

The most enduring legacy of al-Ghiṭrīf's governorship in the East was, however, his role in introducing a new coinage into Bukhārā. The story is given in detail by Narshakhī in his *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed.

Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran 1939, 42-5, tr. Frye, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 35-7, and more briefly by al-Samʿānī, *loc. cit.*, cf. also Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 203-6. The old silver coinage of the pre-Islamic Iranian rulers of the city, the Bukhār-Khudās, had largely disappeared from circulation, and Khʷārazmian silver coins had had to be imported. Hence at the request of the local people, al-Ghiṭrīf coined *dirhams* from an alloy of six metals, henceforth known as "black" or Ghiṭrīfī/Ghidrīfī *dirhams*, and meant only for local circulation. Taxation requisitions were now fixed at the rate of six of these Ghiṭrīfī *dirhams* for one silver *dirham*, but the exchange subsequently fluctuated, causing hardship for those paying *kharādj* at the revised rate. The position was in the end stabilised, for alloy *dirhams*, Ghiṭrīfī, Muḥammadī (after a financial official, Muḥammad b. ?Dahda) and Musayyabī (after a preceding governor of Khurāsān, al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī) ones, continued to be used sporadically in Transoxania for a long time to come. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 490, tr. 470, describes Ghiṭrīfī *dirhams* as circulating in the region of Hayṭal, i.e. Bactria and the eastern fringes of Khurāsān [see HAYĀṬILA]; al-Muḳaddasī, 340, speaks of them as circulating in Bukhārā and certain other localities of Transoxania; and the translator into Persian of Narshakhī's history states that in his time (522/1128), 100 pure silver *dirhams* equalled 70 Ghiṭrīfī *dirhams*, and the gold *mithḳāl* equalled 7½ Ghiṭrīfī *dirhams*. See further Frye, *Notes on the early coinage of Transoxania*, Amer. Numism. Soc. Notes and Monographs 113, New York 1949, 41-9.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but note that Zambaur, *Manuel*, 48, gives al-Ghiṭrīf's name and the date of his governorship wrongly.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN BALBAN. [See BALBAN, in Suppl.].

GHUBAYRĀ, site of an early Islamic city in Kirmān Province in Iran. It is situated some 70 km. south of Kirmān, the provincial capital, in the Bard Sīr Valley, at the confluence of the Čārī and Ghubayrā rivers. At the time of the Arab conquest the provincial capital was at Sīrdjān, some 200 km. to the south. The main caravan route from Sīrdjān to Bam runs considerably to the south of Kirmān city. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 49, describes the stations on this route, and Ghubayrā is mentioned as the fifth from Sīrdjān towards Bam. According to Iṣṭakhrī, the stations between Sīrdjān and Bam were as follows: Shāmāt, Ghār, or Bahār, Khannāb, Ghubayrā, Kūghūn, Rāyin, Sarvistān and Darčīn, modern Darzīn (ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1961, 140 f. and map facing p. 139). A detailed account of the town is given by Muḳaddasī, 462-3, who writes that "it is a small town surrounded by villages, with a fortress in its midst, while outside was the market recently built by Ibn Ilyās. Both this place and Kūghūn have fine mosques and the water comes from *ḳanāts*". During the 8th/14th century Ghubayrā belonged to the Muẓaffarid realm. The town was looted and destroyed by Tīmūr's army in 795/1393. It appears that Ghubayrā as a town ceased to exist at that time, although archaeological evidence indicates that there was a small settlement on the site in Ṣafawid times.

The ruins of Ghubayrā were first reported in modern times in J.R. Caldwell's excavation report of Tall-i Iblīs (Caldwell, Chase and Fehérvári, in *Investigations at Tal-i Iblīs*, ed. J.R. Caldwell, Springfield, Ill. 1967, chs. vi, viii). Subsequently, four seasons of excavations were conducted on the site under the direction of A.D.H. Bivar and G. Fehérvári (brief excavation reports were published by A.D.H. Bivar and G. Fehérvári in *Iran*, under "Survey of excavations", x (1972), 168-9, pls. II-III; xi (1973), 194-5, pls. IV-VIb; xiii (1975), 180-1, pls. V-VI; and xv (1977), 173-4, pls. IIa-b; also in the *Proceedings of the 1st, 3rd and 4th Annual Symposia of Archaeological Research in Iran*, Tehran 1972, 1974, 1975. The first interim report was published in *JRAS* (1974), 107-41.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(G. FEHÉRVÁRI)

GHULDJA [see ḲULDJA].

GIAFAR [see DJAʿFAR].

GIFT [see HIBA].

GILGIT, a town in the northwest of Pakistan, with a population of 4,671, situated on the right bank of the Gilgit river, a tributary of the Indus, 4,890 ft. above sea level. Owing to its geographical position, being near the borders of several countries and because roads radiate from it into the surrounding valley and beyond to Sinkiang and Transoxiana, it has always been an important trading centre and of considerable strategic significance.

Gilgit's ancient name was Sargin, which, owing to reasons unknown, was changed to Gilgit. But its people call their country Shīnakos and their language Shīnā. They are of Aryan origin, of fair complexion, well-built but unwarlike, cheery, honest, frugal and industrious, given to polo and dancing.

Gilgit was noticed by the Chinese travellers Fa-hien and Hiuen-Tsang as well as by the Muslim scholar al-Bīrūnī, who says that its ruler's name was Bhattā-Shāh. However, Gilgit's early history is legendary. In 751 A.D. the Chinese, who had occupied it, were defeated and driven out by the Arabs. Early in the twelfth century Shamshīr, the youngest son of Azar, a Yārḳandī Turk belonging to the Trākāne (Tārā Khān) family, invaded Gilgit and, having overthrown its Buddhist ruler, Shrī Budat, established his family's rule. It was during his reign that, according to tradition, six Ṣūfī saints, whose tombs still exist, converted the Buddhist inhabitants of Gilgit to Islam. Later, Tārā Khān (689-735/1290-1335) tried to introduce the Ismāʿīlī creed, but Mīrzā Khān (972-1008/1565-1600) rejected it in favour of Imāmī Shīʿism, which is still the majority faith of Gilgit.

The Trākāne family's rule came to an end in 1822 with ʿAbbās Khān, after which Gilgit was in turn ruled by the chiefs of Puniāl, Nagar and Yasīn. In 1842 Karīm Khān of Nagar, having seized Gilgit from Gawhar Amān of Yāsin with the help of the Sikhs, became their tributary. But when in 1846 Kashmīr was transferred to Mahārādjā Gulāb Singh of Djammū by the British, claims to Gilgit were also made over to him. In 1889, however, the British, in face of Russian aggression, took control of Gilgit and the surrounding area and placed it under a British Agent. But before the grant of independence to the subcontinent in August 1947, it was restored to Mahārādjā Harī Singh. In November 1947 the local people, with the support of the Gilgit Scouts, imprisoned his governor, Gansārā Singh, and proclaimed Gilgit's accession to Pakistan, which readily took control of the area. Recently, the Chinese have constructed a road which links it with Rāwalpindī and Sinkiang. This has enhanced Gilgit's both military and commercial importance.

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GIRL [see ḳīz].

GLOBE, TERRESTIAL [see kurrat al-arḍ].

GLOSS [see ḥāshiyya].

GOAT [see maʿz].

GOD [see allāh].

GORGAN [see gurgān].

GOURARA (Gurāra), oasis group of the central Sahara, in Algerian territory, contained within the southern fringe of the Great Western Erg to the north (the border on this side may be located at the furthest centres of permanent settlement), the north-west flank of the plateau of Tadmait to the south-east, and Oued Saoura to the west (the border on this side being the last centre of Berber-speakers, Baḥammou, as opposed to the exclusively Arabic-speaking population of the Saoura). To the south, on the Touat side, the border was traditionally imprecise, the oases allying themselves to Timimoun (Gourara) or to Adrar (Touat) by means of *ṣoff* agreements. The French administration created an artificial border here, definitively fixed in 1944.

Physical geography. Between the plateaux of the *reg* of Meguiden to the east (altitude 325 m.), a mound of clays and red sandstones of Continental Intercalary, and the Villefranchian *hamada* (silicified limestone) of Ouled Aissa to the west (350 m.), the heart of Gourara is constituted by a depression, the base of which is occupied by plains of salinated clay (*sebkha*), unsuitable for any crop other than palm-trees, of which the biggest is the *sebkha* of Timimoun, a huge channel 80 km. in length and varying in width between 2 and 15 km., lying on a north-north-east to south-south-west axis at the foot of the Meguiden, the base of which dips to an altitude of 192 m. At its extremities, the *sebkha* adjoins sectors of more abundant vegetation, bearing the name "oued", which seems to be synonymous with "pasturage". The *sebkha* corresponds to an ancient water-course flowing towards the south, founded on the hamadian surface along a pre-tertiary rib, but the erosions of the quaternary periods of humidity have eaten more deeply than pre-tertiary erosion. No importance need be attached to the remarks of Ibn Khaldūn (*Histoire des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, 2nd ed., Paris 1925, i, 196), who did not know the region personally, on a river "flowing from west to east". No doubt this arises from a confusion with the Saoura. Between the *sebkha* and the plateau of Ouled Aissa, there stretches a complex morphological zone, where the substratum of carboniferous sandstone and limestone, modified by interwoven pleats giving rise to appalachian reliefs (the mound of Timimoun, east-west), partially fossilised by deposits of Continental Intercalary and Tertiary formed into projecting hillocks, is invaded by various dunary formations, branches of erg and lesser forms.

Human geography. In severe climatic conditions (15 mm. annual rainfall), there has persisted a sedentary population, descendants of an ancient stock of judaised Zenatas, which remains for the most part Berber-speaking. In 1952, out of a total of 25,000 habitants, the Gourara consisted of 61% Berber-speakers and 39% Arabic-speakers. The Arab elements, of Hilālian origin (Meharza and Khenafsa) arrived in the 6th/12th century, and it is this period which saw the first appearance of the Arabic-speaking *ksour*, present only in the north in the Tinerkouk and in the south in the Deldoul and the Aouguerout, although the recent settlement of Chaanba nomads has joined an important Arab nucleus to the old Berber centre of Timimoun. This settlement process is actively continuing at the present day, and the sedentary population, which has grown steadily over the past three decades in spite of a considerable level of emigration towards the Tell, must currently be approaching the figure of 40,000, with a proportion of Arabic-speakers certainly superior to that of 1952. In addition, the dark-skinned Ḥarātīn (see ḥartānī), either Berber-speaking or Arabic-speaking according to the language of their masters, in 1952 constituted nearly a half (46%) of the population (compared with estimates of 29% "Zenatas" and 25% "Arabs").

This population lives today in concentrated groups in villages (*ksour*), of which the largest is Timimoun (5,000 inhabitants), often dominated by a *kasba* containing the individual granaries where the people's crops are preserved (in other cases, granaries are attached to private houses). It seems that the habitat was formerly more dispersed, as is indicated by the existence of numerous small ruins, in a period of domination on the part of large semi-nomadic Zenata or Arab tribes on whom the sedentary population was strictly-speaking dependent. The progressive concentration of the habitat would testify simultaneously to a trend towards sedentary living and to a renewal of instability in the 19th century. The economic basis is provided by palm-trees (about 400,000), of which the surplus production (5 to 6,000 tonnes of dates) partially compensates for the inadequacy of cereal production (300 tonnes of wheat and barley), and permits the purchase of wool used in the weaving of *dokkali*, dyed materials manufactured by the women (350 looms) and partially marketed abroad. Small-holding is the rule, and indirect exploitation is common. Palms and gardens are irrigated largely by subterranean drainage channels (*foggara*) in the *sebkha* of the east, sometimes combined with hoisting machinery to raise the water of the channel when the level is too low for irrigation purposes, and with wells whose water is raised by balanced arms in the northern region at the fringe of the Erg.

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(Xavier de Planhol)

GÖVSA, Ibrāhīm ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, modern Turkish İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, Turkish author, biographer and poet (1889-1949), was born in Istanbul, the son of Muṣṭafā ʿĀṣim, a civil servant, from a Turkish family of Filibe (Plovdiv in present-day Bulgaria). Educated at the Wefā lycée, Istanbul, and in Trabzon, where his father was chief secretary (*mektūbdju*) of the province, he studied in Istanbul University (1907-10), subsequently taught in Trabzon lycée and in 1913 went to Switzerland with a government scholarship, where he studied psychology and pedagogics at the University of Geneva and at the

Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute. On his return (1916), he taught at the Istanbul Teachers' Training College (*Dār al-muʿallimīn*), where later he also became Director. Appointed in 1926 as a member of the Advisory Board (*Taʿlīm we terbiyye dāʾiresi*) of the Ministry of Education in Republican Turkey, he was later elected a member of Parliament (1927), where he served until 1946, with a brief interval in 1935 when he was an inspector for the Ministry of Education. He died in Ankara on 29 October 1949.

Gövsa started his career as a poet, published his first poems in the traditional *ʿarūḍ* metre in the *Therwet-i fünūn* [*q.v.*] (1908), but later switched to syllabic metre (*hedje wezni*) following the new literary trend in *Yeñi medjmūʿa* (1917 onwards). One of the pioneers of children's verse (*Čodjuk shiʿirleri*, 1910), Gövsa continued to write poetry until 1940 on lyric and epic (*Čanakkale izleri*, 1926) topics, using alternately both metres. Though not outstanding as a poet, he occasionally reaches a level above the average when he is inspired by an unusual event (e.g. his famous elegy for Atatürk, *Tavaf*, 1938). He also wrote humorous verse and prose and successful pastiches (e.g. *Nazif'ten Hamid'e ahiretten mektuplar*, 1932). But Gövsa is particularly known as a biographer and encyclopaedist. A meticulous and responsible collector of materials from written and oral sources, he contributed greatly to contemporary biographical literature in Turkey. Apart from his great share in the planning and preparation of the Turkish Encyclopaedia (*Inönü Ansiklopedisi*, later *Türk Ansiklopedisi*) from 1941 onwards, of which he was also Secretary-General (1943-5), Gövsa is the author of the following major works in this field: *Meşhur adamlar* ("Famous men"), 4 vols., 1933-8; *Kâşifler ve mucitler* ("Explorers and inventors"), 1939; *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi* ("Encyclopaedia of famous Turks"), n.d. [1946]; and *Resimli yeni lûgat ve ansiklopedi* ("New illustrated encyclopaedic dictionary"), 1947-9 (up to the letter L).

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GUIDE [see ZAʿĪM].

GUILD [see ṢINF].

GUITAR [see KĪTĀRA].

GUJARAT, GUJERAT [see GUDJARĀT].

GUJARATI, GUZARATI [see GUDJARĀTĪ].

GUL KHĀTŪN, the queen of Sulṭān Ḥaydar Shāh of Kashmīr (874-6/1470-2). The chronicles do not say whether she belonged to a Muslim family of foreign origin or to a Kashmīrī family. It is more than likely that she was the daughter of a Bayhaḳī Sayyid [*q.v.*], for the Kashmīr rulers were always very eager to marry in the family of these descendants of the Prophet, and regarded such an alliance with pride. However, strangely enough, unlike the royal ladies of foreign origin, Gul Khātūn, according to Djonarādja's *Rādjataranginī*, favoured Hindū customs and ceremonies. Gul Khātūn was active in the politics of the kingdom and played an important role in securing the throne for her son, Ḥasan Shāh. She was also interested in girls' education and established *madrasas* at her own expense. She was much respected and loved by her son, who constructed a bridge of boats in her memory over the Djehlam in Srīnagar.

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GŪMĀL, GOMAL, a river of the Indus valley system and the North-West Frontier region of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. It rises in eastern Afghānistān some 40 miles/62 km. east of the Āb-i Istāda lake. Flowing eastwards, it is joined from the south by the Kundar and Zhōb rivers, and forms the southern boundary of the South Wazīristān tribal agency of the former North-West Frontier Province of British India (now Pakistan). Below the settlement of Murtaḍā, it leaves the mountains and enters the lower-lying lands of the Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān district [see DĒRADJĀT], and is diverted into many irrigation channels; from this point also it is known as the Lūnī River. The bed of the river is often largely dry in rainless periods, and only in times of flooding do its waters actually reach the Indus itself.

Where the river emerges from the northern end of the Sulaymān Mountains into the lower terrain we have the Gomal Pass, a defile some four miles long and one of the routes from Afghānistān to the Indus valley; although much used by nomadic Ghalzays [*q.v.*] and other Pathan tribes bringing merchandise down to the plains, its comparative isolation and wildness have not made it such a historic route for the passage of armies as the routes further north of the Kurram [*q.v.*] valley and the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR], although in the spring of 910/1505 Bābur used part of the track along the swollen Gomal River when travelling from Bannū to Ghazna (*Bāburnāma*, tr. Beveridge, 235-6).

During the 19th century, Sarwār Khān, chief of Tank in Bannū, dammed the Gomal River just below where it emerges to the plains (see H.B. Edwardes, *A year on the Punjab frontier in 1848-9*, London 1851, i, 414-15). Towards the end of the century, Sir Robert Sandeman, the pacifier of Balūčistān, planned to open up the Gomal Pass for general access and thus gain an alternative route to the one from Multān into the Zhōb valley of north-eastern Balūčistān, occupied in 1889. In that same year, as part of the "Forward Policy", the Viceroy of India Lord Lansdowne authorised subsidies for the Wazīrīs and other tribesmen. Tribal *maliks* and *djirgas* were summoned to a durbar at Apozai in Zhōb, and military posts established in the Gomal valley in order to command the route and in the hope to exerting some influence in Wazīristān. The system worked for some time, but in the long run hopes of making the Gomal Pass generally accessible have proved vain for both the Government of India and its successor Pakistan.

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GÜMÜLDJINE, the Ottoman Turkish form of the Greek Komotene, Komotini, a town of over 30,000 inhabitants in Western Thrace, the modern Greek province of Rhodope, which from the sixties of the 14th century until 1912 was without interruption a part of the Ottoman Empire.

The name Komotene is the academic version of

Koumoutsinas, which was already used by Cantacusinos in the mid-14th century. The *Destān* of Ümür Pasha (ed. Mélikoff, 101, 124) appears to be the first Turkish source to use the form "Gümüldjüne" when relating Ümür Aydînoghlu's actions in Thrace in and after 745/1344.

Komotene emerged as a small urban centre (*polisma*) after the Bulgarian invasion of Czar Kaloyan in 1207, during which the old city of Mosynopolis was thoroughly destroyed. The remaining inhabitants of Mosynopolis fled within the walls of an uninhabited but rather well-preserved stronghold, Komotene. This new town is mentioned in connection with the actions of the Emperor Andronicus III against the Turkish pirates and during the Byzantine civil war of the 14th century, which were catastrophic for the lowland population of Thrace.

The old Ottoman chroniclers (ʿĀshîkpashazāde, Neshrī, Oruč, Anonymus Giese, Idrīs-*Destān* IV) unanimously place the conquest of Komotene by the Ottomans in or around 762/1361, after the capture of Zaghra (Stara Zagora) and Filibe (Plovdiv) and before the conquest of Biga. Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, in his *Münsheʾāt al-selāṭīn*, has a letter from the ruler of Ḳaramān to Murād I, congratulating him on the conquest of Filibe, Zaghra and Gümüldjine, and also the answer of Murād, dated 764/1362-3. Almost all the sources mention Ghāzī Ewrenos Beg as conqueror. Between 763/1361-2 and 785/1383 (capture of Serres or Siroz), Komotene was the seat of an *udj* confronting Serbian-controlled Macedonia, and stood under command of Ewrenos Beg. Somewhere in these two decades, Ewrenos Beg erected in his residence a large domed *mesdjid*, an *ʿimāret*, a *ḥammām* and a large number of shops, and added the revenue of the villages of Anbarköy and Küčük Köy to this *waḳf*. These buildings formed the nucleus of Islamic life in Western Thrace. The buildings were situated outside the old walled enclosure of Koumoutsinas, where the original Greek population continued to live. The colonisation of Muslim Turkish citizens in Komotene, and of large numbers of Turkish farmers in the deserted plains around the town, appears to be also connected with Ewrenos Beg. The toponymy of villages, hills, meadows and brooks is overwhelmingly Turkish, which may be an indication that the newcomers found little or no autochthonous inhabitants to transmit the existing toponyms. The fragmentarily-published registers of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th century Ottoman censuses point in the same direction, and show clearly the heavy preponderance of the Muslim Turkish population in these districts.

When in 785/1383 Ewrenos Beg moved the seat of his *udj* closer to the chief field of action (Western Macedonia), Komotene remained a relatively small town with a predominantly Muslim population. The Burgundian knight Bertrandon de la Broquière passed "Caumussin" in 1433 on his way to Serres. He called it a "fairly good little town", which was "well-enclosed by walls and situated on a little river in a lovely country and good plain near the mountains".

According to the census of 925/1519, Komotene numbered 393 Muslim households, 197 unmarried Muslims, 42 Christian households, six unmarried Christians and eight Christian widows, as well as 19 Jewish households and five unmarried Jews. This gives a total of 2,500 souls, which is roughly the average of a local Balkan town of that time. It was by then the second urban centre in size of Western Thrace (after Xanthi or Iskeče). According to the census of 936/1530, Komotene had 17 *maḥalles* which all bore Turkish names. The same source mentions the names of all religious and educational institutions of the town: one mosque, 16 *mesdjids*, four *zawiyas*, four schools and one church. When in the middle of the 16th century the French traveller Pierre Belon du Mans (*Observations des plusieurs singularités*, etc., Paris 1588, ch. lx) passed the "petite bourgarde Commercine", he mentions the "ruines d'un petit chastelet, dedans lequel est l'Église Grecs Chrestiens". His remark that the town was "habité des Grecs, et peu de Turcs" is curious and certainly not in accordance with the real situation. The Ottoman geographer Meḥmed-i ʿĀshîḳ visited Komotene in *ca.* 998/1590 and noted that "There are there [in Komotene] Friday mosques, baths and markets. The *ḥādjdji* and *ghāzī* Ewrenos Beg constructed in Gümüldjine a public kitchen and dining hall for the travellers (sc. an *ʿimāret*)". Shortly afterwards, in the first decade of the 17th century, Komotene shared the attention of the *defterdār* of Aḥmed I, Ekmekdjizāde Aḥmed Pasha, who dotted most of Thrace with buildings for the promotion of Islamic culture. In Komotene he erected a small but exquisite mosque, a double *ḥammām*, a domed and lead-covered *mekteb*, a *medrese* and an *ʿimāret*. The mosque is the only Ottoman structure on Greek territory which has a number of multi-coloured tile panels dating from the best period of the Iznik kilns (988-98/1580-90).

Most of the information on Ottoman Komotene is contained in vol. viii of the *Seyāḥat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited the town in 1078/1667-8. By then, the place had apparently enjoyed a great expansion. Ewliyā numbers "4,000 prosperous, stone-built houses", 16 *maḥalles* and 5 Friday mosques, 11 *mesdjids*, two *ʿimārets*, two *ḥammāms*, five *medreses*, seven *mektebs*, 17 *khāns* and 400 shops. A number of his figures can still be checked and are correct, others look suspiciously high (viz. the figure for the houses). This source especially sings the praises of the pious foundations of Ewrenos and Aḥmed Pasha. His description of the latter's mosque is very accurate, and in no way exaggerated.

In the 18th century, epidemics of plague ravaged the Thracian lowlands and led to the disappearance of whole villages. (A lonely minaret in the fields 4 miles/7 km. of Komotene pathetically marks the site of the village of Eski Gümüldjine.) In the 19th century, the town witnessed again a considerable revival. Entire new quarters arose on its periphery, and especially on the eastern side. During that century, a number of Ottoman buildings were restored and new ones erected. The Eski Djāmiʿ (the old *mesdjid* of Ewrenos Beg) was greatly enlarged by enveloping it by a spacious prayer hall in the Ottoman "empire" style. The Yeñi Djāmiʿ (of Ekmekdjizāde Aḥmed) was enlarged in the same manner. In the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II the town was linked with Istanbul and Salonica by a railway. The same sultan erected a large clock tower in the town as well as a *medrese*. Ottoman inscriptions, still preserved, record these actions.

Since the reorganisation of the provincial administration of the empire in the sixties of the 19th century, Komotene was the chef-lieu of a *sandjak* in the *wilāyet* of Edirne. In the eighties of the last century, the town is reported to have contained 13,560 inhabitants, ten Friday mosques, 15 *mesdjids*, two Greek and one Armenian churches, one synagogue, four *medreses*, two schools for higher education, ten *mektebs* and various schools for the education of the non-Muslim part of the population. The

sālnāme of the *wilāyet* of Edirne of 1310/1892 has substantially the same numbers, but adds details on individual buildings.

During the First Balkan War (1912), Komotene suffered a Bulgarian occupation. In the few months between Balkan War II and World War I, Komotene was the capital of a short-lived Muslim "Republic of Gümüldjine", as no Balkan power was then master of the territory. It was again occupied by the Bulgarians in World War I. After the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), town and territory were ceded to Greece, which promised to respect the ethnic-religious composition of its population (around 1900, 149,230 Turks (including a group of 20,000 Bulgarian-speaking Muslims, the Pomaks); 58,357 Greeks; and 35,122 Bulgarians). Under Greek administration, the Muslim element dwindled down to 112,665 in 1961, but the Greek element had mounted to 243,889 for all of Western Thrace. The Bulgarians disappeared during and after the two world wars.

Today Komotene is a mixed Muslim Turkish-Greek Orthodox town, roughly fifty-fifty between both groups. In 1961 the total number of inhabitants was 28,355. The town is the largest urban centre of Western Thrace. It is the seat of the *muftī* of all Muslims in Greece and has a Turkish high school, twenty mosques and *mesdjids*, and is the place were some Turkish and Islamic periodicals and newspapers are issued. Among the preserved monuments of Ottoman architecture are both mosques mentioned above, the Clock Tower, the *turba* of Fāṭima Khānîm, wife of the Grand Vizier Rusčuklu Sherīf Ḥasan Pasha, dating from 1195/1781, and the *ʿimāret* of Ghāzī Ewrenos. The latter was confiscated by the Greeks after 1923 and used as an electric power station till 1974, when some minor repairs were carried out, and a new purpose was sought for it (as a Museum of Turkish Folklore). In the time of the Colonels (1970), the *ḥammām* of Ghāzī Ewrenos was destroyed by dynamite; its 8th/14th-century Arabic inscription was already smashed in 1923. On the edge of the town is the Poshposh Tekke with a graveyard with a number of interesting steles belonging to local *aʿyān* and members of various dervish orders (Nakshbandī, Rifāʿī etc.). Until the early seventies, the town faithfully preserved its Ottoman physiognomy from the Ḥamīdian age.

Bibliography: For a survey of the early history, see G.I. Theocharides' summary of three lectures on *The history of the Thracians and the cities of Komotine and Xanthi as given by Stilpon Kyriakides*, in *Balkan Studies*, ii (Salonica 1961), 323-9.

For the material from Ottoman census materials concerning town and district, see Ö.L. Barkan, *Les déportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'Empire Ottoman*, in *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, No. 11 (1956), with map, giving the ethno-religious composition of the area in detail; *Turski Izvori za Bâlgarskata Istorija*, ii, Sofia 1966, 468-80; *Turski Izvori*, iii, Sofia 1972, 38-42, 359-74, 412-26, 474-83; Muhiddin Kocabıyık, *Gümülcine târih hakkında bir araştırma*, in A. Dede, *Rumeli'nde bırakılanlar*, Istanbul 1975, 13-51, with numerous details on 10th/16th century Komotene; Meḥmed-i ʿĀshiḳ, *Menāẓirü 'l-ʿawālim*, autograph ms., Halet Efendi no. 616, vol. ii f. 20 v.

For the description of Thrace by Ewliyā, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 85-90; see also H.J. Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahrhundert*, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxxii/3, Wiesbaden 1956.

For the *Tanẓīmāt* period, see H.H. Kornrumpf, *Die Territorialverwaltung im östlichen Teil der europäischen Türkei vom Erlass der Vilayetsordnung bis zum Berliner Kongress nach amtliche osmanischen Veröffentlichungen*, Freiburg 1976.

The numbers given for the inhabitants, and for the ethnic-religious composition of the town's population, vary in various publications. Compare Adil Özgüç, *Batı Trakya Türkleri*, Istanbul 1974, and K.G. Andreadis, *The Moslem minority in Western Thrace*, Salonica 1956, where the Turkish and the Greek views are set forth. For the minutes of the Lausanne Conference, see for example *Lozan Bariş konferansı (tutanaklar, belgeler)*, in *Siyasal Bil. Fak. neşr.* Ankara 1969.

For the monuments of Ottoman architecture and epigraphy, see for the time being M. Kiel, *Observation on the history of Northern Greece during the Turkish rule*, in *Balkan Studies*, xii/2 (Salonica 1971), 415-62, and also in Abdurrahim Dede, *Rumeli'nde bırakılanlar*, 53-74; A more comprehensive account is forthcoming by Kiel, *The Ottoman Balkans, a survey of monuments of Turkish architecture in Albania, Bulgaria and Greece.*

For the Republic of Gümüldjine, with illustrations of its flag, stamps and coins, see Adil Özgüç, *op. cit.* (M. Kiel)

GŪRAN, Shaykh Abu 'l-Fatḥ b. Shaykh Muḥammad, official and commander in 10th/16th century Muslim India. An Indian-born Muslim (*shaykhzāda*), he took service under Ibrāhīm Lōdī (923-32/1517-26) and was posted at Koyl [*q.v.*] (modern ʿAlīgaṙh). After the battle of Pānīpāt [*q.v.*] (932/1526), Bābur sent Mullā Apāḳ to Koyl for enlisting troops. Shaykh Gūran came over with two to three thousand men. He subsequently occupied Sambhal on behalf of his new master, and shortly afterwards seized Gwālior from Tatār Khān. In the Battle of Kānwa (933/1527) he was one of the commanders of the right wing, and after the battle, he was sent to Koyl to expel the rebel Ilyās Khān. In Muḥarram 934/ October 1527), at the invitation of Shaykh Gūran, Bābur paid a visit to his house at Pīlakhna (12 miles south of Koyl) and was entertained there hospitably. He participated in the siege of Čandīrī (934/1528). In 936/1529-30 he was appointed *Ḳilʿadār* or castellan of Gwālior, a post which he held till Bābur's death (937/1530).

During the reign of Humāyūn, he was appointed governor of Mālwa, and held this post till his death in 943/1536-7. He died in Mandsore and his dead body was brought from Mandsore to Koyl, where he lies buried in an identified grave.

Shaykh Gūran is said to have been an accomplished musician. He was usually referred to as Hindustānī Beg.

Bibliography: *Bābur-nāma*, tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1922, index; Rizk Allāh Mushtāḳī, *Wāḳiʿāt-i Mushtāḳī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 11633 and Or. 1929 (see on this, Storey, i, 512-13); Rādjī Muḥammad Kolvī, *Akhbār al-djamal*, MS. Habib Ganj Collection, No. 22/30, Aligarh Muslim University.

(M. Athar Ali)

GURĀRA [see gourara, in Suppl.].

GURČĀNĪ, a Balūč tribe of modern Pakistan, living partly in the Indus valley plains of the Dēra Ghāzī Khān District of the Pandjāb [see dēradjāt], and partly in the Mārī and Drāgal hills of the Sulaymān Mountains range and the upland plateaux of Sham and Paylāwagh, extending as far west as the modern Loralai District of northeastern Balūčistān.

The tribe is of mixed origin, some sections being Dōdāīs of mingled Balūč-Sindh Rādjpūt extraction, whilst others are pure-blooded Balūč of the Rind and La̲sh̲ārī groups; the chief's family belongs to one of the Dōdāī sections.

In the early 19th century, the Gurčānīs had a reputation for turbulence and bellicosity, so that Edwardes could call them "troublesome" and "a vain and captious race, ever ready to take offence and never to be relied on". After 1819 the Sikh ruler Randjīt Singh extended Sikh power across the Indus and by 1827 had overrun all the Dēra G̲h̲āzī K̲h̲ān district, this last being from 1832 to 1844 under the governorship (*kārdārī*) of Dīwān Sāwan Mal of Multān. He experienced much trouble from the Gurčānīs, and was compelled to build a fort in their country at Harand. This fort was in fact successfully defended for the Sikh cause by Muḥkam Čand against Lt. (afterwards Sir) H.B. Edwardes during the Second Sikh War of 1848-9, although the Gurčānīs, who controlled the surrounding countryside, joined the Balūč and Pathan levies of the British forces against their old opponents the Sikhs. Subsequently, in British India, the eastern part of the Gurčānī country came within the tribal area of Dēra G̲h̲āzī K̲h̲ān administered from the Pandjāb, and the western part within the tribal agency areas of Balūčistān and the khanate of Kalāt [see KILĀT]; a complaint of the Gurčānīs in the later part of the 19th century was that these administrative divisions weakened the unity of the tribe and exposed them to depredations of their enemies in the adjacent territory of Kalāt, the Bugtīs and the Marrīs (see T.H. Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, his life and work on our Indian frontier, a memoir*, London 1895, 337-8).

Bibliography: H.B. Edwardes, *A year on the Punjab frontier in 1848-9*, London 1851, ii, 6-7, 275 ff., 294-5, 305-6; M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch race, a historical and ethnological sketch*, London 1904, 49, 58, 64-6, 84; *Imperial gazeteer of India*[2], xi, 251.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

GWĀDAR, a town and district on the Makrān coast, formerly a dependency of the sultanate of ʿUmān and since 1378/1958 a territorial possession of Pākistān. The district of Gwādar extends for 40 miles along the shoreline of Gwādar West Bay, from Cape Pishkān to Gwādar Head, and some 14 miles inland. The town stands on a sandy isthmus, about a mile wide, at the foot of a seaward, hammer-head promontory rising to 400 feet. Its inhabitants, numbering perhaps 5,000, are mostly Makrānī tribesmen of the Bulayday Maliki and Gički groups, along with small groups of Balūčīs, Arabs, K̲h̲ōdjas and descendants of African slaves. They live mainly by fishing.

Until the mid-12th/18th century Gwādar, like the rest of Makrān, was in the hands of tribes who seldom recognised any paramount authority. Thereafter Makrān fell under the sway of Mīr Naṣīr K̲h̲ān of Kalāt (regn. 1168-1209/1750 to 1794-5), the head of the Brahūi confederation of the Balūč, who in turn acknowledged the Durranī S̲h̲āh of Afg̲h̲ānistān as his suzerain [see KILĀT]. Nasīr K̲h̲ān gave Gwādar to Sayyid Sulṭān b. Aḥmad of Masḳaṭ in 1198/1784 when the latter sought refuge at his court after being driven from ʿUmān. Whether the grant was in perpetuity is unclear; for while the Āl Bū Saʿīd apparently continued to pay tribute for Gwādar to successive *k̲h̲āns* of Kalāt, in the form of occasional gifts of slaves, until *ca.* 1274/1857-8, in 1277/1860-1 the ruling *k̲h̲ān* suggested that the government of India might purchase Gwādar from ʿUmān and make it over to him.

The completion in 1279/1862-3 of the first section of the Indo-European telegraph from Karachi to Gwādar coincided with the assertion of Persian claims to Makrān, including Gwādar, and led the government of India to depute Colonel F.J. Goldsmid to investigate the nature of the ʿUmāni title to Gwādar. He reported the right of possession to be prescriptive and indefeasible and the Persian claim to be groundless. The frontier of Persia with Kalāt was subsequently (1288/1871) fixed as starting at Gwāṭar Bay, some 50 miles west of Gwādar town.

The incorporation of Gwādar into Kalāt, which was under British protection, was suggested by the viceroy, Lord Curzon, in 1320/1902, both to prevent the smuggling of arms through the port to Persia and Afghanistan, and to preclude any possible French or Russian designs upon it. The suggestion was not acted upon lest it contravene the Anglo-French declaration of 1278-9/1862 on the integrity of the ʿUmāni dominions. Gwādar remained an ʿUmāni possession until it was ceded to Pākistan in 1378/1958, reputedly for the sum of 3 million sterling.

Bibliography: Capt. N.P. Grant, *Journal of a route through the western parts of Makran*, in *JRAS*, v (1839); Capt. E.C. Ross, *Memorandum on Mekran*, in *Selections from the Bombay Government Records*, cxi, Bombay 1868; Col. F.J. Goldsmid, *Notes on Eastern Persia and Western Baluchistan*, in *JRGS* (1867); J.A. Saldanha, *Précis of Mekran Affairs*, Calcutta 1905, 87-117; R. Hughes-Buller, *Baluchistan District Gazeteers, series* vii, vii A, *Makrán and Khárán*, Bombay 1907, 25-6, 46, 51, 53-4; J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOman and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, i, 601-22, 2150-2204, ii, 585-90.

(J.B. KELLY)

GYROMANCY [see RAML].

H

ḤABBA K̲H̲ĀTŪN, Kas̲h̲mīrī singer and poetess. Called Zūn ("moon") before her marriage, she is a semi-legendary figure in the Valley of Kas̲h̲mīr. Daughter of a peasant of the village of Čandahār, near Pāmpūr, 8 miles to the south-east of Srīnagar, she was unhappy with her husband who ill-treated her, so she left him. Bīrbal Kāčrū in his *Wāḳiʿāt-i Kas̲h̲mīr*, which he wrote in the middle of the 19th century, says that, being a good singer and possessed of a melodious voice, she captivated the heart of Yūsuf S̲h̲āh Čak (986-94/1578-86), who married her. But this account appears to be apocryphal, for it is not supported by any earlier authority. Neither the historian Ḥaydar Malik nor the author of the *Bahā-*

ristān-i Shāhī, who were contemporaries of Yūsuf Shāh, refer to her, although they mention all the prominent queens of the mediaeval period. This, however, does not mean that she did not exist, as some writers have begun to say in recent years. In the first place, there is a strong tradition, which is impossible to ignore, in Kashmīr that Ḥabba Khātūn lived in the second half of the 10th/16th century; and in the second, there is a large body of her songs and poems in Kashmīrī which are attributed to her and to no one else. What seems more probable is that she was a mistress of Yūsuf Shāh (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḥasan*, ii, 296), and Bīrbal wove round her all kinds of romantic stories. After Yūsuf Shāh surrendered to Akbar's general, Rādjā Mān Singh, at the end of Ṣafar 994/middle of February 1586, and he left Kashmīr with Rādjā Mān Singh, never to return, Ḥabba Khātūn retired to the village of Pandačuk, about 5 miles to the south-east of Srīnagar. She continued to live quietly in a cottage close to the mosque, both of which she had built, and died at the age of about 55 years.

Ḥabba Khātūn appears to have been a cultured woman interested in music and the education of girls, for whom she opened *madrasas*. She was a poetess and introduced *lols* or love lyrics in Kashmīrī poetry. The songs which she composed are even to this day sung by the common people of Kashmīr; and it was she who is said to have introduced the melody known as *rast Kashmīrī*.

Bibliography: Bīrbal Kāčrū, *Madjmaʿ al-tawārīkh* (mss. in Punjab University Library, Lahore; Kashmīr University Library, Srīnagar; and Bodleian Library, Oxford); Pīr Ghulām Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḥasan*, ii, ed. Ḥasan Shāh, Srīnagar 1954; G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashīr*, ii, Lahore 1949; Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmīr under the Sulṭāns*, Srinagar 1974; R.K. Parmu, *History of Muslim rule in Kashmīr*, Delhi 1969.

(Mohibbul Hasan)

ḤABSIYYA, a poem dealing with the theme of imprisonment. The term occurs in the Persian tradition for the first time about the middle of the 6th/12th century in Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī's *Čahār maḳāla* (ed. Ḳazwīnī-Muʿīn, Tehrān 1955-7, *matn* 72). It is applied there to poems that were written by Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*] more than half-a-century earlier and which were still greatly admired as the sincere expression of the poet's sufferings. Although several Persian poets have composed poetry of this nature, the *ḥabsiyyāt* of Masʿūd have remained both exceptional and exemplary. Not only was he the first to write them, but the theme itself was a characteristic of his work. It is developed by Masʿūd to an extent that has not been equalled by any imitator of later times.

There is a very close link between the prison-poetry of Masʿūd and the story of his life. Twice in the course of his career he became involved in the political downfall of his patrons at the provincial court of the Ghaznawids at Lahore. Consequently, he had to spend almost two decades, 480/1087-8 to 500/1106-7, banished to a number of remote fortresses (see C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay. The dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 16, 67-8, 72, 74, 88). The *ḥabsiyyāt* are, therefore, first of all topical poems, by means of which the poet tried to evoke the clemency of the Sulṭān of Ghazna, either directly or through the intermediary of influential friends.

Poems of various forms could serve this purpose. The structure of the panegyrical *ḳaṣīda* offered the possibility to take the theme as the subject of the prologue (cf. e.g. *Dīwān*, 19, 335 f., 356 f., 515). More often, however, a section especially devoted to an account of the poet's condition (*ḥasb-i ḥāl*) was added to the panegyrical address of the patron (*Dīwān*, 58 f., 93 f., 107 f., 312 ff., 349 f., 489 f., 526 f.). In one instance, the two variants are combined (*Dīwān*, 427 ff.). There are also several non-panegyrical *ḳaṣīdas* among the *ḥabsiyyāt* of Masʿūd (e.g. *Dīwān*, 63 f., 67 ff., 106, 329 f., 331 f., 351 ff., 354 ff., 486 ff., 493, 503 f., 552 f.). Sometimes the characteristic *ḥabsiyya* motifs only occur incidentally in poems dealing mainly with other themes. Other forms besides the *ḳaṣīda* lent themselves for the use of a prison-poem.

The contents of the poems vary from complaints of the prisoner's misery in more or less general terms, hardly to be distinguished from the wider category of poetical complaints about any grievance whatsoever, to the specific portrayal of his life in the dungeon. In spite of the close relation between these latter poems and the reality to which they refer, there is a certain amount of conventionalisation to be noticed in the representation of the poet's condition. Recurrent motifs are the description of the physical and mental state of the prisoner, of the dungeon, the chains and the jailers, of the darkness and the long sleepless nights during which the poet contemplates the stars through the narrow window of his cell, and of the suffering on account of his long separation from relatives and friends. Mostly, the heavenly powers, instead of the Sulṭān, are blamed for the misfortune that has befallen the poet. But Masʿūd sometimes admits that the real cause is to be sought in the fact that he, being only a poet, has aspired to political and military office (cf. especially *Dīwān*, 153 f., a *ḳaṣīda* addressed to a certain Muḥammad-i Khaṭībī who had met with a similar fate).

The *ḥabsiyya* elements are in these poems often connected with passages in which the poet speaks about his profession. These statements usually contain the conventional boast about the artistic abilities of the author, undoubtedly intended as an argument in favour of his release. But there are also utterances that are more specifically related to the *ḥabsiyya* theme: writing poetry is the sole comfort left to the prisoner; the poet resents the favours bestowed in his absence on worthless flatterers; and he becomes disgusted with the poetry of the court and pronounces his intention to abandon it altogether after he will be released (e.g. *Dīwān*, 109, 516, 526). Religious elements are only rarely mingled with these ruminations.

The models for prison-poetry set by Masʿūd-i Salmān have continuously influenced other poets who for one reason or another have had to undergo a period of confinement. Two poets of Shirwān, Falakī and Khāḳānī [*q.v.*], who both flourished in the middle and later part of the 6th/12th century, are among the earliest imitators of Masʿūd's *ḥabsiyyāt*. Khāḳānī's most celebrated prison-poems are the two odes in which he addressed Christian princes, although in these poems the display of the poet's exceptional knowledge of Christian terms and concepts overshadows the *ḥabsiyya*-elements (cf. V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, xi [1945], 550-78). With Khāḳānī, the motif of imprisonment is often only a metaphor. He likes to refer to Shirwān as his "place of imprisonment" (*ḥabsgāh*) where he has to stay against his will like a "captive" (*shahrband*). This is particularly evident in a *ḳaṣīda* written on the occasion of Sulṭān Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz, which scattered the poet's hopes of a career in

Ḵhurāsān (cf. *Dīwān*, 155 ff.; see also 45, 282 and *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn*, ed. by Yaḥyā Ḳarīb, Tehrān 1333/1954, 29[3], 30[7], 108[5-6] (*dāmgāh-i Shirwān*), 212[3]).

The close connection with actual experiences of imprisonment has made the conventional pattern of the Persian *ḥabsiyyāt* adaptable for use in later centuries, in spite of changing circumstances. In the Indian tradition of Persian poetry, prison-poems have been written up to the present day. Among the poets who resorted to it was Mīrzā Ghālib [*q.v.*], who composed a few poems at the occasion of an imprisonment in 1848. *Ḥabsiyyāt* have also been written in Urdu (cf. Annemarie Schimmel, *The Islamic literatures of India*, Wiesbaden 1973, 11).

As far as modern Persian poetry in Iran is concerned, the best examples of prison-poetry are to be found in the works of Muḥammad-Taḳī Bahār [*q.v.*], who was imprisoned for political reasons on three occasions. Most of his *ḥabsiyyāt* came into being during the last two periods, which occurred respectively in 1929 and 1933-4. It is evident that Bahār was inspired directly by the mediaeval *ḥabsiyyāt*, although he introduced many contemporary elements, such as a complaint about the traffic noise outside his Tehran prison. Like Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān, he used various forms of poetry. His most interesting work of this kind is a *mathnawī* entitled *Kārnāma-i zindān* (*Dīwān-i ashʿār*, ii, 2-126) in which the theme of the *ḥabsiyyāt* is combined with a wide range of other subjects. The poem has been designed to the model of ancient Persian didactical poetry. Bahār has made this influence explicit by inserting the narration of a dream about a meeting with the poet Sanāʾī [*q.v.*].

Modern Persian prose has also become a vehicle for the expression of the experiences of political prisoners. Outstanding examples of this new branch of the *ḥabsiyyāt* are *Ayyām-i maḥbas* by ʿAlī Dashtī and *Waraḳpārahā-yi zindān* by Buzurg ʿAlawī.

Bibliography: Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān, *Dīwān*, ed. Rashīd Yāsimī, Tehran 1330/1951, *passim*; Falakī-i Shirwānī, *Dīwān*, ed. Hādī Ḥasan, London 1929, 57 f.; Ḵhāḳānī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Sadjdjādī, Tehrān 1338/1959, 23-8, 60-2, 155-8, 173-4, 320-4; Mīrzā Asad Allāh Ḵhān Ghālib, *Ḳiṭaʿāt*, etc., ed. Ghulām-Rasūl Mihr, Lahore 1969, 184-92; idem, *Ḳaṣāʾid*, etc., ed. Mihr, Lahore 1969, 441-6; Muḥammad-Taḳī Bahār Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ, *Dīwān-i ashʿār*[2], Tehran 1344-5/1965-6, *passim*. See further M. Dj. Mahdjūb, *Sabk-i Ḵhurāsānī dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehrān 1345/1966, 656-9; F. Machalski, *La littérature de l'Iran contemporain*, ii, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1967, 45, 48-51; H. Kamshad, *Modern Persian prose literature*, Cambridge 1966, 69 f., 116-19; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Bā kārwān-i ḥulla*, Tehran 2535/1976[3], 83-95.

(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

al-ḤADDĀD, al-ṬĀHIR, nationalist and reformist Tunisian writer, considered as the pioneer of the movement for feminine liberation in his country.

Born in Tunis *ca.* 1899 into a family of modest status originally from the Ḥāma of Gabès, he studied at the Zaytūna [*q.v.*] from 1911 to 1920 and gained the *taṭwīʿ* (corresponding to the diploma for completing secondary education). He then took part in the trade union movement and was put in charge of propaganda in an organisation founded in 1924, the *Djāmiʿat ʿumūm al-ʿamala al-tūnisiyya*, whose chief promoters were hunted down and banished in 1925. His experiences and his reflections inspired him to write an important work, *al-ʿUmmāl al-tūnisiyyūn wa-ẓuhūr al-ḥaraka al-nikābiyya* (Tunis 1927; 2nd ed. Tunis 1966), in which he gave an historical characterisation of trade unionism in Tunisia and of the *Djāmiʿa* mentioned above, studied at length the social situation in Tunisia (but without trying to apply Marxian analyses, since his own country was too different from Europe and moreover under foreign domination), and put forward certain reforms.

However, he very soon affirmed that the first reform which should be put into practice concerned woman and the family, and in 1930 published *Imraʾatunā fi 'l-sharīʿa wa 'l-mudjtamaʿ* (2nd ed. Tunis 1972), in which he endeavoured to prove that his own liberal ideas were not in contradiction to the teachings of Islam, which had been the first to give dignity to the Arab woman, but should now develop progressively further. In this work, he inveighs against polygamy, the wearing of veils (assimilated to muzzles), the marriage of Tunisian males with foreigners, divorce, which is a calamity, and finally, the ignorance in which women are kept. The first remedy for the ills of society is thus the education of girls and consequently, the setting-up of schools in which they can receive an education complete in every sphere, so that once they reach adult years, they will be on the way to organising more rationally the life of their family and to sharing in national activities just like the menfolk. Inevitably, there were criticisms. The main one directed at him was that of Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ b. Murād, in his *al-Ḥidād ʿala mraʾat al-Ḥaddād aw radd al-khaṭaʾ wa 'l-kufr wa 'l-bidaʿ allatī ḥawāhā Kitāb "Imraʾatunā fi 'l-sharīʿa wa 'l-mudjtamaʿ"* (Tunis 1931), see also ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Barrī al-Madanī, *Sayf al-ḥaḳḳ ʿalā man lā yarā al-ḥaḳḳ*, Tunis 1931.

Al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād, who died at Tunis on 7 December 1935, left also behind a certain amount of poetry in which he expressed some of his social ideas. Finally, in 1975 a collection of his reflections was published in Tunis under the title of *al-Khawāṭir*.

Bibliography: The personality and work of al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddad are beginning to be the subject of studies and monographs, since he is now considered to some extent a figure of national pride. See in particular al-Djīlānī b. al-Ḥādjdj Yaḥyā and Muḥammad al-Marzūḳī, *al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād, ḥayātuhu, turāthuhu*, Tunis 1963 (in which his poetry is to be found, already gathered together by Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Sanūsī, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-tūnisī fi 'l-karn al-rābiʿ ʿashar*, Tunis 1928); Aḥmad Khālid, *al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād wa 'l-bīʾa al-tūnisiyya fi 'l-thuluth al-awwal min al-karn al-ʿishrīn*, Tunis 1967; Djaʿfar Mādjid, *al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād*, Tunis 1979 (study, followed by selected passages and verse and some of the *Khawāṭir*); Mutafarrij [= L. Bercher], in *REI* (1935), 201-30; J. Berque, in *Études d'orientalisme... Lévi-Provençal*, ii, Paris 1962, 487-8; C. Lamourette, *Polémique autour du statut de la femme musulmane en Tunisie en 1930*, in *BEO Damas*, xxx (1978), 12-31.

(Ed.)

al-ḤĀDĪ ILA 'L-ḤAḲḲ, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī, the founder of the Zaydī imāmate in Yaman, was born in al-Madīna in 245/859. His mother was Umm al-Ḥasan Fāṭima bint al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan. He excelled early in religious learning and by the age of seventeen is said to have reached the level of rendering independent judgments in *fiḳh* and composing treatises. Because of his erudition, physical strength, bravery, and asceticism he soon came to be considered

by his family, including his fathers and uncles, as the most suitable candidate for the Zaydī imāmate. Between 270/884 and 275/889 he visited with his family Āmul in Ṭabaristān, then under the rule of the Zaydī ʿAlid Muḥammad b. Zayd, evidently in order to seek the support of the adherents of the doctrine of his grandfather al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] there. His activity soon aroused the suspicions of Muḥammad b. Zayd and he was forced to leave precipitately. He also seems to have visited Baghdād briefly. In 280/893-4 he came to northern Yaman for the first time, invited by tribes in the region of Ṣaʿda who were hoping that he might put an end to their feuds. He led a campaign as far south as al-Sharafa near Ṣanʿāʾ, but meeting much disobedience among his followers, decided to return to al-Faraʿ, a day's trip southwest of al-Madīna. Three years later, he was again urgently invited and on 6 Ṣafar 284/15 March 897 entered Ṣaʿda which became his capital and permanent base of opera-tion. Shortly after his arrival, he issued his formal call (*daʿwa*) for support as the *imām* and assumed the title *amīr al-muʾminīn* with the caliphal name al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ.

After consolidating his control over the area of Ṣaʿda, he extended his rule over Nadjrān in Djumādā II 284/July 897, where he concluded a special treaty with the large community of Dhimmīs. In the following year he conquered the towns of Khaywān and Athāfit south of Ṣaʿda. His efforts to gain possession of Ṣanʿāʾ were only temporarily successful. The town was voluntarily turned over to him by its ruler, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya of the Āl Ṭarīf, who had already previously supported him, and he occupied it for the first time on 22 Muḥarram 288/19 January 901 and then pushed his conquests south as far as Dhamār and Djayshān. The opposition of the Āl Yuʿfir and the Āl Ṭarīf, who had been entrenched in these regions, was strong, and he quickly lost them again and definitely relinquished Ṣanʿāʾ in Djumādā II 289/May 902 in a state of severe illness. A year later, a new campaign to take the town ended in failure and the capture of his son Muḥammad by the enemy.

In Djumādā II 293/April 906 he again entered Ṣanʿāʾ, invited by a coalition of Yamanī chiefs opposed to the Ḳarmaṭī leader ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl. After a quarrel with Asʿad b. Abī Yuʿfir, he left voluntarily in Muḥarram 294/November 906, and the Ḳarmaṭīs took possession of the town. Only during a campaign of ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl to Tihāma, an army of al-Hādī once more occupied Ṣanʿāʾ from 19 Radjab—12 Shawwal 297/7 April—23 June 910. Also abortive was a campaign of al-Hādī to Tihāma, probably early in 293/autumn 905. Even his rule in northern Yaman was shaken by numerous tribal rebellions, especially in Nadjrān, where the Banu 'l-Ḥārith revolted on every occasion. In 296/908 they succeeded in killing his governor, and al-Hādī, already plagued by illness, was apparently unable to restore his rule over the province. His most loyal supporters were, besides members of his family and various other ʿAlids, a small troop of "Ṭabarīs", i.e. Zaydī volunteers from Daylamān and Kalār who arrived in two groups in 285/898 and 289/902. He died on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 298/18 August 911. His tomb in the mosque of Ṣaʿda became a place of pilgrimage for the Zaydīs.

Al-Hādī's doctrine in *fiḳh*, laid down chiefly in his unfinished *K. al-Aḥkām* and the *K. al-Muntakhab* collected by his follower Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī, became authoritative among the Zaydīs in Yaman as well as part of the Caspian Zaydī community. It was based on the doctrine of his grandfather al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm, though in some points al-Hādī adopted more strictly Shīʿī views, and was further elaborated, in Yaman, by al-Hādī's sons Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā (d. 310/922) and Aḥmad al-Nāṣir (d. 322/934), and, in the Caspian community, by the *imāms* al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh (d. 411/1020) and Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiḳ (d. 424/1033). In his theological works, al-Hādī generally espoused the doctrine of the Muʿtazilī school of Baghdād rather than that of his grandfather. It is unlikely, however, that he ever was a student of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, the contemporary head of this school, as some late sources state. Concerning the imāmate, he took a radically Shīʿī position, sharply condemning Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as usurpers.

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(W. MADELUNG)

HADJ [see ḤADJDJ].

ḤADJDJĀM [see FAṢṢĀD, in Suppl.].

HADJI [see ḤĀDJDJĪ].

ḤĀDJDJĪ AL-**DABĪR**, sobriquet of ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SIRĀDJ AL-DĪN ʿUMAR AL-NAHRWĀLĪ B. KAMĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD AL-MAKKĪ AL-ĀṢAFĪ ULUGH KHĀNĪ, historian in Gudjarāt under the Muẓaffarid dynasty. He was born in Mecca in 946/1540, the son of a Gudjarātī official who had been sent there in 941/1535 with the treasure of the Muẓaffarid Bahādur Shāh Gudjarātī [*q.v.*] and who returned to India in 962/1555, settling in Aḥmadābād. In 965/1559 Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr entered the service of Muḥammad Ulugh Khan, a noble in the party of ʿImād al-Mulk, who opposed Iʿtimād al-Mulk [see GUDJARĀT]. After the invasion and conquest of Gudjarāt by Akbar in 980/1572-3, his father was entrusted with the *waḳfs* under the Mughal administration, and Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr himself with the duty of conveying the funds to Mecca and Medina. He lost this post, however, in 983/1576, the year of his father's death. Subsequently we find him in the employ of another Gudjarātī noble, Sayf al-Mulūk, in Khāndesh, and finally in that of the Khāndesh noble Fūlād Khān, who died in 1014/1605.

This is the latest date mentioned in his Arabic chronicle, *Ẓafar al-wālih bi-muẓaffar wa-ālih*, in two *daftars*: (1) an account of the Muẓaffarids of Gudjarāt and of the neighbouring rulers in Khāndesh and the Deccan, and (2) a general history of Muslim rule in northern India. Of the lost authorities he quotes, the most important is the *Taʾrīkh* (or *Ṭabaḳāt*)-*i Bahādurshāhī* of Ḥusām Khān, which covered the period down to 940/1535. The date of composition of Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr's own work is problematical, since he mentions the *Mirʾāt-i Sikandarī*, which was presented to the world only in 1020/1611. Ross therefore hypothesised that he began to write in 1015/1606.

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(P. JACKSON)

ḤĀDJDJĪ IBRĀHĪM KHĀN KALĀNTAR, Persian statesman, was the third son of Ḥādjdjī Hāshim, the headman, or *kadkhudā-bāshī*, of the Ḥaydarīkhāna quarters of Shīrāz in the reign of Nādir Shāh. His ancestors were said to have been converts to Islam from Judaism. One of them emigrated from Ḳazwīn to Iṣfahān and is said to have married into the family of Ḥādjdjī Qawām al-Dīn Shīrāzī. Ḥādjdjī Maḥmūd ʿAlī, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm's grandfather, was a wealthy merchant of Shīrāz. After the death of Mīrzā Muḥammad, the *kalāntar* of Shīrāz in 1200/1786, Djaʿfar Khān Zand made Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm *kalāntar* of Shīrāz, which office he continued to hold under Djaʿfar Khān's successor, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān. He appears to have enjoyed a position of considerable influence in the city and among the tribal leaders and governors of the surrounding districts. Although his relations with Luṭf ʿAlī Khān were disturbed by mutual suspicion already in 1204/1789-90, when Luṭf ʿAlī set out to attack Iṣfahān in 1205/1790-1 he left Ḥadjdjī Ibrāhīm in charge of affairs in Shīrāz. The latter seized the city during Luṭf ʿAlī's absence. Disorders meanwhile broke out in Luṭf ʿAlī's camp. He escaped and fled to Shīrāz, thinking that the city was still in his hands. After Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm had refused him access, he retired to the south. Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm sent an army after him, but this was defeated in Tangistān. Meanwhile, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm entered into negotiations with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār and was appointed *beglarbeg* or governor of Fārs. Zand resistance, however, continued and was not finally overcome until 1208/1794 [see ḲĀDJĀR].

In 1209/1794 Āḳā Muḥammad Khān made Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, in succession to Mīrzā Shafīʿ Māzandarānī, with the title Iʿtimād al-Dawla, which office he held for seven years, first under Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and then under Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. He appears to have been a competent administrator and virtually to have presided over every department of state. His brothers and sons also held governments. His power, however, aroused jealousy. His enemies persuaded Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh that he was plotting to overthrow him, and on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1215/15 April 1801 he was arrested in Tehran. Those of his relatives who held provincial governments were also seized. He was blinded and exiled to Ḳazwīn, where he died, and his estates were confiscated. Only two of his sons, twins, ʿAlī Riḍā and ʿAlī Akbar Ḳawām al-Mulk (b. 1203/1788-9), survived.

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(A.K.S. LAMBTON)

ḤĀDJIB.

i-v. — See Vol. iii.

vi. — IN MOROCCO.

This office, which existed already in the Almohad organisation, though with a very modest role, appears again under the Marīnids (J. Temporal, translator of Leo Africanus, calls the *ḥādjib* "chief of the menials", and A. Epaulard, another translator, makes him "a chamberlain", head of the "court attendants") and was still alive under the Saʿdids.

Under the ʿAlawids, the *ḥādjib* was for long the most important official of the Sharīfian palace. He was specifically designated as the intermediary between the sovereign and the high officials on the *Makhzan* [*q.v.*], and it was through him that they were given their orders and commissioned for missions. He kept the seal or stamp for fixing to all official documents emanating from the ruler, and he had under his command all the internal professional groups (*ḥinṭa*, pl. *ḥnāṭi*) of the palace servants, e.g. tapestry-weavers, cooks, etc. In the protocol list, the chief minister came after him, and he himself had the place immediately behind the ruler, whom he followed like a shadow. The office seemed so necessary that the pretender al-Hība [*q.v.* in Suppl.], almost immediately when he was proclaimed sultan in the Sūs in 1912, nominated someone as his *ḥādjib*. The Ḥādjib Aḥmad b. Mūsā known as Bā Ḥmād [*q.v.* above] was remembered as a great man in Morocco at the end of the 19th century.

However, since the recovery of independence in 1956, the *ḥādjib* has lost his importance, and many of his responsibilities have passed into the hands of the Director of Protocol appointed by the Ministry of the Royal Palaces.

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(G. DEVERDUN)

ḤAḌRAMAWT

The opportunity is taken of prefixing to the main body of the article, on Ḥaḍramawt in the Islamic period, some important recent items of information on the region in the pre-Islamic time.

i. PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD

In 1974 a French archaeological mission under the direction of J. Pirenne began work at Shabwa, which is still continuing. The most significant result has been the tracing of a very extensive town site to the north-east of the rectangular sacral enclosure which the earliest visitors had noted; included in this are some impressive ruins of what was probably the royal place, and there were large tracts of cultivated ground in the wadi.

In 1973 Muṭahhar al-Iryānī published a series of Sabaean votive texts from Maʾrib which add much to

our knowledge of relations between Saba and Ḥaḍramawt. These were sometimes peaceful, as in the case when a Sabaean mission was sent to Shabwa to take part in the festival of the Ḥaḍramite national deity (*Fī ta'rīkh al-Yaman*, 184). At other times relations were hostile, and the most striking text of this kind (no. 13) shows that while the main Sabaean and Ḥaḍramite armies were engaged in battle in the Wādī Bayḥān, a small Sabaean flying column, aimed at "rescuing" the queen of Ḥaḍramawt who was sister to the Sabaean king, managed to capture the royal palace in Shabwa and hold out there for 15 days until relieved by the arrival of the main Sabaean army after it had decisively defeated the Ḥaḍramite force; the king of Ḥaḍramawt was sent back as a prisoner to Ma'rib. Subsequently, the Sabaean forces raided the port of Cane and destroyed a number of ships there—evidence that the later fame of the Ḥaḍramīs as seafarers goes back to early times.

In 1974-6 Garbini has plausibly argued that the view (up to then almost universally accepted) of the nature of the South Arabian pantheon is devoid of serious evidence in favour of it, and exposed to vital evidence contradicting it. Hence the reference in the earlier entry to "the astral triad of moon, sun and Venus-star", and the identification of the Ḥaḍramite national deity as a moon god, must be treated now as out-of-date. Garbini's re-evaluation of the Sabaean national deity as essentially a Dionysiac vegetation deity, having also affinities with a Herakles figure and solar associations, must extend to the Ḥaḍramite deity as well.

Significant new facts are now available about the foundation of a Ḥaḍramite settlement on the coast east of Salāla; this Pirenne identifies as the classical Moscha.

This opportunity may also be taken of saying that the spelling of the name of the sand-desert between Ma'rib and Shabwa as Sab'atayn (a spelling deriving from Philby) seems to be mistaken; modern maps record it in the spelling Sabʿatayn. It is what Yāḳūt and other mediaeval Arab geographers call the Ṣayhad desert.

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(A.F.L. Beeston)

ii. In the Islamic Period

In Islamic tradition, the name is derived either from the personal name Ḥaḍramawt b. Ḥimyar, or from *ḥāḍir mayyit*, or some such expression.

The name is applied to the wādī, the area and the *ḳabīla* of South Arabia. The wādī runs roughly west-east along the 16° line about 48° 15' to 49° 15', at which point it becomes the Wādī al-Masīla, as it turns south-east and then due south to flow into the sea between Ḥayrīdj and Sayḥūt on the Indian Ocean coast.

The area of Ḥaḍramawt begins in the west at a line drawn between Shabwa in the north to the sea at Mayfaʿ on the Wādī Ḥadjr and extends south of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt as far as Wādī al-Masīla in the east. The main towns of the area, which covers the territories of the pre-independence Ḳuʿayṭī and Kathīrī sultanates and now falls within the fourth and fifth governorates of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, are, in the north and along the Wādī, Shabwa, Ḥurayḍa, Shibām, Say'ūn, Tarīm, ʿInāt [*q.v.* below] and Ḳabr Hūd. The chief southern coastal towns are al-Mukallā, al-Shiḥr (though see below, on history) and Ghayl Bā Wazīr. Ḥaḍramawt is thus bounded by the sea in the south, Mahra country, the sixth governorate, in the east, the desert, the Empty Quarter, in the north and the western half of the fourth governorate in the west.

The tribal group named Ḥaḍramawt is supposed to inhabit the east and central areas of the Wādī itself, Shibām being described as the beginning of its territory. Its members are descended through Saba' al-Asghar from Ḥimyar.

1. History.

It is difficult to build up a comprehensive picture of the early and mediaeval history of Ḥaḍramawt. This is due to the relative inaccessibility and lack of exploitation of local Ḥaḍramī chronicles, still with few exceptions in manuscript, and to the extremely cursory treatment of the area in the Yemenī histories, in which Ḥaḍramawt appears only as a distant province of the Yemen.

First contacts with Islam were made directly with the Prophet, rather than through the Yemen, however, and there was correspondence between him and the local Kinda leaders of Ḥaḍramawt, resulting in the visit of al-Ashʿath b. Ḳays (or perhaps Wā'il b. Ḥadjr) to Medina. There he was well received by the Prophet, who acceded to his request and appointed Ziyād b. Labīd al-Anṣārī as ruler of Ḥaḍramawt. The latter remained there until after the Prophet's death. There can be no doubt that the conversion of the Ḥaḍramīs to Islam was not carried out as simply and as speedily as the Muslim sources insist, and the role of Ziyād and his successors in the area must have been more one of religious propagandist than of political leader. Indeed, Ḥaḍramawt, like the Yemen with its appallingly difficult problems of communication, must have entered the Islamic fold very gradually over an extended period of time.

The Prophet, the Orthodox, Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs until the 3rd/9th century, all appointed governors to Ṣanʿā', al-Djanad and Ḥaḍramawt. It is clear that the governor of the first always reported directly to the seat of Islamic government and that occasionally the latter two did also. For the most part, however, the governor of Ḥaḍramawt was merely a junior assistant of the governor of Ṣanʿā', and thus Ḥaḍramawt became a province (*mikhlāf*) of the Yemen. It should be mentioned at this juncture that al-Shiḥr, perhaps because of the independence of strong local rulers, during the early and mediaeval periods invariably figures as a separate political entity, not part of Ḥaḍramawt at all and always mentioned alongside it. Probably due to the steady exodus of many prominent Ḥaḍramīs from their native land to other parts of the empire during the Orthodox caliphate, the area sank into relative obscurity in the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid eras.

The year 130/747 saw the introduction into Ḥaḍramawt of Ibāḍī doctrines by Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. ʿAwf al-Azdī al-Ḥarūrī, a close follower of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ, from whom the Ibāḍiyya derived its name, and a Ḥaḍramī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī. Khāridjī ideas had in fact penetrated Ḥaḍramawt as early as 66/685, when a party of

Nadjdiyya, the followers of Nadjda b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥanafī, arrived. It is possible therefore that the area was still receptive to Ibāḍī ideas in the 2nd/8th century. Al-Mukhtār b. ʿAwf was a native of Baṣra and met ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā during the pilgrimage of 128/745. He was persuaded to return to Ḥaḍramawt with ʿAbd Allāh two years later. To what extent the Ibāḍiyya managed to control Ḥaḍramawt is not at all clear, though al-Masʿūdī, writing of the position in 332/943, states that they were predominant in the area and that there was no difference between them and the Ibāḍīs of ʿUmān. Certainly, the final blow to the movement in Ḥaḍramawt did not come until the intervention from the Yemen of the Ṣulayḥids, staunchly Shīʿī and maintaining close ties with Fāṭimid Egypt, in the mid-5th/11th century.

It is evident that the Ibāḍiyya did not exercise political control over the entire area of Ḥaḍramawt, however. The Banū Ziyād, originally ʿAbbāsid representatives in the Yemen in the early 3rd/9th century, operating from their headquarters in Zabīd, conquered Tihāma and ruled independently. They then for some unknown reason became involved in Ḥaḍramawt also. The founder of the dynasty himself, Muḥammad b. Ziyād, had been appointed governor of the Yemen by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn. It was he who brought about Ziyādid rule in Ḥaḍramawt, rule which was to continue after his death in 245/859 until after the fall of the Ziyādids in 407/1016.

In fact, Ḥaḍramawt fell into Ṣulayḥid hands after their capture of Aden in 454/1062. Aden, Laḥdj, Abyan, al-Shiḥr and Ḥaḍramawt were all at the time in the hands of the Banū Maʿn, the little-known descendants of Maʿn b. Zāʾida [*q.v.*], who were at first left to administer the territories on behalf of their conquerors. In 473/1080, however, after the Maʿnids' refusal to pay the agreed *kharādj* to the Ṣulayḥids, the latter installed their Shīʿī protégés, the Banū Zurayʿ, to run the affairs of the area, including Ḥaḍramawt, on their behalf. Thus the situation remained until after the entry of the Ayyūbids into the Yemen in 569/1171.

It is difficult at this stage to work out the exact chronology of events in Ḥaḍramawt. Certainly, with Ṣulayḥid control of Ḥaḍramawt through their clients, the Zurayʿids, lost, three powerful local dynasties appeared on the scene. Centred on Tarīm, the Banū Ḳaḥṭān took over much of the area, while the remainder fell to the Banu ʾl-Daʿʿār in Shibām and the Āl Iḳbāl on the coast in al-Shiḥr. The greater part of Ḥaḍramawt was taken by ʿUthmān al-Zandjīlī, the Ayyūbid *nāʾib*, in 576/1180 after the departure for the north of the first Ayyūbid ruler, Tūrān-Shāh b. Ayyūb, however, though pockets of local rule continued into the 10th/16th century, for the Ayyūbids were never in a position to pay much attention to Ḥaḍramawt; the demands of the troubled local situation on the Ayyūbid administration in the Yemen proper were too great to allow the luxury of firm control there. Other local dynasties followed: the Āl Yamānī, for example, from 621/1224 in Tarīm, surviving into the 10th/16th century.

The Ayyūbids' efforts in pacifying almost the whole of the Yemen proper and in putting an end to all local dynasties, with the exception of the Zaydīs north of Ṣanʿāʾ, ensured for their successors, the Rasūlids, a peaceful and stable country. The brilliant Rasūlid administration, which had assumed power through bloodless change, was not only able to consolidate the efforts of their erstwhile masters, the Ayyūbids, but was also able to think of eastwards expansion and the recapture of Ḥaḍramawt, in any case a province of the Yemen. There was, therefore, considerable Rasūlid activity along the south coast, even during the reign of the first sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʿUmar who died in 647/1249. During that of his son and successor, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, who died in 694/1295, Rasūlid power was first emplanted as far along the coast as the port of Ẓafār, which under the Rasūlids marked the eastern limit of their control.

Possibly the only, and certainly the greatest challenge to Rasūlid authority in Ḥaḍramawt was that of the Ḥabūḍīs. Though originally from Ḥabūḍa in Ḥaḍramawt, the dynasty was founded in Ẓafār by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 620/1223). The family continued on the coast through Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 628/1230) and Idrīs b. Aḥmad (d. 670/1271). The latter's son, Sālim b. Idrīs, seized the opportunity to take Ḥaḍramawt in 673/1274. Despite the cries of help to the Rasūlids from the local population in Ḥaḍramawt, it took the plundering by the Ḥabūḍīs of a Rasūlid ship off Ẓafār and the Ḥabūḍīs' urging the Rasūlid vassals of al-Shiḥr to cast off their allegiance to their masters to bring the latter with all speed eastwards from their Yemenī capital, Taʿizz. Ẓafār was recaptured and Ḥaḍramawt recovered. The Ḥabūḍī house was destroyed.

It was the Ṭāhirids who succeeded in the mid-9th/15th century to most of the territories held by the Rasūlids, particularly those in the south and east, though they were never strong in the Yemen north of Taʿizz. Although much less is known of this dynasty than of the Rasūlids, their predecessors, it is possible to assert that Ḥaḍramawt for a time came under their control. By the latter half of the 9th/15th century, however, the Kathīrīs, a tribal group originating from Ẓafār, had taken over some of the interior of the country. They also controlled al-Shiḥr which they had at first held for the Ṭāhirids. Possibly as early as the beginning of the 10th/16th century, a new political force was introduced into the area, for with the Kathīrīs quarrelling among themselves, one faction brought into Ḥaḍramawt to assist it a group of Yāfiʿīs, a large tribal unit inhabiting the area to the north-east of Aden. Yāfiʿī influence lingered on after this dispute, particularly in the seaports of al-Mukallā and al-Shiḥr. From now on down to the 20th century, the political history of Ḥaḍramawt is nothing more than the chronicle of disputes between the Kathīrīs and at least two Yāfiʿī tribal factions, though of course from the early 10th/16th century both the infidel Portuguese and the Turks had shown an interest in the seaports along the South Arabian coast and had at times attacked and even occupied them.

In the 20th century, under the British Protectorate Ḥaḍramawt was divided between the Kathīrī sultanate with its capital in Sayʾūn and the Kuʿayṭī sultanate, originally a Yāfiʿī tribal group, centered on al-Mukallā. Both sultanates were thus part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate until the independence of the whole of South Arabia in 1967.

2. Social organisation.

In general terms Ḥaḍramī society can be divided into four classes: the *sayyids*, the *mashāyikh*, the *ḳabāʾil* (tribesmen) and the *masākīn* or *ḍuʿafāʾ* ("poor").

It is interesting to note that the pre-Islamic South Arabian inscriptions refer to an aristocratic group of *musawwads*, a word used to this day in Ḥaḍramawt to denote the *sayyids*. The latter are the descendants of the Prophet, while the *mashāyikh* are

those noble families with the right to the hereditary title of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, a word denoting class distinction, not a tribal chief. The *sayyid*s reached Ḥaḍramawt in the early 6th/12th century, where they found many scholars, particularly in Tarīm and mainly of the *mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲* class. Petty jealousies and quarrels between the *sayyid*s and *mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲* have continued from the time of the arrival of the former in Ḥaḍramawt, though these have never prevented the transmission of knowledge and learning between the two social strata. By the close of the 6th/12th century only the ʿAlawī group of *sayyid*s remained to give their name to them—the ʿAlawī *sayyid*s.

In an area of constant warfare and hostilities, the institution of the neutral territory was essential. Thus in Ḥaḍramawt the *ḥawṭa* [*q.v.*] came into being at an early date. A saint in his own life-time would demarcate the area of the *ḥawṭa* and arrange for the agreement of the tribes and, if necessary, the authorities in the area, that a particular *ḥawṭa* should remain inviolate and under the control of a *manṣab*. Before the arrival of the *sayyid*s in Ḥaḍramawt, the *ḥawṭa*s were in the hands of the *mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲*. It was only then that the *sayyid ḥawṭa*s were gradually established, leading to the general decline of the *mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲* ones.

3. Geography.

Ḥaḍramawt is a hot and, with the exclusion of the coastal strip, dry land. The coastal plain is naturally extremely humid, as well as hot. Again if one excludes the coastal areas, it is mountainous too, and this, together with the extremely low rainfall throughout the area, means that very little of the total can be made over to agriculture, the chief industry. Dates have traditionally formed the main crop, though in more recent times cotton has been an important commodity also. Local grain crops include maize and oats. Tobacco is also found in places. Agriculture is watered either by the perennial flow of water in the wādīs (*g̲h̲ayl*) or by wells.

4. The people.

The inhabitants of Ḥaḍramawt are S̲h̲āfiʿī Sunnīs. As is not surprising in such a poor area, they have always been prepared to travel abroad in search of earning their livelihood. Many travelled to the East Indies, in particular to Java, and their financial gains remitted home have always been the mainstay of the local economy.

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(G.R. Smith)

iii. Language and dialect

The chief language of Ḥaḍramawt is, of course, Arabic. Until the most recent times, however, the literary Arabic of most regions of Arabia would include some non-literary vocabulary. These items were for the most part technical words of various trades and professions and, indeed, even at the present day there are often no literary equivalents for such technical words and expressions, except in the domain of commerce. Landberg and Serjeant have well documented the technical vocabulary of such trades as fishing and building. Some dictionnaires of Classical Arabic, such as the *Tād̲j̲ al-ʿarūs* and Nas̲h̲wān's *S̲h̲ams al-ʿulūm* give southern Arabian terms not appearing in the earlier lexical sources.

The Ḥaḍramī dialect does, however, have a limited literary application in various genres of popular poetry. This dialect is in any case fairly close in phonology, morphology and syntax to literary (that is to say modern Classical) Arabic. This poetry has been difficult to record in the past, though Serjeant made a most useful collection, because it is often of such a satirical or personal nature that the poet would prefer its circulation to be circumscribed. It may be, nevertheless, that this kind of poetry will find its way increasingly into print, in much the same way as *nabaṭī* poetry is now widely printed and read in northern Arabia.

The Mahra [*q.v.*] make up a considerable linguistic minority in Ḥaḍramawt, in that part adjoining Dhofar (Ẓafār), and it is undoubtedly true that Mahrī [*q.v.*] or an earlier form of this Semitic language was the principal language of the whole or most of the South, though even in pre-Islamic times Arabic would seem to have been an important language for the composition of formal works such as poetry.

The Mahrī of Ḥaḍramawt is fairly well-documented in the publications of the Austrian South Arabian Expedition, which are, to all intents and purposes, confined to this dialect of Mahrī. The Ḥaḍramī dialect of Mahrī is less conservative than that of Dhofar and a good deal more penetrated by Arabic. Indeed, many Mahra in Ḥaḍramawt now speak only Arabic, and this is particularly true of the settled elements. In Dhofar, on the contrary, many Mahra have adopted D̲j̲ibbālī (or Śḥerí), the language of the mountain area.

Most of the dialects of Mahrī, or languages closely related to it, are spoken in Dhofar, but there is in Ḥaḍramawt, close to the border, a language spoken, namely Hōbyōt, whose existence has not previously been reported. On the basis of the little information available, Hōbyōt seems to be a Mahrī dialect with a considerable intermixture of D̲j̲ibbālī. Another hitherto unreported language or dialect spoken not far over the Dhofar border, called Whēbyōt, may in fact be the same as Hōbyōt, with perhaps a greater admixture of D̲j̲ibbālī.

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in *SBWAW* (1909-15); A. Jahn, *Grammatik der Mehri-Sprache in SüdArabien*, Vienna 1905; E. Wagner gives a useful bibliography for Southern Mahrī in his *Syntax der Mehri-Sprache*, Berlin 1953.

(T.M. Johnstone)

ḤĀFIẒ TANÎSH b. Mīr Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, with the poetical name Nakhlī, historian of ʿAbd Allāh Khān [*q.v.*], the Shaybānid ruler of Bukhārā.

His father was close to ʿUbayd Allāh Khān (940-6/1533-40). Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh mentions in his historical work that he began to write it, being 36 years old, when ʿAbd Allāh Khān established his rule over Transoxania and made Bukhārā his capital. It was believed for a long time (including by the present author) that he means the official accession to the throne of ʿAbd Allāh Khān, which took place in 991/1583, and therefore the date of his birth was supposed to be 956/1549 (36 years before the date of the beginning of his work, cf. below). However, Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh mentions also that he wrote a *kaṣīda* on the accession to the throne of Iskandar Khān, the father of ʿAbd Allāh Khān (968/1560), which must place the date of his birth much earlier—probably, in the 1530s or even 1520s. In that case, Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh may have meant by the establishment of the rule of ʿAbd Allāh Khān over Transoxania the capture of Bukhārā (964/1557), or the accession of Iskandar Khān (under whom ʿAbd Allāh was the actual ruler), or the capture of Samarkand (986/1578). Ḥasan Nithārī in his anthology *Mudhakkir al-aḥbāb*, written in 974/1566-7 (see Storey, 802, no. 1102), mentions a poet Nakhlī among those poets who had not yet reached an advanced age and lived in Bukhārā (MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, B-4020, ff. 126-7); this person may very probably be Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh.

He began to write probably his Persian history of ʿAbd Allāh Khān in the 1570s or 1560s; it was known already in 993/1585, when his contemporary Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad praised it in his *Adhkār al-azkiyā'* (see B. Aḥmedov and K. Munirov, *Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh Bukhārī* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1963, 55). After ʿAbd Allāh Khān had been proclaimed the supreme khān of all the Uzbeks (991/1583), Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh was introduced to his court by the historian's patron, an influential *amīr* Ḳul-Bābā Kökältāsh, and became an official historiographer, usually also accompanying the khān in his numerous military campaigns. In 992/1584 he began to re-write his history according to a new plan, and gave it the title *Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī* (a chronogram = the date 992); both in Central Asian historiography and in modern scholarly literature it became known also as the *ʿAbd Allāh-nāma*. According to the initial plan of this second version, as laid down in author's preface, it was to be divided into a *mukaddima* (the genealogy of ʿAbd Allāh Khān and a short history of the Djučids and the Shaybānids, his predecessors); two *makālas* (1) from ʿAbd Allāh Khān's birth in 940/1533 to his accession and (2) from his accession onwards; and a *khātima* (on the outstanding qualities of the khān, the famous people of his reign, his buildings, etc.). The first *makāla* was apparently finished not earlier than 995/1586-7 (mentioned as the current date in the text) and before 998/1589-90 (mentioned as the current date in the preface to the second *makāla*, found only in one of the existing manuscripts). He carried his work up to 997/1588-9 (the date of the last event which he mentioned, the conquest of Harāt by the Uzbeks), but then the plan of the work was changed, and Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh included the whole material in the first *makāla*. The *khātima*, absent in all existing manuscripts, was most probably not written at all. It is not known when the author finished the work in its existing form.

The *Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī* is based mainly on personal observations of the author, reports of other eyewitnesses and official documents. In his *mukaddima*, Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh used various literary sources, which he partially named, as well as oral tradition. The work is written in ornate prose, with extensive use of *sadjʿ* and numerous verses (their total number is 4,760), both by Tanîsh himself and other poets. The main deficiency of the work, besides its pompous style, is the frequent absence of precise dates. Nevertheless, it is one of the major works of Central Asian historiography and the most important historical source for the Shaybānī period.

The further career of Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh is not clear. Nothing is known about his life in the last several years of the reign of ʿAbd Allāh Khān, nor during the short reign of his son ʿAbd al-Mu'min. Some sources mention a poet with the same poetical name of Nakhlī at the court of the Ashtarkhānid Imām-Ḳulī Khān (1020-51/1611-42) (see *Tadhkira-yi Ṭāhir-i Naṣrābādī*, Tehran 1316-17/1937-8, 435; *Tadhkira-yi Muḳīm-Khānī* by Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī, Russian tr. by A.A. Semenov, 83, 90); according to Naṣrābādī, after the death of Imām-Ḳulī Khān (1054/1644-5) this Nakhlī went to Balkh, where he died. Two manuscripts of the *dīwān* of Nakhlī are preserved in Tashkent and Dūshanbe; one of the *kaṣīdas* in this *dīwān* is dated 1045/1635-6. If this Nakhlī is identical with Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh, it must mean that the latter was still active at an age of about 100 or more. Even more doubts are thrown upon this identification by the fact that none of the poems belonging to Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh and cited in *Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī* is included in the *dīwān* of Nakhlī. Some scholars, nevertheless, accept the identification without reservations.

Bibliography: biographical information about Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh is discussed especially in the following works: B. Aḥmedov, in his preface to the first volume of the Uzbek translation of the *Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī* (see below) and in his work, together with K. Munirov, cited above; V.P. Yudin, in *Materialî po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV-XVIII vekov*, Alma-Ata 1969, 237-40; M.A. Salakhetdinova, in *VII godičnaya naučnaya sessiya LO IVAN* (*kratkiye soobshčeniya*), Moscow 1971, 111-3, and in *VIII godičnaya naučnaya sessiya LO IVAN*, Moscow 1972, 48-52; N.D. Miklukho-Mayklay, *Opisaniye persidskikh i tadžikskikh rukopisey Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, vîpusk 3, Moscow 1975, 295-6; The text of the *Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī* remains unpublished. Concerning the manuscripts and publications of short extracts, as well as Russian translations of extracts, see Storey-Bregel, 1130-3, no. 990; The publication of a full Uzbek translation begun in 1966 is still not finished: only two volumes (out of four) were published in 1966-9 (see Storey-Bregel, 1132).

(Yu. Bregel)

HAGIOGRAPHY [see manāḳib].

HAIFA [see ḥayfā].

ḤĀ'IK (a.), pl. *ḥāka*, also *ḥayyāk* (synonym, *nassādj*), weaver. Given the supreme importance of textiles in mediaeval Islamic life and economy [see e.g. ḥarīr and bisāṭ in Suppl.], the class of weavers was probably the most numerous and certainly one of the most important groups of artisans. The weavers of Damascus, Baghdād, Egypt, the Yemen, and a host of other towns throughout the Islamic

world wove fabrics ranging from the coarse and workaday types to the finest and most delicate (cf. R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest,* Beirut 1972, *passim*). Especially highly-skilled workers were to be found in the *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] factories producing for the court and for the state during the Umayyad, ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid periods, and these were probably somewhat better-paid than the mass of textile workers. The overwhelming majority of these last worked in their own homes for dealers or middlemen or in small workshops situated in the markets of cloth merchants. On the whole, the weavers were, as in the ancient and classical societies of the Near East, an exploited and ill-paid class, working in vile conditions, and this fact no doubt contributed to their image in mediaeval Islamic times as a turbulent and socially-volatile group, easily swayed by heterodox religious and political doctrines; one recalls the similar image of weavers in mediaeval France, Flanders and England, when in the first two regions at least, *tisserand* was at times almost synonymous with "heretic". Certainly, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the Coptic weavers of the Nile delta in Egypt earned only half-a-*dirham* per day, "insufficient for the bread of their mouths", as they complained to the Patriarch Dionysios of Tell-Mahré (see Mez, *Renaissance,* 433-4, Eng. tr. 461).

The materials used included cotton, wool, linen and silk. Some jurists recommended that a weaver should not weave silken cloth, which is forbidden for mens' wear. The legality of whether a cloth should be woven in silk mixed with other material forms the subject of juristic discussion. If the warp of the fabric (*sadā*) is *ibrism* and its weft (*luḥma*) is *kuṭn* or *khazz* (floss silk), it was permissible (cf. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Naḳd al-ṭālib,* Chester Beatty Ms. 3317, fol. 50). Weaving was carried on by men as well as women, but spinning was done by womenfolk only.

In mediaeval Islamic times, opinion was in general condemnatory of the manners and habits of the weavers. Typical anti-*ḥā'ik* opinions are as follows: "The most silly persons are the weavers"; "When a weaver is asleep, he is worthless and harmful; when he is awake, his companionship brings disgrace"; "The intelligence of a woman is equal to that of seventy weavers"; and the like. According to a legend, told by many Arab and Syriac writers, Jesus' mother Mary (*Maryam*) once lost her way in search of her son and she asked the weaver to guide her to the Sepulchre; but the *ḥā'ik* misguided her; she then asked a tailor (*khayyāṭ*), who showed her the right path. Thereupon Mary cursed the weaver but blessed the tailor. This is why the weaver is alleged to be damned for ever. This legend served as the basis for prejudice against weavers. Arab sentiment about the weavers is further epitomised in Djāḥiẓ's words, "The weavers in every age and in every country possess in equal measure foibles such as short temper, stupidity, ignorance and iniquity."

In Islamic tradition literature (*ḥadīth*), the trade of the *ḥā'ik* is often linked with other noisome and unpleasant callings, sc. those of the cupper [see FAṢṢĀD in Suppl.], the tanner [see DABBĀGH in Suppl.] and the sweeper. This condemnation was noted by Goldziher, who pointed out that the *textor* in Roman times was despised, and that in the early Islamic period, many of the weavers, both male and female, were slaves (*Die Handwerke bei den Arabern,* in *Globus,* lxvi [1894], 205 = *Gesammelte Schriften,* iii, Hildesheim 1969, 318). R. Brunschvig subjected the low status of the weaver to a detailed examination in his *Métiers vils en Islam,* in *SI,* xvi (1962), 50 ff. He demonstrated that this could not be from the unpleasant and polluting nature of the trade, as with tanning and sweeping, but must rather have arisen on religious grounds, from the many traditions in circulation, attributed to ʿAlī and to other prominent dignitaries of early Islam, condemning weavers as the offspring of Satan (cf. also the story of Mary and the *ḥā'ik,* above). However, the gradual spiritualisation of Islamic society by the ʿAbbāsid period, the notion of the equality of all believers, and the evident high economic value of the textile trade, did eventually contribute to an amelioration of attitudes towards weavers.

Thus Islamic society adopted paradoxical attitudes towards the weaver and his craft. The weaver is despised, but weaving (*ḥiyāka*) as a handicraft is praised. Ibn Ḳutayba, Thaʿālibī, and Bayhaḳī include *ḥiyāka* in a list of the crafts of the nobility (*ṣināʿāt al-ashrāf*), and Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Ṭūlūn and other scholars uphold the theory that weaving is one of the obligatory duties of the collective body of the Muslims (*farḍ kifāya* [see FARḌ]). Ghazālī and al-Lubūdī say that weaving is a highly beneficial and indispensable craft. "Weaving and tailoring are two essential crafts in civilisation, because humanity is in need of them for comfort", argued Ibn Khaldūn also. In spite of these pronouncements on the importance of weaving, public invectives against the weavers persisted in traditional Islamic societies.

The legal status of weavers and other despised professions was weak, and there was discussion over their *ʿadāla,* their probity and their admissibility as bearers of legal testimony (*shahāda*) in courts of law [see ʿADL]. The attitudes of the law schools varied somewhat. The Ḥanafīs were inclined to admit the *ʿadāla* of the despised trades, if their practitioners displayed superior religious and moral qualities; the Mālikīs were the most rigorous, only admitting it where necessity had compelled adoption of the trade in question; the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs took up intermediate positions. The Imāmī Shīʿī attitude was more liberal than the Sunnī one on matters like *ʿadāla* and on the doctrine of *kafā'a* [*q.v.*], comparability of status in marriage. Social restraints notwithstanding, early Islamic civilisation produced learned men among sons of weavers, e.g., Abū Ḥamza Madjmaʿ b. Samʿān al-Ḥā'ik, an Islamic traditionist, and Ibn al-Ḥā'ik, the author of *Kitāb Djazīrat al-ʿArab.*

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān,* Cairo 1948, ii, 105; idem, *Rasā'il,* Cairo 1933, 127; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif,* Beirut 1970, 249-50; Bayhaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī,* Beirut 1960, 103; Shaybānī, *Kitab al-Kasb,* in *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ,* Cairo 1906-13, xxx, 260; Thaʿālibī, *Arbaʿ rasā'il,* Istanbul 1883-4, 203; idem, *Laṭā'if al-maʿārif,* Cairo 1960, 129; Abū Nuʿaym, *Akhbār Iṣbahān,* Leiden 1934, ii, 117; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād,* iii, 67; idem, *al-Taṭfīl,* Damascus 1346, 83; Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir,* Damascus 1966, iv, 146-7; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn,* Cairo 1346, i, 12; Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt,* Beirut 1961, ii, 459-61; Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Shīrādjī, *al-Tanbīh fi 'l-fiḳh,* Leiden 1879, 236-7; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Akhbār al-ḥamḳā,* Damascus 1345, 112; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb,* Hyderabad 1964, iv, 32; Bar-Hebraeus, *The laughable stories,* tr. E.A.W. Budge, London 1897, 123; al-Lubūdī, *Faḍl al-iktisāb,* Chester Beatty Ms., 4791, fol. 57a; Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Ḥisba fi 'l-Islām,* Cairo n.d., 21; Yāḳūt, *Irshād,* vi, 1, 9; Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf,* Cairo 1952, i, 65; Ibn Ṭūlūn,

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(M.A.J. Beg)

ḤĀ'IRĪ, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Yazdī (1859-1937), a Persian religious leader with whom the history of the Shī'ī clergy entered a new phase.

After preliminary education in Ardakān and Yazd, Ḥā'irī left for 'Irāḳ in 1877 and studied mainly under Sayyid Muḥammad Fishārakī (d. 1898) in Sāmarrā' and Nadjaf. In 1900, upon the invitation of his colleague, Sayyid Muṣṭafā and the latter's father Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Muḥsin, Ḥā'irī moved to Arāk (Iran) and established the Arāk Circle for Religious Studies. Ḥā'irī argued that politics in the Muslim world were being controlled by Western powers and were consequently hostile to Islam. In order to prevent the extinction of Islam, therefore, a responsible religious leader must not interfere in politics. This type of approach by Ḥā'irī to politics, which was pursued throughout his life, began to be noticed in Arāk and resulted in his departure from that city, where his host, Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Muḥsin, was fighting against the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906 (Aḥmad Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i Mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1951, 281-5, 409) and naturally expected Ḥā'irī's cooperation. Ḥā'irī then went to Nadjaf, but he found it also seriously involved in the Persian Revolution; therefore he moved to Karbalā where he limited himself to religious activities, including teaching *fiḳh* and *uṣūl*. Ḥā'irī again moved to Arāk and lived there 1913-22, during which time he enjoyed a large body of disciples.

Meanwhile, in 1920, because of the death of two great *mudjtahids*, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī Shīrāzī and Shaykh al-Sharī'a Iṣfahānī, the office of *mardja'-i taḳlīd* was divided among Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan Iṣfahānī and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā'īnī in Nadjaf and Ḥā'irī in Iran. By then, Ḥā'irī's apolitical character was widely known, and turned out to play a role not only in his own life but also in the fate of the clerical world of the Shī'a. To see this role, one must keep in mind that the British, having a variety of interests in the Shī'ī world, had faced many difficulties caused by the Shī'ī *'ulamā'* of 'Irāḳ, such as their involvement in the Persian Revolution, their declaration of *djihād* in World War I, and their struggle for the independence of 'Irāḳ in 1919-22. After the imposition of the British mandatory rule in 'Irāḳ in 1920, efforts were made to curtail the influence of the *'ulamā'*. This policy resulted, among other things, in the banishment in 1923 of Nā'īnī, Iṣfahānī, Shaykh Mahdī Khāliṣī and many other *'ulamā'*, which injured the prestige and centrality of the Shī'ī institution of 'Irāḳ.

In the meantime, we see Ḥā'irī receiving particular attention in Iran. Upon the invitation of the notables of Ḳum, Ḥā'irī, in March 1922, went to Ḳum to establish the Circle for Religious Studies of that city, where he received a warm reception; the then monarch, Aḥmad Shāh, personally went to Ḳum to greet him. Through Ḥā'irī's efforts, the attention of the Shī'a was directed to the Ḳum Circle; solutions for religious problems were sought in Ḳum and the students of religion, whose number at a time exceeded 1,000, found Ḳum a convenient alternative to Nadjaf and Karbalā. The latter development bore fruits favourable to the British policy in the area; the clerical institution of 'Irāḳ was partially transferred to Iran, whose then strongest man, the Sardār Sipah (later Riḍā Shāh), was in fact to curtail it; there was created in Iran a strong religious base which would by its nature weaken the young Persian Communist movement; and finally (perhaps the most important of all), clerical leadership came in part to the hands of Ḥā'irī who, unlike his Nadjaf colleagues, would not intervene in politics. Ḥā'irī only once was drawn into these: in 1924 the Sardār Sipah attempted a republican form of government which gave rise to a popular uprising and involved the clergy, including the banished *'ulamā'* then residing in Ḳum. On this subject, meetings were held by the *'ulamā'* of the exodus and chaired by Ḥā'irī in Ḳum (F.O. 416/74, 26 March 1924, no. 126) and finally, to terminate the confusion, Ḥā'irī and other *'ulamā'* were urged to declare that they requested the Sardār Sipah to dispense with republicanism. In other cases, however, Ḥā'irī rejected politics; he did not fully identify his position with that of the *'ulamā'* of the exodus. Measures taken by Riḍā Shāh aroused clerical opposition led by Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Nūr Allāh Iṣfahānī in 1927 and Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Ḥusayn Ḳummī in 1935, to neither of which Ḥā'irī gave a noticeable response. Even the Circle founded by Ḥā'irī became the target of governmental pressures, to the extent that his special assistant, Shaykh Muḥammad Taḳī Bāfḳī, was arrested in 1927 (Muḥammad Rāzī, *Risālat al-Taḳwā wa-mā adrāka mā al-taḳwā: Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Shaykh Muḥammad Taḳī Bāfḳī*, Tehran 1948), but no reaction was elicited from Ḥā'irī.

Ḥā'irī's biographers give him credit for his type of approach to politics at that specific period: "he protected religion in the light of his patience, prudence, and wisdom" (Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt a'lām al-Shī'a*, i/3 Tehran 1962, 1161-4). These pressures, however, did not preclude Ḥā'irī from undertaking with great interest cultural activities such as establishing a library, hospital, religious schools, public cemetery and mortuary, housing for the poor, and so on. It is interesting to note that he trained many disciples who later on became religious leaders, some of whom, unlike Ḥā'irī, undertook political activities; Āyat Allāh Sayyid Rūḥ Allāh Mūsawī Khumaynī, who was living in exile in Paris until his return to Iran in January 1979, may be mentioned as the best-known example.

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(Abdul-Hadi Hairi)

HAKARI [see ḤAKKĀRĪ].

AL-ḤĀKIM AL-DJUSHAMĪ, Abū Saʿd al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad b. Karāma al-Bayhaḳī al-Barawḳanī, Muʿtazilī, later Zaydī, scholar, was born in Ramaḍān 413/December 1022 in Djusham (Persian: Djishum), a village in the region of Bayhaḳ. According to Ibn Funduḳ, he was a descendant of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, but the family was not known by the *nisba* of al-ʿAlawī. His first teacher was Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nadjdjār, a student of the Muʿtazilī *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who taught him Muʿtazilī theology, *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and *ḥadīth*. After Abū Ḥāmid's death in 433/1041-2, he continued his studies with Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 457/1067), a student of the Zaydī *imām* Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiḳ, in Bayhaḳ. He also studied and taught in Naysābūr, where he read Ḥanafī *fiḳh* works with the famous Ḥanafī scholar Abū Muḥammad al-Nāṣiḥī, *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Bukhārā, in 434-6/1043-5. Other well-known scholars whom he heard in Naysābūr were the *amīr* Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, and ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī. Later he taught in the mosque of his native village Djusham, where he read the sixty lectures contained in his *K. Djalā' al-abṣār*, in the years 478-81/1086-8. Among his students was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Khwārazmī, the teacher of al-Zamakhsharī. He died in Mecca in Radjab 484/May 1101, allegedly killed by religious opponents because he had written a fictitious "Epistle of the devil to his fatalist brethren" (*Risālat Iblīs ilā ikhwānihī al-mudjbira*) and because he publicly propagated Zaydī doctrine.

During most of his life, al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī actively supported the Muʿtazilī theology of the school of ʿAbd al-Djabbār and adhered to the Ḥanafī school of *fiḳh*. Though expressing philo-ʿAlid sentiments and recognising the imamate of the Zaydī *imāms*, he did so on the basis of Muʿtazilī doctrine on the imāmate, and equally espoused the legitimacy of the imāmate of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān. Only late in his life does he appear to have completely turned to Zaydism and to have written works on the Zaydī doctrine of the imāmate and on Zaydī *fiḳh*. He is said to have composed 42 books, several of them in Persian. Many of his writings were brought to the Yaman, where they gained high esteem among the Zaydī scholars, who frequently referred to the author merely as al-Ḥākim. His extant Ḳur'ān commentary *al-Tahdhīb*, in nine volumes, supports Muʿtazilī doctrine more consistently than al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashshāf* and contains numerous quotations from earlier, lost Muʿtazilī commentaries. It was later twice abridged. His continuation of ʿAbd al-Djabbār's *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, contained in his *Sharḥ al-ʿuyūn*, has been edited (by Fu'ād Sayyid, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, Tunis 1393/1974, 365-93). His *K. Djalā' al-abṣār*, a collection of wide-ranging lectures and narrations, was quoted by Ibn Isfandiyār for its reports on the Caspian ʿAlids (see *Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran [1320/1942], i, 101).

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(W. Madelung)

ḤĀL (pl. *aḥwāl*; *ḥāl* is normally fem. but often in Ashʿarī texts is taken as masc.; the form *ḥāla* is occasionally found in both Muʿtazilī and Ashʿarī sources), a technical term of philosophy employed by some of the Baṣran *mutakallimūn* of the 4th/10th century and the 5th/11th one to signify certain "attributes" that are predicated of beings. The term was taken over from the grammarians first by Abū Hāshim al-Djubbā'ī [*q.v.*] and subsequently used in two basic ways, one by Abū Hāshim and his followers in the Baṣran Muʿtazila and the other by al-Bāḳillānī and al-Djuwaynī [*q.vv.*] in the Ashʿarī school. The treatment of the *ḥāl* within the contexts of the two school traditions differs to such an extent that one must recognise two distinct concepts. The discussion of the *aḥwāl* by later Ashʿarī writers (e.g. al-Shahrastānī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī), though they tend to focus primarily on the preoccupations of their own predecessors in the Ashʿarī tradition, does not keep the two conceptions clearly distinct, and certain modern studies based chiefly on these sources have tended to misconstrue the problem, particularly in regard to the Muʿtazilī tradition.

A. *The Muʿtazila*. For Abū Hāshim and the Baṣran Muʿtazila following him, the expression *ḥāl* designates the "attribute" (*ṣifa*) as the latter is conceived to be an ontologically real and distinguishable perfection of a being or essential entity (*shay'*, *nafs*, *dhāt*). In the works of the classical Muʿtazila, accordingly, the *ḥāl* is most commonly designated by the term *ṣifa* (*ṣifa*$_2$ as defined below). In order to understand the concept it is necessary to clarify the verbal and conceptual context of its formulation and of its occur-

rence within the texts. Most importantly, there occurred in the development of the Baṣran *kalām* from the 3rd/9th century until the 5th/11th an accretion of new formal meanings for the terms *ṣifa, waṣf,* and *ḥukm* (some of them peculiar to the Muʿtazila or to the As͟hʿarīs, and others shared by the two schools) that must be distinguished if the ontology of the *aḥwāl,* as treated in the texts, is to be understood.

So far as concerns the discussion of the nature of things, the teaching of the Baṣran *kalām* was from the outset explicitly cast in terms of an analysis of the predicates that are said of them: of the predicates (the Arabic nouns and adjectives: *al-asmāʾ wa ʾl-awṣāf*) that are predicated of beings and those particularly that are said of God in the Ḳurʾān. The word *ṣifa,* in its first and probably original sense in the theology of the Baṣrans, is taken over and adapted from its use by the grammarians with the meaning "a descriptive term". In this sense, then (*ṣifa*$_1$), it refers to any general or descriptive predicate term and so combines the grammarians' categories of noun and adjective (verbs being paraphrased into adjectives) (see e.g. ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, *al-Mug̲h̲nī,* v, 198). *Ṣifa* is thus virtually synonymous with *waṣf*$_1$: the expression (*ḳawl*) employed in describing (*waṣafa*) something, i.e. in formulating the sentence in which the particular word is predicated of a subject noun which is taken to denote some concrete entity (*s̲h̲ayʾ*). In another sense (*ṣifa*$_2$), the predicate expression (*ṣifa*$_1$) may be considered from the standpoint of its meaning (*al-maʿnā*$_1$: what is meant as opposed to the word or material utterance: *al-ʿibāra, al-lafẓ*) and so as signified by any of several expressions (*awṣāf*$_1$, *asmāʾ*) that are considered to be synonymous in their strict sense (*ḥaḳīḳa*) as they are said of a particular entity (e.g. "*ḳādir*" = "*ḳawī*" = "*ʿazīz*", as said of God). A proposition affirming a particular *ṣifa*$_2$ as true of something may be thus formulated, employing any one of a number of *ṣifāt*$_1$ (= *awṣāf*$_1$, *asmāʾ*) (see e.g. ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, *al-Mad̲j̲mūʿ al-muḥīṭ bi ʾl-taklīf,* 172). Within the Baṣran tradition of the *kalām,* then, the question, whether to affirm a given predicate as true of an entity (*waṣafahū bihā*), is or is not to assert (*at̲h̲bata*) the reality of an "attribute" belonging to it and that of the ontological status of such an attribute, if any is held to be asserted by the *ṣifa*$_1$, are questions in terms of their various responses to which the major schools may be distinguished, and on the basis of which their conceptions of the *aḥwāl* are divided.

For Abū ʿAlī al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī, an entity (*s̲h̲ayʾ*) or essence (*nafs, d̲h̲āt*) is an object of knowing (*maʿlūm*) that strictly speaking exists (*wud̲j̲ida*) or does not exist (*ʿudima*) and which, as an object of knowing, may be directly referred to (*d̲h̲akara*) and may be made the subject of a predication (*uk̲h̲bira ʿanhū*) (see, e.g. al-As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn,* ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30, 519). It is not, however, said of something else. *Ṣifāt*$_1$ are employed in describe entities, i.e. to express what is known about them. According to the mature teaching of al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī and of the Baṣran Muʿtazila after him, *ṣifāt*$_1$ are those expressions that name the "essence" or essential entity as such or that describe it as it is in some particular way distinguished from entities essentially similar to it. Generic terms, i.e. those which designate broader classes of beings, embracing several kinds of essential entities, they do not consider to be *ṣifāt*$_1$ in the strict sense but rather as quasi-*alḳāb* (terms whose use to name or describe something is in part arbitrary). As predicate expressions or terms (thus excluding the use of an expression to name an entity and to refer to it as the subject of the proposition), the *ṣifāt*$_1$ are not, as such, directly referential. They are, however, understood to have implicit reference when said of a particular being. That is to say, when predicated of a particular being, most *ṣifāt*$_2$ implicitly assert the entitative reality either of the being denoted by the subject term or of another being, and accordingly the various predicate expressions are systematically paraphrased in order to make explicit what ontological assertion (*it̲h̲bāt*) is implicit in each particular affirmation. Thus for example, to say "Zayd strikes" is to assert that there exists an act of striking (*ḍarb*) that has occurred on his part (*ḍārib* = *waḳaʿa minhū ḍarb*^{un}) or to say "Zayd knows" is to assert that there exists an act of knowing that belongs to him (*ʿālim* = *lahū ʿilm*^{un}). In these instances, the entities whose reality is asserted in the affirmation of the propositions are termed the "cause" (*ʿilla,* pl., *ʿilal* or *maʿnā*$_2$, pl. *maʿānī*) of the proposition or judgement (*ḥukm*$_1$) that the thing is so, and the predicate term comes, therefore, to be called *ṣifat*$_1$ *maʿnan* (i.e. a term whose affirmation of the subject implies the reality of a *maʿnā*$_2$; *maʿnā* originally meant the "sense" of the predicate or judgement: *ḥukm* the "sense" or "meaning" being contextually understood by the Baṣran *mutakallimūn* as the reality of that entity the presence of which, in a given relationship to the subject, is asserted by the particular predicate. By the time of al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī, the two words *ʿilla* and *maʿnā* are employed as synonyms, being used interchangeably in most contexts, and within a century the semantic origin of this sense of *maʿnā* seems to have been forgotten). As conceived by the Baṣran *mutakallimūn,* the *maʿānī*$_2$ are not, however, attributes. They are, rather, entities in the strict sense: beings that are themselves distinct objects and that as such are not predicable of something else. In al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī's analysis, then, since God is absolutely one and undivided, when one says "God knows" (*Allāh*^{u} *ʿālim*) there is no assertion of the reality of any entity other than God's self (*nafsuhū*) and accordingly the predicate term is, in this instance, called an "essential predicate" (*ṣifat*$_1$ *nafs*^{in}: a predicate expression whose affirmation of the subject implicitly refers to and asserts the reality only of the self or essence of the entity denoted by the subject term). All terms that name or describe the self or essence of a thing as such are, when used predicatively, *ṣifāt*^{u} *nafs.* Thus al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī nowhere speaks of attributes, if we understand "attribute" in its usual sense (as, e.g. a property, characteristic, or quality of a thing, as when we speak of a figure's "being triangular" or "triangularity" as a property belonging to it); he has no term for such a concept and uses no formal expression that would imply the reality of such a thing.

The concept of the attribute as an ontologically real perfection, property, or state of the being of an entity was introduced into the Baṣran *kalām* by Abū Hās͟him. Though most often referred to in the Muʿtazilī texts by the term *ṣifa*$_3$, the attribute, thus conceived, is also referred to by the word *ḥāl* (state). This latter term Abū Hās͟him apparently took from the grammarians of the Baṣran school (the Kūfans employ a different expression reflecting their own grammatical analysis), and it is likely that he formed the philosophical concept partially in terms of a reflection on the significance of *ḥāl* expressions as these are understood and analysed by them. When explicitly discussing Abū Hās͟him's conception of the attribute (*ṣifa*$_3$, *ḥāl*) for the purpose of refuting it,

the As͟hʿarīs (e.g. al-Bāḳillānī and al-S͟hahrastānī) most often speak of it as *ḥāl*, probably to avoid the ambivalence of the word *ṣifa*, though in other contexts where the doctrine of Abū Hās͟him and his followers is discussed, one often finds *ṣifa* in the As͟hʿarī texts and occasionally also *waṣf*, the latter representing more peculiarly As͟hʿarī usage.

The attribute (*ṣifa*$_3$, *ḥāl*) is not an essential entity (*s͟hayʾ*, *d͟hāt*) as this is strictly defined and understood. It is not therefore considered to be an object or entity that can be known in isolation (*bi-nfirādihā*, *bi-mud͟jarradihā*). Rather, the entity of which it is an attribute is known as qualified by it (*yuʿlam ʿalay-hā*) (cf. ʿAbd al-D͟jabbār, *S͟harḥ al-uṣūl al-k͟hamsa*, 184, 9-14 and 366, 9-11). Thus though not a distinct object of knowing and so not "known" (*maʿlūma*) in the strict sense of this term, the attribute or state is nonetheless grasped and understood (*maʿḳūla*) as one knows a thing is specifically qualified by it (*muk͟htaṣṣ bihā*). Furthermore, since the attribute or state is not an entity, it cannot be said to be existent (*mawd͟jūda*) or non-existent (*maʿdūma*) because these predicates are properly used only of entities. In that it is, however, an ontologically real perfection or state of the being of an entity, the attribute (*ṣifa*$_3$) does have actuality (*taḥṣul*) and so is said to be actual (*ḥāṣila*) as also one may properly speak of its non-presence (*zawāluhā*) or non-actuality (*intifāʾuhā*) in a thing. Likewise, one does not speak of its coming to be (*ḥudūt͟huhā*) since "coming to be" (*al-ḥudūt͟h*) refers properly to the initiation of existence (*tad͟jaddud al-wud͟jūd*); one speaks, rather, of the initiation of the attribute (*tad͟jaddudu hā*). In concrete instances, then, the attribute (*ṣifa*$_3$, *ḥāl*) is indicated by the expression "the thing's being thus and so", as one speaks, for example, of "its being existent" (*kawnuhū mawd͟jūd*^{an}) or of "its being living" (*kawnuhū ḥayy*^{an}) or of a body's "being in motion" (*kawnuhū mutaḥarrik*^{an}). Propositions such as "he is alive" (*huwa ḥayy*) are thus considered by Abū Hās͟him and his followers in the Muʿtazilī school to assert the actuality of the attribute (*ḥuṣūl al-ṣifa*$_3$, *ḥuṣūl al-ḥāl*), viz. in this instance of his being alive or being living or the body's being in motion, and it is to the attribute or state thus that such a predicate (*ṣifa*$_1$) implicitly refers.

Though they disagree in certain matters of detail (some of which are philosophically important) Abū Hās͟him and his successors classify the attributes (*ṣifāt*$_3$, *aḥwāl*) into five basic categories according to the grounds to which their actuality is, in each case, to be ascribed. (Note that we are not here concerned with the classification of predicates in general, but only those that assert the actuality of *ṣifāt*$_3$, *aḥwāl*.) These are:

1. The Attribute of the Essence (most often termed *ṣifāt al-d͟hāt*, though other expressions are frequently employed; cf. Frank, *Beings*, 80 n. 1); this is the thing's being itself what it is in itself. It is asserted, for example, in the statement "the atom is an atom" (*al-d͟jawhar d͟jawhar*). What is referred to here is "the way the thing is in itself" (*mā huwa ʿalayhī fī d͟hātihī*). The attribute of the essence is, thus, irreducible (cf. e.g., ʿAbd al-D͟jabbār, *al-Mad͟jmūʿ al-muḥīṭ bi ʾl-taklīf*, 61, 9 ff. and Abu Ras͟hīd, *Ziyādāt al-s͟harḥ*, 192, 11 ff. and 278, 11 ff.), and is actual (*ḥāṣila*) even in the possible, for to posit the entity is to posit the actuality of the Attribute of the Essence. That is to say, God knows, out of an infinite number of beings of every class, each particular individual that He can create; thus although an individual entity whose existence is possible (*al-d͟jāʾiz wud͟jūduhū*) is non-existent and as non-existent (*bi-kawnihī maʿdūm*^{an}) has no ontologically real state (*ḥāl*), it has nevertheless reality as a possible existent (it is *t͟hābit al-d͟jawāz*) in that it is a particular and distinguishable object of God's power (i.e. insofar as it is *maḳdūr ʿalayhī*).

2. The essential attributes (commonly termed *ṣifāt*$_3$ *al-nafs*, *al-ṣifāt*$_3$ *al-d͟hātiyya*, or *al-muḳtaḍā ʿammā huwa ʿalayhī fī d͟hātihī*, i.e. "the attribute that is entailed by the way the thing is in itself"); these attributes are those whose actuality is entailed by the Attribute of the Essence (by the way the thing is in itself) given the actuality of its existence. These are the manifest (*ẓāhira*) attributes that reveal the nature of the essential entity as it is in itself (*tunbiʾ ʿammā huwa ʿalayhī fī d͟hātihī*), as for example, the atom's occupying space (*kawnuhū mutaḥayyiz*^{an}) or God's being existent, living, knowing, etc.

3. The attributes whose actuality flows immediately from (*ṣadara ʿan*) an entitative, determinant cause (*ʿilla*, *maʿnā*$_2$) and which are, accordingly, termed simply *li-ʿilla* or *li-maʿnā*$_2$ and are said to be "caused" (*maʿlūla*). Included under this category is, for example, a human individual's being knowing (*kawnuhū ʿālim*^{an}), an attribute whose actuality is asserted in the sentence "Zayd knows" (*Zayd ʿālim*) and whose actuality arises immediately from the presence of the act of knowing (*al-ʿilm*) that exists as a concrete entity in his heart. The attribute (*ṣifa*$_3$, *ḥāl*) in this instance is a perfection that specifically qualifies (*tak͟htaṣṣ*) not its immediate physical locus (*al-maḥall*), but rather the living corporeal whole (*al-d͟jumla al-ḥayya*) that is the individual, and it is for this reason that Abū Hās͟him and his successors say that the predicate "knowing" is said of the whole and not of the organ or substrate. "Moving", on the other hand, is predicated only of the material substrate (*al-maḥall*) since the attribute of "being in motion" (*kawnuhū mutaḥarrik*^{an}) belongs only to the locus of the entitative cause of its actuality.

4. Attributes whose actuality depends upon the agent that effects the existence of the thing and which, therefore, are said to be *bi ʾl-fāʿil*. Though many characteristics (*aḥkām*$_2$) of temporal entities are ascribed to an agent as their source, either immediately to his agency as such or mediately through the manner of the act's occurrence (*li-wad͟jh wuḳūʿihī*), the only true attribute (*ṣifa*$_3$, *ḥāl*, in the strict sense) that is said to be "due to the agent" is that of a temporal entity in its being existent (*kawnuhū mawd͟jūd*^{an}).

5. Attributes whose actuality in the thing is due "neither to its essence nor to an entitative cause" (*lā li ʾl-nafs wa-lā li-ʿilla/li-maʿnā*$_2$); the designation of a class of predicates (*ṣifāt*$_1$, *awṣāf*$_1$, *asmāʾ*) as *lā li ʾl-nafs wa-lā li-ʿilla* would seem to have originated with Abū ʿAlī al-D͟jubbāʾī. Because of the basic difference of his analysis and ontology from that of the later school, however, the predicates that he so classed are not the same as those so classed by Abū Hās͟him and his successors. What predicates (*ṣifat*$_1$) and what attributes (*ṣifāt*$_3$) Abū Hās͟him may have classed under this heading, if any, indeed, is at present uncertain. His followers, however, assign the attribute (*ṣifa*$_3$, *ḥāl*) of "being perceiving" (*kawnuhū mudrik*^{an}) to this category, since perception, according to their view, arises directly from the perceiver's being living on the condition of the appropriate presence of the perceptible. (Perceiving is here distinguished from sensation—*al-ḥiss*—since the predicate "sensing"—*muḥiss*—is taken to indicate not a true attribute but only the functioning of the sense organ.) It may be that "being perceiving" is the only true attribute which they class

thus; predicates (*ṣifāt*$_1$) which are implicitly negative are said to be *lā li 'l-nafs wa-lā li-ʿilla*, but they do not indicate ontologically real attributes.

For us the essential reality of a thing (its *ḥaḳīḳa*) is its essential attributes, for what we understand and refer to when we speak of it is its being as it is known to us in these attributes. Predications, according to the classical Muʿtazila, are said of essential entities that are known (*maʿlūma*) and distinguished as such; the predicates that refer to a thing's essential attributes (*al-ṣifāt*$_1$*al-dhātiyya*) are those which we employ to define it. According to Abū Hāshim and his followers in the Baṣran Muʿtazila, it is thus that through their essential attributes we know entities, i.e. in that they are so manifested to us as belonging to the same essential class (*djins*) or to different classes, for beings that share (*ishtaraka*) in one essential attribute must be alike (*tamāthala*) in that which entails (*iḳtaḍā*) the actuality of the attribute, and so must share in all their essential attributes. (See, e.g., ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 108, 9-12 and 199, 3-5; *al-Mughnī*, iv, 270 f. and 252, 8-10).

One speaks also of the "modality" of an attribute (*kayfiyyat al-ṣifa*$_3$). Existence (a thing's being existent: *wudjūduhū = kawnuhū mawdjūd*^{an}), for example, is an attribute that is common to all existent entities. Some entities, however, (sc. God) are eternally existent (*lam yazal mawdjūda*^{an}) while others (sc. all beings other than God) are temporally existent (*muḥdath*). The terms "eternal" (*ḳadīm*) and "temporal" (*muḥdath*) refer to the modality of the attribute of being existent. Similarly the term "inherent" (*ḥāll*) used of the accident's inherence in its substrate (*kawnuhū ḥāll*^{an} *fī maḥallihī*) refers to a modality of its existence. (See e.g., ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Madjmūʿ al-muḥīṭ bi 'l-taklīf*, 163, 4-7 and Abū Rashīd, *Ziyādāt al-sharḥ*, 384, 14 f.).

Not all predicates that may be affirmed as true of an object imply the presence of an ontologically real attribute (*ṣifa*$_3$, *ḥāl*). Some terms, for example, refer to the "characteristics" (*aḥkām*$_2$) of attributes; others (e.g. ethical terms) refer to contingent characteristics (*aḥkām*$_2$) of acts which, determined by one or another of the states of the agent (*aḥwāl al-fāʿil*) (see, e.g., ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, viii, 159 and *al-Madjmūʿ al-muḥīṭ bi 'l-taklīf*, 352), derive immediately from the manner of its coming to be (*wadjh al-ḥudūth = wadjh wuḳūʿihī*) and others to the modality (*kayfiyya*) of an attribute. Some, viz. those that describe a thing in its perceptible qualities, refer not to *ṣifāt*$_3$ (*aḥwāl*) but to dispositions (*hayʾāt*) of the material substrate; some descriptive terms are implicitly negative (e.g. "inanimate", "other", "dissimilar" and the like) and so refer to no real attribute; some refer primarily to a being other than that denoted in the subject, viz. the "derived predicates" (*al-ṣifāt*^{9} *al-mushtaḳḳa*) (see, e.g., ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, vii, 58, 3-7 and for the term of Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiḳh al-lugha*, ed. M. el-Chouémi, Beirut 1383/1964, 86 ff.), i.e. those that assert the actuality of an action performed by the subject and those that assert the actuality of the state (*ḥāl*) or act of another (e.g. "known" or "commanded"). Generic terms, finally, are not considered to be truly descriptive terms (*ṣifāt*$_1$) by the Baṣran Muʿtazila, as was noted above. Accordingly, one must distinguish those instances where the expression *kawnuhū* . . . ("its being . . .") is employed to denote an ontologically real attribute (*ṣifa*$_3$, *ḥāl*) and those in which it is employed merely as a nominal periphrasis for a sentence (e.g. *kawnuhū aswad* as a periphrasis for *huwa aswad* "it is black") that does not assert the actuality of an attribute (*ṣifa*$_3$, *ḥāl*) of the being that is denoted by the subject term. The differences in the understanding of these terms by the Muʿtazila and the Ashʿarīs are characteristic of those in their conception of the *aḥwāl*.

B. *The Ashʿarīs.* Among the Ashʿarīs, the concept of the "attribute" (*ḥāl*) as conceived by Abū Hāshim was borrowed, adapted, and employed by al-Bāḳillānī and al-Djuwaynī and, it would seem, by no others (see, e.g., al-Shahrastānī, *al-Nihāya*, 131). Al-Bāḳillānī's acceptance and use of the concept was, however, inconsistent; in some works (among them his two published compendia, *al-Inṣāf* and *al-Tamhīd*) he expressly denied the validity of the concept (though it implicitly underlies the discussion in a number of important passages in both *al-Inṣāf* and *al-Tamhīd*) while in others, including his last major *kalām* work, *al-Hidāya*, he is reported to have asserted its validity and to have integrated it into his treatment of the predicates of being and of the divine attributes (see, e.g., al-Djuwaynī, *al-Shāmil*, 294, 629). Al-Djuwaynī, on the other hand, seems to have expressly employed the concept in most if not all of his *kalām* works, though he is reported to have rejected it in his late juridical writing (see, e.g., Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sulaymān b. Nāṣir al-Anṣārī, *Sharḥ al-Irshād*, Princeton University ms. ELS 634, fol. 356). In the present absence of any direct, adequate evidence concerning al-Bāḳillānī's treatment and use of the *aḥwāl* concept, the present outline reflects strictly only the discussion and terminology of al-Djuwaynī. The sources, however, indicate no major difference between al-Djuwaynī's understanding and use of the concept and those of al-Bāḳillānī; one may therefore suppose that their teaching in this respect was substantially the same.

Like Abū Hāshim, the Ashʿarīs who employed the concept of the "attribute" as *ḥāl* describe it as "the thing's being such and so" (*kawn al-shayʾ*). The context to which the concept was adapted and into whose overall structure it had to be integrated differs, however, in several important respects from that of the Muʿtazilī tradition of Basra, even though the Ashʿarī analysis of the predicates that are said of beings is in some ways analogous to that of al-Djubbāʾī. Omitting those predicates that refer to actions (*ṣifāt*$_1$ *al-afʿāl*) and so to an entity essentially extrinsic to that denoted by the subject term, al-Ashʿarī and his followers, in contrast to the Muʿtazila, recognise only two categories of descriptive predicates (*asmāʾ*, *awṣāf*$_1$, *ṣifāt*$_1$), since they divide the entities which constitute the ontological basis for the truth of the predication (*istiḥḳāḳ al-waṣf*: the thing's "deserving to be so described") and whose reality, accordingly is asserted (*muthbat*) as that which requires its affirmation (*mā awdjaba 'l-waṣf*) into (1) the "self" (*nafs*) of the being denoted by the subject, as when one says of a being that it is "existent" (*mawdjūd*) or "temporal" (*muḥdath*) or is a "colour" (*lawn*) or of God that He is "eternal" (*ḳadīm*) or "majestic" (*ʿaẓīm*); and (2) those that assert the reality of an entitative, determinant cause (*maʿnā*$_2$, *ʿilla*) subsistent in the subject, as when one says of a being that it is "living" ("living" = "life belongs to it": *ḥayy = lahū ḥayāt*) or "knowing" ("knowing" = "an act of knowing belongs to it": *ʿālim = lahū ʿilm*) and the like. In addition to the words *maʿnā*$_2$ and *ʿilla*, the Ashʿarīs often (and in some contexts almost always) refer to these entities (*al-maʿānī*$_2$) as *ṣifāt*$_4$. (This, in fact, is the only sense in which al-Ashʿarī himself employs the word *ṣifa*.) Against al-Djubbāʾī and others, the

As͟hʿarīs insist that predicates such as "living", "knowing" and the like always imply the presence of an entitative determinant (*maʿnā*$_2$, *ʿilla*, *ṣifa*$_4$) in the subject, whether they be said of a material being or of God, who is immaterial. Again, whereas the masters of the Baṣran Muʿtazila take descriptive predicates to be said of individual entities which, known and recognised as particular essences, are described by the predicate (*waṣf*$_1$, *ṣifa*$_1$), the As͟hʿarīs understand the subject term to denote an individual entity simply as an object: as an existent (*mawd͟jūd*) whose existence is its "self" (*nafs*). (Thus *s͟hayʾ* = *mawd͟jūd* = *wud͟jūd* = *nafs*, *d͟hāt*, whilst the non-existent is simply the unreal subject spoken of in a negated proposition: "it is not true that there exists an object such that . . .".) Thus, where the Baṣran Muʿtazila after al-D͟jubbāʾī distinguished expressions that they consider to be descriptive (*ṣifāt*$_1$) strictly speaking, i.e. those which name the essence as such or describe it in some particular way, from those they consider to be quasi-*alkāb*, i.e. those which we employ to assign an essence to various broader, generic classes and which, therefore, are said univocally of beings that are essentially different, the As͟hʿarīs make no such distinction, but rather consider both kinds of terms to be truly descriptive, classing the second of the Muʿtazilī categories amongst the "essential predicates" (*al-ṣifāt*$_1$ *al-nafsiyya*), viz. those that assert as the basis of the validity of their affirmation of the subject only the reality of the object (*nafs al-mawd͟jūd* = *wud͟jūduhū*) of which they are said. No more than al-D͟jubbāʾī, however, does al-As͟hʿarī speak of "attributes" as this word is commonly understood, nor does his analysis, or that of most of his followers in the two centuries immediately succeeding, make place for such a concept. The *ṣifa*$_4$ is simply a *maʿnā*$_2$ (*ʿilla*). They agree that the being of God's *ṣifāt*$_4$ differs from that of those belonging to creatures and there is some question as to the exact ontological status of the former, i.e. as to whether God's *ṣifāt*$_4$ are validly termed *as͟hyāʾ* or *mawd͟jūda* or if they are denumerable; but it is nevertheless clear that *ṣifāt*$_4$ are entities of some kind (more precisely, of two kinds) though not of a sort that nowadays we should term attributes. (Al-Bāḳillānī, cited in al-Kiyā al-Harāsī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, fols. 114a and 123a, says that, in contrast to the *aḥwāl*, they are entitative objects or beings, *d͟hāt*, *s͟hayʾ*, *maʿnā*.) One notes that with but two or three exceptions, common also to the Muʿtazila, abstract terms are not employed in the writings of al-As͟hʿarī and of the majority of his followers until the 5th/11th century and that the expression *kawnuhū* . . . is almost everywhere shunned, chiefly for accuracy of expression but also, no doubt, in order to avoid the semblance of accepting Abū Hās͟him's ontology.

Al-D͟juwaynī rejects the common As͟hʿarī thesis that all the "essential predicates" (*ṣifāt*$_1$ *al-nafs*, *al-ṣifāt*$_1$ *al-nafsiyya*) assert simply the being of the "self" of the subject and that what is asserted (*al-ḥukm*$_1$) in affirming one of the *ṣifāt*$_1$ *al-maʿānī*$_2$ (*al-ṣifāt*$_1$ *al-maʿnawiyya*) is simply the reality of the being of the *maʿnā*$_2$ (*ṣifa*$_4$) as belonging to the subject. For every positive predicate (*waṣf*$_1$, *ṣifa*$_1$) he recognises an "attribute" (*waṣf*$_2$, *ṣifa*$_5$), which he designates by the expression *kawnuhū* . . ., e.g. the atom's "being an atom" (*kawnuhū d͟jawhar*^{un}), "its being an entity" (*kawnuhū s͟hayʾ*^{un} *wa-d͟hāt*^{un}), "its being existent" (*kawnuhū mawd͟jūd*^{un}), "its occupying space" (*kawnuhū mutaḥayyiz*^{un}), etc.; and so also with the *ṣifāt*$_1$ *maʿnawiyya*, the attributes (*ṣifāt*$_5$) signified by the latter being commonly termed *aḥkām*$_3$ as well as *ṣifāt*$_5$, *awṣāf*$_2$, (see e.g. *al-Irs͟hād*, 30, *al-S͟hāmil*, 308, *et alibi*). He holds, moreover, in regard to those predicates which do not refer simply to the existent as such (to its existence as its "self": *nafs*) that one must posit the reality (*t͟hubūt*) of the attribute (*waṣf*$_2$, *ṣifa*$_5$, *ḥukm*$_3$) as a state (*ḥāl*). This, he says, is necessary in order to have an ontological basis for the true sense of the common or universal predicate terms and their definitions (viz. *al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ wa ʾl-ḥudūd*) (see e.g. *al-S͟hāmil*, 633, and the citation of al-Bāḳillānī in al-Kiyā al-Harāsī, *op. cit.*, fols. 115a and following), as also in order to explain what is known and asserted to be true in the case of the *maʿānī*$_2$ (*aḥkām al-ʿilal*), i.e. in order to explain what is known and asserted to be true (*al-ḥukm*$_1$) of the entity to which the *maʿnā*$_2$ (*ʿilla*) belongs as the effect (*maʿlūl*, *mūd͟jab*) of the latter (see e.g. *al-S͟hāmil*, 629 ff. and *al-Irs͟hād*, 80 ff.) In these cases what is known (*ʿulima*) of something is not the thing itself (*al-nafs* = *wud͟jūduhū*) but an ontologically real attribute (*ṣifa*$_5$ *t͟hābita*) or state (*ḥāl*) of it, and it is this that the descriptive predicate strictly speaking refers to and asserts as real (*t͟hābit*). Regarding the "essential attributes", al-D͟juwaynī says "Every attribute (*waṣf*$_2$) that is not understood negatively and the ignorance of which is not contradicted by the knowledge of the existence of the being that is denoted by the subject (*al-mawṣūf*), is a state (*ḥāl*)" (*al-S͟hāmil*, 630, 17 f.; cf. also *al-Irs͟hād*, 80). Thus when one says of a being that it is a (unit or quantum of) black (*sawād*) or that it is a colour (*lawn*) or an accident (*ʿaraḍ*) or that it is inherent in a substrate (*ḥāll fī maḥall*), the reference is to "its being black" (*kawnuhū sawād*^{un}), "its being a colour" (*kawnuhū lawn*^{un}, "its being an accident" (*kawnuhū ʿaraḍ*^{un}), and "its being inherent" (*kawnuhū ḥāll*^{un}): its "blackhood" (*as-sawādiyya*), "accidentality" (*al-ʿaraḍiyya*), etc. Each of these attributes (*aḥwāl*, *ṣifāt*$_5$, *awṣāf*$_2$) is a distinct object of knowing (*maʿlūm*). Likewise the knowledge of an entity's being knowing (*kawnuhū ʿālim*^{un}) is distinct from the knowledge that the act of knowing (*al-ʿilm*) by virtue of whose subsistence in it is knowing, exists (*kawnuhū mawd͟jūd*^{un} = *nafsuhū*) and is an act of knowing (*kawnuhū ʿilm*^{un} = *al-ʿilmiyya*); each of these attributes (*ṣifāt*$_5$), as an ontologically real state (*ḥāl*) or characteristic (*ḥukm*$_3$) of the subject, is a distinct object (*maʿlūm*), known in a distinct act of knowing (*ilm*). As the attribute (*ḥāl*, *ṣifa*$_5$) is other than the entity to which it belongs (the *ṣifa* is other than the *mawṣūf*), so al-D͟juwaynī holds that existence (*al-wud͟jūd* = *nafs al-mawd͟jūd*) is not a *ḥāl* (see e.g. *al-Irs͟hād*, 31). Though it is an object insofar as it is known (*maʿlūm*), the *ḥāl* is not an entity (*s͟hayʾ*) (*al-S͟hāmil*, 640, 679) and so is not described as existent (*mawd͟jūd*) or non-existent (*maʿdūm*, *muntafī*). (See also the citations of al-Bāḳillānī in al-Kiyā al-Harāsī, *op. cit.*, fols. 114a and 115a.)

The "self" as such is understood and conceived not as an essence but as an object, and the predicates which assert the entitative reality of the "self" as such (e.g. *s͟hayʾ*, *d͟hāt*, *nafs*, *mawd͟jūd*) neither are synonymous with those which assert the actuality of its *aḥwāl* (e.g. *d͟jawhar*, *ʿaraḍ*, *lawn*, *ʿilm*, *ḥaraka*) nor do they imply the assertion of its *aḥwāl*. Since, then, the *aḥwāl* are neither identical with nor derived from the "self" as such of the being of which they are attributes and are known separately from the knowledge of its existence, that a being should have one essential attribute (*ṣifāt*$_5$ *nafs*) does not necessarily entail its having another. Beings that are essentially diverse (*muk͟htalifa*) may share

(*ishtaraka*) in common essential attributes, as for example a human act of knowing (*ʿilm*) and a motion of an atom share in accidentality (*al-ʿaraḍiyya*, i.e. *kawnuhumā ʿaraḍayn*) and a human act of knowing (a *maʿnā*$_2$ which is an accident) and God's eternal act of knowing (a *maʿnā*$_2$ which is not an accident, i.e. is not a contingent entity inherent in a material substrate) have in common (*idjtamaʿā fī*) their being acts of knowing (*kawnuhumā ʿilmayn = al-ʿilmiyya*) and so are, both, correctly denoted and described by *ʿilm*. Like entities (*al-mithlān, al-mutamāthilān*) are alike in and by virtue of their selves (*li-anfusihimā*) (see e.g. *al-Shāmil*, 312); they are therefore those beings that are analogous (*sadda aḥaduhumā masadda ʾl-ākhar*) or are equivalent (*mustawiyān*) in all their essential attributes (*ṣifāt*$_5$ *al-nafs, al-ṣifāt*$_5$ *al-nafsiyya*) (cf. e.g. *al-Shāmil*, 292, 313 f.).

In no sense does al-Djuwaynī take up the ontology of Abū Hāshim and his Muʿtazilī followers. Nowhere does al-Djuwaynī treat the attribute (*ḥāl, ṣifa*$_5$) as an ontologically real perfection of a being in terms of which other perfections, properties, characteristics, qualities, or operations are to be understood and explained. He does not speak of an attribute's entailing (*iḳtaḍā*) the actuality of another attribute or of its effecting (*aththara*) a characteristic or quality of a thing, nor does he regard any attribute as constituting the immediate ground of the possibility (*ṣaḥḥaḥa*) of some qualification of an entity or as the condition (*sharṭ*) of its actuality. Similarly, he does not speak of attributes (*ṣifāt*$_5$, *aḥwāl*) as having modality (*kayfiyya*) nor of the characteristics (*aḥkām*$_2$) of attributes. Finally, where the Muʿtazilīs distinguish four categories of *maʿānī*$_2$, one as effecting no *ḥāl* whatsoever, either of its immediate substrate of inherence or of the whole of which the latter is a part, and others as producing one or another qualification (*ḥāl*) either of the immediate substrate or of the whole composite (*al-djumla*), al-Djuwaynī makes no distinction whatsoever, asserting simply that every *maʿnā*$_2$ causes a *ḥāl* (those of material entities only in their immediate substrate of inherence) (see e.g. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, vi/2, 162 and ix, 87, and al-Djuwaynī, *al-Shāmil*, 629 ff.). Though there may be found sometimes a certain parallelism of argumentation (cf. e.g. *ibid.*, 637 f. and ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Madjmūʿ al-muḥīṭ bi ʾl-taklīf*, 188 f.) the conception of the *aḥwāl* and their role within the integrated contexts of the systems is significantly different in the teaching of the Ashʿarīs and in the thought of Abū Hāshim and his followers. Al-Djuwaynī employs Abū Hāshim's distinction between the Attribute of the Essence and the essential attribute (categories 1 and 2 in A above) together with the concept of the *ḥāl* in order to found a distinction in the Ashʿarī essential predicates in terms of their denotation. Thus although he speaks of "attributes" in both instances, he distinguishes those predicates (*awṣāf*$_1$, *ṣifāt*$_1$) that denote or assert simply the existence (i.e. the "self") of an entity as such from the rest, which assert distinct attributes that are states (*aḥwāl*). Similarly, he posits the reality (*thubūt*) of the "states" as real attributes (*ṣifāt*$_3$ *thābita*) or characteristics (*aḥkām*$_3$ *thābita*) as the effect (*maʿlūl, mūdjab*) of the *maʿānī*$_2$, in order to distinguish ontologically the assertion of the *ṣifāt*$_1$ *maʿnawiyya* from that of those expressions which refer to the *maʿānī*$_2$ and describe them as such (e.g. to distinguish the reference of *ʿālim* from that of *ʿilm*), a distinction effectively denied by most of the earlier Ashʿarīs (see e.g. al-Bāḳillānī, *al-Tamhīd*, § 97, and al-Djuwaynī, *al-Shāmil*, 631). Al-Djuwaynī, in short, (and the same is clearly true of al-Bāḳillānī when he used the *aḥwāl*) posits the *aḥwāl* only in order to supply referents for certain predicates and concomitantly to resolve certain difficulties of logical reference and extension, particularly in predicates that are said both of God and creatures; the *aḥwāl* serve no other function within the system. Whereas the concept of the *ḥāl* constitutes the very foundation and core of the metaphysics of the Baṣran Muʿtazila from the time of Abū Hāshim, al-Bāḳillānī and al-Djuwaynī employ it without introducing any essential alteration into the tradition of Ashʿarī metaphysics. Finally, by the explicit introduction of purely intentional referents (viz. concepts thematically understood as *entia rationis*) into the Ashʿarī *kalām* along with the Aristotelian logic, al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] was able to resolve in a much less awkward manner the problem that his master, al-Djuwaynī, had sought to deal with by means of the *aḥwāl*.

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(R.M. Frank)

HALIḲARNAS BALİḲČISİ pseudonym of Djewād Shākir, modern Turkish form Cevat Shakir Kabaağaçli, Turkish novelist and short story writer (1886-1973).

Born in Istanbul, the son of the general, diplomat and writer Meḥmed Shākir Pasha (1855-1914) (brother of the grand vizier Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]), he stemmed from a prominent family from Afyonkarahisar. He was educated at the American Robert College in Istanbul and at Oxford University, where he graduated in Modern History in 1908. He started his career as a short story writer, translator, graphic artist and a cartoonist contributing to various short-lived periodicals which mushroomed following the restoration of the Constitution. He spent several years in prison for killing his father in a *crime passionnel* in Afyonkarahisar (1914). During the turbulent early years of the Republic, a short story about the hanging of deserters without trial, based on his prison reminiscences, which he published, under the penname Ḥüseyn Kenʿān, in the *Resimli hafta* ("The Weekly Illustrated", No. 35, 13 April 1925) got him into trouble. He was arrested and tried by the Tribunal of Independence (*Istiḳlāl maḥkemesi*) of Ankara, which

sentenced him to three years banishment in the fortress sea port of Bodrum (ancient Halicarnassus), for anti-military and defeatist propaganda (because at that juncture, troops were being sent to quell a large-scale revolt in the eastern provinces). When his term was over, Djewād Shākir decided to settle in this small town which had captured his heart, and he laboured inceasingly to develop it. He assumed the pen-name of Haliḳarnas Baliḳčisi ("The Fisherman of Halicarnassus"), living there until 1947 when he moved to Izmir to work as a journalist and expert tourist guide and for his children's education. He died in Izmir on 13 October 1973 and is buried in Bodrum, honoured by its people for his opening-up of this isolated city to the world.

Haliḳarnas Baliḳčisi began to write regularly in Bodrum after the age of fifty, and devoted his entire art to the sea and to seamen. He spent his daily life among sea folk, fishermen, sponge fishers, divers and boatmen and shared their lives, struggles, worries and joys; most of the characters in his short stories and novels are real people whom he had met in the Aegean region. Exuberant and expansive by temperament, he writes with uncontrolled romantic impetus works which defy all sense of discipline in technique and style. But he captured his reader with his *joie de vivre*, warm sense of humanity and deep understanding of his fellow-men. Haliḳarnas Baliḳčisi is the author of the following major works. Short stories: *Merhaba Akdeniz* (1947), *Ege'nin dibi* (1952), *Yaşasın deniz* (1954). Novels: *Aganta, burina burinata* (1946), *Ötelerin, çocuğu* (1956), *Uluç Reis* (1962), *Turgut Reis* (1955), *Deniz gurbetçileri* (1969). Memoirs: *Mavi sürgün* (1961). He also wrote several popular books on Anatolian mythology and made many translations (For a bibliography of his publications, see *Yeni yayınlar* of October 1974).

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(Fahir İz)

HALĪLADJ is myrobalanus, the plum-like fruit of the Terminalia chebula-tree, a Combratacea of South-Asia and the Malayan archipelago. Being a useful and cheap substitute (*badal*) for gall or oak-apples (*ʿafṣ*), they were used already in antiquity for extracting tannic acid and as a medicine. The term appears also as *ahlīladj* or *ihlīladj* and goes through Persian *halīla* back to Sanskrit *harītakī*. Synonyms are *hārsar* (indicated as "Indian" and probably to be derived from the Sanskrit term mentioned above), and *mufarfaḥ* (with variants). These fruits were allegedly unknown to the earlier Greeks: the βάλανος μυρεψική of Dioscorides (*De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, ii, Berlin 1906, 301 f. = lib. iv, 157) is the fruit of a kind of Meringa, known to the Arabs as behen-nut (*bān*). The later Greeks called this μυροβάλανος ("salve-acorn"), and when the Arabs imported from India the real myrobalanus both were confounded, notwithstanding their completely different medical effect.

The Arabs knew five kinds of myrobalanus, all of which had reached Europe perhaps already at the time of the School of Salerno, but they were imported in great quantities and used in the Western pharmacies only through the trade of the Portuguese. The following kinds are under discussion: (1) the yellow myrobalanus (*halīladj aṣfar*, *Terminalia citrina*). Its juice has an aperient effect and purges yellow gall. As an ointment, it dries up wound-boils, and pulverised and diluted with rose-water, it heals burns; (2) the myrobalanus of Kābul (*halīladj kābulī*), the ripe fruit of *Terminalia chebula*, is considered as the finest. Its effect is like that of the first one and, besides, it has the property of conferring a lucid intellect; (3) the black myrobalan (*halīladj aswad*), the unripe fruit of the *Terminalia chebula*, as large as a small olive; (4) *balīladj*, *Terminalia bellerica*; and (5) *amladj*, useful against haemorrhoids, in the Eastern and Western Middle Ages considered as a kind of myrobalanus, in fact, however, the fruit of a completely different family of plants, namely the *Phyllanthus emblica* (Euphorbiaceae). However, the nomenclature is not established with certainty.

The fruits were harvested at various stages of ripeness: small, unripe, dried, they served as medicine; the ripe fruits of the size of walnuts were used for the preparation of tannin, which was in high demand. In India, where the myrobalanus tree is indigenous, the fruits were widely used as medicine, especially as stomachics and purgatives; the Tirphala or Triphala ("tri-juiced medicine"), consisting probably of three of the kind mentioned above, was in particular esteemed (cf. al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 186: *tarī abhal ay thalāthat akhlāṭ wa-hiya ahlīladj aṣfar wa-balīladj wa-amladj*). The Arabs mixed the fruits with spices in order to increase their digestive effect. The myrobalanus has now disappeared from the pharmacopoeias in the West, but may still be used here and there in the East; only for the preparation of tannin is it still to be found on the market.

In mathematics the various forms of the term, especially *ihlīladj*, were also used to designate an ellipse (M. Souissi, *La langue des mathématiques en arabe*, Tunis 1968, Nos. 35, 37).

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Ta<u>dh</u>kira, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 62; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, nos. 43, 126; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, ii, Leipzig 1886, 640-3; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*[3], Berlin 1891, 269 f.; *The medical formulary or Aqrābā<u>dh</u>īn of al-Kindī*, tr. M. Levey, Madison, etc. 1966, 342 (no. 314); F. Moattar, *Ismāʿīl Ǧorǧānī und seine Bedeutung für die iranische Heilkunde*, Diss. rer. nat. Marburg 1971, no. 115. (A. DIETRICH)

HALKEVI [see KHALKEVI].

ḤALLĀḲ (A.), lit. "barber", "hairdresser", synonymous with *muzayyin*; the *ḥa<u>djdj</u>ām* ("cupper") [see FAṢṢĀD, in Suppl.] also used to be a part-time barber. The *ḥallāḳ*s formed a group of skilled workers, of mixed social origins. The well-known barber in the Islamic society of Medina was <u>Kh</u>irāsh b. Umayya, who shaved the Prophet Muḥammad's hair. The Prophet had his hair shaved at Minā at the time of the *ḥa<u>djdj</u>*, and Muslims have followed this practice during the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimages ever since.

Some barber's work at the time of the Pilgrimage received attention from the Arab writers, who recorded unusual events. For instance, a *ḥallāḳ* while shaving the hair of Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*], accidentally cut the wart (*<u>th</u>ulūl*) on his head, and this reportedly caused his sickness and death in 20/640, says al-Samhūdī. During the Umayyad period, another *ḥallāḳ* became widely known at the time of the *ḥa<u>djdj</u>* of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [*q.v.*], who paid 5,000 *dirhams* to the *ḥallāḳ* after ritual shaving of his hair. The event illustrates that some barbers received charity from pilgrims in addition to their usual fee. Some Muslims used to have a yearly hair-cut on the Day of Sacrifice (*yawm al-naḥr*), as was the practice of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], and Muslims even today observe this custom.

The *ḥallāḳ* worked at market places and also in public baths in Islamic cities on specific days of the week. During the ʿAbbāsid period, the hairdresser was one of the five regular attendants at every *ḥammām*. The *muḥtasib* demanded expertise from each *ḥallāḳ*, who could neither shave a child's hair without his guardian's permission nor cut a slave's hair without his master's approval. Usually a *ḥallāḳ* received a *dāniḳ* or a *dirham* for each hair-cut. It was also customary for the *ḥallāḳ* to give free hair-cuts to the poorer members of society during the Mamlūk period, writes al-Ib<u>sh</u>īhī. In spite of their useful services, the barber was a person of very humble status, ridiculed by writers. A *ḥallāḳ* could marry only within his own social group, according to the customary law of *kafāʾa*, which imposed similar restrictions on sweepers, weavers, cuppers and grocers. Seldom did a barber attain prominence in early Islamic society, either by acquiring knowledge of Islamic sciences or otherwise. The only known exception to this was Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣūfī al-Muzayyin, the barber who distinguished himself as a practising mystic and a close friend of al-<u>Dj</u>unayd [*q.v.*].

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(M.A.J. BEG)

AL-**HAMA<u>DH</u>ĀNĪ**, ʿAYN AL-ḲUḌĀT [see ʿAYN AL-ḲUḌĀT, in Suppl.].

ḤAMĀDI<u>SH</u>A, or **ḤMĀD<u>SH</u>A** as they are locally called, are the members of a loosely and diversely organised religious confraternity or "path" (*ṭarīḳa*) which traces its spiritual heritage back to two Moroccan saints (*walīs* or *sayyids*) of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, Sīdī Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥamdu<u>sh</u> (d. 1131/1718-9 or 1135/1722-3), popularly called Sīdī ʿAlī and Sīdī Aḥmad D<u>gh</u>u<u>gh</u>ī (?).

Although little is known historically of the two saints, their lives, like the lives of other popular North African saints, are rich in legend. These legends stress the saints' acquisition, possession, and passing on of blessing or *baraka* [*q.v.*]. Sīdī ʿAlī, who is generally recognised as the master of Sīdī Aḥmad, is thought to have derived his teachings from ʿAbd al-Salām b. Ma<u>sh</u>ī<u>sh</u> [*q.v.*] and his student Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-<u>Sh</u>ā<u>dh</u>ilī. (Members of the confraternity recite on occasion a *ḥizb* which they trace to al-<u>Sh</u>ā<u>dh</u>ilī.) Sīdī ʿAlī spent years at the Ḳarawiyyīn University in Fās, and, according to the *Salwat al anfās* of <u>Dj</u>aʿfar al-Kattānī, he is to be classed among the <u>*shaykh*</u>s of the mystical tradition in which the trance (*ḥāl*) is powerful. He would occasionally fall into lion-like rages. Both Sīdī ʿAlī and Sīdī Aḥmad are buried on the south face of the <u>Dj</u>ebel Zarhūn some sixteen miles from the city of Miknās; Sīdī ʿAlī in the village of Banī Rashīd, Sīdī Aḥmad in Banī Warād. Their sanctuaries (*ḳubbas*), which are under the charge of their (putative) descendants (*awlād al-sayyid*), are the object of individual and collective pilgrimages. The latter, the *mūsem* (*mawsim*), takes place each year on the sixth and seventh day after the *mūlūd* (*mawlid*), the Feast of the Prophet's Birthday, and is attended not only by the Ḥmād<u>sh</u>a but by tens of thousands of devotees of the saints.

The Ḥmād<u>sh</u>a are in fact members of one or the other of two distinct confraternities which are closely related and often confused. The ʿAllaliyyīn are the followers of Sīdī ʿAlī and the D<u>gh</u>u<u>gh</u>iyyın of Sīdī Aḥmad. Both brotherhoods have a network of lodges (*zāwiyas*) and teams (*ṭāʾifas*) that extend throughout the principal towns and cities or northern Morocco and through the <u>Gh</u>arb and Zarhūn areas. The Ḥmād<u>sh</u>a brotherhoods, which have neither the membership nor the fame of such popular orders as the ʿĪsāwā [*q.v.*], do not extend across the Moroccan frontier. In a figure that is undoubtedly too low, Draque estimated their membership in 1938 at 3,400. Today, despite a marked decrease in the popularity of the confraternities in Morocco, the Ḥmād<u>sh</u>a's number is considerably greater than Draque's estimate.

The members themselves fall into three distinct classes: the *awlād al-sayyid*, who trace their descent back to their ancestral saint, live principally in the village in which he is buried, and do not usually participate in his ecstatic ceremonies; the *fuḳarāʾ* who are members of lodges (*zāwiyas*) or teams (*ṭāʾifas*); and the devotees, or *muḥibbūn* who are simply attracted to the saint and his cult. Each of

the brotherhoods is in the charge of the head, the *mazwār*, of its respective *awlād al-sayyid*.

The Ḥmādsha are notorious for their practice during trance of slashing their heads with knives or halberds (*shakria*) or beating them with water jugs, iron balls, or clubs studded with nails. The principal ceremony (*sadaka*, *layla*, or *ḥadra*) of the brotherhood is not dissimilar in form to the ceremonies of the ʿĪsāwā, the Djilāla [see ḲĀDIRIYYA], and other popular Maghribī brotherhoods. (It tends to be more simply organised, and more frenetic, in the shanty towns and countryside than in the urban *zāwiyas*.) The ceremony usually begins with at least a perfunctory chanting of popular litanies—there is no standard *dhikr* or *ḥizb* for the brotherhood—and continues with the *ḥadra* or trance-dance. Men and women dance first to the music of drums (*tabl* and *gwal*) and oboe (*ghayṭa*) and then to that of the drums and either a reed recorder (*nīra*) or a guitar (*ganbrī*); they fall first into a light, somnambulistic trance called *ḥāl* and then into a deeper, wilder trance called *djedhba*. It is during *djedhba* that acts of self-mutilation (by men, rarely by women) are performed and animals (pigs and camels) imitated (see ʿĪSĀWĀ).

The *ḥadra* is not understood in terms of a mystical union or communion with God. Rather, the *baraka* of the saint is held responsible for the *ḥāl*; *djedhba* is usually interpreted as possession by a *djinn* (*djinnī*) or more frequently by a *djinniyya*. The most common possessing spirit is the *djinniyya* or *ghūla* ʿĀʾisha Ḳandīsha [*q.v.* above] who is said to manifest herself as either a beauty or a hag, always with the foot of a camel or some other hooved animal. The possessing spirit is thought to respond to a particular musical phrase (*rīḥ*), often accompanied by words, which it finds pleasing. The Ḥmādsha themselves serve primarily as curers of the *djinn*-struck and the *djinn*-possessed. Their aim is less to exorcise permanently the possessing spirit than to establish a symbiotic relationship between the spirit and its victim. Often membership in the brotherhood occurs after a Ḥmādsha cure. Their ceremonies are thought also to bring *baraka* to their sponsor, to those in attendance, and to the ceremonial area itself.

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(V. CRAPANZANO)

AL-**ḤAMAL** [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ].

ḤAMĀSA, the epic genre in Islamic literature.

vi. IN SWAHILI LITERATURE.

In Swahili literature, the word *hamasa* occurs rarely and has the meaning of "virtue, courage, energy". The normal words for "courage, valour" in Swahili literature are *ushujaa, ujasiri, usabiti* and *uhodari*, all words of Arabic version, and so is the word for virtue, *fadhila*. There are only a few non-narrative heroic poems known in Swahili literature, most of them self-praises in true African fashion. The most famous of these is the Ukawafi of Liongo, praising himself, and at the same time an Ode to Freedom: "I am a young eagle. When this iron is broken, I will soar up into the skies, higher than all". [see MADĪḤ. 5. In Swahili].

The vast majority of heroic poetry in Swahili is narrative and composed in the *utenzi* metre of lines of eight syllables; every four lines form a stanza *ubeti* (the word is formed on the basis of *bayt*). The rhyme scheme is *a a a b*, in which *b* represents the rhyme of the last line of every stanza throughout the whole poem; there are in Swahili more than a thousand words ending in *ya*, *ri*, etc. Rhyme in Swahili means the identity of the last syllable, so that *amba, imba, omba, umba* are rhyme-words.

About the life of the semi-mythical poet-hero Liongo we possess a few epic fragments which however, are certainly not contemporary (he lived presumably *ca.* 1010/1600). The oldest datable Swahili epic in Swahili is also the finest ever written in it; the ms. in Hamburg is dated 1141/1728. Its theme is the myth of the Prophet Muḥammad's expedition to Tabūk where according to this legend, he encountered and defeated the Emperor of Constantinople, Heraclius I, hence the epic's title, *Utendi wa Herekali*, or *Chuo cha Tambuka*. The published text (1958) has 1,145 stanzas. The sophisticated structure, the compact language, the intense style and the rich imagery show that it stands at the end of a long evolution of epic poetry of which we have no documentation. All we know is that the *Herekali* had many imitators, none of whom ever reached the powerful diction and the visionary heights of this first epic. The author, Bwana Mwengo b. Athumani, worked for a time at the court of the sultan of Pate, who requested him to versify the Arabic legend (*hadithi*), in "Swahili." Mwengo's son Abu Bakari composed at least one epic on the theme of an other *maghāzī* [*q.v.*] tradition, the *Katirifu*, i.e. the expedition of Muḥammad against king Ghiṭrīf (ms. in SOAS, undated, but probably *ca.* 1750-60). Here follows a list of the major heroic-narrative poems in Swahili.

Abdu-Rahmani. This adventurous son of Abū Bakr, whose bride is a daughter of the infamous Abū Sufyān, fights numerous battles which made him so popular that there are two epic poems about him in Swahili.

Ali. ʿAlī is by far the most popular hero in Swahili epics literature, but so far no complete epic about his life has come to light. His exploits are celebrated in the *Utenzi wa Anzaruni* in which he defeats the *shayṭān* Anẓurnī (cf. Ḳurʾān, VII, 14); in the *Utenzi wa Herekali*; in the *Katirifu*; in the *Rasi'l-Ghuli* (*ca.* 1870), a Swahili versification of the *Futūḥ al-Yaman*, one of the longest Swahili epics (4,300 stanzas) and of course in the epic of Haibara, on the battle of Khaybar [*q.v.*], of which only an incomplete ms. survives. The *Utenzi wa Muhamadi* contains among others the episode of the Battle of the Trench (*Handaki* [see KHANDAḲ]); this epic of the life of Muḥammad is the longest in Swahili literature, and with that, the longest epic ever composed in an African language. The *Utenzi wa Badiri*, the Epic of the Battle of Badr [*q.v.*] is the next in length, with 4,500 stanzas; yet it is not length that makes an epic great literature.

Hajji Chum of Zanzibar (*fl. ca.* 1920) wrote an epic on the Battle of Uḥud which contains some beautifully dramatic scenes; it was edited by H.E. Lambert (East African Literature Bureau in Nairobi; 739 stanzas). Hemedi b. Abdallah al-Buhriy (d. 1922) wrote, apart from the long version of the Abdu-Rahmani mentioned above, an equally long epic about the German conquest of the Swahili Coast in 1884. For the pious Swahili, this was a Holy War

against "Christian" invaders who bombed women and children from their safe warships. It is by far the best modern epic, i.e. one that deals with recent historical events instead of the mainly mythical events set during the life of the Prophet. The only epic set after his life are the three known versions of the life and death of Huseni (i.e. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*]), which shows (as do the Swahili traditions about ʿAlī) that there must have been considerable Shīʿī influence on the East African Coast. The epics that deal with the lives of the prophets before Muḥammad (Ādam, Ayyūb, Mūsā, Yūnus, Yūsuf), and those on the lives of the first Muslim women (Khadīdja, Fāṭima, ʿĀʾisha) are not heroic in the true sense of chivalresque and are left outside the scope of this article.

Bibliography: A complete list of titles, mss. and editions can be found in Knappert, *The canon of Swahili literature*, in B.R. Bloomfield, ed., *Middle East Studies and Libraries . . . for Prof. J.D. Pearson*, London 1980, 85-102. Epic poetry is discussed in Knappert, *Four centuries of Swahili verse*, London 1979, chs. 3, 5, 8; idem, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, ch. 3; text editions: idem, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden 1971, iii; *Utenzi wa Miiraji*, see *Afrika und Uebersee*, xlviii (1964), 241-74; *Katirifu*, in *ibid.*, liii, 81-104, 264-313. The two great works on the Swahili epic are: E. Dammann, *Dichtungen in der Lamu Mundart des Suaheli*, Hamburg 1940, and: J.W.T. Allen, *Tendi*, London 1971.

(J. Knappert)

AL-ḤAMDAWĪ, Abū ʿAlī Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥamdawayhī, better known as al-Ḥamdūnī (this *nisba* being due to a defective reading, cf. al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, iv, 241), minor poet of Baṣra in the 3rd/9th century. From his profession (that of *kātib*, Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iv, 89) and his origin, he belonged to the class of high officials of Persian origin in the ʿAbbāsid administration; his grandfather had been *ʿarīf al-zanādiḳa* under al-Mahdī from 168/784-5 (Goldziher, *Ṣâliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddûs und das Zindîḳthum während der Regierung des Chalifen al-Mahdî*, in *Trans. Congress of Orientalists*, London, ii, 1892, 108).

Nothing is known of his youth; the *Aghānī*[1], xii, 61-2, mentions his relations with the libertine poets of Baṣra ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. al-Muʿadhdhal and Madraṭān. Like them, he does not seem ever to have left Baṣra to seek his fortune in Baghdād. Amongst his patrons, especially notable was Muḥammad b. al-Mughīra b. Ḥarb (genealogy in Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*[2], 369), known as Ibn Ḥarb. This scion of the Muhallabids, governor of Nahr Tīrā and a lover of bacchic sessions, offered a slightly worn *ṭaylasān* to the poet, who was angered and launched a series of ten epigrams at Ibn Ḥarb. Their success—al-Mubarrad's circle seems to have appreciated them, according to al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 550—led al-Ḥamdawī to make the *ṭaylasān* the central motif of his poetry. Other fragments of his attack a descendant of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, the governor of Baṣra and outstanding patron, al-Ḥusayn b. Djaʿfar (*Aghānī*[1], xx, 37) and al-Ḥasan b. Rabāḥ, an aristocratic Baṣran of whom al-Djāḥiẓ thought highly.

Towards the end of al-Ḥamdawī's life there took place the episode of Saʿīd b. Sabandād; a skinny and bony ewe triggered off an incident similar to that of the *ṭaylasān*. The only biographical detail attested is provided by a particularly rancorous distich directed against Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd after his appointment in 248/862 as head of the Correspondence Department (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1515). But after this date, al-Ḥamdawī is no more mentioned.

Al-Ḥamdawī was essentially a satirist. One epigram of his was so boldly drawn that it was attributed, from its high quality, to Abū Nuwās (Ibn al-Ḥidjdja, *Taʾhīl al-gharīb*, ii, 249; Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, ed. Wagner, ii, 152). The interest of his poetry lies in its treatment of themes: here we have a *ṭaylasān* and an ewe raised to the level of literary types (al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1965, 376, 601, 673) and providing points of reference for scholars. Ibn al-Rūmī, Ibn Sukkara and Ibn Ṣārah evoke this famous *ṭaylasān*, and in the 9th/15th century, al-Suyūṭī, follows the same path in his *al-Aḥādīth al-ḥisān fī faḍl al-ṭaylasān* (ms. Escurial 1972, fols. 27b, 29b-30a-b). This *hidjāʾ* of insinuation is thrown into relief by an effort of poetic style which is extremely bravura: *taḍmīn* and metaphors (Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tashbīhāt*, cites him twelve times) brought great delight to the scholars (al-Djurdjānī, *Kināyāt*, 123).

Bibliography: As well as references given above, see Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, index; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 89 = § 3213 and index s.v. Ḥamdūnī; Ḥuṣrī, *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, index; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, 62; Bayhaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, 304, 463; ʿAskarī, *Maʿānī*, index; al-Khālidiyyān, *al-Tuḥaf wa 'l-hadāyā*, index; ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-ʿAbdalkānī, *Ḥamāsat al-ẓurafāʾ*, ms. Istanbul University 1455, fol. 111a; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, ms. Raʾīs al-kuttāb 769, v. 154a, 159 b, 161 a; Aydamīr, *al-Durr al-farīd wa-bayt al-ḳaṣīd*, ms. Fātiḥ 3761, 26 b, 193 a, 354 a; Ḥusayn Ṣabīḥ al-ʿAllāḳ, *al-Shuʿarāʾ al-kuttāb fī 'l-ʿIrāḳ fī 'l-ḳarn al-thālith al-hidjrī*, Beirut 1975, index; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ, ii, 472-3, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vii, 95, 98; Ṣafadī, no. 3994. The poet's *dīwān* has been brought together and published in the Iraqi journal *al-Mawrid*, iii/1 (1974) (additions in iv/1, 1975) by A. Dj. al-Nadjdī; it has been studied by A. Arazi, *Thèmes et style d'al-Ḥamdawī*, in *JA*, cclxvii (1979), 261-307. (A. Arazi)

ḤAMDŪN IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ [see ibn al-ḥādjdj].

ḤAMĪD ḲALANDAR, Ṣūfī mystic and poet of Muslim India.

He was born in Kilōgharī (Dihlī) some time towards the close of Khaldjī period. His father, Mawlānā Tādj al-Dīn, was a devout disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ, and Ḥamīd Ḳalandar visited the Shaykh along with his father when he was a mere child. His father made proper arrangements for Ḥamīd's education, and he completed his studies according to the traditions of his age. When Muslim families were forcibly transplanted by the order of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ from Dihlī to Deogīrī, Ḥamīd also had to move to the Deccan. In Dawlatābād (Deogīrī) he benefited from the company of Mawlānā Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, the *khalīfa* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ, and then in 753/1352-3 returned to Dihlī. In 754/1353 he paid a visit to Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn, the successor of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ. Being informed about his father's association with his master, Shaykh Naṣīr showed him much regard, asking "Mawlānā, how can I address you as Ḳalandar?" (sc. because he was a scholarly man). He told him that once Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ had told his father that the child would live in the fashion of a Ḳalandar [*q.v.*]; he accordingly shaved his head, eye-brows, moustaches, beard, and wore saffron clothes like the Ḳalandars.

Ḥamīd Ḳalandar compiled the *Malfūẓāt* or sayings of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn of Dihlī in Persian, depicting the great Shaykh, *inter alia*, as talking to different people who belonged to the various strata of society and came to the Shaykh's *khānḳāh* with their manifold

problems. The work is characterised by clarity of thought and is free from miracles and other mystical lucubrations. He also left a *Dīwān* of poetry which is not extant, although Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith says that his verses were of poor quality and unimportant. The *Madjmūʿa-yi laṭāʾif wa-safīna*, an early 9th/15th century anthology (B.M. Or. 4110), contains a number of *ḳaṣīdas* composed by Ḥamīd Ḳalandar in praise of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh of Dihlī, showing that he was a courtier also. The statement of Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz [*q.v.*] contains some truth that Mawlānā Ḥamīd and his companions, Mawlānā Ādam, Mawlānā Lādhū Shāh and Mawlānā Sharaf al-Dīn had no genuine aptitude for Ṣūfism, but it is nevertheless correct that Ḥamīd possessed neither a house, nor a wife or a child, and always lived as a Ḳalandar.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1914; Ḥamīd Ḳalandar, *Khayr al-madjālis*, ed. K.A. Nizami, Aligarh 1960; Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusaynī, *Djawāmiʿ al-kalim* (sayings of Shaykh Muhammad Gīsū Darāz) ed. Muhammad Hamid Siddiqui, Kānpur 1356/1937-8; Mīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyāʾ*, Dihlī 1302/1885. (I.H. Siddiqui)

ḤAMĪD al-DĪN ḲĀḌĪ NĀGAWRĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAṭāʾ, Ṣūfī saint and scholar of Muslim India. On becoming a Ṣūfī he came to be known as Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn. Having travelled to different Muslim countries, he came to Dihlī during the reign of Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36 [*q.v.*]) and soon developed an intimacy with Shaykh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, the leading Čishtī saint of Dihlī. He himself belonged to the Suhrawardī order and was the *khalīfa* or chief disciple of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (539-632/1145-1234). Being fond of *samāʿ* (songs sung for the spiritual entertainment of the Ṣūfīs), he made it popular in Dihlī. He is reported to have served in Nāgawr as *ḳāḍī*, thereby acquiring the *nisba* of Nāgawrī. Towards the end of his life he came to Dihlī and died there in 641/1244, being buried near the grave of his friend, Shaykh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Kākī.

Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī was learned in both Arabic and Persian and wrote a number of popular books on religion and Ṣūfism, as well as composing verses. Once Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ quoted to his disciples the opinion of a certain leading scholar of the 7th/13th century who used to tell his pupils "Whatever you study is available in these pages [sc. in the works of the *ḳāḍī*], and whatever you do not know is also contained herein. Whatever (knowledge) I have acquired is based on (his works) and what I do not know is also in his (works)." Amongst his numerous works, only the *Ṭawāliʿ al-shumūs* and *Sharḥ-i Arbaʿīn* (mss. of both in the Ḥabīb Gandj Collection, Mawlānā Āzād Library, Aligarh) are extant. The former explains the meanings of the names of God, while the latter is a commentary on the selected forty traditions of the Prophet relating to gnosis and the love of God. There are extracts from his famous works, the *Lawāʾiḥ* and the *Lawāmiʿ*, contained in the *Akhbar al-akhyār*, and there is a quatrain composed by Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn in praise of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar of Adjōdhan quoted in the *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī* of Biḥamad Khānī.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith Dihlawi, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1309/1891-2; Ghawthī Shaṭṭārī, *Gulzār-i abrār* (a 17th century work), ms. Ḥabīb Gandj Collection, Mawlānā Āzād Library, Aligarh.; Muḥammad Mubārak Kirmānī, known as Mīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyāʾ*, Dihlī 1302/1885; Muḥammad Bihāmad-Khānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī*, ms. British Museum Or. 137; Mīr Ḥasan Sidjzī, *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād* (collection of the table talk of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ), Newal Kishore 1302/1885; Storey, i, 5.

(I.H. Siddiqui)

ḤAMĪD al-DĪN ṢŪFĪ NĀGAWRĪ SIWĀLĪ, Ṣūfī saint of Muslim India. He was the post-humous son of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṣūfī, and allegedly the first child to be born in a Muslim family associated with the ruling class in Dihlī after its conquest by the Turks. When he was a grown-up young man, he became fond of a voluptuous life, but soon became disgusted with it and then decided to devote himself to religion and piety. He entered the circle of the disciples of Shaykh Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī in Adjmer and soon became a devoted Ṣūfī, repenting of his past sins and adopting a life of poverty. Being impressed by his sincerity and devotion, his *pīr* gave him the title of *Sulṭān al-tārikīn* "monarch of recluses", and he was also given a *khilāfat-nāma*, i.e. permission to enrol disciples.

Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn finally settled down in Siwāl, a small village adjacent to Nāgawr, where he lived in a thatched house and dressed himself like a peasant, using two sheets of cloth to cover the upper and the lower parts of the body; he lived frugally and earned his livelihood by ploughing the land, never establishing any contact with the members of the ruling class nor accepting any aid from the state. He owned a cow that he milked himself, and was a strict vegetarian. His death took place in 674/1276 at an advanced age.

He was of the early Čishtī saints who made the order popular and widely-known in India. It is interesting to note that he lived and worked as a Ṣūfī in rural surroundings, while all the leading Ṣūfīs tended to live in the urban centres. He composed verses and wrote on religious problems, and his letters, addressed to Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ Suhrawardī of Multān and other persons were very famous during mediaeval times. He wrote treatises also on Ṣūfism, the extracts from which are to be found in Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī's *Akhbār al-akhyār*.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1309/1891-2; Sayyid Muḥammad Mubārak Kirmānī, known as Mīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyāʾ*, Dihlī 1302/1885; *Surūr al-budūr*, an anonymous work, but certainly written by one of the grandsons of Ḥāmīd al-Dīn Ṣūfī Nāgawrī, as the contents reveal, ms. Ḥabīb Gandj Collection, Mawlānā Āzād Library, Aligarh.; Storey, i, 6, 1192. (I.H. Siddiqui)

ḤAMZA MAKHDŪM, Ṣūfī saint of the Kubrawiyya. He was the son of Bābā ʿUthmān, of Rādjpūt descent, and was born in about 900/1494-5. He studied in the famous *madrasa* in Srīnagar known as Dār al-Shifāʾ, which was founded by Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh (876-89/1472-84). He studied the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* and Ṣūfism under able teachers like Bābā Ismāʿīl Kubrawī, the principal of the *madrasa* and a great scholar of his time, his son Mullā Fatḥ Allāh Shīrāzī and Mullā Luṭf Allāh. After completing his education, Ḥamza Makhdūm became a follower of the Kubrawī order. He exhorted the Muslims to adhere to the *Sharīʿa* and to give up all un-Islamic beliefs and practices which they had borrowed from the non-Muslims. He was also one of the leaders of the movement against Shīʿīsm, which had begun to spread in the Valley in the first half of the 10th/16th century due to the efforts of Mīr Shams al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī and his followers. Ḥamza Makhdūm, therefore, undertook tours in the Valley to prevent the spread of Shīʿīsm and also to propagate Islamic fundamentalism. Ghāzī Shāh Čak (968-70/1561-3), the first

ruler of the Čak dynasty, being a staunch Shīʿī, banished him from Srīnagar to Bīrū, a village 20 miles away. He was allowed to return to Srīnagar by Sulṭān Ḥusayn Shāh (970-8/1563-70), who was a liberal ruler. But Ḥamza Makhdūm did not give up his anti-Shīʿī activities and was a party to inviting the Emperor Akbar to conquer Kashmīr and save Sunnism. He died at the age of 84 and was buried on the slope of the Harīparbat hillock in Srīnagar, below Akbar's fort. He is greatly revered by the Kashmīrīs, who hold his anniversary every year and visit his tomb in large numbers.

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HANAFITES [see ḤANAFIYYA].

HANDASA [see ʿILM AL-HANDASA].

HANDŽIĆ (AL-**KHĀNDJĪ**), MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ṢĀLIḤ B. MUḤAMMAD, a leading Bosnian Muslim and Arabic author who was born in Saray Bosna about 1909. He received his early education in Bosnia, and his higher education at al-Azhar in Cairo, where he was admitted to the degree of *al-ʿālimiyya*. After this he performed the *ḥadjdj* with his father, and returned to his native country to teach. He belonged to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, and followed the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya in *fiḳh*. He died at Saray Bosna on 29 July, 1944.

During his short literary career he contributed both to the international literature of Islam, with his various works on theology, and to the Arabic literature of Yugoslavia with his poetry, his works dealing with various aspects of the local history of the Muslims in Bosnia, and his literary study *al-Djawhar al-asnā fī tarādjim ʿulamāʾ wa-shuʿarāʾ Būsna*. In addition to the latter work his published writings include a commentary on *Risālat Ḥayāt al-anbiyāʾ* by Aḥmad al-Bayhaḳī, a commentary on *al-Kalim al-ṭayyib* of Aḥmad b. Taymiyya and *Risālat al-Ḥaḳḳ al-ṣaḥīḥ fī ithbāt nuzūl Sayyidinā al-Masīḥ*. A number of his works remain unpublished, including some Arabic poems and a supplement to Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa's *Kashf al-ẓunūn*.

Bibliography: Zakī Muḥammad Mudjāhid, *al-Aʿlām al-sharḳiyya fi 'l-miʾa al-rābiʿa ʿashra al-hidjriyya*, ii, Cairo 1950, 174; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, xi, Damascus 1960, 280; for his unpublished works, see K. Dobrača, *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya wa'l-turkiyya wa'l-fārisiyya*, i, Sarajevo 1963, *passim*; R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, *An exposition of the Islamic doctrine of Christ's Second Coming, as presented by a Bosnian Muslim scholar*, in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, v (1974), 127-37.

(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

AL-**ḤĀRITH** B. **KALADA** B. ʿAMR B. ʿILĀDJ AL-THAḲAFĪ (d. 13/634-5), traditionally considered as the oldest known Arab physician.

It is nevertheless difficult to pin down his personality. He came originally from al-Ṭāʾif, where he was probably born a few years after the middle of the 6th century A.D., and is said to have been a lute-player (trained in Persia?) before studying medicine at Gondēshāpūr [*q.v.*] and, adds Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 47, tr. Blachère, Paris 1935, 99) with small probability, in the Yemen. He became the "physician of the Arabs", acquiring great fame, and according to some late sources had relations with the Persians, even to the point that he is supposed to have had with one of the Kisrās—unhesitatingly identified with Khusraw Anushirwān, who however died in 579 A.D.—a long conversation in the course of which he was led into revealing to the monarch the principles behind his medical treatments (see especially, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1965, vi, 373-6; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿ, *Aṭibbāʾ*, ed. Müller, i, 110-11). A document of this kind, which leads one to believe that Ibn Kalada was the author of a treatise on hygiene (see also al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*, ii, 101-3), is clearly apocryphal, but it undoubtedly contains some of the aphorisms current among the Arabs of the time, remembrance of which has not entirely disappeared. It is mainly a question of pieces of advice on food and sexual hygiene which investigators of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries were able to gather together.

Since al-Ḥārith also practised at Mecca, on various occasions he tended Muḥammad, it is related, before his mission, and there are naturally attributed to him some spectacular cures of a patently folkloric nature. Among these figures his treatment of a youth whose illness, difficult to diagnose, was simply an impossible love which he felt for his sister-in-law (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Akhbār al-nisāʾ*, Cairo 1319, 21-2, citing al-Aṣmaʿī; cf. R. Basset, *Mille et un contes*, etc., Paris 1926, ii, 74-5, who brings forward several variants of this tale and points out its resemblance to the intervention of the physician Erasistratos with Antiochus). According to a legend of anti-Umayyad origin, when the wife of Yūsuf al-Thaḳafī, who had had al-Ḥārith as her first husband, brought al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] into the world, Satan appeared amidst the family in the form of Ibn Kalada and made the baby drink some blood because he was refusing his mother's breast; this was the origin of the bloodthirsty nature of the great governor (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 288-9 = §§ 2052-3).

The biographers also lay emphasis on one of his cures which had far-reaching consequences, that performed at al-Ṭāʾif on a person described as a king of Yemen called Abu 'l-Khayr (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 288) or else al-Nūshadjān [b. Wahrīz] (Yāḳūt, s.v. Zandaward), or even simply a Yashkurī of Kaskar (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/a, 163); the sick man, now cured of leprosy, showed his gratitude by presenting to al-Ḥārith the famous Sumayya, who came originally from Zandaward and had belonged to the Persian emperor. This explicatory story is already fairly suspect, but may contain a basis of truth; it is difficult to make out subsequent events because of the anti-Umayyad traditions which have obscured things. This Sumayya, who is moreover sometimes mixed up with the mother of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*], Summayya bint Khubāṭ (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 256), had several children: the third one, Ziyād [*q.v.*], gave rise to the well-known controversies; the second, Nufayʿ, known historically by his *kunya* of Abū Bakra [*q.v.*], was not recognised by al-Ḥārith, who gave out that his father was one his slaves called Masrūḥ; as for the first child, Nāfiʿ, several sources (in particular, al-Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*) make him the son of al-Ḥārith, but Ibn al-Kalbī (-Caskel, Tab. 118) only mentions a Nāfiʿ b. Kalada, who would accordingly be the brother of the physician. Without becoming aware of a contradiction, since he affirms that al-Ḥarith was childless, Ibn Ḳutayba (*loc. cit.*) attributes to him a daughter Azda who was the wife of ʿUtba b. Ghazwān [*q.v.*]; the latter brought his three brothers-in-law to Baṣra and employed Ziyād as a secretary (see also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/a, 164). Complicating the situation even further, Ibn

Ḥabīb (*Muḥabbar*, 460) further cites another daughter of al-Ḥāri<u>th</u>, Ḳilāba, who married a distant cousin, ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr b. ʿAwf (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 118).

It can be seen that this family history is very difficult to disentangle, and it offers a characteristic example of the confusions brought about by the efforts of many *mawālī* to provide themselves with an Arab genealogy and, in this particular case, by the fierce political propaganda aimed at blackening the Umayyad's names. According to the information mentioned above, Sumayya was apparently married at least once, since it was her husband ʿUbayd who was the alleged father of Ziyād. Now the historical sources reflect, in regard to Muʿāwiya's recognition of Ziyād's position as collateral relative (*istilḥāḳ*), an anti-Umayyad tradition according to which Sumayya was a prostitute, which makes this "physician of the Arabs" a procurer, since she had been installed at his instigation in the *ḥārat al-ba<u>gh</u>āyā* in al-Ṭāʾif in return for paying him a share of her earnings (al-Masʿūdī *Murū<u>dj</u>*, v, 22, 24 = § 1778, 1781). Logically, the physiognomists ought to have intervened and pronounced upon the father of each of her children [see BI<u>GH</u>Āʾ, above], but the sources say nothing about this.

Al-Ḥāri<u>th</u> b. Kalada probably gave up this latter activity—if indeed the information about it is authentic—after he was converted to Islam and had acquired the status of one of the Prophet's Companions. According to a tradition which has clearly been reshaped (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 2127-8; al-Masʿūdī, *Murū<u>dj</u>*, iv, 184 = § 1518; cf. *al-Fa<u>kh</u>rī*, ed. Derenbourg, 133), Abū Bakr was poisoned by the Jews, and al-Ḥāri<u>th</u>, who had shared his meal, lost his sight and died soon afterwards.

One discerns that, if the historical existence of the "physician of the Arabs" cannot be put in doubt, his personality is surrounded by a host of legends which have secured a foothold in the historical and biographical literature and which make very difficult all attempts to disentangle the true from the false.

As well as the treatise on hygiene attributed to him, there are some verses given under his name, notably the following (al-ʿAskarī, *Sināʿatayn*, 123): "There are some people who shower strangers with their beneficence, whilst they afflict their relatives with unhappiness right till death".

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): <u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Bu<u>kh</u>alāʾ*, ed. Ḥā<u>dj</u>irī, 98, tr. Pellat, 159; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, index; Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Futūḥ*, 343; Ibn <u>Dj</u>ul<u>dj</u>ul, *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, Cairo 1955, 54; Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, 161-2; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *Aṭibbāʾ*, i, 109-13; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, ii, 231, iii, 370; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index; Marzubānī, *Muʿ<u>dj</u>am*, 172; Ibn Ḥa<u>dj</u>ar, *Iṣāba*, no. 1475; Tabrīzī, *<u>Sh</u>arḥ al-Ḥamāsa*, 252; Leclerc, *Médecine arabe*, i, 26-8; Hamidullah, *Le Prophète de l'Islam*, 41, 317, 505; L. Massignon and R. Arnaldez, *La science arabe*, Paris 1957, i, 444; D.M. Dunlop, *Arabic science in the West*, Karachi n.d., 2; M.S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionnelle dans le Constantinois*, Strasbourg 1966, 9. (CH. PELLAT)

AL-ḤĀRI<u>TH</u>Ī, ṢĀLIḤ B. ʿALĪ (1250-1314/1834-96), prominent Ibāḍī leader of the second half of the 19th century and paramount *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>* (*tamīma*) of the confederation of tribes of Eastern ʿUmān known as the <u>Sh</u>arḳiyya Hināwīs.

This regional grouping began to crystallise under Hir<u>th</u> leadership during the civil war that marked the collapse of the Yaʿāriba Imāmate in the first half of the 18th century and continued to develop as one of the major political groupings around which the loyalties of the tribal moiety divisions within ʿUmān tended to polarise in times of crisis, the so-called Hināwī and <u>Gh</u>āfirī *<u>sh</u>affs* (alliances). Within the Ḥir<u>th</u> clan itself, leadership was shared by three family groupings, the senior to which Ṣāliḥ belonged, with its "capital" (*ʿāṣima*) at al-Ḳābil; a cadet branch (the Āl Ḥumayd) at nearby al-Muḍayrib; and the third controlling the original clan settlement of Lower Ibrā (whence the *nisba* Barwānī, var. Barvānī, in East African sources). These divisions were particularly important in the politics of Zanzibar where members of the Ḥir<u>th</u> tended to dispute the leadership of the old-established ʿUmānī settlers (most of whom originated in the <u>Sh</u>arḳiyya); but at home, the paramount leadership of the Ḳābil branch seems to have been firmly established by at least the beginning of the 19th century, for ʿĪsā b. Ṣāliḥ, Ṣāliḥ's great-grandfather, is mentioned in the sources as being leader of the <u>Sh</u>arḳiyya Hināwīs from the beginning until the middle of the century.

In the latter part of his life, ʿĪsā joined the opposition to Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (sultan *ca.* 1804-56) in ʿUmān. His grandson, ʿAlī b. Nāṣir (Ṣāliḥ's father), on the other hand, was a strong supporter of Sayyid Saʿīd in his East African domain; at one time he was Saʿīd's governor in Mombasa, later his envoy to England. He was killed in Saʿīd's service at the battle of Siu during the campaign against the Mazārīʿ of Pate (winter 1844-5).

Ṣāliḥ himself seems to have come strongly under the influence of his great-grandfather and was brought up in the tribal environment at al-Ḳābil. It was ʿĪsā who was also presumably responsible for sending him to study with Saʿīd b. <u>Kh</u>alfān al-<u>Kh</u>alīlī (1820?-71), one of the Ibāḍī *ʿulamāʾ* with whom he had been involved in the abortive attempts to promote Ḥumūd b. ʿAzzān as *Imām* during the mid-1840s. Following the death of Sayyid Saʿīd, the Ibāḍī movement profited from the succession disputes and tended to cultivate the aspirations of members of the Ḳays b. al-Imām Aḥmad branch of the Āl Bū Saʿīd from Rustāḳ in ʿUmān and of Sayyid Bar<u>gh</u>a<u>sh</u> b. Saʿīd in Zanzibar. Ṣāliḥ's first appearance in this political scene was during his sole recorded visit to Zanzibar in Sayyid Mā<u>dj</u>id b. Saʿīd's time (sultan 1856-70); there he became involved in Sayyid Bar<u>gh</u>a<u>sh</u>'s attempt to depose his brother with the help of the Ḥir<u>th</u> and other Ibāḍī leaders. After the failure of this coup in 1859, Ṣāliḍ took refuge in Somalia for a couple of years, during which time he completed his formal studies.

Upon his return to ʿUmān, he immediately became involved in the increasingly complex political situation which revolved around the Āl Bū Saʿīd dynastic struggle, by now exacerbated by the Canning award of 1861 which divided Zanzibar from ʿUmān, the Ibāḍī movement which tended to look for tribal support from the Hināwī faction in central ʿUmām, Wahhābī expansionism and increasing British intervention in ʿUmānī affairs. Eventually, in September 1868, the parricide sultan, Sālim b. <u>Th</u>uwaynī (sultan 1866-8), was evicted from Muscat by a tribal force drawn from the Rustāḳ and Bāṭina Hināwīs under ʿAzzān b. Qays and the <u>Sh</u>arḳiyya Hināwis led by Ṣalīḥ b. ʿAlī; thereupon ʿAzzān was elected an *Imām* with limited power (a *ḍaʿīf Imām*) under the sponsorship of the then leading *ʿulamāʾ*, Saʿīd b. <u>Kh</u>alfān al-<u>Kh</u>alīlī (who was also paramount leader of the Hināwī Banī Ruwāḥa), Muḥammad b. Sulayyim al-<u>Gh</u>āribī (from the Bāṭina Yāl Saʿd) and Ṣāliḥ.

In 1871 Turkī b. Saʿīd re-established the sultanate with a G͟hāfirī tribal army, encouraged by the British and financially aided by his brother Mād͟jid from Zanzibar. ʿAzzān was killed in the siege of the capital and Saʿīd b. K͟halfān al-K͟halīlī murdered after he had eventually been persuaded to surrender by the British Agent in Muscat. From then onwards, Ṣāliḥ directed the Ibāḍī movement until his death in 1896.

In the Ibāḍī literature Ṣāliḥ is described as *al-Imām al-muḥtasib*, that is, an *ʿālim* with the dependability and integrity to lead and advise the Muslim community until such time as an *Imām* can be properly elected. It was in this guise that he continued his attacks, with the support of the S͟harḳiyya Hināwīs and their *badw* Wahība allies, on the sultans in Muscat (1874, 1877, 1895), and against dissident tribesmen, notably the campaign in 1894 against the Banī S͟huhaym of the Wādī Damā, who were the shaikhly clan of the Masākira, the Ḥirt͟h's great rivals in Ibrā, and in 1896 against the Banū D͟jābir, leaders of the G͟hāfirī confederation of central ʿUmān who were harrying the Raḥbiyyān allies of the S͟harḳiyya Hināwīs. It was during the latter attack that he met his death, struck by a bullet in the thigh at al-D͟jayla.

During the first part of this period, Ṣāliḥ's main aim seems to have been that of undermining the position of Turkī b. Saʿīd (Sultan 1871-88), but after the failure of the 1877 attack he largely confined his activities to intriguing against the régime at Muscat and in maintaining his political authority in the interior. In Fayṣal b. Turkī's time, on the other hand, he does seem to have had ideas of sponsoring Saʿūd, a son of ʿAzzān b. Ḳays, as a candidate for the Imāmate. Ṣāliḥ was succeeded by his eldest son ʿĪsā (d. 1946) who, with another of his former pupils, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī (d. 1914), were to play a major part in restoring the Imāmate in central ʿUmān in 1913.

Ṣāliḥ's surviving literary work is a collection of *d͟jawābāt*, arranged in 1916-17 by A. Walīd Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd b. K͟halīfayn al-Ḥārit͟hī, later *ḳāḍī* of the *Imām* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-K͟halīlī (*Imām* 1920-54), under the title *ʿAyn al-maṣāliḥ* (see Bibliography).

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(J.C. WILKINSON)

HARNESS, TRAPPINGS [see K͟HAYL].

HARPOON [see ṢAYD].

AL-**ḤASAN** B. AL-**ḲĀSIM** B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. AL-ḲĀSIM B. AL-ḤASAN B. ZAYD B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, AL-DĀʿĪ ILA ʾL-ḤAḲḲ ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, Zaydī ruler of Ṭabaristān, was born in 263 or 264/876-8, probably in north-western Iran.

Nothing is known about his life before he joined the Zaydī *imām* al-Ḥasan al-Uṭrūs͟h [*q.v.*] al-Nāṣir li ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ while the latter was active in converting the Daylamīs and Gīlīs east of the Safīd-rūd to Islam. He was commander of the vanguard of al-Nāṣir's army in the great victory over the Sāmānid army under Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Ṣuʿlūk on the river Būrrūd͟h, west of S͟hālūs in D͟jumādā II 301/January 914 which led to the conquest of Ṭabaristān by al-Nāṣir. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim pursued the fleeing enemy and on his return ordered the massacre of some 5,000 K͟hurāsānian soldiers descending from the fortress of S͟hālūs, denying knowledge of a promise of safety which al-Nāṣir had given them. During the reign of al-Nāṣir in Ṭabaristān, he remained in control of the army, though a rivalry and enmity developed between him and al-Nāṣir's son Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim D͟jaʿfar, especially after the latter was appointed governor of Sāriya in 302/914-15. Al-Ḥasan conspired to depose al-Nāṣir with some Gīlī and Daylamī chiefs, whom he had been sent to recruit with their tribes. When they arrived in Āmul, he arrested al-Nāṣir and imprisoned him in a castle in Lārid͟jān. Shortly afterwards, however, the Gīlī chief Līlī b. al-Nuʿmān arrived from Sāriya calling for support of al-Nāṣir, and al-Ḥasan was deserted by most of his supporters. As al-Nāṣir was restored to the rule, he tried to flee but was apprehended and brought before the *imām*, who pardoned him and permitted him to leave for Gīlān. Some time later al-Nāṣir, upon the intercession of his son Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn Aḥmad, recalled him, granted him the title *al-Dāʿī ila ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ* and married a daughter of Aḥmad to him. Earlier he had apparently been married to a daughter of al-Nāṣir. Then al-Nāṣir appointed him governor of Gurgān and ordered his son D͟jaʿfar to assist him. The latter, however, worked against him and deserted him when he was attacked by a (Sāmānid?) army of Turks. Al-Dāʿī was forced to retreat and then besieged in a fortress near Astarābād, probably in winter 304/916-17. Eventually he escaped with a handful of men and went to Āmul and from there to Gīlān.

After the death of al-Nāṣir in S͟haʿbān 304/February 917, Aḥmad, in accordance with the wishes of his father, recalled him from Gīlān and surrendered the rule to him. D͟jaʿfar, however, reproached his brother for this and defected, first joining the Sāmānid governor of Rayy and then going to Gīlān to gather supporters. Aḥmad remained loyal and subdued the Bāwandid Ispahbad S͟harwīn b. Rustam and the Ḳārinid S͟hahriyār, rulers of the highlands of Ṭabaristān, forcing them to pay a higher tribute to al-Dāʿī, but he prevented him from putting them to death. Then he was sent against the Sāmānid general Ilyās b. Ilyasaʿ, who had seized Gurgān, and defeated him. Al-Dāʿī and Aḥmad occupied Gurgān but were forced to withdraw to Tamīs͟ha before another Sāmānid army under Ḳarātakīn. Aḥmad now deserted al-Dāʿī and joined D͟jaʿfar in Gīlān. On 5 D͟hu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 306/12 April 919 D͟jaʿfar defeated al-Dāʿī and took possession of Ṭabaristān, whilst al-Dāʿī sought refuge with the Ispahbad Muḥammad b. S͟hahriyār in the mountains. The latter seized him and sent him to the D͟justānid ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān, ʿAbbāsid governor of Rayy, who imprisoned him in the fortress of Alamūt. He was released after the murder of ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān by the latter's brother

Khusraw Fīrūz and went to Gīlān to seek support. In Djumādā II 307/November 919 he retook Āmul while the two sons of al-Nāṣir were absent in Gurgān. He defeated Aḥmad near Astarābād and then won him over by offering to share the rule with him. Dja'far, who had remained in Gurgān and was deserted by his army, fled to Gīlān. In 308/921 Līlī b. al-Nu'mān, al-Dā'ī's governor of Gurgān, conquered Dāmghān, Nīshāpūr and eventually Marw, introducing the *khuṭba* for the 'Alid. He was defeated by a large Sāmānid army and killed near Ṭūs in Rabī' I 309/July-August. When the defeated army returned to Gurgān, a group of Daylamī and Gīlī leaders conspired to depose al-Dā'ī and to put Aḥmad on the throne. Informed about the plot, al-Dā'ī hastened to Gurgān and during a reception killed seven of them, among them Harūsindān b. Tīrdādh, the king of the Gīl. This ruthless punishment of the plotters led to a defection of many Daylamīs and Gīlīs to the Sāmānids and eventually caused his downfall.

In 310/922-3 al-Dā'ī and Aḥmad were defeated by the Sāmānid general Sīmdjūr al-Dawātī at Djalāyīn in the region of Gurgān and were forced to retreat to Tamīsha. Aḥmad recovered Gurgān on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 310/22 March 923 and was entrusted with the government of the town while al-Dā'ī ruled in Āmul. Shortly afterwards, however, Aḥmad made again common cause with his brother Dja'far who had revolted in Gīlān against al-Dā'ī. Aḥmad attacked al-Dā'ī in Āmul but was defeated and joined Dja'far in Gīlān. The two brothers then invaded Ṭabaristān, supported by several Daylamī and Gīlī leaders, among them Mākān b. Kākī [*q.v.*] and Asfār b. Shīrūya [see ASFĀR B. SHĪRAWAYHĪ]]. Al-Dā'ī fled, first to Sāriya and then into the highlands while Aḥmad took over the rule in Āmul on 28 Djumādā I 311/11 September 923. After Aḥmad's death two months later and the succession of Dja'far, al-Dā'ī attacked Āmul but was deserted by his supporters and sought again refuge in the mountains and later in Gīlān. Only after Mākān, having been involved in a conspiracy, was expelled from Ṭabaristān, did al-Dā'ī gain again a powerful supporter. Early in 314/spring 926 Mākān seized Āmul, expelling the ruling 'Alid, Aḥmad's son Abū Dja'far Muḥammad, and brought al-Dā'ī from Gīlān to restore him to power. At this time the Sāmānid Aḥmad b. Naṣr tried to invade Ṭabaristān, but was encircled in the mountains and forced to pay a ransom of 20,000 *dīnārs* to al-Dā'ī for his release. Disapproving of the conduct of Mākān, al-Dā'ī once more left for Gīlān. Mākān kept urging him to return and, on his protest, immediately released Abū Dja'far Muhammad, al-Dā'ī's brother-in-law, whom he had seized and imprisoned. Eventually al-Dā'ī rejoined Mākān in Āmul, and in 316/926 they set out on an ambitious campaign of conquest and took Rayy from its Sāmānid governor early in Sha'bān/latter half of September. Their absence from Ṭabaristān was used by Asfār, who was ruling Gūrgān under Sāmānid overlordship, to invade that country. Al-Dā'ī quickly returned to Āmul with 500 men, but failed to get the support of the people there on which he had counted. He was defeated outside Āmul and on his flight was killed by Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār, who thus avenged the death of his uncle Harūsindān, on 24 Ramaḍān 316/11 November 928.

Al-Dā'ī was popular as a ruler in Ṭabaristān and was clearly preferred to his rivals of the descendants of al-Nāṣir. He is highly praised in the account of Ibn Isfandiyār and in other sources for his justice for restraining the Daylamī and Gīlī army from transgressions, for patronising scholars and poets and for building *madrasas* and *khānaḳāhs*. The Kūfan Zaydī supporters of al-Nāṣir also preferred him to the sons of the *imām*, and pressed the latter to appoint him as his successor. He never gained, however, recognition as a Zaydī *imām*, evidently because he lacked the necessary qualifications of religious scholarship. The renunciation of any claim to the Zaydī imāmate may have been expressed in the title *al-Dā'ī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ* which was chosen for him by al-Nāṣir (see W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 154 f.).

Bibliography: Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 5-8; Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī, *K. al-Tādjī*, ms. Ṣan'ā', fols. 9a-11b; Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiḳ, *al-Ifāda*, mss., in the biography of al-Uṭrūsh al-Nāṣir; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1941, i, 269, 272-92; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 62, 74, 90 f., 121 f., 138 f.; Ibn 'Inaba, *'Umdat al-ṭālib*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl al-Ṭāliḳānī, Nadjaf 1380/1961, 83 f., 91, 309; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, 55 f.; W. Madelung, *Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī on the Alids of Ṭabaristān and Gīlān*, in *JNES*, xxvi (1967), 31-41; S. M. Stern, *The coins of Āmul*, in *NC*, 7th ser., vii (1967), 216-20.

(W. MADELUNG)

AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤANAFIYYA, grandson of 'Alī and half-brother of Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*], important member of the Hāshimī clan in Medina, author of the two earliest texts so far known of Islamic theology.

During the final crisis of Mukhtār's revolt in Kūfa (67/687) he decided to join the movement; he arrived, however, too late and went on to Nisibis where a certain Abū Ḳārib Budayr b. Abī Ṣakhr directed the last pocket of "Khashabī" resistance against the troups of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, who supported Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr (cf. for this episode, *Aghānī*[2], vi, 50, ll. 9 ff., where the name of Budayr is misread as Yazīd, and the Syriac author John of Phenek, in A. Mingana, *Sources syriaques*, Leipzig 1907, i[2], 183* ff.; also the sources given by W. al-Ḳāḍī, in *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islam-wissenschaft Göttingen 1974*, 297, n. 9). He was captured and imprisoned by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, but managed to escape to his father Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya in Minā. When, after the collapse of Ibn al-Zubayr's anti-caliphate, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya decided to pay allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik in 73/693, al-Ḥasan, amongst all members of the clan, drew the most spectacular consequences from this step: he wrote an open letter, later on known as his *K. al-Irdjā'*, in which he implicitly declared Mukhtār's allegiance to his father to have been nothing more than intrusion and imposture and where he pleaded for postponing (*irdjā'*) any judgment upon "those who first participated in the schism of the community" (*ahl al-furḳa al-uwal*), i.e. upon 'Uthmān and his own grandfather 'Alī. This astonishing attitude against the claims of his family seems to have been born out of the insight that 'Abd al-Malik's reconciliatory policy towards dissident political groups deserved some recognition and that the daemonising view of history proferred by the few remaining followers of Mukhtār at Kūfa, who were known as Saba'iyya at this time (and not yet as Kaysāniyya), was too sectarian in order to have any future. Whether the caliph exerted any pressure, especially with respect to the weak financial situation of the 'Alids, is difficult to substantiate. Al-Ḥasan had his letter recited in different places by 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, a Meccan *mawlā* with whom he was on

friendly terms, but he also personally made propaganda for his ideas in Kūfa. In spite of a certain success, he could not avoid criticism, and only a few years later those who were considered to be "Murdji'ites" in Kūfa gave up the political passivity intended by al-Ḥasan's notion of *irdjā'* and joined the uprising of Ibn al-Ash'ath, especially in its final phase (82/701). Al-Ḥasan seems, however, to have been responsible for the invention of this term, which was to have a rather multifacetted history in early Islam.

In addition to the *K. al-Irdjā'*, he appears as the author of an extensive refutation of the Ḳadariyya which may have been composed only shortly afterwards, perhaps during the religious discussions preceding and accompanying the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath. The treatise does not yet refer to the *Risāla* written by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to 'Abd al-Malik, and it is ignorant of certain Ḳadarī doctrines developed there, but it presupposes the existence of a rather elaborate Ḳadarī theology, which it attacks on rational as well as on exegetical grounds. Against his opponents, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya stresses the omnipotence of God also with respect to human actions, but he does not say that God forces man to act against his will (only this would be *djabr* in his view). With al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and other Ḳadarīs, he shares a synergistic concept, but whereas the Ḳadariyya interpreted God's "leading astray" as a mere secondary reaction which is justified by man's sin, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya sees sin as the result of the withdrawal of God's "support" (*tawfīḳ*). In his discussion of omnipotence he does not yet differentiate between divine predestination and divine foreknowledge. The treatise is structured in the form of hypothetical questions and answers (*in ḳāla ... ḳulnā*) and as such represents the earliest example of *kalām* literarure in Islam. It is not preserved in its entirety, but in extensive fragments embedded in a later refutation written by the Zaydī *imām* al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ (245-98/859-911; cf. the edition in Muḥammad 'Imāra, *Rasā'il al-'adl wa 'l-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1971, ii, 118 ff.).

Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya also enjoyed a high reputation as a jurist. A few *fatwās* of his are mentioned in later sources: on the appropriate distribution of the *khums* (which was a political problem because of the definition of the *dhu 'l-ḳurbā*), on *mut'a* marriage (which he prohibited, in contrast to later Imāmī opinion), on the unlawfulness of having more than four wives at the same time (cf. Makḥūl al-Nasafī, *al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bida'*, Ms. Oxford, Pococke 271, fol. 45a, ll. 4 ff.), and on the unlawfulness of eating the meat of the domesticated donkey (against 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās). Ibn Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] took over from him some traditions about the life of the Prophet; al-Zuhrī seems to have been closely associated with him. He died at an uncertain date; but this must have been either during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik (i.e. before 86/705), in 95/714 or during the caliphate of 'Umar II (99-101/717-20) at the latest.

Bibliography: W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 228 ff.; Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi 'l-ta'rīkh wa 'l-adab*, Beirut 1974, index s.v.; J. van Ess, *Das Kitab al-Irǧā' des Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya*, in *Arabica*, xxi (1974), 20 ff. (cf. the additions in *Arabica*, xxii [1975], 48 ff.).; idem, *The beginnings of Islamic theology*, in J.E. Murdoch and E.D. Sylla (eds.), *The cultural context of medieval learning*, Dordrecht 1975, 87 ff.; idem, *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, Beirut 1977: edition, translation, and commentary of the fragments of al-Ḥāsan's refutation of the Ḳadariyya, and collection of the biographical material (with further references).

(J. VAN ESS)

ḤASAN B. NŪḤ B. YŪSUF B. MUḤAMMAD B. ĀDAM AL-BHARŪČĪ AL-HINDĪ, Musta'lī-Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlī savant.

According to his own statement he was born and brought up in Khambhāt (Cambay) in India, and received his early education there. It is not known when and by whom the surname "Bharūčī", sc. from Bharūč or Broach, [see BHAROČ], was given to him. Urged on by a thirst for knowledge, he states, he renounced family, left his country, travelled to Yaman, and became a student of Ḥasan b. Idrīs, the twentieth *dā'ī muṭlaḳ*. The books read by him with his teacher in various branches of the *'ulūm al-da'wa* are fully described in the introduction to his *Kitāb al-Azhār*. He was also closely associated with 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Idrīs and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Idrīs, who later became the twenty-second and twenty-third *dā'ī muṭlaḳs*. He was the mentor of Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, the twenty-fourth *dā'ī muṭlaḳ*, and died on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 939/4 June 1533.

His claim to fame is rightly based on his voluminous work *Kitāb al-Azhār wa-madjma' al-anwār al-malḳūṭa min basātīn al-asrār*. It is a chrestomathy of Ismā'īlī literature in seven volumes wherein many earlier works, otherwise lost, are preserved either in full or in part. It also contains extensive excerpts from Sunnī and Zaydī works, especially on the life and character of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]. Volume one was edited by 'Ādil al-'Awwā in *Muntakhabāt Ismā'īliyya*, Damascus 1958, 181-250, whereas the remaining volumes are in manuscript. Major subjects of each volume are described in I. Poonawala, *Bibliography of Ismā'īlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 178-83.

Bibliography: The main biographical source is the author's own work *Kitāb al-Azhār*, i, 186 ff.; Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Madjdū', *Fihrist*, ed. 'Alī Naḳī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 77-88.

(I. POONAWALA)

ḤASAN, MĪR GHULĀM (1140-1201/1727-86), Urdu poet noted for his *mathnawīs*, was born in Dihlī, the son of Mīr Ḍāḥik, a poet of modest attainments who was satirised by Sawdā. Mīr Ḥasan had a liberal education, which included the Persian language, but apparently not Arabic. He learned the poetic art from his father and from Mīr Dard. After the sack of Dihlī in 1739 by Nādir Shāh, he emigrated with his father to Faizabad (or Fayḍābād [*q.v.*]), the capital of Oudh or Awadh [*q.v.*]. En route, they stayed at Dig, near Bharatpur, and joined the pilgrimage procession to the festival of the saint Shāh Madār at Makanpur. The poet was to describe this journey and festival in a colourful *mathnawī*, *Gulzār-i Iram*, composed about nine years before his death. In Faizabad, Mīr Ḥasan joined the service of the Nawwāb. In 1189/1775 the new Nawwāb, Āṣaf al-Dawla, transferred the capital to Lucknow, so the poet moved there also. Here he composed his longest and best-known *mathnawī*, *Siḥr al-bayān* ("The enchantment of eloquence"), which won immediate acclaim, and is frequently known merely as "Mīr Ḥasan's *Mathnawī*". This was finished in 1199/1785, less than two years before the poet's death.

Mīr Ḥasan's complete poetical works do not seem to have been published. He is known to have written both *ghazals* and *marthiyas*, and he was the grandfather of Anīs [*q.v.*], the famous Urdu elegist. But it is for his *mathnawīs* that he is chiefly remembered. Yet of the eleven with which he is credited, only

Siḥr al-bayān is widely known, and it may justly be described as the original model of the Urdu narrative *mathnawī*, and one of the two or three greatest examples of the form. It runs to about 2,000 couplets in *mutaḳārib* metre, and tells, in some detail, a story of royalty, love and magic of the kind current in India. The central plot concerns the love between Prince Bīnaẓīr and Princess Badr-i Munīr. There is a subsidiary love plot involving Nadjm al-Nisā', the *Wazīr's* daughter, and Fīrōz Shāh, son of the King of the Jinn. A magic flying horse plays an important part in the events of the story. But the supernatural elements in the story are no more important than in—say—Central European *Zauberoper* or *Zauberposse* in the 18th and 19th centuries. The elements which raise an incredible story to the level of great literature are many and varied, but they include the characterisation, which relates the characters to ordinary human beings; the vivid and colourful description of people and places; the effective use of rhetorical devices such as word-play; the timeless language, which seems remarkably up-to-date two centuries later; and the numerous examples of "gnomic" verse which embody simple philosophising and lend themselves to quotation in everday life. In fact, few Urdu poets since have had his facility for saying things so simply yet effectively, often with internal rhyme. *Siḥr al-bayān* has been adversely criticised chiefly for its unnecessary length. But apart from the series of introductions devoted to God, the Prophet, the *Imām* ʿAlī and others, ending with one to the Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla, the length is duly chiefly to the detailed description, without which it would lose most of its charm.

From what the poet says about his poem in the last few couplets, he clearly regarded it as a new type of *mathnawī*, and as his chief claim to fame. He says:

> It is a new type, and the language is new.
> It is not a [normal kind of] *mathnawī*, it is the enchantment of eloquence.
> From it my fame will endure throughout the world,
> For wherever these words are is a memorial.

Evidence of the immense popularity of the work can be seen in the various verse translation into other Indian vernaculars, and also in the dramatic versions. Thus in Bengali there is a verse translation of 1863, and a play entitled simply *Mathnawī* of 1876. Mīr Bahādur ʿAlī's Urdu prose version, completed under the auspices of Fort William College, Calcutta, was printed there in 1803, and has since been frequently reprinted. It contains many poetical quotations from Mīr Ḥasan's original. The story provided a favourite plot for early Urdu drama in the late 19th century.

The qualities found in *Siḥr al-bayān*—apart from the involved story—are present in his other *mathnawīs*. Thus *Gulzār-i Iram* includes a vivid description of a crowded market; another, *Rumūz al-ʿārifīn*, has a Ṣūfī background.

Mīr Ḥasan's other claim to fame is his account, in Persian, of Urdu poets, including his contemporaries, the *Tadhkira-yi-shuʿarā'-yi-Urdū*, which has become a standard reference work.

Bibliography: There are numerous editions, as well as manuscripts of *Siḥr al-bayān*. That edited by ʿAbd al-Bārī Āsī (*Mathnawiyāt-i-Mīr Ḥasan*, Lucknow 1945, is recommended because it also includes *Gulzār-i Iram* and *Rumūz al-ʿārifīn*, and has a useful introduction, with numerous footnotes explaining difficult vocabulary. *Mathnawī-yi-Mīr Ḥasan*, ed. Ḥāmid Allāh Afsar, Allahabad 1925, has a short introduction which discusses the poem's good and bad qualities (11-14), and a glossary. Mīr Ḥasan's *Tadhkira-yi-shuʿarā'-yi-Urdū* was published at ʿAlīgaṛh in 1922.

For accounts of Mīr Ḥasan, particularly *Siḥr al-bayān*, mention must first be made of R. Russell and Khurshidul Islam, *Three Mughal poets: Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan*, London 1969, 69-94. This account is devoted chiefly to re-telling the story, but also includes a useful critical assessment. Saksena gives a general account of the poet in his *History of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 67-70; See also Muhammad Sadiq, *History of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 108-11; Urdu accounts of the poet include the following: Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i-ḥayāt*, Lahore ed. 1950, 249-51; Maḥmūd Fārūḳī, *Mīr Ḥasan awr khāndān kē dusrē shuʿarā*, Lahore 1952; Waḥīd Ḳurayshī, *Mīr Ḥasan awr un kā zamāna*, Lahore 1959; For Mīr Bahādur ʿAlī's prose version, see Major Henry Court's English tr., *The naṣr-i Benaẓīr*, Calcutta 1871, 2nd ed. 1889.

(J.A. Haywood)

ḤASAN BEDR al-DĪN, later Pasha (1851-1912), Ottoman Turkish soldier and playwright, chiefly famed as the collaborator during the years 1875-9 of his fellow-officer and friend, the author and dramatist Manāstirli Meḥmed Rifʿat [*q.v.*], in the writing of some 16 plays, some translations from the French and some original, which were produced at the Gedik Pasha Theatre in Istanbul (see manāstirli meḥmed rifʿat for full details).

He was born at Sīmāw near Kütahya, the son of an army officer, was educated at the military school (*Iʿdādī*) in Damascus and then at the Istanbul War College (*Harbiyye*), where he graduated the first of his class and was the contemporary and classmate of his future collaborator Manāstirli Meḥmed. He served briefly in the Imperial Guards, but in the increasingly repressive atmosphere of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's reign he was soon banished from Istanbul to the eastern provinces, and served in Syria and Palestine with the rank of colonel. However, he was soon stripped of this rank, presumably as the result of a *zhurnal* or delatory report, and taught in Damascus schools for a living. After the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, he returned to Istanbul, was rehabilitated under the Young Turk régime, promoted to brigadier-general and then general of a division, and was finally appointed commander and governor of Ishkodra [*q.v.* in Suppl.] or Scutari (modern Shkodër in northern Albania). After a brief spell of service, he resigned on the grounds of ill-health, returned to Istanbul and died there in 1912.

Bibliography: See that for manāstirli meḥmed rifʿat. (Fahir İz)

ḤASAN NIẒĀMĪ, historian of the Dihlī sultanate in Muslim India.

He was the son of Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī, the famous Persian littérateur [*q.v.*], but left his hometown, Nīshāpūr, sometime towards the close of the 6th/12th century because of political instability there. In Dihlī he made friends with high officers of Sultan Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak (602-7/1206-10 [*q.v.*]), including the Ṣadr Sharaf al-Mulk. Impressed by his learning, his friends advised him to produce a literary work so that he might get royal patronage; hence Ḥasan Niẓāmī decided to compile the history of Aybak's achievements in Arabic. But his friends persuaded him to write it in Persian, since there were in India few people literate in Arabic. In the meantime, the royal *farmān* was proclaimed that Aybak's conquests in India should be recorded by scholars,

along with those of his master, Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [see GHŪRIDS]. Hence the compilation of the *Tād̲j̲ al-maʾāt̲h̲ir.*

The first part contains a description of Sultans Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak. On Sultan Aybak's death Ḥasan Niẓāmī continued his work under Iltutmis̲h̲, and according to Sir Henry Elliot, brought it up to the year 626/1229; but the extant copies of the work end with the description of the occupation of Lahore by Iltutmis̲h̲ in 614/1217. Since Iltutmis̲h̲ was his last patron, the author is not impartial in his criticism of his master's rivals, such as Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn Yildiz and Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳubāča. He omits mention of Ārām S̲h̲āh, the son of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, because Iltutmis̲h̲ has usurped the throne and killed him. Moreover, there is no space devoted to the description of the nobles of the early sultans of Dihlī, who had helped the sultans in stabilising Muslim rule in northern India at its very beginning. In fact, Ḥasan Niẓāmī fails to produce a history in the real sense of the word; his work reads like a mere *Fatḥ-nāma.*

It was, moreover, written in an ornate and florid style, full of verbosity and rhetorics. The historical details are interspersed with the Ḳurʾānic verses and Arabic and Persian poems; more than half of the work comprises only verses. Despite these defects, the *Tād̲j̲ al-maʾāt̲h̲ir* enjoyed fame because of its bravura style, much to contemporary literary taste, and much imitated subsequently.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 493-5, 1310; H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The history of India, as told by its own historians*, ii, 204-43; Ḥasan ʿAskarī, *Tāj al-Maʾāthir of Ḥasan Niẓāmī*, in *Patna University Journal*, xviii/3 (1963).

(I.H. SIDDIQUI)

ḤASRAT MOHĀNĪ, SAYYID FAḌL AL-ḤASAN, prominent Indian journalist, poet and politician, was born most probably in 1297/1880 in the small town of Mohān in Uttar Pradesh. His family, which numbered many scholars, physicians and mystics, claimed descent from Sayyid Maḥmūd who migrated from Nīs̲h̲āpūr in Iran and founded Mohān in 615/1218. One recent ancestor had been royal physician to the Kings of Awadh, another had been minister of religious affairs in the Hyderabad state. Ḥasrat was educated at government schools and privately in Arabic and Persian. In 1316/1899 he headed the provincial list in the matriculation examination and won a government scholarship to the Muḥammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh.

From his student days Ḥasrat was a prominent figure in the political and cultural activities of North Indian Muslims. He fought for Islamic causes in India and abroad. In 1903 he started an Urdū weekly, *Urdū-i muʿallā*, which appeared intermittently until 1938: its pan-Islamist and virulently anti-British views strongly influenced young educated Muslims. In 1909 he was jailed for a year for publishing an article critical of British educational policy in Egypt, and he was prominent in the explosion of pan-Islamic protest which preceded World War One. In 1916 he was interned for the duration of the War after he was found to be connected with ʿUbayd Allāh Sindhī's [*q.v.*] plan, the "Silk Letters Conspiracy", to raise the Frontier tribes against the British. During the *K̲h̲ilāfat* movement he associated increasingly with the *ʿulamāʾ*, coming to be called our "mad mullā" by Muḥammad and S̲h̲awkat ʿAlī [*q.v.*], and tried continually to drive the agitation more extreme: striving to make non-co-operation with government the policy of the *K̲h̲ilāfat* movement at its conference of Nov-ember 1919, declaring his support for an Afg̲h̲ān invasion of India at the Congress-*K̲h̲ilāfat* meetings of June 1920, and attempting to make complete independence for India the aim of the Congress and the Muslim League at their sessions in 1921. He was imprisoned from 1922 to 1924. On his release he startled many by declaring himself a Communist as well as a Muslim, and he chaired the reception committee of the first Indian Communist Conference at Kānpur in 1925. From this point Ḥasrat's influence in Indian politics declined. He remained notable but could no longer find support amongst many. From 1937 he was active in the Muslim League, of which he had been a member from its foundation and President in 1921, but he was out of harmony with the direction it was taking. He opposed the League's demand for Pakistan and devoted much of his time from 1942 to 1947 to promoting his own plan for a three-tiered Indian confederation to solve the communal problem. In 1946 he was elected as a Muslim League candidate to the UP Legislative Council and to the Indian Constituent Assembly. He died in Lucknow in 1951.

Although vigorously engaged in politics, Ḥasrat maintained a considerable literary output. His most important prose works are his commentary on the 13th/19th century poet G̲h̲ālib, *S̲h̲arḥ-i G̲h̲ālib*, and his discussion of the conventions of Urdū poetry, *Nikāt-i suk̲h̲ān.* Primarily, however, he was a poet. He contributed much to the refinement of the Urdū *g̲h̲azal* and was the only *g̲h̲azal* writer of modern times to become a "classic" while still alive. D̲j̲amāl Miyān Farangī Maḥallī has edited the most complete edition of his works, *Kulliyāt*, 2nd. ed., Lahore 1959.

Evidently, several somewhat contradictory themes mingle in Ḥasrat's life. There is his faith, as evident in his private life as in his public actions. A punctilious observer of prayer and fasting, he also performed the *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* at least eleven times between 1932 and his death. He was, moreover, in the tradition of his ancestors, a mystic and a follower of the Farangī Maḥall family [*q.v.* above] of Lucknow, becoming a *murīd* of Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1321/1903-4) in 1894 and being made a *k̲h̲alīfa* in both Ḳādirī-Razzāḳī and Čis̲h̲tī-Niẓāmī *silsilas* by Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Bārī [*q.v.* above] in 1917. There is his imperviousness to the communal attitudes which influenced so many of his contemporaries; hence he opposed Pakistan, admired Hindus of a revolutionary caste of mind like Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose and Subhas Bose, and wrote poems in Hindi praising Krishna and expressing his longing for Hindu holy places. Then there is his Communism, though it is unlikely that his understanding of Communist theory and practice would have withstood rigorous examination. Its attractions, it seems, stemmed in part from a very Muslim love of egalitarianism, in part from a hatred of British imperialism and in part from the fact that it took no account of communalism. Invariably, Ḥasrat propounded his position with sincerity and without fear. Such independence of mind invited conflict with others. He was expelled two times from Aligarh College, imprisoned at least three times by the British, had memorable confrontations with both Gandhi and Jinnah, led the party which stormed the Congress session at Kānpur in 1925, and refused to sign the Indian constitution because he did not think it brought the freedom for which Indians had fought. Above all things a rugged individualist, he was received with great respect throughout his life though heard increasingly by few.

Bibliography: K̲h̲ālid Ḥasan Qādirī, *Ḥasrat*

Mohānī: a study of his life and poetry, London University Ph. D. thesis, 1971 (unpublished); Francis Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: the politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923*, Cambridge 1974.

(F.C.R. ROBINSON)

HASSANI [see ḤASANĪ]

HASSŪ TAYLI "the oilman", a religious devotee of Muslim India, was born at an unknown date, some time in the 10th/16th century, at Makhiwal, on the bank of the Chenab, in the Pandjāb.

A critical change in Hassū's life came when he was twelve. He met one of the living "nine naths of Gorakhnath". The latter recognised in him his sixty-first and premier disciple, who had spent 82 years in severe austerities before his birth. Hassū now embarked on his career as a saint. He went to Lahore where he worked as a porter, but subsequently became a grain merchant and opened a grain store at Lahori Mandi. A devout admirer of his, Sūrat Singh, paints him as a merchant of a curious type—knowing everything about the future prices, he bought dear and sold cheap! He died at Lahore in 1104/1603. His tomb still survives, an object of some veneration; the spot is also remembered where he used to sell grain.

To his death, Hassū Tayli appears to have remained formally a Muslim, though he did not follow the five basic observances of Islam. For this latter, his disciple Sūrat Singh has ready explanations: he prayed all the time, so why should he have prayed in public? Why should he have paid *zakāt*, or kept daily fasts when he never had anything stored up, and never broke his fast? Why should he have gone on Pilgrimage, to circumambulate the Kaʿba, when he went round the Kaʿba of his heart a hundred times in one breath? His chief disciple, Shaykh Kamāl, used the term *Malāmatiyya* [*q.v.*] to designate his master's school, with considerable aptness.

The significance of this religious sect lies in the fact that it openly drew its disciples from amongst both Hindus and Muslims, and declared its connections with ascetic and mystic predecessors in both religions. Nor did the followers of this sect make any attempt to hide the rather modest origins of their teacher.

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AL-ḤĀTIMĪ, ABŪ ʿALĪ MUḤMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-MUẒAFFAR, literary critic and philologist of the 4th/10th century, who died in Baghdād on 27 Rabīʿ II 388/26 April 998.

Though the name of his father is sometimes given as al-Ḥusayn, the testimony of Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī (*Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, ed. ʿA. al-Shālidjī, Beirut 1391-3/1971-3, iii, 14) and of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who received traditions from al-Ḥātimī through Abū ʿAlī's son, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Tanūkhī (see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 214, 356, xi, 231) can probably be trusted. All biographers agree that he was a pupil of Ghulām Thaʿlab [*q.v.*], but fail to mention other teachers, except Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 501), who states that al-Ḥātimī was born early enough to have been a pupil of Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*]. Since Ibn Durayd died in 321/933, this information, if correct, would indicate that al-Ḥātimī was born around 310/922 or even earlier. Yāḳūt however also quotes an autobiographical note from al-Ḥātimī's [*Taḳrīʿ*] *al-hilbādja*, a book which al-Ḥātimī wrote for the vizier, Abū ʿAbd Allāh [al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad] b. Saʿdān [see IBN SAʿDĀN below], who held office from 373/983 till 374/985 (see Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, iii, 85, 102, 107). In this note, al-Ḥātimī claims that he served Sayf al-Dawla at the age of nineteen. If we assume that al-Ḥātimī did not join the circle of Sayf al-Dawla before the latter had established himself firmly in Aleppo in 336/947, he could not have been born before 317. The question is whether al-Ḥātimī's autobiographical report can be trusted, since both the description of his character by contemporary authors (see Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, i, 135, iii, 126-7) and the tone of many of his own remarks in the *Mūḍiḥa* (see below) suggest that he was given to unbridled self-glorification. A further reason for questioning the report in the *Hilbādja* is that he quotes in the *Ḥilya* (see below) ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Akhfash who died as early as 315/927 (cf. Bonebakker, *Materials for the history of Arabic rhetoric*, in *AIUON*, Suppl. no. 4, xxxv [1975], fasc. 3, p. 88). The autobiographical report quoted by Yāḳūt goes on to say that at the court of Sayf al-Dawla, al-Ḥātimī was treated as the equal of the grammarians Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, Ibn Khālawayh [*q.vv.*] and Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī [*q.v.* above]. Since Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī joined Sayf al-Dawla in 341, al-Ḥātimī cannot have given up his career with Sayf al-Dawla before that date, again assuming that his report can be trusted. It is also likely that al-Ḥātimī left Aleppo not later than Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 351/December 962, the date of the attack on Aleppo by Nicephorus Phocas (Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī died in the massacre that followed, according to the editor of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib's *Marātib*, Cairo 1375/1955, 5-6). In any case, we find him in Baghdād in the summer of 352/963 (or possibly 351/962, cf. M.S. Kiktev in *Literatura Vostoka* [1969], 81 note) involved in a discussion with the poet al-Mutanabbī, whom he may well have known already at the court of Sayf al-Dawla. The *Yatīmat al-dahr* of Thaʿālibī (ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iii, 108-11, 131-3) quotes verses by al-Ḥātimī on the Ziyārid ruler Shams al-Maʿālī [Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr] [*q.v.*], on the Buwayhid vizier Sābūr b. Ardashīr and on the caliph al-Ḳādir bi 'llāh, but these do not throw any light on al-Ḥātimī's career during the second half of his life (the *Yatīma* text suggests that these poems were composed by a son of al-Ḥātimī; unless one follows the text in Yāḳūt vi, 501-2, assuming at the same time, that this text contains, in a brief parenthesis, two lines by al-Ḥātimī's father and that Yāḳūt should have read *li'bnihi* as in the *Yatīma* ed.).

From the introduction of a story in al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda* (Cairo 1903, ii, 85 = Cairo 1375/1955, 305), it appears that al-Ḥātimī visited Egypt, but unfortunately there is no indication at which period of his life this visit took place. Nor do we know any details about his career as a *kātib*, though he is qualified as such by several biographers.

Al-Ḥātimī chiefly owes his fame to two *risālas* on the poet al-Mutanabbī which go under various names. The first of the two is known as *al-Risāla al-mūḍiḥa* [*fī dhikr sariḳāt Abī 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī wa-sāḳiṭ shiʿrih*], *Djabhat al-adab, Munāẓarat Abī ʿAlī al-Ḥātimī li-Abī 'l-Ṭayyib*, or simply *al-Risāla al-Ḥātimiyya*. The correct title, at least of the longer version of this *risāla* which is preserved in the ms. Escurial 772 (and quoted in part by Ibn Khallikān and, following him, al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt*, Hyderabad 1337-9, repr. Beirut 1390/1970, ii, 437-41), is undoubtedly *al-Mūḍiḥa*. This title is explained by the author

as referring to a type of wound inflicted on the head (Lane, s.v. *shadjdja*), and may be a *double entendre*, since *mūḍiḥa* means also "making apparent", "disclosing", i.e. the defects of al-Mutanabbī's poetry. The title *Djabhat al-adab* must be the result of a wrong interpretation of a sentence in the preface, though it appears in several mediaeval biographies (see the ed. of the *Mūḍiḥa* by M.Y. Nadjm, Beirut 1385/1965, 3, ll. 12-3, 4, l. 18, and 6, note 1 of the introduction). The *risāla* is a caricature of al-Mutanabbī and a condemnation of his poetry, in the framework of a discussion between the poet and al-Ḥātimī. The attack was instigated by the Buwayhid vizier al-Muhallabī and reflected the rivalry between the Buwayhid Muʿizz al-Dawla and the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla (see R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IVème siècle* de l'Hégire, Paris 1935, 223-5, 228). It ended, according to al-Ḥātimī, in al-Mutanabbī's flight to Kūfa. A shorter version of the same *risāla* exists in Yāḳūt's *Udabāʾ* (vi, 504-18), in Yūsuf al-Badīʿī's *al-Ṣubḥ al-munabbī* (ed. M. al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, Cairo 1963, 128-42), in the MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub 2039 (ed. I. al-Dasūḳī al-Bisāṭ ī, Cairo 1961, as an appendix to the *Ibāna ʿan sariḳāt al-Mutanabbī* of Abū Saʿd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿAmīdī) and in at least two other manuscripts. There is a Russian translation in the above mentioned article by Kiktev. An even shorter version is preserved in Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khatādjī (ed. ʿA.M. al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1386/1967, ii, 421-7), which does not make any mention of Muhallabī and Muʿizz al-Dawla. These shorter versions end in a reconciliation, after which al-Mutanabbī and al-Ḥātimī part as good friends. Al-Badīʿī's text, Khatādjī and the text published by al-Bisāṭī (but not the text in Yāḳūt) even add a last sentence to the effect that al-Ḥātimī became so much convinced of al-Mutanabbī's merits as a poet that be decided to write another *Risāla Ḥātimiyya*. This second *Risāla Ḥātimiyya* to which the shorter versions of the first allude may be the list of parallels between verses by al-Mutanabbī and pseudo-Aristotelian sententiae whicb is preserved not only in a considerable number of manuscripts, but also in the *Kitāb al-Badīʿ fī naḳd al-shiʿr* by Usāma b. Munḳidh (ed. A.A. Badawī *et alii*, Cairo 1380/1960, 264-83) and in quotations in the Mutanabbī commentary by al-ʿUkbarī (see Blachère, *op. cit.*, 268-9, and the examples translated by F. Rosentbal in *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zürich 1965, 352-4, and cf. 118). Yet there may be some doubt about the authentity of this second *risāla*, since biographies such as those by Yāḳūt and al-Suyūṭī, which offer a detailed list of al-Ḥātimī's oeuvre, do not mention it. An accurate description of the *risāla* appears in *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ* by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (ed. H. Maʿmarī, Cairo 1390/1970, 231), though Ibn al-Ḳifṭī fails to mention it in his Ḥātimī biography in the *Inbāh al-ruwāt*. A second description occurs in al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, ii, 343; but several unpublished manuscripts of the *risāla* have only a descriptive title with no indication of the origin of the work. Nor does al-Ḥātimī's name (as far as the author of the article knows) appear in the above-mentioned Mutanabbī commentary and in Usāma's *Badīʿ*. Mention should be made of a curious manuscript in the Ambrosiana (F 300) which brings together a somewhat more elaborate rendering of the short version of the first *Risāla* and the second *Risāla* claiming (not very convincingly) that both were based on a verbal account given by al-Ḥātimī in 369/979-80. The best edition of the second *Risāla Ḥātimiyya* is that by F.A. al-Bustānī in *Machriq*, xxix (1931), 132-9, 196-204, 273-80, 348-55, 461-4, 623-32, 759-67, 854-9, 925-34, and in a separate ed. published in the same year. A facsimile edition with translation was published by O. Rescher in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 439-73; other editions can be disregarded.

As a document of mediaeval Arabic literary criticism, the longer version of the *Mūḍiḥa* is by far the most interesting of the three texts, not only because of its penetrating and often rightful criticism of al-Mutanabbī's poetry, but also because of its lucid analysis of the distinction between slavish imitation of themes from ancient poetry and the subtle metamorphosis of such themes as he finds it in the work of truly gifted poets. This analysis goes beyond the original aim of the *risāla*, which sets out to be a satire against al-Mutanabbī and a grotesque picture of his character and habits. The first encounter between al-Ḥātimī and al-Mutanabbī is followed, in the *Mūḍiḥa* but not in its shorter version, by a description of three further encounters at the house of al-Muhallabī in the presence of scholars of note, such as Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī and ʿAlī b. Hārūn al-Munadjdjim. In the preface to his edition (11-12), Nadjm raises the question whether the meetings at the home of al-Muhallabī actually took place and were not invented in order to find a suitable form for an elaboration of the theme of discussion of the first meeting. It is indeed un-likely that al-Mutanabbī would have allowed himself to be publicly humiliated on four different occasions.

Al-Ḥātimī is frequently quoted in mediaeval handbooks on literary theory as an authority on definitions of figures of speech by early critics. Many of these quotations can be traced in al-Ḥātimī's *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*. The *Ḥilya* is not, however, a work on literary theory, but rather an anthology on poetry with short sections on literary theory. A work specifically dealing with this subject is quoted by al-Ḥātimī himself in the *Ḥilya* and was known to Usāma (see *Badīʿ*, 8) and perhaps to others (see *Materials*, 14-6, 20, 27). The survival of the *Ḥilya* in two Maghribī manuscripts (one of which has a marginal note indicating that a small portion of the book had already circulated in Spain before the rest arrived) and Ibn Ḥazm's [*q.v.*] recommendation of "the books of al-Ḥātimī" as manuals on poetry (*al-Taḳrīb lihadd al-manṭiḳ*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1959, 207), as well as other evidence (see *Materials*, 18) indicate that al-Ḥātimī enjoyed a considerable reputation in Spain.

Other writings by al-Ḥātimī have not apparently survived. As far as one can judge from the lists given by Yāḳūt and by others, al-Ḥātimī's main interest was literary criticism, though he wrote also books on lexicography and grammar.

Bibliography: in addition to the texts and studies mentioned in the article, see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 214; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1369-93/1950-73, iii, 103-4; Ibn Khallikān, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1367/1948, iii, 482-6 (no. 621); al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326, 35-6; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iii, 112, 312, 596, v, 79, vi, 166 (there are numerous other biographies, but they do not add anything of substance to the above); Brockelmann, G I, 88, S I, 141, 193; M.ʿA. Shuʿayb, *al-Mutanabbī bayn nāḳidīhi*, Cairo 1964, index; I. ʿAbbās, *Taʾrīkh al-naḳd al-adabī ʿind al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1391/1971, 243-70 *et passim*; A. Maṭlūb, *Ittidjāhāt al-naḳd al-adabī fi 'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ li 'l-hidjra*, Beirut 1393/1973, 258-65; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 488; S. A. Bonebakker, *A biographical sketch of Abū ʿAlī Muḥ b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥātimī*, in *AIUON*, forthcoming.

(S.A. BONEBAKKER)

HAWKING [see BAYZARA].

HAWSAM, the earlier Arabic name of the modern town of Rūdisar in eastern Gīlān on the coast of the Caspian Sea. It is an Arabisation of the local name, which appears to have been Kh̲os̲h̲am or Kh̲ōs̲h̲am. Thus the name is given by al-Muḳaddasī (51, 355, 360) and probably by Abū Dulaf b. Muhalhil (ed. Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil's Travels in Iran*, Cairo 1955, 23) as Kh̲-s̲h̲-m; by al-Bīrūnī (*al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Hyderabad 1954-6, 569) as Kh̲awsam; and by Aṣīl al-Dīn Zawzanī (ed. H.L. Rabino, in *JA* (1950), 327, 330) as Haws̲h̲am. The rendering of the initial *kh̲* as *h* in Arabic corresponded to the pronunciation of Arabic *hāʾ* by the Gīl as *kh̲āʾ* and the shift of Persian *s̲h̲īn* to Arabic *sīn* occurred frequently. The identity of al-Muḳaddasī's Kh̲-s̲h̲-m with Hawsam, rejected by Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and Minorsky, is ascertained by his reference to it (360) as "the town of the *dāʿī*." The itinerary given by him elsewhere (372), which places a Kh̲-s̲h̲-m at a two days' trip west of the Safīd-rūd, appears to refer to a different town also mentioned by Aṣīl al-Dīn Zawzanī (332).

Hawsam is generally described as the easternmost town of Gīlān, located at the border between the Gīl and the Daylam, whose territories extended west of it to the coast. It is first mentioned as a residence of the Zaydī *imām* al-Ḥasan al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ [*q.v.*] al-Nāṣir li'l-Ḥaḳḳ, who was active in the region during the last decade of the 3rd century/903-13 converting the Gīl and Daylam to Islam. After the collapse of the Zaydī ʿAlid reign in Ṭabaristān in 316/928, it became the chief seat of ʿAlid rule in the Caspian region and the centre of scholarship of the Nāṣiriyya, the school of al-Nāṣir in *fiḳh* and theology. It was ruled from *ca.* 319/931 to 350/961 by Abu 'l-Faḍl Dj̲aʿfar al-Th̲āʾir fi 'llāh [see AL-TH̲ĀʾIR FI 'LLĀH], grandson of a brother of al-Nāṣir and, through his mother, of al-Nāṣir himself. His descendants remained in control of the town during much of the time until and beyond the end of the century, though often in contention with descendants of al-Nāṣir and other ʿAlids, which also involved efforts by the Ziyārids and Buwayhids to secure their suzerainty over the region. The Th̲āʾirids, though Zaydīs of the Nāṣiriyya school, ruled as *amīrs* without claiming the Zaydī imāmate. In 353 or 354/964-5, the Zaydī *imām* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh took the town from al-Ḥasan Amīrkā, son of Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Th̲āʾir, and ruled there, with a short interruption, until his death in 359/970. *Ca.* 380/990 the *imām* Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Muʾayyad bi'-llāh stayed in Hawsam for a year, and some time later for another period of over two years. He eventually took his residence in Langā, west of Hawsam, leaving that town to the Th̲āʾirid Kiyā Abu 'l-Faḍl who nominally recognised his imāmate. In the early 5th/11th century, Abū Dj̲aʿfar al-Hawsamī, the most famous collector and commentator of the works of al-Nāṣir, was active there. *Ca.* 432/1041-2 the Nāṣirī *ʿulamāʾ* of Hawsam set up al-Ḥusayn al-Nāṣir, a descendant of al-Uṭrūs̲h̲ al-Nāṣir, as *imām*, and he reigned in the town until his death in 472/1079-80. He was buried next to Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, and their tombs became a place of pilgrimage for the Caspian Zaydīs. Thereafter, Hawsam came under the rule of the *imāms* Abū Riḍā al-Kīsumī (d. after 493/1100) and Abū Ṭālib al-Akh̲īr (502-20/1108-28), though they did not take their permanent residence there. The town evidently declined in the latter part of the 5th/11th century and lost its rank as the chief town of eastern Gīlān to Lāhīdj̲ān [*q.v.*]. Around the turn of the century, the Bāwandid Ispahbad Ḥusām al-Dawla S̲h̲ahriyār, after surrendering control of Ṭabaristān to his son Nadj̲m al-Dīn Ḳārin, retired to Hawsam, where he built a *kh̲ānaḳāh* for himself. He bought much land in the region and ordered the construction of a market and shops. After he fell ill and was brought back to Ṭabaristān by his son, he put a former servant in charge of his property in Hawsam (Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh̲-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1941, ii, 37 f.). The report reflects both the decline of the town and its continued attraction as a religious centre. The general decline continued during the following century. In a letter sent to the Yaman in 607/1210-11, a Zaydī scholar of Lāhīdj̲ān mentioned the deplorable condition of the two shrines of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī and al-Ḥusayn al-Nāṣir in Hawsam, expressing his hope that the Yamanī *imām* al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza would restore them. In the early 8th/14th century, Hawsam seems to have regained some importance as an administrative centre, for a coin was minted there for the Ilkh̲ān Abū Saʿīd between 733/1332 and 736/1335 if the restoration of the name of the mint proposed by Fraehn, *De Ilchanorum seu Chulaguidarum numis*, in *Mém. Acad. Imp. Sciences* St. Pétersbourg, 6th ser., ii [1834], 530, 548, is correct. Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿas̲h̲ī (*Taʾrīkh̲-i Gīlān*, ed. M. Sutūda, Tehran 1347, 143 f.), however, describes the town as having long fallen into ruin when Sayyid Raḍī Kiyā (789-829/1387-1426) of the Amīr Kiyāʾī dynasty of Lāhīdj̲ān ordered its rebuilding and gave it the name Rūdisar. Raḍī Kiyā granted tax exemptions in order to attract people to the town, brought shipbuilders to the harbour, built a congregational mosque in a large square, a market with shops, a bath, palace, stable and hotel. The shrine and cemetry of al-Ḥusayn al-Nāṣir were preserved from the former town, and several royal personages were buried there in the 0th/15th and 10th/16th centuries.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 136, 388; Yāḳūt, iv, 996; H.L. Rabino, *Le Guîlân*, in *RMM*, xxxii (1916-17), 336-9; Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, notes to edition of Dj̲uwaynī, iii, 422-4; S.M. Stern, *The coins of Āmul*, in *NC*, 7th ser., vii (1967), 269-78; W. Madelung, *Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī on the Alids of Ṭabaristān and Gīlān*, in *JNES*, xxvi (1967), 20f., 45-51; idem, *The Alid rulers of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gīlān*, in *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici*, Naples 1967, 488-90; idem, *The minor dynasties of Northern Iran*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 219-22; Manučihr Sutūda, *Az Āstārā tā Astarābād*, ii, Tehran 1351, 216-9, 304-8. (W. MADELUNG)

ḤAYDAR-I ĀMULĪ, BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN ḤAYDAR B. ʿALĪ B. ḤAYDAR AL-ʿUBAYDĪ (719/1319 or 720/1320—after 787/1385), early representative of Persian theosophy and commentator on Ibn ʿArabī.

Our knowledge about his life is based on two autobiographical passages written in 777/1375-6 and 782/1380 respectively. He originated from a family of Ḥusaynī *sayyid*s in Āmul, Māzandarān, whose population had been known for its S̲h̲īʿī leanings for a long time. During his studies he left his hometown for Astarābād and Iṣfahān. But in his late twenties he returned and became a confidant, and afterwards a minister of Fakh̲r al-Dawla Ḥasan b. S̲h̲āh Kaykh̲usraw b. Yazdagird, the last ruler of Ṭabaristān belonging to the Kīnakh̲ʷāriyya branch of the Bāwandid dynasty [*q.v.*]. This period seems to have been rather short, because in 748/1347 he was still in Kh̲urāsān, as is attested by a vision which he had

there and which he reports in his works, whereas two years later, in 750/1349, shortly before Fak͟hr al-Dawla's assassination by members of his own family, he experienced a religious crisis which made him give up his courtly life, in spite of his reverence for his master, and perform the *ḥadjdj*. For the rest of his life, at least during the documented part of it, he stayed in ʿIrāḳ. In Bag͟hdād he studied with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Kās͟hānī al-Ḥillī (d. 755/1354) and Fak͟hr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, the son of the famous ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, two S͟hīʿī scholars who enjoyed the patronage of the Djalāʾirids [*q.v.*]. With the latter one he exchanged a theological and juridical correspondence which is preserved in an autograph (*al-Masāʾil al-Āmuliyya*, dated 762/1361; ms. Tehran University no. 1022, fols. 71b-76b). He also wrote for him his *Risālat Rāfiʿat al-k͟hilāf ʿan wadjh sukūt Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, an apology for ʿAlī's passive attitude towards the first caliphs.

The number of Ḥaydar-i Āmulī's works which are known to us, by title at least, amounts to 34. The earliest book preserved is his

(1) *Djāmiʿ al-asrār wa-manbaʿ al-anwār*, an exposition of the deeper meaning of the *s͟harīʿa* by means of *taʾwīl* (ed. Osman Yahya and Henri Corbin, in Sayyed Haydar Amoli, *La philosophie shiʿite*, Bibl. Iran. 16, Tehran-Paris 1969, 2 ff.; for an analysis of its contents, cf. Corbin in *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, xxx, (1961), 90 ff. and xxxi (1963), 80 ff., also in *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1972, iii, 149 ff.; P. Antes, *Zur Theologie der Schīʿa. Eine Untersuchung des Ǧāmiʿ al-asrār...*, Freiburg 1971). It was finished about 752/1351; in the introduction, eight other works, obviously of smaller size, are mentioned, some of which may date back to the time before Āmulī settled in Irak. In one of them, his *Risālat al-arkān*, he had treated the same subject as in his *Djāmiʿ*, restricted only to the five "pillars" of Islam.—After 760/1359 he wrote his

(2) *Risālat al-Wudjūd fī maʿrifat al-maʿbūd* which in itself has not been rediscovered yet, but a summary of which, finished at Nadjaf in 768/1367 under the title *Risālat Naḳd al-nuḳūd fī maʿrifat al-wudjūd*, has been edited by Yahya and Corbin (*ibid.*, 620 ff.). The problem of being is treated under the aspects of its unity and multiplicity (i.e. its epiphany, *ẓuhūr*), more in correspondence with the ideas of Ibn ʿArabī than with the tradition of Ibn Sīnā.—In 777/1375-6 he finished his

(3) *al-Muḥīṭ al-aʿẓam*, a huge commentary on the Ḳurʾān in seven volumes written after the model of the *Baḥr al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ wa ʾl-daḳāʾiḳ*, the *tafsīr* by Nadjm al-Dīn-i Dāya (d. 654/1256). For its structure, cf. H. Corbin, in *La philosophie shiʿite*, French introd., 46 ff.—Between 781/1379 and 782/1380 he wrote

(4) *Naṣṣ al-nuṣūṣ*, a commentary on Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* to which he added, after the model set by earlier commentators like Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd al-Ḳaysarī (d. 751/1350), voluminous prolegomena (ed. Yahya and Corbin, in *Bibl. Iran.* 22, Tehran-Paris 1975). In them, he proved the insuperability of Muḥammad among the prophets and of Ibn ʿArabī among the mystics. Muḥammad and Ibn ʿArabī are connected historically by the *revelatio continuata* through the S͟hīʿī *imāms* and phenomenologically by the *mundo imaginalis* (*ʿālam al-mit͟hāl*), the world of spiritual being from which emanated the vision in which Ibn ʿArabī claimed to have received the *Fuṣūṣ* from the Prophet himself during his stay in Damascus in 627/1230. In spite of all reverence, however, Āmulī deviates from Ibn ʿArabī in the question of the *k͟hātam al-wilāya*, the "seal of sainthood". Whereas Ibn ʿArabī saw this ideal realised in an absolute sense in Jesus (= *wilāya muṭlaḳa*), and whereas many of his adherents believed that, in momentaneous limitation, it had been represented by Ibn ʿArabī himself (= *wilāya muḳayyada*), Ḥaydar-i Āmulī puts ʿAlī and the twelfth *imām* in their place, his originality thus merging with his S͟hīʿī conviction. He criticises Dāwūd al-Ḳaysarī, who had been of Anatolian descent and had lived in Sunnī Egypt, for his unclear, i.e. non-S͟hīʿī, attitude in this problem (which came closer to Ibn ʿArabī's intention). Two other commentators, both of them of Iranian origin, Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-K͟hudjandī (d. 690/1291) and Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kās͟hānī (d. 730/1330) are mentioned with respect. Complicated numerical speculations concerning the *imāms* and the prophets are clarified through diagrams (treated by Corbin in *Eranos-Jb.*, xlii [1973], 79 ff.).—Āmulī's latest attested work is his (5) *Risālat al-ʿUlūm al-ilāhiyya* which he composed in 787/1385 at the age of 65. The autograph is preserved in Nadjaf.—A full list of Āmulī's works is found in *La philosophie shiʿite*, French introd. 37 ff. (H. Corbin), Arabic introd. 19 ff. (O. Yahya).

Ḥaydar-i Āmulī combined S͟hīʿī convictions hereditary in his family with an ʿIrāḳī and Persian Ṣūfī tradition strongly imbued with the ideas of Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. In this high esteem for the *s͟hayk͟h al-akbar* he follows earlier mystics of Persian descent like Saʿd al-Dīn-i Ḥammūya (587-650/1191-1252) and Nadjm al-Dīn-i Dāya (d. 654/1256), both of whom he quotes quite frequently. Like them, he was a speculative type; in contrast to two other famous Iranian Ṣūfīs who were his exact contemporaries, ʿAlī al-Hamad͟hānī (714-86/1314-85), equally originating from a family of *sayyids*, and the Sunnī Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Naḳs͟hbandī (717-91/1318-89), he did not found a separate *ṭarīḳa* nor did he adhere to any of them. More strongly than anybody else before him, he insisted on the common origin of S͟hīʿīsm and Ṣūfism, thus laying the ground for a dogma held by Iranian mystical orders until today. This is why he pleaded for a transcending of the normal juridical approach to Islam by a union of *s͟harīʿa*, *ṭarīḳa*, and *ḥaḳīḳa*; the Muslim who combines these three aspects is not only a believer (*muʾmin*), but a believer put to test (*muʾmin mumtaḥan*), equally remote from literalist S͟hīʿīsm as from antinomian Ṣūfism. S͟hīʿīsm is thus understood as the esoteric side of Islam, but not in an extremist sense. It may be noted, in this connection, that the term *muʾmin mumtaḥan* was also used by extremists like the Nuṣayrīs; Ḥaydar Āmulī may have reinterpreted it in opposition to radical tendencies in popular Islam.

All knowledge (*maʿrifa*) is derived from the *imāms*; they represent the S͟hīʿī *nūr Muḥammadī* as well as Ibn ʿArabī's *ḥaḳīḳa Muḥammadiyya*, this latter entity being understood by Āmulī as consisting of 14 light aeons which correspond to the metaphysical persons of the 14 "sinless ones" (*maʿṣūm*): Muḥammad, Fāṭima, and the 12 *Imāms*. The 12 *Imāms* and the 7 Prophets are summed up in the mystical number 19 which pervades revelation and universe (the *Basmala* has 19 letters; the universe consists of the Universal Intellect + the Universal Soul + 9 spheres + 4 elements + 3 realms of nature + man; more about numerical speculations of this kind in the article by Corbin in *Eranos-Jb.*, xlii [1973], 79 ff.). God as the *mubdiʿ* of the universe is ὑπερούσιος; He can only be recognised in His epiphanies. This leads to a metaphysics of the divine names and attributes; the normal monotheism propagated by Muḥammad is differentiated, as *tawḥīd ulūhī*, from the *tawḥīd*

wudjūdī administered by the *imāms*, i.e. the insight that God alone *is* in the real sense of the word. In combining these elements, Ḥaydar-i Āmulī's thinking represents an "open" system which is based on meditation and pneumatic exegesis more than an discursive reasoning.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also amongst sources, Nūr Allāh al-Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-mu'minīn*, Tehran 1375/1955, ii, 51 ff.; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, i, 30 (no. 54), and ii, 498 (no. 892); Khʷansārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, Tehran 1306, 203 f.; Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarā'iḳ al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Djaʿfar Maḥbūb, i-ii, indexes, s.v.; ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, xxix, 25 ff.; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-mu'allifīn*, iv, 91; Brockelmann, S II, 209 and III, 1266 *ad* 209; Studies: H. Corbin, in *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 72 ff.; idem, in *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, Vᵉ section, *Annuaire 1961-62*, 75 ff.; *1962-63*, 72 ff.; *1963-64*, 77 ff.; *1973-74*, 283 ff.; Kamāl Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *al-Fikr al-shīʿī wa 'l-nazaʿāt al-ṣūfiyya ḥattā maṭlaʿ al-ḳarn al-thānī ʿashar al-hidjrī*, Baghdād 1386/1966, 120 ff.; R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*. Zweiter Teil: *Glaube und Lehre*, Wiesbaden 1976, index s.v.

(J. van Ess)

ḤAYDAR KHĀN ʿAMŪ UGHLĪ, originally known as Tariverdiov (1880-1921), Persian revolutionary and activist. He was born into a Persian family living in Armenia and brought up there. He began his education in Alexandropol (Leninakan), Armenia, and studied at a higher level in Erivan and Tiflis, receiving a degree in electrical engineering in 1899 from the latter place. He then began to work for a company in Baku. In 1900 Ḥaydar joined the Caucasian Social Democratic Party led by Nariman Narimanov, and soon afterwards he helped to establish the Committee for the Persian Social Democrats in Caucasia.

In 1902, at the invitation of the Persian government, Ḥaydar went to Mashhad to supervise the Power Station installed for the Shrine of Imām Riḍā, where he however stayed for only eleven months, seeing it as unfertile ground for political activism and finding both the governor of Khurāsān and the custodian of the Shrine oppressive. During his short stay, nevertheless, Ḥaydar played a part in an uprising against the Shrine custodian, Sihām al-Mulk, who was believed to have been a grain hoarder. He then left Mashhad for Tehran in 1903.

While working for the railway and later on for the Amīn al-Ḍarb Power Station in Tehran, Ḥaydar propagated constitutionalism, and when there was widespread opposition to the Belgian financial adviser, M. Naus, Ḥaydar encouraged the clerical students of the Sipahsālār Mosque to take refuge in the British Legation at Tehran by giving each of them a certain amount of money.

After the first parliamentary election in Tehran, Ḥaydar established the first branch there of the Social Democratic Party, the aim of which was declared to be "uprooting the existing despotism". Since the Party believed in armed struggle, Ḥaydar planned a number of bomb explosions. In June 1907 he himself exploded a bomb at the house of Mīrzā Aḥmad Khān ʿAlā' al-Dawla, a prominent member of the *andjuman-i khidmat*, and the party also threatened ʿAlī Aṣghar Khān Atābak, the Grand Vizier. Thus in September 1907 Atābak was killed by ʿAbbās Āḳā Ṣarrāf, a party comrade of Ḥaydar. Towards the end of 1907 Ḥaydar planned the assassination of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh, who was then attempting to extinguish the Persian constitutional system established in 1906. This plan, however, misfired; the Shāh himself remained safe, and Ḥaydar was arrested, though released subsequently.

Upon Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh's bombardment of the Persian Parliament in 1908 and his repression of the constitutionalists, Ḥaydar fled to Baku. While in Russia, he continued his campaign by publishing articles in the Georgian press against the Shāh's régime. He also recruited some 700 Georgian volunteers for the constitutionalists' camp in Tabrīz, and later he himself joined the Tabrīz movement led by Sattār Khān. Ḥaydar took an active part in the constitutionalists' victorious actions in Marand and Khuy, and he also helped to establish a school and a newspaper in Khuy, where he appeared as a hero in the poetry produced at that time.

When he heard about the rise of the constitutionalists in Gīlān and Iṣfahān he went to the latter city and closely co-operated with the anti-Shāh forces. In 1909, together with Shaykh Muḥammad Khiyābānī and others, he established the Democrat Party in Tehran. He also founded a branch of the same Party in Mashhad in 1910. In the meantime, Ḥaydar was accused of the assassination on 15 July 1910 of Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Bihbahānī, a clerical leader of the Persian Constitutional Revolution, who was believed to have turned against the revolutionary factions; Ḥaydar was interrogated but released later. In retaliation for Bihbahānī's murder, some members of the *Iʿtidāliyyūn* Party made an attempt on Ḥaydar's life (Mahdī Malik-zāda, *Ta'rīkh-i Inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat*, vi, Tehran 1953, 219).

In 1910 Sattār Khān and his fellow *mudjāhidīn* moved to Tehran. The various revolutionary factions now fell into confused, internecine struggles; there ensued several assassinations among the *mudjāhidīn* and other revolutionary groups, and finally the government forces defeated Sattār Khān. In this bloody warfare, Ḥaydar, at one time a good friend of Sattār Khān, is said to have fought against him.

Meanwhile, Ḥaydar undertook a secret mission among the Bakhtiyārīs, but no longer feeling safe in Iran, fled the country and joined Lenin, the Russian Bolshevik leader, in Europe in 1911. On his way to Europe, Ḥaydar, through his friend, Sadekov, received a sizable amount of money from Muḥammad ʿAlī, the ex-Shāh of Iran, having falsely promised him help to regain his throne. Later, Ḥaydar excused himself by saying that he took the money in order to reduce the source of the ex-Shāh's power and corruption (ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, *Ḥaydar ʿAmū Ughlī va Muḥammad Amīn Rasūl-zāda*, in *Yādgār*, v/1-2 (1948), 43-67).

While in Europe with Lenin, Ḥaydar was also in touch with the Iranian exiles in Paris and Berlin. In 1915, he joined the anti-Allied Committee organised by Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳī-zāda and others, and was commissioned by the committee to go to ʿIrāḳ and organise an armed force against the British; this mission was not however successful. He then returned to Berlin, and shortly afterwards went to Moscow where he took part in the 1917 Soviet Revolution. In September 1920, Ḥaydar participated in the Congress of the People of the East held in Baku and, together with Avetis Sulṭān-zāda, represented Iran in the Publicity Council of the Congress.

Aiming at profound structural changes in Iran, Ḥaydar wrote an essay analysing the political and social situation of Iran and proposing certain revolutionary measures to be carried out by the newly-

born Communist Party of Iran; this essay, which was written in January-March 1921, is known as "Ḥaydar Khān ʿAmū Ughlī's theses" (Mazdak, *Asnād-i taʾrīkhī-yi djunbish-i kārgarī, sūsiyāl dimukrāsī va kumūnīsti-yi Īrān*, iii, Florence 1972, 45-53.).

He now made an unsuccessful attempt to unite all the anti-British revolutionary forces organised by Muḥammad Taḳī Pisyān in Khurāsān, by Khiyābānī in Ādharbāydjān, and by Kūčāk Khān in Gīlān, and also made a strenuous effort to create peace between the rival factions within the Djangalī movement in the north of Persia [see KŪČAK KHĀN DJANGALĪ]. He then was invited by Kūčāk Khān and other Djangalīs to Gīlān, and joined the revolutionary Republic of Gīlān as Foreign Commissioner. However, factional hostilities and ideological conflicts within the Djangalī forces finally resulted in the murder of Ḥaydar and in the extinction of the Djangalī movement in 1921.

Bibliography: For Ḥaydar Khān's own writings and political speeches, consult Mazdak, *Asnād*, i, iii, vi, 1970-6, and Nasrollah Saifpour Fatemi, *Diplomatic history of Persia 1917-1923*, New York 1952; Ḥaydar's autobiography was dictated to Ibrāhīm Munshī-zāda, a Russian dissident in Iran, and appeared in ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Ḥaydar Khān ʿAmū Ughlī*, in *Yādgār*, iii, no. 5 (1947), 61-80; an English translation of the autobiography is given in A. Reza Sheikholeslami and Dunning Wilson, *The memoirs of Ḥaydar Khān ʿAmū Ughlū*, in *Iranian Studies*, vi (1973), 21-51; Because of Ḥaydar's involvement in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 and subsequent political developments in Iran, all the works concerned with the period provide extensive information and ample references about Ḥaydar; See especially the articles: DJAMʿIYYA; DUSTŪR; ḤUKŪMA; KHIYĀBĀNĪ, Shaykh Muḥammad; KHURĀSĀNĪ, Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim; KŪČAK KHĀN DJANGALĪ, Mīrzā; (in Suppl.) ĀḲĀ NADJAFĪ, Ḥadjdjī Shaykh Muḥammad Taḳī Iṣfahānī; ĀZĀDĪ; ḤĀʾIRĪ, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm Yazdī.; See also ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, *Inḳilāb-i Gīlān čigūna āghāz shud?*, in *Yadgar*, iv, no. 3 (1947), 41-55; idem, *Sattār Khān Sardār-i millī Kahramān-i Ādharbāydjān*, in *Ittilāʿāt-i Māhāna*, no. 9 (1948).; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Ḳātil-i ḥaḳīḳī-yi Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣghar Khān Atābak*, in *Yadgar*, iii, no. 4 (1946), 47-51; Raḥim Riḍāzādā Malik, *Čakīda-yi inḳilāb Ḥaydar Khān ʿAmū Ughlī*, Tehran 1973; Ḥasan Malik-zāda Hīrbud, *Sarguzasht-i ḥīratangīz*, Tehran 1949; Hafez Farman Farmayan, *Kitābshināsī-yi Mashrūṭa*, Tehran 1966; Ismāʿīl Rāʾīn, *Ḥaydar Khān ʿAmū Ughlī*, Tehran; *Bisūyi āyanda*, April-May 1951; Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *Wafayāt-i muʿāṣirin*, in *Yādgār*, iii (1947), 38-49; Aḥmad Ḥisābī, *Mudjāhid-i buzurg Ḥaydar ʿAmū Ughlī*, Tehran 1949; Mahdī Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i ridjāl-i Īrān*, i, Tehran 1968 (under *Ḥaydar*).

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

ḤAYDAR MALIK, Kashmīrī soldier, scholar and engineer. He was the son of Ḥasan Malik of Čādura, a village about 10 miles south of Srīnagar, and descended from Rāmčandra, the commander-in-chief of Radja Suhādeva (1301-20). His family seemed to have gone into eclipse during the early period of the Sultanate, but with its conversion to Shīʿīsm early in the 10th/16th century, it became active in the social and political life of Kashmīr. Ḥaydar Malik's grandfather, Malik Muḥammad Nādjī, played an important role in bringing about the overthrow of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt in 958/1551; and his father, Ḥasan Malik fought against the Mughal army sent by Emperor Akbar to conquer Kashmīr. Ḥaydar Malik also took up arms against the Mughals. He served Yūsuf Khān Čak, son of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Shāh (970-8/1563-70), for 24 years, and accompanied him in exile to Hindustan. He fought side-by-side with Yūsuf Khān, who was sent by Akbar to suppress the refactory *zamīndārs*; and when Djahāngīr sent Yūsuf Khān with Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, governor of Bengal, to suppress Shīr Afkan, who held a *djāgīr* in Burdwān, for being in league with the Afghān rebels, and Shīr Afkan was killed, Ḥaydar Malik gave protection to his widow, Mihr al-Nisāʾ, the future Nūrdjahān, and sent her safely to Āgra. On Yūsuf Khān's death, Ḥaydar Malik entered the service of Djahāngīr, who conferred upon him the titles of *Čaghatay* and *Raʾīs al-Mulk*.

Ḥaydar Malik was versatile, being not only a soldier but also a historian, an architect and an engineer. His *Taʾrīkh-i Kashmīr*, written in simple, lucid Persian in 1031/1620-1, describes the history of Kashmīr from the earliest times to 1027/1617, the twelfth year of Djahāngīr's reign. Although a Shīʿī, he wrote objectively, and his work is an important source for the history of the Sultanate in Kashmīr.

When the Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Srīnagar was destroyed by fire, Ḥaydar Malik's father was accused of having set fire to it. Djahāngīr sent Ḥaydar Malik to rebuild it, which he did at his own expense. He also rebuilt the tomb of Shams al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī, the Nūrbakhshiyya saint, which had been destroyed by the Sunnīs as a reprisal for the destruction of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid. Later, Ḥaydar Malik constructed by order of Djahāngīr a canal from the river Sind to irrigate the Nūr Afzā garden. He was also entrusted with the supervision of the construction of the waterfall at Vernāg. He died in Kashmīr at a ripe old age in the reign of Shāhdjahān, who had in 1036/1627 appointed him as superintendent of buildings to be built around Vernāg.

Bibliography: Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmīr under the Sulṭāns*, Calcutta 1959; idem, *A note on the assassination of Shir Afkan*, in *Ghulam Yazdani commemoration volume*, ed. H.K. Sherwani, Hyderabad 1966; R.K. Parmu, *History of Muslim rule in Kashmīr*, Delhi 1969; Haydar Malik, *Taʾrikh-i Kashmīr*, ms. India Office 510, so far unpublished. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

ḤAYS (A.; noun of unity, *ḥaysa*), an Arab dish made from dates (of the variety called *barnī*) crushed and then kneaded with some preserved butter; to this is added skimmed, dried and crumbly camels' milk cheese, or some flour, or even some crumbled bread. The invention of this mixture of ingredients is attributed traditionnally (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 211; tr. in *Arabica*, ii/3 [1955], 336) to a prominent member of Makhzūm called Suwayd al-Haramī (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 22), who is also said to have been the first to serve milk as a drink in Mecca (Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 342).

Judging by some anecdotes (e.g. in *Bukhalāʾ*, 65, 112, 163, tr. 106, 180, 259) and by a frequently-cited verse (metre *kāmil*, rhyme *-bū; Bukhalāʾ*, 211; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, 19; al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 215; al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, iii, 86; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 242 = ed. Cairo, ii, 32; *LA* and *TA*, root *ḥ - y - s*), it was a much-appreciated foodstuff, especially suitable for travellers (al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, Mawṣil 1353/1934, 82), but equally favoured by sedentary peoples. However, this dish was not considered worthy of "being included in the haute cuisine" (M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI* [1949], 148).

Furthermore, the idea of a mixture or mélange contained in the root led to the word *ḥays* being used in a pejorative sense. Indeed, there was a saying *hād͟hā 'l-amr ḥays* "this is a wretched affair", and a proverb, *ʿāda 'l-ḥays yuḥās* "the *ḥays* has been remixed", that is to say, "it was already bad, but has now become worse", uttered when someone criticises a second person who has performed his task badly, but himself fails to do it any better (al-Maydānī, *Mad͟jmaʿ al-amt͟hāl*, i, 484).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see De Goeje, *BGA*, iv, 222.

(Ed.)

HAZĀRAD͟JĀT, a region of central Af͟ghānistan spanning the modern (post-1964 reorganisation) provinces of Bāmiyān, Wardak, G͟haznī, G͟hōr and Uruzgān. The region is almost wholly mountainous, its northern backbone being formed by the Kūh-i Bābā range [*q.v.*] and its outliers. There are consequently very few towns and these tend to lie in the river valleys, e.g. Dawlatyār on the upper Herī Rūd and Pand͟jāb or Pand͟jāō on the Pand͟jāb tributary of the upper Helmand. The sedentary agriculturist Hazāras [*q.v.* below] are the main ethnic element of the region, but there are also Pas͟htūn or Afg͟hān nomads, e.g. G͟halzays [*q.v.*], who have moved in from the east and who have clearly-defined grazing grounds.

Bibliography: J. Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 86-8, 114-16, 156-7. (C.E. Bosworth)

HAZĀRAS, the name of a group of peoples inhabiting the central mountains of Afghānistān; they form one of the principal population elements of the country, amounting perhaps to 900,000.

The Hazāras are almost certainly an ethnically mixed group, whose components may or may not be related to each other. In appearance, Hazāras are predominantly brachycephalous, with Mongoloid facial features, though this is by no means universal. There is therefore much in favour of Schurmann's hypothesis that the Hazāras of the core region, the Hazārad͟jāt [*q.v.* above], at least, are a mixed population formed from a fusion of an aboriginal Iranian mountain people with incoming Mongol-Turkish elements. The Hazāras early attracted the attention of 19th century western travellers and scholars because of persistent legends that the Hazāras are descendants of Mongol soldiers, the human débris of Čingiz K͟hān's campaigns in the early 13th century — these traditions were retailed, for instance, by Mountstuart Elphinstone at the beginning of the 19th century— and because it was believed, on the basis of linguistic material collected in the 1830s amongst the Aymāḳs by E. Leech, that the Hazāras still substantially spoke Mongol at that time. It now seems more probable that Mongol-Turkish elements infiltrated into central Afg͟hānistān, via the more low-lying and open river valleys of the south and west rather than across the mountain barriers to the north, in the Čag͟hatayid and Tīmūrid periods, mingling with the indigenous Iranian population there; whilst the vestigial communities of ethnic and linguistic Mongols have now been shown to be centred on the G͟hōrāt region to the west of the Hazāra ones, cf. Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan*. The name Hazāra "group of 1,000 men" (P. *hazār* "1,000") is certainly reminiscent of the military-tribal system of the Mongols, with its contingents of 1,000 cavalry-men (Mgl. *mingan* "1,000", Tk. *biñ/miñ*), but the Hazāras themselves must have become essentially Iranian speakers by *ca.* 1500; their language does, it is true, include a considerable admixture of Turkish and Mongol words [see iran. iii. Languages, in Suppl.].

Various sub-groups can conveniently be distinguished amongst those peoples included under the blanket designation of Hazarās. The main body is that of the Hazārad͟jāt or Dāy Kundī Hazāras, who are sedentary agriculturists with only small herds, living in fortified stone villages (*ḳalʿas*). Their agriculture is necessarily a limited, irrigation one, restricted by the altitude and the climate, with short summers and snow for 4-6 months of the year. Until the later 19th century and the extension to the Hazārad͟jāt of the central power in Kābul (see below), the power of the Dawlat-Begs, an upper class of landowners, was dominant, and still remained strong after that time. The Kūh-i Bābā Hazāras live to the north of that range, and stock rearing, with transhumance to summer pastures of *yaylaḳ*s, plays a great part in their economy. The S͟hayk͟h ʿAlī Hazāras occupy the region around Bāmiyān and the G͟hōrband valley northwards to the foothills of Afg͟hān Turkistān, and are unusual among the Hazāras for their use of summer *yurt*-type tents, whereas the tents used by the more southerly Hazāra groups are of the "black tent" variety [see k͟hayma. iv. In Central Asia]. There is a little-known group of Hazāras in Badak͟hs͟hān; amongst the Taymannīs of the G͟hōrāt is a small group of Hazāras; and there are the Berberī Hazāras in northeastern Persia, in the Turbat-i D͟jam district south of Mas͟hhad, apparently immigrants from Afg͟hānistān during the disturbances of the 19th century. Finally, there are the so-called Hazāra Aymāḳs of northwestern Afg͟hānistān, in the western section of the Paropamisus Mountains, including the mediaeval Islamic regions of Bādg͟hīs and Gūzgān. These are mainly semi-nomads, with *yurt*-type tents, but with some non-irrigation agriculture; they are Persian-speaking, but their Persian has affinities with K͟hurāsānī Persian, whereas that of the Hazārad͟jāt and the more easterly Hazāras is close to the Darī of Kabul and other Tād͟jīk groups of the north and east of Afg͟hānistān. Also, they and the Taymannī Hazāras are distinguished from other Hazāra groups by their adherence to the Sunnī *mad͟hhab*. Perhaps one should note, too, the place-name Hazāra [*q.v.*] for a district in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan.

The S͟hīʿism of the majority of the Hazāras distinguishes them from the predominant, strongly Sunnī milieu of the rest of Afg͟hānistān. The Hazārad͟jāt Hazāras are Imāmī or Twelver S͟hīʿīs, and it has been suggested that this intrusive S͟hīʿism came during the Ṣafawid period of Persian history, when the expanding Ṣafawid state intermittently controlled Ḳandahār and southern Afg͟hānistān; the remnants of the Mongols in the G͟hōrāt are Sunnīs. Today, these Hazāras have no mosques in their villages, but *takiya-k͟hānas* instead. Amongst the northeastern Hazāras, the S͟hayk͟h ʿAlīs and Badak͟hs͟hān ones, Ismāʿīlī S͟hīʿism is widespread; there were doubtless connections between these groups and the Ismāʿīlism of the upper Oxus districts and the Hunza-Gilgit region.

Within Afg͟hānistān, the Hazāras have tended to suffer discrimation on account of their S͟hīʿism and supposedly Čingizid origins, and they still suffer today from imputations of stupidity and simple-mindedness. As an isolated and independent-minded mountain people under their own *k͟hān*s and *mīr*s, they resented the centralising policies of the Afg͟hān rulers of Kabul. Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*] whipped up Sunnī sentiment against the Hazāras; in 1888

the Hazāras rebelled against the authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān [*q.v.*], and in 1891 the Khān organised the suppression of Hazāra unrest as a *djihād* by Sunnī fighters for the faith or *ghāzīs* against Shīʿī political enemies. It was after this fierce fighting that many Hazāras emigrated to Persian Khurāsān and the Quetta region of British Balūčistān, and many Hazāras were also resettled in Afghān Turkistān. Already Elphinstone noted that there were many Hazāras in Kābul, including 500 in the royal guard, and in the early 20th century, Ḥabīb Allāh Khān recruited a labour force of several thousand Hazāras for his road-building and public works policies. Today, there are Hazāra immigrant colonies in all the main towns of Afghānistān, sending remittances back to their families; in Kābul, they are, in particular, building and general labourers and wood sellers.

Bibliography: Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its dependencies*[2], London 1842, ii, 203-14, and see also the other 19th century writers and travellers in Afghānistān, such as Ferrier and Bellew; Elizabeth E. Bacon, *An inquiry into the history of the Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan*, in *Southwestern Jnal. of Anthropology*, vii (1951), 230-54; H.F. Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan, an ethnography of the Moghôls and related peoples of Afghanistan*, The Hague 1962; K. Ferdinand, *Ethnographical notes on the Chahar Aimaq, Hazara and Moghuls*, in *AO*, xxviii (1964-5), 175-203; M. Klimburg, *Afghanistan, das Land im historischen Spannungsfeld Mittelasiens*, Vienna 1966, 130-1; W.K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan*[3], London 1967, 56-7; V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan, politics of reform and modernization, 1880-1946*, Stanford 1969, 77, 79-80; L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 56, 58, 161; On language, see now G. K. Dulling, *The Hazaragi dialect of Afghan Persian*, Central Asian Monographs No. 1, London 1973.

(C.E. Bosworth)

HEART [see ḳalb].

HEDJAZ [see al-ḥidjāz].

HELM [see safīna].

HELMEND [see hilmand].

HEMP (Indian) [see ḥashīsh].

HERCULES, PILLARS OF [see ḳādis].

al-**HĪBA** [see aḥmad al-hība, above].

HIDJRA in *fiḳh*. For Muslims residing in the *Dār al-Ḥarb*, emigration to the *Dār al-Islām* (*hidjra*) is a recommendable act. If they cannot perform their religious duties in freedom, emigration becomes obligatory. These prescriptions are founded on Ḳurʾān, IV, 97-100 and some traditions, like Muḥammad's saying: "I have nothing to do with Muslims residing amongst the polytheists" (Abū Dāwūd, *djihād*, 95; Nasāʾī, *ḳasāma*, 27). The Mālikīs hold that emigration is always obligatory and that the tradition: "No emigration after the Conquest [of Mecca]" (Bukhārī, *djihād*, 1, 27, *īmān*, 41, *ṣayd*, 10, *maghāzī*, 35; Muslim, *imāra*, 85-6; Abū Dāwūd, *djihād*, 2; Tirmidhī, *siyar*, 32; Nasāʾī, *bayʿa*, 15**), which other *madhhabs* consider as an abrogation of the general command to emigrate, only applied to the Muslims abiding in or around Mecca, who were no longer obliged to emigrate, as their territory had become *Dār al-Islām*. During the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, as a reaction against colonial expansion, some Islamic politico-religious movements gave this doctrine a new lease of life, inducing their followers to leave Islamic territory which had fallen under foreign domination; see e.g. khilāfa, khilāfat movement.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Cairo 1971, i, 94-5; Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī al-Djaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ Ḳamḥāwī, Cairo n.d., iv, 262; Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1387/1967, ii, 876; Abu ʾl-Walīd Muḥammad b. Rushd, *Kitāb al-Muḳaddamāt*, Cairo 1325/1907, ii, 285; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Shirwānī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā tuḥfat al-muḥtādj*, Mecca 1304-5/1886-8, viii, 62; Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, ed. Ṭāhā Muḥammad al-Zaynī, Cairo 1388-9/1968-9, ix, 293-5; Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Hidjra wa-ḥukm muslimī ʾl-Būsna fīhā*, in *al-Manār*, xii (1909), 410-15; Rudolph Peters, *Dār al-Ḥarb, Dār al-Islām und der Kolonialismus*, in *XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag. Vorträge*, Wiesbaden 1977, 579-89; ʿUmar al-Naqar, *The pilgrimage tradition in West Africa*, Khartoum 1972, 82-92.

(R. Peters)

HIERARCHY OF SAINTS [see abdāl, ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ].

HIEROGLYPHS [see barbā].

ḤIKR, one of the various forms of long-term lease of *waḳf* property. Originally, the aim of these contracts was to give tenants an incentive to maintain and ameliorate dilapidated *waḳf* properties, which are inalienable. In exchange, the tenant is granted—according to different schools of law or interpretations—priority of lease, the right of permanent lease, the usufruct of the property or even co-proprietorship with the *waḳf*. *Ḥikr* contracts, which were common in Egypt and Syria, are perpetual or made for a long duration. The tenant may erect buildings or plant trees, which become his full private property. He is entitled to transfer and sell the property and the right of perpetual lease to any other person and they are inherited according to the *Sharīʿa*. The tenant pays a yearly rent which varies according to the current value of the land (*adjr al-mithl*). According to the prevalent view, *ḥikr* of a *waḳf* property has to be authorised by a *ḳāḍī*, and he is supposed to do so only if there is no other way in accordance with *waḳf* law to secure income for the *waḳf*.

Theoretically, *ḥikr* rights may be acquired on *mulk* property as well, and indeed there seem to have been such cases (cf. Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 11), but in general, *ḥikr* was confined to *waḳf*—probably because the interest shown by private owners in their property generally was greater than the administrators' interest in their *waḳfs*.

A similar system, *idjāratayn*, was common in Anatolia and in all countries formerly part of the Ottoman Empire, apparently since the 16th or 17th century (for Ottoman Egypt see, e.g. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, Būlāḳ, 1297/1880, iv, 94; M.-A. Lancret, *Mémoire sur le système d'imposition territoriale, Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, i, Paris 1809, 239). *Idjāratayn* contracts involve immediate payment of a lump sum, *muʿadjdjal*, as well as yearly, variable, rather low rents, *muʾadjdjal*. For repairs and setting up of installations in Egypt and Palestine, a system called *khuluww al-intifāʿ* was used, whose main features were a loan made to the *waḳf* (*murṣad*) and the right of the *waḳf* at any time to repurchase the property and repay the tenant the added value. *Khuluww*, according to Mālikī law, in Algeria and Tunis, was rather like *ḥikr* and involved perpetual usufruct or even "co-proprietorship" with the *waḳf*. The same is true for the Tunisian *enzel* (*in-*

zal), which was found not only on *ḥubūs* but also on *mulk* properties. In Morocco, the prevalent system of perpetual lease by the *ḥubūs* of dilapidated shops and workshops was the *dj̲alsa* (*guelsa*), also called *ʿanāʾ* or *zīna* (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 207). The tenant makes the necessary repairs, pays an annual rent and thus acquires the perpetual usufruct of the property. *Naṣba* in Tunis and *gedik* in Egypt were similar arrangements involving, in addition to perpetual lease, the ownership and use of tools and installations of shops and workshops. However, there was a major difference between all the Mālikī—North African systems and those which were prevalent in Egypt, Syria, and Turkey, according to Ḥanafī law: in the Mag̲h̲rib the lessee paid a fixed annual rent, while the yearly rents paid in the East were supposed to vary according to market fluctuations (*adj̲r al-mithl*). (For these and various other systems, see Pröbster, 153 ff.; Milliot, 55 ff., 126-6; Abū Zahra, 107 ff.)

In Egypt, *ḥikr* has existed at least since the 12th century (cf. S.D. Goitein, *Cairo: an Islamic city in the light of the Geniza documents*, in I.M. Lapidus, *Middle Eastern cities*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, 92; Hassanein Rabie, *Some financial aspects of the waqf system in medieval Egypt*, in *al-Madj̲alla al-Taʾrīk̲h̲iyya al-Miṣriyya*, xviii [1971], 1-24). *Ḥikr* and similar practices of perpetual lease flourished after periods of decline in the power of the central government which involved deterioration of *waḳfs*. This is what happened in various parts of Cairo after the decline of the Fāṭimids (Mubārak, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, iii, 2, 102), and in the Mag̲h̲rib with the decline of the Marīnid dynasty and the disorders under the S̲h̲arīfians which brought about the dilapidation of the *waḳfs* (Milliot, 43). The recurring fires in Istanbul and other Anatolian towns have been considered as a primary reason for the spreading of *idj̲āratayn* contracts in Ottoman Turkey. The *ḥikr* served as a useful expedient to develop deteriorated *waḳf* estates in periods of economic prosperity. In the second half of the 19th century in Egypt, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak, the Minister of Awḳāf, granted a large amount of *ḥikrs* to private persons to develop Cairo, Ṭanṭā and others towns (Mubārak, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 119; ix, 53).

Another reason for the increase in *ḥikr* was the attempt by debtors to save their estates from the encroachment of their creditors. This they achieved by selling the *raḳaba* of the estate to a mosque at a nominal price while keeping the usufruct and paying an annual *ḥikr*, equivalent to the interest on the price originally paid by the mosque. Thus they retained the right to transfer their property, but it could not be touched by their creditors (J.H. Scott, *The Law affecting foreigners in Egypt*, Edinburgh 1907, 120-1). *Ḥikr* has often been used as a way to encroach upon *waḳf* property. Frequently administrators neglected to collect the rent, and after some time the estate became known as the lessee's property. Usurpers even claimed to be entitled to become proprietors by prescription (cf. ʿAzīz K̲h̲ānkī, *al-Waḳf wa 'l-ḥikr wa 'l-taḳādum*, in *Madj̲allat* al-*Ḳānūn wa 'l-Iḳtiṣād*, vi [1936], 779-829).

Moreover, in all periods *ḥikr* and similar practices have been used by dishonest *nāẓirs* as a convenient means of fraud. In Palestine, "the conversion of Wakfs held as ijare wahide into ijaretein proceeded at a rapid rate in the nineteenth century, mainly through the dishonesty of the local Kadis and Mudirs of Awkaf, who were often interested parties in such transactions. It was an easy matter for a Mudir to advance the plea that a property had been incorrectly registered ... vast tracts of land were converted about this period into ijaretein, the Wakf being the sole loser, whilst the mutawali received a considerable accession to his income. The Law of 19 Jemazul-Akhir, 1280, categorically forbade conversion unless there is the sanction of the Sherʿ, and an Imperial Irade had been obtained" (J.B. Barron, *Mohammedan Wakfs in Palestine*, Jerusalem 1922, 32).

As a result, the number of perpetual leases of *waḳf* property in Islamic countries grew tremendously. At the end of the 19th century, the number of persons who had made *ḥikr* contracts in Egypt was estimated at 20-25,000 (*Madj̲mūʿat al-ḳarārāt wa 'l-mans̲h̲ūrāt*, Būlāḳ 1899, 236 f.), and in the 1930s, the Ministry of Awḳaf alone administered more than 11,000 *ḥikrs* (Abū Zahra, 135). *Ḥikr* contracts were made predominantly on *k̲h̲ayrī* (public) *waḳfs*, i.e. those whose income was dedicated to hospitals, mosques, the poor, etc. (Pröbster, 141-2; Milliot, 36). Many of Cairo's public baths (*ḥammām*) had to pay yearly *ḥikr* rents to various *waḳfs* (to whom, apparently, the property had originally belonged) (Mubārak, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 28, 38, 113, 116; iv, 45; vi, 66-71). Recently-discovered documents have shown that very large parts of Cairo were *ḥikr* which for years had been considered private property. However, income from *ḥikr* was extremely small. According to Mubārak's data on some Cairo mosques, their income from *ḥikr* in the third quarter of the 19th century was between 0.4 % and 1.31 % of their total income (Mubārak, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, iv, 45, 59, 60; v, 99). In the course of the first half of the 20th century, the percentage of income from *ḥikr* in the total income of the Ministry of Awḳāf from *awḳāf* declined from 2.59 % in 1899 and 1.88 % in 1904 to about 1 % from 1908 onwards (with few exceptions of lower or higher percentages). The highest percentage was obtained in the Waḳf al-Ḥaramayn category and a somewhat lower one in *k̲h̲ayrī waḳfs*, while *ahlī waḳfs* had the lowest percentage (1.91, 1.30, and 0.07 respectively in the 1928-9 budget). Percentages of *ḥikr* income in the total *waḳf* revenue in Palestine were similar: in 1927 the Supreme Moslem Council estimated *ḥikr* income at 1.95 % of its budget, and in fact received a sum which constituted only 1.10 % of the total *waḳf* revenue (Israel State Archives, K/102/34, 24). Though legally there should be no difference between *ḥikr* rates and the rent of the same land prior to the improvements made by the lessee, the report of an official committee appointed in Egypt in the 1930s put average rents on *ḥikr* lands at one-third of usual rents. *S̲h̲arīʿa* Courts calculated the value of *waḳf* lands encumbered with *ḥikr* as one-third of the value of similar lands free of *ḥikr* (Abū Zahra, 129-51).

Since the beginning of the 20th century, attempts have been made to abolish *ḥikr*. The Egyptian Awḳāf Administration had declared as early as 1898 that its aim was to sell the *ḥikrs*, since their revenue was too small compared with the cost of collecting it. The problem was that theoretically it is forbidden to sell *waḳf* property and that it was too complicated to exchange the great number of *ḥikrs*. Attempts made to do this during the first years of the century had failed. *Ḥikr* on *waḳf ahlī* was abolished together with such *waḳfs* in Egypt in 1952 by art. 7 of Law no. 180 of that year, and Law no. 649 of 1953 and no. 295 of 1954 provided for the voluntary sale and termination of *ḥikrs* on *waḳf k̲h̲ayrī*. The owner of the *raḳaba* (the *waḳf*) was to receive three-fifths of the price paid and the holder of the *ḥikr* the rest. Apparently these laws were not effective, and in 1960 a new law

(no. 92) was enacted, according to which all *ḥikrs* were to be liquidated: the holder was given the option to buy the property from the *waḳf* for three-fifths of its value, otherwise it would be put for auction and the proceeds divided between the *waḳf* and the holder in a ratio of 3 to 2. In Turkey, *id̲j̲āratayn* and *muḳāṭaʿa* (= *ḥikr*) were liquidated by the Vakıflar Kanunu of 5 June 1935. According to this law, the establishment of such arrangements in future was prohibited and existing ones were dissolved. Lessees were made owners of properties they held and required to pay compensation amounting to twenty times the yearly rent, according to a scheme of easy terms (Köprülü, 246 ff.). In ʿIrāḳ, the 1929 Law of Waqf Administration had already abolished *ḥikr* and *id̲j̲āratayn*, but apparently not effectively. In 1960 and 1962 new laws called *Itfāʾ ḥaḳḳ al-ḥikr* were enacted, according to which administrators and other people concerned were entitled to apply to a law court for the dissolution of *ḥikr*, *id̲j̲āratayn*, *muḳāṭaʿa*, and similar systems of perpetual lease. The law court would fix the value of the property and the share of the *waḳf* and the lessee (Muḥammad S̲h̲afīḳ al-ʿĀnī, *Aḥkām al-waḳf*, Bag̲h̲dād 1965, 60, 244-6).

Bibliography: In addition to the literature on *waḳf* in general, see in particular Eug. Clavel, *Le waḳf ou habous*, Cairo 1896, ii, ch. 12; U. Pace and V. Sisto, *Code annoté du Wakf*, Alexandria 1946, 138-59; J. Abribat, *Essai sur les contrats de quasi-aliénation et de location perpétuelle auxquels l'institution du hobous à donné naissance*, in *Revue Algérienne et Tunisienne de Législation et de Jurisprudence*, xvii (1901), 121-51; L. Milliot, *Démembrements du habous*, Paris 1918; E. Pröbster, *Privateigentum und Kollektivismus im mohammedanischen Liegenschaftsrecht, insbesondere des Maghrib*, Leipzig 1931; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-d̲j̲adīda*, Būlāḳ, 1304-5, *passim*; Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Ḥikr*, in *Mad̲j̲allat al-Ḳānūn wa 'l-Iḳtiṣād*, x (1940), 93-151; B. Köprülü, *Evvelki hukukumuzda vakıf nev'iyetleri*, Fasıl IV: *Icareteynli vakıflar*, in *Istanbul Universitesi, Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xviii (1952), 215-57; *al-Ahrām*, 3 August 1954; 6 May 1962.

(G. Baer)

al-HILĀLĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ras̲h̲īd al-Sid̲j̲ilmāssī, Moroccan scholar who owned his *nisba* to Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl (d. 903/1497; see Brockelmann, S II, 348), the ancestor of a family of intellectuals in Sid̲j̲ilmāssa. He was born in that town in 1113/1701, and began his studies there, going on to Fās for them, and then returning to the Tāfilālt, where he gathered round himself numerous pupils. He also obtained *id̲j̲āzas* from various eastern scholars on the occasions of two pilgrimages. He died at Madag̲h̲ra (Tāfilālt) on 21 Rabīʿ I 1175/20 October 1761.

Al-Hilālī owed his fame to the quality of his teaching and to a fairly abundant output of works which entitle him to be considered as one of the greatest Moroccan scholars of the 12th/18th century. His work is partially preserved (see the list of mss. in Lakhdar), and includes some *fahrasas*; a *riḥla*, which appears to be lost; some commentaries on works of *fiḳh*, on the subject of the Ḳurʾānic *ḳirāʾāt*, on lexicography and on logic; and finally, some poetry. His piety is displayed in a *ḳaṣīda* on the *asmāʾ ḥusnā* [*q.v.*] and above all in a poem of 129 verses in which he sums up the rule of life for the true believer, and recommends this latter to prepare for the next life in this present one, to fight against evil tendencies and desires and to conform to the obligations of Islam. This poem enjoyed a very great vogue in Morocco.

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(Ed.)

HINDIBĀʾ, endive, *Cichorium endivia*, the cultivated form of a species of the ligulate chicory family. Through Syriac *anṭūbiyā*, both terms *hindibāʾ* and "endive" go back to Greek ἴντυβος, which is recorded only sporadically; normally the plant is called σέρις, in the Arabic translations *sāris* or *sarīs*. The nomenclature, rich and confused, can be summarised as follows: the wild endive (*hindibāʾ barrī*) was already known to the earlier Arab botanists under various names: *ʿalat̲h̲* or *g̲h̲alat̲h̲* (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *Le dictionnaire botanique*, ed. M. Hamidullah, Cairo 1973, nos. 735, 804), further *yaʿdīd*, *baḳla murra*, *ṭark̲h̲as̲h̲ḳūḳ* and variants (*op. cit.*, no. 1115). As indicated by the last but one name, it is a "bitter vegetable" and is therefore also called *amarūn* (and variants). The latter term is not of Greek origin, as the books on medicine have it, but is to be derived from Latin *amarum*. The cultivated endive, usually called *hindibāʾ* (also by al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, nos. 1103, 1104), is the popular, tasty salad-plant, particularly widespread in the Arab West and known there under the Mozarabic name *s̲h̲arrāliya* or its arabicised form *sarrāk̲h̲* (Castilian *sarraja*, cf. F.J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas, etc.*, Madrid 1888, 584), while in Morocco the Berber term *tīfāf* is mainly used.

The medicinal effect of endive was exceptionally extensive, as can be seen in Ibn al-Bayṭār's long article, where numerous older sources are indicated. It is above all effective against eye-diseases and poisoning, in minced form also against boils when in their initial stage, and it strengthens the liver and stomach. The root helps against scorpion-stings, and the juice against jaundice, constipation, persistent fever and suppurations. The *ṭark̲h̲as̲h̲ḳūḳ* mentioned above is *taraxacum*, the dandelion used in popular medicine because of its bitter substance. On the cultivation of endive in Spanish agriculture, in particular on sowing, planting out and irrigation, ample information based on several sources is given by Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *K. al-Filāḥa*, tr. J.-J. Clément-Mullet, ii, Paris 1866, 146-9.

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ḤINN, an inferior species of *djinn* [*q.v.*]. Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 11 = § 1340) states that many people believe that the Ḥinn are a sub-species of the *djinn* who are of a weaker and lowlier kind, but condemns the belief in them as a delusion. Belief in the Ḥinn, is, however, accepted by the Druzes (see H. Guys, *Théogonie des Druses*, Paris 1863, n. 78, p. 106; *Taḳsīm Djabal Lubnān* (Leeds Arab. MS 178, fol. 14b); C.F. Seybold, *Die Drusenschrift: Kitāb Alnoqaṭ Waldawāir. Das Buch der Punkte und Kreise*, Kirchhain 1902, 71), and they are occasionally mentioned elsewhere in Arabic literature, e.g. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, Beirut 1960, 58.

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(R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young)

HIPPOCRATES [see buḳrāṭ, above]

HIPPOPOTAMUS [see faras al-mā, above]

al-**ḤIṢĀFĪ**, Ḥasanayn, founder of the al-Ḥiṣāfiyya al-Shādhiliyya *ṭarīḳa*. He was born in 1265/1848-9 in the village of Kafr al-Ḥiṣāfa, Ḳalyūbiyya province, Egypt.

Originally he was a *khalīfa* [*q.v.*] of an offshoot of the Madaniyya branch of the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*], known as al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya. He had been initiated into this *ṭarīḳa* by its founder, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī (d. 1288/1872), when in Mecca for the pilgrimage in the year of the latter's death. He defied as unlawful certain forms of *dhikr* [*q.v.*] characteristic of the *ṭarīḳa* and introduced into it certain elements of teaching and ritual peculiar to al-Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*]. This brought about a conflict within al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya which resulted in the formation of an independent and distinct *ṭarīḳa* which became known as al-Ḥiṣāfiyya al-Shādhiliyya.

After Ḥasanayn's death in 1910, when the *ṭarīḳa*'s position of supreme leadership had passed to his son Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1949), various factions emerged under local leaders who paid only nominal allegiance to the successors of the *ṭarīḳa*'s founder. One of these factions in Banī Suwayf, led by Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Tukhāwī (d. 1361/1942), developed into an independent and distinct *ṭarīḳa* known as al-Ṭukhāwiyya. Another faction in al-Maḥmūdiyya (Buḥayra province) led by Aḥmad al-Sukkarī was virtually severed from the main body of the *ṭarīḳa* when it was organised into the Djamʿiyya al-Ḥiṣāfiyya al-Khayriyya, an organisation which was the root and forerunner of the Ikhwān al-Muslimūn [*q.v.*].

Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī was buried in Damanhūr, where his shrine is venerated; a *mawlid* [*q.v.*] is celebrated there yearly.

Bibliography: ʿAlī al-Djaʿfarāwī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī fī manāḳib al-sayyid Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī*, Cairo 1330/1911-12, contains the principal biography in addition to a number of his sermons (71-87) and a short treatise in which he gives instruction in the fundamentals of *taṣawwuf* and elaborates his position with respect to *dhikr* (61-109). This section may be found also in a much more expanded form in the principal manual of the order, which is Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī's *al-Sabīl al-wāḍiḥ*, Cairo 1951. Other writings of al-Ḥiṣāfī are mentioned in a biography by Muḥammad Zakī Mudjāhid, *al-Aʿlām al-sharḳiyya*, 4 vols., Cairo 1949-63, iii, 101 f., which is largely based upon the biography by al-Djaʿfarāwī. A discussion of the early history of the order and of its exceptional position among the *ṭarīḳa*s in the 19th century Egypt may be found in F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-linked institutions in 19th century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, 101-3.

(F. de Jong)

ḤIYAL (a.), with the basic meaning of "devices, subterfuges", has had its sense considerably extended, and in particular, denotes in Classical Arabic ingenious contrivances, automata, various pieces of machinery, and finally, the science of mechanics. Since the article Ḥiyal in Vol. III deals mainly with legal fictions and ruses and with casuistic processes, the present article is especially concerned with automata, with the Arabic works describing them and with the tradition of which they are the most remarkable expression.

The mediaeval Arabic books on machines are often called "automata treatises" by modern writers, but the designation is somewhat misleading. The books deal with *ḥiyal* [*q.v.*], which in one of its senses denotes mechanical contrivances and covers a much wider field than that of automata. The descriptions in the treatises, supplemented by references in histories and by archaeological evidence, enables us to list the following constructions: water-clocks and candle-clocks; trick vessels and liquid dispensers, measuring devices; fountains, lamps; water-raising machines; musical automata; locks. According to Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khʷārazmī [*q.v.*], who compiled his scientific encyclopaedia *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* towards the end of the 4th/10th century, trebuchets (*mandjanīḳ*) are also *ḥiyal* (ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 247). The word therefore means virtually any mechanical contrivance from small toys to large machines. *Ḥiyal* may indeed be automata, as in the case of trick vessels; they may display a variety of automata, for instance on the monumental water-clocks; or the automatic element may be completely lacking. The closest Arabic word for automaton is in fact simply "movement" (*ḥaraka*), which is used frequently by the writers, e.g. al-Djazarī [*q.v.* above] and Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 397). Often a variety of *ḥarakāt* is described for the more complex devices, and the craftsman is instructed to select those that suit his tastes and purposes. The concern of this article is mainly with the contrivances that incorporated automatic effect.

Several treatises composed in Arabic are known to us, including: *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal* by the Banū Mūsa, written in Baghdād *ca.* 236/850 (Hauser; Wiedemann and Hauser - W.H. 1); *Kitāb ʿAmal al-saʿāt wa ʾl-ʿamal bihā* by Riḍwān, written in 600/1203, describing the repairs of a monumental water-clock built by his father Muḥammad al-Sāʿātī in Damascus *ca.*

545/1150 (W.H. 2); *Kitāb fī maʿrifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya* by al-Djazarī, written in 602/1206 (Hill 1); and a treatise on clocks written by Taḳī al-Dīn b. Maʿrūf (932-72/1526-65), namely *al-Kawākib al-dawriyya* (ed. and tr. with commentary by S. Tekeli, *The clocks in* [*the*] *Ottoman Empire in* [*the*] *sixteenth century*, Ankara 1966). A second work by Taḳī al-Dīn, dealing with various types of machines, entitled *al-Ṭuruḳ al-saniyya fī 'l-ālāt al-ruḥāniyya* has recently been edited in Arabic (Aḥmad Y. al-Ḥasan, Aleppo University 1976).

Almost certainly there are manuscripts yet to be discovered, and there are known manuscripts that await close study. Perhaps the most important of these is a manuscript in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. Numbered 152 (formerly 282) it is catalogued as *anonymi tractatus de mechanicis*. The section of the work that concerns us here is entitled *Kitāb al-Asrār fī natā'idj al-afkār* and occurs amid a number of mathematical treatises attributed to Abū ʿAbd Allāh, known as Ibn Muʿādh, who worked in Cordoba in the 5th/11th century. (For Ibn Muʿādh, see the article *al-Jayyānī* in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*.) It has not yet been possible to make a close study of this treatise, which is dated 664/1266. It is unfortunately in poor condition, with several of its pages torn, but it is written in a clear Maghribī script and it may be possible to decipher large parts of it. An examination of photographs of some of the leaves indicates that it describes water-clocks, and other machines. The drawings are well-executed and suggest considerable sophistication—for instance, they incorporate geartrains in the main parts of the machinery. This work, even if its authorship cannot be established with certainty, may prove to be of considerable importance for the study of mediaeval Islamic mechanical technology.

Apart from the treatises themselves, there are other attestations to support the existence of a thriving tradition of machine technology in mediaeval Islam. Al-Djazarī mentions a candle-clock built by a certain Yūnus al-Asṭurlābī (Hill 1, 87) and a musical automaton constructed by Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn (Hill 1, 170), otherwise known to us as an astrolabist (Suter, 117). There are also references to be found in the works of geographers and historians concerning mechanical devices which they had seen: for instance, the striking water-clock with automata presented to Charlemagne by vassals of Hārūn al-Rashīd (Eginhard, *Annales Francorum* in *Monumenta German. Script.* i, 194), and the silver tree with whistling birds in the garden of the Caliph al-Muḳtadir [see BAGHDĀD, History]. Remains of two water-clocks built in the 8th/14th century are still to be seen in Fās (D. de Solla Price, *Mechanical water clocks of the 14th century in Fez, Morocco*, in *Ithaca*, 26 VIII-2 XI [1962], 599-602). It cannot be doubted, therefore, that there was a tradition of mechanical engineering in Islam that probably originated in the 2nd/8th century and continued until it merged with the developing European engineering in the 10th/16th century. It was a tradition that was concerned mainly with devices to provide amusement and aesthetic pleasure, with some utilitarian elements, and almost certainly reached the peak of its achievements in the work of al-Djazarī.

One impetus for the establishment of this tradition was undoubtedly the availability in Baghdād in the 3rd/9th century of Arabic translations of Greek treatises, especially those of Philo (*ca.* 230 B.C.) and Hero (*fl. ca.* 60 A.D.). The works of Hero, in particular, were highly regarded in mediaeval Islam—several, including one on automata, are mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 397). A number of the Banū Mūsā's devices closely resemble devices described by Philo and Hero, and there seems little doubt that the brothers had access to the Greek treatises. It would be incorrect, however, to assume that Philo and Hero were the sole inspiration for the Banū Mūsā and their successors, or even the most important one.

From the time of Archimedes onwards, it now seems certain that a tradition of mechanical engineering, more practical than that represented by the known works of Philo and Hero, had spread throughout the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia. Monumental water-clocks, for instance, had been built in Syria in Byzantine times (H. Diels, *Über die von Prokop beschriebene Uhr von Gaza*, in *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. Berlin*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse [1917], No. 7). According to Riḍwān (W.H. 2, 179-80), this tradition was continued in Damascus in the Umayyad period and remained unbroken up to the time of his father. Riḍwān, in the same passage, also mentions a two-way transmission of ideas between Byzantium and Sāsānid Iran. It is indeed highly probable that mechanised technology developed in Iran in the Sāsānid period and continued into Islamic times: from the Banū Mūsā onwards many of the technical expressions used are of Persian origin. Nor can a similar interchange between Iran and India be left out of account.

Activity also continued in Byzantium. A treatise on a complicated musical automaton, probably written in Byzantium in the 1st/7th or 2nd/8th century, was described by al-Djazarī (Hill 1-170), see E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschafts-geschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, ii, 50). Three Arabic versions of this treatise, ascribed to a certain Apollonius, are extant. A most important work, attributed to Archimedes, and describing the construction of a water-clock, exists in several Arabic mss. Both Riḍwān and al-Djazarī acknowledge that the basic water-machinery of their monumental clocks was derived from the "Archimedes" treatise (Hill 2, W.H. 3). The origins of this work are still somewhat obscure. It may have contained basic ideas from Archimedes, developed by Philo, with later accretions from Byzantine and Islamic writers. Indeed, this treatise exemplifies the problems that arise when we try to identify the various cultural elements in the Arabic "translations". The "Philonic" corpus, to cite another example, has been transmitted in Latin versions, a Greek fragment, and a late Arabic version. The last-named certainly includes later Hellenistic and Islamic additions, and it is difficult to isolate Philo's own contributions.

For the present, we can make the following hypotheses for the origins and development of Islamic mechanical technology: (1) At the time of the Islamic conquests, there was an established tradition for the manufacture of water-clocks and other mechanical devices in an area that stretched from the eastern Mediterranean to India. Chinese influence cannot be excluded. This tradition was recorded not only in documentary form, but in the experience of craftsmen, and in the existence of earlier constructions. (2) This tradition was continued in Islam, but no results were committed to writing before the Banū Mūsā in the 3rd/9th century. The Banū Mūsā drew upon translations from Greek treatises, and from the experience of craftsmen, adding many refinements of their own. (3) Later writers, such as al-Djazarī, were able to exercise an eclectic judgement, using elements from Greek works and from the established Islamic corpus as they saw fit. Because al-Djazarī in

particular was a fine engineer, he made significant improvements on the work of his predecessors. (4) It was essentially practical engineering, and the Islamic writers derived much of their knowledge from the works of other craftsmen—astro-labists, millwrights, irrigation specialists, metalworkers, jewellers, and the makers of articles for domestic use and ornament.

Islamic mechanical engineering was based upon a sophisticated, if empirical, use of the principles of aerostatics, hydrostatics and mechanics. Their materials included timber, sheet brass and copper, cast bronze, iron (for small components, nails and axles), iron and copper wire, rope and string. From these they fashioned the devices and mechanisms to produce the desired effects: vessels of various shapes, figures of men and animals, tanks, air-vessels, bent-tube and concentric siphons, pulleys, tipping-buckets, axles and bearings, pipes, conical valves, taps with multiple borings, gears, and special mechanisms designed for individual machines. Orifices, graduated for a given flow, were made from pieces of onyx.

Eighty-five of the Banū Mūsā's one hundred devices, and about twenty of al-Djazarī's fifty, are trick vessels of various kinds. They demonstrate a bewildering variety of effects. For example, wine and water were poured into a jar and issued in succession from the same tap; a pitcher would not accept any more liquid once inpouring was interrupted; several liquids could be withdrawn separately from the same tap; when tilted, a pitcher could be allowed to discharge or not, according to the wish of the pourer (to prevent discharge he covered a concealed air-hole with his finger). These effects were obtained by using a répertoire of about ten basic motifs, together with components designed for individual machines. These components were assembled inside the main container, often with great ingenuity. In all the cases, the vessel itself was the automaton, and the visible effect was the discharge of liquid. The fountains described by the Banū Mūsā and al-Djazarī, in which the discharge changes shape at regular intervals, are essentially large versions of the trick vessels, but with a much greater aesthetic content.

Undoubtedly, the large water-clocks are the most important constructions of the Islamic engineers, for the engineering skills that went into their manufacture, for their beauty, and for their relevance to the history of mechanical engineering. Two of al-Djazarī's clocks (category I, 3, 4) are operated by a submersible float, the *tardjahār*, a bowl with a graduated orifice in its underside that submerges in a given period. The *tardjahār* is an ancient device for measuring time, but these clocks are the only instance we know of in which the *tardjahār* is incorporated in working machinery. They have the additional feature in that some of the automata are not simply for display, but also form an essential part of the operational cycle. The standard type of monumental clock, however, is exemplified by the first two described by al-Djazarī, and by the clock constructed by Muḥammad al-Sāʿātī. Apart from its use of masonry for its casing, al-Sāʿātī's clock is very similar to al-Djazarī's monumental clock (category I, ch. 1), which may be taken to exemplify this type of timepiece. This clock was reconstructed in the Science Museum, London, for the 1976 World of Islam Festival; it is quite beautiful, and works perfectly. The display screen is about 3.50 metres by 1.60 metres in width. At the bottom of the machine are the figures of five musicians—two trumpeters, two drummers and a cymbalist—who perform at the sixth, ninth and twelfth hours. Above these figures is a semicircle of glass roundels, at the side of which are the figures of brass falcons. Above the apex of the semicircle are two rows of twelve doors each, in front of which a small representation of the moon moves at a steady speed. The clock operates on "solar" or "temporal" hours, obtained by dividing the hours of daylight by twelve. Every hour one upper door opens to reveal a standing figure, one lower door revolves to show a different colour, each of the falcons drops a bronze ball from its beak on to a cymbal, and one of the glass roundels becomes fully illuminated. The clock is crowned with a Zodiac circle, painted with the appropriate signs, and having glass discs representing the sun and moon set to their correct positions in the Zodiac. The circle rotates at a constant speed throughout the day. All the automata, except the musicians, are operated by the steady sinking of a heavy float in a cylindrical reservoir—a string from the top of the float passes through a pulley system to the actuating mechanisms. The outflow from the reservoir is kept constant by a sophisticated system of feed-back control and flow-regulation. The musicians are made to perform by the sudden release of the outlet water, which is collected in a special tank.

Taken as a whole, one may distinguish the work of the Islamic engineers from that of their predecessors by their greater pre-occupation with automatic control. For example, their confident use of conical valves in flow systems, the use of a crank in a machine, segmental gears, etc. They also used manufacturing techniques that were unknown in earlier times, notably the use of closed mould-boxes with green sand for casting metals. Many of the components and techniques of this identifiably Islamic engineering were later incorporated into European machine technology, but we have as yet little certain knowledge of how and when the transmission took place. As far as we know, none of the Arabic machine treatises was translated into a European language before modern times, but the dissemination of engineering ideas and practices has always been fairly rapid and, until recently, without documentary assistance. Traveller's reports, contacts between craftsmen, and inspection by craftsmen of machines built by their predecessors, were the usual means for the transmission of mechanical knowledge. Al-Djazarī, for instance, mentions several times that he had inspected machines made by earlier craftsmen, or that their constructions had been described to him (Hill 1-83, 170, 199). It seems likely that the passage of information occurred at different times and places, although the designs may not have been put to immediate use, but have lain dormant until their usefulness became apparent to later generations of engineers. It seems probable, however, that the most important transmission took place in the Iberian peninsula towards the close of the 6th/12th century, with the adoption by Christian Spain of Islamic ideas, particularly the monumental water-clock, which itself incorporated most of the techniques and components used by Islamic engineers. The large clocks of al-Sāʿātī and al-Djazarī do not incorporate gears in their main operating mechanisms, but the "Archimedes" clock and the clocks in the "Ibn Muʿādh" treatise do so. These clocks are the direct ancestors of the mechanical clock; if one replaces the steadily descending float with an escapement-controlled weight; then the mechanical clock, with its driving mechanisms, and automata, does not differ essentially from its predecessor. The mechanical clock exercised a potent influence upon the development of machine

technology, and the waterclock is therefore directly relevant to this development. Islamic components and techniques were also incorporated into European engineering from the 7th/13th century onwards and were an important element in the establishment of modern machine design, particularly in the fields of delicate mechanisms and control systems.

There were less tangible influences of the Islamic automata tradition. Culturally, they are related to the "live" puppets of western literature and folklore, such as Pinocchio and the doll Olympia in one of the *Tales of Hoffman*. The cultivation of aesthetic delight, exemplified by the fountains of the Banū Mūsā and al-Djazarī, was continued in Europe by men such as Tomaso da Siena, who created the water gardens at the Villa d'Este and Bagnaia. More importantly, the representation of cosmological and biological phenomena was one of the factors that led men to adopt a rationalistic, mechanistic view of the universe, an attitude that has been immensely fruitful in the development of modern science.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the text): There are as yet no Arabic editions of any of the *ḥiyal* treatises and one must therefore have recourse to translations. (An edition of al-Djazarī's work is however being prepared by A.Y. Ḥasan and will be published by Aleppo University.) (In the works cited the location of the Arabic ms. is given.) Descriptions of thirteen of the Banū Mūsā devices, with illustrations and notes are given by E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser in *Über Trinkgefässe und Tafelaufsätze*, in *Isl.*, viii (1918), 268-91 (W.H. 1); the remainder are dealt with by Hauser in *Über das Kitāb al-Ḥiyal—das Werk über die sinnreichen Anordnungen der Benū Mūsā*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, Erlangen 1922; (A fully annotated English translation of the entire work is currently being prepared by the writer.) For al-Djazarī, see D.R. Hill, *The Book of knowledge of ingenious devices*, Dordrecht 1975, a fully annotated English version (Hill 1). Riḍwān's treatise is available in an abbreviated translation with notes and illustrations, by Wiedemann and Hauser, *Über die Uhren in Bereich der Islamischen Kultur*, in *Nova Acta der Kaiserl. Leop.-Carol Deutschen Akad. der Naturforscher*, c (Halle 1915), 169-272 (W.H. 2). Two translations of the pseudo-Archimedes are available, both with notes and illustrations: Wiedemann and Hauser, *Uhr des Archimedes and zwei andere Vorrichtungen*, in *Nova Acta*, ciii (1918), No. 2, 164-202 (W.H. 3); D.R. Hill, *On the construction of water-clocks*, London 1976 (Hill 2). For the Arabic version of Hero's *Mechanics* and Philo's *Pneumatics*, there are edited Arabic texts with French translations, both by Carra de Vaux: *Les mécaniques ou l'élevateur de Héron d'Alexandrie sur la version arabe de Qostâ ibn Lûqâ*, in *JA*, 9e Série (1893), i, 386-472; ii, 152-92, 193-269, 420-514; and *Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques par Philon de Byzance*, in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, xxxviii (1903), Pt. 1. A recent work on Philo is F.D. Prager, *Philo of Byzantium*, in *Pneumatica*, Wiesbaden 1974; there is useful discussion of the Latin and Greek versions, but the Arabic section is inadequate, and inferior in every way to Carra de Vaux's edition. For Hero's pneumatics, there is an English translation, B. Woodcroft, *The Pneumatics of Hero of Alexandria*, London 1851, re-issued with an introduction by M.B. Hall, London 1971. The studies of A.G. Drachmann are of the greatest value for the classical tradition, notably *The mechanical technology of Greek and Roman antiquity*, Copenhagen-Madison-London 1936; and *Ktesibios, Philon and Heron; a study in ancient pneumatics*, in *Acta Historica Scientarium Naturalium et Medicinalium*, Bibliotheca Universitatis Hauniensis, Copenhagen, iv (1946), 1-197. For automata in general, see A. Chapius and E. Droz, *Automata*, tr. A. Reid, Neuchatel-London 1958; D. de Solla Price, *Automata and the origins of mechanism and mechanistic philosophy*, in *Technology and Culture*, v/1 (1964), 9-23. On the influence of the Greek tradition, there is a valuable survey by Price in *Gears from the Greeks*, Science History Publications, New York 1975, 51-62. The Indian tradition of mechanical devices and its connections with Greek and Islamic ideas is described by V. Raghaven in *Yantras or mechanical contrivances in Ancient India*, in *The Indian Institute of Culture*, Basavangudi, Banglalore, Transaction No. 10 (1952) 1-31. The index to J. Needham's *Science and civilisation in China*, iv/1, Cambridge 1965, should be consulted for transmission from and into China, particularly the entries under "Automata", "Clocks", "Clock-work" and "Water-power". (D.R. Hill)

HOESEIN DJAJADININGRAT, Pangeran Aria, Muslim scholar and Indonesian statesman, historian and linguist (1886-1960).

Born at Kramat Watu, the chief town of a sub-district in the residence Bantam (Bantĕn) in West Java, where his father was a government official, he sprang from an old prominent family which was related to the former Sultans of Bantam [see indonesia, iv]. In his early youth, Hoesein's historical interest must have been evoked by reminiscences of the period of the Bantam Sultans, kept alive through stories and legends and through old buildings such as the monumental mosque in the former town of Bantam, the remains of the Sultan's residence (Kraton) and pleasure gardens. More than any other region of Java, Bantam is also the area of centuries-old Muslim piety; there are many *pĕsantrèns* (religious schools), where the Muslim sciences are studied industriously from Arabic text-books, and in every village there are people who have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once. At an early stage Hoesein was destined for a European education and academic career by his progressive father, who had been promoted to be Regent of Serang. After previous training in Batavia and at the gymnasium in Leiden, Hoesein was matriculated into Leiden Uni-versity in 1905 as the first Indonesian student of the section "Languages and Literatures of the East-Indian Archipelago". He read Sanskrit with J.S. Speyer, and Arabic, first with M.J. de Goeje and, from 1906 onwards, with the latter's successor C. Snouck Hurgronje. When a prize was offered for the best essay on data preserved in Malay works concerning the history of the sultanate of Atjèh, he was distinguished with a golden medal of honour. In 1913 he received his Ph.D. degree for the thesis *Critische beschrijving van de Sadjarah Banten* ("Critical examination of the Sajarah Bantĕn"), a Javanese chronicle dealing with the history of Bantĕn, but containing also traditions concerning the earlier history of Java and the period of its conversion to Islam. Back in Indonesia, Hoesein was appointed to the academic function of "official for the study of Indian (i.e. Indonesian) languages" and commissioned to devote himself to the Achinese language. At the beginning of 1914 he went to Atjèh and, after his return to

Batavia by mid-1915, continued his studies with the aid of the material collected, the extensive Achinese literature preserved in manuscript, and with the assistance of Achinese informants. His *Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* ("Achinese-Dutch Dictionary") was published in two volumes in 1934.

Being the only Indonesian Ph.D., he several times had to sit on various official committees, and in 1916 he was appointed as assistant to the then governmental commissioner for Native Affairs, G.A.J. Hazeu, and as such he was mainly in charge of Islamic affairs. From 1920 till 1924 he was Assistant-Adviser for Native Affairs to the Government, and then received an appointment as a professor at the University of Law, newly-erected in Batavia, where he taught Muslim Law and Indonesian languages. From this period date a number of articles on Indonesian languages and literature, Islamic and Indonesian history; as monographs were published: *De Mohammedaansche wet en het geestesleven der Indonesische Mohammedanen* ("Muslim law and spiritual life of the Indonesian Muslims") (1925), and: *De magische achtergrond van de Maleische pantoen* ("The magical background of the Malay pantun") (1933).

Hoesein turned his attention to statesmanship, when, in 1935, he became a member of the Council of Dutch East India, the highest government committee. As such, he had a great part in the reform of religious Muslim judicial administration in Java, which led to such institutions as the panghulu-courts (religious courts) and in 1938, to the Court of Islamic Affairs (the higher religious court) at Batavia. While Hoesein was holding for one year the office of Director of the Department of Education and Worship, the first Indonesian Faculty of Letters was opened (4 December 1940). During the war (1942-5) and the first disturbed years afterwards, he mostly remained inactive, reading and studying (his membership of the Council of Dutch East India ended in 1946). When in 1948 the provisional Federal Government was formed, he became Secretary of State for Education, Arts and Sciences. As such, he was present at the Round Table-Conference at the Hague in 1949. When the Republic of Indonesia became independent on 27 December 1949, Hoesein lost his office, but his scholarly qualities were recognised in 1951, when he was invited to take the Chair of Arabic and Islamology at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta (formerly Batavia). Now over seventy, he was free to teach the subject of his preference; he chose the history of Indonesia's conversion to Islam. He published some more articles and wrote the chapter on "Islam in Indonesia" in Kenneth W. Morgan, *Islam—the Straight Path: Islam interpreted by Muslims* (New York 1958), in which are treated the origin of Islam in Indonesia, religious education, the actual situation of Islam in Indonesia, arranged according to the concepts *sharīʿa*, dogma, Ṣūfism and reform, and finally a characterisation of Indonesian Islam. He died in 1960.

A Javanese aristocrat by origin and through his marriage to a daughter of the Javanese royal house of Mangkunagara, and the first Indonesian to devote himself to the study of Islam after a Western academic education, Hoesein Djajadiningrat remained a devout Muslim throughout his life and as such enjoyed the confidence of his co-religionists. Through his uprightness and justice he was hold in reverence by Indonesians, Arabs and Dutch alike.

Bibliography: given in the article. A list of Hoesein's writings, compiled by Atja, has been published in *Bahasa dan Budaja*, viii/5-6 (1960).

(G.F. PIJPER)

HOGGAR [see AHAGGAR].

HOMONYM [see AḌDĀD].

HOMS [see ḤIMS].

HOOPOE [see HUDHUD].

HORN [see BŪḲ].

HORSEMAN [see FĀRIS].

HORTICULTURE [see BŪSTĀN].

HOSPITALERS, KNIGHTS [see DĀWIYA, above].

HOURI [see ḤŪR].

ḤUBAYSH B. AL-**ḤASAN** AL-**DIMASHḲĪ**, surnamed al-Aʿsam "the one with the withered limbs", translator of Greek medicinal writings into Arabic. He was a Christian and a nephew of the master-translator Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], who esteemed him highly as a collaborator and considered him very talented but not particularly assiduous. The quality of his translations was so high that later they were held often for Ḥunayn's work; because of the similarity of the consonant ductus, uncritical users are even said to have been of the opinion that the name Ḥubaysh—the real translator—should be changed into Ḥunayn. His dates are not known; he may have lived at the ʿAbbāsid court towards the end of the 3rd/9th century. He belonged to those prominent translators who had been awarded by the Banu 'l-Munadjdjim a fixed monthly salary of *ca.* 500 *dīnār*s (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 243, 18-20).

Ḥubaysh had only a very scant knowledge of Greek, or none at all; with the exception of the Hippocratic oath and the herb-book of Dioscurides, he translated Galen's works exclusively, 35 of them from Arabic into Syriac, and three from Syriac into Arabic (cf. *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, ed. and tr. G. Bergsträsser, *AKM*, xvii/2, Leipzig 1925, index, 45). His language is that "of a scholar who aims only at clearness, who is little trained linguistically and does not care much for linguistic beauty, but on the other hand sets himself to some kind of correctness" (G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāḳ und seine Schule*, Leiden 1913, 41). On the basis of the then known translations, Bergsträsser (*ibid.*, 28-46) classified the linguistic peculiarities of Ḥubaysh; additions are given by M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht, *Galen über die medizinischen Namen*, in *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., Berlin 1931, 4-7. In view of the tight relation between teacher and pupil, the many similarities in language of Ḥunayn and Ḥubaysh are not surprising.

Besides the translated works, Ḥubaysh is also the author of original writings. They are completely based on his knowledge of Greek medicine, but, as far as pharmacology is concerned, they often reach further back and prove that already in those days other sources were used or that personal observations were introduced. Mention should be made firstly of his additions (*ziyādāt*) to Ḥunayn's *Kitāb al-Masāʾil al-ṭibbiyya*, which became extraordinarily widely diffused, cf. A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia arabica*, Göttingen 1966, 39-44; this enlarged edition became a standard work which was to occupy quite a number of commentators and epitomists. Other works of Ḥubaysh preserved in manuscript are: (1) *Kitāb Iṣlāḥ al-adwiya al-mushila*; (2) *K. al-Aghdhiya*; (3) *K. fi 'l-Istisḳāʾ* and (4) *Maḳāla fi 'l-nabḍ*. Only from quotations are known: (5) *K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada* (often cited by Ibn al-Bayṭār); (6) *Taʿrīf amrāḍ al-ʿayn*, quoted in Khalīfa's *al-Kāfī fi 'l-kuḥl* (see J. Hirschberg, etc. in *Anhang der Abh. Preuss. Akad.*

Wiss., Berlin 1905, 13, 20 f., and idem, *Die arabischen Augenärzte*, ii, Leipzig 1905, 158); and (7) a dispensatorium (*aḳrābād̲h̲īn*), possibly composed not by Ḥubays̲h̲ but by Ḥunayn.

Bibliography (besides the works quoted in the article): Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 297; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ* 177; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*, i, 202 and *passim*; Barhebraeus, *Duwal*, ed. Ṣālḥānī, Beirut 1890, 252 f.; idem, *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. P. Bedjan, Paris 1890, 163; M. Meyerhof, in *Isis*, viii (1926), 690-702, 708; H. Ritter and R. Walzer, *Arabische Übersetzungen griechischer Ärzte in Stambuler Bibliotheken*, in *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., Berlin 1934, 829; G. Bergsträsser, *Neue Materialien zu Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq's Galen-Bibliographie*, in *AKM*, xix/2, Leipzig 1932, 32 (lists) and *passim*; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i, Paris 1876, 154-7; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, new impression Graz 1960, 266; G. Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 1947, 130 f.; Brockelmann, I², 227 f., S I, 369; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 119 and *passim*; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, Leiden 1970, 265 f.

(A. Dietrich)

ḤUD̲H̲AYFA b. **ʿABD** b. Fuḳaym b. ʿAdī [see al-ḲALAMMAS]

ḤUDŪD al-**ʿĀLAM**, "The limits of the world", the title of a concise but very important anonymous Persian geography of the world, Islamic and non-Islamic, composed towards the end of the 4th/10th century in Gūzgān [*q.v.*] in what is now northern Afg̲h̲ānistān. The work exists in a unique manuscript of the 7th/13th century (the "Toumansky manuscript") which came to light in Buk̲h̲ārā in 1892. The Persian text was first edited and published by W. Barthold at Leningrad in 1930 as *Ḥudūd al-ʿālem, rukopisĭ Tumanskago*, with an important preface (this last reprinted in his *Sočinenya*, viii, 504-46; an English tr. of this was included by Minorsky in his translation of the whole work, see below), and subsequently by D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Ṭihrānī, Tehran 1314/1935, and Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1340/1962. Soon after Barthold's edition appeared, V. Minorsky produced an English translation, together with a lengthy commentary of immense erudition, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, "The regions of the world", a Persian geography 372 A.H.—982 A.D.*, GMS, N.S. xi, London 1937. A second edition (London 1970) includes Minorsky's own "Addenda to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*", originally published in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 250-76, and also a second series of addenda.

The authorship of the work still remains a puzzle, though it was dedicated to the *amīr* of Gūzgān, of the Farīg̲h̲ūnid line, Abu 'l-Ḥārit̲h̲ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Farīg̲h̲ūn [see farīg̲h̲ūnids]. Minorsky suggested the possibility, though the evidence is indirect and requires further investigation, that the author might have been the S̲h̲aʿyā b. Farīg̲h̲ūn [see ibn farīg̲h̲ūn below] who wrote an early encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *D̲j̲awāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, for an *amīr* of Čag̲h̲āniyān [*q.v.*] on the upper Oxus in the middle years of the 4th/10th century; cf. his *Ibn Farīghūn and the Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, in *A locust's leg, studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 189-96, reprinted in his *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 327-32.

The form of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* is concise and pithy. Unlike such contemporary geographers as Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasī, the author does not personally seem to have been a traveller, but he relied instead on earlier sources and reports, such as those of Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih [*q.v.*] and, apparently, ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-D̲j̲ayhānī [see al-d̲j̲ayhānī, above], except for the immediate region of his home in northern Afg̲h̲ānistān. Its archaic language and style are interesting pieces of evidence for early Persian prose, cf. G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 53-4. Original features of the author's approach are his concern for exact enumeration of physical features (the seven seas, rivers, lakes, islands, etc.) of the inhabited world; his division of this last into three main parts, Asia, Europe and "Libya" (= Africa); his enumeration of 45 distinct countries (*nāḥiyat*) lying to the north of the equator; and the unusually large proportion of space allotted to the non-Islamic lands, even though the Muslim ones, surveyed roughly from east to west, naturally occupy the greater part of the work. The information on the local topography of Afg̲h̲ānistān is probably first-hand, with special emphasis on Gūzgān, G̲h̲arčistan, G̲h̲ūr, etc.; the material on the Eurasian and Turkish steppes and their peoples is likewise very significant. Finally, the author furnishes useful details about local products and trade movements.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ḤUNAYN, site of a mediaeval seaport in western Algeria, not far west of Beni-Saf (B. Ṣāf) and, as the crow flies, about 45 km. N. W. of Tlemcen. Within a walled area (41,000 sq. m.) are ruins of a *ḳaṣba* and traces of a mosque's, and possibly also a *ḥammām*'s, foundations. On dry land below the *ḳaṣba* lie the remains of a rectangular interior dock (4,250 sq. m.), once protected by rampart and towers and entered, seemingly via achannel, by a large arch of carved stone of the kind characteristic of certain parts of Muslim Spain. Most of what remains is in the Marīnid architectural tradition and thought attributable to the sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan.

Words in Ibn Abī Zarʿ's *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās* must not be taken as implying the existence of Hunayn as the port of Tlemcen in 237/851-2. Hunayn finds no place in Ibn Ḥawḳal's 4th/10th century description of the Oran-Melilla coast, but it was known to al-Bakrī in the 5th/11th century as a fortress (*ḥiṣn*) with a good and busy anchorage. Inhabited by Kūmiyya Berbers, it had more orchards and varieties of fruit than any neighbouring coastal *ḥiṣn*. A century later al-Idrīsī's description is "a charming and prosperous small town with solid wall, market and trace." *Extra muros*, large tracts of land were farmed. Under the Almohads its importance grew, for not only was ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*] from the Kūmiyya, but he also championed the *d̲j̲ihād* in Spain. And so he made Hunayn—only two days' sailing away from Alberia—a naval shipyard. Thereafter it gradually emerged as the new port of Tlemcen, wholly ousting Ars̲h̲gūl, the old. In the 7th/13th century Tlemcen became the capital of the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*] and a great commercial metropolis. As the northern terminal of the major trans-Saharan trade axis running from sub-Saharan Africa, it was ideally placed for exchanges with Mediterranean Europe. In its brisk trade with Christian and Muslim Spain and elsewhere, Hunayn played a major role and prospered, even during the long ʿAbd al-Wādid-

Marīnid struggle. In 698/1298 it wisely submitted to the Marīnid Abū Yaʿḳūb and emerged unscathed when his eight-year siege of Tlemcen ended with his death in 1307. In 736/1335-6 it again fell into Marīnid hands, this time for ten years under Abu 'l-Ḥasan, and then to a Kūmiyya rebel from whom the ʿAbd al-Wādid Abū Thābit recovered it in 1348. It was at Hunayn that Ibn Khaldūn was arrested by Marīnids in 1370 and to Hunayn that he was deported from Spain in 1374.

After the Spanish seizure of Oran in 1509, Venetian trade was diverted thence to Hunayn. Around the same time the port became a haven for corsairs, a fact which eventually led to its seizure in 1531 by the Spaniards, who chose, however, to abandon it in 1534, presumably after rendering the port unserviceable. Hunayn never regained its old prosperity.

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(J.D. LATHAM)

AL-ḤUSAYMA is the name which, since the independence of Morocco in 1956, has been given to a bay and small archipelago on the coast of the Rīf between the Cape of Quilates on the East and the More headland to the West. It is known also by the name of Alhucemas as well as by that of San Jurjo, the town founded by the Spaniards in 1926; today, it is the capital of the province.

The origin of the old place name as well as the new one poses unsolved problems. In classical antiquity the bay seems to have had no particular name, for the *Itinerary* of Antonius merely indicates the two groups of three islets: *ad sex insulas*. The Marquis de Segonzac in 1901 passed through the territory of the Banī Waryāghal (Uryaghol) and speaks of the bay of Nukūr [see NAKŪR, NĀKŪR], a town and famous principality which have been destroyed several times in the past but of which traces seem to have been found on the banks of the *wādī* of the same name five miles from the sea. This seems acceptable, because the Arab geographers and the Moroccan government have always given the name Ḥadjrat al-Nukūr to the small archipelago, and another French traveller in 1904, Ch. René Leclerc, confirms the existence of the name then. Although in Spanish the word *alhucema* "lavender", is derived from Arabic *al-khuzāmā*, with the same meaning, the place name is not derived from the plant name. *Al-Khuzāmā* is never encountered in ancient geographical or historical texts in the Western Arabic sources, nor in old maps of the strait of Gibraltar. However, recently al-Būʿayyāshī, with some other scholars supporting him, admits that the name Alhucemas has an unquestionably Arabic origin and that the new name al-Ḥusayma which has been adopted by the Moroccans is no more than an arabised form of the Hispano-Arabic word. Others, like the author of the voluminous encyclopaedia *Espasa-Calpe*, say that the name Alhucema is a corruption of al-Mazimma, but this suggestion needs further discussion, see below.

The largest islet of the archipelago, which is 170 m. long and 75 m. broad, is about 1300 m. from the coast; it was ceded with the others to Spain in about 1554 by the Saʿdid Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]. This was to prevent the Turks, who had temporarily taken the Peñon de Velez from Spain, from seizing them in a similar manner. But Spain did not consider it necessary to follow up this action by even a symbolic occupation of these strategic islands. The affair was conducted so well that France was not aware of the cession, and in 1665, a French commercial company, which was intent on exploiting the possibilities of the coast of the Rīf, decided to set up an establishment in the bay of Nukūr under the name of the Compagnie d'Albouzème. In contemporary sources sometimes the term "Albouzème" is used, but otherwise it is "Les Albouzèms", or variants. The first term denotes the earlier town (called in Arabic al-Mazimma) which the ʿAlawī sultan Mawlāy Rashīd [*q.v.*] was to destroy. The second term denotes the town together with its port and its islands, but the words are often interchanged. There are frequent references to the name al-Mazimma in ancient and modern texts, especially in the *Description of Africa* of Leo Africanus, who devotes an interesting chapter to it.

But where is al-Mazimma? Al-Bādisī, writing at the end of the 19th century in his *Maḳṣad*, speaks of ramparts with gates overshadowed by a rock. At the beginning of the 20th century, René Leclerc noted the existence of a village on the side of a hill amongst several ruins; this was probably Nukūr, and al-Mazimma seems to have been the port associated with it. Wherever the town and the port may have been exactly, it was Cardinal Mazarin who first planned to set up a commercial establishment "on the islands of Albouzème". He went as far as appointing a consul for it, but when the cardinal died, the project was abandoned. However, the plan was not forgotten and on 4 November 1664 a decree from the French Conseil d'État authorised the creation of a company to be conducted by two brothers from Marseilles, Michel and Roland Fréjus. Roland did not reach Morocco until 1666 and, although his journey across the Rīf delighted him, one made in order to see Mawlāy Rashīd at Tāzā, it did not produce the expected results and he returned to France. The company was declared bankrupt, and was replaced by the Compagnie du Levant (on all this episode, see J. Caillé, *Representative diplomatique*, 31).

It was not until 1673 that Spain occupied these islands (*peñons*); on one of them, the largest, she set up a *presidio* (penitentiary) and a cemetery on another one nearby. Concerning life on this waterless archipelago, see J. Cazenave, *Présides espagnols*, 457-507. The Peñon d'Alhucemas, like Melilla and the Peñon de Velez, was besieged by the troops of Muḥammad the Great in December 1774. The Spanish resisted the bombardments bravely, and on 19 March 1775, the siege was lifted. It was also in the bay of Alhucemas that Spanish troops disembarked on 8 September 1925 to end the violent revolt of ʿAbd al-Karīm [*q.v.*] whose headquarters were at Adjdir, 8 kms. away.

The archipelago, like the rest of the Spanish zone of the protectorate, was returned to the Moroccan authorities after Morocco regained her independence. The new provincial capital, al-Ḥusayma (pop. 5,000) is a young modern city, aiming at becoming a prosperous tourist centre and seaside resort.

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A. Moulieras, *Le Maroc inconnu, vingt deux ans d'exploration*, i, Paris 1895, 91-101, "Tribu des Beni Ouriarel", 91-101 with map; Marquis de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc*, Paris 1903, 56; B. Meakin, *The Land of the Moors*, London 1901, 336-9; M. Besnier, *Géographie ancienne du Maroc*, in *AM*, iii (1904); C.R. Leclerc, *Le Maroc Septentrional, souvenirs et impressions*, Algiers 1905; E. Doutté, art. *Alhucemas*, in *EI*[1]; I. Bauer, *El Rif y la kabila de Beni Urriaguel*, in *Memorias de la Societad española de antropologia, etnografia y prehistoria*, i (Madrid 1921-2); Col. H. de Castries, *Sources inédites, Filaliens*, i, Paris 1922, 86; J. Cazenave, *Les Présides Espagnoles d'Afrique, leur organisation au XVIII*[e] *siècle*, in *R. Afr.*, 1922/2, 255-69, and 1922/3, 457-507; A. Steiger, *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-arabe y de los española*, Madrid 1922; al-Bādisī, *El-maqṣad* (*vies des saints du Rif*), annotated French tr. G.S. Colin, in *AM*, xxvi (1926); *Rif et Jbala* (a communication), in *Bulletin de l'enseignement public du Maroc*, lxxi (Jan. 1296) (with bibl.); Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf*, Rabat 1931, 346-7 (*Hadjrat al-Nukūr*); J. Caillé, *La représentation diplomatique de la France au Maroc*, PIHEM, Notes et Documents, viii, Paris 1951, with a complete bibl. of the Compagnie d'Albouzème; Leo Africanus, *Africae descriptio*, French tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 277-8; P. Schmitt, *Le Maroc d'après la géographie de Ptolémée*, Centre de Recherches Piganiol, Tours 1973; A. al-Būʿayyās̲h̲ī, *Ḥarb al-Rīf al-taḥrīriyya*, Tangier 1974, i, 112-4.

(G. DEVERDUN)

ḤUSAYN B. **ʿALĪ** B. **ḤANZALA** [see ʿALĪ B. ḤANZALA, above].

ḤUSAYN DJAJADININGRAD [see HOESEIN DJAJADININGRAT, above].

AL-**ḤUSAYNĪ**, ṢADR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. NĀṢIR B. ʿALĪ, author of the late Sald̲j̲ūḳ period and early decades of the 7th/13th century, whose work is known to us through its incorporation within an anonymous history of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs and succeeding Atabegs of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, the *Ak̲h̲bār al-Dawla al-sald̲j̲ūḳiyya* (ed. Muhammad Iqbal, Lahore 1933; Tkish. tr. Necati Lugal, Ankara 1943; cf. Brockelmann, I[2], 392, Suppl. I, 554-5). Al-Ḥusaynī apparently composed the *Zubdat al-tawārīk̲h̲, ak̲h̲bār al-umarāʾ wa 'l-mulūk al-sald̲j̲ūḳiyya*, which forms the first part of the longer, anonymous work. The *Zubda* was in turn based on the history of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*], continued up to 590/1193-4, the date of the death of the last Great Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan, Tog̲h̲ril III. The author of the *Ak̲h̲bār al-dawla al-sald̲j̲ūḳiyya* then continued his own work with the history of the Atabegs of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, either up to 620/1223-4 or 622/1225-6, the latter being the date of the deaths of the caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] and of Özbeg b. Pahlawān [see ILDEÑIZIDS].

There are considerable problems regarding both al-Ḥusaynī and the anonymous author and their respective works, which have been discussed by K. Süss-heim, *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der im Britischen Museum zu London verwahrten Chronik des Seldschuqischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1911, by M.T. Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saljuks*, in *AO*, iii (1925), 145 ff., by Lugal in the Introd. to his translation of the *Ak̲h̲bār*, by Cl. Cahen, *Le Malik-nâmeh et l'histoire des origines seljukides*, in *Oriens*, ii (1949), 32-7, and by Angelika Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1225), Politik, Religion, Kultur in der späten ʿAbbāsidenzeit*, Berlin 1975, 17-18.

It seems that al-Ḥusaynī's name became attached to the *Ak̲h̲bār* through a copyist's mistake, the real author being, in Hartmann's view, an official in the administration at Bag̲h̲dād. As for al-Ḥusaynī, he remains an enigmatic figure; he was apparently an ʿAlid, and may conceivably be identical with the "al-Ṣadr al-Ad̲j̲all, Ṣadr al-Milla wa 'l-Dīn" of Nīs̲h̲āpūr, historian and poet, whom ʿAwfī [*q.v.*] mentions and knew personally in the early 7th/13th century, see his *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 125-7.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

HUT [see SUKNA].

HYDROMANCY [see ISTINZĀL].

I

IATROMANCY [see FIRĀSA, ISTIK̲H̲ĀRA]

ʿIBĀDAT K̲H̲ĀNA, literally "House of Worship", the name of the chamber or building where religious discussions among theologians were held under the patronage of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor Akbar. It was constructed by Akbar at Fatḥpūr Sikrī [*q.v.*] the seat of his court, in 983/1575. He was then interested in finding a common interpretation of Muslim law, and invited Muslim jurists and theologians to hold discussions with a view to resolving their disputes; he was himself present at many of these. It was discovered, during the course of discussions, that Muslim orthodoxy was divided not only on the fine points of law but also on basic principles. Akbar's subsequent disenchantment with Muslim orthodoxy were ascribed by Badāʾūnī to the effects of the open and bitter theological disputes of the ʿIbādat K̲h̲āna. Akbar then enlarged the scope of the debate by inviting non-Muslim divines to discussions in the ʿIbādat K̲h̲āna, and Hindus, Christians and Parsees could now explain articles of their faith and engage in controversy with Muslim divines. The *Dabistān-i mad̲h̲āhib* contains an interesting record of these discussions among representatives of various religions.

With the *maḥḍar* of 987/1579, when Muslim theologians set forth high claims for Akbar as an interpreter and enforcer of Muslim law, the ʿIbādat K̲h̲āna sessions seem to have ended. The *maḥḍar* did not win much support among Muslims; and Akbar himself began to hold larger religious views. Moreover, he left Fatḥpūr Sikrī soon afterwards, and his sessions with such religious divines as appeared at his court were held elsewhere.

The actual building of the ʿIbādat K̲h̲āna at Fatḥpūr Sikrī has not been properly identified.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ed. Blochmann, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1867-77; idem, *Akbar-nāma*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1873-87; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntak̲h̲ab al-tawārīk̲h̲*, Bibl.

Ind., Calcutta 1864-9; anonymous, *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow 1904; Sri Ram Sharma, *The religious policy of the Mughal Emperors*, Bombay 1962; Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, 168-9; idem, *An intellectual history of Islam in India*, Edinburgh 1969, 29; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, New Delhi 1975, 111 f. and index.

(M. Athar Ali)

IBʿĀDIYYA or Abʿādiyya (pl. *abāʿid*) was the term used in 19th century Egypt for land surveyed in 1813 under Muḥammad ʿAlī, but not included in the cadaster and not taxed because it was uncultivated. These lands extended over an area of 0.75 to 1.0 million *feddāns* (a *feddān* amounted, at the end of Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule, to 4,416.5 square metres). To increase the country's wealth he made free grants of *ibʿādiyya* to high officials and notables, exempting them from taxes on condition that they improved the land and prepared it for cultivation. The first relevant decree was issued on 1 December 1829, after which grants rapidly increased. At first recipients only enjoyed usufructuary rights, but in order to encourage investment, Muḥammad ʿAlī was compelled in 1836 to decree these lands as being inheritable by eldest sons and, on 16 February 1842, to grant almost complete rights of ownership, including the right of sale and transfer. Saʿīd, who needed money to implement the modernisation policy begun by Muḥammad ʿAlī, imposed on 30 September 1854 a tithe (*ʿushr*) on *ibʿādiyya* and similar categories of land granted as private property, all of which were classified from then onwards as *ʿushūriyya* lands. He reinforced, however, property rights to these lands. Clause 25 of his 1858 Land Law explicitly stated that they were "the full property of whomsoever received them ... and that he might deal with them in every respect as a property owner". *Ibʿādiyya* owners were even entitled, from then onwards, to endow these lands as *wakf* or to bequeath them in their wills. A major expansion in grants of *ibʿādiyya* land after Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule occurred under Ismāʿīl, from 1863 to 1876, mainly in the northern part of the Delta. After that grants of *ibʿādiyya* discontinued.

Cultivators residing on *ibʿādiyya* lands were exempted from the *corvée*, i.e. forced labour for public works, such as strengthening dikes and for fighting locusts. This attracted the fellahs of neighbouring lands, thus enriching even more the notables owning *ibʿādiyya*s and encouraging differentiation in landownership.

In Fayyūm, *ibʿādiyya* lands were granted to Western Desert Bedouin tribes in order to encourage their settlement. In contrast to other *abāʿid*, the tribes did not receive legal title to their land, but gained exemption from taxes, forced labour, and conscription, by cultivating it. The experiment did not always meet with success, and many Bedouins farmed the land out to fellahs for half the yield. Decrees issued in 1837, 1846, and 1851 outlawing this practice, and many threats issued to the tribes that they would lose their *ibʿādiyya*, were not implemented. Saʿīd turned Bedouin *abāʿid* into *kharādjiyya* (not *ʿushūriyya*) land and thus refrained from granting the Bedouin full private ownership. Full ownership was achieved by Bedouin owners of *abāʿid*, together with other owners of *kharādjiyya* land, at the end of the century.

*Ibʿādiyya*s were also freely granted by Muḥammad ʿAlī to foreign subjects, although Muslim law did not allow strangers (*mustaʾman*) to settle permanently in a Muslim country and thus debarred them from acquiring landed property without becoming *dhimmī*s. Problems arising from foreigners owning land under the Capitulations [see imtiyāzāt] were solved by *Tanẓīmāt* legislation and the establishment of the Mixed Courts in Egypt in 1876.

Bibliography: Y. Artin, *La propriété foncière en Égypte*, Cairo 1883; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīkiyya al-djadīda*, Būlāk 1304-5; G. Baer, *A history of landownership in modern Egypt 1800-1950*, London 1962.

(G. Baer)

IBEX [see ayyil].

IBN ABI ʾL-ASHʿATH, Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, Arab physician. According to a statement of the Syro-Arab physician ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djibrīl b. Bakhtīshūʿ, given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Ibn Abi ʾl-Ashʿath originated from Fārs. Having been originally an administrative official, he hurriedly left the country after his income had incurred *muṣādara*, and reached Mosul in a wretched condition. There he treated with success a son of the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla, who had been taken ill. Having thus risen to distinction, he stayed in Mosul where he had many pupils and where he died at a very advanced age, shortly after 360/970. He was considered to be an excellent specialist on Galen [see djālīnūs]; like him he had presented his knowledge in a logical and systematic way, rather than on the basis of personal observations; the statement, e.g., according to which he tested repeatedly the results of medicines, is a rather informal topos which is often found in the introductions to pharmacopoeias.

Apart from a theological work, finished in 355/966 and only known by its title (*Kitāb fi ʾl-ʿilm al-ilāhī*), and apart from the explanation of unnamed Aristotellian works, Ibn Abi ʾl-Ashʿath wrote books on medicine, zoology and veterinary science, some of which have been preserved in manuscript but none of which has been published so far. There are in the first place revisions of some of Galen's works: (1) Περὶ τῶν καθ᾽ Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων *K. al-Usṭuḳussāt ʿalā raʾy Abuḳrāṭ*; (2) Περὶ κράσεων *K. al-Mizādj*; (3) Περὶ ἀνωμάλου δυσκρασίας *Maḳāla fī Sūʾ al-mizādj al-mukhtalif*; (4) Περὶ ἀρίστης κατασκευῆς τοῦ σώματος ἡυῶν *Maḳāla fī Afḍal hayʾāt al-badan*; (5) Περὶ εὐεξίας *Maḳāla fī Khiṣb al-badan*. Among his own works, there should be mentioned above all: (6) *K. Ḳuwā al-adwiya al-mufrada*, a book on the powers of simple medicaments, written in 353/964 at the request of some pupils and preserved in several good manuscripts. It is mainly based on Galen's Θεραπευτικὴ μέθοδος (*Ḥīlat al-burʾ*), has an instructive arrangement and would deserve an edition. Further have been preserved: (7) "On food and those who feed themselves" (*K. al-Ghādhī wa ʾl-mughtadhī*), a dietary work written in Armenia in 348/960; (8) "On sleeping and being awake" (*Maḳāla fi ʾl-Nawm wa ʾl-yaḳẓa*); and (9) a *K. al-Ḥayawān*, evidently remarkable because of its precise zoological observations. A dozen other writings are only known by title or from isolated quotations; mention should be made of a book on dementia and pleurisy (*K. fi ʾl-Sirsām wa ʾl-birsām*) in three chapters, written in 355/966, and further of commentaries on Galen's Περὶ αἱρέσεων *K. al-Firaḳ* and Περὶ διαφορᾶς πυρετῶν *K. al-Ḥummayāt*, and also of an explanation of the famous synopsis of sixteen works of Galen (*al-kutub al-sitta ʿashar*, alias *al-Djawāmiʿ*).

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*, i, 245-7; Brockelmann, I², 272, S I 422; A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia arabica*, Göttingen 1966, 143-5;

M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 138 f.; idem, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 25. (A. Dietrich)

IBN ABĪ DJUMʿA [see kuthayyir].

IBN ABĪ DJUMHŪR al-AḤSĀʾĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Hadjarī, Imāmī scholar, was born in al-Aḥsā *ca.* 837/1433-4 into a family with a scholarly tradition. He studied first in al-Aḥsā with his father and later in al-Nadjaf with various scholars, among them al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Fattāl. In 877/1472-3 he visited Karak Nūḥ in Syria in order to hear traditions from ʿAlī b. Hilāl al-Djazāʾirī. After a pilgrimage to Mecca, a visit to his home country and to the shrines of the *Imām*s in Baghdād, he travelled to Mashhad in 878/1473-4 where he stayed in the house of the Sayyid Muḥsin b. Muḥammad al-Riḍawī al-Ḳummī and engaged in debates with a Sunnī scholar from Harāt described in an extant *Risāla*. During the next two decades, he seems to have mostly been teaching in Mashhad, al-Nadjaf and al-Aḥsā. He is known to have been in Mashhad in 888/1483 and, for a third visit, in 896-7/1490-2. In 893/1488 he was in al-Aḥsā and, after a visit to Mecca, he taught in al-Nadjaf in 894-5/1493-4 where he completed his *K. al-Mudjlī*. In 898-9/1493-4 he stayed in the region of Astarābād and dedicated one of his works to the Amīr ʿImād al-Dīn. A commentary on al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī's creed *al-Bāb al-ḥādī ʿashar* was completed by him on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 904/4 July 1499 in Medina. The date and place of his death are unknown.

Ibn Abī Djumhūr's numerous extant writings, mostly still unpublished, include treatises and books on ritual, law, legal methodology, tradition, theology, and controversy about the imamate. His fame rests, however, on his *K. al-Mudjlī* or *Mudjlī mirʾāt al-nūr al-mundjī* (lith. eds. Tehran 1324 and 1329). Formally a supercommentary on his own *kalām* work *K. Maslak (masālik) al-afhām fī ʿilm al-kalām*, it offers a theosophic synthesis of Imāmī scholastic theology, philosophy of the school of Ibn Sīnā, illuminationist thought of al-Suhrawardī and Ṣūfism, chiefly of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his school. His work anticipated the endeavours of the philosophical school of Iṣfahān of the Ṣafawid age to synthesise the thought of the same school traditions, though it seems to have had little direct influence on them. Later Imāmī opinion about Ibn Abī Djumhūr was generally favourable, though some criticised his *K. al-Mudjlī* as excessively Ṣūfī in tone.

Bibliography: Nūr Allāh Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, Tehran 1299/1882, 250-4; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Baghdad 1385/1965, ii, 253, 280 f.; al-Baḥrānī, *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Nadjaf 1386/1966, 166-8; al-Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, ed. Asad Allāh Ismāʿīliyān, Ḳumm 1390-2/1970-2, vii, 126-34; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, Tehran 1318/1900, iii, 361-5, 405; H. Corbin, *L'idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne*, in *La Persia nel Medioevo*, Rome 1971, 53-56; W. Madelung, *Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī's synthesis of kalām, philosophy, and Ṣūfism* (forthcoming). (W. Madelung)

IBN ABI 'L- ZINĀD, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Dhakwān, Medinan traditionist and jurist of the 2nd/8th century, who came from a *mawālī* family. His father Abu 'l-Zinād (d. 130/747-8) had been made head of the *kharādj* of ʿIrāḳ, and he himself was appointed to a similar office at Medina. He then went to Baghdād, where he died in 174/790-1 at the age of 74. His brother Abu 'l-Ḳāsim and his son Muḥammad also transmitted *ḥadīth*s. Goldziher (*Muh. Studien*, i, 24-32-3, Eng. tr. i, 31, 38) noted that ʿAbd al-Rahman was one of those who, if they did not invent it, at least spread, in order to buttress the prohibition of wine, a tradition which said that ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān [*q.v.*] abstained from wine. He was the contemporary and also opponent of Mālik (d. 179/795-6 [*q.v.*]), and seems to have tried to found a personal legal rite. The *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo 315, attributed to him two works of *fiḳh*, one on successions (*K. al-Farāʾiḍ*) and the other on the divergencies of the *fuḳahāʾ* of Medina [*q.v.* above], the *Raʾy al-fuḳahāʾ al-sabʿa min ahl al-Madīna wa-mā khtalafū fīhi*; this last would doubtless have been of first-rate importance for the study of the origins of Islamic law.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 220, 464-6; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 44; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 20, 54-5; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, x, 228; Nawawī, 718-19; Ibn Hadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, 170-2; Bustānī, *DM*, ii, Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 85. (Ed.)

IBN al-ADJDĀBĪ, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl al-Ṭarābulusī, Arab philologist from a family originally stemming from Adjdābiya (Libya); he himself lived at Tripoli, where he died at an uncertain date, probably in the first half of the 7th/13th century. Hardly anything further is known about his life, and the biographers limit themselves to emphasising the breadth of his knowledge and his contribution to the technical literature of scholars of his time. They attribute to him some eight works, whose titles show that he was interested in lexicography, metrics, the *anwāʾ* [*q.v.*] and genealogies (he is, in particular, the author of an abridgement of the *Nasab Ḳuraysh* of Musʿab al-Zubayrī [*q.v.*]). From amongst his writings, Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, i, 130, and *Buldān*, s.v. Adjdābiya) and al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 178) preserve the titles of only two, the *Kifāyat al-mutaḥaffiẓ wa-nihāyat al-mutalaffiẓ fi 'l-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* and the *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ*, and it may be that these are the only ones to have survived. The first one, a lexicographical compendium, seems to have enjoyed wide success, to judge by the number of surviving manuscripts (cf. Brockelmann, I, 308, S I, 541); it was even put into verse and several editions of it have appeared (in particular, Cairo 1285/1868 and Beirut 1305/1887).

The second work was apparently lost until ʿIzzat Ḥasan discovered, in Ankara University Library, a manuscript which he published in 1964 at Damascus (in the collection *Iḥyāʾ al-turāth al-ḳadīm*, ix). This work, which has the title *K. al-Azmina wa 'l-anwāʾ*, is often mentioned in the list of *kutub al-anwāʾ* compiled by the Arab philologists (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Dictions rimés*. . ., in *Arabica*, ii/1 [1955], 37). It is slenderer in size than Ibn Ḳutayba's book (ed. Hamidullah-Pellat, Ḥaydarābād 1956), but is more systematic and less involved. It deals with the various calendars (Arabic, Roman, Syriac), describes the main stars or asterisms as well as the planets, defines the seasons, the zodiac signs and the lunar mansions, explains how to calculate the hours for prayer and to determine the direction of Mecca, and lists the various winds. It then goes on to define the *nawʾ* and follows the order of the months of the Julian calendar, giving the Syro-Arabic and Latin names, in order to point out the varying astronomical phenomena which show the way to them [see anwāʾ], without forgetting too to note the beginning of the corresponding Coptic month. Its details on the agricultural round are

traditional in nature, as are its maxims and sayings, though these are sometimes different, it is true, from those which the present author of this article has gathered together. One peculiarity worth mentioning is the indicating of the star or asterism which passes to the meridian at sunset, midnight and the time of the morning prayer. Altogether, this little treatise on popular astronomy and meteorology, although chronologically quite late and marred by numerous errors, has a very honourable place in the series of *kutub al-anwāʾ*.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see ʿIzzat Ḥasan's introd. to his edition; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 54; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 25; Bustānī, *DM*, ii, 328.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN al-AKFĀNĪ (a *nisba* referring to the seller of shrouds, *akfān*), cf. al-Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, f. 47b). Several persons were known by this name, amongst which three deserve some mention.

1. al-Ḳāḍī Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar b. ʿĀmir b. al-Akfānī al-Asadī, jurist. Born in 316/928, and dying in 405/1014 in Baghdād, he was *ḳāḍī* in al-Madīna, then in Bāb al-Ṭāḳ, then in Sūḳ al-Thulāthāʾ (both in Baghdād), and from 396/1005-6 *ḳāḍī* for the whole of Baghdād. He was weak in relating traditions, but a liberal patron to traditionists (cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 141-2, no. 5284).

2. Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Dimashḳī, Abū Muḥammad al-Akfānī, historian, who died in 524/1129 as an octogenarian in Damascus and was the author of biographical works: *Djāmiʿ al-wafayāt* (now lost), and *Tatimmat Taʾrīkh Dārayyā wa-tasmiyat man ḥaddatha min ahlihā* (cf. Ṣ al-Munadjdjid, *Muʿdjam al-muʾarrikhīn al-Dimashḳiyyīn ...*, Beirut 1978, 31-2, and the sources quoted there, especially Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 73, and also Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. Dozy *et alii*, i, 562).

3. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sāʿid, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, known as Ibn al-Akfānī, physician and encyclopaedist. Born in Sindjār, he died in 749/1348 in Cairo of the plague. A scholar of many talents, he was employed in al-Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī (see bīmāristān) in Cairo in an influential position, and wrote many books and treatises. A contemporary account on him is given by al-Ṣafadī in *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, ii, 25-7, and in his *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr* (ms. Atif Efendi 1809, s.v., a very exaggerated biography full of laudatory remarks); and letters by Ibn al-Akfānī are quoted in al-Ṣafadī's *Alḥān al-sawādjiʿ* (ms. Berlin, cat. Ahlwardt, 8631, iii, 33a ff.). Other biographical accounts (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iii, 279-80; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā*, ms. Leiden Or. 1366a, ff. 38b-40a; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, ii, 79-80; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 189) are all, directly or indirectly, derived from al-Ṣafadī's account.

Some 22 books or treatises by Ibn al-Afkānī are known to have existed, more than half of these being concerned with medicine and related sciences. Others treat of logic, *tafsīr*, *firāsa* [see aflīmūn], astronomy, the *arbaʿīn*, mathematics and gemmology. None of these is remarkable for great originality. Ibn al-Akfānī's fame rests mainly on his encyclopaedia *Irshād al-ḳāṣid ilā asnā al-maḳāṣid*. In this he deals with 60 sciences, along the lines of al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*. After two introductory chapters on education in general and the division of the sciences, Ibn al-Akfānī treats of *al-adab* (10 subdivisions), *al-manṭiḳ* (9 subdivisions), *al-ilāhī* (9 subdivisions, with heresiology), *al-ṭabīʿī* (10 subdivisions), *al-handasa* (10 subdivisions), *al-hayʾa* (5 subdivisions), *al-ʿadad* (7 subdivisions, the last of which is *al-mūsīḳā*). Added to these are *al-siyāsa*, *al-akhlāḳ*, and *tadbīr al-manzil*, comprising the practical sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ʿamaliyya*). All sections have a bibliography. The book concludes with a short list of philosophical terms and their definitions. The *Irshād al-ḳāṣid* stood as a model for the *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda* by Ṭāsh-köprüzāda [*q.v.*], as can be seen easily from the table of contents of both works and from the arrangement of the material in the sections.

Bibliography: in addition to references given in the article, note that there are some 40 mss. of the *Irshād al-ḳāṣid*, dispersed in libraries from Rabat to Rampur. Editions: A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1849, and Maḥmūd Abu 'l-Naṣr, Cairo 1900 (both unsatisfactory). For a survey of the life, works and influence of Ibn al-Afkānī, see the introduction of the forthcoming edition of *Irshād al-ḳāṣid* by J.J. Witkam; the work was an important source for E. Wiedemann, the historian of Arabic science, cf. his *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim 1970, index s.v. Afkānī. The chapter on music was published and translated by A. Shiloah, in *Yuval*, i (1968), 221-48. See also Brockelmann, II², 171, S II, 169-70.

(J.J. Witkam)

IBN ʿAMR al-RIBĀṬĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Anṣārī, Moroccan poet and *faḳīh*, of Andalusian origin, who was born at Rabat, fulfilled the office of *ḳāḍī* for some time, and from 1224/1809 taught at Marrākush. Whilst making the Pilgrimage, he stopped at Tunis, and received there some *idjāzas*; he died in the Ḥidjāz on 10 Rabīʿ I 1243/1 October 1827.

Ibn ʿAmr was neither a great *faḳīh* nor a great poet. His works, which include in particular a *dīwān*, a *fahrasa* and a *riḥla*, have not been preserved *in toto*, and his fame rests essentially on an imita-tion of the *Shamaḳmaḳiyya* of Ibn al-Wannān [*q.v.*], a *ḳāfiyya* known by the name of *al-ʿAmriyya* which enjoyed a celebrity mainly because of the religious sentiments expressed in the last verses. In this *ḳaṣīda*, of classical mould, the author piles up rare words of the type that one can often describe as *ḥūshī* [see ḥūshī] and resorts to rhetorical devices in order to arrive at a eulogy of the Prophet who, according to tradition, had supposedly cured him of gout.

Bibliography: Marrākushī, *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush*, no. 509; Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Fās 1346/1927, i, 202-5; Sāʾiḥ, *al-Muntakhabāt al-ʿabḳariyya*, Rabat 1920, 95-100; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 306-9, and bibliography cited. (Ed.)

IBN ʿASKAR, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khaḍir b. Hārūn al-Ghassānī, an Andalusian *faḳīh*, philologist, poet and man of letters, who wrote a history of Málaga. Born in a village near this important sea-port *ca.* 584/1188-9, he was later to hold high judicial office there. Between 626/1229 and 631/1234 he served as deputy of Ibn Hūd's [see hūdids] *ḳāḍī*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Judhamī. In 635/1238 he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Naṣrid Málaga by Muḥammad I, and he continued in that office until his death on 4 Djumādā II 636/12 January 1239. As a young man Ibn ʿAskar was a pupil of Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj b. al-Shaykh (d. 604/1207), author of the *K. alif bāʾ*, to which M. Asín Palacios

devoted the well-known study *El "Abecedario" de Yusúf Benaxeij* (Madrid 1932). His own pupils included his nephew, biographer and continuator, Abū Bakr b. al-Khamīs, and the celebrated Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*].

Ibn ʿAskar's history of Málaga is frequently mentioned and quoted by Andalusian authors of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. Its title is *al-Ikmāl wa 'l-iʿlām fī ṣilat al-Iʿlām bi-maḥāsin al-aʿlām min ahl Mālaḳa al-kirām*, suggesting that it is a continuation of the *Iʿlām* of the Málagan scholar Aṣbagh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 592/1196). By Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], however, for whom the work was a main source of the *Iḥāṭa*, it is called *Maṭlaʿ al-anwār wa-nuzhat al-abṣār*, etc. There are other variants, including the simple and commonly used title *Taʾrīkh Mālaḳa*. At the time of the author's death the work was unfinished, and the task of completing it fell to Ibn Khamīs (see above), who seems to have flourished somewhere around the middle of the first half of the 7th/13th century. The one extant manuscript which we have of the *Ikmāl* (in private hands) is incomplete, but a large part has fortunately survived, and from this an assessment can be made of its literary and historical value. The biographies of Málagan notables included in it have a distinct literary value in that they offer, in addition to biographical data, worthwhile specimens of biographees' poetry (unfortunately, no account is taken of *muwashshaḥāt* and the *zadjal*). On the historical side it contains material that can be utilised to supplement, complement and control our existing accounts from the 8th to the 13th centuries A.D.

Ibn ʿAskar was the author of a number of other works, namely (i) *al-Mashraʿ al-rawī*, a supplement to al-Harawī's works on unusual terms in the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*; (ii) *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī manāḳib ʿAmmār b. Yāsir*, a work dedicated to the Banū Saʿīd of Alcalá la Real and devoted to the life of the first member of the family to come to Spain (Ibn ʿAskar was a close friend of the family); (iii) *al-Djuzʾ al-mukhtaṣar . . . ʿan dhahāb al-baṣar*, a work on blindness written to console a blind friend; (iv) *Idhdhikhār al-ṣabr*, an ascetic work; (v) *al-Arbaʿīn al-ḥadīth*; and (vi) *al-Takmīl wa 'l-itmām li-Kitāb al-Taʿrīf wa 'l-iʿlām*, a commentary on and supplement to a work by al-Suhaylī of Fuengirola (507-81/1113-85) on proper names not occurring in the Ḳurʾān.

Bibliography: All important references are given in J. Vallvé Bermejo, *Una fuente importante de la historia de al-Andalus: la "Historia" de Ibn ʿAskar*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxxi (1966), 237-80 (includes translations of some of the most notable historical passages).

(J.D. LATHAM)

IBN ʿAZZŪZ, called **SĪDĪ BALLĀ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-SHĀDHILĪ AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, a cobbler of Marrakesh to whom thaumaturgic gifts were attributed and who died in an odour of sanctity in 1204/1789. His tomb, situated in his own residence at Bāb Aylān, has been continuously visited because of its reputation of curing the sick. Although he had not received a very advanced education, Ibn ʿAzzūz nevertheless succeeded in leaving behind an abundant body of works, dealing mainly with mysticism and the occult sciences, but also with medicine. However, his works display hardly any originality, and none of them has interested a publisher, despite the success in Morocco of his *Dhahāb al-kusūf wa-nafy al-ẓulumāt fī ʿilm al-ṭibb wa 'l-ṭabāʾiʿ wa 'l-ḥikma*, a popular collection of therapeutic formulae (see L. Leclerc, *La chirurgie d'Abulcasis*, Paris 1861, ii, 307-8; H.P.J. Renaud, in *Initiation au Maroc*, Paris 1945, 183-4); his *Kashf al-rumūz* concerning medicinal plants is equally well-known. Out of his three works on mysticism, the *Tanbīh al-tilmīdh al-muḥtādj* is perhaps the most original, since it endeavours to reconcile the *sharīʿa* with the *ḥaḳīḳa* [*q.v.*]. Finally, in the field of the occult sciences, his *Lubāb al-ḥikma fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-ʿilm al-asmāʾ al-ilāhiyya*, of which at least one manuscript survives, is a treatise on practical magic and divinatory magic.

Bibliography: On the manuscripts of Sīdī Ballā's works, see Brockelmann, S II, 704, 713; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 253-6; see also Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*, Casablanca, 1960, ii, 446, 449; ʿA. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-Maghribī*[2], Beirut 1961, i, 304-5, 310. (ED.)

IBN BĀBĀ AL-KĀSHĀNĪ [see AL-ḲĀSHĀNĪ].

IBN AL-BALKHĪ, Persian author of the Saldjūḳ period who wrote a local history and topographical account of his native province Fārs, the *Fārs-nāma*. Nothing is known of him save what can be gleaned from his book, nor is the exact form of his name known, but his ancestors came from Balkh. His grandfather was *mustawfī* or accountant for Fārs under Berk-yaruḳ b. Malik Shāh's governor there, the Atabeg Rukn al-Dawla or Nadjm al-Dawla Khumār-tigin, and Ibn al-Balkhī acquired his extensive local knowledge of Fārs through accompanying his grandfather in his work. He was accordingly asked by sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh to compose a historical and geographical account of the province; since he mentions the Atabeg of Fārs Fakhr al-Dīn Čawlī as being still alive, the composition of the *Fārs-nāma* must be placed between Muḥammad's accession in 498/1105 and Čawlī's death in 510/1116.

The first two-thirds of the *Fārs-nāma* on the pre-Islamic history of Persia and the Arab conquest of Fārs are entirely derivative, being based on Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, but the remainder is a very important account of the province's topography and notabilia, concluding with a section on the Shabānkāra Kurds and containing details of contemporary happenings. This last third of the book was much used in the 8th/14th century by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī [*q.v.*] for the geographical part of his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange and R.A. Nicholson edited the last third of the Persian text, *The Fársnáma of Ibnu'l-Balkhí*, *GMS*, N.S. i, London 1921; Le Strange had previously translated this in *JRAS* (1912), also as a separate monograph, *Description of the province of Fars in Persia*, London 1912. See also Storey, i, 350-1, and Storey-Bregel, ii, 1027-8.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

IBN AL-BAZZĀZ AL-ARDABĪLĪ, TAWAKKULĪ (TŪKLĪ) B. ISMĀʿĪL, *murīd* of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī (d. 794/1391-2), son and first successor of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334), the founder of the Ṣūfī order of the Ṣafawiyya and, as ancestor of Shāh Ismāʿīl I (d. 930/1524 [*q.v.*]), the eponym of the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*; see also ARDABĪL]. The exact dates of Ibn al-Bazzāz are unknown. At the stimulus of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn he composed a biography of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, with the title *Ṣafwat al-ṣafāʾ* or *Mawāhib al-saniyya fī manāḳib al-ṣafawiyya*. Written in a simple style without rhetorical ballast, this voluminous work gives first of all information on the miracles (*karāmāt*) and Ṣūfī doctrine of the Shaykh, but describes also in a vivid way daily life in the sanctuary of the order

and gives an account of the relations of the Shaykh with the secular rulers in the period of the Ilkhāns [*q.v.*].

From the colophon of the manuscript India Office no. 1842 (Ethé, *Cat. of Pers. mss.*, i, col. 1008), probably erroneously described as an autograph, it follows that Ibn al-Bazzāz finished his work in Shaʿbān 759/July-August 1358. The numerous manuscripts of the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā'*, among which there exist also Turkish translations, prove the popularity of this important hagiographic work. A critical edition is not yet available; a lithograph was published by Aḥmad b. Karīm Tabrīzī in Bombay in 1329/1911.

In the 10th/16th century, the chroniclers of the Ṣafawid dynasty used the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā'* as their main source for the early period of the Ṣafawiyya order and for the genealogy of the Ṣafawids, who claimed descent from the seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim. This genealogy is, however, very much disputed, because the pedigree of the Ṣafawids, at least in its complete form, was apparently inserted into the work only by Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Ḥusaynī, who revised the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā'* (Storey, i/1, 13 ff. and i/2, 1196 ff.) at the order of the Ṣafawid Shāh Tahmāsp I (d. 984/1576).

Bibliography: Storey, i/2, 939 ff.; Browne, *LHP*, ii, iv, 34-40; Nikitine, *Essai d'analyse du Ṣafwat-uṣ-ṣafa*, in *JA* (1957), 385-94; Z.V. Togan, *Sur l'origine des Safavides*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957, 345-57; Hanna Sohrweide, *Der Sieg der Ṣafaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Shiʿiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 97 ff.; Mahmud Bina-Motlagh, *Scheich Safi von Ardabil*, diss. Göttingen 1969, 19-22 and *passim*; Erika Glassen, *Die frühen Safawiden nach Qāẓī Aḥmad Qumī*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 5, Freiburg i. Br. 1970, 18 f., 21-52; M.M. Mazzaoui, *The origins of the Ṣafawids, Shīʿism, Ṣūfism and Gulāt*, Freiburger Islamstudien 3, Wiesbaden 1972, 47 ff. A critical edition of the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā'* is being prepared by a joint team working at the Universities of Utah and Freiburg-im-Breisgau under the direction of Mazzaoui.

(E. GLASSEN)

IBN BIKLĀRISH, YŪSUF (YŪNUS?) B. ISḤĀḲ AL-ISRĀ'ĪLĪ, Judaeo-Arab physician and pharmacist who lived in Almeria *ca.* 1100 A.D. There he wrote the *K. al-Mustaʿīnī* for al-Mustaʿīn billāh Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin billāh (reigned 478-503/1085-1109), the Hūdid ruler of Saragossa [see HŪDIDS], after whom the work was named.

The book must have attracted attention immediately, for it is often quoted by al-Ghāfiḳī [*q.v.* above], a younger contemporary of Ibn Biklārish, in his *K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada*; in the Latin version of the latter under the name Buclaris or Boclaris (i.e. from Biclaro?). It is also remarkable that both authors quote almost the same sources. After a theoretical explanation of pharmacology which is essentially based on Galen, the *Mustaʿīnī* contains a special table-like section, arranged in five unequal columns. The first two small columns give the names (*asmā'*), and characteristics (*ṭibāʿ*) of the simple medicines, the third (*tafsīruhā bi-'khtilāf al-lughāt*) contains their explanation together with their Greek, Syriac, Persian, Latin and Mozarabic synonyms, the fourth the Succedanea (*abdāl*) and the fifth their utility, specific effect and region of application (*manāfiʿuhā wa-khawāṣṣuhā wa-wudjūh istiʿmālihā*). The covering text on the upper and lower margin contains further details, and above all the sources. The order of the total of 704 drugs follows the *abdjad* alphabet in its Maghribī form. In Europe, attention has been given so far almost exclusively to the third column (synonyma): it contains important vocabulary material, especially of the Romance languages, and was used abundantly by Simonet for his *Glosario* and in particular by Dozy for his *Supplément*. H.P.J. Renaud made several investigations into the *Mustaʿīnī*, the last in *Hespéris*, x (1930-1), 135-50; he planned an edition with translation and commentary, but this did not come to fruition; such a work is, however, long overdue.

Of other writings of Ibn Biklārish, only one work on dietetics is known by its title; in the introduction to the *Mustaʿīnī* it is quoted twice as *Risālat al-Tabyīn wa 'l-tartīb*.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 52; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, 147 f.; M. Meyerhof, *Un glossaire de matière médicale composé par Maïmonide*, Cairo 1940, xxviii; Brockelmann, I², 640, S I, 889; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 201, 275.

(A. DIETRICH)

IBN DAḲĪḲ AL-ʿĪD, TAḲĪ AL-DĪN ABŪ 'L-FATḤ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. WAHB B. MUṬĪʿ B. ABI 'L-ṬĀʿA, jurist and traditionist who was born in Shaʿbān 625/July 1228 in Yanbuʿ in the Ḥidjāz (not in Lower Egypt as stated by Brockelmann), although his parents came from Manfalūṭ in Upper Egypt. He was brought up in Ḳūṣ in Upper Egypt, and travelled to Cairo and Damascus to hear *ḥadīths*. He later taught jurisprudence according to the Mālikī and Shāfiʿī schools. He became a judge in 675/1295, and died in Cairo on 11 Ṣafar 702/6 October 1302.

He wrote a number of books on *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, including a work in twenty volumes entitled *al-Ilmām fī aḥādīth al-aḥkām*, and he also left some poetry and a collection of sermons. He was deeply interested in alchemy, a fact mentioned by Ṭāshköprüzāde in his *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda*, i, Hyderabad 1911, 281, although he appears to have left no writings on this subject. However, an anonymous writer (in the short treatise *Fī bayān ʿamal al-fiḍḍa wa 'l-dhahab*) has preserved a record of the methods used by Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd in attempting to transmute quicksilver and sulphur into gold, and quicksilver and arsenic into silver.

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 262 ff.; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Būlāḳ 1283, 305 f.; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, iii, 949; Brockelmann II, 75, S II, 66; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-mu'allifīn*, xi, 70 f.; R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, *An anonymous Arabic treatise on alchemy*, in *Isl.*, liii (1976), 100-9.

(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

IBN DĀRUST, TĀDJ AL-MULK ABU 'L-GHANĀ'IM MARZUBĀN B. KHUSRAW-FĪRŪZ SHĪRĀZĪ (438-86/1046-93), high official in the Great Saldjūḳ administration under Sultan Malik Shāh [*q.v.*], tand hat ruler's last vizier.

Born of a secretarial family in Fārs, he began his official career in the service of the slave commander Sāwtigin, who eventually recommended him to the sultan as a person of promise. Malik Shāh made him superintendent of the education and possessions of various of his sons, then overseer of the royal palace and its ancillaries, and finally head of the Saldjūḳ chancery, the *Dīwān al-Inshā' wa 'l-Ṭughrā* [see DĪWĀN, iv. Īrān].

Much of the internal history of Malik Shāh's reign reflects a struggle for authority in the administration (the *dīwāns*) and at court (the *dargāh*), in which

various officials were ranged against the great vizier Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], his sons and his partisans, the so-called Niẓāmiyya; in this Ibn Dārust placed himself on the side of the vizier's enemies. Hence when Niẓām al-Mulk was assassinated in Ramaḍān 485/October 1092, many contemporaries assumed that the real instigators of the murder, in which the Ismāʿīlī *fidāʾī* was a mere tool, were Ibn Dārust and even the sultan himself, suspicious of the vizier's commanding power and presence in the state.

Malik Shāh now appointed Ibn Dārust as his vizier, but the latter's triumph was short-lived, for the sultan himself died next month (mid-Shawwāl 485/mid-November 1092). Ibn Dārust now allied with Malik Shāh's wife, the Ḳarakhānid princess Terken Khātūn, to place the latter's son Maḥmūd on the throne in Baghdād, even though Maḥmūd was only a small child, and on grounds of experience and potential, was obviously inferior to Berk-yaruḳ, Malik Shāh's son by another wife and, at twelve or thirteen years old, on the threshhold of adulthood. Although Ibn Dārust and Terken Khātūn managed to seize Iṣfahān, their forces were defeated by those of Berk-yaruḳ's partisans, with the Niẓāmiyya as their driving-force, at the battle of Burudjird at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 485/end of January 1093. Ibn Dārust was captured, and although Berk-yaruḳ, mindful of Ibn Dārust's administrative expertise, was inclined to take him as his own vizier, the Niẓāmiyya insisted on exacting vengeance for their dead leader, and secured his execution in Muḥarram 486/February 1093.

Ibn Dārust was the *mamdūḥ* of various Saldjūḳ poets like Muʿizzī, and he was also one of several great men in the Saldjūḳ state, both civilian and military, who were active in founding colleges and other charitable and educational works; his Tādjiyya *madrasa* was begun in 480/1089 in Baghdād at the Bāb Abraz as a Shāfiʿī college, rivalling Niẓām al-Mulk's own more famous foundation; the celebrated scholars Abū Bakr al-Shāshī and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's brother Abu 'l-Futūḥ taught there.

Bibliography: There are very brief biographies in Ibn al-Djawzī's *Muntaẓam*, ix, 74, and Sayf al-Dīn Faḍlī ʿUḳaylī's *Āthār al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Urmawī, Tehran 1337/1959, but for the rest, see scattered references in the historical sources for the Saldjūḳ period (Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥusaynī, Rāwandī, Bundārī, Ibn al-Djawzī, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Athīr), utilised in Bosworth, *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 74 ff., 82, 93, 102-5, 216; M.F. Sanaullah, *The decline of the Saljūqid empire*, Calcutta 1938, 9, 40-1, 83; İ. Kafesoğlu, *Sultan Melikşah devrinde Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu*, Istanbul 1953, 169, 200 ff.; Abbas Eghbal, *Wizārat dar ʿahd-i salāṭīn-i buzurg-i Saldjūḳī*, Tehran 1338/1959, 93-100; C.L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vezirate: a study of civil administration 1055-1194*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 28-9, 52. For Ibn Dārust's educational foundations, see G. Makdisi, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 25-6, and idem, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la resurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963, 137-41, 209-10, 225-6.

(C.E. Bosworth)

IBN DIRHAM, seldom-used patronym of an eminent family of Mālikī jurists and *ḳāḍīs*, originally of Baṣra, who bear the ethnic name al-Azdī in some sources; but since the members of this family are most often cited under their personal name or simply by their *kunya*, and since the line of parentage which connects them is consequently difficult to determine, it has been judged expedient to assemble them here under this somewhat artificial appellation, following the example of F. al-Bustānī who, in the *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif* (iii, 61), adopted it for one of them, the tenth of those listed below. These *ḳāḍīs*, who for the most part held office in Baghdād in the 3rd and 4th/9th and 10th centuries, are cited by L. Massignon (*Cadis et naqibs baghdadiens*, in *WZKM*, li/1-2 [1948], 108, where Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāḳ should be read in place of b. Ḥammād), following the articles devoted to them by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*), after Wakīʿ (*Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*) and especially al-Tanūkhī, who gives them considerable space in *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda* and particularly in the *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*.

The following table, which cannot be regarded as exhaustive, contains the names mentioned in the principal sources for the period until the mid-4th/10th century; it is unlikely that the family ceased to exist at this time, but it does not seem to have given any more eminent practitioners to the legal profession.

I. — Abū Ismāʿīl Ḥammād b. Zayd b. Dirham (98-179/717-95) is the first member of the family to have made a mark on history. A blind slave of Ḥāzim b. Zayd al-Djahḍamī (Azd), he was affranchised by his two sons, Djarīr and Yazīd (see Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index), devoted himself to the study of *ḥadīth* and passed on his knowledge to a number of traditionists, including Bishr al-Ḥāfī [*q.v.*]. He is to a certain extent regarded as the founder of an independent *madhhab* and accorded the same status as al-Thawrī in Kūfa, Mālik in the Ḥidjāz, and al-Awzāʿī in Damascus; he thus represented Baṣra, his home-town, but in spite of the respect with which he was treated he does not seem to have founded a school, since his descendants were themselves Mālikīs.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/2, 42; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 283; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 502-3, 525; Ṭabarī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 294 = § 2500; Ibn Baṭṭa-Laoust, index; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, i, 258; Maḳdisī, *Création*, ii, 52, 145; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, vi, 257-67; ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik*, index; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ*, 217-8; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, i, 211-2; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 292; Ṣafadi, *Nakt al-himyān*, 147; Massignon, *Lexique technique*, 168, 197, 243.

II. — Abū Yaʿḳub Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād (176-230/792-845), grandson of the preceding, was responsible for *maẓālim* in Egypt under the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn (in 215/830), then in Baṣra under that of al-Muʿtaṣim (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, ii, 558-9; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, ii, 212).

III — Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād (d. 246/860), brother of Isḥāḳ, was, it seems, the first *ḳāḍī* of the family; having served in this office at Medina, he made his way to Baghdād where he frequented the court of al-Muʿtaṣim and transmitted *ḥadīths*. Subsequently, al-Mutawakkil appointed him for the second time *ḳāḍī* of Medina, then of Fārs, where he resided until his death (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, vii, 16-18; ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, ii, 560).

IV. — Abū Ismāʿīl Ḥammād b. Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl (199-267/815-81) was described in a general sense as being *ḳāḍī* of Baghdād (Khaṭīb Baghdādī, viii, 159), but there can be no doubt that the area in question was the Round City of al-Manṣūr (in 251/865, according to Massignon, *Cadis*, 108). He is mentioned among the companions of al-Muwaffaḳ, and to him are attributed a *Kitāb al-Muhādana* and a *Radd ʿalā*

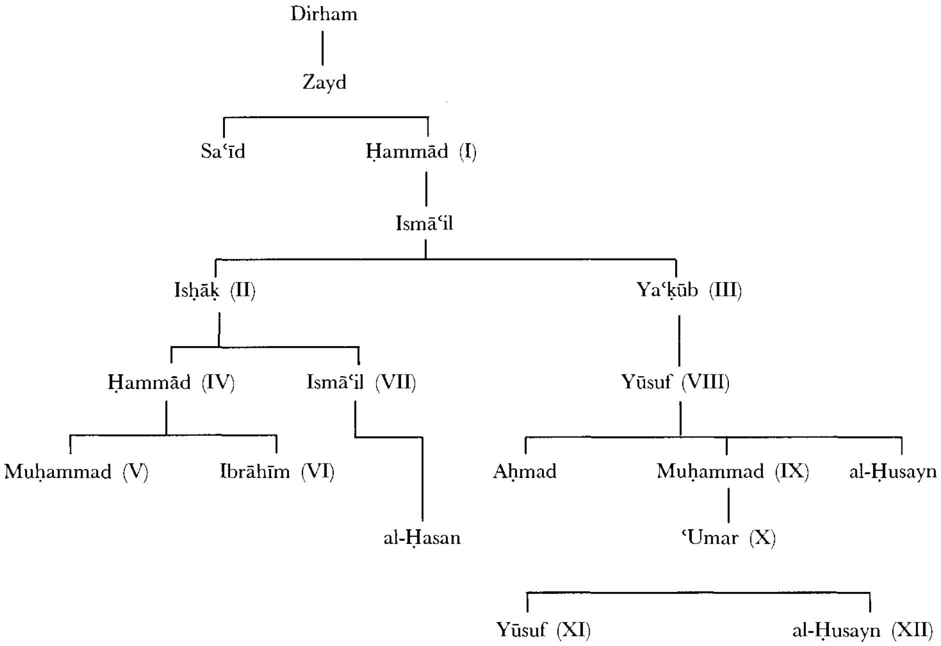

l-Shāfiʿī (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, vi, 21, vii, 51; ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, iii, 181-2).

V. — Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. Isḥāḳ (d. 276/889) was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Baṣra by al-Muwaffaḳ (Wakīʿ, ii, 191-2).

VI. — Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Ḥammād (240-323/854-935), who survived his brother by many years, is considered principally as a traditionist. According to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (vi, 61-2), he was also a *ḳāḍī*, but at what date, or in what town, is not known; he died, however, in Baghdād (al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār ar-Rāḍī*, etc., tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946, 107; see also Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 85; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 249).

VII. — Abū Isḥāḳ Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād [see al-Azdī, in Suppl.].

On his son Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan, who was a celebrated wit and an *adīb*, see Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, vi, 326; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, vii, 284.

VIII. — Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb b. Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād (208-97/823-910), was the first member of the other branch of the family to serve as *ḳāḍī* in Baghdād, where he first assumed charge of the *ḥisba* (271/884-5) and of the *nafaḳāt* of al-Muwaffaḳ. This latter, on the death of Muḥammad b. Ḥammad (No. V), appointed as his successor Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, who remained titular *ḳāḍī* of Baṣra, of Wāsiṭ and of the districts of the Tigris from 276/883 to 296/909, but he was represented there by a deputy, for he was then living in Baghdād, where the jurisdiction of *maẓālim* was entrusted to him in 277. On the death of Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāḳ (No. VII), he was given the post of *ḳāḍī* of East Baghdād, which he combined with that of Baṣra, having as *nāʾib* in the capital his son Muḥammad from 289/902 onward. When in 296/908 the latter gave his support to Ibn al-Muʿtāzz [*q.v.*], his father was dismissed and he spent the last year of his long life in retirement. He passed on some *ḥadīth*s handed down by his cousin Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāḳ (No. VII) and wrote a number of works: *Faḍāʾil azwādj al-Nabī*, *K. al-Ṣiyām wa ʾl-duʿāʾ wa ʾl-zakāt* and a *Musnad* of Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Wakīʿ, ii, 182; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, v, vi, vii, viii, indices; ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, iii, 182-7; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 227; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 171.

IX. — Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb (243-320/857-932) is the most celebrated member of the entire family, and his *kunya* alone is sufficient to identify him. Born in Baṣra, he followed his father to the capital and held the office of *ḳāḍī* over the Round City of al-Manṣūr from 284/897 to 292/905, then over al-Sharḳiyya from 292 to 296. Dismissed after the Ibn al-Muʿtazz affair, he remained unemployed for a few years, but was reinstated in 301/914 in East Baghdād and al-Sharḳiyya, where he remained until his death, after receiving, in 317/929, jurisdiction over the entire capital and being given the title of grand-*ḳāḍī*. Abū ʿUmar played an important political rôle under the caliphate of al-Muḳtadir; in particular, it was he who, in 309/922, issued a *fatwā* against al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], whom he ultimately condemned. L. Massignon paints a severe portrait of the man and accuses him of having given too much servile obedience to the authorities: "An accomplished courtier", he wrote, "with a magnificent command of manners which will always be legendary, and curiously devoted to the use of perfumes, he was able to contradict himself with the most disconcerting cynicism; he compensated for the imperfect subtlety of his Mālikī rite in matters of *ḥadīth* and of *ḳiyās* with a fastidious concern for the form in canonical casuistry; he must have been very proud of having finally succeeded, for the 'common good', in concluding such an arduous case with such an ingenious solution" (*Le cas de Ḥallāj*, in *Opera minora*, ii, 181). It is a known fact that he had drawn from the doctrine of al-Ḥallādj concerning the seven turns around the Kaʿba of the heart "an argument to make him one with the Carmathian raiders who sought to destroy the Temple of Mecca" (*ibid.*, 178).

In 310, his name was also put forward for the post of vizier and, in 317, he officiated when al-Muḳtadir agreed to abdicate, although he destroyed the records of the abdication.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; ʿArīb, index; Ṣūlī-Canard, 40, 103, 107, 150; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 217-9, 256, 284 = §§ 3361-2, 3394, 3437; idem, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 322, 329; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, iii, index, v, 208-11 and index, vi, vii, indices, viii, 106, 186-8; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, iii, 401-4; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 235; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 286-7; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 222; Massignon, *Passion*, index; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

X. — Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿUMAR B. MUḤAMMAD (d. 328/940), his father's *nāʾib* in East Baghdād from 311/923 onwards, succeeded him in the office of grand-*ḳāḍī* (320-8). In the court of al-Rāḍī, who is said to have wept when he died, he acted as vizier and undertook numerous political missions; in 323/935, he participated in the case of Ibn Shannabūd [*q.v.*], although he did not preside over the tribunal. Al-Ṣūlī, who had been his teacher, devotes to him a panegyric entry, recording his death on 16 Shaʿbān 328/27 May 940 (tr. Canard, 219). He appears to have been well versed in matters of *farāʾiḍ*, of *ḥadīth*, of lexicography, of grammer and poetry, and several works are attributed to him: a *Musnad*, a *K. Gharīb al-ḥadīth* and a *K. al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda* which was the first of this genre.

Bibliography: Ṣūlī-Canard, index; Miskaway, *passim*; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, iii, vi, vii, indices; Khaṭīb Baghdādi, vii, 284; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 67-70; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 307; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 364-5.

XI. — Abū Naṣr YŪSUF B. ʿUMAR (305-56/918-67) was already deputising for his father and astonishing the public with the extent of his knowledge when he sat for the first time as *ḳāḍī* in the mosque of al-Ruṣāfa (East Baghdād) on 25 Muḥarram 327/22 November 938. As *ḳāḍī* of West Baghdād in 328/940, it was he who recited the prayer for the dead over al-Rāḍī on 16 Rabīʿ I 329/19 December 940. He was retained in office by al-Muttaḳī, then dismissed and reinstated on 24 Shaʿbān 329/24 May 941, but the sequence of events is not clear; there is no doubt that he was soon dismissed once more, making his way to Iṣfahan; at his death, he was *ḳāḍī* of Yazd. In the meantime, he had adopted the Ẓāhirī doctrine.

Bibliography: Ṣūlī-Canard, 177, 220; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, iv, 23-5 and index, v, 261, vi, 14, vii, 16-8; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, xiv, 322-4; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 300, vii, 42.

XII. — Abū Muḥammad AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿUMAR (d. after 360/971) succeeded his father together with his brother and was given East Baghdād in 328, then, the following year, he took on the duties of Abū Naṣr, but it seems that he did not retain them for long, since all trace of him is soon lost.

Bibliography: Ṣūlī-Canard, 227; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, iv, 203-4, vi, 74, vii, 17-18.

It would certainly be very interesting to pursue further study of this eminent family and to examine in a more exhaustive manner its links with authority on the one hand, and on the other, with the contemporary Banū Abi 'l-Shawārib. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN DJUMAYʿ, ABU 'L-MAKĀRIM HIBAT ALLĀH B. ZAYN B. ḤASAN: see the article IBN DJĀMIʿ, where should be read IBN DJAMĪʿ; at present IBN DJUMAYʿ is generally considered as the right form of the name.

IBN DJURAYDJ, ABU 'L-WALĪD/ABŪ KHĀLID ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. DJURAYDJ AL-RŪMĪ AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-MAKKĪ (80-150/699-767), Meccan traditionist of Greek slave descent (the ancestor being called Gregorios) and probably a *mawlā* of the family of Khālid b. Asīd. After having first of all become interested in gathering together traditions of philological, literary and historical interest, he brought together *ḥadīth*s from the mouths of ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ, al-Zuhrī, Mudjāhid, ʿIkrima and other famous persons, and passed them on, notably to Wakīʿ, Ibn al-Mubārak and Sufyān b. ʿUyayna; his erudition was such that he was considered as the *imām* of the Ḥidjāz.

Little is known of his life, except that he accompanied Maʿn b. Zāʾida to the Yemen, soon returned from there and towards the end of his life made his way to ʿIrāḳ and al-Manṣūr's court. His name is connected, on one hand, with the question of the legality of the transmission of *ḥadīth*s by letter and not by *samāʿ*, and on the other, with the writing down of traditions. Like Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūba [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāḳ, he was regarded as having been the first in the Ḥidjāz, and even in the whole Islamic empire, to gather together *ḥadīth*s into a work *fi 'l-athar wahurūf al-tafsīr*; these two scholars are often cited together, especially by al-Dhahabī in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, i, 351, year 143), who enumerates with some regret the authors of the oldest collections. Goldziher, in *Muh. Studien*, ii, 211-12, Eng. tr. ii, 196-7, has shown that the priority accorded to Ibn Djuraydj was unmerited, and has remarked that collections of *ḥadīth*s are mentioned at an earlier period; at all events, his work was a selection of legal traditions in classified form, as the *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo 316, notes, grouped by chapters on legal purity, the prayer, the *zakāt*, etc.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 283; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 488-9, 519; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 348, ed.; Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iii, 163-4; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, x, 400-7; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, i, 351; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 226-7; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 787; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, 402-6; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, i, 160; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, index; Brockelmann, S I, 255, and bibl. given there; Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 404-5; Ziriklī, iv, 305.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN FARĪGHŪN, SHAʿYĀ (?), author in the 4th/10th century of a concise Arabic encyclopaedia of the sciences the *Djawāmiʿ al-ʿulūm* "Connections of the sciences". The author wrote in the upper Oxus lands, and dedicated his work to the Muḥtādjid *amīr* of Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*], Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar (d. 344/955). Minorsky surmised from his name (if this has been interpreted correctly) that he was a scion of the Farīghūnids [*q.v.*] in northern Afghānistān, rulers of the district of Gūzgān [*q.v.*] as tributaries of the Sāmānids, and latterly, of the Ghaznawids; a connection too with the unknown author of the Persian geography, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* [*q.v.* above], is not impossible, though as yet unproven (see V. Minorsky, *Ibn Farīghūn and the Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, in *A locust's leg, studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 189-96).

The author of the *Djawāmiʿ* was first identified by D.M. Dunlop in his article *The Ǧawāmiʿ al-ʿulūm of Ibn Farīġūn*, in *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, 348-53. He was clearly a pupil of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, presumably the author of the geography *Ṣuwar al-aḳālīm* re-edited and completed by al-Iṣṭakhrī [see AL-BALKHĪ and DJUGHRĀFIYĀ. IV c, ii], d. 322/934, who had himself written a *K. Aḳsām al-ʿulūm* "Book of the divisions of the sciences". Ibn Farīghūn used the *tashdjīr* system in his arrangement of the sciences, i.e. that of "trees" and "branches" for the groups and sub-groups. The

Dj̲awāmiʿ resembles the slightly later *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī [*q.v.*] in that it is divided in the first place into two *maḳālas*, one on the Arabic sciences and one on the non-Arabic ones, but it is not so clearly arranged as the *Mafātīḥ*. A full evaluation of the work must await publication of the text, for which several mss. exist.

Bibliography: In addition to references given above, see H. Ritter, *Philologika XIII*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 83-5; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 34-6; Brockelmann, S I, 435; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 384, 388 (reading the author of the *Dj̲awāmiʿ*'s name as "Mutag̲h̲abbī (?Mubtag̲h̲ā) b. Furayʿūn").

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

IBN GHIDHĀHUM (usual French spelling: Ben Ghedahem), ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, leader of the 1864 revolution in Tunisia.

Born around 1815 as the son of a Badawī doctor and *ḳāḍī* of the Mādj̲ir tribe in the district of T̲h̲ala, he is said to have studied at the Great Mosque, became secretary to the *ḳāʾid* of his tribe, al-ʿArbī (Larbi) Bakkūs̲h̲, then *ḳāḍī*, but was dismissed by the latter. When the K̲h̲aznadār government decided (December 1863) to double the *madj̲bā* tax, a revolt, starting in the south of March 1864, soon engulfed most of the country. Ibn G̲h̲id̲h̲āhum was proclaimed "Bey of the People" by the Mādj̲ir and recognised by some neighbouring tribes, probably thanks to his religious prestige (as an alleged *s̲h̲arīf* and mara-bout of the Tidj̲āniyya), as well as to his promises. He killed the *ḳāʾid* Bakkūs̲h̲ and his entourage, yet appealed to the tribes for moderation. His movement and authority having declined by July, he accepted an offer of amnesty and obtained an estate for himself and tribal commands for his aides. On 26 July, 400 *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s and notables surrendered in the northwest after the government had promised to halve the *ʿus̲h̲r* tax, appoint native *ḳāʾids* instead of Mamlūks and abolish the constitution. Yet, the K̲h̲aznadār having merely played for time, Ibn G̲h̲id̲h̲āhum took up arms again in the autumn, but in January his forces were crushed near Tebessa. He crossed into Algeria and was interned till January 1866. The chief of the Tidj̲āniyya recommended him to the French as one of his best *aḥbāb* and as a learned man who had never mixed in politics. Hoping for the Tidj̲ānī's intercession with the Bey, Ibn G̲h̲id̲h̲āhum slipped back to Tunisia, but was caught and died in prison (10 October 1867). The significance of the rebellion and the personality and role of Ibn G̲h̲id̲h̲āhum have been reconsidered since the thirties. M. Emerit sees the former as an "episode in the perennial struggle of the Badū against the settled population and beylical authority in general" (*RT* [1939], 227). In A. Temimi's view, Ibn G̲h̲id̲h̲āhum lacked vision, resolve and a plan; he was carried along by the events rather than shaped them, and failed to embody the aspirations of the revolution; he betrayed them and dealt the latter a death blow (*ROMM*, vii [1970], 176).

Bibliography: further to references in the text: Ch. Monchicourt, *La région du Haut Tell en Tunisie*, Paris 1913, 230, 298, 318; M. Gandolphe, *Les événements de 1864 dans le Sahel, etc.* in *RT* (1918), 138-53; P. Grandchamp, *Documents relatifs à la révolution de 1864 en Tunisie*, Tunis 1935; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959, 226 f., 232, 248 f., 251, 262 f.; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān bi-ak̲h̲bār mulūk tūnis wa-ʿahd al-amān*, Tunis 1964, 5, 112-33, 136, 168-71; B. Salāma, *T̲h̲awrat Ibn G̲h̲id̲h̲āhum*, Tunis 1967; Kh. Chater, *Insurrection et répression dans la Tunisie du XIXᵉ siècle: la mehalla de Zanouk au Sahel 1864*, Tunis 1978.

(P. SHINAR)

IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ, ḤAMDŪN B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-SULAMĪ AL-MIRDĀSĪ AL-FĀSĪ (1174-1232/1760-1817), "one of the most outstanding scholars of the reign of Mawlay Sulaymān" (1206-38/1792-1823), according to E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 342, n. 5).

As the *faḳīh* appointed to the Moroccan sultan, he filled the office of *muḥtasib* of Fās, then of *ḳāʾid* of the G̲h̲arb, before devoting a great part of his activities to literature. He is the author of several commentaries and glosses, of epistles of a religious character and of an account of the pilgrimage which he made, but also the author of a *maḳṣūra* [*q.v.*], of a poetic version of the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī [*q.v.*], of a poem of nearly 4,000 verses in praise of the Prophet (with a commentary in 5 volumes) and a series of eulogies of the sultan. Some of his writings have been preserved in manuscript at Rabat (see Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, nos. 292 (5), 305, 337, 338, 434, 497 (11-12), and part of his poetic output (mss. 337 and 338 above; now K 963 and K 2707) has been gathered together into a *Dīwān* lithographed at Fās and containing notably a certain number of *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥāt*. This versifier, who still enjoys a certain celebrity, sometimes gave himself up to some curious pyrotechnics. M. Lakhdar (*Vie littéraire*, 283-4) sets forth a poem in 26 verses rhyming in *-dī* and in the metre *basīṭ*, of which each hemistich is divided into four sections written successively in red, black, blue and black; if the blue column is removed, the metre *munsariḥ* results, if the blue and the red, *muḳtaḍab*, and if the red alone, *madīd mak̲h̲būn*.

The genealogy and the *manāḳib* [*q.v.*] of Ḥamdūn Ibn al-Ḥādj̲dj̲ were the subject of a monograph by his son Muḥammad al-Ṭālib (see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 342-5) called the *Riyāḍ al-ward* (ms. Rabat 396).

Bibliography: Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā*, vi, 151; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316/1898, iii, 4; Fuḍaylī, *al-Durra al-bahiyya*, lith. Fās 1314/1896, ii, 327; Sāʾiḥ, *al-Muntak̲h̲abāt al-ʿabḳariyya*, Rabat 1920, 83; ʿA. Gannūn, *al-Nubūg̲h̲ al-mag̲h̲ribī*, Beirut² 1961, i, 296-7, ii, 257, 282-7; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrik̲h̲ al-Mag̲h̲rib al-aḳṣā*, Casablanca 1960, i, 215, ii, 349, 390, 421-2; ʿA. al-Dj̲irārī, *Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥāt mag̲h̲ribiyya*, Casablanca 1973, 182-5; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 281-4.

(ED.)

IBN ḤĀTIM, BADR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD AL-HAMDĀNĪ, state official and historian under the second Rasūlid sultan of the Yemen, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (647-94/1249-95).

Ibn Ḥātim's name appears nowhere in the biographical literature of mediaeval Yemen, and neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is known. The last reference to him falls under the year 702/1302-3. However, from his history of the Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen, *al-Simṭ al-g̲h̲ālī al-t̲h̲aman fī ak̲h̲bār al-mulūk min al-G̲h̲uzz bi 'l-Yaman* (ed. G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids, etc.*, GMS, N.S. xxvi/1, *The Arabic text*, London 1974), it is possible to cull some information concerning the man and his official life. He belonged to the Banū Ḥātim of Yām of Hamdān, who at the time of the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen in 569/1173 controlled the area of Ṣanʿāʾ, the country's

chief town. He was thus an Ismāʿīlī, though this proved no handicap to his rise to a high position in the staunchly Sunnī Rasūlid state under al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf. He was a member of the small cadre of some four or five officials employed by the sultan in the capacity of roving ambassador, personally representing him wherever in the country he was needed, now negotiating with recalcitrant tribes, now conveying a personal message from the sultan, at times even participating in military operations.

His official state position, however, did not restrict or hamper his historical writing in any way. His account of the Ayyūbid and first two Rasūlid sultans is a refreshingly impartial one, perhaps slightly biased towards his own family, the Banū Ḥātim, but containing much otherwise unknown information on this crucial period of Yemenī history, when the country was beginning to form a political unit after centuries of rule by numerous petty dynasties. He writes in the *Simṭ* of al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf's reign as a dispassionate eye-witness. We know too that he wrote *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn fī akhbār mulūk al-Yaman al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, though this remains undiscovered. It was clearly a more general history of the Yemen, covering a longer time-span than the *Simṭ*.

Bibliography: see the edition mentioned above and Smith, *The Ayyūbids, etc.*, Part 2, London 1978; idem, *The Ayyūbids and Rasūlids—the transfer of power in 7th/13th century Yemen*, in *IC*, xliii (1969), 175-88; Sir J. Redhouse and Muhammad Asal, *el-Khazrají's History of the Resúlí Dynasty of Yemen*, GMS, iii, Leyden and London 1906-18.

(G.R. Smith)

IBN HISHĀM AL-LAKHMĪ al-Sabtī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Hishām b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf, lexicographer, grammarian, *adīb* and versifier. He was probably born at Seville, and certainly died in that city in 577/1182, after having lived for a long time at Ceuta.

We know very little of his life, but his biographers list his masters and his pupils and indicate the titles of his works, amongst which one notes several commentaries; one may merely remark that these included a *sharḥ* on the *Maḳṣūra* of Ibn Durayd, which was especially appreciated by al-Ṣafadī (*Wāfī*, ii, 1301) and al-Baghdādī (*Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, i, 490 = Cairo, iii, 105), *al-Fawāʾid al-maḥṣūra fī sharḥ al-Maḳṣūra* (of which several mss. exist; see Brockelmann, S I, 172; partial ed. by Boysen, in 1828 [see maḳṣūra]) and a *sharḥ* on the *Faṣīḥ* of Thaʿlab which already shows up Ibn Hishām's taste for the purity of the language (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 20). There are extant a small quantity of verses on the various senses of the word *khāl* and above all, a treatise on the *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, given this title by Ibn al-Abbār and al-Suyūṭī (for *m.h.n.* read *laḥn*), but otherwise called *Taḳwīm al-lisān* by al-Marrākushī, and given two different titles in the Escorial ms. 46, *K. al-Radd ʿalā ʾl-Zubaydī fī laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, and ms. 99, *K. al-Madkhal/al-Mudkhal ilā taḳwīm al-lisān wa-taʿlīm al-bayān*. This work, which provides precious information on Spanish and Moroccan Arabic, comprises two basic sections: in the first one, the author makes critical remarks on the parallel books of al-Zubaydī and Ibn Makkī [*q.vv.*], defending at the same time actual usages with arguments drawn from the old lexicographers. The transitional part is brought about by means of an exposition of the terms which provide dialectical variants (*lughāt*), amongst which speakers have a tendency to choose the less good one and thus end up committing faults. The second section, now thereby introduced, deals with current faulty expressions caused by phonetic, morphological or semantic changes; unnecessary borrowings are mercilessly tracked down and replaced by the corresponding Arabic words. Incorrect forms are introduced by the formula "they say . . .", followed by "whilst the correct usage requires one to say . . ." or by an equivalent formula. The treatise ends with a series of proverbs drawn from classical poetry, but corrupted and deformed by the *ʿamma*; the use of this latter term poses, as in all analogous works, a difficult problem, concerning which one should refer to the article Laḥn al-ʿĀmma.

The last chapter has been edited by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī in *Mélanges Taha Husain* (Cairo 1962, 273-94); this same scholar had already published a study on the work and its author followed by a selection of western terms (*alfāẓ maghribiyya*) appearing in the second section (see *RIMA*, iii/1 [1376/1956], 133-57, and iii/2, 285-321). The remainder of this same section has been edited critically, with abundant annotation, and presented by M. El-Hannach as a *thèse du 3ᵉ* cycle at the University of Paris IV in 1977, but this has not yet been published.

It may be of interest to note that the *Madkhal* was put together as part of a fairly common process of which it is possible, for once, to follow the details. Thus the treatises of al-Zubaydī and Ibn Makkī inspired in Ibn Hishām various observations which he communicated to his pupils without actually putting them together in the form of a book; the notes which he left behind or which his pupils took were brought together in 607/1210 for a man named Ibn al-Sharī under the title of *K. al-Madkhal fī taḳwīm al-lisān*; at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Hāniʾ al-Lakhmī al-Sabtī (d. 733/1332; see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 82, and Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 319) arranged all these materials and "published" them under the title of *Inshād al-dawāl(l) wa-irshād al-suʾʾāl*; in the course of this same century, this latter work was in its turn worked on by Ibn Khātima (d. 770/1365 [*q.v.*]), who called the résumé which he had made the *Īrād al-laʾāl min Inshād al-dawāl(l)*; finally, an unknown author extracted from this last avatar a section which G.S. Colin thought worthy of publication as a document (in *Hespéris*, xii/2 [1931], 1-32); it is the introduction of this extract which allows us to trace back this chain.

Bibliography: In addition to works already mentioned, see Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 1053; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 183; Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa ʾl-takmila*, ms. B. N. Paris 1256, f. 25; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 20-1; H. Derenbourg, *Catalogue*, i, 58; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 280; Brockelmann, I, 308, I², 113, 375, S I, 541.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN KABAR, Abu ʾl-Barakāt, Shams al-Riʾāsa al-Naṣrānī, Copt from Egypt (d. between 720 and 727/1320-7) who was secretary to Baybars al-Manṣūrī [*q.v.*], author of the *Zubdat al-fikra*. Certain historians, e.g. al-Ṣafadī, followed by Ibn Ḥadjar and al-Maḳrīzī, allege that Ibn Kabar helped him compile his book. It is difficult, impossible even, to evaluate the importance of this help, for Baybars undeniably had a talent as historian and a most lively taste for books and chronicles, as attests clearly al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abī Faḍāʾil, Ibn Kabar's contempo-

rary and co-religionist, and this view is shared by Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībardī.

Moreover, it is certain that Ibn Kabar made a résumé of Baybars al-Manṣūrī's history, the *Mukhtār al-akhbār*, the ms. of which is preserved in the Ambrosiana collection of Milan (Ms C 45 Inf.). The section of the Fāṭimids, together with part of the reign of al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn, is lacking in this manuscript, and the text stops abruptly in the year 702/1302.

Ibn Kabar's main work is a book on the ecclesiastical sciences of the Copts, *Kitāb Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma wa-īḍāḥ al-khidma*. This has been edited and translated by Dom Louis Villecourt, with the collaboration of Mgr. E. Tisserant and Gaston Wiet, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xx/iv, Paris 1928. Ibn Kabar also left behind a Coptic-Arabic dictionary, published by Athanasius Kircher under the title *Scala magna*. A few others of his works remain unpublished.

Bibliography: al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍa'il, *al-Manhadj al-sadīd*, ed. Blochet, *PO*, xiii, xiv, xx, Paris 1919-28; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. Ziyāda, ii/1, 269; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Cairo 1966, ii, 43; Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, BN Paris ms., Fonds arabe 2069, f. 106a; Sakhāwī, *I'lān*, tr. F. Rosenthal, in *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 418; *Lingua aegyptiaca restitua*, Rome 1643, 41-272; Brockelmann, II², 55 (correct Bekr to Kabar); E. Tisserant, L. Villecourt and G. Wiet, *Recherches sur la personalité et la vie de Abul Barakat Ibn Kubr*, in *ROC*, xxii (1921-2), 373-94; Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 438-44; O. Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Arabic manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, i (Antico Fondo and Medio Fondo), Vicenza 1975, 71.

(Abdel Hamid Saleh)

IBN al-ḲAṬṬĀN, a name well-known to historians of the mediaeval Muslim West and, as such, long thought to have been borne by only one person. There is, however, no doubt that it was the name of two different people who, in all probability, were father and son. Since nothing further can be said of this putative relationship, it seems prudent to speak of the two persons as the "Elder" and the "Younger".

1. Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān the Elder. This person is to be identified with one Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Yaḥyā al-Kutāmī al-Fāsī, a religious scholar and jurist from Fās, for whom we have only the date of his death, viz. 1 Rabī' I 628/7 January 1231. As all his biographers agree that he died in A.H. 628, he can hardly have been the author (as supposed by Lévi-Provençal and others after him) of the *K. Naẓm al-djumāna* (see below), since the author of this work served the Almohad caliph al-Murtaḍā (*reg.* 646-65/1248-66). Of the early background of this Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, all we know is that he was of Cordovan origin. We can only assume that either he or his father and family had emigrated from Andalusia to Fās. In later life his importance seems to have lain in the prominence of his position in the Almohad hierarchy, for we are told that he was head of the *ṭalaba* in Marrakesh and that he enjoyed great prosperity in the service of the ruler (on the *ṭalaba* as a high-ranking class of Almohad dignitaries, and on Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān in particular, see Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, 104 f. and 108, respectively). After the death of the caliph Abū Ya'ḳūb Yūsuf al-Mustanṣir, Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān the Elder fell victim to the Almohad power struggle which ended in the victory of Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh (al-'Ādil) over the caliph 'Abd al-Wāḥid after only eight months' rule. Leaving Marrakesh in 621/1224, Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān was able to return later, but in fact he seems never again to have been able to make a secure and permanent home there or indeed to lead a settled life. When he died, he was *ḳāḍī* of Sidjilmāsa, a city then in rebellion against the reigning caliph. Among writings attributed to this Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān are a commentary on the *K. al-Aḥkām* of 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Ishbīlī (confused with the *K. al-Aḥkām* of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān the Younger), a *Maḳāla fi 'l-awzān* and *al-Naẓar fī aḥkām al-naẓar*.

2. Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān the Younger, otherwise Abū 'Alī (and/or Abū Muḥammad) al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) b. 'Alī b. al-Ḳaṭṭān, historian, jurist and traditionist. Unlike the Elder, this Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān has, surprisingly, found no place in known biographies. If "b. 'Alī b. al-Ḳaṭṭān" is any guide, we may be right in supposing him to have been a son of the preceding Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān. The dates of his birth and death are unknown; the most we can say is that he flourished in the reign of al-Murtaḍa (see above), whose favour he enjoyed and for whom he is said by Ibn 'Idhārī to have written a history entitled *K. Naẓm al-djumān wa-wāḍiḥ al-bayān fīmā salafa min akhbār al-zamān* (there are variants of the title) as well as a number of other works, viz. *K. Shifā' al-ghalal fī akhbār al-anbiyā' wa 'l-rusul*, *K. al-Aḥkām li-bayān āyātihi 'alayhi 'l-salām* (on *ḥadīth*), *K. al-Munādjāt*, and *K. al-Masmū'āt*. Of all these writings, only a part of the *Naẓm* seems to have survived. Until this part was discovered, the work was only known through the use which other Maghribī writers had made of it, notably Ibn 'Idhārī. The complete *Naẓm* was, so far as can be gleaned, a large encyclopaedic work covering the history, and to some extent the geography, of North Africa and Spain from the Arab conquest to the author's own time. The extant portion, dealing with the period 500-33/1106-7 to 1138-9, bespeaks a tendentious "palace" chronicle, but it is valuable as it not only reproduces original official documents and quotes authors whose works are no longer known to us, but it also reports on the Fāṭimids in Egypt, giving information not to be found elsewhere.

Bibliography: J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, London 1958, loc. cit.; Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī, *Djuz' min Kitāb Naẓm al-djumān* (Muhammad V University Publications), Rabat n.d., but *ca.* 1966 (almost all the main references may be found in Makkī's introduction to this edition); on Abu 'l-Ḥasan, see I. 'Abbās, *Contributions to the material on the history of the Almohads, as portrayed by a new biography of Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān (628/1230)*, in *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen 1976, 15-38.

(J.D. Latham)

IBN KAYSĀN, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, Baghdādī philologist who according to all the known sources, died in 299/311-12; this date is nevertheless challenged by Yāḳūt who, believing that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī is in error, opts for 320/932.

He was the pupil of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab [*q.vv.*], and is said to have brought together the doctrines of the grammatical schools of both Baṣra and Kūfa, though his own preference was for the former; he was moreover the author of a work, no longer surviving, a *K. al-Masā'il 'alā madhhab al-naḥwiyyīn mimmā khtalafa fīhi al-Kūfiyyūn wa 'l-Baṣriyyūn*. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī relates in his *Imtā'* (iii, 6) that he had written over his door "enter

and eat". In another, unspecified work, the same author (cited in particular by Yāḳūt and al-Suyūṭī) describes the programme of his lecture courses and describes the crowd which surrounded him, leaving about a hundred mounts in front of the gate of the mosque where he was teaching, but Yāḳūt does not seem to take Abū Ḥayyan's account at its face value. In addition to the *K. al-Masā'il*, Ibn al-Nadīm attributes the following works to Ibn Kaysān: *al-Muhadhdhab fi 'l-naḥw, K. al-Shādhānī fi 'l-naḥw, al-Mudhakkar wa 'l-mu'annath, al-Maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd, Mukhtaṣar al-naḥw, al-Mukhtār fī ʿilal al-naḥw, al-Hidjā' wa 'l-khaṭṭ, al-Wakf wa 'l-ibtidā', al-Ḥaḳā'ik, al-Burhān, al-Ḳirā'āt, Maʿānī al-Ḳur'ān* and *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, to which one should perhaps add *Ghalaṭ adab al-kātib, al-Lāmāt, al-Taṣārīf, al-Fāʿil wa 'l-mafʿūl bihi*, cited by Yāḳūt, *Sharḥ al-ṭiwāl* (al-Anbārī) and a *Talḳīb al-ḳawāfī wa-talḳīb ḥarakātihā*, which is doubtfully authentic. The *Kitāb Maṣābīḥ al-kitāb* (read the latter word thus) ascribed by A.J. Arberry, *Chester Beatty Library. Handlist of the Arabic manuscripts*, Dublin 1955, to Ibn Kaysān seems to be in fact by an author of Shīʿī sympathies, the well-known Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn al-Wazīr al-Maghribī [see AL-MAGHRIBĪ]; see U.Y. Ismail, *A critical edition of* al-Maṣābīh fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-ʿaẓīm *attributed to Ibn Kaysān al-Naḥwī...*, Manchester Ph.D. thesis 1979, unpublished.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 81 (ed. Cairo 120); Khaṭīb, Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, i, 325; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ed. Cairo 1369-74/1950-5, iii, 57-9; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn*, ed. Cairo 1373/1954, 170-1; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. A. Amer, Stockholm 1963, 143; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xvii, 137-41; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 8; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iv, 484; Brockelmann, I², 111, S I, 170.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN KHALAF, the name of a family, of whom the best-known two members are:

1. ABŪ GHĀLIB MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. KHALAF, called Fakhr al-Mulk, vizier of the Būyids, born at Wāsiṭ on Thursday 22 Rabīʿ II 354/27 April 965, and killed by Sulṭān al-Dawla Abū Shudjāʿ Fanā-Khusraw on 27 Rabīʿ I 407/3 September 1016. The poets and scholars, to whom he had been extremely generous, composed for him a great number of poetic eulogies, and al-Karadjī [*q.v.*] dedicated his *Fakhrī* and his *Kāfī* to him.

2. ABŪ SHUDJĀʿ MUḤAMMAD AL-ASHRAF B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. KHALAF, son of the preceding, whose date of birth is unknown, but he was killed in 466/1073-4 by Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*], at the time when this latter arrived in Egypt at the summons of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir. Abū Shudjāʿ was this caliph's minister on two occasions: firstly, for two days only, in Muḥarram 457/December 1064-January 1065, and secondly, at the end of the same month in the same year, and this tenure of office lasted till mid-Rabīʿ I of the same year/February 1065.

It seems that this minister should not be confused with ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-Kātib [see the following article], despite some recent attempts at this identification which are conjectural and unjustifiable.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 85; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 53; Ṣābi', *al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Farradj, *passim*; Ibn Muyassar, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, ed. Massé, ii, 15, 23, 33; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 203; Dawadārī, *Kanz al-durar*, vi, 382; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ii, 271, 313, 333; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl*, 64; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iv, 118; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xiii, 260, xviii, 234; idem, *Buldān*, v, 350; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, section al-Ḳāhira, ed. Naṣṣār, 359; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, iv, 242, 257; G. Shayyāl, *Madjmūʿa*, i, 114-5; A.H. Saleh, *Une source de Qalqašandī*, Mawādd al-Bayān, *et son auteur, ʿAlī b. Ḫalaf*, in *Arabica*, xx/2 (1973), 192-200.(ABDEL HAMID SALEH)

IBN KHALAF, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. KHALAF B. ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB AL-KĀTIB, one of the great secretaries (*kuttāb*) of the Fāṭimids of Egypt (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 432; idem, *Ḍaw'*, 402). The date of his birth is unknown, but it is known that in 437/1045-6 he was living in Egypt, where he wrote his work for the secretaries of the *dīwān al-inshā'*, his manual called the *Mawādd al-bayān*, which contains in particular model letters and official documents. An incomplete manuscript of this work has recently been identified in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (Fatih 4128).

Ibn Khalaf was also the author of two works which he cites in his *Mawādd*, the *Ālat al-kuttāb* (fols. 162b and 166a) and a *Kitāb al-kharādj* (fols. 16a and 25b), but these have not come to light. The date of his death is uncertain. Al-Ḥabbāl al-Miṣrī records, in his *Wafayāt al-Miṣriyyīn fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-Fāṭimī*, in Shawwāl 455 the death of a certain Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-Zayyāt (cf. *RIMA*, ii/2 [1956], 336-7), who could be our secretary.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 559; G. Shayyāl, *Madjmūʿāt*, i, 14-15; S.M. Stern, *Fatimid decrees*, 105; A.H. Saleh, *Une source de Qalqašandī*, Mawādd al-Bayān, *et son auteur, ʿAlī b. Ḫalaf*, in *Arabica*, xx/2 (1973), 192-200.

(ABDEL HAMID SALEH)

IBN KĪRĀN, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-ṬAYYIB B. ʿABD AL-MADJĪD B. ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. KĪRĀN (1172-1227/1758-1812), *faḳīh* and littérateur of Fās. He received a traditional education from the local scholars, and himself taught rhetoric to numerous pupils, including Ibn al-Ḥādjdj [*q.v.*], Ḥamdūn, Ibn ʿAdjība, al-Kūhin [*q.vv.*] and the sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān (1205-38/1792-1823), who continually showed his high opinion of Ibn Kīrān by consulting him and by entrusting to him, with other *fuḳahā'*, the applying of his ordinances. His work is largely preserved, and comprises commentaries on various sūras and other writings (mss. Rabat K 1373, K 1379, K 1673, K 2534), notably *al-Murshid al-muʿīn ʿalā 'l-ḍarūrī min ʿilm al-dīn* of Ibn ʿĀshir (lith. Fās 1296; ms. Rabat K 81), and also an *urdjūza* on the logic of his pupil Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (ms. Rabat 434). He also wrote glosses to Ibn Hishām's commentary on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (Fās 1315) and, in collaboration with three other scholars, a commentary on the forty *ḥadīth*s of al-Nawawī (ms. Rabat 55). Amongst his original works, one might mention two short grammatical works on *law* (ms. Rabat D 938) and *ḳāla* (K 1072, 1373); an *urdjūza* on metaphor (Fās 1310; the commentary of al-Būrī in ms. Rabat D 921); and a short work meant to exhort the faithful (K 1072 with some *responsa*).

His brother Muḥammad b. Abd al-Madjīd (d. 2 Muḥarram 1214/6 June 1799) has left behind an *urdjūza* on *iʿrāb* (ms. D 1348, with comm.), and his son Abū Bakr (d. 4 Djumādā II 1267/16 April 1851) was an *imām* at Fās.

Bibliography: Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣā*, iv, 149; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316/1898, iii, 2 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, index; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*, i, 374; Brockelmann, S II, 875; Bustānī, *DM*,

iii, 484; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 275-7 and bibl. given there. (Ed.)

IBN AL-ḲUFF, Amīn al-Dawla Abu 'l-Faradj b. Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ, known as al-Malikī al-Masīḥī (the Melkite Christian) al-Karakī, physician and surgeon.

He was born at Karak [*q.v.*] in 630/1233. His father, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Yaʿḳūb, was a learned court clerk under the Ayyūbids, who excelled his peers in Arabic philology, literature, calligraphy, poetry and history. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, in his *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, Cairo 1882, ii, 273-4, gives the first and only complete, contemporary biography of Ibn al-Ḳuff, brief though it is. From it we learn that the family moved from al-Karak to Sarkhad in southeastern Syria, whither the father was transferred to work for the state, possibly *ca.* 643/1245. Becoming acquainted with Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, the father's relationship with the latter soon developed into a lifelong friendship. Upon request, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa gladly accepted to be Abu 'l-Faradj's first medical teacher, finding the latter a very intelligent student. Under this master, Abu 'l-Faradj mastered first of all the basic courses and doctrines of the healing art. He then took the advanced subjects of therapeutics and clinical medicine. When towards the middle of the century, the father again moved to Damascus for a new job there, Abu 'l-Faradj accompanied the family and continued his education at the Syrian capital. Besides medicine, he studied philosophy and logic, natural history, metaphysics and mathematics. Here also, no doubt, he obtained medical training at the city's hospitals. During the reign of the Ayyūbid al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (648-58/1250-60), Ibn al-Ḳuff was appointed as the first known military physician-surgeon at ʿAdjlūn [*q.v.*]. There he stayed for several years, until he was summoned during the reign of the Mamlūk al-Ẓāhir Baybars (658-76/1260-77) to become the physician-surgeon at the Damascus citadel.

Ibn al-Ḳuff's fame seems to have spread widely, and he gained the respect of his colleagues and medical students. Upon requests from a number of them, he composed several works, including his best-known manual on surgery, *ʿUmdat al-iṣlāḥ fī ʿamal ṣināʿat al-djarrāḥ*, ed. Hyderabad 1356/1937. Other works still extant in manuscript include his text on the healing art, *al-Shāfī fi 'l-ṭibb*; his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ḳānūn* on medicine'*Sharḥ al-Ḳānūn*; his commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*, *al-Uṣūl fī Sharḥ al-fuṣūl*, which deserves an independent investigation; and his compendium on health care and the treatment of diseases, *Djāmiʿ al-gharaḍ fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa wa-dafʿ al-maraḍ*. He died at Damascus in 685/1286 at a relatively early age.

Bibliography: In addition to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Istanbul 565, 1023; Leclerc, *Histoire*, ii, 203-4; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 649, S, I, 899; E. Wiedemann, *Beschreibung von Schlangen bei Ibn Kuff*, in *SPMSE*, xlviii-xlix (1916-17), 61-4; G. Sobhy, *Ibn 'l-Kuff, an Arabian surgeon of the VII century al-Higra*, in *Jnal. of the Egyptian Medical Association*, xx (1937), 349-57; O. Spies, *Beiträge zur arabischen Zahnheilkunde*, in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, xlvi (1962), 153-77; G. Kircher, *Die einfachen Heilmittel aus dem Handbuch der Chirurgie des Ibn al-Quff*, diss. Bonn 1967; S. Hamarneh, *The physician, therapist and surgeon Ibn al-Quff*, Cairo 1974; idem, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts on medicine and pharmacy at the British Library*, Cairo 1975, 189-93.

(S.K. Hamarneh)

IBN KULLĀB, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Ḳaṭṭān al-Baṣrī (died 241/855?), foremost representative of a compromising theology during the time of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*]. Nothing is known about his life. He contradicted the Muʿtazilī doctrine of *khalḳ al-Ḳurʾān* by introducing a distinction between the speech of God (*kalām Allāh*) and its realisation: God is eternally speaking (*mutakallim*), but he can only be *mukallim*, addressing himself to somebody, if this addressee exists. Speech is a permanent and unchangeable attribute (*ṣifa* or *maʿnā*) which subsists in God; but when, in revelation, it becomes speech to somebody, it is subject to alteration: it may be represented in various languages and must adapt itself to various situations by taking the form of an order, a statement etc. The expression *khalḳ al-Ḳurʾān* is thus misleading: it is true insofar as the "trace" (*rasm*) of God's speech is concerned, its reproduction (*ḥikāya*) in historical reality, especially in a Holy Scripture, and its subsequent recitation (*ḳurʾān* = *ḳirāʾa*), which is a meritorious action (*kasb*) performed by man; but it does not allow for the conclusion drawn by the Muʿtazila that God is only speaking through temporal speech and not *per se*. That there is uncreated speech is proved by the word *kun* "Be", by which God created everything else and which can therefore not be created itself. This uncreated speech does not yet consist of letters and sounds; it can therefore not be heard by anybody (in contradiction to sūra IX, 6 which had to be interpreted metaphorically). The only exception was Moses, to whom God said: "I have chosen thee, so *listen* to what is suggested" (XX, 13); he heard God speak to him directly. But we do not have any information about how Ibn Kullāb explained this kind of perception.

God's speech is eternal not by itself (which would mean that one attribute or "accident", namely eternity, were to subsist in another one, namely speech), but by the eternity of God's essence. God's attributes are related to each other in a most intimate way: they are "neither identical nor not identical". They share common features, but they are not interchangeable. The same must therefore be said with regard to their relationship with God's essence: *lā hiya huwa wa-lā hiya ghayruhū*. They are not entirely different from Him, but also not completely identical with Him, i.e. no mere "names" in the sense of ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān [*q.v.*], the Muʿtazilī with whom Ibn Kullāb held frequent discussions. There was no necessity, in this context, for a distinction between *ṣifāt al-dhāt* and *ṣifāt al-fiʿl*: God's will, which was considered a "factual quality" and as such temporal by the Muʿtazilīs, is eternal according to Ibn Kullāb, likewise His kindness (*karam*) and His generosity (*djūd*), His friendship (*walāya*) and His enmity (*ʿadāwa, sakhṭ*). The formula was also applied to the *ṣifāt khabariyya*, attributes which are only accepted because they form part of revelation, i.e. the anthropomorphisms: God's face, His hands, His eye, etc., are "neither identical with Him nor not identical with Him". We do not know what this meant exactly, but we hear that God is "sitting on His throne" with His essence, not as a body and not in a definite place.

Ibn Kullāb did not restrict God's attributes to those mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. An attribute may be inferred from any description (*waṣf*) given about God. But there are some of them which do not fit into the "formula". God is eternal and thus possesses eternity (*ḳidam*, which does not belong to the

Ḳur'ānic vocabulary), but this eternity must be directly identical with Him because nothing eternal exists besides Him. Similarly, His being can in no way be "not identical" with Him. The character of God's divinity was discussed among Ibn Kullāb's followers.

In other theological problems, Ibn Kullāb supported the view of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*. He believed in the *ru'ya bi'l-abṣār*, in the final salvation of all Muslims in spite of their sins, and in a moderate form of predestination. Man has no immanent capacity of acting (*ḳudra*); he only receives it in the moment of the performance. He may use it for the contrary of his action, i.e. for sin as well as for obedience, but this freedom of choice does not influence the salvational status determined by God from the beginning.

Ibn Kullāb's *ṣifāt* theory was prepared by earlier speculations inside and outside the Muʿtazila, especially by discussions between Abu 'l-Hudhayl [*q.v.*] and Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] and by the ideas of the early Zaydī theologian Sulaymān b. Djarīr al-Raḳḳī (for whom cf. W. Madelung, *Der Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 61 ff.). He was, however, the first to elaborate them into a coherent system which corresponded to the tenets of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*. He also apparently put them on a broader basis by adding, e.g., a theory of human speech which worked with the same differentiation between speech as such and its reproduction through letters and sounds. He wrote several books, among them a *K. al-Ṣifāt* and a refutation of the Muʿtazila. Only a small fragment of one of them has been found up to now (cf. *Oriens*, xviii-xix [1965-6], 138 f.). Among his adherents in Baghdād was the mystic al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (died 243/857); in Nīshāpūr his doctrine seems to have been supported by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faḍl al-Badjalī, a contemporary who was mainly known as a commentator of the Ḳur'ān. The orthodox reaction under al-Mutawakkil and the prohibition of *kalām* in 238/852-3 seriously hampered the expansion of the school. Theologians who held similar ideas were attacked by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and his disciples as *Lafẓiyya*, people who believed in the createdness of the pronunciation (*lafẓ*), i.e. the recitation of the Ḳur'ān. But two generations later, Ibn Kullāb's ideas were renewed by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḳalānisī from Rayy and by his contemporary al-Ashʿarī (died 324/936 [*q.v.*]). The Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār (died 415/1025) still polemicises much more against the Kullābiyya than against al-Ashʿarī, and seems not always to distinguish sharply between them. But al-Muḳaddasī notes already in *ca.* 375/985 that the Ashʿariyya school was superseding its predecessor. The last traces of the school disappear in the 5th/11th century.

Bibliography: The main information about Ibn Kullāb's doctrine is found in Ashʿarī's *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, cf. index s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd, cf. also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. R. Tadjaddud, Tehran² 1973, 230, ll. 6 ff. These and other sources are analysed in J. van Ess, *Ibn Kullāb und die Miḥna*, in *Oriens* xviii-xix (1965-6), 92 ff. See also M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins*, Beirut 1965, 146 ff.; W.M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 286 ff.; F.E. Peters, *Allah's Commonwealth*, New York 1973, index s.v.; H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād as-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, index s.v.; H.A. Wolfson, *The philosophy of the Kalām*, Cambridge, Mass. 1976, 248 ff.; J. Peters, *God's created speech*, Leiden 1976, index s.v.; R.M. Frank, *Beings and their attributes*, Albany 1978, index.

(J. van Ess)

IBN MANGLĪ, Muḥammad al-Nāṣirī, a Mamlūk officer of the guard [see Ḥalḳa] of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (764-78/1362-77 [*q.v.*]), known as the author of several works on the art of war and of a treatise on hunting.

According to a laconic item of information given by Ibn Manglī himself, he must have been born in Cairo at the opening of the 8th/14th century, between the years 700 and 705/1300-6. As his arabised name shows (perhaps originally Möngli), his father was a Ḳîpčaḳ [*q.v.*], who had been brought at a tender age to the Mamlūk training school and recruited to the corps of the Baḥriyya [*q.v.*] under Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad [*q.v.*], who held three separate periods of power between 693/1293 and 741/1341; this is the origin of the title of affiliation, al-Nāṣirī, applied to him. Our author fell therefore into the class of *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*] "sons of the people of high rank", which allowed him to become a member of the sultan's guard of honour. After having undergone the wide-ranging military education of the "youths of good family", he ended his long career as a military man, in this same élite corps, with the high rank of *muḳaddam* (= colonel or brigadier?), ensuring him comfort of life and respect. To his cultural interests, Ibn Manglī added a deep religious sense, almost asceticism; at the end of his treatise on hunting, he thanks God for allowing him not to take a wife, the source of unhappiness. It is unknown whether his own death preceded or followed the ignominious end of his master, strangled to death.

Ibn Manglī's works on the art of war and on military and naval tactics are only known to us through titles and citations, but his treatise on hunting, put together in 773/1371-2, is preserved in a unique manuscript (Paris, B.N., Ar. 2832, ff. 53) called *Uns al-malā bi-waḥsh al-falā* "The sociable contact of the élite people with the wild beast of the open desert". The author did not intend to compile an original work, but, so he says, conceived the idea of it as an abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*) of the great encyclopaedia on venery *al-Djamhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara* "Compendium on the arts of falconry" (Escurial, Ar. 903; Istanbul, Aya Sofya 3813; Calcutta, Asiatic Soc., Ar. 865 M9) written in 638/1240 by the Baghdādī author Abu 'l-Rūḥ ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥassān al-Asadī. To the basic fabric of al-Asadī's work Ibn Manglī was able to add, in addition to the fruits of his own long experience on the subject, references to the best authors, such as al-Damīrī, al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba, Ibn Waḥshiyya, Ibn Zuhr, al-Rāzī and many others. One is grateful to him for not having conceived of it as an *adab* [*q.v.*] work; his clear, precise and curt style reflects the military man, whilst certain dialectical expressions show the contemporary language.

In 1880 one Florian Pharaon, a person of Levantine origin, brought out an edition and translation, under the title *Traité de vénerie* (Paris, pp. 154 text, 143 tr.), of Ibn Manglī's work; but the manuscript which he used, very lacking and defective, is not the Paris one. As a result, one wonders whether this Pharaon knew Arabic and anything about hunting at all, since the work of the Mamlūk author is so mangled.

As well as the great interest which Ibn Manglī's treatise holds for the devotee of the chase and the specialist on animals, the historian can glean from it a host of details on the horses, the style of riding and the handling of weapons as known amongst

the Mamlūks of the 8th/14th century, for whom hunting served as a school for war.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 136, S II, 167; G. Zoppoth, *Muhammad ibn Mänglī, ein ägyptischer Offizier und Schriftsteller des 14. Jhr.*, in *WZKM*, liii (1957), 288-99; *EI*² art. Bayzara; D. Möller, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen arabischen Falknereiliteratur*, Berlin 1965; F. Viré, *Abrégé de cynégétique d'Ibn Manglī*, annotated tr. (forthcoming).

(F. Viré)

IBN MATTAWAYH, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, Muʿtazilī theologian. Virtually nothing certain is known about his life beyond that he was a student of Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1025) in Rayy and survived him. His grandfather Mattawayh has been erroneously identified, on the basis of the title page of Houben's edition of his *al-Madjmūʿ fi 'l-muḥīṭ bi 'l-taklīf*, as ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba (read ʿAṭiyya) b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nadjrānī, who was rather the scribe of one of the manuscripts of this book. The death dates given, without mention of a source, by Houben (469/1076) and by ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān (468/1075) do not appear reliable. There is no evidence in his extant works that he survived his teacher for over half a century. His *K. al-Tadhkira* was evidently composed soon after ʿAbd al-Djabbār's death, for none of the latter's students except Abū Muḥammad b. al-Labbād is mentioned in it, while Abū Rāshid al-Naysābūrī (who cannot have survived ʿAbd al-Djabbār very long) quotes it in his *K. Ziyādāt al-sharḥ*. There is a possibility that he is identical with, or related to, the Ibn Mattawayh or "Sibṭ Mattūya" lampooned by the vizier al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995), ʿAbd al-Djabbār's patron in Rayy, in some obscene verses, especially since one of the verses seems to allude to his belonging to the Muʿtazila (see al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 101 f.; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, ii, 342).

Ibn Mattawayh generally set forth the doctrine of his teacher ʿAbd al-Djabbār, whose *K. al-Muḥīṭ bi 'l-taklīf*, a comprehensive Muʿtazilī theology, he paraphrased, commented upon and, in a few points, criticised in his *K. al-Madjmūʿ fi 'l-muḥīṭ bi 'l-taklīf* (vol. i edited by J.J. Houben, Beirut 1965, and by ʿUmar al-Sayyid ʿAzmī, Cairo 1965). Also extant is his *K. al-Tadhkira*, a work in two volumes on the nature of substances and accidents (vol. i edited by Sāmī Naṣr Luṭf and Fayṣal Badīrʿūn, Cairo 1975). A commentary on it by an anonymous author writing *ca.* 570/1174-5 is preserved in manuscript (see S.M. Dānishpazhūh, in *Nashriyya-yi Kitābkhānayi Markazī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, ii [1341/1962], 156 f.). His *K. al-Kifāya* is quoted in Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*. In it he argued at length for the superior excellence of ʿAlī over Abū Bakr. Going beyond any previous Muʿtazilī position, he affirmed the impeccability (*ʿiṣma*) of ʿAlī but maintained, against the Imāmī Shīʿī doctrine, that impeccability was no prerequisite for the validity of the imāmate. A *K. al-Taḥrīr* by him is quoted in Maḥmūd b. al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*.

Bibliography: al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī, *Sharḥ al-ʿuyūn*, in *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Tunis 1393/1974, 389; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, Wiesbaden 1961, 119; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 627; ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, *Ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī*, Beirut 1386/1967, 51.

(W. Madelung)

IBN MIḲSAM, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Yaʿḳūb b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Miḳsam, Abū Bakr al-ʿAṭṭār al-Muḳri' al-Naḥwī, who lived from 265/878-9 until 354/965, was one of the most learned experts in *ḳirā'a* [*q.v.*] and also noted for his knowledge of Arabic grammar as practised in the school of Kūfa. According to his contemporaries, his only fault was that he, when teaching the Ḳur'ān, instructed in various readings (*ḳirā'āt*) which were not agreed upon by the majority of scholars of his days (*idjmāʿ*). Thus, instead of *nadjiyyan* in XII, 80, he read *nudjabā'a*, which did not make sense in the context. He tried to justify his controversial readings with grammatical arguments. This evoked the scorn of other Ḳur'ān teachers, and the matter was brought to the attention of the sultan who demanded that he recant. Ibn Miḳsam yielded to the pressure, but in other reports it says that he abided by his readings until his death. Apparently this caused some concern with the theologians of his days in regard to those ignorant people who were taken with his teachings and, subsequently, led astray. The whole episode bears a strong resemblance to what happened one year later to Ibn Shanabūdh (d. 329/939 [*q.v.*]). Yāḳūt mentions the titles of eighteen books attributed to Ibn Miḳsam, mainly dealing with Ḳur'ān and the Arabic language, but also including a refutation of the Muʿtazila. All of these seem to have been lost.

Bibliography: Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qorans*, index s.v.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, ii, 206 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vi, 498-501; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya*, ii, 123 ff.; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā'*, 360-3; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, iv, 130 f.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

IBN MĪTHAM, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Shuʿayb b. Mītham (often read as al-Haytham) b. Yaḥyā al-Tammār (whence the less common name for him, Ibn al-Tammār), al-Asadī (al-Ṣābūnī, according to Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 181), *Imāmī theologian* of the 2nd/8th century.

Mītham was a Companion of the Prophet (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 8472) who had adopted the cause of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and had settled at Kūfa, where his great-grandson was born at an uncertain date; nor is the date of his death known. Having left his natal town for Baṣra, ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl frequented the great Muʿtazilī scholars of the time, especially Abu 'l-Hudhayl and al-Naẓẓām [*q.vv.*], with whom he engaged in controversy, but apparently without great success (cf. al-Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, index, who states that he was under the influence of the young (*aḥdāth*) Muʿtazilīs). Al-Masʿūdī, in *Murūdj*, vi, 369 = § 2566, mentions him at the head of the theologians who took part in a colloquium organised by Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak on *ʿishḳ* [*q.v.*], and records (vi, 371 = § 2569) the presence there of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*]. The latter, who died in 179/795-6, is considered as the main representative of Imāmī theology in his time, and Ibn Mītham did not enjoy a parallel fame; but it is probable that Ibn Mītham was his elder, since he is cited before him by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 249, who states that he was the first to formulate the doctrine of the imāmate, and attributes to him a *Kitāb al-Imāma* (called *al-Kāmil*) and a *K. al-Istiḥḳāḳ*. If al-Nawbakhtī (*Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, 9) is to be believed, this political doctrine may be summed up in the following manner: ʿAlī was the most meritorious (*afḍal*) after the Prophet, and the community committed an error in choosing Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, but did not however fall into sin; on the other hand, ʿUthmān was to be rejected (*takfīr*). For his part,

al-Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt*, 42, 54, 516, delineates the main outlines of his theological doctrine: the Divine Will is, for him, as for Hishām, a moving force (*ḥaraka*), but for him, a moving force external to God, which moves Him. In regard to faith, this consists essentially in respect for the divine obligations; whoever infringes them loses the quality of *mu'min* and becomes a *fāsiḳ*, without however being wholly excluded from the community, since he can marry within it and inherit.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned above, see Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 212, no. 458; Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, 176; Abū 'Alī al-Karbalā'ī, *Muntahā 'l-maḳāl*, 207-8; Māmakānī, *Tanḳīh al-maḳāl*, ii, 270; Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'ārifīn*, i, 669; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam*, vii, 37; W.M. Watt, in *St. Isl.*, xxi, 289, 291; idem, *The formative period) of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 158-9, 188. (Ed.)

IBN AL-MUBĀRAK AL-LAMAṬĪ [see AL-LAMAṬĪ].

IBN MUḲBIL, Abū Ka'b (Abu 'l-Ḥurra in Ibn Durayd's *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 12) Tamīm b. Ubayy b. Muḳbil b. al-'Adjlān al-'Āmirī (i.e. the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 101), Bedouin poet of the *mukhaḍram*, who is said, like many other people of his age, to have lived 120 years (although al-Sidjistānī does not cite him in his *K. al-Mu'ammarīn*). He died after the battle of Ṣiffīn (37/657), to which he alludes in one of his poems (*Dīwān*, 345), probably in Mu'āwiya's reign and in any case, at a time when al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*] had already made himself known to him.

Ibn Muḳbil seems to have led the rather monotonous life of the Bedouins of his time, and his biographers, eager for pieces of information, record hardly any striking facts. They give prominence to his marriage to his father's widow, al-Dahmā', whom he had to divorce in conformity with the laws of Islam (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 325-6), but he long regretted this, judging by the numerous verses where her name is mentioned (see *Dīwān*, index). When he had reached an advanced age, he asked for hospitality from a certain 'Aṣar al-'Uḳaylī, who had two daughters; these last mocked him, because he was blind in one eye, so their father compelled one of them, Sulaymā, to marry him (*Dīwān*, 76-7). As a good Bedouin poet, Ibn Muḳbil mentions several women in the *nasīb* of his poems, and in particular a certain Kabsha/Kubaysha (see *Dīwān*, index), but of course, no precise information can be drawn from this. Although Ibn al-Kalbī does not mention any progeny of his, he is said to have had a dozen children (Ibn Rashīḳ, *'Umda*, ii, 291), all poets in their turn, and al-Bakrī (*Mu'djam mā sta'djam*, i, 131) adds the name of an Umm Sharīk who is said to have transmitted her father's verses.

Another fact lacking from his life story is an exchange of *hidjā'* [*q.v.*] verses with a poet who was a partisan of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Nadjāshī [*q.v.*]; the latter had attacked his tribe in the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and the dispute was brought before the caliph, who first of all shrank back from delivering a judgment but was subsequently forced to throw al-Nadjāshī into jail (this happening is recorded by numerous authors, in particular, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 290; al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maḳāl fī sharḥ Kitāb al-amthāl*, Beirut 1391/1971, 310-11; Ibn Rashīḳ, *'Umda*, i, 37-8; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Ẓahr al-ādāb*, i, 19-20; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, i, 113 = Cairo, i, 214-15; etc.). The two poets exchanged insults over a period of years, and once again one sees Ibn Muḳbil replying to his enemy, who had attacked Mu'āwiya after the battle of Ṣiffīn (*Dīwān*, No. 42). He had previously expressed pro-Umayyad sentiments in an elegy inspired by the murder of 'Uthmān (*Dīwān*, no. 3), but apart from his polemics with al-Nadjāshī, he seems to have been uninterested in political affairs and to have held aloof from addressing eulogies to highly-placed personages. Hence if *madīḥ* [*q.v.*] is little represented in his *dīwān*, boasting poetry (*fakhr*), personal or tribal, abound on the other hand. As a Bedouin poet, he defends naturally the Bedouin qualities such as generosity, contempt for riches, courage and en-durance; the main characteristic of his work is indeed description (*waṣf*), of the desert, atmospheric phenomena, the camel, wild animals, and especially, the arrows (*ḳidāḥ*) used in the gambling game called *maysir* [*q.v.*], to such a point that he became proverbial for them and one spoke of the *ḳidḥ Ibn Muḳbil* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 427). His work was exploited by the philologists (Sībawayh cites him ten times; see also, e.g., al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 498; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, i, 111-13 = Cairo, i, 211-15, *shāhid* 32, etc.), and because of the number of place names in his poetry, he was a source for the compilers of geographical dictionaries (Yāḳūt cites him 142 times in the *Mu'djam al-buldān*).

He was reproached basically because he regretted too much the pre-Islamic times and found himself ill at ease (Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 125; see *Dīwān*, 129-41), and it may be because of this that the judgments of the critics on him differ considerably. Ibn Sallām, 119, places him in the fifth class of the Djāhiliyya poets with Khidāsh b. Zuhayr, al-Aswad b. Ya'fur and al-Mukhabbal b. Rabī'a, who are not remarkable as poets. Most curiously, al-Akhṭal, whom he had in fact attacked (*Dīwān*, 109-12, 312-14), is said to have delivered a very favourable verdict on him (Tha'lab, *Madjālis*, 481; Ibn Rashīḳ, *'Umda*, i, 80), whilst al-Aṣma'ī [*q.v.*] did not consider him at all as one of the *fuḥūl* (al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshāḥ*, 80); this severe judgment did not however prevent this same scholar from collecting together his *Dīwān*, of which other recensions were made by Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, al-Ṭūsī, Ibn al-Sikkīt and al-Sukkarī (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 224) and a commentary written by Muḥammad b. al-Mu'allā al-Azdī (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xix, 55). One at least of these recensions was known in Ifrīḳiya, as the *'Umda* of Ibn Rashīḳ and the *Masā'il al-intiḳād* of Ibn Sharaf (who adjudged Ibn Muḳbil's poetry as archaic and solidly constructed) attest in particular, and also in al-Andalus (see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 397), but it is only recently that there has been discovered at Çorum [see čorum] the manuscript of an unidentified recension. A very careful edition of the *Dīwān* has been done by 'Izzat Ḥasan (Damascus 1381/1962), to which he has appended a *Dhayl* and various highly useful indices; another ed. by Ahmet I. Türek, Ankara 1965.

Bibliography: The main sources have been given in the article; 'Izzat Ḥasan's introduction to the *Dīwān* contains the sparse biographical details which are known and a study of Ibn Muḳbil's works. See further Ziriklī, *A'lām*, *s.v.*; Wahhābī, *Marādji'*, i, 123-5, where some new references may be found. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN NĀDJĪ, Abū 'l-Ḳāsim/Abu 'l-Faḍl b. 'Īsā b. Nādjī al-Tanūkhī, *ḳāḍī*, preacher and biographer, who was born and who died at al-Ḳayrawān (*ca.* 762-837 or 839/*ca.* 1361-1433 or 1435). He studied in his natal town and in Tunis, and then filled various posts as *ḳāḍī* and as *khaṭīb* (in Djarba, Beja, Lorbeus, Sousse, Gabès, Tebessa and al-Ḳayra-

wān), and put together commentaries on *fikh* works, in particular, on the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī (this *sharḥ* was printed at Cairo 1914, 2 vols.). However, his fame stemmed especially from a colletion of biographies of religious scholars of his natal town from its origins till the 9th/15th century, the *Maʿālim al-īmām fī maʿrifat ahl al-Ḳayrawān*, only the part with the notices on the 8th/14th century being completely from his own pen; all the opening is in reality a borrowing from a collection by a predecessor, al-Dabbāgh [*q.v.* above].

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, 223; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, No. 1330; Introd. to Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ's ed. of the *Maʿālim*; see also the *Bibl.* to AL-DABBĀGH. (ED.)

IBN NĀṢIR, the name, nowadays replaced by AL-NĀṢIRĪ, of a Moroccan family who founded the branch of the Shādhiliyya order [*q.v.*] known as Nāṣiriyya and founded its headquarters at the *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt [*q.v.*] in southern Morocco. The numerous biographical sources, published and unedited, as well as a monograph on the family, the *Ṭalʿat al-mushtarī* (Fās 1309) by Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī, allow its history to be traced easily and allow a genealogical tree to be constructed; the reader will find information on this in the article AL-NĀṢIRIYYA, and there will merely be given here some information on those members of the Banū Nāṣir who took part in a conspicuous fashion in literary and intellectual life over the last four centuries.

1. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Nāṣir b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān al-Darʿī (d. 1091/1680) succeeded his father (d. 1052/1642) as head of the *zāwiya* of Ighlān (a few miles from Zagora). This *zāwiya* was, however, definitively abandoned after an outbreak of plague which broke out in 1091/1680, of which al-Ḥusayn was himself a victim; he had made three journeys to the East and had composed a *Fahrasa* extant at Rabat (ms. 506J).

2. His elder brother, Abū ʿAbd Allāh MAḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD (1015-85/1606-74) had left the Ighlān *zāwiya* in 1040/1631 in order to settle in the one at Tamgrūt, which he now headed; according to the most reliable tradition, it was he who founded the Nāṣiriyya order. He wrote several works of *fikh*, some poetry, letters and *adjwiba* on points of law.

3. Maḥammad's son AḤMAD (1057-1129/1647-1717) succeeded his father as head of the order. He made the pilgrimage four times, and utilised these occasions to establish branches of the order in various parts of North Africa, as far as Egypt, and composed concerning his pilgrimage of 1121/1709-10 a voluminous *Riḥla* (lith. Fās 1320; partial tr. A. Berbrugger, in *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie*, ix, 1846, 165 ff.); this travel account has a certain interest because the author adds his personal observations on the regions which he passed through and records events of some importance, in addition to his mention of his itineraries and the religious personnages whom he met en route. Since Aḥmad left behind no children, the headship of the *zāwiya* passed to the descendants of his brother Muḥammad al-Kabīr.

4. Abū ʿAbd Allāh MUḤAMMAD (al-Makkī) B. MŪSĀ b. Muḥammad (al-Kabīr) b. Maḥammad succeeded his father, who died in 1142/1729. The task of inspecting the order's branches in the various towns of Morocco led him to write a travel narrative, *al-Rayāḥīn al-wardiyya fi 'l-riḥla al-Marrākushiyya* (ms. Rabat 88 G, 1-83), but he also left behind some poetry and several biographical works, amongst which may be noted the *Fatḥ al-malik al-Nāṣir fī idjāzāt marwiyyāt Banī Nāṣir* (ms. Rabat 323 K) on the *idjāzāt* received by his forebears, and above all, *al-Durar al-muraṣṣaʿa fī akhbār aʿyān Darʿa* or the *Kashf al-rawʿa fi 'l-taʿrīf bi-ṣulaḥāʾ Darʿa* (mss. Rabat K. 265 and 88 G, 84-116), finished in 1152/1739, which traces the history of the Nāṣiriyya order. He died after 1170/1756.

5. Abū ʿAbd Allāh MUḤAMMAD B. ABD AL-SALĀM b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad (al-Kabīr), who died in 1239/1823. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca twice and wrote two accounts of these. The autograph ms. of the first, *al-Riḥla al-kubrā*, is extant in the Royal Library at Rabat (no. 5658); the author adds his own personal observations and is not afraid to contradict his predecessors (notably al-ʿAyyāshī and al-ʿAbdarī [*q.vv.*]). He further left behind *al-Mazāyā fī-mā ḥadatha/uḥditha min al-bidaʿ bi-Umm al-Zawāyā*, a *Fahrasa* (ms. Rabat 3289 K), a commentary on the 40 *ḥadīths* of Maḥammad al-Djawharī (ms. Rabat 137 Q) and some *responsa* on some cases in point, the *Ḳaṭʿ al-waṭīn min al-marīk fi'l-dīn* (ms. Rabat 1079 D, fols. 107-15).

6. It is convenient, finally, to note that the famous author of the *K. al-Istiḳṣā*, AḤMAD AL-NĀṢIRĪ [see AL-SALĀWĪ] was a direct descendant of Ibn Nāṣir.

Bibliography: To the works by members of the family cited above, one should add the great biographical collections of Moroccan authors like Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, lith. Fās n.d.; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fās 1310/1892; Muḥammad al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Fās 1346-7/1927-9; the manuals of Moroccan literature; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*, Casablanca 1960-5; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, index s.v. Ibn Nāṣir; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie ʿalawide*, Rabat 1971, index s.v. Ibn Nāṣir and the bibl. cited there. (ED.)

IBN NĀẒIR AL-DJAYSH, TAḲĪ 'L-DĪN ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, *ḳāḍī*, official and author of the Mamlūk period in Egypt. His precise dates are unknown, but he was apparently the son of another *ḳāḍī* who had been controller of the army in the time of Sultan al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, and he himself served in the *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ* under such rulers as al-Manṣūr Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad (762-4/1361-3) and his successor al-Ashraf Nāṣir al-Dīn Shaʿbān (764-78/1363-76). His correspondence was apparently collected into a *madjmūʿ*, for al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*] quotes four letters from it, to external rulers, in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*. Ibn Nāẓir al-Djaysh was also, in a well-established Mamlūk tradition, the author of a manual for chancery secretaries, the *Tathkīf al-Taʿrīf*, an improved version of the well-known guide of Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī [see FAḌL ALLĀH], *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*; the *Tathkīf* has survived in at least four manuscripts (not however recorded in Brockelmann) and is again quoted several times by al-Ḳalḳashandī.

Bibliography: M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, pp. XII-XIII; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 69, 75, 129; C.E. Bosworth, *Christian and Jewish religious dignitaries in Mamlûk Egypt and Syria: Qalqashandî's information on their hierarchy, titulature and appointment*, in *IJMES*, iii (1972), 67.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

IBN AL-RĀHIB, Coptic polygraph, born between 1200-10 and died between 1290-5. Known principally as a historiographer on account of the *Chronicon orientale*, which has been falsely attributed to him since the 17th century, Nushū' al-Khilāfa (or simply al-Nushū') Abū Shākir b. al-Sanā (abbreviation of Sanā' al-Dawla) al-Rāhib Abu 'l-Karam (alias Abu 'l-Madjd) Buṭrus b. al-Muhadhdhib in fact represents, with Abū Isḥāḳ b. al-ʿAssāl [*q.v.*] and Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar [*q.v.*], the leading encyclopaedist of the golden age of Christian Arabic literature, in the 7th/13th century. He wrote about all the disciplines of human knowledge which an Arab Christian of the period was in a position to cultivate: chronology and astronomy, history, philology and hermeneutics, philosophy and theology (in the full spectrum of their ramifications). But it is not this fact alone which confers upon his work an encyclopaedic character; such versatility was not unusual in his milieu. The decisive factor is most of all his method of working, the very dimensions of his studies and finally, the abundant wealth of textual sources, Greek and patristic, Muslim Arab and Christian, which he quotes or incorporates to a large extent in his own works. It is in this work of compilation, besides, even more than in original thought, that the value of his writings seems to reside.

Ibn al-Rāhib was born into a large and distinguished Coptic family of Old Cairo, all of them churchmen as well as senior officials of the Ayyūbid state. His father, known at the time under the name al-Sanā al-Rāhib or al-Rāhib Anbā Buṭrus (he became a monk at an advanced age), enjoyed a considerable reputation both in public administration, where for two periods he was responsible for state finance, and in ecclesiastical circles, where he virtually played the role of interim patriarch in the latter part of the long period during which the diocese of Alexandria was vacant (1216-35), before becoming spokesman for the opposition under the much-contested patriarchate of Cyrillus b. Laḳlaḳ (1235-43). His son, al-Nushū' Abū Shākir, was, for his part, deacon of the renowned church of al-Muʿallaḳa and played a senior role in the administration, apparently in the *dīwān al-djuyūsh* [*q.v.*].

It was relatively late, probably after leaving public service in the wake of political repercussions which accompanied the rise to power of the Mamlūks, that he began his literary activity. It is in fact confined to the period between the years 655/1257 and 669/1270-1. Beyond the latter date, Ibn al-Rāhib limited himself to reproducing and improving his works. Extremely extensive and hitherto unedited, these are, in chronological order:

(a) *K. al-Tawārīkh*. Recently identified in three manuscripts, this is the work on which, in reality, Ibn al-Rāhib's renown is based. It comprises three distinct parts, unequally divided into fifty-one chapters: a study of astronomy and chronology (chs. 1-47); a history of the world (ch. 48), of Islam (ch. 49) and of the Church (in the form of a history of the patriarchs of Alexandria—ch. 50); and finally, a brief account of the Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Orient (ch. 51). The celebrated *Chronicon orientale* represents, in fact, only a mediocre abstract of the long chronographical section (chs. 48-50). The *K. al-Tawārīkh* was, in addition, exploited to a large extent by the Christian historiographer, al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*] and—through the latter, apparently—constantly mentioned by al-Maḳrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn [*q.vv.*]. In the first half of the 16th century it was translated into classical Ethiopic (Geʿez) by no less a person than the Etcheguié Enbaqom, which acquired for it a position of considerable eminence in Ethiopian literature. For this the manual of the ecclesiastical year and of universal chronology, entitled *Abushākër*, is not the least of the evidence.

(b) The study of Coptic philology, completed in 1263, includes a rhymed vocabulary (*sullam muḳaffā*) according to the method used by the Arab lexicographers, preceded by a grammar (*muḳaddima* [*q.v.*]) which, through its originality, is distinguished from the series of Coptic prefaces of the Middle Ages. Although the vocabulary itself hitherto seems to be lost, an attentive reading of the prologue—which is available to us along with the grammar and in which the author sets out his project in detail—enables us to see there a work of lexicography far superior to the *Scala rimata* of his contemporary Ibn al-ʿAssāl [see SULLAM].

(c) *K. al-Shifā* (1267-8). A work of Biblical Christology, of an exclusively exegetical character. Conceived according to massive proportions, it was originally structured on the basis of the image of the Tree of Life, consisting of a triple trunk (*aṣl*), each part bearing three branches (*farʿ*) loaded with innumerable fruits (*thamara*). The abundance and the variety of patristic and other commentaries (especially the *Firdaws al-naṣrāniyya* of the Nestorian Ibn al-Ṭayyib [*q.v.*], which are dotted throughout the work, make it an interesting Arabic florilegium of Biblical commentaries relating to the person of Christ.

(d) *K. al-Burhān* (1270-1). An extensive theologico-philosophical summa in fifty chapters (*mas'ala*), dealing with almost all the questions of philosophy, theology, ethics and culture likely to be of interest to an educated Copt of the period. It is particularly to be noted that the theodicy of the *K. al-Burhān* (chs. 28-40) hinges entirely on that of the *K. al-Arbaʿīn* of the great Persian theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 428-35; Adel Y. Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhibs Leben und Werk. Ein koptisch-arabischer Enzyklopädist des 7./13. Jahrhunderts* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 36), Freiburg 1975, with detailed analysis of sources and complete bibl.

(A. SIDARUS)

IBN AL-RŪMIYYA, ABU 'L-ʿABBAS (sporadically: Abu Djaʿfar) AḤMAD B. ABĪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUFARRIDJ B. ABI 'L-KHALĪL ʿABD ALLĀH AL-UMAWĪ AL-ḤAZMĪ AL-ẒĀHIRĪ AL-NABĀTĪ AL-ʿASHSHĀB, Spanish-Arabic pharmacobotanist. He was born in Seville in 561/1166 (according to others, 567/1172) and died there in 637/1240. His allegedly Byzantine origin on the maternal side may have procured him the nickname by which he became known, but which he did not like hearing. In any case, he was a freedman of the Umayyads. He was educated as a Mālikī traditionist and jurist, but then joined the Ẓāhiriyya and became an ardent adherent of Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*]. None of his writings bearing upon this activity seems to have survived; some *ridjāl*-works may be mentioned here: *al-Muʿlim bi-zawā'id* (or: *bi-mā zādahu*), *al-Bukhārī ʿalā Muslim*, *Ikhtiṣār Gharā'ib ḥadīth Mālik* (*li-l-Dāraḳuṭnī*), *Naẓm al-darārī fī-mā tafarrada bihi Muslim ʿan al-Bukhārī*, further an abstract from Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān's (d. 360/971) *K. al-Kāmil fi 'l-ḍuʿafā' wa 'l-matrūkīn*, and a supplement to this work under the title *al-Ḥāfil fī tadlīl al-Kāmil*, finally legal investigations on the performance of the prayer, like *Ḥukm al-duʿā' fī adbār al-ṣalawāt* and *Kayfiyyat al-adhān yawm al-djumʿa*. The knowledge related to these subjects he acquired during an

extensive study-tour, made in connection with the pilgrimage which he undertook in 613/1216, and which led him through North Africa, Egypt, al-Hidjāz, Syria and ʿIrāḳ. His extraordinary long biography in Marrākushī's *Dhayl* (see Bibl.) can be explained by the fact that this author cites most, if not all, of the traditionists and jurists whose lectures Ibn al-Rūmiyya attended and who were his authorities in *ḥadīth*.

His real renown, however, is based on his achievements as a pharmacobotanist. As he himself relates, he was initiated into pharmacology in 583/1187 in Marrākush by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, one of Ibn al-Bayṭār's teachers. With him he studied three works: (1) the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides; (2) the work by Ibn Djuldjul [*q.v.*] in which the latter explains the simple medicines named by Dioscorides (*Tafsīr asmāʾ al-adwiya al-mufrada min kitāb Diyus-kūrīdis*); and (3) the brief treatise of the same author on medicines not mentioned by Dioscorides (*Maḳāla fī dhikr al-adwiya allatī lam yadhkurhā Diyuskūrīdis ilkh.*). Seventeen years later (600/1204), Ibn al-Rūmiyya in his turn taught the works mentioned, also in Marrākush. The shortcomings and inaccuracies which meanwhile had struck him in the works of Ibn Djuldjul induced him now to write a corresponding book by himself, namely *Tafsīr asmāʾ al-adwiya al-mufrada min kitāb Diyuskūrīdis* (the title thus being identical with that of Ibn Djuldjul). In all probability, bordering on certainty, it is this work which exists in an anonymous text of the *madjmūʿa* Nuruosmaniye 3589; the present writer is preparing a text-edition together with an annotated German translation. Ibn al-Rūmiyya shortened considerably the contents of Dioscorides' work, to the extent that he left out almost completely the therapeutic uses of the medicinal herbs; instead, he did, however, give much space to their botanical description. The nomenclature of the herbs is also particularly important: it offers significant material for the knowledge of Mozarabic [see ALJAMÍA] and of the Berber dialects in Morocco at that time. Above all, it is noteworthy that the author makes a sharp distinction between the certain and the uncertain, especially between what was transmitted and what he had seen himself. If one bears in mind that ancient natural science already at an early stage abandoned personal investigation in favour of compilation and came to rely more and more on written sources, the endeavour, recognisable here, to gain a solid basis, particularly by examining nature itself, has to be rated highly.

It is reasonable to assume that Ibn al-Rūmiyya wrote down the *Tafsīr* before he started on the journey to the Orient mentioned above. The second botanical work, however, *al-Riḥla al-mashriḳiyya*, more comprehensive but only known to us through numerous extracts by Ibn al-Bayṭār, turns out to be the richly scientific result of this journey which lasted about two years. Of particular interest for the his-tory of civilisation is the description of the manufacture of papyrus, the oldest one since Pliny (for this and the other Arabic accounts, see A. Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papyri*, Vienna 1924, 35 f.). The *Riḥla* is of high quality and has led both L. Leclerc (*Histoire de la médecine arabe*, ii 244) and M. Meyerhof (*Maïmonide*, xxxiii) to the judgement that Ibn al-Rūmiyya is the botanist par excellence among the Arabs and that he can only be compared with al-Ghāfiḳī [*q.v.* above] as far as independence of scientific method is concerned. With the latter, Ibn al-Rūmiyya found moreover many faults; his work *al-Tanbīh ʿalā aghlāṭ al-Ghāfiḳī fī adwiyatihi* (quoted by Marrākushī, *Dhayl*, 1/2, 513) has been unfortunately lost, as is also a treatise on compound drugs (*Maḳāla fī tarkīb al-adwiya*), mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 81; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila*, Cairo 1955, i, 121; Abū Shāma, *Tarādjim ridjāl al-ḳarnayn al-sādis wa ʾl-sābiʿ*, Cairo 1366/1947, 170; Ibn Saʿīd, *Ikhtiṣār al-ḳidḥ al-muʿallā fī ʾl-taʾrīkh al-muḥallā*, ed. Ibr. al-Ibyārī, Cairo 1959, 181; al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa ʾl-takmila*, ed. Sharīfa, i/2, 487-518; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād 1377/1958, iv, 210; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi ʾl-wafayāt*, viii, 45 (no. 3451); Ibn Rāfiʿ, *Muntakhtab al-Mukhtār*, Baghdād 1357, 8; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, Cairo 1319, i, 88-93; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1351, 42 f.; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, ii, 596, iii, 135, 139, 185; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v, 184; A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia arabica*, Göttingen 1966, 183-7; idem, in *Acc. Naz. Lincei, Convegno Internaz. 9-15 Aprile 1969* (*Oriente e Occ. nel Medioevo: Filosofia e scienze*), Rome 1971, 375-90; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 279 f.

(A. DIETRICH)

IBN RUSHD, ABU ʾL-WALĪD MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD, AL-DJADD ("the grandfather" of the celebrated philosopher Averroes or Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*]), the most prominent Mālikī jurist of his day in the Muslim West, whose very real merits as an exponent of Mālik have been eclipsed by his grandson's fame as an exponent of Aristotle. Born in 450/1058-9, he died on 21 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 520/8 December 1126 and was buried in the cemetery of (Ibn) ʿAbbās in east Cordova, his native city.

From 511/1117 until 515/1121 Ibn Rushd was, as *ḳāḍī ʾl-djamāʿa* in Cordova, holder of the highest office in the Andalusian judiciary. For some reason that is not very clear, he either resigned or, less probably, was dismissed. What is clear is his important political role following the defeat, on 13 Ṣafar 520/19 March 1126, of Alfonso I of Aragon (El Batallador) at Arniswāl (? Anzul). Until his defeat, Alfonso had made rapid progress in his attempt to recover al-Andalus for Christendom and had gained widespread Mozarab sympathy and collaboration. Quick to perceive the danger that still threatened Islam from within, Ibn Rushd hastened to Marrakesh on 30 March 1126 to warn the Almoravid ruler ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn [*q.v.*] and to advise him. Expressing his legal opinion that the Mozarabs had, by their treachery, lost all right to protected status, he prevailed upon ʿAlī to have large numbers deported, and in consequence many were transported to Salé, Meknès and other places in Morocco. At the same time, he advised the construction of walls around Andalusian cities and towns as well as a wall around Marrakesh for the protection of the Almoravids against rivals on their own soil. He is also said to have recommended the replacement of ʿAlī's brother, Abū Ṭāhir Tamīm, as Almoravid representative in Spain, possibly because of his inability to defend Islam there. Five months after his return to Spain he died—in the same year as his famous grandson was born.

Abu ʾl-Walīd Ḳurṭubī, as our Ibn Rushd was known, was a great teacher of Mālikī *fiḳh* and the author of commentaries and compendia of basic works. One of his most important commentaries was that on the *Mustakhraja* of al-ʿUtbī (d. 255/869), viz. *K. al-Bayān wa ʾl-taḥṣīl li-mā fī ʾl-Mustakhraja*, etc. (in 110 parts). Better known today is his *K.*

al-Muḳaddimāt al-mumahhadāt li-bayān mā 'ḳtaḍathu rusūm al-Mudaw-wana (Cairo 1324; Muthannā repr. Baghdād, n.d. but 1960s). To his pupil Ibn al-Wazzān (*not* - Warrāḳ) we owe an important—historically and otherwise—collection of *fatwās* entitled *Nawāzil Ibn Rushd*, a selection of which, together with an illuminating introduction, has been published by Iḥsān ʿAbbās in *Al-Abḥāth*, xxii (Beirut 1969), 3-63). In such of Ibn Rushd's writings as have come down to us, one perceives an incisive and logical mind and clarity of thought matched by lucidity of expression.

Bibliography: All the essential references have been brought together in Iḥsān ʿAbbās's introduction to the *Nawāzil* cited above.

(J.D. Latham)

IBN SAʿDĀN, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, official and vizier of the Būyids in the second half of the 4th/10th century and patron of scholars, d. 374/984-5.

Virtually nothing is known of his origins, but he served the great *amīr* ʿAḍud al-Dawla Fanā-Khusraw [*q.v.*] as one of his two inspectors of the army (*ʿāriḍ al-djaysh*) in Baghdād, the *ʿāriḍ* responsible for the Turkish, Arab and Kurdish troops. Then when ʿAḍud al-Dawla died in 372/983 and his son Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Marzubān assumed power in Baghdād as supreme *amīr*, he nominated Ibn Saʿdān as his vizier. He occupied this post for two years, and seems to have made it his policy to reverse some of the trends of the previous reign; thus according to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*], he favoured the release in the new reign of the historian Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ [see al-ṣābiʾ] and took charge of the proper burial of the corpse of Ibn Baḳiyya [*q.v.*], the former vizier of ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār executed by ʿAḍud al-Dawla. However, his enemy Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf [*q.v.* above], formerly *kātib al-inshāʾ* to ʿAḍud al-Dawla, secured his dismissal on what was, according to Rūdhrāwarī, a trumped-up charge of complicity in the military revolt in Baghdād of Asfār b. Kurdūya in support of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's brother and rival for power, Sharaf al-Dawla Shīrzīl. Ibn Saʿdān was accordingly imprisoned and then executed in 374/984-5.

The sources say of him that he was liberal to his dependants, but kept himself inaccessible from the populace of Baghdād—in Rūdhrāwarī's phrase, *bādhil^un li-ʿaṭāʾihi, māniʿ^un li-liḳāʾihi*—thus incurring unpopularity to the point that his personal boat on the Tigris (*zabzab*) was once stoned. His claim to lasting fame lies in his role as a Maecenas—he renewed the pensions of scholars which had lapsed on ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death—and as the organiser of a circle of literati in Baghdād embracing both Muslims and Christians and at which all kinds of speculative and philosophical questions were discussed. He was the friend and patron of Tanūkhī (see the latter's *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, ed. ʿAbbūd al-Shāldjī, Beirut 1391-2/1971-2, iv, 96-7). Tawḥīdī was one of his *nudamāʾ*, and dedicated to Ibn Saʿdān his epistle on friendship, the *K. al-Ṣadāḳa wa 'l-ṣadīḳ*, although this was not completed for another 30 years (cf. M. Bergé, *Une anthologie sur l'amitié d'Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī*, in *BEO*, xvi [1958-60], 15-60). He was intimate enough with Ibn Saʿdān to address to the vizier an epistle on statecraft (in his *K. al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn and Aḥmad al-Zayn, Cairo 1953, iii, 210-25, tr. by Bergé, *Conseils politiques à un ministre. Epître d'Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī au vizir Ibn Saʿdān al-ʿĀriḍ*, in *Arabica*, xvi [1969], 269-78). In both the *K. al-Imtāʿ* and the *K. al-Ṣadāḳa* Tawḥīdī gives us a picture of these scholarly sessions; the participants included the Muslim philosopher Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī [*q.v.*], the Christian ones Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī and ʿĪsā b. Zurʿa [see ibn zurʿa], Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābiʾ, Miskawayh [*q.v.*], the engineer and mathematician Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzadjānī [*q.v.*], the *mādjin* poet Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], and several others. It was at the request of Abu 'l-Wafāʾ that Tawḥīdī composed a record of 37 of the sessions, forming his *K. al-Imtāʿ*; and Tawḥīdī's collection of philosophical discussions, his *K. al-Muḳābasāt*, derives also to a considerable extent from these meetings.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the text): For the scanty details of Ibn Saʿdān's life, see Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrawarī's *Dhayl* to Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, iii, 40, 85, 102-3, 107, and Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 27, 29. Concerning Tawḥīdī's information, cf. D.S. Margoliouth, *Some extracts from the Kitāb al-Imtāʿ wal-Muʾānasah of Abū Ḥayyān Tauḥīdī*, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 380-90; For the text of a letter of Ibn Saʿdān's to the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla [*q.v.*], see Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, viii, 137. Of secondary literature, see Ibrahim Keilani, *Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī, essayiste arabe du IVe s. de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1950, 42-3; Mafizullah Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, 156, 179; J.Chr. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAḍud al-Daulas*, Wiesbaden 1965, 118-19; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq* (*945-1055*), Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 65, 239, 509-10; M. Bergé, *Pour un humanisme vécu: Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī*, Damascus 1979, index, s.v. al-ʿĀriḍ.

(C.E. Bosworth)

IBN AL-SARRĀDJ, appellative of a family prominent in the 9th/15th century history of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada. Passing into Spanish literature as "Abencerraje" in the 16th century ("Bencerraje" may date from the end of the 15th), the name appears more than a century later in French as "Abencérage" (which, *pace* Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 351) does not derive from Sirādj), and finally in English as "Abencer(r)-age".

The patronymic "b. al-Sarrādj" is known well before the 9th/15th century. It is borne, for example, by an Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad of Málaga, a 5th/11th century panegyrist of the Ḥammūdids [*q.v.*], and in the 7th/13th century both by a grammarian of Pechina living in Almería and by yet another Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, a *faḳīh* and *khaṭīb* of the Great Mosque of Granada. Early in the next century we find an Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarrādj, a Granadan doctor and botanist whose works, now lost, were esteemed in their day.

Up to the beginning of the 8th/14th century the patronymic is borne by isolated figures whose connexions with one another are really indeterminate. If, as claimed, the B. al-Sarrādj were of noble Arab lineage—seemingly of old Yemenī stock—it is strange to find no mention of them in the great Hispano-Arab genealogical treatises.

From the mid-8th/14th century we begin to discern in Granada the emergence of a clearly definable family, militarily successful and increasingly influential. One notable member was Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sarrādj (d. 766/1364), commander of the *ḳaṣaba* of Ronda and governor of its highly important military district. By the early 9th/15th century the family was playing a vital part in defending Naṣrid frontiers and enjoyed a reputation for valour in the *djihād*. Before mid-century it

already constituted a powerful and ruthlessly ambitious political party.

In 1419 the party staged its first rebellion through members in command of Guadix and Illora. Resentful of ʿAlī al-Amīn, then regent for the Naṣrid minor Muḥammad VIII *El Pequeño*, they slew the former and replaced the latter by Muḥammad IX *El Zurdo*, a grandson of Muḥammad V. The grand vizierate fell to Abu ʾl-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf b. al-Sarrādj, organiser of the coup, and thereafter for eight years the Abencerrajes held sway in Granada.

When, in October 1427, Muḥammad was restored by loyalists led by Riḍwān Bannigash (Banegas), Yūsuf b. al-Sarrādj and his followers opted not to follow their sultan into exile at the court of the Ḥafṣid Abū Fāris in Tunis, but to lie low and spy a chance for pardon. This once gained, they plotted and achieved the restoration of Muḥammad IX with the aid of Juan II of Castile and Abū Fāris. By December 1429 Yūsuf b. al-Sarrādj and his sultan were back in power in Granada and so remained till December 1431, when the former fell at Loja fighting a joint Castilian and loyalist Granadan force, whose success put Yūsuf IV on the throne. But Yūsuf's reign was brief: by April 1432 Muḥammad IX was back on the throne and Yūsuf dead. Throughout Muḥammad IX's third reign—up to 1445—prominent positions were assigned to the sons of Yūsuf b. al-Sarrādj (Muḥammad and Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim) and other members of their family and party. The period 1445-60, on the other hand, was one of vicissitudes as the Naṣrid throne fell successively to Muḥammad X *El Cojo* and Yūsuf V, and then reverted first to Muḥammad X and then to Muḥammad IX, who reigned till the end of 1453 or early 1454.

Since the sultan Saʿd (*Ciriza/Muley Zad/Çah; reg.* 1454-62, 1462-4) owed his throne to the B. al-Sarrādj—now led by one Abu ʾl-Surūr al-Mufarridj—the family enjoyed his favour for a time. In 1460 we find the son of Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim (above), another Abu ʾl-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf, as one of the most influential *ḳāʾids* of the realm, and yet another Yūsuf b. al-Sarrādj as a *wazīr* in Mufarridj's administration. But soon came a rift: resentful of tutelage, perhaps, and indignant at covert attempts to have his son Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī (Muley Hacén) supplant him, Saʿd had Mufarridj and the *wazīr* Yūsuf summarily executed in the Alhambra (July 1462). Muḥammad and ʿAlī b. al-Sarrādj fled to Málaga and set up Yūsuf V (Aben Ismaël)—who was assured of Castilian support—as counter-claimant. His premature death brought Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī to the fore again, and in August 1464, the latter, in concert with the B. al-Sarrādj, overthrew Saʿd and seized the throne. The B. al-Sarrādj were back in power: an Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashʿar, an influential *ḳāʾid* who had married into the family, became grand *wazīr*, and his administration included Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, son of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sarrādj (above). A strange circumstance was soon to undo them. In 1419 ʿAlī had married Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad IX. On his death, the veneration in which they held him as their patron shifted to Fāṭima. And so ʿAlī's late marriage to a Christian renegade was seen as a personal affront, and they drifted into rebellion. Savage retribution followed. Those who escaped with their lives fled, some to asylum in the noble houses of Medina Sidonia and Aguilar, other to various Castilian border towns. In 1482 they then slipped back to supplant ʿAlī by his eldest son—by Fāṭima—Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (XII), the famous Boabdil. Till the end of Boabdil's reign and of Muslim Granada, the family's party held supreme political power. Granada once in Christian hands (1492), the Abencerrajes sold up and moved to the Alpujarra, then in March 1493 emigrated almost en masse to the Maghrib. Ironically, the family that had once defended Islam in Spain so well, had, by their part in ruinous civil wars, done so much to bring about its downfall.

Their story as told in Pérez de Hita's *Historia de los vandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes* (1595, 1619) is fiction born of a few grains of truth. In this celebrated novel, which moulded most subsequent literary treatment of "moros de Granada", the Abencerrajes are the model of all chivalry, valour and charm. Their rivals are the brave but jealous and brutally perfidious Zegríes—from *thaghrī* "borderer", a term seemingly applied to Maghribī *mudjāhidūn* in Spain (who were in fact politically a spent force well before the 9th/15th century). Falsely and secretly accused of dishonouring Boabdil and plotting against him, the leading Abencerrajes are unsuspectingly summoned to the Alhambra and assassinated. Not all perish; the word gets out, and insurrection follows. After a fierce struggle Muley Hacén is proclaimed, but finally the rebels are pacified, and Boabdil is restored. The Abencerrajes are banished and take refuge in Castile where they convert to Christianity. The honour of Boabdil's wife—besmirched by the Zegríes at the beginning of the whole saga to turn Boabdil against the Abencerrajes—is finally vindicated and the accusers slain by Christian knights. During the 17th and 18th centuries the theme of the Abencerrajes was taken up by other European authors, notably Chateaubriand in his *Les aventures du dernier Abencérage*.

The *Sala de los Abencerrajes*, in the *Cuarto de los Leones* of the Alhambra, derives its name from various assertions that thirty-odd Abencerrajes were slain there by Muḥammad X or, as others say, Muley Hacén or Boabdil. The fiction appears to have its roots in (a) Saʿd's assassination of Mufarridj and Yūsuf (above), and (b) Hernando de Baeza's account of the murder of Muḥammad IX and his sons by Saʿd and Abu ʾl-Hasan ʿAlī in the Cuarto de los Leones.

Bibliography: L. Seco de Lucena Paredes, *Los Abencerrajes: leyenda e historia*, Granada 1960 and bibliography (73-5); R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, Paris 1973, 130 ff.

(J.D. Latham)

IBN SHAKRŪN (pronounced Shukrun) al-**MIKNĀSĪ**, Abū Muḥammad or Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. al-ʿArabī al-Munabbahī al-Madaghrī, Moroccan physician and poet who was contemporary with sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1082-1139/1673-1727) and who died after 1140/1727-8. He received a traditional education at Fās, studied medicine under Ādarrāḳ [*q.v.* above] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, performed the pilgrimage and profited by the opportunity to follow courses in medicine at Alexandria and Cairo. He then returned to settle at Meknès, where he entered the sultan's service, but led a fairly austere and cloistered life.

As well as a commentary on a grammatical work and various poems which reveal a certain talent for versifying, Ibn Shakrūn owes mainly his fame to an *urdjūza* of 673 verses on food hygiene, the *Shakrūniyya*, which has always been highly popular among the people; it gives interesting pieces of information on food practices of the time (ed. Tunis 1323/1905; lith. Fās 1324/1906; ms. Rabat K 1613). He was also the author of a *risāla* called *al-Nafḥa al-wardiyya*

fi ʾl-ʿushba al-hindiyya on sarsaparilla and the treatment of syphilis; this text has been studied and made use of H.J.P. Renaud and G.S. Colin in their *Documents marocains pour servir à l'histoire du "mal franc"*, Paris 1935, index.

Bibliography: Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās*, Rabat 1347-52/1929-33, i, 264, v, 320-30; ʿAlamī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, lith. Fās 1315, 193; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 297; Renaud, *Médecine et médecins marocains*, in *AIEO Alger*, iii (1937), 90-9; M. Lakhdar, *La vie intellectuelle au Maroc*, Rabat 1971, 161-6 and bibl. cited there. (ED.)

IBN AL-ṢUKĀʿĪ (vars. Sukāʿī, Ṣaḳāʿī, Ṣaḳḳāʿī), AL-MUWAFFAḲ FAḌL ALLĀH B. ABI ʾL-FAKHR AL-KĀTIB AL-NAṢRĀNĪ, official of the Mamlūk administration, who died almost a centenarian in Damascus in 726/1325, leaving behind the reputation of having been a good Christian and a chronicler worthy of trust. He composed a Harmony of the four gospels (a work which corresponds to the description of ms. 1029 in the Sbath collection, at present inaccessible) in Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic and Latin, and as well as a biographical work on singers (*Wafayāt al-muṭribīn*), three historical works: a continuation of the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Makīn Ibn al-ʿAmīd, a résumé of the *Wafayāt al-ʿayān* of Ibn Khallikān whose title is unknown to us, and a continuation of this last, the *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-aʿyān*. The historian al-Ṣafadī acquired for his personal library the copy of the *Tālī* at present in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris as arabe 2061.

The *Tālī* is thus the sole work of Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿī which has survived. It is in the conventional form of a biographical collection containing entries, arranged in alphabetical order, of persons who died between 657/1258 and 725/1324. Beyond the apparently monotonous nature of the compilation, it is from the choice of persons covered, the terms used to describe them and the anecdotes retailed about them, that the personality of the author emerges. He appears as a Christian firmly attached above all to moral standards, a skilful diplomat who knew how to retain the friendship of his contemporaries at a time of violent changes when the Mongol invasions led to a deterioration of relations between Muslims and *Dhimmīs*, and a trusty official who held the posts of *kātib* in the *dīwān al-murtadjaʿ*, the *dīwān al-birr* and the *dīwān al-mawārith*. The exercise of his functions in the matter of frauds and inheritances gave him access to the records of several financial scandals which the authorities had probably stifled, since the chroniclers contemporary with Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿī, although very fond of retailing these matters, do not mention them. However, his frequenting of Damascene intellectual circles where tasty anecdotes were passed round by word of mouth, gave him the subject-matter for several stories which he gives and which can also be found, with variants, in al-Dhahabī, al-Yunīnī and al-Djazarī, and which al-Ṣafadī was to insert in his own work after the text of the *Tālī*.

Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿī's moderation in depicting his contemporaries was not merely dictated by prudence. One should see in it rather the indulgence of a person who had reached an advanced age and who, although he allowed himself some lively and ironical comment on those who had, either at close hand or from a distance, made up part of his life, prided himself that in the eventide of his life he had as a Christian been able to come to terms with his Muslim environment, to gain confidence and attract confidences, and to behave as a well-balanced individual without losing any of his personal dignity and without compromising his faith.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *al-Iʿlām bi-taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ms. Oxford, Or. Marsh 143, fol. 200b; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iii, No. 591; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 75; Brockelmann, I², 400 (with the name given incorrectly); S. al-Munadjdjid, in *RIMA*, ii/1 (1956), 99; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, v, 358; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, viii, 76; *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-aʿyān* (*un fonctionnaire chrétien dans l'administration mamelouke*), ed. and tr. J. Sublet, Damascus 1974. (J. SUBLET)

IBN AL-TAMMĀR [see IBN MĪTHAM, above].

IBN ʿUḲDA, ABU ʾL-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. SAʿĪD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. IBRĀHĪM B. ZIYĀD B. ʿABD ALLĀH (B. ZIYĀD?) B. ʿADJLĀN AL-HAMDĀNĪ AL-ḤĀFIẒ, Kufan traditionist, was born on 15 Muḥarram 249/10 March 863. His ancestors, ʿAdjlān and Ziyād were clients of ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Saʿīd b. Ḳays al-Sabīʿī al-Hamdānī (d. 66/686) and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Hāshimī respectively. His father was a Kūfan Zaydī making a living by copying books and teaching the Ḳurʾān, literature and grammar, and was given the nickname ʿUḳda because of his knowledge of the intricacies of Arabic grammar and inflection. Ibn ʿUḳda visited Baghdād three times. The first time, in his youth before 272/886, he heard *ḥadīth* from a number of renowned traditionists. The second time, most likely in the first decade of the 4th century (913-22 A.D.), he incurred the enmity of the popular traditionist Yaḥyā b. Ṣāʿid (d. 318/930) by contesting the reliability of the *isnād* of one of his *ḥadīths*. According to one account, he was briefly imprisoned by the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] at the instigation of the followers of Ibn Ṣāʿid until his criticism was proved correct. This detail is not confirmed by another, more elaborate account. A third time, he visited Baghdād towards the end of his life and taught in the mosque of al-Ruṣāfa, where he is known to have transmitted *ḥadīth* in Ṣafar 330/November 941, and in the Shīʿī mosque of Barātha. His only other trip was to the Ḥidjāz. Thus he transmitted mostly from Kūfans and visitors to Kūfa. He died on 7 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 332/1 July 944 in Kūfa.

Ibn ʿUḳda was generally recognised as the greatest traditionist of Kūfa in his time. Fabulous stories were related about his prodigious memory and the hundreds of thousands of traditions collected and memorised by him and the camel-loads of books which his library contained. His transmission spanned the whole gamut of Kūfan traditions, Sunnī, Imāmī, and Zaydī, and Sunnī and Shīʿī traditionists were equally eager to hear from him. Among his prominent Sunnī students were al-Dāraḳuṭnī, Ibn ʿAdī, al-Ṭabarānī, and Abū ʿUbayd Allāh al-Marzubānī. Though he was criticised for relating objectionable (*munkar*) *ḥadīths*, reports on the blemishes (*mathālib*) of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and traditions from newly-discovered books (*widjāda*), and on this basis was accused of having spoiled the *ḥadīth* of Kūfa, he was considered a faithful transmitter. Among the Imāmīs, Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Tallaʿukbarī and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt transmitted from him. He appears frequently as the only Kūfan transmitter of early Kūfan Imāmī traditions in his time complementing the common Imāmī transmission of the school of Ḳumm. The Imāmī *ridjāl* books hold him in high esteem as a transmitter, though emphasising that he remained a Djārūdī Zaydī until his death. Actually, he seems to have

supported the views of the Ṭālibiyya, who considered in principle all descendants of Abū Ṭālib as suited for the imāmate, rather than those of the sectarian Zaydiyya of his time, who restricted it to the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, He appears as an important informant of Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī in his *K. Makātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, to whom he transmitted in particular the *K. Nasab Āl Abī Ṭālib* of the ʿAlid Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. Djaʿfar.

Ibn ʿUkda's own works, whose titles are listed in the Imāmī *ridjāl* works, included a book on the merits of Kūfa (*K. Faḍl al-Kūfa*), an enormous *K. al-Sunan*, a Kurʾān commentary, books on the transmitters from ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, Zayd b. ʿAlī, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, Abū Ḥanīfa, as well as *musnads* of ʿAlī, Zayd b. ʿAlī, and Abū Ḥanīfa. A fragment of his *K. Dhikr al-nabī* has been published from a papyrus (N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri, i*, Chicago 1957, 100-8). His book on the transmitters from Zayd b. ʿAlī was the chief source of an extant similar work by the Kūfan Zaydī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī (d. 445/1053).

Bibliography: al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-Shīʿa*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1853-5, 42-4; idem, *Ridjāl al-Ṭūsī*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Āl Baḥr al-ʿulūm, Nadjaf 1381/1961, 441 f.; al-Nadjāshī, *al-Ridjāl*, Tehran n.d., 73 f.; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 14-23; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1353/1934, 13 f.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vi, 336 f.; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād 1334/1915, iii, 55-7; idem, *al-ʿIbar*, ii, ed. F. Sayyid, al-Kuwayt 1961, 230; idem, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1382/1962, i, 136-8; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1329-31/1911-13, i, 263-6; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, viii, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Wiesbaden 1969, 395 f.; al-Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, ed. A. Ismāʿīliyān, Kumm 1390-2/1970-2, i, 208 f.; R. Strothmann, *Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. ʿAlī*, in *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 15 f.; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Damascus 1935- , ix, 428-45; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 47, 59.

(W. MADELUNG)

IBN ʿUMĀRA [see AL-DIKDĀN, above].

IBN ʿUTHMĀN AL-MIKNĀSĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB B. ʿUTHMĀN, a Moroccan diplomat and vizier of the 12th/18th century, who played a prominent role in the forging of ties between his country and Spain. At the start of his career he followed his father as preacher in one of the mosques of Meknès; here he came to the attention of the Sultan, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1171-1204/1757-89) who, at a date difficult to determine, took him into his service as a secretary. In 1193/1799, he was sent to the court of King Charles III of Spain with the object of obtaining the redemption of Algerian captives and of renewing friendly relations between the two states; this mission met with success and led to the treaty of Aranjuez which was signed in 1780 (see V. Rodríguez Casado, *La ambajada del Talbe Sidi Mohamed Ben Otomán en 1780*, in *Hispania*, xiii (1943), 598-611; idem, *Política marroquí de Carlos III*, Madrid 1946, 285-306; M. Arribas Palau, *El texto árabe del Convenio de Aranjuez de 1780*, in *Tamuda*, vi (1958); idem, *Carta árabes de Mawlay Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh relativas a la embajada de Ibn ʿUtmān de 1780*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, ii/2-3 (1961), 327-35), and Ibn ʿUthmān has left a detailed account of his mission, *al-Iksīr fī fikāk al-asīr* published by M. El Fasi in Rabat in 1965, with a long introduction describing the life and work of the diplomat.

On his return, he was appointed vizier, but the success of his first mission induced the sultan to entrust him with a second, to Malta and Naples, to secure the redemption of more captives; this mission, carried out in 1196/1782, was also made the subject of an account entitled *al-Badr al-sāfir fī ʾftikāk al-asārā min yad al-aduww al-kāfir* (this has been summarised by Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf*, iii, 320-9, and a number of manuscripts exist in Rabat and Meknès).

Three years later, Ibn ʿUthmān was entrusted with a new mission, this time to the court of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I in Istanbul, with the object of resolving with the Ottoman sultan a conflict provoked by Turkish soldiers on the borders of Algeria and Morocco. The diplomat set out on the 1st Muḥarram 1200/4th of November 1785 and did not return to Morocco until 29th Shaʿbān 1202/4th of June 1788; he had in fact taken advantage of his stay in the Orient to make the Pilgrimage, which provided him with the material for a third *riḥla*, with a more elaborate title than the preceding two: *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā wa ʾl-rakīb fī ḥadjdj Bayt Allāh al-ḥarām wa-ziyārat al-Kuds al-sharīf wa ʾl-Khalīl waʾl-tabarruk bi-kabr al-Ḥabīb* (see Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf*, iii, 30-5; an edition by M. El Fasi has been in the course of preparation for a considerable length of time).

On his return, he was sent to escort to Algeria the captives released by Spain. On the death of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, he continued in the service of Mawlāy al-Yazīd (1204-6/1789-92) who sent him on to the court of Charles IV of Spain; setting out at the end of December 1790, he was received by the sovereign in Madrid on the 27th of January 1791, but his mission was unsuccessful and he set out for home on the 18th of August; the following day, Charles IV declared war on Morocco; Ibn ʿUthmān was however permitted to return to Madrid, where he lived as a private citizen until April 1792. Some very interesting documents concerning his stay in Spain have been discovered and published by M. Arribas Palau (*La estancia en España de Muḥammad ibn ʿUtmān (1791-1792)* in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, iv/1-2 (1963), 120-92; cf. the same *Cartas árabes de Marruecos en tiempo de Mawlay al-Yazid (1790-1792)*, Tetuan 1961). On the death of al-Yazīd, Ibn ʿUthmān returned to Morocco and entered the service of Mawlāy Sulaymān (1206-38/1792-1823), who had already written to him in Spain entrusting him with a diplomatic mission. The new sultan did not hesitate to appoint him governor of Tetuan, as well as his representative in dealings with foreign consuls in residence in Tangier (see M. Arribas Palau, *Muḥammad ibn ʿUtmān designado gobernado de Tetuán a finales de 1792*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, ii/1 (1961), 113-27). Because of his talents as a diplomat, he was also given the task of resolving internal problems; one of his major achievements was persuading, in 1797, the governor of Safi, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nāṣir, to support the new administration; the latter had previously refused to recognise Mawlāy Sulaymān. His last important diplomatic act was the signing on 22 Ramaḍān 1212/2 March 1799 of the treaty between Morocco and Spain (see M. Arribas Palau, *El texto árabe del tratado de 1790 entre España y Marruecos*, in *Tamuda*, vii (1959), 9-51). He died soon after at Marrakesh, where he was travelling in the Sultan's entourage (beginning of 1214/mid-1799) and it was his rival al-Zayyānī [*q.v.*] who was entrusted with the task of returning his belongings to Meknès.

In addition to descriptions of journeys, which are also historical documents of great value, Ibn ʿUthmān is the signatory of a considerable corpus of diplomatic correspondence which has for the most part been published and translated by M. Arribas Palau. He has also left a number of poems which bear witness to a considerable poetic talent and confirm what one might be entitled to expect of a Moroccan with a strong grounding in traditional culture. His account of the journey to Istanbul and the Holy Places also reflects the education that he had received, and it often gives the impression of a stylistic exercise in rhymed prose, rich with religious and literary reminiscences. On the other hand, his other writings are composed in a simpler and more natural style; a number of dialectical forms are encountered here, and the author does not hesitate to transcribe Spanish words when he talks about Spain and describes, not without precision and colour, the novelties that he has observed in that country.

Bibliography: In addition to the fundamental works of M. Arribas Palau given in the article, see Marrākushī, *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush wa-Aghmāt min al-aʿlām*, Fās 1355-8/1936-9, v, 142-3; Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās*, Rabat 1347-52/1929-33, iii, 301-5, 318-30, iv, 159-68; Zayyānī, *Turdjumān*, ed. and tr. O. Houdas, *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812*, Paris 1886, index.; H. Pérès, *L'Espagne vue par les voyageurs musulmans*, Paris 1937, 17-29; M. al-Fāsī, *Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī*, Rabat 1961-2; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 266-71, and bibl. cited there.

(ED.)

IBN WAHB, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN ISḤĀḲ B. IBRĀHĪM B. SULAYMĀN B. WAHB AL-KĀTIB, scion of an old and distinguished secretarial family and author of a remarkable Shīʿī work on Arabic rhetoric, style and the secretary's art, the *K. al-Burhān fī wudjūh al-bayān*. His grandfather Sulaymān was vizier to al-Muhtadī and al-Muʿtamid, fell in disgrace under al-Muwaffaḳ and died in his prison in 292/905. About his father and himself we know almost nothing. His *floruit* belongs to the first half of the 4th/10th century. His book must have been composed in or after 335/946-7, since it mentions the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿIsā [*q.v.*] as already dead. He is thus a contemporary of Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], under whose authorship the work was placed by the editors of the truncated Escorial ms., ʿA.Ḥ. ʿAbbādī and T. Ḥusayn, despite strong doubts of the latter, and published under the title *Naḳd al-nathr* (Cairo 1351/1933). The discovery by ʿAlī Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Ḳādir of a complete copy of the work in the Chester Beatty Collection (ed. A. Maṭlūb and Kh. Ḥadīthī, Baghdād 1387/1976) made possible the correct identification of author and title.

The *Burhān* represents an interesting attempt to apply Greek, Muʿtazilī and Imāmī doctrines to Arabic rhetoric. The latter trend is evidenced by positive references to some *imāms* of the Twelver line, including the eighth, and by the use of principles such as *taḳiyya*, *ʿisma*, *ẓāhir/bāṭin*, *ta'wīl*, *rumūz* (in the Ḳur'ān), *kitmān* and *badā'*. It also shows some influence of Djāḥiẓ's *Bayān*, but is strongly critical of it. Whether he was also influenced by Ḳudāma has not yet been conclusively proved. The author also cites four writings of his own, the *K. al-Ḥudjdja*, *K. al-Īḍāḥ*, *K. al-Taʿabbud* and *K. Asrār al-Ḳur'ān*. None of these seems to have survived, nor has any mention of them been found in the sources so far.

Bibliography: T. Ḥusayn and ʿA.Ḥ. ʿAbbādī (eds.), *K. Naḳd al-nathr*, Cairo 1941, Introd. 20-4; ʿA.H. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in *al-Risāla*, xvi (1948), 1257 ff. and in *RAAD*, xxiv (1949), 73-81; B. Tabāna, *Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar wa 'l-naḳd al-adabī*, Cairo 1373/1954, 94-108; S.A. Bonebakker (ed.), *K. Naḳd al-shiʿr*, Leiden 1956, 16-20; Sh. Ḍayf, *al-Balāgha taṭawwur wa-ta'rīkh*, Cairo 1965, 93-102; Maṭlūb and Ḥadīthī (eds.), *K. al-Burhān*, Introd., 1-41; (For his conception of the term *bayān*, see art. *s.v.* in i, 1115a).

(P. SHINAR)

IBN WARSAND, ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-BADJALĪ, founder of a Shīʿī sect in the Maghrib known as the Badjaliyya [see AL-BADJALĪ]. His books (*kutub*), in which he gathered Shīʿī legal traditions, are quoted by the Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān in his *K. al-Īḍāḥ*. These quotations indicate that he wrote in the first half of the 3rd/9th century and belonged to the Mūsawī Shīʿa, who recognised Mūsā al-Kāẓim as their last *imām* and as the Mahdī. He lived and taught in Nafṭa in Ḳasṭīliya. His doctrine seems to have been propagated first by his son al-Ḥasan [see AL-BADJALĪ] in Darʿa and then, still before 280/893, by a Muḥammad Ibn Warsand, quite likely a son of al-Ḥasan, in the Sūs al-Aḳṣā. There the Badjaliyya come to constitute one of the two factions into which the population of Tārūdānt was divided and engaged in constant fighting with the other, Sunnī Mālikī, faction. They supported, and were led by the Idrīsid *amīrs* of the region who were themselves converts to their doctrine. Their close association with them probably lies behind the, evidently mistaken, assertion of some sources that they restricted the imāmate to the Ḥasanid descendants of ʿAlī to the exclusion of Ḥusaynids. The Badjaliyya were wiped out in Tārūdānt after the Almoravid conquest of the town in 458/1066. The sect survived, however, in Tiyūywīn, the second major town of the Sūs. It was most likely absorbed or extinguished after the middle of the 6th/13th century by the Almohad movement originating in the same region.

Bibliography: (in addition to the sources mentioned in the article on al-Badjalī): al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale et saharienne*, ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 39; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, ed. C.H. Tornberg, Uppsala 1834, 82; M. Talbi, *L'Émirat Aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 571-3; W. Madelung, *Some notes on non-Ismāʿīlī Shiism in the Maghrib*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xliv (1976), 87-97; Widād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Shīʿa al-Badjaliyya fī 'l-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*, in *Ashghāl al-mu'tamar al-awwal li-ta'rīkh al-Maghrib wa-ḥaḍāratihi*, i, Tunis 1979, 165-94.

(W. MADELUNG)

IBN ZAKRĪ, a name of at least two Maghribī scholars, one from Tlemcen, of the 9th/15th century, the other from Fās, of the 12th/18th century. As well as Zakariyā' in the Ḳur'an (III, 37, 38, VI, 85, XIX, 2, 7, XXI, 89, 90), an Arabic form of the Zacharias of Luke (i, 5-25), Maghribī nomenclature recognised and still recognises, among Muslims and Jews, the name Zakrī (orthography Zekri, and, as a patronym, Benzekri, Benzecri and Ibnou-Zekri).

These two scholars are:

1. IBN ZAKRĪ (Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maghrāwī al-Tilimsānī) born at the beginning of the 9th/15th century and died in Ṣafar 900/1494 at Tlemcen, whence his *nisba*. Brosselard (315-16) put an end to the uncertainties of the Arabic biographical sources which placed the date of his birth sometimes in 899/1493 and sometimes in 906/1505, and to the errors of oral tradition which located his burial place at Yabdar three leagues from

Tlemcen, by publishing the epitaph of his tomb discovered by him at Tlemcen "three hundred paces from that of Sanūsī", also corroborating the assertion of al-Warthīlānī (1121-93/1710-79) who says he had "visited his tomb, at al-ʿUbbād, in the vicinity of those of Abū Madyan, al-Sanūsī, the ʿUkbānīs, Ibn Marzūk and the two sons of the Imām".

After losing his father at an early age and being brought up by his mother, Ibn Zakrī was placed at the age of twelve as an apprentice weaver. With a gift for study, the young Ibn Zakrī made his way, when he was able, to the mosques and *madāris* of Tlemcen (al-ʿUbbād, al-Yaʿkūbiyya) to hear the lectures of the *ʿulamāʾ* of the age, among others Ibn Zāghū (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, d. 845/1441; see Aḥmad Bābā, 78, 308; al-Ḥafnāwī, ii, 42), who was also a weaver; al-ʿUkbānī (Kāsim b. Saʿīd, d. 854/1450; see Ibn Maryam, 147; Aḥmad Bābā, 85; al-Ḥafnāwī, ii, 85); Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿĪsā al-ʿUbbādī (d. 871/1467; see Ibn Maryam, 223). On his relations with his masters and on his character, the biographical accounts report some anecdotal details which show him as studious, obliging and, moreover, gifted with a fine voice.

Having become in his turn a doctor of religious law, engrossed in the sources of *fikh*, jurisprudence, Kurʾānic exegesis, theology and Arabic grammar, he exercised successfully the functions of *kāḍī*, *muftī* and professor, and had future masters as disciples, including Zarrūk (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī, 846-79/1442-93; see Ben Cheneb, no. 51; Brockelmann, S II, 361), who was a cobbler; Ibn Marzūk (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad *ḥafīd al-Ḥafīf* [*q.v.*], d. 925/1519); Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 920/1513; see Ibn Maryam, 259); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādjdj al-Mannāwī (d. 930/1521; see Ibn Maryam, 8, 17, 18, 23).

His biographers have also noted that he had a memorable controversy, doubtless theological, with his rival al-Sanūsī (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar b. Shuʿayb 830-95/1427-90 [*q.v.*]), and that he is the author of the following writings:

(a) *Bughyat al-ṭālib fī sharḥ ʿAkīdat Ibn al-Ḥādjib* (Esc. 2, 1538; Fās, Karawiyyīn, 1594; see Brockelmann, I, 539);

(b) *al-Manẓūma al-kubrā fi ʿilm al-kalām*, a theological treatise of more than 1500 verses in *radjaz* metre, also entitled *Muḥaṣṣil* (or *Mukammil*) *al-makāṣid* (Esc. 2, 1561; Rabat, 89; Fās, Karawiyyīn, 1569, 1571, 1587), which was made the object of a commentary in two versions, one long and one short, entitled *Naẓm al-farāʾid wa-nubdī ʾl-fawāʾid li-muḥaṣṣil al-makāṣid* by Aḥmad al-Mandjūr (926-95/1579-87 [*q.v.*]);

(c) Comm. on *al-Warakāt fī uṣūl al-fikh* of al-Djuwaynī (Abu ʾl-Maʿālī ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh, called Imām al-Ḥaramayn [*q.v.*], entitled *Ghāyat al-marām bi-sharḥ mukaddimat al-imām*, Cairo i, 390; see Brockelmann, S I, 672, who gives a list of ten other commentaries on this work and S II, 85;

(d) *al-Masāʾil al-ʿashr al-musammāt bi-bughyat al-makāṣid wa-khulāṣat al-marāṣid*, Cairo 1344/1925;

(e) a certain number of *fatāwī* reproduced in the *Miʿyār* of al-Wānsharīshī (the above lith., Fās 1315/1899 in 12 volumes);

(f) *Masāʾil al-kaḍāʾ wa ʾl-futyā* on which there is no information;

(g) *Urdjūza fī ḥisāb al-manāzil wa ʾl-burūdj* on which no information is available.

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa attributes to him erroneously some works of his homonym from Fās.

Tlemcen had a mosque bearing his name (called Djāmiʿ Sīdī Zegrī [*sic*]) to which Brosselard devoted a study, publishing an inventory of its endowments contained in an act of *ḥubs* dated 1154/1741. For its part, popular belief made of him a *walī* or saint and a Ṣūfī, capable of performing miracles (*karāmāt*) and of overcoming, by the gift of ubiquity, terrestrial distances (*ṭayy al-arḍ*). Finally, speaking of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Tlemcen, an Andalusian author said "Knowledge is with al-Tanasī, virtue with al-Sanūsī and pre-eminence (*riyāsa*) with Ibn Zakrī", whom another described as *ibn dhirāʿi-hi* ("son of his arms" or "son of his works").

It should be added that Ibnou-Zekri (Muḥammad al-Saʿīd b. Aḥmad al-Zawāwī al-Djannādī, professor of *fikh* in the upper division of the Algiers *madrasa* and *muftī* of Algiers, originally from the tribe of Ayth Zekrī of Great Kabylia (1267-1322/1851-1914), author of *Awḍaḥ al-dalāʾil ʿalā wudjūb iṣlāḥ al-zawāyā bi-bilād al-Kabāʾil*, Algiers 1321/1903, used to say that he was a descendant of Ibn Zakrī al-Tilimsānī, as al-Ḥafnāwī remarks, who, with a note of scepticism, declares "In the matter of genealogy, people have to be taken at their word".

Bibliography: Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyāʾ wa'l-ʿulamāʾ bi-Tilimsān*, Algiers 1326/1908; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-dībādj*, Cairo 1351/1932, 170; Ibn al-Kāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iktibās fī man ḥall min al-aʿlām madīnat Fās*, lith. Fās 1309/1891; Ibn ʿAskar, *Dawḥat al-nāshir*, lith. Fās 1309/1891, i, 88; Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, ed. Ḥādjdjī, Rabat 1396/1926, 119-21; Kādirī (Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib), *Nashr al-mathānī*, lith. Fās 1310/1892; Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, Algiers 1326/1908; Brosselard, *Les inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen*, in *RA* (1858-61); Abbé Bargès, *Complément à l'histoire des Béni Zeiyan, rois de Tlemcen*, Paris 1887; Hafnawi, *Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-ridjāl al-salaf*, Algiers 1324/1906, i, 38-41; Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjāza du Cheikh ʿAbd El Kādir el-Fāsy*, Paris 1907, 218, 244.

2. Ibn Zakrī (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī), born at an unknown date in Fās where he always lived and where he died in 1144/1731, was at first a young apprentice tanner (*dabbāgh*) in the service of his father with whom he used, after his manual work was done, to attend classes given by the latter's friend Abū ʿAbd Allāh Maḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Fāsī [see al-fāsī in Suppl.]. He also followed the lectures given by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, otherwise known as al-Ḥādjdj al-Khayyāṭ al-Rukʿī (d. 1115/1703; see al-Kādirī, ii, 172, al-Kattānī, i, 230), always staying shyly at the rear of the auditorium. One or the other, or both, of these two *shaykhs* noticed the pertinence of the questions that he asked them and the active part that he took in discussions, and they immediately suggested to his father that he be given leave of absence from the tannery and encouraged to study, offering to take upon themselves the cost of his tuition. Their advice was followed. The young man completed his education with other teachers, including: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Fāsī [see al-fāsī in Suppl.]; Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (d. 1109/1697, see Lakhdar, 107-8 and Index); Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Masnāwī (1072-1136/1661-1724, see al-Kādirī, ii, 204; al-Kattānī, iii, 44; Ben Cheneb, §

13; al-Nāṣirī, iv, 44; Lévi-Provençal, 301). He soon became *imām* of a small mosque in the jewellers' quarter (*ṣāgha*), where he gave, every Thursday and Friday, lectures on Ṣūfism according to the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] with such success that the place became too small for his rapidly-growing audience. It is true that in this context his biographers are unanimous in saying that he was unrivalled, and that he was well versed in other branches of scholarship current at the time: Arabic grammar, lexicology, metrics, rhetoric, epistolary art, genealogy, biography, history, etc. He also used the practice and technique of *idjtihād*, in the sense of rational effort at explanation and deduction in the judicial sphere.

Among those who attended his lectures were: his own master al-Masnāwī, mentioned above; Masʿūd al-Ṭāhirī al-Djūṭī (d. 1150/1737, see al-Kattānī, i, 326); Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Manālī al-Zabādī (d. 1163/1750, see al-Kattānī, ii, 187); al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī (1063-1146/1653-1733, Lakhdar, 122-5) who wrote his biography in a pamphlet entitled *al-ʿArf al-siḥrī fī baʿd faḍāʾil Ibn Zakrī*, of which a manuscript copy is to be found in the Aḥmadiyya library in Fās (see Ibn Sūda, i, no. 724, p. 189); Gannūn, 288, attributes it, probably mistakenly, to the above-mentioned al-Zabādī.

In 1140/1727 he performed the duty of *ḥadjdj* and noticing, while passing through Cairo, the people's addiction to tobacco, he took it upon himself to embark on a campaign for the prohibition of this, which he regarded as a vice. The result of this campaign was the convening, at the University of al-Azhar, of a colloquium in the course of which his arguments commanded respect, although the objection was raised that he was speaking as a Mālikī, whereas in Egypt one was either a Ḥanafī or a Shāfiʿī. He asked his opponents: "Would you smoke in the presence of the Prophet?"—"No," was the reply, "abstinence would be imposed by decency and by respect for the Prophet".—"Well then," he added abruptly, "should not anything that cannot be done in the presence of the Prophet be forbidden? To abstain from the performance of a duty is a *bidʿa* (culpable innovation) and *bidʿa* and its agent are condemned to the fires of Hell. Furthermore, to practise indecency outside the view of the Prophet and believe oneself blameless is hypocrisy!" Disconcerted, the *ʿulamāʾ* of al-Azhar made no reply.

Ibn Zakrī al-Fāsī enjoyed visiting the *chorfa* of Wazzān, in particular Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib (d. 1089/1679), and was associated with their disciple and biographer al-Ḥādjdj al-Khayyāṭ al-Rukʿī, whose pupil he was. He was ultimately regarded as a miracle-worker who believed that, when wide-awake, he had seen the Prophet. It is also said that, endowed with a considerable fortune, he used it to render aid to the disinherited.

His writings, dealing with various subjects, were, it is said, "numerous, read and studied to advantage almost everywhere." These are, on the one hand, commentaries on works of grammar, theology and mysticism composed by Muslim authors of East and West, and annotations and glosses which have for the most part been left incomplete, and on the other hand, didactic poems concerning various matters, and at least one original prose work. Kattānī, i, 158, supplies the following list:

Sharḥ al-Farīda fi 'l-naḥw wa'l-taṣrīf wa'l-khaṭṭ of al-Suyūṭī (lith. Fās 1319/1901); *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-ʿaṭāʾiyya*, ms. Paris 1351, on the programme of his teaching and the object of more than twenty glosses by Zarrūḳ (Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī (846-99/1442-93 [*q.v.*]), not to mention other commentaries, of which the most important would seem to be that of the Spanish mystic Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī entitled *Ghayth al-mawāhib al-ʿaliyya*, Būlāḳ, 1285/1868; see Brockelmann, G II, 143-4; S II, 145-7, IBN ʿABBĀD AL-RUNDĪ and IBN ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH; *Sharḥ al-ḳawāʿid fi 'l-taṣawwuf* by Zarrūḳ, considered the most important and the best known of the latter's writings, Cairo 1318/1900 (see Brockelmann, S II, 326); *Sharḥ al-Naṣīḥa al-kāfiya li-man khaṣṣa-hu Allāh bi'l-ʿāfiya* by the same Zarrūḳ (see Brockelmann, S II, 361, who gives a list of other commentaries on this work); *Sharḥ Ṣalāt ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh*, also known as *al-Ṣalāt al-mashīshiyya* (see its text in al-Fāsī (Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-ʿArabī b. Yūsuf, 988-1052/1580-1643), 63; in Gannun, 356, and in Ḥādjdjī, 175) which has been the object of a number of other commentaries (see al-Kattānī, i, 146; Lévi-Provençal, 312); notes (*taʿālīḳ*) on al-Bukhārī's compilation, exegesis of Ḳurʾānic verses, an incomplete marginal gloss (*ḥāshiya*) on the commentary by Ibn Hishām on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik, poems on various subjects, miscellanea mentioned by al-Ḳādirī and al-Kattānī whose continued existence cannot be verified; a *Hamziyya* in praise of the Prophet, modelled on that of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], with a commentary in two volumes (mss. Rabat K. 1372 and 1245); an original work which, after his death, seems to have caused a sensation in Morocco and which bears two titles, *al-Sayf al-ṣārim fi'l-radd ʿalā'l-mubtadiʿ al-ẓālim* and *al-Fawāʾid al-muttabaʿa fi'l-ʿawāʾid al-mubtadaʿa*; in these he propounds the thesis according to which "merit is a matter of piety, not of genealogy." This work exists in a manuscript volume in the library of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zaydān at Meknès (see Ibn Sūda, i, no. 418, p. 118). It aroused among the Moroccan *ʿulamāʾ* a polemic which lasted for almost a century, on the problem of racism and anti-racism. Al-Ḳādirī, who could have known Ibn Zakrī at the age of twenty, since he died only forty-two years later than him, at the age of sixty, claims that he heard a very widespread rumour (*mustafīḍa*) that the latter had been responsible for the publication of a book in support of the *Shuʿūbiyya*, which asserted the superiority of non-Arabs over Arabs; he adds that all the contemporary men of religion reproached him for this and vilified him ruthlessly and justly. In the long biographical notice which he devotes to him, al-Ḳādiri invokes the authority of more than twenty teachers, and derives support from many Ḳurʾānic verses and *ḥadīth*s in the attempt, first to give a definition of the *Shuʿūbiyya*, those who put non-Arabs and Arabs on the same level and those who put non-Arabs above Arabs, and then to lay emphasis on the merits of the Arabs, who gave birth to the Prophet Muḥammad and supported him in his noble mission, finally concluding that, as regards Muslim law, all Muslims, irrespective of race and irrespective of the period in which they embraced Islam, enjoy equal rights. However, a careful reading of this article gives the impression that, according to al-Ḳādirī, Ibn Zakrī had appointed himself the spokesman of Muslims of Jewish origin, then very numerous in Fās, who did not care for the Arabs, to whom they denied any distinctive merit, making no exceptions in this regard even for

the *Anṣār*, the Ḳuraysh and the parents of the Prophet, to whom a great many authentic *ḥadīth*s explicitly gave a privileged status. Furthermore, these neo-Muslims prided themselves on being the descendants of the Banū Isrā'īl and of the prophets Mūsā, Hārūn, Zakariyyā, and others, and on this account they considered themselves superior to the Arabs. By his action, again in the words of al-Ḳādirī, Ibn Zakrī had committed a reprehensible deviation and cut himself off from the faith, thus deserving "the punishment laid down for those who allow themselves to be led astray by passion." Moreover, had he not spent his time "among groups of men of his own kind, men living in ease and opulence, who arranged performances of musical entertainment in his presence, and whose sympathy he made great efforts to gain, putting forward ideas of the type which have been attributed to him, so well and to such an extent that all his associates ultimately became his disciples"?

More than half a century before, Mayyāra al-Akbar (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Fāsī, 999-1072/1590-1662, see al-Ḳādirī, 235; al-Kattānī, i, 165; Lévi-Provençal, 259, n. 4, 7°) had also written a book dealing with this problem and entitled *Naṣīḥat al-mughtarrīn fi'l-radd ʿalā dhawī 'l-tafrika bayn al-Muslimīn* (Royal Lib., Rabat ms. 7248, fols. 71a-123b); its author, according to al-Ḳādirī, had a valid excuse and did not deserve reproach because, in his time, the neo-Muslims were the victims of harassment and even persecution on the part of Muslim Arabs. Mayyāra took their part, arguing in favour of the unity of the Muslim community.

Ninety years after Ibn Zakrī, Abu 'l-ʿAbbas Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad al-Bannānī (d. 1234/1818)—the Bannānī family is known to have been of Jewish origin—took up the defence of al-Zakrī and, with the object of dismissing al-Ḳādirī's accusations, wrote two books which, between them, bear no fewer than eight different titles, as follows: *Taḥliyat al-ādhān wa'l-masāmiʿ bi-nuṣrat al-ʿallāma al-djāmiʿ; al-Nūr al-lāmiʿ wa-kanz ruwāt al-madjāmiʿ; al-Manhal al-ʿadhb al-murwī fī nuṣrat al-ʿallāma Ibn Zakrī; Bustān al-fawā'id al-muḥdathāt al-badā'iʿ; Rashf al-ḍarab bi-tafḍīl Banī Isrā'īl wa'l-ʿArab* (these five titles are those of the first book, which comprises two volumes, the first of which still exists, in private hands, in Fās; see Ibn Sūda, no. 256, p. 84); *al-Wadjh al-mughrī ʿalā nuṣrat al-ʿallāma Ibn Zakrī; al-Tadhyīl wa-shifā' al-ghalīl wa-izālat dā' al-ʿalīl; al-ʿUdjāla al-mūfiya bi-muḥtādj al-manẓūma al-yūsiyya*, for the second book, completed in 1222/1807 in one volume, which still exists in the form of an autograph manuscript by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Sallām Bannānī, and which was apparently a kind of commentary on a *ḳaṣīda* of about three hundred verses composed by Abū ʿUmar ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī al-Yūsī (d. 1084/1674; see al-Ifrānī, 113; al-Ḳadīrī ii, 13; al-Yūsī, *in fine*; Ben Cheneb, § 5); "in reply to those who denigrate the merits of the Banū Isrā'īl and who maintain, wrongly, that Islam owes them nothing" (see Ibn Sūda, no. 427, and 1954, pp. 120 and 426).

This controversy over racism and anti-racism, at the end of the 12th/18th century and at the beginning of the 13th/18th century, throws an unexpected light on the ideas and pre-occupations of the Moroccan thinkers of that time and on their attitude towards non-Arabs and Jews converted to Islam.

Bibliography: Fāsī (Muḥammad al-ʿArabī), *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin min akhbār al-shaykh Abi' l-Maḥāsin*, lith. Fās 1324/1906; Yūsī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, lith. Fās 1317/1899; Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, lith. Fās n.d.; al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, lith. Fās 1310/1892; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-ʿanfās*, lith. Fās, 3 vols. 1316/1898; al-Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā li-akhbār al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*, Cairo 1312/1894 and Casablanca 1956; Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjāza du Cheikh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī*, Paris 1907; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, Paris 1922; Gannūn (ʿAbd Allāh), *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī*, Tetuan 1356/1837, 3 vols.; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*, Casablanca, i, 1960, ii, 1965; M. Ḥadjdjī, *al-Zāwiya al-dilā'iyya*, Rabat 1384/1964; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 169-71 and index.

3. H. al-Ḳattānī (i, 161) devotes a brief biographical notice to another Ibn Zakrī (Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, d. 1154/1741 in Fās) who is none other than the son of the preceding and who lived an ascetic life in the *khalwa* of the well-known Moroccan saint Sīdī Būshta (Abu 'l-Shitā').

(M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBRĀHĪM SHĪRĀZĪ, better known as Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī, was a Persian Prime Minister of the early Ḳādjār period, and a most influential agent in the transfer of power from the Zand dynasty to the Ḳādjārs.

His father, the one-eyed Ḥādjdjī Hāshim, reportedly of Jewish stock, had secured him a position of chief magistrate in the office of the *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] of Shīrāz. In the course of the chaotic period which followed the death of Karīm Khān Zand, the flattering attitude which he took towards his chief Mīrzā Muḥammad Kalāntar earned him the favour of the Zand ruler Djaʿfar Khān, who subsequently, on the withdrawal and death of Mīrzā Muḥammad, offered him the office of the *kalāntar* of Shīrāz (1200/1782). Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Zand, the youthful son and successor of Djaʿfar Khān, added his rather unthinking support to this parvenu's career, and, in the course of his ensuing struggle against the Ḳādjār Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, he entrusted the holding of his capital to this rather dubious *kalāntar*.

Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, however, either in order to protect his fellow-citizens against the consequences of the dynastic wars, or just to dissociate himself from a losing cause, was brought to betray his brave but tyrannical sovereign. Thus in 1205/1791, while Luṭf ʿAlī and his soldiers had camped outside Shīrāz, and the capital was entrusted to Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, an incident in the Zand camp plotted by the Ḥādjdjī, together with a surprise coup d'état which the latter staged against the Zand party in Shīrāz, resulted in Luṭf ʿAlī's fleeing, upon which Shīrāz was lost for ever to the Zand. Meanwhile, as Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, probably due to his fear of a Zand revanche, made an appeal to the Ḳādjārs, Āḳā Muḥammad Khān occupied Shīrāz and appointed—not without some reservation—the old *kalāntar* as the Governor-General of the whole province of Fārs (1206/1791). Nevertheless, when after the extirpation of the Zands, and probably in order to curb the local influence of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, Shīrāz and the whole province of Fārs were granted to the Ḳādjār Crown Prince Bābā Khān (i.e. the later Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh), the Ḥādjdjī was given an honorific title of Iʿtimād al-Dawla [*q.v.*], with a rather nominal premiership, to keep him as an attendant in the Shāh's retinue (1209/1795).

Under Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, who owed his accession

partly to the wise arrangements made by the old Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, the latter's prestige and fortune increased rapidly, and his sons, brothers, and relatives obtained vast tracts of land with important positions throughout the Persian provinces. However, his own arrogance, along with the offensive behaviour of his relatives, caused considerable administrative hostility, and some of his opponents presented to the Shāh convincing documents—forged or authentic—to prove his involvement in treasonable activities. A royal decree, issued in great secrecy, directed the royal emissaries to seize and prosecute Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm and all his relatives at one time, on a previously fixed date, in Tehran and the provinces (1215/1801). Of all his male descendants, only two small boys were spared.

Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm's downfall, in which his rival Mīrzā Shafīʿ Māzandarānī had an important rôle, was later deplored by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. His political opponents, however, did not cease to criticise him severely for his so-called treacherous character, his selfish impetuosity and his lack of tact in diplomatic affairs.

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(A.H. Zarrinkoob)

IBRĪḲ (in Islamic art), a term used for any kind of ewer, irrespective of function or material, but generally a vessel for pouring water or wine. Together with a basin, it is also used for washing hands and feet. Other terms for specific kinds of ewers are *kubra* or *bulbula* (see Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, ed. Wagner, i, Beirut 1958, 54, 3).

The chronology and geographical origin of early metal ewers up to the 4th/10th century have not yet been definitely established. They can be classified typologically into five groups, representing a slow departure from mainly Sāsānid and Soghdian prototypes towards the formation of truly Islamic shapes. The most characteristic features are: a tendency towards heavier bodies, with an emphasis on the lower part of the body in the earlier phases, shifting to the formation of shoulders; a development of shapes in which the transition between body, neck, mouth and foot is clearly marked and set off; and a preference for faceted shapes. One group is characterised by a bipartite neck which is contracted in its lower part and is cylindrical and faceted in the upper half. The ovoid or cylindrical body rests on three small feet (*Survey*, Pl. 244A). Another group is best known from the "Marwān" ewer in Cairo (*Survey*, Pls. 245-6), but its traditional association with the Umayyad caliph Marwān has to be discarded. The chronologically latest type has an ovoid body, a low footring and a straight, slightly flaring neck with a flat lip. It is well-balanced in proportion and its shape was retained up to Saldjūḳ times. Except for one group (the "Marwān" ewer), the handles meet the neck by its lip. Popular types of thumb rests are a pomegranate or a full palmette.

Between the early 5th/11th and the beginning of the 7th/13th century, workshops in Khurāsān and Transoxania produced bronze ewers which carry an oil lamp-shaped spout. Early examples have been found in Akhsīkath, in ancient Farghāna, and in Shahrastān, ancient Ushrūsana. Late 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century specimens are inlaid with silver and copper. One ewer in Paris is dated 586/1190-1 (*Survey*, Pl. 1309A). Khurāsānian workshops active in the late 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries also produced ewers with a high, raised spout. Some have spherical bodies, while in other cases the body is either melon-shaped, faceted or fluted. One of the fluted ewers is signed by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Harawī and dated 577/1181 (Mayer, *Islamic metalworkers*, 1959, 59; for the whole group see Abu 'l Faradj al-ʿUsh, *A bronze ewer with a high spout*. The dates suggested by the author are debatable).

In the 7th/13th century, Mosul, Damascus and Cairo workshops produced richly decorated inlaid brass ewers with a pear-shaped, plain or faceted body, cylindrical neck and straight spout. Dated and signed specimen are the "Blacas" ewer in the British Museum (Barrett, *Islamic metalwork*, 1949, pls. 12-13), and two ewers in Paris (Rice, *Inlaid brasses*, appendix, nos. 16 and 21). The pear-shaped body and straight spout remain characteristic features of 8th/14th century Mamlūk ewers. They have a high body, which is contracted in its lower part, and the neck is surmounted by a top-heavy cup (*The arts of Islam*, Hayward Gallery 1976, no. 216). Ewers with a strongly swelling body, curving spout and handle, a contracted or funnel-shaped neck and a high splayed foot occur in 9th/15th century Egypt and Iran simultaneously (J. Carswell, *Six tiles*). Their occurrence on painted tiles from Cairo and Damascus suggests a wider distribution than that attested to by preserved objects. Ewers depicted on contemporary and later miniatures seem to point to a continuation of this type in the 10th/16th and later centuries.

Ceramic ewers follow the metal shapes very closely. Some early ceramic renderings even imitate solder-ing marks. Ewers with a fluted or cylindrical body and a raised spout are particularly common among Persian monochrome glazed relief wares of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries.

Wine ewers and washing services are frequently depicted in miniatures and other media (for 8th/14th century washing sets, see M. S. Ipşiroğlu, *Saray alben*, Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen, Wiesbaden 1964, pls. XVII and XVIII).

Bibliography: General books: A.U. Pope (ed.), *A survey of Persian art*, Oxford 1938-9; G. Wiet, *Objets en cuivre*. Cat. Gén. du Musée Arabe du Caire, 1932; Monographs on single objects: K. Erdmann, *Islamische Giessgefässe des 11. Jahrhunderts*, in *Pantheon*, xxii (July-Dec. 1938), 251-4; D.S. Rice, *Studies in Islamic metalwork. II*, in *BSOAS*, xv/1 (1935), 66-79; idem, *An unpublished "Mosul" ewer dated 627/1229*, in *BSOAS*, xv/2 (1953), 229-32; idem, *Inlaid brasses from the workshop of Aḥmad al-Dhakī*

al-Mawṣilī, in *Ars orientalis*, ii (1957); U. Scerrato, *Oggetti metallici di età Islamica in Afghanistan, II: Il Ripostiglio di Maimana*, in *AIUON*, N.S. xiv/2, Naples 1964; A.S. Melikian Chirvani, *Cuivres inédits de l'époque de Qā'itbāy*, in *Kunst des Orients*, vi/2 (1969), 119-24; B. Marshak, *Bronze ewer from Samarkant*, in A.A. Ivanov and S.S. Sorokin (eds.), *Srednyaya Aziya i Iran* ("Central Asia and Iran"), Leningrad 1972, 61-90 (with English summary); Abu 'l Faradj al-ʿUsh, *A bronze ewer with a high spout in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. R. Ettinghausen, New York 1972, 191 ff.; J. Carswell, *Six tiles*, in *ibid.*, 101 ff. For a systematic discussion of the development of Islamic ewers with illustrations, see E. Baer, *Metal work in Islamic art and civilization* (forthcoming).

(Eva Baer)

ICHTHYOLOGY [see SAMAK].

IÇOGLAN [see IČ-OGHLANĪ].

IDRĪS B. AL-**ḤASAN**, ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN, the last great exponent of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* [*q.v.*] in Yaman, came from a prominent al-Walīd family of Ḳuraysh which headed the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* since the beginning of the 7th/13th century. He was born in 794/1392 in the fortress of Shibām, a high peak of Mount Ḥarāz and a stronghold of the Ismāʿīlīs. In 832/1428 he succeeded his uncle ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh as the nineteenth *dāʿī*. Besides being a versatile author, he was also a politician and a warrior; he fought several battles against the Zaydīs of Ṣaʿda, thereby regaining control of several Ismāʿīlī fortresses. He died on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 872/10 June 1468.

He is considered the most celebrated historian of the *daʿwa*. His three historical works are the main sources for the history of the Ismāʿīlīs from the 5th/11th century until the second half of the 9th 15th century. The first, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, in seven volumes, is the most comprehensive work on the history of the Ismāʿīlī *imāms* and the Fāṭimid dynasty. It also contains valuable information on the beginning of the *daʿwa* in Yaman and on the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*]. The second work, *Nuzhat al-afkār*, in two volumes, deals with the Ismāʿīlī history in Yaman, especially after the collapse of the Ṣulayḥids, until the year 853/1449, and is considered to be the most important source for the three-hundred-year history of the *daʿwa* there. The third work, entitled *Rawḍat al-akhbār*, is a continuation of the preceding work, wherein the events are brought up to the year 870/1465. Both the latter works are of great importance, since they deal with contemporary events and shed light on an obscure period of Yamanī history.

In addition to panegyrics of the *imāms* and the *dāʿīs*, his poetic *Dīwān* contains some historical information. His work on Ismāʿīlī doctrine entitled *Zahr al-maʿānī* is regarded as the highest achievement on *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* [*q.v.*] ever reached by the Yamanī *daʿwa*. He also composed several refutations of Sunnī, Zaydī and Muʿtazilī doctrines. Most of his works have survived and have been preserved in private collections.

Bibliography: The main biographical sources are the author's own works mentioned above; see also Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Madjdūʿ, *Fihrist*, ed. ʿAlī Naḳī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 34, 44, 73-7, 85, 97, 103, 150-1, 239-42, 270, 275-7; for a detailed description of his works and sources see Ismail Poonawala, *Bibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 169-75.

(I. Poonawala)

IDRĪS B. AL-**ḤUSAYN** B. ABĪ NUMAYY, ABŪ ʿAWN, Sharīf of Mecca in the early 11th/17th century. He was born in 974/1566, and became *Sharīf* and governor of the Ḥidjāz in 1011/1602-3 after his brother Abū Ṭālib and in conjunction with his nephew Muḥsin. This division of power ended, however, in a fierce internal family dispute, apparently over Idrīs's retinue and followers (*khuddām*), and in 1034/1624-5 the family deposed Idrīs from the governship of the Ḥidjāz in favour of Muḥsin. The conflict was resolved by a truce, during the time of which Idrīs promised to leave Mecca altogether. He now fell ill, and died and was buried at Yāṭib in the Djabal Shammar (17 Djumādā II 1034/25 February 1625). Muḥibbī quotes extensively from the eulogistic poetry addressed to him in his heyday of power.

Bibliography: The main biographical notice is in Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284/1867-8, i, 380-4; see also ʿUthmān b. Bishr al-Nadjdī, *ʿUnwān al-madjd fī taʾrīkh Nadjd*, Riyadh 1385-8/1965-8, i, 32; Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān, *Khulāṣat al-kalām fī bayān umarāʾ al-balad al-ḥarām*, Cairo 1305/1887-8, 64-6; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, 266.

(Ed.)

AL-**IDRĪSĪ**, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD, B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. ABI 'L-ḲĀSIM (d. 649/1251), upper Egyptian author of Moroccan background who wrote, under the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil, his monograph on the monuments of Djīza (Gīza), the *K. Anwār ʿuluww al-adjrām fī 'l-kashf ʿan asrār al-ahrām*. The oldest extant version of this text is preserved in a copy commissioned by the Ottoman philologist ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿUmar al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682) [*q.v.*], who compiled—on the basis of Idrīsī's writing—his own *K. Maḳṣad al-kirām fī ʿadjāʾib al-ahrām*.

Idrīsī's tract on the Pyramids is distinguished from the copious earlier and later writings on the subject by its systematic and concise structure, its comprehensiveness and the rigorous application of the techniques and standards of *ḥadīth* scholarship to his presentation. Each of the six chapters of the book is a complete short monograph. Ch. 1 deals with the genre of the pagan *ʿadjāʾib* and their compatibility with the tenets of Islam; considerable space is devoted to the question why the Pyramids are not, or are only summarily, mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. Idrīsī vigorously defends the protection of the Pharaonic monuments. He names as witnesses for his standpoint the *Ṣaḥāba* who wrote pious graffiti on the Pyramids, settled and died in Djīza in the shadow of these pagan structures and "whose hands were not stretched out to them (sc. the Pyramids) in bad intent" (ms. Munich, Aumer 417, fol. 32a). He even contrives to declare Djīza, by virtue of the *Ṣaḥāba*'s presence, a "holy land" (*arḍ muḳaddasa*), and ranks the *ziyāra* to these *ʿadjāʾib*—tokens of God's majesty and warning—as obligations incumbent upon every scholar coming to the area (*ṭalab al-ʿadjāʾib*). More than once the book betrays signs of a strong local pro-Egyptian, quasi-Shuʿūbī bias: Idrīsī takes up the *topos* of the legendary intelligence of the Egyptians and skilfully intertwines it, firstly with the tradition (from a *Kitāb Masīsūn al-Rāhib*) that the dust of Djīza and of Anṣinā/Antinoe, another old Egyptian sanctuary, constitute a talisman which gives the people of Egypt their unique mental gifts; and secondly with the role of Hermes [see HIRMIZ], whom he introduced as the Greek warden of sagacity and wisdom, apart from his

function as one builder of the Pyramids. In the late 13th and the 14th century, we observe the dramatic widening of this chasm between iconoclastic Muslim zealots and the moderates of Idrīsī's kind who point at the unadulterable place of these *ʿad̲j̲āʾib* within Muslim *Heilsgeschichte*.

In chs. 2 to 6, Idrīsī gives valuable data on the sites of D̲j̲īza, many of which are not repeated by later compilers. He gives a detailed description, also architectural, of the way the traveller takes from the Bāb Zuwayla, the south gate of the Fāṭimid city of Cairo, to the Pyramids. He mentions all the holders of high office who, between the days of al-Maʾmūn and his own, came to the Pyramids, often in search for treasures, *maṭālib*, as the Egyptians say. The Fāṭimid period saw the apogee of activities around the Pyramids; in al-Afḍal b. Badr al-D̲j̲amālī's days fires were lit on top of the Great Pyramid in certain nights. Idrīsī gives a list of contemporary scholars who saw, or wrote on, the Pyramids, among them Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Bag̲h̲dādī (whose description of the Pyramids and the Sphinx he faithfully reproduces) and Ibn Mammātī (who composed a book on the Pyramids which Idrīsī counts among his sources), but also, *min g̲h̲ayr ahl al-ḳibla* "from among the non-Muslims", the envoy of Frederick II to al-Kāmil (Count Thomas of Acerra?), who showed great zeal in deciphering a Latin inscription on the Pyramid of Cheops.

Idrīsī devotes extensive space to the controversial issue whether the Pyramids were built before or after the Deluge. He presents the arguments of those who held the latter position (among them a Jewish author who claims Aristotle as builder of the two great Pyramids), yet in an uncompromising fashion refutes their theories for the other, antediluvian, even pre-Adamite, theory. Unfortunately, the sphinx, *Abu 'l-Hawl* [*q.v.*], is given only passing mention. Too many stories circulated about it, as he complains.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 478-9, S I, 879 f.; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Kas̲h̲f al-ẓunūn*, i, 1833, 482, § 1412; U. Haarmann, *Die Sphinx. Synkretistische Volksreligiosität im spätmittelalterlichen islamischen Ägypten*, in *Saeculum* (1978), passim; idem, *Der Schatz im Haupte der Sphinx*, in *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Beirut 1979, *passim*.

(U. HAARMANN)

AL-ʿIDWĪ AL-ḤAMZĀWĪ, ḤASAN, one of the principal protagonists of the events preceeding the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, was born in the village of ʿIdwa near Mag̲h̲āg̲h̲ā in al-Minya province, Upper Egypt in 1221/1806.

He studied at al-Azhar [*q.v.*] and taught there from 1242/1826-7 onwards. He was a man of considerable wealth, which allowed him to spend generously on pious works and the publication of his writings. However, his inability adequately to regulate his financial affairs led to solvency problems and to a case raised against him in Court by the owner of the printing press, al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kāstiliyya, where he had most of his books printed (cf. al-Afūkātū Kātīskī (ed.), *Risāla ... ʿan al-daʿwā allatī bayn ... Mūsā Kāstilī wa 'l-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥasan al-ʿIdwī*, Cairo 1287/1870-1). In these works, which are listed in Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 486, S II, 729, he concerns himself mainly with *fiḳh* and related issues, while in addition he wrote on *ḥadīt̲h̲*, *tawḥīd* and *taṣawwuf*. His writings pertaining to the latter field reflect his adherence to al-S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya order [*q.v.*]. He had been initiated into various branches of this *ṭarīḳa*, amongst others into al-ʿAfīfiyya [see AL-ʿAFĪFĪ above].

He was among the religious notables who actively supported the Khedive Ismāʿīl in his efforts to counter the danger of increasing international control, and played a significant role in the events preceeding the Khedive's deposition in 1879.

His role during the ʿUrābī [*q.v.*] insurrection, when he sided with the ʿUrābiyyūn and publicly demanded the deposition of the Khedive Tawfīḳ, caused his arrest following the British occupation of Cairo in September 1882. He was set free in the course of the subsequent court proceedings against those involved in the insurrection, on condition that he return to his native village of ʿIdwa. He died in Cairo on 17 Ramaḍān 1303/19 June 1885 and was buried in the now-demolished mosque which had been constructed by him near the mosque of al-Ḥusayn (cf. ʿAlī Mubārak, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, v, 48) and close to the newly-erected mosque named after him, where his shrine may be found today (cf. the monthly *al-Muslim*, xix (Cairo 1969), 9, 4).

Bibliography: For biographies, see ʿAlī Mubārak, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, xiv, 37, where al-ʿIdwī's role in the ʿUrābī insurrection is omitted (cf. G. Baer, *Studies in the social history of modern Egypt*, Chicago-London 1969, 243); Zakī Muḥammad Mud̲j̲āhid, *al-Aʿlām al-s̲h̲arḳiyya*, Cairo 1950, ii, 98; Muḥammad al-Bas̲h̲īr Ẓāfir al-Azharī, *al-Yawāḳīt al-t̲h̲amīna fī aʿyān mad̲h̲hab ʿālim al-Madīna*, Cairo 1324-5/1906-7, i, 126 f.; K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, ii, 214. For additional biographical data, see Ilyās al-ʿAyyūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Miṣr fī 'l-ʿahd al-K̲h̲idīw Ismāʿīl Bās̲h̲ā min sanat 1863 ilā sanat 1879*, Cairo 1923, i, 42 f.; and A.M. Broadley, *How we defended Arabi and his friends*, London 1884, 365 ff., 369 f. On his *ṭarīḳa* allegiance, see Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Dalīl al-mud̲j̲mal ilā al-ṭarīḳa al-Muḥammadiyya al-S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya*, Cairo 1969, 49. For al-ʿIdwī's role in the events referred to in the article, see A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern. Die politische und gesellschaftliche Krise der Jahre 1879-1882 in Ägypten*. Zürich-Freiburg i.Br., n.d. *passim*, where further references may be found.

(F. DE JONG)

ĪḲĀʿ (form IV from *w-ḳ-ʿ*), literally "to let fall" the wand (*ḳaḍīb*) in order to mark the rhythm in singing, a term denoting musical metrics or "rhythm" in the sense of measuring the quantity of notes. The early Islamic *īḳāʿ* can be considered as a forerunner of mediaeval European mensura. Based on oriental practices inherited by the Arabs, it shows elements of Greek rhythmos and similarities to Indian *tāla*. According to Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī, the roots of *īḳāʿ* go back to Sāsānid Iran, where Indian musical presence is attested.

The internal structure of *īḳāʿ* is obviously of Arab origin, being built up in analogy to the prosodic rules of Arab poetry. One *īḳāʿ* consists of two "cycles" (*adwār*), each of them being composed of several "basic" notes (*uṣūl*) and a pause (*fāṣila*). In modifying the basic notes, the musician gets at the metrical patterns of the chosen "form" (*d̲j̲ins*) of *īḳāʿ*. The early music schools knew seven or eight forms, namely *al-t̲h̲aḳīl al-awwal*, *al-t̲h̲aḳīl al-t̲h̲ānī*, *al-ramal*, *al-hazad̲j̲* and their "quick" (*k̲h̲afīf*) forms.

Al-K̲h̲alīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791), author of a lost *Kitāb al-Īḳāʿ*, is regarded as the "inventor" of this science. Citations in later sources or original texts give information about the *īḳāʿ*-theories of more than ten authors up to the 5th/11th century, the most important being al-Fārābī, who dedicated two chapters of his *Kitāb al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr* and two remarkable monographs to this subject.

The *īḳāʿ* tradition of the Mawṣilī school, preserved in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī, persisted for a long time in Spain, whilst the development in the Eastern caliphate had already given birth to more elaborate systems. The metres described by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 693/1294) led to the basic musical practice of the last "international" school of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Marāghī (d. 838/1435) as well as to the *uṣūl, awzān, ḍurūb* or *adwār* (*al-īḳāʿ*) of the succeeding local traditions in Iran (disappearing there in the 12th/18th century), in Turkey (where practice and theory continues up to our own days) and in the Arab countries (where the late 19th and the early 20th centuries have brought a revival of local metrical forms).

Bibliography: Almost all Arabic, Persian and Turkish musical treatises and most encyclopaedias dealing with music contain a chapter on *īḳāʿ*. For its early Arabian theory, see F. Dieterici, *Die Propaedeutik der Araber im 10. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1865, 112-17; H.G. Farmer, *Saʿadyah Gaon on the influence of music*, London 1943, 78-89; A. Shiloah, *L'épître sur la musique des Iklhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, in *REI*, xxxiv (1966), 176-8; E. Neubauer, *Die Theorie vom īqāʿ. I: Übersetzung des Kitāb al-Īqāʿāt von Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī*, in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii (1968-9), 196-232; H. Avenary, *The Hebrew version of Abū l-Ṣalt's treatise on music*, in *Yuval* (Jerusalem), iii (1974), 68-71. For later Arabian theories and modern practice, see R. d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, Paris 1930-59. For Turkish forms, see Suphi (Ezgi), *Nazarî ve amelî Türk musikisi*, Istanbul 1933-53; H.-P. Seidel, *Studien zum usul "devri kebir" in den peşrev der Mevlevi*, in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Musik des Orients*, xi (1972-3), 7-69; S. Heper, *Türk musikisinde usuller*, in *Musiki mecmuası*, Istanbul, no. 344-7 (June-Sept. 1978).

(E. Neubauer)

IKHTISĀN, Muḥammad Ṣadr ʿAlāʾ, secretary and author under the Dihlī sultanate.

He was the son of Aḥmad Ḥasan, a native of Dihlī, and entered his ancestral profession of *dabīr* or secretary in the *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ* or royal chancery some time towards the close of the Khaldjī period. On his accession to the throne in 720/1320, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ Shāh raised him to the position of *Dabīr-i khāṣṣ* in recognition of his learning whilst he was still in his early twenties, and in this capacity he accompanied the sultan on an expedition to Bengal. After the conquest of Bengal, the sultan, on his way back to Dihlī, invaded the independent territory of Tirhut, seized it and entrusted its charge to Aḥmad Yalbugha. In Tirhut, Ikhtisān fell ill because of the overwhelming heat and was confined to bed for quite a long time; during this illness he translated a Sanskrit romance into ornate Persian, completing it in 725/1325, and calling it the *Basātīn al-uns*.

The *Basātīn al-uns* shows Ikhtisān's mastery of the Persian language. It contains an introduction giving us information about his own career and the grandeur of sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, so that this introduction is a document of considerable historical significance, supplementing Baranī's *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* with regard to the radical views of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. Like Baranī, Ikhtisān also belonged to the sultan's faction and subscribed to his rationalist views about religion and society. Being an intellectual, well-versed in Islamic sciences, the sultan emphasised the need for re-interpreting the Islamic *Sharīʿa* according to the requirement of the time. The orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* opposed the sultan, whilst liberal thinkers like Ikhtisān supported him in this respect; Ikhtisān calls Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ Nuʿmān-i Thānī, while the orthodox Ṣūfīs and *ʿulamāʾ* condemned him as a tyrant and oppressor (*djabbār* and *ḳahhār*).

On Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's death, his confidants were either killed or thrown into jail. Fortunately, Ikhtisān happened to be in Iran at that time, having been sent there by the late sultan as an ambassador to the Ilkhānīd Court. He may have got information of his patron's death and the accession of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh III to the throne (752/1351) in Multān, then a border city. It was there that he fell ill and died after a short illness. Thus Ikhtisān escaped imprisonment, while Baranī, the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* underwent it as a result of the reaction against Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's policies.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii; Ikhtisān, *Basātīn al-uns*, ms. British Museum Add. 7717; Sayyid Muḥammad Mubārak Kirmānī, known as Mīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyā*, Delhi 1302/1885; Muḥammad Bihāmad-Khānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī*, ms. British Museum, Or. 137.

(I.H. Siddiqui)

IKHTIYĀRIYYA, the *élite* or veterans of an Ottoman guild or army unit (*odjak*).

Ikhtiyār, "choice" in Arabic, had acquired the meaning of "old" both in Turkish and in modern Arabic, and thus came to designate the chosen and the elders of certain units, two attributes which in traditional society were virtually identical. The *odjak ikhtiyārlarî* in Ottoman Egypt consisted of retired officers and veterans of the *odjaks*, and their function was mainly ceremonial and advisory. They were headed by a *bāsh ikhtiyār*. In the guilds the informal group of *ikhtiyāriyya* was also designated by a large variety of other similar terms (cf. Baer, *Egyptian guilds*, 53, and *Structure of Turkish guilds*, 183). There were no rules to determine when and under what conditions an *usta* became a member of this group. Similarly, its members had no well-defined tasks. Originally, as long as *futuwwa* traditions survived in the guilds, they played an important role in the ceremonies of initiation. Later, it was their principal function to support the head of the guild in his relations with the authorities and thus to demonstrate that he was acting in the guild's name. It was upon their recommendation that the head of the guild was appointed by the *ḳāḍī*, and the chief assistant of the *ketkhudā* [*q.v.*] of the Turkish guilds, the *yigit bashî*, was chosen from among them, and apparently by them, but their choice had to be confirmed by the authorities.

In 19th century Egypt, the traditional term for veteran masters in the guilds was replaced by the term *ʿumda* (pl. *ʿumad*), but the character and functions of this group remained the same. Documents from that period show that they participated in the control of prices of comestibles and the distribution of the tax burden among the members of the guilds.

Bibliography: H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, Berlin 1913, 113-14, 233-5; S. Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt in the 18th century*, Cambridge, Mass. 1962, 21, 30-5; idem, *Ottoman Egypt in the age of the French Revolution*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964, 38-40; G. Baer, *Egyptian guilds in modern times*, Jerusalem 1964, 53, 65-6; idem, *The structure of Turkish*

guilds and its significance for Ottoman social history, in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, iv, 183-4, 186.

(G. Baer)

IKLĪL al-MALIK is the melilot, *Melilotus officinalis* (Leguminosae) (Greek μελίλωτος, French "mélilot", German "Honigklee"), a plant of the Papilionaceae family, of which about 16 kinds are or were used as medicine. The Arabic term ("royal crown") is a rendering of Syriac *k^e^līl malkā*; more infrequently-used synonyms are *nafal, ḥantam, shadjarat al-ḥubb* ("love-tree"), etc. In general, distinction is made between the yellow-blossomed plants, which grow one m. high, and the white-blossomed plants growing still higher. Both are slender biennial herbs which are indigenous to uncultivated lands in Europe and Asia, but not in the North. One of these kinds—or still another one?—is the *iklīl al-malik al-muʿaḳrab* "scorpion-like melilot", thus known because of the form of its blossom-pods which resemble the tail of a scorpion. Certain roots, introduced from Syria into the Arab West under the name *ʿirḳ al-ḥayya* ("serpent's root") and used there as antidote against poisonous snakebites, are said to be roots of the melilot. Finally, it may be remarked that the plant was known in Arabic Spain under the Romance name *kurunīlla* (= *coronilla*, cf. F.J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas...*, Madrid 1888, 135 f.). The Arab translators describe it, of course, under *mālīlūṭus*.

In conformity with its Greek name, it was already known in antiquity that the melilot is a honey-producing plant. The Arabs adopted its therapeutic use largely from the Greeks. The aromatic herb was—and still is—used in compresses to soften and ripen hot, hard boils and all kinds of calluses. In warm compresses it is also useful for articular pains, if before a successful "purification" of the body takes place (through purging, blood-letting and vomiting). Together with other ingredients, the melilot cures stomach, ear and headaches. Taken internally, it procures the discharge of urine, menstruation and the foetus, and mitigates the irritation of itching with diseases of the testicles.

Bibliography: A full chapter on *iklīl al-malik* is given in A. Dietrich, *Zum Drogenhandel im islamischen Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1954, 49-51. See further Dioscurides, *De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, ii, Berlin 1906, 52 f. (= lib. iii, 40); *La "Materia médica" de Dioscorides*, ii (Arab. tr. Iṣṭafan b. Basīl), ed. Dubler and Terés, Tetuán 1952, 258; Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xx, Ḥaydarābād 1387/1967, 125 f. (no. 140); *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansur... Harawi*, tr. A. Ch. Achundow, Halle 1893, 150, 340; Ibn al-Djazzār, *Iʿtimād*, ms. Ayasofya 3564, fol. 12b; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Būlāḳ, i, 243; Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydala*, ed. H.M. Saʿīd, Karachi 1973, Arab. 62 f., Engl. 41; Ibn Biklārish, *Mustaʿīnī*, ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz. iii, F. 65, fol. 12b; Ghāfiḳī, *al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. ḳ 155 i, fol. 21a-22a; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1362, ii, 20; Anonymous [Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī Ibn al-Rūmiyya?] ms. Nuruosmaniye 3589, fols. 99b-100a (with precise description of the plant); Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, 50 f., tr. Leclerc, no. 128; Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, *Muʿtamad*, ed. M. al-Saḳḳā[3], Beirut 1395/1975, 6; Ibn al-Ḳuff, *ʿUmda*, Ḥaydarābād 1356, i, 211, cf. H.G. Kircher, *Die "einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Bonn 1967, no. 3; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, ms. Paris ar. 3004, fols. 10a, 13-14; 164a, 3-8; Barhebraeus, *The abridged version of "The Book of simple drugs" of... al-Ghâfiqî*, ed. Meyerhof and Sobhy, Cairo 1932, no. 30; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 55; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 1924, 465 f.; M. Asín Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances...*, Madrid-Granada 1943, no. 168.

(A. Dietrich)

IKRĀH (a.), a legal term denoting "duress". The jurists distinguish two kinds: unlawful (*ikrāh ghayr mashrūʿ*), and lawful (*ikrāh bi-ḥaḳḳ*). Only the first of these is recognised by the Ḳur'ān (*lā ikrāh fi 'l-dīn*, II, 256), and has legal effects.

Unlawful duress may be of two degrees, being grave (*ikrāh tāmm* or *muladjdji'*) if it involves severe bodily harm, or slight (*ikrāh nāḳiṣ* or *ghayr muladjdji'*) if it only involves verbal threats or minor buffets. Lawful duress, which has no legal effect, may take the form, for example, of a judge exerting duress on a debtor to discharge his debt by selling property surplus to his personal needs.

The authorities differ regarding the degree of validity in contracts agreed under duress, but in general the effect of duress in civil law is to make a declaration voidable by *khiyār*, i.e. the injured party has the right unilaterally either to cancel or to ratify the contract. In criminal law, the effect of duress is to diminish responsibility to the point of removing the penal sanction and making the act itself allowable; thus drinking wine under threat of death or mutilation is permissible.

Consequently, the attestation of absence of duress is an important element in the drafting of deeds of sale and other legal documents involving contractual obligations, and such absence of duress may be declared in phrases such as *bi-lā ikrāh wa-lā idjbār*.

Bibliography: Ṣubḥī Maḥmaṣānī, *al-Naẓariyya al-ʿāmma li'l-mūdjabāt wa'l-ʿuḳūd fi 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Beirut 1948; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 117-18; Muṣṭafā Aḥmad al-Zarḳā', *al-Fiḳh al-islāmī fī thawbih al-djadīd*, Damascus 1968, and bibliography there cited; R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, *Some Arabic legal documents of the Ottoman period*, Leiden 1976 (see documents on pp. 15, 16, 24, etc.).

(R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young)

ILĀHĪ ERA, also known as *Ta'rīkh-i Ilāhī* "Divine Era", was introduced by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 992/1584. The first year of this era was the year of Akbar's accession, 963/1555-6, and it was a solar year beginning with Nawrūz (the day of vernal equinox, about 20 March). The names of the months were the same as those of the ancient Persian calendar. The number of days in a month varied from 29 to 32. The calculations were made, and rules for the era drawn up, by Fatḥ Allāh Shīrāzī. Abu 'l-Faḍl justified the introduction of Ilāhī era on the ground that the Islamic lunar era, being ancient, should be replaced by some other era commencing from a recent epoch-making event. As the accession of Akbar was such an event, so the Ilāhī era was set to commence from that date. The Ilāhī era made it possible to keep a regular account of the officers' allowances, of book-keeping and of audit. In 1069/1658-9, Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] abolished the observation of the Nawrūz festival, but did not prohibit the use of the Ilāhī months in the official records. He ordered that the *hidjra* months and years should be written before the Ilāhī months. In 1079/1668-9 he prohibited the publication of almanacs, but the officials protested

that without the use of almanacs it was not possible to follow the Ilāhī calendar properly; and some discrepancy between the actual vernal equinox and the initial day of the official solar year gradually appeared in course of time. Mīrzā Rādjā Djā'ī Singh's *zīdj-i Muḥammad Shāhī* in the next century was an attempt to evolve a new solar calendar for official use, based largely on the same principles as the Ilāhī calendar.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, iii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1873-87; idem, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1867-77; Muḥammad Hāshim Khʷāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1860-74; S.H. Hodivala, *Historical studies in Mughal numismatics*, The Numismatic Society of India, Calcutta 1923; see also TAʾRĪKH.

(M. ATHAR ALI)

ĪLĀḲ, the region of Transoxania lying within the great northwards bend of the middle reaches of the Jaxartes river and to the south of the right-bank affluent the Āhangarān (Russian form, Angren) river. It thus lay between the provinces of Shāsh [see TASHKENT] on the northwest and Farghāna [*q.v.*] on the east. The Arabic and Persian geographers of the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries describe it as a flourishing province, with its mountains producing silver and salt. They give the names of many towns there, the chief one being Tūnkath, whose ruins have been identified by Soviet archaeologists 50 miles (90 km.) from modern Tashkent.

In early Islamic times, Īlāḳ lay on the frontiers between the abode of Islam and the pagan Turkish steppes. During the Sāmānid period and just afterwards, its local princes (given the title of *dihḳān*) enjoyed considerable prestige, and minted their own coins during the period of Sāmānid collapse, e.g. in 388/998 and 399/1008-9. The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* describes the people of Īlāḳ as adherents of "those who wear white", presumably the supporters of the "veiled prophet" al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*], whose rising took place in the late 2nd/8th century. This information may be anachronistic for his own time, but we do read that in the period of the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43) the local *dihḳān* was sympathetic to the Ismāʿīlī propaganda current then.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 482-3; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 162, 169-75, 233, 243, 307; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 117, 356-7.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ILIČPUR [see ELIČPUR, above].

ʿILLAYSH, MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, onetime Mālikī *muftī* of Egypt and one of the principal protagonists in the events preceeding the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. He was born in Cairo in Radjab 1217/October-November 1802 into a family of Moroccan extraction. After a period of study at al-Azhar [*q.v.*] from 1232/1816-7 until 1245/1829-30, he was engaged in teaching at this institution, as well as at the Ḥusayn mosque. In 1270/1854 he was appointed to the office of *shaykh al-sāda al-Mālikiyya* [*q.v.*] in succession to Muḥammad Ḥubaysh, and remained in office until the end of his life.

Concomitantly, he held supreme leadership of a Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] *ṭarīka*, that of al-ʿArabiyya, in which position notable Azharī scholars such as Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr and Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Ṣaghīr had been his predecessors.

However, the mystical conception of Islam to which he must have adhered is only incidentally manifest in his writings—the scope of which encompasses the majority of the fields of traditional Muslim learning—such as in his *Fatḥ al-ʿalī 'l-mālik fī 'l-fatwā ʿalā madhhab al-Imām Mālik*, Cairo 1319/1901-2, i, 5, where he supports the doctrine of *al-nūr al-muḥammadī* [*q.v.*]. He was opposed to the reforms introduced at al-Azhar by its *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-ʿAbbāsī. During the campaign for removal of the latter from office—which resulted in the appointment of Muḥammad al-Imbābī as *shaykh al-Azhar*—Muḥammad ʿIllaysh became the favourite candidate of the Azharī *ʿulamāʾ* and of the students for succession of al-ʿAbbāsī. His involvement with the ʿUrābiyyūn [see ʿURĀBĪ], his active support of their cause and his effort to mount resistance against the British invasion—he was among the first to call for the proclamation of *djihād*—resulted his arrest and detention following the British occupation of Cairo in September 1882. He died in prison on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1299/22 October 1882.

Bibliography: Biographies may be found in ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 41-44; Ilyās Zakhūrā, *Mirʾāt al-ʿaṣr fī taʾrīkh wa-rusūm akābir ridjāl Miṣr*, i, 196 f.; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 244; and prefaced to Muḥammad ʿIllaysh, *Fatḥ al-ʿalī 'l-mālik fī 'l-fatwā ʿalā madhhab al-Imām Mālik*, 2 vols., Cairo 1319-21/1901-4. See also Abu 'l-Wafā al-Marāghī, *Min aʿlām al-Mālikiyya al-Miṣriyya*, in *al-Hady al-Islāmī*, Bayḍāʾ, viii/1 (March 1969), 76-8. For a short discussion of the position of al-ʿArabiyya al-Shādhiliyya under the leadership of Muḥammad ʿIllaysh, see F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked institutions in 19th century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, 113-14. For additional biographical data, see ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, viii, 74; Amin Sāmī, *Taḳwīm al-Nīl*, iii, part 2, 519 f., 921 f.; Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Taʾrīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām*, i, 133 f.; Aḥmad Shafīḳ, *Mudhakkirātī fī nisf ḳarn*, i, 152, 178; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Djawād al-Ḳāyātī, *Nafḥat al-bishām fī riḥlat al-Shām*, Cairo 1319/1901-2, 6 f.; and Sulaymān al-Ḥanafī al-Zayyātī, *Kanz al-djawhar fī taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo n.d., 162 f.

(F. DE JONG)

ʿILM AL-AKTĀF [see KATIF].

ʿILM AL-HANDASA (A.), geometry. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, the Arabs were introduced to geometry through the translation of Greek works, especially that of Euclid's *Elements*. They then adopted for this science the Greek name under the form *djūmatriya*. Subsequently, they came into contact with the applied geometry of Archimedes, of Hero of Alexandria, and with the Indian *Siddhantas* (in Arabic, *Sind Hind*), and definitively adopted the word *handasa* (borrowed, according to al-Khalīl, from the Persian *andāzah* = measure, size).

In the evolution of geometry among the Arabs, two important periods may be distinguished:

I. The period of translations and of initiation (3rd/9th century).

A. The first place belongs to the *Elements of Geometry* of Euclid (*Kitāb al-Uṣūl* or *K. al-Arkān*), one of the most translated and annotated books. (a) We may mention two translations owed to Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar, one entitled the *Hārūnī*, the other, more precise, known by the name of the *Maʾmūnī*. (b) A translation by Isḥāk b. Ḥunayn revised and corrected by Thābit b. Ḳurra of Ḥarrān (219-88/834-901). (c) al-ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd al-Djawharī (214/829) wrote a commentary on it, including, among other things, a number of figures and particular cases

added to the first proposition of these *Elements*. (d) A commentary on the fifth proposition by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Māhānī (between 239 and 270/853-84) comprises 26 figures and is concerned principally with proofs that do not make use of reasoning by absurdity. (e) A commentary by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Ḥātim al-Nayrīzī (d. 310/922-3). (f) A commentary by Abū Dja'far al-Khāzin of Khurāsān (d. 310/922-3). (g) Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Buzdjānī (323-88/934-98) has left an incomplete commentary on it. (h) al-Kindī (184-259/800-73) devotes a *risāla* to the "objectives of the work of Euclid" (*Aghrāḍ K. Uklīdis*); he comments here, in particular, that the work is, in reality, a compendium of ancient knowledge set in order and annotated by Euclid, and that one of his followers, Hypsicles, added on the fourteenth and fifteenth propositions.

B. The *Data* (*Muʿṭayāt*) of Euclid, translated by Isḥāk and revised by Thābit.

We must mention at this point—and we shall have occasion to return to it—the criticisms made of Euclid's postulates by al-Nayrīzī in his *Risāla fi 'l-muṣādara al-mashhūra li-Uklīdis* "Letter relating to the famous postulate of Euclid"; by al-Hasan b. al-Haytham (354-430/965-1038); by ʿUmar al-Khayyām (467-517/1074-1123) in his *Risāla fī sharḥ mā ashkala min muṣādarāt Uklīdis* "Letter explaining some difficulties raised by the postulates of Euclid"; and by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (597-672/1201-74) in his *Taḥrīr uṣūl Uklīdis* "Restatement of the Elements of Euclid", and his *Taḥrīr muṣādarāt Uklīdis* "Observations on the postulates of Euclid".

C. The *Conic sections* (*al-Kuṭūʿ al-makhrūṭiyya*) of Apollonius, a work which apparently comprised 8 propositions; the first four were translated, under the supervision of Aḥmad b. Mūsa b. Shākir, by Hilāl b. Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī (d. 218/833), and the last three by Thābit b. Kurra.

D. The *Elements of geometry* of Menelaus. Thābit translated three of its propositions. An unknown translator revised the chapters relating to triangles. The problem of transversals and their applications in the study of conic forms inspired Thābit to compose his work *al-Kawl fi 'l-shakl al-kaṭṭāʿ wa 'l-nisba al-mu'allafa* ("Survey of the transversal and harmonic division"), a work translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona (*Liber Thabit de figura alchata*). Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī also made this work the basis of his treatise *Kitāb al-Shakl al-kaṭṭāʿ*, in which he set out to establish the fundamental principles of spherical trigonometry.

E. The work of Pappus (the *Collection of mathematics*), notably a translation by Thābit of his commentary on the Book of Ptolemy relating to the area of the sphere; and his commentary on the tenth proposition of Euclid.

F. The geometrical work of Archimedes: (a) His work *On the sphere and the cylinder*, translated by the Banū Mūsā, later by Thābit and by Isḥāk b. Ḥunayn. A translation by Kusṭa b. Lūkā (299/912) served as the basis for the Hebrew translation of Kalonimos b. Kalonimos (728/1328). (b) *On the squaring of the circle* (*Fī taksīr al-dā'ira; Tarbīʿ al-dā'ira; Misāḥat al-dā'ira*), translated by Thābit and by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāk, a translation revised by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (ed. Hyderabad 1359/1940). (c) The *Lemmata* (*al-ma'khūdhāt*), translated by Thābit and annotated by Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī (370-431/980-1040); Ṭūsī makes use of it in his study published in 1940 at Hyderabad. (d) *Measuring the side of a regular heptagon inscribed in a circle* (*tasbīʿ al-dā'ira*), a work which inspired in particular, Abū Sahl al-Kūhī.

G. The work of Hero of Alexandria, notably the *K. Ḥall shukūk Uklīdis* ("Resolution of doubts concerning Euclid"); and the *K. al-Ḥiyal al-rūḥāniyya* ("Pneumatics").

We may note, finally, the translation of the *Sindhantas* which familiarised the Arabs with problems of surveying and of the measuring of surfaces and volumes, and in a general manner, with the various applications of geometry.

II. The period of creativity (4th-9th/10th-15th centuries).

The translated material was, as we have noted, progressively annotated, discussed and corrected.

From the 3rd/9th century, but especially after the 4th/10th one, the specific contribution of the Arabs became more important. The latter supplemented the ancient works in a number of disciplines (astronomy, optics, algebra), with new proofs and with the resolution of geometrical problems; new applications came into being, especially in sculpture and in architecture; trigonometry was discovered and codified; important theoretical questions were raised; the authority of ancient masters was contested, and the way was open for the progress of geometry in hitherto unknown directions.

But before reviewing certain of the most celebrated Arab contributions to geometry, here follow, century by century, the authors and the works which may be mentioned:

3rd/9th century: al-Khʷarazmī (d. *ca.* 232/846), *Bāb al-misāḥā*—al-Djawhari (214-15/839-30); *Kitāb tafsīr K. Uklīdis* "Commentary on the Book of Euclid"; *K. al-Ashkāl allatī zādaha fi 'l-makāla al-ūlā min Uklīdis* "On the figures that he has added to the first proposition of Euclid"; *Ziyādat fi 'l-makāla al-khāmisa min K. Uklīdis* "Supplement to the fifth proposition of Euclid", cf. *Fihrist*, Cairo 1348/1930, 379; and Suter, 21.—the Banū Mūsā b Shākir (Muḥammad, d. 259/873), *Maʿrifat misāḥat al-ashkāl al-basīṭa wa 'l-kuriyya* "Information on the surfaces of plane and spherical figures" (mss. Carullah 1475, 3; 1502, 9; Köprülü, 930, 14; 931, 14; Rampūr 311; Bodl. i, 960); *Mukaddimat a-makhrūṭāt* "Introduction to the conical forms" (mss. Bodl. i, 943, 5; Leiden 979; Sarton 193); *Kismat al-zawāyā bi-thalātha aksām mutasāwiya* "Trisection of angles" (cf. *Fihrist*, 379.—al-Māhānī, *Risālā fi 'l-nisba* "Treatise on proportions" (*Fihrist* 379; mss. Bodl. 6009; Paris 3467, 1°); *R. fi 'l-mushkil min al-nisba* "Epistle on complex proportions" (ms. Paris 2457, 39); *R. fī 26 shakl^an min al-makāla al-ūlā min Uklīdis* (*Fihrist*, 379, Thābit b. Kurra; see D. above); *K. al-Shakl al-kaṭṭā'* (*Fihrist*, 380; mss. Paris 2457, 37; 2467, 13; Esc. 971, 2; Algiers 1446, 5); *K. fī misāḥat kaṭʿ al-makhrūṭ alladhi yusammā 'l-mukāfi'* "Surface of the conical form known as the parabola" (mss. Paris 2437, 25; Cairo vi, 197).—al-Battānī (244-317/858-929): we note in particular his contribution to trigonometry and his elegant solutions to problems of spherical trigonometry by means of orthographical projection, solutions known and partially imitated by Regiomontanus (1436-76).

4th/10th century: al-Nayrīzī, Sharḥ Uklīdis (*Fihrist* 389; S. 363); *R. fi 'l-muṣādara al-mashhūra li-Uklīdis.*—al-Buzdjānī, *K. fīmā yaḥtādj ilayhi al-ʿummāl wa 'l-kuttāb min ṣināʿat al-ḥisāb* "Elements of calculus essential for the accountant and the secretary"; 3rd part, *fī aʿmāl al-misāḥa* "Methods relating to surfaces".—al-Sidjzi (358-89/969-99) one of the greatest Muslim geometrists, *R. fī ikhrādj al-khuṭūṭ*

fī 'l-dawāʾir al-mawḍūʿa min al-nuḳaṭ al-muʿṭāt "In a given circle, to draw certain straight lines through given points" (ms. Paris 2458, 1; Sédillot, *Notices et Extraits*, xiii, 143); *R. fī 'l-djawāb ʿan al-masāʾil allatī suʾila ʿanhā fī baʿḍ al-ashkāl al-maʾkhūdha min K. al-maʾkhūdhāt li-Arshamidis* (ms. Paris 2458, 8; Sedillot 116); *Taḥṣīl al-ḳawānīn al-handasiyya al-maḥdūda* (ms. Paris 2458, 2; Sédillot, 139); al-Sidjzi was particularly interested in circles and in conical sections.

5th/11th century: Ibn al-Haytham is well-known for his studies in optics (Problem of Alhazen). Among his geometrical works we note the following (cf. *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Beirut 1377/1957, iii, 154 ff.): *Sharḥ Uṣūl Uḳlīdis fī 'l-handasa wa 'l-ʿadad wa-talkhīṣuhu* ("Commentary and summary of the *Elements* of Euclid"; *K. al-Taḥlīl wa 'l-tarkīb al-handasiyyayni* ("Analysis and synthesis in geometry"; *Maḳāla fī ḥall shakk, radd*^{un} alā Uḳlīdis fi 'l-maḳāla al-khāmisa kitābih fi 'l-Uṣūl al-riyāḍiyya "Analysis of a doubt, in response to Euclid in the 5th proposition of his work 'Elements of mathematics'"; *Maḳāla fī misāḥat al-mudjassam al-mukāfiʾ* "On the surface of the paraboloid"; *Maḳāla fī khawāṣṣ al-ḳaṭʿ al-mukāfiʾ* "On the properties of the parabola"; *Maḳāla fī khawāṣṣ al-ḳaṭʿ al-zāʾid* "On the properties of the hyperbola"; *Maḳāla fī ḥall shukūk al-maḳāla al-ūlā min K. Uḳlīdis* "Analysis of doubts concerning the 1st proposition of the Book of Euclid". Let it be added that Ibn al-Haytham, besides his theoretical work, tried to find practical applications for his results. It is sufficient to recall, in this context, the anecdote related by al-Ḳifṭī (iii, 149, 150) concerning his attempt to construct a barrage on the cataracts of the Nile, near Aswān, with the object of regulating the course of the river.

6th/12th century: ʿUmar al-Khayyām, *R. fī sharḥ mā ashkala min muṣādarāt K. Uḳlīdis* "Explanation of difficulties raised by the postulates of the Book of Euclid" (mss. Leiden 967; Paris 4946); *Maḳālā fī 'l-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala* (mss. Leiden 1020; Paris 2458, 7, 2461): in particular, geometrical solutions of second-degree equations.

7th/13th century: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *R. al-shakl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ*; here he expounds the theory of transversals from which he deduces original connections enabling him to lay the foundations of spherical trigonometry; *Taḥrīr ʿUṣūl Uḳlīdis* "Examination of the Elements of Euclid" (mss. Tunis 56R, 58R, Latin tr., Rome 1594); *Taḥrīr muṣādarāt Uḳlīdis* (ms. Tunis 4761); the method employed in these studies is adopted by a number of commentators on Euclid, including, especially, Shams al-Dīn al-Samarḳandī, *Ashkāl al-taʾsīs*, and the commentary by Mūsā b. Muḥammad Ḳāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī (815/1412) (mss. Tunis 2705, 223R, 2746; Esc. 952, Paris 6853); commentary by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Naẓẓām al-Nīsābūrī (811/1408) in his *Tawḍīḥ* of the *Tadhkira* of Ṭūsī (ms. Tunis 236, copy dating from 860/1398).

9th/15th century: Al-Kāshī (d. 832/1429): *al-Risāla al-muḥīṭiyya fī 'stikhrādj muḥīṭ al-dāʾira* "Determination of the perimeter of the circle".

A brief analysis of the contribution of the Muslims towards the progress of geometry:

A. *Analysis.*—1. First one may note, in the guise of introduction to books on various disciplines, a number of geometrical questions, the solution of which is necessary for the explanation of the ideas studied subsequently in these works; this is the case with the opening chapters of treatises on astronomy where the properties of circles drawn on spheres are described in detail and where there are solutions to problems of distances, volumes of solids, plane or spherical trigonometry.

On the other hand, in spite of the duality of origin of geometry and of arithmetic or of algebra, the two latter being initially discrete sciences, the former of continuous scope, the Muslims, since al-Khʷarazmī, have used algebra for the solving of geometric problems; they have also made use of geometry for the solving of new algebraic problems. It is sufficient, in this context, to recall the solution by al-Khayyām of cubic equations by means of intersection of circles, parabolas or hyperbolas; we may also cite al-Māhānī's problem concerning the plane sections of the sphere, which led him to the third-degree equation $x^3 + b^2 = bx^2$.

2. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the revolution brought about in astronomical calculations, in particular, or in physics, by a sister science of geometry, developed and codified by the Muslims who made of it an independent discipline, sc. trigonometry. Thanks to this new science, a whole range of problems was completely solved, and with a precision depending uniquely on tables (*zīdj*) established at an early stage.

In the 3rd/9th century, al-Battānī solved the equation sin x = a cos. x discovering the formula

$$\sin x = \frac{a}{\sqrt{1 + a^2}} \quad \text{(for the arcs of the 1st quadrant).}$$

Ḥabash compiled the table of tangents. In the 4th/10th century, Abu 'l-Wafāʾ brought real progress to trigonometry. He established the relations: $\sin (a + b) = \sin a \cos b + \sin b \cos a$

$$2 \sin a = 1 - \cos 2 a$$

$$\sin 2 a = 2 \sin a \cos a$$

$$\sec a = \frac{1}{\cos a} = \sqrt{1 - tg^2 a}$$

He set out the formula of sines in a spherical triangle:

$$\frac{\sin a}{\sin A} = \frac{\sin b}{\sin B} = \frac{\sin c}{\sin C}$$

Ibn Yūnus (958/1009) author of the Ḥākimī table, demonstrated the formula:

$$\cos a \cos b = \tfrac{1}{2} [\cos (a + b) + \cos (a - b)],$$

permitting the passage from a sum to a product, an operation which was to be of importance in the logarithmic system of calculation invented later.

In the 6th/12th century, Djābir b. Aflaḥ knew the equation $\cos b = \cos B \sin c$. In short, Arabic trigonometry was already a long-established science when Fibonacci used it, *ca.* 1220, for the measuring of surfaces and when, *ca.* 1464, Regiomontanus, putting al-Ṭūsī's work to good use, composed the first treatise on trigonometry published in Europe in 1485.

3. Geometry was further applied by the Arabs in geodesic measurements, executed to check the ancient proportions and to verify the conclusions of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy (scientific expeditions by the Banū Shakir, *ca.* 212/827, in the region of Palmyra and Raḳḳa, then in the neighbourhood of Sindjār, the Latin *Singara*, with the object of measuring the earth's inclination). Al-Battānī fixed the geographical coordinates of 310 locations, including 30 in the West; al-Ḥasan al-Marrākūshī gave the coordinates of 135 locations, of which 71 belong to the western Mediterranean. Al-Bīrūnī dealt with the problem of cartography and of the representation, on a plane surface, of the celestial or terrestial sphere. He reviewed various methods of projection, conical, cylindrical, orthographical or

stereographical, the lines of the sphere being represented by ellipses, parabolas or hyperbolas.

4. "Geometry", wrote the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', "has as its principal field of application the measurement of surfaces, measurement which is essential for surveyors, accountants, tax agents, landowners, in their various operations or transactions, such as the collection of property tax, the drainage of water-courses, the postal service, etc."

5. An important area in the application of geometry is that of architecture and sculpture; Muslim art, inspired by geometry, invented the extended arch, cupolas resting on regular polygons, corbellings, stalactites, groups of polyhedrons of stucco and light. The work of the sculptor in stone or in stucco was designed by the mathematician.

B. *Works*.—Among the works of pure geometry written by the Muslims, Suter mentions only two treatises, in the 3rd/9th century the book by the Banū Shākir (*Maʿrifat al-ashkāl al-basīta wa 'l-kuriyya*), and in the 4th/10th century, the *Geometry* of Abu 'l-Wafā which has come down to us in a Persian edition owed to one of his pupils (cf. F. Woepcke, in *JA* [1855], 218-56 and 309-59).

However, it is possible to take account of other writings which in our view are of great importance: The ms. of Thābit b. Ḳurra mentioned above *Fī misāḥat kaṭʿ al-makhrūṭ alladhī yusammā 'l-mukāfī*, where, following the example of Archimedes, the former uses a method of integral calculus in the quest for the limit of the equivalent on "integral sums" for the determination of the surface of a segment of a parabola, or the volume of a paraboloid revolving around its axis or around any other straight line passing through the focus.

An important fact deserves to be remembered; this is the attitude of a group of Muslim scholars towards the principle of authority and the enormous prestige enjoyed by the name of Euclid since ancient times, a prestige which has not ceased to be immense up to a period close to the present day. In the list which we have presented, it is notable that, since the 3rd/9th century, scholars have not refrained from expressing serious reservations in regard to certain of Euclid's postulates, and in particular the famous 5th postulate concerning parallel lines.

In a closely-argued discussion, they first insist on the fact that Euclid himself, not entirely convinced by his proposition, does not see it as a "first truth" or an axiom, but a postulate which he simply invites the reader to adopt. Thus they attempt to go further and construct the theory of parallels by using other axioms and postulates, and employing the methods of Eudox and Archimedes.

The most remarkable works are those of Djawharī (3rd/9th century), of Abharī, of Nayrīzī (4th/10th century), of Ibn al-Haytham and Khayyām (5th/11th century) and of Ṭūsī (7th/13th century). These works were translated into Latin and Hebrew; their influence is evident in the work *Commentaries to the introduction of Euclid's elements* by Levi ben Gerson (14th century), in *Rectifier of wrong* by Alfonso (14th-15th century) and in the commentaries on the Elements of Euclid by Clavius (16th century).

The demonstration of the 5th postulate by Ṭūsī (published in Rome in 1594 and in London in 1657) was known to John Wallis (1616-1703) and to Saccheri (1667-1733). The essential point of the demonstration of Khayyām and of Ṭūsī rests on the possibility of constructing a quadrilateral ABCD (made famous later through the work of Saccheri) such that $AB = CD$, $A\hat{B}C = 1D$, $B\hat{C}D = 1D$, thus entailing that $B\hat{A}D = A\hat{D}C$. Three cases are theoretically possible for these angles: they can be right-angles, acute or obtuse. Khayyām and Ṭūsī concluded that only the first case is really practicable. It is known that subsequently, the basic theorems of non-Euclidian geometry of Lobachevski and of Bolyai rest essentially on the hypothesis of the acute angle; the obtuse-angle hypothesis corresponds to the geometry of Riemann.

In conclusion, it may be said that the studies of the Muslims constituted an important milestone in the sequence of progress of geometry; they posed some essential questions, from á scientific as well as from a philosophical point of view. They had the excellent idea of not limiting geometry to continuous scales. They were remarkably adept at holding the balance between theoretical abstract thought and practical art, i.e. concrete application. If they were to a great extent the disciples of Euclid and of other masters of Greek geometry, they had the courage to criticise the works that they had inherited and to express serious doubts on their subject, and their theoretical scruples were great. They thus prepared the way for the subsequent development of geometry.

Bibliography: Alfonso, *Meyasheriqub*, B.M. ms. Add 26894, Russian tr. in preparation by G.M. Gluskina; Chr. Clavius, *Euclidis Elementorum libri XV*, Cologne 1596; *Euclidis Elementorum geometricorum libri tredecim ex traditione doctissimi Nassiriddini Tusini nunc primum arabice impressi*, Rome 1594; J. Wallis, *De postulato quinto et definitione quinta lib. 6 Euclidis*, in *Opera mathematica*, ii, Oxford 1693, 669-73; G. Saccheri, *Euclides ab omne naevo vindicatus*, Milan 1733; F. Woepcke, *L'Algèbre d'Omar Alkhayyami*, Paris 1851; Sarton, *Introduction*; D.E. Smith, *Euclid, Khayyam and Saccheri*, in *Scripta mathematica*, ii/1 (Jan. 1935), 5-10; A. Mieli, *La science arabe*, Leiden 1938; E.B. Plooij, *Euclid's conception of ratio and his definition of proportional magnitudes as criticized by Arabian commentators*, Rotterdam 1950; B.A. Rosenfeld and A.P. Yushčkevič, *Omar al-Khayyam*, Moscow 1962; Rosenfeld, *The theory of parallel lines in the Medieval East*, in *Actes du XIe congrès international d'histoire des sciences*; Yushčkevič, *Geschichte der Mathematik im Mittelalter*, Basle 1964, 288-95; idem, *Les mathématiques arabes*, tr. M. Cazenove and K. Jaouiche, Paris 1976; R. Taton, *Histoire générale des sciences*, i, Paris 1966, 440-525; Kh. Jaouiche, *De la fécondité mathématique: d'Omar Khayyam à G. Saccheri*, in *Diogène*, lvii (1967), 97-113; S.H. Nasr, *Islamic science, an illustrated survey*, London 1976.

(M. SOUISSI)

ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN ʿALĪ, FAḲĪH-I KIRMĀNĪ, Persian mystical poet of the 8th/14th century, was born at Kirmān about 690/1291-2.

In the *Ṣafā'-nāma* he relates that when his father died in 705/1305, he and a brother took over the direction of a *khānaḳāh* which had been founded in Kirmān by his father's *shaykh*, Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, for the benefit of the followers of the *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb* Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Salām Kamūyī. Through this line of mystical tradition, ʿImād al-Dīn was connected with the teaching of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*]. Besides his occupation as the *shaykh* of a convent, he was also a doctor of Islamic law, as his *laḳab* suggests. Little reliable information concerning his life can be drawn from the traditional biographies. According to a frequently retold anecdote appearing for the first

time in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, the cat of ʿImād al-Dīn could imitate his master in the performance of his prayers. The origin of the story can be traced to a line in one of the poems of Ḥāfiẓ, which has been interpreted as a reference to a rivalry between the two poets for the favours of the Muẓaffarid ruler Shāh Shudjāʿ (cf. Humāyūn-Farrukh, Introduction, 81 ff.). Many panegyrical references in the poems of ʿImād al-Dīn indicate that he was on good terms with the rulers of his age and several of their ministers. His most important patrons were the Muẓaffarids. Though Shāh Shudjāʿ favoured him in particular, ʿImād al-Dīn already wrote poems dedicated to Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad. Occasionally, he praised their opponent, Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū of Shīrāz, as well and it is possible that he stayed some time at Shīrāz himself. His poetry was also appreciated at the court of the Īl-Khān Abū Saʿīd.

Most of ʿImād al-Dīn's life was apparently spent at Kirmān where, according to Dawlat-Shāh, he died in 773/1371-2. The alternative, but less probable, date of 793/1391 is mentioned by Taḳī Kāshī (cf. Sprenger, *Oudh catalogue*, Calcutta 1854, 436-8). The convent and the tomb of ʿImād al-Dīn were still visited in the late 9th/15th century.

The known works of ʿImād al-Dīn consist exclusively of poetry. As a pen-name he used the form ʿImād, or more rarely, ʿImād-i Faḳīh. The *Dīwān* contains predominantly *ghazals*. His place in the development of the Persian *ghazal* is an interesting one, as he was among the most prominent writers who cultivated the genre during the interval between the lives of Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ. The former is named by ʿImād as an admired predecessor. The latter was a younger contemporary who must have been acquainted with ʿImād's work. Not only did ʿImād and Ḥāfiẓ share a number of patrons; their poetry shows that they made use of many similar motives. Listings of these common elements have been made by some modern researchers (e.g. Ibn Yūsuf Shīrāzī, Muḥammad Muʿīn and Humāyūn-farrukh). On the other hand, the style of ʿImād is clearly distinguishable from that of Ḥāfiẓ on account of the former's greater simplicity of language and the more coherent structure of his *ghazals*. The central theme is the longing of the lover for the transcendental Beloved. Anacreontic and *ḳalandarī* elements, though not lacking, are only subordinate motives. The mystical intention of ʿImād's *ghazals* cannot be mistaken, even in those cases where the poem serves as the prologue to a short panegyrical address. The poet used to recite and discuss poems of his own in his *khānaḳāh*, as Djāmī tells us in the *Bahāristān*. From this notice, the conclusion may be drawn that he used them as a tool for this mystical teaching. The *ghazals* of ʿImād have been analysed by K. Stolz, *Der Dīwān des ʿImāduddīn Faqīh*, in *WZKM*, xlix (1942), 31-70.

The second part of ʿImādī's literary output consists of a series of *mathnawiyyāt*. Apart from a few very short pieces, there are five poems of an intermediate size:

1. The *Ṣafāʾ-nāma*, or *Muʾnis al-abrār*, is a didactic poem written in imitation of Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār*, with which it has the metre *sarīʿ* in common. It was completed in 766/1364-5 and dedicated to Shāh Shudjāʿ. One of its original features is a description of Shīrāz. The text has been edited by Muḥammad Iḳbāl in *Oriental College Magazine*, v-viii (1929-32), *passim*.

2. The *Ṣuḥbat-nāma*, or *Ṭarīḳat-i ṣuḥbat-nāma*, in the same metre as the *Būstān* of Saʿdī, was completed in 731/1330-1. It was dedicated to the *wazīr* of the Īl-Khān, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh. In ten discourses, the manners are described of the rulers, the saints, the students, the scholars, the anchorites, the travellers, the *ahl-i futuwwat*, the beautiful ones, the lovers and the singers and musicians. To each discourse, one or more illustrative stories are added. The seventh chapter has been edited and translated by H.W. Duda, *ʿImāduddīn Faqīh und die Futuwwa*, in *ArO*, vi (1934), 112-24.

3. The *Maḥabbat-nāma-i ṣāḥibdilān*, a short *mathnawī* preceded by a prose introduction containing the dedication to the Īl-Khānid *wazīr* Khʷādja Taḳī al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī. The metre used in the second part is *hazadj-i musaddas-i maḥdhūf*. The theme of love, studied here in all the realms of nature, is treated in the form of a series of ten disputations, between the soul and the body as well as between a number of entities which belong to the mineral, the vegetable and the animal kingdom. The illustrative stories, added in each case, deal with famous pairs of lovers (cf. H.W. Duda, *Ferhād und Schīrīn*, Prague 1933, 98-100, where the story of the fifth disputation is discussed). The title of the poem is a chronogram indicating that it was completed in 732/1331-2.

4. The *Ṭarīḳat-nāma*, composed in the same metre as the preceding poem, was completed in 750/1349-50 according a chronogram hidden in one of the lines, but Humāyūn-Farrukh regards the line as corrupt and dates the work between 754-9, i.e. during one of the last years of the reign of Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, to whom it is dedicated. The subject of the poem is an adaptation of the *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya*, the Persian translation by ʿIzz al-Dīn Maḥmūd Kāshānī (died 735/1334-5) of the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* of Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (for a list of the ten chapter headings, see Munzawī, iv, 2994-5).

5. The *Dah-nāma* (in the ms. Aya Sofya no. 4131, dated 841 A.H., the work is called *Naṣīḥat-nāma*) belongs superficially to a genre of *mathnawīs* in the metre of the preceding poems which consists of collections of ten letters exchanged between an imaginary pair of lovers. ʿImād has introduced several changes into the conventional pattern: he uses other metres as well, alternates between the forms of the *mathnawī* and the *ḳaṣīda*, and even deviates from the basic theme by inserting letters to some of his patrons instead of love-letters. See further T. Ganjeï, *The genesis and definition of a literary composition, the Dahnāma ("Ten love-letters")*, in *Isl.*, xlvii (1971), 59-66.

Contrary to the relative oblivion that has become the fate of the works of ʿImād in later centuries, they seem to have been held in high esteem during his own lifetime and the immediately-following century. Several early manuscripts have been preserved, one of which (Madjlis no. 1030) may be an autograph. Among the writers of the beginning of the 9th/15th century, Bushāḳ and Ādharī highly praised the poetical talents of ʿImād.

Bibliography: the *Dīwān-i ʿImād-i Faḳīh-i Kirmānī* has been edited by Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn-Farrukh, Tehran 1348/1969, with an extensive introduction.; the aforementioned *mathnawiyyāt*, together with a short poem entitled *Humāyūnnāma*, have been edited by the same in *Pandj gandj*, Tehran 2537/1978; For descriptions of the most important manuscripts, see further Sir G. Ouseley, *Biographical notices of Persian poets*, London 1846, 195-200; Sachau-Ethé,

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(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

ʿIMĀDĪ is the pen name of a Persian poet of the 6th/12th century whose personal name has not been transmitted. Sometimes the title Amīr is added to it, presumably referring to his prominence as a poet of the court in his own days. Another *nisba* often attached to the name ʿImādī is Shahriyārī. The biographical sources interpret the latter differently. According to some, it is derived from the name of a district of Rayy, implying that ʿImādī originated from that area, which is not unlikely. Others, however, have connected it with the founder of the Islamic branch of the Bāwandid dynasty [*q.v.*] of Māzandarān. It is certain, anyhow, that the former *nisba* refers to the poet's allegiance to a member of that family, Sayf al-Dīn ʿImād al-Dīn Farāmurz, designated as *shāh-i Māzandarān* (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 210), although he cannot be identified definitely with any ruler known from other historical sources (cf. M. Ḳazwīnī, *Mamdūḥ-i ʿImādī*, in *Bīst maḳāla*[2], Tehran 1332/1953, ii, 343-51). ʿImādī apparently started his literary career under the protection of this ruler, on whose death he wrote an elegy (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 371-2, cf. especially the note by the editor). Afterwards, ʿImādī went over to the service of the Saldjūḳ court and composed several panegyrics for Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn Ṭoghrïl II (526-9/1132-4). Many other patrons are mentioned in the poems of ʿImādī, one of the latest may have been the Eldigüzid *atābak* Djihān-Pahlawān Muḥammad (570-81/1175-86) (cf. the different opinion of Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, 348). It is less certain that he also praised Sulṭān Ṭoghrïl III (571-90/1176-94), as is sometimes asserted (for the full list of the patrons of ʿImādī, see S. Nafīsī, *Taʿlīkat-i Lubāb al-albāb*, 724 f.). Of the two dates mentioned for his death, 573/1177-8 (Taḳī Kāshī) and 582/1186-7 (*Ātashkada*), the former seems to be the most probable.

ʿAwfī has entered a few of ʿImādī's poems under the name of ʿImād al-Dīn Ghaznawī. This has led to speculations about an eastern origin of ʿImādī. Later biographers mention the Ghaznawid poet Mukhtārī as his father. According to a notice given by Taḳī Kāshī, ʿImādī studied treatises on *taṣawwuf* with Sanāʾī at Balkh. The same writer proposes the possibility that there might have been two different, but contemporaneous, poets by this name. This assumption was rejected already in the *Haft iḳlīm*. There is no evidence known from his own works that could corroborate the theory of his connection with Ghazna.

Although ʿImādī was first of all renowned as a poet of the court, he also wrote religious poetry. He recites poems of this nature during the sessions held by the famous preacher Ibn ʿAbbādī (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 209). In one of his *ghazals*, ʿImādī clearly refers to the transcendental meaning that should be read into the conventional imagery (cf. e.g. Djādjarmī, *Muʾnis al-aḥrār*, ii, Tehran 1350/1971, 1108 f.).

There are some indications that point to a fairly high esteem for ʿImādī's poetry in his own time. Ḥasan Ghaznawī Ashraf even recommended his work as good material for the study of tyro poets (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 57). ʿImādī exchanged poems full of mutual praise with another poet of Rayy, Ḳiwāmī. Both poets were in many respects imitators of the style of Sanāʾī. ʿImādī even went so far that he adapted one of Sanāʿī's poems for his own use (Shams-i Ḳays, 464 ff.). A modern critic (Furūzānfarr) has praised ʿImādī's ability to maintain a fair balance between subtlety of concepts and simplicity of language.

Quite soon, however, ʿImādī's poetry appears to have lost the interest of the public. No complete copy of his *Dīwān* is now known to exist. The largest collection now extant is the British Museum ms. Or. 298 containing more than 1400 lines, most of which belong to *ḳaṣīdas*. More material is scattered over a great number of sources, but a comprehensive collection is still lacking.

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(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

AL-**IMĀRĀT** AL-**ʿARABIYYA** AL-**MUTTAḤIDA** (the United Arab Amirates), the federation of seven shaykhdoms of the lower Gulf, formerly known as the Trucial States, inaugurated on 14 Shawwāl 1391/2 December 1971. The member states are Abū Ẓabī (Abū Dhabī), Dubayy, al-Shāriḳa (Shārdja), ʿAdjmān, Umm al-Ḳaywayn, Raʾs al-Khayma and Fudjayra. The federation's total area is about 30,000 square miles and its population (180,226 at the 1968 census) has been variously estimated, in the absence of reliable statistics, at anything between 320,000 and 700,000, mostly concentrated in Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy shaykhdoms.

Until December 1971, the seven shaykhdoms were

linked to Great Britain by a series of treaties, the oldest dating back to 1236/1820, whereby Britain exercised responsibility for the conduct of the shaykhdoms' foreign relations and ensured their observance of the engagements they had entered into over the years to respect the maritime truce and to abstain from piracy and slave-trading. It was generally accepted that an implicit reciprocal obligation devolved upon Britain from these engagements to defend the Trucial Shaykhdoms against their enemies. A first step towards promoting some form of association among the shaykhdoms was taken in 1371-2/1952 with the establishment of the Trucial States Council, made up of the rulers of the seven shaykhdoms. Further steps were the setting up of the Trucial States Development Council to assist economic, and especially agricultural, progress, and the organisation of the Trucial Oman Scouts (first formed as the Trucial Oman Levies in 1950 on the model of the Jordanian Arab Legion) to keep the peace throughout the shaykhdoms and along their borders. The definition of these borders was, for the most part, accomplished in the years between 1374-5/1955 and 1380-1/1961.

In Shawwāl 1387/January 1968 the British government announced that it intended to withdraw from its special position in the Gulf by the end of 1971 (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1390), and at the same time to terminate its treaty relationship with the Trucial States, Baḥrayn and Ḳatar. A month after the statement was made the rulers of Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy announced (on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1387/18 February 1968) that they were forming a union of their two shaykhdoms with the intention of co-ordinating their foreign and defence policies, and of co-operating over such matters as internal security, education, health services and immigration. At their instigation a conference of the Trucial Shaykhs and the rulers of Baḥrayn and Ḳatar was held at Dubayy the following week, and on 28 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/27 February a decision was reached in principle to create a federation of the nine shaykhdoms. Ultimate power in the federation would reside in a supreme council made up of the nine rulers, while executive authority would be vested in a federal council. The agreement to establish the federation, which was to be called the "Federation of Arab Amirates" (*Ittiḥād al-Imārāt al-ʿArabiyya*), was to come into force on the last day of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1387/30 March 1968.

Over the next two years, little discernible progress was made towards the creation of the federation. Much of the preliminary work—on a common currency, a unified educational system, federal communications, integrated medical and social services, etc.—was delegated to committees, whose effectiveness was hampered by their lack of authority and their dilatoriness. The chief obstacles, however, were political. For nearly two centuries the shaykhdoms concerned had been at odds—and frequently in open conflict—with one another over territorial disputes, dynastic rivalries and tribal dissensions. These underlying and enduring sources of discord found an outlet during the negotiations towards federation in acrimonious disagreements over the site of the provisional federal capital, the selection and term of office of the federation's president, and, most seriously of all, the distribution of power in the supreme and federal councils and representation in the proposed consultative assembly.

Baḥrayn and Ḳatar were insistent that they, Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy should have one vote each on the supreme council, while the remaining five Trucial States were to be confined to one collective vote. They further insisted that all decisions taken by the council should be unanimous. For their part, the Trucial States wanted equality of voting rights, though they were divided over the question of unanimous or majority decisions, with Abū Ẓabī pushing most strongly for the principle of majority decisions. Perhaps the greatest disagreement of all was over the allocation of seats in the proposed consultative assembly. Baḥrayn wanted representation to be on the basis of population, which would have given her twice as many seats as the other eight states combined. They in turn, and for this very reason, wanted equal representation for all states. Fear of Baḥrayn's predominance in the federation, not only because of her numerical strength but also because of the superior skills and educational attainments of her people, was perhaps the most potent single reason why the federation of nine shaykhdoms languished and eventually expired.

Another important reason was the uneasiness engendered among some of the shaykhdoms' rulers by the overhanging threat of major territorial claims against two of their number—the Persian claim to sovereignty over Baḥrayn, and Saʿūdi Arabia's claim to a considerable portion of Abū Ẓabī shaykhdom, including the Buraymī oasis on its border with ʿUmān. It was her desire for support in resisting the Persian claim that had greatly influenced Baḥrayn's decision to participate in the federation. The other states, however, were reluctant to risk offending Persia by according Baḥrayn the support she sought. Dubayy, for instance, because of her close commercial ties with Persia, was most averse to becoming embroiled in the dispute. There was a similar aversion on the part of most of the shaykhdoms to being drawn into Abū Ẓabī's frontier disagreement with Saʿūdi Arabia. Ḳatar's relations with the Saʿūdis had been intimate for many years, whereas those with Abū Ẓabī had been distant, and at times hostile, for generations. Baḥrayn was counting upon Saʿūdī diplomatic help against the Persians, while Dubayy had for years been locked in a contest with Abū Ẓabī for political influence in Trucial ʿUmān.

A fateful stage in the negotiations towards a federation of the nine shaykhdoms was reached in Rabīʿ I 1390/May 1970, when a resolution of the Perso-Baḥraynī dispute was achieved. At the request of both parties, and of Britain as the protecting power, the UN secretary-general had appointed a personal representative in Muḥarram 1390/March 1970 to ascertain the wishes of the people of Baḥrayn regarding the future political status of the shaykhdom and its relationship to Persia. The secretary-general's representative reported at the beginning of May that the Baḥraynīs were "virtually unanimous" in wanting a fully independent, sovereign state, and that "the great majority" desired it to be an Arab state. The UN security council unanimously endorsed the report on 11 May, and later that month (Rabīʿ I 1390) the Persian government accepted it. The renunciation of the Persian claim to Baḥrayn, although it was henceforth to determine Baḥrayn's attitude to the Federation of Arab Amirates, had no effect upon the other threats to the federation's territorial integrity. In the first week of May, Saʿūdi Arabia reasserted her claim to the western and southern areas of Abū Ẓabī and to the Buraymī oasis. A fortnight later Persia put forward a claim to the islands of Abū Mūsā and the Greater and Lesser Tūnbs (Tūnb-i Buzurḳ and Naḥiyy Tūnb),

situated a few miles inside the Gulf to the west of the Straits of Hurmuz. Abū Mūsā had up to this time been regarded as a possession of the Trucial Shaykhdom of al-Shārika, and the Tūnbs as belonging to Ra's al-Khayma.

Having secured the abandonment of the Persian claim, the Baḥraynīs had no wish to create a fresh source of friction with the Persians by taking the part of al-Shārika and Ra's al-Khayma in the controversy over Abū Mūsa and the Tūnbs. This caution, combined with the resentment felt over what was considered to be the insufficient weight given to Baḥrayn's interests and importance in the projected federation and the aversion to siding with Abū Ẓabī in its resistance to the Saʿūdis, served to set Baḥrayn after May 1970 on a political course that took it steadily away from the federation and towards independence. Where Baḥrayn led, Ḳatar was bound to follow, as much for reasons of *amour propre* (its ruling family had been at feud with that of Baḥrayn for over a century) as out of considerations of political advantage and prudence. The final spur was applied by the decision of the Conservative government in Britain, which had been elected to power in June 1970, to adhere to its predecessor's policy of withdrawal from the Gulf by the end of 1971. (The decision was announced in March 1971 but there is evidence that it had been reached some time previously.) Baḥrayn declared its independence on 22 Djumāda II 1391/14 August 1971, and Ḳatar followed suit on 11 Radjab 1391/1 September 1971.

A few weeks earlier, six of the seven Trucial States, having concluded that a federation of the nine shaykhdoms was no longer feasible, had decided to form a federation of their own. The Trucial federation, entitled the "United Arab Amirates" (*al-Imārāt al-ʿArabiyya al-Muttaḥida*), was proclaimed at Dubayy on 25 Djumāda I 1391/18 July 1971. The ruler of Ra's al-Khayma, Shaykh Ṣaḳr b. Muḥammad al-Ḳāsimī, refused to join the federation, partly because its members showed no anxiety to assist him actively in opposing the Persian claim to the Tūnbs, partly because of his jealousy of the position and power which the rulers of Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy commanded within the federation. His fellow Ḳāsimī ruler, Shaykh Khālid b. Muḥammad of al-Shārika, proved more pliable over the extension of Persian authority over Abū Mūsā Island. His acquiescence in a Persian occupation was obtained in late November in return for an annual subsidy and an equal share in the exploitation of the submarine oilfields located off Abū Mūsa. On 12 Shawwāl 1391/30 November 1971, the day before Britain's special treaty relationship with the Trucial States was due to end officially, Persian troops occupied Abū Mūsa and the Tūnbs, meeting with armed resistance on the Greater Tūnb from the retainers of the ruler of Ra's al-Khayma. There were a number of repercussions from the Persian occupation of the islands, among them the expulsion of several thousand Persians from ʿIrāḳ and the nationalisation by the Libyan government of the British Petroleum Company's assets in Libya. The most violent individual reprisal was the murder in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1391/late January 1972 of the ruler of al-Shārika, Shaykh Khālid b. Muḥammad al-Ḳāsimī, by his cousin the ex-ruler, Shaykh Ṣaḳr b. Sulṭān al-Ḳāsimī, ostensibly in revenge for the alienation of Abū Mūsā to Persia. Shaykh Ṣaḳr b. Muḥammad of Ra's al-Khayma was so shaken by the assassination that at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1391/mid-February 1972 he joined the federation.

The treaties between Britain and the Trucial States were abrogated on 13 Shawwāl 1391/1 December 1971, and the United Arab Amirates was formerly inaugurated the following day. Its president was Shaykh Zāyid b. Sulṭān al-Nihayyān, the ruler of Abū Ẓabī, and the vice-president, Shaykh Rāshid b. Saʿīd al-Maktūm, the ruler of Dubayy. Under the terms of the provisional constitution drawn up over the previous two years in consultation with an Egyptian jurist, Dr Waḥīd al-Rifāʿat, they were to hold office for five years and be eligible for reappointment at the end of that time. The capital of the UAA was temporarily established at Abū Ẓabī until a permanent capital had been built on a site on the border of Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy.

The *fons et origo* of executive and legislative power within the federation is the supreme federal council, composed of the rulers of the seven constituent shaykhdoms or amirates. Decisions of the council are by majority vote, with Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy both possessing the power of veto. The president appoints the prime minister, the deputy minister and the other ministers (some two dozen) who together make up the federal council or cabinet. The cabinet's prime function is to carry into effect the decisions of the supreme council and the instructions of the president. The provisional constitution, which runs to 152 articles, also established a federal national council to serve as a consultative assembly. It consists of forty delegates appointed for a term of two years by the rulers of the amirates, Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy each having eight delegates, al-Shārika and Ra's al-Khayma, six, and the other three amirates, four. Although the constitution would appear to empower the national council to initiate legislation, its principal task is clearly to discuss and approve the budget and draft legislation presented to it by the council of ministers. The constitution also provides for the establishment of a supreme court for the federation and a number of courts of first instance. Responsibility for the defence of the federation is vested in a higher defence council, headed by the president and consisting of the vice-president, the prime minister, the minister of defence and the interior, and the commander of the Union Defence Force, which has been formed around the nucleus of the Trucial Oman Scouts.

The constitution of the UAA, both in its provisions and in its operation, reflects the primacy within the federation of Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy, the two wealthiest and most populous amirates. At the end of their term as president and vice-president in 1396/1976, Shaykh Zāyid of Abū Ẓabī and Shaykh Rāshid of Dubayy were re-elected to their respective offices for a further five years. Members of their families and close adherents hold the chief portfolios in the council of ministers. The federal budget is provided almost exclusively by Abū Ẓabī from its large oil revenues. (Dubayy, although deriving a substantial income from oil and commerce, refuses to contribute more than a token amount.) Abū Ẓabī also has a defence force considerably larger and better equipped than that of the union. Naturally, the wealth and political predominance of the two shaykhdoms has inspired envy and some resentment among the less fortunate members of the federation, with the exception perhaps of al-Shārika, which enjoys a moderate degree of affluence from oil revenues. The arbitrariness of fortune which has blessed Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy has teuded to perpetuate and even to intensify the longstanding rivalries and animosities among the shaykhdoms, more particularly those between the northern Ḳāsimī tribal confedera-

tion and the southern Banī Yās confederation. There are other strains within the federation besides those caused by the imbalance of wealth and by old tribal and dynastic vendettas. Social and economic changes in recent years have been rapid and profoundly unsettling. A huge influx of immigrants of all kinds has broken the traditional mould of society. Unearned affluence of an unreal magnitude has corroded customary morals, values and restraints. Alien ideological notions have undermined the old political certainties, with what eventual consequences it is impossible to foretell. The basis of the UAA was, and remains, a coalition of interests among its member states, especially the need for some kind of mutual security against the larger Gulf powers. Whether the federal structure erected thus far will prove sturdy enough to withstand the fissiparous pressures within it remains to be seen.

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(J.B. KELLY)

IMPECCABILITY, SINLESSNESS [see ʿIṢMA].

IMPROVISATION [see IRTIDJĀL].

ĪNAḲ (spelt *īnāk*, *īnāgh* and *ināk*), a title which existed in various Turkic and Mongol states.

The word is evidently a deverbal noun from the Turkic verb *inan-* [**ïna-*] "to trust, to rely on" etc., with the basic meaning "close friend, confidant, trustworthy person". (The spelling *ʿināk*, with initial *ʿayn*, very often found in the Central Asian sources of the 19th century, is most probably only an indication of the initial back vowel; an explanation of this spelling given by A.A. Semenov, deriving the word from Arabic *ʿināḳ* "embrace", is, at best, a late literary invention.) A similar derivative from the same verb, *inanč* "reliance", "trust", is registered in the Turkic texts of the 10th century and later as a title or rank of persons belonging to the close retinue of the ruler (cf. especially *inanč beg* in Maḥmūd Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī, i, 119, and *Ḳutadgu bilig*, Farg̲h̲āna MS. 293); this title was used through the whole Saldjūḳ period (cf. also such titles as *inanč paygh̲u*, *inanč bilge* etc.; see Sir G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 187). The same meaning, probably, had also the title *inal* (another deverbal noun from the same stem), found already in the runic inscriptions of the Yenisey (see *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969, 218; S.E. Malov, *Yeniseyskaya pis'mennost' Tyurkov*, Moscow-Leningrad 1952, 38, 45, 49). The titles *inal*, *inal-tegin*, *inalčuk* (*inalčik*) were also widely used during the Ḳarak̲h̲ānid and Saldjūḳ periods (see G. Clauson, *op. cit.*, 184-5); there is, however, another reading and explanation of this title from *inäl* "deputy" [?], found in the Ork̲h̲on inscriptions and in Chinese sources of the same period (see *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, 209, 218; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iv, 196-9, No. 1900; cf., however, P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, 182-3, n. 2). The word *inak*, which is not found in runic inscriptions and appears first only in the texts written in the Uyg̲h̲ur characters, was borrowed into Mongolian from Turkic already before the end of the 12th century; it existed in the time of Čingiz-K̲h̲ān as a title of close companions (*nukers* [*q.v.*]) of the k̲h̲ān.

After the Mongol conquests this title, probably under the Mongol influence, superseded other derivatives of *inan*-also among the Turks. It is mentioned in Persian historical sources of the Mongol and Tīmūrid periods, without a definition of its meaning, but clearly as a title of high-ranking persons especially close to the ruler (examples given by Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, i, pp. L-LI, n. 84; see also the *Ẓafar-nāma* by Niẓām al-Dīn S̲h̲āmī, ed. F. Tauer, i, 96, 142, ii, 109, 118, 148). Sometimes the *īnaḳs* (*īnāḳān*, *īnāḳiyān*) are mentioned in these sources as a special category of the retainers of the ruler (cf. such expressions as *umarāʾ wa īnāḳiyān*, *mukarribān wa īnāḳān*, *k̲h̲awāṣṣ wa īnāḳān*, *farzandān wa nūkarān wa īnāḳiyān* [of an *amīr*], etc.). The term had the same meaning also in the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] state, where one source mentions an *amīr* among the *īnaḳs* whose post was equal to that of a *muhrdār* (see V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, x/1 [1940-2], 170-1).

It seems that in the post-Tīmūrid period this title was used only in the Uzbek k̲h̲ānates of Central Asia. It is not mentioned by Maḥmūd b. Walī, the author of *Baḥr al-asrār*, in his description of the ceremonial at the court of the As̲h̲tark̲h̲ānid ruler in Balk̲h̲ (cf. V.V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya*, ii/2, 390-3), though it certainly existed during the As̲h̲tark̲h̲ānid period; according to the *ʿUbayd-Allāh-nāma* by Muḥammad Amīn Buk̲h̲ārī (early 18th century; see Russian tr. by A.A. Semenov, Tas̲h̲kent 1957, 33), a person in the rank of *īnaḳ* was keeper of the royal seal (cf. above, under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu) in the reign of Subḥān-Ḳulī K̲h̲ān (d. 1114/1702). A retainer of ʿUbayd Allāh K̲h̲ān (1114-29/1702-11), a Kalmuk (i.e. a person of slave origin), was promoted simultaneously to the post (or rank?) of *īnaḳ* and to the post of the first minister, *ḳos̲h̲-begi-yi kull* [see ḲOS̲H̲-BEGI] (see *ibid.*, 45, 191); he was also the keeper of the seal (*ibid.*, 204). His two successors, also of slave origin, were also given the rank of *īnaḳ* together with the post of the great *ḳos̲h̲-begi* (*ibid.*, 230, 276). The administrative manual *Madjmaʿ al-arḳām* compiled in Buk̲h̲ārā in 1212/1798 mentions two *īnaḳs*: first, "the great I." (*ʿīnāḳ-i kalān*), who was the third (after the *ḳos̲h̲-begi*) among the four dignitaries especially close to the sovereign, and whose duty was to pass the royal orders to persons under the rank of *amīr*; and second, "the little I." (*ʿīnāḳ-i k̲h̲urd*), who kept the box with the royal seals and also had to receive all reports from the province and messages brought by foreign ambassadors, to open them and to pass them to the *muns̲h̲ī* for reading (see facsimile in *Pis'menniye pamyatniki Vostoka 1968*, Moscow 1970, 56, 57). N. K̲h̲anïkov (*Opisaniye Buk̲h̲arskogo k̲h̲anstva*, St. Petersburg 1843, 183-5, 187) mentions only one *īnaḳ*, whose duty was to set his seal on the reverse of the diplomas granting the ranks of *mīr-i ak̲h̲ūr*, *is̲h̲ik-āg̲h̲āsī* and *čag̲h̲atāy-begi*; apparently, this was the office of the former *īnaḳ-i k̲h̲urd*. At the time of the last Mangïts [*q.v.*], however, the title *īnaḳ*, as well as some other titles, became simply a honorary rank—the fifth from the top in the hierarchy of Buk̲h̲ārā, between *dadk̲h̲ʷāh* and *parwānači*—given to various officials.

In the K̲h̲ānate of K̲h̲īwa, the title *īnaḳ* was given to the leaders of the Uzbek tribes, and it was originally the second in importance after the title *atalïḳ* [*q.v.*, above]. The historian of K̲h̲īwa Muʾnis [*q.v.*], in his account of the administrative reform of Abu 'l-G̲h̲āzī [*q.v.*] (1053-79/1643-63), mentions that the k̲h̲ān's council of 34 *ʿamaldārs* established by Abu 'l-G̲h̲āzī included four *īnaḳs* and four "Čag̲h̲atāy *īnaḳs*" (*Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, ms. of the Leningrad Branch of the

Institute of Oriental Studies, C-571, f. 65b). There was one *ināḳ* from each of four *tupä*, into which all Uzbek tribes in Khʷārazm were apparently divided already in the 16th century: Uyghur and Nayman, Ḳungrat and Ḳiyat, Mangit and Nukuz, Ḳangli and Ḳipčaḳ; the meaning of the title *Čaghatāy inaḳ* is not clear. Muʾnis (*ibid.*, f. 101a) claims that already in the reign of Abu ʾl-Ghāzī, Umbay Inaḳ, the ancestor of the Ḳungrat [*q.v.*] dynasty became the khān's powerful first minister in reward for the service rendered by him previously. In the concluding part of the *Shadjara-yi Turk* written on behalf of Abu ʾl-Ghāzī's son Anūsha (ed. Desmaisons, text, 327, tr., 351) there is mentioned a Yādigār Inaḳ brought by Abu ʾl-Ghāzī from Hazārasp to Khīwa and given the *inaḳlïḳ*, though he certainly already held the title *inaḳ* before (cf. *ibid.*, text, 326, tr., 349); this may be interpreted as a promotion of one of the Uzbek *inaḳ*s to the post of the "great I.", like that which Umbay Inaḳ held (later?). The reports of the Russian ambassadors, who were in Khīwa in the reign of Anūsha Khān, show, however, that the *inaḳ*s were still on the second place after the *ataliḳ*s (see *Nakaz Borisu i Semenu Pazukhinïm* . . ., St. Petersburg 1894, 43-4). Artuḳ Inaḳ, from the Mangit tribe, became actual ruler of the Khānate of Khīwa after its conquest by Nādir Shāh (1740).

In the third quarter of the 18th century, Muḥammad Amīn Inaḳ, chief of the Ḳungrat tribe, became the ruler of the khānate and the founder of the dynasty, which remained in power till 1920 and is called sometimes in scholarly literature "Inaḳids". The third ruler from this dynasty, Eltuzar Inaḳ, proclaimed himself khān in 1219/1804. After that, *inaḳ* became the highest title for the Uzbek nobility in Khīwa (the historians of Khīwa mention cases of promotion from the rank of *ataliḳ* to the rank of *inaḳ*, see e.g. *Firdaws al-iḳbāl* (ms. cit., ff. 317b, 578a). During the reign of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān (1220-40/1806-25), his elder brother Ḳutlugh Murād had the title *ināḳ-bek* and was styled *amīr al-umarāʾ* (*ibid.*, f. 316a; but the *ataliḳ* was still considered as senior Uzbek *amīr*); he was called also *biy-inaḳ* and *inaḳ-āḳā*. In the middle of the 19th century, the title of *inaḳ-bek* (that is, senior I.) was given to the khān's heir, who was mostly governor of the town of Hazārasp; before the Russian conquest (1873), however, this title was applied not to the heir, but to one of senior relatives of the khān (cf. A.L. Kuhn's papers in the Archives of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, file 1/13, ff. 36a-38b). Besides him and the four *inaḳ*s of the Uzbek tribes, the title was granted sometimes to the tribal chiefs of the Turkmens.

The title *inaḳ* existed also in the Khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*], where it was given to a court official (or officials) in charge of the provision for the court and for the khān's bodyguards; they supervised also the personal domains of the khān. At the same time, apparently, it was here also, as in Bukhārā, an honorary rank given to various dignitaries, such as provincial governors (cf. V.P. Nalivkin, *Histoire du khanat de Khokand*, Paris 1889, 104).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the text, see B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Obshčestvennïy stroy mongolov*, Leningrad 1934, 93; P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, 182-3, n. 2; A.A. Semenov, in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, v (1948), 148-9; idem, in *Materialï po istorii tadzhikov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, ii, Stalinabad 1954, 61; A.L. Troitskaya, *Katalog arkhiva Kokandskikh khanov XIX veka*, Moscow 1968, 545; idem, *Materialï po istorii Kokandskogo khanstva XIX v.*, Moscow 1969, 5, 21; Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, i, 1361-3; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Ele-mente in Neupersischen*, ii, 217-20, nos. 668-9; É.V. Sevortyan, *Étimologičeskiy slovar' tyurkskikh yazïkov*, Moscow 1974, 654-6. (Yu. Bregel)

ʿĪNĀT, a town in Ḥaḍramawt, about 10 miles/15 km. due east of Tarīm, and situated at the confluence of the Wādīs ʿĪnāt and Ḥaḍramawt. The holy family of ʿĪnāt is the Āl Bū Bakr b. Shaykh and the illustrious *manṣab*, Shaykh Bū Bakr b. Sālim, known as Mawlā ʿĪnāt, is buried in the town. The family has been subjected to severe criticism from other Sayyid groups because of its bearing arms. ʿĪnāt has become one of the most important *ḥawṭa*s [*q.v.*] in Ḥaḍramawt. It is famous for its own breed of hunting dogs which seem to be indistinguishable from the common "pie-dog". With these dogs the inhabitants participate in the ibex hunt under the direction of the Manṣab. The number of the inhabitants of the town was greatly reduced after the wartime famine in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, and a fairly recent figure suggests a population of about 1,300. The old quarter organisation has in reality disappeared, though originally there were several quarters. Landberg employs the spelling ʿEynāt (ʿAynāt), though it seems that all other European forms proposed are erroneous.

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ʿINĀYAT KHĀN, a noble of the Indian Mughal emperor Awrangzīb. He stemmed from Khʷāf [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān, but no information about his early career is available. In 1077/1666-7 he was appointed head of the *dīwān-i khāliṣa* (*dīwān* of crown lands). In 1079/1668-9 he was promoted to the rank of 900 *dhāt* and 100 *suwār*. In 1080/1669-70 he reported that the expenditure had increased since the time of Shāh Djahān and that there was a large deficit; Awrangzīb thereupon ordered an enlargement of the *khāliṣa* lands and a reduction in expenditure. In 1082/1671-2 he was appointed *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*] (commandant) of Čakla Barēlī and in 1086/1675-6, *fawdjdār* of Khayrābād. In 1088/1677-8 he was again appointed *pīshdast-i daftar-i khāliṣa*, and was promoted to the rank of 1000 *dhāt* and 100 *suwār*. In 1092/1681-2 he was promoted to be head of the *dīwān-i buyūtāt* (in charge of the Imperial Household accounts), and shortly after, at his own request, was appointed governor of Adjmēr. He took part in a campaign against the Rathors, but died in 1093/1682. He was not apparently implicated in the conspiracy of Pādshāh Ḳulī Khān, his son-in-law, who was killed at about this time.

Bibliography: Mustaʿīd Khān, *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1871; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir-al umarāʾ*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1888, ii; Khʷāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1860, ii. (M. Athar Ali)

ʿINĀYAT KHĀN, an obscure general of the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*]. He was the father-in-law of Tahawwur Khān, one of the principal supporters of Awrangzīb's son Akbar during the rebellion of 1091-2/1680-1. When in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1091/January 1681 Awrangzīb advanced to Dō-rāha, in the Adjmēr region, ʿInāyat Khān was ordered to write to Tahawwur Khān inducing him to desert the prince's army,

then at Kurkī; Tahawwur K͟hān complied, but on his arrival in Awrangzīb's camp some confusion arose in which he was killed.

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(P. Jackson)

INCENSE [see luban].

INDEPENDENCE [see istiklāl].

INFALLIBILITY [see ʿiṣma].

INḤIṢĀR, or in Ottoman Turkish also Ḥaṣīr, were the words used for monopolies and restrictive practices of Ottoman guilds, the full term being *inhiṣār-i beyʿi ve s͟hirā*. These monopolies included restrictions concerning the number or kind of people allowed to perform a trade or a profession, as well as limitations imposed on production or on commerce. Restrictions of this kind were considered necessary and beneficial to society. As against this, monopolistic hoarding or cornering was condemned and prohibited by the government. To distinguish between the two kinds, the second was called in Turkey *iḥtikār*, but this term was used in Arabic for both kinds of monopolies (cf. Baer, *Monopolies*, 145-6; *Egyptian guilds*, 107 n. 11, 159-61).

Documents relating to Istanbul and Cairo dating from the 18th and 19th centuries show that a craftsman or merchant who wanted to practice his craft or trade independently needed the agreement of the guild's head. In earlier periods, and in some smaller towns, economic activity seems to have been less restricted, though there is evidence that in the 17th century Cairo craftsmen in various branches underwent ceremonies of initiation in order to acquire an *id͟jāza*, without which they were not allowed to practice their craft. One of the main purposes of these restrictions was to limit the number of shops or people occupied in a trade or craft. Such limitations are indeed documented for Istanbul from the 16th century onwards well into the 19th. In addition, efforts were made to prevent the establishment of "wildcat" enterprises, and especially to eliminate the illicit trade of hawkers and pedlars (*koltukčular*).

Another kind of restriction was the limitation of each guild to producing or selling specific goods only. The aim of such measures was to eliminate external and internal competition and thus to prevent social upheavals and unrest. For the same purpose it was ordered, in some cases, that specific production of particular dresses was limited to specific communities in order to maintain their distinctive costume. Many trades or guilds were confined to specific places or markets, which often bore the name of the craft or the trade.

Most of these restrictions were controlled by the *gedik* system. *Gedik* literally means "breach" and hence acquired the meaning of privilege. Thus a *gedik* was the right to exercise a craft or a trade, either in general or, more frequently, at a special place or in a specific shop. Most *gediks* included the right to the tools of a workshop or a business. The number of *gediks* in each craft was fixed, though it could be changed from time to time. Since nobody was allowed to become a master or open a shop without owning a *gedik*, new masters could be accepted only when a vacancy occurred. *Gediks* were inheritable if the heir fulfilled all other conditions for becoming a master in the craft; otherwise the rule was that they be transferred to apprentices or journeymen of the guild, not to outsiders.

All monopolies and restrictions of the guild system were sanctioned by the authorities, decreed as government orders and enforced by the officers of the state. After some unsuccessful attempts to abolish them in Egypt in the middle of the 19th century, they gradually disappeared, in Egypt as well as in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, in the course of the second half of the century. On 9 January 1890 it was decreed in Egypt that every person was free to exercise any craft or occupation or profession or trade, except for dangerous occupations or for those which were government monopolies.

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(G. Baer)

INIMITABLENESS OF THE ḲUR'ĀN [see iʿd͟jāz].

INSPECTION OF TROOPS [see istiʿrāḍ and (above) dāg͟h u taṣḥīḥa].

INSTITUT DES HAUTES ÉTUDES MAROCAINES (I.H.E.M.) *al-Maʿhad li 'l-ʿulūm al-ʿulyā al-mag͟hribiyya*, one of the most important centres of intellectual life in Morocco over a period of forty years, bearing in mind the fact that it followed on from the École Supérieure de Langue Arabe et des Dialectes Berbères opened in Rabat in 1915 for the training of highly-qualified civilian interpreters.

The I.H.E.M. was established, by decree of the grand vizier, on 11 February 1920/20 D͟jumādā I 1338, with "the object of instigating and encouraging scientific studies relating to Morocco, of coordinating them and centralising the results." It was replaced, in 1956, after Moroccan independence, by the Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines of Rabat.

If the École Supérieure had been directed by interpreters of distinction like M. Nehlil and I. Hamet, the I.H.E.M. was headed by a succession of professors of high renown, sc. H. Basset, E. Lévi-Provençal, L. Brunot and H. Terrasse. The staff of directors of studies, lecturers and research supervisors has included among its more distinguished members now dead, F. Arin, A. Basset, E. Biarnay, R. Blachère, H. Bruno, H. de Castries, J. Célérier, P. de Cénival, L. Chatelain, G.S. Colin, J. de Cossé-Brissac, R. Hoffher, M. Bendaoud, E. Laoust, C. Le Cœur, R. Le Tourneau, V. Loubignac, G. and W. Marçais, G. Marcy, P. Mauchaussé, J. Meunié, R. Montagne, L. Paye, H. Renaud, P. Ricard, J. Riche and A. Roux. Many of these have been contributors to this Encyclopaedia.

The achievement of the I.H.E.M. has been considerable. Morocco has witnessed the emergence of a strong school that has addressed itself with energy and enthusiasm to the scientific study of the country and has almost entirely re-evaluated our knowledge of the Mag͟hrib and Muslim Spain. The Institute first published, as successor to the review *Les Archives Berbères*, a *Bulletin de l'I.H.E.M.* which after the first issue, took on the splendid title *Hespéris*, which it kept until it ceased publication. The scientific authority and exceptional documentary interest of this publication were such that in 1972 a complete facsimile edition was published (comprising the *Archives Berbères* and the unique *Bulletin*).

Hespéris published among its articles a *Bibliographie Marocaine* of a very wide-ranging character since it embraces, under some forty headings, all that is known concerning Morocco and its successive

civilisations. Edited by specialists from the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, it has made an unrivalled contribution to any methodical study of the Maghrib. This bibliography was published between 1923 and 1953.

Hespéris merged in 1960 with the review *Tamuda*, born in Tetuan in the last years of the Spanish Protectorate, and it continues in this form to serve Morocco and the pursuit of knowledge.

Besides *Hespéris*, the I.H.E.M. has published several collections comprising the complete *Hesperis* (15 volumes); collected Arabic texts (12 volumes); Publications of the I.H.E.M. (62 volumes); collected articles of the Centres d'Etudes Juridiques (45 volumes); Proceedings of the Congresses of the I.H.E.M. (9 volumes); some extra-mural publications, including *Initiation au Maroc* (3 editions), a *Notice sur les règles d'édition des travaux* and some *Brefs conseils pratiques* for the transcription and printing of Spanish and Portuguese words (R. Ricard); collected Notes and Documents (21 volumes); and collected Moroccan Berber Texts (2 volumes).

In addition to research, publications, public sources in Arabic (classical and dialectal), in Berber and in Moroccan civilisation, the I.H.E.M. provided training for the various degrees in arts and the law degree awarded by French universities. It thus enabled many young people to start and complete their higher studies in Arabic and in law without the obligation to go to France.

Also worthy of mention is the Institut Scientifique Chérifien, founded in 1920, an institution of higher education devoted exclusively to the study of scientific problems related to Morocco. Very advanced for its time, it was awarded the patronage of the Académie des Sciences of Paris. It continues to produce admirable work and numerous publications.

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(G. Deverdun)

INSTITUT DES HAUTES ÉTUDES DE TUNIS, an institution of higher learning founded in 1945, by the amalgamation of the Centre d'Études Juridiques, a subsidiary of the University of Algiers, and the École Supérieure de Langue et Littérature Arabes. This Institute benefited from its inception from an administration arranged under the patronage of the University of Paris and supervised by the Department of Public Education of Tunis under the Protectorate, later by the Minister or Secretary of State for National Education of the Tunisian government. This administration was not altered by the Franco-Tunisian Cultural Convention of 1 September 1955: the latter in particular maintained the patronage of the University of Paris. Thus the Institute has continued to prepare students for degrees and diplomas offered by the French state and, simultaneously, to award Tunisian diplomas.

The Institut des Hautes Études of Tunis was directed by a president, assisted by a deputy president, resident in Tunis. The presidents have successively been William Marçais and Jean Roche, the deputy presidents Jacques Flour, Roger Jambu-Merlin and Pierre Marthelot. It comprised four sections, later to become faculties: legal and economic studies, science, literature and arts, philology and linguistics. Instruction was provided by French and Tunisian professors and lecturers, with qualifications entitling them to teach to the standards of French higher education, and by tutors, assistants and course supervisors appointed on the recommendation of the heads of section.

These studies were pursued by students registered in the normal way and also, after the independence of Tunisia, by the pupils of the École Normale Supérieure, of the École Nationale d'Administration and of the Centre d'Études Economiques, attending a number of joint courses. Thus, in 1958-9, the total strength numbered 1,522, of whom 382 were girls. Tunisians numbered 44.7 % of the total.

Apart from routine education, the Institut des Hautes Études included a number of laboratories and study centres, providing and co-ordinating specialised equipment and research facilities for the students of the various departments. Similarly, a university library offered its resources to the students, resources that in time were added to the study facilities provided by the General Library of Sūḳ al-ʿAṭṭārīn.

Finally, the Institut des Hautes Études was responsible for the creation of two reviews: the *Cahiers de Tunisie*, a quarterly review of the arts, replacing the former *Revue tunisienne*, and the *Revue de droit*, also quarterly. A certain number of volumes were published in the form of specialised collections: a Library of Law and Economics, Publications of the Science Section and the Literature Section (Paris, P.U.F.).

Thus there operated for some fifteen years an institution of modern higher education, equivalent to that of the French universities. The patronage of the University of Paris, reinforced by numerous visits from French professors, ensured that a high standard was maintained.

It was by virtue of these high standards that the Institut des Hautes Études of Tunis became the University of Tunis, by the decree of 31 March 1960.

If the patronage of the University of Paris has disappeared, along with an obsolete administrative council, links with the French university have remained very strong, although not institutional, and, naturally, not exclusive, since progressively with their acquisition of State doctorates, Tunisian professors have advanced in number and in responsibility in their own university. The guardianship of the Tunisian state was established with the least risk of friction when one of the heads of department, a Tunisian, Mahmoud Messadi, became Secretary of State for National Education; the pro-rector, for his part, was none other than a former professor of the Institute and director of the École Normale

Supérieure, Ahmed Abdesselem, both of them intellectuals, writers and academics of great distinction.

Thus the University of Tunis, totally and progressively integrated with the country, and totally independent in its fortunes, in the framework of the institutions of independent Tunisia, has become straightaway, in spite of its relative youth and in spite of (and to some extent, thanks to) its original links with the French university, one of the most distinguished and effective universities of the Arab world.

(P. MARTHELOT)

INSULT [see SHATM].

INTERPRETER [see TURDJUMĀN].

INTERROGATION [see ISTIFHĀM].

INVECTIVE [see HIDJĀʾ].

INZĀL (French spelling: "enzel", from *anzala*, to lodge, give hospitality), traditional type of lease peculiar to Tunisia. Presumably a survival of the Roman *emphyteusis*, it served as a means of circumventing the inalienability of pious foundations. The Mālikis define it as a "lease in perpetuity (*kirāʾ muʾabbad*) of a property to a person engaging himself to build a house, or any other edifice, or plant trees on it and pay a perpetual rent calculated by the year or month" (D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1925, i, 441). E. Clavel's definition distinguished between the two domanial aspects of the estate: "L'enzel est un contrat sui generis, par lequel le wakf ou le propriétaire d'un bien mulk se dépouille, à perpétuité, . . . du domaine utile d'un immeuble, n'en conservant que le domaine éminent, à charge par le tenancier de payer un canon annuel fixe" (*Le Wakf ou Habous*, Caire 1896, 2, 188). The rights of the lessee are so wide as to place him in *loco domini*: he may build, plant, make improvements (which become his property), bequeath or transfer his rights, etc. The *inzāl* resembles the Tunisian *kirdār* and the Egyptian *ḥikr*, but differs from both in four points: (1) it has lost its original purpose, viz. to render *wakf* property productive thus providing income to its beneficiaries; (2) it is no longer limited to *wakf*, but includes private property as well; (3) it is annulled in case of non-payment of rent for two consecutive years; (4) the amount of rent cannot be adjusted to the fluctuations of the rental value of the property. Under the French protectorate, the practice of *inzāl* gained momentum, as it enabled the colons to acquire extensive land holdings without prior capital investment.

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(P. SHINAR)

AL-ʿ**IRĀḲĪ**, SAYYID SHAMS AL-DĪN, religious leader active in the evangelisation of Kashmīr. He was the son of Sayyid Ibrāhīm, a Mūsawī Sayyid, and was born in the small town of Kund-Sūlḳān, situated near Tehran on the road to Ḳazwīn. He received a good education, and, while still young came under the influence of Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh (795-869/1393-1464), the founder of the Nūrbakhshiyya Order [see KUBRĀ, NADJM AL-DĪN]. Impressed by his eloquence and learning, Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyḳarā (873-911/1469-1506) took him into his service and sent him as his envoy to Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh (877-89/1472-84) of Kashmīr. On arriving in the Valley, where he stayed for eight years, he became the disciple of Bābā Ismāʿīl, a Kubrawī saint, and then secretly won over Bābā Alī Nadjdjār, one of his most devoted followers, to the Nūrbakhshiyya creed, which was a mixture of Shīʿa and Sunnī doctrines, leavened by Ṣūfī pantheism. But his success was limited because, being an envoy, he could not preach openly. Besides, the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* came to know of his religious beliefs and compelled him to leave Kashmīr. He returned to Harāt, but as he lost the favour of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā on account of his unorthodox beliefs, he left for Ray to live with Shāh Ḳāsim, the son of Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh.

While he was in Ray, Shams al-Dīn heard that those whom he had converted in Kashmīr had relapsed into orthodoxy; so, on the advice of Shāh Ḳāsim, he decided to proceed to the Valley. He left Ray in Rabīʿ I 907/September 1501. Travelling via Mashhad-Ḳandahār-Multān, he entered Kashmīr in the spring of 1502 through the Punč-Bārāmūla route. On arriving in Srīnagar, he again won over Bābā ʿAlī Nadjdjār. But the most important convert was Mūsā Rayna, a powerful noble, who supported him in his activities, and gave him money to build a *khānḳāh* [*q.v.*] at Djaddibal in Srīnagar. But on account of the opposition of the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* and of Sayyid Muḥammad Bayhaḳī, the *wazīr* of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, he left Kashmīr. He went to Baltistān, to the north-east of Kashmīr, and carried on missionary work among its Buddhist inhabitants with considerable success. He stayed there for over two months until the defeat and death of Sayyid Muḥammad Bayhaḳī [see BAYHAḲĪ SAYYIDS above] in 911/1505, and returned to Srīnagar at the invitation of Mūsā Rayna, who had again become powerful. During the nine years that Mūsā Rayna was *wazīr*, Shams al-Dīn carried on his activities without any hindrance. The conversion of Tādjī Čak and other Čak nobles further enabled him to consolidate his work.

Meanwhile, a great change had come over the Nūr bakhshiyya which, under the influence of Ṣafawid Īrān, increasingly began to identify itself with Shīʿism by shedding those of its doctrines which it had borrowed from Ṣūfism and Sunnī Islām. Shams al-Dīn, too, felt the impact and, inclined as he had always been towards the doctrine of the Twelvers, he now openly preached it, so that by the time he died in 932/1526, Shīʿism had become well established in Kashmīr. In remote Baltistān, however, the Nūrbakhshiyya beliefs survived.

Bibliography: The only biography of Shams al-Dīn known to exist is a *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb* by a contemporary of his whose exact name is not known. The manuscript of the work is with Sayyid Muḥammad Yūsuf, a Shīʿī *mudjtahid* of Kashmīr and a descendant of Shams al-Dīn; Other works to be consulted are: Pīr Ḥasan Shāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḥasan*, ii, Srīnagar 1954; Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E.D. Ross and N. Elias, London 1895; Nūr Allāh Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, Tehran 1299/1882; Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Srīnagar 1974; *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore (February and May 1925, and August 1929).

(MOHIBBUL HASAN)

IRAN

iii. Languages

(a) Pas̲h̲to [see afg̲h̲ān. (ii). The Pas̲h̲to language]
(b) Kurdish [see kurds, kurdistān. v. Language]
(c) Zaza [*q.v.*]
(d) K̲h̲ʷārazmian
(e) Sogdian and Bactrian in the early Islamic period
(f) New Persian
(g) New Persian written in Hebrew characters [see judaeo-persian. ii. Language]

(d) K̲h̲ʷārazmian.

K̲h̲ʷarazmian, last attested late in the 8th/14th century (before yielding to Turkish), belonged to the Eastern branch of the Iranian language family, being most closely related to Sogdian, its southeastern neighbour. Pre-Islamic records are limited to coin legends and other inscriptions in a regional, partly ideographic development of the Aramaic script, found on wooden tablets, ossuaries, and silver vessels, and some documents on leather. Surviving Islamic sources consist almost exclusively of (a) some 400 isolated sentences quoted in Arabic books of case-law, and (b) the K̲h̲ʷārazmian glosses (in one case almost complete) in different copies of al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī's Arabic dictionary *Muḳaddimat al-adab*. They use the Arabo-Persian script, augmented by two letters (*ḥ* and *f*) with triple dots above, producing *c* (for both affricates *t̲s̲* and *d̲z̲*, as originally in Pas̲h̲to) and *β* (i.e. *v*, distinct from *w*) respectively. While *p*, *č*, *d̲j̲* (*ǰ*), *k̲h̲* (*x*), *g̲h̲* (*γ*), *s̲h̲* (*š*), *z̲h̲* (*ž*), *k* (*k* and *g*) and the emphatics ʿ, *ḥ*, *ḳ* (*q*), *ṣ*, *ḍ* (*ż*), *ṭ*, *ẓ* presumably had their Persian values, the remaining letters, including *t̲h̲*, *d̲h̲* (fricative θ, δ), evidently kept their original pronunciation. The letters are, however, often unpointed and for the most part unvowelled. Remarkable is the distinct spelling of words in pause position, with a presumably stressed vowel *-y-* before the last consonant, e.g. *ʾwrk* [*urg] 'wolf', in pause *ʾwryk* [*urég]. The basic numerals exemplify some typical consonant developments: 1 *ʾyw* (< *aiwa-*), 2 *ʾδw* (< *duwa-*), 3 *šy* (as Christian Sogdian, < *θraya-*; also 30 *šys* < *θrisąs*, but 13 *hrδs* < **θridasa*, cf. Parthian *hryds*), 4 *cfʾr* (< *čaθβārō*, cf. Parth. *čfʾr*), 5 *pnc* (< *panča*), 6 *ʾx* (< *xšwaš*), 7 *ʾβd* (as Sogd., < **hafta*), 8 *ʾšt* (< *ašta*), 9 *šʾδ* (< **frāda* "increase", but 19 *nwʾδs*), 10 δs (< *dasa*), 20 *ʾwsc* (< *wīsati*), 100 *sd* (< *satam*).

The morphology was characteristically Eastern Middle Iranian. Nominal forms distinguished two grammatical genders, two numbers and, in combination with pre- and postpositions, five variously inflected cases: nominative-accusative, genitive-dative, possessive, ablative and locative. A complex system of personal and demonstrative pronouns included many suffixed forms. There was a definite article, masc. *ʾy*, fem. *yʾ*, plur. *ʾy*, often coalescing with prepositions. Adjectives mainly preceded nouns. Examples: *ʾy kʾm* "the mouth", *c-y kʾmʾ-h* "from his mouth", *f-y kʾmʾ-h* "in, into his mouth", *f-y pcwycc f-y kʾmʾn* "in the corner (**pcwyck*) of the mouth"; *yʾ (θ-zrywnk) βwm* "the (grassy) earth", *yʾ βwmyʾ-δʾr* "the earth (direct object)", *c-ʾ βwmy* "from the earth", *ʾy bfnynk ʾy βwmnʾn* "Creator of the earths"; *yʾ pšk* "the back", *ʾy bʾr yʾ pšky* "the load of the back", *pr-ʾ pškʾ-h* "on his back"; *wdnk pxtyk* "old wine (*pxtk*)", *yʾ wdnc bdw* "the old property"; *wdncy rʾc* "old veins (*rʾk*)". The verbal system was based on a present stem and an imperfect formed from it, marked in polysyllabic stems by an *ā* substituted for the vowel of the first syllable: verbs with an initial vowel took a prefix *m-* instead. Through the use of various stem or final suffixes four tenses (present, imperfect, injunctive and future), six moods (indicative, subjunctive, conditional, optative, potential and imperative) and a permansive aspect were all distinguishable. Compound tenses, formed with the past participle and the auxiliary *δʾry-* "to have", are only rarely attested. Notable, besides the third-person singular present endings in *-c* (< *-ti*), are the third-person plurals in *-ʾr*. The most striking syntactic feature was that of "anticipation", whereby the objects of verb or preposition appeared as pronominal suffixes early in the sentence, in a regular order, even when they appeared later as independent forms, e.g. *hyδdʾ-hy-nʾ-dʾ-br ʾy slʾm* "he recited the greetings before him" (literally, "he read-him-them-off-upon the greetings").

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(D.N. MacKenzie)

(e) Sogdian and Bactrian in the early Islamic period.

1. Sogdian (or Soghdian) was the Middle Iranian language of Ṣug̲h̲d [*q.v.*] and adjacent areas. As an Eastern Iranian language, Sogdian is related fairly closely to Choresmian (K̲h̲ʷārazmian, see (d) above) and Bactrian, more distantly to Middle Persian (Pahlavī). The form of Sogdian known from texts seems to be based on the language of the capital Samarḳand, but the limited evidence available indicates that the dialects spoken in areas such as Buk̲h̲ārā and Čāč (S̲h̲ās̲h̲, Tas̲h̲kent) were quite similar and no doubt mutually comprehensible with Sogdian proper.

Most of the surviving Sogdian manuscripts date from the 4th to 10th centuries A.D.; in addition to secular texts such as letters and business documents, they include a mass of Buddhist, Christian and Manichaean literature, written in four different scripts. Almost all of this material was found far to the east of the Sogdian homeland, in areas where Sogdian merchants had founded trading colonies, in particular the Turfan [*q.v.*] oasis in Chinese Turkistan (Xinjiang) and Dunhuang in western China. The most important Sogdian texts found in Ṣug̲h̲d itself are the so-called "Mug documents" (published by Livs̲h̲its and Bogolyubov-Smirnova). These date from the period of the Islamic conquest of Ṣug̲h̲d under Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century and represent part of the administrative archives of its last independent rulers. Of particular interest is a letter in Sogdian from an Arab official named ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ to the Sogdian king D̲h̲ēwās̲h̲tīč (see I. Yakubovich, *Mugh 1.I revisited*, forthcoming in

Studia Iranica, xxxi [2002], 215-30). The Sogdian documents from the eastern colonies also contain a few references to the people and events of the Muslim world: a life of the Christian saint John of Daylam mentions al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, the *amīr* of Khurāsān (d. 95/714) (see W. Sundermann, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, xxiv/1 [1976], 95-101), while the trilingual (Sogdian-Turkish-Chinese) inscription of Karabalgasun in Mongolia possibly alludes to events connected with the rebellion of Rāfiʿ b. Layth [*q.v.*] of Samarkand in 190-4/806-10 (according to Y. Yoshida, in *Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. A. Haneda, Kyoto 1990, 119-20).

As a result of the important role of the Sogdian merchants in the long-distance trade between China, India and the West, Sogdian came to be used as a *lingua franca* of the Central Asian trade routes and many Sogdian documents may have been written by and for non-native speakers. This is particularly obvious in the latest Sogdian documents (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries), some of which display strong influence from Turkish. Soon after the beginning of the 5th/11th century, Sogdian seems to have gone out of use as a written language, having been superseded by Turkish and in Ṣughd itself by Persian. Although New Persian is in origin the language of the south-western Iranian province of Fārs, its development into a literary language had begun in the east of the Iranian world, especially in Transoxania, with the result that the language of the earliest Persian poets is full of Sogdian and other Eastern Iranian words (see W.B. Henning, *Sogdian loan-words in New Persian*, in *BSOS*, x/1 [1939], 93-106). A certain amount of Sogdian linguistic material is also preserved in the writings of Muslim scholars such as al-Bīrūnī, who gives both the standard Sogdian and the Bukhāran names of many months, festivals, plants, etc. (see Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 84-6). Particularly remarkable is the philosopher al-Fārābī's discussion in his *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf* of the means for expressing the notion of existence in Sogdian (see A. Tafazzoli, *Three Sogdian words in the Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*, in *Bull. of the Iranian Culture Foundation*, i/2 [1973], 7-8).

The disappearance of Sogdian as a language of culture and administration did not immediately lead to its disappearance as a spoken language. Indeed, one Sogdian dialect has survived to this day as a result of its speakers' location in a remote mountain valley in northern Tajikistan. Now known as Yaghnōbī, this language was estimated in 1975 to be spoken by some 2,000 persons, mostly Sunnī Muslims.

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2. Bactrian was the Middle Iranian language of ancient Bactria with its capital Bactra, later Balkh [*q.v.*]. Bactrian is generally reckoned as an Eastern Iranian language, but it is now becoming clear that it has almost as much in common with Western Iranian, especially Parthian, as with Eastern Iranian languages such as Sogdian and Choresmian (Khʷārazmian).

Unlike other Middle Iranian languages, Bactrian was usually written in the Greek script, a legacy of the conquest of Bactria by Alexander the Great. It is chiefly known from short inscriptions on coins and seals from Afghānistān and the north-west of the Indian sub-continent; a few more substantial monumental inscriptions (mostly found in Afghānistān, but also in the neighbouring areas of Uzbekistan and Pakistan); a handful of manuscript fragments from Chinese Turkistan (Xinjiang), including a unique folio in Manichaean script; and a recently-discovered group of more than 150 documents, including letters, legal and economic documents and a couple of fragmentary Buddhist texts, most of which appear to originate from the principality of Rōb (al-Ṭabarī's Ru'b, modern Rūī in the northern Hindūkush). These documents now form by far the largest part of the surviving corpus of Bactrian, so that all surveys of the material written before they began to come to light in the 1990s must be regarded as seriously out of date.

The earliest Bactrian inscriptions date from the 1st to the 2nd centuries A.D., when Bactria was the centre of the Kushān empire, the latest to the 3rd/9th century. The documents belong to the intervening period, from the 4th century A.D. to the 2nd/8th century, during which time Bactria was subject to a succession of foreign rulers: the Sāsānid dynasty of Iran, the Chionites, Hephthalites (Arabic *Hayṭāl* [see HAYĀṬILA]), Turks and finally Arabs. By the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the area was substantially under Muslim control. Some of the latest Bactrian documents refer to the use of "Arab silver dirhams" and to taxes payable to the Arabs (the word used being *Tāžīg*), while the very last (dated in the year 549 of the local era, probably corresponding to 164/781) seems to have been written by a Muslim ruler, who prefaces the text with a Bactrian version of the *bismillāh*.

A number of Bactrian words and titles are cited by Muslim writers, who refer to the language as *al-balkhiyya* (the language of Balkh) or *al-ṭukhāriyya* (the language of Ṭukhāristān [*q.v.*], a term commonly used in Islamic sources but first attested in two Bactrian documents of the Hephthalite period, *ca.* 6th century A.D.). A list of Bactrian month-names is found in some manuscripts of al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology*, for example, though this does not seem to have the authority of al-Bīrūnī himself (see N. Sims-Williams and F. de Blois, *The Bactrian calendar*, in *Bull. of the Asia Institute*, x [1996 (1998)], 149-65).

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(f) New Persian.

i. General introduction: definition, position, periodisation, denominations
ii. History of the language, scripts
iii. Phonology, grammar, word formation, vocabulary
iv. History of grammar writing: Western-type and indigenous
  1. Studies on Persian in Europe
  2. Persian grammars by indigenous authors

i. *General introduction*

1. Definition

New Persian is the name given by Western scholars to the language written in modified Arabic script,

which has been used roughly in the past millennium, from the 9th century A.D. up to the present day, that is, historically, in the Islamic period of the Persian-speaking population. Geographically, it was first spoken in western Iran, with the south-western province Pārs or Fārs (Arabicised form; Lat. Persis) acting as a centre in mediaeval times. However, the bulk of its earliest literary documents (9th-10th centuries) originated from the north-east (Khurāsān, including Nīshāpūr, Marw, Harāt, etc.) and Central Asia; but from the late 10th century, it became the literary language in Western Iran as well. In the subsequent centuries, parallel with the Islamisation of the neighbouring countries, Persian as a language of culture, administration and everyday communication dominated vast territories ranging from Anatolia to the Indian subcontinent (North India), including Transoxania and Afghānistān, developing various written and spoken standards and dialects. Shortly after its emergence, Classical Persian became the culturally-dominant language of the area in question. Its latest representative, Modern Persian, called *Fārsī* by native speakers, with its closely related dialects and variations is spoken by approximately 50 million people as their mother tongue or their second standard language. Today, Modern Persian is the official language of Iran, spoken as a mother tongue by 50% of the population (*ca.* 30 million). Its closest relatives are *Tādjīkī* [*q.v.*], the official language of Tādjīkistān, written in modified Cyrillic script, and Afghān or Kābulī *Darī* [*q.v.*], the second official language after *Pashto* (which was declared to be the first in 1936) [see AFGHĀN. ii] in Afghānistān (*ca.* 5 million) and, in Central Asia, in the modern republics of the former Soviet Union (*ca.* 5 million). These three languages, Modern Persian, *Tādjīkī* and *Darī*, regard Classical Persian as their common ancestor with which unbroken continuity is supposed to have been maintained. Therefore the latter two are sometimes described as the varieties or dialects of Persian (see G. Lazard, *Le persan*, in *Compendium linguarum iranicarum* (= *CLI*), ed. R. Schmitt, Wiesbaden 1989, 289; J. Wei, *Dialectal differences between three standard varieties of Persian, Teheran, Kabul, and Tajik*, Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America, Washington D.C. 1962; G.L. Windfuhr, *Persian*, in *The world's major languages*, ed. B. Comrie, London and Sidney 1987, 523). Small segregated Persian-speaking communities can be found in neighbouring multilingual areas as well.

2. The position of New Persian among the New Iranian languages

New Persian is a member of the South Western group of the New Iranian languages within the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. From among the Western New Iranian languages (e.g. Kurdish dialects, Balōčī, etc.) New Persian is the major representative, sharing a series of phonological and grammatical features with them while also exhibiting innovations. See, for instance, the preservation of the Old Iranian initial voiced plosives *b, d, g* both in the South-West Iranian New Persian *birādar* < Middle Persian *brādar* < Old Iranian **brātar-* "brother" and in the North-West Iranian Balōčī *brāt* vs. Eastern Middle Iranian Sogdian *βr't* and Eastern New Iranian Pashto *wror* (cf. D.N. MacKenzie, *Pashto*, in Comrie, *op. cit.*, 548). New Persian is the only New Iranian language which is documented in all three of its historical periods (Old, Middle and New Persian), displaying various local dialects as well. After an approximately two-century period of cultural and linguistic dominance of Arabic between the collapse of the Sāsānid empire (7th century) and the emergence of a new literary Persian language (*ca.* mid-9th century), it became the culturally dominant language in subsequent centuries. Its first documents appeared in the eastern provinces after its having supplanted Middle Persian and Arabic in the written medium and other Middle Western and Eastern Iranian languages such as Parthian in Khurāsān, and Sogdian, Bactrian and Khʷārazmian in Transoxanian (cf. Lazard, *The rise of the New Persian language*, in *CHIr*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 595-632).

Genetically, New Persian derives from Middle Persian, although not without breaks in the continuum. Geographically, the two preceding phases, Old Persian and Middle Persian, are linked to the regions of the southwest of Iran (i.e. the province of Pārs), while New Persian appears to have emerged first as a language of literature in the East. Typologically, however, the differences between Old Persian and Middle Persian are very considerable (especially in phonology and grammar), but less so between Middle Persian and New Persian (see H. Jensen, *Neupersische Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1931, 4; Lazard 1975, 596; idem, *Les modes de la virtualité en moyen-iranien occidental*, in *Middle Iranian studies*, ed. W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo, Leuven 1984, 1-13). The changes concerned mainly the exponents of inflectional morphology which induced alterations in the language type. Old Persian, like many other old Indo-European (Greek, Latin) and Indo-Iranian (Sanskrit, Avestan) languages, was inflectional, while Middle and New Persian became a language of a mixed type displaying less inflectional and more agglutinative characteristics. That is to say, grammatical categories earlier expressed by inflection and conjugation were partially preserved, even though with significant restructuring in the verbal paradigm, but some of them were completely abandoned (see W. Sundermann, *Westmitteliranische Sprachen*, in *CLI*, 110-11). In nominal morphology, for instance, the old case system was supplanted by new ways of expressing grammatical categories such as by pre- and postpositions, *idāfa* structure or word order, supposedly due, among other factors, to stress placement. As a result, analytic structures began to be dominant in New Persian morphology, while inherited Old Iranian synthetic structures came to be gradually, but not completely, abandoned. Simultaneously, the vocabulary incorporated a large number of northwestern and eastern Iranian elements (see W. Lentz, *Die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache bei Firdosi*, in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, iv [1926], 251-316, and W.B. Henning, *Sogdian loan words in New Persian*, in *BSOAS*, x [1939-42], 93-106) and, in increasing proportion, Arabic lexical items. More recently, there has been considerable borrowing from various Turkic languages and neologisms from such Western languages as French, English and Russian.

3. Periodisation

New Persian, which spans more than a thousand years, has undergone considerable changes. Persian as it appears today is markedly different from the language of the classical authors, displaying considerable variations in both the spoken and written standards. Traditionally, the periods of Persian, especially those of its written variants, are linked to the alternation of the ruling dynasties (cf. Old Persian as the official language of the Achaemenids in the 6th-4th centuries B.C., or Middle Persian, the language of the Sāsānids in the 3rd-7th centuries, and further used by the Zoroastrian clergy in religious writings in the 8th-10th

centuries; see J. de Menasce, *Zoroastrian literature after the Muslim conquest*, in *CHIr*, iv, 543-65.). Similarly, the emergence of New Persian is connected with the fall of the Sāsānid empire and the Arab conquest. The transition periods, however, appear to be the most tangible if they are accompanied by a change in the writing system, or in close connection with it, a change in faith. Nevertheless, neither Middle Persian and New Persian nor the various stages of the last thousand years' history of New Persian in the Islamic era can easily be separated. It is well known from the more recent periods of Persian how much written and spoken varieties can differ from each other. Certain spoken forms were used in Persian for centuries without being incorporated in the literary language, or else they were taken over with a certain delay, sometimes centuries later, under social pressure, as a result of literary and political movements. As a consequence, the various linguistic stages can only be set up *post hoc* and always with a certain degree of idealisation and oversimplification. This is the more so since the transmission of all ancient texts was very uncertain because the copyists often "normalised" them by introducing or abolishing archaisms and dialecticisms. Consequently, the actual use of the language, which must have been marked by individual features and plenty of idiosyncrasies, often fails to be accounted for.

According to generally accepted views, after its emergence in the spoken registers (*ca.* 7th-9th centuries) New Persian is divided into Early Classical (9th-12th centuries), Classical Persian (from the 13th century on), and Modern Persian (from the 19th century on), which is supposed to be based on the local dialect of Tehran. Windfuhr provides a classification into five periods such as "formative" (7th-10th centuries), "heroic" (10th-12th centuries), "classical" (13th-15th centuries), "post-classical" (15th-19th centuries) and finally "contemporary" Persian, following a predominantly literary periodisation (*Persian grammar. History and state of its study*, The Hague 1979, 166).

Other views, found especially in former Soviet studies written in Russian, ascribe the splitting of Classical Persian into three new, closely related literary languages such as the Modern Persian of Iran (*Fārsī*) and Afg͟hān (or Kābulī) *Darī* and *Tād͟jīkī* to the beginning of the 16th century when the disintegration of the earlier common classical heritage and the first steps towards developing new local standards might have begun (see L.S. Peysikov, *Problema yazïka daru v trudak͟h sovremennïk͟h iranskik͟h učonnïk͟h*, in *Voprosï yazïkoznaniya* 1960, 120-5; V.A. Yefimov, V.S. Rastorgueva and Y.N. S͟harova, *Persidskiy, tad͟jikskiy, dari* in *Osnovï iranskogo yazïkoznaniya* (= *OIY*); *Novoiranskiye yazïki, zapadnaya gruppa*, eds. V.A. Abaev, M.N. Bogolyubov, V.S. Rastorgueva, 1982, 7 *Tād͟jīkī*, by I. Steblin-Kamensky; Zs. Telegdi, *Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik des Neupersischen. I. Über die Partikelkomposition im Neupersischen*, in *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, v [1955], 68 n. 1). In earlier Soviet publications the denomination "klassičeskiy persidsko-(dari-)-tad͟jikskiy" (*OIY* 1982, 20) or simply "*Tajik*" (Rastorgueva, *A short sketch of Tajik grammar*, Bloomington, Ind. 1963, 1) was used to refer to the common origin, claiming an unbroken continuity with the Classical Persian language and literature (*OIY*, 1982, 9, 13). Another periodisation marks off the last (19th-20th) centuries, when the emergence of the three modern languages was supposed to have begun (A. Pisowicz, *Origins of the New and Middle Persian phonological systems*, Cracow 1985, 9 n. 1; Lazard 1989, 289). The divergent opinions on the periodisation can be attributed to the different ways of evaluating spoken and written forms. The new written varieties, *Darī* and *Tād͟jīkī*, are obviously based on ancient local spoken dialects (Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 15), but the characteristic features of these dialects were first observed in written media only in the last century (see W. Geiger, *Bemerkungen über das Tādschikī*, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (= *GIPh*), ed. W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, Strassburg 1895-1904, i, 2, 407-8; I.M. Oranskij, *Die neuiranischen Sprachen der Sowjetunion*, The Hague 1975, i, 22; A. Farhâdi, *Le persan parlé en Afghanistan: grammaire du Kâboli*, Paris 1955, 2; L.N. Dorofeeva, *Yazïk farsi-kabuli*, Moscow 1960, 9-10). Meanwhile, the overall cultural dominance of Persian, both as a common *Hofsprache* and as a spoken language continued also to prevail in the former Persian-speaking area.

4. Denominations

As the periodisation indicates, the division between the classical language and its modern continuations presents peculiar difficulties, reflected in the denominations of Persian in Western scholarship and in the native tradition. The two main varieties of New Persian are generally called Classical and Modern Persian in the West with further subdivisions into diachronic, local and style or register variants. In linguistic literature, both scientific and popular, New Persian is sometimes called Modern Persian (e.g. J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, 2 vols., Paris 1883; H. Paper, in *Current Trends in Linguistics* (= *CTL*), vi [1970], Introduction, or Windfuhr 1979, 7) vs. contemporary Persian or contemporary colloquial or Neo-Persian (see F. de Blois in *Persian literature. A bio-bibliographical survey begun by the late C.A. Storey* (= *PL*), v, part 1, London 1992, part 2, 1994 or in French, néopersan (Lazard 1989, 263). Native speakers use the name *Pārsī* or its Arabicised form, *Fārsī*, or both, without distinction (see M.T. Bahār, *Sabk-s͟hināsī ya taṭawwur-i nat͟hr-i fārsī*, [2]Tehran 1337/1958, i, 2), denoting all varieties of New Persian. In scholarly publications, the denomination *fārsī-i bāstānī* vs. *fārsī-i naw* distinguishing an "old archaic" and a "new" variety of [New] Persian, can also be found in Iran (see *Lug͟hat-nāma* (= *LN*) by Dihk͟hudā). *Fārsī* is the name of the official language of today's Iran, which has come to be used as an equivalent of Modern Persian, or simply Persian in modern text and grammar books outside Iran as well (A.K.S. Lambton, *Persian grammar*, Cambridge 1967, p. xi n. 1; D. Crystal, *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language*, Cambridge 1987, 301; similarly Lazard, *Le persan*, 1989, 263). In native sources the name *Darī* [*q.v.*] or *Fārsī-i darī* is also used, referring to the oldest and most respected variety of the [Classical] literary Persian or, simply as an equivalent of *Pārsī* or *Fārsī*. The speakers of *Tād͟jīkī*, which is very closely connected to Persian, use also *Fārsī* to designate their mother tongue (*Fārsīwān*, *Fārsībān*, or *Fārsī-gū[y]*) *Tād͟jīk*.

ii. *History of the language*

I. The emergence of New Persian: *Pahlawī*, *Pārsī*, *Darī*

1. *The native tradition*

The complexity of the linguistic situation in Iran is clearly indicated by the wide range of names used for Persian since the time of its emergence, either as common names, synonyms or denominations, with or without clear distinctions being made. Therefore the history of the language starts here with investigations into the early native tradition as a source of language history. The early history of the names applied to the various forms of Persian and the alleged change of

their references may elucidate the eclectic use of these denominations in more recent periods and the difficulties of the periodisation of the language history as well. It must be emphasised, though, that the authors of these early Islamic sources who spoke about the varieties of Persian were not linguists but historians, geographers and literary men, in most cases of the last category, poets. Hence the information they gave about the dialects once spoken or still spoken in the age they lived in was more "narrative" than "technical", and it was often embedded in myths with much folklore and obscure details. The picture one can gain from these texts is thus not always clear or coherent. A truly technical treatment of linguistic issues in Iran lies in the distant future.

2. *Mediaeval Arabic and Persian sources on Persian language*

The intricate problems of the transition period between Middle Persian and New Persian (7th-9th centuries) has been extensively treated by G. Lazard in a series of studies based on the analysis of mediaeval Arabic sources, Early and Classical New Persian texts as well as Persian and non-Persian dialects (see the summary in *La formation de la langue persane*, Paris 1995). One of the earliest sources mentioning the names *Pahlawī*, *Pārsī* and *Darī*, which denoted the languages used in Iran at the end of the Sāsānid period, was attributed to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. 757 [*q.v.*]) by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 987) in his *Fihrist* and repeated by K͟hʷārazmī (d. 985), and by Yāḳūt (d. 1229) through Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. 970) (see Bahār 1958, i, 19; Lazard, *Pahlavi, Pârsi, Dari. Les langues de l'Iran d'après Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, in *Iran and Islam. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 361-91; idem, art. *Darī* in *EIr*, vii, 1994, 34-5). These descriptions continued to be repeated by Persian lexicographers until the 19th century, albeit with certain modifications (cf. É.M. Jeremiás, *Pahlavī, Pārsī and Darī in Persian lexicography*, in *Acta Ant. Hung.*, xxxviii [1998], 175-83).

In the following, some shifts in the meanings of these terms will be shown through some characteristic passages quoted from this native tradition. After talking about *Pahlawī* as the language of Fahla (i.e. the ancient Media) the earliest informant, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, says that *Darī* is "the language of the cities of Madāʾin; it is spoken by those who are at the king's court. [Its name] is connected with presence at court. Among the languages of the people of Khorasan and the east, the language of the people of Balk͟h is predominant." He continues on to say that *Pārsī* is "the language spoken by the *mowbeds* (priests), scholars and the like; it is the language of the people of Fārs" (translated by Lazard in his art. *Darī*, 34). This rather incoherent description can be better elucidated by Arabic and Persian sources originating from the subsequent (10th-11th) centuries, e.g. al-Masʿūdī and al-Muḳaddasī or Firdawsī, Balʿamī, Ḥakīm Maysarī, Kaykāwūs b. Iskandar, etc. As evidenced by these texts, the denominations *Pahlawī*, *Pārsī* and *Darī* may have changed their references to varying degrees during the first centuries of the Islamic era, denoting various written and spoken varieties depending on the text where they appeared. Accordingly, *Pahlawī* or *Pahlawānī* (literally meaning "Parthian" originating from Pahlaw < Parthava "Parthia"), appears to have referred at one time to Parthian and Middle Persian but also to the local dialect of the northern region called Fahla in an Arabicised form (see the poems written in this dialect and called *Fahlawiyya*, cf. *EIr*, ix, 158 and the most recent publications on this topic in *Mad͟jalla-i zabāns͟hināsī*, xv [1379/2000], no. 1). *Pārsī*, "the ancient language" first denoted Middle Persian (*Pārsīg*) as described by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, but with a shift of meaning it came to mean New Persian and has continued to denote New Persian of whatever kind until today (see *LN*, art. *Pārsī/Fārsī*). *Darī* (etymologically, "belonging to the royal court") also denoted the Persian language which was supposed to be spoken both in the capital of the Sāsānid empire (Ctesiphon) and in the East. It was the name of the language of literature which appeared in the eastern part of Iran, sc. K͟hurāsān, and has been used in Persian texts since the 10th century. All the quotations in Arabic sources attributed to Persian kings or their subjects were thought to have been in *Darī* (cf. Bahār 1957, i, 19) and the language of all the ancient texts was called *Darī* or *Pārsī-i Darī* (Lazard 1989, 264), sometimes contrasted with *Pahlawī* when the latter denoted Middle Persian or *Pārsī* (Lazard 1994). The expression *Pārsī-i Darī* (in Arabic *al-fārsiyya al-dariyya*) indicates that occasionally, it might have been distinguished from *Pārsī* as a special variety, the *Darī* form of *Pārsī* (e.g. al-Muḳaddasī and Kaykāwūs b. Iskandar, *ca.* 1082-83; cf. Lazard 1994, 34). Other than that, it was often used as a synonym for *Pārsī*. The expression *Pārsī u Darī* (in the *S͟hāh-nāma* by Firdawsī, ed. Moscow, viii, 254) seems to be a "distortion" (see P.N. K͟hānlarī, *Tārīk͟h-i zabān-i fārsī*, 3 vols., new ed. Tehran 1365/1986, i, 273).

In his earlier studies, G. Lazard explained the linguistic situation of the post-Sāsānid period by contrasting *Pārsī* and *Darī* as the written and spoken form of the same language. According to his interpretation, it was the spoken language that spread to the eastern region, as Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's report suggested, after having gradually supplanted the local dialects (e.g. Parthian). As a spoken variety, it was supposed to have been used in the whole empire, but it was in K͟hurāsān that it was first used for literary purposes and became the new literary language of the subsequent centuries.

3. *Early dialectal sources (8th-11th centuries): the evidence of Judaeo-Persian texts*

Recently published sources on local dialects and on the Judaeo-Persian texts, however, have helped throw new light on the linguistic situation and the rise of the new literary language in the first centuries of the Islamic era, as described earlier (Lazard, *Lumières nouvelles sur la formation de la langue persane: une traduction du Coran en persan dialectal et ses affinités avec le judéo-persan*, in *Irano-Judaica*, ii, ed. Sh. Shaked and A. Netzer, Jerusalem 1990, 184-98 = 1995, 107-21). A manuscript discovered in Mas͟hhad which contained an anonymous and undated Ḳurʾān translation (*Ḳurʾān-i Ḳuds, kuhantarīn bargardān-i Ḳurʾān ba fārsī*, ed. ʿA. Rawāḳī, Tehran 1362/1984) was written in a local dialect of Sīstān in the 11th century, as supposed by Lazard. This text shares a series of dialectal features with Judaeo-Persian texts (mainly Bible translations and paraphrases), and both show common peculiarities with Middle Persian, mainly regarding words and certain morphological features. The properties which the two sources share are unknown in literary New Persian, which induced Lazard to develop a new hypothesis that at the beginning of the Islamic period "there were important differences between the common language spoken in the south and that in use in the north. The former, as represented by literary Middle Persian, retained most of its ancient forms; the latter evolved from the same Persian language,

which had spread throughout the north, but evinced the influence of the dialects that it had supplanted there, particularly Parthian. It thus diverged noticeably from the original form. Both were called *Pārsī* (Persian), but it is very likely that the language of the north, that is, the Persian used on former Parthian territory and also in the Sasanian capital, was distinguished from its congener by a new name, *Darī* ([language] of the court). It was only natural that several centuries later, literary Persian, based on the speech of the Northeast, bore the same name" (1994, 35; see also 1989, 263 n. 1).

This hypothetical reconstruction might be extended in the future by investigating other Persian sources as well, the text editions of which are far from being completed, and these may help clarify some more details. True, there are other interpretations also. For instance, K͟hānlarī has developed the (unlikely) hypothesis, relying on al-Muḳaddasī's report (10th century), that *Darī*, the chancery language of Buk͟hārā, had been transported there from the royal court of the Sāsānids by the state officials (1986, i, 280-1).

4. *More recent native sources on the languages of Iran: lexicography and grammar from the 17th-19th centuries*

Extensive descriptions of the languages used in Iran, like those of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ and his compatriots, can only be found much later, in the huge Hindustānī lexicographic compilations written in and after the 17th century. These works, of which the most famous are the *Farhang-i Dj̲ahāngīrī* (= *FDj*), 1608-9, ed. R. ʿAfīfī, Mas͟hhad 1351/1972; *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ* (= *BK*), 1652, ed. M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1341/1962; and *Farhang-i Ras͟hīdī* (= *FR*), 1654, ed. M. ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1337/1958 (see ḲĀMŪS. 2. Persian lexicography), partly preserved the old heritage and partly added some more information on language varieties, grammar, style of letter writing, etc. These accounts about the grammar, dialects, history and vocabulary of Persian, which occasionally bear witness to fantasy at work, were collected in chapters and placed as an introductory part to the *farhangs*, serving as a kind of grammatical introduction. The very first chapters usually dealt with the varieties of Persian (*Pārsī*) which were supposed to be of seven *gūna* "species": four of them (*harawī*, *sagzī*, *zāwulī* and *sug͟hdī*) were regarded as obsolete (*matrūk*), in which "letter, book and verse cannot be written" (*FDj* 15; *FR* 46) and three others as currently used (*mutadāwil*), these being *Darī*, *Pahlawī* and *Pārsī*. Apart from the suprising fact that these languages were treated as the variations of *Pārsī* still in living use in Iran in the 17th century (e.g. *Pārsī* was described as the common language of Iran, with Iṣṭak͟hr as its capital), they covered slightly or markedly different notions as compared to earlier sources, but also contained ideas similar to those found in the first grammatical compilations that relied heavily on lexicography, e.g. ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Hānsawī's *Risāla* from 18th-century India (lith. Kānpūr 1872) or Irawānī's *Ḳawāʿid* (lith. [Tabrīz] 1262/1846; see Jeremiás, *Tradition and innovation in the native grammatical literature of Persian*, in *Histoire, Épistémologie, langage* (Paris), xv [1993], 51-68). The three denominations were treated fairly consistently in these recent sources, differences existing only in detail, emphasis and arrangement. In comparison with older sources, however, the authors of these compilations did not bother to reconcile the most contradictory and fabulous accounts in the description of the single languages; they simply quoted them as differing opinions on the same subject (e.g. on *Darī*: "some said that it was spoken in Balk͟h, Marw, Buk͟hārā, Badak͟hs͟hān . . ., but according to others it was spoken in the Kayānian court, and then there were those who regarded it as the purest, unmixed language" (see *FR* 47; *FDj* 16; *BK* 20, 500). Entirely new motives also appeared in these descriptions: one was something like "ideological", and another might be called a "linguistic argument". Both concerned the reputation of Persian among the languages spoken by Islamic peoples. The eminence of Persian as the second language after Arabic was illustrated by various stories and supported by a *tafsīr* [*q.v.*] called *Daylamī* with the intention of symbolising the role of *Pārsī* as a common language in the whole empire (*BK* 500; Irawānī, fol. 4b, see Jeremiás 1998, 181). The superiority or dignity of the Islamic languages like Arabic, Persian or Ottoman Turkish appears to have been a matter of debate since the 15th century, enthusiastically treated by Mīr ʿAlī S͟hīr Nawāʾī and Kemāl Pas͟ha-zāda [*q.vv.*] (see R. Brunschvig, *Kemâl Pâshâzâde et le persan*, in *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 48-64 (= *Études d'islamologie*, Paris 1976, i, 379-95); B.G. Fragner, *Mīr ʿAlī Shēr Navāʾī: the "Judgement" reconsidered*, in *Irano-Turkic cultural contacts in the 11th-17th centuries*, ed. É. Jeremiás, Budapest 2002; idem, *Die "Persophonie". Regionalität, Identität and Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens*, in *Anor*, v, Halle-Berlin 1999).

This linguistic argument was even more clearly spelled out in the 17th-century lexicography where *Darī* was treated. The compilators declared that "*Darī* is the language in which there is no deficiency (*nuḳṣānī*)" (see *FDj*, 16; *FR* 47; *BK*, 20). The idea of *nuḳṣānī* seemed to denote something missing from the "authorised" (*ṣaḥīḥ*) word form. As examples, the authors quoted two lists of doublets: nouns with the same meaning, but written with or without the initial *alif*, which represented the vocalic onset, e.g. *abris͟hum/baris͟hum* "silk", *ispīd/sapīd* or *sipīd* 'white', *is͟hkam/s͟hikam* "belly", *us͟htur/s͟hutur* "camel" etc. and imperative verbal forms with or without the verbal prefix *bi-*, e.g. *bi-raw/raw* "go"; *bi-šnaw/šnaw* "listen", etc. According to the commentary, the "defective" words are not correct *Darī* forms. The sources say almost unanimously that Persian is regarded as "correct, uncorrupted" (*faṣīḥ*) only if there is no *nuḳṣānī* in it.

This very peculiar interpretation of *Darī* goes back to the traditional treatment of lexical and grammatical doublets based on a peculiar analysis of the (morphological) structure of the word. Ancient lexicographers and prosodists listed all the so-called "meaningful letters" (*ḥurūf-i maʿānī*) occurring in different positions in the word, first at the end where rhymes appeared (see S͟hams-i Ḳays's rhyme science in *al-Muʿdj̲am fī maʿāyīr as͟hʿār al-ʿadj̲am*, ed. Mudarris Raḍawī, [2]Tehran 1338/1959, in the 13th century), and later, as an extension of this practice, at the beginning and in the middle of the word. The technical terms denoting the base (*aṣlī*) and the extension (*waṣlī* or *zāʾid*), were borrowed from the Arabic grammatical and literary tradition, but they were adapted to Persian with a special connotation. *Aṣlī* denoted the base which always appeared as a word, while *zāʾid* marked any additional element, mainly inflectional and derivational morphemes attached to this base form. Later, the term *zāʾid* came to be used in a somewhat different meaning in lexicography denoting any letter which was added to or removed from the base form without changing its meaning (cf. Jeremiás, *Zāʾid and aṣl in early Persian prosody*, in *JSAI*, xxi [1997], 167-86). All the sources from the 17th century seemed to agree that these doublets were used only in poetry as required by prosody but never in common speech. However,

talking about *Darī*, the author of *FR* (47) added that the "defective" forms were also used in towns, by which he probably meant that these forms were used both in poetry and the spoken idiom. The problem with the doublets of the imperative forms is somewhat different. Imperative forms may appear with or without the verbal prefix *bi-* in literary texts. But it was obligatory for the imperative in genuine *ṣaḥīḥ darī* forms, as Shams-i Ḳays remarked (232). Prestigious authors such as Niʿmat Allāh (*ca.* 1540, cf. A.M. Piemontese, *Catalogo dei manoscritti persiani conservati nelle bibliotheche d'Italia*, Rome 1989, no. 403, fol. 296) or even earlier, Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhčiwānī [*q.v.*], the author of *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Furs* (1328), seems to share this opinion (cf. *ā* ["come" imperat.] *ba-maʿnī dar-ā wa bi-yā'*, ed. ʿA. Ṭāʿatī, Tehran 1341/1962, 19). Moreover, *BḲ* and *FDj* make a clear distinction between the two functions of the verbal prefix *bi-*: it was regarded as obligatory in the imperative but obsolete in past forms, where it was used as embellishment. This usage may have indicated a change in the language (see below, on grammar). In more recent native sources, however, this distinction seems to have become dimmed and the verbal prefix *bi-*, in both present and past forms, was called *zā'id* in most cases, that is, an element which only has an aesthetic function (cf. *FR*, 15; Hānsawī, 3; Irawānī, fol. 22b). This topic was also dealt with by Irawānī (1846), who used a strange "linguistic" argument proving the eminence of Persian against other Islamic languages; this argument rests on its [grammatical] simplicity: there is no *iʿrāb*, no dual and no feminine gender which would make the language difficult for beginners, says Irawānī (fol. 3b).

These scattered references on language and its different variations may help one to draw the following conclusions. It seems to be a *communis opinio* that from the very beginnings the most highly respected literary variety of Persian was called *Darī* in indigenous sources, sometimes as an extension, and sometimes as an equivalent of *Pārsī* or *Fārsī*, and this view continued to prevail in subsequent centuries. More recent sources, however, tend to talk about the "rules of *Pārsī*" or *Fārsī* (see Niʿmat Allāh, ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Hānsawī, Rawshan ʿAlī Djawnpūrī, Irawānī, Tālaḳānī, Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī, to mention only a few, cf. the references in *PL*, iii/1, 1984, 123ff.). But despite this preference for the name *Darī* in older sources, the denominations *Pārsī*, *Fārsī* or *Fārsī-i Darī* or *Darī* seem to have been used almost interchangeably. One must not forget that these eclectic sources did not use well-defined terms when they talked about language. On the contrary, literary persons (*ahl-i zabān*) usually thought of the language in terms of "ancient" or "modern" and "common (spoken)" or "dialectal" forms. The reason for that was quite obvious: there was no grammatical tradition in Persian, "no exact norm (*miḳyās*) of the rules (*ḳawānīn*) of Persian (*Darī*) on the basis of which the correct (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and corrupt (*fāsid*) usage could be defined and on which one could rely when defining what was right (*ṣawāb*) and wrong (*khaṭā*) in Persian speech (*kalām-i Pārsī*), to which one could turn in case of need", thus noted by Shams-i Ḳays in the 13th century (*op. cit.*, 205) and repeated almost word for word by Shams-i Fakhrī in the 14th century (*Lexicon persicum id est libri Miʿyâr i G'amâlî pars quarta*, ed. C. Salesmann, Kazan 1887, 3) and the author of *FDj* in the 17th century (4). But even if writers were unaware of the fine grammatical distinctions of social or historical dimensions, they must have had some knowledge of the differences between the usage of the "ancient" (*mutaḳaddimīn*) and "modern" (*muta'akhkhirīn*) poets (see Shams-i Ḳays, 208-9) or of the language of literary or common speech (*muḥāwarāt-i pārsī*, in *FDj* 40; *BḲ* 26; Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī, *Dastūr-i sukhan*, [Istanbul] 1289, 54) or poetry and prose (see ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Hānsawī, 41; Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī, 15). Scattered hints at some "virtual" norm in Shams's poetic manual, which never came to be institutionalised, or the lists of doublets and denominations such as *Furs-i ḳadīm* (*FDj* 8; *FR* 47), *Pārsī-i bāstānī* (*FDj* 4; *BḲ* 500) in lexicography might serve as proofs (cf. Jeremiás, *Grammar and linguistic consciousness in Persian*, in *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies*, ii, ed. C. Melville, Wiesbaden 1999, 19-31). The literary model was but the poets' use of the language, which was far from being uniform. This discrepancy between linguistic and literary norms may be the very reason for the lack of clarity and the contradictions in the sources (see the definition of *Darī* in *LN*: *zabān-i fārsī-i rasmī-i maʿmūl-i imrūza* "the official Persian language used today"), which makes the separation of *Fārsī* and *Darī* almost impossible. Paradoxically, however, the lack of a strictly regulated norm preserved more of the linguistic reality of the previous periods in comparison with the Arabic grammatical literature which often dealt with an idealised construct which differed considerably from actual speech (see K. Versteegh, *Landmarks in linguistic thought. III. The Arabic linguistic tradition*, London 1997, 156).

II. The impact of Arabic

With a few exceptions (see below, V. Scripts, 2), all the sources discussed above were written in the Perso-Arabic script (the earliest manuscript dates from the beginning of the 10th century, cf. L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *Arabic influences in Persian literature*, in *EIr*, ii, 233-7). It was not only the script that was taken over, but Arabic became the medium of written expression, both in administration, science and literature in the eastern areas (Khurāsān and Transoxania) in the first two centuries after the Muslim conquest. As a consequence, the supreme dominance of the Arabic language and culture almost completely supplanted Persian in the written medium during this period. Even though the western part of Iran preserved longer the ancient culture, as the Pahlawī writings from the 9th-10th centuries attest, the knowledge of the "old" language, that is, Middle Persian, and its insurmountable script was a privilege of a few. However, Persian was never abandoned but was allowed to thrive in the spoken idiom and from the mid-9th century in the East, and from the end of the 10th century in the West, it began to regain its position in culture and literature (cf. IRAN. v. History (a)). Moreover, Persian not only survived as a spoken idiom, and began to appear in the written documents, but was also imported by Muslim conquerors into further eastern areas, unlike the other territories of the caliphate, and a considerable proportion of the Arab population which had settled in the towns of Iran were assimilated rapidly. In the subsequent centuries, in Transoxania, Afghānistān, North India (and later also westwards to Anatolia), Persian became the main literary language.

But this new literary language, which is called New Persian and was based on the spoken variety of the East, showed essentially new characteristics due to the impact of Arabic and the culture imported by this language. Despite the Persians' increasing national identity, Arabic as the language of science became gradually adopted and cultivated by a growing number of significant scholars of Iranian origin (cf. C.E. Bosworth, *The political and dynastic history of the Iranian*

world (A.D. 1000-1217), in *CHIr*, v, 4). Contemporaneously, models of Arabic scientific thinking began to be adapted to Persian. The sphere of literature adduces a good example of this development: although Iranians retained and cherished the ancient tradition in mind and memory, as Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* shows, Persian poets tried to follow the rules of the Arabic prosody from the early beginnings of New Persian poetry, in sharp contrast to the previous literary canons. As a consequence, the following centuries saw the infiltration of a large number of Arabic loan words into New Persian (*ca.* 30% in the 10th century and 50% in the 12th century: cf. Lazard, *Les emprunts arabes dans la prose persane du Xe au XIIe siècle: aperçu statistique*, in *Revue de l'École nationale des langues orientales*, ii [1965], 53-67; 'A.A. Ṣādiḳī, *The Arabic element in Persian*, in *EIr*, ii, 229-31). As a result, Persian, as a new literary language "appears to have been from the start a mixed language, based on the Persian dialect but bearing marked traces of other Iranian dialects and infiltrated with Arabic words" (Lazard 1975, 597). This mixed nature of Persian, and the fact that their language is essentially different from those of their neighbours, was well known to the Iranians themselves from the start, as evidenced by the first works in literary sciences (prosody and lexicography), which made a clear distinction between the Arabic and Persian letters, words and word formation in most cases. Moreover, this knowledge subsisted until quite recently in the native tradition (see "the [*fārsī*] language is a mixture of two languages" (*murakkab az du zabān*), written by Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, preface, 4, in the 19th century).

III. Classical Persian and its variants

The script, religion and literary models (e.g. the new system of versification) are the most decisive characteristics which distinguish the period of New Persian from the previous ones (see also W.B. Henning, *Die Schrift als Symbol der Einheit des Mitteliranischen*, in *Mitteliranisch*, Hdb. d. Or., I, iv, *Iranistik, Linguistik*, Leiden-Köln 1958, 21). Despite its bewildering variety at the outset—Khurāsān and Sīstān especially displayed markedly distinctive features—New Persian appears to have become a surprisingly "unified" literary language after the 13th century (Lazard 1963, 23-4) and continued to be regarded as such during the subsequent centuries, as the common name *Pārsī* indicates. But this was an *apparent homogeneity* which might be attributed to at least two main factors: the highly conservative script, which remained practically unchanged over the last thousand years, and the prestige of Classical Persian literature. Due to its Semitic character, the Arabic script by its very nature disguised changes in the pronunciation of words or in the meaning in most cases of the grammatical morphemes, giving the impression of a static language situation. On the other hand, the general respect and admiration surrounding the classical literature, especially poetry, helped keep the language of the classical authors alive for centuries until fairly recently.

It does not mean, however, that men of letters and scholars were or are not aware how significantly speech and writing differ in Persian (see, for instance, P.N. Khānlarī, *Zabān u lahdja*, in *Dar bāra-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran 1340/1961, 75-85; M.R. Bāṭinī, *Tawṣīf-i sākhtimān-i dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran 1348/1969, 11; 'A.A. Ṣādiḳī, *Zabān-i fārsī wa gunahā-i mukhtalif-i ān*, in *Farhang u zindagī*, ii [1349/1970], 61-6; T. Waḥīdiyān, *Dastūr-i zabān-i 'āmiyāna-i fārsī*, Tehran 1343/1964). However, the first attempts to include linguistic expressions closer to the colloquial style in text and grammar books (e.g. Ṣādiḳī, and Gh. Arzhang, *Dastūr, Sāl-i duwwum*, Tehran 2535/1976) were received with sharp criticism at first (see M.S. Mawlā'ī, in *Yaghmā*, xxx [2536/1977], 245-51), though it was common experience that the characteristic features of classical and modern standards, even the least formal or vulgar forms, could appear in literature either intermingled in the same work or clearly distinguished. This might also explain why the language is simply called *Fārsī*, that is, "Persian" implying all the variants. The differences between the diachronic ("les formes anciennes" Lazard 1989, 288) and synchronic variants (formal and colloquial standards, local usage or the new literary standards like *Tādjīkī* and Afghān *Darī*) in phonology, grammar and vocabulary came to be described by linguists, although much remains to be done. It must be emphasised, however, that the apparent variations in the grammar of Persian do not always reflect ongoing changes in the language but rather the standardisation process of the literary language. As the formation of the Classical Persian literary language clearly testifies, dialectal or colloquial forms may have disappeared or become incorporated in the written language, occasionally or else in varying degrees, depending on the literary genre. Poetry, for instance, preserved more of the earlier archaic forms, supposedly due to the requirements of prosody, while prose displayed considerable variation in the same genre (see, for instance, the early *tafsīrs*, in Jeremiás, *Some grammatical problems of early New Persian syntax*, in *Proceedings of the second European conference of Iranian studies*, Rome 1995, 325-34). This linguistic diversity was occasionally associated with divergent stylistic values. For instance, some recurrent patterns could be classified either as archaic, dialectal or colloquial or as social variants. This was mainly due to the lack of a firmly established linguistic norm based on a highly respected canon such as the Ḳur'ān in Arabic, on the basis of which the grammar of the language might have been worked out. Paradoxically, this diversity inside Classical Persian or between classical and modern usage, and the maintenance of the classical literary norm, causes difficulties in defining stages in the linguistic history of Persian (see A.V. Rossi, *Sprachübergänge und historische Übergänge in der iranischen Literatur*, in *Transition periods in Iranian history*, Studia Iranica, Cahier 5, 1987).

IV. Modern Persian: spoken and written variants

This phenomenon gives a special status to Persian: the fact that even today, native speakers can understand (though not always in the strictly linguistic sense of the word) ancient texts, and by reading and memorising them they become acquainted with some grammatical characteristics of the ancient language, sometimes dating from a thousand years back. The message of the novels or poems written occasionally (not typically) by modern authors in the style of the ancient language seems to be fully understood (see, for instance, *Parīzād u Parīmān* by Ṣādiḳ Čubak in the collection of short stories, *Čarāgh-i ākhir*, Tehran 1948). In these literary works, the ancient language is imitated by using "classicising" grammatical archaisms like obsolete prepositions or verbal forms. The maintenance of this very formal style as a literary norm has been backed by social institutions: this language was taught in school as the norm of Persian. The same divergence between the newly-arising spoken variant and its acceptance as a literary (written) standard is likely to have existed throughout the modern period, which makes it almost impossible to tell the

exact point in time of the beginnings. But Modern Persian, as it appears today, is distinctly different from the classical language, displaying also a wide range of social, dialectal, diachronic and stylistic variations, which are consciously used by authors in most cases. *Style*, therefore, seems to be the most essential factor in the definition of Modern Persian (see C.T. Hodge, *Some aspects of Persian style*, in *Language*, xxxiii [1957], 355-69).

The crucial question is, therefore, in what sense the term Modern Persian is used. It is generally linked with the spoken dialect of Tehran (see ĪRĀN, vii, Literature; J. Towhidi, *Studies in the phonetics and phonology of Modern Persian*, Hamburg 1974; Peysikov 1960; Waḥīdiyān 1964; etc.). This view is a consequence of the periodisation which marks the beginning of the modern period with the rule of the Ḳādjār dynasty, with the capital Tehran as a centre from the 19th century onwards. It must be emphasised, however, that, on the one hand, certain typical characteristics of Modern Persian's formal and informal standards began to appear centuries earlier in the written literature and, on the other, some typical colloquialisms can be traced back in other local dialects as well. That is, not all the typical features of Modern Persian can be restricted topographically to Tehran and chronologically to the 19th century, though there are many belonging to them. For instance, from the 15th century on, a set of "archaisms" (e.g. the verbal prefixes *hamī-* instead of *mī-* or *bi-* with past forms such as *bi-guft* and certain preposition like *farā*, *furū* or the combination of the pre- and postposition *mar . . . . rā*, etc.) were gathered in a separate chapter and labelled as embellishment (*zīnat*, *taḥsīn*) by native lexicographers (*Lughat-i Niʿmat Allāh; FDj; BK; FR*), clearly indicating their archaic character. Similar lists were repeated time and again until recent times in native lexicography and grammar (see ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Hānsawī; Irawānī) as well. This shows that native scholars came to realise that grammatical forms such as certain prepositions or verbal forms, abundantly used in ancient texts, had ceased to belong to living usage. They became obsolete and served only as a "decoration" of style for their age (see Telegdi 1955, 134 n. 133; M. Bāḳir, *Bā-i zīnat bar sar-i fiʿl* ("The ornamental verbal prefix bi-"), in *MDATeh*, viii [1961], 1-10; Jeremiás 1993, 63, 1997, 183). Similarly, in some of the earliest descriptions of Persian in the West—though not in all of them—the verbal morpheme *bi-* prefixed to simple past forms was characterised as redundant or pleonastic (W. Jones, *A grammar of the Persian language*, [9]London 1828, 49; J. Platts, *A grammar of the Persian language*, London 1894, 174; C. Salemann and V. Shukovski [Žukovskiy], *Persische Grammatik*, Berlin 1889, 60). Beyond doubt, these grammars were intended to describe the language of the Classical texts, but occasionally hints were made at the living usage, which might have differed from the classical forms in many ways. Early evidence for this may be the first collections of Persian and non-Persian spoken local dialects from the last century. Žukovskiy, one of the first dialectologists of Persian patois, immediately recognised the richness of the non-standard Persian local varieties during his first field trip (1883-86) along the Tehran-Shīrāz-Iṣfahān route. In his materials of Persian and non-Persian dialects, and in those of his later followers such as O. Mann (1901-3, 1906-7), K. Hadank and A. Christensen, a set of characteristic features which are the same or similar to those of the spoken (colloquial) language of Tehran appears. See some examples from the phonology and morphology: (a) *āN* > *u*, *o* (Žukovskiy, *Materiali dlya izučeniya persidskikh narečiy*, i, St. Petersburg, 1888, 212; V.W. Geiger, *Kleinere Dialekte und Dialektgruppen*, in *GIPh*, i, 2, 357, 422; K. Hadank, *Die Mundarten von Khunsâr* . . ., in *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, 1926, iii, 1, XXXIX; A. Christensen, *Iranische Dialektaufzeichnungen aus dem Nachlass von F.C. Andreas*, zusammen mit Kaj Barr und W.B. Henning, in *Abhandl. Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Dritte Folge, Nr. 11, 1939, 15; Lambton, *Three Persian dialects*, London 1938, 44; O.I. Smirnova, *Isfakhanskiy govor*, Moscow 1978, 13); (b) the colloquial variations of the verbal personal affixes in Sing. 3. *-ad* > *-e* (*-i*, *-ē*, etc.) (Geiger in *GIPh*, 411; Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri Kurden*, in *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, iv, III, 1, 1906, LXXV; idem, Die *Tâjîk-Mundarten der Provinz Fârs*, in *KPF*, i, 1909, 24; Christensen, *op. cit.*, 267), in Pl. 2. *-īd* > *-īn*, *-ī(t)* and in Pl. 3. *-and* > *-an*, *-in* (Mann, *op. cit.*, 1909, 25); (c) the progressive verbal forms constructed with the auxiliary *dāshtan* collected in Iṣfahān in 1885 (see Žukovskiy, *Osobennoe značenie glagola dâshtan v persidskom razgovornom yazîke*, in *ZVORAO* iii [1888], 376-77; A.Z. Rozenfel'd, *Vospomogatel'naya funktsiya glagola dāshtan v sovremennom persidskom yazîke*, in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedeniye*, v ([1948], 305-310) and also used in the Central dialects and Māzandarānī (see the bibl. in Jeremiás, *On the genesis of the periphrastic progressive in Iranian languages*, in *Medioiranica* [1993], 104 n. 10); (d) colloquialisms in the nominal morphology: the omission of the *iḍāfa* vowel (Žukovskiy, 1888, 214) or the determinative morpheme, the stressed suffix *-ā* ~ *ä(h)*, *-e* (Hadank, *op cit.*, 10-13, Christensen, *op. cit.*, 42), etc.

This selection of the relevant features seem to support the opinion that some essential characteristics of Modern Persian, both its literary written form (*fārsī-i kitābī*) and its oral variants (*fārsī-i muḥāwara'ī*), must have existed centuries earlier. Its modern descriptions, however, are primarily based on the usage as it is written and spoken in Tehran (*fārsī-i ʿāmiyāna*), the present capital of Iran, which is becoming the common spoken standard all over Iran through the modern mass media (cf. Lazard 1989, 289; Pisowicz, 9).

V. Scripts

1. *Perso-Arabic script*

New Persian, including its chronological and dialectal variants used in Iran, Afghānistān and Central Asia (except Tādjīkī [*q.v.*]) in the 20th century), since the Islamic conquest has been written predominantly with the Arabic script augmented with four modified letters for denoting peculiar Persian phonemes (p پ, ch چ, zh ژ, g گ) which do not exist in Arabic. These "Persian letters" were created from their nearest equivalent letters (b ب, j ج, z ز, k ك), and both series continued to be used in the manuscript tradition until the 12th century and beyond (for the details of adaptation from the time of Sībawayhi (8th century [*q.v.*]) see P. Horn, *Neupersische Schriftsprache*, in *GIPh*, i/2, 12; Lazard 1963, passim; F. Meier, *Aussprachefragen des älteren neupersisch*, in *Oriens*, xxvii-xxviii (1981), 71; Khānlarī, *Wazn-i shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1354/1975, 117, etc.). The Arabic writing being a Semitic, consonantal alphabet, it was not designed for an Indo-European language like Persian, consisting as it did only of consonantal signs (*harf*) representing the semantic load whereas, in Persian, consonants and vowels are of equal value. In this system vowels are represented only partially and in various ways: by consonantal letters, orthographic devices and superscript signs. In the script, therefore, there is no one-to-one correspondence between graphemes and phonemes (e.g. the geminated consonants are written with one *harf* with

the superscript sign called *tashdīd* as *ḥm'm* = *ḥammām* "bath" in most cases), although there is a regularity in denoting or omitting certain phonemes. The Persians, while having for the most part, adapted the letters and the principles of the Arabic writing, developed innovations in order to denote the peculiarities of the Persian language. In the Semitic system, three letters (*ḥarfs*), *alif*, *yā'* and *wāw* are used to mark long vowels *ā, ī, ū* and the sequences *ay, aw* (traditionally called diphthongs), whereas short vowels remain normally unwritten. Exceptions are the word intial and word final positions: word initial short vowels (*a, i, u*) are represented graphically by the letter *alif* and their long equivalents with *alif* and the corresponding *ḥarfs* (*yā'* or *wāw*). Furthermore, the letter *alif* is the sign of the glottal stop which is practically used as an orthographic device following the principles of the Arabic (Semitic) orthography which do not allow a syllable to start with vowels, and do not allow a sequence of two vowels (cf. G. Endress, *Die arabische Schrift*, in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, i, ed. W. Fischer, Wiesbaden 1982, 165-97), e.g. *'knwn* = *aknūn* "now", *'ft'dan* = *uftādan* "to fall" and *'sfh'n* = *iṣfahān* "Iṣfahān", *'w* = *ū* "he/she" and *'yr'n* = *īrān* "Iran". Initial long *ā* is rendered with *alif* surmounted by the superscript sign *madd* آ.

The Perso-Arabic script gradually developed a special system of denoting word final short vowels (*a, i, u* in the Classical Persian transcription system and *e, o* in the Modern system) by the "silent" letters (*bayān-i ḥaraka*), e.g. *hā'*: *š'hn'mh* = *Shāh-nāma*, *kh* = *ki* (in ancient texts also written as *ky, k*) and *wāw*, e.g. *dw* = *du* "two" and *tw* = *tu* "you", but *tr'* = *tu-rā* "you (acc.)". Historically short vowels (*a, i, u*) can be denoted optionally in all positions by superscript signs (*zabar* or *zebar* in Modern Persian) = Ar. *fatḥa*, *zīr* = Ar. *kasra* and *pīsh* = Ar. *ḍamma*). In ancient manuscripts, the early classical long vowels (*madjhūl*) *ē* and *ō* were distinguished occasionally by special superscript signs on the letters *yā'* and *wāw* (e.g. *Codex Vindobonensis*, ed. F.R. Seligmann, Vienna 1859, and Bukhāran Jewish-Persian texts, cf. Horn, in *GIPh*, i/2, 33; the Lahore *Tafsīr (madjhūl ē)*, cf. MacKenzie, *The vocabularly of the Lahore Tafsīr*, in *Iran and Islam. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, 419 n. 7; and see further Meier 1981, 86, and Windfuhr 1979, 150). The orthography of *alif* and *hamza* representing phonemes or serving as orthographical devices display intricate problems both in Arabic and Persian. The complexity or sometimes confusion in their description can be ascribed to the double adaptation (first of the Nabatean Aramaic writing to Arabic in the late 7th century, then the Arabic script to Persian) and to its relatively late standardisation. Its orthography was not yet fixed in the 9th century (see Endress, 189). A Persian characteristic of the orthography is that *hamza*, the sign of the glottal stop in Arabic, does not necessarily appear as a separate letter, but it is used as a hiatus symbol (Windfuhr 1979, 139) on syllabic or morphene boundaries (there is a disagreement on this point; see HAMZA; Lazard 1957 = 1992, 48; Windfuhr 1987, 527). The Arabic loans, however, can follow or disregard the rules of the classical Arabic orthography (e.g. the vocalic restriction rules) according to registers and contexts where they appear.

The Perso-Arabic script, which is written from right to left, contains 32 letters: 28 letters are taken over from Arabic plus four special Persian letters supplied with three dots. But not all the letters distinguish phonemes in Persian (see below, iii. Phonology). These letters (allographs) came mainly, but not exclusively through Arabic loan words, e.g. ذ, ض, ظ = /z/, ث, ص = /s/, ط = /t/, غ, ق = /gh/, ح = /h/, أ, ع = ' (or zero). Some of these letters (ث, ذ, ص, ط, غ and ق) do occur in words of Persian origin due to various reasons, e.g. as reflexes of earlier linguistic periods or the unfixed and wavering orthography (see, for instance, *pa<u>dh</u>īruftan*, in Modern Persian pronunciation *paziroftan*, *Tahmūra<u>th</u>* vs. *Tahmūras/Tahmūrat*, *ṣad* or *sad* "hundred", *Ṭihrān* or *Tihrān* "Tehran" (see Horn, in *GIPh*, 12; Meier 1981, 105). The digraph <u>kh</u>ʷ/<u>kh</u>ʸ (= /<u>kh</u>/) is a remnant of the archaic spelling of a labialised fricative (Pisowicz, 121). Ancient manuscripts show sporadically the spellings of the early New Persian period. E.g. the triple-dotted letter *fā'* (ڤ ß) denoted the postvocalic spirant labiodental /v/ (see also some sparse examples in word-initial position in Lazard 1963, 137-8; idem, 1989, 264; Meier 1981, 72; Pisowicz, 119), and the dotted *dāl* (ذ) denoted the spirant pronunciation of the postvocalic *d* (commonly transcribed with the Greek letter δ) in words of Persian origin (see the wavering manuscript tradition in Meier 1981, 105). While the letter *fā'* was abandoned early, the use of the letter ذ, which appears to have been more widespread (except in Transoxania, Balkh and Ghazna, see Shams-i Kays, 221), continued to be preserved through the old poets' practice of selecting rhyme long after its disappearance from the living usage (*ca.* 13th century, see Rempis, in Lazard 1963, 144, n. 1). This phenomenon was included in the traditional lexicography as "the rule of *<u>dh</u>āl* and *zāl*" until the 19th century (see Shams-i Kays, 254-6; *BK*, 21; Irawānī, fol. 6b; cf. Lazard 1963, 143; Meier 103, 111; Pisowicz, 107). Some words have preserved the archaic spelling, but the pronunciation of this letter has merged with /z/ in Modern Persian, e.g. in *paziroftan*.

The first attempts to put Persian texts into Arabic script originate from the 9th century. After some fluctuation and instability (see Meier 1981; Lazard 1963, 4) a standard system of script appears to have developed by the 12th century and has remained almost unchanged until recently. The lack of punctuation and capital letters, the disguised pronunciation and an apparent inconsistency in the orthography of certain words and compounds can cause considerable difficulties in reading Persian texts. Although in the most recent period there are some attempts to improve orthography, this question is far from being settled (see Windfuhr 1979, 150).

For the various styles of handwriting, see KHATT. ii.

2. *Non-Arabic scripts used for New Persian texts* (for a summary, see Meier, 88-9; Lazard 1989, 264-5)

(a) Hebrew characters have been used from the 8th century onwards by Jewish communities to denote their own dialect called Judaeo-Persian [*q.v.*], related very closely to the southern dialect of early New Persian.

(b) An undated bilingual Psalm-fragment written by Christians in New Persian with Syriac characters has been preserved in the materials found in Chinese Turkestan (see F.W.K. Müller, *Ein syrisch-neupersisches Psalmenbruchstück aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, ed. G. Weil, Berlin 1915, 215-22; W. Sundermann, *Einige Bemerkungen zum syrisch-neupersischen Psalmenbruchstück aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, in *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, ed. Ph. Gignoux et A. Tafazzoli, Louvain 1974, 441-52).

(c) Among the fragments written in Manichean script there are also some New Persian texts (see M. Boyce, *A catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichean script in the German Turfan collection*, Berlin 1960, 150; W.B. Henning, *Persian poetical manuscripts*

from the time of Rūdakī, in *A locust's leg. Studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 89-104).

(d) Religious writings and a fragmentary dictionary were written by Armenian Christians in their own script in the 15th century (see Pisowicz, 76).

(e) The Latin script was used by travellers and missionaries to describe Persian texts for centuries, the supposedly oldest one in the *Codex Cumanicus* written in the 13th century (see D. Monchi-zadeh, *Das Persische im Codex Comanicus*, Uppsala 1969; A. Bodrogligeti, *The Persian vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus*, Budapest 1971; Pisowicz, 73 ff.). Glosses, grammars and vocabularies compiled especially for practical purposes, can be found abundantly from the 16th-17th centuries onwards (see P. Orsatti, *Sistema di transcrizione e fonetica neopersiana nel Dictionarium Latino-Persicum di P. Ignazio di Gesu*, in *AIUON*, xliv [1984], 41-81; Jeremiás, *Grammatical rule and standard in the first Persian grammars written in Latin (XVIIth c.)*, in *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento*, ed. M. Tavoni, Ferrara 1996, 569-80). Though these texts can give some useful information on the pronuncation of Persian, as a whole they must be regarded as unreliable sources osn crucial points of the history of Persian phonology (see Pisowicz, 79).

(f) Apart from modern *Tād̲j̲īkī* the Cyrillic alphabet was used by a Russian traveller in his account of his journeyings, to denote some Persian words in the 15th century (see Pisowicz, 79).

iii. *Phonology, grammar, word formation and vocabulary*

I. Generalities

In spite of its apparent homogeneity owing to many factors, New Persian of the Muslim period underwent profound changes affecting all levels of grammar and vocabulary. The distinction, therefore, between the various stages of Persian is necessary, but, as the periodisation indicated (see above, i), it cannot easily be made. There are two main approaches to the description of linguistic phenomena in Iranian studies. Diachronic or historical studies trace the changes that took place between various phases, while synchronic description is concerned with the Persian used at a given time. But while Modern Persian can be described on the basis of its present use, the synchronic description of Classical Persian can only be carried out with limitations due to the absence of a standardised Classical Persian. Otherwise comparisons can be made between the language style used by Firdawsī (10th c.), Bayhaḳī (11th c.), Niẓāmī (12th c.), Saʿdī (13th c.) or D̲j̲āmī (15th c.), etc. Their varieties of Classical Persian share a set of common features but they also differ inasmuch as they display different language forms. In linguistic studies, the dominance of the diachronic approach is clearly felt, whereas synchronic studies have only recently begun to emerge.

II. Phonology

The phonemic status and the exact phonetic characterisation of Persian sounds can be established with certainty for the most recent period; the following analysis therefore starts with formal Modern Persian and aims to identify the characteristic features of the previous phases in comparison with it (cf. Windfuhr 1979, 7; Lazard 1989, 265; Pisowicz, 9).

The sound system of the formal Modern Persian consists of 6 vowels and 24 consonants. There is, however, a considerable disagreement on the phonemic status of certain phonetic sequences or the conditioned and optional allophonic variations, which can reduce or increase the number of phonemes depending on the currently applied theory of analysis or the register examined. The phonemic status of the glottal stop or that of the sequences [ei̯] and [ou̯] (traditionally called diphthongs) are such variables.

The six vowels of Modern Persian are the front /i/, /e/, /a/ and the back /u/, /o/, /â/ articulated with a high /i, u/, a mid /e, o/ or a low /a, â/ (or, according to others, with high, mid-high and mid-) tongue position. Historically there was a phonological opposition between long and short vowels in Classical Persian (/ā/ ~ /a/, /ī/ ~ /i/, /ū/ ~ /u/), but length ceased to be a phonemic characteristic in the modern period (/â/ ~ /a/, /i/ ~ /e/, /u/ ~ /o/), although it has been retained in certain positions as a redundant phonetic property. Therefore *â, i, u* are occasionally distinguished as long or "stable vowels" (*ā, ī, ū*) vs. short or "instable ones" (*a, e, o*) in the descriptions of Modern Persian (cf. Lazard 1989, 265). The diphthongs [ei̯] and [ou̯] occurring within one word are commonly analysed as the combination of two phonemes, a vowel and a consonant /e/ + /y/ and /o/ + /w/ in Modern Persian (see the summary, including the history of the monophonemic interpretation, in Windfuhr 1979, 137-8, Pisowicz, 22-7 and Lazard 1989, 265). The biphonemic interpretation of the sequence /ow/ entails the postulation of a phoneme /w/ in Modern Persian (cf. the phonemic inventory in Classical Persian), which appears in a certain style with a limited distribution, after /o/ and in word final position (see Pisowicz, 24). As for the distribution of vowels, there is no restriction except for the final position: there is no final /a/ (see Classical Persian final /a/ > /e/) except in two words (*na* "non-", *va* "and") and /o/ occurs rarely (see the studies on experimental phonetics in Lazard 1970, 67; esp. Š.G. Gaprindašvili and Dj.Š. Giunašvili, *Fonetika persidskogo yazïka*, Tbilisi 1964, i; J. Towhidi, *Studies in the phonetics and phonology of Modern Persian*, Forum Phoneticum 2, Hamburg 1974).

The most significant characteristics of the phonological development in New Persian are the loss of contrast between long and short vowels and the lowering of the historically short high vowels /i/ > /e/, and /u/ > /o/. Early Classical Persian contained two more long vowels /ē/, /ō/, which merged with /ī/ and /ū/ by the Classical period (see F. Meier, *Aussprachefragen des älteren Neupersisch*, in *Oriens*, xxvii-xxviii [1981], 70-176), but were preserved by the rules of classical rhyming long after their disappearance from living use. For allophonic variations and fluctuations in vowels, see M. Shaki, *The problem of the vowel phonemes in the Persian language*, in *ArO*, xxv [1957], 45-55; Pisowicz, 13-16; Lazard, *A grammar of contemporary Persian*, Costa Mesa 1992, 19-22.

The consonants of Modern Persian include the voiceless and voiced plosives and affricates /p/, /t/, /č/, /k/, /q/, /ʾ/, /b/, /d/, /j/, /g/, the voiceless and voiced fricatives /f/, /s/, /š/, /x/, /h/, /v/, /z/, /ž/, the nasals /m/, /n/, the liquids /l/, /r/ and the semivowels /w/, /y/. (See the transcription: /q/ = *ḳ*, /j/ = *d̲j̲*, /š/ = *s̲h̲*, /x/ = *k̲h̲*, /ž/ = *z̲h̲*, [γ] = *g̲h̲*.) The phoneme /q/ represents three conditioned allophones, the uvular voiceless plosive [q] in the (absolute) initial position (*ḳânun* [qânun] "law" or in the medial geminate sequence (*baḳḳâl* [baqqâl] "grocer"), the voiced fricative [γ] in intervocalic position (*maḳâle* [maγâle] "study") or in certain consonant clusters (*tag̲h̲yir* [taγyir] 'change') and the uvular voiced plosive [G] after /n/. There is, however, a disagreement about the place of /q/ in the system of phonemes, whether it is a plosive /q/ or fricative /γ/, due to its considerable fluctuations in pronunciation (see the details in Pisowicz, 42-7).

The occurrence of the glottal stop /ʾ/ as a separate

phoneme is restricted to certain medial and final positions before and after consonants in careful speech represented with the letter *ʿayn* and the signs *hamza* or *alef*, such as *maʿlum*/maʾlum "known", *al-ʾân*/alʾân "now" or *robʿ* /robbʾ "quarter". It can also occur in intervocalic position in words of Arabic origin in place of the genuine *ʿayn* as in *sâʿat* /sâʾat "hour". Its rise was due to the impact of two separate Arabic phonemes /ʾ/ and /ʿ/ transmitted by loans, but the pronunciation of the Arabic voiced pharyngeal /ʿ/ merged entirely with the glottal stop. The phonemicity of the initial glottal stop is questioned (cf. Pisowicz, 50-1). Besides, there is a non-phonemic indigenous glottal articulation represented by the signs *hamza* or *alef* (which may have helped the incorporation of the glottal stop of Arabic origin into Persian), e.g. in a vocalic onset before any initial vowel after a pause /emruz/ → [ʾemruz] "today", before any internal vowel preceded by a vowel /pāiz/ → [pāʾiz] "autumn" or at a morpheme boundary between vowels /bi-ârâm/ → [biʾârâm] "restless". In various registers of Modern Persian the glottal stop can alternate with zero (hiatus) or an intrusive element like the glide *y* (rarely *w* or *h*), e.g. /xâen/ → [xâʾen] ~ [xâyen] "traitor" or /xâne-i/ → [xâneʾi] ~ [xâneyi] "a house", except when the glottal stop represents an etymological pharyngeal spirant. The latter can be replaced by a hiatus, but never by a glide, e.g. *sâʿat* /sâʾat/ → [sâat] (Pisowicz, 49). In general, its appearance or disappearance, occasionally with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel or, more rarely, consonant (/maʾlum/ → [ma:lum], /dafʾe/ → [daffe]), or substitution by an intrusive element can vary according to register under certain conditions (see the details in Windfuhr 1979, 139-40; Pisowicz, 20-2, 47-51; Lazard 1992, 11-4, 31-4). In the spoken register, the glottal stop does not exist at all (Lazard 1992, 12), but according to others it is pronounced at a morpheme boundary after a consonant before the following vowel in all styles (see [mano] "I and . . ." vs. [manʾo] "prohibition and . . ." in Pisowicz, 48). For other characteristics of the colloquial style such as assimilation, contraction, the dropping of *h*'s, etc. see Hodge 1957; E. Provasi, *Some notes on Tehrani Persian phonology*, in *Iranica*, ed. Gh. Gnoli and A.V. Rossi, Naples 1979, 257-80; Pisowicz, 57-8; Lazard 1992, *passim*. On the impact of Arabic loans, see Ali-Ashraf Sadeghi, *L'influence de l'arabe sur le systeme phonologique du persan*, in *La linguistique*, ii (1975), 145-52.

Characteristic of Classical Persian is the full phonemic status of the semivowel /w/ with the labiodental fricative [v] as an allophone (preserved in Afghan Dari, cf. Farhâdi, 37-8). The reconstruction of phoneme /w/ for the early Classical Persian and the fact that there is no initial cluster in Persian (see syllable structure) make the postulation of the phoneme /x^w/ plausible. But the labial articulation disappeared gradually (/x^w/ > /x/) with an accompanying labialisation of the following short vowel (/x^waš/ > Mod. Pers. /xoš/ "happy", but /x^wāstan/ > Mod. Pers. /xâstan/ "to wish"), while the archaic spelling has been retained (cf. Meier, 75; Pisowicz, 121). Another characteristic of Classical Persian is that /q/ and /γ/ were separate phonemes, as they still are in certain modern dialects, such as Tād̲j̲īkī. Another remarkable feature is the distinct spellings of certain allophones, such as the labiodental fricative [v] (written with the triple-dotted *f*), the spirant pronunciation of the phoneme /d/ in intervocalic or final postvocalic positions [δ] (written with the dotted *d*), originally a dialectal feature in central and southern Iran in early Classical Persian. The former disappeared early, but the latter seems to have been in use until the 13th century, as the spellings of the ancient manuscripts testify. The fluctuations of dialectal origin such as *b* ~ *f* (*abzār* – *afzār*) or *b* ~ *w* (*nabard* – *naward*) are also attested in manuscripts (cf. Lazard 1963, 137 and *passim*).

The syllable structures are V, CV, VC, CVC, VCC and CVCC, if initial glottal stop is disregarded. But their types are CV, CVC and CVCC if it is regarded as a separate phoneme. There are no genuine clusters in initial position in New Persian. Old and Middle Persian initial clusters were replaced by syllables containing prothetic or anathyptic vowels (Middle Persian *spēd* > Classical Persian *ispēd* or *sipēd* / *sifēd* > Modern Persian *sefid* "white"). For details, see J. Krámsky, *A study in the phonology of Modern Persian*, in *ArO*, xi [1939], 66-83; C.T. Scott, *Syllable structure in Tehran Persian*, in *Anthropological Linguistics*, v [1964], 27-30; Windfuhr 1979, 143-4; Lazard 1989, 266.

Stress in Modern Persian is expiratory and non-phonemic. In general it falls on the final syllable of non-verbal forms (nouns, adjectives, adverbs). Certain conjunctions, adverbs and particles have initial stress, such as *váli* "but", *ári* "yes", *âyâ* "whether", etc. Nouns (incl. infinitives, participles or verbal nouns) retain their final stress if the following suffixes are attached to them: the indefinite marker *-i*, the object suffix *-râ*, the connecting vowel of the *iḍāfa -e*, the conjunction *-o* "and", *ham* "also" or one of the pronominal clitics *-am, -at, -as̲h̲, -mân, -tân, -s̲h̲ân* or, one of the clitical forms of the verb "to be" *-am, -i, ast, -im, -i, -and*). By contrast, the plural markers *-hâ* and *-ân* carry the stress (*ketâb-hấ* "books", *zan-ấn* "women") and forms in apostrophe (vocative) preserve an archaic initial stress (*pédar* (voc.) vs. *pedár* (nom.) "father". On the other hand, all verbal forms have non-final stress (except for the form of the 3rd person singular in the simple past, which carries the stress on the final syllable, e.g. *k̲h̲aríd* "he bought"). It may fall on the stem (*k̲h̲aríd-am* "I bought"), on the verbal prefixes (*mí-khar-am* "I am buying/I buy", *bé-khar-am* "[that] I buy"), on the preverbs (*bár mi-andāz-ad* "he abolishes") or on the nominal part of the verbal phrase (*ḥárf mi-zan-am* "I am speaking/I speak"). The verbal prefixes of negation or prohibition (*na-, ne-, ma-*) are always stressed (*némi-k̲h̲ar-am* "I am not buying/I do not buy", *ná-k̲h̲arid-am* "I did not buy", *má-k̲h̲ar* "don't buy"). In true compounds or in compound nominal phrases, a secondary (weaker) stress may occur on the first nominal part in addition to the main or primary stress, e.g. *âteš-parást* "fire-worshipper", *kètâb-e pedár* "the father's book".

As the examples attest, stress is relatively fixed in words and phrases. However, it may be weakened, shifted or completely disappear according to the speaker's purport, if there is emphasis upon one segment, e.g. *ḥárf mi-zan-am* vs. *ḥarf mí-zan-am*.

In a typical sentence, the primary stress falls on the last syntagm, which is normally a verb or verbal phrase. At the beginning, a conjunction, an adverb or a vocative may appear with initial accent followed by nominal phrases with final or nearly final accent. Affirmative sentences have a falling intonation, but in interrogative sentences the pitch rises.

Although stress is non-phonemic, certain phonemic sequences may appear as contrasting minimal pairs, such as *mâhí* "fish" vs. *mấh-i* "a moon" or *s̲h̲âh-í* "kingship" vs. *s̲h̲ấh-i* "a king", but this contrast as a distinctive feature does not exist in the lexicon (cf. *mâhí* – *mâh, s̲h̲âhí* – *s̲h̲âh*/. In colloquial Persian there are several such minimal pairs originated from contracted

forms, e.g. *kharidám* (< *kharidé am*) "I have bought" vs. *kharíd-am* "I bought".

For further details, see M. Lucidi, *L'accento nel persiano moderno*, in *Ricerche linguistiche*, ii [1951], 108-40; G.E. Nye, *The phonemes and morphemes of Modern Persian: a descriptive study*, Doct. Diss. Series no. 11, Ann Arbor 1955; Ch.A. Ferguson, *Word stress in Persian*, in *Language*, xxxiii [1957], 123-35; Towhidi 1974; Windfuhr 1979, 144-9; Lazard 1970, 67-8; 1992, 37-46; 1989, 266-7.

III. The problems of transliteration and transcription

Persian script disguises pronunciation, therefore a certain extent of interpretation in transcription with Latin (or Cyrillic, etc.) characters is necessary. More than one system has been conceived representing historical, etymological or stylistic factors. For instance, the differences between the phonological inventories of Classical and Modern Persian appear to be so essential that they may be represented by different systems of transcription. See the transcription of Classical Persian phonemes: *ā, ī, ū, (ē, ō), a, i, u, p, t* (or *ṭ*), *č, k, ḳ* (or *q*), *ʾ* (or *ʿ*), *b, d, dj, g, f, s* (or *ṣ, s* = Arabic *th*), *sh, kh, khʷ, h* (or *ḥ*), *z* (or *ẓ, ż* = Arabic *dh*), *zh, gh, m, n, l, r, w, y*, and that of Modern Persian: *â, i, u, a, e, o, p, t, č, k, ḳ* (or *q, gh*), *ʾ* (or *ʿ*), *b, d, dj, g, f, s* (or *ṣ, s*), *sh, kh* (or *khʷ*), *h* (or *ḥ*), *v, z* (or *ẓ, ż, z*), *zh, m, n, l, r, w, y*. The transcription of Classical texts according to modern pronunciation is also justified because that is the way they are read today. For practical reasons, however, here the transcription of titles, names or grammatical terms follows the system used throughout in the *EI* which represents Classical Persian consonants in an Arabicised form reflecting the written forms closely (e.g. *iḍāfa*, but Class. Pers. *iẓāfa*, Mod. Pers. *eẓâfe*). Occasionally, Modern Persian pronunciation is indicated as well. Archaic and dialectal spellings (except for the digraph *khʷ*) are omitted and the morphological structures in the examples are phonemically represented, which means that non-etymological glides or intrusive elements (e.g. *khāna-i* "a house" in Classical Persian or *khāne-i* in Modern Persian) or aphaeresis (e.g. *dânešdju ast* > *dânešdju-st* "he/she is a student"), etc., normally remain unwritten.

IV. Grammar: morphology and syntax

In this section, first a formal classification of word classes will be given with occasional references to their occurrences in smaller and larger grammatical units (words, phrases) and then to their functional classification in larger constructions (clause, sentences).

1. *Verbs and verb phrases* (morphology, semantics of verb forms, colloquial and archaic features, etc.)

The morphology of verbs is clear and transparent, but their semantics gives rise to considerable difficulties. Verbal forms can consist of either one word or more than one word and can express a wide range of grammatical categories like number (singular, plural), person (first, second, third), tense (present, past, future, etc.), mood (indicative, conjunctive, imperative), aspectual nuances (imperfect, perfect, progressive, inferential, etc.) and voice (active, passive). Simple verbs have a clear-cut morphological pattern: the minimal verbal form consists of a stem and a personal suffix, but the majority of simple verbs have also a verbal prefix. These forms are based on two stems, i.e. present (I) or past (II). Past stems always end in dental plosives (after vowels, *n, r* in *-d*, otherwise in *-t*) and are derived from infinitives by dropping the ending *-an*. Present stems can be either regular or irregular. The first group can be obtained from past stems by cutting *-id-*, e.g. *kharidan* "to buy" → *kharid-* (II) → *khar-* (I). Present stems of irregular verbs are to be found in vocabulary, e.g. *kardan* "to do" → *kard-* (II), *kon-* (I) or *didan* "to see" → *did-* (II), *bin-* (I). Certain groups of irregular verbs share certain common features in deriving their present stems from past stems, e.g. *sâkhtan* "to make" → *sâkht-* (II), *sâz-* (II), *gorikhtan* "to flee" → *gorikht-* (II), *goriz-* (I) or *farmudan* "to order" → *farmud-* (II), *farmây-* (I), *sorudan* "to sing" → *sorud-* (II), *sarây-* (I), etc. (see more details in Lazard 1992, 131-5). Verbal stems can combine with two sets of personal suffixes: the first set is attached to the forms based on stem (I): 1. *-am*, 2. *-i*, 3. *-ad* in singular and 1. *-im*, 2. *-id*, 3. *-and* in plural; the second set attached to the forms constructed with the stem (II) is the same except sing. 3rd person (a zero morpheme ø). Complex (called also "compound" or "analytic" *vs.* "synthetic") verb forms consisting of more than one constituent are constructed on certain nominal forms of the main verb, i.e. the past participle (past stem + *-e*, e.g. *kharid-e*, *sâkht-e*) or the so-called short infinitive (which is formally equivalent with the past stem, e.g. *kharid*) plus auxiliary verbs like the various types of the verb "to be" (i.e. the full verb *budan, bâš-* or its clitic forms like *-am, -i, ast, -im, -id, -and*), *khʷâstan, khʷâh-* "to wish/will" or *šodan, šow-* "to become". The so-called progressive form has a special structure: both the main verb and the auxiliary (*dâštan, dâr-* "to have") are conjugated forms (*dâr-ad mi-kon-ad, dâšt-ø mi-kard-ø, dâšte mi-karde ast*) and can be separated from each other by other word(s). The use of this periphrastic progressive is restricted in several ways, e.g. it can be used only in indicative mood and in affirmative sentences (see for more details, below). The future tense is expressed with a special morphology of the auxiliary *khʷâstan, khʷâh-* "to wish" (the present form of the auxiliary without the verbal prefix *mi-* plus the short infinitive of the main verb, e.g. *khʷâh-ad kard* "he will do" cf. also the use of *khʷâstan* as a modal auxiliary, e.g. *mi-khʷâh-ad be-kon-ad* "he wants (would like, etc.) to do"). The majority of finite verb forms have one or two verbal prefix (*mi-, be-, na-, ma-*), which may express various meanings like mood, aspect, negation or prohibition. Their use is partly, but not wholly, exposed to the stylistic levels of their context. The verbal prefix *mi-* (< Classical Persian *hamī* < Early Classical and Middle Persian *hamē*) occur with both simple and complex forms constructed on present and past stems or on past participles: *mi-kon-ad, mi-kard-ø, mi-karde ast, dâšte mi-karde ast.* The prefix *be-* (< Classical < Middle Persian *be-*) or its allophonic variations *bi-* or *bo-* are used only with non-indicative forms in Modern Persian, based on the present stem such as subjunctive present (*be-kon-ad*) and imperative (*be-kon*). All simple and complex verb forms in the indicative are negated with *na-*. It is prefixed to the finite forms of simple main verbs (*na-kard-ø*) or to the participles of complex verbs (*na-karde ast, na-karde bude ast*, etc.), except for the future and passive forms where it is prefixed to the auxiliary (*na-khʷâh-ad kard, karde na-šod-ø*). In the prohibitive, the prefix *na-* (*na-kon, na-kon-id*) is used generally, except for very formal (literary) style where *ma-* (*ma-kon, ma-kon-id*) appear instead. Colloquial language does not use *ma-* at all. The prefixes *na-* and *mi-* may be used simultaneously (with the allophone *ne-* of the morpheme *na-* if it is followed by *mi-*, e.g. *ne-mi-kon-ad*), but *be-* and *mi-/na-/ma-* may not in Modern Persian (see the different usage in Classical Persian).

The paradigm of the verb *kardan, kon-* "to do": indicative mood: present *mi-kon-am* "I do, I am doing", preterite (simple or "aoristic" past) *kard-am* "I did", imperfect *mi-kard-am* "I was doing, I used to do", etc.,

progressive forms in the present and the past: *dâr-am mi-kon-am* "I am (in the act of) doing", *dâšt-am mi-kard-am* "I was (in the act of) doing", (present) perfect *karde-am* "I have done", etc., past perfect (or pluperfect) *karde budam* "I had done", etc.; there are three more ("double") complex forms based on the perfect, *mi-karde-am* "I have been doing (inferential)", *karde bude-am* "I had done" (inferential) and *dâšte mikarde-am* "I have been doing" (inferential); periphrastic future *khᵛâh-am kard* "I will/shall do"; subjunctive mood: present *be-kon-am* "I may do", "that I do", subjunctive past *karde bâš-am* "I may have bought", "that I did", etc.; two imperative forms *be-kon* "do" (sing.), *be-kon-id* (pl.). Nominal forms (traditionally called participles, or participle adjective, used as modifiers or agential noun) are based on two stems: *nevis-ande* (present stem plus *-ande*) "writing (adj.), writer" (see *nevis-ande-gân* "writers"), *nevešt-e* (past stem plus *-e*) "written, writing" (see *nevešte-hâ*, *nevešte-jât* "writings"). Nominal forms derived from verbs are the full (or long) infinitive *kardan* which can be used in all functions where a noun can appear, but the occurence of the short infinite is strictly limited: apart from future forms it appears after impersonal expressions only (*bâyad raft* "one must go"). The two participles, *nevis-ande* "writing" or "writer" based on stem (I) plus *-ande* and *nevešt-e* (see above) can be used as verbal adjective, e.g. *sâl-e âyande* "the next (coming) year", or as noun, e.g. *nevešte-hâ-ye Bahâr* "B.'s writings". The participles *nevešte*, *karde*, etc., are suggested to have active meaning in modern Persian (see Telegdi, 1961, 186; Humāyunfarrukh, 78-9; see also *LN nevešte = nevešte šode*) in contrast to ancient usage in which it was regarded as having passive meaning. A homophone form of the past participle of certain transitive verbs (actually nonfinite verb forms) has been distinguished by Lazard (*gérondif*) expressing co-ordinated "circumstantial complementation" on the basis of their differing syntax (see *baste* "closed" used as "gerundive" in *baste ast* "it is closed" or *baste nist* "it is not closed" vs. the verbal form "perfect" like *baste ast* "he has closed" and *nabaste ast* "he has not closed" (cf. Lazard 1989, 273, 281; 1992, 168-9; see also *fiʿl-i waṣfī* in Humāʾī, in *LN, Muqaddima*, 120, and Humāyunfarrukh, 519). Similarly, forms derived from present stem with (nonproductive) *-ân* or *-â* with limited force, e.g. *ravân* "running" or *dânâ* "learned, wise" are suggested to be also called "gerund" (see *gérondif* in Lazard 1989, 273; idem 1992, 167-8). This distinction itself and the true nature of these forms, however, remain to be clarified. The participle of obligation or possibility is formed by the full infinite plus a suffix *-i* like *didan-i* "[things ought] to be seen".

Passive formation: certain verbs can express the passive with the fully conjugated forms of the auxiliary *šodan* (or *gaštan*, *gardidan* in formal style or *âmadan* in very formal style and in the classical language) attached to the past participle of the main verb, e.g. *kharide mi-šavad* "is being bought", *kharide šod* "was bought", *kharide šode ast* "has been bought", *kharide khᵛâh-ad šode* "will be bought", *kharide šavad* "be bought" (subj.), etc. The agent of the action is rarely expressed by circumlocutions such as *be tavassoṭ-e* "by (lit. the intermediation of)", *az dast-e* "by (lit. by the hand of)", *az ṭaraf-e* "on behalf of", "by (lit. from the side of)", e.g. *Ḥasan az tavassoṭ-e Aḥmad košte šod* "Ḥ. was killed by Aḥmad", etc. The spoken style avoids passive formation. The place of passive forms in the verbal paradigm and the details of its morphology and semantics, especially those of verbal compound phrases (locutions) need further investigations (cf. *taqsim kard* "he divided (something among some persons)"—*taqsim šod* "it was divided (into sg.)", but *towżiḥ dâd* "he explained (sg.)"—*towżiḥ dâde šod* "explanation was given" (on the passive see J.A. Moyne, *The so-called passive in Persian*, in *Foundations of Language*, xii (1974), 249-67).

Note some additional features of verbal morphology: the so-called primary verbs like "to be", "to exist" or "to have" have a special, sometimes defected morphology, e.g.: the notion of the substantial verb is expressed with full forms (a), defective forms (b) or with clitics (c): a) forms based on *bud-* (II), *bâš-* (I) (or its archaic variant *bov-*) "to be", e.g. indic. present *mi-bâš-am* "I am" (lit.), past *bud-am* "I was" (it never takes the prefix *mi-* except in hypothetical clauses) and in present subj. *bâš-am* "may I be, etc.", imperative *bâš* "be" (these two forms never take the prefix *bi-*), old optative (used in formulas only) *bâd* or *bâdâ* "may it be!"; *hast* "exists" (*hast-am, hast-i, hast*, etc.), in negation *nistam, nisti, nist*, etc., but it has no infinitive); *dâštan* "to have" never takes the prefixes *mi-* and *be-* (it may take in certain verbal phrases, e.g. *dust mi-dâram* "I love (s.o.)"). For other defective forms of modal auxiliaries such as *khᵛâstan, khᵛâh-* "to wish, will", *(mi-)bâyest, bâyad* (inc. such archaic forms as *(mi-)bâyesti* "it is necessary, one must", see Lazard 1992, 137-42. On the other hand, the auxiliary *tavânestan, tavân-* "can" has a regular conjugation. On the modern usage of auxiliary expressions, see Parwīz Nāṭil Khānlarī, *Dar bāra-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran 1340/1961 (*passim*); Bāṭinī, *Masāʾil-i zabānshināsi-i nawin*, Tehran 1354/1975, 191.

This rather poor inventory of verbal morphology does not reveal all the underlying semantic distinctions which verb forms can cover. The overlap of tense and aspect or mood and aspect cause considerable difficulties whose details have not been wholly explored. In addition, the syntactic realisation of aspect can be limited by further facts, e.g. by social context or lexical choice. Therefore, the main oppositions may differ to some extent in formal and informal standards: the use of the so-called progressive forms, for instance, can alter aspectual oppositions (on this novelty in colloquial Persian see Salemann and Shukovski, 1888; Rozenfel'd 1948; Lazard 1957, 151 = 1992, 160; K. Kishāvarz, *Mudāriᶜ wa mādi-i malmūs*, in *Rāhnamā-yi kitāb*, v (1962), 687-94; S. Obolensky, *Persian basic course*, Washington 1963, 8, 253; M.R. Bāṭinī, *Sākhtimān-i dasturi-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran 1348/1969, 15; Jeremias, *Diglossia in Persian*, in *Acta Linguistica Acad. Scient. Hung.*, xxxiv (1983), 280-3). The most essential points of the semantics of verb forms are as follows: the present forms *mi-kon-am* "I do" and *be-kon-am* "that I do" (meaning obligation, possibility, etc.) express a clear opposition of moods between indicative and subjunctive expressed by verbal prefixes (*mi-*, *be-*). On the other hand, *mi-kon-am* "I do" and *dâr-am mi-kon-am* "I am (in act of) doing" are contrasted with reference to aspect: the first form is unmarked for aspect and *mi-* simply indicates indicative, but the periphrastic construction expresses a progressive ongoing action. This latter construction is stylistically marked: it occurs in the written and spoken informal standard only. In addition, its use is morphologically and also lexically limited: verbs form two disjoint sets according to their inherent aspectual properties: those which can appear in the progressive and those which cannot. The latter group called "stative" or "non-progressive" verbs, e.g. *istâdan* "to stand", *mordan* "to die", etc. expresses the present progressive by means of perfect (*nešaste-am* "I am sitting") and the past progressive by means

of pluperfect (*nešaste budam* "I was sitting"). These "stative" verbs have also progressive forms conveying another modal implication, the so-called "ingressive": *dâr-am mi-nešin-am* "I am going to sit down" (cf. Ṣādiḳī-Arzang 2535/1976, 40; Waḥīdiyān, 68). Because of this restricted use of progressive forms, the present indicative *mi-kon-am* can also convey various imperfective (continuous, durative, iterative, progressive, etc.) values, but in formal Persian only ("I do" or "I am doing"); in Modern spoken Persian this "aoristic" form means "I do" only.

The past tense offers a larger scale for expressing aspectual nuances than the present. The past forms *kard-am* "I did" and *mi-kard-am* "I was doing" convey distinctions between perfective (traditionally called simple past or "aoristic") and imperfective. Here the verbal prefix *mi-* can cover various aspectual values, e.g. continuous, iterative, durative and also progressive in formal Persian. Similarly to the present forms, informal Persian has an additional form with progressive value *dâšt-am mi-kard-am* "I was doing" in the past. This latter verb contrasts with continuous but non-progressive within imperfective (*mi-kard-am*) as well as with non-continuous (perfective) past forms (*kard-am*). It means that both *mi-kon-am* and *mi-kard-am* can cover more aspectual values in the formal language than the same form in the informal register. On the other hand, *mi-kon-am* "I do" (and also "I am doing" in formal Persian) and *kard-am* "I did" can be in opposition with the perfect *karde-am* "I have done" which indicates the present relevance of a past situation (e.g. *nâme-râ nevešte-am* "I have written the letter"). Note that this phonological form of the perfect belongs to the formal language. In the spoken variety, contracted forms are used like *kardé-am* > *kardam* with an ultimate stress vs. *kard-am* in the simple past which has stress on the stem (cf. stress in (iii) Phonology, above). The past perfect (called also pluperfect) *karde bud-am* "I had done" indicates an anterior event completed before another action was taking place (*vaqt-i ke Ḥasan vâred šod Piruz rafte bud* "When Ḥ. arrived P. had (already) gone"). In fact, these perfect forms belong to a semantically complex category of fairly wide applicability expressing various aspectual features of resultative character. It also includes an aspectual nuance called "inferential", "distanced past" or "auditive", a well-known aspectual category in Tādjīk and Turkic languages ("non-evident" verb forms). These terms indicate that the speaker is reporting an event which he has not witnessed himself and his knowledge is from second hand ("reported speech"). A series consisting of four such verbal forms (*karde-ast, mi-karde ast, dâste mi-karde ast, karde bude ast*) began to be interpreted as "inferential" in the Modern Persian paradigm only recently (see Windfuhr, *The verbal category of inference in Persian*, in *Acta Iranica*, xxii (1982), 263-87; Lazard, *L'inférentiel ou passé distantié en persan*, in *Stud. Ir.*, xiv (1985), 27-42; idem, 1989, 273). It should be noted, however, that in earlier descriptions of Persian grammar (Horn, in *GIPh*, 154; Jensen 1931, 158; Rastorgueva 1964, 38; Lazard 1957 = 1992; idem, 1963, 295) the "double" compound verb forms (sometimes mentioned only cursorily) were interpreted on the basis of their morphology as extended forms of the perfect, the imperfect or the past progressive (see *mi-karde ast* "the compound imperfect" in Lazard, 1992, 154 or "perfect durative" in Rastorgueva 1964, 43, *rafte bude ast* "the double compound past" or "the completed past of the perfect" in Lazard 1992, 156, *dâšte . . . mi-karde ast* "the completed past" of the progressive in Lazard, 1992, 160) and accordingly, they were regarded as forms which combined certain nuances of the perfect ("completed time") with the durative meaning of the imperfect, etc. Their relationship with equivalent Tādjīk forms were expressly denied (cf. Lazard, *Caractères distinctifs de la langue tadjik*, in *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique*, lii (1956), 151; idem 1963, 295). On the other hand, in one of the earliest descriptions of the informal standard of Modern Persian, Waḥīdiyān (1964, 62-4) described these forms as *naḳlī* "narrative" verb forms by giving the following examples: [*be-ṭowri ke mi-guy-and*] *Vaḥid az safar bar gašte* [*ast*] "[it is said that] V. has returned from journey" in contrast to *Vaḥid az safar bar gašt* "V. returned from journey", *goft ẓohr-hâ mi-khʷâbide-i* "He said [that] you used to sleep at noon" and [*mi-guy-and*] *dâšte mi-khʷorde* "[it is told] he was eating (had been eating)" (cf. also Ṣādiḳī 2535, 60-6). It is emphasised that if there are expressions like *ẓâheran, guyâ* "apparently", *mi-guy-and* "it is told" or *šanide-ast* "it is heard (reported)", etc. the use of the inferential is obligatory, otherwise it is the language users' choice.

For compound or periphrastic verbs, see below, V. Word formation and vocabulary.

The characteristics of the verbal system in the early classical periods of Persian: The morphological structure of verbal forms (prefix + stem + verbal suffix) is the same in the earlier periods of Persian as in Modern Persian. There are, however, essential differences both in the behaviour of certain constituents of the verbal form and also in the set of grammatical devices, the use of which was abandoned in the subsequent periods or preserved only for conveying highly formalised archaic or "neo-classical" style. Such a difference between Modern and Classical Persian appears in the use of verbal prefixes: the meaning and rules of their order and combination with each other and the two stems (past and present) varied widely: e.g. the classical prefixes (*ha*)*mī-* and *bi-* expressed mainly aspectual differences and could combine with both stems, e.g. *bi-raft, bi-šud* "(he) went away, passed away" with perfect, resultative nuance vs. (*ha*)*mī-ravad* "(he) is going" with continuous, progressive, iterative, etc., aspectual meaning (note that *hamī* was still used as an adverb in early classical sources written separately). These verbal prefixes preserved certain features of their origin in ancient texts: *bi* < Middle Persian *be-* was a preverb attached inseparable to the verb, while *hamī* < early Classical and Middle Persian *hamē* "always", being an adverb, moved freely, and its place became fixed only in later periods.

On the other hand, the minimal verbal form consisting of the present stem joined by personal suffixes (*rav-ad*) was used widely as an "aoristic" unmarked neutral form. Thus, with some oversimplification, the set of prefixes and suffixes attached to verbal stems remained unchanged almost totally in the past millennium, but the meaning and ordering of morphemes, that is, the internal composition of verbal forms varied significantly throughout history. For the details of the combinations of the verbal prefixes (*ha*)*mī-* and *bi-* or *bi-* and the negation *na-* or (*ha*)*mī* prefixed to imperative and nominal forms, or *bi-* prefixed to forms in the simple past, complex verbal forms or nominal forms, etc. see Lazard 1963, 274-326; Aḥmadī Gīwī, *Dastūr-i tārīkhī-i fiʿl*, passim; on the pre-classical use of the preverb *bi-*, see J. Josephson, *The preverb be and the verb kardan in Book Pahlavi Texts*, in *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*, ed. B.G. Fragner *et al.*, Rome 1995, 335-46.

Early Classical Persian texts have preserved a group of archaic elements of verbal morphology (see the

ancient forms of personal suffixes or verb forms without any suffix, etc.). The most characteristic features of this early period are: the morpheme *-ī* < *ē(d)* attached to conjugated forms (incl. the clitic forms of the verb "to be" or rarely, stem forms) was used in differing functions in present and past forms expressing various values of mood (optative, conditional or irreal modality), but in the past it could also convey the habitual, durative, etc., nuances of aspect (similarly to *(ha)mī-*). In old prose it appears to have been a productive morpheme and was used simultaneously with the verbal prefixes *bi-* and *(ha)mē-*, but subsequently it fell into disuse and its function was taken over gradually by the verbal prefix *mī-* even though not completely—the morphology and semantic values of these forms or the differing use of *-ē* and *-ēd* have not been fully explored, see the examples in Aḥmadī Gīwī, 337-42, and Lazard 1963, 327-38, e.g. *agar man ānjā na-budam-ē* . . . "If I had not been there . . ." (irreal), or *čūn pēš-i payghāmbar āmad-ē guft-ē* "when he used to come to the Prophet he used to say . . ." (habitual). For other archaic elements occurring in ancient texts such as the old precative or optative (*dār-ād, rasān-ād, kun-ād*), the imperative formed by *-ē* (*dih-ē, bi-firist-ē*), the type of the perfect (*kardast-am*), or verbal (and also nominal) forms followed by the morpheme *-ā* conveying the vocative or exclamative (*guft-ā*), and for the verbal morphology and syntax of ancient texts, consult Lazard 1963; Bahār, *Sabk-shināsī*, Tehran [2]1337/1958; Aḥmadī Gīwī, Tehran 1380/2001.

2. *Nouns and noun phrases*

Generalities: Nouns, adjectives and partly adverbs are forms which do not exhibit any specific morphological feature (e.g. ending) that would indicate their word class individually. They easily enter into another word-class while materially they remain the same and may occur in various syntactic functions. See the examples *pir* "old" and "old man", *mard* "man" and "brave" (cf. *mard-tar* comp., *kheyli mard ast* "he is very brave"), or *bâlâ* used as an adverb (*bâlâ âmadan* "to come up(wards)") or as an attributive (*otâq-e bâlâ* "the upper room", cf. *bâlâ -tar* comp.) or as a noun (*bâlâ-ye khiyâbân* "the upper part of the street"); or *khub* "good" and "well" (*dokhtar-e khub* "good girl" and *khub mi-khwânad* "he reads well").

The noun or noun phrase can function as subject, object and various complements expressed by prepositional phrases in the sentence. These syntactic roles or such grammatical categories as determination (definiteness and indefiniteness) are expressed by postponed markers (called sometimes exponents, suffixes, particles or post-positions) and by determiners of various types; occasionally they can also remain unmarked. The markers attached to the noun (phrase) display a set of stressed and unstressed grammatical morphemes of various natures (*iḍāfa*, plural- or object-markers and articles). A striking characteristic of Persian is that the noun and its marker(s) are not closely knit; markers do not constitute inseparable elements of the word they are joined to. They can move relatively freely, although to varying degrees, and can be attached to one noun, to a chain of nouns or a noun phrase as a whole. The sequence of these markers, their phonetic forms (allomorphs) or even the rules of their presence or absence are not always firmly fixed. Their use is governed by stylistic factors and vary also in different phases of Persian. In ancient texts their place and sequence were freer than in more recent sources, where they tend to move towards the end of the noun phrase in an ordered sequence (esp. the object marker *-râ*) if there is more than one marker. This sort of "group inflection" (a traditional, but not quite appropriate term) is a characteristic of New Persian which, in this point, differs significantly from the behaviour of the formatives of the agglutinating languages or from the nominal inflection of the ancient Indo-European languages. In the latter, word-classes, traditionally called parts of speech, are morphologically recognisable and the basic syntactic relations are expressed by case endings attached to specific stem-forms and only to those. In Persian this old type of nominal inflection was gradually abandoned and the new way of marking morpho-syntactic categories developed by the Islamic period (see Telegdi, *Zur Morphologie des Neupersischen*, in *AO Hung.*, xii (1961), 183-99; idem, *Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik des Neupersischen. I. Über die Partikelkomposition im Neupersischen*, in *AO Hung.*, v (1955), 75); Lazard 1992, 262-4.

Gender, number and other categories (the morphemes -i, -e, -râ): Gender is not marked morphologically in Persian. Female and male can be expressed lexically by the words *mâde* "female" and *nar(re)* "male" pre- or postponed (the latter, which is more colloquial, is constructed with *iḍāfa*), such as *mâde-šir* or *šir-e mâde* "lioness" and *nar-šir* or *šir-e nar* "(male) lion". The feminine ending of the Arabic loans *-at* > Class. Pers. *-a* > Mod. Per. *-e* (*malek* "king", *maleke* "queen", but also *-at* as in *sâ'at* "hour") is rarely used with words of Persian origin, such as *hamšir—hamšire* "brother—sister" (formal). In a very formal style an adjectival modifier following an Arabic broken plural may appear in an Arabicised feminine form (*mamâlek-e khâreje* "foreign countries" vs. standard *mamâlek-e khârej*).

Plural is expressed by two alternating stressed morphemes: *-hâ* with inanimates and *-ân* (variants: *-gân* or *-yân* according to the word's final vowel) with human beings, such as *ketâb-hâ* "books", *zan-ân* "women" or *bande-gân* "servants" (exceptions are numerous, e.g. *derakht-ân* "trees", *akhtar-ân* "stars", etc.). The stressed plural marker has a firmly fixed position immediately following the noun. Sometimes it may also be added to constructions consisting of two nouns in juxtaposition or adjectival phrase, such as [*kot-o šalvâr*]*-hâ* "coat-and-trousers = suits".

In Modern Persian, except in very formal styles, *-hâ* is widely used in place of *-ân*. In addition, certain Arabic loans have preserved their original plural formation, both regular (*-ât, -jât, -iyât, -in, -yun, -âlât*) or irregular ("broken plural"), such as e.g. *kalema* "word" and *kalemât* "words" or *vazir* "minister" and *vozarâ* "ministers". In the formal language, the plural marker *-ât* or *-jât* occur with non-Arabic words as well, e.g. *farmâyeš-ât* "instructions" or *mive-jât* "fruits". Arabic broken plurals were widely used in Classical Persian and continue to be retained in modern formal style. Sometimes Persian plural markers are also added to Arabic broken plurals cumulating the two types of plural formation, such as *zarf* "vessel", *zoruf* or *zoruf-hâ* "vessels". In the classical period, certain Persian words were re-borrowed from Arabic with their broken plurals modelled on patterns of Arabic morphology (where they are in use to this day), such as *farmân* "order" and *farâmin* "orders", *bostân* "garden" and *basâtin* "gardens", etc. Certain nouns have double plurals, each with its separate meaning, such as *sar-ân* "chiefs" and *sar-hâ* "heads" or *ḥarf-hâ* "letters" and *ḥoruf* "speeches". Selection from among the alternative plural forms is mainly governed by stylistic factors.

There is a special use of the plural marker *-hâ* occurring in adverbial expressions conveying a shade of meaning "approximation" (cf. *ba'd-hâ* "afterwards" in Lazard 1992, 93; *birun-hâ* "somewhere outside",

tu-hâ "somewhere inside" in G. Hincha, *Beiträge zu einer Morphemlehre des Neupersischen*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 143-60).

Historically, both *-ān* (< Old Iranian pl. gen. **-ānām*) and *-hā* (< Book Pahlavi *-īhā*) had their roots in Middle Persian. The former was older and more widely used with all sorts of nouns, but the latter took its place gradually (see W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersisch*, in *CLI*, 155). For further details cf. Jensen, 38-41; Lazard 1963, 195-9; idem 1992, 57-66; R. Humāyūnfarrukh, *Dastūr-i djāmiʿ-i zabān-i fārsī*, ²Tehran n.d. (¹1337/1958), 253-74; M. Muʿīn, *Mufrad wa djamʿ*, Tehran ⁵1369/1991; Hincha 1961, 141-60.

Iḍāfa (*possessive and attributive constructions*): The modification of a noun with a following modifier is expressed by a clitic vowel *-e* or after vowels *-ye* (Class. Pers. *-i* or *-yi*) attached to the head noun(s). The construction is called *iḍāfa* (Class. Pers. *iżāfa*, Mod. Pers. *eżâfe*) "annexation" (cf. the similar but not wholly equivalent construction in Arabic). The head noun(s) in singular or plural is (are) followed by one or more modifiers, which can be an adjective (as in most cases) or a noun, a pronoun, or more complex spatial and temporal expressions consisting of nouns, adjectives, prepositions, etc. Two main types can be distinguished according to their inner structures: *ketâb-e bozorg* "the big book" and *ketâb-e pedar* "the book of the father" (called Ez. I and Ez. II by Hincha, 148-51, or *tarkib-e vasfi* "descriptive composition" and *tarkib-e eżâfi* "possessive c." by native grammarians). If the first type is extended by another adjective, the new modifier refers to the head noun ([*ketâb*]*-e bozorg-e fârsi* "the big Persian book"), while in the second case the new modifier refers to the second noun-member of the construction (*ketâb-e* [*pedar*]*-e fârsi* "the book of the Persian father" which itself functions as a head as well. More complex noun-phrase structures may contain a long chain of modifiers (*tadvin-e dastur-e zabân-e fârsi* "the codification of the grammar of the Persian language" or [Ferdowsi,] *sokhanguy-e piruzi-ye niki bar badi* "[F.,] an orator of the victory of goodness over badness"), sometimes representing a reduced relative clause (*kaleme-hâ-ye makhtum be hâ-ye gheyr-e malfuz-e fârsi* ("words with non-spoken final *h*"). Theoretically, noun phrases can be indefinitely extended, but their complexity is constrained by perception factors. Depending on the semantic relation between the head and its modifier(s), several subtypes can be listed: e.g. qualification by a noun indicating origin (*âb-e češme* "well-water") or material (*ketâb-e adabiyât* "the book of literature") or specification (*šahr-e Tehrân* "the city of T.", *mazhab-e eslâm* "the religion of Islam" etc.). Detailed descriptions of these types in rhetorical terms as *haqiqi* "literal" vs. *majâzi* "metaphorical" etc., can be found in native literature (see Muʿīn, *Iżāfa* (*the genitive case*), Tehran ⁵1370/1991). Titles and other designations may occur either with *iḍāfa* (*âqâ* "mister", *janâb*, *hazrat* "excellence, honour, dignity", *marhum* "late") or without *iḍāfa* (*doktor*, *hakim*, *šeykh*). If a head noun is suffixed by the indefinite *-i*, the adjective attributive follows it without *iḍāfa* (*ketâb-i bozorg* "a big book"). This construction is characteristic of formal Modern Persian only, but it was commonly used in Classical Persian. Another characteristic of the ancient language is that modifiers (both nouns and adjectives) often precede the head noun. In this case there is no *iḍāfa* construction, the constituents stand in juxtaposition (*delir mard* "a brave man", *Irân šahr* "the empire of Iran", cf. Lazard 1963, 200-3). The connecting vowel *-e* (in classical transcription *-i*) may be dropped both in the classical poetry due to the requirements of prosody and in modern dialects or in colloquial styles (in rapid speech), especially in frequently used expressions (*pedarbozorg* "grandfather", *janâb-ʿâli* "Sir", etc.).

Historically, the *iḍāfa* construction developed fully by the New Persian period (see the use of the partly equivalent and scarcely occurring Middle Persian relative particle *-ī* in Sundermann, *Mittelpersisch*, 158-9).

Several details, esp. the syntactic-semantic relations between the constituents of the multiple *iḍāfa* structures, which are characteristic of the formal written style, remain unresolved (see L.S. Peysikov, *Voprosi sintaksisa persidskogo yazïka*, Moscow 1959, 41-108 (the most detailed description); M.R. Bāṭini, *Tawṣīf-i dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran 1348/1969, 137-52; Lazard 1992, 66-71; idem 1989, 275).

Definiteness—indefiniteness: The unstressed clitic *-i* (< Class. Pers. *-ī*, < early Class. Pers. *-ē* < Old Persian *aiva-* "one") traditionally called "indefinite article" or "article of unity" is joined to a noun in singular or plural or to a noun phrase, e.g. *ketâb-i* "a book" or *ketâb-hâ-i* "some, certain books" (vs. *ketâb-hâ* "books") or *ketâb-e bozorg-i* "a big book". In the colloquial language indefiniteness is often expressed by the numeral *yek* "one" which precedes the noun (*yek ketâb* "a book") and may be used simultaneously with the clitic *-i* (*yek ketâb-i*). Although the expressions *yek ketâb* and *yek ketâb-i* appear to be equivalent in certain contexts, they may also have different stylistic values. There are, for instance, cases, where *-i* and *yek* are not interchangeable; see the terms "Kennzeichnung der Individualisierheit" ("the sign of individualisation") for *yek* and "Restriktion" ("restriction") for *-i* by Hincha, 169-70, e.g. *yek ruz* "eines (bestimmten) Tages" ("a particular day") vs. *ruz-i* "pro Tag, ein einzelner Tag" ("daily, every day"). Although the fine points of the use of the clitic *-i* have not been wholly explored, there can be a restricting function, which appears to make the reference of the noun phrase more precise. In addition, its relatively independent character are manifested in phrases like in the following examples by Ḥidjāzī (quoted from Telegdi, 1961, 192): *javân-e šekaste va nâkhoš-i* "a tired (lit. broken) and sick young man" (Hidâyat) or *har jâhel-e az donyâ bikhabar-i* "each ignoramus who does not understand the world", or *dar donyâ-i digar* "einer anderen Welt" "in a different world" (Cubak). This latter type was especially common in Classical Persian, where the clitic *-i* tended to be joined to the first head noun.

The same clitic morpheme *-i* with a restricting function can be attached to the antecedent of a restrictive relative clause (*mard-i ke tu-ye otâq ast* "the man who is in the room"). (This morpheme is called *yâ-ye ešâre* by native grammarians.) The antecedent noun may be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun and is compatible with the stressed object suffix *-râ* (*ân mard-i-râ ke...* "that man whom...") and the stressed morpheme *-e* which is used only in colloquial style (*ân mard-é-i ke...* "that man who..."). According to Hincha, the clitic *-i* is in complementary distribution with Ez. II and the pronominal possessive suffix *-aš* in each position (171). There is considerable disagreement, however, on whether these two functions of the clitic *-i* with different distributions are to be regarded as one or two morphemes. Native speakers seem to distinguish the two functions (cf. Lazard, *L'enclitique nominal -i en persan: un ou deux morphemes*, in *BSL*, li (1966), 249-64; idem, 1989, 275-6). For more details see Meier, 139-44; Windfuhr, 3-40; Ch. Lehmann, *Yā-ye ešārat. Zur Grammatik der persischen Relativsatzes*, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, lxxxii (1977), 97-106.

A stressed morpheme *-e* is used after nouns in

singular (*hotel-é* "the hotel [in question])" as if it was a definite article (Hincha's term is "Punktualisierung", 176), but its use is restricted to the colloquial style in Modern Persian only. In formal language there is no direct way of expressing definiteness, but it is possible to indicate the definite or indefinite nature of the noun acting as an object in the sentence (see the object suffix *-râ*). The morpheme *-e* has a limited distribution as it may occur with demonstrative pronouns (*ân pesar-ê*), but never with the so-called indefinite "article" *-i* (for a different view, see Hincha, 176). If the *-é* is joined to a noun phrase (Ez. I) the *eżâfe* vowel *-e* is dropped, e.g. *ketâb-bozorg-é* (cf. ʿA.A. Ṣādiḳī, *Dastūr. Sāl-i duwwum*, Tehran 2535/1976, 131). Apparently its occurrence is widespread in both Persian and non-Persian dialects (see Christensen 1939, 42, and also Windfuhr, 41).

The object marker -râ: The unstressed morpheme *-râ* (also called particle or postposition, which indicates its relatively independent or word-like character) is attached to a noun in singular or plural, or to a noun phrase of whatever length, indicating direct object under certain conditions. These "conditions" are a matter of debate and are impossible to grasp by hard and fast rules: its place, functions, appearance or disappearance seem to be dependent on grammatical, semantic and stylistic factors. In the sequence of the postponed morphemes which can follow a noun or a noun phrase, *-râ* is always the last in the sequence in Modern Persian (e.g. *ketâb-hâ-i-râ*). It is said to mark the direct object in the sentence if it is made "definite" by pre- and postponed determiners, modifiers or by context, e.g. *ân ketâb-râ* "that book (acc.)", *ketâb-e u-râ* "his book (acc.)", *ketâb-râ khʷândam* "I read the book". There are cases, however, where the direct object can also be followed both by the morpheme *-i* and by *-râ*. In these cases the morpheme *-i* appears to make the object not indefinite, but rather restrictive or "individuated", e.g. *ketâb-i-râ* "a certain book (acc.)". On the other hand, the object marker is not used if the object is generic, e.g. *šab-hâ ketâb mi-khʷânam* "in the evenings I read book(s)" (cf. Lazard 1989, 280). The rationale for its occurrence is far from clear. It may be connected with the semantic nature of the noun acting as object or with the relationship between object and predicate ("caractère humain de l'objet" or "absence d'affinité sémantique entre le verbe et l'objet") or, with the complexity of the expression (cf. Lazard 1989, 280; idem 1992, 74-6, 183-90). Its use in the colloquial language is very unsteady: it is often missing where formal language would use it.

In Modern Persian *-râ* sometimes appears where a direct object marker is not expected to occur. Some of the instances of these "uncommon" uses of the morpheme *-râ* do occur in both formal and informal Modern Persian, while others may be seen only in the very formal (literary) style. The first group includes elliptic exclamative phrases, such as *khodâ-râ šokr* "thanks to God", *to-râ be-khodâ* "I swear you by God" or *khodâ-râ* "for God's sake!" or *qażâ-râ* (= *az qażâ*) "by chance". An emphatic use of the morpheme *-râ* introducing a topic at the beginning of the sentence occurs in the less formal style, such as *to-râ ce kâr konam?* "What am I to do with you?" (lit. "As for you, what shall I do?"). Sometimes it is used with adverbial expressions denoting time (*zohr-râ* "at noon" quoted by Lazard from Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat). The second group whose construction is characteristic of the very formal (literary) style in Modern Persian consists of expressions where the noun followed by *-râ* features as indirect object, like *to-râ goftam* [= *be to goftam*] "I told you" or *šomâ-râ kâr dâram* [= *bâ šomâ kâr dâram*] "I have to speak to you". In these examples *-râ* is substituted by prepositions in the equivalent expressions which are equivalent grammatically but not stylistically. Another archaic and very formal use of this morpheme is the construction where *-râ* is attached to the complement of the existential verb "to be" expressing possession (that is, to the possessor noun), such as *u-râ pesar-i bud* "he had a son", an equivalent of the sentence *u pesar-i dâšt* (cf. Lazard 1992, 191; Hincha, 186). These latter two functions are obviously remnants of old usage. Not only these two points but the whole domain of its use (place, functions, distribution, etc.) show differences between Modern and Classical Persian displaying also dialectal variations (cf. its use with the proposed particle *mar*). See further details in Telegdi 1961, 194; Lazard 1963, 356-84; idem, *Le morpheme râ en persan et les relations actancielles*, in *BSL*, lxxvii (1982), 177-207; I.K. Ovtsinnikova, *Funktsii posleloga rā v sovremennon literaturnom persidskom yazīke*, in *Trudi Instituta yazīkoznaniya*, vi (1956), 356-391; idem, *Ispol'zovanie posleloga* rā *v proizvedeniyakh tadjikskikh i persidskikh klassiceskikh avtorov (XI-XV vv.)*, in *TIY*, vi (1956), 392-408.

3. *Adjectives and adjective phrases*

Adjectives are invariable words in Persian showing no distinction of gender, number or case. Comparative adjectives are formed by the suffixes *-tar* and *-tarin* (*boland-tar* "high" *boland-tarin* "highest", note that the same suffix can be attached to adverbs as well). There are certain adjectives which have suppletive comparative and superlative forms, see *beh*, and *beh-tar* ("better"), *beh-tarin* ("best") in relation to *khub* "good" or *biš*, *biš-tar* ("more, numerous") in relation to *besyâr* "much, many", etc. These doublets can be used in different social contexts in Modern Persian. The comparison between two gradable adjectives are made by the preposition *az* (*in pesar az ân boland-tar ast* "this boy is taller than that"). Superlative forms usually precede the head noun (*qadim-tarin ketâb* "the oldest book"), similarly to certain adjectives with special semantic value (*khub pesar-i* ("a good boy", see Lazard 1989, 277). Adjectives may be preceded by adverbs or adverb phrases. The most commonly used premodifiers of this type are *besyâr, kheyli* "very", *ʿajab* "strange" (*mas'ale-ye kheyli mohem(m)* "very important problem").

For ancient comparative and superlative forms like *meh, mehin* ("greater, greatest"), *beh, behin* ("better, best"), the doublets *khub-tar/beh-tar* and some additional points of their use or modes of intensification in both Modern and Classical Persian, see Lazard 1992, 81-9; idem 1963, 201-14.

Because of their "unmarked" nature, adjectives easily change their word-class membership without any morphological modification—for instance, a large part of them can be used as nouns or adverbs (see above, I. Generalities). The syntactic behaviour of these words, which obtain their new meaning via transposition, is similar to the other members of the same word-class even though their original word-class attributes do not disappear completely. For instance, nominalised adjectives take the same exponents as the noun proper while preserving some features of their own in certain constructions (e.g. in *iḍāfa* or in compounds such as *deltang* and *tangdel*, see Telegdi, *Zur Unterscheidung von Substantiv und Adjektiv im Neupersischen*, in *AO Hung.*, xv (1962), 325-36).

4. *Adverbs and adverb phrases*

This heterogeneous class overlaps with other word classes such as nouns, adjectives or prepositions, etc. The group of words which are traditionally regarded as adverbs are *konun/aknun* "now", *emruz* "today", *fardâ*

"tomorrow", *zir* "under", *zebar* "above", *nazdik* or *nazd* "near", *dur* "far", *ʿaqab* "behind", *piš* "before", *pas* "after", *birun* "outside", *bâlâ* "up", *pâin* "down", *sakht* "very", etc., in addition to the morphologically derived adverbs (of manner in most cases) created from adjectives by the still creative suffix of Arabic origin *-an*, e.g. *ettefâqan* "by chance", *jeddan* "seriously", *jânan* "whole-heartedly", etc. The syntactic behaviour of certain simple adverbs, however, varies according to the constructions where they occur. For instance, *piš, pas, birun, bâlâ, pâin* used in combination with verbs of movement function as adverbs of space (*bâlâ raft* or *raft bâlâ* "he went up" in modern colloquial); used in noun phrase they appear as attributives (*otâq-e bâlâ* "the upper room, mansard", *šab-e piš* "the previous night"); used in adverb phrases, they behave as nouns (called "adverbes-substantifs" by Lazard 1957, 84 = 1992, 90; for a different view see Telegdi 1961, 187-9) displaying nearly all the properties nouns have though to varying degrees. That is, they may occur with or without prepositions, with certain determiners (e.g. demonstrative pronouns) and plural markers indicating "approximation" (cf. Telegdi 1961, 189; Lazard 1992, 65). They also occur in *iḍāfa* constructions, but they never appear with articles (see *bâlâ* "the upper part, top, height" in the examples *dar bâlâ-ye* "above, over s.th.", *bâlâ-ye kuh* "at the top of the mountain", etc. or *hamin aknun* "just now", *baʾd-hâ* "later" or more complex phrases such as *az emruz be-fardâ* "from today till tomorrow", cf. Telegdi 1961, 187-9). Actually, a large group of nouns may also occur in such adverb phrases either with or without prepositions (e.g. (*dar*) *pošt-e divâr* "behind the wall", *be manzel* [*raft*] *manzel* "he went home" (colloquial), see prepositional phrases). Similarly, most of the adjectives may function as adverbials (of manner in most cases, called "adjectifs-adverbes" by Lazard 1957, 79 = 1992, 90, e.g. *tond* "quick, quickly"). For various ways of intensifying or concretising the meanings of adverbial expressions, see *tanhâ* "alone", *ham* "also, even", *niz* "also", *ḥattâ* "even", *bâz-ham* "still, yet", etc. (see Lazard 1992, 90-5).

The manifold behaviour of certain adverbs might be explained by their historical development: e.g. *bâlâ* and *pâin* were originally nouns, but they became adverbs while preserving some features of their former class-membership. By contrast, some old adverbs (*bar, dar, foru, farâ*) became fixed in preverbal position used formally as verbal prefixes (and not as adverbs) and formed a single lexical item with the verb while abandoning their independent meaning as adverbs (e.g. MP *abar āmadan* > Class. P. *bar āmadan* "to rise [sun]" > Mod. P. *bar âmadan* "to cope, rise [dough]"). Note that some of them became obsolete already in the classical language and were substituted by "new" adverbs, e.g. *foru* by *pâin* "down" or *dar* by *tu* "in"; others merged into one single word (see the modern homophones of various origins, e.g. Class. Persian *andar* > *dar* "in" (adv.) and *dar* "door" (noun) in classical phrases such as *dar āmadan* "to come in" and (*ba-*)*dar āmadan* "to come out" > Mod. Pers. *dar âmadan* "to come out"—for substitution, see Class. Persian *bar âmadan* → Mod. Pers. *bâlâ raftan* "to rise, go up").

In addition, in the course of time certain adverbs had partly or wholly lost their ancient meaning, e.g. *piš* or *pas* were local-temporal adverbs in Classical Persian, but they have only temporal reference in Modern Persian, or *bar* in *bar ašoftan* = *ašoftan* "flare up, agitate" (see also the modern continuation of the old homophones: MP *abar* > Cl. Pers. *bar* "up, on" and MP *war* > Cl. Pers. *bar* "breast" [noun] > Mod. P. (*az*) *bar*(*-e*) "over, upon, on [prep.]"). For more details of these highly heterogeneous, sometimes obscure groups of words called adverbs or sometimes particles, see Telegdi 1955; idem, 1961.

5. *Prepositions or prepositional phrases*

There are only a few true prepositions in Persian such as *be* "to, at, in, with", etc., *dar* "in, into (litera.)", *bar* "on, to", *az* "from, since", *bâ* "with", *bi* "without", *tâ* "until", *joz* "except", *čun/čon* "as, like". They can precede the noun (*dar otâq* "in the room"), the noun phrase (*dar otâq-e bozorg* "in the big room") or the co-ordinated nouns (*dar otâq va âšpazkhâne* "in the room and the kitchen"). These prepositions are never followed by *iḍāfa*.

In addition, there are various types of "compound" prepositions: e.g. adverbs followed by prepositions (*piš az* "before (of time)", *qabl az* "before", *pas az* "after"), nouns (or substantivised adverbs) with or without prepositions connected to another noun via *iḍāfa* (*dar pošt-e divâr* "behind the wall", *az taraf-e* "from the side of" *be-taraf-e* "towards", *be tavassot-e* "by (the intervening of)" (*dar*) *tu-ye* "in(side)", *az zir-e* "from under" etc., or adjectives followed by prepositions (*râje' be* "concerning", etc.).

Both true prepositions and the connecting vowel of *iḍāfa* may be dropped in colloquial style (see Lazard 1992, 76-9).

There were some more prepositions in Classical Persian, but they became obsolete in post-classical Persian as early lexicographic sources indicate, e.g. *andar, foru, farâ*, etc. Another characteristic of Classical Persian was the joint use of certain prepositions (*be, bar*) and certain postpositions (*bar, (an)dar, bâz*), e.g. *be Yaman dar* "in Y." (cf. Lazard 1963, 399-421; Kh.Kh. Rahbar, *Dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī. Kitāb-i ḥurūf-i iḍāfa wa rabṭ*, [2]Tehran 1367/1988, 69-396).

6. *Numerals*

The cardinal numerals between 1 and 20 (*yek* "1", *do* "2", *se* "3", etc.), all tens (*si* "30", *čehel* "40", *panjâh* "50", etc.), hundreds (*sad* "100", *devist* "200", *sisad* "300", etc.) and thousand (*hezâr*) are single words. The other numbers consist of either two or three or more words connected by *o* "and" (e.g. *bist-o yek* "21", *hezâr-o yek* "1001", *do hezâr-o bist-o yek* "2021", etc.). Nouns following the cardinal numerals are normally in singular (*do ketâb* "two books"). Characteristic of Persian is the use of so-called "numeratives" words, a certain type of classifiers, between the numerals and the head noun. The most used "numeratives" are *nafar, tan, tâ, dast*, etc. (*do nafar dânešju* "two (persons) students", *do tâ ketâb* "two (pieces) books"). Ordinals are derived from cardinals with the suffixes *-om* or *-omin* (*čahâr-om* or *čahâr-omin* "fourth"). If they consist of more than one member they are attached to the last member, e.g. [*yek hezâr-o panjâh-o hašt*]*-om* "1058". The two series of ordinal numerals (*panj-om* or *panj-omin* "fifth") display different syntactic and semantic characteristics. The first type used as an attributive follows the head noun with *iḍāfa* (*ketâb-e panjom* "the fifth book") but the second precedes it (*panjomin ketâb*). For their differing semantic values, see Lazard 1992, 101. The first cardinal numerals have a variety of forms (*yekom / avval / nokhost* "first", *dovvom / deyyom* "second", *sevvom / seyyom* "third"). For various numerical expressions, see Lazard 1992, 102-5.

7. *Pronouns: personal, possessive, reflexive, reciprocal, demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite*

Personal and some other pronouns can be expressed in two different ways: by stressed independent words or by clitic morphemes. The members of the two sets can substitute each other in certain, but not in all

positions. The choice of clitic pronouns is heavily dependent on stylistic factors.

Stressed personal pronouns have the distinction of number (singular and plural), person (1st, 2nd and 3rd), and gender with a strictly limited force (animate and inanimate in the 3rd person): *man* "I", *to* "you", *u, vey* (lit.) or *ân* (denoting inanimate things in most cases) "he/she/it", *mâ* "we", *šomâ* "you", *išân* or *ânhâ* "they". There is a variety of forms and meanings in polite or colloquial usage. For instance, characteristic of modern colloquial is the occurrence of plural forms with a singular value or the forms *mâ-hâ* "we, us", *šomâ-hâ*" "you". *Išân* (coll. *išun*) is often used as a polite equivalent of the third person singular pronoun. Similarly, in polite speech, the first or second person pronouns in singular may be substituted by various forms, e.g. *bande* "servant", *in jâneb* "this side" (lit.), *janâb-e ʿâli/ʿâli janâb* "Your Excellency" (see further details, incl. concordance, below, in 8. *Syntax*).

Personal pronouns, as usual, share the functions of nouns, but not all of them. For instance, they may be preceded by prepositions, e.g. *bâ mâ* "with us", or postponed by object markers, e.g. *mâ-râ* "us (acc)" (but see *man-râ* > *ma-râ* "me (acc.)"). Having determining function they are used with *iḍāfa* (*ketâb-e mâ* "our book") acting as a quasi-possessive pronoun. But in this function pronouns do not exhibit exactly the same syntax as nouns or adjectives when they act as modifiers. For instance, they do not allow any further extension of the noun phrase, but they terminate the chain of noun(s) and adjective(s) (cf. *ketâb-e bozorg-e mâ* "our big books", *ketâb-e pedar-e mâ* "the book of my father" or *ketâb-e pedar-e bozorg-e mâ* "the book of my grandfather").

Clitic pronouns are: *-am, -at/-et* (coll.), *-aš/-eš* (coll.) in the singular and *-emân, -etân, ešân* in the plural. As a matter of fact, these clitic morphemes are personal suffixes used in two differing functions: if they are attached to the noun phrase acting as determiner they refer to the possessor as a kind of "determinative possessives" or, if they are used as complements in verbal phrases they refer to the direct or indirect object, rarely (and redundantly) the subject. These clitics, although their phonological shapes and allophones are the same in both functions, differ as for their modification or complementation: clitics used in determinative functions appear to be suffix-morphemes and the word so produced has a complex morpheme structure (*ketâb-aš* = *ketâb-e u* "his book") which can take the object marker (*ketâb-aš-râ* "his book (acc.)"). In the second case, where clitics are used to denote complements of verbs or verbal phrases, the verb and its complement appear to be rather a syntactic construction that cannot be extended (*didam-aš* [= *u-râ didam*] "I saw him", *dâdam-aš* [= *be-u dâdam*] "I gave him (s.th.)" or *nist-eš* [= *u nist*] "he is out (coll.)"). This construction itself is rather unique in that it can be expressive of both the predicate and the object or (more rarely) the subject (cf. É. Jeremias, *Some grammatical problems of early New Persian syntax*, in *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*, ed. Fragner *et alii*, Rome 1995, 325-34.)

Other more peripheral functions (partitive, anaphoric, emphatic or pleonastic) of these clitic pronouns (especially the form *-eš*) are very common in informal registers (see more details in Lazard 1992, 109-16). Certain constructions, e.g. if prepositions are followed by such clitics (*az-eš* = *az u* "from him") or they are attached to the non-verbal part of compound verbs (*dust-et dâram* = *dust dâram to-râ* "I love you"), occur hardly ever in formal style. The use of pronominal clitics in earlier periods of Persian was not exactly the same as in Modern Persian. Its occurrence as possessive affix is an innovation of New Persian shared by most of the West Iranian languages. The possessive affixes rigidly attached to the correlative words must have been fully developed in earliest prose. There is, however, a significant difference in frequency in comparison with modern usage. They are used less frequently and in most cases with a limited set of words (e.g. *pedar, mâdar, pesar, khodâ*).

On the other hand, their use as verbal complement continues an old tradition, which itself has not however remained unchanged. In old texts their place was not rigidly fixed; they appeared in various positions in the sentence, although a tendency can be seen to attach them to verbs or to the nominal part of verbal phrases. In some rare examples they appeared after words already extended by other grammatical morphemes (e.g. Class. Pers. *par-ē-š* "one of his feather(s)", cf. Jeremias 1995, 328). This very archaic usage disappeared later.

Reflexive pronouns are *khod, khištan* "oneself" and *khiš* "his, her". The first two are pronouns used in formal language having no distinction of number or person, but they can be constructed with prepositions, followed by the object suffix *-râ* or used as a determinative possessive word with *iḍāfa* (*bâ khod, khod-râ, pedar-e khod*). In colloquial language they are always used with determinative possessive affixes (*khod-am, khod-et, khod-eš*, etc.). *Khiš* is an adjective acting as determiner (*mâdar-e khiš-râ dust dârad* "she loves her mother") and in this function it may be regarded as a formal equivalent of *khod* and *khištan*. In Classical Persian *khiš* (< early Class. Pers. *khēš*) was also used as pronoun beside *khod* and *khištan* (cf. Lazard 1963, 230).

Reciprocal pronouns are *yekdigar, hamdigar* "each other, one another" with the same distinctions as the reflexive pronouns obtain (*yekdigar-râ dust dârand* "they love each other"). See also the independent use of *ham* (*bâ ham* "together"), which is not to be confused with the particle *ham* "also, even" or the copulative conjunction *ham . . . va ham* "and . . . and".

Demonstrative pronouns distinguish singular and plural and can be simple (*in* "this" and *in-hâ* "these", *ân* "that" and *ân-hâ* "those") or compounded with the particle *ham* "same, very" (*hamin* "this same one", *hamân* "that same one") or *čon-, čen-* < *čun* (*čonin, čenin, hamčenin* "like this", etc.). Simple demonstratives precede the noun and remain invariable in the plural if they are used as determiners (*in zan* "this woman", *in zan-ân* "these women").

Interrogative pronouns are: *ke/ki* (coll.) "who", *kehâ/ki(h)â* (coll.) (pl.), *če/či* (coll.) "what", *čehâ/čihâ*" (coll.) (pl.), *kodâm(hâ)* "which one(s)". The latter two pronouns can be used as adjectives as well. *Čand/čandom* "how much/many" shares the syntax with cardinals: it precedes the noun in singular (*čand ruz* "how many days"), but its other form follows it with *iḍāfa* (*ruz-e čandom*). Interrogative pronouns can act as determiners with definitive or indefinite references, but their syntax is still to be investigated.

Indefinite pronouns and determiners: There is a relatively small number of simple indefinite pronouns which can be compounded with various nominal morphemes, like *kas, šakhṣ* "person", *čiz* "thing", *jâ* "place", *qadr* "quantity" or the pronoun *kodâm* "which (one)" to produce a large set of expressions acting as determiners and fulfilling various syntactic functions. Occasionally they can be followed by the indefinite *-i*, but the syntax of its use is not wholly explored (*hič kas* or *hič kas-i*

"no one", *hič čiz* "nothing", *hič vaqt* (determinative functions combined with the definite article *-i* or *yek*). Semantically they appear to belong to various classes (universal, assertive, negative, etc.) like *hame* "all", *ba'zi* "some", *kasi* "somebody", *hič kasi* (in interrogative or negative sentence) or *har kasi* (in affirmative sentence) "anybody", similarly "*čizi* "something", *hič čiz(i)* or *har čiz(i)* "anything", *hič yek, hič kodām* "neither", etc. For further details, see Lazard 1992, 124-9.

8. *Syntax*

The simple sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. The predicate, which occurs at the end of the sentence in most cases, can be a (conjugated) verb, a noun, a pronoun, an adjective or a prepositional phrase acting in predicative function followed by various forms of the verbal copula. The subject, however, can be omitted and in this case the predicate alone constitutes a sentence of minimal size (e.g. *raftand* "[they] went away"). Characteristic of Persian are the various types of sentences constructed with so-called "impersonal" verbs or verb phrases, e.g. *momken ast* "it is possible", *'eyb na-dârad* "it does not matter", etc. In another common type of simple sentences the logical subject is expressed by the clitic pronoun attached to the predicative adjective, e.g. *sard-am ast* "I am cold". The concord (or agreement) between the subject and the predicate is normally simple: a singular subject requires a singular object. But there are exceptions, mainly due to semantic or stylistic factors: if the subject is a collective noun or a noun designating inanimate things, the predicate is in singular; in elevated style, honorific addresses are used with predicate in plural, e.g. *šomâ guftid* "you (sing.) told", *âqâ* (sing.) *nistand* (pl.) "the master is not at home" (for more details see above, 2, and Lazard 1992, 178-82; Mu'īn, *Noun. Singular and plural*, Tehran 1369/1991).

The two major constituents of the simple sentence can be further extended by direct or indirect objects and adverbial phrases (for the details of their use, see previous sections). General characteristics of the behaviour of the constituents in the smaller or larger units of the sentence are mobility and optionality even though the constituents show these features in varying degrees. This means that grammatical exponents can be easily omitted and the word order is rather flexible. Normally, the predicate is at the end of the sentence and the subject is at the beginning followed by the object (SOV). Other complements come either before or after the object, but temporal expressions often occur at the initial position (e.g. *šabhâ ketâb mi-khând* "in the evenings he used to read a book"). Generally, objects or space and time expressions move comparatively freely and their syntactic features vary considerably (see the unstable use of grammatical morphemes like the object suffix *-râ* or the dropping of prepositions in less formal styles in above, 4; cf. also Lazard 1992, 183-212). Interrogative sentences have the same word order as affirmative ones differing only in intonation.

Juxtaposed units (phrases or clauses) are coordinated by *va* (or by the clitic *-o* in special cases), *ham . . . (va) ham* "and, also" (*-ham* also used as a clitic, e.g. *šomâ-ham goftid* "you also told . . ."), *na . . . na* "neither . . . nor", *yâ* "or", *khʷâh . . . khʷâh* "either . . . or" and *vali(kan), ammâ* "but, however". Subordinate clauses of different types (object, subject, casual, temporal, etc.) are connected by the conjunction *ke* in most cases, esp. in informal styles, e.g. *goft ke pesar-aš âmad* "he said that his son arrived". Normally this conjunction simply indicates subordination. The most common conjunctions (consisting of one or more words) that introduce subordinate clauses are: *tâ, tâ barâ-ye in ke* "that, until that", etc. (object, final temporal, etc.), *čun, čon, čun ke, zirâ (ke)* "when, as, because", etc. (temporal, casual) and the conditional subordinator *agar* "if" (in negation *magar inke* "unless"). There is a relatively wide freedom in selecting the mood of the verb of subordinate clauses: it can be either in indicative or in subjunctive depending on the speaker's choice of modality. Tense, mode and aspect features of the predicate in conditional clauses are more (but not wholly) fixed: the selection of the verb form in the main (or "matrix") clause and in the conditional clause is directly connected with fulfilment of a real condition or a hypothetical one with present or past reference. See some examples by Ṣādiḳī: *agar Hušang kâr konad, movaffaq mi-šavad* "if H. works, he succeeds"; *agar Hušang bi-yâyad bâ u be gardeš mi-ravam* (or *khʷâham raft*) "if H. should come, I (will) go walk with him"; *agar diruz barf nemi-bârid, havâ sard nemišod* "if yesterday the snow had not fallen (or there had not been snow), the weather would not have become cold", etc. (see more examples in his *Dastūr*, 103-6). Relative clauses are constructed in a special way: due to the lack of relative pronouns such clauses are introduced by the conjunction *ke* and the head noun can be (optionally) repeated in the clause by a pronoun: *yek mard vâred šod ke man u-râ nemi-šenâkhtam* "a man entered whom (*ke u-râ*) I did not know". In restrictive relative clauses constructed with a definite head noun the antecedent is supplied by the morpheme *-i*, e.g. *mard-i ke âmad* "the man who came" (see Lazard 1992, 229-36). Spoken style is developing special syntactic and semantic characteristics of subordinate clauses (see A. Nadjafī, *Kārburd-i "ki" dar fārsī-i guftārī*, in *Nāma-i Farhangistān*, i [1374/1995], 7-19).

This short enumeration of the semantic and syntactical properties of simple and complex sentences does not cover all the possibilities that occur in Modern Persian (see more details in Lazarda 1992, 218-57, and for earlier usage, idem 1963, 455-92; Bahār, *Sabk-shināsī, passim*). This field of Persian grammar, however, has remained unexplored.

V. Word formation and vocabulary

1. There are various ways of word formation in Persian such as transposition, derivation by suffixation or prefixation and composition, some cases of which have been already treated in the morphology of the verb, noun and prepositional phrase. Transposition is one of the most common and productive processes which makes new words without adding any morphological marker, e.g. adjectives from nouns or vice versa, or adverbs from adjectives (e.g. *khʷāb* "sleeping" in *khʷāb-i* "are you sleeping?", *šoluq* "tumult" → "tumultuous", *tond* "quick, quickly", etc. See more examples above, in iii. IV. 2. *Nouns and noun phrases, Generalities*). Similarly, certain verbal stems or conjugated forms can be used as nouns (e.g. *kharid* [stem II = simple past tense, 3rd person, sing.] "he purchased, purchase", *ma-gu* [prohib., 2nd person, sing.] "do not say, top secret"); see also more complex compound forms like composition made of the stems (II+I) of the same verb (*goft-o gu* "conversation") or the stems (II+II) of different verbs (*âmad-o raft* "intercourse, familiarity = lit. coming and going"), etc.

Word formation via derivation displays a large set of suffixes, some of which are still productive, whilst certain others are stylistically coloured (e.g. colloquial, obsolete or archaic). The most common suffixes of nominal derivations are: *- i* (or *-gi* after final *-e*) which creates abstract (rarely concrete) nouns from adjectives and nouns (*bozorg* "big, great" → *bozorgi* "bigness, greatness", *mard* "man" → *mardi* "manliness", *bande*

"servant" → *bandegi* "servitude", *širin* "sweet" → *širini* "sweetness, sweets" [cf. pl. *širini-jāt*]); another *-i* forms adjectives from nouns (*Irân* "Iran" → *irâni* "Iranian"); *-ak* forms diminutives from nouns (*dokhtar* "girl" → *dokhtarak* "little girl"). The next series of derivations forming nouns and adjectives (*-či, -če, -bân, -dân, -estân, -in, -mand, -var,- vâr, -nâk*) has various levels of productivity in Modern Persian (*maʿdan-či* "miner", *kitâb-če* "booklet", *bâgh-bân* "gardener", *qalam-dân* "pen-holder", *nârenj-estân* "orangery", *pašm-in* "woollen", *arzeš-mand* "valuable", *nâm-var* "famous", *omid-vâr* "hopeful", *namnâk* "humid", etc.). Another group of nouns is derived from verbal stems (I or II) by the suffixes *-eš, -âk, -âr* (*raftan, row-* "to go" → *raveš* "method", *khordan, khor-* "to eat" → *khorâk* "nourishment", *raftan, rav-* "to go" → *raftâr* "behaviour", etc.). For other sorts of derivations hy suffixation which are not productive anymore, see causative forms in verbal morphology (*šenâkhtan, šenâs-* "to recognise" → *šenâsân-/šenâsân(i)d-* "to make known", etc.).

The most common types of derivation by prefixation are: *nâ-* (*nâ-pâk* "impure", *nâ-mard* "[a] coward", *nâ-mâder* "step-mother"), *ham-* (*ham-vaṭan* "compatriot"), and *por-* (*por-ḥarf* "loquacious").

Composition is a frequently used process of word formation in Persian. The principal types of compound words, according to the syntactic and semantic relations between their two constituents and according to the word class produced by the composition, are: "determinative" (endocentric) compounds made up of two nominal parts (*kâr* "work" + *khâne* "house" → *kârkhâne* "work-shop, factory"); "possessive" (exocentric) compound (*fârsi* "Persian" + *zabân* "language" → *fârsizabân* "Persian-speaking, i.e. a person whose language is Persian"); a noun followed by a verbal stem (I), whose relation is equivalent to a verb and an object or a verb and another verbal complement and the compound so produced can have an active (or passive or locative, etc.) meaning, e.g. *âtaš* "fire" + *parastidan/parast-* "to adore" → *âtašparast* "fire-worshipper", *dast* "hand" + *neveštan/nevis-* "to write" → *dastnevis* "hand-written, manuscript (lit. written by hand)"; a noun followed by a verbal stem (II) forms a compound with passive or intransitive meaning, e.g. *khâne* "house" + *zâdan/zây-, zâd-* "to be born" → *khânezâd* "born at home". These compounds represent only a few of the possible types. In certain cases, however, one cannot judge with certainty whether they represent phonological sequences held together by stress and intonation, or whether they have become lexicalized compositions (see Lazard 1992, 261-91). Their exact nature and status, however, are still to be scrutinised although much has been done in this field (see the discussion of the types *deltang* "heart-tight(ened)" and *tangdel* "tight-heart(ed)" in Telegdi, *Zur Unterscheidung von Substantiv und Adjektiv im Neupersischen*, 325-36).

A particular type of verbal expression is represented by two large groups, called "verbs with preverbs" and "verbal phrases" (or "compound verbs", Fr. "locutions verbales"), whose use appears to be one of the main characteristics of Persian vocabulary since earliest times. The two sets present different types of lexical items with regard to their syntactic and semantic properties. The first group also consists of at least two subgroups which are very similar to each other, but only on the surface; they display two different types depending on their inner semantic structure: the first subgroup represents an ancient procedure of verbal composition, where verbs are preceded by true "living" adverbs of place (e.g. *piš* "before", *pas* "after", *birun* "outside", *bâlâ* "up", *pâ'in* (*pâyin*) "down") as in *bâlâ raftan* "to go up", *pa'in âmadan* "to come down", *birun bordan* "to take out". The meaning of such a phrase is made up of the meaning of the two constituents.

In the other subgroup, the first member is also an adverb of place, but in this kind of verbal phrase the adverb ceases to behave as an adverb (losing its original adverbial meaning), and the sequence acquires a new, secondary meaning, e.g. *farâ-gereftan* "to learn", *foru-raftan* "to plunge" (very formal), *bar-gaštan* "to return" (neg. *bar na-gašt*), *dar-yâftan* "perceive, understand" (note that *bar* and *dar* are formally identical to the prepositions *bar, dar*). In Classical Persian, this type of new verb formation was a living procedure, but over the course of time these verbs with preverbs have acquired a secondary meaning, e.g. *bar-âmadan* ("to overcome, result, rise (dough)"), and their original meaning began to be expressed by a new phrase, e.g. "to come up" > *bâlâ raftan* (see details in Telegdi, *Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik des Neupersischen. I. Über die Partikelkomposition im Neupersischen*, 67-183).

The most developed system of enlarging verbal vocabulary was, however, the formation of "compound" verbs. This heterogeneous group, including sometimes very peculiar verbal constructions, consisted of two, sometimes more words in addition to the "base" verb. The most common type is formed with verbs of exclusively Persian origin such as *kardan* "to do", *zadan* "to strike, cut", *dâdan* "to give", *dâštan* "to have" following a nominal form of Arabic origin in most cases (noun, adjective, etc.), e.g. *ḥarf zadan* "to speak", *dust dâštan* "to love", *bidâr kardan* "to waken", *bidâr šodan* "to wake up", etc. Even though this type of compound verb constitutes a semantically independent lexical item in the dictionary, whose components are not inflected separately, sometimes their sequence is broken up and the non-verbal parts follow the syntactic behaviour of their original word class, e.g. *ḥarf-i zad* "he spoke (s.th.)", *birun-eš kard* (informal) = *u-râ birun kard* "[he] expelled him". Therefore sometimes the question whether they should be regarded as free constructions, syntactic phrases or lexicalised items, is difficult to answer (see for more details, Lazard 1989, 285-87; idem 1992, 291-301).

2. *Loan words in Persian*

New Persian in the past millennium has absorbed a large amount of foreign words. During its first centuries these loans were borrowed from various northwestern and eastern Iranian dialects in most cases (see above, i. *General introduction*). Despite this relatively large group of loans (e.g. Parthian, Sogdian, etc.; see the citations of Henning, Lentz, Sundermann in the *General introduction*) which were taken over either via cultural channels or from substrata, the most effective and influential lenders were the Arabs. The infiltration of Arabic loans began in the earliest formative period (8th-9th centuries) of the Islamic period, increased heavily in the 10th-12th centuries and has continued until quite recently. Its linguistic influence is most clearly detectable in the lexicon, and somewhat less so in morphology. Loan words from Arabic constitute more than 50% of the contemporary Persian vocabulary, but in elevated styles it may exceed even 80% (Pisowicz, 19). Among these loans, for instance, words with the feminine ending (*tā' marbūṭa*), the largest class of Arabic borrowings in Persian, make up about 7% (see J.R. Perry, *Form and meaning in Persian vocabulary*, Costa Mesa 1991). Their quantity, however, varies according to media, literary genres and linguistic styles. The majority of these words, including

also broken plurals or genitive structures, appear as lexical borrowings. That is, these loans, though their Arabic morphological structures are clear, have not usually become integrated into the morphology of Persian except in some rare cases, but have mostly remained part of the vocabulary, signalling a highly elevated style in the majority of cases. This means that, apart from some rare examples, the Arabic grammatical structures, e.g. the Arabic plural or nouns supplied with Arabic feminine ending *-e* (*malek-e* "queen", *hamšir-e* "sister"), or a feminine adjectival form governed by a broken plural, which are present in these loans, do not represent creative morphological categories in Persian. They do not generally function in order to create Persian structures analogically even though they occur sporadically in highly elevated style (see above, IV. 2.). Arabic lexemes, and especially participles used in Persian context, show some modification of various degrees in orthography, pronunciation and meaning. See Meier 1981, *passim*; Dj. Matīnī, *Taḥawwul-i talaffuẓ-i kalimāt-i fārsi*, in *Madjalla-i dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Mashhad* (1350/1971), 249-83; Ali-Ashraf Sadeghi, *L'influence de l'arabe sur le systeme phonologique du persan*, 145-52; Pisowicz, *passim* (esp. 67). See more details on general and specific problems of borrowings in Lazard, *Les emprunts arabes dans la prose persane du Xe au XIIe siècle: aperçu statistique*, in *Revue de l'École nationale des langues orientales*, ii (1965), 53-67; Telegdi, *Remarque sur les emprunts arabes en persan*, in *Acta Iranica*, ii (1974), 337-45; Peysikov, *Leksikologiya sovremennogo persidskogo yazïka*, Moscow 1975; W. Skalmowski, *Ein Beitrag zur Statistik der arabischen Lehnwörter im Persischen*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 171-5; Kh. Farshidard, *ʿArabī dar fārsī*, ³1367/1988; M.D. Moinfar, *Le vocabulaire arabe dans le livre des Rois de Firdausī*, Wiesbaden 1970. For borrowings other than Arabic, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i-iv, Wiesbaden 1963-75, and M.A. Jazayery, *Western influence in contemporary Persian: a general view*, in *BSOAS*, xxix (1966), 79-96; Windfuhr (incl. Arabic) 1979, 155-8 (for earlier literature, see Horn, in *GIPh*, i, 2, 2-9; Jensen, 4-5 and Bahār, *Sabkshināsī, passim*).

Persian, as the cuturally dominant language in the area, has influenced considerably both the narrower and larger surrounding territories. This influence has been exercised both by literature and through everyday communication. There is some information on the influence made upon Ottoman Turkish, but only scanty information concerning such languages as Urdu or Hindi (see Hardev Bahri, *Persian influence on Hindi*, Allahabad 1960, cf. Windfuhr 1979, 219; and see further the general bibliographies on linguistics and languages).

iv. *History of grammar writing: Western-type and indigenous*

1. Studies on Persian in Europe.

The first grammatical descriptions of Persian appeared from the 18th century onwards in Europe, although there were scattered references on Persian in the previous centuries as well (the oldest such source is the Persian part of the *Codex Cumanicus*, see D. Monchi-Zadeh, *Das Persische im Codex Cumanicus*, Uppsala 1969; A. Bodrogligeti, *The Persian vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus*, Budapest 1971; P. Orsatti, *Prodromi degli studi europei sul persiano nel Rinascimento*, in *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento*, ed. M. Tavoni, Ferrara 1996, ii, 551-67). These first descriptions written by missionaries, theologians, scholars or people of practical orientation (e.g. Ludovicus de Dieu [1628], John Greaves [1649], Ignazio di Gesù [1661]) were meagre collections of paradigms in most cases. Sometimes they offered some (not always reliable) hints about the spoken variety, but their subject of "linguistic" description was the written (literary or formal) language (cf. P. Orsatti, *Grammatica e lessicografia Persiana nell'opera di P. Ignazio di Gesù*, in *RSO*, lv (1981), 55-85; Jeremiás, *Grammatical rule and standard in the first Persian grammars written in Latin (XVIIth century)*, in Tavoni (ed.), *op. cit.*, ii, 569-80; eadem, *The impact of Semitic linguistics on the first Persian grammars written in Europe*, in *Irano-Judaica*, iv, ed. Shaul Shaked and Ammon Netzer, Jerusalem 1990, 159-71). However, the latest grammar of this century by J.B. Podesta (1691) stands pre-eminent in terms of quality and quantity (cf. Jeremiás, *The knowledge of Persian and a scholarly approach to the language: a Persian grammar by J.B. Podesta, 1691, Wien*, in *AO*, xlviii [1995], 71-86). On the famous "*Gazophylacium*", an early lexicographic work containing also a meagre description of Persian, see M. Bastiaensen, *La Persia Safavide vista da un lessicografo europeo. Presentatione del*, in *RSO*, xlviii (1973-4), 175-203. The earliest really good description written in a modern language was made by the famous Sir William Jones (see G.H. Cannon, *Sir William Jones's Persian linguistics*, in *JAOS*, lxxviii [1958], 262-73; Jeremiás, *The Persian grammar of Sir William Jones*, in *History of Linguistics*, ed. D. Cram *et al.*, Amsterdam 1999, 277-88). The 19th century saw a proliferation of Persian grammars written in various languages of Europe (see C. Salemann – V. Shukovski 1888, 106-9; Windfuhr, *passim*, and below, *Bibl.*).

2. Persian grammars by indigenous authors.

The earliest Persian sources offering data on linguistic thinking came from "scientific" works such as those on prosody, metrics or philosophy (logic), e.g. Shams-i Ḳays's *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, Ibn Sīnā's *Dānishnāma*, Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Kitāb Asās al-iḳtibās* or Sharīf Djurdjānī's logical works (see Jeremiás, *Arabic influence on Persian linguistics*, in *History of the language sciences*, ed. S. Auroux *et al.*, i, section IX. *The establishment of Arabic linguistics*, ch. 49, Berlin 2000, 329-34; eadem, *Rābiṭa in the classical Persian literary tradition: the impact of Arabic logic on Persian*, in *JSAI*, xxvii [2002], 550-74). After some abortive beginnings, the earliest description of Persian was written by Kemāl Pasha-zāda or Ibn Kemāl Pasha in the early 16th century in Arabic (see Brunschvig, *Kemâl Pâshâzâde et le persan*; Jeremiás, *Kamālpāšāzāda as a linguist*, in *Irano-Turkic cultural contacts in the 11th-17th centuries*, ed. Jeremiás, Budapest [2002] 2003, 79-110). In addition to lexicographic sources which contained chapters on issues of linguistic interest (see above *BQ*, *FDJ*, *FR*), one of the first Persian compilations based on such sources appeared in Tabrīz by Īrawānī (see Jeremiás, *Tradition and innovation in the native grammatical literature of Persian*, in *Histoire, Épistemologie, Langage* (Paris), xv [1993], 51-68). On the history of Persian, see Khānlarī, *Tārīkh-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran, and on the history of writing grammar in Iran, see Dj. Humāʾī, *Dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, in *Lughatnāma-i Dihkhudā*, *Muḳaddima*, Tehran 1337/1958, 110-47; Ī. Afshār, *Kitābshināsī-i dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, in *Farhang-i Īrānzamīn*, ii (1954), 19-45; M.B. Ṣanīʿ, *Sayrī dar dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran 1371/1992. On lexicography, see ḲĀMŪS. 2. Persian Lexicography; S. Nafīsī *et alii*, *Farhang-hā-ī fārsī*, in *Lughatnāma-i Dihkhudā*, *Muḳaddima*, 178-378.

Bibliography: Valuable grammatical studies on certain stages of the history of the language are numerous, but for some other fields research has only just begun. A concise descriptive grammar or a detailed and reliable description of the language history is still missing. In addition to the

references given above, for a general orientation, see Lazard, *Persian and Tajik*, in *CTL*, vi, The Hague-Paris 1970, 64-96 (bibl. from 1950 until 1968 at 77-96); Ehsan Yar-Shater, *Iran and Afghanistan*, in *ibid.*, 669-89; Windfuhr 1979; *CLI*, ed. Schmitt, 1989. For the best bibliographical journal for Iranian studies, see *Abstracta Iranica*, supplement to *Studia Iranica* published by L'Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Paris-Tehran. In Iran there is an increasing number of general and specific bibliography and periodicals, e.g. M. Gulbun, *Kitābs̲h̲ināsī-i zabān u k̲h̲aṭṭ*, Tehran 2536; Afs̲h̲ār, *Zabāns̲h̲ināsī*, in *Fihrist-i maḳālāt-i fārsi*, iv, Tehran 1369/1990; see also the studies published in *Mad̲j̲alla-i zabāns̲h̲ināsī* (Iran University Press).

(Éva M. Jeremiás)

viii. Art and Architecture

(a) Art.

The arts of Iran will be analysed according to five broad periods; the first stretches from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Sald̲j̲ūḳids in the mid-11th century, a period characterised by the lingering effects of Sāsānid rule, and strong cultural, artistic and economic ties between Iran and ʿIrāḳ. The second, which encompasses the next two centuries when Iran was ruled by the Sald̲j̲ūḳids and their successors, is characterised by an expansion in the quality and quantity of goods manufactured in the cities of Iran. The third, which stretches from the consolidation of Mongol conquests in the mid-13th century to the rise of the Ṣafawids in the early 16th century, is dominated by the artistic patronage of various courts. The fourth period coincides with Ṣafawid rule (1501-1722); their contribution was to unify Iran under a single government which facilitated a diffusion of court culture to a broader spectrum of the population. Some members of the dynasty also fostered a more commercial focus in the works of art produced within the court itself. The concluding phase of traditional Iranian art lasted from the fall of the Ṣafawids in 1722 to the end of the Ḳād̲j̲ārs in 1925. During this time, Iran was subjected to new pressures that brought it into ever closer contact with other regions such as India and Europe. Some aspects of artistic culture suffered from external competition but others were reinvigorated, particularly court portraiture and the commercial production of carpets. The weaving, sale and collecting of carpets involved a wider spectrum of Iran's population than had earlier phases of artistic production and patronage.

1. *The Sāsānid heritage and the beginnings of Islamic art 650-1050*

The abrupt demise of the Sāsānid Empire in the mid-7th century A.D. helped to shape artistic development of Iran under Islam. The hasty departure of the Sāsānid court from the royal palace at Ctesiphon allowed the conquering Muslim armies to witness the sumptuous surroundings in which those rulers had lived. Sāsānid defeats between 637 and 642 led the Muslim victors to acquire gold and silver vessels, bejewelled crowns and ornaments, silken garments ornamented with gems and precious metals and a jewel-encrusted carpet. The actual booty was distributed among the troops and soon disappeared from view, but its description in literary accounts helped to preserve an association of the Sāsānids with an opulent court culture and in turn, generated later emulations. The court regalia or ceremonials of some Muslim rulers such as the Ziyārids [*q.v.*] and Būyids [see buwayhids] appear to have reflected Sāsānid traditions. The Islamic conquest's rapidity and the fact that it was not accompanied by large-scale destruction probably helped to maintain continuity of production among textile-, glass- and metalworkers in most regions of Iran. Popularised versions of Sāsānid court culture survived in aristocratic circles, particularly in the Caspian region. This broader tradition is evident in the continuity between the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods in the shape and decoration of objects used for festivals and feasts. These include ewers, boat-shaped drinking vessels and zoomorphic containers (A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Le rhyton selon les sources persanes*, in *St. Ir.*, xi [1982], 263-92; idem, *From the royal boat to the beggar's bowl*, in *Islamic Art*, iv [1990-1], 3-112).

The most public form of Sāsānid art, their rock-cut reliefs, were largely ignored in the Islamic era until the advent of the Ḳād̲j̲ār dynasty in the late 18th century when they began to serve as models for reliefs portraying those rulers (see below, 5). Nevertheless, images depicting Sāsānid rulers in characteristic poses continued to be replicated in several media. Literary references mention the post-Sāsānid use of textiles bearing the likenesses of these monarchs, and depictions of "Bahrām Gūr at the hunt" appear on both metalwork and ceramic vessels of Islamic date (Maria Vittoria Fontana, *La Leggenda di Bahrām Gūre Āzāda*, Naples 1986). Memories of Sāsānid life were also transmitted through texts such as the *S̲h̲āh-nāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] completed in 404/1010, describing the accomplishments of Iran's pre-Islamic rulers. Its themes were popularised through wall-paintings and eventually by illustrated copies.

In Iran there appears also to have been a substantial continuity in textile production between the pre-Islamic and Islamic era. The ties between a ruler and the textiles produced in his territory codified in the *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] system continued from the Sāsānid to Islamic periods, although there was a shift from the figural designs that included portraits of the rulers themselves in the pre-Islamic period to inscriptions giving the titles and epithets of Muslim rulers. The production of figural textiles did not, however, end with the Sāsānids. Some silks ornamented with roundels containing birds or animals that survive in European collections, or have been discovered through archaeology, appear to postdate the Islamic conquest. Included among them are fabrics showing a composite creature that combines the legs and head of a feline with the wings and tail of a bird. One of these, made into a man's *k̲h̲aftān* and now preserved in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, appears to date from the 10th century (Anna Jeroussalimskaja, *Soieries sassanides*, in *Splendeur des Sassanides*, Brussels 1993, 113-26, figs. 127-8). Melikian-Chirvani has identified this type of textile with a silk fabric known as *parand* that is associated with K̲h̲ūzistān in Persian sources (Parand and Parniyān *identified*, in *Bull. of the Asia Institute*, N.S., v [1991], 175-9). Older textile practices may also have lingered along the southern coast of the Caspian, an area noted for both its conservatism and its production of silk fabrics. These included green silk brocades known as *ṭabarī* after their place of production, Ṭabaristān. They were highly valued as carpets and may have had both figural ornament and Arabic inscriptions (R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles. Materials for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 74-80).

Iran's integration into the wider Islamic polity ensured that major changes also occurred in other artistic media such as calligraphy, bookmaking and ceramics. In all three cases, Iranian developments mirror those in ʿIrāḳ at the centre of the ʿAbbāsid

caliphate. The rise of local lines of rulers such as the Būyids of central Iran or the Sāmānids of Khurāsān and Transoxania (Mā warā' al-nahr [*q.v.*]) probably encouraged artistic production in their provincial capitals, but surviving examples testify more to the pervasive impact of ʿIrāķī culture than to the strength of any independent cultural developments. This is particularly true of the arts associated with Būyid patronage. The theory that the Būyid dynasty represented an "Iranian" phase in the history of Islamic Iran, popularised in the 1940s and 1950s, was followed by the "discovery" of silks, metalwork, and even a manuscript, the *Andarz-nāma*, all attributed to Būyid patronage. Today much of this corpus of "Būyid" art has been identified as of modern origin (Sheila S. Blair, J.M. Bloom, and Anne E. Wardwell, *Reevaluating the date of the "Buyid" silks by epigraphic and radiocarbon analysis*, in *Ars Orientalis*, xxii [1992], 1-42). There are, nevertheless, objects produced during the period and region of Būyid domination such as a gold jug bearing the titles of Abū Manṣūr Bakhtiyār (*r.* 967-78), a Ķur'ān copied at Iṣfahān in 972, and an early copy of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī's *Ṣuwar al-kawākib al-thābita* ("Book of constellations") dated to 400/1009-10, in Oxford, all of which have a solid claim to authenticity (E. Wellesz, *An early al-Ṣūfī manuscript in Oxford*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii [1959], 1-26).

The artistic currents manifested in Khurāsān during the 9th, 10th and early 11th centuries, and broadly associated with the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], combine local traditions linked to the region's pre-Islamic past with innovations deriving largely from ʿIrāķ. The high quality of locally produced ceramics, metalwork and glass, known primarily through excavation, underscores the region's economic and cultural vitality. Glass excavated at Nīshāpūr exhibits close parallels to specimens found in ʿIrāķ (J. Kröger, *Nishapur. Glass of the early Islamic period*, New York 1995). The collection of twenty glass objects excavated at the Famen Temple in Shaanxi province, China, that were buried before 874, is a notable case of objects with parallels among finds from Iran and ʿIrāķ (An Jiyao, *Dated Islamic glass in China*, in *Bull. of the Asia Institute*, N.S. v [1991], 123-37).

Ceramics excavated at Nīshāpūr and other Sāmānid centres such as Samarķand, are notable for their varied technique, shape and decoration. Some vessels emulate types popular in ʿIrāķ which in turn reflect Chinese prototypes, whereas others exhibit local techniques, shapes and decoration. The most original, produced from the mid-9th to early 11th centuries, consist of plates, dishes and jugs embellished in slip-painting with both Arabic inscriptions, generally aphorisms, and patterns reflective of the local metalwork tradition. These handsome vessels with their well-written texts on a stark white ground often bear a striking resemblance to manuscript pages (C.K. Wilkinson, *Nishapur. Pottery of the early Islamic period*, New York [1973?]); *Terres secrètes de Samarcande. Céramiques du VIIe au XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1992). Although no dated manuscripts of this period appear to have survived, the Sāmānid ruler Manṣūr b. Nūḥ I (*r.* 961-76) initiated the translation of two major works in Arabic composed by Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*]: his chronicle of early Islamic history, a task assigned to Abū ʿAlī al-Balʿamī [see BALʿAMĪ. 2], and his Ķur'ānic commentary. The latter's abridged translation into Persian, accomplished by a group of religious scholars, must have been produced in bilingual manuscripts. Later examples of Ķur'āns with interlinear translations and Persian commentaries produced in Khurāsān during the 11th and 12th centuries suggest that local calligraphers favoured variants of the "ʿAbbāsid" scripts used in contemporary ʿIrāķ (F. Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, Paris 1997, 33-8).

2. *Iranian art under the Saldjūķids and their successors 1050-1220*

The gradual westward expansion of the Saldjūķids (*r.* 1040-1194 [*q.v.*] during the 11th century allowed them to unify the eastern and western sections of Iran and to create a more homogeneous culture over the region as a whole. Paradoxically, even though these Turks were of tribal nomadic origin, the principal artistic consequences of their dominion appeared in Iran's urban centres. The Saldjūķids ruled from a series of cities including Nīshāpūr, Rayy, Iṣfahān, Hamadān, Kirmān and Marw, but their zone of influence was also extended by alliances with other rulers including the Khwārazm Shāhs and the Ghaznawids. In addition to the absence of a single administrative centre, the fissiparous character of the Saldjūķid state stemmed from their tradition of dividing their domain among various family members, including minor princes who ruled with the assistance of a guardian or *atabeg* [see ATABAK]. After the dynasty's decline in the mid-12th century, effective power passed to a number of local rulers who had previously been Saldjūķid tributaries or *atabegs* for various princes. Despite this political fragmentation, crafts flourished in towns from Harāt and Nīshāpūr in the east to Kāshān, Iṣfahān and Tabrīz in the west.

Members of the Saldjūķid dynasty are known principally as patrons of architecture (see (b), below), but the relative stability and prosperity associated with their rule was also a stimulus to the development of the portable arts. Metalwork and ceramic objects produced between the mid-11th and mid-13th centuries are noted for their innovative decorative techniques and their excellent craftsmanship. The strong foundations of this period's artistic culture also allowed it to survive for several decades after the demise of the Saldjūķid dynasty itself. Dated and inscribed objects suggest that several crafts, including metalworking and ceramics, reached a peak of quality in the first two decades of the 13th century just prior to the devastation brought about by the Mongol conquests of the 1220s (R. Ettinghausen, *The flowering of Seljuq art*, in *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, iii [1970], 113-31; R. Hillenbrand (ed.), *The art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, Costa Mesa 1994).

The practice of inlaying objects of brass or bronze with copper, silver and gold was developed with particular skill in eastern Iran and Khurāsān. During the 12th century this technique was associated with the city of Harāt, where some of the finest pieces are known to have been made, including a bath-bucket known as the "Bobrinsky Bucket" dated to 1186 and now in the Hermitage Museum. Objects given this distinctive and painstaking form of embellishment include ewers, bowls and trays intended for use in celebrations and implements such as pen cases and inkwells that were part of the paraphernalia of government officials. This technique was also practised by craftsmen in the western sections of Iran, and by the first quarter of the 13th century it had spread to the city of Mawṣil in ʿIrāķ. Melikian-Chirvani has suggested that the pieces made in western Iran drew their inspiration from the Khurāsānian tradition, but it is unclear whether such connections would have been established through trade or because of the migration of craftsmen from east to west (*Metalwork from the Iranian world, 8th-18th centuries*, London 1982, 23-54, 136-42).

Although utilitarian ceramics continued to be produced in many places, the most ambitious objects are associated with the workshops of the central Iranian town of Kāshān. This centre was well endowed with the raw materials needed for the production of a new type of body based on the use of crushed quartz and other forms of silicon which could be shaped to an unparalleled thinness and even to create white bodies that were translucent. Although the ultimate inspiration for these changes is thought to have derived from a desire to imitate the thin and translucent bodies of Chinese porcelain, the Kāshān potters embellished their wares with painting executed in several different techniques (Ettinghausen, *Evidence for the identification of Kashan pottery*, in *Ars Islamica*, iii [1936], 44-75).

The best-known decorative mode employed by the Kāshān potters is that of over-glaze painting in metal oxides and other pigments. The resulting "lustre-painting" [see KHAZAF] gave the objects a metallic sheen and brilliance. This technique had been applied to ceramics already in 9th-century ʿIrāḳ and in Egypt during the 10th and 11th centuries. Its use at Kāshān appears to date from the late 12th century, and the technical secrets involved in its production may well have been carried there by emigré craftsmen fleeing the collapse of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt. Whatever the source from which this knowledge was obtained, the potters of Kāshān made this technique their own, applying it both to vessels destined for household use and to tiles used in the embellishment of architecture. They also employed other decorative techniques such as the use of moulded ornament or painting in under- and over-glaze colours. The most laborious of these techniques known as "seven-colour ware" could be executed with great finesse and allowed the ceramics to bear designs of increasing intricacy. Notable examples decorated in this technique include cups which narrate heroic tales or a large platter that depicts the siege of a fortress (O. Watson, *Persian lustre ware*, London 1985; Marianna S. Simpson, *The narrative structure of a medieval Iranian beaker*, in *Ars Orientalis*, xii [1981], 15-24; J. Soustiel, *La céramique islamique*, Freiburg 1985, 77-105).

The 11th and 12th centuries also witnessed the expansion of manuscript production in Iran; proportioned scripts developed in ʿIrāḳ during the late 10th century and 11th century were adopted by calligraphers working in Iran (D. James, *The master scribes*, London 1992, 22-57). The most elaborate decoration occurs in Ḳurʾān manuscripts, such as the one copied and illuminated at Hamadān in 1164; but similar embellishments appear in a few secular manuscripts, and some illustrated books were produced in Iran and Saldjūḳid Anatolia (Ettinghausen, *Manuscript illumination*, in *Survey of Persian art*, 1937-54; Melikian-Chirvani, *Le roman de Varqe et Golšāh*, in *Arts asiatiques*, xxii [1970]).

3. *Iranian art of the Mongol and Tīmūrid periods*

The initial devastation of the Mongol invasion of Central Asia and Iran (1218-23) was followed by a second, less destructive wave of conquests in the 1250s which brought the remainder of Iran under Mongol control. Although skilled craftsmen were usually exempted from the general slaughter that ensued when a city or town resisted Mongol forces, the population and artistic productivity of the most devastated regions, such as Khurāsān, plummeted and would not recover until the 15th century. By way of contrast, the cities and towns of western and southern Iran including Kāshān, Tabrīz and Shīrāz not only escaped destruction but even provided the catalyst for a revival of artistic production in the later 13th and 14th centuries. Two major changes helped to transform the arts: increased connections between Iran and East Asia, especially China, and the growing importance of the princely courts as loci of artistic consumption and even at times of its production. This gave Iran's rulers a greater role in shaping its artistic traditions than they had previously exercised.

The first of the arts to revive may have been ceramics, led by the production of lustre-painted tiles and vessels at Kāshān. An important group of such tiles was produced to embellish a palace constructed by Abaḳa Khān (*r.* 1265-82) at Takht-i Sulaymān in north-west Iran (R. Naumann, *Die Ruinen von Tacht-e Suleiman und Zendan-e Suleiman*, Berlin 1977). Here for the first time vegetal and animal themes of Chinese origin such as lotus and prunus blossoms, many-clawed dragons and birds with extravagant plumage became part of the repertoire of Iranian craftsmen. Many of these same elements are also prominent in the luxurious silk textiles embellished with gold and produced under Mongol patronage in various sections of their domain, some of which have recently come to light among objects taken from Tibet. Even before their arrival in the Near East, the Mongols had demonstrated that they placed a high value on textiles, particularly those of silk brocaded with gold, and took pains to ensure their access to a steady supply. Those measures included seizing skilled weavers and moving them from one region to another to establish workshops where they would produce textiles for their Mongol masters (M. Rossabi, *The Silk trade*, in J.C.Y. Watt and Ann Wardwell (eds.), *When silk was gold*, New York 1997, 14-19). Although it is difficult to link surviving fabrics with any specific production centre, textiles depicted in Persian manuscripts of the late 13th and early 14th centuries demonstrate that textiles designs of Far Eastern origin were in use there as well.

The history of Shīrāz shows a different aspect of this era. Its rulers, the Salghurids [*q.v.*], forged an alliance with the Ilkhānid Mongols which ensured the city's survival, and local traditions helped to shape its artistic production. A long-standing association of the nearby monumental ruins of Persepolis with a mythical past, in which deeds of the Biblical ruler Solomon and the Iranian hero Djamshīd were interwoven, provided the basis for a distinctive local titulature used by the city's Islamic rulers who declared themselves to be "heirs to the Kingdom of Solomon". These titles appear in a group of brass vessels inlaid with silver produced in Shīrāz during the 14th century. Although Khurāsānī typologies of shape and decoration from the pre-Mongol era appear in some of them, other metalwork from Fārs displays complex faceted, fluted and imbricated shapes. The new emphasis on figural compositions in their decoration is akin to those used in illustrated manuscripts of the period (Melikian-Chirvani, *Metalwork from the Iranian world*, 136-230).

Ghazān Khān's acceptance of Islam in 1295 helped to integrate the traditional arts of Islamic Iran with the new cultural modes of the Mongol period. This is evident in two main areas—the creation of sumptuous, large-scale Ḳurʾānic manuscripts and the preparation of illustrated copies of Persian texts. Ghazān's interests included medicine and various scientific disciplines, and he commissioned the translation of Ibn Bukhtīshūʿ's *Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān* into Persian. An illustrated copy of it dated to either 1297 or 1299, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, was probably prepared for him (Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and*

Indian manuscripts and paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York 1997, 9-23). G̲h̲azān also ordered his vizier Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn to compile a history of the Turks and Mongols, a project that during the reign of G̲h̲azān's brother and successor, Öld̲j̲eytü (*r.* 1316-35) was expanded to encompass the history of the rest of Eurasia. Some copies of the resulting text, the *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-tawārīk̲h̲* ("Compendium of chronicles"), were illustrated. The earliest and most important of these, now divided between the Edinburgh University Library and the Khalili Collection, London, was completed in 1314, probably for presentation to Öld̲j̲eytü (Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of chronicles*, London 1995, 16-31). As befits the text's wide-ranging sources, its illustrations show the impact of the several pictorial traditions available in Mongol Iran, including illustrations executed in Byzantine, Nestorian and Armenian workshops, Chinese cartography, Chinese printing, as well as earlier Persian paintings.

The gradual assimilation of the Mongols to Islamic culture was also marked by the creation of large-scale richly illuminated copies of the Ḳurʾān. The most impressive, executed by the period's leading calligraphers and embellished with full-page illuminations, were commissioned by Öld̲j̲eytü, most probably for the religious complex at Sulṭāniyya which became his tomb. Copies were prepared for him simultaneously in three cities: one was made in Bag̲h̲dād, another in Mawṣil, and the third in Hamadān. All shared with the manuscripts of Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn's history an unusually large size, measuring 50 × 37 cm, and all were adorned with extensive gilded ornamentation (D. James, *Qurans of the Mamluks*, New York 1988, 92-126). A number of impressive Ḳurʾān manuscripts were also produced at S̲h̲īrāz for local dignitaries, including female patrons such as Tās̲h̲ī K̲h̲ātūn, the mother of Abū Isḥāḳ Īnd̲j̲ū (*r.* 1343-57), and his sister Fārs Malik K̲h̲ātūn. Their manuscripts combine well-executed gold calligraphy in ʿIrāḳī modes with a local style of illumination (*ibid.*, 162-73; James, *The master scribes*, London 1992, 122-35).

The Mongol period also marks the beginning of the creation of illustrated copies of Firdawsī's *S̲h̲āh-nāma*, a text often regarded as historical and a source of edification for rulers. Copies produced between the late 13th and mid-14th centuries exhibit diverse features, suggesting that they were commissioned by a variety of patrons. Some, although lavishly illustrated, are compact in size, whereas others are on the scale of large Ḳurʾān manuscripts. One such large copy has been linked to the reign of the last important Mongol ruler, Abū Saʿīd (*r.* 1316-35), and may have been commissioned either by him or by his vizier, Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn's son G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Muḥammad (O. Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic images and contemporary history: the illustration of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago 1980).

The death of Abū Saʿīd in 1335, without an heir, set the stage for conflicts between rival Mongol factions for control of his domain. The most influential among these factions for artistic development were the D̲j̲alāyirids [*q.v.*]. They seized the region of Tabrīz as well as much of ʿIrāḳ including Bag̲h̲dād, and embraced manuscript patronage with particular enthusiasm. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Uways (*r.* 1356-74) [see UWAYS. I] and his son Sulṭān Aḥmad (*r.* 1382-1410) gave painting and manuscript production a high priority within their courts. The Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*], who ruled Kirmān, S̲h̲īrāz, Yazd and Iṣfahān, continued to patronise the metalworkers and the Ḳurʾānic calligraphers of Fārs, and also commissioned illustrated copies of important Persian texts, including Firdawsī's *S̲h̲āh-nāma* and Niẓāmī's *K̲h̲amsa*. The concern of these dynasties with artistic patronage was emulated by the Tīmūrid and Turkman dynasties that followed them.

Tīmūr's (*r.* 1370-1405) own relentless and destructive military campaigns left little time for cultivation of the arts, other than architecture which he apparently viewed as a tangible embodiment of his power, but many of his descendants made artistic patronage an integral part of their life. This activity came naturally to them, for it reflected an integration of craft production into the physical fabric of court life, a process which had begun with the mobile camp-cities of the Mongols. In the course of the 15th century, Tīmūr's feuding descendants gradually lost control over the territory which he had painstakingly assembled, but along the way they embraced the idea that a princely court should be a catalyst for connoisseurship in the visual arts. Craftsmen connected with Tīmūrid courts produced a variety of goods ranging from the accoutrements of nomadic prestige (tents, decorated saddles, embroidered silks, and jade drinking vessels) to manuscripts so lavishly ornamented that some were even written on gold-embellished paper and bound in bejewelled covers.

The list of Tīmūrid patrons of the book stretches from the incorrigibly rebellious Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ to S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ and his sons Bāysong̲h̲or and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, who were both noted calligraphers who had their own book-producing workshops. This process reached a climax with the last major Tīmūrid ruler, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara (1470-1506). His court at Harāt, enriched by the intellectual power of ʿAlī S̲h̲īr Nawāʾī, included the talented calligrapher Sulṭān ʿAlī Mas̲h̲hadī and the painter Bihzād [*q.v.*], whose fame later reached legendary proportions. It is a fitting expression of the interlocking realms of personal experience and aesthetic pleasure at Tīmūrid courts that the patrons themselves were often portrayed in their own manuscripts either directly in a frontispiece, or indirectly in the guise of participants in a literary narrative (T.W. Lentz and G. Lowry, *Timur and the princely vision*, Washington, D.C. 1989).

Despite the relatively short duration and intrinsic fragility of Tīmūrid control over Iran, the dynasty's legacy of combining patronage of the arts with other more obvious forms of royal prestige was also adopted by several of their rivals among the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu dynasties, notably Pīr Budaḳ Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and Yaʿḳūb Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Relatively few works of art associated with these patrons are extant, but those manuscripts that have survived are notable for their intricate blue and gold illumination and expressionistic style of painting. Both of these features continued to be popular under the Ṣafawids.

It is generally believed that during the 15th century patterns and decorative schemes created by court workshops were first used in the design of textiles and carpets. Although literary references to carpets indicate that they were produced in Iran from the Sāsānid period onward, those descriptions are inadequate for reconstructing either their technical characteristics or their appearance. It seems that in Iran the production of knotted pile carpets only became common after the influx of Turkish nomads that began in the 11th century. Depictions of carpets in Persian manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries suggest that most had a central zone occupied by small-scale repetitive motifs similar to those used in Anatolian carpets of that period. During the 15th century, some carpets depicted in Tīmūrid paintings have designs focused

on a central medallion that may be round, oval or star-shaped. Often the carpet's corners contain quarter-medallions while the remainder of its field is filled with vegetal ornament usually in the form of spiraling vines with a variety of blossoms placed along them at intervals (Amy Briggs, *Timurid carpets. I*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii [1940], *II.* in *ibid.*, xi-xii [1946]). These painted carpets resemble the finest extant 16th-century carpets as well as designs used in manuscript illumination and book bindings [see also BISĀṬ, in Suppl.].

4. *Iranian art of the Ṣafawid period*

The Ṣafawid creation of a kingdom whose boundaries resemble those of the modern Iranian state served to encourage a more homogenous artistic tradition within the region as a whole, a process also furthered by two of the dynasty's most influential rulers, Sh̲āh Ṭahmāsp I (*r.* 1524-76) and Sh̲āh ʿAbbās I (*r.* 1587-1629). Sh̲āh Ṭahmāsp's approach to the arts is an extension of the cultural attitudes which characterised late Tīmūrid Harāt in the period of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara, a connection that is understandable since Ṭahmāsp spent much of his youth in that city. The prince showed an aptitude for painting as well as calligraphy, so that when he returned to Tabrīz to ascend the throne, he gave a great importance to the book arts. During the first decades of his reign, the royal workshop was engaged in the production of manuscripts, particularly copies of the classics of Persian literature. The most important manuscript associated with his patronage is a copy of Firdawsī's *Sh̲āh-nāma* which is almost a picture album, for its 759 folios contain 258 illustrations and most of these occupy almost the entire surface of a page. As might be expected from a project of this size, it gives evidence of having been executed by numerous painters and the paintings show a range of styles and quality. By and large, the most impressive paintings are those situated in the manuscript's earliest sections where some of them continue trends originating in Tīmūrid Harāt while others echo features of western Iranian art under the Turkmans. The most elaborate compositions depict complex architectural structures the divisions of which are used to separate an event into narrative components (M.B. Dickson and S.C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnama*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass. 1981). The impact of court etiquette and activities on the illustrative programs of a manuscript is particularly striking in the case of a manuscript of Niẓāmī's *K̲h̲amsa* also prepared for Sh̲āh Ṭahmāsp and now in the British Library (Welch, *Persian painting*, New York 1976, 70-97).

Ṭahmāsp I's enthusiasm for manuscript patronage was echoed by other members of the dynasty, notably his brothers Sām Mīrzā and Bahrām Mīrzā as well as his nephew Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā. The last-named devoted considerable time and energy to artistic pursuits and employed a substantial number of calligraphers, painters and illuminators. A copy of D̲j̲āmī's *Haft awrang* produced for him between 1556 and 1565, and now in the Freer Gallery of Art, shows the manner in which an illustrated manuscript could become a "world unto itself". Every folio provides a feast for the eye, contrasting finely executed calligraphy with colourful gold-decorated borders, while its paintings draw the viewer into a self-contained universe inhabited by people of various ages and social stations (Marianna S. Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft awrang*, New Haven 1997).

During the Ṣafawid era, the popularity of illustrated manuscripts spread beyond the confines of the court, and they were produced also in non-royal workshops for a widening circle of patrons. Workshops in the city of Sh̲īrāz were particularly active in the book-trade. During the 16th century, in addition to the ever-popular poems by Firdawsī and Niẓāmī, texts by several writers active in the late Tīmūrid period continued to be both widely copied and frequently illustrated, including the poetry of D̲j̲āmī, Hātifī and the prose of Ḥusayn Gawzargāhī (F. Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, Paris 1997, 157-204). By the early 17th century, however, the attention of artists and collectors had shifted to single-page paintings, especially portraits, which were often gathered in *muraḳḳaʿ*s [*q.v.*] (albums) (Sheila R. Canby, *The rebellious reformer*, London 1996).

The Ṣafawid court was also involved in the production of various other kinds of artifacts, particularly silk textiles embellished with gold and silver and carpets with complex patterns which echo the intricate designs of book illumination or even of book illustration. Annually on the occasion of Nawrūz [*q.v.*], following a well-established Islamic practice, Ṣafawid rulers were expected to provide their courtiers and retainers with garments appropriate to their status and position. Some garments worn by the ruler and his close associates were made of silk woven or embroidered in intricate patterns and embellished with gold and silver; used textiles were routinely destroyed in order to recover the metal which they contained. Ṣafawid rulers sent luxury textiles as diplomatic gifts to their rivals, the Ottomans and the Mug̲h̲als. Historical accounts confirm that several towns in Iran produced luxury textiles and rugs, including Kās̲h̲ān, Yazd, Kirmān and Iṣfahān, although it is difficult to link surviving examples with any particular centre (Carol Bier (ed.), *Woven from the soul, spun from the heart*, Washington, D.C. 1987; May Beattie, *The carpets of Central Persia*, Westerham 1976).

The few surviving rugs from 16th-century Iran follow designs created by professionally trained designers or painters. Some have elaborate figural and landscape compositions, whereas others are noted for their multi-level designs of vegetal scrolls. Sh̲āh Ṭahmāsp I is known to have taken a personal interest in the production of carpets, and Sh̲āh ʿAbbās I is even said to have practised the weaver's craft. During his reign, weavers worked in the grounds of the royal palace at Iṣfahān, although production of luxury textiles and rugs also continued in other centres. The intricate time-consuming designs and lavish use of silver and gold that characterise Ṣafawid court carpets and textiles preserved in shrines or sent as diplomatic gifts suggest that court production was viewed as an index of royal prestige, rather than as a commercial venture (M. Aga Oghlu, *Safawid rugs and textiles*, New York 1941; Bier and Bencard, *The Persian velvets at Rosenborg*, Copenhagen 1995; F. Spuhler *et al.*, *Denmark's coronation carpets*, Copenhagen 1987).

5. *Iranian art from 1722 to 1925: the Afs̲h̲ārid, Zand and Ḳād̲j̲ār periods*

Although the period from the effective end of the Ṣafawid dynasty in 1722 to the emergence of the Ḳād̲j̲ārs in 1794 was marked by chronic political instability, artistic patronage still continued on an intermittent basis largely echoing trends of the late 17th century. Lacquerwork (actually varnished watercolour paintings, usually on a papier-mâché surface), which had earlier been used for bookbindings, was also used for pen-boxes, mirror cases and caskets. A few paintings and luxury textiles can be linked to Nādir Sh̲āh (*r.* 1736-47), and his seizure of Mug̲h̲al treasures during his invasion of India provided Iran's rulers with

jewels later used with great effect by the Ḳād̲j̲ārs in their court regalia. Karīm K̲h̲ān Zand's reign (1751-79) is notable for a stress on large-scale figure paintings on canvas that were used to embellish buildings, a practice expanded under the Ḳād̲j̲ārs. It was that dynasty's second ruler, Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, who made the most concerted and skillful use of pictorial imagery as an adjunct to state policy. He revived the use of rock-cut reliefs for heroic images of himself and of his court and similar compositions were also used on portable objects such as lacquerwork bookbindings or mirror cases. Enthusiasm for large-scale figural painting was not limited to the Ḳād̲j̲ār court. Itinerant story-tellers used portable picture scrolls (sometimes identified as "Coffee-house paintings") as an adjunct to the recitation of stories and to performances of the passion play or *taʿziya* [*q.v.*] (see Layla S. Diba and Maryam Ekhtian (eds.), *Royal Persian paintings. The Qajar epoch 1785-1925*, Brooklyn 1999.

The second half of the 19th century witnessed a decline in most local crafts due to the competition created by imports from Europe and India. One exception was the production of carpets, which were much in demand both within Iran and abroad. The old system of court production was replaced by commercial workshops that drew on the skill of many segments of Iran's population. Large-scale enterprises, situated in major urban centres such as Iṣfahān, produced standardised carpets to the specifications of a mostly foreign clientèle. Smaller production centres, situated in villages, the homes of private citizens or even in nomadic encampments, created more varied wares which often combined traditional schemes with idiosyncratic embellishments. This broadly based "folk-art" provided a kind of democratisation of Iran's artistic tradition that carried it into the 20th century (A.C. Edwards, *The Persian carpet*, 1953).

Bibliography: *Survey of Persian art*; J.W. Allan, *Persian metal technology 700-1300*, London 1979; O. Grabar, *The art of the object*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 351-63; Grabar, *The visual arts, 1050-1350*, in *ibid.*, v, 641-58; B. Gray, *The pictorial arts in the Timurid period*, and *The arts in the Safavid period*, in *ibid.*, vi, 843-76, 877-912; F. Spuhler, *Carpets and textiles*, in *ibid.*, 698-727; B.W. Robinson, *Persian painting under the Zand and Qajar dynasties*, in *ibid.*, vii, 870-89; J. Scarce, *The arts of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries*, in *ibid.*, 930-58; R.W. Ferrier (ed.), *The arts of Persia*, New Haven 1989; A. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian courts*, New York 1992.

(Priscilla Soucek)

(b) Architecture.

The buildings erected in Iran during the Islamic period are some of the finest constructed anywhere in the Muslim lands. They are noteworthy for their sophisticated vaulting systems and their sublime use of coloured decoration on both interior and exterior. Both traits may have been encouraged by the materials available for construction. Although large supplies of wood grow near the Caspian Sea and good stone for masonry is found in Fārs and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, brick is the predominant building material in most of the region. Already in pre-Islamic times, builders in Iran had devised ways of roofing their structures with domes supported on squinches, arches thrown over the corner of a room. Builders in Islamic times maintained the tripartite elevation of wall, squinch and vault, but divided the zone of transition into increasingly smaller and more elaborate segments, culminating in the *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*]. At the same time, they carved and painted the stucco covering interior surfaces and developed several methods of glazing tiles in a full range of colours, so that brick surfaces covered with brilliantly coloured tiles became a hallmark of Iranian Islamic architecture.

The following discussion surveys the development of these trends in Iranian Islamic architecture in five chronological periods. Within each period, a short assessment precedes discussions of the major building types and of form, materials and decoration. The article considers Iran in the broadest sense, comprising the plateau between the Tigris and Oxus rivers, and occasionally includes sites beyond these confines, such as Bag̲h̲dād or Samarḳand. Naturally, more buildings and more types of buildings survive from the later period, making it possible to sketch a fuller picture from the extant record. By contrast, relatively few buildings survive from earlier times, and the evidence for early Islamic architecture in Iran has to be pieced together from widely scattered remains and snippets of information gleaned from texts.

1. *Before 900*

Virtually nothing is known about buildings from the period of Umayyad rule when the Islamic capitals were in Syria, but, as befits Iran's position as one of the most important provinces in the ʿAbbāsid empire, most of the buildings erected there in the 3rd/9th century reflect the forms and styles used in the capital province in ʿIrāḳ. Compared to ʿIrāḳ, contemporary buildings in Iran are generally smaller, but show a wider variety of materials, including rubble and mortar, fired brick, mud brick (particularly in northeast Iran and the adjacent regions of Central Asia) and wood. Many are decorated with the styles of carved stucco development at the ʿAbbāsid capital of Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*].

The most important building type known from early Islamic times in Iran is the congregational mosque. Congregational mosques built in Iran resemble those constructed elsewhere in the ʿAbbāsid domains, for virtually all of them are (or were) large buildings with a central courtyard surrounded by porticos or arcades and a large covered prayer hall on the *ḳibla* side (in Iran, the southwest). The prayer hall was a hypostyle room, in which the roof was supported on a multitude of single supports, either piers or columns. The best standing example of a hypostyle congregational mosque is the one known as the Tārī K̲h̲āna, erected at Dāmg̲h̲ān in the 3rd/9th century. The remains of others have been excavated at several sites, including Sūsā in K̲h̲uzistān in southwestern Iran and at Sīrāf on the Persian Gulf (dateable A.D. 815-25), but the largest and most important of these hypostyle congregational mosques was the one erected at Iṣfahān. Founded *ca.* 771, it was expanded under the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (*r.* 218-27/833-42) and served as the basis for the present Friday Mosque (Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲umʿa) in the city.

In addition to the hypostyle congregational mosque, there were other types of small mosques. One type had an attached courtyard leading to a rectangular prayer hall (measuring between 5 and 10 m on a side) divided by one or more transverse arcades, with a projecting *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*] in a rectangular salient. At least ten examples were excavated in the residential quarters at Sīrāf, and some may date as early as the 3rd/9th century. Another type of small mosque is a square covered with nine domes. The one that survives at Balk̲h̲ is about four times the area of the small mosques at Sīrāf (measuring *ca.* 20 m to a side) and was elaborately decorated on the interior with extravagantly carved stucco.

The same forms and decoration were used on a smaller scale in domestic architecture. Vaulted and domed houses excavated at Marw (now in Turkmenistan) were decorated with Sāmarrā'-style stucco. Houses excavated at Nīshāpūr also had stucco dados elaborately carved in a similar style (several are now on display in the National Museum in Tehran and the Metropolitan Museum in New York).

Caravanserais [see KHĀN] erected along the major trade routes across Iran and Central Asia also reflect the plans of those found elsewhere in the ʿAbbāsid lands. Three mud-brick forts erected at Darzīn in Kirmān province, for example, are square buildings (25 m on a side) with round buttresses and tunnel-vaulted chambers.

2. *900-1250*

This was the most creative period in Iranian architecture, and all of the distinctive features of Iranian Islamic architecture—the use of fine-quality baked brick as the primary material of construction and decoration, the development of glazed tile as an important medium of both interior and exterior decoration, the four-*īwān* plan, mausolea, minarets, the tripartite elevation of dome chambers, the subdivision of the squinch into increasingly smaller units and the *mukarnas*—appear for the first time during this period. Most of these features are commonly associated with the patronage of the Saldjūk dynasty (432-590/1040-1194), whose territories stretched from Central Asia to ʿIrāk, but many were introduced earlier and were not limited to the Saldjūk domains.

New congregational mosques were built to suit the need of the growing Muslim community. Those erected in the 4th/10th century, as at Nā'īn and Ardistān, continued to use the hypostyle plan, but the major feature of this period was the development of a new plan having a courtyard surrounded by arcades linking four *īwāns*, high vaulted rooms open to the court at one end. The transformation from the hypostyle to the four-*īwān* plan is best seen in the mosque at Iṣfahān, an early capital of the Saldjūk domains. In 485/1086-7, the twenty-four columns in front of the *miḥrāb* were replaced with a free-standing domed pavilion supported on giant polylobed piers. Then, later, probably in the early 6th/12th century, four *īwāns* were added around the court. This combination of four *īwāns* plus dome chamber was soon repeated in congregational mosques in nearby towns such as Ardistān, whose hypostyle mosque was revamped between 553 and 555 (1158-60).

Despite the occasional use of other types of congregational mosque, the four-*īwān* plan became the standard for congregational mosques erected all over Iran from this period onwards. Scholars have long debated why this change occurred. Although the reasons are not entirely clear, it may have been simple practicality and utility. This plan had already been used in many pre-Islamic buildings in ʿIrāk and Iran, ranging from the Parthian palace at Ashur (1st century A.D.) to Sāsānid houses at Ctesiphon (6th century A.D.). It provided a suitable setting of monumentality, without any rigid princely or cultic associations.

From the 6th/12th century the four-*īwān* plan also became standard for many other types of buildings. To judge from later examples, this plan may have been used for *madrasas*, which began to proliferate at this time. This plan was also used for caravanserais, such as Ribāṭ-i Sharaf, built in 508/1114-15 by the Saldjūk vizier Sharaf al-Dīn Kummī on the old route north from Nīshāpūr to Marw. Building civil structures was considered an act of piety and a sign of sovereignty, and many local rulers embellished their domains in this way. The Kurdish prince Badr b. Ḥasanawayh (*r.* 370-404/980-1013), for example, erected a series of bridges along the pilgrimage route near Khurramābād; Kākūyid *amīrs* added iron gates to the mud-brick walls around the city of Yazd in 432/1040-1, as did the Shaddādid *amīr* Shāwūr I b. Faḍl at Gandja in 455/1063.

From the 5th/11th century onwards, minarets began to proliferate thoughout Iran. Most are tapering brick cylinders about 30 m tall, decorated with horizontal bands of elaborate brick patterns and elegant inscriptions. In earlier ʿAbbāsid times, minarets had been attached to congregational mosques and normally set opposite the *miḥrāb*. In this period they were erected by a broader spectrum of people, including viziers, judges and private individuals, and sometimes set as isolated, free-standing constructions. Their proliferation may also indicate a revolution in technique which made these tall baked-brick towers resilient to earthquakes.

The monumental tomb [see KUBBA; TURBA] was another major type of building erected in this period. Tomb towers were popular along the Caspian littoral, as exemplified by the Gunbad-i Kābūs (397/1006-7), the earliest and also the most spectacular example to survive. The classic example of the domed tomb is the mausoleum of the Sāmānids at Bukhārā (310s/920s), but its exquisite form and decoration in carved plaster and baked brick bespeak a long tradition. The domed tomb became the most popular type. Three fine examples were erected at Marāgha in the 6th/12th century, but the largest and most splendid is the one built at Marw for the Saldjūk sultan Sandjar (*r.* 511-52/1118-57).

Larger tomb complexes also developed during the period. Some, such as those at Mashhad or Kumm, surrounded the graves of Shīʿī *imāms*. They were underwritten not only by wealthy Shīʿīs but also by government officials seeking to garner the support of heterodox segments of the local population. Other complexes grew up around the graves of such learned figures as al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī or such mystics as Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī [*q.vv.*]. These shrine complexes were often agglomerative, and the specific stages of construction can only be revealed by detailed archaeological investigations, usually impossible because of the sacred nature of the sites.

Texts mention large palaces and elaborate houses for the upper classes in the Būyid capitals at Baghdād and Shīrāz and the Saldjūk capitals at Iṣfahān, Baghdād and Marw. Excavations have revealed only tantalising fragments from minor sites, such as limestone panels from the palace of the Ḥasanawayhids at Sarmadj in southwest Iran or carved stucco panels from Tirmidh on the Oxus. Contemporary houses excavated at Nīshāpūr were lavishly decorated with painted stucco.

Domes were elaborated and articulated during this period. In order to lighten the domical mass, both physically and visually, builders developed the double dome, in which two shells of slightly varied profile are connected by intermittent ties. Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma* (ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340/1962, 211, tr. idem, London 1978, 167) mentions that one of the 4th/10th-century tombs of the Būyids at Rayy already had such a double dome (*ba du pūshish*), and extant examples survive from the end of the 5th/11th century (e.g. the tomb at Kharrakān dated 486/1093-4). Ribs were used to facilitate construction in a land where wood was unavailable for centring. As the dome

was built, the ribs were bonded into the construction and often exploited for decorative effect. The inventiveness Iranian builders displayed in the manipulation of domed spaces is clear from the Friday Mosque at Iṣfahān, where over two hundred examples cover the individual bays, although the exact chronology of the vaults has not been established and it is still unclear what percentage can be assigned to this period.

Dome chambers typically show a tripartite elevation, with the dome supported on an octagonal zone of transition, in which four squinches alternate with four blind arches, in turn supported on four walls arranged in a square. In more elaborate examples, builders inserted an intermediary sixteen-sided zone or squinch net between the dome and the octagonal zone. In a single example, the north dome at Iṣfahān, the parts are aligned vertically. In all other cases, the three parts are distinguished visually.

In addition to vaults, builders also manipulated arches. *Miḥrāb*s from this period, the earliest to survive in the region, consist of concentric niches within rectangular frames, as at the 4th/10th-century congregational mosque at Nāʾīn. Builders also developed the *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* [*q.v.*], an arched opening surrounded by a free-standing rectangular frame. The ruined building at Sarwistān, which Bier has recently re-attributed to the early Islamic period, had a *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* in the middle of the façade, and by the 4th/10th century builders used this form in Iranian mosques and mausoleums (e.g. the Arab-Ata mausoleum at Tim in the Zarafs̲h̲ān Valley dated 367/977). The *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* soon became one of the most distinctive features of Iranian architecture, used in a variety of building types including caravanserais (e.g. Ribāṭ-i Malik, rebuilt in 471/1078-9, and Ribāṭ-i S̲h̲araf) and mausolea (e.g. Uzgand and Sarak̲h̲s, 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries).

Builders in this period also displayed their inventiveness by varying the shape of the arch, from round to keel-shaped, trilobed and polylobed, and by combining squinches of different shape in the same building. Five different types of squinch, for example, are used at Ribāṭ-i S̲h̲araf. By further subdividing the squinch, builders seem to have developed the *muḳarnas*, tiers of niche-like elements that project out from the row below. Already at the Gunbad-i Ḳābūs, a few tiers of *muḳarnas* decorate the half-vault over the door, and *muḳarnas* corbels were used to support the cornices of tomb towers, as at the Gunbad-i ʿAlī (448/1056-7) in Abarḳūh or the balconies of minarets, as at Bisṭām (514/1120-1). *Muḳarnas* was clearly used to provide a visual transition, but its structural role remains to be documented.

During this period, fine baked brick was the preeminent material for the construction of important buildings, while mud brick, pisé and stone were used for subsidiary structures or in specific areas. By the 6th/12th century, a standard baked brick measuring *ca.* 25 × 25 × 5 cm had replaced the large rectangular bricks used in the early period and the smaller bricks associated with Būyid buildings in the Iṣfahān region. Bricks were laid in a variety of flush or basket bonds, from common and double bond to diaper patterns, or in combinations of recessed and projecting bricks.

Builders also exploited the spaces between the bricks for decorative effect. Builders in northeastern Iran often laid bricks in double bond so that the vertical joints created a pattern of light and shade across the wall. Builders sometimes filled the joints with plaster endplugs, which were stamped or carved with geometric, floral or epigraphic, patterns, or with pieces of glazed tile, which contrasted with the matte, reddish or yellowish brick. Holes in the brickwork on the earlier tomb tower erected at K̲h̲arraḳān in 460/1067-8 were probably filled with these glazed pieces, and small fragments are still preserved in the dome chamber in the congregational mosque at Gulpāyagān erected under the Sald̲j̲ūḳ Muḥammad b. Maliks̲h̲āh (*r.* 498-511/1105-18 [*q.v.*]). From the 6th/12th century onwards, builders commonly set out glazed bricks which spelled out sacred words and phrases in the technique known as *bannāʾī* "builder's [technique]".

Builders or decorators (the distinction is unclear in this period) also realised the potential of other methods for adding colour to their brick buildings. The most labour-intensive and therefore the most expensive method was to cut the glazed tiles into small pieces to form geometric designs, strapwork or inscriptions. The most common glaze was light or turquoise blue, easy to prepare from copper. The tomb chamber at Naṭanz (389/998-9) has small pieces of glazed tile inset in the plaster decoration. The minaret at Sīn (526/1132) has a complete inscription made up of pieces of glazed tile. Two tombs at Marāg̲h̲a, the Gunbad-i Surk̲h̲ (542/1147-8) and the Gunbad-i Kābūd (593/1196-7), have elaborate strapwork patterns. One monument erected shortly before the Mongol invasions, the *madrasa* at Zawzan (616/1219), displays two additional colours of glazed tile, white and dark blue.

From *ca.* 1200, builders also decorated the interior of buildings with expensive lustre tiles. At major shrines such as Ḳumm and Mas̲h̲had, hundreds of individual tiles, some specially made to fit the site, were used to cover the cenotaphs, *miḥrāb*s and walls of the tomb chambers. These tile revetments were signed by the most famous potters of the day, Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir and Abū Zayd, both members of prominent lustre-potting families from Kās̲h̲ān, home to this speciality. As the city of Kās̲h̲ān, located near important mines, had a monopoly on tile production, the term *kās̲h̲ī* [*q.v.*] came to refer to glazed tile.

Similarly, builders often painted the stucco coating interior surfaces. Traces of red, blue and green paint are often visible on *miḥrāb*s, and walls were sometimes painted to imitate brick bonding patterns. Other subjects include geometric and vegetal ornament as well as figures, animals, and birds. The increased use of colour and the growing taste for covering up wall surfaces foreshadow later developments, but at this time structure and decoration were kept in balance.

3. *1250-1500*

This period marked the triumph of coloured decoration. Builders elaborated the technique of tile mosaic so that it covered the entire surface. They also expanded the palette to a full range of seven colours (dark and light blue, white, black, yellow and green, in addition to unglazed brick). They added other techniques of tile decoration, including *cuerda seca* and *lād̲j̲wardīna*, overglaze painting. This period also saw an increase in the height, verticality and size of buildings, and the enormous complexes ordered by Mongol and Tīmūrid rulers attest the wealth available in this period of trans-Asian trade. Individual buildings were often incorporated into complexes, which combined a mosque, *madrasa*, *k̲h̲ānḳāh* and other service buildings around a tomb, either for the founder (as in Öld̲j̲eytü's tomb at Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*] or Tīmūr's tomb, the Gūr-i Mīr at Samarḳand) or for a Ṣūfī saint (as at Naṭanz, Bisṭām and Gāzur Gāh outside Herat).

Congregational mosques followed the standard

four-*īwān* plan. The one built at Warāmīn in the 1320s exemplifies Ilkhānid work, but the most impressive is the elephantine one erected by Tīmūr in his new capital at Samarkand. Known as the Mosque of Bībī Khānum, after Tīmūr's favourite wife, it measures a gargantuan 100 × 125 m. Wherever space was available, as in these two examples, these congregational mosques had regular exteriors, but whenever they had to be shoehorned into the space available in a city, as in the one that Tīmūr's daughter-in-law Gawharshād added to the shrine of the Imām al-Riḍā in Mashhad in 821/1418-19, the exterior was irregular. As before, these mosques focus on the courtyard, and the one at Mashhad is truly magnificent, with dazzling tile mosaic and underglaze- and overglaze-painted tiles.

Madrasas of the period are even more homogeneous than mosques and have a similar plan of a court surrounded by two stories of students' cells connecting four *īwāns*, as at the Madrasa Imāmī (755/1354) at Iṣfahān or the one built at Khargird in 846-8/1442-5 by the architect Ḳawām al-Dīn Shīrāzī, the first Iranian architect whose career and style can be delineated. The *madrasas* built by Shāh Rūkh's son Ulugh Beg in Bukhārā and on the Rīgistān in Samarkand (both 820-3/1417-21) are variations on the same theme.

A similar plan was also used for rural caravanserais, often erected along major trade routes as part of the flourishing overland trade. Caravanserais were also built within cities. One of the few urban commercial buildings to survive is the Khān al-Mīrdjān (or Khān al-Urtma) in Baghdād (758/1359); its sophisticated transverse-vaulted roofing system, which allows light to flood the interior, shows that the patron, the governor of Baghdād for the Djalāyirids, considered the caravanserai as important as the other parts of his complex.

Both the tomb tower and the domed square chamber continued to be used for funerary monuments. Mausolea built for lesser figures, such as descendants of the *Imāms* or minor princes or princesses, were relatively small, free-standing buildings (e.g. the Imāmzāda Dja'far at Iṣfahān, 725/1325). The most striking examples, notable for their fine tile decoration, are found in the necropolis outside of Samarkand known as the Shāh-i Zinda, where many domed structures lining the street leading to the principal shrine were built for female members of Tīmūr's family. Since some orthodox scholars condemned the building of mausolea, the cenotaph was sometimes set in the open air in front of an *īwān*. Several Tīmūrid examples of this arrangement, which has been called a *haẓīra*, are found at Gāzur Gāh, Turbat-i Shaykh Djam and Ṭayyabād.

Richer patrons, mainly sultans and their chief ministers, built larger tombs as part of elaborate funerary complexes. The best example to survive from the Ilkhānid period is the mausoleum of the Khān Öldjeytü at Sulṭāniyya, but the foundations established by Ghazān Khān and his vizier Rashīd al-Dīn at Tabrīz were equally large. Large complexes were also built around the tombs of Ṣūfī saints. A few honoured contemporary *shaykhs*, such as the complex built at Naṭanz in the opening decade of the 8th/14th century for the Suhrawardī *shaykh* 'Abd al-Ṣamad (d. 699/1299-1300), but more commonly they honoured saints long since dead, as at the complex of Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī, which underwent major restoration at the same time. These complexes, like mosques, had regular exteriors whenever space allowed, as at the gigantic shrine that Tīmūr erected on the steppe for Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] at Turkistān (799-801/1397-99) and the one that Shāh Rūkh erected for 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī [*q.v.*]) at Gāzur Gāh (829-32/1425-29).

A few palaces were permanent constructions. *Ca.* 1275, the Ilkhān Abaḳa, for example, constructed a summer residence at Saṭūrīḳ (now Takht-i Sulaymān [*q.v.*]) on the foundations of the Sāsānid sanctuary of Shīz. The quality and abundance of the architectural décor, particularly the marble carvings and the lustre and *lādjwardīna* tiles, show that the Mongol ruler spared no expense. Both the site, which has been identified as the place where the Sāsānid emperors had been crowned, and the decoration, including lustre tiles with quotations and scenes illustrating themes from the *Shāh-nāma*, may have been chosen for their association with pre-Islamic Iranian kingship. The ruins of the Aḳ Sarāy, Tīmūr's palace at Shahr-i Sabz (781-98/1379-96) show the same concerns for size and fine tile decoration.

More often, however, the Mongols lived in elaborate tents [see KHAYMA. iv]. Ghazān's summer palace, for example, was said to have been a tent of golden tissue which took two years to make, and the Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo described the even more sumptuous pavilions inhabited by Tīmūr. These tents were often set in gardens, and the Tīmūrids constructed several canals outside Harāt to water their extensive suburban estates set in gardens with such evocative names as the Bāgh-i Djahān-ārā "(World-adorning garden"). Observatories are the most notable civil structures to survive from this period. The one ordered by Hülegü in 758/1258 for the celebrated astronomer Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] on a hill north of his capital at Marāgha served as the model for the one that Ulugh Beg built at Samarkand in 823/1420 for Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kāshī [*q.v.*].

Builders in this period shifted their attention from structure to space, developing new and inventive ways of covering both square and rectangular areas. The solid walls of earlier buildings were pierced with openings and bays, and several types of transverse vaulting were developed to admit light and air. Experiments with transverse vaulting over rectangular spaces in the 8th/14th century led to the development of squinch-net vaulting in the 9th/15th. Builders transformed the traditional square room into a cruciform chamber with broad niches on the sides. Both the recesses and the central square are spanned with four broad arches. The intersection of these eight arches creates a smaller square which supports the traditional arrangement of four squinches, an octagon, a sixteen-sided zone and the dome. The interstices between the ribs and squinches are filled with faceted and painted plaster, hence the name "squinch net". This new system has many advantages: the vault itself is significantly smaller than the square room it covers; it is relatively light in weight; and the loads are concentrated on points rather than walls, as in Gothic architecture, so that the walls can be opened up with windows or filled with staircases and subsidiary rooms.

Builders also altered the proportions used in this period, making rooms taller, arches more pointed and minarets more attenuated. Typical of the new verticality and refinement of form are the monumental portals with soaring double minarets preserved in Iṣfahān, Yazd and Abārḳūh. Many of these soaring vaults are decorated with plaster *muḳarnas* shells that are suspended from the outer shell by ropes. Those used at Naṭanz in the early 8th/14th century are relatively simple, but the ones erected a century later at Turkestān are of unparalleled complexity.

Decoration, too, became more complex. Entire wall surfaces were often covered with *bannā'ī*, thereby enveloping the building in a web of pious phrases. Tile mosaic became more common, with floral and curved designs replacing the angular ones used earlier. Interior plaster surfaces were often covered with intricate moulded and painted designs, often derived from book painting and thereby suggesting the existence of a central design studio in this period.

4. *1500-1800*

The buildings erected during this period are some of the most alluring and attractive in all Iranian architecture, and for many viewers, their glittering web of glazed tile, soaring portals, bulbous domes, and slender minarets epitomise the essential qualities of Persian architecture. In part, their fame is a matter of survival, for a large and impressive ensemble of buildings is easily accessible in Iṣfahān [*q.v.*], the third capital of the Ṣafawids, and Shīrāz [*q.v.*], capital of the Ṣafawid regent Muḥammad Karīm Khān Zand (*r.* 1164-93/1751-79). In part, the attractiveness of this architectnre is due to its open and easy design, with simple compositions based on addition and symmetry. These buildings show little structural or formal innovation, for builders needed to build and decorate vast structures in the shortest time; hence colourful tile revetments sometimes conceal structural banality. The greatest strength lies in the planning and execution of large urban ensembles, in which a variety of commercial, religious and political functions are integrated in harmonious compositions. This was also the period when builders, like contemporary painters, developed an interest in the history of their art, be it the Tīmūrid tradition of dynastic architecture in Khurāsān or the local building traditions of Iṣfahān and Shīrāz.

In general, buildings, especially religious ones, use the same type of plans found in earlier periods. The four-*īwān* plan, for example, continued to be standard for congregational mosques, as in the splendid one, now called the Masdjid-i Imām, that Shāh ʿAbbās (*r.* 995-1038/1587-1629) ordered for his new capital at Iṣfahān. The same plan was also used for *madrasas* and *khāngāhs*. So, too, the domed tomb remained popular. The tomb of Khwādja Rābiʿ at Mashhad (1030/1620) is a domed octagon, whereas that for Ṭahmāsp's father Shaykh Djibrāʾīl, in the village of Kalkhurān near Ardabīl, is a square surmounted by a tall bulbous dome recalling Tīmūrid tombs of Central Asia.

In comparison with earlier times, much more civil architecture survives from this period, particularly from the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, who saw architecture as a means of enhancing his economic policies. An extensive system of *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], subterranean aqueducts directly linked to aquifers, were dug to supply new settlements. Bridges were set up along important roads, as in the superb examples over the Zāyanda Rūd [*q.v.*] at Iṣfahān. Different types of buildings for collecting and storing water were developed, such as the water storage tank (Pers. *āb-anbār*), usually a large domed cistern ventilated by means of pipes (Pers. *bādgīr* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). To make and store ice, builders developed ingenious mud-brick structures (Pers. *yakhčāl*), often decorated with inventive brickwork. ʿAbbās also encouraged the construction of thousands of pigeon towers (Pers. *burdj-i kabūtar*) on the fertile plain around Iṣfahān so that he could heavily tax the guano harvest. Similarly, the city of Bukhārā, one of the Shaybānid capitals in Central Asia, was dotted with caravanserais (Pers. *tīm*) and domed markets (Pers. *čahār-sū*).

These many buildings were often integrated into fine ensembles centred around a large *maydān* [*q.v.*] or public square. In Iṣfahān, ʿAbbās had four new buildings strategically and symbolically positioned around the *maydān*: the bazaar entrance on the north faced the congregational mosque, and a small mosque known as the Masdjid-i Shaykh Luṭf Allāh on the east faced the ʿĀlī Ḳapu, the entrance to the palace precinct. Between 1596 and 1606, ʿAbbās's governor Gandj ʿAlī Khān laid out a similar complex in the provincial capital of Kirmān, with a bath, caravanserai, mint, water tower, mosque and other public buildings connected by a continuous portico around a large rectangular *maydān* (100 × 50 m). Many of these urban developments continued under Muḥammad Karīm Khān Zand at Shīrāz, who glorified his capital with broad avenues and more than 25 public buildings. As in Iṣfahān and Kirmān, the most important structures, including the citadel or *arg*, the congregational mosque known as the Masdjid-i Wakīl (begun in 1766), a public bath and a vaulted bazaar, were grouped around a *maydān*.

This was also the period when the major shrine complexes in Iran took on their definitive shape. To mark their claims of sovereignty and establish their legitimacy, the Ṣafawids expanded and rebnilt the family shrine at Ardabīl, making it one of the largest in the country, matched only by the shrine around the tomb of the eighth Imām al-Riḍā at Mashhad. Both shrines received substantial endowments, not only property and chattels but also precious objects, particularly books. ʿAbbās also endowed a staggering 1,162 pieces of Chinese porcelain to the shrine at Ardabīl, and had a new building, the Čīnī-Khāna, built to house it. Other shrines developed for Ṣūfī *shaykhs*. One of the most picturesque is that for Shaykh Niʿmat Allāh Walī at Māhān outside Kirmān, whose sequence of courtyards and richly-carpeted and splendidly-vaulted halls evokes the wealth and authority accorded these brotherhoods in Ṣafawid Iran.

Town planning and building on such a wide scale necessitated the employment of dozens of architects and master-builders assisted by calligraphers, tile-makers, plasterers, woodworkers and painters. The workforce, especially at the top, was highly mobile and dominated by the Iṣfahān school, which attracted the finest talent from throughout the Ṣafawid domains. The vast scale of architecture during this period led builders to standardise exteriors but to experiment with structure. They perfected the system of ribbed vaults developed during the 9th/15th century by empirical study of the strength of materials. For example, large rooms were spanned by ribbed arches with forked bases which distributed the weight on to piers concealed within the walls. These structural experiments have only been revealed during the course of restoration, as in the upper two floors of the ʿĀlī Ḳapu palace at Iṣfahān. New forms include the *tālār*, the pillared hall known from Achamaenid times and adopted during this period for audience halls.

Flat walls were often decorated with paintings of varied subjects. Some illustrate current events, such as the series of embassies and battles depicted on the walls of the Čihil Sutūn palace at Iṣfahān. Others evoked classic Persian themes, such as the romance of Khusraw and Shīrīn. A few, such as the murals in the Imāmzāda Shāh Zayd in Iṣfahān, depict religious scenes, and some others, such as a group of oil paintings, depict foreigners. In many cases, these wall paintings seem to be the work of the same artists who illustrated manuscripts and single-page paintings.

5. *1800 to the present day*

Architecture in this period can be seen as a struggle between tradition and innovation. Under the Ḳādjārs [*q.v.*], new Europeanising features were grafted on to traditional ones. Thus congregational mosques, erected at Ḳazvīn, Zandjān, Simnān and Tehran, followed the now-classic plan of an open court with two or four *īwāns*, but interior façades were articulated with such new features as kiosks, windcatchers or clocktowers. The increasing acceptance of European architecture, especially under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (*r.* 1264-1313/1848-96 [*q.v.*]), is especially clear in secular architecture, exemplified by several palaces in and near Tehran, such as the Gulistān Palace and the Ḳaṣr-i Ḳādjār. Traditional forms such as the *tālār* are combined with such European elements as tall windows, engaged pilasters and grand staircases. The mixture of traditions is also evident in the decoration, in which tile mosaic, underglaze-painted tiles and mosaic mirror-work mingle with floral, figural and landscape scenes in the Victorian style.

These experiments with European modernism continued in the 20th century under the Pahlawīs, as the best architects linked an appreciation of traditional values with such modern requirements as waste disposal. Nader Ardalan's Centre for Management Studies in Tehran (1972) followed the form of a traditional *madrasa* and used local construction methods and labour (see further on modern buildings in the capital, TIHRĀN. I. 3(b), (c)). Similarly, the enormous tomb constructed at Rayy for Āyatullāh Khumaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1989 used the traditional form of domed tomb surrounded by minarets, although it was executed using relatively inexpensive materials and techniques of industrial construction.

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(SHEILA S. BLAIR and J.M. BLOOM)

IRIČ, also ERIČ, ERAČ, on modern maps Erachh, a small town of north-central India, situated on the south bank of the Betwā river, 65 km/40 miles northeast of Jhansi and 100 km/62 miles southeast of Gwalior (lat. 25° 47' N., long. 79° 9' E.). It is now in the Jhansi District in the extreme southwest of Uttar Pradesh Province of the Indian Union.

Although now within a region largely Hindu, the area round Irič is rich in Indo-Muslim remains and monuments. It was in Muslim hands by 709/1309, when the Khaldjī commander Malik Kāfūr [*q.v.*] stayed at Irič, then renamed Sulṭānpūr, en route southwards for Warangal [*q.v.*]. The Djāmi' Masdjid there was built by Ghāzī Ḍiyā' al-Dīn in 815/1412 during the time of the last Tughlukid Maḥmūd Shāh II, and was added to in the time of Awrangzīb. There is also a fort and five gates to the town. Under the Mughals, it was the centre of a *sarkār* in the *ṣūba* of Agra, but by the mid-18th century was under Marāthā control until the region passed to the British.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

IRTISH, conventionally Irtysh, a river of Siberia and the main left-bank affluent of the Ob [*q.v.*]. It rises from glaciers on the southern slopes of the Altai mountains near the modern frontier of the Mongolian Republic and Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang [*q.v.*] through the Zaysan lake into the Kazakhstan Republic, then out of it into the Omsk *oblast* of the Russian Federation and joins the Ob at Khanty Mansiysk, its complete course being 3,720 km/2,312 miles, the greater part of it navigable.

The Irtish is mentioned, as *ärtis*, in the Orkhon inscriptions (Kültegin E37; Bilgä Kagan E27), where it is stated that the Kaghan's armies crossed the Altai and then the Irtish, and attacked the Türgesh on its farther (i.e. western) side (cf. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 46, 112). But the history of the Irtish basin in early Islamic times is very obscure; none of its peoples can have become Muslim before the post-Mongol, later mediaeval period. A geography like the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* mentions the Artush (*'.r.t.sh*) as located between the Oghuz and Kimäk tribes, but the author was clearly describing a river further west (possibly the Yayïḳ [*q.v.*], which rises in the Urals and flows into the

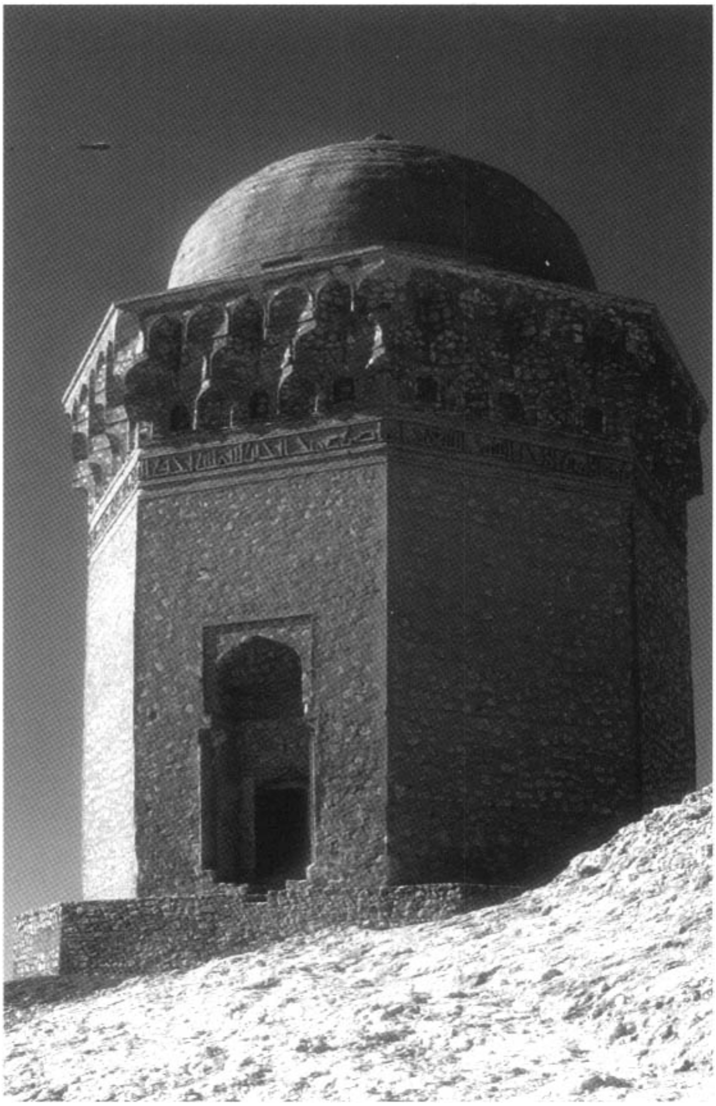

Abarḳūh, Gunbad-i ʿAlī, 448/1056-7.

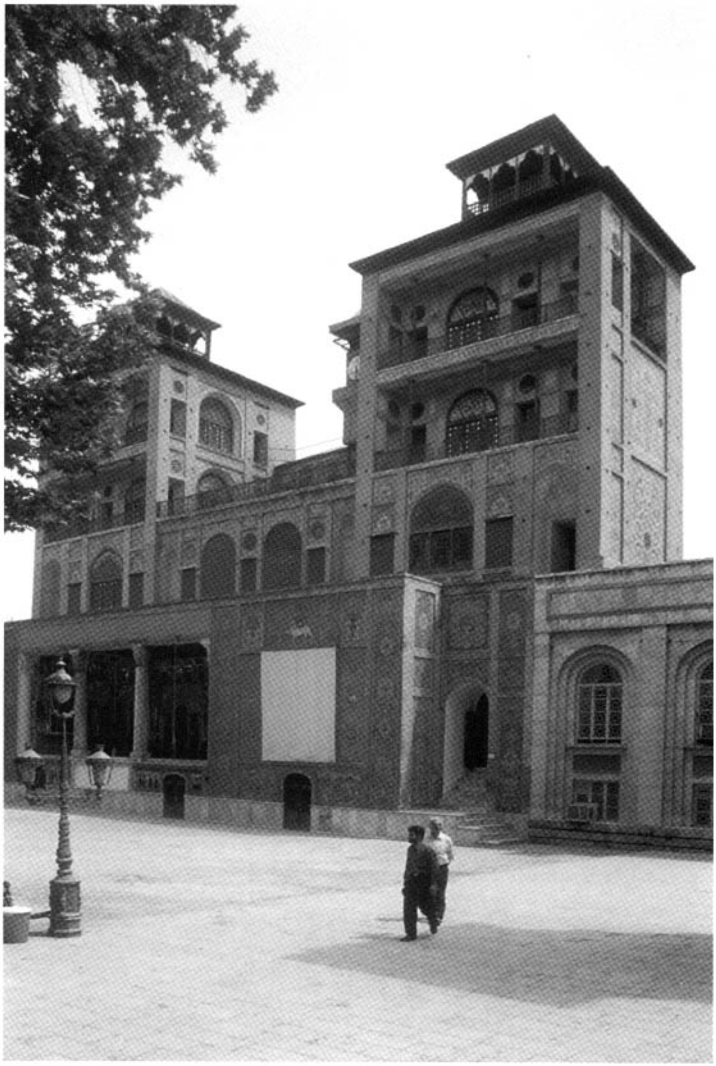

Tehran, Gulistān Palace, Shams al-ʿImāra, completed 1282-84/1865-67, view from the rear.

Iṣfahān, Masdjid-i Imām, formerly the Masdjid-i Shāh, begun 1020/1611, courtyard.

Sangbast, tomb and adjacent minaret, probably 6th/12th century.

Dāmg͟hān, Congregational Mosque, known as the "Tārī-K͟hāna," 3rd/9th century, courtyard looking toward prayer hall (vaults restored 20th century).

Nāyin, Congregational Mosque, 4th/10th century, court façade showing brickwork added during the Būyid period.

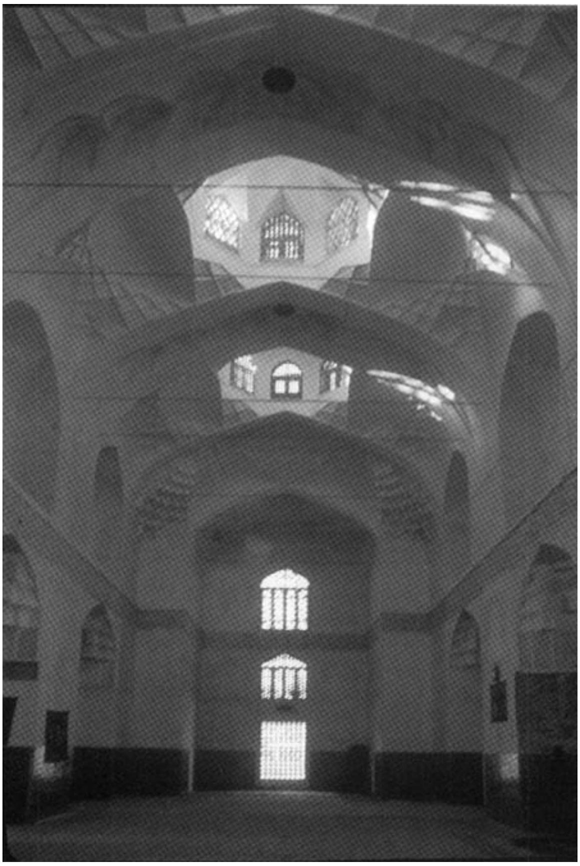

Māhān, Shrine of Niʿmat Allāh, vaulted hall adjacent to the tomb, early 11th/17th century.

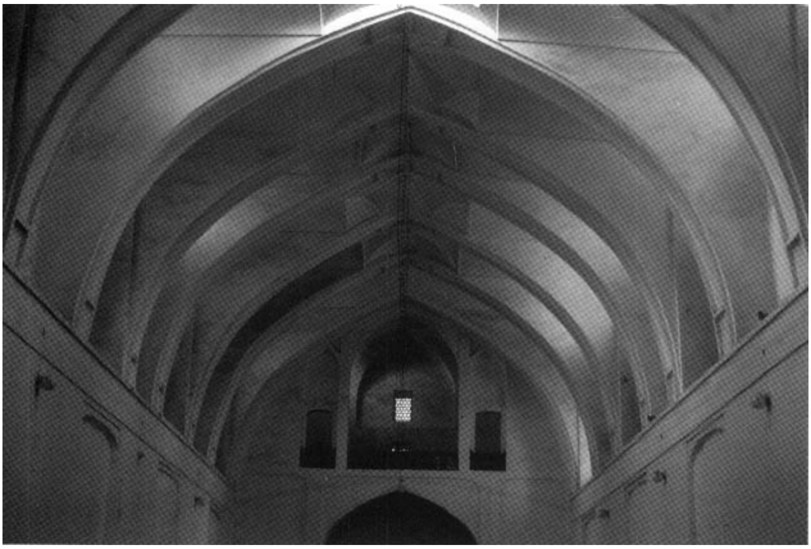

Yazd, Congregational Mosque, west prayer hall, late 8th/14th century.

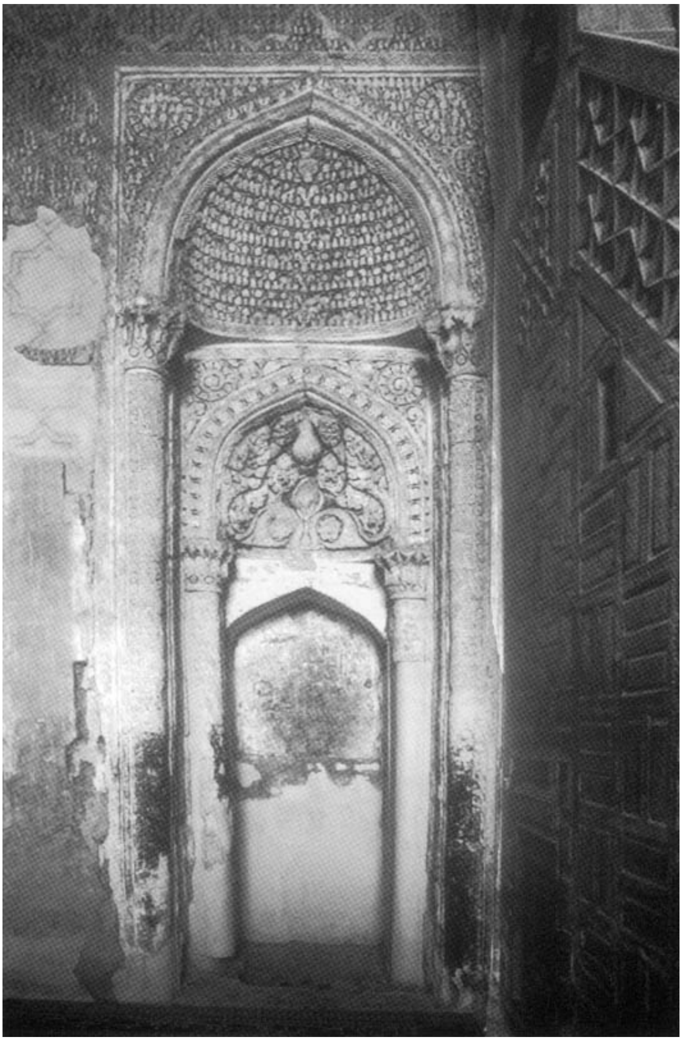

Nāyin, Congregational Mosque, 4th/10th century, stucco *miḥrāb*.

Caspian), since he says that it emptied into the lower Volga (tr. Minorsky, 75, §6.42, comm. 215). Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī mentions the *Ertish suwi* as a river in the Yemāk/Yemäk steppes which flows, so he says, after receiving many tributaries, into a lake; this error would appear to stem from the same source as the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, since the Arctic Ocean, the *Baḥr al-Ẓulumāt* of Arabic travellers, can hardly be meant (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 97, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 129). The Islamic geographers seem to locate the Kimäk [*q.v.*] roughly between the (true) Irtish and the Ob, and Gardīzī writes of the trade route which led northwards from Transoxania to the land of the Kimäk, on the Irtish (cf. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 112-13; but the lower course of the river, beyond the Kimäk, must have been the home of Ugrian peoples, the ancestors of the peoples found there in the 16th century, the Ostyaks or Khanty). During these later mediaeval times, the former lands of the now-vanished Kimäk, were apparently occupied by the Tatars (perhaps including aboriginal Ugrians now Turkicised) and, to their south, the Kazakhs occupied this region (see J. Forsyth, *A history of the peoples of Siberia, Russia's North Asian colony 1581-1990*, Cambridge 1992, 10-16, 21-7).

It was on the banks of the Irtish that Čingiz Khān in 1208 defeated the remnants of his Mongolised Turkish rivals, the Nayman tribe; he halted in the summer of 1219 on the banks of the Irtish before his troops appeared in Transoxania; and towards the end of Čingiz Khān's life, his son Djoči established his *ordo* on the river (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 361, 392-3, 403, 450; idem, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 165, 180). The Great Khān Ögedey was buried, when he died in 639/1241, on a mountain in Mongolia near the headwaters of the Irtish (Rashīd al-Dīn, in Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 473). Islam may have appeared amongst Turkish nomadic tribes in the region when the Blue (or White) Horde came to control its southern and western fringes. In 792/1390 Tīmūr despatched from Tashkent an army against a Khān called Ḳamar al-Dīn, and this marched north from the Issïk-Kul [*q.v.*], crossed the Ili and reached the Irtish (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Bibliotheca Indica, i, 495); and at the end of the 15th century, the Khānate of Sibir [*q.v.*] moved its centre to Sibir or Kashlik or Isker near the confluence of the Irtish and its tributary the Tobol. The overwhelming of the Khānate of Sibir in the 1590s [see KUČUM KHĀN], however, brought the greater part of the course of the Irtish under Russian control.

Bibliography: Given in the article; and see OB and SIBIR. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ISFĪDJĀB, a town and an extensive district of mediaeval Islamic Central Asia, identifiable with the later Islamic town of Sayram. Popular etymologising saw in the name the Persian component *sipīd, ispīd* "white". It lay on the Aris river, a right-bank affluent of the Sïr Daryā [*q.v.*], 14 km/8 miles to the east of the later town of Chimkent (lat. 42° 16' N., long. 69° 05' E.); Chimkent itself, now in the southernmost part of the Kazakhstan Republic, is mentioned in the historical sources from Tīmūrid times onwards, e.g. in Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī.

Isfīdjāb apparently had a pre-Islamic history, though nothing is known of this; it may have had a local Iranian ruler, as did the adjacent regions of Īlāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Usrūshana [*q.v.*]. The incursions into Transoxania of Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] are said to have reached as far as Shāsh and Isfīdjāb, but it appears more firmly in history with a report that, in 225/840, the Sāmānid governor of Samarḳand Nūḥ b. Asad subdued it and built a wall round its vineyards and cultivated lands (presumably as protection against raids by the steppe Turks) (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 422; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vii, 26). Being on the northernmost edge of the Islamic lands in Central Asia, Isfīdjāb was very much a frontier town, the resort of *ghāzīs* and other fighters for the faith, who congregated in *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*] fortified against the infidel Oghuz and Kimäk Turks, and numbered by al-Muḳaddasī, 273, with palpable exaggeration, at 1,700. Many of these *ribāṭs* were built and financed by the people of the Transoxanian towns well behind the frontier, and manned by them in relays; *ribāṭs* of the men of Nakhshab, Bukhārā and Samarḳand are mentioned, and another *ribāṭ* was that financed by the Sāmānid commander Ḳaratigin al-Isfīdjābī, with Ḳaratigin and his son Manṣūr buried nearby (al-Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 492). That this Ḳaratigin—obviously a Turk—was the local ruler of Isfīdjāb in the early 4th/10th century, as Barthold assumed, is by no means sure. At all events, because of its role as a vital frontier post (*thaghr djalīl wa-dār al-djihād*) it was, unusually for Transoxania, exempt from taxation, and the local ruler paid only a token tribute and forwarded presents to the Sāmānid *amīr* in Bukhārā (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 510, tr. 488; al-Muḳaddasī, 340; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 175-6, 211-12, and idem, *A history of the Turkman people*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii, 77-8).

The geographers describe it at this time as thoroughly well defended, with a citadel (ruinous, however, in Ibn Ḥawḳal's time) and walls round the *shahristān* and *rabaḍ* respectively. As a place where the products of the steppes could be exchanged for those of the settled lands, its markets were flourishing, and al-Muḳaddasī mentions in particular the *sūḳ al-karābīs*, that of the cotton merchants, the rents from whose shops were a charitable *wakf* that yielded 7,000 dirhams a month (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 510, tr. 487-8; al-Muḳaddasī, 273; cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 483-4, and Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 175-6).

We do not know what ultimately happened to the local rulers of Isfīdjāb, but in 382/992 the Ḳarakhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn, Bughra Khān Hārūn or Ḥasan, occupied the town as he advanced into the Sāmānid dominions, and it is mentioned that a certain Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Isfīdjābī rebelled against Sāmānid authority in the very last days of the dynasty (387/997) and summoned help from the Ḳarakhānid Ilig Naṣr.

In the early 7th/13th century, the inhabitants of Isfīdjāb, together with those of Shāsh, Farghāna and Kāsān, were removed by the Khʷārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and the land laid waste because he was unable to protect them from the destructive raids of the Mongol Küčlüg [*q.v.*] (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 179; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 271; Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 368-9). The second disaster which Isfīdjāb suffered, according to Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, was devastation by the Mongols of Čingiz Khān.

It is around this time that the name Sayram begins to replace Isfīdjāb, although already in the later 5th/11th century, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, iii, 176, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, ii, 241, equated Sayram/Saryam with the older Isfīdjāb. As such, Sayram figures in the history of the western part of what became, from the 8th/14th century onwards, Mogholistān [*q.v.*], e.g. in the history of the later Čaghatayids as recounted by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Khān. Thus it is recorded that ʿĪsā Bugha Khān devastated Sayram, Turkistān and Tashkent in

855/1451, and later in the century, Sayram was governed by Yūnus Khān, the maternal grandfather of Bābur [*q.v.*]. The Čaghatayid Manṣūr Khān led an expedition against the Kirghiz [see ḲIRGHIZ] in 928/1522 because these Turks had been ravaging the lands from Sayram to Farghāna (*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. Elias and Ross, 79, 358). Thereafter, Sayram passed substantially under the control of the nomadic kingdom of the Ḳazāḳ. In 1723 Sayram, Turkistān and Tashkent passed under the control of the Kalmucks [see KALMUK] and remained within their vast nomadic empire until the destruction of this by the Chinese in 1758. Thereafter, the region reverted to Ḳazāḳ rule, and then, in the first half of the 19th century, passed under Russian control; see ḲIRGHIZ.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ISFIZĀRĪ, Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad Zamčī, epistolary stylist and historian in Tīmūrid Khurāsān whose birth and death dates are unknown but who flourished in the second half of the 8th/14th century.

From what he says in his own works, he arrived in Harāt, probably from Isfizār in what is now western Afghānistān, in 873/1468-9, and was employed as a *munshī* at the court of Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara [see ḤUSAYN at Vol. III, 603a] under the patronage of the vizier Ḳiwām al-Dīn Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 903/1497-8). Isfizārī is most famous as the author of a history and compendium of information on the city of Harāt, its topography and its *faḍāʾil*, the *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī awṣāf madīnat Harāt*, dedicated to Ḥusayn Bayḳara, begun in Muḥarram 897/November 1491 and completed two years later at the end of 899/autumn 1494. Noteworthy here is his use of earlier, lost sources, such as a history of the Kart or Kurt dynasty of Harāt by one Rabīʿī Bushandjī. The history was edited by Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, 2 vols., Tehran 1338-9/1959-60, also by Muḥammad Isḥāḳ, Calcutta 1380/1961 (*non vidi*); description and analysis of contents by Barbier de Meynard in *JA*, 5th ser., vol. xvi (July-Dec. 1860), xvii (Jan.-June 1861), xx (July-Dec. 1862). Isfizārī's *Risāla-yi Ḳawānīn*, an epistle in praise of Harāt and its ruler, is also extant, as is also an *inshāʾ* collection of his.

Bibliography: See also Browne, *LHP*, iii, 420-1; Storey, i, 355-6, 1296, iii, 256-7; Storey-Bregel, ii, 1045-8; Rypka *et alii*, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, 434, 447.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ISHKĀSHIM, a small settlement in the modern Afghān province, and the mediaeval Islamic region, of Badakhshān [*q.v.*].

It lies in lat. 36° 43' N., long. 71° 34' E., and should not be confused with Ishkāmish, further westwards in the Ḳunduz or Ḳaṭaghān district of Badakhshān. The historic Ishkāshim is on the left or southern bank of the Pandj or upper Oxus river (only in Soviet times did a smaller settlement on the other side of the river become the chef-lieu of the so-called Ishkāshim *tuman* or district of the Gorno-Badakhshān Autonomous Region within the Tādjīk SSR; cf. BADAKHSHĀN at Vol. I, 853b), and is at present connected with the provincial capital of the [Afghān] *wilāyat* of Badakhshān, Fayḍābād, by a road across the Sardāb pass. When Soviet Russia invaded Afghānistān, the Russian army in the early 1980s constructed a bridge across the Oxus at Ishkāshim for transporting troops and matériel. Ishkāshim has in fact played a part in history because of its position along the only winter route between Badakhshān and the trans-Oxus regions of Shughnān and Wakhān [*q.vv.*]; and it was here that the British traveller John Wood crossed the ice-covered river in 1837 (*A journey to the source of the River Oxus*, 2nd ed. London 1872, 204-6).

The place existed in early Islam, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 121, makes Sikāshim the chef-lieu of Wakhān and the residence of its *malik*; the people comprised at that time (late 4th/10th century) both Muslims and infidels (*gabrakān*, ? Zoroastrians). Many of the local people, on both sides of the Pandj here, are Ismāʿīlīs, locally known as Mawlāʾīs (see F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 544). The people of villages in the vicinity of Ishkāmish, also in one place on the right bank of the Pandj, perhaps totalling in all some 2,000, speak a distinctive Eastern Iranian language of the so-called "Pamir group", Ishkāshmī (see the *Bibl.* to BADAKHSHĀN, and also J.R. Payne, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, 417-44).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ʿISHḲĪ, MUḤAMMAD RIḌĀ MĪRZĀDA, modernist poet, playwright, journalist and fervent Iranian nationalist (b. 5 June 1894, d. 3 June 1924 = 12 Tīr ASH 1303).

ʿIshḳī's life is shrouded in legend because of his ultra-patriotic pronouncements in his writings and speeches, his unconventional and often militant ideas in politics and literature, and above all, his tragic death at the early age of thirty from an assassin's bullet. He received his elementary education in his native Hamadān, attending the Ulfat and Ālyāns (Alliance) high schools, in the latter of which he learned French and was introduced to Western civilisation. His knowledge of French helped him to gain employment as a translator/interpreter for a merchant in Hamadān. However, before finishing school, he travelled around the provinces and towns, his eyes being thereby opened to the dismal social and economic conditions of his country and countrymen. At the beginning of the First World War, ʿIshḳī was back in Hamadān, where in *ca.* 1915 he started his career as a journalist by publishing *Nāma-yi ʿIshḳī*; from the start, he was an *engagé* journalist with leftist leanings. As Iran became a theatre of war with the movement of foreign armies, ʿIshḳī joined a group of expatriates and settled for several years in Istanbul. It seems that even before he left, ʿIshḳī was a Turcophile and was interested in the activities of the reformist and nationalist group of the Young Turks. According to some writers, while in Istanbul he attended the *Dār al-Funūn* for courses in science and philosophy.

ʿIshḳī's poetic gift now suddenly blossomed. This took place whilst travelling in Mesopotamia, in the midst of the ruins of the Sāsānid royal palace at Ctesiphon. The remains of the palace, with its huge *īwān*, triggered off a poetic rapture in ʿIshḳī, and he composed *Rastākhīz-i shahriyārān-i Īrān* ("The resurrection of Iranian kings"). It became the first opera in the Persian language, and was first staged in Iṣfahān on ʿIshḳī's return to his homeland, to the tumultuous reception of the audience. ʿIshḳī himself sang the part of the poet. This one-act opera play is a mixture of realism and fantasy, and is full of patriotic pathos, with *dramatis personae* including the poet (ʿIshḳī); Khusraw-dukht (the Sāsānid princess); Darius the Great; Cyrus the Great; Anūshīrwān; Khusraw Parwīz and his wife Shīrīn; and the prophet Zoroaster. The

purpose of this opera was to juxtapose the glories of the ancient Iran with that of the land of ʿIshkī's own day; the ancient kings accuse contemporary Iranians of having no energy and will and of leaving the country in a state of apathy and lethargy. ʿIshkī's second poem inspired by the Sāsānid ruins was *Kafan-i siyāh* ("The black shroud"). This is an epic poem 427 verses long, composed in the *musammaṭ* form set in the time of Khusrāw and Shīrīn, and what was meant to be a romantic epic turned out to be a powerful social commentary and criticism.

ʿIshkī's criticism of the Iranian polity was carried to its height upon his return to Iran from his self-imposed exile in Istanbul after the end of the War. He wrote his vehement opposition to the 1919 Anglo-Iranian treaty in a form of a patriotic *ḳaṣīda, Mukhālifat bā Ḳarārdād-i Īrān wa Inglīs* ("Opposition to the Iran-England treaty), in which he ridiculed the Prime Minister Wuthūḳ al-Dawla [*q.v.*] as well as the passivity of his compatriots, and this resulted in his being sent to prison. In 1920, he published a new journal *Ḳarn-i bīstum* ("The twentieth century"). His poetry and prose now became more and more inflammatory as he demanded radical reforms from the government, the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 having had a clear impact on his ideas; in 1922, on the occasion of the Iranian New Year, he composed a poem *ʿĪd-i kārgarān* ("Festival of the Workers"). In his poetry, as in his journalism, he focused unrelentingly on Iran's national and social problems. In his satirical works, ʿIshkī came to use an increasingly malicious language, full of invectives, against members of the government as well as against deputies in the Madjlis, and he rapidly moved to the extreme position of vigilantism, calling for an annual bloodbath in order to cleanse Iran of corruption. In 1924, he participated in a nationwide canvass for an ideal model (archetype) of each field of endeavour to which prominent thinkers were invited to write and publish. Answering that call, he wrote his revolutionary narrative poem *Sih tāblū-yi idiyāl* ("Three ideal tableaux"). Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak has written that this work was ʿIshkī's "solitary attempt to break through the constraints of poetic diction and to liberalize the concept of rhyme and meter . . .". Since, however, ʿIshkī ends his poem advocating a bloodbath "to cleanse the country of all traitors", Karimi-Hakkak adds that "*The Three Tableaux* must ultimately be seen as an angry young man's frustrated outburst against the political situation in Iran during the last years of Qajar rule." ʿIshkī's next angry outburst turned out to be fatal. It was the time when Riḍā Khān [see RIḌĀ SHĀH] was preparing to become the first President of the Iranian Republic, and ʿIshkī strongly opposed this idea for two reasons, being afraid that the president, Riḍā Khān, would establish a military dictatorship, and also that Iranians were not yet ready for a republican democratic polity. He opted therefore for the continuation of the Ḳādjār dynasty. A few days after the publication of his attack on Riḍā Khān, ʿIshkī was assassinated in Tehran.

ʿIshkī's contribution to Persian literature, journalism and political thought has yet to be fully examined and described, but there is no doubt that, had he lived longer, he would have been regarded as the writer who laid the foundation of modern Persian letters.

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(P. Chelkowski)

ISHKODRA, the Turkish form of the name of the town of Shkodër/Shkodra (Slavonic, Skadar) in the north of modern Albania.

The town is situated at an altitude of 16 m/52 feet near the banks of the lake of the same name, at the confluence of an arm of the Drin, the Buna/Bojana and the Kiri, and is dominated by the fortress of Rozafa and by Mt. Tarabosh. This ancient urban centre was founded in the 4th century B.C., in the Illyrian period, around the acropolis. It was successively dominated by the Romans (in 168 B.C.), Byzantines, Serbs (from 1043), Byzantines again, Serbs again, Ottomans (1393) and Venetians (from 1396). It became definitively Ottoman after two sieges (1474 and 1478-9). After the departure of the greater part of its population in accordance with the Ottoman-Venetian peace treaty, Ishkodra (equally called Iskenderiyye or Skutari) became the centre of a *sandjak* of the same name and was gradually repopulated and Islamised. The tax registers show that, in addition to the troops of the garrison and their families, there were in 1485 27 Muslim and 70 Christian hearths, in 1528 119 and 43 respectively, and in 1570-1 217 and 27 respectively.

The town owed its importance, right up to the early 20th century, to its politico-administrative role and also to its geo-strategic position, directly connecting it with the Adriatic Sea (some 20 km/12 miles away by water) and the Italian ports, plus its situation on important trade routes (northwards to Montenegro, eastwards to the centre of the Balkan peninsula (Ishkodra-Prizren road) and southwards to the plains of the Albanian coastland. As the centre of a frontier *sandjak* (comprising the modern regions of Montenegro and northern Albania), Ishkodra enjoyed its greatest period of florescence from the mid-18th century onwards, when the office of *sandjak-beyi* passed into the hands of a local *aʿyān* family, that of Bushatlï. There they succeeded at the head of the town and *sandjak*, which last they tried to enlarge: Mehmed Pasha, then his three sons Muṣṭafā Pasha, Ḳara Maḥmūd Pasha [*q.v.*] and Ibrāhīm Pasha, and, finally, Muṣṭafā's grandson, also Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], who was in the end subdued by the Porte in 1831. In 1862 Ishkodra became the centre of an *eyālet* with just one *sandjak*, then from 1875 it was the capital of the smallest Ottoman *wilāyet*, with two *sandjaks*, those of Ishkodra and Drač [*q.v.*] (Durrës). Being on the frontier with Montenegro, the province retained a special character (*müstethnā*) until the Young Turk revolution. Reforms were never completely introduced. The *wālī* was also the military commander. The Muslim population did not perform military service but went out on campaigns in *bayraks* (there being 15 in the town). No population census was made. The Muslims and Christians of the adjacent mountain areas freely bore arms.

During the last century of Ottoman occupation, the town expanded towards the north. Because of epidemics, flood problems (the Drin changed its course in 1865) and earthquakes (notably in 1905), the old quarters within and around the fortress (Alibey, Tabak, Ayazma, etc.) were abandoned for new ones (Parutsa,

Rus, Perash, etc.). According to the *sālnāme* of 1310/1892-3, Ishkodra had at this time 12 Muslim quarters and 2 Christian ones, with a population of *ca.* 40,000 (almost all Albanians), two-thirds of these being Muslims and the rest Roman Catholic Christians. Some of the Muslims were *muhādjirūn* from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro [see MUHĀDJIR. 2.]. There was also a small community of Orthodox Christians (*ca.* 600 persons, Slavs and Vlachs) and a quarter of Muslim gypsies. Towards the end of the 19th century, the bazaar [see SŪK], which stretched between the fortress and the new town, and trade in general, lost their importance relative to that of Rumelia because of the development of Salonica and the construction of the Salonica-Mitrovica railway line.

The cultural and social development of Ishkodra was the product of oriental, western and local influences which met there. The importance of Islamic culture is attested by the rate of Islamisation, the existence of mosques (almost 30, without much architectural significance except for the "Leaden Mosque" in the Tabak quarter, south of the citadel), the presence of dervish *tekkes* (the Bektāshīs are said to have been expelled at the opening of the 19th century by Muṣṭafā Pasha; the Rifāʿiyya and Tidjāniyya [*q.vv.*] appeared there at the beginning of the 20th century) and the foundation of *medreses*. Though remote from the great centres of Islamic culture, Ishkodra produced poets writing in the oriental tongues (notably, members of the Bushatlī family and numerous *ʿulamāʾ* who enjoyed great authority in the town. "Catholic-Italian" culture was brought by merchants and by missionary orders (Franciscans and also Jesuits from the second half of the 19th century onwards). The consuls of France, Britain, Russia, Greece and, above all, Austria-Hungary and Italy (who oversaw educational establishments) had an important influence; some of them, like A. Degrand and Th. Ippen, have left writings on the town and its region. As for local influences, these were the result of the weight of villagers of the plain and, above all, the mountain people (Malisos), mostly Christian and living according to customary law (*kānūn*) in the surrounding regions (in 1856 the Ottoman authorities installed a Commission for the Mountains (*Djibāl Komisyonu*) at Ishkodra). At the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries there began to develop an Albanian literary culture under the impulse of certain members of the religious orders and the stimulus of the Austro-Hungarian and Italian consuls.

Ottoman domination ended in 1913 after a long siege by Montenegrin forces. After various occupations, the town and its region became part of the new Albanian state in 1919-20. Although it was the most important urban centre of the new state, Shkodër was not chosen as the capital, to the great chagrin of its people, because of its eccentric position on the Montenegrin border. Its development was adversely affected by this. It had only 28,500 people in 1942 and 71,000 in 1985. In this post-Ottoman period, the town has remained both the centre of Albanian Catholicism and of traditional Islam. Its *ʿulamāʾ* have been raised as opponents of the reforms introduced when the Islamic community was restructured in the new state. On the other hand, it was at Shkodër that, in November 1990, the first church and first mosque were re-opened after 23 years of the prohibition of all forms of religious activity by the Communist authorities who had seized power in 1944. Since then, several mosques have been restored or built. One of them, opened in the mid-1990s, is one of the biggest mosques in the Balkans. A *medrese* has opened and an Islamic centre supported by an organisation based on Birmingham is active. Hence Shkodër is today one of the most important centres of Islam in Albania.

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ISHTĪKHĀN, ISHTĪKHAN, a town and district of mediaeval Islamic Transoxania. It lay seven *farsakhs* north of Samarḳand and was administratively separate from it. There were many arable fields, irrigated by a canal taken off the Zarafshan river [*q.v.*]. In the 4th/10th century, the town had a citadel, a *shahristān* and a *rabaḍ* or suburb; a village of the same name exists on the site today.

When the Arabs took over Samarḳand in the second quarter of the 8th century A.D., the Ikhshīds of Sogdia transferred their capital to Ishtīkhān. In the 3rd/9th century the district furnished a body of troops for the ʿAbbāsid army, distinguished as *al-Ishktīkhaniyya* in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1362, and at Baghdād these were allotted, with other troops from the Iranian and Central Asia East, a special quarter, whilst at Sāmarrāʾ they were allotted land grants (*ḳaṭāʾiʿ*) (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 248, 262-3, tr. Wiet, 30, 55). The revenue of the market in the town of Ishtīkhān was granted to the ʿAbbāsid general ʿUdjayf b. ʿAnbasa [*q.v.*], confiscated by the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim on ʿUdjayf's fall in 223/838, and subsequently granted to Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh.

Bibliography: See also Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 196; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 466 and Map IX; Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 95-6; C.E. Bosworth (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī. XXXIII. Storm and stress along the northern frontiers of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1991, 49 n. 159.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-ISʿIRDĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN IBN RUSTUM, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 7th/13th century

Syrian poet. Born in 619/1222 in Isʿird or Siʿird [*q.v.*] in Southeastern Anatolia, which he sentimentally remembers in his *Dīwān*, he lived in Baghdād and visited Egypt, but most of his adult life was, it seems, spent in Damascus (and al-Ṣāliḥiyya). There the *ḳāḍī* Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibn Sanī al-Dawla (590-658/1194-1260), for whom al-Isʿirdī expressed biting contempt, appointed him one of the official witnesses (attorneys) doing business under the famous clock of the great mosque. He won the favour of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf, ruler of Aleppo (since 634) and of Damascus (since 648) until his sad end in 658/1260, who made him his boon-companion. He was in contact with many of the littérateurs and other important men of his time, such as Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn Yaghmūr (599-663/1203-64) and the ambassador Nadjm al-Dīn al-Bādarāʾī (594-655/1198-1257). At the end of his short life, he suffered loss of vision. He died in 656/1258.

His *Dīwān* is so far known to be preserved only in ms. Escorial ar. 472 (with the title-page bound into ms. ar. 399), incomplete at the end. In addition to the many poems addressed to al-Malik al-Nāṣir on a large variety of personal and public events, it includes poems addressed to, among others, the caliphs al-Mustanṣir and al-Mustaʿṣim, and al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, as well as fellow-poets, *dūbayts*, *ghazals*, riddles, and the like, as one would expect in a *dīwān* of the period. Wine-drinking plays throughout its customary large role. The *Dīwān* offers valuable sidelights on the political and cultural history of Syria and Egypt immediately before the coming of the Mongols. Another work, apparently lost, *Sulāfat al-zar(a)djūn fī 'l-khalāʿa wa 'l-mudjūn*, dealt, as the title indicates, with lewd verses of his own composition, and also by others. Most of the verses quoted by the biographers, including the *Rangstreit* poem of wine and *ḥashīsh* (cf. F. Rosenthal, *The Herb*, Leiden 1971, 6, 163-6), may well go back to this work, as only a couple of them can be traced in the extant manuscript of the *Dīwān*. The same applies to additional verses quoted by al-Ṣafadī in *al-Ghayth al-musadjdjam fī sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿadjam*.

Al-Isʿirdī represents the lighthearted side characteristic of Syrian secular life and culture before "the end of the days of joy in Damascus" (Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿī, ed. J. Sublet, 168, tr. 196) which came with al-Malik al-Nāṣir's downfall and the Mongol invasion. Little as we know about him, it seems clear that he, in common with numerous contemporaries, combined serious activity with a great zest for life and provided and enjoyed an atmosphere in which, despite all the political turmoil of the age, ease and elegance flourished as they were scarcely ever to do afterwards.

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ISKĀF, ISKĀFĪ (A., pl. *asākifa*), "shoemaker", the tradesman who in pre-modern Islamic times produced ordinary shoes (*khuff*, pl. *khifāf*), nailed boots used by the common people (*lālaka*, pl. *lawālik*) and also *shamushkāt* (sing. *shamushk*), a type of boots of Coptic Arab origin (cf. al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1966, 360). The shoemakers' use of leather gave rise to a proverbial expression *bayt al-iskāf* "the shoemaker's house" which looked like a "house of hides" because of the pieces of leather everywhere. Like other trades, shoemakers were subject to the practices of the *ḥisba* [*q.v.*], enjoined to use good quality materials and to deliver goods on time.

The *asākifa*, like other artisan groups concerned with leather-working, such as the sandal-maker (*ḥadhdhāʾ*) and maker of leather bags (*kharrāz*), had a low social status because their work was regarded as unclean, and until modern times they worked hard for low wages; the proverb *al-iskāfī ḥāfī wa 'l-ḥāʾik ʿuryān* "the shoemaker goes barefoot and the weaver is naked" expresses this succinctly. Often they worked on the street or at a street corner because of their inability to rent a shop. ʿAbbāsid Baghdād did, however, have a *darb al-asākifa*, a special lane for them to ply their trade. In Ottoman Istanbul, the shoemakers had their own guild like the tanners and other workers with leather, such as saddlers and cobblers.

Shoemakers often died in indigency. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī describes a shoemaker's legacy: "Madjnūn was asked, 'What do you say about an *iskāf* who dies, leaving behind his mother and sister?' He replied, 'His inheritance (*mīrāth*) belongs to the dogs and his [funeral] expenses are borne by the tanners (*dabbāghūn*); there remains nothing for his mother and sister except throwing dust and tearing their clothes (sc. in despair and anguish)'." There is little evidence of social mobility amongst shoemakers in pre-modern Islamic society, although there were in the ʿAbbāsid era secretaries and traditionists bearing the *nisba* of al-Iskāfī ([*q.v.*] and see the works of al-Samʿānī and Ibn al-Athīr given in the *Bibl.*, s.v.); whether the *nisba* relates to their own past or, more probably, to an ancestor who had plied this trade, is unclear.

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ISKĀN (A.), lit. "coming into a peaceful state, settlement, the allocation of living quarters or space", hence in modern usage, "sedentarisation" as a stage after a migratory or nomadic existence.

Unlike *badw* [*q.v.*], "desert, people of the desert", and *ḥaḍar* "settled lands, people of the settled lands", *iskān* is not a concept often used in the Arabian peninsula and its fringes. In the recent past, the Bedouin of northern Arabia, when talking about the town of Shaykh Miskīn in the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*], ostensibly connected the term *miskīn* with the root *s-k-n* (when it is, in fact, derived from a quite separate, ancient Semitic usage, see MISKĪN]; these townspeople were said to be descendants of people who had been unable to cope with the rigours of Bedouin lifestyle and had therefore settled.

In fact, equating *iskān* with "sedentarisation" places an undue emphasis on a "nomad-settler" dichotomy, when town or village and countryside were generally enmeshed in multiple relationships. Hence in what follows, some separation of contexts is attempted in an otherwise generalised discussion.

The Arabian peninsula and its ancillaries include a great diversity of physical environments, habitats and natural resources. Urban and rural settlements differ, not only from each other but also between themselves, and over time. Movement patterns are similarly diverse and shift through time. Factors affecting settlement and nomadism over the region can be discussed in general terms only, with regional and historical examples indicated in the bibliographical references. Settling and settlement take place in economic and political—often administrative—contexts; religious reasons have been important at some times and places. The economic context changes from the traditional period when animals were an essential source of energy and the more recent one, starting about the 1850s or 1860s, and involving modern sources of energy culminating with oil from regional oilfields [see NAFṬ. 3] and electricity grids. In traditional political economies, governments or rulers got wealth from taxation, tribute and booty, most of which ultimately depended on localised agricultural production; modern nation states get wealth from oil, directly or indirectly, and participation in the global political economy.

Environmental factors necessitate some seasonal mobility in most modes of livelihood, agricultural, commercial, and administrative as well as pastoral. In most social groups, households were and are the productive and consuming units, which may or may not have all members present. They drew and draw resources from various directions, drawing on two or more components from herding, agriculture, commerce and services. Towns and countrysides continue to be enmeshed through a variety of networks which may change over time but have features that continue.

Iskān as "settling" has been a decision made by households and families throughout millennia all over the Arab world. For some groups, at some times and in some places, the settling was permanent; for others, it was temporary. The reasons for settling (and its reverse) by individual households and families are usually economic and social, but sometimes political. When households provided their own shelter and needs, moving or settling were not so different. The ability to defend household persons and property, which gives honour [see ʿIRḌ], could be achieved as a settled person and as a nomad. Changing from nomadic to settled status, and vice-versa, was managed through existing and long-standing networks and a variety of contracts or agreements, and some settling by households in the present continues to function in this manner.

With larger groups, "settlement" is more a response to significantly changing political, religious or economic events; governments may also decide on a policy of settlement to resolve perceived problems, while fiscal policies may encourage or discourage settlement. Whereas individual households decide all the time to settle or to be nomadic, decisions by groups of households to settle or by governments to settle nomads are more episodic. A well-known historical example of a government settling nomads as a policy is that of the early Islamic state, which recruited nomadic tribesmen into the armies as *muḳātila* and settled them in garrison towns (Donner 1981, 264-7; Kennedy 1986, 62-9) as a method of control, these troops to be financed by booty and tribute. Islam regards nomadic life as incompatible with a truly Muslim way of life [see TAʿARRUB]. A more recent example of government policy of settling nomads was the Ottoman empire's *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms of the mid-19th century, which put legal, military and fiscal pressure on pastoralists to settle and grow grain in Syria, Transjordan and ʿIrāḳ in order to replace supplies from the former Ottoman lands in the Crimea and the Balkans. Between 1908 and 1914, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd planted settlements of I<u>kh</u>wān [*q.v.*] among tribes unwilling to give their allegiance to him, and so extended his influence (Musil 1928, 283), although he was later unable to control I<u>kh</u>wān forces. During the 1920s to the 1940s, the Mandate governments [see MANDATES] together with the new Suʿūdī kingdom, required tribal sections to follow the government in whose territory each section had its summer water sources. As pastoral livelihood become untenable for many, these summer water points became the bases for settlements, first as storage depots and then as villages. All modern nation states of the region, with the exception of Oman/ʿUmān, apart from its Dhofar/Ẓufār region (Chatty 1996, 9, 188-9), regard settlement of nomads as a means of imposing or encouraging incorporation into the state and identity as citizens. States with potentially rich agricultural areas like ʿIrāḳ and Syria initially left the settlement of nomads to market forces, changes in land laws and the provision of hydraulic schemes. Later, their more revolutionary governments saw tribalism and nomadism as primitive survivals to be eradicated by social engineering. Saudi Arabia set up agricultural schemes in the 1960s to settle nomads and established the National Guard to provide employment for tribesmen after a long series of drought years in the 1940s and 1950s (H.H. Hamza 1982; W. and Fidelity Lancaster 1986, 1993). Later, state provision of water, electricity, health and education services, and subsidies for agriculture and housing, distributed oil wealth to rural areas (W. Lancaster 1997, 139-50, 166-80; ʿA.-R. al-Sudairi 1995). The UAE urged settlement in government-sponsored housing schemes and employment as a way of forming a modern society. Oman, after 1970, provided services to all citizens without requiring settlement.

Living quarters may be allocated by an individual family with the agreement of the heads of other families of the place, by a *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>* or headman, or by a government agent, depending on the nature of the living place. Tent sites of nomad encampments arrange themselves along lines of closeness and distance of members; links through women influence the siting of particular tents. Women's relationships similarly affect those who live in small villages and in house groups throughout the peninsula. Some recent settlements developed by state governments attempted to break up traditional residence patterns and to form new bonds of citizenship. Large hydraulic and agricultural developments in Syria had, along with economic objectives, the political aim of generating a "new class of socialist peasants". Between the late 1950s and early 1960s, rural people from more than a hundred villages wanting to acquire land poured into one development (Françoise Metral, 1984). The agricultural reform service scattered populations with shared common origins, settling individual families in housing along roads and canals. Twenty years later, these housing groups had not become communities; many households have rebuilt extended family structures inside a homogenous village, others have left the area and rent out their land. UAE government housing was allocated on strictly patrilineal lines, ignoring traditional practices of having neighbours who are closest through links through women.

Settlement by tribal groups occurred in the recent past as a result of government changes in the land

law and of changing market forces. From the 1860s in ʿIrāḳ, Syria and what is now Jordan, as the value of transit trade and desert products declined, many nomadic and semi-nomadic groups moved to agriculture, or else to sheep-herding rather than camel herding. From the 1930s, there were mass movements from the ʿIrāḳī countryside to towns and cities, caused by debt among agricultural workers, repressive land laws and the uncertainties of agricultural production (H. Batatu 1978, 35). In Syria, after the Second World War, nomads, especially camel herders, had to adapt fast to the fully mechanised cultivation of grain and cotton (J. Hannoyer 1980, 294); later, more grazing lands were lost to irrigated vegetable and fruit growing for export to the oil states of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf.

Scholars frequently discuss settlement in terms of "the frontier of settlement" and make a positive correlation between strong government, commercial agriculture and settlement. It used to be assumed that from near the end of the ʿAbbāsid period, settlement declined in rural areas but increased in cities, and nomadism took over countrysides until the process was reversed from the middle of the 19th century onwards. Archaeological and historical research has shown that settlement continued, with fluctuations, in the countrysides of Syria, Jordan and ʿIrāḳ, although it appears that there was an urban demographic decline from the 15th century to the late 18th century (Beaumont, etc. 1988, 212-13). In the Arabian peninsula itself, the "frontier of settlement" thesis was not developed. It seems that there was here more rural settlement than had been previously thought; and that there was movement between settlement and nomadism, with some settlements disappearing and others being founded. The general thesis linking strong government, commercial agriculture and settlement is not wholly consistent with actual historical examples, since it ignores particular events and local circumstances along with governments' sources of revenue; what is meant by commercial agriculture; access to land, sources of labour and the established social processes utilising these; the service provision of pastoralism; distribution of goods by means other than an obvious market; and the nature of the household and multi-resource livelihoods. Such social practices negate ideas of settlement and nomadism as being absolutes.

At the present, the proportion of nomads to settled people in the states of the Arab Middle East has declined as compared with 150 years ago. Percentages are difficult, but for ʿIrāḳ, nomadic tribes were estimated at 35% in 1870, 17% in 1905, and 5% in 1947 (Samira Haj, quoting Hasan 1997, 157); for Saudi Arabia, about 40% of the population were nomadic in the 1950s, 11% in 1970, and under 5% now (Eickelman 1998, 74). The basic reason for this massive change is that the bases of nomadic livelihoods (herding, together with processing and trading dairy and animal products, supplying services like transport and protection; or crafts and animal products for groups like the Ṣulayb [*q.v.*], have all become less viable. Profitable herding has been made more difficult by the imposition of state borders, involving the loss of seasonal grazing areas and markets, and by the loss of grazing land to government agencies and non-governmental organisations. The demand for animals for riding, carrying and draught in agriculture has virtually gone; states have taken over protection and mediation services in rural areas; entry to participation in administrative and security agencies of government now comes from education, which usually means residence in a village or town, at least during term time. Since modern states need educated people, they provide schools in centres, together with health services and administrative functions throughout their territories. Oil-rich states encourage settlement by grants or by building housing with all modern services, and they provide schools and clinics. Throughout the whole region, many former herding tribespeople are employed by the state in security forces and other official employment; they or other members of their households may have irrigated land for vegetable or fruit cultivation, and/or sheep for meat or dairy products. Camels continue to be herded for milk, meat and racing in Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states and Oman.

Some authorities see a breakdown of traditional nomadic social structures arising out of settlement and its associated education and employment. Others consider that these structures come from tribal, rather than nomadic as such, customary social practice, and that these structures are resilient and adaptive.

Thus the fact that the terms "settled" and "nomadic" are of limited value has been indicated by some scholars (e.g. J.C. Wilkinson 1977, 189; Soraya Altorki and D.P. Cole 1989, 81; W. and Fidelity Lancaster 1999, 54-61), who regard them as simplistic. Linking "settled" and "nomadic" to the conceptual identities of *badw* and *ḥaḍar* is, according to these authorities, unsatisfactory, since here the crucial determinant is the ability to get one's living and security by one's own efforts and networks, rather than by accepting government employment and provision. Of course, there are many who do both at the same time, and are in fact "settled" and "nomadic". Movement is now important to households in order to link employment and traditionally-owned resources in the countrysides.

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(W. and Fidelity Lancaster)

ISKANDAR K̲H̲ĀN b. D̲J̲ĀNĪ BEG, ruler in Transoxania, from his capital Buk̲h̲ārā, of the Turco-Mongol S̲h̲ībānid [*q.v.*] or Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayrid dynasty, ruled 968-91/1561-83. Iskandar was in fact a weak and ineffective ruler. Real power was in the hands of his son ʿAbd Allāh, who had shown his ability against rival families in Transoxania as early as 958/1551 and who became the greatest of the S̲h̲ībānids; after his father's death he was to reign unchallenged for a further sixteen years [see ʿabd allāh b. iskandar]. For the course of events in these decades, see s̲h̲ībānids and R.D. McChesney, *EIr* art. *Central Asia. vi. In the 10th-12th/16th/18th centuries.*

Bibliography: See those to the two arts. mentioned above, and also C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties, a chronological and genealogical manual*, Edinburgh 1996, 288 no. 153. (Ed.)

ISḲĀṬ (a.), a legal term meaning "relinquishment", specifically of a right (*ḥaḳḳ*). In general, four conditions must be met to make the relinquishment of a right valid: (a) that the right should exist at the time it is relinquished (e.g. the right to collect a debt to be incurred in the future may not be relinquished); (b) that the right relinquished does not concern *milk al-ʿayn* (i.e. the ownership of the substance of a thing, whether movable or immovable, is not subject to relinquishment, but only to transfer, *naḳl*); (c) that the interest of the person entitled to the right should be absolute and not limited by other interests (e.g. it cannot be an interest such as that of a trustee in a *waḳf* property); and (d) that the relinquishment of the right does not involve an illegal result.

Isḳāṭ may be of two kinds: *isḳāṭ maḥḍ* (true relinquishment) and *isḳāṭ g̲h̲ayr maḥḍ* (quasi-relinquishment). The first kind includes divorce (*ṭalāḳ*), manumission of a slave (*iʿtāḳ*) and the relinquishment of the right of pre-emption (*s̲h̲ufʿa*). In the latter case, short clauses of relinquishment of the right of pre-emption are often added to deeds of sale of houses (e.g. *ḳad asḳaṭnā s̲h̲ufʿatanā min d̲h̲ālik*), neighbours of the vendor in Islamic law having the right of pre-emption [see s̲h̲ufʿa].

The term *isḳāṭ g̲h̲ayr maḥḍ* includes legal transactions such as acquittance of debt (*ibrāʾ ʿan al-dayn*), which is not regarded as a pure relinquishment since it partakes of the nature of a donation (*tabarruʿ*).

Bibliography: Adnan Kouatly, *Étude comparative du droit de préemption*, Damascus 1948, 424-45; Muṣṭafā Aḥmad al-Zarḳā', *al-Fiḳh al-islāmī fī t̲h̲awbih al-d̲j̲adīd*, Damascus 1968, and bibliography there cited; R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, *Some Arabic legal documents of the Ottoman period*, Leiden 1976 (see documents on pp. 15, 17, 23).

(R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young)

IṢLĀḤ.

v. Central Asia

Central Asia (here basically understood in the sense of the pre-modern Mā warā' al-Nahr [*q.v.*]), notwithstanding its regional pecularities, historically is to be regarded as an integral part of the Islamic world. Hence, in one way or another, its Muslim community—at least until the Russian "October Revolution" of 1917—was influenced by and/or contributed to reformist trends and movements current in other Muslim regions, in particular, those of Russia, Ottoman Turkey, the Arab world and also India. Basic features of the religious discourse on *iṣlāḥ* in the 18th-20th centuries, as described in the previous sections of this article (see Vol. IV) are to be found in Central Asia as well. But, because of the impact of roughly seven decades of Soviet rule, our knowledge about the specific nature of *iṣlāḥ* in Central Asia, and about its various supporters, actual developments, exchange of ideas, etc., is still rather poor in comparison to that about other regions. The inaccessibility of relevant sources during the Soviet period, as well as the application of Marxist-Leninist concepts of history, have led to a somewhat eclectic picture.

As a result of the prolonged Soviet impact, reformism in Central Asia appears predominantly as a class-based (bourgeois), nation-cultural, and finally political (nationalist) movement among Muslim intellectuals emerging around the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries, and considerably gaining strength after 1905-7 when censorship in the Russian empire was loosened and the press could function more freely [see d̲j̲arīda. iv]. This reform movement was the so-called D̲j̲adīdism [see d̲j̲adīd], but the usual self-designations of its representatives were different, e.g. *iṣlāḥātk̲h̲ʷāh* ("reformer"), *taraḳḳīparwar* ("progressive"), *munawwir* ("enlightener"), *yās̲h̲* or *d̲j̲awān* ("young"). It figures as a historically more or less isolated phenomenon, directly inspired by an identical movement which started somewhat earlier among Russia's Muslims. A key role in these endeavours, in the first place directed to renewing the Muslim educational system, disseminating Western-type knowledge, and fighting harmful social conditions and customs, falls to the well-known Crimean Tatar modernist Ismāʿīl Gasprali [*q.v.*] and the influential newspaper *Terd̲j̲ümān* founded by him in 1883. The reformist or modernist efforts of the D̲j̲adīds, at least to a certain extent, are characterised according to the Soviet jargon as "progressive", in sharp contrast to a more or less obscure stereotype of "reactionary" Ḳadīmīs.

Even though such views of developments in *iṣlāḥ* in Central Asia cannot, of course, be called entirely wrong, they nevertheless neglect some important traits of this phenomenon that are essential to an appropriate understanding of it. This lack of coherence is especially revealed by recent research, and concerns in particular the questions of: (a) indigenous roots and precursors of the so-called D̲j̲adīdism; (b) inter-relations with other Muslim and non-Muslim regions, with their influence on the background of individual thinkers; and (c) fundamentals, causes, contents and the course of the debate with traditionalist *ʿulamā'*, labelled by the modernists as Ḳadīmīs.

Far from our having comprehensive answers to these and related questions, some salient hints will have to suffice. Besides the oft-repeated statement that the Central Asia of the K̲h̲ānates (Buk̲h̲ārā, K̲h̲īwa and K̲h̲oḳand [*q.vv.*]) in the 18th-19th centuries represented a bulwark of intellectual stagnation, obscurantism and religious dogmatism, it must be noted

that such eminent precursors of reformism and modernism in the Volga-Ural region as ʿAbd al-Naṣīr al-Ḳūrṣāwī (1776-1812) and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Mardjānī (1818-89) both finished their studies in Bukhārā, Central Asia's most famous centre of Muslim learning. A decisive role in their taking up positions against *taḳlīd* and favouring *idjtihād* was played by Bukhāran *mudarrisūn* who were affiliated with the influential Naḳshbandiyya (Mudjaddidiyya) [*q.v.*, and see AḤMAD SIRHINDĪ, its founder, who based his teachings rigorously on the Ḳurʾān and Sunna]. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that Central Asia, and particularly Bukhārā, was not an isolated region but was connected through extensive trade relations with China, India, Russia, and also Western Siberia where, besides Tatars, *bukhārlïḳ* played a major role in spreading Islam and building up Muslim institutions, thereby in some cases showing reformist approaches at a comparatively early date. "Critical erudition" also can be found in 19th-century Bukhārā itself, among what might be called the teachers' generation of its later modernists (the Young Bukhārans, emerging around the end of the first decade of the 20th century), such as Aḥmad Makhdūm Dānish (1827-97) [see ĀZĀDĪ, in Suppl.] who subsequently, under Soviet auspices, was praised as a [Tādjīk] "enlightener" (al-Ḳūrṣāwī and al-Mardjānī were removed from their Islamic context in a similar way); Mīrzā ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Sāmī (*ca.* 1835-1914?) who served as a *munshī* of the *amīr*s Muẓaffar (1860-85) and ʿAbd al-Aḥad (1885-1910); Dāmullā Muḥammad Ikrām(ča) (1847-1925) who was appointed in 1913 one of the twelve official Bukhāran *muftīs*; Muḥammad Sharīfdjān Makhdūm, named Ṣadr-i Ḍiyāʾ (1867-1932), from a well-known *ḳāḍī* family, himself being appointed 1917 for three months *ḳāḍī-yi kalān*, the highest judicial officer in Bukhārā. All of them, except Ṣadr-i Ḍiyāʾ, shared the characteristic of having stayed for some time abroad, either by travelling to Russia or by performing the *Ḥadjdj*.

To be sure, all this does not mean that Bukhārā in the 18th-19th centuries was a stronghold of *iṣlāḥ*. On the contrary, al-Ḳūrṣāwī, for example, already met with sharp opposition and even condemnation by the overwhelming majority of Bukhāran *ʿulamāʾ*, including the then ruling *amīr* Ḥaydar (1800-26), when he, in regard to the question of the divine attributes [see ṢIFA. 2], opposed the generally accepted doctrine that God possesses either seven or eight *ṣifāt* by arguing that the only way to formulate a qualification of God is His own word, the Ḳurʾān, in which the *ṣifāt* are not at all limited to a definite number of seven or eight. Leaving aside that kind of subtle debates, it can be stated at least that Bukhārā was in constant exchange with the outside world, and to some extent participated in current Islamic developments, thereby providing certain prerequisites for a more evident manifestation of reformist endeavours that was to happen only at the beginning of the 20th century, then taking shape in Djadīdism, current amongst Russia's Muslims. The main impetus to Djadīdism, the followers of which—beyond the basically regressive concept of *iṣlāḥ*—also believed in Western ideas of progress, thus came from outside. But in Central Asia it met with an already existing specific spiritual basis of genuine *iṣlāḥ*, namely, a critical attitude towards traditional ways of rule, social life and religious learning which, as their critics saw it, were incompatible with "true" Islamic principles.

Unlike the Muslims of the Volga-Ural region, who already for centuries had stood up against Russia's rule and various policies of Russification, Central Asia had to face the challenges of colonial rule only from the second half of the 19th century, when it was conquered by Russia (abolishing the Khānate of Khoḳand finally in 1876, and reducing Bukhārā in 1868 and Khīwa in 1873 to protectorates). At that time Russia's Muslim communities had for about one hundred years received a slightly more favourable administrative status through the institutions of a *muftiyyat* in Ufa (1782) and the "Spiritual Assembly" in Orenburg (1788), allowing them a certain self-determination which was channelled particularly into strengthening and developing the *Sharīʿa* and their own educational system (the *maktab* and *madrasa*). Within this framework, and by meeting the growing challenge of Western modernity, it soon happened that reformist and/or modernist trends gained ground. It also seems quite natural that they aimed at improvement according to "modern" requirements in fields like education, which had become fundamental to Muslim self-assertion. Given such a partly common goal of reformist and traditionalist forces on the one hand, and limited resources on the other hand—the Muslim educational system in Russia was not state-sponsored—conflict, beyond the level of the later, overemphasised purely ideological controversies between Djadīds and Ḳadīmīs, was inevitable.

Though Central Asia played no visible role in this process in Russia which finally led to Djadīdism, Central Asia had at least mediated the first reformist impulses in Russia which, roughly 200 years later, were re-imported in the form of developed concepts of Muslim modernism. These concepts met with a situation in Central Asia in which indigenous society and its traditional institutions had to cope with the serious setback of Russian conquest and rule. Hence, in addition to the existing traces of a "critical erudition" mentioned above, we find in the urban centres of Russian Turkistān and of the protectorates of Bukhārā and Khīwa, evidently from around the turn of the 20th century, small local circles of Muslim modernists who were in touch with one another and had a loose network of contacts with kindred spirits stretching as far as Russia, the Caucasus, Turkey, Egypt, the Ḥidjāz and India. The more or less simultaneous introduction of a Western infrastructure, involving railways, postal services and telegraph, increased mobility and enhanced communication.

The majority of outstanding Central Asian modernists, although of different social origins, belonged to the younger generation and had gone through a traditional *maktab* and *madrasa* education. Some had a Russian education, and finally, a considerable number of them had fruitful experience of the outside Muslim world. Another group of supporters of modernism, at least in Bukhārā, was made up of traders and entrepreneurs. Their business interests led them to welcome efforts towards reform oriented towards interpretations of Western standards of knowledge and civilization. At the same time, endeavours of this kind were combined with a more or less conscious harking back to the fundamentals of the "true", early Islam. This synthesis of both following the dictates of the Ḳurʾān and "keeping up with the times" in practice mainly resulted in activities to disseminate knowledge (the press, publications, textbooks, founding of charitable societies (*djamʿiyyat-i khayriyya*) and *uṣūl-i djadīd* ("new-method") *maktabs*), and to criticise "backward" administrative institutions (e.g. the judiciary, *awḳāf*) and social conditions (e.g. features of popular religion, certain activities of Ṣūfī brotherhoods, lavish festivities and moral decline—the latter, by the way, was a field

in which the D̲j̲adīds largely shared the opinion of the Ḳadīmīs).

These general characteristics are mirrored in the basic biographical data of distinguished Central Asian modernists (their backgrounds and their entire work are, for the most part, not yet sufficiently studied), such as: (1) Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣiddīḳī, named ʿAd̲j̲zī (Samarḳand, 1864-1927, *madrasa* education, published the first textbook for "new method" *maktabs* [*Ustād-i awwal*, Tas̲h̲kent 1901], *ca.* 1901-3 *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* and residence in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, Egypt and Russia; then founding "new method" *maktabs*, writing textbooks and contributing to modernist press); (2) Maḥmūd K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Bihbūdī (Samarḳand, 1875-1919, *madrasa* education, 1900 *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, 1903-4 stay in Cairo, Istanbul, Ufa and Kazan; then founding a "new method" *maktab*, acting as *muftī*, publisher, editor of the newspapers *Samarḳand* [1913-4] and *Āʾina* [1914-5], writer of textbooks, theatrical plays); (3) ʿAbd Allāh Awlānī (Tas̲h̲kent, 1878-1934, *madrasa* education, editor of newspapers *S̲h̲uhrat* [1907], *Āsiyā* [1908] and *Tūrān* [1917], founder of "new method" *maktabs* [1908, 1912], charitable society [1909], writer [textbooks, anthology, theatrical plays], organising [1913] a theatre group); (4) Munawwar Ḳārī ʿAbd al-Ras̲h̲īd K̲h̲ān (Tas̲h̲kent, 1878-1931[?], editor of newspapers *K̲h̲ūrs̲h̲īd* [1906], *Ṣadā-yi Turkistān* [1914] and *Nad̲j̲āt* [1917], published textbooks); and (5) ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat [*q.v.*] (Buk̲h̲ārā, 1886-1938[?], *madrasa* education, 1904 *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, *ca.* 1910-14 studying in Istanbul, the starting point of his career as an important writer and as theorist of Central Asian modernism).

Within the Central Asian context, the activities of these and other adherents of modernism represented a remarkable phenomenon that to some extent challenged traditional society and colonial rule. But these modernists were few in number and, beyond shared basic ideas and goals, they seem to have formed a rather disparate movement of limited success. They lagged behind the modernist debate in other parts of the Muslim world. Their influence did not apparently reach beyond the borders of Central Asia, and even in their homeland they had no firm socio-political grounding. When finally, in the course of the Russian Revolutions of 1917, some of the Central Asian modernists entered the political stage (striving for an autonomy of Turkistān within a Russian federation, or for an implementation of reforms in Buk̲h̲ārā), they were quickly swept away and successively absorbed by various more firmly-based social and political forces and realities (ranging from Soviet power to the armed resistance of the Basmačīs [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: In addition to the *Bibls.* of the articles mentioned in the text, see of more recent special studies, D.R. Brower and E.J. Lazzerini (eds.), *Russia's Orient. Imperial borderlands and peoples, 1700-1917*, Bloomington, Ind. 1997; S.A. Dudoignon, D. Is'haqov and R. Möhämmätshin (eds.), *L'Islam de Russie. Conscience communautaire et autonomie politique chez les Tatars de la Volga et de l'Oural, depuis le XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1997; M. Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte in Tatarien und Baschkirien, 1789-1889. Der islamische Diskurs unter russischer Herrschaft*, Berlin 1998; A. Khalid, *The politics of Muslim cultural reform. Jadidism in Tsarist Central Asia*, Berkeley 1998; A. von Kügelgen *et alii* (eds.), *Muslim culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the early 20th centuries*, i ff., Berlin 1996-; *Le réformisme Musulman en Asie Centrale. Du «premier renouveau» à la soviétisation, 1788-1937*, Paris 1996 (= *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, xxxvii/1-2 [Jan.-June 1996]).

(R. Eisener)

ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ BALṬAD̲J̲ĪOG̲H̲LU (1886-1978), Turkish sociologist, educator and author. He was born in Istanbul in 1886, the son of a government official, Ibrāhīm Edhem, and Ḥamīde. He finished his *Wefā Iʿdādīsi* in 1903, and continued his education in the Department of Natural Science in the *Dār ül-fünūn*, graduating in 1908. During the same year, he started his career as a teacher of calligraphy in the *Dār ül-muʿallimīn-i ibtidāʾiyye* and was sent to Europe in 1910 by the Ministry of Education to do research in pedagogy and handicrafts. After his return to Turkey in 1911, Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī lectured on handicrafts, calligraphy, aesthetics, pedagogy and psychology in several schools and worked in certain administrative posts whereby he initiated various reforms combating the traditional methods of education. He was elected Dean of the Faculty of Letters in the *Dār ül-fünūn* on several occasions between 1921-4 and was President of the school in 1923, resigning in 1927. He was removed from his position as a lecturer at the *Dār ül-fünūn* with its closure on 31 July 1933. Between 1941-2, Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī worked as a professor of pedagogy in the Language and History-Geography Faculty of Ankara University. He was elected to the Parliament as the Afyon representative of the Halk Partisi in 1942 and the Kırşehir representative in 1946. From 1950 until his death in 1978, he continued his career as an author and publisher.

Besides publishing *Yeni Adam*, a journal mainly devoted to pedagogy and culture, he wrote many books and articles for various newspapers and journals such as *İkdam*, *Yeni Fikir*, *Akşam* and *Ulus* throughout his life. In his works, he mostly concentrated on sociological and pedagogical issues, but also showed an interest in writing plays.

Bibliography: 1. Selected works. *Taʿlīm ve terbiyede inḳilāb*, Istanbul 1912; *Terbiye-i ʿawāmm*, Istanbul 1914; *Umumi pedagoji*, Istanbul 1930; *Demokrasi ve sanat*, Istanbul 1931; *İçtimai mektep nazariyeleri ve prensipleri*, Istanbul 1932; *Andaval palas*, Istanbul 1934; *Felsefe*, Istanbul 1938; *Toplu tedris*, Istanbul 1938; *Dolap beygiri*, Istanbul 1940; *Kafa tamircisi*, Istanbul 1940; *Rüyamdaki okullar*, Istanbul 1944; *Pedagojide ihtilal*, Istanbul 1964.

2. Studies. H.Z. Ülken, *Türkiye'de çağdaş düşünce tarihi*, Istanbul 1992, 450-6; N. Tozlu, *Ismayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu'nun eğitim sistemi üzerine bir araştırma*, Istanbul 1989; Ilhan Akar, *İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu'nun eğitim ve kültür görüşleri üzerine bir araştırma*, Ankara 1994; A. Ferhan Oğuzkan (ed.), *İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu yaşamı ve hizmetleri. Türk Eğitim Derneği IV. anma toplantısı 16 Ekim 1996*, Ankara 1996.

(Aylin Özman)

ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, **MANĀSTĪRLĪ** (1846-1912), Ottoman religious scholar and preacher. Born and raised in Manāstīr in present-day Macedonia, he went to Istanbul as a young man, took *medrese* courses and taught at the Fatih Mosque. In 1874 he became preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) at the Dolmabahçe Mosque and then at the Aya Sofya, where he drew large crowds. He began his teaching career as professor of Arabic at the *ʿAskerī Rüs̲h̲diyye* in Eyüb, and in 1884 became teacher of jurisprudence in the *Ḥuḳūḳ Mektebi*, where he remained until he became a senator (*aʿyān aʿḍāsī*) after the 1908 revolution. He taught courses on religious matters at various institutions (*Mühendiskhāne*, *Mülkiyye*, *Dārülfünūn*, *ʿAskerī Ṭibbiyye*) and was also professor of exegesis at the recently founded Preachers' Seminary (*medreset ül-wāʿiẓīn*). On 5 December 1912 (25 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1330), still a senator, he died at his waterfront resi-

dence in Anadoluḥiṣār and was buried in the cemetery next to the Fatih Mosque.

In addition to Turkish, he knew Arabic, Persian and Bulgarian. His writings include a translation of, and commentary on, *al-Ḳaṣīda al-nūniyya* on the Islamic creed by Khiḍr Beg [*q.v.*]; *Beyyināt-i Aḥmediyye* (Istanbul 1329/1911), an annotated translation of *al-Risāla al-Ḥamīdiyya fī ḥaḳīḳat al-diyāna al-islāmiyya wa-ḥaḳḳiyyat al-risāla al-Muḥammadiyya* by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Djasr or al-Djisr al-Ṭarābulusī (d. 1327/1909, the teacher of Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*], cf. Brockelmann, S II, 776, S III, 321); and *Ḥaḳḳ we ḥaḳīḳat*, a critique of Reinhart Dozy's *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme* (traduit du hollandais par Victor Chauvin, Leiden and Paris 1879; originally published as *Het Islamisme*, Haarlem 1863), translated by ʿAbdullāh Djewdet. For his other works, see *Bibl.*; he also contributed numerous articles to journals and newspapers.

Bibliography: Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 222-3; İbrahim Alâettin, *Meşhur adamlar hayatları–eserleri*, Istanbul 1933-35, ii, 799; İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul n.d. [*ca.* 1940], 193; Kaḥḥāla, ii, 266. Further works of Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī: *Mewāʿiẓ*, Istanbul 1324/1906-7; *Ḳoṣowa ṣaḥrāsı mewʿiẓasi*, Salonica 1327/1909; *Uṣūl-u fiḳh*, Istanbul 1328/1910 [textbook]; *Mawāhib al-Raḥmān fī manāḳib al-imām Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān*, Istanbul 1310/1892-3, a translation of Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī [*q.v.*], *al-Khayrāt al-ḥisān fī faḍāʾil al-Nuʿmān*. (ED.)

ISMĀʿĪL PASHA BAGHDĀDLİ, ISMĀʿĪL B. MUḤAMMAD AMĪN B. MĪR SALĪM AL-BĀBĀNĪ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, in modern Turkish orthography, Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa (1839-1920), Ottoman army officer and author of two important bio-bibliographical reference works.

He was born in Baghdād, in a family originating from Bābān, near Sulaymāniyya in ʿIrāḳ, hence his other *nisba* (variant: Bābān-zāde). In 1908, after the Young Turk Revolution, he became a general (*mīr liwā*) in the gendarmerie (*djandarma dāʾiresi*). On his death in 1920 he was buried in Bakırköy near Istanbul. The most extensive notice on his life and work is by Hulûsi Kılıç, in *Türkiye diyanet vakfı islâm ansiklopedisi*, iv (1991), 447-8 (with portrait and a specimen of handwriting, and with further references, mostly to Turkish sources). A short mention is given by Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, [4]Beirut 1979, 326.

The two works whereby Ismāʿīl al-Baghdādī is still remembered today are:

1. *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn fī ʾl-dhayl ʿalā Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa ʾl-funūn*. This work, written mostly in Arabic, was posthumously edited by Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn Yaltḳāyā (Şerefettin Yaltkaya) and Rifʿat Bilka al-Kilisī (Kilisli Rifat Bilge) and published in two volumes (Istanbul 1945-7, with a portrait in vol. i, several times reprinted) on the basis of the author's copy, which is now kept in the library of the Head Office of the Yapı ve Kredi Bankası in Istanbul. It is written in Arabic and is in fact an annotated list of titles of works, put in alphabetical order, just like its great example, the *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, by the author's famous predecessor Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbd Allāh Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Kātib Čelebī (d. 1067/1657 [*q.v.*]). The author's description of the books contain the title, the name and life span of the author, or the year of composition, reference to a printed version (if any), and occasionally the opening words of the text as well. If that latter feature is available, it shows that the author must have had a copy of the text at hand. If a text is a commentary (*sharḥ*), reference is made to its *matn*. There are numerous references to Persian and Turkish works as well, and the *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* is useful in this respect as well. Its main use is for Arabic bibliography, however, which includes the extensive Arabic literature produced by non-Arabs. His work is in more than one respect a supplement to the *Kashf al-ẓunūn*. It not only bridges the time gap of two-and-a-half centuries between the previous work and the supplement, but it also adds to the bibliographical material which was not known or available to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa. Although the bibliographical entries are not very extensive, the sheer size of the work, with its more than 10,000 titles, makes it an indispensable, and as yet unsurpassed, bibliographical tool for the literature of the late classical and early modern period. Its inclusion of Persian and Turkish works is witness to the scope of the literary interests of the Ottoman élite.

2. *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn. Asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*. This is the monumental biographical counterpart to the previous work. It is a list of approximately 9,000 authors of in all some 50,000 works (vol. i, which ranges from *alif* to *lām*, mentions 5,398 authors and *ca.* 25,000 works). It was edited by Kilisli Rifat Bilge and Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal (vol. i, Istanbul 1951) and Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inal and Avni Aktuç (vol. ii, Istanbul 1955). It has been reprinted several times in Baghdād and Tehran. Nail Bayraktar has published a register of the *shuhras* mentioned in the *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* (*Hediyyetü ʾl-ârifîn, esmâü ʾl-müellifîn ve âsârü ʾl-musannifîn şohretlet indeksi*, Istanbul 1990). The work is arranged by *ism* of the author, followed by the patronyms and other name elements, with personal details, notably the year of demise, and it then provides the reader with the titles of the books composed by these authors.

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(J.J. WITKAM)

İSMET İNÖNÜ (Ottoman form, ʿIṣmet), b. 1884, died 1973, Turkish military commander and statesman, who served on three occasions as Prime Minister in the Turkish Republic (October 1923-November 1924; March 1925-November 1937; and November 1961-February 1965) and once as President (1938-50). He played an important part in the Turkish War of Independence (1919-12), made significant contributions to the institutional framework of the new Turkish Republican state, initiated multi-party politics in 1945, acted as champion of the procedural rules of democracy as well as of secularism, and had a critical role in the relatively speedy return to civilian politics following the military interventions of 1960-1 and 1971-3.

The son of a lawyer in Izmir, ʿIṣmet made a career in the Ottoman army, and during the First World War served on the staff of Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pasha in Yemen, commanded the Fourth Army in Syria in 1916, and at the time of the armistice of 30 November 1918 was Under-Secretary for War in Istanbul. ʿIṣmet Pasha, as he had become, was in 1920 elected to the last Ottoman Parliament as member for Edirne, but soon afterwards joined the cause of Muṣṭafā Kemāl (the later Atatürk [*q.v.*]) in resisting the Allied occupation of Anatolia, and when the Greeks invaded western Anatolia, he became chief of the General Staff of the Nationalist army and repelled the invaders at the two battles of İnönü to the west of Eskişehir (January and April 1921), from which engagements he later took his European-type surname.

When the Grand National Assembly met in Ankara

in 1922, ʿIṣmet became Foreign Minister, and represented Turkey at the Lausanne peace conference, strongly opposing Britain and France and gaining most of what Muṣṭafā Kemāl wanted in the final Treaty of Lausanne of 24 July 1923. When the Turkish Republic was proclaimed on 29 October 1923, ʿIṣmet became Atatürk's Prime Minister, remaining in power thus for nearly fourteen years. On Atatürk's death on 10 November 1938, he became President and permanent chairman of the ruling Republican People's Party [see DJÜMHŪRIYYET KHALḲ FIRḲASĪ].

During this period, when westernising reforms were being imposed from above on Turkish society, and when in the 1920s there were rebellions in southeastern Turkey by traditionalist elements, İnönü adopted a rather authoritarian position, but then, in the 1939-45 period, he became much more flexible. He had a large measure of self-confidence in himself and in the future for Turkey. He believed that, together with Atatürk, a threatened resurgence of conservative Islam could be dealt with, when in 1930 many elements of the population seemed to sympathise with the Free Republican Party (*Serbest Cümhuriyet Fırkası* [see ḤIZB. ii] of Ali Fethi Okyar [*q.v.*]). mistakenly perceiving that party as a religiously-oriented one. Similarly, during the 1939-45 years he oversaw the eventual transition to a multi-party political system. Under his skillful leadership, Turkey remained neutral in the Second World War, but the country became strained internally and there were pressures from the victorious Western powers for a more democratic political régime. İnönü was now led towards the formation of a multi-party system, and in the reaction against the RPP's authoritarian rule, the Democrat Party [see DEMOKRAT PARTI], triumphed in the 1950 elections, entailing İnönü's replacement as President by Celal Bayar. He now became for a decade the leader of the opposition and defender of democracy in the increasingly authoritarian climate of Adnan Menderes' [*q.v.*] premiership in the late 1950s. After the military intervention of 1960, he formed three coalition governments between 1961 and 1965. However, the RPP suffered heavy defeats in the 1965 and 1969 elections, and İnönü was criticised by Kemalist and socialist elements within his party for the compromises he had made with his coalition partners and with conservative elements; but when he declared the ideology of the RPP as "left of centre", this led in 1967 to the secession of centrist elements in his party to form the Reliance Party (*Güven Partisi*). In 1972 he was replaced as RPP leader by the leader of its leftist faction, Bülent Ecevit, and he died in the following year.

İnönü was a pragmatist, always open to new experiences and ready to learn. He came to conceive of democracy as an exchange of views among the patriotic and knowledgeable sections of the population in order to discover the best public policies, and he thought that these last should be based on valued ideas and not on particularist interests. In this respect, he was an elitist. For him, the state as an entity representing the general interest had priority over a democracy perceived as responsiveness to the preferences of the people at large. Yet this elitism was tempered by a genuine belief in the common sense of the people and a belief in their potential for self-improvement. He did not identify harmony with unanimity, and regarded politics as ideally an adversarial process, since this produced exchanges of ideas and evolved good policies. He remains, therefore, a somewhat enigmatic figure.

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(METIN HEPER)

ISTANBUL.

VIII. MONUMENTS

The first and most important of the Ottoman monuments of Istanbul is Saint Sophia. The only church to be transformed into a mosque immediately after the conquest of the city (others followed later, mostly in the reign of Bāyezīd II), it remained symbolically the model of imperial religious architecture. From the reign of Selīm II onwards, it became a place of burial reserved exclusively for the Ottoman royal family and was restored on numerous occasions between 1572-3 and 1847-9.

Ottoman building activity dates from 1458, when Meḥemmed II built the mosque of Eyyüb and decided to construct his own imperial complex (Fātiḥ) at the square of the Holy Apostles, and the Ṭopḳapï Palace on the site of the ancient acropolis of Byzantium. This plan, added to other decisions taken in the course of the same reign—building of the *bezistān* (1456), of the first palace on the site of the Theodosian forum (1453-5), of the barracks of the Janissaries (Eski odalar), of the saddlers' market (Sarrādj Khāne, 1475), the markets of the major and the minor Ḳaramān (after 1467)—led to the formation of a monumental axis which, while initially retracing the route of the Byzantine Mesus (Dīwān Yolu) from Saint Sophia to the Old Palace, from this point follows a northerly direction, across the complex of Fātiḥ and extending as far as the Adrianople Gate (Edirne Ḳapïsï).

This activity also corresponded with the choice of architects of non-Muslim origin, apparently in contrast to what is known of the builders of the first

period of Ottoman architecture, that of Bursa and of Edirne. This practice could also be linked with the policy of recruiting from among all the peoples of the Empire and even beyond, implemented broadly by Meḥemmed II in almost all sectors of public life, but also with the search for new stylistic and technical solutions. This appears to have been the case in choice of Sinān the Elder (ʿAtīḳ), a freedman of Byzantine origin, supposed to have built the Fātiḥ mosque on the model of Saint Sophia. This was also the time of the introduction into Ottoman architecture of the demi-cupola, as is mentioned in a passage from Tursun Beg (*Taʾrīkh-i Abu ʾl-Fatḥ*, fol. 58), who applauds the outstripping of Saint Sophia, and another from the Anonymous Giese (99), who de-nounces the latter as sacrilege, inviting comparison with the imperial Byzantine model.

Parallel with the founding of these imperial edifices, Meḥemmed II encouraged his entourage to follow his example. This injunction was implemented to varying degrees: individuals such as Maḥmūd Pasha or Khāṣṣ Murād Pasha, of Byzantine origin and graduates of the Palace school, built some important mosques, their architecture, paradoxically, mirroring that of the first Ottoman mosques of Bursa; others like Gedik Aḥmed Pasha [see AḤMAD PASHA GEDIK] or Isḥāḳ Pasha, contented themselves with constructing secondary buildings in the capital and established their major projects in the towns of Anatolia.

The accession of Bāyezīd II in 1481 marks a halt in monumental construction in Istanful.

The sovereign initially built mosques and large religious complexes at Tokat, at Amasya and at Edirne, while other leading figures of the regime confined themselves to converting the churches of the capital into mosques. Seventeen of them are known to have been adapted for Muslim worship, as opposed to four during the reign of Meḥemmed II. The only monumental project completed during the last twenty years of the 15th century was the mosque built by Dāwūd Pasha (1485). It conforms to the model inaugurated by Bāyezīd II in the provinces, with a single cupola resting on a cube. With a diameter in excess of 18 m, this remains the largest cupola of all the vizieral mosques of the capital.

Deciding, at the opening of the 16th century (in 1500-4), to build a religious complex in the capital, Bāyezīd II borrowed the system of roofing of Saint Sophia, with two demi-cupolas flanking the central cupola, but also followed the model of the mosques of Bursa in adding *tāb-khāne* (lodgings for dervishes) on both sides of the prayer hall. The complex was built on land reclaimed in its entirety from the Old Palace and situated at the strategic point where the Dīwān Yolu joins the Great Bazaar and Usun Čarshî, the Makros Embolos of the Byzantines, linking the central axis of the city to the port. As is the case with the Fātiḥ mosque, this axis traverses the complex passing between the mosque and the *medrese*, thus accentuating its role as a triumphal thoroughfare. Other dignitaries of the period were to follow this example: thus ʿAtīḳ ʿAlī Pasha built a complex on both sides of the Dīwān Yolu (1506) on the site of the forum of Constantine, around the Burnt Column (Djemberli Tash).

The great earthquake of 1509, followed by the unrest in the latter part of Bāyezīd's reign, resulted in another interruption in the monumental construction of the capital. Similarly, Selīm I (1512-20) and his administration, too occupied in waging war, left no architectural vestiges, and it was Süleymān I who, on his accession in 1520, built a mosque in memory of his father. It was situated in a place chosen more for the view that it offers of the Golden Horn, overlooking the Greek quarter of Fener, than for its centrality, but the effect of monumental edifices on the panorama of the city, for purposes of seeing and being seen, seems henceforward to have been a decisive factor; it was to find its most absolute expression with the Süleymāniyye. The mosque known as that of Sultan Selīm (1522) is also the last imperial edifice to reprise the model of a single cupola resting on a cube; it is inspired directly by that of Bāyezīd II at Edirne.

This monument to filial piety apart, the first two decades of the reign of Süleymān I (1520-66) were niggardly in monumental constructions of religious character. On the contrary, the sovereign and his entourage were competing in the construction of palaces. Süleymān renovated the Ṭopḳapî Palace and built a palace on the hippodrome for his Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. Monumental building activity was resumed with the appointment of Sinān to the post of chief architect in 1538 and was to continue without intermission during the half-century of his activity [see SINĀN].

The sovereign gave the signal for the start of this activity in 1539, ordering the construction of a complex for his wife Khürrem Sulṭāne [see KHURREM], built on the site known as ʿAwret Bāzārî (women's market), in the vicinity of the column of Arcadius. It consists of a mosque, progressively complemented by an *ʿimāret* and a hospital (*dār ül-shifāʾ*). It is probable that Süleymān subsequently decided, on his return from the Hungarian campaign in 1541, to begin a monumental assemblage situated on the triumphal axis, on the site of the Janissaries' barracks (Eski odalar) which he intended to appropriate. On the death of the prince Meḥemmed, in 1543, this mosque was dedicated to him, and the complex probably remained incomplete since it was situated exclusively on the northern part of the axis, the barracks situated to the south being retained. In this mosque, his first monumental project, Sinān took to the very limit the process in which Ottoman architecture had been engaged since 1453, proposing a system of roofing in perfect symmetry, with four demi-cupolas. But after the peace treaty concluded in 1547 with the Emperor Charles V, Süleymān decided to commission a new imperial complex, returning to the model of Saint Sophia and also attempting to attain its dimensions. This was to be the Süleymāniyye (1550-7), overlooking the Golden Horn and likewise built on land reclaimed from the Old Palace, competing with its rival for prominence in the vista of Istanbul. Similarly, the totality of religious and social institutions which surrounded it stole primacy from the Fātiḥ complex, since henceforward the *medrese* of the Süleymāniyye constituted the highest level of religious education in the Ottoman empire.

Members of the Ottoman royal family and their entourage shared in this construction frenzy. Mihr-i Māh Sulṭāne [*q.v.*], daughter of Süleymān and Khürrem, had her first complex, consisting of a mosque, a *medrese* and a caravanserai, built at the quay of Üsküdār, on the Asiatic bank, the place where the Bosphorus was crossed (1548). Twenty years later Sinān completed, again on behalf of Mihr-i Māh, a mosque with a courtyard *medrese* at Edirne ḳapî, at the point where the triumphal axis joins the land wall. In experimenting with the cupola on pendentives, which frees interior space entirely, Sinān here definitively

outstripped the model of Saint Sophia, achieving the absolute unity and disengagement of interior space, more in accordance with the Muslim tradition.

The Grand Vizier Rüstem Pas̲h̲a (in office 1544-53, 1555-61 [*q.v.*]), husband of Mihr-i Māh, chose for his buildings the most densely populated areas of the city and found himself obliged, no doubt for this reason, to disperse them. He built a *k̲h̲ān* (*ca.* 1550) at G̲h̲alaṭa [*q.v.*, in Suppl.] on the site of the former Genoese cathedral dedicated to Saint Michael, a *medrese* with octagonal courtyard enclosed within a square, situated below the mosque of Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a (1550) and a mosque facing the *ḥammām* of Taḥt al-ḳalʿa, completed after his death in 1562. This mosque, built on the site of that of ʿAṭṭār K̲h̲alīl, the most ancient attested in the city (1457), had interior surfaces entirely covered with magnificent ceramics from Iznik, used here on a massive scale for the first time. Sinān Pas̲h̲a, brother of Rüstem, Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet (1550-4), built in his turn a mosque with a courtyard *medrese* at Bes̲h̲iktās̲h̲, embarkation-point of the fleet.

Ḳara Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Grand Vizier 1553-5, drew up shortly before his execution in the latter year a *wakfiyye* in which he gave instructions for the construction of a mosque with the sums bequeathed. His steward, Ferruk̲h̲ Ketk̲h̲udā, undertook the search for a site and acquired a piece of land close to the land walls inside the gate of Ṭopḳapî, where in 1560 Sinān completed a mosque with a courtyard *medrese.*

While the successors of Süleymān, Selīm II (1566-74 [*q.v.*]) and Murād III (1574-95 [*q.v.*]) built their mosques respectively at Edirne and at Mag̲h̲nisa, Istanbul continued to be endowed with monumental constructions under the long vizierate of Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a (1565-79 [*q.v.*]), benefiting from the energy of Sinān's workforce. Ṣoḳollu's first project in the capital was a funeral monument, built in 1568-9 at Eyyüb. This consisted of a mausoleum accompanied by a *medrese*, a combination which became standard from the end of the century onward, contributing to the transformation of the suburb of Eyyüb into a necropolis for the military and religious dignitaries of the empire. Ṣoḳollu subsequently built below the hippodrome, near the docks used by galleys (Ḳadîrg̲h̲a), a complex situated in proximity to his palace. This consisted of a mosque with courtyard *medrese*, completed in 1572, to which a *zāwiya* was added. Another mosque was built by the same Grand Vizier in 1577-8, outside the walls of G̲h̲alaṭa, beside the Arsenal, to commemorate his service at the head of the Admiralty (1546-50). Piyale Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], High Admiral 1554-68, commissioned from Sinān a mosque situated behind the arsenal, in an area populated by sailors and workers in the naval dockyards. For this building, completed in 1572, where solemn prayers were to be offered before the departure of the fleet, Sinān reverted to the hypostyle model with six cupolas, combined with open-air spaces for prayer capable of accommodating entire ships crews. It was without doubt the same problem of capacity which induced the architect to adopt for the mosque of the High Admiral Ḳîlîd̲j̲ ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a (1571-87 [see ʿULŪD̲J̲ ʿALĪ]), built in 1581 at Ṭopk̲h̲āne, a revival of the model of Saint Sophia with lateral galleries.

In the mid-1570s, Nūr Bānū Sulṭāne [*q.v.*], mother of Murād III, undertook the construction of an important complex above Üsküdār [*q.v.*], a transit depot for caravans arriving from Anatolia. A caravanserai and a *zāwiya* enclosed a mosque and courtyard, with a *medrese* lower down. The whole was completed in 1583. In the meantime, Sinān also constructed a little architectural jewel for S̲h̲emsī Pas̲h̲a, on the banks of the Bosphorus at Üsküdar (1581), as well as a mosque accompanied by two *medreses* on different levels for Zal Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a at Eyyüb (1580-81). Finally, among the last works of this architect, completed by his successor Dāwūd Ag̲h̲a, attention should be drawn to the mosque of Mesīḥ Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] (1586) at Ḳara Gümrük and that of Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲î Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a (1588) on the main axis between Fātiḥ and Edirne Ḳapî.

To complete the monumental landscape of Istanbul and its environs, also worth mentioning is the system of water supply completed between 1554 and 1563, comprising four monumental aqueducts upstream of the Golden Horn, as well as the bridge of Büyük Čekmed̲j̲e on the Edirne road.

The death of Sinān, in 1588, also coincided with the beginning of the exhaustion of the financial resources of the empire, embroiled in a protracted war against Persia and, before long, against Austria. Prestige constructions were to become more modest and their functions modified. A surfeit of mosques was to be succeeded by complexes composed of a mausoleum and a *medrese*, the latter accommodating a large number of rural immigrants drawn by the functions of religious education and the judiciary—virtually the only professions open to persons of Muslim birth.

In 1593-4 D̲j̲errāḥ Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a built the last vizieral mosque to be completed before the 18th century. The density of the city seems not to have permitted monumental constructions without costly expropriations. Thus in order to build her own mosque, on her acquisition of the title of queen-mother with the accession of her son Meḥemmed III in 1595, Ṣafiyye Sulṭāne [*q.v.*] made inroads on the Jewish quarters of the city's port. Hampered by the death of the architect Dāwūd Ag̲h̲a in 1598, by technical problems arising from the digging of foundations at a site close to the water, and by the death of Meḥemmed III in 1603, relegating Ṣafiyye Sulṭāne to the Old Palace, construction remained incomplete and was only to be resumed sixty years later by K̲h̲adīd̲j̲e Turk̲h̲ān Sulṭāne, the mother of Meḥemmed IV, being completed in 1663 (Wālide D̲j̲āmiʿ).

The new sultan, Aḥmed I (1603-17 [*q.v.*]), was the first since Süleymān to undertake the construction of an imperial complex. The latter, situated above the hippodrome, necessitated a massive expropriation of the vizieral residences which were situated there. The manner in which the buildings of the complex are dispersed is testimony to the difficulties of expropriation. The complex of the Blue Mosque, the name given to the mosque of Aḥmed I on account of its extensive decoration in ceramics of this colour, marks the end of the first period of monumental edifices of Istanbul.

G̲h̲aḍanfer Ag̲h̲a, senior eunuch of the palace, introduced into the capital the combination of a *medrese*, a mausoleum and a fountain. The latter, built in 1590-1 at the foot of the aqueduct of Valens (Bozdog̲h̲ān kemeri) rapidly started a trend. These more modest combinations were more easily integrated into the dense urban fabric and contributed to the vitality of the principal axes of the city. Thus the combinations of this type built by Sinān Pas̲h̲a (1592-3), Ḳuyud̲j̲u Murād Pas̲h̲a (1610), Köprülu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a (1660-1 [see KÖPRÜLÜ]), Merzifonlu Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a (1681-90 [see ḲARA MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A]), Amd̲j̲azāde Ḥüseyin Pas̲h̲a (1700-1) and Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a (1719-20 [*q.v.*]) were situated on the triumphal axis of the city, while that of Ekmekd̲j̲i-zāde Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a

(before 1618) was located on the street joining this axis to Wefā and beyond to the Golden Horn. A more complete complex, also containing a *zāwiya*, was that of Bayram Pa<u>sh</u>a (1634-5) situated in the vicinity of the complex of <u>Kh</u>ürrem Sulṭāne.

These combinations were virtually the sole markers of the 17th century, when new imperial constructions—with the exception of the completion of the Wālide mosque and the small mosque built by Kösem Sulṭāne on the heights of Üsküdār—were non-existent. The return of the sultans to Istanbul after a period of residence at Edirne, with the accession of Aḥmed III in 1703, marked the start of a new phase of architectural activity, responding to new needs and new styles. The needs resulted from the development of the city, where density of population led to increasingly frequent fires and epidemics. These induced the prosperous classes to take refuge in the periphery, such as the Eyyüb, the northern shore and the Bosphorus, where new residences were to be constructed, soon to be followed by new mosques. At the same time, the need to protect collections of precious manuscripts from fire required the construction of libraries as independent buildings, while the shortage of water resulting from overpopulation led to new projects of water provision, including monumental fountains. These secular buildings, less hampered by the weight of tradition, also gave opportunities for new stylistic experiments, often described as Ottoman baroque art, first coming to prominence in the "Tulip Period" (1718-30) [see LĀLE DEVRI].

The fountains and the *sebīl* (places for the distribution of water, see SABĪL) regularly accompanied combinations of a *medrese* and a mausoleum, but it was to them that the first stylistic innovations were applied. These were already perceptible in the *sebīl* of Amd<u>j</u>azāde Ḥüseyin Pa<u>sh</u>a, at the turn of the 18th century and were developed in that of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pa<u>sh</u>a twenty years later. In another arrangement, where *sebīl* and fountain became the principal elements in a small complex also containing a mausoleum, as well as a school no longer in existence, built at Dolma Ba<u>gh</u>če by Ḥad<u>j</u>d<u>j</u>ī Meḥmed Emīn A<u>gh</u>a (1741), the baroque elements attained their fullest expression. The *sebīl* or fountain was also to be found in association with a primary school (*ṣîbyān mektebi*) situated on the upper level (fountain school of Re'īs ül-Kuttāb Ismā'īl Efendi at Ḳaraköy [1742] and *sebīl* school of Red<u>j</u>ā'ī Meḥmed Efendi at Wefā [1775]), but this combination, frequently encountered in Ottoman Cairo, remained exceptional in Istanbul.

The monumental fountain standing alone in a covered space was first seen at the very end of the Tulip Period, the first five known examples being virtually contemporaneous. Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pa<u>sh</u>a, responsible for the drawing of water from Üsküdār, built the first of these four-faced monumental fountains beside the harbour of this suburb in 1728-9. The same year, Aḥmed III built the monumental fountain before the main entrance of the Ṭopḳapî Palace. His successor, Maḥmūd I (1730-54) undertook the conveyance of water from the northern shore of the Golden Horn (waters of Taḳsīm) and three other monumental fountains were built in 1732-3 on this network: that of Ṭop-<u>kh</u>āne by the sovereign himself, that of 'Azap Ḳapî (in front of the Arsenal) by the queen-mother Ṣalīḥa Sulṭāne and that of Ka'ba Tā<u>sh</u> by the Grand Vizier Ḥekīm-o<u>gh</u>lu 'Alī Pa<u>sh</u>a [see 'ALĪ PA<u>SH</u>A ḤAKĪM-O<u>GH</u>LU].

The first independent library was built by Köprülü Fāḍîl Aḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a as an extension of the familial complex on the Dīwān Yolu (before 1676), and <u>Sh</u>ehīd 'Alī Pa<u>sh</u>a also built a free-standing library behind the mosque of <u>Sh</u>āh-zāde in 1715. This type of building nevertheless acquired a monumental nature—while retaining modest dimensions—with the library built in 1719-20 by Aḥmed III in the third courtyard of the Ṭopḳapî Palace. New architectural experiments were evident in that of 'Āṭif Efendi at Wefā (1741) and were to be most fully expressed in the library of the Nūr-u 'O<u>th</u>māniyye complex (1755). Among later buildings, those of Rā<u>gh</u>ib Pa<u>sh</u>a (1762) at Lāleli and of Dāmād-zāde Meḥmed Murād Efendi—known as Murād Mollā—(1775) at Čar<u>sh</u>amba are worth mentioning.

A new type of building linked with projects for the provision of water consisted of dams, reservoirs placed in the Belgrade forest to the north-west of the city, a happy combination of utility and ornament. The oldest, a straight wall supported by four buttresses, is known by the name of the Dark Dam (Ḳaranlîḳ Bend); dating from 1620 it was located on the network set up by Sinān. The Topluzu Bend, built in 1750 on the network of Taḳsīm, introduced cut-off corners, more resistant to the pressure of water. By way of the Aywad Bendi (1765) and the Wālide Bend (1797), progress was made towards the vaulted dam, realised in 1839 with the dam of Maḥmūd II.

The 18th century also marked a renewal in the construction of religious buildings, but the first phase was slow and hesitant. The mosque built by Aḥmed III for his mother Emetüllāh Gülnū<u>sh</u> Sulṭāne at Üsküdār (1708-10)—a place apparently reserved for the wives of the imperial family—revived the models of the 16th century, albeit with some adjustments to the lines of the *sebīl* typical of the Tulip Period. Similarly, it was again the *sebīl*, as well as the school placed above the entry-gate, rather than the mosque, which represented innovation in the monumental complex built by Hekīm-o<u>gh</u>lu 'Alī Pa<u>sh</u>a in 1734-5. This makes even more surprising the full-scale renewal of architectural motifs in the Nūr-u 'O<u>th</u>māniyye complex, begun in 1748 by Maḥmūd I and completed in 1755 under 'O<u>th</u>mān III. Even though the daring solutions, such as the horseshoe-shaped courtyard, were not to be repeated in subsequent centuries, the Nūr-u 'O<u>th</u>māniyye marked a new phase in imperial building activity which was not to be discredited for as long as the empire lasted.

Muṣṭafā III (1757-74) built no fewer than three imperial mosques: that of Ayazma at Üsküdār, named after his mother, in 1758-61, that of Lāleli in 1760-3, and that of Fātiḥ, rebuilt in 1766-71 after the earthquake of 1765. His successor, 'Abd ül-Ḥamīd I (1774-89) dedicated to the memory of his mother Rabī'a Sulṭāne the mosque of Beylerbey on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, and to the memory of his wife Hümā<u>sh</u>āh Ḳadîn that of Emirgān on the European shore. He also built near the port his own funeral monument, consisting of a *medrese*, an *'imāret*, a *sebīl* and a mausoleum. In this complex, constructed in stages between 1775 and 1789, what is observed is the transition from baroque in the *sebil* to Ottoman neo-classicism in the mausoleum.

The reign of Selīm III (1789-1807 [*q.v.*]) marked the zenith of a flamboyant baroque which was expressed essentially through funereal monuments: the complex composed of an *'imāret*, a *sebīl* and a mausoleum of the queen-mother Miḥr-i <u>Sh</u>āh Sulṭāne, built at Eyyūb in 1792-5, and the mausoleum was accompanied by a school and a *sebīl* of the sovereign's sister <u>Sh</u>āh Sulṭāne, also at Eyyūb (1800). The tendency continued beyond the reign with the mausoleum and *sebīl* of Nak<u>sh</u>idil Sulṭāne built by Maḥmūd

II in memory of his mother in the cemetery of Fātiḥ in 1818. Finally, baroque and rococo decoration, abundantly present in those parts of the Ṭopḳapï Palace dating from the second half of the 18th century, also infiltrated the *zāwiya*, but it was only in the mosque-*zāwiya* of Küčük Efendi, completed in 1825, that the oval form of the plan supplemented the decorative effects. Selīm III also built in 1802-5 a mosque in the proximity of the barracks designed to accommodate the new army which was to replace that of the Janissaries. Built in the centre of a chequer-shaped plot, it perpetuated the model of the Nūr-u ʿOt̲h̲māniyye while developing in the form of an annexe the imperial pavilion which seems henceforward to have corresponded to new formal functions, the sovereign receiving dignitaries here after the Friday prayer.

During the reign of Maḥmūd II (1808-39), baroque was maintained but attempts were made to adopt a more imperial style. This was manifested particularly in imperial edifices: a pavilion of ceremonies (Alāy kös̲h̲kü) in the angle of the wall of the Ṭopḳapï Palace (1810), a school of D̲j̲ewri Kalfa on the Dīwān Yolu (1819) and, above all, the sovereign's mausoleum on the same axis (1839). However, in the second half of his reign the ascendancy of the Balyan family imprinted on monumental Ottoman architecture a style that, despite its boundless eclecticism, remained deeply original in its capacity for syntheses and infinitely varied interpretations of the historical forms of Ottoman architecture.

The first work that can be attributed with confidence to the Balyans is the Nuṣratiyye mosque, situated in the quarter of Ṭopk̲h̲āne, to the north of the Golden Horn, whither architectural activity was progressively transferred. Thus the mosque of K̲h̲ïrḳa-yï S̲h̲erīf, built in 1851 to accommodate the mantle of the Prophet, and that of Pertew Niyāl Sulṭāne, built in 1869-72 at the crossroads of Aḳ Sarāy, could be considered the last *intra-muros* religious monuments of the city.

The activity of the Balyans was manifested essentially through the imperial palaces built on the shores of the Bosphorus: Dolma Bag̲h̲če (1846-55), Küčük Su (1856), Beylerbey (1863-65), and Čirāg̲h̲ān (1864-72), as well as the pavilion of Ihlamur (1855) in the valley of the same name. The mosques erected during this period beside the Bosphorus (Dolma Bag̲h̲če, 1855, Ortaköy, 1853), or in the vicinity (Med̲j̲īdiyye, 1848), belonged to same aesthetic movement, with interiors reminiscent of ballrooms. The first buildings of the palace of Yïldïz on the heights of the Bosphorus and the mosque built close by (1877) are the last manifestations of this architecture.

New functions resulting from the reforms of the *Tanẓīmāt* (1839 onwards [*q.v.*]) entailed new architectural forms most often undertaken by foreign or Levantine architects. The Swiss brothers Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati, sent from St. Petersburg to build the new Russian embassy, also worked for the Ottoman administration; Alexandre Vallaury, son of a French émigré, constructed a number of public buildings, from the Archeological Museum, in neo-classical style (1891-1907), to the office of the Ottoman National Debt (1897) and that of the Ottoman Bank (1890-2). Finally, the Italian Raimondo d'Aronco was invited by ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II to become the quasi-official architect of the reign, constructing the last buildings of the palace of Yïldïz, and introducing the Viennese Secessionist style to the Ottoman capital with the astonishing mausoleum of S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ Ẓāfir at Bes̲h̲iktās̲h̲. The Young Turk revolution of 1908 put an end to the activity of these architects, and a national style was imposed. The latter is manifested in modern buildings such as the main Post Office or the office building built for the benefit of *waḳfs* (the fourth Wāḳif K̲h̲ān) as much as it is in mosques seeking classical inspiration from the 16th century (mosque of Bebek, 1913).

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(S. Yerasimos)

ISTILḤĀḲ (A.), the verbal noun of Form X of the verb *laḥiḳa* "to reach, catch up with," having the meaning of "to try to reach, attach, adopt, affiliate s.o. to s.th." (see *WbKAS*, letter lām, 330). In early Islamic history, it was especially used for the attempt in 44/665 of the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya I [*q.v.*] to attach the very able official Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] to his own, ruling clan of Umayya. Ziyād was of dubious parentage, his mother Sumayya being apparently a slave, and Muʿāwiya aimed at linking Ziyād to his own family as the putative son of his own father, Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*]. For details of this *istilḥāḳ* process, see ZIYĀD B. ABĪHI, with full references.

(Ed.)

ITHM (A.), a term of Islamic theology meaning "sin", used in Ḳur'ān, II, 216/219, V, 32/29, XLIX, 12, amongst various other terms denoting sin and sinfulness in varying degrees, such as *dhanb*, pl. *dhunūb*, used in Ḳur'ān, III, 129/135 and *passim*. For a discussion of the concept of sin and its consequences, see KHAṬĪ'A.

IʿTIṢĀM AL-DĪN B. SH. TĀDJ AL-DĪN, SHAYKH, a resident of Tādjpur, in the Nadiya district of Bengal, who went to England on a diplomatic mission in 1180/1769 and wrote an account of his journey in his *Shigarf-nāma-yi wilāyat* or *Wilāyat-nāma*. Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn began his official career as a *munshī* in the service of Mīr Djaʿfar [see DJAʿFAR, MĪR]. During the time of Mīr Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] he joined the service of Major Yorke. In 1177/1763 he fought on the British side against Mīr Ḳāsim. He served General Carnac (1765-6) for a short period and later entered the service of the Mughal Shāh ʿĀlam. In 1180/1769 he went to England with Captain Archibald Swinton bringing a letter (copy available in the Library of Royal Asiatic Society, no. 134; W. Morley, 128) from Shāh ʿĀlam to George III. Munīr al-Dawla, who, according to Sarkar (*Fall of the Mughal empire*, ii, 402), was a devoted partisan of the British at Shāh ʿĀlam's court, insisted on paying Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn 2,000 rupees towards his expenses. In this letter, Shāh ʿĀlam sought British help in conducting him to Dihlī and placing him on the Mughal throne. Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn returned from England in 1883/1769. In 1189/1775 he helped the East India Company's negotiations with the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*].

The *Shigarf-nāma* is one of the earliest accounts of a journey to England written by an Indian. In about 86 chapters he gave his impressions about the various aspects of English society—religious life, clubs, the judicial system, public schools, sports, etc. He also visited Oxford University and the Bodleian Library. He describes London and its principal buildings, as also agricultural methods and farming. Some autobiographical references are also given. It appears that his relations with Swinton did not remain cordial to the last (ʿAlīgaṛh ms. fols. 100-5).

For mss. of the *Shigarf-nāma*, see Storey, i, 1143; also ʿAlīgaṛh, Ḥabīb gandj Collection 35.7. An abridged Hindūstānī version of it was made by Munshī Shamshīr Khān and was published by J.E. Alexander with an English translation, London 1827.

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(K.A. Nizami)

IYĀS B. **ḲABĪṢA** AL-ṬĀ'Ī, a pre-Islamic individual who played a certain role in the relations between Arabs and Persians, but whose biography is not absolutely clear. According to Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel (*Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Tab. 252, and ii, 361), his genealogy appears to be as follows: Iyās b. Ḳabīṣa b. Abī ʿUfr/ʿAfrā b. al-Nuʿmān b. Ḥayya b. Saʿna b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥuwayrith b. Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Safr b. Hin' b. ʿAmr b. al-Ghawth b. Ṭayyi' (thus his *nisba* is to be amended in the article DHŪ ḲĀR).

This Arab chieftain succeeded in gaining the favour of Khusraw Aparwīz (Kisrā Abarwīz), who apparently entrusted to him some months before the accession of al-Nuʿmān III b. al-Mundhir [*q.v.*], the administration of al-Ḥīra (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1017). It is difficult to establish exactly in which period the king granted him as a life possession 30 villages on the banks of the Euphrates and appointed him administrator of the region of ʿAyn Tamr, since the traditions are inconsistent. It is possible that Khusraw rewarded him in this way for services rendered when he was attacked and forced to flee by the usurper Vahrām Čūbīn (Bahrām [*q.v.*] Djūbīn). Al-Nuʿmān III [*q.v.*], the king of al-Ḥīra at this time, did not come to the aid of his suzerain, although a certain Ṭā'ī had given him

his horse to enable him to escape at a time when he was in a perilous situation on the banks of the Nahrawān. According to some (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 1029), the hero of this story is Iyās; for others (Levi della Vida, *Livres des Chevaux*, Leiden 1928, 32; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 216-7 = § 636), it was his nephew, Ḥassān b. Ḥamẓala al-Ṭāʾī, who gave the king his horse, al-Ḍubayl, and subsequently received as a land grant the *ṭassūdj* of Khuṭarmiyya. The chronicles mention a victory won by Iyās over the Byzantines near Ṣatīdamā, but the most important event of his life was his appointment to succeed al-Nuʿmān III after the Emperor of Persia had taken his revenge by putting the latter to death. Although the date of this appointment is hard to establish, it may be located between A.D. 602 and 604/5; Khusraw Aparwīz appointed to serve at his court a Persian official whose title of Nakhwīraghān appears in various forms in the Arabic sources (cf. A. Christensen, *Sassanides*[2], 452). According to the same sources, Iyās governed al-Ḥīra for nine years, and it was in the eighth year of his reign that the prophetic mission of Muḥammad began. He died probably in the year A.D. 611 or 612.

It was during the period when he governed al-Ḥīra that there took place the famous battle of Dhū Ķār [*q.v.*], in which he participated as leader of the Arab warriors; the Arabo-Persian troops were defeated, but Iyās was spared drastic punishment and retained his responsibilities. He was, essentially, the last Arab "king" of al-Ḥīra since the town was subsequently placed in the hands of exclusively Persian officials until the Islamic conquest. Finally, the sources consider him a talented poet, but very few of his verses have been preserved (see, however, Abkāryūs, 46-9).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 1029-32 and index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 243; Ibn Ķutayba, *Maʿārif*, 605; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, 73; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 212 = § 1073; idem, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 158, 208; Maķdisī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 169 ff., 208; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIķd*, index; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxiii, 220-41, *passim*; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 311 ff.; Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 135-8; Rothstein, *Laḥmiden*, 107 ff.; *Bibl.* to the art. DHŪ ĶĀR.

(CH. PELLAT)

IZMĪD, modern form İZMIT, a town of northwestern Turkey, lying at the head of the Gulf of Izmit (Izmit Körfezi) in lat. 40° 47' N., long. 29° 55' E.

It is the classical Nicomedia, named after Nicomedes I of Bithynia, who in 264 B.C. founded it as his new capital. The Roman emperor Diocletian made it in the late 3rd century A.D. his capital in the east; it was there that he abdicated in 305 (see W. Ruge, art. *Nikomedeia*, in *PW*, xvii/1, cols. 468-92). The spelling Nikumīdiyya appears in such Arabic geographers as Ibn Khurradādhbih and al-Idrīsī, and subsequently, forms like Iznukumīd and Iznikmīd are found in Islamic sources.

It was captured from the Byzantines by the Saldjūķs when they swept through Asia Minor under Sulaymān b. Ķutulmish (d. 479/1086 [*q.v.*]) towards the end of the 5th/11th century. Sulaymān made his capital at nearby Nicaea [see IZNĪĶ], but shortly after his death Nicomedia was recaptured by Alexius I Connenus, and apart from the brief period when the Latin emperors of Constantinople held the town (1204-7), it remained in Byzantine hands until captured after a long siege by the Ottomans under Orkhan. The dates for this vary in the Greek and Turkish sources, the former placing this in 1338; at all events, it must have been soon after the fall of Nicaea in 731/1331 (cf. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman empire*, 38). In 1402 the Turkish town was sacked by a group of Tīmūr's troops. In Ottoman times Izmid, in the *sandjak* of Ķodja-eli [*q.v.*], became especially important as a naval arsenal, reportedly founded by the Köprülüs, and for building small merchant vessels using timber supplied by the extensive forests of the vicinity.

In the earliest register so far known, an *idjmāl* dated 937/1530, the settlement is on record as one of the five towns (*nefs*) of the province. As it is mentioned first in the list, it must have been the residence of the local governor. The town contained 589 men of tax-paying age, 86 of whom were exempted from certain dues. Of the remainder, 351 were heads of households and 152 were bachelors. These figures indicate a settlement of about 2,000-2,500 inhabitants. In the *ķaḍā*, there were two *medreses* and two children's schools, as well as two Friday mosques, in addition to five public baths (Ahmet Özkılınç *et alii* (eds.), *438 numaralı muhâsebe-i vilâyet-i Anadolu defteri (937/1530), dizin ve tıpkıbasım*, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü 1994, ii, 65-6).

In 962-3/1555, Hans Dernschwam saw a fortress on a hill with a new mosque, which supposedly had been built in place of a previous church. A sizeable part of the town also was located on this hill. At the time of Dernschwam's passage, the classical ruins were being quarried for stone. This was sawn locally into the sizes required by Istanbul builders, presumably for use in the construction of the Süleymāniyye, then in progress (*Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*, ed. F. Babinger, Munich and Leipzig 1923, 153-4). The area's abundant water resources also served for the operation of mills grinding flour for the consumption of Istanbul, including the Janissary bakeries. Due to its functional link with the capital, Izmīd formed an exception to the rule that towns were to feed themselves from the product of their own *ķaḍās*. For the hinterland was heavily forested rather than agricultural, with high-quality pine trees suitable for ships' masts abundant. As late as the second half of the 11th/17th century, the French ambassador was permitted to export a certain number for the use of the French navy (R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle. Essai d'histoire institutionelle, économique et sociale*, Paris and Istanbul 1962, 445).

The only surviving register enumerating individual taxpayers (*mufaṣṣal*) and covering Izmīd dates from 1034/1624-5. At this time, the town consisted of 29 fully-fledged town quarters or, in some cases, recent accretions to older urban wards. The total tax-paying population numbered 849; no data on bachelors being available, our estimate of total population cannot be very precise, but probably the number of inhabitants had about doubled since 937/1530. One of the quarters was named for the local Friday mosque. Since another urban ward was called Djumʿa, it is likely that the town possessed two structures suitable for Friday prayers; possibly one of these was the Süleymān Pasha mosque which, according to a rescript dated 1171/1758, was recorded in the official registers of the time but has not been located in the surviving *taḥrīrs* (Ahmet Kal'a *et alii* (eds.), *İstanbul ahkâm defterleri İstanbul vakıf tarihi*, Istanbul 1998, i, 238). Near the port there was a Christian quarter; this may well have grown in later years, as in 1165/1752 the town boasted a *metropolid*, albeit one who resided in Istanbul (*ibid.*, i, 338-9). During this same period, the town also possessed some Jewish residents (*ibid.*, i, 164). As

the non-Muslim quarter is described as lying "under the town", we may assume that most of the Muslim wards lay on the hill, as they had done in Dernschwam's time (Ankara Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Kuyudu Kadime, no. 49, fol. 12b).

Ewliyā Čelebi visited Iznikmīd about 1050/1640, describing the ruined fortress, which in his opinion had been destroyed by Sultan ʿOthmān to prevent its use by the Byzantine nobles with whom this ruler was at war. Among the notable buildings, Ewliyā mentioned a mosque built by Pertew Pasha on the seashore, a work of Mimʿār Sinān, along with a public bath and *kerwānsarāy* by the same vizier. A garden palace with an extensive park had been built for Murād IV. The town contained 23 quarters, three of which were inhabited by Christians while one was settled by Jews. There was no *bedestān*, normally the hallmark of a major commercial centre, but the extensive depots located near the port seem to have served similar purposes. Timber merchants formed a significant part of the urban élite *Seyahatnamesi, Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 yazmasının transkripsyonu dizini*, Istanbul 1999, 39-40).

In the 12th/18th century, woodworking crafts, such as the manufacture of combs and spoons, appear to have been of some significance. However, the Iznikmīd craftsmen did not supply themselves with wood directly from the forest villages, but purchased it in Istanbul. Yet there must have been economic opportunities available in the town itself, as toward the end of the century, Izmīd supposedly held 30,000 people. A.D. Mordtmann Senr., who saw the town shortly after the end of the Crimean War, claims that it was inhabited by 2,000 Turkish, 1,000 Armenian and 200 Greek families, which means that he estimated a population size of about 15,000 (*Anatolien, Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien (1850-1859)*, ed. Babinger, Hanover 1925, 282-3). According to Mordtmann, a small salt pan, already mentioned by Ewliyā, was in operation, the local harbour was still of some importance and the arsenal was, at the time, building a warship for the Ottoman navy. Further development of the town was, however, impeded by the prevalence of malaria. In the closing years of the 19th century, Izmīd formed the centre of the *müteṣarrif̱lik* of the same name (V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890-4, iv, 301-400). Urban growth had probably been promoted by the railroad linking Istanbul to Ankara, and the town's population now amounted to about 25,000, living in 5,857 houses and purchasing their daily needs in 1,140 shops. Stone quarries and a sawmill were still active: two state-owned factories had been established, making fezzes and woollen cloth for uniforms; another such factory, producing fine silk fabrics and located in Hereke, administratively was situated in the *wilāyet* of Istanbul but geographically much closer to Izmīd. In the immediate vicinity, the townlet of Armach (Cuinet's spelling) was inhabited by Armenians who in 1019-20/1611 had immigrated from Iran. Housing a seminary for Gregorian priests, this locality specialised in silk cultivation.

However, Izmit's transformation into a major industrial centre has come under the Republic, and especially, after the Second World War, with the town benefiting from its easy access to Istanbul. Until 1970, a state-owned paper mill opened in 1936 produced practically all the paper used in Turkey (art. *Kocaeli*, in *Yurt ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1982-3, vii, 5037). Since the 1960s, car tyres, petrochemicals and liquid petrol gas (the major fuel for cooking in Turkey) have been developed there, and since there is now an autoroute along the northern shore of the Gulf of Izmit, the area between Izmit and Istanbul is becoming the major coherent industrial area of Turkey. Izmit itself is now a city of over 300,000 which attracts migrants; its factory workers, now organised, were major participants in the labour unrest of summer 1970. It suffered badly from the 1999 earthquake, when amongst many others, buildings of the recently-established provincial university were destroyed. Yet despite this industrialisation, away from the coastline, some of the area's agricultural potential remains, including the cherries of Yarımca, known to Ewliyā Čelebi, and also tobacco, sunflowers and sugar beet.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see J.B. Mordtmann's *EI*[1] art. s.v.; Cuinet, *op. cit.*, iv, 357 ff.; Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1942-3, ii, 555 and index. (Suraiya Faroqhi)

IZMĪR, the Turkish form of the ancient Greek name Smyrna, one of the great mercantile cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. It lies in western Anatolia at the head of the Gulf of Izmir, and the pre-modern city lay mainly on the small delta plain of the Kızılcullu (ancient Melas) river.

Izmir has a history going back five millennia, archaeological excavations having revealed the earliest level of occupation as contemporary with the first city of Troy at the beginning of the Bronze Age (*ca.* 3,000 B.C.). Greek settlement is indicated from *ca.* 1,000 B.C., and Herodotus says that the city was founded by Aeolians but then seized by Ionians. It became a fine city, possibly re-founded by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C. Under the Romans it was the centre of a civil diocese of the province of Asia, and was one of the early seats of Christianity. In Byzantine times it continued as a metropolitan see and was the capital of the naval theme of Samos.

With the invasions of Turkmens across Anatolia towards the end of the 11th century, the Turkish chief Čaḳa/Tzachas established himself at Smyrna in 1081 and from there raided the Aegean islands. But after the Turks were driven out of Nicaea in 1097 [see izmīd, in Suppl.], Smyrna reverted to Byzantine rule in 1098. It was over two centuries before it passed under Turkish control again, when it was conquered by the Aydīnoghullarī [see aydīn-oghlu] (716-17/1317: Ḳadīfe Ḳalʿe; 729-30/1329: Ashaghī Ḳalʿe) (Tuncer Baykara, *Izmir şehri ve tarihi*, Bornova-Izmir 1974, 28; for slightly variant dates, see Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le destān d'Umur Pacha*, Paris 1954, 40). On his visit in *ca.* 731/1331, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found a largely ruinous place, whose upper fortress was held by the Aydīnoghullarī and which possessed at least one *zāwiye* (*Riḥla*, ii, 310-12, tr. Gibb, ii, 445-7). The city was captured by the Knights of Rhodes on 28 October 1344, although the Aydīnoghullarī and later the Ottomans held on to the citadel or upper fortress. The Knights were finally expelled by Tīmūr in 804-5/1402, when he took the lower fortress, and the Aydīnoghullarī briefly reinstated.

However, in 817/1414-15, Izmir became an Ottoman possession, after the last Aydīnoghlu to rule, Djüneyd, known as Izmīr-oghlu, had been defeated by Sultan Meḥemmed I (Himmet Akın, *Aydınoğulları tarihi hakkında bir araştırma*, Ankara 1968, 80; for a later date of the final Ottoman conquest, namely 828-9/1425, see D. Goffman, *Izmir. From village to colonial port city*, in Ethem Eldem, Goffman and B. Masters, *The Ottoman city between East and West*, Cambridge 1999, 86). As the new governor, an Islamised son of the former Bulghar Tsar Shishman, was appointed, but

the first extant *taḥrīr* describing the town only dates from 935/1528-9 (physical damage to earlier registers accounts for this absence: Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Tapu Tahrir no. 148).

In the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries, Izmir was a small settlement; in 937/1530, 304 adult males, both tax-paying and tax-exempt, were on record; 42 of these were Christians (Ismet Binark *et alii* (eds.), 166 *numaralı muhâsebe-i vilâyet-i Anadolu (937/1530)*, Ankara 1995, 392). There were no more than five urban wards, one of them situated in the immediate vicinity of the port, rather active in spite of the town's small size. By 983/1575-6, Izmir had grown to house 492 taxpayers in eight urban wards; in addition, a group of former Izmirlis had settled in the nearby village of Boynuzsekisi, but continued to pay their taxes with the town's population (Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, Kuyudu Kadime no. 167, fols. 3b ff.). One of the port's major functions was the supply of Istanbul with grain, raisins, cotton and other agricultural products (Zeki Arıkan, *A Mediterranean port. Izmir in the 15th and 16th centuries*, in *Three ages of Izmir, palimpsest of cultures*, ed. Enis Batur, tr. Virginia T. Saçlıoğlu, Istanbul 1993, 59-70).

But Izmir's remarkable growth really begins in the later 10th/16th century, when the cotton, cotton yarn and other products of the region began to attract French, English, Dutch and Venetian traders. Izmir thus took over the role of mediaeval Ayat̲h̲olug̲h̲ (Ephesus, Altiluogo), which was losing its commercial significance due to the silting up of its port (D. Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine world, 1550-1650* (Seattle and London 1990). At first illegal, the exportation of cotton was legalised in 1033/1623 (Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia*, Cambridge 1984, 136-7). In the 11th/17th century Izmir and the surrounding region were settled by numerous migrants from other provinces, including Jews from Salonika who fled the mounting exactions and diminishing rewards of the Macedonian woollen industry (Goffman, *op. cit.*, 97-102). Toward the century's end, J.-B. Tavernier estimated the population at about 90,000 (*Les six voyages en Turquie & en Perse*, ed. St. Yérasimos, Paris 1981, i, 138; for a general overview of the descriptions of Izmir by 17th-century Europeans, see Sonia Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey*, Oxford 1989, 1-18). Turks formed the vast majority (about 60,000), while there were also 15,000 Greeks, 8,000 Armenians and 6,000 to 7,000 Jews. A major earthquake destroyed the city in 1099/1688, with the heaviest damage in the seaside quarter, but it was soon rebuilt (N.N. Ambraseys and C.F. Finkel, *The seismicity of Turkey and adjacent areas: a historical review 1500-1800*, Istanbul 1995, 90-1). To a large extent, the exportation of Persian raw silk to Europe passed through Izmir; thus this port had entered into a successful competition with the much older mart of Aleppo (Necmi Ülker, *The emergence of Izmir as a Mediterranean commercial center for French and English interests, 1698-1740*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, 1 [1987], 1-37). However the regular passage of caravans through a plague-infested mountain area on the Ottoman-Persian border meant that the city was exposed to contagion not only through ships' crews and cargoes, but also on account of overland trade (D. Panzac, *La peste à Smyrne*, in *Annales E.S.C.* [1973], 1071-93).

In the early 18th century, Persian silk was less frequently seen in Izmir, as wars accompanying the decay of the Ṣafawids impeded cultivation; moreover, English traders gained access to alternative sources in Bengal and China. While English merchants, specialised in the commercialisation of silk, largely gave up trading in the Levant, French merchants, in particular, continued their activities. At the beginning of the 17th century, Izmir and Iskenderun constituted the major exporting centres as far as the Marseilles trade was concerned, while at the century's end, Iskenderun had fallen far behind, and Izmir uncontestably handled the vast majority of French exports (Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The commerce of Smyrna in the eighteenth century (1700-1820)*, Athens 1992, 257-9). In certain years, over 45% of all Ottoman goods shipped to Marseilles passed through Izmir. Exports included mohair yarn from Ankara, silk, cotton, both spun and raw, and wool. Among imports, the only manufactured item were Languedoc woollen fabrics, produced exclusively for the Ottoman market (Cl. Marquié, *L'industrie textile carcassonnaise au XVIIIe siècle...*, Carcassonne 1993). In addition, Izmir imported coffee from the Caribbean, sugar and indigo.

Of the numerous public buildings of Ottoman Izmir, very little survives. Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited the town in 1081-2/1671 and admired the relief of a female face at the entrance to the seaside fortress, praises the Bīyīḳlīog̲h̲lu D̲j̲āmiʿi, later destroyed in the earthquake of 1099/1688, and also mentions the Fāʾiḳ Pas̲h̲a D̲j̲āmiʿi, one of the oldest mosques in town (*Seyāḥatnāmesi*, Istanbul 1935, ix, 88-100). His descriptions in part reflect the data collected by the officials who, in 1068/1657-8, put together a *taḥrīr* under the orders of a certain Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a (for further information on this document, see Faroqhi, *Towns*, 276). At different times in Izmir's history, 25 *medreses* were active (Münir Aktepe, *Ottoman medreses in Izmir*, in *Three ages of Izmir*, 85-99). Ewliyā also mentioned the multitude of *k̲h̲āns* (Aktepe, *Izmir hanları ve çarşıları hakkında ön bilgi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxv [1971], 105-54; W. Müller-Wiener, *Der Bazar von Izmir*, in *Mitteilungen der Fränkischen Geographischen Gesellschaft*, xxvii-xxviii, [1980-1], 420-54). In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, certain Izmir buildings were decorated with elaborate reliefs, featuring slightly stylised views of local mosques and other buildings. The popularity of this decoration may indicate the donors' pride in the prosperity of their city (Ayda Arel, *Image architecturale et image urbaine dans une série de bas-reliefs ottomans de la région égéenne*, in *Turcica*, xviii [1986], 83-118).

An active trade resulted in the residence of foreign consuls, the English historian Paul Rycaut officiating as Charles II's representative between 1077-8/1667 and 1089/1678 (Anderson, *An English consul*, *passim*). By contrast, the Ottoman central administration was merely represented by the *ḳāḍī* and the tax farmers collecting customs and other dues. Unlike in many other Ottoman commercial centres, foreign traders were not obliged to reside in the *k̲h̲āns* but could inhabit houses by the seashore, many of them with landing stages of their own. Houses for rent, known as *frenk k̲h̲āne*, were built by Ottoman notables as an investment and sometimes passed on to pious foundations. Thus the seaside quarter became known as the "street of the Franks". The latter also were permitted their own churches, the French worshipping at St. Polycarpe, whose parish registers survive from the 18th century onwards (Marie Carmen Smyrnelis, *Colonies européennes et communautés ethnico-confessionelles à Smyrne: coexistence et réseaux de sociabilité*, in *Vivre dans l'Empire ottoman*, ed. F. Georgeon and P. Dumont, Paris 1997, 173, 194). Entertainments might take on a semi-public character, with plays performed in the French consulate even in the 11th/17th century, while a hundred years later, the Jewish community also staged

plays (Eftal Sevinçli, *Theater in Izmir*, in *Three ages of Izmir*, 370). Officially speaking, neither French nor English merchants were expected to bring their wives, much less marry local Christian women, for this would have made them subjects of the Sultan; sojourn in the Ottoman Empire was expected to be a temporary affair. In practice, certain French and English families lived in the city for generations, and marriages of Frenchmen to Roman Catholics of Greek or Armenian background were common enough.

Ewliyā Čelebi vaunted the enormous revenues which the *ḳāḍī* of Izmir enjoyed in his own time, partly due to regular emoluments and partly due to the presents which he could expect (ix, 89). But in the 18th century, the major Ottoman presence in the area was not the *ḳāḍī*s but a family of tax farmers and dues collectors acting for absentee governors and known as the Ḳara ʿO͟thmāno͟ghullari̊. The economic power of these personages derived from the fact that they marketed the cotton and other agricultural produce they collected from local peasants to foreign exporters (G. Veinstein, *"Ayân" de la région d'Izmir et le commerce du Levant (deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle)*, in *ROMM*, xx [1975], 131-46; for a contrary position, emphasising the role of the family as actual landholders, see Yuzo Nagata, *Tarihte ayânlar, Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, Ankara 1997, 89-142). Political power and status allowed the Ḳara ʿO͟thmāno͟ghullari̊ to drive hard bargains, so that peasants also entrusted them with the goods they wished to sell on their own behalf. Socio-political status also was documented by the numerous pious foundations this family established in the region, for which the two *k͟hān*s constructed in Izmir by different Ḳara ʿO͟thmāno͟ghullari̊ were meant to produce revenue (Inci Kuyulu, *Kara Osman-oğlu ailesine ait mimari eserler*, Ankara 1992, with extensive bibl.).

In the 19th century, Izmir continued to function as a city specialising in foreign trade. However with the Ottoman Empire's increasing integration into a transcontinental economy dominated by Europe, the character of this trade changed, while its volume continuously expanded. Grain, sesame, figs, raisins (at the end of the century by far the single most valuable crop), the tanning agents sumach and valonia, and opium, all arrived in the depots of Izmir's "gentlemen traders", many but not all of them non-Muslims. Ottoman merchants operated as middlemen, dependent on exporting European merchants (Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, citing a passage from *Kırk yıl*, 5 vols., Istanbul 1936, cited in English tr. in C. Issawi, *The economic history of Turkey 1800-1914*, Chicago and London, 1980, 72-3; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892-4, iii, 362 ff.).

Izmir's role as a centre of export trade encouraged investment in the construction of railroads; thus one of the first Anatolian railways linked Izmir to Turgutlu, then known as Kasaba, and another line connected Aydın and Izmir. However, the orientation of these railways according to the needs of import and export merchants limited their overall economic usefulness (Orhan Kurmuş, *İmperyalizmin Türkiye'ye gelişi*, Istanbul 1974). Between 1867 and 1875, the port of Izmir was modernised, with quays and a breakwater constructed (Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *İzmir rıhtımının inşaatı ve işletme imtiyazı*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxxii [1979], 495-558). A few industrial enterprises served the preparation of agricultural goods for export. While most of the olive, sesame and other vegetable oils were still pressed in old-style mills, there were a few ventures, undertaken by members of the Ottoman minorities but also by the occasional Englishman, to found modern-style factories (Abdullah Martal, *Değişim sürecinde İzmir'de sanayileşme, 19. yüzyıl*, Izmir 1999, 144-5). In the import sector, textiles assumed a greater importance after about 1840. At that time, the output of English cotton factories began to flood the Izmir market, unimpeded by any protective duty since the Anglo-Ottoman commercial treaty fixed custom dues at a low level and prohibited monopolies (Martal, *Sanayileşme*, 123-5). This did not, however, prevent the emergence of a flourishing textile industry specialising in home furnishings (Cuinet, iii, 429).

Moreover, rising standards of living among the European middle classes, as well as the stylistic preferences of the Victorian age, led to an increased demand for carpets. What had previously been a luxury trade expanded to cater for mass markets which around 1900, came to include the more affluent sectors of the working class. While these carpets were manufactured in small towns of the Aegean region, notably Uşak [see ʿUS͟HĀḲ], they became known as Smyrna rugs in Europe, not only because they came out through the city's port but also because the merchants organising this venture, British traders occupying a prominent position, were frequently based in Izmir (D. Quataert, *Machine breaking and the changing carpet industry of western Anatolia 1860-1908*, repr. in *Workers, peasants and economic change in the Ottoman Empire 1730-1914*, Istanbul 1993, 117-36.

Trade and an active public administration had by the end of the 19th century stimulated urban growth, the population of Izmir proper reaching the 200,000 mark. About 89,000 were Muslim Turks and 59,000 Orthodox Greeks, while over 36,000 inhabitants carried foreign passports (Cuinet, iii, 440; for further statistical information, largely culled from the *sālnāme*s, see the anonymous art. *Izmir*, in *Yurt ansiklopedisi, Türkiye il il, dünü, bugünü, yarını*, 4271-87). Steamboat lines and a tram assured intra-urban communication and, in 1905, electricity was introduced. The city became an educational centre, with nine state schools on the secondary level. For the Greeks, there was the "Evangelical School" famed for its high level of instruction, in addition to numerous foreign, especially French educational establishments.

Izmir was not directly affected during World War I, although many young men were drafted into the army or into labour bataillons. But in 1919, with the Ottoman Empire defeated and Istanbul occupied by the Allies, the Greek government, with the backing of the British Prime Minister Lloyd George, landed troops in Izmir and occupied the city until 1922, when the invaders were driven out by the Nationalist army under the command of Muṣṭafā Kemāl [Atatürk]. Both the Greek occupation and the later withdrawal of the Greek forces were accompanied by large-scale flight from Izmir, which in September 1922 was moreover destroyed by a major conflagration (M.L. Smith, *Ionian vision, Greece in Asia Minor 1919-1922*, rev. ed. London 1998). The exchange of populations decided upon in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) involved the exodus of the remaining Greek population, whose places were taken by Turks who had been forced to vacate Greek territory.

In the 1960s, Izmir began to add new functions to its traditional role as an export-import centre serving an agricultural hinterland. Small-scale industry developed, and in automotive transportation, numerous minute undercapitalised entrepreneurs were also active. As in all large Turkish cities, migration from rural areas led to the hasty construction of shantytown housing and the emergence of a large "informal

sector" (Mübeccel Kıray, *Örgütleşemeyen kent, İzmir'de iş hayatının yapısı*, Ankara 1972). By 1980, Izmir had developed into a city of over half a million inhabitants, surrounded by highly urbanised suburbs. Apart from the beginnings of an investment goods industry, factories processing tobacco, olives and fruits continue to be a local specialty, and tourism also plays an important role in the urban economy. With two universities, the city also has become one of the educational centres of Turkey.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also J.H. Mordtmann, *EI*[1] art. s.v. (Suraiya Faroqhi)

ʿIZZET HŌLŌ (al-)ʿĀbid, Aḥmad b. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Hawl b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Ḳadir, popularly known as **ʿARAB ʿIZZET** Pas̲h̲a (1272-1343/1855-1924), late Ottoman statesman and close counselor of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*].

Born in Damascus (hence his nickname "ʿArab") as the son of a wealthy local notable, Hōlō Pas̲h̲ā, he was educated in his hometown and in Beirut and became proficient in Turkish and French. Counted among the reformers, he edited a weekly in Arabic and Turkish, named *Dimas̲h̲ḳ*. Moving to Istanbul, he eventually joined the ranks of the chamberlains (*kurenā*) of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and then became a Second Secretary (*ikind̲j̲i kātib*) of the *Mābeyn* [*q.v.*]. He gained great influence at court and was finally appointed Vizier. In May 1900 he was made head of the supervisory committee for the Ḥid̲j̲āz Railway [*q.v.*]. From gifts of the Sultan and from kickbacks paid to him by foreign companies he acquired great wealth, and became the object of public outrage. The then famous satirist S̲h̲āʿir Es̲h̲ref (1847-1912), in a lampoon against ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, wrote:

Besmele gūs̲h̲ eyleyen s̲h̲eyṭān gibi,
Ḳorḳuyursun "höt" dese bir ed̲j̲nebī.
Pādıs̲h̲āhım öyle alçaksın ki sen
ʿIzzet-i nefsin ʿArab ʿIzzet gibi!
Like Satan, when he hears the *bismillāh*,
you panic, if a foreigner says "hum".
My Lord, you are so lowly that your soul's nobility is like unto ʿArab ʿIzzet.

At the outbreak of the 1908 revolution he fled to London and thenceforward lived outside his own country, mainly in England, Switzerland and France. He died in Egypt, where he had gone for medical treatment, and was buried in Damascus.

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(Ed.)

J

JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA (al-D̲j̲āmiʿa al-Milliyya al-Islāmiyya), a Muslim University, formerly in British India and now in the Indian Union.

In September 1920, the Indian National Congress adopted the non-cooperation resolution against the British government. The Jamia Millia Islamia (National Muslim University) was the "lusty child of the non-cooperation days", according to Jawaharlal Nehru, independent India's first Prime Minister 1947-64.

Mawlānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan (1851-1920), the *ʿālim* at the *Dār-al-ʿulūm* in Deoband, performed the opening ceremony on 29 October 1920. The Jamia's principal architects were the Oxford-educated Mawlānā Muḥammad ʿAlī (1878-1931), the pan-Islamic leader Dr. Muk̲h̲tār Aḥmad Anṣārī (1880-1936), an Edinburgh-trained medical doctor, and Ḥakīm Ad̲j̲mal K̲h̲ān (1863-1927), a leading practitioner of the *unani* system of education and one of Dihlī's well-known citizens. Among its prominent vice-chancellors have been Dr. Zākir Ḥusayn (1879-1969) and Muḥammad Mud̲j̲īb (1902-85).

In its nascent stages, the Jamia's *raison d'être* was to keep Muslim education free from government aid and control and to evolve a philosophy of education that would be in keeping with national characteristics and in consonance with the Islamic spirit. The founders believed that communal peace and religious understanding were the fruits of true education. Consequently, they devised a curriculum to end religious discord between all faiths, to familiarise youth with their own cultural heritage without rejecting what was true and useful in the culture of others, and to evolve an organic thesis of traditional and modern education. The first *Amīr-i D̲j̲āmiʿa* (Chancellor), Ḥakīm Ad̲j̲mal K̲h̲ān, expected students to know each other's culture: "The firm foundation of a united Indian nationhood depends on this mutual understanding."

M.K. Gandhi, the main inspiration behind the founding of the Jamia, hoped that this institution would interpret Muslim culture in a manner consonant with truth and the requirements of a people diverse in culture. He hoped that it would produce good Muslims who would be men of refinement and character, living according to the highest moral standards and serving the people with devotion and sincerity.

In 1935, Halide Edib Hanum, the Turkish author [see k̲h̲ālide edīb], lectured at the Jamia. According to her, the institution's chief objective was to create a harmonious nationhood, and she observed that, in its aim, if not always in its procedure, it was nearer to the Gandhian movement than any other Muslim institution she had come across in India. In 1943, W.C. Smith, the historian of Islam, commented that the Jamia "has been constantly growing, ever refurbishing its methods, and branching out from time to time to meet new needs.... Its education has aimed at being, and has been, progressive, Indian, and Muslim."

The pursuit of such ideals ran into rough weather owing to paucity of funds, and yet dedicated teachers kept the Jamia going under adverse circumstances. They did not have money, and worked amidst and through poverty. They did not even have the shelter of houses, so they taught under the open sky. Yet they cheerfully faced the hard trials in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and optimism. Zākir Ḥusayn, vice-chancellor from 1926 to 1948, remembered those years of deprivation as "days of joy".

In the 1930s, the All-India Muslim League staked its political claims as the sole spokesman of the Muslim community. Muḥammad Mud̲j̲īb, the historian at Jamia,

told Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1876-1938 [*q.v.*]), the poet of Indian Islam, that his plea for a Muslim state in north-western India was opposed to their cherished ideal that Muslims live and work with non-Muslims in order to realise common ideals of citizenship. In March 1940, Muḥammad ʿAlī Djinābḥ (1876-1948 [*q.v.*]) put forward the "two-nation" theory to legitimise his demand for a Muslim homeland. Unlike the university at ʿAlīgarh, which turned into an "arsenal of Muslim India", the "two-nation" theory found no supporters in the Jamia *birādarī* (fraternity).

An institution with a nationalist record could not escape the fury of the angry mobs that rioted in independent India's capital after the country's Partition. The Jamia's property was looted and destroyed. But it lived through this experience to provide the healing touch and was, in the opinion of Gandhi, "like an oasis in the Sahara".

The university, in search of moral and political support after independence in August 1947, could have turned into a quasi-religious or quasi-communal institution, but this did not happen, and the Jamia's historic character has remained unchanged. "I look on this," claimed Mudjīb, "as a secular school."

In the mid-1920s, the total enrolment of the schools and colleges was about eighty, with 25 to 30 teachers. Today, the Jamia is a central university, administered by an act of Parliament. Over 5,600 students receive education and training in social, physical and natural sciences, humanities, education, law, engineering and mass communication. From a few thousand rupees in the 1930s, its maintenance budget, in 2000-1, is approximately 36.11 crores.

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(Mushirul Hasan)

K

ḲĀBĀDŪ, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (1230-88/1815-71), poet, man of letters and religious figure, and one of the precursors of reform in Tunisia.

After having learnt the Ḳurʾān, Arabic language and the rudiments of *fiḳh*, he left the *kuttāb* or Ḳurʾān school and plunged into individual readings of the mystics, and especially, the writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. Under this influence, he spent his youthful life as a dervish. At the age of 18, his wanderings took him as far as Libya, where at Misrāta he met a famed Ṣūfī master, the *shaykh* Muḥammad Ẓāfir al-Madanī (d. 1854). In this *shaykh*'s company, he regained his desire for study. Three years later, he left him with the license, *idjāza* [*q.v.*], to transmit his teachings. On his return to Tunis, he attended the lectures of several *shaykh*s of the Zaytūna [*q.v.*], including Muḥammad Bayram al-Thālith, Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir al-Luṭayyif and Muḥammad b. Mulūka. At the same time, he taught the Zaytūna students abridgements of grammar, logic and rhetoric. One of his masters recommended him to the minister Sulaymān Kāhiya as a tutor for his sons. The minister's death in 1838 led him into exile for a second time, and he went to Istanbul and remained there till 1842. According to Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, who met him at the time of a mission to the Sublime Porte and who led him to return to Tunis, he spent these years in study and teaching, as he had done at the Zaytūna. One of his biographers, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Sanūsī, states that he followed courses in mathematics at the Military College in Istanbul.

Back in Tunis, Ḳābādū was appointed professor at the Military Polytechnic School of Bardo, the first Tunisian to teach thus in this institution, whose director and teachers had been till then exclusively Europeans. During the years spent there (1842-55), he played a decisive role in the education of an élite, which was to be a spearhead of the reforms achieved between 1840 and 1875. Amongst his students, who also became his friends and protectors, was the great statesman and reformer Khayr al-Dīn (d. 1889 [*q.v.*]), author of the celebrated *Akwam al-masālik fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik*, and the general Ḥusayn (d. 1887), one of the authors of the *ʿahd al-amān* or Fundamental Pact, who functioned as, *inter alia*, minister of education and public works. His teaching at the Bardo School involved only Arabic language and literature, but he encouraged his best students to translate from French into Arabic manuals and scientific works that he thought necessary for the formation of an élite to guide the country along the path of reform and modernisation. He checked and corrected the Arabic versions of certain works and wrote prefaces for others.

As soon as he demitted his duties at the School, Ḳābādū was appointed to the Zaytūna, on the recommendation of the Ḥanafī *muftī* Bayram al-Rabīʿ, as a teaching *shaykh* of the first class, retaining this position till the year of his death in 1871, combining it with the offices of *ḳāḍī* of the Bardo and then that of Mālikī *muftī* (from 1868 onwards). These positions enabled him to retain his influence and even to enlarge his audience. Whilst teaching rhetoric and logic, he stimulated the formation of circles at the Zaytūna in which he introduced subjects relevant for the various disciplines. At the Bardo School, he encouraged students who had a scientific and technical education to take an interest in the literature and history of Arab Muslim civilisation. At the Zaytūna, he led students seeking a traditional education towards the modern sciences and the study of other civilisations, thus contributing to the forming of a generation of Zaytūna graduates open to the spirit of reforms which brought a religious legitimisation to the movement for modernisation by the Bardo-trained élite he had himself taught. His most notable disciples at the Zaytūna were the *shaykh* Sālim Būḥādjib (1828-1924) and Bayram al-Khāmis (1839-89). The first of these was hailed by Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] as one of the minds most open to the reform he and al-Afghānī preached; he later became Mālikī *muftī* and then *shaykh al-islām*, a post previously reserved for

Ḥanafīs, and president of the Consultative Council. The second held various offices with the reformist ministers before going into exile, after Khayr al-Dīn's fall, at Istanbul and then Cairo, where he instigated a reformist newspaper, *al-Iʿlām*, and a reform movement.

If Muḥammad Ķābādū is considered as a precursor of reform in Tunisia, this stems mainly from his role in the education of a political and religious élite to which he remained close and which put into action the reform of institutions in 19th-century Tunisia. At the Bardo School, as at the Zaytūna, he inculcated those reformist ideas which had begun to be known within the Muslim world at the end of the 18th century. This spirit, which Ķābādū defended in his writings and in his official duties, rested on the will to reconcile the Arab-Islamic heritage with the ideas and knowledge that had brought about progress in Europe.

Not all of his work has come down to us, and what he wrote before 1842 is essentially lost. Even of his later works, at least a commentary on the poems of al-Mutanabbī is lost. His extant work is available in three editions: by M. al-Sanūsī (1877); by the Tunisian Publishing Society (1972); and by the University professor Amor Ben Salem, based on scholarly research, and published by the CERES at Tunis (1984). His oeuvre contains a section on poetry (= Ben Salem's first vol.), which is more important than the prose works (= the second vol., with various annexes). His poetry reflects the different stages of his career. His political ideas are especially to be found in his eulogies of the three Beys whom he knew between 1842 and 1871, and of the viziers and influential figures of the same period, as also in his poems hailing such events as the promulgation of the Fundamental Pact in 1846 and the Constitution of 1861, the publication of Khayr al-Dīn's book, etc. His closeness to the ruling powers explains the limits of his reformist policies, as seen in certain poems, like those where he hails the suspension of the reforms after the rebellion of ʿAlī b. Ghidhāhum [see IBN GHIDHĀHUM, in Suppl.] in 1864. His religious feeling is reflected in his invocations, addresses to saints and poems composed to glorify the great Ṣūfī leaders, the Prophet and his descendants, to which his own sharīfian origins attached him. Filled with classical culture, he was interested in the various forms of the Arabic poetic tradition, and his style and the forms adopted by him show a respect for classical canons of literature. These characteristics surface also in his non-poetic works, within which rhymed prose is dominant. This part of his work includes his letters, the editorials of the first 25 numbers of the *Journal Officiel*, his articles within that journal, the preface of the Arabic translation of Jommier's book on war, an epilogue to the Official Press of Tunisia's edition of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, a panegyric addressed to Khayr al-Dīn's book and the prefaces to his poems.

Ķābādū's life and work have attracted much attention from those who consider him as a precursor of reform in Tunisia; the most complete and the most rigorously scholarly edition of his work remains that of Ben Salem.

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(M.Ch. Ferjani)

ĶABBĀNĪ, Nizār Tawfīķ (1923-98), the most widely read and, with over 18,000 lines of verse, the most prolific 20th-century Arabic poet, an important innovator of form and content.

Ķabbānī became a diplomat in 1945 after finishing his law studies in his native Damascus, but he left the service in 1966 so as to devote himself to full-time writing in Beirut, where he started his own publishing house (Dār Manshūrāt Nizār Ķabbānī) in 1967. He died in London, where, after a short spell in Geneva, he had spent his last years. He was laid to rest in Damascus.

Ķabbānī's highly poetical and persuasive language is eminently accessible and has been described as a "third language", neither lexicographically classical nor educated vernacular. His departure from classical norms is, in the poet's own words, a deliberate attack on the haughty history of Arabic rhetoric. Still, many of his poems are in a traditional Khalīlian metre with monorhyme and a fixed line-length (but often printed in a modern lay-out). However, more than a fifth of his poems (196 out of a total of 863) are non-metrical. In between are many poems in the tradition of *shiʿr ḥurr* (lit. "free poetry") with varied rhymes and variable line-length (brought about by the fact that the constituent metrical foot—or *tafʿīla*—is repeated a different number of times in different lines). An early example of this, already in his first *dīwān* *Ķālat liya 'l-samrāʾ* (1944), is the poem *Indifāʿ*.

Ķabbānī's linguistic rebellion operates within a wider militant vision that defies a stagnant, underdeveloped and inhuman Arab society with its taboos on sexuality, religion and political power. This disposition is artistically expressed in hundreds of love poems, and some 140 overtly political poems. His "Notes on the book of the defeat" (*Hawāmish ʿalā daftar al-naksa*), "the angriest poem in contemporary Arabic" (S. Jayyusi), which appeared in the aftermath of the June 1967 defeat, ushered in a new stage, as underlined in the poet's own words "Ah my country! You have transformed me/from a poet of love and yearning/to a poet writing with a knife." Through the unity of his poetic vision, however, love and politics in Ķabbānī are not compartmentalised. Much of his love poetry can in fact be read as political, and the political poems resonate with his love poetry.

His detractors tend to read his love poetry as a narcissistic Don Juanesque catalogue of amorous exploits and accuse the poet of superficiality. His social and political criticism has been read as sadistic nest fouling, and his writings have been banned more than once. Yet his poetry is popular with the masses and is memorised by millions, to which the sung versions

of some twenty poems by singers such as Umm Kulthūm [*q.v.*], Fayrūz, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1977), Mādjida al-Rūmī (b. 1957), Kāẓim al-Sāhir, Nadjāt al-Ṣaghīra and others have also contributed.

His prose works include statements on poetry, and the autobiographical *Ḳiṣṣatī maʿa 'l-shiʿr* (1973) and *Min awrāḳī 'l-madjhūla: sīra dhātiyya thāniya* (2000; not seen).

Ḳabbānī's contacts with Spain (with a professional stay at the Syrian embassy from 1963 till 1966) have contributed to a focus on Andalusian themes, and several poems have been translated into Spanish, notably three volumes by P. Martínez Montávez: *Poemas amorosos árabes*, Madrid 1965, ³1988; *Poemas políticos*, Madrid 1975; *Tú, amor*, Madrid 1987. An Italian collection *Poesie*, tr. by G. Canova *et al.*, was published in Rome 1976. Volumes in English are *Arabian love poems*, tr. by B. Frangieh and C.R. Brown, Colorado Springs 1992, with the original texts in the poet's own hand, and *On entering the sea: the erotic and other poetry of Nizar Qabbani*, tr. by L. Jayyusi *et al.*, New York 1996, with an introduction by Salma K. Jayyusi. Several translated poems are included in surveys of modern Arabic poetry.

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(W. Stoetzer)

KABĪR, North Indian mystic and poet (d. *ca.* 1448). Although Kabīr is regarded as one of the most influential saint-poets of mediaeval Northern India, there is very little authentic information concerning his life. We can reliably state that he was born in Benares to a family of low-caste Muslim weavers called *djulāhās*, probably in the opening years of the 9th/15th century. Beyond this, various hagiographies of Kabīr, depending on the authors' sectarian affiliation, make competing claims that he was a Muslim Ṣūfī, a Hindu with liberal Vaiśnava leanings or a champion of Hindu-Muslim unity who rejected institutionalised forms of both Islam and Hinduism. Kabīr's fame is based on the numerous couplets (*dohās*) and songs (*padas*) attributed to him and called *Kabīrvāṇīs*, or "words of Kabīr". Written in a caustic colloquial style in a mediaeval Hindi dialect and sung in folk melodies, these compositions have been an integral part of oral religious literature in North India, being recited by Muslims and Hindus alike. Selections of Kabīr's verses have been incorporated into the *Ādi granth*, the scripture of the Sikh community, as well as the *Pāñcvāṇī*, the hymnal of the Dādūpanthī sect. The Kabīr Panthīs, "the followers of the path of Kabīr", have a compilation of his poetry called the *Bījāk*. Since Kabīr's verses, like most mediaeval Indian devotional poetry, were initially transmitted orally and recorded in writing only later, there are serious doubts concerning the authenticity of much of the corpus attributed to him.

Kabīr, who was influenced by various religious currents including forms of Ṣūfism and tantric yoga expounded by the Nāth yogis, is regarded as the pioneer poet of the *sant* movement that swept across North India in the 15th century. The *sants*, or poet-saints, were participants in a grass-roots religious reformation that rejected the worship of multiple deities in favour of an esoteric form of religious practice whose goal was union with the one attributeless (*nirguṇa*) God. They also questioned the efficacy of religious rituals and validity of scriptural authority. Expressing themselves in vernacular poems, the *sants* conceived of the human-divine relationship in terms of *viraha*, or yearning, longing love. Union with the Divine could be attained by anyone, regardless of caste, through meditation on the divine name and with the guidance of a *guru*. In poems attributed to him, Kabīr is particularly harsh in his attacks on the representatives of institutionalised religion, the Hindu *brāhmin* and the Muslim *mullā* or *ḳāḍī*, whose bookish learning and rituals he considered entirely useless in the spiritual quest. After his death, some of Kabīr's disciples organised themselves into a sect, the Kabīr Panth. Notwithstanding Kabīr's anti-institutional and anti-ritualistic stance, at the sect's central monastry in Benares, both monks and lay people engage in a ritualised recitation of Kabīr's poems and make offerings to an image of their master.

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(Ali S. Asani)

KABĪRA (A., pl. *kabāʾir*), a term of Islamic theology meaning "grave [sin]", occurring in Ḳurʾān, II, 42/39, 138/143 and *passim*. It was the stimulus for much discussion amongst theologians and sectaries like the Khāridjites [*q.v.*] on what constituted a grave sin and how committing one affected a man's salvation. For a discussion, see khaṭīʾa.

al-ḲABḲ.

History.

1. For the early Islamic period up to the Mongol and Tīmūrid periods, see Vol. III, 343-50.

2. The period 1500-1800.

Compared to previous and later epochs, these three centuries are among the least studied periods in the history of the Caucasus. The main reason for that lies not in the unavailability of sources but rather in their inaccessibility until the recent past. The Russian

archives, the most used ones, are far from having been fully scrutinised. In the Ottoman archives, only the surface has been scratched, chiefly due to the efforts of French scholars (A. Bennigsen, Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay, G. Veinstein *et al.*). The rich local collections, or rather those that have survived wars, deportations, confiscation and deliberate destruction, have only begun to be intensively collected, catalogued and studied in the 1980s, mainly by Dāghistānī scholars (A. Shikhsaidov, Kh. Omarov, G. Orazaev *et al.*). Their works, published mainly locally, are not easily obtainable, however. The result is that most of the information available on this period is from the viewpoint of the neighbouring Great Powers (above all, Russia) competing for mastery over the Caucasus.

Yet even the scant information at our disposal points to the importance of the internal processes that occurred during these three centuries. To start with, this seems to be the time when the Northern Caucasus was converted to Islam. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Adīghe peoples (known collectively as Čerkes [*q.v.*]) and the Kabartay [see KABARAS] of the north-western and central Caucasus respectively, were Islamised by the Crimean Tatars and the Ottomans. In the east, the Islamisation of Dāghistān, as well as of the Ghumīḳs [see ḲUMUḲ] in the foothills to the north had been completed around the 16th century, to be followed by that of the Čečens [*q.v.*] (the Islamisation of the Čečens would be completed only in the first half of the 19th century). Contrary to the established view, Islam seems to have spread among the Ghumīḳs from the "Golden Horde" rather than from Dāghistān; and it was they, not the Dāghistānīs, who started to Islamise the Čečens. This is hinted at by the fact that these two peoples adhere to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, while the Dāghistānīs belong to the Shāfiʿī one.

This difference in *madhhab* notwithstanding, Dāghistān, a major centre of Islamic scholarship since the 5th/11th century, supplied religious leadership to the north-eastern Caucasus well into the 20th century. This meant *inter alia* that, in this area, the main literary language had remained Arabic, which facilitated ties with the major Shāfiʿī centre of Zabīd in the Yemen (I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Dagestan i Iemen*, in *Izbrannïe sočineniya*, Moscow and Leningrad 1960, vi, 574-84). Nevertheless, the daily life of the Muslims in Dāghistān, as all over the Northern Caucasus, continued to be regulated by the local *ʿāda* (pronounced *ʿadát*) rather than by the *Sharīʿa* (pronounced *sharīʿát*). On some occasions the local *ʿādawāt* were written down, usually in the local idiom (for an example in Russian tr., see Kh.-M.O. Khashaev (ed.), *Kodeks ummu-khanna avarskogo (spravedlivogo)*, Moscow 1948). A serious attempt to inforce the *Sharīʿa* and eradicate *ʿāda* would be made only in the 19th century.

Another major process was that of forming a new social structure in parts of the north-eastern Caucasus. The Adīghe and the Kabartay seem to have retained their stratified order, dividing society into nobles and commoners. The Čečens, on the other hand, seem to have forced out the nobility in the 16th century and established a society based on the equality of free men. Each community/clan was run by a council, *khel*, of its elders and pan-Čečen matters were discussed and decided in the *mehk khel* "the council of the land". In the eastern and northern parts of Dāghistān, all the principalities known from previous periods continued to exist, their rulers bearing different titles: the *Shāmkhāl* of Targhī, the *ʿUsmī* (pronounced *ʿutsmī*) of Ḳāraḳytāḳ, the *Maʿṣūm* of Ṭabarsarān, the *Sulṭān* of Ilisū and the *Khāns* of Ghāzī Ghumuḳ, Mekhtulī and Avaristān. The extent of their control, territory and influence depended on the personal qualities, power and charisma of each individual ruler. To this period belong, however, the first testimonies available to us concerning *djamāʿas* (pronounced *djamaʿát*) in the inner and western parts of Dāghistān, independent of the principalities to the east and north (and thus dubbed by Russian sources "free communities", *volʾnïe obshčestva*).

The *djamāʿa*, a community of several villages, usually confined within natural boundaries, was the basic political, social and economic unit in the country. It had most probably existed in previous times as well. Each *djamāʿa* was headed by an elected *ḳāḍī*, who chaired the council of the elders. The most vital matters, however, were decided by a general assembly of the *djamāʿa*. All men, whether noble, *uzdens* (free men) or *djankas* (descendents of noble fathers and common mothers) were equal members of the *djamāʿa*. The principalities were, in fact, a confederation of *djamāʿas*, each deciding whether to accept a ruler's authority. The free *djamāʿas* did not recognise any outside authority over them, though on some occasions they formed permanent loose confederations. The most prominent of these was the confederation of ʿAḳūsha (known also as Darghī) which headed the alliance that defeated the troops of the Persian ruler Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*].

The external affairs of the Caucasus have attracted relatively much more interest from scholars. The Caucasus was part of the last major realignment of Great Powers in the Muslim World, sc. that of the first two decades of the 16th century. In fact it became the main battle ground between two of them, the Sunnī Ottomans and Shīʿī Ṣafawids. After three Ottoman (1534-6, 1548-9 and 1554-5) and one Ṣafawid (1552) major campaigns, the peace of Amasya (1555) divided Trans-Caucasia between the two. Ottoman overlordship was recognised over the western part of Georgia (i.e. the kingdom of Imeretʾi and its "vassal" principalities of Guri, Svanetʾi and Abkhazia), while Ṣafawid overlordship was recognised over its eastern parts (the kingdoms of Kʾartlʾi and Kakhetʾi), and present-day Armenia (Erivān and Nakhdjivān), Ādharbāydjān (Shīrvān, annexed in 1536) and the southernmost corner of Dāghistān (Derbend, annexed in 1509). This line of division would remain in force throughout the period with two notable exceptions (1578-1602 and 1723-35), when the Ottomans took advantage on the first occasion of internal struggles within the Ṣafawid house, and on the second occasion, of the disintegration of Ṣafawid power temporarily to seize control over the entire Caucasus.

North of the main mountain range, the Sunnī Muslims habitually recognised the Ottoman Sultan's authority. This, however, was far from constituting even a shadowy Ottoman rule. In the west and centre, the Ottomans exercised a very limited, indirect and ineffective control over the Čerkes and Kabartay, mainly via the Crimean Khāns. In the east, in the various polities of Dāghistān (remote, cut off and claimed by the Ṣafawids and their successors), the Ottomans usually enjoyed nothing more substantial than sympathy. Nevertheless, their Sunnī identity added to the obstinate resistance by some Dāghistānī polities to the *rawāfiḍ*, i.e. the Shīʿī Persians. Several fragments on the margins of manuscripts testifying of such acts of resistance in different places and times were published by Shikhsaidov in 1991 (in Russian tr., in A.A. Isaev (ed.), *Rukopisnaya i pečatnaya kniga v Dagestane*,

Ma<u>kh</u>ačḳala 1991, 128-9). On many occasions the mountain dwellers managed to beat the invading armies, the most resounding defeat being that dealt in 1744 to Nādir <u>Sh</u>āh's troops by the joint forces of the confederation of ʿAḳū<u>sh</u>a and other *<u>dj</u>amāʿas*. The futility of the attempts to conquer the mountains gave rise to a Persian proverb to the effect that "when Allāh wants to punish a <u>Sh</u>āh, He inculcates into his head the idea of campaigning in Dā<u>gh</u>istān."

The collapse of Nādir <u>Sh</u>āh's empire after his assassination in 1747 was not followed by any Ottoman attempts to seize the area. This granted the kings of eastern Georgia half a century of freedom, and allowed for *de facto* independent <u>kh</u>ānates to be established in Derbend, Ḳubbāh, Bāḳū, <u>Sh</u>ekkī, <u>Sh</u>īrvān, Gan<u>dj</u>a, Ḳarābā<u>gh</u>, Erivān, Na<u>khdj</u>ivān and Ṭāli<u>sh</u>. The resulting vacuum on their southern borders permitted different Dā<u>gh</u>istānī communities and rulers to expand and raid the lowlands, mainly into eastern Georgia. The boldest raids were carried out by ʿUmar (pronounced ʿUmma), <u>Kh</u>ān of Avaristān (1774-1801). Once the Ḳā<u>dj</u>ārs started to bring together the lands of the Ṣafawids, they turned towards the Caucasus. In 1795, after the local rulers had ignored a series of demands to acknowledge his suzerainty, Āghā <u>Kh</u>ān Muḥammad, the founder of the dynasty, led a campaign into Trans-Caucasia, which culminated in the sack of Tiflīs. However, the Ḳā<u>dj</u>ārs' attempts to reincorporate the Caucasus into their empire met a new obstacle in the shape of Imperial Russia.

Muscovite Russia had shown interest in the affairs of the Caucasus already in the second half of the 16th century. Having seized control over the entire Itil (Volga) basin by conquering the <u>kh</u>ānates of Ḳāzān and Astra<u>kh</u>ān [*q.vv.*] (1552 and 1556, respectively), Tsar Ivan IV ("the Terrible") tried immediately to expand south into the Caucasus. For that purpose he pursued three goals: (1) the settlement of Cossacks on the Terek river; (2) alliances with local chiefs in the area, the most important of which was his marriage in 1561 to the daugther of a Kabartay prince; and (3) an attempt to help his coreligionists, the kings of Georgia, who had appealed for help to the new Orthodox power in the north. The Ottomans, though unsuccessful in capturing Astra<u>kh</u>ān (1569), were nevertheless strong enough to thwart the attempts by Ivan as well as by his two successors Feodor (in 1594) and Boris Godunov (in 1604).

Weakened by the "time of troubles" of the early 17th century, Russia was deterred for more than a century and a half by the might of both the Ottomans and the Ṣafawids from any initiatives in that direction. Nevertheless, additional Cossacks settled on the Terek and were incorporated by Peter I ("the Great") into a continuous line of defence facing the eastern Caucasus. It was he also who ventured a campaign to the south. In 1722, following the Af<u>gh</u>ān invasion of Persia he marched with an army and navy along the western and southern shores of the Caspian as far as Astarābād. Yet he did not dare to challenge the Ottomans by advancing inland beyond the littoral, and the campaign achieved nothing tangible. Only Catherine II ("the Great") successfully resumed Russia's advance southwards with a double-pronged policy.

In the Northern Caucasus, the erection of the fortress of Mozdok (1763) was the immediate cause of the 1768-74 war with the Ottomans and of a fourteen-year long struggle with the Kabartay. Following the peace of Küčük Ḳaynarča [*q.v.*], Cossacks were settled opposite the western Caucasus and a continuous line of defence established, to be known in the 19th century as "the Caucasian Line". These events were the trigger for the ten-year long resistance (1785-94) led by Manṣūr U<u>sh</u>urma [*q.v.*], a Čečen who assumed the title *al-Imām al-Manṣūr*, and called on all the Muslims of the Caucasus to return to the *<u>Sh</u>arīʿa* and to unite against Russian encroachment. In this he provided a foretaste of the events of the 19th century.

At the same time, Catherine re-established Russian ties with the king of K'artl'o-Ka<u>kh</u>et'i (i.e. Georgia; see al-kur<u>dj</u>) and during the war of 1768-74, a Russian force crossed for the first time the Caucasus range and then operated against the Ottomans in Georgia. In 1783 the treaty of Georgievsk made K'artl'o-Ka<u>kh</u>et'i a Russian protectorate. A Russian force was stationed in Tiflīs and a paved road, "the Georgian military highway", was cut across the mountain range. However, the Russian force was soon withdrawn (1784), which left K'artl'o-Ka<u>kh</u>et'i exposed to the Ḳā<u>dj</u>ārs while the king, confident in Russian protection, provoked the 1795 sack of Tiflīs by his refusal to accept Ā<u>gh</u>ā <u>Kh</u>ān Muḥammad's overlordship. The Emperor Paul, Catherine's son and successor, was averse from involvement in the affairs of the Caucasus. Yet in 1799 he found himself obliged to protect K'artl'o-Ka<u>kh</u>et'i against the threats of Fatḥ ʿAlī <u>Sh</u>āh, Ā<u>gh</u>ā <u>Kh</u>ān Muḥammad's successor. Finally, on his deathbed, Giorgi XII, the last king of K'artl'o-Ka<u>kh</u>et'i, asked the Russian Emperor to take his kingdom under the Tsar's protection. On 30 December 1800 N.S., Paul issued a manifesto incorporating K'art'li and Ka<u>kh</u>et'i into the Russian Empire.

Alexander I, Paul's son and successor, confirmed his father's decision on 24 September 1801 N.S. Unlike Paul, Alexander used the annexation of K'art'li and Ka<u>kh</u>et'i as the first step in Russia's expansion into and beyond the Caucasus. Thus began the sixty-five years' long struggle to conquer the Caucasus, known in Russian historiography as "the Caucasian War", one that would drastically alter the political, religious, economic, social, ethnic and demographic composition of the Caucasus.

Bibliography: Some items have been mentioned in the text. Among the very few published Dā<u>gh</u>istānī chronicles is Mīrzā Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳadarī al-Dā<u>gh</u>istānī, *Kitāb Ā<u>th</u>ār-i Dā<u>gh</u>istān*, Bāḳū 1903. For a list of Dā<u>gh</u>istānī sources published in the 1980s, usually in Russian translation, see the bibl. of A.A. Isaev (comp.) and A.R. <u>Sh</u>i<u>kh</u>saidov (ed.), *Rukopisnaya i pečatnaya kniga v Dagestane (Sbornik statei)* [Manuscript and printed books in Dā<u>gh</u>istān (a collection of articles)], Ma<u>kh</u>ačḳala 1991, 183-8.

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Among the latest collections from the Ottoman archives is Mehmet Saray *et al.* (eds.), *Kafkas araştırmaları*, i, Istanbul 1988. (M. Gammer)

3. The period 1800 to the present day.

a. *Introduction*

Any attempt to furnish a coherent and objective overview of the history of the Caucasus in the modern period is hampered by the scarcity of local sources and by the inherent biases of the historical accounts generated by its colonisers, the Ottomans, Persians and Russians, who, for more than a century, were vying with one another for sovereignty over this strategically important area. The same goes for European historiography of the region, which was likewise shaped by political agendas of the European states and their colonial designs. This is especially true of the works of 19th-century British writers, both lay and academic, who viewed Russia as its principal colonial rival in the East. Following the Russian Communist Revolution of 1917, Russian colonial prejudices and stereotypes were superseded by Marxist axioms of class struggle and of the five historical socio-economic formations and modes of production specific to each of them. After World War II, these axioms were further aggravated by the ideological clichés of the Cold War epoch. From the 1920s until the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, the area remained practically inaccessible to Western researchers. Most, therefore, had to rely on Soviet studies of the area, which were shaped by the official Marxist views of history. With the fall of the Soviet régime, a large body of historiography has emerged produced by scholars of Caucasian background. Coloured by a wide spectrum of nationalist agendas, this new historiography offers drastic revisions of the Russian and Soviet conceptions of Caucasian history, and especially of the Russo-Caucasian wars of 1829-64. The present account will focus primarily on the historical evolution of the mountaineer communities of the northern Caucasus (Kabarda, Dāghistān, Čečnya, Ingushetia, Circassia and Abkhāzia) with predominantly Muslim populations. Historical events in the Christian areas of the Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia and the Christian areas of Ossetia [see AL-KURDJ; ARMĪNIYA; OSSETES]) will be touched upon briefly only in so far as they are relevant to the history of their Muslim neighbours (for developments in Transcaucasia, see ĀDHARBĀYDJĀN; SHĪRWĀN; GANDJA).

b. *Russian expansion and Persian withdrawal*

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, three major outside powers vied for control of the Caucasus: the Ottomans, who maintained (largely nominal) control of the northwestern coast of the Black Sea (Circassia [see ČERKES]), parts of present-day Georgia adjacent to the Black Sea and the western regions of Transcaucasia; Persia, which exercised sovereignty (often only nominal) over several khānates in Ādharbāydjān, Dāghistān and the eastern areas of Transcaucasia; and Russia. The first decades of the 19th century witnessed a steady Russian military expansion into the Caucasus regions formerly controlled by Russia's Muslim imperial rivals. A large part of present-day Georgia, the kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti, recognised the sovereignty of the Russian Empire in 1801, when its last independent ruler, George XII, handed the reins of government over to the Russians in the face of an impending Persian invasion. Soon afterwards, the Russian military authorities of the Caucasus began the construction of the Georgian Military Highway between the city of Vladikavkaz (presently the capital of the Autonomous Republic of North Ossetia) and Tiflīs [*q.v.*] (presently Tbilisi, the capital of the Republic of Georgia). This ambitious project was intended to consolidate Russia's hold on her new dependencies in the Central Caucasus. In December 1802, the Russians convened a meeting of the rulers of the mountaineer communities and principalities of the northeastern Caucasus at the Russian fortress of Georgievsk. During the meeting, the rulers agreed to sign a treaty granting Russia a special status in Dāghistān and adjacent lands. Some rulers, including the powerful khān of Avaristān, recognised Russian tutelage over their lands and pledged to join forces with Russia in the event of a Persian invasion of their lands. Between 1804 and 1813, the khānates of Gandja, Bākū, Ḳarābāgh, Shīrwān, Darband [*q.vv.*] parts of Abkhāzia [see ABKHĀZ], the principalities of Imereti and Akhalkhalaki, as well as several Muslim communities of Dāghistān, came under Russian rule. The intermittent hostilities between the Russian Caucasian Corps and Persian forces throughout 1804-13 were, as a rule, favourable in outcome to the Russians. Russian victories can be attributed at least in part to the dynastic struggles within the Persian ruling élite, which weakened its ability to resist Russian encroachments on Persia's former dependencies in the region.

Russian claims to its new domains in the Caucasus and Transcaucasia were formalised by the Gulistān Treaty of 1813. This document decisively redrew the map of the Caucasus in favour of the Russian Empire. In 1826, the Persian army led by the Ḳādjār Crown Prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*] invaded Ḳarābāgh in an attempt to regain control of Persia's former dependencies in the central Caucasus and Transcaucasia. Despite initial successes, the Persian advance was eventually repelled by the Russian army under the command of Ivan Paskievič, who led the Russians to victory over ʿAbbās Mīrzā's forces at the battle of Gandja (Elizavetpol) in September 1826. In 1828, after two years of hostilities in which the Russians scored one victory after the other, Persia was forced to sign the humiliating treaty of Turkomānčāy [see TÜRKMEN ČAY (i)]. This document all but eliminated Persia's influence in the northern Caucasus by denying it any direct contact with its potential Muslim allies in Dāghistān. On the Ottoman front, in 1828-9, Russian troops penetrated as far as Erzurum [*q.v.*] and Adjaria (Adjaristān) and blockaded the strategic Black Sea ports of Poti and Anapa [*q.v*]. The Russian military successes drastically reduced the Ottoman Empire's ability to exercise its influence over the Circassian (Adyghe [see ČERKES]) tribes of the northwestern Caucasus, which even at the height of Ottoman power were Ottoman vassals in name only. Under the treaty of Adrianople (Edirne [*q.v.*]) of 1829, the Ottomans

had to cede to Russia many of their former territories along the Black Sea coast. These territorial losses deprived the Ottomans of direct access to Circassia.

c. *Ermolov and the consolidation of Russian power*

Much of the credit for Russia's success in the Caucasus goes to the talented general Alexei Ermolov (Yermolov). His military genius and diplomatic acumen helped the Russian Caucasian Corps to defeat the Persians and to bring most of their former dependencies in the Caucasus under Russian rule. Appointed by Tsar Alexander I as the military governor of the Caucasus in 1816, Ermolov consistently implemented what many Russian and Western historians view as "policies of terror" toward the mountaineer communities and local principalities. His brutal treatment of his Caucasian adversaries was deliberately aimed at breaking their will to resist Russia's rule and to cow them into submission. Granted full authority over the area by the Tsar (in the Russian sources of the age, Ermolov was often referred to as the "proconsul of the Caucasus"; his own personal memoirs of the Caucasus campaigns seem to have been consciously patterned on Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars*, reflecting his desire to emulate his illustrious predecessor), Ermolov ruled over Russia's new colonies with an iron fist, sparing neither his new subjects, nor his own troops, nor even the Russian irregulars, known as "Cossacks". Parallel to his often merciless "pacification" of Caucasian tribes and principalities, Ermolov embarked on a series of ambitious administrative and military reforms that sought to consolidate Russian colonial authority over the region and encourage immigration of Russian settlers (Cossacks) to the area. In some regions (e.g. Kabarda), Ermolov also implemented a sweeping judicial reform. Thus in 1822 he replaced the local *S̲h̲arīʿa* and *ʿādāt* jurisdiction with civil courts staffed by Russian colonial officials. This measure undermined the positions of the local aristocracy and sparked several riots that had to be suppressed, with its usual brutality, by the Russian Caucasus Corps.

Controlling this vast and rugged area with just 49,000 troops (of which only 40,000 maintained at least some semblance of military readiness) proved to be a great challenge to Ermolov and his chiefs of staff. Their responses to the tremendous difficulties faced by the Russian colonial enterprise amounted to sustained social engineering, such as the forced resettlement of some tribes (Ossetes and Nog̲h̲ay Tatars [*q.v.*]), the brutal "pacification" of "hostile" mountaineer communities, and the imposition of corvée services on others, e.g. the Čečens [*q.v.*]. These measures disrupted the customs and lifestyles of the mountaineers, who retaliated by attacking Russian forts and settlements and carrying off prisoners and booty. Another source of resentment against the Russian military administration was its attempt to eliminate the widespread slave trade in the northern Caucasus. For many centuries this business had been an important source of income for many local tribes, which sold captives to Ottoman merchants. The captives were then re-sold in Ottoman slave markets. Initially, Russian efforts to eradicate the slave trade bore only limited results. It took the Russians several decades of thorough policing and enforcement of their anti-slavery edicts finally to put an end to this practice.

The mountaineers responded to Russia's interference in their traditional occupations with armed uprisings. They were brutally put down by the Russian Caucasus Corps. The rebels' villages and fields were burned to the ground. The "hostile" populations were chased into the inhospitable mountains. Such punitive campaigns, however, had only a limited impact, since the villages were easily rebuilt once Russian troops had left the area. At the same time, this brutal repression against a people unaccustomed to foreign rule bred and sustained hatred towards the Russian administration among the mountaineers. Ermolov soon realised the inadequacy of his policy, and embarked on military and administrative measures aimed at consolidating Russian presence in the region. The new policy consisted in the construction of fortified defence lines. They were formed by Russian fortresses and forts connected by networks of roads. Cut through the virgin forests of Čečnya, the roads were meant to separate "pacified" tribes and villages from those which continued to resist Russian rule. In the process, the "hostile" communities were pushed ever deeper into the barren mountains, where they faced hardship and starvation.

Throughout Ermolov's tenure as military governor of the Caucasus, mountaineer resistance (1816-27) in the eastern and central parts of the region remained spontaneous, unorganised and localised. Sporadic insurrections against Russian rule were easily suppressed by the better-equipped and disciplined Russian troops, which made good use of their superior firepower. Despite their personal bravery and intimate knowledge of the terrain, the mountaineer levies of Dāg̲h̲istān, Kabarda, Čečnya and Ingus̲h̲etia were unable to defeat the Russians due to a lack of co-ordination and organisation. The local ruling élites were usually unable to provide leadership, since they had been either bribed by the Russians or torn by internal strife. In other cases (e.g. in Čečnya and some "democratic" Čerkes (Adyg̲h̲e) tribes of the north-western Caucasus), the mountaineer élite had not yet been formed. Such "democratic" mountaineer societies posed an especially severe problem for the Russian authorities, which preferred to deal with local nobility rather than entire communities. Furthermore, Ermolov's cunning implementation of "divide and rule" policies led to the decimation of many ruling families, who tried to resist Russian rule, especially in Dāg̲h̲istān. Some historians of the Caucasus even argue that Ermolov, steeped in the idea of "progress" and "civilisation", viewed the local rulers as brutal and ignorant despots, who were inherently incapable of embracing Russia's "civilising mission" in the Caucasus. He therefore considered them irrelevant and dispensable.

Whether intentional or not, Ermolov's policies seem to have led to the considerable weakening and discrediting of the local élites, which may explain why most of the leaders of the mountaineer resistance to Russian rule in 1829-59 came from relatively humble backgrounds and relied for the most part on free peasant communities for their support. Be this as it may, it is obvious that Ermolov's rule permanently upset the earlier balance of power in the region. His draconian measures set the mountaineer resistance movement on its feet on an unprecedented scale. The movement derived its vitality from the idea of equality of all Muslims before the Divine Law and their duty to actively resist "infidel" Russian rule. Since the majority of the subjugated tribes and communities of the northern and central Caucasus professed Islam, it was only natural that resistance to Russian domination took the form of *d̲j̲ihād*, which, in the local tradition, is usually referred to as *g̲h̲azawāt*.

d. *The Caucasian* g̲h̲azawāt *and its leaders*

As with many contemporary Muslim movements, the leaders of Caucasian resistance often began their

careers by preaching a strict adherence to the *Sharīʿa* and fighting against such widespread "vices" as wine drinking, smoking, lax observance of Islamic rituals, dancing, singing and the free mingling of the sexes. Simultaneously, these self-appointed enforcers of the *Sharīʿa* often sought to reduce the sphere of, if not to eradicate completely, the application of the customary law (*ʿādāt*), which usually favoured local élites. Such measures appealed to the poorer strata of the mountaineer population, who hoped that the rule of the *Sharīʿa* would improve their lot and reduce their dependence on the nobles. Once the reputation of the religious leader as an uncompromising enforcer and advocate of the *Sharīʿa* had become firmly established, he could use his popularity to rally his followers around a certain political cause. In the mountaineer communities, whose traditional values and lifestyle were threatened by Russian colonial advances, a call to a holy war against the infidel Russian enemy was likely to receive an enthusiastic response.

In any event, the careers of the Čečen Shaykh Manṣūr Ushurma [*q.v.*] and the three Dāghistānī *imāms* of the northern Caucasus [see SHĀMIL] unfolded according to this scenario. The extent of these leaders' affiliation with what the Russian writers of the age called *myuridizm*, namely, the Nakshbandiyya-Mudjaddidiyya-Khālidiyya Ṣūfī order (in the case of Ushurma there is no historical evidence of his association with any Ṣūfī *silsila*, while the three *imāms* were at least nominally Nakshbandī *shaykhs*) remains a moot point. However, many Russian and Western historians of the Caucasus continue to view *myuridizm*/Nakshbandī Ṣūfism as the principal vehicle and source of inspiration for the movements in question.

The events of the thirty-year war led by the three *imāms* of Dāghistān and Čečnya, Ghāzī Muḥammad (Kazi Mullā), Ḥamzat (Gamzat) Bek and Shāmil (Shamwīl) are discussed in the article SHĀMIL and will not be detailed here. The war cost both sides dearly in casualties and material resources. Russia's initial military strategy, imported from the European theatre of war, was geared to winning victories in pitched battles through an orderly movement and deployment of large military contingents. Much value was placed by the Russian military command on besieging and capturing enemy strongholds and headquarters. Such strategic assumptions proved to be ineffective or outright counterproductive in the Caucasus, where the Russian army faced a highly mobile and elusive opponent. The headquarters of the mountaineer levies could be easily moved from one village to another without impairing their ability to effectively fight the Russians through swift night raids, ambushes, diversionary tactics, misinformation and other forms of guerilla warfare. These tactics were honed to perfection in Dāghistān and Čečnya under the talented leadership of the Imām Shāmil, who implemented it with remarkable success from 1834 to the late 1840s, when the Russians were finally compelled to reconsider their military doctrine. Nevertheless, in spite of repeated military setbacks, the Russian military command continued to cling stubbornly to the ineffective "one-blow" strategy for over ten years. Its flaws culminated in the disastrous expedition of 1845 against Shāmil's headquarters at Dargho (Darghiya, in present-day Čečnya). Led by the newly-appointed viceroy of the Caucasus Prince Mikhail Vorontsov, the Russian expeditionary force lost almost 1,000 men killed (including three generals), almost 2,800 wounded, 179 missing in action, three guns and all its baggage, including the army war-chest.

Vorontsov realised his error and convinced Tsar Nicholas I to implement the siege strategy that was first introduced by Ermolov but had been abandoned by his successors following his removal from office in 1827. Efforts were made to strengthen existing fortifications, to build new ones and to connect them with a network of improved roads. These defence lines cut through Shāmil's domains in Dāghistān and Čečnya, gradually reducing his sphere of influence and depriving him of provisions and manpower. This slow and less spectacular military strategy, which following Vorontsov's retirement in 1854 was continued by his successor, Prince Aleksandr Baryatinskiy, eventually bore fruit. Deprived of the resources to wage war against the superior Russian military machine and abandoned by the majority of his former followers, the third *imām* of the Caucasus surrendered to the Russians in the summer of 1859. The bloodiest episode of the Russo-Caucasian war came to an end, although armed resistance to Russian rule continued throughout the Caucasus for another decade.

e. *Circassia and Muḥammad Amīn*

Shāmil's long resistance to Russian conquest had wide-ranging repercussions for the mountaineer communities and tribes throughout the Caucasus, including those areas that remained formally under Russian rule or were contested by the Russian and Ottoman empires, namely, Kabarda, Balkaria, Ossetia and the western Caucasus (Circassia, Abkhāzia, Guria, etc.). Thirty-seven Kabardian princes and nobles went over to Shāmil in 1846, following his raid into Kabarda. At the same time, the majority (around 200) remained loyal to the Russians and were richly rewarded by the Russian administration for their refusal to support Shāmil's movement. Throughout Shāmil's imāmate, the Transkuban region and Circassia (Adygheya) remained, for the most part, outside his direct influence. However, news about his military successes against the Russian forces periodically reinvigorated local resistance. In 1840 four major Russian fortresses along the coast of the Black Sea were captured and destroyed by Čerkes tribes. In 1842, Shāmil sent his emissary, Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad, to Circassia instructing him to spread *ghazawāt* among the Muslim populations of the western Caucasus. After Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad's death in 1845, he was succeeded by Shāmil's *nāʾib* (military governor) named Sulaymān Efendi. On Shāmil's instructions, he began to preach *ghazawāt* against the Russian garrisons stationed in the area and attempted to recruit several Čerkes (Adyghe) tribes to Shāmil's cause. However, Sulaymān Efendi soon fell out with Shāmil and defected to the Russians.

At the end of 1848, Shāmil appointed Muḥammad Amīn as his next *nāʾib* in Circassia. The new *nāʾib*, who was not familiar with local realities, soon became embroiled in a power struggle between the aristocracy and free squires (*tfokotles*) of the Abadzekh, the largest Adyghe (Čerkes) tribe. After flirting for some time with the Abadzekh princes, Muḥammad Amīn eventually decided to throw in his lot with the peasants, promising them independence from their aristocratic masters and equality under the *Sharīʿa* law. His populist politics alienated the nobility, who turned to the Russians, hoping to retain their traditional privileges. Throughout the 1850s, Muḥammad Amīn was able to secure the loyalty of just one Adyghe tribe, the Abadzekhs. He later extended his rule to some other Adyghe (Čerkes) communities, such as the Natukhays and Shapsugs. Muḥammad Amīn modelled his administration of the nascent Čerkes (Adyghe) state on that of Shāmil's imāmate. The lands under his jurisdiction

were divided into a number of territorial units called *maḥkama*. Each *maḥkama* consisted of around 100 households. The administrative centre of the *maḥkama* was located in a fortified Čerkes village (*aul*), which usually had a mosque, a court of law, a prison and a *madrasa*. The *maḥkama* was ruled by a religious official (*muftī*) and a council of three Muslim judges (*ḳāḍīs*). Each Adyg͟he (Čerkes) household was to supply one mounted warrior (*murtazik*) for Muḥammad Amīn's military force. The *murtaziks* constituted the military foundation of Muḥammad Amīn's rule. In all, Muḥammad Amīn's state at its height consisted of four *maḥkamas* among the Abadzek͟hs, one among the S͟hapsugs and two among the Natuk͟hays.

f. *The Crimean War and its impact on the Caucasus*

The beginning of the Crimean War in 1853 galvanised the mountaineer resistance movement on both sides of the Main Caucasian Range. In the eastern and central Caucasus, S͟hāmil was preparing to invade Georgia, to cut the Russo-Georgian Military Highway and, finally, to effect a juncture with an invading Ottoman force at Tiflīs. The capital of the Caucasus was expected to fall to the allied Muslim army within a few days. In the western Caucasus, Muḥammad Amīn and his Čerkes levies, supported by an Ottoman sea-borne expeditionary force, were bound to disrupt Russian communications and capture the lands of the Turkic-speaking Ḳaračay [*q.v.*] on the northern slopes of the Main Caucasus Range. Muḥammad Amīn was then to march across Kabarda and Ossetia and to join S͟hāmil's forces there. In Guria (a part of present-day Georgia), which had been under Russian administrations since 1840, a large Ottoman force attacked the fortress of S͟hekvetili (St. Nicholas Port) on the Black Sea and wiped out its small garrison, which consisted of a Russian detachment and pro-Russian Gurid militia.

These developments awoke the Russian administration of the Caucasus to the possibility of a powerful military coalition between the invading Ottomans and their local supporters among the Adyg͟hes. In response to the repeated pleas of his viceroy, Prince Vorontsov, Tsar Nicholas I agreed to send reinforcements to the Caucasus. In the hostilities that followed, the Ottomans' expeditionary force (the so-called Anatolian Corps) was defeated by the Russians in several pitched battles in the southern Caucasus. The Porte's plans suffered another major setback in the harbour of Sinop in November 1853, when a Russian naval force led by Admiral Nak͟himov attacked and destroyed the Ottoman fleet that was to land at Suk͟hum-Ḳalʿe in order to join forces with the Čerkes levies. In March 1854, a joint Anglo-French naval squadron sailed into the Black Sea. Its appearance forced the Russian military command to dismantle or to blow up a number of Russian fortresses along the Circassian coast (the so-called "Black Sea Defence Line"), including Anapa. Only those fortresses deemed able to withstand a prolonged siege from the sea were preserved and received fresh reinforcements.

These measures and the absence of a Russian naval presence in the Black Sea gave the Anglo-French fleet full control of sea communications off the Circassian coast. The allies tried to establish direct ties with S͟hāmil and Muḥammad Amīn in order to better co-ordinate their military operations in the Caucasian theatre of war. While the Anglo-French emissaries failed to reach S͟hāmil, they succeeded in securing Muḥammad Amīn's commitment to participate in joint Ottoman and Anglo-French operations against the Russians. The allied plans were upset in the summer of 1854, when several Ottoman brigades were defeated by the Russian army in a series of bloody engagements. The Circassian tribes, which expected the Ottoman troops to help them in their unequal struggle against the Russians, were surprised to discover that their Ottoman allies were themselves in desperate need of assistance. These reversals may explain why Sefer (Safar)-bey (beg), an Adyg͟he prince of the Natuk͟hay tribe, whom the Ottomans had appointed as governor of Suk͟hum-Ḳalʿe with the rank of *pas͟ha*, was unable to recruit enough Čerkes fighters to form a separate corps under his command. The Abk͟hāz, who had both Christian and Muslim princes, were divided, with the Christian part of the population favouring the Russians. The Ottoman cause was not helped by S͟hāmil's inactivity. Burdened by the internal problems of his imāmate and incapable of undertaking any large-scale military operations due to the lack of resources and growing war fatigue among his followers, he was unable or unwilling to respond to the Ottoman and Anglo-French pleas for a more aggressive strategy against the Russians.

The next year (1855) of the Crimean campaign did not bring any dramatic changes to the stalemate on the Caucasian front. S͟hāmil remained inactive, while neither Sefer-bey nor Muḥammad Amīn were able to convince the Čerkes chiefs to form a separate corps under Ottoman command. Their efforts were hampered by their personal rivalry and their dependence on mutually hostile social groups within the Čerkes (Adyg͟he) communities. While Sefer-bey, a Čerkes prince, represented the interests of the mountaineer aristocracy, Muḥammad Amīn relied on the free Čerkes peasantry, which was anxious to minimise its feudal obligations *vis-à-vis* the nobles. As a result, the two leaders often worked at cross-purposes. The Russian military successes in Transcaucasia, such as the capture of Kars and Bayazet, and the lack of a decisive allied victory in the Crimea, hampered the efforts of Ottoman military commanders in the western Caucasus. With the fall of Sevastopol in September 1855, Muḥammad Amīn attempted once again to form a Čerkes corps under his command, but to no avail. The Čerkes tribes were not ready to relinquish their independence and to join the Ottoman-led military coalition, whose ultimate goals they did not share. Besides, the plans of the European allies to mount a massive offensive against the Russian troops stationed in the Caucasus never materialised. Without the support from their European partners, the Ottomans proved unable to dislodge the Russian forces from the western Caucasus. At the same time, with no major victories to their credit, they were unable to convince their potential allies among the Čerkes tribes of the necessity to launch an all-out attack against the Russians. ʿUmar (ʿÖmer) Pas͟ha's initially successful campaign against a Russian force near Zugdidi (Georgia) in the autumn of 1855 failed to impress the Čerkes and Abk͟hāz enough to join his expeditionary force. In the end, the European powers' decision not to shift the centre of hostilities from the Crimean Peninsula to the western Caucasus, which would allow the Ottomans to make decisive advances in that area, worked to Russia's advantage. Despite the loss of its naval power in the Black Sea, Russia retained her overall strategic superiority in the region, which eventually enabled her to bring it firmly under control.

g. *The end of the Crimean War and the collapse of mountaineer resistance*

The allied plans to invade the Caucasus were shelved when the warring parties began peace negotiations

and signed a peace treaty in Paris during the winter of 1856. The results of the Crimean War, although by no means favourable to the Russians, failed to reverse Russia's inexorable expansion in the Caucasus and to put an end to her domination over the areas already conquered by Russian troops. If anything, it confirmed for many mountaineer leaders the futility of resistance against Russian rule. If Russia was able to withstand the attack of the greatest European and Muslim powers of the age, how could their small levies have any hope of defeating her on their own? It is even more remarkable that, despite the growing war fatigue and despondency among his supporters and the overall devastation suffered by his realm, S͟hāmil was able to continue his struggle until August 1859, when he surrendered to the Russian forces at the village of Gunīb in Dāg͟histān.

Following the collapse of S͟hāmil's movement, in November 1859, Muḥammad Amīn started negotiations with the Russian military command of the Kuban military district. He pledged allegiance to the Russian Empire, recognised its sovereignty over his lands, and was thus able to keep his position as the spiritual and political leader of the Abadzek͟h tribes. With the death of Sefer-bey at the end of 1859, Čerkes resistance to Russian rule was reduced to a few sporadic and unorganised uprisings among the largest Adyg͟he tribes—the Ubyk͟hs [*q.v.*], S͟hapsugs and Abadzek͟hs, who tried to forge a military alliance, albeit unsuccessfully. Their attempts to stem the Russian advance lasted until 1864, which is considered by many historians to be the final year of the so-called Great Caucasian War (as we have seen, it is probably more appropriate to speak of a series of military conflicts of various intensities throughout the Caucasus). At the beginning of that year, a Russian expeditionary force conquered the town of Tuapse, one of the last Čerkes strongholds on the Black Sea. In the following months, the remaining sparks of resistance were extinguished by the Russian expeditionary corps directed from Ekaterinodar, the capital of the Kuban military district. The Russian military conquest of the Caucasus came to an end.

During and after the Crimean War, Čerkes rebellions against Russian rule were encouraged and assisted by outside powers, especially Britain and, to a lesser extent, France. The provisions of the Paris Peace Treaty seriously impaired Russia's ability to control the Black Sea coast. In the absence of a Russian naval force to patrol the coastal area (under the Paris Treaty, Russia was allowed to have only six corvettes in the entire Black Sea area), Britain and France gained free access to the Čerkes populations of the western Caucasus. Some elements within the British government accepted the advice of the British diplomat and Turkophile, David Urquhart, to assist the Čerkes in establishing an independent state that would serve as a buffer between the Ottoman lands and the Russian colonial possessions in the western Caucasus. To this end, the British and the French enlisted the help of Polish emigrants to England and France who had fled their country after the Russian crackdown against Poland's bid for independence in 1830. In addition, there were many Polish deserters from the Russian Army stationed in the Caucasus who had joined the Čerkes tribes to take an active part in anti-Russian resistance. Throughout the late 1850s and early 1860s, several Polish-led contingents of European volunteers equipped by England and France landed on the Circassian coast in an effort to encourage the local tribes to rise against the Russians. However, they were not always welcomed by the Čerkes, who were wary of the motives of these self-appointed supporters of their independence. Moreover, the efforts of small foreign contingents were not enough to change the overall strategic situation in the Caucasian theatre of war, which was dominated by Russian military might. Faced with a lack of success and, consequently, a lack of support from the local populations, all foreign contingents gradually withdrew from the western Caucasus, leaving their Čerkes allies face-to-face with the Russian Empire.

h. *The tragedy of mass emigration*

In the early 1860s, the Russian administration of the Kuban military district (*oblast'*) embarked on a large-scale plan to resettle the Adyg͟he tribes. These measures were proposed and implemented by the military governor of the Kuban region, General Nikolai Yevdokimov (Evdokimov), who was intent on preventing the Adyg͟hes from resuming their resistance to Russian rule by undermining their economic and geopolitical foundations. Unlike Dāg͟histān with its barren mountains, the Kuban area with its extraordinary fertile arable lands was quite suitable for resettlement with Russian and Ukrainian peasants, who were considered to be much more "reliable" than the warlike Čerkes tribes with their long history of anti-Russian warfare. According to Yevdokimov's plan, the "hostile" Čerkes tribes were to be resettled from the mountains into the plains of Transkuban to live under the watchful eye of the Russian military administration. The lands vacated by the Čerkes were given to Russian settlers, mostly Cossacks from Russia and Ukraine, in return for their military service along Russia's new borders. Another objective of Russian colonial policy was to bar the Čerkes from any contacts with the Ottomans or any hostile European powers by removing them from the coastal areas, which were still easily accessible from the sea. From 1861 to 1864, the Russian authorities established 111 new Cossack settlements (*stanit͟sas*) with a population of 142,333 families.

These measures triggered a massive exodus of the dislocated mountaineer populations to the Ottoman lands. Encouraged and presided over by a few murky and unscrupulous adventurers of dual loyalties (such as Mūsā Kunduk͟hov, a Russian general of Kabardian origin with connections at the Ottoman court) and some members of the local Čerkes and Kabardian nobility anxious to preserve their influence over their former bondsmen, the emigration turned out to be a terrible tragedy for the mountaineer peoples. The emigrants, known as *muhād͟jirūn*, came from practically every North Caucasian community: Kabardians, Čečens, Ossetes, Natuk͟hays, Abadzek͟hs, S͟hapsugs, Ubyk͟hs, Bžeduk͟hs, Ābāzins, Ḳaračāys, Abk͟hāz, Temirgoys, Nog͟hay Tatars and a few others. During the winter and spring of 1864 alone, 257,068 individuals departed for Anatolia from seven Black Sea ports under Russian control. The refugees were motivated by a variety of factors, such as the dislocation and resentment produced by the Russian resettlement schemes and oppressive rule, hopes for a happy life under friendly Muslim rule in Anatolia (inspired in part by Ottoman propaganda), and the religious rulings issued by Muslim religious authorities, which proclaimed living under infidel rule to be a grave sin for any Muslim who had other options. Once the emigrants found themselves on board ships headed for Ottoman Turkey, they were readily preyed upon by Ottoman slave-traders and greedy crews who charged their passengers by the head and therefore packed as many of them as possible into each ship.

Cramped conditions combined with various infectious diseases took a heavy toll on the human cargo. The ships, usually commercial craft not intended for carrying passengers, quickly turned into abodes of death. According to some chilling eye-witness accounts, they left hundreds of dead bodies in their wake. The survivors found themselves at the mercy of Ottoman authorities at the ports of destination, which, for the most part, were totally unprepared for such a massive influx of refugees. The makeshift refugee camps at Trabzon (Ṭarabzun [*q.v.*]), Samsun (Ṣāmsūn [*q.v.*]) and other Ottoman ports became abodes of human suffering. Reduced to starvation, parents sold their sons and daughters into slavery, driving the price of a child to all-time lows (30 to 40 roubles for a 10- to 12-year-old). Unmarried young men had the option of joining the Ottoman army, but, the majority of refugees, especially the sick and the elderly, were doomed to a life of misery and starvation. Estimates of the scale of the emigration and the death rate among the refugees vary dramatically depending on the political and ethnic background of historians. Some sources cite as many as 15 million emigrants, others speak of half a million souls, of whom only one half survived the tragedy of mass resettlement. The latter figure appears to be more realistic, although the real scale of this human tragedy is yet to be determined through a careful examination of Russian and Ottoman archives.

The causes of the Caucasian *hid̲j̲ra* remain a matter of debate, which has grown especially intense since the fall of the Soviet Union. It is clear that the Russian authorities did little to prevent the mountaineers from leaving their lands. Thus the Russian governor of the Kuban *oblast'*, writing in 1889, said that he saw "no particular harm to the interest of the state in the desire of the natives (*tuzemt̲s̲y*) to leave the area. On the contrary, [he saw] much benefit in the removal from the area of this troublesome element." No wonder that the Russian authorities not only did not try to prevent the mountaineers from emigrating, but on many occasions paid their sea-fare. The Ottomans, too, had a vested interest in the emigration since they hoped to resettle the mountaineers along the Ottoman-Russian border and to use them as border-guards and a military force in case of future hostilities between the two empires. To these imperial interests one may add the sheer human depravity of Ottoman slave-traders and the concerns of the mountaineer élites, especially the Kabardian ones, over the potential loss of their serfs after the expected implementation of the Russian anti-bondage laws. The end result, however, is obvious to everyone. The fertile plains south of the Kuban river and the coastal areas along the Black Sea lost most of their indigenous population. The land was gradually resettled by Cossacks, Armenians, Greeks and peasants from central Russia and Ukraine. Between 1867 and 1897, the Russian and Ukrainian population of the Kuban and Stavropol' *oblast's* had grown by 230% and 155% respectively, leaving the local population in the minority. At the turn of the 20th century, in the Kuban *oblast'* Russians constituted more than 90% of the population. By contrast, the number of "natives" had fallen to a miniscule 5.4%. According to a modern Western researcher, "the lands of the Circassians and the Abkhāz, once overwhelmingly Muslim, had become overwhelmingly Christian" (J. McCarthy, *The fate of the Muslims*, *apud* P. Heinze, *Circassian resistance to Russia*, in M. Bennigsen-Broxup (ed.), *The North Caucasus barrier*, London 1992, 104).

Those mountaineers who remained were transferred to the Transkuban steppes and resettled amidst the Cossacks under constant Russian surveillance. As envisioned by Yevdokimov, the resettlement effectively undermined their ability to launch large-scale resistance movements against Russian rule. The decree of 9 March 1873, issued by the Russian administration of the Caucasus, strictly prohibited any contacts between the Russian subjects of Čerkes background and their relatives in the Ottoman Empire. The former Adyg̲h̲e lands remained under Russian military administration until 1871, when the Russians felt safe enough to replace it with civil rule throughout the Kuban region and the Black Sea area, by now thoroughly Russified and practically cleansed of "hostile elements". Nevertheless, the Russian military authorities continued to play a major role in the everyday administration of the region. The movements of the Adyg̲h̲es were thoroughly monitored and restricted by the Russian police and the Cossacks, effectively confining the mountaineers to their *auls*. The *auls* were administered by an elected or appointed headman (*stars̲h̲ina*), who had to be approved by the local Cossack chief (*ataman*). At the same time, during the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-8, Russian imperial authorities were sufficiently confident of the mountaineers' loyalty to the Russian government to enlist them as irregulars to fight against the Ottoman armies in Bulgaria, Romania and even Transcaucasia. The Russian expeditionary force in the Balkans and the southern Caucasus also included many irregular cavalry units from the central and eastern Caucasus, namely, Kabardia, Dāg̲h̲istān, Ingus̲h̲etia, Ossetia, and Čečnya. Many mountaineer fighters distinguished themselves in the battlefield and were decorated for their bravery by the award of Russian medals. At the same time, on the Caucasus front many Čerkes and Abk̲h̲āz emigrants and their descendants took an active part in the Ottoman offensive against the Black Sea ports of Batumi and Suk̲h̲umi (Suk̲h̲um-Ḳalʿe). They were driven in part by the desire to avenge themselves on the Russian Empire for the suffering inflicted upon them by its oppressive rule. While the Ottoman forces were able to make some important gains in the area, in the end, the Russian successes in the Balkans determined the favourable outcome of the war for the Russian Empire, which was reflected in the Treaty of Berlin signed in the summer of 1878 (see further, muhād̲j̲ir. 2.).

i. *The rise of D̲h̲ikrism in Čečnya: Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Kis̲h̲iev, the man who preached peace*

In the late 1850s, not long before the fall of S̲h̲āmil's imāmate, Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī, a poor Ḳumuḳ [*q.v.*] peasant (some sources consider him to be a Čečen) of Ilsk̲h̲ān-Yurt, began to disseminate a new spiritual teaching among the war-weary Čečens and Ingus̲h̲. Initially a follower of the Naḳs̲h̲bandī brotherhood, Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī is said to have been initiated into the Ḳādiriyya *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] during his visit to Mecca on the *ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲* in the late 1850s. The exact circumstances of his initiation into this brotherhood are obscure. According to some of his followers, he received the teaching of the Ḳādiriyya directly from its founder, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī [*q.v.*], who appeared to him in a dream. Contrary to the activist precepts of S̲h̲āmil's *myuridizm*, which preached a holy war against the Russians, Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī encouraged his followers to engage in acts of penitence (*tawba*) and individual self-purification through frugality, humility, abstention from worldly delights and withdrawal from this world. On the social plane, the new preacher

emphasised solicitude for the needs of one's neighbours, mutual assistance and the necessity to share one's wealth with the poor and needy. Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī also advocated peaceful co-existence with the Russians as long as they allowed the Čečens and Ingus̲h̲ the freedom to practice their religion and follow their customs.

As mentioned above, Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's pacifistic message ran counter to S̲h̲āmil's ideology of armed resistance to Russian rule. Moreover, S̲h̲āmil also saw in Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī a rival in the struggle for the loyalties of the mountaineers, a struggle that S̲h̲āmil was already losing due to the growing war fatigue and despondency among his supporters in the face of Russian military superiority. S̲h̲āmil is said to have summoned the young preacher to his headquarters and subjected him to a close interrogation. Upon witnessing the vocal *d̲h̲ikr* and dance that Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī performed in accordance with the precepts of the Ḳādirī brotherhood, S̲h̲āmil allegedly declared it contrary to Naḳs̲h̲bandī precepts and "orthodox" Islam. He then ordered the preacher of *zikrizm* (a Russified version of the Arabic *d̲h̲ikr* [*q.v.*]) to leave the territory of his imāmate to perform a second pilgrimage and to gain a better knowledge of the intricacies of Islamic law.

Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī reappeared in Čečnya after the collapse of S̲h̲āmil's imāmate in either late 1861 or early 1862. With S̲h̲āmil no longer on the scene, his message received an eager hearing among the war-weary Čečens and Ingus̲h̲. Accounts of Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's sermons indicate that, in addition to pacifism, his teaching was tinged with millenarian expectations and a doomsday mentality. He called upon his audiences to prepare for the Day of Judgement by purifying their souls, renouncing the transient allures of this life and adhering strictly to the pious precepts of the Ḳādirī *ṭarīḳa*. Articulated in a simple language easily understood by the ordinary Čečens and Ingus̲h̲, Kunta's teaching soon acquired a broad popular following. Initiation into the new *ṭarīḳa* was very simple. Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī or one of his lieutenants took the new member by the hand and asked him or her to acknowledge the spiritual authority of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, to repeat the *s̲h̲ahāda* [*q.v.*] one hundred times a day, and to participate in the ritual dance of the *ṭarīḳa*. Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's followers recognised him as their spiritual master (*ustād̲h̲*) and considered themselves his faithful disciples (*murīdūn*). Seeking to spread his teaching among the masses, Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī sent emissaries to various Čečen and Ingus̲h̲ communities.

In the course of time, Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's movement acquired institutional dimensions and administrative structure. Following S̲h̲āmil's example, he appointed a number of his foremost followers as his *nā'ibs* in various areas of Čečnya and Ingus̲h̲etia. According to the Russian colonial authorities of the day, Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī divided Čečnya into five (according to some sources eight) *niyābats* or *nā'ib*ships. Each *nā'ib* had under his command several lieutenants (*wakīls*), who were entrusted with spreading the teaching of the new *ṭarīḳa* among mountaineer communities. Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's inner circle included his brother Mowsar (who was the *nā'ib* of the Avturk̲h̲ān district), Myačik (the *nā'ib* of the area between Urus-Martan and Ačk̲h̲oi-Martan), Bamat-Girey Mitaev and Čim-Mīrzā Taumurzaev. The latter two were to found their own branches of Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's *ṭarīḳa* after his arrest and exile. In all, Russian sources estimated the number of Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's followers to be around 6,000 men and women. Most of them resided in the villages of S̲h̲ali, Gek̲h̲i, S̲h̲alad̲j̲i, Urus-Martan and Avtury. Russian sources claim that, despite its pacifistic message, some of S̲h̲āmil's former fighters among the Čečens came to see Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's teaching as a new version of S̲h̲āmil's *g̲h̲azawāt* ideology. The Russian authorities, ever suspicious of any popular religious teaching that could mobilise the mountaineers for a certain political cause, encouraged renowned local scholars, such as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir K̲h̲ordaev and Muṣṭafā ʿAbdullaev, to condemn *zikrizm* as being contrary to the *S̲h̲arīʿa*. In particular, the scholars denounced Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's loud *d̲h̲ikr* techniques and musical instruments that induced ecstatic states in the participants. They also pointed out that Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲i had no scholarly qualifications to substantiate his claims to the spiritual leadership of the Čečens and Ingus̲h̲. Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī responded with his usual humility. He readily acknowledged the authority of his learned critics as interpreters of the outward aspects of the Islamic revelation. However, he presented himself as an exponent of its true essence, which was hidden from the majority of believers. Later accounts, circulated by Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's supporters, ascribe to him a number of miracles that allegedly demonstrated the superiority of his spiritual teaching over the dry scholasticism of his detractors.

In early January 1863, after some hesitation, the Russian authorities decided to put an end to Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's preaching. On the orders of the viceroy of the Caucasus, the Grand Duke Mik̲h̲ail Romanov, Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī and fourteen of his closest followers and *wakīls*, including his brother Mowsar, were arrested and sent to the Russian city of Novočerkassk. Several months later, he was separated from his companions and exiled to the town of Ustyužno in the Novgorod province of northern Russia. There he spent the rest of his days in misery under police surveillance. Throughout his exile he balanced on the brink of starvation, as his daily six kopeks' allowance was barely enough to buy a piece of bread. The Russian authorities ignored his repeated requests for an increase in allowance; his letters with pleas for help addressed to his wife and family were intercepted by the Russian secret police and never reached their destination. In any event, by that time, his wife and other members of his family had already emigrated to Anatolia with thousands of other *muhād̲j̲irūn*. Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī died around 1867, his health undermined by a life of deprivation.

Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's arrest in early 1863 triggered a rebellion of his followers that became known as "The Battle of Daggers" (Rus. *kinžal'nyi boi*). On 18 January 1863, a group of 3,000 to 4,000 of Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's followers, armed only with daggers, sabres and sticks, charged against a Russian detachment near the Čečen village of S̲h̲ali. As they found themselves within the firing distance of the Russian troops, dancing and singing Ḳādirī litanies, they were mowed down by Russian fire. The "*d̲h̲ikr* army" dispersed, leaving behind some 150 dead, including several women dressed as men. The site of the Battle of Daggers near S̲h̲ali has become one of Čečnya's most sacred places, along with the grave of Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's mother at the village of Guni, in the Vedan district of Čečnya. It is said that Kunta Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's *nā'ib* Myačik-Mullā had persuaded the attackers that their *ustād̲h̲* would miraculously protect them from Russian bullets and cannon-fire. Following the massacre, the Russian administration arrested and exiled to Russia many members of the *d̲h̲ikr* movement. Some of them managed to escape and became *abreks* (that is, bandits of honour, who vowed to fight the Russians to the death).

In May 1865, a Čečen shepherd of the Kharačoi *aul* named Taza Ekmirza(ev) proclaimed himself a new *imām* and attempted to raise the population of a mountainous part of Čečnya known as Ičkeriya. Taza claimed to have performed an ascension to heaven (*miʿrādj* [*q.v.*]), during which God himself had ordained him as the new *imām* of Čečnya in the presence of the Prophet and Shaykh Kunta Ḥādjdjī. Taza's claims were endorsed by a number of former followers of Kunta Ḥādjdjī, especially Myačik-Mullā. The Russian administration reacted strongly by sending three infantry detachments, led by Colonel Golovačev, against the rebels. Fearing Russian reprisals, the Čečen population of Ičkeriya seized Taza and his closest supporters and handed them over to the Russian command. Taza was convicted, sentenced to 12 years of hard labour and sent to Siberia. The spring of 1865 witnessed a massive exodus of the Muslim population, including many of Kunta Ḥādjdjī's former supporters, from Čečnya and Ingushetia to Ottoman Turkey. Scared by the rumours of impending forced resettlement and conversion to Christianity, some 23,000 Čečens boarded Ottoman ships bound for Anatolia. Of these, around 2,100 individuals later returned to the Caucasus, bringing with them stories of hardship and deprivation. These stories stemmed the tide of refugees, although some families continued to emigrate to the *Dār al-islām* in the decades leading up to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

j. *The Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-8 and beyond*

The *dhikr* movement, now effectively banned by the Russian authorities, was reduced to a semi-clandestine existence. To protect its leaders from Russian persecutions, the *ṭuruḳ* claiming descent from Kunta Ḥādjdjī and his lieutenants grew extremely secretive and fractious. In 1877-8, some of their members took an active part in the rebellion of ʿAlī-bek Ḥādjdjī Aldanov, during which, for the first time, the Ḳādirīs fought side by side with the members of the Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳa* of Dāghistān led by Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad of Sogratl (Thughūr). His father, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thughūrī (d. 1882), also took an active part in the rebellion. A renowned scholar, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was considered to be the chief Naḳshbandī *shaykh* of Dāghistān and Čečnya after the emigration to the Ottoman realm of Shāmil's spiritual preceptor, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzī Ghumuḳī. After the followers of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥādjdjī proclaimed him *imām* of Dāghistān and Čečnya, he began to send his *nāʾib*s and *wakīl*s to various Dāghistānī communities, inviting them to fight the Russians in the name of "freedom and *Sharīʿa*". The revolt was triggered in part by the Russian policy aimed at limiting drastically the jurisdiction of the *Sharīʿa* and replacing it with the customary law (*ʿādāt* [*q.v.*]). This fact explains the large number of religious leaders among the rebels. Another important motive of the rebellion was Ottoman propaganda, which predicted an impending victory of the Ottoman army in the Caucasus and the Balkans. Some of the inflammatory flyers that circulated among the mountaineer communities were signed by Shāmil's second son, Ghāzī Muḥammad, now a general of the Ottoman army. The rebellion lasted for a whole year, until it was finally quashed by a Russian military force led by General Svistunov.

Following the suppression of ʿAlī-bek Aldanov's movement, the abolition of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad's imāmate and the execution of twenty-eight of its leaders by the Russian military administration, their surviving supporters went underground. The early 1880s witnessed the emergence of three principal branches (known locally as *wird*s) of the Ḳādiriyya under the leadership of Bamat-Girey (Bamatgiri) Ḥādjdjī Mitaev and Čim-Mīrzā in Čečnya and of Baṭalḥādjdjī Belkhoroi(ev) in Ingushetia. Their influence on the mountaineer communities was of great concern for the Russian administration, which suspected the leadership of the new brotherhoods of trying to create an alternative power structure completely outside Russian control. Continual Russian surveillance and persecution turned the brotherhoods into secret societies, whose members often practiced endogamy and were suspicious of outsiders. This is especially true of the Baṭalḥādjdjī *wird*, which was characterised by particularly strict discipline and fear of outsiders. Each male member of this brotherhood carried a long dagger, which he did not hesitate to use to protect his honour or to retaliate against any attack on the honour of his *ustādh*. Each of the three *wird*s that emerged from the Kunta Ḥādjdjī movement practiced a distinctive type of *dhikr*. Thus the members of the Bamat-Girey *wird* are known for their high jumps (hence their Russian sobriquet, *pryguny* "jumpers"); the Baṭalḥādjdjī *dhikr* is distinguished by the intensive clapping of hands, while the Čim-Mīrzā brotherhood is characterised by the use of drums (hence their Russian name *barabanshčiki* "drummers"). Many members of the *abrek* movement, including the famous Čečen "bandit of honour" Zelimkhān, were associated with one or the other *wird*. Consequently, Russian attempts to crack down on the *abrek*s were often accompanied by persecutions against the Kunta Ḥādjdjī *wird*s. Thus in 1911, the *shaykh*s of the three Kunta Ḥādjdjī *wird*s, Bamat-Girey, Baṭalḥādjdjī and Čim-Mīrzā, together with their closest followers (thirty in all) were arrested and exiled to Kaluga.

These persecutions and the dire economic conditions in Čečnya and Ingushetia, which were suffering from chronic food shortages, triggered a new wave of emigration. In 1913 alone, some 1,000 Čečen families left their homeland for Anatolia in search of a better life. Paradoxically, similarly dire economic conditions in neighbouring Dāghistān did not prevent it from retaining its position as the major centre of Islamic learning and literacy in the northern Caucasus. In many areas of Dāghistān, even after the Russian conquest, Arabic remained the principal language of administration and correspondence among isolated mountaineer communities, whose multilingual inhabitants continued to use it as a *lingua franca* up until the late 1920s-early 1930s, when it was finally supplanted by Russian. Before the Russian Revolution there were, according to different estimates, from 800 to 2,000 Ḳurʾānic schools in Dāghistān alone, enrolling around 40,000 students. At the beginning of the 20th century, Dāghistān boasted five printing presses, including the Mavraev Publishing House at Temīr-Khān-Shūrā (Makhač-ḳalʿe [*q.v.*]), which specialised in Arabic books. It also produced books in major Dāghistānī languages: Avar, Darghin, Ḳumuḳ and Laḳ [*q.vv.*]. In 1911 alone, it published 256 titles in these languages.

The strong position of Islamic learning in Dāghistān was recognised by the Russian administration, which prohibited Russian Orthodox missionaries from proselytising in the area, fearing popular unrest among the local Muslim population. Russian attempts to replace local religiously-based education with Russian schools had only limited success. The so-called "new method" gymnasia and technical schools in the urban centres of Dāghistān, Čečnya and Ossetia were dominated by non-native, Russian-speaking students and faculty. At the same time, the last decade of the 19th

century and first decade of the 20th century witnessed the steady growth of a small but active Russian-educated intelligentsia among the Caucasian ethnicities, which became an important vehicle in spreading Russian culture among their respective ethnic groups. Overall, however, the literacy level among the mountaineers remained relatively low throughout the Caucasus. The Russian census of 1897 shows Dāghistān to be in the lead with 9.2%, followed by Adygheya (7%), Ķaračay (4.6%), Kabarda (3.2%), and Balkariya (1.4%).

k. *The Caucasus on the eve of the Russian Revolution*

Following the discovery of commercial amounts of oil in some areas of Čečnya in 1894, the region underwent a rapid economic and social transformation and by 1910 had become a major centre of oil production in the Caucasus, second only to Bākū. Radical changes in the social and economic landscape of the region were underway throughout the first decade of the 20th century, as Čečnya and its neighbours were becoming increasingly integrated into the world economy. This process is attested by the emergence of a number of local companies with links to major European and Russian entrepreneurs and banks. They presided over many local projects, including the creation of the oil industry and attendant infrastructure in and around Grozny. Several newly-built railways linked central Russia to the major urban centres of the Caucasus—Ekaterinodar, Vladikavkaz, Novorossisk (former Sudjuk-Ķal'e), Stavropol' and Bākū. These cities soon became centres of anti-government agitation spearheaded by, for the most part, Russian revolutionary intelligentsia and Russian-speaking industrial and railway workers. While the majority of the mountaineers of the northwestern and central Caucasus did not benefit from these developments (in fact, due to widespread land speculation, many local peasants lost their already tiny lots of agricultural land and were forced to migrate to the rapidly-growing cities), some members of the Čerkes, Čečen and Ingush élites, including some wealthy leaders of Ṣūfī *wirds*, profited from this economic boom. The growing economic inequality and abiding hostility between the Russian settlers (Cossacks) and the mountaineers fuelled rural unrest, especially in Čečnya and Ossetia. As usual, the Russian administration resorted to the tactic of deportation and exile to Russia and Siberia of real or imaginary "troublemakers". Among those deported from Čečnya and Ingushetia in the first decade of the 20th century were *shaykhs* of the Naķshbandiyya (e.g. 'Abd al-'Azīz Shaptukaev, also known as Dokku Shaykh and Deni Arsanov,) and *ustādhs* of the local Ķādirī *wirds*, Baṭalḥādjdjī Belkhoroev, Bamatgirey-Ḥādjdjī and their closest followers. The Russian revolution of 1905-6 galvanised local resistance movements, which were driven in part by the forced Russification of the rural population and the growth of the number of Russian settlers and landlords. In line with Marxist principles, the Russian Communist agitators, who, for the most part, were based in the industrial centres of the region, attempted to reach out to the mountaineer masses and to rally them to their cause. However, these attempts met with limited success among the majority of mountaineers, who remained suspicious of the goals of the agitators, many of whom espoused atheism. As a result, the revolutionary movement in the Caucasus was for the most part confined to the urban centres with a substantial Russian population. Local disturbances continued throughout the first decade of the 20th century, despite severe repression. In 1914-15, the hardships and shortages of World War I triggered another wave of anti-government protests both in cities and the countryside. The military defeats of Russian armies on the Western front and the wartime requisitions instituted by the Russian administration resulted in acts of sabotage and mass desertions among mountaineer recruits.

l. *The Russian Revolution and civil war*

The victory of the democratic revolution in Russia in February 1917 instilled in the Caucasian nations a hope to finally rid themselves of the oppressive imperial rule. In the heady days after the revolution, mountaineer leaders saw their chance to secure independence from Russia. Throughout the Caucasus, there mushroomed numerous "civil committees" and "revolutionary councils", which represented a wide spectrum of political views from "Muslim Communism" of various shades to bourgeois liberalism and parliamentary democracy. At the same time, many mountaineer communities remained committed to the more traditional religious values and leaders. Thus a "congress of the Čečen people" that spontaneously assembled in Grozny in March 1917 demanded the reinstatement of the *Sharīʿa* as the law of the land and the creation of the post of the chief *muftī* of the Terek *oblast'* with wide-ranging jurisdiction. Such demands were actively supported by local scholars, many of whom were leaders of the Caucasian Ķādirī *wirds* and the Naķshbandiyya, namely Sugaip-Mullā, 'Alī Mitaev, Deni Arsanov and 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ḥādjdjī Aksayskii. The spiritual authority and economic power (the individuals just mentioned were wealthy landowners and successful entrepreneurs) wielded by such traditional religious authorities made them indispensable for the new crop of local politicians, who represented the interests of the nascent mountaineer bourgeoisie. Thus the famous Čečen oil tycoon and politician 'Abd al-Madjīd Čermoev was anxious to secure the support of the influential Ṣūfī *shaykhs* Yūsuf Ḥādjdjī and Deni Arsanov.

On 1 May 1917, the "First Congress of the Mountain Peoples" was convened at Vladikavkaz (North Ossetia). Presided over by the Balkar intellectual Basiyat Shakhanov, it lasted for ten days. Of its 400 participants many were authoritative religious scholars and Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, namely, Deni Arsanov and Sugaip-Mullā Gaysumov from Čečnya, Uzun Ḥādjdjī and Nadjm al-Dīn Efendi Gotsinskii from Dāghistān, Ḥamzat Ḥādjdjī Urusov from Ķaračay, etc. The Congress called for the formation of the Union of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, which, in turn, was supposed to be part of a larger political structure called the "All-Caucasus Muslim Union". The resolutions of the Congress included a demand for the establishment of the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* at the government of the Russian Federation, who would preside over a consultative council of six representatives of the three major schools of law on the territory of the former Russian Empire, namely, Shāfiʿī, Ḥanafī and Djaʿfarī (Shīʿī). Another resolution called for the creation of an "academy of *Sharīʿa* sciences" at Vladikavkaz and the declaration of the *Sharīʿa* as the only law of the land.

In June 1917, the famous Muslim scholar and Naķshbandī *shaykh* of Dāghistān, Uzun Ḥādjdjī, arrived in Čečnya. He had already acquired a reputation there for piety and clairvoyance during his earlier sojourn at the Čečen village of Shatoi, whose inhabitants had given him shelter from the persecution of the Russian military police shortly before the Russian Revolution. At a meeting of the inhabitants of the Shatoi district, Uzun Ḥādjdjī declared Nadjm al-Dīn

Gotsinskii, a respected scholar of liberal leanings and son of a *nāʾib* of Imām Shāmil, as *imām* of Čečnya and Dāghistān. The *shaykh* confirmed his nomination by a display of his miraculous powers. According to some "eye-witness" accounts, he performed his prayer on his felt coat (*burka*) which he had spread in the middle of lake Eyzen-Am.

In September 1917, the Second Congress of the Mountain Peoples was assembled at Andy, on the border between Dāghistān and Čečnya. It attracted some 20,000 participants from all over the Caucasus. In addition to traditional religious and political leaders and members of the nascent mountaineer bourgeoisie, the Congress was attended by representatives of leftist political parties, including the Bolsheviks, and a number of political emissaries from the Provisional Government of Russia. Another congress took place at Temīr-Khān-Shūrā, in Dāghistān. Its participants ignored Uzun Ḥādjdjī's appointment of Gotsinskii as *imām* of Dāghistān and Čečnya. Instead, they bestowed upon him the title of chief *muftī*, which carried less political authority. This event upset Uzun Ḥādjdjī, since it nullified his earlier appointment of Gotsinskii as *imām*. Upon hearing the news, Uzun Ḥādjdjī withdrew from Temīr-Khān-Shūrā together with some 10,000 of his supporters. Uzun Ḥādjdjī's departure reflected his frustration with the growing influence of leftist, "socialist" groups on the events in Dāghistān and Čečnya and their attempts to seize the initiative from the traditional mountaineer leadership and to use it to their advantage. Gotsinskii's authority was drastically reduced when a mass meeting of Dāghistānī villagers (apparently orchestrated by the opponents of Gotsinskii) named the Nakshbandī *shaykh* ʿAlī Ḥādjdjī of Akūsha—a village in the Dargin region of Dāghistān—as the second *muftī*.

Similar tensions between various tribal, ethnic and political factions, often working at cross-purposes, were in evidence in other areas of the northern Caucasus. Thus at a meeting of the Čečen National Council, the *murīds* of the Nakshbandī *shaykh* Deni Arsanov attacked and beat up the Council's chairman Aḥmad-Khān Mutushev. As a result, Arsanov became chairman "by default". The breakdown of centralised authority resulted in chaos and political assassinations, which had begun shortly after the February revolution of 1917 and which continued uninterrupted throughout the rest of the year.

Against this background, the long-standing animosity between the Russian and Ukrainian Cossacks and the Čečens burst into the open, leading to a tit-for-tat warfare between the two groups. Several Čečen and Cossack settlements were plundered and put to the torch. In the course of these hostilities, a Cossack detachment murdered *shaykh* Deni Arsanov, along with his 35 *murīds*, after he had attempted to broker a peace agreement between the warring parties. This tragic episode led to a further escalation of violence. In December 1917 the members of the Čečen National Council were forced to flee from Grozny, which had fallen into the hands of revolutionary workers and soldiers, most of whom were of Russian or Ukrainian backgrounds. This event led to the isolation of the capital from the rest of the country and the emergence of two parallel power structures, the Russian-dominated *Sovdeps* (councils of representatives of workers and soldiers) and the one which was controlled by traditional Čečen leaders, such as *shaykh* ʿAlī Mitaev and the former chairman of the Čečen National Council, Aḥmad-Khān Mutushev, both of whom were affiliated with different branches of the Kunta Ḥādjdjī *ṭarīḳa*. Into this complex and near-chaotic political landscape came former officers of the "Wild Division" of the Tsarist army, who tried to form a political alliance with the traditional Čečen leaders against the Bolsheviks in Grozny.

The situation grew even further confused after the collapse in late October 1917 of the Provisional Government of Russia and the seizure of power in the Russian capital by the Bolsheviks and their radical political allies. In the Caucasus, the power vacuum created by the change of guard in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) was filled in the early months of 1918 by a series of short-lived "unions", "congresses" and "councils", which were usually organised by ethnicity. All these political bodies proved to be extremely fractious and incapable of reaching consensus on any given proposal or policy. Under the circumstances, leftist political parties, such as the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, and Social Revolutionaries, which had been cemented by a strict party discipline and decades of struggle against the Russian imperial government, turned out to be the only viable alternative to the authority of the traditional religious leaders of mountaineer society. Steeped in the arts of political agitation and revolutionary demagoguery, the leftist parties soon gained the upper hand in the struggle to win over the masses. Their clear and catchy political slogans, promising social and ethnic equality and an equitable distribution of land, resonated with the aspirations of the impoverished Russian and mountaineer classes. To enhance their influence even further, in January 1918, a group of representatives of the leftist political parties of the northern Caucasus agreed to form the so-called "Socialist Bloc".

After a period of political jockeying, the Bolsheviks, led by Sergei Kirov, succeeded in wresting the leadership of the Bloc from their rivals, the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. On 4 May 1918, the leaders of the Socialist Bloc declared the creation of the Terek Peoples' Republic, with its capital in Vladikavkaz. The new republic was to be part of the Russian Federation. It included Ossetia, Čečnya, Ingushetia, Kabarda, Balkaria, and the lands of the Ḳumuḳs and Noghay Tatars. As Russia descended ever deeper into the chaos of civil war, many mountaineer leaders began to consider the possibility of creating an independent state. In the early months of 1918, a group of politicians led by Tapo Čermoev, Vassan-Girey Djabagi, Pshemakho Kotsev and several other mountaineer leaders of a liberal slant, formed the so-called "Mountain Government" at Tiflīs. On 11 May 1918, they declared an independent "Mountain Republic". The primary goal of the new state, as envisaged by its founders, was the immediate cessation of civil war on its territory and the construction of a new life on democratic principles.

This programme was, however, never implemented. Soon after the fall of the Bolshevik-dominated Terek Peoples' Republic, the country was occupied by the White Army of General Denikin. Since Denikin's political programme rested on the idea of the restoration of Russian imperial rule and revival of a "one and undivided Russia", he hurried to abolish the independent "Mountain Republic" and attacked its supporters in Kabarda and North Ossetia. When the White Army arrived in Čečnya and Ingushetia, it unleashed a brutal punitive campaign against the local population, burning down dozens of villages and executing hundreds of their inhabitants. The protests of the Mountain Republic's leadership addressed to the Western powers, which had actively supported and

equipped Denikin, went unheeded. In the meantime, the Bolsheviks of the Terek Peoples' Republic went underground. Many Bolshevik ministers (commissars) found refuge in the remote mountains of Ičkeriya (Čečnya). From there, they directed a campaign of sabotage and agitation against the Whites. Their calls to resist the White Army and expel it from the country found an eager reception among the mountaineers, who had realised that Denikin's victory would lead to the restoration of the oppressive Russian imperial rule over their lands. Playing on such fears, the Bolsheviks made a pact with the local religious leaders, such the Ḳādirī *shaykh* ʿAlī Mitaev and the Naḳshbandī elder *shaykh* Sugaip-Mullā, who enjoyed wide support among the mountaineer masses. The Bolsheviks did not hesitate to promise their allies, in the case of victory, full political autonomy and freedom to practice their religion and to implement the rule of the *Sharīʿa*.

In June 1919, the popular Čečen revolutionary Aslanbek Sheripov and the Dāghistānī leader Uzun Ḥādjdjī agreed to form a unified front against the occupying White Army. In September, Uzun Ḥādjdjī proclaimed himself *imām* and military commander (*amīr*) of the "North Caucasus Emirate" with the capital at Vedeno (Vedan), the Čečen village that some 80 years earlier had served as a headquarters of Shāmil's imāmate. Simultaneously, Uzun Ḥādjdjī declared a "holy war" (*ghazawāt*) against the White legionnaires. Uzun Ḥādjdjī's headquarters became the recruitment point of mountaineer figbters from all over the northern Caucasus, especially Kabarda, Balkaria, Ingushetia, and Dāghistān. Many volunteer detachments were led by Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, who often arrived in Vedeno accompanied by their *murīds*. Some of them were given ministerial posts in the Emirate government. The leaders of this new state, which they classified as a "*Sharīʿa* monarchy" (Rus. *shariatskaya monarkhia*), declared their primary aim to be full independence from Russia under the rule of the *Sharīʿa*. The territory of the Emirate was divided into seven provinces that were administered by Uzun Ḥādjdjī's *nāʾib*s. In addition, he sent his ambassadors to the neighbouring states, such as Ādharbāydjān, with which he maintained close ties throughout his political career.

Impressed by Uzun Ḥādjdjī's influence on the mountaineers of different ethnic and tribal backgrounds, the Bolsheviks endeavoured to secure his support in the struggle against their common enemy, the Whites. On 4 February 1920, the Bolsheviks formed a special "committee for the restoration of Soviet rule in the Northern Caucasus" under the chairmanship of Ordžonikidze with Kirov as his chief lieutenant. They succeeded in convincing the mountaineer leadership of the necessity to join forces against the White Army. From then on, the Caucasian Red Partisans and the Fifth Red Army led by the Bolshevik commander Nikolai Gikalo fought alongside the *murīds* of Uzun Ḥādjdjī and of other local *wirds*. Some members of the Čim Mīrzā *wird* of the Kunta Ḥādjdjī *ṭarīḳa* even decorated their sheepskin hats (*papakhas*) with red bands to demonstrate their solidarity with the Bolsheviks.

In March 1920, after having suffered a series of crushing defeats at the hands of the Muslim-Bolshevik coalition, the White Army abandoned the major cities of Čečnya and Dāghistān and began to withdraw to the coast of the Caspian Sea. The city of Darband was liberated after a nineteen-day, street-by-street battle, giving the Whites no alternative but to put their entire army on ships and sail from the port of Petrovsk. Their departure ushered in a new stage of the war, during which the former allies soon found themselves locked in a life-and-death struggle for control of the country they had just liberated. This, however, did not happen overnight, as the Soviets initially did not feel strong enough to turn against their Muslim comrades-in-arms. A cable from Vladimir Lenin addressed to the Bolshevik Revolutionary Committee (*revkom*) of Grozny instructed its members to respect the mountaineers' desire for religious and political autonomy and independence. This was, however, apparently only a temporary tactical manoeuvre that was to be supplanted by a more aggressive strategy on the part of the Bolshevik party leadership, which was determined to bring the entire Caucasus under communist rule.

m. *The anti-Soviet rebellion of 1920-1 in Upper Dāghistān*

The death of Uzun Ḥādjdjī in May 1920 did not lead to the dissolution of his Emirate. His functions as head of a theocratic state were taken up by a number of authoritative religious leaders, such as the Ṣūfī *shaykh* ʿAlī Mitaev, who had about 10,000 followers in Čečnya and Ingushetia. Like Uzun Ḥādjdjī, Mitaev maintained close relationships with Nadjm al-Dīn Gotsinskii, who was generally recognised as the new *imām* of Čečnya and Dāghistān. However, for reasons that are not entirely clear, ʿAlī Mitaev did not take an active part in Gotsinskii's bid for independence from Soviet Russia in the months that followed. Gotsinskii assembled under his command about 20,000 seasoned fighters, who were to become the core of his rebel army.

Throughout 1920, tensions were mounting between the former allies of the anti-White coalition in many parts of Dāghistān and Čečnya. They were fuelled by the highhandedness of the Red Army's commanders and political commissars, who were ignorant of the customs, religious beliefs and social institutions of the local populations and tended to dismiss them as contrary to Communist ideology. Steeped in atheistic propaganda, they viewed the mountaineers' attachment to the Islamic religion as a "reactionary superstition" that had to be discouraged, if not uprooted altogether. The constant influx of fervent revolutionary propagandists and atheistic-minded political representatives (*upolnomočennye*) from Rostov and other cities of southern Russia added to the growing discontent with Soviet rule among the mountaineers and their leaders. The disaffected political groups established their base in the rugged mountainous areas of western Dāghistān, from where they attempted to orchestrate resistance to the Bolshevik authorities.

In August 1920, Nadjm al-Dīn Gotsinskii and Colonel Kaitmas ʿAlīkhānov convened an assembly at the remote village of Gidatl, during which ʿAlīkhānov was proclaimed "war minister" of the newly formed "Sharīʿa Army of the Mountain Peoples". The uprising spread quickly among the mountaineers of Avaristān and the Andy range. The area's rugged terrain made it a natural fortress for the rebel army. In a matter of weeks, Soviet rule in Upper Dāghistān was effectively eliminated and replaced by authorities loyal to Imām Gotsinskii, including Saʿīd-bek (a great-grandson of Imām Shāmil, who had joined the rebellion at Gotsinskii's invitation), Colonel ʿAlīkhānov, a few traditional leaders affiliated with Ṣūfī *ṭuruḳ* and some former officers of the Tsarist army, including Colonel Djaʿfarov, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the rebel military forces. Food and supplies were provided by the local population, but each fighter had to have his own weapons. The army was divided into 100 strong infantry units, supported by

small cavalry detachments. Throughout the rebellion, the rebels suffered from shortages of weapons and ammunition and had to rely heavily on the supplies captured from the Red Army. This disadvantage was counterbalanced in part by the rebels' intimate knowledge of the local terrain and their mastery of the art of mountain warfare.

The Bolsheviks' initial reaction to the rebellion was ineffective and confused. Their detachments stationed in the area suffered heavy casualties and had to abandon their base at Botli<u>kh</u>, which was occupied by the rebel troops. In less than six weeks, most of Upper Dā<u>gh</u>istān on the border with Čečnya was cleansed of Red Army units and their local allies, the Red Partisans, and fell under the control of the rebels. The only Red Army units that still remained in Upper Dā<u>gh</u>istān were trapped within their fortresses. To relieve them, during the first two weeks of October 1920, Red Army reinforcements were sent to Temīr-<u>Kh</u>ān-<u>Sh</u>ūrā from Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān. Upon arrival, they were dispatched to the rebel-controlled areas with the orders to occupy the strategic village of Arakany (Harakān). As a 700-strong Red Army expeditionary force led by the head of the Dā<u>gh</u>istān ČeKa ("Committee for Struggle Against Counter-Revolution, Sabotage and Speculation") was approaching Arakany, on 30 October 1920, it was enticed into a narrow gorge by the rebel levies under the command of <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Muḥammad of Bala<u>kh</u>any and massacred to the last man.

Following this military disaster, which was a re-run of many similar ones suffered by the Imperial Russian army in the 19th century, the Bolshevik military command of the Caucasus began to prepare a massive military expedition into the mountains of Upper Dā<u>gh</u>istān with the mission to crush the rebellion once and for all. The new Red Army force under the command of Todorskii was supported by the pro-Russian and pro-Bolshevik mountaineer fighters (Red Partisans), who had distinguished themselves in the struggle against the White Army of General Denikin. The Red Partisans took an active part in the ensuing hostilities and were instrumental in relieving the Red Army garrisons besieged at <u>Kh</u>unza<u>kh</u> and Gunīb. Intent on quelling the rebellion at any cost, the Red Army command continued to pour more reinforcements into Dā<u>gh</u>istān. They were deployed against the rebel army at <u>Gh</u>imrāḥ (Gimry), Botli<u>kh</u> and Arakany, which counted some 3,500 fighters among its ranks. The Red Army detachments continued to suffer heavy casualties (almost 400 men) at the hands of the rebels throughout November 1920; during that month the Red Army garrisons were effectively reduced to holding their positions at Gunīb and <u>Kh</u>unza<u>kh</u>. Their occasional punitive forays into the mountains failed to suppress the rebels, instead arousing the hatred of the local population, which actively supported the rebels. The loss of the élite "First Model Revolutionary Discipline Rifle Regiment" near Botli<u>kh</u> in late November 1920 was a dramatic evidence of Red Army's inability to achieve its strategic objectives as well as the counterproductive nature of its scorched-earth policy against the civilian population. On the other hand, the reversals suffered by the Red Army infused the rebel forces with confidence, and gave them much-needed supplies and ammunition. In the end, the Red Army regiments led by Na<u>dj</u>m al-Dīn Samurskii were forced to seek refuge in their last remaining strongholds at Gunīb and <u>Kh</u>unza<u>kh</u>. Their siege by the rebel army lasted for two months, during which the Red Army fighters suffered terrible deprivations. At the end of 1920, the Red Army command made another attempt to quash the rebellion. Fresh Red Army divisions from Russia and Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān were dispatched into the region with the orders to cut the rebels off from their supply base in Čečnya, to punish the local population for their co-operation with the rebel force, and to surround and eliminate the enemy force. Valley after valley was occupied by the fresh Red Army troops and a renewed scorched-earth policy applied to the conquered villages, forcing the rebels to withdraw ever deeper into the barren mountains. Supported by armoured vehicles, the Red Army scored an important victory in early January 1921 at <u>Kh</u>od<u>zh</u>al-Ma<u>kh</u>i. The remaining rebels, some 1,000 men, retreated to the *aul* of Gergebil, where they took their final stand against the superior Red Army force. In the course of the all-out advance that began on 7 January, the Red Army forces suffered heavy casualties, and were still unable to capture the well-fortified *aul* until 26 January 1921. In the course of the siege, the Red Army units lost a total of 877 men, with the rebels' casualties probably twice, if not more that number. The remaining rebel forces evacuated the area around Gergebil and retreated to Arakany and <u>Gh</u>imrāḥ (Gimry). Arakany was captured by a Red Army unit on 14 February 1921 after a fierce hand-to-hand street battle, leaving most of Upper Dā<u>gh</u>istān under Soviet control. Gimry, an almost impregnable mountain fortress and the birthplace of <u>Sh</u>āmil, remained the last rebel stronghold. Due to its natural defences, it could only be forced to surrender by around-the-clock artillery fire. Within a week, 90% of the buildings in the *aul* were reduced to rubble. The rebels responded by lightning night raids against the artillery units positioned around the village.

After the capture of Gimry on 17 February 1921, its surviving defenders withdrew to western Dā<u>gh</u>istān. The Soviet victory was due in part to the fall to the Soviets of the independent Georgian Republic in late February 1921, which left the rebel forces exposed to Red Army attacks from Georgian territory, now firmly under Soviet control. The last rebel detachment led by Colonel <u>Dj</u>aʿfarov counted some 250 to 300 men, including a few surviving leaders of the rebellion, such as the "war minister" Colonel ʿAlī<u>kh</u>ānov and Lieutenant Abakarov. They assembled at the *aul* of Gidatl, the birthplace of their resistance movement, in April 1921. The *aul* fell in May after several days of fierce fighting. Some rebel commanders managed to escape, only to be hunted down, captured and executed by the Soviet interior troops within the next few years. Of the principal figures of the Dā<u>gh</u>istān rebellion, only Saʿīd-Bek, great-grandson of Imām <u>Sh</u>āmil, was able to make his way to Turkey.

The war between the Soviets and their Muslim opponents was accompanied by atrocities on both sides. The bodies of the fallen Red Army combatants were routinely mutilated by the rebels in response to their indiscriminate violence against the population of the *auls* suspected of supporting the guerrillas. As a result of several years of hostilities, most of Dā<u>gh</u>istān lay in ruins; it took more than a decade of strenuous effort to rebuild the country. The brutal suppression of Dā<u>gh</u>istān's bid for independence left a legacy of mutual hatred between the local population and the Soviets. This hatred manifested itself in the series of small-scale uprisings that continued throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s.

n. *"Class struggle" and Communist purges in Čečnya and Ingu<u>sh</u>etia, 1920-38*

In Čečnya and Ingu<u>sh</u>etia, now firmly under Soviet

control, the Muslim population was in no position to participate actively in the Dāghistān rebellion, although some minor disturbances did take place on the border between Čečnya and the rebel-controlled parts of Dāghistān. In Čečnya, tensions between traditional leaders and pro-Communist elements came to the fore in the course of public debates over the future of the Autonomous Mountain Soviet Socialist Republic, which was proclaimed on 17 November 1920. It included the territories of present-day Čečnya, Ingushetia, Ossetia, Kabarda, Balkaria and Ḳaračay.

The government of the infant republic was dominated by revolutionary-minded intellectuals, who had supported the Bolsheviks from the early days of the February Revolution in Russia and were willing to co-operate with the Soviets in return for domestic autonomy. Under Lenin, the Russian political leadership was ready to accommodate their nationalist agendas and grant them independence *vis-à-vis* the Bolshevik régime in Moscow. The secularised revolutionary leaders of the Mountain Republic faced opposition from the more religiously-minded political factions, whom Bolshevik sources described as "supporters of the *Sharīʿa*" (*shariatisty*). At issue was the role and scope of the *Sharīʿa* legislation in the life of the new state. The *shariatisty* demanded the full and unconditional implementation of *Sharīʿa* legislation in all spheres of public life, whereas their leftist opponents sought to restrict it to the realm of private conviction and prohibit its public dissemination. The leftists eventually triumphed over the supporters of the *Sharīʿa* and declared Communist values and secular legislation to be the only law of the land. In August 1922, a decree issued by the Central Committee of the Soviet Mountain Republic officially abolished local *Sharīʿa* courts, although in Čečnya and Ingushetia they remained active until 1926.

Gradually, the struggle against the *Sharīʿa* turned into a concerted political campaign against its learned exponents, the *ʿulamāʾ*. Since, by virtue of their special status in mountaineer society Muslim scholars continued to dominate local councils (soviets) in the Čečen and Ingush countryside, in September 1921 the Communist Central Committee based in Grozny issued a decree replacing local Soviets with Bolshevik-dominated revolutionary committees (*revkoms*). The anti-clerical campaign unleashed by the Bolsheviks was aimed at reducing the influence of traditional Muslim leaders on the masses and at isolating them politically. Some Muslim scholars sought to retain their social roles by cooperating with the Soviets. Among them was the Ṣūfī *shaykh* ʿAlī Mitaev. As the son of the renowned founder of the Bamatgirey *wird* (a branch of the Kunta Ḥādjdjī *ṭarīḳa*), Mitaev enjoyed wide popularity among the Čečens and Ingush. A veteran of the revolutionary war against the White Army, the Bolsheviks considered him reliable enough to appoint to the Revolutionary Committee of the Čečen *oblast'*. Once a month, he is said to have arrived at its meetings in Grozny accompanied by thirty mounted disciples (*murīds*), who patiently waited for him outside the Communist Party headquarters until the end of the meeting. ʿAlī Mitaev's political agenda included the demand for an autonomous Mountain Republic under the rule of the *Sharīʿa*.

In 1924, the Bolshevik party, now headed by Stalin, embarked on a campaign to curtail national autonomies and subject them to the direct rule of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow. That year witnessed the dismantling of the Soviet Mountain Republic and the creation of a number of regional autonomies, Ḳaračay-Circassia, Kabarda-Balkaria, Adyghea, Čečnya, Ingushetia and North Ossetia. This political manoeuvre was followed by a campaign to disarm the mountaineer communities, which was rightly seen by the mountaineers as a prelude to a new wave of repression. To forestall any possibility of rebellion, the communist security agency (OGPU, the forerunner of the KGB) accused many former members of the governing bodies of the Mountain Republic of disloyalty to the Communist party and of fomenting an armed rebellion against the Soviet authorities of Čečnya and Ingushetia. Among those implicated in the "anti-party activities" was ʿAlī Mitaev. He was enticed into a trap by OGPU operatives, arrested and executed in 1925. The OGPU also arrested the prominent Naḳshbandī elder and Islamic scholar Sugaip-Mullā Gaysumov. His life was spared, due in part to his old age and his active role in the struggle against the White Army. However, as with most members of the *ʿulamāʾ* class, he was to be kept under close police surveillance.

From that time on, the OGPU pursued a relentless campaign to isolate and neutralise the Muslim "clergy" of Čečnya, Ingushetia and Dāghistān as well as other autonomous republics of the northern Caucasus. Many prominent local scholars versed in Arabic and Islamic culture were arrested on trumped-up charges of conspiracy, espionage or membership in the parties and factions that had been condemned by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party as "deviant" or "dangerous". Later on, in 1926, the local party cadre, including the President of the Central Executive Committee of Čečnya, Tashtemīr Elderkhanov and his several aides, were accused of sympathising with the "reactionary clergy" and "bourgeois nationalists" and removed from their offices. They were replaced with Russian party apparatchiks, such as Ivanov and Černoglaz, whose wanton disrespect for local customs and beliefs and fervid implementation of anti-religious policies triggered several small-scale uprisings, which were brutally suppressed by the Soviet interior troops. Many participants of these movements, including those responsible for the assassination of Ivanov and Černoglaz, belonged to the local *wirds*, primarily those of Kunta Ḥādjdjī and Baṭalḥādjdjī. In a sense, the "*ṭarīḳat* conspiracy" was an invention of Černoglaz, who expected to receive substantial awards and promotion from the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party for "unmasking" it. His assassination at the hands of Kunta Ḥādjdjī *ṭarīḳa* members was an act of revenge for his dogged persecution of its leaders and ruthless implementation of anti-religious policies.

This act triggered a series of new persecutions against the members of the implicated *ṭuruḳ* and their leaders, whom the Soviet authorities viewed as the bastions of "religious fanaticism" and "reactionary ideology". In less than one month, the OGPU forces arrested 300 Čečens, Ingush and Dāghistānīs, including 39 religious leaders, and accused them of plotting an armed rebellion under "religious and nationalist banners". Simultaneously, the Soviet administration of the northern Caucasus sought to undermine the economic foundations of the *ʿulamāʾ* class by confiscating local religious endowments and prohibiting the collection of the *zakāt* [*q.v.*]. These measures, combined with the introduction of the hated *kolkhozs* and crackdown on the *kulaks* (wealthy peasants) by the Soviet authorities, provoked a wave of local uprisings and unrest that continued throughout 1929-30. Some of the uprisings were led by the former Red Partisans,

such as Shita Istamulov and his brother Ḥasan of the village of Shali in Čečnya. On 5 December 1936, the Čečen-Ingush Autonomous Region (*oblast'*) was "upgraded" to the status of an autonomous republic. This act was accompanied by another wave of reprisals against the so-called "anti-Soviet elements" of local societies. In the process, the NKVD (the Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs) forces rounded up and imprisoned thousands of men and women. Most of the arrested were tried under Article 58 of the Soviet criminal code, which envisaged punishments by death and hard labour for such crimes as treason, espionage, fomenting an armed rebellion, sabotage, terrorism, anti-Soviet propaganda, etc. Hundreds of mountaineers were executed; others were sent to Siberia or concentration camps. Some Čečen and Ingush men escaped into the mountains, from where they launched revenge attacks against NKVD operatives and Communist Party functionaries. A decade of political purges left the Čečen and Ingush population demoralised and exhausted by the unequal struggle against the Soviet state and its giant apparatus of political repression. The ranks of the traditional religious leaders were decimated, while those who survived the horrors of Stalin's extermination campaigns were either forced underground or placed under the close surveillance of the Communist secret police.

o. *World War II and the mass deportation*

Against all odds, resistance to Soviet rule continued throughout the 1930s under the leadership of some members of the Soviet-educated intelligentsia, whose goal was to free their country of the Soviet yoke. Inspired by the Red Army reversals during the Finno-Soviet war of 1939-40, a former Čečen writer and party official, Ḥasan Israilov, started an armed insurrection in the remote mountain area of Galančož, near Shatoi.

His movement received a new impetus after Nazi Germany began a large-scale military operation against the Soviets on the eastern front and in the Caucasus. In February 1942, when the German troops approached the Russian city of Taganrog, approximately 350 miles from the Čečen-Ingush Republic, another rebel group headed by Mairbek Sheripov joined Israilov's insurrection. To suppress it, the Soviet military command resorted to an indiscriminate bombing of Čečen villages in the areas under rebel control. In 1943-4, Stalin and his Politburo, accomplished what some Russian military rulers (General Ermolov) and radical politicians (Pavel Pestel, a leader of the "Decembrist" movement) had only dreamed of a century earlier—a massive expulsion of the "hostile" mountain population to Russia and Siberia with the intention of eradicating its resistance to Russian rule. In 1943, a Communist Party decree abolished the Čečen-Ingush Republic, along with the neighbouring republics of Ķaračay and Balkaria. The abolition was justified by the fact that the population of these republics had not only "co-operated" with the Nazis, but also "invited" them to conquer their lands and promised them full support. While the German troops had indeed occupied briefly the lands of the Ķaračays and Balkars, they had never set foot on Čečen-Ingush territory. In any event, it made absolutely no legal sense to hold entire nations responsible for the "co-operation" with Germany of some of its representatives. However, the legal issues pertaining to the deportation of mountain nations were of no concern to Stalin and his henchmen (the deportation of the mountaineers was organised and executed by the NKVD chief Lavrentii Beria). They were determined to punish the mountaineers for their long resistance to the cruel and arbitrary Communist rule and for their continuing struggle for freedom and independence. In late 1943-early 1944, the population of four Caucasian nations, Čečens, Ingush, Balkars and Ķaračays—men, women and children—were rounded up *en masse* by special Red Army detachments, placed in freight cars and transported to Central Asia. Only three-quarters (some say 50%) of the deported Čečens and Ingush are said to have reached their destination. The rest died *en route* of disease, crowded conditions and starvation. The survivors were placed in special settlements where they remained under the close surveillance of the forces of the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs until the end of exile in 1957. Those few Čečens and Ingush who were able to escape into the mountains, continued an *abrek*-style resistance to the Soviets by assassinating Red Army and police officers, robbing and burning down the farms of new settlers from Russia and neighbouring republics, engaging in sabotage, etc.

Deprived of the benefits of culture and education, many members of the exiled nations turned to Islam for consolation and guidance. For many, Islam became a badge of honour and a powerful source of identity and resistance to the Communist régime's attempts to erase any distinguishing ethnic and religious characteristics of its subjects. As a result, during the years of exile, the position of traditional religious leaders, which had been undermined by two decades of Communist rule and by competition from secular nationalists, was reinforced. This is especially true of the exiled Čečens and Ingush, among whom the traditional Ṣūfī *wirds* remained active throughout the exile. Moreover, a new *wird* named after Vis (Uways) Ḥādjdjī, a branch of the Čim Mīrzā Ḥādjdjī *silsila*, is said to have come into being during this period. Ṣūfism survived also among the exiled Ķaračays, many of whom were affiliated with the local branch of the Naḳshbandiyya *ṭarīḳa*. At the same time, there is no evidence to support the oft-repeated claims that, in the 1960s, after the return from Central Asia, from 90% to 95% of the Čečen and Ingush believers were affiliated with a Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa*. Given the fact that this period coincided with Khrushčev's campaign to crack down on "religious superstitions" in all Soviet republics and that leaders of the atheist campaign tended to provide grossly inflated statistics in order to secure additional resources from the Communist Party authorities, such statements have to be treated with extreme caution.

The exile lasted for thirteen years for the Čečens and Ingush and fourteen for the Balkars and Ķaračays. In January 1957, the Twentieth Communist Party Congress, presided over by Nikita Khrushčev, declared the "rehabilitation" of the four deported mountain nations along with the other victims of Stalin's terror, namely, the Kalmuks, the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans. The Čečens, Ingush, Ķaračays and Balkars were allowed to return to their native lands and their autonomous republics were re-established by the Soviet government. Upon arrival, many exiles found their lands and houses occupied by the people who were resettled there on Stalin's orders. This created a fertile ground for conflicts over land between the new settlers and the returning indigenous population. Thus in Ingushetia, the lands that had been vacated by the exiled Ingush population were occupied by the settlers from neighbouring North Ossetia. With the weakening of the Soviet state in the late 1980s, the long-standing conflict between these

two ethnic groups escalated into violence and bloodshed to the extent that the Soviet government was forced to send regular army units to the area in order to separate the combatants. In Čečnya, the majority of new settlers were Russian Cossacks from the neighbouring Stavropol' region (*krai*). The Russo-Čečen military conflicts of 1994-6 and 1999-2002 led to an upsurge of Čečen nationalism and anti-Russian sentiment. As a result, many Cossack families were forced to flee to Russia along with thousands of Russian and Ukrainian families that had resided in Čečnya's urban centres, especially in Grozny and Gudermes.

p. *Conclusion*

The developments in the Caucasus following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991 cannot be detailed here, especially since many aspects of local social and political life are still in flux and require a careful analysis. In the absence of precise data and opportunities for on-site research, any general conclusions are at best premature. The old biases and stereotypes of Soviet historiography are now being replaced by new ones. They spring from the proliferation of nationalist mythologies associated with the process of nation-building and forging new religious and national identities. Unfortunately, despite the opening up of the area to Western scholars in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet régime, the ongoing warfare and continuing hostage-taking in various parts of the Caucasus, most notably in Čečnya, Ingushetia, Dāghistān, Ḳarābāgh, Abkhāzia and Ossetia, make research trips to the area extremely dangerous. In many senses, the Caucasus has all the typical characteristics of the so-called "post-Soviet" political, social and economic space, i.e. general political instability, near-disastrous economic conditions resulting from a steep decline in industrial and agricultural output, high unemployment and crime rates, a feeling of nostalgia for the stability and certainties of the late Soviet era, corruption at all levels of the state apparatus, etc.

Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the political landscape of the area has been determined by several military conflicts, of which the two Russo-Čečen wars, the war between Abkhāzia and Georgia and the struggle for [Nagorno-]Ḳarābāgh [*q.v.*] between Armenia and Ādharbāydjān, deserve special mention. In all these cases, religion plays an important role, at least on the rhetorical level, as the parties to the conflict adhere to different religious traditions, i.e. "Christian" Russia versus "Muslim" Čečnya; "Muslim" Abkhāzia versus "Christian" Georgia; "Christian" Armenia versus "Muslim" Ādharbāydjān. As the political space in the new ethnic formations is being contested by multiple forces and factions, Islam has come to serve as a powerful source of rhetoric and legitimacy for the participants. Furthermore, different political factions uphold different interpretations of Islam, which further complicates the local discursive landscape.

So far, the most prominent and consequential divide has been between the supporters of "traditional" Islam and the so-called "Wahhābīs". The former emphasise loyalty to the local version of Islamic religion as explained and maintained by mountaineer *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfī elders (*ustādhs*). The "traditionalists" encourage the reverence of local saints, the continuing use of the local customs (*ʿādāt*), participation in Ṣūfī rituals and respect for the traditional clan structure. The "Wahhābīs", who style themselves *salafiyyūn* [see SALAFIYYA], claim to follow the teaching of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*] and its modernised version upheld by Suʿūdī-based scholars. They are particularly active in Čečnya and Dāghistān. In 1996-9, in the Buynaksk region of Dāghistān, several local "Wahhābī" groups attempted to create small enclaves of *Sharīʿa* rule. Their leaders declared their independence of the official Dāghistānī government at Makhač-ḳalʿe [*q.v.*]. In late 1999, they fought against Russian troops, which had been sent to suppress them, alongside the Čečen Wahhābīs led by the field commander, *Amīr* Shāmil Basaev. According to the Caucasian "Wahhābīs", their teaching represents the "pure and simple" Islam of the primaeval Muslim community. They demand that their followers and Muslims at large strictly adhere to their version of the "Islamic" dress code (described as "Arab" by its opponents) for men and women, carefully observe the basic Muslim rites and restrictions and participate in *djihād* against the "enemies" of the Muslim community worldwide. The supporters of Caucasian "Wahhābism" reject as *bidʿa* [*q.v.*] many key elements of "traditional" Caucasian Islam, namely, belief in the supernatural and intercessory powers of Ṣūfī *shaykhs* and *ustādhs*, the practice of *dhikr* and the use of the local *ʿādāt* alongside the *Sharīʿa*.

To what extent "Wahhābism" can be seen as a mere foreign import (as argued by its detractors), deliberately introduced into the Caucasus by missionaries and volunteer fighters (*mudjāhidūn*) from Suʿūdī Arabia, the Arab states of the Gulf, Afghānistān and Pākistān, and cultivated through an elaborate system of material incentives and sophisticated propaganda, remains unclear. One cannot deny that "Wahhābism" has found a wide following among the Čečen and Ingush youth, as well as some middle-aged men and women, whose lives have been shattered by the brutality of the Russo-Čečen wars. By infusing its followers with a sense of camaraderie and common cause that goes beyond the immediate goals of nationhood and independence, "Wahhābism" serves as a powerful source of identity and mobilisation that renders it especially well suited for the trying times of war. At the same time, by its sweeping rejection of local customs and practices, Caucasian "Wahhābism" inevitably creates a rift between different groups of mountaineers. Often, but not always, this rift is generational in its nature. The fact that "Wahhābism" has been embraced by the younger generation of Čečen military and political leaders (Shāmil Basaev, Mowladi Udugov, Arbi Baraev, etc.) in opposition to the "Ṣūfī" Islam of the supporters of President Maskhadov may indicate that the former are eager to free themselves from the traditional sources of legitimacy and authority in order to enter into a dialogue with, and perhaps secure assistance from, the Muslim community worldwide.

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in a global context); A. Fadeev, *Rossia i Kavkaz v pervoi treti XIX v.*, Moscow 1960 (a general overview of the history of the Caucasus until 1840 that emphasises the role of European powers in supporting and perpetuating mountaineer resistance to Russian conquest); Ya. Gordin, *Kavkaz: zemlia i krov'*, St. Petersburg 2000 (an essay on the moral and ethical implications of the Caucasian war for Russia and Russian history by a liberal Russian thinker); G. Mirfenderski, *A diplomatic history of the Caspian Sea*, New York 2001 (a collection of essays pertaining to the Russo-Persian contacts in and around the Caspian Sea from the 18th century to the present day); Kh.M. Ibragimbekov, *Kavkaz v Krymskoi Voine (1853-1856)*, Moscow 1971 (a detailed account of the impact of the Crimean War on the Caucasus, which emphasises the role of the local population in thwarting the Ottoman advance and condemns the "plotting" of British agents in Circassia); V.N. Ratushniak *et al.* (eds.), *Kavkazskaia voina: uroki istorii i sovremennost'*, Krasnodar 1995 (an attempt to reassess the history of the Caucasus in the light of the political and ideological agendas of post-Communist Russian society); D. Makarov, *Ofitsial'nyi i neofitsial'nyi islam v Dagestane*, Moscow 2002 (an attempt to examine the current political situation in the north Caucasus through the prism of the conflict between the Salafīs and Ṣūfīs in post-Soviet Dāghistān); M. Mamakaev, *Čečenskii taip (rod) v period ego razlozheniya*, Grozny 1973 (a standard account of the social structure of Čečen society from a Marxist viewpoint); A. Naročnitskii (ed.), *Istoria narodov Severnogo Kavkaza (konets XVIII v.-1917 g.)*, Moscow 1988 (the most comprehensive Soviet account of the history of the area with special emphasis on "class struggle" within Caucasian societies and the "progressive" elements of Russian culture that influenced them); N. Pokrovskii, *Kavkazskie voiny i imamam Shamila*, Moscow 2000 (a comprehensive study of the Caucasian societies and Muslim struggle against the Russian conquest by an unorthodox Soviet historian, who treats Shāmil and his predecessors as heroes of a national liberation struggle); Y. Ro'i, *Islam in the Soviet Union*, New York 2000 (a well-documented study of the status of the Muslim minorities of the Soviet Union based largely on the NKVD/KGB archives; it is somewhat marred by the author's poor knowledge of Islam and its history); F. Shčerbina, *Istoria Kubanskogo kazač'iago voiska*, ii, Ekaterinodar 1913 (a detailed account of the Russian conquest of the northern Caucasus by a Kuban Cossack historian); A. Smirnov, *Politika Rossii na Kavkaze v XVI-XIX vekakh*, Moscow 1958 (a study of the Russian expansion in the Caucasus in the 16th-19th centuries from the perspective of a Stalinist historian); *Osada Kavkaza*, St. Petersburg 2000 (a collection of memoirs of seven Russian officers who took an active part in the conquest of the Caucasus); V. Tishkov, *Obshčestvo v vooruzhennom konflike*, Moscow 2001 (a rather impressionistic study of the recent Russo-Čečen conflict by the former Minister for the Nationalities of the Russian Federation; the author's promise, in his introduction, to provide new theoretical approaches to the conflict and its causes is not realised in the subsequent narrative).

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ḲABṬŪRNUH, Banū 'l-, a family of 5th/11th-century al-Andalus whose Arabic *nasab* was the Banū Saʿīd.

They comprised three brothers who were poets and also secretaries to the Afṭasid prince of Badajoz, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Mutawakkil (464-88/1072-95 [*q.v.* and aftasids]), and then were subsequently in the chancery of the Almoravids. The *laḳab* of al-Ḳabṭūrnuh (according to other sources, al-Ḳabṭūrnah or al-Ḳubṭūrnuh) suggests an Hispanic origin, probably one stemming from the Low Latin **capiturnus* "having a large head". The first of the three brothers, Abū Muḥammad Ṭalḥa (Ibn al-Abbār, no. 259) is the author of several fragments, of an epicurean and festive type, as well as three fragments elegising his wife, Umm al-Faḍl. The second brother, Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Ibn al-Abbār, no. 1743), is the best known of them; he has left behind the most substantial written legacy, including a poem of 14 verses recounting nostalgically the days of his youth at Cordova, plus other poetic and prose fragments, including a short *risāla* in an artificial style (ed. Makkī, in *RIEIM*, vii-viii, 186-8). Only a few very rare verses remain from the third brother, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad. The family's poetry is often considered as exemplifying the Andalusī poetry of the Taifas period [see mulūk al-ṭawā'if. 2], hedonist in tone and in a brilliant but rather mannered style.

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ḲADAMGĀH (a. and p.), literally "place of the [imprint of the] foot", a village in Khurāsān, on the highway to Mashhad and some 20 km/12 miles

east of Nī<u>sh</u>āpūr at the southern edge of the Kūh-i Bīnālūd (lat. 36° 07' N., long. 59° 00' E.). It is locally famed as a *ziyāratgāh* or place of pilgrimage, since the Eighth Imām of the <u>Sh</u>ī'a, 'Alī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*], is said to have halted there and left the imprint of his foot on a stone, henceforth to be regarded with reverence; see Bess A. Donaldson, *The wild rue. A study of Muhammadan magic and folklore in Iran*, London 1938, 59, 148-9).

The concept of sacred imprints on rocks, on the roof and walls of caves, etc., is widespread across the Old World, certainly from the Middle East to South and South-East Asia (in the latter regions, with e.g. footprints of the Buddha, as at Adam's Peak, Ceylon). In the Islamic lands, imprints of the Prophet Muḥammad's foot are early found all over the Arab lands, and subsequently in Ottoman Turkey, and are especial objects of veneration in Muslim India (as likewise are imprints of holy men in non-Muslim India); see ĶADAM <u>SH</u>ARĪF and also Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger. The veneration of the Prophet in Islamic piety*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1985, 42-3.

There are in fact numerous similar *ḳadamgāh*s or shrines of saints and holy men, often but not always 'Alids, apart from the one mentioned above near Nī<u>sh</u>āpūr, throughout Eastern Persia, Af<u>gh</u>ānistān and Northwestern India, including a footprint of the caliph 'Alī b. 'Abī Ṭālib at the (Sunnī) shrine of Mazār-i <u>Sh</u>arīf [*q.v.*] in northern Af<u>gh</u>ānistān. One should also mention *pand<u>j</u>agāhs*, "places of the [imprint of the] palm of the hand", impressions of the hands of holy men. Thus in Kābul, to the east of the Bālā Ḥiṣār above the city, is the shrine of the Pand<u>j</u>a-yi <u>Sh</u>āh Mardān ("Lord of Mankind", i.e. the Prophet Muḥammad) mentioned by the traveller Charles Masson (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 236, iii, 93; and cf. R.D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia. Four hundred years in the history of a Muslim shrine, 1480-1889*, Princeton 1991, 226).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ĶĀḌĪ-ZĀDE RŪMĪ, ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN MŪSĀ b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Rūmī, usually referred to as Ḳāḍī-zāde al-Rūmī or Mūsā Ḳāḍī-zāde al-Rūmī, lived *ca.* 760-*ca.* 835/1359-1432, dates derived from an early work written in 784/1382-3 and from his having outlived <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u> al-Dīn al-Kā<u>sh</u>ī (d. 832/1429 [*q.v.*]), noted astronomer/mathematician from Bursa who played a substantial role in the Samarḳand observatory [see MARṢAD] of Ulu<u>gh</u> Beg [*q.v.*] and whose commentaries were used extensively as teaching texts for mathematics and astronomy.

After studying for a time in his native Bursa, where his father Maḥmūd was a prominent judge at the time of Sultan Murād I, Ḳāḍī-zāde travelled to Persia to pursue an education in the philosophical and mathematical sciences. There he studied with the famous theologian al-Sayyid al-<u>Sh</u>arīf al-<u>Dj</u>ur<u>dj</u>ānī [*q.v.*], probably at the court of Tīmūr in Samarḳand; this was, however, an unhappy experience for both parties with al-<u>Dj</u>ur<u>dj</u>ānī complaining of his student's infatuation with the mathematical sciences while Ḳāḍī-zāde made it known that his teacher was deficient in those subjects. After Tīmūr's death, Ḳāḍī-zāde found both a student and patron in Tīmūr's grandson Ulu<u>gh</u> Beg, also in Samarḳand. He became the head of the large *madrasa* there and Ulu<u>gh</u> Beg himself sometimes attended his lectures. Sometime later, *ca.* 823/1420, he collaborated with <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u> al-Dīn al-Kā<u>sh</u>ī under the directorship and patronage of Ulu<u>gh</u> Beg to build the famous Samarḳand observatory and undertake its observational programmes. After al-Kā<u>sh</u>ī's death in 1429, he no doubt assumed additional responsibilities. By then he was assisted by the talented young 'Alī Ḳū<u>sh</u><u>dj</u>ī [*q.v.*], who continued the observational programme after Ḳāḍī-zāde's death. Ḳū<u>sh</u><u>dj</u>ī's daughter would marry Ḳāḍī-zāde's son <u>Sh</u>ams al-Dīn; a grandson of this union was the famous Ottoman astronomer/mathematician Mīrim Čelebī (d. 931/1525).

Ḳāḍī-zāde was not noted for his innovations or creativity, and his works reflect this. He was most famous for his commentaries on al-<u>Dj</u>a<u>gh</u>mīnī's [*q.v.*] astronomical compendium *al-Mulak<u>hkh</u>aṣ fi 'l-hay'a* (814/1412) and <u>Sh</u>ams al-Dīn al-Samarḳandī's [*q.v.*] geometrical tract *A<u>sh</u>kāl al-ta'sīs* (completed 815/1412); the large number of extant manuscripts of both commentaries indicates their enduring popularity as teaching texts. A work on determining the value of Sin 1° is heavily dependent on the more mathematically accomplished al-Kā<u>sh</u>ī. His supercommentary on A<u>th</u>īr al-Dīn al-Abharī's [*q.v.*] *Hidāyat al-ḥikma* seems to be his only philosophical or theological work, though he did intend to write a refutation of parts of al-<u>Dj</u>ur<u>dj</u>ānī's famous commentary on al-Ī<u>dj</u>ī's *Mawāḳif*. The common attribution to Ḳāḍī-zāde of Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana or. MS 271, a commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's astronomical work *al-Ta<u>dh</u>kira*, is incorrect; it is actually by al-<u>Dj</u>ur<u>dj</u>ānī.

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(F.J. RAGEP)

KAFAN (A.), "shroud".

In the Islamic world, a dying person was often forewarned of imminent death by a dream, or by a dream that an inhabitant of his town had had during the preceding days, to the effect that the Prophet or some other great figure like Abū Bakr, 'Umar or 'Alī, was waiting for him and he should get ready for the meeting. Since death is the natural goal of life, its approach should be managed calmly. When the death agony is imminent, the dying person pronounces the *<u>sh</u>ahāda* or profession of faith, whilst raising one finger of the right hand to re-affirm for the last time his belief in the unity of God. If he is too weak, someone close to him murmurs in his ear just as his father murmured to him at his birth. The corpse is washed, unless the dying person has washed himself in preparation, and then wrapped in three cloths, white shrouds, or cloths of any other colour except red, fastened very tightly. A professional enshrouder, *kaffān*, takes charge of this process using cloths woven by an *akfānī*. The shroud has often been acquired long before death by the deceased, the sole piece of property which he retains after his death, since it does not figure in what he leaves behind as inheritance. Only the corpse of a martyr killed in the way of *<u>dj</u>ihād* is not washed, but buried where he has fallen and in his bloodstained garments.

For great persons, the number of shrouds and their

value could increase considerably. At his death, the Fāṭimid vizier Ibn Killis [*q.v.*] was buried, at the expense of the caliph al-ʿAzīz, in fifty perfumed shrouds and cloths of various fibres, with a total value of 10,000 dīnārs (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. Dj. Shayyāl, Cairo 1387/1967, i, 268-9; see also the store of Fāṭimid shrouds mentioned by al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid and Th. Bianquis, Cairo 1978, 107). The fibres used in spinning these costly shrouds, and also the inscriptions on them—a politico-religious content in Fāṭimid Egypt, and often poetical, on the theme of the inevitability of death, in Būyid ʿIrāḳ—have been studied by both archaeologists and museum specialists (R. Gayraud, *al-Qarāfa al-kubrā, dernière demeure des Fāṭimides*, in M. Barrucand (ed.), *L'Egypte, son art et son histoire*, Paris 1999, 443-64; bibl. and characteristic texts in E. Garcin, *Le textile dans l'Islam médiéval, productions būyides et fāṭimides*, diss. DEA, Lumière-Lyon 2 1999, unpubl., 59-60).

The corpse was borne, on the same day, but rarely at night, on a simple bier, *naʿsh* (*wa-ḥumila naʿshuhu ʿalā ayd*^{in}, al-Musabbiḥī, *op. cit.*, 108) by men who would sometimes run: "If I am good, bear me speedily to God, and if I am bad, get rid of me quickly." A prayer was pronounced over the corpse near a mosque. Everyone would stand as the corpse passed by, even for the corpses of Jews and Christians (it was usual to be present at the funerals of important members of the other religious communities), out of respect for the angels accompanying it. It was even more meritorious to bear a corner of the bier. Sometimes the dead person was borne along without a bier, like a package wrapped in a white shroud, or conversely, the corpse could be carried in an open wooden coffin (*ṣandūḳ*, *tābūt*, also meaning cenotaph). The chroniclers mention this fact as a sign of respect felt for someone of a distinguished social group.

The corpse, wrapped in the shroud, is lowered into a tomb dug out for this purpose (see the detailed description of the types of Muslim tombs in Y. Raghib, *Structure de la tombe d'après le droit musulman*, in *Arabica*, xxxix [1992], 395-403). The shroud is then loosened so that the dead person can be at his ease, and the face is turned towards Mecca (archaeologists have found skeletons with *post mortem* fractures of the cervical vertebrae). Three handfuls of earth are thrown over the corpse, whilst pronouncing the words "We created you with this [earth], We give him back to it, and We will resurrect him anew" (cf. the myths of ancient Mesopotamia and Ḳurʾān, XXII, 5, XXX, 19, etc.). The cavity is filled with earth and pebbles, with an orifice left for the deceased to get water. From this point onwards, and until the palms planted on the tomb become dried up, the deceased is given over to interrogation by the angels of death preparatory to the Last Judgement [see ʿADHĀB AL-ḲABR].

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(TH. BIANQUIS)

ḲAFES (A., T.) "cage", the popular term in Ottoman Turkish usage for the area of the harem of the Ṭopḳapï palace in which Ottoman princes of the blood (*sheh-zādeler*) were confined from the early 17th century onwards.

In a more abstract sense, historians apply the same term to the system whereby the rights of claimants to the Ottoman throne were determined, as opposed to the "law of fratricide" which it was gradually superseding during this period. In the sources, the term is of late usage only (d'Ohsson uses the word in the plural; *Tableau de l'Empire ottoman*, vii, 101; ʿĀṣïm, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul n.d., ii, 32). Earlier and more widely attested, however, is the appellation Shimshīrlik (or Čimshīrlik "the box shrub") or Shimshīrlik odasï ("the boxwood chamber"), a reference to the little court-yard planted with box, at the north-east corner of the courtyard of the Wālide Sulṭān (Silaḥdār, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 297; Uzunçarşılı, *Saray*, 91; Rāshid, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865-6, ii, 2-3; Necipoğlu, *Topkapi Palace*, figs. 94, 168, 178). It consisted of a set of pavilions (twelve, according to d'Ohsson, who presents each as "comprising several rooms and surrounded by a high wall"), surmounted by cupolas, fitted with chimneys and windows which, for the preservation of sexual segregation, did not overlook the harem. Some were decorated with the mural tiles typical of the 17th century and with marble niches (Necipoğlu, 178). Similar arrangements existed in the palace of Edirne: the princes were transferred thither when the Sultan made it his residence.

Adult *sheh-zādeler* began living in the interior (*enderūn* [*q.v.*]) of Ṭopḳapï from the time, in the second half of the 16th century, when the practice of entrusting them with provincial governorships in Anatolia was partially and then totally abandoned. This then became the exclusive prerogative of the son of the reigning sovereign. On the other hand, on the accession of Aḥmed I, while still a minor (1603), the leading dignitaries of the state allowed his younger brother Muṣṭafā to live installed in a niche within the palace. Furthermore, on the death of the same ruler (1617), they preferred this brother to succeed him rather than his eldest son ʿOthmān, who was still very young (Pecewī, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, ii, 360-1; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, i, 385). Having thus emerged from his confinement, Muṣṭafā I was deposed after an initial reign of three months, on account of mental disorders; he "returned to his former apartments" (Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, ii, 163). He was brought out once again to be restored to the throne after the insurrection which resulted in the assassination of his nephew ʿOthmān II (May 1622). No more successful than the first, this second reign lasted only sixteen months and Muṣṭafā returned to his prison, where he died in 1639.

These events were the harbingers of important changes: henceforward, despite continuing attacks mounted by ʿOthmān II and Murād IV against their respective brothers—outdated practices denounced by public opinion—the brothers of reigning sovereigns were allowed to live, but were politically neutralised by rigorous seclusion in the most secure and secret area of the Palace. In parallel, despite the inclination of numerous sultans to promote one of their sons to the succession, the principle of seniority, made possible by the survival of the sultan's brothers, led, by gradual stages, to the establishment of a successorial system in the Ottoman dynasty: in the early 18th century, the chronicler Rāshid presents the eldest of the brothers of Meḥemmed IV, Süleymān II, who succeeded the deposed sultan in 1687, as "the august person who in his turn took charge of the sultanate

(*nöbet-i salṭanat*), according to the order of birth" (*tertīb-i sinn-i wilādet üzre*, Rās͟hid, ii, 3). Silaḥdār confirms that seniority had become the rule when, on the occasion of the replacement of Muṣṭafā II, deposed in 1703, Aḥmed III, son of Meḥemmed IV, was preferred by the arbiters of the situation, on account of the "order of succession" (*tertīb-i nöbet*), as well as the qualities of the candidate, over the prince Ibrāhīm, a son of Aḥmed II who, furthermore, was still a minor (*Nuṣret-nāme*, ed. I. Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1962, ii, 177).

Another consequence of the establishment of the *ḳafes* was to promote, by constituting a reserve of legitimate candidates to the throne, the notion that the solution to political crises was not to be found only in the sacrifice of a number of senior dignitaries, serving as a "safety-fuse" for the reigning sultan; there was also the option of a change of sultan, a new accession (*d̲j̲ülūs*): the sovereign himself became a safety-fuse to the benefit of the superior entity constituted by the dynasty, his throne, like other positions of eminence in the empire, being nothing more than "an ejectable seat".

This was indeed an eccentric preparation for an eventual reign: total seclusion which could last several decades (see in Alderson, 36, the table of periods spend in the *ḳafes*, before their accession and after their eventual dethronement, by the twenty-three sultans concerned, from Muṣṭafā I to ʿAbd ül-Med̲j̲īd II). However, a distinction should be drawn, following the lead of d'Ohsson, between two categories of *s̲h̲eh-zādeler*: on the one hand, the sons of the reigning sultan who, while stringently kept apart from any political activity (and barred from procreation), were not altogether excluded from public life: on the contrary they participated in festivals which, when the case arose, were dedicated to them (circumcisions, the beginnings of education, etc.; cf. S. Faroqhi, *Crisis and change*, in H. Inalcik and D. Quataert (eds.), *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge 1994, 613-14), or in official functions (Aḥmed III received the French ambassador, Andrezel, surrounded by his four sons; illustration by J.-B. Van Mour, reproduced in A. Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1989, 29); and on the other hand, the other princes of the blood. To the latter alone the régime of the *ḳafes* was applied in full rigour. Furthermore, as soon as their father ceased to reign, the princes of the first category were relegated to the second: thus on leaving the prison where he had just spent 39 years, to ascend the throne in place of his deposed brother Meḥemmed IV, Süleymān II issued a *k̲h̲āṭṭ-i humāyūn* ordering the transfer to the same place of his displaced brother, the latter's two sons Muṣṭafā and Aḥmed, as well as his own younger brother Aḥmed (the future Aḥmed II) who had previously shared his prison (Silaḥdār, *Tārīk̲h̲*, ii, 298). Reduced to the company of their pages, their eunuchs and concubines who were not permitted to give birth, to male children in any case (on Ak̲h̲īretlik K̲h̲ānïm, fathered by ʿAbd ül-Ḥamid I in the *ḳafes*, see Uzunçarşılı, 115), these princes were strictly cut off from the exterior, deprived of any experience of the world and of any useful education, neglected and despised (on succeeding his brother, Süleymān II appeared wearing an old *ʿanterī* robe and shod in heavy cavalry boots; Silaḥdār, *Tārīk̲h̲*, ii, 298). Some coped with their boredom by practising various manual occupations (Ohsson, vii, 102). Added to these inconveniences was the fearful threat which the suspicions of the reigning sultan constantly posed to the lives of his potential rivals. The anxiety which could be thus aroused among the latter is well illustrated by the attitudes of Ibrāhīm or of Süleymān II when invited to take the throne; both were convinced that this was a trick on the part of their respective brothers, Murād IV and Mehemmed IV, to have them executed, and they stubbornly refused to leave their prison (Naʿīmā, *Tārīk̲h̲*, iii, 450-2; Silaḥdār, *Tārīk̲h̲*, ii, 198). It may be noted to what an extent the shadow of fratricide, although in fact no longer practised, continued to hang over the dynasty (as late as 1730, on leaving the throne, Aḥmed III entrusted to his nephew and successor Maḥmūd I, as "a trustee of God" the protection of his children (Ferāʿīd̲j̲izāde, *Gülş̲h̲en-i maʿārif*, Istanbul 1252/1836-7, ii, 1251; ʿAbdī, *1730 Patrona Halil hakkından bir eser. Abdi Tarihi*, ed. F.R. Unat, Ankara 1943, 42). The vigilance of the Janissaries, anxious to maintain the freedom of manoeuvre guaranteed to them by a plethora of possible sultans, was the best safeguard of the sequestered princes: in 1632, rebellious Janissaries compelled Murād IV to show them that his brothers were still alive (Uzunçarşılı, 227-8). According to Bobovius, adapted by Girardin, 30-1, "*la milice est toujours leur tutrice*".

Chroniclers have often stressed the negative effects of the system on the competence and mental health of the sovereigns produced by it (blaming it in particular for some of the psychological disorders associated with Muṣṭafā I or with Ibrāhīm), but this "black legend" is doubtless to be treated with caution: the stringency of confinement certainly varied according to reigns and circumstances: only Muṣṭafā I, after his first deposition, or Ibrāhīm after his dethronement, are presented as being immured alive, "already interred" (Naʿīmā, ii, 218, iii, 330). In other cases, the links of princes with their reigning parent, between themselves and even with the outside world were not entirely severed: "Sultan Soliman, brother of the current emperor, has acquired universal esteem throughout the empire ... and his renown has induced all ranks of the militia to declare themselves his protectors," Bobovius noted (122-3), with regard to the future Süleymān, disparaged as he was in other respects. Worth noting, on the other hand, is the energy displayed by Aḥmed II when, on emerging from 43 years of the *ḳafes* he inaugurated his brief reign (1691-5) (Silaḥdār, ii, 576-80). More generally, in the course of time a progressive humanisation of the *ḳafes* is observable, associated no doubt with the individual personality of certain sultans, but especially with the stabilisation of the new successorial system; during his 39 years on the throne, Meḥemmed IV (1648-87) made no further attempts to harm his two brothers, even going sometimes to speak with them (Uzunçarşılı, 96; Bobovius evokes "a fairly comfortable prison"). Several decades later, Aḥmed III showed himself respectful and amicable towards his brother Muṣṭafā II (1695-1703) whose place he took, not that this prevented the latter dying 140 days later in the *ḳafes*, "of nostalgia for the crown and for the throne" (Defterdār Ṣarï Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, *Zübde-i weḳāyiʿāt*, ed. Özcan, Ankara 1995, 815, 835). When in 1730 it was the turn of Aḥmed III to be overthrown, the transfer of power between him and his nephew Maḥmūd I took place very smoothly: he kissed him on the forehead, while the other kissed his hand (Ferāʿīd̲j̲izāde, 1251). But it was not until the end of the 18th century that the régime was definitively relaxed: on the death of his father Muṣṭafā III in 1774, the future Selīm III was granted a considerable degree of freedom by his uncle ʿAbd ül-Ḥamid I, enabling him in particular to correspond with Louis XVI (Uzunçarşılı,

Selim III'ün Veliaht'iken Fransa Kralı Lüi XVI ile muhabereleri, in *Belleten*, ii [1938], 191-246; S. Munir, *Louis XVI et le sultan Selim III, in Revue d'Histoire diplomatique*, xxvi [1912], 516-48). Similarly, ʿAbd ül-Medjīd (1839-61) was to allow a free hand to his brother ʿAbd ül-ʿAzīz (he fathered a son before becoming sultan, Yūsuf ʿIzz ül-Dīn, born in 1857) and having ascended the throne (1861-76) the latter showed the same latitude towards his nephews, having two of them accompany him on his journey to Paris and London in 1867 (Alderson 34-5).

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(G. Veinstein)

al-**KAFF** (a.), verbal noun of the verb *kaffa* in the sense of "to abstain, desist [from s.th.]," and "to repel [s.o. from s.th.]" (see *WbKAS*, i, *Letter Kāf*, 236-9), in a religio-political context refers to the quiescent attitude of some Khāridjite [*q.v.*] groups in early Islam, called *ḳaʿada* "those who sit down", i.e. stay at home, in abstaining from overt rebellion and warfare against the ruling authority. See further ḳuʿūd. (Ed.)

KĀHĪ (late 9th century-988/late 15th century-1580), the *takhalluṣ* [*q.v.*] or pen-name of an Indo-Muslim poet, Nadjm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad, who wrote at the courts of the Mughal emperors Humāyūn and Akbar [*q.vv.*].

According to most writers he was born in Transoxania at Miyānkāl, a district situated between Samarḳand and Bukhārā, but stayed a long time in Kābul, whence he is also known as Kābulī. When fifteen years old he is said to have visited Djāmī (d. 898/1492 [*q.v.*]) at Harāt, and spent some seven years in the poet's company. Subsequently he went to India on two separate occasions, once in *ca.* 936/1530 and then in 961/1554. In his first visit he travelled to Bhakkar in Sind to meet the Ṣūfī mystic Shāh Djahāngīr Hāshimī (d. 946/1539-40) of Kirmān, author of the Persian *mathnawī Maẓhar al-āthār*, and lived in Gudjarāt writing for Bahādur Khān and Muḥammad Khān, who ruled that state from 932-43/1525-36 and 943-61/1536-53 respectively. In *ca.* 956/1549 he returned to Kābul and entered the service of prince Akbar. It was as a member of Akbar's entourage that he made his second visit to India, spending the remaining years of his life in that country. His patrons this time included, in addition to Humāyūn and Akbar, the noblemen of Banāras and Djawnpūr, Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur Khān, who were both slain in their abortive revolt against Akbar in 975/1567. From 969/1561-2 onward he lived in Āgra, where he died in 988/1580 at an advanced age of 110 or 120 years.

Kāhī was an important figure of Akbar's reign, noted for his poetry as well as other attainments. Besides writing *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals*, he displayed special skill in composing chronograms and riddles. He is also said to have written a *mathnawī* on the model of Saʿdī's *Būstān* entitled *Gul-afshān*. His other accomplishments included the study of Ḳur'ānic exegesis, scholastic theology, music, astronomy and mysticism.

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ḲAḤṬĀNITE, Qahtanite, a name which has been proposed for designating the ensemble of graffiti found in pre-Islamic South Arabia but whose use has not yet become generalised.

The numerous written documents found in Arabia and dated from pre-Islamic times, may be classed under three headings: (1) monumental inscriptions on stone or other durable materials, meant to be exposed and using varieties of the Arabian alphabet (South Arabian, Dedanite, Liḥyānite and Ḥasaean) or foreign scripts (Aramaic, Greek, Latin and Geʿez); (2) private documents (correspondence, contracts, lists or writing exercises), written in cursive South Arabian script on wooden sticks or palm stalks, all of these having been found in Yemen; and (3) very numerous graffiti written on rocks in various forms of the Arabian alphabet.

The monumental inscriptions and the documents in cursive South Arabian script can be divided into several groups, to be defined by ranging over provenance, dating and the political, linguistic, religious and tribal information given in the text. For designating these ensembles, Western scholars have devised names derived from the political groupings where these writings have originated, or failing that, from the region where they have been found. Thus in South Arabia, there have been accordingly classified the Sabaic inscriptions (from the kingdom of Saba' [*q.v.*]; the Madhābic (from the region of the Wādī Madhāb), previously called Minaean [see maʿīn]; Ḳatabānic (from the kingdom of Ḳatabān [*q.v.*]; and Ḥaḍramitic (from the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*]. In the oasis of al-ʿUlā (ancient Dedan) and of Madā'in Ṣāliḥ (ancient Ḥegra/al-Ḥidjr [*q.v.*] are recognised two successive ensembles, called Dadanitic (after the ancient name of the oasis) and Liḥyānite (after the ancient tribe [see liḥyān]), which Michael Macdonald has recently suggested should be grouped under the single term Dadanitic (Macdonald, 2000, 29). Finally, on the Arabian shores of the Perso-Arabian Gulf, a group of some 50 texts has been called Ḥasaitic, after the name of the region al-Ḥasā' [*q.v.*] or al-Aḥsā'.

It is more difficult to classify the graffiti, which number tens of thousands, because their content, often poor and uninformative, gives hardly any indications of their language or tribe or cults. Contributing to

this difficulty is the fact that very few of them have been rigorously studied. Their typology is based mainly on adducing as evidence the various types of the Arabic alphabet and, additionally, on examining the distinct and homogeneous zones of their distribution.

It is further not very easy to give a name to the various groups of graffiti at present recognised, since the identity of their authors is unknown. At an early stage, specialists isolated two groups, called Ṣafaitic [*q.v.*] (from the Djabal al-Ṣafā to the southeast of Damascus) and Thamudic [*q.v.*], making a connection with the ancient tribe of Thamūd [*q.v.*]. But it soon became apparent that the Thamudic ensemble, in which were grouped all the non-classified graffiti, was a vast hold-all term for an extremely heterogeneous group. A first tentative step to devise a new order for them was made by F.V. Winnett, who adduced five sub-groups, each defined by a variety of the Arabian alphabet and called by letter of the Latin alphabet, A, B, C, D and E. Later researches by this same author, continued by those of M. Macdonald and G. King (Macdonald-King, 2000), have shown that two of these sub-groups belong to particular regions, Ḥismā' (southern Jordan and northern Ḥidjāz) and the district of the Taymā' oasis, whence the names Ḥismaic (former Thamudic A) and Taymanitic (former Thamudic E) have been proposed.

There remains to classify the numerous other Thamudic graffiti, notably those found in the region between the Ḥidjāz and Yemen, these being especially numerous in the regions of Nadjrān [*q.v.*] and Ḳaryat al-Fāw [see fāʾw] (the latter 280 km/165 miles to the northeast of Nadjrān (Jamme, 1973). For these, the terms "Southern Thamudic" (see Macdonald-King, 2000, 44) or "Ḳaḥṭānite" (Robin, 1978, 106-7) have been proposed, but these terms remain provisional whilst a typology of the whole ensemble remains to be sketched out. The task is difficult because a number of these graffiti recall the proximity and prestige of the South Arabian states by mixing together, in varying proportions, the regular South Arabian script letters and those reflecting local graphic forms.

This name "Ḳaḥṭānite" stems from Ḳaḥṭān, the ancient eponym of the South Arabs, according to the purveyors of traditions on the beginnings of Islam (see especially, Ibn al-Kalbī's *Djamharat al-nasab*). The name of this eponym probably comes from a tribe established at Ḳaryat al-Fāw (the ancient Ḳaryat^{um} dhāt Kahl^{im}, sc. "the Ḳarya of Kahl", Kahl being the name of a god of the oasis). Two inscriptions mention this tribe. The first, found at al-Fāw, is the tombstone of "Muʿāwiyat, son of Rabīʿat, of the line of M. . . ., [the Ḳa]ḥṭānite, king of Ḳaḥṭān and of Madhḥig"; from the style of writing, this would date from the 1st century A.D. (Ansārī-Qaryat al-Fāw 2/1-2). The second inscription, stemming from the temple of Awwām at Maʾrib in Yemen, has a dedication to the Sabaean god Almaqah in which the writer evokes an expedition against "Rabīʿat of the line of Thawr^{im} king of Kiddat [= Kinda] and of Ḳaḥṭān", in the reign of the Sabaean king Shaʿr^{um} Awtar, *ca.* 220-5 (Ja 635/26-7). Ptolemy probably mentions the same tribe in the 2nd century A.D. in the form Κατανῖται (VI. 7, 20 and 23).

The reason why Ḳaḥṭān, the pre-Islamic tribe at Ḳaryat al-Fāw, associated in the first place with Madhḥidj [*q.v.*] and then dominated by Kinda [*q.v.*], has been chosen as an eponym for the South Arabs has not yet been solved. It is likely that we have here a tradition of Kindī origin, which would have been imposed when the tribe of Kinda had a dominant position in Central Arabia, in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. This hypothesis underlines once more that Kinda is the source of the greater part of Arab traditions bearing the verifiable historical information on pre-Islamic South Arabia.

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ḲĀʾIMĪ, Ḥasan Baba (d. 1102/1691), Bosnian Muslim poet of the 11th/17th century.

After the Ottoman conquest of the 9th/15th century, Slavs converted to Islam began to write in the Islamic languages of Turkish, Persian and Arabic, whilst some authors continued to write in Slavonic but in Arabic characters (*alhamiado*).

Ḥasan Baba, with the *makhlaṣ* of Ḳāʾimī, was the most celebrated poet of his time in Bosnia and the Balkans in general. Little is known of his life, but he seems to have been in easy circumstances and to have lived most of his life in Sarajevo [*q.v.*], where he was born by 1039/1630. He was apparently an adherent of the Ḳādiriyya *ṭarīḳa*, and *sheykh* of the *tekke* of Sinān Agha in Sarajevo, and he dedicated poems to the founder, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī. He seems to have left Sarajevo towards the end of his life, perhaps driven out of the Sarajevo rebellion of 1093/1682 and to have lived in Zvornik, where he died and where he has his *türbe*.

He is the author of two *Dīwān*s in Turkish, the first one of mystical poetry and the second, smaller one of *ḳaṣīda*s only called *Wāridāt* ("incomings, gains"), the whole comprising several thousand verses, extant in a hundred mss., mostly copied in the 19th century. In the *Wāridāt*, he touched upon political events, such as the long campaign by the Ottomans for the conquest of Crete from the Venetians, a war which also affected Dalmatia and its coastal towns. In the first *ḳaṣīda* of this *Dīwān*, comprising 174 *beyt*s, he correctly foretold the date of the end of the war (1079/1669), giving him great celebrity; and much of the enthusiasm for copying Ḳāʾimī's works arose after 1878 when the Austrians extended their protectorate over Bosnia and Hercegovina, since the poet had alluded to universal conquests by the Turks and the universal triumph of Islam. Modern Bosnian scholars, on the other hand, have claimed him as a Bosnian patriot (although the concept of "patriotism" did not exist in his time) or even as a proto-Marxist; at most, one can note his evident love for Bosnia and, especially, for Sarajevo.

Ḳāʾimī also wrote *alhamiado* poetry, including an

"ode against tobacco", written when Murād IV banned the use of tobacco [see TUTUN] in the Ottoman empire, and a second, shorter ode on the Cretan War in addition to the one in Turkish.

Bibliography: See for full references, Jasna Samic, *Le Dîwân de Ḳâ'imî*, Paris 1986, with bibl. at 251-80. (JASNA SAMIC)

ḲĀ'IN, conventionally Qayen, etc., a town of eastern Persia (lat. 33° 43' N., long. 59° 06' E.), now in the administrative province of Khurāsān but in mediaeval Islamic times falling within the region known as Ḳūhistān [*q.v.*]. It lies on the road connecting the urban centres of northern Khurāsān (Mashhad, Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya, etc.) with Birdjand, Persian Sīstān and Zāhidān.

Ḳā'in must be an ancient town, but virtually nothing is known of it before the descriptions of the 4th/10th century geographers. The 8th century Armenian geography attributes its foundation to Lōhrāsp, son of Wishtāsp, of Iranian legendary history (Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 12, 53). In the 4th/10th century it appears as the administrative centre of Ḳūhistān, with a citadel, also containing the *dār al-imāra* and congregational mosque, surrounded by a trench and rampart, and an outer wall with three gates. The water supply came mainly from *ḳanāt*s. Al-Muḳaddasī considered it a place of few amenities and harsh living conditions, but one which flourished as an emporium (*furḍa*) for the trade of Khurāsān passing southwards to the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea shores (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 446, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 431; al-Muḳaddasī, 321; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103). Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through it in 444/1052 and found it a large, fortified town; he marvelled at the great arch (*ṭāḳ*) of its mosque (*Safar-nāma*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 127, tr. W.M. Thackston, New York 1986, 102). In the ensuing Saldjūḳ period, Ḳā'in and fortresses in its surrounding district became known as haunts of the Ismāʿīlīs; an Ismāʿīlī presence, including within the town of Ḳā'in, has persisted until today (see F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrine*, Cambridge 1990, 341, 387, 543; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ismaʿilis of Quhistān and the Maliks of Nīmrūz or Sīstān*, in Daftary (ed.), *Mediaeval Ismaili history and thought*, Cambridge 1996, 221-9; and ḲŪHISTĀN).

It has often been assumed that the name of the Persian principality *Tunocain* mentioned by Marco Polo is a conflation of Ḳā'in and the town of Tūn [*q.v.*] some 18 farsakhs north-north-west of it (see Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, i, 83, 86, 127-8); certainly, Bābur, two centuries later, continued to link the towns thus (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 296, 301). Two generations or so after the time of Marco Polo, the town was still large and flourishing, on the evidence of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī; he mentions how most houses had cellars from which they could tap into the adjacent subterranean *ḳanāts* and how the men all carried arms and were ready to use them (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 145-6, tr. 144).

The subsequent history of Ḳā'in is substantially that of the local amirate, whose capital it was until this last was moved to the larger and more important town of Birdjand in the 19th century, of the Khuzayma family, which traced its origins back to early Islamic Arab governors of Khurāsān. It fully emerges into history in Nādir Shāh Afshār's time, when the monarch bestowed the governorship of the Ḳā'ināt, the region around Ḳā'in, on Amīr Ismāʿīl Khān Khuzayma. In the chaotic conditions after Nādir's assassination, Amīr ʿAlam Khān (d. 1753) briefly expanded his power beyond its traditional boundaries of Ḳā'ināt and Sīstān as far as Mashhad and Harāt in the north and Persian Balūčistān in the south (1748-53). In the Ḳādjār period, the family continued as guardians of the eastern frontier of Persia against Afghān and Balūč marauders. Curzon described Amīr Hishmat al-Mulk ʿAlam Khān III (d. 1891) as "probably the most powerful subject of the Persian crown" (*Persia and the Persian question*, i, 200), and C.E. Yate, who was at Ḳā'in in 1894, met his second son Shawkat al-Mulk Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān, who became Amīr of Ḳā'ināt (*Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900, 66 ff., 76-7). The Khuzayma family adopted the family name of ʿAlam when Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī introduced this requirement in the 1930s, and Asad Allāh ʿAlam (d. 1978) had a distinguished career under the last Shāh, Muḥammad Riḍā, beginning with his appointment as the youthful governor of Sīstān and Balūčistān in 1945 and ending as Minister of the Imperial Court in 1966-77; his memoirs, published in English as Assadollah Alam, *The Shah and I*, London 1991, are a prime source for the later years of the Shāh's reign. See for the history of the family and its role in the political and military history of Persia's eastern frontiers, Pirouz Moujtahed-Zadeh, *The Amirs of the borderlands and Eastern Iranian borders*, London 1995.

The region of Ḳā'ināt of recent times corresponded largely to the ancient Ḳūhistān, but was in the 1973 administrative reorganisation subdivided into two *shahrastāns*, that of Ḳā'in or Ḳā'ināt and that of Birdjand [*q.v.*]. This was modified in the 1980s under the Islamic Republic, when three *shahrastāns* were formed: Ḳā'ināt; Birdjand to its south; and Nihbandān in the further south, adjoining Sīstān and Kirmān. Thus the town of Ḳā'in is at present the chef-lieu of its *shahrastān* (which contains a single *bakhsh*, the Bakhsh-i Markazī, and eight *dihistāns*). The population of Ḳā'in itself was in 1986 15,955, and that of the whole *shahrastān* 122,149 (Moujtahed-Zadeh, 50-5; this information on administrative arrangements replaces that given in the arts. BIRDJAND, in Vol. I, 1233b, and ḲŪHISTĀN, in Vol. V, 355b).

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KĀKAṚ, a Gharghusht Pashtūn tribe concentrated in southeastern Afghānistān and Pākistānī Balūčistān. Though not prominent among Afghān [*q.v.*] groups migrating to India during the early Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*], Kākaṛs are noticeable among military and political élites during the Lōdī, Sūrī and early Mughal [*q.vv.*] periods. Ḥaybat Khān Kākaṛ, patron and collector of materials for Niʿmat Allāh's *Makhzān-i Afghānī*, demonstrates Kākaṛ participation in Mughal literary production.

Kākaṛistān designates territory on and between the Tūba and Sulaymān mountain ranges, including the microregions of Būrī, Pīshīn, Sībī [*q.v.*] and Zhūb/Zhōb [*q.v.*]. Within this area Kākaṛs incorporated non-Pashtūn minority groups such as Gadūn and Watensī speakers in *hamsāya* dependency relationships, and there is a lack of consensus about whether other local Pashtūn groups, including the Panṛī and Nagher, are Kākaṛs. Surrounding Ačakzay, Ghalzay [*q.v.*], Tarīn and Wazīr Pashtūns and various Balūč [*q.v.*] communities form the social boundaries of Kākaṛ territory, which is economically linked to the greater Indo-Islamic world through the markets of Ḳandahār, Kwaṭṭa, and the Dēradjāt [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, London 1839, repr. Karachi 1992, ii, 161-73; B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, London 1829-36, repr. Karachi 1976 (= tr. of Niʿmat Allāh Harawī, *Makhzān-i Afghānī*), part I, pp. ix, 75, 93, 131, 167-8, part II, pp. iii-viii, 32, 34, 36-8, 53, 56, 57, 122, 129; C. MacGregor, *Central Asia. Part II. Afghanistan*, London 1871, 473-77; H. Priestly, *Afghanistan and its inhabitants*, Lahore 1874 (= tr. of S.M. Ḥayāt Khān, *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī*), 19, 76, 78, 148-56; H.G. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and parts of Baluchistan*, Calcutta 1878, repr., Quetta 1982; Yu.V. Gankovski, *The peoples of Pakistan*, Lahore n.d. [1971], 11, 135, 196.

(Shah Mahmoud Hanifi)

ḲALANSUWA, Ḳulansiya (a), the name for a cap worn by men either under the turban proper or alone on the head.

The word, from which verbal forms are derived as denominative verbs, is apparently of foreign origin; while it used to be commonly connected with the Latin *calautica* (for which, however, the form *calantica* is difficult to quote and besides, it means a head-cloth for women), Fraenkel wished to derive it through the Aramaic *ḳ.w.l.ś* (cf. Arabic *ḳāliṣ*, *ḳālis*, Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 395) from κῶνος (*conus*). The Arab grammarians and lexicographers found in the manifold formation of the broken plural and the diminutive a reason for using *ḳalansuwa* as a paradigm for substantives of more than three radicals with such peculiarities.

Caps of different shapes were called *ḳalansuwa*; varieties of the *ḳalansuwa* are *ṭurṭūr*, *burnus*, *urṣūṣa*, etc. While it is related of the Companions of the Prophet that they wore tight-fitting *ḳalansuwas*, later, a long peaked sugar-cone shape, supported within by pieces of wood, became fashionable, for which the name *ṭawīla* was usual. It seems to have come from Persia (cf. the head-dresses in the Dura-Ṣāliḥiyya 1st century A.D. paintings, in J.H. Breasted, *Oriental forerunners of Byzantine paintings*, Chicago 1924) for it was regarded by the pre-Islamic Arabs as a noteworthy feature of Persian dress (G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, ²Hildesheim 1967, 237) and is said to have been first adopted in the reign of the first Umayyad by ʿAbbād b. Ziyād from the inhabitants of the town of Ḳandahār, conquered by him (Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 184). High, black *ḳalansuwas* were worn by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs from al-Manṣūr to al-Mustaʿīn and by their viziers and *ḳāḍīs*. The latter adhered longest to the *ḳalansuwa*, so that in the course of the 3rd/9th century—this headgear being also popularly known as *danniyya*, pot-hat, or *ṭawīla*—it became their regular official headgear, together with the neck-veil or *taylasān* [*q.v.*] and at times was strictly forbidden to other classes of the community (al-Kindī, *K. al-Ḳuḍāt*, ed. R. Guest, 460, 586). On the other hand, criminals had a *ḳalansuwa* put on their heads when they were led through the streets. The *ḳalansuwa* was also worn among the Umayyads in Spain, where *muḳallas* meant a *muftī* wearing the *ḳāliṣ*. A headdress introduced by Tīmūr into his army was also known as *ḳalansuwa*.

The name *ḳalansuwa* appears several times in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, according to whom (ii, 378, tr. Gibb, ii, 481) the Ḳipčaḳs, for example, called their *ḳalansuwas* by the Persian name *kulāh*. Concerning the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] societies in Anatolia (*akhiyyat al-fityān*), he says (ii, 264, tr. Gibb, ii, 421) that their members wore several *ḳalansuwas* above one another, a silk one on the head, above it a white woollen one, to the top of which was tied a strip of cloth two fingers broad and one ell long: at meetings, only the woollen *ḳalansuwa* was taken off, the silk one remaining on the head. A similar pendant strip of cloth is also part of the dress of the Coptic priests of modern Egypt and is there called *ḳallūsa* or *ḳalaswa*; here the name appears to have been transferred from the cap itself to its most striking and therefore better known part.

At periods when, as in the 2nd/8th century, both Muslims and Christians wore *ḳalansuwas*, the latter had to tie two knots of another colour to it (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1389); but when the *ḳalansuwa* went out of fashion with the Muslims in the 3rd/9th century, it remained the mark of the Christians. The word is therefore frequently found in Arab authors meaning the headdress worn by Christian monks and hermits, Greek priests and even the Pope himself. Through the Crusades, the high cap with the veil seems to have found its way to Western Europe as a woman's dress.

The name *ḳalansuwa* was also given to other objects of similar shape: *ḳ. nuḥās* is the metal cap of the obelisk near Heliopolis (ʿAyn Shams [*q.v.*]); *ḳ. turāb* in modern Arabic is used for a chemical sublimating vessel; *ḳ. buḳrāṭ* is used by surgeons for a particular kind of head bandage; and *ḳāliṣ* (*ḳūlis*) is the name of a plant, which seemed to represent a human head with a high cap. *Ḳalansuwa* was also the name of a fortress near al-Ramla in Palestine, see G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 476.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam 1843, 365-71; idem, *Supplément*, ii, 395, 401; S. Franekel, *Die aramäische Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 53-4; H. Lammens, *Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe*, Beirut 1890 (supposes an influence of the word *ḳalansuwa* on Fr. *calotte*); A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, Heidelberg 1922, 26, 45-6, 130, 217, 348-9, 367; Yedida Stillman, *Arab dress: a short history*, Leiden 2000, index and pls. 4, 14, 26, 44; and see further, libās. (W. Björkman)

KALIKAT, locally Kōḻikōḍu (interpreted in Malayalam as "cock fortress", see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, ²London 1903, 148), conventionally Calicut and, in modern Indian parlance, Kozhikode, a town of the Western Deccan or Peninsular Indian coastland (lat. 11° 15' N., long. 75° 45' E.) in what was known in pre-modern times, and is still known, as the Malabar coast [see maʿbar]. In British Indian times it was the centre of a sub-district (*tālūk*) of the same name in the Malabar District of the Madras Presidency, later Province; it is now the centre of the District of Kozhikode in the Kerala State of the Indian Union.

In pre-Muslim times, the region around Kalikat fell within the powerful Hindu kingdom of the Čolas. The commander of the Khaldjī sultans of Dihlī, Malik Kāfūr [*q.v.*], broke through the Deccan to the Malabar coast for the first time in the opening years of the 8th/14th century, although this success was short-lived [see maʿbar]. It was, however, probably as a result of Muslim knowledge of the region that the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was able *ca.* 739/1338 to visit the Malabar coast and, specifically, Kalikat (which he spells as Ḳāliḳūṭ). He describes the ruler there as an infidel having the title of Sāmarī, a rendering of Malayalam *sāmūri* or *sāmūtiri*, a vernacular modification of Skr. *sāmandri* "sea king", which the Portuguese subsequently rendered as Samorin or Zamorin. There was already a substantial community there of Muslim traders, who

had commercial connections with the Maldive Islands, Ceylon, Java and China. There was a *s̲h̲āhbandar* [*q.v.*] or head of the Muslim merchant community *vis-à-vis* the ruler, called Ibrāhīm, who came from Baḥrayn, and also a *ḳāḍī* and the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of a Ṣūfī *zāwiya* or hospice in the town. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted a large number of Chinese ships in the busy harbour, and it was in one of these junks that he then embarked for China (*Riḥla*, iv, 88-94, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, 812-14, cf. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither*, London 1914-15, iv, 24-6; on the Chinese presence at Kalikat, see Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ³London 1903, ii, 391-2 n. 5).

In 1370 the Malabar coast passed into the general control of the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vid̲j̲ayanagar [*q.v.*] and remained under non-Muslim rule with the exception of a short period towards the end of the 17th century when the Mug̲h̲al emperor Awrangzīb overran the Deccan. As in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time, Kalikat itself remained under the rule of its Zamorins till the 18th century.

Another Muslim, the historian ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ [*q.v.*] al-Samarḳandī, was sent as an envoy to the Zamorin of Kalikat by the Tīmūrid S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ in 846/1442, and mentions seeing ships from the Horn of Africa and Zanzibar in its harbour; the numerous local Muslim community had two mosques and a S̲h̲āfiʿī *ḳāḍī*. It was just after this, in 1444, that the first European to visit Kalikat, Nicolo Conti, came from Cochin. The Zamorins extended their authority with the help of the Muslim traders, and in the 15th century Kalikat became the most important town on the Malabar coast. Malabar was also a part of India where the Portuguese endeavoured to establish forts and trading factories, with Covilha at Kalikat in 1486 and Vasco da Gama there in 1498. A factory was set up in 1500, but immediately destroyed by the local Muslims, whose monopoly of trade was now seriously and, in the end, fatally challenged; a fort was built in 1511, but evacuated in 1525, the end of Portuguese activities at Kalikat. European settlements were more successful at Cannanore or Kannanūr [*q.v.*] and at Cochin, whose Rād̲j̲ās were enemies of the Zamorins, hence sought European help and support.

The English first appeared at Kalikat in 1615 when three ships under Captain William Keeling arrived. In 1664 the English East India Company opened a factory; in 1698 the French Company opened one; and in 1752 the Danish did likewise. The extensive trade in cotton cloths exported from Kalikat—Marco Polo mentions the fine textiles of Malabar—was the origin of the English term calico (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 147-8). By the later 17th century, the power of the Zamorins was in decline, but they continued to be hostile to foreigners. Kalikat suffered badly in the Mysore Wars of the later 18th century, being sacked by the Muslim armies of Ḥaydar ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Mysore in 1773, and those of his son Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.v.*] in 1788, who tried to establish a rival capital in Malabar on the south bank of the nearby Beypore river. In 1790 Kalikat was occupied by East India Company troops, and by the Treaty of Seringapatam of 1792, the town passed finally under British control.

A significant proportion of the town's population remained Muslim, under their Hindu and then British rulers, being part of the Māppila community of Muslims on the Malabar coast [see MAPPILA]. In the 1901 census, they formed 40% of Kalikat's 77,000 population, with over 40 mosques, including the S̲h̲ēkkindē Palli, with the shrine and tomb of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Māmu Koyā, said to have come from Egypt to Kalikat in the 16th century. In 1970 the town had a population of 330,000, and in 2003, 453,700.

Bibliography: C.A. Innes, *Madras District gazetteers. Malabar and Anjengo*, Madras 1908, 45 ff., 380-9; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², ix, 289-91. For studies on the history of the Malabar coast and the European presence there, see the *Bibls.* to MAʿBAR and MAPPILA.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

KALIMANTAN, PULAU KALIMANTAN, or KLEMANTAN, one of the pre-colonial names of the island of Borneo [*q.v.* in Suppl.], one of the larger Sunda Islands in present-day Indonesia and Malaysia. The name is officially used in Indonesia for the whole island, whereas in Malaysia the term Borneo, derived by the Portuguese from the name of the old and once powerful sultanate of Brunei [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the north, is still in use. About three-quarters of the island is part of the Indonesian Republic, being divided into four provinces: West, Central, South and East Kalimantan. The northern states of Sarawak and Sabah [*q.vv.*] are part of the Federation of Malaysia (since 1963), while the Sultanate of Brunei re-obtained its independence from British protection in 1984.

The present article deals essentially with the ethnic and social structures of the whole island; for the Indonesian part of the island specifically, see BORNEO, in Suppl. The whole island covers an area of *ca.* 755,000 km². As most of the area is, or was, covered by tropical rain forest growing partly on swampy ground, particularly in the vast plains in the south, the population density was very thin; an average of 22 people per km² was counted. Bigger settlements are usually found on river shores not too far away from their mouths, thus presenting themselves as strategic places for rule and commerce. The people used to live in villages or longhouses on the shores of the huge rivers that, until recently, together with their tributaries, were almost the only ways of communication for most parts of the island, except in the mountainous areas where rapids and ravines made shipping almost impossible.

Ethnologists usually divide the indigenous population of Kalimantan into two major groups: the "Malays" and the "Dayaks". These terms, however, should not be taken necessarily to denote ethnic, or even cultural identities. In both groups, a large variety of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and tribal entities exist. In very general terms, "Malay" denotes those individuals or groups who *masuk Islam* ("became Muslims") and therefore either considered themselves to have taken over "Malay" religion and *adat* (customs), or who were considered by their former kinsfolk to have left their old relationships and adopted a new and strange identity, namely, the Malay one. "Dayak" then covers all those indigenous tribes and groups who did not become Muslim but either kept to their traditional religious and cultural identities or, later, became Christians.

Such "ethnic switching" of the "Malays" was not a general rule, however, as sometimes is taken for granted. Some of those groups who turned to Islam still maintained a number of their traditions, e.g. living in longhouses, or continuing their own nutrition habits. Thus e.g. the Bakumpai in the south Barito districts in South Kalimantan did not take over Malay habits, although they became strong propagators of Islam to the Dayaks in the interior. Other tribal entities maintained parts of their traditional social structure and habits after converting to Islam, e.g. the Bajau on the west coast of Sabah and the Bajau Laut

(Sea Bajau) in the Tawau region (who may, however, originate from the Southern Philippines). The Islamic Madurese who were transplanted from the island of Madura and Eastern Java to West Kalimantan by the Indonesian army after 1965 and settled there on land owned formerly by Chinese refugees living there since the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644, met with the unanimous hostility of the Chinese (now partly Protestant, Catholic or traditional Chinese), the Dayaks (partly Christian or traditional), and the "Malays" from the former sultanate of Sambas. After the collapse of President Suharto and the power of his army who had sheltered them, they suffered a severe series of massacres.

The first strongholds of Islam on Kalimantan were those settlements that were already established as harbour and military watch stations under the Maritime Kingdom of Sri Vijaya which had its centre near Palembang [*q.v.*] in south Sumatra, and which vanished in the 14th century (particularly in West Kalimantan, like Sukadana, Sambas), or by the Javanese Empire of Majapahit which decayed at the end of the 15th century (e.g. Kutai [*q.v.*] in East Kalimantan). Muslim sultans established their power, and their seats of power continued their roles as trading and administrative centres. Other centres like Brunei and Banjarmasin [see BANDJARMASIN] followed suit, and these increased in importance for the "Malay" or regional traders when, first the Portuguese and later the Spaniards, and then the British and the Dutch, attempted to promote their trading interests. These traders, although only few among them were ethnic Malays, continued to use Malay as their *lingua franca* as they had done already in the times of (Buddhist) Sri Vijaya, and they were also the main communicators of Islamic teachings, first from a foothold in the coastal and sub-coastal settlements and from there penetrating into some of the up-river regions. The interior of the island remained, however, closed to them.

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KĀMILIYYA, an early Shīʿī sect which is normally mentioned for having criticised not only Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, as did the Rāfiḍa [*q.v.*], but also ʿAlī. The founder, a certain Abū Kāmil Muʿādh b. Ḥuṣayn al-Nabhānī, seems to have lived in Kūfa during the first decades of the 2nd century A.H., but has left no traces in later sources. He supported Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and therefore did not acknowledge anybody as *imām* who abstained from coming out for his rights. This verdict applied to ʿAlī as well as to his son Ḥasan; only Ḥusayn acted as an *imām* should do. Apart from that, Abū Kāmil seems to have shared some of the gnostic ideas proffered by Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIdjlī (executed under Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaqafī between 120/738 and 126/744 [see MANṢŪRIYYA]), e.g. metempsychosis. Among those who felt attracted to him was the father of the poet Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*]. His adherents followed Zayd b. ʿAlī's sons, Yaḥyā first and then ʿAlī, but when the latter joined al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]) and shared his defeat, they lost their orientation and faded away. Later heresiographers failed to recognise the identity of the sect; they had to entirely rely on a few lines of *hidjāʾ* poetry. Malevolent reporters like Maʿdān al-Shumayṭī changed the name into Kumayliyya. In Shīʿī tradition, the group sometimes appears as al-Ḥuṣayniyya (al-Nawbakhtī, al-Ḳummī, Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān).

Bibliography: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 17 ll. 4 ff.; Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, 39 ll. 3 ff.; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, 51 ll. 9 ff.; Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, 14 l. 10 and 74 §145; Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān, *al-Urdjūza al-mukhtāra*, ed. Poonawala, 210 vv. 2073 ff.; Ch. Pellat, in *Oriens*, xvi (1963), 102-3; J. van Ess, *Die Kāmilīya*, in *WI*, xxviii (1988), 141-53; idem, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jh. Hidschra*, i, Berlin 1991, 269-72.

(J. VAN ESS)

KANBŌ, KAMBŌ, SHAYKH DJAMĀLĪ, Suhrawardī Ṣūfī saint of early 10th/16th century Muslim India, who died in 941/1534-5 during the reign of the Mughal ruler Humāyūn [*q.v.*] and was buried at Mihrawlī. His son Gadāʾī [see GADĀʾĪ KAMBŌ, in Suppl.], whom Djamālī had in his lifetime made his *khalīfa* or spiritual successor within the Suhrawardī order, achieved equal religious influence at the courts of Humāyūn and then Akbar.

Bibliography: See that to GADĀʾĪ KAMBŌ.

(ED.)

ḲANTIMĪR, DEMETRIUS (Cantemir, Kantimiroğlu) (1673-1723), Hospodar (Rumanian "lord") or tributary prince of Moldavia during Ottoman times, and renowned musical practitioner and theorist. Born on 26 October 1673 at Silişteni, he was the son of Constantin, Prince of Moldavia (1685-93). In 1687 he was sent as a princely hostage to Istanbul, and was to stay there until 1691 and then again from 1693 until 1710, when he was himself appointed *Boghdān beyi*, i.e. governor of Moldavia [see BOGHDĀN]. But he promptly formed an alliance with Peter the Great, and was forced to flee as a result of the unexpected Ottoman victory of 1711, thereafter living in Russia, attached to the court. In 1722 he took part in the Caucasian campaign, but fell ill, and died on 21 August 1723.

Whatever the importance of his political role, it is his prodigious scholarly and creative achievements that justify his reputation as a major figure. As familiar with Islamic as with classical and contemporary European culture, he was a polymath who had interests in architecture, cartography and geography, and also wrote on philosophy and theology. In Western Europe he was considered important above all as an authority on the history and current state of the Ottoman Empire, and his *Incrementa atque decrementa aulæ Othomanicæ*, first published in 1734-5 in an English translation, was to remain the standard source on the Ottomans for a century, and is still of interest for its personal observations. A further important work that remained undeservedly in its shadow is the *Systema de religione et statu Imperii turcicii*.

In Turkey, on the other hand, where he is known as Kantemiroğlu, it is for his musical accomplishments that he is renowned. He was an outstanding *ṭunbūr* [*q.v.*] player; his innovative treatise was to exert a major influence on theoretical writing down to the middle of the 19th century; and the modern repertoire preserves a considerable number of pieces attributed to him. Some are spurious, but it is evident from those he included in his collection of notations, itself invaluable as a comprehensive record of late 17th-century Ottoman instrumental music, that he was a skillful and innovative composer.

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(O. Wright)

ḲAPLAN MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA (d. 1091/1680), Ottoman vizier and *ḳapudan pasha* [*q.v.*]. Educated in the palace school at Istanbul, he made his early career in the private household of the sultan or *enderūn* [*q.v.*]. Launched afterwards into a military and administrative career, Ḳaplan Muṣṭafā Pasha was appointed *beglerbegi* of Damascus before 1076/1666. From 6 February 1666 to April 1672, he served as Grand Admiral (*ḳapudan pasha*). Under the Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha Köprülü, he commanded the main squadron during the War of Candia (*Girid Seferi* [see IḲRĪTISH; ḲANDIYA]. In 1077/1666 his fleet of 47 galleys served to transport men and materials to Crete. On 30 October 1666, the Grand Vizier boarded the admiral's flagship (*bashtarda*) at Termis Iskelesi (the fortress of Ternis, Thermisia, present-day Ermioni), or at Monemvasia, Menekshe [*q.v.*], in order to go to the front in Crete. In the next year, he made a punitive raid on the Cyclades, sacking the island of Paros [see PARA]. In 1672 he was made *beglerbegi* of Aleppo and appointed *serʿasker* (commander of the field army) for the Sultan Meḥemmed IV's Polish campaign, and in the following year he was made *beglerbegi* of Diyār Bakr.

Muṣṭafā Pasha fought before Cehrin (Čyhyryn), the seat of the Ukrainian hetman Doroshenko, at that time an Ottoman ally, in 1674/1085 and again in 1089/1678, reconquering that fortress on 2-3 Redjeb 1089/20-1 August 1678. From 1678/1089, Muṣṭafā was Grand Admiral for the second time till his death in the harbour of Izmir on 10 Shawwāl 1091/5 December 1680 while cruising the Archipelago.

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KARAM (A.), the qualities of nobility of character, magnanimity, generosity, all the virtues making up the noble and virtuous man (see *WbKAS*, *Letter Kāf*, Wiesbaden 1970, 142-3). For a discussion of honour and nobility, see ʿIRḌ; MURŪʾA and SHARAF.

KARAMANLIDIKA [see TURKS. II. vi, in Suppl.]

ḲARAṬĀY (or ḲIRṬĀY) AL-ʿIZZĪ AL-KHĀZINDĀRĪ, an author of the Mamlūk period about whom very little is known.

His name would seem to indicate that he was a *mamlūk* of a *khāzindār* or treasurer. Three fragments of his chronicle, called *Taʾrīkh al-Nawādir mimmā djarā li ʾl-awāʾil wa ʾl-awākhir*, have been preserved, the most interesting being that covering the years 626-89/1228-90 (Gotha A 1655), in which the author says that he was writing between 1293 and 1341. This latter part is not free from faults (chronological errors, anecdotes which are hard to verify, and legends mixed with real events), hence should be used only with care, but its interest lies in the fact that it transmits oral sources contemporary with the author, certain information stemming from highly-placed personages of the final years of the Ayyūbid period, such as Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn Maṭrūḥ [*q.v.*], and likewise some fragments of the abridged, and little-known, history of al-Nāṣir Ḳalāwūn's reign composed by the *ḳāḍī* Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn al-Waḥīd. The author was, moreover, largely inspired by the well-known chronicle of Ibn Wāṣil [*q.v.*] and may have used a source common to himself and Ibn al-Dawādārī [*q.v.*].

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ḲĀSIM ARSLĀN (?-995/?-1587), Indo-Muslim poet, court panegyrist of the Mughal emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] in the later 10th/16th century.

Details regarding his life and career are scanty. According to *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, he was originally a native of Ṭūs; but most other writers refer to him as Mashhadī, which would indicate that he might have lived in Mashhad. He was brought up in Transoxania and went to India during Akbar's reign. It is related that he took Arslān as his pen-name because his father claimed descent from Arslān Djādhib, a military commander of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Ḳāsim Arslān is described as a man of broad religious views, enjoying a witty, sociable and generous disposition. Apart from his status as a poet, he was known in his time as a skilled calligrapher, specialising in the *nastaʿlīḳ* style. His *dīwān*, which is rare, comprises various kinds of poems. One of his *ḳaṣīdas* is addressed to the Eighth Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā and expresses the poet's devotion to the Shīʿī leader. His *ghazals*, mostly short, describe amatory feelings in simple speech. His chronograms, for which he is especially noted, are useful in providing dates of certain historical events. He died, according to most accounts, at Lahore in 995/1587.

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ḲAṢR (A.), pl. *ḳuṣūr*, most probably from Grk. *kastron*, Latin *castrum*, has the general sense of "a fortified place", hence "residence of an *amīr* or ruler, palace, or any building on a larger scale than a mere house".

1. In the central and eastern Islamic lands. See for this, SARĀY, and note also that in the Persian lands, a synonym for this in early mediaeval usage (e.g. in Narshakhī, Bayhaḳī, Djūzdjānī) is often *kūshk* (MP *kōshk*), yielding Eng. and Ger. *kiosk*, Fr. *kiosque*.

2. In the Maghrib.

Here, from the vocalic changes frequent in Maghribī dialects, we often find the pronunciation *ḳṣar*, pl. *ḳṣūr*. The term has here various semantic strata that have to be illuminated by close examination of the various texts available and by archaeological investigation, and in the light of the complex material factors concerning the Maghribī habitat from mediaeval times until long afterwards. Hence it denotes here: (a) a palace, the place from which political authority is exercised, or an aristocratic residence; (b) a fortified place, a small fort or a full-scale fortress; (c) a fortified complex for community habitation; and (d) a collective granary or store house.

A. The evidence of mediaeval texts

The palace. The term is usually used in the texts to denote a palace, a place of residence for a person wielding authority, such as the *ḳaṣr al-ḳadīm* which the Aghlabid *amīr* Ibrāhīm I had built in 184/800, on the site of the princely town of al-ʿAbbāsiyya, not far from al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 328; al-Bakrī, *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. and tr. de Slane, repr. Paris 1965, 28/64), or the palaces (*ḳuṣūr*) built in 263/876 by the *amīr* Ibrāhīm II in his new princely residence of Raḳḳāda [*q.v.*] (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, 27/62, 147/135; Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 299). Al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], the first royal residence founded by the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya, additionally included the palaces of ʿUbayd Allāh and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 71/67; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, 30/67-8). In the far Maghrib, the fortress built by the Almoravids at the moment of the foundation of Marrākush [*q.v.*] was called the Ḳaṣr al-Ḥadjar (Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 20). The term served to designate at one and the same time palaces, including the governmental headquarters or princely residence, and also the residences (*ḳuṣūr*) of the Almohad leaders, each of which comprised houses (*diyār*), gardens (*basātīn*), a bathhouse (*ḥammām*) and stables (*iṣṭablāt*) (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, B.N. Paris ms. No. 5868, fol. 67b, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, 179).

Fortresses, places for garrisons and the fortified community habitats. Although frequently used in texts from the mediaeval period, the term *ḳaṣr* has no homogenous geographical distribution. It is rare in the western regions, from Tilimsān/Tlemcen to the Atlantic, where toponyms like *ḥiṣn* and *ḳalʿa* are very clearly predominant, but places denominated as *ḳuṣūr* are numerous from Tripolitania to the region of Tāhart, passing through Ifrīḳiya, where they often correspond to fortresses whose construction goes back to Byzantine times (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 31/69, 50/108; al-Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, 157/144-5). However, in their grouping, the fortified sites thus described as *ḳaṣr* or *ḳuṣūr* do not appear to be, above all, places for garrisons but rather centres for population, a role that certain fortresses dating from Byzantine times already played at the time of the Arab conquest (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 224, 228, 239; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, 13/34). In Ifrīḳiya, as in the far Maghrib, the term thus denotes a village or a fortified town (*ibid.*, 47/101, 153/292), or a fortified place where the surrounding people come to take refuge when necessary (al-Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis and Tripoli 1981, 56, 119). Corresponding to an agglomeration on a more important scale, the term finally denotes nuclei of people, and these may be of a pre-urban or an urban nature. Thus Tāhart was in origin made up of several *ḳuṣūr* (B. Zerouki, *L'imamat de Tahart, premier état musulman du Maghreb*, i, Paris 1987, 132-3); it was probably similarly the case at Sidjilmāsa (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 91/89).

B. The pre-modern *ḳṣūr* in the Maghrib

The fortified villages of the Saharan wastes. In North African toponomy, Arabic *ḳṣar* frequently replaces its Berber equivalent *igherm* (pl. *igherman*) when applied to the fortified villages characteristic of a type of habitat peculiar to the ante-Saharan zones: in Morocco, in the valleys of the Zīz, Dadès and Draa, from the Sūs in the west to Tāfīlālt in the east, and from the Atlas from north of the Draa to the south; and in Algeria, the regions of Tuwāt [*q.v.*] and Gourara [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and that of Mzāb [*q.v.*]. In its "completed" form, i.e. pre-modern one, such as one still finds in Morocco, the *ḳṣar* appears as a fortified village with a rectangular plan, surrounded by a protective wall flanked with towers and with angled bastions; the space thus circumscribed, with a dense network of contiguous houses, is criss-crossed by several narrow streets whose pattern is based on more or less orthogonal axes. The regular form depends on the topographical conditions of the site; if the *ḳṣūr* of the plains of southern Morocco most often show a regular pattern, the mountain villages are made up of houses huddled together and presenting a continuous front view, whilst in the Algerian Sahara, the overwhelming majority of *ḳṣūr* simply consist of an agglomeration with a dense and complex pattern whose general contours attest an organic pattern of growth. As an economic centre and place of refuge, and as a nucleus for sedentarisation, the *ḳṣar* forms the basic political unit of these regions. In the southeast of Morocco, the management of the internal affairs of the *ḳṣar* is confided to two distinct political entities: the chief (*shaykh* or *amghar*) elected once a year is seconded by the chiefs of the quarters or the great families (*mzarig* or *amur*) in order to avoid power being gathered up into the hands of a single kinship group. These balancing factors, which make up a small council (*djamāʿa* [*q.v.*]), are guarantees of a social order that is expressed by means of prescribed forms and customary rules, often set down in writing.

The collective granary in the eastern Maghrib. In south-eastern Tunisia, the term *ḳṣar* further denotes a collective storehouse where the local people, living in the valleys near to cultivated fields, come to store their grain. The mountainous Tuniso-Libyan arc and its outliers, some 150 km/95 miles long, contains a hundred or so of these *ḳṣūr*, with similar ones in Algeria, in the region of Gourara. Built on a hilltop with escarpmented slopes, the *ḳṣar* here generally has a quadrangular plan, with its protective wall formed by the placing together of narrow rooms (*ghurfas*) with cradle vaulting, sometimes placed above each other on two or three levels, access to them being by an improvised outside ladder. Although nobody lives there,

the *ḳṣar* is nonetheless a focus for the social life of peoples living a dispersed or troglodytic way of life. Sometimes it provides shelter for some artisanal activities, and it forms the point near to which an important market may on occasion be held. Likewise, one finds the mosque or *muṣallā* [*q.v.*], sometimes with a cemetery associated with it, at some distance away from the *ḳṣar* yet at the same time associated with it.

The overall view. It is extremely difficult, for reasons both historical and methodological, to trace the evolution of the habitat which finally contributed to the emergence of the "completed" form of the *ḳṣar*, the fortified village of the high plateaux of the Moroccan steppelands, more characteristic of certain regions which are in majority Berberophone than really "typical"—as has often been said—of a certain "Berber style of architecture". Various influences have been suggested in this regard: that of Africa, put forward at the time of the first exploratory travels, has speedily been forgotten, even if Terrasse perpetuated it in a certain manner by finding in the *ḳṣūr* an imprint of Pharaonic Egypt. The geometrical disposition of the Moroccan *ḳṣar*, above all the presence of a principal axis which serves the groups of dwelling places, has generated as many arguments in favour of the thesis of an influence from the Roman-Byzantine *castellum*, whilst the brick decoration which often ornaments the whole ensemble has raised the question of connections with the East and with Hispano-Moresque art. Suffice it to say that these suggestions still today do not go beyond simple formal or stylistic likenesses.

The problem of tracing the origin of the type is further exacerbated by the difficulty of dating these groupings, given the very fragmentary historical data and the absence of archaeological remains which can be firmly dated. Thus, although the Moroccan *ḳṣar* has for a long time been considered as an example of a "traditional" and "archaic" form of architecture, and therefore of an undateable nature, its existence is not attested by any sure material piece of evidence before at least the 17th and 18th centuries. The uncertainty over the dating—or at least, over the relative chronology—of these fortified villages has given rise to two postulates: (1) the prior dating of those with plans shows an organic growth compared with those having geometrical plans—*ḳṣūr* with regular plans are considered later than those which, in Tuwāt and elsewhere in the Sahara, show in their plans no concern for symmetry; and (2) *terre pisée* was substituted for stone—the *ḳṣūr* constructed of baked earth is seen as the end product of a process of change from the more ancient fortresses built in stone. These theories, even if they cannot be regarded as totally invalid, must, however, be approached with great prudence because of their neglect for the socio-economic and topographical considerations which brought about the conditions for the construction of these sites, and because of the *a priori* definition of a linear evolution of the construction techniques which they presuppose. Studies on the typologies involved, supported by the most rigorous possible surface explorations, are required to understand the phenomenon of the *ḳṣar* in all its breadth, geographical and chronological. J.-Cl. Echallier has accordingly made an exploration and inventory of over 300 *ḳṣūr* in the Gourara-Tuwāt region. Starting from formal criteria, he proposes classifying the ensemble of these sites into six main groups, ranging from storehouses used as refuges on rocky peaks (type I) to regular walled enclosures in unfired brick, displaying a sense of care in the organisation of the interior spaces (type VI). In southeastern Tunisia, some inscriptions on plasterwork placed on the arcading of the entrance vaulting, from which access leads into the *ḳṣar*, bear a date. A. Louis has studied and published the account of a granary which served as a place of refuge, the Ḳṣar Zanāta, which in this way dates to 475/1082-3, whilst at the Ḳṣar Djouama, an inscription dates either the building or the restoration of this part of the building to 1178/1764-5. The gap between these two dates indicates the degree of uncertainty which still reigns in the studies on the evolution of these forms of habitation in the Maghrib.

Often placed in connection with the general phenomenon of a crisis which ruptured the complementary relationship between two types of economy, the nomadic and the sedentary, and which led to periods of conflict and change, it seems that the *ḳṣar* of southern Morocco and southern Algeria, like the communal storehouses of southeastern Tunisia, can be placed, in a more global and more nuanced way, in relationship to a situation of transition between nomadism and sedentarisation. This particular form of a place for keeping commodities and for refuge, or as a place for habitation, would thus form a nucleus for sedentarisation around which the territory of a given human group becomes organised. The *ḳṣar*, so characteristic of certain North African landscapes, is an architectural form on the verge of disappearing because of the major changes of recent decades in social relations and techniques. In these regions, it is now the village which has succeeded the *ḳṣar* as the basic element of social cohesion.

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ḲAṢR ABĪ DĀNIS, a settlement of Islamic Portugal, revealed by archaeological excavations on the ancient site of Salacia, to the south of Lisbon, and on the site of the present convent of Aracoeli, the modern Alcácer do Sal.

It dates from the 3rd/9th century, when coastal defences were being erected against the Viking attacks which had begun in 230/844 [see AL-MADJŪS]. The fortress occupied a major strategic site, up-river from the mouth of the Sado. According to Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Ḥayyān, it was in the course of the *fitna* in this century, during the reign of the Umayyad *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh, that the Banū Dānis, Berbers driven from the region of Coimbra, besieged the place, which received their name. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III brought the region under his authority, he confirmed the Banū Dānis as chiefs in the town, which now became the

capital of a *kūra* and grew into a prosperous centre. Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [see AL-MANṢŪR BI ʾLLĀH] made it into an important naval dockyard for attacking the shrine of St. James of Compostella in 387/997. As the main maritime outlet for the Afṭasids [*q.v.*] of Badajoz, Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis retained its role as a dockyard and arsenal and was also, according to al-Idrīsī, a prosperous commercial port. After the fall of Lisbon in 542/1147, the town was first taken by Afonso Henriques, but recovered by the Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr in 587/1191 before its definitive fall in 614/1217. Immediately after this, Muslim Alcácer declined in favour of Setúbal.

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ḲAṢR AL-MUSHĀSH, an Umayyad period archaeological site in Jordan located 40 km/25 miles southeast of ʿAmmān. The core of the site consists of a *ḳaṣr*, a water reservoir and a bath, surveyed by King in 1980-1 and excavated by Bisheh in 1982-3. The *ḳaṣr* measures 26 m/85 feet square and consists of rooms around an open central courtyard, without any corner towers, and could accommodate up to 40 people. Re-used in one wall is a stone with a Kufic inscription asking for the forgiveness of the sins of an unknown Radjā b. Bashshār. Nearby is a plastered cistern 4.8 m/16 feet in diameter once roofed by stone slabs supported by arches, intended to supply the inhabitants of the *ḳaṣr* with drinking water. At 400 m/1,312 feet west of the *ḳaṣr* is a plastered water reservoir measuring 25 m/82 feet square. The excavated bath house was a simple structure with four rooms: an apodyterium, frigidarium, tepidarium and caldarium with a furnace. The bath has none of the lavish decorations characteristic of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmrā or Ḥammām al-Ṣarākh [*q.vv.*]. Other uninvestigated reservoirs, cisterns, walled enclosures and barrages dot the site. The pottery at the site is predominantly Umayyad. The function of the site, without a sizeable resident population, was to serve as a watering stop for caravans travelling between ʿAmmān and the northern Arabian Peninsula via the Wādī Sirḥān. Reduced traffic along that route after the ʿAbbāsid revolution soon led to the abandonment of the site.

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ḲAṢR ṬŪBĀ, one of the so-called "desert castles" in Jordan, is located *ca.* 100 km/60 miles southeast of ʿAmmān. Since it is unfinished, information on the intended design of the elevations and the decorations are limited. The enclosure walls and the foundations were built of limestone, the remaining parts of brick. The building has a rectangular shape, measuring *ca.* 140 m (east-west) by *ca.* 70 m (north-south) and is flanked by five semicircular towers on the south side, two on the east and west sides. There was a round tower at each corner. In the north the arrangement is different (see below). The structure consists of two individual and identical halves, divided by a wall and connected with each other by a small passage. Each of the two buildings has a central courtyard of *ca.* 30 m by 30 m with rooms and/or smaller courtyards built around it. Entrance is given to each of the buildings by a gate flanked by square towers in the middle of northern façades. Between the two gates, a semicircular tower projects from the northern façade. Behind the gate, passages, *ca.* 6 m deep, lead into the courtyards. In each of the corners of the courtyards, traces of typical Umayyad *bayts*, i.e. two rooms flanking a central hall or courtyard on two sides, are to be found. This feature, in addition to the use of brick, the vaulting technique and the few decorations preserved, shows that the building must have been built in the late Umayyad period. Most authors consider al-Walīd II [*q.v.*] as the patron of this building.

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ḲASṬAL, one of the so-called Umayyad "desert castles", now in the Kingdom of Jordan. It lies *ca.* 15 km south of the centre of ʿAmmān. Its existence became known only at the beginning of the 20th century, following a publication by Brünnow and von Domaszewski (see *Bibl.*).

Until the 1970s, the period of its construction remained speculative, but since then there is little doubt that this desert castle was built in Umayyad times. The site consists of a palace and a mosque, the latter lying north of the palace. Changes in the construction as well as ceramic finds indicate that the place was used in the Ayyūbid-Mamlūk period as well as in later Ottoman times.

The palace is a square construction of *ca.* 59 × 59 m (without counting the towers), made of ashlars with cast work between the surfaces, with round corner towers and three semicircular intermediate towers on the northern, southern and western sides each, while the entrance was on the eastern side. The latter has four semicircular intermediate towers, two of which can be considered as part of the wings of the main entrance. Through a *ca.* 2 m-wide gate one enters into a space inside the tower, which is *ca.* 16 m deep and leads to an inner court of *ca.* 28 × 28 m. Around the inner court was a peristyle, behind which lay six groups of rooms, arranged *bayt*-wise (four on the eastern and western sides, with adjoining rooms in the corners, two on the northern and southern sides). Remains of an upper storey, which formerly surrounded the entire building, are only found in the neighbourhood of the tower room. The building thus

resembles other Umayyad sites, the palace at Djabal Says [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Kharāna and Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī [*q.vv.*] in particular.

A few metres off the western part of the northern palace wall lies a construction which originally was interpreted as a praetorium, but which is undoubtedly a mosque. Preserved are the remains of a rectangular surrounding wall of *ca.* 21 × 18 m, which encloses a courtyard and a prayer-house. Its north-western corner encloses a round tower with a diameter of *ca.* 6 m. From the southern side of the court a door leads to a rectangular prayer-room with a deeply vaulted *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*] in the middle of the southern wall. The mosque clearly shows three construction phases. The masonry of the earliest phase is the same as that of the inside constructions of the palace. It belongs to a mosque, which probably had a saddle roof. To this mosque also belonged the round tower, beyond all question one of the earliest minarets to survive. It proves that rectangular as well as round minarets were already erected in early Islamic times. In Ayyūbid-Mamlūk times the walls of the mosque were reinforced, and the original roof replaced by a barrel vault. In late Ottoman times, the mosque was further restored.

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KATHĪRĪ, a South Arabian tribal group and sultanate, the latter eventually becoming part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate prior to the departure of the British from South Arabia in 1967. Their origins were in the area of Ẓafār [*q.v.*] on the Indian Ocean, now within the Southern Region of the Sultanate of Oman [see ʿUMĀN], and they appear suddenly on the stage of history in the 9th/15th century. By the time the Eastern Aden Protectorate collapsed in 1967 after the departure of the British, the Kathīrī sultanate was made up of the centre and eastern end of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, tribal lands to the north of the Wādī towards the Empty Quarter [see AL-RUBʿ AL-KHĀLĪ] and to the south in the mountainous region towards the sea, although by this time they had no access to the sea. Their main towns were Say'ūn [*q.v.*], the capital of the sultanate, Tarīm [*q.v.*], the intellectual centre, al-Ghuraf, Būr and al-Ghurfa, all within Wādī Ḥaḍramawt.

The Kathīrī tribe was of Ẓanna (sometimes written Ḍanna in the Arabic sources) and, according to al-Shāṭirī (*Adwār*, 234), Ḳaḥṭānīs of Saba', and not of Hamdān. Al-Shāṭirī adds (352) that Ẓanna are believed to have come from Muscat (Masḳaṭ) and Ẓafār.

The Kathīrīs first took Ẓafār in 807/1404 (al-ʿAlawī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 684). They took the important port of al-Shiḥr [*q.v.*] from the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] in 867/1462. The port, always vulnerable from the sea, was not only the emporium of Indian trade in the area but also handled the traffic of the pilgrims bound for Ḳabr Hūd in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (Serjeant, *Portuguese*, 25 and see also his *Hūd*). Both trade and the pilgrimage traffic were huge sources of revenue. The exact situation is not clear, however, and it seems that the Kathīrīs on occasion held al-Shiḥr as governors of the Ṭāhirids.

The expansionist policies of the Kathīrīs are associated with the famous Badr Bū Ṭuwayriḳ (*r.* 922-77/1516-70). He fought the Mahra [*q.v.*] tribes to the east of al-Shiḥr, and endeavoured to keep the Portuguese and the Turks at bay as far as he could, playing them off against each other. He was able to pursue campaigns into Ḥaḍramawt, using Turkish-Portuguese rivalry to his own advantage. Badr even made use of the Turks and the Portuguese: with the aid of the former in 926/1520 he took Shibām, and with Portuguese musketeers he made gains in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt in 945/1539 (al-Kindī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 164; Serjeant, *Portuguese*, 28). His successes in Ḥaḍramawt may well have been because of his access to firearms introduced by the Turks in the expedition against Shibām. He had no strong religious sentiment against the Portuguese, but this earned him the resentment of many Ḥaḍramīs who urged holy war against him (Serjeant, *Portuguese*, 27-30, 57).

Al-Kindī in his *Ta'rīkh* provides a whole catalogue of Kathīrī activities in mediaeval times in Ḥaḍramawt and on the coast. In 926/1520, for example, Badr went on to take both Tarīm and al-Ghurfa. In 934/1527, he struck coins in al-Shiḥr. Under the year 942/1535, the killing of a number of Portuguese is reported, others being shackled and plundered. The Kathīrīs were also in touch with the Turks and the Egyptians. In 943/1536, Badr began the building of the fortress of Ghayl Bā Wazīr in the coastal area. The year 944/1537 marked the arrival in al-Shiḥr of a Turkish galley to assist Badr against the Portuguese. It was announced that the *khuṭba* was to be pronounced in the name of the Ottoman sultan, Sulaymān Bā Yazīd (i.e. Süleymān the Magnificent). After Badr's death in 977/1569, there was less stability in the Kathīrī house. Reports for the following years reflect internecine squabbles (al-Kindī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 164, 165, 180, 182, 185, 215, 216 and *passim*).

The struggle in 1064/1653 between the two Badrs of the Kathīrī family, Badr b. ʿUmar and Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh, brought the Zaydīs [see ZAYDIYYA] of the Yemen into the affairs of Ḥaḍramawt (al-Wazīr, *Ṭabaḳ al-ḥalwā*, 135 ff.). Badr b. ʿUmar al-Kathīrī, lord of Ḥaḍramawt, al-Shiḥr and Ẓafār, having already embraced the Zaydī rite, had the *khuṭba* pronounced in the name of the Zaydī Imām al-Mutawakkil (*r.* 1054-87/1644-76 [*q.v.*]). His nephew, Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kathīrī, had Badr b. ʿUmar arrested and imprisoned near Say'ūn (Serjeant, *Omani naval activities*, 78). Al-Mutawakkil reacted swiftly to Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh's action against his uncle. Much correspondence passed between him and the Kathīrī, and the latter finally submitted, though Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh was resentful of the Imām's intervention and his submission was clearly a sham. Badr b. ʿUmar was obliged to flee Ẓafār, where the Imām had secured his governorship as part of his agreement with Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh, and finally arrived at the Imām's court in Ṣanʿā' [*q.v.*] in 1069/1659. This state of affairs now brought about a full-scale Zaydī military expedition into Ḥaḍramawt under the command of Ṣafī 'l-Islām Aḥmad b. Ḥasan and accompanied by Badr b. ʿUmar. Ṣafī 'l-Islām was able to subdue Ḥaḍramawt itself, but then experienced difficulties in supplying his large Zaydī army. He was thus unable to deal with the problem of Ẓafār, by this time under an ʿUmānī *amīr*. He returned from Say'ūn to Ṣanʿā' (Serjeant, *Omani naval activities*, 79-80). By about 1080/1670, Zaydī influence in Ḥaḍramawt had declined and the Kathīrī sultans were in independent control there (*ibid.*, 84). Once again, sources provide a rather confused and lengthy catalogue of Kathīrī activities: military movements, battles, tribal problems and agreements, these involving also the Yāfiʿīs [see YĀFIʿ], who had entered the area, on occasion the Zaydīs, and from the mid-19th century onwards the Ḳuʿayṭīs.

The Government of Bombay's *Account of the Arab tribes*, compiled at the beginning of the 20th century, indicates (123) that Kat̲h̲īrī territory had originally been carved out of ʿAwlaḳī lands in the west and Mahra in the east, and included al-Mukallā on the coast, until 1881 when it passed to the Ḳuʿayṭī, and al-S̲h̲iḥr. The Kat̲h̲īrī sultanate lost much ground to the Yāfiʿīs and Ḳuʿayṭīs in the latter half of the 19th century. The *Account*, reporting on the Kat̲h̲īrī, also reports a total of 7,000 fighting males. Many Kat̲h̲īrī subjects were scattered over parts of India, Java, Singapore and East Africa, engaged in trade.

In 1883, Sultan ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Kat̲h̲īrī visited the British Resident in Aden to assess the attitude of the British to his seizing al-Mukallā and al-S̲h̲iḥr from the Ḳuʿayṭī. The British answer was firm and to the point: if the Kat̲h̲īrī attacked the ports, the British would come to the aid of the Ḳuʿayṭī with a gunboat. The Kat̲h̲īrīs continued to smart at their loss of access to the sea (*Account*, 123).

It is interesting to note that in 1895, the Kat̲h̲īrīs still at this time had designs on their native region and they took Ẓafār, although they were unable to hang on to it for longer than two years. The *Account* also reports (124) that there was little contact between the Kathīrī and the Aden Residency in the 1860s and '70s and that there was none at all in the '80s and '90s. Unlike most of the other Aden Protectorate states, the Kat̲h̲īrī signed no 19th-century formal treaty of protection with Britain (*Account*, 130). They are, however, listed (154-5) among those states "having relations with Aden Residency". Their annual revenue is quoted as 24,000 rupees, although there was no stipend from the Residency. The sultan in 1906 when the *Account* was published was Manṣūr b. G̲h̲ālib.

It was only during the 1930s that relations between the Kat̲h̲īrī and the British became closer, the rapprochement occurring in the wake of the famous "Ingrams Peace", when the first British political officer in Ḥaḍramawt, Harold Ingrams, brought about a general peace between the years 1937-40 in the tribal lands of both Ḳuʿayṭī and Kat̲h̲īrī (Ingrams, *Arabia*, 10-19). This resulted in the political, social, agricultural, educational and medical development of both sultanates, including the completion of a road from Tarīm in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt to al-S̲h̲iḥr on the coast, and the increased British involvement in their affairs, culminating in the separate British administration of the Kat̲h̲īrī, Ḳuʿayṭī, Mahra and Wāḥidī [*q.v.*] sultanates as the Eastern Aden Protectorate. In March 1939, a treaty between the Kat̲h̲īrī and the British was finally signed (Smith, *"Ingrams Peace", Ḥaḍramawt, 1937-40*, see *Bibl.*; for the texts of the treaty, see *Records of Aden*, 239-40).

The sultanates of the Eastern Aden Protectorate never entered the Federation which was formed and fostered by the British in the Western Aden Protectorate. At the time of the withdrawal of the British in 1967, the Kat̲h̲īrī sultanate became a part of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. In 1990, with the unity of north and south Yemen, the whole of what had been the Eastern Aden Protectorate became a part of the Yemen Republic [see AL-YAMAN. 3(b)] with its capital at Ṣanʿāʾ.

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AL-ḲAṬĪFĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. SULAYMĀN, Imāmī S̲h̲īʿī jurist of the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

He is most famous for his acrimonious dispute with his supposed classmate (or teacher), the influential ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Karakī (d. 940/1534 [*q.v.*]). Al-Ḳaṭīfī moved from his birthplace Baḥrayn to ʿIrāḳ to study (some date this move to 913/1507). Apart from a pilgrimage to Mas̲h̲had, supposedly with al-Karakī, at some unknown date, he appears to have spent the rest of his academic life in southern ʿIrāḳ (Nad̲j̲af and later Ḥilla), teaching and writing. His academic output is mostly inspired by his personal and religious animosity towards al-Karakī. Al-Karakī had gained the favour of the Ṣafawid S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*], and al-Ḳaṭīfī accused him of egotism and legal chicanery aimed at personal enrichment. Such accusations can be found throughout al-Ḳaṭīfī's most famous work *al-Sirād̲j̲ al-wahhād̲j̲*, a detailed refutation of al-Karakī's *Ḳāṭiʿat al-lad̲j̲ād̲j̲*. The debate here concerned the legitimacy of land-tax (*k̲h̲arād̲j̲*) payable to the ruler. Whilst al-Karakī, benefiting personally from *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* revenue, argued that it was a permitted tax during the occultation (*g̲h̲ayba* [*q.v.*]) of the Imām, al-Ḳaṭīfī maintained that Ṣafawid rule was (legally speaking) illegitimate; no Ṣafawid tax could be legitimate and no gifts bestowed by the S̲h̲āh could be accepted. In one incident in Karbalāʾ, al-Ḳaṭīfī publicly refused to accept a gift brought by al-Karakī from S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp.

Most of al-Ḳaṭīfī's works remain in manuscript, and nearly all appear to be refutations of al-Karakī's views on subjects such as the *d̲j̲umʿa* prayer, fosterage and fasting. Some have linked al-Ḳaṭīfī to the emerging Ak̲h̲bārī school [see AK̲H̲BĀRIYYA, in Suppl.], but his juristic reasoning, though conservative, appears within the mainstream of S̲h̲īʿī jurisprudence. His date of death is unknown, but he is reported to have been alive as late as 951/1544.

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ĶAWĀʿID FIĶHIYYA (A.), legal principles, legal maxims, general legal rules (sing. *ķāʿida fiķhiyya*). These are *madhhab*-internal legal guidelines that are applicable to a number of particular cases in various fields of the law, whereby the legal determinations (*aḥkām*) of these cases can be derived from these principles. They reflect the logic of a school's legal reasoning and thus impart a "scaffolding" to the "case-law" (*furūʿ*).

Historically, general rules can be found already strewn throughout early *furūʿ* works. They were first collected by Ḥanafīs like Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī (d. 340/952), but under the title of *uṣūl* rather than *ķawāʿid*. (As a result, the term *aṣl* acquires, minimally, a fourfold meaning: (1) an act that has already been legally determined and now serves as a "model" for similar cases; (2) a scriptural pronouncement (Ķurʾān or Ḥadīth) that is considered decisive for the legal determination of a given act; (3) a legal principle, under which several individual cases are subsumed; (4) a source of the law, such as the Ķurʾān.) But this early start hardly bore fruit, and it is only around the 7th/13th century that all the legal schools began to produce books on *ķawāʿid* (predominantly with this term in the title of their books), except (!) the Ḥanafīs. This strange gap in the latter's record is probably not to be attributed to a loss of their works, because the Ḥanafī scholar, Ibn Nudjaym (d. 970/1563 [*q.v.*]), complains about the fact that his school has nothing to compete with against the Shāfiʿīs in this respect (*Ashbāh*, 15)—a situation that he tries to redress by writing a *ķawāʿid* book on the model of the Shāfiʿī Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī's (d. 771/1370 [*q.v.*]) work. Some of the most influential *ķawāʿid* works of the later period bear the title *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, such as those of the Shāfiʿīs Ibn al-Wakīl (d. 716/1317), Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), as well as that of the Ḥanafī Ibn Nudjaym. According to the co-editor of Ibn al-Wakīl's book, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAnķarī, *ashbāh* refers to cases that are alike in appearance (*ẓāhir*) and legal status, while *naẓāʾir* denotes cases that are alike in appearance, but differ in legal status. Whether this is generally true remains to be seen. Look-alike cases of the latter type are dealt with in the *furūķ* literature, the *farķ* being the decisive difference that brings about a different legal determination (*ḥukm*). Since sections on *furūķ* do occur in *ashbāh wa-naẓāʾir* works, one may consider such works an umbrella genre that comprises both the *ķawāʿid* deduced from truly similar cases and the *furūķ* indicating the differences between outwardly similar cases. Logically, and probably also historically, the establishment of similitudes among cases precedes the formulation of legal rules/maxims based on them as well as the recognition of *furūķ* as obstacles to the subsumption of cases under a single rule.

However, with regard to the *ķawāʿid*, this picture is too simple. Although generally valid rules (*al-ķawāʿid al-kulliyya al-fiķhiyya*) do exist, they are outnumbered by rules that are only "preponderant" (*al-ķawāʿid al-aghlabiyya/al-aktharīyya*). In the *Īḍāḥ al-masālik ilā ķawāʿid al-imām Mālik* of al-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1508 [*q.v.*]) the relationship of the two types is 17 to 101, and a number of legal scholars assert that legal rules, as opposed to other rules, are always preponderantly valid. The generally valid rules are couched in maxims, the preponderantly valid ones in double questions, thus e.g. *darʾun 'l-mafāsidi muķaddamun ʿalā djalbi 'l-maṣāliḥ* "warding off corruptions has the priority over bringing about benefits" is a *ķāʿida kulliyya*, whereas *al-ẓannu hal yunķaḍu bi-'l-ẓanni am lā* "can a presumption be canceled by [another] presumption or not?" is a *ķāʿida aghlabiyya*. The term *aghlabī* refers to the fact that the non-subsumable cases are *istithnāʾāt* "exceptions" to the rule, rather than constituting a competing *ķāʿida*.

The unmistakable blossoming of *ķawāʿid* literature from the 7th/13th century onward expresses several tendencies:

(1) The focus of the *fuķahāʾ* is *madhhab*-internal, not independent, *idjtihād* (*i. muṭlaķ*). A good command of the *ķawāʾid* will qualify the jurisprudent as a *mudjtahid al-fatwā*, someone who can issue a legal opinion on the basis of the *ķawāʿid* of his school.

(2) The school-specific *ķawāʿid* were collected from the *furūʿ* works or, where the imāms and other earlier authorities had not been explicit about their principles, were arrived at by induction from their *furūʿ* decisions (*ķawāʿid istiķrāʾiyya*). Ibn al-Wakīl (d. 716/1317) and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Maķķarī (d. 758/1357) are said to have done their own *istiķrāʾ* of the major Shāfiʿī and Mālikī sources respectively (see al-Bāḥusayn, *Ķawāʿid*, 324 and 328).

(3) There is a certain competitiveness among the schools to reduce the *ķawāʿid* to the lowest possible number. The most extreme of these attempts is what Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī imputes to ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 660/1262 [see AL-SULAMĪ]), that he reduced the whole of the Law to one principle, to wit *djalb al-maṣāliḥ wa-darʾ al-mafāsid* "bringing about benefits and warding off corruptions" (see al-Subkī, *al-Ashbāh*, i, 12, referring to Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, *Ķawāʿid al-aḥkām*, i, 6 and 11). These attempts at keeping the number small do not have any practical importance for the lawyer. They are an outcome of the desire to structure the law with the greatest economy.

Although the *ķawāʿid* are mostly school-specific, some were generally accepted by all schools. Particularly famous are the so-called *al-ķawāʿid al-khams* "Five Principles". Attested since the 8th/14th century, they are the following (there are variations in wording and sequence):

(1) *al-umūru bi-maķāṣidihā* "Things [acts] are what they are through the intentions that bring them about";

(2) *al-ḍararu yuzāl* "Harm shall be removed";

(3) *al-ʿādatu muḥakkama* "Custom is made the arbiter";

(4) *al-mashaķķatu tadjlubu 'l-taysīr* "Hardship brings about facilitation";

(5) *al-yaķīnu lā yazūlu bi 'l-shakk* "Certainty is not erased (superseded) by doubt/uncertainty".

Restricting these principles, also called *al-ķawāʿid al-kubrā*, the "Major Principles", to the number five may result from a desire for balance; an attendant saying goes: *buniya 'l-Islāmu ʿalā khams wa 'l-fiķhu ʿalā khams* "Islam has been built on five [sc. the *arkān*] and so has jurisprudence".

As for the position of the *ķawāʿid* literature within legal studies, one may quote the Mālikī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ķarāfī (d. 684/1285), who says at the beginning of his *furūķ* work that there are two kinds of *uṣūl*: *uṣūl al-fiķh* and *al-ķawāʿid al-fiķhiyya al-kulliyya* (*al-Furūķ*, i, 2), and the Ḥanafī Ibn Nudjaym who made the shocking statement that the *ķawāʿid* are the real *uṣūl al-fiķh* (*al-Ashbāh*, 15). While the latter statement seems exaggerated, it is clear that the *ķawāʿid* were considered an important third "player" alongside the *uṣūl* and the *furūʿ*.

It should be mentioned that the *uṣūlīs* formulated hermeneutical principles that were called *ķawāʿid uṣūliyya*; these are at times not carefully separated from the *ķawāʿid fiķhiyya*.

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

KAWĪR, DAS̲H̲T-I [see iran. i. 3].

KAYSŪM (modern Tkish. Keysun; Grk. Kaison; Arm. Kesun; Frankish Cressum and variants), a place situated to the south of Besni [*q.v.*], in eastern modern Turkey on the Keysun-çay, an affluent of the Sürfaz-çay, in the upper valley of the Euphrates. Considered in the 9th century A.D. as one of the marches of the Byzantine frontier, it commanded a col on the Besni road. Its fortress served as a base for the revolt of Naṣr b. S̲h̲abat̲h̲ [*q.v.*] but was dismantled after Naṣr's submission to al-Maʾmūn in 209/824-5.

Kaysūm was re-occupied by the Byzantines *ca.* 958, and at the end of the 11th century became the capital of the Armenian lord Gogh Vasil (d. 1112). The Franks annexed it in 1116 and it became part of the lands of the lord of Marʿas̲h̲. Baldwin of Marʿas̲h̲ (d. 1146) rebuilt the fortress in stone, but this has now disappeared. During this Frankish occupation, Kaysūm was the seat of a Latin bishopric. An Armenian bishopric is mentioned up to 1177 and a Jacobite one till 1174. It was even the place of residence of the Jacobite patriarch for a few years. All this indicates that there was living there an important Christian population.

Between 545/1150 and 568/1173 the Sald̲j̲ūḳs of Rūm and Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī occupied it alternately. During Ayyūbid times it came within the territory of Aleppo, but its strategic role declined, and after the passage through it of the Mongols in 1260 it is mentioned only as a village under Armenian domination.

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(Anne-Marie Eddé)

ḲAZAḲSTĀN, conventionally **KAZAKHSTAN**, a region of Inner Asia lying essentially to the south of Siberia and north of the older Islamic Transoxania [see mā warāʾ al-nahr]; the southern part of what is now the Ḳazaḳstān Republic includes what was in mediaeval Islamic times rather vaguely known as Mog̲h̲olistān [*q.v.*]. The modern Ḳazaḳstān Republic (formally, Ḳazaḳstān Respublikasï) is the largest state of Central Asia; it borders on its north and west with the Russian Federation of States, on the east with China and on the south with Ḳirgïzstān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Uzbekistān [*q.v.*] and the northwestern tip of Turkmenistān [*q.v.*]. The capital since 1997 has been Astana (formerly Aḳmola), although the former capital Almatï (older Russian name, Alma Ata [*q.v.*]) remains the largest city.

1. Topography and climate.

Ḳazaḳstān covers an area of 2,724,900 km^2 and stretches from almost the lower Volga and the Caspian Sea in the west to the Altai and Tien Shan Mountains in the east. Deserts occupy the central and western parts of the country, while the northern part is largely covered by steppes. The highest point is K̲h̲antäṅgïrï peak (6,995 m/22,944 feet) in the southeast. Main rivers are the Sïr Daryā [*q.v.*] which flows into the Aral Sea, the Ertïs (Irtïs̲h̲ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and Esïm (Is̲h̲im) which join the Ob' river, the Ïle (Ili [*q.v.*]) which empties into Lake Balḳas̲h̲ (Balk̲h̲as̲h̲ [*q.v.*]), and the Oral (Ural [see yayïḳ]) river which drains into the Caspian Sea.

The average January temperature rises from -17° C

in the north to 0° C in the south, and the average July temperature increases from 19° C in the north to 28° C in the south. Annual precipitation levels are generally low, ranging from about 100 mm in the deserts to between 250 and 400 mm on the steppes, but higher levels of precipitation are observed in the foothills and mountains: e.g. in Almatï at the foot of the Alatau Mountains, it is 640 mm.

2. Demography and ethnography.

According to the results of the census in 1999, Ḳazaḳstān has a population of 14,953,100, giving it an average population density of 5.5 persons per km^2. The proportion of the urban population is the highest among the Central Asian states (56%).

The ethnic composition of the population underwent significant changes during the 20th century. In 1897, roughly 81% of the population of the present-day Ḳazaḳstān territory were Ḳazaḳs, and 11% were Russians. But due to continuous large influxes of Russians and other Europeans, as well as mass starvation of Ḳazaḳs during collectivisation and forcible sedentarisation in the late 1920s-1930s, the proportion of Ḳazaḳs decreased to 30% in 1959, while Russians then occupied 42.7%. Deportation by the Soviet authorities of Čečens, Germans, Koreans and others to Ḳazaḳstān on the eve of and during World War II also made the ethnic composition of the country diverse. In the 1970s, however, reverse migration of Russians to Russia started, and the proportion of Ḳazaḳs began increasing. In 1999, Ḳazaḳs formed 53.4% of the population; Russians, 30.0%; Germans, 2.4%; Ukrainians, 3.7%; and Uzbeks, 2.5%. The outflow of Russians, Germans and Ukrainians is so intense that the total population of Ḳazaḳstān has been decreasing since 1993.

Most Ḳazaḳs were nomadic people until they were forced to settle in the 1930s. They raised sheep, horses, goats and camels, and lived in felt-covered tents (*kiïz üy* in Ḳazaḳ, *yurta* in Russian) [see KHAYMA. iv]. Nomadism was the best form of adaptation to an arid environment before modern agricultural technology developed. Today, more than one-third of the Ḳazaḳs live in cities, whereas rural Ḳazaḳs engage in both farming and livestock breeding with limited seasonal migrations. In some areas during summer, Ḳazaḳs still live in felt-covered tents, which are also widely used as rest houses during festivals, even in cities.

Ḳazaḳs, except for the nobility and slaves, were traditionally divided into three large tribal confederations called Djuz (Ḳazaḳ form, Zhūz; the etymology of the term is unclear, though one thinks of Ar. *djuzʾ* "part, section"): Senior (Ulï Djuz, Middle (Orta) Djuz, and Junior (Kïshï) Djuz. The seniority among the Djuz was only nominal. The Senior Djuz occupied the southeastern part of Ḳazaḳstān, while the Middle Djuz occupied the eastern, northern and central parts, and the Junior Djuz occupied the western part. Each Djuz was divided into numerous tribes and clans. Although these tribal divisions were based on the nomadic way of life in the past, many Ḳazaḳs are still conscious of belonging to a Djuz and to tribes.

Ḳazaḳs also live in Sinkiang in western China (1,257,000 in 1996), Uzbekistān, Russia and other former Soviet countries, Mongolia, Afghānistān and Turkey.

3. Languages.

The Ḳazaḳ language belongs to the Ḳïpčaḳ group of the Turkic languages, together with Ḳaraḳalpaḳ, Noghay, Tatar, etc. Dialectal differences are not great. The written language of premodern times was a Ḳazaḳ version of Čaghatay Turkic, though its use was limited. The Ḳazaḳ literary language began to develop in the second half of the 19th century. In the early 20th century, Akhmet Baytŭrsïnov and other intellectuals established the study of Ḳazaḳ linguistics and reformed the Arabic alphabet so that it would fit the phonetic characteristics of Ḳazaḳ. In 1928 the Latin alphabet was adopted, to be replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic one [see further, TURKS. II. Languages, iv, v].

Ḳazaḳ became the state language in 1989, but most non-Ḳazaḳ citizens and some Ḳazaḳs do not understand it, while almost all citizens understand Russian. Russian was called "a language for inter-ethnic communication" by the language law in 1989, and the constitution in 1995 stipulated that Russian is to be used officially on equal terms with Ḳazaḳ.

4. Religion.

The Ḳazaḳs are Sunnī Muslims of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. Islam was probably first introduced to a part of the sedentary population in southern Ḳazaḳstān by the incoming Arabs from the 8th century onwards, but nomadic people continued to worship Tañrï (the sky [*q.v.*]), fire and other natural beings and spirits. There were Nestorian Christians also. Because of the affinity between Ṣūfism and local traditional beliefs, Ṣūfīs, including Aḥmad Yasawī (1093?-1166 [*q.v.*]), who lived in Yasi (present-day "Türkistan" or Turkistān in southern Ḳazaḳstān), greatly contributed to the propagation of Islam among both the sedentary and the nomadic populations. After the Mongol invasions, *khāns* of the Djočid *ulus* and the Čaghatayid *ulus* gradually came to support Islam. Ḳazaḳ *khāns* also maintained close relations with the *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfīs of Transoxania.

Nevertheless, animistic beliefs and shamanistic customs were strongly maintained by Ḳazaḳs. Social and political affairs were usually regulated by customary law, *ʿādat*, not by the *Sharīʿa*. Although Tatar *mullā*s strengthened Islamic norms among the Ḳazaḳs, Ḳazaḳ intellectuals in the 19th and the early 20th centuries were more oriented towards European culture than towards Islam. Soviet anti-religious policies further weakened the influence of Islam on Ḳazaḳs.

From 1943, the Spiritual Directorate of Muslims of Central Asia and Ḳazaḳstān (known as SADUM), which collaborated with the Soviet government, controlled mosques in Ḳazaḳstān. In 1990, the Spiritual Directorate of Muslims of Ḳazaḳstān was separated from SADUM. At the same time, a certain degree of Islamic revival began both within and outside the framework of the Spiritual Directorate.

5. History.

From ancient times, present-day Ḳazaḳstān was the territory of various nomadic tribes and states: the Sakae, the Usun, the Kʿang-yüeh, the West Turkic Kaganate, the Türgesh, Ḳarluḳ and Oghuz Kaganates, the Ḳarakhānids, the Ḳarākhitāys, the Kimäks, the Ḳïpčaḳs, etc. Based on the Soviet theory which stresses the "autochthonness" of ethnogenetic processes, most Ḳazaḳ historians think that all these tribes are the Ḳazaḳs' direct ancestors; but most Western scholars are sceptical about it.

After the Mongol invasions, the Djočid *ulus* and the Čaghatayid *ulus* were established there. In the mid-15th century, most of present-day Ḳazaḳstān (the eastern Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ) was inhabited by the nomadic Özbeks, whose ruler was Abu ʾl-Khayr, a descendant of Shībān, Djoči's fifth son. In *ca.* 1460, descendants of another son of Djoči (the first son, Orda, or the thirteenth son, Toḳa Temür), Djānibek and Girey, split from Abu ʾl-Khayr and moved to Mogholistān

[*q.v.*] (southeastern Ķazaķstān). After they increased their power, they returned to the Dasht-i Ķipčaķ and replaced the Özbeks, who moved to the south of the Sīr Daryā. Their dynasty is known as the Ķazaķ Khānate, but its government structure and territory were unstable, and there is a dispute among Ķazaķstānī scholars on whether the khānate can be called a "state" or not. In any case, there is scant evidence of the ethnic consciousness of its inhabitants, and it is not clear whether the word "Ķazaķ", which originally means a "independent man" or a "wanderer", meant at this time a distinctive ethnic group.

In the late 17th and the early 18th centuries, fierce battles occurred between the Ķazaķs and the Oyirads or Oinats (Ķalmaķs [see KALMUK]) of the so-called Djungar Khānate (western Mongolia). This confrontation, on the one hand, consolidated the Ķazaķs' ethnic identity, and on the other hand, induced some Ķazaķ *khāns* to swear loyalty to the Russian Empress Anna Ivanovna, though in practice they remained independent. In the 1820s, Russia abolished the *khān*'s power in the Middle and the Junior Djuz, and started to rule directly most parts of Ķazaķstān. The territory of the Senior Djuz, which was under the rule of the Khoķand [*q.v.*] Khānate, was incorporated into Russia by the 1860s.

During the 1917 October Revolution and the ensuing civil warfare in Russia, Ķazaķ intellectuals established the Alash-Orda autonomous government. After it collapsed, the Autonomous Ķazaķ (mistakenly called "Kirgiz" in Russian usage until 1925) Socialist Soviet Republic was formed inside Soviet Russia. After receiving and abandoning some territories in 1925, it was in 1936 upgraded to the Ķazaķ SSR, one of the fifteen constituent republics of the USSR.

The 1920s and 1930s were especially hard times for Ķazaķstān: purges, mass collectivisation and forcible sedentarisation killed a large number of politicians, intellectuals, nomads and peasants. But at the same time, the Soviet government started the industrialisation of Ķazaķstān, which was accelerated during World War II, when factories were evacuated from Central Russia. The ethnic Ķazaķ cadre grew, especially since the 1960s under Dīnmūkhamed Ķonaev, who served as first secretary of the Communist Party of Ķazaķstān for 25 years. When he resigned under pressure from Moscow in December 1986, Ķazaķ youths in Almatī and other cities held demonstrations, which were suppressed violently.

6. Post-Soviet Ķazaķstān.

Although the leadership of Ķazaķstān actively advocated maintaining and renovating the USSR, it declared independence in December 1991 when the USSR collapsed. Nūrsūltan Nazarbaev, who became first secretary of the Communist Party in 1989 and president in 1990, was known as a pragmatic and semi-democratic reformist. But in 1995 he took drastic measures to concentrate power in his own hands; the parliament was suddenly dissolved, the constitution of 1993 was abolished, and the new constitution increased the power of the president and restricted the functions of the parliament. The opposition's sphere of activity is very limited, though it has not been physically liquidated as in Uzbekistān and Turkmenistān.

Although the country is undergoing economic hardship, Ķazaķstān is rich in natural resources (especially oil and metals), which have not yet been fully exploited. Ķazaķstān's resources, as well as geopolitical importance, have drawn the attention of many foreign countries, and it maintains basically good relations with all neighbouring countries including Russia and China, as well as with the United States, Japan and European countries.

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KELANTAN, a state of northeastern Malaysia.

Lying on the coast adjoining the Malay areas of southern Thailand, Kelantan has long been a centre of devout Islamic scholarship and education, of Malay cultural creativity, and assertive forms of Malay-Islamic politics. Kelantan's traditional religious boarding school academies (*pondok* [see PESANTREN]) and their more illustrious teachers were well known throughout the Malay world; together with Malays from neighbouring Patani [*q.v.*] (Pattani) in southern Thailand, the Kelantanese constituted a sizeable component of the so-called *Djāwa* or Southeast Asian Malay community in 19th century Mecca. By the early 20th century, Kelantan was an important centre of publication of religious and Malay vernacular works and the site of important innovations in the collection and management of religious taxation (*zakat* and *fitra*) through its state religious council (*Majlis Ugama Islam*).

With its people intensely committed to their own local variants of the Malay language and culture, Kelantan has over time elaborated a powerful sense of its own distinctiveness within the wider Malay-Islamic world. It resisted Thai domination in the 19th century, succumbed to British rule in the first half of the 20th, and achieved independence in 1957 as part of the Federation of Malaya, later Malaysia. Since 1959 it has been the stronghold of PAS (*Parti Islam Se-Malaysia* [*q.v.*]), an avowedly Islamist party which, while playing a leading opposition role in national politics, has held power at the state level in Kelantan for much of the post-independence period (1959-78, and 1990 to present).

Since the 1980s, and especially since its return to power in Kelantan in 1990, PAS has promoted a strongly "*Sharī'a*-minded" neo-traditionalistic Islamism. Since 1993, Kelantan has mounted a powerful challenge to the ascendancy of Malaysia's ruling multi-ethnic coalition by questioning the national government's Islamic credentials, most notably through its efforts to secure constitutionally-required federal assent to implement the *Sharī'a* law, including the *ḥudūd* punishments, in Kelantan state.

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KHWĀDJAGĀN, a Ṣūfī brotherhood of Central Asia.

The movement of the Khwādjagān belongs to the proto-history of the Nakshbandiyya [*q.v.*] order, which often combines the two groups as the Khwādjagān-Nakshbandiyya. This movement, whose first figure is Abū Yaʿkūb Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 535/1140), took over a Ṣūfī tradition going back to the Prophet through Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī, Salmān al-Fārisī and the caliph Abū Bakr. This Ṣūfī tradition was at first known as the *Ṭarīkat-i bakriyya* ("Abū Bakr's way") or *Ṭarīkat-i Ṣiddīkiyya*, and then at the time of Bisṭāmī, as the *Ṭayfūriyya* (from another name of Bisṭāmī). The main representatives of the Ṭayfūriyya were Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kharakānī, Abu 'l-Kāsim Gurgānī and Abū ʿAlī Fārmadī. It is only with Hamadānī, a pupil of the last-named, that the Ṭayfūriyya assumed the designation of *Ṭarīka-yi Khwādjagān* ("way of the masters").

Yūsuf Hamadānī, having studied *fikh* at Baghdād and being connected with the Ḥanafī law school, spent his time between the cities of Marw and Harāt in Khurāsān. He was initiated into Ṣūfism by Abū ʿAlī Farmādī and founded a *khānakāh* [*q.v.*] at Marw, which became famous as "the Kaʿba of Khurāsān". Also, Hamadānī politely refused the support of the temporal power, in his time represented by the powerful Saldjūk sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*]. Conflicts over the manner of performing *dhikr*—whether out loud, *djahrī*, or inwardly and silently, *khafī*—caused divisions in Khwādjagān circles and set these against the Yasawī Ṣūfīs [see YASAWIYYA], just as this later permitted the Nakshbandīs to distinguish themselves from all other Ṣūfī brotherhoods. This conflict did not, however, exist in the time of Hamadānī, who practised *dhikr* of heart (*dhikr-i dil*) in preference to a public one (*dhikr-i ʿalāniyya*) but without rejecting this last; the *dhikr-i dil* was accompanied by the prolonged holding of the breath which made the Ṣūfī break out in violent sweats. In a short treatise, the *Rutbat al-ḥayāt*, attributed to Yūsuf Hamadānī, it is stated that "*dhikr* of the body", *dhikr-i tan*, which uses the tongue, *zabān*, is inferior to the *dhikr* of the heart. Moreover, it is averred, if *dhikr-i dil* is practised for forty days, lights will be manifested and will fill the heart.

Following the model of the Prophet and his preceptor Fārmadī, Hamadānī named four of his disciples as his successors. The first was ʿAbd Allāh Barakī, originally from Khwārazm, who died and left his position to the second person, Ḥasan Andakī, from Bukhārā, who was in turn succeeded by the third, Aḥmad [*q.v.*] Yasawī (d. 562/1166-7), eponymous founder of the Yasawiyya and a native of Yasi (the present-day Turkistān [*q.v.*] in Kazakhstān). The hagiographies that later developed in Khwādjagān and Nakshbandī circles played down the role of Aḥmad Yasawī, and relate that Aḥmad, who had the reputation of a great spiritual master amongst the nomads, retired after having led the Khwādjagān group for some time and installed the fourth of Hamadānī's disciples, ʿAbd al-Khālik Ghudjduwānī (d. 617/1220 [*q.v.*]), who had not, however, apparently known Hamadānī himself. It is from this period that there dates the opposition between the groups claiming to stem from Aḥmad Yasawī, affirming that Yūsuf Hamadānī favoured *dhikr-i djahrī*, and the Khwādjagān, who attribute to him *dhikr-i khafī*. According to the *Makāmāt-i Yūsuf Hamadānī*, attributed to Ghudjduwānī, *dhikr-i dil* was transmitted from Abū Bakr to Hamadānī's master Fārmadī, with an uninterrupted chain, and Hamadānī is reported on his death bed to have adjured his four disciples called to succeed him to only practise *dhikr-i dil* and avoid *dhikr-i djahrī*.

ʿAbd al-Khālik Ghudjduwānī is the main figure in the Khwādjagān movement, called "the first in the chain of the masters", *sar-daftar-i ṭabaka-yi khwādjagān, sar-silsila-yi īn ʿazīzān*, although this title goes back to Yūsuf Hamadānī. Above all, he set forth and codified the main elements of Khwādjagān doctrine, which were taken up by certain disciples of his, above all, by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Nakshband (d. 791/1389 [*q.v.*]), eponymous master of the Nakshbandiyya. Originally from a family of eastern Anatolia, ʿAbd al-Khālik was born at Ghudjduwān in the Bukhārā oasis, and studied in Bukhārā. He soon evinced an interest in silent *dhikr*, to which he was initiated in a dream by the prophet Khiḍr. The hagiographical traditions recount that he then met Hamadānī in Bukhārā, becoming the latter's disciple, and Hamadānī authorised him to continue in the way of silent *dhikr*. The great merit of Ghudjduwānī was to have stated succinctly and codified, in the form of the eight adages or rules called "Holy Sayings", *kalimāt-i kudsiyya*, the essentials of Khwādjagān doctrine and thought. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Nakshband enriched these eight rules with three new ones, the whole making up his famous "Eleven Rules" of the Nakshbandiyya, adopted and made the subject of lengthy commentaries by adepts of the order right up to the present day.

At the time of ʿAbd al-Khālik, the "Holy Sayings" had the form of eight rules which, if followed, enabled the Ṣūfī to concentrate his attention and to organise for himself the contemplative life. ʿAbd al-Khālik seems to have given preference to four of the rules, and these were the subject of a special commentary by such a Nakshbandī author as Aḥmad Khwadjagī Kāsānī (d. 949/1542; see his *Risāla-yi čahār kalima*, ms. 501/XVI, Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent). The four rules were: (1) "assuming awareness in breathing", *hūsh dar dam*; (2) "observation of one's steps", *naẓar dar kadam*; (3) "journeying in the homeland", *safar dar waṭan*; and (4) "taking up a position of retreat within society", *khalwat dar andjuman*. The remaining four rules were: (5) "retaining in memory", *yād kard*; (6) "return [to God]", *bāz gasht*; (7) "maintaining awareness", *nigāh dāsht*; and (8) "keeping in mind", *yād dasht*.

Nevertheless, the Khwādjagān movement had no doctrinal unity or agreement regarding the mystical exercises, and far from remaining united, Ghudjduwānī's disciples split into several rival groups after his death. One of these groups became known as the ʿAbd al-Khālikiyān, "the founder's partisans". The main Khwādjagān who figure in the Nakshbandī order's *silsila* after Ghudjduwānī are: ʿĀrif Rīwgarī (d. 649/1251); Maḥmūd Andjīr Faghnawī (d. 710/1310); ʿAlī ʿAzīzān-i Ramītanī (d. 716/1316 or 721/1321); Muḥammad Bābā-yi Sammāsī (d. 755/1354); and Sayyid Amīr Kulāl (d. 771/1370). Despite the importance laid on it by Ghudjduwānī, to be likewise stressed by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Nakshband, silent *dhikr* was not followed by all Khwādjagān circles. These circles developed a strong criticism of Ṣūfī movements contemporary with themselves and which they used to describe as corrupt. Above all, the Khwādjagān held fast to a strict regard for the traditions of Islam, as reported in the *Rashaḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, where it is stated that Ghurdjduwānī encouraged his disciples to study Islamic law and the *Ḥadīth*, to avoid ignorant Ṣūfīs (*ṣūfiyān-i djāhil*), always to observe the Muslim worship, not to create any new *khānakāh* or to reside in such an institution, and not to be present at sessions of *samāʿ*.

There are two precious manuscripts, only brought to light and exploited in recent years, sc. the *Maslak al-ʿārifīn* of Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-Bukhārī (mid-8th/

14th century) and the *Manāḳib* of Khwādja ʿAlī ʿAzīzān-i Ramītanī (cf. D. DeWeese and J. Paul, below, in *Bibl.*), which are, at the present time, the two main sources on the practices and doctrines of the Khwādjagān before Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband. The Khwādjagān were mainly divided by the questions of *dhikr* and pious retreat (*khalwa*). In Bukhārā, the group headed by ʿĀrif Rīwgarī had good relations with that headed by Awliyā-i Kabī, but these deteriorated after the death of the former because his successor, Maḥmūd Andjīr Faghnawī, made the group adopt the open, vocal *dhikr*. The sources also tell us that Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband, who had been initiated into *dhikr khafī* by ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Ghudjduwānī in a dream, came into conflict with his own master, Sayyid Kulāl, who was personally a proponent of *dhikr djahrī*. Ghudjduwānī's followers practised *dhikr* during which they held their breath, whilst concentrating on their *shaykh*'s heart, keeping their eyes closed, lips pressed together and tongue up against the palate. Amongst certain of the Khwādjagān, music and dancing were not formally proscribed. Likewise, *khalwa*, rejected by ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ as also rejected, later, by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband, was nevertheless adopted by some members of the order; it was done in a darkened cell, where the adept had to struggle with his self by means of *dhikr*. A famous expression attributed to ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ, "close your door to *khalwa*, but open it to spiritual companionship (*ṣuḥba*)", shows the position of the early Khwādjagān on this subject and further reveals that ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ attributed a major importance to *ṣuḥba*, mystical discourse with the spiritual master, which was to become an essential feature for the Naḳshbandiyya. Like ʿAlī ʿAzīzān-i Ramītanī, ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ was opposed to the institution of Ṣūfī communal life *par excellence*, the *khānaḳāh*, but it is known that there existed amongst Sayyid Amīr Kulāl's disciples a form of association, whose precise nature is not clear, called a *djamāʿat-khāna* "house for social gatherings".

The Khwādjagān nevertheless remained essentially united in face of the other Ṣūfī currents in Central Asia, against the Ḳalandars [*q.v.*] and, in particular, against the Yasawī groups, whom they castigated for their lack of respect for the precepts of Islam. In sum, everything which symbolised Ṣūfism in general was rejected, from the *khānaḳāh* to the dervish cloak (*khirḳa*). The Khwādjagān were little attracted by asceticism, even if some of them preached abandonment of the secular world, *tark-i dunyā*, and encouraged *khalwa*, and Ramītanī went so far as to recommend that the Ṣūfī should have a trade (*ḥirfa*), a feature later found amongst the Naḳshbandiyya. In fact, a famous formula popularly attributed to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband, "the heart should be with God and the hand with some piece of work", *dil bā-yār u dast ba-kār*, seems to have been inherited from a very similar maxim which one group of Khwādjagān held as a "Fifth Holy Saying" added to the four first ones: "the heart should be with God and the body in the market", *dil ba-yār wa tan ba-bāzār*. Another criticism of the Ṣūfīs on which they were united was rejection of the hereditary succession of *shaykhs*. This explains why, after the deaths of ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ and Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband, their communities of disciples split into several groups. In the 8th/14th century, Bahāʾ al-Dīn was unable to unite the various Khwādjagān groups and was only the master of one group out of many. Even if he did succeed in giving a more homogenous form to the doctrines and practices taught by ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ, and in retaining as vital principles for his own community, the one which was to become the Naḳshbandiyya, the obligation of a single, silent *dhikr*, the idea of *ṣuḥba*, adoption of the eight Holy Sayings and rejection of the practice of *khalwa* or retreat, it was only in the second half of the 9th/15th century, at Samarḳand, with Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], that the Khwādjagān-Naḳshbandiyya were to take the form of a powerful, centralised Ṣūfī brotherhood.

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KHWĀDJAS, Khōdjas, the designation of two lineages of spiritual and political leaders in Eastern Turkestan, the later Sinkiang [*q.v.*], and, more specifically, in the Altïshahr ("six towns"), now in the western and southwestern parts of Sinkiang, where they played a decisive role from the late 10th/16th century to the last quarter of the 19th century. The lineages are distinguished as the White Mountain (Āfāḳiyya) line and the Black Mountain (Isḥāḳiyya) line (*aḳtaghlïk* vs. *ḳarataghlïk*, names possibly derived from the Tien Shan and Pamir [*q.v.*] mountain ranges, respectively).

Both lines were descended from the Khwādjagān-Naḳshbandī *shaykh* Aḥmad Khwādjagī-yi Kāsānī, known as Makhdūm-i Aʿẓam (d. 949/1542) (Bakhtiyar Babadžanov, *Politiceskaya deyatel'nost' shaikhov Nakshbandiya v Maverannakhre (I polovina XVI v.)*. unpubl. diss., Tashkent 1996), who wielded considerable influence in the Shībānid [*q.v.*] internal struggles. One of his sons (the fourth or the seventh), Isḥāḳ, had to leave

Transoxania and came to Altis̲h̲ahr at an unspecified moment (between 990/1582 and 999/1591) where he stayed for some years; he died in Samarḳand in 1007/1599. He left behind an already powerful organisation that was to become the Black Mountain faction. Very much like their counterparts in Transoxania, the representatives of K̲h̲ᵂād̲j̲a Isḥāḳ acted as intermediaries between the Čag̲h̲atayid rulers and between the rulers, the begs and their subjects. They acquired considerable wealth (pious foundations, *wakf*, and donations, *niyāzmandī*) on which their influence rested as well as on the communal affiliations of settled and nomadic communities. Almost from the start, they were active promoters of Islam among the still shamanistic Ḳirg̲h̲īz [*q.v.*] and Ḳazak̲h̲s [see KAZAḲ] (J. Fletcher, *Confrontations between Muslim missionaries and nomad unbelievers in the late sixteenth century: notes on four passages from the 'Diyā' al-qulūb'*, in *Tractata Altaica*, ed. W. Heissig, Wiesbaden 1976, 167-74). These endeavours must have gone on throughout. Later on, the White Mountain faction was instrumental in spreading Islam to China proper, beginning in the middle of the 17th century. (Fletcher, *The Naqshbandiyya in northwest China*, in his *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*, ed. B. Manz, Variorum, Aldershot 1995, no. XI, 1-46; this book also contains reprints of other relevant published texts by Fletcher).

It was unusual that a ruler came to occupy an elevated position in the spiritual hierarchy. This was, however, the case with Muḥammad K̲h̲ān (*r.* 999-1018/1591-1609), who is even said to have been the Axis (*ḳuṭb*) (S̲h̲āh Maḥmūd Čurās, *Tārīk̲h̲ (K̲h̲ronika)*, ed. O.A. Akimus̲h̲kin, Moscow 1976 [Pamyatniki pis'mennosti vostoka, 45]). But apart from this, leadership in the Black as well as White Mountain group seems to have been hereditary, this principle extending even to the *k̲h̲alīfas* and sometimes to affiliations as well. The spiritual organisation adapted itself to the strongly localised political system of Altis̲h̲ahr: a city oasis governed by members of the ruling family or leading men of certain clans, with sometimes only nominal overlordship of the paramount k̲h̲ān. The cities all had their *k̲h̲alīfas*. Whereas the centre of the Black Mountain faction was at Yārkand [*q.v.*], where the k̲h̲ān also had his capital, the White Mountain faction centred on Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar [*q.v.*].

The Isḥāḳiyya K̲h̲ᵂād̲j̲as did not achieve a monopoly of spiritual guidance, however; at least in the north and northeast of Altis̲h̲ahr and beyond in the area where the Čag̲h̲atayid rulers held sway, other (sometimes local) groups were also active (in Ḳuld̲j̲a: see Masami Hamada, *De l'autorité religieuse au pouvoir politique: la révolte de Kūčā et Khwāja Rāshidīn*, in M. Gaborieau, G. Veinstein and Th. Zarcone (eds.), *Naqshbandis. Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, Paris-Istanbul 1990, 455-89; in Turfan, the local shrine of Alpātā/Alfātā: see Akimus̲h̲kin, *op. cit.*, 165). To what extent other brotherhoods were active in the region remains open to question.

The Isḥāḳiyya supremacy did not last long. Sometime before the middle of the 17th century, another descendant of Mak̲h̲dūm-i Aʿẓam made his appearance in Altis̲h̲ahr in the person of Muḥammad Yūsuf (d. 1063/1653), son of Muḥammad Amīn, the eldest son of the Mak̲h̲dūm. He was able to gain a foothold in Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar and soon became influential with the Čag̲h̲atayid k̲h̲ān. As a result of the rivalries that surrounded and followed his death, his son Hidāyat Allāh, better known as K̲h̲ᵂād̲j̲a Āfāḳ ("Master of the Horizons", whence the name by which the White Mountain faction was also known, sc. Āfāḳiyya) was compelled to take flight. The influence he had gained may be seen from the fact that he was given a Mog̲h̲ul (although not Čingisid) princess in marriage. Āfāḳ then succeeded in persuading Galdan, the Zunghar k̲h̲ān, to mount a campaign against Altis̲h̲ahr (1090/1679, when Galdan was only beginning his career as a conqueror). The report of Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ that this was achieved due to a letter from the Dalai Lama (the Zunghars had by then become Lamaist Buddhists) should perhaps also be seen as indicative of the view that spiritual leadership should prevail over military (Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ, *Tad̲h̲kira-yi k̲h̲ᵂād̲j̲agān*, epitome by R. Shaw, *A history of the Khojas of Eastern Turkistan*, in *JASB* [1897], extra number, pp. i-vi and 1-67, at 36-7; German version by M. Hartmann, *Ein Heiligenstaat im Islam. Das Ende der Caghataiden und die Herrschaft der Choǵas in Kašgarien*, in *Der islamische Orient. Berichte und Forschungen*, vi-ix, Berlin 1905, 195-374, at 210-2). The Zunghars conquered Altis̲h̲ahr and reinstated K̲h̲ᵂād̲j̲a Āfāḳ as their vicegerent (*r.* 1090-1105/1679-94). The White Mountain faction now ruled with a degree of independence, but acknowledged Zunghar overlordship, paying them tribute (a comparatively heavy one, according to Fletcher's figures, unpubl. ms., ch. 3, 149-51) and accepting that members of their family be held as hostages. The area under this kind of K̲h̲ᵂād̲j̲a authority cannot have extended much over the four cities of K̲h̲otan, Yārkand, Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar and Aḳsu, the Oirot Zunghars having established their rule over the northeastern regions already in 1659. Nor had Čag̲h̲atayid rule come to an end; and even if the newly appointed k̲h̲ān ʿAbd al-Ras̲h̲īd (who married his daughter to Āfāḳ, who thus became tied to the Čingisid house) was a puppet of the Zunghars, he was influential enough to build a faction together with the ousted Black Mountain followers; his attempt at a Mog̲h̲ul-Black Mountain revival was, however, worsted in 1093-4/1682-3, and he was replaced by his brother. The White Mountain faction then set out to destroy their Black Mountain opponents, and after the Čag̲h̲atayid figurehead had died in 1103/1692, they tried to make do without a Mog̲h̲ul k̲h̲ān. In the ensuing strife, the deciding force in the southwestern part of Altis̲h̲ahr came to be the Ḳirg̲h̲īz, but it was still a Mog̲h̲ul who called back K̲h̲ᵂād̲j̲a Dāniyāl of the Black Mountain faction. Dāniyāl established himself with Ḳirg̲h̲īz help, and until 1125/1713, when the Zunghars re-established their rule under Tsewang Rabtan, the oasis cities were under different nomad-K̲h̲ᵂād̲j̲a coalitions. After Dāniyāl had died *ca.* 1142/1730, the cities of Yārkand, K̲h̲otan, Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar and Aḳsu were divided up between his sons, thus furthering localisation. The next turn was induced by an attempt of the Black Mountain faction to break loose of the Zunghars, countered by their appeal to the White Mountain group (1166/1753); fights ensued between the two K̲h̲ᵂād̲j̲a factions, some Ḳirg̲h̲īz begs, urban local begs, the nominal Zunghar ruler and his opponent Amursana, who was backed by the Chinese. As a result, the Zunghar empire was taken over by the Manchu Emperors, who consequently also came to be overlords of the Tarim [*q.v.*] basin as well.

The K̲h̲ᵂād̲j̲as failed because they were unable to build up a unified leadership, but more important still was their failure to gain a military basis of their own, not easily achieved under the circumstances. The resources available in the sedentary oasis economy could hardly support a state apparatus for revenue raising, and revenue was inadequate for building enough military strength to keep the nomads out.

Therefore, throughout this period, military power rested not with the urban-based Khʷādjas, but essentially with their mainly nomadic Zunghar overlords and, as far as the region itself is concerned, with various Ḳirghiz groups.

It might appear that after the Chinese conquest of Altishahr, the fate of the Khʷādjas was sealed, but this was not the case. After the first attempts at restoring White Mountain power had been crushed by the Manchus and their representatives in Altishahr (Amīn Khʷādja of Turfan [*q.v.*], whose spiritual affiliation is not altogether clear), a period of relative stability ensued, which came to an end in 1820. By this period, the Khoḳand [*q.v.*] khānate had consolidated itself in the Farghāna basin, serving as a platform for repeated Khʷādja incursions, the last of which occurred as late as the 1860s when Buzurg Khān, together with Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*], invaded Kāshgharia. It was only after the short-lived state of Yaʿḳūb Beg had been crushed in 1878 that the region was incorporated into the Chinese empire under the name of Sinkiang (1884) ("New dominion" [*q.v.*]), and this seems to have been the end of open Khʷādja activity.

Bibliography: Partly given in the article. Islamic sources include hagiographic texts for both lineages as well as chronicles, many of them still remaining in manuscript; they are best discussed by Akimushkin and Fletcher. Chinese sources take prime importance only after the middle of the 18th century. *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar, faksimile rukopisi; izdanie teksta, vvedenie i ukazateli O.F. Akimushkina*, St. Petersburg 2001 (Pamyatniki kulʾturi vostoka, no. 8); Laura J. Newby, *The begs of Xinjiang; between two worlds*, in *BSOAS*, lxix (1998), 278-97; Isenbike Togan, *Islam in a changing society. The Khojas of Eastern Turkistan*, in Jo-Ann Gross (ed.), *Muslims in Central Asia. Expressions of identity and change*. Durham, N.C. and London 1992, 134-48; H. Schwarz, *The Khwājas of Eastern Turkestan*, in *CAJ*, xx (1976), 266-96 (to be used with caution); J. Fletcher, *China and Central Asia, 1368-1884*, in J.K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Chinese world order*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, 106-224, 337-68; Fletcher, *Altishahr under the Khwajas*, unpubl. ms., Harvard University (chs. 2-4, "The Khojas of Eastern Turkestan", "The coming of the infidels" and "The triumph of the oasis nobility").

(J. Paul)

KHĀʾIR BEG (Khāyir or Khayr Bey), the last Mamlūk governor of Aleppo, subsequently first Ottoman viceroy of Egypt.

He was the son of Malbāy b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Djarkasī (*sic*), a Muslim Abaza trader in Circassian *mamlūks*. He was born at Samsun (on the Black Sea coast within the Ottoman Empire), and his father presented him, although not a slave, with his four brothers to the Mamlūk Sultan al-Ashraf Ḳāʾit Bāy [*q.v.*]. He was enrolled in the Royal Mamlūks, and was formally "emancipated" by the grant of a steed and uniform. He became an *amīr* of Ten in 901/1495-6, and subsequently an *amīr ṭablkhāna*, making his first contact with the Ottoman court as an envoy in 903/1498 to announce the accession of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳāʾit Bāy to Bāyezīd II. He was promoted *amīr* of a Hundred by al-Ashraf Djānbulāṭ (905-6/1500-1). Under al-Ashraf Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī, he held the important post of great chamberlain (*ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb*) until in 910/1504-5 he was appointed governor of Aleppo, where he was regarded as a severe but capable administrator. He was very wealthy, and maintained a large *mamlūk* household as his power-base, significantly including a company of arquebusiers "as in the Ottoman armies" (*kamā fī ʿasākir al-mamlaka al-rūmiyya: Durr*, i/2, 607). To Ḳānṣawh he must have seemed an overmighty subject, and the sultan unsuccessfully attempted to poison him.

His governorship of Aleppo ended with Selīm I's conquest of Syria, in which he colluded by going over to the Ottomans at the decisive battle of Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] (25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516). This act of treachery won him his final and supreme promotion, when Selīm, before leaving Cairo on 13 Shaʿbān 923/24 August 1517, appointed him viceroy of Egypt. He held this position until his death on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 928/5 October 1522, and although he kept up something of the state and usages of the defunct Mamlūk sultans, he remained ostentatiously loyal to his Ottoman suzerain. His viceroyalty began with the capture and execution of Ḳāsim Bey [see ḲĀSIM. 4], a grandson of Bāyezīd II, to whom Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī had given asylum. When Süleymān became sultan in 926/1520, and Djānbirdī al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*], the governor of Damascus and his former accomplice at Mardj Dābiḳ, rose in revolt, Khāʾir Beg studiously kept aloof, and prevented disaffected Mamlūks from joining him. Within Egypt, Khāʾir Beg's viceroyalty witnessed the restoration of stability. The terrorisation of the defeated Mamlūk soldiery ceased; they emerged from hiding, and resumed their traditional dress. Relations with the Ottoman troops, who envied their better pay and rations, were naturally uneasy. Although the former hierarchy of rank and office had fallen with the Mamlūk sultanate, the old administrative system largely survived, to be codified and perpetuated in the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Egypt, three years after Khāʾir Beg's death. Presiding over a crisis of transition in Egypt, Khāʾir Beg was thus one of the most successful survivors of the old régime.

Bibliography: For Khāʾir Beg's early history, see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, ed. Mohamed Mostafa, v, 253-4 n. 22, tr. G. Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, ii, 193-4; for his governorship of Aleppo, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab fī taʾrīkh aʿyān Ḥalab*, i/2, 603-9; for his vice-royalty of Egypt, Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, v, 203-486; Wiet, *Journal*, ii, 193-467; other references in respective indexes. Ibn Zunbul, *Taʾrīkh ghazwat al-Sulṭān Salīm Khān maʿa al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī*, although apparently detailed, is essentially a prose saga forming a threnody on the passing of the Mamlūk sultanate. (P.M. Holt)

KHALʿ (a.), the verbal noun from the verb *khalaʿa* "to take off (a garment), to remove, to discharge from an office, to depose" (sc. *ʿan ʿamalihī*, Lane, i, 2, 790a), "to dethrone (e.g. a ruler)", is the technical term for deposition. The modern Arabic term is *khalaʿa min al-ʿarsh* or *rafaʿa min al-manṣab*.

(i) *Historical development*. There are many cases of deposition or forced abdication throughout the course of Islamic history, e.g. in the Umayyad period (cf. Muʿāwiya II, 64/684 and Ibrāhīm, 126/744) and especially in ʿAbbāsid times. During this period, about a quarter of the rulers were deposed or forced to abdicate, pressured by the *de facto* ruling military leaders, after years of military disaster and misrule through favourites had amply demonstrated the incompetence of the caliphs. The unstable caliphs, many of whom had something of a genius for making bad situations worse, inevitably stimulated the claims of usurpers. After the war between the brothers al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, who each declared the other deposed [see KHALĪFA, at Vol. IV, 940a], the situation culminated in the anarchic period of Sāmarrāʾ and continued under Būyid rule (320-447/932-1055) and that of their

successors, the Saldjūḳ sultans of 'Irāḳ and western Persia (447-590/1055-1194), in whose hands the caliph was but a mere tool. The majority of the 'Abbāsid caliphs were forced to abdicate, e.g. al-Musta'īn in 252/866 and his two successors, al-Mu'tazz in 255/869, and al-Muhtadī the following year. One ruler, al-Muḳtadir, had even to abdicate twice, in 296/908 and 317/929, and three caliphs, al-Ḳāhir in 322/934, al-Muttaḳī in 333/944 and al-Mustakfī in 334/946, were blinded, so that they were legally incapacitated from ever regaining power. Often the military leaders forced them, sometimes brutally, to abdicate, issuing an elaborate, sometimes falsified, document of the deposition, accusing them of treason, oath-breaking, etc., and insisting on a formal, written document of abdication. This act, considered as an essential part of the deposition process and registered officially by the judges, aimed at the nullification of the oath of allegiance. The forced abdication was accompanied by symbolic acts such as the taking off of clothes or shoes (cf. in the Old Testament, Ruth, iv. 7; see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen* i, 47-8), or turbans, or rings, and the yielding up of the insignia. Thus deprived of the sovereign dignity, the deposed caliph had to pay homage to his tractable successor, who was speedily installed. Often kept prisoner thereafter, many rulers were murdered, usually by rivals and relatives, or soon died. A striking example of a real deposition is the dethronement *in absentia* of al-Rās͟hid bi'llāh by al-Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad in 530/1135. The practice of deposing rulers remained widespread throughout the Islamic world, particularly in the period of the Mamlūks and in Ottoman times. Often accused of alleged debility, a dozen Ottoman sultans were deposed, sc. Muṣṭafā I (1027/1618 and 1032/1623), 'Ot͟hmān II (1032/1622), Ibrāhīm (1058/1648), Meḥemmed IV (1099/1687), Muṣṭafā II (1115/1703), Aḥmed III (1143/1730), Selīm III (1222/1807), Muṣṭafā IV (1223/1808), 'Abd al-'Azīz I (1293/1876), Murād V (1293/1876), 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (1327/1909) and Meḥemmed VI (1341/1922). Then, on 3 March 1924, the Grand National Assembly in Ankara definitively abolished the Ottoman caliphate, resulting in the creation of a secular Turkish state under Muṣṭafā Kemāl Atatürk [*q.v.*].

(ii) *Legal aspects*. The various instances of deposition became the starting point for subsequent discussions by Muslim writers. The question of the legitimacy of deposing a ruler was answered in different ways, but in general, Muslim writers denied to mere mortals the right of deposing rulers. The utterance *sulṭān 'ādil k͟hayr min sulṭān ẓalūm wa-sulṭān ẓalūm g͟has͟hūm k͟hayr min fitna tadūm* may demonstrate the attitude towards tyranny and the duty to obey even an unjust ruler (see details in U. Haarmann, *"Lieber hundert Jahre Zwangsherrschaft als ein Tag Leiden im Bürgerkrieg", ein gemeinsamer Topos in islamischen und frühneuzeitlichen europäischen Staatsdenken*, in U. Tworuschka (ed.), *Gottes ist der Orient, Gottes ist der Okzident. Festschrift für A. Falaturi*, Cologne-Vienna 1991, 262-9). The learned *ḳāḍī* al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) defined in his *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* (ed. M. Enger, Bonn 1853, 5, 23, 25-6, tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, 7-8, 30-1, 33) the office of the ruler and his duties. He laid down in his first chapter that any corrupt ruler who failed to meet the standards for the just, legitimate caliph might expect legitimate opposition and deposition, though he greatly feared misuse here. His exposition of the criteria for legitimate rulership played an important role in later times, and was cited again and again, for instance by Ibn D͟jamā'a (d. 733/1333 [*q.v.*]) (see his *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām fī tadbīr ahl al-islām*, ed. H. Kofler, in *Islamica*, vi [1934], 349-414, vii [1935], 1-64, and [1938], 18-129, see ch. 1, § 3, and ch. 2, § 7). Other than a single passage in al-Fārābī's work on the perfect state (*Mabādi' ārā' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, ed. F. Dieterici, Leiden 1895, repr. 1964, ch. 29, 63, tr. F. Dieterici, Leiden 1900, 100, ed. R. Walzer, Oxford 1985, 258, tr. R.P. Jaussen *et alii*, Cairo 1949, ch. 29, 87), the sources of political theory contain no distinction in the two bodies of the ruler, the visible individual and the objective institution, as in mediaeval European theories; see the exhaustive study of E. Kantorowicz, *Die zwei Körper des Königs. Eine Studie zur politischen Theologie des Mittelalters*, ²Munich 1994, esp. 385.

Bibliography: Besides the Arabic sources and the relevant historical studies, materials concerning Būyid times can be found in H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut 1969, 28, 157-9, 500; see also C.E. Bosworth, *Notes on the lives of some 'Abbāsid princes and descendants*, in *The Maghreb Review*, xix, 3-4 (1994), 277-84, esp. 278-9; for a single alleged case, that of al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, see A. Hartmann, *Wollte der Kalif sufi werden? Amtstheorie und Abdankungspläne des Kalifen an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (reg. 1180-1225)*, in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, Procs. of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd International Colloquium, the Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, in May 1992, 1993 and 1994, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet, Leuven 1995, 175-205; for the Mamlūks, see recently M. Espéronnier, *La mort violente à l'époque mamlouke. Le crime et le châtiment*, in *Isl.*, lxxi (1997), 137-55; for the Ottoman sultans, J. Matuz, *Das Osmanische Reich. Grundlinien seiner Geschichte*, Darmstadt 1985, index; and C. Kleinert, *Die Revision der Historiographie des Osmanischen Reiches am Beispiel von Abdülhamid II. Das späte Osmanische Reich im Urteil türkischer Autoren der Gegenwart (1930-1990)*, Berlin 1995, 130-41, 249-50; concerning juristic matters, see also the details in A.K.S. Lambton, *Theory and practice in medieval Persian government*, Variorum, London 1980, nos. II, III, V; further F.-C. Muth, *"Entsetzte" Kalifen. Depositionsverfahren im mittelalterlichen Islam*, in *Isl.*, lxxv (1998), 104-23. (F.-C. MUTH)

KHĀN, 'ABD AL-GHAFFĀR (1890-1988), Pathan leader and politician.

He was born at 'Ut͟hmānzay in the Peshawar district of the North West Frontier region of British India, his father Bahrām K͟hān of the Muḥammadzay clan being a wealthy landowner and the chief k͟hān of his village Hashtanagar. Educated first at a Ḳur'ān and then at a mission school, 'Abd al-G͟haffār's early career was similar to those of many of the Muslim activists of his generation. From 1910 he began founding schools to stimulate social reform amongst the Pathans. At the same time, he was in close contact with the *'ulamā'* of Deoband, in particular 'Ubayd Allāh Sindhi, and was strongly influenced by the pan-Islamic journalism of *al-Hilāl* and *Zamīndār*. After World War I he threw himself into the K͟hilāfat movement [*q.v.*], and took part in the *Hid͟jrat* movement [see K͟HILĀFA, K͟HILĀFAT MOVEMENT] to Afg͟hānistān.

In the late 1920s, after performing the *Ḥad͟jd͟j*, the two guiding principles of 'Abd al-G͟haffār's life became clear. The first was his concern to further the social and political advancement of the Pathans, or Pak͟htūns as he called them. British rule had greatly enhanced Pathan identity by carving a Pathan province, the North West Frontier Province, out of the Punjab in 1901 to strengthen border security. The problem was that the British, given the province's strategic role and

the relative backwardness of its people, were unwilling to give it the political advancement which had been given to the rest of India. To remedy this situation, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār founded in 1928 the *Pakhtun*, the first political journal in Pakhtu/Pashto, and in 1929, the *Khudāy Khidmatgār* or "Servants of God" organisation. *Khudāy Khidmatgārs*, who wore the uniform of a red shirt, did both social service and political tasks. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār's second guiding principle was non-violence. His *Khudāy Khidmatgārs*, though drilled in a military fashion, bore no arms and vowed to be non-violent, while he cooperated closely with India's leading apostle of non-violence, Mahatma Gandhi; in 1940, for instance, he resigned from the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress when it rejected a pacifist stance in World War II. Not once throughout a long life of protest did ʿAbd al-Ghaffār betray this principle, a remarkable fact given the warlike and vengeful traditions of his people.

From the early 1930s onwards, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār was the most influential figure amongst the Pathans, and between 1931 and 1947 he led large numbers of them in support of the Indian National Congress. From 1931, his Frontier Afghān Djirga [*q.v.* in Suppl.] became the Frontier Congress, and the *Khudāy Khidmatgārs*, the Congress Volunteers and their activities were largely responsible for bringing Congress ministries to power in the Province between 1937 and 1947. But why did these Pathans, staunch Muslims to a man, support the Congress which revealed, on occasion, strong elements of Hindu revivalism? The great personal influence of ʿAbd al-Ghaffār and his close relations with Gandhi and Nehru played some part. The power of the Congress in India played the major part, however: it offered the best chance of promoting Pathan interests—of winning provincial autonomy, of destroying British rule and of resisting inclusion within a Panjabi-dominated Pakistan. Only in this last and most vital matter was there ultimately disappointment; in 1947 the Congress abandoned ʿAbd al-Ghaffār and his Pathan Congressmen to their fate.

Within Pakistan, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār fought for the establishment of a Pathan state, Pakhtūnistān, although the area which it should include, and the degree of autonomy which it should have, remained ill-defined. He was not able to publish the *Pakhtūn*, the *Khudāy Khidmatgār* organisation was banned, and he spent most of his remaining days either in prison or in exile. In January 1988 he died at Peshawar but was buried in Afghānistān at Djalālābād, which he considered the original homeland of the Pakhtūns.

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(F.C.R. Robinson)

al-**KHAṢṢĀF**, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAmr (ʿUmar) b. Muhayr (Mahīr? also Mihrān and Mihrawān) al-Shaybānī al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 261/874), famous Ḥanafī jurist in the practical fields of *wakf*, *ḥiyal* [*q.vv.*], or legal stratagems and devices, and *adab al-ḳāḍī*, or laws of procedure and evidence. The sources speak of him as an expert also in the law of inheritance. He transmitted the doctrines of the Ḥanafī school from his father, who had transmitted them from Ḥasan b. Ziyād (d. 204/819-20) and Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*], the students of Abū Ḥanīfa. He was also known as a student and transmitter of *ḥadīth* from no less than twenty scholars.

His family background, as well as the names of his father and grandfather, cannot be definitively determined, although the possible names of his grandfather suggest a Persian ancestry, as a client of the Arab tribe of Shaybān [*q.v.*]. In early life he must have worked as a cobbler (*khaṣṣāf*), since most sources say he lived off this calling. His scholarly endeavours nevertheless attracted the attention of the ʿAbbāsid court, then in Sāmarrāʾ. He was nominated by the former tutor of the caliph al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], with eight other scholars, for judgeships. But they were accused by palace personnel of being members of secessionist groups, so the caliph ordered their expulsion to Baghdād, and al-Khaṣṣāf was attacked by a mob (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1683). Following the deposition of al-Muʿtazz in 255/869, and the start of the brief rule of al-Muhtadī (255-6/869-70 [*q.v.*]), al-Khaṣṣāf was brought back to the caliphal court as the court lawyer. It was during this period that he wrote a book about *kharādj* [*q.v.*], which unfortunately has been lost. Other books were also lost when his possessions were plundered following the murder of his patron, al-Muhtadī.

Ibn al-Nadīm, tr. Dodge, i, 509, says that al-Khaṣṣāf advocated the doctrines of the Djahmiyya [*q.v.*]. Since it is known that some Ḥanafīs advocated these doctrines, it is not unreasonable that al-Khaṣṣāf was one of them.

In the descending order of seven ranks of Ḥanafī jurists in the practice of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*], al-Khaṣṣāf has been placed in the third, following the first rank of Abū Ḥanīfa and the second rank of Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*]. Jurists of the third rank elucidated problems (*masāʾil*) not previously covered by jurists of higher rank (see Ṭashköprüzāde, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ*, Mawṣil 1954, 8-10).

His books, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, included the following: (1) *K. al-Kharādj*, which has been lost. (2) *K. al-Ḥiyal wa 'l-makhāridj*. This book, which deals with legal devices and stratagems, was edited by Schacht, Hanover 1923, but Schacht thought that the book was written in the 4th/10th century and retrospectively attributed to al-Khaṣṣāf. An earlier printing appeared in Cairo in 1314/1896. (3) *K. Aḥkām al-awḳāf*, Cairo 1322/1904, an early and authoritative treatise on *wakf*. (4) *K. al-Nafaḳāt*, ed. Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Afghānī, Ḥaydarābād 1349/1930 and Beirut 1404/1984. (5) *K. Adab al-ḳāḍī*, which has been the subject of no less than ten commentaries (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 72-3) including the commentary by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Djaṣṣāṣ, ed. Farhat J. Ziadeh, Cairo 1978, and that by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Māza, ed. Muḥyī Hilāl al-Sirḥān, Baghdād 1397/1977. Other works mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm, and not yet discovered/edited, may be looked up in Ibn al-Nadīm, tr. Dodge, i, 509-10.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥammad al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥulū, Cairo 1398/1978, 230-2; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya fī tarādjim al-Ḥanafiyya*, Banāras 1967, 23-4; Ḳāsim b. Ḳuṭlūbughā, *Tādj al-tarādjim fī ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, Baghdād 1962, 12.

(F.J. Ziadeh)

KHATMIYYA [see mīrghaniyya].

KHAṬṬ.

vi. In Chinese Islam.

The evolution of the calligraphic art over almost a millennium amongst Chinese adherents of Islam (those now called the Hui) reflects the history of the implantation of Islam in China and its Sinicisation. During the first centuries of its presence in China,

when this new faith was the achievement of merchants and of emigrants, temporary or permanent, coming from the Near East, Central Asia, Persia and India and mainly settled on the southern coastlands of China, the texts written in Arabic or Persian are to be found on tombstones and funerary stelae. Some date from the 12th century, but most are from the 13th and 14th centuries, the period when the Mongol rulers of China recruited foreigners for governing their Chinese subjects. They are first of all in an ornamental Kufic and then, later, in rounded characters—specimens of what one might call *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, or *riḳāʿ*, or *rīḥān* (see the corpus of some 200 examples existing in southeastern China made by a Chinese Islamic scholar, Chen Dasheng, and by an Arabic epigrapher, French by adoption, Ludvik Kalus, *Corpus d'inscriptions arabes et persanes en Chine. I. Province de Fujian*, Paris 1991). But from the 15th century onwards, funerary inscriptions are in Chinese, bearing witness to the integration of foreigners within the enveloping Chinese environment.

However, it was inevitable that, in a land where, in association with poetry, calligraphy was par excellence the art of cultivated persons, the Muslims should develop a personal calligraphic art once they were in possession of their own literature. They themselves characterise their calligraphic hands (see [in Chinese] Ch'en Chin-hui/Chen Jinhui, *Shih-lun a-la-po shu-fa tsai Chung-kuo Mu-ssu-lin chung-te ch'uan-po yü fa-chan/Shilun alabo shufa zai Zhongguo Musilin zhongde chuanbo yu fazhan* ["On the dissemination and development of Arabic calligraphy among Chinese Muslims"], in *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu/Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, 1994, no. 2, 96-9) in terms of the actual instrument used for writing, whether a kind of bamboo reed or, more often, a brush made from the hairs of various animals, or in terms of a style inspired by Kufic, *nas<u>kh</u>*, *<u>th</u>ulth* or "Persian" (i.e. probably *nastaʿlīḳ*). But these styles are, in fact, all so strongly marked by Chinese influence that they speak of a "Chinese style" of their Arabo-Persian calligraphy, whence a cursive script which imitates the Chinese writing "of grass" (*ts'ao-tzu/caozi*), one almost unreadable for the uninitiated.

Another, more realistic, classification, operates substantially in terms of support for the writing and, consequently, of its destination. Books entirely in Arabic or Persian are extremely rare, Islamic literature being generally written in pure Chinese. Nevertheless, the Mission d'Ollone, which explored Western China during 1906-9, reported from the strongly Islamised region of Kansu [*q.v.*]/Gansu the existence of some ten manuscripts in Persian, locally written and in a good *nas<u>kh</u>ī* hand of the 18th or 19th century, and two in *nastaʿlīḳ* (see Mission d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les musulmans chinois*, Paris 1911, 284-93, or in *RMM*, viii-ix [1909]). Of a wider distribution, there are, from the 19th century, cheap, bilingual publications, in which the Arabic words, glossing the Chinese words and themselves accompanied by an approximate phonetic "transcription" in Chinese characters, are in a clumsy script (arising from the difficulty that Chinese engravers find in preparing plates for impression in the Arabic alphabet and, probably also, because of an imperfect education in local Ḳur'ān schools). Books where the Chinese characters are in a deformed state in imitation of Arabic characters are especially curious.

The type of calligraphy of which the Chinese Muslims are excessively fond, in the 1990s more often than not, is a stylised, decorative calligraphy in which "calligraphy and design make up a single whole (*shu-hua he-i/shuhua heyi*)" and which plays a role at the same time both propitiatory and displaying identity. These may be on paper, at the head of certain publications; or, above all, in the form of the so-called "designs of Ḳur'ānic letters" (*ching-tzu-hua/jingzihua*), with a composite Sino-Arabic technique and model, often found in vertical decoration (causing an extreme distortion of the Arabic script) or in a band in the centre of the prayer room, either in two parallel bands here and there in the mosque's *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*] or the prayer corner in a private house, or else in four bands put together on screens. In passing judgement on a piece of decorative calligraphy in Arabic characters, the believers are unconcerned about the form of the letters or the deformations necessary to fit them within a geometrical figure or to form the silhouette of an auspicious Chinese character; they make, rather, a general judgement using the same ideas with which they would judge a piece of Chinese calligraphy. Hence they recognise the use of the "northern style" for what is vigorous, and the more supple "southern style", that of the northwest being the most distinguished. In China, calligraphy, however Arabic it may be, forms an undeniable role in making up the Chinese culture of believers.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Françoise Aubin, *L'art de l'écriture chez les musulmans de Chine*, in *Horizons maghrébiens*, xxxv-xxxvi/*Cahiers d'études maghrébines*, xi (1998), 29-43.

(Françoise Aubin)

<u>KH</u>AWLA bt. **ḤAKĪM** b. Umayya b. Ḥāri<u>th</u>a al-Sulamiyya, an early supporter of Muḥammad's cause at Mecca and an associate of his.

She was the daughter of a man of Sulaym [*q.v.*] who had come to Mecca and had become a confederate there of ʿAbd Manāf, and of a woman of ʿAbd <u>Sh</u>ams b. ʿAbd Manāf; hence <u>Kh</u>awla was related maternally to the Prophet himself. She was an early convert to the new teaching, in company with her husband, the ascetic ʿU<u>th</u>mān b. Maẓʿūn [*q.v.*]. When he died in 3/624-5, <u>Kh</u>awla is said to have "offered herself" (*wahabat nafsahā*) to Muḥammad, but the latter "put her off" (*ar<u>dj</u>a'ahā*). She plays a role in Muḥammad's lifestory as the person who looked after him when <u>Kh</u>adī<u>dj</u>a [*q.v.*] died and who counselled him to marry the child virgin ʿĀ'i<u>sh</u>a and the widow Sawda b. Zamʿa [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, viii, 113; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vi, 210-11, 409; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 407; Ṭabarī, i, 1768-9; Ibn Ḥa<u>dj</u>ar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 691-2; Nabia Abbot, *Aishah, the beloved of Mohammed*, Chicago 1942, 2-4; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 309.

(C.E. Bosworth)

<u>KH</u>AYR<u>KH</u>WĀH-i HARĀTĪ, Muḥammad Riḍā b. Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* and author. Born into a leading Nizārī Ismāʿīlī family in <u>Gh</u>ūriyān near Harāt, in present-day Af<u>gh</u>ānistān, towards the end of the 9th/15th century, Muḥammad Riḍā b. <u>Kh</u>wā<u>dj</u>a Sulṭān Ḥusayn <u>Gh</u>ūriyānī, better known as <u>Kh</u>ayr<u>kh</u>wāh-i Harātī, died not long after 960/1553, the latest date mentioned in his writings. Thus <u>Kh</u>ayr<u>kh</u>wāh flourished in the early An<u>dj</u>udān period in post-Alamūt Nizārī history, when the Nizārī *daʿwa* and literary activities had begun to revive under the direct leadership of the Nizārī *imāms* themselves. In fact, <u>Kh</u>ayr<u>kh</u>wāh represents the second most important literary figure, after Abū Isḥāḳ-i Ḳuhistānī (d. after 904/1498-9), in the contemporary Persian Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community; and his works are invaluable for understanding the An<u>dj</u>udān revival in Nizārī Ismāʿīlism and the Nizārī doctrine of the time.

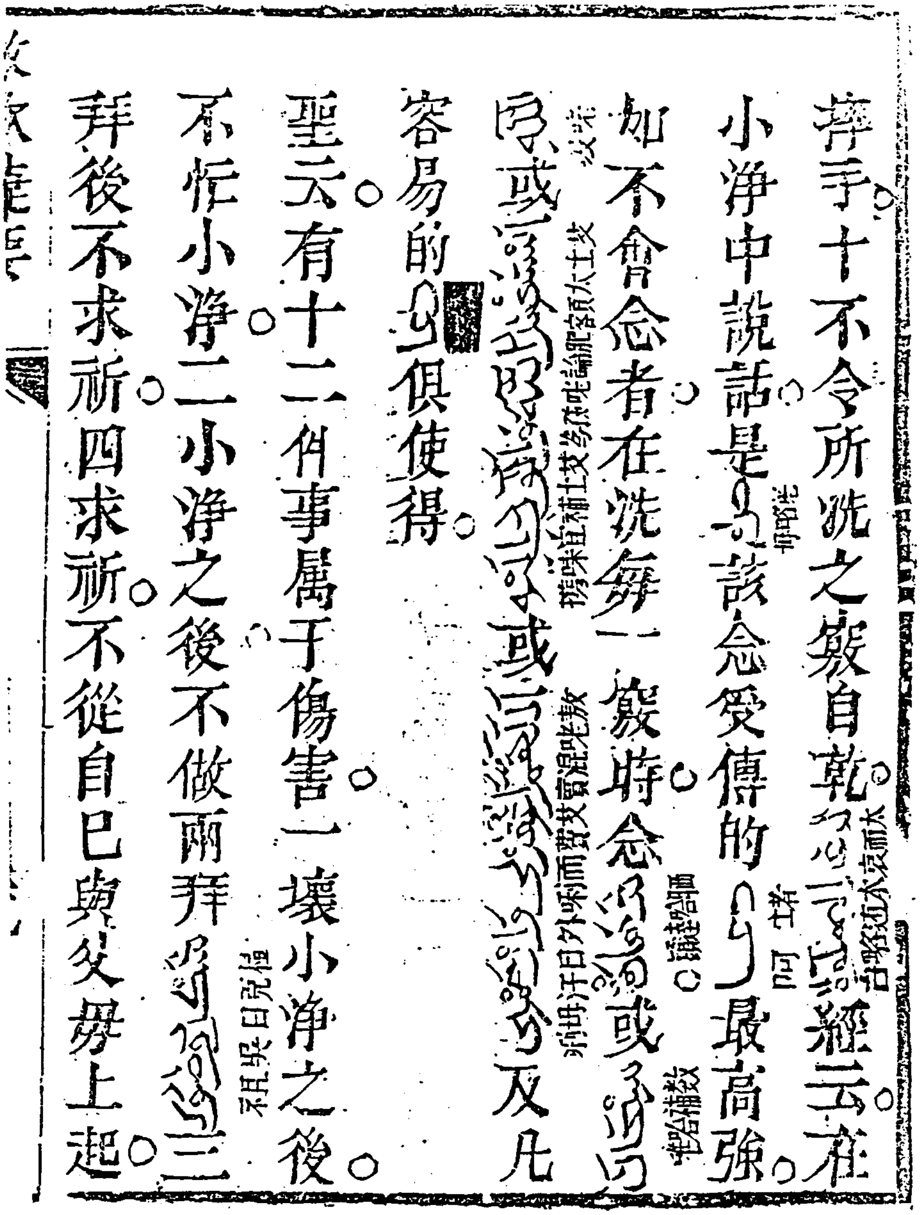

抹手十不令所洗之處自乾。經云。在
小淨中說話是不該念愛傳的最高強。
如不會念者在洗每一處將念或
或或及凡
容易的[redacted]俱使得。
聖云。有十二件事屬于傷害。壞小淨之後。
不作小淨二。小淨之後不做兩拜三
拜後不求祈四。求祈不從自己與父母上起。

A cheap production, from Shantung/Shandong in 1874, in which the Arabic gloss (comprehensible by turning the book through 90°) has a supergloss of a transcription of the Arabic with the help of Chinese characters the *Chiao-k'uan chiai-yao/Jiaokuan jieyao* ("Quick résumé of the articles of the Faith") by Ma Po-liang/Ma Boliang, 1678.

A small Ḳurʾānic manual from 1912, in which the Chinese script tries to resemble Arabic writing.

Examples of different types of artistic calligraphy made, as is stated in the lower part of the illustration, by the *imām* (*ahong*) Chang Kuo-chün/Zhang Guojun, of the mosque of Yang-chi'ao-chen/Yangqiaozhen ("town of the Yang bridge"), in the sub-prefecture (*hsien/xian*) of Chien-ch'üan/Jianquan in Anhui/Anhui province. In the centre, on the left-hand side, the Chinese seal of Chang Kuo-chün stands instead of a signature, according to Chinese custom (illustration taken from the journal of the Islamic Association of the PRC, the *Chung-kuo Mu-ssu-lin/Zhongguo Musilin* (1995), no. 6, at p. 45.

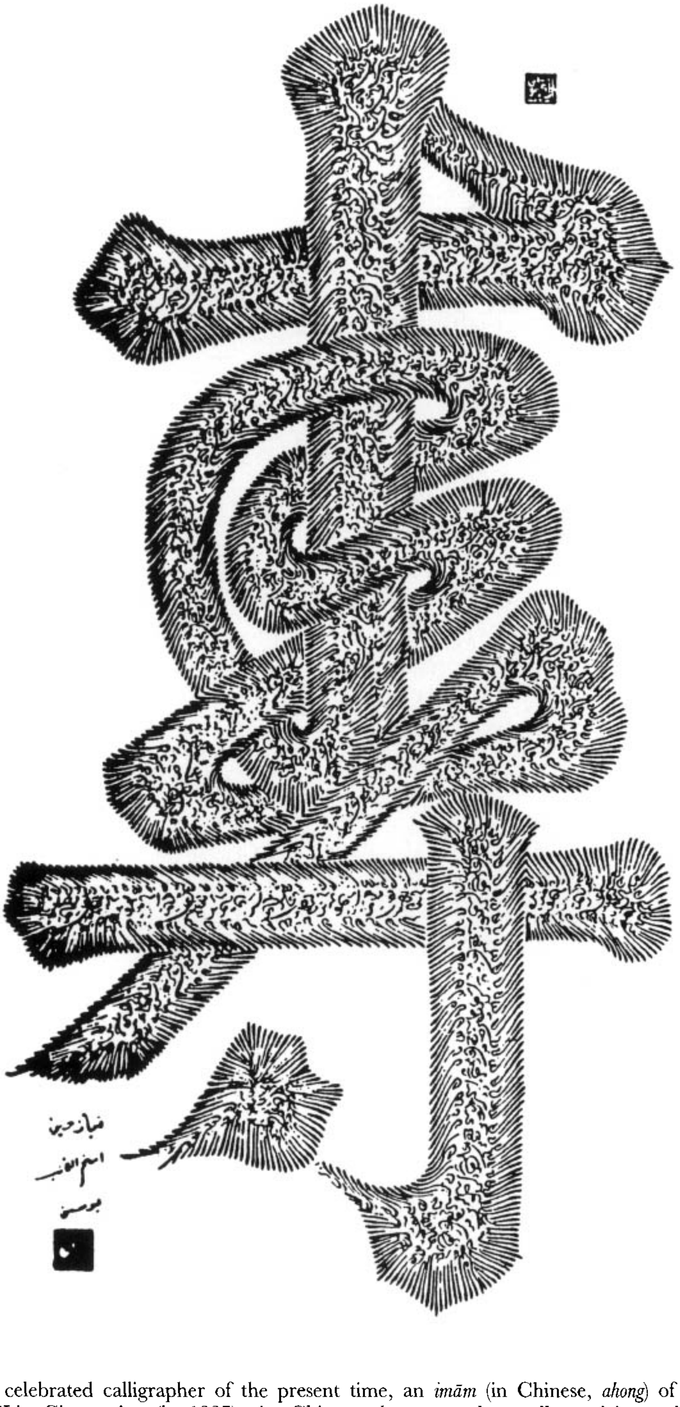

Written by a celebrated calligrapher of the present time, an *imām* (in Chinese, *ahong*) of Tientsin/Tianjin, Liu Ch'ang-ming/Liu Changming (b. 1927), the Chinese character, above all auspicious, *shou/shou*, is formed by the upright shafts of the Arabic letters. The artist's signature is given in Arabic below, and above, with a Chinese seal (work dating from 1985).

In the autobiographical section of his *Risāla*, Khayrkh^{w}āh relates how his father, a *dāʿī* in the Harāt region, was murdered by brigands whilst on a journey to see the *imām* in Andjudān near Maḥallāt. Subsequently, the Nizārī *imām*, probably Mustanṣir bi 'llāh III (d. 904/1498), better known as Shāh Gharīb, appointed Khayrkh^{w}āh, then only nineteen years of age, to the position of the chief *dāʿī* or *ḥudjdja*, then more commonly designated as *pīr* of Khurāsān and Badakhshān. Khayrkh^{w}āh also visited the Nizārī *imām* of the time at Andjudān and has preserved unique details in his *Risāla* on how the *imām* managed the affairs of the Nizārī *daʿwa* from his headquarters in Persia.

Khayrkh^{w}āh-i Harātī was a prolific writer and his works, all written in Persian, have been mainly preserved by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī communities of Badakhshān (now divided between Afghānistān and Tādjikistān), Hunza and other northern areas of Pakistan. Khayrkh^{w}āh also composed poetry under the pen-name (*takhallus*) of Gharībī, based on the name of his contemporary Nizārī *imām*. His writings include *Faṣl dar bayān-i shinākht-i imām* (ed. and tr. W. Ivanow in his *Ismailitica*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, viii [1922], 1-49; later editions and translations of this work by Ivanow were published in 1947, 1949 and 1960 in the series of publications of the Ismaili Society of Bombay), and the *Risāla-yi Khayrkh^{w}āh-i Harātī* (originally partially ed. and lithographed by Sayyid Munīr Badakhshānī in Bombay in 1333/1915), critically edited together with his *Ḳiṭaʿāt* and selections of his poetry (*ashʿār*) by Ivanow and published in a collection entitled *Taṣnīfāt* in Ismaili Society series A, no. 13, Bombay 1961. As Ivanow showed, Khayrkh^{w}āh also produced a plagiarised version of Abū Isḥāḳ-i Ḳuhistānī's *Haft bāb* (ed. Ivanow, Ismaili Society series A, no. 10, Bombay 1959, 3-8) under the title of *Kalām-i pīr* (ed. Ivanow, Islamic Research Association series, no. 4, Bombay 1935, introd.), attributing it to Nāṣir-i Khusraw in order to enhance its popularity among the Nizārī communities of Persia and Central Asia.

Bibliography (in addition to the works cited in the article): W. Ivanow, *Ismaili literature. A bibliographical survey*, Tehran 1963, 142-4; A. Berthels and M. Baqoev, *Alphabetic catalogue of manuscripts found by 1959-1963 expedition in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region*, Moscow 1967, 73, 104; I.K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 270, 275-7; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 439, 469-71, 476-7, 481, 535.

(F. Daftary)

KHIFĀḌ [see khafḍ].

KHŌDJA-ZĀDE, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Yūsuf, born into a well-to-do family in Bursa, was one of the leading Ottoman scholars of the 9th/15th century. Among others he studied with Khiḍr Beg [*q.v.*], and began his career as *ḳāḍī* in Ḳasṭal under Murād II [*q.v.*]. After 857/1453 he was appointed a private teacher of Meḥemmed II and held high positions in the law administration (*ḳāḍī ʿaskar* [*q.v.*], *ḳāḍī* in Edirne and Istanbul) and in the educational system of the empire (professor at the Sulṭāniyya in Bursa and in Istanbul). After 1470, following intrigues at the court, he was removed to Iznīk. Under Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] he was rehabilitated and reappointed as professor and *muftī* [*q.v.*] in Bursa, where he died in 893/1488.

Most of his works have been lost, but those which have survived show the high level of his knowledge as well as of the educational system at the Ottoman universities in the 9th/15th century. Among the works that have survived are publications on the following subjects: (a) *Grammar*: a commentary on al-Zandjānī's *al-ʿIzzī fi 'l-taṣrīf* (evidently composed as a textbook for Meḥemmed II); (b) *Fiḳh*: 1. Glosses to al-Taftāzānī's commentary on Maḥbūbī's *Tanḳīḥ*. 2. Glosses on al-Djurdjānī's glosses on al-Īdjī's commentary on Ibn al-Ḥādjib's *Mukhtaṣar Muntahā al-suʾāl*; (c) *Kalām*: 1. Commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār*. 2. Glosses on al-Khayālī's glosses on al-Taftāzānī's commentary on al-Nasafī's *ʿAḳāʾid*. 3. Glosses on al-Djurdjānī's commentary on al-Īdjī's *Mawāḳif* (this last work of Khodja-zāde, apparently unfinished, is critical of al-Djurdjānī); (d) *Philosophy*: 1. Glosses on Mawlānā-zāde's commentary on al-Abharī's *Hidāyat al-ḥikma*. 2. Commentary on al-Urmawī's *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār*.

Khodja-zāde's fame here is above all based on a work called *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (printed in Cairo in 1321/1903-4, together with the *Tahāfut* of al-Ghazālī and the *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* of Ibn Rushd). The work was written at the instigation of Meḥemmed II, who organised a competition between Khodja-zāde and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ṭūsī to answer the question who had been right in the dispute between al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd. Khodja-zāde gave a politic answer. Basically he sided with al-Ghazālī but corrected the latter's views on several points. At the same time, he emphasised that only the less important philosophers had made mistakes, while Ibn Rushd had a thorough command of his subject. This compromising attitude apparently carried approbation, for Khōdja-zāde was not only proclaimed winner by Meḥemmed II, but his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* was still much read in the 10th/16th century and commented upon by several authors, among whom Kemāl-Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Tāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Beirut n.d., ii, 161 ff.; idem, *al-Shāḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, tr. O. Rescher, repr. Osnabrück 1978, 76-88; Muḥammad al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 306-8; Mübahat Türker, *Üç tahafut bakımından felsefe ve din münasebetleri*, Ankara 1956; Hassen Jarrai, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa par Khwādja Zāde*, diss., Paris 1972, unpubl.; Mustafa S. Yazıcıoğlu, *Le kalām et son rôle dans la société turco-ottomane aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, Ankara 1990, esp. 101 ff.

(U. Rudolph)

KHŌDJAS [see kh^{w}ādjas, in Suppl.].

al-KHULAFĀʾ al-RĀSHIDŪN (a.), literally, "the Rightly-Guided Caliphs", the four heads of the nascent Islamic community who succeeded each other in the thirty years or so after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad in Rabīʿ I 11/June 632. The qualifying term in the phrase has often been rendered as "Orthodox" (an anachronism, since there was no generally accepted corpus of Islamic belief and practice at this early time from which deviation could occur) or "Patriarchal", reflecting a view of this period as a heroic age for Islam.

The four caliphs in question comprised:

11-13/632-4	Abū Bakr b. Abī Ḳuḥāfa, called *al-Ṣiddīḳ*
13-23/634-44	ʿUmar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb, called *al-Fārūḳ*
23-35/644-56	ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān
35-40/656-61	ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib

All four were from the Prophet's own Meccan tribe of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], and all were already related to Muḥammad himself by marriage, whilst ʿAlī, as a first cousin on the father's side, was also a close blood relation. A strong feeling was thereby created that the caliph, as both military and religious head of the community, responsible for protecting the Muslim

umma [*q.v.*] and its faith and for upholding the Prophetic heritage, should come from Ḳuraysh̲, a feeling later crystallised in a *ḥadīth̲* attributed to the Prophet, "authority shall not depart from this tribe of Ḳuraysh̲."

It was Abū Bakr who first adopted the title of *k̲h̲alīfat Rasūl Allāh* "successor of the Messenger of God", with the implication of a necessity for the caliph to uphold and to further the Prophet's heritage; for the genesis of the title and its early development, see K̲H̲ALĪFA (I).

The three decades of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs saw the extraordinary expansion of the small Arab Muslim community based on Medina as the *mukātila* or warriors overran the outlying parts of the Arabian peninsula, Sāsānid ʿIrāḳ and Persia, and Byzantine Palestine, Syria and Egypt. By the time of ʿAlī's death, the Arabs were already raiding across the Oxus and into southern Afg̲h̲ānistān in the east, into Armenia and the Caucasus region in the north, and beyond Barḳa [*q.v.*] towards Tripoli and Fezzān in the west. The administrative and fiscal bases of the later caliphate also being laid down at this time, with ʿUmar's institution of the *dīwān* in which the pay allotments of the Arab warriors were registered, this military role became the requisite for full membership of the new community, creating the entitlement to share in its privileges [see ʿAṬĀʾ; DĪWĀN. I.]. The longer-term financial stability of the new state was ensured by the ruling authority's utilisation of a considerable proportion of the booty captured from the conquered lands for state and community purposes rather than it being shared out among the warriors and thereby dissipated [see BAYT AL-MĀL; FAYʾ; G̲H̲ANĪMA]. Hence by the end of the period of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, the Islamic community was no longer a purely Arabian affair but was well established outside the peninsula. Although the Muslims were for long a minority in the conquered lands, the bases were being laid for the slow transformation of the societies of the conquered lands and their religious complexions. A pointer to this new orientation of the Muslim state was ʿAlī's move of the capital from Medina to the new military encampment of Kūfa in ʿIrāḳ; it was never to return to Arabia which, whilst remaining the locational focus for the Muslim cult, became from the political point of view, increasingly peripheral.

The end of ʿUt̲h̲mān's reign and the whole of that of ʿAlī's were marked by religio-political dissension. ʿUt̲h̲mān's murder accordingly inaugurated for the community a period of *fitna* [*q.v.*] or internecine strife, out of which eventually emerged such groups as the K̲h̲āridjites and the S̲h̲īʿa [*q.vv.*]. Hence the preceding part of the age of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs came in later times to be regarded through a nostalgic haze as a Golden Age of early Islam, when the community was undivided. The period was invested with the pristine virtues of piety, simplicity, justice, equality of all (male, free) Muslim believers, all the more so as later pietistic, traditionalist circles contrasted it with what they regarded as the worldly-oriented *mulk* or kingship of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs' immediate successors, the Umayyads [*q.v.*]; G.E. von Grunebaum coined the term "Rāshidūn classicism" for this backwards-looking feeling, discernible still in some contemporary fundamentalist currents of Islam.

Bibliography: See, in the first place, the separate articles on the four caliphs and the *Bibls.* there. There are relevant sections on the caliphs and their times in the general histories of Islam and its expansion, including Sir William Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, revised ed. T.H. Weir, Edinburgh 1915; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten*, ²Munich 1943, Eng. tr., *History of the Islamic peoples*, London 1949; J.J. Saunders, *A history of mediaeval Islam*, London 1965; R. Mantran (ed.), *L'expansion musulmane (VIIᵉ-XIᵉ siècles)*, Paris 1969, ⁵1991; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Classical Islam, a history 600-1258*, London 1970; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *The Patriarchal and Umayyad caliphates*, in P.M. Holt *et alii* (eds.), *Camb. hist. of Islam*, i, Cambridge 1970; M.G.S. Hodgson, *The venture of Islam*, i, *The classical age of Islam*, Chicago 1974; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphs*, London 1986; A. Noth, *Früher Islam*, in U. Haarmann (ed.), *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, Munich 1987. Specifically on the conquests of this period, see A.J. Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, 2nd ed. P.M. Fraser, Oxford 1978; F. McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981; W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*, Cambridge 1992. On the internal evolution of the Islamic community and its stresses during this period, see Hichem Djaït, *La grande discorde. Religion et politique dans l'Islam des origines*, Paris 1989; W.F. Madelung, *The succession to Muhammad. A study of the early caliphate*, Cambridge 1997. For chronology, see C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 1-2 no. 1. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-K̲H̲ULD, ḲAṢR, the name of a palace of the early ʿAbbāsids in Bag̲h̲dād, so-called because of its being compared in splendour with the *djannat al-k̲h̲uld* "garden of eternity", i.e. Paradise.

It was built by the founder of the new capital Bag̲h̲dād, al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], in 158/775 on the west bank of the Tigris outside the walled Round City, possibly on the site of a former Christian monastery (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 273; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 382). It was strategically placed between the two great military areas of the Ḥarbiyya and al-Ruṣāfa on the eastern side [see AL-RUṢĀFA. 2.] and adjacent to the Upper or Main bridge across the river. The early ʿAbbāsid caliphs, and especially Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd and al-Amīn, resided in the K̲h̲uld palace, and the latter tried to escape by water from its riverside quay when Ṭāhir [*q.v.*] b. al-Ḥusayn's attackers were about to break into the city in 198/813 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 917 ff.). It suffered badly from Ṭāhir's bombardment, and al-Maʾmūn stayed elsewhere on his first visit to Bag̲h̲dād from the East in 204/819. The seat of the caliphate was moved to Sāmarrāʾ some fifteen years later, and the K̲h̲uld palace must thenceforth have become completely ruinous; when, at the end of the century, al-Muʿtaḍid moved back to Bag̲h̲dād he occupied palaces on the eastern side. The site was only re-used when in 368/979 the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla built there his Bīmāristān or hospital.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Abbasid caliphate*, Oxford 1900, 101-3; J. Lassner, *The topography of Baghdad in the early Middle Ages*, Detroit 1970, 55, 60, 105, 149, 154, 231, 243, 280.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

K̲H̲UMAYN, a small town in the province of Ḳum in modern Iran (lat. 33° 38' N., long. 50° 03' E.) some 70 km/42 miles to the south-south-east of Arāk/Sulṭānābād [*q.v.*]. It is unmentioned in the mediaeval Islamic geographers, but now has fame as the birthplace of the Āyatallāh Rūḥ Allāh K̲h̲umaynī (1902-89 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). It is at present administratively in the *s̲h̲ahrastān* of Maḥallāt. In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of 7,038, which in 2003 had risen to 59,300.

Bibliography: Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrānzamīn*, i, 81-2. (Ed.)

KHUMAYNĪ, Sayyid Rūḥ Allāh Mūsawī (1902-89), Āyatullāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and prominent Iranian religious leader of the later 20th century.

He was born into a clerical family in the small town of Khumayn [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in central Iran, a few years before the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 [see dustūr. iv] opened the era of modern politics in Iran. Sayyid Rūḥ Allāh's father was murdered before he was a year old, and his mother died when he was in his teens. The reign of Riḍā Shāh (1925-41 [*q.v.*]), whose secularisation policies and dispossession of clerics he never forgot nor forgave, encompassed his formative years in Ḳum, where as an atypical seminarian he quietly studied mystical philosophy alongside jurisprudence, and began his teaching career. The popularity of his lectures on ethics in the latter part of the 1930s apparently caused the local police some apprehension. Khumaynī's entry into the public sphere began during World War II with the anonymous publication of *Kashf al-asrār*, a book written in defence of the Shī'ī hierarchy against a modernist anti-clerical pamphleteer. In it, he maintained that the *mudjtahids* had the authority to supervise parliamentary legislation and the deeds of the monarch. Khumaynī took a radically novel position in a tract on *idjtihād*, which was apparently written in the early 1950s but published in A.H. 1384/1964-5, in which he took the term *ḥākim* not only in the Arabic, technical, but also in the Persian everyday sense, to extend the judiciary authority of the *mudjtahid* to the political sphere as the right to rule (*Kungirih-i imām Khumaynī*, ix, 15-17).

Khumaynī first appeared on the national political scene in A.S.H. 1342/1963 as an outspoken critic of the Shāh and his reform program. The Shāh characterised his movement as "black reaction", and took repressive measures against it. Khumaynī was imprisoned in June 1963, and demonstrations by his supporters were violently suppressed. He was exiled to Turkey in November 1964, and moved on to the Shī'ī holy cities in 'Irāḳ. In January 1965 a group of his followers assassinated the Prime Minister, Ḥasan-'Alī Manṣūr, with a plan for setting up a "unified Islamic government". While in exile in Nadjaf, Khumaynī developed his theory of *wilāyat al-faḳīh* as the mandate of the jurist to rule, both in a series of lectures in Persian, which were published in Beirut in 1970 under the title of *Wilāyat-i faḳīh*, and in a work of jurisprudence on transactions, published in the second volume of *Kitāb al-Bay'* in A.H. 1391/1971. He argued that the right to rule devolves from the Imāms to the *mudjtahids* during the Occultation of the Twelfth Imām, and, further, that if one of them were able to exercise that right by establishing a government, it would be incumbent upon other *mudjtahids* to obey him. With this theory made public in clerical circles, Khumaynī began to prepare a beleaguered Shī'ī hierarchy for the takeover of a hostile, secularising state. His former students played the leading role in his movement and mobilised many younger clerics from humble rural and small town backgrounds in opposition to the monarchy and to Western cultural domination. As the leader of the Islamic revolutionary movement, Khumaynī assumed the title of *imām*, a title reserved for the twelve holy Shī'ī Imāms and not used by anyone else in Persian for over a thousand years.

On the victory of the Islamic revolution, Imām Khumaynī exercised his prerogatives according to the theory of *wilāyat al-faḳīh*, in ordering the confiscation of the property of the Pahlawī family and other industrialists of the old régime as war booty, and in appointing Mahdī Bāzargān, who represented the liberal and nationalist elements in the revolutionary coalition, as provisional prime minister. However, he was careful not to alienate the followers of the lay Muslim intellectuals and ideologues, such as Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad and 'Alī Sharī'atī, and did not proclaim a theocratic government at once. The *wilāyat al-faḳīh* entered public debate only when a clerically-dominated Assembly of Experts was elected, in place of a constituent assembly, and bypassed the draft constitution prepared by the provisional government to institute theocratic government according to Khumaynī's theory. Some of the features of the original draft were retained, however, notably the elected president and parliament (*Madjlis*), and a Council of Guardians (*shūrā-yi nigahbān*) which was modified to increase the number and power of its clerical jurists by giving them the exclusive right to veto any *Madjlis* enactment they found in violation of Islamic standards. The new Constitution was approved by a referendum in December 1979, shortly after the occupation of the American embassy and the taking of its staff as hostages and the resignation of Bāzargān.

In the course of the ensuing power struggle of the early 1980s among the partners in the revolutionary coalition, Khumaynī sanctioned the violent suppression of the leftist and secular elements. Despite his apparent initial disinclination, the Iranian state and the revolutionary structures were brought under direct clerical control. Once the revolutionary power struggle ended with the complete victory of his supporters, Khumaynī sought to maintain unity between the conservative and the radical clerics and their respective allies, and intervened a number of times to prevent the tilting of the balance of power in favour of the former. Meanwhile, he oversaw the constitutional development of the Islamic theocratic republic he had founded. The failure of a variety of principles drawn from Shī'ī jurisprudence, including the distinctions between primary and secondary commandments (*aḥkām*) of the *Sharī'a* and the introduction of a new category of "governmental (*ḥukūmatī*) commandments", to solve the impasse between the *Madjlis* and the Council of Guardians had become evident by January 1988, when Khumaynī proclaimed a new idea of the "absolute (*muṭlaḳa*) mandate of the jurist". This gave priority to what has increasingly been called the "governmental commandments" of the *walī-yi faḳīh* over those of the *Sharī'a*, including prayer and fasting. In the following month, overcoming the traditional reservations of the Shī'ī jurists regarding the principle of *maṣlaḥa* (public interest), he appointed a clerically-dominated Council for the Determination of the Interest of the Islamic Régime (*madjma'-i tashkhīṣ-i maṣlaḥat-i niẓām-i islāmī*) as the final arbiter of cases of disagreement between the *Madjlis* and the Council of Guardians. In April 1989, he ordered the revision of the Constitution, and the amended Constitution of 1989, which was completed and ratified after his death, awkwardly incorporated the phrase "absolute mandate to rule" (*wilāyat-i muṭlaḳ-i amr*) into its Article 57, augmented the already considerable powers of the ruling jurist and gave the Council for the Determination of Interest the new function of setting the general policies of the state.

Khumaynī remained ruthlessly firm and resolute to his last days. He opposed the ending of the increasingly unpopular war with 'Irāḳ (1980-8) until he finally

decided to drink "the cup of poison", and accepted a ceasefire with ʿIrāḳ on 18 July 1988. Two days later, the ʿIrāḳ-based forces of the Islamic radical group, the *mudjāhidīn-i khalḳ*, attacked western Iran and were wiped out. In the following weeks, despite the vehement protest of his successor-designate, Āyatullāh Muntaẓirī (Muntaẓirī, chs. 9-10), he ordered the execution of about 3,000 Islamic radicals who had already served or were serving sentences given them by revolutionary courts. The incipient collapse of communism in the last year of his life renewed Khumaynī's optimism, and in January 1989, he told the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev that he should learn about Islam as communism now belonged to the museum of history. Finally, Khumaynī caused another international crisis by issuing an injunction (*fatwā*) that sanctioned the death of Salman Rushdie, a non-Iranian writer who lived in England.

Khumaynī died on 14 Khurdād 1368/3 June 1989. He was a charismatic leader of immense popularity. Millions of Iranians massed to welcome him when he returned as the Imām from exile in 1979, and a million or more joined his funeral procession after he died ten years later.

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(S.A. Arjomand)

KHUMS (a.), a one-fifth share of the spoils of war and, according to the majority of Muslim jurists, of other specified forms of income, set aside for variously designated beneficiaries.

1. In Sunnism.

For the Sunnīs, like the Shīʿīs, the starting point for the discussion of *khums* is Ḳurʾān, VIII, 41 (*āyat al-khums*, *āyat al-ghanīma*). The Sunnī exegetes take this verse to address the spoils of war specifically, but beyond that there is widespread disagreement about the circumstances of its revelation, its interpretation and the extent of its applicability after the death of the Prophet (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *K. al-Ḳabas*, ed. Walad Karīm, Beirut 1992, ii, 600). Although the institution of the *khums* is often regarded as replacing the pre-Islamic right of the commander to one-fourth (*mirbāʿ*) of the booty (al-Wāḳidī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, ed. J.M.B. Jones, Oxford 1966, i, 17; Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-manār*, Beirut 1420/1999, x, 13; Lane, *Lexicon*, iii, 1015; Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 341), the acquisition of property, including the *khums*, through combat is regarded as unique to Islam among the revealed religions (Ibn al-Mulaḳḳin, *Ghāyat al-sūl fī khaṣāʾiṣ al-rasūl*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh, Beirut 1414/1993, 260-1; al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, ed. Cairo, xv, 41-4).

It is generally held that Ḳurʾān, VIII, 41, abrogates Ḳurʾān, VIII, 1 (*āyat al-anfāl*), which put the spoils gained at Badr (2/624) entirely at the disposal of the Prophet to distribute as he saw fit (al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1387/1967, viii, 2; al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1386/1966, 138-9). Ḳurʾān, VIII, 41 would thus have been revealed some time after Badr, and the rule of the *khums* was first implemented, according to some, in connection with the booty gained in the victory over the Jewish tribe of Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ (2/624 [*q.v.*]). According to another account, ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaḥsh, shortly before the battle of Badr, on his own initiative set aside for the Prophet one-fifth of the spoils taken from Ḳuraysh at Nakhla, the first spoils gained under Islam, and this rule was later affirmed by the Ḳurʾān (Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saḳḳāʾ *et al.*, Cairo 1375/1955, i, 603-05, tr. Guillaume, Oxford 1955, 286-8). Some sources, however, place the introduction of the *khums* at other times: at Badr itself, at the victory over Banu ʾl-Naḍīr (4/625) or over Banū Ḳurayẓa (5/627), at the conquest of Khaybar (7/628) or as late as the battle of Ḥunayn (8/630) [*q.vv.*] (al-Ḳayrawānī, *al-Nawādir wa ʾl-ziyādāt*, ed. Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1999, iii, 221; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Zād al-maʿād*, ed. al-Arnaʾūṭ, Beirut 1419/1998, v, 63).

Payment of the *khums* was taught by the Prophet as a cardinal religious obligation (*ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, i, 302-11, *bāb adāʾ al-khums min al-īmān*, xv, 26-7; Ibn Baṭṭāl, *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Ibrāhīm, Riyāḍ 1420/2000, v, 257) and appears among the undertakings required of certain Bedouin tribes (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 25, 30; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 682, ii/1, 303-04; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1955, 255-6). Two collectors of the *khums* who served the Prophet are named: Maḥmiya b. Djazʾ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb al-Anṣārī (al-Khuzāʿī, *Takhrīdj al-dalālāt al-samʿiyya*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1405/1985, 509-10). ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was charged by the Prophet with distributing the portion of the *khums* that went to the Prophet's next-of-kin, a position he continued to hold into the caliphate of ʿUmar (Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1352, 20).

The common opinion is that, during the lifetime of the Prophet, the *khums* was divided into five shares, with that of God and the Prophet constituting a single share (*khums al-khums*), which the Prophet used for his own upkeep and that of his family, with any excess being spent on the needs of the community. A small minority, including the Baṣran Ḳurʾān scholar Abu ʾl-ʿĀliya Rufayʿ b. Mihrān al-Riyāḥī (d. 90/708 or 96/714 [*q.v.*]), and it is sometimes reported, his mentor Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687-8 [*q.v.*]), were of the opinion that there was a distinct sixth portion for God. This portion, which was as much as the Prophet could grasp from the booty, was used for upkeep of the Kaʿba. According to Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]), the *khums* was to be divided into four parts, with one part representing the shares of God, the Prophet, and the Prophet's next-of-kin (*K. Tafsīr al-khams miʾa āya*, ed. Goldfeld, Shfaram 1980, 271), a mode of division followed by the Ibāḍīs (Ibn Ḳays, *Mukhtaṣar al-khiṣāl*, ʿUmān 1403/1983, 192; al-Kindī, *Bayān al-sharʿ*, ʿUmān 1414/1993, lxx, 374).

The Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs continue to recognise five shares after the death of the Prophet: (1) the Prophet's share, now used to meet the needs of the community of Muslims (*sahm al-maṣāliḥ*), (2) the share of the Prophet's next-of-kin (*dhu ʾl-ḳurbā*), which goes to the Hāshimīs and Muṭṭalibīs without regard to need, with males getting double the share of females, (3) the orphans (*yatāmā*) [see yatīm], defined as needy

minors who have no father, (4) the indigent (*masākīn*), who correspond to the "poor and indigent" of Ḳur'ān, IX, 60 [see ZAKĀT. 5. xi], and (5) the traveller, defined as for *zakāt* (cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī*, ed. Cairo, ii, 274). After the Prophet's death, his share and that of his family lapsed according to the Ḥanafīs, who appeal to the practice of the first four caliphs as evidence for this view (*K. al-Kharādj*, 19). The Ḥanafīs do, however, give preference to indigent members of the Prophet's family under the remaining three classes, in recognition of their ineligibility to receive *zakāt* [see ZAKĀT. 5. xi]. The Mālikīs regard the classes named in Ḳur'ān, VIII, 41, as illustrative (Ibn Rushd, *al-Muḳaddimāt*, ed. Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1408/1988, i, 357) and treat the entire *khums* as *fay'* [*q.v.*] to be expended upon the needs of the Muslims as the ruler sees fit (Saḥnūn, *al-Mudawwana*, ed. Muḥammad, Beirut 1419/1999, ii, 604), a view also adopted by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 652/1254 [*q.v.*]). They do, however, recommend that distribution of the *khums* begin with grants to the Hāshimīs (*al-Khirshī ʿalā mukhtaṣar Khalīl*, ed. Beirut, iii, 129).

The obligation of paying the *khums* is incumbent on Muslims (cf. al-Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr*, ed. Waṣfī, Cairo 1972, ii, 301, on Muslim slaves). Although it is sometimes stated that only Muslims are eligible to receive the *khums* (al-Shīrāzī, *al-Muhadhdhab*, ed. Cairo, ii, 247; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Kāfī*, ed. al-Shāfiʿī, Beirut 1421/2001, iv, 183), this restriction has been said not to apply to the expenditure of the share for the needs of the community (al-Ramlī, *Ghāyat al-bayān*, ed. Cairo, 345).

The rules for the *khums* apply specifically to *ghanīma* [*q.v.*], the spoils of war taken by armed force, except according to the Shāfiʿīs (al-Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, ed. Cairo, iv, 64; al-Māwardī, *al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr*, ed. Maṭradjī, Beirut 1414/1994, x, 429-30) and some Ḥanbalīs, notably al-Khiraḳī (d. 334/945) (Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, ed. al-Turkī and al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1409/1989, ix, 284, 286), who fully extend the application of the *khums* to property taken from the enemy without such display of force, i.e. *fay'*, and the Mālikīs, who recognise an intermediate category, *al-mukhtaṣṣ*, between *ghanīma* and *fay'*, that includes property taken out of enemy territory by stealth, the *khums* of which must be privately distributed by its taker (al-Raṣṣāʿ, *Sharḥ ḥudūd Ibn ʿArafa*, ed. al-Adjfān and al-Maʿmūrī, Beirut 1993, i, 229-30). The extent to which *khums* is due on property seized by small groups of raiders acting on their own initiative is disputed (al-Ṭabarī, *Das konstantinopler Fragment des Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Fuḳahā'*, ed. Schacht, Leiden 1933, 78-80; Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 286).

The booty subject to division does not include food consumed by the combatants or their animals (*al-Mudawwana*, ii, 612-14; al-Kāsānī, *Badā'iʿ al-ṣanā'iʿ*, ed. Mu'awwaḍ and ʿAbd al-Mawdjūd, Beirut 1418/1997, ix, 494-6) nor, during the Prophet's lifetime, such booty as he selected as a personal prize (*ṣafī*) (*K. al-Kharādj*, 22-3). The *khums* is calculated on the total booty net such expenses as those incurred for its transport and safekeeping, and, according to the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, after subtraction of the clothing, weapons, mounts, and other personal effects (*salab*) of enemy soldiers earned by the individual Muslim combatants who have killed or disabled them (cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 70-1). The Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs treat such claims to personal effects as rewards (*nafal*), for which they require an express grant by the ruler, preferably, according to the Mālikīs, after the battle has ended so as not to compromise the purity of motive of the combatants. The Mālikīs in all cases satisfy rewards from the *khums*; the Ḥanafīs from the *khums* if the grant has been made after the booty has been secured in Islamic territory (*iḥrāz*), otherwise from the four-fifths; the Ḥanbalīs from the four-fifths. The Shāfiʿīs pay rewards from the twenty-fifth share devoted to the needs of the community. Special allocations (*raḍkh*) of the booty granted to slaves, women, and children who participate in the battle but do not otherwise qualify as combatants, are distributed from the total booty according to the Ḥanafīs, from the four-fifths according to the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, and from the *khums* according to the Mālikīs, who in principle disapprove of such special allocations.

The rules for the *khums* apply in the first instance to moveable property, which includes the captured slaves of the non-Muslim enemy. In the case of combatants taken prisoner and captive women and children, the rule of the *khums* is applied most straightforwardly when these are enslaved and form part of the booty to be divided (cf. al-Dasūḳī, *al-Ḥāshiya ʿalā al-sharḥ al-kabīr*, ed. Cairo, ii, 184). There is disagreement as to real property: the Shāfiʿīs divide such property among the combatants and subject it to the *khums*; the Mālikīs do not, while the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs leave the matter of division to the discretion of the ruler. Where the division is of the booty itself, rather than of its sale price, the determination of what constitutes the *khums* is made by lot, with a special designation for the *khums* (*li 'llāh, li 'l-maṣāliḥ, li-rasūl Allāh*) (al-Wāḳidī, ii, 523-4; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf*, ed. al-Nadwī, Bombay 1402/1982, xii, 429-30; al-Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj*, Cairo 1386/1967, vi, 146; al-Ḥaṭṭāb, *Mawāhib al-djalīl*, ed. ʿUmayrāt, Beirut 1416/1995, iv, 584).

There is disagreement as to what extent the ruler can avoid the application of the general rules for the division of booty, including that of the *khums*, by declaring that what each combatant takes is his as a reward (*al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt*, iii, 252; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istidhkār*, ed. Ḳalʿadjī, Cairo 1414/1993, xiv, 102-3; Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāriʿ al-ashwāḳ*, ed. ʿAlī and Isṭanbūlī, Beirut 1410/1990, ii, 1035-6). According to many Ḥanafīs, the booty taken pursuant to such a general offer of reward (*tanfīl ʿāmm*), in the case of a detachment (*sariyya*), but not the entire army, dispatched from within enemy territory, is not subject to the *khums* (al-Djaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Istanbul, iii, 55; Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Radd al-muḥtār*, Cairo 1386/1966, iv, 155-7; cf. Ibn Nudjaym, *al-Baḥr al-rā'iḳ*, ed. Cairo, v, 92; C. Imber, *Ebu 's-Suʿud: the Islamic legal tradition*, Stanford 1997, 87 [with reference to a declaration of this sort on the part of the Ottoman sultan in 948/1541-2]).

The institution of the *khums* appears to have fallen into neglect from an early date. The students of Mālik (d. 179/796 [*q.v.*]) already addressed questions concerning the purchase of slave girls from sellers suspected of not having paid the *khums* (*al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt*, iii, 215-6; *Mawāhib al-djalīl*, iv, 568-70) as well as the status of privately owned Andalusī estates on which *khums* was not known to have been paid at the time of their conquest and, according to the Mālikīs, irregular distribution to individuals (*al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt*, iii, 364-65). Even revivalist movements such as that of the Almoravids and Almohads found it difficult to ensure consistent implementation of the law of the *khums* (J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary until the sixth century of the hijra*, London 1958, 28-9; al-Tadjkānī, *al-Ihsān al-ilzāmī fi 'l-islām wa-taṭbīkātuhu fi 'l-Maghrib*, al-Muḥammadiyya 1410/

1990, 592). The Ottoman *muftī* Abū Su'ūd (d. 982/1547) took it for granted that the spoils of war were not being divided in accordance with the law and put the burden of paying *khums* on the purchasers of slave girls (Imber, 87; al-Ḥaṣkafī, *al-Durr al-muntakā*, on the margin of Shaykhzāda, *Madjma' al-anhur*, ed. Istanbul, i, 651; cf. *Radd al-muḥtār*, iv, 157-8).

Commonly treated by the jurists in connection with *zakāt* (cf. al-Zurḳānī, *al-Sharḥ 'alā muwaṭṭa' al-imām Mālik*, ed. 'Awaḍ, Cairo 1381/1961, ii, 321) but regarded by the Ḥanafīs, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs as analogous to the one-fifth payable from booty, is the one-fifth due upon the discovery under certain circumstances unrelated to combat of pre-Islamic treasure, as enjoined by the *ḥadīth* (*fi 'l-rikāz al-khums*) (Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, ed. 'Abd al-Bāḳī, ed. Cairo, 170). The Shāfi'īs limit this obligation to gold and silver, to which they apply the same minimum amount (*niṣāb*) as that for *zakāt* on gold and silver. While the Ḥanafīs distribute this one-fifth as they do the *khums* of booty (*Radd al-muḥtār*, iv, 139), the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs class it as *fay'* to be expended on the needs of the community, and the Shāfi'īs treat it as *zakāt* (*'Umdat al-ḳārī*, ix, 104) [see ZAKĀT. 5. iv]. The Ḥanafīs, and to a limited extent the Mālikīs, extend the rule of one-fifth on treasure to the products of mining (*ma'din*): malleable metals, according to the Ḥanafīs (al-Samarḳandī, *Tuḥfat al-fuḳahā'*, ed. 'Abd al-Barr, Damascus 1377/1958, i, 505-09), pure or virtually pure pieces of gold and silver (*nadra*), according to the Mālikīs (al-Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr*, i, 653). The opinions of certain early scholars that one-fifth was due on pearls, ambergris and other products of the sea, even fish, were not widely followed (Abū 'Ubayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl*, ed. Fiḳī, ed. Cairo, 345-8; cf. *K. al-Kharādj*, 70).

The label *khums* is also found in other senses. Loosely related to the *khums* on booty is the early use of the term *takhmīs* in N. Africa for the taking of Berber captives for the service of the state, such slaves being termed *akhmās* (Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, 27-8; Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 404). In Egypt the term *khums* was applied to a tax of variable percentage, apparently of Fāṭimid origin, that was imposed on the sale by foreign merchants of imported merchandise (H. Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt*, London 1972, 90-3).

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(A. Zysow)

2. In Shī'ism.

Imāmī and Zaydī Shī'ī jurisprudence concerning *khums* differ in significant ways from those outlined in Sunnī *fiḳh*. The wealth liable for *khums*, the means of its collection and distribution and the constitution of the recipient categories (*aṣnāf*) form the major topics of debate within both juristic traditions. The main Ḳur'ānic reference is VIII, 41 ("Know that what you acquire, a fifth is for God, his Prophet, the near relatives, orphans, the needy and the wayfarer"). Whilst Sunnī exegetes consider this verse to relate to war booty (*ghanīma* [*q.v.*]), Imāmī and Zaydī writers associate the phrase *annamā ghanimtum* ("what you acquire") to refer to wealth more generally.

In the Imāmī tradition, there are reports to support such a definition. "Everything from which the people gain benefit is *ghanīma*," the Imām al-Riḍā (d. 203/818) is reported as saying. A number of *akhbār* refer to the Imām's original ownership of the world and its produce (e.g. "all the earth is ours, and what God brings forth from it is also ours," al-Kulaynī [d. 328/939], *Kāfī*, i, 408). The *khums*, therefore, was analogous to a tenant's payment of a fixed percentage of the harvest to the landowner.

Since the Ḳur'ānic verse appears in the midst of a discussion of war, some exegetical effort was required to reinforce this interpretation. This normally began with a grammatical analysis of the term *ghanīma* and the verb *ghanima* (see al-Ṭūsī [d. 460/1067], *Mabsūṭ*, ii, 64, where the verb means "acquiring something with the purpose of turning it to profitable use"). This was supported by other *akhbār* (e.g. "a fifth of the earth is ours, and a fifth of all things is ours," al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, iv, 123).

The items liable for *khums* were defined in both collections of *akhbār* and works of *fiḳh*. In the earliest works of *fiḳh*, the discussions formed part of the *kitāb al-zakāt* or occasionally *kitāb al-fay' wa 'l-ghanīma*; a separate *kitāb al-khums* (located after the *kitāb al-zakāt*) later became the norm (see e.g. Muḥammad b. Makkī, al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 786/1384), *al-Lum'a al-dimashḳiyya*, 45-6). The earliest categorisation of taxable wealth comprised booty, produce of the sea, buried treasure, minerals and *malāḥa*. The last term, obscure in reference, was interpreted through juristic reasoning and the citation of other *akhbār* to refer to profit (from trade, agriculture and craft), *dhimmī* land bought by a Muslim and "*ḥalāl* goods mixed with *ḥarām* ones". This made seven categories in all (see such a categorisation in al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ [d. 676/1277], *Sharā'i'*, i, 179-81). These categories, once established, remained remarkably stable in the subsequent tradition.

When present, the Imām receives and distributes the *khums* (though he may, it seems, appoint a representative). The *khums*, following Ḳur'ān, VIII, 41, is distributed amongst the six categories mentioned (God, the Prophet, the near relatives, the orphans, the needy and the wayfarers). A minority of jurists argued that the shares of God and the Prophet were actually one (hence there are five not six recipients,

see Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Shahīd al-Thānī [d. 966/1588], *Masālik*, ii, 470), but this opinion was not popular. The juristic reasoning (authoritatively summed up in the later tradition by al-Nadjafī's [d. 1266/1850] commentary on al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ's *Sharāʾiʿ*: al-Nadjafī, *Djawāhir*, iv, 1-102) proceeded as follows: God's share was clearly owned by the Prophet, and he could dispose of it as he saw fit. After the Prophet's death, the two shares (of God and the Prophet) were, through inheritance, due to the Imām. The share of the "near relatives" was also due to the Imām, since they were the heads of the *ahl al-bayt* after the Prophet's death. The Imām, when present, was, then, due half the *khums*. The remaining shares were distributed by the Imām. The verse might indicate that the orphans, needy and wayfarers were from the population generally (as argued by Ibn Ḥamza [living in 566/1170] in his *al-Wasīla*, 718), though most jurists argued that these three categories applied to the family of the Prophet (the Banū Hāshim). A minority also argued that descendants of Hāshim's brother (Muṭṭalib) were also included (analogous to the *sayyid* status of descendants of both al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn: see Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *Sharh al-lumʿa al-dimashkiyya*, 57-8), but this did not become the influential position.

The absence of the Imām through occultation provided the jurists with an opportunity to link the discussion with the vexed issue of community leadership during the *ghayba* [*q.v.*]. Was *khums* during the *ghayba* lapsed (*sāḳiṭ*) because the Imām could not collect it in person (a view attributed to Salār al-Daylamī [d. 463/1071])? This position was rejected quite early on in the tradition. Other solutions were proposed, such as burying one's *khums* in anticipation of the Imam's return (attributed to Ibn Barrādj [d. 481/1099]) or placing the *khums* in a perpetual will, until the Imam's return. Some jurists (Ibn Idrīs [d. 598/1202], *Sarāʾir*, i, 502-4) maintained that the option of a will applied only to the Imām's share (i.e. one half). The remaining three shares are distributed to the recipients (perhaps by the individual himself). Ibn Idrīs's assertion that the Imām's share must be preserved, pending his return, was not developed further. For al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, the Imām had given the Shīʿa permission (*idhn*) to use his property generally, and his *khums* specifically, during his absence. This did not constitute using a person's property without permission. The *khums*, according to al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, was distributed by "the one who possesses authority through delegation (*niyāba*)" (*Sharāʾiʿ*, i, 184). Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) identified the person as *al-ḥākim* (a reference to *al-ḥākim al-sharʿī*, sc. a member of the *fuḳahāʾ*). These terminological shifts became more nuanced until the time of the Ṣafawid jurist, al-Sabzawārī (d. 1090/1679), who wrote that the *khums* should be given to "the worthy recipients through the auspices of the just *faḳīh* who is qualified to give *fatwās*" (*Kifāya*, 45); that is, the *mudjtahids* should receive and distribute the *khums*. This continues to be the position up to the present day. Naturally, those *ʿulamāʾ* who were also *sayyids* benefited financially, but, more importantly, the authority of the *fuḳahāʾ* (as in other areas of *furūʿ*) was enhanced. The contributions obviously aided the independence of the *ʿulamāʾ* from the Ḳādjār state, and may have provided part of the financial base for the *ʿulamāʾ* opposition movement in 20th-century Iran.

Zaydī discussions of *khums* bear some similarities to both Imāmī and Sunnī views. The important work, *al-Azhār*, of the Zaydī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 836/1432), provides a useful summary of three categories of produce liable for *khums*: the produce of the "land and sea" (*al-barr wa 'l-baḥr*), war booty and the ongoing revenue after a campaign. This represents an expansion of the Sunnī system of categorisation. In the subsequent commentaries on *al-Azhār*, Zaydī jurists (e.g. Ibn Miftāḥ [d. 877/1472] and al-Shawkānī [d. 1250/1834]) elaborated on this brief explanation. The produce of the land and sea included the produce gained from fishing and farming (with some restrictions) as well as precious stones and metals obtained through mining. Also included was treasure (*kunūz*) found by the Muslim but buried during the *djāhilī* period. War booty encompassed the booty from wars with both non-Muslims (*ahl al-ḥarb*) and non-Zaydī Muslims (*ahl al-baghy*). The ongoing revenue after a campaign included produce from land seized from the enemy, the *kharādj* (land-tax) and the *djizya* (the tax on non-Muslim communities living under Muslim control). It might be argued that Zaydī jurists envisaged an even larger amount of revenue as liable to *khums* than their Imāmī counterparts.

In Zaydī *fiḳh*, the *khums* is to be transferred to the Imām when he demands it. When there is no legitimate Imām in power, the *Azhār* records that the (Zaydī) Muslims must collect and distribute it themselves. The governance of an Imām does not affect the duty to give and distribute *khums*. The continued existence of a Zaydī Imām (though with limited suzerainty and disputed identity) did not encourage the discussion of delegation (*niyāba*) characteristic of the Imāmī tradition.

The distribution of *khums*, according to the Zaydīs, should be according to the established six categories of recipients. For al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1032), God's share is to be spent by the Imām on general benefits, such as mosques and roads (*maṣāliḥ*). The Prophet's share goes to the Imām who can spend it on his family, home and servants. The near-relatives' share is distributed, without regard for age, wealth or sex, to the descendants of the Prophets (with a broad definition of which lines of descent are to be included). The only restriction is that the descendants must recognise the Zaydī Imām (*mutamassik^un bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ li-imām al-muslimīn*). The three portions for the orphans, needy and wayfarers of the Prophet's descendants can be diverted if there are no such persons within the Prophet's descedants. First, the portions are available for the descendants of the Prophet. If unexhausted, the portions are distributed amongst the *muhādjirūn*; if not, then amongst the *anṣār*, and if not these last, then amongst the orphans, needy and wayfarers of the rest of the Muslim community (al-Hārūnī, *Taḥrīr*, i, 166). Though Zaydī thought on *khums* bears some resemblance to Imāmī *fiḳh* (e.g. the expansion of the definition of goods liable for *khums*), it avoids the contentious issues of *ʿulamāʾ* authority present in the Imāmī tradition.

The Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī tradition produced very little in terms of juristic literature, but one can conclude that, in terms of *khums*, it was much closer to the Sunnīs than either Zaydī or Imāmī *fiḳh*. In al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān's (d. 363/974 [*q.v.*]) *Daʿāʾim al-islām*, *khums* is discussed in the context of the *kitāb al-djihād*, mainly through citations of reports from Imām ʿAlī. The implication is that *khums* is only due on war booty. The resultant jurisprudence could fit well within the Sunnī *ikhtilāf* [*q.v.*] on the issue.

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KHURĀFA [see ḤIKĀYA. I].

KHUWWA (colloquial A., said to be of Nadjdī origin, Barthélemy, 224), also *khāwa*, both from the root *'-kh-w* (Landberg, 71-2): terms used in the Syrian desert, its borderlands, and northern Arabia to refer to certain payments levied by the Bedouin (references in Henninger, 34-36). In these highly Bedouinised areas even tribute paid by one sedentary group to another was sometimes called *khāwa* (Musil, *Ar. Petr.*, iii, 67, 69; *Mid. Euphr.*, 72); in Syria the term *khuwwa* might also refer to a relationship of mutual assistance between an urban notable and a Bedouin *shaykh* (details in Oppenheim, ii, 65).

Wallin (122, 129) reported that *khāwa* was levied by almost all "genuine Bedouin tribes". Like Zakariyyā he distinguishes three groups who paid it: villagers, weak nomadic tribes (especially those not considered to be true Bedouin, for instance the *shāwiya* [*q.v.*]), and people crossing the desert (merchants, carriers, travellers). The Bedouin look on the regions where they live as being divided into tribal territories, and Wallin suggested that the payments to a tribe were made in exchange for the right to be in the territory of that tribe and to enjoy its protection. The degree of protection offered varied greatly: a village might receive no more from its "protectors" than the temporary cessation of their depredations, while a client tribe or a caravan might receive not merely protection against robbery and other offences (when committed by members of the protecting tribe, and sometimes at least also in other cases), but even indemnification. *Khuwwa* was paid (in cash or kind) to the *shaykh* or leading men of the Bedouin tribe. Some tributaries paid a fixed amount collected annually in an orderly fashion, but villagers often had nomadic "brothers" whose brutal *khuwwa*-collecting visits were scarcely distinguishable from raids (Schumacher, 144, offers an eye-witness account). For certain tribes—or for certain tribesmen—tribute must have been an important source of income (see Musil, *Ar. Petr.*, iii, 52-3 for an example); and at least in some instances, the right to *khuwwa* from a particular source was assignable (Lancaster, 122).

As governments became stronger during the 19th and 20th centuries, they were able to suppress exactions of this kind; and though *khuwwa* was still being paid in a remote corner of Lebanon as late as the 1960s (al-Rāʿī, 46), it may now be assumed to be a thing of the past.

It seems that *khuwwa* and words from the same root are, when used to refer to payments of some kind, confined to the Mashriḳ (though such terms are alleged to have been used in North Africa to refer to something related to tribute, see Abu-Lughod, 82, and Dunn, 76); but the practice of paying tribute to powerful nomadic tribes was once well-nigh universal in the Arab world [see ḤIMĀYA, ii (I) (3) (b)]. The terms most widely used in the Maghrib appear to be *khafāra* [*q.v.*] or *ghafāra* and other words from the same roots (Pröbster, 395); words from these roots in the same and related senses are also common in the Mashriḳ (Combe; Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 386, ii, 217-18). Other terms are also attested in North Africa. Thus in the Western Desert of Egypt and in Cyrenaica, the Saʿādī tribes, who claimed that the land was theirs, used to receive a payment called *ṣadaḳa* from the subordinate Bedouin known as the *mrābṭīn al-ṣudḳān* (Djawharī, 172; Peters, 41), while in the Western Sahara the tribute paid by inferior to superior tribes went by the names of *ḥurma* and *gharāma* (and also *ghafar*), to say nothing of other words that referred to payments exacted from sedentary populations (Caro Baroja, 34-42; Stewart, 56-8).

Khuwwa is not sanctioned by Islamic law, and the tribute paid by settlements and nomadic tribes to pious rulers such as those of the Ibn Rashīd dynasty of Ḥā'il was not called *khuwwa* (*pace* Al Rasheed, 113-15), but rather *zakāt* [*q.v.*] (Euting, ii, index s.v. *zékâ*; Musil, *N. Neğd*, 4; Zaʿārīr, 99-100).

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Imārat Āl Ras̲h̲īd fī Ḥā'il, ʿAmmān 1997; A. Shryock, *Nationalism and genealogical imagination*, Berkeley 1997, index s.v. *khawa*. (F.H. Stewart)

ḲIRGIZSTĀN, KIRGIZSTAN (official designations, Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz Respublikasy), the smallest of the five Central Asian republics emerging from the collapse of the Soviet Union, with an area of 198,500 km^2 (77,415 sq. miles), and with boundaries adjoining China 858 km, Ḳazaḳstān 1051 km, Tād̲j̲īkistān 870 km and Uzbekistān 1099 km. Kyrgyzstan is landlocked, like most of its neighbours. In 1999 it had a population of 4,823 million, its ethnic composition at various points in the 20th century being shown in Table 1 as percentages of the whole population.

Russians are concentrated in the capital and in the north, Uzbeks in the south (Ōs̲h̲ and D̲j̲alālābād provinces). Changes in the ethnic composition of the Kyrgyzstani population are explained by much lower fertility among the Russians and other Europeans and massive outmigration of the "European" groups since the late 1980s. In the earlier Soviet period, the drop in the Kyrgyz population was linked to the crisis following collectivisation.

Kyrgyz, the official language, belongs to the northwestern group of Turkic languages [see TURKS. II (v), and for Kyrgyz literature, III. 6 (e)]. Russian was declared an official language in territories and work places where Russian dominates in March 1996, and is now termed the "language of inter-ethnic communication". Uzbek is granted no official status. The capital has been called Bishkek since 1993 (750,000 inhabitants in 1999), Frunze in Soviet times since 1926, and Pis̲h̲pek [*q.v.*] before then. Other towns include Talas [see ṬARĀZ] in the northwest and Ōs̲h̲ and Özkend [*q.v.*] in the Farg̲h̲āna valley. Regarding natural resources, Kyrgyzstan, as a mountainous country, is rich in water and has a high potential in hydroelectric power (Toktogul dam on the Naryn river, built 1962-75). Coal was mined for Central Asian consumption. After independence, gold has been deemed to be worthwhile exploiting (the Komtur gold field).

The country is divided into two main geographic zones by the Tien Shan mountains, with their highest peaks in the far eastern corner (Pik Pobedy, Žengis̲h̲ Čokusu, 7,439 m), and the Pamir Alai range. To the north, the hills slope down to the great steppe zone of Semirečye [see YETI SU], to the south, they border on the Farg̲h̲āna valley [see FARG̲H̲ĀNA]. Most of Kyrgyzstan is thus mountainous (40% of it over 3,200 m/10,000 feet). Arable land makes up a mere 7% of the area, whereas pastures account for more than 40%.

1. *Pre-colonial history.*

The area where the Kyrgyz Republic is situated was never defined as a political unit before Soviet times. It was, however, at the centre of the Ḳarak̲h̲ānid k̲h̲ānate [see ILEK-K̲H̲ĀNS] from the 4th/10th to the 7th/13th centuries, and the k̲h̲āns had one of their capitals at Bālāsāg̲h̲ūn [*q.v.*] with an appanage centre at Özkend, both situated within the boundaries of present-day Kyrgyzstan. A first wave of Islamisation occurred during this period; before, Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity and local cults prevailed. After the Mongol invasions, the area was part of the Čag̲h̲atay *ulus* [see MOG̲H̲OLISTĀN], and Islam receded as a consequence, primarily in the northern part of the country, remaining strong, however, in the Farg̲h̲āna valley. It is not altogether clear when ethnic Kyrgyz came to the region; this point depends on whether the different groups thus called can be seen as ethnically and linguistically continuous [see ḲIRG̲H̲IZ]. At any rate, many of the former Mog̲h̲ol/Čag̲h̲atayid subjects now became known as Kyrgyz. The second wave of Islamisation among these people began in the late 16th century, but Islamisation was apparently still going on under the influence of Kokand [see K̲H̲OḲAND] in the 19th century.

2. *The Russian colonial period.*

The Russian advance into what is now Kyrgyzstan was aided by a number of Kyrgyz delegations to St. Petersburg and to the Russian authorities in Siberia asking for help against the K̲h̲oḳand k̲h̲ānate, which, by 1830 had gained at least formal authority over the Kyrgyz tribes. In 1862, Kyrgyz contingents fought alongside Russian soldiers to take the fort of Pis̲h̲pek, and when Russia liquidated the K̲h̲oḳand khānate in 1876, all of the Kyrgyz tribes had formally submitted to Russian rule (V.M. Ploskik̲h̲, *Kirgizî i kokandskoe k̲h̲anstvo*, Frunze 1977). The area they inhabited fell into the Governorates of the Steppes and of Turkistan, and there was continuous reshuffling of the administrative organisation. Russian rule at first did not deeply affect local affairs, but this changed soon with the influx of settlers into the Semirečye region (northern Kyrgyzstan); migration reached its highest levels in the years immediately preceding World War I. In the Semirečye, between 1903 and 1913 about 4.5 million ha were allotted to settlers, thus provoking a drop of about one quarter in livestock. Land issues, as well as ethnic conflicts and accelerated social differentiation among the Kyrgyz, are seen behind the great steppe uprising in 1916, which was triggered by a decree to recruit local people as labourers in support of Russia's war effort. The rebellion was crushed, leaving an unknown number of Kyrgyz dead; about a third of the Kyrgyz population is said to have fled to China, partly returning after the Revolution in 1917. Again, the Kyrgyz herds decreased by about 60% (D. Brower, *Kyrgyz nomads and Russian pioneers. Colonization and ethnic conflict in the Turkestan revolt of 1916*, in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N.F., xliv [1996], 41-53).

3. *Soviet times.*

The Russian Revolution provoked the creation of new Kyrgyz and Kyrgyz/Kazak organisations; at first, locals were reluctant to participate in the institutions created by Russians. Local ("Muslim") organisations included the Alas̲h̲ Orda [see ḲAZĀḲSTĀN, in Suppl.], *S̲h̲ūrā-yi islāmiyya* (founded in K̲h̲oḳand in April 1917) and *Bukarā* (from Ar. *fuḳarā'* "paupers"). National demands came to the fore, and federal structures were demanded in a number of meetings (e.g. the First All-Russian Muslim Conference held at Moscow in May 1917). All of them were intent on preserving local interests, above all regarding the land question, against Russian encroachments.

During the civil war, Kyrgyzstan changed masters several times. The "Turkistan Autonomy" (November 1917-February 1918) was a short-lived attempt at creating a state structure in the Farg̲h̲āna valley and one of the origins of the Basmači guerilla movement, which became strong enough to pose a threat to Ōs̲h̲, D̲j̲alālābād and Naryn in late 1919. In the north, Alas̲h̲ Orda struggled between Whites and Reds to conserve a measure of regional autonomy. But in the end, Mik̲h̲ail Frunze led the Red Army to success.

In April 1918 the territory of the Kyrgyz was included into the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Only in 1922 was the question of a separate representation of the Kyrgyz raised; until then, the ethnonym "Kyrgyz" had denoted those peo-

Table 1

Year	*Kyrgyz*	*Russian*	*Uzbek*	*Other groups*	*Others*
1924	63.5	16.8	15.4	Kazak 1.3	3.5
1970	45	30	11.3	Ukrainians 4 Germans 3 Tatars 2.3	4.5
1989	52.4	21.5	12.9	Ukrainians 2.5 Germans 2.4 Tatars 1.6	7.7
1999	64.9	12.5	13.8	Ukrainians 1.0 Germans 0.4 Tatars 0.9	6.5

ple whom we presently know as Ḳazaḳ, whereas the "real" Kyrgyz were called either Karakyrgyz "Black Kyrgyz" or otherwise, but in any case, were linked to the Ḳazaḳs. First, some former Alas̲h̲ members (now within the Bolshevik party) worked for the creation of a "Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Mountain District", arguing that the splitting of the Kyrgyz over several administrative units was detrimental to their development as a nation. The district was to include the northern foothills as well. This move was at first viewed positively by party and state organs, but quashed later in 1922. Thus, the "Kara Kyrgyz" had to wait until the national demarcation (*razmeževanie*) in the second half of 1924 (the date retained was the decision taken by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR—TsIK SSSR—on 27 October 1924); this process provided them, for the first time in their recorded history, with a state-like structure in the form of an "autonomous district" (*avtonomnaya oblast'*) within the Russian Federation (not the Kazak ASSR). Soon afterwards, the structure was promoted into an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), still within the Russian Federation (1 February 1926). Status as a full member of the Soviet Union was achieved when the new Soviet Constitution was proclaimed on 5 December 1936, which counted eleven republics, among them the Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic.

Until then, the country had undergone significant change in line with the general evolution (for better or worse) within the Soviet Union. For the nomadic Kyrgyz the collectivisation of agricultural land (for which a ruthless campaign was launched in 1929) meant that they were forced to settle (R. Eisener, *"Konterrevolution auf dem Lande". Zur inneren Sicherheitslage in Mittelasien 1929/30 aus der Sicht der OGPU*, Berlin 1999 [ANOR, no. 6]). This again meant a sharp drop in livestock (from 3.8 million to 2.3 million in 1931-2; sheep and goats dropped from 3.1 million in 1924 to just under 1 million in 1932; livestock reached the levels of the late 1920s again only by the 1950s or later) and widespread famine; though the Ḳazaḳ steppe regions were hardest hit, Kyrgyzstan also was a disaster area. Repression was rampant; in 1932 during tax collection, more than 100 persons were shot (*U istokov kïrgïzskoy nat̲s̲ional'noy gosudarstvennosti*, Bishkek 1996, 121). No reliable figures are available for human losses in this period, but they must have been massive. Hence by 1940, almost all Kyrgyz farmers worked on collective or state farms.

In 1938, as in other parts of the Soviet Union, the local intelligentsia was physically destroyed together with the "old guard" of revolutionaries. This included some of the former Alas̲h̲ members who were involved in the affairs surrounding the "Social Turan Party".

Industrialisation was one of the main targets of Soviet development policies, and during the first Five-Year Plans, coal mining was developed, but also metal working and industries related to the agricultural production of the country (textiles, foodstuffs, meat). Nevertheless, Kyrgyzstan has remained a largely agricultural country.

In the post-Stalin period (beginning with the XXth Congress of the CPSU in 1956), developments in Kyrgyzstan closely followed the general Soviet pattern. This meant that a precarious balance was established by the Republic's leadership between utter devotion to the centre and the slow but irresistable localisation of decision making, using patron-client-relationships to a very large extent (O. Roy, *The new Central Asia. The creation of nations*, London 2000). These networks tend to have a regional basis; in Kyrgyzstan, this means the south-north divide. Whereas the last Soviet leaders were southerners, the new leadership is northern. During Turdakun Usunbaev's term as the party's first secretary (1961-85, when he was removed by the new leadership under Gorbachev), Kyrgyzstan was increasingly unable to attract new capital investment, and the republic was the second poorest part of the Soviet Union (after Tād̲j̲īkistān).

4. *Independence and after.*

In the case of Kyrgyzstan, national independence was spurred by an outburst of communal violence in Ōs̲h̲ between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the summer of 1990, with land shortages and poor representation of Uzbeks as background. This led to the election of an outsider as chairman to the Supreme Soviet (28 October 1990), Askar Akaev, who came to be the only president in the new Central Asian republics not to have held high party office before. Akaev was re-elected president on 24 December 1995 (75% of expressed votes) and again on 29 October 2000 (74.5% of expressed votes, but major competitors were prevented from running).

Kyrgyzstan won its independence on 31 August 1991. The country has made rapid moves towards democracy and a market-oriented economy, earning the label of "Central Asia's island of democracy"; this characterisation has been questioned since more autocratic features have appeared. Economically, crisis has bordered on collapse during the first years of independence, the GDP plummeting by around 45% in 1992-5, industrial production by nearly two-thirds and agriculture by around one-third. Again, as in other crises all through the 20th century, reduction in livestock numbers is a good indicator: sheep and goats

fell from 8,741,000 heads in 1993 to a mere 3,716,000 in 1997. Inflation has also been a major problem since the creation of a national currency, the *som*, in 1993; soaring up to more than 1000% in 1992-3, it has been down to 18% in 1998, rising again to 36% in 1999 in the aftermath of the financial crisis in Russia. In spite of this, the GDP was up by 3.6% in 1999, mainly due to over-average agricultural production. But economic prospects do not seem as bright now (2000-1) as in the latter 1990s.

Kyrgyzstan faces serious security problems, mainly in the Farghāna region. In 1999 and 2000, Islamists from northern Tādjīkistān have made incursions into Kyrgyzstani territory. Previously, security had not been a priority issue for the Kyrgyzstani government, but in 2001, military expenditure was increased by 250%. Linked to this is the drug traffic (cannabis, but mostly opiates from Afghānistān and Tādjīkistān), making Osh one of its major hubs in Central Asia. Other transnational problems include an increasing water problem (downstream Uzbekistān and Ḳazaḳstān depend on water supplies from Kyrgyzstani sources; water demand has increased by over 25% during the last decade).

The nation-building process involves a re-interpretation of the past, focussing on attempts at statehood in the more distant past and a re-evaluation of the early Kyrgyz nationalists, including those who fell victim to the Stalinist purges.

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(J. Paul)

KIRMĀNĪ, ḤĀDJDJ MUḤAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN [see shaykhiyya. 2].

KISAKÜREK, Necip Fazil (1905-83), Turkish poet who wrote metaphysical poems of anxiety, darkness, loneliness and death, and whose tone became progressively mystical and, at the end, dogmatically religious. Already a bohemian as a student of philosophy in Istanbul, he continued a life of gambling, drinking and womanising as he worked first as a bank inspector and then as a teacher at various post-secondary schools in Ankara. Meeting the Naḳshbandī *sheykh* Abdülhakim Arvasi in 1934 became a turning point in his life by providing an answer in religion for his spiritual and intellectual crises. He quit his job in 1942 in order to devote all his time to writing and publishing. He published two journals: *Ağaç* ("Tree", 1936), and *Büyük doğu* ("The Great East", 1943-78). He was politically active in religious causes, and used especially *Büyük doğu* as an ideological platform.

Although he also wrote short stories, novels, monographs on as diverse topics as Imām ʿAlī, ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II and Nāmiḳ Kemāl, and plays of which the most noteworthy is *Bir adam yaratmak* ("To create a man", 1938), Kısakürek is first and foremost admired as a poet. With his first three books of poetry, he was hailed as a new voice in Turkish poetry. The tone of feverish nightmare in his early poems is created by striking, sometimes erotically charged images, by paradoxical metaphors of being and nothingness which dissolve into each other, and by experiments with the lengths of syllables that play with the traditional syllabic measure of Turkish folk poetry. After his conversion, he publicly disowned all but a few of his previous poems. His lifelong goal was to create one definitive book which would include all of his poems. He achieved this with *Çile* ("Suffering", 1974), which has 385 poems. In his later poems, the tone is of impatient waiting for death because he believed that the terror of death and loneliness ended in dying and uniting with God. He defines a poem as a thought stated in emotional terms, and argues that the structure of a poem should be completely absorbed by the theme. Details of his life can be found in his two books of memoirs: *O ve ben* ("He and I", 1974) and *Babıali* (1975).

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(Sibel Erol)

ḲIṬʿA (a.), pl. *ḳitaʿ*, or *muḳaṭṭaʿa*, pl. *muḳaṭṭaʿāt*, literally "piece, part cut off from the whole, segment". As a literary concept *ḳiṭʿa* denotes a form of poetry.

1. In Arabic poetry

A *ḳiṭʿa* or *muḳaṭṭaʿa* is a short monothematic poem or fragment of a poem, in contrast to the long (often polythematic) poem, the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*]. The term *ḳiṭʿa* can actually denote a piece or part of a longer poem (e.g. poetic quotes in anthologies) [see mukhtārāt]. However, it is, in particular, independent short poems that are named thus (in rare cases, they are also termed *ḳiṣār al-ḳaṣāʾid*; see al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, iii, 98). Western scholars usually equate *ḳaṣīda* and *ḳiṭʿa* with polythematic and monothematic poems respectively, while indigenous Arab critics in general consider only the length of a poem as a criterion for distinguishing between the two forms (cf. van Gelder, *Brevity*, 79 f.). They could, however, never agree on the number of verses that determines the borderline between the two forms. Ibn Rashīḳ names seven or ten verses (*ʿUmda*, i, 188-9) as the lower limit for a *ḳaṣīda*; other numbers are mentioned as well, however (cf. van Gelder, 79-80). According to the Arab, and in contradistinction to the Persian, critics, the non-existence, of an opening verse (*maṭlaʿ*) with internal rhyming (*taṣrīʿ*) does not count as a criterion for the *ḳiṭʿa*. As a matter of fact, there are more than enough *ḳiṭʿa*s containing such opening verses even in the earliest times. Thoughts as to the purpose for which the ancient Arabs preferred short poems have already been formulated within the context of pre-systematic criticism. Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ and al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.vv.*] are said to have remarked on this: they were used whenever a poem had to be memorised. Others think that the *ḳiṭʿa* is especially useful for expressing disputes, proverbs and jests (cf. Ibn Rashīḳ, i, 186).

*Ḳiṭʿa*s can be found in almost every *dīwān* of poetry and in numerous other works dealing with poetry and other topics (*inter alia* in the *ayyām al-ʿArab*, and also in many historical works, such as Ibn Hishām's *Sīra*, al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*, and al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*). The *ḳiṭʿa* is not subject to any thematic limitations. A classification and characterisation of the contents

of the *kiṭʿa* among the ancient Arabs has been offered by Alfred Bloch. His principle of classification is the degree of the poem's "distance from life or from specific situations in life". As a result, the different categories are: (1) work-songs or songs that accompany a certain action (no or little "distance from life"; poetry of the moment); (2) poems containing a proclamation or message (medium distance from life; poetry of the occasion); (3) poems expressing a sentiment of life and poems of remembrance (timeless artistic poetry). (A group of verses of categories nos. 2 and 3 may form the final part of category no. 4, the *ḳaṣīda*.)

Category no. 1 is an impromptu poem of the moment, very often composed in the easiest metre, *radjaz*. Mainly war cries belong to this category, in addition to songs for round dances to which mothers let their children dance, and work-songs in the narrower sense that accompany real activities (rarely ever transmitted) (cf. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen*, 18 ff.). The contents of the war poems is mostly self-praise: "I am Ibn Wars, horseman without pusillanimity, who through his courage inspires admiration, who advances boldly when the weakling retreats, and on the day of horror with the sword I strike the towering (adversarial) hero until he falls" (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 268, 6).

Category no. 2 is most abundantly represented in ancient Arabic poetry and is, according to Bloch, its most characteristic genre. In proclamation poems the poet expresses his opinion on a certain event; they are occasional poems born out of daily life, "pamphlet verses", the contents of which are valid for a considerable amount of time. Since they are mostly disputes with distant opponents, many of them are composed as messages: *(a-lā) abligh banī fulān*[in] "send word to the Banū X that...", or *(a-lā) man mublighun ʿannī fulānan* "who will send word from me to X that..."; numerous others present themselves as reactions to messages that have arrived: *nubbiʾtu anna* "it has been brought to my knowledge that...". As to content, these are poems of warning, blame (especially for poor hospitality), triumph, justification, challenge to blood revenge, etc. "To the Banū Dhuhl bring now... the message, that, as an atonement for your slaying of al-Muḳannā, we have slain ʿUbayda and Abu 'l-Djulāh. If you consider the matter settled now, then so will we; if not, the points of our lances [will await you]—[they are] pointed—and sharp swords, shining bright, cutting off heads and fingers" (*Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa*, recension of al-Marzūḳī, ii, 772, no. 259).

All poems in which the poet does not express his opinion on a certain event are subsumed by Bloch under category no. 3: the poems in which he puts in words, let us say, his view of life or remembers bygone pleasures and deeds of youth, or puts forward aphorisms about the transitoriness of life and all sorts of other practical wisdom (sententious poetry), or praises himself or his tribe without referring to a specific deed, etc. According to Bloch, most of the (monothematic) self-praise and praise poems are to be put into this category, because, in general, they have not been brought about by a specific event.

While this categorisation may still be sufficient for pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry—it has, however, been criticised in that the dirge (*marthiya*) has not found its appropriate place therein (Wagner, *Grundzüge*, i, 68-9; Borg, *Mit Poesie*, 222-3)—it no longer covers the genres that came into being at the time of the Umayyads (and partly earlier) and unfolded their full potential at the time of the ʿAbbāsids. This new system is composed of genres that have, with good reason, been classified and named by the indigenous critics and, subsequently, by Western scholars primarily according to their topics (*ghazal* = love poetry; *khamriyya* = wine poetry, etc.). However, the topic often has additional characteristics of a genre-differentiating nature (e.g. the metre *radjaz* in hunting poems). According to their purely formal definition, poems belonging to the new genres are divided by the indigenous critics and editors of *dīwāns* into *ḳaṣīdas* and *kiṭʿas*, depending on their length. This procedure shows up most prominently in Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī's chapter headings of his recension of Abū Nuwās's *dīwān* (e.g. *al-bāb al-sābiʿ fi 'l-zuhdiyyāt wa-fīhi 20 ḳaṣīdatan wa-muḳaṭṭaʿatan; al-bāb al-tāsiʿ fi 'l-khamriyyāt...yashtamilu ʿalā 323 ḳaṣīdatan wa-muḳaṭṭaʿatan*, etc.). The poems of the new genres are often short; there are, however, also very long poems, sometimes even containing several parts, which can especially be found among the *khamriyyāt*. These poems may also be seen as approaching the praise *ḳaṣīda* in their structure (they have—albeit seldom—a *nasīb*, or—very often—a parody of a *nasīb* as a prologue; the *raḥīl* can also be found). Among the so-called neo-classical poets (Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and al-Mutanabbī) the short poems, although abundant, stand entirely in the shadow of their *ḳaṣīda* poetry. However, there are cases like Abū Tammām's *ghazaliyyāt*, whose importance should not be underestimated (see Bauer, *Abū Tammām's Contribution*, 13 ff.). Most of them are short and it is noteworthy that pieces consisting of four verses are particularly numerous (cf. *ibid.*, 18-19; Seidensticker, *Die Herkunft*, 920). In al-Mutanabbī's *dīwān* one can find numerous short poems addressing more than one theme; al-Wāḥidī, in his commentary, criticises two *kiṭʿas* that contain sundry descriptions—a genre not mastered by al-Mutanabbī, according to him (*Dīwān*, ed. Dieterici, 774). The themes of *kiṭʿas* from the 3rd/9th to the 5th/11th century are extremely varied. Next to the short poems of the now established new genres one can find pieces that in their themes are close to the epigrams of late antiquity: descriptions (Ar. *awṣāf*, sing *waṣf* [*q.v.*], Greek *ekphrasis*) of a large variety of objects (especially in Ibn al-Rūmī, Kushādjim, al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ and al-Maʾmūnī), descriptions of flowers and gardens (*zahriyyāt* [*q.v.*] (in Ibn al-Rūmī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz and al-Ṣanawbarī; especially in the latter, one can also find long garden poems), reflective poetry (especially in Ibn al-Rūmī), jesting, riddles, requests for gifts, mockery, blame, excuses, thank-you notes, requests, invitations, etc. In Ibn al-Muʿtazz's praise poetry one can find a remarkably large amount of short pieces; al-Maʿarri, finally, in his philosophical poems (*luzūmiyyāt*) chooses the short form of the *kiṭʿa* as often as its long form.

2. In Persian literature

The Persian critics define the *kiṭʿa* or *muḳaṭṭaʿa* as a poem that has the same metre and rhyme throughout, and the opening verse (*maṭlaʿ*) of which does not contain internal rhyming (*taṣrīʿ*). Most often, two verses are named as the minimum amount whereas there is no upper limit as to the number of verses (Dihkhudā, s.v. *kiṭʿa*; Rückert-Pertsch, 64). This means that the length of a poem, which for the Arabs is its decisive feature, has been completely abandoned as a criterion. As with the Arabic *kiṭʿa* the choice of topic is arbitrary.

As can be expected, *kiṭʿas* are found already among the poems of the oldest Neo-Persian poets (from Muḥammad b. Waṣīf via Rūdakī up to Manūčihrī). A sizeable number of the short poems of these old

poets, however, begin with a *maṭlaʿ* that contains a *taṣrīʿ*, hence cannot be counted as *ḳiṭʿa*s. Such is the case with the whole of Manūčihrī's wine and love poems (ed. de Biberstein Kazimirski, nos. 3, 4, 34, 69-75, 77-83, 85, 90, 92). Terminological *ḳiṭʿa*s occur much more rarely in Manūčihrī. In the *dīwān*s of poets beginning in the 5th/11th century the *ḳiṭʿa*s often occupy their own more or less voluminous chapter. Famous for their *ḳiṭʿa*s are Anwarī (d. 587/1191 at the latest [*q.v.*]) and especially Ibn-i Yamīn (d. 769/1368 [*q.v.*]). Anwarī's *dīwān* contains a very large chapter comprising them. These are of extraordinary variety in their topics: in addition to praise, blame, mockery, threat, request (especially frequent is the request for wine), thanks, mourning, congratulation, complaint, description of personal circumstances (*ḥasb-i ḥāl*), one finds advice, admonishment, maxims, and reflective poems (occurring very frequently), jesting, epistles, riddles, chronograms, *munāẓara*s, and many others, among them very unusual topics, for instance, a poem about toothache, in which the word "tooth" occurs in every verse. Descriptions are remarkably rare; there are, however, a few descriptions of banquets and palaces. Poems containing 20 and even 30 verses do occur. As for the *ḳiṭʿa*s of Ibn-i Yamīn who, all in all, is considered the most important Persian *ḳiṭʿa* poet, see the article on this poet. The *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] also contains a small section of *ḳiṭʿa*s; in addition to the usual themes (praise, mourning, longing, wine, chronograms, maxims, congratulations, request for a reward, etc.), there are also some more remarkable poems like the one in which Ḥāfiẓ describes in many verses the loss of his poetic powers, which can only be restored by the ruler's grace. Kamāl Khudjandī's and Djāmī's [*q.vv.*] *ḳiṭʿa*s are predominantly short. Most of them consist of only two verses, a peculiarity that is not found in the *ḳiṭʿa*s of Kamāl's contemporary Ḥāfiẓ. Djāmī's three *dīwān*s contain altogether only 128 *ḳiṭʿa*s; thematically, these do not offer anything out of the ordinary. It has been remarked, however, that Djāmī's "advice and admonishments" (*pand u mawʿiẓa*) are mostly of a sarcastic and pessimistic character, since, in any case, the *ḳiṭʿa*s of this epoch are critical of society and complain about the upheavals of the day (H. Riḍā, in his introduction to the *Dīwān-i kāmil-i Djāmī*, Tehran 1341/1962, 84).

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KITĀBA [see inshā'; kātib; khaṭṭ].

ḲOČO (Khocho, Chotscho, Kōšō) (Uyghur; in Chinese Kao-Ch'ang), also known as Idikut-shahri, and locally as "Asus (Ephesus), the town of Daḳyānūs", i.e. the Roman emperor Decius (*regn.* 249-51) [see aṣḥāb al-kahf] (cf. A. Von Le Coq, *Auf Hellas' Spuren*, 41), the name of an Uyghur state (850-1250) and of an ancient, walled city, now in ruins, adjoining Ḳarakhodja in the desert to the east of Turfān [*q.v.*] in Eastern Sinkiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China.

According to Von Gabain, the name is neither Turkish nor Chinese, but an ancient, indigenous one, meaning "highly brilliant". In the 7th century A.D. the Ḳočo state reached as far east as Tunhuang in Kansu [*q.v.*], famous for its "Cave of the Thousand Buddhas", and its "Jade Gate" (Chin. Yü-mön-kuan), where all the traffic between China and the West had to pass. In the north this state included the so-called "Four Garrisons", i.e. Bīshbalīḳ [*q.v.*], Kuča, Ḳarashahr and Ḳočo town itself, all on the northern branch of the Silk Route and described by the 7th-century Chinese traveller and monk Hsüan-tsang. In 791 the Tibetans, in alliance with the Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] and the Sha-t'o ("the People of the Sandy Desert"; see Chavannes, *Documents*, 96-9), defeated the Chinese and the Uyghur, and occupied the Tarim Basin [*q.v.*]. In 840 the Ḳirgiz [*q.v.*] put an end to Uyghur power in Mongolia. Uyghur groups fled southward and settled in the Turfan region, where they established a state, with Ḳočo as its capital, which was recognised by the Chinese in 856. The earliest record of a Muslim presence in the oases along the northern branch of the Silk Route so far known seems to be the travel account which Sallām al-Tardjumān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] dictated to Ibn Khurradādhbih (Ar. text 164, Fr. tr. 126) of his journey from Sāmarrā' to Sinkiang in 230-2/842-4. Before reaching Ha-mi [see ḳomul, in Suppl.], he met followers of the Prophet who apparently had settled there more or less permanently since they had mosques and *madrasa*s.

In 848 Chang I-ch'ao, the Chinese regent of Sha-chou, "the town of the sands" as Tun-hang had been renamed under the T'ang dynasty (618-907), began to oust the Tibetans from northwestern Kansu, and in 855 the Ḳočo Uyghur followed his example. In the 10th century they entertained good relations with the Tibetans, as they did with the Kitai (Liao) [see ḳarā khiṭāy], who in 924 toppled the Ḳirgiz state of which Ḳočo had become a vassal. In 1001 the *khaḳan* of Ḳočo requested the emperor of China to wage war against the Tangut or Hsi Hsia, a people of Tibetan origin who lived in the great loop of the Yellow River [see ḥamāsa. iv; kansu]. He boasted to the emperor about the large extension of his state. At that time the Ḳočo Uyghurs had moved their residence further westward to Kuča. In 1125 the Liao were overcome by the Jüchen, who until 1234 ruled over Manchuria, much of Central Asia and all of North China. With these new overlords, too, the Ḳočo Uyghurs had friendly relations. In 1209 King Barčuḳ of Ḳočo surrendered peacefully to Čingiz Khān in order to rid himself of pressure from the Naiman of Western Mongolia. He was adopted as "the fifth son". After the Mongolian conquest, Ḳočo was added to the Čaghatay khānate [*q.v.*]. The Mongols were instructed in Buddhism by the Ḳočo Uyghurs, Buddhism being strongly established in the region. But the famous Turfan finds also include fragments of Syrian manuscripts, most of them with texts from the Peshiṭta, while von Le Coq also found in Ḳočo a wall painting of Mani, the founder of Manicheism, dated to the 9th century A.D. The towns along the Silk Route thus had a rather mixed population of merchants who professed various religions. Over the centuries, Ḳočo seems to have adapted itself to its respective overlords in order to continue its lucrative trade.

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(E. van Donzel)

ḲOMUL (Uyghur; Chin. Ha-mi), a town and oasis in Eastern Sinkiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China (42° 47' N., 93° 32' E.). The Chinese name Ha-mi is derived from Khamil, the Mongolian rendering of Uyghur Ḳomul.

This important stage on the northern branch of the Silk Route was occupied by the Chinese under the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) in A.D. 73 and again in 86. In the 5th century the Tarim Basin [*q.v.*], probably including Ḳomul, was dominated by the White Huns or Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA]. During the so-called "forward policy" towards the west under the Chinese T'ang dynasty (618-907), Ḳomul, and subsequently Turfan [*q.v.*], were wrested from Turkish supremacy, though the Turkish nomads kept looking for grazing grounds, thus causing disturbances. Ḳomul became the seat of a regular prefecture under the name I-chou. In the 7th century the famous Buddhist monk and traveller Hsüan-tsang was hospitably received by the Uyghur or Toghuzghuz [*q.v.*] ruler of Ḳomul, then a principality subordinate to the kingdom of Ḳočo [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 763 the town was taken by the Tibetans and in 840 it came under Uyghur rule. In 231/843 Ḳomul was visited by the Arab traveller Sallām al-Tardjumān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] who calls it Īkku (ايكّو) (Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ar. text 164, Fr. tr. 126; cf. Beckwith, *The Tibetan empire*, 149) after the Chinese name I-chou. Sallām describes it as having a circumference of ten parasangs, with iron gates which were closed by letting them down; inside the enclosure were fields and mills. This description seems to correspond with a Chinese *kuan*, i.e. a large, walled-in fortification with barracks, arms depots, fields, and two gates (see Luo Zhewen, *The Great Wall*, 39-41). According to Sallām, the distance between this town and Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn's barrier (Ar. *sadd*), perhaps the famous "Jade Gate" in the western extension of the Great Wall of China (see Sir Aurel Stein, *On ancient Central Asian tracks*, 189), is three stages. The real distance is 350 km (Von Le Coq, *Buried treasures*). Sallām adds that Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn camped in Īkku, but this remark is probably part of what he thought he should report to the caliph al-Wāthiḳ [*q.v.*], who had sent him on his mission. During his journey to Īkku/Ḳomul along the northern branch of the Silk Route, Sallām, before reaching Īkku/Ḳomul, met a community of Muslims who spoke Arabic and Persian and had mosques and *madrasas*. He was astonished that they did not know who the caliph was.

In the 13th century, Ḳomul was Čingiz Khān's temporary capital. After the Mongol domination, it became one of the small Uyghur states in the region. At the end of the 13th century it was visited by Marco Polo, who describes it as a place known for its hospitality and where it is good to live. In 1473 Ḳomul was annexed by the sultanate of Turfan. In the late 16th century, Ḳomul town and region came under the control of the Dzungars, a western Mongolian people who conquered Central Asia and gave their name to Dzungaria and the Dzungarian Gate, at present the northern part of the Singkiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. In 1696 the Chinese Ch'ing emperor defeated the Dzungar chief Dga'-Idan. After the death of the latter's grandson Dga'-Idan Cereng in 1745, internal Dzungarian strife led to their complete destruction in the war against China (1755-8), during which the Chinese used Ḳomul as a base. After the fall of the Dzungars, the Muslims of the Tarim Basin staged an independence movement, but by 1760 this was suppressed by the Ch'ing, who established control over the Basin by granting official status to the former rulers of its oasis states. In the 18th century, China's boundaries reached as far as Lake Balkhash [*q.v.*] and parts of the Kazakh steppe. During the great Muslim rebellion of 1862-78 under Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*], Ḳomul was badly damaged. It was visited by Col. Mark Bell in 1886, by A.H. von Le Coq in 1904 and by Cable and French in 1940. Von Le Coq describes the riches of the palace of the Muslim *khān* of Ḳomul: Chinese and Bukhārā carpets, porcelain, Khotan [*q.v.*] jade-carvings, silk embroideries, a cuckoo-clock and even French champagnes and Russian liqueurs. In 1932, after an abortive uprising, the town suffered terribly at the hands of the Chinese. Its population in 2003 is estimated at *ca.* 118,000.

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KONKAN, the coastal region of the western Deccan or Peninsular India lying roughly between Thālnēr and Bombay in the north and Goa in the south, i.e. between latitudes 19° 30' and 15° 30' N., and extending for some 560 km/350 miles. It has been known under this name in both mediaeval Islamic and modern times. Within British India, it was formerly in the Bombay Presidency, later Province, and is now in Maharashtra State of the Indian Union. It comprises a highly-forested, low-lying plain between the Arabian Sea and the inland mountain barrier of the Western Ghats.

In medieval Islamic times, the Tughlukids in the 14th century and then the Bahmanids [*q.v.*] in the course of the 15th century, endeavoured without much success to extend their authority from the Deccan plateau down to the ocean, until in 876/1472 the general Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] finally established Bahmanid control over the Konkan strip. Konkan was subsequently divided between the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar [*q.vv.*] (the northern part) and the 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bīdjapur [*q.vv.*] (the more southern part) in the 16th and early 17th centuries, then divided between the Mughals and the 'Ādil Shāhī sultans before the latter succumbed to the advance of the Mughal Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] in 1097/1686. By the 18th century, Konkan was in the hands of the Sīvadji and the Marāthās [*q.v.*], but after the peace settlements of

1816-17 with Britain at the end of the Marāthā Wars, the region was in 1818 incorporated into the Bombay Presidency. The local language, Konkani, is a dialect of Marāthī containing Dravidian elements probably borrowed from Kanarese.

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KÖSZEG, German Güns, a small Hungarian town near the Austrian border with a mediaeval castle which was sieged and symbolically taken by the Ottomans in 1532.

In the first decades of his reign, mainly under the influence of the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, Süleymān the Magnificent cherished world-conquering ambitions. To achieve this goal, he intended, among other things, to defeat the Austrian Habsburgs by occupying their capital. After the unsuccessful 1529 campaign, he undertook another military operation in 1532 with the aim of marching against Vienna.

The Ottoman army proceeded slowly, holding sophisticated parades to imitate Charles V's shows of power and wealth. This time they followed a lesser known route, along which the castle of Köszeg was situated that did not seem to constitute a major obstacle. However, the garrison of approximately 1,000, mostly local peasants inexperienced in warfare, commanded by Miklós Jurisics (Nikola Jurišić), a Croatian landlord and the envoy of the Emperor Ferdinand I to Istanbul in 1529 and 1530, withstood the battle between 10 and 30 August. After long negotiations, the defenders surrendered, stipulating that, though Ottoman standards would be hoisted on the walls, none of their contingents would be stationed within the fort. One reason for procrastination was that the Ottomans wanted to avoid a pitched battle with the main forces of the Empire; similarly, the Habsburg side was reluctant to force a decisive clash.

For his valour, Jurisics was nominated royal councillor and received Köszeg as his hereditary property.

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ḲUʿAYṬĪ, a South Arabian tribal group and sultanate, the latter eventually becoming part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate prior to the departure of the British from South Arabia in 1967. The full area of the sultanate was the whole of the coastal plain between the Wāḥidī [*q.v.*] in the west and Mahra in the east, the mountainous region north up to Wādī Ḥaḍramawt [see ḤAḌRAMAWT], the western end of the Wādī and some tribal lands north of the Wādī. One should add the area of the Wādīs Dawʿan (sometime spelt Dawʿān in the Arabic sources) and ʿAmd. The major towns of the sultanate were: al-Mukallā, the capital, and al-S̲h̲iḥr [*q.vv.*] (both ports on the Indian Ocean), G̲h̲ayl Bā Wazīr on the southern coastal plain, and S̲h̲ibām [*q.v.*] and al-Ḳaṭn in the Wādī itself (Government of Bombay, *Account*, 119).

It was the Kat̲h̲īrī [*q.v.*] Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar Ibn Abī Ṭuwayriḳ about the year 1270/1853 who began to bring in tribal mercenaries of Yāfiʿ [*q.v.*] from their lands in the west, as he strove to expand his territories in Ḥaḍramawt. Thereafter, there was a constant flow of Yāfiʿ immigration into the area (al-S̲h̲āṭirī, *Adwār*, ii, 401). The Ḳuʿayṭī were a tribal group (*baṭn*) of Yāfiʿ and they first settled in Wādī ʿAmd where ʿUmar b. ʿAwaḍ al-Ḳuʿayṭī, the founder of the dynasty, was born. In about 1246/1830, he went for the first time to Ḥaydarābād in South India where the *Niẓām* employed Ḥaḍramīs and South Arabians as mercenary soldiers. ʿUmar did return to Ḥaḍramawt, but he died in India in 1282/1865 and was succeeded by his son, ʿAwaḍ b. ʿUmar, as *d̲j̲amaʿdār* (*jemadar* in the British sources). ʿUmar's three sons, Ṣalāḥ (called Barak Jung in India), ʿAwaḍ and ʿAbd Allāh, in particular, built fortunes in India and Arabia and had much influence on the later development of the dynasty.

During the 1280s/1860s and 1290s/1870s, full-scale wars were fought for control of Ḥaḍramawt between the Kat̲h̲īrī and the Ḳuʿayṭī (Government of Bombay, *Account*, 125; al-S̲h̲āṭirī, *Adwār*, ii, 405; Gavin, *Aden*, 160-62; Burrowes, *Dictionary*, 290-1; Dresch, *Yemen*, 21). In 1283/1866, the ports of al-Mukallā and al-S̲h̲iḥr were both controlled by Yāfiʿ, and when the latter called for help, Ṣalāḥ and ʿAbd Allāh sent funds from India and both Yāfiʿ and Indian troops were despatched to the area. In the following year, both ports were taken by the Ḳuʿayṭī, and the British became involved directly in the inter-dynasty struggles. The British, also fearing Turkish encroachment in the area, became apprehensive. In the confused situation, British policy was to cut off supplies and monies from India (Gavin, *Aden*, 162-8). In 1298/1881, they sanctioned Ḳuʿayṭī control of the southern coast and in 1299/1882 a treaty was drawn up between the two, the latter agreeing to accept British advice in exchange for an annual sum of 360 Maria Theresa dollars (Gavin, *Aden*, 171-2; for the text of the treaty, Government of Bombay, *Account*, 169-70).

In 1307/1888 a full protectorate treaty was signed between the Ḳuʿayṭī and the British, one of a number of such treaties. The British government agreed "to extend to Mokalla and Shehr and their dependencies which are under their authority and jurisdiction the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress". In return, the Ḳuʿayṭī agreed "to refrain from entering into any correspondence, agreement or treaty with any foreign nation or power except with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government..." (Government of Bombay, *Account*, 186-7 for the full text). The Ḳuʿayṭī were in control of S̲h̲ibām and the western end of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, as well as the coastal region in the south, and were able to deny the ports to the Kat̲h̲īrī. A generally cordial relationship developed between the British and the Ḳuʿayṭī (*ibid.*, 145; Gavin, *Aden*, 172-3; Ingrams, *Arabia*, 10).

In 1320/1902 the title of *jemadar* was finally abolished and ʿAwaḍ b. ʿUmar became Ḳuʿayṭī *sulṭān*. He died in India about 1325-7/1907-9 and was succeeded by his son G̲h̲ālib who himself died in 1340/1921. G̲h̲ālib was followed as *sulṭān* by his brother ʿUmar, who died in 1354/1935. Ṣāliḥ b. G̲h̲ālib became *sulṭān* in 1354/1935 and died in 1375/1955. ʿAwaḍ b. Ṣāliḥ reigned from that date until his death in 1386/1966 and ʿAwaḍ's son, G̲h̲ālib, was the last Ḳuʿayṭī *sulṭān* until the withdrawal of the British from the area about a year later (al-S̲h̲āṭirī, *Adwār*, ii, 407-8).

The year 1933 and the visit to Ḥaḍramawt of the

Political Resident in Aden, Sir Bernard Reilly, marks the beginning of the widespread development of the two sultanates, the Ḳuʿayṭī and the Kat̲h̲īrī, the peace which was negotiated among the tribes and the much closer involvement in their affairs by the British government, manifest in the establishment of an Eastern Aden Protectorate (EAP), quite separate from the Western Aden Protectorate (WAP). The peace, widely known as "Ingrams Peace" after its architect, Harold Ingrams, was finally brought about in 1355/1937 and was to last for three years. In 1937 also, an advisory treaty was signed between the Ḳuʿayṭī and the British in which an adviser was to be appointed, Ingrams himself (Smith, "*Ingrams Peace*", 6-7, 21; for the text of the advisory treaty, see Ingrams, *Records*, ix, 236-7).

The Ḳuʿayṭī, along with the Kat̲h̲īrī, never entered the Federation which was formed and fostered by the British in the WAP. At the time of the withdrawal of the British in 1967, the Ḳuʿayṭī sultanate became a part of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. In 1990, with the unity of north and south Yemen, the whole of what had been the EAP became a part of the Yemen Republic [see AL-YAMAN. 3 (b)] with its capital at Ṣanʿāʾ.

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(G.R. SMITH)

KÜČÜK ʿALĪ OG̲H̲ULLARI̊, a line of Turkmen *derebeys* [*q.v.*] or local lords who controlled the region round Payās [*q.v.*], which was strategically situated near the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta (and now in the modern Turkish *il* or province of Hatay), and, for a while, Adana in Cilicia [*q.vv.*] for almost a century.

The founder, K̲h̲alīl Bey Küčük ʿAlī Og̲h̲lu, appears *ca.* 1770 as a bandit chief based on Payās, preying on shipping (including the ships of European powers) in the Gulf and on the land traffic which had to pass through the narrow gap between the Gâvur Daği mountains and the sea, levying dues on the Pilgrimage caravans from Anatolia to Syria and the Ḥid̲j̲āz, and even in 1801 capturing and imprisoning for ransom the Dutch consul-general in Aleppo. The efforts of the Porte in Istanbul at humbling him all failed, and it was obliged to come to an accommodation with him and accord to him the dignity of a *pas̲h̲a* of three *tug̲h̲s*.

When Küčük ʿAlī died in 1807, his equally rapacious son Dede Bey succeeded him, continuing to make a living by preying on shipping in the Gulf. An expedition sent against him under a rival *derebey*, Čapan Og̲h̲lu Amīn Pas̲h̲a of Yozgat, failed to dislodge him, but in 1818 the governor of Adana managed to capture him, and he was sent to Istanbul and executed.

His young son Mustuk (apparently a hypocoristic from Muṣṭafā; to be written as Muṣṭuḳ?) took refuge in Marʿas̲h̲ for nine years, out of the reach of the governors of Adana, but returned to Payās in 1827. During the 1830s he supported the Ottomans' enemy, Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, son of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.vv.*], but rallied to the Sultans after the withdrawal of the Egyptian forces in 1840. William Burckhardt Barker, son of a British consul in the Levant, praises Mustuk for his polished manners and generous nature, a sharp contrast to his forebears, and Mustuk did try to discourage brigandage in his region. But the long-term policy of the Sultans at this time was the reduction and ending of the power of all *derebeys*. Mustuk fought off an attack by the governor of Adana in 1844, and it was not until 1863 that the then governor in Adana secured his capture. He was exiled, but the Payās region continued to be disturbed for another two years through the activity of two of his sons.

Bibliography: Barker's account of the family is the main Western source; see his *Lares and penates: or, Cilicia and its governors*, ed. W.F. Ainsworth, London 1853, 73 ff. Of modern studies, see A.G. Gould, *Lords or bandits? The derebeys of Cilicia*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 487-90; C.E. Bosworth, *William Burckhardt Baker's picture of Cilicia in the early 19th century*, forthcoming in *Graeco-Arabica*, ix (2003), with further references; and the *Bibl.* to DEREBEY.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

KUFR [see KĀFIR].

AL-**KŪHĪ** or AL-ḲŪHĪ, ABŪ SAHL WAYD̲J̲ĀN b. Rustam, mathematician and astronomer who was originally from Ṭabaristān.

He worked in the second half of the 4th/10th century under the Būyid *amīrs* ʿAḍud al-Dawla and S̲h̲araf al-Dawla [*q.vv.*] and collaborated with the chief scholars of the time, notably Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzad̲j̲ānī, al-Sid̲j̲zī, al-Ṣāg̲h̲ānī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī. Under the latter's direction, al-Kūhī took part in observation of the winter and summer solstices at S̲h̲īrāz (15 December 969 and 16 June 970), by means of a meridian circle 1.4 m in diameter having gradations of 5 in 5'. Subsequently, he built at Bag̲h̲dād an observatory equipped with instruments made after his own devising (a spherical segment with a diameter of *ca.* 13.5 m) and made observations of the entry of the Sun into the signs of Cancer and Libra on 16 June and 18 September 988. A certain Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mag̲h̲ribī (sc. ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Rid̲j̲āl; cf. H. Suter, *Mathematiker*, no. 219) took part in these latter observations. At this time, urged on by his patron S̲h̲araf al-Dawla, who wished to emulate the achievements of the caliph al-Maʾmūn, he seems to have devoted himself enthusiastically to astronomy.

However, the greater—and best—part of his work was in the domain of mathematics and especially geometry. The number of his works here has increased over the years to the figure of 28 (Sezgin). One may mention his *Risāla fi 'l-birkār al-tāmm* (cf. Fr. Woepke, *Trois traités arabes sur le compas parfait*, in *NEMBN*, xxii/1 [1874], 1-21, 68-111, 145-75) and treatises on the construction of the heptagon (see Y. Dold-Samplonius, *Die Konstruktion des regelmässigen Siebenecks*, in *Janus*, 1/4 [1963], 227-49) and of the pentagon. He also wrote on the trisection of the angle (see A. Sayılı, *Al-Kūhī's trisection of the angle*, in *Actes du Xe Congrès internat. d'Histoire des sciences*, i, Ithaca 1962, 545-6) and on the measurement of paraboloids (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1947, Ger. tr. Suter, *Die Abhandlungen Thābit b. Ḳurras und Abū Sahl al-Kūhīs über die Ausmessung der Paraboloide*, in *SBPMS Erl.*, xlviii-xlix [1916-17], 182-227). Others of al-Kūhī's works have titles analogous to those of certain treatises of Archimedes—of whom he was a good

continuator—considered as apocryphal (e.g. *Marākiz al-dawā'ir al-mutamāssa; al-Masā'il al-handasiyya; K. al-Ma'khūdhāt*), or else are commentaries on Euclid or determinations of the value of π. The treatises on astronomical topics are much less numerous: on the construction of the astrolabe and of verticals (*dawā'ir al-sumūt*) on the tympanum of this last, preserved by Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿIrāḳ, al-Bīrūnī's master (cf. J. Samsó, *Estudios sobre Abū Naṣr*..., Barcelona 1969, 63-4); on the determination of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*]; on the position of the Earth and the planets; etc. He was also the author of a *risāla* on kinetics (Eng. tr. Sayılı, *A short article... on the possibility of infinite motion in finite time*, in *Actes du VIIIe Congrès internat. d'Histoire des sciences*, Florence 1956, 248-9).

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(J. VERNET)

ĶULUZ, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Greek town of Vólos, a port on the northern shore of the Pagasetic Gulf or Gulf of Vólos in east-central Thessaly [see TESALYA] (lat. 39° 22' N., long. 22° 57' E.). The name probably stems from Slavonic *golosh* "seat of administration" and may be associated with the Slav presence in the area during middle Byzantine times.

Situated on the site of ancient Iolcos, the area received in *ca.* 1277 refugees from the Byzantine capital Constantinople who opposed the emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus's attempts at church union with the West, and in the late Byzantine period Vólos was known as a relatively new settlement. Together with neighbouring Demetrias (2 km to the south-west of modern Vólos), which had remained in Catalan hands until *ca.* 1381, Vólos experienced two Ottoman conquests, firstly between 1393 and 1397/796-800 and then *ca.* 805/1403, and passed definitively into Turkish hands *ca.* 826/1423. The conquerors strengthened the fortifications of the castle there in order to fend off an impending Venetian attack, and an Ottoman governor and garrison were installed, together with fresh Muslim settlers from Anatolia, whilst the local Christians moved to the slopes of Mt. Pélion to the north (refs. in A. Savvides, in *Thessalikó Hemerológio*, xxviii [1995], 51-2, 59-60).

In the early Ottoman period, the region of the Vólos fortress (but not Demetrias) is mentioned in the surviving testaments of the Turkish governors of Thessaly Turakhān Bey [*q.v.*] (850/1446), ʿÖmer Bey (889/1484) and Ḥasan Bey (937/1531), whilst it was also described in Pīrī Re'īs's [*q.v.*] *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*. The first settlements outside the fortress grew up in the late 16th-early 17th centuries, a growth which stimulated local commerce and the transit trade. This was helped by a famed local fair held twice a week and the first works along the shore at the fortress beach, later to become Vólos's commodious port. In 1665 the fortress was attacked by Francesco Morosini and a Venetian force (P. Coronelli, *Memorie storio-geografiche*..., Venice 1692, 229), but soon recaptured and refortified by the Ottomans.

During the Greek Revolt of the early 19th century, the rebel Greeks of Pélion failed in May 1821 to capture the strongly-held fortress, although on 8 April 1827 the British naval commander and Philhellene Frank Abney Hastings seized five Turkish vessels in Vólos harbour and forced the Ottoman garrison temporarily to evacuate the fortress (see Tsopotós, *History*, 202 ff.). However, the region remained under Turkish rule till 1881 when, following the Berlin Conference, it passed between 2 and 22 November to the Kingdom of Greece and Turkish forces left the town (the citadel was unfortunately demolished a few years later). It was in this last phase of Ottoman rule that the initial settlements of the modern town of Vólos were established (1833-50), with consulates and commercial installations set up by Greeks, Austrians, British, French and Italians between 1838 and 1870 (see *ibid.*, 240 ff., 250 ff.).

Modern Vólos is now a major commercial and industrial centre (population in 1981: 70,000; in 2003: 83,600) and is the chef-lieu of the prefecture of Magnesia.

Bibliography: See also D. Tsopotós, *The Pagasetic Gulf and Vólos*... [in Greek], Athens 1930; idem, *Hist. of Vólos* [in Greek], Vólos 1991, with detailed bibl. at 326-33, 344-50; N. Papachatzés, *Historical and archaeological viewpoint of the Vólos area* [in Greek], Vólos 1946; J. Kordátos, *Hist. of the Vólos and Aghiá province* [in Greek], Athens 1960; A. Papathanassiou, *The Melisseni of Demetrias* [in Greek], Athens 1989; C. Liápes, *The fortress of Vólos through the ages* [in Greek], Vólos 1991; Papathanassiou, *Byzantine Demetrias* [in Greek], Vólos 1995, 150, 179, 251.

(A. SAVVIDES)

AL-ĶUMMĪ, ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD b. Ḥasan, the author of a local history of the town of Ḳum [*q.v.*] in northern Persia, *fl.* in the 4th/10th century. He is said to have compiled his history originally in Arabic at the instigation of his brother, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī, governor of Ḳum for the Būyids, aiming to gather together and record all the traditions about the arrival of the Arabs in Ḳum and the town's subsequent history. He dedicated the book to the famous vizier, the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād [see IBN ʿABBĀD]. The Arabic original has not survived, but a Persian translation was made by one Ḥasan [b. ʿAlī] b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik Ḳummī in 806/1403-4, though this seems to contain much less material than the original Arabic text did (ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran 1313/1934).

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(ED.)

ĶŪRUS (present-day Shaykh Khuruz), the Classical Cyrrhus, capital of the Cyrrhestica, a stronghold in the north of modern Syria on the Sabun-suyu, a right-bank affluent of the Nahr ʿAfrīn.

As a Seleucid colony, it took the name of a place in Macedonia and remained a stronghold under the Romans. Three ancient bridges, still visible, allowed crossing of the Sabun-suyu and the ʿAfrīn. Archaeological researches have revealed several monuments, including an amphitheatre. In the necropolis to the southeast of the town is an ancient tomb which mediaeval Islamic tradition attributed to Uriah the Hittite and which includes a cenotaph of Mamlūk times.

Ḳūrus enjoyed a fresh lease of life under the emperor Justinian I, who rebuilt its fortifications. The Muslims took it in 16/637, and later considered it as one of the marches of the empire, guarding the Antioch and Aleppo roads. Its military role thereafter declined. At the end of the 11th century it came under the

domination of the Armenian Bagrat (Pakrad), brother of Gogh Vasil, before being taken by the Franks *ca.* 1114-15, who included it within the County of Edessa. It became the seat of a Latin bishopric, and had also a Jacobite one till at least 1042.

It was taken and destroyed by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī in 1150, but *ca.* 1165-6 ceded to the Armenian prince Mleh. In the 7th/13th century, Ḳūrus, coming within the territories of Aleppo, was ruinous but still gave its name to a district whose agricultural revenues formed an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] supporting 40 cavalrymen.

Bibliography: Ibn S̲h̲addād, *Aʿlāḳ*, ed. and tr. A.-M. Eddé, in *BEO*, xxxii-xxxiii (1980-1), and eadem, *Description de la Syrie du Nord*, Damascus 1984, index; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bug̲h̲ya*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1988, i, 263; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 489; *PW*, art. Kurros (E. Honigmann); Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index; Canard, *H'amdanides*, Algiers 1951, 231; J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Notes sur la cénotaphe de Qūrus (Cyrrhus)*, in *AAS*, ii (1952), 134-6; E. Frézouls, *Recherches sur la ville de Cyrrhus*, in *ibid.*, iv-v (1954-5); N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, Damascus 1967, i, 184-5; Th. Bianquis, *Damas et Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1989, ii, 474; Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep*, Stuttgart 1999, index.

(Anne-Marie Eddé)

ḲUWAYḲ, Nahr, the name given by the Arabs to the ancient Chalos river in northern Syria. This stream, whose valley makes a shallow notch in the plateau of the Aleppo region, rises at the foot of the last outliers of the Taurus, to the east of al-Rāwandān [*q.v.*] in present-day Turkey. Fed by various springs, notably in the ʿAzāz region, it skirts Aleppo to the west, and to the south of this city receives the waters of the Blessed Spring (al-ʿAyn al-Mubāraka). After a course of some 110 km/70 miles, it peters out in the vicinity of Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*] in a swampy depression called al-Matk̲h̲.

This river, with an average flow of waters which is very feeble, enabled several mills up stream and below stream of Aleppo to turn, and it irrigated gardens to the north and west of the capital. Occasionally there were significant floodings from melting snows or violent rains, but it dried up in summer through absence of rainfall and because the villagers upstream used the little water which it carried for irrigating their fields.

In the mid-4th/10th century, the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] diverted the river so that it might flow through the palace he had had built in one of the western suburbs of Aleppo. At the beginning of the 8th/14th century, a canal was dug to carry part of the waters of the Sād̲j̲ūr into the Ḳuwayḳ and thereby increase the latter's flow, but these works were destroyed by an earthquake in 1544, restored in 1644, but definitively abandoned in 1723.

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(Anne-Marie Eddé)

ḲUZMĀN, Banū, a family of literary men of al-Andalus and connected with the city of Cordova. The name Ḳuzmān (Span. *Guzmán*, a personal name of Germanic origin) suggests an Iberian or Romance origin. As well as the most famous member of the family, the author of *zad̲j̲als* Ibn Ḳuzmān [*q.v.*], there are four other interesting members.

1. Abu 'l-Aṣbag̲h̲ ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik, poet and littérateur (4th/10th century), appointed by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] tutor of the young His̲h̲ām II al-Muʾayyad [*q.v.*] proclaimed caliph in Cordova in 366/976.

2. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUbayd Allāh (d. 508/1114), called al-Akbar "the eldest" in order to distinguish him from his nephew Ibn Ḳuzmān al-Aṣg̲h̲ar "the youngest" [*q.v.*], a famous poet, and secretary to the vizier of the Afṭasid prince Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] of Badajoz, a colleague of Ibn ʿAbdūn [*q.v.*] and of Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ḳabṭūrnuh [see ḳabṭūrnuh, banu 'l-, in Suppl.]. After the advent of the Almoravids, nothing more is known of him.

3. Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (479-593/1086 or 1087-1169), son of 2., a famous *faḳīh* and jurist, and one of the last traditionists of al-Andalus. He functioned as a *ḳāḍī*.

4. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿUbayd Allāh (*ca.* 518-93/*ca.* 1124 to 1196-7), son of 3., poet, jurist and *ḳāḍī* in various districts of the province of Cordova.

Other possible members of the family are mentioned in Lévi-Provençal's article, see *Bibl.*

Bibliography: A genealogical tree in Ibn al-Abbār, no. 1517; Ḍabbī, *Bug̲h̲yat al-multamis*, Cairo and Beirut 1989, nos. 992, 1151; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mug̲h̲rib*, i, 99, 210; Ibn Bassām, *D̲h̲akh̲īra*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 8 vols. Beirut 1989, i/2, 774-86; Ibn Bas̲h̲kuwāl, *Ṣila*, Cairo 1966, nos. 757, 1255; Ibn K̲h̲āḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, ed. M.Ṭ. Ibn ʿĀs̲h̲ūr, Tunis 1990, 451-2; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Du nouveau sur Ibn Ḳuzmān*, in *And.*, ix (1944), 347-69; E. Garcia Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzmān*, Madrid 1972, ii, 889-99.

(I. Ferrando)

L

LAFẒ (a.), lit: "to spit out" (see *WbKAS*, letter L, ii/2, 989).

1. In grammar.

Here it denotes primarily the actual expression of a sound or series of sounds, hence "articulation" and, more broadly, the resulting "linguistic form". It has always been distinct from *ṣawt* "[individual] sound" (cf. Troupeau, *ṣ-w-t*, and see Bakalla, 39 ff. and 49 ff., for its use in Ibn D̲j̲innī (d. 392/1002 [*q.v.*]), which provides the base for the modern Arabic terms for phonetics, *ʿilm al-aṣwāt*, and phonology, *ʿilm waẓāʾif al-aṣwāt* (and note also the neologism *ṣawtiyya* [*q.v.*] for

the collective description of Arabic sounds). *Lafẓ* occurs mostly in morphological and syntactic contexts, but always indicates an actual acoustic event or a real utterance, usually at the word or sentence level, and thus often contrasts with implicit or semantic features of speech.

Definitions of speech using the term *lafẓ* may specify that it excludes elements which are not in the Arabic phoneme inventory [cf. ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀ'], as well as non-linguistic modes of communication such as gestures and context of situation and even writing, *khaṭṭ* [*q.v.*], when necessary; cf. Bakalla, 69. It was also established very early (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ch. 4) that the lexical relationship between form (*lafẓ*) and meaning (*ma'nā* [*q.v.*]) was of three kinds, viz. (1) identity of form with difference of meaning (homonymy), e.g. *wadjada* "to find" and "to feel passion", (2) difference of form with identity of meaning (synonymy), e.g. *dhahaba* and *inṭalaḳa* "to go away", and (3) difference of both form and meaning, e.g. *dhahaba* "to go away" and *djalasa* "to sit".

In morphological contexts, *lafẓ* will typically contrast with *ma'nā*, i.e. opposing the phonological to the semantic properties of an element. For example, a distinction is made between absolute objects (*maf'ūl muṭlaḳ*) which are composed of the same radicals as their operating verb and are thus termed *lafẓī* "formal" (e.g. *djalastu djulūs^an* "I sat right down") and those which are derived from a synonym of their operating verb and are thus termed *ma'nawī* "semantic" (e.g. *djalastu ḳu'ūd^an* "I sat down with a squatting action").

At the syntactical level, the opposition is usually between the formal realisation (*lafẓī*) versus the implied, *muḳaddar* [see TAḲDĪR, where *lafẓī* is translated "literal")], i.e. the surface realisation is contrasted with some equivalent word or words assumed to underlie the forms actually expressed. This is not to be confused with modern notions of deep and surface structure, since the underlying forms are invariably stated as verbal paraphrases of the surface realisations and the question of transformation therefore does not arise. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that there are other, similar oppositions recognised by the grammarians, notably the explicit (*ẓāhir*) versus the suppressed (*muḍmar*), for the contrast between overt and implicit elements generally, and the visible (*bāriz*) versus the concealed (*mustatir*), for the pronouns in particular, to which must be added elision (*ḥadhf*) and the restoration of elided elements in the shape of "additions", *ziyādāt*, all of which point to a complex understanding of the relationship between the outward verbal features of speech and its inner contents. Understandably, the scrutiny of what was sometimes called the *kalām lafẓī* "the formal utterance" in the light of its internal implications, the *kalām nafsī* "mental or spiritual utterance", became a dominant preoccupation of the sciences of rhetoric, exegesis, law and theology.

Bibliography: Sībawayhi, *Le livre de Sībawaihi*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1881-9 (repr. Hildesheim 1970), *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ed. Būlāḳ 1898-1900 (repr.) (the first seven, and also the last seven chapters of the *Kitāb*, which deal with phonological issues, are published in a hypertext version at <www.hf.uio.no/east/sibawayhi/HomePage>, general eds. M.G. Carter, A. Matveev and L. Edzard; G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976; M.G. Carter, *Arab linguistics, an introductory classical text with translation and notes*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia and New York 1981; M.H. Bakalla, *Ibn Jinni, an early Arab Muslim phonetician. An interpretative study of his life and contribution to linguistics*, London and Taipei 1982/1402; G. Bohas, J.-P. Guillaume and D.E. Kouloughli, *The Arabic linguistic tradition*, London and New York 1990, index s.v. *lafẓ*; K. Versteegh, *Landmarks in linguistic thought. III. The Arabic linguistic tradition*, London and New York 1997, index s.v. *lafẓ* and *ma'nā*.

(M.G. CARTER)

2. In theology.

Here it refers to the pronunciation of the Ḳur'ān. The term was introduced by Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Karābīsī (d. 245/859 or 248/862 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of al-Shāfi'ī who, in theology, shared the position of Ibn Kullāb [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Reacting against the Mu'tazilī doctrine of *khalḳ al-Ḳur'ān*, the latter had distinguished between *kalām Allāh*, God's speech which is eternal, and *ḳirā'a*, the recitation of the Ḳur'ān which occurs in time. Al-Karābīsī replaced *ḳirā'a* by *lafẓ* (or *nuṭḳ*) which was broader and meant any quoting of the Ḳur'ān, including beyond formal recitation. During the later phase of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*], his doctrine spread widely, to the Djazīra (Mawṣil, Niṣībīn and Ṭarsūs) and possibly even to Damascus, through Hishām b. 'Ammār al-Sulamī (d. 245/859), who served as *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque. In Baghdād, however, al-Karābīsī encountered heavy opposition from Ibn Ḥanbal and his adherents, who denounced his approach as Djahmism, i.e. they equated it with the belief in the createdness of the Word of God, or at least banished any mention of it. In Persia, the situation was quite different. Ḥanbalī radicalism came under attack by al-Bukhārī (in his *K. Khalḳ al-af'āl*) and Ibn Ḳutayba (in his *Ikhtilāf fi 'l-lafẓ*) who both virtually shared al-Karābīsī's opinion without explicitly referring to him. The so-called *Fiḳh akbar II* names the createdness of *lafẓ* as part of the creed. Theologians like Makḥūl al-Nasafī and al-Ghazālī adhered to it, as did even Ḥanbalīs like Ibn 'Aḳīl or Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farrā'. This broad acceptation of the general idea was counterbalanced by an avoidance of the term *lafẓ* as such; al-Karābīsī's authorship was forgotten.

Bibliography: Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 602 ll. 7-8; Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, 189 §3; Makḥūl al-Nasafī, *Radd 'alā 'l-bida'*, ed. M. Bernand, in *Ann. Isl.*, xvi (1980), 113 ll. 7 ff.; H. Bauer, *Die Dogmatik al-Ghazālī's*, Halle 1912, 58-9; D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al Ash'arī*, Paris 1990, 317-18; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, iv, Berlin 1997, 210-18.

(J. VAN ESS)

LAḤN (A.). In music. This is one of the basic terms of secular music in Islamic times, used in Arabic and Persian [see MŪSĪḲĪ]. In its early terminological sense, *laḥn* (pl. *luḥūn*, rarely *alḥān*) denoted a musical mode, comparable to the later terms *naghma* (pl. *anghām*) and *maḳām* [*q.v.*]. It was a loan from the Byzantine Greek concept of *ēchos*, adopted probably in Umayyad Syria. A *Kitāb al-Luḥūn al-thamāniya* ("Book on the modal system called *oktōēchos*"), wrongly attributed to Ptolemy, was known to Ibn al-Kalbī [*q.v.*], according to a quotation in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *al-'Iḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1949, vi, 27. Al-Kindī [*q.v.*] equated *laḥn* with *ṭanīn* (= Greek *tónos*) in the same sense of musical mode. In its more general and more common meaning *laḥn* (pl. *alḥān*, *luḥūn*) stands for melody. Here it corresponds to the Greek term *mélos*. The notion of music (*mūsīḳī*) was therefore defined either as the "science of the modes" (*'ilm al-luḥūn*) or as "composition of melodies" (*ta'līf al-alḥān*). In the latter sense, the term was used and defined by many writers on music theory from al-Kindī to al-Lādhiḳī

(see titles below). Al-Fārābī devoted several chapters of his *Kitāb al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr* to an exhaustive treatment of melodics. "Reciting the Ḳur'ān with secular melodies" (*ḳirā'a* [*q.v.*] *bi 'l-alḥān*) was one of the crucial points in the discussion on decent music in Islamic society. The notion of *laḥn* (melody) has survived the centuries, as have its derivatives *laḥḥana* ("to chant; to set to music"), *talḥīn* ("chanting; composition"), *mulaḥḥin* ("composer") and *mulaḥḥan* ("set to music").

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(E. Neubauer)

LĀLĀ, Lala (p.), a term found amongst the Turkmen dynasties of Persia and, especially, amongst the Ṣafawids, with the meaning of tutor, specifically, tutor of royal princes, passing also to the Ottoman Turks.

Under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*], both *atabeg* [see atabak] and *lālā* are found, but after the advent of the Ṣafawids (sc. after 907/1501), the latter term becomes more common, with the Arabic term *muʿallim* "instructor" also found. Such persons were already exalted figures in the state. The *lālā* of Shāh Ismāʿīl I's second son Sām Mīrzā was the *īshīk-āḳāsī* [*q.v.*] or Grand Marshal of the great *dīwān*, Durmish Khān Shāmlū, whilst the *muʿallim* of the first son, and succeeding ruler, Ṭahmāsp (I) Mīrzā, was a member of the religious classes, Mawlānā Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Ṭabasī (R.M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Safawid state during the reign of Ismāʿīl I (907-30/1501-24)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii [1960], 98; idem, *The principal offices of the Safawid state during the reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76)*, in *ibid.*, xxiv [1961], 125). In the later Ṣafawid period, we hear also of *lalas* for the young eunuch pages of the royal court, the *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa*, such as the (non-eunuch) Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān, whose importance was such that he was in 1029/1620 commissioned by Shāh ʿAbbās I to examine the possibility of diverting the headwaters of the Kārūn river [*q.v.*] in the Zagros mountains into the Zāyanda-rūd and the Iṣfahān plain. The tutor of Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā (the future Ṭahmāsp II, 1135-45/1722-32) when he was made *walī ʿahd* or heir to the throne, Muḥammad Āḳā, head of the royal *ghulāms*, was, on the other hand, obviously a eunuch himself (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk, a manual of Ṣafavid administration* (circa *1137/1725*), tr. V. Minorsky, London 1943, 56 n. 3, 57).

The title *lālā* passed, through Persian cultural influence, to the Ottoman Turks, amongst whom it was used for tutors attached to young princes, both at court and when, usually at the age of fourteen or fifteen, they were assigned provincial government (see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 291-2; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 124-5; Pakalın, ii, 354; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, 18, 117). Again as in Persia, such tutors were prestigious figures, and could become senior *wezīrs* or leading commanders like Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 988/1580), tutor to the future Selīm II [see muṣṭafā pasha, lala].

It also made its way to the Muslim India of the Mughals, and in British Indian times, acquired a wider meaning of "child's tutor" in general and also, in northern India, became the title of a clerk or secretary in the local, vernacular languages (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases* ²London 1903, 501-2).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

LĀSHĪN, Maḥmūd Ṭāhir (1894-1954), Egyptian writer of novels and short stories.

While neither the most famous nor the most productive of a group of Egyptian writers that came to prominence during the 1920s as the *Djamāʿat al-madrasa al-ḥadītha* ("The new school group"), Lāshīn was undoubtedly one of the first to display genuine mastery of the short story genre. Born into a family of Turko-Circassian origins, he studied engineering and then served in the Department of Public Works. While other colleagues in the group, such as Maḥmūd Taymūr (1894-1973) and Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī (1905-93), went on to illustrious careers in Egyptian literary life, Lāshīn appears to have become disillusioned with the reception of his work and published little after 1940. As critics have begun to appreciate the importance of his place in the development of modern Egyptian fiction, his relative obscurity among members of succeeding generations is being replaced by a deeper understanding of the extent of his achievement.

Lāshīn's family background allowed him to serve as a host for the early gatherings of the *Djamāʿat al-madrasa al-ḥadītha*. Already fascinated by the potential of the short story genre, the group soon became deeply influenced by the Russian school of writers, including Gogol, Turgenev, Chekov, and Dostoevsky. Lāshīn was writing stories as early as 1921, but it was the foundation in 1925 of the literary weekly *al-Fadjr* that afforded an outlet for his creativity. His first published collection, *Sukhriyyat al-nāy*, appeared in 1926, and he followed it with a second one, *Yuḥkā anna*, in 1929; a third, *al-Niḳāb al-ṭā'ir*, was published in 1940.

Like the short stories of his contemporaries. Lāshīn's examples focus on the environment with which he was most familiar, that of the urban middle class. Eschewing the more idealised and homiletic tone of his predecessors, he manages to create a convincing social reality through his gloomy portraits of the lives and struggles of various professional types—lawyers, merchants, and civil servants—utilising the short story genre to provide glimpses into both their public careers and family tensions. By contrast, *Ḥadīth al-ḳarya*

("Tale of the village") is set in the countryside; in an accomplished manner it explores the tension between rural and urban values that is such a frequent theme of modern Arabic fiction.

Lā**sh**īn's novel, *Ḥawwāʾ bi-lā Ādam* ("Eve without Adam", 1934), is also a major contribution to the development of that genre in the Egyptian context. While its date of publication places it within a decade during which most of Egypt's prominent littérateurs made initial attempts at penning novels (among them Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm, Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Māzinī, ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād and Maḥmūd Taymūr), Lā**sh**īn's work stands out both for the characteristically subtle way in which he portrays the tensions involved when a female tutor falls in love with her much younger charge and for the fact that the very fictionality of his narrative stands in marked contrast to the apparently autobiographical contexts of most of the efforts of his contemporaries. Like its author, however, *Ḥawwāʾ bi-lā Ādam* has, at least until recently, resided in an unmerited obscurity.

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2. Studies. Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, *Fadjr al-ḳiṣṣa al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1960; Ṣabrī Ḥāfiẓ, *Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Lā**sh**īn wa-mīlād al-uḳṣūṣa al-miṣriyya*, in *al-Madjalla*, Cairo (Feb.-March 1968); Hilary Kilpatrick, *Ḥawwāʾ bilā Ādam. An Egyptian novel of the 1930's*, in *JAL*, iv (1973), 48-56; Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Hawārī, *Maṣādir naḳd al-riwāya fi 'l-adab al-ʿArabī al-ḥadī**th** fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1979; Jad Ali, *Form and technique in the Egyptian novel, 1912-1971*, London 1983; Sabry Hafez, *The genesis of Arabic narrative discourse*, London 1993.

(R.M.A. ALLEN)

LEWNĪ, Ottoman miniature painter, born *ca.* 1680, died 1145/1732. Lewnī, meaning "colourful", and "varied", was the pseudonym used by the artist, whose real name was ʿAbd ül-Djelīl Čelebi. He was the most influential figure of early 18th-century Ottoman miniature painting, active during the reigns of Muṣṭafā II and Aḥmed III [*q.vv.*]. He came to Istanbul from Edirne after 1707. Since his name does not appear in the records of court artists, the *ehl-i ḥiref*, of this period it is thought that he either held a higher position at the imperial court or worked freelance. Lewnī was not only a painter but also a folk poet whose compositions have a close affinity to *dīwān* literature [see ʿOTHMĀNLĪ. III. Literature]. His poetry treated the themes of love, heroism and war, and his admonitory epic poem consisting of proverbs inspired other folk poets.

The unsigned engravings portraying Ottoman sultans that illustrate Demetrius Kantemir's [see KANTIMĪR, DEMETRIUS, in Suppl.] *Ottoman history* are thought to be based on early works by Lewnī. His series of Ottoman sultan portraits (Topkapı Palace Museum A 3109) display an innovative style characterised by an informal approach to his models, natural facial expression, and the use of colour shading and chiaroscuro to lend volume to the figures. Lewnī may have trained under the celebrated late 17th-century portraitist Muṣawwir Ḥüseyin.

Another of Lewnī's major works is the series of miniatures illustrating the *Surnāme-i Wehbī*, an account of the festivities for the circumcision of the sons of Aḥmed III in 1720 (Topkapı Palace Museum A 3593). These miniatures depict trade guild parades and public entertainments in a consistent narrative style, and the figures are portrayed with a vigorous sense of movement and suggestion of depth. An album containing forty-two full-length portraits signed by Lewnī magnificently reflects the atmosphere of the time (Topkapı Palace Museum H 2164). These portraits of men and women largely symbolise aspects of life during the so-called Tulip Era [see LĀLE DEVRI] and were probably intended to illustrate the protagonists in contemporary stories.

At a time when Western influence was beginning to make itself felt, Lewnī masterfully rejuvenated Ottoman pictorial art without any loss of its essential character, and his work is regarded as a turning point in both style and approach.

Bibliography: Demetrius Cantemir, *The history of the growth and decay of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1734; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥüseyin Aywānsarāyī, *Medjmūʿa-e tewārī**kh*** (1766), ed. F.Ç. Derin and V. Çubuk, Istanbul 1985, 175; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk sazşairleri*, Istanbul 1940, 330-61; Süheyl Ünver, *Ressam Lewnī, hayati ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1949; idem, *Lewnī*, Istanbul 1967; I. Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés*, Paris 1971, ii, 74-84; Nurhan Atasoy-Filiz Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974; Esin Atil, *Lewnī and the Surname*, Istanbul 1999; A. Gül İrepoğlu, *Lewnī, painting – poetry – colour*, Istanbul 1999; eadem, *"From book to Canvas." The Sultan's portrait-picturing the House of Osman*, Istanbul 2000, 378-437.

(A. GÜL İREPOĞLU)

M

MĀʾ. 10. Irrigation in Transoxania.

The rivers of Inner Asia, extending from **Kh**ʷārazm in the west through Transoxania to eastern Turkistān (the later Sinkiang) and northwards to the Semirečye, have all been extensively used for irrigation purposes in the lands along those rivers and in oasis centres, providing a possibility for agriculture in favoured spots which were not too open to attack from the steppe nomads or more northerly forest peoples. Hence, as elsewhere in the Old World, the maintenance of irrigation works, surface canals and *kārīz*s or subterranean channels (these last to be found as far east as the Tarim basin and the fringes of China proper; see ḲANĀT) depended on injections of capital from strong local rulers, on the mass mobilisation of labour for construction and maintenance work, and on vigorous defence policies to protect the settled lands. Such river systems as those of the Oxus, Zaraf**sh**ān and Syr Darya to the west of the Tien Shan mountains, and those of the Tarim river and its tributaries coming down from the Kun-Lun mountains, to the east of the Tien Shan, must have had irrigation works long

antedating the coming of Islam, even where specific information is lacking and their existence can only be inferred from the sparse archaeological investigations in such regions.

Thus ground surveys and the results of aerial photography have enabled scholars like the late S.P. Tolstov to show how irrigation in Kh^w^ārazm depended on a complex system of canals and channels from the lower Syr Darya and extending westwards towards the Caspian (these last, along the old channel of the Uzboi [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ], were investigated in an expedition of 1947; see Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, East Berlin 1953, 318 ff.).

The irrigation systems of what was the pre-Islamic Iranian region of Sogdia [see AL-ṢUGHD] are especially well known from the mediaeval Arabic and Persian geographers and local historians and were the subject of a special monograph by W. Barthold (*K istori oroshe niya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, repr. in his *Sočineniya*, iii, Moscow 1965, 99-233). The river which flowed through the heart of Sogdia, the Nahr al-Ṣughd or Zarafshān [*q.v.*], watered an extensive agricultural region in which were located the great cities of Bukhārā and Samarḳand [*q.vv.*] and many significant smaller urban centres; under Islam, the zenith of their prosperity was reached under the local dynasty of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*] (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries). The left bank tributaries of the Zarafshān coming down from the Buttamān mountains (in what is now northern Tajikistan and the eastern part of the Kashkadar'inskaya *oblast* of Uzbekistan) were fed by large quantities of melted snow in spring and early summer. There were along them diversionary dams which divided up the river flows and led them into irrigation channels, called from later mediaeval Islamic times onwards by the term used in Turkish *arïḳ/ arïgh* (but probably of non-Turkish origin, G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1965-83, ii, 52-3 no. 469; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 214). A dam constructed four *farsakhs* from Samarḳand gave its name to the locality Waraghsar, lit. "head of the dam". The irrigation waters from there were regulated by an official resident in Samarḳand who had a staff of subordinates responsible for the upkeep of the banks of the channels, etc., whilst the inhabitants of Waraghsar itself were exempt from paying *kharādj* in return for maintenance work on the dam (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 496-7, tr. Kramers and Wiet, ii, 475-6; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 465-6). The largest channels in the region were navigable, but probably for rafts rather than for boats, and timber was floated down along them to Samarḳand. Within the city itself, water was brought into the *shahristān* or inner city along a channel which crossed the defensive ditch formed by excavating material for the walls, hence the channel was carried on an aqueduct into the *shahristān* at the *raʾs al-ṭāḳ* "head of the arch". Alongside the channel, the properties were constituted as *awḳāf* for its upkeep, and the local community of Zoroastrians were free of the *djizya* or poll-tax in return for maintaining the channel in good repair (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 492-3, tr. ii, 473).

Such constructions and arrangements in Sogdia were undoubtedly of pre-Islamic origin. An early Arab governor of Khurāsān, Hishām's nominee Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, in 117/735 tried to deprive the inhabitants of Samarḳand of water by blocking the channel at Waraghsar and diverting it from the city, at a time when Sogdia had thrown off short-lived Arab control and temporarily recovered its independence under the local king Ghūrak, and had now to be reconquered by the Arabs (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1586; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 78-80). The dam at Waraghsar was obviously an ancient work. Further information on the irrigation system of Samarḳand, this time in the Ḳarakhānid period, is given by the local historian Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī (early 6th/12th century) in his *Kitāb al-Ḳand fī taʾrīkh Samarḳand*; he enumerates the various *arïḳs* and gives the total area of irrigated land (Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, ³London 1968, 89, and on the irrigation system at Samarḳand in general, *ibid.*, 82-92).

The Arab geographers likewise give detailed information on the situation at Bukhārā, at the western end of the Zarafshān basin, and this can be supplemented by items from the local historian Narshakhī [*q.v.*]. According to the latter, the main irrigation channel through the city was known as the *rūd-i zar* "golden, or gold-bearing river" (*Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. R.N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 31-2). Al-Muḳaddasī, 331-2, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 484-7, tr. ii, 465-7, describe how locks and sluices along the *arïḳs* through the city controlled the water flow at times of the river's spate and inundation; see also Barthold, *op. cit.*, 103-6.

There was a continuously-cultivated strip of agricultural land along the left bank of the Oxus from Āmul [*q.v.*] to Kh^w^ārazm, with *arïḳs* led off the main channel of the river, some big enough for boats to sail on, until the extensive network of canals in Kh^w^ārazm itself was reached (see above). Irrigation canals in the Syr Darya basin began in the Farghāna [*q.v.*] valley, into which the river's most voluminous source, the Nahr Djidghil (probably the modern Naryn), began; then as now, the Farghāna valley was a land of intense cultivation, and the towns there, such as Akhsikath and Khudjand [*q.vv.*], derived their water supplies from conduits leading off the irrigation canals (see Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 477 ff.). Further down the Syr Darya basin, irrigation channels were a feature of such provinces as Shāsh [see TASHKENT], Īlāḳ and Isfīdjāb [*q.vv.* in Suppl.] until Sawrān and the frontier with the Oghuz steppes were reached.

The Murghāb river in northern Khurāsān (now mainly in Turkmenistan) had numerous canals and dams along its course, controlling the waters which came down from melted snows in the Paropamisus mountains of northern Afghānistān. The situation there has been mentioned in section 6. above, at Vol. V, 868b, but one should add here that we possess especially valuable information for the very complex irrigation system in the Marw oasis from some of the Arab geographers and from the section on the terminology of the *dīwān al-māʾ* in al-Kh^w^ārazmī's concise encyclopaedia of the technical terms of the various sciences, the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, composed in the later Sāmānid period by an author closely connected with the Sāmānid bureaucracy in Bukhārā; part of this last author's information on irrigation terminology deals specifically with conditions at Marw (see C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii [1969], 151-8). Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 436, tr. ii, 421-2, characterises the *mutawallī or muḳassim al-māʾ* at Marw as a high-ranking *amīr* who had under him over 10,000 men, each with a specific task to perform, for keeping the irrigation system in repair. Al-Muḳaddasī, 330-1, mentions that the *amīr*'s staff included guards (*ḥurrās*) to keep watch over the canal banks and 4,000 divers

(*ghawwāṣūn*) who watched the channels night and day and had to be ready to turn out for running repairs in all weather conditions; the allocation of water to its various users was determined by a special measure or gauge (*miḳyās*).

For all these hydraulic systems, the devastations of the Mongols must have had an adverse effect, although agriculture gradually revived and the systems were brought back into repair and use. Tīmūr took steps at restoration of the Sogdian irrigation system, especially when he made Samarḳand his capital. Under the succeeding lines of Özbeg Turkish khāns in Transoxania and Khwārazm, internal prosperity continued to rest substantially on an agriculture supported by centrally-organised irrigation systems. Hence every canal and rural community dependent on it had its *mīrāb*, the official in charge of the construction and upkeep of the dams and channels. Some of these were comparatively humble local functionaries, but the vital importance of the irrigation systems for maintaining the economic health of Khwārazm, in later times the khānate of Khīwa [*q.v.*] was ruled by the ʿArabshāhid ruler Abu ʾl-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān (*r.* 1054-74/1644-63 [*q.v.*]), who introduced various administrative reforms, including the appointment of four *mīrāb*s as members of his central council of ministers or *ʿamaldārs*. The historian of the dynasty, Shīr Muḥammad Muʾnis (1192-1244/1778-1829 [*q.v.*]), held the hereditary post of *mīrāb*, in succession to his deceased elder brother, until his death, and his *History* shows that he was indeed personally concerned with the practical affairs involved; his nephew and continuator Muḥammad Riḍā Āgāhī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], likewise functioned as a *mīrāb* (Yu. Bregel [tr.], *Firdaws al-iqbāl. History of Khorezm*, Leiden 1999, pp. xviii-xix, xxi). Some of the highest personages in the state gave personal attention to these matters. Muʾnis describes how the *amīr* ʿAwaḍ Biy Inaḳ in 1216/1802 supervised the dredging of the Khīwanik canal (the term for such operations being *ḳāzū*, apparently from *ḳazmaḳ* "to dig") the actual work being done by corvée labour (*hashar*, *bīgār*); and the Khān himself, Muḥammad Raḥīm, came personally in 1225/1810 for the re-opening of the head of this canal (Bregel, *op. cit.*, 162-3, 299).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, Heidelberg 1923, Eng. tr. 449-50; D.R. Hill, in *The UNESCO history of the civilizations of Central Asia*, iv/2, Paris 2000, 265 ff.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MĀʾ AL-WARD, rose water (sometimes also found in the single word form *al-māward*, which suggests that among doctors and apothecaries, this commodity was perceived as something very specific), an essential preparation in Arab pharmacology.

Use of rose water is to be seen in the context of the knowledge professed by the Arabs of the medicinal and cosmetic properties of the rose and, clearly, their mastery of the technique of distillation. While the treatises evoke numerous varieties of rose, the generic term for which is *ward* (a word originally denoting, in classical Arabic, any flower of shrub or of tree) or indeed the Persian *gul*, they are not immune from ambiguity. Thus the red rose is sometimes called *ward aḥmar*, sometimes *ḥawdjam*, a term reserved by some for the damask rose. The varieties most frequently attested are three in number, if the wild rose is excluded (*nasrīn: Rosa canina*); white rose (*Rosa alba: ward abyaḍ, wathīr*); five-leaf rose (*Rosa centifolia: ḥawdjam*); damask rose (*Rosa damascena: ward djūrī, ward gūrī, ward baladī, ward shāmī*). Rose water was extracted from the petals of the last-named, pale red in colour and flowering from the spring to the end of summer. It may be noted that the rose was among the ingredients of various other concoctions such as rose honey (*djulandjubīn*) or julep (*djulāb*).

Rose water was thus obtained by the distillation of the damask rose (*ward djūrī*, the *nisba* referring to the town of Djūr in the south-west of Persia [see FĪRŪZĀBĀD], a technique described in detail by al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāyat*, xii, 123, 126-8), with reference to several recipes, on the basis of his usual source, namely the *Kitāb al-ʿArūs* of al-Tamīmī. But, contrary to what might be supposed, the majority of recipes for rose water blended this flower with other medicinal herbs such as aloes, saffron, musk, camphor or even cloves. This essence could be obtained from the petals (*waraḳ*) of the fresh flower (*ward ṭarī*) or of the dried flower (*ward yābis*), when they had been ground and set to macerate in the cucurbit (*ḳarʿa*, i.e. lower part of the alembic; then, by means of the alembic (*al-anbīḳ* [*q.v.*], here the coil) and its heating, the rose water was collected by distillation (*taḳṭīr*). The procedure of sublimation (rudimentary distillation, *taṣʿīd*) was also in use, according to al-Nuwayrī.

As regards the medicinal properties, the sources attest that distilled rose water was used, internally or externally, in the treatment of migraine, nausea and anxiety, but, especially, in eye-washes, to combat ophthalmia (Maimonides, *Sharḥ*, 59; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, i, 299-300). Mediaeval treatises on pharmacology and of ophthalmic medicine lay particular stress on the salutary properties of rose water as a wash for the treatment of numerous conditions of the eye, as well as for their prevention (*yamnaʿ ḳurūḥ al-ʿayn*, writes Dāwūd al-Antākī, *Tadhkira*, i, 339). The emollient and stabilising properties of rose water, often combined, in this case, with egg white, were appreciated after operations for cataract (Ibn Ḳassum al-Ghāfiḳī, *Kitāb al-Murshid*, 154; Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, *K. al-ʿAshr maḳālāt fi ʾl-ʿayn*, 158, 160). Use of this essence as an eye-wash is still common today and traditionally-inclined doctors readily prescribe it (H. Ducros, *Droguier*, 66-7; G. Honda, *Herb drugs*, 19, 90; J. Bellakhdar, *Médecine traditionelle*, 302). Besides the purely medical use of this commodity, a number of texts refer to its benefits in the sphere of cosmetics and aesthetics, especially as a deodorant and as a cooling agent.

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(F. Sanagustin)

MADHHAB (A., pl. *madhāhib*), inf. n. of *dh-h-b*, meaning "a way, course, mode, or manner, of acting or conduct or the like" (Lane, i, 983b); as a term of religion, philosophy, law, etc. "a doctrine, a tenet, an opinion with regard to a particular case"; and in law specifically, a technical term often translated as "school of law", in particular one of the four legal systems recognised as orthodox by Sunnī Muslims, viz. the Ḥanafiyya, Mālikiyya, Shāfiʿiyya and Ḥanbaliyya [*q.vv.*], and the Shīʿī Djaʿfarī and Zaydiyya legal schools [see ITHNĀ ʿASHARIYYA; ZAYDIYYA].

For an exposé of *madhhab* development, see the second section of FIKH, at Vol. II, 887b ff.; for recent writings questioning the Schachtian explanation of the "ancient schools of law" and for further bibliography on this, see N. Hurwitz, *Schools of law and historical context: Re-examining the formation of the Ḥanbalī madhhab*, in *ILS*, vii (2000), 37-64 and W.B. Hallaq, *From regional to personal schools of law? A reevaluation*, in *ILS*, viii (2001), 1-26. For new secondary studies on the *madhhab* since the *Bibl.* given in FIKH, see the important publication of *Islamic Law and Society* (*ILS*), i (1994)-; N. Calder, *Studies in early Muslim jurisprudence*, Oxford 1993; C. Melchert, *The formation of the Sunni schools of law, 9th-10th centuries C.E.*, Leiden 1997; Nurit Tsafrir, *The beginnings of the Ḥanafī school in Iṣfahān*, in *ILS*, v (1998), 1-21; eadem, *The history of an Islamic school of law. The early spread of Hanafism*, Cambridge, Mass., in press [2004]; C. Adang, *From Mālikism to Shāfiʿism to Ẓāhirism: the 'conversions' of Ibn Ḥazm*, in Mercedes García-Arenal (ed.), *Conversions islamiques. Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen*, Paris 2001, 73-87; Hallaq, *Authority, continuity and change in Islamic law*, Cambridge 2001; Eyyup S. Kaya, *Mezheblerin teşekkulunden sonra fikhi istidlal* ("Legal reasoning after the formation of madhhabs"), unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Marmara University, Istanbul 2001; the forthcoming [2004] volume *The Islamic school of law. Evolution, devolution, and progress*, eds. P. Bearman, R. Peters and F.E. Vogel (Cambridge, Mass.) and the extensive bibliography there. See also G. Makdisi, *The rise of colleges. Institutions of learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh 1981; idem, *The rise of humanism in classical Islam and the Christian West*, Edinburgh 1990; É. Chaumont, *En quoi le madhab šāfiʿite est-il šāfiʿite selon le Muġīṯ al-ḫalq de Ǧuwaynī?*, in *AI*, xxxv (2001), 17-26; and Maribel Fierro, *Repertorio bibliográfico de derecho islámico*, Murcia 1999, s.v. "escuela". For the Shīʿī *madhhab* in particular, see Hossein Modarressi Tabātabāʾī, *An introduction to Shīʿī law: a bibliographical study*, London 1984, 23-58; D. Bredi, *I sistemi giuridici non sunniti: l'islamizzazione del diritto e l'alternativa jaʿfarita in Pakistan*, in *Annali di Ca'Foscari* (Rome), xxxv (1996), 313-34. For a list of *EI* articles on the schools and their jurists, see the entry LAW in the Encyclopaedia's *Index of Subjects* (Leiden [3]2002), and the sub-entries there. (ED.)

MADĪNA (A.), urbanism, the structure and planning of the Arab town and city.

This can be reconstructed as an historical reality from a vast body of literature, including chronicles and archival documents. It embodies enlightened ideas which seem to be commented on, as it were, by the remains of all the great Arab cities that can still be seen. The concept of a Muslim "city" was formulated chiefly by French orientalists (on this subject see R.S. Humphreys, *Islamic history: a framework for inquiry*, Princeton 1991, 228) between 1920 and 1950; in particular see G. and W. Marçais, J. Sauvaget and J. Weulersse. However, the most accomplished expression of this concept can be attributed to G. von Grunebaum in *The structure of the Muslim town*, in *The American Anthropologist*, lvii [1955].

It would be unnecessarily tedious to trace in detail the causes and conditions underlying the development of this concept (see J. Abu-Lughod, *The Islamic city*, in *IJMES*, xix [1987]; A. Raymond, *Islamic city, Arab city: orientalist myths and recent views*, in *BJMES*, xxi/1 [1994]). The importance accorded to it derived almost exclusively from religious factors, for Islam was assumed to underlie any form appearing in the Muslim domain.

The conception of a Muslim town *ne varietur*, scarcely affected by vicissitudes in the long history of Islam, was broadly extrapolated from Maghribī and Syrian examples. Furthermore it was supposed to be independent of the extremely diverse geographical conditions evident in the immense expanse of Muslim territory. It is altogether a very negative conception. The Muslim town, a structure devoid of any logical order, is said to have replaced the ancient organisation and model of regularity: it was irregular; its streets were winding cul-de-sacs; it was a maze, a labyrinth (R. Le Tourneau, *Les villes musulmanes de l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1957); it was a dilapidated version of the ancient town; it had neither its own institutions nor administration (different, of course, not only from the cities of the ancient world but also from western mediaeval cities, which were endowed with communal institutions); and it had no legal existence. Thus Aleppo was like "a negation of urban order", a place where the influence of Islam had been "essentially negative"; the town had become "an inconsistent and inorganic collection of districts" (for these remarks see Sauvaget, *Alep*, 247-8). Weulersse describes such an internal dislocation in Antioch: the city is an amalgam of religious and national communities, a foreign body and a parasite in a country that it was exploiting (Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie*, Paris 1946).

In the absence of any real precise information on Muslim town planning in any of the basic texts (the Ḳurʾān, *sunna* or *fiḳh* [*q.vv.*]), it is not surprising that the positive characteristics retained by such a "non-city" were reckoned to be few in number and, moreover, barely significant. It was inhabited by Muslims; as the seat of Muslim institutions (*ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*], *muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA]), it comprised a Friday mosque, normally located at its centre; it had a market (*sūḳ* [*q.v.*]), which was situated near the mosque and organised according to a strict professional specialisation; it was provided with public baths; and it was generally surrounded by ramparts. It is interesting to note that Arab researchers who are interested in the problem have generally adopted such a negative vision.

No further time will be wasted on the conditions under which a revision of this concept took place (the end of the colonial era, a more reasonable appreciation of the Arab cultural context and the "Turkish" period, and the discovery of Ottoman sources). A certain number of orientalists' pre-suppositions have been submitted to an excruciating revision, and a better acquaintance with later ancient cities has tempered any illusion about their supposed perfection (H. Kennedy, *From Polis to Madina*, in *Past and Present* [1985]). It was recognised that the variety of historical conditions should be taken into account (J.-Cl. Garcin, *Habitat médiéval et histoire urbaine*, in *Palais et maisons du Caire*, i, Paris 1982), as also the diversity of geographical and cultural conditions prevailing in the Muslim world (O. Grabar, *Reflections on the study of Islamic art*, in *Muqarnas*, i [1983]). Attention was drawn to the fact that the absence of administration in the Muslim town was not as absolute as had been

suggested (see, for example, the role played by communities, *ṭawāʾif*, in the conduct of urban affairs). It was suggested that Muslim law and its interpreters were not silent on the subject of the town (see the early remarks of R. Brunschvig, in *Urbanisme médiéval et droit musulman*, in *REI*, xv [1947], which find an echo in the works of B. Johansen, *The claims of men and the claims of God*, in *Pluriformiteit en verdeling van de macht in het midden-oosten*, MOI publ. 4, Nijmegen 1980). It was admitted that the religious egalitarianism that characterised the *umma* did not preclude strong differentiation on socio-economic grounds, and traces of this could be found in urban organisation.

By concentrating on the modern, historically coherent period and by staying within the limits of the Arabo-Mediterranean region, which is both homogenous and clearly identifiable within the Ottoman domain, it is possible to define the major principles of the structure of traditional Arab towns at the beginning of the 19th century, just at the time when modernisation was beginning to alter their characteristics irretrievably (see Raymond, *La structure spatiale de la ville*, in M. Naciri and Raymond (eds.), *Sciences sociales et phénomènes urbains dans le monde arabe*, Casablanca 1997).

Through a study of the structure of the "traditional" Arab town we are able to demonstrate the existence of a coherent urban system. The fundamental characteristic of this system was a marked separation between the central "public" zone, where the principal economic, religious and cultural activities were developed, and the "private" zone, which was chiefly devoted to residence. This separation becomes apparent when a study is made of the localisation of urban functions. It is equally visible on street plans, where the relatively broad and regular road network of the centre is contrasted with the maze of narrow, irregular streets which had been seen to be a general feature of these towns; about 50% of the total length of the streets is represented by cul-de-sacs. This distinction has been recognised at length by jurists of the Ḥanafī school (B. Johansen).

The central region encloses the great markets (*sūḳs*), which are generally very specialised and assigned particular locations, and also the caravanserais, *funduḳs*, *k̲h̲āns* and *wakālas*, according to the region and the period. It is here that big international business and wholesale trade took place and the centre of it was often the *ḳaysāriyya/bedestān*, devoted to the luxury trade (as in Fez or Cairo). This zone is assembled around the great university mosques (such as the Ḳarawiyyīn, the Zaytūna, al-Azhar and the Umayyad mosque), which are the centres of religious and cultural activities.

The surface area of this zone varies according to the importance of the towns and the extent of their commercial activity; it is about six hectares in Tunis, twelve in Aleppo and sixty in Cairo. The characteristics of the zone are so strongly marked that it sometimes has a particular name, such as "Mdineh" in Aleppo. Normally one or more main streets cross it, depending on the scale of traffic, which at that period consisted exclusively of transport on the backs of animals. At the beginning of the 19th century, 6 m represented an optimal breadth, according to the opinion of the Egyptian *ʿulamāʾ*. Some of these streets date back to ancient times, such as the "Street called Straight" in Damascus and the main street in Aleppo; others have been traced back to the Arab foundation (such as the Ḳaṣaba in Cairo). This zone is generally very stable, probably because it has a very strong structure and because it is closely linked with the principal mosque. In modern times there is only one case of a change of location known, at Mawṣil (D. Khouri, *Mosul, 1540-1834*, Cambridge 1997).

The areas spreading outside and around this central zone are chiefly devoted to housing, and from Morocco to Afg̲h̲ānistān these are organised into a system of neighbourhoods; in the Mag̲h̲rib they are called *ḥawma*, in Egypt *ḥāra* and in the Near and Middle East *maḥalla*. They have a very consistent structure: there is one entrance point, which can be shut by a gate, and if necessary guarded; one main street, on to which alleys and cul-de-sacs are grafted. There are no specialised markets in these districts, only the *suwayḳas*, which have been analysed by Sauvaget and where the many activities necessary to daily existence take place. The life of the district is that of a community that is quite closed in upon itself; it is open only toward the centre, where the local inhabitants undertake their activities and towards which the network of roads leads in a hierarchically organised scheme (N. Messiri, *The concept of the Hara*, in *AI*, xv [1979]): this consideration, as well as the concern for security, justifies the statistical importance of the cul-de-sacs in this area. There does not seem to be any rule about homogeneity according to the origin or activity of the inhabitants, except in those cases where a district was inhabited by a community of a distinct religious or ethnic minority.

These general characteristics lead to a structure which may be described as doubly concentric, an arrangement such as is well known in the field of economic activities. Big international businesses and the main activities of craftsmen are located in the central regions, in the area near to the large mosque; nearby can be found in particular the markets for precious metals (*ṣāg̲h̲a*) and the money changers (as noted by L. Massignon, *Enquête sur les corporations d'artisans*, in *RMM*, lviii [1924]). In Cairo the 62 caravanserais where the coffee trade took place were located in the area near the Ḳaṣaba. In Tunis, Damascus and Aleppo, the *sūḳs* for cloth and spices occupy a prominent place in the area immediately surrounding the mosque. From the centre outwards, activities spread over an increasingly great distance as their order of importance diminished, and also according to the growing inconvenience of particular trades. There could be found on the periphery of the town those domestic activities that needed space (such as the straw workers); those linked to the countryside (grain markets in the large squares, *raḥba*, *ʿarṣa* and livestock markets); those that were embarrassing and polluting (ovens of all sorts, abattoirs, tanneries). The moving of such trades to a more remote location could, moreover, be an indication of urban development, as was the case for the transfer of the tanneries in Aleppo (1570), Cairo (1600) and Tunis (1770) (see Raymond, *Le déplacement des tanneries*, in *REMMM*, lv-lvi [1990]).

By contrast, the orientalist vision of a fundamentally egalitarian, Muslim society was a factor in imposing a scheme according to which the rich and poor lived together in the same urban space, using a unique type of habitat qualified as "Muslim", although the house with a central patio may be found in Classical Antiquity, also, an idea strongly expressed by A. Abdel Nour, *Introduction à l'histoire urbaine de la Syrie ottomane*, Beirut 1982. Reality is quite different and corresponds logically to a strongly unequal socio-economic structure. Studies on this subject carried out in Cairo (Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*, Damascus 1974),

Damascus (C. Establet and J.-P. Pascual, *Familles et fortunes à Damas*, Damascus 1994) and Algiers (T. Shuval, *La ville d'Alger*, Paris 1998) have shown a remarkable inequality in the range of wealth, insofar this can be measured through the successions registered in the courts: fortunes are in a proportion of 1 : 10,000 in Cairo and 1 : 3,000 in Damascus around 1700 (Establet, Pascual and Raymond, *La mesure de l'inégalité sociale dans la société ottomane*, in *JESHO*, xxxvii [1994]). It is therefore not surprising in these conditions that in the large Arab towns the population would be distributed according to a rather rigorous "classification": the comfortable residences occupied the zone near the centre (where the *ʿulamāʾ* preferably lived near to the mosque and traders near the *sūḳs*); then there were the middle-class areas with increasingly poor living conditions, until one reached the often wretched housing for the common people on the periphery and in the suburbs. This roughly concentric arrangement can be clearly deduced from studies on Tunis (J. Revault, *Palais et demeures à Tunis*, Paris 1967-78), Cairo (N. Hanna, *Habiter au Caire*, Cairo 1991) and Aleppo (J.-Cl. David, *Alep, dégradation et tentatives actuelles de réadaptation*, in *BEO*, xxviii [1975]).

However, the central patio house only appears to be "unitary", and great differences evidently exist with regard to dimensions, whether there are one or more storeys, interior amenities and decoration between houses with courtyards of the rich, middle-class and poor (for Tunis, see G. Cladel and P. Revault, *Medina, approche typologique*, Tunis 1970). Moreover, examples of "atypical" houses are plentiful. There is the collective accommodation of the caravanserai type, the collective accommodation of the *rabʿ* type found in Cairo, vertical accommodation (Rosetta, Yemen), middle-class accommodation without a patio, poor community accommodation of the *ḥawsh* type, and cellular accommodation; mediaeval examples of this have been studied by Scanlon and Kubiak in their excavations of Fusṭāṭ.

Naturally, no existing town corresponds to this model of a round town, arranged in concentric rings around the centre, with its economic and residential activities classified according to a decreasing order of importance. There are a number of factors (natural, historical, economic and social) that explain the irregularities that are noted. The decentring of al-Ḳāhira, in the northeast quarter of ancient Cairo, is justified by natural considerations such as the presence of the Muḳaṭṭam Hills, which prohibited expansion towards the east; also by historical reasons, such as the construction of the citadel by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], which favoured expansion towards the south, and the custom of dumping the rubbish from Cairo into the region today called "The Tells", which has restricted any expansion towards the northeast.

A similar analysis could be applied to Tunis, where the geography of the site dictates that expansion should develop only towards the north and the south, since expansion to the east and west is prevented by the two lagoons (*sabkha*). It could be applied also to Aleppo, where for a long time the presence of the river Ḳuwayḳ has hindered any development of the city towards the west and the existence of cemeteries prevented expansion to the north and south. Mawṣil had the appearance of a round town until economic reasons, like the special attraction of the markets because of the commercial potential of the river Tigris, and probably also political reasons (the research into the proximity of the citadel) brought about the displacement of the centre towards the river, far from the great mosque. On the other hand, the locations of the districts for the minorities and for the élite followed a particular logic, which often led to their remoteness from the centre.

There is indeed good reason for emphasising the importance of the segregative factors in the way the "traditional" town is organised. The inegalitarian nature of Muslim society explains this discrimination by the standard of wealth and the difference in living conditions between the centre and the periphery. In Cairo, however, collective rented accommodation, the *rabʿ* [*q.v.*], allowed the middle classes to reside near the centre (Raymond, *Le* rabʿ, *un habitat collectif au Caire*, in *MUSJ*, 1 [1948]). Districts for the élite were often located on the periphery, where the powerful could find the space they needed for their houses and a certain isolation from the rest of the population. The vigour with which the "national" and/or religious Muslim minority communities regrouped depended on the degree of their differences with regard to the rest of the population: in Cairo, the Maghribīs and the Syrians regrouped less than the Turks; a Kurdish district had been in existence for a very long time in Damascus; while in Antioch, the Alawites were at one and the same time very much regrouped and pushed far from the centre. The non-Muslim minority communities (the People of the Book subject to the status of *dhimmī*, "protected") were generally subjected from the point of view of space to strict segregation, expressing in terms of spatial location the discriminations and disabilities imposed upon them, despite the remarkable tolerance which these communities enjoyed under the Ottomans.

There were in all of the large towns Christian and Jewish districts, the location of which varied according to local conditions. The Jews of Tunis lived in a district (*al-ḥāra*) situated out of the way; those in Cairo were very close to the centre. The relative dispersion of the Copts in Cairo bore witness to the tolerance from which they benefited, but their districts were in the main situated to the west of Khalīdj, in a region that was occupied by Muslims only at a fairly late date. The evolution of the Christian district of Aleppo is significant from this point of view. There, from the end of the 16th century, the community experienced a remarkable development, and this expansion was marked by an eastwards advance of the Christians in the northern suburb of the town which was progressively occupied by them. The gradual retreat of the Muslims towards the east, a community that was none the less dominant, certainly tends to confirm that the religious groups preferred, for reasons of convenience, a segregated, collective life rather than a confessional mix, even though such a mix could exist in limited zones (Raymond, *Une communauté en expansion. Les chrétiens d'Alep*, in *La ville arabe, Alep*, Damascus 1998).

The traditional Arab cities were therefore strongly structured, an observation that seems self-evident, for one can hardly imagine how an anarchical town without an administration would have been able to continue in existence and even experience a strong expansion in modern times. Investigation into the constitutive elements of this specific urban system, the identification of the para-administrative structures which allowed the conduct of urban affairs, and the recognition of the major role played by the *wakfs* [*q.v.*] in urban organisation and development (R. Deguilhem [ed.], *Le* waqf *dans l'espace islamique*, Damascus 1995) all lead to more positive conclusions than a discreditable comparison with other urban systems which were judged to have been more perfected.

However, an investigation such as this can be complete only when more can be learned about the origins of this urban system. Research on pre-Islamic towns in the Yemen (J.-F. Breton, *Le site et la ville de Shabwa*, in *Syria*, lxviii [1991]) and in Arabia (A.T. al-Anṣārī, *Qaryat al-Fāw*, London 1981) have brought important insights in this field. There is also a need for better information on the time of transition between the ancient period and the beginnings of the Muslim era (see the traces of Umayyad town planning discovered in the ancient sites of Palmyra and Beit Shean) and on the period of the foundation (for Fusṭāṭ, see R.P. Gayraud, *Iṣṭabl ʿAntar*, in *AI*, xxv [1991]).

The other crucial question is that of knowing to what extent the data on urban structure suggested by the study of the sources and the examinations of the remnants of ancient towns are equally valid for the "classical" Arab town, which we know from texts but which has to be the subject of reconstruction on the ground, since the urban tissue which subsists in the "madinas" of Arab towns dates only from the modern Ottoman period.

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(A. RAYMOND)

MADĪNAT AL-NUḤĀS, "The city of brass," a story within the *Thousand and one nights* [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA].

This story, that found its way, somewhat variably, into the 19th-century editions of the *Nights* (on the 18th-century manuscripts in which it appears, see the excellent discussion by D. Pinault, *Story-telling techniques in the Arabian Nights*, Leiden 1992, 150-80), is the most elaborate narrative about a city of copper, brass or bronze (on the proper meanings of *nuḥās* and *ṣufr*, and their indiscriminate use in non-scientific discourse, see M. Aga-Oglu, *A brief note on Islamic terminology for bronze and brass*, in *JAOS*, lxiv [1944], 218-23). Fabulous reports about such a place, set in remote reaches of the Maghrib or al-Andalus, appear already in the 3rd/9th century. In Ibn Ḥabīb's (d. 238/853 [*q.v.*]) *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh* (ed. J. Aguadé, Madrid 1991, 144-5; authentic in the editor's view), Mūsā b. Nuṣayr's [*q.v.*] adventures include finding jars in which Solomon imprisoned rebellious demons, and a copper fortress (*madīna ʿalayhā ḥiṣn min nuḥās*) inhabited by *djinn*, which renders those who enter it unaware of their condition. Al-Masʿūdī tells us (*Murūdj*, i, 369 = ed. Pellat, i, 195-6, § 409) that beyond al-Sūs al-akṣā (southern Morocco) one comes to the River of Sand, then to the Black Castle, and at length to the sandy desert in which the City of Brass (*nuḥās*) and Domes of Lead are found. He also refers to a book in wide circulation dealing with the wondrous things that Mūsā b. Nuṣayr saw there. In another place (iv, 95 = § 1423) he refers to the same city (here as *madīnat al-ṣufr wa-kubbat al-raṣāṣ*), and says that those who flung themselves from the walls tasted (so they report) the pleasures of this world and the next. The *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Fakīh's [*q.v.*] *Kitāb al-Buldān* is in several respects close to the *Nights* story, although the city is called al-Baht and no mention of metallic walls is made. After travelling through the "deserts of al-Andalus" Mūsā finds a city without an entrance, grim with brilliant battlements. Those who scale the walls laugh uncontrollably, and hurl themselves to their deaths below. (Mad laughter leading to death is the effect of the *baht* stone, cf. al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir*, Ḥaydarābād 1355, 101.) A memento mori inscription (of which there are many in the *Nights* tale) refers to the mortality of Solomon, mightiest of kings. Mūsā renounces entering the City and moves on to "the lake". This lake is visited by al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] once a year. Mūsā's divers recover a bronze (*ṣufr*) jar, from which, when opened, a brazen man

escapes with the cry "O Prophet, I will not relapse!" Later it is explained that such bottles hold the rebellious *dj̲inn* imprisoned by Solomon. The *Nights* story adds further Solomonic motifs to the journey and the City itself (cf. A. Hamori, *The art of medieval Arabic literature*, Princeton 1974, 149-53), as well as some other new details. The essential innovation is that in the *Nights*, Mūsā ultimately enters the City, to find it full of dead people who look deceptively alive. One of the leaders of the expedition, Ṭālib b. Sahl, is killed by robots when he tries to despoil the dead queen of her jewels.

The motifs in these narratives have their now inextricably tangled roots in Islamic (and Jewish) legends about Solomon, the Alexander Romance, Iranian legend, and, of course, in marvelling at ancient structures laid in massive desolation. Indeed, the sources show disagreement as to whether the builder of the City was Alexander or Solomon. Brazen or iron walls and palaces are a feature of many texts from Antiquity, and often occur in Iranian legend and poetry (cf. M. Barry, *Le Pavillon des sept princesses*, Paris 2000, 680-4, on Niẓāmī's *Tale of the red pavilion*). The principal source of the malefic City of Brass may well be the Iranian legend of the Brazen Hold, a subterranean (but brilliant) place of evil in the Avesta (cf. J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, repr. Paris 1960, i, 111), which surfaces as the evil Ardj̲āsp's redoubt in the *S̲h̲āh-nāma* (ed. Mohl, iv, 493 and index). The Solomonic motifs became easily associated because of the Ḳur'ānic reference (XXXIV, 12-13) to the *ʿayn al-ḳiṭr*, mostly understood as a fountain of copper or brass, that God made to flow for Solomon, and to the *dj̲inn* that built him palaces and statues. The journey to the ends of the world, cautionary inscriptions, automata and the overall memento mori mood are characteristic of all recensions of the Alexander Romance. In addition, as Ch. Genequand has pointed out (*Autour de la ville de bronze: d'Alexandre à Salomon*, in *Arabica*, xxxix [1992], 328-30), in his section on the Mag̲h̲rib Ibn al-Faḳīh relates, before describing the City of Baht, versions of such details of the Alexander Romance as the River of Sand (which appears in some recensions) and Alexander's conversation with the gymnosophists (who are here an *umma* of the Banū Isrā'īl). Genequand suggests that Ibn al-Faḳīh's mysterious lake (in the *Nights*, the sea of Karkar) associated with al-K̲h̲aḍir derives directly from the Water of Life episode in the Alexander Romance via the traditional association of al-K̲h̲aḍir with Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 61-5 (cf. also Pinault, 180-6); and that the City of Brass itself derives from an episode in a late Byzantine recension (dated by its editor to the early 8th century A.D.) in which the gymnosophists' women live on an island surrounded by a brilliant brazen wall which no man can penetrate and live. The Water of Life episode is, indeed, likely to have been a major contributor to the shaping of the story. Whether the same is true of the women's island is harder to say, since this episode is itself an adaptation of the Amazons' self-segregation in the older recensions, and may have been elaborated under oriental influence.

Some commentators have considered the *Nights* story a clumsy grab-bag of motifs. At a minimum, one must agree with those who see in it a *zuhdī* homily (e.g. Pinault, 231-39). It has been suggested (Barry, 167-8, and Hamori, *loc. cit.*) that, in view of the mystical symbolism often attributed to various episodes in the Solomon legend, to dead bodies only seemingly alive, to spiritual famine, to al-K̲h̲aḍir, etc., an interpretation of the *Nights* story that assumes such symbolism to have been intended makes sense of some otherwise unmotivated details and offers the most coherent reading. It may be more prudent to say that, whatever the various narrators had in mind, in ages of deep popular Ṣūfism, such symbolic understanding would have been part of the reception of the story.

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AL-**MADJ̲ĀD̲H̲ĪB**, a leading "holy family" among the Sudanese Dj̲aʿaliyyūn [*q.v.*]. Their ancestors emerged in the 16th century as a family of religious specialists (*fugara*, sg. *fakī*) in the area of al-Dāmar. In 1117/1705-6, Muḥammad al-Madj̲d̲h̲ūb ("the Enraptured"), the first of the family to bear this epithet, may have participated in the first revolt of the northern Sudanese provinces against their Fundj̲ [*q.v.*] overlords. Under his son, *Fakī* Ḥamad wad al-Madj̲d̲h̲ūb (1105-90/1694-1776), the family strengthened its position by accumulating private land titles and engaging in long-distance trade. Well trained in Mālikī law, Ḥamad adopted the S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya *ṭarīḳa*. He and his sons—known since *ca.* 1800 as *awlād wad al-Madj̲d̲h̲ūb* or *al-Madj̲ād̲h̲īb*—taught Ḳur'ān and *fiḳh*, provided medical services, and mediated between peasants and nomads. Both their fame as scholars and their political importance grew rapidly. They maintained contact with al-Azhar, and their schools were of regional significance. The Turco-Egyptian conquest (1821-3) and economic hardship during the 19th century dispersed the Madj̲ād̲h̲īb. Some returned to al-Dāmar; others remained in the Ethiopian borderlands or founded settlements in al-Ḳaḍārif, the Dj̲azīra and the western Sudan.

Most important religiously was Ḥamad's grandson, Muḥammad Madj̲d̲h̲ūb (b. 1210/1795-6, d. 1247/1831). After spending eight years in the Ḥidj̲āz where he was influenced by Aḥmad b. Idrīs [*q.v.*], he moved to Sawākin in 1829 to propagate his *ṭarīḳa*. A prolific writer, Madj̲d̲h̲ūb did much to spread Islamic knowledge beyond the confines of the urban scholar-jurists. His nephew and *k̲h̲alīfa* al-Ṭāhir Madj̲d̲h̲ūb (1248-1307/1832-90) gained many followers in the eastern Sudan. In 1883 he joined the Mahdī [see AL-MAHDIYYA], and his influence among the eastern tribes was an important factor in their rallying behind the Mahdist cause. Al-Ṭāhir's son "al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲" b. al-Ṭāhir Madj̲d̲h̲ūb (*ca.* 1860-1930) served as commander in the Mahdist army and was later venerated for his piety, poetry and learning. His successors moved the centre of the eastern Madj̲ād̲h̲īb to Erkowit.

In 20th-century al-Dāmar, the heritage of *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Muḥammad Madj̲d̲h̲ūb was promoted by Madj̲d̲h̲ūb Dj̲alāl al-Dīn (1305-96/1888-96). Although efforts to create a centralised *Ṭarīḳa Madj̲d̲h̲ūbiyya* failed, the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲* gradually displaced the clan ancestor, *Fakī* Ḥamad, as focal point of communal identification. A domed tomb was erected over his grave in 1996.

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(A. HOFHEINZ)

AL-**MADJDHŪBIYYA** [see AL-MADJĀDHĪB].

MADURA, MADURĀ'Ī, in mediaeval Islamic times a town, now the city of Madurai, in South India. It lies on the Vaidai river in lat. 9° 55' N., long. 78° 07' E. in the region known to the mediaeval Muslims as Maʿbar and to later European traders as Coromandel. For the historical geography and Islamic history of this coastal province, roughly extending from Cape Comorin northwards to Madras, see MAʿBAR.

In 734/1334 Sharīf Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan [*q.v.*], governor for the Dihlī Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*], renounced his allegiance, and he and some seven of his successors ruled over a short-lived Muslim sultanate before it was overwhelmed in *ca.* 779/1377 by the rising Hindu power of Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*], (see on the Madura sultanate, H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*, Ḥaydarābād 1973, i, 57-75; C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 318 no. 166; and for numismatics, E. Hultzsch, *The coinage of the Sultans of Madura*, in *JRAS* [1909], 667-83). Thereafter, Madura remained under Hindu control till the early 18th century, when the Nawwābs of Arcot [*q.v.*] or Ārkāt extended their power over it, provoking Marāthā [*q.v.*] intervention and then that of the British in favour of the Nawwābs. In 1801 the administration of the Madura region passed to the British East India Company as part of a treaty with the Nawwāb of Arcot, and then in 1855, to complete British control.

The modern city of Madurai, a municipality since 1866, is the chef-lieu of a District of the same name in the Indian Union State of Tamil Nadu; in 1971 it had a population of 548,000, and in 2003 its population totalled 959,200.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MAFRAḲ, lit. "place of separation, junction", a settlement, now a town, in the northeastern part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan [see URDUNN]. It lies in lat. 32° 20' N., long. 36° 12' E. at an elevation of 600 m/1,960 feet in an arid area whose average rainfall is 150 mm per annum. The region lacks running water, hence local people have always depended on pools and reservoirs for water, and the settlement grew up near the "white pool" (*al-ghadīr al-abyaḍ*).

Archaeological investigations nevertheless show that the area was once well populated, and a large number of what were Greek Orthodox churches and their mosaics have been found; the Roman emperor Trajan in A.D. 108 had built a road passing south of the site of Mafraḳ. In Umayyad times, there may have been a *bādiya* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] there. The place had a certain importance in Islamic times from its position on the caravan and Pilgrimage route from Damascus to the Ḥidjāz, and the sources explain its name by saying some pilgrims used to separate there from the main road and go their own way, or that friends from Damascus used to accompany pilgrims southwards but return home from Mafraḳ. But the place only assumed real importance when the Ḥidjāz railway [*q.v.*] was built and a station opened there. After the Italian occupation of Libya, Libyan refugees, described as Maghāriba, settled there, and the city still has a quarter bearing their name. After 1918, it became an Arab Legion base. Economically, the place received an impetus in 1931 when the Iraq Petroleum Company established itself there, built an aircraft landing-ground and brought in labourers to construct a road to Baghdād and pipe lines and generators. A pipe line brought crude oil from Iraq via Mafraḳ to Haifa and the Mediterranean coast. The population further expanded with the settlement of Bedouin tribesmen, and the discovery of underground water supplies made a growth of industry as well as of population possible. In 1985 the region was promoted administratively from being a *mutasarrifiyya* to being a *muḥāfaẓa* or province. In 1994 the Āl al-Bayt University was established in the town's suburbs, bringing further expansion and development, and in 2003 the town had an estimated population of 67,400.

Bibliography: Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Palestine and Transjordan*, London 1943, 510 and index; Abū Shāʿir Hind, *Irbid wa-djiwāruhā*, ʿAmmān 1995; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ḥisān, *Muḥāfaẓat al-Mafraḳ wa 'l-muḥīṭa*, ʿAmmān 1999.

(M.A. BAKHIT)

MAḤAMMAD B. **AḤMAD** b. ʿAbd Allāh AL-**HUḌĪGĪ** al-Sūsī al-Djazūlī (1118-89/1706-75), Moroccan scholar and ascetic.

After a classic-type education in his native region of the Sūs, he left on the Pilgrimage in 1152/1739, en route following the courses of famous teachers, notably at Cairo; he gives details of these stays in his unpublished *Riḥla ḥidjāziyya*. On his return to Morocco, he spent the remainder of his life in his *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] of Wādī Īsī in the Sūs.

His main work, the *Manāḳib* or *Ṭabaḳāt al-Huḍīgī* (2 vols. Casablanca 1936-9) groups together alphabetically the names of personalities who lived essentially in the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries. These comprise above all the scholars and mystics of the Sūs, but also persons from the rest of Morocco, though only rarely from neighbouring lands. The work contains important notices on persons otherwise unknown, increasing its value for the historian. Al-Huḍīgī also compiled several commentaries on manuals of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, on poetry and on grammar; an important number of responsa; and a larger-scale *madjmūʿa* in which he mentions his masters, in the Maghrib and the Mashriḳ, the licenses to teach which he himself received and which he issued to others, and a few other sparse personal details. Apart from the *Manāḳib* mentioned above, the ensemble of his works, comprising some 20 titles, remains still unpublished. Al-Huḍīgī's intellectual progeny were numerous in the Sūs, but his fame as a Ṣūfī was equally great amongst his compatriots, with his asceticism and scrupulous orthodoxy impressing his contemporaries; numerous miracles and acts of intercession were attributed to him.

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(P. LORY and M. ZEKRI)

AL-**MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH**, AL-**ḤUSAYN**, Yamanī Zaydī Imām.

He was born in 378/988-9 as one of the younger sons of Imām al-Manṣūr bi'llāh [*q.v.*] al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAlī al-ʿIyānī. In Ṣafar 401/September-October 1010 he proclaimed his imāmate at Ḳāʿa in al-Bawn and gained the support of tribes of Ḥimyar, Hamdān and

the Maghārib region. He faced the opposition of the Ḥusaynī ʿAlid Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Zaydī, based in Dhamār, and of the descendants of Yaḥyā al-Hādī, the founder of the Zaydī imamate in Yaman, whose stronghold was in Ṣaʿda. In 402/1011-12 he gained control of Ṣanʿāʾ from Muḥammad al-Zaydī and installed his elder brother Djaʿfar as governor there. In the following year, al-Zaydī re-entered Ṣanʿāʾ and destroyed the houses of some of al-Mahdī's partisans. Al-Mahdī defeated and killed him in al-Ḥakl. He also thwarted the efforts of Muḥammad al-Zaydī's son Zayd, who received financial backing from the Ziyādid ruler of Zabīd, to avenge his father's death. Next, al-Mahdī seized Ṣaʿda, where Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Nāṣir, the claimant to the imāmate there, had died, and destroyed some houses of his opponents. Because of his severity in punishing dissent, however, he soon lost most of his tribal support. He suffered a serious defeat by the Hamdānī chief Aḥmad b. Ḳays b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk near Dhībīn and was forced to seek refuge in the Djawf. When he returned with some hundred horsemen to recover al-Bawn, he was killed fighting fiercely by the Hamdān at Dhū ʿArār near Rayda on 4 Ṣafar 404/15 August 1013.

Al-Mahdī's death was at first denied by his brother Djaʿfar, who thus became the founder of the Ḥusayniyya sect which expected his return as the Mahdī. The activity of the sect reached its peak during the successful resistance of Djaʿfar's sons al-Sharīf al-Fāḍil al-Ḳāsim (d. 468/1075) and Dhu 'l-Sharafayn Muḥammad (d. 478/1085) in Shahāra against the Ṣulayḥid rule. It survived until the 9th/15th century.

Al-Mahdī had himself claimed to be the Mahdī whose advent was predicted by the Prophet. In the quarrels with his opponents, who impugned his scholarship, he is said to have made extravagant claims of being more learned than all former Imāms and more excellent even than Muḥammad. He denounced his critics with coarse abuse and curses. After repudiating one of his wives, he prevented a suitor from marrying her, relying on the Ḳurʾānic prohibition (xxxiii, 53) for anyone to marry a wife of the Prophet after him. Because of such conduct, his imāmate was widely denied by Zaydīs, apart from the Ḥusayniyya, during the two centuries following his death, and aspersions were cast on his sanity. Later, he was, however, generally recognised as an Imām on a par with others, and the accusations made against him by his opponents were considered as unfounded polemics. The Sayyid Ḥumaydān b. al-Ḳāsim (7th/13th century) composed a treatise defending his record.

Al-Mahdī is said to have left as many as 73 works, including a Ḳurʾān commentary. Only a few succinct treatises and pamphlets are extant, and it has been suggested that his writings may have been purged by his supporters. In religious law and theology he explicitly backed the authority of the Imāms al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm and Yaḥyā al-Hādī. He did not recognise the Caspian Zaydī Imāms and ignored their teaching.

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MĀHIR, ʿALĪ, Egyptian jurist and politician. Born on 9 November 1881 in Cairo, the son of Muḥammad Māhir Pasha, he was educated at the Khedivial Secondary School and the School of Law. ʿAlī Māhir held several posts in the Egyptian court system in the years before and during World War I, and briefly served as Dean of the School of Law (1923-4).

He began his active political career during the Revolution of 1919 as one of the organisers of civil servant petitions and protest. Made a member of the Wafd [*q.v.*] in November 1919, Māhir broke with the movement in March 1922, gravitating thereafter into the orbit of the Egyptian Palace. In 1922-3 he served on the commission which drafted the Egyptian Constitution of 1923. He sat briefly in the Chamber of Deputies (1925-6) and was a member of the Senate from 1930 to 1952. He held several ministerial posts in non-Wafdist governments in the 1920s and early 1930s.

Māhir's influence in Egyptian politics was greatest in the later 1930s, when as Royal Chamberlain he helped articulate the strategy of consolidating royal autocracy around the person of the young King Fārūḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Māhir twice served as Prime Minister at the close of the interwar era (January-May 1936 and August 1939-June 1940). He was forced out of office by the British in June 1940 because of presumed pro-Axis sentiments and was under house arrest from April 1942 until October 1944. He again headed a pro-Palace government in January-March 1952, after the king's dismissal of a Wafdist ministry. Partially because of his non-party status, Māhir was selected to serve as Prime Minister immediately after the military coup of July 1952. He was dismissed in September 1952 because of his opposition to agrarian reform, and died in Geneva on 24 August 1960.

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(J. JANKOWSKI)

MAḤKAMA.

4. xi. Algeria

When the French began their occupation of Algeria in 1830 there existed multiple legal traditions. The predominant Islamic tradition was the Mālikī one which had taken root in North Africa a thousand years earlier.

In the 10th/16th century, Algeria's Ottoman rulers had introduced the Ḥanafī tradition, which prevailed in the heartland of the empire. The Turkish military élite, and their offspring from marriages with local women, the *Kulughlīs* [see KUL-OGHLU], tended to follow the Ḥanafī tradition. Appeals, and particularly difficult cases, might be referred to a *madjlis* or council of legal scholars.

In areas beyond firm Ottoman control, local traditions persisted. In the Mzāb [*q.v.*] oasis, some 500 km/250 miles south of Algiers, the Ibāḍī legal tradition [see IBĀḌIYYA] was applied. Immigrant Mzābī merchants in cities along the coast applied this tradition in their own internal matters. In the densely populated, Tamazight-speaking Kabylia mountains, just to the south-east of Algiers, local customary law was applied.

Under French colonial rule, the mix of different

legal traditions was maintained, but Islamic and customary jurisdictions were gradually subordinated to the French courts. Areas of critical concern to the French, penal and commercial law, were annexed outright to the jurisdiction of French courts. Starting in the 1850s, the French sought to introduce their own principles of uniformity and hierarchy to the Muslim court system. In 1854, they instituted a standard, four-member *madjlis* as the court of appeal for all Islamic legal matters. The measure aroused opposition from settlers, and in some regions ran counter to traditions of negotiation over the size and composition of the *madjlis*. The *madjlis* was dismantled temporarily in 1859, revived in 1866, and permanently abolished in 1873, leaving French courts as the sole appeal jurisdiction.

In the 1850s and 1860s, the French promoted the reform of Islamic law by establishing a council of Muslim jurists to support change in areas of family law that either ran against humanitarian standards (the marriage of girls before they were capable of bearing children), or that seemed to run counter to scientific reason (the "sleeping baby" doctrine which held that a woman, abandoned for up to five years by her husband, might still produce his legitimate offspring). But as an autonomous institution at the national level, the council aroused the ire of French jurists and settlers and was soon dismantled. The French introduced an examination system for the selection of judicial personnel, and eventually required that all those entering the judiciary be graduates of one of three government-run provincial *madrasas*.

The most prominent urban Muslim spokesmen of this period were associated with the judicial system. These include al-Makkī Ibn Bādīs, long-time *ḳāḍī* of Constantine, and a forceful defender of the autonomy of the Muslim courts in the 1860s, and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Madjdjāwī, who made his career as a teacher in the law schools of Constantine and Algiers. Al-Madjdjāwī was one of the first exponents of Islamic modernism in Algeria.

Though penal matters were early on entrusted to the French courts, colonial authorities concluded that they were not adequate to the task of maintaining order and that a more expeditious and severe form of justice was required. Thus was born in the 1870s the Code de l'Indigénat, a penal code administered by local French authorities. It focused on punishing the least hint of rebellious attitude on the part of Algerian Muslim subjects and on suppressing any action that might be construed as a threat to French economic interests. It was this aspect of French judicial policy, not only oppressive but also humiliating, that drew the most fire from the emerging nationalist movement starting in the 1920s.

In the early 20th century, Algeria-based French jurists with knowledge of Islamic law sought to produce a code of Islamic family law, known after its principal author as the Code Morand. Though the proposed code was published, it was never given official status. This was the result of opposition from powerful rural Muslim leaders, on whom the French leaned more and more for political support in the 1920s.

While the Muslim courts and law schools produced some outstanding figures in the period from the 1850s to 1914, they fell into eclipse after that time. With their jurisdiction restricted, the Muslim courts offered little prospect of reward for ambitious young men. Thus Malek Bennabi entered the court system in the mid-1920s but soon became disaffected. By 1930 he was studying at a technical school in Paris, launching what would be a career as one of Algeria's most original and prolific Islamic thinkers.

The turmoil of war in 1940-43 weakened French domination of Algeria. Two courses of action were possible for the French. One was to address Muslim grievances, including eliminating the Code de l'Indigénat. The other was severe repression, including the use of arbitrary detention, torture and execution. The period from 1943 to 1954 was one of competition between these tendencies. After the outbreak of revolution in November 1954, the repressive impulse quickly got the upper hand. It was this flouting of civilised legal standards, dramatically revealed by such incidents as the 1961 trial of Djamila Boupacha, that decisively eroded the French public's will to hold onto Algeria. But this severe repression also contributed to the development of a culture of extra-legal violence in Algeria that would dramatically resurface in the 1990s.

With independence in 1962, the new Algerian government's immediate concern was to restructure the court system so that it reflected the values of national unity and socialism. Toward this end, all Islamic and customary jurisdictions were absorbed into a unified national court system easily accessible to all citizens.

The next task was codification of law, beginning with the Penal Code, issued in 1966. An Economic Offences Ordinance, eventually incorporated into the code, upheld the socialist ideal of workers' participation and provided severe penalties to managers of state-run enterprises who let their own interests come before selfless dedication to the state. It also provided for the monopoly of the state in control of foreign trade and arranging contracts for the services of foreign enterprises. The notion that private individuals might serve as intermediaries was anathema in the socialist doctrines that guided these policies.

Even in areas where Islamic law might have appeared to have a clear-cut application, it was subordinated to the practical economic interests of the state, especially when they coincided with popular habit. Thus gambling on the state-run football pool was declared legal, while betting privately on horse races in France was not. Algerians were allowed to consume beer and wine produced by state-run enterprises. By the mid-1970s, the sale of alcohol was re-restricted by local authorities in those areas where there was strong public opposition.

Algeria had been independent for nearly a decade when the government finally began to deal with legal issues that were mainly cultural in character. As part of a larger campaign of Arabisation [see TAʿRĪB] launched by the Boumédienne régime in 1971, it was declared that court proceedings should be conducted in Arabic which, in practice, meant Algerian colloquial Arabic. By this time, the first law students whose training had been in Arabic graduated from the law school in Algiers. But as in many areas of the Algerian system, those with fluency in French, who tended to come from more affluent urban families, continued to have better opportunities. The question of opportunities in the court system for those proficient only in Arabic remained a smouldering issue that erupted in protests on Algerian campuses in 1976 in Constantine, and in 1980 in Algiers. The latter protests helped to launch an organised Islamist movement in Algeria, and resulted in President Chadeli's seeking to accommodate Arabic student grievances by intensifying the Arabisation of the judicial system.

This point also marks a change in orientation toward the task of codifying family law. Throughout the mid-1970s, the ideology of Algeria had been one of Islamic

socialism, in which the interests of the state were paramount. Islam was given a place of honour, but this was still one subordinate to the state. This ideology was embedded in the National Charter, endorsed in a referendum in 1976. On family matters and the rights of women, the Charter pointed in a progressive direction, endorsing the principle of gender equality.

By the time intensive discussions of a family law code got under way in the early 1980s, the socialist emphasis of the charter was under attack from the emerging Islamist movement. But the debates were also shaped by economic questions, such as the acute shortage of urban housing—which made it costly to ensure the rights of a divorced wife—and the rapid growth in population. The Family Law Code finally passed in 1984 was a mix of conservative interpretations of Islamic law and the priorities of an embattled bureaucratic state facing the challenge of rapid population growth and high unemployment. Women were not protected against being married without their own freely-given consent, nor against being left economically helpless following divorce, nor against their husband deciding unilaterally to bring another wife into the household. Yet at the same time, in an effort to stem rapid population growth, the Code raised the minimum age of marriage to eighteen for women and twenty-one for men.

The late 1980s, rather like the 1940s, saw a relaxation of controls on political expression and the media. An important development in the legal realm was the founding of the Ligue Algérienne des Droits de l'Homme, founded in 1985 and given legal recognition in 1987. With the suppression of the Islamist opposition starting in 1992, many controls were restored and there was a resurgence of extra-legal violence on the part of both Islamic rebels and government forces. In dealing with the challenge of establishing clearly who was responsible for given violent incidents, the courts have often proved ineffective. Yet the glimmer of hope that they may occasionally rise to this challenge has sustained a small, dedicated group of Algerian human rights lawyers.

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(A. Christelow)

4. xii. Tunisia

In the mid-19th century, Tunisia had a pluralist legal system. Although the respective spheres of competence and the various interrelations of the system's components were far from being clearly and strictly defined, the broad lines of its structures can be delineated as follows. There was a religious legal sphere covering matters of personal status and, in most cases, civil law, sc. a *sharʿī* jurisdiction for the Muslims (that of *ḳāḍīs*, Mālikī or Ḥanafī according to the defendant's rite, sitting as sole judges, plus *madjālis*, plural jurisdictions made up of *ḳāḍīs* and *muftīs*) and a rabbinical jurisdiction for the Jews. Alongside these was a jurisdiction of the central administration and its local agents, the *ḳāʾid*s [*q.v.*], who heard matters involving penal law and, in part, civil law. At the head of this structure was the Bey, the supreme authority according to the double principle of a delegated justice and one held in reserve. Disputes involving the representatives and subjects of foreign powers were the province of the consular courts [see imtiyāzāt].

In 1857 the Fundamental Pact (*ʿahd al-amān*), which proclaimed the equality of all subjects before the law, began a slow process of legal reform. Hence in 1861 there were promulgated at the same time a Constitution and a code of criminal and customary law (*ḳānūn al-djināyāt wa 'l-aḥkām al-ʿurfiyya*). The Constitution set up a hierarchic schema of new tribunals which were to be created within the entirety of the Regency. A tribunal for commercial cases organised under a code of commercial law had to be set up. However, although this last was actually promulgated on 1 April 1864, it could not be put into effect because of the outbreak of the rebellion in that year, which brought in its train the abrogation of the Constitution and the code of criminal and customary law. The idea of legal reform and codification was taken up again in the 1870s under the reformist Prime Minister Khayr al-Dīn (1822-90 [*q.v.*]), but without his efforts being fully accomplished.

In short, the modifications in the legal system attempted before the installation of the Protectorate were either of short duration or only touching upon the formal aspects of the existing legal jurisdictions. There was on one hand a reorganisation of the *sharʿī* jurisdiction at Tunis in 1856 and then in the interior of the Regency in 1876. Also, there were measures undertaken, notably between 1870 and 1873, to define more clearly the jurisdictions reserved to the central administration and its local representatives.

The installation of the French Protectorate in 1881 was to bring profound changes in the Tunisian legal system. By the Convention of La Marsa (1883), the Tunisian state undertook to "proceed to administrative, judicial and financial reforms as judged useful by the French government". In practice, French control over the beylical state was to be assured by the bias of the Resident-General as well as by the presence of French officials at all levels of the administration.

In the first place, following the doctrine of "double sovereignty", the protecting power undertook to install for its own nationals a French legal structure (law of 18 April 1883), comprising justices of the peace and courts of first instance; not till 1941 was an appeal court created. Furthermore, the French legal system thus installed was to replace, until 1884, the various consular jurisdictions of the European Powers. With the land law of 1885 there was set up a mixed court for land questions, an original jurisdiction (inspired by the Australian model) aimed at promoting the registration of land and buildings. This court, made up of a French president, with one-half French judges and the other half Tunisian judges, was at the same time to reduce the sphere of the *sharʿī* courts to embrace merely cases involving non-registered landed property.

Regarding the reform of justice dependent on the authority of the Tunisian state, apart from the regulation of the jurisdiction dependent on the central administration (the so-called *Ouzara* = *Wuzarāʾ*), whose competence was extended beyond the criminal law to all civil and commercial cases between Tunisians (except for personal status and matters connected with it), this was not really tackled till 1896, when an office

for judicial affairs (*idārat al-umūr al-ʿadliyya*) was set up. At the same time regional courts of common law were created with an organisation modelled on that of the French courts of first instance. If the magistrates were Tunisians, they had nevertheless to be "assisted" from 1906 by "government commissioners" (French officials knowing Arabic). In 1921 a Commission of Pleas playing the role of an appeal court, as well as a Supreme Appeal Court and a criminal division with jurisdiction over the whole land, were installed at the side of the court of *Ouzara* in Tunis. Also in 1921 a real Ministry of Justice was created and the principle of delegated justice came formally to replace that of justice held by the Bey. Only the right of pardon was henceforth reserved to him. The year 1938 was marked by the multiplying of courts in the various counties of the land, with a wide sphere of competence largely replacing that of the *ḳāʾids*. From 1896, a commission was set up to prepare codifications based at one and the same time on French and on Muslim law and which were intended to become the laws applicable by the courts of common law. Codes of obligations and contracts (1906), of civil procedure (1910), of criminal law (1913), as well as for criminal procedure (1921) were successively promulgated. In certain spheres of economic life, French laws became directly applicable.

It was only much later that the *s̲h̲arʿī* courts were remodelled. However, because of the reforms already in operation, their spheres of competence became reduced to cases of personal status and inheritance and also to those concerning family or private habous or *ḥubus* [see WAḲF. II. 3] and landed property which had not been registered. It was not till 1948 that a code of "procédure charaïque" governing the organisation and exact competence of these courts was set up. They then consisted of two *ḳāḍīs* and of two courts (*mad̲j̲ālis*) (for each of the two law schools, Ḥanafī and Mālikī) sitting in Tunis, with similar jurisdictions (with one or more judges) in the interior of the country where, however, the Ḥanafī law school was not represented. The demands by certain reformist circles seeking a more radical reform of the *maḥākim s̲h̲arʿiyya*, as well as of the education system of the Zaytūna [*q.v.*], which trained future personnel for the legal system, were hardly taken into account by the Protectorate authorities.

A few months after the proclamation of independence in March 1956, the new Tunisian state issued a series of decrees aimed at reorganising and unifying the legal system. The jurisdiction of the *s̲h̲arʿī* courts was transferred to the courts of common law and their members integrated within the framework of the state magistrature. In May 1956, the French commissioners attached to the Tunisian courts were relieved of their functions, and in March 1957 the Franco-Tunisian Legal Convention ended the French courts. In September 1957 it was the turn of the Rabbinical court to be suppressed.

After the installation of the republican régime in July 1957, Tunisia in 1959 acquired a Constitution which, in section IV devoted to legal powers, proclaimed notably the independence of judges and laid down that they should be appointed by presidential decree on the proposal of the Higher Council for Judges. The formal functioning of this unified and centralised legal system was embodied in Law no. 67-29 of 14 July 1967 concerning judicial organisation, the Higher Council for Judges and the position of the judiciary. This law fixed the Tunisian judicial hierarchy as follows: county courts, courts of first instance, a court for land questions, appeal courts and a supreme appeal court based at Tunis. Furthermore, alongside a High Court for cases of high treason, the 1959 Constitution equally made provision for an administrative court; this was effectively set up in 1974 and considerably reorganised in 1996.

In regard to the law applied by its courts, the Tunisian state undertook, from the time of independence onwards, to set up a new structure of national codifications. From among the legal texts dating from the colonial period, only the codes for obligations and contracts and the criminal code remained essentially in force. It is appropriate to mention that although the first article of the 1959 Tunisian Constitution made Islam the state religion, Islamic law does not appear amongst the formal sources of Tunisian law. Regarding the code of personal status, largely drawn from Islamic law, the legislating power showed a remarkable will for innovation, notably in abolishing polygamy, introducing judicial divorce and authorising adoption. However, an analysis of judicial practice in Tunisia has been able to show that there is a tendency amongst judges to refer, in certain cases, to non-codified Islamic law.

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(BETTINA DENNERLEIN and L. ROGLER)

5. The Indo-Pakistan subcontinent

After a century and a half of trade, the last few decades of which were characterised by increasing involvement in political intrigue and military adventurism—inspired initially by rivalry with European competitors (most particularly the French, with whom England was twice at war in the mid-18th century)—the East India Company emerged as a major political and military power in the subcontinent in the context of the disintegration of the Mug̲h̲al empire into a collection of feuding regional powers. After the battle of Buxar (1764), which pitted the Company troops against the remnants of the Mug̲h̲al army, the Company was in a position to conclude a treaty (*farmān* [*q.v.*]) with the titular head of the Mug̲h̲al empire, S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam II [*q.v.*], who in 1765 ceded to the Company in perpetuity the *dīwānī* (civil and revenue administration) of three eastern provinces—Bengal, Bihar and Orissa—in exchange for an annual tribute of £260,000 (payment of which only continued until 1773). The Company thus became ruler of lands and peoples, ostensibly in the name of the emperor.

The modern period of judicial administration in South Asia commenced with the establishment by

Warren Hastings (Governor of Bengal, 1772-3; Governor-General of India, 1773-85) of courts serving the indigenous population of these three provinces; and the virtually simultaneous establishment by the Crown of a Supreme Court in Calcutta. Hastings' courts in the *mofussil* (the territory outside the seat of the Presidency, Ar. *mufaṣṣal* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] "separated") were creations of the East India Company. Hastings' plan—frequently revised during his own term, further modified by Lord Cornwallis (Governor-General, 1786-93), and cast by the latter in the Code of 1793—set the pattern for judicial administration in the territories subsequently acquired. Hastings proceeded to establish a *Dīwānī ʿAdālat* (civil court) and a *Fawdjdārī ʿAdālat* (criminal court) in each revenue district or Collectorship (the number of these courts was subsequently increased and their geographical jurisdiction decreased; courts subordinate to the *Dīwānī ʿAdālat* were also subsequently established). The Collector himself initially presided over the civil court; later judges were appointed from among the Company's covenanted civil servants. Indian Law Officers (Hindu *pundits* and Muslim *mawlwīs*) were appointed to each *Dīwānī ʿAdālat* to expound the Hindu or Muslim law applicable to the case. The District Ḳāḍī and *Muftī* presided over the *Fawdjdārī ʿAdālat*, in which Muslim criminal law continued to be administered. Appeals from the *Dīwānī ʿAdālats* lay to the *Ṣadr Dīwānī ʿAdālat* (chief civil court, initially comprised of the Governor-General and members of his Council), and, after 1781, to the King in Council. Appeals from the *Fauwdjdārī ʿAdālat* lay to the *Ṣadr Niẓāmat ʿAdālat*, initially headed by an appointee of the Niẓām.

The early bifurcation between civil and criminal jurisdiction derived from the terms of the 1765 grant, under which criminal jurisdiction remained with the representative of the Mughal emperor. In 1790 criminal justice was (unilaterally) brought under the direct control of the Company; the *Fawdjdārī ʿAdālats* were abolished and replaced by criminal courts, headed by covenanted servants of the Company, assisted by *ḳāḍīs* and *muftīs*. Although some of the rules of Muslim criminal law and evidence were gradually modified by government regulations, it was not until the Penal Code of 1860, the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1861, and the Evidence Act, 1872, that Muslim law in these respects was completely superseded. After 1790 the *Ṣadr Niẓāmat ʿAdālat* was comprised of the Governor-General and members of his Council, assisted by the Chief *Ḳāḍī* and two *muftīs*. In 1801 the Governor-General and his Council members were relieved of judicial responsibilities in both *Ṣadr ʿAdālats*: the two appellate courts were united in a single *Ṣadr ʿAdālat* with civil and criminal sides, presided over by judges appointed from the ranks of the Company's covenanted servants.

In the Company settlements themselves, there had been courts established by royal charter since the Mayors' Courts of 1727. (Prior to this, what justice there was in the Company towns and factories was a very rough and ready, and often brutal, affair.) The Mayor's Court was a civil court of record, with compulsory jurisdiction only over Europeans to whom they applied English law; final appeal lay to the King in Council. (Although not compulsorily subject to the court, indigenous inhabitants might agree to such disposal of the dispute, in which case it would be adjudicated according to English law.) The Mayor's Court in Calcutta (the English town that had grown up around the Company's factory) was replaced by a Supreme Court, established by Royal Charter (1774) and Act of Parliament (1773, as amended in 1781 and 1784). The Supreme Court (after its jurisdiction had been more carefully defined by the latter acts) possessed civil jurisdiction over all British-born subjects and their descendants resident in the Bengal Presidency, and all persons residing in Calcutta, including its Indian inhabitants.

In Madras and Bombay, the Mayors' Courts were superseded in 1798 by Recorders' Courts, which possessed powers similar to those of the Supreme Court in Calcutta (and were subject to similar restrictions). The Recorder's Conrts were upgraded to Supreme Courts in 1802 (Madras) and 1824 (Bombay). As these two Presidencies acquired *mofussil* territories—Bombay following the third Marāthā War (1818) [see MARĀṬHĀS]; Madras with the annexation of approximately half of Mysore after the defeat of Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.v.*] in 1799, followed by the annexation of the Carnatic—the establishment of *mofussil* courts in these territories followed the pattern of Hastings' plan as refined and codified by Cornwallis in 1793.

Bombay was in many ways unique. The island was ceded to the Crown by the Portuguese in 1661 and leased to the Company in 1668 on payment of £10 a year; the rights of the Company over Bombay thus derived from the British Crown, not from the Mughal sovereign, or regional potentate, or military conquest. Further, the island of Bombay had, previous to being handed over to the English, been under Portuguese rule for over a century, and the territory conquered in 1818, was taken over not from Muslim but from Hindu rule; consequently, Muslim law did not enjoy in Bombay the pre-eminence that it did in Bengal and Madras. The Bombay *ʿAdālat* system underwent several changes and refinements until 1827, when all previous Regulations were repealed and replaced with a series of Regulations which came to be termed the Elphinstone Code. One of the interesting things contained in Elphinstone's Regulations was a Criminal Code for the Presidency, which was only superseded by the Indian Penal Code of 1860.

The dual system of courts—Royal Courts, whose judges were appointed by the Crown, in the Presidency headquarters (Calcutta, Bombay and Madras); and Company Courts, created by the East India Company and staffed by its officers, in the *mofussil*—persisted until, in the aftermath of the 1857-8 uprising, the Crown assumed all rights that the East India Company had acquired and exercised on Indian soil. One consequence was the integration of the Company and Crown courts and rationalisation of the judicial structure. In each presidency, the *Ṣadr* (appellate) Company Court was amalgamated with the Supreme Court to constitute a High Court.

Significantly, under the British—Company and Crown—there were not in South Asia separate religious courts for the religiously-derived personal laws; personal law of both Muslims and Hindus was administered as an integral part of their civil jurisdiction by both the *mofussil* civil courts and the Supreme Courts and, subsequently, the High Courts. Whether the litigation came before the Supreme Courts or the Company *mofussil* courts, the indigenous peoples of South Asia were guaranteed the application of their own system of personal law in a wide variety of civil matters. The phraseology of Hastings' formulation of 1772 and the Regulation of 1780 preserved to Muslims in the *mofussil* "the laws of the Koran" when the litigation concerned "inheritance, marriage, caste, and other religious usages and institutions". (The wording used in the Act defining the jurisdiction of the

Supreme Court was different but of similar import.) A Regulation of 1781 added "succession" to the topics concerning which the *mofussil* courts were to apply the personal law. The Regulation further provided that in the absence of statutory law, and in situations not covered by the earlier Regulation, the *mofussil* courts were to have recourse to "justice, equity and good conscience", with the result that the personal (Hindu or Muslim) law was often applied in matters other than those specifically enumerated. In essence, "justice, equity and good conscience" was used in numerous situations to render applicable the relevant personal law as the "proper law" of the contract or transaction; reference was to the law which the parties could be presumed to have expected would apply to the transaction. On the other hand, statutes took precedence over, and could and did oust, Muslim law. By the end of the 19th century, applicability of Muslim law was confined essentially to family law, inheritance and certain transfers of property. Even in these areas, the secular law made inroads; e.g. a Muslim father could be compelled by the magistrate to maintain his illegitimate child (a provision repealed in Pakistan in 1981); the apostate from Islam [see MURTADD] was not deprived of his share as an heir intestate (a provision repealed in West Pakistan in 1963).

Because the company officials appointed to judicial duties in the *mofussil* courts (and the barrister-judges of the Supreme Court) were not, at least initially, knowledgeable in the indigenous legal lore, Muslim Law Officers (*mawlwīs*) and Hindu Law Officers (*pundits*) were appointed to every civil court, original and appellate. These officers functioned, not as judges, but as resource personnel, to whom specific questions of law might be referred by the judge during the course of the proceedings before him. In order to displace the monopoly of specialised knowledge possessed by the Law Officers, work was undertaken to make authoritative source material directly available to lawyers and judges in English. The first Muslim text thus treated was the *Hidāya*, a 12th-century text by Burhān al-Dīn al-Marg͟hīnānī [*q.v.*], translated by Charles Hamilton in 1791. This was followed in 1792 by William Jones' translation of the *Sirād͟jiyya*, together with an abstract of the *S͟harīfiyya*; and by Neil Baillie's volumes on *Moohummadan law of inheritance* (1832) and *Moohummadan law of sale* (1850), the former an abridgement of the *Sirād͟jiyya* and *S͟harīfiyya*, and the latter based on relevant chapters of the *Fatāwā-i-ʿĀlamgīrī* [see AL-FATĀWĀ AL-ʿĀLAMGĪRIYYA]. In 1865 appeared Neil Baillie's translation and abridgement of those portions of the *Fatāwā-i-ʿĀlamgīrī* likely to be relevant to litigation in India. This was followed in 1874 by Baillie's translation of the major It͟hnā As͟hʿarī S͟hīʿī text, the *S͟harāʾiʿ al-Islām*. A collection of the questions submitted to Muslim Law Officers by judges of the Company Courts, together with their responses, was published by William Macnaghten in 1825 as the second part of his *Principles and precedents of Moohummudan law*. And toward the end of the century, Mahomed Yusoof, in his Tagore Law Lectures, 1891-2, translated the portions of the *Fatāwā-i-Ḳāḍī K͟hān* [see ḲĀḌĪ K͟HĀN] dealing with marriage and divorce. It was not until 1914 that E.C. Howard's English translation of the S͟hāfiʿī text *Minhaj et-talibin*, prepared for administrators and judges in Southeast Asia, became available. Textbooks and compilations by Indian scholars and scholars of Indian law also appeared. Ameer Ali's two volume work was first published in 1880 and 1884; Roland Knyvet Wilson's *Introduction* and *Digest* in 1894 and 1895, respectively. The first edition of Dinshah Fardunji Mulla's *Principles of Muhammadan law* was dated 1906; the first edition of Tyabji's learned tome, 1913. Meanwhile, systematic reporting of legal decisions of the High Courts, Judicial Commissioners' Courts and Chief Courts began in 1876 (under a statute of the previous year). The availability of published decisions enhanced the role of judicial precedent: a decision on a point of law by the Privy Council was binding on all British Indian Courts; and a decision of the High Court was binding on the subordinate Presidency Courts.

As part of the judicial reorganisation in the 1860s, the posts of Hindu and Muslim Law Officers were abolished; judges themselves, assisted by the lawyers appearing before them, were deemed capable of dealing with questions of Muslim and Hindu law, which continued to be dealt with as integral components of the civil jurisdiction. By the turn of the 20th century, virtually every superior provincial court of a province with a significant Muslim population had a Muslim among its sitting judges; the first two such High Court appointments were those of Justice Mahmood (son of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan [see AḤMAD K͟HĀN]) to the Allahabad High Court in 1887, and Ameer Ali [see AMĪR ʿALĪ], appointed to the Calcutta High Court in 1890. From 1909 a series of distinguished Indian jurists sat on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (the ultimate court of appeal prior to independence and the establishment of national Supreme Courts); Ameer Ali, the first (and the only Muslim) Indian Privy Councillor, served from 1909 until his death in 1928.

Extremely significant is the fact that to this date Muslim law remains virtually entirely uncodified; this contrasts not only with the massive codification of Hindu law undertaken by India in the first decade of Independence, but also with the general trend in the Muslim world. (Major exceptions are the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939; the Pakistan Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961; and the Indian Muslim Women [Protection of Rights on Divorce] Act, 1986.) Being uncodified, Muslim law is amenable to interpretation and/or reinterpretation by the court. This occurred during the British period, as in decisions holding that the post-pubescent S͟hāfiʿī girl could not be contracted in marriage without her permission; and that the pre-pubescent Ḥanafī girl contracted in marriage as a minor by a guardian other than father or paternal grandfather could extra-judicially renounce the marriage on attainment of puberty. (Incidentally, it was Ameer Ali who had proposed, in his *Mahomedan law*, the interpretation of S͟hāfiʿī and Mālikī law that was adopted by the courts in the former instance; and it was the same individual, in his capacity of judge of the Calcutta High Court, who delivered the decision establishing the point in the latter instance.) In the first decades of Independence, the new State of Pakistan appeared committed to a policy of *id͟jtihād*, as exemplified by the dramatic decisions, endorsed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, holding that, within the Ḥanafī *mad͟hhab*, wives are legally entitled to recover arrears of maintenance (1972); and that a Muslim woman is entitled to a judicial dissolution of her marriage (in spite of her husband's objection) merely on the ground that she finds the situation intolerable, provided that she is willing to return or forego her *mahr* [*q.v.*] and other "benefits" she may have received from her husband (1967).

Although the documents of the late 18th century reflect an assumption that "the laws of the Koran" constitute a single entity to which all Muslims owe

allegiance, Muslim law is not a unified entity even at the textual level. The overwhelming proportion of South Asian Muslims are Ḥanafī Sunnīs, but on the southwestern coast of the subcontinent another Sunnī school, the Sh̲āfiʿī, is locally significant. More important in British India was Sh̲īʿism (brought to the subcontinent by the Persians), which had a considerable following, particularly in Oudh (annexed by the British in 1856 [see AWADH]). In spite of fact that since the mid-18th century the Nawāb Wazīr of Oudh had been a Sh̲īʿī, Sunnī law, as the law of the Mug̲h̲al empire, applied in the territory until 1847, when (three decades after the Oudh dynasty had assumed the title of "King," and nine years prior to the annexation of Oudh by the British) a Sh̲īʿī *muftī* was appointed, and (Ith̲nā ʿAsh̲arī) Sh̲īʿī law began to be applied to Sh̲īʿīs within the kingdom. Ironically, Sh̲īʿī law was recognised by the Privy Council as the law applicable to Sh̲īʿīs in British India six years before it was recognised by the indigenous government of the Oudh Kingdom; and by the Bengal *Ṣadr ʿAdālat* more than three decades before the matter reached the Privy Council. However, given the numerical prominence of the Ḥanafīs, the assumption of the South Asian courts is that a person, if a Muslim, is a Ḥanafī Sunnī; consequently, the term "Muslim law" or "Islamic law" as used in judicial decisions is usually synonymous with "Ḥanafī Sunnī law". The burden is on the person claiming to be a follower of a another Muslim school or sect to plead and establish this fact. Similarly, once it is established that a party is a Sh̲īʿī, the assumption is that he is a member of the major sect, Ith̲nā ʿAsh̲arī. Information on the law of the minority Sh̲īʿī sect, the Ismāʿīlīs, is much less readily available, although a significant difference that was of some importance during the British period (and overlooked by the Privy Council in an 1890 case) is that the Ismāʿīlīs do not discriminate against the childless widow in matters of inheritance in the same way that Ith̲nā ʿAsh̲arīs do. It was not until 1969 that Professor A.A.A. Fyzee published his *Compendium of Fatimid law*. The terms "Sh̲īʿī" and "Sh̲īʿī law" as used in South Asian judicial decisions are synonymous with "Ith̲nā ʿAsh̲arī" and "Ith̲nā ʿAsh̲arī law".

Textual Muslim law, of course, does not recognise customs in derogation of the law; but rural agrarian communities, particularly in North India, did. Customary law, applicable to Muslim (and Hindu) agrarian families in vast regions of the north-west (particularly the Punjab, the heartland of customary law and a province which was under Sikh, not Muslim, rule before conquered by the British in 1849) was essentially a retention and continuation of their pre-existing practices in "secular" matters, particularly succession and dealings with property, by converts to Islam (and their descendants); even those Muslim tribes—e.g. Pathans—who claimed to be descended from Muslim invaders had long ago fallen into line with the local practices. At the same time, these local practices were not consistent with Hindu law (and may well have predated tbe formal statement of Mitakshara Hindu law). Most of these people never had observed or been subject to Muslim law (or orthodox Hindu law), knew little if anything about it, were quite happy with the way things had always been managed in regard to succession and property and saw no reason to change—at least until well into the 20th century, when religious revivalists and political leaders trying to define a Muslim constituency and organise a Muslim political movement attempted to convince them to change, and eventually legislation in the new Muslim state forced them to submit to a new legal order.

Also problematic were communities whose ancestors had converted from Hinduism to Islam but retained many of their Hindu practices. Both Hinduism and Islam purport to govern more than an individual's religious devotion; both lay down rules concerning marriage, divorce, and other domestic concerns, as well as more "secular" matters, most importantly dealings with property and inter-generational transmission of property. Individuals and communities who converted to the faith of Islam from Hinduism not infrequently continued Hindu patterns of property holding and transmission: matters which may have struck them as having little to do with religious profession, and matters which the ancient practice managed entirely to their satisfaction. Such a course was undoubtedly facilitated by the fact that Ṣūfīs, who were responsible for much conversion to Islam in South Asia, were not particularly concerned with mundane things like worldly property and its inter-generational transmission. Prominent examples of groups which adopted Islam as a religion but continued their former Hindu practices were two commercial groups from western India, the K̲h̲ōdjas and the Menons; both were judicially held amenable to Hindu law in regard to matters of inheritance in the mid-19th century. Further, an individual family (perhaps connected with or seeking favour from the Mug̲h̲al court) might convert for political reasons, while at the same time continuing their previous practices concerning property dealing and succession. Other individuals or groups, most prominently exemplified by the Hindustani Kayasthas, who performed important roles in the Mug̲h̲al administration, adopted many outward Muslim observances and customs (e.g. of dress, language, literature, and even burial) without converting; they remained Hindus by religion and followed Hindu law (although depreciated by their co-religionists as "half-Mussalmans").

Distinct both from those subject to agrarian custom in North India and from groups or families who converted from Hinduism without changing their practices (particularly concerning inheritance and property dealings) to conform to Muslim law were those aristocratic Muslim landowning families who, although unambiguously subject to Muslim law, observed "family customs" designed to keep the landed estate intact and/or control its devolution (e.g. primogeniture, exclusion of female heirs, appointment of an heir).

As the importance of "custom"—or behaviour and practices inconsistent with the religious affiliation of the parties—become more apparent, it was explicitly recognised in statutes governing the subsequently established courts, and in practice by all the courts. The burden of proving a custom in derogation of the (otherwise applicable) personal law was on the person pleading custom. To be accepted as a rule of law, a custom had to be ancient, certain, reasonable, and neither repugnant to morality or public policy nor contrary to any statutory law. It was usually sufficient to establish that the custom had been regularly and consistently observed in the family, tribe or locality for at least fifty years. Once judicially recognised, custom could not be altered by anything short of legislation.

One of the indirect (and doubtless unintended) effects of British policy in India was that anomalous communities and families became more aware of and conscious of their status and often moved to identify

more closely with one or other orthodox tradition. The pressure to identify with one of the two great communities became more intense with the advent of rudimentary democratic institutions and the prospect of eventual self-government in which numbers would count. Both sides launched missionary activities; in addition to seeking fresh converts, the Muslim *tablīgh* movement [see TABLĪGHĪ DJAMĀʿAT] attempted to complete the conversion process in the case of anomalous communities and to induce groups following practices and customs inconsistent with the true faith to renounce such customs; the Hindu *shuddi* movement (launched by the reformist Arya Samaj) sought to "reclaim" descendants of former converts to Islam to the true faith of their more ancient ancestors.

In 1937, Muslim political leaders managed to secure enactment of the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act, which substituted Muslim law as the rule of decision in preference to custom previously applicable, either by virtue of regulations specifically recognising custom and usage as the governing rule, or by virtue of the "justice, equity, and good conscience" clause. At the same time, the terms of this very statute demonstrate the importance of custom to a particular class of Muslims: the Muslim families of northern India holding large estates and frequently claiming aristocratic descent, whose support was essential to the Muslim League, insisted on being able to retain the control of the inter-generation transmission of family property—a right which "family custom" often guaranteed and Muslim law largely negated. It was at the insistence of this particular class that the Shariat Application Act, 1937, did not compulsorily cover either adoption (i.e. appointment of an heir) or testamentary disposition of property. By a fortuitous circumstance, however, the rural landlords were totally exempt from the terms of the Act as far as their agricultural land was concerned. The Government of India Act, 1935, had come into effect before the Bill which became the Act of 1937 was actually passed. Under the scheme of the Government of India Act, succession to agricultural land was a topic exclusively within the legislative competence of the provinces and the Central Legislature could not deal with it. (The 1937 statute did, of course, cover non-agriculture property and e.g. brought the urban property of the Khōdjas and Menons under the rule of Muslim law, as far as intestate succession was concerned.)

(West) Pakistan acted shortly after independence totally to negate custom as a rule of law applicable to Muslims, affirming in its stead Muslim law (of the appropriate sect). Several Indian states have passed supplementary legislation amending the 1937 Act to cover succession to agricultural land. The scope for the application of rules of custom to Muslims has considerably decreased in South Asia and has been totally ousted in Pakistan.

The new States of the subcontinent inherited, and very largely retained, the judicial structure as developed during the British period (with obvious exceptions; e.g. the ultimate court of appeal is no longer the Privy Council and High Court judges are not appointed by London), as well as procedural law and the major statutes enacted during the previous era. In every province a High Court sits at the apex of a hierarchy of subordinate civil and criminal courts, with ultimate appeal to the national Supreme Court. The most important post-Independence administrative development in regard to disputes to which Muslim law is applicable has been the introduction in each of the three countries of South Asia of special Family Courts with exclusive jurisdiction in regard to certain areas of matrimonial and family litigation. Pakistan took the lead with the (West Pakistan) Family Courts Act, 1964; India followed two decades later, 1984; and Bangladesh in 1985. Simplified and less formal procedures, designed to expedite the litigation, govern proceedings in the Family Courts, particularly in Pakistan and Bangladesh; and the rigorous requirements of the Evidence Act, 1908, have been mitigated in family litigation in India and Bangladesh. Although the Bangladesh statute itself declared all Munṣif's Courts (civil courts subordinate to the District Court) to be Family Courts and all Munṣifs to be Family Court Judges, and Pakistan had within two years appointed judges to function as Family Courts throughout the country, the Indian legislation only mandated Family Courts for urban areas of population one million or more, and implementation has proceeded slowly.

In Pakistan, General Zia-ul-Haq [see ZIYĀʾ AL-ḤAKK], having seized power in July 1977 with the promise of elections within 90 days, justified holding power for eleven years (until his mysterious death in 1988) in the name of "Islamisation". His patronage of the Islamists—to whom he increasingly looked as providing some sort of "constituency" and creating the appearance of at least some popular support for his government, and whom he brought into a political prominence they had not previously enjoyed—received a tremendous international boast with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979) and United States' support of the "*mujahideen*" opposition. Money and arms poured into the region; thousands of *madrasas*, many of them training schools for Islamic warriors, sprang up in Pakistan. The Russians withdrew a decade later; the U.S. lost interest; and Afghanistan descended into civil war, which Pakistan thought it could control to its advantage.

The Zia era left his successors with a heady legacy, including the continuing fall-out of involvement in Afghanistan in the form of weapons, drugs, refugees and Islamic militants. Institutionally, the Zia legacy is represented by the Shariat Courts, created in 1978. These special courts possess jurisdiction to examine the Islamic vires of "any law", and if such law is found contrary to the "Injunctions of Islam, as laid down in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet," to strike it from the statute book. Most recently this jurisdiction has been exercised (23 December 1999) to order that interest in all forms be abolished in Pakistan by June 2001; and (5 January 2000) to strike down many of the reforms achieved four decades previously by the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961. (The Shariat Bench of the Supreme Court, affirming the 1991 decision of the Federal Shariat Court on *ribā*, set 30 June 2001 as the deadline for the conversion to a *ribā*-free system. On 15 June 2001, the same court extended the deadline by twelve months. The decision of the Federal Shariat Court on the various provisions of the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance has been stayed pending an appeal to the Shariat Bench of the Supreme Court, which may not be heard for some time, and which will probably not fully endorse the position of the Federal Shariat Court. For a concise introduction to and assessment of the *ribā* decision, see the booklet *Moving toward an Islamic financial regime in Pakistan* by P. Hassan and A. Azfar, available at www.law.harvard.edu/programs/ilsp/publications.html.). In terms of substantive law, Zia's program of "Islamisation" resulted in the promulgation in 1979 of the four *ḥudūd* ordinances (includ-

ing the draconian *Zinā* Ordinance), introducing into Pakistan law the criminal offences (illicit intercourse, false imputation of unchastity, theft and consumption of alcohol), together with their respective punishments, defined in the *sharīʿa*; imposition (1980) of *zakāt* and *ʿushr* levies; promulgation (1982) of a blasphemy ordinance (defining an offence which carries a mandatory death sentence); repeal (1981) of the provision of the Criminal Procedure Code granting the illegitimate child a right to maintenance from his/her putative father; and the provisions in Pakistan's new Evidence Order (1984) which reintroduced the two-year period of gestation recognised by classical Ḥanafī jurists and devalued the evidence of women.

Other dimensions of the Zia legacy are the enhanced politicisation of Islam and a dramatic increase in sectarian violence, between one sect or community of Islam and another, as well as between Islamists and non-Muslims (including Aḥmadīs, who were constitutionally defined as non-Muslims by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government in 1974). Religion is opportunistically invoked by each of the major parties; implementation of the *Sharīʿa* is held forth as a panacea for the serious problems facing the country, and not merely by the Islamic parties on the fringe of electoral politics. The 15th Constitutional Amendment Bill, as projected by Nawaz Sharif during his second (and abruptly terminated) tenure as Prime Minister (1997-9), would have somehow ushered in an era of communal peace and social justice; ended corruption, maladministration, police excesses, judicial delays and economic problems, and would have created an "Islamic welfare state". Significantly watered down before being passed by the National Assembly (in which the Prime Minister had a comfortable and tame majority), the Bill declared the "Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Holy Prophet" to be the supreme law of Pakistan, above the Constitution itself and beyond the reach of judicial decrees, and it obliged the federal government "to take steps to enforce the Shariah, to establish *salat*, to administer *zakat*, to promote *amr bil maroof* and *nahi anil munkar* (to prescribe what is right and to forbid what is wrong), to eradicate corruption at all levels and to provide substantial socio-economic justice in accordance with the principles of Islam, as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah." An unambiguous commitment to theocracy—but with all the relevant terms left undefined. The urban industrialist, the Prime Minister elected with a "heavy mandate" (because of low voter turnout as disillusioned Pakistan Peoples' Party cadres stayed at home) appropriated a page out of Zia's handbook in an attempt to consolidate power absolutely in his hands, without comprehending that it was a Pandora's box which he proposed to open. The Bill was pending before the Senate (where the Prime Minister had not yet mustered the requisite votes) at the time of the military take-over.

On 12 October 1999—after an eleven-year post-Zia interregnum, which had seen four civilian governments elected, and three of them prematurely (and constitutionally) removed—General Pervez Musharraf removed the fourth in a bloodless coup. The General appears to be following the same path as his predecessor, General Zia-ul-Haq. Banning political activities has created a vacuum which the Islamists (who have consistently failed dismally in electoral contests) are anxious to fill. At the same time, many of the announced intentions of General Musharraf (who initially expressed his admiration for Kemal Ataturk)—de-weaponising society, modernising the curriculum in *madrasas*, amending the blasphemy law, restoring the joint electorate and improving the human rights record—have floundered in the face of opposition from Islamists, and sectarian violence continues unabated.

In India, although the first decade of Independence saw the massive reform and codification of Hindu family law, nothing at all has been done in terms of reforming Muslim law and improving the position of Indian Muslim women. Pakistan's Ordinance of 1961—which, *inter alia*, requires that prior permission should be obtained for a polygamous marriage; renders all *ṭalāḳ* pronouncements (even the triple pronouncement) revocable; and denies legal effectiveness to any *ṭalāḳ* until a period of three months had passed following notification of the *ṭalāḳ* to a local official, who is to use the intervening time to attempt reconciliation—had no echoes in the neighbour to the south. The Congress party, which ruled India without interruption for its first thirty years (including seventeen years under Jawaharlal Nehru and eleven years under his daughter Indira Gandhi), was committed to secularism and democracy but was also pleased to have the Muslim "vote bank" securely on its side. When Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated in 1984, the Congress mantle passed to her son Rajiv Gandhi. It was on his watch (1986) that the (misnamed) Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act was rushed through Parliament, over objections of his own Congress parliamentarians and by virtue of a three-line whip. The Act of 1986 reversed the (1985) *Shah Bano* judgment and deprived destitute divorced Muslim women (simply on the basis of their religious identity) of the minimal succour that section 125 of the (secular) Criminal Procedure Code, 1974, afforded to all such women. A harsh blow was struck against secularism (and against women). The dynastic link was broken with Rajiv's assassination in 1991 and—rudderless, faction-ridden, and tainted with scandal—the Congress party lost much of its appeal. The gathering clouds of Hindu activism, demanding an end to a policy of appeasement of minorities and emphatic affirmation of the Hindu-ness of India, broke over the North India city of Ayodhya when in 1992 the 16th-century Babri mosque was destroyed by a mob of Hindu militants, setting off a wave of Hindu-Muslim violence across the country. The Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), with its "Hinduvta" (Hindu-ness) philosophy and agenda, rose to prominence on the rubble of the Babri mosque and emerged as the largest parliamentary party in the national elections of 1996, 1998, and again in 1999. A centre-left coalition (the United Front) managed to bring down the BJP government after only thirteen days in office in 1996, but itself fell seventeen months later. The BJP is the dominant member of the coalition (National Democratic Alliance) which has governed India since 1998. Although the exigencies of coalition require some dilution of the Hinduvta program, India under the BJP (1998 to the present) has seen a disconcerting amount of rhetoric and violence directed against religious minorities, Muslim and Christian.

In both countries, pseudo-revisionist historiography has subjected the discipline of scholarship to the service of cultural myth-making and political indoctrination.

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7. Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei

These three states share a common history of British colonial control. Colonial legal policy was founded on the principle that English law was the law of general application to all subjects. However, where the "religions, manners and customs" of the subject populations were concerned, an exception might be made consonant with (English notions of) "equity, justice and good conscience". This principle was established in 1781 in India and carried through into the Malayan possessions. The results for Islam was the development of a hybrid "Anglo-Muhammadan" law which had and still has family law and trusts as its area of jurisdiction. It was not until after the Second World War, and approaching independence, that any real effort was made to establish a separate Islamic court system. Prior to this time, the *syariah* (*sharīʿa* [*q.v.*]) or the English law version of *syariah* was a matter for the general courts. The colonial policy legacy remains important both for substantive law and for the structure of the contemporary *maḥkama* in each of the three states.

i. Singapore

The first religious court (Syariah Court) was formally established in 1957 under the Muslims Ordinance of that year. At this time, Singapore was still a Crown Colony and the main motive for the court's foundation was to attempt control over the very high divorce rates among Singaporean Muslims. For this reason, its jurisdiction was restricted to marriage, divorce, nullity of marriage, judicial separation, division of property on divorce, and maintenance. While the basic causes of action in these matters remain as in the *syariah*, the particular form in which they are put in the statute is derived from English law. The *syariah* has been reformulated. Further provisions in the statute reinforce this position. The language of the court could be English, professional advocates might appear, the laws on evidence were English, powers to compel attendance were the same as those applicable in the secular Magistrates Court, precedent was wholly English and the qualifications and appointment of judges was established by the Governor. Appeals lay to an Appeals Board over which the Governor exercised a general power of revision. Most important, the Ordinance did not exclude the overriding jurisdiction of the secular High Court. In a series of cases from the late 1950s, the High Court did not hesitate to overturn or amend Syariah Court decisions. There were severe criticisms of Syariah

Court procedure, lack of record keeping and misunderstanding of the rules of evidence. While justified, such criticisms could also be seen as somewhat unfair given that the *ḳāḍīs* were not formally trained in English law.

The Ordinance was replaced in 1966 by the Administration of Muslim Law Act which repeats and elaborates the 1957 Ordinance. The same subjects on family law are included and the 1966 Act, with later amendments, remains the law for Muslims in Singapore today. However, Singapore also has the "Women's Charter" of 1961. This is an Act intended to set out the law for marriage, divorce, guardianship and maintenance. It is essentially a copy of English matrimonial laws of the late 1950s, and thus does not sit all that well with the version of *syariah* which the Syariah Court in Singapore is supposed to administer. By copying an English statute, the government of Singapore had also imported all other English legislation on family laws, for example, the laws on maintenance, guardianship, matrimonial property and so on. The Syariah Court has been placed in an impossible position. On the one hand, it is constrained by statute, and on the other it is obliged to apply "Islamic" law. It is the definition of "Islamic" law which is the difficulty. It now means four things. (a) The Anglo-Muhammadan laws derived from British Indian precedent and elaborated in the colonial period. Textbooks of these laws remain authorities for the secular courts. (b) The classical textbooks of the Shāfiʿī school which are the primary reference for the Singaporean *ḳāḍī*. (c) The regulations made under the 1966 Act which are binding on the *ḳāḍī*. (d) The decisions of the *ḳāḍī* reported and followed by later *ḳāḍīs*—that is, a precedent. It is this last (d) which is likely to determine the future of the Syariah Court. While the *ḳāḍīs* derive their decisions from the classical texts (see (a) above), they also follow the earlier *ḳāḍīs* in an organised way through law reporting and analysis of the earlier judgements. In short, there is now a Muslim internal reformulation of *syariah* within the Syariah Court. While the substance of a rule may be *fiḳh*, the legal reasoning as to what it means and its application is English. This should occasion little surprise. Most if not all members of the Appeal Board have an English or English-derived legal education. For them, recourse to a precedent is perfectly normal. The fact that the structure and precedent of the court is English-derived merely reinforces this position. In extreme cases, the *syariah* presence is confined to quotations from the Ḳurʾān, not infrequently irrelevant. The result is an eclecticism of source of law in both the court and at the Appeal Board level. For example, a survey of recent Appeal Board decisions (1988-95) has shown recourse to (i) English principles of statutory interpretation, (ii) Anglo-Muhammadan rules from British India, (iii) citation from the Ḳurʾān, (iv) administrative rules on registration of marriage and divorce, and (v) earlier Syariah Court precedent. There is nothing from *fiḳh* as such; the whole complex is English. Even the *sūras* cited are not decisive but seem to be put in so as to provide "Islamic" colouring to a method of reasoning which is wholly outside the canons of Muslim jurisprudence. This is not to say that *fiḳh* does not play a part, at least at the lower level. It does, but increasingly now in a secularised form. At the Appeal Board level, however, the secularised form is dominant.

This state of affairs should come as no surprise. The intention of the Singaporean legislation was and is to control the family law of Muslims. This means that it has to approximate the secular family laws as closely as possible, consonant with the religion of Islam. The colonial legislation showed how this could be done. The Syariah Court, therefore, is limited in its function and jurisdiction and is ultimately answerable to the Supreme Court of Singapore which will apply an Anglo-Syariah law.

ii. Malaysia

This state [see MALAYSIA] is a Federation and under the Constitution (1957 and amendments), Islam is a state matter, not a federal matter. The result is that each of the states in the Federation has its own "Islamic" (or "Muslim") law legislation. However, the Malaysian Constitution also says (Art. 3) that "Islam is the religion of the Federation". Unlike Singapore, therefore, Islam has a constitutional presence at both the federal and state level in Malaysia and this has important implications for both the structure and jurisdiction of the Syariah Courts.

(a) A note of caution is necessary about structure. While all the states of the Federation have a Syariah Court with the same general structure, this does not mean that the courts have precisely the same jurisdiction. Details vary from state to state. To be fully informed, one must therefore reach each state enactment. The following description is taken from the Federal Territory Administration of Islamic Law Act, 1993, something of an exemplar Act for Malaysian Islam. Part IV (§§ 40-57) establishes a three-tier system, consisting of Syariah Subordinate Court, High Court and Appeal Court. The Appeal Court is headed by the Chief Syariah Judge who must be a citizen and who has had ten years Syariah Court experience, or "is a person learned in Islamic law". This last qualification is undefined. A quorum for the court is the Chief Judge plus two judges drawn from a panel of seven judges. Decision is by a majority and the Appeal Court is the final court in matters of family law, *waḳf* [*q.v.*], offences against religion, inheritance and *bayt al-māl*. The Syariah Subordinate Court has a limited jurisdiction in the same matters. Appeals go to the Syariah High Court and, finally, to the Appeal Court, which also exercises a general supervisory jurisdiction over the lower courts. The Act also provides for the appointment of *syariah* prosecutors. Persons in proceedings in the Syariah courts may be represented by a *Perguam Syarie*, an advocate who has a sufficient degree of Islamic knowledge and who is admitted to practice in the Syariah courts. The procedure in all the courts is based on the secular model. It is government policy to standardise the Syariah court system nationwide on the Federal Territory model, but there is still some way to go at the moment.

(b) Islamic jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of the state Syariah Courts is as set out in their respective enactments. From the 1950s it has become increasingly elaborated to the extent that there is now a comprehensive jurisdiction which coexists with the secular court system (High Courts and Court of Appeal [formerly Federal Court]). Concurrent jurisdictions always raise the issue of which is superior, or more exactly, which forum decides the issue. The question only really arose in the 1950s and was not definitively decided in Malaysia until 1988. Before that date, it was the secular courts which had overriding jurisdiction because these courts derived from the Federal Constitution and not, as did the Syariah courts, from state legislation. This was always a matter of resentment in Syariah court circles, and in 1988 a new article, 121 (1A), was introduced into the Federal Constitution; which reads: "The courts referred to [the

secular courts] shall have no jurisdiction in respect of any matters within the jurisdiction of the Syariah courts."

However, this does not really solve the issue; it merely puts it back one stage. It is still the secular courts, here the Court of Appeal of Malaysia, which actually decides whether a course of action is "within the jurisdiction of the Syariah Courts". There are a number of reported cases (1990s; see *Bibl.*) which demonstrate this; the Syariah courts have an inferior jurisdiction and have no power to determine the limits of that jurisdiction. It is the secular courts that interpret the Constitution just as they are the heirs to Anglo-Muhammadan jurisprudence.

Given the structure of the Syariah courts and the issue of jurisdiction, it is not surprising that the judgements in the courts show an increasing degree of secularisation of *fiḳh*. This has taken place in the area of family law, and the decisions are a case study of the fate of the *syariah* in the contemporary nation state. Fundamental to this is the fate of the classical text books themselves and here one can discern a consistent pattern from the late 1980s. Passages are cited as *hukum syariah* and then interpreted with reference to Malaysian legislation and, in some cases, Malay custom (*adat*) as to land. The Arabic texts (standard books and *ḥadīth̲* collections) get quite new meanings which derive from *adat*, from legislation, and from earlier Syariah court precedents. These new meanings are now what *fiḳh* means; thus the Arabic sources are beginning to be interpreted and distinguished on the basis of English-derived principles.

A second feature of the contemporary Syariah courts is the recourse to "modernist" legal reasoning with occasional but important recourse to Middle East authorities. Thus, from the late 1970s we find references to Syed Sabiq (his *Fiḳh al-Sunna*) and Ibn Ḳudāma (the latter's discussion of Abū Dāwūd).

These two trends seem now to be almost irreversible. The only surprising feature is the depth of penetration of secular (English) legal reasoning into the substantive *fiḳh* rules. There seem to be three reasons for this.

First, while it is true that the *syariah* in its "pure" form (*fiḳh* and *ḥadīth̲*) is now commonly cited, it is also true that the form of judicial records is in judicial precedent. Given that this is the form of the law, it is inevitable that the technical rules of English law will apply, and the result will be an Anglo-Syariah. Such has, of course, occurred before in British India and pre-independence British Malaya. The only difference in the present case is the greater quality of *fiḳh* in the *ḳāḍī*s jurisdiction. Even here, however, a lot of repetition appears. In short, the precedent law is decisive.

Second, the members of the Appeal Board are, almost without exception, trained in English and English-Malay universities and practice at the secular Bar or the judiciary. This, apart from being Muslim, is their primary qualification. When this is combined with the precedent form, it is not surprising that an increasingly secular form of judicial reasoning is apparent. This is not to say that judgements are "un-Islamic". Such would not be true in the substance (result) of a decision. It is certainly arguable, however, in terms of legal reasoning.

Third, the prevailing political climate for Islam in Malaysia is dictated by the Federal Government. It is one which encourages progress, "modernisation", "development" and the like. Whatever the rhetoric, Islam is controlled in all its aspects so far as possible. The religion must accommodate itself to the state and not the other way around. The same principle applies to *ḳāḍī* jurisdiction, and an increasing secularisation of Islam through administration and through the Syariah courts now seems inevitable.

iii. Brunei

The state of Brunei [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (independent in 1984) describes itself as a "Malay-Islamic-Sultanate" (*Melayu-Islam-Beraja*). The Sultan is Head of State and Head of Government; he is also the Head of the Religion of Islam which is thus entrenched in the Constitution. Prior to 1955, the laws as to Syariah courts were minimal, though a basic Kadi Court did exist. In 1955 Brunei adopted the Religious Council and Kadis Court Act which was based on the then Kelantan (Malaysia) Enactment. The Brunei Act has been amended and the current version is now cap. 77 of the Revised Laws (1984) with some later amendments.

The Act establishes a Court of Chief Kadi in the capital and subordinate Kadi Courts in outlying districts. The extent of jurisdiction is determined by the Sultan but is in fact specified in detail in the Act. These include family law, *wakf* and, in criminal matters, offences against religion. The latter include gambling, consumption of alcohol, sex outside marriage, preaching Islam without permission and the unlawful construction of mosques. Appeals are dealt with in the Chief Kadi's Court and above that by the Judicial Committee, which consists of the State Mufti and two other members appointed by the Sultan. This Committee also has authority to write an opinion on any question of Muslim law for a non-Islamic court if requested. Ultimate authority, however, still lies with the Sultan who, as Head of the Religious Council (one of the Councils of State), makes the final decision.

The language of the Courts is Malay and records are kept in Malay. Advocates may not appear if an appearance is "contrary to the provisions of Muslim law" but may be permitted at the discretion of the Court. Procedure is based on secular court procedure. So far as evidence is concerned, Muslim law is followed only with respect to witnesses. All other matters of evidence are governed by English law as adopted in Brunei. The Courts may summon non-Muslims to give evidence. Matters of arrest and search in relation to criminal activity, especially breach of the peace, are governed by the secular criminal proceedings in the Kadis Court. The execution of judgements is likewise governed by the Subordinate Courts Act. Generally, in civil matters the practice and procedure of the Magistrates Courts is followed in the Kadis Courts.

In essence, the Brunei Act repeats the Malaysian and Singaporean provisions. This is true for judicial process. However, it is important to realise that the constitutional position of Islam in Brunei and the position of the Sultan provides a unique context for the operation of the Kadi Courts. Unfortunately data on their actual working are not as yet available.

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MAI, the official title of the Sayfuwa rulers of Kanem [*q.v.*], later Bornū [*q.v.*], an African kingdom situated in the area of Lake Chad. Arab geographers (al-Yaʿḳūbī, al-Muhallabī) depicted the ruler of pre-Islamic Kanem as a divine king. Although the rise to power of an Islamic line of rulers in the second half of the 11th century resulted in a number of radical changes in the political structure, some basic elements of divine kingship continued to shape the royal institution during the period of the Sayfuwa. Among the features of divine kingship which resisted the secularising tendencies of Islam were the seclusion of the king, shown by his concealment in a pavilion behind a silk curtain; the prevailing influence of women of the royal family in court life (queen-mother, principal queen and princesses); and the notion of a legendary protectress of the king during his youth (Aïsa Kili Ngirmaramma). Traditions associate the latter with the upbringing of the greatest rulers of Kanem-Bornū: Dūnama Dibalemī (1203-48), ʿAlī Gadjī (1455-87) and Idrīs Amsāmi (1564-96). The court ceremonies and institutions derived from divine kingship were abolished by *shaykh* al-Amīn al-Kānimī, who founded a new dynasty in Bornū in the first half of the 19th century. By adopting the Arabo-Islamic *shaykh* as a royal title instead of the earlier *mai*, he gave expression to his more strictly Islamic preferences.

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MAI TATSINE (d. 1980), a nickname given to Muhammadu Marwa, a *mallam*, or Muslim religious leader in Kano, Nigeria, whose followers were involved in violent clashes from 18 to 28 December 1980. Over 4,000 people died in these disturbances.

He came from the region of Marwa in northern Cameroon, from a group classified as Kirdi. These are hill dwellers and followers of traditional religions, while the Muslim Fulani dominate the plains. Famine drove the young Mai Tatsine out of the hills, along with many fellow Kirdi, in the 1930s. In the city of Marwa he took up Islam.

He came to Kano in 1945 and began a career as a *mallam*. His teaching was evidently inflammatory for in 1962 he was jailed by Kano's chief Muslim judge for the offence of *shatima*, or verbal abuse. Following his sentence, Emir Sanusi deported him to Cameroon.

Such traditional forms of control were weakened following the abolition of the emirs' judicial authority in 1966. Mai Tatsine was able to return to Kano and establish a popular following by the late 1970s. The disturbances began when the police were overwhelmed by sect members in a confrontation near the emir's palace on December 18. Fighting continued for ten days until the Nigerian army finally dislodged the 'Yan Tatsine from their stronghold in a neighbourhood just outside the old walled city. Mai Tatsine was killed at this time. The sect survived and was involved in clashes in Maiduguri and Kaduna in following years.

The sect bears some resemblance to the Ḥamālliyya [*q.v.*], an offshoot of the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] that began in Mauritania in the 1920s. Both movements emphasised living as a separate community which regarded other Muslims as impure. Many of its followers were recent immigrants to Kano, drawn by the city's oil boom driven expansion, but it also had followers in rural areas.

Bibliography: J. Boutrais, *La colonisation des plaines par les montagnards au nord du Cameroun*, Paris 1973; A. Christelow, *The 'Yan Tatsine disturbances in Kano. A search for perspective*, in *MW*, lxxv (1985), 69-84; P. Lubeck, *Islam and urban labour in Northern Nigeria. The making of a Muslim working class*, Cambridge 1987. (A. Christelow)

MAḲĀṢID AL-SHARĪʿA (A.), literally, "the aims or purposes of the law".

The term is used in works of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]) and refers to the idea that God's law, the *Sharīʿa* [*q.v.*], is a system which encompasses aims or purposes. If the system is correctly implemented, these aims will be achieved. From such a perspective, the *Sharīʿa* is not merely a collection of inscrutable rulings. One who claims that the *Sharīʿa* has *maḳāṣid* is, therefore, making a statement concerning the rational nature of the *Sharīʿa*: that God intends to bring about a certain state of affairs by instituting particular laws. Most Sunnī legal theorists subscribe to the view that the *Sharīʿa* has aims, and principal amongst these is the promotion of the "benefit for the believers" (*maṣāliḥ al-ʿibād*). As al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388), probably the most sophisticated of the classical exponents of the doctrine of *maḳāṣid al-sharīʿa*, states, "the laws were instituted only for the benefit of the believers in this world and the next" (*Muwāfaḳāt*, ii, 2). The laws themselves are only the means of achieving God's aims and intentions. They hold no intrinsic value, and if, on occasions, the strict application of the law compromises the aims of the *Sharīʿa*, then for some supporters of the doctrine of *maḳāṣid*, the law can be set aside or modified so that God's intentions might be fulfilled. This possibility has made an appeal to *maḳāṣid al-sharīʿa* particularly popular amongst modern legal reformers in the Muslim word, as it enables them to alter some long-held elements of the law which they consider to be impracticable in a contemporary setting.

The doctrine of *maḳāṣid al-sharīʿa* has its roots in early Muslim attempts to rationalise both theology and law. In terms of theology, the ideas of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] undoubtedly influenced the emergence of the *maḳāṣid* doctrine. The Muʿtazilī doctrine that God's decrees are subject to, rather than the origin of, the ideas of good and evil (*al-taḥsīn wa 'l-taḳbīḥ* [*q.v.*]) ultimately resulted in an assertion that God is compelled to act in the interests (perhaps the best interests) of humankind. His law must be of benefit to his creation, for if it was not, his qualities of justice and goodness would be compromised.

In legal works, a bundle of related doctrines can be seen as precursors to al-Shāṭibī's elaboration. The development of *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*] as a legal tool provided the impetus for the doctrine of *maḳāṣid al-sharīʿa*; for, if rulings known to be true in one situation can be transferred to novel situations, then the law must, in some sense, be coherent. If it is coherent, then it must express the will of the Lawgiver. It is this underlying assumption (that the intentions of the Lawgiver could be known) that was so vehemently rejected by the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]).

The S̲h̲āfiʿī jurist Abū Ḥamīd al-G̲h̲azālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]), on the other hand, asserted that one way in which the *ratio* (*ʿilla* [*q.v.*]) of a ruling might be known is by comparing the candidate for the role of *ʿilla* with the general aim (*maḳṣūd*) of the law to "promote benefit and reduce harm". This means of identifying or verifying the *ʿilla* (known as *munāsaba*) rested upon the idea that the aims of the law were discernible (through reason or revelation).

The Ḥanbalī Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī (716/1316 [*q.v.*]) went further than this, arguing that all rules derived from analogy (bar those not open to rational scrutiny such as the ritual *ʿibādāt*) are susceptible to change and development if the aims of the Lawgiver are not fulfilled. Discussion over the legitimacy of *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ* amongst Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs also rested on an acceptance that there were overall "aims" in the *S̲h̲arīʿa*. *Istiḥsān* [*q.v.*], originally used as an accusation of arbitrary preference, was rationalised by Ḥanafīs such as al-Sarak̲h̲sī (d. 483/1090 [*q.v.*]) to refer to the rejection of the strict application of *ḳiyās* in favour of a ruling which better promotes the benefits of the believers (*maṣāliḥ al-ʿibād*).

Istiṣlāḥ [*q.v.*] was discussed extensively by Mālikīs, in part because Mālik himself is reported to have advocated it; it refers to a jurist's ruling which has no precedent in the revelatory texts, and is based on the calculation of some benefit (*maṣlaḥa mursala*) [see MAṢLAḤA] to the individual or communities concerned. Mālikīs, such as al-Ḳarāfī (d. 684/1285 [see S̲H̲IHĀB AL-DĪN AL-ḲARĀFĪ]), recognised the theologically problematic nature of basing a ruling not on textual support but on a benefit perceived by a jurist. It is perhaps unsurprising then, given the Mālikī history of discussions of *istiṣlāḥ*, that the greatest exponent of *maḳāṣid al-s̲h̲arīʿa* should come from the Mālikī school, sc. Abū Isḥāḳ al-S̲h̲āṭibī [*q.v.*], the 8th/14th-century Granadan jurist. Al-S̲h̲āṭibī, in his *Muwāfaḳāt*, takes the analysis of "benefits" accruing from the institution of the *S̲h̲arīʿa* used by previous jurists in relation to *ḳiyās*, *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ*, and declares, uncompromisingly, that the whole *S̲h̲arīʿa* exists to promote the welfare of the believers. The benefits which are promoted and preserved when the *S̲h̲arīʿa* is instituted are of three basic types. There are those elements which are necessary (*ḍarūra* [*q.v.*]) for human existence to prosper (there are, al-S̲h̲āṭibī argues, five of these: the preservation of life, property, progeny, mind and religion); there are those which are needed (*ḥād̲j̲a*) in order to make obedience to the *S̲h̲arīʿa* less demanding; and there are those which, whilst not necessary or needed, improve (*taḥsīniyya*) the benefits already enjoyed by the believers. Each ruling in the *S̲h̲arīʿa* can be said to benefit the believers in one of these three areas. For example, it is necessary (*ḍarūra*) to human existence to preserve life, and God has instituted (in the *S̲h̲arīʿa*) rules concerning punishment and compensation for murder. In order to make the *S̲h̲arīʿa* easier to follow (*ḥād̲j̲a*), the law permits sick people to miss prayer. Finally, the benefits to the believers are improved (*taḥsīniyya*) by supererogatory manumission, though community welfare would be maintained if this act was not performed.

Al-S̲h̲āṭibī's schema, which was innovative within the deeply conservative tradition of Sunnī *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, undoubtedly influenced subsequent writings, but it is in the modern period that these ideas have been developed and enhanced, and a genre of *maḳāṣid* writing can be said to have emerged. In particular, North African (Mālikī) jurists, such as Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. ʿĀs̲h̲ūr (d. 1973) and ʿAllāl al-Fāsī (d. 1973), composed works devoted to *maḳāṣid al-s̲h̲arīʿa* which draw heavily on al-Ṭūfī and al-S̲h̲āṭibī. Ibn ʿAs̲h̲ūr, for example, adds equality and freedom to al-S̲h̲āṭibī's list of the five elements necessary for human existence to prosper. The modern emergence of a theology reminiscent of Muʿtazilī doctrine has enabled jurists to consider the *S̲h̲arīʿa* as more adaptable to change and distinguish between the unchanging aims of the law and mutable particular regulations.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, Cairo 1978; Sarak̲h̲sī, *al-Uṣūl*, Cairo 1973; G̲h̲azālī, *al-Mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*, Beirut 1996; Ṭūfī, *ʿAlam al-d̲j̲ad̲h̲al fī ʿilm al-d̲j̲adal*, Wiesbaden 1987; Ḳarāfī, *S̲h̲arḥ al-tanḳīh al-fuṣūl fī ik̲h̲tiṣār al-maḥṣūl fī ʾl-uṣūl*, Cairo 1973; S̲h̲āṭibī, *al-Muwāfaḳāt fī uṣūl al-s̲h̲arīʿa*, Cairo 1969-70.

2. Studies. ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, *Maḳāṣid al-s̲h̲arīʿa al-islāmiyya wa-makārimuhā*, Casablanca 1963; A.-M. Turki, *Polémiques entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bāǧī sur les principes de la loi musulmane*, Algiers 1973; Muḥammad Ṭāhir Ibn ʿĀs̲h̲ūr, *Maḳāṣid al-s̲h̲arīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Tunis 1978; K. Masood, *Islamic legal philosophy. A study of Abū Isḥāq al-S̲h̲āṭibī's life and thought*, Islamabad 1977; A. Zysow, *The economy of certainty. An introduction to the typology of Islamic legal theory*, Harvard Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1984, unpubl.; B. Weiss, *The search for God's law. Islamic jurisprudence in the writings of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī*, Salt Lake City 1992; W. Hallaq, *A history of Islamic legal theories. An introduction to Sunni uṣūl al-fiqh*, Cambridge 1997. (R.M. GLEAVE)

MAḲBARA. 4. In Iran.

Islamic cemeteries in Iran, Transoxania and Afghanistan were generally located, in accordance with the practices of Zoroastrian, Christian or Jewish communities, *extra muros* of existing settlements and along main roads exiting from the city gates (al-Muḳaddasī, 438; al-Iṣfahānī, *Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], xix, 114 (for Iṣfahān, see Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ed. Beirut, xi, 28; Harāt: T. Allen, *A catalogue of the toponyms and monuments of Timurid Herat*, Cambridge 1981, 165; Rayy: Ḥ. Karīmān, *Rayy-i bāstān*, Tehran 1345 A.S.H., i, 366-479; C. Adle, *Constructions funéraires à Rey circa Xᵉ-XIIᵉ siècle*, in *Akten des 8. Internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie*, Berlin 1979, 511-12; Samarḳand: N.B. Nemceva, *Etappen der Herausbildung der Ensembles Schah-i Sinda in Samarkand*, in *ZA*, N.S. xii [1978], 51-68). Al-Muḳaddasī, however, remarks on the noteworthy exception of Tustar where the cemetery was established on higher ground within the city because of frequent river floods (*ibid.*, 409). For a mediaeval visitor, the sight of cemeteries evoked feelings of sadness and a sense of disorientation (Abū S̲h̲āma, *Tarād̲j̲im rid̲j̲āl al-ḳarn al-sādis wa ʾl-sābiʿ*, ed. M.Z. al-Kawt̲h̲arī, Beirut 1974, 16). Nevertheless, tombs were often located as close as possible to the roads in the hope that compassionate passers-by would stop to offer prayers (Sibṭ Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Mirʾat al-zamān*, Ḥaydarābād 1951, viii, 442). Not wanting to be constantly reminded of the inevitability of death, the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla issued orders to enclose cemeteries with high walls (D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kābul 1342/1963, 223). Visits to grave sites in Hamad̲h̲ān or S̲h̲irāz included not only recitations of the Ḳurʾān but also offerings of food and drink (*zalla wa nawāla*) for the dead (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London 1921, 300; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Beirut 1968, 209-10).

When Muslims lived with the indigenous population of Iran immediately after the conquest, they used existing pre-Islamic cemeteries and seem soon to have adopted local funerary customs. Muslim burials on

Tepe no. 2 at Bayram ʿAlī near Marw make use of earlier structures, so-called *nawāwīs* (M.E. Masson, *Materialī po arkheologii Merva*, in *Trudī YuTAKE*, xiv [1969], 7-12; O.V. Obel'čenko, *Nekropol' drevnego Merva*, in *ibid.*, 95-9). Burials in ossuaries and jars are mixed with regular Muslim graves in a 7th-10th century cemetery outside Tarāz near Dzhambul (Ḳazakhstān) (L.I. Rempel', *Nekropol' drevnego Taraza*, in *Kratkie Soobshčeniya Instituta Material'noy Kul'turī*, lxix [1957], 102). The best-known site for these hybrid practices, however, is the "Monumental Cemetery" (Site O) in Sīrāf [*q.v.*], situated on a spur of land overlooking the city's west end, that also had its own funerary mosque (D. Whitehouse, *Excavations in Siraf*, in *Iran*, xii [1974], 23-30). Dating back to the pre-Islamic period, the 100 × 150 m cemetery was dominated by a group of about forty monumental tombs (5 × 5 m to 9.5 × 10 m), built between the 9th and the 10th centuries, with graves grouped around them. Most appear to have been used for the collective disposal of the dead, who were buried inside without coffins and without separating the corpses according to gender. Most bodies were aligned in an orthodox manner north-south, with their heads turned towards the west, i.e. Mecca. The deceased, who appear to have been members of the wealthier society of Sīrāf, were buried with rings, beads, bracelets and ceramic jugs (*ibid.*, 25). Similar cemeteries are known from literary sources to have existed in Paykand, modern Karakul in Turkmenistān (anon., *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky[2], 113) and Yazd (Djaʿfarī, *Taʾrīkh-i Yazd*, ed. I. Afshār, Tehran 1337 A.S.H./1958, 130).

Cemeteries *intra muros* were often established in ruins or in buildings that were partially torn down for that purpose (Whitehouse, *ibid.*, 9; A. McNicoll, *Site G. Islamic Cemetery*, in McNicoll and W. Ball (eds.), *Excavations at Kandahar 1974 and 1975*, Oxford 1996, 214, 234-6), while growing settlements were laid out around pre-existing cemeteries, respecting and carefully enclosing the tombs (Whitehouse, *ibid.*, 12).

Local pre-Islamic cemeteries continued in use, but cemeteries also opened up in greater Iran around tombs ascribed to legendary *shuhadāʾ* of the Muslim conquest of Iran (Yāḳūt, iv, 418; E. Cohn-Wiener, *A Turanic monument of the twelfth century A.D.*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi [1939], 88-91); to saints (A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Remarques préliminaires sur une mausolée ghaznévide*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, xvii, 59-60) or to former rulers (Cohn-Wiener, *Die Ruinen der Seldschukenstadt von Merw und das Mausoleum Sultan Sandschars*, in *Festschrift F. Sarre*, Leipzig 1925, 116).

Only scarce documentation exists on remnants of some nomadic cemeteries in the Atrek valley in north-eastern Iran and in southwestern Iran dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The Turcoman Göklen tribe possessed a common burial ground 60 km/40 miles north of Djurdjān, scattered over hills, slopes, and plateaux of the Gökcheh mountain, to which the deceased were brought often from far away, after a preliminary burial for some time in the area around seasonal camps (D. Stronach, *Standing stones in the Atrek region. The Ḥālat Nabī cemetery*, in *Iran*, xix [1981], 147-51). In contrast to this, cemeteries of the Lur nomads in Luristān were established along the annual tribal migratory routes and may coincide with old camp sites. Tombs in these cemeteries were marked by pictorial stelae with gender-specific images and inscriptions (I.D. Mortensen, *Women after death. Aspects of a study on Iranian nomadic cemeteries*, in B. Utas [ed.], *Women in Islamic societies*, London 1983, 26-47; idem, *Nomadic cemeteries and tombstones from Luristan, Iran*, in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and A. Tibet [eds.], *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique*, Ankara 1996, ii, 175-83).

In contemporary Iran, modern and efficiently-administered cemeteries have been established, often at some distance from major cities and pilgrimage centres, as more orderly alternatives to older, more scattered burial places. Between the 1970s and late 1980s, the city of Mashhad inaugurated the cemeteries of Bihisht-i Riḍā and Djawād-i Aʾimma 20 miles southwest of the city in the vicinity of an old cemetery named after the tomb of the 9th century Imāmzāda Khʷādja Abu 'l-Salt. Simultaneously, modern extensions to the Tīmūrid shrine of Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā now include underground burial vaults, named al-Ḳuds and Mashhad-i Djumhūrī, for civilians and soldiers killed during the Revolution and the Iran-ʿIrāḳ War.

Used as a burial ground since the 1950s and opened officially in 1970, the sprawling Bihisht-i Zahrāʾ cemetery (Paradise of [Fāṭima] the Radiant) south of Tehran along the highway to Ḳum is today the city's main cemetery. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Bihisht-i Zahrāʾ gained the reputation as a national symbol of the Revolution, as many of those killed during demonstrations against the Shāh or in post-Revolutionary factional fighting were buried there as martyrs. During the eight years of war with ʿIrāḳ, a vast, separate section was added for soldiers killed in action, whose tombs are typically surmounted by cases that exhibit a portrait photo of the deceased and Islamic and Revolutionary paraphernalia. The impressive visual expression of Bihisht-i Zahrāʾ as a cemetery dedicated to the commemoration of martyrs, a fountain that spouts red water, has been copied throughout Iran (Hamid Algar, art. *Behešt-e Zahrāʾ*, in *EIr*, iv, 108-9; D. Hiro, *Iran under the Ayatollas*, London 1985, 77).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but on the graveyards where British travellers, traders, missionaries, etc., were buried, see Sir Denis Wright, *Burials and memorials of the British in Persia*, in *Iran*, xxxvi (1998), 165-73, and *further notes and photographs*, in *ibid.*, xxx (1999), 173-4, xxxix (2001), 293-8. See also, on cemeteries in Persian folklore, *EIr* art. *Cemeteries* (Mahmoud Omidsalar). (T. Leisten)

MAKTŪBĀT (A.), literally "letters", a term used especially in Muslim India for the epistles of Ṣūfī leaders.

Apart from epistolary collections of political and literary significance (like *Iʿdjāz-i Khusrawī*, *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, *Riyāḍ al-Inshāʾ*, *Inshāʾ-i Abu 'l-Faḍl*), there are collections of letters written by mystic teachers to their disciples. This epistolary literature, which throws valuable light on the mystic ideology and institutions of the period, may broadly be classified under four categories: (i) sundry correspondence limited mostly to one or two letters dealing with some religious problem, e.g. letters attributed to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Gīlānī, Khʷādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaykh Farīd Gandj-i Shakar, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ and others; (ii) collections of letters in the nature of mystic lucubrations without any indication of the addressees, e.g. letters of ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadānī, Ḳāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī and Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī; (iii) collections of letters bearing on mystical or religious themes addressed to disciples to resolve their difficulties, e.g. the letters of the Imām al-Ghazālī, Sanāʾī, Rifāʿī, Yaḥyā Manērī, Bū ʿAlī Ḳalandar, Ashraf Djahāngīr Simnānī, Gīsū Darāz, Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam, Djaʿfar Makkī, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith, Shāh Muḥibb Allāh of Allāhābād

and others; and (iv) collections of letters having the consistent exposition of a specific ideological position and controlling the organisational direction and ideological drift of the disciples. The Naḳshbandī saints, particularly from the time of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, used letters as a regular channel for the communication of their trends of thought. His successors, Khwādja Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, Muḥammad Naḳshband-i Thānī, Khwādja Sayf al-Dīn, Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i Djānān, Shaykh Muḥammad Saʿīd, Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī, Shāh Aḥmad Saʿīd, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf and others, wrote large number of letters which are a veritable source for the study of Naḳshbandī thought and its reaction to different socio-religious situations. The thought of the *silsila* was so consolidated on their basis that, during the last three hundred years, the Naḳshbandīs have drawn spiritual guidance from these letters.

Taken as a whole, the Suhrawardī, the Ḳādirī and the Shaṭṭārī saints do not seem to have adopted correspondence as a regular means of communicating their ideology. Except for the *Maktūbāt-i Ḳāḍī Shaṭṭar* (ms. in Manēr Khānaḳāh) no saint of these orders seems to have left any significant collection of letters. The Naḳshbandīs, the Firdawsīs and the Čishtīs made use of this medium effectively. In Naḳshbandī discipline, the *maktūbāt* of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] and his descendants assumed the same significance which *malfūẓāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] like *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād* and *Khayr al-madjālis* assumed in the Čishtī *silsila*. Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ used to write letters on a large scale (Shaykh Mubārak Gopamawī had collected his hundred letters—*Siyar al-awliyāʾ*, Dihlī 1302, 310—and Amīr Khusraw also received a large number of letters which he had buried with him [*ibid.*, 302-3], but these were of personal nature and were not collected in any compendium. Among the Čishtī saints, the most effective collections of *maktūbāt* are those of Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam, ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Gangōhī and Shāh Kalīm Allāh of Dihlī. The last-mentioned saint controlled and guided the Čishtī organisation in the Deccan through correspondence, at a time when Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] was showing his definite preference for the Naḳshbandī order. Perhaps Shāh Kalīm Allāh was influenced by the practice of his contemporary Naḳshbandī saints in giving importance to correspondence in organising the affairs of the *silsila* and in controlling its ideological slant.

Among the Firdawsīs, the letters of Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā succeeded in boosting the mystics' morale after their setback at the hands of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*].

The available *maktūb* literature throws light on the thought and activities, as also the problems and preferences, of the saints of different periods and different orders. Though some of the letters of the Imām al-Ghazālī are addressed to *wazīrs* and government officials, they help us in assessing the position of religion in the administration of those days. His communications to the *ḳāḍīs*, the jurists and theologians throw light on the nature of the religious problems and tensions of the period and have a sermonising tone. The letters of Sanāʾī, only seventeen in number, help us in understanding the mental climate of the late Ghaznawid period as much as his mystical poetry. The letters of Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam throw light on the socio-political crisis in Bengal in the 8th/14th century. The letters of Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā reveal the anxiety of the Firdawsī saint to salvage mystic institutions from ruin. The *Maktūbāt* of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs of Gangōh [see GANGŌHĪ, in Suppl.] bring into focus the atmosphere immediately preceding the rise of the Bhakti movement. The letters of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī provide material for the study of reactions against Akbar's religious experiments. So also the letters of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith reveal the anxiety of Muslim minds at the anarchy prevailing in Muslim religious life. The letters of Shāh Muḥibb Allāh, particularly those addressed to Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*], show his anxiety to retrieve pantheistic thought from condemnation and conflict. When read with the letters of Khwādja Maʿṣūm and other Naḳshbandī saints, they reveal the nature of conflict in mystical thought at this time. Khwādja Maʿṣūm's letters highlight the atmosphere of religious revival that took place during the time of Awrangzīb. The letters of Shāh Walī Allāh [*q.v.*] illuminate his efforts to bridge the gulf between the devotees of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* and its critics on one side and his political activities, involving correspondence with Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, Muḥammad Shāh and Nadjīb al-Dawla [*q.vv.*], on the other. The letters of Mīrzā Maẓhar show significant religious trends of the period which led to his declaration of *Vedas* as a revealed book and his according the status of *Ahl-i Kitāb* to the Hindus.

For a study of the actual application of mystic ideology to concrete socio-religious situations, the importance of *Maktūbāt* literature cannot be over-emphasised.

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(K.A. Nizami)

MALAʾ (a.), lit. a "group (of people)", or a "host", or a "crowd", like *djamāʿa*, *ḳawm* [*q.vv.*], *nafar*, *raht*, and more generally, "the public", and hence, *fī malaʾ*, *fi 'l-malaʾ* "publicly" (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9 vols., Cairo 1958, ix, 148 = *kitāb* 97, *bāb* 15). The word also denotes decisions taken as a result of collective consultation, as in the phrase *ʿan [ghayri] malaʾin minnā* "[not] as a result of our consultation" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6 vols., Cairo 1313/1895, repr. Beirut n.d., i, 463). Since collective decisions are usually taken by the leaders of the group, *al-malaʾ* very often denotes the notables and leaders of the community (*wudjūh*, *ashrāf*, *ruʾasāʾ*) (e.g. Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, 4 vols., repr. Beirut 1971, ii, 297-8; Lane, s.v.).

1. In the Ḳurʾān.

In II, 246 the *malaʾ* of the Children of Israel demands that a king be raised up for them by their prophet. The word is explained here in the sense of *al-ḳawm* "the people" (e.g. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Zād al-masīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr*, 9 vols., Beirut 1984, i, 291-2 [from al-Farrāʾ]); al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, 20 vols., Cairo 1967, iii, 243), although others perceived it in the sense of "the notables" (e.g. al-Zadjdjādj, *Maʿānī 'l-Ḳurʾān wa-iʿrābuhu*, ed. ʿAbd al-Djalīl Shalabī, 5 vols., Beirut 1988, i, 325).

In most of its Ḳurʾānic occurrences the word *malaʾ* stands indeed for the notables of a given group, and they often represent the royal council, like that of the Queen of Sheba (XXVII, 29, 32), and of King Solomon (XXVII, 38). The *malaʾ* in the Ḳurʾān is often involved in the persecution of the messengers of God, as with the royal *malaʾ* of the Pharaoh. It denounces Moses as a sorcerer (VII, 109; XXVI, 34), incites the Pharaoh against him (VII, 127), and plots to kill him (XXVIII, 20). Other prophets who were persecuted by the *malaʾ* of their own peoples were Noah (VII, 60; XI, 27, 38; XXIII, 24), Hūd (VII, 66; XXIII, 33) Ṣāliḥ (VII, 75), and Shuʿayb (VII, 88, 90). In one instance, the contemporary *malaʾ* of Muḥammad's own people is mentioned as leading the opposition against him (XXXVIII, 6).

In two places the Ḳurʾān mentions the "upper" *malaʾ* (*al-malaʾ al-aʿlā*). In XXXVII, 8, it is stated that the rebellious devils may not listen to the upper *malaʾ*, and in XXXVIII, 69, the Prophet declares that he has no knowledge of what the members of the upper *malaʾ* are disputing about. In Ḳurʾānic exegesis, it is held that the upper *malaʾ* are the angels who have thus been named because they dwell in heaven, which differentiates them from the earthly *malaʾ*, i.e. the human beings (e.g. al-Ḳurṭubī, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, xv, 65). According to this perception, *al-malaʾ al-aʿlā* denotes "the heavenly host" [see malāʾika]. On the other hand, *al-malaʾ al-aʿlā* of Ḳurʾān XXXVIII, 69, was also explained as though standing for the Ḳuraysh (al-Ḳurṭubī, *op. cit.*, xv, 226-7), which sets the term in an earthly context, meaning "the supreme council" (see below).

As a heavenly group consisting of angels, *al-malaʾ al-aʿlā* is considered superior to the earthly one which consists of the sons of Adam (*ibid.*, i, 289). This is indicated in a tradition of the Prophet stating that whenever a believer mentions God's name in public (*fī malaʾin*), God mentions his name in a better public (e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 251). A *malaʾ* of angels met the Prophet on his nocturnal journey to heaven (*ibid.*, i, 354), and in fact every human soul is about to pass by a *malaʾ* of angels at the time of death (*ibid.*, iv, 287).

Closely associated with *al-malaʾ al-aʿlā* in its heavenly significance is the expression *al-rafīḳ al-aʿlā* (the "upper company", cf. Ḳurʾān IV, 69). It appears in a widely current tradition in which the Prophet, on his deathbed, asks God to place him with *al-rafīḳ al-aʿlā*, and these constitute his last words (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vi, 18-19 = *kitāb* 64, *bāb* 84). According to one of the interpretations, this expression stands for angels belonging to *al-malaʾ al-aʿlā* (al-Ḳasṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī li-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 10 vols., Cairo 1305/1887, viii, 358).

2. In early Tradition.

In accounts containing episodes from Muḥammad's life, the *malaʾ* of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] is often mentioned, and the context indicates that it consists of Meccan notables. In most cases, this *malaʾ* is involved in acts of persecution perpetrated against Muḥammad. In a typical episode, it is related that the *malaʾ* of Ḳuraysh once told Muḥammad that they were ready to embrace Islam provided he turned away believers of the lower classes (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 420). The episode is usually recorded in the commentaries on Ḳurʾān VI, 52, in which the Prophet is instructed not to reject those who call upon their Lord in the morning and in the evening. Occasionally, the *malaʾ* of the Meccans is said to have convened in the Ḥidjr (a sacred enclosure and a meeting place near the Kaʿba [*q.v.*]) to discuss how to treat Muḥammad (*ibid.*, i, 303), and they are also said to have interrogated Muḥammad, offering him medical treatment to cure his supposed madness (al-Ḳurṭubī, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, xv, 338). In another instance, specific names of the hostile *malaʾ* of Ḳuraysh are enumerated, in a tradition in which Muḥammad prays to God to punish them for having thrown a camel's placenta on him when he was prostrating during prayer. This was done to invalidate his prayer by causing him physical impurity (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iv, 127 = *kitāb* 58, *bāb* 21, v, 57 = *kitāb* 63, *bāb* 29).

According to modern scholars, the word *malaʾ* became a fixed term denoting the elected "senate" of the tribe of Ḳuraysh in pre-Islamic Mecca (e.g. W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 8. See also makka. 1). It was described as "a kind of urban equivalent of the tribal *majlis* [see madjlis. 1], consisting of notables and family chiefs elected by assent to their wealth and standing" (B. Lewis, *The Arabs in history*, repr. London 1985, 31). However, there is no evidence that a process of election to the *malaʾ* ever took place in pre-Islamic Mecca. That *malaʾ* essentially denoted no more than an occasional group of notables is evident from the fact that it is also used with reference to a group of Ḳuraysh acting in Medina after the Hidjra (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, 133 = *kitāb* 24, *bāb* 4; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 160).

The *malaʾ*, i.e. the notables, of the Arab tribes of Medina (of the Banu 'l-Nadjdjār), are also mentioned in the sources, and they are described as being in contact with Muḥammad upon his arrival in Medina (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v, 86 = *kitāb* 63, *bāb* 46). A more

typical form of a consultative body in Islamic times was, perhaps, the *shūrā* [*q.v.*].

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(U. Rubin)

MALAWI, Muslims in.

Historical background.

Islam is not a recent phenomenon in the interior East African state of Malawi (the former British protectorate of Nyasaland), since traders from Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India and Indonesia had dealings with the East African Coast since time immemorial and Islam was carried into the interior by such traders. The name Malawi was first used by the Portuguese to denote a variety of distinct ethnic groups. Amongst these, the Marawi established a hegemony over a considerable area, including the Makua on the coast around Mozambique [*q.v.*]. The penetration of Islam took place from two directions, i.e. along the Rovuma after the Portuguese occupation of Kilwa [*q.v.*] in 1505, and from Angoche, which, although it declined after 1530, remained an important centre for the spread of Muslim-Swahili influence into the interior.

The political turbulence on the northern parts of the East African coast during the 16th century did not affect the coastal region of the Mozambique channel. This comparatively peaceful area became conducive to new economic developments, particularly that of ship building at Mozambique and the local production of textiles which had implications for the influence of Islam in Malawi, the one enabling the building of boats to ply on Lake Nyasa, the other as gifts to or for the purchase of slaves, ivory and other goods from the local rulers. In the wake of ever-widening commercial enterprises between the coast and the interior from the end of the 16th century onwards, the Makua and Yao [*q.v.*] were the main traders, although agents from the coast had already settled in the interior at this time.

During the early part of the 18th century, the struggle between the Portuguese and the ʿUmānīs on the one hand, and the ʿUmānīs and the local population on the other, undermined the place of Islam along the coast and along the trade routes. Mozambique displaced Kilwa as the main centre of relations with Malawi. During the early 1750s, the Portuguese were making common cause with the *shuyūkh* of Sanculo and Quitangonha against the Makua, penetrating deep into Makua country. At around this time also, Indian trading interests on the coast, centred on Mozambique, began to penetrate inland; thus in 1727 the Viceroy granted a special license to a number of wealthy Indian Muslims that allowed them to trade with the Makua.

The next development of Islam in Malawi is connected with Sayyid Saʿīd of the Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] dynasty of ʿUmān (1806-56), who established himself as ruler of the coast in the early part of the 19th century and encouraged trade with the interior by establishing "forts" on the Kilwa-Lake Nyasa route. By 1861 Muslims had settled at the southern end of Lake Malawi and were operating west of the lake in 1863. In the 1870s Islamic influence could be seen in that petty chiefs were being addressed as *hakimu*. The first Yao chief to adopt Islam around 1870 was one Makanjila II Banali, who employed a Ḳur'ān teacher, and children were taught to read the Ḳur'ān and to write Swahili in Arabic script. Chief Mataka I Nyambi of Mwembe dressed like an Arab and built his houses in rectangular form representing a clear coastal influence.

The caravans from the coast usually had with them what has been termed "Muslim teachers", who taught the Ḳur'ān, instructing people in Islamic beliefs and practices and encouraging literacy in Arabic and Swahili in Arabic script. They are said to have disseminated commentaries and other literature dealing with the observance of customs connected with marriage, eating and drinking, the mode of killing animals, the efficacy of charms and the making of medicines, and encouraged the building of mosques. They also became involved in the training of young men, particularly the sons and nephews of the chiefs, as *walimu* on religious scholars. Some of them were sent to the coast for further training. Through such teachers, Swahili became the language predominantly spoken by Muslims in Malawi. Another spin-off of this work has been the number of Malawi Muslims acting as *imāms* and muezzins in South African mosques.

The anti-slavery campaign from 1873 onwards led to a revival of Islam, since Muslim slave traders who were suffering an economic recession, were as a consequence determined to extend their moral and religious influence. There was a growing self-consciousness and reaction to the colonial and mission presence.

When the British protectorate was established in 1889, the Muslim presence in Malawi can be said to have been represented by such chiefs as Mlozi, a half-caste Arab at the north end of the lake; by Salīm b. ʿAbd Allāh in the central region, where Nkota Kota had become an important centre; by Makanjila, who was established on the east side of the lake, where in 1891 an Arab said to have come from Aden originally owned a house at Saidi Mwazungu's town in the southern part of Makanjila's country; and by Mponda at the south end of the lake, where there were twelve *madāris* each with its own *mwalimu*.

The Islamic renaissance in Malawi in the early part of the 20th century was linked to the Maji-Maji disturbances in German East Africa in 1905-6. The so-called "Meccan Letter" purportedly sent by the head of the Uwaysiyya [*q.v.*] *ṭarīḳa* in Mecca giving instructions to the faithful to prepare for the final apocalyptic battle, played its part in the unrest in Muslim circles in Malawi in 1908. Rumours among the Yao were claiming that the Arabs would come and kill Europeans and Africans alike who refused to accept the Muslim faith. In Malawi, this was intensified by the appearance over Mua of Halley's Comet in 1910. The hostilities in East Africa connected with the First World War also played their part in deepening the commitment to Islam in Malawi. Letters from the German officer Count Falkenstein to Mwalimu Issa Chikoka at Losewa indicated to him that the Ottoman caliph, Sultan Meḥemmed V (1909-18), was the enemy of the British, and called on Mwalimu Issa to lead a *d̲j̲ihād* against the British during Ramaḍān. The growth of Islam was also encouraged by the recruitment of Muslims for the Nyasaland Police and the King's African Rifles. The general impact of these trends can partly be seen in the establishment of a Muslim boarding school for boys at Malindi and the proliferation of mosques from 1911 onwards.

During the early years of the Protectorate, Ḳur'ān schools offered the only education acceptable to Muslims. In 1918, the Governor recommended the establishment of Muslim schools in parallel to those run by various Christian mission societies. This development was encouraged by the Phelps-Stokes Commission and Ormsby-Gore reports of 1925 and led to the opening of a Muslim school in Liwonde

in 1930. From 1946 Muslims were able to establish their own schools. Independence in 1964 brought major changes in the educational system. Islamic literature in English, particularly from South Africa, became more readily available. This and closer links with Muslims and Muslim institutions in East Africa and the wider Muslim world brought about a deeper awareness of the requirements of the faith. By the late 1950s, some Malawi Muslims were able to attend the teachers' college in Zanzibar.

The nature of Islam.

The Muslim community in Malawi is not homogeneous. The differences are not only ethnic but also due to membership of various *ṭuruḳ*. Nearly all people in the Kawinga, Liwonde, Jalasi and Nyambi chiefdoms are Muslims, and a group in the Jalasi chieftainship has been known as *twaliki* (Ar. *ṭarīḳa*). They represent the Ḳādiriyya order. The *twaliki* believe that their devotions should be accompanied by loud singing and chanting of Arabic texts and by vigorous dancing. Another group, the *sukutis*, centred around the Kawinga and Liwonde chieftainships, advocate a more orthodox type of Muslim devotion in which a quiet and restrained manner is emphasised (Ar. *sukūt* "quietness, silence"). The *sukutis* represent the stricter orthodoxy of the Shādhiliyya order. They are also known as *ahl al-sunna*. These differences undoubtedly reflect the variations in Muslim mystical practice involving both *dhikr djalī*, audible remembrance of God, and *dhikr khafī*, silent remembrance. Beside these differences regarding audible and silent *dhikr*, the *sukutis* also differ from other groups in their funeral practices, such as eating food before a funeral, singing and dancing and carrying flags on such occasions, as well as the propriety of dancing at the annual visits (*ziyala*, Ar. *ziyāra* [*q.v.*]) to the graves. They also differ regarding the legality of eating hippopotamus meat, the building of new mosques where there already are other mosques, and special prayers. The *ziyala* are also connected with the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday (Swa. *maulidi*) on 12 Rabīʿ I, which takes the form of feasting, *sikiri* (Ar. *dhikr*) and exhortations. The term *ziyala* is also used for the celebration of the anniversary of the founder of the *ṭarīḳa*. The Ḳādiriyya order, which was predominant until the 1930s, celebrates the birthday of the Prophet, the two main festivals and some other occasions, with sumptuous feasting and night-long *sikiri*, sometimes referred to as *zikara* and *bayan* (*ahd*), sc. an oath of loyalty to the *shaykh*.

Muslims of Indian origin fall into various categories. The Sunnīs among them follow the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, whereas the African Sunnī Muslims follow the Shāfiʿī school. Among the Indian Muslims, there are also a number of Shīʿa belonging to the Twelve, and the Khodja Ismaʿīlī and Bohorā traditions. The majority of these arrived as traders from 1928 onwards, and some of them set up large commercial establishments.

The only ordinance in Malawi that directly concerns Muslim marriage (*nikāḥ* [*q.v.*]) is the Asiatics (Marriage, Divorce and Succession) Ordinance of 1929. Its wording allows for the application of the different systems of law followed by the various sects (*firaḳ*) and law schools (*madhāhib*). It also includes any local variants that may become customary. Another particularity regarding marriage appears in the Marriage Ordinance of 1903 which, contrary to the *Sharīʿa*, allows a Christian man to marry a Muslim girl. When it comes to a Muslim wife's rights in a marriage, particularly in relation to divorce, she has almost identical rights to those of her husband.

The month of fasting, has been observed for many years in Malawi. In 1889-90 Mponda II insisted on a proper observation of Ramaḍān, although it seems that the appropriate *tarāwīḥ* prayers were not observed. Muslims speak of *kumanga namasani* "binding on Ramaḍān", and though proud to observe the restrictions, many seem to *kumasula namasani* "to loosen the bonds of Ramaḍān" before the end of the month of fasting. The fast reaches its climax in the *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr* (*Bayram*) referred to as *Idi Balak* (Ar. *baraka*). The *ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā* (*Ḳurbān*), the feast of sacrifice, is known as *Idi Bakali*, a name adopted from the Indian sub-continent, where it is known as *Baḳara ʿĪd* (Ar. *baḳara* "cow", hence "the cow festival") an indication of an early Indian influence on Islam in Malawi, but also a local emphasis and appreciation of the significance of the festival. *Zakāt* is acknowledged, but is not strictly observed except in connection with the *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr*.

Noon prayers on Fridays, known locally as *juma* prayers are held at a central place, originally at the village of the main chief. Women join in the *juma* prayer, usually in a separate section of the mosque. Muslim headmen wear scarlet headbands around their white skullcaps known as *mzuli*. This may reflect the practice among Muslim scholars, who wear different colours to signify their status or the religious order to which they belong.

A number of traditional ceremonies have survived and have been given orthodox Islamic names. Thus the term *sadaka* in Malawi has nothing to do with alms but refers to a funeral feast. It is associated with a special dance, known among the Yao as *cindimba* and is connected with the brewing of a special beer. It has been partially Islamised through the *sikiri* (*dhikr*), which is now perceived purely as a dance. The *akika* (Ar. *ʿaḳīḳa*) ceremony is observed in some areas.

When a Muslim dies, the *shaykh* is invited to bless the body and delivers an oration. The body is prepared for burial by having a hole cut in the neck and the intestines squeezed empty. It is then wrapped in long lengths of white cloth and taken to the graveyard on a stretcher, usually the bed on which the person died turned up-side down. The prayers and oblations (*ukana wacisoka*) offered to ancestral spirits at the root (*lipaka*) of a shrine tree has also taken on an Islamic air. It is explained by the more zealous Muslims as the gift of food to passers-by in order that God may forgive and bless the spirit of one's ancestors. Magical charms and talismans proliferated in the pre-Independence years. One of these was the *kirisi* (amulet; Swa. *hirizi* < Ar. *ḥirz*). Another is the charm called *alibadiri* consisting of Ḳurʾānic verses wrapped in leather.

Muslim organisations.

Formal organisations are a fairly recent phenomenon in Malawi, although the Muslim Association of Malawi (MAM) was founded in the 1940s by Asian Muslims. There have been associations concerned with the provision of *madrasa* education. The *walimu* as well as the heads of the *ṭuruḳ* owing allegiance to their *shaykh*, *murshid* or *pīr* also have their "informal" organisations, some of which co-operate over *ʿīd* celebrations. Some organisations, however, are supra-national, such as the *Tablīghī Djamāʿat* [*q.v.*]. Muslims of Asian origin group together according to their particular trading or geographical background such as the Sunnī Memon, Punjabi, Surti and Khatri groups and the various Shīʿa communities. They make substantial contributions to the building of local mosques and Ḳurʾān schools. Mosques and *madāris* are often named after the person who organised and contributed to their

construction. There are no *awkāf* [see WAKF] but trusts for mosques are registered under the Trustee Incorporation Act, and properties vested in Trustees and Office Bearers of the Associations. The socio-economic conditions of Muslims in Malawi have on the whole not enabled them to undertake the obligation of the Pilgrimage, and there has been no organisation looking after the welfare and travel arrangements for the pilgrims until recently. In 1981, 22 Malawians performed the Pilgrimage, and since then the number has grown.

Muslims expressed an interest in better educational facilities within the context of the Protectorate as early as 1916. A Department of Education was set up in 1926, but not until 1928 were three government schools established to cater primarily for Muslim children; these had to be closed after a few years due to lack of children and parental support. The following year an education ordinance was passed opening the schools to all regardless of religious affiliation. By 1962 there were, however, 29 schools under Muslim administration and owned by the Muslim community, seven of these grant aided. Today, all schools in the country are under government control through the Ministry of Education, both with respect to policy and standards. Muslim teachers instruct Muslim pupils in the basics of Islam at the times set aside in the timetable for Religious Education. The government has also encouraged schooling in predominantly Muslim areas through support for the building of classrooms and teacher accommodation. Contemporary-style education is pursued in the mornings in schools managed by Muslims. In the afternoon they become *madāris*, where Ḳur'ān, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* and *lugha* are taught; but Arabic is not taught. The Yao use their own language, including a fair amount of Swahili expressions; the reformists use Chewa or English, the two official languages of Malawi, employing some Arabic greetings and formulae. The Muslim Students' Association founded in 1982, which represents the reform movement and opposes the *ṭuruḳ*, and is supported by donations from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, produced a syllabus in Islamic education for Muslims in primary and secondary schools in 1987. In 1988 Muslims were able to establish the first Islamic institute of higher learning, the Islamic Centre. Some young people have had the opportunity to study at Arabic institutions abroad. Contacts with the Muslim Youth Movement in South Africa from 1977 onwards led to the holding of the Southern Africa Islamic Youth Conference in Blantyre in 1981, and this met again in Malawi in 1987 when the Islamic Medical Assembly, a branch of the Muslim Association of Malawi, was formed. The Muslim Association of Malawi with its headquarters in Blantyre evolved out of a central Board for Muslim Education which was set up in the 1950s to co-ordinate the work and represent the interests of the Muslim community as a whole. The Association has received financial help from Kuwait in the form of a financial director as well as teachers from various parts of the Muslim world. Through its representations, time has been allocated on Radio Malawi for programmes on Islam in Chichewa. The organisation has also enabled women to hold regular conferences since 1982.

Local publications are limited. Some Muslims read the *Muslim digest* and *al-Kalam* published in South Africa. A pamphlet entitled *Tartibu 'l-salat* in Chichewa has been widely distributed. Publications by the International Islamic Federation of Student Organisations with its headquarters in Kuwait, and the writings of Abū 'l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī of Pakistan are also to be found.

The only outside links Muslims in Malawi had for long were with Muslims and Islamic institutions on the East African coast. Particularly important were the contacts with the late Shaykh Abdullah Saleh al-Farsy (d. 1982), Chief Ḳāḍī of Zanzibar and later of Kenya. Through the migrant labour force, contacts were also established with various organisations in South Africa that more recently have sought to help Muslims face the growing challenge presented by the socio-economic situation in Malawi. Contacts with the wider Muslim world began with a visit from representatives of the *Dār al-Iftā'* from Saudi Arabia in 1965. The African Muslims Committee, a charitable organisation based in Kuwait, has made considerable contributions to the Blantyre Islamic Mission which was founded in 1982 and has organised youth camps. The election and re-election of Bakili Mulunzi as president of Malawi in 1994 and 1999, reflects the degree Muslims have come to play in the country, and will strengthen and enhance the community's position.

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(S. VON SICARD)

MALFŪẒĀT (A.), literally "utterances", in Ṣūfī parlance denotes the conversations of a mystic teacher.

Though some compilations of Ṣūfī utterances were made earlier in other lands, e.g. the *Ḥālāt wa-sukhanān-i Shaykh Abū Saʿīd* (Rieu, i, 342b ii) and *Asrār al-tawḥīd* (ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1934) [see ABŪ SAʿĪD B. ABI 'L-KHAYR], it was Ḥasan Sidjzī of Dilhī who gave it a definite literary form. In 707/1307 he decided to write a summary of what he heard from his spiritual mentor, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ [*q.v.*], and completed it under the rubric, *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād* (Lucknow 1302). It marked the beginning of a new type of mystical literature, known as *malfūẓāt* (sing. *malfūẓ*). A few years later, in 711/1312, Sulṭān Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad [*q.v.*], son of the famous Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], completed a record of his father's utterances under the title *Fihi-ma-fihi* (ed. ʿAbd al-Mādjid, Aʿẓamgaṙh 1928). But Bahāʾ al-Dīn prepared this record on the basis of memory, some 39 years after the death of his father, without reference to dates on which specific discussions took place. Ḥasan Sidjzī gave dates of every discourse and referred to the queries and quests of the audience. Bahāʾ al-Dīn perhaps aimed at providing a philosophic basis for the *mathnawī*; Ḥasan presented through the conversations of his *Shaykh* the accumulated wisdom of the mystical creed with reference to specific problems of the people. Ḥasan's example inspired saints of different mystical orders, and a considerable *malfūẓ* literature appeared in India from Učč to Manēr and from Dihlī to Deogīr.

The new genre of mystical literature developed mainly in India, but some collections of Ṣūfī utterances were prepared elsewhere also, e.g. the *Nūr al-ʿulūm*, utterances of Shaykh Abu 'l Ḥasan Khirḳānī (ed. E. Berthels, Leningrad 1929), *Malfuẓāt-i Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā* (ms. As. Soc. of Bengal 1250-3), *Mastūrāt* (discourses of Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī, ms. I.O. 1850) and *Anīs al-ṭālibīn* (conversations of Khᵂādjā Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband, Lahore 1323).

Several disciples of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ emulated Ḥasan in compiling conversations of the Shaykh, e.g. *Anwār al-madjālis*, *Tuḥfat al-abrār wa-karāmāt al-akhyār*, *Ḥasrat-nāma* and *Durar-i niẓāmī*. Except the last one (ms. Buhar 183 and Salārdjang Museum, Ḥaydarābād) all are no longer extant. Conversations of Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, a *khalīfa* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ, were compiled in the Deccan under the titles *Aḥsan al-aḳwāl* (ms. ʿUthmāniyya, Ḥaydarābād 478 and 1479), *Nafāʾis al-anfās* (ms. Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ, Lucknow), *Shamāʾil al-atḳiyā* (lith. Ḥaydarābād 1347), etc. In Dihlī, Ḥamīd Ḳalandar compiled his *Khayr al-madjālis* (ed. K.A. Nizami, ʿAlīgaṙh 1959), which contains conversations of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh, chief *khalīfa* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ. In Nāgawr [*q.v.*] the conversations of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Ṣūfī Nāgawrī were compiled in *Surūr al-ṣudūr* (ms. Ḥabīb Gandj, ʿAlīgaṙh). The Firdawsī saints produced *Maʿdin al-maʿānī* (2 vols. lith. Bihār 1301-3/1884-6). *Mukhkh al-maʿānī* (lith. Agra 1321/1903-4), *Rāḥat al-ḳulūb* (lith. Agra) and a few other works containing the conversations of Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā Manērī. Several saints of the Suhrawardī *silsila* produced conversations of their spiritual teachers. The conversations of Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī were compiled under the titles *Sirādj al-hidāya* (ed. Ḳāḍī Sadjdjād Ḥusayn, Dihlī 1983), Djāmiʿ al-ʿulūm (ed. Ḳāḍī Sadjdjād Ḥusayn, Dihlī 1982), etc. Even the utterances of a *madjdhūb* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's period, Khᵂādja Karak of Kara, were collected in *Asrār al-makhdūmīn* (lith. Fatḥpur-Haswa 1893).

The production of *malfūẓ* literature in India during the 8th/14th century synchronised with Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ's decision to convert the mystical movement—hitherto confined to individual spiritual salvation—into a movement for mass spiritual culture (*Siyar al-awliyāʾ*, Dihlī, 346-7). This led to proliferation of *khānḳāhs* [*q.v.*] in South Asia and the adoption of local dialects for the communication of ideas (see ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *The Sufis' work in the early development of Urdu language*, Awrangābād 1933). The *malfūẓ* literature differed from literature produced earlier in the form of mystical treatises which dealt with mystical thought or mystical litanies and lucubrations. The *malfūẓ* literature was intelligible to people at all levels and had a space-time context. Since the discussions contained in *malfūẓāt* took place before people belonging to different sections of society and referred to specific problems (see *Khayr al-madjālis*, 83, 185, 240, etc.; *Maʿdin al-maʿānī*, 3), this literature has assumed great historiographical significance. It acts as a corrective to the impressions created by the court chroniclers who, nurtured as they were in Persian traditions, restricted the conspectus of history to courts and camps. This literature views the historical landscape from a different angle and fills a gap in historical knowledge by providing a glimpse into the life of the common man, his problems, his hopes and fears. For example, the economic worries of the masses during the time of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, and the efforts of the Ṣūfīs to reorient mystical thought to meet the situation created by the ideology of Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], can be read in the *Khayr al-madjālis*.

Malfūẓ literature continued to be produced in India all through the centuries. The conversations of Shaykh Aḥmad Maghribī of Khattū (*Tuḥfat al-madjālis*, I.O. Persian Collection DP 979) give an insight into the economic and cultural efforts that preceded the foundation of the city of Aḥmadābād. The utterances of Gīsū Darāz [*q.v.*], *Djawāmiʿ al-kalim* (ed. Ḥāmid Ṣiddīḳī, Kānpūr 1356/1937-8), give a lively picture of mystical activity in the South.

Widespread interest in *malfūẓ* literature encouraged the production of some apocryphal collections, e.g. *Anīs al-arwāḥ* (lith. Dihlī 1312), *Dalīl al-ʿārifīn* (lith. Lucknow 1311/1893-4), *Fawāʾid al-sālikīn* (lith. Lucknow 1311/1893-4), *Asrār al-awliyāʾ* (lith. Kānpūr 1890), *Rāḥat al-ḳulūb* (lith. Lucknow 1311/1893-4), *Rāḥat al-muḥibbīn* (ms. personal collection), *Afḍal al-fawāʾid* (lith. Dihlī 1304/1886-7), *Miftāḥ al-ʿāshiḳīn* (lith. Dihlī 1309/1891-2), etc. Critical scholarship has rejected this literature as spurious. The use of the term *malfūẓāt* for the apocryphal memoirs of Tīmūr is the solitary example of the application of the term to politcal literature.

The *malfūẓ* literature produced during the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries contains valuable information about the social, religious and literary activities of the people in the period preceding and following the foundation of the Mughal Empire. Particular reference may be made to the *Anwār al-ʿuyūn*, conversations of Shaykh Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (lith. ʿAlīgaṙh 1905), *Laṭāʾif-i Ḳuddūsī*, conversations of Shaykh ʿAbd

al-Ḳuddūs Gangohī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (lith. Dihlī 1311/1893-4), *Kalimāt-i ṭayyibāt*, conversations of K͟hʷād͟ja Bāḳī billāh (lith. Dihlī 1332/1914) and *Malfūẓāt-i S͟hāh Mīnā* (Hardoi n.d.).

In the subsequent centuries appeared the conversations of S͟hayk͟h Muḥammad Čis͟htī (*Mad͟jālis al-ḥasaniyya*, ms. ʿAlīgaṙh), S͟hāh Kalīm Allāh S͟hāhd͟jahānābādī (*Mad͟jālis-i kalīmī*, lith. Ḥaydarābād 1328/1910), S͟hāh ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (*Malfūẓāt*, lith. Fīrūzpur 1303/1885-6), S͟hayk͟h Burhān S͟haṭṭārī (*T͟hamarāt al-ḥayāt*, ms. As. Soc. of Bengal 448), S͟hayk͟h ʿĪsā of Burhānpūr (*Malfūẓāt*, ms. As. Soc. of Bengal 462), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān of Lucknow (*Anwār al-Raḥmān*, lith. Lucknow 1287/1870-1), and S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of Dihlī (*Malfūẓāt-i ʿAzīzī*, lith. Meerut 1314/1896-7). This literature supplies background information about the intellectual and social crisis in a period of transition. For example, the *Anwār al-Raḥmān* throws invaluable light on the decadent culture of Awadh [*q.v.*], and the utterances of S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reveal reaction and response to Western culture. In *Nāfiʿ al-sālikīn* (conversations of S͟hāh Sulaymān of Taunsa, Lahore 1285) the socio-religious scenario of the Pand͟jāb before 1857 is seen in all its details.

In the early decades of the 20th century, Mawlānā As͟hraf ʿAlī of Thana Bhawan made effective use of the *malfūẓ* medium in propagating his teachings, but his orations are more in the nature of *mawāʿiẓ* (sermons) than *malfūẓ* (table talk). In short, no study of Ṣūfism as a popular movement in India is possible without an intensive and critical use of the *malfūẓ* literature.

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(K.A. Nizami)

MALḲOČ-OGHULLARI̊, a line of Ottoman raiders from Bosnia who were active from the late 14th to the 17th centuries.

The origin of the name Malḳoč is unclear. The suggestions that it derived from the Greek Markos or Serbian Marković are not satisfactory. The Malḳoč-og͟hullari̊ were probably Christian converts to Islam. A Malḳoč is apparently first mentioned in the *Short chronicle of Ioannina* (*ca.* 1400) in connection with a war between two Epirot lords, perhaps in 1388-9. Murād I supposedly sent Malḳoč from Thessaloniki/Selānīk [*q.v.*] to help one of them, in the event, successfully. The first Ottoman chronicler to mention the name, Nes͟hrī (d. before 1520), seemingly refers to the same person as commander of 1,000 archers on the right wing of the Ottoman army at the Battle of Kosovo [see ḳoṣowa] (June 1389). He may also have participated in the Battle of Nicopolis (1395). Later, Malḳoč appears as the commander (*beg*) of Sīwās. He was captured by Tīmūr in 1402 but was subsequently sent as a messenger to Bāyezīd I.

The family held lands in northern Bosnia at the time of Meḥemmed II (second reign, 1451-81). They were given land there as march *begs*. The most renowned member of the line was Bālī Beg Malḳoč-og͟hlu, who in 1444 fought the Hungarians under John Hunyádi outside Varna but fled the field. In 1462, he commanded the right wing of the army of Meḥemmed II against Vlad Tepesh in Wallachia, and during the next decade was the provincial military chief (*sand͟jaḳ beg*) of Smederovo in Serbia, burning the Croatian city of Varaždin in 1474. In 1475-6, he was the *sand͟jaḳ beg* of Bosnia, and in 1478, he led 3,000 raiders (*aḳi̊nd͟ji̊* [*q.v.*]) before Scutari/Is͟hḳodra [*q.v.*, in Suppl.] in Albania. The following year he led another large force of raiders into Hungary and Transylvania. He became the governor of Silistria in the 1490s, raiding Aḳ Ḳirmān in 1496 and in 1498 twice raiding Poland and threatening Krakow. He had three sons, two of whom were killed at Čāldi̊rān [*q.v.*] in 1514, whilst the third became *sand͟jaḳ beg* of Kilia near the mouth of the Danube.

Subsequently, in the early 16th century, we hear of Ḳara ʿOt͟hmān Beg Malḳoč-oghlu as a leading landholder in Bosnia. The last known member of the dynasty was Yawuz ʿĀlī Pas͟ha, governor of Egypt, who became Grand Vizier in 1603 and died the following year at Belgrade. After this, the family seems to have lost its power and influence.

Bibliography: The basic study is F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes der Malqoč-Oghlu's*, in *AISO Napoli*, N.S., i (1940), 117-35, repr. in idem, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, Munich 1962, i, 355-69; Branislav Đurđev *et al.*, *Historija naroda Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1959, ii, 117; Dimitri Bogdanovich *et al.*, *Historija Srbska naroda*, Belgrade 1982, ii, 518; K. Setton, *The papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, Philadelphia 1984, iv, 694-5; C.H. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 48, 134, 228, 244-5; *Türk Ansikopedisi* and *Yeni Türk Ansiklopedisi*, arts. *Malkoçoğulları*.

(G. Leiser)

MAMLŪKS.

(iii) Art and Architecture

(a) *Architecture*

Within the history of Islamic art, the architecture of the Mamlūk period (648-922/1250-1517) occupies an intermediary position between what might be termed the early period predating the Mongol invasion and the later imperial arts of the Tīmūrids, Ṣafawids, Ottomans and Mug͟hals. Unlike its Tīmūrid counterpart, with which it is partly contemporary, Mamlūk architecture did not substantially impact on the later history of Islamic art once Egypt and Syria had become provinces of the Ottoman Empire. It lingered on in a reduced scale in Ottoman Egypt, until it was revived in modern times as a manifestation of a national style of mosque architecture.

Apart from the prestige accruing from their victories over the Mongols and the Crusaders, the Mamlūks were celebrated as guardians and patrons of orthodox Islam, an image they fostered by sponsoring religious foundations and creating centres of scholarship and Ṣūfī activities and other philanthropic institutions. The sheer number of mosques, *madrasas* and *k͟hānḳāhs* which they established in Cairo proved without parallel in the Muslim world at the time, and is even believed to have exceeded the genuine requirements of the population. All the while remaining careful to cultivate the exclusive character of their ruling aristocracy, one based on their military slave origins, the Mamlūks directed their patronage at the man in the street. Instead of promoting an inward-looking

court life, their chief concern was to obtain the enduring support of the religious establishment. The Mamlūk sultans ruled their capital in a very direct manner, involving themselves closely in the minutiae of religious and social policy. Sultans and *amīrs* themselves inspected monuments during the construction phase and, as supreme overseers of the *awkāf*, ensured the maintenance of the buildings of their predecessors.

Mamlūk patronage was essentially religious, and one of its most significant aspects lay in the architecture and in the decorative arts which it helped to foster. Moreover, urban development was a major concern of the Mamlūks and the motivation behind the intensive building activity for which they became responsible in Cairo. Since sultans and *amīrs* incorporated their own lavish mausoleums within religious foundations, thereby setting up memorials for themselves in their capital, Cairo as a whole soon became an vast arena for Mamlūk art patronage. Most of the Mamlūk architectural legacy in Cairo was created by such sultans and *amīrs*, and only to a lesser extent by local dignitaries.

Although the Mamluks ruled over a territory including Egypt, Greater Syria and the Ḥidjāz, Mamlūk architectural identity is mainly discernible in Cairo. Even more decidedly than under other Islamic régimes, the metropolitan style of religious architecture rarely re-occurs outside the capital. The rulers' direct involvement in the building activity of the province of Egypt was confined to infrastructures, fortifications and commercial buildings, leaving the foundation of mosques and colleges to the governors and the local notables. The scarcity of significant royal mosques in the provinces accounts for a discrepancy in religious architectural style between the capital and the outlying regions. Religious architecture in Syria and the Ḥidjāz kept faith on the whole with the predominant regional building tradition, as was the case of the Egyptian province itself, where the cities of Ḳūṣ and Alexandria, in spite of their economic importance, retained a provincial type of architecture. Occasional mutual influences between Cairo and Syria were confined to decoration or individual elements that did not involve the architecture generally. The builders who erected the imperial mosques in Cairo were rarely employed beyond the confines of the capital. The exception confirming this rule is that of a late-9th/15th century initiative by Sultan Ḳāyitbāy, who is reported by chroniclers to have sent entire teams of craftsmen from Cairo to Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina. These reports themselves attest the singularity of this initiative. Indeed, *wakf* descriptions of his *madrasas* in Jerusalem and Medina, as well as the remnants of his *madrasa* in Jerusalem, confirm that such patronage remained exceptional.

Moreover, the enormous quantitative discrepancy between Mamlūk architecture in Cairo and in Syrian cities, as well as the supremacy of the metropolitan religious foundations which functioned as the intellectual centres of the Mamlūk state, contributed to the stylistic singularity of Cairene Mamlūk architecture. With a few exceptions, such as the buildings of Tankiz al-Nāṣirī in Jerusalem (Burgoyne 1987, 223-48), urban schemes do not seem to have been a major concern of Mamlūk patrons in Syrian cities.

The evolution of Mamlūk architecture in Cairo shows an increasing tendency to adapt and adjust the layout of the buildings to the urban environment rather than to impose a large-scale or symmetrical architecture on the city. The portal, minaret and mausoleum dome were assigned a location that best responded to the specific aesthetic needs of the site rather than being forced to conform to a preconceived canon. A major factor in the architectural design was the founder's mausoleum dome, which was assured maximum visibility both through its position in the building and an increasingly lofty exterior transitional zone between the drum and dome (Kessler 1972; L. Ali Ibrahim 1975; and see ḲUBBA). This increased visibility required the builder to adjust both layout and architecture to the site. The patrons' challenge was to balance the status-enhancing placement of the mausoleum to the street with a juxtaposition with the mosque sanctuary. If the latter requirement could not be ensured because of the location, the preference was to place the mausoleum on the street side. In the city centre, royal foundations built round a courtyard were preferably located to the west side of the street so that the south-east, Mecca-oriented sanctuary could be on the street side. This allowed the mausoleum to lie adjacent to the sanctuary and overlook the street at the same time. Like their mosques, Mamlūk *madrasas* and *khānḳāhs* were built along the axis of the orientation towards Mecca, as were the mausoleums which, with rare exceptions, included a *miḥrāb* (Kessler 1984). Owing to the aforementioned constraints, it often transpired that the orientation of the mosque's *miḥrāb* diverged from that of the mausoleum. Unlike in Syria, the minaret in Cairo was to be found not only in Friday mosques but in *madrasas*, *khānḳāhs* and minor oratories as well.

This interaction with the urban fabric, together with the pre-eminence of the metropolitan religious institutions housing Mamlūk mausoleums, created an architecture exclusively suited to Cairo. Furthermore, the overriding focus of Mamlūk monumental patronage in Cairo was in fact a response to the historical situation. It should be remembered that the history of Mamlūk Cairo begins at the same time as the fall of Baghdād from where Baybars transferred the ʿAbbāsid caliphate to his own capital [see MAMLŪKS. i. History], a symbolic gesture that designated Cairo as Baghdād's successor. Already the possessor of a long undisturbed metropolitan tradition, unrivalled at that time by any other city in Egypt or in Syria, the Egyptian capital was the natural candidate to perpetuate Baghdād's glorious history.

Like any other architecture, that of the Mamlūks was based on that of its predecessors; and as such it inherited architectural devices and decorative techniques from the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. Far more monuments were erected than during the Ayyūbid era, however, and over a much longer period of time. Already al-Ẓāhir Baybars waived the Shāfiʿī rule applied by his predecessors which allowed only one Friday mosque to each agglomeration. Moreover, the inclusion of Syria and territories as far north as Cilicia, the migration of craftsmen escaping the Mongol invasions and others who came from al-Andalus, as well as the contacts with the Il-Khānids and with Christian kingdoms, introduced international features into the arts of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries.

A. Religious architecture in Cairo

(i) *The Baḥrī period*

From Shadjar al-Durr to al-Ẓāhir Baybars. The first building that can be securely attributed to the Mamlūk era is the funerary *madrasa* of Shadjar al-Durr [*q.v.*], the widow of the last Ayyūbid sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, of which only the mausoleum is today extant. It was built in 648/1250 in the cemetery of Sayyida Nafīsa north of Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*] as part of a complex that included a palace, a *ḥammām* and gardens.

In the same year, the short-lived sultana also added a mausoleum to her husband's *madrasa* in the heart of the Fāṭimid al-Ḳāhira, thus bringing to the city a tradition of princely funerary architecture which subsequently became a significant feature of Mamlūk Cairo (Creswell 1959, ii, 135f.-6; Behrens-Abouseif 1983). The profile of the mausoleum dome and its stucco decoration remain faithful to the tradition of the Ayyūbid period.

The *madrasa* of al-Muʿizz Aybak, Shadjar al-Durr's second husband and her successor on the Mamlūk throne, was built in 654/1256-7 in the commercial centre of Fusṭāṭ (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, iv, 302); it seems to have been part of an urban project which integrated pre-existing commercial structures. As it is not included in al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, it must have disappeared with the decline of Fusṭāṭ as al-Ḳāhira took over as Egypt's definitive capital during the 8th/14th century. It was the first and, indeed, only royal Mamlūk foundation within the city of Fusṭāṭ.

Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars I's [*q.v.*] first religious foundation—a *madrasa* next to that of his master al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn—was built in al-Ḳāhira in 660-2/1262-3. The building itself, which was demolished in the last century, is reported to have consisted of four *īwāns* built around a courtyard to accommodate the four *madhhabs* of Islamic law. It possessed no mausoleum. Nineteenth-century drawings and paintings convey some idea of the former exterior. The portal formed the shape of a semi-dome on *muḳarnas*, a pattern already applied in Ayyūbid Syrian architecture but the earliest of its kind to be documented in Cairo, a distinction that applies equally to the four-*īwān* plan. (Creswell 1959, ii, 142ff.)

When al-Ẓāhir Baybars built his monumental mosque on the site of his polo-ground in the northern outskirts of Ḥusayniyya (665-7/1266-9), it was the first Friday mosque to be founded in the Egyptian capital for some 150 years. The mosque, with its pointed arches and monumental entryways, contains references to the Fāṭimid mosque of al-Ḥākim. The major innovation and the most spectacular feature of the building was the size of the wooden dome over the *miḥrāb*, which covers the *maḳṣūra* of nine bays and is borne by piers. The space between the courtyard and the domed zone is furthermore emphasised hy a transept running perpendicular to the arcades of the sanctuary. Creswell maintains that the dome was influenced by the Artuḳid mosque of Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*] built in the 6th/12th century. The building materials for Baybars' mosque had been seized as spolia from Crusader monuments during Baybars' triumphal campaign in Yaffa. The mosque was already falling into ruin during the mediaeval period (Creswell, 1950, ii, 155ff.; Bloom 1982). Baybars also founded in 671/1273 another monumental Friday mosque at Manshā' at al-Maharānī, between al-Ḳāhira and Fusṭāṭ, of which no trace exists today (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv, 119.). Baybars' reign produced a significant number of other secular and religious buildings in Egypt and Syria (Meinecke, ii, 6-51).

From al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn to al-Ashraf Khalīl. The buildings of al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], his wife Fāṭima Khātūn and his son al-Ashraf Khalīl [*q.v.*], cannot be connected directly to those of their predecessors, neither do they seem to have had a marked impact on their successors'. Ḳalāwūn was the first Mamlūk sultan to build a religious complex with his own mausoleum in the city centre. The complex (683-4/1284-5) which included a *madrasa*, a mausoleum and a great hospital, displays many unprecedented features: the verticality of the façade and its decoration, the plan of the mausoleum centred on an octagonal domed baldachin, the basilical plan of the prayer *īwān*. Most remarkable is the treatment of the façade with pointed-arch recessed panels which include the windows, the upper ones forming a triple composition consisting of a pair of arched openings surmounted by a bull's eye. This treatment recalls the architecture of Norman Sicily, the façade of the Ḳalāwūn complex in fact exhibiting a striking resemblance to the original frontage of the Cathedral of Palermo. The marble mosaics decorating the opulent interior are once again closely related to those of Norman Sicily and southern Italy (Creswell 1959, ii, 190ff.; Meinecke 1971; Behrens-Abouseif 1995, *Sicily*). The adjustment of the Ḳalāwūn complex façade to the alignment of the streets—so deviating from the Mecca-oriented axis within—is a device of urban aesthetics created in the Fāṭimid period and faithfully maintained under the Mamlūks. The complex was erected on the street side to the west, with a passage between the mausoleum and the *madrasa* leading to the hospital. The massive masonry minaret stands at the northern edge of the complex, juxtaposing harmoniously with the mausoleum dome. The *madrasa* is built around a courtyard with two unequal axial *īwāns* and two lateral recesses between which the multi-storied dwelling units were located.

The mausoleum is one of the most lavishly decorated monuments of mediaeval Cairo, displaying the entire repertoire of techniques of that time: carved and painted wood, stucco, inlaid and carved marble as well as, in the *miḥrāb*, conch-glass mosaic. The hospital, no longer extant, was not visible from the street; it is described in its *waḳf* deed as a lavish construction built in two perpendicular axes around a courtyard (see Herz's plan, in Creswell 1959, ii, 207). The plan of the mausoleum and the massive shape of the minaret of Ḳalāwūn remained unique in Cairene architecture.

In the cemetery of Sayyida Nafīsa are the remains of a funerary *madrasa* attributed to Fāṭima Khātūn (682-3/1283-4), a wife of Ḳalāwūn. Today only the funerary chamber with the gateway and the first storey of the rectangular minaret are extant. A photograph published by E. Diez (*Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Munich 1915) shows that this *madrasa* had arched recesses with the same triple-window composition that occurs on Ḳalāwūn's façade. Next to it, Ḳalāwūn's son, al-Ashraf Khalīl, a ruler who left no architectural work in the city centre, built his own funerary *madrasa* of which only the mausoleum is extant (687/1288). The three domes of Ḳalāwūn, his wife and his son Khalīl, have in common a high octagonal drum with windows set in recessed arches, and an oval profile, whereas the interior treatment of the transitional zones is different in each case (Creswell 1959, ii, 180-1, 214-15); Meinecke 1992, i, 42ff.).

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his immediate successors. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] was the greatest builder of the Baḥrī Mamlūk sultans. His long reign (693-741/1293-1341), interrupted by two interim periods (694-8/1294-99 and 708/1309) coincided with a period of relative peace and prosperity which was also the most fruitful for architectural achievement. Al-Nāṣir encouraged his *amīrs* to build mosques and palaces not only in the city itself but also in the outskirts on new land added to Cairo by the receding of the course of the Nile. Al-Nāṣir's second reign was already displaying the versatility characteristic of the architecture of the 8th/14th century (Meinecke-Berg 1977; J.A. Williams 1984; al-Harithy 2000).

In 703/1304, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad completed the *madrasa* next to his father's during the first interval of his reign by Sultan Lādjīn [*q.v.*]. The construction possesses a narrow façade whose total width in the upper reaches was occupied by the minaret and the mausoleum dome. The dome, which like the top part of the minaret is no longer extant, has an octagonal drum similar to that of the previous Ḳalāwūnids. The *madrasa* is built with four axial *īwāns* with multi-storied living quarters between them. The Gothic portal is a spoil from a church in Palestine (Creswell 1959, ii, 234ff.; Meinecke 1992, i, 49).

Once the mausoleum dome became an integral part of the façade design, the evolution of urban religious and/or funerary architecture during the 8th/14th century stimulated the builders to display their versatility in the individual treatment of the minarets and the mausoleum domes, and most of all to create a consistently harmonious composition incorporating these two elements. At the funerary foundations of Salār and Sandjar (703/1303-4), which could have been a *madrasa* or a *khānḳāh*, the minaret is juxtaposed with a pair of unequal-sized mausoleum domes that formed a singular silhouette when viewed from the street. Here the mausoleums are Mecca-oriented, but, exceptionally, not the *madrasa*/*khānḳāh*.

At the *khānḳāh* of Baybars II al-Djashankīr (706-9/1306-10), too, the funerary dome adjoins the minaret harmoniously, leaving the prayer hall on the other side of the courtyard because of the placement of the four-*īwān khānḳāh* on the eastern side of the street. The mausoleum chamber, richly decorated in marble mosaic, contrasts with the rather plain interior of the Ṣūfī institution. In addition to the living units overlooking the courtyard, there was a separate dwelling compound (Fernandes 1983).

The funerary *madrasa* of Sunḳur al-Saʿdī (715-21/1315-21), of which only the façade with the mausoleum and the minaret remain extant, presents further variation on the shape of minaret and dome. The rectangular brick shaft is particularly slender and has lavish *muḳarnas*, while the dome, whose drum is decorated with stucco bands around the windows, stands on an elliptic base (Creswell 1959, ii, 267f.-8; M. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Fahmī 1970). The small funerary mosque of Aydumur al-Bahlawān (747/1346), with one of the earliest masonry domes, is of the same composition.

Neither of the two major monuments of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad survives, sc. a great *khānḳāh* planned with his mausoleum at Siryāḳūs (a village to the north of Cairo) and his great mosque in the southern outskirts of al-Ḳāhira to the north of Fusṭāṭ (J.A. Williams 1984). However, his mosque at the Citadel completed in 735/1335 attests to artistic achievement under his patronage. The dome of its *maḳṣūra*, which is similar to but of lesser proportions than that of Baybars, was revetted in green tiles. Similarly, two unusual masonry minarets, one flanking the main entrance and another at the south-eastern corner, have a ceramic tilework mosaic in the Il-Khānid style decorating their upper part, which must have been the work of the Tabrīzī craftsmen reported to have come to Cairo at that time and to have been involved in the decoration of the no longer-extant mosque of Ḳawṣūn. Except for the use of ceramic on the dome and the minarets, the exterior is plain, in marked contrast to contemporary urban mosques.

Subsequent examples demonstrate that, due to urban constraints, the hypostyle courtyard mosque could no longer be accommodated within the city without sacrificing its symmetry. The Friday mosque of the *amīr* Almās al-Nāṣirī (729/1328-9), which also included the founder's mausoleum, has an irregular configuration (Karim 2000). The Friday mosque of Altinbughā al-Māridānī (739-40/1339-40), which in principle follows the plan of al-Nāṣir's mosque in the Citadel with three axial entrances and a large dome above the *miḥrāb*, has a corner of its sanctuary cut off to follow a bend of the street. At the mosque of Āḳsunḳur (747-8/1346-7), the façade is not parallel to the *ḳibla* wall but instead projects with the minaret out into the street. The minaret, originally with four instead of the usual three stories, could thus announce the mosque from an even greater distance (Behrens-Abouseif 1985, *Minarets*, 92-3). The heavily damaged interior of the mosque is characterised by cross-vaulted bays carried by piers, indicating Syrian influence (Meinecke 1973).

The funerary mosque (750/1349) of the *amīr* Shaykhū is also laid out according to an irregular plan. Together with Shaykhū's great *khānḳāh* built six years later across the street (757/1355), it forms an urban composition embracing the Ṣalība street with two symmetrical minarets and two similar portals. The *khānḳāh* has only the sanctuary with the *riwāḳ* or hypostyle plan, with living units on the three other sides of the courtyard. The enormous dwelling compound behind the prayer hall is the only one of its kind extant in Cairo. The use of the hypostyle sanctuary of traditional mosques in a *khānḳāh* had occurred already at the foundation of the *amīr* Ḳawṣūn (736/1335), built in the cemetery to the southeast of the Citadel. Today, only a stone minaret and a mausoleum dome stand. A reconstruction, however, shows that it had a double mausoleum on each side of the hypostyle sanctuary with the dwelling units most likely occupying the other sides of the court (Ali Ibrahim 1974).

The idea of building a religious complex on both sides of a street had been applied previously by the Amir Bashtāk (736/1336) with a *khānḳāh* connected to a mosque with a bridge; only a monumental minaret is extant.

The late Ḳalāwūnid period. Despite the political decline under the sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the devastation brought about by the Black Death (749/1348), the second half of the 8th/14th century was very productive and creative in terms of an architecture that continued to integrate exotic foreign patterns.

The *madrasa* of Ṣarghitmish (757/1356) displays the unusual combination of a four-*īwān* plan with a dome over the main *īwān*. The mausoleum dome projects boldly onto the street across the courtyard. The two domes are unexpected on the Cairene skyline; bulbous and with a high drum, their profile recalls Tīmūrid architecture, which, however, they pre-date. The mausoleum dome has a double shell, while that of the prayer hall was rebuilt with only one. Similarly recalling Tīmūrid dome profiles are the two ribbed onion-shaped masonry domes of the anonymous mausoleum known as Sulṭāniyya, which also have a double shell. The building has been assigned to the 750-60s/1350-60s. Despite the similarities, a direct influence from Samarḳand can be excluded on chronological grounds, but a common Iranian prototype from Western Persia or ʿIrāḳ must surely have influenced the Samarḳand and the Cairo domes (Meinecke 1976).

It is paradoxical that the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan, the most monumental of Mamlūk mosques and even of all mediaeval mosques at that time, was founded in the decade following the depredations of the Black Death. Although it took from 757/1356 to 764/1362

to build, its decoration was never completed. The funerary complex which includes a *madrasa* for the four *madhhabs* is the first Mamlūk teaching institution to be at the same time a Friday mosque, a combination that was subsequently adopted in all princely foundations. The complex stands beneath the Citadel, where it dominated an open square with the hippodrome, plainly visible from the palaces of the sultans at the Citadel. It is the only Mamlūk mosque to present a mausoleum behind the prayer hall that occupies the same width. The original dome, which collapsed in the 18th century, was described by an eyewitness as bulbous; it might have been similar to the wooden dome of the ablution fountain in the courtyard that has a rounded profile and no drum, or to the domes of Ṣarghitmish and the Sulṭāniyya mausoleum that possess a high drum, the latter with a pointed profile. Only one original minaret is extant, that flanking the mausoleum at the eastern corner. At *ca.* 80 m it was the tallest of its time, though the other one was replaced by a smaller structure in the Ottoman period. The placement of a dome between two minarets created a new perspective on the Cairo skyline (Kessler 2000). Two more minarets were planned at the entrance, according to al-Maḳrīzī, and as the buttresses themselves show; one was built and collapsed shortly afterwards so that the ambitious project of four minarets had to be abandoned. Like the design of the portal itself, the pair of minarets betray an Anatolian Saldjūḳ influence, albeit more than a century after the end of the Rūm Saldjūḳ period (Rogers 1972). The vestibule is roofed by a masonry dome flanked by three half-domes suggesting Byzantine inspiration, while remnants of glazed tile decoration in the lunettes of the mausoleum windows show the continuity of the Tabrīzī workshop. All the three-storey living units are arranged so as to overlook the street on the northern and southern façades of the complex. The interior has four gigantic vaulted *īwāns* around the courtyard, the sanctuary being the largest vault in the mediaeval Muslim world. The four sections of the *madrasa*, which are accessible from the corners of the courtyard have an analogous layout, with their cells overlooking the street on two sides. Although craftsmen from different parts of the Muslim world are reported to have worked at this monument, it is in essence and spirit a Mamlūk building.

The architecture of the Baḥri Mamlūks maintained an experimental and innovative character till the end of this period. Dome profiles, minarets and portals were not fully standardised; instead a variety of forms coexisted. The classical hypostyle courtyard mosque or *riwāḳ* mosque was gradually replaced by the more flexible *īwān* plan. This type of plan, whose exterior was not reflected in its interior of four unequal *īwāns* built around a courtyard, could better accommodate irregularities in the plot. Since Sultan Ḥasan the *madrasas* and *khānḳāhs* of the subsequent sultans and *amīrs* functioned as Friday mosques as well. Beside the rectangular-octagonal-cylindrical minaret (Salār and Sandjar, Baybars al-Djashankīr, Sunḳur al-Saʿdī, Ḳawṣūn) built in brick or masonry or in both materials with a ribbed domed pavilion (a disposition the Mamlūks inherited from their predecessors), the Baḥrī period created a new, more slender type with a stone shaft, either octagonal (Māridānī) or cylindrical (Āḳsunḳur, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the Citadel), and surmounted by an eight-sided pavilion crowned with a bulb on *muḳarnas*. Before masonry domes made an appearance in the mid-8th/14th century, Mamlūk domes were built either of brick or plastered wood. Two types of profiles were used for the domes, one that curves from the base (Baybars al-Djashankīr, Sunḳur al-Saʿdī) with a plain surface, and another that starts straight and curves at about one-third up the elevation. The second shape was used for ribbed and for carved masonry domes and is the characteristic form of later funerary architecture. During the Baḥrī period, initial experiments with masonry domes were undertaken. At first ribbed like their brick predecessors, they later appeared in other varieties. With the dome of Tankizbughā (769/1359), its surface carved with alternating concave-convex ribs, and that of Ildjāy al-Yūsufī (774/1373), carved with twisted ribs, Mamlūk dome builders opened up a new era in the design of masonry domes (Kessler 1976). For the transitional zones of brick or wooden domes, squinches and pendentives were used. The squinches were structured into niches with several tiers resembling a large *muḳarnas*. The pendentives of the domes of al-Nāṣir's mosque at the Citadel and of Sultan Ḥasan are made of wood. Stone domes were built mostly with angular pendentives carved with *muḳarnas*. Baḥrī Mamlūk decorators used largely stucco decoration on minarets and dome exteriors and in interiors, along with polychrome marble.

(ii) *The Circassian period*

Early Circassian (*784/1382 to the mid-9th/15th century*). Notwithstanding economic decline and monetary instability, the sultans and *amīrs* of this period continued to build religious foundations on a large scale. The Circassian period sets out with the reign of Sultan Barḳūḳ (784-91/1382-89 [*q.v.*]), whose funerary religious complex in the heart of the city does not make use of any novelties. Its sanctuary, however, has a tripartite basilical composition with a wooden flat ceiling. The funerary *khānḳāh* of his son Faradj (801-15/1399-1412 [*q.v.*]) is the first to be built by a sultan in the northern cemetery and its layout takes full advantage of the available space, deploying perfect symmetry with a double mausoleum and a double minaret. Its zigzag carved stone domes are the largest built by the Mamlūks, with a diameter of over 14 m. It is built on the hypostyle courtyard plan with piers supporting domical bays. Living units occupying two storeys were placed along the lateral arcades of the courtyard (Lamei Mostafa 1968).

Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's [*q.v.*] monumental, multifunctional complex of *madrasa-khānḳāh*-mosque (821/1418) possesses a similar layout to that of Faradj. This mosque became a Cairo landmark because of its twin minarets erected on top of the Fāṭimid towers of the Bāb Zuwayla, which bear the only builder's signature to be found in Mamlūk architecture. The mosque also had a third minaret at the northeastern entrance.

The reign of Barsbāy (825-41/1422-38 [*q.v.*]) introduced masonry domes with carved star patterns. His funerary *khānḳāh* (835/1432) in the northern cemetery includes three star-carved mausoleum domes which exemplify the progress made in dealing with the difficult task of adapting a geometrical symmetrical design to a domical surface (Kessler 1976). The unique architecture of this *khānḳāh* demonstrates that the cemetery at that time had become an urban environment necessitating other than purely symmetrical layouts. Instead of being built around an inner courtyard, the elements of the complex are juxtaposed along the road. The mosque has a lateral format with the mausoleum chamber juxtaposed to it, occupying the same width and similarly overlooking the road. Further south is the *khānḳāh* proper with the living quarters. Other

structures were built on the opposite side of the road, including a one-dome *zāwiya*.

Late Circassian (mid-9th/15th century to 923/1517).

Although the hypostyle courtyard mosque never totally disappeared, in the 9th/15th century, Friday mosques were increasingly built without an open courtyard (e.g. those of Īnāl, Ḳāyitbāy and Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī), adopting instead the plan of the *ḳāʿa* or reception hall current in Cairene residential architecture since pre-Mamlūk times. Already, the 8th/14th century had produced small covered mosques with an irregular plan which included *īwān*s around a covered courtyard, the adoption of the *ḳāʿa*, however, allowed the building of small covered mosques of a standard configuration. A major factor in the disappearance of the courtyard is the fusion of the functions of the *khānḳāh* with the *madrasa* and the Friday mosque; at the same time the abandonment of the original residential function of the *madrasa* and the *khānḳāh* rendered the cells around the courtyard superfluous (Behrens-Abouseif 1985).

The funerary mosque of Ḳidjmas al-Isḥāḳī (885-6/1480-1) is a genuine jewel of late Mamlūk architecture. It is remarkable not only for the refinement of its interior and innovative exterior decoration, but most of all for its almost triangular plan inserted between three streets, displaying an ingenious adaptation to the urban setting.

The reign of Ḳāyitbāy (827-901/1468-96 [see ḲĀʾIT BĀY] stimulated and refined architectural decoration, ushering in novel designs and techniques in both carving and marble inlay. The façade of his free-standing *sabīl-maktab* (879/1474) on Ṣalība Street and that of the mosque of Ḳidjmas al-Isḥāḳī present polychrome marble inlay of unprecedented intricacy.

During the 9th/15th century, domed *zāwiyas* and mosques were built. The earliest known belong to Barsbāy's funerary complex, two others were founded by Yashbak min Mahdī, the Great *Dawādār*, in the northern outskirts; the larger one, known as *Kubbat al-Fadāwiyya* (884-6/1479-81) was lavishly decorated with stucco, an unexpected choice at this period. Their architecture differs from that of funerary domes, built in brick and on squinches, the exterior being plain and lacking the conventional transitional zone (Behrens-Abouseif 1981, 1982, 1983).

The reign of Sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*] heralded a new era in the concept of architecture, with an emphasis on monumentality rather than minute decoration, at the same time bringing a new taste for ceramic revetment. At the Sultan's funerary complex (915/1501), the dome and the upper storey of the minaret were once entirely covered with lapis-blue tiles. This period also brought about an important change in the shape of minarets; the double bulb at the top was a new device and was used twice in combination with an entirely rectangular shaft at the two mosques of Ḳānibāy (908/1503, 911/1506), and once in combination with a facetted shaft at al-Ghawrī's tall minaret at the Azhar mosque. Al-Ghawrī's rectangular minaret at his own funerary mosque had four bulbs at the top. Ḳānibāy's funerary mosque (903/1503) beneath the Citadel unfolds a façade with an unusual broad format, inspired by its location overlooking the *maydān* from an elevated ground.

Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī managed to acquire a plot in the very centre of the city which allowed him to construct his foundation on both sides of the street, an unprecedented layout which may be considered as the peak of the urbanistic approach of Mamlūk religious architecture. The mosque and the minaret on the west side of the street face a monumental mausoleum, as deep as the *ḳibla īwān*, situated on the other side of the street and attached to a *khānḳāh* without dwellings and a *sabīl-maktab* projecting with three façades on to the street. A wooden roof covered the street, which widened to the north into a small piazza with booths and shops (Behrens-Abouseif 2002).

Although its layout is comparable to that of Ḳāyitbāy, the large funerary *khānḳāh* of the *amīr* Ḳurḳumās in the northern cemetery (911-13/1506-7) differs by its substantial proportions that make it one of the most monumental constructions in all Mamlūk architecture.

In the Circassian period, the harmonious juxtaposition of minaret and mausoleum dome continues to characterise the silhouette of funerary foundations. The increasing number of foundations of sultans and *amīrs* in the northern cemetery led to the urbanisation of its architecture that adopted the same street-oriented aesthetic criteria as in the city centre. This period maintained the tradition established in the late 8th/14th century of attaching to the religious foundation a *sabīl-maktab*, a structure consisting in a combination of fountain house with a primary school; the double structure was placed at a corner with the *sabīl* at ground level surmounted by the *maktab*. During the reign of Ḳāyitbāy, free-standing *sabīl-maktabs* were built, a tradition which was taken over in the Ottoman period. The reign of Ḳāyitbāy produced the domed *sabīl* recalling funerary architecture, such as the *sabīl* of Yaʿḳūb Shāh al-Mihmandār (901/1495-6) in Cairo and that of Ḳāyitbāy in the *ḥaram* of Jerusalem.

In the late Mamlūk period, the forms of portals, minarets, and domes were standardised, displaying a variety in their carved decoration, however, and reaching the peak of refinement at Sultan Ḳāyitbāy's mausoleum (877-9/1472-4).

Stucco decoration disappears from late Mamlūk architecture except for a short-lived revival in the reign of Ḳāyitbāy, namely at the Dome of Yashbak, albeit in a very different style. Stone-carving is more extensively used than in the past, and now adorns also *miḥrāb* conchs. Groin vaults become fashionable in the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th century, also characterising portal vaults.

B. Residential and domestic architecture in Cairo

Mamlūk residential architecture [see ḲĀʿA; RABʿ] is less well preserved than religious (see Gracin *et al.* 1982). Half-a-dozen *ḳāʿas* and the vestiges of four monumental palaces, those of Ālīn Āḳ, Ḳawṣūn, Bashtāk and Ṭāz, date from the Baḥrī period. These great princely residences were continuously restored and remodelled, making it difficult to assess their original form. Our knowledge of the different types of residential architecture has to rely on the enormous resources of *waḳf* documents.

The courtyard of Cairene residences, to which the main entrance leads, is generally surrounded by stables and service rooms. Cairene residential architecture was not "inward-facing" in the sense that it overlooked the courtyard and remained blind to the street. The courtyard was not the centre of the house, as in Syrian or North African constructions, but simply a semi-private space. There was a general preference for giving the main rooms a view over the street or the available scenery, depending on the site. There could be more than one courtyard according to the size of the *dār*, and in large mansions a courtyard could fulfil the function of a garden.

The main reception hall or *ḳāʿa* lay on the first floor, occupying the height of several storeys where

the smaller units or apartments (*riwāḳ* [*q.v.*]) were located. In the 9th/15th century, the *maḳʿad* becomes a salient feature of residential architecture. It is a loggia facing north and overlooking the courtyard on the first storey. Its origin seems to be associated with the architecture of 8th/14th century princely stables. The 9th/15th century presents another category of residences of less monumental, middle-size type of dwellings, such as the house of Zaynab K͟hātūn.

The palaces of the Citadel, which had undergone continuous restoration and refurbishment work by all Mamlūk sultans, are no longer extant. The most remarkable were the *īwān kabīr* and the *ḳaṣr* built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and maintained by all subsequent sultans (see Garcin *et alii* 1982, 41ff.; Behrens-Abouseif 1985; Rabbat 1995). The first was a basilical construction of gigantic dimensions employing Pharaonic columns. It had a ceramic green dome, as did the Sultan's mosque nearby.

As is to be expected, the decorative repertoire of residential architecture did not differ particularly from that of religious monuments. The royal palaces of the early Baḥrī period, however, did make use of murals depicting figures.

C. Religious architecture in Syria

As mentioned above, Mamlūk architecture of Greater Syria, including Palestine, followed regional schools autonomous from the capital, hence need to be dealt with separately. (The following brief summary is based on Meinecke for Aleppo and Damascus and Burgoyne for Jerusalem.) Whereas Cairene builders emphasised the verticality of their monuments with recessed panels around the windows, their Damascene colleagues stressed the horizontal configuration of their buildings with striped (*ablaḳ*) masonry as the essential exterior ornamental device. The use of recesses remained exceptional. In Damascus, the *madrasa* with the mausoleum of al-Ẓāhir Baybars built by his son Baraka K͟hān (676-8/1277-9) continues Ayyūbid traditions, with its four unequal-sized halls overlooking a courtyard; the prayer hall is connected to the domed funerary chamber. It is entirely decorated in glass mosaic, emulating the mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus (Meinecke 1992, i, 37-8). More characteristic, however, was a type of funerary foundations without a courtyard featuring two equal domes placed symmetrically on either side of the entrance, one of them with a *miḥrāb* to be used as a gathering and prayer hall, the other for funerary purposes. The *madrasa* of Fāridūn al-ʿAd͟jamī (744/1343-4), that recalls Cairene architecture with its four *īwāns* around a courtyard, was a special case. In the 9th/15th century, *madrasas* with two axial *īwāns* across a courtyard were constructed; plain Syrian *madrasas*, unlike the Cairene, were mostly built without a minaret, and Syrian minarets themselves were essentially rectangular with a sole balcony. Whereas octagonal shafts were also built throughout the Mamlūk period in Aleppo, in Damascus they appear only in the 9th/15th century. The Syrian dome profile remained close to the pattern established under the Ayyūbids, being rounded and occasionally ribbed.

In Aleppo, the plan of the hypostyle *riwāḳ* mosque built on piers supporting cross-vaulted bays, with or without courtyard, prevailed. The *madrasas*, built around a courtyard, have a lateral sanctuary roofed by a series of domes; cells and rooms of various sizes occupy the three other sides.

The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed the most intensive Mamlūk patronage in Syria. Although no new Friday mosque was founded in this period, beside the one already existing at the Citadel, Mamlūk *amīrs* surrounded the Ḥaram on three sides with *madrasas*, *k͟hānḳāhs* or *ribāṭs*, or multifunctional institutions, most of them with mausoleums, usually domed, attached to them (Burgoyne 1987). The mausoleums attached to buildings around the *ḥaram* were always placed on the *ḥaram* side. There was no standard plan, most religious foundations possessing a covered courtyard surrounded by a varying number of *īwāns* and rooms. The complex of the mighty governor of Syria Tankiz (729/1328-9) had a four-*īwān madrasa* with a vaulted courtyard. It is the most important Mamlūk foundation in Jerusalem, since it served urban needs with two *ḥammāms*, a dwelling complex and a covered market called *sūḳ al-ḳaṭṭānīn*. The only *madrasa* built by a Mamlūk sultan is the As͟hrafiyya started by Sultan K͟hus͟hḳadam [*q.v.*] and rebuilt under the auspices of Ḳāyitbāy by Cairene craftsmen, hence its metropolitan style (Walls 1990).

In Jerusalem, unlike in other Syrian cities, minarets were attached to *madrasas* and *k͟hānḳāhs*; six extant ones are attributed to the Mamlūk period.

The city of Tripoli has a number of well preserved handsome Mamlūk monuments founded after Sultan Ḳalāwūn liberated it from the Crusaders in 688/1289. Throughout the following century, the city witnessed an intense building activity (Salam-Liebig 1983). Al-As͟hraf K͟halīl, the son of Ḳalāwūn, founded the Great Mosque which was completed by his successor al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 714/1314-15. The architecture of the city is characterised by its masonry domes and vaulted spaces. In mosques and *madrasas* the larger dome is often not the one over the *miḥrāb*, but the central dome that covers the courtyard space (D͟jāmiʿ of Ṭaynāl, 1336; *Madrasa* of al-Burṭāsī, 1320s). The portals display half-domes on elaborate *muḳarnas* combined with carvings and *ablaḳ* masonry. Syrian *madrasas*, unlike those in Cairo, often lack living units.

An interesting feature of Mamlūk religious architecture in Syria is the carving of foundation deeds (*waḳfiyya*) on the external wall of the monument.

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A comprehensive collection of plans of Mamlūk monuments in Egypt and Syria is to be found in the first volume of Meinecke's *Mamlukische Architektur* (1992); the second volume lists all monuments known from the sources or from physical evidence to have been constructed in the Mamlūk period.

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(b) *The decorative arts*

Mamlūk art was less centralised than the other late imperial arts of the Muslim world as far as the decorative arts were concerned, a phenomenon due mainly to the absence of an equivalent of the Tīmūrid *kitābkhāna* or the Ottoman *nakkāshkhāna*. These royal workshops were in the first place set up to serve the arts of the book and thereby to fulfil the requirements of dynastic bibliophile patrons. While creating a repertory of designs for the illustration and illumination of books, they were involved in, and inspired, other media as well, the result being an interdisciplinary princely style. The Mamlūk rulers were not renowned as great book-lovers; the libraries which they sponsored were primarily part and parcel of their religious foundations in the city. However, in the Baḥrī period some crafts such as metalwork, glass and sgraffito ware advertised the aesthetic of titular epigraphy as the major decorative motif in art objects. Once the preponderance of titular epigraphy was no longer a characteristic feature of Mamlūk objects, i.e. by the end of the Baḥrī period, the decorative arts began to show different approaches to decoration across crafts as well as within the same craft.

A. Metalwork

The first period of Mamlūk metalwork continues the tradition established under the Ayyūbids. Zodiac and courtly themes (hunting and musicians) combined with animal friezes, along with epigraphic, geometric and floral designs, to decorate vessels in the second half of the 7th/13th century. At the same time, one final flowering of figural compositions rendered in an unprecedented monumental style and with great individuality occur shortly before figural themes were to disappear altogether from metalwork at the beginning of the 8th/14th century. This is apparent on the two vessels signed by Ibn al-Zayn, the so-called Baptistère de St Louis and the Vasselot bowl, both in the Louvre.

Mamlūk metalware is also strongly indebted to the Mawṣil tradition of silver inlay, as indicated by the large number of craftsmen signatures with the *nisba* of *al-mawṣilī* inscribed on objects until the mid-8th/14th century. Craftsmen from Mawṣil are believed to have migrated to the Mamlūk lands in order to escape the Mongol invasion. The continuity of *mawṣilī* signatures over a century after the end of the tradition in Mawṣil itself is a remarkable feature. During the first three quarters of the 8th/14th century, corresponding to the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his sons, the Mamlūks produced a large number of exquisite brass objects with silver inlay decoration (and sometimes also with gold) with monumental epigraphic bands in *thuluth* script as main theme, delineating royal or princely titles combined with blazons. During this period chinoiserie floral patterns were integrated into the Mamlūk floral repertoire, along with the occasional Chinese dragon or bird motif. Among the objects produced were candlesticks, incense-burners, Ḳur'ān boxes with Ḳur'ānic inscriptions, trays and tray bases, pen-boxes, ewers, bowls and basins. The shapes tended to vary little; Islamic metalworkers in general were more interested in surfaces than in creating new forms.

The Mamlūks also produced various types of suspensed lighting implements unparalleled in the Muslim world, most of which are in the Islamic Museum in Cairo. There is a group of large open-work polycandelons (*tannūrs*) in cast bronze. Among them those bearing names of Amīr Ḳawṣūn, Sultan Ḥasan and Sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī are remarkable. There are also polycandelons of pierced sheet-brass from the 9th/15th century. Composite lamps made of sheet-brass consisted of a tray, into which the glass lamps were inserted, surmounted by a spberical shade. The shade is densely pierced so as to form a translucent background against which inscriptions naming a sultan or an *amīr* stand out. Another group of lamps made of pierced sheet-brass was made in the shape of a truncated hexagonal pyramid, the base being the tray; it was produced throughout the entire Mamlūk period. Some metal lamps are signed but none has the Ḳur'ānic Verse of the Light which is so current on glass mosque lamps.

Very few metal art objects are known to have been produced between the last quarter of the 8th/14th century and the late 860-early 870s/1460s. With the revival of the production of metalware, a variety of new and disparate styles appear, without the monumental titular inscriptions characteristic of their Baḥrī predecessors. One group consists of dishes, bowls, basins, and lunch boxes made of tinned copper, and engraved with a series of interlocking bands forming cartouches and medallions filled with alternating inscriptions, knotted motifs and tight scrolls; the inscriptions are mostly benedictory verses, though princely names occasionally occur. This group, which lacks the calligraphic aesthetics of the earlier period, is indebted to Western Persian metalwork.

Another group consists of bowls with a rounded profile; their surface is plain except for a triple engraved band near the rim with inscriptions of a somewhat vernacular style with poetry and homilies. This group, too, harks back to some very similar Persian prototypes from 8th/14th century Shīrāz.

A group of spherical hand-warmers, lidded bowls and ewers with predominantly knotted and braided motives are attributed to late Mamlūk Syria. Some of the vessels combine a Mamlūk decoration with a European vessel, which indicate that objects were sent from Europe, mainly Italy, so as to be decorated in Egypt or Syria.

The group formerly known as Veneto-Saracenic and wrongly attributed to a Muslim workshop in Venice, has been now convincingly attributed to a late Mamlūk production (J. Allan 1986). The group differs strongly from mainstream Mamlūk metalware; their decoration is minutely engraved with unmatched refinement, recalling some Tīmūrid jugs, with new forms of scrolls and floral patterns against which silver-inlaid curved lines interlock to form neo-arabesques or lobed cartouches. The most famous of these vessels, many of which seem to possess European bodies, are signed by Mu'allim Maḥmūd al-Kurdī, one of about half-a-dozen identified craftsmen.

There is also a group of high-quality, luxurious basins with shallow facetted forms mentioning the name of Sultan Ḳāyitbāy. The facets and the relief patterns also point to Persian influence. A magnificent piece in Istanbul is inlaid with silver and gold.

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B. Ceramics

Mamlūk pottery can be divided into seven decorative and technical categories: sgraffito, slip-painted, underglaze-painted, overglaze-painted lustre, celadon imitations, unglazed moulded and unglazed painted ware.

The Mamlūks both imported and also imitated China celadon ware, and it is this imitation product, comprising a buff body with copper or red glaze in Chinese-inspired forms, that forms the largest group of wares unearthed at Fusṭāṭ. Sgraffito forms the most characteristic group of Mamlūk pottery. It is made of a coarse red clay, the design being scratched through the slip to reveal red lines from underneath a brownish or green glaze. The forms are related to those of metalwork, as is the decoration, which consists essentially of titular epigraphy with benedictions and blazons, which date them to the first half of the 8th/14th century. Some of these objects were made for the kitchen, as is attested by an inscription on a bowl in the al-Ṣabāḥ Collection in Kuwait. Another type of coarse red bodied vessels show a white slip painted in brown, green or yellow.

Underglaze-painted ware constitutes a very different case. Produced in Egypt and Syria in large quantities, this group is rarely inscribed. Syrian ware is supposed to possess a firmer and finer body with a sharper executed design, and some pieces are made of red earthenware. The vessels (jars, albarelli, bowls, dishes, and goblets) have a porous greyish white frit body covered with a white slip painted in blue, black, green and turquoise under a transparent glaze. Their designs are mostly geometric, dishes and bowls displaying an interior radiating motif centred at the bottom of the vessel. The geometric design is filled in with floral motifs and sometimes adorned with calligraphic decoration. They can easily be, and are sometimes, confused with Persian Sulṭānabād ware. They also include representations of animals (birds, rabbits, fish and horses), and fragments with figural representations were also found. As mentioned above, craftsmen from Tabrīz worked in 8th/14th century Cairo in the production of ceramic for architectural decoration.

In the 9th/15th century, a new style of underglaze-painted ceramic was developed, imitating the Chinese Ming blue-and-white wares imported in large quantities to the Mamlūk lands. The vessels of this period very often bear craftsmen's signatures, which show that the same workshop could turn out a variety of styles. Some *nisba*s of craftsmen (*al-hurmuzī, al-tawrīzī*) point to a Persian connection. In the early 9th/15th century, ceramic revetment was used in Syria and in Egypt in the form of underglaze-painted tiles decorated similarly to contemporary vessels. The Mosque of G͟hars al-Dīn al-Tawrīzī in Damascus (826/1424) contains a tile-clad *miḥrāb* signed by G͟haybī al-Tawrīzī, who also produced vessels and tiles in Cairo. Epigraphic blazons of supreme workmanship, inscribed with the name of Sultan Ḳāyitbāy set in a tympanum with blue-and-white floral decoration patterns, used to decorate a building of this sultan. The drum of al-G͟hawrī's mausoleum dome, itself once covered with blue tiles, also presents a blue-black and white underglaze-painted inscription along its drum (Prost 1916, 11ff.). The mausoleum of the *amīr* Sulayman dated 951/1544 is adorned with a similar inscription on its drum; the tympanums of its exterior door and windows include ceramic tiles with underglaze painted epigraphic and floral patterns.

Although lustre-painted ware is generally attributed to Syria, wasters found at Fusṭāṭ confirm the existence of Egyptian production (A. Yusuf 2000). Mamlūk lustre-painted ware which was exported to Europe is characterised by its beautiful golden lustre in blue, turquoise and brownish red.

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C. Glass

Like metalwork, Mamlūk enamelled and gilded glass continued the tradition of the Ayyūbids, using the same techniques and forms. After the craft reached its apogee, the production eventually came abruptly to an end in the late 8th/14th century. Although scholars have assigned the production of enamelled and gilded glass to Syria, where the technique was born, more recent research attributes a more preponderant role in this craft to Egypt, in light of the fact that the bulk of the consumption was there and that most of the objects concerned have been found in that region (Scanlon 1998). Tīmūr's sack of Damascus in 803/1401 is usually considered the reason for the abrupt end of this craft in Syria. However, Alexandria could have been another centre of production; a *wakf* document of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (published by Muḥammad Amīn in his edition of Ibn Ḥabīb's *Ta<u>dh</u>kirat al-nabīh*, ii, Cairo 1982, 432) refers to a glass factory in Alexandria belonging to the Sultan's *wakf* for his religious complex at Siryāḳūs. Unfortunately, it does not specify what kind of glass was produced there. The sack of Alexandria by Pierre de Lusignan of Cyprus in 1365 had a catastrophic effect on its economy. It may have had repercussions on its glass production and explain the fact that the few objects known to have been produced in the 770s/1370s show a marked decline in the quality and extent of enamelled decoration. Certain objects, such as beakers made for export, are not documented after the 770s/1370s. A short revival took place under Sultan Barḳūḳ, to whom about forty enamelled and gilded lamps are attributed. One should not exclude the presence of more than one centre of production. An enamelled lamp mentioning the name of Sultan Ḳāyitbāy (Wiet 1937), entirely different in style and techniques, testifies to endeavours during the artistic revival that took place under the auspices of this sultan.

Mamlūk glassmakers used a variety of shapes, sometimes in highly unusual large sizes, such as mosque lamps, goblets, bowls, flasks, bottles and vases, some of which are reminiscent of metalware. The glass was white or tinted, and never of perfect clarity. An outstanding group of enamelled and gilded vessels was those made of deep-blue glass, such as the famous Cavour vase (Newby 1998). The colours of the enamel—blue, red, yellow, green, brown, white and black—were applied as a vitreous paste, along with the gold, which fused with the surface upon firing.

As in metalwork, figural representations on secular objects were used until the 8th/14th century when they were replaced by epigraphy and blazons. The patterns, drawn with hair-thin lines, are extremely intricate. The mosque lamps made for Cairene religious buildings are among the most spectacular specimens of Mamluk glass; they bear a verse from the Sūra of Light (xxiv, 35) around the neck; whenever a patron's name is inscribed, it appears on the belly.

The Mamlūks also produced marvered and colourless vessels, as well as other types, moulded and/or with applied threads. Mamlūk glass was widely exported to all of Europe and to China.

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(Doris Behrens-Abouseif)

D. Arts of the book

Although little remains from the previous Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods, for the Mamlūks we have a wealth of material, both religious and secular, indicative of extensive book production and patronage. In fact, Mamlūk book production is comparable in volume and quality with that of major contemporary centres such as Il-<u>Kh</u>ānid Tabrīz and Tīmūrid Harāt. Many illustrated and illuminated examples survive, and we also have several original bindings.

(i) *Ḳur'āns*

Despite the evident connections between Ḳur'āns and secular books in terms of illumination and binding, for the sake of clarity they are best approached separately. As James (1992, 150) has pointed out, the particularly fine and grand Ḳur'āns that survive, the best dating from the 14th century and the first decade of the 15th, were made under the patronage of a sultan who then endowed them as *wakf* to a particular religious foundation or mosque, where they were generally reserved for ceremonial use. They are mostly in single volume form; few multi-volume Ḳur'āns withstood the intensive everyday use to which they were generally exposed.

One of the earliest outstanding Mamlūk Ḳur'āns that we possess is, however, in seven volumes (London, B.L., Add. 22,406-22,413). It dates from 705/1305-6 (Lings and Safadi 1976, nos. 66-9, James 1988, no. 1) and was copied for Sultan Baybars by Ibn al-Wāḥid, an outstanding calligrapher of the early 8th/14th century (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, no. 1104, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1348-50/1929-32, no. 3740). The illumination was the work of three artists, Muḥammad b. Mubādir; the famous Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, known as Ṣandal, who lived in Cairo at the beginning of the 8th/14th century; and his pupil Aydughdī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badrī, through whom Ṣandal's style maintained its influence until the 1330s. (see James 1988, ch. 3 for other works by these illuminators and for a discussion of the question of Il-Khānid influence; for Ṣandal, see Ṣafadī, no. 4843). Although there are evident differences between their individual styles, the general consistency of design indicates that one artist, almost certainly Ṣandal, had overall control. As is general in Mamlūk Ḳur'āns, the illumination is concentrated in the frontispieces, opening pages of text and the final colophon page. Marginal ornaments in the main body of the text consist of the words *khamsa* and *ʿashara* in gold Kufic over a piece of arabesque scroll. But one may also argue that illumination is projected onto the text itself, for in contrast to the normal use of *naskh* in this period, its large *thuluth* unusually written in gold letters outlined in black, makes it visually special and rich.

Another Ḳur'ān signed by Ṣandal as the illuminator (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Is 1479; see Arberry 1967, no. 59; James 1980, no. 25; James 1988, no. 3), and datable to between 704-10/1305-10, has a similar type of illumination, but with the striking addition of the use of relief. On the two carpet-like opening pages, the geometric figures of the decoration are given an impression of three-dimensionality by the fact that alternating pentagons are in relief. The equally innovatory carpet-like design consists of a central block with a geometrical formation interrupted by borders surrounded on three sides by a thick band, from which protrude thin spikes almost like the fringes of a carpet.

It also occurs in combination with relief in other examples such as that dated 735/1334 and copied in Cairo by Aḥmad al-Mutaṭabbib (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Ḳur'ān ms. 81; see Atil 1981, no. 3, also James 1988, nos. 15-18). Both scribe and illuminator, he was responsible for a new type of Ḳur'ān, introduced by *ca.* 720/1320, which is characterised by a larger format with illumination of high quality, and in which the preferred script is *muḥakkak*.

From the 1330s to the 1360s, Damascus, too, was an important centre of manuscript production (for a discussion of illustrated secular manuscripts from Damascus, see below). It seems, moreover, to have been stylistically innovative, and a distinctive feature in Ḳur'āns of this period that may have originated there (James 1992, 172-5) is the star polygon style, where the page is dominated by a large central star-burst made up of symmetrically enmeshed small polygons. One such Ḳur'ān (London, Khalili Collection, Qur807; see James 1992, no. 43), datable to *ca.* 730-40/1330-40, has a colophon (fol. 296b) stating that the scribe worked on it in the Umayyad Mosque, and there is a stylistically related Arabic translation of the Four Gospels, copied in 741/1340 for a Damascene cleric (Cairo, Coptic Museum, Ms. 90; see Simaika Pasha 1939, pls. XVIII-XX). Like several other Christian manuscripts of the period, it was illuminated in the manner of contemporary Islamic manuscripts, so that it also has other features in common with the Khalili Ḳur'ān, and there are another two such manuscripts with similar illumination that are also known to have been produced in Damascus, one, a Gospel in Arabic, now in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III, 3519; see Leroy 1967), the other, the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles in Arabic, in St. Petersburg (Academy of Sciences, D-228; see Khalidov, in Petrosyan (ed.) 1994, no. 23). The latter was commissioned by a certain "Jakomo", thought to have been an Italian Consul to Syria, and was copied by the monk Thomas (*Tūmā al-mutarahhib*), known as Ibn al-Ṣafī, in 742/1341 (for a list of eight manuscripts with some evidence of provenance from Damascus, see Contadini 1995, n. 8). To be noted also, from the 8th/14th century, is the diffusion of Mamlūk styles of illumination and binding from Damascus to Anatolia (see Tanındı 1991 and 2000).

There are also some superbly illuminated later Ḳur'āns in the star polygon style from Cairo, datable to the reign of Sultan Shaʿbān II (*r.* 764-78/1363-76). During the latter part of his reign, however, between 770/1369 and 778/1376, an entirely new style of painting was introduced in Cairo by Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī. Its most important departure was the abandonment of the preceding norm of infinite recursivity in geometric patterning, so that there could now be large blocks incorporating irregular figures. But he was also innovative with regard both to his subtle use of colour reversal and to the wider range of his palette, which was much more like that of ʿIrāḳ and Persia in the first half of the 8th/14th century (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Ḳur'ān mss. 9, 10 and 15; see James 1988, nos. 31, 32, 34 and 35). This style was to be followed until the early 9th/15th century.

(ii) *Secular manuscripts*

Abundant evidence for the arts of the book is also provided by the numerous illustrated and/or illuminated secular manuscripts that survive. They represent various literary genres, some continuing earlier traditions, as, for example, scientific manuscripts and the great literary cycles of the *Maḳāmāt* and *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, others reflecting the particular interests of certain strata of Mamlūk society, as witnessed, for example, by the revival of the Furūsiyya [*q.v.*] genre.

The illustrated manuscripts show a variety of pictorial sources. Several contain what may be termed "classical" elements that link them to 7th/13th century styles as exhibited, for example, in the Syro-ʿIrāḳī al-Ḥarīrī *Maḳāmāt* in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Arabe 6094) dated 619/1222, and thus ultimately to Byzantine models of portraying the human figure and dress. Although incomplete, the al-Ḥarīrī *Maḳāmāt* in the British Library (Add. 7293), dated Rabīʿ II 723/April 1323 allows us to see the prolongation of

this style into the Mamlūk period. (For both manuscripts see Grabar 1984, no. 2, pp. 8-9 and no. 9, pp. 14-15 respectively.)

Equally noteworthy is their frequent combination with elements of Saldjūḳ origin which provide links with North Djazīran 7th/13th-century manuscripts. They affect especially the human face, which is typically round, with narrow eyes, small mouth, straight, small nose and long hair, often with a curl in front of the ear (for lists of manuscripts with "classical" and Saldjūḳ influences, see Contadini 1988-9, nn. 29, 40). An early Mamlūk example showing strong Saldjūḳ influence is the Ibn Buṭlān *Risālat Daʿwat al-aṭibbāʾ* in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan (Ms. A. 125 Inf.) dated Djumādā I 672/December 1273 (see Mihriz 1961; also Löfgren and Traini 1975, vol. i, no. LXX, col. pls. I-VI).

The pictorial repertoire also includes features of Il-Khānid origin as, for example, in a particularly striking early 8th/14th-century al-Ḳazwīnī *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, where they are combined in a masterly fashion with "classical" elements (see Carboni and Contadini 1990; for Mamlūk/Il-Khānid relationships, see Rogers 1972). But it is essentially the integration of "classical" and Saldjūḳ features that characterises Mamlūk style, whereas the Il-Khānid element, consisting of landscape features such as large lotus flowers, recessed planes to provide depth, and the use of free brush strokes (e.g. for leaves), normally affected specific features without resulting in a similar stylistic fusion.

There were doubtless several centres of production of illustrated manuscripts, but very few colophons identify a place. However, we can at least be certain about Damascus and Cairo. Damascus again comes to the fore at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, as demonstrated by a *Maḳāmāt* in the British Library (Or. 9718), which contains the name of the scribe and illuminator (fol. 53a), Ghāzī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashḳī, who lived and worked there and died in 709/1310 (see Mayer 1942; Grabar 1984, no. 7, p. 13. For al-Dimashḳī, see Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī 1929-32, vol. ii, p. 134).

A provenance from Damascus can also be argued for a further four illustrated manuscripts dated between 734/1334 and 755/1354 on the basis of stylistic affinity, allied to documentary evidence concerning the compiler of one of them, the Ibn Bakhtīshūʿ *Kitāb Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān* in San Lorenzo del Escorial dated 755/1354 (Ar. 898; see Contadini 1988-9, with bibl.). Their illustrations have very similar characteristics, not all, however, shared by other Mamlūk manuscripts, such as the solid gold background of their miniatures and the frame consisting of one or more blue lines with decorative additions. At the same time, they conform to Mamlūk norms by containing pronounced Saldjūḳ features and, if in differing degrees, Il-Khānid ones. Further, the illumination in all four is very similar, when not identical, to that of the Khalili Ḳurʾān and the two Christian manuscripts mentioned above which also come from Damascus. This style of illumination will survive in Damascus until well into the 9th/15th century, as demonstrated by a copy of *Fākihat al-khulafāʾ wa-mufākahat al-ẓurafāʾ* (St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, C-651; see Khalidov, in Petrosyan (ed.) 1994, no. 32) by the Damascene Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿArabshāh, copied by Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī in Rabīʿ I 852/June 1448 under the author's supervision.

For Cairo, on the other hand, we lack direct evidence for production, although it is generally thought that those manuscripts that have a more "classical", conservative style might have been produced there rather than in the more innovative Damascus.

The little that survives of late Mamlūk painting exhibits a rather striking stylistic blend which also absorbs Djalayirid, Turkmen and Ottoman influences, especially with regard to the depiction of landscape and costume. Representative examples are the late 8th/14th-century *Kashf al-asrār* by Ibn Ghānim al-Maḳdisī (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Kara Ismail 565; see Ettinghausen 1962, pp. 158-9), the mid-9th/15th-century *Kitāb al-Ẓardaḳa* (Istanbul, University Library, inv. no. 4689; see Bittar 1996, 158), the *Iskandar-nāma* of Aḥmadī datable to 872/1467-8 (Istanbul, Univ. Library, T6044; see Atıl 1984) and the early 10th/16th-century *Shāh-nāma* (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Hazine 1519; see Zajączkowski 1965 and Atasoy 1966-8) made for Sultan Ḳānsawh al-Ghawrī (*r.* 906-22/1501-16).

(iii) *Bindings*

Numerous Mamlūk bindings have survived, consisting predominantly of leather with blind tooling, although often features are highlighted in gold.

There are resemblances between Mamlūk and Ottoman bindings of the 8th/14th and early 9th/15th centuries (Raby and Tanındı 1993, 7-11 and ch. 1), while at the same time 8th/14th-century examples may resemble contemporary Persian bindings, as is shown by two Ḳurʾāns in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, one (of *ca.* 746/1345, Is 1465, see James 1980, no. 33) made in Cairo, the other (dated 738/1338, Is 1470, see James 1980, no. 49) in Marāgha. Both have bindings in light brown leather with a pointed star in the centre of an empty field with a scalloped decoration at its outer border, the whole decorated with blind tooling. In other examples, the central ornament is an oval medallion, and in either case related designs appear in the four corners of the field.

This type of composition was to remain important, but more examples survive of a second type in which the whole field is covered. There are examples with arabesque or floral designs, but more frequently we find strapwork forming polygonal compartments which often contained tooled knotwork motifs, with the strapwork sometimes radiating out from a central star which echoes the star polygon style of illumination.

Bindings were sometimes lined with silk, but more often the doublures were decorated with block-pressed leather. During the period of Sultan Ḳāyitbāy (*r.* 872-901/1468-96), we witness an age of experimentation which includes the use of filigree for both inner and, especially, outer covers. This seems to reflect influence from Persia, where, in the 9th/15th century, filigree was already the norm. The use of filigree, together with other Mamlūk features of layout of design, were in turn to influence Italian bookbinders of the late 15th century (Hobson 1989, ch. 3).

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(iv) Numismatics

While the coinage of the Mamlūks was manufactured from the usual metals: gold, silver and copper, with the traditional Islamic denominational names: dīnār, dirham and *fals* [*q.vv.*], it belonged to a distinctive currency family of its own which underwent a process of evolution unlike that of any other coinage series. Its 267-year history can be divided into three distinct periods that overlap one another to a greater or lesser extent.

The first period was little more than a continuation of the late Ayyūbid style of gold dīnārs and silver dirhams as struck by al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. The field legends on the dīnārs were in circular fields with a single prominent marginal inscription, while those on the dirhams were in a square field with the remaining texts in the four marginal segments. This "pseudo-Ayyūbid" coinage was issued between 648 and 658/1250-60, from the accession of Shadjar al-Durr until that of al-Ẓāhir Baybars. While the weights of the dīnār and the dirham were not consistent enough for payments to be made by tail, individual pieces roughly approximated the weight of the coinage dīnār/*mithḳāl*, 4.25 gr, and the canonical dirham, 2.97 gr.

The second coinage type was initiated by al-Ẓāhir Baybars, the real founder of the Baḥrī Mamlūk state. While the legends on his dīnārs continued to be placed in a circle within a surrounding marginal legend, their calligraphy was carried out in a thinner and more refined *naskhī* script than that previously used. At the same time that the dies became wider in diameter, the flans upon which there were struck became thinner and more irregular in shape, so that large portions of the marginal legends are usually missing from the struck coins. Because these legends carried the mint and date formula, it is often difficult to place and date early Baḥrī Mamlūk dīnārs. With the passage of time, marginal legends became smaller and less legible until they shrank away altogether and their inscriptions were incorporated into the field legends. The Baḥrī Mamlūk dirham lost its original square in circle design and became a simple field legend inscribed in a circle with the mint and date around the edge in discontinuous words.

The Baḥrī Mamlūk-style dīnār was struck from 658/1260 until 830/1427 and the dirham from 658 until the early 800s/1400s. Both coins were beset by

highly irregular weights and careless manufacture. The gold is usually regarded as no more than stamped ingots of totally random weights. The purity of the metal, however, was guaranteed by the sultan's stamp which ensured the high standard of its fineness as a trade commodity. The dirham, while less irregular in weight, was a shabby simulacrum of the attractive coinages of the preceding centuries. It was manufactured from silver approximately two-thirds fine then often struck cold on irregular flans. The variety usually regarded as a full dirham weighed around three grams, but there was a second type, regarded as a fractional dirham, whose flans were cut from bars with a chisel and then stamped with dies twice or more the size of the flans so that only one or two words of the legends were visible on their surface. Another method of manufacturing flans for fractional dirhams was to pour the molten metal over a cone of charcoal immersed in a bowl of water. The spattered droplets of base silver would then be stamped and placed in circulation.

Since Mamlūk gold had virtually ceased to be used in regular trade and silver was too rare to be a reliable standard of exchange, the Baḥrī Mamlūk state was forced to rely on the copper *fals* as its principal coinage metal. Copper was struck from the reign of Baybars onwards, initially with random weights and designs, but later, during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan in 759/1358, the *fals* took on the status of an official coinage metal as the copper or trade dirham, probably due to the economic hardship caused by the Black Death in Egypt in the previous decade. As a result, enormous quantities were put into circulation, a perfect illustration of Gresham's Law, because silver became virtually unobtainable. Although these *fulūs* "dirhams" were theoretically struck at the familiar weight of one *mith̲ḳāl* apiece, their metallic value was purely nominal. The mints were therefore under no compulsion to maintain their theoretical weight or to put any concerted effort into maintaining the quality of their manufacuture. Thus it was that by the turn of the 8th/14th century the commercial classes of Egypt and Syria had lost all trust in their native currency and had turned, for lack of better, to the use of foreign coins.

In the second half of the 7th/13th century, the trading states of Italy were able to introduce and maintain stable gold coinages which became the standard commercial currencies of the Mediterranean and beyond. The first of these were the Florentine and Genoese florins which appeared in 1252 (A.H. 650), followed by the Venetian ducat in 1284 (A.H. 683). All three weighed slightly over 3.50 gr, with roughly the same diameter, and were thus easily exchanged against one another. The plentiful supply of these coins and their dependable value, much like the use of the U.S. dollar in financially-troubled countries today, made them the currency of choice in Levantine trade.

The pressure for currency reform grew to the point where the Burd̲j̲ī Mamlūk ruler Farad̲j̲ ordered his *ustād̲h̲ār*, Sayf al-Dīn Ilbug̲h̲ā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sālimī al-Ẓāhirī, to strike new dīnārs to the traditional monetary *mith̲ḳāl* standard alongside the stamped ingot gold. According to al-Maḳrīzī, this reform was initiated in A.H. 803, but the Sālimī dīnārs are known only from 804 and a few from 805. While the principal coin weighed the usual 4.25 gr, multiples of two and three dīnārs and fractions of half and quarters are known. This misdirected reform attempt failed utterly and left only a small handful of pieces to testify to its existence.

Farad̲j̲ made a second attempt at reform in 810, although al-Maḳrīzī records 811, introducing the new sequin, ducat or florin-style Nāṣirī dīnār. These coins, weighing 3.50 gr, were the Islamic equivalent of the Venetian ducat and were intended to supplant it in local trade. They, too, were issued concurrently with the ingot-style dīnārs between 810 and 815 in the name of al-Naṣr Farad̲j̲, the ephemeral ruler, the caliph al-Mustaʿīn in 815 and al-Muʾayyad S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ in 815 and 816.

The rulers and the mints were clearly in a quandary over how they could keep the Mamlūk gold coinage both Islamic in character and competitive in value with the ducat and could restore the silver dirham in its weight and alloy to become a reliable coinage for daily purposes. The silver reform began in 815/1412 and continued for at least the next seven years. The new coinage was struck on the dirham standard weighing 2.70 gr, with a half of 1.35 gr and a quarter of 0.67 gr. It imitated a well-known Ayyūbid design used on the Damascus coinage of al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr I, a by-word for excellence from the distant past. Then, in about 820, al-Muʾayyad S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ followed up his reform silver with another attempt at a *mith̲ḳāl*-weight gold coinage. Two dīnārs are known dated 821 and 823 and a single half-dīnār from 823. This attempt at reform apparently went unnoticed by contemporary historians. Al-Muʾayyad S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ was succeeded after his death in 824/1421 by three ephemeral rulers until al-As̲h̲raf Barsbāy came to the throne in 825/1422. No gold of his is published dated between 825 and 829. The last ingot-style dīnārs to be recorded are rare issues of his dated 829 and 830. The former year, however, witnessed the re-introduction of the 3.50 gr ducat-style coinage, a reform which brought the Mamlūk lands into what became in effect an eastern Mediterranean monetary union. The new Mamlūk dīnār, as struck by al-As̲h̲raf Barsbāy, was known colloquially as the *as̲h̲rafī*, a name which followed it wherever the denomination went, to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlū, ʿOth̲mānlīs and Ṣafawids in the East and to the Mag̲h̲ribī states in North Africa.

Because the new coin was of reasonably standard weight and alloy, prices could be established by numbers of actual coins rather than by weight of metal. In this connection, it is interesting to note that many Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid dīnārs originally struck on the monetary *mith̲ḳāl* standard have been found clipped down to the weight of the *as̲h̲rafī* in order to enable them to pass current in trade. This convenience was also available to those who paid in silver, the most popular coin being the half-dirham or *muʾayyidī*, later known as the medin, a denomination which, like the *as̲h̲rafī*, remained in use in ʿOth̲mānlī lands until the early decades of the 12th/19th century.

The legends on the Mamlūk coinage are divided into the religious and the secular. The religious are drawn from the Holy Ḳurʾān, the principal text being the declaration of faith, or *kalima*: "There is no god but God" followed by the Divine Commission "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God", sūra XLVIII, 29, and then the words of prophetic witness in whole or in part: "He sent him with the guidance and [the] faith of the truth, so that he may proclaim it above every faith even if the polytheists dislike (it)", IX, 33 or LXI, 9. This text is frequently supplemented by a phrase from III, 122, which, because of its regular use, could be characterised as the Mamlūk "symbol" or motto: "For victory comes but from God". Occasionally another phrase from XI, 88, was used: "And my success [in my task] can only come from

God". While the *kalima* is only found on the obverse, the supplementary phrases appear above either the obverse or reverse fields, or on both.

The reverses on the gold and silver coinage carry the royal protocol. In the first Baḥrī Mamlūk period, the ruler was simply entitled *Malik*, or in the exceptional case of Shad̲j̲ar al-Durr, *Malikat al-Muslimīn*. This was usually followed by a *lakab*, e.g. Nūr al-Dīn, the ruler's name and that of his father, if of royal parentage. Rulers also placed the name of their spiritual overlord, the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim bi'llāh, on the obverse field, but after his overthrow in 656/1258 his name was removed from the legends.

The establishment of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Cairo by al-Ẓahir Baybārs in 659/1261 reinforced the legitimacy of the Mamlūk state by relocating and naturalising the font of honour in the Islamic world and making the caliph an officer in the Mamlūk court. The first caliph, al-Mustanṣir, repaid the offer of refuge by granting Baybārs the double title of *al-Sulṭān al-Malik* and the honorific *Ḳāsim Amīr al-Muʾminīn* "Partner of the Prince of the Believers". After al-Mustanṣir's early death, Baybārs briefly recognised his successor al-Ḥakīm on the Syrian coinage, but thereafter the caliph's name was omitted. The title *Ḳāsim Amīr al-Muʾminīn* was also included in the royal protocols of Ḳalāwūn, Kitbug̲h̲ā, Baybārs II and the early coinage of Muḥammad I after which it, too, ceased to be used.

The early Baḥrī rulers of non-regal parentage proclaimed themselves as former royal Mamlūks, Baybārs and Ḳalāwūn used the *nisba* of *al-Ṣāliḥī* (after al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb) on their coins, while Kitbug̲h̲ā, Lād̲j̲īn and Baybārs II placed *al-Manṣūrī* (after al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn) on theirs. The use of the *nisba* was discontinued on the accession of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I b. Ḳalāwūn because all subsequent Baḥrī rulers were either his sons, grandsons or great-grandsons. Thus the protocol of the penultimate Baḥrī ruler reads: *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʿAlāʾ al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf S̲h̲aʿbān b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad ʿazza naṣruhu*. The succeeding Burd̲j̲ī Mamlūk rulers included their royal paternity wherever possible, but as the great majority succeeded through the consensus of the *amīrs* or by *coup d'état*, the inclusion of a *kunya* in the royal protocol was used as a substitute for royal paternity. Thus: *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf Abu 'l-Naṣr Barsbāy ʿazza naṣruhu* or *al-Sulṭān al-Malik Abū Saʿīd K̲h̲us̲h̲kadam ʿazza naṣruhu*. Note that the protocol is followed by the pious invocation *ʿazza naṣruhu* "may his victory be glorious" or, occasionally, *k̲h̲allada Allāh mulkahu*—"may God perpetuate his kingly rule". Many other Islamic dynasties made free use of these invocations to honour their rulers.

The Mamlūks operated mints in both their Egyptian and Syrian possessions. Cairo, *al-Ḳāhira*, struck coin for all rulers except for a few rebels or usurpers whose power base lay in Syria. Its principal responsibility was to coin gold and silver, while copper production only became important during the silver shortage from 759 to the end of Barḳūḳ's first reign in 791. The second Egyptian mint was Alexandria, *al-Iskandariyya*, which mainly struck gold between 650 and 693 and then again from 752 until 824. During the latter period it also participated in the ruinous production of copper dirhams.

The main Syrian mint (the second in the state) was located in Damascus, *Dimas̲h̲k*. As might be expected, its silver and copper is very well known because silver was the more popular coinage metal in Syria, although gold is frequently found. The next in importance is Aleppo, *Ḥalab*, well known for its silver and copper, with occasional gold issues. The other Syrian mints are Ḥamā, *Ḥamāt*, Tripoli, *Ṭarābulus*, and the recently identified Latakia, *al-Lād̲h̲ikiyya*. The first two produced sporadic issues of silver, but more often copper, while the third is known from only two silver pieces struck in the name of Muḥammad I.

All mints were occasionally given the epithet *al-maḥrūsa* "the guarded", while *t̲h̲ag̲h̲r* "frontier port" is sometimes found on gold from Alexandria. Aleppo is also known as *Madīnat Ḥalab* on some of its ingot-sized gold. Because of defects in the manufacturing process: off-centre striking, weak strikes, dies too large for the flans, plus the inevitable wear and tear of heavy circulation, a very large proportion of Mamlūk coins are difficult to attribute precisely and often many specimens are needed from various sources to make out the details of an individual issue.

While many of the Mamlūk sultans were no more than ephemeral rulers whose presence made little or no impact on the state other than having their names recited in the *k̲h̲uṭba* and inscribed on their *sikka*, certain powerful rulers were acknowledged as overlords on the coinage of neighbouring states. Steven Album has recorded these issues as follows: Baḥrī Mamlūks, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I: Beys of Ḥāmid, Antalya; local beys, ʿAlāʾiyya (Alanya), Silifke and Bazard̲j̲ik; Eretnid, Ḳayṣariyya and other very rare Anatolian types; al-Nāṣir Ḥasan: Artuḳid, Āmid (Diyārbakr); al-As̲h̲raf S̲h̲aʿbān II: Ḳaramānid, Ḳonya and Burd̲j̲ī Mamlūks: al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ: Artuḳid, Āmid, Mārdīn; al-As̲h̲raf Barsbāy, Ḳaramānid, al-ʿAlāʾī, Ḳonya, Lāranda, Beys of Alanya, ʿAlāʾiyya and other rare Anatolian types, al-As̲h̲raf Aynāl, Malkis̲h̲ Kurds, Čemis̲h̲kezek and al-Ẓāhir K̲h̲us̲h̲kadam, Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Arzind̲j̲ān and Āmid. These issues should be regarded as evidence of political submission for local use rather than as tribute payments to be sent to Cairo. One well-known flow of tribute, however, is recorded from the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I. In 722-3/1322-3 the Mamlūks captured Sīs [*q.v.*], the capital of Cilician Armenia, seized its treasury and then imposed an annual tribute of 1,200,000 trams which was collected for many years thereafter. Balog observes that this treasure served to succour the chronically deficient Mamlūk silver currency. Part was probably melted down and restruck, part put into circulation directly (made possible because the Mamlūk dirham had no fixed weight standard itself) and part overstruck by dies bearing al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's name. Examples of these overstruck trams of Oshin (1308-20) and Levon IV (1320-42) are regularly found in silver hoards of the period.

The calligraphy and ornamentation seen on Mamlūk coins vary in quality from the superb dīnārs of al-As̲h̲raf K̲h̲alīl to the crude late Baḥrī dīnārs of al-Ḳāhira and al-Iskandariyya. The die-sinkers generally employed various styles of *nask̲h̲ī* script ranging from the well executed and highly legible to the hastily inscribed, virtually scribbled. For the later Baḥrī period it is easy to distinguish at a glance which coins came from Egyptian mints and which from Syria. The latter show the die-sinkers to be genuinely artistic craftsmen, while those of Egypt had only mediocre abilities. This disparity in calligraphic standards tended to disappear during the Burd̲j̲ī period so that it is often difficult to tell the difference between Egyptian and Syrian issues. It is interesting to note that on the half-dirhams issued by the later Burd̲j̲ī rulers from the mint of Ḥalab the *kalima* is inscribed in Turkoman Kufic. Turkish influence is also evident in the style of the many small knots of felicity, scrolls and flowerets

that ornament the dies alongside seemingly random diacritical points and monumental *shaddas* over the word Allāh.

Much has been made by numismatists of the "heraldry" [see RANK] found on Mamlūk coins. However, heraldry in the European sense is totally foreign to Arab Islamic culture, although Turkish tribal *tamghas*, part of the folk culture of Central Asia, made their artistic influence and utility felt at a time when most people were illiterate. Traditionally, representations of animate objects on Islamic coins had been banned from the gold and silver coinage and restricted to the copper *fals*. The first major exception to this was when Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II, the Saldjūk Sultan of Rūm, placed the lion and sun, depicting the "sun in Leo", on the silver dirhams he had struck in Konya and Sīwās between 638 and 641/1240-4. While this depiction of royal power was hastily removed after his defeat by the Mongols, it may have been the precedent seized upon by al-Ẓāhir Baybārs when he placed his badge of a prowling lion or leopard on his gold, silver and copper coinage. His son al-Saʿīd Baraka Khān continued to use it during his brief reign, 676-8/1277-9, but after that the placing of all such devices on the gold and silver coinage was discontinued. Moreover, none was used on the long series of copper "dirhams" struck in Egypt in the second half of the 8th/14th century. A rich variety of animate and inanimate designs, the choice of which was probably left to the local die-sinker, were placed on the copper *fulūs* struck for local use to make it impossible for silver-washed copper to pass as silver dirhams. This anti-counterfeiting measure was also used by many other dynasties, including that of the ʿOthmānlīs. While many designs may be associated with an individual Mamlūk ruler, and may also have been employed on metalwork made for his use, the *fulūs* were generally too insignificant for any consistency to be applied to their designs.

In conclusion, the evidence furnished by the Mamlūk coinage may be said to provide an accurate reflection of the political and economic challenges faced by late mediaeval Egypt and Syria during the time of the Black Death, uncertain political leadership and the growing European economic influence in the eastern Mediterranean world.

Bibliography: Mamlūk numismatics has been well served by the masterly study by P. Balog, *The coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, ANS Numismatic Studies no. 12, New York 1964, with exhaustive source notes and supplemented by many additional articles by him and others since then. For a valuable modern summary, see the section *Mamlūk* in S. Album's *Checklist of Islamic coins*, [2]Santa Rosa, Calif. 1998, 51-5. (R. DARLEY-DORAN)

MANSHŪRĀT (A.), the term for the letters, *responsa* and edicts of Muḥammad (Aḥmad) b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1885), the Sudanese Mahdī [see AL-MAHDIYYA]. These individual documents were transcribed by his followers in numerous manuscript collections, three of which are described in P.M. Holt, *Three Mahdist letter-books*, in *BSOAS*, xviii [1956], 227-38. An authorised text was lithographed in Omdurman (Umm Durmān) during the Mahdiyya in four volumes: the first consists of general and doctrinal pieces, including Muḥammad Aḥmad's justification of his claim to be the Mahdī; the second (*al-indhārāt*) contains his letters and proclamations summoning various individuals and groups to join the Mahdiyya (cf. Holt, *The Sudanese Mahdia and the outside world*, in *BSOAS*, xxi [1958], 276-90); the third (*al-aḥkām*) gives his rulings on matters of law and custom; the fourth (*al-khuṭab*) comprises his sermons. Photographic reproductions of these volumes were published in Khartoum in 1963 under the auspices of the Sudanese Ministry of the Interior. The editor (not there named) was Dr. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, who has also produced an invaluable guide to the documents and their sources as *al-Murshid ilā wathāʾiḳ al-Mahdī*, Khartoum 1969, and a selection of these and later Mahdist documents in *Manshūrāt al-Mahdiyya*, n.p. [Beirut] 1969. He has now published a complete edition of the Mahdī's writings, *al-Āthār al-kāmila li 'l-Imām al-Mahdī*, 7 vols. Khartoum 1990-4.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P.M. HOLT)

AL-MAR'A.

6. In Southeast Asia.

The Muslim peoples of Southeast Asia are found in the modern nation-states of Indonesia, Malaysia (and in these two states they comprise the majority), Thailand (in the five southern provinces, culturally very close to the neighbouring region of the northern Malay Peninsula) and in the Philippines (Mindanao). Islamisation of these populations has been ongoing since the 15th century and continues in the 21st century (total population conservatively estimated at 220 million). Travellers to the region from the earliest times have remarked on the prominence of women in commerce, agriculture and spiritual life. Bilateral kinship systems are still the norm for most societies in the region, with some notable exceptions such as the matrilineal Minangkabau of West Sumatra, also found throughout Indonesia and in Negeri Sembilan on the Malay Peninsula. Although Islam assumes a patrilineal descent system, the traditionally high status of women in Southeast Asian societies means that women continue to play a public role in many areas of social and, especially, economic life, which contrasts with the situation in many other Muslim cultures. In some cases, this has also led to local and particular interpretations and applications of the *Sharīʿa*, especially in matters of inheritance.

Before the 20th century, the traditional power structure of the region was based on small fiefdoms led by charismatic rulers and local chiefs. The fiefdoms in turn were oriented towards centres of influence (e.g. Sriwijaya, Melaka, Mahapahit, Aceh and Ayuthia), which shaped the cultural and religious forms of their satellites. The élites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained older traditions. Thus, when Islam was accepted by the leaders of centres of power such as Melaka and Aceh, it was added to a spiritual armoury already consisting of a broad mix of animist and ancestor cults, and also of Hindu and Buddhist beliefs, in all of which women played important roles. There was an eclectic expression of Islam with a special appreciation of Ṣūfism and less concern with scriptural prescription. In this context, the traditional role of women as important figures in spiritual matters continued. This came under threat, however, in the early and mid-19th century when Southeast Asian pilgrims were influenced by Wahhābī concerns and attempted to institute "reforms" in their local areas (see b, below).

(a) *Status of women before the 19th century*

The status of women was such that at the courts of the Muslim kingdoms of Aceh (northern Sumatra) and Patani (now in southern Thailand), four queens ruled for extended periods during the 17th century. Female rule in Aceh ended late in the 17th century when court *ʿulamāʾ* obtained a *fatwā* from Mecca stating that women could not be rulers. It has been usual

The mosque (1262-3) of al-Ẓāhir Baybars

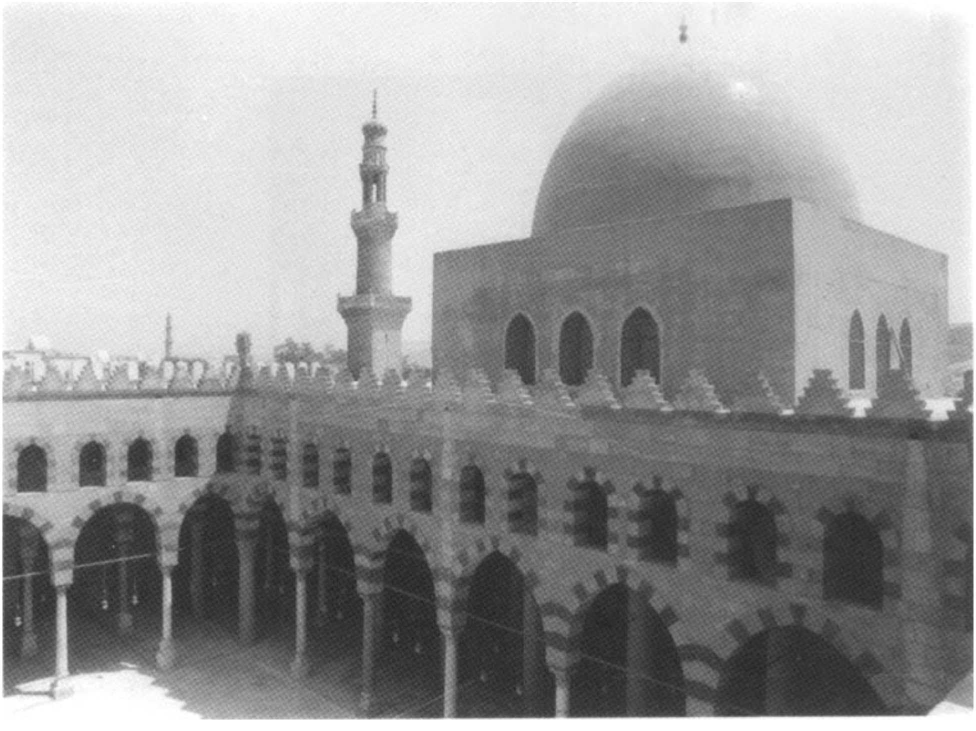

The mosque (1335) of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the Citadel with the eastern minaret and the dome over the *miḥrāb* (the dome is a modern reconstruction)

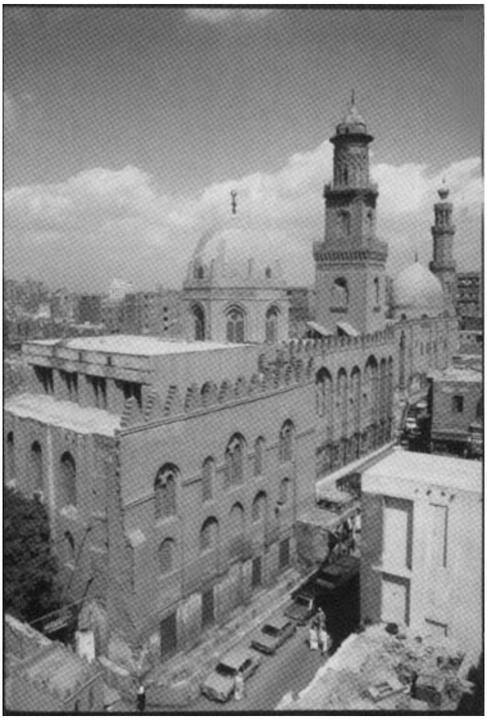

The funerary complex (1284-5) of Sultan Ḳalāwūn, with the funerary complex (1384-6) of Sultan Barḳūḳ in the back (B. O'Kane)

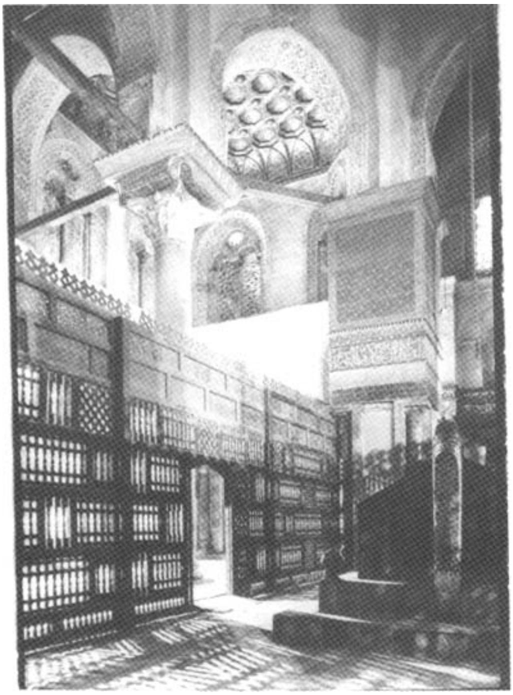

Interior view of the mausoleum of Sultan Ḳalāwūn (B. O'Kane)

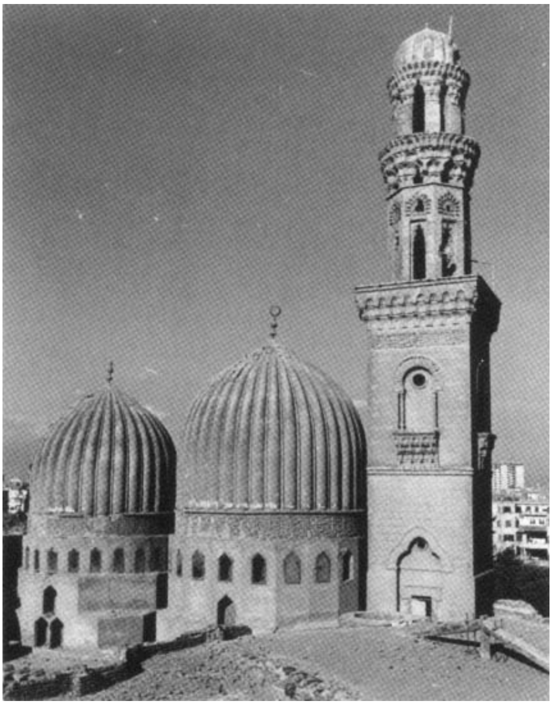

The double mausoleum (1303-4) at the *khānḳāh/madrasa* of the *amīrs* Salār and Sandjar

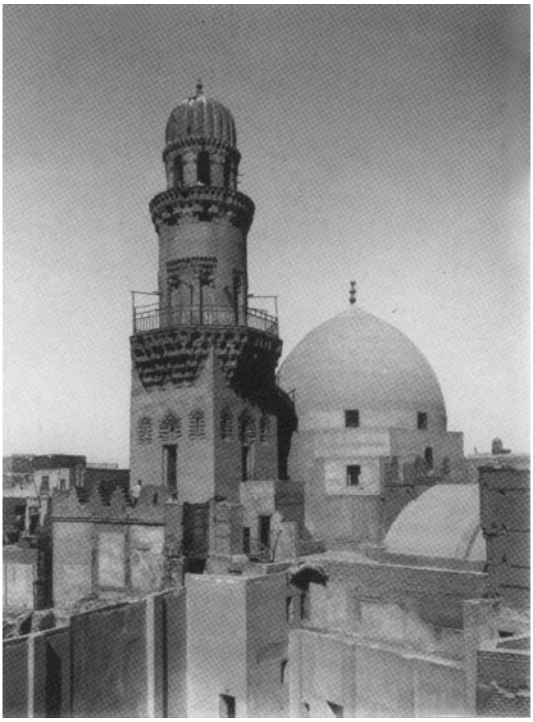

The funerary *khānḳāh* (1306-10) of Baybars al-Djashankīr (Dept. of Egyptian Antiquities)

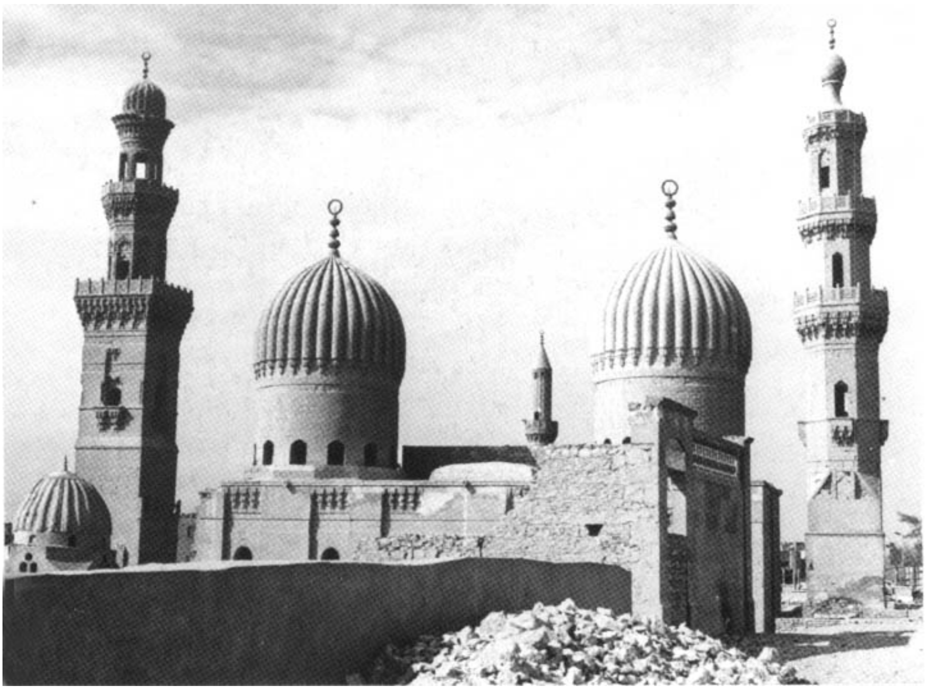

The double mausoleum known as Sulṭāniyya (1450s-60s) with the minaret of Ḳawṣūn to the left

The funerary *madrasa/djāmiʿ* (1356-62) of Sultan Ḥasan

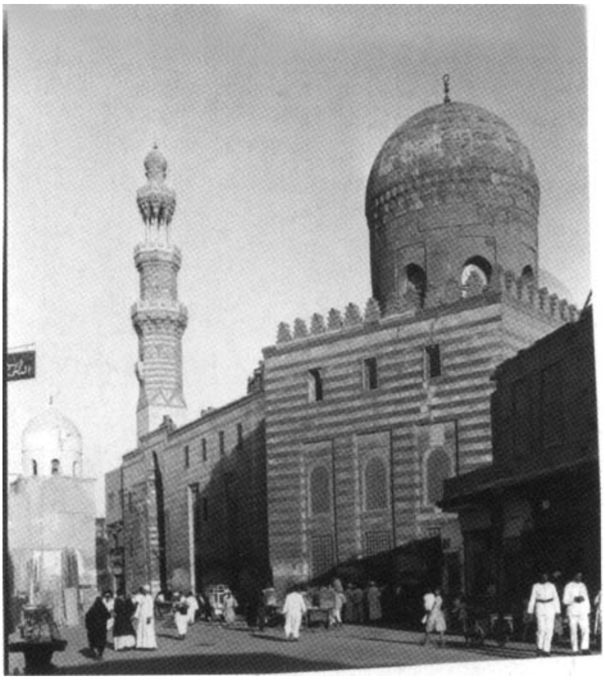

The funerary *madrasa* (1356) of the *amīr* Ṣarghitmish (Dept. of Egyptian Antiquities)

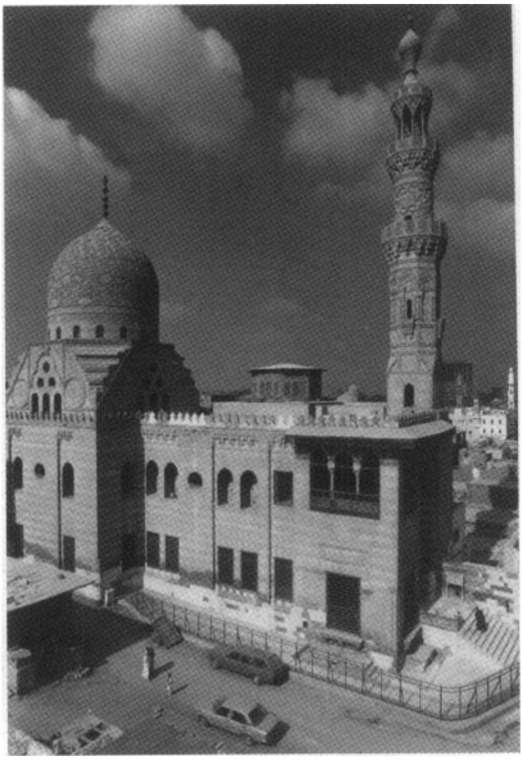

The funerary mosque (1472-4) of Sultan Ḳāyitbāy

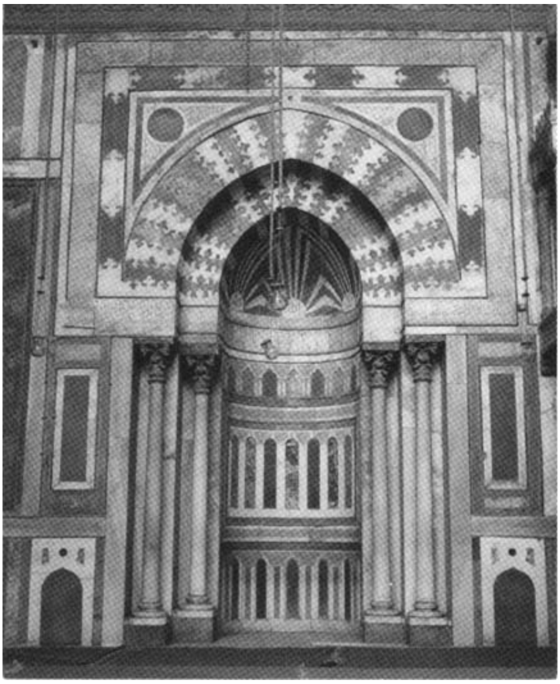

The *miḥrāb* of the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan

The minarets (1415-20) of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad on the Fāṭimid gate, the Bāb Zuwayla

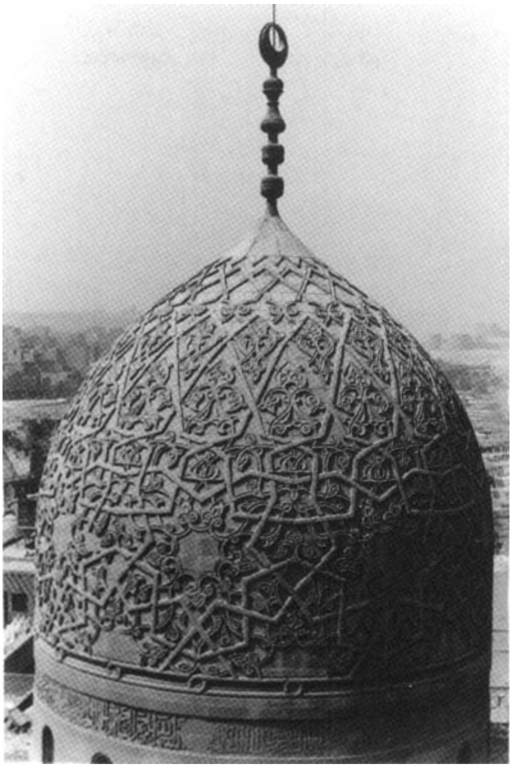

The mausoleum dome of Sultan Ḳāyitbāy (B. O'Kane)

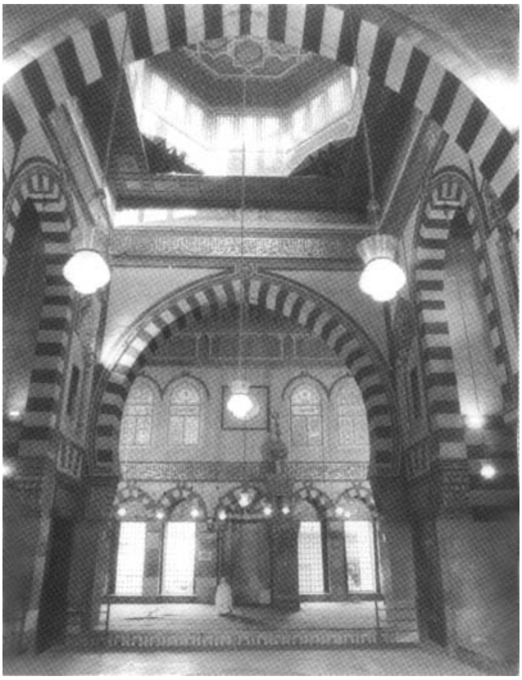

The interior of the mosque of Sultan Ḳāyitbāy

Fourteenth-century Mamlūk lamp in the Davis Collection, Copenhagen

Late Mamlūk tinned copper bowl in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection

Mamlūk scraffito ceramic bowl (14th century) in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection

Mamlūk underglaze-painted jar (14th century) in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection

Fourteenth-century Mamlūk enamelled glass bottle in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection

Late Mamlūk lidded bowl, so-called "Veneto-Saracenic", in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection

to regard the period of female rule as indicating a weakened monarchy vis-à-vis male chiefs. However, because it seems that the queens served as mediators and successfully intervened in disputes between chiefs, there are also grounds for arguing that the style of female rule provided an alternative model of kingship in which leadership was less important than the ability to maintain harmony. In both Aceh and Patani, the period of female rule was characterised by commercial prosperity and an increase in revenues from foreign trade; this has been attributed to the cooperation rather than rivalry between the queen and local merchants. This alternative model of female rule did not develop, and in the latter part of the 17th century the queens were followed by males. It was not until recent times that the issue of a woman as head of state again became a possibility with the success of Megawati Sukarnoputri as a political leader (see d, below).

In Java there are no records of female rulers, but several Sultans maintained large corps of women trained to bear arms and serve as palace bodyguards and sentries. More important was the contribution of women intellectuals in advice to rulers (as in India). For example, in the early 18th century, the grandmother of a teenage ruler of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram prepared three impressive texts for the guidance of the young sultan. Known as Ratu Pakubuwana (died 1732), she is celebrated for her Muslim piety and knowledge of Ṣūfism. Her manuscripts retell stories of the great Muslim warriors and heroes to emphasise the benefits of becoming a pious and ascetic Ṣūfī ruler. In the mid-18th century, there are references to other aristocratic Javanese women composing manuscripts also inspired by Islamic literature. Women of the court, in both Java and the Malay areas of the archipelago, were actively engaged in writing and collecting manuscripts from at least this period until the demise of the courts in the early 20th century.

Records from this period indicate that non-élite women (rather than men) organised domestic commercial activity, such as the buying and selling of local produce in the markets, with men dominating transactions with foreigners. However, it is clear that some élite women used their own wealth to provide the capital for overseas trade conducted on their behalf by men.

(b) *Status of women in the 19th century*

As with the earlier period, the historical record is incomplete and focussed on élite rather than non-élite women. However, it is possible to gain an impression of their status from descriptions of several notable women. In the early 19th century, for example, in the Malay-Bugis kingdom of Lingga-Riau (which encompassed Johor, Pahang and Singapore), one of the Sultan's wives was given an island, its appanages and revenues to remain in her family in perpetuity. In the mid-1820s, this woman was able to supply the capital for her brother to undertake a trading voyage to raise money for the *Ḥadjdj*. It was not apparently the custom at this time for women to cover their heads in public but, by the 1850s, the male rulers of this kingdom, influenced by their visits to Mecca, encouraged women to wear a veil when in public. This concern that women cover their heads was accompanied by similar requirements for men to dress modestly, and was a trend apparent also in other areas of Muslim Southeast Asia where returning pilgrims spread Wahhābī teachings.

If the élite women of this Riau-Lingga kingdom are in any way representative of the position of women in other Malay courts (and there is no reason not to extrapolate from their experience), then it is clear that they had the opportunity to learn to read and write and that they maintained their own collections of manuscripts and, later, of lithographed and printed works. One member of a leading Bugis-Malay family, Raja Aisyiyah Sulaiman (*ca.* 1870-1925), for example, began writing verse and prose in her teenage years and continued after marriage. She was one of at least six other women writers from the Lingga-Riau region who were composing a variety of works in the last quarter of the 19th century. Their writings indicate that they were well versed in the basic tenets of Islam and that they were concerned to apply Muslim teachings in their daily lives and to influence others to do the same, especially when raising children. Of particular interest is a compendium of charms beneficial for marital relations composed in 1908, just five years before the Dutch abolished the Riau-Lingga kingdom. Its author was a commoner, known as Khadijah Terong (1885-1955), who incorporated Ḳur'ānic verses into the charms in a manner which indicates her familiarity with and knowledge of more than just the basic tenets of Islam (see Mukherjee, in *Empowered women*, 1997). Khadijah's charms are designed to provide satisfaction and pleasure for both husband and wife, so ensuring that each is content in the marriage. The didactic writings of the women of Riau-Lingga may be described as forerunners of the "Guides for women" (*Panduan wanita*) which became popular in the 1980s and are still being produced and are selling well in Muslim bookshops in Indonesia and Malaysia.

Élite women were tutored in their own residences and were almost self-sufficient within their domains, although if they chose to travel (usually by sea) they were free to do so if accompanied by appropriate attendants or their husband. Non-élite women did not have the same degree of leisure nor the means to travel. Their access to intensive education, under the guidance of expert teachers, was also restricted, but the large number of local Ḳur'ān schools in southern Thailand, the northern Malay Peninsula and Java and Madura (late 19th century Dutch figures estimated there were 15,000 of these schools with about 230,000 pupils) suggest that girls as well as boys attended for basic religious instruction.

(c) *Status of women in the 20th century*

At the turn of the century, resistance to direct colonial rule was prolonged and violent in some areas. In this context, there are several notable examples of women joining or leading men in holy wars. In the late 19th century resistance to the Dutch control of Aceh (northern Sumatra), an area renowned for its devotion to Islam, a widow, Cut Nyak Dien, took over the leadership of a band of guerrilla fighters after her husband was killed by the Dutch in 1899. She continued to resist until captured in 1905. She died in exile in 1906 and is now an Indonesian national hero, whose struggle for Islam and her homeland has been celebrated in a very popular 1980s Indonesian film.

The adoption of new technologies such as printing, and improved communications, enabled greater contact between the heartlands of Islam and Southeast Asia. Of particular significance to women was the spread of modernist teachings, especially those of Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], which were disseminated in a weekly publication, *al-Imām* (published in Singapore, 1906-8), which was clearly inspired by

Cairo's *al-Manār*. Widely read all over the Indonesian archipelago and through the Malay Peninsula, *al-Imām*'s articles urged Muslims in the region to improve their knowledge of Islam and to pay greater attention to education. To this end, *al-Imām* encouraged the establishment of new schools (*madrasah*) based on Egyptian models where Islamic doctrine, Arabic, English, and secular subjects such as mathematics and geography, were taught to both girls and boys. It was considered especially important that young women receive a "modern" education (including secular knowledge as well as religion), because as future mothers they bore the prime responsibility for the "correct" upbringing of the next generation.

In 1913 a number of co-educational schools offering both religious and secular subjects were established in Java by the *Jam'iyyat al-Islah wa 'l-Irshad*, an organisation led by the reformist Sudanese teacher, Shaykh Aḥmad Surkati, while in 1915 the progressive co-educational Diniyah Schools were opened in the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra. By 1922 there were 15 Diniyah schools in West Sumatra which attracted young women from as far afield as the Malay Peninsula and Java. Graduates spread the message of responsible but active engagement in social life through their work as teachers and journalists and as modern-minded mothers. Further impetus for the education of women came from the writings of Sayyid Shaykh b. Aḥmad al-Hādī (1867-1934), a *Sharī'a* lawyer, religious teacher, author and successful publisher who settled finally in Penang. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the ideas of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] and translated many of their writings into Malay for publication in *al-Imām*. He went on to use fiction to promote progressive interpretations of Islam, and in 1925 and 1926 published the two-volume best-seller *Faridah Hanom*. The eponymous heroine is an aristocratic Muslim woman living in Cairo, educated in both Islam and western teachings, and an admirer of 'Abduh, who is written into the text. The popularity of the books, which were reprinted innumerable times up to the 1970s, ensured that the heroine's message of applying God's gift of intelligence to the understanding of Islamic teachings, linked with a dedication to improving contemporary social conditions, had wide exposure. The story of Faridah Hanom ends with a description of how the heroine uses her wealth to found schools for young women, and notes that from these schools came women who went on to lead the struggle for women's emancipation, citing real women such as Hudā Sha'rāwī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who founded *L'Union Féministe Égyptienne*. Sayyid Shaykh al-Hādī invested the profits from the success of this book in his printing business, and from it funded the publication of works of non-fiction. One of these, *Kitab Alam Perempuan* ("The world of women"), 1930, continued the themes of *Faridah Hanom* and argued forcefully that the most pressing matter for Muslims was the education of women so that the whole community would benefit.

In peninsula Malaya, Hajjah Zainon Suleiman (1903-1989) responded to Sayyid Shaykh's calls and worked actively for the education of Malay women. She was supervisor of one of the leading girls' schools for nearly 20 years and in 1930 founded the first Malay women's association, the Johor Women Teacher's Union, and a magazine for its members. The magazine, *Bulan Melayu*, became an influential publication for women and provided a forum for women writers to express their views on contemporary issues. Ibu Zain (as she was known) was an important advocate for the rights of Malay women within Islam in terms reminiscent of the heroine of *Faridah Hanom*. She was an influential figure in Malaya, and in the early 1950s led the women's wing of the UMNO (United Malays National Organisation).

The main Islamic women's organisations in Malaysia have been established since Independence in 1957, and almost all are subsections of a parent body which is male-dominated. The women's wing of PAS (*Partai Islam Se Malaysia* [*q.v*]) for example, was founded in 1958, and although extremely active in educating women, its members cannot be elected to the central board of PAS. There are at least four other Muslim women's organisations in Malaysia, each of which is engaged in welfare work among Muslim women, including marriage counselling, assistance for domestic violence victims and fund raising for charities. The most recently formed group, *Puteri Islam* (Sisters in Islam), was officially established in 1991 by a small group of professional women (lawyers and academics) to re-examine the sources of Islam for a better understanding of women's status in Islam. Through high-profile activities in the press and media and through seminars and workshops, members of Sisters in Islam have had considerable impact on the public perception of women's status in Malaysia. Their interpretations of the Ḳur'ān and Ḥadīth have aroused critical reactions from conservative religious scholars, and the resulting public debates have highlighted issues such as the role of Islamic law in a modern nation state.

In Indonesia (then the Netherlands East Indies) one of the earliest Islamic women's organisations, *Aisyiyah*, was established in 1917 by members of *Muhammadiyah*, a reformist movement which began in Java in 1912 and spread quite rapidly through the Indies. By 1938, *Aisyiyah* had set up over 1,700 schools (from primary to secondary levels) as well as teacher training colleges, health centres and orphanages. Members were encouraged to guide other women in their Islamic duties and to spread knowledge of Islam to diverse classes of women so as to increase their awareness of religious duties, rights and responsibilities.

The *Muslimat Nahdatul Ulama*, the women's branch of *Nahdatul Ulama*, the second Islamic mass movement in Indonesia (with a current following of over 30 million), was established in 1946. Like *Aisyiyah*, its members have been working to improve education and health care for women and they helped establish the "Advisory Council for Marriage and Divorce" (*Badan Penasehat Perkawinan dan Penyelesaian Perceraian*) which assists women who have to take marital disputes to court. Although the *Nahdatul Ulama* movement has been characterised as less progressive than *Muhammadiyyah*, during the 1980s, under the leadership of Abdurrahman Wahid, greater attention was given to social issues, including the status of women. One illustration is the work of the Association for Social and Pesantren Development (*Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat*) whose work includes a successful education program for traditional religious teachers (both men and women) about women's reproductive rights.

In Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand, the post-colonial state has accommodated the *Sharī'a* but restricted its formal application to matters of personal law [see SHARĪ'A. In South-East Asia]. The issue of polygamy has highlighted the differences between modernising and conservative elements in Southeast Asian Muslim communities, and has focussed on the absolute difference between revealed and secular authority. One example is the 1974 Indonesian Marriage Law, which was introduced in

response to continued pressure from women's organisations and was to provide some security for women, particularly regarding divorce and polygamy. It was perceived by some Muslims as a strategy for secular (state) authority to displace Islamic jurisdiction and was fiercely opposed. The state was forced to enact an amended statute permitting polygamous marriages and unilateral divorce, with *Sharīʿa* courts retaining authority to make judgements in these areas (see Butt 1999). However, the jurisdiction of *Sharīʿa* courts has been steadily eroded by the Indonesian government, so that although polygamy has not officially been forbidden, it is extremely difficult to practise.

In Malaysia, the Federal Government introduced the Islamic Family Law Act in 1984 and set minimum ages for marriage and restrictions on polygamy and divorce. Although similar laws were enacted in each of the constituent states of Malaysia by 1991, Islamic authorities at the local levels have tried to undermine some of its provisions, particularly those concerning polygamy. When this occurs, and aggrieved women bring it to the attention of national activist groups (such as Sisters in Islam), there is widespread public debate and increasing pressure on traditional religious teachers to adapt to contemporary conditions.

In matters of inheritance, Muslims theoretically follow the *Sharīʿa* but detailed interviews with women in Indonesia and Malaysia indicate that many parents circumvent the provision of greater portions for male heirs by distributing some property to female heirs before death. This has been seen as maintaining the parity of sons and daughters as expressed in traditional (pre-Islamic) kinship systems.

(d) *Status of women in the 21st century*

The rise of the middle classes in the Muslim populations of Southeast Asia, with an increase in higher education and greater participation in the global cash economy, has caused some women in this group to seek to reaffirm their identity as Muslims. Participating fully in the public life of their nations, many of these women wish to understand Islam better and follow programmes to achieve this. It has also been noted that women as well as men are joining the new Ṣūfī groups which are being established in big cities to cater for those who seek to deepen their personal experience of Islam. Others are founding or playing leading roles in Muslim non-governmental organisations devoted to the needs of women, which have grown in numbers since the economic crisis affected Southeast Asia in the late 1990s.

The most visible statement about identity is obviously that of style of dress. A growing number of women in the region choose to fully cover their hair and to wear distinctively Muslim fashions, which has led to a new fashion industry. Only a small minority in the region choose to adopt a full body covering (including face) of black, and those who do are often subjected to critical comment and accused of being overly influenced by foreign Muslim (Middle-Eastern) traditions. The majority who adopt non-western dress do so to emphasise that they wish to identify themselves as followers of Islam. This is not necessarily linked with a desire to return to conservative religious practices. Many of the tertiary-educated women in Indonesia and Malaysia who fully cover their hair do so to show they are part of an international sisterhood of modern-minded (rather than tradition-bound) women. In nations where Muslims are in a minority, such as the Philippines and southern Thailand, many young Muslim women have adopted Islamic dress to indicate their resistance to the prevailing national political culture.

The improved economic conditions in both Indonesia and Malaysia since the 1970s have given large numbers of women access to tertiary education and the qualifications to enter public life. While Muslim women were represented in all areas of business, govenment administration and society in Indonesia and Malaysia, they were not elected as leaders of major political movements. This changed in the 1990s when Megawati Sukarnoputri headed a populist mass movement in Indonesia and in 1998, after her husband's arrest, Dr Wan Azizah Wan Ismail led the National Justice Party in Malaysia. The Indonesian general elections of 1999 delivered a huge vote to Megawati's party but in the political bargaining which followed she was defeated for the presidency by Abdul Rahman Wahid and had to accept the post of Vice-President. The possibility that Megawati might become President of Indonesia aroused heated debate in Indonesia with ordinary Muslim men and women unable to follow the complex legal reasoning based on the classical texts of Islam which some Indonesian scholars put forward. In 2001, Abdul Rahman Wahid lost the confidence of the Indonesian parliament and Megawati replaced him becoming the fifth president of the Republic of Indonesia. Political expediency overwhelmed the objections of a minority of *ʿulamāʾ*.

The debate over female leadership, however, is a useful point on which to conclude this survey of Muslim women in Southeast Asia because it exemplifies some of the features of Islam which are characteristic of the region. First, that it is not unusual for women to play prominent roles in public life; second, that women's leadership is seen as being distinctively different in style from that of males; third, that the religious arguments concerning the permissibility of a female head of state have revealed the division between traditional (conservative) approaches to Islamic law and more modern (liberal) interpretations; and finally, that specialist knowledge of Islam throughout Southeast Asia is still dominated by men.

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MĀRID (A.), rebel or revolutionary, someone practising *murūd* or *tamarrud*, resistance to the established order, from the root *m-r-d* "to be refractory or rebellious".

The word *mārid* is strongly polysemantic; it includes both the idea of audacity and revolt, and also extreme pride and insolence (*al-ʿātī al-shadīd*, according to *LA*). Also present in the root is the idea of youth, with *amrad* meaning "young, beardless youth" (see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. S. Dahhān, Damascus 1951, i, 260, concerning beardless *ghilmān*), concomitant with the idea of a leafless tree (*shadjara mardāʾ*), and sometimes with that of a young slave boy, the equivalent of *ghulām* [*q.v.*], with, additionally, the connotations of violence, insolence, rebelliousness and, equally, of pederasty and homosexuality, as frequently found amongst young soldiers.

It should be noted that the central meaning of man's revolt is semantically associated with that of the rebellion of djinn and demons (*shayāṭīn*), as *LA* directly indicates. It follows that, in classical Arabic, the term *mārid* has negative connotations and that, in the unconscious collective mind, it goes back to the revolt of Iblīs against God and refers likewise to that of a member of the community against the ruling power, considered as a fatal source of trouble and instability. In Modern Standard Arabic it retains these two concepts, since it means, first, rebel, insurgent, refractory person, and second, demon or evil-working spirit. Other roots are more frequently used by mediaeval Arab historians to describe rebellion. Thus *shaghaba* "to wander away from the road, excite people against each other, kick up a row", and *ʿaṣā* "to rebel (to be connected with *ʿaṣā* "to strike with a stick"), go against other people", whence *al-ʿĀṣī* "the rebel", the name given to the Orontes river which flows from south to north, contrary to the rest of the rivers of western Asia (see al-Muḳaddasī, 32 l. 12, *aʿṣā* and *ashghab*). Likewise, *thāra* "to raise dust by galloping through the sands like a bull, to assault", whence *thāʾir* "rebel" and *thawra* [*q.v.*] "revolution"; and *ḳalaba* "to overturn, be reversed", whence *inḳilāb*, used in the 20th century for a *coup d'état* fomented by a small number of individuals, often military men. Only the verb *fatana* "to prove, test, trouble" refers to an activity more intellectual than physical, sc. *fitna* [*q.v.*], in origin a division voluntarily brought about within a homogenous group, which could be paralleled semantically with the Greek origin of the word for "devil", *diabolos*, "the divider", whence *fātin* (pl. *futtān*), intensive form *fattān*, meaning as much "seducer" as "agitator". The decision to go out from (*kharadja*) the ranks of ʿAlī's army, taken at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] by his most fervent followers when he agreed to the arbitration, has given rise to the epithet *khāridjī*, denoting a member of the sectarian group arising on this occasion [see KHĀRIDJITES] but, equally, a rebel in general, without any religious connotation (see Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, ed. H. Amedroz, Beirut 1908, 87 l. 16).

Every aggressive action (*thawra, fitna, inḳilāb, tamarrud*) against the established social and institutional order involves both a political and religious aspect. The rebel is thus a doubly emblematic figure, condemned for breaking the consensual conformism of society and sometimes for a dangerous attachment to the purity of practice of the Islamic law and cult, but also admired for his devotion to the cause which he defends and for his physical courage, notable at the time of his public punishment after being defeated—this being generally the case—and condemned by the ruling power.

The Sunnīs, from the time of the establishment of the ʿAbbāsids to the 1970s (the execution in jail of Sayyid Ḳuṭb [*q.v.*] by ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was to give rise to the first, Sunnī Islamic doctrine justifying the use of violence and killing, not only against a power which was self-styled Muslim and Sunnī but not respecting the Islamic law, but also against every individual, Sunnī Muslim or of any belief or absence of belief, of either sex, child and adult, not joining in the revolt), were considering that challenging the ruling sovereign Muslim power, whether just or unjust, legitimate or having seized power for itself, was risking committing an offence against Islam and that a vacuum of power was worse than a corrupt ruling power [see AL-MĀWARDĪ; IBN TAYMIYYA].

In practice the *hidjra* of A.D. 622 enabled the Prophet Muḥammad to institutionalise Islam by creating at Yathrib/Medina the *umma* [*q.v.*], a society which involved personal commitment to the revealed Law, a concept opposed to those of *nasab* and *nisba* [*q.vv.*] acquired at birth by the newly-born, and by founding the tribal confederation at Mecca. At Medina, the individual was integrated of his own free will into the community of believers, in which was built up around the collective faith in the Ḳurʾānic revelation a solidarity between each believer, male or female, slave or free, Arab or black, or convert from other faiths. The survival of Islam required the strengthening of this bond which a common religion established between each believer. Ḳurʾān, III, 98/103, expresses this command: "Hold fast to the rope (or bond) of God and do not become divided into various groups; remember God's goodness to you when you were enemies; He established concord in your hearts" (see also IV, 63-4/60-1).

The fragility of the *umma* at the outset led to condemnation of any rebel who put in jeopardy the unity of Islam by disobedience, provocation or revolt. In appealing to ancient family, tribal, ethnic or territorial solidarities, the rebel thereby pushed the community back to the chaotic time of the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*]. This is why, when Muḥammad died and the tribes thought themselves freed from this voluntary solidarity which they had entered with the person of the Prophet, Abū Bakr suppressed the *ridda* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; from this time onwards, the Medinan concept of voluntary adhesion to Islam only functioned in that unique instance. The new convert, like all Muslims, including the child born of a Muslim father, saw himself constrained—before his birth, as at Mecca—and

until his death, by his *nasab* of "Muslim" to profess Islam as long as he lived.

The traditional history of the first century of Islam is marked by a series of violent episodes, extending from the *ridda* in Abū Bakr's time to the murder of ʿUt̲h̲mān, then the *fitna* in which ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya were opposed to each other and, finally, the intertribal conflicts under the Umayyads. For a symbolic interpretation of these stories at a later period, see J.-Cl. Garcin, *États, sociétés et cultures du Monde musulman médiéval*, i-ii, Paris 2000, index.

A typology of revolts in Sunnī Islam has so far not been attempted, according to our knowledge. Leaving aside purely S̲h̲īʿī and K̲h̲āridjite movements, one may put forward a very general classification of revolts within the Sunnī milieu.

In the first Islamic century, apart from revolts regarding the legitimacy of the caliph, there is a recurrent motif of disorder, the relative opportunities offered to the Ḳuras̲h̲īs or to Arabs from other tribal groupings, Ḳaysī or Yamanī, or even to the *mawālī*, to take over the functions of state. Certain groups wished to speed up the integration of the converts whilst others, on the contrary, wished to reserve the prestigious and financially rewarding posts for the Meccan aristocracy or the Arabs.

The revolts on the part of non-Muslims, Berbers, Copts, Christians of Lebanon or Armenians rarely marked a refusal to accept the installation of a Muslim state. A close examination shows that the motive here was, rather, revulsion against an oppressive tax system than against the political pre-eminence of Islam.

Over the succeeding centuries, revolts display most often a S̲h̲īʿī or K̲h̲āridjite motivation and in fact gather up violent recrudescences of pre-Islamic identities of ethnically homogenous groups in isolated regions, away from the prosperity of the great cities and the main commercial routes. It may then happen that other ethnic groups of the neighbourhood, without specific connections with the originally rebellious group but equally oppressed and adversely affected by the exercise of an arbitrary and corrupt power, join in the revolt. In any case, revolts against excessive tax burdens continue to break out regularly up to the Mamlūk period and beyond (see Tsugitaka Sato, *State and rural society in medieval Islam*, Leiden 1997, 162-7) in all the agricultural regions of the East. These rebellious groups were subject to exactions of the central exchequer, of urban landowners and, later on, of the owners of *iḳṭā*ʿs, at levels leaving no possibility of profit for the peasants or money for investment in increased productivity and therefore a rise in social status. The revolt of the Zandj [*q.v.*] or Zunūdj in lower ʿIrāḳ is another example of rural protest, that of agricultural labourers, in this case, black and impoverished, against the avidity of the city dwellers.

Amongst other causes of outbreaks, one should mention the grave disorders, in particular during the 2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries, amongst the Arab tribes (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ madīnat Dimas̲h̲ḳ* [ʿĀṣim-ʿĀyid̲h̲], Damascus 1977, Abu ʾl-Hayd̲h̲am al-Murrī, 393-418), and then those, more serious still, launched by the Bedouin tribes against the towns of lower ʿIrāḳ. In these they were protesting against the marginalisation which they considered was the policy of the town dwellers towards them. Whence the success among them of Ḳarmaṭī [*q.v.*] propaganda, which thus caught up for Ismāʿīlism the social and economic protest of peasants against the dues and taxes levied on them from the cities and that of Bedouin in revulsion against the spectacle of luxurious *ḥadjdj* caravans whilst they themselves were suffering from thirst and starvation. In the 5th/11th century, the nomads ceased for a while their intertribal fighting and came together—Arab Bedouin, Kurdish and Berber nomads—to attack the sedentary lands, from the Djazīra in northeastern Syria to Ifrīḳiya (see Th. Bianquis, *Damas et Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1989, ii, 415-65).

In the 5th-6th/10th-11th centuries, there were uprisings in the Mag̲h̲rib and al-Andalus, those of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] and Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], launched from the austere and ascetic south against a corrupt and luxurious north and aiming at bringing régimes considered as lax back to the strict way of the Islamic law.

For the urban revolts, which have been well studied, see AḤDĀT̲H̲; ʿAYYĀR; SAFFĀRIDS; ZUʿʿĀR; etc.

Bibliography: See, in addition to the articles cited above, various contributions in M.A. al-Bakhit and R. Schick (eds.), *Bilād al-Shām during the Abbasid period. Procs. of the Fifth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām, 1410/1990*, ʿAmmān 1991. M. Chokr, *Zandaqa et zindīqs in Islam, au second siècle de l'hégire*, Damascus 1993, has clearly shown how the ʿAbbāsid ruling power marshalled moral, political and sexual arguments in order to condemn every attempt at rebellion against the dynasty's official moral basis. See also the good bibl. in M. Bonner, *Aristocratic violence and holy war*, New Haven 1996. (TH. BIANQUIS)

MARḲIYŪNIYYA, the Arabic name for the Marcionites, an important non-monotheistic tendency in early Christianity. Marcion (Μαρκίων; Ar. Marḳiyūn) was a native of Sinope [see SĪNŪB] on the Black Sea who arrived in Rome in A.D. 138 (or somewhat later) and taught among the Christian community in the imperial capital. Marcion's doctrine was that the god described in the Old Testament (the creator, or just god) is different from the god described in the New Testament (the stranger, or good god), the father of Christ, and that men's souls, like their bodies, were made by and belonged to the creator, but that the stranger purchased these souls from their maker by sacrificing his own son to the other god. The later Marcionites elaborated this into various theological systems. One school taught four primal principles (the good god, the just god, matter, evil), another taught three principles (identifying evil with matter), but the "Neo-Marcionite" school (described most clearly in the second book of the *Dialogue of Adamantius* falsely attributed to Origen) equated the creator with the principle of evil and also maintained (against Marcion, but in broad agreement with the Manichaeans and Gnostics) that the good god sent his pneuma into the world already at the moment of creation and that it remained entrapped in the material world until it was set free by Christ.

The evidence for the survival of Marcionite communities in the mediaeval Near East is meagre, but not entirely negligible. The Christian writer Thomas of Margā (*Book of governors*, Syriac text, ed. Budge, London 1893, 261) reports that in the last decade of the 8th century A.D. the metropolitan of Gēlān and Daylam, S̲h̲uwḥālīs̲h̲ōʿ, travelled into the remote parts of his see, preaching "among the pagans, Marcionites and Manichaeans". Also, the Muslim bibliographer Ibn al-Nadīm, writing towards the end of the 4th/10th century, even claims that Marcionites are "numerous in K̲h̲urāsān" and that there "they practice openly, like the Manichaeans" (*Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 402; for the Manichaeans in K̲h̲urāsān, see ZINDĪḲ). Elsewhere,

Ibn al-Nadīm quotes a reliable informant (*thika*) who had seen Marcionite books and who reported that their script resembled that of the Manichaeans (*ibid.*, 19). These "numerous" Marcionites in Khurāsān do not seem to be mentioned in any other source.

Muslim writers on alien religions offer some data about the beliefs of the Marcionites. Some of this is manifestly taken from the standard Christian sources, e.g. when al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 127) states, accurately enough, that the Marcionites taught "two principles, good and evil, and justice (read *al-ʿadl* with Ms. L) is a third (principle) between the two"; these three are clearly the good god, evil matter, and the just god. Ibn al-Malāḥimī (*al-Muʿtamad*, 586-9) has two conflicting accounts of the doctrines of the Marcionites. The second of these is credited explicitly to Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ, whose version was evidently used (directly or indirectly) by most of the other Muslim theologians who mention Marcionites (see Vajda's article, in *Bibl.*). This version claims that Marcion taught two polar principles, "light and darkness", plus a "third essence" who "mixed the light and darkness and mingled them by way of creating a balance between them". But this is pure fantasy, extrapolated from some vague notion that Marcionism is like Manichaeism, but with three rather than two principles.

The first account cited by Ibn al-Malāḥimī (possibly also from al-Warrāḳ, though this is not indicated unambiguously in the text) is totally different. This version is cited, much more briefly, also by ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*al-Mughnī*, v, 17-18; however, the translation in Vajda, *op. cit.*, 123-4, is incorrect) and by al-Shahrastānī (*al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. Badrān, 643-5), who combines it, in a confused fashion, with the above-mentioned spurious account by al-Warrāḳ. What we have here is an essentially accurate account of the "Neo-Marcionite" doctrine: the primal beings here are God, the Devil (i.e. the demonised creator in Neo-Marcionism) and an "intermediate being" (evidently the divine pneuma). The Devil attacks and oppresses the intermediate, mixes himself with it and builds this world from that mixture. The stars and planets are the Devil's spirits, with which he rules the world. Animals and plants are likewise the creation of the Devil, and it is he who sends the false prophets and antagonistic religions. But the "highest one" (i.e. the good god) takes pity on the intermediate and sends his son Jesus into the world to liberate him from bondage. Ibn al-Malāḥimī says further that the Marcionites do not kill any being, are celibate, avoid "fatty meats" (*al-zuhūmāt*, presumably meaning that they did eat fish) and alcoholic drinks, and pray and fast all the time. The text contains also a very interesting Marcionite polemic against the adherents of the doctrine of the eternity of the world (*ahl al-dahr*), the monists (*muwaḥḥidūn*) and the dualists (*aṣḥāb al-ithnayn*, evidently Manichaeans). The passage contains much plausible information that is not found in other ancient or mediaeval accounts of Marcionism. It is therefore possible that it refers to the actual beliefs of a Neo-Marcionite community in the Islamic world, presumably in Khurāsān.

Bibliography: The basic work on Marcionism is still A. von Harnack, *Marcion: das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*, Leipzig 1921. For a different perspective, see F. de Blois, *Dualism in Iranian and Christian traditions*, in *JRAS* (2000), 1-19 (esp. 7-14). Most of the Arabic testimonia are collected and translated in G. Vajda, *Le témoignage d'al-Māturidī sur la doctrine des Manichéens, des Dayṣānites et des Marcionites*, in *Arabica*, xiii (1966), 1-38, with the "Note annexe", 113-28, repr. in his *Études de théologie et de philosophie arabo-islamiques à l'époque classique*, London 1986. Add to these Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. M. McDermott and W. Madelung, London 1991, 586-9; the relevant section is partially tr. in W. Madelung, *Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq über die Bardesaniten, Marcioniten und Kantäer*, in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des vorderen Orients* (Festschrift B. Spuler), Leiden 1981, 210-24. For the Syriac sources, see J.-M. Fiey, *Les Marcionites dans les textes historiques de l'église de Perse*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxiii (1970), 183-8.

(F.C. de Blois)

MARTABA (a., pl. *marātib*), a term with a variety of meanings: class, rank, degree assigned by etiquette, rank, hierarchy, arrangement of places in an audience, a sofa, an upholstered piece of furniture.

The term presents an intriguing question in the domain of manners and etiquette. In pre-Islamic Arabic and the language of the very early Muslim generations, there was no well-developed conceptual vocabulary of ranks and categories, especially those perceived by the ruling class; there was a lack of terms dealing with the "distance" between the sovereign and his entourage, as well as among the different classes of courtiers. Therefore the writer and translator Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. *ca.* 139/756 [*q.v.*]) invented terms, adopted Persian images and improved existing vocables, such as *rutba* and *manzila* and others, for the purpose of indicating social standing and rank, both in his translations from Pahlavi Persian and in his original works, in which one can discern a measure of continuity with certain Sāsānid values which pre-date the Islamic period. One should remember, as background, that the Sāsānid sovereigns divided their population into a number of categories (A. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides*, 19ff., 93ff.; idem, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 97ff., relying on Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, al-Masʿūdī, al-Thaʿālibī and other sources); neither the subjects of despised trades belonging to the lower ones, nor their descendants, would ever be permitted to serve at the royal court (Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tādj*, [1914], 23-27; concerning the authorship and date of the latter source, see G. Schoeler, in *ZDMG*, cxxx [1980], 217-25, and *VOHD*, B/2, Wiesbaden 1990, 156-9; R. Brunschvig, in *Stud. Isl.* xvi [1962], 49 n. 1, hesitated to accept some details in this information reported by later Muslim historiographers). Thus the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], a cultural movement that stressed the contribution of the non-Arabic heritage (and often minimised the importance of certain Arab traditions that can be traced back to the culture of the desert), took great pride in the fact that the Persian kings (I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, Eng. tr. i, 156-9 and n. 2 of 158, relying on al-Djāḥiẓ and al-Masʿūdī; namely, the "previous kings" as quoted from al-Masʿūdī) encouraged *al-ʿilm bi 'l-marātib*, as opposed to the pre-Islamic Arab tribal life, described by this movement in its own biassed judgment. The purpose of such boasting about this Persian distinction between social classes was to emphasise the fact that the early Arabs lived a life of uncontrolledness and of apparent anarchy, and that therefore it was the Persians to whom one had to turn in order to learn the concepts of government and etiquette (Sadan, *An admirable and ridiculous hero. Some notes on the Bedouin*, in *Poetics Today*, x [1989], 474, 487ff., with references to Goldziher, Gibb, al-Dūrī, al-Laythī, Monroe, Ṭalfāḥ and others). In Muslim society, in particular that of the ʿAbbāsid empire, the term *marātib* was used mainly in connection with court etiquette. Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809 [*q.v.*]) even divided his court singers into

three *marātib*; in this case, the categories reflect not only the quality of the singing but also friendship, sympathy and taste for various singing abilities (al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, B.N. Paris ms. 3302, fol. 162b; not identical to the part edited by al-Djundī; see also al-Shayzarī, *al-Manhadj al-maslūk*, Zarḳā', Jordan 1987, 464-6, 578-9.

When approaching the ruler, one was expected to stop at a distance determined by one's *martaba*, and there await for a sign (the verb is *awmaʾa*, *ashāra*, to notify by a gesture) from the sovereign, permitting him to sit down. The participants at the ruler's audience were expected not to behave in a manner unfitting to their rank. The boon-companion, *nadīm* [*q.v.*], had the most difficult task of deciding when an audience with the ruler was public or official and when it was a private party (which included drinking as well) in which the rules of etiquette (*ādāb*) were not to be strictly applied, although even then one was supposed to try not to exceed one's *manzila* or *martaba* (*ibid.* and al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*, Cairo 2000, 165) and the minimal rules implied by it. The *ḥādjib*, who was the palace chamberlain and responsible for the system of granting and refusing entrance to the palace, also had the job of ascertaining that everyone sat according to the *marātib* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥidjāb*, in *Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1964-5, ii, 39).

Exceptionally, some people may in fact have wished to sit with those of a lower rank, since the people attending the audience with the sovereign sat in a circle (*madjlis*, *ḥalḳa*), and those who were near him were higher in rank but could not always see him, while those who were farther away could see him well and might in fact have been sitting just opposite him. We rarely find a courtier or a guest who would prefer to sit opposite, out of modesty, or in order to see more clearly his host (al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, ii, 706, describes the exception; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, e.g. i, 386-7, 389, whereas i, 390, mentions the term *martaba*, describes the rule: no courtier would yield his place to an inferior person; i, 443, presents, however, the irregular behaviour of a courtier who "used to take a seat at the edge of the circle of guests [during the royal meal], in order to see the caliph better and not according to the rank this courtier deserved"). It is in fact well known that the Fāṭimids were particularly insistent on maintaining the appropriate distance between the ruler and the other ranks: at festivals only representatives of the four Islamic schools of law were permitted to come into the presence of the caliph and greet him. In fact, they only came up to the threshold of the hall or pavilion in which the caliph was at the time, and usually it was only the caliph's secretary who responded by uttering a greeting formula in the ruler's name, and not the caliph in person. However, it must be emphasised that M. Canard's comparison (see *Bibl.*) of the etiquette of the Fāṭimid and Byzantine courts was written at a time when important sources for the ceremonial customs of the ʿAbbāsid court had not yet been published (especially al-Ṣābī's *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, see D. Sourdel, in *Bibl.*). To the Fāṭimid court, it was obviously more important to vie with the ʿAbbāsid than with the Byzantine court, but the cross-cultural study which Canard undertook is still of value. It thus turns out that various courts, and some later sultans, would occasionally increase or decrease the distance between the ruler and his courtiers, for reasons of religious simplicity.

At times, the differences have a geographical character. In the northeastern parts of the Muslim empire, one can find, here and there, that facet of the Persian heritage that elevated the king almost beyond the human pale, much more so than at the centre of the empire, at the ʿAbbāsid court. Thus, for example, in Khwārazm (Sadan, *Ādāb, règles de conduite* [see *Bibl.*], 293-5), a certain person would not dare put a spoon (made of precious metal) in a dish into which the sovereign had also put his spoon, because of the reverence in which the latter was held. But in Baghdād, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs knew that it was unseemly for the ruler to wash his hands before the meal in the company of his friends and courtiers; rather, this should be done in a separate room only in the company of someone of the same rank, such as a brother or parent. It is, however, well known that this was not always adhered to; even from the way this rule is formulated by the author (Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tādj*, 17) who commends this behaviour, it is clear that while this was proper for sovereigns, based probably on the code of behaviour at the court of the Sāsānids and the division of their society into classes, sadly it was not fully respected, as it should have been, in his days. Perhaps this indicates that the ʿAbbāsids did not blindly imitate the Sāsānid manners but only followed them up to a certain point.

Since the concept of rank also determined the seating order, it should come as no surprise that the word *martaba* ended up designating a cushion, a kind of low and soft seat. The reason for this is that cushions were the normal seats used at meetings (only the ruler himself would occasionally sit on a genuine throne, and the vizier would at times sit on a simpler chair, *kursī*). One finds this kind of *martaba* cushion in texts closer to the spoken language, such as stories of the *Arabian nights* variety and, even more so, in documents from the Cairo Geniza (in the dowry lists of young brides, see Sadan, *Martaba*, in *Bibl.*). It would appear that these mattress-seats were arranged by day for sitting (on the arrangement of cushions in book shops and reading rooms, see also idem, *Mobilier*, in *Bibl.*; idem, *Nouveaux matériaux*, in *REI*, xlv [1977], 51ff.) and by night for sleeping, a quite economical and efficient system for the common people.

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(J. Sadan)

al-**MAʿRŪF** wa 'l-**MUNKAR** [see al-nahy ʿan al-munkar, in Suppl.].

MAʿRŪF BALKHĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, early poet in New Persian, of whom almost nothing is known but who must have flourished in the middle decades of the 4th/10th century, since odd verses of his survive that were allegedly dedicated to the Sāmānid Amir ʿAbd al-Malik (I) b. Nūḥ (I) (343-50/954-61), and he may have been at the court of the Ṣaffārid ruler of Sīstān, Khalaf b. Aḥmad (352-93/963-1003). Fragments amounting to some 45 verses, mainly love poetry and satires, have been collected by G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans (IXe-Xe siècles)*, Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 31, tr. 129-33, Persian text ii, 132-8.

Bibliography: See also Browne, *LHP*, i, 463; D̲h̲abīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīk̲h̲-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, ²Tehran 1335/1956, i, 422-3; F. de Blois, *Persian literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, v, London 1997, 191. (C.E. Bosworth)

MĀRŪNIYYA, Mawārina (Syriac *Mārūnāyē*, presumed derivative from the personal name *Mārūn*, diminutive of *mār* "lord"), the Arabic name of the Syrian Christian sect of the Maronites, which first entered into union with the Roman Catholic Church in *ca.* A.D. 1180.

According to al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), the sect first emerged into existence as a Monothelite Christian communion during the reign of the Roman emperor Maurice (582-602), its Monothelite origin (contested by Maronite historians since the late 15th century) being also affirmed by al-Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār (d. 415/1024) and the Crusader historian William of Tyre (d. 1185). The first known base of the community was the monastic establishment of Dayr Mārūn (or Dār Mārūn), on the Orontes river, east of the town of Ḥamā, which had already fallen to ruins by al-Masʿūdī's time. This establishment allegedly carried the name of the Syrian hermit Mārō (Arabic Mārūn) of Cyrrus (d. 433), who is claimed by the Maronite church as its patron, although he is also revered by the Syrian Melchite (Chalcedonian Orthodox) church as a saint.

While the Maronites have traditionally used Syriac for their liturgy, they appear to have been Arab rather than Aramaeo-Arab in ethnic origin; their ecclesiastical and secular literature, as known directly or from reference from as early as the 10th century A.D., is entirely in Arabic. Their ethnic difference from other Syrian Christians, who were mainly Aramaean or Aramaeo-Arab, might explain in part why they came to be organised as a separate church. The claim of the community to be descended from the Mardaites [see d̲j̲arād̲j̲ima], first advanced by the Patriarch Isṭifān al-Duwayhī (1668-1704 [*q.v.*]), is historically incredible.

The Maronites signalled their break from the Syrian Melchite see of Antioch when they began electing patriarchs of their own in *ca.* 685. In that same year, the conclusion of a peace accord between the Byzantine emperor Justinian II and the Umayad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān seems to have enabled the Byzantines to regain control over the affairs of the Antiochene see. The Monothelite doctrine having been condemned by the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680) as a pernicious heresy, Justinian II, it appears, was bent on eradicating what remained of it in Syria.

According to Maronite tradition, the first Maronite Patriarch, Yuḥannā Mārūn, had barely assumed office when Byzantine persecution forced him to flee the Orontes valley and seek refuge in the rugged reaches of the northern Lebanon, where the Maronite patriarchate has remained ever since. When the Byzantines reoccupied Antioch and the adjacent parts of northern Syria, starting from 969, the Christian population of the Orontes valley was still largely, if not entirely, Maronite. This Byzantine reoccupation, however, was to last until *ca.* 1070, by which time the Maronites of the Orontes valley had been mostly, if not entirely, replaced by Melchites, presumably as a result of Byzantine persecution; the only notable Maronite community outside Mount Lebanon survived in the city of Aleppo, which the Byzantines had failed to occupy.

When the Crusader forces, having seized Antioch (1098), proceeded to advance southwards to Jerusalem in 1099, Maronite warriors met them outside Tripoli to offer their service as guides and auxiliaries. The first contacts between the Maronite patriarchate and the Roman Catholic Church followed, ending more than four centuries of Maronite ecclesiastical isolation. It was not before *ca.* 1180, however, that a body of leading Maronite clerics, meeting with the Latin Patriarch of Antioch, formally agreed to unite with the Roman Catholic Church and abandon the Monothelite doctrine in favour of Roman orthodoxy. To cement this union, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), invited the Maronite Patriarch Jeremiah of ʿAms̲h̲īt (Irmiyā al-ʿAms̲h̲ītī) to Rome in 1215, ostensibly to participate in the Lateran Council of that year.

Meanwhile, a split had occured in the Maronite church, in the course of which the party opposed to the union waged armed attacks against those in its favour. This split reached its climax in 1282-3, when, for a brief while, each side had its own Patriarch. Shortly after, however, the Mamlūks of Egypt, who were already in occupation of the Syrian interior, put an end to the Crusader County of Tripoli (1289); then Acre was conquered (1291) and the last Crusaders expelled from Syria (1291). Finding itself once more in isolation, the Maronite church was able to regain its unity under Patriarchs favouring the union with Rome. However, Maronite relations with the Papacy remained casual, because of the difficulty of maintaining regular contact between the two sides once the Crusaders had gone.

The Maronites suffered sporadic persecution under the rule of the Baḥrī Mamlūks (1291-1382), at which time some Maronites emigrated from Mount Lebanon to live under Crusader protection in Cyprus, where a few thousand Maronites remain to this day. With the replacement of the Baḥrī by the Burd̲j̲ī Mamlūk régime, the fortunes of the community took a turn for the better. Starting from the reign of Barḳūḳ (1382-9, 1390-9 [*q.v.*]), the first of the Burd̲j̲ī sultans, special favours were accorded to the Maronite *muḳaddamūn* (sing. *muḳaddam* "chief") of the district of D̲j̲ubbat Bs̲h̲arrī (the mountain hinterland of Tripoli), enabling them to manage the affairs of their district much as they pleased. Subsequently, in 1444, the seat of the Maronite patriarchate, which had never been fixed before, was established in the monastery of Ḳannūbīn, in D̲j̲ubbat Bs̲h̲arrī, where it remained until the 19th century.

The interest of the Roman Papacy in the Maronite Church had meanwhile been heightened following the failure of the Council of Florence (1439-44) to end the schism between the Roman Catholic and Byzantine Orthodox communions. Unable to attend this council in person, the Maronite Patriarch John of Jaj (Yuḥannā al-D̲j̲ād̲j̲ī) had sent a Franciscan missionary to represent him there, with a message indicating his fervent commitment to Roman Catholicism and requesting papal confirmation of his patriarchal title. (Since then, all Maronite Patriarchs, though elected by bishops of their own church, have been confirmed in office by the Popes; by implication, they came to derive their Apostolic authority from the Roman See.) Subsequently, the Franciscan mission in the Holy Land (Terra Sancta), which had an important base in Beirut, was entrusted with the maintenance of Maronite relations with Rome; and, starting from 1456, the Popes began to address the heads of the Maronite Church as Patriarchs of Antioch (a title which they might have traditionally claimed). Following the Catholic Counter-Reformation, the Capuchin and Jesuit fathers were charged by the Roman see to replace the Franciscans as religious mentors to the Maronites.

In 1585, Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85) established the Maronite College (*Collegium Maronitarum*) in Rome to train aspirants to Maronite church office in Roman Catholic orthodoxy and church discipline; and starting from 1608, graduates of this institution began to occupy the Maronite patriarchal see. By then, the first major reform of the Maronite Church had been undertaken, under Jesuit sponsorship, by the Synod of Ḳannūbīn (1596). Maronite church practice was brought closer to the Roman Catholic norm by the Synod of Luwayza (1736) (the trend has been continuing ever since). Meanwhile, the first Maronite monastic order following the Roman Catholic model had been chartered by Isṭifān al-Duwayhī. Since the Second Vatican Council (1962), the Maronite liturgy has been largely Arabicised.

Starting from the early 17th century, the Maronites of the northern Lebanon entered into close political association with their Druze neighbours in the southern parts. A large-scale migration of Maronites to the Druze country followed, continuing through the 18th century to the early 19th, whereby the Maronites, in time, came to form the majority of the population of the Druze districts. Having the advantage over the Druze in numbers, and backed by the Roman Catholic European powers, especially by France, the Maronites began to entertain ambitions of dominating the whole of Mount Lebanon, thereby challenging Druze leaderships in their own home districts. Intermittent clashes between the two sides, starting from 1840, culminated in a massacre of Maronites and other Christians of the Druze regions in 1860, in which an estimated 15,000 were killed or died of destitution, and about 100,000 were left homeless. Intervention by the European powers, spearheaded by France, restored peace to the mountains, and in 1861, the Ottoman government was prevailed upon to grant Mount Lebanon the privileged status of a *mutaṣarrifiyya* administered by an Ottoman Catholic Christian *mutaṣarrif* or governor, who was appointed directly by the central government in Istanbul and assisted by a locally-elected administrative council. The decades that followed witnessed an Arabic literary revival in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, in which Maronite participation was particularly prominent.

Following the First World War, France, in 1920, was accorded the mandate over the territory of present-day Syria and Lebanon. The French thereupon expanded the territory of the Lebanese *mutaṣarrifiyya*, largely in response to Maronite ambitions, to form the State of Greater Lebanon, which became the Lebanese Republic in 1926, with the Maronites politically at the helm. In Lebanon, the Presidency of the Republic, the Army Command and a number of other key positions continue to be the preserve of the Maronites.

Since the 1880s, increasing numbers of Maronites have emigrated from Lebanon to North and South America, Australia, and other parts of the world. The community in Lebanon is estimated today at one million out of a total Lebanese population of about five million, the estimate of the Maronite population outside Lebanon being at least double that number.

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MASHHAD.

2. History and development since 1914.

In the course of the 20th century, Mas̲h̲had has become a regional metropolis (2,155,700 inhabitants in 2004), the capital of the vast province of K̲h̲urāsān, and well integrated into the economic and public life of Iran. At the same time, it has kept its character as a goal of pilgrimage, dominated by the strength of the economic and political authority of the Āstāna-yi ḳuds-i riḍawī, the administration of the Shrine *waḳf*, probably the most important in the Muslim world.

In 1914, despite its religious importance, Mas̲h̲had was a marginal town in regard to the rest of the country. The population of some 70,000 was ethnically very diverse, with Azeris, Hazāras, Buk̲h̲ārīs, Marwīs, Berberīs, Afg̲h̲āns, and several thousand Jews who had been forcibly converted to Islam, called Dj̲adīd al-Islām (Patai). About a hundred Europeans, mostly Russians, and as many again Indian subjects of the British crown, lived near their respective consulates. Trade with Russia was twice as important as that with Tehran, since the only modern road was that connecting Mas̲h̲had with ʿAs̲h̲ḳābād, opened in 1892 (Bharier, 14). Like most of the towns of Iran, it kept its traditional character for the first decades of the 20th century. The only modern street, lit by electricity since 1902, was the Bālā k̲h̲iyābān leading from the entrance of the town on the western side to the Shrine and to the modest pilgrims' bazaar, since Mas̲h̲had never had a proper bazaar and the shops, just as the 37 caravanserais housing pilgrims, were dispersed throughout the town.

Riḍā S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] and the Pahlavī dynasty showed a great interest in Mas̲h̲had and the Shrine of the Imām Riḍā. The ruler personally assumed the office of *mutawallī* of the Āstāna-yi ḳuds, and members of the royal family regularly made the pilgrimage to the town, where a palace was built at Bāk-i Malikābād; trusted servants were appointed as governors of K̲h̲urāsān and executive directors of the Shrine. A new town was laid out, with rectilinear streets, houses in the Russian style with two storeys and large windows; and businesses and offices were developed to the west of the holy city, which kept its houses of sun-dried brick, its alleys and the *musāfir-k̲h̲āna*s or hostels and the caravanserais for pilgrims. In 1935 Mas̲h̲had was linked with Tehran by a modern road, an aerial connection in 1928 (regular service in 1946), an oil pipeline in 1955 and a railway in 1957 (Bharier). At the end of the 1960s, there was a fresh wave of expansion. The Firdawsī University was opened in 1966, modern hospitals, amongst the best in Iran, were built, food and textile (carpets) industries were developed, whilst sources of natural gas at Sarak̲h̲s enabled the burgeoning city to be supplied with gas. An urban plan was successfully put into operation, since over half of the built-up area and 80% of the land available for building belonged to the Shrine. A French study centre, the SCET Iran, was given the task of making an inventory of the Shrine's possessions and of modernising its administration in order to increase its revenues (Hakami, Hourcade). To the west, at Abkūh, vast hotels for students, troops and officials of the Shrine were constructed. To the east, urbanisation swallowed up the small towns of Guls̲h̲ahr, Sak̲h̲timān and Ṭuruḳ, but was limited by the extensive agricultural holdings of the Shrine and by military lands.

After the oil boom of 1974, Muḥammad Riḍā

Shāh [*q.v.*] decided to make Mashhad the most important and most modern pilgrimage centre of the Muslim world. Under the direction of the governor, M. Waliyān, the reconstruction of the old town began in 1973 with the destruction of the bazaar, caravanserais, and traditional-type hotels near the Shrine and the avenue (*falaka*) which surrounded it. The only part left standing was a section of the carpet bazaar. The Bāzār-i Riḍā, a simple, modern gallery meant for the pilgrims' purchases, was opened in 1977 near the Ḥaram, whilst workshops and other commercial activities were dispersed to the town's periphery. From now on isolated in a vast open space, the Shrine was renovated and developed on a grandiose scale, making the Imām Riḍā's tomb the greatest religious architectural complex in the world, still in the course of construction in 2002 (library extension, schools, a new cemetery in the underground vaults, new courts and spaces for welcoming pilgrims). This policy of increased prestige was actively followed by the Islamic Republic, under the direction of the *āyatullāh* Wāʿiẓī Ṭabasī, the new *mutawallī* of the Shrine and no longer governor of the province. The city continued to expand towards the southwest along the Wakīlābād Avenue (new university campus, high-class residences) and, above all, to the northwest (agricultural lands towards the Kūčān road, where mass housing and industrial zones reach as far as the ancient Ṭūs, where Firdawsī's tomb is to be found).

From 1956 to 1996, Mashhad has had the greatest population growth (5.3% per annum) of the great cities of Iran, after Tehran itself. This development became very rapid after 1979 because of the influx of Afghān refugees in a new quarter to the northeast of the city. This new Afghān quarter evokes the traditional relations of Mashhad with the Harāt region and Central Asia, reinforced by the re-opening of the frontier with Turkmenistan in 1991 at Badjgirān and, above all, after the opening on 15 May 1996 of the new railway linking Mashhad, via Sarakhs, with the rail network of the former USSR. This opening towards the east of a town and a region long isolated from Tehran takes place, however, hand-in-hand with the strengthening of political, administrative and economic relations with the capital. The revolt of 1921 by Col. Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Pisyān was one of the last manifestations of former isolation. Consequently, the population of Mashhad has participated actively in the crises and the political and social debates in Iran: the riots of 1963 against the White Revolution, and active participation in the Islamic Revolution (the thinker ʿAlī Shariʿatī was a professor at the University of Mashhad, and Sayyid ʿAlī Khaminaʾī, who in 1989 became the Spiritual Guide of the Islamic Republic, was one of the most active of the local religious leaders).

As the second city of Iran in terms of population since 1975, Mashhad, now a modern city, remains the regional capital of eastern Iran, even though the province of Khurāsān, of which it is the capital, has been since 2002 divided into three different provinces. The passage through it of over ten million pilgrims each year accentuates more than ever before the religious identity and the economic activity of this regional metropolis, which now has the second-most important airport in Iran and the most important hotel complex (more than 25,000 beds in hotels and, above all, *musāfir-khānas*), well ahead of Iṣfahān.

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(B. Hourcade)

3. The Shrine, and Mashhad as a centre of Shīʿī learning and piety.

The location in Mashhad of the Shrine of the eighth Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] has made Mashhad into the leading place of pilgrimage within Persia, the process whereby its veneration developed being accentuated by the fact that, for some four centuries, with one break of a few decades, the Shīʿī shrines of ʿIrāḳ were in the hands of the Sunnī Ottoman Turks, the powerful enemies and rivals of the Ṣafawids and their successors [see further, ʿatabāt, in Suppl.]. Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* place Mashhad as the seventh of the great sanctuaries of the Muslim world, after Mecca, Medina, and the four specifically Shīʿī *ʿatabāt* in ʿIrāḳ, al-Nadjaf, Karbalāʾ, Samarrāʾ and Kāẓimayn [*q.vv.*] (see P.M. Sykes, *The glory of the Shia world*, London 1910, p. xiii), but some Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* would rank it next after Karbalāʾ (see G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 150 n. 2).

The Ḥaram containing the Shrine seems to be essentially the creation of the last six or seven centuries, its development receiving a powerful impetus when the Ṣafawids turned Persia into a Shīʿī state in the 10th/16th century. Previously, it had been easier for non-Muslims to visit the Shrine, since the Spanish ambassador Clavijo, en route for Tīmūr's court at Samarḳand, was able in 1404 to visit it. Thereafter, it was not till the first half of the 19th century that the British traveller J.B. Fraser was able, by dint of a feigned conversion to Islam, to enter the Shrine in 1822 long enough to make a drawing of the courtyard there (see Fatema Soudavar Farmanfarmaian, *James Baillie Fraser in Mashhad, or, the Pilgrimage of a nineteenth century Scotsman to the Shrine of the Imām Riḍā*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xxxiv [1996], 101-15). Various other European travellers followed in the later 19th century (details in Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 148 n. 1).

But the rise of the Mashhad shrine began well before the advent of the Ṣafawids, and especially after the sack of nearby Ṭūs by the Tīmūrid prince Mīran Shāh b. Tīmūr in 791/1389 dealt Ṭūs a death-blow and brought the Sanābad shrine into prominence as the nucleus of the later Mashhad [see ṭūs]. Already,

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had gone on from Ṭūs to "the town of Mas̲h̲had al-Riḍā", which he describes as large and flourishing (*Riḥla*, iii, 77-8, Eng. tr. Gibb, iii, 582), and Tīmūrid rulers such as S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ and his wife D̲j̲awhar-S̲h̲ad̲h̲ were great benefactors in the first half of the 9th/15th century; but members of the new dynasty of the Ṣafawids vied with each other in enriching and enlarging the Shrine. S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp I erected a minaret covered with gold in the northern part of the *Ṣaḥn-i kuhna* which, with the *Ṣaḥn-i naw*, bounds the Shrine on its northern and eastern sides, and he adorned the dome of the tomb with sheets of gold and put a golden pillar on top of it (this was to be carried off by the S̲h̲ībānids when in 997/1589 they invaded K̲h̲urāsān and sacked Mas̲h̲had). ʿAbbās I laid out the main thoroughfare of the city, the *K̲h̲iyābān*, running from northwest to southeast and dividing the city into two roughly equal halves; the Shrine area divided this street into an upper (*bālā*) and a lower (*pāʾīn*) part. ʿAbbās II devoted his attention mainly to the decoration of the *Ṣaḥn-i kuhna*. Ṣafī II, the later Sulaymān I, restored the dome of the Imām's tomb. But there were benefactions during these times from outside potentates also, not only from the South Indian S̲h̲īʿī Ḳuṭb-S̲h̲āhī ruler Sulṭān-Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk in 918/1512 but also by the Sunnī Mug̲h̲al emperor Akbar, who made a pilgrimage to Mas̲h̲had in 1003/1595. Although likewise a Sunnī, Nādir S̲h̲āh Afs̲h̲ar was the greatest benefactor of the city and the Shrine in the 12th/18th century, devoting a great part of the plunder brought back from India to their embellishment. Before his accession to the throne, he had in 1142/1730 built a minaret covered with gold in the upper part of the *Ṣaḥn-i kuhna* as a counterpart to that of Ṭahmāsp I on on the north side of this. He now thoroughly restored the southern half of the *Ṣaḥn*, and decorated the southern gateway richly and covered it with sheets of gold, so that it acquired the historic name of "Nādir's Golden Gate"; in the centre of this court he placed his famous octagonal marble "water house", the *saḳḳā-k̲h̲āna-yi nādirī*. The Ḳād̲j̲ār S̲h̲āhs, from Fatḥ ʿAlī to Nāṣir al-Dīn, likewise cherished the Shrine, despite the frequency with which the city of Mas̲h̲had was involved in rebellions against the central government at various points in the 19th century.

The Shrine area forms the so-called *Bast*, thus designated from the rights of asylum and sanctuary traditionally operating there for e.g. debtors, and, for a limited period, criminals (see Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 155, and BAST). Nādir's Golden Gateway leads southwards to the area of the Imām's shrine itself and its ancillary buildings, what is strictly speaking the *Ḥaram-i muḳaddas*. The almost square shrine has the actual tomb in its northeastern corner. S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I provided the tomb with a gold covering, and he also covered the dome, 20 m/65 feet high, with gilded copper sheets. Notable also here is the *Dār al-siyāda* hall built by D̲j̲awhar S̲h̲ād̲h̲, a *Dār al-ḥuffāẓ*, and the fine mosque bearing D̲j̲awhar S̲h̲ād̲h̲'s name, regarded by many authorities as the most attractive building in the sacred area (see illustr. in Sykes, *op. cit.*, at 263). There are also teeming bazaars, caravanserais, baths, etc. in the Ḥaram, the property of the Shrine, but the Shrine also in pre-modern times held *awḳāf* [see WAḲF] all over Persia, and especially, in other parts of K̲h̲urāsān, contributing to the income of the Shrine and its upkeep. This last varied according to economic prosperity and peaceful or otherwise conditions in the land; information given to Curzon at the end of the 19th century put the Shrine revenues at 60,000 *tūmāns*, equivalent at that time to £17,000 sterling per annum (*op. cit.*, i, 162-3).

The Shrine was administered by a lay *Mutawallī-bāshī*, from the later 19th century onwards until Pahlavī times as an office held by the governor-general of K̲h̲urāsān, previous times having been often characterised by disputes between the Shrine administrator and the representatives of the central government; at the time of Curzon's visit, the *Mutawallī-bas̲h̲ī* was Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh's brother Muḥammad Taḳī Mīrzā, Rukn al-Dawla (replaced in 1891 by a former governor of Fārs). The office was a lucrative one, since the administrator normally drew 10% of the Shrine's revenues. Beneath him was a large staff of lower *mutawallīs*, *mud̲j̲tahids* [*q.v.*] and *mullās*, some enjoying hereditary appointments.

Pilgrimage to the shrine of the Imām began at an early date. European travellers and visitors in the 19th century endeavoured to estimate their annual numbers: Ferrier (1845) gave 50,000; Khanikoff (1858) and Eastwick (1862), over 50,000; C.E. Yate (in the 1890s), 30,000. These numbers tended to rise at the times of special festivals such at the anniversary of ʿAlī al-Riḍā's death and during Muḥarram. The rites of pilgrimage involved a triple circumambulation or *ṭawāf* and the three-fold cursing of the Imām's enemies, and especially of the caliphs Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd and al-Maʾmūn. The pilgrims enjoyed a support system of food kitchens and accommodation for three nights, and a pilgrim who had performed all the rites in the prescribed fashion was entitled to call himself a *Mas̲h̲hadī*.

As with the lands adjacent to al-Nad̲j̲af and Karbalāʾ, the holiness of the Shrine and its environs made it very attractive for burials, and several large cemeteries lay round it, such as the *Maḳbara-yi ḳatl-gāh* ("killing ground cemetery") to its north. Since there was so much demand for places—not merely from Persians but also from S̲h̲īʿīs from the Indian subcontinent, Afg̲h̲ānistān and Central Asia—the same ground had to be used over and over again for burials. The fees for such burials—graves with proximity to the Shrine itself being the most expensive—brought in a not inconsiderable revenue to the Shrine. See also MAḲBARA. 4, in Suppl.

As well as a centre for piety and pilgrimage, Mas̲h̲had was an educational centre, with a considerable number of *madrasas*, whose number in the first decade or so of the 20th century approached twenty, the oldest still standing being the *Dūdār* one, founded by S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ in 823/1420, the majority of them, however, dating from the later Ṣafawid period. From an architectural and artistic point of view, the Madrasa of Mīr D̲j̲aʿfar, built and endowed by the founder in 1059/1650, is regarded as especially fine. These colleges attracted students from Persia itself and also from the S̲h̲īʿī communities of India; Sykes in 1910 put the number of students at that time at 1,200 (*The glory of the Shia world*, 267-8), many of whom at this time went on subsequently for further study at al-Nad̲j̲af.

For the Shrine, its administration and development in the 20th century, see 2. above.

Bibliography: Given in the article, and see that in the *EI*[1] art. *Mes̲h̲hed*. (M. STRECK*)

MAS̲H̲S̲H̲ĀʾIYYA (*mas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾūn*, *mas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾiyyūn*, *mus̲h̲āt*), the Peripatetic or Aristotelian school of Greek philosophy and its Arabic-Islamic followers.

The Arabic term is a translation of the Greek *peripatētikoi*, the school of Aristotle, who is reported to

have taught whilst "perambulating" (Greek, *peripatein*) with his students. While in the Greek sources the designation is restricted to Aristotle's personal disciples, the Arabic equivalent is used for the Hellenistic tradition of his philosophy in general. As a term of doxography, it occurs in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (247, 16), and in the 5th/11th century *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (from the school of Abū Sulaymān al-Sid̲j̲istānī), where the term is explained historically. According to this, following the precept of Plato to train both body and soul, "Aristotle and Xenocrates used to teach philosophy to their pupils while walking to and fro", and so they were called the Peripatetics of the Academy (*al-mus̲h̲āt al-aḳād̲h̲īmiyyūn*, 41, § 709); similarly al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-ḥukamāʾ*, 26, in a classification of the various ways to designate schools of philosophy where both Platonists and Aristotelians are subsumed under this name; and likewise in al-S̲h̲ahrastānī (*Milal*, 253, 296).

In the introduction to his work on the philosophy of the "Easterners" (*al-mas̲h̲riḳiyyūn*), Ibn Sīnā, while acknowledging the merit of Aristotle, blames those who "are infatuated with the Peripatetics (*al-Mas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾūn*) and who think that no one else was ever guided by God" (see Gutas, *Avicenna*, 45), announcing the evolution of his philosophy beyond the basis laid by Aristotle, who was henceforth called the First Teacher (*al-muʿallim al-awwal*; see e.g. Ibn Sīnā, *al-S̲h̲ifāʾ*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*, ed. Anawati *et al.*, 392). The term "Peripatetics" is now used in explicit delimitation or criticism of Aristotle and his commentators (such as Alexander of Aphrodisias) against Ibn Sīnā's own doctrine (see Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *S̲h̲arḥ al-Is̲h̲ārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, Tehran 1959, [2]1982, ii, 416, l. 10; iii, 174, l. 5, etc.) or other schools of thought.

In the subsequent development, however, it was the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā and his extensive following which, again from another standpoint, was designated as *mas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾiyya*. It was not his principal critic al-G̲h̲azālī, but Ibn Rus̲h̲d [*q.vv.*] in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges, 178, l. 6), who pointed out *mā iʿtaraḍa bihi Abū Ḥāmid ʿalā 'l-mas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾīn*—using "Peripatetics" synonymously with *al-falāsifa* (*ibid.*, l. 8; and see ed. Bouyges, index, 605, § 139). S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī, in his turn, designates Avicennan concepts and doctrines as those of the *mas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾīn* (*Opera*, ii, 13 and *passim*) in contrast to his own mystical philosophy. It is this general use of the term which appears in later doxography, blurring the difference between the Aristotelian and Platonic schools of Greek philosophy vis-à-vis the following of *is̲h̲rāḳī* mysticism [see IS̲H̲RĀḲ; IS̲H̲RĀḲIYYŪN]. In this sense, the 10th/16th century Iranian philosopher Ṣadr al-Dīn al-S̲h̲īrāzī [*q.v.*] is praised by his biographer for uniting *al-mas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾiyya, al-is̲h̲rāḳiyya* and Islam (Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-S̲h̲īʿa*, Damascus and Beirut 1953-63, ix, 325).

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MAṬAR, ILYĀS DĪB (1857-1910), Syro-Lebanese historian, medical doctor, pharmacist, lawyer and teacher. He was born into an Arab Orthodox middle-class family in the town of Ḥāṣbayyā, in present-day south Lebanon. The Druze-Maronite civil war, which erupted in 1860 and spread from Mount Lebanon to other parts of Syria, forced his family to move to the safety of the city of Beirut. His father, who was a prosperous merchant and a local notable of his community, managed to escape what became known as "The massacre of Ḥāṣbayyā" under the protection of the prominent Druze leader, Saʿīd D̲j̲unbulāṭ.

Ilyās Maṭar received his primary education at his confession's school, Les Trois Docteurs. He then entered the Catholic Patriarchal School, where he learned Arabic, French, Greek and other subjects. His studies widened in scope when he enrolled at the newly-established Syrian Protestant College (SPC), later renamed the American University in Beirut. There he studied chemistry, botany and pharmacy. During those formative years he was taught by a number of competent teachers, whose names were to become associated with the emergence of "the modern Arab renaissance" [see NAHḌA] in the 19th century. These included Salīm Taḳlā (1849-92), founder of the celebrated Egyptian newspaper *al-Ahrām*; Nāṣīf al-Yāzid̲j̲ī (1800-71), the accomplished Arabic scholar; and his fellow-townsman Fāris Nimr (1856-1952 [*q.v.*]) who taught Maṭar chemistry.

It seems that it was upon Nimr's suggestion that Maṭar decided to write a general history of his country, Syria. This was published in 1874 under the title, *al-ʿUḳūd al-durriyya fī taʾrīk̲h̲ al-mamlaka al-sūriyya*. It constituted the first historical work written on Syria as a well-defined entity by a native Arab historian. Its importance lies in the manner it deals with Maṭar's country as one single cultural and territorial unit. Thus Syria ceases to be a collection of Ottoman administrative units, and becomes a fatherland (*waṭan*) extending from the Taurus mountains in the north and the Sinai Peninsula in the south, and from the Euphrates in the east and the Mediterranean in the west. This fatherland is then shown to be endowed with an Arab national identity and an inherent capacity to acquire the new achievements of European civilisation. However, Syrian patriotism figures in this respect as an integral part of the wider movement of Ottomanism.

Maṭar's book is dedicated to the well-known Ottoman historian Aḥmed D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a (1822-95 [*q.v.*]), whom he met during his visit to Istanbul in 1874. This visit was undertaken in order to obtain his degree in pharmacy and secure the authorisation of the Ottoman Ministry of Education to publish his history. After this date, Maṭar became D̲j̲ewdet's protégé, acting as his son's tutor, assistant and adviser. It was also upon D̲j̲ewdet's encouragement that Maṭar qualified as a medical doctor and became a practising lawyer. He taught both medicine and law in Istanbul, while co-editing at the same time a legal journal, *al-Ḥuḳūḳ*.

Maṭar is credited with the authorship of over thirty books, both in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish. Apart from his pioneering historical text, his output includes works on a wide variety of subjects, such as jurisprudence, public health and education.

Owing to his affliction with a fatal disease, he returned to Beirut in 1909. He died the following year (March 1910) and was buried in his family's cemetery.

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(YOUSSEF M. CHOUEIRI)

MATARAM, the name of an area in central Java where two kingdoms have developed.

1. The first kingdom bearing this name was founded by Sanjaya, who is recorded to have erected a *linga* in "Kunjarakunya". The inscription commemorating this event, written in Sanskrit in A.D. 732, was found in a Shaivite sanctuary at Changgal. Some time later, the Mahayana-Buddhist Shailendra appear as dominating dynasty of Mataram, and Sanjaya's successors submitted to them. The Shailendras probably came to central Java after the fall of the empire of Funan, centred in the south of present-day Kampuchea, after A.D. 627, continuing their royal titulature as "rulers of the mountains". They became famous for erecting the most outstanding Buddhist monuments such as the Borobudur, Mendut, Pawon, and others. After 832, however, their power declined, and thus the Shaivite dynastic line which had withdrawn to east Java returned to the centre. Obviously, both dynastic lines were linked together by intermarriage, and this paved the way for Mataram to reach the peak of its power, including the incorporation of most of central and east Java and parts of Bali into its territory. King Balitung (898-910) was the first king to use the name of "Mataram" in his inscriptions, and his successor Daksa (910-19?) is credited with the erection of the monumental Lara Djonggrang complex near Prambanan, consisting of 190 temples, the main one being dedicated to Shiva. King Sindok (929-47), however, moved the capital to the upper valley of the Brantas river in east Java, thus founding a new dynasty and ending the history of this first kingdom of Mataram.

2. The Islamic kingdom of Mataram was founded by the Panembahan Senopati Ingalaga (d. 1601). His father, Kyai Gedhe Pamanahan, is famed for his killing Arya Penangsang of Jipang, the powerful and frightening enemy of Adivijaya (Jaka Tingkir), ruler of the second Islamic (Shīʿī) kingdom of Java, Pajang (*r.* 1549-87). As a reward, he was given the central area of the ancient kingdom of Mataram where he founded the Kota Gedhe, later under his son to become the capital. After his death in 1584, his son was awarded the title of Senopati ("general") by the king, but Senopati soon fought against Demak and other principalities and eventually even attacked the king's troops. After the king's death, he rejected Pajang's supremacy, and he added to his magic powers through meditation and asceticism and a visit to the divine Queen of the Southern Sea, Nyai Lara Kidul, thus underlining the central cosmic position of his capital—and himself as ruler—between the volcano Mount Merapi to the north and the Sea in the south. With the support of two from among the "nine holy men" (*wali songo*) who are said to have brought Islam to the interior of Java, Sunan Giri and Sunan Kali Jaga, he made Islam the religion of his kingdom, which by now included most of the interior of central and east Java, but not the important sea ports on the north coast, from Surabaya in the east to Cirebon (Cheribon) and Banten in the west. Senopati's grandson Agung (*r.* 1613-46), the greatest ruler and warrior king of the dynasty, which now, according to the panegyric chronicle of Mataram *Babad Tanah Jawi*, claimed dynastic decent from the ruling family of Majapahit, the last Hindu kingdom in Java (until 1527), took the title of *susuhunan* in 1624, and in 1641 the title of *sulṭān* was added, legitimised by a special delegation from Mecca. He succeeded in subduing the northern seaports; even Surabaya surrendered in 1626, while its dependency Sukadana in southwestern Kalimantan had already been captured earlier. Even Palembang [*q.v.*] was captured after 1636. Thus Mataram developed as a maritime power as well. An attack on Batavia, then the stronghold of the Dutch *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) ended with a defeat. On his death, within the island of Java only Batavia and the sultanate of Banten, to the west of Batavia, refused to acknowledge Mataram's suzerainty. His wars had entailed an enormous loss of human lives and destruction of agriculture. Court literature, however, developed and presented a combination of Ṣūfī tradition and traditional Javanese cosmological mythology. His successor, his son Susuhunan Amengku Rat I (*r.* 1646-77) turned away from professing Islam, starting his increasingly tyrannical reign of continuous warfare and killing with the murder of about 6,000 Islamic teachers together with their families. Rebellions flared up, the biggest one led by Raden Trunajaya (1649-80) from Madura, who was also supported by many religious (Islamic) teachers who encouraged him to fight against the cruel king and his ally, the "Christian" VOC. The popular hope for the imminent arrival of a Messianic *ratu adil* ("just king") spread widely. The *susuhunan*'s son Amengku Rat II (*r.* 1677-1703) defeated his father's enemies and personally stabbed Trunajaya to death, but his throne, in the meantime, was occupied by his brother Pangeran Puger. Therefore the king established a new court in Kartasura, to the east of Kota Gedhe (Yogyakarta).

Madura and east Java remained, however, centres of rebellion. Under Amengku Rat III (*r.* 1703-8, d. in exile in Colombo in 1734), the son of his predecessor, the disintegration of Mataram took on a serious form, partly because of the insurgence of Surapati (d. 1706), a former Balinese slave and military trainee of the VOC who had established himself in Pasuruan and extended his territory to Madiun, partly because of the First Javanese War of Succession (1704-8) which broke out when the VOC recognised Pangeran Puger as Susuhunan Pakubuwana I (*r.* 1704-19). When he died and his son followed him as Amengku Rat IV (*r.* 1719-26), the Second Javanese War of Succession began (1719-23), involving the VOC even more in Javanese dynastic affairs. His death by poison brought his son Pakubuwana II (*r.* 1726-49) to the throne. Changing alliances, among others with the Chinese who had fled the massacre in Batavia in 1740, against the Dutch who, on their part, were allied for some time with Pangeran Cakraningrat IV of western Madura, or with the Dutch against other enemies, and continuous court intrigues weakened the position of the *susuhunan* continuously. The court, which in 1746 had been moved to the new capital Surakarta [*q.v.*], rose again in rebellion when the *susuhunan* agreed in a unilateral decision to the demand of the VOC to cede the ports on the north coast to Dutch administration. Thus began the Third Javanese War of Succession (1746-57), led by the rebellious brother of Pakubuwana II, Pangeran Mangkubumi, who, in his headquarters in Yogya, was declared Susuhunan Pakubuwana in 1749 (*r.* 1749-92); in 1755 he adopted the title Sultan—for the first time after Sultan Agung—Hamengkubuwana (I) which has been maintained until the present Sultan Hamengkubuwana X (since 1986), and made Yogyakarta [*q.v.* in Suppl.] his capital. Before his death, Pakubuwana II, however, had transferred sovereignty over his kingdom to the VOC, who agreed that the crown prince should become Pakubuwana III (*r.* 1749-88). This initiated the partition of Mataram into two major principalities, Surakarta and Yogyakarta.

The last major rebel in the court of Surakarta,

Pakubuwana III's cousin Mas Said, surrendered in 1757, and henceforth ruled, as Pangeran Adipati Mangkunegara I (*r.* 1757-95), over an area taken from Surakarta and inhabited by 4,000 households. During the temporary British occupation of the Dutch possessions (1811-16), the brother of Hamengkubuwana III (*r.* 1810-11; 1812-14), Natakusuma, was rewarded by the British with an appanage of 4,000 households and the title Pangeran Pakualam I (*r.* 1813-29), playing now a similar role in Yogyakarta territory as the Mangkunegara in Surakarta territory.

Ever-increasing colonial exploitation caused a general social and economic decline, and general unrest was growing. Hamengkubuwana's eldest son, Pangeran Dipanegara (1785-1855), avoiding the court and studying Islamic textbooks and Javanese wisdom with Islamic teachers, associated himself more and more with popular discontent, until finally the last great war in colonial times in Java, the Java War (1825-30), broke out. At its end, half of the population of Yogyakarta had died, and Dipanegara was exiled, first to Menado and then to Makassar.

From the two major and two minor principalities in the territory of Mataram, only the sultanate of Yogyakarta in the heartland of Mataram could maintain some limited degree of self-government, due to the merits of the late Sultan Hamengkubuwana IX (*r.* 1939-86) during the early years of independent Indonesia and his co-operation with the Pakualam VIII in modernising the administration of his territory, which is acknowledged in the Republic as the Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta ("special district of Yogyakarta"), Sultan Hamengkubuwana X (1986-) being again its governor (since 1999).

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(O. Schumann)

MAṬBAʿA.

6. Early Arabic Presses in The Netherlands and England

The principal centre of Arabic printing in Protestant Europe was originally Leiden, where the scholar-printer Franciscus Raphelengius cut an Arabic fount and printed specimens in his *Specimen characterum Arabicorum officinae Plantinianae Raphelengii* (1595). The characters were modelled on the Medicean fount but were of inferior elegance. After being used for the posthumous printing of his Arabic-Latin lexicon (1613) and other works, the Raphelengian equipment was bought by the pioneer English Arabist William Bedwell (1563-1632), who left it to the University of Cambridge, intending that it should be used to print his own Arabic-Latin lexicon. His wishes remained unfulfilled, and no use seems to have been made of the fount since the earliest extant Arabic printing at Cambridge (1688) differs from the Raphelengian type. In the meantime, the great Arabist Thomas van Erpe (Erpenius), Professor of Arabic at Leiden (1612-24), had established his own press there, from which he published his own works. The Medicean Press again provided the model for the typeface. About this time oriental (and specifically Arabic) studies were encouraged at Oxford by Archbishop William Laud as chancellor of the university (1630-41). Laud established the chair of Arabic for Edward Pococke in 1636, and in the following year his agent bought printing equipment for Arabic and other oriental types from stock in Leiden. This provided the fount for *inter alia* Pococke's *Specimen historiae Arabum* (1648, 1650), and it continued to be used into the eighteenth century. A third Arabic fount was that used in London for the printing of the Polyglot Bible of 1653-57 and its great supplementary work, the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* of Edmund Castell, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. Unlike the Raphelengian and Oxford founts, this was modelled on the characters of the Savarian Press, which had been set up by Savary de Brèves, the French ambassador at Rome (1608-14), when the Medicean Press there went out of production. Savary brought the press back to France, where it was acquired by the Imprimerie Royale and used in the production of the Parisian Polyglot (1645).

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(P.M. Holt)

MAṬBAKH

3. In Persia.

The Persian word for kitchen, *ās̲h̲pazk̲h̲āna*, was not in general used before the 19th century, though the terms *ās̲h̲* "soup" and *ās̲h̲paz* "cook" do occur in earlier texts. Before the Ḳād̲j̲ār period, the Arabic *maṭbak̲h̲* was the common term for kitchen (Elahi, 790-91, with description of Persian kitchen).

A tradition with a long history, Persian cuisine ranks, with that of the French and the Chinese, as one of the great cuisines of the world. Its origins and influences are to be sought in the East, and more specifically in Transoxania. The traditional use of wheat as a staple and the basis of vegetable soups (*ās̲h̲*), the mixing of meat and fruit in dishes, the use of various types of yoghurt (*mast* and *kas̲h̲k*) and other dairy products, and ways of preparing meat, all point to Central Asian origins. Conversely, olives and olive oil, so abundant in the Mediterranean and Ottoman Turkish cuisine, are virtually absent in Persian cooking (except in the Caspian provinces); Persians traditionally cooked with animal fat (except for Jews, who used sesame oil). The important place of rice in Persian cooking similarly suggests Asian origins, in this case Southeast Asia and India (Bazin and Bromberger, 148; Fragner 1994a, 54-5).

Legend ascribes the art of cooking to Ahriman (the Zoroastrian spirit of evil) who is said to have taught

a mythical King Zahāk to prepare the flesh of animals (Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, 1988, i, 48-51, cited in Ghanoonparvar, 191). It is mainly Greek texts that offer some information on royal banquets, but otherwise we know little about food and ways of preparing it during the Achaemenid period, though borrowings from Lydia and Assyria seem plausible (Schmitt; Gunter, 13-21). The situation for the Sāsānid period is a little better, with information and recipes being available on the high cuisine of the court, including ingredients such as various types of hot and cold meat, stuffed vine leaves and sweet date purée (Amuzgar; Gunter, 44). The first five centuries of Islamic rule are again rather poorly documented. The available information, mostly from Muslim travellers and the occasional literary source, points to a heavy reliance on bread and cereals, an important role for (roasted) meat, including game, especially for nomads and soldiers, and the use of condiments such as pickled vegetables (*turshī*), sour grapes (*ghūra*), dried lemons and walnuts, which would remain essential to Persian cooking (Kasā'ī). It is only in the Mongol period that the current Persian cuisine became heavily influenced by Eastern traditions and took its current shape. Rashīd al-Dīn, who first entered Mongol employ as a head cook in the household of the khān and who later employed a Chinese cook in his own household, may have been instrumental in the transmission of Chinese cuisine to Iran (Allsen, 73-4).

The first period for which we have abundant information on eating and cooking practices is that of the Ṣafawids. European observers were struck at the frugality of eating habits. Chardin, iv, 28-9, 47, was among those who noted how Persians skipped breakfast except for a cup of coffee and only ate two proper meals a day. Food was cooked in earthenware or copper pots coated with tin (Olearius, 595). In areas where wood was scarce, such as the central plateau, cooked food was eaten at most only once a day, in the late afternoon, and instead of cooking, people in urban areas would get their pilaw and the ingredients for their soups from the ubiquitous cookshops. During other meals, bread and cheese were the main ingredients (Chardin, iv, 57; Tavernier, i, 545, 712). Meat included mutton and goat. Chicken and pigeon were also part of the menu of those who could afford it. Beef was rarely eaten. Chardin's observation, iv, 48-9, that beef, tough and dry, was only eaten by the poor in winter is echoed for the 19th century by Polak, i, 112, and Wills, 299. Even today, Persians do not favour beef, except those living in the Caspian provinces (Bromberger 1994, 191). Nor did game enjoy much popular appeal in Ṣafawid times, despite the enthusiasm for hunting on the part of the élite, in part because of the difficulty of abiding by ritual slaughter, in part because of its taste (Otter, i, 207). Game was often given as a present to Christians, who loved it as well as dark meat and fish. Turkey flesh seems to have caught on very slowly after its introduction from the New World via Europe (Tavernier, i, 712). Olearius, 596, claimed in the 1630s that turkey was not among the birds eaten, though under Shāh ʿAbbās I a Venetian merchant had once brought a few to Iṣfahān. A generation later, Tavernier wrote that the Armenians had brought turkeys and ways of raising them to Persia, adding that the meat was only for the court (i, 712). Some sources claim that horseflesh was the most esteemed type of meat (*Chronicle*, i, 155). The predilection for horseflesh at the court of Tīmūr (Clavijo, 106, 224) and the fact that the *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, 318, calls it the most delicious meat, point to a Central Asian origin of the taste. Polak, i, 115, suggested regional variation by saying that Persians did not eat horseflesh with the exception of the people from Shīrwān and the Özbegs, who considered it a delicacy. Fish, not an ingredient of the nomadic diet, was naturally mostly confined to the Caspian coast and the Persian Gulf littoral, though trout from the Caspian region was also served at royal banquets (Tavernier, i, 545).

The information that has come to us from Ṣafawid times mostly concerns the food of the rich and eating practices at the royal court, as described by Western visitors who enjoyed the hospitality of the shāh and administrative officials. They offer information on the royal kitchen as well as on the types of food consumed at the court.

The royal kitchen prepared food only once a day for the royal household but twice a day for the shāh himself and his direct entourage. The daily food outlay for the shāh amounted to two sheep, four lambs, and thirty chickens for his midday meal and half as much for his supper, not counting small poultry, game and fish (Chardin, v, 350-1).

The royal kitchen was supervised by the *tūshmāl-bāshī*, an official who was subordinate to the *nāẓir al-buyūtāt*, the steward of the royal household. The *tūshmāl-bāshī* was responsible for the quantity and quality of the meat served at the court, preceded the procession of the meat dishes all the way from the kitchen to the royal quarters, and also acted as the royal taster (the *mihtar* "chamberlain" would taste all royal food a second time) (Minorsky, 137; Olearius, 672; Richard, ii, 15, 274; Chardin, v, 349-50, 378; Kaempfer, 279-80). Another important official was the *sufrači-bāshī*, who was in charge of arranging the floor cloth (*sufra*) on which food was consumed (Olearius, 672; Richard, ii, 15, 274; Chardin, v, 351). Other officials working in the royal food and drink department were the *ḳaṣṣābči-bāshī or sallākhči-bāshī* "the butcher", the *ḥawīdjār-bāshī*, who supervised the poultry yard and the scullery, the *sabziči-bāshī*, who was responsible for green salads, the *turshīči-bāshī*, who supervised the preparation of pickled vegetables, the *ḥalwači-bāshī*, or confectioner, the *sharbatči-bāshī*, or supervisor of the sherbets and syrups, the *ābdār-bāshī*, who was in charge of drinks, and the *ḳahwači-bāshī*, who headed the department of coffee making (Afshar, 1991, 409-11; Minorsky, 67, 94, 97, 98; Chardin, v, 352-53).

Meat was often eaten in the form of kababs, which Fryer, iii, 146, described as "rostmeat on skewers, cut in little round pieces no bigger than a sixpence, and ginger and garlic put between each". The same author, i, 147, notes that it was most often made into a pilaw, "their standing dish".

Rice had become an important ingredient in élite cookery after the Mongol domination of the country, gradually edging out pasta and groats (*bulghur*) (Fragner 1987, 789). Though it is not clear whether rice was grown in Persia before the advent of Islam, it has been part of the Persian diet since Sāsānid times (Balland and Bromberger, 148; Bazargan, 161). At least since early Ṣafawid times, Persians have eaten rice in various ways, either as chilaw or as pilaw. Unlike the situation in parts of China and India, where rice is a staple and a basic nutrient, in Persia rice has always been a prestige food and a luxury item not eaten by the poor on a regular basis. Its preparation has always been accordingly complex and time-consuming. Cooking is the same, involving a laborious process of soaking and steaming, resulting

in rice that does not stick together, but the main difference is that chilaw consists of rice and clarified butter and sumac, which, served with kabab, a raw onion or herbs, has become in modern times a favourite restaurant meal. Pilaw, on the other hand, is rice mixed with a variety of ingredients (for cooking and types of pilaws, see Balland and Bromberger, 154; and Bazargan, 161). Fryer, iii, 147, describes the making of pilaw as follows: "To make pullow, the meat is first boiled to rags, and the broth or liquor being strained, it is left to drain, while they boil the rice in the same; which being tender, and the aqueous parts evaporating, the juice and gravy incorporates with the rice, which is boiled almost dry; then they put the meat again with spice, and at last as much butter as is necessary, so that it becomes not too greasy or offensive, either to the sight or taste; and it is then boiled enough when it is fir to be made into gobbets, not slabby, but each corn of rice is swelled and filled, not burst into pulp." Rice with lamb was the most common form of pilaw, but it was also prepared in numerous other ways, with spinach or cabbage, with roasted or boiled meat, with almonds and raisins, with onion and garlic, and it was served in various colours, depending on the condiment, which could be currant, pomegranate or saffron (Olearius, 595-6; Kaempfer, 278). Chardin, iii, 185-6, noted five or six different pilaws during a meal served by S͟hāh Sulaymān for a Russian envoy, with garlic crust, lamb, chicken, eggs stuffed with meat, and with fish. He also gave more than twenty as the total number of pilaw varieties (iv, 54). Twenty-five kinds of pilaw are mentioned in a Persian source from the Ṣafawid period (T͟hābitiyān, 371; see Afs͟hār 1378, 98).

Then as now, meals were consumed synchronically; unlike French cuisine, there was no time sequence to the order of eating the food and courses are not divided (Spooner, 253; Chehabi, 47). Kaempfer, 278, describing a royal banquet, noted, however, that confection and sweetmeats tended to precede the main course (see also *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 115). All Europeans commented on the silence observed during meals, their short duration, and the fact that nothing was drunk until afterwards. They also noted that no silverware was used, except for a large wooden spoon that was used for eating soup and drinking the various juices that were served as part of the meal (Della Valle, i, 641; Olearius, 596; Kaempfer, 281; *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 119). While ordinary Persians ate from porcelain or earthenware, at the court gold dishes were abundantly used as well (Herbert, 262; Kaempfer, 262; Kroell, 30). Kaempfer, 153, estimated the total value of the royal dishware at 10 million gold ducats. *Ād̲j̲ār* and *turs͟hī* (pickled vegetables) served as condiments (Kaempfer, 278). Kaempfer, 262, describes the desserts served on the occasion of an audience: candied fruit, fresh fruit, various kinds of cake and sweetmeats. Jam, *murabbaʿ*, was very popular and came in many varieties (Afs͟hār 1991, 417). Sugar was used in great quantities in the ubiquitous confectionery. According to De Bruyn, the Dutch East India Company annually brought 12,000 packs at 150 pounds each to Iṣfahān (De Bruyn, 178).

Common people ordinarily consumed bread, vegetables and fruit. Bread has always been the staple for the overwhelming majority of the population, and its central role in the diet is reflected in popular expressions and folklore (Kasāʾī, 112). The Caspian region, where bread has been spurned as unhealthy until modern times, is an exception (Orsolle, 171). Types of bread used in Ṣafawid times were remarkably similar to the ones eaten today; such as *lawas͟h*, thin unleavened bread that doubled as a spoon and a napkin, and *sangak*, long bread baked on pebbles (Chardin, iv, 50; Olearius, 596). Herbert noted how dates preserved in syrup mixed with buttermilk was seen as a precious food. He called the cheese dry, blue and hard, as being worst on the Gulf coast and best in Māzandarān (Herbert, 260, 262). Butter came from the tails of sheep. Nothing like restaurants existed. However, given the prohibitive cost of burning wood, many people ate at the ubiquitous public food stalls, *dukkān-i ṭabbāk͟hī*, where simple hot rice dishes were prepared (Iskandar Beg Muns͟hī, 188; Chardin, iv, 57).

Persia had since early mediaeval times been a crossroads for vegetables and fruits, serving as a source of diffusion or an east-west conduit for such plants and crops as sugar cane, lemons and sour oranges, spinach and eggplant (Watson, 26, 44-5, 62, 71). In the Ṣafawid period, the movement was generally in the opposite direction. Europeans introduced parsley, asparagus, artichokes and cauliflower into Persia, and these were cultivated in the vegetable gardens of S͟hīrāz and Iṣfahān (Ange de St. Joseph, 102-3; Tavernier, i, 422).

The first cookbooks—as opposed to texts in which food is described for its medicinal use—also date back to the Ṣafawid period (see Afs͟hār 1360). Of the two that have come down to us, one, called *Kārnāma dar bāb-i ṭabbāk͟hī wa ṣanʿat-i ān*, dates from the time of S͟hāh Ismāʿīl I (early 16th century) and was written as a gift to a nobleman. The second, *Maddat al-ḥayāt. Risāla dar ʿilm-i ṭabbāk͟hī*, was probably written for S͟hāh ʿAbbās by his chief cook, Nūr Allāh, who may have been a descendant of Muḥammad ʿAlī Bāwarčī, and was perhaps even commissioned by the ruler. It is likely that both were composed for colleagues in the profession rather than as collections of recipes to serve as guidelines for the cooking of common people (Fragner 1984, 329; German tr. of the pilaw dishes in Nūr Allāh's *Maddat al-ḥayāt*, in *ibid.*, 343-60). For the Ḳād̲j̲ār period, we have the informative *Sufra-i aṭʿima*, a compendim of cooking and eating practices written for Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh's personal physician, the Frenchman Tholozan, by the royal cook.

The menu in Ḳād̲j̲ār times does not seem to have differed greatly from that in the Ṣafawid period. Persian sources as well as foreign observers still note the bread and the cheese, the chilaw and pilaw, the *ās͟h* and the *āb-i gus͟ht*, the various legumes, such as beans, cucumbers, aubergines (egg plant), in addition to carrots, turnips, radishes and cabbages, as well as condiments in the form of *turs͟hī*, and the prodigious quantities of fruit (Wills, 170-1; Nādir Mīrzā, 307-10, and see the references to food in Baṣīr al-Mulk, *Rūznāma*, introd. by Afs͟hār, pp. XL-LII). Confectionery, too, continued to be an indispensable part of the Persian diet (Wilson, 249-50). A new feature was that food items originating in the New World, such as tomatoes and potatoes, began to make modest inroads into the country's kitchens. Potatoes, which were apparently introduced into Persia in the 18th century, were long called *ālū-yi Malkum* "plums of Malcolm", after the British envoy Sir John Malcolm, who is commonly but probably erroneously throught to have brought potatoes to Persia (Pūr-i Dāwūd, *Hurmazd-nāma*, 176; Binning, ii, 87-8). Though potatoes were cultivated in Persia, Muslim Persians in the early 19th century did not particularly care for them, and they mostly served the Armenian population and European residents

(Binning, *loc. cit.*; Polak, *Persien*, 132; Wills, 170). This changed during the famine of 1861-2, when potatoes suddenly became popular as a substitute for scarce cereals (de Gobineau, 170). Strawberries, too, were gradually coming into cultivation in the late 19th century (Wills, 170, 300). Turkey at that point had become slightly more common, as had small game such as quail, partridge and pheasant, though these still only appeared on the tables of the rich (Polak, i, 113-21; Lycklama a Nijeholt, ii, 242; Bleibtreu, 70). The Caspian provinces continued to stand out for their different diet, including rice and the consumption of garlic, which was thought to neutralise the humid air (Fraser 1826, 16). Public cookshops, known from the Ṣafawid period, continued to exist all over Ḳād̲j̲ār Persia (Binning, ii, 62), yet the first places resembling real restaurants only opened their doors at the turn of the 20th century. Mostly patterned after Russian and Caucasian examples, with terraces and gardens, they first appeared in Tehran (Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Čihil sāl*, 153; Fragner 1987, 790).

Rich and poor naturally continued to eat differently both with regard to table manners as to ingredients. Beginning with the court, members of the élite began to adopt western cutlery in the late Ḳād̲j̲ār period, and the habit of sitting around a table on chairs was introduced in the early 20th century as well (Chehabi, 55-6). The rich used imported sugar while the poor made do with syrup and honey (Polak, ii, 154). The rich consumed different kinds of pilaw and *k̲h̲ūris̲h̲*, stews, with lamb meat, fowl or fish. The middling classes did not ordinarily eat pilaw and *k̲h̲ūris̲h̲* more than once or twice a week, but mostly had to satisfy themselves with *āb-i gus̲h̲t* (a stew on the basis of mutton stock, which seems to have become the staple of the poor in the course of the 19th century; see *EIr* art. *Ab-gūšt*). The poor ate mostly bread (and in times of scarcity, even acorn bread; A. Wilson, 63), cheese and fruit, could afford *āb-i gūs̲h̲t* only occasionally, and in the winter months rarely were in a position to eat any meat. They served pilaw and *k̲h̲ūris̲h̲* only during holidays and festivals. All ate large quantities of fruit, which was cheap (Dārābī, 247-8; Polak, i, 121; Ḳučānī, 18; Mustawfī, i, 284). Fish was a staple in the Caspian provinces, and dried and salted fish was also consumed inland. Fresh-water fish was little esteemed. On the Persian Gulf coast, prawn, *mīgū*, was eaten fresh, as it still is today; it was transported inland in dried form (Wills, 298).

Even today, chicken and turkey connote the food of the rich, while bread and cheese stand for the fare of simple folk. Bread continues to be the staple of the peasants and the urban poor in the arid and semi-arid interior, while rice is consumed by everyone in areas where it is cultivated, especially along the Caspian Sea. Elsewhere, rice is often still a luxury food, eaten on special occasions and offered to guests (Bazin, 245; Bazin and Bromberger, 154). With rising living standards, rice has become more common. Meat, formerly a food reserved for special occasion, has become much more standard as well, and traditionally vegetarian dishes such as *k̲h̲ūris̲h̲* are now often served with meat (Khosrowkhavar, 149). Beef has made inroads, necessitating its importation in large quantities and at great cost (Brun and Dumont, 14). The inhabitants of the Caspian provinces, and especially Gīlān, still enjoy a different diet. They eat rice, mostly in the form of *katih*, quickly prepared rice with clarified butter, with every meal, and as recently as the 1970s rice constituted from 45% to 65% of the daily diet of males in central Gīlān. They also like beef, and bread used to be unknown or at least spurned by them until quite recently (Bromberger 1994, 187, 189, 191).

The growing Western influence in the second half of the 20th century has led to the introduction of a number of new foods, most of them pale renderings of originally Western food. Often consumed as tokens of modernity, these include sausages, *kalbas*—until the Islamic Revolution prepared with pork—hamburgers and pizzas. During the reign of Muḥammad Riḍā S̲h̲āh Pahlavī, Iranians also took to eating frozen meat imported from Australia and New Zealand, and processed "Danish" cheese. The American-style "fast-food" restaurant, serving sandwiches, pizzas, hamburgers, and fried chicken, made its appearance in the late 1960s, followed by a variety of ethnic restaurants in the next decade. Soft drinks began to replace traditional juice beverages in the same period. The period following the Islamic Revolution did not fundamentally change this process. Hamburgers, pizza and hot dogs are now consumed by people from all classes in restaurants and pizzerias that imitate Western models. A new development is the appearance of self-styled "traditional" (*sunnātī*) restaurants and coffee-houses where waiters in "authentically Iranian" dress serve the customers (Chehabi, 59-60).

Other changes have occurred as well. Many traditional dishes, time-consuming to make, are no longer prepared on a regular basis (Khosrowkhavar, 149-52), and traditional cookbooks, a few of which are known from the Ḳād̲j̲ār period, were replaced in the 20th century by modern ones, the use of which remains unclear in a country where most women still learn the art of cooking from their mothers and grandmothers (Fragner 1984, 333; a list of modern cookbooks appears in *ibid.*, 332).

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(R. Matthee)

MAWĀKIB.

6. In the Mamlūk Sultanate

In the early Mamlūk sultanate, *mawkib* designates specifically the royal ride which formed an item in the sultan's installation ceremonies. The term is explicitly used by Ibn Taghrībirdī (*Nudjūm*, vii, 41) on the accession of al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aybak: "He rode on Thursday, 2 Rabīʿ II [655/19 April 1257] with the insignia of the sultanate from the Citadel to Ḳubbat al-Naṣr in an awe-inspiring procession (*mawkib hāʾil*). Then he returned and entered Cairo by Bāb al-Naṣr. The *amīrs* dismounted and marched before him. . . . Then al-Manṣūr went up to the Citadel and took his seat in the palace of the sultanate." On the insignia of the sultanate (*shiʿār al-salṭana*), see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 6-9. Similar accounts in more or less detail, and not always using the term *mawkib*, are given in connection with the accession of several sultans down to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn in 693/1294 (cf. *Nudjūm*, viii, 47). Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir gives an interesting account of the royal ride of al-Saʿīd Baraka Khān, when appointed joint sultan with his father, al-Ẓāhir Baybars, on 13 Shawwāl 662/8 August 1264: "He [Baybars] caused his son, al-Malik al-Saʿīd, to ride with the insignia of the sultanate. He himself went forth in the procession (*rikāb*), and going on foot carried the *ghāshiya* [*q.v.*; cf. P.M. Holt, *The position and power of the Mamlūk sultan*, in *BSOAS*, xxxviii (1975), 242-3] before him. The *amīrs* took it, . . . and the sultan returned to his royal residence, while the kings, the *amīrs* and everybody continued in attendance on him (sc. Baraka Khān) up to Bāb al-Naṣr. They entered Cairo, which had been magnificently decorated, on foot bearing the *ghāshiya*. The *amīrs* busied themselves with the raising of the [royal] parasols (?). He passed through the city with his *atābak*, the *Amīr* ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, riding at his side. Robes of satin, watered silk and so forth were spread before him until he returned to his Citadel" (*al-Rawḍ al-ẓāhir*, ed. Khuwayṭir, 204). After the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the procession through Cairo seems to have been discontinued, its place being taken by a short ride within the precincts of the Citadel to the throne-room, as described by al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 209): "It was also customary when one of the descendants of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn succeeded to the kingdom, that on his accession the *amīrs* would attend at his residence in the Citadel. He would be invested with the caliphal robe with a green robe (*faradjiyya*) beneath it and a round black turban, girt with the golden Arab sword, and mounted on the royal steed (*faras*

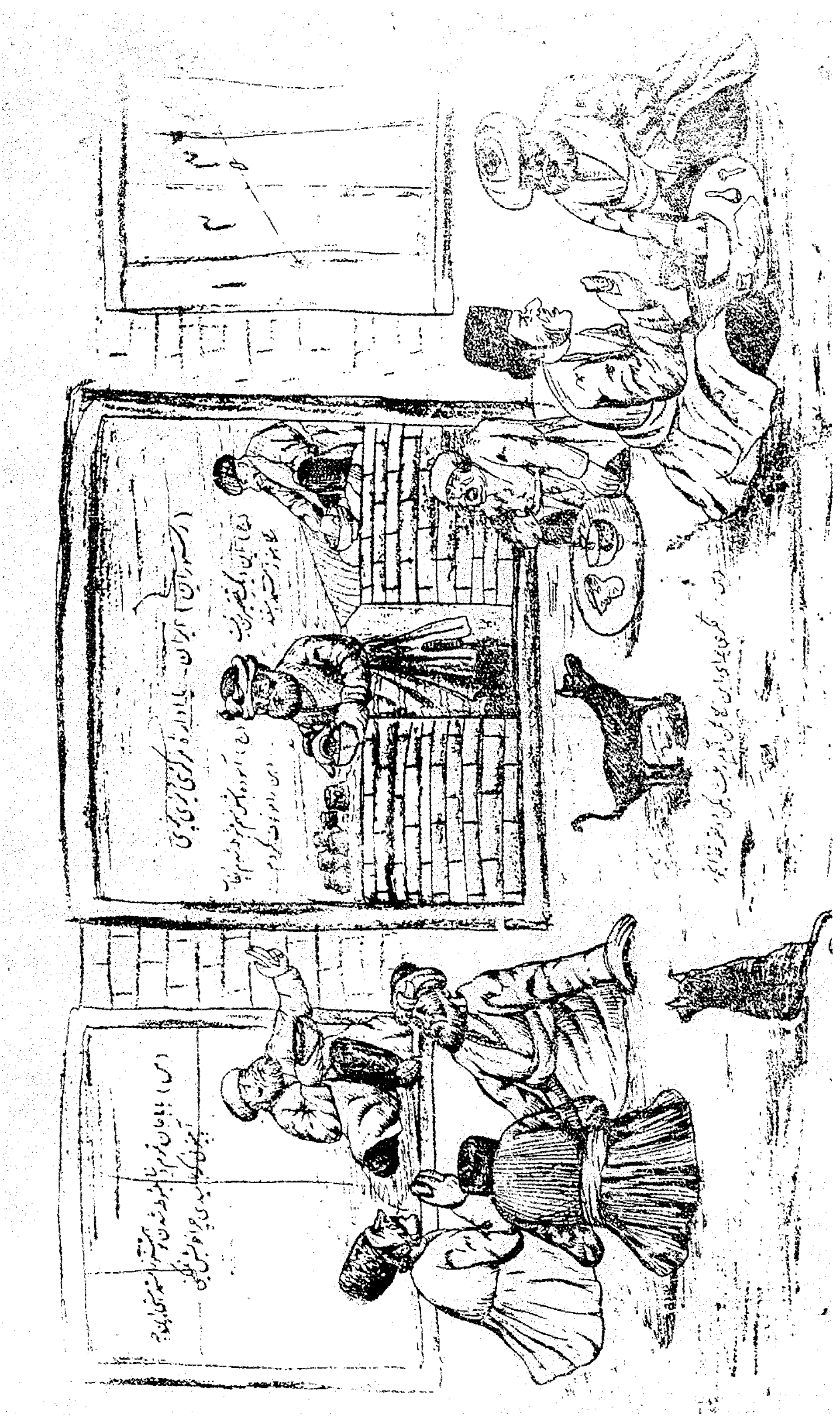

A cookshop at the turn of the 20th century. Source: Kashkūl (Tehran), 1st year, no. 31, p. 2, Saturday, 13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1325/18 January 1908

al-nawba). He would proceed with the *amīrs* in front and the *ghāshiya* before him, while the *djāwīshiyya* chanted and the royal flutes played, surrounded by the halberdiers, until he had crossed from Bāb al-Nuḥās to the entrance of the great hall. Then he would dismount from the steed, go up to the throne and take his seat upon it." In this period, *mawkib* acquired the secondary meaning of "a session of the royal court", e.g. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, x, 61, of al-Nāṣir Aḥmad b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 742/1342: "The sultan held another court (*mawkib ākhar*), and bestowed robes on all the *amīrs*, . . . and he went down in a great procession (*mawkib ʿaẓīm*) with those *amīrs* who were in his company."

The term *mawkib* was also used for other state appearances of the sultan in which there was a processional element, such as his attendance at congregational prayer on Fridays and the two Feasts, at polo in al-Maydān al-Akbar, at the cutting of the dam, and on royal progresses. Al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 46-9) does not use the term consistently on each of these occasions, but it appears to apply to all of them. Uniquely Egyptian were the proceedings at the cutting of the dam at the height of the Nile-flood in Cairo. The sultan, when notified by the master of the Nilometer [see MIḲYĀS] that the flood was at its height, rode at once in modest state (without full insignia and with a reduced escort) to the Nilometer, where he held a banquet for the *amīrs* and Mamlūks. A vessel of saffron was given to the master of the Nilometer, who swam across the well and perfumed the column and then the sides of the well. The sultan's barge was brought alongside, and the sultan swam in the river, surrounded by the barges of the *amīrs*. Followed by the boats of spectators, the *amīrs*' barges and the sultan's great barge entered the mouth of the canal of Cairo, with the craft manoeuvring and cannons firing. The sultan sailed in his small barge to the dam, which was cut in his presence, and he then rode back to the Citadel.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P.M. HOLT)

MAWḲIF (A.), a term of Ṣūfī mysticism, referring to the intermediate moment between two "spiritual stations" (*maḳām*), represented as a halting (*waḳfa*) and described as a state of stupor and of the loss of reference points acquired since the preceding stage. The *mawḳif* is a dynamic psychological state, in which the connection between the mystic and God becomes overturned, and sometimes suspended (annihilation in God, the so-called *fanāʾ* [see BAḲĀʾ WA-FANĀʾ]). The best example of the course of such an experience is given in the work of al-Niffarī (d. *ca.* 366/976-7 [*q.v.*]), his *K. al-Mawāḳif wa 'l-mukhāṭabāt*, ed. and Eng. tr. A.J. Arberry, London 1935, Fr. tr. M. Kâbbal, *Le Livre des stations*, Paris 1989; see also P. Nwyia, *Textes inédits de Niffarî*, in *Trois oeuvres inédites de mystiques musulmans*, Beirut 1973; idem, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970, 348-407. The term continued to be employed in classical Ṣūfism (e.g. by Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, Cairo 1329/1911, 392-3, who refers explicitly to al-Niffarī).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P. LORY)

MAWLID.

3. In the Maghrib.

Unlike the use of the term *mawlid* in other regions, e.g. in Egypt and the Sudan, where it also includes the celebration of the birthdays of various saints (see 1., in Vol. VI, 895), in the Maghrib the term *mawlid* is restricted to the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad. In this part of the world, alongside the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* and the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* [*q.vv.*], the *mawlid* is among the most important festivals of the year.

The oldest known *mawlid* celebrations in the Maghrib were held in Sabta [*q.v.*]. This festival was introduced into this city by an *ʿālim* named Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-ʿAzafī (d. 633/1236 [*q.v.*]) in order to call a halt to the participation of the people in Christian festivals and to strengthen the Muslim identity of Sabta in a period of Christian successes during the Reconquista, both at land and at sea.

After his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-ʿAzafī had seized power in Sabta in 647/1250, he officially introduced the *mawlid* and propagated the festival throughout the rest of the Maghrib. Through this celebration of the *mawlid*, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-ʿAzafī was able to display his religious enthusiasm, and as the result of his largesse during the festivities he increased his popularity with the people. Moreover, during the *mawlid* celebration the hierarchical relationships among the various groups within the realm were confirmed and the loyalty to the ruler expressed in specially-composed poems.

Since then, in a similar way the celebration of the *mawlid* has always played a role at an official level in legitimising the power of various dynasties which have ruled over parts of the Maghrib: the Ḥafṣids (Eastern Maghrib); the ʿAbd al-Wādids (Central Maghrib); and the Marīnids, the Waṭṭāsids, the Saʿdids and the ʿAlawīs (Morocco) [*q.vv.*]. Today, the celebration of the *mawlid* plays a role in the consolidation of the power of the ʿAlawid king of Morocco, who traces his descent, together with the concomitant prestige, to the Prophet Muḥammad himself.

In addition to the state-sponsored celebrations at the courts and elsewhere, the *mawlid* always has been and still is immensely popular among the people, not only among the Arabicised sections of the population but also among the Berbers. The way in which the popular *mawlid* is celebrated displays an enormous variety, both in duration and in ritual, changing from one place to the other. Common elements in all celebrations are the taking of a holiday, the cheerful atmosphere, illuminated parades on the eve of the *mawlid*, festive meals, sweets, special dress, the exchange of gifts, music, dance and, under the influence of Ṣūfī brotherhoods, visits to shrines of saints and singing of mystical chants.

At times, these popular celebrations have given, and still give, rise to protests by the *ʿulamāʾ*, who do not consider these permissible from the point of view of the religious law because of the nature of the activities which take place during the celebrations, many of which are regarded as unlawful. The oldest discussions about this originate from the time of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-ʿAzafī, but the debate reappears with regular intervals. In the first decades of the 20th century, under the influence of Salafī ideas from Egypt [see SALAF. 1], there were various attempts to exclude certain practices from the *mawlid* celebration. In very recent times, inspired by Wahhābī ideas, the *mawlid* has again come under severe criticism. Despite these protests against the celebration of the festival, as a major manifestation of popular religion, the *mawlid* is as vital as ever.

Bibliography: P. Shinar, *Traditional and reformist mawlid celebrations in the Maghrib*, in Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 371-413; Aḥmad al-Kharīṣī, *al-Mutaṣawwifa wa-bidʿat al-iḥtifāl bi-mawlid al-nabī*, al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ 1403/1983; N.J.G. Kaptein, *Muḥammad's Birthday Festival. Early history in the Central*

Muslim lands and development in the Muslim West until the 10th/16th century, Leiden 1993; N. van den Boogert and H. Stroomer, *A Sous Berber poem on the merits of celebrating the Mawlid*, in *Études et Documents Berbères*, x (1993), 47-82; Y. Frenkel, Mawlid al-Nabī *at the court of Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Saʿdī*, in *JSAI*, xix (1995), 157-72.

(N.J.G. Kaptein)

MAWSŪʿA.

3. In Turkish.

The fascination which the Ottomans entertained for compendia of facts and the ordering of knowledge can be traced to their origins outside Anatolia. Although not strictly speaking an encyclopaedic work, the *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* written by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī in the second half of the 5th/11th century and providing a dictionary in Arabic or early Turkish, partakes also of the nature of a thesaurus, with information on the early Turks, including their onomastic, their folklore, proverbs, poetry, etc. [see al-kāshgharī].

As one would expect, the earliest examples of encyclopaedias in the Ottoman world were written in Arabic. It is clear that these types of encyclopaedic reference works were very closely modelled on existing Arabic language reference works on specialised subjects, biography and bibliography. The first phase in the emergence of the Ottoman encyclopaedia is represented by the work of translating encyclopaedic works from Arabic into Turkish, this being an important step in the development of reference tools for the use of Ottoman scholars.

As early as the reign of Meḥemmed I (816-24/1413-21), the first translations of encyclopaedic works appeared. In this period, Rukn al-Dīn Aḥmed made a translation of al-Ḳazwīnī's *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* from Arabic into Turkish and presented it to the Sultan. It is most likely that the concept of the earth as an orb was introduced into Turkish scientific literature by this work. Meḥmed b. Süleymān made a Turkish translation of al-Damīrī's zoological encyclopaedia, the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, which listed the names of existing and, in some cases, fictitious animals, and subjects related to them. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī's *al-Ḳānūn fi 'l-dunyā* was translated into Turkish by Ḳāḍīʿ Abd al-Raḥmān in 983/1575. This work dealt with a variety of topics such as geography, astronomy, medicine, history, anecdotes, and signs and symbols.

The first original encyclopaedic works in the Ottoman empire can be dated to the 9th/15th century. These examples are mainly divided into two categories: general and specialised ones. The *Enmūzedj al-ʿulūm* was prepared by Mollā Fenārī [see fenārī-zade]. He classified subjects under one hundred headings which were termed "the sciences" (*ʿulūm*). He mainly used Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-anwār*, adding forty more subject headings to it. It has been alleged that that the author of this work was not Molla Fenārī but his son, Meḥmed Shāh Čelebi. This claim, advanced most prominently by Adnan Adıvar in his *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, is not however, supported with evidence.

A distinguished and gifted scholar in the 10th/16th century was Aḥmed ʿIṣām al-Dīn (901-68/1495-1561), who came from the scholarly family of the Ṭashköprüzādes [*q.v.*]. Ṭāshköprüzāde's work, the *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda*, mainly discusses the virtues of teaching and learning. The first introduction explains the virtue of science while the second and the third discuss the obligations of students and teachers, respectively. After these introductory chapters, he classifies the sciences (*ʿulūm*) ontologically. The author not only gave the definitions of the sciences but also noted the names of the scholars who had worked on these subjects and their books, making his work an inventory of scholarly life and books taught in Istanbul in the 10th/16th century. Because of the popularity of this work his son, Ṭāshköprüzāde Kemāl al-Dīn Meḥmed, made a Turkish translation of it which is known as the *Mewḍūʿat al-ʿulūm*. Another important work by Ṭāshköprüzāde is a biographic account of the Ottoman empire, a typical example of the Turkish *tedhkire* tradition [see tadhkira. 3]. His *al-Shaḳaʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya* contains biographical information on the *ʿulemā* and *ṣuleḥāʾ* of the Ottoman empire, and it was arranged according to the reigns of the Sultans, comprising in total the biographies of 150 *sheykhs* and 371 scholars. Several translations of this work were also made into Turkish in the same century. There are also compilations of this work prepared in the same format. Another distinguished example of the bibliographic compendium is Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's (Kātib Čelebi) *Kashf al-ẓunūn*. He started compiling it in 1042/1633 and took about twenty years to complete it. It contains bibliographic information on *ca.* 14,500 books and biographical information on *ca.* 10,000 authors.

Erzurūmī Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī's *Maʿrifet-nāme* is the last example of the classical encyclopaedic works, reflecting the author's interest in Islamic mysticism. The work consists of selected topics chosen from arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, mineralogy, botany, zoology, anatomy, geography and physics.

After promising beginnings in compiling compendia of knowledge, the movement seems to have petered out, perhaps a victim of its own success; it was perhaps felt that there was no need to be filled by expanding or adding to these compendia. It is thus not surprising that the next stage of Ottoman compilation of encyclopaedias should be the introduction of European-styled encyclopaedias which surveyed European science. The first of these were introduced during the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period in the mid-19th century. Titles of these works reflect the lexicographic approach and understanding of their compilers, so that the word (*ḳāmūs*) "dictionary" was generally used in their titles. The first examples, are unfortunately incomplete. The first encyclopaedic work was planned by ʿAlī Ṣuʿāwī [*q.v.*] who escaped to France in 1867 because of his opposition to the ruling régime in the Ottoman empire. He attempted to publish this first encyclopaedic work as an appendix to his newspaper *ʿUlūm* in 1870. Entitled *Ḳāmūs al-ʿulūm we 'l-meʿārif*, it was published in fascicles and only five of these appeared, since it fell victim to the siege of Paris by the Prussian Army. In this encyclopaedia subjects were arranged in alphabetical order, contained illustrations, and each fascicle comprised sixteen pages. Other major, equally incomplete, attempts are, in chronological order: *Ḳaṭre* by Aḥmed Nāẓim and Meḥmed Rüshdī, both of them officers in the Ottoman Army, in 1888, of which only one sample fascicle appeared; *Makhzen al-ʿulūm*, another general subject encyclopaedia, by Meḥmed Ṭāhir and Serkis Orpilyan, of which only one volume appeared in 1890; and a specialised subject encyclopaedia on mathematics and astronomy, the *Ḳāmūs-i riyāḍiyyāt*, prepared by Ṣāliḥ Dhekī (Zekī), a mathematician, in 1897, of which again only one volume appeared.

The *Muḥīṭ al-maʿārif* was prepared by Emr Allāh Efendī, who was the first philosophy lecturer at the Dār al-Fünūn in Istanbul, in 1900. Only one volume

appeared, but it had importance as the first comprehensive general encyclopaedic work in Turkish, and its title was subsequently adopted as the Ottoman term for a general encyclopaedia. After Emr Allāh Efendī's appointment as the Minister of Education, a commission was set up under his chairmanship and consisting of 132 specialists. The aim was the preparation of his encyclopaedic work for the second time in 1910. The title of this new encyclopaedia accordingly became *Yeñi muḥīṭ al-maʿārif*, but this attempt was also short-lived, and only one volume appeared.

The first complete work in the genre was, in fact, the *Lughat-i tārīkhiyye we djoghrāfiyye* "Historical and geographical dictionary", prepared by Yaghlīḳdjīzāde Aḥmed Rifʿat in seven volumes in 1882-3. Although its title suggests that it was limited to historical and geographical matters, it in reality covered subjects such as new inventions, machinery, as well as the natural sciences physics, chemistry and botany.

The *Ḳāmūs al-ʿalām* of the linguist Shems el-Dīn Sāmī [*q.v.*] was compiled between 1888-98 as a historical and geographical encyclopaedic dictionary in six volumes. Sāmī relied on oriental and western sources for his work, and it remains a valuable reference source for historical research today, since the work contains not only historical and geographical terms and words used in the Ottoman language but also biographies of historical personalities and their works as well as the names, histories, and ethnic complexion of locations within the empire. It was issued fortnightly in fascicles, and its publication was completed in eleven years.

A similar work, the *Memālik-i ʿothmāniyye'niñ tārīkh we djoghrāfyā lughati* "Dictionary of the history and geography of the Ottoman Empire", was prepared by ʿAlī Djewād, and published in 1893-9 in four volumes. It comprised two sections, the first, in three volumes, was devoted to the natural, historical, and economic aspects of the Ottoman provinces and their localities, while the second section, the fourth volume, contained biographical information on Ottoman statesmen and poets.

All these efforts were personal and self-motivated, and no financial or academic support was provided from any public or private institution. Within the same period, another initiative directed by a commission was launched in 1913 under ʿAli Reshād, ʿAlī Ṣeydī, Meḥmed ʿIzzet and L. Feuillet, the *Muṣawwer dā'iret al-maʿārif* "Illustrated circle of knowledge", but only two volumes were issued 1913-17. The harsh social, economic and political conditions of the last decades of the Ottoman empire were certainly a contributing factor to the lack of success in completing these potentially promising works in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Two notable biographical works appeared, however, towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. A national biography, the *Sidjill-i ʿOthmanī* "Ottoman register", was prepared by Meḥmed Thüreyyā [*q.v.*] in four volumes and published in 1890-4; it contained approximately 20,000 biographies of civil servants and statesmen. A bio-bibliographical compendium of Ottoman writers began to appear in 1914, *ʿOthmānli mü'ellifleri* "Ottoman authors", compiled by Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir; it listed 1,600 books and gave the biographies of their authors. Its aim was to record the scientific and literary taste of the Ottomans for the new generation, and its subsequent was that it became one of the main sources for encyclopaedias published later.

After the establishment of the Republic in 1923, the government encouraged the publication of new books, especially for children, to alleviate the problem of illiteracy. The French word for encyclopaedia was used for the first time in Turkish as *ansiklopedi* with the publication of the *Čodjuk ansiḳlopedisi* "Children's encyclopaedia" in 1927. Four volumes appeared up to 1928, and after the change of alphabet in November 1928 the publication of this work was suspended until 1937. This encyclopaedia has a significance in Turkish encyclopaedic publication, being the last work begun in Arabic script before the change of alphabet, the first encyclopaedic work completely in the Latin script being that prepared on the initiative of a daily newspaper, *Cumhuriyet*, and published between 1932-6 in ten volumes. This publication was based on *Compton's pictured encyclopaedia* and *American educator*, and additional entries related to Turkey were written by specialists.

Several special-subject encyclopaedias have appeared in the Republican period. One of the most important of these is Reşad Ekrem Kocu's *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, which began in 1946 and ceased publication in 1975 on the death of the author. The significance of this incomplete work in eleven volumes is that the historian Kocu prepared it single-handed as a work limited to the city of Istanbul. Given the supreme importance of Constantinople/Istanbul in the history of the eastern Mediterranean world, further encyclopaedic works were prepared upon the death of Kocu. The *İstanbul kültür ve sanat ansiklopedisi* "Encylopaedia of the culture and art of Istanbul" was prepared by specialists and published by a daily newspaper, *Tercüman*, in 1982; unfortunately, it was never completed. The other encyclopaedia, *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* "Encyclopaedia of Istanbul from yesterday till today", was published by the Ministry of Culture and the Historical Foundation in eight volumes in 1993-4; although not as detailed as Kocu's work, it gives general information on almost every subject in 10,000 articles.

From the 1940s onward, the Ministry of National Education (*Maarif Vekaleti*) decided to initiate the publication of encyclopaedic works as well as its publications and translations of classical works. The first was the *İslam Ansiklopedisi* begun in 1940. A committee was set up, and the encyclopaedia was based on the original *Encyclopaedia of Islam* published in Leiden in 1913-36 [see MAWSŪʿA. 4]. However, amendments were carried out and in some cases, expansions were made in articles which were only briefly covered in the Leiden edition. The work was completed in 1988 in thirteen volumes, of which two volumes have two parts.

Meanwhile, a decision was made by the same Ministry to prepare a general, national encyclopaedia in 1943. The first four volumes were issued under the title of *İnönü ansiklopedisi*, the name of the President of Turkey at the time [see ISMET İNÖNÜ, in Suppl.], altered to *Türk ansiklopedisi* in 1951. The encyclopaedia consists of thirty-three volumes, and publication was completed in 1986. This work has a significant place in the history of official publications in the Turkish Republic. Since it was published over a span of forty-three years, it reflects the political approaches and the use of Turkish language by the various governments in power through the period, and it further illustrates how the publications of government agencies can be affected by the political ideology of these governments. The Ministry of National Education also commissioned Celal Esat Arseven and Mehmed Zeki Pakalın in 1943 and in 1946, respectively, to publish

the *Sanat ansiklopedisi* "Encyclopaedia of the Arts" in five volumes and *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü* "Dictionary of Historical Phrases and Terms" in three volumes.

From that period until the 1960s, no new projects for a general encyclopaedia were initiated with the exception of the *Hayat ansiklopedisi* "Encyclopedia of life," begun by a private publisher in 1961 and by 1963 completed in six volumes. In a very short period, 100,000 copies were sold, indicating the need for a general encyclopaedia by an increasingly literate society.

The *Meydan Larousse büyük lugat ve ansiklopedi* is the largest Turkish encyclopaedic work initiated by a private publisher, with publication beginning in 1969. It is an encyclopaedia as well as a dictionary, being a translation of the *Grand Larousse encyclopédique* published in 1960-4 in ten volumes. Some subjects and entries related solely to French language and culture were omitted, and subjects related to Turkish and Islamic culture inserted. The encyclopaedia was issued in fascicles and was completed in 1973 in twelve volumes, with two supplementary volumes issued in 1974 and 1985, respectively. The publication of *Meydan Larousse* was a turning-point in the history of commercial publication of encyclopaedias in Turkey, and a result of the enthusiasm with which the *Meydan Larousse* was greeted by the public, other publishers have seen the commercial opportunities offered by publishing encyclopaedias.

Hence during these years, a handful of publishers began to specialise in such reference works. The major publishers today are Anadolu Yayıncılık, Gelişim, Görsel and İletişim, who publish not only general encyclopaedic works but also encyclopaedias on specialised subjects, such as *Yurt ansiklopedisi* "Encyclopedia of the Homeland", which gives information on the history, economic and social conditions of the cities of Turkey in alphabetical order; *Türk ve dünya ünlüleri ansiklopedisi*, a biographical reference source; *Gelişim genel kültür ansiklopedisi*, a general encyclopaedia; *Anadolu uygarlıkları ansiklopedisi*, an encyclopaedic publication on Anatolian civilisations; and *Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, which covers the development of various fields in the Republican period such as the constitution, archaeology, the press, energy, mining, librarianship, etc. *Ana Britannica ansiklopedisi* is a translation and adaptation of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, published in 1988 by Anadolu Yayıncılık. The publisher has also published yearbooks in order to update the necessary information. The second Turkish edition was initiated in 2000 and it is still in progress. Finally, *Türkiye diyanet vakfi islam ansiklopedisi*, an *Encyclopedia of Islam*, is being prepared and financially supported by the Turkish Religious Foundation. The publication started in 1988 and twenty-two volumes, covering the letters A-İ, have already appeared. The encyclopaedia contains not only subjects related to Islam but also wider aspects relating to the Islamic community throughout the world. Most of the Islamic subjects are very detailed, and the articles have comprehensive bibliographies.

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(A.O. Icimsoy)

5. In Urdu.

Here there does not seem to be any significant tradition of any antiquity, leaving aside modern Urdu translations of such reference works as *Chamber's Encyclopaedia*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and, of course, the Urdu *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, which draws on material from the Western *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, published in Leiden.

MEḤMED ṬĀHIR, BURSALÎ (1861-1925), Ottoman biographer and bibliographer.

Meḥmed Ṭāhir was born in Bursa in northwestern Turkey on 22 November 1861, the son of Rifʿat Bey, clerk to the city council, and grandson of Üsküdarlî Seyyid Meḥmed Ṭāhir Pas̲h̲a, formerly a commander in sultan ʿAbd ül-Med̲j̲īd's imperial guard. He studied at the Bursa military academy from 1875 and at the élite Ḥarbiyye (War) academy in Istanbul from 1880. Graduating in 1883 he spent the next twenty years teaching geography, history and rhetoric at military schools in Manāstîr (and one year in Üsküb) in Macedonia, as part of the Ottoman Third Army. In 1904 he became director of the military high school in Selānik (Salonica). Whilst at the Ḥarbiyye academy he had become a member of the Melāmī order of dervishes, by whom he was profoundly influenced in his teaching, publications and political outlook. In Manāstîr he first conceived the notion of collecting bio-bibliographical data on poets and learned men, and in 1897 published his first work *Türkler'in ʿulūm we funūna k̲h̲idmetleri* "The Turkish contribution to arts and sciences" (Istanbul 1314). In 1316/1899 he also published a full-length biographical study of the Arab mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Meḥmed Ṭāhir was dismissed from his teaching post in December 1906 for his Ṣūfī involvement and his membership of the Ottoman Freedom Society (*ʿOt̲h̲mānlî ḥürriyyet d̲j̲emʿiyyeti*). From 1908 to 1911 he served as deputy for Bursa in the first representative assembly of the Second Constitutional period, and subsequently served in the Ministry of Charitable Endowments (*Ewḳāf neẓāreti*) on a committee to inspect the holdings of institutional libraries. In 1915 he became director of the Ṭopkapî Sarāyî library. The date of Meḥmed Ṭāhir's death is uncertain, but was probably 1925. He was buried in Istanbul.

Meḥmed Ṭāhir's principal work is *ʿOt̲h̲mānlî müʾellifleri*, a three-volume bio-bibliographical compendium published between 1915 and 1924, listing 1691 Ottoman authors and their works. Despite many lacunae and acknowledged errors, *ʿOt̲h̲mānlî müʾellifleri* was unique in its comprehensive scope and immediately became a standard reference work. Aside from the works already mentioned, Meḥmed Ṭāhir also compiled over twenty lesser biographical works, either of particular individuals (e.g. Kātib Čelebi) or of groups of Ottoman *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲*s and *ʿulemāʾ*.

Bibliography: For a full bibliography, see the detailed article by Ömer Faruk Akün, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vi (1992), 452-61, on which the above is based.

(Christine Woodhead)

MEZISTRE, Mizistre, the Turkish name for Greek Mystras, Latin Mistra, a famous Byzantine necropolis on a hill slope west of modern Sparta in Laconia in the Peloponnese [see mora], which was a major centre of late mediaeval Greek civilisation and capital of the "Despotate of the Morea" till the Ottoman conquest. It has numerous Byzantine and Frankish monuments from the 13th-15th centuries, and was immortalised, albeit anachronistically, in Goethe's *Faust*. The name has been connected with the shape of the cone-shaped hill on which it stands.

The Frankish castle of 1249 was built by William II de Villehardouin of the Achaia Principality, but passed to the Byzantines in 1262. The ravages of Franks and Turkmens from Western Anatolia (see

details in A. Savvides, *The origins and rôle of the Turkophone mercenaries in the Morea in the course of the Byzantine-Frankish war of 1263-4* [in Greek], in *Acts of the 4th Intern. Congr. of Peloponnesian Studies*, i, Athens 1992, 165-88) later compelled the local people to seek refuge in the citadel so that it developed into a fortified town. The 14th and early 15th centuries were, culturally, a Golden Age for Mistra, and notable for the humanist Plethon (d. 1452), whose connections with Islam are noteworthy; he was influenced, whilst in Edirne, by a Jewish scholar, Elissaeus, who initiated him into Zoroastrianism, Averroean Aristotelianism and Jewish mysticism of the Kabbalistic tradition. Plethon had connections with such more enlightened Muslim elements as the Akhīs [*q.v.*] and followers of the religio-social leader Badr al-Dīn Ḳāḍī Samawna [*q.v.*] (see F. Taeschner, *Plethon, ein Vermittler zwischen Morgenland und Abendland in Beginn der Renaissance*, in *Byz.-Neugrieschische Jb.*, viii [1930], 100ff.).

The earliest recorded battle of the Despot of Mistra against the Turks, sc. Turkmen arriving across the Aegean with a fleet, is variously placed in 1357-64. Subsequent Ottoman incursions were led by Ewrenos Beg [*q.v.*] in the late 1380s and 1390s, and by Turakhan [*q.v.*] in 1423, who reached the outskirts of Mistra (witnessed personally by Plethon). By 1446 the Despot Constantine Palaeologus had to acknowledge Ottoman suzerainty, and in spring 1460 Meḥemmed II decided to annex the Despotate, and Demetrios surrendered to him. An Albanian convert, Ḥamza Zenevisi, was made the first governor of Ottoman Mezistre (see von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 379, iii, 9ff., 54ff.; F. Babinger, *Mahomet le Conquérant et son temps*, Paris 1954, 102ff., 210ff.; Savvides, *Notes on the Turkish raids in the Mystras area from c. 1360 to the Ottoman conquest of 1460*, in *Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon*, xlviii [1990-1], 45-51).

Under the first *Tourkokratia*, Mezistre was the favoured residence of the *sandjak bey* of Morea till the conquest of Nauplion (Anabolu) in 1540. It enjoyed relative tranquillity, with its architecture and urban topography largely unchanged except for the addition of a few mosques. The commerce of its bazaars and its local Jewish community were important, and Western travellers, from Coronelli (1681) onwards, describe the August "market fairs" (*emporopanegyreis*). The population *ca.* 1583-5 appears to have been, from the evidence of the Ottoman registers, 1,000 Christian families and 199 Jewish ones (see M.T. Gökbilgin, *Kanunî sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti livaları*, in *Belleten*, xx [1956], 281), whilst Kātib Čelebi lists for the late 17th century *ca.* 15,000 inhabitants (von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna. Geogr. Beschreibung von . . . Hadschi Chalfa*, Vienna 1812, 117-18).

The Venetian Francesco Morosini captured Mezistre in August 1687, and the Venetians then made it the capital of their *territorium* of *Braccio di Maina*, second only in importance to the province of Laconia's capital of Monemvasia [see MENEKSHE]; yet their rule was rigorous and accordingly unpopular with the Greek inhabitants. Now, in the Venetian and second Turkish periods, the population of the town rose considerably and seems, from the travellers' accounts, to have reached 40-45,000. The Venetians abandoned Mistra in 1715 in face of a powerful approaching Turkish army, and Ottoman rule was re-established. But in the course of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74 and the Greek revolt of 1770 [see MORA. 2.], the Greeks, aided by the Russian fleet of the Orloffs, took the fortress of Mezistre and started a merciless slaughter of the small Turco-Albanian garrison, which was only saved through the intercession of the local metropolitan. But in autumn 1770 a Turco-Albanian force returned and sacked and burnt much of the town, not sparing even the metropolitan who had intervened to save their compatriots. From now onwards there began a gradual deserting of the fortress towards the lower slopes, which would eventually lead to the foundation of modern Mystras. With the outbreak of the Greek Revolt (1821), Mezistre surrendered to the powerful local Mainote clans of Mavromichales and Giatrakos and the Turkish garrison was allowed to flee to Tripolitza, but it was once again plundered and burned by Ibrāhīm Pasha's army in 1825, as vividly described by C. Swan in his *Voyages in the Eastern Mediterranean*, London 1826. These ravages signalled the town's abandonment, since—except for a few families—the exasperated inhabitants descended to the settlement of Neo-Mystras and thence to modern Sparta, inaugurated in 1834 by a decree of King Otto I and built by 1837-8.

Bibliography: For detailed references, see the *Bibls.* to MORA and NAVARINO; all relevant titles until 1989 in A. Savvides, *Medieval Peloponnesian bibliography for the period 396-1460*, Eng. ed. Athens 1990; additional refs. in T. Gritsopoulos, *Mystras* [in Greek], 1966, and M. Chatzidakes, *Mystras, medieval city and castle* [in Greek], 1987. Specialised monographs: I. Medvedev, *Mistra. Očerki istorii i kulturi pozdnevizantiiskogo goroda*, Leningrad 1973 (to the 15th century, rich refs., esp. on art and culture in chs. VI-VII); S. Runciman, *Mistra, Byzantine capital of the Peloponnese*, London 1980 (lucid popularised account to 1834). See also *Acts of Congress "Mystras' illustrious heritage in the Tourkokratia"* [in Greek], 1990 (esp. contributions by N. Drandakes, T. Gritsopoulos, H. Mpelia, C. Kotsones, K. Mamone and D. Vagiakakos). On the Frankish and Byzantine periods, see details in Miller-Lampros, i-ii; Miller, *Essays*; Zakythenos, *Despotat*, i-ii, 1975²; D. Sigalos, *Sparta and Lakedaimon*, ii, *The Mystras Despotate* [in Greek], Athens 1962; Bon, *Morée franque*, 1969; D. Nicol, *Last centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453*, ³Cambridge 1993; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, i-ii, 1976-8; still useful are A. Momferratos, *The Palaiologoi in Peloponnesos 1383-1458* [in Greek], Athens 1913, and R.-J. Loenertz, *Pour l'histoire de Péloponnèse 1382-1404*, in *Rev. ét. byz.*, i (1942), esp. on Turkish raids; cf. C. Amantos, *Relations between Greeks and Turks*, i [in Greek], Athens 1955, 83-4, 89, 139-40; P. Schreiner, *Byzant. Kleinchroniken*, i-ii, 1975-7 and A. Savvides, *Morea and Islam, 8th-15th centuries*, in *JOAS*, ii (1990), 55ff., 58ff. Finally, on the pre-1460 period, see surveys by J. Longnon and P. Topping, in K. Setton (ed.), *Hist. Crusades*, ii (1962²), 235ff., iii (1975), 104ff., 141ff.; G. Ostrogorsky and Setton, in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, iv/1 (1966²), 378ff., 401ff.; C. Maltezou, in *Istoria ellenikou ethnous*, ix (1979), 282ff. On the 1460 Ottoman annexation and the Turkish, Venetian and brief Greek periods (1821-5) until Ibrāhīm's withdrawal from the Morea, see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii-iv, 1949-59; Runciman, *Mistra*, chs. XI-XII and [in Greek]: C. Sathas, *Turkish-dominated Greece*, repr. Athens 1990; M. Sakellariou, *Peloponnesos during the 2nd Turkish domination*, repr. Athens 1978; on 17th-19th century travellers' accounts, see K. Simopoulos, *Foreign travellers*, ii, 1988⁵, iii/1-2, 1989-90³; *How foreigners viewed Greece*, v, 1984, 424ff., and on contemporary figures, cf. B. Panagiotopoulos, *Population and settlements of Peloponnesos 13th-18th centuries*, Athens 1985. (A. SAVVIDES)

MIHMĀN (p.), literally "guest", the equivalent of Ar. *ḍayf* [*q.v.* for this sense]. The Persian word occurs in various compounds, such as *mihmāndār* and *mihmān-khāna*. In Ṣafawid Persia, the *mihmāndārs* were officials appointed to receive and to provide hospitality for guests, including foreign ambassadors and envoys, with a court head official, the *mihmāndār-bāshī*, superintending these lesser persons. In Ḳādjār times, the *mihmāndārs* seem to have been appointed *ad hoc*. See the references to the accounts of European travellers in Ṣafawid Persia (Chardin, Kaempfer, Sanson) in the anonymous *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1943, comm. 110 n. 2.

The institution of the *mihmān-khāna* in its more modern form goes back to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Ḳādjār after his first visit to Europe in 1873 (cf. Sir Denis Wright, *The Persians amongst the English*, London 1985, 135). He had the laudable intention of providing rest houses along the routes to the capital Tehran, from such entry points to his kingdom as Enzeli on the Caspian coast, which would provide travellers with something better than the traditional caravanserais or *khāns* [*q.v.*] and the *čapar-khānas* (see a description of these last in Khurāsān given by the Hon. G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 249 ff., and cf. the remarks on the *čapar* system in general in *Murray's handbook for travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, London 1895, 285-6) and which would possess in some degree the amenities of a western-type hotel. Western travellers in Persia during the later 19th century found the concept good, but its execution left much to be desired. E.G. Browne commented that the *mihmān-khāna* "has all the worse defects of a European hotel without its luxury"; he contrasted the insolence and rapacity of the servants there with the hospitality he had received in humble peasant homes, and the "new-fangled and extortionate" nature of the new buildings with the "venerable and commodious caravansaray" (*A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, 85-8, 177-8). It was not until after the First World War that European-type hotels began to spread from the capital Tehran into the provinces.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also manzil. 2. (C.E. Bosworth)

MILIANA [see milyāna].

MĪR TAḲĪ MĪR [see mīr muḥammad taḳī].

MIʿRĀDJ.

6. In Persian literature.

The ascension of the Prophet of Islam is, for Persian literature, an account, *ḳiṣṣa-i miʿrādj*, one drawn from a long tradition, *ḥadīth-i miʿrādj* and an account that takes an autonomous form, *miʿrādj-nāma*. This account thus has a history. The progressive organisation of the narrative elements constituting the whole is derived from the world to which the text belongs. The world of Persian literature cannot be detached from its Muslim context (Ḳurʾān, tradition and exegesis) nor from its original milieu (Iranian and, furthermore, millennial).

The celestial journey was a familiar theme throughout the Near Eastern world. Having exclusive regard to the Iranian cultural domain, Zarathustra, according to the *Avesta*, had asked for immortality and this was granted: he did not die but departed, alive and intact, into the beyond through "assumption" (*ashi-*; Kellens 1999). From this point onward, according to another source, he spent ten years "in the best existence", guided by Vohū Manō "while maintaining contact with Ahura Mazda". Then, strengthened, he descended again to join his kinsmen (Molé 1967). As for the soul of the virtuous deceased, the *Avesta* describes the four stages through which it passes, guided by the same benevolent genie, before reaching the throne of Ahura Mazda (Duchesne-Guillemin 1962). The tale in Middle Persian of the magian Ardā Vīrāz, who used methods of a shamanic nature to make a journey to Heaven, was well known in its time. The magian visited Heaven and Hell, bringing back valuable advice for his community in the practice of the cult (Gignoux 1984). Also celebrated was the visit of the angel which began the prophetic vocation of the founder of Manicheism (Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, tr. B. Dodge, ii, 774-5). As regards the Iranian calendar from the start of the Islamic era, al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār*, 216) relates that on Nawrūz [*q.v.*], the festival of the first day of the year, the ascension to Heaven of the great king of ancient times, Djamshīd, was celebrated. On his throne and in a kind of apotheosis, he went there to defeat death and the demons.

When Persian prose emerged, in the 4th/10th century, Ḳurʾānic exegesis had already travelled a considerable distance in constructing the account of the ascension of the Prophet. It was also at this time that the commemoration of this ascension began, in Jerusalem [see al-ḳuds, at Vol. V, 323]. The original translation into Persian of the commentary on the Ḳurʾān (*al-Tafsīr*) by al-Ṭabarī, on the initiative of the Sāmānid Manṣūr b. Nūḥ (d. 365/975 [*q.v.*]), is one of the greatest monuments of this early prose. Gathered here is the best of what exegesis had hitherto elaborated, on the basis of *ḥadīths* which focused the reading of notable passages of the Ḳurʾān on the "night journey" (*isrāʾ*) (Ḳurʾān, XVII, 1) and on the two visions of the Prophet (Ḳurʾān, LIII, 1-18 and LXXXI, 19-25). It may be noted that the *miʿrādj* is involved here three times. The account is first developed broadly at the end of the commentary on Sūra II (Persian *Tafsīr*, i, 182-98), while with Sūra XVII, that of the "night journey", the commentary offers at the end of the sūra only a summary (Persian *Tafsīr*, iv, 909-18). Through this style of repetition it can be understood what at that time constituted the nucleus of the story of the ascension. On arriving in the Seventh Heaven, Gabriel invites the Prophet to speak before God. The dialogue is contained in the verses 285-6 which conclude Sūra II. Then, for greater precision, Gabriel will say, in the account which follows Sūra XVII, that the object of the journey is "that you address your prayers to God" (Persian *Tqfsīr*, iv, 910). Thus at its birth, Persian prose was located at the end of a process of exegesis which had made from Ḳurʾānic verses which did not require it, an account of the ascent to Heaven, of dialogue with God and of re-descent, which had long been part of the religious and cultural ambience of the Near East.

But for a third time, at the end of the translation of Sūra LIII (Persian *Tafsīr*, vii, 1766-8) there is a further instance of *miʿrādj*. At Medina, the text relates, Arabs were competing at archery. The Prophet was then transported to Heaven, after which God told him that he had been closer to Him "than the distance of two bow-shots". This was the interpretation of the two well-known Ḳurʾānic verses LIII, 8-9. Secondly, where the Ḳurʾān says, "And he revealed to his servant what he revealed. His heart has not belied what he saw" (Persian *Tafsīr*, Sūra LIII, 10-11), the commentator has written: "The heart of the Prophet saw God more clearly than we see with the eyes in our heads, and it was not a deceitful vision" (vii, 1769). These few phrases were to be decisive in the development of Persian *miʿrādj*, focusing the interest of the story on the great proximity between the

Prophet and God, and on the vision of the heart. Bringing these elements together was all that remained to be accomplished.

The 5th/11th century saw a capital development in the story of the *miʿrādj* narrative in Persian. Attributed to Ibn Sīnā (370-427/980-1037 [*q.v.*]) is a "Book of the Ladder" (*miʿrādj-nāma*), consisting of a brief but substantial account of an ascension, drawn from tradition and accompanied by a long commentary. The account is composed of forty short pieces, a sort of *vade-mecum*, a *čihil sukhan* offered for meditation. Each piece receives a commentary in the typical style of Ibn Sīnā, with his angelology and his descriptive cosmology. The totality is known through several manuscripts, from the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th centuries. Nadjīb Māyil-i Hirawī was the discoverer of the manuscript which enabled him to prepare a critical edition (*Miʿrādj-nāma*, 1365/1986). The author of the text has reduced the narration to the essentials, copious as it is with the authors of the *Tafsīr*. His commentary interprets the ascension as a journey of the soul of the Prophet towards Primary Intelligence. Henry Corbin (1954, 1999) has rightly added his interpretation of the text to that of the three visionary accounts of Ibn Sīnā.

Ibn Sīnā's illustrious contemporary, al-Kushayrī (376-465/986-1072 [*q.v.*]), likewise a Khurāsānian, was of a totally different background: Ashʿarī, Shāfiʿī and a master of *hadīth* and of Ṣūfism. Shocked by those sceptical of the physical reality of the *miʿradj*, he undertook to establish, point by point, proof of the veracity of the events of the ascension of the Prophet. From a meticulous examination of all the *hadīths* worthy of belief, he drew up a work in Arabic that concluded specifically that the Prophet "rose to Heaven with his body" (*K. al-Miʿrādj*, 65). Thus, two lines were drawn, between which numerous options were available: that of Ibn Sīnā, proponent of a journey of the spirit, and that of al-Kushayrī, an authority on Sunnism (Fouchécour 1996).

The 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries constitute a decisive period of evolution of the *miʿrādj* story in Persian literature. In prose, the account of the ascension was developed within commentaries on the Kurʾān. Alongside them and in the Ḥallādjian tradition, works of spirituality dealt with the ascension of the Prophet as a prototype of the journey of the purified soul. Finally, poetry was directed towards an account of celebration of the event, which the *miʿrādj* was for the believer, and quickly blended, in its lyrical mode, with the spiritual mainstream.

The first commentary on the Kurʾān that went beyond the sole concern of translation into Persian was that of Shāhfūr-i Isfarāʾinī, the *Tādj al-tarādjim fī tafsīr al-Kurʾān li ʾl-aʿādjim*, composed between 430/1038 and 460/1067. This jurist, expert in *hadīth* and a committed Ashʿarī, used a style decidedly representative of Khurāsānian prose, close to the spoken language, pleasant and persuasive. His account of the *miʿrādj* (*Tādj al-tarādjim*, iii, 1229-51) is distinguished from that of al-Ṭabarī in several ways. It is not written in the same cosmic perspective, with the scholar making use of contemporary knowledge regarding the skies, the stars and planets. It is intentionally reduced to that which gives guidance in faith and which changes the proportions given to the sections of the account. The march from Mecca to Jerusalem has the nature of an important initiatory test; the approach to the Throne of God takes on the grandeur of court ceremonial. But the basis of the dialogue between God and the Prophet remains that which is said in Kurʾān, II, 285-6. Several of its original elements are not retained, but the account of Shāhfūr has left its mark on the story of the *miʿrādj*.

Another Khurāsānian, Abū Bakr ʿAtīk b. Muḥammad al-Harawī al-Sūrābādī, dedicated his *Tafsīr* to the Saldjūk Alp Arslan [*q.v.*], who reigned from 455/1063 to 465/1072. He composed his account of the *miʿrādj* in the same spirit as Shāhfūr, in a limpid Persian prose. His version was powerfully coherent and appropriate for various audiences, especially no doubt the community of preachers. In particular, they could find there two major affirmations: the importance of the Prophet's function as a mediator on behalf of his community, and the essential role of Gabriel as a guide on the celestial journey. On the other hand, the account is so well proportioned in its sections that it seems suitable for public reading, with the audience reciting the numerous Kurʾānic verses inserted in the text.

A little younger than al-Sūrābādī, an important translator of the Kurʾān from Transoxiana deserves mention. This is Abū Ḥafṣ Nadjm al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (462-538/1069-1143 [see AL-NASAFĪ. III]). He used rhymed prose in his translation and showed himself an expert in the Persian literature of his time. His translation of Kurʾān, XVII, 1, for example, is already a form of commentary; he interprets Kurʾān, LIII, 8-9, as denoting the proximity of Gabriel with the Prophet. A brief account of the *miʿrādj* follows Kurʾān, LIII, 8-11 (*Tafsīr*, ii, 998-9), a short and powerful text which lends itself to serious consideration.

In the first half of the following century, Rashīd al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Faḍl Aḥmad al-Maybudī was the author of a large commentary on the Kurʾān, begun in 520/1126, He was not a Khurāsānian, but he revived a composition of al-Anṣārī (the eminent Ṣūfī master of Harāt, d. 481/1089 [see AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-HARAWĪ]) which he called *pīr-i ṭarīkat*. His account of the *miʿrādj* was, understandably, inspired by Ṣūfism, which was a novelty. He developed this story in its place, at the beginning of Sūra XVII (*Tafsīr*, 478-500). It is not certain that he knew al-Sūrābādī's account; he places objections to the miracle of ascension and the responses at the start of the text, or changes the dispositions of the inhabitants of the Heavens. His true originality is his way of addressing "the station of proximity" (*makām-i kurba*), describing in technical terms known in Ṣūfism the ecstasy of the Prophet before God.

Henceforward, no reader of the Kurʾān could miss the account of the *miʿrādj* nor ignore its implications regarding the personality of the Prophet and Islam, the ultimate destiny of men and their spiritual path. In his turn, a Shīʿī of Rayy, Abu ʾl-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, preacher and jurist, composed a major commentary on the Kurʾān, completed shortly before his death (552/1157). He took such care in the writing of his account of the Prophet's ascension to the point of turning it into a major classic, with the quality of his Persian and the organisation of the story (*Rawḍ al-djinān*, vi, 254-73), establishing the essentials for future generations.

But before him, Sanāʾī [*q.v.*] had for the first time introduced the theme of the *miʿrādj* into Persian poetry. He gave to the beautiful *mathnawī* which he composed at 33 years of age in 506/1112 (if he was born in 473/1080) the title of "Journey of the devotees towards the Place of Return" (*sayr al-ʿibād ilā ʾl-maʿād*), intentionally combining in this title two words taken from Kurʾān, XVII, 1, and from Kurʾān, XXVIII, 85, thus indicating that this journey is a *miʿrādj* (de Bruijn

1997), conceived in effect, in his description, as an ascension of the Ṣūfī. In his major work the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳat*, incomplete at the time of his death (525/1131), he inaugurated the practice of eulogising the Prophet of Islam, giving special prominence to his night journey. The account is brief (*Ḥadīḳat*, 195-6), but it suffices to show how the Prophet has transcended everything which was traditionally related of this journey. The direct influence of the *Sawāniḥ* of Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 520/1126) on Sanāʾī is very probable (Pūrdjawādī 1378/1999). A source for these two mystics was, it may be recalled, ch. ii of the *Tawāsīn* of al-Ḥallādj (Massignon, *Passion*, iii, 311-15). But Hudjwīrī (d. *ca.* 465/1072 [*q.v.*]), after his masters, was also an inspiration due to the magisterial fashion in which he addressed *miʿrādj* in general (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, 306-7) and the Prophet's *miʿrādj* in particular (*op. cit.*, 364, 389).

Thus, in the space of a century, the story of the *miʿrādj* of the Prophet was to be imposed on several essential registers of Persian literature. In poetry especially, the two major authors who drew inspiration from Sanāʾī, sc. ʿAṭṭār and Niẓāmī [*q.vv.*], were intent on glorifying this ascent at the outset of their works. An example that can be given is the splendid text of the *Ilāhī-nāma* "The divine book" (*bayts* 256-413, pp. 11-17; tr. J.A. Boyle, 12-19) composed before 586/1190. It takes considerable liberties in relation to the prose texts. The Prophet decides to ascend to the Heavens, and the reader witnesses a lengthy homage paid to him by all the previous prophets; the reader subsequently witnesses the meeting of the stars with him, and then the mystical transformation of the Chosen One is described at length, summarised at the end in the image of the arrow which struck the letter *m* from the name of Aḥmad, to give Aḥad, the image of unification. Niẓāmī, in his turn, composed five accounts of ascension as introductions to his five *mathnawīs*. The most successful was the one that he wrote, some years after ʿAṭṭār, for the *Haft paykar* "The seven princesses" (ed. Tharwatiyān 1998, 64-8), which shows excellent knowledge of the traditional tale and an incomparable spiritual and poetic sense (Fouchécour 1989).

The many Persian poets who were inspired, over the course of several centuries, by the *Pandj gandj*, the "Five treasures" of Niẓāmī, composed accounts of the *miʿrādj* in their turn. But with the 6th/12th century, the genre had matured and was growing stale. On the other hand, the perception of the *miʿrādj* of the Prophet "as a prototype of the experience of the mystic rising from Heaven to Heaven in his lifetime" (Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, iii, 1972, 346) formed the basis of numerous treatises on the fringes of literature and the science of religions. On these fringes, there remains a vast area of study which has been little explored, concerning the themes essential to the *miʿrādj*, such as the Opening of the Chest, the Celestial Mount, the Night of the Rescript (*shab-i barāt*), the Angel–Holy Spirit, the Tree of the Frontier, the Sails of Light, the shape of the Stars, the dwellings of Paradise, etc. And if "the nocturnal ascension is the nucleus of the religious vocation of Muḥammad" (Massignon), the account of it cannot be irrelevant to the essentials of Islam.

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(Ch.H. de Fouchécour)

MĪRZĀ SHAFĪʿ MĀZANDARĀNĪ (1159-1234/1744-1819) or Mīrzā Muḥammad Shafīʿ Bandpiʾī Māzandarānī, prime minister during the rule of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Ḳādjār [*q.v.*].

He began his career as a statesman at the court of Āghā Muḥammad Khān [*q.v.*], the founder of the Ḳādjār [*q.v.*] dynasty, who promoted Mīrzā Shafīʿ to the rank of minister. After the murder of Āghā Muḥammad Khān in 1797, Mīrzā Shafīʿ continued in office at the court of the successor, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, by whom in 1801 he was appointed prime minister. Mīrzā Shafīʿ's term of office coincided with Persia's being drawn into the strands of European diplomacy. In 1804, in an effort to reassert its former authority in Georgia and consequently to impede further Russian advances southwards, Persia entered into a war with Russia, which was finally concluded with the signing of the peace treaty of Gulistān [*q.v.*] in 1813. During the war, Mīrzā Shafīʿ attempted to make an alliance with France. He persuaded Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh to despatch an envoy to the court of Napoleon Bonaparte in order to negotiate this. Accordingly, the Franco-Persian Treaty of Finkenstein was signed in 1807. However, the French soon ignored the treaty by reaching an agreement with the Russians at Tilsit in the same year, leaving Mīrzā Shafīʿ politically disillusioned. Much of his period of office was spent in military engagements and diplomatic negotiations. He died at Ḳazwīn in 1234/1819 and was survived by one daughter.

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(T. Atabaki)

MĪRZĀ SHAFĪʿ WĀḌIḤ TABRĪZĪ (b. 1794 Gandja, d. 1852 Tbilisi). Azerbaijani poet.

Born into a family from Tabrīz, at ten years old he lost his father, who was a stonemason, but with the assistance of his relatives he attended a traditional school where he learned literary Persian as well as Arabic. His knowledge of Persian literature introduced him to the works of renowned Persian poets such as Ḥāfiẓ and Niẓāmī. Because of his anti-clerical views, he was expelled from school and began to earn his living both as an accountant and a teacher in calligraphy. His position as accountant brought him the title of Mīrzā. As a teacher of calligraphy, he taught the young Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhūndzāda [*q.v.*] and persuaded him to end his religious studies. In 1840, the persecutions that he endured from local clerics compelled him to leave Gandja and settle in Tbilisi. There, Ākhūndzāda assisted him in securing a teaching position in Persian and Azeri Turkish languages. In Tbilisi he published the first Azeri Turkish language guidebook, *Kitāb-i turkī*, and formed a cultural society known as *Dīwān-i ḥikmat*, where learned figures of the city occasionally gathered to debate literary, philosophical and social themes. Amongst those who attended these conventions was Friedrich Bodenstedt (1819-92), a German traveller who was interested in oriental studies. While following Mīrzā Shafīʿ's courses on Persian and Azeri Turkish, Bodenstedt collected the original manuscripts of Mīrzā Shafīʿ's poems, both in Persian and in Azeri Turkish. Returning to Germany in 1846, Bodenstedt translated these verses into German and published them in Berlin. The eventual translation of this book into almost all European languages soon made Mīrzā Shafīʿ a renowned Azerbaijani poet outside the Caucasus. In 1846 Mīrzā Shafīʿ left Tbilisi for Gandja and continued his teaching career. But *ca.* 1850 he returned to Tbilisi and taught in a local *Gymnasium* until his death.

Little remains of Mīrzā Shafīʿ's works, and it was not until the Soviet period that four of his *ghazals* and a few lines of his poems in Persian and Azeri Turkish were found and published. The German translation of his poetry has been surrounded by some controversy. While some scholars recognise Mīrzā Shafīʿ as a lyricist with an inclination towards oriental mysticism, others claim that Mīrzā Shafīʿ's understanding of poetry did not go beyond the common knowledge of the learned in the East. Bodenstedt himself was not consistent in his appreciation of Mīrzā Shafīʿ's literary status. While in his earlier writings he had acknowledged Mīrzā Shafīʿ as the original poet of the German translations, he later decreased Mīrzā Shafīʿ's role to being merely that of a source of inspiration for his own poetry.

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(T. Atabaki)

MIṢR.

C. 2. vi. The city from 1798 till the present day.

The history of Cairo over the 19th and 20th centuries is primarily one of status: from being the important capital of an Ottoman province, it became the capital of independent Egypt. During the two centuries under consideration, the city experienced first of all a long period of stagnation; then, from the early 1870s, a strong political will brought an unprecedented development which pointed the way to the modern city. Some years later, the financial situation of Egypt put a brake on urban growth, which then entered upon a period of slow consolidation until the end of the First World War. The years 1920-50 are marked by a new departure, whose determinants are not so much political as migratory. After independence, and up to the end of the 1970s, Cairo became the city of superlatives, with municipal services expanding in all spheres. Then, the slowing down of the migratory movement, whose effects were felt from the beginning of the 1980s, allowed the municipal authorities to resume their policies. Hence the last two decades of the 20th century were devoted to replacing equipment and public services. At the end of the century, Cairo stretched out at the same time into the desert zones and also into the agricultural lands along the outskirts as far as some 30 km/18 miles from its historic core. The city's history during these two centuries is also one of the progressive slipping away of its centre. At the present time, the places making up the centre are spread out around several focuses without nevertheless the older centres, the ancient city as much as the quarters developed at the end of the 19th century, being abandoned.

A difficult start, 1800-68. In 1798 General Bonaparte established his headquarters at Cairo, at a time when the city had 263,000 inhabitants. The French plans for the improvement of the road system were ambitious, but the results were scanty. The re-establishment of Ottoman authority a few years later was unfavourable for the city, whose population declined. However, Cairo experienced some changes which were to be determining factors for later works. At the outset, the governor of Egypt Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*]. embarked upon the first act of the discontinuous development of the urban agglomeration: the building of a palace some 12 km/7 miles north of the city. Nearer to the centre, the strengthening of the embankments for containing the floodwaters of the Nile allowed the laying out of vast gardens and the construction of palaces between the fringes of the old structure of the city and the river banks. In regard to urban administration, Muḥammad ʿAlī took up again the structures of power from the previous century but put in place a new dividing out of the administrative which served as the base for the geographical extension of local public services. Heavy industry, whose development the Pasha embarked upon vigorously, was

concentrated above all on Būlāḳ [*q.v.*], where several factories for metalworking, printing and spinning were set up at this time.

In the mid-19th century, ʿAbbās Pas̲h̲a, governor of Egypt 1848-54, developed—around important barracks, a palace and a school—a new quarter to the north of the city, sc. ʿAbbāsiyya. The first constructions for piping water began during this period but it was long before results were seen. Finally, in the framework of an agreement with the British, a railway was built between Alexandria and Suez via Cairo, with the Cairo railway station opening in 1856. At this time, the city's population was almost the same as it was a half-century previously.

A fillip to urbanisation, 1868-75. The succession of Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] at the beginning of the 1860s formed a turning-point. Taking as a pretext the need to receive fittingly European dignitaries for the opening of the Suez Canal at the end of 1869, he developed an immense project of extending the city westwards. Paris was the model, but Ismāʿīl retained only the general picture of the French model rather than the exact procedure; nevertheless, the permanent markets and properties strongly resisted the project. In order to promote the new quarters, the Khedive had several public buildings erected there and enormous buildings to be let out in flats, and he gave other stretches of land gratis to those who contracted to build there quickly. After several checks, the beginning of the 1870s was marked by a resumption of works. At that time, Ismāʿīl opened up for urban development the zones farthest away from the centre as far as the left bank of the Nile, and he founded the spa town of Ḥulwān [*q.v.*] some 30 km/18 miles to the south. More than 200 ha (the equivalent of one-fifth of the urbanised zone by *ca.* 1865) were offered to the land market over a few years. This development was interrupted as rapidly as it had been started up; in the mid-1870s, Egypt's bankruptcy dealt a brutal blow to the works. During this time, Cairo became the place of privileged exile for Syro-Lebanese intellectuals who formed the nucleus of the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*] or Arab cultural awakening and who contributed considerably to the development of cultural life and the formation of the first press devoted to conveying opinion. It was also a high-point of the national movement whose activities were to lead to the British occupation of the country at the end of 1882.

Slowing down and consolidation, 1875-1918. This period was first of all one devoted to the servicing of the public debt. The greater part of resources was pledged to developing agricultural production for export. Cairo was in practice left to its own devices by the administration. After fifteen years of consolidating the quarters founded by Ismāʿīl, new works were begun. But the municipal services were now deprived of all means of state intervention; urban development was left to the initiative of private companies, utilising capital which for the most part emanated from outside the country. It was above all in the sphere of transport that these companies provided for the city's future. The first suburban railway dates from 1888, whilst the tramway system dates from a decade later. At this time, Cairo comprised 570,000 persons on the right bank of the Nile. In the wake of this process and the intense speculation which followed, numerous quarters were founded. In 1906, a Belgian tramway company obtained an authorisation to create a new city, in the desert a few kilometres to the northeast; Heliopolis (ʿAyn S̲h̲ams [*q.v.*]) was thus born. But not all private capital was invested in land speculation. Industrial production also enjoyed a substantial development; this brought about the impoverishment of an important part of the population which was regrouped in a very dense and crowded precarious habitat, in quarters sometimes established in insalubrious areas. Two worlds and two cities were now established cheek-by-jowl, often in close proximity.

The period of growth, 1918-50. After the First World War, the slowing down of agricultural development and improvements in public health brought about an excess of population in the countryside, causing an acceleration of migration to the great cities. Cairo now became a great safety-valve for this rural population growth, with its population jumping from 791,000 in 1917 to 2,320,00 in 1947. During these thirty years, the city went through numerous changes. The construction sector, private as well as public, was very dynamic. The campus of the University at D̲j̲īza (Gizeh), the building for the Mixed Courts, the Parliament building, etc., all date from this period. Intervention by the public authorities in matters of urban development is less conclusive. Despite the first general development plan dating from the later 1920s, the works undertaken were largely those done from necessity. They affected mainly the structure of the old city, and if the public road system was improved, this was more a response to traffic problems than a project looking to the future. At the end of the 1940s, the first social housing appeared in Cairo. The period was also marked by a strong patriotic feeling expressed, in particular, in an abundant artistic and cultural production. Its exportation to the lands of both the Mag̲h̲rib and the Mas̲h̲riḳ made Cairo the cultural capital of the Arab world.

The period of bursting activity, 1950-80. After the Free Officers' *coup d'état* of July 1952, the rulers of Egypt adopted new approaches for the development of Cairo. Great projects multiplied, including expressways along the banks of the Nile, additional bridges, etc. The first master plan for the Cairo agglomeration, prepared in 1956, was soon out of date: the population predicted for the year 2000—5.5 millions—was reached before the end of the 1960s. However, on the basis of this plan, the state built large quantities of low-cost housing. But the problem of the living environment was not thereby solved, and it led to an intolerable increased density of the old quarters, whose service infrastructure was now revealed as inadequate. From 1950 onwards, the city spread out in all directions, but above all on the left bank, which now saw an unprecedented development. It became covered with new, planned quarters, with a fairly low density, of thousands of villas and small dwellings. The city also developed in favour of the dividing-out of agricultural lands on the outskirts near to the developing urban area, pushing into zones not prepared for building by the city authorities. In order to frustrate these further extensions, in the mid-1970s there were plans for creating several new towns in the desert regions. But the actual start on this work was long delayed, and the sector not subject to planning continued to swallow up the greater part of the urban expansion.

The period of overflowing development, 1980-2000. At the beginning of the 1980s, demographers predicted the worst possible catastrophes for Cairo. The publication of the 1986 census put a stop to these suggestions; it showed that the population growth was less and less the result of migration. This change gave rise to a lowering of the density of the ancient urban structure which, as a counterpart, became increasingly occupied by the sector of semi-artisanal production.

It also provided an adequate respite for the public services, allowing the preparation of a new master plan at the beginning of the 1980s and the inauguration of several great projects of re-developing public services; the city became an immense construction site. Between Cairo and Alexandria, the first new town, Madīnat al-Sādāt, saw the light. These constructions, large enough to accommodate three government ministries, were never to be occupied.

Despite the state's almost total withdrawal from the sphere of housing, the construction sector remains dynamic. Although the critical situation is obvious, with half the population of the agglomeration living in poverty in 1986, there has been a massive surge of house building for the middle classes. Areas of empty housing units, the result of pure speculation activities, reached several hundred thousands of units by the mid-1990s.

At the turn of the millennium, the urban agglomeration held *ca.* 12 million persons. The plan for establishing new towns has been scaled down, the results of these being much inferior to what was envisaged. The idea of balancing living units and industrial or artisanal units in these places is one check to their growth; they function at the price of the daily movement across the city of thousands of employees. If, with regard to population, Cairo is far behind the greatest cities of the world (fifteenth in 1990), it is one of the most dense, with *ca.* 250 persons per hectare. As a reaction to the inconveniences brought into being by this situation, a new form of development in the desert zone—houses or small properties grouped in an enclosure—appeared towards the end of the 1990s. It has caused a very rapid growth in the surface area of the agglomeration. In favour of these extensions, the groups of population become more homogeneous, but the distances between those living in security and the rest continue to deepen.

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D. 8. The British occupation and the Egyptian parliamentary monarchy, 1882-1952.

Great Britain's post-1882 occupation of Egypt was a classic case of indirect colonial domination. Formally, Egypt remained a province of the Ottoman Empire ruled by a Khedive [see khidīw] selected from the family of Muḥammad ʿAlī (Muḥammad Tawfīḳ 1882-92; his son ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II [*q.v.*] 1892-1914). A bureaucratic apparatus staffed overwhelmingly by Egyptians and members of the polyglot élite that had emerged over the course of the 19th century administered the day-to-day affairs of the country. They did so, however, under British supervision and in accord with British directives. A British military garrison was the ultimate guarantor of British control. The key British official in Egypt was its Consul-General. British policy and the course of Egyptian development were shaped particularly by the first Consul-General Sir Evelyn Baring, later Lord Cromer (1883-1907); Cromer's successors Sir Eldon Gorst (1907-11) and Sir Herbert Kitchener (1911-14) had shorter tenures and less impact. At lower levels, British advisers were gradually appointed to different Egyptian ministries and British nationals employed in the Khedivial bureaucracy.

Under this "veiled protectorate" from 1882 to 1914, Egypt experienced considerable economic growth but little structural change. Financial stabilisation, agricultural expansion and the maintenance of security were the main concerns of Egypt's British overlords. Egypt's financial situation was stabilised through the reduction of government expenditures and a new international agreement for debt repayment; the construction of new irrigation works contributed to a doubling of the total value of Egypt's agricultural output between 1886-7 and 1912-13; and the rough edges of Khedivial administration were smoothed under British supervision (e.g. the abolition of compulsory peasant labour on public works projects). On the other hand, little was done to encourage the development of an industrial base under the British. Egypt's social structure changed little between 1882 and 1914. The landed élite which had emerged earlier in the century consolidated its position and expanded its holdings after 1882, and the European/Levantine population which had become prominent in trade and banking under Muḥammad ʿAlī's successors continued to dominate the commercial and financial sectors of the economy.

Under the compliant Khedive Muḥammad Tawfīḳ, there was little overt opposition to British domination. ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II was more assertive, providing financial support for opposition newspapers and encouraging the formation of nationalist secret societies among Egyptian youth. Nationalist sentiment and activism became more pronounced in the decade prior to World War I. The catalyst was the Dinshāway incident of 1906, when an altercation between a hunting party of British soldiers and Egyptian peasants near the Delta village of Dinshāway resulted in one soldier dying and led to the arrest, trial by military tribunal, and subsequent execution, imprisonment, and public whipping of the peasants involved. Dinshāway is credited with galvanising Egyptian opposition to the British occupation. Several political parties were formed in 1907, the most important being the firmly anti-occupation *al-Ḥizb al-waṭanī* led by the lawyer Muṣṭafā Kāmil [*q.v.*] and the more gradualist *Ḥizb al-umma*, whose chief spokesman was the journalist Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid [see luṭfī al-sayyid]. Despite a higher level of Egyptian opposition to occupation thereafter, Great Britain's position in Egypt was not significantly eroded before 1914.

Major change occurred during and after World War I. The entry of the Ottoman Empire into the

war in late 1914 had immediate repercussions for Egypt. In December 1914 Great Britain severed the Ottoman connection by declaring a British Protectorate over Egypt. Simultaneously, it deposed the pro-Ottoman Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II, appointing his uncle Ḥusayn Kāmil [*q.v.*] as titular ruler with the new title of Sultan. The latter was succeeded by his brother Aḥmad Fuʾād [see FUʾĀD AL-AWWAL] in 1917.

The war itself generated massive pressures as well as new expectations within Egypt. Forced sales of grain and animals to British forces operating in the area; the use of Egyptian labourers to construct military facilities; wartime inflation; the behaviour of British and Imperial troops temporarily garrisoned in the country; not least Allied rhetoric pledging self-determination for subjugated peoples after the war: all these contributed to Egyptian discontent with the new Protectorate. On 13 November 1918 a delegation of Egyptian notables led by the lawyer-judge Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl [*q.v.*] visited the High Commissioner, Sir Reginald Wingate, to request Egyptian representation at the Paris Peace Conference. Over the winter of 1918-19 Zag̲h̲lūl and associates organised a broadly-based nationalist front, the Wafd [*q.v.*] or "delegation", committed to working for Egyptian independence. When in March 1919 the British arrested Zag̲h̲lūl and two of his colleagues, Egypt exploded in protest. Daily demonstrations and work stoppages brought normal life to a standstill in Egyptian cities; the countryside witnessed attacks on British personnel and communications facilities.

The Revolution of 1919 set in motion a process of political change which eventually brought Egypt formal independence. The turbulence of 1919 inaugurated three years of negotiations between the British government and different Egyptian notables (sometimes the Wafd, sometimes ministers supported by the Sultan, Fuʾād) aimed at defining a new Anglo-Egyptian relationship. After three years of futile discussions, in February 1922 the British issued a unilateral declaration of Egyptian independence. It was ringed with qualifiers, however, the British reserving the four areas, those of Imperial communications, the defence of Egypt, the status of foreign minorities and the Sudan, as matters of British concern. But at last Egypt had independence—of a sort.

From 1922 to 1952, Egypt was a technically independent parliamentary monarchy. Sultan Fuʾād became King Fuʾād in 1922 and reigned until his death in 1936; he was succeeded by his son Fārūḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] from 1936 to 1952. A constitution establishing a parliamentary system of government, but reserving significant powers for the monarch, was drafted in 1923. An electoral law of the same year provided for a Chamber of Deputies elected by male sufferage and a partially-elected, partially-appointed Chamber of Notables. Egypt's first parliamentary elections in December 1923-January 1924 saw the Wafd emerge triumphant.

The dynamics of the parliamentary monarchy have often been described as a triangular struggle among the King, the British and the Wafd. The Wafd, the nation's premier popular movement at least through the interwar period, won every relatively free parliamentary election yet held ministerial office for only somewhat over eight of the 28-plus years from 1924 to 1952. Egypt was more often governed by "minority" parties of non-Wafdists or Wafdist dissidents ruling with the covert or overt backing of the King. British influence rested primarily on the continued presence of British troops in Egypt, and was exercised through the British High Commissioner (from 1936, the British Ambassador) meeting regularly with Egyptian Prime Ministers and rendering advice which the latter disregarded at the risk of incurring British opposition to their continued tenure in office. From its inception, the Egyptian parliamentary order was a flawed system characterised by the domination of politics by an élite, electoral corruption and frequent turnover in office, and—at least until after World War II—by a neglect of socio-economic adjustment or reform on the part of the country's politically dominant upper class. On the other hand, the period of the parliamentary monarchy was also one of political pluralism, of considerable freedom of expression, and of cultural efflorescence, as a galaxy of prominent intellectuals engaged in spirited debate on the relative merits of Egypt's inherited Arabo-Islamic culture versus patterns of social and political life modelled on those of the West.

The shortcomings of the parliamentary monarchy became more pronounced over time. The 1920s were years of economic prosperity and relative political optimism. The 1930s were a darker era marked by economic depression and extended periods of more overt royal autocracy. A Wafdist interlude in office in 1936-7 witnessed the main political development of the decade, the conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance in 1936 which regularised but did not totally eliminate the British military presence in Egypt. The years of the Second World War from 1939 to 1945 saw more overt British interference in the country's political life. Of particular importance was the "incident" of 4 February 1942, when British tanks surrounded the Egyptian Palace and threatened King Fārūḳ with forced abdication unless he complied with a British ultimatum to install the by-then more pro-British Wafd in office. The incident served to discredit both the Wafd, now seen as willing to accept British support in its quest for public office, and the King who had bowed to British power. The postwar years were ones of great political turmoil. Labour troubles and peasant unrest perturbed urban and rural Egypt respectively; anti-British demonstrations and agitation over the Arab-Jewish clash in neighbouring Palestine added to the turbulence of the later 1940s; deep-seated animosity between the supporters of rival political tendencies produced a wave of political violence, including the assassination of two prime ministers and of the charismatic leader of the anti-parliamentary Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ik̲h̲wān al-Muslimūn* [*q.v.*]), Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*], between 1945 and 1949; and in late 1951 to early 1952, the Wafd, once again in office, terminated the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance and mounted a guerrilla campaign to pressure the British out of their remaining military base in the Suez Canal zone. The culmination of postwar unrest came on "Black Saturday", 26 January 1952, when huge crowds, angered by a British massacre of Egyptian police in the city of Ismāʿīliyya on the previous day, surged through Cairo, and organised bands of incendiaries undertook the systematic torching of commercial, primarily Western-owned, establishments in the city. The conventional narrative of 20th-century Egyptian history portrays the parliamentary monarchy as politically discredited and morally exhausted by 1952.

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D. 9. Republican Egypt 1952 to the present. On 22-3 July 1952, a military coup effectively brought the era of the parliamentary monarchy to an end. The seizure of power was carried out by a clandestine movement within the army, the "Free Officers" (*al-ḍubbāṭ al-aḥrār*); the key figure in the movement was Colonel Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. From July 1952 onwards, executive decisions were made by a committee of leading Free Officers, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC).

A new political order emerged only gradually. On 26 July 1952 the sybaritic King Fārūḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was hustled into exile. At first a civilian ministry held formal power. By September, General Muḥammad Nadjīb [*q.v.*], an associate but not a core member of the Free Officers, was appointed Prime Minister. Existing political parties were banned in January 1953. On 18 June 1953 the monarchy was formally abolished and Egypt declared a Republic; Muḥammad Nadjīb became its first president. The crucial phase in the consolidation of the military régime came in early 1954, when President Nadjīb, supported by remnants of the old political order, mounted a challenge to continued RCC rule. In a month-long crisis marked by street clashes between partisans of the two camps, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir and the RCC outmanoeuvred Nadjīb and his supporters. By the end of 1954, after an abortive assassination attempt on ʿAbd al-Nāṣir by members of the Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* [*q.v.*]) provided the occasion for a crack-down on the Brotherhood, the military group reigned supreme in Egypt. A new constitution promulgated in January 1956 established a presidential form of government for Egypt. The constitution was ratified by popular referendum in June 1956; at the same time, Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's nomination as President was also overwhelmingly approved.

There was occasional formal but little substantive change in Egypt's political structure from 1956 to 1970. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir remained President until his death in September 1970. The unexpected union of Egypt and Syria in the United Arab Republic (UAR) in early 1958 necessitated a new provisional constitution and the expansion of the National Assembly to include Syrian representatives; but real authority remained in the hands of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. Syria's secession from the UAR in September 1961 prompted further adjustments. A Charter of National Action of 1962 now specified a socialist agenda for the United Arab Republic, as Egypt continued to be known until 1971. Another provisional constitution was promulgated in 1964, to remain in effect until 1971.

The years from 1952 to 1970 witnessed major changes in Egypt's economic policy, social structure, and international orientation. A policy of agrarian reform was inaugurated in 1952 and extended thereafter. By 1970, something over 800,000 *faddān*s of agricultural land, roughly one-eighth of the cultivated area, had been taken from large landlords and redistributed to some 340,000 peasant families. The foreign interests which had controlled much of the commercial sector of the economy were abruptly dispossessed as a consequence of the international crises of the later 1950s, their holdings now coming under state ownership. The heights of the domestically-owned urban economy also came under state control in the early 1960s, when Arab Socialism became the slogan of the UAR and the government nationalised much domestically-owned business and industry. The resulting economic structure was one of a privately-owned but state-directed agricultural sector and a huge state-owned public sector controlling most large-scale enterprises in the commercial and industrial sectors of the urban economy.

The social policies of the ʿAbd al-Nāṣir years were distinctly populist. The new revolutionary régime made major efforts to bring the benefits of modernity to the mass of Egyptians. Educational facilities were rapidly expanded; health care was extended to the countryside through a network of rural health clinics; new laws relating to hours of work, minimum pay, and social security entitlements attempted to improve the standard of living of Egypt's labouring population.

Externally, the ʿAbd al-Nāṣir years witnessed dramatic shifts. A negotiated Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1954 arranged for the withdrawal of the last British troops from Egyptian soil in 1956. The mid-1950s

witnessed major transformations in Egypt's international position. Egypt broke with the Western powers and turned to the Soviet bloc for military and economic assistance; simultaneously, it assumed a leadership role in both the Arab nationalist movement and the Afro-Asian bloc of non-aligned nations. Successful resistance to armed attack by Israel, Great Britain, and France in the Suez Crisis of late 1956 consolidated D̲j̲amāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's position as a major figure in world affairs. Thereafter he was unquestionably the leading personality in inter-Arab politics (leading to Syria's request for unity with Egypt in the UAR in 1958), as well as one of the most influential spokesmen in African and non-aligned politics. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's regional dominance and international prominence eroded over the course of the 1960s. Syria's secession from the UAR in 1961 was a huge setback; inconclusive involvement in a prolonged civil war in Yemen from 1962 onwards drained the resources and prestige of the UAR; military defeat by Israel and the loss of the Sinai Peninsula in June 1967 irreparably damaged ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's aura as an Arab champion. Suffering from an unresolved military confrontation with Israel and a stagnant economy, the later 1960s were difficult years for Egypt/the UAR. The massive outpouring of Egyptian grief upon his death in September 1970 notwithstanding, D̲j̲amāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir left a difficult legacy for his successor.

The Vice-President Anwar al-Sādāt [*q.v.*] assumed the presidency of the UAR upon ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's death. A popular referendum in October 1970 ratified Sādāt's accession. A veteran member of the Free Officers movement, at first Sādāt governed under ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's shadow. Rivalry with other members of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's entourage and public discontent with the ongoing situation of no war–no peace with Israel marked the early 1970s. Sādāt consolidated his personal position only in October 1973, when a combined Egyptian-Syrian attack upon Israeli positions in the territories Israel had occupied in June 1967 created a new strategic situation in the region. From late 1973 onwards Sādāt was his own man, free to move Egypt in new directions.

He did so with a vengeance. Change was most pronounced in international relations. Sādāt signalled part of his orientation in 1971, when a new constitution changed the country's name from the United Arab Republic to the Arab Republic of Egypt. Over the course of the 1970s Egypt exchanged its reliance on the Soviet Union for material assistance and diplomatic support from the United States; abandoned the Nāṣirist commitment to Arab nationalism; and by 1979 made formal peace with Israel, in the process obtaining the return of the Sinai Peninsula to Egyptian control.

Shifts from the prevailing domestic patterns of the ʿAbd al-Nāṣir years were less sweeping but nonetheless appreciable. In the mid-1970s Sādāt presided over a limited liberalisation of Egypt's political system, dismantling part of the Nāṣirist security apparatus and allowing a degree of political pluralism including a greater measure of press freedom and the formation of opposition political parties. The scope for political expression became constricted again in the later 1970s, when growing criticism of his policies led to less tolerance by the regime of opposition voices and groups.

This political liberalisation was part of a more general "Opening" (*al-infitāḥ*) of Egypt under Sādāt; an opening to Western investment and expertise, to oil country investment, and to the previously-marginalised private sector of the economy. In the mid-1970s, the formally socialist orientation of the 1960s was jettisoned as new legislation gave incentives to foreign investors and to greater scope to private capital. Socially, the era of the Opening was one of an accentuation of class cleavages between Egypt's more affluent upper and middle classes, who were the main beneficiaries of the country's more open economic system, and the mass of Egyptians suffering from accelerating inflation and a decline in social benefits. This deepening social schism forms part of the context for the growth of Islamist activism and militancy in Egypt over the 1970s, a phenomenon which eventually cost Sādāt his life.

On 6 October 1981 Anwar al-Sādāt was assassinated by a group of Islamist militants. The Vice-President Ḥusnī Mubārak ascended to the presidency. A referendum in October 1981 ratified his accession; subsequent referenda in 1987, 1993, and 1999 extended Mubārak's term in office.

By and large, the hallmark of the Mubārak presidency has been continuity. Under Mubārak, Egypt has maintained its generally pro-Western stance, its strategic alliance with and material reliance upon the United States, and its peace with Israel. Sādāt's economic approach has also been echoed by Mubārak. The main features of the Opening remained in effect through the 1980s and accelerated in the 1990s as Egypt, under pressure from its international supporters and the IMF, moved more decisively towards a free-market economy. The early 1990s witnessed further measures of economic liberalisation in the line with IMF strictures (e.g. the elimination of many currency controls; accelerated deregulation; and a reduction in state subsidies), whilst the later 1990s saw a concerted effort to privatise public sector enterprises. The results have been mixed. Egypt's macro-economic performance over the 1990s was a robust one. The country's debt burden was reduced to managable levels; inflation was largely tamed; the rate of economic growth improved over that of the 1980s. The micro performance was more troubling. The rate of unemployment remained high; wages formed a decreasing share of GDP; and the reduction of state subsidies effected particularly the standard of living of poorer Egyptians.

A more relaxed political atmosphere prevailed in Mubārak's early years in power. The scope for political expression decreased thereafter. Greater political protest and violence in the later 1980s in turn led to more governmental repression of opposition voices and groups. Faced with a low-level Islamist insurgency in Egypt's sprawling shanty-towns and in the economically depressed countryside of Upper Egypt in the early and mid-1990s, the government asserted greater and greater control over political opinion and activism. Emergency laws first enacted in 1981 were renewed through the decade; Islamist violence was met with massive state repression and the brutalisation of families and communities suspected of harbouring militants; non-violent critics of the régime have been subjected to government harassment and muzzling; and the parliamentary elections of 1990 were boycotted by opposition groups in protest against electoral restrictions, and those of 1995 were marked by the systematic repression of the opposition as well as by unprecedented electoral violence and blatant fraud. Egypt at the close of the 1990s may have turned an economic corner, at least in terms of national economic indicators if not of popular well-being; its political situation, on the other hand, appeared to be one of increasing governmental authoritarianism and the

progressive alienation of its leadership from the bulk of the population.

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MIZĀDJ (a., pl. *amzidja*), lit. "mixture", a basic term of mediaeval Islamic medicine, to be translated as "temperament, balance of elements within the body".

One has to go back to the fundamental features of human physiology as conceived by the Arabic physicians, although one cannot speak of a unified body of knowledge here, since the concepts can vary perceptibly from one medical expert to another. The great sources of Islamic medicine systematically devote a chapter to the *mizādj*, e.g. ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] al-Madjūsī's *K. al-Malakī*, Abū Sahl al-Masīḥī's [*q.v.*] *K. al-Miʾa fi 'l-ṭibb* and Ibn Sīnā's [*q.v.*] *al-Ḳānūn fi 'l-ṭibb*. As well as being part of physiology, the *mizādj* is directly involved in certain processes of morbidity. The physicians, like the philosophers, thought that the human body (like every other body in the world) was composed of four simple, homogeneous elements (*arkān, usṭuḳuṣṣāt*): earth, water, air and fire. This doctrine is already central for ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*], author in the 3rd/9th century of the *Firdaws al-ḥikma*.

With these elements were associated specific qualities: cold, dryness, humidity and heat. Thus these four primordial elements go to make up all living beings according to proportions which vary from one being to another. Their interaction, their connections in more or less equal measure, the effects of their interpenetration on the economy of the human body and the individual's general state are consequently called *mizādj*, a term corresponding to the *krasis* of the Ancient Greek physicians. A man's *mizādj* will depend on the balance between the different elements and their qualities. Hence he will be balanced (*muʿtadil*) when those are present in the organism in proportions corresponding to the norm, and from this, they are guarantors of an individual's health. He will be considered in a state of disequilibrium (*khāridj ʿan al-iʿtidāl*, Grk. *dyskrasis*) and, as a result, liable to some pathological occurrence, when a certain quality (cold, heat, etc.) or a certain element (watery, fiery, etc.) is in excess of or is below the norm.

Hence the great physicians pay great attention to the necessity of keeping the *mizādj* of their patients in equilibrium, since all "disequilibrium" was, in their eyes, the source of illness. Thus they recommend moderation in all things (food, drink, sleeping, sexual relations, etc.) in order to avoid *dyskrasis*. One says that a certain patient's temperament is hot if the fiery element predominates in him. Amongst certain physicians, such as Ibn Sīnā, this theory of temperament reached a high degree of elaboration, since, as well as taking into account internal aspects like the balance proper to each man (a kind of ideal balance) and to each vital organ (the heart, necessarily hot since it is the seat of vital heat, the brain, the liver, etc.), this physician-philosopher brought in external factors such as climate, the people to whom the individual belongs, age and sex (thus man is hotter and drier than woman). Thus, concerning the proper temperament for each age of one's life (*mizādj al-asnān*), the physicians considered that the "capital" of inner

heat (*ḥarāra gharīziyya*) which a man has at birth, goes on decreasing when that person reaches the end of his life. They considered as proof of this the cold that old persons feel and that the physician can observe at the time of palpation, not to mention the coldness of a corpse after death. The corollary of the *mizādj* is the theory of humours, which the Greek and then the Arabic physicians developed. Even today, such ideas remain strongly connected in the popular imagination, since we speak of a person having a sanguine, a hot, a phlegmatic or a choleric temperament.

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(F. Sanagustin)

MOGADOR [see al-suwayra].

MOZAMBIQUE, Islam in.

(a) The early period. For this, see mozambique, in Vol. VII.

(b) The 19th and earlier 20th centuries. The 19th century was for Islam a period of revival and *djihād* aided by the opening up of shipping across the Indian Ocean and the trade routes into Central Africa. Already at the beginning of the 19th century it was estimated that there were 15,000 Muslims in the Cape Delgado region and some 20,000 in the coastal hinterland of Mozambique Island. According to oral tradition, one Musa Momadi from Angoche, as a young man accompanied a relative who was a *sharīf* and a *ḥādjdjī* on an extended *daʿwa* expedition into the interior. His relative was concerned with converting the people he came across, including the Yao [*q.v.*] who by this time had migrated as far as the Shire valley. In light of this sort of occurence, it is not surprising to find the governor of Mozambique commenting on the extraordinary advance and infiltration of Islam in the interior in 1852. On Musa's return in the mid-1850s the records indicate that he led the defence of Angoche. By 1877 he controlled an area which covered most of the coast from Mozambique Island to Licungo River and stretching 100 miles inland. His successors repulsed Portuguese attacks until 1910. As in other parts of the coast, the diffusion was primarily undertaken by people of mixed Arab and African blood. It was Portuguese policy to supply *mestizos* and *wajoge* with goods so as to procure slaves. This came to an end with the anti-slavery proclamation of 26 May 1877. The successful penetration is indicated by the fact that by the 1870s, women in their mid-twenties are recorded as having Muslim names. In addition to the Makua, the Yao and the Machemba had accepted Islam. In the interior beyond Mogabo, the Mualia chief and elders observed the Islamic practices, as did Mtarika, Cuirassio and minor chiefs like Cattur in the Luambala valley. To the north of them, Mataka represented an important centre of Islam. The Arab chief of Matibane was licensed to deal in slaves by the ex-governor Vasco Guedes de Carvalho e Menezes. Tavares, writing to the Overseas Ministry in Lisbon on 8 November 1862, mentions that the slave trade is in the hands of Arabs whose religion permits them to buy slaves. Likewise, Andrade Corvo writing to the Duke of Saldanha, the Portuguese Minister in London, on 11 March 1876 comments that, "It is easy for the Muslims to make religious proselytes among the finest and most energetic of the aboriginal races and in this way they get active and not very scrupulous agents to provide them with slaves." Chief Matapwiri living near Kalanji was reported as selling slaves in 1886. Indian Muslims played their part, particularly in Angoche, where a Swahili dynasty was in power well into the 20th century. The slavers in this region were primarily from Surat in western India, supplying the Persian and Arab markets. At this stage, Islamic doctrine was not observed in a pure form but was mixed with local traditions. It would seem that by the 1880s most major Yao chiefs had embraced Islam. Their settlements were centres for the spreading of Islam through Ḳurʾān schools. Coutinho records meeting Yao caravan leaders at Quelimane who claimed to be Muslims and who carried the Ḳurʾān carefully wrapped in a fold of their clothes. Coastal Muslims, however, ridiculed the Yaos who claimed to be Muslims, saying that they were *mushrikūn*. The growing Muslim presence is documented in a report from 1893 which shows that Muslims were active along the Licungo River and Maganja de Costa north of Quelimane. The reasons for the growing Islamisation were varied and complex, but had to do with closer associations with Muslim trading partners on the coast, and the increased prestige of Islam through the influence of the Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] dynasty and its representatives along the coast. The South African influence on the development during the latter part of the 19th century can be seen in the establishment of a *madrasa* in Lourenço Marques by Abū Bakr Effendi (d. 1880), a Kurdish scholar sent to the Cape in 1862.

At the beginning of the 20th century there were 15 mosques and 10 Ḳurʾān schools in the Angoche region. All the *monhes* were said to be able to write their own language in Arabic script. The Portuguese, in seeking to subdue the north, considered that Muslims and local Africans were making common cause and sacked Angoche in 1903. In spite of Portuguese efforts, Muslim communities with a Ḳurʾān school were a growing force in the hinterland in 1905. Islam was spread by Muslim traders, as well as *walimu*, *shurafāʾ* with their religio-magical knowledge and *mafundi* (artisans) using a hut, a veranda or the shade of a tree to teach the children.

The *ṭuruḳ* [see ṭarīḳa] in any organised form did not appear in Mozambique until the end of the 19th century. By that time both the Ḳādiriyya and the Shādhiliyya [*q.vv.*] were established on Mozambique Island. The latter was established by students who went to a school in Kilwa founded by Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd, himself a *khalīfa* of a Ḥaḍramī *sharīf*. In 1896 a member of the Yashrutiyya [*q.v.*] settled in Mozambique. The Ḳādiriyya seems to have been established by ʿAlī Msemakweli, a Yao who was a *khalīfa* of Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muʿīn. He spread the order to northern Mozambique from Kilwa [*q.v.*]. The Ḳādiriyya Sadate, a branch of the Uwaysiyya [*q.v.*], was established in Mozambique in 1904 by ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad from Zanzibar. When ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad returned to Zanzibar in 1925 he handed over the leadership to a local Muslim by the name of Momade Arune (Muḥammad Hārūn). A sub-branch of the *ṭarīḳa* was founded in Angoche at this time. After Momade

Arune's death in 1929 the *ṭarīka* was split by leadership rivalries leading in 1934 to the formation of the Ḳādiriyya Baghdādī branch, and further splits followed over the next decades. Developments which facilitated the growth of Islam during the second decade of the 20th century included the construction of the railroad from Lumbo, on the mainland opposite Mozambique Island, which began in 1913; the advance of Indian Muslim merchants beyond the coast; and towards the end of World War I, the presence of a considerable number of Muslims in the British forces engaged in the war in German East Africa with Von Lettow-Vorbeck's forces. As a result, the *ṭuruḳ* established branches in the principal settlements such as Nampula and Cabo Delgado. Mosques were constructed for the men and *zawāyā* (enclosed spaces) for women. As in the rest of the East African coast, Muslims from different parts of the Muslim world arrived bringing a variety of cultural and sectarian backgrounds. This has had its repercussions into the present, so that Muslims in different parts of Mozambique have tended to be and are isolated from one another.

Indian Muslims had their own mosques which were well built and ornate. They had cemeteries for their own exclusive use and brought and supported their own *imāms* from India. They observed the ordinances of the Ḳur'ān and the *Sharī'a* strictly. They avoided what was *ḥarām*, fulfilled the requirements of ablutions and frequented the mosque assiduously. The African and *mestizo* Muslims had their own mosques which were like thatched huts, hence indistinguishable from other huts. Their observance of Islam was less rigorous. Their attendances at mosques were less frequent and their prayers and recitations less perfect because of their ignorance of Arabic and the absence of any of the required texts. All male Muslims, whether Indian or African, practiced circumcision. They wore the *malaia*, also referred to as *cabaia*, and the *cofio* or a turban.

The statistics available indicate that there were around 66,000 Muslims in Mozambique in the mid-1950s. By then it was estimated that there were 1,956 Orientals and 15,188 Indians. At the end of the 20th century, estimates of Muslims in Mozambique vary between 10 and 16% in a population of 19 millions. Muslims in Mozambique consist of *monhes*, those from the Indian sub-continent, as well as *moors* who have an Arab or Turkish origin, and the Swahili. They looked to Zanzibar as the centre of Sunnī Islam and source of Islamic publications; they viewed the Bū Sa'īdī Sultan as their protector, remembering his name during Friday *khuṭba*, even though he was theologically an Ibāḍī. The leader of the Ḳādiriyya Sadate between 1929 and 1963 referred to himself as the Sultan's representative to Mozambique.

Historically, Islamic revivalist movements have opposed colonial rule in northern Mozambique. In the 1920s, some Muslim leaders protested against the abuses of forced labour, low wages and land appropriation in the Quelimane area. From the 1930s onwards, Muslim Africans and various Indians organised themselves into interest groups which carried out political action under the cover of social, mutual aid, cultural and athletic activities. The situation became even more acute from 1942, when Mozambique became *Portugal Ultramar*. Forced labour, arbitrary taxation, the obligation to plant cash crops and the lack of social improvement, produced a serious discontent among the Africans which led to the awakening of a national consciousness.

By the 1960s, the isolation of Muslims in Mozambique was breaking down. Muslims were seeking education in Tanzania and Arabia. Islamic publications from Cairo and Mumbai were available and Muslims were keen to acquire literacy in Arabic. People were listening to Cairo radio and were becoming aware of their religious roots. Arab and Islamic records and tapes from Egypt were circulating. African nationalism, linked to Arab anti-Portuguese propaganda, was gaining ground among the Muslims. It seems possible that clandestine Islamic associations were being established as early as the 1950s.

Given the total absence of liberty to form political organisations under the Portuguese, African Mozambicans living abroad in Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Malawi came together in a common front and formed the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) in 1962. An armed struggle began in 1964, but not until after the 1974 coup d'état in Portugal did Mozambique gain its independence (1975). During this period, a colonial policy was designed to win the support of the Muslim community against the forces of FRELIMO, which the colonial authorities thought had alienated the Muslims because of its Marxist tendencies. The policy was to work through the Muslim religious leadership, i.e. the *ṭuruḳ*, which they considered a conservative, local force against more radical, internationally organised expressions of Islam bent on political subversion. The Portuguese authorities, capitalising on the new situation that arose after the abolition of the Sultanate of Zanzibar in 1963, utilised the new links between the Muslim leadership in Northern Mozambique with the Comoros and invited the Mufti there to settle disputes between the *ṭuruḳ*. They also embarked on publishing an official, Portuguese-language version of abstracts of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In view of the fact that the liberation struggle was predominantly centred on the north, it is not surprising that the Muslims of Indian origin who lived in the southern part of the colony and adhered to the Ḥanafī legal tradition, with their orientation to Durban and Karachi, did not play an important role.

Nevertheless, the Muslim presence and growing Islamic influence can be seen by the fact that FRELIMO's representative in Cairo was a Muslim by the name of Shaffrudin Muhammad Khan, and an office was also opened in Algiers. Islam's influence received a boost when various Arab countries offered to train the "freedom fighters", and some 130 of them were sent to Algeria. FRELIMO established international relations with the Arab League and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. There is no mention in FRELIMO's educational programme of Ḳur'ān schools, but traditional institutions like the *poro/sande* institutions were acknowledged, and it is possible that, to some extent, Muslim influence may have been spread through these. The Indian Muslim communities which represent non-Sunnī groups such as the Ithnā' Asharī, Ismā'īlī Khodjas and Bohorās ran small-scale commercial ventures, bush trading centres and small shops in towns. As closed communities, they had hardly any contact with Africans, Europeans or other Indian groups. Some Asian students attended universities or professional courses at technical schools in Portugal.

(c) Independence and after.

After independence in 1975, the Muslim leadership which had co-operated with the colonial authorities was discredited. Some Muslim associations were banned in 1976, while those which had had restrictions

imposed on them during the colonial period gained some freedom; but the civil war which erupted soon after independence and lasted until 1992 between FRELIMO as a Marxist-Leninist party and the Resistência National Moçambicana (RENAMO), which sought to bring democracy to Mozambique, did not serve the Muslims well. By 1980 Mozambican Muslim students in exile in Dar es Salaam denounced the repression of Islam by the new government. Until 1982 the régime showed hostility to organised religion in general. There was considerable harassment of Muslims, including throwing pigs into mosques. Virtually all religious communities lost property through nationalisation. Religious associations were forbidden and attempts made to prevent religious activities anywhere but in mosques. Attitudes began to change after the establishment of RENAMO. FRELIMO found that its treatment of Muslims provided reasons for both Saudi Arabi and ʿUmān to send supplies to RENAMO. South Africa and the Comoro Islands also served as conduits for supplying RENAMO in 1983-9. That situation made any allies, including the religious communities, acceptable. Thus in 1983 FRELIMO officially recognised the new national Council of Muslims Mozambique (CISLAMO). There seems to have been an enthusiastic attitude to religion in RENAMO circles. Their bases exhibited this in the form of mosques and churches. With the accession of Chissano in 1987, FRELIMO began a gradual restoration of social legitimacy to religious bodies of all kinds. In that year, Mozambique hosted the fifth Southern Africa Islamic Youth Conference. By mid-1988, confiscated properties were being returned. The situation improved further when article 19 of the 1975 constitution was changed in 1990 to state that "The state shall respect the activities of religious denominations in order to promote a climate of social understanding and tolerance and to strengthen national unity."

The elections of 1994 returned FRELIMO to power. In further attempts to gain the support of Muslims, FRELIMO recognised the Islamic holy days of *ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā* and *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr* as national holidays in 1996. But in the 1999 elections it is revealing that, out of FRELIMO's 133 deputies, only one seems to be a Muslim, whereas out of RENAMO's 117, 12 were Muslims.

By the end of the 1990s, Mozambique had become a member of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC), thus securing economic benefits. Tensions between the Ṣūfī leaders of the majority of Muslims in the north and the more radical reformers based in the south have led the former to split off from CISLAMO to form the Congres Islâmico.

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MUʿĀHID (A.), literally, "one who enters into a covenant or agreement (*ʿahd*) with someone", applied in mediaeval Islamic times to those "People of the Book" who submitted to the Arab conquerors of the Middle East on condition of an *ʿahd* or of *dhimma* [*q.v.*] "protection". See for these *muʿāhidūn*, AHL AL-KITĀB, AMĀN, and in the context of al-Andalus, MOZARABS.

MUDJĪR AL-**DĪN BAYLAKĀNĪ**, a Persian poet of the second half of the 6th/12th century. He was, as his *nisba* indicates, a native of Baylakān [*q.v.*], in Transcaucasia, a compatriot and contemporary of the celebrated Khākānī [*q.v.*]. Mudjīr's *dīwān* contains a few poems to the Sharwān-shāh Manūčihr II (d. not long after 555/1160-1), which must belong to the earliest part of his career, but the majority of his odes are addressed to the Atabegs Nuṣrat al-Dīn Djahān-pahlawān b. Ildügüz (571-82/1175-86) and his successor Kïzïl Arslan (d. 587/1191) and to the Saldjūkid Arslan b. Toghrïl (556-71/1161-76), nominally the master, but in fact the puppet of Djahān-pahlawān. Takī Kāshī [see TAKĪ AL-DĪN] puts his death in the year 594/1197-8, which (for once) must be roughly correct.

In his famous ode in praise of the town of Iṣfahān, Khākānī speaks of how an "accursed demon" (*dēw-i*

radjīm) had mocked that city and how the Iṣfahānīs had in some way held Khāķānī responsible for the attack, an accusation which he rejects energetically. The commentators identified this "demon" with Khāķānī's supposed pupil Mudjīr (*radjīm* being an anagram for the latter's name) and there is in fact a *rubāʿī* in Mudjīr's *dīwān* poking fun at the people of Iṣfahān. Abu 'l-Radjā Ķummī (*Taʾrīkh al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1985, 200-1), a nearly contemporary source, cites one verse from this quatrain and then a verse with which the "people of Iṣfahan" replied to Mudjīr's attack (and which in later sources is ascribed to Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurwa, see SHUFURWA). The story is expanded by later authors, some of whom claim that Mudjīr composed the quatrain when the Atabeg sent him to that town as a tax-collector and that he was subsequently murdered in a bath-house by the local mob. But this is perhaps merely a fanciful elaboration.

Mudjīr's *dīwān* contains several highly artificial poems (e.g. one in which he uses only the letters that do not take diacritical points) and a fair number in Arabic or with alternating Arabic and Persian verses. A critical edition was prepared by M. Ābādī, Tehran 1358 *sh.*/1979.

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AL-**MUFADḌAL** B. **SALAMA** B. ʿĀṢIM (with the erroneous *nisba* "al-Ḍabbī" since Ibn Khallikān [*q.v.*]) al-Kūfī, Abū Ṭālib (d. after 290/903), transmitter of historical materials (*akhbār*) with wide interests and a philological-lexicographical background.

With this approach (Yāķūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 170), he differed (a) from his father Salama (d. after 270/883; Ibn al-Djazarī, i, 311), a disciple and copyist (*warrāķ*) of al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*], the great authority of the Kūfan school of philologists, and (b) from his son Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 308/920; Kaḥḥāla, xii, 43-4), a strict jurisprudent of the Shāfiʿī school in Baghdād (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, ii, 610-11). The three represent one of the early scholarly dynasties in ʿIrāķ [see AL-YAZĪDĪ]. Apart from his father, the following philologists are mentioned among his teachers: Ibn al-Aʿrābī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, Thaʿlab, and—last but not least—the *adīb* ʿUmar b. Shabba [*q.vv.*]; among his students al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*] is the best known. Al-Mufaḍḍal was also highly regarded as a calligrapher by the bibliophile and sponsor of poets and literati, al-Fatḥ b. Khāķān [*q.v.*], and after the latter's murder (247/861) together with the caliph al-Mutawakkil, no less so by the vizier Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul [*q.v.*]. Neither of these two men was an Arab by descent. In the multicultural society of their time, they were probably receptive, besides the Arabic-Islamic tradition, not only to pre-Islamic Arabic transmissions (the "War of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrāʾ"; *Fākhir*, no. 442/360), but also to Christian, Jewish, Persian (see below) and Central Asian reports [see AFSHĪN].

Of al-Mufaḍḍal's œuvre, listed by the bio-bibliographers, little has been preserved or become known through quotations in the works of others. For an overview, see Sezgin, viii, 139-41, vii, 350, ix, 139-40. His best-known work is his much-used, unsystematic collection of proverbs (*amthāl*) and set turns of speech (*muḥāwarāt*, see MATHAL.1.i), containing 521 items:

(1) *al-Fākhir* (for partial prints and the two editions, see MATHAL.1.iii.4). The peculiarity of *al-Fākhir* is the fact that, in addition to 200 proverbs, all of which can be found in the better-known, extensive collection of al-Maydānī [see MATHAL.1.iii.12], it contains 321 turns of phrases (*muḥāwarāt*), such as greeting formulas, benedictions, curses, animal calls (no. 441) and similar things, not a few of them connected with the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*] angle. The same phrases can be found in Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī's (d. 328/940) *al-Ẓāhir fī kalimāt al-nās*, also in Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī's (d. after 395/1005) *Djamharat al-amthāl* and in the large dictionaries, e.g. in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* of Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311). The transmission of *al-Fākhir* can in part be traced back to Ibn al-Anbārī as well; he seems to have recognised that al-Mufaḍḍal had entered new "lexical" territory, which was then the motive for his composing the more comprehensive *al-Ẓāhir* [see MATHAL.1.iii.5]. Al-Mufaḍḍal was less of a philologist than a collector and an entertainer at court and in the city of Baghdād. Pointers towards this include his critique (cf. *Fihrist*, 43, 62, 63, 74, 82) of the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of the great al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, bearing the title: *al-Radd* (var. *al-Istidrāk*) *ʿala 'l-Khalīl ... fī K. al-ʿAyn wa-iṣlāḥ mā fīhi min al-ghalaṭ wa 'l-taṣḥīf*, which evidently did not convince the philologists and lexicologists, who felt called upon to contradict him, even in later centuries (for relevant passages, see Sezgin, viii, 140). Al-Mufaḍḍal had a preference in his work for what was novel, strange and contemporary. This can be seen in his renditions of the aetiological stories that go with the *amthāl*/*muḥāwarāt*: the clever Jew (no. 223), the loyal Jew (no. 482), the Seven Sleepers (no. 239), the Christian martyr (no. 517), and others, see MATHAL.1.ii.7, and W. Ebermann, *Bericht über arabische Studien in Russland während der Jahre 1914-1920*, in *Islamica*, iii [1927], 229-64 (see secs. V. "Christlich-arabisches", 248-51, and VI. "Jüdisch-arabische Literatur", 251-4). On the whole complex, see R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen, insbesondere die des Abū ʿUbaid*, The Hague 1954, 114-21; Ar. tr. rev. and enlarged, *al-Amthāl al-ʿarabiyya al-ķadīma*, tr. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Beirut 1391/1971, repr. +1408/1987, 167-75; *Oriens*, xxxii [1990], 472-5.

(2) *al-Malāhī* [*q.v.*], on musical instruments, a treatise on the justification for playing music, which al-Mufaḍḍal was the first (?) to compose; ed. J. Robson, *Ancient Arabic musical instruments in the handwriting of Yāķūt al-Mustaʿṣimī, A.D. 1298*, text in facs. and tr. with notes, including notes on instruments by H.G. Farmer, Glasgow 1938 (Collection of Oriental Writers on Music, iv), repr. in ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *al-Mūsīķī al-ʿirāķiyya*, Baghdād 1370/1951, 74-89; Farmer, *Islam*, Leipzig [1966], 8, 24, 26 (*Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, ed. H. Besseler and M. Schneider, Band 3, Lieferung 2), cf. E. Neubauer in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii [1968-9 (1971)], 418-31; A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings (c. 900-1900). Descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in libraries of Europe and the U.S.A.*, Munich 1979, 282-3 (Répertoire international des sources musicales = RISM B, x), cf. E. Neubauer in *ZGAIW*, i [1984], 290-6.

(3) *Mukhtaṣar al-Mudhakkar wa 'l-muʾannath*; no such grammatical opuscule on the masculine and the feminine is mentioned in the list of works drawn up by the bio-bibliographers. It is inspired by the work of the same name by al-Farrāʾ. As the technical term *mukhtaṣar* "abridgement", indicates, it might possibly be lecture notes [see MATHAL.1.iii]. Whether they should be traced back to al-Mufaḍḍal or whether a later anonymus is behind it will probably never be known. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb edited it in *RIMA*, xvii [1971], 277-346, with an introduction on the life and works of al-Mufaḍḍal.

(4) *Djalāʾ al-shabah fi ʾl-radd ʿala ʾl-Mushabbiha*, an extant treatise against the anthropomorphisation of God, by means of Ḳurʾānic verses and terms, see Sezgin, viii, 141, and R. Şeşen, *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fī maktabāt Turkiyā*, Beirut 1400/1980, ii, 434.

Bibliography: In addition to the studies mentioned in the text, see G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862 (repr. Nendeln 1966), 162-4; Brockelmann, I², 121, S I, 181, 943 (!), S III, 1195 (!), O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1933, ii, 182-3 (repr. with addenda, Osnabrück 1983); Blachère, *HLA*, i, 137; Sarkīs, 1770; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, ⁴Beirut 1979, vii, 279; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1380/1960, xii, 314; idem, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Beirut 1406/1985, 797.

Further sources. Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1955, 97, ²Cairo 1974, 154; Marzubānī, *al-Muḳtabas*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1964 (repr. Baghdād 1968; Tehran 1968), 339; *Fihrist*, 73-4, tr. Dodge, 161-2, and index, 1047; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 124-5; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, Cairo 1967, 202; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1374/1955, iii, 305-11 (Ḍabbī); Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1403/1983, xiv, 362; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 396 (Cairo 1384/1964, ii, 396-7); idem, *Muzhir*, Cairo 1378/1958, 413, and index s.v.; Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn*, Cairo 1392/1972, ii, 328-9; Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1955, ii, 468. (R. SELLHEIM)

MUFAṢṢAL (A., lit. "separated", "hived off"), in Indo-Muslim pronunciation *mufaṣṣil*, whence the British Indian conventional form *Mofussil*, an informal term of British Indian administrative usage, attested in British usage from the later 18th century but probably going back to Mughal official usage. It denoted the provinces, the rural districts and stations, as opposed to the administrative headquarters of a Presidency, District or region, the *ṣadr* (in the Anglo-Indian usage of the Bengal Presidency, the *Sudder*); hence going into the *Mofussil* could mean something like going into the field, or into the bush or backwoods.

Bibliography: Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases*, ²London 1903, 570, 862. (ED.)

MÜFETTISH (T.), the Ottoman Turkish form of Ar. *mufattish*, lit. "one who searches out, enquires into something". In the Ottoman legal system of the 12th/18th century, below the Great Mollās [see MOLLĀ] there was a layer of five judges called *müfettish*, whose duties were to oversee and enquire into the conducting of the Imperial *ewḳāf* or pious foundations [see WAḲF], three of them being resident in Istanbul and one each in Edirne and Bursa (see Gibb and Bowen, ii, 92). In the 19th century, and with the coming of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms, *müfettish* was the designation for the overseers and inspectors of various new administrative mechanisms now set in motion within the empire. In modern Turkish, *müfettiş* remains a standard word for "inspector".

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

MUGHALMĀRĪ [see TUKARŌʾĪ].

MUḤALLIL (A.), literally, "someone who makes a thing legal, legaliser, legitimator", the figure who, in classical Islamic law acts as something like a dummy or a "man of straw", in order to authenticate or make permissible some legal process otherwise of doubtful legality or in fact prohibited. It thus forms part of the mechanisms and procedures subsumed under *ḥiyal*, legal devices, often used for evading the spirit of the law whilst technically satisfying its letter [see ḤĪLA].

Thus the *muḥallil* is found in gambling, racing for stakes, e.g. with horses or pigeons, and archery contests being a participant who does not contribute to the stakes; see F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, 53, 98-106, and ḲIMĀR, at Vol. V, 109a. But *muḥallil* is also found in marriage and divorce law, as the person instructed, usually for payment, to marry a woman who has been three times divorced and cannot therefore remarry her original husband until a fourth, dummy marriage has been gone through and duly consummated. After this *taḥlīl* she can legally remarry her old husband. Such an intervention was generally allowed by the Ḥanafīs but disputed by the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs, whilst the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya denounced it as illegal in a treatise of his on divorce (cf. Brockelmann, II², 127, S II, 124) [see ṬALĀḲ. I. 7.].

The person acting as a *muḥallil* in marriage and divorce is not surprisingly a figure of contempt and obloquy in Islamic literature.

Bibliography: See also Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, Beirut 1984, v, 459-553, vii, 397-400, viii, 476-8; Lane, *Lexicon*, 622c; Wahbī al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-islāmī wa-adillatuhu*, Damascus 1985, v, 789, vii, 120-1; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazāʾirī, *K. al-Fiḳh ʿalā ʾl-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Beirut 1986, iv, 437-9.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD III B. ḤASAN, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN, Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *imām* and the penultimate lord of Alamūt, who was made famous in mediaeval Europe by Marco Polo as the "old man" Aloadin. The only son of Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (r. 607-18/1210-21), he succeeded his father, at the age of nine, in Ramaḍān 618/November 1221. The vizier previously appointed by Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan acted for some time as the effective ruler of the Nizārī state, also generally retaining the then ongoing Nizārī policies of rapprochement with the ʿAbbāsids and Sunnī Islam. However, the observance of the Sunnī *sharīʿa*, imposed earlier, was gradually relaxed in the Nizārī communities of Persia and Syria.

Politically, Muḥammad III's long reign was a very turbulent period for the Persian world, which now experienced a forestate of the Mongol menace. However, the Nizārī leadership initially seems to have reached an understanding with the Mongols, who did not attack the Nizārī towns and fortresses of Persia for some time. Djūzdjānī, the Ghūrid historian and official who visited Ḳuhistān on diplomatic missions on several occasions during 621-3/1224-6, relates how the *muḥtashams* or the Nizārī chiefs in Ḳuhistān shared the stability and prosperity of their community with an increasing number of refugees, including many Sunnī scholars of Khurāsān, who fled before the invading Mongols and found asylum among the Nizārīs. Meanwhile, the Nizārīs extended their territories in Persia in the early years of Muḥammad III's reign. They seized Dāmghān and acquired or recaptured fortresses in Ḳūmis, Ṭārum and elsewhere, also extending their influence to Sīstān. In the wake of the Mongol invasions, relations between Alamūt and the Khʷārazmians, who had replaced the Saldjūḳs as the Nizārīs' foremost enemy, were characterised by warfare and diplomacy until Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubirtī, the last Khʷārazm-Shāh, was defeated by the Mongols in 628/1231. The shifting Nizārī-Khʷārazmian relations have been vividly recorded by al-Nasawī, Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn's secretary and chronicler, who was on one occasion dispatched as an

ambassador to Alamūt where he conducted diplomatic negotiations with Muḥammad III on behalf of the Kh^wārazm-Shāh. In Muḥammad III's time, relations between Alamūt and the neighbouring Caspian provinces deteriorated. On the other hand, peace was finally established between the Nizārīs and their perennial enemy, the people of Ḳazwīn. Muḥammad III had personally developed a close association with a Ṣūfī *shaykh* of Ḳazwīn, Djamāl al-Dīn Gīlī (d. 651/1253), and regularly sent him an annual grant of 500 dīnārs. It seems that it was also in Muḥammad III's time that the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* was introduced to the Indian subcontinent by *dāʿī*s dispatched originally to Sind.

Nizārī fortunes in Persia were rapidly reversed after the collapse of the Kh^wārazmian empire. The Nizārīs now directly confronted their most dangerous enemy, the Mongols, who were then making new efforts to conquer all of Persia. Following his abortive effort, in collaboration with the ʿAbbāsids, in 635/1238 to forge an alliance with the kings of France and England against the Mongols, Muḥammad III made one last peace overture to the new Great Khān Güyük in 644/1246. However, the Nizārī emissaries to Mongolia were dismissed with contempt by Güyük. Henceforth, Mongol-Nizārī relations deteriorated beyond repair. By 651/1253, under Güyük's successor Möngke [*q.v.*], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizārī towns and strongholds in Ḳuhistān and Ḳūmis. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizārī territories in Persia, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III was found murdered in Shīrkūh, near Alamūt, under obscure circumstances, on 29 Shawwāl 653/1 December 1255. He was succeeded by his eldest son Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh [*q.v.*], who would rule for exactly one year as the last lord of Alamūt.

Muḥammad III's reign was also a period of intense intellectual activity in the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community. In particular, Nizārī leadership at this time made a sustained effort to explain the various religious policies of the lords of Alamūt, since Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's time, within a coherent theological framework. The intellectual life of the Nizārī community was now particularly invigorated by the influx of outside scholars, non-Ismāʿīlī Muslims, who availed themselves of the Nizārī libraries and patronage of learning. Foremost among such outside scholars was Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], who spent some three decades in the Nizārī fortresses of Ḳuhistān, and later at Alamūt where he enjoyed the patronage of Muḥammad III and his successor until the collapse of the Nizārī state in 654/1256. Al-Ṭūsī made important contributions to the Nizārī thought of his time, and it is primarily through his Ismāʿīlī works, including especially his *Rawḍat al-taslīm* (ed. and tr. W. Ivanow, Leiden 1950), that modern scholars have come to possess an understanding of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī teachings during the final decades of the Alamūt period.

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MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd Allāh, called **IBN SHABĪB**, Abū Bakr, Baṣran theologian who lived in the first half of the 3rd/9th century. He is possibly identical with Shabīb al-Baṣrī, "one of the best-known ascetics of his community and among the leading sages of his period" whom the Jewish *mutakallim* Dāwūd b. Marwān al-Muḳammiṣ reports defeating in a debate in Damascus. He was influenced by the Murdjiʾī Abū Shamir al-Ḥanafī and his school, but he studied with al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] and is therefore frequently called a Muʿtazilī. Al-Māturīdī extensively quotes a book of his, apparently the *K. al-Tawḥīd*, in which Ibn Shabīb described and refuted the doctrines of dualists, Christians and Ṣābians, of Aristotle and others who believed in the eternity of the world, of Indian sensualists (Sumaniyya [*q.v.*]) and the sceptics (Sūfisṭāʾiyya). In these polemics, especially those against the dualists, he followed al-Naẓẓām but frequently refined the arguments. The *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār still found his book "excellent". Ibn Shabīb's Murdjiʾī leanings are apparent in a treatise on *irdjāʾ* which was refuted by Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir [*q.v.*], and another on the *waʿīd* (i.e. threat of eternal damnation), for which he was attacked by the Muʿtazilī Abū Djaʿfar al-Iskāfī [*q.v.*]. He did not accept the *manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* [*q.v.*] although he used the term *fāsiḳ*, for he believed that the mortal sinner remained a believer. In his definition of belief he omitted works, something which a Muʿtazilī would have never done, and based his definition on the intellect and will. In his view, Muslims could hope not to be punished eternally. The passages of the Ḳurʾān that speak of God's threat (*waʿīd*) in this respect are, he said, not clear enough. With this, he took up an old hermeneutical argument which the Murdjiʾa had carried into *uṣūl al-fiḳh*; it had been developed by Muways b. ʿImrān [*q.v.*] and discussed by Abu 'l-Hudhayl and al-Naẓẓām.

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(J. van Ess)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD** al-**KARĪM** al-Khaṭṭābī (*ca.* 1880-1963), Moroccan activist and leader in the Rīf War.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm was born in the 1880s into the large Berber tribe (*ḳabīla*) Banū Waryāg̲h̲al in the Moroccan Rīf [*q.v.*], son of a *ḳāḍī* who had close relations with the Spanish in Melilla [*q.v.*] and Alhucemas Island. He studied at the Ḳarawiyyīn in Fās [*q.vv.*], and was influenced by the Salafiyya [*q.v.*] movement. From 1907 he worked in Melilla as a teacher, military interpreter, journalist and *ḳāḍī*. After the Moroccan Protectorate was established in 1912, he opposed French colonialism and during the First World War was briefly arrested by the Spanish for supposed German sympathies. In 1919, an inchoate movement emerged among the Banū Waryāg̲h̲al to resist the Spanish occupation, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm returned to reorganise it on a more stable basis by imposing the *S̲h̲arīʿa* and establishing a European-style military force.

After a rising against the Spanish in July 1921, he founded a government based on principles of modernisation and Salafī reform. In February 1923 various Rīfī tribes gave him *bayʿas* as *imām*; he sometimes called himself *amīr al-muʾminīn* [*q.v.*], more to signify the religious nature of his movement than to claim universal leadership. His forces defeated the Spanish in 1924 and invaded the French Zone in 1925. After a joint invasion of the Rīf in the autumn of 1925, Spanish and French armies crushed his state in May 1926.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm was exiled to Réunion until, in 1947, he escaped in Egypt on his way to France. He became the titular leader of the umbrella Committee for the Liberation of North Africa. After Moroccan independence (1956) he refused to return, saying that the American bases prevented Morocco from being truly independent. He died in Cairo in 1963.

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MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿARAFA** (d. 1976), ephemeral Sultan of Morocco 1953-5.

Muḥammad b. ʿArafa was the product of the Franco-Moroccan crisis of the early 1950s when sultan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (after 1956, Muḥammad V) (d. 1961) defied the Protectorate authorities and openly supported the nationalists' demand for independence. In March 1952 the sultan addressed a letter to the President of the French Republic demanding the abrogation of the protectorate treaty of 1912. The French not only rejected the sultan's demand but started contemplating plans for his removal. A scheme for a dynastic change by which the Idrīsid ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī would be made sultan was quickly abandoned in favour of a more realistic alternative, that of finding a candidate for the throne from within the ʿAlawid house.

The idea of a new ʿAlawid sultan who would be more co-operative, if not in effect a French puppet, was judged to be more acceptable in view of the wide popularity that had built up round the ʿAlawid dynasty since the early 1930s. Upon the instructions of Augustin Guillaume, the French Resident General, Thāmī al-Glāwī, pasha of Marrakesh, and ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī toured the country to gather signatures for a petition demanding the removal of the sultan Muḥammad V. The new candidate for the throne was found in the person of Muḥammad b. ʿArafa, a retiring person from the ʿAlawid family. On 20 August 1953 the legal sultan was deposed and sent into exile in the French colony of Madagascar.

The enthronement of the new sultan was immediately met by a sweeping wave of opposition to the French policy. Ibn ʿArafa was dismissed by the overwhelming majority of the Moroccan people as "the sultan of the French" and they therefore refused to give him allegiance. Mosque *imāms* abstained from mentioning his name in the Friday sermon, and when they did this under French pressure, people simply deserted the mosques. His proclamation had for its immediate consequences the radicalisation of the nationalist movement and the outbreak of armed resistance to the French in many parts of the country. After two attempts on the sultan's life and the deterioration of security throughout the country, the French realised the seriousness of the situation. Internationally, the French action had been widely condemned, particularly by Spain which, as a co-partner in the protectorate system, felt deeply offended by the French unatilateral move. The Spanish authorities maintained allegiance to Muḥammad V, and at the United Nations the French government had also to face wide hostility to its Moroccan policy from the Arab and the Afro-Asian bloc.

For the Moroccan nationalist movement led by the Istiḳlāl party [see ḥizb. i, at Vol. III, 525], the return of the deposed sultan and the removal of Ibn ʿArafa became the most pressing demands and a rallying cry for all political tendencies. When the French finally decided to allow Ibn Yūsuf to return from exile, they had, in fact, accepted the principle of Morocco's independence. Ibn ʿArafa announced his abdication on 1 October 1955, and on 2 March 1956 the protectorate régime formally came to an end. Muḥammad b. ʿArafa went into exile in France and died at Nice on 18 July 1976.

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(Mohamed El Mansour)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ISMĀʿĪL** al-**MAYMŪN**, the seventh *imām* of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*].

The eldest son of Ismāʿīl b. D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, Muḥammad was born around 120/738; and on tbe death of his grandfather, the *imām* D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, in 148/765 he was recognised as *imām* by a faction of the Imāmī S̲h̲īʿīs, who were later designated as the Mubārakiyya. These S̲h̲īʿīs, comprising one of the earliest Ismāʿīlī groups, affirmed the death of Muḥammad's father Ismāʿīl in the lifetime of the *imām* al-Ṣādiḳ. They further held that al-Ṣādiḳ had personally designated his grandson Muḥammad on Ismāʿīl's death. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl carried the epithet of al-Maymūn, the "fortunate one", and his followers were also originally referred to as the Maymūniyya, another designation of the nascent Ismāʿīliyya. Soon after 149/766, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl permanently left Medina, the residence of the ʿAlids, for the east and went into hiding; hence his additional epithet of al-Maktūm, the "hidden one". Subsequently, he maintained his contacts with the Mubārakiyya (Maymūniyya), centred in Kūfa. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl evidently spent his final years in K̲h̲ūzistān, where he had some following, and died not long after 179/795-6 in the reign of the caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd.

Until the schism of 286/899 in the early Ismāʿīlī

movement, the bulk of the Ismāʿīliyya acknowledged Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as their seventh and final *imām*; and as such, they denied his death and awaited his imminent return as the Mahdī or Ḳāʾim. In accordance with their cyclical view of the religious history of mankind, the early Ismāʿīlīs also believed that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was the seventh and final speaker (*nāṭiḳ*); on his reappearance, he would initiate the final era or *dawr* [*q.v.*], fully revealing to all mankind the hitherto hidden esoteric truths (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*) of all the preceding revelations. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl would rule the world in justice during that eschatological age of pure spiritual knowledge before the physical world ended; he was thus considered as the *Ḳāʾim al-ḳiyāma*. These beliefs were retained by the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*] who, in 286/899, split away from those Ismāʿīlīs who acknowledged continuity in the Ismāʿīlī imāmate and allowed for more than one heptad of *imāms* in the era of Islam. The latter, the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, denied the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl; for them, the final age was gradually postponed indefinitely into the future and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl himself was no longer expected to return as the Mahdī.

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(F. Daftary)

MUḤAMMAD b. SAYF al-DĪN, IBN AYDAMIR, compiler of a large anthology of Arabic poetry, d. 710/1310.

Born in Bag͟hdād in 639/1240, he served the last ʿAbbāsid caliph as a youth. Trained both in the chivalrous and humanist disciplines, he was appointed to various civil offices by the Mongol Hülegü and his successors. Biographers mention that he wrote some good poetry and epistles. Ibn Aydamir (which is how he writes his own name, not Ibn Aydamur) died in Rad̲jab 710/November-December 1310, some five years after completing his great anthology *al-Durr al-farīd*, of which an almost complete, beautifully written, autograph has been preserved and published in a facsimile edition. After an extensive introduction on stylistics and literary criticism, the main part of the work lists single lines of poetry, mostly of the gnomic and quotable kind. They are arranged strictly alphabetically, not according to rhyme-word, but, unusually and usefully, by their beginnings. The core of the book contains some 18,000 lines, a very large number, which is, however, easily outnumbered by the lines provided by the compiler in the margin, often giving the context or parallels of quoted lines. Biographical notes and philological commentary are also included. The poets date from all periods, many of them well known but also including lesser-known or obscure poets.

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(G.J.H. van Gelder)

MUḤAMMAD b. SHIHĀB [see al-zuhrī].

MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH, S͟hayk͟h (d. 1965), pioneer in the education of Muslim women in the Indian subcontinent.

He was born on 21 June 1874, in a Kas͟hmīrī Sāsan (Hindu) Brahman family in the village of Bhān Tani (district of Punch in Kas͟hmīr valley). Being a Hindu at birth, he was named Thākur Dās. His father, Mehta Gormukh Singh, was a local landlord. According to the traditions of his Kas͟hmīrī Brahman family, his basic education in Persian was initiated under the tutorship of Ḳāḍī Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Kas͟hmīrī. Later, he was admitted to the *maktab* of Miyān Niẓām al-Dīn Wazīr; there he was taught the *S͟hāh-nāma*, *Sikandar-nāma*, and *Yūsuf u Zulayk͟ha*, among other Persian books. Here also he began learning Sanskrit. While still in his early teens, he studied *ṭibb-i yūnānī* (the Greek medical system) under the guidance of Mawlawī Nūr al-Dīn. Having been encouraged by both these scholars, he was sent to D̲jammū to continue his studies in the English system. In D̲jammū he remained under the guardianship of Mawlawī Nūr al-Dīn. In 1890, at the age of 16, he attended, in his company, the annual session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Lahore, where he enthusiastically listened to the speeches of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān [*q.v.*] and other functionaries, being so inspired by these speeches that during the session he embraced Islam.

In 1891 he traveled to ʿAlīgaṛh with an introduction from Mawlawī Nūr al-Dīn addressed to Sir Sayyid, seeking admission to the Anglo-Muhammadan Oriental College (which later became Aligarh Muslim University). While filling in his admission form he, for the first time, wrote his Muslim name, Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, by which he was to be known all his remaining life. (It is not known when and how he acquired the title *S͟hayk͟h*.) While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir

Sayyid, under whose personal attention ʿAbd Allāh learnt writing for newspapers on various educational and social themes. It was, he stated, Sir Sayyid's guidance which inspired him actively to participate in the community's welfare work.

After graduation with a law degree and at the expressed desire of Sir Sayyid, ʿAbd Allāh settled down in ʿAlīgaṙh and began his career as a lawyer. In 1902 he was married to Waḥīd D̲j̲ahān Begam (from an established Muslim family of Dihlī), with whom he had four daughters and a son.

A few of his childhood experiences of witnessing cruelty and injustice to women left deep impressions on him which were to lead him later in life to a whole-hearted involvement in social welfare work for women, especially in education. He intensely believed that, with education, women's lot could alone be improved. With the then existing atmosphere in ʿAlīgaṙh, he became more and more concerned with the education of Muslim women.

During the 1896 session of the Muhammad Educational Conference, a section was established for women's education; but because of Sir Sayyid's involvement in other tasks, no practical steps were taken to attain any specific objectives toward education of Muslim women. In the 1902 session of the Conference, held at Dihlī, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, together with several of his friends, proposed to revive the section on women's education, which was enthusiastically approved: thereafter year after year he kept on propagating the necessity of providing adequate education to Muslim women in India. For this purpose he began publishing a monthly periodical *K̲h̲ātūn*, the first issue of which came out in 1904 and continued to be published for the next ten years. Also in the year 1904 he was permitted by the Conference session at Lucknow to open a normal (up to eighth grade) school for Muslim girls at ʿAlīgaṙh. After three years of hard work he succeeded in establishing the proposed normal school. The modest beginning of this school in 1907 in ʿAlīgaṙh attracted the attention of the government of the United Provinces (now known as Uttar Pradesh), which granted a sufficient sum for the purpose of buying land and constructing building for the school in 1908. The school at that initial stage had no boarding facilities for girls from outside the town. The increasing popularity of this pioneer institution for Muslim girls' education throughout the subcontinent meant that there was a need of residential facilities for girls from other nearby areas who wanted to join. In 1911 help came again from the U.P. government; Lady Porter, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, laid the foundation stone of the hostel adjacent to the school building. The school which had a modest beginning in 1907 had grown by 1936 into a renowned degree college leading up to B.A. classes. In that year it was affiliated to the Aligarh Muslim University.

Until 1947, education in all classes of the college and its affiliated primary and secondary schools was conducted under the strict rules of Islamic seclusion. The hostel followed also tradition both in observing *parda* and in religious obligations. In 1947, however, after the independence of the country and promulgation of a secular constitution, the basic structure of Islamic-oriented Western education remained untouched in all the affiliated insitutions of the Muslim University (Muslim Girls' College included), but seclusion of women students and obligatory religious observances were eliminated.

The attachment of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh to the Muslim Girls' College was so deep that he built his spacious residential house close to the buildings of the College, and from the 1940s onwards, donated a large part of this house as the hostel for postgraduate girl students. His strong attachment to the girls' education and welfare was reciprocated by the affectionate title of "Pāpā Miyān" with which he came to be known in ʿAlīgaṙh.

In recognition of his pioneer work for Muslim women's education the British Government awarded him the title of "K̲h̲ān Bahādur", and Aligarh Muslim University honoured him with the award of honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Towards the end of his life, in 1964 the post-Independence national government of India expressed its appreciation for his services by awarding him the title "Padam Bhūs̲h̲an". He died on 9 April 1965 at the age of 91, and was buried in the garden of his residential house, adjacent to the buildings of the Muslim Girls' College.

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MUḤAMMAD ʿĀKIF PAS̲H̲A [see mehmed ʿākif pas̲h̲a].

MUḤAMMAD al-D̲J̲AWĀD [see muḥammad b. ʿalī al-riḍā].

MUḤAMMAD ḤĀKIM MĪRZĀ, Mug̲h̲al prince and half-brother of the emperor Akbar [*q.v.*], b. 960/1553, d. 993/1585.

In 973/1566 he was governor of Kābul and eastern Afg̲h̲ānistān for Akbar, but when temporarily forced out of his capital by the Tīmūrids of Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān, he retreated towards India, where a group of dissident Özbeg nobles proclaimed him emperor at D̲j̲awpūr and incited him to invade India. He beseiged Lahore with his forces, but had to retreat to Kābul. For over a decade, he posed a threat on Akbar's northwestern frontier, offering a legitimate alternative to Akbar's rule. A fresh revolt of Mug̲h̲al and Afg̲h̲ān nobles broke out in 987-8/1579-80, in the wake of Akbar's *maḥḍar* or decree proclaiming himself supreme arbiter of religious affairs and claiming authority as caliph, and Muḥammad Ḥākim was again proclaimed counter-emperor. Akbar sent his chief minister Tōdar Mal [*q.v.*] to supress the rebels in Bihār, and himself marched against Kābul, entering the town in Rad̲j̲ab 989/December 1581. He pardoned Muḥammad Ḥākim and reinstated him, but it was not until Muḥammad Ḥākim's death in S̲h̲aʿbān 993/August 1585 that all threats from Kābul were ended and the region brought under direct imperial rule.

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MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ KANBŌ LĀHAWRĪ, Indo-Muslim historian and stylist whose exact dates of both birth and death are unknown but who flourished in the 11th/17th century under the Mug̲h̲al emperors S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān and Awrangzīb [*q.vv.*]. He may have been the younger brother of the historian and littérateur ʿInāyat Allāh Kanbō (d. 1082/1671 [*q.v.*]), if Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's reference to this last person, his master and patron, as *birādar-i kalān* "elder brother" is to be taken literally.

Virtually nothing is known of his life, but he was

a government official in Lahore, where his tomb still exists and where in 1079/1668-9 he had built a small mosque. He is famed for his detailed history of Shāh Djahān and his reign, the *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, completed in 1070/1659-60, but with later additions (many mss.; ed. Ghulām Yazdānī, Bibl. Indica, 3 vols. Calcutta 1912-39), and also an *inshāʾ* collection, the *Bahār-i sukhan*, still in manuscript.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 579-81, 1317.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD-SHĀHĪ NIZĀRIYYA [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA].

MUḤAMMAD TAPAR [see MUḤAMMAD B. MALIK-SHĀH].

MUḤAMMAD ʿUTHMĀN DJALĀL (1829-16 January 1909, thus in Brockelmann, S II, 725), Egyptian translator and adapter of European drama into Arabic.

He played a crucial role in the transfer of the cultural milieu of European dramatic forms into an indigenous Egyptian language and format. After a traditional secondary education, he was sent to Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī's [see RIFĀʿA BEY AL-ṬAHṬĀWĪ] famous translation school, the *Madrasat al-alsun*, and became thereafter one of the foremost of its graduate translators from French to Arabic (both literary and colloquial). Alongside his achievements as a translator he also had a civil service career, firstly in the Khedive's office, then as a judge in the Mixed Courts, and later as a government minister. Various dates are given for his death, ranging from 1894 to 1909 (cf. Brockelmann, II², 627-8, S II, 725).

Moving from the practicalities of administrative manuals to the more complex stylistic issues of literary genres, Djalāl began his literary translation career with the *Fables* of La Fontaine, which he rendered into Arabic verse and published in 1858 (*al-ʿUyūn al-yawāḳiẓ fī 'l-amthāl wa 'l-mawāʿiẓ*). In 1872 he issued his famous translation of Bernardin de St. Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (as *al-Amānī wa 'l-minna fī ḥadīth Ḳabūl wa-Ward Djanna*), using the lofty style of *sadjʿ* (rhyming prose) and "arabising" and "islamicising" many of the discourse elements of the original French text. He thereafter turned his attention to the dramatic genre, translating four comedies of Molière into colloquial Arabic poetry (using the form of *radjaz*) and once again cleverly transferring the cultural context from a European to an Egyptian milieu. The four plays in question (published as a group in 1889) were: *Tartuffe* (*al-Shaykh Matlūf*), *Les femmes savantes (al-Nisāʾ al-ʿālimāt)*, *L'école des maris (Madrasat al-azwādj)*, and *L'école des femmes (Madrasat al-zawdjāt)*.

From comedy, he moved on to the French tragedians, translating (once more into colloquial Cairene dialect) a set of plays by Racine and Corneille: *Esthèr*, *Iphigénie*, and *Alexandre le Grand* by the former (as *al-Riwāyāt al-mufīda fī ʿilm al-tarādjīda*), and *El Cid* by the latter. His one excursion into dramatic writing on his own part, *al-Khaddāmīn wa 'l-mukhaddimīn* ("Servants and agents", 1904), was, like his translated plays, composed in colloquial verse.

In the lengthy and complex process of indigenising imported literary genres during the 19th century, Djalāl's role as a translator was a central one. That the translated versions of European works that he produced were successfully assimilated into Egyptian society can be convincingly demonstrated by the fact that *al-Shaykh Matlūf*, his Egyptianised *Tartuffe* and most masterful adaptation, has been revived on the Cairo stage in recent times (e.g. 1963, 1971) to tremendous popular acclaim.

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MUḤAMMAD ZAMĀN MĪRZĀ, perennially rebellious Mughal prince and brother-in-law of the emperor Humāyūn [*q.v.*].

On Humāyūn's accession in 937/1530, he allied with Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, provoking an invasion by Humāyūn of Gudjarāt via Mālwā. Muḥammad Zamān was pardoned, but in 941/1534 rebelled again, this time in Bihār, but had to escape to Gudjarāt once more. This provoked a full-scale invasion and occupation of Gudjarāt by the Mughal emperor (941-2/1535-6). Muḥammad Zamān escaped; he tried to claim the throne of Gudjarāt for himself on Bahādur Shāh's death in 943/1537 but failed in the attempt, submitting at last to Humāyūn.

Bibliography: See that to HUMĀYŪN, and add R.J. Majumdar (general ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people*, vi, *The Mughul empire*, Bombay 1974, 45-51, 395, 398. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤDATHŪN (A.), "the Moderns", i.e., in classical Arabic literary history, those poets that came after the ancient poets (called *ḳudamāʾ*, *mutaḳaddimūn* or *awāʾil*) of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. The term is first applied to some poets "of the two dynasties" (*mukhaḍramū 'l-dawlatayn*), who flourished in the middle and second half of the 2nd/8th century [see MUKHAḌRAM]. No formal end of the period of the *Muḥdathūn* movement is recognised, but mostly the term applies to poets of the first few centuries of the ʿAbbāsid period. For poets from later times, one finds occasionally the term still used, or, more commonly, expressions such as *ahl al-ʿaṣr* and *muʿāṣirūn* "contemporary [poets]".

Critics were aware of the differences between the poetry of the pre-Islamic (*djāhilī*) poets and that of their successors, the *mukhaḍramūn* (straddling the *Djāhiliyya* and Islam), the *Islāmiyyūn* and the Umayyad poets. However, the changes in style, themes and motifs that arose from the mid-2nd/8th century—in the wake of the fundamental social and intellectual changes that took place in that period (such as the role of the *mawālī* [see MAWLĀ] and the impact of Greek and Persian civilisation)—were considered so fundamental that the dichotomy between "old" (*ḳadīm*) and "modern" is dominant in traditional literary criticism. The distinction is important, too, in Arabic linguistics, since there was a general consensus among the grammarians and lexicographers that only early (pre-*muḥdath*) poetry could serve as attestation for the codification of the "pure" (*fuṣḥā*) language; as Ibn Djinnī, quoted by Ibn Rashīḳ (*ʿUmda*, Cairo 1953, ii, 236), put it: "Modern poets [he uses the term *muwalladūn*, on which see below] may be cited as authorities (*yustashhadu bihim*) on motifs (*maʿānī*), just as ancient poets may be cited as authorities on words (or expressions,

alfāẓ)". Even though many grammarians appreciated the poetry of the *Muḥdathūn* for its literary qualities, it is likely that the term originally had pejorative connotations, just as a bad sword could be described as "modern, not cutting" (*muḥdath ghayr ṣārim*, Djarīr, in *Naḳā'iḍ*, ed. A.A. Bevan, Leiden 1905-12, 413). Well before the period of the *Muḥdathūn*, the poet Umayya b. Abī 'Ā'idh (*fl.* 80/700) praises his own verse as "unlike the patchwork of the *muḥdathūn*" (*Aghānī*², xxiv, 6).

Resistance to the poetry of "moderns" had various grounds: its language, diction, style, contents, or even (though rarely) the fact that some prominent poets were not only non-nomads but also non-Arabs, witness the telling anecdote about Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*], often called "the father of the moderns", related in *Aghānī*², iii, 166. It took some time for the *Muḥdathūn* to be recognised by critics and anthologists. The *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'* ("*The classes of the master poets*") by Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī (d. 231/845 [*q.v.*]) ignores them, as does, for instance, Ḳudāma b. Dja'far's [*q.v.*] *Naḳd al-shi'r*. Abū Tammām (d. 231/846 [*q.v.*]), himself one of the greatest and most controversial of the "moderns", included only a few fragments that could be called *muḥdath* poetry in his influential anthology *al-Ḥamāsa* (his less famous anthology *al-Waḥshiyyāt*, on the other hand, has poems by Bashshār, Abū Nuwās, Abu 'l-'Atāhiya, Muṭī' b. Iyās, Muslim b. al-Walīd, Di'bil [*q.vv.*] and other *Muḥdathūn*).

The recognition and esteem that many *Muḥdathūn* received in their lifetimes from patrons and other admirers is reflected in numerous reports and not long after in anthological and critical works, too. A contemporary of Abū Tammām, the poet Di'bil (d. 246/860), compiled a (partly preserved) book on poets in which the *Muḥdathūn* are included; some later anthologies, such as Ibn al-Mu'tazz's [*q.v.*] *Ṭabaḳāt al-shu'arā'*, are wholly devoted to the *Muḥdathūn*. This work opens with Ibn Harma (d. *ca.* 170/786 [*q.v.*]), who is more often considered "the last of the ancients" (al-Aṣma'ī, quoted at 20, and cf. *Aghānī*², iv, 373) or "in the rearguard of poets" (*min sāḳat al-shu'arā'*, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 473). Still quoted by linguists, but already indulging in very "modern" techniques such as writing a long poem without diacritical dots (*Aghānī*², iv, 378-9), Ibn Harma is a borderline case, like e.g. Ibn Mayyāda and Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa [*q.vv.*]. Even Bashshār, "father of the Moderns", is sometimes called "the last (*khātimat*) of the (ancient) poets" (*Aghānī*², iii, 143, 148, 150). It is rather surprising that Bashshār's coeval, the caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd (d. 126/744 [*q.v.*]), in spite of his innovative poetry, is never counted among the *Muḥdathūn*, presumably because he did not live to reach the 'Abbāsid period.

As Ibn Ḳutayba said, "God did not restrict knowledge, poetry and eloquence to one period . . .; Djarīr, al-Farazdaḳ, al-Akhṭal and other [pre-*muḥdath* poets] were once regarded as 'moderns'" (*Shi'r*, 5). Of course, the distinction between *ḳadīm* and *muḥdath* is not merely a matter of chronology. The former is associated, or even equated, with the poetry of the *'Arab*, the nomadic or semi-nomadic Bedouin, and the latter with the poetry of sedentary poets who were often non-Arab, like Bashshār, or of mixed descent (*muwallad*). Indeed, the term *muwalladūn* is sometimes used as a synonym of *muḥdathūn*, at other times for those poets who follow that school [see MUWALLAD. 2. In Arabic language and literature]. Al-Djāḥiẓ wrote (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 130), "The 'Arab and A'rāb, both the nomadic and sedentary Arabs (*al-badw wa 'l-ḥaḍar min sā'ir al-'arab*), are generally better poets than those poets who live in towns and villages and are not of pure Arab stock among the new generation (*min al-muwallada wa 'l-nābita*)." Confusingly, the term *muwallad* has occasionally been used for poets of pure Arab descent, even from the Umayyad period, such as "Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, al-Kumayt b. Zayd and al-Ṭirimmāḥ [*q.vv.*] (al-Sidjistānī-al-Aṣma'ī, *Fuḥūlat al-shu'arā'*, Cairo 1991, 124, 132, and cf. Ibn Rashīḳ, *'Umda*, i, 90), presumably because they were not true nomads, some of them, such as al-Kumayt, having learned and taught grammar (al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, Cairo 1965, 302, 326-7).

It is a commonplace of traditional criticism to contrast the "purity" and solidity of the old style with the refinement and rhetoricisation of the new. The old poet built a house, the modern poet embellished and decorated it (e.g. *'Umda*, i, 92); the former is like a singer singing fine melodies with a coarse voice, the latter sings inferior melodies with a sweet voice (Ibn Wakī', quoted in *'Umda*, i, 92). Modern verse is like a fragrant herb that smells deliciously but briefly, early poetry is like musk or ambergris, increasing in fragrance the more one rubs it (Ibn al-A'rābī, quoted in al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, 384). The *Muḥdathūn* are credited with introducing *badī'* [*q.v.*] consciously, a term referring to various rhetorical and poetic artifices and embellishments. "Muslim b. al-Walīd was the first to use *badī'* on a large scale, after Bashshār had first used it . . .; then came Abū Tammām, who used it excessively and immoderately" (quoted by Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 235). Obviously, the contrast between old and new has been exaggerated and simplified: by no means all early poetry is stylistically rough and unadorned, some of it, notably Umayyad *radjaz* [*q.v.*], is highly rhetoricised. Conversely, much of "modern" poetry is unadorned and highly accessible, and its image is to some extent distorted because in literary criticism and theory it was mainly the rhetorical and embellished style that received attention. However, on the whole it is true that the most characteristic innovation of the *Muḥdathūn* lies precisely in the development of refined rhetorical techniques, a novel use of metaphor (cf. the distinction between the "old" and the "new" metaphor as pointed out by W. Heinrichs, *The hand of the Northwind*, Wiesbaden 1977), and of increasingly complex imagery and "conceits", on which see e.g. B. Reinert, *Der Concetto-Stil in den islamischen Literaturen*, in Heinrichs (ed.), *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. V. Orientalisches Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1990, 366-408.

It is difficult to generalise about "modern poetry", extremely varied as it is. Much of the ancient, Bedouin vocabulary and diction is abandoned, yet the so-called neo-classicist style of Abū Tammām and others indulges, at least in their formal *ḳaṣīdas* and other set-pieces, in archaic words and expressions. There were some prosodical innovations: a few new metres were created and truncated forms of existing metres became popular, yet all the old metres survived. Many oddities of grammar and prosody that were condoned in old and Bedouin poetry as poetic licences (*ḍarūrāt*) were deemed faults in new or urban poetry (e.g. Ibn Rashīḳ, *'Umda*, ii, 269; Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣā'iṣ*, Cairo 1952, i, 323ff.).

The 'Abbāsid critics themselves were aware that the originality and novelty of "modern" poetry were not as great as was sometimes claimed. Ibn al-Mu'tazz [*q.v.*] wrote his seminal treatise on rhetorical figures and tropes, *K. al-Badī'*, in order to demonstrate that these figures and tropes can be found already in early poetry and prose (Ḳur'ān and *Ḥadīth*); thus he provided

a legitimisation of *badīʿ* while at the same time condemning some of its excesses, notably Abū Tammām's idiosyncratic techniques of metaphor, antithesis and paronomasia. The two brothers called al-Khālidiyyān [*q.v.*], in their *K. al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir*, traced many motifs and themes occurring in modern poetry to their early predecessors, in order to prove the superiority of the latter; it was written in response to those who preferred the moderns.

The poetry of the *Muḥdathūn* certainly was not, and could not have been, a wholly new start. The early poets were canonised by consensus and could not be ignored by the later ones. Modern poets had to choose between slavishly imitating them, which became increasingly archaic and inappropriate for urban poets, or reacting against them (e.g. by means of parody and in the "anti-*nasīb*" theme, common in Abū Nuwās [see NASĪB. d. ʿAbbāsid period]), or by transforming the early themes and motifs, by blending or subtly changing them, while transforming diction and style by means of rhetorical refinement. An important characteristic of modern poetry is the pervading presence of shorter and monothematic poems, with themes that in early poetry usually formed part of the polythematic ode or *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*]: the *khamriyya* [*q.v.*] or bacchic poem, the *ṭardiyya* [*q.v.*] or hunting poem, the *zuhdiyya* [*q.v.*] or ascetic, anti-worldly poem, the "floral" poem (called *nawriyya* [*q.v.*], *zahriyya, rawḍiyya* or *rabīʿiyya*), the epideictic epigram (*waṣf*), the gnomic epigram (*ḥikma*), the obscene or scatological poem (*mudjūn* [*q.v.*]) and several others. Here, too, there are precedents in early poetry, although it is not always possible to determine whether an early short poem was conceived as an independent epigram or is a fragment of an incompletely transmitted poem.

In any case, the *ḳaṣīda* retained its position as the most prestigious form. As before, one was not considered a great poet unless one could boast of the production of a substantial number of odes. It has been argued (M.M. Badawi, *From primary to secondary Qaṣīdas*, in *JAL*, xi [1980], 1-31 and see his chapter *ʿAbbasid poetry and its antecedents*, in J. Ashtiany *et al.* (eds.), *CHAL, ʿAbbasid belles-lettres*, Cambridge 1990, 146-66) that the coming of Islam brought about a more radical change in poetry than the *muḥdath* "revolution", a change seen in the shift from the tribal and ritualistic *ḳaṣīda* to the mostly panegyric ode modelled on the old type but being more strictly literary, and in the shift from oral to literate transmission. Important developments, too, took place in love-poetry in pre-*muḥdath* times (see GHAZAL. i. In Arabic poetry, and several more recent articles by Renate Jacobi and others). It is true that most of the changes of the period of the first *Muḥdathūn* were prepared by the early Islamic and Umayyad poets, yet on the whole the traditional distinction between them and the newer school is justified and the original contributions of such innovators as Bashshār, Abū Nuwās, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, Abū Tammām and Ibn al-Rūmī cannot be denied. The new sensibility has been linked with the "discovery" of the individual, as a result of social and political changes, such as the dwindling of the old aristocracy, the individualistic egalitarianism espoused by Islam, and high social mobility (see Th. Bauer, *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1998).

Among the characteristics of the *ḳaṣīda* among the *Muḥdathūn* is a greater concern for coherence and unity, or at least an avoidance of abrupt transitions. Even though such thematic jumps, such as from *nasīb* to the panegyric section, are still found, most poets devoted care to some kind of connecting motif (*takhalluṣ* [*q.v.*]). And whereas many early poems seem to end more or less fortuitously, often in mid-air as it were, the *Muḥdathūn* often conclude with a proper peroration, ending with topics appropriate to an envoi, such as a dedicatory passage or a blessing.

After the first few generations of *Muḥdathūn* poetry had become so artful, its techniques had developed to such an extent that it seemed to the following generations that it was difficult to come up with novel things: the poet and critic Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (d. 322/934), in his *ʿIyār al-shiʿr* (Riyāḍ 1985, 13) speaks of the "trial" (*miḥna*) of the poets in his days who try to please exacting patrons by means of their rhetorical subtleties and witticisms, while abandoning the truthfulness allegedly found in early poetry.

If there ever was a true *querelle des ancients et modernes* in Arabic literary history, it was mostly fought in moderate terms, the majority of critics professing their respect for the ancients, even though many pointed out the superior techniques of the moderns. Thus al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/998) notes that the latter excelled in *takhalluṣ* "because of the bright minds and subtle thoughts", surpassing the primitive methods of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets (*Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, Baghdād 1979, 215-16). Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239 [*q.v.*]) calls Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and al-Mutanabbī "the al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā and Manāt [*q.vv.*] of poetry" (*al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, Cairo 1962, iii, 226) and pronounces them superior to all others, ancient and modern (iii, 274). The Andalusian anthologist Ibn Bassām (d. 543/1147 [*q.v.*]), explaining why he only includes recent poets, speaks scathingly of ancient poetry (*al-Dhakhīra*, Beirut 1978-9, i/1, 13-14): "Everything that is recited over and over again is boring; the ear rejects 'O abode of Mayya . . .' "; he goes on to quote irreverently the opening words of several of the *Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*], perhaps the most "canonical" of all Arabic poems. At the other extreme stands e.g. Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], arch-conservative for once, who quotes with apparent approval the opinion that the rhymes of al-Mutanabbī and al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*] cannot be considered true poetry, because they did not follow (ancient) Arab poetical methods (*al-Muḳaddima*, Cairo 1962, 1296, tr. F. Rosenthal, Princeton 1967, iii, 382). However, in the controversies such as arose on account of the style and motifs of Abū Tammām or al-Mutanabbī, it is usually not a matter of old vs. new.

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book of *badīʿ*). For a useful survey of mediaeval critical opinions, see Ibn Ras͟hīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 90-3 (*fi ʾl-ḳudamāʾ wa ʾl-muḥdat͟hīn*), 100-1 (section on famous poets), ii, 263-45 (section on "modern motifs", *al-maʿānī al-muḥdat͟ha*).

(G.J.H. van Gelder)

MUḤIBB al-DĪN al-K͟HAṬĪB, Sunnī Arab journalist, publisher and editor, an influential figure of the *Salafiyya* [*q.v.*] as well as of Arab nationalism [see ḳawmiyya. 1] in the 20th century (1886-1969). He was born in July 1886 in Damascus. Already in his youth his worldview was influenced by a number of Salafī thinkers such as Ṭāhir al-D̲jazāʾirī (d. 1920), and also by the writings of various Arab proto-nationalists, including al-Kawākibī [*q.v.*]. The gist of his views, which he advocated until the end of his life, can be described as a peculiar blend of Salafī and Arab nationalist positions (see Hurvitz, in *Bibl.*).

As a student of law in Istanbul (1905-7), and until the end of World War I, he was involved in the activities of a number of Arab secret societies such as *al-Nahḍa al-ʿArabiyya* and *al-ʿArabiyya al-Fatāt* (for details, see his own account in *al-K͟haṭīb, ḥayātuhu bi-ḳalamihi*; also Burd̲j, *Muḥibb al-Dīn al-K͟haṭīb*; Tauber, *The emergence*; idem, *The Arab movements*, in *Bibl.*).

From 1916 onwards, he served the "Arab Revolt", first as a member of the editorial staff of *al-Ḳibla* in Mecca, and later (summer 1919 to summer 1920) as chief editor of the Hās͟himite official newspaper in Damascus, *al-ʿĀṣima*. However, a few days after the battle of Maysalūn (24 July 1920 [*q.v.*]) and the subsequent French occupation of Damascus, he left Syria for Egypt.

Having finally settled in Cairo, Muḥibb al-Dīn al-K͟haṭīb in the following years rose to some prominence, in Egypt and far beyond, as owner of a printing press, a bookshop and a publishing house serving the causes of *ʿurūba* [*q.v.*] and Sunnī Islam, called *al-Maṭbaʿa al-Salafiyya wa-Maktabatuhā*. Further more, he gained recognition as founder and main author of two important journals, *al-Zahrāʾ* (1924-9) and *al-Fatḥ* (1926-48), and also as editor of mediaeval as well as modern Arabic texts.

Even before the fall of the Hās͟himite rule in the Ḥid̲jāz (1925), he had declared his support for Ibn Suʿūd [see ʿabd al-ʿazīz, in Suppl.] and subsequently became an eloquent defender of Saudi-Wahhābī politics and religious practice [see wahhābiyya. 2]. In this connection, he came forward as one of the most influential Sunnī polemicists in modern times against the S͟hīʿa in general and their role in Islamic history in particular. As a result, he opposed all attempts at an ecumenical rapprochement between the two sides [see taḳrīb]. Even as chief editor of *Mad̲jallat al-Azhar* (1952-9) he maintained this view (see Brunner, esp. 193-208). He is also remembered as one of the modern authors who tried to restore the image of the Umayyads in the mind of the Sunnī Arab public (Ende, 91-110). He died in Cairo on 30 December 1969.

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(W. Ende)

MUʿĪNSIZ (a., t.), from Ar. *muʿīn* "supporter, helper" and Tkish. *siz* "without", a term connected with the introduction of the conscription system into the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century to indicate someone who has nobody to look after his family and other dependants if he is drafted, i.e. is a breadwinner. The decision as to who was regarded as sole breadwinner in a family depended on the age, sex and physical and mental condition of those left behind and on their degree of kinship to the potential *muʿīnsiz*. *Muʿīnsiz* were exempted from regular military service, but served as reservists: as *redīf* and *mustaḥfiẓ* [see radīf]. Once one was registered as a regular soldier, becoming a *muʿīnsiz* was rarely possible, even if personal circumstances had changed.

Although *muʿīnsiz*, as reservists, had only limited military obligations in times of peace, during times of mobilisation and war they were called up to the colours. In such cases, their families were left without breadwinners. To prevent these soldiers from worrying about their families and to obviate subsequent problems with morale and even desertion, the Ottoman state provided a separation allowance, the *Muʿīnsiz ʿĀʾile Maʿās͟hi*. First applied during the Crimean War, the allowance and the terms under which it was assigned remained rather vague until the second decade of the 20th century. The First World War forced the Ottoman authorities to become more specific. Articles 49-55 of the *Mükellefiyyet-i ʿAskeriyye Ḳānūn-u Müwaḳḳatī* of May 1914 and its revised version of July-August 1915 dealt with the separation allowance. A bill for a separate, thirty-one article law on the allowance was discussed in the *S͟hūrā-yi Dewlet* [see ʿabd al-ʿazīz; dustūr. ii. turkey] in October 1915, but did not reach the *Med̲jlis-i Wükelā* (Council of Ministers) and the Parliament until the end of 1918.

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(Nicole A.N.M. van Os)

MUḲAWWIYĀT (a.), a medical term, originally denoting stimulants but gradually taking on the meaning of aphrodisiacs—probably as a form of euphemism—a meaning which it has retained into the present day. It will be noted, however, that in the *Ḳānūn fi ʾl-ṭibb* of Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] the term *muḳawwī* is already in recurrent use in the section devoted to impotence (ii, 539-41). This is explained by the fact that aphrodisiacs were intended to restore to the deficient man all his vigour and all his strength and to excite his sexual desire (or that of the woman, evoked

in some texts, although it is the male to whom most attention is given), whence this blurring of meanings. Mediaeval Arabic medical texts used, for these preparations, numerous words and expressions: *munʿiẓ, muhayyidj li 'l-shahwa, muhayyidj li 'l-bāh, ashyā' tukawwī ʿalā 'l-djimāʿ* and *al-mufradāt al-bāhiyya.* All these names refer to the notion of stimulating erection, exciting carnal desire and facilitating the sexual act.

In a society where virility remained a major factor, where guaranteeing the succession was an imperative for princes and where the presence of numerous concubines was still an element of social prestige in *khāṣṣa* circles—not to mention Kur'ānic verses calling for the "ploughing" of wives—it was to be expected that physicians should take an interest in aphrodisiacs and that texts of erotology as a literary genre should proliferate. Thus it is worth noting the significant fact that the last recipe given in the famous formulary of al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār is that of an aphrodisiac (*maʿdjūn al-sakankūr*, in *Minhādj*, 169). This medical literature should be considered in association with the related tradition of works of erotology (*kutub al-bāh*), the existence of which is noted, from the 4th/10th century onward, by Ibn al-Nadīm in a section of his *Fihrist* entitled *Asmā' al-kutub al-mu'allafa fi 'l-bāh al-fārisī wa 'l-hindī wa 'l-rūmī wa 'l-ʿarabī* (436). He clearly points out the suggestive function of these works (*ʿalā ṭarīk al-hadīth al-mushabbik*), most of which are undoubtedly of Indian origin. Consequently, there existed a science associated with sexuality, linking empirical observations, theoretical material inspired by the predominant medical doctrines, and psychological considerations. It is thus that the Shaykh al-Nafzāwī refers to six causes of sexual desire: intensity of desire, abundance of sperm, encounter with desirable individuals, physical beauty [of the object of desire], fortifying nourishment and petting. He supplements this list with reference to eight factors predisposing the male to coitus (*tukawwī ʿalā 'l-djimāʿ*): good health, absence of anxieties, happiness, relaxation, good diet, material well-being, variation of position and changing of partners (*al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir*, 143). Sexual problems described by doctors therefore included, besides physical malfunctions, inhibitions and psychological neuroses. Obviously, the form of treatment depended on the precise definitions of these psychosomatic disorders. Medical treatises also describe impotence (*ʿadjz, nuksān al-bāh*) and functional problems related to erection (*intishār, inʿāẓ*), generally known by the term *istirkhā' al-kadīb*, paralysis, slackening of the penis—but also female frigidity and anorgasm, which seem to be indicated by the expressions *bard al-raḥim* or *ṣalābat al-raḥim*, respectively: drying up of the uterus, sclerosis of its tissues (*Kānūn*, ii, 536-9).

The therapies applied in the treatment of these disorders thus rely on a wide variety of remedies ranging from potions to massages, ointments to auto-suggestion. Medications may be either simple or compound. Looking first at what could accurately be called auto-suggestion: for the physician, this consists, in recommending that his patient read pornographic works on the multiple positions and forms of intercourse (*al-kutub al-muṣannafa fi aḥwāl al-djimāʿ wa-ashkālihi*) or even listen to erotic anecdotes (*akhbār al-mudjāmiʿīn*). As regards aphrodisiac products as such, these are for the most part warming and stimulating items such as ginger, cinnamon, sandalwood, musk, camphor and asafoetida, combined with honey which remains a sovereign remedy. Types of compound aphrodisiacs are confections (*maʿdjūn*) and electuaries (*djawārshin*) which the invalid takes daily; oils (*duhn*) and pomades (*marham*), prescribed for external use and applied to the vagina, the penis, the pelvic region and the loins; and douches for female use (*hukna tukawwī 'l-mar'a li 'l-djimāʿ*, *Akrabādhīn al-Kalānisī*, 144).

One of the ingredients most often cited is the Egyptian skink (*sakankūr, Scincus officinarum*), a variety of lizard which when dried and salted was credited—and is credited still in the traditional pharmacopoeia—with remarkable aphrodisiac qualities (*Minhādj*, 169), to such an extent that Dāwūd al-Anṭākī warns that this remedy can lead to death from excess of erection (*Tadhkira*, 194). The success of this animal seems to be explained by its phallic appearance, just as today, for the same reasons, the horn of the rhinoceros is credited, in Chinese medicine, with highly aphrodisiac qualities. This form of mind projection featured, in one manner or another, in the choice of certain other components utilised in the preparation of aphrodisiacs: bull's penis, "fox's testicles" (*khuṣā al-thaʿlab*, Satyrion, *Orchis hircina* L.) and testicles of the cock or the ram. It should be noted that, in traditional Arab medicine, use is still made, according to the theory of affinities, of the pulverised testicles of calf or bull, as well as the officinal skink (Bellakhdar, 98). In conclusion, account should be taken of the extent to which, in the mediaeval Arab medical tradition, coitus is seen as an activity particularly beneficial to man on the psychological and physiological level, and the degree of importance attached by physicians to the physiological aspect.

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(F. SANAGUSTIN)

MŪSĀ AL-ṢADR, SAYYID, Imāmī Shīʿī cleric and political leader in Lebanon (1928-78?). Born in Kum [*q.v.*] into a family of religious scholars with roots in southern Lebanon and ʿIrāk, he studied in the *madāris* of his home town and at the University of Tehran where he read (secular) law.

From 1954 to 1959, he pursued his studies in Nadjaf [*q.v.*], his principal teachers being Sayyid Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm (d. 1970) and Sayyid Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Khū'ī (d. 1992). From Nadjaf he began establishing personal contacts with the Lebanese branch of his family, and in particular with his uncle, the influential scholar Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Before the latter's death on 30 December 1957, he had apparently expressed the wish that Mūsā al-Ṣadr should succeed him as leader of the Imāmī Shīʿī community of Tyre [see ṢŪR].

In late 1959, Sayyid Mūsā al-Ṣadr took up residence

in Tyre. In the following years he gained influence both locally and further afield as teacher and preacher and also as a spokesman (called Imām) for the Shīʿīs of Lebanon [see also MUTAWĀLĪ], who felt socially and politically neglected by the government in Beirut. In the face of considerable resistance on the part of the old feudal leadership as well as from certain members of the Shīʿī clergy, he finally succeeded in setting up a Higher Shiʿite Council (*al-Madjlis al-Islāmī al-Shīʿī al-Aʿlā*) by resolution of the National Assembly in December 1967. In May 1969 Mūsā al-Ṣadr was elected president of this council, the first body to represent the Shīʿa of Lebanon.

In March 1974 he launched a mass movement called *Ḥarakat al-maḥrūmīn*, which was soon known to have formed a military wing called *Afwādj al-mukāwama al-lubnāniyya* (AMAL). In late August 1978, more than three years after the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon, Mūsā al-Ṣadr suddenly disappeared while on a visit to Libya. The circumstances of this affair remain mysterious, but after a few years he was presumed dead even by the majority of his followers. Both AMAL and its rival, *Ḥizb Allāh*, claim to be the heirs to his spiritual and political legacy.

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MUSĀBAKA (A., pl. *musābakāt*) "race, competition, contest"; *musābaka tilāwat al-Kurʾān* is thus a "contest in the recitation of the Kurʾān". Such contests are held in many contemporary Muslim countries and contexts, such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Indonesia and North America. International competitions are held periodically in Mecca and in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

There is a national level recitation competition held every two years in Indonesia. It is popularly known as "MTQ" (for *musābakah tilāwatil kurʾān*). Local, regional and provincial eliminations determine the selection of the final contestants, who represent all of Indonesia's provinces in a colourful and festive complex of events lasting about ten days. The Indonesian approach to the Kurʾān recitation *musābaka* conceives it to be a "national discipline" that affords Indonesia's Muslims a chance to strengthen their religious life while enhancing their pride as citizens of the Republic. Although recitation is at the core of the event, there are also Kurʾānic quiz shows for youth, who appear on provincial teams; an elaborate *daʿwa* (Islamic "missions") exhibit with displays of publications and programmes; a parade through the streets of the host city; colourful opening and closing ceremonies with processionals, special music, dance and recitation; and Islamic fashion shows. There is considerable national media coverage, as the MTQ is attended by the president, government ministers, the diplomatic corps, and distinguished Muslim leaders from Indonesia and abroad. Each MTQ is held in a different city, thus producing something like a royal progress about the country over the years.

Although recitation is governed by long-established *ādāb*, as far as the conduct of particular *musābakāt* is concerned, one needs to refer to specific cases. For example, the state television service in Surabaya, East Java, has sponsored a provincial *musābaka* that features groups of timed recitation selections (a standard procedure) interspersed with popular musical interludes performed by Muslim "seminarians" on guitars and other instruments (cf. Roman Catholic "rock" masses). In the Indonesian national-level tournament, the reciters are divided into categories of boys, girls, women, men and handicapped (usually blind). There are separate categories for those who read the Kurʾānic passages from a *muṣḥaf* and those who recite from memory. Judges evaluate the performances according to established criteria in *ādāb* (deportment, etiquette), *tadjwīd* (technical rules and procedures of recitation), and *naghamāt* (musical modes and melodies). Prizes and trophies are awarded to winning individuals and provincial teams, whose return home is marked by special festivities.

Bibliography: There is not much scholarly literature on Kurʾānic recitation competitions, although specific events are covered in the popular media. For Indonesia, see Khadijatus Shalihah, *Perkembangan seni baca al-Qurʾan dan Qiraat Tujuh di Indonesia* ("Developments in the art of reading the Kurʾān and the Seven Readings in Indonesia"), Jakarta 1983, 84-97; a more popular descriptive article is F.M. Denny, *The Great Indonesian Qurʾan-chanting tournament*, in *The World and I* (June 1986), 216-23, based on field work. The *musābaka* idea is motivated largely by a concern for maintaining and strengthening Kurʾānic literacy, especially in non-Arabic speaking countries. For ways in which Indonesians approach this, see Denny, *Qurʾān recitation training in Indonesia: a survey of contexts and handbooks*, in A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qurʾān*, Oxford 1988, 288-306. (F.M. DENNY)

MUSĀFIR (A.), literally, "traveller". For the genre of travel account literature, see RIḤLA. For the rest houses and caravanserais set up for travellers, see KHĀN, MANZIL, and MIHMĀN, in Suppl. For the commercial caravans of which travellers also usually formed part, see KĀRWĀN. For the Pilgrimage caravans, see ḤADJDJ. iii and AMĪR AL-ḤADJDJ. For the highways along which travellers passed, see SHĀRIʿ.

N

NADIRA.

2. In Swahili literature.

The word *nādira* is not well known in Swahili except in scholarly circles. The Swahili word *ngano* (common also in other Bantu languages) is in use for all invented tales including fables, as opposed to *hadithi*, which originally referred to Islamic legends about the Prophet Muḥammad and the characters he used to discuss with the *Ṣaḥāba*, while seated in the mosque at Medina after prayers. Today, such *hadithi* contain some of the most fantastic adventure tales, including the exploits of ʿAlī against the *d̲j̲inn* and *s̲h̲ayāṭīn*. Next to Arabian tales, such as Mad̲j̲nūn and Laylā, there are tales of Persian origin circulating on the Swahili coast, such as those of Sendibada (= Sindbād) or Farhād and S̲h̲īrīn. India is richly represented as a supplier of motifs for the Swahili storytellers. Fables from the *Pančatantra*, such as that of the monkey and the crocodile (who has become a shark in the Swahili version) are well known in Swahili, although they may have come via the Persian version of this work, the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*. Curiously, the Arabian version, *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], is not known in Swahili. Some tales even go back to Sanskrit literature, such as the Tale of the Three Magic Objects from the *Vetālapancavimśatikā*, or the Tale of Moses (i.e. the Prophet Mūsā) and the two Angels, ultimately based on the Sanskrit *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

Swahili scholars are very well read in Arabic traditional literature, especially the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*], Creation and cosmology (*ibdāʿ wa-ʿilm al-samawāt*), the *Sīra*, *Mawlid*, *Miʿrād̲j̲*, and the fabulous tales of al-Iskandar and Nabī Sulaymān.

Finally, there is the vast African heritage of narration, which includes fables for children including the Aesop-type tales, as well as bloodcurdling stories about ghosts and monsters of every description; purely African, fresh original, well-structured tales of wonders.

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(J. KNAPPERT)

AL-**NAD̲J̲ĀS̲H̲Ī**, Ḳays b. ʿAmr al-Ḥārit̲h̲ī, Arab poet of the 1st/7th century, probably called by this epithet because of his dark skin inherited from his Ethiopian mother, d. 49/669.

Born in Nad̲j̲rān, he and his clan became converts to Islam at Medina in 10/632. His bellicose nature led him to compose virulent satires against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit, who replied with the aid of his father. On the advice of al-Ḥuṭayʾa and Ḥassān [*q.vv.*], the caliph ʿUmar had al-Nad̲j̲ās̲h̲ī imprisoned for his invectives against the B. ʿAd̲j̲lān and their poet Ibn Muḳbil [*q.v.*]. At the battle of Ṣiffīn, he joined ʿAlī and exchanged verses of a politico-religious nature with Muʿāwiya's poets, notably Kaʿb b. D̲j̲uʿayl. However, he left ʿAlī's side after the latter had him flogged for drinking wine during Ramaḍān, and he went over to Muʿāwiya's army, eventually dying at Laḥd̲j̲ in Yemen.

Al-Nad̲j̲ās̲h̲ī's poetic œuvre does not seem to have been gathered together in a *dīwān* by the early philologists, although Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 157, mentions a *kitāb al-Nad̲j̲ās̲h̲ī* attributed to al-Madāʾinī. Modern authors, such as Schultess, Cheikho and al-Nuʿaymī have endeavoured to piece together his surviving verses, and Ṭ. al-ʿAs̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲, S. G̲h̲urāb and S. Bakkārī have tried to reconstitute the *dīwān*, based on some 50 sources, in *Annales de l'Université de Tunis*, xxi (1982), 105-201, comprising 333 verses in 64 pieces of unequal length from one to 43 verses. His themes are the usual main poetric ones: satire, praise, *fak̲h̲r*, elegy and erotic poetry, with his poetry reflecting the main phases of his life and times. Following al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-S̲h̲īʿa*, xliii, 368-9, he may be considered as one of the main pro-ʿAlid poets of the period before 50/670, with his eulogies of ʿAlī and his supporters and insults against Muʿāwiya and his partisans at the time of Ṣiffīn forming over half of his surviving verses.

Bibliography: See, in addition to the works mentioned above, Brockelmann, S I, 73; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², vi, 58; Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 320; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 307-8; and El Achèche, doctorat d'état thesis, *La poésie shīʿite jusqu'au IIIe siècle de l'Hégire*, Paris 1988, unpubl., and corpus of S̲h̲īʿī poetry to the 3rd century A.H., *As̲h̲ʿār al-tas̲h̲ayyuʿ*, Beirut 1997.

(TAÏEB EL ACHÈCHE)

NAD̲J̲ĪB K̲H̲ĀN (see NAD̲J̲ĪB AL-DAWLA).

NAFAḲA (A.), in Islamic law, maintenance, i.e. of the necessities of life, consisting of food, clothing and shelter. The obligation to provide for a person's maintenance arises from kinship, ownership and marriage.

Kinship

Fathers are obliged to provide for their children, unless the latter have sufficient property to support themselves. The obligation lasts with regard to boys until puberty, and regarding girls, until they marry and their marriage is consummated. After puberty, boys are entitled to maintenance from their fathers if they are physically or mentally unfit to support themselves and their fathers have sufficient means. According to all schools of jurisprudence, children

with sufficient means must support their parents if they are indigent. The Shāfiʿīs and Imāmī Shīʿīs hold that this obligation exists with regard to all ascendants. The Ḥanafīs extend it to all blood relatives within the forbidden degrees (*dhawū raḥim maḥram*).

Ownership

The owner of a slave has the duty to maintain him or her. If he fails to do so, the judge may sell the slave without the master's consent.

Marriage

The husband's duty to maintain his wife is regarded as a consideration for her being under her husband's control (*maḥbūsa*). As a consequence, her right to maintenance arises only after the consummation of her marriage, when cohabitation begins, and does not depend on her indigence. According to most schools, the level of maintenance depends on the status of both spouses. A wife is always entitled to be housed alone, preferably at some distance from her co-wives, and not to be forced to share her accommodation with her husband's relatives. If it is in accordance with the status of both spouses, the wife must be provided with a domestic servant.

The wife's right to maintenance ends with the termination of the marriage by her husband's decease or by repudiation. Since marriage persists after a revocable repudiation (*ṭalāḳ* [*q.v.*] *radjʿī*) until the expiry of the waiting period (*ʿidda* [*q.v.*]), the wife is entitled to maintenance during this period. Although after an irrevocable (*bāʾin*) repudiation the marriage comes immediately to an end, the husband must provide for his former wife during the ensuing waiting period if she is pregnant. If she is not, opinions vary.

The husband's obligation is suspended if his wife is disobedient (*nāshiza*). This is the case if she refuses to move to the marital home or leaves it without her husband's consent or a lawful reason. Her right to maintenance, however, is not affected if her behaviour is justified, e.g. if the home provided by her husband does not meet the legal requirements (*maskan sharʿī*) or if he has exceeded the bounds of proper marital chastisement. All schools but the Ḥanafīs (who argue that such circumstances are practically impossible to prove) regard the wife's refusal to have sexual intercourse with her husband as disobedience entailing the suspension of maintenance.

Whereas most schools regard maintenance as an ordinary debt whose arrears are due and payable, the Ḥanafī view is different: if the husband for whatever reason does not provide maintenance, his obligation expires after one month, unless the amount of maintenance has been specified by agreement between the spouses or by judicial decree. All schools except the Ḥanafīs and the Shīʿīs regard the husband's failure to provide maintenance as a ground for divorce for the wife. Since the Ḥanafī doctrine on these two issues was prejudicial to women, the views of the other schools have now been introduced by legislation in many Ḥanafī countries.

For *nafaḳa* in the sense of expenditure, see RIZḲ. 3.

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(R. PETERS)

AL-NAHY ʿAN AL-MUNKAR (A.), "forbidding wrong", in full *al-amr bi ʾl-maʿrūf wa ʾl-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, "commanding right and forbidding wrong". The term is used to refer to the exercise of legitimate authority, either by holders of public office or by individual Muslims who are legally competent (*mukallaf*), with the purpose of encouraging or enforcing adherence to the requirements of the *Sharīʿa*. This article deals mainly with the duty of individual Muslims in this regard; technically, this is usually considered to be a collective obligation (*farḍ kifāya*) [see FARḌ].

1. Terminology.

The term is taken from the Ḳurʾān, where forbidding wrong is generally held to be imposed as a duty in III, 104: "Let there be one community of you, calling to good, and commanding right and forbidding wrong; those are the prosperers." Other verses making clear reference to forbidding wrong are III, 110, 114; VII, 157; IX, 71, 112; XXII, 41; XXXI, 17. However, there is little indication in the Ḳurʾān of the concrete character of the duty.

The most-cited Sunnī tradition uses a somewhat different wording. In the frame-story, a man reproves the Umayyad governor of Medina (the future caliph Marwān I [*q.v.*]) for infringing the *sunna* in the course of leading a ritual prayer. The Companion Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693) approves the man's action, and quotes the Prophet as saying: "Whoever of you sees a wrong (*munkar*), let him put it right (*fa-l-yughayyirhu*) with his hand; if he cannot, then with his tongue; if he cannot, then with [or in] his heart" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. M.F. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1955-6, 69, no. 49). From this tradition is derived the term *taghyīr al-munkar* "righting wrong", while a variant text supports the term *inkār al-munkar* "(manifesting) disapproval of wrong".

The Muslim scholars take it for granted that *al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, *taghyīr al-munkar* and *inkār al-munkar* all refer to the same duty. They occasionally make distinctions between *al-amr bi ʾl-maʿrūf* and *al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, but normally assume that a single duty is involved. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]), devised a new terminology for the duty of individuals based on the root *ḥ-s-b*; thus the duty itself is *ḥisba*, one who performs it is *muḥtasib*, etc. (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1967-8, ii, 398). Hereafter the duty is referred to in this article as "forbidding wrong".

2. Forbidding wrong by holders of public office.

The sources speak of the exercise of authority by the legitimate ruler of the community as forbidding wrong. This usage is especially common in Imāmī, Zaydī and Ibāḍī texts, where forbidding wrong is closely linked to the imāmate (e.g. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳummī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Ṭ.M. al-Djazāʾirī, Nadjaf 1386-7/1966-8, i, 306; ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī, *Sīrat al-Hādī ilā ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn*, ed. S. Zakkār, Beirut 1972, 29; al-Bisyawī, *Djāmiʿ*, Ruwī 1984, iv, 192). But such language is also found in Sunnī sources (e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §3,111, on the caliph al-Muhtadī [*q.v.*]). Holders of subordinate offices may also be described as forbidding wrong, especially the officially-appointed *muḥtasib* (e.g. al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. A.M. al-Baghdādī, Kuwait 1989, 315) [see ḤISBA]. Despite the fact that such diction is widespread, it is not usually an object of scholastic reflection. Where scholars writing on the role of the *muḥtasib* pause to analyse the duty of forbidding wrong, they

tend to borrow what they say from discussions of the duty of the individual (as in the chapter on the *muḥtasib* in Khundjī, *Sulūk al-mulūk*, ed. M.ʿA. Muwaḥḥid, Tehran 1362 *shamsī*/1983, 175-99, which includes much material going back to al-Ghazālī). Opinion is divided on the question whether the state should have a monopoly of the use of violence in forbidding wrong.

3. Forbidding wrong by individuals in principle.

There is an extensive scholastic literature on this subject. Much material may be found in sources of the following types: Ḳurʾān commentaries under the relevant Ḳurʾānic verses; commentaries on Prophetic traditions under the relevant traditions; the handbooks of doctrine (*uṣūl al-dīn*) of some but not all theological schools; works on substantive law among the Imāmīs, Zaydīs and Ibāḍīs (but not the Sunnīs); and occasional monographs devoted to forbidding wrong. In terms of wealth of concrete detail, the richest body of material on the duty is a collection of responsa of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]) (Abū Bakr al-Khallāl, *al-Amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, ed. ʿA.A. ʿAṭā, Cairo 1975). In conceptual terms, the most sophisticated discussions stem from the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] and their Zaydī and Imāmī heirs; by contrast, the Ashʿariyya and Māturīdiyya [*q.vv.*] have less to say. By far the most influential account of the duty is the substantial and very clear analysis that al-Ghazālī included in his *Iḥyāʾ* (ii, 391-455, forming the ninth book of the second quarter, *rubʿ*, of the work). The influence of this treatment extended to all Sunnī schools, and also to the Imāmīs, Zaydīs and Ibāḍīs.

The central theme in formal discussions of the duty is often the set of conditions under which someone is obligated to confront a wrong. In the account of the Zaydī Muʿtazilī Mānkdīm (d. 425/1034), a pupil of the Shāfiʿī Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025 [*q.v.*]), these conditions are in outline as follows: (1) knowledge of law: the prospective performer of the duty must know that what he forbids is indeed wrong; (2) knowledge of fact: he must know, or have good reason to believe, that the wrong in question is in the making (*ḥāḍir*); (3) absence of worse side-effects: he must know that his action will not lead to a greater evil; (4) efficacy: he must know, or have good reason to believe, that his speaking out will be efficacious; (5) absence of danger: he must know, or have good reason to believe, that his action will not lead to harm to his person or property (Mānkdīm, *Taʿlīḳ Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*, edited by ʿA. ʿUthmān as the *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa* of ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad, Cairo 1965, 142-3). Other scholars are likely to discuss these issues in somewhat different ways, and to disagree on details. Occasionally a scholar will reject a condition outright, but this is rare; a case in point is the Shāfiʿī al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), who holds the uncommon view that one should proceed irrespective of the prospects of success, thus rejecting the fourth condition (cf. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Beirut 1987, i, 382); he is followed in this by a good number of later Shāfiʿīs and some non-Shāfiʿīs.

The means by which the duty is to be performed are generally presented in an escalatory sequence (e.g. Mānkdīm, *Taʿlīḳ*, 144, 744-5; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 420-5; contrast the wording of the Prophetic tradition cited above). Thus one should speak politely to the offender before rebuking him harshly, and only proceed to physical action if words are of no avail. The major disagreement concerns the use of violence in forbidding wrong: can it be used by individuals, and if so, can it reach the point of recourse to arms? The use of arms finds favour among the Muʿtazilīs, Zaydīs and Ibāḍīs, and is sanctioned by some Sunnīs; but many Sunnīs reject it, as do the Imāmīs.

This is not the only issue on which tension arises between more activist and more quietist approaches to forbidding wrong. Thus there is a major disagreement in connection with the fifth condition. While it is generally accepted that danger voids the obligation (at least if the degree of prospective harm is significant), it is disputed whether, or in what circumstances, it may still be virtuous to proceed. Thus according to Mānkdīm, such action would be virtuous only if it secured the greater glory of the faith (*iʿzāz al-dīn*, see *Taʿlīḳ*, 143), whereas the Ḥanafī Muʿtazilī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), likewise a pupil of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, held that no such distinction could be made, the greater glory of the faith being at issue in all such cases (cf. al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munkidh min al-taḳlīd*, Ḳumm 1412-14/1991-4, ii, 219). By contrast, Imāmī authorities condemn such action (e.g. Murtaḍā, *Dhakhīra*, ed. A. al-Ḥusaynī, Ḳumm 1411/1990-1, 557-8).

A closely related question is whether it is virtuous to rebuke rulers harshly for their misdeeds. Al-Ghazālī, representing a widespread view, was strongly in favour of this, and included in his discussion of the duty a substantial number of relevant anecdotes (*Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 437-55). Ibn Ḥanbal, by contrast, discouraged such activity (Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1952, i, 47), and the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1201) followed suit in his recension of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ* (see Aḥmad b. Ḳudāma al-Maḳdisī, *Mukhtaṣar Minhādj al-ḳāṣidīn*, Damascus 1389, 130). Likewise Muḥsin al-Fayḍ (d. 1091/1680), in his Imāmī recension of the *Iḥyāʾ*, disallows rudeness to rulers, and impugns the motives of the heroes of al-Ghazālī's anecdotes (*al-Mahadjdja al-bayḍāʾ fī tahdhīb al-Iḥyāʾ*, ed. ʿA.A. al-Ghaffārī, Tehran 1339-42 *shamsī*/1960-3, iv, 112-13).

A final question of this kind, for those who accept recourse to arms, is whether forbidding wrong can take the form of rebellion against unjust rule. Such rebellion is usually condemned among the Sunnīs, although Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) is a striking exception (*Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317-21, iv, 175-6). Thus Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767-8) is quoted as rejecting rebellion on the ground that its costs would exceed its benefits (Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-Fiḳh al-absaṭ*, ed. M.Z. al-Kawtharī, Cairo 1368, 44). But rebellion under the aegis of forbidding wrong finds approval among, for example, the Ibāḍīs (cf. P. Crone and F. Zimmermann, *The epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, Oxford 2001, 140, §127 of the Arabic text), here continuing a Khāridjite tradition, and the Zaydīs (e.g. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī, *Muntakhab*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1993, 14).

One major concern (on which the systematic discussions in Muʿtazilī and related sources are surprisingly silent) is privacy: how far do its requirements override the duty of forbidding wrong? The basic idea is that for forbidding wrong to be in place, the wrong must in some way be public knowledge; a hidden sin, according to a Prophetic tradition, harms only the sinner (Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, *ʿUḳūbāt*, ed. M.K.R. Yūsuf, Beirut 1996, 43, no. 40). Moreover, steps that would make hidden wrongs manifest are strongly discouraged. The Ḳurʾānic prohibition of spying (XLIX, 12) is widely quoted (e.g. Abū Yaʿlā Ibn al-Farrāʾ, *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. W.Z. Haddad, Beirut 1974, §355), as are versions of a Prophetic tradition that makes it a duty not to disclose shameful aspects of

the lives of outwardly respectable Muslims (also quoted by Abū Yaʿlā; cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1996, no. 2,580). The problematic cases arise in the grey area between public and private. Thus if one passes someone in the street who has a suspicious bulge under his cloak—suggesting that he is carrying a bottle of alcoholic liquor or a musical instrument—should one confront him (cf. Abū Yaʿlā Ibn al-Farrāʾ, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1966, 296-7)?

4. Forbidding wrong by individuals in practice.

Some of the more concrete prescriptive literature also sheds light on the practice of the duty. Thus the responsa of Ibn Ḥanbal illustrate the kinds of wrong regularly confronted by individual Muslims in 3rd/9th century Baghdād. The most frequent are making music and drinking alcoholic liquor, followed by sexual misconduct (cf. al-Khallāl, *al-Amr bi ʾl-maʿrūf*, no. 57); a variety of other wrongs appear from time to time, such as faulty prayer, chess-playing and the display of images. The mix seems to have been much the same at other times and places.

Biographical and historical sources preserve a considerable amount of scattered anecdotal material regarding the actual performance of the duty. On the whole, this material is richer for the earlier centuries of Islam than for later periods.

One respect in which the anecdotal material differs significantly from the prescriptive material is that it is much less ambivalent about confrontations involving danger. Thus many approving stories are told of pious Muslims who rebuked unjust rulers without regard for the consequences. An example is the reproof administered by Shuʿayb b. Ḥarb (d. 196/811-12) to the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd [*q.v.*] on the road to Mecca, in which he addressed the caliph by name; he was released when he pointed out that he did the same to God (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931, ix, 239-40). At the same time, historical sources provide numerous examples of rebels who invoked forbidding wrong (see e.g. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. M.M. Antuña, Paris 1937, 133, on the Andalusī rebel Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ [*q.v.*] in 288/901).

While the anecdotal material normally takes the side of those who perform the duty, it also brings out the fact that they were often regarded by others as pious busybodies; thus when Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907-8) [see AL-NŪRĪ] concerns himself with a cargo of wine belonging to the caliph, the boatman calls him a "meddlesome Ṣūfī" (*ṣūfī kathīr al-fuḍūl*) (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. S. al-Arnaʾūṭ *et al.*, Beirut 1981-8, xiv, 76).

5. Modern developments.

Discussion of forbidding wrong has played a significant part in the modern history of Islamic thought and practice, with Imāmī scholars tending to be more innovative than Sunnī ones.

One question that has naturally received increased attention is the role of women in forbidding wrong. In pre-modern times, a few authorities explicitly excluded women from performing the duty, a few (notably al-Ghazālī and some Ibāḍīs) explicitly included them, but most said nothing either way (for al-Ghazālī's view, see *Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 398). Modern authors, by contrast, often include women, even if they limit their role (e.g. Khālid b. ʿUthmān al-Sabt, *al-Amr bi ʾl-maʿrūf wa ʾl-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, London 1995, 171-2, a conservative Sunnī view; Aḥmad Ṭayyibī Shabistarī, *Taḳiyya; amr bah maʿrūf wa nahy az munkar*, Tehran 1350 *shamsī*/1971, 208, a radical Imāmī view).

There has been a widespread trend towards greater political activism, most consistently among the Imāmīs.

Thus the view that it is wrong to proceed in the face of danger was qualified or rejected not just by Khumaynī (d. 1409/1989 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) (*Taḥrīr al-wasīla*, Beirut 1981, i, 472-6), but by numerous scholars of his and later generations. On the Sunnī side, one example among many of a strongly activist figure is the Algerian ʿAlī b. Ḥādjdj; thus in a talk distributed on cassettes, he quotes with enthusiasm a passage in which al-Ghazālī sanctioned the recruitment of armed bands in the cause of forbidding wrong (*Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 425). But more quietist trends are also at work. Thus in Egypt, Ḥasan al-Bannā (d. 1368/1949) [see AL-BANNĀʾ] was against forbidding wrong "with the band" (ʿAbd al-Khabīr al-Khūlī, *Ḳāʾid al-daʿwa al-Islāmiyya Ḥasan al-Bannā*, Cairo 1952, 73), and Sayyid Ḳuṭb (d. 1386/1966 [*q.v.*]) considered the duty to be in abeyance in the absence of an Islamic state (*Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut 1973-4, 949). Khālid al-Sabt, a mainstream Suʿūdī scholar, does not share such views, but bypasses the more subversive statements of al-Ghazālī (*al-Amr bi ʾl-maʿrūf*, 316ff.).

There has also been an unprecedented emphasis on the desirability of achieving greater organisation for the purpose of forbidding wrong (see e.g. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Rāshid, *al-Munṭalaḳ*, Beirut 1976, 146-54, for a Sunnī view, and Ḥusayn al-Nūrī al-Hamadānī, *al-Amr bi ʾl-maʿrūf wa ʾl-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, Tehran 1990, 65, for an Imāmī view). In some Islamic countries, this has led to the creation of new organs of the state entrusted with the performance of the duty (but not to the revival of the traditional office of the official *muḥtasib*). Thus in Suʿūdī Arabia, a system of "committees (*hayʾāt*) for commanding right and forbidding wrong" emerged in the aftermath of the Suʿūdī conquest of the Ḥidjāz in 1343-4/1924-5, initially as a device to contain the zeal of the Wahhābī Ikhwān [*q.v.*] against the misdeeds of the Ḥidjāzīs and pilgrims (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab fi ʾl-ḳarn al-ʿishrīn*, Cairo 1961, 309-12). In Iran, following the Islamic Revolution of 1399/1979, a plurality of organs of the state acquired responsibility for forbidding wrong; and in Afghānistān, a single organisation was established to discharge the duty after the Ṭālibān conquered Kābul in 1417/1996.

Bibliography: See also *EIr*, art. "Amr be maʿrūf" (W. Madelung); M. Cook, *Commanding right and forbidding wrong in Islamic thought*, Cambridge 2000 (with extensive bibl.). Many of the works cited in the article contain substantial treatments of forbidding wrong, notably those of al-Khallāl, Mānkdīm and al-Ghazālī. (M. COOK)

NAḲD (A.), "[literary] criticism", in modern Arabic, *al-naḳd al-adabī*, in mediaeval times most commonly used in the construct *naḳd al-shiʿr* "criticism of poetry". The critic is *nāḳid* (pl. *nuḳḳād* or *naḳada*) or, more rarely, *naḳḳād*; the form VIII verbal noun *intiḳād* is a synonym of *naḳd*. The term originated in the figurative use (*madjāz*) of *naḳd* in the sense of "assaying (coins) and separating the good from the bad" (for the *madjāz* character, see al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-balāgha*, Beirut n.d., col. 469c, and for an extended analogy between assayer and critic, see al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Muḳābasāt*, Cairo 1347/1929, 170). Outside the field of literary criticism the term is also used in *ḥadīth* criticism (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, 1381, s.v. *intiḳād*); here, too, the analogy of the assayer is invoked (see Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1343/1924-5, i, 9).

Naḳd al-shiʿr became the designation of a systematic discipline probably through the book of this title

written by Kudāma b. Dja'far (d. *ca.* 337/948 [*q.v.*], and see below) in the first half of the 4th/10th century. The title should probably still be understood in the original metaphorical sense, "The Assaying of Poetry". Since Kudāma is very much aware of his innovative approach, the era preceding him may be called the pre-systematic period. This does not imply that all works after him were systematic, only that a standard had been set.

Pre-systematic literary criticism

Most of the material for this period is found in books on poets, such as Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī (d. 231-2/845-6 [*q.v.*]), *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*; Ibn Kutayba (d. 276/889 [*q.v.*]), *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*; and above all Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967 [*q.v.*]), *K. al-Aghānī*, but also in *adab* encyclopaedias, such as Ibn Kutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]), *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*. In addition, there are works of a directly pertinent nature, namely al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9 [*q.v.*]), *K. al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*; and al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]), *K. al-Muwashshaḥ fī maʾākhidh al-ʿulamāʾ ʿalā 'l-shuʿarāʾ*. Information about the earliest phase of this period, up to the times of the great transmitters (*ruwāt*, sing. *rāwiya*) like Ḥammād al-Rāwiya (d. 155-6/772-3 [*q.v.*]) and Khalaf al-Aḥmar (d. *ca.* 180/796 [*q.v.*]) is anecdotal and mostly legendary. However, given the high degree of sophistication of even the earliest poetry, it is highly likely that there existed some implied rules of critical appreciation and at least a rudimentary technical vocabulary for discussions among the experts, i.e. poets and transmitters. There is some likelihood that the terms for rhyme mistakes (*ʿuyūb al-ḳāfiya*, or simply *ʿuyūb al-shiʿr*) go back to pre-Islamic times. Al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. 215/830 or 221/836 [*q.v.*]) points out that the *ʿarab* defined these terms only very loosely (*Ḳawāfī*, 43, 55, 67, 68), and early literary theorists such as Thaʿlab (d. 291/904 [*q.v.*]) (*Ḳawāʿid*, 67-70) and Kudāma (*Naḳd*, 108-11) include these mistakes in their works, although they normally abstain from all prosodical technicalities. Both facts suggest that this terminology was not of recent vintage. It is also quite likely that some of the terms that, later on, make up the varied taxonomy of plagiarism go back to the early days of Arabic poetry. This would in particular refer to *ighāra* (lit. "raiding"), the rather archaic procedure of a famous poet forcing a less famous one to give up a flawless line, because the more famous poet has a greater right to it. Finally, there are also a few glimpses of critical vocabulary in the poetry itself. The Umayyad poet ʿAdī b. al-Riḳāʿ (d. *ca.* 100/720), e.g., mentions that in careful revision of his poem at night he "straightens out" what is "crooked" in his poems (see *Dīwān shiʿr ʿA. b. al-R. ʿan ... Thaʿlab*, ed. Nūrī Ḥammūdī al-Kaysī and Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin, Baghdād 1407/1987, 88-90, and cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Qotaïba—Introduction*, 16-17, and notes 61-2, and al-Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, iii, 702-4, also for other early poets commenting on their poetry). As for rules of critical appreciation, the anecdotal material offers evaluative pronouncements on poets and their poems that may sometimes allow us to extract such rules. These aesthetic judgements may be classified as follows:

(a) Opinions expressed by means of an elative, either in general terms (*man ashʿaru 'l-nāsi* [or: *al-ʿarabi*]? *fulānᵘⁿ ḥīna yaḳūlu* ... "Who is the best poet of all [or: of the Arabs]? So-and-so, where he says ... [followed by a line]") or with reference to a specific theme or motif (*amdaḥu/ahdjā/ansabu/afkharu baytⁱⁿ ḳālat-hu 'l-ʿarabu* ... "The best panegyrical/satyrical/amorous/self-glorifying line the Arabs have spoken is ..." [followed by a line]). A characteristic feature of this type of criticism is that even in the former case the decision is based on a single, allegedly incomparable line. A similar mode of presentation is used by the early philologist Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 144/771 or 147/774 [*q.v.*]) to express his high opinion of the poet Djarīr (d. 111/729 [*q.v.*]) by dividing poetry into four themes (*iftikhār, madīḥ, hidjāʾ, nasīb*) and quoting one line in each category to prove that Djarīr is the best poet (ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Nahshalī, *Mumtiʿ*, 475-6). This one-line approach remains popular in later times.

(b) Opinions on the œuvre of certain poets expressed in similes and metaphors. Thus Ḥammād al-Rāwiya on the poetry of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (d. 93/712 or 103/721): "That's shelled pistachios!" or Djarīr on a poem by the same poet: "That is poetry of the Tihāma (i.e. the hot coastal strip where ʿUmar's hometown Mecca is situated), which feels the cold, when it comes into the Nadjd (i.e. the central highlands)" (*Aghānī*³, i, 75 and 81).

(c) The "psycho-literary" approach, i.e. the correlation of emotions and genres of poetry. E.g. Arṭāt b. Suhayya, asked by caliph ʿAbd al-Malik whether he could compose and recite some poetry on the spot, answered: "I am not drinking wine (*lā ashrabu*), I am not in an excited mood (*lā aṭrabu*), and I am not angry (*lā aghḍabu*); poetry happens only due to one of these three" (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, 18).

(d) Sayings that define basic terms of the literary art, such as *balāgha, faṣāḥa*, and *bayān*. These belong in the present context only inasmuch as they are normative, as they often are. They are often attributed to "a Bedouin" but also to a "Greek", "Indian", or "Persian" (see a collection, including later definitions, in al-Ḥuṣrī, *Ẓahr al-ādāb*, 116-18). Combinations of these types also occur; e.g. (a) and (d) put together result in sayings like "the best verse is one whose beginning makes one anticipate its end."

Most of the critical terms and ideas mentioned so far refer to the homogeneous "timeless" body of ancient Arabic poetry, which means that the notion of literary history is absent from them. When this body was not allowed to fade into oblivion, as had been the fate of Arabic poetry in the centuries before our earliest specimens, but was collected into a corpus of "classical" models, a historical dimension was introduced and things gradually began to change also for criticism. The Umayyad poet al-Farazdaḳ (d. *ca.* 112/730 [*q.v.*]) devotes one of his poems to an enumeration of his literary forebears, twenty in all. To characterise his relationship to them, he uses the expressions *wahaba 'l-ḳaṣāʾida lī ... idh maḍaw* "[they] gave the poems to me, when they passed away" and *warithtu* "I inherited" (three times). He even mentions a book that he has of the poetry of the pre-Islamic poet Bishr b. Abī Khāzim [*q.v.*] (cf. *Dīwān al-Farazdaḳ*, ed. ʿAlī Kharīs, Beirut 1416/1996, 435-6 [rhyme *-alu*]). Obviously, we are watching here the beginning of a conscious literary history, and this in more than one respect. Literary criticism would now have to take into account questions like imitation, plagiarism and deviation from the norm as embodied in the corpus.

Naḳd *as critical assessment of the genuineness of ancient poetry*

The situation became even more complex in early ʿAbbāsid times, when, on the one hand, the philologists began the codification of early literature and, on the other, a new "school" of poetry started to gain popularity, that of the "Moderns" [see MUḤDATHŪN,

in Suppl.]. The most serious problem confronting the philologists, given the fluid state of transmission of the ancient texts, was the question "genuine (*ṣaḥīḥ*) or spurious?" If they assumed the latter, the spuriousness was due either to false attribution of an existing piece of poetry (*manḥūl*) or to outright forgery (*maṣnūʿ, mawḍūʿ, muftaʿal*). That this distinction was not lost on them is shown by the strange title of the second part of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī's redaction of the *Dīwān* of Imruʾ al-Ḳays: *al-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḳadīm al-manḥūl*, literally "the falsely attributed old genuine (part)", i.e. that part of the collection that is not included in the transmission of al-Ṭūsī's main authority, al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. after 163/780 [*q.v.*]), but which other transmitters attribute to Imruʾ al-Ḳays. Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, who discusses these matters at the beginning of his book on the classes of poets, accuses the great transmitter Ḥammād al-Rāwiya of habitually and intentionally misattributing poetry (*wa-kāna yanḥalu shiʿra 'l-radjuli ghayrahū wa-yanḥaluhū ghayra shiʿrih* [*Ṭabaḳāt*, 48]). What is worse, he also accuses him of adding to the poems he transmits (*wa-yazīdu fi 'l-ashʿār* [*ibid.*]). But, as he states in another place (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 46-7), it is not only transmitters who are guilty of forgeries but also those tribes who in early Islamic times found themselves without an impressive poetic heritage and wanted to amend the situation. Ibn Sallām's passage is of sufficient interest to warrant translation in full: "When the Arabs [after the conquests] returned to the transmission of poetry and the narration of their battles and glorious deeds, some tribes found the poetry of their poets and the current narration of their battles to be scant. And there were people whose battles and poems were [in fact] few. So they wanted to catch up with those who did have battles and poems and [to do so] they composed poems attributing them to their poets (*ḳālū ʿalā alsinati shuʿarāʾihim*). Afterwards there came the transmitters and added to the poems that had been composed. To the experts (*ahl al-ʿilm*) the additions of the transmitters and what they have forged (i.e. separately, without adding it to an existing poem?) pose no problem, nor does what the *muwallad*s [*q.v.*] have forged. However, [the experts] have been confounded, if a man from among the desert dwellers and belonging to the progeny of poets, or even a man who does not belong to their progeny, composes [spurious] poems. That can be somewhat difficult." This is followed by a story relating how a grandson of the poet Mutammim b. Nuwayra extended the latter's *dīwān* imitating his style (*yaḥtadhī ʿalā kalāmih*). The kind of critique that is necessary to recognise spurious poetry cannot, in Ibn Sallām's opinion, clearly be expressed in words (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 5-7, with parallels from other crafts and arts); it is a matter of intuition comparable to the art of physiognomy, and the famous transmitter Khalaf al-Aḥmar is called "the best physiognomist of all, when it comes to a line of poetry" (*kāna afrasa 'l-nāsi bi-bayti shiʿr* [*Ṭabaḳāt*, 23]). There is a famous anecdote, probably first attested by Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 7), which compares this ability with that of the money-changer who recognises a bad coin: "Someone said to Khalaf: 'If I hear a poem that I deem good, I do not care what you and your ilk say about it.' He replied: 'If you accept a dirham and consider it good and the money-changer tells you it is bad, does your good opinion of it help you at all?'" It seems evident, from this and the other references mentioned above, that the metaphorical application to poetry of the term *naḳd* originated in the context of distinguishing genuine from spurious, rather than good from bad poetry, although the dividing line between the two pairs can be rather fuzzy. (It should be mentioned *en passant* that, along with misattribution, scholarly forgery and tribal forgery, Ibn Sallām recognises also a fourth category of spurious poetry [*Ṭabaḳāt*, 7-8]: poems that are invented and attributed to legendary figures of the past; Ibn Sallām takes Ibn Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] severely to task for including such material in his *Sīra* and refuses to call it *shiʿr*, since it is only "words put together and held together by rhymes" [*kalām^un muʾallaf^un maʿḳūd^un bi-ḳawāf^in*].)

Criticism of poetry among the philologists

At the same time, *naḳd* in the sense of literary criticism is represented by various approaches. The philologists who felt responsible for the integrity of ancient poetry also paid some attention to the question of its aesthetic quality. The evidence for this is partly implicit in the selections they made to produce the famous anthologies such as the *Muʿallaḳāt*, the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* [*q.vv.*] and the *Aṣmaʿiyyāt* [see AL-AṢMAʿĪ]. Most of the explicit evidence is anecdotal and in the form described above, but gradually certain critical yardsticks start being developed. Most of the early works on poetry and poets (*al-shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ* and similar titles, mainly known from Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*) are unfortunately lost. The first extant *kitāb al-shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*, that of Ibn Ḳutayba, contains a remarkable introduction that delineates a number of basic critical ideas: (1) Poetry consist of wording (*lafẓ*) and meaning (*maʿnā*), both or either of which may be good or bad. (2) Poets are either "natural" (*maṭbūʿ* "poète de génie") or "painstaking" (*mutakallif* "poète d'étude"), (for the French renditions, see M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, 15); the latter spend much time polishing their poems, a fact that shows in the final outcome. (3) In a passage much quoted in Western studies, he describes—and prescribes—the "movements" of the ancient ode (having in mind, however, the tripartite structure characteristic of the Umayyad rather than the pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīda* and describing it as a quadripartite sequence of themes: 1. sorrow at the vestiges of the encampment; 2. memory of the former beloved; 3. camel ride through the desert; and 4. praise of the addressee); he also disallows replacing the desert ambience by a sedentary one (no ruined buildings instead of the remnants of the encampment, no roses and myrtles for the thorny shrubs of the desert). On the other hand, he includes poets up to the early decades of the 8th century in his book and emphasises that the birthdate of a poet should not be held against him, as some of the philologists who considered only ancient poetry to be true poetry were inclined to do. Since Ibn Ḳutayba is not explicit about any awareness of the "Moderns" and their *badīʿ*, he may have considered the existing poetry as one homogeneous corpus, in which case every poet would be competing with all poets present and past. However, he may also have considered only the "official" *ḳaṣīda* immutable and sacrosanct, while the new genres were outside the realm of true *shiʿr*.

The philological approach to poetics has produced at least two books that are first attempts at systematisation, one before and one after Ibn Ḳutayba. The former is the *Fuḥūlat al-shuʿarāʾ* of al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828, other dates are also given [*q.v.*]), or rather of his student, Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]), who recorded al-Aṣmaʿī's utterances, often in answer to his questions. This is a critical attempt to evaluate the production of the ancient poets in order to see who would deserve the predicate *faḥl*, lit. "stallion". The exact semantic range of this term does not clearly emerge from al-Aṣmaʿī's pronouncements. But

the profile of the *fahl* contains certain traits that are not in doubt: he must have a prolific output and cannot be a *mukill*; he may not compose only short poems; his descriptions (*naʿt*) must stand out; he must be free of plagiarisms (*sarikāt*); he must not be a "righteous" man (*ṣāliḥ*), which *ipso facto* means that he must be pre-Islamic or, at least, have a *djāhilī* bent (for a full list and discussion thereof, see Wen-Chin Ouyang, *Literary criticism*, 180-1). Due to the fact that al-Aṣmaʿī had, above all, pre-Islamic poetry in mind, his approach was not very influential (except on his student Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, see above); the importance of *Fuḥūlat al-shuʿarāʾ* resides in its being the first attempt on the part of a philologist to go beyond his usual concerns of a grammatical and lexical nature and enter the realm of criticism.

The other work of the philologist as critic is Thaʿlab's *Kawāʿid al-shiʿr*. The attribution of this work to Thaʿlab is not entirely certain, but there is no proof that it is not by him. The focus of this little book is radically different from al-Aṣmaʿī's. It deals mostly with single lines of poetry, categorising them according to types of utterances, thematic content, embellishments (but Thaʿlab has no term for figures of speech) and, finally, structure (the best line being one in which the two hemistichs are meaningful on their own). This "atomistic" approach proved to be preponderant throughout the history of *nakd al-shiʿr*.

The real founders of nakd: *the secretaries*

In an often quoted passage, al-Djāḥiẓ describes his search for true experts on poetry: "I searched for expertise in poetry (*ʿilm al-shiʿr*) in al-Aṣmaʿī, but I found him only good at the rare words in it. Then I betook myself to al-Akhfash, but I found him expert only in its grammar. Then I turned to Abū ʿUbayda, but I found that he transmitted only [poetry] connected with historical reports or tied in with the battle-days [of the tribes] and genealogies. I did not gain what I wanted except from the men of letters among the secretaries (*udabāʾ al-kuttāb*), such as al-Ḥasan b. Wahb and ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt."

This statement in a way delineates the future of *nakd al-shiʿr*, in the further development of which the state secretaries clearly had the lion's share. This is easy to understand: The secretaries, especially those charged with writing official epistles, had a pressing professional need to refine and ornament their language and to develop critical acumen in this respect. They were in constant contact with poetry and poets, as the latter flocked to the seats of power to find sympathetic sponsors (caliphs, viziers, governors, etc.) who would enable them to live as professional poets. At some point there existed at the caliphal court an "Office of Poetry" (*Dīwān al-Shiʿr*), in which the incoming praise poetry was screened by *kuttāb* to see if it was worthy of the recipient. This distribution of power between poets and secretaries is a far cry from the ancient situation, where the poet had greater prestige than the producer of ornate prose, the tribal orator (*khaṭīb*), and where, according to al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 45-52), the talent for each art was clearly assigned: poetry and oratory were rarely combined in one person. In ʿAbbāsid society a radical change can be discerned. The secretaries not infrequently also composed poetry, though mainly in the private and intimate genres of love and wine poetry and the like, and not in the public and official genres of the professional poets, such as praise, congratulation, and condolence. When their official epistles began being collected, roughly from the 4th/10th century onward, it was not uncommon that a secretary's production was represented by two *dīwān*s, one dedicated to epistles and the other to poems. In this context the procedure of *ḥall al-manẓūm*, "dissolving the versified" (i.e. turning poetry into prose), became rather popular, especially with the secretaries who used it to add elegant conceits and allusions to their ornate epistles (on the theory and techniques of *ḥall*, see A. Sanni in *Bibl.*).

The close symbiosis between secretaries and poets was fertile ground for the development of literary criticism. We have a fair number of reports about gatherings in which questions of poetry and poetics were discussed, and we have some of the literature that sprang from these discussions. As already indicated, the book that made the term *nakd al-shiʿr* current was written by Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar. He was a middle-level administrator in the caliphal chanceries, originally Christian and with a known interest in Greek philosophy, especially logic. This clearly had its effect on the very systematic presentation in his book: a definition of poetry ("metred rhymed speech referring to a meaning" [*Nakd*, 2]) yields the four elements "metre rhyme, wording, meaning," which are then evaluated in isolation and in combination with each other (he finds that only the combinations wording/meaning, wording/metre, meaning/metre and meaning/rhyme are meaningful subjects for evaluation [*Nakd*, 9]). In accordance with this, the book falls into two major parts, one on *nuʿūt* "good qualities", the other on *ʿuyūb* "bad qualities". It is worth noting that the vast majority of Ḳudāma's examples are from early poetry, although there is a sprinkling of "modern" poets as well, up to Abū Tammām (d. *ca.* 232/845 [*q.v.*]). The difference between "Ancients" and "Moderns" is, of course, known to him (*Nakd*, 17, l. 7), but it does not inform the structure of his book.

His contemporary Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (d. 322/934) produced an entirely different book in his *ʿIyār al-shiʿr*. "The criterion of poetry". Unfortunately, the little we know about his life does not tell us if he was a secretary in his hometown of Iṣfahān, but he certainly was a respectable poet. His book does not show a systematic arrangement; it is more like a collection of loosely connected but highly perceptive essays. He is almost painfully aware of the burden of tradition that the "Moderns" feel *vis-à-vis* the "Ancients". All the good things have already been said. However, there is an additional consideration, which makes the situation bearable: The Ancients aimed at the truth in their poems (except for approved hyperbole), while the Moderns (he says: "the poets of our time") meet approval only when they have to offer something subtle, novel, eloquent, witty, or elegant, without paying attention to the realities/truths (*ḥakāʾik*) that might correspond to their words. As a result the latter's productions were "artificial" (*mutakallaf*), not springing from sound talent (*ghayr ṣādir ʿan ṭabʿ ṣaḥīḥ*) (*ʿIyār*, 13). This is an admirable diagnosis of literary mannerism, in that (a) the poetic language moves away from reality, turning to inbreeding and the construction of ever more intricate conceits, (b) the craving of the public for innovation puts pressure on the poet to oblige and, consequently, (c) the poetry becomes ever more "artificial". Though this can only be considered a strong tendency, not a necessity, it is noteworthy that, in the section on poems that are without "artificiality" and prose-like in their easy flow, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā quotes twenty-four examples, twenty-two of which are "ancient". Of the remaining two, one is by ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ḥārithī, who is said by Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908 [*q.v.*]) to be a poet in the Bedouin vein, while the other is the well-known *muḥdath* Marwān b.

Abī Ḥafṣa (d. *ca.* 182/797 [*q.v.*]), who was rather conservative in his poetic ways (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 276-80). In another passage he indicates the way out for "modern" poets: he should take (*akhdh, isti'āra*) a poetic idea from a predecessor and improve on it (interestingly, he does not use the term *sariḳa*, as others often do) (*'Iyār*, 123, 126).

However different Ḳudāma and Ibn Ṭabāṭabā may be in their presentations, they resemble each other in their basic goal: to identify the good and the bad in poetry, whether it reside in wording, meaning, rhyme or metre. Both have a preference for longish quotations to make their point (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā more so than Ḳudāma), an unusual phenomenon in the literature of *naḳd al-shi'r*. This is tied in with the question: do both works belong to the same "genre" of meta-discourse, i.e. do they give rules on how to compose poetry (a "poetics" in the strict sense) or on how to evaluate it (a theory of criticism)? Ibn Ṭabāṭabā uses language that tells the would-be poet what to do, while Ḳudāma does not.

Ibn Ṭabāṭabā is said to have greatly admired the poetry of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, an admiration that was reciprocated (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Rifā'ī, xvii, 144-5), although Ibn Ṭabāṭabā is not included in the latter's *Ṭabaḳāt al-shu'arā' al-muḥdathīn*. Ibn al-Mu'tazz was indeed a poet of the first magnitude but, as a member of the caliphal house, he was also in constant contact with high-level secretaries and was himself an accomplished prose stylist (see e.g. his *Fuṣūl al-tamāthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr*, ed. Djūrdj Ḳanāzi' and Fahd Abū Khaḍra, Damascus 1410/1989, and his *Kitāb al-Ādāb*, ed. Ṣabīḥ Radīf, Baghdād 1392/1972). He wrote the third important early work in the area of *naḳd al-shi'r*, the *Kitāb al-Badī'*, "The Book of the Novelty". The term *badī'* "novel, original" was already current at the time as a somewhat fuzzy technical term denoting the distinguishing trait of "modern" poetising. The transmitters of ancient poetry allegedly did not know this term (and, presumably, what it stood for); only the "modern" poets and critics did. Since some of the transmitters were also "modern" poets, this can only be a rule of thumb. Definitions are not offered in the literature preceding Ibn al-Mu'tazz. But wherever the term is applied to a line of poetry that is actually quoted, it invariably refers to what might be called the "loan metaphor", i.e. the type of metaphor, for which the term *isti'āra* "borrowing" was originally coined (example: "claws of death", where the "claws" are taken from a "predator" and given "on loan" to "death") (cf. W. Heinrichs, Isti'ārah *and* Badī' *and their terminological relationship in early Arabic literary criticism*, in *ZGAIW*, i [1984], 180-211). While the ancient poets generated these metaphors on the basis of an analogy, comparing e.g. the inevitability of death with the relentlessness of the predator's attack, the "modern" poets often used a different generating mechanism: They started from an existing metaphor and, on the level of the analogue, moved to an adjacent element, which then became a "claws"-type metaphor. E.g. from the verb metaphor "drink" in "to make s.o. drink blame" (i.e. "make him swallow it") the adjacent element "water" is extracted, which forms the new genitive metaphor "the water of blame". The critics, though not aware of any differences in the generating mechanisms between "Ancients" and "Moderns", realised that many of the loan metaphors of the "Moderns" were surprising, farfetched, and at times outright abstruse, and they labelled them *badī'*, the "novelty". Since *badī'* is derived from the same root as *bid'a* "religious innovation", it has a possible negative odour and was indeed abhorred by some more conservative critics. This is where Ibn al-Mu'tazz entered the picture. Being himself a "modern" poet and faced with *badī'* rejectionists, he declared the main objective of his book to be the proof that *badī'* was not "novel" at all, but occurred in all ancient text genres: Ḳur'ān, Ḥadīth, gnomic sayings and poetry. He thus attempted to legitimise the "novelty" by pointing to respectable precedents. The only "novelty" in "modern" poetry (and other genres), as he remarks, is the unbridled proliferation of this phenomenon, especially in the poetry of Abū Tammām, who was the focal point of much critical attention, pro and con. One has to be aware, though, that in Ibn al-Mu'tazz the term *badī'* has a more comprehensive meaning: according to the author it comprises the following five figures of speech: (1) loan metaphor (*isti'āra*); (2) paronomasia (*tadjnīs*); (3) antithesis (*muṭābaḳa*); (4) echoing the rhyme at the beginning of the line (*radd a'djāz al-kalām 'alā mā taḳaddamahā*); and (5) theologism (*madhhab kalāmī*, referring to imitations of the convoluted thinking and style of the dialectic theologians). He admits, however, his uncertainty as to whether all of these five subcategories really should be subsumed under *badī'* or whether additional figures of speech should be included, and he leaves that decision to the reader. In order not to be accused of being ignorant of other ornaments of speech, he later added an appendix of twelve figures which he called *maḥāsin* "beauties". The vagueness of his *badī'* concept makes it difficult to identify the criterion that separates the *badī'* figures from the *maḥāsin*. However, the loan metaphor is clearly of central importance in the book: (1) When *badī'* is exemplified at the beginning of the work, it is loan metaphors that are used as examples, without any warning that *badī'* might be something quite different. (2) The loan metaphor takes first place. (3) Most intriguingly, the other *badī'* figures, which are all characterised by repetition, are not seldom combined with a loan metaphor, the latter forming one of the terms of the repetition. This may lead one to believe that the other figures were first drawn into the *badī'* orbit due to cases that contained loan metaphors; subsequently, the term was extended also to non-metaphoric examples. Ibn al-Mu'tazz's uncertainty may reflect the vagaries of this intermediary stage.

The *Kitāb al-Badī'*, originally composed as a legitimation of the "novel" features of "modern" poetry, effectively launched the term *badī'* as a collective noun referring to "rhetorical figures", which found its scholastic culmination in the discipline called *'ilm al-badī'*, as finally established as part of the "science of eloquence" (*'ilm al-balāgha*) by al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338 [*q.v.*]). The distinction between *badī'* and *maḥāsin* was not continued after Ibn al-Mu'tazz.

The controversy around Abū Tammām

One of the triggers for the composition of the *Kitāb al-Badī'* had been the controversy around the poet Abū Tammām, who was considered an addict of *badī'* and the prototype of the *ṣan'a* poet (*maṣnū'*), who uses rhetorical figures to add a new point or even a new level to a line of poetry. Ibn al-Mu'tazz himself wrote a short treatise on the merits and defects of Abū Tammām's poetry (*Risāla fī maḥāsin shi'r Abī Tammām wa-masāwīhi*, preserved by al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, 277ff.), in which he mostly critiques single lines and mentions several times that he is not the first to voice that particular criticism. But the first large-scale critical appraisal is that of al-Ḥasan b. Bishr al-Āmidī (d. 371/981), which contrasts the "artful" (*maṣnū'*) Abū

Tammām with his counterpart (and disciple!), the "natural" (*maṭbūʿ*) poet al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897 [*q.v.*]); the fitting title of the book is "The weighing of the poetry of Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī" (*al-Muwāzana bayn shiʿr Abī Tammām wa 'l-Buḥturī*, see *Bibl.*). Al-Āmidī was a secretary, both in Baṣra and Baghdād, and he was also an accomplished poet and a trained grammarian (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Rifāʿī, viii, 75-93). This was clearly a good basis for his main claim to fame, his works on literary criticism. One might say that he established the field as a field, because he subjected a number of the existing *naḳd* works to a critical review. Unfortunately, we have only the titles of these works: "Mistakes to be found in the 'Criterion of Poetry' by Ibn Ṭabāṭabā" (*K. Mā fī 'Iyār al-shiʿr li-(I)bn Ṭabāṭabā min al-khaṭaʾ*), "Disclosure of the error of Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar in his 'Assaying of Poetry'," (*K. Tabyīn ghalaṭ Ḳudāma. b. Djaʿfar fī Kitāb Naḳd al-shiʿr*), and "Refutation of Ibn ʿAmmār in his faulting of Abū Tammām" (*K. al-Radd ʿalā Ibn ʿAmmār fīmā khaṭṭaʾa fīhi Abā Tammām*) (for the last mentioned, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn ʿAmmār al-Thaḳafī [d. *ca.* 314/926], see Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Rifāʿī, iii, 232-42).

In addition, he wrote the following works in the critical genre, of which again we have only the evocative titles (omitting the ubiquitous *Kitāb*):

"Unstringing the strung" (*Nathr al-manẓūm*), i.e. turning poetry into prose, see above;

"That the ideas of two poets do not agree by chance" (*Fī anna 'l-shāʿirayn lā yattafiḳu khawāṭiruhumā*); the phenomenon negated here by al-Āmidī is also known as *tawārud al-khāṭirayn* and is one of the ways to explain identical or similar lines, short of plagiarism;

"The difference between the individual and the shared with regard to the motifs of poetry" (*Farḳ mā bayn al-khāṣṣ wa 'l-mushtarak min maʿānī al-shiʿr*), the distinction between attributable motifs and those in the public domain, an important issue in the discussion of plagiarism [see SARIḲA, in Suppl.];

"Preference of the poetry of Imruʾ al-Ḳays over [that of the other] pre-Islamic poets" (*Tafḍīl shiʿr Imriʾ al-Ḳays ʿalā 'l-Djāhiliyyīn*); and "The motifs in the poetry of al-Buḥturī" (*Maʿānī shiʿr al-Buḥturī*).

His main preserved work, the "Weighing", is the first serious attempt at applied criticism. Before entering into the actual comparison between the two poets, al-Āmidī collects and discusses what the adherents of either poet have already amassed in the way of critical opinions. But he first takes the opportunity to characterise the two poets as the two opposites on the *maṣnūʿ–maṭbūʿ* scale: al-Buḥturī is Bedouinic in his poetry, natural, in accordance with the "ancients"; he does not leave the well-known "mainstay of poetry" (*ʿamūd al-shiʿr*); he shuns knotted syntax and forced expressions and uncouth words. Abū Tammām, on the other hand, is strenuously affectatious, a master of conceits who forces words and meanings, and his poetry does not resemble the poems of the "Ancients". Interestingly, he also describes the typical adherents of the two poets. In al-Buḥturī's case they are: the secretaries, the Bedouins, the "natural" poets, and the people of eloquence, while Abū Tammām has attracted the "people who are after conceits" (*ahl al-maʿānī*), the mannerist poets (*al-shuʿarāʾ aṣḥāb al-ṣanʿa*), and those who incline to sophistication and speech philosophical (*al-tadḳīḳ wa-falsafī al-kalām*) (*Muwāzana*, i, 6). Al-Āmidī also remarks that the admirers of Abū Tammām allege that he invented a new style of poetising, but the followers of al-Buḥturī deny this saying that he followed the model of Muslim b. al-Walīd and pushed it to an extreme, and that even Muslim did not invent this style but found the *badīʿ* phenomena scattered in the old poetry and sought them out consciously in his own poetry (on Muslim's role in this respect, see W. Heinrichs, *Muslim b. al-Walīd und* Badīʿ, in Heinrichs and G. Schoeler (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Band 2: *Studien zur arabischen Dichtung*, Beirut and Stuttgart 1994, 211-45). In this context, he makes use of Ibn al-Muʿtazz's permission to redistrict the *badīʿ* phenomena by limiting them to three: loan-metaphor, antithesis and paronomasia (*istiʿāra, ṭibāḳ, tadjnīs* [*q.vv.*]) (*Muwāzana*, i, 14). This testifies to his experience as a poet and critic, as these three figures of speech are clearly the most pervasive and popular in *muḥdath* poetry.

The overall structure of al-Āmidī's work is as follows. First, a literary debate between the follower (*ṣāḥib*) of Abū Tammām and that of al-Buḥturī, both anonymous (*Muwāzana*, i, 8-53); second, a collection of defects of either poet, including plagiarisms, defects in meaning, ugly loan metaphors, paronomasias and antitheses (only with Abū Tammām!), and metrical irregularities (*Muwāzana*, i, 54-388); third, the actual weighing of verses of the two poets against each other, arranged according to the themes and motifs that are usually taken up in the "official" long poem, the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*]. Al-Āmidī promises, and tries hard, to be objective in his evaluation, but cannot really hide his preference for the "natural" style of al-Buḥturī.

The controversy around al-Mutanabbī

The next great literary controversy was sparked by the poetic œuvre of al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/955 [*q.v.*]). Unlike the literary fights about Abū Tammām that were fought posthumously, much of the new debate happened already during al-Mutanabbī's lifetime. Since he was on all accounts a difficult person, he made enemies easily, and the writings attacking him seem to be full of personal animus, which tends to cloud any valid points they might try to make. Al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995 [*q.v.*]), vizier to two Buyid princes, poet and man of letters, sponsor of scholars and poets, had early on invited al-Mutanabbī to join him, but had not even received a reply (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, i, 138). His "Treatise on revealing the blemishes and defects of the poetry of al-Mutanabbī" (*Risāla fī 'l-Kashf ʿan masāwī shiʿr al-Mutanabbī wa-ʿuyūbih*) was, consequently, "written in a bitter spirit" and raised some eyebrows (Ouyang, *Literary criticism*, 150). It was clearly vengeful nit-picking, considering the fact that Ibn ʿAbbād later wrote a little collection with the title "Current proverb[ial line]s from the poetry of al-Mutanabbī" (*al-Amthāl al-sāʾira min shiʿr al-Mutanabbī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn, *Nafāʾis al-makhṭūṭāt*, iv, Baghdād 1385/1965, 21-78) and used "prosified" versions (*ḥall*) of al-Mutanabbī's poetic lines in his ornate epistles (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, i, 139-42). He was thus fully aware of the qualities of al-Mutanabbī's poetry. Similarly, when al-Mutanabbī came to Baghdād, he snubbed the Būyid vizier al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*] by failing to address a praise poem to him (alleging that he praised only kings), whereupon al-Muhallabī urged the literary critic al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/998 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) to engage al-Mutanabbī in a polemical debate concerning the latter's poetry. Al-Ḥātimī subsequently wrote this up under the title "The scalp-cleaving treatise concerning the plagiarisms of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī and his corrupt poetry" (*al-Risāla al-mūḍiḥa fī dhikr sariḳāt Abī 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī wa-sāḳiṭ shiʿrih*). Although the bias is tangible and al-Mutanabbī appears obtuse and apologetic,

the treatise does contain a number of interesting discussions of critical topics on the part of al-Ḥātimī. He was after all the author of a general book on poetics, the "Ornament of apt quotation, on the craft of poetry" (*Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr*). This work is mainly compilatory but brings a number of different angles to bear on literary criticism: figures of speech, best verses on specific themes and topics, a large section on plagiarism and related topics, and—for the first time in *naḳd*—a treatment of *madjāz* in poetry; the latter is, however, not very successful, as al-Ḥatimī uses the term in its wide application as we know it from Ibn Ḳutayba, and not in the later sense of "figurative speech", which ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (see below) introduced into the literary field (cf. Heinrichs, *Contacts between scriptural hermeneutics and literary theory in Islam. The case of* Majāz, in *ZGAIW*, vii [1991-2], 253-84). Another attack on al-Mutanabbī was launched by the Egyptian poet Ibn Wakīʿ al-Tinnīsī (d. 393/1003) in his "Dealing fairly with the lifter and the lifted, regarding the divulgation of the plagiarisms of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī" (*al-Munṣif li 'l-sāriḳ wa 'l-masrūḳ fī iẓhār sariḳāt Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutannabī*). In an introductory section he discusses the figures of speech, basing himself on Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Ḳudāma, and (without naming him) al-Ḥātimī.

The author who tried to right the wrongs committed against al-Mutanabbī was al-Ḳāḍī al-Djurdjānī (d. 392/1002) in his "Mediation between al-Mutanabbī and his adversaries" (*al-Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa-khuṣūmih*). The author belonged to the entourage of Ibn ʿAbbād for a while and was later appointed chief *Ḳāḍī* of al-Rayy; he was also a recognised poet. His book is the apex of applied literary criticism: fair to the poet, cognisant of the existing critical literature and interested in the general problems of literary evaluation (as witnessed by a fifty-page introduction, before the *Wasāṭa* actually begins).

Alongside the books and treatises written about, and often against, al-Mutanabbī, there are also the commentaries on his *Dīwān* to consider, as they do at times go beyond the mere explanation of a line and offer evaluative comments. Moreover there is some disagreement among the commentators, which also may have critical implications. The earliest commentaries, the two written by al-Mutanabbī's friend, the grammarian Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002 [*q.v.*]), contain a number of interpretations and justifications that were considered incorrect by other critics, such as al-Wahīd (Abū Ṭālib Saʿd b. Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Baghdādī, d. 385/995), Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿArūḍī (d. 416/1025) and Ibn Fūrradja (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, d. after 437/1045) (on critics of Ibn Djinnī, and especially al-Waḥīd, see I. ʿAbbās, *Taʾrīkh*, 279-85; for examples see also Heinrichs, *Obscurity in Classical Arabic poetry*, in *Mediaevalia*, xix [1996, for 1993], 239-59). They sometimes attacked Ibn Djinnī rather violently, and often not without reason: he was after all, in spite of his enthusiasm for al-Mutanabbī, a grammarian and expert on ancient poetry. One of Ibn Fūrradja's "counter-commentaries" has been published (see *Bibl.*). He is also quoted about one hundred times in the commentary of al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075), often together with al-ʿArūḍī and here and there with other scholars, offering fascinating insights into their interpretive and critical activities.

The debate about al-Mutanabbī did not entirely cease after this first flurry of activity in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. Even much later, books were still composed about him, but they tend to be derivative, such as Yūsuf al-Badīʿī (d. 1073/1662), *al-Ṣubḥ al-munabbī ʿan ḥaythiyyat al-Mutanabbī*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, Cairo 1963. A notable exception is the critical comparison between al-Mutanabbī and Abū Tammām by the Andalusian author Ibn Labbāl (Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sharīshī, d. 582/1186), *Rawḍat al-adīb fī 'l-tafḍīl bayna 'l-Mutanabbī wa-Ḥabīb*, ed. M. Ibn Sharīfa in idem, *Abū Tammām wa-Abu 'l-Ṭayyib fī adab al-Maghāriba*, Beirut 1986, 197-222.

Further systematical research: al-Khafādjī and ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī

Later poets do not appear to have become the focus of critical attention on such a grand scale. But one unique work should at least be mentioned here: a rather original literary-critical treatment of the poetry of Imruʾ al-Ḳays by Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316 [*q.v.*]) with the title "Tables laden with date-curd, on the finer points of Imruʾ al-Ḳays" (*Mawāʾid al-ḥays fī fawāʾid Imriʾ al-Ḳays*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿUlayyān, ʿAmmān 1414/1994). However, in general, the *naḳd* literature returned to general treatments of the whole field. A transitional figure in this respect is the famous poet and sceptic, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1058 [*q.v.*]), who was also an expert philologist and an ardent admirer of al-Mutanabbī. He composed two commentaries on the latter's *Dīwān* (see *Bibl.* for *Muʿdjiz Aḥmad; al-Lāmiʿ al-ʿAzīzī* is in ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 1148, for the Arabic text and translation of its introduction, see P. Smoor, *Kings and Bedouins in the palace of Aleppo as reflected in Maʿarrī's works*, Manchester 1985, 223-4). His other works are strewn with a number of critical ideas (see ʿAbbās, *Taʾrīkh*, 379-91), but he apparently did not treat this topic systematically in a separate book. However, his student Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī (d. 466/1074) did so in his *Sirr al-faṣāḥa* (see *Bibl.*), in which Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is quoted quite frequently. Ibn Sinān wrote poetry, but he was probably first and foremost a statesman (not a successful one, since as governor of the fort of ʿAzāz he paid with his life for his temerity in seceding from his Mirdāsid overlord in Aleppo). He says quite clearly that the discourse of the scribe is much more important than that of the poet (*Sirr*, 280): Poetry is a superfluity that can be dispensed with" (*al-shiʿru faḍl^un yustaghnā ʿanhu*). His book is thus more generally *naḳd al-kalām*. His approach is very systematic, starting with sounds and letters—unlike others he is aware of the difference between the two—and going on to words (*alfāẓ*) in isolation and in combination, this being the domain of *faṣāḥa*, and finally discussing meanings (*maʿānī*) as expressed in those words, in isolation and in combination; this is the domain of *balāgha*. A certain similarity to Ḳudāma is unmistakable; he also explicitly quotes him. Among later critics, it is characteristically the scribe Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239 [see IBN AL-ATHĪR]), who has a predilection for him. Ibn Sinān's *kātib* attitude also emerges from his anti-mannerist insistence on clarity and avoidance of forced style (*Sirr*, 282, final advice at the end of the book).

The same attitude can also be found already earlier in al-Marzūḳī's (d. 421/1030 [*q.v.*]) important introduction to his commentary on the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām. One of the topics discussed there is the notion of *ʿamūd al-shiʿr* "the mainstay of poetry". Taking this term from al-Āmidī and al-Ḳāḍī al-Djurdjānī, who used to characterise the ancient poets and the "natural" ones among the "modern" poets as following the *ʿamūd al-shiʿr*, al-Marzūḳī draws up a list of qualities that defines the notion, seven in all, namely, elevated appropriate meaning, firm wording, accurate description, apposite simile, coherence and

choice of pleasant metre, affinity between donor and receptor of a metaphor, and close fit between wording and meaning. This is a veritable manifesto of anti-mannerist poetising; it clearly tries to curb the more outrageous innovations of the "Moderns".

A contemporary of al-Khafādjī in the Eastern Islamic world was the greatest genius of Arabic literary theory, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). He was a grammarian and minor poet, but not a scribe. He never travelled *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* and had few teachers of whom we know; al-Ḳāḍī al-Djurdjānī (see above) was apparently one of them. His two critical works, *Asrār al-balāgha* "The mysteries of eloquence", and *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz* "The signs of the [Ḳurʾān's] inimitability", do overlap to some extent, but the former deals with poetic discourse while the latter focuses on Ḳurʾānic discourse. Both are highly original and proved to be historically most important. The *Asrār* concentrate on imagery, i.e. the essence and the function of simile, simile-based metaphor, analogy and analogy-based metaphor. Al-Djurdjānī was the first, and in a way maybe the last, to identify a major constituent of *muḥdathūn* poetic language, the *takhyīl* [*q.v.*], "phantastic re-interpretation of facts", in the guise of mock aetiologies, mock analogies and a number of other techniques, often based on metaphors taken literally. This allowed him to distinguish between "rational" (*ʿaḳlī*) and "phantasmagorical" (*takhyīlī*) motifs and to sing the praises of the latter as nothing less than verbal alchemy; he still supports, nonetheless, the greater "ethical" value of the "rational" motifs, since *takhyīl* entails a poetic lie (and thus does not occur in the Ḳurʾān). While this work should thus clearly be reckoned a part of the *naḳd al-shiʿr* enterprise (this judgement is corroborated by the many perceptive interpretations of poetic prooftexts included in it), his book on the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān, though replete with valuable observations on poetry, focuses on *naẓm* [*q.v.*, section 2, in Suppl.], "syntactic ordering to achieve a certain meaning." *Naẓm* is the only criterion by which the *iʿdjāz* can be proven, since it applies to every text, and thus to every *āya*, while other textual phenomena that might be evaluated, as e.g. metaphors, occur only sporadically. Even metaphor itself is constituted by *naẓm*, i.e. the context determines the metaphoricalness of the expression at hand.

The influence of the Ḳurʾānic discourse

Despite the overlap between the two books of al-Djurdjānī, the *Dalāʾil* belongs to a different strand of tradition. The Ḳurʾānic discourse of the *Dalāʾil* had, of course, its forerunners, which need not detain us here, except inasmuch as they may have had an influence on *naḳd al-shiʿr*. There are, actually, at least two Ḳurʾānic discourses that have some bearing on *naḳd al-shiʿr*. One appears as part of the works on legal theory; it often forms a section called *bayān* ("clarity") and deals with linguistic questions of hermeneutics, such as literal (*ḥaḳīḳa*) vs. figurative language (*madjāz*). There is, however, comparatively little overlap between the *bayān* of the legal scholars and the *bayān* [*q.v.*] of the rhetoricians. More important is the other Ḳurʾānic discourse, that of the *iʿdjāz* [*q.v.*]. And here it is, in particular, one strand in the discussion of the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān, namely, the proof of the stylistic unsurpassedness of the revealed text, where contacts with *naḳd* arose. The central term, with many of the authors in this field, is *naẓm*, the "ordering" of meanings and words into larger units. However, this had little impact on *naḳd*. Strangely, the scholar who did not make use of the *naẓm* notion had the most influence on the field of *naḳd*: al-Rummānī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]). His little treatise, "Notes on the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān" (*al-Nukat fī iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*), based on the central notion of *balāgha*, "eloquence", divides this notion into ten parts, a number of which are very pertinent also for evaluations of poetry: brevity (*īdjāz*), simile (*tashbīh*), substitution metaphor (*istiʿāra*) and emphasis (*mubālagha*). Al-Rummānī was used extensively, but without acknowledgment, by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 400/1010 [*q.v.*]) in his *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*. This book might be called the first encyclopaedia of literary theory, as it is a compilation, though not devoid of original ideas, from most of the earlier literature on rhetoric (*khaṭāba*), *naḳd al-shiʿr* and *iʿdjāz*. Since these different strands of literary theory at times used the same term in different meanings (e.g. *istiʿāra* as "loan metaphor" in *naḳd*, "substitution metaphor" or even "figurative speech in general" in Ḳurʾānic discourse), certain contradictions in the materials collected by Abū Hilāl remain. This lack of homogeneity also besets other authors, such as Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1063 or 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), who quote al-Rummānī. It was ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī who in his two books (see above) cleaned up the terminological mess resulting from the confluence of the poetic and the Ḳurʾānic discourses. But before him there was one more interesting interface between the discourses, in al-Bāḳillānī's (d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]) *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*. Three parts of this book are especially pertinent here (these parts were translated by G.E. von Grunebaum, *Tenth-century document*): (a) an extensive section on *badīʿ* "rhetorical figures", which, however, according to him are not relevant for proving the *iʿdjāz*, since they are attainable by man through training and experience; (b) a critique of the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*]; and (c) a critique of a famous *lāmiyya* by al-Buḥturī (*Ahl^un bi-dhālikumu ʾl-khayāli ʾl-muḳbili*, see al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣayrafī, 1741-52). Al-Bāḳillānī is fairly well read in the relevant literature, quoting Ḳudāma, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī and al-Rummānī (the last one anonymously). His analyses of the two poems are, of course, intended to show their deficiency against the background of the inimitable divine style. Subsequent literary criticism was not influenced by them.

The Muslim West

At about the same time, there was a flourishing of poetry and literary criticism in Zīrid Ḳayrawān, which may also be considered the beginning of serious critical activities in the Muslim West. Much Eastern material was made accessible by the excellent anthologies of al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), in particular his "Flowers of maxims and fruits of keen minds" (*Zahr al-ādāb wa-thamar al-albāb*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1372/1953) and "Collection of jewels among jocosities and rarities" (*Djamʿ al-djawāhir fi ʾl-mulaḥ wa ʾl-nawādir*, ed. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1372/1953). Both of them contain many passages in which the author either reports or presents critical viewpoints. Al-Ḥuṣrī was the mentor of Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1064 or 463/1071 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Sharaf al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 460/1067 [*q.v.*]), both eminent poets and critics, and fierce competitors for most of their lives. Ibn Rashīḳ's main work, "The pillar, on the beauties, etiquette, and critique of poetry" (*al-ʿUmda fī maḥāsin al-shiʿr wa-ādābih wa-naḳdih*) is a comprehensive handbook on poetry that includes discussions of the major critical issues, such as wording and meaning (*lafẓ wa-maʿnā*), natural and "artificial" poetry (*maṭbūʿ wa-maṣnūʿ*) and plagiarism (*sariḳa, akhdh*). His slim volume "Gold filings, on the criticism of the poems of the Arabs" (*Ḳurādat al-dhahab fī naḳd ashʿār al-ʿarab*) gives the impression of

a collection of notes on various topics of literary criticism, including very subtle instances of intertextuality (see especially the chapter on *talfīk*, *Kurāda*, 95-106, "piecing together" a line of poetry from two or more existing lines, a method skilfully used by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī). Ibn Rashīk's rival, Ibn Sharaf, is less well known, due to the loss of most of his writings; his evaluation of earlier poets is preserved in a short work, probably fragmentary, with the title "Questions of [literary] criticism" (*Masāʾil al-intikād*, or more fully, as in the colophon, *al-makāma al-maʿrūfa bi-Masāʾil al-intikād*). The rather aphoristic critique of a large number of poets is followed by a second part in which general guidelines for the critic are developed, in part on the basis of a critical, and moralistic, reading of verses from the *Muʿallaka* and other poems by Imruʾ al-Kays [*q.v.*]. Particularly noteworthy is the literary genre of the *makāma* [*q.v.*] that Ibn Sharaf has chosen for his presentation: he attributes the critical opinions in his work to one Abu 'l-Rayyān and he says unmistakably in his introduction that he "invented" (*ikhtalaktu*) the narratives included in his work.

At about the same time, al-Andalus also entered the scene with important contributions (disregarding here the works that introduced Eastern transmissions and ideas into al-Andalus, like the *adab* encyclopaedia "The unique necklace", *al-ʿIkd al-farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih [d. 328/940 (*q.v.*)] and the "Dictations", *al-Amālī*, of al-Kālī [d. 356/967 [*q.v.*)]). The eminent poet Ibn Shuhayd (d. 426/1035 [*q.v.*]), needled by adverse criticism of his poetry, wrote an imaginative and imaginary report, full of wit and haughtiness, about his visit to the country of the jinn and his discussions with the familiar spirits of famous poets and prose writers, with literary critics among the jinn, and, finally, with two animals, a mule and a goose, who turn out to be the familiar spirits of two contemporaries. Much of the story revolves around the question of talent and training as prerequisites for successful poetic activity; the translator, James Monroe (see *Bibl.*), discovered a Neo-Platonic blueprint underlying the author's theory of "creativity".

Ibn Shuhayd's friend, Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]), should briefly be mentioned here, because his logical work "Bringing close to the definition of logic" (*al-Takrīb ilā hadd al-mantik*) leads over to the philosophical poetics in the next paragraph, although it is still very much "Arabic" in its contents. Two ideas stand out in his presentation. One is the notion that the essence of poetry is that it consists of false statements. This is not a new statement, being both part of the Greek tradition known to the Arab world (see below on Ibn al-Bannāʾ) as well as the indigenous one, where the adage *ahsanu* (var. *khayru*) *'l-shiʿri akdhabuh* "the best poetry is the most untruthful one" is often quoted. However, the exclusivist view maintained by Ibn Hazm is rare (on the various non-formal definitions of prose and poetry, see Heinrichs, *Dichterische Rede*). The other unusual notion is his tripartite typology of poets: to the usual types characterised by *tabʿ* "natural talent" or *sināʿa* "artfulness" he adds a third one, distinguished by *barāʿa* "virtuosity". From his description this type appears like a synthesis of *tabʿ* and *sināʿa; barāʿa* is the ability to make intricate conceits appear natural (on this and related topics, see G. Schoeler, *Einige Grundprobleme der autochthonen und der aristotelischen arabischen Literaturtheorie* [*AKM*, Band xli, 4], Wiesbaden 1975, 33-56, and his additions in *ZDMG*, cxxvi [1976], *79*).

Philosophical poetics and the Maghribī "school"

A short aside on philosophical, or logical, poetics is appropriate here. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* were translated from Syriac into Arabic. The former exists in a *nakl kadīm*, an "old" pre-Hunayn translation, the latter in the translation of Abū Bishr Mattā (d. 328/940 [see MATTĀ B. YŪNUS]) and, in the commentaries, also in a revision by Abū Bishr's disciple Yahyā b. ʿAdī (d. 363/974 [*q.v.*]). These translations remained for a very long time the domain of the logicians, because since the days of the Neo-Platonic Alexandrian commentators the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* had become part of the *Organon*, the logical writings of Aristotle. We have summaries and commentaries on these two books by a number of important philosophers, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd [*q.vv.*] among them, and many short characterisations of them in general exposés of logic. The basic notions of Arabic logical poetics are *takhyīl* "image-creation in the listener's mind" and *muhākāt* "image-creation from reality", the latter going back to the Aristotelian *mimesis* but here reinterpreted as "imagery" (for further details, see TAKHYĪL). Probably due to the compartmentalisation of knowledge into Arabic and Ancient disciplines, the indigenous theorists of poetry did not show any interest in the logical approach, except in the Muslim West. While in the East Diyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, in a well-known passage of his *al-Mathal al-sāʾir* (ed. al-Hūfī and Tabāna, Cairo 379-81/1959-62, ii, 5-6), is the only indigenous theorist to take notice of the philosophers, by rejecting and scorning Ibn Sīnā's "Greek" poetics, in the Maghrib there are several authors who, in one way or another, make use of the basic terms and ideas of this unusual branch of logic. The first among these seems to have been Ibn ʿAmīra (d. 656/1258 or 658/1260 [*q.v.*]), who wrote his *al-Tanbīhāt ʿalā mā fī 'l-Tibyān min al-tamwīhāt* as a critique of a work by Ibn al-Zamlakānī (d. 651/1253) (see *al-Tibyān* in *Bibl.*). The polemical format of this work precludes a systematic introduction of technical terms; but the central terms of philosophical poetics, *takhyīl*, *muhākāt* and *akyisa shiʿriyya*, are employed (see *Tanbīhāt*, 125, 134 and 135, respectively), and *muhākāt* is used in the sense of "imaging" by means of similes or metaphors.

The most important among "philosophising" critics is Hāzim al-Kartādjannī (d. 684/1285 [*q.v.*]), who used the two basic notions of the logical approach, *takhyīl* and *muhākāt* (the latter further reinterpreted as "image-creation by both descriptive and figurative processes"), in order to give a foundation to the hitherto more analytical and taxonomic indigenous approaches in the theory of poetry (for the details of his theory, see *Minhādj*, 62-129, translated in W. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung und griechische Poetik*, 173-262).

His younger contemporary al-Sidjilmāsī (d. after 704/1304 [*q.v.*]), in his "Novel method in classifying the modes of figures of speech" (*al-Manzaʿ al-badīʿ fī tadjnīs asālīb al-badīʿ*), like Hāzim quotes al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā verbatim but understands *takhyīl* in the narrower sense of "imagery", including *tashbīh* "simile", *istiʿāra* "loan metaphor", *mumāthala* "analogy" and *madjāz* (see *Manzaʿ*, 218-61, 406-7; note that *takhyīl* here is used as a synonym of *muhākāt*, due to a *pars pro toto* application of either term for the entire activity of the poet of shaping images from reality and creating corresponding images in the minds of the listeners). It is noteworthy that *madjāz* in al-Sidjilmāsī equals the Djurdjānian *takhyīl* (see above) (on this strange use of the term, see Suʿād al-Māniʿ, *Mafhūm mustalah "al-madjāz" ʿinda 'l-Sidjilmāsī fī ʿalākatihī bi-mustalah "al-takhyīl"*, in *Abhāth al-Yarmūk*, xvii [1420/1999], 89-137).

The last of the "philosophising" Maghribī critics, who is known to us through his own work, is Ibn al-Bannā' (d. 721/1321 [*q.v.*]); there are a few others, about whose views we know little (see M. Ibn Sharīfa, *Mukaddima* to Ibn ʿAmīra, *Tanbīhāt*, 32). Ibn al-Bannā' gives a short overview on the various truth values of the logical disciplines (*burhān, djadal, khaṭāba, shiʿr, mughālaṭa*) and defines poetry as "address by means of false, image-evoking (*mukhayyila*) statements based on image-making (*muḥākāt*), which result in the excitement (*istifzāz*) [of the listener] by those fancies (*tawahhumāt*)" (see *Rawḍ*, 81, and cf. 103). By stressing the falseness of the poetic statements he diverges from Ḥāzim and al-Sidjilmāsī, who declare "true" and "false" as immaterial in poetry; Ibn al-Bannā' resumes another tradition, which also has Greek roots and later Arab adherents (see above).

Much of the literature devoted to the criticism of poetry ultimately feeds into scholastic rhetoric (*ʿilm al-balāgha*), on which see BALĀGHA, BAYĀN, AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA-'L-BAYĀN, AL-SAKKĀKĪ and AL-KHAṬĪB AL-KAZWĪNĪ. But the main goal of rhetoric is as a tool to understand the *iʿdjāz al-Kur'ān* [*q.v.*]. The whole literature based on the third chapter of al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* will thus not be treated here. The same is also true for most of the later works outside the al-Sakkākī tradition.

The main topics of nakd

The historical outline presented so far should be complemented by a short topical outline of the basic themes of *nakd al-shiʿr*. (1) *Poetry vs. prose.* The most popular definition of poetry is the formal one proposed by Kudāma, *Nakd*, 2: *kawl^un mawzūn^un mukaffā^n yadullu ʿalā maʿnā^n* "metrical rhymed utterance indicating a meaning". This would include didactic versification [see NAẒM] and thus cannot be considered satisfactory. Some authors have, therefore, tried to establish an essential difference between poetry and prose (cf. Heinrichs, *Dichterische Rede*). Three approaches can be distinguished:

(a) The first is based on the idea that reality can be expressed in different ways. Al-Zandjānī (d. 650/1262 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) in his "Yardstick for students of the disciplines concerning poems" (*Miʿyār al-nuẓẓār fī ʿulūm al-ashʿār*) uses the threefold system of denotation (*dalāla*), i.e. *muṭābaka* ("congruence", "house" denotes a house), *taḍammun* ("implication", "house" denotes a ceiling) and *iltizām* ("concomitance", "ceiling" denotes a wall) and says that *muṭābaka* is the "original denotation" (*dalāla waḍʿiyya*) and is used in the rational sciences (*ʿulūm ʿakliyya*), while *taḍammun* and *iltizām* are "rational denotations" (*dalālatān^i ʿakliyyatān^i*, i.e. one has to think about their meaning) (*Miʿyār*, ed. al-Ashkar, 5-7). Of these, *iltizām* is the kind of denotation that matters in "eloquence" (*balāgha*), because the "concomitants" (*lawāzim*) are numerous and there are many ways, good and bad, in which a certain idea can be conveyed. Two points need emphasis here. (i) Although his book is devoted to poetry, in this passage he speaks about "eloquence", which, of course, extends to ornate prose as well; and (ii) the opposite of eloquent speech is scientific texts. Al-Zandjānī's approach may thus be somewhat askew when it comes to defining poetry. (As an aside, one might mention that al-Sakkākī uses the same theory of denotation but applies it only to imagery, *bayān*, see *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. Naʿīm Zarzūr, Beirut 1403/1983, 329-30.) There is a certain similarity between al-Zandjānī and Ḥāzim al-Karṭādjannī in this respect. The latter defines poetry, with the help of terms from the Aristotelian-Fārābian tradition, as a speech that "imitates" (*muḥākāt*) the object by describing its accidents and then "generates representational images" (*takhyīl*) of the object in the mind of the listener/reader. Scientific propositions, on the other hand, consist in naming the essence of things and creating understanding (*ifhām*) (*Minhādj*, 98-9, 118-20). Again we have a dichotomy of poetic and scientific speech.

(b) The second attempt at defining poetry is based on the idea of "untruth" (*kadhib*). The adage *aḥsanu 'l-shiʿri akdhabuh* "the best poetry is the most untruthful one", sometimes said to be of Greek origin, has been interpreted as referring to (overblown) hyperbole (*ghulūw*) (Kudāma, *Nakd*, 24-7) and to al-Djurdjānī's "phantastic re-interpretation" (*takhyīl*, see above), thus to "distortions" of reality (or of the mirror quality of language) in the course of increasing mannerism. Most critics did not conclude that all poetry was untrue, but at least two explicitly did so: the philologist Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004 [*q.v.*]) in *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fikh al-lugha* (ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣakr, Cairo 1977, 466) and Ibn Ḥazm (see above).

(c) The third approach contrasts the "obscurity" (*ghumūḍ*) of poetry with the "clarity" (*wuḍūḥ*) of literary prose. This was done by the *kātib* Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994) in an epistle, in which he says that, due to the shortness and rigidity of the verse and the constraints of rhyme and metre, poems could not avoid being "obscure" (A. Arazi, *Une épître d'Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī sur les genres littéraires*, in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1986). Later critics have usually not agreed, saying that the *balāgha* of both poetry and ornate prose required clarity (cf., e.g., Cantarino, *Poetics*, 195).

Since the middle ʿAbbāsid period, when the idea had taken hold that the *kaṣīda* and the *risāla* were identical but for formal differences, the terminology of the poetry-critics was to a large extent applied to ornate prose as well. But there are also some relatively early sets of terms that were developed by the state scribes for the description of the epistolary style. Kudāma b. Djaʿfar, in the introduction to his work on synonymous words and phrases, "Gems of words" (*Djawāhir al-alfāẓ*, 3-8), lists and exemplifies fourteen features that make for the highest degree of eloquence (*balāgha*) in ornate prose. His fellow-*kātib* al-Kh^wārazmī (2nd half of 4th/10th cent. [*q.v.*]), in his "Keys of the sciences" (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*), has a chapter on "the conventions of the epistolographers" (*muwāḍaʿāt kuttāb al-rasā'il*), which clearly harks back to Kudāma's list but also goes beyond it by adding a paragraph on defects (*Mafātīḥ*, 72-8). Al-Kh^wārazmī is particularly instructive, because his encyclopaedia also contains a chapter on *nakd al-shiʿr* (*Mafātīḥ*, 94-7); a comparison of the two lists shows surprisingly little overlap in terminology and only slightly more when the figures themselves are considered. A third list was compiled later by al-Yazdādī (dates unknown) in the introduction to his "Perfection of eloquence" (*Kamāl al-balāgha*, 19-32), a selection of epistles by Kābūs b. Wushmgīr (d. 403/1012 [*q.v.*]). The author says that he isolated, from the epistles themselves, such figures as Kudāma had not yet identified (*Kamāl*, 19); it is likely but not certain that he is referring to *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ* rather than to *Nakd al-shiʿr*. All of this shows that, before the final confluence of terminologies, we have to assume separate traditions of poetic, rhetorical (epistolary) and Kur'ānic (see above) technical vocabulary.

For a critique of a piece of eloquent prose—not a very common event—one may point to al-Kāḍī ʿIyāḍ's (d. 544/1150 [see ʿIYĀḌ]) exhaustive interpretation of

the *ḥadīth Umm Ẓarʿ* (on this text, see F. Rosenthal, *Muslim social values and literary criticism—reflections on the Ḥadīth of Umm Ẓarʿ*, in *Oriens*, xxxiv [1994], 31-56). This includes a chapter on *bayān* that deals with the literary aspects of the *ḥadīth* (*Bughyat al-rāʾid li-mā taḍammanahū ḥadīth Umm Ẓarʿ min al-fawāʾid*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-Idlibī *et alii*, al-Muḥammadiyya 1395/1975, 186-214).

(2) *Truth vs. falsehood.* Ibn Rashīḳ states that most of poetry is *wasf* "description" (*ʿUmda*, ii, 294), thus true. As mentioned, some critics have maintained the opposite (Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn Fāris, see above); this has to be seen against the background of the mannerist trends in "modern" poetry—with their irreal hyperboles (*ghulūw*), substratum-less metaphors (*istiʿāra [takhyīliyya]*), and phantastic re-interpretations (*takhyīl* of al-Djurdjānī). Critics often became a little nervous when confronted with "falsehoods" (*kadhib*) of this type, but the poets were not deterred. The idea of poetry being *per se* "untrue" is also highlighted by Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī's assertion that the sceptical poetry in his *Luzūmiyyāt* is *not* poetry, because it is true (ed., ʿA. Zand, Cairo 1891, 9, 42).

Explicit fiction is not of common occurrence in Arabic literature, and certainly not in poetry. There are, it is true, cases like the versification, in couplets, of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and similar fictional works by Abān al-Lāḥiḳī (d. *ca.* 200/815 [*q.v.*]); but these would presumably be regarded as *naẓm* rather than poetry. However, the often stereotypical adventures that a poet, or his persona, would describe were, of course, known not to be the historical truth, but this kind of non-explicit fiction, because it could not be recognised from the poem itself, elicited little interest on the part of the critics. It is only Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī who paid some attention to the notion of "fiction" (*ikhtilāḳ*, as he calls it) and who distinguished the type of fiction just mentioned from the one that is plainly fictional on the surface (e.g. the talking animals in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*) by calling the former "possibility-fiction" (*ikhtilāḳ imkānī*) and the latter "impossibility-fiction" (*ikhtilāḳ imtināʿī*) (*Minhādj*, 76-9).

(3) *The unit within the poem.* A large amount of poetic criticism is directed to the single line. This "molecular" approach is driven to the extreme by Thaʿlab, who considers lines with semantically independent hemistichs the best of all. Several critics do quote larger passages (e.g. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā), but they do not normally discuss the structure of larger entities. An exception is the analysis of transitions from one theme to the next in the polythematic *ḳaṣīda* (*takhallus*). Al-Ḥātimī uses the image of the human body in order to stress the overall "organic" unity of the poem (see in general G.J.H. van Gelder, *Beyond the line. Classical Arabic literary critics on the coherence and unity of the poem*, Leiden 1982; the passage in question is translated and discussed at 82-3). But for a thorough discussion of "passages" (*fuṣūl*, sing. *faṣl*) as building-blocks within a poem, one has again to turn to Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī (see van Gelder, 171-90).

(4) *Wording* (lafẓ) *vs. meaning* (maʿnā). This dichotomy is basic to all disciplines dealing with language. It was, e.g., used by the logicians in their dispute with the grammarians in the 4th/10th century, when they alleged that their domain was the *maʿānī*, while the grammarians dealt with the *alfāẓ*. This oversimplification did not go down well with the grammarians, who rightly claimed that they dealt with semantic matters as well. Among the earlier critics, the most commonly encountered attitude is that the *lafẓ* is the object of the poet's artistic endeavour, the "form" that he tries to achieve, while the *maʿnā* is the material that he works on. Poetry is thus a *ṣināʿa*, a "craft" like that of the carpenter, weaver or goldsmith, and indeed the poet's craft is often compared to these professions and many of the terms denoting figures of speech are taken in the way of metaphors from these other crafts. However, wording and meaning cannot easily be separated: if one wants to talk about the wording without any reference to the meaning, the topic becomes restricted to euphony, stylistic acceptability of words (cf. WAḤSHĪ), and grammatical features (everything covered by the term *faṣāḥa* [*q.v.*]). In most discussions of the critics *lafẓ* is used in the sense of a "particular expression" of a general idea (*maʿnā*); it thus clearly partakes in the *maʿnā* side of language. The term *maʿnā* itself acquires several meanings:

(a) the meaning of a specific verse (especially when it is difficult to gauge)—this is dealt with in early philological *maʿānī* works, such as al-Ushnāndānī (d. 256/870), *Maʿānī al-shiʿr* (ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, Damascus 1969);

(b) the motif expressed in a line, i.e. a popular poetic commonplace; these were collected, together with their most famous realisations, in motif catalogues, such as Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿānī al-kabīr* (Ḥaydarābād, Deccan 1949), Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī* (Cairo 1352 [1933-34]), al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 502/1108 [*q.v.*]), *Madjmaʿ al-balāgha* (ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sarīsī, 2 vols., ʿAmmān 1406/1986) and the anonymous *Madjmūʿat al-maʿānī* (ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Beirut 1992), as well as in catalogues of similes, such as Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *K. al-Tashbīhāt* (ed. ʿAbdul Muʿīd Khān, London 1950) and Ibn al-Kattānī, *K. al-Tashbīhāt min ashʿār ahl al-Andalus* (ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1967); and

(c) the specific meaning, which results from the application of rhetoric and imagery to a known motif, thereby refashioning it as a conceit (*concetto*)—these are the *maʿānī* that the admirers of Abū Tammām, al-Āmidī's *ahl al-maʿānī* (see above), cherish and which Ibn Rashīḳ calls the *maʿānī al-ṣanʿa* (*ʿUmda*, i, 133). An example would be Abū Tammām's notorious line: *lā tasḳinī māʾa ʾl-malāmi fa-innanī/ṣabbᵘⁿ ḳad-i ʾstaʿdhabtu māʾa bukāʾī* "Do not pour for me the water of blame, for I am a man in love, I have come to find the water of my weeping sweet" (*Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbduh ʿAzzām, 4 vols. Cairo 1964-5, i, 22). Here the simple idea "Do not blame me, for I am in love and like weeping" has been transformed into a conceit, by "applying" to it (i) a loan metaphor ("the *water* of blame") and (ii) a *muḳābala* (the contrast of the two waters). It is clear from these literarily ever more meaningful uses of the term *maʿnā* that *maʿnā* and *lafẓ* become inextricably bound together; this *maʿnā-lafẓ* conglomerate came especially to the fore in discussions of the historical development of motifs, i.e. discussions of borrowings, imitations, and plagiarisms. ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī realised the inefficiency of the rigid dichotomy "wording/meaning" and introduced the term *ṣūra* "form, structure" which he puts in the middle between the *lafẓ* as "linguistic material" (*adjrās al-ḥurūf* "the sounds of the letters") and the *maʿnā* as "thematic material" (*gharaḍ* "intention"); one could say that the *ṣūra* forms both the linguistic and the thematic material and thus creates a structured *lafẓ* and a structured *maʿnā* that are completely congruent.

(5) *Originality vs. plagiarism.* On the whole gamut of possibilities between *ikhtirāʿ* "original invention" and *sariḳa* crude "plagiarism", see SARIḲA, in Suppl.

Influence on other literatures

Arabic literary criticism and poetics have had an

influence on two linguistic-cultural domains outside of it. One is Persian literary theory. The first work in this field was Rādūyānī's [*q.v.*] "Interpreter of eloquence" (*Tard̲j̲umān al-balāg̲h̲a*, ed. Ahmed Ateş, Istanbul 1949), written between 482/1089 and 507/1114 (see also Ateş, *Tarcumān al-Balāġa, das frühste neupersische Werk über rhetorische Figuren*, in *Oriens*, i [1948], 45-62). This work is based on an Arabic precursor, namely al-Marg̲h̲īnānī's (middle of the 5th/11th century) "Beauties in poetry and prose" (*al-Maḥāsin fī 'l-naẓm wa 'l-nat̲h̲r*, ed. van Gelder, *Two Arabic treatises on stylistics*, Istanbul 1987, 66-110).

The other cultural domain open to Arabic influence was the Jewish community, primarily in al-Andalus but also elsewhere, who had adopted Arabic prosody, or an adaptation thereof, for the composition of Hebrew poetry. This drew their attention also to the critical literature of the Arabs; this in turn confronted them with the notion of *iʿd̲j̲āz al-Ḳurʾān* and motivated them to discover rhetorical and figurative use of language in their own Scripture. The most important author here is Mos̲h̲e b. ʿEzra (d. after 529/1135), who wrote two relevant works in Judaeo-Arabic: the *K. al-Muḥāḍara wa 'l-mud̲h̲ākara* (ed. [in Hebrew script] and tr. into Hebrew by A.S. Halkin, Jerusalem 1975, ed. [in Arabic script] and tr. into Spanish by Montserrat Abumalhan Mas, 2 vols. Madrid 1985-6), dealing mainly with poetry, and the *Maḳālat al-Ḥadīḳa fī maʿnā 'l-mad̲j̲āz wa 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*, ed. and tr. (into Hebrew) by P. Fenton (Jerusalem, forthcoming), see also Fenton, *Philosophie et exégèse dans le Jardin de la métaphore de Moïse Ibn ʿEzra* (Leiden 1997), with the main focus on scriptural issues. Recently, extant fragments of another Judaeo-Arabic work on poetics (including prosody), this time by a man from the East, have been published: J. Yahalom (ed. and tr. into Hebrew), *Perāḳīm be-tōrat ha-s̲h̲īr le-Elʿāzār ben Yaʿaḳōv ha-Bavlī, Judaeo-Arabic poetics. Fragments of a lost treatise by Elazar ben Jacob of Baghdad* (Jerusalem 2001). Some early copies of this work and of Mos̲h̲e b. ʿEzra's *K. al-Muḥāḍara* seem to have been written in Arabic script, as can be seen from mistakes attributable to misreadings of Arabic letters. This may point to some amount of give-and-take between Muslim and Jewish critics.

On the poetics of mediaeval dialect poetry, see ZAD̲J̲AL (toward the end).

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

NAḲL.

1. In the central Islamic lands and North Africa. Add to the articles mentioned there the following article.

In the caliphal lands.

The emergence of Islam is known to have coincided with the disappearance of wheeled carts or wagons [see *ʿadjala*] in many parts of the Middle East, although the extinction of such transport cannot be conclusively proved. In fact, wheeled vehicles were in existence in the Middle East for many centuries after the rise of Islam, although they were rarely used.

The wheel was replaced by the camel in the Middle East during the era of the caliphates. Camels [see IBIL] were a means of everyday transport which was eminently suitable for long-distance overland journey across deserts and valleys in Arabia, Syria, Egypt or North Africa, or Anatolia or in Central Asia along the Silk Road, being used for transport of goods or passengers or pilgrims in large caravans. Caravan trade and caravan cities existed in the Middle East since the pre-Islamic period, when the Arabs of Mecca used to go on seasonal caravan journeys for commerce to Yemen in the winter and to Syria in the summer (cf.

Kur'ān, CVI, 1-2). The nomadic peoples of Arabia, Syria and Persia were the camel-breeders who appreciated the value of their animals as the "ships of the land" (*al-sufun al-barriyya*); they knew that the skins of their animals provided them with water-bags (*kirab*) and that the animals' meat was a source of protein, and they could sell them in exchange for gold (cf. al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-kulūb*, 284). At the beginning of Islam in the 7th century A.D. many individuals owned camels which they could use as a means of transport or as a source of milk or as a commodity for trade, but by the 8th century A.D., cameleers or professional camel-drivers emerged as a group of transport workers who used to hire out the camel(s) to travellers or traders (al-Wohaibi, *The northern Hijaz*, 393). The cameleers (see DJAMMĀL, in Suppl.) contributed much to the transport of pilgrims from all parts of the Middle East to Mecca and Medina. The Egyptian and North African pilgrims as well as traders started their caravan journey from Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo) through Kulzum to Āʾila ('Akaba) and Yanbu', thence to Mecca or Medina. The Anatolian and Syrian pilgrims assembled at Damascus and travelled through 'Ammān and Tabūk to Medina and Mecca. Similarly, the pilgrims from Persia, Central Asia and 'Irāk started their journey from Baghdād and travelled through Kūfa and the Arabian desert to Mecca or Medina, or they took the alternative route from Baghdād to Wāsiṭ, Baṣra, the Arabian desert and Mecca. Arab settlements grew up along the pilgrim routes and there were brisk seasonal trade during the pilgrimage season. Caravanserais were built throughout the Middle East to cater for travellers and traders and their mounts. Camels and horses were also used to transport arms and warriors to the battle front during the early Islamic conquests and the Umayyad period.

Among other means of transport, donkeys were the most popular among the tribesmen and the peasantry. Mules (Ar. *baghl* [*q.v.*], pl. *bighāl*) were also used as a means of transport especially in the hilly or mountainous terrains of Syria, Anatolia and Persia. Muleteers (Ar. *mukārī* [*q.v.*], *baghghāl*, or *ḥammāra*) emerged as a distinct group of transport workers during the 'Abbāsid period (A.D. 750-1258). They could transport merchants or ordinary travellers from Baghdād along the Khurāsān trunk road to Nishāpūr or beyond (cf. al-Kazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, 224-5) or transport pilgrims in a caravan of 50 donkeys from Kūfa to Mecca (al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Bukhalāʾ*, 18). Mules were not popular animals in mediaeval Arab society, and al-Djāḥiẓ wrote a treatise on mules entitled *Kitāb al-Bighāl*. He voiced the public opinion of his time when he recorded the popular argument against the mules by saying that the Prophets rode on camels and donkeys but never on mules (cf. *Rasāʾil al-Djāḥiẓ*, ii, 326), but he refuted the popular prejudice against them by citing the evidence that the Prophet Muḥammad rode on a mule, as did the early caliphs like 'Uthmān and 'Alī and the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. Moreover, al-Djāḥiẓ cited the fact that pilgrims from Syria went from Damascus to Mecca in a caravan of sixty mules during the reign of caliph 'Abd al-Malik (cf. *Kitāb al-Bighāl*, 231).

The horse was a means of speedy transport which was owned mainly by the wealthy, for the price of an Arabian horse with a pedigree was very high. This last was also introduced into eastern Turkey and Persia as a means of transport. Horses were used for postal service by the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid caliphs for the dispatch of royal mail and military intelligence from various provinces to the capital city [see BARĪD]. The 'Abbāsid and Fāṭimid caliphs had stables full of horses ready as mounts kept near the royal palaces for riding by the caliphs and their family members, as well as by top officials both civilian and military (cf. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, 22-3).

The price of owning a pack and riding animal during the era of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs was not, however, totally beyond the means of the common folk, but the maintenance of an animal involved extra expense. The income of a muleteer or a donkey-driver was meagre, but a cameleer (*djammāl*) or a boatman (*mallāḥ*) had an adequate income by hiring out camels or boats for transporting goods or passengers. A camel was sold for 2 or 3 dīnārs in Baṣra during the 4th/10th century (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 89). The price of a donkey in Khurāsān was usually 5 dirhams, but it could go up to 50 dirhams or more in a year of scarcity during the 'Abbāsid period (Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, iii, 412). The price of a horse in Khʷārazm was an extraordinarily low cost of 4 dīnārs during the 14th century (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, tr. Gibb, 167).

Inland transport in the Middle East also made use of boats and small ships in the navigable rivers like the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Orontes, part of the Kārūn river in Persia and the Nile in Egypt. The city of Baghdād was founded by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr in 145/762 on the banks of the Tigris river *inter alia* to facilitate inland transport from Baghdād upstream to Mawṣil, Diyār Rabī'a, etc., and downstream to the cities of Wāsiṭ, Baṣra and onwards to the Persian Gulf waters. There were many boats [see SAFĪNA] in the Baṭāʾiḥ [*q.v.*] (swamps) of the lower 'Irāk. A port was built at Sāmarrāʾ on the Tigris by al-Wāthik. The Shaṭṭ al-'Arab [*q.v.*] was very suitable for navigation by ships. The Euphrates river and the Shaṭṭ al-Gharrāf were also navigable, and goods could be transported from Diyār Muḍar and al-Rakka to Baghdād through the Nahr al-Malik canal (cf. Ya'kūbī, *Buldān*, 234). There were thirty thousand river craft plying in the waters of the Tigris river to transport passengers or cargo during the 3rd/9th century (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manākib*, 24; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 158). The *muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA] supervised the transportation work by the boatmen so that the boats or ships were not overloaded, endangering the lives of the passengers by drowning or loss of cargo in mid-river. Similarly, the Nile was a busy highway of boat traffic for the people of Fusṭāṭ on the bank of the river.

The 5th/11th century Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw, travelled across the mediaeval Middle East by means of all available transport, including camels, horses, donkeys, boats and ships. While visiting the cities of Fusṭāṭ and Cairo (ca. 439/1047), he observed that traders rode on saddled donkeys. Everyday 50,000 beasts of burden were ready for hire. He saw that soldiers and militiamen rode on horses, while peasants, merchants and craftsmen were transported by donkeys (*Safar-nāma*, tr. 55).

On the whole, riding and pack animals such as donkeys, mules, camels and horses were the primary means of transport in the pre-industrial society of the Middle East during the Umayyad, 'Abbāsid and Mamlūk periods, while horse- or camel-drawn wagons were hardly seen in the streets prior to the 13th-14th century A.D. Boats and coracles, and a kind of catamaran (Ar. *zaww*/*zawdj*), played a limited role in the inland transport network in the countries of the Middle East during the periods of the caliphates. The absence of wheeled vehicles on the streets had an impact on town planning in the Middle East, whose towns had consequently narrow streets and cul-de-sacs.

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AL-NAʿL AL-SHARĪF, Naʿl Rasūl Allāh (a.), the sandal of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Sandals belong to the pre-Islamic Arabian clothing (see libās. 1), and are considered one of the features distinguishing Arabs from non-Arabs (*ʿadjam*). The scholar Mālik b. Anas (d. 180/796 [*q.v.*]) reportedly declared that only Arabs used to wear turbans and sandals (Ibn Abī Zayd, *al-Djāmiʿ fī ʾl-sunan wa ʾl-ādāb wa ʾl-maghāzī wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, Tunis 1982, 228). The Prophet himself reportedly advised the believers to wear sandals as well as boots to distinguish themselves from the People of the Book who only wore boots (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6 vols., Cairo 1313/1895, repr. Beirut n.d., v, 264). Muslim tradition turned the sandals into a component of the legacy of Abraham and Ishmael, the prototypes of Arabian monotheism. In a letter of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], the believers are requested to adhere to the clothes of their father Ismāʿīl and to wear sandals instead of boots (Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Iḥsān fī taḳrīb Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān, tartīb ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Fārisī*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ, 16 vols., Beirut 1988, xii, no. 5454). Abraham, says a Shīʿī tradition, was the first to wear sandals (al-Kulīnī, *al-Uṣūl wa ʾl-furūʿ min al-Kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghifārī, 8 vols., Beirut 1980, vi, 462). Wearing sandals is especially recommended during the pilgrimage to Mecca, which is the main centre of Abrahamic rites [see iḥrām].

The Prophet Muḥammad is regarded as the ultimate model of Arab piety, and sandals feature as an essential element in his descriptions as a messenger of God. Already Jesus is said to have announced the emergence of the Arabian prophet, whom he described as wearing sandals among other things (al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Ḳalʿadjī, 7 vols., Beirut 1988, i, 378). Muḥammad himself is said to have stated that God instructed him to wear sandals and a seal (al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣaghīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, 2 vols., Cairo 1981-3, i, 166).

Islamic tradition provides detailed descriptions of the Prophet's sandals. According to most of the earliest traditions, each sandal had two leather thongs (*ḳibāl, zimām, shisʿ*), which passed between the toes and were attached to the sole. The other end of the pair of thongs passed through two loops ("ears") to which were also attached the two arms of the *shirāk*, i.e. the folded strap that passed behind the wearer's ankle. In some versions, the sandal is said to have had a "heel" in the Yemeni style, i.e. a wide strap that embraced the wearer's heel. At the forepart of each sandal there was an extension shaped like a tongue (*mulassan*), and the middle part of the sole was narrow, with hollows (*khaṣrānʿ*) cut on each side. The sole consisted of two layers sewed or patched together (*makhṣūfa*). It was made of tanned hide of oxen (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 8 vols., Beirut 1960, i, 478-82; Abu ʾl-Shaykh, *Akhlāḳ al-nabī*, ed. ʿIṣām al-Dīn Sayyid ʿAbd al-Nabī, Cairo 1993, 142-7; al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya li ʾl-Ḳasṭallānī*, Cairo 1911, repr. Beirut 1973, v, 44-52; al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā wa ʾl-rashād fī sīrat khayr al-ʿibād*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, 11 vols., Cairo 1990, vii, 499-507). The colour of Muḥammad's sandal, according to the usual reports, was yellow (al-Zurḳānī, *op. cit.*, v, 46; al-Maḳḳarī, *Waṣf niʿāl al-nabī (ṣ) al-musammā bi-fatḥ al-mutaʿāl fī madḥ al-niʿāl*, ed. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and ʿAbd al-Munʿim Faradj Darwīsh, Cairo 1997, 141-3).

A two-thong sandal remained a common fashion among pious believers, although it was sometimes regarded as extravagant (Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Maṭālib al-ʿāliya bi-zawāʾid al-masānīd al-thamāniya*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, 4 vols., Beirut, 1987, ii, no. 2231). Such sandals were said to have been worn by the Righteous Caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar [*q.vv.*]. Only the third caliph, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān [*q.v.*], reportedly began to wear sandals in which the two thongs were tied together and attached to a single strap passing between the toes (al-Tirmidhī, *al-Shamāʾil al-muḥammadiyya* (with commentary of Ibrāhīm al-Bādjūrī), Cairo 1925, 70; al-Ṭabarānī, *op. cit.*, i, 92; al-Zurḳānī, *op. cit.*, v, 45).

Sometimes the sole of Muḥammad's sandal was said to have consisted of only one layer, not two, and this was said to have been the style that the Arabs considered superior to the style of kings (al-Maḳḳarī, 89).

The fashion of cutting hollows on both sides of the middle part of the sole was preserved mainly among Shīʿīs, to whom soles without hollows represented a deplorable deviation from the Prophetic model (al-Kulīnī, vi, 463). Moreover, sandals without such hollows were considered Jewish by style (al-Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāḳ*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Aʿlamī, Beirut 1972, p. 123; al-Kulīnī, vi, 463-4). The habit of tying the *shirāk* of the sandal (and not simply folding it through the loop, as was reported concerning Muḥammad's sandal) was considered among Shīʿīs as a fashion set by Satan (al-Ṭabrisī, 123).

The supposedly original sandal or sandals of the Prophet were preserved by believers of later generations. Beginning with the generation of the Companions, the most prevalent is the tradition about the Baṣran Anas b. Mālik [*q.v.*], who is said to have exhibited to the believers the sandal with its two thongs (e.g. Ibn Saʿd, i, 478; Abu ʾl-Shaykh, *Akhlāḳ al-nabī*, no. 390).

He was reportedly the official keeper of Muḥammad's sandals (Ibn Saʿd, i, 482), but according to other traditions, the Kūfan Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [see IBN MASʿŪD, ʿABD ALLĀH] was in charge of them (e.g. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9 vols., Cairo 1958, v, 31, 35 [*kitāb* 62, *bāb* 20, 27]).

ʿAlī's son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] was also able to show the relic (Ibn Saʿd, i, 478). The Meccan His̲h̲ām b. ʿUrwa (d. 146/763) claimed that he had seen the sandal and gave its description (Ibn Saʿd, i, 478).

As for the later history of the sandals, some reports relate that the descendants of the Syrian Companion S̲h̲addād b. Aws (d. 46/683), who lived in Jerusalem, preserved them. He reportedly left them to his son Muḥammad, but the latter's sister got hold of one of them. This was passed on to her children. When the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī visited Jerusalem, the sandal held by the sister's descendants was presented to him for a handsome reward. He summoned her brother Muḥammad b. S̲h̲addād, by then a sick old man, and requested the other sandal, but Muḥammad refused to part with it and the caliph consented (Ibn Manẓūr, *Muk̲h̲taṣar Taʾrīk̲h̲ Dimas̲h̲ḳ li-Ibn ʿAsākir*, 29 vols., Damascus 1984-8, x, 278-9). A sandal of the Prophet was also claimed to have been in the possession of Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Mak̲h̲zūmī who obtained it from his grandmother Umm Kult̲h̲ūm, the daughter of Abū Bakr. She had received it from her sister ʿĀʾis̲h̲a (al-Maḳḳarī, 175-6).

The last station of the "original" sandal seems to have been the As̲h̲rafī *madrasa* at Damascus. It was placed there by the Ayyūbid of Egypt al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf b. al-ʿĀdil, who had confiscated it in 625/1228 from the last descendant of the Companion Sulaymān Abu 'l-Ḥadīd, whose descendants claimed to have held it for centuries. Another sandal of the Prophet was kept elsewhere in Damascus, and during Tīmūr Lang's take-over of Damascus in 803/1400, both relics disappeared (Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bid̲j̲āwī, 8 vols., Cairo 1970, iii, 173; Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAd̲j̲amī, *Nūr al-nibrās ʿalā sīrat Ibn Sayyid al-Nās*, ms. B.L. Or. 8276, fol. 316b; al-Maḳḳarī, 513-24; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 363-4).

The Prophet's sandals served as a model according to which shoemakers designed sandals for pious believers. A sandal of the Prophet, as seen at the house of Fāṭima, daughter of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, was copied by a shoemaker who applied its two-thong style to sandals ordered by the eminent Baṣran scholar ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn (d. 150/767). However, when the latter came to collect them, he found that Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]) had already bought the sandals for himself (Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Maṭālib*, ii, no. 2232; cf. Ibn Saʿd, i, 479).

Drawings (*mit̲h̲āl, timt̲h̲āl*) representing the supposedly original sandal were in circulation among scholars, especially in the Mag̲h̲rib, where access to the sandal itself was more difficult than in the Mas̲h̲riḳ (al-Maḳḳarī, 167-8). Such representations were also used by shoemakers for sandals ordered by pious believers (al-Ṭabrisī, 122; al-Maḳḳarī, 175-6). The representations became an object of veneration in their own right and were believed to provide one with safety in journeys, victory in battles, etc. Therapeutic powers were attributed to them and they were often hung up in houses for protection against the evil eye (al-Zurḳānī, v, 48; al-Maḳḳarī, 469-70; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 363). Some samples of them can be seen in al-Maḳḳarī's *Fatḥ al-mutaʿāl fī madḥ al-niʿāl*, where numerous *ḳaṣīda*s in praise of them are also recorded.

Closely associated with the veneration of the Prophet's sandals is that of his footprints [see ḲADAM S̲H̲ARĪF].

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(U. RUBIN)

AL-NAMIR B. **ḲĀSIṬ**, BANŪ, a tribe of the Rabīʿa b. Nizār group [see RABĪʿA AND MUḌAR; NIZĀR B. MAʿADD]. It must be noted that not every Namarī mentioned in the sources belonged to the Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ, since tribal groups called al-Namir were also found among the Azd, the Ḳuḍāʿa and the Iyād. The fortunes of the Namir were closely linked to those of their relatives, the Tag̲h̲lib [*q.v.*]. When the Tag̲h̲lib migrated to the eastern part of the D̲j̲azīra [*q.v.*] or the Diyār Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] in the second half of the 6th century A.D., they were joined by part of the Namir. However, there were still Namarīs in Arabia after that time, more specifically in Yamāma and Baḥrayn. Some tribe members settled in al-Andalus. Most Namarīs remained Christian for at least two centuries after the advent of Islam.

The semi-legendary leader of the Namir, ʿĀmir al-Ḍaḥyān, would sit in judgement in the early part of the forenoon, hence his nickname al-Ḍaḥyān, or "the one exposing himself to the sun". Ibn al-Kalbī reported that the leadership of the Rabīʿa shifted among the Rabīʿa tribes. Leadership meant command in the battlefield, arbitration, the right to appoint the banner-carrier and entitlement to one-fourth of the spoils. When the leadership of the Rabīʿa reached the Namir, it was held by ʿĀmir al-Ḍaḥyān. After a long term in this role he was killed by a man of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*]. Having received half the ransom for him, the Namir murdered the ʿAbd al-Ḳays hostages whom they held as a guarantee for the delivery of the other half. In the internecine war that followed, the Namir joined forces with the rest of the Rabīʿa against the ʿAbd al-Ḳays. Ibn al-Kalbī's account is quoted in a small genealogical treatise, *al-Inbāh ʿalā ḳabāʾil al-ruwāt*, by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr [*q.v.*], himself a Namarī. Namarī partisanship on Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's part is evident with regard to the origin of the Prophet's Companion Ṣuhayb b. Sinān, the most important individual in the genealogy of the Namir. Ṣuhayb's affiliation to the Namir, disputed by some, was for Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr beyond doubt, and in his Companion dictionary he emphasised that there was no dispute over it. But the claim that Ṣuhayb was of Arab stock stands in sharp contrast to a famous saying attributed to Muḥammad, namely, that he himself was the first Arab to enter Paradise, while Ṣuhayb was the first Byzantine, Salmān al-Fārisī the first Persian and Bilāl b. Rabāḥ the first Ethiopian.

While Ṣuhayb is invariably mentioned in the genealogies of the Namir, Ḥumrān b. Abān, a prominent figure in early Islamic history, is only mentioned in some. Ḥumrān, who was captured during the conquests in ʿAyn al-Tamr [*q.v.*], is supposed to have been Ṣuhayb's relative. But it is doubtful that Ḥumrān, said to have been of Jewish origin, was an Arab, since the claim of Arab descent originated with his offspring (*wa 'ddaʿā wulduhu fī 'l-Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ*). Family sources were likewise behind the claim that Ṣuhayb was an Arab.

The Namir boasted of a pre-Islamic link with the Ḳurays̲h̲: the mother of the Prophet's uncle, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib [*q.v.*], was one of them. She is supposed to have been the first Arab woman to provide a covering for the Kaʿba, following a vow she made when little al-ʿAbbās went lost.

Before Islam the Namir (like the Tag̲h̲lib) were

within the sphere of influence of the Sāsānids and the Lakhmids [*q.vv.*] of al-Ḥīra. Mā' al-Samā', the mother of the Lakhmid king al-Mundhir III (*ca.* 505-54), who was of the Namir, was taken captive in a raid carried out by al-Mundhir's father; the fact that al-Mundhir had a half-brother among the Namir did not go unmentioned by the genealogists. One of the Arab units that fought on the Sāsānid side in the battle of Dhū Ķār (*ca.* 605) included warriors from the Taghlib and the Namir. In the *ridda* [*q.v.*], there were Namarīs among the troops who came from the Djazīra with Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*], the false prophetess of the Tamīm [*q.v.*]. A whole subdivision of the Namir, the Aws Manāt b. al-Namir b. Ķāsiṭ, was wiped out (*ubīrū*) during the *ridda* by Khalid b. al-Walīd. In ʿAyn al-Tamr during the conquests a Namarī led a large force made of Christians from the Namir, the Taghlib, the Iyād and others, which was defeated by Khālid. Later during the conquests Christians of the Namir fought alongside al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha against the Sāsānids in the battle of al-Buwayb (near al-Ḥīra).

Some Namarīs who converted to Islam during the conquests settled in Kūfa together with members of the Taghlib and the Iyād. Members of these very tribes who fought as Sāsānid auxiliaries at Takrīt are said to have handed the town over to the Muslim besiegers. In the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], there were Namarīs on both sides, probably because the Djazīra which was their homeland was divided at that time between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya. The old association between the Taghlib and the Namir was still in place during the rebellion of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, when both tribes fought several battles in the Djazīra against the Ķays ʿAylān [*q.v.*]

Bibliography: Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 444; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. N. Ḥasan, Beirut 1407/1986, 576-81; idem, *Nasab Maʿadd wa 'l-Yaman al-kabīr*, ed. Ḥasan, Beirut 1408/1988, i, 96-100; Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 300-2; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh ʿalā ķabā'il al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1350/1931 (bound with *al-Ķaṣd wa 'l-amam* by the same author), 97-100; Ṭabarī, index; F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, index; M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, index.

On the capture of Mā' al-Samā' by the king of al-Ḥīra, see al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, ed. Ḥ. al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1400/1980, 151. On the poet Manṣūr al-Namarī [*q.v.*], see also Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 541-2. On Christianity among the Namir, see J.S. Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in pre-Islamic times*, London and Beirut 1979, 176-7, and also NAṢĀRĀ. On the tribal groups of the Namir, particularly those living in the vicinity of Aleppo, see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1408/1988, i, 555-6. (M. LECKER)

NANDANA, the name of a hilly tract and a fortress of mediaeval India and Indo-Muslim times. It lies in a fold of the Salt Range, to the north of the Jhelum river in northern Pandjāb, and the place is still marked by ruins of a fortress and a Hindu temple near the modern Čao Saydān Shāh (lat. 32° 43' N., long. 73° 17' E.), in the Jhelum District of the Pandjāb province of Pakistan.

The place is mentioned in early mediaeval Indo-Muslim history. In 404-5/1013-14 Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*] attacked the Hindūshāhīs [*q.v.*] of northwestern India and marched against the Rādjā Triločanapāla's son Bhīmapāla, besieging him in the fortress of Nandana and capturing an immense booty there (al-ʿUtbī, *al-Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī*, with comm. of al-Manīnī, ii, 146-53 (calling the place Nardīn); Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 72; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 93, 91-3). Thereafter, the Ghaznawids tried to retain control of Nandana as a *thaghr* or entry point into the plains of northwestern India, as Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaķī, *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 149, describes it.

In the early 7th/13th century, the fortress of Nandana, in what was then in Islamic sources called the Djūd hills, was held by a former commander of the Ghūrids, Ķamar al-Dīn Karmānī (in the surmise of Boyle, to be equated with Nāṣir al-Dīn Ķubača, the ruler in Multān and Sind). Čingiz Khān, in his pursuit of the Khʷārazm Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu, sent an army under Törbey Tokshin which sacked Nandana in 618/1221, and then went on to attack Multān (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaķāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, i, 534-5; Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 141-2). Nandana was later temporarily captured by the Dihlī Sultan Iltutmish [*q.v.*], whose son and eventual successor Maḥmūd Shāh in 644-5/1247 ravaged the region in revenge for the local Rāna having guided a Mongol raid (Djūzdjānī, i, 677-9). It does not, however, seem thereafter to have played a significant role in history.

Bibliography: See also Djūzdjānī, i, 536-9 n.; *Punjab District gazetteers*, xxvii, Lahore 1904, 46-7; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 349.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

NATHR (A.), prose. The word is a noun denoting activity, derived from a verb meaning "to disperse, disseminate"; its opposite is *naẓm*, from a verb meaning "to join, set out in order", which is used to designate poetry. For Arab theorists, prose can be distinguished from poetry as the genre of literature which is not subjected to the order and constraints imposed by rhyme and metre. Such a formal definition is due to the fact that the prose they made the object of their attention was either the artistic prose of chancery documents, *rasā'il* (pl. of *risāla* [*q.v.*]), or the prose of the addresses or sermons, *khuṭab* (pl. of *khuṭba* [*q.v.*]). Whatever level of literary elaboration or rhetorical device required, they are all the same for the genres of prose and poetry, and are collectively referred to under the general term *balāgha* [*q.v.*]).

In a striking manner, this fact is shown, *inter alia*, by the procedures known as *ḥall al-manẓūm* and *naẓm al-manthūr*, setting a passage of prose into verse or verse into prose, in which the *maʿnā* [*q.v.*], the image of an idea expressed in the smallest unit of discourse, whether verse or colon, is launched in poetry or prose respectively. This procedure has been discussed since the 4th/10th century and was presented as a subtle form of plagiarism by theorists like Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005) in his *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, ed. ʿA.M. Bidjāwī and A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1957, 198. The author al-Thaʿālibi (d. 429/1037), one of whose works was *Nathr al-naẓm wa-ḥall al-ʿaķd*, and later on Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) in his *al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, ed. A. al-Ḥūfī and B. Ṭabāna, 4 vols., Cairo 1959, i, 126-7, considered that rendering a verse into prose in a *risāla* was a way of achieving a higher level of literary expression. However, the formal point of view, which presumes a substantial literary equivalence between poetry and prose, did not exhaust the attention of the theorists to this problem. For example, they would raise the question of the superiority of one of the genres over the other, often basing their judgement more on sociological than on literary considerations; such considerations were the function of the chancery clerk or secretary (*kātib* [*q.v.*], *mutarassil*) and the poet, or the importance of the subjects they

were dealing with, or the attitude adopted by the two genres towards religion and morals. Some authors (e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima, faṣl* 46), moreover, note that the essence of poetry does not reside in prosodic form but in the images that are expressed by this form.

The thinking of the Arab theorists developed from the 3rd/9th century onwards and was stimulated first of all by poetry. There is a detailed stylistic study of these ideas and of the scholars involved in Z. al-R. az-Zuʿbī, *Das Verhältnis von Poesie und Prosa in der arabischen Literaturtheorie des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1987, and the bibliography cited there; to this should be added A. Arazi, *Une épître d'Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī sur les genres littéraires*, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon, Jerusalem-Leiden 1986, 473-505; also in M. Darabseh, *Die Kritik der Prosa bei den Arabern*, Berlin 1990, which is less careful and less original than the first work; see also Z. al-Zuʿbi, *Ibrāhīm b. Hīlāl al Ṣābī*, Risāla fi 'l-farḳ bayn al-mutarassil wa 'l-shāʿir, in *Abḥāth Yarmuk*, xi (1993), 129-65; A. Sanni, *The Arabic theory of prosification and versification*, Beirut 1998; see also SHIʿR.

The origins of prose

We can find examples of prose dating from the pre-Islamic period, such as proverbs (*mathal* [*q.v.*]), the prophesies of soothsayers (*sadjʿ* [*q.v.*] *al-kuhhān*) and sermons. Many formal characteristics of these documents, of which the authenticity in the literal meaning of that word can, of course, be debated, are the same as those of poetry: conciseness, allusive language and independent, paratactic clauses. These oral examples of prose can be connected with the remnants of prose of the same genre from the time of the Prophet and the very beginning of Islam. It was the arrival of Islam that saw one of the ancient literary genres, the *khuṭba*, the address or sermon, acquire new traits and gradually gain great popularity; for the importance of the orator in the pre-Islamic period see further KHAṬĪB.

While from the point of view of style these documents maintain the solidity and simplicity of pre-Islamic prose, far removed from the embellishments which these genres would later present, one is no longer faced with detached aphorisms (as in the case of the famous sermons of Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*] of the Iyād, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 308-9), but with contents that need to be communicated and thus articulated in a logical manner, the contents being of a religious nature as well as pertinent to the organisation of the new community. The new conditions were not without consequences on the level to which the prose could be elaborated. Similarly, the collections of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] take the form of short disjointed statements, often in the form of direct speech, and only a small number of fragments composed in literary prose remain from this period (cf. W. Fischer. *Ein Stück vorklassischer, arabischer Kunstprosa in der Umm Maʿbad Legende*, in *Festschrift W. Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 318-27; he points out the similarities in this text with poetry).

Among the examples of prose from this period, the letters as well as other documents emanating from the Prophet and the first caliphs should be included. These documents from older sources have been collected by M. Hamidullah in *Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane à l'époque du Prophète et des Khalifes Orthodoxes*, Paris 1935; also an Arabic edition, *Madjmūʿat al-wathāʾiḳ al-siyāsiyya fi 'l-ʿahd al-nabawī wa 'l-khilāfa al-rāshida*, Cairo 1941.

The problem of their authenticity has been, of course, raised and the criterion most often used is that of linguistic usage (*op. cit.*, 4-5, in the French edition; B. Reichel-Baumgartner, *Parameter des Idiolekts des Propheten Muhammad auf Grundlage des Ṣaḥīḥ von al-Buḫārī*, in *WZKM*, lxxviii [1988], 121-59). Problems of authenticity as well as of the transmission of ancient texts are examined by G.H.A. Juynboll, *On the origin of Arabic prose: reflections on authenticity*, in *Studies on the first century of Islamic society*, Carbondale, Ill. 1982; and R.B. Serjeant, *The Caliph ʿUmar's letters to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and Muʿāwiya*, in *JSS*, xxix [1984], 65-79.

The influence of the Ḳurʾān on the evolution of prose

Without any doubt, the Ḳurʾān is the primary example of a complex text in Arab literature that has not been composed in verse. The language that is used is one elaborated as a poetic koinè, the only one capable of communicating such a message. In form, especially in the more ancient sūras, it is close to poetic style. In the Muslim tradition, however, Scripture is distinguished from poetry as it is from prose, for literary as well as religious reasons; the deliberations of Muslim scholars about the form of the sacred text have taken on the form of the dogma of *iʿdjāz* [*q.v.*], the "stylistic uniqueness" of the Ḳurʾān.

Classical texts on poetry use the same criteria for analysis in order to show that the divide between the Ḳurʾān and literary discourse was uncrossable (see e.g. *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān* of al-Bāḳillānī, d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]; G.E. von Grunebaum, *A tenth-century document of Arabic literary theory and criticism*, Chicago 1950). On the other hand there are some treatises drawn up to show that the decorative style of poetry could be found also in the Ḳurʾān (Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, d. 654/1256, *Badīʿ al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Ḥ. Sharaf, Cairo 1957). In short, the Ḳurʾān plays an integral part in Arabic literary discourse, but it reaches a certain level of style which removes it far away from any other type of this discourse. In modern times, one typical example of this attitude is that of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, who does not look at the Ḳurʾān when dealing with poetry and prose, for "it is neither poetry nor prose" (*Min ḥadīth al-shiʿr wa 'l-nathr*, Cairo 1936, 25).

It can therefore be concluded that, although the influence of the Ḳurʾān on the evolution of Arabic prose is immense from the point of view of religious content, the political and cultural effect its message has brought with it, and the status that has been imparted to the language in which it was transmitted, its influence on style is much more subtle to define. Treatises such as *Ḥusn al-tawassul ilā ṣināʿat al-tarassul* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (d. 725/1325), ed. A. Yūsuf, Baghdād 1980, insist that the strongest way for an argument to be confirmed is that citations from the Ḳurʾān must be inserted into a letter or into an official document, on condition that neither form nor basis is modified (72-3). Perhaps the earliest evidence for this exhortation to the *kātib*, secretary, to get to know and use quotations from the Ḳurʾān as part of his professional training dates from the *Risālat al-ʿAdhrāʾ* of Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī (d. 298/910, ed. Z. Mubārak, Cairo 1931, under the name of Ibn al-Mudabbirī, 7; see Sanni, *op. cit.*, 6).

There is a more liberal attitude towards the text of the Ḳurʾān when it is approached from the viewpoint of *muʿāraḍa* [*q.v.*], "the fact of wishing to equal it". From the point of view of literary sentiment, and disregarding religious aspects, one could say that *muʿāraḍa* is to the Ḳurʾān what *sariḳa* is to poetry: there exists a threshold of literary propriety beyond which one should not tread without incurring blame, to be respected even more in the case of the Ḳurʾān. As stated by W. Marçais, "from very early on it appeared futile and even sacrilegious to want

to imitate it" (see *Les origines de la prose littéraire arabe*, in *Rev. Afr.*, lxviii [1927], 15-28).

But at the outset, literary prose shows evidence of a different attitude. Systematic studies conducted by W. al-Ḳāḍī show that two prose writers adopted a more liberal attitude to the sacred text (*Bishr b. Abī Kubār al-Balawī, namūdhadj al-nathr al-fannī al-mubakkir fi 'l-Yaman*, Beirut 1985 [a *kātib* from Yemen who was alive up to the end of the 2nd/8th century, and whom the author considered an intermediary between ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and al-Djāḥiẓ in the history of Arabic prose]; eadem, *The impact of the Qur'ān on the epistolography of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd*, in G.R. Hawting and A.A. Shareef [eds.], *Approaches to the Qur'an*, London and New York 1993, 285-313). Passages from the Ḳur'ān could be paraphrased to adapt them to the new syntax, and paraphrases and citations could even be combined; a quotation could be extended with phrases composed in the same rhythm.

On the other hand theorists recommended to the prose writers the *iḳtibās* of the Ḳur'ān, inserting a passage which is not an explicit quotation (for this see for example the presentation of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, i, 44). It is widely used as a literary device by *kuttāb* and orators; al-Thaʿālibī devotes a work to this, *al-Iḳtibās min al-Ḳur'ān al-karīm*, ed. I.M. al-Ṣaffār, Baghdād 1975, see Sanni, *op. cit.*, 5-7; the work has recently been described by Cl. Gilliot in *Arabica*, xlvii (2000), 488-500. Of course, in contrast to poetry, the insertion of a fragment from the Ḳur'ān could be identified immediately (*Ḥusn al-tawassul*, 323) and within these limits did not appear to be taken as a tentative *muʿāraḍa*. Other studies, such as those undertaken by W. al-Ḳāḍī, are very much a desideratum; cf. recently K. Zakharia, *Les réferences coraniques dans les* Maqāmāt *d'al-Ḥarīrī*, in *Arabica*, xxxiv [1987], 275-86; U. Marzolph, *The Qoran and jocular literature*, in *Arabica*, xlvii [2000], 478-87.

Classical prose

The turbulent times of the Umayyad period found expression in the art of oratory. As it developed in this period, it represents the transition from oral to written Arabic prose. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*K. al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*) classified *khuṭba* alongside poetry and noted the use of *sadjʿ* as characteristic. A recent study has investigated the harangues that are to be found in this work and has uncovered a technique not only in the especially careful structure but also in the presence of recurring phraseology which the author is able to assemble at will; see M.-H. Avril, *Rhétorique et* ḫuṭba *dans le* Kitāb al-bayān wa-l-tabyīn *de Ǧāḥiẓ*, thesis, Université de Lumière-Lyon II 1994, 369; also I. Ḥāwī, *Fann al-khiṭāba wa-taṭawwuruh ʿind al-ʿarab*, Beirut n.d.

However, Arabic prose of the classical period acquires its character from the written genre of the *risāla* as found in the Umayyad *kātib* ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (d. 123/750 [*q.v.*]) and his contemporary Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. 139/756 [*q.v.*]) (see J.D. Latham, *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and early ʿAbbasid prose*, in *Camb. hist. of Ar. lit., ʿAbbasid belles-lettres*, Cambridge 1990, 48-77); it is versatile with an ease of expression, rich in rhythmic balance in the phrases used and in the parallelism. The latter characteristic in particular was not typical of ancient Arabic prose; instead it preferred a more concise style, like poetry (M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Umarā' al-bayān*, Cairo 1937, 18-19, 21; A. al-Maḳdisī, *Taṭawwur al-asālīb al-nathriyya fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī*, Beirut 1960, 151; I. ʿAbbās, *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-kātib wa-mā tabaḳḳā min rasā'ilih wa-rasā'il Sālim Abi 'l-ʿAlā'*, ʿAmmān 1988, 145, who quotes the opinions of ancient writers on the style of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd).

There is some discussion about whether these characteristics came into Arabic prose under the influence of Persian or Greek, because the master of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Sālim Abu 'l-ʿAlā', *kātib* of the Umayyad caliph Hishām, composed his epistles, probably intended for the same caliph, from a Greek original (Latham, *The beginnings of Arabic prose literature*, in *CHAL. Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, Cambridge 1983, 154-64; ʿAbbās, *op. cit.*, 141).

What one can say is that this prose was born in the atmosphere and under the influence of the chanceries, which were permeated with a Sāsānid ambience, particularly from the ʿAbbāsid period onwards. As they combined together, the influence of the intellectual customs of these environments and the activity of philologists concerned with the Arabic language produced this marvellous tool. Without contravening the rules or the spirit of the the Arabic language, it was used to express ethical thoughts, dialectic procedures, and philosophical and scientific ideas, none of which had been familiar in the circumstances in which this language first appeared. There are two particular areas in which the influence of non-Arab but Islamicised intellectual circles can be traced in particular: the dialectic and rhetorical procedures of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*], and the moral and intellectual values upheld by the secretarial class. Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889 [*q.v.*]) deplored the fact that the *kuttāb* of his time allowed themselves to be dazzled by a pompous-looking empty science, which took them away from the solid items of knowledge they required in their position and from the knowledge of the traditional sciences: "Right there we have the whole history of *kalām* and Muʿtazilism" (G. Lecomte, *L'introduction du* Kitāb adab al-kātib *d'Ibn Qutayba*, in *Mélanges L. Massignon*, Damascus 1956-7, iii, 55).

It was in this period and in this atmosphere that such major questions stopped being treated in verse (H.A.R. Gibb, *The social significance of the shuʿūbīya*, in *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen, dicata*, Copenhagen 1953, 105-14). It was because of the role played by the *kuttāb*, the literary training demanded by their function and the intellectual climate created under their influence, that works appeared which claimed a position of superiority for prose above that of poetry, as we have seen earlier (e.g. Z. al-Zuʿbī; Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Risāla fi 'l-Farḳ bayn al-mutarassil wa 'l-shāʿir*, 143-4; or the introduction to the work already mentioned of al-Thaʿālibī, *Nathr al-naẓm*).

At the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period, a high peak in style was reached here by al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], who had an inestimable influence on later Arabic prose and who contributed to the enunciation of a technical terminology for the *balāgha*. Al-Djāḥiẓ was a Muʿtazilī, and his belief can be seen in the dialectical skill of which he seeks to give proof in a number of his treatises, where he expounds arguments to praise and to condemn the same thing or the same idea (I. Geries, *Un genre littéraire arabe: al-Maḥāsin wa-l-Masāwī*, Paris 1977). But Al-Djāḥiẓ was not the first, for there is preserved a fragment from Sahl b. Hārūn (d. 215/830 [*q.v.*]) in which he argues for glass to be given pre-eminence over gold (Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyun, sharḥ risālat Ibn Zaydūn*, Cairo 1957, 139).

Besides this, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, in his epistle addressed to the *kuttāb*, lists among the qualities necessary for the accomplishment of their duties a knowledge of ancient poetry, including its vocabulary and its themes; he himself proved his ability in a *risāla* describing a hunting expedition which has echoes of pre-Islamic verse on the same theme; more details on ʿAbd al-

Ḥamīd are to be found in e.g. H. Schönig, *Das Sendschreiben des ʿAbdalḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (gest. 132/750) an den Kronprinzen ʿAbdallah b. Marwān II*, Stuttgart 1985; and al-Ḳāḍī, *Early Islamic state letters: the question of authenticity*, in A. Cameron and L.I. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East*, i, Princeton 1992, 215-75, which examines the transmission of these epistles.

The later development of prose

The way style evolved is the most obvious feature in the history of this prose, especially from the formal point of view in the use of richer and more laboured ornamentation (*badīʿ* [*q.v.*]) and *sadj̲ʿ*. Such a style figures primarily but not exclusively in documents emanating from the *kuttāb*, and it has been studied because, as has been seen, what interested the theorists was the *kitāba* (the prose of the literary secretaries [*q.v.*]). The fragments we have of Sahl b. Hārūn already display a style involving rhythmic scansion in short phrases; here the thought is developed in two or more colons, which has the double effect of the extension of the main idea and the musical quality of the form.

At the end of the 2nd/8th century, the chancery documents coming from the Barmakids [see AL-BARĀMIKA] are composed as *sadj̲ʿ* (*Bayān*, 3,215). The same is true for ʿAmr b. Masʿada, in the period of al-Maʾmūn, who belonged to an originally Turkish family known by the eponym Ṣūl; another member of this family was Ibrahim b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī, the *kātib* of al-Mutawakkil (see AL-ṢŪLĪ, ABŪ BAKR; S̲h̲. Ḍayf, *al-Fann wa-mad̲h̲ahibuh fi ʾl-nat̲h̲r al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1960, 197-9; M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Umarāʾ*, 191-217).

After the time of al-Muḳtadir (d. 320/932) there was a general use of *sadj̲ʿ*, as can be seen from the documents from this period transmitted by Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābī (d. 448/1055), *Tuḥfat al-umarāʾ fī taʾrīk̲h̲ al-wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1958. There is a balance of rhythmic phrases and rhymes which is developed by accumulation and synonyms; it is permeated with stylistic figures (in particular, paranomasia and antithesis) which contribute to the overall sonority of the phrases. This rich and subtle use of words, polishing every detail before they become complicated and turgid, was much appreciated, not only because they were a proof of the dexterity and hence the value of the *kātib*, but also because they reduced once again the distance between poetry and prose. The *rasāʾil* of the three famous *kuttāb* of the Būyids, Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 360/970 [*q.v.*], al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995 [*q.v.*]) and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994 [see ṢĀBIʾ] all share this style, in which a rhythmic symmetry of phraseology is accompanied by figurative language, which is compared to embroidery and drawing by Ḍayf (*op. cit.*, 209-10); he defines it as poetry in the form of prose (216) with the same qualities of lightness and elegance.

Incidentally, part of the *ik̲h̲wāniyya* letters exchanged between Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī and al-S̲h̲arīf al-Raḍī (ed. M.Y. Nad̲j̲m, Kuwait 1961) was composed in verse. But al-Tawḥīdī (*al-Imtāʿ wa ʾl-muʾānasa*, i, 64) considered the prose of Ibn ʿAbbād somewhat stiff in his choice of words (perhaps because of his preference for words with velar consonants) and complicated by the inclusion of numerous parenthetical phrases, attentive to form even to the detriment of the meaning. There is another bitter critique from a literary point of view of the *kuttāb* which is found in the work of an unknown author from the 4th/10th century (see J. Sadan, *La littérature vue par un administrateur frustré*, in *SI*, lxxi [1990], 29-36).

The principal sources for literary prose up to this period are: al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa ʾl-tabyīn*; al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-udabāʾ*; the collections of the epistles and of the other works of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād and of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī have been published; apparently for those of Ibn al-ʿAmīd, despite his fame, all we have is what has been mentioned in works cited here and in other encyclopaedias of *adab*. More modern collections include A.Z. Ṣafwat, *D̲j̲amharat k̲h̲uṭab al-ʿarab fī ʿuṣūr al-ʿarabiyya al-ṭāhira*, i-iii, Cairo 1933, and *D̲j̲amharat rasāʾil al-ʿarab*, i-iv, Cairo 1937; Kurd ʿAlī, *Rasāʾil al-bulag̲h̲āʾ*, Cairo 1946. A state-of-the-art report on the general themes and the principal authors can be found in the recently-published *CHAL. ʿAbbasid belles-lettres.*

Literary prose from a non-scribal environment has retained something of this style: a diffuse tendency towards parallelism, the construction of a phrase through which variations of the same idea are expressed by using a structure of parallel segments; these can repeat the idea by using synonyms or by expressing its antithesis or by making it more complete and more precise (A.F.L. Beeston, *The role of parallelism in Arabic prose*, in *CHAL. Literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, 180-5).

In each segment the syntactic structure is the same, as also to a certain degree is the morphological structure, by the selection of the patterns of nouns and verbs. This confers on the phrase its typical rhythm, without any insistence on assonance or rhyme. Beeston (*op. cit.*, 185) underlines the difference between this elaborated style and the simplicity of the primitive *sadj̲ʿ*. Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ makes very moderate use of the style; his arguments are developed in a full and diffuse manner; sometimes he uses the same syntactic device but without seeking any symmetry. In those parts of his work which are not a collection of *ak̲h̲bār*, Ibn Ḳutayba likes to make use of the style here described, in the well-constructed introduction to *Adab al-kātib*, for example; some elegant examples of this style are to be found in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023 [*q.v.*]), or Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]) from al-Andalus.

Frequently, different registers of style can be found in the same author; e.g. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ uses a simple and uncontrived style in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], in contradistinction to the laboured style which he adopts for his original work and which was to influence later prose. Miskawayh (d. 421/1030 [*q.v.*]) has a sober, concise style of prose in his *Tad̲j̲ārib al-umam*, but more expansive in *al-Hawamil wa ʾl-s̲h̲awāmil.*

Prose which does not keep to the rules of *sadj̲ʿ* is called *al-nat̲h̲r al-mursal*, and it is in this style that the majority of works in classical prose have been written; in them the use of *sadj̲ʿ* and the other stylistic conventions, if they exist at all, is often restricted to the author's opening prologue. Such is the case in e.g. Abu ʾl-Farad̲j̲ al-Iṣfahānī (d. 363/972-3 [*q.v.*]), *Kitāb al-Ag̲h̲ānī*, where the introduction explains the purpose of the book without any literary embellishment; or Abū D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923 [*q.v.*], *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Rusul wa ʾl-mulūk*, who commences his book with a praise to God in *sadj̲ʿ*.

Prose that relates a series of events, which is strictly concerned with facts, whether they be historical or scientific, and that uses in general short, juxtaposed phrases must be distinguished from prose whose purpose is argument or exhortation. This latter type of prose, whether or not it uses parallelism, displays a syntax consisting of complex phrases and a number of parentheses. A remarkable example of such prose is the style of the famous writer of verse ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī (d. 471/1078 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]).

Evidently there was a technical vocabulary for each science (see e.g. L. Massignon, *Essai sur l'origine du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1959; C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xiii [1969], 113-64; A.M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sînâ*, Paris 1938). There also existed stylistic conventions of form, like the fictitious dialogue, through which argument in theological texts was conducted; the earliest examples of this technique seem to date from the a period before the Muʿtazila, and have been investigated by J. van Ess, *Disputationspraxis in der islamischen Theologie*, in *REI*, xlv [1977]; idem, *Early development of kalām*, in *Studies on the first century*, 109-23; idem, *The logical structure of Islamic theology*, in von Grunebaum (ed.), *Logic in classical Islamic culture*, Wiesbaden 1970, 21-50. In this last study, the author makes a close investigation of the method and the terminology in the theological argumentation based on Aristotelian logic, and he shows how al-Ghazālī, once he had adopted this method as the only one capable of demonstrating religious truth, in order to get it accepted preserved the terminology of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]. This manner of argumentation goes beyond the field of theology and was followed, for example, in the grammar of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]) in his commentary on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh (M. al-Mubārak, *al-Rummānī al-naḥwī fī ḍawʾ sharḥih li-Kitāb Sībawayh*, Damascus 1963). For the characteristics of the prose of the Ṣūfī, which often appears in the form of exhortation and advice addressed to a disciple, see the remarks of al-Ḳāḍī in her introduction to *al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya* of al-Tawḥīdī, Beirut 1973.

There is a classification of *Schrifttum* in Arabic to be found in M. Shakʿa, *Manāhidj al-taʾlīf ʿind al-ʿulamāʾ al-ʿarab*, Beirut 1973; see also now the organisation in *CHAL. Religion, learning and science in the ʿAbbasid period*, Cambridge 1990.

The development of decorative style

This technical refinement of style which was shown by the *kuttāb* of the 4th/10th century evolved during the course of the following century into a quest for effects, turning it into more and more complicated prose. Not only could the rhyme of the *sadjʿ* comprise two or more consonants, but the style decorates itself with archaic lexemes from ancient poetry, with historical allusions, with word-plays based on double meanings of technical grammatical, metrical and philosophical terms. This style goes beyond the administrative sphere and extends its influence also to literary works, such as first of all the *maḳāma* [*q.v.*] or the *Risāla Hazliyya* of Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1070 [*q.v.*]); also to historical works, such as ʿAbd al Djabbār al-ʿUtbī (d. *ca.* 427/1036 [*q.v.*]), *al-Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, see C.E. Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii [1963], 3-22, or ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201), *kātib* of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (for the differences in style of these historians see F. Gabrieli, *Storici arabi delle crociate*, Turin 1969; D.S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic historians*, Calcutta 1930). By contrast, al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048 [*q.v.*]) used *sadjʿ* when he wrote the introduction to his *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. C. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, dedicated to Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr (d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]), the *amīr* of the Ziyārid dynasty, famous for his immoderate use of stylistic techniques. His *rasāʾil* have been collected by ʿA. al-Yazdādī, *Kamāl al-balāgha*, Cairo 1341/1922-3 (see Ḍayf, *op. cit.*, 255-9), but al-Bīrūnī's style is sober and tight in the introduction to the book *Fī taḥḳīḳ mā li ʾl-Hind min maḳūla*, ed. Sachau, London 1887, and elegant in the description of the customs of the Indians.

The most remarkable representative of this ornate style is Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 443/1058 [*q.v.*]), whose prose was made deliberately obscure by the use of words that are not only rare but even obsolete, and by a profusion of erudite allusions to the world of ancient Arabia, including proverbs and the names of stars, wells and idols. Al-Maʿarrī has even provided a commentary to accompany his prose; ʿA. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Bint al-Shāṭiʾ), *al-Ghufrān li-Abi ʾl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Cairo 1962, picks out examples of divergence from normal syntax into which the complications of his *sadjʿ* have led al-Maʿarrī; she lists those ancient critics who recognised a heaviness in that style, despite the prestige it enjoyed, and she analyses the use of different registers in the work.

For the history of prose works after the 6th/12th century, see *CHAL. ʿAbbasid belles-lettres*, in which the prose from the different areas (Yemen, Egypt) is discussed; see also *ibid.*, *Religion, learning and science*; and see further INSHĀʾ; MADRASA; NAHḌA; TAʾRĪKH; ʿULAMĀʾ.

Prose genres

As well as the *risāla*, there were other literary genres recognised by the ancient theorists, especially the *maḳāma*, the *khuṭba*, the *ḥikāya* [*q.v.*] and the *ḳiṣṣa* [*q.v.*]. In addition there were also "genres" that were less well recognised by those theorists but that form a part of *adab* and to which modern research devotes particular attention. They are designated by names such as *nawādir*, *mulaḥ*, *akhbār*, and *ḥikam* (see Sadan, *Death of a princess: episodes of the Barmakid legend in its late evolution*, in S. Leder (ed.), *Story-telling in the framework of non-fictional Arabic literature*, Wiesbaden 1998, 131, and ḤIKĀYA).

The *khabar* in particular, whether it derives from a work of history or of *adab*, presents itself as the report, seen from the outside, of a real event. A very valuable set of studies being undertaken now has produced an analysis of these stories from the standpoint of narrative structure. The results that have so far appeared tend on the one hand to bridge the gap between the "lack of fiction", which one can see in classical Arabic literature, and modern literary fiction, and on the other hand to examine the forms of awareness that the "reporter" of a *khabar* could have in composing in reality a work of literature. Further studies include those to be found in Leder, *op. cit.*; see Sh. Ayyād, *Fann al-khabar fī turāthinā al-ḳiṣaṣī*, in *Fuṣūl*, ii (1982), 11-18; Leder, *Features of the novel in early historiography*, in *Oriens*, xxxii (1990), 72-96; idem, *The literary use of the* Khabar: *a basic form of historical writing*, in Cameron and Conrad (eds.), *op. cit.*, 277-315; H. Kilpatrick, *Context and the enhancement of the meaning of* aḫbār *in the* Kitāb al-aġānī, in *Arabica*, xxxviii (1991), 351-68; eadem, Aḫbār manẓūma. *The romance of Qays and Lubnā in the* Aġānī, in *Festschrift E. Wagner*, 2 vols. Beirut 1994, 350-61.

Studies on the evolution of prose from the point of view of language are rare, but one may refer to some studies about an author's use of langauge, such as Schönig, *op. cit.*; or F. al-Djāmiʿī al-Ḥabbābī, *Lughat Abi ʾl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī fī Risālat al-ghufrān*, Cairo n.d.; or the works on syntax based on texts, such as Y. Peled, *Conditional structures in Classical Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1992; also the contributions in the *Beiträge zur Lexicographie des klassischen Arabisch*, in *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil. hist. Klasse* (1979-).

Bibliography: In addition to the references cited in the body of this article, see Z. Mubarak, *La prose arabe au IVe siècle de Hégire*, Paris 1931;

ʿA. Balbaʿ, *al-Nat͟hr al-fannī wa-at͟har al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ fīh*, Cairo 1954; Ch. Pellat, *La prose arabe à Bag̲h̲dād*, in *Arabica*, ix (1962), 407-18; M. Cook, *Early Muslim dogma: a source-critical study*, Cambridge 1981, who presents and examines texts relative to the doctrinal controversies at the end of the 1st century; H. Kilpatrick, *Selection and presentation as distinctive characteristics of medieval Arabic courtly prose literature*, in K. Busby and E. Kooper (eds.), *Courtly literature, culture and context*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia 1990; A. Gully, *Epistles for grammarians: illustration from the* inshāʾ *literature*, in *BRISMES*, xxiii (1996), 147-66; R. Allen, *The Arabic literary heritage: the development of its genres and criticism*, Cambridge 1998; S. Leder, art. *Prose, non-fiction, medieval*, in *Encyclopedia of Arabic literature*, London and New York 1998, ii, 615-18; Leder and Kilpatrick, *Classical Arabic prose literature: a researcher's sketch map*, in *JAL*, xxiii (1999), 2-26; A. Ben Abdesselem, *La vie littéraire dans l'Espagne musulmane sous les* Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif *(Ve/XIe siècle)*, Damascus 2001. (Lidia Bettini)

NĀY (P., in Tkish., *ney*), a rim-blown flute made of reed (*arundo donax* L.). The name, meaning basically "reed", is known from Pahlavi, in which it was a loanword from Aramaic *qnʾ* (cf. Assyrian *qanū*, *qanuʾu*, Hebr. *qnh*). However in early Arabic sources, such as the *Kitāb al-Ag̲h̲ānī*, the term *nāy* most probably denoted not a flute but a double-reed woodwind instrument of the *mizmār* [*q.v.*] family. The *mizmār*, because of its colour, was also called *nāy siyāh* "black *nāy*" in contrast to the *nāy safīd* "white *nāy*", i.e. the flute.

The rim-blown flute has been known since the 3rd millennium B.C. in Ancient Egypt as well as in Mesopotamia. For Ancient Egypt, written and iconographic testimonies of flute players are frequent. While the Sumerian flutes found at Ur are metal fragments, the Egyptian ones are of reed. The ancient Egyptian flutes that are preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo were played and recorded by Maḥmūd ʿIffat in 1991. Some of them produced a pentatonic scale, others a heptatonic one.

After its peak in Antiquity, the rim-blown flute survived as a folk instrument until Ṣūfī movements in Islam gave it a new and prominent place in religious music (see below). The folk flutes do not conform to the norms of the classical instrument. They may be made of wood, reed or metal and have many local names, as e.g. the Palestinian and Syrian *s̲h̲abbāba*, the ʿIrāḳī *blūr*, the Turkish *kaval*, the Egyptian *kawala* and *salāmiyya*, the Algerian *gaṣba* or the Ethiopian *was̲h̲int*.

The *nāy/ney* is cut out of one naturally grown piece of reed of 15 to 25 mm diameter. Each end lies between two nodes; the whole instrument has 8 nodes and 9 internodes (persian *nāy*: 6 nodes/7 internodes). The *nāy* is held obliquely. It is blown upon the rim, which is the edge of the uppermost internode (*k̲h̲azna*). Persian players place the rim between their teeth ("Iṣfahān technique"); the rim of Persian instruments is often set in a metal ring. The Turkish *ney*, from Ottoman times onwards, has a mouthpiece (*başpare*) made of wood, ivory, gold or—in modern times—synthetic materials. The *nāy/ney* has 6 (Persian *nāy*: 5) fingerholes and one thumbhole.

The *nāy/ney* fits particularly well with oriental modes (*maḳāmāt* [see maḳām]), because its basic fingering includes the typical three-quartertone intervals. A set (*taḳm*) of 7 to 12 instruments of different length allows to transpose the *maḳāmāt* to nearly every note. Arabic *nāy*s are named after their fundamental note, given by opening the last hole. A standard Arabic (Egyptian)

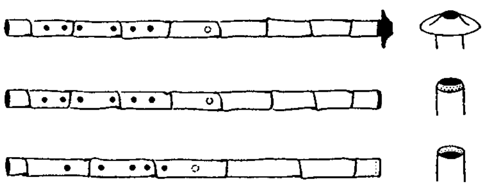

Turkish *ney*, Arabic and Persian *nāy* (from above)

taḳm consists of: *nāy Rāst* (C, length approximately 680 mm; the exact length depends on the width of the reed), *nāy Dūkāh* (D, 600 mm), *nāy Būsalīk* (E, 540 mm), *nāy Čehārkāh* (F, 510 mm), *nāy Nawā* (G, 445 mm), *nāy Ḥusaynī* (A, 405 mm) and *nāy ʿAd̲j̲am* (B^b, 375 mm). Higher, lower or "half-tone" *nāy*s as e.g. *Dūkāh nisf* (D^b, 665 mm), are seldom in use. Turkish *ney*s are longer and lower; the third step gives a higher *sīkāh* (three-quarter-tone) than the Arabic *nāy*. The Turkish set (*takım*) consists of: *Bolahenk ney* (length approximately 1040 mm); *Davud ney* (910 mm); *Şah ney* (858 mm); *Mansur ney* (806 mm), *Kız ney* (702 mm), *Müstahzen* (598 mm) and *Süpürde* (572 mm). For high levels, there are "half" (*nısfiye*) instruments, e.g. *Kız nisfiye* (350 mm). The Persian *nāy*s vary from 400 to 800 mm in length.

Impressed by the modern European flute, several attempts have been made to technically improve and modernise the *nāy*. Until now, none of these attempts has been widely accepted. The simplicity of its construction and the naturalness of its sound are still essential for the instrument, which demands high skill of its players and plays an important role even in modern music.

The *nāy* has been the favoured wind instrument of art and court music from around the 8th/14th century onwards. As a court music instrument, the *nāy* is frequently represented in Persian miniature paintings. It is played solo or in mixed ensembles, but normally not with other *nāy*s. Turkish ensembles, however, sometimes have many *ney*s playing together. The dances of the Mevlevi dervishes, for example, are accompanied by drums and *ney*s only. When playing with a singer, the *nāy* is especially used for short melodic formulas (*lāzima*, pl. *lawāzim*) and improvisations (*taḳsīm*, pl. *taḳāsīm*).

The sound of the *nāy* is regarded as particularly similar to the human voice. According to a legend in the *Maẓhar al-ʿad̲j̲āʾib*, ascribed to Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (*ca.* 513-618/1119-1221 [*q.v.*]), the *nāy* voices the Prophet's secret revelations which no other human being has ever heard. Before this, ʿAlī had told the secrets to a well at the edge of which reeds grew.

In Ṣūfī music, the *nāy* is the most prominent melodic instrument of all. The Ṣūfīs hear the sound of the *nāy* as the crying of the reed after it is cut. It is like the crying of the soul because of its separation from God. The famous *Mat͟hnawī* of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604-72/1207-73 [*q.v.*]) opens with a dramatic articulation of this symbolic meaning of the *nāy*.

Bibliography: H.G. Farmer, *EI*[2] art. *Mizmār*; S.Q. Hassan and J. During, in *The New Grove dictionary of musical instruments*, London 1984, art. *Nāy*; M. ʿIffat *et alii*, *Taḳrīr ʿan al-dirāsa allatī kāma bihā farīḳ mas̲h̲rūʿ dirāsat ālāt al-nāy al-firʿawniyya bi ʾl-mathaf al-miṣrī li ʾl-taʿarruf ʿalā ʾl-sullam al-mūsīḳī ʾl-firʿawnī*, Cairo (unpub. ms. July 1991); D. Franke and E. Neubauer, *Museum des Institutes für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften: Beschreibung der*

Exponate. I. Musikinstrumente, Frankfurt am Main 2000, 166-87; ʿA. Mas͟hʿal, *Dirāsat al-nāy/The method of El Nay*, Cairo 1967; R.ʿA. Sulaymān, *al-Nāy al-ʿarabī al-ḥadīt͟h/The modern Arabic flute*, Cairo 1997 (unpubl. ms.); A. van Oostrum, *The music of the Egyptian nāy* (in press); J. During, *La musique iranienne: tradition et évolution*, Paris 1984, 67-73; S. Erguner, *Ney metodu*, Istanbul 1986; H. Ritter, in *ZDMG*, xcii (1938), 37.

(Claudia Ott)

NAẒM.

1. In metrical speech. Literally meaning "stringing (pearls, beads, etc.)", in early ʿAbbāsid times *naẓm* acquired the meaning of "versifying", "versification", and became almost synonymous with "poetry", *s͟hiʿr* [*q.v.*], especially when contrasted with prose, *nat͟hr*, literally "scattering". The comparison of a poem to a necklace, or verses to pearls, is apt in view of the relative independence of the individual verses, held together on the string of the uniform metre and rhyme. The image has pre-ʿAbbāsid origins, and although the noun *naẓm* was not used in the sense of "verse" until later (and Ḳudāma b. D̲jaʿfar [*q.v.*] still does not do so in his poetics), at least the related verb had already been used, when the 1st/7th century poet al-Nad̲jās͟hī said *Sa-anẓimu min ḥurri 'l-kalāmi ḳaṣīdatan* "I shall string/compose an ode of noble speech" (al-Ḥātimī, *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, Bag͟hdād 1979, i, 426). Yet Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] could still speak, in an ode addressed to al-Amīn, of "my scattering (*nat͟hrī*) pearls on you" (*Dīwān*, ed. Wagner, i, 241). The many discussions on the relative merits of prose and poetry regularly employ the terms *naẓm* and *nat͟hr* (on this debate, see e.g. Ziyad al-Zuʿbī, *Das Verhältnis von Poesie und Prosa in der arabischen Literatur-theorie des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1987). Not rarely, however, a distinction is made between *s͟hiʿr* as "true" poetry and *naẓm* as merely versifying, i.e. either prosodically correct but unintentionally bad poetry, or didactive verse (see e.g. Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahb, *al-Burhān*, Cairo 1969, 130; Ibn K͟haldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal, Princeton 1967, iii, 381-2).

(G.J.H. van Gelder)

2. In Ḳurʾānic studies. Here, the "arrangement of pearls on a string" is used metaphorically to indicate "ordering of words-*cum*-meanings", i.e. "composition" (note that *taʾlīf* is sometimes used synonymously with *naẓm*), or, more freely, the "style" of the Ḳurʾān. In this sense it is closely connected with the discussions of the dogma of *iʿd̲jāz al-Ḳurʾān* [*q.v.*]; more particularly, it is evidently the backbone of the conception of *iʿd̲jāz* as "stylistic inimitability" of the Ḳurʾān.

The first known work devoted to this notion is the *K. fi 'l-iḥtid̲jād̲j li-naẓm al-Ḳurʾān wa-salāmatihī min al-ziyāda wa 'l-nuḳṣān* of al-D̲jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9 [*q.v.*]), which is unfortunately lost (Ch. Pellat's reference in *Nouvel essai d'inventaire de l'œuvre Ǧāḥiẓienne*, in *Arabica*, xxxi [1984], 117ff., no. 191, to a ms. copy of this work preserved in the Escorial library is erroneous, see J. van Ess, *Theologie*, vi, 314). The work is usually cited with the brief title *Naẓm al-Ḳurʾān*. Al-K͟hayyāṭ describes it as follows: "No book is known concerning the argument for the well-orderedness (*naẓm*) and the wondrous composition of the Ḳurʾān, and that it is proof for the prophethood of Muḥammad—God bless him—, except the book of al-D̲jāḥiẓ" (*al-Intiṣār*, ed. A.N. Nader [Beirut 1957], 111). This description contains all the elements of the *iʿd̲jāz* concept, as generally adopted later. Al-D̲jāḥiẓ radically breaks with the *ṣarfa* notion of his teacher al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*], who did not believe that the composition of the Ḳurʾān was stylistically unattainable and who thought that Muḥammad's pagan contemporaries, challenged to produce something like a sūra, were "turned away" by God from carrying out this task.

Claude Audebert has compiled a list of works on *naẓm* up to the time of al-K͟haṭṭābī, eight in all (*al-Ḫaṭṭābī*, 58-61). The most explicit title—and mostly we have but titles—is the one given to the Muʿtazilī al-Wāsiṭī's (d. 306/918 or 307/919) book: *K. Iʿd̲jāz al-Ḳurʾān fī naẓmihī wa-taʾlīfih* (*ibid.*, 59). It states the connection between *iʿd̲jāz* and *naẓm* and the near-synonymity of *naẓm* and *taʾlīf*. It is remarkable that the authors of these works are partly *mutakallimūn* and partly traditionists.

Al-K͟haṭṭābī (d. 386/996 or 388/998 [*q.v.*]), in his treatise *Bayān iʿd̲jāz al-Ḳurʾān*, postulates a triad of elements that make up "speech" (*kalām*), namely, *lafẓun ḥāmilun wa-maʿnan bihī ḳāʾimun wa-ribāṭun lahumā nāẓim* "words as carriers, meaning subsisting in them, and a connection that orders both of them" (ed. M. K͟halaf Allāh and M.Z. Salām, 24 l. 11; tr. Audebert, *al-Ḫaṭṭābī*, 120, cf. also 87). The third element is usually called *naẓm*; al-K͟haṭṭābī not infrequently also uses the plural *nuẓūm* to refer to the syntactic-stylistic "structures" or "molds" (this plural is not in the dictionaries). In all three elements the Ḳurʾān is the superior text, as the continuation of the quoted passage says. The workings of *naẓm* are several times metaphorically characterised (the various "types of ordering" [*rusūm al-naẓm*] are a "bridle on the words and a rein on the meanings" [*lid̲jām al-alfāẓ wa-zimām al-maʿānī*]; cf. ed., 33; tr. 128), but not defined and explicitly discussed. A large part of al-K͟haṭṭābī's *Bayān* is devoted to linguistic-stylistic criticisms (i.e. criticisms of the *naẓm*) of Ḳurʾānic passages by others, followed by the author's refutation (*al-Ḫaṭṭābī*, 97-102).

Al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]), in his *Iʿd̲jāz al-Ḳurʾān*, lists the excellent *naẓm* of the Ḳurʾān as the third reason for its inimitability (after [1] prophesying passages, and [2] the illiteracy of the Prophet, which proves Divine instruction about creation, etc.). He enumerates ten aspects of this *naẓm*: (1) The Ḳurʾān is *sui generis* as a literary genre (35). (2) The Arabs had not produced any eloquent text of such enormous length (36). (3) The Ḳurʾān is homogeneously eloquent in all its subgenres (*wujūh*), such as narratives, admonitions, argumentations, etc., whereas a poet may excel in panegyrics but not in invective, or vice versa (36-8). (4) The smooth transition from one topic to the next in the Ḳurʾān is unrivalled (38). (5) Not only man is unable to produce anything similar to it, but so are the jinn (38-41). (6) All stylistic and rhetorical possibilities occur in the Ḳurʾān (42). (7) Expressing new ideas, rather than well-worn ones, with beautiful words is the highest level of language mastership (*barāʿa*); this the Ḳurʾān does when it speaks about legal and religious matters (42). (8) When a Ḳurʾānic phrase is quoted, it stands out in its new textual surrounding through its beauty (42-4). (9) The "mysterious letters" at the beginning of twenty-eight sūras show an amazingly regular selection of phonemes, when measured against the various groups of phonemes that the grammarians have established (44-6). (10) The style of the Ḳurʾān is easy though impossible to imitate (*ḳarīban ilā 'l-afhāmi yubādiru maʿnāhu 'l-lafẓa ilā 'l-ḳalb . . . wa-huwa maʿa d͟hālika mumtaniʿu 'l-maṭlab*); it is equally distant from lexical uncouthness (*waḥs͟hī*) and unusualness (*g͟harīb*) [*q.vv.*], on the one hand, and from affected artfulness (*al-ṣanʿa al-mutakkallafa*), on the other (46).

The list clearly shows that al-Bāḳillānī is not interested in the micro-analysis of what constitutes *naẓm*,

nor does he establish, as al-Khaṭṭābī does, the strict correlation between *naẓm* and the two other elements of speech, "words" and "meaning". He focuses more on the overall linguistic-literary quality of the Ḳurʾānic text.

ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), in his *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz* ("Proofs for the Inimitability"), comes again closer to al-Khaṭṭābī, who may be called his precursor in matters of *naẓm*. But al-Djurdjānī surpasses him by far. Over hundreds of pages he subjects Ḳurʾānic phrases, or syntactic phenomena in general, to the most painstaking semantic analysis and thus manages to fill the notion of *naẓm* with real content. He defines it as *tawakhkhī maʿānī ʾl-naḥw* ("minding the meanings of syntactic relations"). The syntactic-semantic phenomena discussed include *inter alia*: word order (*taḳdīm wa-taʾkhīr*), ellipsis (*ḥadhf*), syndetic and asyndetic coordination (*waṣl wa-faṣl*), and the various functions of the sentence-initial particle *inna* (see also Weisweiler, in *Bibl.*)

The "ordering" (*naẓm*) creates a specific shape/form (*ṣūra*) for a general *gharaḍ* ("intention") in the mind and, parallel to it, in the language; the meaning (*maʿnā*) and the expression/wording (*lafẓ*) of a proposition (*kalām*) thus become mirror images. The inherited but, according to al-Djurdjānī, misunderstood dichotomy *lafẓ-maʿnā* is thus reinterpreted: the wording (*lafẓ*) is no longer a "garment" for a "naked" *maʿnā*. The two are inseparable, no "meaning" can be expressed by two "wordings" equally well; the two "wordings" would express two different "meanings".

K. Abu Deeb (*Poetic imagery*, 24-64) and, more recently, N. Kermani (*Gott ist schön*, 253-84, esp. 264, and n. 144) have argued that, with many of his deep-cutting analyses, al-Djurdjānī is a precursor of modern semanticists or even on a par with them. As a whole, his book is indeed highly original but not very well arranged. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]) and al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]) later turned his ideas into a textbook format, thus creating the discipline called *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (i.e. *maʿānī ʾl-naḥw*) [see MAʿĀNĪ WA-BAYĀN].

All authors so far discussed restrict the notion of *naẓm* to single Ḳurʾānic or poetic phrases (lines, verses). Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1063 or 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), in his handbook on poetry, includes a chapter on *naẓm*, in which this notion has at times a wider compass, referring as it does to the cohesion of consecutive lines (*ʿUmda*, i, 258-63). A similar approach to structures within a sūra can sometimes be found in books on the Ḳurʾān. Al-Khaṭīb al-Iskāfī (d. 421/1030), in his exegetical work *Durrat al-tanzīl wa-ghurrat al-taʾwīl fī bayān al-āyāt al-mutashābihāt fī Kitāb Allāh al-ʿazīz* (Beirut 1995), several times tries to do just that: a "knitting of part to part", as Hamori calls it (*Iskāfī*, 40-2). Some scholars seem to have gone even further and asked about the meaning of the place, within the Ḳurʾān, of individual sūras. Al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392 [*q.v.*]) mentions one Abū Bakr al-Nīsābūrī, who "whenever the Koran was read to him, used to ask: Why is this verse put next to that one? For what reason does this *sūra* stand next to that one?" (G.J. van Gelder, *Beyond the line*, Leiden 1982, 100; the author suggests that we are possibly dealing here with Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim [!] al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī, who wrote a *Kitāb al-Tanzīl wa-tartībih*, see n. 214). However, al-Zarkashī also mentions that this subject did not attract much attention (*al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1972, i, 36).

In the modern period this has changed. In the Indian subcontinent we find Ḥamīd al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Farāhī (d. 1349/1930) and his disciple Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (d. 1997) upholding the idea of the coherence (*naẓm*) of the Ḳurʾān on all levels (see M. Mir, *Coherence*, in *Bibl.*). The main motivation behind this seems to be traditional Orientalist criticism of the Ḳurʾān that stressed its structural incoherence on all levels. It should be noted that in more modern Western literary approaches the perceived "incoherence" is considered to be rather one of the strengths of the Holy Book (see Kermani, *Gott ist schön*, 281).

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(W.P. HEINRICHS)

NISSĪM B. YAʿḲŪB, IBN SHĀHĪN, outstanding leader and rabbi of North Africa and, Judaeo-Arabic author.

He was born *ca.* 300/990, and studied under his father and R. Ḥushiel, who emigrated from Italy and settled in al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*]. Like his father, Nissīm was head of the Academy there and the representative of the Academies of Sura and Pumbedita near Baghdād. He was famous as a scholar and enjoyed much glory, but the last period of his life was a sad time for him. His son died at an early age and his daughter was unhappily married to a son of Samuel ha-Nagid of the Banu ʾl-Naghralla, who served the Zīrids [*q.v.*] of Gharnāṭa. Nissim visited Granada and taught there. Of importance during his time was the disturbed political situation in North Africa, since the local Zīrid dynasty there was in conflict with the Fāṭimids, and when the Bedouin of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] and the Sulaym attacked Ifrīḳiya, and the Zīrid ruler had to leave al-Ḳayrawān in 449/1057 and take refuge in al-Mahdiyya, Rabbi Nissīm fled to Sūsa [*q.v.*], where he died in 454/1062 after a serious illness.

The language of his important Judaeo-Arabic literary work, the *Kitāb al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda* ("Relief after hardship"), is one of the best examples of a Middle Arabic text that at times follows the rules of Classical Arabic, but at other times is influenced by the practice of Arabic dialects, with many hypercorrections. The contents of the text, which was more widely known in its early Hebrew translation called *Ḥibbur yafeh me-ha-yeshuʿah* ("A beautiful collection about relief", printed at Ferrara 1557), go back to the same

genre as practiced by al-Madāʾinī (d. 225/840), Ibn Abi ʾl-Dunyā (d. 281/894) and al-Muḥassin al-Tanūk͟hī (d. 384/994), and have a religious, perhaps Jewish, origin. Nissīm Ibn S͟hāhīn's stories do not have a secular character like most of al-Tanūk͟hī's stories, but are embedded in a religious context. Some stories such as "The perfidious wife" and "The story of Kidor" found their way into other mediaeval bellestristic collections.

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(A. Schippers)

NIẒĀM ʿASKARĪ (A.), military organisation, the system of military rule in modern Islamic lands (for a consideration of military organisation before *ca.* 1900, see DJAYS͟H; ḤARB; ISTIʿRĀḌ).

1. In the modern Arab world
2. In modern Iran
3. In the late Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic
4. In Pakistan

1. In the modern Arab world.

The frequent appearance of military régimes in the Arab sector of the Muslim world during the second part of the 20th century owes less to a tradition of interaction between military conquest and the diffusion of Islam than to the heritage of the style of power exercised by the Ottoman Sultans [see ʿOT͟HMĀNLĪ. I.]. It is explained both by the game of the European imperialisms and the influence of the Kemālist model in the region since 1921. Colonial domination depended on the separation between an allogenic military organisation and local society. It took the form of political régimes (mandates, protectorates or direct colonisation) in which the military played a dominant role through the actual or potential use of brute force (D.A. Rustow, to S.N. Fischer 1963, 3). While the officer corps of the colonial army was European, there was a preference for recruiting the troops from among the ethnic and religious communities. Senior officers often exercised civil functions, such as that of the High Commissioner of the French Mandate in Syria and in Lebanon (1920-43), the British High Commissioner in Palestine (1920-46) or in ʿIrāḳ (1920-32) [see MANDATES]. Furthermore, the period of colonial domination was marked by the two World Wars which justified exceptional forms of government. It came to an end after sometimes prolonged and violent confrontation: in particular, the conflict in Palestine from 1936 onwards, the Algerian war (1954-62), and numerous suppressions of uprisings, as in Egypt by Great Britain in 1919 and 1924, in Syria by France in 1919, 1924-6 and 1945; and in ʿIrāḳ by Great Britain, in 1921 and 1941.

After independence, the incidence of military régimes in the Arab region can be correlated to the frequency and the intensity of inter-state conflicts, through the implementation of preparations for war by senior officers with the object of imposing constitutional forms, social control and economic priorities, which justified and prolonged their domination: Israeli-Arab wars (1948-9, 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982), the Yemeni conflict from 1960-7, the Algerian-Moroccan war in the Sahara in 1963, then the war of the eastern Sahara from 1975 onwards, the Iran-ʿIrāḳ war from 1980 to 1988, and the Gulf War of 1990-1. The regional and ethnic tensions within young states with fragile national identities also favoured the seizure of power by the military, as in ʿIrāḳ at the time of the 1958 revolution or in Sūdān from 1958 onwards. The principal motivating force was dissatisfaction with the poor economic performance of the civilian régimes.

After the Arab countries had gained their independence, the army became in the space of one or two decades the primary institution in terms of numbers—up to 30% of the workforce of certain countries—and of its budget, which often exceeded that of education, but also through the central place that it occupied in executive power. It permeated all the fields of political activity including the parties, exercised a tight control over the population using the force authorised by emergency laws and with recourse to the *muk͟hābarāt*, the intelligence and police services. Arab republics and monarchies were thus transformed into "military societies" (Abdelmalek 1962).

The analysis of Arab military régimes has given rise to three distinct interpretations of their nature and their effect on the state and the society of the countries concerned. The first credited the dominant participation of officers in the government with the qualities of order, efficiency and honesty as well as technical and organisational capacities. The army was seen as the best agency for the purpose of ensuring the development of the country, educating society and being the bearer of modern values and practices, since the generation of officers trained since independence belonged to a "new middle class" with modernising tendencies (Halpern 1962, 278); their nationalist sensibility, whether Arab (*ḳawmī*) or patriotic (*waṭanī*), manifested through various anti-colonial and revolutionary ideologies, gave them the legitimacy to impose on society a modernisation "from above" (industrialisation, agrarian reform) inspired by the Kemālist model (Allush 1968).

After the Arab defeat of 1967 and in view of the poor economic performance of Egypt and of Syria under military rule, then that of Algeria in the 1980s, a second analysis has prevailed. It described *niẓām ʿaskarī* as "praetorian", and considered the army an agency for the maintenance of order in the service of an authoritarian and barely representative political power, pursuing its corporatist interests rather than a social project (Perlmutter 1974).

Until the turn of the 1990s, oil revenues and the priority given to the war effort assured the perpetuation of the *niẓām ʿaskarī*. Subsequently, Arab armies had a tendency to return to their military function while a number of officers became economic entrepreneurs benefiting from the *infitāḥ*. The *niẓām ʿaskarī* progressively gave way to civilian governments, still under military control. A third analysis then placed the accent on the simultaneously policing and predatory nature of these regimes (R. Owen, *State, power and politics in the making of the modern Middle East*, London 1992).

(a) *Egypt*

Although it was not historically the first, the prototype of *niẓām ʿaskarī* in the Arab regions of the Muslim world in the 20th century is that of the *ḍubbāṭ al-aḥrār*, the Free Officers who on 23 July 1952 overthrew the Egyptian dynasty which had itself been founded by an officer of the Ottoman army, Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. This group of some three hun-

dred officers (T. Aclimandos, *Les militaires égyptiens. Esprit de corps et révolution*, in *Peuples méditerranéens/ Mediterranean Peoples*, xli-xlii [1988], 87-104), graduates of the Military Academy after 1936 (the date of its opening to indigenous Egyptians), had particularly resented the indifference of the monarchical régime during the Palestine war of 1948-9. Their nine leaders, constituted into a *Madj̲lis kiyādat al-t̲h̲awra* (Revolutionary Command Council), installed military personnel in the higher ranks of the executive on a permanent basis. Originally, the RCC united personalities of diverse tendencies, Miṣr al-Fatāt, al-Ik̲h̲wān al-Muslimūn [*q.v.*] and Communists, who held in common the nationalist and socialist objectives summarised in the *Falsafat al-t̲h̲awra* of D̲j̲amāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In the competition for power, the leftists of the RCC led by Yūsuf al-Ṣiddīḳ, and the liberals led by K̲h̲ālid Muḥyī 'l-Dīn, were ousted in March 1953 and March 1954 respectively. The rupture with the Muslim Brotherhood took place on 12 January 1954. Whether socialistic pan-Arabist as in the 1960s, or patriotic liberal as in the 1980s, Egyptian power henceforward depended on the alliance between the military institution and the bureaucracy of state.

The executive was the prerogative of generals: presidency of the Republic was taken by Muḥammad Nad̲j̲īb, on 18 June 1952, and after his ousting on 14 November 1954, by Nāṣir until his death on 28 September 1970, by Anwar al-Sādāt (assassinated 5 October 1981) and by Ḥusnī Mubārak, who began his fourth presidential period of power on 26 September 1999. In the government, one-fifth of the ministerial posts (in particular Defence, Military Production and the Interior) were occupied by senior officers under Nāṣir, and 7.5% under Sādāt (M. Cooper, *The demilitarization of the Egyptian cabinet*, in *IJMES*, xiv [1982], 209). More than 80% of the posts of provincial governors belonged to them. Of the five categories "allied to the régime"—workers, peasants, intellectuals, nationalist capitalists and army—only the latter was authorised to organise itself, whereas the political parties were abolished on 16 January 1953 and replaced by a single party. After the defeat of 1967 and until the expulsion of the Soviet advisers in July 1972, a policy of raising the standard of recruitment and of strategic co-operation with the USSR made the institution the best endowed financially and the most advanced in technological terms in the country (with the acquisition of the Mig-27), barely troubled by internal conspiracies in October 1972, April 1974 (attempted uprising at the Military Academy by the radical Islamist movement *al-Takfīr wa 'l-Hid̲j̲ra* [*q.v.*] and October 1981 (assassination of Sādāt during a military parade).

According to the National Charter (*al-Mīt̲h̲āḳ al-waṭanī*) of 1962, the Egyptian military régime presented itself initially as revolutionary. It initiated economic and social reforms—the first agrarian reforms in September 1952 limiting property to 300 acres per family, Egyptianisation of British and French assets (nationalisation of the Suez Canal, 26 July 1956), nationalisation of heavy industry and textiles—and launched major works of infrastructure such as the Aswan Dam. However, the failures of economic policies combined with demographic growth of more than 3.5% per annum, and costly military defeats in Yemen and in the war of June 1967, impelled military leaders, in the second half of the decade of the 1970s, towards a liberalisation that opened the way for substantial investment by the military institution and by senior officers individually in the private sector. While the army was less visible on the political plane, its armaments enterprises such as the Arab Organisation for Industrialisation (*al-Hay'a al-ʿArabiyya li 'l-Taṣnīʿ*), founded in 1975 as a joint venture with Saudi Arabia, Ḳaṭar and the United Arab Emirates, and becoming exclusively Egyptian after the Camp David Accords with Israel (1978), exported more than a billion dollars worth of arms per year in the 1980s. Under the cover of ensuring security of food supplies (*al-amn al-g̲h̲id̲h̲āʾī*), the army also penetrated the civilian production sector, where it benefited from exemptions and privileges (Sadowski 1993).

The perpetuation of *niẓām ʿaskarī* went in tandem with a progressive sidelining of members of the Revolutionary Command Council by Nāṣir, who cultivated the image of a populist leader with no time for intermediary institutions and procedures. It was accentuated by Sādāt to the benefit of the Arab Socialist Union (*al-Ittiḥād al-ʿarabī al-is̲h̲tirākī*), the single party from 1961 to 1977, to which military personnel were not permitted to belong (J. Waterbury, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: the political economy of two regimes*, Princeton 1983). It was accelerated following the adoption of the Constitution of 11 September 1971 authorising multi-partyism, while, in the context of the peace process with Israel, from October 1975 to March 1979 (the Washington Treaty), the army benefited by military assistance from the United States worth 1.3 billion dollars per year. In principle, the army did not control the political parties, legalised from June 1977 onwards. In practice, it drew inspiration from the Turkish model, constituting itself as informal guardian of the state and master of society, leading police operations at the time of the hunger riots in January 1977, and the uprising of the Interior Security Forces in 1986. From the 1990s onward, the Egyptian *niẓām ʿaskarī* became a security régime whose principal enemy was the Islamist movement and its extremist groups, both of these violently repressed.

(b) *Syria*

The developments of political life in the part of the Ottoman Bilād al-S̲h̲ām, which became Syria under French Mandate on 28 April 1920, hardly predisposed this country to a military régime. The civil, economic and religious élites were firmly based there and were dynamic, whilst the army numbered fewer than 5,000 men at Independence, recruited among the ethnic and religious minorities, and staffed by French officers (N. Bou-Nacklie, *The Special Troops: religious and ethnic recruitment, 1916-1946*, in *IJMES*, xxv [1993], 649-60). However, thirteen coups d'état followed the independence of the country and, after the seizure of power by Colonel Ḥusnī al-Zaʿīm [*q.v.*] on 30 March 1949, the army remained a dominant political actor, except during the period of the United Arab Republic (1 February 1958-28 September 1961).

The first three military régimes in Syria were the result of an *inkilāb*, an uprising of officers discontented with the political direction of the country, in particular the treatment reserved for the armed forces and the circumstances of the defeat in Palestine. The Colonels Ḥusnī al-Zaʿīm, Sāmī al-Hinnāwī (14 August-19 December 1949) and Adīb al-S̲h̲īs̲h̲aklī (exiled 25 February 1954) were motivated more by personal ambition than by a political project. Like Zaʿīm, S̲h̲īs̲h̲aklī launched important constitutional reforms (5 September 1950 and 10 July 1953), including the reform of penal, civil and commercial codes as well as a first agrarian reform (30 July 1952). He granted the right to vote to literate women, and abolished the special treatment of Bedouin and the system of *awḳāf*

[see WAḲF]. The accession of Zaʿīm to the presidency of the Republic on 25 June 1949, and that of Shīshaklī on 10 July 1953, marked the apogee of authoritarian régimes characterised by the banning of political parties (replaced by Shīshaklī with the *ḥarakat al-taḥrīr al-ʿarabī* on 25 August 1952), censorship of the press and tight control of public life by an oppressive police force. The *niẓām ʿaskarī* was characterised also by a Syrian patriotism bordering on chauvinism in reaction to the "struggle for Syria"—real or imagined threats posed to the independence of the country by neighbouring states.

Returning to the shadows, the Syrian army nevertheless did not cease from intervention in the political arena during the parliamentary period of 1954-8. Fourteen senior officers made their way to Cairo on 12 January 1958 to demand from Marshal ʿAmr and from Nāṣir the creation of the United Arab Republic. The army subsequently gave its support to the parliamentary restoration of September 1961, implemented under the leadership of Colonel ʿAbd al-Karīm Naḥlawī, who intervened again to "rectify" the policy directions of the government in March 1962 (M. Colombe, *La République arabe syrienne à la lumière du coup d'état du 28 mars 1962*, in *Orient*, 1st trim. [1962]).

The type of *niẓām ʿaskarī* which came into effect following the coup of Colonel Ziyād Ḥarīrī on 8 March 1963 was simultaneously both specific to Syria and also evolutionary. Between 1963 and 1970 it was possible to speak of an army-party symbiosis (I. Rabinovich, *Syria under the Baʿth 1963-66: the army-party symbiosis*, Jerusalem 1972). It was not only a military Committee of between four and fourteen members set up in Cairo *ca.* 1959 (*al-ladjna al-ʿaskariyya*; see M. al-Razzāz, *al-Tadjriba al-murra*, Beirut 1967, 88) which played a clandestine role throughout this period, but in the Regional Command (*al-ḳiyāda al-ḳuṭriyya*), senior officers constituted 34.5% of members from September 1963 to February 1966, then 25% until November 1970 (H. Batatu, *Syria's peasantry, the descendants of its lesser rural notables, and their politics*, Princeton 1999, 165, 167). In this group, with its majority consisting of natives of the peripheral regions of the country, the revolutionary tendency and the representation of minority communities gradually gained the upper hand, ending with the installation of a clandestine dictatorship under Colonel Ṣalāḥ Djadīd, assistant general secretary of the Baʿth Party from the time of the disbandment of the civil wing of the Party on 23 February 1966. Nationalisations in industry and commerce (1965), international isolation and provocations on the Israeli front, favouring popular war, characterised revolutionary Syria under this régime weakened by the disaster of the war of June 1967.

Excluding his rivals by a display of force within the Regional Command of the Baʿth Party on 13 November 1970, General Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad turned the Syrian military régime in the direction of a more liberal economy through two *infitāḥs*, in 1971-4 and then from 1986 onwards. The legislative elections of 1990, and Law 10 of 1991 on investments, marked the entry of a new entrepreneurial bourgeoisie into the coalition of power and the increased participation of senior officers in the world of business. But this economic liberalisation was not accompanied by political liberation, despite the creation of a Progressive National Front of six parties, including the Communist Party and the Arab Socialist Union around the Baʿth (7 March 1972). The Constitution of 12 March 1973 installed a presidential régime. The state of emergency declared in 1963 remained in force. The army has maintained tight control of local life and internal security through its networks of *mukhābarāt*, and in 1978-81 there was a massive crackdown on Islamists (H.G. Lobmeyer, *Opposition und Widerstand in Syrien*, Hamburg 1995, 204-336). Finally, to succeed his father as Head of State on 17 July 2000, Bashshār al-Asad was obliged to re-invent himself in some haste as a military figure.

(c) *ʿIrāḳ*

The modern ʿIrāḳī state, where the élites surrounding King Fayṣal (Djaʿfar al-ʿAskarī, Yāsīn al-Hāshimī, Djamīl al-Midfaʿī and Nūrī al-Saʿīd) were in the main former officers of the Ottoman army, was born in the violent suppression of the anti-British uprising in November 1920 (P.-J. Luizard, *La formation d'Irak contemporain*, Paris 1991). Even though ʿIrāḳ [*q.v.*] has not lived continuously under *niẓām ʿaskarī*, the army has remained the primary political force in the country, appointing and deposing governments, and controlling ethnic and social groups through violence (H. Batatu, *The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq*, Princeton 1978, 319-61). The suppression of the Assyrian revolt in June 1933, then that of the tribal uprisings in 1935-6 under the command of General Bakr Ṣidḳī gave the latter the incentive to launch the first coup d'état inspired by Kemālism of the modern Arab world on 29 October 1936. His assassination on 11 August 1937 at the instigation of four nationalist officers ("the Gold Square"), led by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣabbāgh, was the prelude to the seizure of power by them and the inauguration of a régime independent of the British, of which the public figurehead was Rashīd ʿAlī al-Ghaylānī (5 April-9 October 1941). From the creation of the state until the fall of the monarchy on 14 July 1958, the dominant personality of authority remained that of General Nūrī al-Saʿīd who had been prime minister for a total of 11 years and 9 months. While the monarchy neglected the institutionalisation of the state and the development of the country, governments supported by the army maintained order through repression.

After the revolution of July 1958 and the fall of the monarchy, General ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] quickly ousted the nine members of the Commanding Council of Free Officers, in particular Colonel ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif, to impose himself as single leader (*al-zaʿīm* [*q.v.*] *al-awḥad*). His first government (27 July 1958) comprised five military figures out of sixteen members (Batatu 1978, 812) and the second (10 February 1959), six out of fourteen (Batatu 1978, 843). He authorised political parties, promulgated agrarian reforms (30 September 1958), inaugurated a state planification scheme (1959), partially nationalised the Iraq Petroleum Company (1961) and adopted measures to assist the disadvantaged urban classes. The régime of Ḳāsim was destabilised and its military character reinforced by confrontations between Communist and Nationalist Arabs in Mawṣil and Kirkūk (March-July 1959) and by the revival of the Kurdish revolt (September 1961). The military coup of 8 February 1963 perpetrated by Nāṣirist and Baʿthist officers led to a repetition of the same scenario: ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif ousted the National Council of the Revolution and dismantled the Baʿthist National Guard to take for himself presidency of the Republic and supreme command of the armed forces (18 November 1963). He imposed the Arab Socialist Union as the sole party on 14 July 1964. Under the régime of his brother, Colonel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿĀrif (13 April 1966-17 July 1968) a series of military governments ensued, their domination dependent on the use of force and the maintenance of martial law, while nationalised institu-

tions were placed under the supervision of retired officers (M. Khadduri, *Republican Iraq: a study in Iraqi politics since the revolution of 1958*, London 1969, 280-9).

After the two coups which ensured the accession of the Baʿth Party to power (17 and 30 July 1968), the Revolutionary Command Council (R.C.C.), composed of five officers and led by General Ḥasan al-Bakr, carried out purges in the army to turn it into a *djaysh al-ʿaḳāʾidī*, an instrument of the Party alongside the militia, *djaysh al-shaʿb*, under the direction of the Military Bureau. The admission of ten civilians to the R.C.C. in November 1969 did nothing to alleviate the security-orientated character of the régime, which became a dictatorship after the accession of the (self-proclaimed) "General" Ṣaddām Ḥusayn, to the presidency of the R.C.C. and supreme authority over the state and the armed forces in July 1979. The state of civil war against the Kurds and the Shīʿīs, and external war against Iran (1980-88) and then against Ḳuwayt and the international coalition (1990-1), favoured a privatisation of public wealth which worked in particular to the benefit of military cadres (Isam al-Khafaji, *War as a vehicle for the rise and demise of a state-controlled society. The case of Baʿthist Iraq*, in Heydemann 2000, 272-5).

(d) *Sudan*

The "Free Officers" of Sudan [*q.v.*] who organised the overthrow of civil power two years after the independence of the country (1958) were strongly influenced by their Egyptian alter ego. The junta led by General Ibrāhīm ʿAbbūd until 1964 included radical officers close to the Sudanese Communist Party; in 1964 the rift between ʿAbbūd and this powerful ally brought to an end the first Sudanese *niẓām ʿaskarī*. After half a decade of civilian government, General Djaʿfar al-Numayrī in his turn imposed fifteen years of military dictatorship after a brief attempt at co-operating with civilians in the context of the Commanding Council of the Revolution, dissolved in October 1971. The Communist opposition was firmly suppressed on 22 July 1971 and the Arab Socialist Union became the sole authorised party, while the ministries of Defense, the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Information and Culture (*al-Irshād al-waṭanī*) remained in the hands of the military. Numayrī's régime formally recognised the right of the southern provinces to autonomy on 9 June 1969 and imposed radical nationalisation measures (Sequestration Act, May 1970). The second Sudanese civil war, provoked by the Islamising decrees of September 1983, accelerated the downfall of Numayrī in 1985, introducing a brief period of pluralism. The coalition between military figures and Islamists which characterised military régimes in Sudan returned to power following the coup d'état of General ʿUmar al-Bashīr on 30 June 1989. The National Salvation Revolutionary Command Council was based on a single party, the National Congress of Ḥasan al-Turābī. He imposed strict application of the *Sharīʿa*, banned parties and independent syndicates, organised popular local Islamist committees, and the Popular Defense Forces, an Islamist militia waging war against civilians in the south. Under pressure from humanitarian organisations and oil companies whose revenues were financing the war in the south, military leaders distanced themselves from the Islamists from 1997 onward. Bashīr re-established the state of emergency in 1998 to implement the institutional changes demanded for the survival of the régime and, on 12 December 1999, he suspended the parliament which was dominated by the Islamists of Turābī, arrested in February 2001.

(e) *Yemen*

The influence of the Egyptian Free Officers was felt as far away as Yemen [see AL-YAMAN] where a group of Nāṣirist officers led by Colonel ʿAbd Allāh Sallāl proclaimed the United Arab Republic on 26 September 1962 and received reinforcements of 26,000 Egyptian soldiers commanded by Marshal ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm ʿAmr—a contingent doubled over the next four years for the purpose of fighting a destructive Saudi-Egyptian war which lasted until the decision to withdraw, taken by Nāṣir at the Kharṭūm Summit in November 1967. Significant efforts in the fields of education and health were made by the new régime, which was characterised by the imposition of a heavy bureaucracy before its demise on 14 June 1970.

Military leaders, populists and developmentalists returned to the forefront of the stage with Colonel Ibrāhīm al-Ṣamadī (June 1974), and Colonel Aḥmad al-Ghāshimī (11 October 1977), both of them assassinated, then Colonel ʿAlī ʿAbd Allāh Khalīl, on 24 June 1978. The latter gradually handed over government to civilians (adoption of a constitution in October 1980, first legislative elections in July 1985) and guided the process of reunification with the Democratic and Popular Republic of Yemen: a constitutional reform in September 1994 legalising political pluralism, exclusion of armed forces from membership of parties (F. Djallūl, *Al-Yaman: al-thawratān al-djumhūriyatān, al-waḥda, 1962-94*, Beirut 1999, 272-97). As Marshal and President of the Republic of Yemen since 24 May 1990, Khalīl continues to control the state, supported by the Supreme Council of National Defense and by members of his entourage, occupying key posts in the security and armed forces.

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(ELIZABETH PICARD)

2. In modern Iran.

The period of military rule in Iran may be said to have been inaugurated by the coup d'état of 21 February 1921, and to have endured until the overthrow of Pahlavi rule in 1979. However, although the régime that resulted from the coup of 1921, and the Pahlavi state itself, was based on the army, there was no direct military rule, nor was there a military dictatorship in the straightforward sense.

The Pahlavi régime was one that owed its existence to military coups, in 1921 and in 1953, both Riḍā S̲h̲āh and his son, Muḥammad Riḍā S̲h̲āh [*q.vv.*], having been brought to power by the army. The army played a key role in the construction of the Pahlavi state, dominating both urban and rural opposition, and till 1979 remained, together with the various security forces, the main institution sustaining the régime internally.

Although the military occupied a pivotal position in Pahlavi Iran, it remained subordinate to the rule of the shahs. Both Riḍā S̲h̲āh and Muḥammad Riḍā S̲h̲āh were successful in dominating the military and in developing a monarchical system of government quite different from that found in conventional military régimes. Riḍā S̲h̲āh originally rose to power as an army officer, but in transforming his personal ascendancy into the form of a monarchy he distanced himself from other senior commanders and made a challenge from any one of them more difficult. Riḍā S̲h̲āh having established the dynasty, his son succeeded him and increased further the distance between the military and the throne, making it difficult for any army officer to challenge his authority without undermining the very structure of the régime (F. Halliday, *Iran, dictatorship and development*, London 1979, 51-2). Yet although both Pahlavi rulers secured and maintained their theoretical and actual control of the army, each also essentially relied on it to guarantee their régime.

In 1921 Riḍā S̲h̲āh arrived at the centre of political power using as an instrument a small Cossack force. He immediately embarked on the task of constructing a strong, modern, national army, organised and equipped on European lines, and based his rise to supremacy on the support of this army (Bāḳir Akalli, *Riḍā S̲h̲āh wa Ḳus̲h̲ūn-i muttaḥid-i S̲h̲akl, 1300-1320*, Tehran 1377). He reorganised the system of military education inside Iran and began sending officers to France for training. He began a massive programme of arms purchases in Europe, including large numbers of tanks and aircraft. In 1925 he forced a conscription bill through the Mad̲j̲lis and the army mushroomed, rising from 42,000 men in 1930 to 127,000 men in 1941, with a total mobilisable force of 400,000. In the early 1920s, the army already accounted for approximately 40% of budget expenditure; between 1930 and 1941 spending on the army nearly quadrupled, and massive sums from oil revenues were allocated directly for weapons purchases.

Riḍā S̲h̲āh used this army to form a centralised state in Iran for the first time in the modern period. However, in the years 1921-5, although the army became dominant, it co-existed with a number of other political players and institutions. The cabinet was largely civilian in character, the constitution, although increasingly disregarded in practice, was not suspended, political parties functioned, elections were held, the Mad̲j̲lis passed legislation, and the Ḳād̲j̲ār shah remained nominally commander-in-chief of the army.

Although the military did not rule directly in the early Pahlavi period, Riḍā S̲h̲āh used the army both to intervene directly in the political process and also to manipulate, in a more subtle way, the political life of the country. His direct intervention began, of course, with the coup d'état itself, and continued with episodes such as the repeated cowing of the Mad̲j̲lis by the threat of armed force, in 1922 and, more seriously, after the failure of the republican movement in 1924. As well as openly intimidating the Mad̲j̲lis at certain key moments, the military, with its increasing control over elections, had by 1926 fatally compromised the independence of that body. The army also sponsored and orchestrated political movements and prepared the ground for constitutional change. Furthermore, Riḍā S̲h̲āh, having come to dominate the cabinet, reducing it largely to an appendage to his own position, systematically promoted the military at the expense of the civil authorities throughout the country. In fact, the army came to dominate the civil authorities throughout Iran, sometimes via the establishment of formal military government, sometimes through informal and unregulated mechanisms of pressure and control. Each military conquest of a recalcitrant area or population was invariably accompanied by the establishment of military government and there was considerable pressure from within the army to ensure that control, once established, remained in its own hands. Military government was especially important as a tool of tribal subjugation and control, army officers regularly replacing deposed tribal chiefs. Even when a provincial civil régime was officially in existence, the local military authorities encroached upon its sphere, appropriating its authority and many of its functions. The declaration of martial law and the establishment of military government was a frequent occurrence in both the capital and the provinces and gave the military authorities an opportunity to tighten their control over all aspects of civilian life, especially political dissent. The two periods of martial law in the capital, 1921-2 and 1924-6, were crucial to Riḍā S̲h̲āh's rise to supreme power. The role of the army was also positively enhanced by its transformation into a focus of nationalism and a pioneer of social progress, military personnel leading the way in clothing reform, the abolition of titles, rudimentary town planning, linguistic reform, etc. (Stephanie Cronin, *The army and the creation of the Pahlavi state in Iran, 1910-1926*, London and New York 1997, 182-221).

In the early Pahlavi period, the new Iranian army, although of questionable conventional military capability, was extremely successful in advancing the political ambitions of its chief and in safeguarding and extending his power. By far the most important function of the new army was to ensure the survival of the régime or, more narrowly interpreted, of Riḍā S̲h̲āh's personal position. This involved, first, the army's establishment of internal security throughout the country, and, second, the military authorities' enforcement of the subordination of all civilian political elements to their own dominance.

In making himself monarch, Riḍā S̲h̲āh profoundly altered the balance between the military and the centre of power. However, by 1926 the relationship between state and society in Iran had already been radically transformed, with the new, centralised army playing a crucial role. Furthermore the weight of the army vis-à-vis civil state institutions, the government, the Mad̲j̲lis, provincial civil governors, etc. had increased in a dramatic and wholly novel way. Although in becoming S̲h̲āh, Riḍā K̲h̲ān transformed what had been an incipient military dictatorship into a dynastic

despotism, nonetheless the régime over which he presided was firmly marked by its military origins and continued to exhibit many features typical of military rule. Although institutions such as the Madjlis and a civilian government would continue to exist, their role was, after 1926, purely decorative and ornamental. Independent political activity would not resume until after the abdication of the Shāh in 1941.

Riḍā Shāh had risen to power as a career officer and he remained, even after ascending the throne, deeply involved in the day-to-day running of the army. His son, however, although he had attended Tehran military academy and frequently appeared on official occasions in military uniform, in reality lacked the connection with the army and with the upper echelons of the officer corps that his father had possessed.

In the 1940s the new Shāh, checked by a variety of social and political forces, was not able to utilise the army as his father had done. Between 1941 and 1953 the army receded into the background, reemerging only after the coup which overthrew Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*]. Immediately after the coup, the Shāh placed its leaders in key positions, General Faḍl Allāh Zāhidī became prime minister, General Taymūr Bakhtiyār military governor of Tehran and General ʿAbd Allāh Hidāyat chief of the general staff. But, most importantly, the Shāh also began to work towards restoring monarchical control of the army, and in 1955 dismissed Zāhidī, who left the country. The Shāh then began the serious rebuilding of the army while, at the same time, with the reorganisation and reinforcement of the gendarmerie and the police, the army's overt role in maintaining public order was reduced (M.J. Sheikh-ol-Islami, in *EIr*, art. *Army*. V. *Pahlavi period*, at ii, 510). From 1963 to 1978, the army remained garrisoned near towns and was sent into tribal areas on a number of small-scale campaigns. But the régime only resorted once to military force to crush urban civil unrest, sc. in June 1963 in Tehran and a number of other towns.

Although its public order duties were reduced, during the 1960s and 1970s the army became increasingly prominent in national life through its involvement in projects initiated under the White Revolution. Many high school and college conscripts served in the Literacy Corps, the Health Corps, and the Construction and Agricultural Development Corps, with such duties as building roads, schools, improving preventive medicine and teaching rudimentary reading and writing. In addition to these activities, which were largely carried out in rural areas, the military performed a host of other functions. In the administration of justice, the military courts had authority over a wide range of offences, including treason, armed robbery, hoarding, profiteering and trafficking in narcotics. The judgements were swift and the penalties harsh (Sheikh-ol-Islami, *loc. cit.*). The army gathered political intelligence and cooperated with SAVAK, the state security agency. Indeed, many of the SAVAK senior personnel came from the army. Many army officers also served in the Imperial Inspectorate, investigating inefficiency and corruption in the civil bureaucracy.

Although Riḍā Shāh had always used the army as a bulwark of his régime, he had been equally careful to prevent either military factions, or individual senior officers, from engaging in independent political activity or developing political ambitions of their own. During the 1930s, he had harboured a particular fear or assassination, believing that, were he to die while the Crown Prince was still young, the new dynasty would be threatened either from an overt challenge from the army or covertly, through the establishment of a regency exercised by one or more of the most powerful generals (Cronin, *The politics of radicalism within the Iranian army: the Jahansuz group of 1939*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxxii/1 [1999], 5-25). Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh, like his father, also feared the consequences of the military's involvement in politics. During the 1940s, while the new shah remained weak, the army became deeply politicised, visible political factions emerged, and certain generals began to establish their own followings (Halliday, *op. cit.*, 67). After 1953, however, and particularly after 1955, the Shāh worked consistently to depoliticise the army and to isolate the most powerful senior officers.

Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh employed various mechanisms to control his officer corps. The armed forces were highly compartmentalised. The chief of staff had little authority over the other chiefs, who all reported to the Shāh directly (W. Sullivan, *Mission to Iran*, New York 1981, 74-5). Each branch was literally headed by the Shāh and without the Shāh, the armed forces as a whole were structurally immobilised. The three services were not in fact allowed to communicate except via the Shāh's own staff. No general could visit Tehran or meet with another general without the Shāh's specific permission. The Shāh was reported to check all promotions above the rank of major, and personally vetted all entrants in the air force training school. He frequently moved senior commanders to ensure that they did not form power bases and used a personal secret police, the Imperial Organisation, as well as conventional military intelligence, to carry out surveillance of the officer corps. Occasionally, he purged officers suspected of disloyalty under the guise of waging anti-corruption campaigns (Halliday, *op. cit.*, 68-9).

As the political crisis of 1978 unfolded, the Shāh again fell back on the army, employing martial law and military government in the capital and a number of provincial cities. By the autumn, a number of generals were advocating direct military intervention. However, the army did not act, the Shāh's system of personal control still paralysing the high command, and the Shāh himself apparently feared that a military coup might prove to be simply another way of terminating his reign (Sepehr Zabih, *The Iranian military in revolution and war*, London and New York 1988, 13). By early 1979, after the Shāh's departure, the army was palpably disintegrating. Ten days after Āyatallāh Khumaynī's return, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces issued the Declaration of Neutrality of the Armed Forces concerning the conflict between Khumaynī and Dr Shāhpūr Bakhtiyār's government (Zabih, 78).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see R.E. Huyser, *Mission to Tehran*, London 1986; ʿAbbās Ḳarābāghī, *Ḥaḳāyiḳ dar bāra-i buhrān-i Īrān*, Paris n.d. (Stephanie Cronin)

3. In the late Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.

Although the ruling élite in the pre-*Tanẓīmāt* Ottoman Empire was referred to as military (*ʿaskerī*), it was in fact composed of both civilian and military elements. In the classical Ottoman Empire, this élite had three major branches: the *seyfiyye* (men of the sword), the *ʿilmiyye* [*q.v.*] (i.e. the *ʿulamāʾ*) and the *ḳalemiyye*, later referred to as *mülkiyye* (men of the pen, bureaucrats). In their explanations based on the idea of "circle of justice", the political thinkers of the classical Ottoman state likewise underscored the importance of statesmen and men of the sword, attributing

the utmost importance to these two categories for the survival of the state (ʿAlī Ḳinalîzāde, *Akhlāḳ-î ʿAlāʾī*, iii, Būlāḳ 1833, 49; Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1281/1866 i, 40). Despite the existence of these distinct categories within the ruling élite, and the various special rights of the military class (e.g. the *Yeñičeri Aghasî* and the Grand Admiral could judge certain cases between Janissaries or members of the Arsenal and could pronounce verdicts, see *Tewḳīʿī ʿAbd ul-Raḥmān Pasha ḳānūnnāmesi*, in *ʿOthmānlî ḳānūnnāmeleri*, in *Millī Tetebbuʿlar Medjmūʿasî*, i/3 [1915], 524-5, 536-7), the boundaries between these two branches were somewhat fluid, more than so in a modern state.

For example, many Grand Admirals later became Grand Viziers (in 1037/1628 the *Yeñičeri Aghasî* Khosrew Pasha became Grand Vizier); local governors enjoyed decision-making authority on military matters in their domains; and duties such as law enforcement and fire fighting were generally viewed as the military's responsibility (in Istanbul, Janissaries carried out these duties). Since the military played the most important role in succession and dethronement, it is difficult to speak of a civilian administration free of military intervention in the pre-reform Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, while the power of the military fluctuated over this long period, it was always at the centre of policy and decision-making.

Late 18th and early 19th century Ottoman attempts at modernisation and Westernisation [see NIẒĀM-Î DJEDĪD] had two important effects on the role of the military. First, since the reforms aimed at imitating superior Western military organisation and techniques, the Ottoman military was the first institution to be thus affected, and the process confirmed its clear superiority in relation to the other branches of the ruling class. Second, the eventual reorganisation of the entire state bureaucracy transformed the three branches of the old administration into more distinct entities. The destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 and their replacement with *Niẓāmiyye* troops resulted in the establishment of the *Bāb-î Serʿaskerī* (Office of the Commander of the Land Forces). The *Serʿasker* became the commander of all Ottoman land troops, and the old Ottoman practice of despatching the Grand Vizier to campaign with the title *Serdār-î Ekrem* was abandoned. In 1836 a *Dār-î Shūrā-yî ʿAskerī* (Military Council), similar to the *Dār-î Shūrā-yî Bāb-î ʿĀlī*, was charged with oversight of the military affairs of the empire. Other than a *muftī* and a representative of the *mülkiyye*, all members of this body were officers. Although the new military establishment initially inherited the Janissaries' duty of law enforcement in the capital, this was transferred to the *Ḍabṭiyye Neẓāreti* (Police Ministry) when it was established in 1845. In the state bureaucracy the title *Serʿasker* became the highest military rank, being on the same level as the Grand Vizier and the *Sheykh ül-Islām*. In 1843 the army was reorganised on the model of the French and Prussian armies. Commanders of the armies were now appointed by the *Serʿasker* and responsible to him. With the increasing distinction between the various branches of the Ottoman administration, the division of power between the military and civilian elements came to be formally regulated. The most important document showing the clear separation of military establishment from other branches of the state was the *Idāre-i ʿÖrfiyye Ḳarārnāmesi* (Martial Law Regulations) enacted by imperial decree on 24 September 1877 (*Düstūr*, 1st Series, iv, Istanbul 1295/1878, 71-2).

The third article of these regulations clearly distinguishes between the civilian and military administrations. Even after these formal arrangements, however, the military continued to enjoy a substantial role in the civil administration by the standards of a modern state. For instance, until the end of the empire, the Minister of War and the Minister of the Navy, who were both officers, and until 1908 the *Ṭopkhāne Müshīri* (Marshal of the Imperial Arsenal of Ordinance), served as members of the *Heyʾet-i Wükelāʾ* (Council of Ministers), and participated directly in decision-making on non-military matters. Although there were exceptions, it remained a common practice until the end of the empire to appoint a military commander to a remote province or sub-province, such as ʿAsīr or North African Tripoli, in the dual role of governor and commander. As in earlier times, during this late period many military figures, such as Aḥmed Djawād Pasha, Maḥmūd Shewkat Pasha Ghāzī Aḥmed Mukhtār Pasha and Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pasha [*q.vv.*], served as Grand Vizier.

During the pre-*Tanẓīmāt* era, the military element also played the leading role in major political events, often leading to drastic changes in the political shape of the empire. Thus the military element played a very important role in the deposition of ʿAbd ül-ʿAzīz in 1876. The 1908 revolution was initiated by a paramilitary committee, the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI] and various army units in Macedonia. The 1909 counterrevolution [see ITTIḤĀD-I MUḤAMMEDĪ DJEMʿIYYETI] was carried out by troops led by *alaylîs* (officers who had not attended military colleges); the military rebellion led by the Khalāṣkārān Ḍābiṭān ("Saviour Officers") in Macedonia and Albania in 1912 paved the way for the forming of the first government opposing the Committee of Union and Progress Committee since 1908. Finally, the Committee regained power in January 1913 through the Sublime Porte Raid led by Enwer Bey (Pasha) and other military leaders who were members of it.

Although ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II had kept the military establishment under strict control until the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, from this date onwards the military gained ground in the administration of the empire, though most of its power did not stem from legal adjustments but rather from the fact that many important figures within the Committee were officers. With the establishment of the authoritarian rule of the Committee in June 1913, the military share in the administration of the empire increased further, despite a temporary law of 11 October 1912 barring officers from participating in any political activity (*Düstūr*, 2nd Series, iv, 650-1). (Another temporary law, issued on the same day, disqualified military personnel from voting (*ibid.*, 651-2); because of this, Ottoman and, later, Turkish officers did not vote in elections until 1961.) A para-military intelligence service called the Special Organisation acted under the command of Enwer Pasha, reporting directly to him and working almost independently of the civilian administration. Yet despite the growing military grip on the administration, and despite the fact that martial law was in effect in the Ottoman capital during most of the decade from 1908 to 1918, no fully military régime was ever established in the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman military establishment led the Turkish resistance against the peace terms imposed upon the Ottoman government, and organised the armed struggle against the invasion of the Turkish heartland. Many leaders of the *Anadolu we Rūmeli Müdāfaʿa-î Ḥuḳūḳ Djemʿiyyeti*, and later of the Ankara government, were

military figures including Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk [*q.v.*]). The latter led the armies and the Turkish (Grand) National Assembly while he was the speaker of this assembly, controlling all three branches of power. Despite this fact, the movement never turned into a fully military one.

Following the success of the Turkish War of Independence in 1922 and the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Muṣṭafā Kemāl instituted one of the most important principles of the new régime, according to which the army should play no part in politics. A law of 29 December 1923 required all army officers to resign from active duty if they wished to run for parliament. A law of 3 March 1924, abolished the Ministry of War and established the Office of the Commander-in-Chief, attached to the Ministry of Defence. Under the command of Marshal Fewzī Čaḳmaḳ [see ÇAKMAK, MUSTAFA FEVZI], who held the position from 1921 to 1944, the Turkish army remained loyal to the new republican régime, many founders of which were former military leaders, and to its principles. Even after Çakmak's retirement, the military did not show any interest in politics until the end of the single-party system in 1946. The first free elections in 1950 and the victory of the opposition caused many military leaders to rethink their role in Turkish politics and to reassess the loyalty of the political leaders to the tenets of the republican régime. Increasing political tension, clashes between law enforcement personnel and college students, and the Democrat Party government's strong measures against the opposition prompted a group of officers to form a revolutionary organisation and initiate a coup on 27 May 1960. This coup was not staged within the chain of command. In fact, the Commander-in-Chief and many high-ranking officers who had remained loyal to the Democrat Party government were arrested and expelled from the army. In a similar fashion, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and the president, prime minister, cabinet members and leading figures of the Democrat Party were arrested and later tried by a special court. The leaders of the coup based their action on the 34th article of the Armed Forces Regulations, which charges the military with "defending and protecting the Turkish Republic and Turkish homeland". A special committee of law professors issued a document the day after the coup legitimising the revolutionary officers' action. Under the direction of General Cemal Gürsel, the Commander of the Land Forces and the highest-ranking officer to join the revolutionaries, an executive committee of thirty-six officers of various ranks, named the National Union Committee, was formed and assumed the power of issuing laws on 12 June 1960. Despite the formation of a government composed of civil and military leaders under Gürsel, the National Union Committee remained the most powerful institution in the country. On 13 November, a schism within the National Union Committee resulted in the elimination of fourteen of its members who had been promoting the idea of a prolonged military régime and more active participation in government. On 13 December, the committee issued a law for the establishment of a constitutional assembly; this would be composed of the members of the National Union Committee and of an Assembly of Representatives, members of which would be elected by various institutions, such as political parties, provincial administrations, the legal bars, and press and guild organisations. The new assembly was convened on 6 January 1961 and worked until 4 September. In the meantime, a new constitution was ratified by a referendum of 9 July. This constitution broadened individual liberties, and at the same time limited the power of the government. This was done by establishing new legal and bureaucratic bodies such as the Constitutional Court and the National Security Council, and by granting autonomy to various institutions such as the universities and the Turkish Radio administration. New elections for the Chamber of Deputies and the newly-established Senate were held on 15 October 1961, and the members of the National Union Committee became "natural" members of the Senate for life. As one of its last decisive actions, the National Union Committee discussed the death sentences pronounced by the special court against the leaders of the Democrat Party on 15 September 1961. By a vote of 13 to 9, the committee approved four death sentences out of sixteen, and three former ministers were hanged on 16 September 1961. The next day, Adnan Menderes [*q.v.*], former prime minister, was executed.

Despite the new elections and the formation of a new civilian government, the military continued to make its power felt in political life for two more years. New revolutionary organisations within the army attempted to dissolve the parliament even before its opening. Despite the agreement of right-wing parties on Ali Fuad Başgil as the next president, under heavy military pressure the deputies and senators elected the leader of the coup, Gürsel, to this post, and the military played a significant role in the formation of a new government under İsmet İnönü [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. On two occasions, 22 February 1962, and 21 May 1963, a group of officers led by Colonel Talât Aydemir attempted to stage a coup to establish a military régime. Both attempts were foiled by Prime Minister İnönü with the support of loyal forces. Following the first attempt, the leaders of the venture were only forced to retire; their second attempt led to the trial and hanging of Col. Talât Aydemir and Lt.-Col. Fethi Gürcan.

Military intervention in politics gradually receded after the second coup attempt in 1963, and normal political activity resumed. But in 1971, the military was prompted to intervene by increasing left-wing activity, and tension between the right-wing Justice Party government and civil-military bureaucratic institutions. There had been various military groups promoting the idea of the establishment of a military régime. One of these groups was also supported by renowned left-wing intellectuals, and promoted the idea of a régime of the Arab Baʿth type; it attempted a stillborn coup on 9 March 1971. Three days later, on 12 March, the military establishment presented an ultimatum to the President and the Speakers of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, accusing the Parliament and the government of not adhering to the Kemālist reforms, causing social and economic disorder and inviting anarchy. The military commanders threatened the Parliament and the government that they would take power unless a new Kemālist government was immediately established. Süleyman Demirel, the prime minister, tendered his resignation, and a new non-party government was established with the approval of the military. Up to the elections held on 14 October 1973, civilian governments under military control administered Turkey and made radical changes in the constitution, limiting many of the liberties granted in 1961. During this period, the major socialist party in Turkey, the Turkish Labour Party, was dissolved, along with the National

Order Party, the major Islamist one; new state courts with extraordinary powers were established, and many left-wing and Islamist politicians and activists were tried.

Following the 1973 elections, the army returned to its barracks and normal political activity resumed until 12 September 1980. However, increasing clashes between left-wing and right-wing groups, which resulted in the killing of approximately 5,000 people between 1977 and 1980, once again prompted the military to intervene. This time, a régime under a National Security Council composed of General Kenan Evren, Commander-in-Chief; three generals in command of the Land, Air and Gendarmerie forces; and the Admiral in charge of the Navy, ruled the country with the help of a government under former Admiral Bülend Ulusu, and a "House of Representatives" virtually hand-picked by the National Security Council; this continued until elections were held on 6 November 1983. In the meantime, thousands of left-wing and right-wing activists were arrested and tried, and all political parties were dissolved, their leaders being arrested or sent to military bases. A provisional article (no. 4) of the new constitution banned leaders of what had been the governing party and the major opposition party in the legislature at the time of the coup from any political activity for ten years, and deputies and senators belonging to these parties were excluded for five years. The 1982 constitution, which created a hybrid system of government involving the president and parliament and which pruned the liberties granted by the former constitution, was put into effect through a referendum. In accordance with a provisional article of the constitution, its ratification also conferred the presidency on the leader of the coup. General Kenan Evren, and made the other members of the National Security Council members of the Presidential Council for seven years. This constitution also remodelled the National Security Council by giving a 5 to 4 majority for the military members of this ten-person body under an impartial president (Article 118).

The importance of the National Security Council function in policy-making after 1983, and especially after 1996, and its role in imposing terms on a government led by the Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan on 28 February 1997, have generally been interpreted as to mark a new period of military dominance in Turkish politics.

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(M. Şükrü Hanioğlu)

4. In Pakistan.

The pre-eminence of the Pakistani military within the country's political set-up, either through direct coups or by simply controlling the economic and external policies, has led to a growing academic debate on several inter-related issues. On the one hand, one notices an unbroken continuity of the British imperial tradition, as is evident through the recruitment, training and other organisational matters, while, simultaneously, the armed forces have taken upon themselves an extra-professional role justified in the name of national interests and ideology. Within the armed forces, it is the army, and not the navy or air force, which has frequently assumed such a flagship role. To its admirers, the army is the only stable institution that can keep the pluralistic country together, whereas to its detractors, the army is in league with secret agencies and a *de facto* state within a state. Certainly, the army is the steel frame of the country's administration, and its leadership reflects a nation-wide representation whereas the lower echelons—*jawans*—are mainly recruited from the Northwestern Punjab and eastern districts of the Frontier Province (NWFP).

The Pakistani armed forces have retained the regimental character, with the gradual addition of newer and diverse corps and training facilities. The introduction of aircraft, gunships, tanks, mountain regiments, missiles and nuclear capabilities has collectively turned the Pakistani armed forces into a complex and quite a significant establishment. For decades, Pakistan's top military leadership has maintained close professional contacts with its U.S. and British counterparts, and while benefitting from huge budgetary allocations, they have established themselves as the most important politico-economic pressure group. Pakistan has been spending most of its revenues and foreign loans on the upkeep of a half-million strong military establishment, several cantonments and bases, besides a huge recurring expense on pensions, semi-private foundations and infrastructures to look after the welfare of the serving or retired officials.

Due to Pakistan's strategic and equally difficult location with a hostile neighbour separating the erstwhile two wings, and because of disputes such as that over Kashmir, her security perceptions have always centred around a "credible level and proportion of deterrence" to an Indian threat. In the 1950s and during the 1980s, the alliances with the United States led to a major inflow of military aid, which further strengthened the defence establishment. Growing intolerant of the political processes and, especially, of the criticism from the eastern wing, the generals decided to take over the country's leadership in 1958. Earlier on, their influence on national policies had been indirect; now they directly controlled the domestic and foreign policies. The first martial law led by General Ayub Khan was initially well received, but subsequently led to greater socio-ideological cleavages. A mass movement to dislodge General Khan led to the imposition of another martial law under General Yahya Khan, who promised unfettered elections in the country. However, following the split vote between East and West Pakistan in 1970, the junta refused to transfer power to the elected majority party—the Awami League of Shaikh Mujibur Rahman—and, instead unleashed a massive military operation in East Pakistan. The local insurgency, aided by India, resulted in the surrender of Pakistani troops at Dhaka in December 1971, and Bangladesh became an independent state. In the 1970s, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the elected Prime Minister, tried to reinvigorate the Pakistani military establishment, in addition to sponsoring Pakistan's nuclear programme. Despite his deep desire to rein in the generals, he was finally overthrown by General Zia-ul-Haq [see ZIYĀʾ AL-ḤAKK] in July 1977, who then ruled the country for the next eleven years. His death in an air crash led to the re-emergence of party-based politics, but the vital decisions were still being made by the Chief of Army Staff. The elected politicians Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, in their own ways, tried to minimise the armed forces' interventionism, but to no avail. On 12 October 1999, Sharif was overthrown in another military coup, which brought in General Pervez Musharraf as the new Chief Executive. The new military rule stopped short of calling itself martial law, though Musharraf elevated himself to the presidency in July 2001. The relationship with India has remained very tense, and the Western countries also initially shunned the new military régime until the United States acquired vital Pakistani support and

bases against Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organisation in Afghanistan.

Pakistan's army has not only ruled the country for almost three decades but it has also decided on vital policy matters. The development of the nuclear programme, support for specific groups in Afghanistan, the nature and extent of relationship with India, and active assistance for Kashmiris in their war against India, have all figured quite significantly in the recent past. The army has been engaged in the formulation and suspension of Pakistani constitutions, and has occasionally engaged itself in the formation and dissolution of numerous political alliances. Its various professional, political and other civilian roles make it the most crucial actor in the running of the country, whilst the security agencies such as the Military Intelligence (MI) and the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) implement such policies. The senior officials make up an élite class in which ethnic loyalties are considered unimportant. General Musharraf would like to revert to the old modernist postulation of the Ayub Khan-Yahya Khan era, i.e. away from Zia's Islamisation, but, given the conservative nature of khaki bureaucracy, the army may never undertake such radical steps. The relationship with India; the fragile nature of the country's economy, with defence accounting for a huge expenditure; the role in creating or denting political processes; and the extra-professionalism required, especially since the fall of Dhaka, are some of the main areas of debate and contestation amongst the supporters and the critics of the military élite. The army, through its information efforts, has been able to convince many Pakistanis in the upper Indus region of its own invincibility and its professional credentials, whereas lower Pakistan remains highly critical of the military's dictatorial role.

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(IFTIKHAR H. MALIK)

AL-NUBĀHĪ (or, more probably, **AL-BUNNĀHĪ**, see M. Bencherifa, *al-Bunnāhī lā al-Nubāhī*, in *Académia. Revue de l'Académie du Royaume du Maroc*, xiii [1998], 71-89), Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Dju̲dh̲amī, equally known as IBN AL-ḤASAN, Andalusī jurist, *adīb* and historian of the period of the Naṣrids [*q.v.*], born at Malaga in 713/1313 and died, probably at Granada, after 798/1389-90.

He was *ḳāḍī al-djamāʿa* [*q.v.*] during almost the whole reign of the Naṣrid sultan Muḥammad V. His name often appears linked with that of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb [*q.v.*], with whom he had a relationship that passed from friendship and collaboration to emnity. This is why Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb presents an image of al-Bunnāhī in his later works (*Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut 1956, 78-80; *al-Katība al-kāmina*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 146) completely opposite to what he had given in the biography consecrated to him in *Iḥāṭa*, iv, 88-100. Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb wrote, moreover, two opuscula bringing together anecdotes in which the personality of the *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-Ḥasan is presented as one of ridicule, the *Tanbīh al-sāhī ʿalā ṭuraf al-Bunnāhī* and *K̲h̲alʿ al-rasan fi 'l-taʿrīf bi-aḥwāl Ibn al-Ḥasan*.

As well as being a composer of epistles, poetry and other texts which the sources have preserved on account of their quality, he also wrote: 1. *al-Marḳaba* (var. *al-mirḳāt*) *al-ʿulyā fī man yastaḥikk* (var. *fī masāʾil*) *al-ḳaḍāʾ wa 'l-futyā*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire des juges d'Andalousie*, Cairo 1948 (an edition which attracted important critical observations, e.g. by Ḥ. Zayyāt, in *al-Mashriq*, xlii [1948], 461-74, and was revised by A. Cuellas in his 1983 Univ. of Granada diss., unpubl.), 2. *Nuzhat al-baṣāʾir wa 'l-abṣār* (mss. Escorial 1653 and Bibl. Générale de Rabat 198 Ḳāf), commentary on a *maḳāma* by the same author *al-Iklīl fī tafḍīl al-nak̲h̲īl*, also called *al-maḳāma al-nak̲h̲liyya*. Some extracts from it were published by Müller in his *Beiträge*, i, 101-60, and 3. *D̲h̲ayl* (var. *tad̲h̲yīl*) *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Mālaḳa*, now lost, probably a continuation of Ibn ʿAskar's history [see MĀLAḲA].

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(A. CARMONA)

O

OIRATS, OYRAT [see KALMUK; WĀFIDIYYA].

ÖREN ḲALʿE, in Russian Orenkale, a site in the southern part of the modern Azerbaijan Republic, in the mediaeval Islamic province of Arrān [*q.v.*]. It lies in lat. 39° 50′ N., long. 47° 30′ E. above the confluence of the Kur and Araxes rivers, close to an ancient canal, the Gyaur Ark̲h̲ [see MŪḲĀN, at Vol. VII, 498b]. The site marks the mediaeval Islamic town of Baylaḳān [*q.v.*] conclusively established by the discovery of wasters of spheroconic vessels, stamped with the inscription *ʿamal Faḍlūn bi 'l-Baylaḳān*, in the course of excavations which began there in 1953 as part of a planned archaeological survey of the region above the confluence of the two rivers mentioned above. This last was, however, abandoned in 1959, and after the death of the director, A.A. Yessen, in

1963, the Ören Ḳalʿe excavations were abandoned also. Vol. II of the report (see *Bibl.*) is mostly devoted to sites in the surrounding area; a projected Vol. III on work at Ören Ḳalʿe in 1956-8 evidently never appeared. The excavation material is now in the reserves of the State Historical Museum at Bākū.

More contentious is the site's identification with the Late Antique fortress of Pʿaytakaran, for the earliest remains at Ören Ḳalʿe, as attested by a copper coin of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius (A.D. 491-518), are 6th century. But the only possible site for Pʿaytakaran lies close to the modern village of Tazakend some 8 km/5 miles to the south-east, where Late Antique stone column bases for a palace or temple, together with a small hoard of denarii of Augustus, but no mediaeval glazed pottery, were brought to light. Ören Ḳalʿe was therefore a new foundation, connected with the Sāsānid Emperor Kawād͟h I (A.D. 488-531) and his fortifying of the Kur-Araxes steppes, though Pʿaytakaran continues to figure in the Armenian historians' accounts of Heraclius's campaign in Atropatene.

Under the Umayyads, Baylaḳān was an important city of the province of Armīniya [*q.v.*] and was a notorious centre of K͟hāridjism, which persisted there until the mid-9th century. The local S͟haddādid rulers passed under the control of the Great Saldjūḳs *ca.* 1050 and, subsequently, of the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ, under the immediate administration of the Ildegizid Atabegs of Ād͟harbāydjān [see ILDEÑIZIDS]. Though sacked by the Mongols late in 1221, it had recovered sufficiently for Djalāl al-Dīn K͟hʷārazms͟hāh to install his harem and his treasury there in 1230. Under the Īl-K͟hānids it slowly declined, but was then rebuilt by Tīmūr in 1403, evidently to serve as his base in Transcaucasia. This long and varied history notwithstanding, the coin-finds were predominantly Ildegizid, especially of the last atabeg, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Özbeg.

The town at Ören Ḳalʿe was a square walled enceinte, with round towers at the corners and semicircular towers between and a main gate on the south-west. The original walls, probably originally 6th-7th century, were of mud brick with a mud cladding. Later repairs were of mud brick with a fired brick revetment, but by the 12th century they had been abandoned. In the eastern corner was a smaller enceinte, 1,525 m^2, also walled: its dimensions are extraordinarily close to those given by S͟haraf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī in his account of Tīmūr's restoration of the town. Excavations here brought to light a large bath, probably early 12th century in date, built on several levels, with walls of decoratively coursed fired brick, an entrance with terra cotta revetment plaques and a stalactite canopy, and one section with remains of wall-painting and carved or moulded plaster. Following its ruin, perhaps in an earthquake, it was intensively colonised, yielding abundant remains of both glazed and unglazed pottery.

Ören Ḳalʿe was one of a group of Transcaucasian potteries active in the pre-Mongol period—Gandja, Ḳabāla, Bākū, Dwīn and especially Mingečawr, though none of the material from this last has been published. As at these sites, the 12th-13th century material from Ören Ḳaʿle, both in quantity and quality, is much more impressive than that from earlier periods. A trial excavation in the potters' quarter outside the walls to the south-west of the town brought four kilns to light, one of them containing spheroconic vessels. Unglazed 12th-13th century pottery included cooking pots, some decorated with spots of turquoise glaze; lavishly decorated storage jars, with barbotine stamped or incised ornament, sometimes with craftsmen's signatures; jugs and bowls, often with moulded decoration; and spheroconic vessels, with a characteristically yellowish-grey body and engraved, stamped or applied decoration. Of particular importance was a group of red-bodied storage vessels, perhaps wine jars with archaising friezes of horned animals, birds and fishes, and even crosses, recalling the impressions of cylinder-seals and, like these, applied with a cylinder. Such wares, with local peculiarities, are also known from Ānī, Gandja, Dwīn, Garnī and Mingečawr.

The earlier locally manufactured glazed wares were mostly varieties of polychrome-stained splash- and drip-wares, characteristic of ʿAbbāsid Mesopotamia and Persia, though one fragment with a mounted huntsman was an imitation of opaque-glazed figural wares with polychrome decoration characteristic of the production of 10th-century Nīs͟hāpūr. In the 12th-13th centuries the pottery seems to show a change also in orientation, to the Caucasus, Anatolia and northern Syria, with many versions of polychrome-stained sgraffiato and champlevé wares. Particularly noteworthy are champlevé wares, one signed *ʿamal K͟haṭṭāb*, with bold strapwork and panels of delicate scrolling arabesque, deriving from fine engraved K͟hurāsānī metalwork of *ca.* 1200; and a group of figural sgraffiato with animals clambering in foliage, so-called "Ag͟hkand" wares, which are, however, known from many sites, including Dmanisi and Urbnisi in Georgia. As at Gandja, these may have been imports.

One important group of glazed wares, virtually exclusive to Baylaḳān, is red-bodied and underglaze-decorated, heavily potted but with exceptionally fine decoration scratched in a black manganese slip. They may be local versions of silicon-enriched 12th-century Kās͟hān "frit" wares painted in black slip under a colourless or a turquoise glaze, but here their repertoire makes use of Persian verse inscriptions, comparable in choice and execution to those on pre-Mongol Kās͟hān lustre wares, and elaborate knot patterns on grounds of fine scrolls. Several pieces were also signed *ʿamal K͟haṭṭāb.* Among signatures on other pottery types from Ören Ḳaʿle, the most interesting is from an unglazed storage jar, with a distich incised in a fair hand and a signature, *ʿamal Ibn ʿAlī b. ʿAzīzī al-fak͟hk͟hār* ("the potter"). Its phraseology is clear, if difficult to parallel, but errors in the transcription of the distich suggest that the signature, too, may contain mistakes.

Kiln furniture was abundant, including cockspurs, though most of the pottery recorded was fired without them. Most of the later glazed wares bore stamped designs on their bases, though, oddly, these were absent from the more highly decorated pieces and practically none of them are inscriptions. Similar stamps on wares of different groups show that the potters, like the decorator K͟haṭṭāb, did not specialise; they could have been bank marks, to identify the work of a craftsmen in a large workshop who was paid by the piece.

Imported wares included silicon-enriched lustre pottery (but not tiles) of most of the documented late 12th- to early 13th-century Kās͟hān types. Some of them, however, are characteristic of the 1260s-1270s, suggesting that the site may have continued to flourish under the Īl-K͟hānids and that the types of pottery discussed above may therefore have later termini than the Mongol invasion of 1221. Other Kās͟hān products, notably *mīnaʾī* and underglaze wares, do not seem to have been recorded.

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ÖZAL, Turgut, modern Turkish statesman (1927-93). He was born in 1927 in the province of Malatya in south-eastern Turkey. After graduating as an electrical engineer in 1950, he served in a number of important technical and economic posts between 1967 and 1980, initiating a programme of liberalising economic reforms in January 1980. Following the coup d'état led by General Kenan Evren on 12 September of that year, Özal continued these policies as Deputy Prime Minister, but he was forced to resign in July 1982 after a banking scandal. During the transition back to civilian rule in 1983, Özal established the Motherland Party, which won a comfortable majority in the general elections of November 1983. He thus became Prime Minister in the following month, increasing his party's majority in the next elections, held in November 1987. As premier, his main achievement was to free the economy from government constraints, producing high economic growth and an impressive increase in foreign trade; his main failures were the continuation of high inflation, and increasing allegations of corruption and disunity in his government during the late 1980s. When General Evren retired from the presidency in October 1989, Özal was elected to succeed him; however, his party lost its parliamentary majority in the general elections of October 1991, thus reducing his real political power. As President, Özal played a major role in foreign policy determination, controversially directing Turkey's support for the coalition powers in the Gulf crisis of 1990-1. His sudden death from a heart attack in April 1993 removed a towering figure in Turkish politics, distinguished by his attachment to economic and political liberalism, as well as the integration of moderate Islam into the country's political life.

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P

PASHTO [see afghān. ii].

PĪRPANTHĪ (from Pers. *pīr* + *panth* "way of the spiritual master"), the name given in what is now Western India and in Pakistan to Hindus who follow Muslim *pīrs*, whether living or dead, these being generally Ṣūfīs or Ismā'īlīs. To be precise, the term Pīrpanth is applied more strictly to two specific groups: (1) the disciples of Imām Shāh [*q.v.*], a dissident Ismā'īlī who was one of the sons of the Ismā'īlī *pīr* Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, whose tomb is situated near Aḥmadābād [*q.v.*] in Gudjarāt; and (2) more rarely, to the Hindu disciples of Ṣūfī masters, Muslims or occasionally Hindus, originating from Sindh, Pandjāb or Rādjāsthān, such as Rāmdēv Pīr (or Rāmā Pīr), Pithoro Pīr, Paṭho Pīr, etc., with whom we are not concerned here.

The existence of the Pīrpanthīs attests the importance of interpenetration of Islam and Hinduism in this part of the subcontinent. Rather than speaking of syncretism, it would be more sensible to speak of a charismatic consensus at which these sects arrived. Sprung from the Mathīa Kanbī caste of agricultural labourers, the Pīrpanthīs were also known by the name of Momnahs (or Mōmnas). Established within Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] proper, but spilling out into Khāndesh and Kačch [*q.vv.*], they are divided into several subsects according to whether they venerate Imām Shāh himself or one of his descendants or representatives. In the period from the late 19th century onwards, when confessional allegiances crystallised, fundamentalist Hindu organisations like the Āryā Samādj convinced a great number of them to revert to "orthodox" Hinduism. They generally assumed the name of Paṭel, and continued to venerate Imām Shāh, whom they considered as the *guru* who spoke in the name of the tenth *avatār* of Vishnu, Niklankī.

Bibliography: In addition to the *Bibls.* given for imām shāh and sathpanthīs, see J.M. Campbell (ed.), *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, ix/2, *Gujarat population: Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay 1899; W. Ivanow, *The sect of Imam Shah in Gujerat*, in *Jnal. Bombay Branch of the RAS*, N.S. xii (1936), 19-70; Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 442-3, 480ff.; Dominique-Sila Khan, *Conversions and shifting identities. Ramdev Pir and the Ismailis in Rajasthan*, Dihlī 1997; M. Boivin, *Les Ismaéliens. Des communautés d'Asie du sud entre islamisation et indianisation*, Turnhout 1998; Dominique-Sila Khan and Zawahir Moir, *Coexistence and communalism in the shrine of Pirana in Gujarat*, in *South Asia*, xxii, Special issue (1999), 133-54. (M. Boivin)

PRESTER JOHN, the name of a mysterious potentate, said to be a Nestorian Christian and inimical to Islam, whom the Christians of medieval Europe placed beyond the Islamic lands in Inner or Far Asia.

The name Presbyter Johannes first occurs in the chronicle, called *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, of the German prelate Otto, Bishop of Freising, in which he describes, on the authority of a meeting in 1145 with the Latin Bishop Hugh of Djabala (= ancient Byblos, in Lebanon), how Prester John was a monarch, of the lineage of the Magi of the Gospels, living in the Far East (*in extremo oriente*) beyond Persia and Armenia. He had attacked the *Samiardi* brothers, kings of the Persians and Medes, had defeated them and had advanced to the Tigris in the hope of aiding the Church in Jerusalem, but had then been forced to

turn back. The passage seems almost certainly to contain an allusion to the defeat of the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*] (= the kings *Samiardos/Saniardos*, here made plural) and his Ḳarakhānid allies by the Western Liao, known to the Muslims as the Ḳara Khiṭay [*q.v.*] at the battle of the Ḳaṭwān Steppe in Transoxania in 536/1141 (the remainder of Otto's story about Prester John's advance across Persia into Mesopotamia being unhistorical).

However, this does not necessarily mean that the later, elaborate stories of Prester John, which contained connections with the Indian Ocean coastlands and, above all, with Ethiopia, all had their origins in this battle. It is not impossible that stories of Prester John were known before the news of Sandjar's defeat percolated through to the Crusader principalities in the Levant, providing a convenient peg on which to hang the stories. In the opinion of the late Prof. C.F. Beckingham, such stories were probably connected with the legend of the shrine of St. Thomas in South India (modern Kerala) and the existence of an ancient Christian community there; but the intricacies of the later history of Prester John do not concern us here. It should be noted, however, that the assertion of B. Spuler in his article GÜRKHĀN at Vol. II, 1143b, that *Johannes* stems from the title *Gürkhān* (itself almost certainly Turkish in origin, according to G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, no. 1672) seems most unlikely.

Bibliography: The bibl. on this enigmatic figure is large, ranging from the pioneer work of F. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, in *Abh. Königl. Sächsischen Gesell. der Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Cl., vii-viii (1879-83), to C.F. Beckingham's *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, London 1995. A succinct and stimulating study is this same author's *The achievements of Prester John*, Inaugural Lecture, SOAS, London 1966. Most recently, see E. Ciurtin, *La mythologie asiatique et la légende africaine du Prêtre Jean*, in *Archaeus. Études d'Histoire des Religions*, v/3-4 (Bucarest 2001), 5-21. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

PUASA, the Indonesian term for the month of fasting, Ramaḍān [*q.v.*].

During Ramaḍān in Indonesia all levels of local, indigenous and normative interpretations of Islam congregate. On the national level, the country converts into a large Ḳur'ān school with religious programmes dominating the news media, mobile Ḳur'ān schools, Ḳur'ān clinics and Ḳur'ān reciting marathons. In the month prior to Ramaḍān, many areas will hold "praise rallies" in order to prepare spiritually for Ramaḍān. These are nightly events of Ṣūfī-type *dhikr* that rotate from house to house.

Simultaneously, reaching back to the pre-Islamic, Hindu-Buddhist elements of Javanese culture, there is great stress on rituals surrounding the graves of ancestors. These take place in the weekend prior to the beginning of the fast and at the end. In certain areas, e.g. in Java, the so-called "Kraton culture" of the sultan's palace performs rituals that are entirely non-Islamic. For instance, after the ʿĪd prayers a grand parade called *Gerebeg* is held in front of the Kraton with as its centre piece a magical "mount of blessing" that conveys some of the sultan's mystical power.

Attitudes toward the practice of fasting are influenced by Javanese ascetic practices that are followed for a variety of reasons year round. As a result of this, children as young as four years old start to practice abstinence for Ramaḍān. In general, the fast is broken in restrained manner with many Muslims limiting their first meal to a small snack and a glass of sweet juice.

Although Ramaḍān is a time of promoting unity among Muslims, differences between Reformist and Traditionalist Muslims are played out with fervour. This starts with the issue of identifying when the fast begins and ends, and is visible during Ramaḍān in different practices concerning the *tarāwīḥ* prayers and the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr gatherings.

Celebrations for the *ʿĪd* last up to one month, and serve to renew harmony and unity. People travel all over the country (*mudik*) in order to visit relatives and to ask forgiveness for wrongs committed during the past year. Neighbourhoods, businesses and schools organise special *halal bi 'l-halal* parties.

Bibliography: There are innumerable numbers of books about *puasa* in the Indonesian language. Many leading preachers and scholars of Islam have published their Ramaḍān sermons and reflections, such as Hamka, *Puasa tarawih dan Iedul Fitri*, Jakarta 1995; M. Ouraish Shihab, *Sahur bersama*, Bandung 1997. (NELLY VAN DOORN-HARDER)

R

RADJA' B. ḤAYWA b. Khanzal al-Kindī, Abu 'l-Miḳdām or Abū Naṣr (full *nasab* in Gottschalk, 331, from Ibn ʿAsākir), a rather mysterious *mawlā* or client who seems to have been influential as a religious and political adviser at the courts of the early Marwānid caliphs, from ʿAbd al-Malik to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. His birth date is unknown, but he died in 112/730, probably around the age of seventy.

According to one account, Radjā''s family stemmed from Maysān in Lower ʿIrāḳ, hence from the local Nabaṭ or Aramaeans, where the bond of *walā'* with the Arab tribe of Kinda [*q.v.*] must have been made, the Kinda being especially strong in Kūfa. The family moved westwards to the Palestine-Transjordan area, where again there were many Kindīs in such districts as the Balḳā' [*q.v.*], providing strong military support for the Umayyads. It is likely that Radjā' himself was from that area, from Baysān in the Jordan valley, as the *nisbas* sometimes applied to him, "al-Filasṭīnī" and "al-Urdunnī", would imply. He appears, together with Yāzid b. Sallām, a *mawlā* of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik and a native of Jerusalem, as being involved in the construction of the Dome of the Rock [see KUBBAT AL-ṢAKHRA], probably as financial controller (Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-djalīl*, Cairo 1283/1866-7, i, 241-2 = ʿAmmān 1973, i, 272-4), and he was also employed by al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] on a diplomatic mission to conciliate the Ḳaysī Arab tribes of northern Syria under their leader Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī.

Radjā' was further famed for his piety and knowledge of the religious sciences, and was high in the counsels of ʿAbd al-Malik and his son al-Walīd (I), accompanying the latter on his Pilgrimage of 90/709 or 91/710, when he first came into contact with the caliph's cousin ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, governor of Medina, a relationship to be of significance later. During the short caliphate of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (96-9/715-17 [*q.v.*]), Radjā' appears as both an executive official and a spiritual adviser to the ruler and then to his successor ʿUmar (II) b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; some sources make him head of Sulaymān's *dīwān al-khātam* or chancery. He clearly lent his religious backing to the caliphs, and his role thus marks a stage in the acceptance of *mawālī* in the sphere of legal and religious authority hitherto jealously guarded by the Arabs (cf. the role, parallel in many ways, of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*]); one may also view it as an aspect of the increasing concern of the Umayyads with the religious and spiritual aspects of their authority.

The historical sources make Radjā''s great moment the events at Sulaymān's death in Ṣafar 99/September 717. It had been ʿAbd al-Malik's intention that his sons by free wives should succeed him, and there were still four of these eligible at Sulaymān's death. Yet a temporary re-routing of the succession was now achieved, to the collateral branch of ʿAbd al-Malik's brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (in fact, it had been the wish of the founder of the Marwānid line, Marwān (I) b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz should follow ʿAbd al-Malik in the caliphate).

What happened when Sulaymān was on his deathbed at Dābiḳ [*q.v.*], north of Aleppo, is related in detail by al-Wāḳidī, preserved by Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 246-9, and al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1341-5, tr. in Bosworth, 52-9, and D.S. Powers (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiv, *The empire in transition*, Albany 1989 (with an *isnād* going back to Radjā'), with a few additional details in al-Dhahabī. According to these accounts, Radjā' was able to persuade Sulaymān to set aside his own children and half-brothers in favour of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and secured adhesion to this arrangement by the device of requiring allegiance to the person named in a sealed *ʿahd* of Sulaymān. However, since much of the information on this episode goes back, directly or indirectly, to *riwāyas* stemming from Radjā' himself, it has been suggested that he may have exaggerated his personal share in events (see Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion*, 222ff., and idem, art. SULAYMĀN B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, at Vol. IX, 822a).

During ʿUmar's brief ensuing period of power (to Radjab 101/February 720), Radjā' may have been an adviser of the caliph, but specific detail is lacking; one would like to know whether, for instance, he had any part in ʿUmar's administrative and financial measures, including his famous "rescript". He apparently spent the last decade of his life in retirement, and died, in unknown circumstances, in 112/730, according to Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, v, 172, at Ḳussīn near Kūfa.

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2. Studies. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 165-6, Eng. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, 261-2; H. Gottschalk, *Raǧā' ibn Ḥaiwa und der theologische Einfluss am Hofe der Marwaniden von Damaskus*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 328-40; C.E. Bosworth, *Rajā' ibn Ḥaywa al-Kindī and the Umayyad caliphs*, in *IQ*, xvi (1972), 36-80, repr. in *Medieval Arabic culture and administration*, London 1982, no. III; R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion. Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimān b. ʿAbdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen*, Wiesbaden 1987, 213ff. See also ʿUMAR II B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

RĀDJASTHĀN, a historic region of the western part of the Indian subcontinent, and now the name of a province in the Indian Union. It is bounded by the Pakistan provinces of Sind and Pandjāb on the west and northwest, and by the Indian states of Pandjāb, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh on the northeast, Madhya Pradesh on the east, southeast and south, and Gudjarāt on the south. With an area of 342,267 km^2/132,149 sq. miles, it is the second largest state in the Indian Union (after Madhya Pradesh), but because of its climate and habitat, has a less dense population than any other state. The population (1986 estimate) was 37,000,000. The state capital is at Jaipur, formerly the centre of a princely state [see DJAYPUR], and the state is divided into 26 Districts.

1. Geography and habitat.

The topography of Rādjasthān is dominated by the range of Aravalli Hills, which run in a transverse fashion across the state from northeast to southwest, culminating in Mount Abu (1,722 m/5,650 feet) at the southwestern end and ending just over the border of Gudjarāt State. The three-fifths of the state lying to the northwest are largely sandy, with the Great Indian or Thar Desert in the far west but with more fertile and habitable lands as one goes eastwards. The two-fifths lying to the southeast of the Aravalli Hills are diversified in character and more fertile, with the Districts of Kota and Bundi forming a tableland. In the south is the hilly tract of Mēwāŕ [*q.v.*], centred on Udaipur [see UDAYPŪR]. On the state's northeastern edge, the plains around Bharatpur form part of the Jumna/Yamunā basin. The only large perennial river is the Chambal, which flows northeastwards into the Jumna.

Rādjasthān is predominantly an agricultural and pastoralist state. Despite a low and erratic rainfall, with a subsequent need for irrigation, nearly all types of crops are grown, including various cereals, rice and vegetables. Despite the arid or semi-arid nature of more than half the state's area, there is a large livestock population in comparison with the rest of India, including camels and draught animals, and Rādjasthān is the largest produce of wool in the Union.

2. Ethnology.

There are aboriginal tribes in various parts of the state, especially to the east and south of the Aravalli Hills, including Bhīls, and various tribes of Rādjpūt stock, such as the Mē'ōs [*q.v.*], a part of whom was nominally converted to Islam in the 8th/14th century. Rādjpūts form the most significant element in Rādjasthān and have dominated its political and cultural history, even though, at present, Radjpūts form only a small proportion of the total population, with many more Rādjpūts outside the state in the Pandjāb, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, etc. The princely states of Rādjasthān were almost all ruled by Hindu Rādjpūt princes, with the exceptions of Muslim Tonk [*q.v.*] in the east of the state whose founder

was a Paṭhān chief, and the Djāṭ [*q.v.*] states of Dholpur and Bharatpūr in the northeast. The Rādjpūts claim to be the descendants of the Kshatriyas of Vedic times, and take great pride in their ancestry and their warlike traditions (Skr. *rādjaputra* "king's son"). But such claims are based on fictitious genealogies, and the Rādjpūts must be of very diverse ethnic origins, with some remains of the old Kshatriyas but with many later admixtures of invading peoples who became Hinduised, with new families recognised as Rādjpūt. The term Rādjpūt is, accordingly, not of racial significance but denotes a tribe, clan or warlike class whose members claimed aristocratic rank. At present, some 10% of the population of Rādjasthān State is Muslim.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetter of India*², xxi, 82-93, 104-42; Government of India, District gazetteers, *Rajputana*, Calcutta 1908; H.A. Rose, *A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Lahore 1919, iii, s.v. *Rajputs*; O.K.H. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan, a general and regional geography*, ³London 1967, 611-21; *Gazetteer of India, Provincial series, Rajasthan*, Delhi 1968; V.C. Misra, *The geography of Rajasthan*, New Delhi 1968; *EI*¹ art. *Rādjpūts*. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

3. Languages and literature.

The dialects of Rādjasthān belong to the Western Hindī group of New Indo-Aryan, with the Aravalli Hills marking the main internal divide between the north-western and the south-eastern dialects. Predictably closer in many respects to Brajbhāsā (and to standard Hindī), the main south-eastern dialects are Djaypūrī (Ḍhūnḍhāṛī) and its southern neighbours Mēwāṛī and Hāṛawtī, in turn flanked to the east by Mēwātī and to the south by Mālwī. Possibly also reflected in the Romani of the European gypsies, earlier migrations from this region are certainly responsible for the close resemblances between south-eastern Rādjasthānī and the speech of several nomadic groups, including Lamānī in central India and the Godjrī (Gudjarī) spoken by the Muslim Gudjar herdsmen of Kashmīr and the adjacent areas of northern Pākistān. The Mārwāṛī dialects spoken in the desert areas of north-western Rādjasthān are collectively distinguished by such features as the distinction of implosives from explosives in the voiced series *g ḍ d b* or the retention of an organic passive in *-īdj-*, both with close parallels in Sindhī [*q.v.*] and Siraikī [see LAHNDĀ], as well as individual shibboleths like the possessive marker *rō*.

Following a period of several centuries during which Old Gudjarātī (confusingly termed "Old Western Rādjasthānī" by Tessitori) was the common literary language of both Gudjarāt and Rādjasthān, Old Mārwāṛī emerged as an independent literary language around the middle of the 15th century, when it is attested in the semi-popular poetic treatments of romantic themes found in the *Vīsaladevarāsa* and the *Ḍholā-Mārū rā dūhā*. In the hands of the Chārans, the hereditary bards of the ruling Rādjpūts [*q.v.*], Old Mārwāṛī was developed as a specialised literary medium for heroic poetry with the incorporation of numerous Sanskritisms and special poetic forms. This bardic language is known as Ḍingal, as opposed to "Pingal", the literary Brajbhāsā cultivated for other types of poetry in the period down until the later 19th century when both were replaced as literary standards by modern Hindī.

In its celebration of the chivalric ideals of the Rādjpūts and of their resistance to the Muslims, the heroic literature of Rādjasthān is of very great cultural importance. It finds its first classic statement in the Old Gudjarātī *Kānhaḍadē-prabandha* (1456) by Padmanābh, which celebrates the victories achieved over the Dihlī Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī [*q.v.*] and his generals by Kānhaḍadēv, the Rādjpūt ruler of Djalōr, until his final defeat (dated *ca.* 1312) is followed by his queens performing collective ritual self-immolation (*djawhar*). In addition to panegyrics and elegies (*marsiyā*), Ḍingal literature includes many similar treatments of such historical episodes, beginning with the mixed prose-verse *Achal Khīchī rī vachānikā* based on the resistance mounted by its eponymous Rādjpūt hero to the invasion in 1423 of Sultan Hūshang Ghūrī of Māndū [*q.v.*]. For stylistic as well as linguistic reasons, however, Ḍingal literature has attracted less interest from modern scholars than the more approachable prose chronicles of the Rādjpūt states dating from the early 17th century which were written in Middle Mārwāṛī, and whose most celebrated exemplar is the *Khyāt* by Nayṅasī, minister to Djaswant Singh of Mārwāṛ (d. 1670).

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(C. SHACKLE)

4. History.

Archaeological researches in western Rādjasthān show that people were living there in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. who were close to the Harappan and post-Harappan cultures of the Indus valley. Late rulers of the whole or parts of the state included the Bactrian Greeks, Sakas, Guptas, and White Huns, until from the 7th century A.D. onwards, various Rādjpūt dynasties arose, including the Gurdjara-Pratīhāras, who fended off the Arab colonists in Sind; but for the most part, these Rādjpūt princely lines were involved in internecine warfare, which was to facilitate Muslim probes into the region. The last of the Čāhamāna or Čawhān line, Pṛithvīrādja III, was defeated and killed by the Ghūrid sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [*q.v.*] in the second battle of Tarāʾin in 588/1192. The capital Adjmēr [*q.v.*] was briefly restored by the Ghūrid to Pṛithvīrādja's young son after the latter had accepted the Sultan's suzerainty over his lands. Only the strategic fortress of Ranthambhor in eastern Rādjasthān was occupied permanently, with a garrison under Kiwām al-Mulk

Rukn al-Dīn Ḥamza. In 591/1195 the Rādjpūts rebelled against Muslim control under the leadership of the chiefs Harirādjā and Djatrā'ī who occupied Adjmer [*q.v.*], threatened Ranthambhōr and fomented dissension in the region towards Dihlī, where Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*] resided as Muʿizz al-Dīn's viceroy. Aybak restored the situation and regained Adjmēr. Nāgawr [*q.v.*] in the region of Djōdhpūr [*q.v.*] seems to have been occupied at this time. Thangar, capital of the territory of Bayānā in this eastern part, was besieged and captured by Muʿizz al-Dīn in 592/1196 and then entrusted to Malik Bahā' al-Dīn Ṭoghril, who later transferred his capital to a newly-founded town, Sulṭānkōṭ, that later became known, from the name of the province, as Bayānā. Thus with the exception of the chief of Djālor in western Rādjasthān, most of the region had been nominally at least subdued. In the last years of the 6th/12th century, Khʷādja Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥasan Sidjzī (d. 633/1236 [see ČISHTĪ]), founder of what was to become one of the most influential Ṣūfī orders in India, the Čishtiyya [*q.v.*], came to reside at the Čāhamāna capital Adjmēr, and his shrine there later became one of the most celebrated shrines, for both Muslims and Hindus, in the subcontinent. His disciple Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Suwalī Nāgawrī (d. 673/1274) was sent by Muʿīn al-Dīn to Nāgawr, which likewise became an important Čishtī shrine.

The relaxation of power in the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] on the death in 633/1236 of Iltutmish [*q.v.*] gave an opportunity for the Rādjpūt princes to reassert their power. A revolt in eastern Rādjasthān forced his daughter Sultan Raḍiyya [*q.v.*] to withdraw the Muslim garrison from Ranthambhōr, and except for the districts around Adjmēr and Nāgawr, the whole region reverted to Rādjpūt rule, allowing powerful lines like those of Ranthambhōr and Čitōr to come into existence; for the rest of the century no Muslim ruler was able to contemplate a reconquest. This only came in the reign of ʿAlā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1316), who aimed to secure at least eastern Rādjasthān in order to open a line of communication towards Mālwa and Gudjarāt, which he coveted. An army was sent in 700/1301 to besiege the powerful and prestigious ruler of Ranthambhōr, Rā'ī Hammīr Dēva, a descendant of Pṛithvīrādja III. This attempt failed ignominiously, and only after the Sultan had to come from Dihlī in person with reinforcements did Ranthambhōr fall after a year's struggle. It was then placed under the general Ulugh Khān, and in 701/1302 the Sultan invested the fortress of Čitōr, then ruled by another noted prince, Ratnasimha of the Guhila clan of Mēwāṛ and the grandson of Djatrā'ī, and captured it in the next year, annexing the territory of Čitōr to the Dihlī Sultanate and placing it under the governorship of the crown prince, Khiḍr Khān. Thereafter, the chiefs of smaller principalities either submitted or were overthrown by military force. Thus in 711/1311 the commander Malik Kamāl al-Dīn Gurg defeated Rā'ī Karan Dēva and seized his principality of Djālor, and after this, lesser chiefs in Djaysalmer, etc. likewise submitted and acknowledged Khaldjī suzerainty.

Thus throughout the 8th/14th century, Rādjasthān was controlled by the Dihlī Sultans and their governors from such centres as Adjmēr, Ranthambhōr, Nāgawr and Djālor. However, the invasion of northern India and sack of Dihlī by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] in 801/1398 eventually led to the end of the Tughluḳ Sultans and heralded a period of weakness for the Sultanate, with various Muslim powers arising in the provinces. It was also the opportunity for a re-assertion of power by the Rādjpūt chiefs, with the Rānā of Čitōr organising a confederacy of chiefs and with the Rādjpūts of Mēwāṛ driving the Muslims from Adjmēr, held by them till 859/1455 when the Sultan of Mālwa recaptured, with the rulers of Mālwa now holding it for almost eighty years. It was also an opportunity for Sultan Muẓaffar Shāh (I) of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*], now independent of Dihlī, to send his younger brother Shams al-Dīn Khān Dandānī against Nāgawr, at which his descendants established a local dynasty that endured till Dawlat Khān Nāgawrī was killed *ca.* 932/1525-6 by Rā'ī Māldēva of Djōdhpūr. Djalōr was ruled by a Nuhanī Afghan chief and his descendants until it was conquered by Māldēva after 932/1526, but the latter's power was then overthrown by the Dihlī Sultan Shīr Shāh Sūr (*r.* 947-52/1540-5 [*q.v.*]), who also attacked the Rādjā of Djōdhpūr in his principality of Mārwāṛ in 949/1542-3. Previous to this, Mēwāṛ had been built up into one of the most powerful principalities of northern India under its energetic ruler Rānā Sangrām Singh or Sāngā (*r.* 1509-28), who led successful campaigns against the Sultans of Mālwa and Gudjarāt. He went on to acquire imperial ambitions, defeating the Dihlī Sultan Ibrāhīm Lōdi [see LŌDĪS] in 929/1523 and made overtures to the Mughal adventurer Bābur [*q.v.*] for a concerted attack on the Lōdīs. He soon realised, however, that Bābur would be a powerful rival for power and turned against him; but in 933/1527 Bābur secured a decisive victory over Sāngā at Khānu'ā. This was a turning point in the history of northern India, for after this the Rādjpūt princes remained essentially on the defensive in their territories against the rising power of the Sūrs and then the Mughals.

Shīr Shāh Sūr's biographer ʿAbbās Sarwānī mentions the territories acquired by him in Rādjasthān as the *mulk-i Nāgawr u Adjmēr u Djōdhpūr*, and he also speaks of the desert regions of the west as the *zamīn-i rīgistān*. Shīr Shāh now divided up the whole region into extensive *sarkārs* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], each under a *fawdjdār* with his commander Khawāṣṣ Khān as *amīn* or overall governor. The emperor Akbar's policy in Rādjasthān was based on conquest and conciliation. The captures of Čitōr and Ranthambhōr made him master of the greater part of the region, with the exception of Mēwāṛ, not completely subdued until Djahāngīr's reign, when Rānā Amar Singh submitted at Udaypūr in 1023/1614. The emperor took Rādjpūt wives, and both his son Djahāngīr and the latter's son Shāh Djahān were born of Rādjpūt mothers. Rādjpūt troops, typically dismounting from their small horses to fight, formed contingents in the Mughal army under Akbar. Rādjasthān was organised into the *ṣūba* [*q.v.*] of Adjmēr under a *ṣūbadār* [*q.v.*], with seven component *sarkārs*: Adjmēr, Čitōr, Ranthambhōr, Sirohi, Nāgawr, Djōdhpūr and Bikāner. The districts of Alwār and Bharatpūr, which are now within modern Rādjasthān State, were included in the *ṣūba* of Āgra.

The reversing of Akbar's conciliatory policies under Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] left the emperor faced with such powerful enemies as the Rādjpūts in northern India and the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*] in the northwestern Deccan. The new policy of militant Muslim orthodoxy affected the emperor's relationship with the Rādjpūt nobility, who formed a highly influential element in the Mughal state apparatus; the highest-ranked noble in the empire was Mīrzā Radjā Djay Singh Kačhwaha of Djaypūr, and in 1090/1679 all Rādjpūts in the state service were excused the newly-imposed *djizya*, though the mass of Rādjpūt subjects were not. Nevertheless, the

role of the Rādjpūt nobles now began to be curtailed by what seems to have been a deliberate policy on Awrangzīb's part. His attempt to interfere in the succession to the throne in Mārwāṙ and to impose a Rādjpūt candidate of his choice there led to a major Rādjpūt revolt in 1089-90/1679-80 at Mārwāṙ and then Mēwāṙ. Since the Rādjpūts had no field artillery, the Mughal army suppressed this, and occupied Udaypūr, but guerilla warfare against the Mughals continued for a generation in the hills.

Bharatpūr was taken over by a Djāt chief on Awrangzīb's death and the Rādjpūts were able to retake Adjmēr in 1133/1721; but internal dissensions prevented the Rādjpūts from making headway against the Marāṭhās, within whose confederation they now came. Adjmēr was captured in 1169/1756; the power of the Rādjpūt chiefs reduced to a low ebb, and the land suffered from Pindarī and Paṭhān plundering and oppressive levies. It may be noted that it is in the 18th century that the term Rādjpūtāna is found, so that a historian like Khāfī Khān uses the expressions *mulk-i Rādjpūtān* and also *Rādjpūtiyya*; it was essentially under British paramountcy in the 19th century that the designation Rādjpūtāna became usual.

With the defeat of the Marāṭhās by British forces in 1817-18, before the end of 1818, the group of principalities and chiefdoms which came to comprise the British Indian province of Rādjpūtāna had been taken under British protection. Their borders were now precisely delimited, with the whole of the province comprising these native states (totalling eighteen princely states and two chiefdoms) except for the small enclave of Adjmēr-Mērwāṙa which was a directly-ruled British Indian province. The chief commissioner of this last was also the political officer there, styled agent to the governor-general, for the Government of India, and there with various residents and political agents accredited to the native states. The outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 found Rādjpūtāna devoid of British troops; there were local disturbances, but the native princes, whose positions were often threatened, managed to restore order. The administrative system outlined above lasted until Partition and Indian independence in 1947; during the previous century or so, the province had, from its particular political constitution, remained largely outside the nationalist and westernising currents that affected other parts of the subcontinent. During the civil strife that raged around Partition, many Muslims were driven out of the Hindu princely states of Alwār and Bharatpūr. When the Indian Union was established, the central government in 1956 set up a Boundary Commission for the reorganisation of states on a linguistic basis. A recommendation, implemented in 1958, was that Alwār and Bharatpūr should be included in the new state of Rādjasthān, though linguistically they do not form part of it.

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(IQTIDAR H. SIDDIQUI)

RĀFIʿ AL-DARADJĀT b. Rāfiʿ al-Shaʾn b. Shāh ʿĀlam I, Shams al-Dīn, great-grandson of the great Mughal emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] and one of the ephemeral emperors in the last decades of independent Mughal rule, reigning for some four months in the spring of 1131/1719.

After Awrangzīb's death in 1118/1707, the main power in the empire was that of the Bārha Sayyids [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who in 1124/1712 raised to the throne Farrukh-siyar b. ʿAẓīm al-Shaʾn Muḥammad ʿAẓīm [*q.v.*] but deposed him in Rabīʿ II 1131/February 1719 and substituted for him Rāfiʿ al-Daradjāt; but in June, the latter died of tuberculosis, to be succeeded by yet another puppet of the Bārha Sayyids, Shāh Djahān II b. Rāfiʿ al-Shaʾn.

Bibliography: See that to FARRUKH-SIYAR, and add J.F. Richards, *The Mughal empire*, Cambridge 1993, 272. For chronology, see C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 331 no. 175.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-RAMLĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD ABŪ BAKR **IBN AL-NĀBULUSĪ**, a traditionist originally from Nābulus [*q.v.*] who was the *raʾīs* of Ramla and who used often to make retreat with his disciples in the Akuwākh Bāniyās ("the huts of Bāniyās") at the foot of Mt. Hermon in the Syrian Djawlān.

He publicly opposed the Fāṭimid occupation of Syria. Taken from Damascus and sent in a cage to Egypt, on the orders of the caliph al-Muʿizz [*q.v.*] he was flayed alive in 363/973 at the Manẓar, the belvedere on the road connecting Fusṭāṭ with Cairo (the relevant Arabic texts and details of his biography and of the numerous famous *muḥaddiths* and historians whom he taught or frequented are to be found in Th. Bianquis, *Ibn al-Nābulusī, un martyr sunnite au IVᵉ s. de l'hégire*, in *AI*, xii [1974], 45-66; idem, *ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Saʿīd, un savant sunnite au service des Fāṭimides*, in *Actes du XXIᵉ Congrès international des orientalistes*, Paris 1975, i, 39-47).

He exercised a more important influence on the historians of Damascus and Baghdād who tended towards the *ahl al-ḥadīth* than on those of Ashʿarī ten-

dencies, so that Ibn al-ʿAsākir does not seem to hold many of his disciples in very high regard. One should mention in regard to him a curious *ḥadīth* which he transmitted and which after his death extended the mission of guiding the consciences of the Sunnī community entrusted collectively to the *ʿulamāʾ*. His Sunnī disciples, gathered together at the Akuwākh Bāniyās, lived a life close to nature which is described by al-Muḳaddasī (160, 188, tr. Miquel, 176, 238); these persons were mainly refugees from Tarsūs expelled by the Byzantines. The *nisba* of *al-Ballūṭī* borne by their head Abū Isḥāḳ seems to go back, not to their eating acorns but to a distant remembrance of Andalusī origins. After the Revolt of the Suburb at Cordova, these forebears had reached Alexandria, then Crete, then Ṭarsūs, and finally had sought refuge in Syria.

What made Ibn al-Nābulusī famous was the *fatwā* which he gave in reply to a question whether priority be given to the war against the Byzantines, who were regularly ravaging northern Syria, or to resistance against the Fāṭimid army which, it was true, could protect the province against Byzantine raids. He said, "If I had ten arrows, I would loose nine of them against the descendants of ʿUbayd Allāh (sc. the Fāṭimids) and one against the Byzantines." He justified his attitude thus: "In fact, the Byzantines are People of the Book, whereas the former are impious associators of others with God . . . enemies of all the prophets and all the scriptures that God has sent" (Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Tathbīt*, ed. ʿA. al-K. ʿUthmān, Beirut 1970, ii, 608). According to Ibn al-Djawzī (*Muntaẓam*, Haydarābād 1375, vii, 82), he is even reported to have altered his reply when interrogated in Egypt, asserting that not merely nine arrows but also the tenth arrow should be launched against the Fāṭimids because they had improperly claimed for themselves the divine light. The later sources expatiate on his sufferings, which lasted for three days. The expressions attributed to the sufferer, about to be flayed alive, by a pitying Jew stem from the Ṣūfī vocabulary. Al-Dhahabī mentions that there was, at this same time as Ibn al-Nābulusī, another Sunnī who offered resistance, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Ṭarsūsī, who was subjected to humiliations in the Aḳṣā Mosque by the Fāṭimids' Maghribī soldiery, and he records for the year 364/974 the punishment, likewise at Jerusalem, of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Wāsiṭī, who had his tongue cut out. Having been miraculously restored by the Prophet Muḥammad, al-Wāsiṭī climbed the minaret in order publicly to proclaim his Sunnī faith, and was then crucified, remaining on the cross for three days. His "corpse" was thrown down in a street, where some pious persons took it in order to wash it, but then discovered that he was still alive. Abū Bakr gave back to him his tongue, which had been cut out a second time and he climbed up to proclaim his faith from the top of a minaret. Tired of all this, the governor contented himself with expelling him from the city. References to Christ's life and crucifixion are frequent in the Ḥanbalī milieux of Palestine; accordingly, one finds an ascetic walking on the Lake of Tiberias. Ibn ʿAsākir does not hide his ironic scepticism when he mentions such occurences among the literalists, whom he despised and cordially hated, considering them to be liars who exploited the populace's credulity. It is furthermore known that militant Ḥanbalī Sunnism remained alive in Palestine up to the time of the Crusades (see H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, introd.).

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(TH. BIANQUIS)

RAMY AL-DJIMĀR (A.), literally, "the throwing of pebbles", a practice which probably goes back to early Arabia and whose most celebrated survival is in the ritual throwing of stones in the valley of Minā by the pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt in the course of the Meccan Pilgrimage [see AL-DJAMRA; ḤADJDJ. iii. c]. In Fahd's view, the rite does not seem to have had any divinatory significance, but among suggestions regarding its origins is the one that it could have been a gesture of solidarity with a dead person, on whose tomb stones are placed. See the discussion in T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 188ff.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

RAʾY (A.), a verbal noun of *raʾā*, the common Arabic verb for seeing with the eye, has among its various closely related meanings that of opinion (i.e. a seeing of the heart) on questions of Islamic law not within the literal scope of the revealed texts (*naṣṣ*) of the Ḳurʾān or *ḥadīth*. Although sometimes used for an opinion on a specific question of law (for which *ḳawl* is most common), *raʾy* is more often used for the body of such opinions held by a particular jurist (i.e. the *raʾy* of Abū Ḥanīfa) and for the reasoning used to derive such opinions. It is also found in the sense of the intellectual faculties that underlie such legal reasoning. Discrimination among these and other possible meanings of the term is not always easy (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (mort vers 140/757), "conseilleur" du calife*, Paris 1976, 82) and *raʾy* never achieved the status of a fully technical legal term. Although the legal usage of *raʾy* is the most important historically, *raʾy* was also used for adherence to a body of theological doctrine (i.e. *raʾy al-Djahmiyya*), and its narrowest recorded sense appears to be that of adherence to the doctrine of the Khāridjīs (on the use of *raʾy* for the holding of specific theological dogmas, such as freewill, see al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Dharīʿa ilā uṣūl al-sharīʿa, ed.* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Gurdjī, Tehran 1376/1956, ii, 673, where, however, the examples are all of the verb *raʾā* and the context is polemical). In all of the above senses, the singular *raʾy* is far more common than the plural *ārāʾ*.

As a process of deriving law *raʾy* does not constitute any single method of reasoning but can be used of such methods as *ḳiyās*, *istiḥsān*, and *istiṣlāḥ* [*q.vv.*], severally or together, although its use specifically in relation to *ḳiyās* is the most frequent (e.g. *yaḳīsūna bi-raʾyihim*). Consequently, identifying the precise forms of reasoning labelled as *raʾy* by one or another early jurist or school of jurists requires specific examination of their legal arguments (J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 98-132, 269-328, still of fundamental importance). Insofar as *raʾy* does not include the process of authenticating *ḥadīth* or interpreting texts, it constitutes only part of the scope of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] as generally understood, although the expression *idjtihād al-raʾy* (the exercise of *raʾy*) figures prominently in the *ḥadīth* (e.g. the *ḥadīth* of Muʿādh b. Djabal, on which see al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥwadhī*, Beirut 1422/2001, iv, 637-9) and in the polemics concerning *raʾy*.

There is general agreement among both Sunnī and Shīʿī writers that there was some recourse to *raʾy* on the part of certain Companions (*ṣaḥāba* [*q.v.*]) of the Prophet, including such leading figures as Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and then on the part of their Successors (*tābiʿūn*) (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Djāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm wa-faḍlihi*, ed. al-Zuhayrī, al-Dammām 1414/1994, ii, 858-9). This early *raʾy* was accorded some measure of authority, at least by the mainstream of Muslims, and

was transmitted by scholars together with Prophetic *ḥadīth*. This early *ra'y* is preserved in such collections as *al-Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/826) and *al-Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849) [*q.vv.*].

A critical development in the history of Islamic law occurred during the late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods with a dramatic growth in the scope and intensity of *ra'y* (cf. Ibn Taymiyya, *Madjmūʿat al-fatāwā*, ed. al-Djazzār and al-Bāz, al-Riyāḍ 1419/1998, xx, 175 which names Rabīʿa wa-Ibn Hurmuz (so read) [in Medina], ʿUthmān al-Battī (so read) in Baṣra, and Abū Ḥanīfa as the leading figures at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, cf. I. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, tr. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, London 1971, 78-85 [on foreign influence], 201-2). The proponents of this new version of *ra'y* became known as the *ahl* or *aṣḥāb al-ra'y* [*q.v.*]. The *ahl al-ra'y* were met with opposition from a number of quarters: the scholars of tradition (the *ahl* or *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) (Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1326, 62-71; Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, *Ḥudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha*, ed. Ḍamīriyya, al-Riyāḍ 1420/1999, i, 455-62 [explaining the dispute]), certain Muʿtazilī theologians, and large segments of the Shīʿī community. Although opposition to *ra'y* in these various groups was in its origin based on different considerations, anti-*ra'y* arguments developed by one group could come to be adopted by the others (Ibn Maʿṣūm, *al-Daradjāt al-rafiʿa*, Nadjaf 1382/1962, 26). The Muʿtazilī opponents of *ra'y* were particularly influential in propagating a epistemologically sophisticated anti-*ra'y* position that came to influence the opposition among the traditionists and Shīʿīs.

The opposition to *ra'y* from among the traditionists is extensively preserved in *ḥadīth* collections, above all that of al-Dārimī (d. 255/868), the writings of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1070), and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350) [*q.vv.*], and traditionist biographical works such as that of al-Fasawī, *K. al-Maʿrifa wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, (ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-ʿUmarī, Baghdad 1394/1973). This material provides far richer historical resources for tracing the details of the development of the new *ra'y* movement than do the more dogmatic Muʿtazilī and Shīʿī anti-*ra'y* sources. The *ahl al-ra'y* were regarded by their traditionist opponents as undermining the authority of the *sunna* that the traditionists had dedicated their lives to preserving. Familiarity with the *sunna* (which included knowledge of the *ra'y* of the first generations) was sometimes labelled real knowledge (*ʿilm*) in contrast to subjective legal opinion (*ra'y*, *ẓann*). The *ahl al-ra'y* were set on a course of expanding Islamic law far beyond the resources of the traditionists and to this extent were inevitably led to expose the contradictions and limitations of the traditionist approach.

Although the traditionist anti-*ra'y* sources do point to the subjectivity and instability of the results of the new *ra'y* and to the many instances where the *ra'y* of the jurists was in contradiction to well-established *sunna*, their most frequent complaint concerns the relentless questioning on the most abstruse possible legal cases that was characteristic of the new *ra'y*. The anti-*ra'y* sources condemn the difficult questions (*muʿdilāt*, *ughlūṭāt*) of the *ahl al-ra'y*, the relentlessness with which they were pursued (*tashdīd*), and the unwarranted speculative character of the answers these questions evoked (*takalluf*, *tanaṭṭuʿ*). Numerous anti-*ra'y* statements single out for criticism the annoying and virtually inescapable formula of eliciting a legal opinion (*ara'ayta*) (on the form and syntax of this expression, found in the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*, see H.L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, Leipzig 1885-8, i, 481-7; G. Bergsträsser, *Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln*, Leipzig 1914, 93). The *ahl al-ra'y* are the *aṣḥāb ara'ayta* (al-Dārimī, *al-Sunan*, ed. Dahmān, Beirut n.d., i, 66). The expression is characteristic of certain genres of early legal literature from *ra'y* circles and sometimes appears in these works with unremitting frequency (e.g. al-Shaybānī, *K. al-Makhāridj fi 'l-ḥiyal*, ed. J. Schacht, Leipzig 1930). It was also employed to introduce an objection in debate (cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 120). The importance of this veritable flood of questions to the development of the Islamic law cannot be overstated. It was the questions that generated the growing scope of legal discussion (*ta'līd al-su'āl*, in Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, *al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ḥulw, Beirut 1999, i, 9) and led directly to the production of the large legal treatises that remain standard to this day (cf. the account of the Mālikī classic *al-Mudawwana* in Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima*, ed. al-Saʿīd al-Mandūh, Beirut 1414/1993, ii, 133; Ibn Taymiyya, *Madjmūʿat al-fatāwā*, xx, 180).

At the forefront of this new style of legal learning founded in posing questions were the ʿIrāḳī jurists headed by Abū Ḥanīfa. The questions posed by these jurists were often unabashedly hypothetical and among the jibes directed at Abū Ḥanīfa was that he was among the most knowledgeable about what has not occurred but among the most ignorant about what has occurred. The posing of such hypothetical questions enabled the jurists to gauge the extent to which they could found the law on general principles, and in fact the efforts of the *ahl al-ra'y* to render the law systematic are noted, sometimes critically (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb al-Shāfiʿī wa-manāḳibuhu*, ed. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ, Cairo 1372/1952, 171).

The *ahl al-ra'y* were able to gain substantial successes in their competition with the *ahl al-ḥadīth* and to attract talented students of *ḥadīth* to their camp (Ibn Saʿd, vi, 270: Zufar b. al-Hudhayl). In such cases the sources speak of *ra'y* gaining mastery of the individual, and his eventual identification with *ra'y*. The most obvious examples of such an identification are the Medinan Rabīʿa Ibn Farrūkh (d. 136/753), known as Rabīʿat al-Ra'y and the Baṣran Ḥanafī Hilāl b. Yaḥyā (d. 245/859), known as Hilāl al-Ra'y. Often, however, *ra'y* was adopted but not in its most aggressive form, and the line dividing the *ahl al-ra'y* and *ahl al-ḥadīth* could not always be clearly drawn. Many writers, for example, include Mālik with the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, others with the *ahl al-ra'y* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo n.d., 498). Moderate forms of *ra'y* balanced by traditions were able to make some inroads among the *ahl al-ḥadīth*.

There is universal agreement on applying the label *ahl al-ra'y* to Abū Ḥanīfa and his followers in ʿIrāḳ, and Abū Ḥanīfa was the favoured target of the barbs of the traditionists, who sometimes portrayed him in satanic terms (there is an extensive collection of such denigrating remarks in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, Beirut 1422/2001, xv, 543-86). The many instances in which Abū Ḥanīfa was regarded as having contracted the *sunna* were collected (see Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf*, Bombay 1403/1983, xiv, 148-282). Even Abū Ḥanīfa, however, did not lack entirely for admirers among the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, and one of these, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797 [*q.v.*]), approved of *ra'y* for the purpose of interpreting *ḥadīth*.

Al-Shāfiʿī was regarded by some leading representatives of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* as having supported their cause with arguments that the *ahl al-ra'y* could not

dismiss, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal not only encouraged traditionists to study al-Shāfiʿī's *al-Risāla* (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 61-3) but himself made a careful study of al-Shāfiʿī's legal works and was thus exposed to a moderate version of *ra'y*. The very development of the discipline of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fikh* [*q.v.*]) ushered in by al-Shāfiʿī's *al-Risāla* led to increased scrutiny of the epistemological foundations of the various methods of legal reasoning falling within *ra'y* and to a revaluation of *ra'y* in all its forms. The question was now raised, for example, of whether the Prophet himself had ever had recourse to *ra'y*, albeit infallibly, as suggested in the *ḥadīth* (Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan*, ed. al-Khālidī, Beirut 1416/1996, ii, 509; cf. Ḳur'ān, IV, 105: *bi-mā arāka Allāh*, a question to which al-Shāfiʿī was unable to give a definitive answer, cf. al-Bayhaḳī, *Maʿrifat al-sunan wa 'l-āthār*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo n.d., i, 7-8).

Al-Shāfiʿī himself favoured the limitation of *ra'y* to *ḳiyās* to the exclusion of *istiḥsān* (Schacht, *Origins*, 120-8), and others in his wake reconciled the traditions for and against *ra'y* by identifying the *ra'y* that was acceptable with *ra'y* that was grounded in the revealed texts, that is, *ḳiyās*. Nonetheless the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs continued to support a broader notion of *ra'y* and interpret the condemnation of *ra'y* in the *ḥadīth* to refer to *ra'y* in the sense of theological heresy (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Djāmiʿ bayān*, ii, 1052-4) or to offer accounts of *istiḥsān*, for example, that brought it within the scope of *ḳiyās*.

More radical forms of legal theory emerged, however, which imposed a standard of certainty for Islamic law in all its elements. Among the proponents of this elevated standard was the Baṣran Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām (d. between 220/835 and 230/845 [*q.v.*]) whose attack on probable reasoning in all forms including *ḳiyās* did not spare the Companions who resorted to *ra'y* (van Ess, *Das Kitāb an-Nakṯ des Naẓẓām und seine Rezeption im Kitāb al-Futyā des Ǧāḥiẓ*, Göttingen 1972). Among the Baghdādī Muʿtazilīs who took a similar position was Djaʿfar b. al-Mubashshir (d. 234/848-9), who unlike al-Naẓẓām sought to justify recourse to *ra'y* on the part of the Companions by way of compromise of a dispute or theoretical inquiry without practical consequences (ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Hamadhānī, *al-Mughnī*, ed. Amīn al-Khūlī, Cairo 1962, xvii, 298).

The Ẓāhirī school of law, inaugurated by Dāwūd b. ʿAlī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 270/834 [see DĀWŪD B. KHALAF]) came from the ranks of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, and Dāwūd, like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, was a fervent admirer of al-Shāfiʿī (I. Goldziher, *The Ẓāhirīs*, tr. W. Behn, Leiden 1971). Dāwūd's son Muḥammad (d. 297/910) impelled the Ẓāhirīs in a more independent direction and was unsparing in his critique of al-Shāfiʿī (D. Stewart, *Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd al-Ẓāhirī's manual of jurisprudence*: al-Wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat al-uṣūl, in B.G. Weiss, *Studies in Islamic legal theory*, Leiden 2002, 129-30). Each in somewhat different fashion propounded a version of Islamic law that excluded all forms of probable reasoning and both were in a position to draw upon their Muʿtazilī contemporaries (cf. al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl al-fikh*, ed. Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Afghānī, Cairo 1372, ii, 119). In the apparent absence of surviving writings by these early Ẓāhirīs, it is the extensive works of the Andalusī Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*] that shed light on the Ẓāhirī contribution to the anti-*ra'y* movement and exhibit the lingering influence of the Muʿtazilī theorists. According to Ibn Ḥazm, *ra'y* was already a feature of the period of the Companions before the appearance of analogy in the following generation (*Mulakhkhaṣ ibṭāl al-ḳiyās wa 'l-ra'y wa 'l-istiḥsān wa 'l-taḳlīd wa 'l-taʿlīl*, ed. Saʿīd al-Afghānī, Beirut 1379/1969, 4-5). He understands *ra'y* to involve the enunciation of legal opinion on the basis of sheer expediency and he regards the process as equivalent to *istiḥsān*, and *istinbāṭ* (derivation) (*al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1347, vi, 16). He vigorously rejects the effort on the part of the jurists of his day to identify *ḳiyās* as a form of *ra'y*, in fact as identical to acceptable *ra'y*. There is no acceptable form of *ra'y*. The Companions' recourse to *ra'y* was misconceived, but in their case never amounted to an endorsement of *ra'y* as a method of deriving law because they did not, as did the later proponents of *ra'y*, regard their *ra'y* as God's law (*ḥukm*). They saw it rather as providing a rule they individually might follow out of pious precaution, or they offered their *ra'y* by way of compromise to settle a dispute. Insofar as any sound Prophetic traditions mandate recourse to *idjtihād al-ra'y*, what must be meant is exhaustive seeking for the applicable revealed texts.

Opposition to the movement of *ahl al-ra'y* was also found among the Twelver and Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs, and resort to *ra'y* (also *irtiyā'*), *ḳiyās*, and *idjtihād* is condemned in numerous Shīʿī *ḥadīth*, sometimes in terms familiar from the Sunnī *ḥadīth*. Prominent in this connection are the *ḥadīth* going back to the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, who is portrayed as meeting with Abū Ḥanīfa, whose pretensions to legal understanding he quickly shows to be groundless (i.e. al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran n.d., ii, 291-6, cf. Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿā'im al-Islām*, ed. Fayḍī, Cairo 1379/1960, ii, 266). Of particular interest is a purported letter from Djaʿfar to the proponents of *ra'y* and *ḳiyās* in which the Imām argues that if resort to *ra'y* were permitted, there would have been no point in God's sending of the prophets. He could have left humans to direct their own affairs (al-Barḳī, *al-Maḥāsin*, ed. Mahdī al-Radjā'ī, Ḳum 1413, i, 331-2). The same Imām is also found warning his followers against turning to *ra'y* when they are unable to find answers to their questions in the revealed texts, an injunction that is not always followed (Hossein Modarressi Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *An introduction to Shīʿī law*, London 1984, 30-1).

The anti-*ra'y* position was defended in the dogmatic writings of the Ismāʿīlī Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] b. Muḥammad (d. 363/974), whose polemics against *ra'y* were bolstered by arguments from Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī (*K. Ikhtilāf uṣūl al-madhāhib*, ed. S.T. Lokhandwalla, Simla 1972, 202). A line of Twelver Shīʿī scholars, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1002) and his students al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) [*q.vv.*], writing under Muʿtazilī influence, maintained their community's rejection of *ra'y*. Even after the 7th/13th century when Twelver Shīʿī jurists came to recognise the validity of *idjtihād*, they continued to exclude *ra'y* and *ḳiyās* from their sources of law.

The competition between the proponents of *ra'y* and their various opponents ended in a clear victory for the *ahl al-ra'y*. Islamic law as it can be found in the enormous literature of the Sunnī schools is largely the product of *ra'y*; the books of *fiḳh* are the books of *ra'y*. It was this version of Sunnī law that formed a model for the elaboration of law in other circles, even those opposed to *ra'y*. In this sense al-Shāfiʿī was fully justified when he stated that "all are dependent on the ʿIrāḳīs in *fiḳh*" (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 210, var. "in *ra'y*"). At another level, however, the deep division within Sunnism between *ahl al-ra'y* and *ahl al-ḥadīth* was never entirely bridged but continued to manifest itself to one degree or another within the

Sunnī schools of law (al-Khaṭṭābī, *Maʿālim al-sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, Aleppo 1351/1932, i, 2-8 [on reconciling *ahl al-ḥadīth* and *ahl al-raʾy*]). Not only an Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1327 [*q.v.*]) (*Madjmūʿat al-fatāwā*, xix, 151) could take offence at the statement of the Shāfiʿī Ashʿarī al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085) that nine-tenths of the law depended on pure *raʾy* (*raʾy maḥḍ*) (*al-Burhān*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Dīb, Cairo 1400, ii, 768). *Raʾy* was never entirely reputable as a source of law, and many centuries after the Central Asian Ḥanafī Abu ʾl-Yusr al-Bazdawī (d. 493/1100) claimed that far from *aṣḥāb al-raʾy* being a label of opprobrium (reading *subba*) for the Ḥanafīs as some thought—it was in fact "one of the most beautiful names as indicating their special connection with knowledge of the heart" (*Kitāb fīhi maʿrifat al-ḥudjadj al-sharʿiyya*, ed. M. Bernand and E. Chaumont, Cairo 2003, 4)—Ḥanafīs and their allies felt called upon to address the label (Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī [d. 1205/1790], *K. ʿUḳūd al-djawāhir al-munīfa*, ed. al-Albānī, Beirut 1406/1985, i, 25; Ibn Hadjar al-Haytamī, *al-Khayrāt al-ḥisān*, ed. al-Barnī, Beirut n.d., 62-3).

A small but significant remnant of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* movement continued to take its inspiration from the anti-*raʾy* polemics of the early *ahl al-ḥadīth*, which remained accessible to them primarily through the writings of Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya. The latter in his *Iʿlām al-muwakkiʿīn ʿan rabb al-ʿālamīn* (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, i, 67-85) had, in addition to citing a wealth of material on the *raʾy* debate, established an elaborate categorisation of *raʾy* under three headings: valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*, *maḥmūd*), invalid (*bāṭil*, *madhmūm*), and dubious (*mawḍiʿ*, *ishtibāh*). Ibn al-Ḳayyim is true to the early *ahl al-ḥadīth* in recognising the authority of the *raʾy* of the Companions but also admits the validity of *ḳiyās* in the absence of other sources. His dubious *raʾy* is *raʾy* employed under exigent circumstances when all else fails. It is not meant to establish a generally binding norm from which further rules can be derived, although in fact later jurists have developed this form of *raʾy* at the expense of the revealed texts and statements of early authorities (*al-nuṣūṣ wa ʾl-āthār*). Those inspired by the writings of Ibn al-Ḳayyim shared his sense that much of the law of the schools was pure *raʾy* with very little in the way of textual support of any kind and thus of no authority. In their opposition to *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] of such mere fallible opinions, they looked to the abolition of the existing schools. Among such jurists are Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī (d. 1218/1803), Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834 [*q.v.*]) and Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d. 1253/1837 [*q.v.*]) (B. Radtke *et al.*, *The exoteric Aḥmad b. Idrīs*, Leiden 2000, including an edition and translation of his *Risālat al-radd ʿalā ahl al-raʾy*).

The arguments of these and other anti-*raʾy* writers were promoted during the twentieth-century reform movement inaugurated by Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905 [*q.v.*]) and continued by his disciple Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935 [*q.v.*]). This movement has been quite successful in its intended goal of divesting the law of the schools of its aura of sanctity and revealing it as the body of *raʾy* that it is. It has, however, not put in its place a law that would have pleased the *ahl al-ḥadīth* but has inclined rather toward an eclecticism open to a wider body of *raʾy* than ever before (see the instructive preface of Riḍā to Ibn Ḳudāmā, *al-Mughnī*, Medina n.d., i, 21-8).

To a certain extent related to the great debate over *raʾy* in law is the prohibition reported in the *ḥadīth* of interpreting the Ḳurʾān according to *raʾy* (*al-tafsīr bi ʾl-raʾy*) (Ibn Taymiyya, *Muḳaddima fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, ed. Zarzūr, Kuwayt 1392/1972, 105-13; I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, 61-2, 84), a prohibition frequently cited in the anti-*raʾy* material discussed above. Although the vast literature of Ḳurʾanic commentary does contain works in which the interpretations given are entirely or largely in the form of transmitted explanations from the Prophet and his early followers, the prohibition did not prevent the rapid growth of exegetical works along more independent lines. In some cases this was justified by distinguishing between *tafsīr*, which depends on eyewitness knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the Ḳurʾānic revelations and was thus limited to the Companions, and *taʾwīl*, which, disclaiming knowledge of the real meaning of the Ḳurʾān, simply explores possible meanings of the Ḳurʾānic wording. This was the solution of the theologian al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944 [*q.v.*]) (*K. Taʾwīlāt ahl al-sunna*, ed. Muḥammad Mustafīḍ al-Raḥmān, Baghdād 1404/1987, i, 5-6). More commonly, the *raʾy* in the prohibition was understood to refer to theological heresy or subjective inclination, and interpretations not offered in defence of heretical doctrines or prompted by unlearned instinct without a basis in language or logic were deemed not to violate the prohibition (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Ḳānūn al-taʾwīl*, ed. Muḥammad al-Sulaymānī, Beirut 1990, 366-8; Ibn Aṭiyya, *al-Muḥarrar al-wadjīz*, Beirut 1423/2003, 27; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Zurḳānī, *Manāhil al-ʿirfān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo n.d., ii, 49-69 [defending *tafsīr bi ʾl-raʾy*]; Muḥammad Ḥamad Zaghlūl, *al-Tafsīr bi ʾl-raʾy ḳawāʿiduhu wa-ḍawābiṭuhu wa-aʿlāmuhu*, Damascus 1420/1999).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see Muḥammad Mukhtār al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Raʾy fī ʾl-fiḳh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1368/1949; Aḥmad Hasan, *Early modes of ijtihad: raʾy, qiyas and istihsan*, in *Islamic Studies*, vi (1967), 47-79; Hossein Modarressi, *Rationalism and traditionalism in Shīʿī jurisprudence: a preliminary survey*, in *SI*, lix (1984), 141-58; M.I. Fierro Bello, *La pólemique à propos de* rafʿ al-yadayn fī l-ṣalāt *dans al-Andalus*, in *SI*, lxv (1987), 69-90 (conflict of *raʾy* and *ḥadīth*); eadem, *The introduction of ḥadīth in al-Andalus (2nd/8th-3rd/9th centuries)*, in *Isl.*, lxvi (1989), 68-93; M.H. Kamali, *The approved and disapproved varieties of raʾy (personal opinion) in Islam*, in *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vii (1990), 39-63; idem, *Freedom of expression in Islam*, Cambridge 1997; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin 1991-7, iv (index); Abdel-Majid Turki, *Le* Muwaṭṭaʾ *de Mâlik, ouvrage de* fiqh, *entre le* ḥadîth *et le* raʾy, *ou comment aborder l'étude du mâlikisme kairounais au IV/Xe siècle*, in *SI*, lxxxvi (1997), 5-35; Khalīfa Bā Bakr al-Ḥasan, *al-Idjtihād bi ʾl-raʾy fī madrasat al-ḥidjāz al-fiḳhiyya*, Cairo 1418/1997; S. Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of medieval Islam: Ibn al-Rāwandī, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī and their impact on Islamic thought*, Leiden 1999 (*raʾy* in theology); B. Krawietz, *Hierarchie der Rechtsquellen im tradierten sunnitischen Islam*, Berlin 2002 (index, modern discussions).

(Jeanette Wakin and A. Zysow)

RIBĀ.

B. In modern commercial usage.

In the modern period, debates on *ribā* among Muslims followed the pre-modern conceptions and arguments developed in *fiḳh*. With the introduction of interest-based banks into Muslim lands, debate on the permissibility or otherwise of interest began, which intensified from the 1940s in the context of the emergence of the global Islamic neo-revivalist movements.

These movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] of Egypt and Djamāʿat Islāmī of Pakistan and those influenced by their ideological frameworks called for the transformation of the existing political, legal, social and economic institutions of Muslim societies to ones more in line with "Islamic" norms and principles. One such institution that was targeted for transformation was what they considered to be *ribā* (that is, interest)-based banking and finance in Muslim societies.

Ribā in its *fikhī* sense is associated with a range of contracts, from loans (*karḍ*) to debts (*dayn*) to sales (*bayʿ*). However, in the mid-to late-20th century, in the Islamic finance literature, *ribā* came to be discussed mainly in the context of interest in financial transactions, and interpreted as interest. This close association between *ribā* and interest is generally accepted today among many Muslims. In his discussion on *ribā*, Khurshid Ahmad, a prominent advocate of Islamic finance in Pakistan, emphasised how *ribā* is to be understood today, and argued that Islam forbids "any premium or excess, small, moderate or large, contractually agreed upon at the time of lending money or loanable funds". (Ahmad, *Elimination of Riba*, 42). However, for some Muslims, *ribā* should not be interpreted simply as interest. For them, only some forms of interest may be *ribā*, and not others.

Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905) and Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) [*q.vv.*] were among the first to address the question of interest on deposits. While uncomfortable with the idea, they were prepared to concede it if a *muḍāraba* (commenda [*q.v.*]) scheme could be devised to legitimise the interest (Mallat, *The debate on Riba*, 74). The Egyptian authority on Islamic law, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Sanhūrī (d. 1971), saw compound interest as the main intent of the Ḳurʾān's prohibition of *ribā*. Interest on capital, in his view, could be justified on the basis of "need" (*ḥādja*), but to prevent misuse and exploitation the state should limit interest rates and control methods of payment (*Maṣādir al-ḥaḳḳ*, iii, 241-4). The contemporary Syrian thinker Doualibi argued that the Ḳurʾān prohibited interest on "consumption loans" specifically, presumably because of its concern for people who may have borrowed just to meet their basic needs. Following this line of thinking, some have argued that there is no *ribā* in interest paid or received by corporate bodies such as companies and governments, and others that Islam prohibits "usury" not "interest". There is also the idea that *ribā* should be equated with real interest, not nominal interest. Several scholars of the mid- to late-20th century also interpreted *ribā* from a "moral" perspective, away from the literalism that dominates much of the thinking on *ribā*. Muḥammad Asad (d. 1992), a modernist commentator on the Ḳurʾān, maintained that *ribā* involved "an exploitation of the economically weak by the strong and resourceful" (*The message*, 633). Fazlur Rahman (d. 1988), the Pakistani-American academic, argued that the *raison d'être* of the prohibition of *ribā* was injustice (*ẓulm*), as was stated in the Ḳurʾān (II, 279), and that "well-meaning Muslims with very virtuous consciences sincerely believe that the Ḳurʾān has banned all bank interest for all times in woeful disregard of what *ribā* was historically, why the Ḳurʾān denounced it as a gross and cruel form of exploitation and banned it" (*Islam: challenges*, 326).

Despite the appeal of these views, the neo-revivalists and their followers and sympathisers, who increasingly represent mainstream Muslim opinion today, have continued to reject any reinterpretation of *ribā* to accommodate bank interest. Mawdūdī (d. 1979), the founder of Djamāʿat Islāmī of Pakistan, for example, asserted that there was no question that *ribā* was interest. The Council of Islamic Ideology of Pakistan (*Consolidated recommendations*, 7), which in the 1980s developed a blueprint for the transformation of the Pakistani financial system into an Islamic one, claimed that there was "complete unanimity among all schools of thought in Islam that the term *ribā* stands for interest in all its types and forms".

In the 1970s, the oil-producing Gulf states found themselves with massive cash surpluses to invest, which shifted the debate on *ribā* from the theoretical to the practical. One of the strategies adopted by these states was to develop financial institutions on an interest-free (that is, *ribā*-free, or Islamic) basis. Examples include the Islamic Development Bank based in Saudi Arabia, the Faisal Islamic Banks based in the Middle East, Kuwait Finance House and the Dubai Islamic Bank. *Sharīʿa* advisers guided the design of contracts and products and the drawing up of principles for productive ventures, in which capital could be combined with the skill of entrepreneurs to lead to socially beneficial incremental returns. The system created is understood in Islamic finance today as Profit and Loss Sharing (PLS), in which both provider and user of the funds share in the outcome of the venture, be it positive or negative, and no interest is paid or received (Saeed, *Islamic banking*, 51-75). Contracts developed cover *muḍāraba* (commenda), *mushāraka* (partnership), *idjāra* (leasing), *istiṣnāʿ* (manufacturing or "made-to-order") and *murābaḥa* (mark-up finance based on sale of goods). Driven by these new strategies, Islamic banking and finance grew strongly in the 1980s and 1990s.

With the 21st century, the role of Islamic (that is, *ribā*-free) financial institutions in Muslim communities has become even more significant, with institutions ranging from village banks to major international development banks, to insurance (*takāful*) companies, to investment funds—all in competition with conventional interest-based institutions but often in co-operation with them as well. Several Muslim majority states such as Malaysia, Kuwait and Egypt, for instance, have dual banking and finance systems (one based on interest, the other based on Islamic principles). Even interest-based banks (including major international banks) now offer Islamic products or Islamic windows to their Muslim clientèle, and to interested non-Muslims.

The drive to develop modern, *ribā*-free banking, finance and insurance was accompanied by some serious difficulties and also pragmatic shifts in the understanding of *ribā*. Because of competition, Islamic financial institutions felt they had to provide their Muslim clients with "competitive" products, which at times meant interest-based products under different contractual arrangements and labels. These pragmatic adjustments tended to make the Islamic finance, at times, less distinguishable from interest-based finance in the eyes of their critics. What follows are some examples where critics argue that there are pragmatic shifts in the understanding of *ribā* by the proponents of Islamic finance.

First, Islamic bankers and their *Sharīʿa* advisers came to see *ribā*, interpreted as interest, as a *legal* rather than an *economic* concept. For them, *ribā* occurred mainly in the context of contractual obligations on borrowers to pay an *increase* in a loan transaction (Nienhaus, *Islamic economics*, 44). Islamic law prohibited any positive return to the provider of capital in a purely financial transaction, such as where an entrepreneur

received funds from a bank for utilisation at the entrepreneur's discretion. This was governed by the requirements of the contract of loan (*ḳarḍ*). If the contract changed, e.g. from loan to sale (*bayʿ*), a return, even if in reality it might appear little different from fixed interest, was permissible. An example of this is the mark-up in *murābaḥa*, which from a *legal* point of view is not a purely financial transaction and therefore a positive return (= mark-up) is considered permissible.

Second, practical realities also meant that Islamic banks needed to compensate themselves if customers defaulted on contractual obligations, for example by failing to pay a debt on time. Thus, in such cases, a "fine" (compensation equivalent to the "opportunity cost" of the capital) became the practice, not without criticism, however. On the other hand, there are depositors who do not want to put their funds at risk in a PLS account but prefer to keep them in a non-PLS account to avoid any risk, primarily for safe-keeping purposes. While such depositors are not entitled to any profits, in practice in order to retain these deposits, Islamic banks have begun to offer "rewards" to such depositors saying that as long as no contractual obligations were involved, they had the discretion to offer incentives (Saeed, *Islamic banking*, 112).

Third, a question currently being debated is whether "profit" can be pre-determined in PLS contracts. In Islamic law, as well as in the literature on Islamic finance, the concept of legitimate profit is closely associated with the uncertainty of a positive return in a PLS venture or a sale transaction. One view, albeit a minority one, is that there is nothing wrong in determining profit in advance as long as this is done by the two parties by choice and consent. While this position is not accepted in the mainstream Islamic finance, it is possible that this position may become more acceptable at least in practice as more emphasis is put on developing investment products with less risk and more predictable returns.

Fourth, a further question is whether it is permissible to invest in a business which engages in an activity prohibited by Islamic law, for instance, in interest-based dealings. Since most publicly-listed companies in developed countries rely heavily on interest-based finance, paying and receiving of interest is normal. This is problematic from an Islamic finance perspective even if the businesses produce *ḥalāl* (permissible) goods or services. The debate has produced two camps, one declaring that investment in such companies is unambiguously prohibited and unlawful for Muslims according to *fiḳh*. In the other camp, the proponents of permissibility, relying on concepts such as "necessity", "public interest", "general need", and analogy (*ḳiyās*), have attempted to find a legal justification, a pragmatic position that recognises that such investment is a modern global phenomenon and difficult for Muslims to avoid. The pragmatists have accepted permissibility of investment in such companies with certain conditions and introduced concepts such as "cleansing" of investment profit from prohibited elements, i.e. the estimated interest component of the company.

Many Muslims who are interested in genuine *ribā*-free finance argue that these pragmatic adjustments have largely rendered Islamic banking and finance over to an interest-based system except in name. The trend to develop more and more products that are similar to those offered by the interest-based system would only blur any distinction that may exist between the Islamic and interest-based systems. Despite these reservations, "Islamic" banking and finance appear to be becoming increasingly acceptable among Muslims and their use consistently increasing, however pragmatic it may be.

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AL-RIDDA (A.), lit: "apostasy", the name given in Islamic historiography to the series of battles against tribes, both nomadic and sedentary, which began shortly before the death of the Prophet Muḥammad and continued throughout Abū Bakr's [*q.v.*] caliphate.

In many cases the term *ridda* is, however, a misnomer since numerous tribes and communities had had no contact whatsoever with the Muslim state or had no formal agreements with it. Several tribes were led by chieftains who posed as prophets. These were ʿAbhala al-ʿAnsī, pejoratively nicknamed al-Aswad [*q.v.*] or the black one (also *D̲h̲u 'l-K̲h̲imār* or the veiled one) in the Yemen, Maslama or Musaylima [*q.v.*] (the small or wretched Maslama) of the Ḥanīfa b. Lud̲j̲aym [*q.v.*] in Yamāma, Ṭalḥa or Ṭulayḥa [*q.v.*] (the small Ṭalḥa) of the Asad [*q.v.*] and Sad̲j̲āḥ [*q.v.*] of the Tamīm [*q.v.*]—both of them in Nad̲j̲d—and D̲h̲u 'l-Tād̲j̲ Laḳīṭ b. Mālik of the Azd [*q.v.*] in ʿUmān. Most of the tribes which prior to the *ridda* had been under Medinan domination merely refused to go on paying taxes, while stating their readiness to continue practicing Islam. Had it not been for Muḥammad's premature death, Islam would have gained a better foothold in tribal Arabia through his effective tactics. He would give a tribal representative—sometimes it was a tribesman who came on his own initiative—authority over both the Muslims and pagans in his tribe and instruct him to "fight against those who turn away with those who come forward". Consequently, in many tribes the Muslims and pagans neutralised each other. Among the Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲ [*q.v.*], for example, Farwa b. Musayk, the Prophet's representative to the Murād [*q.v.*], the Zubayd and the rest of Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲, was confronted by a frustrated rival, ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib [*q.v.*] al-Zubaydī. When Muḥammad died, the latter rebelled. There were Muslim enclaves in many tribes, and consequently the Prophet and Abū Bakr could confront

the rebels "by means of messengers and letters". Many Muslims were killed by the rebels and the Muslim representatives were driven out.

The reconstruction of the course of events beyond the general outline is complicated by the many contradictory accounts which are often of apologetic or polemical nature. Obviously, this problematic chapter of tribal history was of acute importance for the tribal informants who preserved the accounts for posterity, often improving the place in history of a tribal leader, rehabilitating an individual or a tribal group and vilifying an opponent.

When Abū Bakr ascended the throne, he defied threats from several nomadic tribes to attack Medina by dispatching to Syria an expedition force under Usāma b. Zayd. Some must have considered this move reckless, hence the claim that it was in fulfillment of a wish made by the dying Prophet. Yet the threat posed by the nomads must not be exaggerated. First, a nomadic takeover of a settlement was most unusual, although the risk of a raid for plunder was no doubt real. Second, the tribes living in the immediate vicinity of Medina remained unwavering. They included, among others, the Ashdja' or part of them, the Aslam, the Dhuhayna [see ḲUḌĀʿA] and the Muzayna [*q.v.*]. These tribes were not major players in Arabian politics, but their combined military weight should not be underestimated. They provided Medina with an inner circle of defence, continuing their pre-Islamic links with its tribes. Indeed, Abū Bakr managed to organise the Muslim army in Dhu 'l-Ḳaṣṣa and send Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] of the Ḳurashī clan of Makhzūm [*q.v.*] to Nadjd even before Usāma b. Zayd's return.

Yet on the whole the situation looked bleak. The sedentary false prophet Musaylima and the nomadic one Ṭulayḥa were amassing power. The latter was also followed by the Ṭayyiʾ [*q.v.*]. Most of the Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*] apostatised, as did parts of the Sulaym [*q.v.*], while the Hawāzin remained undecided with the exception of the Thaḳīf who remained steadfast. Also, the *ʿAdjuz/Aʿdjāz Hawāzin* "the rear part of the Hawāzin", that is, the Naṣr b. Muʿāwiya, Djusham b. Muʿāwiya and Saʿd b. Bakr, did not rebel, and the same is true of Djadīlat Ḳays, that is, the Fahm and ʿAdwān tribes.

The only battle which preceded the return of Usāma's force took place east of Medina against tribes of the Ghaṭafān group, namely, the ʿAbs and Dhubyān (more precisely, the former and the Murra subdivision of the latter). Following their defeat, the ʿAbs and Dhubyān killed the Muslims living in their midst, and their example was followed by other tribes. Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī lost the battle of Buzākha [*q.v.*], having been deserted by his non-Asadī allies. First the Ṭayyiʾ left unimpeded, having created the impression that their own tribe was threatened by the Muslims (whom they subsequently joined). Then the Ghaṭafān under ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn [*q.v.*] of the Fazāra [*q.v.*] defected.

The most important events of the *ridda* involved the Tamīm, the largest nomadic tribe in Arabia, and the sedentary Ḥanīfa who lived in Yamāma. Many of the Tamīm (perhaps even most of them) yielded to Muslim control during Muḥammad's lifetime. For example, the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt, the most numerous subdivision of the Tamīm, had two tax-collectors appointed by Muḥammad: al-Zibriḳān b. Badr [*q.v.*] and Ḳays b. ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*]. Typically, the latter was waiting to see what the former would do with the camels which he had collected for Medina, in order to do the opposite. Indeed, Tamīm's subdivisions, not to mention the Tamīm as a whole, did not form a unified group and the same could be said of every single tribe, be it nomadic or sedentary. Two events dominate the accounts on the *ridda* of the Tamīm. First, the affair of the false prophetess Sadjāḥ, above all her infamous encounter with Musaylima. Now Musaylima required of his men strict asceticism, and the obscene descriptions of his meeting with Sadjāḥ were probably meant to call his ascetic image into question. Second, the killing of Mālik b. Nuwayra [*q.v.*] and the ensuing criticism concerning Khālid b. al-Walīd's conduct.

The sedentary Ḥanīfa who were unified (with the exception of the Suḥaym subdivision) under Musaylima were Medina's staunchest enemies. After an initial defeat, the Muslims pushed the Ḥanafīs to "the orchard of death" (*ḥadīḳat al-mawt*) in ʿAḳrabāʾ [*q.v.*], not far from Musaylima's home town al-Haddār (modern al-Hudaydīr). The historical traditions of the Ḳuraysh and the Anṣār preserved lists of the members of these groups who were killed in the battlefield, but one looks in vain for the names of the many nomads who died there. The fortresses of the Ḥanīfa remained intact and the Ḥanafī Mudjdjāʿa b. Murāra who had been taken captive at an earlier stage in the fighting and negotiated with Khālid on behalf of the Ḥanīfa tricked the latter by disguising the children, women and old people who remained in the fortresses as men, thus improving the terms of his tribe's capitulation. But the ruse may have been invented in order to protect Khālid's policy because the negotiated treaty—fortified by his marriage to Mudjdjāʿa's daughter—caused the Muslims great losses.

The story of al-Aswad in the Yemen which is full of intrigue involves a struggle between the Persian Abnāʾ [see AL-ABNĀʾ (II)] and several Arab tribes for the control of Ṣanʿāʾ and the rest of the Yemen. During this power struggle Medina remained in the background; when the Abnāʾ managed to regain control of Ṣanʿāʾ, Abū Bakr recognised them, precisely as the Prophet had done in his time. The Abnāʾ were then challenged by Ḳays b. al-Makshūḥ al-Murādī who took Ṣanʿāʾ, but they managed to drive him out shortly afterwards.

The road to the Yemen was secured by a Muslim expedition force which brought the rebellious ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib and Ḳays b. al-Makshūḥ back to the Muslim camp, and the Yemen as a whole could now be pacified. Then the Muslims turned to deal with the rebellion in Ḥaḍramawt. Here the dominant tribe Kinda [*q.v.*] yielded to superior forces, one under al-Muhādjir b. Abī Umayya (of the Makhzūm) arriving from the Yemen, and another under ʿIkrima b. Abī Djahl (also of the Makhzūm) arriving from the land of Mahra [*q.v.*]. The kingly family from the prestigious subdivision of Kinda, ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiya, was destroyed in a surprise night attack. Members from this subdivision and from the Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiya subdivision later surrendered in al-Nudjayr [*q.v.*]. Following the war against the Kinda, al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] b. Ḳays of the Ḥārith subdivision rose to prominence. This shift in the leadership was atypical, since tribal leaderships usually survived the *ridda*. For example, ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn is said to have been the only Arab who received one *mirbāʿ* or a quarter of the captured booty in the Djāhiliyya and one *khums* or a fifth of the booty in Islam.

The war in Ḥaḍramawt was preceded by fighting in the southeastern corner of Arabia where Dhu 'l-Tādj Laḳīṭ b. Mālik al-Azdī pushed the sons of the Djulandā [*q.v.*, and see AZD and ṢUḤĀR] who were Abū Bakr's allies to the mountains and to the seaside of Ṣuḥār. Tribal forces sent by Medina to aid

its allies besieged Laḳīṭ in Dabā and were joined by other tribal forces under ʿIkrima b. Abī Djahl. The Muslims were also supported by troops from the Nādjiya [cf. AL-KHIRRĪT] and the ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*].

ʿIkrima continued his march to the land of Mahra with his tribal units (a subdivision of the Azd called Rāsib and the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm are specifically mentioned). Among the Mahra there was internal strife, and the weaker party allied itself with the Muslims (in other words, it converted to Islam). After the stronger party was subdued, the leader of the weaker one brought to Medina one fifth of the spoils. When ʿIkrima continued his march to Ḥaḍramawt, his army also included warriors from the Mahra.

Shortly after the Prophet's demise, his governor in Baḥrayn, al-Mundhir b. Sāwā [*q.v.*] of the Tamīm, also died. The Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba of the Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*] "and the whole of the Rabīʿa" rebelled under al-Ḥuṭam, who was one of the Ḳays, while al-Djārūd of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, among others, was steadfastly loyal to Islam. A client of the Ḳuraysh, al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who had replaced al-Mundhir as governor of Baḥrayn fought against the rebels with the Arabs and Persians who joined him. Among others he was supported by a large force of the Tamīm. Al-Ḥuṭam controlled al-Ḳaṭīf [*q.v.*], Hadjar [see AL-ḤASĀ], Dārīn (modern Tārūt) and al-Khaṭṭ [*q.v.*], while the Muslims had been besieged in their stronghold, Djuwāthā, until they were rescued by al-ʿAlāʾ. The rebels were defeated on the mainland and fled to the island of Dārīn which the Muslims took after having miraculously crossed the sea.

The *ridda* can be seen as a prelude to the wider conquests. The Ḳurashī generals gained precious experience in mobilising large multi-tribal armies over long distances. They benefited from the close acquaintance of the Ḳuraysh with tribal politics throughout Arabia.

A crucial role was played by Khālid b. al-Walīd whose mother was a nomad. Indeed, the Bedouin way of life was not alien to him: he is said to have consumed a lizard, while Muḥammad who was watching loathed it. Already in the conquest of Mecca (8/630), Khālid was leading a troop of nomads (referred to as *muhādjirat al-ʿarab*), and in the battle of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] shortly afterwards he led the nomadic Sulaym at the vanguard of the Muslim army.

The *ridda* changed for ever the relationship between the central government and the strong tribes of Arabia. The latter were trying to abolish whatever ascendancy the Muslim state had achieved during the lifetime of Muḥammad, but were overpowered by large expedition forces mobilised by able Muslim generals. The battlefield successes of the Muslims secured for them the cooperation of tribes living between Medina and the territories of the rebellious tribes. Medina re-established its prestige and dealt the severest forms of punishment to those who had killed Muslims earlier in the fighting.

New realities were created on the ground. Khālid's treaty with the Ḥanīfa prescribed that he receive one orchard and one field of his choice in every village included in the treaty. The villages in the Yamāma area which were not included in the treaty bore the full consequences of the defeat. The inhabitants of the Marʾāt village were enslaved and a tribal group of the Tamīm, the Imruʾ ʾl-Ḳays b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, settled there. Musaylima's home town of al-Haddār was not part of the treaty. Khālid enslaved its people and settled there the Banu ʾl-Aʿradj, i.e., the Banu ʾl-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīn. These changes demonstrate how local groups of the Tamīm benefited from their co-operation with Khālid in Yamāma. Other villages not included in the treaty were al-Suyūḥ, al-Ḍayḳ, al-ʿAriḳa, al-Ghabrāʾ, Fayshān, al-Ḳurayya (one of the central villages of Yamāma), al-Ḳaṣabāt, al-Ḳaltayni, al-Kirs, Makhrafa and al-Maṣāniʿ. In addition, the al-Madjāza village was inhabited by the Hizzān of the ʿAnaza [*q.v.*] and by people of mixed descent (*akhlāṭ min al-nās*), including *mawālī* of the Ḳuraysh and others who settled there after the *ridda*, since it had not been included in Khālid's treaty.

The new balance of power between the central government and the tribes is reflected in the takeover by the state of tribal protected grazing grounds [see ḤIMĀ]. The thousands of camels and other beasts taken as booty in the last years of Muḥammad's life, in addition to those collected from the nomads in taxes, needed large grazing grounds. In addition, several influential Ḳurashīs, such as the future caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and also al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, were competing with the state because they were themselves owners of large herds. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān left to his inheritors 1,000 camels, in addition to 3,000 ewes and 100 horses. The ewes and the horses were grazing in al-Naḳīʿ [see AL-ʿAḲĪḲ] (often written erroneously al-Baḳīʿ). It was Muḥammad who declared the Naḳīʿ, some 120 km/75 miles south of Medina a state *ḥimā* "for the horses of the Muslims", probably at the expense of the Sulaym, and put in charge of it a member of the Muzayna. Moreover, Muḥammad reportedly abolished the tribal grazing grounds by declaring that the only legitimate *ḥimā* belonged to God and His messenger, in other words to the state. Previously, the tribes feared the takeover of their land and water resources by other tribes, but now the powerful state and certain individuals coveted the same resources. The size of the state *ḥimās* grew constantly under the caliphs. A telling example of this is linked to the above-mentioned battle against the ʿAbs and Dhubyān which took place in al-Abraḳ in the area of al-Rabadha [*q.v.*] some 200 km/125 miles east of Medina. Abū Bakr actually conquered Dhubyan's territory (*ghalaba banī Dhubyān ʿalā ʾl-bilād*) and expelled (*adjlā*) its owners. He made al-Abraḳ a *ḥimā* for the horses of the Muslims (in other words, he made it state property) and permitted everybody to graze in the rest of al-Rabadha at the expense of the Thaʿlaba b. Saʿd b. Dhubyān. Later he declared the whole of al-Rabadha *ḥimā* for the camels collected as taxes (*ṣadaḳāt al-muslimīn*). One report attributes the expulsion of the Thaʿlaba from al-Rabadha to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, while another has it that the state *ḥimā* in al-Rabadha was created by Muḥammad, in which case Abū Bakr was merely reestablishing state authority there.

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(M. Lecker)

RIMĀYA [see ḳaws].

ROHTAK, the name of a region and a town of northwestern India, now in the Hariyana State of the Indian Union.

The region is not mentioned in the earliest Indo-Muslim sources, but from the Sultanate period onwards, its history was often linked with that of nearby Dihlī, to its southeast. In the 18th century, it was fought over by commanders of the moribund Mughals and the militant Sikhs [*q.v.*]; for its history in general, see hariyānā. In early British Indian times, till 1832, it was administered by a Political Agent under the Resident in Dihlī. During the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, the whole of the Rohtak region fell into rebel hands. In contemporary Hariyana State, as in post-Mutiny British India, Rohtak forms an administrative District.

The town of Rohtak (lat. 28° 54' N., long. 76° 35' E.) lies 72 km/44 miles to the northwest of Dihlī; in British Indian times, Hindus and Muslims were fairly evenly balanced within its population, with a small preponderance of Hindus, a situation altered by the bloody aftermath of Partition in 1947.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxi, 310-22. (C.E. Bosworth)

al-**RUʿAYNĪ**, Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad al-Gharnāṭī (or al-Ilbīrī) al-Mālikī, d. 779/1377, Andalusī scholar, author of *al-Ḥulla al-siyarā'*, a voluminous commentary on the *Badīʿiyya* (a poem praising the Prophet Muḥammad while illustrating the *badīʿ* [*q.v.*]) of his companion, Ibn Djābir (d. 780/1378-9). The *Badīʿiyya* itself and important grammatical and lexicographical sections of the book have been published by ʿAlī Abū Zayd, Beirut 1405/1985, but numerous historical and geographical data, poetry, as well as a wealth of information in the domain of *adab* [*q.v.*] in the widest sense of the term remain unpublished, even though quotations from al-Ruʿaynī's book appear in acknowledged and unacknowledged borrowings, e.g. by al-Tanasī. Al-Ruʿaynī also wrote a commentary on a similar poem by Ibn Djābir consisting of *tawriyyas* [*q.v.*] on the sūras of the Ḳur'ān.

Both scholars began their careers in Spain and both were pupils of ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Ḳīdjāṭī (d. 730/1329), a scholar of *fiḳh*, Ḳur'ān, grammar and philology, who lived in Granada. They left Spain together in 738/1337 on a pilgrimage having become, in the words of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, "like two souls in one body" and, Ibn Djābir being blind, they were also known as "the blind and the seeing". They lived in Egypt (where they attended the lectures of Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī), Damascus, where they arrived in 741/1340-1, and Aleppo in 743/1342-3, before settling finally in al-Bīra.

Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iii, 300, claims that Ibn Djābir in composing his *Badīʿiyya* was inspired by a similar work by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749, 750, or 752). Ibn Maʿṣūm in his *Anwār al-rabīʿ* (ed. Sh.H. Shukr, Nadjaf 1388/1968, i, 31-2) holds that the first *Badīʿiyya* was composed by one [Abu 'l-Ḥasan] ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Irbilī al-Ṣūfī. The classical division between *maʿānī*, *bayān* and *badīʿ* [*q.vv.*] by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338) and Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik (d. 686/1287) in relation to the *Ṭirāz* as analysed by Soudan, 93-7, and Bonebakker cannot be discussed here. To illustrate the individual chapters of his friend's *Badīʿiyya*, al-Ruʿaynī uses examples in prose and poetry that are not limited to the Muslim West. Of special interest are the examples composed by Ibn Djābir and al-Ruʿaynī themselves. Though in some moving verses they express nostalgia, there is, so far, no indication that the two authors after settling in al-Bīra ever returned temporarily to Spain (which would explain the *nisba* al-Ilbīrī used by al-Ṣafadī, d. 764/1363). According to a report by Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAdjamī quoted in Ibn Ḥadjar's *Durar*, their friendship ended when Ibn Djābir married, though Ibn Djābir composed a *marthiya* on al-Ruʿaynī when he died.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, G II², 136, S II, 138; N. Soudan, *Westarabische Tropik. Naẓm IV des Tanasī*, Wiesbaden 1980, 93-7; cf. 86-7; S.A. Bonebakker, *Ruʿaynī's commentary on the Badīʿiyya of Ibn Jābir*, in *Studi in onore di Francesco Gabrieli... a cura di R. Traini*, Rome 1984, i, 73-83. The text of B.L. or 60, BS 6/7313, in particular the poetic quotations, can often be corrected with the help of Tanasī's *Naẓm*, Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1388/1968, ii, vii, and Ibn Maʿṣūm, *Anwār al-rabīʿ fī anwāʿ al-badīʿ*, ed. Sh.H. Shukr, Karbalā' 1388-9/1968-9. See also Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1304, *passim*; and for the terms used in individual chapters of the *Badīʿiyya*, A. Maṭlūb, *Muʿdjam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-badīʿiyya*, Beirut (?) 1401/1981. (S.A. Bonebakker)

RŪḤ ALLĀH [see nafs. I. B.].

RUKHĀM (a.), in modern Arabic usage, the usual word for marble in general, whereas *marmar*, which clearly derives from the Greek *marmor*, usually refers to white marble or alabaster. Historically, however, *rukhām* and *marmar* were often used interchangeably to refer to a wide variety of hard stones, including marble, granite and diorite. Where the two terms were distinguished, it usually had to do with colour: *marmar* was white, whereas *rukhām* could assume various shades and hues.

Geographically, the use of marble in the Islamic world was largely restricted to those regions whose predominant building material was stone rather than brick or adobe. Generally speaking, places to the west and northwest of the Euphrates river—including Anatolia, Greater Syria, and Egypt, in addition to the Iberian peninsula and the Indian subcontinent—used stone and marble in their architectural monuments. Elsewhere, brick with a stucco or tile revetment predominated.

Marble in the Islamic world was obtained from two main sources: ancient buildings and quarries. Interestingly, the use of salvaged marble far outweighed that of freshly-quarried marble, which was only quarried by the later Islamic dynasties, especially the Ottomans and the Mughals. Exceptions did exist, such as the robust marble capitals in Madīnat al-Zahrā' in 4th/10th century al-Andalus and the exquisite columns and capitals in the Alhambra Palace in the 8th/14th one. But on the whole, marble in early and mediaeval Islamic monuments was taken from ancient, Christian, or even earlier Islamic buildings.

Historically, the use of marble in Islamic architec-

ture may be divided into three characteristic phases: Late Antique and early Islamic (7th-10th centuries A.D.), mediaeval (11th-15th centuries) and pre-modern (10th-18th centuries). In the first period, which is dominated by Umayyad architecture, the use of marble shows direct continuities with Late Antique practice. Thus multi-coloured marble and granite columns and heavy marble architraves and arches are used in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the Great Mosque of Damascus. Perhaps more interesting is the continued use in both of these structures of split or quartered marble, whereby the distinctive pattern in a sheet of marble is displayed in mirror image along one or two axes. Equally impressive is openwork marble, which is used in the Great Mosque of Damascus as a series of window grilles, which most likely also existed at the Dome of the Rock (K.A.C. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture*, revised and supplemented by J.W. Allan, Cairo 1989).

With the exception of an outstanding series of G͟haznawid marble dadoes and cenotaphs dating to the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, the architectural use of marble goes into an extended decline after the Umayyads. But marble ornament and stone architecture undergo an important revival in the 6th/12th century, a revival centred in Aleppo during the time of the Ayyūbids. Polychrome marble ornament in the form of large interlaces around *miḥrābs*, *īwāns* and portals, and geometric patterns in pavements, soften and enliven an otherwise austere architectural style (Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of power and piety in medieval Aleppo*, Pittsburgh 1997).

These ornamental forms are transmitted in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries to the rest of Syria, as well as to Palestine, Egypt and Anatolia. Until the end of the 7th/13th century, marble revetments maintain their formal and stylistic affinities with Aleppo, as exemplified by the robust designs at the mausoleum of al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bundukdārī (constructed 675-80/1277-81) in Damascus and the portal to the complex of Ḳalāwūn in Cairo (684/1285). But an increasingly intricate ornamental style develops in the next century, lasting with few changes till the end of the Mamlūk period and beyond. Applied internally to *miḥrābs* and fountains, and externally to portals and window frames, this miniature style of polychrome marble inlay becomes a hallmark feature of Mamlūk architecture [see MAMLŪKS. 2. Art and Architecture, in Suppl.].

Although this Mamlūk ornamental style continued in Egypt and Syria under the Ottomans, it was largely shunned by classical Ottoman architecture, whose monuments demonstrated a marked preference for large stretches of lightly ornamented marble revetment. This return to an earlier style of marble decoration may have been motivated by the greater availability of marble, or perhaps by the emulation of nearby Byzantine structures.

In India, marble was rather sparingly used in Dihlī Sultanate architecture, often as a highlight to the predominant red sandstone. This attractive juxtaposition continues in early Mug͟hal mosques and mausoleums, reaching an apogee in the tomb of Humāyūn at Dihlī. At first, white marble was reserved for saints' tombs, such as the spectacular tomb in Fatḥpūr Sikrī [*q.v.*] of S͟hayk͟h Salīm Čis͟htī (1573-7), which also boasts some of the earliest and finest openwork marble screens, commonly known as *Jali*. But by the 11th/17th century, various monuments were being sheathed in white marble inlaid with polychrome stones, including the Mosque of Iʿtimād al-Dawla (1031-6/1622-7), and the Tād͟j Maḥall (1041-53/1632-43 [*q.v.*]), both at Āgra [*q.v.*] (Ebba Koch, *Mughal architecture*, Munich 1991).

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RŪS͟HANĪ, DEDE ʿUMAR, Turkish adherent of the Ṣūfī order of the K͟halwatiyya [*q.v.*] and poet in both Persian and Turkish. He was born at an unspecified date at Güzel Ḥiṣār in Aydîn, western Anatolia, being connected maternally with the ruling family of the Aydîn Og͟hullarî [see AYDÎN-OG͟HLU], and died at Tabrīz in Ād͟harbāyd͟jān in 892/1487.

Dede ʿUmar was the *k͟halīfa* of Sayyid Yaḥyā S͟hīrwānī, the *pīr-i t͟hānī* or second founder of the K͟halwatī order, and as head of the Rūs͟hanī branch of the order engaged in missionary work in northern Ād͟harbāyd͟jān. He came to enjoy the patronage of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*], whose wife built a *zāwiya* for him in the capital Tabrīz, and he lived there up to his death, being buried in the *zāwiya*. His *murīds* included the Turkish mystical poet from Diyārbakr, Ibrāhīm Guls͟hanī (d. 940/1533-4 [*q.v.*]), who founded his own order of the Guls͟haniyya, and the Azeri Turk Muḥammad Demirdās͟h Muḥammadī (d. 929/1524), founder of the Cairo order of the Demirdas͟hiyya [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Dede ʿUmar's *dīwān* included three Persian *mat͟hnawīs*, in one of which, the *Nāynāma*, the influence of D͟jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] is especially clear, and poems in Turkish; one volume of the *dīwān* has been published as *Āt͟hār-i ʿis͟hḳ* (Istanbul 1315/1897-8).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

S

ṢABYĀ (Sabaya on Philby's map), a town in the Tihāmat ʿAsīr [see TIHĀMA; ʿASĪR and map] in south-western Saudi Arabia, at about 30 km/21 miles inland north-east of the port of D͟jayzān [*q.v.*]. In 1339/1920 Sayyid Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (see below) concluded a treaty with Ibn Suʿūd [see ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ

AL SUʿŪD, in Suppl.], but after his death in 1340/1922-3 internal dissensions among the Idrīsiyya led to a Suʿūdī protectorate. The Imām of Yemen maintained a claim to the Idrīsid territories, but the Treaty of al-Ṭāʾif (1353/1934) determined that they belong to Saudi Arabia, including Ṣabyā [see ʿASĪR]. The town lies in what is called the central part of al-Mikhlāf al-Yamanī, a district which includes all the Tihāmat from al-Shuḳayḳ in the north to Wādī ʿAyn in the south. The central part extends from Umm al-Khashab to just south of Abū ʿArīsh [*q.v.*]. Being traversed by the wādīs Baysh, Ṣabyā, Damad and Djayzān, the region is among the most densely populated of the Tihāmat ʿAsīr. At the beginning of the 20th century, the largest part of the population was of Sudanese origin. They were partly unemancipated slaves but chiefly freedmen, the other inhabitants being *mutawallids* or Sudanese with an Arab strain, Arabs of pure blood, *sayyids* and *sharīfs* [*q.vv.*] (Cornwallis, 39-40).

In the 4th/10th century Ṣabyā, and a number of other places and wādīs, was ruled by the *Ḥakamiyyūn*, i.e. the Banū Ḥakam b. Saʿd al-ʿAshīra of the Ḳaḥṭān [*q.v.*], with the Banū ʿAbd al-Djadd as the ruling family (al-Hamdānī, 120.5). In the 7th/13th century, Ṣabyā was one of the urban settlements (*ḳurā*) of ʿUshar, which was part of Yemen (Yāḳūt, iii, 367, 979, v, 23). The town does not seem to have played any role in early and mediaeval Islam. As in Ḳunfudha, Abhā and Bīsha [*q.vv.*], neighbouring tribes used to collect in Ṣabyā for a four-months' truce during the date season. In the 10th/16th century, it was one of the seats of the Sulaymānīs [*q.v.*], who are still to be found in the frontier districts between Saudi Arabia and Yemen [see KHAMĪS MUSHAYT; MAKRAMIDS].

In 1215/1800 Ṣabyā was drawn into Arabian politics when an inhabitant brought the Wahhābīs [*q.v.*] into the Tihāma (Serjeant and Lewcock, 87a), and even more so when Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d. 1253/1837 [*q.v.*]), the Moroccan *sharīf* and Ṣūfī who had preached in a school in Mecca, sought refuge in Ṣabyā in 1243/1827-8 from persecution for heresy by the Meccan *ʿulamāʾ*. In the Holy City he had admitted into the circle of his disciples the Algerian Ṣūfī Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī, the founder of the Sanūsiyya [*q.vv.*]. Around 1250/1834-5 Ṣabyā became the centre of the Sanūsiyya and the capital of an Idrīsī semi-religious, semi-military state centred in al-Mikhlāf al-Yamanī with Djayzān and Midi (lat. 16° 18' N.) as its main ports. The ancestor of the Idrīsīs in ʿAsīr (see the family tree in Philby, 473) is Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [see IDRĪS I] who, after the battle of Fakhkh [*q.v.*] in 169/786, fled via Egypt to the Maghrib where he founded the dynasty of the Idrīsids [*q.v.*]. Aḥmad's great-grandson Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, born in Ṣabyā in 1293/1876, by 1328/1910 had reduced Turkish power in ʿAsīr with the support of the Italians, but had failed to hold Abhā against the *sharīf* of Mecca. Sayyid Muḥammad died in 1341/1922 and was buried in the cemetery that lies in the northern outskirts of Ṣabyā on the main road to Mecca. In 1344/1925-6 his son ʿAlī signed a treaty with the British resident in Aden against the Turks. He was supported by Ibn Suʿūd, but fiercely opposed by the Imām of Yemen. The Imām had at first concluded with ʿAlī a defensive alliance against the Turks, but in the end he sided with his former enemy. In 1345/1926-7 ʿAlī was forced to submit to Saudi Arabia [see AḤMAD B. IDRĪS; ṬARĪḲA. 3]. As followers of the Sanūsiyya, the tribes around Ṣabyā are Shāfiʿī, with no sympathy lost for the Zaydiyya [*q.v.*]. The Idrīsīs used to levy taxes on grain and animals, collected primarily by the *shaykhs* of the tribes, except the pro-Turkish ones, but also through travelling inspectors. The proceeds were sent to Ṣabyā. Some tribes refused to be regarded as taxpayers, but sent the Idrīsī rulers presents and helped them in war. Philby mentions the presses for the extraction of oil from sesame [see SIMSIM] and remarks that the town spread over a considerable area, including Ṣabyā al-Baliyya and Bayt al-Sayyid, the original palace from which Ṣabyā al-Djadīda grew up. In Philby's days the population of the Ṣabyā area was estimated locally at some 25,000 souls.

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(E. VAN DONZEL)

SAʿD, ATABEG OF FĀRS [see SALGHURIDS].

SAʿD AL-DĪN [see KHODJA EFENDI].

SADŌZAYS [see AFGHĀNISTĀN. V. 3. A].

[AL-]**SAHLA**, literally, "level, smooth place". There must have been several places in the Arabic lands named after this obvious topographical feature. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 290-1, mentions a village in Baḥrayn and a *masdjid* of that name in Kūfa (perhaps the mosque also known as the Ẓāfir one or that of ʿAbd al-Ḳays, cf. Hichem Djaït, *Al-Kūfa, naissance de la ville islamique*, Paris 1986, 298).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

SAʿĪD B. **DJUBAYR** b. Hishām, an early Kūfan scholar of renown in the fields of Ḳurʾān recitation and exegesis, jurisprudence and *ḥadīth*. He was a *mawlā* of the Banū Wāliba b. al-Ḥārith, a branch of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma. If the biographical traditions which say that he studied with Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn ʿUmar are reliable, then he brought early Meccan and Medinan scholarship to Kūfa. There he had a circle of students but also held government positions. He functioned as secretary for two of the *ḳāḍīs* of Kūfa. When al-Ḥadjdjādj, the Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ, sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath with an army to Sīstān, he put Saʿīd in charge of the troops' stipends. During the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath against al-Ḥadjdjādj (81-2/700-1), in which Saʿīd b. Djubayr participated, he was for a time in charge of levying the *zakāt* and the *ʿushr* [*q.vv.*] in Kūfa. In this revolt he was one of the active leaders of the *ḳurrāʾ*, the group of religious scholars and their followers, who joined the revolt of ʿIrāḳ's *ashrāf* against the Umayyads [see AL-ḲURRĀʾ and, more recent, R. Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Ašʿat und die Koranleser*, Freiburg i.Br. 1977]. After the revolt had failed, Saʿīd fled first to Iṣfahān and later to Mecca where he taught for some years. In 94 or 95 (711 or 712), more than a decade after the revolt, he was arrested by Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], then governor of Mecca, and sent to al-Ḥadjdjādj at Wāsiṭ, who had him beheaded. Saʿīd was then 49 or 57 years old. Some legends became woven around his capture, his examination by al-Ḥadjdjādj and his execution. They underline Saʿīd's piety and condemn al-Ḥadjdjādj's death sentence. Whether Saʿīd belonged to the Kūfan Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*] or not is a controversial issue. A few traditions say that he had good relations with and sympathy for members of the ʿAlid family.

Saʿīd's teachings in the fields of *fiḳh* and *tafsīr* were much sought after during the 2nd/8th century and played an important role in the development of *fiḳh* before the advent of the classical schools. Many traditions on his teachings have been collected in the two *Muṣannafs* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ and of Ibn Abī S͟hayba, as well as in ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's and al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīrs*. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions the existence of a *Kitāb Tafsīr Saʿīd b. Djubayr* (*Fihrist*, 34), but it is not clear whether this had been compiled by Saʿīd himself or a later scholar. An investigation of the traditions going back to Saʿīd b. Djubayr in ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's *Muṣannaf* and *Tafsīr* shows that they were collected already during the first half of the 2nd century by scholars such as Sufyān al-T͟hawrī (d. 161/778), Maʿmar b. Rās͟hid (d. 153/770) and Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767). The legal traditions that they transmit from him via their informants reflect in most cases (*ca.* 75%) Saʿīd's own opinions (*raʾy*), more rarely traditions going back to Companions (*ca.* 17%) or to the Prophet (8%). Most of his Companion traditions give the legal opinion of Ibn ʿAbbās (70%) and Ibn ʿUmar (20%), and most of his traditions from the Prophet (70%) lack any *isnād*, i.e. they are *mursal*. These peculiarities of Saʿīd's scholarship correspond to what is known from his Meccan contemporary ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 115/733), who was a pupil of Ibn ʿAbbās as well (see H. Motzki, *The origins of Islamic jurisprudence*, Leiden 2001, ch. III.B). In the exegetical traditions transmitted from Saʿīd by the early collectors mentioned above, and compiled in ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's *Tafsīr*, the peculiarities are similar. Ibn ʿAbbās's opinion, however, is somewhat more strongly represented (*ca.* 40%) in comparison to Saʿīd's own exegesis (56%).

In ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's *Muṣannaf* and *Tafsīr*, most of the material transmitted from Saʿīd by the three early collectors seems really to go back to him. However, some traditions of Saʿīd b. Djubayr transmitted by other informants of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ and going back exclusively to Ibn ʿAbbās may be suspected of being falsely ascribed to Saʿīd. More Ibn ʿAbbās exegetical traditions allegedly going back to Saʿīd may be found in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* (see H. Berg, *The development of exegesis in early Islam*, Richmond, Surrey 2000, ch. 5).

Bibliography: Information on Saʿīd b. Djubayr can be found in many biographical compilations. In the following only the sources with the most detailed information are given. Ibn Saʿd, vi, 178-87 (Beirut vi, 256-67); Ṭabarī, ii, 1076, 1087, 1261-5; Abu ʾl-ʿArab Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, *Kitāb al-Miḥan*, Beirut 1408/1988, 216-31; Mizzī, *Tahd͟hīb al-kamāl*, iii, 1418/1998, 141-45; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahd͟hīb al-tahd͟hīb*, iv, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7/1907-9, 11-14; D͟hahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1413/1993, iv, 321-43 (with additional sources given by the editor, 321-2); ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *Muṣannaf*, i-xi, ²Beirut 1403/1983; idem, *Tafsīr*, al-Riyāḍ 1410/1989, i-iv; Ibn Abī S͟hayba, *Muṣannaf*, Bombay 1399-1403/1979-83, i-xv; A.J. Wensinck, *Concordance*, viii (for a listing of traditions in the "six books" and some earlier collections in which Saʿīd is mentioned as transmitter); K͟haṭīb ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hās͟himī, *Saʿīd b. Djubayr*, Bag͟hdād 1380/1960 (not seen); W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 231-3, 237; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, Leiden 1967, 28-9; Salām Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Saʿīd b. Djubayr*, Nadjaf 1396/1976; R. Sayed, *Die Revolte*, quoted above, 352-3; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, i, Berlin-New York 1991, 151-61.

(H. Motzki)

SĀḲIYA [see māʾ. 3].

al-SĀḲIYA al-ḤAMRAʾ, conventionally Seguiat el Hamra, a region of the Western Sahara, situated in southwestern Morocco in lat. 27° N.

It is made up of low plateaux, dominated by rocky hamadas, sprinkled with numerous surface dayas and incised with the hydrographical network system of the Wādī al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ ("the red watercourse"), which runs westwards and includes long alluvial ribbons. At the Atlantic littoral, the end of its course is marked by vertical, abrupt cliffs, worn down by the general presence of the cold current of the Canaries, causing a misty haze almost permanently over the desert. But the aridness is attenuated by hardly visible forms of precipitation: condensation at night on the soil and the vegetation allows a well-spread carpet of vegetation (argan trees, euphorbias and groundsel), a carpet which becomes more narrowed towards the interior, with streaks of greenery and acacias, etc. along the wadis.

These austere conditions, together with the complete absence of any non-saline surface water, explain the almost total absence of oases. These lands have been used over the ages as pasture lands for herds of dromedaries and goats owned by the Reguibat and Tekna nomads. The bottoms of the wadis allow the occasional cultivation there of cereals.

Al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ has for long been a corridor of passage, in the context of trans-Saharan trade, between the southern Moroccan fringes and the trading posts of the Sahel. In the 15th and 16th centuries, it was a hive of maraboutic activity, a seed-bed of local saints, who would often depart along the roads leading eastwards to Mecca and establish themselves in some place along one of these axes (the Algerian countryside or the villages of Fezzan). The influence of these pious figures was such that, in this region, even today whole tribes consider themselves as their descendents.

It is partly within this context that one should mention the role of an exceptional figure of the 19th century, a religious reformer and political leader who took over control of the destiny of al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ, sc. S͟hayk͟h Māʾ al-ʿAynayn [*q.v.*]. Born in 1839, he studied in Tindūf and Chinguetti/S͟hinḳīt [*q.v.*], created his own dervish order, the ʿAyniyya, wrote several books, established links with the sultans of Morocco, fought against the French activities to the north and the south, and in 1898 founded the town of Ṣmāra, on the edge of the Wādī al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ, with its *ḳaṣaba*, mosque, *zāwiya* and a library of 500 manuscripts.

But the feeble state of the sultanate of Morocco brought with it an end to the Shaykh's dreams. In 1913, a corps of French troops bombarded the town of Ṣmāra. Established on the coast, the Spanish gradually penetrated into the interior, and in 1930 founded Laayoune. From that time onwards, al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ became the official name of one of the two colonies comprising the Spanish Sahara, the other being Rio de Oro (Wādī al-D͟hahab).

In 1975, after the episode of the "Green March", reaching as far as Tarfaya, Spain evacuated the territories, and the Moroccan army and administration henceforth controlled their destinies. But they became the region for a political and military contest between Morocco and the Polisarios, a contest which the United Nations is still trying to resolve.

In the last 25 years, the Moroccan state has created a network of paved roads, built various installations and has begun exploiting the great deposits of phos-

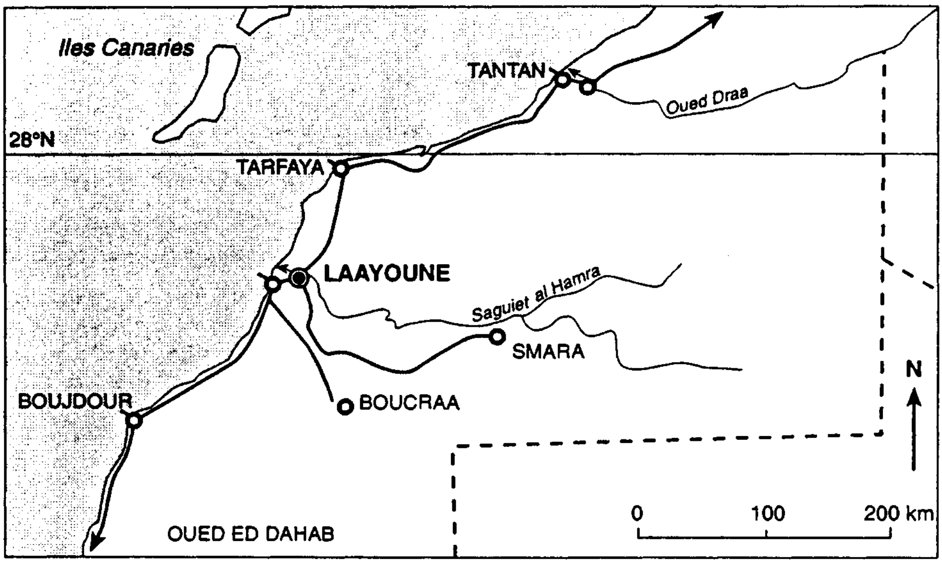

phates at Boucraa. Since the coast is full of fish, thanks to the Canaries current, fishing has become extensive and is an important activity through the creation of the ports of Tarfaya, Port Laayoune and Boudjour. The capital of al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ and the whole of the Western Sahara, Laayoune, has today 150,000 inhabitants, with another 35,000 at Ṣmāra.

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ṢAKK (A.), pl. *ṣikāk*, a technical term of early Islamic financial, commercial and legal usage, appearing in Persian, through a standard sound change, as *čak*, meaning "document, contract of sale, etc.", which has been suggested—for want of any other etymology—as the origin of Eng. "cheque", Fr. "chèque," Ger. "Scheck," see E. Littmann, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen*, ²Tübingen 1924.

The term's range of applications is wide, see Lane, *Lexicon*, 1709. In legal contexts, it has a similar meaning to *sidjill* [see SIDJILL. 1.], sc. a signed and sealed record of a judge's decision. In financial contexts, it often means "a written order for payment of a salary, allowance, pension, etc.", "a financial draft or assignment". Thus in Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar's [*q.v.*] section on the ʿAbbāsid *dīwān* of military affairs contained in his *Kitāb al-Kharādj* (early 4th/10th century), a soldier displays at the pay session a certificate of assignment of pay (*sakk*) from the *dīwān* (W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der ʿAbbāsiden. Studie über Abulfarağ Qudāma*: Dīwān al-ǧaiš, in *Isl.*, xxix [1950], 281). See for further references on the term's usage in mediaeval Islam, C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art. A contribution to the administrative history of mediaeval Islam*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 125-6.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṢALĀT-I MAʿKŪSA (A., P.), literally, "the act of Muslim worship performed upside-down", one of the extreme ascetic practices found among extravagant members of the dervish orders, such as in mediaeval Muslim India among the Čishtiyya [*q.v.*], where it formed part of the forty days' retreat or seclusion (*khalwa*, *arbaʿīniyya*, *čilla*) undertaken to heighten spiritual awareness [see KHALWA]. This practice was one of those done in tortured or difficult circumstances, in this case hanging on the end of a rope over the mouth of a well; see ČISHTIYYA, at Vol. II, 55b, and HIND. v. Islam, at Vol. III, 432b.

(Ed.)

SALLĀM AL-TARDJUMĀN, early traveller in Central Asia, who has left an account of his alleged journey to the barrier of Yādjūdj wa-Mādjūdj [*q.v.*].

In 227/842 the caliph al-Wāthiḳ (*r.* 227-32/842-7 [*q.v.*]) reportedly saw in a dream that Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn's barrier had been breached. Sallām al-Tardjumān ("the interpreter"), "who spoke thirty languages" and who, according to Ibn Rusta, 149, used to translate Turkish documents for the caliph, received the order to make inquiries about the barrier and to report about it. The account of his journey is given by Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. between 272/885 and 300/912 [*q.v.*], Ar. text in *BGA*, vi, 162-70; Eng. tr. Wilson, *The Wall*, 582-7; Fr. tr. Barbier de Meynard, *Le livre des routes*, 124-31 and Miquel, *Géographie*, ii, 498-507; Dutch tr. De Goeje, *De muur*, 104-9). He writes that Sallām told him the story of his journey and afterwards dictated to him the account he had drawn up for the caliph.

The dream is perhaps to be explained in relation to unrest caused by the Turks in Central Asia, e.g. by the movements of the Ḳirghīz [*q.v.*] around Lake Baykal in 226-7/841. Another reason for the mission may have been al-Wāthiḳ's wish to put an end to what Barbier de Meynard (*op. cit.*, 23) calls "ridiculous interpretations" current about "the people of the Cave" (Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 9-26; see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF) and about Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj with whom the Turks were identified. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 106-7, relates that al-Wāthiḳ already had sent the famous mathematician and astronomer Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khʷārazmī (d. 232/847 [*q.v.*]) to the land of Rūm in order to investigate the story of the men of *raḳīm* [see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF]. As Sallām would do later, al-Khʷārazmī informed Ibn Khurradādhbih personally

about his journey. Al-Muḳaddasī, 362, relates that al-Wāt͟hiḳ had sent the same al-K͟hwārazmī to the Ṭark͟hān [*q.v.*], the king of the K͟hazar.

Sallām's journey, which probably brought him to the Tarim Basin, took two years and four months. Leaving Sāmarrā' in the summer of 227/842, he first travelled north to Tiflis, where he handed al-Wāt͟hiḳ's letter to Isḥāḳ b. Ismā'īl, the governor of Armenia [see AL-ḲABḲ; ḲARS; AL-ḲURDJ]. The journey then went on to "the lord of al-Sarīr", the present-day Avaristān, a district in the middle Köy-su valley in southern Dāg͟histān [*q.v.*], then ruled by a Christian prince who bore the title of Fīlān-S͟hāh. Sallām went on to the king of the Alans [see AL-LĀN], an Iranian people in the northern Caucasus, who held the Bāb al-Lān [*q.v.*] or Darial Pass, known to classical authors as "the Caspian Gates". Sallām does not mention the Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*] near Derbend, the real Caspian Gate. Via the Fīlān-S͟hāh, he went on to the Ṭark͟hān of the K͟hazar, who resided at Atil [*q.v.*] near modern Astrakhan [*q.v.*]. While travelling back and forth in the Caucasus, Sallām must have convinced himself that D͟hu 'l-Ḳarnayn's barrier was not to be looked for in those regions. From Atil he probably travelled in an easterly direction to *Īkku*, which is identical with modern Ha-mi in Sinkiang (lat. 42° 47' N., long. 93° 32' E.). With Tiflis, this is the only town mentioned in Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih's text. De Goeje (164 n. *g*; cf. 126 n. 4 and *De muur*, 109) remarks that the vocalisation of *Īkku* is a conjecture, but his identifying this town with *Igu* seems quite plausible. During the T'ang dynasty (618-907), and thus at the time of Sallām's arrival, Ha-mi was known as *I-chou*, which then was under the rule of the Uyg͟hurs (cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. *Ha-mi*; see also ḲUMUL, in Suppl.). If Sallām indeed came to this town (see below), he may have travelled north of the Aral Sea. Al-Idrīsī, who used the now lost work of al-Djayhānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], adds (*Opus geographicum*, 935) that Sallām travelled for twenty-seven days along the borders of the land of the Bas͟hdjirt (Bas͟hkurt) [*q.v.*], a Turkish people living in the southern Ural. He may have crossed the Dzungharian Basin and passed the Gate of that name in the northern spur of the T'ien Shan mountain system, on the border of modern Kazak͟hstān and China. But "the black, stinking land" (*arḍ sawdā' muntinat al-rā'iḥa*) which he mentions (Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 163) may also point to the neighbourhood of Lake Balk͟has͟h [*q.v.*], the evil smell being perhaps caused by asafoetida (De Goeje, *De muur*, 110). Sallām may then have followed the Ili river [*q.v.*] upstream. The "ruined towns" (*mudun k͟harāb*) which he then reached are perhaps the ruins of Pei-ting (or Chin-man), the site of the ancient capital of the region. He may then have passed modern Urumchi, Guchen and Barkul (see map). If he took the southern route via Turfan, he may have seen the ruins of Yar-khoto, the capital of the Turfan region in Han times (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) (see Stein, *On ancient tracks*, 270; von Le Coq, *Auf Hellas' Spuren*, 41, 69ff.). The inhabitants told him that their towns had been destroyed by Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, perhaps a reference to the Ḳirg͟hiz invasions of 841, which had put an end to Uyg͟hur rule north of the Great Wall of China. Sallām then came to "fortifications" (*ḥuṣūn*) in the neighbourhood of the barrier, where he met Muslims who spoke Arabic and Persian, who read the Ḳur'ān, and had Ḳur'ān schools and mosques, but did not know what the term *amīr al-mu'minīn* meant. These Muslims were probably merchants who had settled in an outpost far outside the world of Islam. The religion of the Prophet came to the Farg͟hana [*q.v.*] valley, and to the western part of the Tarim Basin [*q.v.*] only around 225/840 under the Sāmānid governor Nūḥ b. Asad (d. 227/841-2) [see SĀMĀNIDS]. In Sallām's days the eastern part of the Basin, i.e. the Turfan region, was inhabited by the Ad͟hkas͟h Turks (see al-Kās͟hg͟harī, *Dīwān lug͟hāt al-turk*, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 89; cf. Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 31). Īkku, Sallām relates, lay at a three days' distance from the barrier and had farmed fields and mills inside its walls, which had a circumference of ten *farsak͟hs*, while its iron gates were let down at night. Sallām also says that D͟hu 'l-Ḳarnayn had pitched camp here. The fortifications on the road from Īkku to the barrier, i.e. on the northern branch of the famous Silk Route, were perhaps the watch-towers along the westward extension of the Great Wall of China built during the Han period (see Stein, *On ancient tracks*, ch. X; Hermann, *Atlas*, map 24). It may have been one of these impressive towers, fully 4.5 m at the base and standing to a height of over 9 metres (illustration no. 73), which inspired Sallām for his fantastic description of D͟hu 'l-Ḳarnayn's barrier (see the drawing in Miquel, *Géographie*, ii, 505). This inspiration, based on the Ḳur'ān, was perhaps influenced by the descriptions of Alexander's Gate, found e.g. in the Syriac Alexander Song of Jacob of Sarūdj (see Reinink, *Das Syrische Alexanderlied*, 19) and the early Islamic poets.

According to Sallām, the barrier was a double-winged iron gate, 27 m high, over which was an iron lintel, *ca.* 64 m long and 3 m wide, on top of which was a wall of bricks, made of iron and brass. The barrier filled the gap between "the two mountains" (cf. Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 93, 96). Nearby, Sallām found two enormous fortresses, in one of which were the iron cauldrons and ladles used to form the bricks. Relics of them were stuck together with rust. The governor of the fortresses rode out every Monday and Thursday (according to al-Idrīsī, every Friday). One of his men knocked on the lock of the barrier and heard a noise as from a wasps' nest. He was then assured that Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj had done no harm to the barrier, since they realised that it was under constant guard. The governor assured Sallām that the only damage the barrier had suffered was a crack as thin as a thread. Sallām scraped half a dirham of iron dust from the crack to show to al-Wāt͟hiḳ. The people of the fortresses told him that they once had seen some individuals of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj on the top of the mountain, their size being one span and a half. A "dark wind" had blown them back. On top of the right wing was an inscription in iron letters "in the primordial language" (*al-lisān al-awwal*), namely, Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 98: "But when the promise of my Lord shall come to pass, He will flatten it; and the promise of my Lord is true."

On his return journey, Sallām may have travelled to Lop Nor, from where he went to Nīs͟hāpūr via Ṭarāz, Isfīdjāb and Balk͟h [*q.vv.*], having lost 36 men and 177 mules. Via al-Rayy he returned to Sāmarrā', where he was well received by the caliph, to whom he showed the iron dust taken from D͟hu 'l-Ḳarnayn's barrier.

Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih's text of Sallām's report was taken up over the next four or so centuries by Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ibn Faḍlān, Ibn Rusta, al-Muḳaddasī, al-Bīrūnī, al-Idrīsī, Ibn al-Djawzī and al-Nuwayrī [*q.vv.*]. Numerous other authors dealt with Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj but did not mention Sallām's journey. Ibn Rusta, 149, Sallām's and Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih's contemporary, gives Sallām's report only to show how

confused (*takhlīt*) and exaggerated (*tazayyud*) it is. Al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār*, 41) doubts Sallām's credibility because he cannot believe that there were Muslims who spoke Arabic and Persian but did not know about the caliph. Neither is there unanimity among the Western scholars who have dealt with Sallām's report. For Barbier de Meynard (*op. cit.*, 23), Sallām's journey at least had "a beginning", and he states that he does not see in it, as Sprenger did, an "impudent mystification". De Goeje does not leave any doubt about his view: "We have found the origin of the legend about the wall of Gog and Magog, as it appears in Pseudo-Callisthenes and the Ḳur'ān, in the Great Chinese Wall with the Jade Gate [*Yü-mönn*], and we have restored Sallām's travel account as the report of a real journey" (*De muur*, 116). Anderson (*Alexander's gate*, 95) argues that Sallām certainly did not go to the Chinese Wall. For Wilson (*The Wall*, 611), Sallām's story is nothing but a legend, while Miller (*Mappae arabicae*, iv, 93-5) holds that the place described by Sallām is the breach in the Altai mountains made by the river Irtish [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Miquel finds in the account a "côtoiement d'un certain vraisemblable avec un légendaire certain" and adds "on mesure, à cet exemple, la place du merveilleux (*ʿagīb*) dans le goût du temps: il va jusqu'à se superposer chez un calife, aux nécessités de l'information objective" (*Géographie*, ii, 503).

Yet, there is some reason to support the view that Sallām did travel as far as Ha-mi. The data he gives about the Caucasus can be checked successfully in the sources available. Those for the journey from there to Īkku/Ha-mi are vague, it is true, the identification of landscapes, ruined towns and fortified places being speculative yet not absurd. Sallām did reach Ha-mi, since his *Īkku* is identical with this Chinese town [see ḲUMUL, in Suppl.]. It is thus quite likely that he saw the Jade Gate and the western extension of the Great Wall. His description of the town seems to be confirmed by Chinese publications (e.g. Luo Zhewen, *The Great Wall*, 7, 41), and his remark that the function of governor was hereditary agrees with later information by Abu 'l-Ghāzī [*q.v.*], according to whom some Turkish families had been charged by the Kitai [see ḲARA-KHITĀY] to guard, in return for payment, certain sections of the Great Wall. These Turks were called Öngüt ("wall") and their function was hereditary (cf. *Histoire des Mongols*, tr. Desmaisons, 47; Grousset, *L'Empire*, 287). The reports of Sven Hedin, Sir Aurel Stein, Albert von Le Coq *et alii* (see Hopkirk, *Foreign devils*, 243-5) seem to justify the view that Sallām did indeed travel to the eastern part of the Tarim Basin and saw part of the—by then already ruined—western extension of the Great Wall of China and at least one of its gates.

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(E. VAN DONZEL)

SALMĀN AL-FĀRISĪ or SALMĀN PĀK, a semi-legendary figure of early Islam, Companion of the Prophet and the person regarded in later tradition as the proto-convert to Islam from the Persian nation.

According to one tradition, the most complete version of which goes back to Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, he was the son of a *dihḳān* of the Persian village of Djayy (or Djayyān; cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 170) near Iṣfahān. According to other stories, he belonged to the vicinity of Rāmhurmuz and his Persian name was Māhbēh (Māyēh) or Rūzbēh (cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, 217, 277). Attracted by Christianity while still a boy, he left his father's house to follow a Christian monk and, having changed his teachers several times, arrived in Syria; from there he went right down to the Wādi 'l-Ḳurā in western Arabia seeking the Prophet who was to restore the religion of Ibrāhīm, the imminence of whose coming had been predicted to him by his last teacher on his deathbed. Betrayed by Kalbī Bedouin, who were acting as his guides through the desert, and sold as a slave to a Jew, he had occasion to go to Yathrib where, soon after his arrival, the *hidjra* of Muḥammad took place. Recognising in the latter the marks of the prophet which the monk had described to him, Salmān became a Muslim and purchased his liberty from his Jewish master, after being miraculously aided by Muḥammad himself to raise the sum necessary to pay his ransom.

The name of Salmān is associated with the siege of Medina by the Meccans, for it was he who on this occasion advised the digging of the ditch (*khandaḳ*) by means of which the Muslims defended themselves from the enemy. But, as Horovitz (see *Bibl.*) has shown, the earliest accounts of the *yawm al-khandaḳ* make no mention of Salmān's intervention, the story of which was probably invented in order to attribute to a Persian the introduction of a system of defence the name of which is of Persian origin. The other references to the career of Salmān (his part in the conquest of ʿIrāḳ and of Fārs, his governorship of al-Madā'in, etc.) are equally devoid of authority and almost all date from the historian Sayf b. ʿUmar, the bias of whose work is well known. Indeed, the fame

Chinese Turkestan and adjacent parts of Central Asia and Kansu. Source: Sir Aurel Stein, *On ancient Central Asian tracks. Brief narrative of three expeditions in innermost Asia and northwestern China*, London 1933, repr. New York 1971, p. 342.

Ruin of ancient Chinese fort marking the position of the "Jade Gate", seen from the northeast. Source: Sir Aurel Stein, *On ancient Central Asian tracks. Brief narrative of three expeditions in innermost Asia and northwestern China*, London 1933, repr. New York 1971, p. 180.

of Salmān is almost entirely due to his Persian nationality: he is the prototype of the converted Persians, who played such a part in the development of Islam; as such, he has become the national hero of Muslim Persia and one of the favourite personages of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*] (see Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 117, 136, 153, 212). What explains the majority of the traditions relative to Salmān is the fact that the Prophet foretells to him that the Persians will form the better part of the Muslim community; he declares him a member of his own family (*ahl al-bayt*), etc. In reality, the historical personality of Salmān is of the vaguest, and it is with difficulty that one can even admit that his legend is based on the actual fact of the conversion of a Medinan slave of Persian origin.

The figure of Salmān has had an extraordinary development. Not only does he appear as one of the founders of Ṣūfism along with the *Aṣḥāb al-Ṣuffa* (*K. al-Lumaʿ*, ed. Nicholson, 134-5) but the alleged site of his tomb very early became a centre of worship (at latest in 4th/10th century) (cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 321); it is still pointed out in the vicinity of the ancient al-Madāʾin, at the place called after him Salmān Pāk ("Salmān the Pure") near the former Asbāndur suburb. His sepulchral mosque, which was seen in its older form by Pietro della Valle in 1617, was renovated by Sultan Murād IV [*q.v.*] and further restored in 1322/1904-5 (Herzfeld-Sarre, *Archäol. Reise im Euphrates- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii, 262, n. 1). It is the object of numerous pilgrimages, especially on the part of Shīʿīs, who do not fail to visit it when returning from Karbalāʾ. Other traditions locate the tomb of Salmān in the vicinity of Iṣfahān, where there is evidence of his cult in the 7th/13th century (Yāḳūt, ii, 170), and elsewhere, e.g. Lydda.

Salmān plays a remarkable part in the development of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] and the workmen's corporations. He is venerated as a patron of barbers, whence comes the tradition, unknown in ancient collections of traditions, which makes him the Prophet's barber. He is also one of the principal links in the mystic chain (*silsila*) in various dervish orders.

Among the extremist Shīʿī sects, he is placed immediately after ʿAlī in the series of divine emanations. The Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*] make him the third member of the trinity formed by the three mystic letters ʿAyn (ʿAlī), M (Muḥammad) and S (Salmān), of which he forms the gate (*bāb*) (cf. R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nosaïris*, Paris 1900, 62).

The death of Salmān is placed in 35/655-6 or 36/656-7, a statement which has no value except to indicate that the historical tradition had no note of his activity after the accession of ʿAlī (end of 35/656). Like many other individuals, said to have embraced Islam after long experiences of other religions, he is credited with an extraordinary longevity: 200, 300, 350 and even 553 years (Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, p. LXVI).

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(G. Levi Della Vida*)

SAMAW'AL B. YAḤYĀ AL-MAGHRIBĪ, ABŪ NAṢR (?520-70/?1126-75), prominent physician and mathematician who lived and practiced among the notables of Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Kurdistān and Ādharbāydjān. Born and raised as a Jew, he gives an account of his conversion to Islam, including a brief autobiography, in an appendix attached to the second edition of his anti-Jewish polemic, *Ifḥām al-yahūd* ("Silencing the Jews"). His father, Yehūdah Ibn Abūn, was a rabbi and poet from Fās whose family came from al-Andalus. Also known as Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbās al-Maghribī, the father moved to Baghdād and married a literate and educated woman of a noble Jewish family named Ḥannah bt. Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī al-Lawī (the Levite).

According to Samaw'al's autobiographical chapter, he began his studies like other Jewish boys with Hebrew writing, and the study of Torah and its commentaries. By the age of thirteen, however, the age marking adult maturity and ritual responsibility in Jewish law, his father moved him out of the traditional religious curriculum because of his perspicacity and introduced him to the study of mathematics and medicine. He excelled in these fields and wrote a number of works, most of which no longer survive. His only extant medical work, the *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb*, centres around diseases and syndromes associated with sexual dysfunction, and it includes a collection of erotic stories and descriptions of being in love without recognising it. His most important scientific work is his book on algebra, *al-Bāhir*, written when he was nineteen. He set out to provide the same kind of systematisation for algebra that al-Karadjī did for geometry in his work, *al-Badīʿ*. He is the first Arab algebraist to undertake the study of relative numbers.

His early studies were taken under Abu 'l-Barakāt Hibat Allāh b. ʿAlī, another Jew who is said to have become Muslim, though late in life. Samaw'al is associated with yet another learned Jewish convert to Islam, Isaac the son of the famous biblical exegete, grammarian and philosopher, Abraham ben Ezra.

In al-Samaw'al's time, the science of medicine was closely associated with rationalistic philosophy. It has been suggested recently that the aforementioned conversions may have been "provisional". For example, Samaw'al's polemic against Judaism expresses a philosophical relativism that may have been influenced by or associated with the Nizārī Ismaʿīlī *ḳiyāma* (resurrection/resurgence) centred around Alamūt, a contemporary movement that transcended the normative boundaries of religion and law in the lands of Syria and Persia (S. Wasserstrom, following S. Stroumsa, J. Kraemer and H. Lazarus-Yafeh). If so, then Samaw'al's anti-Jewish *Ifḥām* may have been a safe way of criticising doctrinal thinking in general.

It has also been suggested that Samaw'al's conversion was a result of exactly the process about which Moses Maimonides later cautioned in his *Commentary on the Mishna*, that Jews should avoid the study of history because in the Islamic world such study was overwhelmingly anchored in Islamic perspectives and world views and would therefore encourage apostasy from Judaism. Samaw'al's conversion may have been a response to the difficult Jewish problem of accepting the negation of exile while accepting the need for infinite patience for a vague messianic redemption. Such a delicate balance of thought was difficult to

sustain when confronted by the this-worldly reality of contemporary Muslim history, which fulfilled the Jewish longing for a polity, or *dawla*, a central concept in Samaw'al's polemical attack against Judaism (Husain).

Unlike his father, whose *kunya* Abu 'l-Baḳā' suggests longevity, Samaw'al died in 570/1175 at a relatively young age (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbā'*).

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(R. FIRESTONE)

SANAD (A.), pl. *asnād*, lit. "support, stay, rest", but in Islamic administrative usage coming to mean an administrative, financial or legal document on which reliance can formally be placed (*masnūd*), hence an authenticated document. From the same root *s-n-d* is derived the technical term of Islamic tradition, *isnād* [*q.v.* and ḤADĪTH], literally "the act of making something rest upon something else".

The Turkish form of *sanad*, i.e. *sened*, was used in Ottoman practice for a document with e.g. a seal attached, thereby authenticating it and supporting it with official proof; see Pakalın, iii, 173-4. In Indo-Muslim usage, *sanad* was used for government and similar decrees, hence the definition in J.T. Platts, *A dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English*, [4]London 1911, 682: "ordinance, mandate, decree, grant, certificate, etc."

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṢARF (A.), the Islamic legal term for exchanges of gold for gold, silver for silver, and gold and silver for each other. Although *ṣarf* in this sense appears in the *ḥadīth*, it is generally regarded as a term of art without prescriptive significance (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Kitāb al-Ḳabas*, ed. Walad Karīm, Beirut 1992, ii, 822-3; al-Subkī, *Takmilat al-madjmūʿ*, Cairo n.d., x, 99; but see Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, Beirut 1409/1988, iii, 386). According to another well-established usage (al-Baʿlī, *al-Mutliʿ*, Beirut 1401/1981, 239; al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, Beirut n.d., x, 293), followed by Mālikī jurists, *ṣarf* applies to exchanges of gold and silver, while exchanges (by weight) of gold for gold or silver for silver are termed *murāṭala*. Further variations in usage can be found (*Sharḥ al-Khirshī ʿalā mukhtaṣar Sīdī Khalīl*, Beirut n.d., v, 36 [including *fulūs*]; al-Subkī, x, 149 [*ṣarf* vs. *muṣārafa*]). In addition, *ṣarf* is commonly used in the sense of the rate of exchange of gold for silver, and is sometimes used for the money-changer's commission (S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, Berkeley etc. 1967, i, 239-40) as well as for money in general (Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 829). It has been suggested that the sense of money-changing for the Arabic word *ṣarf* developed under Aramaic influence (S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 182-6). For a fanciful etymology from the clink (*ṣarīf*) of the metals as they are being weighed, see e.g. al-Bahūtī, *Kashshāf al-ḳināʿ*, ed. Hilāl, al-Riyāḍ n.d.

Ṣarf transactions are subject to particular stringencies. The parties, having entered into the contract, are required to take delivery before they separate. In addition, where the exchange is of gold for gold or silver for silver, the quantities on each side must be equivalent in weight. The rate of exchange of gold for silver, on the other hand, may be determined by the parties as they see fit, and even unascertained quantities (*djuzāf*) of these metals may be exchanged (cf. Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, ed. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo n.d., 393 [except coins]; al-Bādjī, *al-Muntaḳā*, Cairo 1332/1914 iv, 277-8, cf. al-Shaybānī, *K. al-Ḥudjdja*, ed. al-Kīlānī, Ḥaydarābād 1387/1968, ii, 571-2). The regulation of exchanges of gold and silver was introduced in the year 7/628 in the course of the division of the spoils of the conquest of Khaybar [*q.v.*] (Caetani, *Annali*, ii/1, 38-9). The legal rules governing these exchanges derive from the prohibition of *ribā* [*q.v.*] as expounded in the *ḥadīth*, general principles of contract law, and certain monetary conceptions.

The validity of *ṣarf* contracts requires that performance on both sides be due at once (*munādjaza*, *ḥulūl*); neither party may be granted a term in which to make delivery, which would constitute *ribā al-nasā'*. In fact, virtually all jurists require that delivery on both sides (*taḳābuḍ*) take place during the contractual session (*madjlis*) (but see al-Suyūrī, *al-Tanḳīḥ al-rā'iʿ*, ed. al-Kūhkamarī, Ḳumm 1404/1985, ii, 97; al-Ṣadr, *al-Bank al-lā-ribawī fi 'l-Islām*, al-Kuwayt n.d., 147-8), which may, however, be protracted. To the extent otherwise available, the parties have the benefit of the right to rescind the executory contract while in their session (*khiyār al-madjlis*). The Mālikīs are stricter in this regard, insisting on prompt, if not immediate, mutual delivery, even a short delay making the exchange reprehensible (*makrūh*) (al-Ḥaṭṭāb, *Mawāhib al-djalīl*, Ṭarābulus, Libya n.d., iii, 302-3, cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, ed. Shākir, Beirut n.d., viii, 493). Thus while others prohibit the parties from reserving to themselves a right of rescission (*khiyār al-sharṭ*), Mālikī jurists go further and exclude delivery by assignment (*ḥawāla*) and the giving of either personal or real security for delivery, all of which are deemed repugnant to the required promptness of performance (Ibn Djuzayy, *Ḳawānīn al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyya*, Cairo 1975, 262-3; Ibn Djallāb, *al-Tafrīʿ*, ed. al-Dahmānī, Beirut 1408/1987, ii, 154, cf. the Ḥanafī al-Anḳirāwī, *Fatāwā*, Būlāḳ 1281/1864-5, i, 303). For the same reason, according to the Mālikīs, the *ṣarf* transaction is invalid if both parties borrow the gold or silver in order to make delivery (*al-ṣarf ʿalā al-dhimma*) (Saḥnūn, *al-Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323/1905, repr. Beirut n.d., iii, 396; al-Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr*, ed. Waṣfī, Cairo 1972, iii, 50 gloss).

There is disagreement as to whether the requirement of mutual delivery is satisfied by a set-off of debts (*taṭāruḥ al-daynayn*). The Mālikīs regard the set-off as a valid *ṣarf* if both debts are presently due, the Ḥanafīs and Zaydīs as being valid whether or not due. The Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, on the other hand, do not consider such a transaction a valid *ṣarf* (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Cairo n.d., ii, 174; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, ed. al-Turkī and al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1408/1989, vi, 106; al-Subkī, x, 101; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, iii, 389).

Where there has been only part performance of the contract the Mālikīs treat the entire contract as

void (*al-Mudawwana*, iii, 392; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Kāfī*, ed. al-Mūrītānī, al-Riyāḍ 1400/1980-1, ii, 634, cf. *al-Muntaḳā*, iv, 264). The other schools, following the principle of the severability of contracts (*tafrīḳ al-ṣafḳa*), uphold the *ṣarf* to the extent it has been executed (al-Nawawī, *al-Madjmūʿ*, Cairo n.d., ix, 461, cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Umm*, Cairo n.d., iii, 26; al-Mardāwī, *al-Inṣāf*, ed. al-Fiḳī, Beirut n.d., v, 45; al-Suyūrī, ii, 98; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, iii, 387-8). Some jurists hold the view that the parties' failure to take delivery under the *ṣarf* contract not only voids the contract but amounts to a sin, unless they take the trouble to repudiate the contract before separating (*al-Madjmūʿ*, ix, 460-1, cf. al-Baḥrānī, *al-Ḥadāʾiḳ al-nādira*, ed. al-Īrawānī, Beirut 1405/1985, xix, 277).

The requirement that mutual delivery take place upon contracting makes it possible for either party to prevent the enforcement of an executory *ṣarf* contract by terminating the contractual session without taking delivery (*al-Muntaḳā*, iv, 264, cf. al-Shaybānī, *al-Amālī*, Ḥaydarābād 1360, 15-16). Furthermore, given the widespread circulation of different mintages and sub-standard coins in the mediaeval period, the jurists had to determine how far subsequent adjustments in the interest of a dissatisfied party were consistent with the rule of mutual delivery (e.g. *Mawāhib al-djalīl*, iv, 322-6; al-Mardāwī, v, 45-9).

The prohibition of *ribā* requires that exchanges of gold for gold or silver for silver involve equal quantities of the metals, any inequality constituting *ribā al-faḍl*, although some early authorities, most notably Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687), are reported to have rejected the doctrine of *ribā al-faḍl*, at least for a time (e.g. al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār*, ed. al-Nadjdjār, Cairo n.d., iv, 63-71, al-Subkī, x, 23-5), and thus to have permitted the exchange of unequal quantities of gold for gold and silver for silver—such unequal exchanges being termed *ṣarf* in the *ḥadīth* (al-Nasafī, *Ṭalibat al-ṭalaba*, Beirut n.d., 114; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Cairo n.d., xi, 23-4), a sense familiar to early lexicography, see Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Beirut n.d., xii, 30 (quoting al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*]). The requirement of strict equality (*tasāwī*) applies to all such exchanges, whatever the form of the metals, whether raw ore (*tibr*), ingots (*nuḳra, sabīka*), coins (*maḍrūb*) or manufactured articles (*maṣūgh, maṣnūʿ, ḥaly*), with the equality to be measured by weight (*wazn*), as in the time of the Prophet, without regard to the market value (*ḳīma*) of the objects (e.g. al-Bahūtī, iii, 262-3). The reasonableness and hence the validity of an exchange of exactly similar coins have been questioned (Ibn Nudjaym, *al-Baḥr al-rāʾiḳ*, ed. Cairo, vi, 193, cf. N.J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, 42).

While campaigning in Syria, Muʿāwiya (d. 60/680) reportedly exchanged manufactured articles taken as booty for their value in the same metal, for which he was rebuked by other Companions, including the Caliph ʿUmar (al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Beirut n.d., iii, 278-9; *al-Muntaḳā*, iv, 261-2), and this practice is said to have continued in Syria until ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 101/720) put an end to it (al-Subkī, x, 79). Nonetheless, the opinion that the value added by labour should be reflected in the rate of exchange continued to find support. This teaching is attributed to Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī (d. 270/884) (al-Shaṭṭī, *Risāla fī masāʾil al-imām Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī*, Damascus 1330, 21, cf. *al-Muḥallā*, viii, 493), and it is reported of both al-Shāfiʿī (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, iii, 387, cf. al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, ed. al-ʿArīnī, Beirut 1969, 75) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (Ibn Ḳudāma, vi, 60) that they prohibited equal exchanges by weight of whole for broken coins because of the discrepancy in value. The most prominent later proponent of this doctrine was the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), according to whom manufactured articles of gold or silver are outside the scope of the law of *ṣarf*, which is intended to promote monetary stability (al-Baʿlī, *al-Ikhtiyārāt al-fiḳhiyya*, ed. al-Fiḳī, Cairo n.d., 127; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Iʿlām al-muwaḳḳiʿīn*, ed. Saʿd, Cairo 1388/1968, ii, 154-63; al-Ḥaymī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, Beirut n.d., iii, 229-31; Ibn al-Ālūsī, *Djalāʾ al-ʿaynayn*, Cairo 1400/1980, 628-44).

The attribution to Mālik of the view that coinage might be exchanged for its value in the same metal was vigorously denied by his followers (Ibn Ḳudāma, vi, 60; al-Subkī, x, 79-83, cf. J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 67). Many Mālikīs did, however, support the opinion expressed by Mālik that a traveller in dire need of coins might pay for them with the same metal in such a quantity as to cover the cost of minting (*al-Ḳabas*, ii, 822, cf. al-Khirshī, v, 43 [no longer applicable according to Ashhab, d. 204/819]; *al-Muntaḳā*, iv, 259; al-Mawwāḳ, *al-Tādj wa 'l-iklīl*, on the margin of *Mawāhib al-djalīl*, iv, 318 [only if life is in jeopardy]). Furthermore, the Mālikīs permit the exchange of up to six pieces of gold or silver currency passing by tale for an equal number of pieces made of the same metal even when the latter are up to one-sixth greater in weight. Such an exchange, termed *mubādala*, must be in the nature of an accommodation (*maʿrūf*) to the party with the underweight (*nāḳiṣ*) coins, and, according to some, must be expressly characterised by the parties as a *mubādala*, not a sale (*al-Muntaḳā*, iv, 259-60; al-Tasūlī, *al-Bahdja sharḥ al-tuḥfa*, Cairo, 1370/1951, ii, 27-9).

A further set of problems is posed when one or more objects, termed *ḍamīma* by Twelver Shīʿīs (al-Shahīd al-Awwal, *al-Lumʿa al-dimashḳiyya*, ed. Kalāntar, Ḳumm 1396/1976, iii, 441) and *djarīra* by Zaydīs (al-Ṣanʿānī, *Minḥat al-ghaffār*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1405/1985, iii, 1388), including objects subject to the laws of *ribā*, are introduced into the exchange of the same metals, for example one dirham and a measure of dates as consideration for two dirhams (*masʾalat mudd ʿadjwa*) (al-Muzanī, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, on the margin of *al-Umm*, ii, 145; Ibn Ḳudāma, vi, 92-4; Ibn Radjab, *al-Ḳawāʾid*, ed. Saʿd, Cairo 1392/1972, 267-70; *al-Muḥallā*, viii, 494-6). The Ḥanafīs, Twelver Shīʿīs and Zaydīs recognise the validity of such a transaction, by analysing it as a *ṣarf* of one dirham for another and a sale of the dates for the other dirham. The *ṣarf* contract meets the test for equality. Such transactions are valid when the gold or silver on the one side exceeds that on the other, so that the excess can be referred to the added object (*ṭarīḳ al-iʿtibār*) (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, iii, 338-40). The Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, on the other hand, regard this transaction as invalid, seeing in it the sale of a combination of things, with unascertained value, for two dirhams (cf. *Kitāb al-Ḥudjdja*, ii, 574-5; al-Ṭaḥāwī, iv, 72-3 [critical]). More pertinently perhaps, such a sale can be used to circumvent the prohibition of *ribā al-faḍl*, since an object of merely nominal value can be introduced to validate what is essentially an unequal *ṣarf* contract, and so should be prohibited as a preventive measure (*sadd al-dharāʾiʿ*) (cf. *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 395; *al-Muntaḳā*, iv, 277). To obviate this result, some jurists, including the Zaydī Imām al-Hādī (d. 298/911) (*Kitāb al-Aḥkām*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1410/1990, ii, 73; al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, *al-Iʿtiṣām bi-ḥabl Allāh al-matīn*, ed. al-Faḍīl, Ṣanʿāʾ 1404/1984, iv, 109) and,

reportedly, Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) (al-Mawwāḳ, iv, 301), insisted that the object introduced should correspond in value to the excess (*faḍl*) on the other side, and the Ḥanafī al-Shaybānī is supposed to have regarded an unequal exchange of this sort as valid but reprehensible (*makrūh*) (Ibn al-Humām, *Fatḥ al-ḳadīr*, repr. Kuwait n.d., vi, 271-2, cf. al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh [d. 304/917], in R.B. Serjeant [ed.], *A Zaidī manual of Ḥisbah of the 3rd century (H)*, in *RSO*, xxviii [1957], 24 [better to exchange for the other metal]).

On the ground of hardship (*ḍarūra*), however, the Mālikīs permit the giving of up to one-half of a dirham as change in a sale with a purchase price of no more than a dirham, the exchange of currency being deemed ancillary to the sale (*al-radd ʿalā* or *fi 'l-dirham*) (al-Mawwāḳ, iv, 301; *Mawāhib al-djalīl*, iv, 318-21), whereas the Ḥanbalīs validate similar transactions by analysing them as made up of two distinct contracts, *ṣarf* and sale (al-Bahūtī, iii, 260-1).

The exchange of a dirham and a dīnār for a dirham and a dīnār (al-Khirshī, v, 36-7 gloss) is also invalid according to the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, not to speak of the exchange of two dirhams and a dīnār for one dirham and two dīnārs. The Ḥanafīs, Twelver Shīʿīs and Zaydīs uphold the validity of these transactions, in the latter case by referring the silver coins on each side to the gold on the other, so that there is no requirement of equality (on the use of this principle as an evasive device, cf. al-Ābī, *Kashf al-rumūz*, Ḳumm 1408/1989, i, 500-1).

The Mālikīs' aversion to mixed transactions goes beyond that of the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, for they prohibit an exchange in which, for example, gold and another object is traded for silver, this constituting a combination of *ṣarf*, in the Mālikī sense, and an ordinary sale (*al-ṣarf wa 'l-bayʿ*) (*al-Mudawwana*, iii, 410), the incidents of which are deemed incompatible (al-Khirshī, v, 40-1, cf. Ibn Rushd, *Fatāwā*, ed. al-Talīlī, Beirut 1407/1987, i, 210; *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, ii, 175 [approving Ashhab's rejection of this doctrine]; al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunna*, ed. al-Arnā'ūṭ, Beirut 1403/1983, viii, 67 [no basis for it]). Here, too, however, the Mālikīs recognise exceptions on the ground of hardship for transactions with a purchase price of no more than one dīnār and transactions, however large, in which the *ṣarf* component involves the exchange of less than one dīnār for dirhams. In either of these cases, where no more than two dirhams are due as change for a payment in dīnārs, the *ṣarf* is treated as ancillary to the sale, and delivery of the coins need not take place at the time of the contract (*Ḥāshiyat al-Dasūḳī ʿalā al-sharḥ al-kabīr*, Cairo n.d., iii, 32-3).

The problems posed by the sale of objects with gold or silver ornamentation and by debased gold and silver coins are dealt with according to the rules for mixed transactions (but see Ibn Rushd, *Fatāwā*, i, 572; idem, *al-Bayān wa 'l-taḥṣīl*, ed. Aʿrāb, Beirut 1404/1984, vii, 30 [coins]). Where, however, the gold or silver ornamentation is in the form of a thin veneer that cannot be salvaged as saleable metal, the rules of *ṣarf* are deemed inapplicable (Ibn Ḳudāma, vi, 96; al-Dardīr, iii, 61-2; so also for coins, al-Kāsānī, *Badā'iʿ al-ṣanā'iʿ*, Cairo n.d., vii, 3137; al-ʿAbbādī, *al-Djawhara al-nayyira*, Istanbul n.d., i, 272; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Fatāwā wa-masā'il*, ed. al-Ḳalʿadjī, Beirut 1406/1985, ii, 578; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Kitāb Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. Shaʿbān and Muṭīʿī, Cairo 1976, 124-5), so that, for example, a house with a gilded roof can be sold for gold although the gold in the roof exceeds the purchase price (*al-Fatāwā al-hindiyya*, Beirut n.d., iii, 224). Where, on the other hand, the gold or silver in the article or coin can be detached or melted down, the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, following their rules for mixed transactions and the precedent found in the *ḥadīth* (*Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, xi, 17-19; al-Ṭaḥāwī, iv, 71-5, cf. al-Tilimsānī, *Miftāḥ al-wuṣūl*, ed. Ḳummī, Cairo n.d., 62-3), do not permit a sale for the same precious metal as in the ornament or coin. The metal must be detached and sold separately according to the rules of *ṣarf*. These stringencies, except according to the Mālikīs, do not apply when an article with gold ornamentation or a debased gold coin is sold for silver or *vice versa*; the Mālikīs do, however, make an exception when the ornamentation does not exceed one-third of the value (or weight, according to others) of the object (al-*Muwaṭṭa'*, 394; al-Dasūḳī, iii, 40, cf. Ibn Rushd, *al-Bayān wa 'l-taḥṣīl*, ed. Ḥabābī, Beirut 1404/1984, vi, 439-40 [gold and silver combined]). Furthermore, when the gold or silver is so affixed as to be detachable only with loss of value, the Mālikīs apply the one-third rule to exchanges for the same metal, and there is no restriction on exchanges for the other metal (Ibn Djuzayy, 264-5).

The Ḥanafīs, Twelver Shīʿīs and Zaydīs permit exchanges of objects with gold or silver ornamentation or debased coins for a greater quantity of the same precious metal, although for the Ḥanafīs, coins which are predominantly gold or silver are deemed equivalent to coins of pure metal. Where such objects or coins are exchanged for each other, the jurists of these schools cross-reference the precious metal on each side to the other component (cf. *al-Muḥallā*, viii, 498-501). For the purpose of upholding its validity, the transaction is analysed as consisting of two ordinary sales. The *ṣarf* requirement of mutual delivery, however, continues to apply (*Fatḥ al-ḳadīr*, vi, 275). This analysis would permit the unequal exchange of debased coins for each other, a consequence that the Central Asian Ḥanafīs, from fear that it would open the door to *ribā*, are reported to have refused to draw with respect to the greatly debased silver coins that served as their primary currency (*Fatḥ al-ḳadīr*, vi, 275, cf. Ḳāḍīkhān, *Fatāwā*, on the margin of *al-Fatāwā al-hindiyya*, ii, 252; Dāwūd b. Yūsuf al-Khaṭīb, *al-Fatāwā al-ghiyāthiyya*, Būlāḳ 1323, 141-2; on *ghiṭrīfī* dirhams, see al-Kirmilī, *al-Nuḳūd al-ʿarabiyya*, Beirut n.d., 150-1).

The extension of the law of *ṣarf* to copper coins functioning as currency (*al-fulūs al-rā'idja* or *al-nāfiḳa*) is most strongly represented among the Mālikīs (*Mudawwana*, viii, 395-6), although there is also some support for this view in the Ḥanbalī (al-Mardāwī, v, 15), Shāfiʿī (al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-sāda al-muttaḳīn*, Beirut n.d., v, 447), Ḥanafī (al-Shaybānī, cf. A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in medieval Islam*, Princeton, 1970, 52-5) and Zaydī (Ibn al-Murtaḍā; iii, 391) schools. There is disagreement among modern writers as to the applicability of the rules of *ṣarf* to transactions in paper currency (al-Rūḥānī, *al-Masā'il al-mustaḥdatha*, Ḳumm 1385/1965, 33 [no]; al-Ṣadr, *al-Bank al-lā-ribawī fi 'l-Islām*, 149-52 [depends on the nature of the currency]; al-ʿUthmānī, *Takmilat fatḥ al-mulhim*, Karachi 1407/1988, i, 589-90 [yes]; *Ḳarārāt wa-tawṣiyāt Madjmaʿ al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī al-munbathiḳ min Munaẓẓamat al-Mu'tamar al-Islāmī*, Damascus 1418/1998, 40 [yes]; see also *Madjallat Madjmaʿ al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī*, iii [1408/1987], 1721-1965 cf. *ibid.*, v/3 [1409/1988], 1609-2261; and Bu 'l-Shinḳītī, *al-Ḳawl al-musaddad fi ḥukm zakāt al-awrāḳ*, n.p. [Beirut] 1420/1999).

The restrictiveness of the laws of *ṣarf* engendered evasive devices, *ḥiyal* [*q.v.*], sometimes included as part of the exposition of the subject, even when labelled reprehensible (e.g. al-Nawawī, *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn*, ed.

ʿAbd al-Mawdjūd and Muʿawwaḍ, Beirut 1412/1992, iii, 44-5). Additional pressure for such devices came from the practice of some Muslim governments of minting debased silver coins and then imposing an exchange rate that inevitably involved a violation of the law of *ṣarf*. One expedient was to construe these exchanges as transactions by mutual delivery (*muʿāṭāt*), not *ṣarf* contracts, and thus not subject to the *ṣarf* restrictions (*al-Iʿtiṣām*, iv, 108-9; al-ʿĀmilī, *Kitāb al-Matādjir min miftāḥ al-karāma*, Cairo n.d., 7, 159, cf. *al-Baḥr al-rāʾiḳ*, vi, 192). Shāfiʿīs are reported to have upheld unequal exchanges as reciprocal gifts (al-Dardīr, iii, 57 gloss, cf. *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn*, iii, 45), while Mālikīs validated small-scale unequal exchanges by appealing to the notion of hardship (al-Dasūḳī, iii, 35). Others insisted that the parties employ the device suggested in the *ḥadīth* of an intervening sale of one of the currencies for goods followed by a resale of the goods for the other currency (al-Shawkānī, quoted in Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *al-Rawḍa al-nadiyya*, Cairo n.d., ii, 116-18), although regular resort to this device was controversial (al-Subkī, x, 136, cf. *al-Muḥallā*, viii, 512-13). Against the inconvenience of this cumbersome practice, the Yemenī al-Maḳbalī (d. 1108/1696) argued for an analysis according to which the parties were granting each other a license (*ibāḥa*) in the exchanged coins, thus effectively freeing all except professional money-changers from the restrictions of the law of *ṣarf* (*al-Abḥāth al-musaddada*, ed. al-Iryānī, Ṣanʿāʾ 1403/1982, 286-7, 390-1, and *Minḥat al-ghaffār*, iii, 1389).

The complexity of the law of *ṣarf* made it difficult for those engaged in frequent exchanges to avoid violating the prohibition of *ribā*, which put the profession of money-changing (*ṣarrāf, ṣayraf, ṣayrafī, muṣarrif*) in a bad light (*al-Bayān wa 'l-taḥṣīl*, vi, 448 [better to exchange with merchants], cf. al-Dasūḳī, iii, 43 gloss), but this did not mean that its exercise by non-Muslims was encouraged (*al-Mudawwana*, viii, 403; Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, in N. Ziadeh, *al-Ḥisba wa 'l-muḥtasib fī 'l-Islām*, Beirut 1963, 141, cf. Goitein, i, 229-30). The condemnation of money-changers is particularly connected with the name of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]) (Ibn Rushd, *al-Muḳaddamāt al-mumahhadāt*, ed. Aʿrāb, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 14), whose disapproval, according to a Shīʿī tradition, was countered by the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765 [*q.v.*]), when he noted that the *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* [*q.v.*] of Ḳurān, XVIII, were money-changers (al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tahdhīb*, ed. al-Kharsān, Tehran 1390/1970, vi, 363; cf. al-Ṭurayḥī, *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn*, Beirut 1985, v, 79-80), but this did not prevent Twelver Shīʿī jurists from including money-changing among the reprehensible professions (*al-Lumʿa al-dimashḳiyya*, iii, 218). Instructing money-changers in the rules of *ṣarf* and supervision of their transactions were among the duties of the *muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA] (*Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, 227; al-Shayzarī, 74). For more information on the money-changer, see ṢARRĀF, in Suppl.

With the rise of Islamic banking in recent decades, there has been renewed interest in such old questions related to *ṣarf* such as the permissibility of non-binding agreements for future exchanges of currency at fixed rates (al-Bāz, *Aḥkām ṣarf al-nuḳūd wa 'l-ʿumulāt fī 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, ʿAmmān 1419/1999, 109-31). New questions have also arisen, such as the possibility of satisfying the requirement of delivery of the currency during the contractual session by issuance of a cheque, a practice recognised as valid by the Islamic Law Academy (Madjmaʿ al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī) of the Muslim World League (Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī) in 1409/1989, at the same time that it approved of delivery by entry of a record in the books of the bank (ʿA.A. al-Sālūs, *Mawsūʿat al-ḳaḍāyā al-fiḳhiyya al-muʿāṣira wa 'l-iḳtiṣād al-islāmī*, Bilbīsr [Egypt] 1423/2003, 630-1), and the same position was adopted by the Islamic Law Academy of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (Munaẓẓamat al-Muʾtamar al-Islāmī) in 1410/1990 (*Ḳarārāt wa-tawṣiyāt Madjmaʿ al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī*, 113-4; also in *Madjallat Madjmaʿ al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī*, vi/1, [1410/1990], 771-2). To the extent that delivery of currencies is accomplished in accord with contemporary international banking usages, mutual delivery satisfying the law of *ṣarf* may extend over several days (Yūsuf al-Ḳaraḍāwī, *Fatāwā muʿāṣira*, Beirut 1421/2000, ii, 462-4).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see Santillana, *Istituzioni*, ii, 64-5, 185-92 (Mālikī); Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm *et al.*, *K. Taysīr al-marām fī masāʾil al-aḥkām*, Beirut 1407/1986, 79-81 (Zaydī); al-Ḳārī, *K. Madjallat al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyya*, Djidda 1401/1981, 191-3 (Ḥanbalī); R. Brunschvig, *Conceptions monétaires chez les juristes musulmans (viii-xiii siècles)*, in *Arabica*, xiv/2 (1967), 113-43, xv/3 (1968), 316; Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, 234-40 (the profession of moneychanging); N.A. Saleh, *Unlawful gain and legitimate profit in Islamic law*, [2]London 1992, 24-34 (*ribā al-faḍl*); ʿA.A. al-Sālūs, *al-Nuḳūd wa-istibdāl al-ʿumulāt*, Kuwayt and Cairo 1987; Wizārat al-Awḳāf wa 'l-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyya, *al-Mawsūʿa al-fiḳhiyya*, Kuwayt 1412/1992, xxvi, 348-74; F.E. Vogel and S.L. Hayes, III, *Islamic law and finance*, The Hague 1998; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Djankū, *al-Taḳābuḍ fī 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, ʿAmmān 1423/2004, 111-8, 284-92.

(A. Zysow)

SARÏḲ, the name of a Türkmen [*q.v.*] tribe in Central Asia. Ethnonyms derived from colour-names are frequent in Turkic languages. Čaghatay and Uzbek have *sarik, sarïk* "yellow, yellowish, pale, blonde" where other historical and modern Turkic languages have *sarïγ or sarï* (Laude-Cirtautas, 64-8). The genealogy of the Sarïḳ is connected to the Salur [*q.v.*] tribal group, including the Salur proper, the Ersari, Teke and Yomut. In his work on the historical legends of the Türkmen, the *Shadjara-yi Tarākima*, Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān of Khīwa [*q.v.*] links the descent of the Sarïḳ and the Teke to Ṭoy Tutmaz of the Salur (ed. Kargı Ölmez, fol. 102a, ll. 4-5). The Salur are linked to Oghurdjïḳ Alp, a descendant of the eponymous progenitor of the Türkmen, Oghuz Khān. Drawing on Sarïḳ historical legends, Dshikijew connects the Sarïḳ to various groups of Tatars and other peoples of Central Asia, but his arguments lack convincing support. No historical details about the habitat and history of the Sarïḳ before the 16th century are available, except that since the Mongol period, they must have lived—along with other Türkmen tribes—between the Mangïshlaḳ [*q.v.*] peninsula and the Balkhān [*q.v.*] mountains. According to Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān (references in Bregel 1981), in the 16th century, the Teke, Yomut and Sarïḳ together paid a tax of 8,000 sheep to their Uzbek overlord, about half of what larger tribes like the Čowdur or Ersari paid at the time, or one-quarter of the tax of the Salur tribe proper. In the first Soviet census (1926), the Sarïḳ numbered 34,000 or 4% of the whole number of Türkmen (Bregel 1981, 13ff.). Sarïḳ were also to be found in Tadjīkistān, Afghānistān and Iran, but at the end of the 20th century, reliable figures are not available.

In the 17th century, the Salur confederation broke up and the Salur and Ersari left western Turkmenistan. Their place was taken by three junior tribes, the Teke, Yomut and Sarïḳ (Bregel 1981, 18). In the 18th cen-

tury, the Sarïḳ nomadised between Khwārazm and the Marw oasis. Around 1800, they gradually became the dominant Türkmen tribal grouping among the population in and around the oasis, engaging in agriculture as well as in nomadic pastoralism (Wood 1998, 6-7, 70-5). Wood (1998) investigated the history of the Sarïḳ of Marw (a large part of the Sarïḳ tribal group) drawing on Western—including Russian—travel and political literature as well as on Persian, Bukhāran and, in particular, Khīwan sources such as the chronicles of the court historian Āgahī. By 1822, Khīwa succeeded in supplanting Bukhāran rule in the Marw area, keeping it until 1842 as an outpost in its frequent campaigns against Persia. At that time, the Sarïḳ began a prolonged struggle for independence from Khīwa which ended in 1855, both sides exhausted from the annual campaigns. The period of relative stability had proved profitable for the agriculture and caravan trade of the Sarïḳs, while the Khīwan khān had been able to draw revenues from them and use them as auxiliaries and border patrols. From 1857, under Persian pressure, the numerically superior Teke of Sarakhs moved into the Marw oasis and forced out the Sarïḳs who, replacing the Salur of Yolotan and Pandjdih [*q.v.*] on the middle course of the Murghāb river, remained there into the 20th century.

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(Barbara Kellner-Heinkele)

SARIḲA.

In literary criticism, "plagiarism".

Although the term *sariḳa* is used, no "theft" in the legal sense of the word is implied, as Islamic law does not recognise intellectual property. A modern booklet on intellectual theft stresses the moral turpitude involved, but does not invoke any *Sharīʿa* norms or punishments (ʿAbd al-Mannān, *al-Sariḳāt al-ʿilmiyya*). The victim of plagiarism could only have recourse to public opinion or approach a man of power (*istiʿdāʾ*) to redress the situation.

Literary theft occurred and was discussed predominantly, though not exclusively, in the field of poetry.

The term *sariḳa* does cover "plagiarism" in the strict sense of the word, i.e. appropriation of someone else's line or poem. But of greater importance and interest is its wider application, where it indicates any kind of "borrowing" and "developing" of an existing motif. As such it should be treated in the larger context of intertextuality, alongside other phenomena such as quotation (*taḍmīn*) and allusion (*talmīḥ*). Since the term came to cover both acceptable and unacceptable borrowings, qualifications like *sariḳa ḥasana* "good theft" and *sariḳa maḥmūda* "laudable theft" were introduced to characterise cases considered successful by the critics. Or else the inappropriate paradoxical term was avoided altogether and substituted by a neutral one, *akhdh* "taking".

True plagiarism

Already pre-Islamic poets mention literary theft as a known phenomenon by stressing that they do not have to rely on it. This is, of course, meaningful only on the background of a literary culture, in which poems are attributable to individual poets and the latter take pride in their craft. Alongside the general notion of "theft", the term *intiḥāl* "ascribing (verses) to oneself" is specifically used here. As later handbooks make clear, this means claiming other poets' verses as one's own without further ado (the obvious danger of anachronism involved in relying on these handbooks cannot be addressed here). It is difficult to judge the truth in the cases adduced by the later critics; one would need to ascertain if (a) they may not constitute quotations or formulae (see Bauer, in *Bibl.*) or (b) the victim of the plagiarism might not be an invention produced by intertribal hostilities.

While the idea of intellectual property seems to have been well developed, there is one strange phenomenon that in a way runs counter to this notion, to wit, the behaviour of some famous poets called *ighāra*, lit. "raiding". This occurs only between contemporaries and describes a situation in which a minor poet composes an outstanding line and is then forced by a major poet to relinquish it to him, on the pretext that he, the major poet, should have composed it. The victim, under threat of a stinging invective, would more often than not comply. Most notorious in this respect was the Umayyad poet al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*].

In the literate society of ʿAbbāsid times and later, outright plagiarism took the form of inserting extraneous material, often whole poems, into one's own *dīwān*. The term often used for this is *muṣālata* (see e.g. al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 119, 5), a post-classical word possibly derived from *ṣilt*, a variant—by metathesis—of *liṣt* "robber" (see Lane, *ṣ-l-t*). For an interesting plagiarism feud, see al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ. Even contemporary authorities admitted that it was very difficult to establish the truth in the case of poems recurring in various *dīwāns*. Al-Thaʿālibī, quoting two poems that he found both in a collection of al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ's poetry in the latter's own handwriting as well as in the *dīwān* of the Khālidī brothers in the hand of Abū ʿUthmān al-Khālidī, admits: "I do not know if I should attribute this situation to a confluence of minds (*tawārud [al-khāṭirayn]*) or to plagiary (*muṣālata*) (*Yatīma*, ii, 110, 5). The first possibility flows from the Muslim virtue of *ḥusn al-ẓann* which enjoins people always to think best about others. But with poems consisting of five lines each, the idea of *tawārud* strains credulity (while, with one or two lines, it would not be impossible in an environment of mannerist poetising). Another way of explaining duplication of poems is, of course, uncertainty of attribution on the part of redactors.

Borrowing

While crude plagiary may have exercised the literary public, a situation of truly literary interest arose only with the introduction of skilful changes into the borrowed verse. Critical literature developed along two lines: (1) general classifications and taxonomies of *sariḳa*, and (2) the collection and—to a lesser extent—critical evaluation of the *sariḳāt* of individual poets.

(1) *Classifications*

The *sariḳa* classifications are contained in a number of books on literary theory, sometimes also in the introductions to *sariḳa* collections of individual poets. They tend to be highly inhomogeneous in the early

literature. The earliest example is al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/998 [*q.v.*]) in his *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr* (see *Bibl.*). His terminology seems to be tentative, partly based on earlier traditions that he quotes with their chains of authorities, but without establishing a clear system. As a conseqnence, there is much overlap between the terms and a certain opacity prevails (see S.A. Bonebakker's painstaking articles on al-Ḥātimī in the *Bibl.*). Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1063 or later [*q.v.*]) is aware of this inadequacy of al-Ḥātimī's taxonomy, but he quotes him extensively all the same, with certain alterations and re-interpretations (see von Grunebaum, *Concept*, 238-40; note that the author did not yet have the text of al-Ḥātimī's *Ḥilya*).

Ibn Wakīʿ al-Tinnīsī (d. 393/1003) and Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005 [*q.v.*]) introduced the idea that one had to distinguish between good and bad "plagiary". The former did so in the introduction to his attack on al-Mutanabbī (*Munṣif*, 9-21, 22-39), the latter in the first encyclopaedic work on literary theory, the "Book of the Two Arts" (*Ṣināʿatayn*, 196-237, cf. Kanazi, *Studies*, 112-22). This approach takes into account the fact that mannerist poetry is in constant intertextual dialogue with past poetry (on the term "mannerism" in this context, see S. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1989); as a result, borrowing motifs and developing and improving them becomes a way of life.

Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893 [*q.v.*]) expressed this idea as follows: "The discourse of the Arabs hangs together, the later instances taking from the former. The original and newly invented of it (*al-mubtadaʿ minhu wa 'l-mukhtaraʿ*) is rare, if you go through it and check it. Even the cautious and watchful man, who is gifted in eloquence and poetry, whether ancient or modern, will not be safe that his discourse take [something] from the discourse of someone else, even if he does his utmost in being cautious.... How much more so with the affected constructer of conceits (*al-mutakallif al-mutaṣanniʿ*) who is intentionally seeking for them" (*apud* al-Ḥātimī, *Ḥilya*, ii, 28). The last sentence is the description of the mannerist poet, who cannot but have recourse to the existing poetry.

After a number of further attempts to instil some order into the traditionally transmitted terms, the taxonomy of plagiarism became homogenised and solidified in the scholastic *ʿilm al-balāgha* "science of eloquence" [see BALĀGHA], starting with al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338 [*q.v.*]), in his *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*.

From the various endeavours of the theorists, some common notions emerge:

(a) The focus of the discussion is overwhelmingly the single line, which is, of course, the most common approach in literary criticism and theory.

(b) There is discussion about what is, and what is not, subject to a verdict of plagiary. Universally-known or well-worn motifs are in the public domain. Newly-invented motifs that are attributable to individual poets form the other extreme. These are rare and, according to Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī, "infertile", because later poets would hardly dare to take them up again (*al-maʿānī 'l-ʿuḳm*, see *Minhādj*, 194, 14). Of greatest interest is the group of motifs in between the two extremes, those that have been treated, developed and improved upon (or, possibly, ruined) by a series of poets. Here a charge of plagiarism can only be avoided if the later poet introduces changes that confer a certain novelty on the borrowed motif. There are various ways of doing this: (1) by changing the context, by (a) inserting the motif into a different genre (e.g. from praise into love poetry), or (b) combining it with another motif of the same kind (see below); or (2) by changing the wording. If, by doing the latter, he improves on the rendition of the motif or adds a rhetorical twist to it, he can lay greater claim to it than the original poet. According to Ḥāzim, there are four relationships between a poet and his motif: "invention" (*ikhtirāʿ*), "greater claim" (*istiḥḳāḳ*), "partnership" (*sharika*, which is either "equal participation" [*ishtirāk*], when there is no quality difference between the earlier and later poet, or "falling short" [*inḥiṭāṭ*], if the later poet is not up to par), and finally "plagiarism" (*sariḳa*) (*Minhādj*, 192-4).

(c) Part of the taxonomy of plagiarism is based on the *lafẓ-maʿnā* dichotomy: does the alleged plagiariser take only the motif or also its wording? Taking both with only minimal changes of the wording is the worst kind of *sariḳa*.

(d) Plagiarism can only take place if the later poet consciously borrows from the earlier. Otherwise, identical or similar lines of poetry are due to a "confluence of two minds" (*tawārud al-khāṭirayn*): the two poets found the line independently of each other (see above).

(e) An identical line could also be explained as a quotation (*taḍmīn*, lit. "incorporation"). If it is not a very well-known line, the poet has to mark it as a quotation in order that it not be taken as a plagiarism.

(2) *Critical assessment of individual poets*

The other branch of literature devoted to *sariḳa* consists of collections of plagiarisms of individual poets, either in separate works or forming part of critical studies dealing with one or more poets. The most famous "modern" poets have all been made targets of such critiques: Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām and especially al-Mutanabbī (at least six separate books have come down to us). There is usually very little in the way of naming and discussing their cases; the critics rather confine themselves instead to adducing the original (mostly by a "modern" poet) and the alleged plagiarism. They usually have a lenient approach, including many "laudable plagiarisms". They often manage to find several originals, either because the "plagiariser" has effected a combination of two "stolen" motifs or because there is some doubt as to the correct pedigree (the "originals" are sometimes not quite relevant, belonging, as it were, to a larger halo of motifs circling the motif in question). One is thus at times presented with little family trees of a motif (probably never more than four or five stages). This makes these works valuable for historical, systematic and critical research into the imbrication of motifs—molecular investigations, as it were, into the overlap of consecutive versions of the motif—, which in turn would lead, more importantly, to insights into the general tendencies governing such developments within a mannerist tradition of poetry.

The most sophisticated cases are those in which the "plagiariser" welds two different motifs together. An example would be the following (from al-ʿAmīdī, *Ibāna*, 31-2; the author starts with the pedigree verses and ends with the "plagiarising" verses by al-Mutanabbī):

al-Buḥturī:	*Malaʾta aḥshāʾa 'l-ʿadūwi balābilan* *fa-'rtadda yaḥsudu fīka man lam yaḥsudi*
al-ʿAbartāʾī:	*Ḳaṭṭaʿa aḥshāʾa ḥāsidīhi wa-lam* *yathub* [s.l.] *ghalīlu 'l-ḥashā mina 'l-ḥasadi*
al-Mutanabbī:	*Ḳaṭṭaʿtahum ḥasadan arāhum mā bihim* *fa-taḳaṭṭaʿū ḥasadan li-man lā yaḥsudu*

Here we have two motifs and their confluence in al-Mutanabbī: Motif no. 1: People envy [in you] some-

one who does not have envy [because you are the best anyway, or because envy is an evil character trait that you do not have]; motif no. 2: The praised one tears the entrails of the enviers to shreds.

(a) al-Buḥturī: The first motif is there in the second hemistich without further ado. The second motif is lacking, but note that the entrails appear as a seat of emotion in the first hemistich.

(b) al-ʿAbartāʾī: The second motif appears in the first hemistich without further ado. The second hemistich is an elaboration on it (again with *ḥashā*).

(c) al-Mutanabbī: The entrails are gone, but the tearing apart is still there. Motif no. 2 is in the first hemistich (with an addition, namely, that this envy shows the enviers what [evil] is in them). Motif no. 2 recurs in the second hemistich, inextricably bound together with motif no. 1.

Al-Mutanabbī achieves a logical confluence of the two motifs, and in addition a pleasant balance between the two hemistichs: root *q-ṭ-ʿ* followed by *ḥasadan*, followed by a contrast between "them" and "him".

This technique of knitting together two independent motifs seems to be subsumed under the term *talfīḳ*. Ibn Rashīḳ deals with it in one chapter of his *Ḳurāḍat al-dhahab* (ed. Mūsā, 95-106). He says that al-Mutanabbī and Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī are the outstanding masters of this procedure. (Note that al-Thaʿālibī's use of *talfīḳ* in his *K. al-Tawfīḳ li ʾl-talfīḳ*, ed. Hilāl Nādjī and Zuhayr Zāhid, Beirut 1417/1996, seems to differ from Ibn Rashīḳ's, coming closer to *murāʿāt al-naẓīr* "harmony of images".)

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

SARKĀR (p.), lit. "head [of] affairs", a term used in Mughal Indian administration and also in the succeeding British Indian domination of the subcontinent.

1. In the structure of Mughal provincial government, as elaborated under the Emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] in 989/1580, there was a hierarchy of the *ṣūba* [*q.v.*] or province, under the *ṣūbadār* [*q.v.*] (also called *sipāhsālār, nāẓim* and *ṣāḥib-i ṣūba*); the *sarkār*, or district, under the *fawdjdar* [*q.v.*], who combined both administrative and military functions, corresponding to the two separate officials of British India, the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police; and the *pargana* [*q.v.*] or *maḥall*, i.e. subdistrict, headed by various officials with specific functions, such as the *ḳāḍī* for the administration of justice and the *ḳānūngo* and *čawdharī* concerned with revenue collection. Thus in Akbar's time, Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī enumerated within the province of Awadh [*q.v.*] (Oudh) 5 *sarkārs* and 38 *parganas* [see pargana and mughals. 3].

2. As a term in the historical geography of more recent India, *sarkār* appears Anglicised as "the [Northern] Circars", specifically for the coastal territory north of Madras and the Coromandel Coast in peninsular South India, in part to the south of the delta of the Godāvarī river but mostly to its north (hence now in the northeasternmost tip of Andhra Pradesh State in the Indian Union). This territory was ceded to the British East Indian Company in 1765 by the Mughal ruler in Dihlī, Shāh ʿĀlam II, but claimed by the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, leading to a treaty of 1766 whereby the Niẓām gave up his claim in return for the provision of a force of British troops to be at his disposal [see further, ḥaydarābād, at Vol. III, 320b-322a].

3. In informal Anglo-Indian usage, the *Sarkār* (local pronunciation, *Sirkār*, often written "Sircar") meant the state or the government, and this continued to be the usage all through British Indian times. It may be noted that the term now popularly and almost ubiquitously used to denote the British domination in India, its government and administration, sc. "the Raj" (in Hindi and the modern Indo-Aryan languages, *rādj* is a regular derivative of *rādjya* "kingship, rule", cognate with *rādjā* "ruler"), is a neologism of the post-1947 period, probably from the later 1950s, when what had been "the Raj" had in fact for several years ceased to be.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṢARRĀF (a.), lit. "money-changer", such persons often functioning as bankers in pre-modern Islam.

In *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], *ṣarf* is a contract of sale (*bayʿ* [*q.v.*]). It applies to currency exchange, originally of gold (dīnārs) to silver (dirhams) and vice-versa. The *Ḥadīth* provides basic rules for currency exchange, such as that the transaction should be on the spot (*yad^an bi-yad*) [see ribā]. Among the famous *ḥadīths* relating to *ṣarf* is "Gold for silver is *ribā* except hand-to-hand" (Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *ṣarf*).

Money-changing was an activity apparently engaged in by the earliest Muslims. This was related to their involvement in trade, including by the Prophet himself [see tādjir; tidjāra]. However, several *ḥadīths* warn of the dangers of *ribā* in currency exchange if parties do not follow the rules of *ṣarf*. Thus money-changing as a profession was not held in high esteem by the *fuḳahāʾ*. The popular view was that non-Muslims (particularly Jews and Christians) were better suited to it than Muslims, who were constrained by the prohibition on *ribā* (for money-changing and banking in the mediaeval Arab world, see djahbadh, and ṣarf, in Suppl.).

In the Ottoman Empire, *ṣarrāfs* were more than money-changers; they were also moneylenders and brokers, and pawnbrokers. In time, many *ṣarrāfs* became large financiers with well-recognised international connections, and played a significant role in the economy and politics of the empire. They were based mainly in the capital, Istanbul, but also operated in provincial capitals. Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Muslims were involved in the profession.

With the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 857/1453, the Italian predominance in finance in that city ended, to be replaced by that of Ottoman non-Muslim subjects, particularly Greeks. Meḥemmed II (*r.* 848-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81) favoured Greeks who played an active role in Ottoman finance, taxation through tax-farming (e.g. administration of customs zones and mines) and politics during his reign. From the mid-10th/16th century, Jewish bankers (*ṣarrāfs*) and tax-farmers challenged Greek dominance in both finance and long-distance trade. Because of the activities of the Inquisition in Catholic countries in that century, under the protection of the Ottoman Sultans, several wealthy Marrano Jewish families came to settle in Istanbul. Many were to be involved in large-scale banking operations, international trade, and investment in tax farms. Financial expertise and close links to the Sultan and ruling élite gave them considerable power. Well-known Jewish names of this period include Dona Gracia Mendes, Don Joseph Nasi and Alvaro Mendes. Later, the role of the Jews declined, and Armenians became prominent as *ṣarrāfs*, with some of their members rising to prominence; for example, Muṣṭafā III (1171-87/1757-74) appointed a member of the Armenian Duzuoglu family as manager of the imperial mint. The ability of the Duzuoglu family to mobilise credit for the state, domestically and abroad, enabled them to retain control of the day-to-day activities of the mint until the 1820s (Pamuk, *Monetary history*, 202).

Until the 10th/16th century especially, the *ṣarrāfs* functioned in a context of expanding trade both within and without the empire. Facilitated by networks, their business was enhanced by increased credit or bartering as a result of the limited supply of gold and silver coins. They used several financial instruments, e.g. the *havale* (Ar. *ḥawāla* [*q.v.*]) was "an assignation of a fund from a distant source of revenue by a written order. It was used in both state and private finances to avoid the dangers and delays inherent in the transport of cash" (Inalcik and Quataert, *An economic and social history*, 208). Letters of credit were also widely used, particularly from the mid-11th/17th century, by merchants and for government payment. The increase in trade also meant more opportunities for currency exchange, which was abetted by the problem of a universally acceptable currency, the fluctu-

ations in the purity of the coinage and currency values.

From the 11th/17th to the 19th centuries, the state continued to need and encourage the activities of the *ṣarrāfs*, tax-farming being one. Until the late 10th/16th century, the empire's financial situation had been strong, with the major part of taxation being collected locally and mostly in kind by the *sipahīs* under the *tīmār* system. These funds were used locally. The *tīmār* system then began to be abandoned in favour of tax-farming [see MÜLTEZIM], and tax units (*muḳāṭaʿ*s) began to be auctioned off at Istanbul. *Ṣarrāfs* based on Istanbul were thus able to purchase tax-farming privileges or to lend money to purchasers. *Ṣarrāfs* also became direct lenders to the treasury and were considered the most dependable source of liquid funds. As the empire sank further into fiscal decline after the 1760s, it relied on the *ṣarrāfs* to use their connections with European organisations to arrange short-term direct loans to the state. The *ṣarrāfs* also became personal financiers to the sultans and many leading Ottoman bureaucrats. It is estimated that, e.g. in 1860, the short-term debts of various government offices to private banking firms (*ṣarrāfs*) alone amounted to 250 million francs (Kasaba, *The Ottoman empire*, 80). By the mid-19th century, the power of *ṣarrāfs* as well as of tax-farmers and merchants equalled and perhaps surpassed the power of the bureaucratic élite.

Not all *ṣarrāfs* prospered. Of the hundreds, especially in the capital, who combined petty exchange with other small-scale money lending, relatively few became extremely rich, particularly through their dealings with the central or provincial authorities. Towards the end of the 11th/17th century, the *ṣarrāfs* of Istanbul organised around a guild and began to move their business to the Istanbul suburb of Galata [see GHALATA, in Suppl.], later to be known as "Galata bankers". Consolidation was also taking place. For instance, in the early 1840s, eighty members of the guild of *ṣarrāfs* were accredited by the government; by the mid-1850s, the number was down to 18. The *ṣarrāf* families included the Baltazzis, the Rallis, Zarafis, the Rodoconachis and Duzuoglus. These families played prominent roles in most of the major private and public banks that were established in the second half of the 19th century, starting with the Istanbul Bankası (Bank of Istanbul) in 1845 (Kasaba, *The Ottoman empire*, 76).

The stereotypical view of *ṣarrāfs* is that they were on the whole non-Muslims. However, Muslims appear to have been involved in all aspects of *ṣarrāf* business, including tax-farming, currency exchange, money lending and international trade. A sample of 534 tax farms in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries shows that around 60% of tax farmers were Muslims (Cizakca, *Comparative evolution*, 154-7). Research into the 10th/16th and 11th/17th century court records of specific regions (primarily Anatolia) of the Ottoman Empire also challenges the view that Muslims were not involved in money-lending or in the traditionally problematic area of interest. While there is debate among historians as to any marked difference between the Arab and "Turkish" parts of the Empire in regard to the acceptability of lending at interest, there is evidence that such transactions were carried out by Muslims in Anatolia on a relatively large scale, and that the practice was supported by the highest religious authorities of the time and approved by the *ḳāḍīs* (judges) who were responsible for implementing the *Sharīʿa* and *ḳānūn*. The best-known example was the cash *waḳf* controversy and the associated charging of lending. Many of the *fatwās* of the time, even by the *Sheykh al-Islām* and other religious authorities, declared the permissibility not only of the cash *waḳf* but also of interest charged on loans advanced therefrom (see Mandaville, *Usurious piety*). However, towards the end of the 19th century, the Muslim role in *ṣarrāf* business was radically curtailed by the increasing importance of non-Muslim *ṣarrāf* families and the emergence of banks, established largely by Europeans and by Armenian and Greek *ṣarrāfs*.

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(ABDULLAH SAEED)

SĀṬIʿ AL-ḤUṢRĪ, Ottoman official, educator, Arab Minister and theorist of Arab nationalism, d. 1968.

He was born in Ṣanʿāʾ, Yemen in 1880 to an Arab family of Aleppo. Both his father and mother were of prominent Aleppine mercantile families. His father, Muḥammad Hilāl al-Ḥuṣrī (b. 1840), served as an Ottoman judge after his graduation from al-Azhar University, becoming at the time of his son's birth Director of the Court of Criminal Appeals in the Yemeni capital. Owing to the pattern of his father's shifting appointments in accordance with Ottoman practice, Sāṭiʿ accompanied his family to a number of countries. Receiving his early education at home, Sāṭiʿ learnt Ottoman Turkish, Arabic and French. At the age of thirteen, he began his formal education at the College of Mülkiyye Mektebi in Istanbul, studying mathematics, history, botany, French and chemistry. Graduating with distinction in 1900, he chose to serve as a natural science teacher in a secondary school in the Balkans. During this period, he began to develop a lifelong interest in the question of nationalism and the rights of national communities. Shortly before the eruption of the Young Turk revolution in 1908, he came into contact with members of the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYETI]. He also assumed in the same period the post of district governor in Kosovo and Florina.

After the revolution, al-Ḥuṣrī returned to Istanbul with the determination to propagate and implement his belief in a modern education system, coupled with his desire to articulate a secular notion of Ottomanism. This he did by founding new journals, publishing new school textbooks on various scientific subjects and taking part in public debates relating to contemporary issues. Furthermore, between 1909 and 1912 he assumed the directorship of the Teachers' Training College in Istanbul, restructuring and modernising in the process its entire curricula and management. He also visited a number of European countries to acquaint himself with the latest methods of pedagogy. By the end of his directorship, al-Ḥuṣrī had become one of the most influential educators throughout the Ottoman Empire.

His most distinctive intellectual contribution in the Ottoman period of his life was five lectures he delivered

in Istanbul in 1913 on the significance of patriotism. In those lectures, entitled *Vatan için*, he called for building a new Ottoman community based on the idea of the fatherland as an object of love. Moreover, these lectures were to form the basis of his Arab nationalist theory in the wake of his decision to leave the Ottoman capital in 1918 and join the newly formed government of Amīr Fayṣal in Damascus.

In his Arab phase, al-Ḥuṣrī resumed his interrupted career by acting as Director General of Education, and then Minister of Education in the Syrian government until its liquidation by the French in 1920. After a short sojourn in Italy and Egypt, he once again joined Fayṣal, the new king of British-mandated ʿIrāḳ, and became Director General of Education from 1923 to 1927. He used this opportunity to create a new system of instruction geared towards the inculcation of Arab nationalism, coupled with his insistence on high standards and rigorous methods of promotions. Meeting resistance or obstruction in the course of his duties, he resigned his post and devoted himself to lecturing at the Teachers' College and publishing a new journal on education. In 1935 he assumed the deanship of the Law College and was appointed Director of Antiquities between 1936 and 1941. Following the second British occupation of ʿIrāḳ in 1941, al-Ḥuṣrī was, along with other non-ʿIrāḳī Arab nationalists, deported to Syria and stripped of his ʿIrāḳī citizenship. In 1944 he was invited by the Syrian government to modernise and overhaul its system of education. The foundation of the Arab League in 1945 afforded al-Ḥuṣrī the opportunity to develop its cultural and educational policies. After acting as a cultural adviser, he was appointed the first director of its Institute of Higher Arab Studies in 1953. After his retirement in 1957, al-Ḥuṣrī wrote and published a number of studies on pan-Arabist subjects, including his memoirs, which dealt with his ʿIrāḳī period. He died in 1968.

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SATR (a.), "concealment", a term used in a variety of senses particularly by the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] The Ismāʿīlīs originally used it in reference to a period in their early history, called *dawr al-satr*, stretching from soon after the death of *imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ in 148/765 to the establishment of the Fāṭimid state in 297/909. The Ismāʿīlī *imām*, recognised as the *ḳāʾim* or *mahdī* by the majority of the early Ismāʿīlīs, was hidden (*mastūr*) during this period of concealment; in his absence, he was represented by *ḥudjdjas* (see Djaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-Kashf*, ed. R. Strothmann, London 1952, 98-9; al-Shahrastānī, 146). Later, the Ismāʿīlīs of the Fāṭimid period, who allowed for continuity in their imāmate, recognised a series of three such "hidden *imāms*" (*al-aʾimma al-mastūrūn*) between Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar, their seventh *imām*, and ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty (see H.F. al-Hamdani, *On the genealogy of Fatimid caliphs*, Cairo 1958, text 11-14).

In the aftermath of the Nizārī-Mustaʿlī schism of 487/1094 in Ismāʿīlism, the early Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs experienced another period of *satr*, when their *imāms*, descendants of Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir (d. 488/1095 [*q.v.*]), remained hidden for several decades. The inaccessible Nizārī *imāms* were now once again represented by *ḥudjdjas*, starting with Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*], who also ruled over the Nizārī state from Alamūt [*q.v.*]. The period of *satr* in early Nizārī history ended with the declaration of the *ḳiyāma* at Alamūt in 559/1164 and the resulting open emergence of the Nizārī imāmate. Subsequently, the term *satr* acquired a new meaning for the Nizārīs. As explained by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, the Nizārīs had by the late Alamūt period formulated what may be called a new doctrine of *satr*. In this context, *satr* no longer referred to the physical concealment of the *imāms*; instead, it referred to a time when spiritual reality or religious truths (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*) were hidden in the *bāṭin* of religion, requiring the observance of *taḳiyya* in any necessary form, including the adoption of the Sunnī *Sharīʿa* as demanded earlier by the sixth lord of Alamūt, Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (607-18/1210-21).

The Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlīs, who survived only in the Ṭayyibī form after the downfall of the Fāṭimid dynasty, have experienced a period of *satr*, in the original Ismāʿīlī sense of the term, since their twentieth *imām*, al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh [*q.v.*], was murdered in 524/1130. It is the belief of the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs that all their *imāms*, starting with al-Āmir's son al-Ṭayyib who disappeared in infancy, have remained hidden to the present day. In their absence, *dāʿī mutlaḳs*, or supreme *dāʿīs*, have led the affairs of the Ṭayyibiyya (*q.v.*).

Satr found expression also in the Ismāʿīlīs' cyclical conception of religious history of humankind. The Ismāʿīlīs believed from early on that this hierohistory was comprised of seven eras or *dawrs*, all except the last one being eras of *satr*, because the inner, immutable truths of religions or the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* remained undisclosed. In this scheme, only in the seventh and final eschatological era initiated by the *ḳāʾim* before the end of the physical world, would the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* be fully revealed to humankind. This final age, designated as the *dawr al-kashf* or the era of manifestation, would be an age of pure spiritual knowledge when there would no longer be any distinction between the *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* dimensions of religion, and between religious laws and their inner meanings. On the basis of astronomical calculations, the Ṭayyibīs of Yaman introduced further innovations into this cyclical scheme. They conceived of a grand aeon (*kawr al-aʿẓam*) composed of countless cycles, each one divided into seven eras. This grand aeon would progress through successive cycles of concealment (*satr*) and manifestation (*kashf*), and it would be finally concluded by the Great Resurrection (*ḳiyāmat al-ḳiyāmāt*) proclaimed by the final *ḳāʾim*.

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frühen Ismāʿīlīya, Wiesbaden 1978, 18-37, 99-100; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs. Their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 102-5, 126-8, 136-40, 177-8, 257, 294-5, 404ff., 408, 409-11 (containing further bibliographical references).

(F. Daftary)

ṢAWLADJĀN (a.), said to be an Arabised form of Pers. *čawgān* "polo stick" [see čawgān]. The intrusive *l* makes this difficult, but D.N. MacKenzie, *A concise dictionary of Pahlavi*, London 1971, 22, has **caw(l)agān* ("of doubtful transcription"). At all events, the curve of a polo stick makes it a suitable figurative expression, either as a simile [see tashbīh] or as a metaphor [see istiʿāra], in classical Arabic, Persian and Turkish literatures, for the curving eyebrows and locks or tresses of hair of a beautiful girl; see Annemarie Schimmel, *The two-colored brocade. The imagery of Persian poetry*, Chapel Hill N.C. and London 1992, 284-5. (C.E. Bosworth)

SEGBĀN (t., from Pers. *sagbān* "servant in charge of dogs, or keeper of the sultan's hounds". In Ottoman Turkish, it was often spelled *sekbān*, and also written as *segmen* or *seymen*, following popular pronunciation), a term of Ottoman palace and military organisation.

In the Ottoman Empire, the term had three general uses which evolved over time: first used for the guardians of the sultan's hunting dogs, it was then applied to members of various salaried infantry units within the Janissaries, surviving until the corps itself was abolished in 1826, and finally, as the name of groups of infantry auxiliaries or militias. Officially prohibited as a military term in the latter use at the beginning of the 18th century, it was briefly revived again in the 19th. In present-day provincial Turkish, *seğmen* refers to an armed ceremonial escort in national dress.

The first use of the term *segbān* occurs in a *wakf* deed of the late 8th/14th century. Hunting and dogs were an integral part of the early Ottoman court, especially that of Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], who is credited with greatly expanding the number of *segbāns*. Servants for the hunting parties were probably recruited from war captives or as part of the military levy (*devshirme* [*q.v.*]). Early records indicate that villagers sought protection from recruitment, or from other obligations to *segbāns*, indicating the burden which hunting could impose on the populace. Murād I [*q.v.*] explicitly recognised the service of his *segbāns* and falconers in his will, emancipating them at his death. *Segbāns* figure prominently in Ottoman miniature painting. Süleymān I [*q.v.*] himself was portrayed as a great hunter, and surrounded by dogs and their keepers (see ʿothmānlı̊. viii. Painting, Pl. X, for an example).

In the 9th/15th century, the evolution of courtly retinue to fighting units became more marked, and it is at this point that *segbāns* became part of the Janissaries. In 855/1451, Meḥemmed II added 7,000 *segbāns* to the Janissaries, with a separate commander, the *segbān bashi̊*, who joined the ranks of the high officials of the empire (Chalcondyles, ed. Bonn 1848, bk. vii, 377). Other officers of the *segbāns* included a *kethüdā* and a *kātib*. After the middle of the 10th/16th century, the *segbān bashi̊* was subordinated to second-in-command after the *agha*, and generally remained in Istanbul when the *agha* left on campaign. The *segbāns* formed the 65th *orta* of the Janissaries, and were divided into two sections: a small cavalry *orta* of 40-70 men, most of whom were sons of Janissary officers, and 34 *bölüks* (companies of infantry), known as the *segbān bölükleri*. Hunting traditions survived in the 33rd *bölük*, called the *awdji̊* (hunter) *bölük*, which accompanied the sultan on hunting parties but not on campaign; sons of Janissaries and statesmen alike made up its rolls.

A second general use of the term was for provincial auxiliary mercenary or militia troops, like the *lewend* [*q.v.*], who served the official appointees to the provinces, the *pashas*, *mīr-i mīrāns*, *beglerbegi* or *sandjak begleri* [*q.vv.*]. Initially the entourage of the governor (*pasha*), his private retinue and army (*kapi̊ ḥalki̊*), *segbān* also came to be applied to troops called to campaign, and paid out of the central treasury (*mīrī segbāns*, *mīrī lewend*). Provincial officials were the recruiters of the *segbān-lewend* style of troops, and by the end of the 18th century, they were each required to mobilise 1,000-2,000 cavalry or infantry for campaigns. The essential characteristic of such auxiliaries was that they carried firearms, were recruited for short periods, and were drawn from the countryside, often from among the landless and lawless [see bārūd. iv]. Their first significant appearance in that military capacity was during the Ottoman-Habsburg War of 1593-1606, when a few hundred were noted among the troops in Hungary. They were organised as other Ottoman troops, into companies or standards (*bayrak*), the latter generally numbering 50 or 100 men. Their use was increased in the latter 11th/17th century, as both Janissary and *sipāhīs* [*q.v.*] proved inadequate for facing the better-armed Habsburgs.

The demobilisation of such troops led to countryside unrest, as they often stayed together as armed bands, and participated in uprisings such as the Djelālī rebellions [see djalālī, in Suppl.] or revolts of their provincial masters. The central government endeavoured unsuccessfully to eliminate the designation *segbān* around 1700, but military necessity dictated its continuance, although the term *mīrī lewend* was the preferred usage for such troops by the mid-18th century.

Such mercenary or militia troops could be found in all the territories of the empire, as armies of provincial officials, as the fighting units described above, or as guards of towns, where they were often in conflict with local Janissaries. They included Christian recruits, Serbians and Croatians, especially in the Principalities, where they were called *seymen*, and could be found in the fighting forces of Moldavia and Wallachia well into the 18th century. In general, however, Muslims were the primary recruits, and Albanians and Bosnians the most prized for their military prowess.

The term *segbān* was revived in military usage in 1808, when Muṣṭafā Pasha Bayrakdār [*q.v.*] tried to continue the reforms of Selīm III [*q.v.*] by renaming the detested *niẓām-i̊ djedīd* [*q.v.*] troops *segbān-i̊ djedīd*, and incorporating them as the eighth *odjak* of the Janissaries. The new troops allied with the Janissaries, however, and were instrumental in Muṣṭafā's own downfall that same year. The term *segbān* disappeared when Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] eliminated the corps in 1826.

Bibliography: See gönüllü for further discussion; *IA*, art. *Sekbân* (M.T. Gökbilgin); Pakalın, iii, 145-9; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 56, 48, ii, 37, 191, 203, 207-09; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapıkulu ocakları*, i, Ankara 1943, 162-6 and *passim*; Halil İnalcık, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar I*, Ankara 1954, repr. 1987, 207, for Murād I's will; M. Cezar, *Osmanlı tarihinde levendler*, Istanbul 1965; İnalcık, *Military and fiscal transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700*, in *Archivum ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 283-337; H.G. Majer, *Albaner und Bosnier in der osmanisichen Armee. Ein Faktor in der Reichsintegration im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, in K.-D. Grothusen

(ed.), *Jugoslawien. Interpretationsprobleme in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Göttingen 1984, 105-17; Esin Atil, *Süleymanname. The illustrated history of Süleyman the Magnificent*, New York 1986, pls. 10-11, for illustrations of hunting parties; Karen Barkey, *Bandits and bureaucrats. The Ottoman route to state centralization*, Ithaca 1994; V. Aksan, *Whatever happened to the Janissaries? Mobilization for the 1768-1774 Russo-Ottoman War*, in *War in History*, v (1998), 23-36.

(Virginia H. Aksan)

SEMENDIRE, the Ottoman Turkish form of the Serbian town of Smederovo, older form Semendria. Lying on the Danube downstream from Belgrade [*q.v.*] (lat. 44° 40' N., long. 20° 56' E.), it was in pre-modern times a fortified town and, under the Ottomans, the chef-lieu of a *sandjak* of the same name. Since the break-up of Yugoslavia, it has come within the Serbian Republic.

A first conquest under Murād II (842/1438) did not lead to permanent incorporation into the Ottoman Empire, since due to the crisis of 847-8/1444 the sultan thought it necessary to preserve the Serbian despotate as a buffer state between his own lands and those of the king of Hungary (Halil İnalcık and Mevlut Oğuz (eds.), *Gazavât-i Sultân Murâd b. Mehemmed Hân, İzladi ve Varna savaşları (1443-1444) üzerinde anonim Gazavâtnâme*, Ankara 1978, 31-5, 102-3). According to Theodore Spandunes, it was George Kantakuzenos, surnamed Sachatai, a brother of the Byzantine princess Irene, consort of the Despot of Serbia George Branković, who came from the Morea to Serbia and built the fortified town of Smederovo. In 858/1454, this was one of the major centres of the Serbian despotate, with fortifications solid enough to withstand an Ottoman attack. In 860-1/1456 a Hungarian attempt to take the town was also beaten back by the same George Kantakuzenos (Th. Spandunes, *On the origin of the Ottoman Emperors*, tr. and ed. D. Nicol, Cambridge 1997, 29, 35; *Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkische Chronik*, tr. Renate Lachmann, with comm. by eadem, C.-P. Haase and G. Prinzing, Graz 1975, 117, 210, this being the text supposedly written by Constantine of Ostrovica, an ex-Janissary or Janissary auxiliary; Th. Stavridis, *The Sultan of Vezirs: the life and times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453-1474)*, Leiden 2001, 82-95).

After the death of George Branković and that of his son Lazar two years later, Smederovo was inherited by the latter's son-in-law, the Bosnian king Stepan Tomasević, who in 863-4/1459 surrendered the city to Maḥmūd Pasha, then *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli. Born a member of the Byzantino-Serbian aristocratic family of the Angelović, Maḥmūd Pasha had been commissioned to take over the region in the name of Sultan Meḥemmed II. Pope Pius II viewed the Ottoman conquest of the Serbian despotate and the concomitant acquisition of Smederovo as a calamity all but equivalent to the end of the Byzantine Empire. Most possessions of the Serbian despotate within the kingdom of Hungary were confiscated by the local ruler as a measure of retaliation for the surrender of Smederovo (F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit. Weltenstürmer einer Zeitenwende*, Munich 1953, 174-5).

These events had been preceded, in 862/early 1458, by an attempt on the part of Michael Angelović, Maḥmūd Pasha's (probably elder) brother, a member of the regency council that took over after the death of Lazar, to make himself despot with the backing of the Ottoman sultan and take power in Smederovo. He had gained the support of Serbian nobles who were worried about a possible subjection to the Pope, in case the Hungarian party should gain the upper hand. However, the takeover failed, and Michael Angelović was arrested by members of the pro-Hungarian party in the regency council and sent to Dubrovnik, where—probably at Hungarian behest—he was held captive by a local patrician (C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, Gotha 1918, ii, 207-15). If this version of events is the true one, Michael Angelović thus cannot have negotiated the surrender of Smederovo to his brother on the Ottoman side (Stavridis, *op. cit.*, 102; most Ottoman chronicles, however, take the agreement between brothers for granted; see for example *ʿĀshïkpashazāda tārīkhi*, ed. ʿAlī Bey, Istanbul 1332/1914, 152. On a divergent version of these campaigns, compare *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*, comments and tr. by Halil Inalcik and R. Murphey, Minneapolis and Chicago 1978, 40-5; Ṭursun Beg claims that the outer fortress of Smederovo was conquered by force of arms, and only the inner citadel ultimately surrendered). Subsequently, King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary made various projects for a conquest of the fortress, now known in Ottoman as Semendire, but none of these led to any concrete results (Babinger, *op. cit.*, 385).

Within the Ottoman realm, the Semendire area became a *sandjak* and was divided up into *tīmārs* and *ziʿāmets* [*q.vv.*], itself forming part of the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli; in the early 10th/16th century, Belgrade was part of this *sandjak*, albeit producing far less revenue than the Semendire area (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları*, in *Belleten*, xx [1956], 252-7). After the conquest of Hungary, Semendire was transferred to the newly formed *vilāyet* of Buda. In addition to the cavalry supplied by *tīmārs* and *ziʿāmets*, the local Eflāḳ (Vlach) were accorded tax remissions in return for military services (N. Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Quatre actes de Meḥmed II concernant les Valaques des Balkans slaves*, in Beldiceanu, *Le monde ottoman des Balkans (1420-1566): institutions, société, économie*, London 1976, no. III; on Vlach-related issues in the reign of Bāyezīd II, see *Osmanlılarda divân-bürokrasi-aklam, II. Bâyezid dönemine ait 906/1501 tarihli ahkâm defteri*, ed. by İlhan Şahin and Feridun Emecen, Istanbul 1994, nos. 208, 209).

Entries in the 10th/16th-century *Mühimme defterleri* reflected the position of Semendire as a military base during the wars of Süleymān the Magnificent against the Habsburgs: its governor was called upon to purchase timber for bridge-building, see to the construction of boats to be used on the Danube and organise supplies of flour and barley for the needs of the army. The town also possessed a cannon-foundry (*topkhāne*). A text from 951-2/1544-6 refers to the fact that much of the town had been destroyed by fire, and enjoined the *ḳāḍī* to make sure that the new houses were not built so close to the walls as to endanger their military function (Hacı Osman Yıldırım *et alii* [eds.], *7. numaralı mühimme defteri 975-976/1567-69*, 5 vols. Ankara 1997, i, 273. For one of the oldest extant *Mühimme* registers, see Halil Sahillioğlu [ed.], *Topkapı Sarayı arşivi H. 951-952 tarihli ve E-12321 numaralı mühimme defteri*, Istanbul 2002, 24-5, 192-3, 219, 306; for a selection of relevant texts from this register in French tr., see Mihnea Berindei and G. Veinstein, *L'Empire ottoman et les pays roumains 1544-1545*, Paris and Cambridge, Mass. 1987, 8-9, 14-15, 18-19, 29, 40-3, 46, 65-6, 69-70).

Economic life was based on agriculture, stock-rais-

ing and fishing; Semendire functioned as a small-scale market for rural produce, while crafts seem to have been of limited importance and many townsmen cultivated fields and gardens (B. McGowan, *Food supply and taxation on the Middle Danube (1568-79)*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, i [1969], 139-96; Mihnea Berindei, Annie Berthier, Marielle Martin and G. Veinstein, *Code de lois de Murâd III concernant la province de Smederovo*, in *Südost Forschungen*, xxxi [1972], 140-63). Timber was brought in from the surrounding forests, while imports from further afield included metals, Asian spices and also slaves; the Danube seems to have functioned as a barrier at which internal customs could be conveniently collected.

After the peace of Zsitvatorok (1015/1606 [*q.v.*]) had ended the Long War between Habsburgs and Ottomans, the embassy of Adam Freiherr von Herberstein was, on its return from Istanbul (1016-18/1608-9), permitted to view the fortifications of Semendire (M. Brandstetter, *Itinerarium oder Raisbeschreibung*, in K. Nehring, *Adam Freiherr zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel: ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606)*, Munich 1983, 174-5). This permission may have been granted because Ottoman military men regarded the fortifications as obsolescent: Brandstetter described a once powerful stronghold that he did not, however, consider very suitable for contemporary warfare. Roofs and floors had been neglected, while heavy artillery could only be placed in the towers and on the bare ground; but the fortress did suffice to control traffic on the Danube. Brandstetter also noted the existence of an inner citadel protected by its own water-filled ditch and five towers, as well as the presence of a garrison commander, but he made no reference to a civilian population.

An 11th/17th-century description from an Ottoman perspective is owed to Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited Semendire as a participant in several Balkan campaigns (*Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bagdat 307 yazmasının transkripsyonu–dizini*, v, ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman and İbrahim Sezgin, Istanbul 2001, 316-17). Ewliyā relates a set of partly counterfactual traditions concerning the Ottoman acquisition of the town, seventeen years before Constantinople, possibly an allusion to the ephemeral conquest under Murād II. These stories are, however, important because they possibly circulated among the local military men and show the "ideological" importance of Semendire even at this date. Other conquest traditions involve a marital union between Sultan Bāyezīd I Yïldïrïm and a daughter of the Serbian despot which resulted in the conclusion of peace between the two states—this was possibly a reminiscence of the marriage of the Serbian princess Mara to Murād II. These stories also include an account of military conquest on the part of Meḥemmed II and a subsequent return of the town to the unbelievers in exchange for the liberation of the commander Balï Bey, who had been taken prisoner in battle. After his return, Balï Bey supposedly attacked and took Semendire, so that he was regarded as its second conqueror, his memory perpetuated by a *zāwiye* slightly to the west of the town. This latter story probably refers to one of the first *sandjak beyis* of the province, Balï Bey Malkoč-oghlu, who became famous for his two campaigns against Poland and other feats of derring-do (Babinger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes der Malqoč-Oghlus*, repr. in *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, i, Munich 1962, 355-70; and see MALKOČ-OGHULLARÏ, in Suppl.).

As in the late 10th/16th century, Semendire in Ewliyā's time was a centre of the homonymous *sandjak*, famous on account of the numerous soldiers domiciled in this place (ʿAyn-ï ʿAlī Efendi, *Kawānīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān der khülāṣa-i meḍāmīn-i defter-i dīwān*, preface by Gökbilgin, Istanbul 1979, 17; compare also the description by Kātib Čelebi, *Rumeli und Bosna*, tr. J. von Hammer, Vienna 1812). The fortress supposedly consisted of an inner and an outer section, with a circumference of 4,000 paces and four gates, protected by the Danube on three sides and in addition by 36 towers. Apart from the garrison officers, the urban élite consisted of the *kāḍī*, the *shehir ketkhudāsï* and the teachers in two local *medreses*, while four Friday mosques, one of them bearing the name of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, were available for worship. There was a settlement outside of the walls (*warosh*) that supposedly contained 3,000 houses and 300 shops, accessible by wooden bridges crossing the river or else the water-filled ditch that made the fortress into a virtual island. Due to the marshy ground, few buildings were of stone, roofs were often covered in wooden shingles and even the streets were paved with boards. Although Ewliyā claims that an abundance of goods was available in the two local *khāns* and elsewhere, the lack of a covered market probably indicates that this was not a town noted for its commerce (on the limited economic activity of the entire area, see McGowan, *The Middle Danube cul de sac*, in Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and the world-economy*, Paris and Cambridge 1987, 170-7).

In the Ottoman-Habsburg war of 1094-1111/1683-99, Semendire shared the fate of nearby Belgrade: it was first taken by the Habsburgs and then re-conquered by the Ottomans. The Orthodox bishop moved to Belgrade in 1140-1/1728; this was probably a sign of the town's declining relative importance (Adolph Kunike [ed.], *Zwey hundert vier und sechzig Donau-Ansichten nach dem Laufe des Donaustromes*, comments by Georg C.B. Rumy, Vienna 1826, repr. Munich n.d.; non-paginated brochure appended to the lithographs). Nevertheless, in the early 13th/19th century, Semendire formed one of the centres of a Serbian movement for autonomy; in 1219-20/1805 local troops in rebellion against the Ottoman central government took the town, before moving on to Belgrade (J. Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe, 1680-1730: the life and times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, soldier and virtuoso*, New Haven 1994, 57, 74-5, 78, 95, 109; Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, i, *Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, Cambridge 1983, 91, 198).

Documenting the physical shape of the town at the beginning of that century, there survive two remarkable lithographs published in 1241-2/1826 (Kunike *op. cit.*, nos. 180, 181). These show that the town preserved quite a few of the characteristics described one and a half centuries earlier by Ewliyā Čelebi. While according to Rumy's comments, the fortress lay partially in ruins, this is not apparent from the images, which show a wall surmounted by towers of different shapes and sizes and protected by a palisade. The town proper was located not on the peninsula/island but on the river banks, and there was a Muslim section surmounted by many minarets, more than the four existing in Ewliyā's time. Semendire possessed a sizeable Christian quarter as well, for there was also a church with a high steeple, rather Central European in character. Roofs and walls made for shingles still formed a notable feature of the local architecture, and the Austrian commentator remarked that the town had "a handsome appearance".

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also Olga Zirojević, *The Constantinople road from Beograd to Sofija (1459-1683)* (Zbornik istorijskog muzeja Srbije, 7), Belgrade 1970; and the *Bibls.* to SIRB.

(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

SHĀH DAGH, a peak of the southeasternmost tip of the Caucasus range (4,253 m/13,951 feet high), the mountainous region which in mediaeval Islamic times separated the districts of Ḳubba from Shamākha [see KUBBA]. It now lies in the northeasternmost part of the Azerbaijan Republic.

SHĀHBANDAR (P.), lit. "harbourmaster", an official of the ports in Ṣafawid Persia and one also known on other shores of the Indian Ocean.

A lack of information from before the advent of the European maritime companies notwithstanding, it is likely the office of *shāhbandar* first appeared in Persia, and from there spread throughout the Indian Ocean basin. The precise status of the *shāhbandar* remains unclear for the early period. Moreland concluded that, while elsewhere around the Indian Ocean the term had a wide range of meaning in the 10th/16th century, in Hurmuz [*q.v.*] it clearly referred to the harbourmaster. He documents a *shāhbandar* in that port for 1521, and for 1584 the Portuguese sources identify a person with the title of *goarda mor da praya*, chief warden of the beach and customs house. The Portuguese sources also mention an official called *juiz da alfandega*, judge of the tollhouse. Already at that time the function had a political dimension as well, for at some point in the early 10th/16th century, the vizier of Hurmuz combined his position as governor of the port with that of head of customs.

Most of the subsequent information on the *shāhbandar* concerns the position in Bandar ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] after the arrival in the Persian Gulf of the English and Dutch East India Companies in the early 17th century, and is a function of the documents generated by their agents. In the Persian sources the *shāhbandar* appears as the *ḍābiṭ-i wudjūh wa khurūdj*, commander of imports and exports, but he is rarely mentioned, reflecting the fact that, although the Persian Gulf trade was important to the state and the official served the central administration, the region itself was not at the centre of official attention.

The *shāhbandar* wielded considerable power in the port. He administered the payment of tolls on incoming and outgoing goods, which generally amounted to 10% *ad valorem* for both. In order to secure smooth relations, merchants were forced periodically to hand him gifts, which was really a form of taxation. Thus the Dutch and the English typically paid the *shāhbandar* of Bandar ʿAbbās 50 *tūmāns* annually, but in 1654 we hear of local merchants being forced to pay a sum of 1,000 *tūmāns*, and in 1661 the resident Indian merchant community was made to pay a similar amount. *Shāhbandars* were also wont to make private deals with brokers, who bribed them to let goods pass. *Shāhbandars* had their own agents in other Persian Gulf ports and India and elsewhere in Persia who tried to entice merchants to patronise Bandar ʿAbbās. There are also reports of the *shāhbandar* of Bandar ʿAbbās terrorising the local merchants and interfering with their trade, demanding the choicest wares available at below market prices and refusing to give a transport license when they demurred.

While sharing many of his responsibilities and traits with *shāhbandars* in other parts of Asia, the *shāhbandar* in Persia resembles the ones in India and South East India more than his colleagues in the Ottoman Empire. Whereas in a place like Aleppo the *shāhbandar* was chosen from among the wealthy local merchants, and was sometimes a Jew or an Armenian, in 11th/17th-century Persia he was invariably a political official with a fixed salary, who was sent down by the central government with the task of collecting customs revenue for the shāh. At the end of his term in office he had to account for his dealings and submit his financial report to the crown's financial council. The fact that in the late 1620s Mulāyim Beg was simultaneously the shāh's commercial factor and *shāhbandar* of Bandar ʿAbbās suggests this strong nexus between politics and commerce. The reports of the maritime companies also make clear that the *shāhbandar* was a shadowing official, sent down to supervise and report on the *khān* of the town. As this surveillance was mutual, it often led to rivalry and even violent confrontations between the retinue of both officials. As was the case for most positions in Ṣafawid Persia, the post of *shāhbandar* tended to be hereditary, yet no single family managed to establish a hold over it for any length of time. For most of the 1650s, Muḥammad Beg, who later became Grand Vizier, and his family furnished a series of *shāhbandars*, beginning with Muḥammad Beg himself. Of Armenian descent, he was a *ghulām* [*q.v.*], one of the many originally Christian slaves from the Caucasus region who attained high political positions in Ṣafawid Persia. Georgian *ghulāms*, who by the 11th/17th century had taken over most of the administration in the country, infiltrated the position as well. In 1669 it was reported that the new *shāhbandar* was a Georgian *ghulām*.

Several changes occurred in this same period. Until 1656 the port of Kung fell under the jurisdiction of Lār [see LĀR, LĀRISTĀN]. When ʿAvaḍ Beg left his post as *khān* of Lār, a separate governor-cum-*shāhbandar* was appointed for Kung, apparently in order to improve the central government's control over its revenues. A similar motivation underlay the changes effected in the smaller ports of the Persian Gulf, which until the second half of the 11th/17th century did not have a customs house and therefore no *shāhbandar*. As this prompted those merchants keen to evade tolls and harassment in Bandar ʿAbbās to turn to those ports, the Ṣafawid government in the mid-1660s conducted an investigation and decided to establish a customs house in Bandar Rīg. Būshihr [*q.v.*], which was of minor importance, had a *shāhbandar*, too, at this point. Smaller ports must have remained under the jurisdiction of local *shaykhs*.

In a more structural change, the position of *shāhbandar* of Bandar ʿAbbās began to be farmed out in this period. Until the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1666-94), each individual port had its own customs official and the office of *shāhbandar* had rotated on an annual basis. Mismanagement, corruption and the attendant dwindling income from customs in the early 1670s prompted the Ṣafawid government to consolidate the customs administration by bringing it under the control of one official, who now farmed the post for six to eight years at a fixed salary and a stipulated revenue of 24,000 *tūmāns*. (Chardin claims that the change came in 1674, but it is more likely that it was part of a series of reforms effected by the Grand Vizier Shaykh ʿAlī Khān in 1671-2.) The term of a given official might be prolonged after expiration. Thus in 1684, Mīrzā Murtaḍā, having served one term, received the post for seven more years. He was also reinstated as *shāhbandar* of Kung. Various other sources report that, ten years later, the *shāhbandar* of Kung acted both as customs official and as *dārūgha* [*q.v.*], or mayor of the town, and that he

farmed the customs of Kung, Bandar ʿAbbās and Bandar Rīg, for an annual sum of 20,000 *tūmāns.*

Būshihr in the mid-12th/18th century offers an example of an Armenian *shāhbandar*—as opposed to a *ghulām* who had been made to convert to Islam. This person, named Khʷadja Mellelsk, was a subordinate of the *shāhbandar* of Bandar ʿAbbās. In 1748 the town's governor, Shaykh Nāṣir, usurped the position. This may have set a precedent, for in the 19th century the head of customs in Būshihr appears to have been the port's *khān* or *kalantar* [*q.v.*] or mayor, rather than a *shāhbandar.* Beginning in *ca.* 1850, when the port's trade began to flourish, customs were collected by a private functionary called the *ḥammālbāshī.* In Bandar ʿAbbās the term *shāhbandar* long remained in use, but here, too, it was the *ḥammālbāshī* who in the 19th century collected customs fees. In the smaller ports, tribal chiefs or government officials called *ḍābiṭs* were usually the ones to manage the port's customs. Having become obsolete for the port towns of Persia, the term *shāhbandar* was now used for the official who represented the interests of the Turkish merchants operating within Persia.

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(R. Matthee)

SHĀʿIR.

1. B. From the ʿAbbāsid period to the *Nahḍa.*

Poetic communication is part of a larger system of social communication governed by a particular set of rules and carried out by participants who are more or less aware of the value and meaning of these rules. The role of the poet is only one of several roles which are mutually co-formative. Any discussion of one of these social roles must perforce take into account the other roles. S.J. Schmidt (1992) described four action roles which are used below to inform the discussion of *shāʿir.*

(a) *Production.* In the period between 750 and 1850, poetry was composed by a very different range of people from all walks of society in the Arab speaking world. Among the producers of poetry we find caliphs and craftsmen, secretaries and slaves, religious scholars and rogues, members of noble Arab tribes or people of non-Arab descent, rich and poor, famous and infamous. Of the three main panegyrists of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Tammām (d. *ca.* 231/845 [*q.v.*]) was of Christian descent (and embarrassed by this fact), and had to earn his living as a weaver's assistant and a water carrier in his early years; Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]) was of Christian (Byzantine) descent as well (and proud of it), whereas al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897 [*q.v.*]) was of pure Arab stock and grew up in a tribal milieu.

There was no uniform group of poets, nor was being a poet considered a specific profession with an established and definitive course of study or a canon of specific knowledge to be learned. Instead, everybody who had learned to compose poetry that met with common approval was called *shāʿir.* Professional poets during the ʿAbbāsid period were primarily court poets who were financially dependent on the favour of a patron. In later periods, poets most typically came from the ranks of the *ʿulamāʾ.* During the whole of the period in question, however, it was taken for granted that every educated person had the ability to take part in poetic communication, at least in the role of a receptive listener/reader. Therefore, poetry composed by professional poets forms only one segment of the poetry composed, esteemed and transmitted. Even those poets who can be considered professional poets often played more than the role of producer of poetry and engaged in processing literature as anthologists, critics, or philologists. Given this multi-layered situation, the role of poets and poetry in Arabic-Islamic society can be appreciated properly only if the whole of the system of poetic communication is taken into account. This is even more important given that poetic communication played an incomparably much higher role in pre-modern Arabic societies than in modern societies.

(b) *Mediation.* The oral recitation of a poem by its producer has always been considered the basic means by which poetry was made accessible to others. Professional singers were not only important but often even famous transmitters of poetry from the latter

Umayyad period onwards, not only in courtly arenas but also in other well-to-do households. Written transmission in the form of letters or books also played an increasingly important role. The output of individual poets was often collected in the form of a *dīwān*, frequently by those other than the original poets themselves. For example, it was Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. *ca.* 335/947 [*q.v.*]) who collected the *dīwān*s of Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām, Ibn al-Rūmī and others. Of enormous importance for the transmission of poetry were anthologies [see MUKHTĀRĀT] and other works of *adab*. Both linguistic and historiographical works as well as collections of biographies contain a great deal of poetry. Religious texts of an edifying nature and Ṣūfī works are hardly to be found without poetry. After the rise of the *madrasa* [*q.v.*], the formal parameters of poetry (metre, rhyme) and peculiarities of literary language [see AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA 'L-BAYĀN] would become part of the propaedeutic discipline of *adab* (in this case meaning the whole of linguistic disciplines). Poetry itself, however, was not a regular subject in the curriculum. Only the most famous works, such as the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī and the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, were taught within an academic framework. Story-tellers and preachers [see ḲĀṢṢ] included poems in their speeches and thus contributed to their own popularity among the masses. As a whole, the process by which poetry was imparted has not yet been studied adequately.

(c) *Reception.* Poetry was an everyday commodity. A poet could "réciter une *qaṣīda* à son entourage, à ses amis, à des confères. Qu'il aille dans les souks de la ville, parcourt ses rues, fréquente les cabarets de ses faubourgs et leurs jardins, descende son fleuve, ses canaux ou se poste sur l'un des ponts . . . ou sous les arcades de mosquées, dans le demeure d'un bourgeois ou d'un prince, partout . . . il peut déclamer sans étonner, parler d'amour sans surprendre, pleurer de douleur sans choquer" (Bencheikh, 38). Poetry was an effective system of communication in which a substantial part of the population took part and by which the emotional and affective requirements of the people were met. People listened to poetry for its social, emotional, and intellectual effect [see ṬARAB; TAʿADJDJUB], and it was considered the poet's task to convey information and to stir emotions, curiosity and interest rather than to express his own feelings. Modern modes of reception, influenced by the cult of the poet as a genius who is expected to be more in touch with deeper feelings and thoughts than other people, and the individualistic notion of poetry as a means to express one's very own and specific emotions, have often lead to misconceptions about pre-modern Arabic poetry. Whereas modern and individualistic conceptions of poetry have fostered an acceleration of literary change, they have also led to an increasing social marginalisation of poetic communication. By contrast, although the pre-modern understanding of poetry as a social activity resulted in a greater stability of literary forms and content, it nonetheless allowed poetry to remain effective and meaningful for a wide range of people over the whole period considered here and thus allowed a greater sector of the population to participate in elaborate artistic activities.

(d) *Processing.* The Arabic pre-Islamic literary and cultural heritage forms, next to Islam itself, one of the two foundations of Arabic-Islamic culture. The collection of and commentary on pre- and early Islamic poetry therefore was one of the primary activities in the first centuries of Islamic scholarship. The disciplines of grammar and lexicography owed their development more to the need to comment upon ancient Arabic poetry than upon the normative texts of Islam. This creation of a consciousness of poetry was one of the prerequisites for the rise of the scientific study of contemporary poetry and of literary criticism by the 3rd/9th century. These disciplines cannot be dealt with here (see the overview by Ouyang), but it should be remarked that, during the ʿAbbāsid period, literary history and criticism was a discourse clearly separated from the production of poetry itself, notwithstanding the exertion of mutual influence. Among the major poets, only Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Ibn Rashīḳ were famed theorists as well. The Mamlūk period, in which the merger of a secular and religious discourse had already been perfected, witnessed the complete synthesis of poetic production, on the one hand, and literary theory and rhetorics on the other in the form of the *badīʿiyya* commentaries by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. probably 749/1348 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434 [*q.v.*]), among others.

Other important forms by which literature was processed are various forms of intertextuality such as the *muʿāraḍa* or the *takhmīs* [*q.vv.*], in which a poet transforms a given poem into a new work of literature following special rules. These techniques should be understood within the framework of similar forms of appropriation-cum-transformation of the scholarly, cultural and literary heritage of Islamic culture, such as the commentary (*sharḥ* [*q.v.*]) or the abbreviation (*mukhtaṣar* [*q.v.*]).

Four important social environments provided a framework for educated poetic communication between the Umayyad and the modern period.

i. *The Court*

Throughout the entirety of the ʿAbbāsid period, the courts of the caliph(s), provincial rulers, governors and the court-like households of viziers, generals, and other high officials served as centres of literary activity of preeminent importance. Two kinds of literary activities should be distinguished here: first, the recitation of panegyric poems as part of the official representation of the ruler; and second, poetry as part of court entertainment.

Panegyric poems [see MADĪḤ] formed the most important political discourse throughout a great deal of Islamic history. In panegyric poems, the subject personage was described as an embodiment of royal virtue, above all in terms of military prowess and generosity. The recollection of these virtues simultaneously confirmed and reinforced them, for society as well as for the ruler himself, and by confirming the ruler's ideal fulfillment of these normative values, the poems contributed to his legitimisation. Further, they served to spread the news of important events (such as battles won), and helped to memorialise them and to locate them and their protagonists within a broader historical context.

To understand the mechanism of the panegyric poem, it is important to bear in mind that the patron, to whom the poem is addressed (the *mamdūḥ*), is not identical with the intended public of the poem. Of course, panegyric poems could fulfil their political and social role only if a general interest in them was granted. Therefore, the dichotomy of the poet and the *mamdūḥ*, which appears in the texts themselves, should be expanded to a triangle with the "public" as third participant. Each of the three participants in this form of communication acted in a mutually informative give and take. This triadic interplay can be generally schematized as follows:

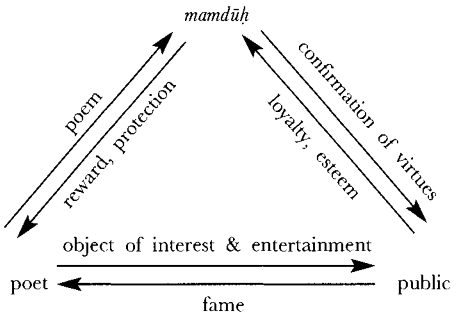

Given the first-rank importance of the panegyric-political discourse as a means of representation and legitimisation, even rulers who had no feeling for poetry could hardly afford not to patronise poets. On the other hand, many rulers and princes pursued an intense interest in poetry, had expert knowledge at their disposal, and often composed poetry themselves. Just to mention a few, the caliph Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd (d. 193/809; his sister the princess ʿUlayya bt. al-Mahdī (d. 210/825); the prince Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), one of the greatest men of letters of the ʿAbbāsid period; the caliph al-Rāḍī bi ʾllāh (d. 392/940); the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla (d. 356/967); and the Ayyūbid Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331) [*q.vv.*] and other members of this dynasty. In such cases, where the *mamdūḥ* assumed both the role of the patron as well as the role of the public, poets had to accommodate their poems not only to general panegyric standards but also to the personal taste of the patron. To mention two examples: al-Buḥturī replaced the traditional *nasīb* [*q.v.*] with all its intertextual strands with the more modern genre of *g͟hazal* [*q.v.*] in order to meet the taste of al-Mutawakkil, who had less literary training than his predecessors. Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī (d. 750/1349 [*q.v.*]) faced the opposite problem after the death of Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ and tried to win the favour of his pious and ascetic successor by replacing the *nasīb* of his panegyric odes with ascetic poetry.

Panegyric poets hoped for an immediate reward for any given poem, which often reached rather exorbitant sums of money. Considering the fact that generosity was one of the main virtues praised in the panegyric odes and that the poet offered himself as a first object for the demonstration of this generosity, the exchange of poem for reward assumed the character of a ritual exchange. If successful, poets could even hope for a permanent patronage of the ruler, thus being spared having to wander from patron to patron. Al-Mutanabbī, the pre-eminent panegyric poet of the times, spent several years in search of a permanent patron, eulogising Bedouin chiefs and second-rank provincial dignitaries until he found the favour of Sayf al-Dawla, at whose court he spent nine untroubled years, only to start the search anew after an intrigue by his fellow-poets forced him to flee Sayf al-Dawla's court. In addition to material gains, success at a court could also provide for a broader fame of a poet due to the public nature of his task as a panegyrist. In any case, gaining the favour of patrons through panegyric poetry was nearly the only way to make a living as a professional poet during the ʿAbbāsid period. Poets who did not have an administrative or scholarly position as a starting-point therefore had to earn their living as a copyist or craftsman, or with similar jobs until they gained enough fame to be able to live as a full-time poet. Competition for a position as court poet must have been rather rigorous. Therefore, it is small wonder that the relations between the poets enjoying the favour of a certain patron is often characterised by envy, polemics and intrigues. The relations between al-Mutanabbī, Abū Firās and the K͟hālidī brothers offer a good example. Dependent as poets were on the favour of their patron, they were not completely powerless in turn. If they felt that they were treated unjustly, they had the possibility of taking revenge by composing satires (*hid͟jāʾ* [*q.v.*]), and the satires of a famous poet could prove to be a sharp weapon indeed. Again, al-Mutanabbī—an extraordinary self-confident poet—provides us with examples in his invectives against the Ik͟hs͟hīd ruler Kāfūr [*q.v.*]. Many poets, however, experienced feelings of humilation when forced to "beg" for monetary reward for their poems, as is repeatedly told in their biographies.

The circumstances under which courtly panegyric poetry was performed have been only little studied so far. Obviously, panegyric poems were often performed as part of public ceremonies, during a *mad͟jlis* or a banquet. The poems that were recited may have been pre-selected by court officials (al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iv, 149). How these poems became known by a broader public has not yet been explored in detail. The poets themselves, philologists, compilers of anthologies and literary critics may have participated as mediators in this process. In the end, however, this process must have been rather effective, since in most books on literary criticism, panegyric poetry is given privileged interest, and anthologies and chronicles overflow with quotations of eulogies. Since without the participation of the recipients, the process of panegyric communication must have been ineffective as a whole, the study of this part must be considered a major desideratum.

In addition to the ritual and public performance of panegyric poetry, courtly life offered a great many other opportunities for poetry making. Hunting excursions provided an opportunity for the recitation of hunting poetry (*ṭardiyya* [*q.v.*]); banquets and musical gatherings gave rise to the presentation of wine poetry [see K͟HAMRIYYA], love poetry and other genres. On these occasions, the ruler was accompanied by his *nudamāʾ* "boon-companions" (sing. *nadīm* [*q.v.*]), a group of talented people from various fields. Even the office of the *nadīm* was institutionalised at the ʿAbbāsid court. Poetry played a prominent role in the gatherings of the ruler and his *nudamāʾ*, and was practiced not only by professional poets but also by *nudamāʾ* with other professions. And poetry itself, both ancient and contemporary, was often the subject of conversation in the *mad͟jlis*. It must be stressed that the kind of poetry recited and sung in these courtly environments was not fundamentally different from that practised outside the court in urban milieux. Therefore, a common term like "courtly love" characterising the relations between lover and beloved in a current type of love poetry (*g͟hazal*, *nasīb*) is misleading, since love poetry sung at caliphal banquets in no way differed from the poetry that was popular in other social environments. Instead, it was rather the ideals, ethical models, and literary tastes of the *udabāʾ* and *kuttāb* which dominated at the courts [see ẒARF]. *Nudamāʾ* circles also existed in the households of viziers and high-ranking *kuttāb*, and the same people practised their poetic skill in circles of philologists and *udabāʾ* as well as in their role as *nadīm* at the court.

In the period after the fall of the ʿAbbāsids and

Ayyūbids, the importance of the court for Arab literary culture decreased considerably. Though panegyric poems in the Arabic language were still composed about Mamlūk and Ottoman sultans (and poets duly rewarded for them), the Mamlūk and Ottoman courts no longer offered the resources for a vivid literary culture in Arabic language. One of the main reasons for this development is, of course, the fact that rulers of these dynasties often had only limited (if any) command of the Arabic language. But it should also be borne in mind that, whereas in the ʿAbbāsid period political authorities were part of the culture of the civilian non-religious élite of the *kuttāb* and were eager to see their legitimisation expressed in the medium of poetry common to both, the post-ʿAbbāsid period witnessed the merger of a religious and non-religious élite, which now formed a counterpart to the military élite which no longer shared this culture. Rather than poetry, Mamlūks instead patronised architecture to an hitherto unprecedented extent.

ii. *The kuttāb*

At least in the 3rd and 4th/9th and 10th centuries, the class of the secretaries (*kuttāb*, sing. *kātib* [*q.v.*]), which formed a rather homogenous group with a distinct group consciousness, had no lesser influence on the shaping of Islamic culture than the group of religious scholars. This is especially true in the field of literature. The *kuttāb* were the bearers and main exponents of the culture of *adab* [*q.v.*], which meant not only producing a certain type of literature but also adhering to an ideal of education, knowledge, manners and conduct, which became manifest in the literature called *adab*. Of course, not every *adīb* was a *kātib*, but the *kuttāb* serve as its most typical embodiment.

For the *kuttāb*, poetry had a multitude of functions. Some of them, to mention a few, are as following:

(a) Perfection in artistic prose and poetry was a prerequisite for other responsibilities. These included drafting and writing official letters and administrative correspondence in which they showed their mastery of linguistic correctness and stylistic sophistication.

(b) *Kuttāb* were expected to be able to compose poetry. In this context, it seems plausible that the first dictionary that was arranged according to rhyme consonants and rhyme schemes, the *Kitāb al-Taḳfiya* by al-Bandanīdjī (d. 284/897; Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 170-1) was in all probability addressed to the *kuttāb* who needed to find rhyme words for their poetic compositions.

(c) Poetry formed part of the encyclopaedic knowledge *kuttāb* were supposed to have.

(d) Genres like love and wine poetry, besides being entertaining and emotionally affective at an individual level, were especially suitable for not only expressing the refined *Weltanschauung* of this group [see ẒARĪF] but also for displaying their literary taste.

(e) Literature of the *adab* type in prose and poetry was part of the *kuttāb*'s life-style and its practice served to strengthen their group identity.

Some of the *kātib* poets typical of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries were: al-ʿUtbī (d. 228/852-3), Ibn al-Zayyāt (d. 233/847), the *ghazal* poet Khālid b. Yazīd al-Kātib (d. *ca.* 262/876), al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar (d. 293/906), Ibn Bassām (d. 303-4/914-15), Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 384/994), Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995) [*q.vv.*], and Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī (d. 243/857). The influence of the *kuttāb*, however, went far beyond their activity as poets: more importantly, they shaped the culture of *adab*, which proved equally dominant in courtly milieux as well as in the urban middle class in general. A sharp distinction between the court and the *kuttāb* cannot be drawn in any event, since *kuttāb* were themselves part of the courts. Many of them participated in the composition of panegyric poetry and fulfilled the duty of *nadīm*. Many officials had risen to positions in which they acted as patrons for poets themselves.

iii. *The ʿulamāʾ*

Islamic normative texts (the Ḳurʾān, esp. XXVI, 224-7; *Ḥadīth*, see Bonebakker) display an ambiguous stance towards poetry which resulted in different interpretations, ranging from outright prohibition of many of its forms to a mild disapproval of the more entertaining and morally dubious genres like wine poetry and satire. Thus, in the first centuries, *ʿulamāʾ* rarely felt encouraged to take part in a form of communication that was dominated by the secular élite. Yet religious scholars required knowledge of pre- and early Islamic poetry in order to be able to comment upon Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth*, and some of them composed at least poetry of the *zuhdiyya* [*q.v.*] genre, as the collection of poetry ascribed to al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]) demonstrates. Due to its emotional effectiveness, poetry of the *zuhdiyya* genre, as well as love poetry was used in sermons. However, scholars were rarely proficient poets, and in his collection of the biographies of linguistic scholars, al-Ḳifṭī repeatedly speaks with derision of grammarians and other scholars who "composed verses of the kind of the poetry of grammarians (*nuḥāt*)/scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*)" (al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 219, 263, 267, 288, 343, iv, 165). Nevertheless, from the latter ʿAbbāsid period onwards, there is an increase in the number of *ʿulamāʾ* who were composing poetry in different genres. A few *ḳāḍī*s and *muḥaddithūn* are already mentioned in al-Thaʿālibī's [*q.v.*] anthology titled *Yatīmat al-dahr*, which contains poetry from the second half of the 4th/10th century. By the time of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī's [*q.v.*] anthology, the *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, which covers poets from the 6th/12th century, the number of *ʿulamāʾ* composing poetry and the quality of their poems had obviously increased considerably. Here, in this period of transition, we can witness the gradual merger between the *adab*-oriented culture of the *kuttāb* and the *sunna*-oriented culture of the *ʿulamāʾ* (Bauer, *Raffinement*; Homerin, *Preaching poetry*). From the Saldjūḳ period onwards, the *kuttāb* gradually ceased to be a distinct social group with their own cultural values. Instead, the duties of the *kātib* came to be fulfilled by people who had received the training of a religious scholar. The result, as it becomes very obvious during the Mamlūk period, was a rather homogeneous group of *ʿulamāʾ* who had become the bearers of Islamic religious as well as secular culture. Remarkably, this development did not prove detrimental to literary culture. Instead, the process of "*ʿulamāʾ*isation of *adab*" was counterbalanced by a process of "*adab*isation of the *ʿulamāʾ*", who in the meantime had made the *adab* discourse of the *kuttāb* their own. Though the political relevance of poetry decreased, its relevance for the civil élite increased, so that one can speak of a process of privatisation of poetry. Poetry became a pre-eminent medium of communication between *ʿulamāʾ*, and this medium included panegyric poetry, which now became addressed from one *ʿālim* to the other rather than to rulers and military leaders. For the *ʿulamāʾ*, it would become more and more important to be able to take part in this form of poetic communication. Consequently, the poetry of the Mamlūk period grew more personal and more interested in private matters. The merger of the secular and religious élite into a new group which shared to a considerable extent the values and ideas of the old religious élite, but which also had appro-

priated the literary culture of the old secular élite, led to an unprecedented rise of religious poetry. Since also the boundaries between high and popular culture became blurred, the percentage of the population taking part in a rather homogeneous literary culture became larger than ever. The Mamlūk period, therefore, may have been the period which displayed the broadest literary culture in Arab history.

The Ottoman period has not been studied well enough to allow a more detailed assessment. At least, it is beyond doubt that the *ʿulamāʾ* still played the most important role in poetry. Arabic poetry at this time may have witnessed a decrease in its local importance, but at the same time could expand its geographical range due to the increasingly global and cosmopolitan character of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Texts displaying a very similar literary taste were composed in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as in the Indian subcontinent. Locally, Ṣūfī circles seem to have developed into one of the main centres of the production of poetry.

iv. *Urban milieux*

A study of the involvement of different social environments of the urban middle classes in the poetic discourse has not yet been carried out. However, it is clear from countless hints in the sources that poetry in the standard language and the established genres was esteemed and even produced among craftsmen, merchants, and in similar milieux. The site of Abū Nuwās's (d. *ca.* 196/813 [*q.v.*]) wine poems is not only the courtly banquet but also the tavern. Another and rather different urban milieu was that of the *ẓurafāʾ*, in which the poems of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf [*q.v.*] are set. Several little-known poets mentioned in Ibn al-Muʿtazz's *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* bear names pointing to crafts, and even professional poets like Abū Tammām had to earn their living by manual work before they were famous enough to live from their poetry. In any case, social boundaries were not as strict as in Europe, and people of low descent and non-privileged social positions were not in principle excluded from taking part in high culture.

In the 4th/10th century we find a baker (al-Khabbāz al-Baladī, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 625-6), a fruit-seller (al-Waʾwāʾ [*q.v.*]), and a darner (al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ [*q.v.*]) among the well-known poets of the age. Another poet, al-Khubzaʾaruzzī [*q.v.*], was a baker of rice bread in Baṣra and became famous as a *ghazal* poet. Young men from all over the town used to visit his shop in the hope of becoming the object of one of his love poems. By quoting poems by al-Aḥnaf al-ʿUkbarī, al-Thaʿālibī (*Yatīma*, ii, 122-4) allows a glimpse of the poetry of the vagabonds [see SĀSĀN, BANŪ]. These poets owe their lasting fame to the fact that representatives of high culture took an interest in their productions, but they may also be taken as evidence of the kind of interest in poetry that cut across different levels of society.

Sources are much more copious for the Mamlūk period, during which a convergence between high and popular culture is attested. The most representative figures of popular poetry (in standard Arabic, as well as in dialect), appealing to *ʿulamāʾ* and people of the street alike, were Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār for the 7th/13th and Ibn Sūdūn for the 8th/14th century. These and quite a few of other similar, often illiterate figures represent a "missing link" between modern forms of popular literature and time-honoured forms, themes, and motives, and thus point to the fact that Arabic literary culture was not the exclusive prerequisite of a small élitarian group, but was, at least in its fundamental parameters, ideas and way of achieving emotional effects, shared by a broad sector of the population.

During the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, religious poetry was extremely popular in all urban environments. Ṣūfī poetry, prayers [see WIRD] and poems in praise of the prophet [see MAWLIDIYYA] were composed and recited among adherents of the Ṣūfī orders [see ṬARĪḲA and TAṢAWWUF], which were deeply rooted in the middle classes.

During all periods, different forms of folk poetry co-existed alongside poetry which was eventually written down. In many environments, both written and oral forms of poetry influenced each other, and sometimes it is not easy to draw a clear boundary between them. Other forms of poetry transmitted only orally existed without being noticed by the educated. So, for example, Bedouin poets continued to compose poetry in a style reminiscent of pre-Islamic poetry throughout the centuries. This can be deduced by the existence of the so-called *nabaṭī* poetry [*q.v.*] which has been recorded from the 19th century onwards and is still practised in the Arabian peninsula even today. For further information about the complex of folk poetry, see SHĀʿIR. 1. E. The folk poet in Arab society, at Vol. IX, 233b.

Bibliography: Only a small selection of relevant sources and studies can be noted here. In principle, all *dīwāns*, anthologies, and biographical dictionaries are fruitful sources of relevant information. See also the *Bibl.* of the article SHIʿR. 1(a), and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*[3]; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ al-muḥdathīn*, Cairo 1956; al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr* (different eds.); (Ibn) al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, 4 vols., Cairo 1955-73; Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār Abi 'l-Tammām*, Cairo 1937; idem, *Akhbār al-Buḥturī*, Damascus 1948; idem, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaḳī*, ed. J.H. Dunne, Cairo 1935; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8; A. Arazi, *Amour divin et amour profane dans l'Islam médiéval. A travers le Dīwān de Khālid al-Kātib*, Paris 1990; T. Bauer, *Raffinement und Frömmigkeit. Säkulare Poesie islamischer Religionsgelehrter der späten Abbasidenzeit*, in *Asiatische Studien*, v (1996), 275-95; idem, *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1998; idem, *Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār. Ein dichtender Handwerker aus Ägyptens Mamlukenzeit*, in *ZDMG*, clii (2002), 63-93; J. Bencheikh, *Poetique arabe: essai sur les voies d'une création*, Paris 1975; idem, *Les secrétaires poètes et animateurs de cénacles aux IIe et IIIe siècles de l'hégire*, in *JA*, clxiii (1975), 265-315; idem, *Le cénacle poétique du calife al-Mutawakkil*, in *BEO*, xxix (1977), 33-52; S.A. Bonebakker, *Religious prejudice against poetry in early Islam*, in *Medievalia et humanistica*, n.s. vii (1976), 77-99; G.J. van Gelder, *The bad and the ugly. Attitudes towards invective poetry (Hijāʾ) in Classical Arabic literature*, Leiden 1988; B. Gruendler, *Ibn al-Rūmī's ethics of patronage*, in *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, iii (1996), 104-60; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Aspects of Arabic urban literature mostly in ninth and tenth centuries*, in *Islamic Studies (Islamabad)*, viii (1969), 281-300; A. Hamori, *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, New York 1974; Th.E. Homerin, *Preaching poetry*, in *Arabica*, xxxviii (1991), 87-101; ʿAbd al-Ḥasanayn al-Khiḍr, *al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Ayyūbiyyūn*, 2 vols., Damascus 1993-6; H. Kilpatrick, *Making the great Book of Songs*, London 2003; E. Neubauer, *Musiker am Hof der frühen ʿAbbasiden*, Frankfurt 1965; W. Ouyang, *Literary criticism in medieval Arabic-Islamic culture. The making of a tradition*, Edinburgh 1997; E.K. Rowson and

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SHAKHAB, (Battle of) [see mardj al-ṣuffar].

SHĀLĪSH, also written Djālīsh, a term referring to either the vanguard of an army or a flag raised to signal the announcement of a campaign. The word is of Turkish origin, derived from *Čalïsh*, meaning "battle" or "conflict" (see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-75, iii, 32). It appears in Persian during the late Saldjūḳ era (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbál, GMS, NS, 2, London 1921, 347), with the meaning of "battle"; in Arabic, it is found in works of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times (see below). It is unclear whether it entered Arabic via the Persian or was adopted in the former language directly from Turkish military men.

1. In the sense of advance troops of a rather general nature, the term is found in the description of the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*] in 584/1187, where we find *djālīshiyya* (Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *Nawādir al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo n.d., 61 = tr. D.S. Richards, *The rare and excellent history of Saladin*, Aldershot 2001, 73; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut 1987, xi, 146). In the early Mamlūk period, it is used on the one hand as a synonym for *ṭalīʿa*, advanced scouts or vanguard, as at the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] in 658/1260 (cf. Ibn al-Dawādarī, *Kanz al-durar*, viii, ed U. Haarmann, Freiburg-Cairo 1971, 49, with al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, Cairo 1934-73, i, 430). On the other hand, in the battle of Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] in 680/1281, *djālīsh* is used in the sense of *muḳaddama*, i.e. the large forward division of the Mamlūk army (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, ed. Richards, Beirut 1998, 197). The term was not only applied to the Mamlūk army; in 699/1299, the *djālīsh* of the Il-Khān Ghāzān [*q.v.*] passed by Ḥalab on the way south (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 885); the exact intention, i.e. whether it was a small reconnaissance unit or a large advance division, is unclear from the context.

2. In the sense of a flag raised above the *ṭablkhāna* [*q.v.*], see D. Ayalon, art. ḥarb. iii, above, Vol. III, at 184. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddama*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, Cairo n.d. = tr. Rosenthal, ii, 52), writes that in the Mamlūk state (*dawlat al-turk*), a large flag (*rāya*) surmounted by a big tuft of hair (probably of a horse) was called a *shalīsh*, and that it was a sign of the sultan. It would seem that the use of the word for the flag used to declare preparations for a campaign was secondary to the meaning given above, sc. the advance force or vanguard. The sense of flag was derived perhaps from the advance force which may have carried it.

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SHAMIR (also al-Shamir, commonly Shimr) b. **DHI ʾl-DJAWSHAN** Abu ʾl-Sābigha, often portrayed as one of the killers of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. Shamir's father, Shuraḥbīl (or Aws) b. Ḳurṭ (various forms of the name are given), was a Companion of the Prophet who settled in al-Kūfa.

Shamir fought at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] on ʿAlī's side, receiving a sword wound to his face (al-Minḳarī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿA. Hārūn, Cairo 1401/1981, 268; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3305). Subsequently he changed sides and became a supporter of the Umayyads. In 51/671 he testified against Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, ii, 133); nine years later, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] recruited him and other tribal notables to quell the revolt of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*]. When al-Ḥusayn was intercepted at Karbalāʾ, he appealed in vain to Shamir and others to let him go to the caliph Yazīd (*ibid.*, ii, 285). Shamir prevailed upon Ibn Ziyād to adopt an uncompromising attitude towards al-Ḥusayn; Ibn Ziyād thereupon gave him a letter ordering ʿUmar b. Saʿd to kill al-Ḥusayn should he refuse to submit to Ibn Ziyād's authority, and warning ʿUmar that if he failed to obey this order he would be replaced as commander by Shamir (*ibid.*, ii, 315-6). ʿUmar reluctantly obeyed and put Shamir in charge of the foot-soldiers (al-Balādhurī, iii, 391; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 317). On 9 Muḥarram 61/9 October 680, as ʿUmar was making final preparations to do battle with al-Ḥusayn, Shamir offered a safe-conduct to three (or four) sons of ʿAlī by Umm al-Banīn bt. Ḥizām, who belonged to Shamir's tribe, the Banū Kilāb; the sons rejected the offer, insisting that al-Ḥusayn, too, should be granted safe-conduct (al-Balādhurī, iii, 391; Ibn Aʿtham, iii, 105; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 316-7).

The next morning—the Day of ʿĀshūrāʾ—ʿUmar put Shamir in command of the army's left wing (*ibid.*, ii, 326). Shamir intended to burn down al-Ḥusayn's tent with the women and children inside, but was shamed into withdrawing (*ibid.*, ii, 346-7) and acceded to al-Ḥusayn's request to spare them (al-Balādhurī, iii, 407; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 362). Shamir's role in the death of al-Ḥusayn is disputed in the sources. While some accounts merely refer to his participation in the battle (e.g. Ibn ʿAsākir, xxiii, 186), he is more usually said to have instigated the final assault, while yet other reports explicitly mention him as having killed al-Ḥusayn (al-Wāḳidī, in al-Balādhurī, iii, 418; al-Iṣfahānī, 119; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. ʿA. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 287), as having decapitated his corpse (al-Ṣafadī, xii, 425, xvi, 180), or both (al-Madjlisī, xlv, 56; cf. al-Ṭabrisī, 250). This conflicts with reports that it was Sinān b. Anas al-Nakhaʿī who killed al-Ḥusayn and decapitated his body (Abū Mikhnaf, in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 366), or that Sinān killed him and Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī cut off his head (al-Balādhurī, iii, 418; cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, i, 393). In the *taʿziya* [*q.v.*] passion plays, Shamir is habitually presented as al-Ḥusayn's killer (Chelkowski, 15, 106, 110, 146-7, 159, 165; Ayoub, 127) and as more evil even than Sinān (Virolleaud, 94-5; Chelkowski, 160).

After the battle, Shamir was about to kill al-Ḥusayn's son ʿAlī [see zayn al-ʿābidīn], but was prevented from doing so (Ibn Saʿd, i, 480). Shamir led the Hawāzin, who formed one of the contingents that brought the heads of the fallen warriors to Ibn Ziyād (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 386; Ibn Ṭāwūs, 85); later he accompanied the survivors to Damascus (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 375). An address is preserved in which he recounts to Yazīd the events of Karbalāʾ (al-Dīnawarī, 260-1, cited in D.M. Donaldson, *The Shīʿite religion*, London 1933, 102-3; this same address, however, is also ascribed to Zaḥr b. Ḳays al-Djuʿfī: see al-Ṭabarī, ii, 374-5). Back in al-Kūfa, Shamir is said to have repented of his actions, explaining that he had been duty-bound to obey Ibn Ziyād (al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. ʿA. Muʿawwad and ʿA. ʿAbd al-Mawdjūd, Beirut 1416/1995, iii, 385; cf. Ibn Saʿd, i, 499; Ibn ʿAsākir, xxiii, 189).

In 66/686 Shamir was among the Kūfan *ashrāf* who rose against al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*]. After they had

been defeated at Djabbānat al-Sabīʿ (in al-Kūfa), al-Mukhtār sent his slave Zirbī in pursuit of Shamir, but Shamir attacked and killed him (al-Balādhurī, vi, 407; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 661). Unlike many of the defeated leaders, Shamir did not flee to al-Baṣra, but went to Sādamā/Sātīdamā (apparently between al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra) (al-Dīnawarī, 302; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 662) and then encamped by the village of al-Kaltāniyya (or al-Kalbāniyya) (*ibid.*, ii, 662; Ibn ʿAsākir, xxiii, 191). From there he sent a letter to Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in al-Baṣra. The letter was intercepted by one of Abū ʿAmra's men [see KAYSĀN], and its carrier revealed Shamir's hiding-place, to which cavalrymen were dispatched. Shamir, realising that he was surrounded, tried to fight his way out but was killed by one of the attackers (al-Balādhurī, vi, 407; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 663). According to one report, Abū ʿAmra sent the badly wounded Shamir to al-Mukhtār, who killed him (al-Madjlisī, xlv, 338). Elsewhere Shamir is said to have been killed at al-Madhār (on the Tigris) and his head brought to al-Mukhtār, who sent it on to Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] in Medina (al-Dīnawarī, 305).

Shamir's grandson al-Ṣumayl b. Ḥātim [*q.v.*] played a prominent role in al-Andalus before the establishment there of the Umayyad dynasty.

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(E. KOHLBERG)

AL-**SHARAF**, more exactly Sharaf Ḥadjūr or Sharaf Ḥadjdja, the mediaeval name of a mountainous region of northern Yemen, some 100-120 km/62-75 miles northwest of Ṣanʿāʾ, today called al-Sharafān/al-Sharafayn. The extended forms of the name are to distinguish it from several homonymous al-Sharafs, Ḥadjūr being a tribal name and Ḥadjdja a nearby town. The form al-Sharaf survives today only in the toponym Kuḥlān al-Sharaf, a local town (lat. 16° 02' N. and long. 43° 28' E.) and its district. The dual form appears already in Ayyūbid times, when al-Sharaf al-Asfal and al-Sharaf al-Aʿlā are distinguished (see e.g. G.R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London 1974-8).

The chain of the Djibāl al-Sharafayn reaches an altitude of 2,180 m/7,150 feet, forming an arc overlooking the coastal Tihāma. The massif gives its name to a *ḳaḍāʾ*, with the chef-lieu of al-Maḥābisha in the province (*muḥāfaẓa*) of Ḥadjdja. In the early 1980s, the population of the region was *ca.* 220,000, these being Zaydīs, with the Banu 'l-Sharafī, ʿAlid descendants of the founder of the Zaydī dynasty of Yemen, being the most important lineage there.

Al-Sharaf al-Aʿlā denotes the northern part of al-Sharafān, whereas al-Sharaf al-Asfal denotes the slightly lower, more southern region, although it seems that in the time of al-Hamdānī (4th/10th century), the former denoted another region, that of Sharaf Akyān or Shibām Akyān (modern Shibām Kawkabān), to the southeast (ed. Müller, 107 ll. 17-18, 135 l. 8). The name of al-Sharafān appears very often in the Yemeni chronicles.

In fact, there are numerous al-Sharafs in Yemen, reflecting the term's basic meaning of "eminence, height", hence it is not surprising that Yāḳūt had difficulty distinguishing various homonyms (see Ismāʿīl al-Akwaʿ, *al-Buldān al-yamāniyya ʿind Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī*, Kuwait 1405/1985, 155).

Al-Sharaf does not appear in pre-Islamic inscriptions, but Ḥadjūr is attested once as *Ḥgr Lmd* (Ja 616/25) for a small tribe belonging to the Dawʾat federation confronting the Sabaean king Nashaʾkarib Yuhaʾmin Yuharḥib *ca.* A.D. 260-270 (A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Mahram Bilqîs (Mârib)*, Baltimore 1962, 113-17).

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(CH. ROBIN and AHMAD AL-GHUMARI)

AL-**SHARAF**, the modern Aljarafe, an *iḳlīm* or county situated within the *kūra* or province of Ishbīliyya/Seville in the Gharb of mediaeval al-Andalus. The extent of this *iḳlīm* varies: in al-Rāzī, 7,000 km^2 and in al-Idrīsī, 1,650 km^2. Beginning from the neighbourhood of Seville, it stretched to the limit of the *kūra* of Labla in the Guadiamar or Tinto river valleys.

The Arabic sources describe the richness of its olive trees and the quality of their oil. The Sevillans sold this, after keeping it for two years, not only within the Iberian peninsula but also as far as the Far Maghrib, Egypt and the Atlantic regions of Christian Europe; this was an exceptional case of a specialised culture oriented towards distant markets. The most important writers of agronomy in al-Andalus practiced their skills in al-Sharaf, including Ibn Ḥadjdjādj (5th/11th century), Abu 'l-Khayr (5th-6th/11th-12th centuries) and Ibn al-ʿAwwām (6th-7th/12th-13th centuries).

Within the *kūra* of Ishbīliyya, the link between political authority and the great landowners is clear. The Banu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj and the Banū Khaldūn owned the greater part of the land—according to the Arabic sources, as the result of a marriage between an Arab

chief of the conquest period and Sara the Visigoth—and these two families long governed Seville.

The enemies of the Sevillans on various occasions launched raids which ravaged the *iḳlīm* of al-Sharaf, e.g. the Berbers, during the early part of the *fitna*, Alfonso VI during the reign of al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] and the Portuguese during the Almohad period.

The *iḳlīm* was very densely populated in Hispano-Roman and Islamic times, with al-Idrīsī mentioning a figure of over 800 *kuwar* or villages. In regard to demography, two periods should be distinguished. During the pre-Almohad period (i.e. from the Arab conquest to the second half of the 6th/12th century), al-Sharaf formed, as from Hispano-Roman times onwards, a very populous region with many small villages spread along the watercourses which crossed the region (the Majalberraque and the Repudio). The two *ḥiṣns* at that time were Ḳawra (Coria del Rio) and Ḥiṣn al-Ḳaṣr (Aznalcazar). The function of both was to guard lines of communication, that of the Guadalquivir in the first case, and the Guadiamar in the second, as well as the east-west land routes.

In Almohad times (second half of the 6th/12th century to the mid-7th/13th one), there was a change. The Almohads built two new fortified points, Shalūḳa (Sanlucar la Mayor) after 1189 to defend this region against Portuguese attacks; and Ḥiṣn al-Faradj (San Juan de Aznalfarache) in 1195 as a garrison for the troops of the ruler Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb and to control access to Seville across the Guadalquivir, becoming a royal residence during that caliph's time. The population of the region continued to be densely spread. The territorial limits of the *ḥuṣūn* can be reconstructed thanks to Christian documentation from the post-conquest period. Thus in regard to Ḥiṣn al-Faradj, its territory covered 227.6 km^2 and included 69 *ḳaryas*, whose acreage for olive and fig cultivation is equally known. Cuatrovitas (Bollulos de la Mitacíon) is a remarkable instance; a minaret and many surface archaeological traces, from the Almohad period, can be found.

Of the Andalusī fortifications of al-Sharaf, there are important remains at Sanlucar la Mayor and San Juan de Aznalfarache. Coria has disappeared, and one can only see the *tell* on which the fortress was situated, and at Aznalcázar there are just some traces of the walls and of the town gate.

Bibliography: M. El Faiz, *L'Aljarafe de Seville. Un jardin d'essai pour les agronomes de l'Espagne musulmane*, in *Hésperis-Tamuda*, xxix (1992); M. Valor *et alii*, *Espacio rural y territorio en el-Aljarafe de Sevilla*, in *Asentiamentos rurales y territorio en el mundo mediterráneo, Berja, Almeria, 2-4 November 2000*, Granada 2001.

(M. Valor and J. Ramírez)

SHAʿRĀNIYYA, a mystical brotherhood (*ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*]) whose eponymous master was the Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565 [*q.v.*]).

The Shaʿrāniyya cannot be defined as the branch of an older, original *ṭarīḳa*, since al-Shaʿrānī had several masters, notably those stemming from the Suhrawardiyya [*q.v.*] and Aḥmadiyya; he was, moreover, himself affiliated to twenty-six orders in order to pile up *baraka* [*q.v.*]. Although he was considerably influenced by the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] and although his successors retained clear links with the later manifestation of that order, nothing authorises us to class the Shaʿrāniyya amongst the Egyptian Shadhilī groups (see J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 279).

Starting from the *zāwiya* that had been built for al-Shaʿrānī at the Bāb Shaʿriyya in Cairo, the order was handed down from father to son. Hereditary transmission of the function of *shaykh* was in fact dominant during the Ottoman period. None of the master's successors possessed his spiritual charisma; they were content to manage the order amongst rich notables and to keep up good relations with the ruling classes. Through the prestige of their ancestor, they nevertheless retained an initiatory role until the opening of the 19th century. The historian al-Djabartī [*q.v.*] mentions several *shaykhs* of the order, his own contemporaries, at the end of the 18th century (*ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār fī tarādjim wa 'l-akhbār*, Cairo 1870, i, 364, ii, 213), and Lane makes a brief mention of them (*The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. X "Superstitions").

The Shaʿrāniyya seem to have lost their identity during the course of the 19th century, since ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, our main source for Egyptian Ṣūfism in the later 19th century, does not cite any Ṣūfī order bearing that name in his *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda li-Miṣr al-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1887-9). Another indication of its disappearance at this time is that the Shādhilī *shaykh* and author Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Ḳāwuḳdjī (d. 1305/1888) was the disciple of an ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, who initiated him into the path of his illustrious and hononymous ancestor, but this ʿAbd al-Wahhāb seems to have grown up amongst the Shādhiliyya rather than the Shaʿrāniyya (M. Winter, *Society and religion in early Ottoman Egypt. Studies in the writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1982, 70). However, the anniversary of al-Shaʿrānī's birth (*mawlid*) continued into the 20th century (*ibid.*, 85 n. 111).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(E. Geoffroy)

AL-**SHARTŪNĪ**, Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mīkhāʾīl b. Ilyās b. Yūsuf al-Khūrī (1849-1912), linguist and literary figure of the Arab literary Renaissance (*nahḍa* [*q.v.*]) in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and a good example of the prominent group of vocational intellectuals of this period. Born in Shartūn in Lebanon, he studied under American missionaries before devoting himself to a lifetime of scholarly activities. He taught in Damascus and in the Jesuit schools of Beirut and Cairo, and also worked for many years as a proof reader of Jesuit publications whilst carrying out his intellectual pursuits. Like a number of his contemporaries, he worked for many years as a newspaper editor and contributed articles to respected journals, mainly on linguistic issues. His eclectic interests are reflected further in his involvement in the publication of a number of works on Maronite history. Although most sources concur on the years of his birth and death, variant dates given for the former include 1848 or even 1847, and for the latter as early as 1907.

His principal scholarly interests lay in the fields of *inshāʾ* [*q.v.*] "[the art of] composition, style" through which he is generally held to have been a major influence on a new generation of "stylists"; grammar; and lexicography. Some sources maintain that his most enduring contribution to the Arabic linguistic heritage is his dictionary entitled *Aḳrab al-mawārid fī fuṣaḥ al-ʿarabiyya wa 'l-shawārid* (Beirut 1992, 2 vols., based on ed. Beirut 1889-91, 2 vols., with a supplement in 1893). In this work he sets out to demonstrate the original purity of the Arabic language which, he argues, was being eroded, particularly as a result of the growing influence of foreign languages on Arabic. This was a common, if ultimately unachievable, goal of some scholars of the language at that time who worked

assiduously to prevent it from further degeneration, thus underlining the status of the Arabic language as a form of nationalistic expression. In his dictionary, al-Shartūnī scrutinised closely the content of previous lexicographical works based on the classical sources, claiming that the editors had made errors in their transmission of material from the original manuscripts. In both these regards his scholastic approach to scholarship was no different from the techniques of many of his contemporaries and pre-modern scholars. This work was heavily influenced by the famous dictionary *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* compiled by his friend Buṭrus al-Bustānī [*q.v.*]; e.g. in the simplified presentation of the root entries and the attempts to extract the increasing number of colloquialisms infiltrating the written language. The close friendship between al-Bustānī and al-Shartūnī also manifested itself in the various scholarly and personal disputes that arose between the so-called conservative group of scholars which included al-Shartūnī, al-Bustānī and al-Yāzidjī [*q.v.*], and the reformists such as al-Shidyāḳ [*q.v.*]. Al-Shartūnī also produced an edition of a pre-modern lexicographical work by Saʿīd b. Aws Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 3rd/9th century), *al-Nawādir fī 'l-lugha* (Beirut 1967, repr. with indexes of Beirut 1894 ed.) and a dictionary arranged according to semantic categories entitled *Nadjdat al-yarāʿ fī 'l-lugha* (Beirut 1905, vol. i only). His legacy of stylistic works is contained in three principal publications, two on *inshāʾ* and one on oratory. The pedagogical intent of these works is unequivocal. His *K. al-Muʿīn fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ* (Beirut 1899) is a practical manual for school pupils in which he addresses various aspects of style and composition through a series of chapters in which pupils are required to identify superfluous sentences in a passage or explain underlined words or phrases, for instance. He also gives the outline of a number of scenarios of a practical or moral nature about which the student must write a piece of composition or construct a letter. His other major work on *inshāʾ*, *al-Shihāb al-thāḳib fī ṣināʿat al-kātib* (Beirut 1884), is an extensive collection of model letters on informal and formal subjects in a very similar style to that of many of the works from the pre-modern epistolary genre. His manual on oratory style entitled *al-Ghuṣn al-raṭīb fī fann al-khaṭīb* (Beirut 1908) prescribes the rhetorical, stylistic and structural components of an oration based mainly on the principles of those of the pre-modern period. An interesting feature is the description of metalinguistic elements such as the recommended tone of voice, body language and standing position of the orator. He wrote a more general work on eloquence and style entitled *Maṭāliʿ al-adwāʾ fī manāhidj al-kuttāb wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ* (Beirut 1908), using the question-and-answer technique throughout the book. In the introduction, he states that he wrote it mainly as a reaction to the growing negative influence of foreign languages on Arabic, and out of a desire to clarify and simplify the fundamentals of eloquence and good style. His main work on poetry and prose entitled *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-manthūr wa 'l-manẓūm* was published in Beirut in 1902. On grammar he also wrote works of a practical nature, such as his unpublished eight-volume work for teachers and students on morphology and syntax, and a gloss on Germānūs Farḥāt's [*q.v.*] *Baḥth al-maṭālib*. But his best known published grammatical tract is his *al-Sahm al-ṣāʾib fī takhṭiʾat ghunyat al-ṭālib* (Beirut 1874). This work is a strident refutation of much of al-Shidyāḳ's *Ghunyat al-ṭālib* in which al-Shartūnī employs the polemical technique of some of the grammarians from the pre-modern period.

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(A.J. Gully)

SHATM (a.), an act of insult, vilification, defamation, abuse, or revilement. Other words derived from the Arabic root *sh-t-m* denote mutual vilification (*mushātama, tashātum*), a person who vilifies (*shātim, shattāma*) or who is vilified (*mashtūm, shatīm*) and are often treated as synonymous with corresponding forms of the root *s-b-b* (Lane, iv, 1503).

Shatm and *sabb* as phenomena of ordinary interpersonal relations are described in works of different literary genres. When directed against God, the prophet Muḥammad, other Ḳurʾānic prophets, Muḥammad's Companions, historical personalities or objects venerated by the Muslim community or by different groups within this community, *shatm* is considered as an act of blasphemy and unbelief (*kufr*) which may entail legal prosecution. Other terms that are used less frequently in order to describe particular acts of blasphemy and that can be treated as synonymous with *shatm* in a broader sense are *laʿn* (cursing, malediction), *ṭaʿn* (accusing, attacking), *īdhāʾ* (harming, hurting), or the verb *nāla* with the preposition *min* (to do harm to somebody, to defame).

As a punishable act, religiously motivated insult is a subject of Islamic legal literature. However, there is no occurrence of the term *shatm* or other words that are derived from the root *sh-t-m* in the primary material source of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiḳh*), i.e. the Ḳurʾān. The act of insult is described in the Holy Book by a word derived from the root *s-b-b* in one verse, namely, sūra VI, 108: *wa-lā tasubbū al-ladhīna yadʿūna min dūni Allāhi fa-yasubbū Allāha ʿadwan bi-ghayri ʿilmin* "abuse not those to whom they pray, apart from God, or they will abuse God in revenge without knowledge". Here, the Muslims are told not to abuse the idols that are venerated by the polytheists. Further, it is implied that those who insult God in this manner are acting out of ignorance. In IX, 12, the verb *ṭaʿana* describes revilement of the Muslim faith as an act of the polytheists, and the Muslims are urged to fight their, i.e. the polytheists', leaders. The six canonical *ḥadīth* collections refer to offences of insult and blasphemy described as *shatm* or *sabb* on several occasions. An episode contained in a *ḥadīth* collection that does not belong to the canonical books but is regarded as the literary foundation of one of the Sunnī *madhhabs* sc. Ibn Ḥanbal's (d. 241/855) *Musnad* (Cairo 1913, ii, 436), reports a case in which Abū Bakr, the first caliph and one of Muḥammad's close Companions (*ṣaḥāba*), is insulted by an unidentified person in the presence of the Prophet. Abū Bakr is surprised by the Prophet's behaviour, since Muḥammad fails to defend him against the stranger's abuse and, at one point, appears to be amazed and smiles without any discernible reason. When Abū Bakr begins to return

the abuse, Muḥammad becomes angry and, eventually, springs to his feet. After the dispute has finished, Abū Bakr asks Muḥammad why he did not support him, but instead became angry when he, Abū Bakr, attempted to defend himself. Muḥammad replies that an angel had been with Abū Bakr replying in the latter's place. But when Abū Bakr returned some of the abominable words to his adversary the devil entered the scene and he, Muḥammad, was unable to remain in a place where the devil is present. This episode from Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, like other similar passages in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections, suggests that the vilification of the Prophet or his Companions was considered intolerable and therefore forbidden by some of the religious scholars at the time when the respective *ḥadīth* books were compiled. This impression is corroborated by a report describing possible legal consequences of insulting the Prophet Muḥammad (*sabb al-rasūl*) in the 2nd/8th century. According to this report, a certain Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Ḥassān al-Urdunnī was executed in 153/770, in all probability because he had supplemented the *ḥadīth* "I am the seal of the prophets; there will not be any Prophet after me" with the phrase "if God does not intend otherwise"—an addition that, apparently, was considered blasphemous by the scholarly and political authorities at that time (J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin 1991, i, 136-7). However, the extent to which these *ḥadīths* reflect theological disputes about the role of the Prophet and his Companions in the first two centuries of Islam still remains to be analysed in depth.

In any case, early legal literature confirms the assumption that blasphemy against the Prophet Muḥammad was regarded an intolerable act in the 2nd/8th century. The chapter on *al-muḥāraba* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb's (d. 197/812) *Muwaṭṭaʾ* contains a paragraph on the blasphemer in which the one who insults (*sabb*) the Prophet Muḥammad is threatened with the death penalty. Ibn Wahb states that Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) held the opinion that a blasphemer against Muḥammad, be he Christian or Muslim, must not be granted repentance. In the same passage, the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (*r.* 101-4/717-20) is reported as having stated that the vilification of Muḥammad, but not of any other person, is to be punished (M. Muranyi, *ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (125/743-197/812). Leben und Werk. Al-Muwaṭṭaʾ. Kitāb al-muḥāraba*, Wiesbaden 1992, 287-8). However, a 3rd/9th-century legal manual, the *ʿUtbiyya* by the Mālikī *faḳīh* Muḥammad al-ʿUtbī (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]), mentions blasphemy against Muḥammad's Companions as a punishable act (*al-ʿUtbiyya*, printed with Ibn Rushd, *al-Bayān wa 'l-taḥṣīl*, Beirut 1986, xvi, 420). Also, an opinion ascribed to the Ḥanafī legist al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933 [*q.v.*]) suggests that hatred of the Companions (*bughḍ al-ṣaḥāba*) indicates unbelief (al-Subkī, *al-Fatāwā*, Beirut n.d., ii, 590).

It has been observed that blasphemy against God, the Prophet Muḥammad, and his Companions, when committed by a Muslim, was discussed by the legal scholars in the context of apostasy (*ridda*) and unbelief (*kufr*), that is, of two matters that were regarded to warrant capital punishment under certain circumstances. However, in the relevant chapters of the formative texts of the *madhhabs*, insulting the Prophet or the *ṣaḥāba* is not mentioned among the punishable acts that constitute *ridda* or *kufr*. Neither in Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, nor in Saḥnūn's (d. 240/854) *Mudawwana*, nor in al-Shāfiʿī's (d. 204/820) *al-Umm*, nor in al-Shaybānī's (189/805) *Kitāb al-Aṣl*, is *sabb al-rasūl* or *sabb al-ṣaḥāba* listed as an offence tantamount to *ridda*. However, from information on legal practice in the 3rd/9th century it may be inferred that the opinion that *sabb al-ṣaḥāba* must entail certain legal consequences was held by particular functionaries. A biographical note on al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn, a Mālikī jurist who took over the judgeship of Egypt in 237/854, informs us that during his tenure capital punishment (*ḥadd*) was enforced against a person who had insulted Muḥammad's wife ʿĀʾisha (al-Kindī, *The governors and judges of Egypt or Kitāb el ʿUmarāʾ (el Wulāh wa Kitāb el Quḍāh of el Kindī)*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden 1912, 469-70). The awareness of insulting the Prophet or his Companions as an offence for which a penalty must be established by the law appears to have become stronger about the end of the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th centuries. While al-Muzanī (d. 264/878), like his master al-Shāfiʿī, does not mention the blasphemer against God, His Prophet, or the Prophet's Companions among those who apostatise from Islam (*murtadd*), his fellow Shāfiʿī, Ibn al-Mundhir (d. 318/930) briefly discusses insult against the Prophet Muḥammad in the chapter on the apostate in his book on consensus, *idjmāʿ*. The Muslim scholars, Ibn al-Mundhir states, are in agreement that the one who insults the Prophet should be put to death (*al-Idjmāʿ*, ed. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Muʾmin Aḥmad, Ḳaṭar 1402/1982, 122). A later work of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, al-Nawawī's (d. 676/1276) *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn*, counts the blasphemer against any Prophet (not only Muḥammad) among the apostates (ed. L.W.C. van den Berg, Batavia 1889-91, iii, 205). Yet al-Nawawī, like some of his later commentators, does not discuss insulting Muḥammad's Companions in the chapter on *ridda*. However, the 11th/17th-century *faḳīh* Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḳalyūbī (d. 1069/1658) again explicitly includes insulting the Prophet's Companions in the chapter on *ridda*. Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī (d. 1004/1596) underscores the fact that a person who claims that there are prophets after Muḥammad is classified as *kāfir* (*Nihāyat al-muḥtādj ilā maʿrifat al-Minhādj*, Cairo 1938, vii, 395). But whereas the Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* al-Shirbīnī (977/1570) counts those who brand the *ṣaḥāba* as infidels among the unbelievers (*Mughnī al-muḥtādj*, Cairo 1933, ii, 125), al-Ramlī does not mention blasphemy against the *ṣaḥāba* among acts that constitute *kufr*. Again, al-Ramlī's 11th/17th-century commentator, Nūr al-Dīn al-Shabrāmallisī (d. 1096/1685), treats blasphemy against the Companions as an act of *kufr*.

Altogether it may be said that, at the latest since the 7th/13th century, insult against the Prophet(s) is often mentioned among the acts that constitute *kufr* in the chapters on apostasy (*ridda*) of the Shāfiʿī manuals of positive law (*furūʿ*). Insult against the *ṣaḥāba*, however, is mentioned only occasionally and apparently only in manuals written from the 11th/17th century onwards in the chapters on *ridda*. However, the veneration of the *ṣaḥāba* and the inadmissibility of insulting them had become a salient point of *idjmāʿ* among Sunnī jurists by the 8th/14th century. As the majority of the legal manuals quoted above contain a paragraph that declares that the one who violates the consensus of the Muslim community (*idjmāʿ al-umma*) is a *kāfir*, the charge of unbelief can be extended to include those who insult the Prophet's Companions. A reading of historiographical works suggests that this conclusion had an impact also on the relation between Sunnī and Shīʿī Muslims. For example, Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) reports in his *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya* (Beirut 1977, xiv, 250) the case of a Shīʿī Muslim from the town of Ḥilla, who in Damascus in 755/1354

insulted some of the Prophet's closest companions like Abū Bakr, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān as violators of the rights of the Prophet's descendants. When he refused to revoke his blasphemous attacks against these *ṣaḥāba*, his case was presented to the chief judges of the four Sunnī *madhhab*s in the *Dār al-saʿāda*. As a result of this session, the blasphemer was sentenced to death by the Mālikī deputy chief judge (*al-nāʾib al-mālikī*) and executed immediately after judgement had been issued. His body was burnt by the plebs of Damascus who later walked through the city showing his head and exclaiming that this would be the punishment of the one who abuses the Companions of the Prophet. A closer look at the religio-political situation of 8th/14th-century Egypt and Syria suggests that insult against the Prophet's Companions or even against the Prophet Muḥammad himself, on the part of some Shīʿīs, or accusations brought forward by the Sunnīs against alleged Shīʿī blasphemers, are an expression of the strong Shīʿī-Sunnī hostilities at that time.

The offence of insult against the Prophet and his Companions continues to be an issue of legal debate and political discourse in Islamic societies until the present time. The controversy on Salman Rushdie's novel *The Satanic verses* has been the most prominent among a number of cases in which Islamic communities and their leaders have reacted to acts that were conceived of as an insult against Muḥammad and other venerated personalities. As has been shown, the legal foundations for this reaction date back to the 2nd/8th century.

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(L. Wiederhold)

SHAYKHZĀDE II [see sheykh-zāde. 3].

SHIʿR.

5. In Malay and in Indonesian.

In line with their strong preference for theology and Ṣūfī mysticism over literature and philology, the interest of the Muslims of the Malay-Indonesian world in Arabo-Persian *shiʿr* has been predominantly drawn by religious poetry as found in the Arabic *ḳaṣīda* and its derivative verse forms. It was initially mainly in the north Sumatran kingdom of Aceh [see atjeh]—in the early 17th century the dominant power in the region around the Straits of Malacca and an important centre of Islamic learning—that this religious poetry was closely studied (Braginsky 1996, 372-3) and it was there that most local forms of Islamic poetry were developed under its influence, subsequently to spread among the Muslim communities of the Archipelago.

A case in point is the genre of Malay poetry, called *nazam* (from the Arabic synonym for *shiʿr*, *naẓm*). It consists of a long sequence of couplets (*bayt* [*q.v.*]) comprising two hemistiches, each usually numbering from nine or ten up to twelve syllables, that rhyme with each other on one of the following patterns: (a) *aa, bb, cc . . .*; (b), *aa, aa, aa . . .*; (c) *aa, ba, ca . . .* Couplets rhyming *ab, ab* are rare. The oldest specimens of *nazam*, teaching good rulership, are found in the Mirror for Princes, *Tādj al-salāṭīn* (1012/1603-4) by the Acehnese *ʿālim* Bukhārī al-Djawharī (Braginsky 2000, 183-209). Some of these (pattern [a]) are modelled on the Persian *mathnawī* [*q.v.*], while others (pattern [b]) resemble the poetry of Arabic versified treatises of scholarly or religious content (*urdjūza* [see radjaz]), whereas still others (pattern[c]) imitate the Arabic *ḳaṣīda* or *ghazal* [*q.vv.*] with its monorhyme (Braginsky 1996, 377-80).

Malay *nazam*, containing religious teachings, praise of the Prophet and suchlike, have subsequently continued to be written. In Malaysia and Indonesia they are sung (*nashīd* [*q.v.*]) as a monotone or with varied melodies on a variety of occasions, alongside *ḳaṣīda*s in Arabic: in religious schools as a means of memorising the basic tenets of Islam; at weddings; after the completion of studies of the Ḳurʾān [see mawlid]; at Mawlūd celebrations, etc. Arabo-Malay or purely Malay *nazam* are also sung at *berdikir* gatherings (Malay, from Arabic *dhikr* [*q.v.*]) to various melodies and rhythms, accompanied by instrumental music and bodily movements (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 282-309).

In 18th and 19th century Aceh, a genre of Acehnese literature called *nalam* was practised, which, like the Malay *nazam*, was probably also created using partly Arabic *urdjūza*, partly *ḳaṣīda* as a model. Although the *nalam*'s verse line seems to be patterned on the Arabic *radjaz* and *ṭawīl* [*q.vv.*] metres, it has remained closely tied to indigenous conventions. According to the demands of its metre (*sanja*, from Arabic *sadjʿ* [*q.v.*]), it usually comprises two hemistiches and numbers sixteen metric units of one to three syllables each, the latter being arranged to form eight feet of a sort. The fourth foot, that is, the last foot of the first hemistich, is connected by a compulsory internal rhyme to the sixth foot, that is, the second foot of the second hemistich, while all lines have an external monorhyme represented by words ending with the vowel *a*. Thus the *rajat* (from the Arabic *radjaz*) metre of the *nalam* is an eight-foot modification of the *sanja* metre and its *tawi* (from the Arabic *ṭawīl*) metre, one with nine feet (Snouck Hurgronje, ii, 1906, 73-8; Djajadiningrat, ii, 1934, 279, 462, 664, 988).

The most important new genre of poetry to emerge in the early 17th century Malay literature is the *syair* (in the Malay version of the Arabic script, Jawi, this word is usually written *sh-y-ʿ-r* but sometimes *sh-ʿ-r*). The *syair* consists of a chain of quatrains, each of them with monorhyme of the type *aaaa, bbbb, cccc . . .* The metre of its lines, which tend to comprise four full words of a length of two to three syllables including their bound morphemes, is based on a relative tendency towards isosyllabism. Each line may contain between nine to twelve syllables, a ten-syllable line being the dominant tendency, and is divided by a caesura into two roughly equal hemistiches that tend to form complete syntactic units (Braginsky 1998, 225-6). The following sample is from the poetry of the

Acehnese Ṣūfī mystic Ḥamza Fanṣūrī [*q.v.*] (active *ca.* 1600), who is now generally accepted to have created the genre: "Baḥr al-Ḥaḳḳ terlalu *dalam* / ombaknya menjadi *ʿālam* / aṣalnya tiada bersiang *malam* / di laut itu ʿālam nin *karam* // Dengarkan hai anak *dagang* / lautnya tiada bersurut *pasang* / muaranya tiada bersawang-*sawang* / banyaklah orang sana ter*karang*" (Drewes and Brakel 1986, 134) ("The Sea of the Truth is immensely deep, / The world has sprung from Its waves, / Its beginning is foreign to day and to night, / And the world will sink again in that Sea. / /Hear ye, oh wanderer, / There is neither ebb nor flow in that Sea, / You won't see the sky in the mouth of Its rivers, / There many sailors have been stranded on the reefs.")

There are different opinions on the origin of the *syair* (Teeuw 1966; Al-Attas 1968; Sweeney 1971). According to the argument of Braginsky (1996, 383-7), if it is correct to read a corrupt passage describing the *syair* in Ḥamza Fanṣūrī's treatise *Asrār al-ʿārifīn* ("Secret of the Gnostics") (Doorenbos 1933, 120-1) as saying that in each of its *bayt*s four *sadj*ʿ are used, this indicates that Ḥamza may well in part have modelled it on a variety of *ḳaṣīda* or *ghazal*, widespread in Persian, Ottoman and Urdu Ṣūfī poetry, which is called *musammaṭ* [*q.v.*] or *shiʿr-i musadjdjaʿ* in Persian poetics (Tabrīzī 1959, 128). Because in the classical *musammaṭ*, as written, for instance, by ʿIrāḳī and Djāmī [*q.vv.*], a *bayt* is divided into four lines with *sadj*ʿ placed at the end of the first three lines and a monorhyme (*ḳāfiya* [*q.v.*]) in the fourth, Ḥamza here probably meant to say that, differing from the classical *musammaṭ*, he had made use of one and the same *sadj*ʿ in all four lines, doing away with the final monorhyme, a feature that was hard to assimilate in Malay literature. A poem of this type was written by the 11th century Persian poet Manūčihrī [*q.v.*] (Browne, *LHP*, ii, 42). Perhaps because the four-line *musammaṭ* was known as *murabbaʿ* ("four-fold"), Ḥamza's followers called his poems *rubāʿ* (with the same meaning). Consisting of a chain of between thirteen to twenty stanzas and ending with mentioning his name, Ḥamza's *syair*s resemble the *ghazal* "with *sadj*ʿ", with its chain of between four and fifteen stanzas, which since the time of ʿAṭṭār (d. *ca* 627/1230 [*q.v.*]) ends with the writer's *takhalluṣ* [*q.v.*] or pen-name.

Ḥamza's *syair*s lack any traces of Arabo-Persian metrics (*ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*]). They manifest their relation to indigenous Malay poetry, *inter alia* in the use of a specific "interrupted" or "assonanced" rhyme (see the italicised rhyme words in the sample above) and the similarity to the "tirade poem", a verse form widely used in popular poetry of the Archipelago. Like in Old French and Turkic epic "tirades" or in the *sadj*ʿ of the Ḳurʾān, the individual verse lines in Malay-Indonesian "tirade poems" are united, by continuous rhyme or assonances, into groups of varying lengths. Therefore Ḥamza's *syair bayt*s may be viewed as a regularisation of the loosely structured "tirade poems" into a chain of quatrains, each having its own continuous rhyme, through adopting features of *ghazal* with the non-classical *shiʿr-i musadjdjaʿ* (Braginsky 1998, 229-31).

After Ḥamza Fanṣūrī and his followers, such as Ḥasan Fanṣūrī and ʿAbd al-Djamāl, had in the 17th century popularised the *syair* as an instrument for Ṣūfī homiletics and allegory, it spread rapidly through the Archipelago wherever Malay literature was produced. Developing into a poem that could attain a length of thousands of quatrains, by the late 18th and the early 19th centuries it had become a verse form covering a wide range of topics, as can be gleaned from the catalogues of the collections of Malay manuscripts (Chambert-Loir and Oman Fathurahman 1999). It could now teach Islamic dogma, instruct the reader about how to perform his prayers or admonish him of the terrors that could await him in the grave. It could tell of the lives of Muslim prophets, of historical events such as wars with the Dutch, of fictional loves between princes and princesses in the days of yore or, in parodied romance, between animals or flowers, and it could aim the barb of satire at historical or political events in allegorical animal fables (Braginsky, 1998, 236; Harun Mat Piah 1989, 243-66; Koster 1997).

In the transition of Malay literature to modernity that began to manifest itself in the major colonial cities of the Archipelago beween 1850 and 1870, concomitant with the rise of the printing press and the newspaper, the *syair* was enthusiastically taken up by non-Muslim writers as well (ethnic Chinese and Eurasians) and was published in profuse numbers, in lithographs, printed booklets and newspapers. At the same time, it underwent yet another widening of its thematic scope, treating, for instance, sensational events, as it adapted itself to its urban milieu and usage (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 262-4; Lombard-Salmon 1977, *passim*; Salmon 1981, 25-6 and *passim*; Proudfoot 1993).

In the love stories in the early novels of Modern Indonesian and Malay literature written around 1920, *syairs* were inserted at moments of climax, and both literatures used them for lyric (sometimes nationalistic) poetry, in Indonesia until about 1930 and in Malaya until about 1950 (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 260-1; Johan Jaafar *et al.* 1992, i, 67-83, ii, 58-60; Teeuw 1967, 49-51). In the modern poetry of the Malay-Indonesian world, except that of the Sultanate of Brunei (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 258), there is now no longer any place for the *syair*, but its place as an Islamic genre of poetry is still acknowledged; among the Malays, *syairs* continue to be performed at important religious feasts and events in the Islamic lifecycle alongside *ḳaṣīda*s in Arabic and *naẓam* (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 266-82).

On Java's northern coast and in east Java, in particular in Ponorogo which is well known for its religious schools, a form of Islamic poetry is found called *singir* or *geguritan*, treating themes similar to those of religious *syairs*. To what extent this genre can be related to Arabo-Persian *shiʿr* is still an open question. Like the *syair*, it consists of verse lines of between eight to ten syllables in length. These may be grouped into rhyming couplets or, as in the *syair*, into quatrains, but may also be arranged into groups of variable lengths as in "tirade poems". The *singir* is performed by singers to the accompaniment of musical instruments (*angklung, terbang*) (Darnawi 1964, 53-4; Pigeaud 1938, 304, 321).

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(V.I. Braginsky and G.L. Koster)

SHŪRĀ-yi DEWLET [see madjlis al-shūrā].

SĪBA, Bilād al-, a term borrowed from local speech by the French colonial authorities to designate the absence of control by the Sultan of Morocco over a considerable part of his territory at the end of the 19th century. It presupposes a congenital disorder threatening the existence of the "auspicious empire". The origins of the term go back to explorers like Charles de Foucauld, academic professors like Alfred Le Chatelier and Augustin Bernard, and military men like Lyautey, eager to conquer Morocco from the contiguous French territory of Algeria. It forms the concept behind the Comité du Maroc, a lobby operating at a level below the decision makers in Paris with the idea of extending French power over the land, given shape in the Protectorate of 30 March 1912. These experts put together an imagery based on a dichotomy between the Bilād al-sība and the Bilād al-makhzan [see makhzan]. The former was a land outside the authority of the Sultan, hence free from taxes and conscription, whose people lived in an insolent, free fashion impervious to all outside influences. The latter was the land over which government authority levied taxes in an iniquitous fashion and recruited tribal militias, driving rural society into a state of non-submission, *sība*.

Colonial terminology equated the antagonistic dichotomy of the two terms with a semi-racial cleavage, setting the autochthnous Berbers against the Arab invaders, who imposed themselves on a refractory indigenous element. The Berbers lived under customary law, *ʿurf*, whilst the Arabs were subject to the *Sharīʿa*, an expression of Muslim theocracy and a pliant system under the Sultans' despotism which the Berbers continuously rejected. It was postulated that the Berbers were spirits basically inspired by laicity under their Islamic coating and that they had attained a form of republican local democracy in their strongholds of mountain towns and regions. This vision of Morocco gave further life to the Kabyle myth so active in the constituting of French Algeria and converged on a policy of separating the Berbers, the "good savages", in their mountain retreats, from the Arabic-speaking peoples of the plains and the great Muslim cities, as illustrated in the famous Berber *dahir* of 1930 [see ẓahīr], which did much do crystallise national sentiment in Morocco.

The Bilād al-sība rightly appeared to post-colonial Moroccan historians as a fantastic intellectual construction meant exclusively to bolster the Berber policy of the French Protectorate. However, the term appears, if only rarely, in the correspondence of the Makhzan in the 19th century, for stigmatising local tribal groups hostile to all the local authorities (*kāʾid, mukaddim, zāwiya* and *kabīr* over tribal sections) who tended to interpose themselves between the Makhzan and the segmentary base of society. In fact, the term Bilād al-sība is an ancient one going back to early times, and its usage, current in al-Andalus from the 11th century onwards, became generalised in the vocabulary of Maghribī *ʿulamāʾ* from the 15th century onwards for condemning the backward rural areas living in a state close to *djāhiliyya* since they ignored injunctions of the *Sharīʿa* and transgressed the prescriptions of *fikh*.

These Maghribī scholars were correctly following the original sense of the term *sāʾiba*, one which denoted, within a semantic and spatial complex, successively: a beast brought out of the herd for offering to the gods of ancient Arabia; a freed slave, but one foot-loose and without a patron in early Islam; by extension, a woman left to herself, a rebel or a prostitute; the breaking of allegiance to a sovereign and, from that time onwards, the territory where this dissidence was rife, when the term passed from the East to the West via al-Andalus. *Bilād sāʾiba* appears, probably for the first time, in a commentary of Mālikī law on Saḥnūn's *Mudawwana* by Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī (d. 430/1039), a scholar of Moroccan origin settled in Ḳayrawān.

The Term Bilād al-sība was never, however, used by those Maghribīs to whom it applied. Most of these were vacillating and uncontrolled subjects. They were vacillating because they oscillated between rallying to the sovereign and rejecting the central power's local agents, between being dogs and wolves, when they could not be sheepdogs, to use Ernest Gellner's metaphor. They were uncontrolled, as the maxim in the Tunisian Djerīd says, *lā bayy, lā rayy*. They feared subjection to the central power which would entail their being shorn like sheep by its local agents. This is why, except for some islands in the mountains and along the Sub-Saharan fringes, the Bilād al-sība never corresponded to a fixed territorial entity which could raise up a lasting counter-force able to divide up the area over which three powers claimed control since the 16th century. In a certain way, the Bilād al-sība was everywhere, as appeared from the difficulty of travelling without a safe-conduct negotiated with the tribal peoples. It insinuated itself over almost all the territory through the institution of the *maḥalla* [*q.v.*], a splendour which inspired local riches but also redistributed them, in such a way that all the prince's subjects were in a relationship, more or less asymmetrical according to place and time, with the sovereign and his local representatives. In practice, when it became a concrete entity, the Bilād al-sība was sought after for bringing to heel the Bilād al-makhzan. Some rebellious tribes acted as guard dogs over the tribes which had submitted, showing how far they were

integrated in a unified system personified by a Bey in the Ottoman Maghrib, and by the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, in Morocco.

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ṢIḤĀFA.

4. Persia.

During the century and a half of its existence, the Iranian press has experienced several periods of expansion and contraction. From 1851 to 1880 the press had only a limited audience, as it was meant only for civil servants. In all, some seven newspapers (*rūznāma-hā*) were published. From 1880 to 1906, the press began publishing for all Persians, although few could afford a newspaper. By the end of the century almost forty newspapers and journals had been published. From 1906 to 1925 the number of newspapers grew enormously and editors were able to influence the course of events in the country. During the period 1925-41, the press was reduced to an instrument in the hands of a strong authoritarian state. The period 1941-53 marked the country's return to a free and expanding press. From 1953 to 1977 the press was basically muzzled; after 1965 it became a cheerleader for the régime. From 1978 to the present the press experienced, first, four years of freedom, followed by the severest censorship it had ever known. Since 1998, however, the press has become more expansive and is trying to become a free agent of change.

The first Persian newspaper, *Akhbār-i Wakāyiʿ*, was published in Muḥarram 1253/April-May 1837 in Tehran (*JRAS*, v [1839], 355-71), but it lasted less than two years. It was only in February 1851 that a new government weekly newspaper, *Wakāyiʿ-i Ittifākiyya*, was published. The stated purpose of the newspaper was to explain government activities. By royal order, all leading government bureaucrats had to subscribe to the newspapers. From 1871, the press was under the control of the newly-created Ministry of the Press with its censorship office. The rationale for censorship was published in issue 522 (22 December 1863) of the government newspaper *Dawlat-i ʿĀliya-yi Īrān*, sc. to bar publications harmful to infants and contrary to religion. The text was addressed not to readers but to listeners, which confirms what Eichwald noted in 1826, sc. that literature or news was read out loudly for the entire community (E. Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Caucasus unternommen in den Jahren 1825-1826*, 2 vols., Stuttgart und Tübingen 1834, i, 384). Given the very low level of literacy (about 5%), this is understandable, and confirms that the actual readership of the newspapers was much larger than the number of subscribers. The "journalists" were civil servants reporting on non-controversial and approved events (government, religion, foreign, literature, science). After 1880, political reformists started to publish newspapers but to avoid the censors they printed their papers outside Iran. Once published, they smuggled them into Iran. These newspapers published abroad had an enormous influence inside Iran and on the reformist movement.

After 1896 censorship was reduced, although the restrictive press rules (to inhibit things harmful to morality and the state) were repeated in 1901, when the government at the same time banned the importation of all Persian newspapers published abroad. With the establishment of the constitutional government in 1906 [see dustūr. iv. Iran] the press was basically free (art. 20 of the 1906 Constitution). In 1907, there were some 84 newspapers, whereas only 40 in all had been published prior to that date. During this period of intermittent press freedom in Iran (1896-1925), political activity merged with journalistic vocation. The various interest groups, which soon developed into parties, defined a number of emerging social themes and political ideas, which they explained and propagated in the editorials of various journals. Thus the often fiery editorial page of most journals became the main battleground for the opposing schools of thought. With the suppression of parliament in 1908, Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] also suppressed the press, and its leading members were imprisoned and some executed. After the overthrow of the Shāh in 1909, the press started a new life. This period was the coming of age of the press, and representatives from left and right of the spectrum were to be found. Until the First World War, a total of 371 newspapers and journals were published. During the First World War the Allies often suppressed the press, because of its wide use of slander and invective. After 1918, the press resurged, but in the early 1920s, government pressure on the media intensified. Riḍā Khān, the Minister of War, had a journalist flogged, while the outspoken poet-journalist ʿIshḳī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was killed in 1924, allegedly by the authorities. One year later, the Pahlavī régime was established, which did not allow any discussion of political subjects, and certainly not criticism of government. The number of newspapers dropped from 150 to 50 between 1925 and 1941. They served to propagate the government's programmes and were censored by the Department of Press and Propaganda prior to publication.

After the fall of Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] (1941), the press was controlled by the Allies (1941-6) and by martial law (1941-8), although there was considerable freedom of expression. The Allies, as well as national interest groups, wanted certain positions taken, and thus editorials were again mostly marked by their extremely partisan tones and aggressive styles. Most newspapers were small, limited in circulation, and short-lived. The journalist (*rūznāma-niwīs*, *rūznāma-nigār*) was usually both editor and publisher. The topics were mainly analysis and criticism of personalities in public life, and discussion of contemporary social-economic-political problems. Although nobody wanted censorship or banning of newspapers, both methods were used, for the new 1941 Press Law could not rein in excessive vituperation in the press. However, suppressed papers would often immediately reappear under the name of a legally-licensed other periodical. Attempts to bring about a more responsible press failed, because often financing of papers was provided to attack certain political issues (blackmail of politicians; subsidies from foreign powers). The strongest group was the pro-Soviet Tudeh (*Tūda*) press that formed the Freedom

Front in 1943. There also was a pro-British, nationalist coalition of papers, and some independents. The suppression of separatist movements in Ādharbāydjān and Kurdistān in 1946 led to a clamp-down on the local language press. This had a negative impact on the journalistic role of Tabrīz that had been in the forefront from the beginning.

In the first few years after the fall of Muṣaddiḳ's [*q.v.*] government (1953), which had widespread press support, press restrictions were mainly imposed through the application of martial law. Later, the responsibility for enforcing censorship was divided between the Ministry of Information and the Ministry of Culture, together with the newly-founded security agency, SAVAK. The usual grounds for suspension were: slander of the monarchy, or of relations of Iran with friendly countries, and inflammatory articles against the government or religion. These were incorporated into the 1955 Press Law. In this period of extended press censorship and government control, the tone and style of editorial writing underwent considerable change towards blandness and conformity to what was tolerated, and often government-designed norms of political, cultural and social expression. In March 1963, the Press Law was amended. It formulated the criteria for persons who could obtain a license to publish and it limited the number of periodicals; the grounds for suppressing newspapers remained the same.

Most papers had serious financial difficulties due to low circulation, except for a few large ones. In 1963, *Kayhān* and *Iṭṭilāʿāt* accounted for 65% of newspaper circulation. Five magazines accounted for more than 50% of total magazine circulation. Because of financial pressure (rising cost, falling revenues, competition from radio and TV), newspapers accepted government-written articles. Consequently, the quality of the newspapers was bad, in part because there was a shortage of staff, which was lowly paid. Papers used "scissor editors" to cut articles from other newspapers. Also, they used translators to translate foreign articles, so that there was often more news on foreign countries than on Iran. Specialised publications, such as literary and humorous ones, also depended much on donations and government articles to survive. Hence papers improved their appearance rather than their substance. This in turn led to loss of readership, due to mistrust of government propaganda, irrelevance of foreign news, and the ignoring of what most concerned people's daily lives. The two major dailies, along with some quality periodicals, created and supported a class of professional journalists who challenged the government by focusing on failures and shortcomings in regard to what government had promised to deliver. In response to criticism from the government to encourage better reporting and tell the "truth", the papers reacted by telling the government, as the major newsmakers, to provide more, better, and timely information, to allow better and freer contacts with government agencies, and to respect the letter and spirit of the Press Law.

After the fall of the Pahlavī régime in 1979, more than two hundred periodicals were published whose variety and number were unprecedented in the modern history of Iran. Press freedom was, however, short-lived. Soon the country's ruling clergy ordered the closure of more than twenty publications, and more followed later, despite the 1985 Press Law that banned censorship. Art. 4 defined the press limits, including, slander of the Leader and *ʿulamāʾ*, inflammatory articles against the government or religion, and reporting on classified information on the military and parliament. Only two unions are officially recognised, the Islamic Society of Journalists and the Professional Society of Journalists, belonging to hardliners and the Islamic reformist factions respectively. The Iranian press under President Khātamī (since 1997) is freer than it has been in many years and political journalism is flourishing. The struggle between the conservatives and those who favour greater press freedom has become a major issue in Iran, resulting in banning of newspapers and jailing of journalists. Following the 1999 student uprising, parliament passed new laws banning any publication other than those specifically sanctioned, holding the licensee, editors, writers and even typists directly responsible for any unauthorised article or publication.

From 1956, a School of Journalism offered a four-year B.A. course. In 1960, an advanced course was added. There were 137 graduates in 1969, when Tehran University announced that it would close the school. The two major dailies also offered courses on journalism in the 1960s. The major papers also started to hire more qualified, academically trained staff. Although the Universities again offer Journalism as a subject for study, its effect is minimal. Since 1966, about 900 people have graduated from journalism courses in Iranian universities, of whom 93% are not working for the press. Although 68% of current journalists have a university education, only 4.6% have received academic education in communications.

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(W. Floor)

5. Turkey.

(a) Up to *ca.* 1960 [see ḎJARĪDA. iii].

(b) Since the 1960s.

The 1960s

The military take-over of 27 May 1960 put an end to the period when freedom of the press had been seriously threatened in Turkey due to the increasingly repressive policy of the *Demokrat Parti* [*q.v.*] (DP). For the most part the Turkish press welcomed the *coup* and the resultant "Government of National Unity" (*Millî Birlik Hükûmeti*). The Constitution of 1961 (articles 22-7) guaranteed freedom of the press, and laws restricting it were abolished. A new press law assured

the rights of journalists in their working place, much to the chagrin of certain newspaper barons. The restrictive Penal Code remained in force. The "Press Advertising Organisation" (*Basın İlân Kurumu*) was established in 1961 for the purpose of an impartial distribution of advertisements from public institutions and organisations. The Turkish press decided to institute a system of self-control: a code of press ethics (*Basın ahlâk yasası*) was signed by all major newspapers.

The principal successor to the DP, the "Justice Party" (*Adalet Partisi*: AP), which won the general elections of 1965 and remained in power until the *muhtıra* of 1971 (see below), remained tolerant towards the press. The leftist press, often supporting the newly-founded "Labour Party of Turkey" (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*; TİP), flourished during the 1960s in a hitherto unknown way: the weekly *Yön* (1961-7) founded by Doğan Avcıoğlu (1926-83), was one of the most discussed periodicals in Turkey for a while. It was followed by *Ant* (1967-71), and *Devrim* (1969-71) (see on these J.M. Landau, *Radical politics in modern Turkey*, Leiden 1974, 49-87). Among the newly-founded papers of the 1960s, the *Yeni Gazete* (1964-71) was the first daily paper printed in the offset technique. Another new type of paper for Turkey was the tabloid (*bulvar gazetesi*) *Günaydın*, founded in November 1968 by Haldun Simavi. Among its editorialists (*köşe yazarları*) was Aziz Nesin (1916-95) who also edited its weekly humoristic supplement *Ustura*. The rise of the conservative-nationalist paper *Tercüman* (founded in 1955) also began after 1961. *Hürriyet* [see DJARĪDA. iii] was the first newspaper whose circulation exceeded one million in the middle of the 1960s (Gevgilili, *Türkiye basını*, 225). Television was introduced in Turkey in 1968, but there was only one black-and-white channel until the mid-1980s.

The 1970s

Increasing violence in the country brought about a second military intervention, through the memorandum (*muhtıra*) issued by the armed forces on 12 March 1971. Martial law was proclaimed in eleven provinces. This intervention did not abolish the parliament, but governments of that period exerted pressure, especially on the leftist press. Journalists were arrested, papers banned and publications forbidden. The 1973 elections paved the way for a return to parliamentary democracy. The work of journalists was then, however, seriously disturbed by something like a civil war which ravaged the country. Numerous journalists, both rightists and leftists, became victims of attempts on their lives. A climax was reached with the assassination of Abdi İpekçi (1929-79), editor of *Milliyet* [see DJARĪDA. iii] by Mehmed Ali Ağça (who later attempted to kill Pope John Paul).

Social and political polarisation was also reflected in the media. Apart from the conservative papers *Tercüman, Son Havadis, Hakikat* (founded in 1970, it changed its name to *Türkiye* in 1971), and *Güneş* (founded in 1975), there were left-wing periodicals like the dailies *Yeni Ortam* (1972-6; close to the *Devrimci İşçiler Sendikaları Konfederasyonu* [DİSK]) and *Politika* (1975-7), whose director Ali İhsan Özgür was assassinated in 1978. A paper close to the AP was *Yeni Asya* (founded in 1970). The Islamist *Milli Selâmet Partisi* (MSP) had the support of the *Millî Gazete* (founded in 1973). The ideas of the neo-fascist *Millî Hareket Partisi* (MHP) were voiced by *Hergün*, *Millet* (1975-86) and *Ortadoğu* (1972), whose director İhsan Darendelioğlu was assassinated in 1979. Several old-established newspapers ceased publication in the 1970s: the mouthpiece of the CHP, *Ulus* (1934; founded in 1920 in Ankara as *Ḥākimiyyet-i milliyye*), ended its existence in July 1971, *Vatan* (1923 [see DJARĪDA. iii]), whose orientation had changed several times since 1950, in 1978. Important news magazines of the 1970s were *Yankı* (founded 1971 by the correspondent of *Time*, Mehmet Ali Kışlalı), *7 Gün* and *Toplum*. *Gırgır*, founded in 1972, was to become, after *Krokodil* and *Mad*, the third largest satirical paper in the world.

The 1980s

After the third intervention of the military on 12 September 1980 (12 Eylül), all political parties were banned. Printing houses of newspapers were closed down, and four papers (the leftist papers *Demokrat*, *Politika*, *Aydınlık* and *Hergün*, the organ of the MHP) were banned immediately after the *coup*. Between 12 September 1980 and 12 March 1984 publication of eight national papers was suspended seventeen times, for 195 days. In total, 181 journalists and writers were arrested and 82 of them sentenced during the same period (details in *Basın '80-84*, 197-230).

The influence of the military decreased after the general elections of 1983 were won by Turgut Özal's "Motherland Party" (*Anavatan Partisi*; ANAP) with a clear majority. This victory inaugurated a new period of economic liberalisation. The Turkish press had a share in the relatively rapid re-democratisation of the régime and became a significant factor in politics. Most papers were eventually fiercely opposed to the ANAP governments. In the late 1980s, Prime Minister Özal used the control of paper supplies against the hostile press. The freedom of the press continued to be restricted on the basis of the restrictive Constitution passed in 1982 (esp. articles 22, 24-30), the Press Law, the "Law on Harmful Publications", and the Penal Code (esp. articles 312 and 158). A series of government regulations in the spring of 1990 and later the "Law on Terrorism" also brought censorship to the press. In 1984, the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK), founded in 1978, had started its first action.

A number of papers was founded in the 1980s among which *Dünya* (1981), *Sabah* (1985), *Zaman* (1986; see below) are still published today (2003). The circulation of *Sabah*, founded by the dynamic Dinç Bilgin (b. 1940), publisher of the Izmir-based *Yeni Asır*, exceeded that of *Hürriyet* in 1987. *Akşam*, by then the oldest newspaper of Turkey (founded in 1918 [see DJARĪDA. iii]), ceased publication in 1982, *Yeni İstanbul* (founded 1949) in 1986, and *Son Havadis* in 1988. In the second half of the 1980s most papers adopted the editorial system (computer system, first used by *Yeni Asır*). The tabloid *Güneş* (1982-91) gave new impetus to give-away and lottery campaigns in the Turkish press which only *Cumhuriyet* refused to join. There was an explosion of weekly and monthly magazines in the 1980s, including cultural reviews of superior quality. *2000'e Doğru* (1986) was one of the best-known news magazines. A Turkish version of *Playboy* came on the market in 1985. The world of the press was shaken by the Asil Nadir affair in 1989. This Cypriot business man had acquired, thanks to his contacts with government circles, the tabloids *Günaydın* and *Tan*, as well as several magazines, including the news magazine *Nokta* (founded in 1983 with the French *Le Point* as a model).

Most papers had left at that period the Avenue of the Sublime Porte (*Bâbıâli Caddesi*) in Istanbul, the Turkish Fleet Street. In 1988 a Press Museum (*Basın Müzesi*) was opened in the same area thanks to the Newspapersmen's Association (*Gazeteciler Cemiyeti*).

The 1990s and beyond

The downfall of the ANAP government in 1991

has been in part attributed to the mobilisation of public opinion by the press. Tansu Çiller became the first female prime minister in 1993. The end of Kemalism seemed to have arrived with the general elections of December 1995 when Necmettin Erbakan's Islamist "Welfare Party" (*Refah Partisi*; RP) obtained 21% of the votes. A coalition government, the first Islamist-led government in Republican Turkey, was formed in July 1996. But once more, the military started to play a more active role. An ultimatum issued by the generals in February 1997 to restrict the influence of Islamists compelled the prime minister Erbakan to resign. His downfall was speeded by a sustained campaign in some sections of the press. Subsequently, the country was governed by various coalition governments formed by Kemalist and nationalist leaders. The PKK-led Kurdish insurgency came to an end after the capture of Abdullah Öcalan in Kenya in 1999. The country was shaken by a severe economic crisis in 2001. In November 2002, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan won the general election with his moderate Islamist "Justice and Development Party" (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*; AKP).

These developments were also reflected in the Turkish press at the turn of the 21st century with the rise of a "Kurdish" press and a growing importance of Islamic and Islamist papers (see below). Violence against journalists continued in the 1990s. *Cumhuriyet* lost seven of its writers through attacks, the most prominent victim being Uğur Mumcu (1942-93), known for his investigative journalism, who was killed by a car bomb in 1993.

Concentration and monopolisation (*tekelleşme*) became one of the major problems faced by the Turkish press. There was also serious concern about the media moguls', journalists' and columnists' increasingly close relations with the political establishment. Most national newspapers belonged (in 2003) to three important press groups which also controlled the country's largest private TV channels. Traditional ownership had almost disappeared from the media market. *Cumhuriyet* remained the only independent paper. Twelve papers, including the mass circulation papers *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Radikal* (founded in 1996 and considered by some as the most "Western" paper), and the sports paper *Fanatik*, belong to Aydın Doğan's *Doğan Media Group*. It is said to control nearly 40% of the country's advertising revenues and 80% of distribution (2003). The *Sabah* group plunged into crisis when its head Dinç Bilgin was jailed in 2001. Thanks to its promotional activities, the paper *Sabah* had reached a circulation of 1.5 million in October 1992. A law (*promosyon yasası*) eventually prohibited in 1997 *promosyons* except those of cultural value. *Tercüman* ceased publication in 1994, but two papers bearing the same name re-emerged after 2000. The leading news magazines in the 1990s were *Aktüel* (circulation: 40,000), *Tempo* (28,000), *Aksiyon* (18,000) and *Nokta* (3,000).

The "Kurdish" press

The 1990s also saw the emergence of a new type of papers focussing on Kurdish issues which appeared in Istanbul and Ankara, usually in Turkish. All of them were accused of being close to the PKK. The first of them, *Özgür Gündem*, founded in 1992 and banned by the Ankara State Security Court (DGM) in 1994, lost seven of its writers and correspondents and thirteen vendors to killings. It was followed by *Özgür Ülke* (1994-5), whose premises in Istanbul were the target of a devastating bomb attack in December 1994. *Yeni Politika* (13 April-16 August 1995) was one of the most often censored papers in Turkey. Its successors (*Demokrasi, Ülkede Gündem, Özgür Bakış, 2000'de Yeni Gündem*) had a similar fate, and functioned usually in a most precarious situation. *Yeniden Özgür Gündem* (founded in September 2002) had a circulation of *ca.* 10,000 in November 2003. In the 1990s, many Kurdish weekly or monthly magazines also began to appear, including local papers. The Kurdish language paper *Rojname* was soon banned after its first publication in December 1991. In the same year, the prohibition of Kurdish publications had been removed. There is now (2003) a Kurdish-language literary magazine, *Azadiya Welat*, published in Istanbul. However, most papers destined for Kurds from Turkey are published in Western countries known for their large Kurdish immigrant population (e.g. Sweden, etc.). The paper *Özgür Politika* is published in Europe. Kurdish satellite TV and numerous internet sites have created what has been called a "virtual Kurdistan".

Islamic and Islamist press

The spectacular rise of the Islamic and Islamist press dates from the 1980s. Prior to 1980, its percentage in terms of newspapers and periodicals was 7%, in 1993 it had reached 47% (G. Seufert, *Politischer Islam in der Türkei*, Istanbul 1997, 392n.). Many periodicals (including newspapers like *Yeni Asya, Türkiye, Millî Gazete*) have been associated with religious orders and groups in the Muslim world, the Naḳshbandī dervish order and its branches [see NAḲSHBANDIYYA] being particularly influential. *Yeni Şafak* (founded in 1995) was financed by a pious industrialist. The paper *Zaman* (see above), organ of the group around Fethullah Gülen of the *Nurcus* [see NURCULUK], is now (2003) among the top five national daily newspapers in Turkey, with an average circulation of 300,000. It boasts of having been the first Turkish daily newspaper to appear on-line (since 1995). It has bureaus and correspondents in many countries all over the world. It has special international editions for twelve foreign countries, those for the new Turkish Caucasian and Central Asian republics being printed in their own alphabets and languages. *Zaman* also owns the weekly news magazine *Aksiyon*, a children's monthly, a news agency, and the private TV channel *Samanyolu*.

Islamist reviews and magazines include weeklies, numerous monthly magazines (*Sızıntı*, Izmir, published by the *Türkiye Öğretmenler Vakfı*, founded in 1978), and publications for women: *Kadın ve Aile* (founded 1985) was the largest Muslim women's magazine, reputed to have sold 60,000. It was closely associated with that branch of the Naḳshbandī order whose major mouthpiece is the magazine *İslâm* (circulation 100,000). *Bizim Aile* (published since 1988) is a spin-off of the magazine *Köprü*, published since 1977 and representing the views of a section of the Nurcu order.

Local newspapers

National newspapers based in Istanbul account for about 90% of total circulation. But there have been registered up to 745 local newspapers published in Turkey, almost half of them being dailies. The circulation figures vary according to the economic development of the region. *Yeni Asır*, published in Izmir (founded in 1924; its predecessor, *ʿAṣîr*, was founded in Ottoman Salonika in 1895), remains the biggest newspaper with a regional character (circulation 43,000 in November 2003). The local press has been trying to renew itself technologically in recent years and many papers are produced by printing houses with offset printing facilities.

Turkish papers published in Europe

The first Turkish papers printed in Europe were *Akşam* and *Hürriyet* (Munich 1969). They were followed

by *Tercüman* (1970), *Milliyet* (1972) and the *Millî Gazete* (1973). In the 1980s appeared *Türkiye* (1987), in the 1990s *Zaman* (1990), the weeklies *Cumhuriyet-Hafta* (1993) and *Dünya-Hafta* (1995), *Özgür Politika* (1995), *Sabah* (1996), *Emek* (leftist; 1996), and *Ortadoğu* (1996). *Hürriyet, Milliyet, Fanatik* and *Hafta Sonu*, all belonging to the Doğan Group, had a circulation of 189,000 (of which *Hürriyet* alone comprised 84,000), i.e. 80% of the Turkish newspapers sold in Europe.

The minority press

The decline of the Greek community in Istanbul from the 1960s onwards was also reflected in the Greek minority papers. *Elevtherê Phônê* and *Empros*, which figure among the signatories of the *Basın ahlâk yasası*, disappeared in 1965. Two Greek dailies still appear in Istanbul for a community of 2,000-3,000 souls: *Απογευματινή/Apoyevmatini* (founded in 1925), which until the death of its founder, Gr. Yaverides, in the 1970s, used to employ some ten journalists; and *Ηχώ/Iho* (1977), initially a weekly, which became a daily in 1979 (circulation: about 800 copies).

The Armenian press (for a population estimated at 60,000) counted some ten titles in 2001, including the bulletin of the Saint Saviour (*Surp Pırgiç* [Սուրբ Փրկիչ]) Hospital (a monthly founded in 1949), *Kulis* (a literary and artistic bi-monthly founded in 1946 by Agop Ayvaz) ceased publication in 1996. There are two daily papers: *Jamanak* [*Ժամանակ*] (founded in 1908, the oldest daily published in Turkey). Its circulation has decreased during the last years, from 15,000 to 1,500. Another daily, *Marmara* (Մարմարա ; founded in 1940) has been directed by Robert Haddeler, a writer and critic. It is also published in Armenian but since 2001 it has contained a Turkish supplement. The weekly *Agos* [*Ակօս*] was founded in 1996; it is published mainly in Turkish (circulation some 5,000). Two journalists of this paper were tried in 1999 because of an article on the *Varlık Vergisi* of 1942.

The once flourishing Jewish press in Judaeo-Spanish and French is now limited to the weekly *Şalom* (founded in 1947). It is, however, published in Turkish, with a few articles written in Judaeo-Spanish. The last Jewish French language daily, the *Journal d'Orient* (founded in 1917 by Albert Carasso), disappeared in 1971.

Whereas attempts to revive the French language press proved little successful, there is one English-language daily paper, *Turkish Daily News* (founded in 1961) published in Ankara. *Dünya* has an English-language daily news page; *Zaman* also has an English on-line edition.

Conclusion

The Turkish printed press has made considerable progress during the last two decades of the 20th century which have witnessed the industrialisation of the media. The number of newspapers with an average daily circulation over 10,000 was 11 in 1983, 14 in 1990 and 32 in 1997. According to August 2003 figures, the average total daily sales of 35 major daily papers was about 4 million. Some 25 of them had their own website in 2004, including several regional papers. The number of magazines has increased with extraordinary speed. Its total number, which was 20 in 1990, reached 110 in 1999 (total circulation around 2,300,000). They include magazines with foreign brand names like *Marie Claire, Cosmopolitan, Harper's Bazaar, Esquire, Votre Beauté*, or *National Geographic*. As far as printing techniques are concerned, the Turkish press has attained in most domains European standards.

But some basic issues remain: press readership is still far from assuming European proportions. According to official sources (*Facts about Turkey*, 412), the average number of newspapers sold to 1,000 persons is 58 (cf. Germany: 314). The habit of reading newspapers regularly has remained the privilege of a relatively small group, around 15% of the population (estimated at 67 million in 2000). The visual media have emerged as the most influential institution shaping public opinion. The number of private TV channels has exceeded twenty within a few years.

In spite of numerous amendments to the restrictive Constitution (the last ones in February 2003), press freedom in Turkey remains limited by various laws and a frequently restrictive interpretation of press freedom and freedom of expression by the judiciary. There is no functioning journalist's trade union. Journalists continue to be arrested and sentenced to prison terms. Leftist, Islamist and pro-Kurdish media are the primary targets. For many modern Turkish writers and intellectuals, criminal prosecution has been an indispensable part of their *curriculum vitae*. But even members of the mainstream media occasionally face legal action, although these papers usually practice a sort of self-censorship and avoid sensitive issues such as criticising the military and high-level corruption.

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SILĀḤ (A.), masc. and fem. noun according to the lexicographers, standard pl. *asliḥa*, with *suluḥ, sulḥān* and *silāḥāt* also found in the lexica, the general term in Arabic for both offensive weapons and protective armour and equipment. This collective sense of the word is also often included in the general term *ʿudda*, literally "equipment, gear, tackle". The sense of "weapon" has clearly no connection with that of the common Arabic verb *salaḥa* "to defecate". Attestations of any parallel form of *silāḥ* are weak in Old South Arabian. One can only cite Biblical Hebrew *šelaḥ*, of obscure meaning in general but with the meaning of "javelin" or "some sort of weapon that can be carried and thrown" in such contexts as

II Chron. xxiii. 10, Joel ii. 8, etc., and as a possible parallel, despite the phonetic problems, Akk. *šēlu* "to sharpen weapons", *šēlūtu* "dagger blade" (*CAD, Letter Š*, ii, 275).

1. The pre-Islamic period.

The weapons of the pre-Islamic Arabs were essentially the bow, the sword and the spear or lance. Our knowledge of these weapons of theirs is almost entirely a bookish one, and it was from the evidence of pre-Islamic poetry that F.W. Schwarzlose compiled his *Die Waffen der alten Araber aus ihren Dichtern dargestellt* (Leipzig 1886, repr. Hildesheim 1982), a work concerned primarily with the nomenclature of weapons and their component parts.

Fighting was a prominent aspect of desert life, in which tribes often competed over pasture grounds, sought to drive off opponents' herds or were involved in protracted vendettas entailed by the unwritten laws of revenge, retaliation and the exacting of compensation for losses to the tribe's fighting strength [see DIYA; ḲIṢĀṢ; THA'R]. Hence a rich vocabulary evolved for weapons and armour, often descriptive, by metonymy, of some special characteristic ("shining", "incisive") or of some origin, real or supposed ("Indian", "Yemeni", "Khaṭṭī"). This vocabulary naturally attracted the philologists of Islamic times, concerned to elucidate the names of weapons, armour and their synonyms in early poetry. Whence the composition of works with titles like *Kitāb al-Silāḥ*, such titles being attributed to the Baṣran scholar al-Naḍr b. Shumayl (d. 204/820), al-Aṣmaʿī, Ibn Durayd [*q.vv.*] and Shamir b. Ḥamdawayh (d. 255/869) (see Schwarzlose, 11 n. 1). Few of these works have survived (Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 257, lists a fragmentarily surviving *K. al-Silāḥ* by a disciple of al-Aṣmaʿī's), but lexicographical and philological studies like al-Thaʿālibī's *Fiḳh al-lugha* and Ibn Sīduh's *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* are rich sources of information on the nomenclature of weapons and their component parts. It is highly improbable that any of these works gave any actual descriptions of weapons or their use—the authors were literary men, who probably never wielded a weapon in anger in their lives, and not practical warriors—and on these points we have virtually no information. It is not till later mediaeval times that practical treatises on the art of war and the use of weapons are known (see below, 2.; FURŪSIYYA; ḤARB. 1.). The only direct, contemporary source which might conceivably give us some idea of pre-Islamic weapons lies in possible representations in petroglyphs and similar drawings. There are quite a lot of depictions of warriors wielding lances and bows, and possibly swords, on horseback and on foot, in the Thamudic and Safaitic materials, cf. also the frontispiece photograph of a rock graffito showing an archer, and the drawing of a South Arabian spear, of uncertain age, at p. 65 of R.B. Serjeant, *South Arabian hunt*, London 1976.

The weapon most frequently mentioned in the ancient literary sources is the sword (*sayf*), for which special works by the philologists are recorded, e.g. Abū ʿUbayda's *Kitāb al-Sayf* and a work by Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, a *Kitāb al-Suyūf wa 'l-rimāḥ* (Schwarzlose, 124 n. 1). These must have been stabbing swords for close, hand-to-hand fighting rather than cavalry swords. There emerges that swords of Indian steel (*hindī, muhannad*) were particularly prized; whether the Hind envisaged here relates to the Indian subcontinent or to lands beyond in Southeast Asia, such as Malaya or Sumatra, is unclear, but any such weapons were presumably imported via the Persian Gulf ports. Nearer home, the ancient Arabs prized blades forged by the smiths of Syria, e.g. of Boṣrā [*q.v.*] (see below), a land which had access to supplies of iron ore and to wooded terrains for the production of charcoal. On the other hand, it is unlikely that "Yemeni" swords were actually made in Yemen; more probably, blades or complete swords were imported from lands further east to the ports of Hadramawt and Yemen, thus acquiring this territorial name. See in general on swords of this period, Schwarzlose, 124-209.

The spear or lance (*rumḥ, ʿanaza, ḳanāt*, the latter term, originally "bamboo, reed shaft" being used by synecdoche for the whole weapon) was, it seems, included in the work by Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī on swords and spears mentioned above (see also Schwarzlose, 210 n. 1). It was used as a thrusting weapon in close fighting, but spears which could be thrown at the enemy like javelins (*nayzak* < Pers. *nīza, miṭrad, ḥarba*) are also mentioned, and the designation *miṭrad* indicates that such throwing weapons could be used for hunting as well as war. Spears with a bamboo or strong reed shaft (*ḳanāt*) are often described as *khaṭṭī*, from al-Khaṭṭ [*q.v.*] in Baḥrayn or Hadjar, where a certain Samhar is said to have been an expert fashioner of spears, whence *samharī* ones. Whether these shafts were made from the stems of the vegetation growing along the Gulf shores, or were imported from further east, as the term *ḳanāt al-Hind* implies, is unclear. Various trees are also mentioned as providing wood for spear shafts, such as the *washīdj* or ash (?). Spears had a head (*sinān*) and a tapered iron butt at their lower end which could be stuck into the ground when the weapon was not being carried (*zudjdj*). See, in general, Schwarzlose, 210-45.

The bow and arrow were used by the ancient Arabs, and the sources distinguish "Arab" from "Persian" bows. See further ḲAWS, and Schwarzlose, 246-319.

As well as all these offensive weapons, there are frequent mentions of protective body armour in the shape of coats of mail (*dirʿ* or *sard, zarad, muzarrad* < Pers. *zard*, traceable back, according to Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im arabischen*, 241-2, to a Persian form preceding MP *zrēh* with a final *d*, Avestan *zrādhā; sard* appears in Ḳur'ān, XXXIV, 10/11, in a passage concerning King David's skill as a maker of closely-woven mail, cf. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 169). The manufacture of chain armoured coats must have been basically in the settled fringes around the Arabian peninsula, as the Persian origin of some of its nomenclature shows. Also, Boṣrā in the Ḥawrān region of southern Syria was in Byzantine times a noted centre for the forging of weapons and the making of armour, and the Byzantine authorities tried on occasion to stop the export of these to the nomads. In *awā'il* [*q.v.*] lore, the original making of mailed coats is attributed to King David (or, as some Arab commentators on ancient poetry averred, to a celebrated Jewish (?) smith called Dāwūd or to his son, but the identification of the inventor of mailed coats with the Biblical David was already made in pre-Islamic times [see DĀWŪD]). This skill was also attributed to the Tubbaʿ kings of Yemen. See, in general, Schwarzlose, 322-49. Mailed coats were accounted valuable in desert fighting, and it was weapons and coats of mail which the poet and prince of Kinda, Imru' al-Ḳays, allegedly entrusted to the Jewish Arab poet and lord of Taymā' al-Samaw'al b. ʿĀdiyā' [*q.v.*] and which the latter refused to give up to the Ghassānid king al-Ḥārith b. Djabala.

Iron helmets were termed *bayḍa*, from their resemblance in shape to an ostrich egg, see Schwarzlose, 349-51, and also *khūdha* < Pers. *khūd*. Although not

mentioned extensively in poetry, which prefers to extol fearless warriors who scorned to protect themselves in battle behind shields, the pre-Islamic Arabs do seem to have employed shields on such occasions (*turs, djunna, midjann, daraka*). Such shields were probably made of hide (as is specifically said of the *daraka*) stretched over a wooden frame, enough to deflect the indifferent weapons of the nomads. See Schwarzlose, 351-6.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

2. The Islamic period.

The military technologies of Arabia at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad remain little known, but they were still clearly under strong influence from neighbouring technologically advanced neighbours such as the Byzantine Empire, Sāsānid Persia and India via maritime trade contacts. Not surprisingly, early Byzantine styles dominated in the north and west, Persian in the east and, to a less certain extent, Indian in southern Arabia. Swords and spears remained the favoured weapons, while archery played a minor role and only amongst foot soldiers. Most armour was of mail although leather defences were also widespread, much of this latter probably being manufactured in Yemen (see 1. above). Similarly, the people of prosperous but strife-torn trading regions such as the Ḥidjāz appear to have been relatively rich in weaponry.

With the rapid Muslim Arab conquest of vast regions from Central Asia and India to Spain and the Atlantic Ocean, other military techniques began to appear in the arms and armour of Muslim armies during the 8th and 9th centuries. After the establishment of an Islamic "empire", such armies became largely territorial which further encouraged the development of regional styles. Thus Central Asian Turkish military techniques had their first impact in 8th to 9th-century Transoxania and what is now eastern Persia, while Sāsānid Persian military styles remained dominant in western Persia and eastern parts of the Arab world until the 9th-10th centuries. Early Byzantine military styles survived in areas like eastern Anatolia well into the 10th century, and in Syria and Egypt well into the 12th century. Yet the situation was less clear in North Africa and the Iberian peninsula. Here pre-Islamic military techniques had generally been more primitive than those of the conquering Muslim Arabs, despite a residual early Byzantine military heritage.

This is not to say that the Muslim Arabs merely adopted the military styles of those whom they conquered. Nevertheless, the Muslim Arabs' contribution to the development of a specifically Islamic military tradition, and to the history of military technology as a whole, was primarily to open up a vast area to differing military influences. Thus Persian influence was eventually felt in North Africa, Byzantine technology reached Iberia and, above all, the Turkish Central Asian military tradition spread throughout the Middle East. Such Turkish influence also served as a channel whereby Chinese military techniques spread westward and may even have reached the Iberian peninsula, though in a very diluted form.

A truly Islamic tradition of arms, armour and their associated tactics developed rapidly, yet this was neither uniform nor monolithic. Large variations could always be seen between different regions resulting both from local traditions or conditions, and from the recruitment of troops from specific geographical zones which had their own distinctive styles.

In general, however, it could be said that Persian and Turkish influences were the most powerful, whereas those of the Byzantine or Mediterranean countries were of secondary importance, at least after the first century of Islamic history. Such a pattern persisted until early modern times as peoples and dynasties of essentially Turkish origin rose to political dominance in most of the militarily significant Islamic countries. Only in the late 18th and 19th centuries, with the rise of European military power and its accompanying colonialism, did indigenous or Turkish military practice rapidly give way to a widespread adoption of European weaponry and of the tactics associated with such modern technologies.

Weapons

For Islamic bows and archery, see ḲAWS; for firearms, see BĀRŪD; for siege weaponry, see ḤIṢĀR; and see also DJAYSH.

Since ancient and pre-Islamic times the long bamboo-hafted spear or *rumḥ* had been regarded as a typically Arab weapon. It was used on foot, on horseback and when riding camels. In the early Islamic centuries the Arabs were also renowned for their use of a relatively short sword (*sayf*). This was probably a broad-bladed weapon reflecting Roman and Byzantine infantry traditions rather than the cavalry traditions of Persia, where long-bladed slashing swords had been widespread for some centuries. Whereas the typical Arab *rumḥ* spear remained in use until modern times, the Arabs' short *sayf* was soon replaced by longer-bladed weapons suitable for mounted combat, though these were still largely known as *suyūf*. Only in southern and eastern Arabia (Yemen, Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān), and in a few other isolated parts of the Arabian peninsula, did short swords persist along with a tradition of infantry-dominated warfare.

Long, single-edged cavalry swords were already characteristic of Turco-Mongol Central Asia and had appeared in Persia and the Byzantine Empire shortly before the Islamic conquests of the 7th and 8th centuries. Thereafter, they become increasingly popular throughout most of the Islamic world, becoming the dominant cavalry sword by the 15th century although the single-edged sword or sabre never entirely replaced the double-edged weapon. The curved or true sabre spread from Turkish Central Asia into Islamic Persia by the 11th century, or perhaps slightly earlier. Thereafter, in a great variety of forms, it spread throughout most of the Islamic world reaching Granada, the last bastion of Andalusian Islam, by the 15th century. Heavier straight and double-edged weapons were, nevertheless, still used in many parts of the Islamic world in the 19th century, particularly in Islamic sub-Saharan Africa.

Smaller weapons, including those which fell between the categories of sword and dagger, were similarly used in most areas at most times. Here there may have been a greater degree of similarity across the Islamic world, perhaps because a particular type or shape of personal weapon was often worn as a mark of religious or cultural identity. The most obvious example was a heavy dagger or short stabbing sword widely known as a *khandjar* (for variations on this and other weapons terminology, see the *Glossary* below). Although the development of the *khandjar* drew on many regional traditions and evolved into various shapes of dagger in different parts of the Islamic world, the basic weapon again appears to have been of eastern Iranian or Turkish origin. Other sometimes highly distinctive styles of dagger were limited to smaller areas, generally on the fringes of the Islamic world such as Morocco, the Caucasus and the East Indies. In the latter region, the double-edged *kēris*

dagger or short sword was retained from pre-Islamic times and continued to have an almost magical and pagan significance amongst a population sometimes only superficially converted to Islam.

Other weapons where a distinctly Islamic style developed were war-axes and maces. The latter were occasionally described as a "friendly" weapons, suitable for use during conflicts with fellow-Muslims as a lighter mace, when skilfully used, could incapacitate without killing a foe. Both also involved a large and complex terminology which distinguished between sometimes minor varieties of weapon but which nevertheless remains in part obscure. This terminology, along with surviving weapons and abundant pictorial representations, show that axes ranged from those with large "half-moon" to narrow spiked blades, while maces varied considerably in weight, shape of head, length of haft or handle and in the material from which they were made.

The javelin was widely used during the early period (7th-13th centuries), particularly by Arab and Persian troops, and remained in use by cavalry in most Islamic countries at least until the 15th century, certainly long after the javelin had been abandoned in western Europe. This probably reflected the more mobile and more disciplined character of Islamic armies during the mediaeval period, at least when compared to their European rivals, as well as the lighter styles of armour associated with Islamic tactics. The fact that such an apparently simple weapon as a javelin came in a large variety of sizes, weights and types of blade, along with an equally complex terminology, further illustrates the importance of the javelin in the hands of both foot soldiers and horsemen. It is also worth noting that cavalry training exercises or "games" involving the javelin were not only developed within the Islamic world but were copied by neighbours ranging from Spaniards and Ethiopians to Armenians [see <u>DJ</u>ERĪD and FURŪSIYYA].

Armour

Islamic armies have been widely regarded as lightly armoured when compared to their Western European rivals, but this is a misleading over-simplification. The amount of armour available to early mediaeval European forces such as those of the Crusaders has been exaggerated, while that available to Islamic armies from the time of the first conquests onwards has generally been underestimated. Nevertheless, there were wide variations between regions resulting from the differing availability of iron and of wealth to pay for the manufacture or importation of expensive military equipment.

Four types of body armour dominated throughout Islamic military history. These were mail (inter-linked metal rings, usually of iron); lamellar (small scales of iron, bronze, hardened leather or other rigid materials laced to each other but not to a flexible fabric or leather backing); so-called soft-armour of felt, quilted material or flexible buff leather; and a distinctive later form known as mail-and-plate armour. A fifth system of construction has only recently been recognised on the basis of archaeological finds rather than obscure textual references and barely decipherable artistic representations. This is a form of flexible protection consisting of partial hoops of hardened or apparently reconstituted leather which may have been of Central Asian or even Chinese derivation. Hardened and apparently reconstituted leather was also used in the construction of helmets, as shown in written sources such as Marḍī or Murḍā b. ʿAlī al-Ṭarsūsī [see AL-ṬARSŪSĪ] (*Tabṣirat arbāb al-lubāb*, ed. and tr. Cl. Cahen, *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, xii [1948], 103-63), and confirmed by recent though as yet unpublished archaeological finds in Syria. Carbon dating tests on wood and sinew amongst these finds have produced an optimum date at the end of the 12th century, while tests on the leather have produced an optimum date of A.D. 1220. It is however, worth noting that a leather helmet or reinforced hat amongst these Syrian finds incorporates small piece of wood; supposedly "wooden" helmets have been mentioned in previously inexplicable texts.

Full plate armour consisting of large shaped pieces of iron buckled or rivetted together, of the type known in western Europe from the 14th century to early modern times, remained rare though not entirely unknown in the Islamic world. Where they seem to have been occasionally used, as in al-Andalus, southern India and the Philippines, they almost invariably reflected direct Western European military influence.

The body-covering mail hauberk (coat or tunic-like protective garment) generally known as the *dirʿ*, and the coif (hood) known as the *mighfar*, were by far the most common form of metallic protection throughout the Mediterranean lands, the Middle East and Persia at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad. It subsequently evolved into a greater variety of forms than was seen elsewhere, ranging from ordinary hauberks, given names describing their overall size or shape, to the *kazāghand* which had its own integral padded lining and a decorative outer layer of cloth.

Only in eastern Persia, Afghanistan and Transoxania was lamellar armour common, although it was used in the late Roman Middle East and Sāsānid Persia during earlier centuries and remained known if only occasionally worn. The period from the 8th to 14th centuries saw such lamellar armour spread westwards in the Islamic world along with other essentially Turkish Central Asian military styles. As a result, the lamellar *djawshan* became widespread throughout most Islamic countries (with the possible exception of North Africa and the Iberian peninsula) by the 12th century, and even in the Islamic West, lamellar was known if not popular. Nor was mail armour abandoned in favour of such lamellar protections. Instead, the two were often worn together, usually with the lamellar *djawshan* on top, until the development of mail-and-plate protections combining the advantages of both forms made it unnecessary to wear two armours at once.

Such mail-and-plate armour appeared in a variety of forms and used varied terminology, some of it stemming from earlier and different usage. In the Ottoman Empire, however, such the new style of body protection was often called a *korazin*, from the common European term cuirass and its various Balkan dialect forms. In this mail-and-plate armour, pieces of iron plate of varied shapes and sizes designed to protect different parts of the body were linked by pieces of mail of varying widths depending on the degree of flexibility required. It was an essentially Islamic technological development, perhaps first appearing in ʿIrāḳ or western Persia in the 14th century, from where it spread to become the most typical 15th to 18th-century form of Islamic armour for both men and horses. As such it was characteristic of the late Mamlūk, Ottoman, later Persian and Indo-Muslim states.

So-called soft armours were widespread in early Islamic centuries and seem to have remained popular until the early 14th century, thereafter largely being relegated to the hottest regions such as India and Sudan. These should not, however, be seen only as

a cheap alternative to metallic armour. Rather, they were a light, effective and easily-made protection suitable for the highly mobile cavalry-dominated warfare which characterised Islamic military history. Soft armour could also be combined with other forms of protection. In particular, it was worn beneath or combined with mail protections. Soft armours were also suitable in the hot climates characteristic of some Islamic countries and survived throughout the 19th century in the sub-Saharan Sudan.

The history of Islamic helmets differed from that of Europe, generally reflecting a preference for good visibility and mobility at the cost of less protection. Little is yet known about helmets in the early Islamic period (7th to 9th centuries), but in general they seem to have continued previous Romano-Byzantine and Persian shapes and forms of construction, most of which were based on two pieces joined along a central comb. Unfortunately, the terminology, though varied, cannot usually be identified with one specific form of helmet. In fact, it seems that the naming of helmets, though not entirely interchangeable, was generally unspecific (see the *Glossary* below).

Central Asian types of pointed and segmented helmet were already spreading into the Middle East and eastern Europe before the coming of Islam. Thereafter, such helmets, in which iron segments were rivetted either to each other or to an iron frame, spread throughout the Islamic countries. Meanwhile, advances in metallurgy within Islam during the 8th to 11th centuries, and perhaps even earlier, led to the production of one-piece iron helmets in relatively large numbers long before such defences appeared in Europe or even the Byzantine Empire. By and large, this one-piece form was known as the *bayḍa*. Helmets were an obvious and popular object on which wealth or prestige could be demonstrated, as a result of which most of the techniques of inlay and surface decoration found in other forms of Islamic metalwork also came to be seen on helmets. Meanwhile, lighter helmets made of leather and, apparently, a form of reconstituted hardened leather were also used in most regions.

Facial and neck protection was provided by mail coifs (hoods) and mail or lamellar aventails (veil-like skirts hanging from the rim of a helmet). Only rarely were rigid metallic face-guards or hinged visors seen on Islamic helmets. Nevertheless, they did appear in Central Asia and Persia during the 12th to 14th centuries and, in a very different form, in the Iberian peninsula around the same period. These exceptions probably reflected special military circumstances, such as an enhanced threat from horse-archery composite bows in the east and from a greater use of hand-held crossbows in Iberia. Elsewhere, flexible mail or lamellar head and neck protections, often pulled across the face to leave only small apertures for the eyes, were considered an adequate defence.

Shields of wood, hardened leather, wickerwork and, in later centuries, of iron were all used by Muslim warriors. Most were round and relatively small, being suitable for light cavalry warfare. Yet there were plenty of other variations. Tall, kite-shaped shields for infantry use were used in the Middle East during the 11th to 13th centuries. These included the flat-based *d̲j̲anūwiyya* whose name might indicate that it was initially imported from Genoa, since identical flat-based infantry shields or mantlets were also characteristic of Italy though not of other parts of western Europe at this time. Large shields which were apparently mantlets (shields that could be rested on the ground), made of woven reeds, were probably widespread in Arabia at the time of the Prophet and appear to have continued in use, at least in ʿIrāḳ, until at least the 9th century.

Large and flexible shields made from various animal hides were used in the Sahara, North Africa, Egypt and the Iberian peninsula during the mediaeval period and subsequently developed into the smaller but characteristic kidney-shaped "Moorish" *adarga* of 14th to 17th-century Spain and Portugal (this name stemming from the Ar. *daraḳa* meaning a small shield, usually of leather). Shields of purely European form were also used by Muslim Andalusian soldiers during periods when western European military fashions dominated, most obviously in the 13th century.

Meanwhile, the typical Turkish *ḳalḳan* shield was constructed from a spiral of cane bound together with cotton or silk thread. This formed an exceptionally light and effective cavalry shield in which the threads gave almost unlimited scope for colour and decoration. Iron shields were known by the 12th century, the earliest known example being of segmented construction, but they only became more widespread and of one-piece construction in the 16th and 17th centuries. These later metal shields had developed in response to guns, as they had in Europe, and were as rapidly abandoned when advances in firearms rendered them redundant.

Armour of a rigid or semi-rigid type for the limbs was used in several Islamic countries long before it became more than a localised novelty in mediaeval Europe. This almost certainly resulted from the importance of close-combat cavalry warfare with swords. Nevertheless, Islamic warriors never took limb defences to the extremes seen in later mediaeval and early modern Europe. Early Islamic arm protections such as the *bāzūband, kaff* and *sāʿid* (7th to 14th centuries), though never very widespread, followed in the Byzantine and Turco-Persian traditions. The latter consisted of segmented vambraces for the lower arms, probably of iron or bronze but perhaps also of hardened leather, while the upper arms were protected by the sleeves of a mail hauberk or by flaps of lamellar armour attached to the body of a lamellar cuirass. A style of long-hemmed, half-sleeved lamellar cuirass became more widespread after the Mongol invasions of the 13th century but was rarely seen west of Persia. A rigid tube-like iron vambrace for the lower arms, known in Turkish as the *ḳolčaḳ* or *ḳulluḳ*, appeared in the second half of the 13th or early 14th century and was almost certainly of Sino-Mongol origin. Thereafter it remained popular in Central Asia, Persia, Turkey and Mamlūk Egypt.

Leg protections of similar construction to arm defences were known in pre-Islamic Transoxania but seem to have declined in popularity after the coming of Islam. Mail leg protections appeared in Islamic and Byzantine sources in the 11th century, slightly before they did so in western Europe. These and other forms, included those of mail-and-plate construction, reappeared in later years being known as *budluḳ, dizček, kalsāt zarad, rānāt ḥadīd* and *sāḳ al-mūza*. Nevertheless, such items of armour were generally reserved for a small élite of heavily-armoured cavalry.

Horse-armour

It has often been assumed that horse-armour was rare or even unknown in the early Islamic period because it is virtually unknown in art before the 14th century. Documentary sources, however, make it clear that various forms of horse-armour were widespread. The most popular type appears to have been of quilted or padded construction; this being reflected in the

most common Arabic term for horse-armour, *tidjfāf*. Before the late 13th century, references to horse-armours of scale, lamellar or mail are rare, though they can be found.

In most parts of the world, and during most periods, horse-armour was primarily a defence against arrows or other such missiles. Even in these circumstances it was more effective against long-range harassment than close-range shooting. This was clearly true in the Islamic world where, even in the later period (15th to 17th centuries) light horse-armours of quilted, leather, lamellar, mail or mail-and-plate construction were relatively widespread, whereas plated iron horse-armour was virtually unknown. Generally speaking, the construction of horse-armour reflected that used for the rider's own armour, though there tended to be a certain time lag between the introduction of new styles for the rider and for his horse. Thus a rider might wear a mail-and-plate cuirass while riding a horse still protected by hardened leather lamellae.

The chamfron or armour for the animal's head was also used, being known as a *burḳuʿ*, *kas͟hka*, *sarī* and probably *tis͟htaniyya*; the variety of terms indicates that this form of protection was more widespread than is sometimes thought. This was probably of hardened leather until plated metal forms, along with fully lamellar horse-armours, became common in the 14th century. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that rigid metal chamfons were known in Egypt and neighbouring Islamic territories some centuries earlier and that these were almost certainly descended from Roman forms of horse-armour.

A few surviving head protections for camels date from the Ottoman period but these are likely to have been for parade rather than war use. Much elephant-armour was, however, used in war. Naturally, it was most highly developed in Islamic India although war-elephants continued to be used elsewhere in the eastern parts of the Muslim world, as they had been in the pre-Islamic period [see FĪL. 2. As beasts of war]. Little is known about such early Islamic elephant-armour, although enormous circular shields to protect the animal's vulnerable ears do appear in art sources from the 12th or 13th centuries.

Terminology

The terminology of Islamic arms and armour is huge and embraces several languages with the same terms, or minor variations on such terms, being used within several languages. Many other terms are merely descriptive or poetic. The following list includes only the most important.

GLOSSARY

ʿabbāsī: curved sword, Mug͟hal India
absad: cheek-piece of helmet, Mug͟hal India
abṣar: leather shield (Ar. and Pers.)
adaga: small shield or parrying device, Mug͟hal India (from Ar. *daraḳa*; Indo-Pers.)
ʿadī: helmet, probably of riveted plates (Ar.)
afaru: sabre (Berber)
afru: knife, Algeria (Berber)
afru g͟hanim: lit. "rose petal"; dagger, Morocco (Berber)
ag͟has͟h: baton or staff, equivalent of Ar. *ʿaṣā* (Ḳïpčaḳ Tk.)
ʿāʾid: central part or grip of spear-shaft (Ar.)
ʿalāḳa: connections of a *d͟jaws͟han* cuirass (Ar.)
alla: long spear or javelin with a large blade (Ar.)
ʿamūd: heavy form of mace, probably with flanged head (Ar.)
anābīb: spaces between knots of a bamboo spear-shaft (Ar.)
ʿanaza: short spear or staff weapon with a large elongated blade (Ar.)
ʿanāza: short infantry spear, Mug͟hal India (Indo-Pers.)
anf: nasal of helmet (Ar.)
ʿarāḍ: blade of large-bladed spear (Ar.)
ʿarḍ: flat surface of sword-blade (Ar.)
artak-i kājim: horse-armour, Mug͟hal India (Indo-Pers.)
ʿaṣā: club, cudgel, iron staff or light form of mace (Ar.)
asbād: possibly the cheek-pieces of a helmet (Ar.)
as͟hïḳ: helmet, equivalent of Ar. *k͟hūda* (Ḳïpčaḳ Tk.)
aṣl: shaft of spear (Ar.)
aṣm: staff weapon in which the blade is longer than the haft (Ar.)
ʿayna: individual lamellae or pieces of a lamellar cuirass (Ar.)
ʿayr: central ridge of a spear-blade (Ar.)
badan: short hauberk or shirt of mail, sometimes sleeveless (Ar.)
bag͟hlṭāḳ: horse-armour, usually quilted (Pers.)
bak͟hta-kalag͟hī, bagta-kalagi: feathered helmet crest or plume, Mug͟hal India
bak͟htar-zillu: scale or scale-lined armour of Mongol origin, Mug͟hal India
ballam: broad-bladed short spear, Mug͟hal India
balṭa: war-axe (Ḳïpčaḳ Tk. and Ar.)
baltū: war-axe, Mug͟hal India
band-mawd͟j: "watering" pattern on sword-blade (Indo-Pers.)
bank: dagger with extravagantly curved blade (Hindi)
barachā: spear all of metal, Mug͟hal India
barāsim: horse-armour or caparison (Ar.)
bard͟hanb: crupper, piece of horse-armour covering the rump or tail (see also *pār dum*) (Ar.-Pers.)
bargustuwān, barkustuwān: horse-armour, also elephant armour (Pers.)
bayḍ: type of sword-blade (Ar.)
bayḍa: helmet, probably of one-piece construction (Ar.)
bāzūband: vambrace, lower arm protection (Pers.)
bekter: cuirass, usually lamellar (Mongol)
b͟hala, b͟hallā: spear or cavalry javelin (Indo-Pers.)
b͟hand͟ju, b͟hand͟jī: armour with throat-guard, Mug͟hal India
b͟hud͟j: combined axe and dagger, Mug͟hal India
bīc͟hak: knife (Ḳïpčaḳ Tk.)
bic͟hāḳ: single-edged dagger, Mug͟hal India
birmāhan, birmān: Indian sword-blade (Pers.)
bitčhawa: dagger with looped guard on the grip, southern India
bozdag͟han: type of mace, lit. "grey falcon" (Tk.)
budluḳ: thigh defences (Tk.)
bug͟hlutāḳ: quilted soft armour (Pers.)
buk͟htar: body armour of Mongol origin, Mug͟hal India
burḳuʿ, pl. *barāḳiʿ*: chamfron (lit. "veil"; Ar.)
čahār āʾīna, c͟hār āʾīna: lit. "four mirrors"; body armour basically consisting of four linked plates (Pers.)
čakar: throwing disc (Indo-Pers.)
čak͟h: sheath or scabbard (Pers.)
čak͟hī: infantry mantlet (Indo-Pers.)
čamc͟hāḳ: cavalry axe, Mug͟hal India
čaray: single-edge sword or large dagger with a reinforced back, known in Europe as a "Khyber knife", Mug͟hal India (see also *salawar* and *čhura*)
čas͟hmak: face-covering aventail of helmet (Pers.)
čhura: single-edge sword or large dagger with a reinforced back, known in Europe as a "Khyber knife", Mug͟hal India (see also *salawar* and *čaray*)
čičak: helmet with a neck-guard, pendant ear-pieces and a sliding nasal (Tk.)
čilamum: dagger, Mug͟hal India
čirwā: small shield, Mug͟hal India

čūb: staff or club, or shaft of spear or mace (Pers.)
čūbhā-i āhan: probably long form of infantry mace (Pers.)
čuḳal: mail hauberk (Tk.)
čuḳmar, shuḳmar: mace (Ḳïpčaḳ Tk.)
čumuḳ, shumuḳ: mace (Ḳïpčaḳ Tk.)
dabbūs, dabbūṣ: general term for mace (Ar.)
dabīra: rear part of a helmet, neck-guard or aventail (Ar.)
dahra: curved dagger (Pers.)
daraḳa: small shield, usually of leather but sometimes of other materials (Ar.)
dās: agricultural implement sometimes used as a weapon (Pers.)
dashna, dashan: large dagger (Pers.)
dast: edge of sword-blade (Pers.)
dastānā: vambrace, Mughal India
ḍawārī: javelin with a long socket to the blade, like Roman *pilum* or Frankish *angon* (Ar.)
deste-chūb: mace (Tk. from Pers.)
dhāl: shield, Mughal India
dhāl-baftā: shield of folded silk, Mughal India
dhuʾāba: decorative tassels on spear or sword, also wrist-strap of sword (Ar.)
dhubba: point or top part of sword (Ar.)
dhūp: straight sword with enclosed basket-hilt, Mughal India
dirʿ: mail hauberk (Ar.)
dizček: thigh and knee defences (Ott. Tk.)
djaba: fabric-covered mail hauberk; also quilted soft-armour or incorporating such a soft-armour (see also *djubba*; Tk.)
djafn: scabbard (Ar.)
djaghnul: axe with narrow blade shaped like a bird's beak, Mughal India
djah: throwing disc (Indo-Pers.)
djāk: form of mace (Pers.)
djamadhar: broad thrusting dagger with a horizontal grip, Mughal India
djanūwiyya: kite-shaped infantry shield with flattened base (perhaps originally "from Genoa"; Ar.)
djarīd: light cavalry javelin (Ar. "palm branch stripped of its leaves")
djawb: shield or mantlet of wood and leather, or perhaps of leather-bound cane (Ar.)
djawshan: lamellar or laminated cuirass (Ar. and Pers.)
djibā: quilted soft armour, Mughal India (see also *djubba*)
djināwī: style of dagger, Algeria, lit. "Genoese" (Ar.)
djirāb: cover for scabbard and perhaps also sword (Ar.)
djirī: Indian dagger (Ar.)
djīwarak: unclear form of Indian armour (Pers.)
djubba: large form of quilted soft armour, sometimes incorporating a layer of mail (Ar. and Pers.)
djunna: shield, normally wood (Ar.)
dodhārā: double-edged short-sword or dagger, Mughal India
du-sanga: spear or pike with two-pronged blade (Indo-Pers.)
dubulghā: domed helmet without ear-pieces, Mughal India
dumchī: crupper, armour for rump of horse, Mughal India
dūrbāsh: infantry spear with a doubled-point, later perhaps an infantry axe with half-moon blade (Pers.)
dushnī: small dagger (see *dashna*; Ar.)
falākhan: sling (Pers.)
fatīr: rivets of mail links (Ar.)
firind: "watering" pattern on damascene sword-blade (Ar.)
fuḳra: groove down sword-blade (Ar.)
furandjiyya, furaydjiyya: infantry spear or staff weapon, possibly with European-style flanges or "wings" below the blade (Ar.)
gandja: quillons of Malayan *kĕris* dagger (Malay)
gara: knot or lacing or armour (Pers.)
gardanī: gauntlet, Mughal India
gārwa, gāruwa: quilted leather soft-armour, or a form of quilted shield or mantlet (Pers.)
ghilāf: scabbard, sheath or container for armour (Ar.)
ghilāla: rivets in construction or armour or weapons (Ar.)
ghimd: scabbard (Ar.)
ghirār: edges of sword-blade (Ar.)
ghughwāh: mail hauberk with integral coif, Mughal India
girah kusha: hooked spear (Indo-Pers.)
girībān: aventail, gorget or tippet (Pers.)
gudhār: infantry javelin or staff-weapon (Pers.)
gundar: javelin (Tk.)
gūpāl: form of mace (Pers.)
guptī kard: small thrusting knife with integral gauntlet, Mughal India
gurz: mace, probably asymetrical, animal-headed form (Pers.)
gustuwān: horse-armour (see *bargustuwān*; Pers.)
ḥabīka: coif or more likely aventail (Ar.)
ḥadd: point or perhaps edge of sword-blade (Ar.)
ḥadjaf: shield, usually leather, of Africa and Andalus (Ar.)
ḥadjārat al-yad: hand-thrown stone (Ar.)
ḥalḳa: ring, either as part of a mail hauberk or for other purposes (Ar.)
ḥamīla, ḥimāla: baldric, or attachment points on scabbard for a baldric or sword-belt (Ar.)
ḥandjer: dagger (see *khandjar*; Ott. Turk.)
ḥarba: large-bladed infantry spear or staff-weapon (Ar.)
ḥarf: edge of sword-blade (Ar.)
ḥarrī: Indian dagger (Ar.)
ḥashw: padded garment or soft armour (Ar.)
ḥilya: decorative elements on scabbard and sword (Ar.)
hirāwa: thick haft of a staff weapon or spear (Ar.)
ḥusām: edges of sword-blade (Andalusian Ar.)
kabastin: ball and chain (Urdu)
ḳabḍa: grip or hilt of sword (Pers.)
ḳabīʿa: pommel of sword-hilt (Ar.)
kabūra: heavy form of cuirass (Ar. prob. from Pers.)
ḳadd: sword-blade (Ar.)
ḳaddara: straight two-edged sword (Pers.)
kādjam, kadjīm, kadjīn: horse armour of mail (Pers.)
kaff: gauntlet or extension to a vambrace; also perhaps an upper arm defence attached to body armour (Ar.)
kāfir-kūbat: form of mace (Ar.)
ḳahzana: thick haft of spear or staff weapon (Ar.)
ḳāʾim: hilt of sword (Ar.)
ḳalaʿ: form of straight broad sword-blade (Ar.)
ḳalāchūr, ḳalādjūrī, ḳaldjūrī: curved sword or early form of sabre (poss. from Turk. *kilič*; Pers. and Ar.)
kalaghī: helmet-crest, Mughal India
ḳalb: ring on scabbard to attached baldric or straps to belt (Ar.)
ḳalb: centre of shield, over the grip (Ar.)
ḳalḳan: spiral cane shield bound with silk or cotton (Turk.)
ḳalsāt ẓarad: mail chausses (Ar.)
kamand: lasso (Pers.)
kamarband: waist and abdomen protecting armour or the central part of a *djawshan* cuirass (Pers.)
ḳanāt: long spear (Ar.)
ḳanbūsh: caparison or horse-cloth (Ar.)
kantha-shubha: gorget for neck and throat, Mughal India

kantup: one-piece helmet, Mughal India
ḳarāčul: sword associated with Central Asian Turks, probably a corruption of *ḳalāčūr* (Indo-Pers.)
kārd: knife or small dagger (Pers.)
ḳarḳal: quilted soft armour or arming coat, later incorporating iron scales or plates (Ar.)
ḳarṭal: Indian curved sword or dagger (Ar.)
karud: straight-bladed narrow-bladed dagger, Mughal India
kārwa: leather mantlet padded with cotton (see also *gārwa*; Indo-Pers.)
kashka, ḳashḳā: chamfrom or the front part of horse-armour, Mughal India
kaskara: Sudanese straight double-edged sword
katāra: Indian sword or large dagger (Pers.)
ḳatīr: rivet-heads of a mail hauberk (Ar.)
ḳawnas: point or decorated summit of helmet (Ar.)
kazāghand, kazhāgand, kazhāgan, kāzighand: fabric-covered mail hauberk with integral padded lining (Ar. and Pers.)
ḳazāḳand: fabric-covered, mail-lined and padded armour (see also *kazāghand*; Pers.)
ḳazākanda: (Tk. from Pers.; see *ḳazāḳand*)
kĕris, kris: Malay & Indonesian dagger of varied form, usually with its blade expanding towards the grip and with a slightly angled grip (Malay)
kĕris suluk: large form of *kĕris* for cutting rather than thrusting (Malay)
khaftān: padded soft armour in the same shape as the similarly named garment (Pers.)
khalal: lining of fur or skin inside scabbard (Ar.)
khančar: large dagger (see *khanjar*; Tk.)
khāndā, khanda: broad straight-bladed sword (Indo-Pers.)
khandjar: large dagger (Pers. and Ar.)
khapwā: double-curved dagger, Mughal India
kharātagīn: unclear form of infantry armour also protecting the legs (Pers.)
khatangku dehel: padded or felt soft armour, later also lined with scales or plates (Mongol)
khaṭil: longest form of Arab spear (Ar.)
khayḍaʿa: heavy form of helmet, possibly local form of the European Great Helm (Andalusian Ar.)
khendjer: large dagger (from Ar. *khandjar*, Berber)
khirā: small round shield, Mughal India
khirṣ: short infantry spear (Andalusian Ar.)
khisht: javelin (Ar. and Pers.)
khud, khūd, khūdh, khūdha: helmet, usually of segmented construction; can also be made of hardened leather segments (Pers. and Ar.)
khūdāshīkan: mace, lit. "helmet breaker" (Pers.)
khumm ghishān: false sleeve protecting the upper arm (Ar.)
khurz: mace (see *gurz*; Ar.)
khuyagh: lamellar cuirass (Mongol)
kilič: sword, usually a curved sabre (Tk.)
kin: scabbard (Tk.)
kindjal: broad double-edged dagger, originally from Caucasus
kirāb: sheath of dagger (Ar.)
ḳolčaḳ: vambrace (Ott. Turk.)
konpal: mace with flower-shaped head, India
ḳorazin: cuirass or mail-and-plate construction, Ottoman (Turk. from Latin)
kris: (see *kĕris*)
ḳubaʿ: lining or skull-cap of a helmet, or an arming cap (Ar.)
kūbadj: shield-boss (Ar.)
kulāh: helmet (Pers.)
kulah-zirih: mail coif or helmet of mail-and-plate (Pers.)
ḳulluḳ: arm protection (Tk.)
kummiya: sabre or curved dagger (Berber)
ḳunṭāriyya: relatively short cavalry spear for thrusting only (from Greek *Kontarion*; Ar.)
kūpal: mace (see *gūpāl*; Pers.)
ḳurūn: edges of spear-blade (Ar.)
kurz: mace (see *gurz*; Pers.)
ḳusha: belt for sword and archery equipment (Tk.)
lakhḥī: form of mace (see *latt*; Pers.)
lamṭ: Berber and Saharan large leather shield (Ar.)
latt: mace with elongated head (Ar.)
lithām: aventail also covering the throat, lit. "veil" (Ar.)
lkummiyt: sabre or curved dagger (Berber)
maʿālīḳ: tassels on sword (Ar.)
mābiḍ: grip of sword-hilt, probably corruption of *miḳbaḍ* (Ar.)
madas: Berber javelin (Andalusian Ar.)
māḍī, māḍiya: swords (Ar.)
madjinn, midjann: shield (see *djunna*; Ar.)
madya: knife or dagger used by Europeans (Ar.)
mahwar: nail fixing blade to haft of spear (Ar.)
makhmūs: short cavalry spear (Ar.)
makk: short infantry spear or javelin (Pers.)
mamarr al-watar: horizontal lacing of a lamellar cuirass (Ar.)
manābidh: individual links of a mail hauberk (Ar.)
manāṭiḳ: sword-belt (Ar.)
marbūʿa: short spear (poss. from Greek *riptaria*; Ar.)
mard gīr: spear with a hook beneath the blade (Indo-Pers.)
mashrafī: early Arabian sword, largely in poetic usage (Ar.)
masrūda, misrūda: possibly the scales of a coat-of-plates (Ar.)
mighfar: hood or coif, usually of mail, to protect the head; later sometimes referring to the mail aventail attached to a helmet (Ar.)
mighfer: helmet (Ott. Tk. from Ar.)
miḳbaḍ: hilt or grip of sword (Ar.)
mikdab: curved or single-edged sword (Ar.)
miḳlāʿ: sling (Ar.)
mikraʿa: club or cudgel (Ar.)
mirkiz: foot or shoe of spear-shaft (Ar.)
mirzaba: foot or shoe of spear-shaft (Ar.)
mismār: nail or rivet attaching hilt to tang of sword (Ar.)
missyurka: form of helmet largely consisting of mail with a small skull-top, mostly used in the Caucasus (from Tk.)
mitrad, miṭrād: short hunting spear, javelin or staff weapon, later used as a standard (Ar.)
miyān: sheath or strap to hold mace (Pers.)
mizrāḳ: javelin with armour piercing blade (Ar.)
mudākhala: possibly a scale armour (Ar.)
mudjallida: protective leather costume worn by fire-troops (Ar.)
muhaddab: curved or single-edged sword (Ar.)
murhafa: slender sword-blade (Andalusian Ar.)
murrāna: infantry spear with flexible wooden haft (Ar.)
mustawfiya: long hafted mace, probably ceremonial (Ar.)
muza-i āhanī: iron leg armour, Mughal India (Pers.)
nāčakh: war-axe, perhaps with half-moon blade and often with a hammer at the back (Pers.)
nadjagh: war-axe (see *nāčakh*; Tk.)
nādjikh: war-axe (see *nāčakh*; Ar.)
nahd: shield-boss or nails to hold grip, North Africa (Ar.)
naʿl, naʿla: chape of scabbard (Ar.)
naṣl: blade of Indian or Yemeni sword (Ar.)
nawk: point of spear-blade (Pers.)
nayzak: short spear with a pointed foot (Ar.)
nazhak: war-axe, equivalent of Arabic *ṭabar* (Ḳïpčaḳ Tk.)
nidjād: scabbard-mounts for rings to baldric or sword-belt (Ar.)

niḳāb: moveable nasal or visor of helmet (Tk. from Ar.)
nīm nīza: short infantry spear, lit. "half spear" (Pers.)
nimdjā: short sword or large dagger (from Persian *nīmča*; Ar.)
nimsha: Moroccan short sabre (from Persian *nīmča*; Ar.)
niṣāb: grip of a dagger-hilt (Ar.)
niyām: scabbard (Pers.)
nīza: spear (Pers.)
nīzayi mard-gīr: spear with a curved blade or incorporating a hook, of Mongol-Chinese origin (Pers.)
pahrī: shield of cane or bamboo, Mughal India (see also *phari*)
pāk'har, pākhar: elephant armour, Mughal India
palārak: sabre or large dagger of damascene steel (Pers.)
pār dum: crupper, piece of horse-armour covering the rump or tail (Pers.)
parālak: sword of damascene steel (from Pers. *palārak*; Tk.)
parand: glittering sword-blade (Pers.)
pari magas: sword, largely poetic (Pers.)
paywand: fastenings of a *kamarband* cuirass or armoured girdle (Pers.)
pēdang: early form of Malay sword (Malay)
peshkabz: slender dagger, Mughal India
phari: Indian version of the Turkish *ḳalḳan* spiral cane shield bound with silk or cotton
piazi: ball attached to shaft by leather strap (Urdu)
pīl kash, bīl kash: short infantry spear or staff weapon, apparently for use against elephants (Indo-Pers.)
purda: aventail, Mughal India
rabā'ith: Bedouin Arab light javelins (prob. from Greek *riptaria* via Syriac; Ar.)
rabīʿa: local form of helmet (Andalusian Ar.)
rāg, rāk: leg armour of mail-and-plate, Mughal India
rānāt ḥadīd: cuisses, probably of mail (Ar.)
raṣā'iʿ: ends of baldric, perhaps in form of knots to attach to scabbard (Ar.)
ri'ās: entire sword-hilt (Ar.)
rumḥ: spear or lance (Ar.)
ṣabarbara: long hafted infantry staff weapon or heavy javelin (Ar.)
sābigh, sābigha: long-hemmed, long-sleeved form of mail hauberk, also lower part or hem of a coif (Ar.)
sābiriyya: long style of mail hauberk (Ar.)
ṣaffa: sword-blade from India (Ar.)
ṣafḥa, ṣafīḥa: broad sword-blade (Ar.)
ṣafīḥa: individual lamellae of a lamellar cuirass (Ar.)
sāʿid: vambrace, lower arm protection (Ar.)
sāḳ, sāḳ al-mūza: leg protections (Ar.)
saḳī: "watering" pattern on damascene sword-blade (Ar.)
salawar: single-edge sword or large dagger with a reinforced back, known in Europe as a "Khyber knife", Mughal India (see also *čaray* and *čhura*)
sallārī: quilted soft armour with short sleeves (Ar.)
ṣamṣām: broad sword-blade with fuller groove or grooves (Ar.)
sanbuk: edge of sword-blade (Andalusian Ar.)
sang: short cavalry spear (Indo-Pers.)
sanglakh: knobbed mace, India
sannāha: body armour, Mughal India
sar: collar of an armour or military garment, also part of sword blade beneath quillons, or point or summit of helmet (Pers.)
sār, sārī: mace or club (Pers.)
sard: individual ring of an armour of mail construction (Ar.)
sarī: form of chamfron (Ar.)
sayāl: part of sword-hilt enclosing the tang (Ar.)
sayf: sword (Ar.)
saynthi: javelin or short spear (Indo-Pers.)
sbula: slender dagger (Berber)
shabh: iron foot of spear (Ar.)
shafra: edge of sword-blade (Ar.)
shahadast: early Yemeni sword, perhaps single-edged (Ar.)
shaʿīra: peg or rivet fastening sword-hilt to tang of blade (Ar.)
shalīl: arming coat or soft armour worn beneath a mail hauberk (Ar.)
shamshīr: sword (Pers.)
shārbān: quillons (Ar.)
shārib: locket around open end of scabbard (Ar.)
shashbur, shishpar: flanged made (Indo-Pers.)
shaska: Caucasian sabre without quillons
shathab: fuller groove down sword-blade (Ar.)
shīl: barbed light javelin (Indo-Pers.)
shirāstrāṇa: helmet, Mughal India
shūshak: large lute-shaped shield used in sieges (Pers.)
sīkh: dagger (Ar.)
sikkīn, sikkīna: knife or small dagger (Ar.)
sīlān: tang of sword (Ar.)
sinān: spear blade or point (Ar.)
sinkh: tang of sword (Ar.)
sipar: shield (Pers.)
sipar-i farākh: infantry shield or mantlet (Pers.)
sirash: aventail (Pers.)
sirbāl: large form of cloth-covered or lined mail hauberk with a raised collar (Ar.)
siyābiḥa: form of cavalry war-axe made by the Armenian people of Siyāwurdiya or Sevordikʿ (Ar.)
sosum patta: form of sword (Indo-Pers.)
sunbula: form of sword (Andalusian Ar.)
sundang: large sword (Malay)
süngi, süngü: spear (Ḳïpčaḳ Tk.)
sunu: spear (Tk.)
sutūn: iron staff (Pers.)
taʿālīḳ: suspension straps from belt to scabbard, or perhaps tassets of a cuirass (Ar.)
tabar zaghnol: double-headed axe or with a pointed blade on the back, India
ṭabar: war-axe (Pers. and Ar.)
ṭabarzīn: cavalry axe; lit. "saddle-axe" (Pers. and Ar.)
tafrat mekkurn: small sabre or cutlass (Berber)
tafrut, tafrat: general term for bladed weapon, Morocco, or working knife, Algeria (Berber)
ṭāḳ: ring at end of baldric to attach scabbard (Ar.)
taḳallada: style of carrying sword from baldric (Ar.)
takouba: straight sword of Saharan Tuareg (Berber)
tāla: shield of wood or leather, Mughal India
ṭalā: clothing covered, lined or impregnated with fire-resistant chemicals, worn by fire-troops (Ar.)
tālamūla: wooden shield, Mughal India
taʿlib: part of spear-shaft entering socket of blade (Ar.)
talwar: form of sword (Indo-Pers.)
tämür kömläk: mail armour, lit. "iron clothes" (Ḳïpčaḳ Tk.)
tannūr, tanūrigh: early form of large cuirass, possibly of scales and associated with the Sāsānid period (Pers.)
tanutrāṇa, tanutra: body armour, Mughal India
ṭaraf: point of spear (Ar.)
tarā'iḳ: segments of a segmented helmet (Ar.)
tarangala: axe with a spike on top and a hammer at the back, India
tarangar: multi-pronged infantry spear (Indo-Pers.)
targ (see *tark*; Pers.)
tarīk, tarīka: rounded helmet, possibly fluted (Ar.)
ṭārika: tall or kite-shaped shield with pointed base (Ar.)
tark: helmet (Pers.)
tasbult: dagger (Berber)
teber: war-axe (Ott. Tk., see *tabar*)

teneke: individual lamellae of a lamellar cuirass (Tk.)
thafrut: sabre, Morocco (Berber)
thakad: soft armour quilted with camel hair (Ar.)
thaʿlab: part of spear-shaft entering socket of blade (see *taʿlib*; Ar.)
tidjfāf: horse-armour of quilted material or felt (Ar.)
tifratin: knife or small-sword (Berber)
tīgh: sword-blade (Pers.)
tilwā: cavalry shield, Mughal India
tīr-i andāzān: light infantry javelins (Pers.)
tirfil: sheath or holder for mace (Tk.)
tīsha: long-hafted battle axe or halberd (Pers. and Ar.)
tishtaniyya: probably chamfron, armour for horse's head (Ar. from Latin)
tūra: wooden mantlet, Mughal India
turs: shield (Ar.)
ukkāz: Berber infantry mace (Ar.)
ʿurā, pl. of *ʿurwa*: loops or holes in the rim of a helmet by which it is attached to an arming cap or an aventail (Ar.)
valahkānta: bamboo or leather shield, Mughal India
varman: mail hauberk or body armour, Mughal India
wadaf: Berber sling (Ar.)
wahak: lasso (Ar.)
yāfūrt, *yāfrūt*: slender thrusting dagger, Berber (prob. from Berber *tāfrūt*; Ar.)
yakbandī: sword-belt, Mughal India
yataghān, *yataghan*: reverse-curved short sword (Ott. Tk.)
yazanī: early Southern Arabian spear or javelin (Ar.)
zaghnol: axe with a pointed rather than curved blade, India
zāhika: local form of helmet (Andalusian Ar.)
zarad: mail armour in general (Ar.)
zaradiyya: mail coif or helmet largely of mail construction (Pers.; see also *zardiyya*)
zarāfayn: rings to attach scabbard to baldric (Ar.)
zardiyya: mail hauberk or layer of mail forming part of an armour (Ar.)
zārik: javelin (see *mizrāk*; Ar.)
zırh gömlek: mail-and-plate cuirass (Ott. Tk.)
zirih: mail hauberk or mail armour in general (Pers.)
zuba: edge of sword-blade (Ar.)
zūbīn, *zūpīn*, *zhūpīn*: heavy javelin with a pointed foot or second blade (Pers.)
zudjdj: iron foot of spear (Ar.)

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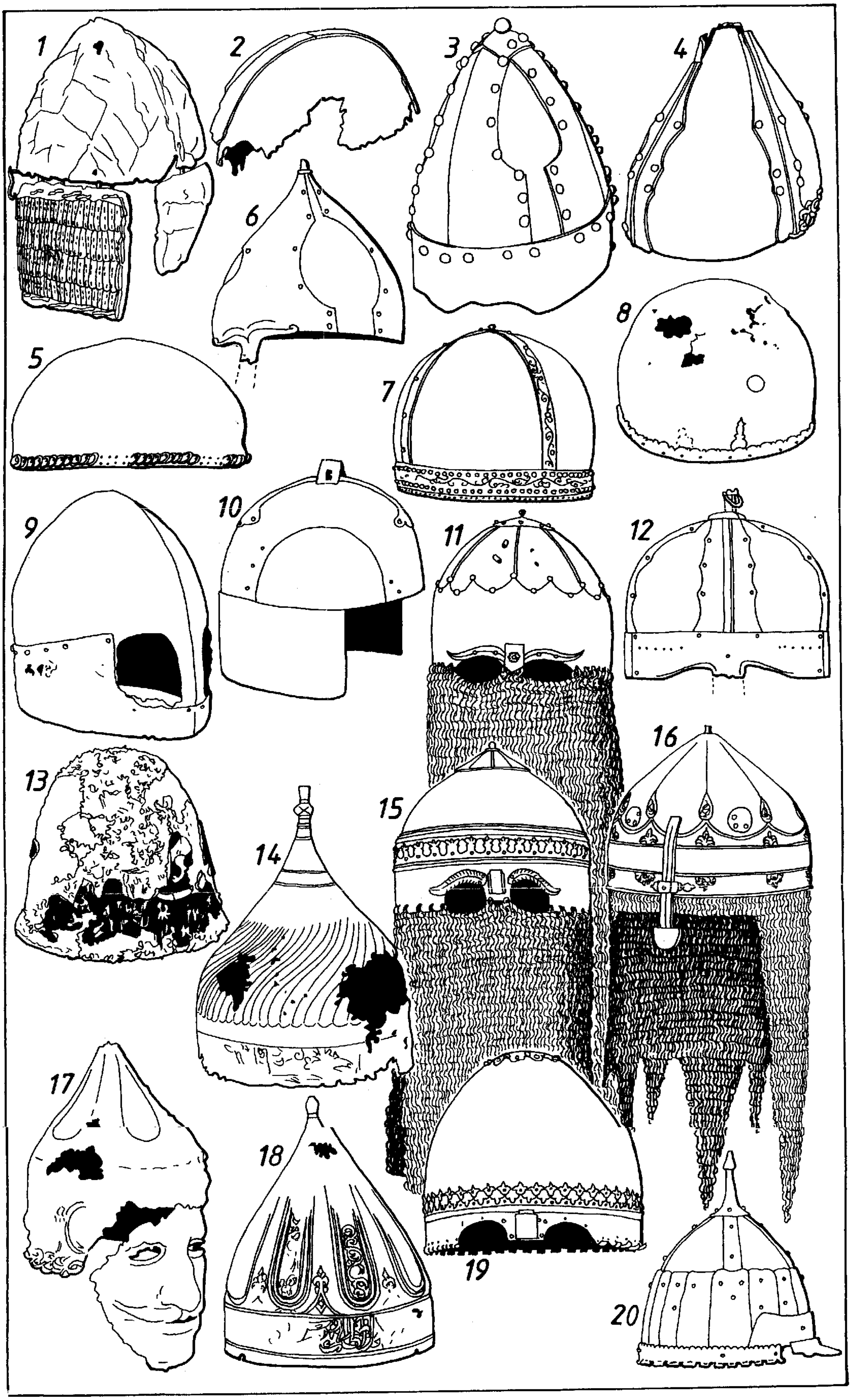

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Captions

1. A hardened crocodile-skin helmet with an iron lamellar neck-guard and one remaining crocodile-skin cheek-piece; said to be from Wadī Garāra east of Kalabsha in Nubia. Although this helmet is sometimes considered to be from the "Roman" era, the presence of a neck-guard made of iron lamellae over camel skin could indicate a later origin, perhaps from the 5th to 8th centuries. Until the helmet is carbon-dated, the question remains unresolved; meanwhile, the helmet itself is an interesting example of non-metallic Middle Eastern military technology. (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung, inv. nr. 30882, Germany)

2. A very corroded iron helmet made of two pieces joined beneath a flat comb, from Ḥadītha on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, Jordan. This typical late Roman helmet is generally considered to date from the 4th or 5th centuries, though the history of Ḥadītha as a Romano-Byzantine military outpost could make a late 6th to mid-7th century date more likely. This helmet was also found in conjunction with a dagger or short-sword identical to one found in Pella [see FAḤL] and undoubtedly dating from the mid-8th century. Comparable helmets continued in use elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire and parts of Western Europe at least until the 8th century, and are likely to have similarly continued in use in the early Islamic Middle East. (Castle Museum, Karak, Jordan)

3. An iron and bronze helmet excavated at Nineveh in northern ʿIrāḳ. It is a late and undecorated version of the so-called Parthian Cap style characteristic of Sāsānid troops. The style and context suggest that this helmet dated from the very end of the Sāsānid Empire in the early 7th century, though some pictorial evidence from the first century of Islamic civilisation indicates that comparable helmets continued in use for a century after the coming of Islam. (British Museum, inv. 22497, London, England)

4. A second iron helmet found at Nineveh is in a completely different *Spangenhelm* style stemming from Central Asian military techniques. It also retains a fragment of its mail aventail. This helmet represents a major technological shift which would also be seen in much of Europe. It is again assumed to date from the very end of the Sāsānid period, but is just as likely to have been made during the first century of Islamic rule. (British Museum, inv. 22495, London, England)

5. A well-preserved iron helmet in a version of the *Spangenhelm* form of construction in which the "frame-plates" are actually broader than the "infill-plates". It probably dates from the 8th or 9th centuries and was found at Stary Oskol, near Voronezh in Russia. Yet it was probably imported from Islamic Persia or Transoxania, where identical helmets are shown on fragmentary wall-paintings dating from the 8th to 10th centuries. (State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia)

6. The earliest known helmet forged from a single piece of iron is this low-domed protection with a row of iron rings. These were probably the attachment for a lamellar or mail aventail rather than being the uppermost row of mail links. It was found in the early 8th century stratum in a ruined temple at Waraghsar near Samarḳand in Uzbekistan. Whether such advanced metallurgy originated in Transoxania, the Islamic Middle East or reflected Chinese influence remains unknown, but it is interesting to note that one contemporary Arabic chronicler differentiated between enemies "wearing round helmets" and those "wearing pointed helmets" on the north-eastern frontier of the Islamic world. (From a drawing by the archaeologist, Masud Samibayev; present whereabouts unknown)

7. A much better-known one-piece iron helmet came from Chamosen in Switzerland and dates from the 9th or 10th century. It is believed to be of Arab-Islamic origin and, beneath its purely decorative "frame-straps" and more functional brow-band, this helmet has essentially the same narrowing around its rim seen on the earlier one-piece helmet from Waraghsar. (Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zürich, Switzerland)

8. A third one-piece iron helmet was found in Tunisia. Though provisionally dated to the Ḥafṣid period (13th to 16th centuries), it has a virtually identical outline to the helmet from Chamosen. As such, it might have been made as early as the 10th century. (Museum of Islamic Studies, Raḳḳāda, Tunisia)

9. Another very distinctive form of iron helmet, of which this appears to be the only surviving example, appears in Christian Iberian art from the 12th to early 14th centuries. It is generally worn by "evil" figures which might indicate that it was originally associated with Muslim troops from al-Andalus. This style of helmet may, indeed, have originated in the Islamic south of the Iberian peninsula. (W. Scollard private coll., Los Angeles, USA)

10. This apparently unique helmet is so unusual that it might initially be dismissed as a fake, except that a very similar form of helmet is illustrated in a Moroccan manuscript dating from 621/1224. If it is genuine, then it could be a very late development of the Roman two-piece helmet seen in figure 2. (From a drawing by Dr. Michael Brett, made in the local archaeological museum at Ḳayrawān in the 1970s; present whereabouts unknown)

11. One of two very similar late 13th or early 14th century Turkish helmets, still with their long neck and shoulder covering mail aventails. This one has a bowl either strengthened by widely spaced "ribs" or made from plates joined by "rolled joints". The other has a one-piece bowl, though both are characterised by exceptionally deep brow-bands and decorative eyebrows. (Askeri Müzesi store, Istanbul, Turkey)

12. A simple *Spangenhelm* helmet from southern Persia. It was found with the remains of a lamellar cuirass and perhaps a lamellar aventail to be fastened to the rim of this helmet. The ring on the finial suggests that it dates from after the Mongol conquest, as this was a feature of perhaps Chinese origin which was introduced to many areas by the Mongols. The helmet probably dates from the later 13th or early 14th centuries. (After a drawing by V.V. Ovsyannikov; present whereabouts unknown)

13. A damaged but still recognisable lacquered leather or rawhide helmet, lined with small blocks of wood judging by a second fragmentary example, which came from the Euphrates region of northeastern Syria. It was decorated with black and red lacquer (shown here in black) which included a heraldic lion on one side. This heraldic cartouche, plus inscriptions on other pieces of equipment from the same location, indicates that they were of Mamlūk origin, the optimum

radiocarbon dating being A.D. 1285. (Private collection, London, England)

14. One-piece helmet with an inscription dedicated to the second Ottoman ruler Orkhan Ghāzī; mid-14th century. It is the earliest known example of the so-called "turban helmet" style which probably originated in Anatolia or western Persia and would become particularly associated with Ottoman armies of the 15th century. (Askeri Müzesi, Istanbul, Turkey)

15. A magnificent though extremely practical late 13th or early 14th century iron helmet with an original mail aventail to protect the wearer's neck and shoulders. By this period, armourers in the central Islamic lands, including Persia and the expanding Ottoman Empire, had reached their metallurgical and stylistic pinnacle. Their products were also very different to those made by European armourers to the west and Chinese armourers to the east. (State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia)

16. At the end of the mediaeval period, a very distinctive style of helmet appeared in the Islamic Middle East, thereafter being almost universal in Persian speaking regions, Islamic India and parts of the eastern Arab world. The example shown here may be one of the earliest surviving examples since the dedicatory inscription (X) names the early 8th/14th-century Mamlūk ruler Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn. It is, however, possible that this dedication was a later anachronism. (Musée de la Porte de Hal, Brussels)

17. As Islam spread across the Eurasian steppes, a number of very distinctive forms of helmet appeared, particularly in the western steppes where Turkish, Mongol, Persian and perhaps also Byzantine influences combined. One result was a form of tall one-piece iron helmet based upon the segmented *Spangenhelms* of earlier years, but incorporating an anthropomorphic visor which seemed to reflect European artistic values. These helmets are generally thought to date from the immediate pre-Mongol period but are more likely to stem from the late 13th-early 14th centuries A.D. This was a period of cultural transition when the western Mongol Khānate was evolving into the Islamic Golden Horde. (State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia)

18. This late 7th/13th or early 8th/14th-century helmet, probably from Mamlūk Egypt or Syria, has some features in common with the visored helmet from the Golden Horde while remaining very different in other respects. It is forged from one piece of iron, then richly decorated with arabesques and Arabic dedicatory inscriptions. (After a drawing by H. Russell Robinson; present whereabouts unknown)

19. Though now lacking its characteristic mail aventail and sliding nasal bar, this 8th/14th-century Persian helmet is a fine example of a form that would be used throughout most of the eastern Islamic world from the late 14th to 19th centuries. (Wawel Collection, Cracow, Poland)

20. During the 15th and 16th centuries an apparently new form of cavalry helmet came into use in Mamlūk and Ottoman armies. It proved so successful that it was adopted throughout most of Europe, spreading as far as England where it became known as the "Cromwellian pot helmet". In reality, it was of neither European nor Islamic origin but seems to have been developed by the Mongols or their successor khānates from a Chinese original. Thereafter, it was copied and developed by Mamlūk and Ottoman armourers. The crudely-constructed example shown here is one of the earliest. It was found in a Turco-Mongol grave near Plysky in the Ukraine, from the superficially Islamised Golden Horde and dating from between 1290 and 1313. (After a drawing by M. Gorelik; present whereabouts unknown)

(D. NICOLLE)

AL-ṢĪN.

5. Chinese Islamic literature.

Muslims settled in Kuang-chou (Canton, Khānfū [*q.v.*]) and possibly in Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an) and Ch'üan-chou (Zaytūn) as early as the T'ang dynasty, 2nd/8th century, thereafter also in Hang-chou (Khansā [*q.v.*]) and Pei-ching (Khānbaliḳ [*q.v.*]), and throughout China [see also MĪNĀ']. Extant tombstone and other inscriptions in Arabic and Chinese, however, date only from the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Ch'en Ta-sheng; Leslie, *Guide*, 28-31; *Beijing National Library list of rubbings of inscriptions*).

The most significant are three stelae in Chinese, from 749/1348 in Ting-chou, 751/1350 in Ch'üan-chou, and 751/1350 in Kuang-chou. The first two describe the supposed visit to China of Waḳḳāṣ (the Companion Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], a maternal cousin of the Prophet, and a famous general) in the 1st/7th century, sent, it is suggested, as an envoy of the Prophet himself (Yang and Yü, 91-106; Devéria; Tasaka, *Wakkas*). One should also mention an inscription dated 770/1368, set up in Nan-ching and copied in Wu-ch'ang, supposedly written by the first Ming Emperor T'ai-tsu, the *Hung-wu* Emperor (Low). Most intriguing is an undated inscription in Ch'ang-an, claiming a permit to build a mosque as early as 86/705 (Pickens).

These Chinese-style inscriptions served four main purposes: to record the history of the community; to explain Islamic ideas to the Muslims themselves and to non-Muslim Chinese; to demonstrate Confucian attitudes; and to protect the community. They are invaluable for the history of Islam in China, but of less value for the religious beliefs and practices of Chinese Muslims.

Islamic astronomy and medicine were influential in China in the Yuan and Ming dynasties. Four volumes (out of 36) of the large medical translation *Hui-hui yao-fang* are extant, preserved in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, 811/1408.

One should note, too, the Sayyid Adjall, Muslim official of the Mongols in China, about whom much has been written [see AL-ṢĪN, at Vol. IX].

Three books written about the voyages between 808/1405 and 837/1433 to Africa and Arabia of Cheng Ho, the famous Muslim admiral of the Ming, include the *Ying-yai sheng-lan*, written by a Muslim who accompanied him, Ma Huan [*q.v.*], in 837/1433 (Mills).

It is only with the Ming dynasty (1389-1644), that Islamic literature in Chinese as such developed. The earliest extant full-length Islamic book written in Chinese is the *Cheng-chiao chen-ch'üan* by Wang Tai-yü, in 1052/1642. This gives a full account of the Islamic religion, with some criticism of Chu Hsi, the Sung dynasty Aquinas of Confucianism. The main aim was probably to educate Muslims living in China, who by now could be called Chinese Muslims. A large stream of Islamic books, some in Arabic, some in Arabic and Chinese, and several only in Chinese, were written soon after this, some translations, some original. Most significant are: Ma Chu, *Ch'ing-chen chih-nan* ("The compass of Islam"), in 8 volumes, 1095/1683 (Hartmann); and *Hui-hui yüan-lai* ("The origin of Islam in China"), possibly 1135/1722 (Devéria).

The peak of Islamic literature in Chinese was reached around 1704 to 1724, when Liu Chih [*q.v.*] (Liu Chieh-lien, Liu I-chai) wrote his three main works:

T'ien-fang hsing-li about Islamic philosophy; *T'ien-fang tien-li* about Islamic laws and rites (this book was reviewed by the prestigious *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao*); and *T'ien-fang chih-sheng shih-lu*, a biography of the Prophet, probably based on the *Tardjuma-yi Mawlid i-Muṣṭafā*, a Persian translation from the Arabic work by Saʿīd (al-Dīn Muḥammad) b. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī, d. 758/1357 (a partial translation is given by Mason). Two other works by Liu are *Wu-kung shih-i* and *Chen-kung fa-wei* (Palladius).

The first two works include lists of sources with titles in transliterated Chinese, Chinese paraphrases of the title, and Arabic originals, many of which can be identified with the help of Brockelmann, Storey, etc. (Leslie and Wassel; and see also Leslie, Yang and Youssef, *Qianlong*, for other lists of Arabic and Persian Islamic works available in China). Liu was clearly influenced by the Ḥanafī school of law of the Sunnīs and by Ṣūfism, in particular, by the Kubrawiyya order [see KUBRĀ], and the Persian Nakshbandī Ṣūfī poet Djāmī [*q.v.*].

Liu's main sources were:

1. *Tafsīr (Chen-ching chu)* (one or more);
2. *Lawā'iḥ (Chen-ching chao-wei)*, by Djāmī, d. 898/1492;
3. *Ashiʿʿat al-lamaʿāt (Fei-yin ching* or *E-shen-erh-ting)* by Djāmī;
4. *Mirṣād al-ʿibād (Kuei-chen yao-tao* or *T'ui-yüan cheng-tao)*, by the Kubrawī Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī Dāya [*q.v.*], Abū Bakr Asadī, d. *ca.* 654/1256;
5. *Makṣad-i akṣā (Yen-chen-ching* or *Kuei-chen pi-yao)* probably by the Kubrawī writer ʿAzīz al-Nasafī, d. 661/1263 [see KUBRĀ, at Vol. V, 301a];
6. *Mawākif (Ko-chih ch'üan-ching)*.

Nos. 2-5 of these had already been translated into Chinese. Other translations included *Munabbihāt; Irshād; Tanbīh; ʿAkā'id* (by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī, d. 537/1142 [*q.v.*]; *Wikāya* (a commentary by Maḥmūd Burhān al-Sharīʿa, 7th/13th century, to the *Hidāya* by al-Marghīnānī, d. 593/1197 [*q.v.*]); and the Persian *Gulistān* by Saʿdī d. 691/1292 [*q.v.*].

Liu's biography of the Prophet has an introduction with the main Manchu edicts concerning Islam (see also Ma Sai-pei), and two large appendices, vol. XIX being a description of Arab and other countries overseas, and vol. XX being absolutely invaluable as a source book for the history of Islam in China, with inscriptions. Liu's works clearly show an attempt to accommodate Confucianism. The writings of Confucius and Mencius are referenced, as are Confucian and Taoist terms. At this time, several Muslims were succeeding in the Confucian literati examinations and becoming scholars and officials.

The works of Wang Tai-yü and Liu Chih were original creations. In addition, over the centuries a large number of translations, some from Persian, some from Arabic, have been made, so that there is a rich variety of Islamic works available in Chinese. In the 19th century, Ma Fu-ch'u (Ma Te-hsin) and Ma An-li continued to write significant Islamic literature in Chinese.

Other influential works are: *T'ien-fang cheng-hsüeh*, by Lan Tzu-hsi (1861), which includes a large number of fanciful biographies of Biblical and Muslim personalities; *Ch'ing-chen hsien-cheng yen-hsing lüeh*, by Li Huan-i (1875), which gives short biographies of 90 Chinese Muslims; *Ch'ing-chen shih-i pu-chi*, by T'ang Ch'uan-yu (1880), a valuable source book for Islam in China; and *T'ien-fang ta-hua li-shih*, by Li T'ing-hsiang (1919), a translation of the *Badā'iʿ al-zuhūr (umūr) fī wakā'iʿ al-duhūr* (sic. This is according to the Chinese postscript. However, the contents of the Chinese work seem to be from a different, less well-known work by the same author, sc. the *Mardj al-zuhūr fī wakā'iʿ al-duhūr*), by Abu 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Iyās (or Ayās) Zayn (Shihāb) al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī al-Djarkasī al-Ḥanafī, d. 930/1524 [see IBN IYĀS].

The main works have been republished, edited by Chang Hsiu-feng and Ma Sai-pei, in 55 volumes (1987). These works are to be found also in various libraries in China, Japan, Europe and America. Key collections outside China are those of Palladius (St. Petersburg); d'Ollone (Musée Guimet, Paris); Vissière (École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris); Mason (N.Y. Public Library); Toyo Bunko, Tokyo; and Tenri University, Tenri (Leslie, *Islamic literature*; idem, *Guide*, 21-5; Panskaya).

One should note also a number of extant *Chia-p'u* (family records), notably those found by Nakada Yoshinobu in the Diet Library in Tokyo for the Mi and Sha families; and also some for the P'u family, possibly tracing descent from P'u Shou-Keng of the Yuan (Mongol) period.

A renaissance of Islamic literature occurred in the 1920s, with original works and translations by Wang Ching-chai, Yang Ching-hsiu and others. From this time a series of translations of the Kur'ān was made, including some into classical Chinese, others into modern *Kuo-yü* (Yü and Yang, 1-32), and these were used, together with Arabic and Persian works, by Islamic schools in various cities. Chinese Muslim bookshops of this time had catalogues of books in Chinese and in Arabic and Persian, most notably the Niu-chieh (Ox Street) mosque catalogue of the 1920s (extant in Tenri University Library), and dozens of Muslim journals in Chinese flourished at this time (Loewenthal).

A second renaissance occurred in the 1980s and thereafter, with hundreds of books about Chinese communities all over China and about the history of Islam in China and also many about the history and duties of the religion (Yü and Yang). Several large encyclopaedias have been written (e.g. by Ch'iu Shu-sen, 1992; Yang Hui-yün, 1993; the *Chinese Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1994), and for the first time, histories of Islam in China in Chinese (by Ch'iu Shu-sen, 1996, and by Li Hsing-hua *et al.*, 1998) to rival Tasaka Kōdō's masterly 1964 history in Japanese. There are also invaluable bibliographical and biographical reference works by Pai Shou-i (1948 [mostly reprinted in 1982-3], and 1985, 1988, 1992, 1997); Ma En-hui (1983); Yü Chen-kuei and Yang Huai-chung (1993); Li Hsing-hua and Feng Chin-yüan, (1985); Chin I-chiu (1997); and by Leslie, Yang and Youssef (to be published by Monumenta Serica).

There are also several works written analysing the voyages of the Muslim admiral Cheng Ho to Africa and Arabia.

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SINDHĪ [see SIND. 3.].

SINDHU, the Sanskrit name for the Indus river. See for this MIHRĀN, and for the lands along its course, SIND, MULTĀN, PANDJĀB and KASHMĪR.

AL-**SINDĪ**, ABŪ ʿALĪ, mystic of the 3rd/9th century.

He is said to have imparted to the famous Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (al-Basṭāmī) (d. 261/874 [*q.v.*]) the doctrine of "annihilation in God" (*fanāʾ*; see BAḲĀʾ WA-FANĀʾ). Moreover, because of his *nisba* al-Sindī, he was thought to be of Indian origin, and therefore it was assumed that his views could be traced back to Indian, i.e. Hindu or Buddhist, influences. However, the basis for such an assumption as provided by the sources is very weak. In fact, hardly anything is known about Abū ʿAlī al-Sindī. The *nisba* may also refer to a place in Khurāsān (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. *Sind*). The only reference in early literature to Abū ʿAlī's influence on al-Bisṭāmī is found in a saying of the latter, mentioned in Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj (d. 378/988 [*q.v.*]), *al-Lumaʿ* (275/70.3): "I was a companion of Abū ʿAlī al-Sindī. I used to give him instructions that enabled him to fulfil his religious duty. In turn, he enlightened me on the doctrine of God's uniqueness (*tawḥīd* [*q.v.*]) and on the mystical realities in a pure form (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ ṣirfa*)." It is only in a later variant of this saying that the term *fanāʾ* is used, see Rūzbihān b. Abī Naṣr al-Baḳlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]), *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyyāt* (ed. H. Corbin, 35 ll. 12-13). Moreover, Ṣūfī currents have tended to consider not Abū Yazīd as the founder of the doctrine of *fanāʾ* but rather his contemporary Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz al-Baghdādī (d. 277/890-1 [*q.v.*]).

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ṢIRB.

1. The Ottoman period to 1800.

A. SERBIA BEFORE THE OTTOMANS

(a) *The origins of the Serbian kingdom.* The arrival of Slavic peoples in the Balkan peninsula took place in the second half of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th one. These peoples, later to be called "South Slavs", were grouped round three main tribes: those of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes, who had occupied Pannonia towards the end of the 6th century and who had moved from there towards the Adriatic coast, slowly assimilating the various Romanised peoples of Illyria. The most numerous of these "South Slavs", the Serbs, became implanted, towards the end of the 8th century, in a territory defined by the rivers Ibar (in the east), Neretva (in the southwest), Bosna (in the west) and Sava (in the north). At that time they were organised into petty principalities, governed by *joupans*, and when one of them secured an ascendancy over the rest, he would assume the tide of great *joupan*. Under the political tutelage of Byzantium, the Serbs became Christian in *ca.* 874. Serbia became independent towards the mid-9th century, thanks to the first princes of Raška (Rascie), i.e. the "Old Serbia", whose capital was at that time in the town of Ras (on the Ibar, to the northeast of Skadar/Scutari/Shkodër [see YEÑI BĀZĀR]. Under pressure from its enemies, notably the Byzantine emperors and the Bulgarian kings, the Serbian state's centre of gravity then moved towards the Zeta (the modern Montenegro and the extreme northwest of modern Albania) and then, at the time of Stevan/Stephen Nemanja (*r. ca.* 1166-96) and his successors (sc. the dynasty of the Nemanjići or Nemanids, *ca.* 1166-1371) towards the valley of the river Morava, towards Kosovo [see KOSOWA and PRISHTINA] and towards Macedonia [see ÜSKÜB]. In 1219, one of the sons of Stevan Nemanja, Rastko (the future great saint of the Serbian Church, under the name of St. Sava), obtained from the Patriarch at Nicea archiepiscopal consecration and the autocephalous status of the Serbian Church, an action which was going to play an important role in preserving Serbian identity during the five centuries of Ottoman domination. The mediaeval Serbian state's apogee was in 1346, under Stephen IX Uroš IV Dušan (*r.* 1331-55), who had himself crowned "Emperor (*tsar*) of the Serbs and Greeks" and had the *Sabor* or Assembly at Skoplje set out the *Dušanov Zakonik* "Code of Dusan" (1349). The anarchy which followed his premature death at the age of 47 favoured the beginnings of Ottoman expansion in the Balkans during the next decades. (On the Nemanid tradition and the introduction of "sacral kingship" in Serbia and in general, see B.I. Bojović, *L'hagiographie dynastique et l'idéologie de l'État serbe au Moyen-Âge (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*, in *Cyrillomethodianum*, xvii-xviii [Thessalonica 1993-4], 73-92.)

(b) *The first contacts with the Ottomans.* It was in the time of Tsar Dušan that Turkish units (at that time still only mercenaries or allies of the Byzantines) inflicted their first defeats on Serbian forces: first before Stephaniana in 1344 and then near Dimetoḳa [*q.v.*] in 1352. But the real Ottoman conquest of Rumelia (this time, undertaken on their own account) began in 1354 by the seizure of the fortress of Gallipoli on

the Dardanelles [see GELIBOLU], or, to pinpoint the moment when the Serbian state felt the Ottomans pressingly, seventeen years later, in 1371, at the battle of the Maritsa [see MERIČ], in the course of which the Serbian king Vukašin Mrnjavčević (who ruled western Macedonia) and three of his sons, plus his own brother Uglješa, Despot of Serres [see SIROZ], were killed. However, this was only felt within the Serbs' collective memory as a baneful prelude to the disaster suffered by the troops of Prince Lazar (the "Tsar Lazar" in popular memory) on 15 June 1389 at the "Field of Blackbirds", the battle better known as that of Kosovo [see ḲOSOWA, KOSOVO]. On the one hand, this event gave rise to the "myth of Kosovo" and, on the other hand, to a famous cycle of Serbian popular epic poetry (gathered together by Vuk Karadžić at Vienna from 1814 onwards, which was to attract very close interest from European intellectuals of the time; see, most recently, *Kosovo, six siècles de mémoires croisées*, in *Les annales de l'autre Islam*, no. 7, INALCO [Paris 2001], with further references).

B. SERBIA UNDER OTTOMAN DOMINATION (TO 1804)

The first four centuries of this history can be divided into three phases: (a) from the battle of Kosovo to 1552, the date when all the Serbian territories came under Ottoman control; (b) from 1552 to 1699, the date of the Treaty of Carlowitz, which marked the beginning of the Ottoman retreat in Danubian Europe after their maximal expansion in those lands; and (c) the slow but irreversible decline of Ottoman power in the Balkans up to 1804, the date of the first Serbian revolt.

(a) *The period 1389-1552*. The result of Kosovo was that Serbia became a vassal state of the Ottomans, forced to pay tribute and to furnish troops. With that said, the Serbian state did not disappear from existence after that date, but its centre of gravity moved much further north, where Serbian principalities were to subsist, for good or ill, for some 60 years. In the first place, there was that of the prince of Northern Serbia (the son of the Tsar Lazar, put to death by the Ottomans after the battle of Kosovo), the despot Stevan/Stephen Lazarević (*r.* 1389-1427), succeeded by his nephew George Branković (*r.* 1427-56), who in 1439 fixed his capital at Smederovo (at that time, on the Danube) [see SEMENDIRE, in Suppl.] and became involved in a double vassal status with the Ottomans and the kings of Hungary. Profiting from the Ottomans' difficulties in Anatolia (sc. the defeat at Ankara in 1402 at the hands of Tīmūr Lang [*q.v.*], the episode of Muṣṭafā Čelebi, Düzme [*q.v.*], the revolt of Sheykh Bedr al-Dīn [see BADR AL-DĪN B. ḲĀḌĪ SAMĀWNĀ], etc., the Serbian despots formed close and enduring alliances with the kings of Hungary in the hope, always to be disappointed, of "driving the Turks back to Asia". Thus in 1412, e.g., the king of Hungary Sigismund offered to cede to Stevan Lazarević the town of Belgrade as a fief, so that this last became, for the first time in its history, the capital of a Serbian prince.

But contrary to these hopes, the events of the period 1389-1552 were finally settled by the very strong and lasting implantation of Ottoman power in the Balkan peninsula (and beyond its frontiers). The main dates are: 1439, occupation of a great part of Serbia by Sultan Murād II [*q.v.*]; 1443, victories by Serbian and Hungarian troops; 1444, signature of the peace treaty of Edirne; 1453, fall of Constantinople; 1455, fresh Ottoman conquests in Serbia; 1458, fall of the Serbian despotate; 1459, surrender of the fortress of Smederovo; 1520, beginning of the reign, with its conquests, of Süleymān [*q.v.*] the Magnificent; 1526, defeat of the Hungarians at Mohácz [*q.v.*]: 1529, fall of Šabac and the first campaign against Vienna; 1541, fall of Buda; and 1552, fresh capture of Belgrade, which now made, from this date onwards, all Serbian territories subject to the Ottomans.

Two other topics important for this period must be touched upon here, if only briefly: the survival of the Serbian Orthodox Church (the only remaining "Serbian" institution during the centuries to come) and the situation of the Serbian people at this period.

Regarding the position of the Serbian Church, it should be noted that, in the course of raids by *aḳindjis* [*q.v.*] and in the course of the more regular military campaigns, neither monasteries nor churches were spared. Without the Church being singled out as such, its treasures were plundered, its buildings were burnt down and a certain number of priests and monks massacred or made prisoners-of-war. But this very dark picture needs also to be nuanced. The Serbian principalities lived for several decades as Ottoman vassals, guarding their internal organisation, including the Church, more or less intact. In some cases at least, one can even speak of a certain cultural florescence of the Serbian Orthodox Church, especially in the remoter regions, e.g. in Pomoravlje (sc. in the basin of the Morava river and its affluents), through the arrival of Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian and other monks and craftsmen fleeing from the lands invaded by the Turks. Then, little by little, once the disasters brought by the battles and the Ottoman campaigns were over, certain monasteries acquired official charters from the new authorities guaranteeing them a certain status within the Ottoman state, or at least, certain privileges. Unfortunately, we know little about the Church during this first period. But we do know that many monasteries were devastated, such as e.g. that of Visoki Dečani, that the greater part of their immense estates were confiscated and that, in the towns, certain churches (usually the finest) were transformed into mosques. Other churches suffered destruction later in order to provide materials for building various structures such as mosques, caravanserais, etc. Nevertheless, the Church did not lose all its lands, and not all monasteries—far from it—were devastated and left abandoned. Thus e.g. the monastery of Ravanica secured certain privileges from the time of the first Ottoman period onwards (that of 1439-44), and during this time, sultan Murād II awarded privileges to certain other Serbian monasteries. Some of these last were even excused payment of taxes, or else they were given the status of small *tīmārs* [*q.v.*] with the obligation to furnish one or two *djebelis* at the times of military campaigns (i.e. auxiliary troops, supplied and equipped by the beneficiaries of sources of revenue given by the state). But those mostly involved here were the monasteries in the frontier zones, or along the axes for provisioning the Ottoman army at times of campaigns (see A. Popovic, *Les rapports entre l'Islam et l'orthodoxie en Yougoslavie*, in *Aspects de l'orthodoxie. Structures et spiritualité, Colloque de Strasbourg, septembre 1978*, Paris 1981, 169-89).

As for the Serbian people, with the Ottoman conquest a more or less irreversible phenomenon is observable the definitive division of Serbian society into three groups. First, the group that, for various reasons, became converts to Islam and thus became separated (relatively quickly, and, even, very quickly) from the "common trunk", espousing not only a new belief and ideology but also cutting themselves off, in the long term, from anything in common with their past. Then

there was the group of those who fled the lands occupied by the Ottomans (for Hungary in the first place, then for Austria, and then, much later, for Russia), certain of whose descendants were to play a great role in Serbian political and cultural life when the state was rebuilt in the 19th century. And finally, by far the most numerous, there were those who stayed behind, where they were forced to live under the new status of *dhimmīs* [see DHIMMA and RAʿIYYA], a way of life punctuated by long periods of submission and daily collaboration with the Ottoman authorities but also by insurrections against these authorities, providing backing for Hungarian and Austrian armies in turn, according to the different phases of the international situation, risings which were regularly bloodily suppressed. This schema repeated itself regularly throughout the four centuries of history dealt with in this article, a history that should nevertheless be considered not only by events and by political and diplomatic processes, but also by a very close examination of the extremely complex processes going on within the central Ottoman empire and within its society in general.

(b) *The period 1552-1699.* The period that followed was to be marked, for the Serbian population, by a certain number of new occurences. The advance of Ottoman troops towards European Danubia, and the conquest of new territories, ended up by moving the "frontiers" of Serbia, as noted above, further northwards and northwestwards in relation to its original territory, that of Nemanid times. Henceforth, Serbia was to find itself, on the one hand, part of the "central provinces" of Ottoman Rumelia [see RŪMELI], and on the other, directly on the routes leading to the future theatre of military operations, viz. those leading to Vienna. Hence in 1557 (probably as part of the long-term plans of the Grand Vizier of Serbian origin, Meḥmed Pasha Soḳollu [see SOḲOLLU]), the Porte decided to re-establish the Patriarchate of Peć. This was apparently a political act which was aimed mainly at securing peace within the central provinces of the Balkans, whilst at the same time keeping an eye on the highest levels of the revived Serbian Church, but, as G. Veinstein has noted [see SOḲOLLU, at Vol. IX, 708b], "one may also see an additional factor at work here, a wider policy of conciliating the Serbs to make them a support of Ottoman policy in the Balkans." This restored Patriarchate of Peć covered an enormous territory (part of Macedonia and Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, the Voivodina and Bosnia, plus certain parts of Croatia, Dalmatia and Hungary). But, contrary to what was envisaged, this period of collaboration between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Ottoman power was merely a flash in the pan.

The reasons for this deterioration in relations between the Serbian Church and the Porte probably resided from the start in the ambiguity of Serbian Orthodoxy's attitude *vis-à-vis* the authorities, but the reasons must above all be found in the transformation of Ottoman society itself. The first task of the renewed Serbian Church was obviously to rally the Serbian people. It thus became not only a religious organisation but also a truly political one, becoming the focus for the feelings and aspirations of the people. The basis of such an ideology could only be a glorification of the work of St. Sava, an action that was logically based on the Nemanid tradition and, in particular, on the myth of Kosovo, and because of this, Serbian Orthodoxy was compelled sooner or later to emerge from this contradiction and to break with the Ottomans and proclaim war against them. It was to be hastened very rapidly along this road by the great crisis of Ottoman society at the end of the 16th century, when non-Muslims were deprived of the possibility of becoming *tīmār*-holders, *ipso facto* throwing such persons back into the category of *reʿāyā* and thereby uniting all classes of the Orthodox population against the Ottomans.

Revolts soon broke out. One of the first occurred in the Banat in 1594, when the insurgents had, it seems, banners bearing the picture of St. Sava. It was bloodily suppressed and then, on the orders of the Grand Vizier Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*], St. Sava's relics were brought from the monastery of Mileševo to Belgrade and publicly burnt on the Vračar hill there. The break was thus definitively made, above all in people's minds. Despite all tentative attempts and political moves to improve relations and to soothe the situation (e.g. under the Patriarch Pajsije Janjevac, between 1614 and 1647), both sides knew perfectly well what the future situation was going to be like. The deterioration rapidly accelerated. The crisis in Ottoman society led the state and its ruling classes to press down on the non-Muslim population and the Serbian Orthodox Church with increasingly heavier taxes and by all sorts of illegal abuses and practices. The churches and monasteries that were unable to satisfy these demands were sold up, bought at low prices by Muslim dignitaries and then transformed into mosques or public buildings, or even demolished for their materials to be re-used in new building works. Yet here, too, everything cannot be viewed as black and white. Thus we have cases where monasteries, under attack from Orthodox peasants coveting their lands, appealed to the Ottoman authorities. But in general, there was definitely a feeling of a certain unity between the Orthodox population and its Church and clergy, who existed within the same conditions and in an implicit connecting bond, one that was reinforced by the actions of certain Patriarchs and their being put to death by the Ottoman authorities.

The process of pressure–revolt–suppression was soon to compel the Church to seek external support: in Austria, in Italy, from the Pope, and finally, from Russia. But such support was only symbolic until the Austrian counter-offensive after the Turks' failure before Vienna in 1683. This offensive led the Christian powers far into the interior of the Ottoman lands (even the patriarchal seat, Peć, would be taken) and was to be marked by an active participation of the more energetic parts of the Serbian people, with the Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević at their head. The Austrian troops' withdrawal had grave consequences, not only for the subsequent history of the Orthodox Church but also for the Serbian people themselves. Too compromised by these events to await the return of the Ottomans, the Patriarch in 1690 decided to lead a grand emigration of the Serbian people and their church from Kosovo to the north, beyond the Sava and Danube. The arrival of Ottoman troops brought acts of reprisal of a savagery easy to imagine, and the region of Kosovo-Metohija, the ancient centre of the Serbian state, left partly empty by its people, was gradually filled by Muslim Albanians (since a large part of the Catholic Albanians was to become rapidly Islamised), whose colonisation there was strongly supported, and extensively assisted, by the Porte.

The key dates during this century and a half are: 1557, reestablishment of the Patriarchate at Peć; 1593, Ottoman defeat before Sisak [see SISḲA]; 1593-1606,

the "Long War" between Austria and Turkey; 1594, Serbian revolts (in the Banat and elsewhere); 1595, the public destruction of the relics of St. Sava at Belgrade; 1606, the peace treaty of Zsitvatorok [*q.v.*]; 1614, the Patriarch Pajsije renews the policy of compromise with the Ottoman authorities; 1683, the Ottoman check at Vienna; 1686, definitive loss of Buda; 1687, the Holy League against the Ottomans; 1688, Serbian rising and conquest of Belgrade; 1689, Austrian troops reach as far as "Old Serbia"; 1690, great Serbian emigration from Kosovo and return of the Ottomans; and 1699, the peace treaty of Carlowitz (Sremski Karlovci) [see ḲARLOVČA].

(c) *The period 1699-1804.* As during the preceding two periods, the 18th century was to bring the non-Muslim Serbian people a fresh lot of "vain hopes" and "bitter disillusionments". All this had its basis in the slow decline of the Ottoman empire, which did not, however, lead to its disintegration, supported as it was at that time by France, Britain and the Netherlands, who looked with a jaundiced eye on the subsequent successes of the Austrian Hapsburgs and the Russian Tsars (thus confirming the foresights of Montesquieu). On quite a different plane, the social and religious divisions between the Muslim and non-Muslim populations of Rumelia were to crystallise, impelling the non-Muslim Serbians to participate actively in fighting against the "Turks" in the course of each new war launched by Austria into their territory. But the ephemeral victories and the long-lasting defeats of the 18th century (notably from that time when the Serbian population had to suffer a long occupation by the Austrians, in 1718-39, one whose methods were no different from those of the Ottomans) made the Serbian people conscious of the political implications of their fight.

Here follows a chronology of events: the renewed Austro-Turkish war (of 1716-18) ended in practice with the greatest success the Hapsburgs had ever enjoyed since these last took possession, under the Treaty of Passarowitz/Požarevac [see PASAROFČA], of the eastern part of Sirmia (Srem); the Banat (with Temesvar), Lesser Wallachia, all the northeastern part of Serbia, including Belgrade; and the northern zone of Bosnia (along the Sava), territories they retained for some 20 years. (On the desert aspect of Serbia in 1717, with the encroachment of virgin forests with strips of cultivation abandoned for many years, with miserable, scattered village populations, see Lady Mary Stuart Wortley Montague, *Turkish letters*, London 1763, with many later editions.) The measure of disenchantment of the non-Muslim population during these years (faced with the Austrians' attitudes, their arbitrary taxes and the missionary activities of the Roman Catholic Church) can be simply measured by the numerous cases of flight by the Serbian Orthodox people back to Ottoman territory.

Then, twenty years later, a fresh Austro-Turkish war broke out (1737-9) which, after great initial successes by the Austrians and the insurgent Serbs (conquest of southwestern Serbia, with Alleksinac, Kruševac, Novi Pazar, Pri<u>sh</u>tina and Ni<u>sh</u>), ended in a terrible defeat before Grocka (not far from Belgrade), and by the Treaty of Belgrade (1739) the Hapsburgs lost all the territories captured twenty years before. Naturally, there were more waves of emigration by Serbs into southern Hungary, one of which, under the Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta, became known as "the second Serbian migration from Kosovo".

The years that followed, generally called "the thirty years of peace", were marked by the suppression in 1766 of the Patriarchate of Peć (whose increasingly frequent flirtations with the Russian Orthodox Church ended by seriously worrying the Porte, but which had already, for a fair amount of time, been in a lamentable state (see O. Zirojevič, 152-5), and by attempts by Russia (from 1751-2 onwards) to attract Serbian emigrants from Hungary to settle in the Ukraine. (These events are described in a magistral fashion by M. Crnjanski [1893-1977] in his novel *Seobe* ["Migrations"], Belgrade 1929, [2]1962, etc., Fr. tr. Paris 1986.)

Then a third Austro-Turkish war broke out in 1788 (as a prolongation of the Russo-Turkish war that had begun the previous year), in which a large part of the Serbian population took part, notably in the famous volunteer bands of *Frajkori* (< Ger. *Freikorps*), led by their own offices. These troops, led by the famous Koča Andjelković (hence the name "Kočina Krajina"), succeeded in conquering western and northern Serbia (sc. Šumadija and the Požarevac region) and in 1789 (in collaboration with the Austrians), the city of Belgrade itself. However, two years later, in 1791, the peace treaty of Svištov [see ZI<u>SH</u>TOWA] deprived the insurgents of their conquests and authorised the return of the Ottomans. Finally, at the end of the 18th century, the reforms undertaken by Selīm III [*q.v.*] provoked plots and risings of the Janissaries in various parts of Rumelia. Amongst these, more specifically, was the rising in Serbia of 1804, provoked by the excesses and violence of the Janissaries; this was genuinely a rising with a national character, affecting the greater part of the Serbian people and conducted by one of their chiefs, George Petrović, called Kara ("black") George (see R. Mantran, in idem [ed.], *Histoire de l'Empire ottomane*, 430-1). It was in these conditions that there broke out in 1804 the "First Serbian Revolt", which allowed, by successive stages and three decades later, the definitive freeing of Serbia from the Ottoman empire and the beginnings of its independence.

The key dates, which spanned a century (1699-1804), are the following: 1716, a new Austro-Turkish war; 1717, the conquest of Belgrade by Prince Eugène of Savoy's army; 1718, the peace treaty of Požarevac, with Belgrade becoming the capital of Northern Serbia under Austrian occupation; 1737-9, a new Austro-Turkish war; 1739, the peace treaty of Belgrade, by which the Ottomans re-occupied their former Serbian territories; 1739-74, the so-called "thirty years of peace"; 1766, suppression of the Patriarchate of Peć; 1768-74, Russo-Turkish war; 1774, the peace treaty of Küčük Ḳaynar<u>dj</u>a [*q.v.*]; 1788, fresh Austro-Turkish war; 1789, conquest of Belgrade by Austrian troops and Serbian insurgents; 1791, peace treaty of Svištov stipulating the return of the Ottomans in Serbia; 1792, revolt of the Janissaries of Serbia against the Porte and Selīm III's reforms: 1794-7, conquest of the *pa<u>sh</u>alïḳ* of Belgrade by the rebel *pa<u>sh</u>a* of Vidin [see WIDIN], Paswan-og<u>h</u>lu [*q.v.*]; 1801-3, reign of terror by the four rebel Janissary chiefs, installed in Belgrade; 1804, the First Serbian Revolt led by Kara George.

In the course of this rapid survey, several important questions have remained unexplored: economic topics (agriculture, stockrearing, exploitation of mines, large-scale colonisation by the Ottoman authorities through the intermediacy of installing pastoralist nomads and "Wallachs/Vlachs"—whose name, however, poses certain problems—etc.); the formation and growth of the towns, and the town-and-country relationships (taking into account the minimal representation of Serbs in the towns and of "Turks" in the

villages); the Serbian patriarchal society and the system of *zadruga* (extended families living under the same roof); the very numerous migrations and emigrations (notably towards southern Hungary, south-western Bosnia, Southern Russia and the Croatian "Krajina"); the demographic evolution of the Serbian population; brigandage, and the question of guerilla bands against the Ottoman authorities (the *hajduks* and *uskoks*); the results of the wars and the continual devastations (shrinking of the economy from primitive agricultural methods and exhaustion of the soil); famines and epidemics (cholera and plague); the increasing authority of the Serbian Church and the crystallisation of Serbian national feeling; and cultural topics and the rule played here by Jovan Rajić (1726-1801), Zaharije Orfelin (1726-85), Dositej Obradović (1739-1811) and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787-1864). These subjects can be explored through titles listed below in the *Bibl.*

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(A. Popovic)

SIRR (a.), lit. "secret", denotes in Islamic spirituality two notions, at first sight distinct but which certain adepts did not hesitate to combine (al-Djurdjānī, 218; al-Tahānawī, i, 653; on the combination of the two senses, see e.g. al-Sulamī, 1953, 213, 216, 282).

1. The first notion is that of secret, mystery, arcana, in the sense of a teaching, a reality or even a doctrinal point, hidden by nature or which is kept hidden from persons considered unworthy of knowing it. If there is a secret, says al-Sarrādj al-Ṭūsī (d. 378/998), probably taking up the Shīʿī concept of two levels of reality (Amir-Moezzi, 1997), it is because the object of knowledge sought by the individual has an obvious, exoteric (*ẓāhir*) aspect and a hidden, esoteric (*bāṭin*) one. The Ḳur'ān, the Ḥadīth, knowledge, Islam, etc., all have these two distinct, complementary levels. In order to attain the esoteric level, a person must so dispose his body (lit. "his members", *djawāriḥ*), since this level can only be reached by the "esoteric organ", sc. the heart (*ḳalb*). The *bāṭin* of objects of knowledge as well as the interior realities of a man are secrets that only the initiates can discover and which they must protect (al-Sarrādj, 43-4). The mass of people, prisoners of their own ignorance and blindly attached to the letter only of religion, can only become violent if the secret is revealed to them, even if only partially (Lāhidjī, 100, 498; al-Ḳayṣarī, 41; Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Nabī, ii, 167). Even the Ḳur'ān, in two places, authorises the faithful to dissimulate their beliefs in cases of danger (III, 28; XL, 28), whence the adage, untiringly repeated in the mystical works, "the breasts of free men are repositories (lit. 'tombs') of secrets" (*ṣudūr al-aḥrār ḳubūr al-asrār*, see e.g. al-Tahānawī, 92).

According to the Shīʿa (for whom "everything has a secret; the secret of Islam is Shīʿism," al-Kulaynī, ii, 14), this—i.e. essentially the Imāms' teachings, which has several esoteric levels, *bāṭin* and *bāṭin al-bāṭin*—contains secrets that must be protected at all costs (al-Ṣaffār, 28-9). The duty of keeping such secrets (*taḳiyya*, *kitmān*, *khab'*) is thus a canonical obligation for them (Kohlberg, 1975, 1995; Amir-Moezzi, 1992, index, s.v. *taqiyya*).

For the Ṣūfīs likewise, such notions as "protection of the secret" (*ḥifẓ al-sirr*, around which expression, above all, certain mystics combine the two senses of *sirr*), "concealing, changing the guise of something to make it appear other than it is" (*talbīs*), or further, "hiding the real nature of the particular interior state" (*ikhfā' al-ḥāl*), make up practices and disciplines which are particularly important (al-Suhrawardī 1983, 72; Hudjwīrī, 500-1; ʿAfīfī, 89, 117; al-Shaybī, 20ff.). In the literature of mysticism, constant reference is made to the trial of al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], who was executed in 309/922 for having divulged the Secret *par excellence*, by putting forward the famous *shaṭḥ* "I am the Real" (*anā 'l-ḥaḳḳ*), *ḥaḳḳ* being a Name of God. The greatest Persian mystical poets, such as ʿAṭṭār, ʿIrāḳī and Ḥāfiẓ, very often allude to the "crucified one of Baghdād" (sc. al-Ḥallādj) and call the real spiritual masters "the people of the Secret" (Khurramshāhī, s.v. *ahl-i rāz*). This is why mystical authors, from their oldest writings onwards, devised an "allusive language" (*ishāra*), a coded form of discourse which was later to assume very numerous forms (technical vocabularies,

symbolic lexica, fables, poetic images, etc.), reflecting esoteric realities and distinguishing themselves from "literal language" (*ʿibāra*) which is unsuitable for exoteric topics (al-Sarradj, 414, concerning *ramz*; al-Kalābādhī, ch. iii, 30ff.; Hudjwīrī, 480ff.; and see Amir-Moezzi 2002b).

2. The second notion is that of a "subtle organ", one of the layers of the "heart", making up the human spiritual anatomy, which may be translated by "secret, inner consciousness". It seems that, for the Khurāsān school of mystics, the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] comprise the progression of levels of consciousness, "organs" of invocation (*dhikr*) and vision (*mushāhada*), going through the soul (*nafs*) to the spirit (*rūḥ*), passing by the heart (*ḳalb*) and the inner consciousness (al-Tustarī, 16, 19, 34, 45, 78; al-Sulamī 1991, 16). It should be noted that al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. *ca.* 318/936 [*q.v.*]), one of the oldest of the Khurāsānian theoreticians of the elements making up the "heart", seems to be the only one of them not counting the *sirr* amongst these last (*Bayān*, *passim* and esp. 427; Gobillot 1996, 197-8). Al-Ḳushayrī (d. 465/1072 [*q.v.*]), conveying the system of the ʿIrāḳī Ṣūfīs, sets forth another progression which omits the soul, the seat of the ego, and the *sirr* is said to be the seat of vision, whilst the spirit is the seat of love (*maḥabba*) and the heart that of knowledge (*maʿārif*). Here, the inner consciousness is considered as amongst the most subtle and the noblest parts of man, as the innermost secret between the created man and God, the most interiorised part of a man's being (al-Ḳushayrī, 45; Gobillot and Ballanfat, 175-6); it is in this context that one should probably understand the formula pronounced over a dead person: *ḳaddasa Allāh sirrahu al-ʿazīz* "may God sanctify his noble inner consciousness". Such great mystics as ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān al-Makkī (d. 291/903-4) or al-Ḥallādj seem close to this system (Massignon, i, 113, ii, 411ff.), whilst others, like al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899 [*q.v.*]) for example, develop a much more complex spiritual anatomy, comprising instinct (*ṭabʿ*), soul, heart, will (*irāda*), spirit, inner consciousness and spiritual aspiration (*himma*) (Nwyia, 243-5, 272, 301).

After the attempt at a synthesis of the different systems by ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1235 [*q.v.*]) (1983, 454ff., 1986, 181, 203), one often finds amongst the later mystics a sevenfold division, admittedly with other nomenclatures, to which they add new touches derived from mystical theories and practices like *dhikr* formulae corresponding to each level, interior prophetology or coloured lights accompanying each layer of the "heart". We have here the theory of "subtle organs" (*laṭīfa*, pl. *laṭāʾif*, or also *ṭūr*, pl. *aṭwār*) especially developing from the time of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 617/1220-1 [*q.v.*]) and the mystics of his school (Corbin 1971; al-Isfarāyinī, 1986, introd., 60-2; Landolt, 287-8; Kubrā 2001, index s.v. *organe subtil*), from Ibn al-ʿArabī's followers such as Muʾayyid al-Dīn Djandī or Dāwūd al-Ḳaysarī (Gobillot and Ballanfat, 189-90), up to the modern and even contemporary Ṣūfīs Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī of Algeria (d. 1276/1879 [*q.v.*]) (105ff.) and the Kurd Muḥammad Amīn al-Naḳshbandī (d. 1324/1914-15) (548-58). In the different progressions of the "subtle organs", *sirr* is almost always present, most often associated with the colour white. The *dhikr* corresponding to it varies greatly according to authors or mystical orders. The most often-found is: *ṭabʿ*, *nafs*, *ḳalb*, *rūḥ*, *sirr*, *khafī* ("what is hidden") and *akhfā* ("what is most hidden") (Kāshānī, 82ff., 101 and the editor's notes).

In Shīʿī mysticism, allusions of varying precision to the subtle "layers" of the "heart" and vision by means of the heart, are found from the time of the oldest compilations of *ḥadīth* onwards (Amir-Moezzi 1992, 112ff.). However, the Shīʿī Ṣūfīs (Niʿmatullāhiyya, Dhahabiyya and Khāksar), organised in brotherhoods from the 16th-17th centuries onwards, went on to adopt one or another of the systems used by Sunnī orders like the Ḳādiriyya, Kubrawiyya or Naḳshbandiyya (Gramlich, ii, 207 n. 1073, 247-50; Amir-Moezzi 1992, 129ff.; idem 2002, *passim*).

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(MOHAMMAD ALI AMIR-MOEZZI)

SOLTANGALIEV [see SULṬĀN ʿALĪ ŪGHLĪ].

SOUTH AFRICA, Islam in.

2. Afrikaans in Arabic script.

Arabic-Afrikaans denotes the script whereby Muslims in 19th-century South Africa rendered a creolised dialect of the Afrikaans language. A phonetically adapted Arabic script was used to write Muslim religious literature of this spoken dialect. Afrikaans itself owes its origins to these creolised varieties of the colonial dialect of Netherlandic (Cape Dutch) that was spoken among the Khoisan and slave community of the Cape. Arabic-Afrikaans is the patrimony of this distinct Cape Muslim community, whose major ancestral ties can be traced to the Malay-speaking world, from where many of them arrived after 1652.

Cape Muslims, possibly as far back as the late 18th and early 19th centuries, spoke a more distinct creole variety of Cape Dutch that was heavily affected by word borrowings from Malayu but also contained some Bughanese and Arabic words. The grammatical structure of Arabic-Afrikaans writings shows unmistakable resemblances to the grammar of what later develops into the Afrikaans language. The written script of this Cape Muslim creole Afrikaans is derived from the Djāwī [*q.v.*] script that modifies the Arabic alphabet, in order to create specific phonetic renderings unavailable in Arabic.

As a written script, Arabic-Afrikaans served as a vehicle for the transmission of a knowledge of religion in the course of educating mostly slaves and free blacks among the Muslims of the Cape *ca.* 1810 or thereafter. Members of this community were literate but not in the Roman script; they could read languages based on Arabic orthography and could read the Ḳurʾān for liturgical purposes.

One of the earliest Arabic-Afrikaans manuscripts can be dated back to 1840, according to Achmat Davids (d. 1998), whose seminal writings pioneered this field of study (Davids 1991, 56). Texts in circulation that were written in Arabic-Afrikaans covered subjects such as the elementary rules of Islamic law (*fiḳh*), catechism and theology (*tawḥīd* and *ʿilm al-kalām*) for the instruction of adults and children. Handwritten and later printed editions known as *koples boeke*, mnemonic texts written for the purpose of memorising religious teachings, circulated widely at the Cape and its hinterland for much of the 19th century and were still in use during the early part of the 20th century.

However, with the gradual growth of literacy in English and Afrikaans among Cape Muslims, many *ʿulamāʾ* switched to the Roman script, while continuing to write in the distinct Cape Muslim idiom of Afrikaans that is different from standard Afrikaans. Apart from literacy in the Roman script, easy access to mechanised printing facilities was the main reason for the change, since Arabic-Afrikaans texts had to be published outside South Africa.

Accredited as the first and best-known of Arabic-Afrikaans texts is the *Bayān al-dīn* "The exposition of religion" of Abu Bakr Effendi (d. 1880), a Kurdish religious scholar who was sent to the Cape by the Ottomans. His book was completed in 1869, but only published at Istanbul in 1877. In the mid-20th century Mia Brandel-Syrier translated it into English. Hans Kähler believed that the *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān*, "Gifts to friends", a manuscript written by Imām ʿAbd al-Ḳahhār b. ʿAbd al-Malik *ca.* 1856 could have been the earliest text, but this document, now in Germany, has not been properly verified. The Dutch orientalist Adrianus van Selms (d. 1984) believed that the earliest attempt to print Arabic-Afrikaans at the Cape could have taken place as early as 1856. Since no copy of this work remains extant, Davids doubted this claim.

Three other figures deserve mention for their prolific contribution to the genre of Arabic-Afrikaans writing. One was Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 1942), a native of Baṣrā who settled in the Cape around the 1880s. He quickly mastered the local patois and began writing in Arabic-Afrikaans, producing smaller tracts directed at an adult audience. Texts were also produced for the local *madrasa* education system that students attended in the afternoon after their schooling in the secular educational system. The second person was Imām ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḳāsim Gamieldien (d. 1921), his creolised family name being possibly a corruption of Djamīl al-Dīn or Ḥāmil al-Dīn (Davids 1991, 147), who wrote several texts for the *madrasa* curriculum. The third person was the son of Abū Bakr Effendi, sc. Hishām Niʿmat Allāh Effendi (d. *ca.* 1945), who published several Arabic-Afrikaans books in his desire to advance education among the local Muslims.

According to an inventory made by Davids, some 74 Arabic-Afrikaans publications have been identified, with the possibility of more being discovered in private collections and libraries. Further investigation of these texts should shed light on how knowledge from the metropolises of the Islamic world was transferred to marginal and smaller communities, thereby increasing local knowledge and introducing new practices.

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(EBRAHIM MOOSA)

AL-**SUFYĀNĪ**, a descendant of the Umayyad Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] figuring in apocalyptic prophecies as the rival and opponent of the Mahdī [*q.v.*] and ultimately overcome by him.

The bulk of these prophecies dates from the 2nd/8th century. The largest collection of them was assembled by the Sunnī traditionist Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād (d. 227/842) in his *Kitāb al-Fitan*. Different views have been expressed about the origins of this figure. The Zubayrid Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 236/851) claimed that Khālid, son of the caliph Yazīd I [see KHĀLID B. YAZĪD B. MUʿĀWIYA], had invented it out of resentment of the usurpation of his title to the caliphate by the caliph Marwān I. Khālid thus wanted to arouse popular hopes for a restorer of the Sufyānid branch of the house of Umayya. This view that the figure at first represented Sufyānid interests against the Marwānid caliphate was in modern times endorsed by Th. Nöldeke and Ch. Snouck Hurgronje, who held that it was later transformed by orthodox religious tradition into an Umayyad Antichrist. Following sug-

gestions by J. Wellhausen, H. Lammens questioned this view and connected the figure with the abortive anti-ʿAbbāsid rising of Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī in Syria in 133/751. The Syrians denied his death and believed that he was hiding in the mountains of al-Ṭāʾif from where he would return in triumph. Shīʿī and pro-ʿAbbāsid traditionists then turned this "Syrian national hero" into a figure resembling the Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*]. Combining the two views, R. Hartmann argued that the Sufyānī was at first an anti-Marwānid messianic figure which, after the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty, was turned by Syrian advocates of an Umayyad restoration into an anti-ʿAbbāsid messiah. The Syrians, Hartmann suggested, may at that time have longed for a return of the caliph Yazīd I. Only thereafter was the figure taken over by the ʿAbbāsids and their Shīʿī backers and transformed into an opponent of the Mahdī.

The image of the opposition between the Mahdī and the Sufyānī goes back to a *ḥadīth* (fully quoted in the art. AL-MAHDĪ at Vol. V, 1232a), which predicted the rise to power of a political refugee from Medina in Mecca and the subsequent rise in Syria of "a man whose maternal uncles are of Kalb", who would send an army of Kalb against the rebel in Mecca. This army, however, would be utterly defeated, and the rebel caliph in Mecca would justly rule Islam for seven or nine years. The first part of this *ḥadīth* reflected, as pointed out by D.S. Attema, the career of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and the prediction dates from shortly after the death of the caliph Yazīd (64/683). In the later Umayyad age, this prediction was widely spread as a prophetic *ḥadīth* by the highly regarded Baṣran traditionist Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma (d. 117/735). As its contents were now projected into the apocalyptic future, the rebel caliph in Mecca came to be identified with the Mahdī and his rival, whose maternal uncles were of Kalb, with a Sufyānī opponent.

As the Mahdī in the later Umayyad age was more and more identified with a descendant of Muḥammad, the figure of his Sufyānī opponent was commonly appropriated from the originally pro-Zubayrid Ḳatāda *ḥadīth* and developed by Shīʿī and pro-ʿAlid Kūfan circles. The appearance of the Sufyānī was thus closely connected with the advent of the Mahdī. A Kūfan prophecy foretold that the Sufyānī and the Mahdī would come forth like two racehorses. Each one would subdue the region next to him. The Shīʿī *imām* Muḥammad al-Bāḳir was quoted as predicting that the Sufyānī would reign for the time of the pregnancy of a woman (*ḥaml marʾa*). The prediction of a "swallowing up (*khasf*)" of a Syrian army by the desert between Mecca and Medina, which according to the Ḳatāda *ḥadīth* was to occur under the predecessor of the Sufyānī (historically the caliph Yazīd), was now integrated into the career of the Sufyānī. Shīʿīs referred to the Sufyānī also as the Son of the Liver-eating Woman (*ibn ākilat al-akbād*) after Abū Sufyān's wife Hind bt. ʿUtba [*q.v.*], who was said to have bitten the liver of Muḥammad's uncle Ḥamza after he was killed in the battle of Uḥud. The Sufyānī, it was predicted, would first come forth in the Wādī al-Yābis near Damascus. In the later Imāmī Shīʿī standard doctrine, the appearance of the Sufyānī in the Wādī al-Yābis in the month of Ramaḍān and the *khasf* of an army sent by him in the desert are counted among the indispensable signs for the advent of the Mahdī or Ḳāʾim [see ḲĀʾIM ĀL MUḤAMMAD].

There is no sound evidence for an early anti-Marwānid expectation of a restorer of Sufyānid rule. The apocalyptic Sufyānī figure came to Syria and Egypt together with that of the Fāṭimid Mahdī and represented a minority view there in the late Umayyad age. The great Berber rebellion in the Maghrib in 123/740-1 aroused fears of an invasion of Egypt and Syria, the *fitna* of the Maghrib inaugurating the end of time, and there were predictions of the appearance of the Sufyānī connected with it. In post-Umayyad Sufyānī prophecies, the coming of a rebel Berber army, often described as carrying yellow flags, became a standard element.

After the overthrow of the Umayyad caliphate by the ʿAbbāsids, the apocalyptic Sufyānī was in Syria given the role of a successful challenger of the eastern conquerors. Already during the anti-ʿAbbāsid revolt of Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī in 133/751, word was spread by his supporters that he was "the Sufyānī who had been mentioned". The Sufyānī was now associated with a prediction that the Syrians would march against an eastern caliph in Kūfa, which would be razed to the ground "like a leather skin (*tuʿraku ʿark al-adīm*)". Baghdād was soon added as a town to be destroyed by the Sufyānī, who would send his armies to the east, the Maghrib, Yemen and ʿIrāḳ. Such anti-ʿAbbāsid prophecies were first spread by pro-ʿAlid Syrian narrators, who invariably portrayed the Sufyānī as a ruthless forerunner of the just Fāṭimid Mahdī to whom he would ultimately lose out. In some prophecies, the Sufyānī was described as "handing over the caliphate to the Mahdī (*yadfaʿ al-khilāfat^u li ʾl-Mahdī*)". The themes of these Shīʿī prophecies were taken over and further developed by Sunnī traditionists, especially in Ḥimṣ. The largest contribution was made by Arṭāt b. al-Mundhir (d. 162-3/779-80), an ascetic worshipper highly regarded as a transmitter who produced lengthy predictions, either attributing them to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] and his stepson Tubayʿ b. al-ʿĀmir al-Ḥimyarī or in his own name. Arṭāt's predictions turned the Sufyānī into a thoroughly repulsive and monstrous figure resembling the Dadjdjāl. Sometimes Arṭāt divided the Sufyānī into two figures. The first one, named ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd, would be al-Azhar or al-Zuhrī b. al-Kalbiyya, the deformed Sufyānī (*al-Sufyānī al-mushawwah*). He would take the *djizya* from the Muslims, enslave their children and split open the wombs of pregnant women. After he had died from a carbuncle, another Sufyānī would come forth in the Ḥidjāz. He, too, would be deformed, flat-headed, with scarred forearms and hollow eyes.

In Egypt, the apocalyptic Sufyānī figure was promoted and elaborated by ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa (d. 174/790 [*q.v.*]) in numerous traditions spuriously ascribed to early authorities including Companions and the Prophet. Although one-eyed (*aʿwar*) and the perpetrator of massacres of ʿAbbāsids and ʿAlids, Ibn Lahīʿa's Sufyānī could not compete with Arṭāt's in repulsive ugliness and bestiality nor be described as a forerunner of the Dadjdjāl.

The Umayyad rebel Abu ʾl-ʿAmayṭar, a grandson of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, who rose against the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Damascus in 195/811, gained some support as the expected Sufyānī. Already before the eruption of the revolt, the Damascene traditionist al-Walīd b. Muslim spread the prediction that the Sufyānī would inevitably come forth even if only a single day remained of the year 195. Umayyad backers claimed that the signs for the Sufyānī mentioned in the prophecies were present in Abu ʾl-ʿAmayṭar and that Kalb would be his supporters. A prophecy describing the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd and the succession of his son al-Amīn foretold the appearance of

the Sufyānī during the latter's reign and the collapse of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Abu ʾl-ʿAmayṭar, however, rejected the Sufyānī title for himself, evidently because of the negative implications in the apocalyptic tradition.

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(W. MADELUNG)

AL-**SUHAYLĪ**, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim (508-81/1114-85), Andalusī scholar of the religious sciences.

He was born either in the village of Suhayl, modern Fuengirola, or in nearby Málaga, and studied Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* and philology there as well as in Cordova and Granada. His most famous teacher was Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], under whom he studied for a while in Seville. Settled in Málaga, he led a quiet scholarly life. Since he had lost his sight at the age of seventeen, he relied for his reading and writing on, among others, Ibn Diḥya [*q.v.*], his best-known pupil. At the Almohad court in Marrākush, where he stayed for some time, he achieved fame and wealth; he died during a visit to Morocco in 581/1185.

His fame rests on his *Rawḍ al-unuf*, a commentary on Ibn Hishām's biography of the Prophet. This contains old material which has not been preserved elsewhere, sc. *sīra* texts by al-Zuhrī, Mūsā b. ʿUḳba [*q.vv.*], Yūnus b. Bukayr and others. It also provides evidence for fragments of Ibn Isḥāḳ in versions other than that of Ibn Hishām. The *Rawḍ* was commented upon and criticised by Mughulṭāy [*q.v.*].

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(W. RAVEN)

SŪḲ.

5. In mediaeval ʿIrāḳ.

Before the Arab conquest of ʿIrāḳ there were markets frequented by Arabs in ancient cities, such as al-Ḥīra and al-Madāʾin [*q.vv.*]. There was also a so-called "sūḳ Baghdād" on the west bank of the Tigris, where a monthly market was held during the Sāsānid period. The latter was raided by Arab troops as early as the caliphate of Abū Bakr (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 12, 101). Following the Arab conquest of ʿIrāḳ, the founders of the garrison towns of Baṣra and Kūfa designated an open space close to the mosque for use as a market. In this they were emulating the Prophet Muḥammad who had designated an open space in Medina for a similar use. A distinctive method in the organisation of markets began to emerge in the new Islamic cities of Wāsiṭ, Baghdād and Sāmarrāʾ during the late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods. Evidence from the ʿAbbāsid period suggests that there were often a series of markets (*aswāḳ*) adjacent to each other and separated only by roads and streets. Outside the central market in Baghdād and Sāmarrāʾ, other markets were created for local residents and there were also a number of smaller markets known by the diminutive *suwayḳa*.

Markets, according to al-Shayzarī (d. 589/1193), author of the earliest *ḥisba* manual, should be as spacious and wide as possible (like the Roman market), and every kind of craft or profession (*ṣanʿa*) represented in it should be allocated its own market (*sūḳ*). The reference to separate space for each product sold or manufactured probably implies a series of markets or a row of shops and workshops producing and selling similar goods. Thus al-Shayzarī recommends that a market should allocate space to a concentration of shops selling the same product. The shops were arranged in a linear fashion along roads, streets and lanes. The author further recommends that traders who used fire in the preparation of their products, such as bakers (*khabbāzūn*), cooks (*ṭabbākhūn*) and blacksmiths (*ḥaddādūn*) should for safety reasons have their shops at some distance from others, for instance, perfumers (*ʿaṭṭārūn*) and cloth merchants (*bazzāzūn*). A similar market layout was endorsed by Ibn Bassām al-Muḥtasib. Other principles applied to the organisation of shops in a market took into account non-topographical considerations. For instance, Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), writing about the markets of Baghdād, noted that in the markets of al-Karkh the perfumers did not associate with traders selling noisome goods nor with sellers of fancy or of secondhand goods. People of refined culture lived in special residential areas. No working-class people lived in the Saffron Road (*darb al-zaʿfarān*) in Karkh; the only residents there were the cloth merchants and perfume traders (cf. *Manāḳib Baghdād*, 28). The segregation of the traders in products that smelled nice (perfumes, sweets, jewellery, silk cloth, etc.) from those dealing in smelly things, such as tanners, dyers, garbage collectors and bric-à-brac merchants, was a principle which seems to have been widely applied in laying out these markets. Such social custom, according to Massignon, was responsible for the practice of housing the markets of the jewellers (*sūḳ al-ṣāgha*) with those of the money-changers (*sūḳ al-ṣayārif*) (*Khiṭaṭ Baghdād*, 84). Another reason for grouping the shops of jewellers and money-changers together was probably the fact that these commercial enterprises were monopolised by Jews and Christians.

Al-Shayzarī's views on the topographical organisation of markets, in which shops and workshops were grouped together for manufacturing or selling similar goods, reflect the broadly-accepted principles followed by Arab town-planners in the early Islamic period. Our knowledge of the early ʿIrāḳī markets goes back to the 1st/7th century, when Baṣra and Kūfa were laid out using these principles, according to al-Ṭabarī.

Baṣra was founded in 16/637 on the site of the base camp established by ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, whose first action was to select the site of the mosque. At the same time, Bilāl b. Abī Burda marked out a makeshift market, which was gradually expanded, thus contributing to Baṣra's success as a trading centre.

It seems that a site for the town's market was not originally allocated. The governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir later chose a particular site, which came to be known as *sūḳ ʿAbd Allāh*. His successor Ziyād b. Abīhi encouraged the settlers to establish a permanent market. The *sūḳ ʿAbd Allāh*, which was located within the residential quarters, proved inadequate for a rising population (cf. Naji and Ali, 298-309), and the old market was transferred to the Bilāl canal (*nahr Bilāl*). Most of the early markets of Baṣra were on designated open space, and permanent shops (*ḥānūt*) were not built until the 3rd/9th century.

During the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries Baṣra's markets selling specialised wares were located in a single space or road; for instance, the leather market (*sūḳ al-dabbāghīn* (lit. tanners' market), the camel market (*sūḳ al-ibl*), market of the straw sellers (*sūḳ al-tabbānīn*) and the locksmith's market (*sūḳ al-ḳaffālin*). The Mirbad [*q.v.*] market was situated at the caravan station on the edge of the desert, where town-dwellers and Bedouin gathered to sell camels and other animals and to listen to poets reciting poems and orators speaking on current affairs. By the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, the great market (*sūḳ al-kabīr*) was located at the junction between the Maʿḳil Canal and the Ibn ʿUmar Canal, where a variety of products, including glassware, bottles, combs, textiles, cooked food, flour, fish, fruits and vegetables were sold. Carpenters and tailors also had their shops there. The shore market (*sūḳ al-kallā*) lay in the residential area along the Fayl canal. It also had a food market (*sūḳ al-ṭaʿām*), which sold flour, rice, dates, meat, vinegar and secondhand goods. In addition, there was a money-changers' market, a goldsmiths' market and a slave market (*sūḳ al-nakhkhāsīn*).

Baṣra's trade with foreign merchants was conducted through the ancient port of al-Ubulla [*q.v.*], which was linked to the garrison city through a canal dug by Ziyād b. Abīhi (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Cairo 1906, i, 89-90). One traveller noted in 443/1051 that al-Ubulla was located to the south-west of Baṣra, and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab [*q.v.*] lay to the east of this port, which had thriving markets, caravanserais, mosques and luxury villas. The Ubulla canal was busy with boats carrying merchandise to and from Baṣra. Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited the city in the mid-5th/11th century and found that Baṣra's markets opened for business at different times of the day. For instance, a morning market was held at *sūḳ al-Khuzāʿa*, a mid-day one at *sūḳ ʿUthmān* and a late-afternoon one at *sūḳ al-kaddāḥin* (the flint-makers' market) (*Safar-nāma*, 91-5).

Kūfa, which was founded shortly after Baṣra, was a better planned town. However, al-Ṭabarī does not specify the sites of its markets. Kūfa began with an open-air market. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who moved his capital from Medina to Kūfa, is reported to have said "For the Muslims, the market is similar to the place of worship: he who arrives first can hold his seat all day until he leaves it" (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, tr. Hitti, 463-4). The same theory that a seller had a right to a space in the market was upheld by the governors al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba and Ziyād b. Abīhi, who held that a trader who sat in a specific space in a market place could claim the spot so long as he occupied it. This suggests that no permanent shops were built in the market of Kūfa during the early Umayyad period and that these were only erected during the caliphate of Hishām by Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī. Endorsing al-Balādhurī's statement, al-Yaʿḳūbī affirms that Khālid al-Ḳasrī built markets and constructed a room and an arch (*ṭāḳ*) for every trader (*K. al-Buldān*, 311). Yāḳūt, on the other hand, recorded that the Asad Market (*sūḳ Asad*) built at this time in Kūfa was the work of Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳaṣrī (*Buldān*, v, 175). Setting up a temporary stall/shop in a market incurred no tax during the 1st/7th century.

According to one account, artisans and craftsmen worked in an open space near the central mosque. Al-Djāḥiẓ recorded that much of Kūfa was in ruins in his time (*K. al-Buldān*, 500). Moreover, the cost of living was higher in Kūfa than in Baṣra. For instance, building a house in Kūfa or Baghdād cost 100,000 dirhams, whereas a similar house in Baṣra cost half as much (*ibid.*, 503-4). According to Massignon, the market in Kūfa during the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, included the following craftsmen: the book and paper-sellers were sited on the *ḳibla* side of the city's major mosque; other crafts nearby included date-sellers (*tammārūn*), the manufacturers and sellers of soap (*aṣḥāb al-ṣābūn*) and grocers (*baḳḳālūn*). There were also carpet-sellers (*aṣḥāb al-anmāṭ*) and cloth merchants; laundrymen (*kaṣṣārūn*) at Dār al-Walīd, butchers (*djazzārūn*) and wheat merchants (*ḥannāṭūn*); sellers of roast meat (*sawwāḳūn*); other merchants who were neighbours of the tradesmen were money-changers (*ṣayārifa*) and goldsmiths (*ṣayyāghūn*) (*Explication du plan de Kūfa*, in *Opera minora*, iii, 50-1). The markets of Kūfa flourished throughout the ʿAbbāsid period, and after, according to Ibn Djubayr and Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, but details of commercial activities are lacking in most of our sources. While visiting Kūfa, the Spanish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (*ca.* 1173) reported that the Jewish population of about 70,000 had an impressive synagogue (*The world of Benjamin of Tudela*, 228). These population figures were probably exaggerated; nevertheless, they remain significant. Jews in the mediaeval Middle East were well known for their commercial activities and their craftsmanship as jewellers, and were also famed as bankers and money-changers. Their presence in large numbers in the predominantly Shīʿī city of Kūfa (only 2,000 Jews lived in Sunnī-dominated Baṣra) would tend to suggest that the former was still an important commercial centre in the late ʿAbbāsid period. But when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*ca.* 1325-54) visited Kūfa, he found that it was merely a caravan station for pilgrims from Mawṣil and Baghdād travelling to Mecca; the commercial city had fallen into ruins as a result of attacks by Bedouin. However, he found the neighbouring Nadjaf a populous town with a thriving market, admiring the fine and clean *sūḳ* which he entered through the Bāb al-Ḥaḍra. He then offers details of the layout of the Nadjaf *sūḳ*, beginning with the food and vegetable shops, markets of the greengrocers, cooks and butchers, the fruit market, the tailors' market, followed by the covered market (*ḳayṣariyya*) and the perfumers' bazaar, which was close to the alleged tomb of the Imām ʿAlī b Abī Ṭālib.

Al-Wāsiṭ [*q.v.*] was founded by al-Ḥadjdjādj, and its markets, according to the local historian Bahshal (d. 292/905), were well planned. The layout of the market allotted to every trade a separate plot of land and segregated each craft or trade. Each group of tradesmen was given its own money-changer (*Taʾrīkh Wāsiṭ*, 44). Iyās b. Muʿāwiya was appointed inspector of the Wāsiṭ market. A kind of toll or rent was collected from the tradesmen. The *sūḳ* was divided into two broad sections. On the right side of the market the shops of the food-sellers, cloth merchants, money-changers and perfume traders were located; on the left side, the greengrocers, fruit vendors (*aṣḥāb al-fākiha*) and sellers of second-hand goods (*aṣḥāb al-suḳaṭ*)

established their shops or stalls. Day labourers (*ruzdjāriyyūn*) and craftsmen (*ṣunnā*ʿ) waited for work on a space stretching from the sandal-makers' road (*darb al-kharrāzūn*) towards the Tigris river. The market was thus an elaborately laid-out affair. This main market was on the western side of the town.

In planning a circular-shaped double-walled citadel city at Baghdād, with four massive arcaded gates, the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr was also responsible for laying out the city's markets in the arcaded space of the four city gates, following the practice of ancient cities such as Jerusalem. However, after ten years or so, Abū Djaʿfar is said to have been advised by a visiting envoy, the Patricius, from Byzantium that siting markets near his palace posed danger to a ruler from foreign spies visiting the markets in the guise of traders. Shortly before the removal of the markets from the arcades (measuring 15 × 200 cubits) of the four gates, there was a riot incited by a certain Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh, whom Abū Djaʿfar had appointed the city's *muḥtasib*, for which Yaḥyā was executed. Nevertheless, the emergence of the *muḥtasib* in Baghdād heralded the rise of this urban institution which regulated the ethical behaviour of traders and craftsmen in the ʿAbbāsid markets [see HISBA].

Following the riots of 157/774, the city's markets were transferred to the district of al-Karkh [*q.v.*] where shops and workshops were laid out on the principle of selling homogenous products in adjacent shops/stalls systematically arranged in rows of roads (*darb*, pl. *durūb*) and streets (*sikka*, pl. *sikak*). The markets of the butchers, who carried sharp tools, were allotted a space at the far end of the market. Thus according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, al-Manṣūr instructed his officers Ibrāhīm b. Ḥubaysh al-Kūfī and Khirāsh b. al-Musayyab al-Yamanī to develop the central business district at al-Karkh on the west bank of the Tigris. Al-Manṣūr's successor al-Mahdī was later responsible for laying out the markets at the Bāb al-Ṭāḳ and Bāb al-Shaʿīr on the east bank of the Tigris, around the palace of Khuld [*q.v.* in Suppl.], in the Ruṣāfa district, and also for establishing the west bank markets in the Ḥarbiyya quarter to the north of the Round City. This quarter was inhabited by Central Asians, who traded with Khwārazm and Transoxania. Both Ibn al-Faḳīh and al-Yaʿḳūbī describe the markets of Baghdād in the later 3rd/9th century and early 4th/10th century.

The markets in east Baghdād included the *sūḳ Yaḥyā* (named after Yaḥyā al-Barmakī). The land on which this market stood war later awarded by al-Maʾmūn to Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn at the end of the civil war between the sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 55). During the 5th/11th century, when the Saldjūḳs were controlling Baghdād, there were many reports of arson in the city's markets. In 485/1092 fire raged in the markets of the goldsmiths' and of the money-changers (*sūḳ al-ṣāgha wa 'l-ṣayārif*) resulting in great loss of life; and in 512/1118 the *sūḳ al-rayāḥīn* (the spice market) and the market of ʿAbdūn caught fire, resulting in extensive damage to property in east Baghdād, including the money-changers' shops, millers' inn, the royal mint (*dār al-ḍarb*) and public baths, all of which were destroyed (*Khiṭaṭ Baghdād*, 56-7, 61). Ibn al-Djawzī describes the layout of east Baghdād's markets in the 6th/12th century, which contained high-rise buildings owned by rich merchants, such as the millers (*daḳḳāḳūn*), bakers and sellers of sweets (*ḥalwayiyyūn*). There was also a nearby shoe-makers' market (*sūḳ al-asākifa*), then a market selling all kinds of birds (*sūḳ al-ṭayr*), one for aromatic plants/spices, and in the vicinity of this lay the bankers' or money-changers' shops. Next came shops selling food (*sūḳ al-maʾkūl*), such as those of the bakers and butchers (*kaṣṣābūn*). Alongside them there was the goldsmiths' market housed in a most splendid building. Next to it, there was a big market of booksellers and copyists (*sūḳ al-warrāḳīn*) in which scholars and poets congregated (*Manāḳib Baghdād*, 26). All these markets of east Baghdad were located close to the market of al-Ruṣāfa and its congregational mosque.

There was an element of competition in the setting up of *sūḳs*. For instance, the *sūḳ al-ʿaṭash* (Thirst Market) formerly known as *suwaykat al-Ḥarashī* was built by Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī for al-Mahdī as a means of transferring some of the business to the east bank at the expense of al-Karkh. Among the smaller markets of east Baghdād were the *suwaykat Naṣr* (attributed to Naṣr b. Mālik), *suwaykat Khālid* (referring to Khālid b. Barmak) at the Shammāsiyya Gate, and *suwaykat al-Ḥadjdjādj* (related to al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Waṣīf, a client of al-Mahdī, and the *suwaykat Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid*. Similarly, west Baghdād had, besides the great markets of al-Karkh and al-Ḥarbiyya, many other markets, including the *sūḳ al-Haytham* (referring to al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiya), the *sūḳ ʿAbd al-Wahhāb* and the fruit market of *dār al-baṭṭīkh* (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 45). At Ḳaṣr Waḍḍāḥ, named after the client of the caliph who was in charge of the arsenal (*ṣāḥib khizānat al-silāḥ*), there were markets selling all kinds of goods; these included over a hundred shops selling paper and books and the shops of copyists (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 245). These bookshops spread from the Ṭāḳ al-Ḥarrānī to the new bridge on the Ṣarāt Canal, occupying both sides of the road and on the bridge itself.

Al-Yaʿḳūbī, 246, states that, in his time, the market of al-Karkh occupied an area two *farsakhs* in length from Ḳaṣr Waḍḍāh to the *sūḳ al-thulātha* (Tuesday Market) and one *farsakh* from the Ḳaṭīʿat al-Rabīʿ towards the Tigris. Each trade was located in a well-known street and the shops and workshops were arranged in rows of shops. Craftsmen of one kind did not mix with another kind and were segregated from those of other markets, each market constituting a separate unit. The Ḥarb b. ʿAbd Allāh Street was the largest street around which people from Balkh, Marw, Bukhārā, Khuttal, Kābul and Khwārazm settled (248). In the same locality was located the *dār al-raḳīḳ*, where slaves were bought and sold under the supervision of al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus. When the Andalusian traveller Ibn Djubayr visited Baghdād in the 6th/12th century, he found that the Ḥarbiyya markets and residential areas had declined. He also noted that the market of the hospital (*sūḳ al-māristān*) where physicians attended the sick every Monday and Thursday, was located at the old Baṣra Gate in west Baghdād. The shops and workshops of leather workers (*dabbāghūn*) were situated at the ʿĪsā Canal on the west bank of the Tigris away from the main market of al-Karkh, and not far from a rubbish dump (*kunāsa*) and an ancient graveyard (*Travels*, tr. Broadhurst, 234-5, 244). In 449/1057, a fire caused extensive damage to the food market (*sūḳ al-ṭaʿām*), the wood-sellers' market (*sūḳ al-khashshābīn*), the carpenters' market (*sūḳ al-nadjdjārīn*), the butchers' market (*sūḳ al-djazzārīn*), the dyers' market (*sūḳ al-ṣabbāghīn*) and the market of the perfumers and chemists (*sūḳ al-ʿaṭṭārīn*) which were sited in adjacent buildings (*Khiṭaṭ Baghdād*, 41-3).

On the east bank, construction for the palace of al-Khuld began in 143/760 for the prince al-Mahdī, and this had its own markets: the fief of Badr al-

Waṣīf housed the *sūḳ al-ʿaṭash*; among the five streets in east Baghdād, there was a *sūḳ Khuḍayr*, where Chinese wares were sold. Rents collected from the markets during the 3rd/9th century on both banks of Baghdād, including those from the Mills of the Patricius (*arḥā' al-Baṭrīk*), amounted to 12 million dirhams annually. The traders in the markets of Baghdād imported goods from Central Asia and from the Far East as far as China, and al-Djāḥiẓ in his *K. al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra* gives a list of exotic products available in ʿIrāḳ's markets.

When al-Muʿtaṣim built the city of Sāmarrā' [*q.v.*], he followed the established pattern for earlier markets in Islamic cities such as Baghdād. After laying out the palace and public buildings, he marked out the site of the chief mosque and built the markets around it; the rows of shops and workshops were made spacious and every kind of product was sold in adjacent shops. In the north of Sāmarrā' some groups of Turkish soldiers were allotted land on which to build their houses, but the barracks of the Turks and the men of Farghāna were established far away from the markets so that these troops did not mix with local people and traders. Some folk were settled further north, in the area of al-Dūr, where small markets, some shops and butchers' stalls were built for the *muwalladūn*. The *ḳaṭīʿa* or fief of Ḥizām on which the slave market was situated, was near the guard headquarters and prison. Shops and rooms for housing slaves were located there, and on this main thoroughfare there were houses for the common people and markets where craft and product were sold separately. This was Sāmarrā''s second big market. Outside the old Sāmarrā', al-Mutawakkil built a new satellite town, where all the traders of demeaning status, such as the sellers of barley beer, *harīsa* soup and wine (*aṣḥāb al-fuḳḳāʿ wa 'l-harā'is wa 'l-sharāb*) were isolated from the rest of the market. Market taxes and rents (*ghalla wa-mustaghillāt*) collected in Sāmarrā' amounted to ten million dirhams a year.

Mawṣil also had its markets, and its Wednesday (*sūḳ al-arbaʿā'*) and Sunday Markets (*sūḳ al-aḥad*) were well known as early as the 2nd/8th century. The local historian al-Azdī mentions others markets, including the hay market (*sūḳ al-ḥashīsh*) and market of sellers of saddles stuffed with straw (*sūḳ al-ḳattābīn*) and food market (363). Al-Muḳaddasī noted that Mawṣil had fine markets, which extended to the tanners' road and gypsum sellers' road (*darb al-djaṣṣāṣīn*). In the city's square (*murabbaʿa*), near the inns, was the Wednesday Market, where farm labourers (*akara*) and harvesters (*ḥawāṣid*) came from the surrounding countryside to seek temporary or seasonal work in the city. From Mawṣil's covered markets, provisions for Baghdād were transported by boats and caravans. Among other towns, al-Muḳaddasī cites Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra, which had a large concentration of weavers and Jews in a thriving market economy. At the same time, Tikrīt was a sizeable town, where a monastery provided the focal point for local Christian pilgrimage and many woollen workers settled there in order to meet the demands of the pilgrims.

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SUKARNO, Soekarno, the first President of the independent Republic of Indonesia [*q.v.*] from 1945 to 1967 (b. 6 June 1901, d. 21 June 1970).

His father, Raden Sukemi, came from lower Javanese nobility and worked as a teacher and civil servant, while his mother originated from a Balinese *brāhmaṇa* family but was excluded after her marriage to her Muslim husband. Sukarno's name in his childhood was Kusno. Later his father renamed him Sukarno, referring to the hero Adipati Karno in the Hindu epic *Mahābhārata*. Already as a small boy, while living with his grandfather in a village, he paid more attention to *wayang* (shadow play) performances, where the stories of the *Mahābhārata* are displayed, than to his homework for school, thus acquainting himself with the ethics of the *kṣatriya*, namely, fighting without compromise against evil and injustice but open to mercy and compromise in one's own quarter, and firmly believing in the victory of the righteous ones. Much of his later political vocabulary was rooted in the symbols of *wayang*.

After having finished a European primary school in Mojokerto where he also had to learn Dutch, he moved, aged 15, to Surabaya for further studies. There he stayed in the "open house" of (Hajji) Omar Said (abbrev. HOS) Tjokroaminoto, the charismatic leader of the Sarekat Islam [*q.v.*] (since 1912), which was the first Indonesian nationalist organisation, founded in 1911. Tjokroaminoto's strong identification with those who suffered under the colonial administration made many people think he might be the *Ratu Adil*, a just ruler expected to arrive before the end of this aeon and end the sufferings of the suppressed people. This expectation had first appeared in Java in the 17th century. Tjokroaminoto himself, however, is said to have stressed that the movement for independence did not involve establishing the rule of a *Ratu Adil*,

but of a *ratuning adil*, a realm of righteousness ruled by the people and their representatives.

During his five years in the Hogere Burger School (HBS) in Surabaya (1916-21) Sukarno became not only acquainted with the aims and targets of the Sarekat Islam (SI), but C. Hartogh, teacher of the German language at the HBS and co-founder of the "Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging" in 1914, introduced Sukarno to socialism and Marxism, warning, however, against too radical action against Western capitalism and favouring an accelerated evolution of the indigenous society and its economy. Among the Indonesian leaders of that time, a controversy between more universal, international, socialist and radical options on the one hand and visions dealing more with the "national" problems in the Dutch colony and favouring stepped-up co-operation with the government for achieving freedom on the other, led finally to a split in the Sarekat Islam. In 1921 the Communist Party (PKI) was established and communists were expelled from the SI, albeit against the will of Tjokroaminoto, who feared a decay of the Nationalist Movement, but thus urged by Hajji Agus Salim, another SI leader. It is noteworthy that the communists in their statements frequently used Islamic or Hindu terminology, particularly that of the modernist movements in both communities, Atatürk and Gandhi being among their favourites. After 1921, the SI became more receptive to the Islamic international movement (so-called Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*]).

After his successful graduation from the HBS and his marriage with a daughter of Tjokroaminoto, Sukarno moved to Bandung in 1921 and there enrolled as a student in the newly-established Technical High School, where he graduated in 1926 as a civil engineer. In Bandung, Sukarno met with more radical nationalists like Douwes Dekker and Tjipto Mangunkusumo, both co-founders of the Nationaal Indische Partij (NIP) whose leaders resided in Bandung. Deeply disappointed with the reviving colonial attitudes and measures after World War I, they refused to co-operate with the government and its institutions, including the Volksraad (consulting body). Sukarno adopted their position and thus estranged himself from Tjokroaminoto and even from his wife, whom he divorced. Thus he became what he remained: a convinced and fervent nationalist advocating religious and ethnic tolerance and equal rights for all Indonesians as internal goals, and fighting capitalism and co-operation with the unjust government as external measures. In contrast to nationalist students who had spent some time in the Netherlands and experienced there a democratic society and a well-functioning administration of the law, Sukarno, lacking such experience, viewed everything Western with deep suspicion and antipathy.

After his graduation, Sukarno dedicated his time and energies to efforts towards uniting the different anti-colonial parties and groups, all of which were pursuing quite different options. Nationalism was endangered from two sides: internationalism and regionalism. Therefore he urged the three strongest groups, namely, the Nationalists (NIP), the Islamic Nationalists (SI), and the Marxists (PKI), to find one voice in fighting against the "Kaurawas", the representatives of colonialism. All nationalists should be united in one goal: achieving *Indonesia merdeka* (an independent Indonesia). On this point Sukarno was not only an analytical thinker, but also—based on the world view of the *wayang*—a bit of a mystic: the notion of nationalism, national unity, resembles a revelation (*wahy*) given by God, and to strive for it is like an act of liturgy or service (*bakti*), the work of a true *kśatriya*. The space of nationalism was as "wide as the air", a perception already present in the early Sarekat Islam, where Marxists, Christians and others were active together.

After both the failure of the new ruler in Arabia (since 1924), ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of the Āl Suʿūd, to call a conference of the Islamic world, and the founding of the Nahdatul Ulama party in early 1926 in Java, with the aim of safeguarding traditionalist Islamic teaching in the Holy Places, the SI lost interest in pan-Islamic visions. Sukarno and Tjokroaminoto became reconciled, and Hajji Agus Salim encouraged Sukarno to proceed with his plan to establish a Federation of the biggest nationalist organisations, including his own, the "Nationalist Union of Indonesia" (Perhimpunan Nasional Indonesia: PNI) founded in July 1927. Because of communist riots, the PKI had been outlawed in 1927, leaving the struggle for independence to the nationalists and the national Islamists.

Sukarno's self-confidence grew apace. Those who did not agree with his radical attitude but favoured a more consultative way to deal with the Dutch, while firmly striving also for independence, like the socialists, were not included in his front of the "Pendawas". But the colonial government's actions seemed to justify his suspicion and adversary attitude: even people ready for compromise like Tjipto Mangunkusumo, were attacked by the Dutch with false accusations and exiled.

In 1930 the outbreak of a Pacific war was expected, one which, it was hoped, would bring colonial rule in Asia to its end. In Indonesia, old prophecies related to Jayabaya, a Javanese king of the 12th century, who is said to be the source of the *Ratu Adil* expectations as well, foretold the victory of a "yellow people"; Sukarno, and with him many other people from India to China, expected the Japanese to take the leading role in this forthcoming anti-colonial revolution, remembering their victory over Russia in 1905. Combining Jayabaya with Karl Marx's prediction of the final victory of the suppressed proletariat, Sukarno firmly believed in the imminent victory of the "brown" people, or Pendawas. Although imperialistic themselves, the Japanese would at least crush the power of the U.S. and England and other colonial powers from the West and thus pave the way for final liberation. But to prevent such expectations causing unrest, on 29 December 1929 the colonial government detained all leaders of Sukarno's PNI, including himself. Although it was impossible during the subsequent trials to prove that the PNI or Sukarno himself had any concrete plans for an insurrection, he was sentenced to four years imprisonment in December 1930, thereby becoming an innocent martyr for many Indonesians. After an act of clemency by the then departing Governor-General De Graef, Sukarno was released at the end of December 1931. But both organisations led by him, the PNI and the Federation, did not survive his detention and were dissolved by the remaining leaders. This was criticised by a leader of the Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI, "Indonesian Union") in the Netherlands, Moh. Hatta, who accused Sukarno of only provoking the government and not trying to educate the people at the same time.

For Sukarno and his supporters, these events only showed how important he himself was for the independence movement. Thus the nationalists split into two groups: one gathered into the PNI Baru ("New"

PNI) around the socialist Sutan Sjahrir who, like Moh. Hatta, originated from West Sumatra, preferring incisive analyses of the political and societal situation and the functional role of organisations, and the other gathered around Sukarno in the Partindo (Partai Indonesia), which emphasised more strongly a feeling of unity that took in specific dissent. Partindo now became the platform for Sukarno's new concept of "Marhaenism", which he also called "Socio-Nationalism"; Marhaen was a common name mainly among Sundanese farmers (cf. Dahm, 110). A feeling of social responsibility would unite all Indonesians—not only the proletariat—to establish social justice in the nation. No opposition or deviation would be tolerated. The leadership of a Marhaenist party would have the right to punish anyone who disturbed the consensus by exclusion. For this attitude, Sukarno was much criticised by Sutan Sjahrir and Moh. Hatta, who urged the acceptance of democratic rules. On 1 August 1933, Sukarno was again detained and consequently exiled to the island of Flores. He terminated his membership in Partindo, which later (1936) dissolved itself. His isolation in Flores encouraged him to revive old acquaintances in the SI, which meanwhile had become Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII), trying to harmonise Islamic internationalism with Indonesian nationalism. Friendly contact with Catholic missionaries seems to have strengthened his religious awareness. In 1938 he was transferred to Bengkulu (Bencoolen), West-Sumatra, where he became a member of the reformist Muhammadiyah social organisation. There he joined those who pleaded for a radical new interpretation of Ḳur'ān and Sunna, one which was sometimes too rationalist for other members like Moh. Natsir, who urged obedience to tradition in matters of faith first and then revision of social rules. To justify his more radical position, Sukarno pointed to the progress Atatürk and the Kemalists had achieved in Turkey. He pleaded for a separation of state and religion, which led to another emotional controversy with Moh. Natsir in 1941.

When Japan started occupying Indonesia in 1941, Sukarno, who returned to Java in July 1942, was open for co-operation with the proviso that the Japanese should belp the Indonesians to achieve their independence in accord with Jayabaya's prophecy. The foundation of the "putera" (Pusat Tenaga Rakyat, centre for people's work; *putera* means literally "son"), intended as a basis of the people's support for Japan, became Sukarno's basis of action.

The ambiguous policy of the Japanese—sometimes treating "the Southern Regions" as a colony, occasionally also promising self-government, and sometimes favouring the Islamist nationalists, while on other occasions preferring the religiously neutral nationalists—led to an estrangement between Sukarno and the Japanese government, which added to Sukarno's popularity. But after the announcement of Prime Minister Koiso on 7 September 1944 that all Indonesian peoples should be granted independence, and despite the people's continued distrust of and contempt for those who co-operated with the Japanese, Sukarno on the one hand urged support for the Japanese, who faced the advancing Allied forces, and on the other hand urged the Japanese to speed up their plans lest the Allies return to a still-occupied Indonesia and therefore re-establish colonial rule. His violent pro-Japanese agitation and loyalty to Japan, and his emotional anti-Western rhetoric, again earned him much criticism. But on 28 May 1945, the Investigating Board for Preparatory Work on Indonesian Independence (the BPUPKI), appointed by the Japanese, started its work. On 1 June, Sukarno presented his famous concept of the Pancasila (Pantjasila, "Five Principles"), meant to become the *weltanschauliche* basis of the Indonesian Constitution to which all Indonesians could consent (Eng. tr. in Mangullang, 198ff.): Nationalism (one nation, *kebangsaan*), Internationalism or Humanity (*perikemanusiaan*), People's Rule (*kerakyatan*, always striving for consent, *mufakat*, from Ar. *muwāfaḳa*), Social Justice (*keadilan sosial*, originally social welfare, *kesejahteraan social*) and Divine Oneness (*Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa*). These could also be reduced to three: socio-nationalism, socio-democracy and Divine Oneness, or to one: *gotong royong* (the Javanese principle of mutual co-operation), as Sukarno stated. Complaints from the side of the Islamists led to a compromise on 22 June, stating the *Ketuhanan* as first principle with the addition that all Muslims are obliged to follow the *Sharīʿa*; this compromise became known as the Jakarta Charter. Encouraged by the Japanese, who referred to "Asian traditions", and very much to the liking of Sukarno, it was also agreed that the independent state should resemble a presidential democracy with a parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat: DPR) only serving as a consultative body. A People's Consultative Assembly (Dewan Permusyawaratan Rakyat: MPR), consisting of the members of the DPR and other members nominated by the government or by people's organisations, meeting once every five years, was to elect the president and define the general political guidelines for the government. In the general anti-colonial mood, Sukarno and others favoured the inclusion into Indonesia Merdeka of peninsular Malay and territories on Borneo and Timor still claimed by the British and Portuguese. This proposal was rejected by the Japanese, who wanted Indonesia restricted to the former Dutch possessions. Under pressure from external and internal events, Sukarno, assisted by Moh. Hatta, declared the independence of Indonesia in the early morning of 17 August 1945.

During the following days the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence, inaugurated by the Japanese on 7 August, met and passed the provisional constitution (Basic Law), with a modified Pancasila, included in the Preamble: as second principle there now stands Internationalism, with Nationalism becoming the third principle. The provision of the Jakarta Charter for the Muslims was omitted because it implied a special relation with the Muslims which would endanger the neutrality of the state in religious matters. Sukarno was elected president and Moh. Hatta his vice-president. A Central National Indonesian Committee (Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat: KNIP) was to support the government until a parliament could be elected, and Sukarno favoured the formation of one political party only, a Partai Nasional Indonesia. In this, however, he was opposed by Sutan Sjahrir, Moh. Hatta and some of the Islamist nationalists. To avoid an open domestic crisis, Sukarno agreed to the formation of different parties and he accepted also that ministers should be accountable to the parliament or the KNIP. Thus Sukarno's short-lived presidential government came to its end, and on 14 November 1945, a parliamentary government was elected with Sutan Sjahrir as prime minister.

Sukarno's popularity increased again when he, Hatta, Sjahrir and other leaders of the young republic were detained by the Dutch, who wanted to re-establish their rule and punish at the same time those

who had collaborated with the Japanese. After the end of the Dutch police actions and acknowledgement of Indonesia's independence in late 1949, Sukarno was accepted as president, an office still to his own dislike, however, as it was hampered by the liberal constitutions that were drafted in 1949 and 1950. He met other challenges from the militant Islamists, who staged insurrections in West Java and Sulawesi, and from regionalists, who opposed the strong political and economic centralisation in Java. His international reputation increased in 1955 when, inspired by the second principle of Pancasila, he succeeded in hosting in Bandung the first conference of independent "Third World" leaders (his opening speech is in Feith and Castles, 454 ff.). During the political campaigns preceding the 1955 elections to the first parliament, and, some months later, to a Constitutional Assembly (Konstituante) to design a final constitution, Sukarno made it clear that he wanted a presidential republic based on the Pancasila, against the option of an Islamic state, and also a unitary state, against demands for more autonomy in the areas outside of Java. In opposition to Sukarno's agitation, Moh. Hatta resigned as vice-president in 1956. Anticipating a great majority of votes in favour of liberal democracy, Sukarno issued a presidential decree on 5 July 1959 dissolving the Konstituante and declaring the Basic Law of 1945 as the final constitution. Guided Democracy (*demokrasi terpimpin*) was the name of the new system, himself being the Great Leader (of the Revolution), as he explained in his independence speech on 17 August 1959, which later became known as his "Political Manifesto" (Manipol), elaborated later by "USDEK": the Basic Law of 1945, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy and Indonesian Identity. In 1960, Sukarno also dissolved the parliament and later in the same year he banned the modernist Islamic party Masyumi, chaired by Moh. Natsir, and the socialist Party of Sutan Sjahrir, both of whose leaders and some followers were detained.

But opposition came now also from the anti-Communist armed forces under Gen. A.H. Nasution. Sukarno tried to balance the antagonising forces by showing favour to the traditionalist Islamic party Nahdatul Ulama (NU) and the Communist Party (PKI), both of which had strong roots in Java. Under the leadership of the PNI, the old triad from the 1920s reappeared, now styled as "Nasakom": Nasionalisme, Agama (religion, represented by NU), and socialist Communism. The ideological controversies and power play among military leaders inflamed the domestic situation, some of them profiting from the Irian crisis in 1961-2 and the "confrontation" with Malaysia [*q.v.*], the new independent federation (1963) supported by the British and condemned by Sukarno. The PKI, strengthening its ties with Maoist China, increasingly dominated the streets and therefore caused an estrangement with the other allied elements in Nasakom who, on their side, approached some of the military leaders critical of Sukarno, these being mainly in the army, while most of the air force was pro-Sukarno. Anti-American and anti-Soviet agitation prepared the withdrawal of Indonesia from the UNO in early 1965, thus strengthening its alliance with Beijing and other Communist states in South and East Asia. Corruption, mismanagement and nepotism in the bureaucracy and military brought the state close to collapse. In the evening of 30 September 1965, a *coup d'état* was launched, but to this date it is not clear who were the real initiators and what were their aims. Some leading generals of the army close to Sukarno were murdered, and the later official version under Suharto's rule laid responsibility with the Communists. Sukarno, contrary to his own perception, became a spectator to the events, and on 11 March 1966, he had to sign a letter transferring all executive power and the military command to General Suharto because of his alleged inability to maintain any longer the unity of Indonesia and its people. A few weeks later the PKI was banned, and its leaders and members and many other people killed, imprisoned or detained in camps. One year later, the new Provisional People's Consultative Assembly stripped Sukarno of the presidency and proclaimed Gen. Suharto acting president. Sukarno spent his last years virtually under house arrest in Bogor until his death. His grave in Blitar, East Java, has become a sacred shrine for many Javanese.

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(O. Schumann)

SULAYMĀN B. AL-**ḤAKAM** b. Sulaymān AL-**MUSTAʿĪN**, Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus, proclaimed at Cordova in 400/1009, died in 407/1016. The two phases of his reign are located in the period of the Andalusī *fitna* following the "Revolution of Cordova", at the time of the serious political crisis which was to lead to the demise of the Umayyad caliphate in 422/1031.

When the Cordovans put an end to the ʿĀmirid régime in Dj̲umādā II-Radj̲ab 399/February-March 1009, and replaced the incompetent caliph His̲h̲ām II with one of his cousins, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the latter, on account of his political blunders, speedily aroused opposition, in particular that of the Mag̲h̲ribī Berber contingents of the Umayyad army, whose families had been the object of harassment on the part of the Cordovans. These soldiers, numbering several hundreds, rallied around Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, who was a great-grandson of the first caliph of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and whom they put forward as a claimant to the caliphate. With him, they made their way to the frontier zone of Medinaceli in search of support. Confronted by the former slave governor

of this region, Wāḍiḥ, they obtained the aid of the Count of Castile, Sancho Garcia, in exchange for a promise to cede frontier fortresses to him. Having defeated the forces of Wāḍiḥ in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 400/August 1010, they returned to Andalusia to march on Cordova, which they entered after overpowering the quite significant, but disparate and ineffective troops of al-Mahdī. The latter was forced to take refuge in the capital where Sulaymān was proclaimed caliph on 17 Rabīʿ I/9 November, with the *laḳab* of al-Mustaʿīn bi 'llāh.

Having placed himself under the protection of Wāḍiḥ, who henceforward became his "strong man", al-Mahdī rallied supporters in the north and, crucially, obtained the support of Count Raymond Borrell III of Barcelona and of his brother Armengol (Ermengaud) of Urgel, in order to march in his turn against Cordova with some 40,000 men, including 9,000 Franks. The defeat of El Vacar (*ʿakabat al-baḳar*, in Shawwāl 400/June 1010), 20 km/12 miles to the north of the capital, forced al-Mustaʿīn to flee and enabled al-Mahdī and Wāḍiḥ to enter Cordova and restore the caliphate of the former. But this success could not be consolidated, and on 6 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 400/21 June 1010 Sulaymān's Berbers inflicted a heavy defeat near Ronda on the forces of al-Mahdī and their Frankish allies. Henceforth, it was Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn and his Berbers who found themselves again in a position to lay siege to the capital, which resisted until its surrender on 26 Shawwāl 403/9 May 1013. The town was sacked by the Berbers and numerous Cordovans were killed, including probably the caliph al-Mahdī, although a rumour was later put about claiming that he had escaped.

Little is known about the second reign of the caliph al-Mustaʿīn, which lasted three years until the insurrection against him by the Maghribī chieftain of Idrīsid origin ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd, whom he had appointed governor of Ceuta. The latter took the capital, killed al-Mustaʿīn and obtained the *bayʿa* of the Cordovans, who recognised him under the name of al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (22 Muḥarram 407/1 July 1016).

Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn seems to have been endowed with more qualities than his rival al-Mahdī, reasonably cultivated but of irresolute character and very much dependent on the Berbers who had put him in power. A large portion of the territory of al-Andalus eluded his authority. He consolidated the local power of certain chieftains who were in process of becoming "party kings" [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF], such as the Tudjibid al-Mundhir b Yaḥyā, who had lent him his support at Saragossa. In particular, he appointed his Berber supporters to command regional "fiefs" which were in fact virtually amirates, the most important being that of the Ṣanhādjī Zīrids of Granada which was to last until the arrival of the Almoravids.

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SULAYMĀN KHĒL, a Pashtūn tribe [see AFGHĀN. (i) The people].

Ghalzay [*q.v.*] Pashtūns were principal actors in 18th century political and military events in Afghānistān and Persia. By 1800 a political identity had congealed around the largest Ghalzay tribal confederation, the Sulaymān Khēl, whose landholdings increased throughout eastern Afghānistān, particularly in and south of the area roughly bounded by Ghazna, Djalālābād, and Kābul [*q.vv.*], during the 19th century. The largest Sulaymān Khēl tribe, the Aḥmadzay, remain prominent in this region. The Djabār Khēl are the *khān khēl* of the Sulaymān Khēl and all eastern Ghalzays.

The Sulaymān Khēl were strongly represented in the consistent Ghalzay political opposition and military resistance to Durrānī [*q.v.*] government initiatives from 1747 to 1978. However, from the late 1800s onwards a small but growing number of Sulaymān Khēl individuals and families became dependent upon state patronage. The ethnic composition of all central governments in the increasingly Kābul-centred Afghān political environment after 1978 reflects a growing presence of Ghalzays. Aḥmadzay Sulaymān Khēl visibility in post-monarchal Afghān state politics is illustrated by Dr. Nadjībullāh's tenure of office as President (1986-92).

Like all Ghalzay, the Sulaymān Khēl are notable for socio-cultural heterogeneity and vibrant commercial activity during annual nomadic migrations in and between Turkistān, Khurāsān and India.

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SÜLEYMĀN DHĀTĪ, Ottoman poet and Ṣūfī adherent of the Khalwatiyya order and *khalīfat* of Sheykh Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī, b. in Gallipoli, d. 1151/1738-9 as *pūst-neshīn* of the Khalwatī *tekke* in Keshan. He left behind a *dīwān* of Ṣūfī-inspired verse and a verse treatise, *Sawāniḥ al-nawādir fī maʿrifat al-anāṣir* or *Madjmaʿ al-anāṣir* (printed together, Istanbul 1289/1872); *Sharḥ-i ḳaṣīda yi-Ḥaḍrat Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī*, a commentary on a Ṣūfī poem; and *Miftāḥ al-masāʾil*, dealing with various theological questions, such as predestination, the nature of the afterlife, etc. (all these works preserved in Istanbul mss.).

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(TH. MENZEL*)

SULṬĀN ʿALĪ ŪGHLĪ (SOLTANGALIEV), MĪR SAYYID (*ca.* 1885-28 January 1940), leader of the Muslim Communist movement in Russia.

Son of a *muʿallim* (teacher), in a village in the Urals, Karmaskaly (in the canton of Sterlitamak, currently the Republic of Bashkortostan), Mīr Sayyid studied in his father's *mäktäb*—a reformed school where, in addition to religion and *ädäb*, reading was taught according to the "new method" (*uṣūl-i djadīd*) based on phonetics introduced by the Tatar from the Crimea, Ismāʿīl Ghāṣpīralī (Gasprinskiy, 1851-1914

[see GASPRALI (GASPRINSKI) ISMĀʿĪL]) as well as some secular subjects such as arithmetic and the rudiments of geography and modern history. His knowledge of Russian, which he learned from his father, enabled him to study at the Tatar High School (*Tatarskaya učitel'skaya shkola*) of Ḳazan, the only state-sponsored secondary education facility available to the Muslims of the Empire. From the mid-1890s onwards, a group of pupils formed a secret revolutionary society there, led by the writer Muḥammad ʿAyyāḍ Isḥāḳī (1878-1954) and influenced by Russian populism; it was to make a profound and lasting impression on the young Soltangaliev. After 1905, as an employee of the Municipal Library of Ufa, he was to participate in the *Iṣlāḥī* movement of the young Tatar intelligentsia, of which ʿAyyāḍ Isḥāḳī was the most prominent figure. Soltangaliev contributed, under various pseudonyms, to the leading journals of the Urals, most notably *Ṭūrmush* ("Life"), a reformist Tatar review in which he published translations of the later works of Tolstoy. From 1911 onward he published stories and articles in the *Musul'manskaya gazeta* ("Muslim Journal") of Moscow, showing the influence of his Tatar and Russian literary models; his themes (reform of education, the status of women, the parasitism of the mullahs, the political vocation of students committed to the public good), borrowed from Russian populism, had been promulgated from Ḳazan since the beginning of the century by authors sympathetic to the *Iṣlāḥī* movement such as ʿAyyāḍ Isḥāḳī or the novelist and poet ʿAbd Allāh Ṭuḳāy (1886-1913). During the First World War, Soltangaliev took up a teaching appointment in Baku; from there he contributed to various Russian Muslim periodicals.

December 1917-March 1919. Revolution as an instrument of conquest of political autonomy.

In April 1917, Soltangaliev was summoned to Moscow to direct the executive committee of the "Muslim Congress", before making his way to Ḳazan where he joined the "Muslim Socialist Committee". Created the 7 [19] April on the basis of Muslim workers' committees, the MSC was led by Mullā Nūr Waḥīdov (Vahitov) (1885-1918) whose project was to unite the revolutionary forces of the Tatar lands into a militarised group. The political ideas of Waḥīdov—who was to be killed in the early stages of the Civil War—constituted the basis of what would later be called "Soltangalievism"; they centred on the struggle against traditionalism, the liberation of Muslims from Russian domination and the extension of Socialism to all of Islam. However the Bolshevik *coup d'état* of 26 October [8 November] 1917, imposed Russian power in the Volga-Ural region, since Russians dominated the urban and provincial soviets of Ḳazan. The party of Lenin was nevertheless seen as constituting a superb school of political theory; Muslim nationalist leaders like Waḥīdov understood that by imitating him they could, perhaps, neutralise him. After all, Lenin's "April Decrees" (1917) were perceived as allowing the minorities of the former Empire to hope for a right of secession.

The leadership of the MSC (Waḥīdov, and his lieutenant Soltangaliev) sought to exploit the anarchy into which Russia had been plunged to exact concessions from the Bolshevik leaders, who needed all the support they could get. At the end of 1917, Stalin, Commissar of the People for the Nationalities, called on Soltangaliev to direct the Muslim section of his ministry. On 19 January 1918, Stalin created the "Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs of the Russian Interior and Siberia" (*Muskom*), headed by Waḥīdov; Soltangaliev was recruited in June to take charge of propaganda in Muslim circles. Until the offensive mounted by the White Armies on the Volga in July 1918, the regions populated by Muslims in European Russia were covered by a network of regional and local commissariats dominated by nationalist partisans, independent of the local soviets which were dominated by Russians. Controlled by the *Muskom*, these commissariats were to form the nucleus of the great "Tatar and Bashkir Republic" promised by Stalin to the Communist Muslim leaders. In a parallel development, Waḥīdov and Soltangaliev created in Moscow, on 8 March, the Muslim Socialist-Communist Party (replaced in June by the "Party of Communist (Bolshevik) Muslims of Russia").

Autonomous in its relations with the Russian CP, the new party severed links with the "bourgeois" Muslim organisations which were henceforward isolated (an example of this being the dismal episode of the short-lived "Republic of Transbulakia" in Ḳazan), but sought to gather Muslim revolutionaries into a united front. Waḥīdov and Soltangaliev concentrated their efforts on the training of political cadres (with the projected Muslim University of Ḳazan, a long-standing demand of the *Iṣlāḥī* movement), and on the mobilisation throughout the Volga-Ural region of the Muslim regiments of the Red Army. From August onward, however, these regiments were incorporated into Russian units, after the fall of Ḳazan into the hands of the Whites, who executed Waḥīdov. In November 1918, at the "First Congress of Communist Muslims", Soltangaliev and Ismāʿīl Firdāws (1888-1937) a Tatar from the Crimea, sought confirmation of the autonomy of the Muslim Communist Party. But Stalin, intent on retaining control of the "colonial revolution", rejected this demand; the crucial moment when the Tatars could argue with the Russians over the direction of the revolutionary movement seemed to have passed. In fact, from the spring of 1919 onward, the Civil War turned on the eastern front in favour of the Bolsheviks, and in the Muslim territories reconquered by the Red Army, the civil and military apparatus installed by Waḥīdov was dismantled.

March 1919-April 1923. Russian monolithism against Muslim polycentrism.

From March 1919, the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (in Moscow, 18-23 March) proposed the suppression of all national communist organisations. The "Bureau of Muslim Organisations"—which had replaced the Muslim Communist Party—was replaced in its turn by a "Central Bureau of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the Orient". It was the principle of the distinctness and unity of the Muslim world, dear to the former leaders of the *Iṣlāḥī* movement, which was thus negated. The "oriental" revolution was making rapid progress, in Persia especially, where the *Djangalī* movement [*q.v.*] was supported militarily by the Bolsheviks. But the policy of the Komintern in the Middle East was also to be marked by a fundamental divergence between Russians, supporters of monolithism, and Muslims, supporters of decentralisation. At the "Congress of Oriental Peoples" in Baku, September 1920, the ideas of Soltangaliev regarding the liberation of colonial peoples were in collision with those of the Komintern, which was only interested in the East as a source of temporary assistance to the western industrial proletariat, through the weakening of colonial powers. Soltangaliev sought to bypass the obstacle of the RCP by approaching the "Organisation of Communist Youth" (Komsonol); between 12 and 18 September

1920 he convened in Moscow the "First Pan-Russian Conference of Communist Organisations of the Lands of the Orient" where he evoked for the first time, it seems, the notion of a "colonial Communist International", independent of the Komintern. Cast in a minority, he succeeded nevertheless in transforming the komsonols of the Muslim republics of Russia into power-bases of his movement.

In the autumn of 1920, after the victories of the Red Army on all fronts, the civil war came to an end. As the Muslim communist party no longer existed and the dream of a great Tatar and Bas̲h̲kir Muslim State had been frustrated (Stalin had opted for the creation of two small and distinct republics, Tatar and Bas̲h̲kir), the Muslim nationalist communists turned their efforts towards the new national republics. At the same time, they promoted their ideas externally: Soltangaliev won over an international audience at the Communist University of Workers from the East, founded in Moscow in 1921. Refusing to reject outright the Tatar heritage and the religion of Islam, he also maintained contact with the principal reformist *ʿulamāʾ*, among whom ʿĀlimd̲j̲ān Bārūdī (*muftī* of Russia between 1917 and 1921) and Riḍā al-Dīn Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn (*muftī* from 1922 till his death in 1936), and sought to maintain their role as cultural intermediaries between the Soviet authorities and the Muslim, essentially rural, masses. Islam was presented as an oppressed religion, whose historical evolution, cherishing among its adherents a strong sense of solidarity, had to some extent resisted the anti-religious campaigns of the early Soviet period. Stalin was soon to see, in these efforts, an aspiration to found an "Islamic Communism" opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

April 1923-November 1928. East versus West?

In the spring of 1921, the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party pushed the nationalist Communist Muslims towards clandestine opposition, by denouncing "nationalist deviants". The notion of a non-Russian socialist party, mooted in the spring of 1919, was revived in November of the same year: a number of leaders, assembled in Moscow by Soltangaliev, decided to create an independent socialist Muslim party, which came into being the following year under the name of *Ittiḥād wa Taraḳḳī* ("Unity and Progress"). In parallel, from the start of the year 1921, the Tatar Republic underwent a period of intense nationalist agitation, which continued throughout the following two years. At a regional conference of the Russian CP in Ḳazan, March 1923, the Tatar majority went as far as to pass a motion demanding the expulsion of Russian colonists as well as a radical "nativisation" of the administrative apparatus of the republic; the Tatar communists refused, furthermore, to purge their organisation of its non-proletarian elements.

Shortly after this, in the wake of the 12th Congress of the CP, which witnessed, in April, the denunciation of "local nationalisms", Soltangaliev was arrested in Moscow on a personal order from Stalin, countersigned by the principal Bolshevik leaders. Excluded from the Russian CP, Soltangaliev, like many former *Iṣlāḥī* activists (such as Čulpān in Central Asia), seems to have been preoccupied by awareness of an insoluble conflict between East and West, and to have been convinced that the Bolshevik revolution was the most dangerous, because the most penetrating, attempt by the West to perpetuate its domination. Soltangaliev was soon at the heart of a secret organisation led by Communist Tatars and linked with various clandestine groups in European Russia, the Caucasus and Central Asia (*Ālās̲h̲ Orda* in Ḳazaḳstan, *Millī Firḳa* in the Crimea, the former *Hümmet* in Azerbaidjan and *Millī Ittiḥād* in Uzbekistan). The political thought of Soltangaliev, from 1923 onward, is known only from the criticisms voiced by his opponents, and the "confessions" extracted in the course of his successive trials. His political programme hinged on the creation of a great Turkish national state in Russia, the "Republic of Turan", governed by a single party, but based on state capitalism and with economic independence assured by orientation towards the lands of the Far and the Middle East.

An attack on the part of the commissars of the people of the Tatar Republic led to the second arrest of Soltangaliev in November 1928, the prelude to a series of large-scale and bloody purges which were to be inflicted periodically on all the republican communist parties until 1939, not sparing the national intelligentsias. Sentenced in 1929 to ten years of hard labour as an agent of imperialism, Soltangaliev was deported to the camp of the Solovki islands on the White Sea. He took advantage of early release in 1934, only to be arrested again in 1937 and tortured, then executed 28 January 1940. On the eve of the Second World War, Soltangalievism seems to have been eradicated in Russia. In Central Asia and in the Caucasus, as the Muslim nations had made good the lack of cultural development which in the early 20th century had separated them from the Tatars, the latter had lost their status as models to be copied. Born in a land of secular confrontation between Muslims and Christians, Tatar nationalism, initially supposed to be spread beyond the zone of the Middle Volga, was ultimately to withdraw, confined to its place of origin. Soltangaliev, mythologised outside the USSR as the father of non-European, even anti-European revolution, enjoyed in Russia itself only a belated rehabilitation—today virtually limited to the territory of Tatarstan, of which he was not a native. His memory has helped the Turkish-speaking peoples of the former USSR to consider themselves protagonists in their own modern history. But the rediscovery of this history tends to relativise the role played by communist nationalists, giving more credit to the great figures of Muslim reformism. The former and the latter shared, between 1920 and the Second World War, the same conviction of a cataclysmic confrontation between Tatars and Russians, Muslims and Christians, East and West, rural and industrial worlds—a parallelism given insufficient emphasis in studies of Soltangalievism, and in studies of the Muslim reformisms, of which the *Iṣlāḥī* movement was a component.

Bibliography: In the absence of complete works, the most important collection of texts of Soltangaliev is the very selective anthology published by I.G. Gizzatullin and D.R. S̲h̲arafutdinov: Mirsäet Soltangaliev, *Saylanma k̲h̲äzmätlär/Izbrannïe trudï* ("Selected works"), Ḳazan 1998; however, this volume ignores the manuscript writings and correspondence of Soltangaliev (a general trait of studies of the *Iṣlāḥī* movement and of national communism, which prefer normative and programmatic publications) as well as all texts later than 1923, other than numerous transcripts of Soltangaliev's successive interrogations. Among a sparse list of monographic studies, the irreplaceable reference source remains A. Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Sultan Galiev. Le père de la révolution tiers-mondiste*, Paris 1986, with a very thorough critical bibl., a work which, in spite of its title, establishes the most subtle distinction that has yet been drawn

between the personality of Soltangaliev and the various myths to which he gave rise; for an equally documented, but more global approach, see Azade-Ayşe Rohrlich, *The Volga Tatars. A profile in national resilience*, Stanford 1986, in particular 125-56. Also available for reference, although this is essentially a work based on second-hand sources, nourished by pan-Asiatic sympathies, is the recent synthesis by Masayuki Yamauchi, *Surutangariefu no yume to genjitsu. Shio* ("Dreams and Realities of Soltangaliev. Documents"), Tokyo 1998 (tr. into Turkish by Hironao Matsutani under the title *Sultan Galiev. Islam dünyası ve Rusya* ["Soltangaliev. The world of Islam and Russia"], Ankara 1998.

(S.A. Dudoignon)

ṢUMĀDIḤ, Banū, Arab dynasty of al-Andalus, ruling in Almeria from 420/1038 to 484/1091, in the epoch of the "party kings" [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF].

The Banū Ṣumādiḥ were a branch of the powerful Arab family of the Banū Tudjīb of the Upper March (region of Saragossa). At a time when the caliphate was in disarray, a certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣumādiḥ was governing Huesca, but, before 414/1023, he was expelled from there by his distant cousins of Saragossa, and took refuge in Valencia as a guest of the local sovereign, the ʿĀmirid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Manṣūr, who gave two of his daughters in marriage to his two sons, Abu ʾl-Aḥwas Maʿn and his brother Abū ʿUtba Ṣumādiḥ. This Muḥammad b. Aḥmad died soon afterwards at sea, having set out on the Pilgrimage. After the death in 429/1038 of the former slave and *amīr* of Almeria, Zuhayr [*q.v.*], the inhabitants of this town placed themselves under the authority of the prince of Valencia, who seems to have sent his son-in-law Maʿn b. Ṣumādiḥ to govern Almeria, with the title of *dhu ʾl-wizāratayn*. In circumstances that are unclear, and apparently with the agreement of the populace, the latter declared himself independent, thus founding a new dynasty, but not adopting a *laḳab* and not striking his own coinage. Furthermore, for the years 430-5/1038-43 or 1044, there are examples extant of coins of al-Manṣūr of Valencia struck at Almeria, which tends to support one of the versions supplied by the sources, according to which this independence did not involve a rift with the prince of Valencia.

In 443/1052, Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. Maʿn succeeded his father, initially under the tutelage of his uncle Abū ʿUtba on account of his youth. It was during his reign that the power of the Banū Ṣumādiḥ took on the "royal" forms current under the taifas: he replaced the "amiral" title of Muʿizz al-Dawla which he bore at the time of his accession to power, with the more "caliphal"-sounding one of al-Muʿtaṣim bi ʾllāh and al-Wāthiḳ bi-faḍl Allāh. He did not differ in this respect from numerous other sovereigns of taifas in the second half of the 5th/11th century. Coins on which these *laḳab*s appeared were minted at Almeria. But it seems that under his reign and in his name, only dirhams of poor quality were minted at Almeria, and in limited quantities, judging by the standard and the rarity of the examples preserved in numismatic collections.

The contemporary geographer and historian al-ʿUdhrī, a native of the region of Almeria and probably a visitor to the court of the Banū Ṣumādiḥ, gives in his *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār* a rapturous description of the splendid palace maintained by al-Muʿtaṣim in the *ḳaṣaba* which dominates the town of Almeria. Furthermore, it is known that there existed a substantial royal entertainment complex, situated *extra muros* at the edge of the town, known as the Ṣumādiḥiyya. Although apparently lacking serious politico-military ambitions, this prince was engaged in rivalry, sometimes armed, with his neighbours in Valencia and Granada; these limited conflicts had no effect on the apparent prosperity of a state of considerably reduced dimensions, effectively confined to the region surrounding the major port city of Almeria.

When the Almoravids disembarked in the peninsula in 479/1086, al-Muʿtaṣim sent troops commanded by his son Muʿizz al-Dawla and presents to the *amīr* Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, excusing himself, on the grounds of age, from participating in the campaign which culminated in the victory of Zallāḳa/Sagrajas. The following year, he was present at the siege of Aledo with troops from Almeria, and even supplied a siege-engine constructed in the form of an elephant. He died in the summer of 484/1091, just as Almoravid troops, having taken possession of Granada, were moving agaist Almeria; his son resisted for only a few weeks in the *ḳaṣaba* before leaving the city by sea to spend the rest of his life in Bougie [see BIDJĀYA], then governed by the Ḥammādids. In Ramaḍān 484/October-November 1091, the Almoravids absorbed Almeria and the taifa into their empire.

Like other courts of the taifas, that of the Banū Ṣumādiḥ was a literary centre, which seems to have maintained a certain ideal of Arabism: it was in response to a poet at the court of al-Muʿtaṣim who had insisted on the Arab origins of the dynasty, that Ibn Garcia, secretary and court poet to Mudjāhid, prince of Denia, composed a *Risāla* known as the principal text of the *Shuʿūbiyya* movement in al-Andalus.

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(P. Guichard)

AL-**SUNĀMĪ**, ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿIwaḍ, Ḥanafī scholar of mediaeval Muslim India whose importance comes from his work on *ḥisba* [*q.v.*], the *Niṣāb al-iḥtisāb*, which refers to the author's own role in this office. Judging by the number of surviving mss., some sixty, the work was highly popular in the eastern Islamic lands. Previous scholars have been uncertain about the author's origins and life (cf. e.g. Brockelmann, S II, 427). It now seems clear from internal evidence in his book that he stemmed from Sunām, a place that still exists in the modern Indian province of Panjab, to the south-west of Patiala; that he lived under the Dihlī Sultans [*q.v.*], in particular, in the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (*r.* 725-52/1325-51 [*q.v.*]); and that he died at the newly-founded

Deccan capital of the Tug̲h̲luḳids, Dawlatābād [*q.v.*], the ancient Dēōgīrī, around or after 743-4/1333-4.

The value of the *Niṣāb* lies in the fact that it is the first known Ḥanafī text on *ḥisba*, with its practical and theoretical approaches reflecting al-Sunāmī's dual functions as a lawyer and a *muḥtasib*. The author tackles the common problems facing the *muḥtasib* in accordance with the Ḥanafī *mad̲h̲hab*, and his insights show the importance of local Indian customs and the practices of daily life, often denounced by him as *bidaʿ*, within the formal framework of Islamic law.

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(Mawil Y. Izzi Dien)

SÜRGÜN (t., lit. "expulsion"), a term of Ottoman administrative and social policy.

It encompasses a wide range of practices employed by the Ottomans, not just to remove dissident elements from politically troubled provinces, but also more constructively to achieve vital state-defined economic and military objectives. The term is better translated as population transfer or strategic resettlement, and its purpose was fundamentally different from the purely punitive sentence of internal exile or banishment (*nefy*) temporarily imposed on individual members of the ruling élite who had incurred the sultan's disfavour. The use of *sürgün* forcibly to remove fractious elements such as uncooperative tribes or rebellious city populations from persistently troublesome areas is documented as part of the Ottomans' attempts to impose control over Anatolia, especially during the closing decades of the 8th/14th and the first part of the 9th/15th century. However, its use as a weapon for political suppression without concomitant social or economic benefits was frowned on in Muslim popular opinion (see Ibn Kēmal's remarks on the mass deportations from Lārende to Istanbul in 872/1467-8, as cited in *Bibl.*: ... *etdi, Larendeye bir is̲h̲ etti ki üzerine düs̲h̲man-i bed-kīs̲h̲ dak̲h̲ī gelse, böyle etmezdi*). In principle, *sürgün* was designed not to punish the source area which contributed a part of its labour force as emigrants but to provide some advantage to the target area to which they were being dispatched as immigrants. It had the real potential for providing the double benefit of relieving population and land pressure in the source territory while at the same time acting as a stimulus to the growth and development of the target territory. It also facilitated the transfer of groups with essential skills to the areas where they were most needed. The underlying purpose, whether it was the repopulating of Istanbul after its capture in 856/1453 by the transfer of population groups with specific commercial and artisan skills from provincial cities in Anatolia and (after 880/1475) the Crimea, or the settling of rural populations as agriculturalists in newly-conquered territories in Rumelia, was essentially the same: the settlement and development (*iskān we iʿmār*) of key strategic areas identified as either economically fragile or militarily insecure. This logic applied with particular force to the period of Ottoman territorial expansion in the Balkans lasting until the end of the 10th/16th century, but strategic resettlement of tribes and displaced peasants also formed an important dimension of Ottoman rural development initiatives in subsequent periods of territorial contraction. The creation of new settlements on the Upper Euphrates in the 1100s/1690s using tribes transferred from contiguous regions of Anatolia is just one example of the continuing use of *sürgün* in later centuries (see the study by Orhonlu cited in *Bibl.*, and, for developments in the 19th century following territorial losses in the Balkans and Russian expansion in Crimea and the Caucasus, see muhād̲j̲ir. 2.)

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(R. Murphey)

al-**SUWAYNĪ**, Saʿd b. ʿAlī Bā Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲ (d. 857/1453), ʿAlawī *sayyid* of Ḥaḍramawt. He was the student of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bā ʿAlawī of Tarīm, from the Saḳḳāf branch of the *sayyids* [see bā ʿalawī], and in turn the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs, the patron saint of Aden [see ʿadan], d. 914/1508 [see ʿaydarūs]. It was this last who was to compose the *manāḳib* of al-Suwaynī.

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(Ed.)

T

TAʿALLUḲ (a.), or more often **TAʿALLUḲA**, literally "dependence, being related to, dependent on", a revenue term of late Mug̲h̲al India, which meant a jurisdiction, a fiscal area from which a fixed amount of taxes was to be collected by a revenue official called *taʿalluḳdār* or *taʿalluḳadār*. The word *taʿalluḳ* with this meaning appeared in the second half of the 11th/17th century during the reign of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], in the context of increasing tax farming [see ḍarība. 6. c]; it was distinguished from the older

Indo-Persian term *zamīndārī*, which included also feudal rights for the *zamīndār* [*q.v.*] who was in charge of it, while the *ta'alluḳdār*, originally considered as a tax farmer, was only in charge of collecting the revenue of his *ta'alluḳ*, except for a small part of it on which he had *zamīndārī* rights. For this reason, *ta'alluḳdārs* ranked lower than *zamīndārs*.

From the 18th to the 20th centuries, under the late Mug̲h̲als, the successor states and colonial rule, the words *ta'alluḳ* and *ta'alluḳdār* came to mean different things according to place and time. In Northern India, the *ta'alluḳdārs* were men of substance who acquired hereditary and transferable rights on their *ta'alluḳ* and were barely distinguishable from the *zamīndārs*: in Bengal before the British conquest, working as the subordinates of powerful *zamīndārs*, they brought large tracts of land under cultivation; in Awadh [*q.v.*], they collected taxes over large estates and constituted a rich feudal class of landlords whose fortunes lasted up to the end of the British period. Elsewhere, the word *ta'alluḳ* meant only a fiscal jurisdiction of varying size, equivalent to a district in the state of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] and only to a fraction of a village in Nepal; the office of *ta'alluḳdār* as that of tax collector died out during the British period, except in Nepal where it was still common in the 1960s.

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(M. Gaborieau)

TABANNIN (a.), adoption. This term—*maṣdar* or verbal noun of the form V verb derived from the biliteral root *b n*, which is also the source of *ibn* ("son")—is used, just as in Western languages, in the literal sense (adoption of a child) and in the figurative sense (adoption of a doctrine, etc.). This article is concerned only with adoption in the literal sense.

Since the Ḳur'ān (XXXIII, 5, 37; two verses from the Medinan period) is clear on this point, there is no disagreement among Muslim jurists of the different schools regarding the strict prohibition of plenary adoption.

The occasion (*sabab*) of the revelation of these two verses that prohibit adoption—forbidding anyone to give his name to another who does not belong within his "natural" descendance, which amounts to banning all adoptive filiation—is provided by these verses themselves. The Prophet Muḥammad, perpetuating, according to Muslim sources, a practice of pre-Islamic Arabia, the *D̲j̲āhiliyya*, had adopted one of his slaves, Zayd b. Ḥārit̲h̲a [*q.v.*], offered by his wife K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a [*q.v.*]. He had emancipated Zayd (an important figure in the early years of Islam: one of the first converts to Islam, if not the first, according to al-Zuhrī, and the only person, besides the prophets, to be named in the Ḳur'ān), and he was henceforward known without any ambiguity as "Zayd, son of Muḥammad" (Zayd b. Muḥammad), even though his ancestry was known (his father tried to buy him back, but Zayd refused to leave Muḥammad, see al-D̲j̲aṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, i-iii, n.p. [Beirut], n.d., iii, 361).

Adoption as practised before the revelation of Ḳur'ān, XXXIII, 5, 37, was plenary, entailing the same legal consequences as natural filiation (the right to inherit, etc.), and more significantly, the same prohibitions applied to marriage; the verses abrogate adoptive filiation and, explicitly, the prohibitions applying to marriage which would result from it. This is a good example, according to the Ḥanafī al-D̲j̲aṣṣāṣ, of abrogation of the *sunna* by the Ḳur'ān (a theoretical remark directed against al-S̲h̲āfi'ī [*q.v.*], who did not agree that the Ḳur'ān could abrogate the *sunna*). Muḥammad intended to marry Zaynab bt. D̲j̲aḥs̲h̲ [*q.v.*], the repudiated wife of Zayd b. Ḥārit̲h̲a, who, if plenary adoption had remained valid, would have been absolutely forbidden to him. The marriage of Muḥammad with Zaynab bt. D̲j̲aḥs̲h̲ would not have been legally permissible without the abrogation of plenary adoption (see al-Māwardī, *al-Nukat wa 'l-'uyūn. Tafsīr al-Māwardī*, 6 vols. Beirut 1412/1992, iv, 370ff. and 405ff.).

Numerous students of Islamic Studies have seen this episode from the marital life of Muḥammad as a sign of the moral weakness of the Prophet of Islam. It is true that certain *'ulamā'* of the classical epoch had difficulty hiding their embarrassment, and it is certainly no accident that Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] undertook to show that the marital life of the Prophet was in no way governed by his carnal appetites, with his commentary on Ḳur'ān, XXXIII, 37: "Here is evidence that the marital life of the Prophet (*al-tazwīd̲j̲ min al-nabī*) did not have the purpose of satisfying the carnal appetite of the Prophet (*ḳaḍā' s̲h̲ahwat al-nabī*), but on the contrary, its purpose was to render the Law explicit though his agency." In other words, there was nothing here other than one example among others of "clarification of the Law through the agency [of the Prophet]" (*bayān al-S̲h̲arī'a bi-fi'lihi*), see al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr aw mafātīḥ al-g̲h̲ayb*, 32 vols. and index, Beirut 1411/1990, xxv, 184).

The prohibition of adoption under the terms of the revealed Law (*S̲h̲arī'a*) is no doubt more easily understood if it is remembered that Islam regards the "natural" nuclear family, rather than the tribe, as the basis of the community (*umma*). From this perspective, which is that of Abrahamic monotheism in general, adoption appears as a disruptive element, confusing "lineages" (*nasab*, pl. *ansāb*), or the lines of "natural" filiation which reflect the familial order as willed by the Divine Legislator (see Ps.-al-S̲h̲āfi'ī, *Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Kawt̲h̲arī, 2 vols., Damascus n.d., ii, 164).

If reference is made to the "occasion" of the Ḳur'ānic prohibition of adoption—or the case of Zayd—it can well be understood why, in classical doctrines, a *de facto* distinction is imposed between, on the one hand, the child whose genealogy is known (*ma'rūf al-nasab*) and on the other, the child whose genealogy is unknown (*mad̲j̲hūl al-nasab*), the *laḳīṭ* [*q.v.*] ("foundling"), who is the object of a specific chapter in treatises of *fiḳh*. In the second case, a recognition of paternity, with transference of the *nasab* (*istilḥāḳ* or *iḳrār bi 'l-nasab*) by the finder of the child proves possible, under certain circumstances, and even facilitated, since Muslim jurists show themselves very flexible on this point, demanding only indications of "probability" in such recognitions and not formal proof

(see M.S. Sujimon, *The treatment of the foundling according to the Ḥanafīs*, in *ILS*, ix/3 [2002], 358-85). As for the possibility of passing from one known genealogy to another, it is unequivocally barred *de jure* according to all legal schools. In the Muslim legal order, the creation of a genealogy *ex nihilo* thus proves easier than a change of *nasab*.

At the present time, only one Arab Muslim country, Tunisia, has had the audacity to contravene openly the Ḳurʾānic prohibition of plenary adoption. In 1958, the Tunisian legislature, more aware of new social realities than others, established adoptive filiation in the full sense. It seems nevertheless that in the tribunals interpretation of statutes of adoption is often restrictive and sometimes expressly infringes the terms of the legislation in force (see L. Pruvost, *Intégration familiale* . . ., in *Recueil d'articles offert à Maurice Borrmans par ses collègues et amis*, Rome 1996, 155-80).

Modern and contemporary ethnology has shown that despite its theoretical prohibition, adoption used to be practised in numerous Muslim societies. Adoption in Islam probably constitutes one of those instances where custom, in the event more favourable to this institution, has been only very superficially Islamised.

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2. Studies. Few works have been devoted to adoption as such in Islam, but see nevertheless G.H. Bousquet and A. Demeerseman, *L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne*, in *R.Afr.*, ccclxxii-iii (1937), 127-59; A.R. Naqvi, *Adoption in Muslim law*, in *Islamic Studies*, xix (1980), 283-392; U. Vermeulen, *De gezagsvoorzieningen in de Islam: adoptie en hoederecht*, in *Recht van de Islam*, iv (1986), 4-17; K. Dilger, *Die Adoption im modernen Orient. Ein Beitrag zu den Hiyal im islamischen Recht*, in *Recht van de Islam*, vii (1988), 42-62; A. al-A. Sonbol, *Adoption in Islamic society, a historical survey*, in E. Warnock Fernea (ed.), *Children in the Muslim Middle East*, Cairo 1996, 45-67; O. Pesle, *L'adoption en Islam*, Algiers n.d.

(E. Chaumont)

ṬABĪʿIYYĀT (a.), an abstract noun formed from the adjective *ṭabīʿī* "natural" (antonym, *maṣnūʿ*), physics, or natural sciences.

Aristotle divided the theoretical sciences into mathematics, physics and metaphysics. Islamic philosophers, starting from al-Kindī [*q.v.*], were familiar with this division and it forms part of the various classifications of the sciences that were drawn up by Islamic scholars, such as in the *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm* by al-Fārābī [*q.v.*] and in many subsequent ones. In these classifications, physics was subdivided into parts that mostly corresponded to the Aristotelian works on natural science, including those that are now known to have originated in his school. Such a division was also maintained in the encyclopaedic works of Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] and his followers, such as Bahmanyār b. al-Marzubān, Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Abharī and others.

For instance, the part of Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* that deals with *ṭabīʿiyyāt* constains the following eight sections: lectures on physics; the heaven and the world; generation and corruption; actions and passions; meteorological phenomena; the soul, plants; and the natures of animals. Except for the section entitled "Actions and passions", each of these sections corresponds to a work from the Aristotelian school; in fact, the section "Actions and passions" together with the next section "Meteorological phenomena" discusses the subjects from Aristotle's *Meteorology*.

Furthermore, Islamic philosophers such as Ibn Bādjdja and Ibn Rushd [*q.vv.*] wrote individual commentaries on several of Aristotle's physical works.

It should be mentioned that the Islamic theologians (*mutakallimūn*) also discussed subjects that fall under *ṭabīʿiyyāt*, such as the structure of matter and the nature of change.

The Islamic philosophers writing on subjects of natural science remained within the framework of Aristotelian natural philosophy: they used concepts such as potentiality/actuality, matter/form, natural place and natural motion *vs.* non-natural place and forced motion; they adopted Aristotle's definition of motion; and they denied the existence of the void and conceived matter as continuous, not atomistic. However, it appears that the work of Philoponos [see yaḥyā al-nahwī], who opposed Aristotle in several respects, was also well studied, and that often Islamic philosophers took sides with him against Aristotle. Moreover, they often had a different way of discussing things and brought forward new arguments. A few examples follow.

In their discussion of infinity, Islamic philosophers adopted Aristotle's definition, but they used a way to prove that infinite quantities cannot actually exist, which was first propounded by Philoponos. His proof was based on the (mistaken) idea that a part of an infinite collection cannot be infinite, for if something is smaller than infinite, it must be finite. Al-Kindī and al-Ghazālī [*q.vv.*] used this method also to prove, against Aristotle, that time cannot be infinite, but must have a beginning. Objections against this again were raised by Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd. It is worth mentioning that Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] recognised that infinite collections may have parts that are also infinite; this in fact invalidates the proofs of Philoponos and his Islamic followers.

In opposition to the Aristotelian explanation of motion, that "every body that moves is moved by another body", Islamic philosophers adopted the concept of impressed force such as conceived by Philoponos; this was further developed by Ibn Sīnā and his school, and became known as *mayl* ("inclination").

Aristotle's "law of motion", stating that the velocity of a body moving through a medium is inversely proportional to the density of that medium, was criticised by Philoponus and subsequently Ibn Bādjdj. Aristotle's law implies that motion through a void (if void existed) would occur with infinite velocity, that is, any distance would be covered in no time, and this absurd consequence was an argument for Aristotle to assert the impossibility of the void. However, Philoponus and Ibn Bādjdj stated that covering a distance always needs a finite time, even in void, if it existed, and that the effect of the presence of a medium will be that more time is needed to cover that distance.

Atomism was discussed by Ibn Sīnā in a way not found in Greek philosophy, for he wrote in opposition to the atomism of the *mutakallimūn*, who defended atomism with their own arguments.

The discussions of meteorological phenomena [see al-āthār al-ʿulwiyya] are mostly based on Aristotle's assumption that they are caused by the two exhalations, the dry one from the earth and the moist one from the water. However, in their explanation of some

phenomena, such as precipitation, wind, earthquakes, thunder, rainbow and the climates, al-Kindī and Ibn Sīnā do not always follow Aristotle. They show an independent way of thinking and criticise Aristotle on the basis of personal observation of these phenomena.

Much of the discussions of the above-mentioned subjects remained speculative or philosophical. The discipline that is nowadays called physics also had its scholars in the period of the flourishing of Islamic science. Statics was the subject of the *Kitāb al-Ḳarasṭūn* by Thābit b. Ḳurra and *Kitāb Mīzān al-ḥikma* by al-Khāzinī [*q.v.*]. Hydrostatics and the determination of specific weights were discussed in the same book of al-Khāzinī and by al-Bīrūnī in his *Maḳāla fī nisab*. These scholars were able to execute very precise measurements of specific weights with their diverse instruments.

Although the work of Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] on optics also contains much speculation, it stands out as one of the first examples of a systematic experimental investigation of the behaviour of light. This work was continued by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] who made a considerable contribution to the explanation of the rainbow by recognising that it is due to refraction of light in drops of water in a cloud [see MANĀẒIR].

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(P. LETTINCK)

TAʿBĪR AL-RUʾYA (A.), "the interpretation of dreams".

As well as this expression, *tafsīr al-aḥlām* is employed, with *taʿbīr*, basically "the passage of one thing to another, one sense to another", hence "explanation" and *tafsīr*, lit. "commenting, explaining", from roots occurring in other Semitic languages and with the two Arabic verbal nouns found, once each, in the Ḳurʾān, at XII, 43, and XXV, 33, with *taʾwīl* [*q.v.*] also at XII, 44-5. In current usage, *taʿbīr* is confined to the sense of "interpretation of dreams", whilst *tafsīr* [*q.v.*] is used for commentaries on e.g. the Bible and the Ḳurʾān.

For the terminology of dreams and for the development of literature in Arabic on them, see RUʾYĀ. Here, their interpretation is considered, i.e. the skill of oneirocriticism.

In origin, oneiromancy was the province of the *kāhin* [*q.v.*] and custodians of inspired knowledge. It depended on divination, which was both intuitive and deductive: the first when in dreams, the divinity itself or its messenger appears to announce future happenings; the second, in regard to dreams of daily life, with their own obvious interpretation. In Islam, the two methods existed, the first in regard to the great Islamic dynasties (see Fahd, *Le rêve dans la société islamique du Moyen Age*) and in apparitions in dreams of the Prophet himself to privileged or pious persons and mystics. The second is seen in the immense oneirocritical literature in Islam (see idem, *La divination arabe*, 247-367). To these types of knowledge of the future a third may be added, incubation, in which a revealing angel is prompted to get in contact with the supernatural world and bring back knowledge of the future, a procedure already known from the Gilgamesh epic (J. Bottéro, *Les songes et leurs interprétations*, Paris 1959).

From oneiromancy, said by the Prophet to be one part of prophesy, following the Talmudic tradition (*Berakhot*, 57b, with comm. of Maimonides, *Le guide des égarés*, ii, 136), to oneirocriticism, the transition was made by two simultaneous impulses from the ancient Babylonian and Hellenistic traditions. In fact, by its symbolism and its formulation, the interpretation of dreams shows close links with the most ancient Semitic tradition, seen in Oppenheim's reconstitution of the Assyrian book of dreams and his exhaustive study of oneiromancy in the Near East. The transmission can, of course, only have been oral, as one would expect with a popular tradition.

After the 4th/10th century, under the impulsion of the Arabic translation of Artemidorus of Ephesus (2nd century A.D.), oneirocriticism borrowed from this last not only its plan and method of classification but also a considerable number of symbolic elements (see e.g. al-Dīnawarī's work). This injection of new blood led to the prodigious development of the Islamic genre of this literature (180 works listed in Fahd, *op. cit.*, 330 ff.), and the double heritage was developed and perfected through numerous generations.

The first codifier here was the Medinan Ibn al-Musayyab (*flor.* in the caliphate of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik (later 1st/7th century A.D.). He left behind a list of thirteen dreams which his contemporaries had asked him to interpret, given by Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 91-3, tr. in Fahd, *op. cit.*, 310-11). He was followed by Ibn Sīrīn [*q.v.*], whose fame here has come down to us and who figures amongst the forefathers of Arabic oneirocriticism.

At this stage, Arabic skill lacked a method of classifying dreams into precise categories illustrated by clear examples showing the constant symbolism. The translator of Artemidorus, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], filled this gap, and it was exploited by Abū Saʿīd al-Dīnawarī in his work of 397/1006-7 dedicated to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳādir (see *Bibl.*), of which over 25 mss. survive, the oldest work in the genre to have reached us integrally. This immense compilation not only contains materials on the interpretation of dreams but also on the range of man's activities, social and religious, and on his hopes and fears as experienced by a man of Baghdādī society in the 4th/10th century. This work also allows us to reconstitute, *grosso modo*, the six books of the work of Artemidorus, and its classification of themes became normative in later tradition, with only slight modifications appearing.

For the Muslim oneirocritics, the interpretation of dreams was the first of the sciences, practised from the start by the prophets and messengers of God so that the greater part of their pronouncements were made by means of dreams. For Ibn Khaldūn, it is a science whose light is a reflection of prophesy, with which it is closely connected. Both involve the permanent preoccupations of the Revelation (iii, 84, Eng. tr. iii, 103, Fr. tr. ii, 118). He details the skills required for interpretation of dreams, essentially those for religious piety, including discretion and the avoidance of careless talk and divulgence of confidences.

The oneirocritic should consider all aspects of the phenomenon and give a clear, measured response.

Note must be taken of the status, age, etc. of the person involved, the conditions in which the dream has been experienced, etc. Faced with a difficulty, the oneirocritic must go back to basic principles, but if after all that, he can find no answer, he must confess this, and no-one will reproach him, since this has happened to the prophets themselves. The dreams of all classes of men must be interpreted, after a rigorous enquiry into the status, etc. of the questioner. If no progress can, however, be made, recourse must be had to one's own personal opinion. Above all, discretion is vital (al-Dīnawarī, fols. 41-3).

All the authors stress the need to have a vast knowledge of all the sciences; all branches of knowledge are useful, including mathematics, law, etymology, onomastic, literature, proverbs, the practices of the Islamic cult, etc. Nothing has changed in the ancient principles of oneirocriticism; the only differences revealed in the course of time come from the conditions of men and their preoccupations, morals and whether they prefer immediate, present gains at the expense of the Afterlife, whereas previously, religious affairs formed the main activities of men. When the Prophet's Companions dreamed of dates, they saw there the sweetness of their religion; for them, honey signified the delights gained for them from reading the Ḳur'ān, knowledge and justice (Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab*, i, 21ff.).

One should say in conclusion that, despite the efforts of the oneirocritics to furnish their art with principles and techniques, they were forced to recognise that "the interpretation of dreams remains based on analogy, relationship, comparison and probability. One cannot base a course of action, nor refer to its findings, before their accomplishment in the waking state and even before proof for it is put forward" (*ibid.*, i, 4). In fact, wrote E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 407, "la pluralité des méthodes, l'arbitraire avec lequel on les emploie, l'abus de symbolisme font de l'oniromancie une pure fantaisie et il n'est pas un songe qui ne puisse, au gré du devin, être interprété d'une façon favorable ou défavorable aux intérêts de son client".

Nevertheless, the severe judgements of both ancients and moderns do not reduce the considerable value of oneirocritical literature for the light it throws on psychology, sociology and mysticism. Beneath dreams, simple or incoherent, there is a complex of passions, ambitions and dynastic rivalries. Whether spontaneous or fabricated, they are the vehicles for conceptions and ideas issuing from the popular milieu, one not widely revealed in other literary genres. Since the dream forms part of the life of rich and poor alike, it forms something like a screen between the dead past and the present, which can be used to reconstruct, with great precision and realism, the social life and aspirations of any given class at any fixed time.

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(T. Fahd)

TABRĪZĪ, DJALĀL AL-DĪN, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, a saint of the Suhrawardiyya [*q.v.*] order (date of death perhaps 642/1244; Ghulām Sarwar-i Lāhawrī, *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā'*).

Together with Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā [*q.v.*], Djalāl al-Dīn is to be counted as the founder of the order in India (Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A history of Sufism in India*, New Delhi 1978, i, 190). After the death of his teacher Badr al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Tabrīzī, Djalāl al-Dīn went to Baghdād to join Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [*q.v.*]), the eponym of the order, as a disciple, when al-Suhrawardī was already old. Djalāl al-Dīn stayed with al-Suhrawardī for nearly a decade and he accompanied him on his annual pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina. In the company of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā who was to found a *khānaḳāh* in Multān, Djalāl al-Dīn set out to travel to India (Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 504). However, they separated on the way, a fact explained by legend as follows: Djalāl al-Dīn met the mystical poet 'Aṭṭār (d. 618/1221 [*q.v.*]) in Nīshāpūr and was asked by him, who in Baghdād was to be included among the mystics. Impressed by the poet's spiritual presence Djalāl al-Dīn is said not to have uttered the name of al-Suhrawardī (Čishtī, *Mir'āt al-asrār*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin SPK, Ms. orient. Quart. 1903, 284b). At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, during the reign of Iltutmish (607-33/1210-36 [*q.v.*]), Djalāl al-Dīn arrived in India where he was warmly welcomed by the Sultan. The *Shaykh al-Islām* Nadjm al-Dīn, however, resented this and tried to influence the Sultan against the Ṣūfī (Čishtī, *loc. cit.*). An accusation was concocted and in 1228 the Sultan organised an investigation, which was presided over by Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā. Though the charge was soon found to be false, Djalāl al-Dīn left Dihlī for Badā'ūn. There again Djalāl al-Dīn became friendly with the ruling classes, viz. the local administrator Ḳāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn, who enrolled his son as Djalāl al-Dīn's disciple.

Finally, Djalāl al-Dīn reached Bengal where he settled down. In recruiting followers, Djalāl al-Dīn converted many Hindus and Buddhists to Islam (Rizvi, ii, 398; Trimingham, 232). In accordance with the policy of the Suhrawardī order of supporting enforced conversion, Djalāl al-Dīn demolished, at Devatalla in northern Bengal, a large temple that a *kāfir* (Hindu or Buddhist) had erected and constructed a monastery in its place. In the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭā [*q.v.*], Djalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī is confused with Shāh Djalāl of Sylhet, one of the Bengali warrior saints (Rizvi, i, 314). In the Kāmrūp hills of Assam Djalāl al-Dīn was said to have been met by the Moroccan traveller (*Riḥla*, iv,

216-22) who had reached India only in 734/1333. Djalāl al-Dīn's sanctuary in Sylhet is still visited by the devout to this very day (Lawrence, *Notes from a distant flute*, Tehran 1978, 63). Reliable information of his successors in Bengal is not available (Rizvi, i, 202).

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TABSHĪR (a.), lit. "proclamation, spreading of the good news", a term used in modern works for Christian proselytism in various forms and the work of missionaries (*mubashshirūn*) within the Islamic world.

The use of the word, if not the activity which it denotes, does not seem to go back beyond the end of the 19th century, being at one and the same time contemporaneous with the Arab renaissance (*Nahḍa* [*q.v.*]), European colonialism and the development of Christian missions. It seems to be a term of Christian origin, corresponding to its usage in Arabic translations of the Bible for Grk. *evangelion* "announcement of good news", as evidenced in the Protestant (London-Beirut 1831) and the Roman Catholic (Beirut 1898) translations, where in Mark, xvi, 16, we have, however, *aʿlinū al-bishāra* without, however, the form *tabshīr*. *Tabshīr* does not appear in such classical dictionaries as *LʿA* and *TA*, and *bishāra* is found for the first time in Freytag's Arabic-Latin dictionary (Halle 1830-7, i, 124) in the sense of *evangelium*, uncapitalised and without any connotation of the Gospel itself. Lane, *Lexicon*, i, 208, simply has *mubashshir* in the general sense of "one who announces good news". Buṭrus al-Bustānī in his *Muḥīṭ* (Beirut 1867, i, 95) is the first person to give a reasoned definition, citing the expression *bishārat al-indjīl*, where the origin of this neologism is explained: *iḍāfa bayyina li-anna al-Indjīl maʿnāhu al-bishāra bi 'l-yūnāniyya*. Curiously, and in which he is followed by the author of the dictionary *Aḳrab al-mawārid* (1889), he mentions (96) that *al-bashīr* means, in a general way, *al-mubashshir wa 'l-djamīl* and that it is the epithet given to St. Luke by the Christians, *laḳab Mār Lūḳā ʿind al-Naṣārā*. Words from this root *b-sh-r* occur several times in the Ḳurʾān (ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, *Muʿdjam al-mufahras*, Cairo 1378/[1945], 119-21), especially in the verbal forms *bashshara* and *abshara*, whose ambivalent sense can announce some good news but also, in menacing tones, the coming of bad news; *mubashshir* is attested in speaking, *inter alios*, of the Prophet, but not *tabshīr* in regard to him.

It is impossible to discuss here the innumerable books and articles devoted directly or indirectly to *tabshīr*; only a few representative ones, in Arabic, of the mediaeval period will be given. The enquiry ought, however, to be extended beyond the Arab to the wider Islamic world, notably to India and Indonesia.

Reading these works, one notes that, at different levels, the authors treat various aspects of the subject. Two forms of *tabshīr* are distinguished. The direct one is an effort by churches and missionaries in the strict sense, *mubashshirūn*, to announce to Muslims the Christian "good news". It involves, then, an individual or collective enterprise of the Christians, openly proclaimed. Distinguished from it is a more radical notion, sometimes confused with the first, envisaging directly "conversion" or more precisely, Christianisation, *tanṣīr*, a *maṣdar* or verbal noun of Form II from the collective designation of Christians, *al-Naṣārā* [*q.v.*], traditional among the Muslims.

The *tabshīr* in these works can denote proselytisation aimed directly at Muslims but equally, and frequently, aimed at whole populations, as in Black Africa or amongst certain ethnic minorities not connected with Judaism or Islam, as in the Sudan, in Chad or in other countries of Africa and elsewhere. These Christian missionary activities, openly declared, have for the most part their origins in Western, traditionally Christian—Catholic or Protestant—countries, but do not stem, above all in the Near East, from the churches or members of the Eastern Christian churches, present in that region for two millennia. However, according to authorities consulted, certain members of these local churches may have been involved in the missionary activities, *tabshīriyya*, of missionaries of Western origin. Finally, the term "the West" embraces not only Europe, but also North America, especially the United States, even though colonisation activities in predominantly Muslim lands have never been directly launched, so these authors state, from the USA.

Alongside this direct, avowed missionary work, numerous authors devote—some more, perhaps, than others—an important place to the indirect form of *tabshīr*, one that is "hidden" or "stealthy", which, with concealed motives, uses diversionary means (cultural, charitable and political) to achieve its aims indirectly. The authors who denounce this indirect missionary work connect it to two main trends, which, they allege, are its main inspirers, viz. colonisation (*istiʿmār*) and orientalism (*istishrāḳ*).

The titles of certain works on this theme, placing *tabshīr* in direct connection with colonisation, are revelatory enough of this fact. One may cite e.g. Muṣṭafā Khālidī and ʿUmar Farrūkh, whose work is often cited as a reference work on the topic, *al-Tabshīr wa 'l-istiʿmar fi 'l-bilād al-ʿarabiyya: ʿarḍ li-djuhūd al-mubashshirīn allatī tarmī ilā ikhbāʾ al-sharḳ li 'l-istiʿmār al-gharbī* (Beirut 1953) and, more recently, ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Aḥmad Abū Zāyida, *al-Tabshīr al-salībī wa 'l-ghazw al-istiʿmārī* (Malta 1988) (see Ṭalāl ʿAtrīsī, *al-Baʿtha al-yasūʿiyya: muhimmat iʿdād al-nakhba al-siyāsiyya fi Lubnān*, 1987), which emphasise the school, University and charitable activities of certain religious orders, in general French- or English-speaking, practising this indirect form of *tabshīr*. Limiting ourselves to the Near East, the main University institutions envisaged are the American University of Beirut (AUB), the Jesuit Université Saint-Joseph, also at Beirut, and the American University in Cairo (AUC), the first two of which have a religious orientation and were founded in the second half of the 19th century, that of the *Nahḍa* and of colonisation [see djāmiʿa].

On the same track, there is a great stress on the introduction of foreign languages, English and French, as hidden means of detaching student élites of the Near East from their own language, Arabic, and their original culture, that of the Ḳurʾān and Islam, and as a means of making favourable comparisons in favour of the West, especially in the domains of technical and industrial progress. Another of the means (*wasāʾil*) of this second form of *tabshīr* is the encouragement by these educational establishments of developing, on the one hand, the use of the various Arabic dialects, *al-lahadjāt al-ʿāmmiyya*, and on the other, the use of non-Arabic local languages, Syriac, Kurdish, Berber, Armenian, etc., in order to perpetuate divisions between the peoples of the Near East, to "divide and rule", and thereby prevent the wider diffusion of Islam. This is an argument already used, in a slightly different context, by authors of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*] at

the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, admittedly without recourse to the term *tabs̲h̲īr*, e.g. in the commentary of the *Manār* [see AL-MANĀR] on sūra V, 82. Also attacked are the endeavours of these establishments to promote or to favour various forms of bilingualism or trilingualism to the detriment of the one language, Arabic.

Certain authors go even further and allege that these missionary enterprises find agents (*ʿumalāʾ*) to aid them within the heart of the Arabic and Islamic worlds themselves, and they cite in particular passages from the famous work of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], *Mustaḳbal al-t̲h̲aḳāfa fī Miṣr*, or that of Ḳāsim Amīn [*q.v.*], *al-Marʾa al-d̲j̲adīda* (see ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Murtaḍā, *al-Tabs̲h̲īr al-ʿālamī ḍidd al-Islām, ahdāfuhu, wasāʾiluhu, ṭuruḳuhu, muwād̲j̲ahātuhu*, Miṣr al-D̲j̲adīda 1992, 37 ff.).

Orientalism, *istis̲h̲rāḳ*, is often mentioned and denounced as one of the indirect means of *tabs̲h̲īr*. Without always avoiding a facile juxtaposition, but with some persons recognising the positive aspects of *istis̲h̲rāḳ*, this link between the two notions brought together in this fashion often goes on to an analysis of the "religious and missionary impulse" of the orientalists' activities, *al-dāfiʿ al-dīnī al-tabs̲h̲īrī* (see Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Sulṭān, *Min ṣuwar al-g̲h̲azwī al-fikrī li ʾl-Islām: al-tabs̲h̲īr, al-istis̲h̲rāḳ al-ʿilmāniyya*, Cairo 1990, 166). The idea that *tabs̲h̲īr* and *istis̲h̲rāḳ* are linked derives its origin from the fact that a certain number of orientalists, above all those who lived or published works in the Arab-Muslim lands, were indeed members of religious orders or missionary societies. Hence in a general way, some of their more critical attitudes, if not the whole body of their works, are considered to be hidden methods of sapping the foundations of the doctrines of Islam, especially by dwelling on the controversial aspects of the Ḳurʾān and the life of Muḥammad, or, on another level, by an exclusive orientation towards certain aspects of Islamic mysticism, etc. On this negative role of the orientalists, allied hand-in-hand with *tabs̲h̲īr*, one may refer to the opinions of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-S̲h̲uwayrif, *Āt̲h̲ār al-istis̲h̲rāḳ wa-kayfa muwād̲j̲ihatuhu*, in *D̲j̲awhar al-Islām*, vi/1 (Tunis 1973).

One may conclude this summary sketch with some reflections. The first is that this idea of *tabs̲h̲īr* and the positions taken up by those involved with it, should be placed in a much wider and more ancient context, often far from eirenic, of Islamo-Christian relations in general, and, since the end of the 19th century, of relations between Islam and the West, regarded as an emanation of and as being representative of Christianity. On the more particular level of the basic choices of the two religions regarding *tabs̲h̲īr*, one may add that these two religions see themselves equally, although employing differing means, as faiths dealing with universal final ends, bearers of a message meant for men of all places and ages, a message which can bring into action an expansionist dynamism that explains, even if it does not justify, some of the methods used by the Islamic side regarding the idea of *tabs̲h̲īr* studied here. Finally, let it be said that the examples discussed above and their tentative analysis do not in any way represent the positions of the most authoritative and representative of the faithful of each of the two religions.

Bibliography: As indicated above, this cannot be exhaustive. In addition to references given in the article, see ʿAbd al-Wadūd S̲h̲alabī, *Afīḳū ayyuhā al-muslimīn ḳabl an tadfaʿū al-d̲j̲izya*, Cairo 1997; Saʿd al-Dīn al-Sayyid Ṣāliḥ, *Ihd̲h̲arū al-asālīb al-ḥadīt̲h̲a fī muwād̲j̲ahāt al-islām*, Cairo 1998, esp. 25-109. For a global presentation of *tabs̲h̲īr* in the first half of the 20th century, which highlights its relative check in face of Islam, above all in Africa and Asia, see the art. *Tabs̲h̲īr*, in Muḥammad Farīd Wad̲j̲dī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-ḳarn al-rābiʿ as̲h̲ar/al-ʿis̲h̲irīn*, 1937, i, 205-20, and see also Ḥasan Ḥanafī, *Mād̲h̲ā yaʿnī ʿilm al-istig̲h̲rāb*, Beirut 2000, Preface. On the links between orientalism and *tabs̲h̲īr*, E. Said, *Orientalism*, London 1978, Fr. tr. 1980, Ar. tr. 1981; *EI*², art. MUSTAS̲H̲RIḲŪN (J.J. Waardenburg), Vol. VII, 745ff.; *al-Fikr al-ʿarabī*, xxxi (Jan.-March 1983), xxxii (April-June 1983), on *istis̲h̲rāḳ*; *Études arabes*, lxxxiii (1992/2), PISAI, Rome, dossier on *al-mustas̲h̲riḳūn*. For the views of an Arab academic on European orientalists, see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Mawsūʿat al-mustas̲h̲riḳūn*, ³Beirut 1992. Also E. Rudolph, *Westlische Islamwissenschaft im Spiegel muslimischer Kritik*, Berlin 1991. On earlier relations of Islam and the West, see N. Daniel, *Islam and the West, the making of an image*, Edinburgh 1960, Fr. tr. *L'Islam et l'Occident*, Paris 1993; idem, *The Arabs and mediaeval Europe*, ²London and New York 1979; F. Cardini, *Europe e islam. Storia di un malinteso*, Rome-Bari 2000, Fr. tr. *Europe et Islam, histoire d'un malentendu*, Paris 2000.

(L. POUZET)

ṬĀHIR BEG, MEḤMED, late Ottoman journalist, publisher, and owner of journals, newspapers, and a printing-house in Istanbul (1864-1912). He was one of the journalists and publishers who were supported by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, being awarded various medals and decorations by the Sultan.

Information about his family and education is limited. Red̲j̲āʾī-zāde Ekrem [*q.v.*] reports that Ṭāhir Beg's mother looked after his older son. It is known that he was working as a reporter at *T̲h̲erwet*, the newspaper published in Turkish by Dimitraki Nikolaidi between 1307/1891 and 1324/1908. That he was a well-known figure in the press and publishing world can be deduced from the names of the staff of his journals and newspapers, from the variety of the authors of the books he published at his printing-house, from the fact that he introduced Aḥmed Rāsim [*q.v.*] into journalism, and from his getting articles from Red̲j̲āʾī-zāde to publish in his journals and printing a book translated by Aḥmed Iḥsān Tokgöz [see AḤMAD IḤSĀN] at his printing-house, although he had many conflicts with both of these in later years. Thanks to his high connections, he was able to resume publishing his journal *Maʿlūmāt* very soon after it was suppressed or confiscated for various reasons.

He was notorious in the world of Turkish press and publication as the first person in the history of Turkish journalism to produce false news and then to take bribes for publishing denials of it, so that his *laḳab* (*Baba Ṭāhir*) is given as an example for such situations. First, abusing his proximity to the Ottoman Sultan, he supplied the latter with names to be given ranks, decorations and medals, these persons being close to him, and he published those names in his newspaper. Then he printed bogus certificates at his printing-house, employed an Italian engraver to produce spurious decorations and sold them, especially to foreigners. In addition, he printed publications opposing the Palace and then informed the Palace that the "Young Turks" were printing such journals in Egypt. In 1901, together with Dr. M. Pas̲h̲a, he denounced the journal *T̲h̲erwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] and caused it to be suppressed for 40 days and its owner and writers to be arraigned in court. He published Red̲j̲āʾī-zāde Ekrem Beg's *S̲h̲emsā* in his journal *Maʿlūmāt* without his permission.

When his offences were revealed, he was arrested, tried and in 1903 sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. But, only after five years, benefiting from the amnesty declared after the *Meshrūṭiyyet* in 1908, he returned to Istanbul. He was then kept under surveillance by the police authorities and not permitted to publish his newspaper again. Having been involved in the incident of 31 March 1325/13 April 1909, he was exiled to Tripoli, but after a while escaped from there to Naples and then to Paris. In both places he established businesses, but these failed. From the fact that A.I. Tokgöz's article on his death is dated 16 February 1912, it appears that he died at the beginning of that month in Paris.

He published five journals and newspapers: *Bahār* (1299/1883, 19 issues, fortnightly), *Therwet* (1314-18/ 1898-1903, 2088 issues, daily), *Irtiḳā'* (1315-19/ 1899-1904, 251 issues, weekly), *Maʿlūmāt* (1311-18/ 1895-1903, journal-newspaper, 2443 issues, weekly-daily) and *Muṣawwer Fenn we Edeb* (1315-19/1899-1903, 222 issues, weekly). Initially 48 issues of the *Maʿlūmāt* were published by the Artin Asadoryan Press weekly (1309-11/1894-5). *Maʿlūmāt*, with its writers and contents, filled an important gap during the period when it was published. Since it attracted attention through photographs and illustrations having also French subtitles, it was also known as the *Muṣawwer Maʿlūmāt*. The journal was distributed throughout the Ottoman lands, Persia and Russia. It was also printed locally in Filibe [*q.v.*] under the title *Āfāḳ-i Sharḳiyyeden Ṭulūʿ Eden Maʿlūmāt* (1314/1896). Readers' letters sent from places like Cyprus, the Mediterranean shores, the Aegean Islands, Algeria and Egypt, show the extent of the domain where it was being read. Some of its issues were in Arabic and Persian, and it had supplements on diverse themes (*Khanïmlara Maḫṣūṣ Maʿlūmāt*, *Ilāwe-i Maʿlūmāt*, etc.). The journals *Maʿlūmāt* and *Therwet-i Fünūn* were always in a state of rivalry, but while *Therwet-i Fünūn* was the journal supporting modern literature, *Maʿlūmāt* was the journal of supporters of a more moderate line (*mutawassiṭ*) in literature.

Apart from these, Ṭāhir Beg also published books at his printing-house. According to Seyfettin Özege's catalogue, 95 books were printed at the *Maṭbaʿa-i Ṭāhir Beg* between the years 1311-19/1895-1903. Among these were books printed in three languages: in Turkish-Arabic-French or in Persian-Turkish-French. Moreover, it is known that some French books were also printed by him. Some of the books have the name of the series *Maʿlūmāt Kütüphanesi* or *Ṭāhir Beg Kütüphanesi* and the publisher's name as *Maʿlūmāt ve Therwet gazeteleri ṣāḥib-i imtiyāzï es-Seyyid Meḥmed Ṭāhir*. In the books, the name of the printing-house is given as *Maṭbaʿa-i Ṭāhir Beg*, *Ṭāhir Beg Maṭbaʿasï*, *Ṭāhir Beg'in 40 numaralï Maṭbaʿasï* and *Maʿlūmāt Gazeteleri ve Ṭāhir Beg Maṭbaʿasï*. The relation with Ṭāhir Beg's printing-house of the 20 books that appeared in Seyfettin Özege's catalogue as having been printed at the *Maʿlūmāt Maṭbaʿasï* between 1311-17/1894-1901, is a matter which still needs to be examined. Ṭāhir Beg had received the privilege of printing official documents at his printing-house during the period when the *Maṭbaʿa-i ʿĀmire* was closed.

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(Hatice Aynur)

TAḲĀLĪD (A.), pl. of the *maṣdar* or verbal noun *taḳlīd*, the Form II verb *ḳallada* having the meaning, *inter alia*, "to mimic, imitate" (for *taḳlīd* in its legal and theological context, see the art. s.v.), is used in Arabic today for the ensemble of inherited folk traditions and practices, popular customs and manners, and folklore in general, although the loanword from English *fulklūr*, is often used, especially for the discipline and its study at large. In recent years also, the term *al-turāth al-shaʿbī* "folk inheritance" is being used to denote the common Arabic heritage of popular culture.

According to the common definition of the term "folklore", it denotes the cultural popular traditions which are passed on from generation to generation and their study. Folklore may be divided into five main categories: (1) Oral traditions: folktales, legends, myths, fables, riddles, jokes; popular poems, common expressions, expletives and oaths; (2) Written materials: proverbs, amulets and talismans; (3) Traditional practices: food and drinks, clothes, embroidery, cosmetics, jewellery, household tools and furniture; popular medicine, witchcraft; customs and manners; (4) Beliefs and superstitions; and (5) Popular art: popular theatre, songs, dances, musical instruments, paintings, drawings and sculpting.

1. In the Arab world.

Although descriptions of popular traditions and customs among Arabs, mainly the Bedouin, appear already in early Arab literature, and, in particular, within travel literature, serious discussion of Arab folklore only started in the 19th century with the appearance of works such as E.W. Lane's (1801-76) *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* (1836). However, research of this field was not very common until the second half of the 20th century. This omission is clearly illustrated by Aḥmad Amīn (1878-1954) in the introduction to his *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt wa 'l-taḳālīd wa 'l-taʿābīr al-miṣriyya* ([2]Cairo 1953) in which he says: "I sincerely believe that historians have deliberately neglected popular aspects in their books of history, showing off their aristocracy, although popular literature, in many respects, is not of less importance than the literary Arabic language and literature.... It is quite possible that some aristocratic scholars will look askance and be bewildered as to how an academic professor degrades himself by recording manners and popular expressions which concern the populace" (pp. II-III).

This attitude among Arab scholars towards their popular heritage in the past resembles their attitude towards the study of Arabic dialects, which also won recognition as a discipline worth investigating only during the second half of the 20th century after the appearance of works by non-Arab scholars who valued both Arab heritage and Arabic dialects and consequently published extensively on both subjects.

Oral traditions have been known for genera-

tions and in particular the art of the story-telling of folktales (*ḳiṣaṣ sha'biyya*; in colloquial Arabic *ḥikāya* [*q.v.*] or *ḥaddūta* (from *uḥdūtha* "speech, tale"), which was usually carried out by an elder member of the family or by the local "professional" teller (*ḥakawātī*). The best example of such a genre is the famous *Thousand and One Nights* [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA]. The genre of fables is represented by *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] attributed to the Indian philosopher Bidpai (4th century B.C.) and rendered into Arabic by Ibn al-Muḳaffa' (721-57 [*q.v.*]). Another genre is that of amusing anecdotes (*nawādir, mulaḥ*), e.g. the funny stories of Djuḥā [*q.v.*] (Turkish: Nāṣir al-Dīn Khodja [*q.v.*]), about whose real existence or non-existence scholars are divided. It is mainly the Bedouin and the inhabitants of rural areas around the Middle East who still continue with the long tradition of story-telling which, together with riddles (*ḥazzūrāt* or *ḥazāzīr*), and jokes (*nukat*), are the most common and basic forms of entertainment. Several collections have been published and new editions continue to appear, sometimes offering the reader different versions of the same story or anecdote.

Another important genre which has been very popular from old times are poems composed by professional or amateur poets to commemorate a special occasion or event, such as parties in honour of a person, weddings, eulogies or obituary speeches. Although these poems usually take the form of the Arabic *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], which is composed in literary Arabic, some are recited in colloquial or something resembling Middle Arabic, similar to common songs which are performed on such occasions.

So far as common expressions, expletives and oaths are concerned, they are usually associated with special situations and circumstances or etiquette, such as weddings, the birth of a child, bereavement, etc., which are often connected with local customs. These are usually recorded in the various dialect dictionaries. What most of them, however, have in common is the fact that many of them contain the word *Allāh*, including the commonest expression used for encouragement and urging: *yalla* (in the name of God), and the word *walla(hi)* (by God!), used customarily to express astonishment or as an oath. Other common words used as oaths are: *wi-ḥyāt rabbina* (by God), *wi 'l-nabi* (by the Prophet), *wa-ḥayātī/wa-ḥayātak* (by my/your life), *wa-ḥayāt rāsī/rāsak* (by my/your head), *wa-ḥayāt wlādī* (by my children), *wi-ḥyāt* or *bi-raḥmat ummī/abūy* (by the memory of my mother/father), *bi-sharafī* (by my honour) and *ḥalaft bi 'l-talāḳ* (I swear I will divorce my wife). Common expressions often used are: e.g. when a person sneezes, people say to him *raḥimaka allāh* (may God have mercy upon you), or simply *te'īsh* (may you live long), and when a person leaves, others wish him *Allāh ma'ak* (may God be with you). The word *mabrūk* is the commonest wish to congratulate people on the occasion of an engagement, marriage, birth, new house, car, job, clothes, etc. Sometimes the dual, and the number one thousand are used in good or bad wishes for emphasis: *ṣaḥtēn* (bon appetit); *marḥabtēn* (hello); *'amayēn* ("double blindness", i.e. Hell!); *alf mabrūk* (lit. a thousand blessings, i.e. congratulations!); *alf dāhiya* ("thousand hells"). A reference to shoes, dogs and donkeys (and in some areas to a woman) is immediately followed by the speaker with the expressions *ba'īd 'annak* (lit. far from you) or *adjallak* (lit. you are more respected than the object mentioned).

Written materials include proverbs (*amthāl*) [see MATHAL], a genre well known in classical Arabic literature as one of the earliest and most common compositions in prose, even though some of them are based on Arabic poetry. The thousands of proverbs found in Arabic demonstrate the important role they play in writing and in daily discourse. Moreover, as many proverbs depict a situation or give advice or warning, it is customary among Arabic speakers or writers to use them in order to illustrate their speech/written work to draw conclusions of a comparable situation. Old collections of Arabic proverbs, such as that of al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124 [*q.v.*]), are constantly being reprinted while new collections of proverbs, arranged by countries, continue to appear.

Amulets and talismans (*tamā'im, ruḳayāt, ta'āwīdh, ṭalāsim, 'azā'im, ḥudjub*) are very popular, especially in rural areas [see RUḲYA; TAMĪMA]. Many of these are meant to protect the bearer against the evil eye [see 'AYN], bring blessing and prosperity, speed the recovery from an illness or bring good luck in general. The most popular amulet is the one in the shape of an open hand called *khamsa*, i.e. "five", referring to the five fingers of the hand, which are meant "to stop" bad luck or envy. The amulet may be a copy of the Ḳur'ān, a few verses from it or brief statements such as: *'eyn al-ḥasūd lā tasūd* (May the eye of the one who envies never prevail) or *'eyn al-ḥasūd fīhā 'ūd* (The eye of the one who envies will have a piece of wood in it), but may also be simple blue beads, a piece of blue cloth (since the eyes of the devil are believed to be blue), leaves or flowers of certain plants and even a pinch of salt. It is customary to give such amulets to children or hang them at home, in the car, at work and even on animals. There are also talismans which are written in a code or contain numerals and other symbols which are only known to the writer. Moreover, although the traditional rosary, commonly used by men (*misbaḥa*), is more associated with a ritual based on the custom of mentioning on every occasion God's Most Beautiful Names (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* [*q.v.*]), it may also be regarded as a kind of talisman.

Traditional practices vary from region to region and from one society to another. That is to say, daily practices of the urban society may differ from those of the rural one in the same way that they may be different between one Arab country and another and between sedentary and nomad society. Hence, what, for example, is generally known in the West as Oriental cuisine may have different recipes, names of ingredients and occasions for their consumption. Thus *harīsa* is the term for a dish of meat and bulgur, but in Egypt it refers to a sweet pastry made of flour, melted butter and sugar (see Wehr, under *harīsa*). Bread is called in Syro-Palestine *khubz*, whereas in Egypt it is called *'eysh* (which has the same meaning as "life"). Flesh of lamb (*kharūf*) is usually consumed in festivals such as Ramaḍān and the two 'Īds, as well as sweets (*ḥalwayyāt*) such as *kunāfa, baḳlawa, ghurayba* and *ma'mūl*. Sweets, mainly for children, such as *ghazl al-banāt* ("girls' spinning") are also popular on special occasions. Incidentally, the ingredients used for these dishes or the method of their preparation may differ from one region to another. Traditional food served in family celebrations such as weddings, birth of a child or bereavement may also vary in accordance with the local customs, except for bereavements when sweet dishes are normally avoided.

Coffee (*ḳahwa* [*q.v.*]) and tea (*shāy* [see ČAY]) are the most popular drinks all around the Middle East. Black coffee, usually with cardamon (*hēl*), may be served with sugar (*madbūṭ*) or without (*sāda*) in small cups, after being boiled a few times, first without

sugar and then with. Tea is always strong and very sweet and is usually served with mint leaves (*naʿnaʿ*). The popularity of coffee has, over the years, given rise to a whole ethos: it is offered to guests, and in addition, to mark reaching an agreement concerning engagement, transactions or settlement of feud. It is also customary to offer bitter coffee in the house of a bereaved family to people who have come to express their condolences. Several customs are current in various areas which are associated with coffee drinking, such as, shaking the cup to indicate that no more coffee is wanted or using the word *dāyman* or *al-ḳahwe dāyme* ("always", i.e. may coffee always be in this house) to thank the host after finishing drinking, or the word *ʿāmir* (lit. fully inhabited, i.e. may this house never again suffer the loss of any of its members), when finishing drinking coffee in a house of a bereaved family. The third cup of coffee, when offered to a guest, may symbolise, in some areas, a start of enmity or it may politely hint that the meeting is over and that the guest is expected to leave. Telling the fate of the drinker by a "coffee reader", who scrutinises the dregs of the coffee in the bottom of his cup, is also a very popular custom around the Middle East. Finally, drinking coffee in cafés while smoking a hookah (*ardjīla, nardjīla* or *shīsha*), and reading or chatting with friends is another daily popular custom for one's leisure.

Traditional Arab clothes vary: upper and middle class urban citizens are increasingly wearing western clothes, while the lower class males among the fellahin and the Bedouin usually wear the *gallabiyya, djilbāb, kuftān, kumbāz* (or *kunbāz*), *ʿabāʾa* (or *ʿabāya*), *djubba, dishdāsha; sirwāl* (or *shirwāl*) and cover their heads with the *kūfiyya* and *ʿaḳāl, ṭaḳiyya* (cap) or *laffe* (lap kerchief). Few men wear today the *ṭarbūsh* (or fez) or *ʿaraḳiyya*, while the European *burnēṭa* is hardly seen. Often a combination of the ordinary European *banṭalōn* (trousers), *ḳamīṣ* (shirt) and *djakita* (jacket) are worn, while the head is covered with a *kūfiyya* and *ʿaḳāl*. Religious leaders, orthodox people or teachers at rural schools, however, still cover their heads with a *laffe* or *ʿimāma* (turban). Most women who belong to the upper and middle classes normally wear European dresses (*fustān*) or suits (*ṭaḳm*), while those who belong to the lower class usually wear the traditional *milāya* and cover their head with a *mindīl*. In strict Muslim society, only married women cover their faces with a veil (*burḳuʿ, lithām, ṭarḥa* or *yashmak*). It is worth mentioning that both sexes of the upper and middle classes often wear traditional clothes at home and on special occasions. The traditional clothes, in general, are embroidered and often made in deep colours [see further, LIBĀS].

Traditional jewellery is still worn by women, and is mainly made of gold or silver. Diamonds may be worn by women of means, while the middle and lower classes wear various precious and cheap stones. It is often customary for a woman to wear several necklaces, bracelets, earrings and rings, and Bedouin women wear in addition noserings and anklets. Many of these are made of coloured beads or old coins that are no longer in circulation. The names of women's jewellery differ from area to area. Men adorn themselves mainly with rings, gold watches and ornamented daggers, whereas some women and men, especially Bedouin, have in addition various tattoos [see WASHM]. The most popular make-up, which is also associated with good luck and used against the evil eye, is henna [see ḤINNĀʾ], used mainly by women though many men also use it. Henna constitutes part of the wedding ceremony preparations all around the Middle East.

Traditional household tools, furniture, fixtures and fittings are still in use especially in rural regions and by the lower class. They vary from one area to another and have different names. Thus one still may find in the kitchen the traditional *hāwin* or *djurn* (mortar) used for grinding coffee and spices; *bakradj* or *dalla* (coffee pot), *findjān* (coffee cup) and many more articles. The same applies to traditional furniture which often has names of non-Arabic origin, e.g. *mūbīlya* (furniture), *dikka* (sofa-like bench), *ṭāwla* (table), *burdāi* (curtain), *lamba* (lamp).

Popular medicine is still practised in rural areas and by some Bedouin tribes, and even the urban and the higher classes often resort to traditional methods for curing less complicated illnesses. Various herbs, fruit, oil and special liquids may be used as medications. Thus onion drops are still used in Egypt against trachoma and watermelon seeds are prescribed for high blood pressure. Smallpox may be treated by burning dung near the sick child. Fig juice is used against corns or calluses, while burning or cauterising the skin against pain, fear and paralysis is believed to alleviate suffering.

Witchcraft and magic are used for three main purposes: to avert the evil eye, to cure illnesses and to regain the affections of the husband. The first involves various customs such as writing on a piece of a paper the name of the person who is believed to have put the evil eye on one, then setting it on fire while pouring salt on it and reciting some formulae that basically wish the person total destruction or blindness. The second witchcraft practice mainly involves the use of talismans or "blessed" objects or plants prepared usually by older people known for their piety [see TILSAM], and the third, which is called *shabshaba*, denotes a ritual mostly current in Egypt in which a woman casts a spell by beating her genitals with a slipper while pronouncing a magic formula to jinx an inattentive husband or a female rival. (See Hinds-Badawi, under *sh.b.sh.b.*)

Customs and manners. Since the Arabs themselves often describe their society as devout, emotional and fatalist, it is not surprising that scores of customs and manners are current within the Arab world, making the discussion of even a fraction of them an impossible task within the present article. Moreover, the diversity and heterogeneity of Arab society with its long history and contacts with other cultures (e.g. Persian and Turkish) prevent any attempt at formulating a monolithic ethos.

Among the characteristics typical of the Arabs are hospitality, generosity and strong commitment to the family and tribe. Hence most of the customs and manners current among Arab society revolve around those. Moreover, the general attitude towards life and death is of resignation to fate. Hence it is customary to accept happiness and tragedy with the same dictum, expressing praise to God (*ḥamdala*) and bearing in mind that, in the case of death, the deceased will eventually reach a better world.

Many customs are mentioned in the *Ḥadīth* literature as practices attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, hence are *sunan* which should obviously be adhered to by all Muslims. For example, customs concerning hygiene, such as bathing or the need to clean the teeth (*taswīk*) with a toothpick (*sawwāk* or *siwāk* [see MISWĀK]), or food. Eating "procedures" include washing the hands before and after the meal; saying the *basmala* before starting; encouraging the guest to eat more. Satiety is indicated by leaving some food on

the plate (in some communities, satiety is indicated by burping), and wishing the host that his table will always be full (*al-sufra dāyma*), or wishing the lady of the house that her hands will be protected by God (*tislam/yislamū* or *yesallem idēkī*).

Many customs recorded by classical Arabic literature not only suggest that the Arabs paid considerable attention to good manners but that some of these older customs are still current in the society. For example, the custom of holding food with the right hand and with three fingers is mentioned by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who explains that using one finger in order to hold the food is abominated, two fingers show arrogance, while four fingers indicate gorging (*al-Kanz al-madfūn*, 182).

Other customs concerning etiquette are numerous. Most of them concern family life, e.g. a husband and wife may address each other in front of other people as *umm*... (the mother of...) or *abū*... (the father of...) followed by the name of the first-born, or as *ibn ʿammī* or *bint ʿammī* (my cousin). A non-member of the family must not show interest in any female. Hence, when wishing to ask about the health of any female, he should refer to *al-karīma* (the respected, for the daughter of the person he speaks to); *al-wālida* (the one who gave birth, i.e. the mother) and *al-ahl* (the home/family, i.e. the wife). The divorce procedure [see ṬALĀḲ] includes usually the statement *anti ṭālik* (you are divorced) repeated by the husband three times in the presence of two adult witnesses. A request for a favour, within reason, must be fulfilled if the asking party grabs the hem of a person's cloak and states: *anā dakhīlak*, i.e. "I am under your protection".

Some tribal customs, such as circumcision of females [see KHAFḌ], blood revenge [see ḲIṢĀṢ], killing in order to protect family or tribal honour [see ʿIRḌ] or "marriage of pleasure" (*nikāḥ al-mutʿa* [see MUTʿA]) are still current in some places, though they are gradually declining.

Beliefs and superstitions and some customs associated with them are very common in Arab society. The most popular are a strong belief in the devil (*al-Shayṭān* [see SHAYṬĀN]), who has several names and epithets in the Ḳurʾān and other Muslim literature, spirits (*arwāḥ* or *ashbāḥ*) and demons (*ʿifrīt*, *ghūl* or *djinn*) (hence an insane person is called *madjnūn*, i.e. someone whose body has been possessed by a *djinn*). Since the devil and demons are mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, no Muslim doubts their existence. The *djinn* and the demons may harm but they may also protect. Thus one should please them by offering them bread when they come out at night, prowling for food (this custom is referred to in Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *al-Ayyām*, i, 7-8). Appeasing of the *djinns* in ʿIrāḳ, such as *ṭanṭal*, *dew* and *siʿluwa* was carried out by pouring water mixed with sugar and salt. This "ceremony" was known as *dalḳ*. Another custom aiming at the protection of people from the harms of the *djinn* involves the fastening of chicken legs and seven onions on a skewer and leaving them hung for forty days over the bed of a woman who has given birth.

The custom called *zār* [*q.v.*] (exorcism) is particularly popular in Egypt. It refers to a "ritual of sacrifices, incantations, drumming and dancing performed for the purpose of appeasing any one of a number of spirits by which a person may be believed to be possessed" (Hinds-Badawi, 363).

People, and in particular, children and the house should be protected against the evil eye. Hence after the visit of a stranger to the house it is customary to spread salt on the children. It is also customary to say after seeing a handsome child: *mā abshaʿaka* (How ugly you are!) and even nickname a girl *ḳabīḥa* (ugly), in order to nullify the harm of evil eye. A guest is expected to say *mā shāʾa Allāh* (God willing) or *smalla ʿalēh* (the name of Allah on him) when speaking of or looking at a child.

A strong belief in luck and fortune is also common. Hence the family who has suffered a disaster may resort to using amulets, pray and give money to charity and even go to live elsewhere. In some areas, the days of the week are either good or bad. Hence they may influence actions. Thus Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are regarded as "good" days while the other days are usually "bad". This division may differ from area to area. The eclipse of the sun and the moon [see KUSŪF] indicate bad luck. Hence it is customary that when an eclipse occurs, people pray to God to save the world. Some believe that in the case of the eclipse of the moon, it has in fact been swallowed up by a big whale or leviathan (*ḥūt*) and therefore people should pray to God calling on him to "let it go". Strong belief in the good luck brought by the first customer (*istiftāḥ*), makes a shop-keeper do anything to persuade the first customer to buy something, even at a loss. Moreover, it is customary for a shop-keeper to open his business in the morning, reciting a short dictum consisting of four of the Most Beautiful Names of God (see above): *yā fattāḥ yā ʿalīm yā razzāḳ yā karīm* in which he invokes God that the day will be profitable.

Many beliefs are well known from the time of the Djāhiliyya [*q.v.*], some of which are still current, e.g. the belief associated with the flight of birds, called *taʿayyuf* or *taṭayyur* (augury), and more specifically, the belief that certain birds may bring bad luck, such as the crow (whose sound indicates separation and enmity) and the owl (whose sound indicates desolation) [see FAʾL; ʿIYĀFA]. When describing al-Azhar, Aḥmad Amīn recalls the existence of a small box on the right side of the big *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*] which contained a talisman against birds (31). Similarly, fear of bad luck is associated with the hyena (*ḍabʿ*) which is still widespread in the region. It also appears in a number of folk-tales which aim at warning recalcitrant children.

Many other older beliefs are current in the area, though no one can trace back their origin. Examples include the belief that a creeping baby indicates the arrival of guests; and when someone sneezes while a name of a deceased person is mentioned, he/she will certainly come to harm unless the lobe of his/her ear is pulled, while the expression *falāt al-khēr* (favourable redemption) is normally cited.

The Arabs also believe in the magic power of dreams and have several classical works attempting to interpret them [see TAʿBĪR AL-RUʾYA, in Suppl.]. Examples are: dreaming of a snake symbolises a long life, probably because a snake is an old symbol for cure, and also the word "snake" (*ḥayya*) shares the same root as of that for "living, life" (*ḥayy/ḥayā*); dreaming of water or oil portends imminent disaster, whereas dreaming of a donkey bodes the receipt of a present.

Customs associated with the belief in saints (*awliyāʾ* [see WALĪ]) are also current in the Middle East. The *walī* is usually the patron of the area whose grave is visited mainly on special dates (*mawālid*) or in certain seasons. This usually involves rituals around the tomb in which people pray and place their requests, e.g. for a cure for an illness, for becoming pregnant, for finding a husband, etc. Among the famous saints are al-Sayyid al-Badawī and al-Sayyida Zaynab in Egypt

and al-Nabī Shuʿayb in Israel. Many other tombs of famous pious personalities which are visited regularly (*ziyāra* [*q.v.*]) are the tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad in Medina, the tombs of the Patriarchs in Hebron and some of the prophets who are mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, as well as other local saints (some of whom were famous Ṣūfīs or *darwīshs*) [*q.v.*]).

Popular art which is based on old traditions and customs may be divided into two main branches: the "performed" art, which includes popular shows, singing and dancing, and the "produced" art, which includes artifacts, embroidery and weaving and drawing and sculpting. The popular show includes the puppet show (*ḳaragöz* [*q.v.*]) and performances by local artists, e.g. amateur comedians who entertain people at weddings. Acrobats (*bahlawān*), clowns (*muharridj*) and snake charmers (*ḥāwī*) are also popular, especially in North Africa. There are singers of different types of songs (e.g. the *mawwāl* [see MAWĀLIYA]), when the lyric is usually written in the local dialect. Some of the well-known singers in the last century were Umm Kulthūm [*q.v.*], Farīd al-Aṭrash and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, whose fame and popularity around the Middle East continue long after their deaths. Various types of traditional popular dancing, usually performed by men or women separately (e.g. *dabka*), exist in the area. However, the famous oriental belly-dancing performed usually by one woman (called in the past *ghāziya*, but today usually called *raḳḳāṣa*) in nightclubs or at weddings is still very popular. Traditional musical instruments used in all these performances include string instruments such as the *rabāba* (one/two-string violin), *ʿūd* (lute), *ḳānūn* (psaltery) and *kamandja* (violin). Wind instruments include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the *mizmār, muzmār turkī, arghūl, nāy(e), shabāba* and *būḳ*. Percussion instruments include the *daff, ṭabl, durbakke, ṭanbūr* (kinds of drums) and *ṣandj* (cymbals).

The "produced" popular art includes household articles, furniture and clothes. Among these one may find e.g. the *miṣbāḥ* or *ḳandīl* (oil or kerosene lamp), *ṭisht* (basin), *ibrīḳ* (ewer), *sudjdjāda* (carpet), *ṣiniyyeh* (tray), [*n*]*ardjīla* or *shīsha* (hookah), and clothes, as described above. In modern Egypt, a very successful industry of papyri products and other artifacts associated mainly with ancient Egypt has been flourishing for several decades.

The interest in Arab folklore is certainly growing both inside and outside the Arab world. Scores of institutes, centres and museums have been opened, making it impossible to list them. In general, one may conclude that in every Arab state there can be found at least one centre or museum of ethnography or folklore, usually called *muʾassasat* or *maʿhad* or *matḥaf* or *markaz al-turāth al-shaʿbī* or *al-funūn al-shaʿbiyya*. Moreover, some countries, such as Egypt, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Jordan and Palestine, are particularly known for their efforts to preserve the past by encouraging research on Arab folklore. Consequently, scores of publications appear and conferences are held annually in different parts of the Middle East and North Africa. Conservation work is in progress, to which one should add the growing amount of research, based on field-work, carried out by scholars and amateurs, who have originated from minority communities previously living in Arab countries, especially Jews from Yemen, ʿIrāḳ and North Africa and who now live in Israel.

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(A. Shivtiel)

2. In Persia.

The term "folklore", which has been accepted in Persian as well as in a number of other Middle Eastern languages, was first proposed by William John Thoms (1803-85). In a letter to the *Athenaeum* 22 August 1846, Thoms, writing under the pseudonym Ambrose Merton, proposed that the term "folklore" be adopted in place of the more cumbersome "Popular Antiquities", or "Popular Literature", to describe "the Lore of the People, . . . their manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, etc. of the olden time" (Dorson, 1968, I, 80-4). Thoms' suggestion gained acceptance within a year of its proposal. The term refers not only to rural but also to urban "lore" these days. However, the debate concerning the exact definition of the term "folklore" rages on. The general atmosphere of ambiguity that surrounds this word may be deduced from the decision of the editors of the standard *Dictionary of folklore, mythology, and legend* (1949) to include no less than twenty-one definitions of it (s.v. *Folklore*).

Driven by the kind of nationalist zeal that propels many Muslim scholars to coin and use native words in place of foreign vocabulary, indigenous Persian scholars have proposed a bewildering variety of terms to denote "folklore". Some of these are: *farhang-i mardum* literally "people's culture", *farhang-i ʿāmma, farhang-i tūda* "culture of the masses", *ʿaḳāyid, rusūm, bāwardāsht-hā-yi ʿāmma* (or *ʿawāmm* or *ʿawāmmāna* or *mardum* or *tūda*) "beliefs, customs, notions of the general public (or common folk, people, masses)". Whereas the words *ʿāmma* and *mardum* "folk", are clearly used in contradistinction to *khāṣṣa* "the élite", and are more innocuous, the form *tūda* "masses" (cf. *ḥizb-i tūda* "the Communist Party") has ideological associations of a leftist nature because many of the intellectuals who began the systematic study of Persian folklore were inspired by socialist or communist ideologies. Be that as it may, of these, the term *farhang-i mardum*, a literal

Persian translation of the English "folklore", is probably the most widely accepted. However, the loan word "folklore", spelled *fwlklwr* in Persian, continues to be used side-by-side with it and there may even be a movement toward its adoption in specialised publications. This is signalled not only by the early uses of it, its Persian plural *fwlklwr-hā* and its adjectival form *fwlklwrī* (Katīrā'ī 1357/1978, 93, 135, 138) but also by the fact that the word *fwlklwr* is used interchangeably with *farhang-i mardum* in the first two issues of the *Iranian Folklore Quarterly* in Spring 2002 (i, 7-8, 9-16; ii, 43, 132).

Scholarship on Persian folklore, which is concentrated chiefly on verbal lore, may be divided into two groups. That conducted by Iranians, and that which is undertaken by Westerners. Although the Persian study of folklore is typically traced to the Āḳā Djamāl-i Khᵂānsārī's (d. *ca.* 1121-5/1709-13) satirical treatise on superstitions of the Iṣfahānī women, which was entitled *Kulthūm-nama* (for an edition see Katīrā'ī 1349/1970), this attribution appears unreasonable. Khᵂānsārī intended to ridicule these women's beliefs as a way of combating superstition; he was neither trying to collect folklore nor present an accurate account of the female lore of his time. By the same token, attributing folklore collection activity to Persian novelists (e.g. Ṣādiḳ-i Čūbak, or even Djamālzāda), who happen to use a significant number of "folksy" expressions in their writing as a matter of style, would be stretching the point.

Although brief collections of Persian folk expressions, beliefs and especially proverbs are scattered throughout Persian and Arabic literatures, none may be called systematic until the appearance of Dihkhuda's (1297-1375/1879-1955) four-volume *Amthāl wa ḥikam* ("Proverbs and dicta") in (1308-11/1929-32. Dihkhuda's collection is, however, no more than an alphabetical list of literary and folk proverbs, which rarely provides contextual information. The systematic collection of Persian folklore had to await the attentions of Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat (1281-1330 *sh.*/1902-51), who, inspired by Arnold van Gennep's (1873-1957) classificatory system, published several tales, folk songs and collections of Persian folklore between the years 1310/1931 and 1324/1945 (e.g. Hidāyat 1312/1933 and 1344/1965, 447-83). Of these, the two volumes, *ūsāna* "fairytales", and *nīrangistān* (a title adopted from a Middle Persian treatise on counter-magical incantations), published respectively in 1310/1931 and 1312/1933, are the most extensive. Hidāyat later published two articles on folklore and the method of its collection, the methodological aspects of which were inspired by Pierre Saintyve's (1870-1935) *Manuel de folklore* (1936). These essays later inspired the work of the most important Persian collector of folklore, Abū 'l-Ḳāsim Indjawī (d. 1993), who in the spring of 1340/1961 began a radio programme that aimed to collect folklore data by direct appeal to its listeners, who were also provided with training as well as with supplies (e.g. paper, forms, pencils). Indjawī's appeals generated an enormous public response. Soon a flood of data from his listeners began to come in, and he was thus able to amass a vast archive of Persian folklore data, some of which he published in a series called *Gandjīna-yi farhang-i mardum* ("the treasury of folklore"; see Indjawī 1352 *sh.*/1973, 1352-5 *sh.*/1973-7). This massive archive, that represented some two decades of systematic collection, contained some 120,000 folklore texts, hundreds of objects, 3,000 documents of cultural history, thousands of phonograph recordings, cassettes, films, videos and over 2000 photos (Dālwand, 1377/1998, 3-4). This material was preserved in the *Markaz-i farhang-i mardum* (Folklore Centre).

Since the 1970s, folklore had enjoyed significant backing from the royal family and other wealthy organisations. During this period, folklore research was promoted and even an international congress on folklore was held in Iṣfahān in the summer of 1977 (for an excellent summary, see Marzolph, art. *Folklore studies*, in *EIr*). Folklore studies fared poorly after the Islamic Revolution of 1978-9. Folklore was viewed as promoting superstitious and even pagan beliefs, and most funding for it came to a halt. In spite of this, the Folklore Centre continued an anaemic existence until the early 1980s when Indjawī's radio programme was discontinued. The discontinuation of the programme not only brought the process of collection to a virtual halt but also signalled the final fall of folklore from grace. Much of the holdings of the Persian folklore archives, especially its audio-visual collection, was unceremoniously dispersed among other centres or was sent to storage. Only some written documents, especially texts that were submitted by the public, were allowed to remain at the archives of the Folklore Centre. Moreover, the Centre was placed under the control of the Islamic Republic's broadcasting agency (*ṣadā u sīmā-yi djumhūrī-yi islāmī*).

This unfortunate situation continued until 1374/1995, when following a speech by the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran in which dangers of assimilation into Western culture were pointed out and Iranians were called back to their native cultural values, folklore studies were revived. This new interest in folklore has led to attempts that seek to impose some order on the chaotic mass of the existing folklore data in Iran. R.S. Boggs' art. "Types and classifications" in the *Dictionary of folklore, mythology and legend* has been used as a guide in an experimental effort to classify this material (Dālwand 1377/1998). Folklore publication and research continues, and a number of important Western studies on folklore have been translated (e.g. Propp 1368 *sh.*/1989, 1371 *sh.*/1992).

The earliest European interest in Persian folklore came about as a result of the British and Russian political interests in the Persian-speaking world. Alexander Chodzko (1804-91), Valentin Zhukovski (1858-1918), D.C. Phillot (1860-1930), D.L.R. Lorimer (1876-1962), B. Nikitin (1885-1960), L.P. Elwell-Sutton (1912-84) and above all the Danish Iranist Arthur Christensen (1875-1945) and the French Persianist Henri Massé (1886-1969), made significant contributions to Persian folklore studies (see Chodzko 1842; Christensen 1918, 1958; Lorimer 1919; Massé 1938; Nikitin 1922; Pillot 1905-7; Zhukovski 1902; cf. also Radhayrapetian 1990, and Marzolph, *art. cit.* Massé drew on the resources of his Iranian connections to collect and publish the most extensive body of Persian folklore of his time. He worried about the disappearance of the rural Iranian folklore as a result of rapid modernisation (Massé 1938, i, 13). Therefore, early in the 1920s, he embarked on a research trip to Persia in order to collect Persian rural folklore. Interestingly enough, his data came almost exclusively from city dwellers. Religious and ethnic minorities such as Zoroastrians, Armenians and Jews were intentionally excluded (i, 16). In spite of his concern for the endangered rural tradition he accordingly finished by gathering one of the best existing collections of the Persian urban folklore (i, 15). The classification and arrangement of Massé's data follows that of Van Gennep. The most important contemporary western

scholar of Persian folklore is Ulrich Marzolph, who compiled the first tale-type index of Persian narratives (Marzolph 1984), and has contributed many important monographic studies and essays to Persian folklore; the best study in depth on the history of Persian folklore studies to date remains his discussion of the subject in *EIr*.

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(MAHMOUD OMIDSALAR)

TAKLA MAKAN [see TARIM].

TAḲRĪẒ (A.), lit. "the act of praising", a minor genre of mediaeval Arabic literature which consisted of statements praising the virtues of a particular work, some composed after the death of the author of the work in question but probably for the most part composed at the time of the work's appearance with the aim of giving it a puff and thus advertising it; such statements must have been solicited by the author from obliging friends and colleagues, the more eminent the better. F. Rosenthal (see below) has felicitously compared them to modern "blurbs" of publishers to advertise their books. Ahlwardt, in his Berlin catalogue, seems to have been the first Western scholar to isolate and identify the genre as *Lobschriften*. *Taḳrīẓ*s tended to be formulaic in form and style, invariably in rhymed prose (*sadjʿ* [*q.v.*]) and with a stock of fairly trite images for praising the recipient. See Rosenthal, *Blurbs (Taqrîẓ) from fourteenth-century Egypt*, in *Oriens*, xxvii-xxviii (1981), 177-96, who here translates two *taḳrīẓ*s from the Yale and Berlin mss. of a collection dating from 795/1393, by Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Ḥadjar [*q.vv.*] respectively, these being aimed at puffing one Ibn al-Damāmīnī.

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(ED.)

TAḲWĀ (A.), a term of Islamic religion denoting piety.

1. Etymology and range of meanings.

Taḳwā is a verbal noun from *taḳā* "to fear [God]", itself a secondary formation from form VIII of *w-ḳ-y*, *ittaḳā* "to fear [God]" (see on this phenomenon, Wright, *Arabic grammar*, I, § 148 Rem. *b*). From this same secondary formation is derived the adjective *taḳī*, pl. *atḳiyāʾ* "pious, God-fearing", in fact a synonym of the form VIII participle *muttaḳī*.

Depending on context, the denotations of the term in classical Islamic religious and mystical literature include "godliness", "devoutness", "piety", "God-fearing", "pious abstinence" and "uprightness". As a social ideal, *taḳwā* originally connoted "dutifulness", "faithful observance", a meaning which was discarded in most later Islamic ethical thought. In the poetry of Labīd (d. 40/660), for instance, the social connotation of *taḳwā* as "moral behaviour" or "reverential dutifulness" with respect to one's tribe or relatives appears to have fused with the Ḳurʾānic religious ideal of "fear of God", so that "concepts for a 'respectful relationship' between the members of a tribe and the 'reverential behavior' towards God seem even to be interchangeable and identical" (M.M. Bravmann, *The spiritual background of early Islam*, Leiden 1972, 117), but this combination of social and spiritual meanings of *taḳwā* is now obsolete.

The Persian dictionaries (cf. the references in Dihkhudā, *Lughāt-nāma*, s.v. *taḳwā*) render the word as synonymous with the Persian *tarsīdan* "fear" and *parhīzgarī* "abstinence", precisely the same connotations of *taḳwā* found in early Muslim mystical theology. In English, various translations which approach the Islamic spirit of *taḳwā* are "pious God-fearing", "God-fearing piety", "devout uprightness" and "holy fear"; William Chittick has proposed the rendition "god-wariness", a neologism which, he claims, "makes *taqwā*'s orientation toward God explicit, brings out the implication of being aware and mindful, and avoids the negative and sentimental undertones of words such as 'piety', 'dutifulness', and 'righteousness' . . ." (*Faith and practice of Islam. Three thirteenth century Sufi texts*, Albany 1992, 12).

In fact, *taḳwā* in many respects equals a particularly Protestant kind of religious notion, the spiritual significance of which is exactly conveyed by the Anglican ascetic and mystic William Law (1686-1761) in his *A serious call to a devout and holy life*, ed. P. Stanwood, London 1978, where he evokes that "true devotion" which requires that we "live as pilgrims in spiritual watching, in holy fear, and heavenly aspiring after another life" in one passage (31); and in another passage (256), insists that we "do everything in His fear and abstain from everything that is not

according to His will". As a religious concept in Islam, *taḳwā*, as will be seen below, has definite extra-Islamic resonances.

William Law's two principles of "fear of God" and "abstinence" from all ungodly affairs are found, in fact, in the earliest work in Persian on Ṣūfism: the *S̲h̲arḥ-i Taʿarruf* by Abū Ibrāhīm Mustamlī Buk̲h̲ārāʾī (d. 434/1042-3), where *taḳwā* is described as having "two principles: fear and abstinence. Thus the devotee's attitude of *taḳwā* towards God has two senses: either fear of chastisement (*ʿiḳāb*) or fear of separation (*firāḳ*)". The attitude of fear generates observance of the commandments of God, while "fear of separation" means that "the devotee is content with nothing less than God, and does not find ease in aught beside Him" (from the anonymous *K̲h̲ulāṣa-yi S̲h̲arḥ-i Taʿarruf*, ed. ʿA. Rad̲j̲āʾī, Tehran 1349 A.S.H./1970, 294, an 8th/14th-century summary of this work). In an almost identical definition by the great Kubrawī master Muḥammad Lāhīd̲j̲ī (d. 912/1507) in the *Mafātīḥ al-iʿd̲j̲āz fī s̲h̲arḥ-i Guls̲h̲an-i rāz*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Barzgar K̲h̲āliḳī and ʿIffat Karbāsī, Tehran 1371 A.S.H./1992, 250 *taḳwā* is described as the "fear of God regarding the final consequences of one's affairs, or else fear of one's own passional self (*nafs*) lest it play the brigand, casting one into the perdition of separation and being veiled from God". After over half a millennium of theosophical speculation—from Buk̲h̲ārāʾī to Lāhīd̲j̲ī—the two foundations of *taḳwā*: fear and abstinence, remain completely intact.

2. *Taḳwā* in the Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīt̲h̲*.

In general Ḳurʾānic usage, the moral virtue of *taḳwā* denotes piety, abstinence and God-fearing obedience, suggesting the idea of a faith animated by works, and works quickened by a genuine experience of faith; in brief, such *taḳwā* is the substance of all godliness. *Taḳwā* is one of the most frequently mentioned religious concepts in the Ḳurʾān, having entered into the world of Islam upon the very first appearance of the angel Gabriel to the Prophet. "Have you seen him who tries to prevent a servant when he would pray? Have you considered if such a one has any divine guidance or enjoins [others] to piety (*taḳwā*)", Gabriel asks Muḥammad in the very early sūra, XCVI, 9-12, revealed in the cave on Mt. Ḥirā [*q.v.*] near Mecca. An allusion to *taḳwā* reappears in the second verse of the first sūra revealed in Medina (II), where the Ḳurʾān is described as "a guidance for all endowed with piety (*hudan li 'l-muttaḳīn*)". In XLIX, 10, the believers are described as "naught but brothers" and, in a kind of communal participation in their "pious vigilant awareness of God" (*taḳwā Allāh*), are enjoined to establish fraternal peace amongst themselves. Another verse (IX, 123), devoted to the theme of being harsh on the enemies of Islam, assures believers that "God is with the godfearing pious devotees (*maʿa 'l-muttaḳīn*)". This latter verse may be compared with the *ḥadīt̲h̲* which situates *taḳwā* as the "aggregate of all good things" alongside *d̲j̲ihād* which is described as "the monasticism [of the Muslim]" (al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, *al-Risāla*, ed. Maʿrūf Ẓarīf and ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Baltad̲j̲ī, Beirut 1990, 105).

Ultimately, salvation in both this world and the next is attained through *taḳwā*; with it the saints gain "their deserts and are untouched by evil and they have no grief" (XXXIX, 61; an idea also repeated in X, 62-3); while those with *taḳwā* "are driven into Paradise" (XXXIX, 73). The true mosque must also be "built upon *taḳwā*" (IX, 108-9) if it is to be consecrated (an echo of Luke, vi. 47-9?). This connotation of *taḳwā* is echoed in an early Ḳurʾān commentary—by Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*])—where *taḳwā* is "considered as synonymous with *ik̲h̲lāṣ*, pure sincerity, [and] *ittaḳā* is translated as *taraka* in the sense of 'to abstain' from what is evil, such as disobedience (*maʿṣiya*) or associationism (*s̲h̲irk*)" (P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970, 59).

While *taḳwā* is, in particular, the universal measurement and the final criterion of the sincere religious life of the faithful Muslim who is enjoined to "avoid suspicion" and instead to "fear God" (*taḳwā Allāh*, XLIX, 12; cf. II, 41), in a more general sense *taḳwā* appears as the common ecumenical characteristic of the universal man of faith, regardless of sectarian divisions and political differences based on nationality and ethnic origin in the verse: "We have created you male and female, and made you nations and tribes to know one another. Indeed, the noblest of you in the sight of God is the most God-fearing (*akramakum ʿind Allāh atḳākum*)" (XLIX, 13). In al-Sulamī's recension of the text of the Ḳurʾānic *Tafsīr* ascribed to D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765 [*q.v.*]) (ed. Nywia, in *MUSJ*, xliii/4 [1967], 181-230), the Imām explains the verse as follows (221): "the generous person (*al-karīm*) is one who is, in truth, piously God-fearing (*al-muttaḳī*), and one who is piously God-fearing is one who has severed all his ties to created things for God's sake".

The idea of *taḳwā* as specifically the *Islamic* species of piety appears in the Prophet's saying: "Faith is naked and *taḳwā* its dress" (*al-īmān ʿuryān wa-libāsuhu al-taḳwā*) (cited by ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadānī, *Tamhīdāt*, ed. ʿA. ʿUsayrān, Tehran 1962, 325). Another *ḥadīt̲h̲* recounts that someone asked the Prophet, "Who are the Family of Muḥammad?" He replied: "Every pious God-fearing person (*kull taḳī*)" (al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, *al-Risāla*, 105). From such traditions, it is evident that *taḳwā*, as a religious concept, was seen to represent the robes of the *Islamic faith*, as well as to personify the very garments which cloak the Sacred appearing within diverse cultures and religions.

3. *Taḳwā* and *īmān*.

Taḳwā was regarded as an essential element of the interior dimension of the act of faith, of *īmān ʿan ʿilm* "enlightened faith" (see L. Gardet, Īmān, at Vol. III, 1173). "The Prophet said: 'Submission is public and faith is in the heart.' Then, he pointed to his breast three times, repeating: 'Fear of God (*taḳwā*) is here, fear of God is here'." (Ibn Ḥanbal, and Aḥmad b. Mād̲j̲a, cited by C. Ernst, *Words of ecstasy in Sufism*, Albany 1985, 56).

As an element of Faith, *taḳwā* thus embodies the purely internal and contemplative attitude of heart rather than merely external ritual practice; the same interiorisation of *īmān* which is, in fact, reflected in XXII, 37, which, regarding such purely physical practices as the sacrifice of animals to feed the poor, a ritual part of the ceremony of Muslim pilgrimage, affirms that "it is not their flesh nor their blood that reaches God: it is your piety (*taḳwā*) that reaches Him". Commenting on this verse in his *Iḥyāʾ*, al-G̲h̲azālī notes that "What is meant here by 'devotion' (*taqwā*) is a quality that gains control of the heart, disposing it to comply with the commands it is required to obey" (cited in *Al-Ghazālī. Inner dimensions of Islamic worship*, tr. Muhtar Holland, repr. London 1992, 35). Indeed, interpreting the Ḳurʾānic reference to "heart-piety" (*taḳwā al-ḳulūb*) in the same sūra (XXII, 32), Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) was to point out that just as the human heart is in constant fluctuation in every breath, so genuine *taḳwā* must by understood as a kind of "'pious-wariness-awareness' of God with every breath, which is the ultimate end of what God desires

from man" (*al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1911, repr. Beirut n.d., ii, 672, 29-37); cf. Chittick's definition and translation of *taḳwā*, cited above.

Taḳwā was sometimes considered the supreme proof of the certitude of faith (*yaḳīn*). Abū Bakr al-Warrāḳ, (d. 294/906-7), an early Khurāsānian mystic, observed that "certitude (*yaḳīn*) is a light by means of which the devotee's spiritual condition is illuminated. After he experiences such enlightenment, he is enabled to realise the rank of the pious (*muttaḳīn*)" (ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, ed. M. Istiʿlāmī, Tehran 1372 A.S.H./1993, 538). Underlining the esoteric nature of piety in the spiritual life, al-Kalābadhī's (d. 380/990) *K. al-Taʿarruf*, Cairo 1933, 69, cites the statement of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), author of one of the earliest mystical Ḳurʾān commentaries, that "piety is to contemplate mystical states in the act of isolation [from aught but God]".

Such a radically interiorised outlook, which evokes *taḳwā* as the soul of *īmān*—piety as the inner life of faith—of course, was not always understood by exoteric members of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Ibn Taymiyya, an opponent of the Ṣūfism of Ibn al-ʿArabī and scholastic philosophy, for instance, in his *K. al-Īmān*, interprets piety in its most exoteric meaning, considering *īmān*, *birr* (righteousness) and *taḳwā* to be synonymous with each other when used in an "absolute" sense in the Ḳurʾān (as, for instance, II, 177, V, 2), holding that the believers (*muʾminūn*) are equivalent to the God-fearing (*muttaḳūn*), who, in turn, are identical to the upright (*abrār*) (T. Izutsu, *The concept of belief in Islamic theology*, repr. Salem, N.H. 1988, 72-4).

4. The mystical theology of *Taḳwā*.

(a) *Taḳwā*-as-abstinence

In Muslim mystical theology, the general notion of *taḳwā* is that of holy fearfulness, pious vigilance over and abstemious fear of following one's passions; in a word, the heart's awe of God who is ever-present in the contemplative life of the soul (cf. al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī, *K. al-Taʿrīfāt*, ed. I. al-Abyārī, Beirut 1985, 90). Sahl al-Tustarī's maxim "There is no helper besides God; no guide besides the Prophet. There is no spiritual sustenance besides *taḳwā*, nor any other work than patience (*ṣabr*)" quoted by al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, 105) declares *taḳwā* to be the mainstay, if not the very sustenance, of Ṣūfī spiritual practice. In its perfect form, *taḳwā* involves abstention from everything but God, for, as Ibn Khafīf (d. 371/981) states, "Piety is to distance yourself from everything which distances you from God" (ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat*, 578). The connotation of "*taḳwā*-as-abstinence" is also captured in another al-Tustarī maxim: "Whoever wishes to perfect his piety, tell him to refrain from all sins" (ʿAṭṭār, *op. cit.*, 313).

(b) *Taḳwā*-as-heart-abstinence

The contemplative interiority of *taḳwā*, with the connotation of "*taḳwā*-as-the heart's-abstinence" from all but God, is summed up in one of the earliest definitions of the term given by Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ that "for those who traverse the spiritual path (*ahl al-sulūk*), piety (*taḳwā*) is that you do not find within your heart anything but Him" (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn. A dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musalmans*, Calcutta 1862, ii, 1527). Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz (d. 277/890 or 286/899), an important Ṣūfī of the school of Baghdād, in his *K. al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ* devoted to the vocabulary of Ṣūfī mystical experience on the two-fold levels of rational expression (*ʿibāra*) and mystical allusion (*ishāra*), combined this interiorised vision of *taḳwā* with the more traditional Ḳurʾānic understanding of the term in his statement that *taḳwā* is "to have a heart vigilant not to let itself pursue passion, and a soul which guards itself against occasions of sin and error" (cited by Nywia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, 289). Another leading member of the Baghdād school of Ṣūfīs, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907), in the first chapter of his *Maḳāmāt al-ḳulūb* discovered and edited by Nywia, *Textes mystiques inédits*, in *MUSJ*, xliv/9 [1968], 132), in a section devoted to "the qualities of the house of the heart of the faithful believer", mentions *taḳwā* as the Light of Piety, the soul of Ṣūfī ethics, for the contemplative "Light of Piety" illuminates both faith and works.

This interiorised concept of *taḳwā* of the heart more or less disappeared but did not altogether die out from the vocabulary of Ṣūfism after the 5th/11th century. Thus Rūzbihān Baḳlī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]) wrote in his *Mashrab al-arwāḥ* that "The root of God-fearing piety is detachment of one's inmost consciousness (*sirr*) from everything but God, whether from the material or spiritual realms, during contemplation of the proofs of the divine Attributes and flashes of the divine Essence. In this manner, one's inmost consciousness melts away before the onslaught of the majesty of the manifestation of the lights of Post-Eternity. That is the esoteric meaning of the Prophet's saying: Faith is naked and *taḳwā* its dress" (ed. N.M. Hoca, Istanbul 1973, 30).

5. *Taḳwā* in the spiritual stations of Ṣūfism.

From the late 3rd/9th to the 5th/11th centuries, *taḳwā* was regularly featured in classifications devoted to the spiritual transactions (*muʿāmalāt*) or moral virtues (*akhlāḳ*) of the Ṣūfīs' spiritual journey, being closely aligned to the analogous concepts of fear (*khawf*), asceticism (*zuhd*), and abstinence (*waraʿ*). Al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857) propounded in his *K. al-Riʿāya* that all piety stems from fear and dread of God Almighty. According to him, "Obedience [to God's commands and prohibitions] is the road to salvation, and knowledge is the guide to the road, and the foundation of obedience is abstinence (*waraʿ*), and the foundation of abstinence is godfearing piety (*taḳwā*), and the foundation of that is self-examination (*muḥāsaba*), and self-examination is based on fear (*khawf*) and hope (*radjāʾ*)" (Margaret Smith, *Al-Muhāsibī, an early mystic of Baghdad*, Cambridge 1935, 89, 112). If *taḳwā* appears in this description as an essential "foundation" of ascetic theology, the emphasis on piety is even more accentuated later on in the same book: "O brother, let godliness (*taḳwā*) be your chief concern, for it is your capital stock, and works of supererogation beyond that represent your profit" (*ibid.*, 129), cf. also Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1928, 149.

Al-Muḥāsibī's emphasis on piety-as-godliness in early Islamic mysticism was formally integrated into the Ṣūfī methodological approach to the spiritual stations (*maḳāmāt*) in al-Ḳushayrī's *Risāla* (91-140), where *taḳwā* is placed fourth among the first ten spiritual stations, in the following sequence: [1] repentance (*tawba*) → spiritual struggle (*mudjāhida*) → spiritual retreat, withdrawal (*khalwa, ʿuzla*) → God-fearing piety (*taḳwā*) → abstinence (*waraʿ*) → asceticism (*zuhd*) → silence (*ṣamt*) → fear (*khawf*) → hope (*radjāʾ*) → [10] grief (*ḥuzn*). Despite al-Ḳushayrī's traditional classification of *taḳwā* among the rudimentary spiritual stations of the Path, the term often seemed to fall out of usage among some of the later classical authors who wrote on the *maḳāmāt*. Thus, there is no mention of *taḳwā* (whether as a station or a technical term) in Nicholson's index

of technical terms to his critical edition of al-Sarrādj's (d. 378/988) *K. al-Luma'*, nor in the *Kūt al-kulūb* by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), nor in the *Ṭabakāt al-ṣūfiyya* of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), nor in 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī of Harāt's (d. 481/1089) manual on the *Stages of the Ṣūfī wayfarers*, nor even in Abū Manṣūr Iṣfahānī's (d. 417/1026) *Nahdj al-khāṣṣ*, which had considerable influence on Anṣārī's theory of mystical stations.

The early notion of the fundamental place of *takwā* in the ascetic theology of Islam does sometimes resurface in later works, particularly those written in the Persian language. In his treatise *Ṣad maydān* ("The hundred fields", in *Manāzil al-sā'irīn*, 299-300), which Anṣārī also devoted to the mystical stations, he set up *takwā* as the sixteenth station, subsequent to the field of abstinence (*wara'*), in the following order: [11] self-examination (*muḥāsaba*) → awakening (*yakẓa*) → asceticism (*zuhd*) → detachment (*tadjrīd*) → abstinence (*wara'*) → God-fearing piety (*takwā*) → spiritual transactions (*mu'āmalāt*) → mindfulness (*mubālāt*) → certitude (*yakīn*) → [20] insight (*baṣīra*). The field of *takwā* [16] is described as follows:

"Those who fear God with proper piety (*muttakiyān*) are three [kinds of] men: the lesser, intermediate, and the great.

"He who possesses the least degree [of *takwā*] does not corrupt his profession of divine Unity with associating others with God (*shirk*), or debase his sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*) with hypocrisy, or contaminate his worship with innovation (*bid'a*).

"He who possesses the medial degree does not vitiate his service (*khidma*) with false shows (*riyā'*), or adulterate his sustenance with food of a doubtful nature, or let his mystical state (*ḥāl*) become perverted by heedlessness.

"He who possesses the greatest degree does not blemish his gratefulness with complaints; or dilute his sins by arguments [of his innocence], or ever cease to be beholden to God for His grace towards him."

As a key technical term or spiritual station, *takwā* is rarely present in any late classical Ṣūfī texts—among some of the more important of which may be mentioned Abu 'l-Nadjīb al-Suhrawardī's (d. 563/1168) *Ādāb al-murīdīn* (ed. N.M. Harawī, Arabic text with Pers. tr. Tehran 1363 A.S.H./1984), and 'Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd Kāshānī's (d. 735/1335) *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa-miftāḥ al-kifāya* (ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, 2nd ed. Tehran 1325 A.S.H./1946); it is even absent from Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī's (d. 632/1234) *'Awārif al-ma'ārif*, which formed the literary model for Kāshānī's book, and was later to become the foremost manual of Ṣūfism in the Indian subcontinent.

Wherever the term turns up in later works it is usually considered as a necessary corollary of *wara'* or *zuhd*. For instance, in Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Farghānī's (d. 699/1300) *Mashārik al-darārī. Sharḥ-i Tā'iyya Ibn Fāriḍ* (ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Āshtiyānī, Tehran 1979, 150-1), *takwā* is placed among the stations belonging to the first of three ascending degrees of "annihilation" (*fanā'*). The first degree of *fanā'* involves annihilation by means of "faring through and realisation of the spiritual stations, stages and mystical states such as repentance (*tawba*), self-examination (*muḥāsaba*), contemplative vigilance (*murākaba*), spiritual struggle (*mudjāhada*), sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*), God-fearing piety (*takwā*), abstinence (*wara'*), asceticism (*zuhd*) and similar related degrees. . . ." As in al-Kushayrī's schema, al-Farghānī's classification places God-fearing piety among those virtues which the mystic must struggle to realise by *his own* will; for aspirants still bound in the bonds of egocentric personality, *takwā* is a knife to cut through the cords of Selfhood. In the writings of the Persian mystics of the Kubrawī school, the virtue of *takwā* featured quite prominently. In his monumental conspectus of Ṣūfī doctrine, the *Mirṣād al-'ibād* (ed. M.A. Riyāḥī, Tehran 1352 A.S.H./1973, 257-60), Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 654/1256) cites some twenty qualities (*ṣifāt*) with which the disciple must be characterised in a chapter devoted to "the conditions, manners and qualities of a disciple", and here *takwā* is the fifth of his *sulūk*; and a similar conception of the place of *takwā* in Ṣūfī ethics appears in the third book of the *Kashf al-ḥakā'ik* (ed. Aḥmad Dāmghānī, Tehran 1359/1980, 131-2)—"an exposition of the conditions for wayfaring (*sulūk*) the mystical path"—by Rāzī's fellow Kubrawī Shaykh 'Azīz Nasafī (d. between 1281-1300).

As in the Rule of St. Benedict, for the Persian mystics of the Kubrawī order, God-fearing piety had come to be viewed as an essential virtue in the practical ethics of the master-disciple relationship, so that religious devotion is indistinguishable from unhesitating obedience to the order's superior.

6. *Takwā's* apophasis in mediaeval Ṣūfism. In the mediaeval period, the master-disciple relationship and the role of the master in spiritual practice, and, in particular, the need for the novice to be guided by an enlightened master, came to the forefront of Ṣūfī theory and practice, replacing the previous emphasis on the ethics of *takwā* as the cornerstone of spirituality and devotional worship in Islam. Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī stated that "The gnostic is the soul of the Law (*shar'*) and religious piety (*takwā*): gnosis is the fruit of past ascetic effort. . . . He [the gnostic] is both the command to righteousness and righteousness itself; he himself is both hierophant and mystery" (*Mathnawī*, ed. and tr. Nicholson, vi, vv. 2090, 2093). This redirection of Islamic piety towards cultivation of, and concentration on, the elect "Perfect Man" [see AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL] with the consequent devaluation of the devotee's own private ascetic vigilance, is visible in the thought of most Ṣūfī poets of the Mongol period. One such poet, Maḥmūd Shabistarī [*q.v.*], in his *Gulshan-i rāz* thus describes the Perfect Man as "endowed with praiseworthy qualities, celebrated for knowledge (*'ilm*), asceticism (*zuhd*) and piety (*takwā*)" (*Madjmū'a-yi āthār-i Shaykh Maḥmūd Shabistarī*, ed. Ṣamad Muwaḥḥid, Tehran 1365 A.S.H./1986, v. 351), relegating *takwā*, as did the classical masters of the School of Baghdād, to being a rudimentary but not insignificant principle of the Ṣūfī ethical system. However, a discernible difference in accentuation has occurred, so that the Perfect Man is the source of piety rather than piety being the animus of individual spirituality. Ultimately, the Perfect Man may decide to dispense with all pious fear as well, since he is "free of the ties of master and disciple, beyond all asceticism (*zuhd*) and all the fictions of piety (*takwā*)" (*ibid.*, v. 862).

In the works of Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ, the two greatest Persian Ṣūfī lyricists, another kind of de-accentuation on individual piety is evident, with *takwā* often denigrated as a kind of spiritual attitude characteristic of cold-hearted ascetics (*zāhid*) and formalist preachers. "Wherever the Sultan of Love appears, no power is left in the arm of *takwā*," asserts Sa'dī in the *Gulistān* (ed. Kh. Khaṭīb-Rahbar, Tehran 1348/1969, 337), and in his *ghazals* he cries out: "Stand on your feet, so we can cast aside this blue [Ṣūfī] cloak/Throw to the winds of antinominianism this idolatry which bears

the name of piety (*s̲h̲irk-i taḳwā-nām rā*)" (*G̲h̲azalhā-yi Saʿdi*, ed. N. Īzadparast, Tehran 1362/1983, 23). Saʿdī probably knew of al-Ḳushayrī's notion that "the root of *taḳwā* is fear of all idolatrous associationism (*al-s̲h̲irk*)" (*Risāla*, 105), and in this verse no doubt merely wished to criticise the element of self-consciousness which *taḳwā* often engendered in less sincere adepts, re-evoking the classical concept of *taḳwā* which had recognised the need to develop an apophatic discourse capable of expressing the interior subtleties of its ideal (Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, d. 320/931, a member of the Bag̲h̲dād School, stated "piety is that you piously abstain from your own [self-indulgent] piety", cited in ʿAṭṭār, *Tad̲h̲kirat*, 745).

This paradoxical approach to the classical ideal of piety in Islam, expressed—in order to avoid metaphysical reification—in the wish to transcend the dichotomy of piety/impiety, godliness/ungodliness (understanding the affirmation of faith and piety as a subtle form of delimitation, an idolatry of a mundane doctrine instead of adoration of the Transcendent), is best expressed in the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ, as in the following verse:

In the way of the Ṣūfī it's total infidelity
to put your trust in knowledge and piety;
Although a pilgrim boast a hundred arts
Just the same, he must have trust.

(*Dīwān*, ed. K̲h̲ānlarī, 2nd ed. Tehran 1362 A.S.H./1983, 559).

Elsewhere he asks: "What relation does libertinism (*rindī*) have to purity and piety (*taḳwā*)?/How wide the gap between the priest's homily and the rebeck's refrain!" (*Dīwān*, 20). In another place, he boasts, "So many nights I've strayed from Piety's path (*rah-i taḳwā*) with harp and daff/but now they say, I'll set my foot on the strait and narrow path—indeed, a likely tale" (*ibid.*, 324, no. 154 l. 2), scorning to sully the honour of his dervish cloak by following the pedestrian rites of canonical piety. Indeed, Ḥāfiẓ's libertinism seems a far cry from the religious sentiment of Abū 'l-Dardāʾ (d. 32/652-3 [*q.v.*]), the celebrated Companion of the Prophet greatly venerated by early Ṣūfīs, who was reported to have preferred piety (*taḳwā*) above forty years of ritual worship and observances (*ʿibāda*) (Massignon, *Essai*, 158).

With Ḥāfiẓ and his followers, the austere ideals of early Islamic piety reached both a moral threshold and a metaphysical apex, as the journey from Ḳurʾānic religious concept to ascetic doctrinal ideal based on fear and abstinence, to the interiorised Ṣūfī notion of piety as the faith of the heart culminated in the irony of the paradox which dissolves the mystic's need for the *scala perfectionis* of his own *via negativa*.

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(L. Lewisohn)

ṬĀLIB AL-ḤAḲḲ, "Seeker of the Truth", the title given to the Ibāḍī K̲h̲āridjite leader ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, d. end of 130-beginning of 131/August-September 748.

According to the chronicler al-S̲h̲ammāk̲h̲ī (d. 928/1522), the full name of this leader from the Banū S̲h̲ayṭān of Kinda was Abū Yaḥyā ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar b. al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Muʿāwiya b. al-Ḥārit̲h̲ al-Kindī (*Siyar*, 98). He adopted the title of "Seeker of the Truth" at the beginning of the year 129/746 on receiving the oath of allegiance as *Imām* of the Ibāḍī community of Ḥaḍramawt and Yemen. The Arabic sources give scanty information on him. A biography written by an anonymous Ibāḍī author, the *Sīrat al-Imām ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā*, together with a collection of his poems, was still available in the 9th/15th century, but has not survived until now (A. de C. Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, iii [1885], 20, nos. 29-30).

ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā was *ḳāḍī* to Ibrāhīm b. Djabala b. Mak̲h̲rama al-Kindī, the Umayyad vice-governor of Ḥaḍramawt. He was a pious man and an energetic leader, and his inflexible attitude towards infringements of Ḳurʾānic precepts, which were still widespread, won over the hearts of those Yemenis who were dissatisfied with the Umayyad régime. He was in touch with the Ibāḍīs of Baṣra, who had spread their propaganda across the Arabian peninsula using the Meccan Pilgrimage to disseminate their principles. Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma, the leader of the Ibāḍīs of Baṣra, encouraged him to revolt against the Umayyad government and sent to him not only weapons and funds but also some prominent personalities, amongst them Abū Ḥamza al-Muk̲h̲tār and Baldj b. ʿUḳba al-Azdī, who came to the Ḥaḍramawt with the aim of organising an imāmate. The revolt appears to have taken place towards the end of 127 or the beginning of 128/745-6. Having gained control in Ḥaḍramawt, the rebels then in 129/747 crossed into Yemen and occupied the capital Ṣanʿāʾ. There ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā distributed the wealth of the Umayyad treasury to the poor and, as *Imām*, showed himself to be of a mild disposition. He organised a new system of administration but nevertheless kept the former officials in their old ranks. Many K̲h̲āridjites from other regions flocked to him, attracted by his honesty and rectitude. At the end of the year 129/747, at the time of pilgrimage, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā decided to occupy the two Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina. The Ibāḍī army, only 900 or 1,000 strong, under the command of Abū Ḥamza al-Muk̲h̲tār, took Mecca with ease, and then went on to occupy Medina.

From Ḥidjāz, the Ibāḍīs now became an immediate threat to the Umayyads in Syria, so that, despite his waning might, the caliph Marwān II assembled sufficient strength to overcome the rebels. Around the beginning of Djumādā I 130/January 748, a strong army composed of 4,000 Syrian soldiers, led by ʿAbd al-Mālik b. ʿAṭiyya, marched against Medina. Abū Ḥamza was defeated and killed. At the end of 130 A.H. the Syriau army marched against Yemen. On receiving news of this, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, at the head of an Ibāḍī force, left Ṣanʿāʾ to prevent the Syrians from penetrating the land. The encounter between the two armies took place not far from Djuras̲h̲, where the Ibāḍī army suffered a serious defeat. Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ was killed and his head sent to Marwān II, while the rest of the Ibāḍīs took cover in the fortified town of S̲h̲ibām [*q.v.*]. A long elegy on the fallen leaders is quoted in *Aghānī*³, xxiii, 148 ff. While this serious Ibāḍī rising was quelled, it is nevertheless true that the anarchy that it provoked contributed to the final undoing of Umayyad power and enabled the ʿAbbāsid insurrection to penetrate more easily to the heart of the empire. Having defeated ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, ʿAbd al-Mālik b. ʿAṭiyya took Ṣanʿāʾ and brought Ḥaḍramawt into submission, but afterwards received from the caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad an order to return to Mecca. He was thus forced to conclude a peace with the Ibāḍīs and to recognise their independence in Ḥaḍramawt. After the death of Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd

al-Ḥaḍramī was recognised as his successor by the Ibāḍīs of both Ḥaḍramawt and Baṣra.

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(Ersilia Francesca)

ṬĀLIBĀN, Pers. plural of Arabic *ṭālib* "student", a term coming into use in the last years of the 20th century for a radical Islamist group in Afghānistān.

These "religious students" became the face of radical Islam during the late 1990s, when they controlled most of Afghānistān. They emerged in reaction to widespread lawlessness in south-western Afghānistān in the summer of 1994 and went on to become the dominant force in Afghānistān until their defeat by a US-led coalition of forces in the autumn of 2001. Core leaders of the Ṭālibān were trained in the *madrasas* or religious colleges of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balūchistān affiliated to or run by the conservative Islamist Pakistani political movement, the Djāmiʿat al-ʿUlamā-i Islāmī/Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islami (JUI) party, whose ideology blended Wahhābī influences from Arabia with the Dēobandi tradition of South Asia.

Led by a former *mudjāhid* in the Afghan-Soviet War of the 1980s, Mullā Muḥammad ʿUmar, the early Ṭālibān were primarily young former *mudjāhidīn*, mostly southern Pushtūns. There is debate about whether the Ṭālibān were essentially an indigenous movement that Pakistan supported to advance its own foreign policy goals, or whether the Ṭālibān were from the beginning a creation of Pakistan, which had seen its Afghan policy frustrated by the civil war between *mudjāhidīn* factions following the fall of the Communist government in April 1992 and was seeking an alternative faction to support, especially in the fractious Ḳandahār area. Regardless of the source of their genesis, the Ṭālibān gained prominence and power through deep, early, and multi-faceted support from Pakistan's Interior Ministry, Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI), army, and society and were Pakistan's proxy army in Afghānistān by 1995. From a strategic standpoint, the Ṭālibān provided Pakistan with a militia that could possibly settle the power struggle within Afghānistān, but at the minimum could control the southwest of the country and make possible a stable route for trade with Central Asia.

After their unexpected emergence near Ḳandahār in October 1994, the Ṭālibān steadily advanced to gain control of almost all of Afghānistān, despite some setbacks, such as the massacre of their forces at Mazār-i-Sharīf in May 1997 and Northern Alliance leader Aḥmad Shāh Masʿūd's counter-attack north of Kābul in August 1999. Following their capture of Ḳandahār in November 1994, the Ṭālibān advanced through Pushtūn tribal areas toward Kābul, ultimately forcing Gulbuddīn Ḥikmatyār's Ḥizb-i Islāmī to evacuate its positions south of the city. The then Defence Minister, Aḥmad Shāh Masʿūd soundly defeated the Ṭālibān and drove them out of range of Kābul in the spring of 1995, so the Ṭālibān turned their attention to western Afghānistān, capturing Harāt in September 1995. In September 1996 the Ṭālibān flanked Kābul to the east and captured Djalālābād, then drove up the main road through steep gorges toward Kābul, which fell without a fight later that month. Having taken control of the capital and most of Afghānistān after only two years, in 1997 the Ṭālibān sought to conquer the north of Afghānistān and finish off the remnants of the Burhānuddīn Rabbānī government.

Divisions within the Northern Alliance made possible the temporary Ṭālibān capture of Mazār-i-Sharīf in May 1997, but after four days local militias rebelled and destroyed the Ṭālibān forces there, while a Ṭālibān force that had come up from Kābul through the Salang Pass was cut off and surrounded in Ḳunduz. In the summer of 1998 the Ṭālibān pushed resolutely into the north once again, this time capturing Mazār-i-Sharīf in August and Bāmiyān in September. Following the fall of both cities, the Ṭālibān killed or forcibly relocated thousands of the residents. After the campaigns of 1998, the Ṭālibān controlled all but 10-15% of the country, primarily the rugged north-eastern mountains where Aḥmad Shāh Masʿūd's well-organised Tadjik army held on. Combat ebbed and flowed in and out of this area over the next three years, with Masʿūd having great success in August 1999, but his assassination on 9 September 2001 by al-Ḳāʿida (al-Qaeda) operatives coincided with the beginning of a final Ṭālibān push into his salient that might have been successful had the events of 11 September 2001 not brought the United States into Afghānistān with the goal of destroying the Ṭālibān.

Afghānistān's long war destroyed or discredited most of its traditional leadership and led to a deep Islamisation of its society, providing the milieu in which the Ṭālibān could arise. The Ṭālibān were the last and most vehement of Afghānistān's Islamist leaders, but they were simultaneously a Pushtūn ethnic movement and a militia for Pakistan. Thus, their rise to power hardened ethnic divisions in Afghānistān and heightened the regional competition between Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Russia for control within the country. The multiple sources of Ṭālibān identity gave the movement a plasticity that enhanced its resiliency over time. The Ṭālibān leadership was comprised of Ḳandahār-area Pushtūns of different tribal and sub-tribal lineages, but most of the Inner Shūrā (council) knew each other from shared combat experiences during the Afghan-Soviet War and/or shared time in Pakistani *madrasas*. As the movement expanded its territorial control, its ranks grew to include eastern and northern Ghilzai Pushtūns, some ethnic minority militias, and former Afghan Communist soldiers from the Khalk/Khalq faction (introduced by the Pakistanis to provide the Ṭālibān with specialised military skills in which they were lacking; following the conquests of 1998 most of the ex-Communists were purged).

The Ṭālibān also were an international force, with

thousands of Pakistani "volunteers" (over 100,000 had served by the time of the Ṭālibān's defeat) and an "international brigade" of largely Arab fighters under the command of Usāma b. Lādin/Osama bin Laden. When the Ṭālibān captured D̲j̲alalābād in 1996 they began a partnership with Osama bin Laden and his al-Ḳā'ida organisation that was based in that area. Over the next few years, the Ṭālibān-al-Ḳā'ida nexus became more puritanical and intolerant of Afg̲h̲ānistān's northern minorities, and increasingly larger numbers of Pakistani "volunteers" joined the movement. Thus, what was initially seen in the southwest of Afg̲h̲ānistān as a local Pus̲h̲tūn movement came to be seen by its northern opponents as a front for Pakistani aspirations in Afg̲h̲ānistān.

As the Ṭālibān grew more numerous, tensions between the different factions within the movement occurred on several levels. The early core of Ṭālibān leaders kept most of the positions of authority, and many of them remained in Ḳandahār near to Mullā 'Umar, who ruled from there rather than moving to Kābul when it fell in 1996. Over time, a moderate faction led by Premier Muḥammad Rabbānī and Foreign Minister Wakīl Aḥmad lost ground to the growing influence of a hard-line faction affiliated with Osama bin Laden. This cost the Ṭālibān international recognition (only Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates ever recognised the movement) and support. During the late 1990s, al-Ḳā'ida became increasingly aggressive, targeting the U.S. in several high-profile operations, which led to U.S. cruise missile attacks on Afg̲h̲ānistān in August 1998, increased U.S. pressure on the Ṭālibān to give up Bin Laden, and sanctions by the U.S. and U.N. on the Ṭālibān régime starting in 1999. The struggle between moderates and hard-liners within the Ṭālibān shifted in favour of the latter group with the destruction of the cliff Buddhas of Bāmiyān in March 2001 and the death of Muḥammad Rabbānī in April 2001. Ultimately, the attacks by al-Ḳā'ida on the U.S. on 11 September 2001 brought about the destruction of the Ṭālibān and al-Ḳā'ida rule and the implementation of an interim government in December 2001 headed by Ḥamīd Kārzai, a Durrānī Pus̲h̲tūn tribal leader.

The Ṭālibān were a tribal militia, a Pakistani proxy army, and a movement for social change in Afg̲h̲ānistān. Their early success on the battlefield was due to the shared ethnicity and war-weariness of the populations in the areas that they conquered during 1994-6. They also presented themselves as simple men motivated by piety and a desire to Islamise Afghan society, holding themselves in contrast to the formerly noble *mud̲j̲āhidīn* whose lust for power had caused them to stray from the straight path of Islamic governance. Ultimately, though, the Ṭālibān extended their control over almost all of Afg̲h̲ānistān due to extensive Pakistani support, including money, weapons, training, military advisers, direct military involvement, logistical support, and recruits. The return of tens of thousands of these recruits to Pakistan exacerbated and deepened Islamist trends in that society, producing an effect referred to within that country as the "Talibanisation" of Pakistan.

Although they ruled most of Afghānistān for several years, Ṭālibān governance was mostly non-existent. Perhaps this was by design, and Afg̲h̲ānistān's state failure under the Ṭālibān was a conscious effort to destroy a Western model of government there, but more likely it reflected Ṭālibān incompetence at government. Rule was by decree from Mullā 'Umar, or from organisations such as the Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice (*Amr bi 'l-Ma'rūf wa-Nahy 'an al-Munkar*), a religious police modelled on the similar organisation that exists in Saudi Arabia. A 30 to 40-man S̲h̲ūrā advised Mullā 'Umar. There were few funds for routine government, and most of the 27 ministries sat idle, as such funds as the Ṭālibān did have went into the war effort against the Northern Alliance. Traditional social welfare functions of government such as infrastructure re-building were carried out by international aid organisations in Afg̲h̲ānistān, although the Ṭālibān frequently constrained their operations.

The centrepiece of Taliban Islamisation policy was the maltreatment of women and girls, denying them access to adequate health care, education, jobs and basic human rights. Women's status and position in Afghan society had come to be symbolic of all that the Ṭālibān opposed, and their mistreatment of females helped keep their young male fighters unified and supportive, since most of them had learned in the Pakistani *madrasas* that women were supposed to be constrained in the ways practiced by the Ṭālibān leadership. Other notable Ṭālibān social policies included applying *S̲h̲arī'a* punishments (based on Ṭālibān interpretation of the *S̲h̲arī'a*, which was influenced by Pus̲h̲tūnwālī, or code of the Pus̲h̲tūns), such as execution for adultery and amputation of hands for theft; forcing men to attend mosque services and grow beards as signs of piety; bans on all forms of secular entertainment, such as sports, music and television; and ultimately the destruction of images in Afg̲h̲ānistān, including the world-famous Bāmiyān Buddhas.

The Ṭālibān were a by-product of Afg̲h̲ānistān's long and highly destructive war and capped a decades-long movement to Islamise Afghan society, itself a reaction to an even longer attempt by Afghan urban élites to modernise the country. The collapse of the Afghan state, the Islamisation of the Afghan resistance movement and refugee population, and the regional geopolitical struggle following the Cold War combined to create the unique conditions that gave rise to the Ṭālibān. U.S.-led military operations beginning in late 2001 have now almost destroyed the Ṭālibān movement, but the underlying ideology of Islamising the state and society remains and continues to influence Afg̲h̲ānistān.

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(L.P. Goodson)

TARĀ'ŌRI, an alternative name for the place mentioned in Indo-Muslim history as Nārdīn or Nandana in the Jhelum District of the Western Pandjāb, now in Pakistan; see on it NANDANA, in Suppl.

TARDJAMA.

4. (b) The 20th century.

In the 20th century, translation into Arabic contributed noticeably to the shaping of modern Arabic literatures and cultures. It arose in historical circumstances which considerably differed from those of the Arabic translation movement (*ḥarakat al-tardjama*) in the previous century (see 4. (a) at Vol. X, 232b). The colonial experience, the rise of nationalist and anti-colonial movements, and the subsequent formation of independent Arab nation states exercised a strong ideological impact on Arab societies. The specific developments of translation as an integral part of Arabic national cultures embodied their changing interests and priorities.

In the early decades of the century, the proliferation of privately-owned periodicals and publishing houses in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and 'Irāḳ made possible the broader transmission of texts into Arabic. New centres of translation emerged in the communities of Arab immigrants in Northern and Southern America [see MAHDJAR]. Journalists, writers and scholars participated, along with trained professionals, in thriving translation practices. As the number of translated works increased on an unprecedented scale, the sources, methods and forms of individual translations diversified.

For the first time in Arabic cultural history, the translation of literature took precedence over other forms of linguistic and cultural import. This new cultural phenomenon was related to a massive translation of Western fiction prompted by the growing demand of readers dissatisfied with traditional forms of literary discourse. Their manifest interest in translated narratives, especially short stories, met a strong response on the part of Arab authors searching for new ways of artistic expression. Transmission of Western literature became an integral part of their creative activity, along with composition of original works in the new fictional genres discovered through the experience of translation. Prominent early contributors to Arabic literary translation were the writers and poets Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, Muṣṭafā al-Manfalūṭī [*q.vv.*], the first school of modern Egyptian writing, *madrasat al-dīwān* (the Dīwān school); Nadjīb al-Ḥaddād, Salīm al-Nakkāsh and Niḳūlā Ḥaddād in Lebanon; Khalīl Baydās, Anṭūn Ballān, and Nadjātī Ṣidḳī in Palestine; Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī and Tanyūs 'Abduh in Syria; Salīm Baṭṭī and Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Sayyid in 'Irāḳ; and the leading figures of *madrasat al-mahdjar* (the literary school of Arab immigrants in the United States) Nasīb 'Arīḍa, 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād and Mīkhā'īl Nu'ayma [*q.v.*].

The involvement of writers and poets broadened the scale of literary translation. While the majority of translated texts represented short stories, novellas and novels, since the beginning of the century more attempts were made at translation of European drama and poetry. In addition to French classical plays by Corneille, Rostand and Molière, Shakespeare's works—especially *Romeo and Juliet*—inspired several early Arabic adaptations. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] translated and published an anthology of Greek dramatic poetry (1920), Racine's *Andromaque* (1935) and a selection of Western drama (1959). Poems by Victor Hugo, Lamartine and Shelley were amongst the first rendered into Arabic. Typically, Arab translators dealt with differences of prosody between the traditions of Western and classical Arabic poetry by rendering Western poetic forms into prose. Further generic changes as in al-Manfalūṭī's radical transformation of a rhymed play—Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1921)—into a novel were uncommon. The modern Arabic poetic free-verse style developed since the 1950s offered translators of poetry a new tool.

French literature remained an essential source of translation in the first decades of the century: reportedly, by 1930 more than 150 French authors were represented in Arabic translations, and about 15 English ones. The contributions of *madrasat al-mahdjar* included the introduction of Arab readers to classical works of American and Russian literatures. In 1920, Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Zayyāt's eloquent Arabic rendition of Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* from the German original was still a rare occurrence. In the inter-war period, single works by Italian, Greek and Turkish authors attracted translators' attention as embodiments of national cultures to which they related by way of human and intellectual experience.

Not all Western source texts selected for translation, nor all of their Arabic versions, were of high literary and cultural value. A great deal of translators' production catered to the needs of a growing popular market for romantic stories, mysteries and adventures. Translation techniques involving rewritings (*tardjama mawḍū'a*), adaptations (*tardjama bi 'l-taṣarruf*), additions (*iḍāfāt*), abridgements (*tardjama mulakhkhaṣa*), and various changes of the genre, set, plot and characters of the original, did not always yield good quality in the target language. Yet the substantial body of Arab fictional texts that those early translations built contributed, by its sheer mass, to familiarising Arabic readers with new genres of fiction. At their best, the pioneers of Arabic literary translation created works, which, like original writings, expressed and affirmed their own cultural identity and traditions through the forms of Western literature. The appreciation of their audiences accounts for the longevity of such creative translations. They continued to flourish well into the 1940s, long after the genres of Western fiction had been adopted in Arabic writing, replacing traditional forms of literary discourse.

A similar symbiosis between translation and creation of literature is observed in many national cultures at the formative stage, when writers commonly use translation as a creative device and for addressing what they perceive as the pressing issues and actual cultural needs of their societies and time. Since the 1920s, modern Arabic literary theory and criticism have contributed to the emergence of new perceptions of translation, which have determined its subsequent evolution as a creative activity with specific social and cultural functions.

Extensive transmission of Western scientific knowledge and intellectual thought continued. Translated contemporary works of history, philosophy and literary theory were an integral part of the critical debates of the day (e.g. the translation of Thomas Carlyle's *On heroes, hero-worship, and the heroic in history* (1911) by the Dīwān school). Translations of Herbert Spencer's *On education* (1908) and Lebon's work on pedagogy (by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, 1921) reflected the edifying priorities of Arab intellectuals. Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid's [*q.v.*] renderings of Aristotle from the original (1924-35) introduced the classical tradition of Western intellectual thought. At that time, major influences on modern Arabic literary theory and criticism (Freud's psychoanalysis, the ideas of the Russian formalists,

etc.) were also exercised through the intermediary of Western languages different from the original.

In the second half of the century, translation entered a new phase of development under the aegis of the independent Arab nation states. The cultural policy of *taʿrīb* [*q.v.*] (arabisation) adopted by Arab governments placed special emphasis on translation as a means of interaction with other cultures meant to serve what they deemed the interest of Arab societies and their comprehensive advancement.

Efforts have been made to support the study of translation and develop translators' professional skills. Translation is a commonly taught subject within foreign language acquisition programmes at the high school level. Arab translators receive modern professional training in independent academic institutions (e.g. al-Mustanṣiriyya School in ʿIrāḳ; King Fahd School for Translation in Morocco), or through academic programmes in translation offered in a number of universities (e.g. the King Suʿūd University in Saudi Arabia; Yarmūk University in Jordan; Alexandria University in Egypt, etc.). The academic institutions develop translation studies as well (e.g. the Translation Center at the King Suʿūd University worked in the last decade on a major project designed to catalogue 20th-century Arabic translations). Pan-Arab conferences provide forums for discussion of policies and issues of translation (e.g. al-Tunis, 1979, on developing common criteria for selecting texts for translation, reassessing the status and training of Arab translators, etc.; Jordan, 1992, on translation studies; Egypt, 1995, on scientific translation; etc.).

At the national level, the ministries of culture and education oversee translation activities. In many countries, translators are syndicated in professional organisations and unions, and some are individual members of the International Translators' Union (Geneva).

At the regional level, two organisations formulate pan-Arab strategies of translation. The objective of the Arabisation Coordination Bureau (1961, Rabat) is to create and update a unified system of modern Arabic terminology. The Arab Center for Arabisation, Translation, Authorship and Publication (1989, Damascus) supports translation into Arabic of materials for higher and university education in all areas of academic and technical specialisation, and of distinguished works in the fields of the sciences, literature and arts. Both organisations are affiliated with ALECSO. Recent contributions of Arab translators to ALECSO's cultural programmes include publications of *Basic Arabic dictionary* (1988) and *Trilingual thesaurus: Arabic, English, French* (1995); and the ongoing projects *Translations of distinguished books on science and technology*, and *Arabic unified dictionaries*. The Islamic Organisation for Culture and Science also retains translation programmes.

Over the last five decades, translation production has increased everywhere in the Arab world. Egypt and Syria hold leading positions, with more than 100 publishers of translations in each country (here and further below, statistics by UNESCO, *Index translationum*). Lately, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have emerged as major translation centres.

French and English remain the important sources of Arabic translation, used also as intermediaries for transmission of texts written in other original languages. Since the 1930s, and especially with the influx of American culture in the post-World War II period, English became the main source language of translation into Arabic. In the course of the most recent decades, the source languages diversified, reflecting new cultural priorities on the part of Arab authors, audiences and institutions related to the acquisition of modern technologies and know-how; to the interest in literatures and cultures traditionally not represented, or under-represented by Arabic translation, etc. The pool of languages from which translations are currently undertaken includes Japanese, Chinese, and other less common foreign languages. The leading languages from which books were translated into Arabic in the last 20 years are: English (3188 translations), Russian (1388), French (929), German (263), Spanish (149), Persian (77), Italian (58) and Turkish (49).

The majority of texts translated in the second half of the century represent fiction of European origin: Shakespeare is the most translated foreign author, with a total of 49 Arabic translations, closely followed by Agatha Christie with 47. Emerging since the inter-war period new concepts of the nature of translation and its cultural functions manifested themselves in a more attentive approach to the selection and transmission of original texts. Translators' creativity was employed to best express the ideas of the original using the tools of the modern Arabic language. The resulting more accurate renditions of classics by Balzac, Turgenev, Dickens, Baudelaire, Guy de Maupassant, Sartre, Gorky, Thomas Mann, Camus, James Joyce, T.S. Eliot, Virginia Woolf and Apollinaire exposed readers to a variety of writing styles, and encouraged since the 1950s new trends in Arabic prose (realism, modernism, stream-of-consciousness), and poetry (the free-verse movement). In drama, Chekhov, Henrik Ibsen and Harold Pinter elicited many translations (the latter's works compiled in a three-volume edition appeared in Cairo in 1987). Since 1983, Kuwait's Ministry of Information has published a series of modern translations from classical Greek of Euripides' tragedies.

Among the significant American writers translated in that period (e.g. Faulkner, Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Henry Miller), Edgar Allan Poe was better known for his mystery stories than as a poet, but Mark Twain remained most popular, his early Arabic renditions revisited by later translators. Lately, Arabic versions of Walt Disney's books head the growing production of children's literature in translation, including classic tales by Leo Tolstoy, Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm, Hans Christian Andersen, and modern Western authors.

In the 1960s to early 1980s, publishers in Moscow, Leipzig and other cultural centres of the then Communist countries produced a large number of Arabic translations introducing classics of their national literatures. The collaboration between Arab and European translators and publishing houses continues to broaden the perspective of Arab readers on European literary traditions (e.g. Arab and Swedish translators at present render from the original poems by Tomas Tranströmer, one of Sweden's most important contemporary poets, whose forthcoming Arabic anthology will be published by al-Muʾassasa al-ʿArabiyya li 'l-Dirāsāt wa 'l-Nashr in 2003).

Numerous translations of works by Milan Kundera (Czech Republic), Wole Soyinka (Nigeria), Gabriel Garcia Marquez (Colombia) and Aziz Nesin (Turkey) in the course of the last decade testify to lasting aspirations by leading Arab translators and publishers to bring the best of modern world literature to their audiences.

In literary translation, transmission through intermediary languages remains a problem (e.g. Kundera and Marquez were first translated from French; Italo

Calvino and Ibsen from English; etc.). Duplications (e.g. four recent renderings of George Orwell's *1984*) could be avoided through better professional communication (al-ʿAysawī, 11-12).

Translations of non-fictional literature range from the modern sciences, business, social theories, philosophy (e.g. Foucault), psychoanalysis (e.g. Freud, Pierre Daco), literary theory (e.g. Barthes), general history, history of religions and religious writings, psychology and social behaviour (e.g. Edward De Bono), to popular science adaptations, textbooks at all educational levels, etc. Randomly selected and outdated source texts are by no means an exception.

Works which represent Western points of view on the history and culture of the region, have always aroused interest among Arab translators and readers (e.g. the latest accomplishment of the Egyptian National Translation Project, the 2002 translation of Marilyn Booth's study on Bayram al-Tūnisī; the recent translations of studies on modern Palestinian and Egyptian history by the German scholar Alexander Schölch; on Libyan history by the Italian scholar Francesco Coro; etc.).

A growing transmission of modern scientific knowledge has emphasised the need for an even closer cooperation between professionals in specific fields and in translation in the search for Arabic equivalents of foreign terms and modes of scientific expression (al-ʿAysawī, 15).

During the entire modern period, translations have been made primarily in *al-fuṣḥā*. While the part of *al-ʿāmmiyya* increases in original fictional writings, and the performing arts of Arabic theatre and cinema, it remains limited in fictional translation. The colloquial versions of Arabic are entirely absent from non-fictional translation. As a target language, *al-fuṣḥā* has shown flexibility, adjusting its structures to fit new forms of discourse brought by translation. In the process of giving shape to new ideas and meanings, translation has constantly perfected its linguistic vehicle. By modernising the vocabulary, amplifying the semantics, and modifying and simplifying the sentence structure of the language, translation contributes to building a modern, informative and to-the-point style of expression in literary Arabic. Modern translation has enriched the cultures of Arab nations and shared their best achievements with the world: in the last two decades of the 20th century alone, 6881 books were translated into Arabic, and 6756 from Arabic into other languages.

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TAʿRĪB.

2. Arabicisation as a weapon of modern political policy.

Given that the Arabic language is commonly identified as a vital, if not the most important, aspect of Arab nationalist ideologies—whether they are pan-Arab, regional, or state-specific—Arabicisation has played a significant role in modern Arab politics. In the early 19th century, before Arab nationalist discourse began to emerge, Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Egypt laid the foundations for the use of Arabic as an instrument of state-building. As part of his efforts to modernise education in Egypt, particularly military, medical and scientific education, Muḥammad ʿAlī authorised the establishment of a School of Languages (*Madrasat al-Alsun*) in 1835. The school was closed in 1850 during the reign of ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I [*q.v.*] but reopened in 1863 on orders of Ismāʿīl. Under the leadership of Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-73 [*q.v.*]) during both of its phases, the school undertook an ambitious program of not only training translators, but also of translating and publishing European texts in Arabic. Thus, the School of Languages pioneered the ideology and the methodology of *taʿrīb*. The European works chosen for translation reflected the interests of the State as determined mainly by al-Ṭahṭāwī, who remained loyal to the house of Muḥammad ʿAlī throughout his life. These works included texts in geography, history, medicine, military sciences and politics. In translating modern European works into Arabic, the staff of the School of Languages devised not only the principles for rendering foreign languages into a clear, modern Arabic idiom, but also coined Arabic vocabulary to express novel technical terms. In many ways, therefore, the school provided the intellectual resources for the Arab nationalist movement that gained ground in the latter half of the 19th century and provided Arab nationalists with grounds for asserting the continuing vitality and centrality of Arabic in their nationalist programs.

The work of European and American missionaries, primarily in the Levant, provided a second catalyst for the revitalisation of Arabic during the 19th century. American and British Protestant missions, eager to distinguish themselves from the French Catholics, who insisted upon and actively promoted the use of French, encouraged the translation of the Bible and liturgical readings into Arabic. The schools established by Protestant missionaries also promoted the study of Arabic in their curricula. The political consequences of these policies were perhaps more significant and long-lasting than the religious: The missionaries helped to nurture a sense of Arab national identity among both Muslims and Christians that distinguished them linguistically from the other constituents of the Ottoman Empire.

Arabicisation in Arab nationalist discourse

The unifying factor of language in Arab nationalism is a theme developed at length by a number of intellectuals during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (*ca.* 1849-1902 [*q.v.*]) viewed Arab political unity and cultural revival as a necessary precursor to pan-Islamic unity and revival. In *Umm al-ḳurā*, as part of his argument for Arab leadership of the Islamic world, he claims that the language of the Arabs is the language common to all Muslims. Yet he also prepares the foundation for later

secular Arab nationalists by acknowledging that Arabic is the native language of both Muslims and non-Muslims. The Lebanese Maronite scholar Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī (1847-1906 [see AL-YĀZIDJĪ. 2.]) equated nationhood with language. The standard Arabic of the educated classes provides an integrative force that surpasses the disintegrative tendencies of religion and culture. For this reason, al-Yāzidjī championed the revival and dissemination of the standard literary language (*al-lugha al-fuṣḥā*), based on classical Ḳur'ānic Arabic, in opposition to various suggestions for replacing it with colloquial dialects (*al-lughāt al-ʿāmma*). He participated in efforts to modernise and simplify Arabic pedagogy, arguing that the proper use and teaching of a language is necessary to political, economic and cultural modernisation efforts. The standard Arabic also demarcates, for al-Yāzidjī, the boundaries between the Arab nation and other peoples. To maintain their cultural distinctiveness and by implication their eventual political autonomy, the Arabs had to preserve their language from foreign corruption, including the use of loan words and especially the adoption of the Latin script in place of the Arabic, as suggested by some reformers of the time. Instead, he proposed rules for Arabicisation of foreign words and names that would either assimilate them into Arabic phonology and morphology or distinguish them clearly as foreign proper nouns.

The most powerful stimulus for the rise of an Arab nationalist discourse came from the Turkification policy pursued by the Young Turks after they seized power in Istanbul in 1908. The Ottoman constitution of 1876 had established Turkish as the official language of the empire but had provided no details for the practical enforcement of this provision. The political program adopted by the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI] in 1908 not only reaffirmed that "the official language of the state will remain as Turkish" but it also stipulated provisions for enacting this policy (see Kayalı 1997, 90-4). All civil servants and government officials, including members of parliament, were instructed to conduct business in Turkish. The teaching of Turkish was made compulsory in elementary schools and Turkish was imposed as the medium of instruction in all secondary and higher education. As a result of this policy, Arabic was taught in the state secondary schools of the Arab provinces as a foreign language, with instruction in Arabic grammar provided in Turkish by Arab teachers who were often not conversant in Turkish or by Turkish teachers who were frequently not expert in the intricacies of Arabic grammar. Arab students caught speaking Arabic outside the classroom were subject to punishment. The imposition of Turkish was coupled with a campaign conducted through the Turkish newspapers to paint Arabic as a stagnant language and its speakers as an obstacle to the progressive reforms launched by the Young Turks.

Arab responses to the Turkification policy came from a number of political, literary and educational societies, some based in Arab cities, others in Europe. The Arab Congress of 1913, a gathering of Arab intellectuals and political activists in Paris, adopted a resolution demanding in part: "La langue arabe doit être reconnue au Parlement ottoman et considérée comme officielle dans les pays syriens et arabes" (Zeine 1966, 161). Another group, the Arab Revolutionary Society (*al-djamʿiyya al-thawriyya al-ʿarabiyya*), called in the same year for a more drastic measure: complete Arab independence from the Ottoman Empire. The society's "Proclamation (*balāgh*) to the Arabs, the Sons of Ḳaḥṭān" expounded the superiority of Arabic over Turkish and denounced Turkish attempts to substitute the "sacred" language of Islam with Turkish translations of such things as the call to prayer and the ritual prayer itself. The proclamation also appeals to Christians and Jews to recognise that their common language unites them with Muslims in a single Arab nation: "Let the Muslims, the Christians, and the Jews be as one in working for the interest of the nation (*umma*) and of the country (*bilād*). You all dwell in one land, you speak one language, so be also one nation and one hand." The fanaticism that divides the religious communities is deliberately cultivated by the Turkish authorities, the proclamation avers. Religious hostilities will subside when "our affairs, our learning, and the verdicts of our courts will be conducted in our own language" (*ibid.*, 174-7; Haim 1976, 83-8).

Opposition to the Turkification policy also figures prominently in the works of individual intellectuals. In his newspaper *al-Mufīd*, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-ʿUraysī (1891-1916) wrote incessantly on the need for Arabs to resist attempts to undermine their language. He demanded that Arabic be recognised in the Ottoman constitution as the primary official language in the Arab provinces of the empire, and that it be enforced as such in the schools and civil administration. He urged Arabs to insist that all foreign schools teach Arabic as the national language of the students they were educating, alongside Turkish, the official language of the empire, and a foreign language, such as English or French. Al-ʿUraysī also campaigned for the use of a simple, pure Arabic idiom in private communications, one that avoided flowery expressions that he blamed on Turkish influences or words and phrases borrowed from French, the language popular among many educated Arabs, especially his fellow Lebanese. Al-ʿUraysī's growing influence among Arab nationalists led to his execution by Turkish authorities in Beirut in 1916.

Arab nationalist writing in the period after World War I continued to emphasise the role of the Arabic language, but with the imposition of English and French mandates in much of the former Ottoman Arab provinces, the perceived threat to Arabic came from English and French, not Turkish. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlāyilī's (b. 1914) *Dustūr al-ʿarab al-ḳawmī*, published in 1941, is a not so veiled attack on the dissemination of French in his native Lebanon: "The duty of nationalists who are imbued with a burning and true belief is to persuade society by all possible means to free itself from all languages except the one which it is desirable to impose, attachment to which must be fanatical. . . . In such a fanaticism we must mingle hate and contempt for anyone who does not speak that national language, which we hold sacred and venerate as a high ideal" (Haim 1976, 121-2). In his 1952 article *al-Islām wa 'l-ḳawmiyya al-ʿarabiyya* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bazzāz (1913-73) declared the Arabic language to be the "soul of our Arab nation and the primary aspect of its national life" (*ibid.*, 181). Zakī al-Arsūzī (1900-68) argued that the true Arab genius lies in the Arabic language, which had flowered well before the advent of Islam. Thus, for al-Arsūzī, the origins of the Arab nation lie in its pre-Islamic antiquity, and the Prophet Muḥammad becomes simply one among many who forged an Arab national consciousness. The challenge of all modern Arabs, Christians and Muslims, according to al-Arsūzī, is to reinvigorate this national identity by reviving the language, for which

he suggested a number of radical reform measures (see Suleiman 2003, 146-57).

The period between the two World Wars saw increasing opposition to French rule in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia as well. French colonialism in all three countries had meant the imposition of a policy of *francophonie* that made French the sole official language. The independence movements in the Maghrib would consequently stress Arabic along with Islam as the unifying and authentic markers of nationhood. In 1931, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ben Bādīs (1889-1940 [see IBN BĀDĪS]) and his colleagues in the Association of Algerian Muslim ʿUlamāʾ adopted the motto "Islam is our religion, Arabic is our language, Algeria is our country".

More than any other writer, it was Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī (1880-1968 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) who most firmly established the common Arabic language as the basis for Arab nationalism. Unlike other writers who included such factors as shared culture, customs, interests and physical environment in their definitions of Arab nationalism, al-Ḥuṣrī limited his idea to a shared language and a shared history. The priority he attaches to the two is clearly articulated in the following passage from *Muḥāḍarāt fī nushūʾ al-fikra al-ḳawmiyya*: "Language constitutes the life of a nation. History constitutes its feeling. A nation which forgets its history loses its feeling and consciousness. A nation which forgets its language loses its life and [very] being" (Suleiman 2003, 132).

Al-Ḥuṣrī was keenly aware, however, that linguistic unity was largely a fiction, that the common standard Arabic was shared by only a small fraction of Arabs, namely, the literate classes, whereas the vast majority of Arabic speakers were divided by widely divergent colloquial dialects. In order to realise his vision of a language-based Arab identity, al-Ḥuṣrī devoted much of his career to promoting the modernisation and simplification of classical Arabic grammar, with the intention of reconciling standard Arabic with the dialects, and then disseminating this modern standard Arabic in the new educational system of Arab countries. At the same time, he waged a fierce intellectual battle against advocates of regional vernaculars as the basis for an Egyptian, Syrian or ʿIrāḳī nationalism. Salāma Mūsā (1887-1958 [*q.v.*]), for example, campaigned for replacing standard Arabic, which he considered a dead language, with a refined Egyptian colloquial as the medium of writing, communication and education in his vision of Egyptian nationalism. Al-Ḥuṣrī bitterly denounced the suggestion that the teaching of standard Arabic was an anachronism akin to the teaching of Latin. The analogy between Latin and its Romance language successors is inapplicable to classical Arabic and its regional vernaculars because of the continuing use by modern Arabs of the *fuṣḥā*. Similarly, in response to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's (1889-1973 [*q.v.*]) contention that Egypt should look to its pharaonic past as the basis for its modern national identity, al-Ḥuṣrī caustically asked whether a modern Egyptian would be able to speak with a revived Egyptian pharaoh or with Ibn Khaldūn.

Arabicisation in Arab politics

Arabicisation has been pursued to some degree by all post-colonial Arab states as an integral part of their state-building enterprise, and Arabicisation has generally meant the promotion of modern standard Arabic as the common language within individual Arab states as well as among them. The goal of Arabicisation programs has been to cultivate a national identity in opposition to the European imperialist legacy that left behind pockets of anglophone or francophone élites or in opposition to ethnic fragmentation caused by indigenous languages such as Berber, Kurdish or various Nilo-Saharan and other African languages spoken in southern Sudan. Promoting standard Arabic also targets the disintegrative tendencies of the spoken Arabic dialects and thus serves an important ideological function in pan-Arabist schemes and a very practical function in more specific national projects, where sometimes different regional vernaculars exist within a single state. Finally, Arabicisation has been bolstered by the rise of Islamist groups that accentuate the connection between Arabic and the Islamic identity of the vast majority of the populations of Arab states. Arabic is today designated as an official language in the constitutions of nearly all 22 members of the Arab League, and it is the sole official language in some 16 states.

Egypt was among the first Arab states to react to the dissemination of English and French as a deliberate policy of imperialism. In 1888, the British colonial administration in Egypt announced that the language of instruction in all Egyptian schools should be either English or French. This policy was coupled with the promotion of the Egyptian colloquial over the literary Arabic as the "authentic" language of Egypt. Various British officials, most famously William Wilcox in a speech in 1892, argued that Egypt's adherence to literary Arabic was a major reason for its backwardness and that the key to Egypt's progress lay in making the spoken language Egypt's written language as well. The British language policies were not met with immediate resistance, but to the contrary the policies found champions among many influential Egyptian reformers. Calls for a restoration of standard Arabic in the national life of Egypt became pronounced when the independence movement gained ground in the early 20th century. Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*], in his capacity of Minister of Education (1906-10), worked to replace English with Arabic in Egypt's schools. The Pedagogy Committee of the University of Cairo (est. 1908), headed by the then Prince Fuʾād, recommended that the official language of instruction at the university be Arabic, but, given the poverty of instructional material in that language, French and English would serve by necessity and temporarily as the medium of instruction in many faculties. Despite these early efforts, as late as the 1940s Arabic was rarely the medium of instruction in Egypt's educational system, except for the religious schools supervised by al-Azhar. The foreign-language schools, where most of Egypt's élite were educated, continued to exclude Arabic altogether, leading Ṭāhā Ḥusayn in *Mustaḳbal al-thaḳāfa fī Miṣr* (1938) to warn of the cultural and political consequences for the nation. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's demand that Arabic be taught in all foreign schools (though the medium of instruction remained English or French) became government policy in the early 1940s.

Syria and then ʿIrāḳ launched Arabicisation policies under the direction of Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, who served as an advisor and education minister to Fayṣal b. Ḥusayn [see FAYṢAL I]. The short-lived Arab national government in Damascus (October 1918-July 1920) undertook several measures to build Arab national consciousness in the country, including the implementation of an Arabic curriculum at all grade levels, requiring the rapid translation into Arabic of textbooks and the training of qualified instructors. Al-Ḥuṣrī continued the aborted Arabicisation program in Syria when he relocated to ʿIrāḳ with Fayṣal. The teaching of foreign languages was eliminated in state

primary schools, and the foreign-sponsored schools were forced to adopt much of the nationalist-oriented curriculum developed for the state schools.

The ascendancy of pan-Arab politics during the 1950s raised the language issue to new levels of political saliency. Both of the dominant ideologies of pan-Arabism, namely, Nasserism and Baʿthism, emphasised the alleged unity of language as a key constituent of the single Arab nation. The result was the further curtailment, if not outright elimination, of the influence of foreign languages in Egypt, Syria and ʿIrāḳ. In Egypt, standard Arabic was promoted as the language of instruction in all subjects, including technical and scientific subjects generally taught in universities in English. The debates on the place of colloquial Egyptian in Egyptian national life faded, but did not die entirely, as evinced by the controversy engendered by the publication of Luwīs ʿAwaḍ's (1915-90) *Muḳaddima fī fiḳh al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* in 1980. This work, which attempts to sever the link between Arabic and Egyptian nationhood, was published, perhaps not by coincidence, following Egypt's expulsion from the Arab League because of its peace treaty with Israel.

Lebanon was the Arab state most torn by the advent of pan-Arab ideologies, and language figured prominently in its political disputes. In 1962, Père Selim Abou, a young Lebanese Jesuit teaching at the University of St. Joseph in Beirut, published *Bilinguisme arabe-français au Liban*, in which he argued that Lebanon's bilingual character is unique among Arab countries and not the result of foreign domination. Much of the Christian population and many of the Muslim élites as well used French well before the French Mandate, he pointed out. French has been voluntarily adopted, Père Abou suggests, by a segment of the Lebanese population, especially the Maronites, "to express their deepest spiritual needs" (Sayigh 1965, 121). Such views were strongly challenged by other Lebanese writers, including a number of prominent Maronites. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥādjdj (1917-76), for example, argued that Lebanon's bilingualism was largely a myth, since only a small percentage of the élite classes in each confessional group commanded native mastery of both Arabic and French. French was the language of Lebanon's European coloniser, and its continued use instead of Arabic by the Lebanese marked their inferior status and dependence upon Europe.

Similar controversies involving the role of French have occurred in the countries of the Maghrib. Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia have all pursued efforts to promote standard Arabic as a marker of their national identities as well as their solidarity with the broader Arab world. But the three countries have exhibited varying degrees of official hostility to the use of French in national life. Algeria, which experienced the longest and most intensive process of Gallicisation, has pursued the most zealous Arabicisation agenda. During the 1960s, under President Houari Boumedienne, the government adopted the goal of total Arabicisation in government and education. Subsequently, laws were passed requiring fluency in standard Arabic as a qualification for a government job, and standard Arabic became the medium for broadcasting on state-controlled television and radio. In the private sector, however, businesses continued to give preference to those with command of French. The discrimination faced by young Arabic-speaking university graduates led to a series of student demonstrations and strikes in the mid-1980s during the presidency of Chadli Benjedid. In an effort to quell the unrest, the Benjedid government issued a directive to employers to end language-based preferences in hiring, but little changed in actual hiring practices. Continued student protests in 1990, coupled with the rise of the Islamic movement in Algerian politics, led to new legislation to limit the use of French in public spheres and to restrict the number of French-language newspapers and magazines imported into the country.

By contrast, Morocco and Tunisia have demonstrated much less hostility to the legacy of French. Moroccan governments have pursued deeply ambivalent policies. The first government initiated a full Arabicisation program for the country's schools and bureaucracy in 1956, only to reverse itself two years later. King Ḥassān II extolled the virtues of Arabicisation while doing little to implement it, particularly as he sought greater economic and political ties with France. In Tunisia, the government of Ḥabīb Bourguiba encouraged bilingualism in its efforts to maintain close ties with France and the rest of Europe, a policy that has been continued by Bourguiba's successor, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Ben ʿAlī. Islamic opposition groups in Tunisia, mainly the Islamic Nahḍa Party, include the government's lack of commitment to Arabicisation in their criticisms.

In addition to European languages and the colloquial Arabic dialects, the politics of Arabicisation has targeted indigenous regional languages. The status of Berber dialects has been especially problematic in Morocco and Algeria, the two countries with the largest Berber-speaking populations and the most organised Berber political movements. In response to Berber agitation in southern Morocco during 1994, Ḥassān II declared in a speech on August 20, 1994, that Berber dialects and Moroccan Arabic should be included in the national educational system, at least in primary schools. This statement signalled a greater visibility of Berber in the state media, but its critics charge that it has effectively undermined the recognition of Berber as a national language alongside Arabic. In Algeria, the political liberalisation from 1988 to 1991 led to a resurgence of Berber political activity. The Mouvement Culturel Berbère (MCB) organised large demonstrations and boycotts of schools and universities, demanding that the government officially recognise the Berber dialect of Tamazight [*q.v.*]. The government responded by creating the Haut Commissariat à la Amazighité in 1993 for the promotion of Tamazight in education and mass communication. In April 2004 Tamazight was recognised as a second national language in Algeria. The recognition fell short of Berber demands that it be acknowledged as an official language, which the government reaffirmed throughout the 1990s as being standard Arabic.

The Kurdish minorities in Syria and ʿIrāḳ have faced similar obstacles to gaining official status for their language. Kurdish-language publications were banned in Syria after independence. Its 1973 constitution declared Arabic alone to be the official language. ʿIrāḳ's 1925 constitution also established Arabic as the sole official language of the country, but the use of Kurdish in schools and other public spheres was always accepted by the government in the predominantly Kurdish regions of the north. The ʿIrāḳī law of administration for the transition period, promulgated in March 2004 following the American occupation of the country, recognises both Arabic and Kurdish as official languages.

The constitution of Sudan designates Arabic as the official language of the republic, but adds that "the

state shall allow the development of other local and international languages". The reference to other local languages is presumably to the 100 or so African languages spoken in the southern, mainly non-Muslim part of the country. The British colonial administration cultivated these regional dialects along with English in an openly espoused policy of divide and rule. Post-independence Sudanese governments have pursued Arabicisation with the argument that a common language is the most effective means of maintaining the unity of the country. Yet Arabicisation has been strongly resisted in the south as merely one aspect of Khartoum's attempts to Arabise and, since the late 1980s, Islamise the Christian and animist regions of the country.

Organisations promoting Arabicisation

A number of organisations have been founded by Arab governments and by the Arab League to promote the policy of Arabicisation. The Arab Academy was created in 1919 in Damascus as part of the intensive Arabicisation program launched under Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī. Its principal mission was to coin Arabic terms for scientific and technological applications. The Royal Academy of the Arabic Language (*al-Madjmaʿ al-malakī li 'l-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*) in Cairo was established in December 1932 by a royal decree of King Fu'ād. Its mandate was to explore all means by which the Arabic language could be revitalised. The King personally took an interest in orthographic reform, advocating the use of different characters to function as capital letters, dubbed the *ḥurūf al-tādj*. This experiment was ultimately abandoned, but the academy continued to debate various measures for orthographic and grammatical simplification for years to come. Under Nasser [see ʿABD AL-NĀṢIR, in Suppl.], the academy diverted its attention away from internal reform of the language to formulating new terminology for scientific and technical applications. This shift reflected the régime's argument that Arabicisation should proceed with minimal internal alterations to classical Arabic, the bearer of the common Arab heritage, and should focus instead on only those reforms necessary for economic and scientific progress. Other Arabic language academies have been established in Baghdād (1947) and ʿAmmān (1976).

The need to coordinate the work of the various national language academies was acknowledged in 1961 by the Arab League. The Bureau for the Coordination of Arabicisation in the Arab World was established the following year in Rabāṭ. The bureau has organised a number of international scholarly conferences on Arabic reform and pedagogy and publishes the journal *al-Lisān al-ʿArabī*. In 1989, the Arab Center for Arabization, Translation, Authorship and Publication (ACATAP) was established in Damascus by an agreement between the government of Syria and the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO). ACATAP's goals include translating foreign works into Arabic and translating key Arabic texts in science, art and literature into selected foreign languages. The centre also publishes a semi-annual journal titled *al-Taʿrīb*.

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(SOHAIL H. HASHMI)

ṬARĪḲ (A., pls. *ṭuruḳ*, *ṭuruḳāt*, etc.), "road, route, way, path", apparently a native Arabic word, and with the idea of a way which has been prepared for traffic to some extent by levelling, by the spreading of stones, etc. (see C. de Landberg, *Glossaire datînois*, Leiden 1920-42, iii, 2204-5). The word shares a common field of geographical reference with similar terms like *ṣirāṭ* [*q.v.*], *darb* (see R. Hartmann, *EI*[1] art. s.v.), *maslaka* and *shāriʿ* [*q.v.*], though each is to be distinguished in its usage.

In the Ḳur'ān, Moses is bidden to strike a dry road or path (*ṭarīḳ*) through the sea in order to escape Pharaoh (XX, 79/77) and thus achieve physical salvation. However, the Ḳur'ān usually employs *al-ṣirāṭ [al-mustaḳīm]* for the spiritual highway to Paradise (I, 6; XLII, 52-3; XLIII, 42/43) and never *al-ṭarīḳ al-mustaḳīm*; clearly, *ṣirāṭ* has a more religious and spiritual connotation than *ṭarīḳ*. This last is more like the Latin *via* in terms of its topographical role, although the physical layout and mode of construction of the two might differ considerably. The Roman Empire had many famous roads like the Vias Appia, Flaminia and Valeria. Many of these were of antique, pre-Roman origin, and the same was true of Near Eastern trade routes which ran from Syria to the towns of the Ḥidjāz and South Arabia, linking the Byzantine empire with the Arabian peninsula and the lands across the Arabian Sea towards India. In ancient Rome, the *viae* played a vital role in buttressing Roman military power and in facilitating trade. In early Islamic times, the *ṭuruḳ* likewise performed these functions, and furthermore, conveyed pilgrims journeying on the Ḥadjdj [*q.v.*] to the Holy Places. Piety was accordingly an additional motive for rulers, governors and others who built and maintained roads, supplied waymarks (*ʿalam*) and constructed caravanserais [see KHĀN], and the Arab geographers record in detail the Pilgrimage routes which crossed the Islamic lands, such as the Darb Zubayda [*q.v.* in Suppl.] across Nadjd from ʿIrāḳ to Mecca, as do figures like Ibn Djubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.vv.*] in their travel accounts; the Ḳur'ān itself (XXII, 28/27) implies a diversity of ways with the Kaʿba as their goal. *Maslaka* was in many ways a synonym of *ṭarīḳ*, but figures prominently in Arabic geographical literature in the name of what R. Blachère defined as an important sub-

genre of this last, the "road books" or *al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* [*q.v.*], an important element of which was also the fixing of the geographical co-ordinates of places (see Blachère, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Âge*, Beirut-Algiers 1934, ²Paris 1957, 110-200; DJUGHRĀFIYĀ, at Vol. II, 575); at all events, Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*] may be accounted the father of this sub-genre.

Those *ṭuruḳ* which were major highways of the Islamic world for trade and communication naturally stimulated the growth of staging posts (*manāzil* [see MANZIL]) and important towns along them. Mecca may have been along one of these *ṭuruḳ*, the route from Syria down the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā [*q.v.*] (but cf. the thesis of Patricia Crone in her *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam*, Oxford 1987, that the importance of Mecca as a centre for pre-Islamic trade has been much exaggerated). Yet undoubtedly, Samarḳand [*q.v.*] lay at the intersection of trade routes coming from India and Afghānistān and from Khurāsān and western Persia and then leading northwards and eastwards along the "Silk Route" to eastern Turkistan and China—the "Golden Road to Samarqand" which forms the culmination and envoi of the James Elroy Flecker's (d. 1915) poetic drama *Hassan*. The famous Silk Route, or better, Silk Routes, ran westwards from Xi'an in China through Lanzhou to Dunhuang, where the ways split, proceeding either along the northern or southern rims of the Tarim basin [*q.v.*] to Tashkent, Samarḳand, Bukhārā, and thence to the caliphal lands of Persia and ʿIrāḳ, and through Anatolia or along the Black Sea coast to Byzantium (see M. Mollat du Jourdin, ch. "Des routes continentales à la voie maritime (fin du Moyen Âge)", in UNESCO, *Les routes de la soie. Patrimoine commun, identités plurielles*, Paris 1994, 1-19; K. Baipakov, ch. VIII/2 "The Silk Route across Central Asia", in C.E. Bosworth and Muhammad Asimov (eds.), *UNESCO History of the civilizations of Central Asia*, iv, *The age of achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century*, pt. 2, Paris 2000, 221-6; Frances Wood, *The Silk Road*, London 2000, 13). At the other side of the Islamic world, caravan routes across the Sahara Desert brought the slaves and gold of ancient Mali and Ghana to the North African cities (see E.W. Bovill, *The golden trade of the Moors*, London 1958), whilst the Darb al-Arbaʿīn [*q.v.*] "Route which took forty days" linked Egypt and Nubia with the eastern lands of the Bilād al-Sūdān, bringing slaves, ivory, ostrich feathers, etc. [see SŪDĀN, BILĀD AL-].

It should be noted that *ṭarīḳ* should not be confused with the related term *ṭarīḳa*, pl. *ṭarāʾiḳ*, Ṣūfī "path" or order; for these, see ṬARĪḲA.

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(I.R. NETTON)

TAʾRĪKH.

II. 1. In the Arab world.

(c) The period 1500 to 1800.

i. *The Ottoman occupation of the central Arab lands*

The Ottoman Empire, in a few decisive battles, destroyed the Mamlūk Sultanate (1250-1517 [see MAMLŪKS]), which included Egypt, Syria and parts of Anatolia (with the Ḥidjāz within its sphere of influence). Egypt, the centre of empires for centuries, and also Syria became tax-paying Ottoman provinces for the next three, nominally four, centuries. Later in the 16th century, the Yemen, ʿIrāḳ and North Africa (with the exception of Morocco) were also incorporated into the Ottoman Empire with varying degrees of centralisation.

For Egypt in particular, the change of rule was traumatic. It is true that like the Mamlūks, the Ottomans were Turcophone Sunnīs and were ruled by a foreign-born military caste. Yet the language of administration under the Mamlūks had been Arabic; now, under the Ottomans, it was Turkish. Under the new régime, all governors, chief government officials, *ḳāḍīs* and soldiers came from the Turkish provinces and spoke Turkish. Thus the foreign presence in the Arab lands was much more massive than before. At the beginning, many of the natives of Syria, Egypt and other Arab lands regarded the Ottomans as bad Muslims, negligent of the religious ordinances and disrespectful of the *Sharīʿa*. This judgment entailed automatically a view of the rulers as unjust. Later this negative image of the Ottomans changed, however, as the Ottomans, starting with the long and stable reign of Sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnī (the Magnificent, 1520-66 [*q.v.*]), became themselves more devout. The dynasty emphasised its role as pious Muslim rulers and defenders of Islam against Christian infidels in the west and Shīʿī heretics in the east. Nevertheless, anti-Turkish sentiments persisted, beside a genuine loyalty toward the Ottoman dynasty itself and the distant sultan in Istanbul. Such seemingly contradictory sentiments could coexist in that pre-national age and are reflected in the writings of Arab historians.

The Mamlūk sultanate was extremely rich in historiography (see (b) at Vol. X, 276a-280a), more than any other period in pre-modern Islam. Yet research into the history of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire has also been increasing recently, and there is a better appreciation of the wealth of Arabic historiography under Ottoman rule (see *Bibl.*).

EGYPT

The political, diplomatic and military events leading to the Mamlūk-Ottoman conflict and the occupation of Egypt (Muḥarram 923/January 1517), and then the first six years of Ottoman rule (until Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 928/November 1522) are superbly narrated by the Cairene chronicler Muḥammad b. Iyās [see IBN IYĀS]. The fifth volume of his *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr* (ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, v, ²Cairo 1961) is a most valuable work that has few equivalents in describing day by day how a new régime steps into the shoes of the old one. Ibn Iyās not only reports the decisions and moves undertaken by the Ottomans in Egypt but his writing reflects the people's attitudes and feelings toward their new masters.

Ibn Iyās's hostility towards the Ottomans is obvious throughout his chronicle. He identified with the fallen Mamlūks, since he was one of *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*] "the sons of the (important) men", namely, the Mamlūks. He judged all the Ottomans—Sultan Selīm, who defeated the Mamlūks, his soldiers, and his *ḳāḍīs*—as cruel and ignorant.

The problem with this chronicle is that it is almost isolated. Ibn Iyās was one of the best, but also the last, representatives of the great Egyptian Mamlūk historiographical tradition. This tradition stops abruptly after the Ottoman occupation. It cannot be determined whether that happened because Egypt was relegated from an empire to a province, or because the greater part of the 10th/16th century in Egypt passed peacefully and without major political upheavals. Some

information about the history of Egypt in the 10th/16th century is provided by non-Egyptian Arabic sources, such as by the important histories of the Meccan historian Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582 [*q.v.*]), who wrote a detailed account of the exploits of the Ottomans in the Yemen. He was familiar with developments in Egypt, in the Ḥidjāz and, to a certain extent, in Istanbul as well, since he travelled to the Ottoman capital where he met some of the most influential men. Al-Nahrawālī wrote a lengthy history of the Ottoman Empire up to his time, which comprises a great part of his book about the history of Mecca (*al-Barḳ al-yamānī fi 'l-fatḥ al-ʿuthmānī*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, al-Riyāḍ 1967; *K. al-Iʿlām bi-aʿlām bayt Allāh al-ḥarām*, Beirut 1964). His attitude towards the Ottoman state is positive in the extreme, and his works influenced Egyptian historians for a long time.

Since contemporary chroniclers did not cover the greater part of the 16th century, the information about that period is cursory and episodic. The historiography of the period organises its coverage of events by what has been called by scholars the "sultan-pasha" type of chronicle. The *pasha* is the central figure in the narratives. The chroniclers characterise each viceroy by his personality and religious profile.

One of the two notable historians of this period is Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī al-Isḥāḳī (the chronicle ends in 1033/1623-4). In his *Kitāb Akhbār al-uwal fī-mā taṣarrafa fī Miṣr min arbāb al-duwal* he gives a most laudatory chronicle of the Ottoman dynasty and a history of Egypt up to his time. Of far greater importance are the numerous historical writings of Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Surūr al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīḳī (d. *ca.* 1071/1661 [see AL-BAKRĪ]), the leading historian of the 11th/17th century. He was a member of a famous aristocratic Ṣūfī family of *Ashrāf*, who also claimed descent from Abū Bakr, the first caliph [see BAKRIYYA]. The Bakrīs played a role in Egypt's religious and public life until the middle of the 20th century. Ibn Abi 'l-Surūr himself had close relations with the Ottoman authorities in Egypt, and his attitude toward the Ottomans is extremely laudatory, describing the sultans as impeccably orthodox. Almost all his chronicles are about Ottoman Egypt, but he also wrote a history of the Ottoman Empire, naturally with a strong emphasis on Egypt (*al-Minaḥ al-raḥmāniyya fi 'l-dawla al-ʿuthmāniyya*, ed. Laylā al-Ṣabbāgh, Damascus 1995).

It was only towards the end of the 11th/17th century and during the 12th/18th century that Arabic history writing in Egypt became really mature and rich. We have many chronicles, some of them very valuable, which fall into two main categories: (a) literary chronicles, written by educated *ʿulamāʾ* or scribes in standard literary Arabic, and (b) the popular chronicles or "soldiers' narratives". The "soldier" language is ungrammatical, and the narratives have the characteristics of stories told before an audience. The chronicles of this category were created in the milieu of the seven *odjaks*, or the regiments of the Ottoman garrison in Cairo, more specifically in the ʿAzab *odjak*, the second largest regiment in Cairo (after the Janissaries). These five manuscripts are known as the Damurdāshī group, since their authors are related in one way or another to officers in the ʿAzab regiment called by this surname. The most important chronicler of this group is Aḥmad al-Damurdāshī Katkhudā ʿAzabān [see AL-DAMURDĀSHĪ] (meaning an officer below the rank of the regimental commander in the ʿAzab corps), whose chronicle ends in 1170/1756 (*al-Durra al-muṣāna fī akhbār al-Kināna*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Cairo 1989, ed. and tr. D. Crecelius and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Bakr, *Al-Damurdāshī's chronicle of Egypt, 1688-1755*, Leiden 1991). His narrative is lively, detailed and trustworthy, and is full of information about military and political events, as well as anecdotes that throw light on various economic, religious and cultural aspects of Egyptian civilian society. It is important to note that Aḥmad al-Damurdāshī was aware of the *de facto* autonomy of Egypt within the Empire. He calls the régime in Egypt *dawlat al-Mamālīk*, namely, the Mamlūk government, as it appears in the book's sub-title *Fī akhbār mā waḳaʿa bi-Miṣr fī dawlat al-Mamālīk* "that which happened in Egypt under the Mamlūk government".

The historians of the period describe in detail the political struggles that they witnessed in Egypt, again, particularly in Cairo. After the *pashas*' authority declined from the latter part of the 10th/16th century, power passed in the next century to the military grandees, called *amīrs*, *beys* or *sanādjiḳ* (the arabised plural of the Turkish *sandjaḳ* or *sandjaḳ beyi*). In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, power shifted to the *odjaks*, primarily to the Janissaries and the ʿAzab, in that order. For most of the 12th/18th century, the supremacy belonged to the constantly-feuding Mamlūk *beys* until 1798, when the French occupation put an end to the Mamlūk régime.

Aḥmad Shalabī (Čelebi) b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī's chronicle, *Awḍaḥ al-ishārāt fī-man tawallā Miṣr al-Ḳāhira min al-wuzarāʾ wa 'l-bāshāt*, ed. ʿA.R. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (Cairo 1978), covers the period from the Ottoman occupation in 923/1517 to the year 1150/1737. He was an *ʿālim*, and like many *ʿulamāʾ* at the time, also had Ṣūfī connections. He is unusually revealing personally, often telling about himself, his impressions of the events and the personalities that he witnessed, together with his personal opinions and his sources of information. Like other contemporary historians, he notes the declining power of the central Ottoman government and its representatives in Egypt. Sometimes he expresses contempt towards an Ottoman *pasha* or a *ḳāḍī*, while fully acknowledging the role of the Sultan as the supreme ruler of Islam. In addition to political events, Aḥmad Shalabī, like other historians in Ottoman Egypt, writes about economic, social and cultural, mainly religious, subjects. For example, Aḥmad Shalabī and his near contemporary Yūsuf al-Mallawānī (also called Ibn al-Wakīl) write about the devaluation of the currency, droughts, plague, and the flooding of the Nile and its effect on food shortages and prices. Occasionally, information is provided concerning Arab tribes and their chiefs, since these were often involved in the power struggles in the capital, and more rarely about the common people, the city poor and the fellaheen. Events concerning the religious minorities, Christians and Jews are also mentioned.

We come now to the monumental work of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Djabartī (1168-1241/1754 to 1825-6 [*q.v.*]), the last and the greatest of the historians of Ottoman Egypt. His importance as a chronicler has been long recognised. He became a historian under the influence of the French occupation of Egypt in 1798. This was a traumatic event, and the Egyptians' first taste of the overwhelming military supremacy of modern Europe. Al-Djabartī wrote a detailed description of the occupation and the people's reaction to the French. The Frenchmen's claims that they were Muslims, or at least friends of Islam, were met with ridicule; the ideas of the Revolution were totally and naturally misunderstood. For all his hatred of the occupiers, al-Djabartī was impressed by their love of learning and science and by their sys-

tem of justice (see S. Moreh [ed. and tr.], *Al-Jabartī's chronicle of the first seven months of the French occupation of Egypt*, Leiden 1975). After the departure of the French army and the return of the Ottomans to Egypt, he wrote another account of the occupation that was much more hostile to the French and much more favourable to the Ottomans (*Mazhar/Muẓhir al-taḳdīs bi-zawāl dawlat al-Faransīs*, Cairo 1958). Finally, he wrote his *magnum opus, ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār fī 'l-tarādjim wa 'l-akhbār* (4 vols., Būlāḳ 1297/1880). This work is a chronicle of Egypt from the end of the 12th *Hidjrī* century (1099/1688), setting the stage for the rivalry within the *amīrs*' ranks between the Faḳārī and the Ḳāsimī [see ḲĀSIMIYYA] factions. The chronicle ends in the year 1821 (end of A.H. 1236), under Muḥammad ʿAlī's [*q.v.*] rule. As the book's title indicates, it is a combination of narrative (*akhbār*), organised by the *Hidjrī* years followed by obituaries (*tarādjim*) of the notables who died during the previous year. Al-Djabartī's coverage of events, which took place since his maturity, starting around 1770, is a masterpiece of history writing. The detailed description and evaluation of the French occupation and, later, the early stages of Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule, are written with precision, honesty and insight. The historian's grasp of political events and of his society, with all its shades and nuances, is truly impressive. He presents to the reader a panoramic view of Egyptian, primarily Cairene, society, economy and culture, with several important glimpses of the Bedouin and the fellaheen as well. His obituaries of *amīrs*, Arab *shaykhs*, *ʿulamāʾ*, Ṣūfīs and other outstanding persons, and his chronicle, actually a diary, of the events that he witnessed and experienced, are among the best in Islamic historiography. Al-Djabartī was a man of strong religious faith, an ardent orthodox Muslim, who hated infidels and the vulgar sides of popular Islam. He admired the reformed orthodox Ṣūfī order of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*], to which even the chief *ʿulamāʾ* of al-Azhar (*shuyūkh al-Azhar*) belonged. On the other hand, he condemned and detested the excesses of the vulgar dervish orders. He often criticised the *ʿulamāʾ* for their selfishness and the Mamlūk *amīrs* for their behaviour, but he leaves no doubt that in his mind they were better Muslims than the Ottomans, the Turkish soldiers who massacred them at the order of Muḥammad ʿAlī. He hated the latter's tyranny, but acknowledged his talents. Al-Djabartī's education and approach were thoroughly traditional, but he was the first modern historian, and he experienced "the impact of the West".

SYRIA

Arabic historiography during the Ottoman period in *Bilād al-Shām*, Greater Syria, is at least as rich in quality and quantity as its Egyptian counterpart. A central and obvious reason was that Egypt had only one political and intellectual centre, Cairo, while Syria had at least three centres where historical works were written—Damascus, Lebanon and Ḥalab (Aleppo)—and, far behind, smaller towns such as Ḥims, Ḥamāt, Ṣafad and Jerusalem.

The majority of the Arabic historians in Syria were men of religion, *ʿulamāʾ*, members of families of religious scholars and functionaries, almost all of them with some Ṣūfī affiliations, in accord with the spirit of the times. Several of the leading Lebanese chroniclers were Christian clerics or bureaucrats in the service of powerful rulers. The topics covered by the chronicles were local politics, power struggles between men and factions, careers of *ʿulamāʾ*, Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, prominent *Ashrāf*, and other *aʿyān* (notables). Special attention was paid to religious matters, both among Muslims and Christians. Since Damascus was a major station on the Pilgrimage route, much information is provided about the Pilgrimage. The chronicles are good sources for social, economic and urban history, giving details about food prices, construction projects, and the like.

By far the most important and prolific historian of the late Mamlūk and the early Ottoman period is an *ʿālim*, a native of the al-Ṣāliḥiyya [*q.v.*] suburb of Damascus, called Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn b. Ṭūlūn al-Ṣāliḥī al-Dimashḳī al-Ḥanafī (880-953/1475-1546 [see IBN ṬŪLŪN]). Like Ibn Iyās, his Egyptian contemporary, Ibn Ṭūlūn witnessed the Ottoman occupation of his town, which he described in detail. He was a professional and devoted *ʿālim*, however, and his judgment of the Ottomans, from the Sultan downwards, was more balanced than that of Ibn Iyās. His Arabic style is literary, unlike that of Ibn Iyās, whose Arabic is lively but ungrammatical. Ibn Ṭūlūn wrote no less than 753 treatises, many about Islamic learning, but he owes his fame to his many historical writings. He also wrote an autobiography. His best and most detailed historical work is *Mufākahat al-khullān fī ḥawādith al-zamān*, a chronicle covering the last decades of Mamlūk Syria, Damascus in particular (from 884/1489), and the first years of Ottoman rule in Damascus until the year 926/1520 (ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 2 vols. Cairo 1381/1962; ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr, Beirut 1418/1998). He reveals a humanistic sense of justice.

Ibn Ṭūlūn wrote also a book about al-Ṣāliḥiyya, his native suburb, which is an important source of lives of notables, primarily religious functionaries and *ʿulamāʾ*, and of information on religious institutions (*al-Ḳalāʾid al-djawhariyya fī taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya*, ed. M.A. Dahmān, Damascus 1401/1980). He also wrote two important books about the personalities and careers of office-holders in Damascus, who served in that city under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans, one about governors of the Province of Damascus (*Iʿlām al-warā bi-man wulliya nāʾib^an min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashḳ al-Shām al-Kubrā*, ed. Dahmān, Damascus 1984) and the second about the chief *ḳāḍīs* in that city (*Ḳuḍāt Dimashḳ al-Thaghr al-bassām fī dhikr man wulliya ḳaḍāʾ al-Shām*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1376/1956).

Two biographical works on the governors of Damascus were written by Ibn Djumʿa al-Maḳarrī and Ibn al-Ḳārī. The former (d. after 1156/1743) was a Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* and a Ḳādirī Ṣūfī. Sayyid Raslān Ibn al-Ḳārī wrote his book in the first half of the 19th century.

Another outstanding historian of the period, whom Ibn Ṭūlūn regarded as his teacher, was ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Nuʿaymī, the author of the important historical encyclopaedia of the schools and houses of worship of Damascus, entitled *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris* (several eds., inc. Djaʿfar al-Ḥasanī, Damascus 1988). Al-Nuʿaymī was an expert on *awḳāf* [see WAḲF]. The work is organised by *madhāhib* and types of institutions—Ḳurʾān schools, *madrasas*, *zāwiyas* (Ṣūfī centres) and the like, and includes biographies of teachers and also details about relevant *awḳāf*.

An important historical source for Syria in the 10th/16th century is Nadjm al-Dīn's al-Ghazzī's *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, the first of the three centennial dictionaries of Ottoman Syria (3 vols. Beirut, Jounieh and Harissa 1945-59). Al-Ghazzī (977-1061/1570-1651) was a member of a family of *ʿulamāʾ* and an orthodox Ṣūfī of the Ḳādirī order, who lived in Damascus where he held several religious offices. The biographies in the *Kawākib* are

arranged by generations (*ṭabaḳāt*) of 33 years each. The order is alphabetical. Among his biographies there are Ottoman officials, *ḳāḍīs*, and governors. He had to rely extensively on information he found in works of earlier historians.

Al-Ghazzī continued the *Kawākib* with a dictionary of lives of notables in the first *ṭabaḳa* of the 11th/17th century entitled *Luṭf al-samar wa-ḳaṭf al-thamar min tarādjim aʿyān al-ṭabaḳa al-ūlā min al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar* (2 vols., ed. Muḥammad al-Shaykh, Damascus 1981). It has 254 biographies, including those of Ottoman judges, military personnel, poets, dervishes, physicians and guild chiefs. From approximately the same time we have the biographical dictionary of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Būrīnī (d. 1024/1615), *Tarādjim al-aʿyān min abnāʾ al-zamān* (ed. al-Munadjdjid, 2 vols. Damascus 1959-66).

A popular collection of biographies from early Islam to the year A.H. 1000, the *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (8 vols., Cairo 1350/1931) was written by Ibn al-ʿImād, another Ḥanbalī *ʿālim* born in the al-Ṣāliḥiyya suburb of Damascus (d. 1089/1622).

This survey of the biographical dictionaries of the 10th/16th century should include the work of Ṭāshköprüzāde Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā (d. 968/1560 [see ṬASHKÖPRÜZĀDE.2]), a Turkish historian whose *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya* is a collection in Arabic of lives of Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfīs since the establishment of the Empire. The biographies are arranged by the sultans' reigns.

The centennial dictionary for 11th/17th-century Syria is the *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar* by Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699 [*q.v.*]) (4 vols. Cairo 1284/1868 and subsequent prints). Al-Muḥibbī also was a member of a wealthy family of Damascene *ʿulamāʾ*. The work consists of 1,289 biographies of distinguished persons. It provides important information about politics, religion and culture in the Ottoman Middle East and the Ḥidjāz. There are also biographies about personages from India and Kurdistan.

The history of Damascus in the 12th/18th century is recorded in a detailed and uninterrupted manner by several reliable contemporary chronicles. The earliest is Ibn Kannān's history covering the period between 1111/1699 and 1153/1740 (Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Kannān al-Ṣāliḥī, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, ed. A.H. al-ʿUlābī, Damascus 1994).

The immediate continuer of Ibn Kannān's narrative was a chronicler who, unlike the great majority of the historians of Ottoman Syria, was not a scholar but a barber, called Aḥmad al-Budayrī al-Ḥallāḳ ("the Barber"). His work, *Ḥawādith Dimashḳ al-yawmiyya* (ed. Aḥmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm, Damascus 1959), covers the period between 1154/1740 or 1741 and 1176/1762; hence, with Ibn Kannān, we have a continuous chronological narrative of Damascus for 63 years. Al-Budayrī was a Ṣūfī, but his order was the Saʿdiyya [*q.v.*], which was notoriously unorthodox.

Another Damascene chronicler, a Greek Orthodox priest of Damascus named Mīkhāʾīl Breik, brings the historical coverage of the city to 1782 with his *Taʾrīkh al-Shām* (ed. Ḳusṭanṭīn al-Bāshā, Harissa 1930). He explains that he began his history at the year 1720 because this was the time when the rule of the governors (*wālīs*) of the ʿAẓm family started. He makes a point that they were the first native Arabs (*awlād ʿArab*, as distinct from the Turks) who rose to this office. Breik reports of conflicts in Damascus between Catholics and Greek Orthodox. He stands out among his contemporaries as the only historian who wrote also about events that were taking place outside the Ottoman Empire, mainly in Europe.

The last centennial dictionary for the period under survey is *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-thānī ʿashar* (4 vols. Beirut 1997) by the Damascene *ʿālim* Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī (d. 1206/1791-2 at the age of 31 [*q.v.*]). He came from a family of Ḥanafī *ʿulamāʾ* originating from Samarḳand. Like his father before him, he served as the Ḥanafī *muftī* of Damascus and the *naḳīb al-Ashrāf* there. The book, which comprises 1,000 biographies, is a most valuable source for the political, social and cultural history of Syria in the 12th/18th century. In addition to using contemporary chronicles, al-Murādī corresponded with other *ʿulamāʾ* in Syria and Egypt, asking them to collect materials for his biographical dictionary.

LEBANON

Mount Lebanon was a separate political and administrative unit, and had its own history owing to its unique topography [see LUBNĀN]. It often enjoyed a degree of independence, and had a predominantly non-Muslim population of Christians and Druze. During the Ottoman period, Lebanon had many well-educated historians, several of whom were clergymen, others were bureaucrats. The former were preoccupied with the history of their communities, defending their creed and describing the quarrels among different Christian churches. The Lebanese historians wrote about the politics of the region (some recorded the history of other parts of Syria as well), struggles between factions, the great feudal families of the Mountain, and the leaders. They also wrote about the history of the two semi-autonomous dynasties that ruled Lebanon during the Ottoman period, the Maʿnids [see MAʿN, BANŪ] and the Shihābs [see SHIHĀB, BANŪ].

The Patriarch Isṭifān al-Duwayhī (1630-1704 [*q.v.*]), the greatest of the Maronite church historians, was the author of the only history of Syria with an emphasis on Lebanon in the 16th and 17th centuries by a contemporary writer. He wrote about the Maronite community and church with the purpose of defending their Catholic orthodoxy and attacking other Christian churches, such as the Jacobites, whom he considered as hostile to his church as the Mamlūk sultans. His general history, *Taʾrīkh al-azmina* (ed. F. Taoutel (Tawtal), in *al-Mashriḳ*, xliv [Beirut 1950]; another ed. by P. Fahed, Jounieh 1976, covering the period from the rise of Islam until 1098/1686) is a chronicle of Syria from the Crusades until the end of the 17th century, but the fullest and the most informative account is about the two last centuries. Al-Duwayhī's emphasis is on northern Lebanon where the population was Maronite, and which was ruled by Druze *amīrs* or by Muslims, who were appointed by the Mamlūks, and later by the Ottomans.

Ḥananiyā al-Munayyir (d. 1823), a Greek monk of the Shuwayrite religious order, wrote a history of the Shūf region of Lebanon and the Shihābīs. He concentrated on his own religious order and on other Christian religious topics (*al-Durr al-marṣūf fī taʾrīkh al-Shūf*, ed. I. Sarkīs, in *al-Mashriḳ*, xlviii-li [1954-7]). The most important historian of that period is Aḥmad Ḥaydar al-Shihābī (1761-1835), a cousin of the Amīr Bashīr II. He had access to official documents, such as Bashīr's correspondence with Ottoman governors. He wrote a history of Lebanon from the rise of Islam until 1827, called *Ghurar al-ḥisān fī akhbār al-zamān*. Aḥmad Ḥaydar was a Maronite convert from Islam. In his history he expresses unmitigated support for the Shihābīs, in particular for Bashīr II, against their

Lebanese and Ottoman enemies (his books have been published in several editions, e.g. *Lubnān fī ʿahd al-umarāʾ al-Shihābiyyīn*, Beirut 1969, and *Taʾrīkh al-Amīr Ḥaydar Aḥmad al-Shihābī*, Beirut 2000).

ʿIRĀḲ

For the 10th/16th century, no historical parallel to Ibn Iyās or Ibn Ṭūlūn describing ʿIrāḳ's conditions under the Ottomans—who conquered the country in 941/1534—has come down to us, and the few works that were written are in Turkish. The historians tended to write about the main cities—Baghdād, Baṣra, Mawṣil—and several smaller towns. As expected, power struggles among the rulers are constant features in the chronicles. As for foreign affairs, wars between Persia and Ottoman ʿIrāḳ are the main theme. Baghdād itself was occupied by the Ṣafawids from 1622 until 1632. The attacks of the Persians under Nādir Shāh during the first half of the 12th/18th century (1733 until 1746, including sieges of Baghdād, Mawṣil and Kirkūk) were the most traumatic events in the political history of ʿIrāḳ, and are reported in detail by the chroniclers.

The first historian of Ottoman ʿIrāḳ worthy of the name was ʿAlī al-Ḥuwayzī (d. 1075/1664). He lived in the court of the *amīrs* of the Afrasiyāb house, founded at the end of the 10th/16th century by a local magnate who administered the Province of Baṣra as his private domain. Al-Ḥuwayzī's history of Baṣra in the first half of the century is entitled *al-Sīra al-murḍiyya fī sharḥ al-farḍiyya*.

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghurābī from Baghdād (d. 1690/1102) wrote the first chronicle that is arranged by years. For his information, he relied on Turkish official documents and eyewitnesses' reports. His book, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-aʿyān mimmā maḍā min sālif al-ʿuṣūr wa 'l-azmān*, is a chronicle of the political events in Baghdād in the 11th/17th century.

Similar to the situation in Syria, 12th/18th-century ʿIrāḳ saw the emergence of governors (*wālīs*) of local families. Maḥmūd al-Raḥabī, a *muftī*, wrote the biography of *pashas* who confronted the Persians in 1145/1736. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suwaydī (d. 1175/1761), an important chronicler, wrote the history of Baghdād in the first half of the century. His book, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* or *Ḥadīkat al-zawrāʾ fī sīrat al-wuzarāʾ* (Baghdād 1962), tells the history of the city through the biography of the governors Ḥasan Pasha and his son Aḥmad Pasha.

One may conclude by mentioning two brothers from Mawṣil who wrote about the history of ʿIrāḳ until their own time. Yāsīn b. Khayr Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-ʿUmarī (d. after 1816), the more important of the two, wrote a general historical work from the Hidjra until 1811, with an emphasis on ʿIrāḳ, and also on Mawṣil and Baghdād (*Zubdat al-āthār al-djaliyya fī 'l-ḥawādith al-arḍiyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Raʾūf, Nadjaf 1974; *Ghāyat al-marām fī taʾrīkh maḥāsin Baghdād dār al-salām*, Baghdād 1986; *Munyat al-udabāʾ fī taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil al-ḥadbāʾ*, Mawṣil 1955). Muḥammad Amīn al-ʿUmarī, Yāsīn's brother, wrote *Manhal al-awliyāʾ*, another book about Mawṣil.

ii. *Concluding remarks*

Despite the differences between the various Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, certain common features emerge in their historiography. With the notable exception of ʿIrāḳ, local chronicles reasonably cover the first decades or at least the first years after the Ottoman occupation in the early 10th/16th century. The rest of that century has much less historiographical coverage (it should be noted, however, that there was a rich historiography in Yemen for the 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries; see the book of Frédérique Soudan, below, in *Bibl.*, and AL-MAWZAʿĪ). The 11th/17th century witnessed more intensive historical writings in Arabic, which came to full maturity and richness in the 12th/18th century (this being true with regard to ʿIrāḳ as well).

The differences between the societies of the various Arab lands and cities notwithstanding, there are strong similarities owing to the common religion (at least for the Muslim majority) and the common language and culture. The roles and status of the *ʿulamāʾ*, *Ashrāf*, Ṣūfīs, guilds, leaders of city quarters and the like were as a general rule similar in Cairo, Aleppo, Baghdād and Jerusalem.

Latent or even explicit patriotism is discernible in the writings of the local historians. The writers (and no doubt their readers) accepted Ottoman rule and hegemony as legitimate and natural, despite occasional expressions of criticism of the régime or even antipathy toward the Turks. However, as Ottoman rule became more decentralised after the 10th/16th century, and as local forces, such as the Mamlūks in Egypt or the leaders of strong Arab families elsewhere, were entering the ruling élites in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and ʿIrāḳ, the Sultan and the Ottoman capital seemed more distant and even irrelevant.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Only a few items of the extensive research literature on Arabic historiography during the Ottoman period can be mentioned here. On Egypt. D. Crecelius (ed.), *Eighteenth century Egypt: the Arabic manuscript sources*, Claremont, CA, 1990, which consists of several important essays and has a very rich and useful bibliography in the text and footnotes. Some of the papers also discuss the earlier centuries. References are made to earlier historiographical studies by D. Ayalon, P.M. Holt, Muḥammad Anīs, Laylā ʿAbd al-Laṭīf and others. On Syria. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *al-Muʾarrikhūn al-dimashkiyyūn fī 'l-ʿahd al-ʿuthmānī wa-āthāruhum al-makhṭūṭa*, Damascus 1964; Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus, 1723-1783*, Beirut 1966, 320-33; Laylā al-Ṣabbāgh, *Min aʿlām al-fikr al-ʿArabī fī 'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿuthmānī al-awwal: Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Muḥibbī wa-kitābuhu Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar 1061-1111/1651-1699*, Damascus 1406/1986. On Lebanon. A.H. Hourani, *Historians of Lebanon*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 226-45. On ʿIrāḳ. ʿAbd al-Salām Raʾūf, *al-Taʾrīkh wa 'l-muʾarrikhūn al-ʿIrāḳiyyūn fī 'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿuthmānī*, Baghdād 1983. On Yemen. F. Soudan, *Le Yemen ottoman d'après la chronique d'al-Mawzaʿī*, Cairo 1999.

(M. WINTER)

(e) North Africa.

A. *The period up to 1450*

As far as written documentation goes, the historiography of the mediaeval Maghrib proceeds, *grosso modo*, out of the Arab-Islamic historical tradition of the East. As well as the implicit teleological element, it follows the divisions and techniques of elaboration of those of the East, but nevertheless develops quite early lines of demarcation, which will be examined below, together with points of divergence.

1. Emergence and starting-points.

The newly-emerging Maghribī historiography should be understood as both a result and a support of the mainstream tradition. A certain number of points need to be recognised:

(i) Because of the late character of the conquest of the Maghrib, and its being a peripheral sector of

Islam, an Arabic historiography was fairly late in emerging. Taking into account the loss of the account called *Futūḥ Ifrīḳiya* still attributed on weak grounds to Abu 'l-Muhādjir [*q.v.*], the effective appearance of this historiography seems to have been in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, at a moment when the historical tradition in ʿIrāḳ and Syria was firmly enough established to provide an accomplished model. The first text written by a Maghribī in Arabic language is generally considered to be the Ibāḍī work composed by Ibn Sallām *ca.* 273/876-7 on the self-Islamisation of the Maghrib along the Khāridjite route from Tāhart to Barḳa, which manuscript was discovered in 1964 (ed. W. Schwartz and Shaykh Sālim Ibn Yaʿḳūb, Wiesbaden 1986).

(ii) As with the above work, after the fashion of the Mashriḳ, the next works were also closely linked to politico-ideological questions. In this same Eastern tradition, they included, in addition to chronicles (*akhbār, ta'rīkh*), the various fields of biography (*tarādjim*), the classification of élite groups (*ṭabaḳāt*), stories of the conquests (*maghāzī*) and collective genealogies (*ansāb*).

(iii) As well as Maghribī writings, there was early on a contribution from outside authors; it was probably difficult to ignore Ifrīḳiya and the Far Maghrib (= Morocco) when dealing with Spain or Egypt. In this regard, towards the first half of the 3rd/9th century, the Egyptian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], in his *Futūḥ Miṣr*—dealing with the conquest of Egypt and the Maghrib—is a notable example. A similar instance, older but more debatable as to the early age of the whole text, would be that of al-Wāḳidī [*q.v.*] and his *Futūḥ Ifrīḳiya*. As for the overlapping of the two traditions of al-Andalus and the Maghrib, the first tentative steps are seen in the surviving extracts of the *K. al-Rāyāt* of the Persian Muḥammad al-Rāzī of Cordova (d. 273/886 or 277/890), which was still used in the Far Maghrib at the opening of the 8th/14th century (El-Mennouni, 17-18; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, Paris 1953, 501-3).

(iv) Although uneven, this relative interest by non-Maghribī authors seems to have been motivated by the social and political repercussions of the conquest. As well as these texts by al-Wāḳidī and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, the theme is tackled in the first corpora of *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* in the course of the 4th/9th century, e.g. in the *Futūḥ* of al-Balādhurī, the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Ṭabarī and, later, in the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr. In connection with the latter two works, it should be noted that they not only convey the historical tradition of the conquests but at times depend also on what seems to have been oral tradition, cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2813-18, tr. R.S. Humphreys, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xv, *The crisis of the early caliphate*, Albany 1990, 18-24, year 27, and Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, iii, 92-3.

(v) This apart, it is notable that, once it developed, the Maghribī historiographical tradition tended in general to restrict itself within its own geographical sphere, apart from the association with the Iberian peninsula. Also, from the time of the first Muslim conquest, it always looks forwards, and almost never backwards; what is pre-Islamic is qualified as *azalī*, outside time, hence History for the Maghrib begins, it seems, with Islam.

2. The process of development, and its salient features.

At first sight, one notes that the relative stability of Ifrīḳiya permitted, in a first stage of development up to the end of the 5th/11th century, an activity in composing works which had only its equal in Muslim Spain. For the rest of the Maghribī region, such an activity seems to come only with the installation, during the second stage of development, of powerful, centralising dynasties, under which the same outburst of historiographical writing now appears in the Far Maghrib.

The disparate nature of the historical works and the primacy of Ifrīḳiya, mid-3rd/8th to late 5th/11th centuries

After a void following on from the conquests, from the mid-3rd/9th century, various initiatives appear, independently of each other, in Fās and Tāhart and, above all, in Ifrīḳiya. However, most of the works from this period have been lost. We possess Ibn Sallām's Ibāḍī text and the chronicle of Ibn al-Ṣaghīr [*q.v.*] on the Rustamid Imāms of Tāhart from the end of this same century (ed. and Fr. tr. C. de Motylinski, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris 1908, 2-132, new ed. Tunis 1976), and the contemporary collection of biographies by Abu 'l-ʿArab [*q.v.*], the *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamā' Ifrīḳiya* (ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1915), but the first chronicles dealing with the Idrīsids of Fās, the Khāridjites of Sidjilmāsa, the Aghlabids and the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya, and the works on the heretical Barghawāṭa and the Ghumāra [*q.vv.*] of the Atlantic seaboard, have not survived. There have likewise disappeared the only two contemporary or near-contemporary accounts of the Idrīsids, viz. a chronicle on the Imāms of Fās by Ibn al-Waddūn (4th/10th century), allegedly called the *T. al-Adārisa*, and one from the previous century, apparently better known since it was still cited by al-Bakrī [*q.v.*] in the mid-5th/11th century and by Ibn ʿIdhārī two centuries later, the *al-Madjmūʿ al-muftarik* of al-Nawfalī (El-Mennouni, 18, 27). Three works written under the Aghlabids, apparently detailed and of extended length, have also failed to survive: the *T. Banī 'l-Aghlab* by the prince Muḥammad b. Ziyādat Allāh (d. 283/896); a second chronicle with the same name; and an important *Ṭabaḳāt al-ʿulamā'* by Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn (d. 256/870), son of the famous Mālikī jurist of al-Ḳayrawān.

Apart from Fāṭimid Ifrīḳiya, our knowledge of the Maghrib during the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries stems essentially from eastern sources or late Andalusī ones, and only after that from later Maghribī sources. Hence the immense *al-Muḳtabas* of the Cordovan Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], from the mid-5th/11th century, forms one of the basic chronicles for the Far Maghrib, at that time pulled between the two influences of the Umayyads and the Fāṭimids or Fāṭimids-Zīrids. In this context, the contemporary Ifrīḳiyan sources would have been a counterpoise to these, in particular the lost, slightly earlier chronicle of Ibn al-Raḳīḳ [*q.v.*] called *T. Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*. Of this most important source, a supposedly authentic fragment has been recovered and twice published (Tunis 1967, Beirut 1990). We also have, in its entirety, a text equally important for Ifrīḳiyan history but one which is not a chronicle and which only concerns in a subordinate way the rest of the Maghrib, sc. the *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* of al-Mālikī (d. 460/1068 [*q.v.*]), a work essentially concerned with the biographies of Mālikī scholars and ascetics in Ifrīḳiya up to the mid-4th/9th century.

For the rest, other contemporary Ifrīḳiyan texts are known only from paraphrases or from quotations by later authors. Here one would include the work called *Fī masālik Ifrīḳiya wa-mamālikihā*, plus a range of opuscula concerning strategically-placed towns such as Tāhart, Ténès, Oran, Sidjilmāsa, Nakkūr and al-Baṣra in the northwestern Far Maghrib. Gathered together for al-Ḥakam II [*q.v.*] of Cordova, these writings stem

from Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Warrāḳ (292-363/904-74 [*q.v.*]), of Ḳayrawānī birth and education, who was accordingly to be of great value for al-Bakrī, Ibn Ḥayyān and Ibn ʿIdhārī. To these works by al-Warrāḳ, one may add those of Ibn al-Djazzār [*q.v.*], whose oeuvre included also geography (the *ʿAdjāʾib al-buldān*) as well as history (*K. al-Taʿrīf bi-ṣaḥīḥ al-taʾrīkh*) as well as *maghāzī and ṭabaḳāt*, likewise utilised by al-Bakrī and Ibn Ḥayyān.

The losses of major sources are paralleled by similar losses of writings for tribal or family history and for the first attempts at Berber genealogy, the compilation of Ibn Shaddād [*q.v.*], a Zīrid prince exiled in Syria, as well as two continuations of Ibn al-Raḳīḳ's work, that of Ibn Sharaf (d. 460/1068 [*q.v.*]) and that of Abu 'l-Ṣalt (d. 529/1134 [*q.v.*]), who continued, according to Ibn ʿIdhārī, the previous work. Nevertheless, since it happens that a good number of these writings were sufficiently utilised up to the time of Ibn Khaldūn, their legacy remains, despite everything, appreciable.

Furthermore, there exist various sources, more or less contemporary and spread across time, which can be used to fill gaps. Thus, in connection with intellectual and religious life in the Maghrib up to the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the *Madārik* of al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149 [see ʿIYĀḌ B. MŪSĀ]) of Ceuta, provide information often of first-rate importance. As for court life under the first Fāṭimid Imāms in North Africa, we can comprehend the impact of the Fāṭimid system on wider society and the obvious dysfunctions of the system, from the contemporary documents used in the *Sīrat al-Ustādh Djawdhar* (Cairo 1954) of al-Manṣūr al-Djawdharī [*q.v.*] and thanks to the contemporary witness of the *ḳāḍī* al-Nuʿmān. As well as this witness displayed in his *K. al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt*, this *ḳāḍī* has in his *K. Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa* left us a precious account of the Fāṭimids' rise to power. One may deplore the obviously partisan tone of these texts, but this in fact may well have been one of the reasons for their survival. Certainly, for many mediaeval Ismāʿīlī authors, these last two works were, even in the Mashriḳ, basic reference works.

On the margins of this local production tested over the centuries, there existed, too, other non-Maghribī sources. The most relevant relate to the geography of the region. Composed for the most part in ʿIrāḳ and for various motives, these works dealt with the lands of the Maghrib in detail, describing road networks, financial assessments, main economic activities, morals, customs and beliefs. For their works, geographers and literary men had recourse to direct observation or to information which had been transmitted and followed after careful examination. This last procedure may have been the main one, since neither al-Yaʿḳūbī nor Ibn Khurradādhbih nor even al-Bakrī, living as he did in nearby al-Andalus, knew the Maghrib first-hand (*bi 'l-ʿiyān*); only al-Muḳaddasī and Ibn Ḥawḳal were exceptions to this rule, and it is undoubtedly this first-hand knowledge that informs the great originality of these two eastern authors, especially of the latter.

Variations, and the Almoravid-Almohad domination (late 5th/11th to mid-7th/13th centuries)

With the installation of the Almoravids in the Far Maghrib and their annexation of the western part of the Central Maghrib and of al-Andalus of the *taifas*, there existed at the end of the 5th/11th century the Almoravid empire and the Zīrid-Ḥammādid grouping. Both belonged to the great Berber group of the Ṣanhādja [*q.v.*]. These two powers co-existed, through thick and thin, till the rise, at their expense, of the Almohads in the mid-6th/12th century.

Transposed to the level of history writing, this evolution was going to cause a draining away of effort towards the West. Hence till the mid-7th/13th century, the fundamental works were written either in al-Andalus or in Morocco, and consequently reflect the new environment dominated by the Almoravids and Almohads. Despite this trend, there were many irreparable losses of works, a need to rely on later compilations and even the intervention of eastern authors. Nevertheless, there appear fresh nuances when compared with the earlier period.

Almoravid historical writing

One of the characteristic traits of this is that it was reduced, over the centuries, to a summation of later, general accounts. Apart from the important information of al-Bakrī, one can hardly distinguish, right up to the mid-20th century, many witnesses who were near to the events described. The only contemporary narrative, that of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 557/1162 [*q.v.*]), *al-Anwār al-djaliyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-murābiṭiyya*, has not survived, although it is known that this chronicle, covering the Almoravid period up to 530/1135-6, was in current use right to the end of the mediaeval period. Authors distant in time and space, such as Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260), Ibn Abī Zarʿ (d. between 710-20/1310-20) and Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) [*q.vv.*] either drew material directly from it or refer to it. Moreover, the anonymous author of the chronicle *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya* (written 783/1381) probably drew upon it more than he explicitly reveals. Although poor in surviving chronicles, it is possible to construct a fairly precise chronology of Almoravid history. The publication of leaves discovered of the Almoravid *Bayān* (in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, ii [1961], 43-111) makes a large contribution to this process, as do a certain number of Almohad writings, especially for the transition phase between the two dynasties.

The canvas thus delineated can fairly often be enriched, at the level of content, by varied sources ranging from simple accounts to collections of *tarādjim*, travel accounts (*riḥla*), official correspondence, personal writings and juridical literature. This is how the chronicle of Abū Zakariyyā on the Ibāḍī state of Tāhart (partial Fr. tr. E. Masqueray, Paris-Algiers 1878), was put together at the turn of the 6th/12th century. Also from this period date the summa of the *Madārik* of al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ as well as the *Ghunya* which he wrote, setting out his own masters. In parallel to this, one should mention the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām (552/1147 [*q.v.*]), meant primarily for Andalusī scholars without, however, systematically excluding Maghribīs, whilst Ibn Khāḳān (d. 529/1134) included in his *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān* distinguished poets, men of letters, government officials and men of state of both shores. Regarding such men, one should note the *Tibyān*, the memoirs of the Zīrid prince of Granada ʿAbd Allāh (d. 469/1077) (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1955; Sp. tr. idem and E. García Gómez, Madrid 1980; Eng. tr. Amin Tibi, Leiden 1992; ed. A.T. Ṭībī, Rabat 1995), which give an excellent impression of the struggles of the *reyes de taifas* with Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn [*q.v.*]. Of the same type of narration, there is the account left by Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148 [*q.v.*]) concerning the official mission of his father, whom he accompanied to the East to seek the ʿAbbāsid caliph's investiture of the same Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (see *Tres textos árabes sobre Berbéres*, ed. M. Yaʿlā, Madrid 1996, 275-315).

As well as this documentation concerned with the élites, Almoravid history writing also includes works depicting social-economic realities and governmental practices. The two treatises on *ḥisba* of al-Saḳaṭī [*q.v.*] of Malaga (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931) and Ibn ʿAbdūn [*q.v.*] of Seville (ed. idem, Cairo 1954; Fr. tr. Paris 1947) are significant here. Although primarily concerned with the situation in al-Andalus, both of them, and especially the latter, have material relevant for the dominant power on both shores, the Almoravids. Their content is quite often confirmed by legal material contained in the collections of *nawāzil* of the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Rus͟hd (d. 520/1126 [*q.v.*]), forebear of the philosopher, and later, in the *Miʿyār* of al-Wans͟harīsī (d. 914/1508-9 [*q.v.*]). Many of the problems raised in these *nawāzil* (e.g. the status of the Christians of al-Andalus, the behaviour of the Banū Hilāl in Ifrīḳiya, the appearance of Almohad rebels, etc.) are reflected in the *Nuzhat al-mus͟htāḳ*, the *riḥla* of al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*], completed in 548/1154, and also in the substantial body of official correspondence emanating from the Almoravid court (see *Revista de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, ii [1954], 55-84, vii-viii [1959-60], 109-98).

Almohad historical writing

Inasmuch as the Almohad system rested on the Imām's infallibility, all innovation, from any source outside himself, was in principle inadmissible. Whence the complete absence at the documentary level of all traces of *fatwās* [*q.v.*] and decisions on specific cases (*nāzila* [*q.v.*]). However, this same system witnessed the spread of a mystical movement more or less tolerated which produced its own literature at the popular level, using, amongst other things, the *manāḳib* [*q.v.*]. In effect, this genre, immortalising the lives and deeds of "men of God", can be placed with that of the *tarād̲j̲im*, with the formal qualification that al-Andalus was the favoured field for *tarād̲j̲im* whilst *manāḳib* literature was to flourish above all in North Africa.

Thus on one side there are the collections of *tarād̲j̲im* published since the end of the 19th century, such as the *Fahras* of the Sevillan Ibn K͟hayr (d. 575/1179 [*q.v.*]); the *K. al-Ṣila* of the Cordovan Ibn Bas͟hkuwāl (d. 578/1182 [*q.v.*]); and the *K. al-Takmila*, a continuation of the preceding, by the Valencian Ibn al-Abbār. On the other side, there are the *Mustafād* (still in ms.) on the ascetics of Fās and its region by al-Tamīmī (d. 603/1206); the *Tas͟hawwuf* on the lives of saints of southern Morocco by al-Tādilī (d. 628 or 629/1230-1 [see IBN AL-ZAYYĀT]) (ed. A. Toufiq, Rabat 1984; Fr. tr. M. de Fenoyl, Casablanca 1995); al-Bādisī's [*q.v.*] *Maḳṣad*, written *ca.* 711/1311-12, on the saints of the Rīf in the Almohad period; the *Diʿāmat al-yaḳīn* of al-ʿAzafī (d. 633/1236 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) (ed. A. Toufiq, Rabat 1989); and, to a certain extent, *al-Dhurr al-munaẓẓam*, also by al-ʿAzafī, in which he invites people to the celebration, at that time (mid-7th/13th century) still a timid one, of the Prophet's birthday (ed. and Sp. tr. F. de la Granja, in *al-And.*, xxxiv [1969], 19-53).

Taking a wide conspectus of relevant literature, one should include the great Ibn al-ʿArabī of Murcia (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]), who left behind works on education in the mystical way such as *al-Futūḥ al-makkiyya* and the *Muḥāḍarāt al-ak͟hyār* in which *karāmāt* [see KARĀMA] and *manāḳib* play a great part. Conversely, the Andalusī biographical dictionaries were to have a North African counterpart in such works as the anonymous *Siyar al-mas͟hāyik͟h* and the *K. al-Siyar* of al-Wisyānī, both written in the second half of the 6th/12th century on notable figures amongst the K͟hārid̲j̲ites of Tāhart and Ifrīḳiya, as also the *ʿUnwān al-dirāya* of al-G͟hubrīnī of Bid̲j̲āya (d. 714/1314-15 [*q.v.*]) (Algiers 1910; new ed. Beirut 1969) and *al-D͟hayl wa 'l-takmila* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākus͟hī (d. 703/1303 [*q.v.*]), dealing, amongst other things, with well-known Mag͟hribī figures unduly absorbed into the host society or simply ignored by Andalusī authors (Beirut n.d. and 1965; Rabat 1984). Furthermore, in his *Taʿrīf*, Muḥammad b. ʿIyāḍ included interesting information on his father, the famous judge, on his masters and on his fellow-disciples (ed. Ben Chrifa, Rabat n.d.).

The impact of theological dogma was to generate a genre of popularised doctrine. As well as an *ʿaḳīda* (creed) and a *murs͟hida* (breviary) spread during his lifetime in the Berber language, Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] is said to have dictated to his disciple and successor ʿAbd al-Muʾmin educational texts and epistles which the latter collected into *al-Taʿālīḳ* ("The commentaries"), and made known as *Le livre d'Ibn Toumert* (ed. L. Luciani, Algiers 1903) or under the title *Aʿazz mā yuṭlab* (Marrākus͟h 1997). Like the letters addressed to the Almoravid ruler ʿAlī b. Yūsuf (*Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1927, 11-13, tr. 19-21), this collection is an attempt at spreading the Almohad doctrines whilst stigmatising the distortions of their religious opponents.

The preoccupation of the Almohad state with informing its followers probably explains the profusion of circulars and notes scattered throughout the sources or isolated as documents in archives or collections of official matter. One example of these collections would be the one collated by Ibn ʿAmīra [*q.v.*] towards the mid-7th/13th century. The diversity of the archive material can be appreciated through the *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades* (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1941, Fr. tr. in *Hespéris* [1941], 1-70) and *Nouvelles lettres almohades* (ed. A. Azzaoui, Casablanca 1995). The information in these texts is often first-hand, and they illuminate, in general, the underlying aspect of facts generally lacking in cohesion at the level of the narrative sources.

Regarding these latter sources it is, of course, true that they hardly ever deal with real situations, but there is nevertheless an exception in the work of al-Bayd͟haḳ [*q.v.*], in which he describes from memory, towards the middle of the 6th/12th century, the peregrinations and stages of ascension of Ibn Tūmart. From a greater distance and probably because of the distance, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākus͟hī (d. 633/1235 [*q.v.*]) undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his *al-Muʿd̲j̲ib* of the contemporary Mag͟hrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, *al-Mug͟hrib fī maḥāsin ahl al-Mag͟hrib*, whose author, Ilyasaʿ b. ʿĪsā al-G͟hāfiḳī (d. 575/1179) likewise chose to settle in Egypt where he wrote his work at the request of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. For the rest, the Almohad accounts, above all utilising this last chronicle, had recourse to compilation, gradually adopting the method of the classical annalists. Out of these accounts, one of the most notable is the *Naẓm al-d̲j̲umān* written by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān [*q.v.*] for al-Murtaḍā, the penultimate Almohad ruler, in the mid-7th/13th century, and of which only the part describing the beginnings of Ibn Tūmart's movement has survived (ed. M.A. Makkī, Tetouan n.d.). It was much used by authors of the immediate succeeding period and later, and depends, in addition to al-Bayd͟haḳ's work, on *al-Mann bi 'l-imāma* of Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt (d. 594/1198) (ed. A. Tazi, Beirut 1979, new ed. 1987). The author dwells particularly

on the events of the Almohad lands between 554-68/1159-73. From this same period stem Abū Marwān al-Warrāḳ's *al-Miḳbās fī akhbār al-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus wa-Fās*, and Ibn Ḥamādu(h) of Ceuta's *al-Muḳtabis fī akhbār al-Maghrib wa-Fās wa 'l-Andalus*, both now lost but widely used up to Ibn Khaldūn's time. As for the so-called Almohad *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī, it is recognised as the chronicle par excellence for the whole period (ed. A. Huici Miranda, Tetuan 1960, new ed. Beirut-Casablanca 1985). Completed in 712/1312, it appears to reflect an undoubted serenity. Using rare or lost sources, the author obviously aimed at exhaustiveness and scholarly rigour. On the level of the finer points, he does not hesitate to sort out the information, when required, in order the better to achieve a synthesis or even to discern long-term effects.

It remains to mention geographical works. Outside the very unoriginal work of Ibn Saʿīd of Granada (d. 685/1286 [*q.v.*]), the *K. Basṭ al-arḍ fī 'l-ṭūl wa 'l-ʿarḍ* (Beirut 1970) and that, at second hand, of al-Zuhrī (d. after 546/1151-2), *al-Sufra* (ed. M. Hadj-Sadok, Paris 1968), one should emphasise the originality of Ibn Djubayr's (d. 614/1217 [*q.v.*]) *Riḥla* (Fr. tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1949-65, Eng. tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst, London 1952) and also the anonymous *al-Istibṣār* (Alexandria 1958). Coming from the last quarter of the 6th/12th century, these two descriptions can be taken, it seems, as pure travel narratives, but with the difference that Ibn Djubayr starts from the Maghrib through the Mediterranean without omitting the Mashriḳ nor the opposite shores of the Sea, whilst the author of *al-Istibṣār* limits himself to describing from the interior the ensemble of the region, whilst highlighting the Far Maghrib. Also, the first author is interested in morals and the resulting abuses of government, whilst the second is, rather, although an acute observer, simply a writer with a thesis.

Post-Almohad developments

With the disintegration of the Almohad empire, there came a certain renewal of historiography dealing with the Maghrib, with biography and chronicles—with their nuances blurred—seeming to be under a similar impulsion, as also the *riḥla* and local genealogical works.

Regarding chronicles, this was to benefit from the rival inheritors of the Almohad empire, and these lent themselves to manipulation by the victors. This may explain the disappearance and eventual loss of certain texts. Also, there was a decline in the use of circulars and a complete uninterest, it seems, in preserving for posterity archival documents. However, some documents have survived by chance, such as the collection of al-ʿAzafī (Rabat 1979) and the later anthologies like al-Ḳalḳashandī's (d. 821/1418 [*q.v.*]) *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (Cairo 1913-19) or al-Maḳḳarī's (d. 1041/1631 [*q.v.*]) *Azhār al-riyāḍ* (Rabat 1979-80), but above all, this has been thanks to the rich collections of Barcelona, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

Leaving aside archive material, we have the following:

Chronicles. Between the mid-7th/13th century and the end of the 9th/15th one, the chronicle in the Maghrib is above all the product of Ifrīḳiya and the Far Maghrib, reflecting the politico-military situation. Accordingly, apart from Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Dardjīnī's [*q.v.*] *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh*, dealing with the Ibāḍī community in the mid-7th/13th century (ed. I. Ṭallāy, 2 vols. Constantine 1974) and the late *K. al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522 [*q.v.*]), dealing with personalities and events at Mzāb (Cairo 1301/1883-4), the Central Maghrib was to have no reference work except for the great historian Ibn Khaldūn's brother Yaḥyā's *Bughyat al-ruwwād* (ed. and Fr. tr. A. Bel, Algiers 1903-10, new ed. A. Hadjiat, Algiers 1980), whilst the land of the Ḥafṣids, in addition to the masterwork *K. al-ʿIbar*, pan-Islamic in its sweep, has left behind works of more limited range, such as Ibn Ḳunfudh's (d. 810/1407-8 [*q.v.*]) *al-Fārisiyya* (ed. M. Nifer and A. Turki, Tunis 1968), Ibn Shammāʿ's *al-Adilla al-bayyina*, written in 861/1457 (ed. Kaak, Tunis 1936), and the *T. al-Dawlatayn* attributed to al-Zarkashī (d. after 894/1489) (new ed. Tunis 1966, Fr. tr. Fagnan, Constantine 1895). From the Marīnid kingdom, we have the *radjaz* work of al-Malzūzī (d. 697/1297-8), *Naẓm al-sulūk*, in which he lauds his masters' rise to power (Rabat 1963). This same version of events was soon produced in prose and included in the anonymous *al-Dhakhīra al-saniyya* (Rabat 1972) before being included in the *Rawḍat al-ḳirṭās* (ed. C.J. Tornberg, Upsala 1843-6, Rabat 1936, 1972, Fr. tr. Beaumier, Paris 1860, Sp. tr. A. Huici Miranda, Valencia 1948). In this, the supposed author Ibn Abī Zarʿ [*q.v.*] seems to be an innovator in introducing the idea of historical continuity, leading, with Fās as the centre, from the "founding" state of the Idrīsids to the Marīnids, to stop in the year 726/1326 towards the end of Abū Saʿīd I's reign. In the next reign, there was a further innovation in al-Kafīf al-Zarhūnī's use of the Arabic colloquial of Morocco to describe, in an *urdjūza* called *Malʿaba* comprising 497 verses, Sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan's [*q.v.*] campaign in Ifrīḳiya. Much later, and further from the lively eye-witness account of the Marīnids of Ibn Khaldūn, another *urdjūza* by al-Kurrāsī (d. 964/1556-7), his *ʿArūsat al-masāʾil* dedicated to the Waṭṭāsid dynasty, closes, in literary Arabic, the list of chronicles dealing with the region.

Of works written in the Mashriḳ and concerning the Maghrib at this time, were Abu 'l-Fidā's (d. 732/1331) *Taʾrīkh*, al-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1347) *K. al-ʿIbar* (Kuwait 1960-6), Ibn Kathīr's (d. 774/1373) *K. al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya* (Cairo 1351-8/1932-9), al-Sakhāwī's (d. 902/1497) *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ* and al-Djannābī's (d. 999/1590) *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār* (Fr. tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1924).

Biographical literature. In post-Almohad times, the focus seems to have been placed apart from on collections of usage, on the elaboration of *fihrists* and *barnāmadjs* indicating particular themes.

The biographical collections all have different provenances. Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 708/1309 [*q.v.*]) tried to follow in the path of his Andalusī compatriots in composing his *Ṣilat al-ṣila* (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1938), whilst Ibn Nādjī of al-Ḳayrawān (d. 837/1433-4 [*q.v.*]) followed the work of Ibn al-Dabbāgh (d. 696/1297) on the religious figures of his city, and completed his *Maʿālim al-īmān* (Tunis 1325/1907-9). Further to the west, Ibn Ḳunfudh in Constantine composed his *Wafayāt* (Rabat 1976), whilst throughout his *Nathīr al-djumān* (Beirut 1976), his contemporary Ismāʿīl Ibn al-Aḥmar (d. 808/1405) dealt with the poets of al-Andalus and Morocco. Outside the region, the jurist Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799/1397 [*q.v.*]), of Andalusī origins, wrote in his native town of Medina a dictionary of celebrated Mālikīs, the *Dībādj* (Cairo 1315/1897-8), including the Maghribī ones. The Sudanese Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1036/1627 [*q.v.*]) continued and completed the same work in his *Nayl al-ibtihādj* (Cairo 1315/1897-8); and the Egyptian Ibn Ḥadjar (d. 852/1449 [*q.v.*]) devoted considerable space in his *al-Durar al-kāmina*, to noted figures from the 8th/14th century Maghrib (Ḥaydarābād 1348-50/1929-32).

As well as these general works, there were others devoted to the itineraries of their authors, built round famous masters of the time, each itinerary being the object of a *Fihrist* or *Barnāmadj*. We have extant the *Barnāmadj* of al-Ishbīlī (d. 688/1289), that of al-Ḳāsim al-Tudjībī of Ceuta (d. 730/1329-30) (both publ., the latter in Tunis 1981); and the *Fihrists*, still in ms., of Ibn Rushayd of Ceuta (d. 721/1321 [*q.v.*]) and al-Sarradj of Fās (d. 805/1402), plus the encyclopaedic *Barnāmadj* of al-Mantūrī of Granada (d. 834/1431).

Also important are two biographical portraits, in part convergent: one drawn by Ibn Marzūḳ (d. 781/1379 [*q.v.*]) in his *Musnad* (ed. M.-J. Viguera, Algiers 1981, Sp. tr. Madrid 1977), devoted to the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan; and the other from the pen of Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rīf*, in which the life, education and career of the author are traced (ed. M.T. al-Ṭandjī, Cairo 1951, Fr. tr. A. Cheddadi, Paris 1980).

Genealogical works. Far from being an isolated phenomenon, these texts stem from the natural prolongation, it seems, of the old polemics between Maghribīs and Andalusīs, especially from Almoravid times onwards; these polemics became, after the downfall of the Almohads, a sub-genre everywhere cultivated. One can cite three texts as testimony here: the anonymous *Mafākhir al-barbar* [*q.v.*] (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1941, new ed. M. Ya'lā, in *Tres textos árabes*, 123-272), which celebrates, at the opening of the 8th/14th century, the scholars, ascetics and heroes, legendary or historic, from the Berber past. The equally anonymous *Ṭurmat al-ẓarīf fī ahl al-Djazīra wa-Ṭarīf* (ed. Ben Chrifa, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Rabat, i [1977], 7-50) from a few decades earlier aimed at revealing the failings of the Andalusīs and, finally, the opposing situation in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Mushāhadāt* (Alexandria 1958, 55-66) between Malaga and Salé, in which, through the two opposing cities, the lively tension between the two cultures is delineated.

Whilst being set on the cultural plane, these writings seem to be the vehicles for consideration of the basic problem of origins, leading to the question of connections with the ruling power. Whilst Ibn Tūmart, in the *K. al-Ansāb* attributed to him (in *Documents inédits*, 18-49, Fr. tr. 25-74), could be given a Sharīfian genealogy, the legitimising process which speedily followed, as Ibn Khaldūn notes (*Muḳaddima*, Fr. tr. de Slane, Paris 1863, i, 53-6), was challenged at this same period precisely when there was a strong current displaying Berber origins, with an insistence on salient figures since the beginning of Islam. Another *K. al-Ansāb*, anonymous but written in 712/1312, was also composed to celebrate openly these origins (ed. Ya'lā, in *op. cit.*, 13-121).

There developed in parallel to this, under the impulsion of Marīnid power, the cult of Sharīfian lineage, linked with the city of Fās, it meant a predilection for the Idrīsid branch, whence numerous references to this fact in the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Khaldūn as well as in late compilations like those of al-Maḳḳarī, the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1968) and the *Azhār al-riyāḍ*. Also connected with it were separate monographs like the anonymous collection on the *Buyūtāt Fās al-kubrā* (Rabat 1972) and the *Nuṣḥ mulūk al-islām* (lith. Fās n.d.) of Ibn al-Sakkāk (d. 818/1415), followed, especially from the 10th/16th century onwards, by a host of opuscula on the genealogies of each branch of the Sharīfs.

Socio-religious works. These include *manāḳib* texts, those meant for edification and concerned with *bid'as* [*q.v.*] and legal texts (*nawāzil*).

Regarding *manāḳib*, it would be tedious to rehearse here all the collections devoted to a particular saint or to a group of them. On the general level, for Ifrīḳiya there is the *Ma'ālim al-īmān* of Ibn al-Dabbāgh, and Ibn Ḳunfudh's *Uns al-faḳīr* (Rabat 1965), in which the author concentrates on the Far West of the Maghrib. For the Central Maghrib, there is the late-period *al-Bustān* of Ibn Maryam (d. 1014/1605 [*q.v.*]), devoted to the saints and scholars of Tlemcen, Oran and Nedroma (Algiers 1928). For the Far Maghrib, there are *al-Minhadj al-wāḍiḥ* of al-Mādjarī (d. at the opening of the 8th/14th century) (Cairo 1933), and the *Salsal al-'adhb* of al-Ḥaḍramī, a contemporary of the preceding author (ed. M. Fassi, in *RIMA*, x/1 [1964], 37-98), heralding the *Dawḥat al-nāshir* of Ibn 'Askar (d. 986/1578 [*q.v.*]) (ed. M. Hajji, Rabat 1976, Fr. tr. A. Graulle, Paris 1913). As for the edificatory works denouncing innovations (*bida'*), the most significant come from the mid-8th/14th century and from the end of the following century. As well as *al-Durr al-thāmin* of Ibn Hilāl (d. 903/1497), in which the author details the imprecations against Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ṣughayyir (d. 719/1319) (lith. Fās 1319/1901-2), there is *al-Madkhal* of Ibn al-Ḥādjdj al-'Abdārī al-Fāsī (d. 737/1336 [*q.v.*]), in which the author draws up a review of *bida'* current in the Far West of the Maghrib and in his natal city, Cairo. Two famous mystics contributed through their writings to the reformation of morals: Ibn 'Abbād (d. 792/1390 [*q.v.*]) in his *Rasā'il al-kubrā* (lith. Fās 1320/1902), his *Rasā'il al-ṣughrā* (ed. P. Nwiya, Beirut 1974) and his epistles, still in ms., addressed directly to governors; and Aḥmad Zarrūḳ (d. 899/1493-4), through numerous works, including the *'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiḳ* and the *I'ānat al-mutawadjdjih al-miskīn* (ed. A.F. Khashīm, Tunis-Libya 1979). Finally, the same situations giving rise to similar interventions are developed in a good number of *nawāzil* compiled in the *Djāmi' al-masā'il* of al-Burzulī (d. 841/1438), still in ms. although well established, and the *Mi'yār* of al-Wansharīsī (ed. M. Hajji, Beirut-Rabat 1981).

Descriptive works and travel accounts. This literature is witness to the strength of contacts, and is to be distinguished from the *Masālik* type of literature, although there are two exceptions: the *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamalīk al-amṣār* of the Syrian Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 749/1348 [*q.v.*]) (section on the Muslim West, new ed. M. Aboudayf, Casablanca 1988, partial Fr. tr. de Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927), and *al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* of the Ifrīḳiyan al-Ḥimyarī (d. 726/1326), who often confines himself to reproducing the oldest texts (new ed. 'Abbās, Beirut 1975). Around these two extended works, it seems that there are only monographs on local topics or accounts emanating from various motivations.

The monographs relate almost exclusively to towns and cities. Ibn al-Khaṭīb drew up a comparative table in his *Mi'yār al-ikhtiyār* between two groups of localities in Spain and North Africa (ed. M. Abbadi, Alexandria 1958), but he also wrote his imposing *al-Iḥāṭa* on the city of Granada (ed. M. 'Inān, Cairo 1973-7; complement, A. Chakkour, Tetuan 1988). At the same period, al-Djaznā'ī (d. 766/1365) dedicated his precious *Djanā zahrat al-ās* to Fās (ed. and Fr. tr. A. Bel, Algiers 1920-2, new ed. Rabat 1967). Much later, in 825/1441, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Anṣārī bore witness to Muslim Ceuta, now become Portuguese, with a minute description in his *Ikhtiṣār al-akhbār* (new ed. Rabat 1969). Miknāsa/Meknès was the subject of a monograph known under the abridged title of *al-Rawḍ al-hatūn*, written by Ibn Ghāzī (d. 919/1513), a learned magistrate in Fās, for his natal town.

There remain the *riḥlas*, which comprehend spatial journeys and/or varied themes. Whilst the *riḥla* of al-Abdārī is a description of the intellectual centres and of the state of knowledge obtaining towards the end of the 7th/13th century, comprising the Maghrib and the lands stretching to the Ḥidjāz (Rabat 1968), that by al-Tidjānī at the turn of the 8th/14th century has a setting of military considerations and describes the position of the tribes along the eastern littoral of Ifrīḳiya, at the same time noting the socio-cultural peculiarities and traditions of the inhabitants there (new ed. H.H. Abdul-Wahab, Tunis 1958, Fr. tr. in *JA*, 4th series, xx, 57-208, 5th series, i, 101-68). The *riḥla* called *Malʾ al-ʿayba* of Ibn Rushayd (Tunis n.d.) and the *Mustafād* of al-Tudjībī of Ceuta (Tunis-Libya n.d.) bring out the impacts of cultural relations between the Maghrib and the Mashriḳ at their various periods. Further, the *Notes of the journey of an Andalusi in Morocco* of Ibn al-Ḥādjdj al-Numayrī (d. after 768/1367) (ed. and Fr. tr. A.L. de Prémare, Lyons 1981) are a sketch of the same relations between al-Andalus and the southern shores of the western Mediterranean in the mid-8th/14th century, whilst his *Fayḍ al-ʿubāb* is rather a field report tracing the situation in the Central Maghrib at the time of the Marīnid Sultan Abū ʿInān's [*q.v.*] expedition towards Ifrīḳiya 757-8/1356-7. Soon afterwards, a fairly different account was to be the subject of a holiday *riḥla* written up by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the *Nufāḍat al-djirāb*, in which the society and countryside of the Moroccan southwest are described in a magistral fashion, in spite of artificialities (ed. M. Abbadi, Cairo n.d.; complement ed. F. Faghya, Rabat 1989). Somewhat later, in the second half of the next century, there are two accounts to note: one written in Latin by the Fleming Anselm Adornus on Ḥafṣid Ifrīḳiya in 1470, and the other in Arabic by the Egyptian ʿAbd al-Basīṭ b. Khalīl (d. 920/1515), illuminating, for the same period, the socio-political situation in Fās and Tlemcen (R. Brunschvig, *Deux récits de voyage inédits en Afrique du Nord au XVe siècle*, Paris 1936).

Finally, there are two essential pictures of the situation in North Africa of their time, though distant from each other, sc. the *riḥla*, called *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār*, of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. after 770/1368 [*q.v.*]) and the *Description of Africa* by al-Ḥasan al-Wazzān, called Leo Africanus [*q.v.*], completed in Italy in the local language.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides des origines à la fin du XVe siècle*, i, Paris 1940, pp. xv-xii and *passim*; idem, *Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes, étude critique*, in *AIEO* (1942), 108-55; idem, *Un aspect de la littérature historico-géographique de l'Islam*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 147-58; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia política del Imperio almohade*, 2. vols. Tetuan 1956-7; T. Lewicki, *Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes ibāḍites-wahbites de l'Afrique du Nord du VIIIe au XVIe siècle*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 1-134; H.R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides (X^e-XIIe siècles)*, i, Paris 1962, pp. xiii-xxv; M. Talbi, *L'emirat aghlabide (184-296/800-909)*, Paris 1966, 9-15; Maya Shatzmiller, *L'historiographie mérinide*, Leiden 1982; Mohammed El-Mennouni, *al-Maṣādir al-ʿarabiyya li-taʾrīkh al-Maghrib*, i, Rabat 1983; W. Schwartz, *Die Anfänge der Ibāḍiten in Nordafrika*, Wiesbaden 1983; Cl. Cahen, *L'historiographie arabe, des origines au VIIe s. H.*, in *Arabica*, xxxiii (1986), 133-98, esp. 166-71, 191-2; M. Kably, *Société, pouvoir et religion au Maroc à la fin du Moyen-Age (XIVe-XVe siècles)*, Paris 1986, pp. xxii-xxxi and *passim*; H.L. Beck, *L'image d'Idrīs II, ses descendants de Fès et la politique sharīfienne des sultans marīnides (656-869/1258-1465)*, Leiden 1989, ch. 1; V. Lagardère, *Les Almoravides*, Paris 1989, 9-16 and *passim*.

(M. Kably)

B. *The post-1450 period*

In Maghribī historiography, which to a great extent follows the patterns of mediaeval Arab historiography, *taʾrīkh* represents a wide range of knowledge; it thus has a broader semantic charge than its equivalents—e.g. history, histoire, historia—in European languages. It is a source of information for those in government, a gallery for the display of former political régimes, a repertory of significant religious events (e.g. the life of the Prophet), biographies of devout men who left to posterity commentaries and compilations of *ḥadīth*, etc. Considered from a simply formal point of view, *taʾrīkh* is the science of the narration of events, especially religious and political, and the art of arranging them logically or chronologically. In the introduction to his *Muḳaddima*, Ibn Khaldūn writes that "History (*taʾrīkh*) is a noble science . . . It conveys to us the biography of prophets, the chronicles of kings, their dynasties and their policies (*siyāsa*)" (Beirut 1967; Fr. tr. V. Monteil, i, 13, Eng. tr. F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, i, 15).

Maghribī historical science affirms its autonomy in relation to the historiography of the Muslim lands of the Orient, from the end of the Middle Ages onwards, as a function of the changes in political organisation, the object of its study, which unfolded in the lands of the Muslim West: the end of the Marīnid empire, and the beginning of a long period of instability affecting the lands of the western Mediterranean at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th. The territorial individualities which henceforward took the specific names of *al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, *al-Maghrib al-awsaṭ*, *Ifrīḳiya*, etc., gave the intellectuals of each country the idea of belonging to a particular nation, unique and different from all others. Religion was no longer the cement of cohesion. Also, the presence of Ottoman Turks on the coasts of the Maghrib, and that of Christians, Spanish and Portuguese in certain ports where concessions and consulates were established, constituted the driving force contributing to the emergence and affirmation of history specific to each state. Thus, as a result of politics, the idea of the nation was gradually crystallised in the lands of the Maghrib. And history, *taʾrīkh*, fixed these successive events in time and space and was to give rise to another, hitherto little-known phenomenon, sc. that of nationalism.

Akhbār "facts, information, news" (on this subject, see Cl. Cahen, *Introduction à l'histoire du monde musulman médiéval, VIIe-XVe siècle. Methodologie et éléments de bibliographie*, Paris 1982, 69-70) constitute the basis of all historical narration. They are the essential source of chronicles, the object of which is to narrate, from day to day, events concerning princes and dynasts, thus compiling royal annals (see below for examples relating to al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā). The constitution of a corpus of *akhbār* might have as its object the description (not analysis nor explanation, since either of these may engender indifference towards the prince) of dynastic politics, or of a wide-ranging social change; compilations of *akhbār* may show features reminiscent of *ḥadīths*.

From the 15th century onwards, Maghribī historical science abandoned the style of the major epic to concentrate on the history of more circumscribed territories, focusing on towns and local politics, and on

peoples whose ways and customs were known. Ibn Khaldūn remains the master in this field. In the first book of the *Mukaddima*, the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* ("book of examples") he set out his theory, indeed his philosophy, of history. He opened the way not only for historiographers of the Maghrib, but for those of other nations as well. But this science is not within the reach of the novice, according to him; it demands qualities and extensive knowledge. "He who practises this science (*ta'rīkh*) needs to know the rules of the political art, the nature of existing things and the difference between nations, regions and tribes in terms of way of life, qualities of character, customs, sects, schools of thought, etc. He must distinguish the similarities and the differences between the present and the past, and know the diverse origins of dynasties and of communities."

In the 16th century, the centres of study and diffusion of the culture of the Muslim West would henceforward be Fās, Marrakesh, Tlemcen, Tunis and Kayrawān. The authors whose historical works are known to us passed through at least one of these centres, articulating and formulating local themes. The best representative of this period is without doubt al-Hasan Muhammad al-Wazzān al-Fāsī, better known by the name of Leo Africanus [*q.v.*]. His work, *Historical description of Africa*, 1556, translated from Italian, is made up of a series of monographs on cities, regions, populations and kingdoms (of Fās, Marrakesh, Tlemcen, Bougie, Tunis and Tripoli). This study reflects the brilliant personality of the author, as well as the ideas that were current at the time. It was to be imitated and plagiarised by numerous Arab and Christian writers, but it would never be equalled. As for Luis del Marmol y Carvajal, *Descripcion general de Africa* (Granada 1573-99, 3 vols.), his texts are sometimes overloaded with detail but are not lacking in interest. His debt is considerable, not only to Leo Africanus but also to other "Arab" authors—Maghribīs in this instance. The author lays emphasis on the natural riches of the Maghrib, and his work is extremely useful for the study of historical geography and the history of agricultural practices.

In the central Maghrib, where political unity had long been hindered by the absence of a central authority and the existence at certain times of numerous kingdoms, authors exercised their talents in the domain of urban monography, with such titles as *Constantine, and some Arab authors of Constantine* (see Ch. Saint-Calbre, in *RA*, vii [1913], 70-93). Each author evoked, in his own fashion, the history of his town and of the Maghribī town in general. Not all of these studies were published; most remained in manuscript state and were ignored even by a cultured public.

In the conceptions of history held by Maghribī scholars, there is a perennial need to return to the sources, to the origins of life and mankind as far back as Adam, Eve or Noah when they are dealing with anthropology; or to the Prophet Muhammad when religious questions are being addressed. Genealogy, an area of knowledge dear to scholars, is considered a branch of history in its own right. A text belonging to this genre of writing can be the work of one or several persons, and may be the private chronicle of a family. The object of writers of this genre is to show their illustrious origins, either by associating themselves with the family of the Prophet or with some saintly person whose religious aura is recognised in the West as well as in the East; Berber dynasties, such as the Marīnids and Wattāsids, had recourse to this stratagem to bolster their legitimacy. The *Kitāb al-Nasab*, by ʿAbd al-Salām b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh (who wrote at Fās in 1098/1687; see A. Giacobetti, in *RA*, xlvi-xlviii [1902-4]), is a good example of this. The first part of this work begins with the eulogy of the Prophet, followed by the biography of Sīdī ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Djīlānī. The second part (by ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Tayyib, written 1089/1678), deals with the descendants of this saint, among whose number the authors of the work claim to be.

The Tunisian historian Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Kayrawānī [*q.v.*], considered a successor to Ibn Khaldūn although several centuries separate them, displays in his historical study of Ifrīkiya a certain reserve, even scorn, towards those Arabs who settled in Tunisia in former times, following invasions and migrations. The period which he describes (the 17th century) is far removed, however, from the major invasions of the Arab tribes which left nothing but desolation in their wake. It is evident that these considerations move him closer to the author of *al-Mukaddima*.

Al-Kayrawānī reclaimed the autonomy and the maturity of Tunisian scholarship. His writings may be used in the service of the history of political ideas or of Tunisian nationalism.

In Morocco, al-Maghrib al-Aksā, historical research and historiography have been fertile in the modern period and even in the 19th century. The number of titles is impressive, but the quality sometimes mediocre. Even religious history, which once enjoyed particular esteem, remained largely incomprehensible. Its new style, sententious and emphatic, had the effect of erecting a barrier between the scholars and those whom they addressed. Although Ibn Khaldūn was known and even admired, no one took him for a model. His unequivocal statements of truth, his criticisms of governments as unscrupulous, indolent, violent, power-hungry, self-seeking, etc., as applied to Morocco, could have endangered those expressing such views. The majority of Moroccan scholars turned at that time towards chronology, literature (on condition that it was not subversive), biography, hagiography and geographical descriptions. The essentials, meaning general history and political history, were utterly neglected.

In sum, the majority of Moroccan historians of the modern and contemporary eras have been chroniclers: most if not all have been historiographers in the service of Saʿdian or ʿAlawī sultans. The following may be cited: Abū Fāris, known by the name of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Fishtālī and his history, *Manāhil al-safā fī akhbār al-mulūk al-shurafā'*; al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] and his *Nuzhat al-hādī bi-akhbār mulūk al-karn al-hādī*; and Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Zayyānī, *al-Turdjumān al-mughrib* (for these works, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfas*).

In the 17th-18th centuries, Maghribī history was enriched by increasingly numerous European accounts, such as *Histoire des conquêtes de Moulay Archy et de Muley Ismaël* by Germain Mouette (1683) on the first ʿAlawī sultans of Morocco; the *Topografia e historia general de Argel* by D. Haedo (1612); and the *Mémoires* of the Chevalier d'Arvieux (1735), who was French consul in Algiers at the end of the 18th century.

In the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, accounts of journeys proliferated—not least stories of Christian captives and of their ransoming by religious figures who travelled frequently to the Maghrib and to the Orient. Particular mention should be made of the work of Père Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie et de ses corsaires* (Paris 1637, 1649), the Redemptorist priest who for almost half a century made it his business to ransom Christian captives and who supplied copious information on the three regions of North Africa.

Finally, since the middle of the 19th century, research in European archives (national archives, archives of foreign and marine affairs, chambers of commerce in France and in other maritime states in western Europe) has led to the study of a large number of documents relating to the three above-mentioned lands or to those further east, comprising various treaties, commercial accords, and official correspondence, and some of these have been published, e.g. *Documents inédits sur l'occupation espagnole en Afrique*, published in 1875-77 by de la Primaudaiae; the monumental collection of *Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, undertaken in 1905 in Paris by Colonel H. de Castries, in which are published documents drawn from the archives of France, Spain, the Netherlands, Portugal and Britain, from the 16th century onwards; and the *Correspondence des deys d'Alger avec la Cour de France (1579-1833)*, Paris 1898, published by E. Plantet.

It is to be noted that the work of the chroniclers continued into the 19th century, exemplified in the very important book written by al-Nāṣir al-Salāwī [*q.v.*], *K. al-Istiḳṣā li-akhbār duwal al-maghrib* (Cairo 1844).

In the 1970s, Abdallah Laroui, in his *Histoire du Maghreb*, has become the reference source for the understanding, recording and analysing of the history of the Muslim West. His novel method of approaching documentation facilitates the comparison of texts of diverse origins, and the establishment of more pertinent syntheses.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

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(g) Christian Arabic historiography.

The information on the course of Muslim history, especially on the early conquests or the struggles and relations with foreign powers, as well as the sometimes one-sided perception of events found in Muslim historiographical sources, is usefully complemented by information provided by Christian historiographers, whose writings are partly based on sources in Syriac, Greek or Coptic—not accessible to Muslim authors—and which were written from a different perspective, that of the conquered peoples who were later to become the Christian minorities. It should be emphasised, however, that the perspective of these Christian writings, even when composed in Arabic, is often not determined by their general Christian background so much as by their more specific communitarian affiliation (Jacobites [see ya'ḳūbiyyūn], Nestorians [see nasṭūriyyūn], Melkites, Copts [see al-ḳibṭ] and Maronites [see marūniyya, in Suppl.]). Especially in the Universal Chronicles, Christian historiographers did not hesitate to use different genres of Muslim material, sometimes copying it in a most literal way, without comments or corrections on their side.

The aim of the present article is to give an overview of the historiographical material written by Christians till the end of the 'Abbāsid period and the first years of the Mamlūks in Egypt insofar as it deals with general history and is relevant for aspects of the relations between Muslims and Christians. Chronicles describing mainly the internal life of the Christian communities, such as the recently discovered East Syrian Ecclesiastical Chronicle *Mukhtaṣar al-akhbār al-bī'iyya* (ed. B. Ḥaddād, Baghdād 2000) are not taken into consideration. This article is, for this period somewhat artificially, limited to the production in Arabic. As a matter of fact, Christian historiography written in the Christian national languages, especially in Syriac, in many aspects shows the same characteristics as the works composed by Christians in Arabic.

Melkites

The first important historiographer is Euthychius, Patriarch of Alexandria from 323/935 till 328/940, known in Arabic as Sa'īd b. al Biṭrīḳ [*q.v.*]. He is the author of a universal history: *Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh al-madjmū' 'alā 'l-taḥḳīḳ wa 'l-taṣdīḳ*, also known as *Naẓm al-djawhar*. This work exists in two different recensions. The first, shorter recension (by the editor designated as "Alexandrian") is preserved only in ms. Sinaiticus Arab. 582 (10th century), possibly an autograph. Mutilated in the beginning and at the end, it gives the history from Moses till the Muslim conquest of Egypt and some subsequent events in Jerusalem (*Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien. Ausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq um 935 A.D.*, ed. and tr. M. Breydy, CSCO 471-2, Leuven 1985). The longer recension ("Antiochian") enjoyed greater popularity, but contains an important number of later additions and interpolations (ed. L. Cheikho, *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini annales*, i, Beirut, 1905, ii, 1909, 1-88 (repr. in CSCO 50-1, Leuven 1954, tr. E. Pococke, *Contextio gemmarum seu Eutychiae patriarchae Alexandrini annales*, Oxford 1658, repr. in *PG*, cxi, cols. 889-1156, and B. Pirone, *Eutychi, Patriarca di Alessandria (877-940). Gli annali*, Cairo 1987). It covers the period from the creation of Adam till the year 326/938, two years before the death of the author. The work exploits several Muslim sources, among which is historical, juridical and traditionist material. The Alexandrian recension presents the conquest of Egypt according to a version by the local traditionist 'Uthmān b. Ṣāliḥ.

In the manuscripts containing the Antiochian recension, Eutychius's *Ta'rīkh* is continued by a chronicle composed by Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī [*q.v.*] covering the period between 326/937-8 to 425/1033-4 (best ed., *Histoire de Yaḥyā-Ibn-Sa'īd d'Antioche*, ed. and tr. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vassiliev, in *PO*, xviii/5, xxiii/3, Paris 1924, 1932, crit. ed. I. Kratchkovsky, Fr. ann. F. Micheau and G. Troupeau, in *PO*, xlvii/4, Paris 1997, with extensive bibliography). The objective of this work is clearly indicated by the author in the introduction: to write the continuation (*dhayl*) of the work composed by Sa'īd b. al-Biṭrīḳ according to the method adopted by the latter. After the discovery of new sources, the author felt, however, obliged to rework the first recension, a first time in Egypt, a second time (in 405/1014-15) in Antioch. The *dhayl* is an important source for our knowledge of the history of Egypt and Syria, especially the regions of Antioch and Aleppo, and the Arab-Byzantine relations during this period. It is based on various Greek (unidentified) and Arabic sources, among which are on the Muslim side, Thābit b. Sinān, an anonymous 'Irāḳī source, Ibn Zulāḳ, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shimshāṭī and al-Musabbiḥī. A Christian-Arabic source is the *vita* of the Melkite patriarch of Antioch Christopher (959-67) by Ibrāhīm b. Yūḥannā (J.A. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab chronicle (938-1034) of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī*, Ph.D. diss. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan 1977). The *dhayl* was known to later Muslim authors, such as Ibn al-'Adīm, who used it for the composition of his *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī ta'rīkh Ḥalab* (ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1951).

Agapius (Maḥbūb Ḳusṭanṭīn), bishop of Manbidj (10th century) wrote a universal history, known as the *Kitāb al-'Unwān*, beginning with the Creation and continuing till the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Leo IV (775-80) and the Caliph al-Mahdī. Most information on the Muslim period was drawn from the so-called *Syriac common source*, a work well known to later Syriac historiographers, presumably composed by

the Melkite Theophilus of Edessa, an astrologer in the service of al-Mahdī, who may also have used an unidentified Muslim chronology. Agapius's work was edited by L. Cheikho (*Agapius episcopus Mabbugensis. Historia universalis/Kitāb al-ʿUnwān*, CSCO 65, Paris 1912, and by A. Vassiliev, *Kitāb al-ʿUnvan, histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, *PO*, v/4, vii/4, viii/3. The *K. al-ʿUnwān*, together with the work by Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ, was much appreciated by al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 154).

According to al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, i, 1871, 295), Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā (9th century [*q.v.*]) is said to be the author of a (lost) universal (?) chronicle, *al-Firdaws fi 'l-taʾrīkh*.

West Syrians

The most important historiographical work in Arabic composed by a Syrian Orthodox author is the *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-duwal* of Gregorius Barhebraeus (Syriac: Bar ʿEbrōyō) or Ibn al-ʿIbrī (1226-86 [*q.v.*]). According to information found in his *Ecclesiastical chronicle* (*EC*), he allegedly composed this chronicle at the request of some Muslim friends in Marāgha [*q.v.*], who apparently had heard about Barhebraeus's fame as a historiographer and as author of a voluminous universal history, written in Syriac. This *Chronography* was divided into two parts, an ecclesiastical chronicle and a so-called civil chronicle, which were sometimes considered as two separate works. The structure of the *Mukhtaṣar* (ed. A. Ṣālḥānī as *Taʾrīkh Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut 1898, ²1958, new ed. Kh. Manṣūr, Beirut 1997) is comparable to that of the *Civil chronicle* (*CC*), the *Mukhtaṣar* being divided into ten dynasties and its Syriac counterpart into eleven dynasties; but both works are universal histories covering the period from Adam till the time of the Mongols. The Arabic title suggests that the *Mukhtaṣar* is merely a summary of the *CC*. As a matter of fact, the *Mukhtaṣar* contains much information not found in the *CC*, e.g. many short biographical notices on Islamic scholars. Sometimes the information given in the *Mukhtaṣar* differs considerably from the *CC* or is written from a different perspective. A good example is the attitude towards Muḥammad, depicted positively in the *Mukhtaṣar* as an instrument in the hands of God, whereas the *CC* emphasises forced conversions and the spread of Islam "by the sword". A possible reason for these differences, as suggested by the *EC*, might be the public the author had in mind when he composed his chronicle. A study by L.I. Conrad, *On the Arabic Chronicle of Barhebraeus: his aims and audience*, in *Parole de l'Orient*, xix [1994], 319-78, shows that it is too simplistic to consider Muslims as the intended readership of the *Mukhtaṣar*, since a number of passages are of interest only to Christians. The best way to explain the differences between both works is to consider them as independent histories, which are to an important extent based on different sources (H. Teule, *The Crusaders in Barhebraeus' Syriac and Arabic secular chronicles*, in K. Ciggaar *et alii* (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader states*, Louvain 1996, 39-49). In the case of the *Mukhtaṣar*, the author used more Islamic historiographical material, such as the *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ* of al-Ḳifṭī or the *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* by Ṣaʿīd al-Andalusī. Written at the end of his life, he did not bother to harmonise the sometimes divergent views expressed in the *Mukhtaṣar* and the *CC*.

East Syrians

Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], the most renowned ʿIrāḳī Christian in Muslim literature, is the author of a lost chronicle in Arabic describing the period from Creation till the time of al-Mutawakkil (cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, 273). Yaʿḳūb b. Zakariyyā al-Kashkarī composed a seemingly important chronicle, now lost, comparable to the work of Agapius and Eutychius. It was highly praised by al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 155). Elias, bishop of Nisibis (975-after 1049) is the author of a bilingual (Syriac-Arabic) chronicle, divided into two parts, preserved in only one manuscript, documenting the period from Creation till 409/1018 (*Eliae Metropolitae Nisibenae opus chronologicum*, i, ed. and tr. E.W. Brooks, ii, ed. and tr. J.B. Chabot, CSCO 62-3, Rome, Paris and Leipzig 1910). The second part consists mainly of conversion tables and descriptions of the different Christian, Muslim and Jewish calendars. The Muslim sources quoted by name in the first part are: Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khʷārazmī, Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭabarī, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī and Thābit b. Sinān. This work was also highly praised by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*op. cit.*, 72). The voluminous *K. al-Taʾrīkh* or *K. al-Tawārīkh* ("Book of Dates") composed by Yuḥannā al-Mawṣilī in 1332 is, in fact, more a theological encyclopaedia than a work of history. The historical section only deals with inner-Christian developments (cf. B. Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans en Irak*, Paris 1994, 140).

Maronites

According to al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 154), a certain Ḳays al-Mārūnī is said to have written a beautiful historical work beginning with Creation and ending with the caliphate of al-Muktafī. The language of this lost work was supposedly Arabic. Al-Masʿūdī states that generally speaking the Maronites, unlike the Melkites, the Jacobites and the Nestorians, were not active in the field of historiography.

Copts

Traditionally ascribed to Sawīrus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ (flor. 10th century [see IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ, Severus] the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* (Ar. *Siyar al-Bīʿa al-muḳaddasa* "biographies" of the Holy Church) is a collective work, the main redaction of which was completed by Mawhūb b. Manṣūr b. Mufarridj al-Iskandarānī (*ca.* 1025-1100). Mawhūb, who frequently acted as an intermediary between the Fāṭimid authorities and the Coptic community, is himself the author of the lives of the Patriarchs Christodoulos and Cyril II. His work was continued till the early 13th century by three subsequent authors. Later lives do not belong to the original work. This history (ed. B. Evetts, *History of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, *PO* 1.2, 1.4, 5.1, 10.5, Paris 1904-15, continued by Y. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ *et alii* as *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, Cairo 1943-74) describes the history of the Coptic Church, arranged according to the reigns of the Patriarchs. Many *siyar*, including those by Mawhūb, deal, however, not only with ecclesiastical life but also record events pertaining to the field of general political history. The work was known to Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maḳrīzī.

Nushūʾ Abū Shākir Ibn al-Sanāʾ al-Rāhib (13th century), or Ibn al-Rāhib [*q.v.* in Suppl.], is the author of a *K. al-Tawārīkh* consisting of three parts: a treatise on astronomy and chronology; an elaborate universal history, dealing with world events, Islamic history and ecclesiastical matters; and a short history of the Ecumenical Councils. The so-called *Chronicon orientale*, ascribed by the editor to Ibn al-Rāhib (ed. Cheikho, CSCO scriptor. ar. 1-2, Beirut, Paris and Leipzig 1903), is only a later abridgment of Ibn al-Rāhib's universal history composed by an anonymous author.

The 13th century al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*] wrote a universal history, called *al-Madjmūʿ al-mubārak*, extend-

ing from Creation to the time of Sultan Baybars (658/1260). It exists of two parts, the second Islamic part being based on al-Ṭabarī or the *Taʾrīkh Ṣāliḥī* of Ibn Wāṣil or one of its sources. The section on the Ayyūbids (ed. Cl. Cahen, in *BÉO*, xv [1955], 109-84), describing contemporary events is, however, more original and based on personal observations.

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II. 8. In the Nilotic Sudan.

The extant Arabic historical writings of the Nilotic Sudan (including the outlying western provinces of Kordofān and Dār Fūr [*q.vv.*]) before 1899 are exhaustively listed in R.S. O'Fahey, *Arabic literature of Africa*, i, *The writings of eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900*, Leiden 1994. Most of these works are extant only in mss. Of the few published works, the most important are:

(1) "The Fundj Chronicle", the conventional name of a chronicle extant in several mss. and recensions. It covers the period from the emergence of the Fundj kingdom of Sinnār, traditionally in 910/1504-5, to (at latest) 1288/1871. The original author of the Chronicle was Aḥmad b. al-Ḥādjdj Abū [*sic*] ʿAlī, known as Kātib al-Shūna from his post in the government grain-store. He was born near al-Masallamiyya (Blue Nile) in 1199/1784-5, and died after Rabīʿ I 1254/May-June 1838, where his Chronicle ends. Beginning as a king-list with added blocks of information (some of anthropological interest), a continuous detailed narrative starts with the reign of Bādī IV, on whose overthrow in 1175/1762 power passed to a clan of regents, the Hamadj Shaykhs, ruling over an ever-dwindling region of the Blue Nile until the invasion of the Sudan by the forces of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha of Egypt [*q.v.*] in 1235/1820, and the establishment of the Turco-Egyptian régime (*al-Turkiyya*). The later editors and continuators were, like Kātib al-Shūna, formed by a traditional Sudanese Islamic education, and had appointments under the Turco-Egyptian administration. They were thus members of a group which had little to regret at the passing of the Fundj kingdom and the ending of the anarchic Hamadj regency. They show no hostility to the Turco-Egyptian régime as such, which brought greater security and the consolidation under the aegis of the Islamic Ottoman Empire, although they criticise individual officers and administrators. While the later part of the Chronicle is in no sense an official history, it was written by men who accommodated themselves reasonably comfortably to the régime of Muḥammad ʿAlī and his successors.

The Chronicle has been published twice: (a) its last recension by Makkī Shubayka, *Taʾrīkh mulūk al-Sūdān*, Khartoum 1947; (b) Kātib al-Shūna's text (some collation with other mss.) by al-Shāṭir Buṣaylī ʿAbd al-Djalīl, *Makhṭūṭat Kātib al-Shūna*, Cairo 1963. An annotated English summary translation of the final recension was published by H.A. MacMichael, *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, ii, 354-430. A fuller translation from a collation of the principal mss. is provided by P.M. Holt, *The Sudan of the three Niles. The Funj Chronicle 910-1288/1504-1871*, Leiden 1999.

(2) *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt fī khuṣūṣ al-awliyāʾ wa ʾl-ṣāliḥīn wa ʾl-ʿulamāʾ wa ʾl-shuʿarāʾ fi ʾl-Sūdān* (some minor variants of title in the published editions). As the title indicates, this is a biographical dictionary of the Muslim holy men of the Nilotic Sudan, perhaps the only representative of the genre from the region. It was written and compiled (since there is internal evidence of sources of various kinds) by Muḥammad al-Nūr b. Ḍayf Allāh, and hence is usually referred to as the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Wad (i.e. Walad) Ḍayf Allāh. From internal evidence it was compiled about 1219/1804-5. Wad Ḍayf Allāh resembled the authors of the Fundj Chronicle in being a member of the traditionally educated Muslim élite. He was born in 1139/1727 at Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk, north of present-day Khartoum North. Like his father, he taught in the mosque, acted as a *muftī*, and became celebrated for his religious writings. He died before the Turco-Egyptian conquest in 1224/1809-10.

The *Ṭabaḳāt* was published twice in 1930 in Cairo, by Ibrāhīm Ṣadīḳ (? Ṣuddayḳ) and Sulaymān Dāwūd Mandīl, respectively. A critical edition, prepared by Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, was published in Khartoum in 1971 (^{2}1974). It contains 270 biographical notices, predominantly of Ṣūfī *shaykhs* (mainly from the Ḳādiriyya *ṭarīḳa*) and jurists, chiefly of the Mālikī *madhhab*. There are a few notices of persons holding formal appointments, and a small number of legendary saints are included. No full English translation has been made, but an annotated summary translation with excerpts from the Arabic text is given by MacMichael, *op. cit.*, ii, 217-323. The text and translation of three notices appear in S. Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic texts*, Cambridge 1935, 172-203. One family of holy men is studied in Holt, *The Sons of Jābir and their kin*, in *BSOAS*, xxx/1 (1967), 142-58.

The roles of charismatic holy man and Islamic reformer were momentously fused in Muḥammad (Aḥmad) b. ʿAbd Allāh, the Sudanese Mahdī [see AL-MAHDIYYA], a hagiography of whom was written by Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Kurdufānī (perhaps his court chronicler), and entitled *Kitāb Saʿādat al-mustahdī bi-sīrat al-Imām al-Mahdī*. The unique extant copy of this and its sequel, *al-Ṭirāz al-mankūsh bi-bushrā ḳatl Yuḥannā malik al-Ḥubūsh*, describing the war between the Mahdists and the Ethiopians in 1889, is now in the

Sudan Archive (Box 99/6) of Durham University. The former was edited by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm and published under its own title at Beirut in 1972; an English summary translation with a useful introduction was published by Haim Shaked, *The life of the Sudanese Mahdi*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1978. An edition of *al-Ṭirāz* was published by Abū Salīm and Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Ḳaddāl as *al-Ḥarb al-Ḥabas̲h̲iyya al-Sūdāniyya 1885-1888* [*sic*], Khartoum 1972.

The establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in 1899 was followed by the development of westernised education. This, continuing under independence, has produced a growing number of professional historians, among their pioneers the late Professor Makkī S̲h̲ubayka (see above), and an increasing body of scholarly historical writing in Arabic and English. A link between the old and new types of historians was Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (b. 1878, d. after 1935), the self-styled *mu'arrik̲h̲ al-Sūdān*, whose writings of historical, literary and political import, include *Nafat̲h̲āt al-yarāʿ fi 'l-adab wa 'l-ta'rīk̲h̲ wa 'l-id̲j̲timāʿ*, Khartoum n.d.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P.M. Holt)

ṬAYYIBIYYA, a Ṣūfī brotherhood of the Mag̲h̲rib (also Tuhāmiyya in western Morocco, or, further, Wazzāniyya [*q.v.*]). Add to the *Bibl.* of wazzāniyya, O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 484-90, and P.J. André, *Contribution à l'étude des confréries musulmanes*, Algiers 1956, 241-5, for an evaluation of the numerical importance of the orders's adherents in the 19th and 20th centuries. See also Ḥamdūn al-Ṭāhirī, *Tuḥfat al-ik̲h̲wān bi-baʿd manāḳib s̲h̲urafā' Wazzān*, Fās 1324/1906; Muhammad al-Miknāsī, *al-Kawkab al-asʿad fī manāḳib mawlānā sayyidinā ʿAlī b. Aḥmad*, lith. on the margins of the preceding work; ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḳādirī, *al-Tuḥfa al-ḳādiriyya*, ms. Gen. Library of Rabat no. 2331, I and II (these three sources stem from affiliates of the order); Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ḳādirī, *Nas̲h̲r al-mat̲h̲ānī li-ahl al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿas̲h̲ar wa 'l-t̲h̲ānī*, ed. M. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī and A. Tawfīḳ, Rabat 1407/1986; and for a detailed bibl. of studies on the order, H. Elboudrari, *La maison du cautionnement. Les shorfa d'Ouezzane de la sainteté à la puissance*, diss., EHESS, Paris 1984.

(Ahmed Toufiq)

ṮHAṬṬĀ.

2. Monuments.

Over the centuries Ṯhaṭṭā has endured invasions, destruction as well as the fluctuations of the Indus river bed. This is reflected in the chequered history of its monuments. Two early mausoleums of saints remain in the most western part of the city by what was once an enlarged part of the river bed. Presumably after the sack of the town by the Portuguese in 1555, boats were built in that area under Akbar. Two *maḥallas* formed the western part of the town and in the northern part stood the *masd̲j̲id* Walī-i-Ni'mat, which appears to have been used as the *D̲j̲āmiʿ masd̲j̲id* before a new structure was ordered by S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān. The S̲h̲āhī bazaar was the link to the later eastern half of the town. This is a slightly depressed area which could have been the site of a Mug̲h̲al irrigation channel. In the north-eastern *maḥalla*, Dabgīrān, the wooden box makers' area, now outside the town, there remains part of the Dabgīr mosque ordered by K̲h̲usrau K̲h̲ān Čarkas in 966/1588. Its measurements are about 25 m by 11 m and the brick building, similar to other important constructions, stands on a stone base. The prayer hall, akin to that of a Lōdī mosque, is still extant with the remains of an octagonal drum and squinches from the collapsed central dome. Two lower lateral domes cover the rest of the area. Panels of glazed square tiles with vegetal designs in blues, white and yellow still remain on some areas of the building. Part of the visible *ṣaḥn* is paved with flat stones.

The K̲h̲irzī mosque standing in the S̲h̲āhī bazaar dates from 1022/1613 and was built by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Muẓaffar K̲h̲ān prior to his governorship of Ṯhaṭṭā. A small domed entrance leads to the *ṣaḥn*; each side of the prayer chamber measures 16 m. Some of the tilework remains in place. The square Amīr Muḥammad K̲h̲ān mosque (1039/1629) with slightly tapered walls, each side measuring 17 m, consists of an entrance portal, a dome on squinches and a square hall. The flower tile decoration on the dado is akin to Mug̲h̲al flower designs. Other tiles follow Sindhi geometric patterns.

Persian inscriptions give several dates for the building and repairs of the *D̲j̲āmiʿ masd̲j̲id*: start 1053/1644, completion 1056/1648, stone paving 1068/1657, first repairs in 1104/1692. During the substantial restoration of the 1970s, the area around the mosque was cleared to make way for a *čahār-bāg̲h̲*. The mosque was ordered by S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān, and is built along an east-west axis. It follows the Sald̲j̲ūḳ four-*īwān* plan used in India since the 9th/15th century; cf. the Aṭalā mosque in D̲j̲awnpūr (810/1408). The overall size is 93 m by 52 m. The main dome rising from a drum of sixteen panels covers the square prayer hall. Two lesser domed chambers at the main entrance lead into the *ṣaḥn*, with smaller ones over each lateral entrance in the middle of the side *riwāḳs*, while its arcades are covered with a series of small domes. There is no minaret. Although the restored glazed tiles on an earthen body look rather crude, the general impact is still effective, with dense geometric patterns including stars and floral designs. The colours include light and dark blue, white and yellow. Here the continuation of the tradition tilework of Multān, Uččh and the tombs of the Maklī Hills, is beset with the same technical problems of loose glazing encountered in earlier times.

Bibliography: H. Cousens, *Sindh tiles*, 1906, repr. Karachi 1993; M.I. Siddiqi, *Thatta*, Karachi 1979; A.H. Dani, *Thatta. Islamic architecture*, Islamabad 1982.

(Yolande Crowe)

ṬIBBIYYE-i ʿADLIYYE-i S̲H̲ĀHĀNE, the Ottoman Imperial Medical School of Maḥmūd II (*r.* 1223-55/1808-39 [*q.v.*]), opened in 1254/1838, in the renovated G̲h̲alaṭa-Sarāyî [*q.v.*]. It was a reorganisation of the *Ṭibbk̲h̲āne-i ʿĀmire*, a medical school founded at Istanbul in 1827. The official opening day of the original *Ṭibbk̲h̲āne* was 14 March 1827, adopted by the medical community of the Turkish Republic as Medicine Day (Tıp Bayramı), to celebrate modern medicine. In the *Ṭibbiyye-i ʿAdliyye-i S̲h̲āhāne*—as in the original *Ṭibbk̲h̲āne-i ʿĀmire*—European and Ottoman doctors taught modern Western medicine, not the traditional Muslim medicine based still on the humouralistic system from Antiquity.

During the 19th century, medicine in the Middle East underwent profound changes. European medicine was introduced on a much larger scale, and many European texts were translated into Muslim languages. Translations by ʿAṭā' Allāh Muḥammad S̲h̲ānīzāde (d. 1826 [*q.v.*]) were especially important in this regard. The aim of these reforms was to improve the health of the armed forces as the measures in the medical realm were part of military modernisation. Thus medical schools, shaped according to the Western model, and at which French, Italian,

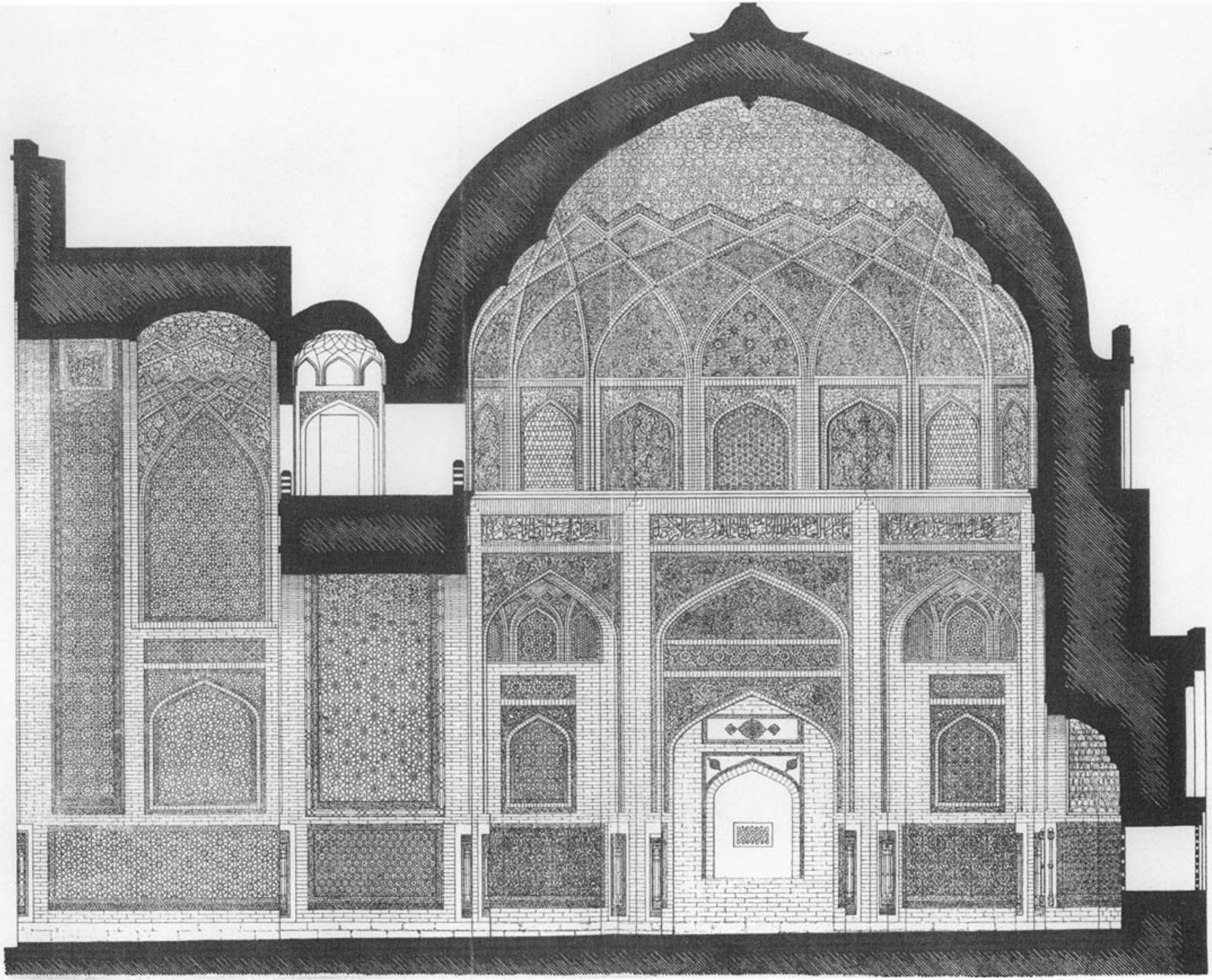

Fig. 1. *Djāmiʿ masdjid*, cross section of the *miḥrāb* domed hall, from Plate 1 in H. Cousens, *Sindh tiles*, 1906.

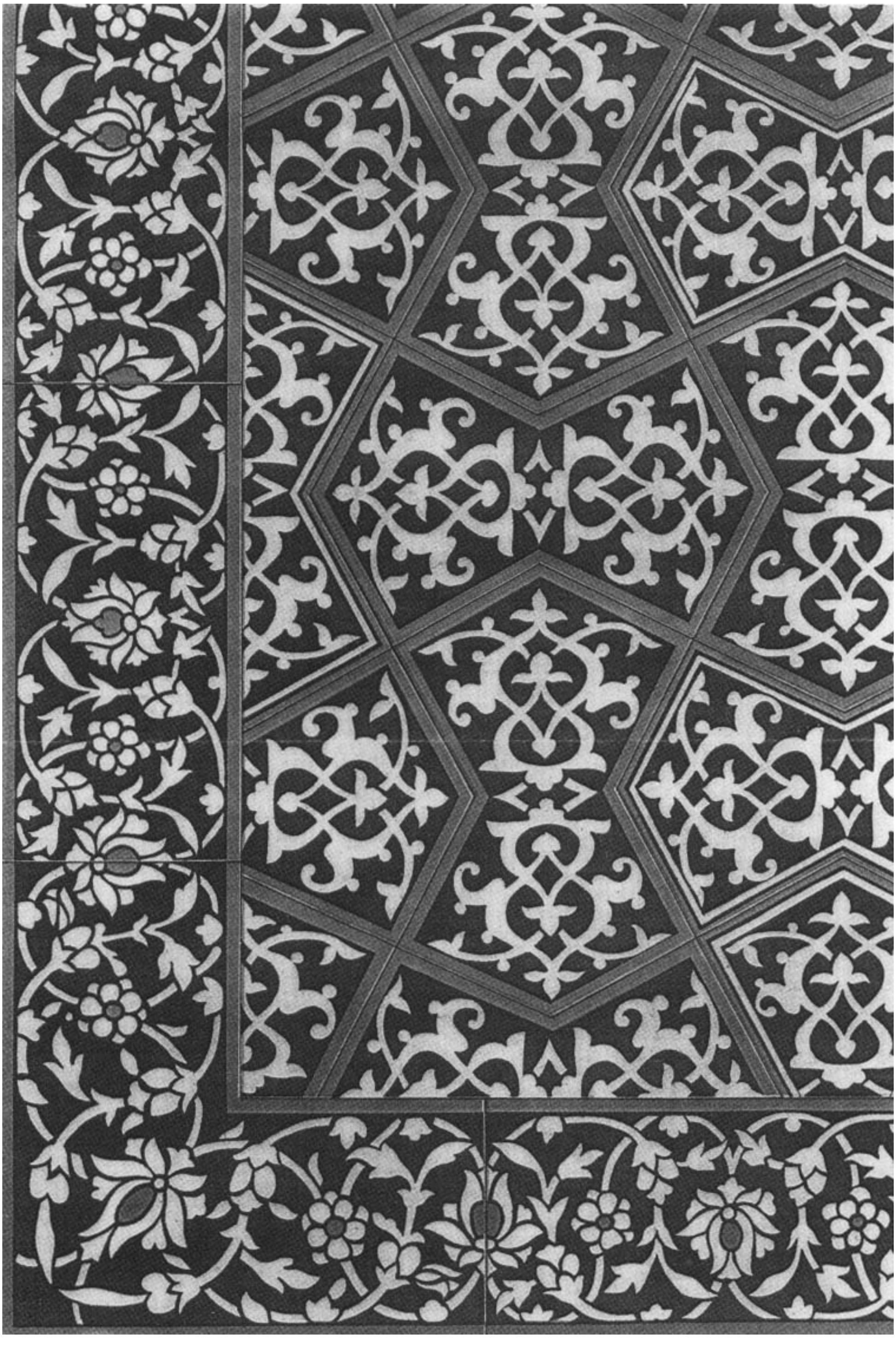

Fig. 2. *Djāmiʿ masdjid*, part of a tile panel, from Plate 2 in H. Cousens, *Sindh tiles*, 1906.

Austrian and German professors taught European medicine in French, were founded in all major capitals of the Middle East during the first half of the 19th century. Muḥammad ʿAlī Pās̲h̲ā [*q.v.*] established the first one in 1827 near Cairo, followed only a month later by Maḥmūd II's military medical school in Istanbul. The third, another military medical school, was included in the *Dār al-Funūn*, a polytechnic school founded in Tehran in 1850-1.

The changes in medicine in the Ottoman Empire during Maḥmūd II's reign were part of a wide range of reforming measures. Under his rule, government functions proliferated well beyond the traditional realms of administering justice, collecting taxes and maintaining the armed forces. Matters that had traditionally been left to private hands gradually came under government administration. The final aim was to create a new generation of able administrators. Two methods were employed to achieve this. First, Ottoman students were sent to universities in Europe to acquire a profession in selected valued fields; second, new schools were established and given precedence over the traditional Muslim *madrasas*. One of them was the *Ṭibbiyye-i ʿAdliyye-i S̲h̲āhāne*. The many documents and letters produced by the Ottoman bureaucracy dealing with salaries and hiring, teaching aids brought over from Europe, the school's physical setting, etc., reflect the close attention of the central government to this school. Even everyday matters and decisions were not left to the discretion of the school administration.

The curriculum at the *Ṭibbiyye-i ʿAdliyye-i S̲h̲āhāne*, where the language of instruction was French, was decidedly Western. Teaching aids pertaining to medical instruction were imported from Europe. In this it parted ways from the traditional medical schools in the Ottoman Empire. The few of these that existed, for example at the Süleymāniyye complex, reproduced Arab-Muslim medicine based still to a large extent on interpretations of, and additions to, mediaeval Muslim texts. In contrast, the four-year course at the *Ṭibbiyye-i ʿAdliyye-i S̲h̲āhāne* followed a syllabus combining general and medical subjects. The general syllabus included languages (Arabic and Turkish, but also French and Latin). French was mandatory in order to help the students communicate with the teachers, many of whom were Europeans. There was another reason for the French classes. As the sultan explained in his opening address, the first graduates of the medical school were to master French in order to be able to translate the much-needed European medical texts into Ottoman Turkish. Other non-medical subjects included arithmetic and geometry, drawing, geography, history and zoology. The general curriculum was taught by Ottoman Muslim teachers. Medical studies, taught mainly by non-Muslim and non-Ottoman teachers, comprised anatomy, dissection, pathology, chemistry, botany and pharmacology, diagnostics, ophthalmology and medical devices.

Despite the pronounced French influence, the school was the product of the close relationship at the time between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. Dr. Karl Ambros Bernard, a medical doctor and surgeon and a graduate of the Vienna medical faculty, was brought in 1838 from the Austrian capital at the instigation of Abdülhaḳ Efendi, the *ḥekīmbas̲h̲ī* (Ottoman head physician [*q.v.*]), to found the school. Dr. Bernard served as its first manager till his death at the early age of 38 in 1844. His widow and family were granted a stipend by the empire as a sign of respect to the man and his services to Ottoman medical education. Dr. Bernard was not the only example. Other Austrians teaching at the school were Dr. Neuner and Dr. Riegler, and in the 1840s an Austrian midwife was given a contract to teach gynaecology and obstetrics at the school.

The student body comprised mainly Muslims but also included Christians. Their numbers fluctuated from around 200 at the beginning to over 400 by the end of the 1840s. Similarly, the teaching cadre rose from fewer than ten in the 1830s to several dozen a decade later. The *Ṭibbiyye-i ʿAdliyye-i S̲h̲āhāne* functioned in G̲h̲alaṭa for ten years; a fire in August 1848 then obliged the medical school to move to the Golden Horn.

Bibliography: Many archival documents can be found in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (The Archives of the Ottoman Prime Minister) in the İrade, Cevdet and Hatt-i Hümayun classifications. For publications that include primary sources, see Arslan Terzioğlu, *Türk Avustraya tıbbı ilişkerileri*, Istanbul 1987; idem, *Türk tıbbının batılılaşması*, Istanbul 1993; Ayten Altıntaş, *Karl Ambros Bernard'in Mekteb-i Tibbiye-Şahane'nin kurucusu olduğu meselesi ve görevi hakkında*, in *II. Türk Tip Tarihi Kongresi (20-21 Eylül 1990)*, Ankara 1999, 91-9; Rengin Dramur, *Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Şahane'de öğretin üzerine bazı belgeler*, in *ibid.*, 137-47. (Miri Shefer)

TONGUÇ, İsmail Hakkı (1893-1960), Turkish educator.

He was born, the son of a peasant family, in Tataratmaca village, Silistre. He attended Kastamonu Teachers' College and later the Istanbul Teachers' College, graduating in 1918. He continued his educational career at the Karlsruhe State Academy for the Graphic Arts and Ettlingen Teachers' College in Germany during 1918-19 and 1921-2. After returning to Turkey, İsmail Hakkı worked in several schools both in administrative posts and as a teacher of painting, handicrafts and physical education. In 1935, he was appointed Director General of Primary Education in the Ministry of Education where he had been working as the Director of School Museums since 1926. The fame of İsmail Hakkı rests basically on his views concerning the educational problems of village children in the early Republican period, which found concrete expression in the project of Village Institutes [see köy enstitüleri], his major achievement. Being the brain behind the Institute, he played a leading role during their establishment and development. Forced into resigning office in 1946, because of an extensive campaign attacking the Institutes, he was first appointed a member of the *Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu* (Instruction and Training Board) and later in 1949 a teacher at the Atatürk Lycée, where he worked until the Ministry's decision to remove him in 1950. İsmail Hakkı retired, following the annulment of the decision by the Council of State in 1954, and died in Ankara on 23 June 1960.

Throughout his career as an educator, İsmail Hakkı wrote several books and articles. In most of his works, he elaborated the educational problems from theoretical and practical perspectives and stressed the significance of vocational training in the developmental process.

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2. Studies. M. Başaran, *Tonguç yolu*, Istanbul 1974; *Tonguç'a kitap*, Istanbul 1961; M. Cimi, *Tonguç baba. Ülkeyi kucaklayan adam*, Istanbul 1990; E. Tonguç, *Bir eğitim devrimcisi. Ismail Hakkı Tonguç* (*yaşamı, ögretisi, eylemi*), i, Ankara 1997; P. Türkoğlu, *Tonguç ve enstitüleri*, Istanbul 1997.

(Aylin Özman)

ṬUGHDJ b. Djuff b. Baltakīn (or Yaltakīn) (b. Furān) b. Fūrī b. Khaḳān, military commander of Farghānan origin, d. at Baghdād in 310/922-3. His father had left Farghāna to serve as an officer in the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim's army, also serving his successors al-Wāthiḳ and al-Mutawakkil. Djuff, said to have received *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* at Sāmarrā, died in 247/861 on the same night that al-Mutawakkil was assassinated.

Ṭughdj left ʿIrāḳ at the *ghulām* Luʾluʾ's invitation to enter the service of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], the governor of Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr, in 254/868. He is said to have acted as governor of Egypt, Diyār Miṣr, for the latter or, according to a variant reading, of Diyār Muḍar. According to Ibn Khallikān, he allegedly recognised the governor of the Djazīra, Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj, set there by al-Muwaffaḳ to uphold the ʿAbbāsid cause against Ibn Ṭūlūn, but Isḥāḳ later rallied to the latter. At all events, Ṭughdj, after placing himself at Ibn Ṭūlūn's service, must have returned once more to ʿIrāḳ since his son Muḥammad, the future Ikhshīd [see muḥammad b. ṭughdj] was born at Baghdād, in the Bāb Kūfa street, in mid-Radjab 268/January 882.

According to Ibn ʿAsākir, Abu 'l-Djaysh Khumārawayh [*q.v.*] nominated Ṭughdj governor of Damascus after the death of his father Ibn Ṭūlūn in 269/882, a post in which Khumārawayh's two sons and successors, Djaysh (d. 283/896) and then Hārūn (d. 292/904-5), confirmed him. He was apparently governor during the whole of al-Muʿtaḍid's caliphate (279-89/892-902) and at the beginning of the next reign, that of al-Muktafī. According to Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, he was also governor of Tiberias, in which his son Muḥammad acted as deputy. An ʿAlid, one Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Laḥḥā Muḥammad b. Ḥamza, who enjoyed great authority in Tiberias, was executed on Hārūn b. Khumārawayh's orders for collusion with the Carmathians (see M. Gil, *A history of Palestine 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, §§ 467, 473, 487). According to Ibn ʿAdīm, Ṭughdj had previously for long acted as governor of Aleppo for Khumārawayh.

In 279/892-3, state al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, Ṭughdj led at Aleppo, acting for Khumārawayh, an expedition involving ʿAbbāsid and Ṭūlūnid generals in the Djazīra and northern Syria, and in 281/894, a summer plunder raid deep into Byzantine Anatolia.

In 283/896, a group of Ṭūlūnid *ghulāms*, having failed in a revolt against the incompetent buffoon Djaysh b. Khumārawayh, sought *amān* in Baghdād. One of the fugitives was Badr b. Djuff, but his brother Ṭughdj remained in his post as governor of Damascus, nevertheless showing more and more autonomy from Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr. Certain sources allege that, at the beginning of Hārūn's reign, Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥammāmī was sent from Miṣr with an army and compelled Ṭughdj temporarily to evacuate Damascus. At all events, he was still governor in 289/902 when he had to face the Carmathian revolt in Syria; an army under Bashīr which he sent against Ibn Zakrawayh was wiped out and he himself besieged in Damascus, losing a large number of troops [see kalb b. wabara]. The Ṭūlūnids' incapacity, faced with the Carmathians, led to the ʿAbbāsids deciding to resume direct control in Syria and Egypt.

On the fall of the Ṭūlūnids in 292/905, Ṭughdj left Damascus, with other commanders, to submit to the new ʿAbbāsid authorities in Miṣr, who sent them back as a garrison in the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn. He later returned to Baghdād where, according to Ibn Khallikān, he died in prison.

He left six sons, as well as Muḥammad, the future Ikhshīd, and at least one daughter who, in 326/938 married the son of the grand Amīr Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*], at the same time as the vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl's [*q.v.*] son married Ibn Rāʾiḳ's daughter (al-Hamdānī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1977, 314).

Ṭughdj was known for his passion for perfumes; when travelling, he had in his train fifty camels loaded with perfumes [*sic*]. He is said to have built at Damascus a cupola with latticework, forming a giant censer, from which he had wafted the aroma of perfumes for all the population of the city. Even if these accounts are clearly exaggerated, they do show how the standard of living in the Syrian-Egyptian lands, at the end of the 3rd/9th and beginning of the 4th/10th centuries, had risen, allowing the élites to enjoy a significant amount of luxury goods (see also Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib*, 154-5).

Bibliography: Many sources have information on Ṭughdj, often contradictory. For the present article, the following only have been used: Ṭabarī, iii, index; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, vii, 57; ʿAẓīmī, *T. Ḥalab*, ed. Zaghrūr, 283; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahhān, i, index; idem, *Bughya*, ed. Zakkār, ii, ix, index; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, v, 56-7; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, index; R. Guest, *The governors and judges of Egypt*, Leiden 1912, index. The richest, but not always the most reliable, source is Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, ed. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan *et alii*, Cairo 1954, index. See also J. Bacharach, *The career of Muhammad b. Tughj al-Ikhshīd*. . ., in *Speculum*, 1 (1975), 586-612.

(Th. Bianquis)

TURKS.

II. Languages.

(vi) Turkic languages in non-Arabic and non-Latin scripts.

During their history of over fifteen centuries Turkic peoples interacted with peoples and cultures of three continents. As a result of this process they became acquainted with many writing systems, used in various regions between Central Asia and Europe. The historical scene of the emergence of the first written and literary languages of Turkic peoples is Inner Asia, the territory of modern Mongolia, the Tarim Basin (in Sinkiang) and Kansu. The first epigraphic monuments written in a Turkic idiom belong to the Orkhon Turks (A.D. 552-744) and Uyghurs (744-840), who created empires in the steppe region. These monuments are written in the so-called runic or runiform script. After the collapse of their empire, the Uyghurs left the steppes and moved to the Tarim Basin and Kansu, founding the Kingdom of Kočo (866-1124) and Kan-tsu (880-1028), both becoming centres of the Uyghur culture and offering in abundance written documents mainly of religious (Manichaean, Buddhist and Nestorian) content. These monuments are written in Sogdian, Manichaean, Uyghur, and Nestorian scripts (all of Semitic origin), in Brāhmi script (of Indian origin) and in Tibetan script (in the case of the latter, also in its variant, the Phags-pa script).

1. *The Khazar and Karaim languages*

Judaism and Jewish culture played an important role in the Khazar empire [see khazars] in the region of the Black and Caspian Seas (7th-11th centuries).

Therefore it is very probable that the Hebrew script was in use by this Turkic people, although, unfortunately, no written documents have survived.

The Hebrew script was adopted later by the Karaim, of Jewish religion, living originally in the Crimea [see KARAITES]. A large part of this people migrated, probably before the 14th century, to the western Ukraine and Lithuania. They lived there until the end of the Second World War, when they moved to Poland. The rich written culture of the Karaim is represented by many manuscripts and printed works. Today, the Karaim language is an especially endangered language; some dialects of it can be considered as extinct.

The generally suggested, supposed historical continuity between the Khazars and the Karaim remains unproven.

2. *The Armenian-Ḳîpčaḳ language*

After the collapse of the Armenian Asa empire in the middle of the 11th century, Armenians moved to the Crimea, and later to the western Ukraine. As a result of intensive contact with the Ḳîpčaḳ Turks, they adopted their language for purposes of administration and religious practice, keeping their original Armenian language for secular life. These documents, which have come down to us from between the 16th and 17th centuries, are written in Armenian script.

3. *The Armenian-Ottoman language*

After the Turkicisation of Asia Minor, Armenians living in different provinces of Anatolia seem very soon to have become bilingual. Turcophone Armenians created their own Turkish literature in the so-called Armeno-Turkish language, written in Armenian script. As a result of this activity, a large body of literature (original works, translations, inscriptions, later also journals) was created. This written documentation, which is especially rich from the 17th century onwards, can be traced back until the 14th century.

4. *The Greek alphabet used in the Ottoman Empire for Turkish*

The Orthodox Christian Karamans (Turkish *Ḳarāmānlîlar*), living in northeastern Anatolia until the Greek-Turkish population exchanges of 1924, created a special literature, the products of which were written in Greek script. The history of this well-documented group of monuments can be traced back to the 16th century. It is obvious that these products (at the outset, works of a religious and historical content, later also journals and newspapers, etc.) written in the so-called Karaman (*Ḳarāmānlî*) language (in fact, in a special dialect of Ottoman Turkish), were also used by the bilingual Greeks living in other regions, especially in the Ottoman capital. Many written texts in the Turkish language but Greek alphabet have also come down to us from this large ethnic and religious group of the empire.

5. *Other alphabets used in the Ottoman Empire for Turkish*

The Syriac script was used for Turkish by a small Christian community. These texts, mainly preserved in the University Library of Bonn, were destroyed during the Second World War.

At the same time, the Hebrew alphabet was also used by the Jewish community for Turkish, the best-known surviving example being a copy of an Ottoman chronicle in this script.

The Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian Academy of Sciences in Tbilisi has a large collection of Ottoman Turkish texts written in the Georgian alphabet. Unfortunately, we do not possess any survey of or study on this precious material, so that neither its quantity nor its character and chronology are so far known. Scholars agree, however, that a systematic analysis of these materials could throw interesting light on the history of the Ottoman Turkish language in this region of the empire.

The Cyrillic alphabet was used in the Balkans for Turkish by intellectuals interested in the official language of the empire. We possess a few manuscripts and printed books, mainly from the 19th century.

6. *Other Turkic languages written in Cyrillic script*

Turkic peoples living in Eastern Europe and Siberia (Chuvash, a part of the Volga Tatars, Yakuts, Turkic peoples in the Altai Region, etc.), due to the Russian colonial expansion from the 18th century onwards, experienced Russian missionary activities, and thereby an acquaintance with the Cyrillic alphabet. All other Turkic peoples living in the former Soviet Union adopted the Cyrillic script in the second phase of the Soviet writing reform (1939-40), after a very short period of using the Latin script, introduced to these peoples between 1922 and 1930 as a replacement for the Arabic alphabet.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 created a new situation for rethinking the language and script policies of the former imperial power. In the sometimes heated discussions, all possible solutions found their supporters (keeping the Cyrillic script; reintroduction of the Latin, or even of the Arabic alphabets). In the course of the 1990s, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have reintroduced the Latin alphabet with some special signs. In these countries, a transition period, in which both Latin and Cyrillic scripts may be used, has been allowed. Efforts to create a Latin alphabet on a common theoretical and practical basis for all Turkic peoples have until now had no results.

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(G. Hazai)

III. Literature.

6. (m) Turkish literature in Muslim India. The constant stream of Turkish migrants started pouring on to Indian soil from the 5th/11th century onwards, but hardly anything is known of the role Turkish language played in the Ghaznawid, Ghūrid and Sultanate periods. Turkish seems to have been used mainly as a medium of communication in the army, but also in court circles (see Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, *Nuh sipihr*, ed. Muhammad Wahid Mirza, Oxford 1950, 173). The hitherto unearthed sole remnants of Turkish from this period are the Turkish words contained in a Persian dictionary, the *Farhang-i zufān-gūyā wa djahān pūyā* (see R. Dankoff, *The Turkish vocabulary of the Farhang-i zafān-gūyā*, Bloomington 1987).

The Tīmūrid conquest and then the establishment of the Mughal dynasty altogether changed this situation. The Tīmūrids and their Turkish military élite arrived in India with a cultural legacy that included support for and cultivation of a Turko-Persian literary tradition which was in a sense founded and elaborated by the activities of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*]. Tīmūrids in India remained true to their Central Asian Turkish legacy till the 19th century, and it was a custom for Mughal princes to be trained in Turkish as well as in the other great Islamic languages. The last member of the family whose skills in Turkish grammar, lexicography and poetry were well known in Hindūstān was Mīrzā ʿAlī-bakht Gurgānī "Aẓfarī" [*q.v.*].

Tīmūrid and thus also Mughal rulers and princes were not only passive patrons of culture but also played an active role in literary life (see Muḥammad Khālidī, *Gulistān-i Tīmūrī*, Lakhnaw 1973). Quite a few of them displayed outstanding literary skills but only some of them are known to have contributed to Turkish literary output in India. Except for the first generation of Indian Tīmūrids, the sources do not yield much information on possible Turkish works by members of the royal family. The Turkish oeuvre of Bābur [*q.v.*] is, of course, well known, and some Turkish lines by Humāyūn [*q.v.*] and a full *dīwān* by Kāmrān [*q.v.*] have been preserved. Due to the ruler's political aims and policies, Turkish seems to have been pushed into the background in court circles during the reign of Akbar [*q.v.*]. Nevertheless, later rulers seem to have been able at least to appreciate Turkish poetry, as was the case with Shāh ʿĀlam II (1760-88, 1788-1806; see Aẓfarī, *Wāḳiʿāt-i Aẓfarī*, ed. T. Chandrashekharan, Madras 1957, 17). Turkish manuscripts copied in India indicate that Nawāʾī was the most often read author, but contemporary sources remain silent on these rulers' literary activities in Turkish.

The benefits which the Mughal empire could offer in its heyday attracted many immigrants from the neighbouring lands. Soldiers, poets and scholars flocked to Hindūstān to try their luck by entering imperial service or by being employed at one of the numerous noble courts. Many of these came from regions inhabited by Turkish peoples. Though contemporary sources do not devote much space to achievements in Turkish, their references being random, it is still possible to draw a fairly detailed picture of those persons who cultivated Turkish.

The brother of the historian Bāyazīd Bayāt, Shāhberdi, writing under the pseudonym Saḳḳā Čaghatay (d. *ca.* 1558) composed poetry in Turkish. Mīr Muḥammad, the brother-in-law of Akbar's wet-nurse, Djidji-anägä, was a renowned art lover who not only supported poets but also composed verses both in Persian and Turkish under the *takhalluṣ* "Ghaznawī". He is supposed to have written a great number of poems, but nothing has so far been found from his oeuvre. Well known is the poetic achievement of the Turkmen statesman Bayrām Khān [*q.v.*], whose Persian and Turkish *dīwān* has been published. His son, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, Khān-i Khānān [*q.v.*], following his father's footsteps, acted as both a generous patron of outstanding literary talents and a dedicated poet who was able to compose poetry in several languages including various dialects of Turkish. The *mushāʿiras* [*q.v.*], meetings of poets organised at his court, were attended by poets who excelled in Turkish poetry as well. Reference should be made here to Kalb-i ʿAlī, a Turkmen from the Bahārlū tribe, Siyānī Hamadānī, or the Aleppo-born Turkish poet Darwīsh Mithlī. Though their complete poetical works do not seem to have survived, a few of their couplets in Turkish are preserved in our sources.

One of the most honoured poets of the 17th century, Mīrzā Ṣāʾib Tabrīzī [*q.v.*] who received the title of *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* or laureate from Shāh ʿAbbās II, was also attracted to the Mughal court. He is famous for his Persian poetry that set a trend which was followed even in Ottoman Turkey, but one should not forget that he was an equally gifted poet in Turkish. This side of his poetic talent almost faded into oblivion because only a handful of the manuscripts of his Persian *dīwān* contain Turkish pieces. At some point during the reign of Awrangzīb, there migrated to Hindūstān Ḥusayn Farīdūn Iṣfahānī, whose Persian *dīwān* has preserved a couple of Turkish lines as well. Dīwālī Singh (d. 1896) a well-known poet and a great stylist in Persian, became famous under his *takhalluṣ* "Ḳatīl". Following the practice of members of the Mughal élite in the 17th-18th centuries, he also learnt Turkish and wrote two short stories in this tongue. His famous work on Persian style titled *Čār sharbat* contains a sketchy Turkish grammar explained in Persian.

In a multi-ethnic society like India, it is not considered an extraordinary feat if someone learns several languages, but even in such an environment the achievements of Inshā-allāh Khān "Inshā" [*q.v.*] earned him fame. Born to a family of Turkish immigrants from Nadjaf, he not only spoke Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Kashmīrī, Purbi, Pashto and Turkish but was also able to compose poetry in these tongues. His Turkish output consists of a couple of *ḳaṣīdas*, *mukhammas*, a few *bayts* in his *Shikār-nāma* and a prose diary entitled *Turkī rūznāmča*. One of his most intimate friends and fellow poet was Saʿādat-yār Khān "Rangīn" [*q.v.*], whose father Ṭahmāsp Beg Khān Iʿtiḳād-Djang arrived in India with the army of Nādir Shāh and later wrote his memoirs, the *Aḥmad-nāma*. Rangīn spent most of his life in Lucknow in the service of Mīrzā Sulaymān-Shukūh. His works in Turkish includes a Turkish-Urdu vocabulary titled *Niṣāb-i turkī* and a few Turkish lines in his *Madjmūʿa-yi Rangīn*.

It should be noted, however, that contemporary chronicles and *tadhkiras* are full of references to poets of Turkish origin whose literary achievements in their mother-tongue have not yet come to light. There is further the fact that libraries, mainly throughout the former British Indian Empire, preserve manuscripts written in or on Turkish whose authors are either

not mentioned in historical sources or literary anthologies, or even when contemporary records provide some information on them, their knowledge of Turkish is not mentioned. One should mention here Ḳaplan Beg, Yolḳulī Beg "Anīsī" Shāmlū, Mullā Shaydā'ī Tekkelü, Ustād Mīrzā ʿAlī Ḳipčaḳī and also Pīr Muḥammad "Aghar Khān" an Uzbek from the Aghar tribe who distinguished himself in the wars of Awrangzīb's reign. He composed verses filling a full *dīwān* that is preserved in an Indian institution, but contemporary sources remain silent on his contribution to Indo-Turkish literature.

Beside being a medium for artistic expression Turkish was also used for more mundane purposes in Mughal India up to the 19th century, as a language quite common in court circles, in the army and in diplomatic correspondence, mainly with Russia and the Ottoman Empire.

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AL-ṬŪSĪ, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, important religious scholar of the 9th/15th century. He grew up in Iran (in Samarḳand, according to al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*]), where he also finished his studies. During the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Murād II [*q.v.*] (probably in the second phase of his rule, i.e. between 850/1446 and 855/1451), he came to Anatolia and was appointed as a teacher at the *madrasa al-sulṭāniyya* in Burṣa [*q.v.*]. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] assigned him to a professorship, first in Istanbul, afterwards in Edirne [*q.v.*]. It was around this time that the contest between al-Ṭūsī and Khodja-zāde [*q.v.*] took place. Both had been summoned by the sultan to compose a work of advice on the famous discussion between al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] and the philosophers. A jury classified al-Ṭūsī's treatise as the one of lesser interest. As a consequence, he renounced his academic post in Edirne and returned, via Tabrīz [*q.v.*], to Samarḳand. He is said to have returned there to live as a Ṣūfī, allegedly under the guidance of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār [see aḥrār, khwādja ʿubayd allāh, in Suppl.]. He is reported to have died in Samarḳand in 877/1472 (according to al-Suyūṭī) or in 887/1482 (according to Ṭashköprüzāde and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa [*q.vv.*]).

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned failure, recorded in several sources, al-Ṭūsī was able to compose a considerable number of scientific works. As was the case with many scholars of the 9th/15th century, al-Ṭūsī's writings deal with the various disciplines that were taught at the *madrasa* [*q.v.*]. His works can be divided into the following categories:

Ḳurʾān exegesis: superglosses on the glosses of al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.*] on the *al-Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī [*q.v.*];

Fiḳh: glosses on the commentary of al-Taftāzānī [*q.v.*] on al-Maḥbūbī's *Tawḍīḥ*, and also glosses on the commentary of al-Īdjī [*q.v.*] on the *Mukhtaṣar muntahā al-suʾāl* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*];

Kalām: glosses on al-Djurdjānī's commentary on al-Īdjī's *al-Mawāḳif* as well as on al-Djurdjānī's commentary on al-Īdjī's *al-Aḳāʾid*;

Logic and philosophy: superglosses on al-Djurdjānī's glosses on Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Taḥtānī's commentary on Sirādj al-Dīn al-Urmawī's *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār fi 'l-manṭiḳ*, as well as the above-mentioned treatise on the discussion between al-Ghazālī and the philosophers, which has become known under the title *al-Dhakhīra* (*fi 'l-muḥākama bayna al-Ghazālī wa 'l-ḥukamāʾ*).

Several of these texts have survived in manuscript (see Brockelmann, II², 261-2, S II 279, 292a). So far, however, only the *Dhakhīra* has appeared in print (Ḥaydarābād 1899; recently also under the title *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. R. Saʿāda, Beirut 1990; cf. the Turkish translation by R. Duran, Ankara 1990). The work shows that al-Ṭūsī, following al-Ghazālī, tried to combine classical doctrines of Sunnī theology with philosophical concepts. Among other things, he underlines that the rules of logic and the results of mathematics and astronomy are incontestable; should the statements of revelation be in contradiction with them, they must be interpreted allegorically. In the doctrine on the soul, too, al-Ṭūsī is a representative of philosophical notions (the soul lives on after death; spiritual enjoyments have precedence over physical pleasures, in both this world and the hereafter). In the question of causality, on the contrary, he insists that the occasionalistic theory of the early Ashʿarī theologians is correct.

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(U. Rudolph)

U

'UBAYD ALLĀH SULṬĀN KHĀN, ruler in Transoxania of the Uzbeks or Özbegs [*q.v.*] 940-6/1533-9.

He was the son of Maḥmūd Sulṭān, son of Shāh-Būdāgh, son of the founder of the Uzbek confederacy, Abu 'l-Khayr Khān, a descendant of Čingiz Khān's grandson Shībān (hence the epithet "Shībānī," or "Shaybānī" [see SHĪBĀNIDS]). During his youth, 'Ubayd Allāh accompanied his uncle Muḥammad Shībānī Khān (*r.* 905-16/1500-10) on his sweeping victories over the Tīmūrids throughout Central Asia and Khurāsān in order to re-establish Čingizid rule in the area. On 7 Muḥarram 913/19 May 1507 the Uzbek forces under 'Ubayd Allāh and Temür Sulṭān defeated the Tīmūrids outside Harāt. As a victory prize, 'Ubayd Allāh was given in marriage Mihrangīz Begim, a daughter of Muẓaffar-Ḥusayn Mīrzā, who shared the throne of Harāt with his brother Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā after the death of their father, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Mīrzā, in 912/1506. With the consolidation of his rule over Khurāsān and Central Asia, Muḥammad Shībānī Khān appointed 'Ubayd Allāh as governor of Bukhārā.

In Radjab 917/October 1511, Bābur [*q.v.*] re-occupied Samarḳand, his ancestral capital, with the help of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismā'īl I [*q.v.*]. The Uzbeks were not slow to retaliate, and in Ṣafar 918/April 1512 Bābur launched an ill-prepared attack on the Uzbeks under 'Ubayd Allāh at Köl-i Malik near Bukhārā, and although Bābur had been winning, suddenly "through the machinations of heaven, the evil eye struck" and Bābur lost. After the battle he left Transoxania forever. On 3 Ramaḍān 918/12 November 1512, 'Ubayd Allāh defeated the Ṣafawid general Nadjm-i Thānī (Amīr Yār-Aḥmad Iṣfahānī) at the Battle of Gizhduvan (Ghudjduwān). The next winter, Shāh Ismā'īl returned to western Persia to deal with incursions by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I, and Ḳāsim Khān of the Ḳirghiz-Ḳazakhs returned to Siberia to tend to his realm, leaving the Uzbeks a free hand in Central Asia. That winter 'Ubayd Allāh took Hissar, to the north of the upper Oxus, from the Moghuls. In 920/1514 the Uzbeks headed for Andizhān, where the Moghul Sulṭān-Sa'īd Khān was. Since by then Bābur had withdrawn to Kābul, the khān went to Kāshghar, leaving Hissar to fall to the Uzbeks.

'Ubayd Allāh became the khān of the Shībānids in 940/1533, although, as Mīrzā Ḥaydar reports, "from the year 911 [1505] until the end of the reign of the latter khāns, it was really he who had conducted the affairs of the Shībānids, and had he accepted to be khān, no-one would really have opposed him; nonetheless, he maintained the ancient custom and let the office of khān be given to whoever was the eldest—until after Abū Sa'īd Khān, when there was no one older than him" (*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 181-2). During his ascendancy, six advances were made against Khurāsān. In 930/1523 there was an abortive siege of Harāt. In 932/1525 Mashhad was taken, and 'Ubayd Allāh proceeded to Astarābād and drove the governor out. Astarābād was given to 'Ubayd Allāh's son 'Abd al-'Azīz, but he could not hold out against Ṣafawid reinforcements and had finally to abandon the territory. When the Uzbeks advanced on Khurāsān the third time, they clashed with the Ṣafawid army at Saru Ḳamish near Djām on 10 Muḥarram 935/24 September 1528, and although the battle was going badly against the Ṣafawids, they managed to turn it into a resounding defeat of the Uzbeks. An eyewitness account of this battle is included in Bābur's memoirs (*Bābur-nāma*, fol. 354), where it is incorrectly recorded that 'Ubayd Allāh was killed. The fifth invasion of Khurāsān was launched in 937/1530-1, but the Uzbeks again pulled out when Shāh Ṭahmāsp I advanced on them and entered Harāt on 22 Djumādā II 939/19 January 1533. The sixth and last invasion was made in 942/1535, when the Uzbeks again took Mashhad. Harāt was evacuated by the Uzbeks in Sha'bān 943/January 1537 and re-occupied by the Ṣafawids under the command of Khudābanda and Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn-oghlu Täkälü.

In 945/1538-9, 'Ubayd Allāh's forces occupied Khwārazm, but subsequently they were dealt a crushing defeat by Dīn-Muḥammad Khān, another Čingizid descendant with whom Shāh Ṭahmāsp had formed an alliance and to whom he had given the territory of Nasā and Abīward. Returning to Bukhārā in 946/153, "in answer to the cries of the oppressed, 'Ubayd Allāh took to his bed, overtaken by a severe illness, and while pining for Harāt and yearning to stroll along the banks of the Mālān Bridge, he hastened to the next world, and the residents of Khurāsān were released from the oppression and cruelty of that heathen butcher" (Iskandar Beg, *T.-i 'Ālam-ārā*, 66). He left two sons, 'Abd al-'Azīz and Muḥammad-Raḥīm Sulṭān, but the khānate went to 'Abd Allāh Khān; the son of 'Ubayd Allāh's predecessor, Küčüm Khān, although 'Abd al-'Azīz continued to rule autonomously in Bukhārā. A valuable eyewitness accounts of events in Bukhārā, Samarḳand and Tashkent during 'Ubayd Allāh's reign is Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāṣifī's *Badāyi' al-waḳāyi'*.

Bibliography: Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*; Faḍl Allāh Rūzbihān Iṣfahānī, *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, Moscow 1976; Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, Tehran 1357/1978; Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, Cambridge, Mass. 1996; Iskandar Beg Türkmān, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, Tehran 1350/1971; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1353/1974; Wāṣifī, *Badāyi' al-waḳāyi'*.

(W.M. Thackston)

'UḲALĀ' al-MADJĀNĪN (a.), "wise fools", a general denomination for individuals whose actions contradict social norms, while their utterances are regarded as wisdom. It is not altogether clear whether or not wise fools were particularly numerous in the early 'Abbāsid period. At any rate, several authors of classical Arabic literature have treated the phenomenon in specific works that belong to the literary genre dealing with unusual classes of people, such as the blind or misers. While the first collection devoted specifically to wise fools was apparently a work written by al-Madā'inī (d. 228/843 [*q.v.*]), the only surviving work is the *Kitāb 'Uḳalā' al-madjānīn*

by Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī (d. 406/1015 [*q.v.*]) (ed. ʿUmar al-Asʿad, Beirut 1407/1987).

Al-Naysābūrī, while drawing upon earlier authors such as al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868 [*q.v.*]) or Ibn Abi ʾl-Dunyā (d. 281/894 [*q.v.*]), introduces his subject from a theological point of view. For him, God has created the world in splendour and incapacity at the same time: good is blended with evil, and health with illness. In this way, madness, even though apparently a contradiction to God's benevolence, is a perfectly normal constituent of the human condition. In the following, the author discusses the terms used to denote madness, besides classifying different connotations of madness, such as *aḥmaḳ*, *maʿtūh*, *mamsūs*, *mamrūr*, etc. The main part of his work is devoted to anecdotes about specific characters known as wise fools. He begins with Uways al-Ḳaranī [*q.v.*], Madjnūn [*q.v.*], Saʿdūn and Buhlūl [*q.v.*], all of whom share a relatively ascertained historical existence. After these, al-Naysābūrī lists a large number of tales about other, less popular wise fools, details about whose lives become progressively more limited. The names he mentions include ʿUlayyān, Abu ʾl-Dīk, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath, Abū Saʿīd al-Ḍabʿī, Djuʿayfirān and many others; the final chapters of his work deal with Bedouin (including Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] and Habannaḳa), women, and anonymous persons.

Though each of the characters known as wise fools behaved in an individual manner, several traits were germane to all or most of them (Dols 1992, 349-65): wise fools were indifferent to appearance, often walking around naked or half-clad; they were oblivious to social conventions such as greeting or paying respect; they were ascetics, living on charity and not caring for worldly possessions; they lived in the streets of the cities without any specific abode, while their favourite place of residence was the cemetery. Those of the wise fools whose actions were considered harmful to society were held in hospitals. Wise fools would constantly remind their fellow citizens, particularly the powerful, of their worldliness and vanity, quoting pious verses and admonishing them with stories or allegories alluding to the hereafter; some of them even acted as unofficial preachers. In particular, their quality as free-wheeling admonishers makes the Islamic wise fools appear as precursors of the mediaeval European phenomenon of the court fool (Mezger 1991). Hence it is not surprising to see Buhlūl, who in later tradition all over the Islamic word was to become the stereotypical figure for the character of the wise fool (Marzolph 1983), being listed in European literature as the court fool of Hārūn al-Rashīd (K.F. Flögel, *Geschichte der Hofnarren*, Leipzig 1789, 172 ff.).

Other works of Islamic literature, while more or less drawing upon the same data, interpreted the phenomenon in various directions. Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]) in his *K. Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, regards the wise fools as important figures in the early history of Ṣūfism (Dols 1992, 376), and Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]) in his *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* elevates the holy fools to the position of spiritual leaders (*ibid.*, 408-9). In Persian literature, wise fools figure prominently in the mystical *mathnawīs* of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 617/1220 [*q.v.*]), for whom the character is licensed to speak his mind in a way beyond that permissible to ordinary human beings (Ritter 1978, 159-80).

Bibliography: H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, ²Leiden 1978; U. Marzolph, *Der Weise Narr Buhlūl*, Wiesbaden 1983; W. Mezger, *Narrenidee und Fastnachtsbrauch*, Konstanz 1991; M. Dols, *Majnūn. The madman in medieval Islamic society*, Oxford 1992.

(U. Marzolph)

ʿUKBARĀ, a town of mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, lying, in the time of the classical Arabic geographers (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries) on the left, i.e. eastern, bank of the Tigris, ten *farsakhs* to the north of Baghdād, roughly halfway between the capital and Sāmarrāʾ.

As Yāḳūt noted (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 142), the name is orginally Aramaic (*sūriyānī*), sc. ʿOkbarā, and the history of the place can be traced back at least to early Sāsānid times. In the reign of the emperor Shāpūr I (mid-3rd century A.D.), Roman captives were settled there, and by the reign of Khusraw Anūsharwān (mid-6th century A.D.), it was the chef-lieu of the subdistrict (*ṭassūdj*) called Buzurdjsābūr in the *kūra* or province of Khusrāwma (see M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 138-9).

When the Arabs started raiding into Sāsānid ʿIrāḳ, Khālid b. al-Walīd in 12/633-4 sent the commander al-Nuṣayr b. Daysam al-ʿIdjlī to the region north of al-Madāʾin, and the people of ʿUkbarā and the nearby Baradān made agreements for *amān* or a peace settlement with the incomers. Therafter, the town flourished as part of the rich, irrigated agricultural region stretching along the Tigris banks; al-Muḳaddasī, 122, praises its fruits, and in particular its grapes, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, i, 219, tr. Kramers and Wiet, i, 213, mentions the watermills (*ʿurūb*) there, a feature characteristic of the whole river valley between al-Mawṣil and Baghdād (see A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, Heidelberg 1922, 438-9, Eng. tr. Patna 1937, 466-7). The town was large and populous in the 4th/10th century, and a Jewish community there is mentioned in the early 3rd/9th century. But from Saldjūḳ times onwards, mentions of it in the historical and geographical sources dwindle. It appears that the bed of the Tigris above Baghdād began to shift its course, for al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 223, ed. and tr. Pellat, §235, already mentions disputes and lawsuits (*muṭālabāt*) between proprietors along the eastern and western banks. Le Strange noted that the author of the *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ* (*ca.* A.D. 1300) clearly mentions ʿUkbarā as by that time standing a considerable distance to the west of the Tigris, the river's bed having shifted eastwards into the channel then known as al-Shuṭayṭa "the little *shaṭṭ* [*q.v.*]", and the ruins of ʿUkbarā lie at the present day on the left bank of the old channel of the Tigris (see G. Le Strange, *Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad written about the year 900 A.D. by Ibn Serapion*, in *JRAS* [1895], 37-9; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1927, 137-8).

Al-Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 345-8, mentions a considerable number of scholars stemming from ʿUkbarā, and at a slightly later date, the parents of the Ḥanbalī *faḳīh* and philologist ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUkbarī [*q.v.*] came from the town.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 50-1.

(C.E. Bosworth)

ʿUMĀN.

iii. Social structure.

ʿUmān is overwhelmingly an Arab, Muslim society, and tribal organisation remains an important element in national identity. The country's rapid development since 1970 has introduced a measure of physical and social mobility, as well as creating an influx of emigrants.

The migration of Arab tribes into ʿUmān predates Islam, with Ḳaḥṭānī or South Arabian tribes moving

along the southern Arabian Peninsula from Yemen into 'Umān around the 2nd century A.D. They were followed several centuries later by 'Adnānī or North Arabian tribes who penetrated from the west along the Gulf coast. The Islamisation of 'Umān resulted in the eviction of the Persianised ruling class stemming from Sāsānid influences and completed the organisation of the tribal framework that continues today.

On the local level, the competition for scarce resources in water and arable land created a mosaic of tribal settlement. Many settlements stretch alongside the courses of *wādīs* and attendant *faladjs* (water channels); frequently the *'alāya* or upper quarter is inhabited by a tribe in traditional rivalry with another tribe occupying the *sifāla* or lower quarter. Regionally, a rough balance was obtained through two competing alliances and this balance was replicated on the national level by association with either the Hināwiyya confederation or the opposing Ghāfiriyya confederation. Above these confederations stood the Ibāḍī imāmate [see IBĀḌIYYA] which served as a supertribal or quasi-national institution. Because the tribal confederations acted principally as balancers of power, membership in one or the other tended to be fluid over time. This has tended to blur earlier tendencies for al-Hināwiyya to consist of Ibāḍī and 'Adnānī tribes and al-Ghāfiriyya to consist of Sunnī and Ḳaḥṭānī tribes.

The power of the Ibāḍī imāmate derived directly from the personal standing of the *imām*, who was both dependent on the support of the principal *shaykhs* of the major tribes of both confederations for his position and the mediating figure between them and between tribes on the regional and local levels. This system gave enormous power to the leading *shaykhs* who dominated the confederations, and especially powerful *shaykhs* were able to use their power to determine the election of *imāms*. During the second half of the 19th century, the powerful shaykhly family of the Hināwī al-Ḥirth tribe of al-Sharḳiyya region orchestrated a series of attempts to oust the Āl Bū Sa'īd [*q.v.*] rulers in Masḳaṭ in order to restore the imāmate. But by the early 20th century, the head of the Ghāfirī Banū Riyām had become the predominant political figure in the interior, and the imām elected in 1920 came from a Ghāfirī tribe.

The reassertion of sultanate control over interior 'Umān in the mid-1950s, with the attendant demise of the imāmate, reduced the autonomy of the tribes and restricted the role of the *shaykhs*. For the first time, order and authority was maintained by a permanent army presence and, with a single exception, the *shaykhs* found their responsibilities restricted to leadership of their own tribes. When a new development-minded government appeared as a result of a palace *coup d'état* in 1970, the role of the *shaykhs* was further reduced. The government assumed responsibility for public works and welfare. Social service ministries carried out improvements throughout the country, and a new system of courts and national police usurped many of the traditional functions of the *shaykhs*.

But even though the political power of the tribes has waned considerably since 1970, their social functions remain undiminished. Marriages take place by and large within the tribe, if not within the extended family. The government issues identity cards classifying the holder by tribal membership. Tribesmen seek the assistance of fellow tribesmen in obtaining employment, business help, and resolving problems with the police.

The great majority of the 'Umānī population is Arab and either Ibāḍī or Sunnī Muslim. The more prominent of these two divisions is the Ibāḍī sect, which, until the second half of the 20th century, provided the national leadership of 'Umān through an elected *imām*. Perhaps slightly less than half of 'Umān's total population is Ibāḍī, all in the northern half of the country. Sunnīs are thought to form slightly more than half of the 'Umānī population. While the north contains both Ibāḍī and Sunnī tribes, the southern province Ẓafār [*q.v.*] (Dhofar) is entirely Sunnī. While Sunnī tribes in northern 'Umān may be Shāfi'ī or Mālikī, Ẓafārīs are all Shāfi'īs. Much of the Sunnī population of Ṣūr and its hinterland is Ḥanbalī.

There are also several small Shī'ī communities, mostly located in the capital area of Masḳaṭ, all of which are Dja'farī or Twelver. Al-Lawātiyya form the largest Shī'ī community, numbering perhaps 10,000 and traditionally residing in a closed quarter of Maṭraḥ, Masḳaṭ's sister settlement. The community seems to be Indian in origin, and at one time was in close connection with Agha Khānī Ismā'īlīs, all of whom have since converted or left 'Umān. The Lawātiyya have been settled in Maṭraḥ for at least three centuries. The Arab Shī'ī community of al-Baḥārina, formerly concentrated in Masḳaṭ itself, is considerably smaller in size and consists of a few families that immigrated to 'Umān independently of each other. 'Adjam, people of Persian origin whose arrival in 'Umān may be supposed to have occurred gradually over the course of centuries, comprises the third Shī'ī group. Their numbers are similarly small and they appear to be assimilating into broader 'Umānī society.

The largest non-Arab component of the 'Umānī population is Balūč, mostly residing along al-Bāṭina coast of the Gulf of Oman and in the capital area. Often included with the Balūč, but nevertheless distinct, is a smaller group known as al-Zadjāl. Masḳaṭ is also home to a few Hindu families, some of whom can trace back their arrival in 'Umān approximately a century and a half. Most of these families hold Indian citizenship and form marriages with relations in India.

Arabic is the predominant language of 'Umān, but nearly a dozen languages are spoken by 'Umānīs. Balūč undoubtedly produces the second-largest proportion of native speakers. The Zadjāl and Lawātiyya speak their own languages, both akin to Gujarātī. The long 'Umānī association with East Africa has resulted in a significant number of 'Umānīs either born in or formerly resident in Zanzibar and neighbouring African countries. Some of these speak Swahili as their primary language, with English second and Arabic third.

Ẓafār is distinct from 'Umān in several respects. Separated by the north by extensive gravel-plain desert, the region traditionally was linked with the Mahra and Ḥaḍramawt regions of Yemen. The widespread Kathīr tribe is perhaps the most extensive group in the region, with subgroups including nomadic sections on the Nadjd (the stony inland plain) and three clans that traditionally have been prominent in Ṣalāla, Ẓafār's largest settlement and now a small city. Another transhumant section, the Bayt Kathīr, inhabits a narrow band of mountainous territory.

The other mountain tribes, commonly known as *djibbālīs* and traditionally transhumant as well, occupy similar strip territories, all running perpendicular to the coast and including parts of the coastal plain. These tribes speak a South Arabian language, Ḳarawī, apparently adopted from the indigenous inhabitants whom they conquered some six or more centuries

ago. The latter, al-Shahra, maintain a separate but socially inferior identity.

Mahra tribes are also found in Ẓafār, mainly camel-herding nomads in either the northeastern Nadjd or along the Yemen border in the west. Some have established themselves recently on the mountains. In addition to al-Shahra, other *ḍaʿīf* or socially inferior peoples are also present in Ẓafār, amongst them al-Mashāyikh and al-Barāʿima. Ṣalāla and the smaller coastal towns are also inhabited by mixed-race *baḥḥārs* and descendants of African slaves. Several small groups speaking South Arabian languages have been pushed out into the deserts northwest of Ẓafār; among these are al-Baṭāhira, al-Ḥikmān, and the larger and more important al-Ḥarasīs.

Following the end of the civil war in Ẓafār in the late 1970s, the region has undergone rapid socio-economic development. Most *djibbālīs* have built permanent homes in the mountains, often clustered in new settlements, and some maintain second homes in Ṣalāla.

Traditionally, ʿUmān was a rural country, with most of its population scattered in small agricultural settlements or coastal fishing villages. The process of development since 1970, however, has produced considerable urbanisation. The capital region, consisting in 1970 of the twin towns of Masḳaṭ and Maṭraḥ with a combined population then of perhaps 25,000, grew to nearly half a million at the beginning of the 21st century. Ṣalāla's population grew over the same period to nearly 200,000 and Ṣuḥār (on the north-western al-Bāṭina coast), Nizwā (in the interior), and Ṣūr (near the eastern coastal tip) have become relatively large regional centres.

ʿUmānī society is relatively free from social stratification, although members of the ruling Āl Bū Saʿīd family, tribal leaders, religious figures, and wealthy merchants occupy the upper rungs of society. A small middle class has emerged since 1970, but many ʿUmānīs in the Masḳaṭ region are employed as government employees, soldiers, drivers, and skilled and unskilled labour. The majority of the population outside the capital remains engaged in subsistence agriculture, fishing, or animal husbandry.

The government has used its modest oil revenues to extend roads, electricity, communications, schools, and health-care facilities throughout the country. The country remains dependent on oil income, however, and diversification into natural gas exports and tourism has had limited success. The first university opened in 1986.

Up to 25% of the total population is expatriate, with the greatest numbers coming from south and southeast Asia. While the heaviest concentration is in the capital area, expatriates are dispersed throughout the country and the government periodically has extended bans on expatriate labour to a growing number of occupations in an effort to "Omanise" the labour force and provide employment for a burgeoning indigenous population.

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(J.E. Peterson)

URA-TEPE (Ūrā-Tipa, Ūrā-Tīpa), Russian Ura-Tyube, a town and a district on the northern slope of the Turkestan chain, now the town and district of Ūroteppa in Tādjīkistān. The town is located in lat. 39° 55' N. and long. 69° 00' E. at 1040 m/ 3,425 feet above sea level. Lying in the foothills between the steppe plains and the mountains, and on a major route linking Samarḳand with Tashkent and the Farghāna valley, the historical Ura-Tepe both connected and separated adjacent ecological and political regions.

The place name, signifying a "high hill" (*örä tübe/töpä/tepä*) in Ḳipčaḳ and Čaghatay vernaculars, emerges in the Tīmūrid period. It is first mentioned in the course of events in early Muḥarram 812/late May 1409 when the royal camp of Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] was pitched in the "summer pasture (*yaylāḳ*) of Ūrā-Tipa" (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿādayn*, ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1941-9, ii, 141). Several 10th/16th century authorities confirm that the new toponym had come to gradually replace the earlier "Usrūshana" (Bābur, ed. Mano, 13), "Ūstrūshana" (Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. W.M. Thackston, 91), or "Ustrūshana" (Ḥāfiẓ-i Tanish, *Sharaf-nāma-i shāhī*, ed. Salakhetdinova, i, facs. fol. 88b; and see USRŪSHANA).

At the turn of the 10th/16th century, the district's centre was a fortified town (*ḳūrghān*) surrounded by high walls and a moat, amidst cultivated lands and pastures for horses and sheep (Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Shībānī-nāma*, ed. and tr. H. Vambéry, 174-9). In 908/1503 the former Tīmūrid stronghold fell to the Özbegs led by Muḥammad Shībānī Khān. During the Shībānid and early Ashtarkhānid periods, the Ura-Tepe district (*wilāyat, ḳalamraw*) at times was alloted as an individual appanage to ruling princes, and at times it was attached to larger entities, such as Tashkent or Samarḳand.

From the middle of the 11th/17th century, the Özbeg tribe of the Yūz, established in Ura-Tepe, as well as in Khodjand and Ḥiṣār (to the north and the south of Ura-Tepe, respectively), came to play an increasingly important political role, which was not strictly confined to the realm of Ura-Tepe.

One line of Yūz chiefs can be traced back to Bāḳī Biy Yūz, who around 1641-4 served as chief military and administrative adviser (*atāliḳ*) to an Ashtarkhānid prince (i.e. Bahrām Sulṭān b. Nadr Muḥammad Khān) ruling at Tashkent. Bāḳī Biy's grandson, Muḥammad Raḥīm Biy Yūz (b. Ghāzī Biy), who held Ura-Tepe in 1091/1680 and 1105/1693-4, proved to be loyal to the Bukhāran court, at a time when another leading figure of the Yūz joined a rebellion (Mukhtarov, *Materiali*, 24, 29). Subsequently, Muḥammad Raḥīm was named governor (*ḥākim*) of Samarḳand. In 1114/1702, when he was further raised to the rank of an *atāliḳ* and "Pillar of the Amirs" (*ʿumdat al-umarāʾ*), one of Muḥammad Raḥīm's major assets was said to be his prestige among the warlike tribes of "Andigān, Khodjand, Āḳ-Kūtal and Tāshkand, up to the regions of Sayrām, Turkistān and Ulugh-Tāgh", which enabled him to provide auxiliaries for the Bukhāran rulers (Muḥammad Amīn Bukhārī, *ʿUbayd Allāh-nāma*, ms. Tashkent, no. 1532, fols. 20b, 28b, tr. Semenov, 34-5, 43-4). While Muḥammad Raḥīm reached the zenith of his career, his son, Muḥammad Āḳbūta Biy, followed his father's footsteps in Ura-Tepe and Khodjand, where he ruled from 1113/1701 up to 1144/1731

(Mukhtarov, *op. cit.*, 33-9). Sometime between 1731 and 1734, he was killed by a Ming chief of the expanding Khokand state [*q.v.*].

A second line of Yūz chiefs emerges with Muḥammad Fāḍil Biy (b. Ṣādiḳ Biy). Fāḍil Beg Yūz was one of the commanders of the Bukhāran army that surrendered to Nādir Shāh in 1153/1740. Subsequently, he guided a Nādirid military campaign against "the rebellious Yūz and Ming tribes seated in the mountain and on the banks of the Sīr-Daryā" (Muḥammad Kāẓim, *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi nādirī*, ed. Riyāḥī, ii, 790, 802, 819). While ruling in Ura-Tepe, Fāḍil Biy supported the Khoḳand chief ʿAbd al-Karīm Biy against the Ḳalmāḳs (Muḥammad Ḥakīm Khān, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ii, 378), i.e. the Djunghars, who repeatedly invaded Khoḳand between 1153/1740 and 1158/1745 (Moiseev 1991, 162-3, 167, 173; Nabiev, 14). His own decrees, issued upon the order of an unnamed khān, confirm Fāḍil Biy's rule over Ura-Tepe in 1164/1750-1 and 1187/1774-5 (Mukhtarov, *op. cit.*, 40, 42). Under Fāḍil Biy, one of the most stubborn opponents of the rising Manghït dynasty of Bukhārā, Ura-Tepe turned into a strong and nearly independent statelet dominating neighbouring territories such as Khodjand, Djizzāḳ, and even Samarḳand. Around 1780, however, when the town with four gates was under Fāḍil Biy's son Muḥammad Khudāyār, the ruler's authority was confined to the environment of the town (Yefremov, 114). In 1800, Khudāyār's son Beg-Murād Biy, having ruled less than a year, was deposed by the ruler of Bukhārā Shāh Murād.

In the 19th century, Ura-Tepe lost its independence and became a disputed border area between Bukhārā and Khoḳand. From 1800 to 1866, the two rival states launched dozens of military campaigns into Ura-Tepe, where more than twenty governors succeeded each other. Both sides often chose Yūz representatives as local governors, such as Muḥammad Raḥīm Parwānačī b. Muḥammad Khudāyār, who ruled in 1234/1818 (Mukhtarov, *op. cit.*, 56).

When Filipp Nazarov visited Ura-Tepe in 1814, it had recently been taken by Khoḳand. He observed that the town "is very large and surrounded by two high walls, separated from each other by a deep moat; openings made in these walls allow the use of fire-arms, if need be. This town is densely populated, the streets are narrow, and the houses built of clay. There are manufactories producing goat wool shawls. The inhabitants trade with the Turcomans, the Persians and the Arab nomads who are subjects of Bukhārā" (Nazarov, 65-6).

On 2 October 1866, the Imperial Russian army conquered the town. Having been ceded by the Bukhāran *amīr* to Russia in 1868, Ura-Tepe became part of the Khodjand *uyezd*. The population of Ura-Tepe at that time was variously estimated to be between 10 and 15,000 people. There were 854 shops of artisans and traders in the town. When the Soviet Republic of Tādjīkistān was founded in 1929, Ura-Tepe was its second largest city after Khodjand. In the decade 1976-85 there were *ca.* 38,000 inhabitants in the town and 143,000 inhabitants in the district (*Entsiklopediyai sovetii todjik*, viii, Dushanbe 1988, 339). By a presidential decree of 10 November 2000, the town has been officially renamed Istravshan.

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(W. Holzwarth)

W

WADD, a god of pre-Islamic Arabia, mentioned in the Ḳurʾān in a speech of Noah: "They have said: Forsake not your gods. Forsake not Wadd, nor Suwāʿ, nor Yaghūth, Yaʿūḳ and Nasr!" (LXXI, 22/23).

Traditionists and commentators have exercised their ingenuity in the pursuit of the identity of Wadd, but their quest has not been very productive. In his "Book of the Idols" (*Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, §§ 7c, 9d, 45e, 49c-51b), Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821) considers that Wadd was a divinity of the tribe of Kalb at Dūmat al-Djandal, the great oasis of north-western Arabia (on the composition of *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, see Hawting, *The idea of idolatry*, 88-9).

At first sight, the information supplied by Ibn al-Kalbī regarding this god is exceptionally precise. He invokes the direct testimony of Mālik b. Ḥāritha al-Adjdārī (collected apparently by his father Muḥammad al-Kalbī, d. 146/763: see § 51b), according to which the statue of the god represented a man of great height, dressed, armed with a sword, a bow and a lance. In his youth, Mālik is said to have been instructed by his father to offer milk to Wadd (§ 49f). The statue was allegedly destroyed by Khālid b. al-Walīd after the expedition of Tabūk (§§ 49f, 50a-d, 51a). The *nisba* al-Adjdārī associates Mālik with the Banu ʿĀmir al-Adjdar, one of the two clans (with the Banū ʿAbd Wadd) that opposed the destruction of the statue (§ 50b).

Ibn al-Kalbī also seeks to explain how it was that mankind, monotheistic at the time of creation, came to worship such a multiplicity of divinities. For his purposes, he supposes that originally Wadd was a devout man; after his death, he was commemorated by a statue, then promoted to the rank of intercessor in the presence of God. It was the Flood which would have brought his idol into Arabia, near Djudda; there it was said to have been found by ʿAmr b. Luḥayy who is supposed to have entrusted it to the tribe of Kalb (§§ 45e-47b).

Ancient Arabian nomenclature recognised two theophoric forms involving Wadd: ʿAbd Wadd (Caskel 1966, ii, 133, nine entries, divided between various tribes of South and North, including one for Kalb), and Wahab Wadd (Abdallah 1975, 76, one instance in the genealogies of Ḥimyar).

The data supplied by Tradition hardly accord with those of pre-Islamic inscriptions. According to the latter, Wadd (*Wd* or *Wd*^{m}), who is an important divinity in southern Arabia, is almost unknown in the rest of Arabia. It is in the kingdom of Maʿīn (capital Ḳarnaw, *Ḳrnw*, today Maʿīn, in the Djawf of the Yemen) that Wadd occupies the most eminent position: he is one of the divinities of the official pantheon, always included in invocations. He had a temple at Yathill (*Yṯl*, today Barāḳish) (*M* 244 = *RES* 3019/1) and another in the Minaean colony of Dedan (today al-ʿUlā) in the north of the Ḥidjāz (*M* 356 = *RES* 3695/2). A clan of Yathill (the Banū *Dmr*^{n}) considers itself the "clients of Wadd^{um} Shahrān (*ʾdm Wd*^{m} *°hr*^{n}) (*M 222* = *RES* 2999/2). Finally, the permanent river that irrigates the Djawf bears his name: (*Hr*^{n}) *ǧyl Wd* "(Hirrān), torrent of Wadd" (Maʿīn 1 = *M* 29 = *RES* 2774/6; Maʿīn 13 = *M* 43 = *RES* 2789/5; Shaqab 1/11).

The god Wadd was also venerated at Sabaʾ where, not far from Maʾrib, a small temple was dedicated to him, and in the Sabaean tribes of the environs of Ṣanʿāʾ (Schmidt 1982, 1987; Müller 1982, 1987). In the kingdom of Awsān, based around the Wādī Markha, one of the sovereigns, Yaṣduḳʾil Fariʾ^{um} Sharaḥʿat, son of Maʿaddʾīl Salḥīn (*Yṣdḳʾl Frʿm °rḥʿt bn Mʿdʾl S*^{1}*lḥn*) alleged that the god Wadd was his father; he is the only South Arabian sovereign to have claimed such divine parentage; and the only one to be honoured by statues, like a god, in the Niʿmān (*Nʿm*^{n}) temple which was dedicated to Wadd. This sovereign probably dates from the 1st century A.D., judging by the foreign influences shown by his statue (preserved in the Museum of Aden) and by the script of his inscriptions (*CIAS* F58/s4/49.10 no. 3; 49.10/o1 no. 2; Louvre 90).

To protect persons and property, the South Arabians made use of the formula "Wadd is father" (*Wdm ʾb*^{m}, with variants), which is found on amulets (Louvre 186) and on numerous buildings. It is an interesting fact that this apotropaic formula is more widely diffused than the cult of Wadd; it is found in all the regions of southern Arabia and on the Arabian shore of the Arabo-Persian Gulf (Robin 1994, 85).

South Arabian nomenclature includes a number of theophoric anthroponyms composed with Wadd: these are most notably *ʾgrwd, Bnwd, Hwfwd, Mrʾtwd, Nʿmwd, °rḥwd, Whbwd, Wdʾb, Wdʾl* or *Zydwd.*

The god Wadd is not attested in Nabataean inscriptions, not even in nomenclature. In Safaitic, anthroponyms such as *Wdʾl* do not necessarily imply the existence of a god name Wadd, since the radical *wd* can have the sense of "love, affection". At Dedan, finally, the god Wadd seems to be known, according to JS lih. 49/1-9: "ʿAbdwadd priest of Wadd and his sons Salām and Zēdwadd have dedicated . . . to dhu-Ghabāt . . ." (*ʿbdwd ʾfkl Wd w-bn-h Slm w-Zdwd hwdqw . . . l-ḏ-Ǧbt . . .*)—with two theophoric forms with Wadd and the title "priest of Wadd". It may be noted, however, that except for this text, Wadd is almost unknown (see the theophoric *bnwd* in AH 11 and possibly 1); one may therefore wonder if the author of JS 49 did not come from the Yemen.

Inscriptions do not confirm the opinion of Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī, who sites the cult of Wadd at Dūmat al-Djandal: mentioned there are *Lh, Dṯn, Rḍw, ʿtrsm* and *Nhy* [see THAMUDIC], but not this god. This is not enough to lead to the conclusion that Ibn al-Kalbī made a mistake, or relayed a tendentious tradition, but a degree of doubt is permissible. Furthermore it is not impossible that the idol of Dūmat al-Djandal may have borne a name resembling Wadd and that the traditionists were confused. Conversely, the god Wadd enjoyed great popularity in Yemen, a fact totally ignored by Tradition. This would seem to prove that Ibn al-Kalbī was ill-informed and that his principal source was indeed the Ḳurʾānic text.

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(CH. ROBIN)

WĀDĪ LAKKU, a river of the Iberian peninsula, on the banks of which the decisive encounter took place between Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], the first Muslim conqueror of the Iberian peninsula, and Roderic, the last Visigothic king, on 28 Ramaḍān 92/19 July 711.

Identification of the toponym is difficult on account of the lack of clarity of the Arabic language sources. On the one hand, all do not give the same variant of the name: Wādī Lakku, or perhaps Wādī Lagu (the hard *g* sound being conventionally represented in mediaeval script by a *kāf*, surmounted by a *shadda*, which can be pronounced *kku* or *gu*), Wādī Lakka or Wādī Bakka—while on the other hand they sometimes

give a different name to this battle: the battle of Faḥṣ S͟harīs͟h ("plain of Jerez"), al-Sawāḳī ("the canals"), Kardād͟janna (Cartagena), Wādī Umm Ḥakīm, al-Buḥayra ("the lake": Laguna de la Janda?), Wādī 'l-Ṭīn, al-D͟jazīra, etc. (cf. J. Vallvé, *La Cora de Tudmir*, in *And.*, xxxvii [1972], 146 n. 3), although it is the form of Wādī Lakku, the phonetic origin of the Spanish Guadalete, which appears most often. In the Romance transcriptions of the Arabic name one also encounters Guadalac, Guadalec, Guadalet or Guadalete. The intermingling of geographical and historical sources does not permit precise localisation of the site of the encounter, on account of the lack of clarity and above all the numerous contradictions which characterise these texts.

For example, the geographer al-Zuhrī (6th/12th century) states that the Wādī Lakka is a river forty parasangs in length which descends from the mountains of Tākurūnna to discharge into the Atlantic Ocean (*D͟jag͟hrāfiya*, 167). Furthermore he asserts "on the basis of what is said by the Christians in their chronicles", that the inhabitants of Cadix drink the water of a great river called Wādī Lakka, spanned by a bridge of thirty arches (*ibid.*, 218). This river is said to have flowed into the ocean at a place known as S͟hant Bāṭaru. For al-Rāzī, quoted by al-Maḳḳarī, the battle allegedly took place on the banks of the Wādī Lakka, the river into which the last Visigothic king, Roderic, was supposedly thrown, in armour, to disappear there without trace (Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 162). Ibn ʿId͟hārī also quotes al-Rāzī (*Bayān*, ii, 10). In the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī refers in his geography to the locality of Bakka, a possible variant of Lakka, in the district, or *iḳlīm*, of al-Buḥayra, a stretch of water identified by R. Dozy as being the Laguna de la Janda (al-Idrīsī, *Description*, 174, tr. 208). According to the notice which al-Ḥimyarī devotes to this locality, at the start of the 8th/14th century (*Rawḍ al-miʿṭar*, no. 159), Lakku, the ruins of which were said to have survived until his time, was an ancient city boasting "one of the best thermal springs in al-Andalus". It was on the banks of the river flowing through the city that the encounter took place between the Christians (*ʿad͟jam*) of Roderic and the Muslim contingents of Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād. This locality of Lakku would correspond to Bolonia, the ancient Baelo, and the Wādī Lakku to Guadalete or to Rio Barbate. The author states (no. 186) that the encounter between Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, the freedman of Ibn Nuṣayr, with Roderic, sovereign of al-Andalus and last king of the Goths, allegedly took place on the Wādī Lakku, in the territory of Algeciras, on the southern coast of al-Andalus.

This is why the exact placing of the encounter between Ṭāriḳ and Roderic remains uncertain, and why historians, starting with Gayangos, Dozy, Lafuente Alcántara, Simoney and Saavedra in the 19th century, have discussed at length its precise location. For some, like Dozy and Lévi-Provençal, Wādī Lakku denoted the Laguna de la Janda, source of the Rio Barbate; for others, the place in question was the banks of the Guadalete, between Medina Sidonia, Arcos and Jerez de la Frontera, in the territory of Cadix. Others tend towards the Rio Salado, a small coastal river which has its estuary close to the village of Conil.

Whatever the precise location, the majority of mediaeval Muslim sources concur in situating this battle on the banks of a watercourse (*wādī, nahr*) of the *kūra* of S͟had͟hūna (Medina Sidonia). In Rad͟jab 92/May 711, on the orders of his master, the Umayyad governor of Ifrīḳiya, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, Ṭāriḳ is said to have embarked with 7,000 Berbers (Matg͟hāra, Madyūna, Miknāsa and Nawāra) and a few Arabs (ranging between a dozen and several hundreds, according to the sources). Arriving at the foot of Mount Calpe (the future D͟jabal Ṭāriḳ, Gibraltar), Ṭāriḳ repulsed Theodemir, the Visigothic governor of the region, who appealed to his king, Roderic (710-11), occupied in the north of the Iberian peninsula in suppressing an uprising. The latter made haste towards Cordova. Learning of the arrival of the Visigothic troops, Ṭāriḳ called for reinforcements from Mūsā, who sent him an extra 5,000 Berber soldiers. The total strength of his army thus rose to 12,000 fighters, most of them foot-soldiers, not counting certain partisans of Akhila, the dispossessed son of Witiza, the preceding Visigothic king (700-10). Ṭāriḳ decided to halt in the region of Algeciras and there to await the Visigothic army on the banks of the Rio Barbate, Guadalete, Salado or the Laguna de la Janda.

Although superior in numbers (the sources speak of between 40,000 and 100,000 Christians), Roderic's troops, confident of victory, were defeated. According to some authors, both wings of the Visigothic army were commanded by partisans, or actual brothers of Akhila, and at the start of the engagement, they changed sides. Roderic, in the centre, resisted, but was ultimately forced to retreat, and his troops were cut to pieces by the Muslims. According to al-Rāzī, quoted by Ibn ʿId͟hārī (*Bayān*, ii, 10, tr. 13) and by al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, i, 163) the battle lasted a whole week, from 28 Ramaḍān to 5 S͟hawwāl 92/19 to 26 July 711. Captives of all social conditions were taken: nobles, plebeians and slaves, recognisable respectively by their gold, silver and leather rings (al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, 204). According to certain sources, Roderic lost his life in the battle and Ṭāriḳ sent his head to Mūsā b. Nuṣayr; according to others, he succeeded in escaping. The victory for Muslim arms opened the gates of the Iberian peninsula.

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WAHM.

2. In mysticism.

In the doctrinal texts of Muslim mysticism, the term *wahm* can appear with either the general sense of "illusory, uncertain personal conjecture" or the more precise sense of "estimative faculty" acquired through the intermediary of Hellenistic philosophy and medicine. However, in the context of the description of spiritual progress, it takes on specific connotations: it denotes a natural faculty of comprehension capable of giving sense only to sensible phenomena, inclined towards anthropomorphism (*tas͟hbīh*) in religious matters and unsuited to the perception of the divine: "Imagination (*wahm*) is a cloud of dust between intelligence (*ʿaḳl*) and profound comprehension (*fahm*). It relates neither to intelligence, of which it is not an attribute, nor to comprehension, nothing in which corresponds to any of its attributes (. . .). It resembles the drowsiness between deep sleep and waking, which is

being neither asleep nor awake. Waking, it is the transition between intelligence and comprehension, and comprehension and intelligence, without there being any fog of obscurity between the two" (Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ, quoted by al-Sarrādj, *K. al-Lumaʿ*, ed. A.H. Maḥmūd and T.ʿA.B. Surūr, Cairo 1960, 298; and R. Gramlich, *Schlaglichter über das Sufitum*, Stuttgart 1990, 345). It is in this sense that al-Ḥallādj declares in a celebrated poem: "No estimation (*wahm*) could relate to the subject of You, in such a way that in imagination it could be decided where You are!" (*K. al-Tawāsīn*, ed. P. Nwyia, v, 11-12). And subsequently, evoking the spiritual *miʿrādj*, he writes: "Overturn your discourse, abandon conjectures (*al-awhām*), pick up your feet behind and before!" (*ibid.*, v, 21).

While imagination is a natural faculty, sometimes useful for meditation (see al-Muḥāsibī, *K. al-Tawahhum*), it needs to be mastered and left behind. More profoundly still, illusion, the fundamental *wahm*, consists from the Ṣūfī point of view in believing that existence and, *a fortiori*, human activities, exist independently of God, outside Him. Men assume an illusory existence (*wudjūd wahmī*), when this is entirely dependent on pure divine existence (*wudjūd ḥaḳīḳī*). Spiritual exercises, as well as the use of discursive reasoning, amount here to means of waking up and of being freed from this illusion. The most expansive treatment of the functions of imagination is to be found in the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. Although he sometimes employs the terms *wahm* and *khayāl* as synonyms, he propounds a doctrine of precise human imagination where *wahm* regains the connotations mentioned above (for example, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1911, iii, 364-5). Basically, he disassociates imagination deriving from simple individual mental representation from that which links the spirit of the person to the superior worlds. Only this second imaginative faculty constitutes a genuine way of knowledge and can become the setting for an authentic theophanic experience (see H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Paris 1958, Eng. tr. R. Mannheim, *Creative imagination in the Sufism of Ibn ʿArabī*, Princeton 1969; W.C. Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge: Ibn al-ʿArabi's metaphysics of imagination*, Albany 1989).

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(P. Lory)

WAḲF.

II. In the Arab Lands

2. In Syria.

A survey of the history of endowments in Syria, in the geographical sense of Bilād al-Shām [see al-shām], has to take into account a broad range of changing and often localised rules and practices. This article will focus primarily on Syria's main urban centres, Damascus [see dimashḳ], Jerusalem [see al-ḳuds] and Aleppo [see ḥalab], and occasionally refer to smaller cities.

In general, endowments in Syria have not solicited as much scholarly attention as those in Egypt, particularly before the Ottoman period. To a certain extent, this is due to the fact that access to sources and documentation is less centralised than in Cairo and not always facilitated by adequate research instruments. Large collections of *waḳf*-related documents are housed in the National Archives and other institutions in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian territories. The putatively rich archives of the Waḳf Ministries are not easily accessible for researchers. Important holdings concerning Syrian endowments can be found in Istanbul, Ankara, Cairo and various archives, libraries and collections in Europe and the United States as well.

If archival holdings are particularly rich for the Ottoman period owing to series of local court registers [see sidjill.3 and 4], they tend to become comparatively thin for earlier periods. A notable exception are the documents from the Mamlūk period found in the Ḥaram of Jerusalem [see al-ḥaram al-sharīf] (D.P. Little, *A catalogue of the Islamic documents from al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem*, Beirut 1984). Otherwise, researchers have to rely on legal literature (especially *waḳf* treatises and *fatāwā*), *ḥadīth* collections and the different genres of historical writing (chronicles, biographical dictionaries, travelogues, topographies, *faḍāʾil*). Much can be learned from archaeological findings, inscriptions in particular (*Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum [CIA]*, Cairo 1903-56; *RCEA*, ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, G. Wiet, Cairo 1931-2; H. Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien*, Beirut 1978).

i. *Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids*

Only in the 3rd/9th century did various forms of charitable giving (*ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*]) and of immobilisation of property (*ḥabs* in a strict sense) crystallise into the legal institution that is known thereafter, synonymously, as *waḳf* or *ḥabs* [see waḳf. I. In Classical Islamic Law, at Vol. XI, 59b]. It is often difficult to put the earliest traces of charitable practices under Islamic rule in their proper context. It is therefore impossible to determine the exact nature of the acts that are known as the earliest endowments in Syria. A freedman of the Prophet named Abū ʿAbd Allāh Thawbān b. Yuḥdad (d. 54/673-4) is said to have given away his house in Ḥims [*q.v.*] as *ṣadaḳa* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, 72; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1178; Gil, *Early endowments*, 129). An incomplete inscription found in the perimeter of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, dated around 290/902-3, mentions a house inalienable for eternity designated for an unknown purpose (*al-dār . . . muḥabbasa abad^{an} ʿalā*) (*CIA Jérusalem. II*, no. 218). Two *waḳf* inscriptions from Ramla, dated around 300/912-13, however, show that by this time the legal terminology had been fully developed and that endowing followed established procedures, including the deposition of the *kitāb al-waḳf* in front of a *ḳāḍī* (Sharon). Yet even legendary early acts of piety could be transformed into real endowments that endured for centuries. A pertinent example is the endowment for Tamīm al-Dārī [*q.v.*] in Hebron [see *EI*[1], art. *al-Khalīl*] which allegedly had been given to him by the Prophet himself. Later, it was sanctioned several times by different authorities, among them the British mandatory administration of Palestine in the 1920s (Massignon).

Hebron was of special significance to early Muslims because of its close connection with the prophet Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*]. Palestine and the rest of Syria possessed a considerable number of such holy places which attracted pious and charitable donations from early on (see e.g. the *waḳf* inscription dated 400/1009-10 for the *mashhad* of the prophet Lūṭ in Banī Nāʿīm near Hebron, *Répertoire*, no. 2148). For Muslims, the most eminent of these places was Jerusalem, ceding in sanctity only to Mecca (Makka [*q.v.*]) and Medina [see al-madīna], but it was seen as a spiritual centre by other religious communities as well. In early Islamic legal thinking, the devotional practices of Christians and Jews were obviously points of discussion, but they were eventually declared permissible (al-Khaṣṣāf, *Aḥkām al-awḳāf*, Cairo 1904, 341), and donations reached Jerusalem even from Christian Europe (Gil, *Donations*).

Little is known about endowments in Syria of the Umayyad period. Some of the most prestigious religious buildings of early Islam were built there, financed by funds from the Muslim treasury [see BAYT AL-MĀL]. In Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock was completed in 72/691-2 and the al-Akṣā Mosque in the reign of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (86-96/705-15 [*q.v.*]) [see AL-ḲUDS. B. Monuments]. This caliph also ordered the construction of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus in 86/705, approximately at the same time as the Great Mosque of Aleppo was built.

Founding a mosque (*masdjid* [*q.v.*]) was one of the few uncontested early forms of *wakf*. Opening a building for the prayers of the Muslim community made it the property of God (al-Khaṣṣāf, *op. cit.*, 113). Yet evidently not all mosques were endowed with assets that secured their upkeep and provided for the needs of the community, as this was carefully noted in the listings of mosques in early topographical writing (e.g. Ibn ʿAsākir; Ibn Shaddād; Ibn al-Shihna; Mudjīr al-Dīn).

When the ʿAbbāsids removed their capital to ʿIrāḳ, the Syrian regions lost much of their importance. The following centuries were characterised by warfare, insecurity and changing ruling dynasties [see ṬŪLŪNIDS; IKHSHĪDIDS; ḤAMDĀNIDS; MARWĀNIDS; ARTUKIDS]. The north was temporarily reoccupied by Byzantine troops, and Jerusalem and Damascus came under the domination of the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimids [*q.v.*] of Cairo. According to the legal treatises which have to be situated in the ʿIrāḳī context, various types of *wakf* must have existed in this period. And even though a special agency, the *dīwān al-birr* [see DĪWĀN], was established in Baghdād in the early 4th/10th century to supervise pious endowments and charity (*wuḳūf* and *ṣadaḳāt*) (Miskawayh, i, 151-2, 257), nothing is known about a similar institution in Syria.

ii. *Fāṭimids and Saldjūḳids*

Only in the first half of the 5th/11th century when, under a precarious balance of power between Fāṭimids [*q.v.*], Buwayhids [*q.v.*] and the Byzantine empire, commerce resumed, are there some examples of commercial gains being invested in endowments, not surprisingly destined for defence purposes: The historian al-Fāriḳī mentions the case of a cloth merchant in Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*], north of Aleppo, who bought a village and endowed it to secure the upkeep of three forts (Bianquis, 606).

Helping the war effort against enemies of Islam (*fī sabīl Allāh*) was by this time a time-honoured *wakf* type. Such endowments belonged to the category designated for the Muslim community as a whole or groups of an undetermined number of people being in need of charity that are supposed to exist continually till the end of time (*wakf ʿāmm*). Thus the ultimate recipients of all charity are the poor and destitute (*al-fuḳarāʾ wa ʾl-masākīn*) as prescribed in Ḳurʾān IX, 60 and LI, 19. The other category included endowments for descendants, other family members, clients, liberated slaves or other named persons, i.e. endowments for a limited number of people (*wakf khāṣṣ*) who would eventually die out and thus allow the *wakf* to reach its ultimate stage as everlasting charity (al-Khaṣṣāf, *op. cit.*, 135-7; al-Māwardī, *K. Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Bonn 1853, 118, 139-40; al-Ṭarābulsī, *K. al-Isʿāf fī aḥkām al-awḳāf*, Cairo 1902, 28-9). The second type—a sub-category of which was later known as the family *wakf* (*wakf ahlī* or *dhurrī*)—was rather popular if we count the cases discussed in the extant legal literature. One of the earliest documented examples in Syria belonged to a group of *ashrāf* [*q.v.*] in Fāṭimid Damascus. In 435/1043 several descendants of the endower fought over their allotted shares, which resulted in a document that also presented a list of the *wakf*'s assets (Sourdel-Thomine and Sourdel) [see WAKF. II. 3. ii, at Vol. XI, 70a, for a discussion of family endowments in North Africa]. Compared with al-Maḳrīzī's statement that in early Egyptian endowments urban properties prevailed over agricultural lands, it is of interest to note that in this case the assets consisted of six agricultural domains (*dayʿa*). They were situated in the grain-growing regions around Damascus, the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*], in the plains at the foot of Hermon, and the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*] valley near Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*]. The distribution of assets within a rather limited geographical region proved rather typical for Syrian endowments in the centuries to come. There were, however, always notable exceptions to this rule: endowments spanning great distances between faraway regions, in particular for the benefit of the Ḥaramayn [*q.v.*] and in Mamlūk and Ottoman times.

The *wakf* was not only a means to gain rewards in the afterlife for the sake of one's soul [*thawāb*] or to secure the material well-being of one's descendants. In the hands of various élite groups it became an eminent instrument for the propagation of status, wealth and power. Charitable giving, aiming at otherworldly rewards, was no longer done preferably in secret, but led to open displays of worldly riches and splendour (Korn). At the same time, new forms of burying and remembering the dead appeared. Funerary art and architecture [see ḲABR] became more elaborate, and saintly persons or the rich and powerful were frequently buried in mausolea [see ḲUBBA; TURBA] and other buildings of public character. We still do not fully comprehend these complex phenomena, but endowments clearly played a significant role in them, resulting in the "constructions of power and piety" (Tabbaa) that give Syrian cityscapes their distinct character till today.

Thus the building type of the mosque, which had been used simultaneously as place of worship, for learning and for sheltering the needy, was complemented by a number of new institutions with more specific purposes. The separation between places of prayer and places of learning had far-reaching implications not only for urban and architectural history. The new urban complexes which were generally financed by endowments had a profound impact on the social, economic, intellectual and educational life of the cities (Makdisi; Pouzet; Chamberlain). *Wakf* stipulations now provided for the regular payment of fixed sums to a growing number of people who worked in and for the foundations. Salaried posts were established for professors and assistant professors, but also for the administration and the physical upkeep of the institutions. Endowments financed the professional reading of the Ḳurʾān which became more widespread and organised at this time (Pouzet, 169).

This feature decisively altered the notion of poverty that was at the core of the concept of *wakf* (Sabra). The early legal texts had maintained that a recipient of *wakf* income had preferably to be poor in a material sense, excluding groups like the blind or those who were in charge of calling for prayer (*muʾadhdhin* [see ADHĀN]) in a mosque as lawful beneficiaries, because they presumably included poor and rich people (al-Khaṣṣāf, *op. cit.*, 276). Yet this criterion evidently no longer applied, and to receive such payments became a sign of group affiliation or social distinction. Thus the *wakf* could be used as a prop for the formation and reproduction of social groups, as e.g.

the *ashrāf*, Ṣūfī brotherhoods [see ṬARĪKA; ZĀWIYA], professional guilds [see ṢINF] or diaspora communities.

The first of the new institutions, the *khānkāh* [*q.v.*], was introduced from the Persian world to look after the needs of travelling Ṣūfīs. Some of the earliest examples in Syria were founded in Damascus. The best known goes back to the famous Ṣūfī, historian and astronomer, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Sulamī al-Sumaysāṭī (d. 453/1061) (al-Nuʿaymī, ii, 118-26; Bianquis, 634; Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, iii, 767). Passing through Damascus in 580/1184, Ibn Djubayr [*q.v.*] saw the *khānkāh* still working as stipulated and remarked that it was a beautiful way to remember the departed and his good works (*Riḥla*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1907, 290).

During the second half of the 5th/11th century the advance of the Saldjūḳids [*q.v.*] led to hostilities with the Fāṭimids. Contemporaries saw the *umma* [*q.v.*] even more threatened when, at the end of the century, the armies of the Crusaders [see CRUSADES] occupied considerable tracts of Syria, among them Jerusalem in 492/1099. In this period, the *madrasa* was introduced into the Syrian cities, an institution specialising in the teaching of Sunnī jurisprudence and law. Endowing a *madrasa* was often part of a larger building programme. The Saldjūḳ ruler Duḳāḳ and his mother, for instance, founded after 491/1097-8 the first *bīmāristān* [*q.v.*] of Damascus, a *madrasa* for the Ḥanafiyya and a *khanḳāh* which also became their own tomb. Women of the ruling dynasties start to figure prominently among the endowers in this period (Tabbaa, 46).

iii. *Zangids and Ayyūbids*

The political and spiritual significance of endowments becomes more pronounced when, after 541/1146, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī [*q.v.*] came to control the parts of Syria that were not under the domination of the Crusaders. Particularly after 558/1162-3, the Zangid ruler adopted a public image of strict religiosity following the model of the Prophet. As part of this policy, he ordered religious and other buildings serving the Muslim community all over Syria to be restored, and he assured their functioning by supplementing their endowments. Among his most important new foundations are the famous *bīmāristān* in Damascus, as well as his tomb *madrasa* and the first *dār al-ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] in Islamic history, and in Aleppo, another *bīmāristān* and several colleges of law (for a list, see Elisséeff, *op. cit.*, iii, 913-35).

Only for this period do the historical sources mention a state official in charge of the *wakf* system for Syria. The supervision of endowments (*naẓar al-awḳāf*) was among the functions attributed to the *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* [*q.v.*] of Damascus, the Ḥanafī Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shahrazūrī (d. 572/1176-7) (Pouzet, 29). The way in which he exercised his prerogatives was the reason for a legal debate which allows interesting insights into contemporary legal thinking on *wakf*. To finance defence measures, the *ḳāḍī* had been authorised to use the surplus income (*faḍl*) of endowments which occurred after the stipulated purposes had been paid for (Abū Shāma, i, 11). The debate is related by Abū Shāma [*q.v.*] as having taken place in the Citadel of Damascus in 554/1159: Nūr al-Dīn convened several experts of the Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī and Mālikī schools of law. He wanted to know which of the Umayyad mosque's assets were part of its *wakf* and which were merely additions (*muḍāf*) belonging to the treasury (*op. cit.*, i, 17). The distinction was significant, because it allowed the diversion of income of the mosque for other purposes. The second question aimed specifically at the surplus income of endowments. Asked whether it was permissible to spend such funds for the defence of the *umma*, the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn forcefully denied it and maintained that the ruler should borrow the needed sums in the name of the treasury. *Wakf* income could only be spent for the designated beneficiaries (*op. cit.*, i, 18). It is, however, manifest in Abū Shāma's account that not all jurists held the same opinion, and later on even the Shāfiʿiyya adopted the opposite position. These discussions highlight the tensions resulting from the overlapping political and social fields of *wakf*, *bayt al-māl*, personal income of the ruler [see KHĀṢṢ], and claims in the name of the general good [see MAṢLAḤA].

The impact of the Crusades is even more apparent under the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*]. After the reconquest of Jerusalem, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn pursued his policy of propagating a strict Sunnī Islam, already adopted in Fāṭimid Cairo, in order to turn it into a truly Muslim city. Endowing was an important part of this programme to repossess the properties of Frankish institutions. In 585/1189, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn established in the former residence of the Latin patriarch a hospice for Ṣūfīs, which was named after him *al-Ṣalāḥiyya*. The deed of this foundation is the earliest extant example of a complete *waḳfiyya* for Syria (ʿAsalī, i, 83-100). In the case of his *madrasa*, the foundation deed of 588/1192 explicitly stated that the sultan had officially purchased the properties which formerly had belonged to two Latin churches from the *bayt al-māl* (Frenkel, *Political and social aspects*; Pahlitzsch).

The return to Muslim rule affected also the status of agricultural land that had been occupied by non-Muslims. In analogy with early Islamic history, several and often contradicting solutions could be drawn from the explanations of the different schools of law. In practice, some of these lands were left with those in possession of them. Others were given out as grants [see IḲṬĀʿ] (Frenkel, *Impact*, 239-47). Many of these were later incorporated into a growing number of endowments founded by members of the ruling dynasty, its military and administrative functionaries and increasingly also by *ʿulamāʾ* (Humphreys; Tabbaa). A considerable portion of these foundations can be attributed to women. The proliferation of public buildings which resulted from these endowment activities can be traced into the smaller cities and settlements of the region.

iv. *Mamlūks*

Many features of these *wakf* policies continued under the Mamlūks [*q.v.*], who after their victory over the Mongols [*q.v.*] in ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] in 658/1260 and numerous campaigns against the Franks, came to dominate the whole of Syria. The military triumph of the Muslim forces was followed by an extensive building programme which aimed at propagating the Islamic character of the new rulers. Hence special reverence was shown for the "Sanctuaries" [see AL-ḤARAMAYN AL-SHARĪFAYN], which was used to refer not only to Mecca and Medina but also to Jerusalem and Hebron. Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars I [*q.v.*] is attributed with a considerable number of endowments in these cities and other places of religious interest, and many of his successors followed his example (Meinecke).

The centre of Mamlūk endowment activities was undisputedly Cairo, but in the Syrian cities, mostly in ruins after the destructions caused by the Crusades and the Mongol invasion, building and restoring also resumed on a large scale. Tripoli [see ṬARĀBULUS AL-SHĀM] was rebuilt in a new location (Luz). Aleppo

was slow in regaining its former glory, but new urban quarters developed in the north and north-east (Sauvaget; Gaube-Wirth). Damascus witnessed a period of considerable growth, illustrated by the endowment of several new Friday mosques outside the old city walls (Meinecke). These building activities came to an abrupt halt in 803/1400-1 when the army of Tīmūr Lang [*q.v.*] invaded Syria. For Damascus, the extent of the destruction can be gleaned from a document which enumerates the assets of the Umayyad Mosque and describes their actual state (to be published by S. Atāsī and B. ʿUlabī, IFPO, Damascus).

Although the written documentation becomes denser for this period, what we know about endowing is still very much an élite phenomenon. This is evident in the appearance of a novel *wakf* type: At first sight it appears as a typical charitable endowment (*wakf khayrī*), yet founders began to stipulate that any surplus (*faḍl*) from the *wakf*'s income was not to be reinvested, but was destined for themselves and their descendants (Amīn, *Awkāf*, 73-8). It was still customary to endow new mosques and other institutions with rather small incomes (Mudjīr al-Dīn; al-Nuʿaymī; al-Ghazzī), but some foundations started to produce much higher revenues than warranted by their specified purposes. Such arrangements allowed founders and, after them, their descendants, as administrators and beneficiaries, to pursue their own interests, protected from interference and confiscation by the state by the sanctity of the *wakf* (Petry).

Administrators of such endowments were often accused of embezzling funds belonging to all the Muslims. Such accusations were all the more difficult to refute, as endowments increasingly were made of land that previously had belonged to the treasury and had been given out as military or administrative grants [see IKṬĀʿ]. This practice, known as *irṣād* or in Ottoman times as *wakf ghayr ṣaḥīḥ* (see al-Ṭarābulsī, *op. cit.*, 20; Cuno), was not acknowledged as a sound *wakf* by the jurists. In legal theory, it was only allowed for the purposes specified for the *bayt al-māl*. Stipulations could be altered by later rulers.

The Mamlūk administration tried to control this complex *wakf* system [see WAKF. II. 1. In Egypt, at Vol. XI, 63b] by putting it under the supervision of local governmental agencies: In Damascus, the second capital of the realm, the *naẓar al-awkāf* belonged within the duties of the Shāfiʿī *kāḍī al-kuḍāt*. This official was also charged with the supervision of the *awkāf* of the Umayyad Mosque, whereas the al-Nūrī *bīmāristān* was put under the responsibility of the governor. Similar arrangements can be found in other Syrian towns (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, Cairo 1914-28, iv, 191-2, 220-1).

By the end of the Mamlūk period, the *wakf* as an institution built on the initiative of individuals had taken over many functions that the treasury had fulfilled in earlier times. This is evident for instance in the *dīwān al-asrā*, responsible for the liberation of Muslim war prisoners: it was now financed by endowments, but stayed under the supervision of an appointed agent of the state (*op. cit.*, iv, 191). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who travelled from Cairo to Damascus in 726/1326, was struck by the "varieties of the endowments of Damascus and their expenditure . . ., so numerous are they. There are endowments in aid of persons who cannot undertake the Pilgrimage. . . . There are endowments for supplying wedding outfits to girls, to those namely whose families are unable to provide them. There are endowments for the freeing of prisoners, and endowments for travellers, out of which they are given food, clothing, and the expenses of conveyance to their countries. There are endowments for the improvement and paving of the streets. . . . Besides these there are endowments for other charitable purposes." And he went on to relate a story how an endowment "for utensils" (*ālāt*) helped a slave to replace a broken porcelain dish (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. Gibb, i, 148-9).

v. *Ottomans*

The Ottoman conquest of Bilād al-Shām in 922/1516-17 did not radically change the *wakf* regime [see WAKF. IV. In the Ottoman Empire, at Vol. XI, 87b]. To establish a secure hold on the tax income of the new provinces which stemmed mainly from agricultural revenues, the Ottoman administration began early on to survey all rights concerning land or access to its produce. These tax registers (*taḥrīr* [*q.v.*], later called the *daftar al-khāḳānī* [*q.v.*] or *al-sulṭānī*) are a valuable source for Mamlūk and Ottoman *wakf* history, because they allow insights into number, types, composition and lifespan of endowments.

According to the Ottoman provincial regulations (*ḳānūn* [*q.v.*]), *wakf* properties were subject to an imposition, in many cases, one-tenth of their share (*ʿushr māl al-wakf*) (Venzke). Only the *wakf al-Ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn*, those for Jerusalem and Hebron, and the great imperial endowments, were tax-exempt. Studies of the tax régime tend to focus on the early period of Ottoman rule in Syria. Yet endowments continued as part of rural life and were involved in the conflicts over resources between the different social groups trying to control them. Many court cases and *fatāwā* refer to the necessity of defending the interests of endowments against *iḳṭāʿ*-holders and tax-farmers [see ILTIZĀM; MÜLTEZIM] (Johansen).

The importance of land is highlighted by the issue of the appropriation of state lands [see MĪRĪ]. Especially during the first century of Ottoman rule in Syria, highly-placed Ottoman officials included in their endowments large tracts of land, in different regions or even provinces (e.g. the endowments of Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha and his wife Fāṭima Khātūn). In fact, most of these foundations are formally genuine *awkāf* because a deed of possession (*tamlīk*) from the sultan authorised such transfers. Later on, endowing agricultural land became less frequent, with the exception of privately-owned gardens and orchards. Even in the case of prominent officials and notables, only the rights of cultivation (*mashadd maska*) and the plantations standing on the land were endowed. Agricultural revenues were appropriated by more indirect means like long-term rents and sublease contracts (Rāfiḳ).

Ottoman endowment practice is more visible in the urban context. Like other rulers before them, the Ottoman sultans showed a marked interest in the *Ḥaramayn* of Jerusalem and Hebron. At the same time, they and members of their households founded large urban complexes in other towns, which added a distinctly Ottoman element to their cityscapes. The most outstanding examples in Damascus are the endowment of sultan Selīm I [*q.v.*] around the tomb of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] in al-Ṣāliḥiyya [*q.v.*], or the *takiyya* [*q.v.*] of sultan Süleymān [*q.v.*]. In Jerusalem, it was the latter's wife, Khurrem Sulṭān [*q.v.*], who founded the famous Khāṣṣekī Sulṭān complex, including a soup-kitchen [see ʿIMĀRET] (Singer). Numerous foundations of Ottoman officials and local notables helped to develop urban quarters and contributed in some cases to the establishing of new city centres. Yet the *wakf* was also used by a growing number of persons of rather modest means, among them a high proportion of women. The majority of these endowments are

rather small, consisting of one house or even a part of a house.

It may be stating the obvious to stress that endowing as a social practice was influenced by gender, economic means, social distinction, ethnic and religious affiliations, membership of guilds or Ṣūfī groups, etc. Ongoing research, however, reveals how much there is still to be learned to come to a better understanding of such distinctions. The use of *wakf* by Christian and Jewish communities is an important field of research in this context (Oded). Other approaches stress the significance of localised practices. The cash *wakf*, for instance, was quite widespread in Jerusalem, but in the other parts of Syria its introduction was slow and confined to certain social groups from the administrative and military milieu (Arnā'ūṭ). Local practice also influenced notions of family and the modes by which property was transferred from one generation to the next, as shown in a comparative study of late Ottoman Nābulus [*q.v.*] and Tripoli (Doumani).

Decisive changes in the *wakf* régime of the Syrian provinces occurred under the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms. A Wakf Ministry had been gradually established in Istanbul between 1826 and 1838. Under the impact of the reforms, the state forcefully claimed to be the sole legitimate representative of public interests. In this context, the administration introduced new *wakf* classifications along the lines of private and public property. The single steps of the reforms are not altogether clear, but a state agency was introduced into the provincial administrations in the late 1830s which cut back the ancient prerogatives of the *ḳāḍī*. The new functionaries (*nāẓir [mu'adjdjalāt] al-awḳāf* and *mudīr al-awḳāf*) were directly paid from Istanbul to prevent the notorious embezzling of funds. Other laws concerning changes in *wakf* administration followed in 1863 and 1870 (Barnes, 103-54; Gerber, 178-98; Meier).

During the 19th century, the *wakf* institution as a whole came under severe criticism, being denounced as an obstacle on the way to progress and modernity. The family *wakf*, in particular, was accused of being a mere circumvention of the inheritance laws of the Ḳur'ān. These controversies ceased only in the middle of the 20th century, when many of the independent states decided on severe legal restrictions for family endowments or, in the case of Syria, even abolished them completely (see WAKF. II. 5, at Vol. XI, 78b).

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WARD.

In Arabic literature.

The rose is easily the most sung flower in Arabic poetry. Its natural place is in flower, garden and spring poetry (*zahriyyāt, rawḍiyyāt* and *rabīʿiyyāt*), but the rose also figures prominently in the setting of wine poetry (*khamriyyāt*), which is actually the place of origin for flower poems. Abū Nuwās (d. *ca.* 198/813 [*q.v.*]) still keeps the bacchic framework of his flower descriptions, and it may have been ʿAlī b. al-Djahm (d. 249/863 [*q.v.*]) who first wrote pure floral pieces, all of them devoted to the rose (see Schoeler 71-2, 128). Poetic descriptions of it may be individual or part of the description of a garden with a variety of flowers. The vast majority of rose poems deal with the red variety, but the white, yellow, black and blue varities (the last created artificially with the use of indigo) have also attracted some attention (see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 193-6).

Gem imagery

The description (*waṣf* [*q.v.*]) of the rose is rarely a simple recreation of the visual impression it presents. The first step to transcend the natural is the use of similes, which introduce a second layer of imagery; the next step is to omit the particle of comparison, thus creating a metaphorical identification. Two "genres" of the phantastic are the outcome of this procedure. One consists in turning the rose into an aggregate of precious materials, mainly gems. The first stage (similes) may be exemplified by the following example, by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 237/851 [*q.v.*]):

"Don't you see the rose bushes presenting to us wonderments that have been mounted on branches,
"Their petals are red, their insides are yellow embers, and around them are green boughs.
"It is as if they were rubies framed with emeralds, in the midst of which are chippings of gold."
(al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *Muḥibb*, iii, 89 [no. 147]).

The analogues of the simile in the third line form a parallel to the topics in the second line, so this is a very cautious introduction of the precious materials as a new sphere of imagery.

The next step (metaphorical equation) may be seen in the following example (of multiple attribution):

"Don't you see the roses inviting [us] to go down to be 'watered' with aged wine whose color is amber.
"[They are] ointment pots made of rubies laid on top of emeralds, inside of which is gold. . . ."
(al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 189).

The same kind of imagery is also used with other flowers. The unusual "freezing" into gems of the various parts of the blossom may historically be explained as a result of the emergence of flower poems from wine poetry: the latter, especially in Abū Nuwās, is rife with gem similes and metaphors to evoke the wine and the cup (cf. Schoeler, 72-5). Since the materials used as analogues are noble and incorruptible, an additional effect is that time itself freezes (cf. Hamori, 78-87). Finally, one should not forget that the recreation of natural objects, especially animals and plants, with the use of gems was not uncommon in courtly circles.

Personification

The other way of introducing a phantastic dimension is the personification of the rose, which in turn allows the poet to attribute a reason or motivation to its outward appearance or its "actions"—the phenomenon called *takhyīl* [*q.v.*] by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078 or later [*q.v.* in Suppl.]).

Al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897 [*q.v.*]) composed the following famous lines:

"Gay spring has come to you, strutting [and] laughing with beauty, almost talking even.
"In the darkness before daybreak, Nawrūz has awakened the first roses that yesterday had still been sleeping,
"the coolness of the dew slitting them open, and it was as if it [sc. spring or Nawrūz] were spreading news that yesterday had been concealed (*fa-ka'annahū yabuththu ḥadīthᵘⁿ kāna amsi mukattamā*)."
(*Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣayrafī, p. 2090; the "improved" version in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 189, has *fa-ka'annamā yabuththu ḥadīthᵘⁿ baynahunna mukattamā* "and it was as if it were spreading news that had been concealed among them [sc. the roses]").

The idea that the opening of the buds is a broadcasting of something previously secret is cautiously formulated as an "as if". The second step (full personification) appears in the following line by ʿAlī b. al-Djahm:

"The roses started laughing only when the beauty of the flower beds and the sound of the chirping birds excited it.
"They appeared, and the world showed them its beauties, and, in the evening the wine came in its new clothes. . . ."
(al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *Muḥibb*, iii, 92, with slight divergences from the *Dīwān* version).

"Laughing" is "coming into bloom". The roses wait until the stage is set for them. The possibilities of *takhyīl*, the poetic re-interpretation of reality, are made use of in two specific contexts: the rose–cheek equation, and the rose vs. narcissus debate.

Rose = cheek

The term "rose" became part of the poetic jargon of the Moderns, where it simply meant "cheek"—alongside "narcissus" for "eye" and "chamomile (petals)" for "teeth", to name but these. Underlying this usage is, of course, the comparison of the red cheek with the red rose. But by reversing the comparison (*ḳalb*) the rose is often perceived as a cheek. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī says (*Dīwān al-maʿānī*, ii, 23):

"Comparing it to the cheek is an appropriate simile (*tashbīh muṣīb*), but I refrained from indulging in it (*al-ikthār minhu*) because of its fame and frequency". Here are a few more sophisticated examples of the rose-cheek identification, showing in particular the phenomenon called "harmony of imagery" (*murāʿāt al-naẓīr*).

al-Walīd b. al-Djannān al-Shāṭibī:

"On the cheek of the rose are tears, dripping from the eyes of the clouds."

(al-Nawādjī, *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, 239).

Abū Bakr al-Khālidī:

"They protected the roses of their cheeks, so that we could not pluck them due to the scorpions of their forelocks."

(al-Khālidiyyān: *Dīwān*, 70).

Ibn al-Rūmī:

"Those tears resemble drops of dew that fall from a narcissus (eye) onto a rose (cheek)."

(Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tashbīhāt*, 83, 7ff.; 89, 16).

One of the dandies (*aḥad al-ẓurafāʾ*):

"A fawn whose cheek and whose eyes are my rose and my narcissus."

(Ibn Abī ʿAwn: *Tashbīhāt*, 90, 2).

Kushādjim:

"If you like, it [the wine] is, from his hands, wine and, from his cheeks, roses."

(*Dīwān*, 140 [no. 129]).

Rose vs. narcissus

The debate about the precedence of the rose over the narcissus or vice versa was mostly decided in favour of the rose. The rose was considered the king of the flowers. The caliph al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] is supposed to have said: "I am the king of the rulers and the rose is the king of the fragrant plants, and each one of us is the most suitable for his counterpart" (al-Nawādjī, *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, 235). Similarly, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī says:

"The one who is sitting in an assembly is not like the one who is standing in it."

(Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, ii, 23, quoting himself; but it also occurs in Ibn al-Rūmī, *Dīwān*, 1242 [no. 1022], which, however, is strange in view of his well-known predilection for the narcissus).

I.e. the rose blossom is sitting on the bush like the ruler, while the narcissus is standing on its stem like his attendant.

It was Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/895 [*q.v.*]) who objected and declared his preference for the narcissus (*Dīwān*, 643-4 [often quoted], also 665 [no. 36], 1234 [a little prose text]; 1458 [no. 1112]). This he emphasised in a notorious invective against the rose, in which he compared it to a mule's anus with remnants of faeces in its midst (*Dīwān*, 1452 [no. 1107]). S. Boustany has offered a political-symbolic interpretation of Ibn al-Rūmī's favouring the narcissus (*Ibn ar-Rūmī. Sa vie et son œuvre. I. Ibn ar-Rūmī dans son milieu*, Beirut 1967, 339-40), but this has been effectively refuted by Schoeler (213-5). If it is not a simple personal predilection, it seems appropriate to consider Ibn al-Rūmī's position a somewhat sensationalist game in the tradition of *al-maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* [*q.v.*], especially if he did indeed on another occasion toot the usual horn (see above). His poem elicited a number of counterpoems, the best known being a six-liner by the famous garden poet al-Ṣanawbarī (*Dīwān*, 498 [no. 123]). On the "proofs" offered by Ibn al-Rūmī and al-Ṣanawbarī, most of them in the *takhyīl* category, see Heinrichs, *Rose versus narcissus*, 184-6. Notable is the fact that al-Ṣanawbarī offers a real *munāẓara*, i.e. the two flowers debate each other, if only in a rudimentary way, while Ibn al-Rūmī does use personification, but not in a sustained way and without letting the "protagonists" speak.

Some poets, such as Abū Bakr al-Khālidī, refrain from taking sides in the debate; he says:

"I disclosed to the narcissus of al-Raḳḳa my love, and I have no strength to avoid the roses.

"Both brothers are beloved, and I consider judging between them foolishness.

"In the army of flowers one is the vanguard that marches, the other the rear guard.

(al-Khālidiyyān, *Dīwān*, 143 [no. 125]).

The most interesting developments in the rose vs. narcissus debate are in prose (prosimetrum, to be exact). From 11th-century al-Andalus we have two *risālas*, one by Abu Ḥafṣ Aḥmad b. Burd al-Aṣghar (d. 1053-4), addressed to Abu 'l-Walīd b. Djahwar, ruler of Cordova (*r.* 1043-69), the other by Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. *ca.* 440/1048) and addressed to Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād, ruler of Seville (*r.* 1023-42) (both in al-Ḥimyarī, *Badīʿ*, 53-8, 58-67). The first tells a story of certain leaders among the flowers agreeing on recognising the rose as their king and drawing up a contract (*a contrat social*) that would be binding also on those flowers as are spatially or temporally absent. After quoting the *risāla* of Aḥmad b. Burd, Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī responds to it by entering the fictional realm created by Ibn Burd and continuing the story by pointing out that the recognition of the rose as ruler was an error and that the narcissus should have been in that position (one of the arguments being that the "eye" [narcissus] is much nobler than the "cheek" [rose], which latter is not even a sense organ!).

A political interpretation of the two flower epistles imposes itself. After the recent breakdown of the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus, both addressees, Ibn Djahwar and Ibn ʿAbbād, ruled their respective city states, Cordova and Seville, with the consent of their people (people of substance, no doubt) and without any regnal title. This democratic, or aristocratic, model was unusual. Both Ibn Burd and al-Ḥimyarī were or had been high-ranking administrators; it is hardly strange that they attempted to make a constitutional statement in "flowery" language, most likely in the sense that they suggested to their addressees to adopt the caliphal title (for further details, see Heinrichs, *Rose versus narcissus*, 186-93).

In a purely literary vein, there are two more prose *munāẓaras* between rose and narcissus, one by Tādj al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Madjīd (d. 744/1343), with the title *Anwār al-saʿd wa-nuwwār al-madjd fī 'l-mufākhara bayn al-narjis wa 'l-ward* (in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 207-13), and one by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Māridīnī (2nd half of 15th century), entitled *al-Djawhar al-fard fī munāẓarat al-narjis wa 'l-ward* (in al-Shirwānī, *Nafḥat al-Yaman*, Hooghly 1841, 107-17). Of interest here is the way in which they establish the fictionality of their debates: Ibn ʿAbd al-Madjīd states that he wanted "to personify the two" (*ushakhkhiṣahumā*), while al-Māridīnī uses the phrase: "I represented them (*maththaltuhumā*) as two adversaries in a debate and I made the tongue of their state speak in the way of conversation (*wa 'stanṭaktu lisāna ḥālihimā ʿalā sabīli 'l-muḥādara*)" (for further details see Heinrichs, *op. cit.*, 193-8).

Rose as emblem

Given the general interest in the rose-narcissus debate, it is surprising that in two books, each of which contains a chapter on the rose, no such "enmity" is mentioned at all. Al-Washshāʾ (d. 325/937 [*q.v.*]) compiled a handbook of correct etiquette for the "refined" people (*ẓurafāʾ*, *ahl al-ẓarf*). The rose chapter

contains mainly two ideas: (1) The rose represents everything beautiful and auspicious. (2) However, according to some, it is inauspicious, because it is shortlived. As such it is called *al-ghaddār*, the "traitor", as opposed to the myrtle that stays fresh for a long time (al-Washshā', *Muwashshā*, tr. D. Bellmann, ii, 92-6). The idea of the ephemeral and thus disloyal rose and its counterpart, the longlived loyal myrtle, finds expression in some poetry as well. Thus Abū Dulaf al-ʿIdjlī, writing to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, said:

"I see your love like the rose inconstant, there is nothing good in someone whose timespan does not last;
"And my love is like the myrtle in beauty and freshness, which has a white blossom that lasts, when the roses fade away."

The latter answered:

"You have compared my love with the rose, and it is similar to it: Is there any flower whose overlord is not the rose?!
"And your love is like the myrtle, bitter of taste; with regard to scent it has neither before nor after."
(al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 192-3).

Finally, it needs to be said that in Arabic mystical literature the rose does not even come close to the symbolic value it has in Persian and Persianate literature, where it represents the divine Beloved. Ibn Ghānim al-Maḳdisī (d. 678/1279 [*q.v.*]), in his book on the symbolic or emblematic meaning of flowers and birds, devotes one chapter to the rose and another to the narcissus, but there is no cross-reference whatsoever (*Kashf al-asrār*, 12-13 and 16-17, tr. 10-12 and 13-14). The book resembles the *munāẓaras* in that the flowers speak in the first person. The self-characterisation of the rose revolves mainly around suffering, both from its own thorns that prick it and stain its petals with blood, and from the torment of destillation, when the rosewater is extracted from it.

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

AL-WASHM.

1. In older Arab society.

Tattooing was a custom among women in pre-Islamic times. The parts of the body mentioned as recipients are the hand ([*ẓāhir al-*]*yad*), the wrist (*miʿṣam*), the arm (*dhirāʿ*), the posterior (*ist*) and the gums (*litha*). The motifs used are not mentioned; going by modern-day tattooing in Islamic countries they were probably abstract designs. The tattoo was created by pricking (*gharaza*) the skin with a needle (*ibra, misalla*) or—more specifically—with a tattooing needle (*mīsham*, pl. *mawāshim*, see Lewin, *Vocabulary*, 471), so that a trace (*athar*) remained. This was then filled with soot (*na'ūr*, explained as *dukhān al-shaḥm* "smoke of grease"), antimony (*kuḥl*), or indigo (*nīl*). As a result the tattoo would become either darkish-green (*yakhdarru*) or blue (*yazraḳḳu*). An existing tattoo could be touched up or retraced (*rudjdjiʿa*) when it had become weak (*mankūs*) (see *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Shākir and Hārūn, 105, 7 [no. 19, v. 2]).

In the *nasīb* section of the *ḳaṣīda*, the traces of former encampments (*aṭlāl*) are sometimes compared to a tattoo, or tattoos, in the same way that they are sometimes likened to foreign writing. The most famous example is the beginning of the *muʿallaḳa* of Ṭarafa, where the traces "appear like the remainder of a tattoo on the back of a hand" (see *Dīwān*, ed. M. Seligsohn, Paris 1901, 5). See also *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Shākir and Hārūn, 114, 3 (no. 21, v. 7) and 181, 2 (no. 38, v. 2).

In the *Ḥadīth* there are several traditions in which the Prophet is portrayed as cursing women who tattoo others (*wāshimāt*) as well as those who ask to be tattooed (*mustawshimāt*). The curse is often extended to other embellishing procedures that involve changing the body. The common denominator is that one should not alter God's creation (the women are called *al-mughayyirātu khalḳa 'llāh*) (see e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, part 7, Būlāḳ 1312h., 164, ult.-167, 7, and for further references see A.J. Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, Leiden 1927, s.v. "tattooing"; and idem, *Concordance*, v, Leiden 1969, s.v. *washama*). It seems that there was some hesitation in the early community in this respect: After one of the Prophet's condemnations of *washm* whose chain goes back via Nāfiʿ to Ibn ʿUmar, Nāfiʿ remarks: *al-washmu fī 'l-litha* "tattooing of the gums [is intended]" (al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, 165, penult.). Ibn Manẓūr remarks with regard to this that "what is known nowadays is that tattooing is on the skin and the lips" (*LA*, xii, 639b, 10-11).

Bibliography: B. Lewin, *A vocabulary of the Hudailian poems*, Göteborg 1978; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Aḥmad M. Shākir and ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn, Cairo 1964; *LA*, xii, 638a-b. (W.P. Heinrichs)

WIṢĀL, Mīrzā Muḥammad Shafīʿ b. Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, Persian poet of the early Ḳādjār period, also known as Mīrzā Kūčik ("the little Mīrzā"). He was born in 1197/1782 at Shīrāz in a family of officials who had served the rulers of Persia since the time of the Ṣafawids. His studies not only included Arabic and the literary sciences, but also the arts. It is said that Wiṣāl was a graceful person with a beautiful voice and an excellent performer of *ghazals*. He also became a famous calligrapher, proficient in all the current styles of writing (see the autograph in Browne, *LHP*, iv, facing 300). In addition, he was educated as a mystic by Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sukūt, a *shaykh* of the Dhahabiyya order. He died in 1262/1845 and was buried near the shrine of Shāh Čirāgh in Shīrāz.

As a poet, Wiṣāl was a typical representative of the neo-classicism that had set in with the Return Movement (*bāzgasht-i adabī*) of the mid-12th/18th centuries. He wrote panegyrics after the fashion of the mediaeval poets, in particular Manūčihrī, Anwarī and Khāḳānī [*q.vv.*], and *ghazals* in the style of Saʿdī [*q.v.*]. Among his patrons were, besides the governor and other notables of the province of Fārs, the Ḳādjār kings Fatḥ-ʿAlī Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh, as well as people residing in the Deccan, which made him also popular on the Subcontinent. His *mathnawīs* include *Bazm-i Wiṣāl*, a lyrical account of an excursion into the mountains of Fārs, and the continuation of *Farhād va Shīrīn*, more a treatise on love than a story, which had been left unfinished by Waḥshī [*q.v.*] and is usually printed together with the latter's text (see e.g. *Kulliyyāt-i dīwān-i Waḥshī-yi Bāfḳī*, ed. Bīdār, Tehran 1373 *sh.*/1994, 476-526). In prose, he wrote an imitation of Saʿdī's *Gulistān* and he translated *Aṭwāḳ al-dhahab*, an Arabic *adab* work by al-Zamakhsharī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Another aspect of his work are his religious poems, such as elegies (*marāthī*) mourning the martyrs of Karbalā.

Modern critics have pointed to the lack of originality in his poetry, the main merit of which is the perfect imitation of the old masters. Nevertheless, his reputation as a refined poet and artist lasted throughout the Ḳādjār period and his works were printed several times both in India and Persia. A substantial selection from his poetry is to be found in the anthologies of Riḍā Ḳulī Khān. The sons of Wiṣāl followed in the footsteps of their father. One of them is Dāwarī (d. 1283/1866-7), who acquired a reputation as a poet and a painter (see further, Browne, *LHP*, iv, 319-25).

Bibliography: Biographical data are to be found in ʿAlī-Akbar Bismil Shīrāzī, *Tadhkira-yi dilgushā* (cf. Storey, i/2, 888); Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, Tehran 1295/1878, ii, 528-47; idem, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, Tehran 1305/1888, 337-50. See further: A. von Kegl, *Viṣāl und seine Söhne, eine Dichterfamilie des modernen Persiens*, in *WZKM*, xii (1898), 113-27; E.G. Browne, *LHP*, iv, 300-1, 316-25; idem, *A year amongst the Persians*, ²Cambridge 1926, 130, 292; Nūrānī Wiṣāl, *Gulshan-i Wiṣāl*, Tehran 1319 *sh.*/1940; Māhyār Nawābī, *Khāndān-i Wiṣāl-i Shīrāzī*, in *Nashriyya-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt-i Tabrīz*, vii (1334 *sh.*/1955), 190-239, 288-356, 392-459; Dhabīḥ-Allāh Ṣafā, *Gandj-i sukhan*, ²Tehran 1340 *sh.*/1961, iii, 197-200; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 331-2; Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iii, Tehran 1350 *sh.*/1971, 2599-2600; Khānbābā Mushār, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-yi čāpī-yi fārsī*, Tehran 1352 *sh.*/1973, 389, 501, 1593, 1678, 2136, 2413; Yaḥyā Āryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, Tehran 1976, ii, 40-4; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Rādfar (ed.), *Čand marthiya az shāʿirān-i pārsigūy*, Tehran 1369 *sh.*/1990, 96-104; Dāwarī Shīrāzī, *Dīwān*, n.p. 1370 *sh.*/1991. (J.T.P. de Bruijn)

Y

YAGHŪTH, a god of pre-Islamic Arabia, mentioned in the Ḳurʾān in a speech of Noah: "They have said: Forsake not your gods. Forsake not Wadd, nor Suwāʿ, nor Yaghūth, Yaʿūḳ and Nasr (LXXI, 22-3).

Traditionists and commentators (see the references given by Hawting, *The idea of idolatry*, 113 and n. 6) have exercised their ingenuity in the search for the traces of Yaghūth in Arabia. Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821) in his *Book of the Idols* (*Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, §§ 7c, 9d, 45e, 52a) relates in laconic style: "[the tribe of] Madhhidj and the people of Djurash adopted Yaghūth . . .; it was located on a hill in the Yemen known as Madhhidj; Madhhidj and allied tribes worshipped it." Djurash is today an important archaeological site in the south-west of Saudi Arabia, at ʿAsīr, 42 km east-south-east of Abhā. The tribe of Madhhidj [*q.v.*] is first attested (1st century A.D. or thereabouts) at Ḳaryat al-Fāw (280 km north-north-east of Nadjrān), then in the regions situated between Nadjrān and Maʾrib, and finally in the highlands of southern Yemen (10th century A.D.) where it is still found today. Shortly before the advent of Islam, the famous battle of al-Razm, which pitted Murād (a subsection of Madhhidj) against Hamdān, is said to have been provoked by a quarrel over the stewardship of the idol (Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 193-4).

On the divinities of Madhhidj and of Djurash, the ancient inscriptions of southern Arabia tell us nothing, either because they do not indicate the tribal affiliation of their authors (where they are numerous, as at Ḳaryat al-Fāw and at Nadjrān), or because they are quite rare (as in the region of Djurash). Direct verification of Ibn al-Kalbī's statements is thus impossible; however, the fact that the god Yaghūth is completely unknown in South Arabian epigraphy (including onomastics) inspires some doubt as to their reliability. The only epigraphic attestation of the word *Ygt* is to be found in a Sabaean inscription (RES 5002) as an attributive personal name.

Two Nabataean inscriptions from Petra and possibly a third from Sinai mention the anthroponym *ʾmrʾ-yʿwt* (Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, ii, 64, 104), composed of *ʾmrʾ* (Arabic *imruʾ*) and *Yʿwt* (Aramaean graphic of

Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲, with notation of *g̲h̲ayn* by means of *ʿayn*). In these anthroponyms, the second element could be the name of a divinity or that of a particularly venerated individual. Safaitic epigraphy knows the anthroponym *Ygt̲* (see, for example, Winnett and Harding, *Inscriptions*, 625).

Finally, Arabic nomenclature attests the anthroponym ʿAbd Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲ (Caskel, *Ǧamhara*, ii, 133-4, 42 entries). It is known that the element ʿAbd governs either the name of a divinity (see especially ʿAbd d̲h̲i ʾl-S̲h̲arā, ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd Manāt, ʿAbd Ruḍā, ʿAbd Suwāʿ, ʿAbd S̲h̲ams, ʿAbd al-S̲h̲āriḳ, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā or ʿAbd Wadd) or the name of a person or a group (compare with ʿAbd ʿAdī, ʿAbd Ahlih, ʿAbd ʿĀmir, ʿAbd ʿAmr, ʿAbd ʿAwf, ʿAbd Bakr, ʿAbd Hind, ʿAbd al-Ḥārit̲h̲, ʿAbd Ḥārit̲h̲a, ʿAbd al-Mund̲h̲ir, ʿAbd al-Nuʿmān, etc.). The distribution of ʿAbd Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲ in the genealogies does not make it possible to identify the tribes which particularly appreciated this name, with the exception of Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲ (18 entries out of 42). But regarding this tribe, there is no knowing whether it is the frequency of the name which has led traditionists to associate the god with it, or conversely whether it is the association with the god which has multiplied the instances of ʿAbd Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲.

Ibn al-Kalbī also seeks to explain how it was that mankind, monotheistic at the time of creation, came to worship such a multiplicity of divinities. For his purposes, he supposes that, originally, Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲ was a devout man; after his death, he was commemorated by a statue, then promoted to the rank of intercessor in the presence of God. It was the Flood which allegedly brought his idol into Arabia near D̲j̲udda; there it is said to have been found by ʿAmr b. Luḥayy who entrusted it to the tribe of Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲, more specifically to Anʿam b. ʿAmr al-Murādī (§§ 45e-52a; note that for the traditionists, Murād is attached to Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲).

The root *g̲h̲-w-t̲h̲* from which the name of Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲ is derived (imperfect of *g̲h̲āt̲h̲a* "to help") is current in Arabic nomenclature; see Ar. G̲h̲awt̲h̲, al-G̲h̲awt̲h̲, G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲, G̲h̲uwayt̲h̲ or G̲h̲uwāt̲h̲a (Caskel, *Ǧamhara*, ii, 274-6). It is also attested in North Arabian epigraphy; in South Arabia, on the other hand, it is more rare and probably indicates a North Arabian influence.

Like other commentators, Yāḳūt was struck by the similarity of the names Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲ and Yaʿūḳ, and by a possible opposition in the sense of the two words; he speculates that it may be necessary to recognise two aspects of one and the same divinity, who "sometimes sends the rain, sometimes prevents the rainfall" (Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 194). It is clear that all the developments of the tradition depend on the Ḳurʾānic text and are based on anthroponyms formed on the root *g̲h̲-w-t̲h̲*; as for the origin of the mention of Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲ in the Ḳurʾān, it remains unexplained.

Bibliography: J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, 2 vols., Paris 1930-2; M. Hofner, *Die Stammesgruppen Nord- und Zentralarabiens im vorislamischer Zeit*, in H.W. Haussig (ed.), *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart 1965, 407-81 ("Yaġūṯ, Yaġūt", 478); T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968; His̲h̲ām Ibn al-Kalbī, *[Kitāb al-Aṣnām] Le Livre des idoles de Hicham ibn al-Kalbi*, text ed. and tr. Wahib Atallah, Paris 1969; F.V. Winnett and G.L. Harding, *Inscriptions from fifty Safaitic cairns*, Toronto 1978; G.R. Hawting, *The idea of idolatry and the emergence of Islam. From polemic to history*, Cambridge 1999.

(Ch. Robin)

YAḤYĀ, S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ al-Islām, Ottoman legal scholar and poet, d. 1053/1644.

The son of S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ al-Islām Bayrāmzāde Zekeriyyā Efendi, Yaḥyā was born in Istanbul in 969/1561 (some sources give the birth date 959). As the scion of an important *ʿulemāʾ* family, he underwent a rigorous private education under the tutelage of his father and several other noted scholars, including ʿAbd al-D̲j̲ebbārzāde Dervīs̲h̲ Meḥmed Efendi and Maʿlūlzāde Seyyid Meḥmed Efendi. In 988/1580, at 19 years of age, he was granted a *mulāzimet* and went on to teach in the most important *madrasas* of the day. In 1004/1595 Yaḥyā was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo and he subsequently served as *ḳāḍī* in various parts of the empire until 1013/1604, when he was elevated to the position of *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Anatolia. After several dismissals and reappointments, he was appointed *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ al-Islām* in Rad̲j̲ab 1031/May 1622. A brief but turbulent tenure, during which he presided over the funeral of Sultan ʿOt̲h̲mān II [*q.v.*], ended in D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1032/September 1622 when a powerful vizier, angered by Yaḥyā's opposition to the practice of selling government positions, forced the young Murād IV [*q.v.*] to dismiss him. Between 1034/1625 and 1041/1632 he again served as *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ al-Islām* and was re-appointed in 1043/1634 for a period that lasted until his death in 1053/1644.

Yaḥyā was noted as a legal scholar. Kātib Čelebi (*Fed̲h̲leke*) reports that, in delivering legal opinions, he embodied the perfection of Abu ʾl-Suʿūd [*q.v.*] and was its seal. He served in an important position during a period of great turmoil and was a powerful supporter of the reforms instituted by Murād IV. He was widely known as an honest and decent person in a time when few like him rose to power.

Nonetheless, Yaḥyā's most enduring fame has derived from his talent as a *g̲h̲azal* poet. He was said to possess a poet's inborn nature: witty of speech, a cheerful countenance, a pleasant conversationalist. His poetry, in the manner of Bāḳī [*q.v.*], consists primarily of five-couplet *g̲h̲azals*, most on the transitoriness of this world and life's bitter and sweet aspects. His style is simple and flowing, free from the excesses of rhetorical complexity that marked the poetry of many of his contemporaries.

His works include: a *dīwān*, the *S̲h̲arḥ D̲j̲āmiʿ al-dürer* (commentary on Muḥsin-i Ḳayserī's *Ferāʾid*), *Nigāristān čevirisi* (a Turkish translation of Kemāl-Pās̲h̲āzāde's Persian parallel to Saʿdī's [*q.v.*] *Gulistān*) and *Fetāwā-yi Yaḥyā Efendi* (a collection of legal opinions).

Bibliography: Yaḥyā is mentioned in the *ted̲h̲kires* of Ḳāfzāde Fāʾidī, Riḍā, Yümnī, ʿĀṣim, Ṣafāyī, Tewfīḳ, Kātib Čelebī's *Fed̲h̲leke* (Istanbul 1287), and in the addenda to the *S̲h̲aḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya* by ʿUs̲h̲s̲h̲āḳīzāde and S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ī Meḥmed. There are three editions of his *dīwān*: İbnülemīn M. Kemāl İnāl, *Dīwān-ı S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ülislām Yaḥyā*, Istanbul 1334/1915-16 (in Arabic script); Rekin Ertem, *Şeyhülislam Yahya divanı*, Ankara 1995; and Hasan Kavruk, *Şeyhülislam Yahya divanı*, Ankara 2001 (Latin script transcriptions). See also Lütfi Bayraktutan, *Şeyhülislam Yahya divanından seçmeler*, Istanbul 1990; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III. cild, Ankara 1995; Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 273-84; von Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. Osm. Dichtkunst*, ii, 378-85; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 371-2.

(W.G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpakli)

YAS̲H̲, the Ottoman Turkish form of the name of the Romanian town of Iaşi, conventionally Jassy. It lies on the plain of northeastern Moldavia near the confluence of the Bahlui river with the Prut (lat. 47° 10' N., long. 27° 35' E.).

In Ottoman times, it was the capital of the principality of Boghdān [*q.v.*] or Moldavia. Dimitri Cantemir, from 1121-2/1710 to 1122-3/1711 resident in this town as prince of Moldavia, stated that the seat of government had been transferred to Yash by Stephen the Great (838 or 9-909 or 10/1435-1504; in reality this was done by Alexander Lapusneanu in 972-3/1565); as a reason for this, Cantemir maintained that, due to its geographical position, Yash was better suited to warfare with the Ottomans and Tatars than its predecessor, the more remote fortress town of Suceava (Demetrius Cantemir, *Beschreibung der Moldau*, facs. repr. Bucarest 1973, 52). Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited Yash around 1075/1665, called it Yashka Ruhbān, due to the importance of the local monasteries. In his account, Yash appears as a town of 20,000 thatched *korta* (from Romanian *curte* "court"); he noted the absence of (private?) buildings covered with lead or roof-tiles, but commented on the existence of palaces and monasteries built of stone or brick (*Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bagdat 307 yazmasının transkripsyonu-dizini*, v, ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman and İbrahim Sezgin, Istanbul 2001, 180-6).

Among ecclesiastical institutions, the Ottoman traveller refers to the Yashka Deyri, that Ewliyā believed had been a mosque in the reigns of sultans Bāyezīd and Süleymān, in addition to the Menokola, Galata and Lipul Beğ monasteries; the latter must be identical to that of the Trei Erachi/Trieh Svetiteilei, built by Vasile Lupu in 1049-50/1640—Ewliyā hoped to see it one day transformed into a mosque. As to the Menokola, it was probably identical to the St. Nicholas Church, where a newly-arrived prince was blessed by a church authority (Miron Costin, *Grausame Zeiten in der Moldau. Die Moldauische Chronik des Miron Costin 1593-1661*, tr. and comments by A. Armbruster, Graz, Vienna and Cologne 1980, 196, for a monastery called Galata, see *ibid.*, 207; on the affairs of local monasteries in general, see C. Zach, *Über Klosterleben und Klosterreformen in der Moldau und in der Walachei im 17. Jahrhundert*, in Kálmán Bénda *et alii* (eds.), *Forschungen über Siebenbürgen und seine Nachbarn. Festschrift für Atilla T. Szabó und Zsigmund Jakó*, Munich 1987, 111-22). Ewliyā also referred to the monastery supposedly founded by Duna Bānū, the wife of Prince Lipul Beğ/Vasile Lupu, which contained an "uncorrupted body" of a young woman that Ewliyā claimed was the daughter of the mythical architect Yankō b. Mādyān; this may well be the relic that Lupu had brought to his capital and that was believed to be the body of St. Paraschiva (Costin, *op. cit.*, 160-1).

To the south of Yash there was an artificial lake full of fish, that Ewliyā thought had been constructed by Prince Lipul Beğ/Vasile Lupu with the permission of Sultan Murād IV. The traveller also admired the princely palace with its grand reception room and numerous pavilions looking out upon the water (judging from a map of the early 20th century, the core of the palace was located at some distance from the one major lake in the town; however, the body of water seen by Ewliyā may have been drained later on; see *Meyers Reisebücher, Türkei, Rumänien, Serbien, Bulgarien*, Leipzig and Vienna, 1908, 93). Costin confirms that Vasile Lupu greatly augmented the palace, constructing gardens, stables and bath-houses; some of the buildings supposedly were covered in tiles of "Chinese porcelain" (Costin, *loc. cit.*). Ewliyā also claims that there were 2,060 shops covered with timber or reeds, six *khāns* used by merchants and a guest house that also accommodated visiting Ottoman and Tatar dignitaries.

Complementary to Ewliyā's account is that of a near-contemporary embassy chaplain (*Conrad Jacob Hiltebrandts Dreifache Schwedische Gesandtschaftsreise nach Siebenbürgen, der Ukraine und Constantinopel (1656-1658)*, ed. with comm. by F. Babinger, Leiden 1937, 82 ff.) Hiltebrandt served the Swedish embassy that was received at the court of Prince George Stephen, who after his deposition by Meḥemmed IV (1067-68/1657) emigrated to the Swedish kingdom. The author stressed the commercial activity of Yash, which was, however, unfortified; numerous Jewish traders were active here, in addition to both local and Greek merchants. At the court, where it was customary to accord a visiting Ottoman *čawush* absolute precedence, there was a guard of German-speaking soldiers, yet Ewliyā commented on the presence of Ottoman gunners. According to Hiltebrandt, the numerous churches of Yash rather resembled mosques without minarets; he also commented on the local folklore, including dances and fairground amusements specific to the Easter season.

Throughout the early modern period, the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth attempted to influence the decision-making of the Moldavian princes, which meant that Polish-Tatar-Cossack rivalries also were fought out on Moldavian soil. In 918-19/1513 Yash was thus fired on by the Tatars, while Ottoman and Russian attacks in 944-5/1538 and 1097-8/1686 had similar consequences (art. "Jassy" in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, ed. 1963, xii, 972). Ewliyā Čelebi even claimed that the conditions of Moldavian subjection included the right of the Tatars to pillage the country once every ten years. In 1123/1711 Peter the Great briefly occupied the town, receiving the homage of the learned prince Dimitri Cantemir. On this occasion, numerous Ottoman merchants present in Yash were murdered and their goods pillaged (Akdes Nîmet Kurat, *Prut seferi ve barışı 1123 (1711)*, 2 vols., Ankara 1951-3, i, 234 and *passim*); similar atrocities were repeated in 1236-7/1821, when the Greek uprising began in both the Peloponnesus and the Principalities. Russian armies advanced as far as Yash once again in 1148-9/1736, but were not able to hold on to the town due to the defeats suffered at Ottoman hands by their Austrian ally (Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, i, *Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, Cambridge 1983, 66-8, 105, 121; H. Uebersberger, *Russlands Orientpolitik in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten*, i, *Bis zum Frieden von Jassy*, Stuttgart 1913, *passim*). On the level of international diplomacy, the Moldavian capital was known through the peace of Jassy concluded between the Ottoman and Russian empires (Djumādā II-Radjab 1206/January 1792); this agreement confirmed many of the stipulations of the earlier treaty of Küčük Kaynardja [*q.v.*], especially the loss of the Crimea. A coastal strip between Bug and Dniestr was also ceded to Russia, where the town of Odessa was founded the following year. From this time onwards, Russia maintained an influential position in Yash, which was to continue throughout the 13th/19th century.

In the late 12th/18th century, when Istanbul Greek families known as the *hospodars* represented Ottoman authority in Yash, the town possessed a small but active educated stratum that purchased books both religious and secular in Greek, Italian, Romanian and other languages, with an emphasis on the Greek authors of Antiquity, as well as grammars and dictionaries covering modern European languages. Such works were procured by merchants for whom dealing in books must have formed a sideline. These educated traders maintained links to the Athos but also

to Leipzig and Vienna, in addition to stocking works printed in Moldavia itself (Mihail Carataşu, *La bibliothèque d'un grand négotiant du XVIIIe siècle: Grégoire Antoine Avramios*, in *Symposium l'époque phanariote, 21-25 octobre 1970, à la mémoire de Cléobule Tsourkas*, Salonica 1974, 135-43). A princely academy founded by Antioh Cantemir was attended not only by the sons of local noblemen but also by young people of more modest backgrounds; from 1173-4/1760 onwards, this school began to teach Enlightenment philosophy as well as the natural sciences (Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Écoles grecques dans les principautés danubiennes au temps des Phanariotes*, in *ibid.*, 49-56). However, given the frequency of warfare, the depressed condition of the peasantry and the relative weakness of urban life in Moldavia, the level of general education remained low even in the 13th/19th century (Jelavich, *op. cit.*, i, 270).

In the mid-19th century, Jassy came within the principality of Moldavia, now united with Wallachia to form the kingdom of Romania. Though Bucharest became the political capital of the new state, Jassy continued to be the most important cultural centre of the realm. The first book in Romanian had been printed there (1643), and it was the seat of an Orthodox archbishop. Now, in 1860, the University of Jassy was founded. The large Jewish population of the town, approximately one-half, perished in the course of World War II. After 1947, Jassy was within the People's Republic of Romania. In 1996 it was the third city of Romania, with a population of 346,613, whilst the county of the same name, with the town of Jassy as its chef-lieu, had 823,800 inhabitants.

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(Suraiya Faroqhi)

YAʿŪĶ, a god of pre-Islamic Arabia, mentioned in the Ķur'ān in a speech of Noah: "They have said: Forsake not your gods. Forsake not Wadd, nor Suwāʿ, nor Yag͟hūt͟h, Yaʿūķ and Nasr!" (LXXI, 22-3).

Traditionists and commentators have exercised their ingenuity in the effort to track down the god Yaʿūķ, with little success. In his "Book of the Idols" (*Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, §§ 7d, 9d, 45e, and 52b), Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821), relates that: "K͟haywān adopted Yaʿūķ; he was in one of their villages called K͟haywān, in the region of Ṣanʿā', two nights from Mecca." But he adds immediately: "I have heard neither Hamdān nor any other Arab [tribe] giving a name [composed] with it", explaining this silence by the Judaisation of Hamdān under the reign of D͟hū Nuwās [*q.v.*, where his name needs to be corrected in the Sabaean form, which is Yūsuf As'ar Yat͟h'ar, *Ysʾf ʾsʾr Yṯʾr*].

The information provided by Ibn al-Kalbī on the location and tribal associations of the township of K͟haywān is precise. K͟haywān is situated well to the north of Sanʿā' in the direction of Mecca, at a distance of 105 km, midway between Ṣanʿā' and Ṣaʿda. In the 4th/10th century, the township marked the boundary between Ḥās͟hid and Bakīl, the two tribal groups constituting the Hamdān confederation (al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Ḏj̲azīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. Müller, 66); it is today the last outpost of Ḥās͟hid (the al-ʿUṣaymāt clan) before entering Sufyān. On the other hand, no divinity named Yaʿūķ is attested in Hamdān. However, the pantheons of the tribes of this confederation, which give the highest rank to Ta'lab Riyām and Almaķah, are quite well known through many inscriptions and the vestiges of a large number of temples. A god named Yaʿūķ is not attested elsewhere in Yemen or in Arabia.

It is clear that Ibn al-Kalbī or his source felt the need to manipulate the available information to provide a basis for the Ķur'ānic text. It was all the easier to locate Yaʿūķ in Yemen, not only because it was a distant country, but also because polytheism had been officially banned there since the end of the 4th century A.D. and any indications to the contrary had been obliterated.

However, the epigraphy of Yemen is acquainted with the appellation of Yaʿūķ. It is the name of a synagogue (*mkrb*) constructed in A.D. January 465 (*ḏ-dʾwʾ* 574 of the Ḥimyarite era), at Ḍulaʿ apparently (some 12 km to the north-west of Ṣanʿā'), according to the inscription Ry 520/4 (*Yʿķ*) and 9 (*Yʿwķ*). In a relief inscription on the island of Suķutra [*q.v.*], *Yʿķ* is apparently an anthroponym (Robin and Gorea, *Les vestiges antiques*).

Among traditionists and Muslim scholars, the cult of Yaʿūķ was the object of hypotheses other than that of Ibn al-Kalbī: they localise it in the tribes of K͟hawlān-Ķuḍāʿa, Murād or Kināna (Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 195 n. 1) or at Balk͟haʿ (a Sabaean town known only through traditions relating to idols: see Hawting, *The idea of idolatry*, 107 and n. 15) but without further evidence.

Ibn al-Kalbī also seeks to explain how it was that mankind, monotheistic at the time of creation, came to worship such a multiplicity of divinities. For his purposes, he assumes that originally, Yaʿūķ was a devout man; after his death, he was commemorated by a statue, then promoted to the rank of intercessor in the presence of God. It was the Flood that would have brought his idol into Arabia near Ḏj̲udda; there it is said to have been found by ʿAmr b. Luḥayy who entrusted it to the tribe of Hamdān (§§ 45e-52b).

Attestations and the senses of the root from which the name of Yaʿūķ is derived offer nothing further by way of clarification. One may note only that Yāķūt underlines the similarity between the names Yag͟hūt͟h and Yaʿūķ and wonders whether it is necessary to recognise two aspects of one and the same divinity, who "sometimes sends the rain, sometimes prevents the rainfall" (Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 194).

It is thus difficult to follow Toufic Fahd when he affirms that "The conclusion cannot be avoided that Yaʿūķ and the other four divinities cited by Noah belong to the most primitive pantheon of central Arabia" (*op. cit.*, 196); to this day, nothing has been established with certitude as to the origin of the mention of Yaʿūķ in the Ķur'ān.

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(Ch. Robin)

YAZĪDJĪ, Ṣāliḥ b. Süleymān, the early Ottoman author of the *S͟hemsiyye*, one of the ear-

liest works on astrology known to be written in Anatolia. He was the father of Yāzīdjīoghlu Meḥmed and Aḥmed Bīdjān [*q.vv.*], two important religious figures and writers of the 9th/15th century.

The place and date of his birth are uncertain. However, due to the fact that he dedicated his work (the *Shemsiyye*) to Iskender b. Ḥādjī Pasha from the Dewlet Khān family living in Ankara, it is supposed that he was also from Ankara. On the other hand, in the introduction (*sebeb-i teʾlif*) of his *Shemsiyye*, he wrote that he was strongly attached to ʿAlī Beg, the son of Ḳaṣṣāb-oghlu Maḥmūd Pasha, who was the tutor (*lala*) of Sulṭān Meḥmed Fātiḥ and vizier to Murād II and Fātiḥ, and that he served him from the year 775/1373 for 36 years until ʿAlī Beg's death. Ḳaṣṣāb-oghlu Maḥmūd Pasha founded a *masdjid*, a *madrasa* and a hospital in Malḳara [*q.v.*] and appointed his son ʿAlī Beg to administer them, so Yazīdjī Ṣāliḥ also lived in Malḳara and in later years he settled in Gallipoli (Gelibolu) probably after ʿAlī Beg's death. The date of his death is unknown. The story that his grave is near the graves of his sons Meḥmed and Aḥmed Bīdjān (outside Gelibolu, on the road to Istanbul) is unauthenticated.

That his father's name was Süleymān, although Ewliyā Čelebi calls him Shüdjāʿ al-Dīn, is certain, because in the manuscript of the *Muḥammediyye*, by his son Yazīdjī-oghlu Meḥmed, and also in his other works, he speaks of himself as Meḥmed b. Ṣāliḥ b. Süleymān. As a consequence of writing in his work his name as Ṣalḥ al-Dīn, from the exigencies of the metre, in some sources his name has mistakenly appeared as Ṣalāh al-Dīn.

Although the available information about his education is uncertain, some facts, e.g. that he was a scribe, so that he was given the *laḳab* Yazīdjī, that he was a very knowledgeable person about astrology, and that he used Arabic and Persian quotations and titles in his *Shemsiyye*, imply a certain level of education.

The number of his works is unknown. His only extant work is the *Shemsiyye* on astrology. Although Ewliyā Čelebi mentions a *Sebʿ al-Methānī, a Taʿbīr-nāme* and works on medicine, no copy of them has so far been found. The work which has appeared in some sources as the *Melḥame* is part of the *Shemsiyye*. The question whether the *Shemsiyye* was a compilation or a translation was long discussed. However, considering the manner of book writing of the time and also the fact that Yazīdjī Ṣāliḥ mentions the works and people from whom he profited (like Ebu ʾl-Faḍl Ḥubeysh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammed al-Tiflisī), it is recognised as a compilation.

Yazīdjī Ṣāliḥ writes in the introduction of his work that he completed it in 811/1408-9, naming it the *Shemsiyye*, and submitted it to Iskender b. Ḥādjī Pasha. The *Shemsiyye* was written in the form of a *methnewī* and in the metre *fāʿilātün fāʿilātün fāʿilün*. Since no autograph ms. exists and no critical edition has been done, the number of original verses is unknown; they differ in each copy (e.g. in ms. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi-Pertevniyal no. 776, 4724 verses). The fact that over 30 mss. of it survive shows that it was widely read. If not great literature, it is nevertheless important linguistically as a text of 15th-century Turkish. It is composed of three sections. In the first section there is the introduction (*tewḥīd, naʿt, miʿrādjiyye, sebeb-i teʾlif*), which is to be found in works written in the *methnewī* form; the second section is divided into twelve *bābs*, each referring to one of the months, and each divided again into 25 *faṣls*; and in the third section, three characteristics of the moon are narrated, with their subdivisions. It was rendered by his younger son Aḥmed Bīdjān into prose form, also including some verse sections, as the *Bostānü ʾl-ḥaḳāyiḳ*. Apart from this, there is the *Rūz-nāme-i Melḥame*, which is composed of selections, summaries and explanations from the *Shemsiyye* (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi-Hazine no. 1740, 129a-141b), printed as the *Melḥame* at Kazan in 1891.

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(HATICE AYNUR)

YEDI ADALAR, the Turkish name of the Greek Seven (Ionian) Islands (Gk. *Heptanesos/-a*), an insular group off the western coast of north-western Peloponnese (Morea) and mainland Greece, stretching northwards in the following order: Zakynthos, Kephallenia (Cephalonia), Ithake (Ithaca), Leukas, Paxoi (Antipaxos and Paxos) and Kerkyra (Corfu). Sometimes the island of Kythera or Cerigo [see ČOKA ADASĪ], off the southeastern tip of the Morea, is also included, albeit erratically, in the Seven Islands group (mainly by scholars of the area's Latin domination period). The relevant Arabic names of the islands appear in al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*], while the Ottoman Turkish names of Zaklise [*q.v.*], Kifalonia, Siyaki (Ithake), Levkas/Levkada [*q.v.*] (only the island's main town and fortress was called Aya Mavra by the Ottomans), Bakshiler (Paxoi islands) and Körfüz/Körfüs [*q.v.*] (stemming, like Corfu, from the island's Byzantine appellation of *Koryphō*) appear in the early 16th-century *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye* by Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*] (see detailed comm. in the recent Greek tr. by D. Loupes, Athens 1999, 312-16, 322-37), although Ottoman rule in the Ionian area, usually commencing from 1479 with the ousting of the Italian Tocco dynasty from Benevento, was never definitively established during the Ottoman domination period except for the case of Levkas, where it lasted for almost two centuries. The Toccos' last dukes had retreated to the islands in the 1460s from mainland Eriros in view of the Ottoman conquest there, completed between 1449 and 1479.

In the Byzantine period lasting to the early 13th century (from 1204 onwards the area gradually passed under Latin control), the Heptanese sustained severe attacks, mainly from Muslims and Normans. Of particular importance here are the two attacks, first on Kephallenia and Zakynthos between 878 and 881 by the North African Arabs [see IFRĪḲIYA], repulsed by the celebrated Byzantine admiral Ooryphas (see Elisabeth Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin, VIIIᵉ-XIIᵉ s.*, Paris 1988, 77 n. 236 and table on p. 110; sources and refs. in A. Savvides, in *Mésogeios*, i [1998], 91-2), and secondly on Corfu in 1033 by Saracens from Sicily [see ṢIḲILLIYA], who burned the island's main town (refs. in A. Savvides, *The Byzantine Heptanese, 11th-early 13th century* [in Gk.], Athens 1986, 19). Other references to possible Muslim attacks in the area, mainly appearing in *Saints' lives*, cannot be corroborated

by parallel sourcess. Also of importance is the information provided by al-Idrīsī, who *ca.* 1153 visited Byzantium and gave in his *Kitāb Rudjdjar, inter alios*, details on Tanu (Othonoi), Ḳurfus (Corfu), Lḳata (Leukas), Djefaluniya (Kephallenia), Faskyu (Ithake?) and Djandjnt or Gagni (Zakynthos) (French tr. Jaubert, ii, 121, 123; cf. Soustal-Koder, 168, 176, 179, 195, 278; Savvides, *Byz. Heptanese*, 46-8, and idem, in *Byzantinoslavica*, lx/2 [1999], 454). About 12 years later (1164-5) the Spanish Jew from Tudela, Benjamin, also visited Korypho (Corfu) and Lachta or Lekat (Leukas and not Arta in the Epitor mainland, as in the Eng. tr. by Adler, 10, and in Soustal-Koder, 57-8 n. 97, 113; on this see the recent Gk. tr. by Photeine Vlachopoulou, introd. and comm. by K. Megalommates and A. Savvides, Athens 1994, 34-5 n. 8, 62).

From the second half of the 14th century onwards, Latin control in the Ionian Islands was divided between the Toccos on the southern (until *ca.* 1479) and Venice on the northern group (until 1797). Since there is no fixed pattern for a unified and lasting Ottoman presence in the area, this article will discuss the islands separately, beginning with Leukas, which sustained the longest Ottoman occupation.

Leukas. In Leukas (Leucata or Santa Maura in western sources) the Ottoman occupation lasted from 1479 until the final Venetian capture of 1684, with an interval between 1502-3 when the Venetians succeeded in seizing it during the Second Venetian-Ottoman war of 1499-1502. By the 1503 treaty, it was returned to Sultan Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*], who in turn recognised the Venetian occupation of Kephallenia (1500-1). Leukas' conqueror in 1479, the *bey* of Avlonya (Valona) Aḥmad Pasha Gedik [*q.v.*], carried out Meḥemmed II's plans of repopulating Istanbul with deportations, among others, of a significant part of Leukas', Zakynthos' and Kephallenia's populations. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the island's town and fortress of Aya Mavra developed as the largest settlement of the *sandjak* of Ḳarlï-Ili [*q.v.*] and as an important Ottoman naval base in the area, with interesting samples of Ottoman fortifications and building activity (refs. in LEVKAS). The Venetian capture of 1684 was ratified by the treaty of Carlowitz [see ḲARLOFČA] in 1699.

Zakynthos. A Tocco possession since 1357, Zakynthos (Zante in western sources) was briefly seized (with Kephallenia and Leukas) by the Ottomans (1479); the Toccos soon recovered it (1480), but they were driven out by the Venetians (1482-3), who in 1485 purchased it by special treaty with Bāyezīd II. The 1503 treaty secured Zakynthos and Kephallenia for the Republic of St. Mark in exchange for an annual tribute of 500 ducats, a situation maintained until the Carlowitz treaty (1699). In the 16th century, the island had suffered from raids conducted by Khayr al-Dīn Pasha Barbarossa, Torghud Reʾīs and Ulūdj ʿAlī [*q.vv.*]; Zakynthians participated against the Ottomans at Lepanto [see AYNABAKHTĪ] (1571), the Russian-instigated Orloff insurrection of 1770 and—after the overthrow of Venetian rule (1797)—in the 1821 Greek War for Liberation (refs. in ZAKLISE, and in Savvides, in *Mésogeios*, v [1999], 81-2, 84-5 nn. 26-38).

Kephallenia. Also a Tocco possession since 1357, the island (mentioned as Zeffalonia by Westerners) was also seized by the Ottomans in 1479 and held until 1481, when the Toccos reclaimed it until 1482-3, at which time the Venetians took over; in 1485, however, Kephallenia was ceded, in a state of depopulation, to Bāyezīd II, who extended the second Ottoman rule until 1500-1, when Venice assumed definitive control there (as well as in Ithake), resettling the island with Zakynthians and Ithakiotes in the course of the Second Venetian-Ottoman war (see G. Moschopoulos, *History of Cephalonia* [in Gk.], i, Athens 1985, 67-83). From then onwards, the Venetian presence was uninterrupted until 1797, despite two destructive Ottoman raids in 1537-8 and 1570-1 (Moschopoulos, *op. cit.*, 83-6). Kephallenians, like other Heptanesians, participated on the side of Venice in the long siege of Crete (1645-69) (Moschopoulos, 86ff.), while Kephallenia and the other islands were to receive hosts of refugees from Crete [see IḲRĪTISH] following its fall to the Sultanate (see A. Vakalopoulos, *History of modern Hellenism* [in Gk.], iii, Thessalonica 1968, 532ff.).

Ithake. Known as Val de Compare to the Latins, Ithake, following a period of Frankish rule, was laid waste in 1430 and again in the period 1479-85 by Meḥemmed II's and Bāyezīd II's fleets, in the attempt of the Sultanate to consolidate its hold on the western Greek littoral. In 1500-1 it was captured (with Kephallenia) by the Venetians, who, on account of its depopulated state, resettled it in 1504 with Kephallonians and Zakynthians. The Venetian hold on the island ended in 1797.

Paxos. The island was sold by Venice to a wealthy Corfiote, whose oppressive government forced its inhabitants to flee to the Ottoman-dominated Epirote mainland. On 22 July 1537 an allied Western fleet under Andrea Doria defeated near Paxos the Ottoman vice-admiral ʿAlī Čelebi, seizing 12 Ottoman vessels, but in 1577 the Ottomans, recovering from their defeat at Lepanto (1571) and realising the island's vulnerability, attacked and plundered it before the Venetians took over again (until 1797).

Corfu. Although it never experienced a period of Ottoman domination, the island was severely threatened by three Ottoman attacks [see also KÖRFÜZ]. In 1386 it was ceded by the Navarrese Company to Venice, whose control there lasted until 1797, while after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Corfu was to become a place of Byzantine refugees and exiles. In 1537-8, Khayr al-Dīn Pasha Barbarossa and the Grand Vizier Luṭfī Pasha [*q.vv.*] besieged the island but, failing to seize it, they plundered Kephallenia (see Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.*, iii, 143 ff.). Another threatening attack against Corfu took place in the reign of Sultan Aḥmed III, in 1716, in the course of the Seventh Venetian-Ottoman war of 1714-18; despite a stifling blockade by sea (by the *kapudan-pasha* Meḥmed) and land (by the *serʿasker* Ḳara Muṣṭafa Pasha), the Venetians and Corfiotes held out (see G. Athanasainas, *The assedio of Corfu, 1716* [Gk. adaptation], Athens 2001, and D. Chatzopoulos, *The last Venetian-Ottoman war of 1714-18* [in Gk.], Athens 2002, 235-97). Finally, following the end of Venetian rule in the Heptanese (1797) and in the reign of Sultan Selīm III, the French were besieged in Corfu (Nov. 1798-March 1799) by a united Russo-Ottoman fleet under Admiral Feodor Ushakov, who had also seized Zakynthos, Kephallonia, Ithake (Oct. 1798) and Leukas (Nov. 1798) and whose operations were supported also by the Orthodox ecumenical patriarch Gregory V (detailed description of the operations by the priest Petros-Polykarpos Voulgares, in a recent modern Gk. adaptation by S.-C. Voulgares, *Chronicle of a siege, 1798-9*, Athens 2001; cf. N. Moschonas, in *IEE*, xi, 389ff.). Russo-Ottoman control, in the course of which both the first independent small Greek "Ionian State" was created (1800-7) under the sovereignty of the Porte and treaties were signed with ʿAlī Pasha Tepedelenli [*q.v.*] of

Ioannina [see YANYA] (on these treaties, see E. Protopsaltes, in *Deltion historikes kai ethnologikes hetaireias hellados*, xi [1956], 59-77), lasted until 1807, when the French took over again until 1814, at which time the British prevailed in the area until its eventual cession to Greece (1864).

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also references in the articles KÖRFÜZ, LEVKAS, ZAKLISE; on the temporary Ottoman occupation of some of the Ionian islands, see D. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, 87ff., index and maps (esp. XV-XVI). Detailed references on the Arab and Ottoman raids in P. Soustal and J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia (Tabula Imperii byzantini 3)*, Vienna 1981, and A. Savvides, *Notes on the Ionian Islands and Islam in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods (Arab and Ottoman raids)*, in *Journal of Oriental and African Studies*, xii (Athens 2003-4); cf. idem, *Notes on Edessa/Vodena/Wodina, Volos/Gološ/Wolos/Kuluz and Zakynthos/Zante/Zaklise in the Byzantine and Turkish domination periods*, in *Mésogeios*, v (1999). See also K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, 4 vols. Philadelphia 1976-84, *passim*; Alexandra Krantonelle, *History of piracy*, 3 vols. (periods 1390-1538, 1538-1699, and 18th century until the Greek War for Liberation), Athens 1985, 1991, 1998 (in Gk.). Good bibliographies on the Byzantine and post-Byzantine (Latin) Heptanese in the collective *Historia tou hellenikou ethnous (IEE) (= History of the Hellenic nation)*, ix (1979), 463-5, x (1974), 465-6, and xi (1975), 496, and in the collection of studies by G. Leontsines, *Problems in Heptanesian social history* (in Gk.), Athens 1991, 615-99.

(A. SAVVIDES)

YEMENLI ḤASAN PAS̲H̲A (d. 1016/1607), Ottoman Turkish governor in the Yemen.

In the absence of tribal consensus and an agreed successor to the Zaydī imāmate following the death of al-Muṭahhar [*q.v.*] in 980/1572, the Ottomans were offered an unprecedented opportunity to extend their zone of influence beyond the Tihāma [*q.v.*] into the Yemeni interior. Earlier Ottoman advances and the securing of Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] in 954/1547 had still left large areas of the north—including strongholds such as Kawkabān and T̲h̲ulā [*q.vv.*] situated perilously close to the governor's seat itself—incompletely pacified, and it was only during Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a's exceptionally long term of office as provincial governor between D̲j̲umādā I 988/June 1580 and Muḥarram 1013/June 1604 (Rās̲h̲id, i, 154, 186) that the Ottoman administration began to make serious inroads against local resistance forces. Throughout the period of Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a's governorship in the Yemen, the Ottomans were preoccupied by wars on both the eastern and north-western frontiers of their empire (against the Ṣafawids 986-98/1578-90 and the Habsburgs 1001-15/1593-1606, so that Ḥasan was given a free hand to secure the consolidation of Ottoman rule within his jurisdiction by his own means. One method he employed to good effect in the early years of his governorship was deportation (*nafy*) of prominent members of the Zaydī leadership. In 994/1586 he sent five of al-Muṭahhar's sons and potential successors to Istanbul for incarceration at Yedi Kule (Rās̲h̲id, i, 161), where they remained until the end of his governorship (see *ibid.*, i, 185, noting the death in captivity of Luṭf Allāh b. al-Muṭahhar in 1010/1601-2).

To reinforce his authority locally, Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a made extensive use of an inner core of long-term associates of proven military ability and unswerving personal loyalty such as his deputy (*ketk̲h̲üdā*) Sinān Pas̲h̲a and another right-hand man called Amīr ʿAlī al-D̲j̲azāʾirī. In 997/1589 he appointed the latter with the rank of *pas̲h̲a* as lieutenant-governor in Ṣaʿda [*q.v.*] with key responsibilities for securing the northern districts. When at a later stage in his governorship Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a faced a resumption of the Zaydī challenge with al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsimī's declaration of independence in 1006/1597 [see AL-MANṢŪR BI 'LLĀH], he turned for assistance to his former associate ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a who was called in from his then current post as governor of Eritrea (for ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a's term as *beylerbeyi* of the *eyālet-i Ḥabes̲h̲* between Rad̲j̲ab 1002/April 1594 and Ramaḍān 1010/March 1602, see C. Orhonlu, *Habeş eyaleti*, Istanbul 1974, 183) to lend his help in the crisis. Through a combination of swift communications, rapid reaction and effective teamwork, the Ottomans succeeded in capturing al-Manṣūr's base of operations at S̲h̲ahāra in 1011/1602 and in forcing his re-submission, albeit temporary, to Ottoman rule. In sum, although Ottoman control over the province remained precarious at the close of Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a's twenty-four year term as governor in 1013/1604, there is no question but that he had contributed significantly to Yemen's fuller incorporation into the Ottoman imperial system.

After Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a's recall at his own request to Istanbul, he served a brief term as governor of Egypt between the early part of 1014/summer 1605 and 3 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1015/2 March 1607 (*Tārīk̲h̲-i Naʿīmā*, i, 462). Shortly after his return to the capital, he died on 9 Rad̲j̲ab 1016/3 October 1607 (*ibid.*, ii, 23).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): 1. Sources. Burṣalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*, ii, 128-9; Aḥmed Rās̲h̲id, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Yemen we Ṣanʿāʾ*, 2 vols. Istanbul 1294/1877 (Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a's governorship being covered in detail, i, 153-86).

2. Studies. Fuad I. Khuri, *Imams and Emirs. State, religion and sects in Islam*, London 1990, 118-23 and map on 61; C.G. Brouwer, *Al-Mukha. Profile of a Yemeni sea port as sketched by servants of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) 1614-1640*, Amsterdam 1997, 106-11.

(R. MURPHEY)

YOGYAKARTA, the name of a city in central Java, Indonesia, capital of the former sultanate and present-day Special District of Yogyakarta. Inhabitants (in 2002): *ca.* 448,760 (city) or *ca.* 3,068,000 (whole district).

Together with the city and area of Surakarta [*q.v.*] it was formerly part of the kingdom of Mataram [*q.v.*] located in the southern parts of central Java. The first *kraton* (palace) of Mataram was built in 1582 in Kuṭa Gĕdé, a present suburb of Yogyakarta, by Kyai Gĕdé Pamanahan. After his death in 1584 his son took over the *kraton* and military installations and was recognised by Sultan Adivijaya of Pajang as Sénopati-ing-Alaga, a military leader ("general"). After the ruler's death in 1587 Sénopati established and enlarged his new kingdom. He died in 1601. The greatest ruler among his descendants was Sultan Agung (*r.* 1613-45), who conquered most of central and eastern Java including Surabaya, and even some regions on other islands. Besides his deep roots in Javanese monistic traditions as *susuhunan* (originally a spiritual title), he also supported the spread of Islam to the interior of the island and obtained the title of *sulṭān* by a special mission from Mecca in 1641. Under his successors, however, the Islamic elements were extensively eliminated once more.

After three wars of succession and the move of the capital city to Kartasura (1677) and Surakarta (Solo, 1745), the kingdom of Mataram was divided in 1755; the Pangĕran Mangkubumi III choose again

Yogyakarta as place for his *kraton*, thus reviving the traditions of Sénopati and Sultan Agung. As Sultan Hamengku Buwono I (d. 1792) he became the founder of the dynasty of Nga Yogyakarta Hadiningrat. The situation of his *kraton* was just beside a sacred line reaching from Mt. Merapi in the north to the mouths of the rivers Opek and Progo, the meeting place with the goddess of the South Sea Nyai Lara Kidul, thus underlining his central role in sacred geography, above all, in the cosmos. More than the *susuhunan* in Surakarta, the *sulṭān* of Yogyakarta gave dominance to Islamic symbols and precepts, combining them to the special brand of Javanese Islam: the normative expressions of Islam, in confession and *Sharīʿa*, as the vessel for mystical practice; divine decree (*taḳdīr*, *waḥy*, *wangsit*, *pulung*) combined with the magical power (*kesaktèn*, *sěkti*, from Sanskr. *śakti*) of the ruler, and thus the subordination of the religious scholar to the king (Woodward, 152). The tradition of Yogyakarta relates these teachings to Sunan Kali Jaga, one of the nine revered teachers of Islam (*wali songo*) in Java who was a particular adviser to Sénopati.

The Java War (1825-30) broke out when Pangěran Diponegoro (1785-1855), son of Sultan Hamengku Buwono III and a person well trained in mystical practices, was taken to fight against the alliance of the court and the Dutch because of new administrative regulations. He was supported by the people, by members of the nobility and the Islamic *ʿulamāʾ* led by Kiyai Maja. After being treacherously taken prisoner, he was exiled to Makassar [*q.v.*], while Kiyai Maja was exiled to Menado.

In 1912 Yogyakarta witnessed the founding of the *Muhammadiyah* by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan as a modernist social and educational organisation which is at present the second largest Islamic organisation in Indonesia. The great popularity of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX (1912-88, *r.* since 1939), a modernising reform of the village administration in 1946 in his district, and his close co-operation with the republican leaders after 1945, particularly 1946-9 when Yogyakarta was the interim capital of Indonesia because of the Dutch occupation of Jakarta, saved the special status of the district. Its role as a centre of academic learning (1946: founding of Gajah Mada University; 1959: Institute for Higher Islamic Learning, *IAIN*; and others, including Protestant and Catholic seminaries) has been further developed by Sultan Hamengku Buwono X (b. 2 April 1946, succeeded his father in 1988).

Bibliography: *EI*[1], *s.v.* *Djokyåkartå*; *Babad Tanah Djawi*, rev. repr. J.J. Ras, 2 vols. [2]Dordrecht and Providence, R.I. 1987; M.C. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792. A history of the division of Java*, London 1974; M.R. Woodward, *Islam in Java. Normative piety and mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, Tucson 1989. (O. Schumann)

YOMUT, a Türkmen tribe, or rather a tribal confederacy, in Central Asia.

Today, most of them live in the Republic of Türkmenistan (1926: *ca.* 100,000; contemporary state policy takes no cognisance of individual tribes). About 130,000 (in the 1960s, cf. Irons 1974) inhabit Iran (east of the Caspian sea, from the Gurgān plain north to the border of Türkmenistan), and between 125,000 and 400,000 (Adamec) live in northwestern Afghānistān (north of the Paripamisus range). The etymology of the name is unclear. The Yomut do not appear among the pre-Mongol Türkmen tribes listed by al-Kāshgharī in his *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk* (tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly 1982-5), nor in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (*Die Geschichte der Oğuzen*, tr. Karl Jahn, 1969, 46-7). Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān [*q.v.*] mentions Yomut, a remote descendant of Salur, the son of the legendary Oghuz Khān's son Ṭagh Khān (*Shadjara-yi Tarākima*, fol. 100b, ed. and Turkish tr. Z.K. Ölmez, 1996). Dshikijew (1994) collected among the Yomut in the Turkmen SSR some divergent genealogical tales all of which show that the Yomut believe that they have the same ancestor Salur (Ḳazan Alp), one of the most famous heroes of Türkmen lore [see DEDE ḲORḲUT], as the Teke, Ersari, Sarïḳ and Salor tribes [*q.vv.*]. According to Bregel (1981), in the 16th century the Yomut, along with other tribal groups such as the Ersari, Salor, Sarïḳ and Teke, practised pastoral nomadism in the region between the Mangïshlaḳ peninsula and the Balkhān mountains. Due to ecological factors and the pressure of the Ḳalmuḳs and Ḳazakhs from the north, probably in the second half of the 17th century, some Yomut moved to the Gurgān plain while others migrated towards the oases of Khʷārazm in the first half of the 18th century. Eventually they received permission from the khān to remain on the northwestern periphery of the Khīwa oasis.

In the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, a 19th century chronicle of Khīwa, written by Mūnis and Āgahī [*q.vv.*], from the early 18th century onward the Yomut are frequently mentioned among the tribal enemies whom several khāns had to subdue at regular intervals. The Yomut also played a certain role in Khīwan history since, as auxiliaries, they often joined the Khān's army, mostly in his fights with the Shīʿī Persians in Khurāsān, but also in campaigns against Bukhārā. They were also prone to ally themselves with a khān's rebellious relatives or governors. Between 1178/1764-5 and 1184/1770-1, the Yomut even succeeded in capturing twice the city of Khīwa and also most other strongholds of the khānate. After the Russians had reduced Khīwa to a protectorate (1873) and annexed the Türkmen territory from Mangïshlaḳ down to the Persian border (1881-4), the Yomut incursions continued across the Russian-Persian border but on a much reduced scale.

From the early 19th to the second half of the 20th century, all the Gurgān (Astarābād) Yomut tribes had either predominantly pastoral (*čarva*) or predominantly agricultural (*čomur*) members producing for monetary economy. Their most famous product were carpets. Up to the 1950s, they were also able to preserve slave and lifestock raiding as an additional source of income, since the Iranian government exerted firmer political and fiscal control only in the 1930s and, again, from the middle of the century onwards (Irons 1994).

Bibliography: Y. Bregel, *Nomadic and sedentary elements among the Turkmens*, in *CAJ*, xxv (1981), 5-37; Mūnis and Āgahī, *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, ed. and tr. Bregel, *Firdaws al-iqbāl. History of Khorezm*, Leiden 1988-98 (with copious notes on the details of Yomut-Khīwan relations accompanying the tr.); L.W. Adamec, *Historical dictionary of Afghanistan*, Metuchen, N.J. and London 1991; B. Rosetti, *Die Turkmenen und ihre Teppiche*, Berlin 1992; A. Dshikijew, *Das turkmenische Volk im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1994; W. Irons, *Why are the Yomut not more stratified?*, in Claudia Chang and H.A. Koster (eds.), *Pastoralists at the periphery*, Tucson and London 1994, 175-96 (with refs. to earlier articles by Irons based on fieldwork in the 1960s and 1970s). (Barbara Kellner-Heinkele)

YURTČÏ (t.) (from *yurt* "tribal territory, camp site, tent site", a general term in the Turkic languages,

cf. Türkmen *yūrt* ~ *yuvı̄rt*, Ḳaraḳalpaḳ, Ḳazaḳ and Ḳı̄rg͟hı̄z *žurt*; see KHAYMA. iv, to whose *Bibl.* should be added G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1965-70, iv, 212-16 no. 1914), Pers. *yūrtd͟jī*, the salaried officer responsible for choosing camp sites for the army or court, organising them, and supervising their use.

D͟juwaynī's use of *yūrt* for the appanages granted by Činggiz Ḳan to his brother, sons and grandsons demonstrates that *yurt* then included both summer and winter quarters, the whole territory of an *ulus* (i, 31). Ras͟hīd al-Dīn uses it in the same way, saying, for example, that "the dwelling and territories, *maḳām wa yūrt-hā*" of Činggiz Ḳan were next to those of the Ong Ḳan (Berezin, *Činggiz*, text, i, 118). The *yurtčī*'s duties are set out by Nak͟hčiwānī [*q.v.*] in 1360, in two specimen charters (ii, 64-6): his appointment is to be recognised by all, from the viziers downwards through commanders of ten thousands and thousands to the tribes themselves. He alone is to designate camp sites, *yūrt-hā*, in a pleasant district, giving priority to the ruler, and then to his counsellors and lords wherever the camps, *urdū-hā*, are to be pitched in summer and winter quarters, *mawāḍiʿ-i yāylāḳ wa ḳīs͟hlāḳī*. His choices in all districts are to take account of the local population's separate needs: they should be far from the arable land of village peasants, or troops of horse-herders, or those settled in *oba*s, or nomads; the site should not be irksome, to the detriment of people's land, and for this reason nothing should be demanded of anyone. No-one should exceed the camp site which he had designated for them. It is emphasised that the *yurtčī* was selected on the basis of his long experience, and knowledge of where camp sites with plenty of water and grazing were to be found in all the districts for summer and winter quarters, and of all the communication routes used by the camp. In whatever direction a royal expedition was undertaken, he was to go in the vanguard and establish the site for royal use, and those for the principal members of the court, so that the troops on arrival at the stage [see MANZIL] should know exactly where to encamp. It is mentioned specifically that these must be far from the courses of rivers which might flood. The office was thus a highly responsible one, in which the experience and competence to be found in those living a largely nomadic life were integrated with a system of state finance and administration. Besides the *yurtčī*, three other officials were particularly responsible for the management of the camp: the *farrās͟h*, or tent-pitcher, the *bularg͟hučī* or keeper of lost property, and the *sārbān* or cameleer. The superintendent of the tent department, *mihtar-i farās͟h-k͟hāna*, was accountable for the supply and maintenance of the royal tents. Such camps had to operate under a wide variety of conditions, which must have strained the vigilance of these officials. Though at times the movement from recognised summer quarters to winter quarters was regular enough, the use of at least seven different summer sites by G͟hāzān in the course of his nine-year reign shows the extent to which movement was possible in the north of Persia alone. Some sites were preferred for ceremonial purposes, most probably because of their proximity to Tabrīz: a grand assembly was held at Ḳarābāg͟h in 1295, and a great public festival of 1302 in the meadows at Ūd͟jān. Some of these sites at least were registered as royal domains, *ind͟jū*: Lār, for example, belonged to Arg͟hūn.

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(P.A. ANDREWS)

YŪSUF B. AL-ḤASAN (I), MAWLĀY, sultan of Morocco, *r.* 1330-46/1912-27.

He was born in 1298/1880-1 of a Circassian mother, Āmina. His early life in the royal palace remains obscure. He received education from private tutors in a traditional curriculum and did not emerge into public life until 1330-1/1912 when his brother, sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ (*r.* 1325-30/1908-12) appointed him as his *k͟halīfa* (viceroy) at Fez. Later that year, he was named sultan (19 S͟haʿbān 1330/12 August 1912) after his brother was forced to abdicate by Marshal Lyautey, Resident-General and principal architect of the French Protectorate then being established in Morocco.

Dignified, pious, intelligent, affable, possessed of no political experience or ambitions, and apparently friendly toward France, Mawlāy Yūsuf seemed an ideal choice for an office meant by the French Protectorate authorities to serve as a legitimating symbol and façade for their governance in the country. Under Lyautey's tutalage (1912-25) he would serve this role well: lending his prestige as an ʿAlawī *s͟harīf* to French military campaigns against Moroccan resistance to the imposition of French and Spanish rule, and generally remaining publicly co-operative and uncritical of France and its Protectorate policies. He was routinely associated with the inauguration of a wide range of Protectorate initiatives in the areas of government, finance, administration, the judiciary, the education system, infrastructure and economic development.

At the same time, he gradually emerged as a more active and interested participant in the creation of a revitalised sultanate and government (*mak͟hzan* [*q.v.*]) that linked traditional forms—embodied especially in the person and reign of his father Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (*r.* 1290-1311/1873-94)—and modern innovation represented and advocated by France. He took an active interest in the reform and encouragement of Islamic education, and gave generous royal patronage to the repair and construction of mosques, *madrasas* and other public buildings. He effectively opposed French efforts to reduce or replace *S͟harīʿa* courts in the country's Berber-speaking areas, and was an increasingly vocal opponent of the Protectorate's ongoing expropriation of rural and urban property. Unknown and unpopular at first, his travels throughout the country, extensive publicity and increasing association with the development of a modern Morocco that respected and preserved religious and cultural traditions, gained for him broadening popular acceptance. Recent scholarship (e.g. Rivet) shows him and his relationship to the French Protectorate to be much more complex than earlier interpretations have allowed. Though never enjoying real power, the sultanate during Mawlāy Yūsuf's reign became more than a mere façade lending itself uncritically and unawares to the policies of the Protectorate authorities. Over the course of time, he took on substance sufficient to begin a transition from the status of a perplexed and diffident pupil to that of respected mentor, perhaps, in some ways, even partner, in the governance of the sultanate.

Yūsuf died on 22 Djumādā I 1346/17 November 1927 from the effects of uraemia. He was succeeded by his third son Muḥammad (V) [*q.v.*].

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(W. ROLLMAN)

YÜZBASHĪ (T.), lit. "head of a hundred [men]", a term used in later Ottoman and now modern Turkish armies for the rank of captain, and in the form *yūzbashī* in modern Arab armies for this same rank. It was further used in Muslim Indian minting practice for the engraver of coin dies; see DĀR AL-ḌARB, at Vol. II, 121a.

Z

AL-**ZAMAKHSHARĪ**, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM MAḤMŪD B. ʿUMAR.

2. Contributions in the fields of theology, exegesis, *ḥadīth* and *adab*.

His father, as imām of the local mosque in Zamakhshar, taught him the Ḳur'ān, but since he lacked the means to support the further education of his son, he wanted him to become a tailor. Yielding to his son's wishes, however, he brought him to the capital of Khwārazm, Djurdjāniyya, which henceforth became his permanent home and where he first earned his sustenance by copying for a wealthy patron. His ambition was a high secretarial career in government. For his literary education, he studied first with Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. al-Muẓaffar al-Naysābūrī (the death date of 442/1050 commonly given for him is mistaken, since his son ʿUmar died only in 536/1142), the leading man of letters in Khwārazm at the time, and after the arrival there of Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd b. Djarīr al-Ḍabbī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 507/1114), with the latter, who became his most influential teacher and generous patron. Al-Zamakhsharī also visited Bukhārā to study and hear *ḥadīth*. On his way there he fell from his mount and broke a leg, which had to be amputated and replaced by a wooden substitute.

In his ambition for a high position in government, he first addressed panegyric poems to the famous Saldjūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092 [*q.v.*]), referring to his teacher Abū Muḍar, but his hopes were disappointed. Later he travelled widely in Khurāsān and western Persia, pursuing his scholarly interests and addressing similar poems to Saldjūḳ dignitaries such as Mu'ayyid al-Mulk b. Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 495/1102) and Mudjīr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Ardastānī and even to the Sultans Muḥammad b. Malikshāh (d. 511/1118) and Sandjar. Although he received some monetary rewards for these eulogies, he failed to secure any position. This was largely due to his open espousal of Muʿtazilī doctrine, which in the Saldjūḳ period came increasingly to be viewed as heretical. When he fell seriously ill in 512/1118, he vowed never again to visit a court or praise a ruler, seeking thereby a position, and vowed to lead an ascetic life devoted to religion and teaching. After his recovery, he visited Baghdād where he engaged in studies and debates with scholars. He assembled with the Ḥanafī jurist Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Dāmghānī and the grammarian al-Sharīf Hibat Allāh b. al-Shadjarī. As he made the Pilgrimage in that year, he was welcomed by the *amīr* of Mecca, the Sharīf ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Ḥamza b. Wahhās, a Muʿtazilī Zaydī man of letters and learning. A close friendship developed between the two, and al-Zamakhsharī stayed with the *amīr* for two years as a greatly honoured guest, during which he also visited parts of Arabia and Yemen. Then he returned to Djurdjāniyya, where he was honoured in this period by the Khwārazmshāhs Muḥammad b. Anūshtakīn (d. 521/1127) and his son Atsïz. A decade later, he again set out for Mecca and stayed for an extended time in Damascus, where he composed eulogies for the Būrid ruler Tādj al-Mulūk Ṭughtakīn (d. 526/1131) and his son Shams al-Mulk. He reached Mecca for the Pilgrimage in 526/1132 and stayed there for three years, again hospitably received by Ibn Wahhās, who encouraged him to assemble his *dīwān* of poetry and to compose his Ḳur'ān commentary *al-Kashshāf*. Al-Zamakhsharī completed the latter after two years in 528/1133. In 533/1138 he made a further trip to Mecca and passed through Baghdād, where he visited Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb b. al-Djawālīḳī [*q.v.*], a famous man of letters, and received his *idjāza*. He died in Djurdjāniyya on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 538/14 June 1144 and was buried near the town. On account of his prolonged stay in Mecca—he lived there for five years and performed the Pilgrimage seven times according to his own testimony—he claimed the title Djār Allāh, under which he remained widely known. In his home country he was commonly referred to as Fakhr Khwārazm "the Glory of Khwārazm".

Although of Persian origin, al-Zamakhsharī was most basically motivated in his scholarship to serve and promote the Arabic language. Arabic was in his view the most perfect language which God had preferrred to all languages as He preferred the Ḳur'ān and Islam over all scripture and religions (see 1., at Vol. XI, 432b-434a). In the work on which his fame primarily rests, the Ḳur'ān commentary *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tanzīl*, his efforts in explaining the Holy Book's grammatical, lexicographical and rhetorical features, variant readings and the miraculous nature (*iʿdjāz* [*q.v.*]) of its beautiful language earned him universal admiration. He did so adducing quotations from a wide variety of early prose texts, including the *tafsīr* of the grammarian al-Zadjdjādj [*q.v.*] and poetry, rather than relying on traditional exegesis. His rationalist Muʿtazilī interpretations, however, provoked criti-

cism among traditionalist Sunnīs. While some of these interpretations were adopted from earlier Muʿtazilī exegetes such as Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm and al-Rummānī, he also frequently presented views of his own. In concord with his Muʿtazilī outlook, he emphasised ethical and ascetic aspects and denounced Ṣūfī antinomian tendencies and belief in miracles of saints, Shuʿūbīs and the Umayyad caliphs. In legal questions, he occasionally backed al-Shāfiʿī and other positions against his own Ḥanafī school. The popularity of his work was in the eastern Muslim world not seriously impaired by the attempt of al-Bayḍāwī [*q.v.*] to furnish an orthodox counterpart to it in his *Anwār al-tanzīl*. Opposition to his Muʿtazilī tendency was stronger in the Muslim West, where the Mālikī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Munayyir (d. 683/1284) wrote a refutation of his Muʿtazilī interpretations entitled *K. al-Inṣāf min al-Kashshāf*, which is sometimes printed on the margins of the *Kashshāf*.

In Muʿtazilī theology, al-Zamakhsharī was familiar with the school doctrine of Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār through the literary transmission of al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī [*q.v.*], which he received from his teacher Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Khʷārazmī. In addition, he studied the school doctrine of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], which was first introduced into Khʷārazm by his teacher Abū Muḍar al-Iṣfahānī, with his colleague Rukn al-Dīn Ibn al-Malāḥimī. In his Muʿtazilī creed *al-Minhādj fī uṣūl al-dīn* he appears partly influenced by the doctrine of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī but generally avoids taking side in the conflict between the two schools.

In the field of *ḥadīth*, he composed a large, alphabetically-arranged dictionary of unusual words, *al-Fāʾiḳ fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*. The relevant *ḥadīths* are fully quoted and explained. In his *Mukhtaṣar al-Muwāfaḳa bayna ahl al-bayt wa 'l-ṣaḥāba* he abridged the work of the Muʿtazilī Zaydī traditionist Abū Saʿīd Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. 443/1051), omitting the *isnāds*. The book was intended to demonstrate the concord between the family of Muḥammad and the major Companions (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1890). He assembled biographical data and reports about the virtues of the ten Companions whom the Prophet had promised paradise in his *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿashara al-kirām al-barara*. His *al-Kashf fī 'l-ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashar* deals with the canonical variant readings of the Ḳurʾān.

In the field of *adab*, he collected an extensive dictionary of Arabic proverbs *al-Mustaḳṣā fī amthāl al-ʿArab* which rivalled the *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl* of his contemporary al-Maydānī. Completed in 499/1106, it contains 3,461 proverbs alphabetically arranged according to their beginnings with explanation of their origin and use. His voluminous *Rabīʿ al-abrār wa-nuṣūṣ al-akhbār* contains extracts from literary and historical works arranged according to 92 topics. It was meant to be a companion reader to his Ḳurʾān commentary. His *K. al-Amkina wa 'l-djibāl* is a small dictionary of Arabic geographical names.

In his own artistic prose works, his predilection was for ethical admonition and preaching. His *Maḳāmāt*, also entitled *al-Naṣāʾiḥ al-kibār*, contain fifty *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*] in the older meaning of the term, moral exhortations which he addressed to himself. He composed them after his illness in 512/1118 and later added his own philological commentary. His *Aṭwāḳ al-dhahab* or *al-Naṣāʾiḥ al-ṣighār* consists of 100 pious maxims with allusions to the Ḳurʾān, Sunna and proverbial expressions. It was dedicated to Ibn Wahhās and the people of Mecca. His *Nawābigh al-kalim* or *al-Kilam al-nawābigh* is a small collection of apophthegms. A commentary on it, *al-Niʿam al-sawābigh*, was written by al-Taftāzānī [*q.v.*].

His poetry, collected into his *dīwān*, reflects his technical skill and understanding of the classical tradition of Arabic poetry more than an original poetical talent. An influence of the poetry of Djarīr and al-Mutanabbī is occasionally apparent. He wrote a substantial commentary on al-Shanfarā's *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab*, the *K. Aʿdjab al-ʿadjab fī sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab*. His *al-Ḳisṭās al-mustaḳīm fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ* is a treatise on prosody.

Bibliography: Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Bārūdī, Beirut 1988, iii, 163-4; Andarasbānī, *Muʿdjam al-siyar*, in ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Yāfī, *Fī sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, in *RAAD*, lvii (1982), 365-82; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1986, iii, 265-72; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 147-51; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, v, 168-74; Muṣṭafā al-Ṣāwī al-Djuwaynī, *Manhadj al-Zamakhsharī fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1959; A.M. al-Ḥūfī, *al-Zamakhsharī*, Cairo 1966; A. Yüksel, *Al-Zamakhsharī's life and a critical edition of his Dīwān*, thesis Durham 1979; S. Schmidtke, *A Muʿtazilite creed of az-Zamaḫšarî*, Stuttgart 1997.

(W. MADELUNG)

ZANDAḲA [see ZINDĪḲ].

AL-**ZANDJĀNĪ**, ʿIZZ AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Kharadjī (often given as: al-Khazradjī) al-Shāfiʿī, Abu 'l-Maʿālī (*fl.* in the middle of the 7th/13th century), grammarian and *adīb*, who *ca.* 625/1228 wrote a celebrated treatise on morphology (*ṣarf* [*q.v.*]), *Mabādiʾ al-taṣrīf* or *(Kitāb) al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī*, extant in numerous mss. and the subject of many commentaries, the most popular one being that of al-Taftāzānī (see *Bibl.*).

The *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* was the third grammatical treatise (after Ibn al-Ḥādjib's *Kāfiya* and the *Ādjurrūmiyya*) to be made available in the West, in an edition and two Latin translations, one literal and one idiomatic, by the director of the Medici press, J.B. Raymundus (Giovanni Battista Raimondi), *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf taʾlīf al-Shaykh al-Imām, Liber Tasriphi compositio est Senis Alemami, traditur in ea compendiosa notitia conjugationum verbi Arabici*, Rome 1610 (see Chr.F. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, Halle 1811, 25-7, no. 47). The name of the author sometimes appears as al-ʿIzzī (see e.g. J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, Leipzig 1955, 56); this seems to have arisen from a careless rendition of the title as *Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī* rather than *al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī* (the *nisba* refers to the author's *laḳab* ʿIzz al-Dīn). In addition to other works in the fields of, *inter alia*, grammar and lexicography, al-Zandjānī wrote works also in *adab*. One is an anthology of poetic snippets (not entire poems) with the title *al-Maḍnūn bihī ʿalā ghayr ahlih*. It deals with the following themes: books, praise, yearning, love, congratulations, dirges, complaints and invective. An extensive commentary on it was written by ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Kāfī b. ʿAbd al-Madjīd al-ʿUbaydī, who finished it in 724/1324. The other book, with the title *K. Miʿyār al-nuẓẓār fī ʿulūm al-ashʿār*, deals with prosody and rhetoric. It is divided into three parts: metrics (*ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*), rhyme taxonomy (*ʿilm al-ḳawāfī*), and rhetoric (*ʿilm al-badīʿ*). This arrangement of the poetic disciplines imitates al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Kāfī fī 'l-ʿarūḍ wa 'l-ḳawāfī*, which likewise contains an unexpected section on *al-badīʿ* (ed. al-Ḥassānī Ḥasan ʿAbd Allāh, Cairo n.d., 170-204). Interestingly, one of his sources is the *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr fī ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-shiʿr*, written in Persian by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ [*q.v.*]. Knowledge of Persian on the part of al-Zandjānī is also shown by a line of Persian poetry in *al-Maḍnūn*

(ed. Yahuda, 25). The *Miʿyār* is often quoted in later rhetorical literature.

Bibliography (N.B. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zandjānī is not infrequently confused with his father Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [both having the *laḳab* ʿIzz al-Dīn!]): 1. Biographical and bibliographical. Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ²Damascus 1373-8/ 1954-9, iv, 330; Brockelmann, I², 336-7 (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm), S I, 497-8 (Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, referring to the same person!); Kaḥḥāla, i, 57 (Ibrāhīm, with the *al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī* attributed to him); vi, 216-17 (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, author of the remaining works mentioned above).

2. Works. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī fī fann al-ṣarf*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿĀl Sālim Makram, Kuwait 1983; ʿUbaydī, *Sharḥ al-Madnūn bihī ʿalā ghayr ahlih*, ed. I.B. Yahuda, Cairo 1913-15, repr. Beirut and Baghdād n.d. [1993 or before] (with a new title-page that omits the name of the editor and with omission of the two, Arabic and French, prefaces of the editor); ed. Faradj Allāh Dhakī al-Kurdī, Cairo 1342; *K. Miʿyār al-nuẓẓār fī ʿulūm al-ashʿār*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī Rizḳ al-Khafādjī, 2 vols, Cairo 1991; ed. of Pts. 1-2 by Maḥmūd Fadjdjāl (forthcoming [?], cf. al-Ashḳar, introd. to Pt. 3, 3, n. 1); ed. of Pt. 3 by ʿAbd al-Munʿim Sayyid ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ashḳar, Cairo 1416/1995 (with valuable introd., based in part on Maḥmūd Fadjdjāl's unpublished study and ed. of al-Zandjānī, *al-Kāfī fī sharḥ al-Hādī li-dhawī 'l-albāb fī ʿilm al-iʿrāb*, doctoral thesis, Kulliyyat al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya, Djāmiʿat al-Azhar 1398/1978). (Eds.)

al-**ZARKASHĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bahādur (or Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. ʿAbd Allāh, according to some), prolific writer who lived in Mamlūk Cairo at a time of flourishing intellectual activity.

Born in Cairo in 745/1344, he studied *ḥadīth* in Damascus with ʿImād al-Dīn Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373 [*q.v.*]), *fiḳh* and *uṣūl* in Aleppo with Shihāb al-Dīn al-Adhraʿī (d. 783/1381; see Brockelmann, S II, 108), and Ḳurʾān and *fiḳh* in Cairo with the head of the Shāfiʿī school in Cairo at the time, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Asnawī (d. 772/1370, see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Égypte au cours des années 1996 à 1999*, in *MIDEO*, xxiv [2000], 252, entry no. 135, item 4), as well as with Sirādj al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī (d. 805/1403 [*q.v.*]) and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mughulṭay (d. 762/1361 [*q.v.*]). He died in Cairo on 3 Radjab 794/27 May 1392 and was buried in the smaller al-Ḳarāfa cemetery in the area of the tomb of the Amīr Baktamur al-Sāḳī. He was called al-Zarkashī because he learned embroidery while he was young; he also became known as al-Minhādjī because he learned the text of Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277 [*q.v.*]), the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn*, by heart. Al-Zarkashī is spoken of as naturally reserved, having spent most of his time in his house or in the bookstores where he would take copious notes in order to avoid spending money to buy books.

According to the study by Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, the modern editor of one of al-Zarkashī's more famous works, *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān* (Cairo 1957, ²1972; see i, 5-13, for the biography of al-Zarkashī), some 33 works are attributed to him, 23 of which are apparently still in existence. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿĀnī, the editor of al-Zarkashī's *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* (6 vols., Kuwait 1401/ 1989; see i, 7-19, for the biography of al-Zarkashī), manages to increase this total to 46 works, although many are attested only by single mentions in historical bibliographies. Brockelmann, II, 91-2, S II, 108, lists 22 works, all in existence.

About 14 of al-Zarkashī's works are available in published form today, displaying the broad spectrum of his interests. A jurist of the school of al-Shāfiʿī, al-Zarkashī's works cover the full range of traditional scholarship: *ḥadīth, tafsīr, fiḳh, adab* and *kalām*. In *fiḳh*, al-Zarkashī wrote his summary *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* in 777/1376 when he was only 32. Among his many other legal works of note is a book on hashish, *Zahr al-ʿarīsh fī taḥrīm al-ḥashīsh*, which details the physical hazards of hashish consumption and the moral effects the substance has, which are deemed to be parallel to those associated with wine and intoxication. Al-Zarkashī did, however, admit to some of hashish's positive (and legal) anaesthetising abilities. It was the use of hashish for enjoyment and pleasure that raised the ire of al-Zarkashī, as it did for almost every Muslim jurist.

His achievements have only recently started to be properly recognised. He lived at a time of significant scholarly activity and his works certainly drew the attention of those in the immediate generations thereafter. His *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, for example, was the first all-encompassing work of its type, only to be eclipsed a century later by al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itḳān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, even though (or perhaps because) al-Suyūṭī benefited from al-Zarkashī's work in terms of providing the structuring and content of his own work. In a total of 47 chapters in *al-Burhān*, al-Zarkashī brings together every major topic related to understanding the Ḳurʾān, devoting what is essentially a monograph to each one; he mentions previous authors who have treated each subject and compares the opinions of the traditionists, the theologians, the exegetes and the grammarians on many of the topics. Al-Suyūṭī also created his own work *al-Durar al-muntathara fī 'l-aḥādīth al-mushtahara* (Beirut 1995) on the basis of al-Zarkashī's now lost treatise *al-Tadhkira fī 'l-aḥādīth al-mushtahira*.

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2. Studies. K.E. Nolin, *The* Itqān *and its sources: a study of* al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān *by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī with special reference to* Al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān *by Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī*, Ph.D. thesis, Hartford Seminary Foundation 1968; F. Rosenthal, *The Herb. Hashish versus medieval Muslim society*, Leiden 1971 (includes a summary and ed. of Zarkashī's *Zahr al-ʿarīsh*); ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mabāḥith al-tashbīh ʿind al-imām Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī*, Cairo 1984; A. Rippin, *Al-Zarkashī and al-Suyūṭī on the "occasion of revelation" material*, in *IC*, lix (1985), 243-58, repr. in Rippin, *The Qurʾān and its interpretative tradition*, Aldershot 2001, ch. XVIII; Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn, *al-Badr* [sic] *al-Zarkashī muʾarrikhᵃⁿ*, Beirut 1989; I.L. Camara, *Tres tratados arabes siobre el* Cannabis Indica. *Textos para la historia del hachis en las socoedades islamicas S. XIII-XVI*, Madrid 1990, 45-146, with an ed. and tr. of al-Zarkashī's *Zahr al-ʿarīsh*. (A. Rippin)

ZAWDJ.

3. Usage in the dialects of the Muslim East.

The original meaning of *zawdj* in Classical Arabic was "one of a pair or couple" (see 1., at Vol. XI, 464b). Its dual in a phrase such as *zawdjān min al-ḥamām* meant "a pair of pigeons" (i.e. one male, one female). *Zawdj* also naturally came to mean "spouse, married person" of either gender. Later, a morphologically marked female form *zawdja* "wife" was coined, as a consequence of which *zawdj* came to designate specifically "husband". In Modern Standard Arabic, as well as the meaning "husband", *zawdj* retains the original Classical meaning "one of a pair", but is also now used to mean "pair", as in *zawdj min al-ḥidhāʾ* "a pair of shoes".

In the major (urban) Arabic dialects of the eastern Mediterranean (Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Beirut), the first and third radicals of *zawdj* became metathesised (and modified phonetically in well-known ways), so that one typically hears *gōz* (Cairo), *žōz* (Jerusalem, Damascus, Beirut) for both the "pair" and "husband" meanings, but the non-metathesised forms for the feminine form, e.g. *zōga* (Cairo), *zawže* (Damascus) "wife". In rural areas, there is a considerable amount of variation between metathesised and non-metathesised forms, as there is in the phonetic realisation of the two consonants. Thus in parts of the Nile valley and Delta, *zawz, zōz, gōz* and even *gaz* "two, (the) pair, both" may be heard, as in *gōz saʿāt* "two hours", *gaz t-ushhur* "two months", *ig-gaz zayyi baʿd* "the pair/the two are alike", *hum iz-zawz* "both of them". The use of *gōz*, etc. for "two" is reminiscent of the general Maghribī form *žūž* "two" (see 2., at Vol. XI, 464b).

In ʿIrāḳ and Arabia, the non-metathesised forms *zōdj* "pair"; "husband" and *zōdja* "wife" are the normal realisations, though these are koinè terms when used to refer to marital partners (which in "pure" dialect are usually words whose basic meaning is "man" and "woman", e.g. Baḥrayn *radjdjāl/rayyāl* and *mara*). In some derivatives from this root, metathesised forms are also heard among less educated speakers, e.g. *djawāz* "marriage" (Gulf States), instead of *zawādj* and *djawwaz* "to marry" (Nadjd), instead of *zawwadj*.

It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for the metathesis so widely encountered in this root. One possible reason may be a meaning coalescence in the dialects, because of a similarity of sound, of the originally separate verbs *zawwadj* "marry, (legitimately) couple" (< *z-w-dj*) and *djawwaz* "to deem or make permissible" (< *dj-w-z*)—a process which has been referred to by Voigt as *Wurzelangleichung*. There is already a similarity in meaning between them, in that an imām who "marries" (*yizawwidj*) a man to a woman thereby makes her "permissible" (*yidjawwizhā*) to him. From this coalescence of sound and meaning may have arisen a secondary fusion of other words from the same root, such as we see in the vacillation between the modern dialectal variants *zawdj* and *djawz*, which were separate words in Classical Arabic.

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(C. Holes)

ZĪRĪ b. **ʿAṬIYYA** b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khazar, Abū Yūsuf, Berber chief of the Maghrib whose fate was linked, at the end of the 4th/10th century and the beginning of the 5th/11th, on the one hand to that of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] and on the other to that of the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*], who were caught between the forces of the caliphate of Cordova, to the north, and those of the Fāṭimid caliphate and the Zīrid principality of Ifrīḳiya, to the east. In fact, following the proclamation of the caliphate of Ḳayrawān, the Maghrāwa were compelled by circumstances to pay allegiance to one or other of the neighbouring powers.

Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya belonged to an illustrious family, the Banū Khazar, whose ancestors were already guiding the Maghrāwī confederation at the time of the conquest of the Maghrib by the Muslims. In 351/962, on the death of his grandfather, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. Khazar became the leader of the Maghrāwa. Extending his territory at the expense of the Fāṭimid zone of influence established by Djawhar [*q.v.*], the new chieftain established a short-lived Maghrāwī state in the central Maghrib, within the orbit of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova. But in 360/971, the Fāṭimid governor of Ifrīḳiya, Buluggīn b. Zīrī [*q.v.*] defeated, close to Tlemcen, the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta. From this date onwards, the history of these tribes, which had formerly established a confederation, is closely linked with the history of what is now Morocco, where the different princes of the family of the Banū Khazar created three states, around the cities of Fās, Sidjilmāsa and Aghmāt. Among these Maghrāwī *amīrs* who went in search of new territories in the far Maghrib were Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya and his brother Muḳātil b. ʿAṭiyya. Theoretically dependent on the caliph of Cordova, the two brothers deferred sometimes to the authority of the Umayyad caliph in the region, and sometimes to that of his chamberlain, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir.

Towards 365/975-6, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad seems to have lost control of the northern group of Maghrāwī Moroccans. In fact, at this time Zīrī and Muḳātil b. ʿAṭiyya were in the entourage of the Umayyad governor of the Maghrib, the general Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, appointed by the caliph al-Ḥakam II. The Maghrib served at this time as a source for the provision of fighters in the struggle against the Iberian Christians. The Maghrāwa, the leadership of whom had just been taken over by Zīrī and Muḳātil, and the Banū Īfran [*q.v.*], commanded by Yaddu b. Yaʿlā, supported this policy and supplied horsemen to al-Andalus.

The news of the death of the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II arrived in North Africa just as negotiations were in progress between Djaʿfar b. Ḥamdūn, Yaddu b. Yaʿlā, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya and his brother Muḳātil. The minority of Hishām II, leading to the accession of the *ḥādjib* Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (366-71/976-81), perceptibly modified the traditional policies of Cordova in this region. In fact, al-Manṣūr played on the rivalries between the Zanāta chiefs; in 376/986, he sent a new governor-general to the Maghrib, Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wadūd al-Sulamī, who moved his headquarters from Sabta to Fās. On the orders of al-Manṣūr, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wadūd overtly favoured the Maghrāwa to the detriment of the other Zanāta chiefs and especially the Īfranid Yaddu b. Yaʿlā, known for his rebellious tendencies. When Muḳātil died in 378/988, Zīrī took over the leadership of the Maghrāwa and became the sole interlocutor of the Cordovan power.

In 379/989, for example, al-Manṣūr invited Zīrī to pay an official visit to Cordova. The latter brought with him numerous recruits for al-Manṣūr's armies,

who were incorporated into the regular army. He was received in princely style and was awarded on this occasion the title of vizier. On his return to the Maghrib, Zīrī seems to have demonstrated some independence towards the ʿĀmirid master of Cordova, founding in the north of Morocco a principality with Fās as its capital. Seeking the support of the Īfranid, al-Manṣūr made overtures of Yaddu b. Yaʿlā which the latter rejected, moving openly into dissidence. The reaction of al-Manṣūr was immediate: Ibn ʿAbd al-Wadūd received the order to call upon Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya to subdue Yaddu. On 18 Muḥarram 381/6 April 991, on the banks of the Wadi Moulouya, an encounter took place in the course of which Yaddu b. Yaʿlā crushed the Cordovan army and the Maghrāwī reinforcements.

For Umayyad policy in the Maghrib, this constituted a serious reverse, temporarily alleviated by the unexpected support of a Ṣanhādjī prince of Ifrīḳiya. In fact, the paternal uncle of the Zīrid king al-Manṣūr b. Buluggīn, Abu ʾl-Bahār b. Zīrī, rebelled against the Ḳayrawān government and declared himself for that of Cordova. According to certain authors, this allegiance was short-lived and Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya attacked Abu ʾl-Bahār who took refuge first at Ceuta, in Shawwāl 382/end of 992, and then, after being reconciled with his relatives, in Ifrīḳiya; Zīrī took over all his domains and announced his victory, in 381/391, to al-Manṣūr, who invited him to pay a second visit. Arriving at Cordova in 382/992, Zīrī brought numerous presents with him on this occasion, as recorded by the sources (although they are sometimes attributed to a diplomatic mission sent by Zīrī in 384/November 994): 200 racehorses, some 20 of them with a documented pedigree, camels, weapons and shields of antelope hide (*lamṭ*), a parrot, a gigantic panther and a giraffe, which died en route and was stuffed, all these last for the menagerie of the Caliph's palace. On his return to the Maghrib, Zīrī learned that the Īfranid Yaddu b. Yaʿlā had taken possession of Fās. After a bloody battle, Zīrī regained his throne and sent Yaddu's head to al-Manṣūr.

No doubt finding the location of Fās too remote in relation to the assemblage of regions which recognised his authority, in 383/994 Zīrī founded the town of Oujda (Wadjda [*q.v.*]), on the border between Morocco and what is now Algeria, with the aim of establishing his court and his household garrison there. Subsequently, relations with Cordova deteriorated. The precise reasons for the conflict between Zīrī and al-Manṣūr are not known, but it is possible that Zīrī had emerged as the champion of Hishām II in his claims against al-Manṣūr: in 388/998, his battle cry (*shiʿār*) was *yā Hishām yā Manṣūr*, while that of the ʿĀmirids was only *yā Manṣūr* (Lévi-Provençal, *Fragments*, 29). In 386/997, al-Manṣūr sent troops to the Maghrib to intimidate Zīrī, who affirmed his independence without going so far as to repudiate overtly his oath of fealty to Hishām II. In Shawwāl 387/October 997, al-Manṣūr deprived him of his title of vizier and sent against him one of his best generals, the former slave Wāḍiḥ, who commanded the middle march of al-Andalus (*al-thaghr al-awsaṭ*). In Tangier, the latter received the allegiance of numerous local chiefs who came to rally beneath his banner. Then he set out with all these forces to attack Zīrī, who had taken up positions in a mountainous region of northern Morocco, the Djabal Ḥabīb (Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, iii, 244).

As a first step, Wāḍiḥ took possession of Arcila on the Atlantic and of Nakūr on the Mediterranean. In Radjab 388/July 998, he succeeded in surprising the bulk of Zīrī's forces in a mountain pass and inflicted a severe defeat on the Maghrāwa. Some weeks later, wanting to reap the rewards of victory, al-Manṣūr sent his own son ʿAbd al-Malik with fresh reinforcements. ʿAbd al-Malik joined forces with Wāḍiḥ and then both of them marched against Zīrī. The second encounter, which took place on 19 Shawwāl 388/13 October 998, was at first indecisive. But Zīrī's army, on hearing that its leader had been severely wounded, disintegrated; forced into flight, Zīrī abandoned his camp and his wealth to the Cordovans.

Having tried in vain to take refuge in Fās, where his wives and children were, Zīrī took the Sahara road. In fact, the town refused to open its gates to him and it was occupied by ʿAbd al-Malik. Having barely recovered from his injuries, Zīrī refrained from attempting anything in the north of Morocco, which was strongly held by the Umayyad army. But taking advantage of the death of Zīrid king al-Manṣūr b. Buluggīn and the quarrels between the latter's son and successor, Badīs, and his great-uncles Maksan and Zawī, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya laid siege to Tāhart, which he took in 388/998. Then he successively conquered the Ṣanhādjī centres of Tlemcen, Chélif, Ténès and al-Masīla, where he had the prayer celebrated in the name of the Umayyad caliph Hishām II and his *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr, whose pardon he sought, asking to have his former prerogatives reinstated. His appeal was accepted.

In 391/1001, Zīrī laid siege to Ashīr [*q.v.*], the capital of the Ṣanhādja, but his state of health obliged him to raise the siege after a month, and he died shortly afterwards. On the death of Zīrī, his son, al-Muʿizz, took his place at the head of the federation of Maghrāwa, and declared himself the loyal vassal of Cordova, continuing the struggle against the Ṣanhādja until the death of al-Manṣūr. A little later, al-Muʿizz asked the new *ḥādjib*, ʿAbd al-Malik, to award him an official investiture. A letter of ʿAbd al-Malik dated Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 396/August 1006, the text of which has been preserved (Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, iii, 248-50, and al-Warrāḳ, *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères*, 40-1) is addressed to the inhabitants of Fās, inviting them to recognise al-Muʿizz b. ʿAṭiyya as governor of the whole Maghrib, with the exception of the territory of Sidjilmāsa, the personal fief of Wānūdīn b. Khazrūn b. Falfūl. The rest of the reign of al-Muʿizz was turbulent, but on his death in 417/1026, the general revolt of al-Andalus smashed once and for all the ties which for almost a century had linked the Zanāta North African bloc with the Umayyads of Cordova. The fortunes of the Zanāta [*q.v.*] declined in the Maghrib, before the increasing power of the Almoravids, who relied for support on the Ṣanhādja tribes.

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(P. Buresi)

LIST OF ENTRIES

For facility of *Encyclopaedia* use, since headings of entries there are generally in Arabic, Persian or Turkish, this list provides English references to either the main article in the *Encyclopaedia* or to the Index of Subjects proper, which groups all articles concerned with the subject under one heading. The main *Encyclopaedia* article is given here in bold type, the Subject Index heading is in capitals preceded by an arrow (e.g. Clove **Ḳaranful**; but Spices → CUISINE.FOOD). The Index of Subjects follows the List of Entries on p. 19. Countries and names of dynasties or caliphates, which are included *in extenso* in the Index of Subjects, are not given in the following list.

A

Abbreviations [in Suppl.] **Abbreviations**
Ablution → ABLUTION
Abridgement **Mukhtaṣar**
Abstinence **Istibrāʾ**
Academy **Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī**
Accident **ʿAraḍ**
Accounting → FINANCE
Acquisition **Kasb**
Acrobat **Djānbāz**
Act **ʿAmal; Fiʿl**
Addax **Mahāt**
Administration → ADMINISTRATION
Admiral **Ḳapudan Pasha**
Adoption → ADOPTION
Adultery → ADULTERY
Advance guard **Ṭalīʿa**
Adverb **Ẓarf**
Aesthetics **ʿIlm al-Djamāl**
Agency **Wakāla**
Agriculture → AGRICULTURE
Aims (of the law) [in Suppl.] **Maḳāṣid al-Sharīʿa**
Album **Muraḳḳaʿ**
Alchemy → ALCHEMY
Alfa-grass **Ḥalfāʾ**
Algebra → MATHEMATICS
Almanac **Taḳwīm**
Alms → ALMS
Aloe **Ṣabr**
Alphabet → ALPHABET
Amazement **Taʿadjdjub**
Amber **Kahrubā**
Ambergris **ʿAnbar**
Americas → NEW WORLD
Amplification (of poetry) **Takhmīs**
Amulet **Tamīma**
Analogy **Ḳiyās**
Anatomy → ANATOMY
Anecdote **Nādira**
Anemone **Shaḳīḳat al-Nuʿmān**
Angel → ANGELOLOGY
Animal → ANIMALS
Ant **Naml**
Antelope → ANIMALS
Anthology **Mukhtārāt**
Anthropomorphism → ANTHROPOMORPHISM
Antinomianism **Ibāḥa** (II)
Antithesis **Ṭibāḳ**
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Apostasy → APOSTASY
Appeal **Istiʾnāf**
Apple **Tuffāḥ**
Apricot **Mishmish**
Aqueduct → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS
Arabian peninsula → ARABIAN PENINSULA
Arabic → ALPHABET; LANGUAGES.AFRO-ASIATIC; LINGUISTICS
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Arabism → PANARABISM
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Arbitration **Taḥkīm**
Arbitrator **Ḥakam**
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Architecture → ARCHITECTURE
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Art → ART
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Article **Maḳāla**
Articulation [in Suppl.] **Lafẓ**.1
Artisans → PROFESSIONS.CRAFTSMEN AND TRADESMEN
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Ascension to Heaven, Prophet's **Miʿrādj**
Ascensions **al-Maṭāliʿ**
Asceticism → ASCETICISM
Assignation **Ḥawāla**
Association **Andjuman; Djamʿiyya**
Associationism **Shirk**
Astrolabe **Asṭurlāb**
Astrology → ASTROLOGY
Astronomical handbook **Zīdj**
Astronomy → ASTRONOMY
Atheism **Kāfir**
Atomism **Djuzʾ**
Attributes **Ṣifa**
Autobiography → LITERATURE.AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL
Avarice **Bukhl**

B

Bābism → SECTS
Bacchism → WINE.BACCHIC POETRY
Backgammon **Nard**
Bahais → BAHAIS
Balance **al-Mīzān**
Balance of powers **Tawāzun al-Sulutāt**
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Bargaining **Sawm**
Barley **Shaʿīr**
Barracks **Ṭabaḳa**
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Basques → BASQUES
Bat **Waṭwāṭ**
Bath → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS
Battalion **Ṭabūr**
Battle → MILITARY.BATTLES
Beard, the Prophet's **Liḥya-yi Sherīf**
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Bedding **Mafrūshāt; Mifrash**
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Bee **Naḥl**
Beggar **Sāsān**
Belles-lettres → LITERATURE
Belomancy **Istiḳsām**
Ben-nut **Bān**
Bequest **Waṣiyya**
Berbers → BERBERS
Betrothal **Khiṭba**
Bible → BIBLE
Bibliography → LITERATURE.BIBLIOGRAPHICAL
Bier **Djanāza**
Biography → LITERATURE.BIOGRAPHICAL
Bird → ANIMALS
Birth control → LIFE STAGES.CHILDBIRTH.PREGNANCY
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Blacksmith **Ḳayn**
Blasphemy [in Suppl.] **Shatm**
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Boat **Safīna**
Body **Djism**
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C

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Caliphate → CALIPHATE
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Camphor **Kāfūr**
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Childhood → LIFE STAGES
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Clay **Ṭīn**
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Clime **Iḳlīm**
Cloak **Khirḳa**
Cloak, the Prophet's **Khirḳa-yi Sherīf**
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Clove **Ḳaranful**
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Column **'Amūd**
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Conference **Mu'tamar**
Confessionalism **Ṭā'ifiyya**
Confinement (of Ottoman princes) [in Suppl.] **Ḳafes**
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Conjunction **Ḳirān**
Constellation → ASTRONOMY
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Consul **Consul**
Consultation **Shūrā**
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Contract → LAW.LAW OF OBLIGATIONS
Cook **Ṭabbākh**
Cooking → CUISINE
Cooperatives **Ta'āwun**
Copper **Nuḥās**; *and see* Malachite
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Coral **Mardjān**
Cornelian **'Aḳīḳ**
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Corpse-washer [in Suppl.] **Ghassāl**
Corsair → PIRACY
Corundum **Yāḳūt**
Cosmetics → COSMETICS
Cosmography → COSMOGRAPHY
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Country **Waṭan**
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Court hierarchy [in Suppl.] **Martaba**
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Couscous **Kuskusū**
Cowrie **Wada'**
Craftsmanship → PROFESSIONS
Creation → CREATION
Creditor **Ghārim**
Creed **'Aḳīda**
Crescent **Hilāl**
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Cross **al-Ṣalīb**
Crow **Ghurāb**
Crown **Tādj**
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Crustaceans → ANIMALS
Cryptography → CRYPTOGRAPHY
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Cubit **Dhirā'**
Cuckoo **Wāḳwāḳ**.4
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Cupper [in Suppl.] **Faṣṣād**
Currants **Zabīb**
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Customary law → LAW
Cymbal **Ṣandj**

D

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Dam → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS
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Dandy **Ẓarīf**
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Day **Yawm**
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Debtor **Ghārim**
Deception (in law) **Taghrīr**
Declension **I'rāb**
Declination **al-Mayl**
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Decree, divine **al-Ḳaḍā' wa 'l-Ḳadar**
Decree of ruler **Tawḳī'**
Deer **Ayyil**
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Delegations **Wufūd**
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Demon **Djinn**
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Deposit **Wadī'a**
Deposition [in Suppl.] **Khal'**
Deputisation **Wakāla**
Dervish → MYSTICISM
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Desert → DESERTS
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Dialect → LANGUAGES.AFRO-ASIATIC.ARABIC

Diamond **Almās**
Dictionary → DICTIONARY
Dill **Shibithth**
Diplomacy → DIPLOMACY
Disease → ILLNESS
Disputation → THEOLOGY
Dissolution **Faskh**
Ditch **Khandaḳ**
Divination → DIVINATION
Divorce → DIVORCE
Documents → DOCUMENTS
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Donative coins **Yādgār**
Donkey **Ḥimār**
Double entendre **Tawriya**
Doubt **Shakk**
Dove **Ḥamām**
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Dragoman **Tardjumān**
Dragon **al-Tinnīn**
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Dress → CLOTHING
Dressmaker **Khayyāṭ**
Drinks → CUISINE
Dromedary → ANIMALS.CAMELS
Druggist **al-ʿAṭṭār**
Drugs → DRUGS
Drum **Darabukka**; **Ṭabl**
Drummer **Ṭabbāl**
Druze → DRUZES
Dualism → RELIGION
Dulcimer **Santūr**
Duress [in Suppl.] **Ikrāh**
Dwelling **Bayt**; **Dār**
Dye → DYEING
Dyer → DYEING
Dynasty → DYNASTIES

E

Eagle **ʿUḳāb**
Earthquakes → EARTHQUAKES
Ebony **Abanūs**
Eclipse **Kusūf**
Ecliptic **Minṭaḳat al-Burūdj**
Economics → ECONOMICS
Edict **Farmān**
Education → EDUCATION
Elative **Tafḍīl**
Elegy **Marthiya**
Elephant **Fīl**
Elixir **al-Iksīr**
Eloquence **Balāgha**; **Bayān**; **Faṣāḥa**
Emancipation → EMANCIPATION
Embalming **Ḥināṭa**
Emblem of sultan **Tughra**
Emerald **Zumurrud**
Emigration → EMIGRATION
Emphatic phonemes **Tafkhīm**
Encyclopaedia **Mawsūʿa**
Endive [in Suppl.] **Hindibāʾ**
Endowment, charitable **Waḳf**
Enjambment **Taḍmīn**
Ephemeris **Taḳwīm**
Epic **Ḥamāsa**
Epidemic **Wabāʾ**
Epigraphy → EPIGRAPHY
Epistolography → LITERATURE.EPISTOLARY
Epithet → ONOMASTICS
Equation (astronomical) **al-Taʿdīl**; **Taʿdīl al-Zamān**
Equator **Istiwāʾ**
Equines → ANIMALS
Eroticism → LOVE.EROTIC
Error **Khaṭaʾ**
Error, writing *see* Mistakes
Eschatology → ESCHATOLOGY
Esoteric sense **al-Ẓāhir wa ʾl-Bāṭin**
Espionage *see* Spy
Estate **Ḍayʿa**
Eternity → ETERNITY
Ethics → ETHICS
Ethnicity → ETHNICITY
Ethnography → TRIBES
Etiquette → ETIQUETTE
Etymology **Ishtiḳāḳ**
Eulogy **Madīḥ**
Eunuch → EUNUCH
Europeanisation **Tafarnudj**
Evidence **Bayyina**
Ewer [in Suppl.] **Ibrīḳ**
Exception **Istithnāʾ**
Executor **Waṣiyya**

Exegesis **Tafsīr**
Existence **Wudjūd**
Exoteric sense **Ẓāhir**; **al-Ẓāhir wa 'l-Bāṭin**
Expedition → MILITARY
Expiation **Kaffāra**
Extremism **Taṭarruf**
Eye → ANATOMY; EVIL EYE

F

Faculty, university **Kulliyya**
Faïence **Kāshī**
Faith → FAITH
Faith, profession of *see* Profession of faith
Falconry → FALCONRY
Family **ʿĀʾila**
Family planning **Tanẓīm al-Nasl**
Fan **Mirwaḥa**
Farming → AGRICULTURE
Fasting → FASTING
Fate → PREDESTINATION
Fauna → ANIMALS
Felines → ANIMALS
Felt **Lubūd**
Female circumcision **Khafḍ**
Fennec-fox **Fanak**
Fennel [in Suppl.] **Basbās**
Festival → FESTIVAL
Fief **Iḳṭāʿ**
Fifth, one- [in Suppl.] **Khums**
Fig **Tīn**
Film **Cinema**
Finance → FINANCE
Fine **Djurm**
Fire **Nār**
Firefighter **Ṭulumbadji**
Fiscal system → TAXATION
Fish → ANIMALS
Fishing **Samak**.3
Five **Khamsa**
Flag **ʿAlam**; **Sandjaḳ**
Flamingo **Nuḥām**
Flax **Kattān**
Fleet, naval **Usṭūl**
Flora → FLORA
Flower poetry **Zahriyyāt**
Flowers → FLORA
Flute [in Suppl.] **Nāy**
Fly **Dhubāb**
Folklore → FOLKLORE
Food → CUISINE
Fools, wise [in Suppl.] **ʿUḳalāʾ al-Madjānīn**
Footprint, the Prophet's **Ḳadam Sharīf**
Forbidding wrong [in Suppl.] **al-Nahy ʿan al-Munkar**
Forest **Ghāba**
Foreword **Muḳaddima**
Forgery (of coins) **Tazyīf**
Forgery (of writings) **Tazwīr**
Form, legal **Waṣf**.2
Form, linguistic [in Suppl.] **Lafẓ**.1
Formulas → ISLAM
Fornication **Zinā**
Fortress → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS.STRONGHOLDS
Foundling **Laḳīṭ**
Fountain **Shadirwān**
Fowl **Dadjādja**
Fox **Thaʿlab**; *and see* Fennec-fox
Fraction **Kasr**
Frankincense **Lubān**
Fraud **Taghrīr**
Free will → PREDESTINATION
Freedom **Ḥurriyya**; [in Suppl.] **Āzādī**
Freemasonry [in Suppl.] **Farāmūsh-khāna**; **Farmāsūniyya**
Fruit → CUISINE.FOOD
Fundamentalism → REFORM.POLITICO-RELIGIOUS.MILITANT
Funeral **Djanāza**
Fur **Farw**
Furnishings → FURNISHINGS
Furniture [in Suppl.] **Athāth**
Fürstenspiegel **Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk**

G

Gain **Kasb**
Gambling → GAMBLING
Games → RECREATION
Garden → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS
Gate → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS
Gazehound **Salūḳī**
Gazelle **Ghazāl**
Gemstones → JEWELRY
Gender studies → WOMEN
Genealogy → GENEALOGY
Generation, spontaneous **Tawallud**
Generosity [in Suppl.] **Karam**
Geography → GEOGRAPHY
Geometry → MATHEMATICS
Gesture **Ishāra**
Gift → GIFTS
Giraffe **Zarāfa**
Girdle **Shadd**
Glass → ART
Gloss **Hāshiya**
Goats [in Suppl.] **Ghanam**
God **Allāh; Ilāh**
Gods, pre-Islamic → PRE-ISLAM
Gold **Dhahab**
Goldsmith **Ṣā'igh**
Gospels **Indjīl**
Government **Ḥukūma**
Grains → CUISINE.FOOD
Grammar **Naḥw**
Gratitude **Shukr**
Greeks **Yūnān**
Greyhound *see* Gazehound
Grocer **Baḳḳāl**
Guardianship **Ḥaḍāna**
Guild → GUILDS
Gum resins **Ṣamgh**
Gunpowder **Bārūd**
Gymnasium **Zūrkhāna**
Gynaecology → LIFE STAGES
Gypsies → GYPSIES

H

Hadith → LITERATURE.TRADITION-LITERATURE
Hagiography → HAGIOGRAPHY
Hair → ANATOMY
Hair, the Prophet's **Liḥya-yi Sherīf**
Hairdresser [in Suppl.] **Ḥallāḳ**
Hamito-Semitic **Ḥām**
Hand, right **Yamīn**
Handbook **Tadhkira**
Handbook, astronomical **Zīdj**
Handicrafts → ART
Handkerchief **Mandīl**
Harbour **Mīnā'**
Harbourmaster **Shāh Bandar** (*and* [in Suppl.] **Shāhbandar**)
Hare [in Suppl.] **Arnab**
Headware → CLOTHING
Health → MEDICINE
Heart **Ḳalb**
Heaven **Samā'**
Hedgehog **Ḳunfudh**
Hell → HELL
Hemerology **Ikhtiyārāt**
Hemp **Ḥashīsh**
Hempseed **Shahdānadj**
Henbane **Bandj**
Henna **Ḥinnā'**
Heraldry → HERALDRY
Herbs → CUISINE.FOOD
Hereafter → ESCHATOLOGY
Heresy → HERESY
Hippopotamus [in Suppl.] **Faras al-Mā'**
Hire, contract of → LAW.LAW OF OBLIGATIONS
Historiography → LITERATURE.HISTORICAL
Holiness **Ḳadāsa**
Holy places → SACRED PLACES
Holy War **Djihād**
Homeland **Waṭan**
Homicide **Ḳatl**
Homonym **Aḍdād**
Homosexuality **Liwāṭ**
Honour **'Irḍ**
Hoopoe **Hudhud**
Horn **Būḳ**
Horse **Faras**
Horseback rider **Fāris**

Horseback riding **Furūsiyya**
Horticulture → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS.GARDENS; FLORA
Hostelry → HOSTELRY
Houris **Ḥūr**
House *see* Dwelling
Humour → HUMOUR
Hunting → HUNTING
Hydrology → HYDROLOGY
Hydromancy **Istinzāl**
Hyena [in Suppl.] **Ḍabuʿ**
Hymn **Na<u>sh</u>īd**
Hyperbole **Mubāla<u>gh</u>a**
Hypnotism **Sīmiyāʾ**.1
Hypocrisy **Riyāʾ**

I

Ice-seller **<u>Th</u>allā<u>dj</u>**
Iconography → ART
Idol → IDOLATRY.IDOLS
Idolatry → IDOLATRY
Illness → ILLNESS
Illumination → ART
Image **Ṣūra**
Imagination [in Suppl.] **Wahm**.2
Impurity **<u>Dj</u>anāba; Ḥada<u>th</u>**
Incubation **Isti<u>kh</u>āra**
Independence **Istiḳlāl**
Indigo **Nīl**
Individual **<u>Sh</u>a<u>kh</u>ṣ**
Industry → INDUSTRY
Infanticide **Waʾd al-Banāt**
Infantryman **Yaya**
Infidel **Kāfir**
Inflection **Imāla**
Inheritance → INHERITANCE
Inimitability (of Qurʾan) **Iʿ<u>dj</u>āz**
Injustice **Ẓulm**
Ink **Midād**
Ink-holder [in Suppl.] **Dawāt**
Inner dimension **al-Ẓāhir wa ʾl-Bāṭin**
Innovation **Bidʿa**
Inscriptions → EPIGRAPHY
Insects → ANIMALS
Insignia → MILITARY.DECORATIONS; MONARCHY.ROYAL INSIGNIA
Inspection (of troops) **Istiʿrāḍ**
Instrument **Āla**
Instrument, musical → MUSIC
Insulting the Prophet [in Suppl.] **<u>Sh</u>atm**
Insulting verse **Hi<u>dj</u>āʾ**
Intellect **ʿAḳl**
Intercession **<u>Sh</u>afāʿa**
Intercourse, sexual **Bāh**
Intercourse, unlawful sexual **Zinā**
Interdiction **Ḥa<u>dj</u>r**
Interest, bank **Ribā**
Interpolation (astronomical) **al-Taʿdīl bayn al-Saṭrayn**
Interpreter **Tar<u>dj</u>umān**
Interrogation **Istifhām**
Interruption **Ḳaṭʿ**
Introduction **Ibtidāʾ; Muḳaddima**
Inventions → INVENTIONS
Invocation **Duʿāʾ**
Ipseity **Huwiyya**
Iris **Sūsan**
Iron **al-Ḥadīd**
Irrigation → IRRIGATION
Islam → ISLAM
Ivory **ʿĀ<u>dj</u>**

J

Jackal **Ibn Āwā**
Jade **Ya<u>sh</u>m**
Janissaries **Yeñi Čeri**
Japan(ese) **al-Yabānī**
Jasmine **Yāsamīn**
Javelin **<u>Dj</u>erīd**
Jerboa **Yarbūʿ**
Jewelry → JEWELRY
Jews **Banū Isrāʾīl; Yahūd**
Journalism → PRESS
Judaism → JUDAISM
Judge **Ḳāḍī**
Jujube **ʿUnnāb**
Juncture **Waṣl**
Jurisconsult → LAW.JURIST
Jurisprudence → LAW

Jurist → LAW
Justice **ʿAdl**

K

King **Malik**; **Shāh**
Kingdom **Mamlaka**
Kinship **Ḳarāba**
Kitchen **Maṭbakh**
Knowledge **ʿIlm**; **Maʿrifa**
Kohl **al-Kuḥl**
Koran → QURʾAN
Kurdish → KURDS

L

Labour *see* Trade union
Labourers → PROFESSIONS.CRAFTSMEN AND TRADESMEN
Lakes → GEOGRAPHY.PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.WATERS
Lamentation → LAMENTATION
Lamp **Sirādj**
Land → LAND
Landowner **Zamīndār**
Language → LANGUAGES
Largesse coins **Yādgār**
Law → LAW
Leader **Zaʿīm**
Leasing **Kirāʾ**
Leather **Djild**
Legacy **Waṣiyya**
Legatee **Waṣī**
Legend → LEGENDS
Lemon **Nārandj**
Lemon balm **Turundjān**
Leprosy [in Suppl.] **Djudhām**
Lesbianism **Siḥāḳ**
Letter(s) **Ḥarf**; **Ḥurūf al-Hidjāʾ**; *and for letters of the alphabet* → ALPHABET
Lexicography → LEXICOGRAPHY
Library → EDUCATION.LIBRARIES
Lice **Ḳaml**
Licorice **Sūs**
Life → LIFE STAGES
Light **Nūr**
Lighthouse → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS
Lily **Sūsan**
Linen **Kattān**; **Khaysh**
Linguistics → LINGUISTICS
Lion **al-Asad**
Literature → LITERATURE
Lithography **Maṭbaʿa**
Liver **Kabid**
Lizard **Ḍabb**
Locust **Djarād**
Lodge **Zāwiya**
Logic → PHILOSOPHY
Longevity **Muʿammar**
Louse *see* Lice
Love → LOVE
Lute **Sāz**; **ʿŪd**
Lyre **Ḳithāra**

M

Mace **Dūrbāsh**
Madman **Madjnūn**
Magic → MAGIC
Magnet **Maghnāṭīs.1**
Maintenance [in Suppl.] **Nafaḳa**
Make-up → COSMETICS
Malachite **al-Dahnadj**
Malaria **Malāryā**
Man **Insān**
Man-of-war **Usṭūl**
Mandrake **Sirādj al-Ḳuṭrub**; **Yabrūḥ**
Manichaeism → RELIGION.DUALISM
Manifestation **Tadjallī**
Manners → CUISINE; ETIQUETTE; VIRTUES AND VICES
Manumission → SLAVERY
Manuscript **Nuskha**
Map **Kharīṭa**
Marble [in Suppl.] **Rukhām**
Marches **al-Thughūr**; **Udj**

Market **Sūḳ**
Market inspector **Ḥisba**
Marquetry **Zalīdj**
Marriage → MARRIAGE
Martyr **Shahīd**
Martyrdom → MARTYRDOM
Marxism **Mārk(i)siyya**
Masonry **Binā'**
Mathematics → MATHEMATICS
Matter **Hayūlā; Ṭīna**
Mausoleum → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS.TOMBS
Maxims, legal [in Suppl.] **Ḳawā'id Fiḳhiyya**
Mayor **Ra'īs**
Measurements → WEIGHTS AND MEASUREMENTS
Mechanics → MECHANICS
Mediation **Shafā'a**
Medicine → MEDICINE
Melilot [in Suppl.] **Iklīl al-Malik**
Melissa **Turundjān**
Melody [in Suppl.] **Laḥn**
Memorandum **Tadhkira**
Menstruation **Ḥayḍ**
Merchants → PROFESSIONS.CRAFTSMEN AND TRADESMEN
Mercury **Zi'baḳ**
Messenger **Rasūl**
Messiah **al-Masīḥ**
Metallurgy → METALLURGY
Metalware → ART
Metamorphosis → ANIMALS.TRANSFORMATION INTO
Metaphor **Isti'āra**
Metaphysics → METAPHYSICS
Metempsychosis **Tanāsukh**
Meteorology → METEOROLOGY
Metonymy **Kināya**
Metre **Wazn**.2
Metrics → METRICS
Migration → EMIGRATION
Militancy → REFORM.POLITICO-RELIGIOUS.MILITANT
Military → MILITARY
Military rule [in Suppl.] **Niẓām 'Askarī**
Milky Way **al-Madjarra**
Mill **Ṭāḥūn**
Miller **Ṭaḥḥān**
Millet [in Suppl.] **Djāwars**
Minaret **Manāra**
Mineralogy → MINERALOGY
Miniatures → ART.PAINTING
Mint [in Suppl.] **Fūdhandj**
Mint (money) **Dār al-Ḍarb**
Miracle → MIRACLES
Mirage **Sarāb**
Mirror **Mir'āt**
"Mirror for princes" *see* Fürstenspiegel
Misfortune **Shaḳāwa**
Misrepresentation (in law) **Tadlīs**.1
Mistakes, writing **Taṣḥīf**
Modernism → REFORM
"Moderns", the [in Suppl.] **Muḥdathūn**
Modes, musical **Maḳām**; [in Suppl.] **Laḥn**
Molluscs → ANIMALS
Monarchy → MONARCHY
Monastery → CHRISTIANITY; MYSTICISM
Monasticism **Rahbāniyya**
Money → NUMISMATICS
Money-changer [in Suppl.] **Ṣarrāf**
Money-changing [in Suppl.] **Ṣarf**
Mongols → MONGOLIA
Mongoose **Nims**
Monk **Rāhib**
Monkey **Ḳird**
Monogram, imperial **Tughra**
Monotheism **Tawḥīd**
Months → TIME
Moon **Hilāl; al-Ḳamar**
Morphology **Ṣarf; Taṣrīf**
Mosaics → ART
Mosque → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS
Mountain → MOUNTAINS
Mountain goat **Ayyil**
Mulberry **Tūt**
Mule **Baghl**
Municipality **Baladiyya**
Murder **Ḳatl**
Music → MUSIC
Musk **Misk**
Mussel **Ṣadaf**
Myrobalanus [in Suppl.] **Halīladj**
Myrtle [in Suppl.] **Ās**
Mystic → MYSTICISM
Mysticism → MYSTICISM
Myths → LEGENDS

N

Name **Ism**
Narcissus **Nardjis**
Narcotics → DRUGS
Nationalisation **Ta'mīm**
Nationalism → NATIONALISM
Natron [in Suppl.] **Bawraḳ**
Natural science → NATURAL SCIENCE
Nature → AGRICULTURE; BOTANY; FLORA; LITERATURE.POETRY. NATURE
Navigation → NAVIGATION
Navy → MILITARY
Nephrite **Yashm**
New World → NEW WORLD
Newspaper **Djarīda**
Nickname **Laḳab**
Night **Layl and Nahār**
Night watch **ʿAsas**
Nightingale **Bulbul**
Nilometer **Miḳyās**
Nobility (of character) [in Suppl.] **Karam**
Nomadism → NOMADISM
Nomen unitatis *see* Noun of unity
Notables, tribal [in Suppl.] **Mala'**
Noun **Ism**
Noun of unity **Waḥda**.1
Nourishment → CUISINE
Novel **Ḳiṣṣa**
Nullity **Fāsid wa Bāṭil**
Number → NUMBER
Numerals → NUMBER
Numismatics → NUMISMATICS
Nunation **Tanwīn**

O

Oak **ʿAfṣ**
Oasis **Wāḥa**
Oath **Ḳasam**; **Yamīn**
Obedience (to God) **Ṭāʿa**
Obelisk → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS
Oboe **Ghayṭa**
Obscenity → OBSCENITY
Observatory → ASTRONOMY
Obstetrics → MEDICINE
Ocean → OCEANS AND SEAS
Octagon **Muthamman**
Oil → CUISINE.FOOD; OIL
Olive **Zaytūn**
Olive oil **Zayt**
Omen **Fa'l**
Oneirocriticism [in Suppl.] **Taʿbīr al-Ru'ya**
Oneiromancy → DREAMS
Oneness **Waḥda**.2
Oneness of being **Waḥdat al-Wudjūd**
Oneness of witnessing **Waḥdat al-Shuhūd**
Onomastics → ONOMASTICS
Onomatomancy **Ḥurūf, ʿIlm al-**
Ophthalmology → MEDICINE
Opium **Afyūn**
Opposites **Aḍdād**; **Ḍidd**
Optics → OPTICS
Orange **Nārandj**
Orchestra **Mehter**; *and see* Band
Order, military → MILITARY.DECORATIONS
Order, mystical → MYSTICISM
Organ **Urghan**
Organs, body → ANATOMY
Orientalism **Mustashriḳūn**
Ornament **Zakhrafa**
Ornithomancy **ʿIyāfa**
Orphan **Yatīm**
Orthodoxy **Sunna**
Oryx **Lamṭ**; **Mahāt**
Ostentation **Riyā'**
Ostrich **Naʿām**
Ottoman Empire → OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Outward meaning **Ẓāhir**; **al-Ẓāhir wa 'l-Bāṭin**
Ownership **Milk**

P

Paediatrics → Life Stages
Paganism → Pre-Islam
Painting → Art
Palace → Architecture.monuments
Palaeography → Epigraphy; Writing
Palanquin **Maḥmal**
Paleography *see* Palaeography
Palm **Nakhl**
Palmoscopy **Ikhtilādj**
Panarabism → Panarabism
Pandore **Ṭunbūr**
Panegyric **Madīḥ**
Panislamism → Panislamism
Pantheism → Religion
Panther **Namir**
Panturkism → Panturkism
Paper **Kāghad**
Paper seller **Warrāḳ**
Papyrology → Papyrology
Papyrus **Papyrus**
Paradise → Paradise
Parakeet **Babbaghā'**
Parasol **Miẓalla**
Parchment **Raḳḳ**
Parliament **Madjlis**
Paronomasia **Muzāwadja**; **Tadjnīs**
Parrot **Babbaghā'**
Partnership **Sharika**
Party, political → Politics
Passion play **Taʿziya**
Past **Māḍī**
Pastimes → Recreation
Pasture **Marʿā**
Pastures, summer **Yaylaḳ**
Pastures, winter **Ḳishlaḳ**
Patriotism **Waṭaniyya**
Patronymic **Kunya**
Pauper **Faḳīr**; **Miskīn**
Pavilion → Architecture.monuments
Pay → Payments
Peace **Ṣulḥ**
Peacock **Ṭāwūs**
Peacock throne **Takht-i Ṭāwūs**
Pearl **al-Durr**; **Lu'lu'**
Pedagogy **Tarbiya**
Pediatrics *see* Paediatrics
Pen **Ḳalam**
Pen-name **Takhalluṣ**
Penal law → Law
People **Ḳawm**; **Shaʿb**
Performers → Professions.craftsmen and tradesmen
Perfume → Perfume
Periodicals → Press
Persian → Languages.indo-european.iranian; Linguistics
Person **Shakhṣ**
Personal status → Law
Petroleum → Oil
Pharmacology → Pharmacology
Philately → Philately
Philology → Linguistics
Philosophy → Philosophy
Phlebotomist [in Suppl.] **Faṣṣād**
Phonetics → Linguistics
Photography → Art
Physician → Medicine
Physics [in Suppl.] **Ṭabīʿiyyāt**
Physiognomancy **Ḳiyāfa**
Physiognomy → Physiognomy
Pickpocket **Ṭarrār**
Piety **Waraʿ**; [in Suppl.] **Taḳwā**
Pig **Khinzīr**
Pigeon **Ḥamām**
Pilgrimage → Pilgrimage
Pillar **Rukn**
Pillars of Islam → Islam
Piracy → Piracy
Pirate → Piracy
Plagiarism [in Suppl.] **Sariḳa**
Plague → Plague
Planet → Astronomy
Plants → Flora
Plaster **Djiṣṣ**
Platonic love → Love
Pleasure-garden → Architecture.monuments.gardens
Pledge **Rahn**
Plough **Miḥrāth**
Plural **Djamʿ**
Poem → Literature.genres.poetry
Poet **Shāʿir**
Poetry → Literature
Poison **Summ**
Pole **al-Ḳuṭb**
Police → Military
Politics → Politics

Poll-tax **Djizya**
Polytheism **Shirk**
Pomegranate blossom [in Suppl.] **Djullanār**
Porcupine **Ḳunfudh**
Port **Mīnā'**
Porter **Ḥammāl**
Portmaster **Shāh Bandar** (*and* [in Suppl.] **Shāhbandar**)
Possession (by spirits) **Zār**
Postal history → PHILATELY
Postal service → TRANSPORT
Potash **al-Ḳily**
Pottery → ART
Powers, balance of **Tawāzun al-Sulutāt**
Prayer → PRAYER
Prayer direction **Ḳibla**
Prayer niche **Miḥrāb**
Pre-emption **Shuf'a**
Pre-Islam → PRE-ISLAM
Preacher **Wā'iẓ**
Precious stones → JEWELRY
Predestination → PREDESTINATION
Preface **Muḳaddima**
Pregnancy → LIFE STAGES.CHILDBIRTH
Presentation issues (coinage) **Yādgār**
Press → PRESS
Primary school **Kuttāb**
Principles of grammar **Uṣūl**
Principles of jurisprudence **Uṣūl al-Fiḳh**
Principles of religion **Uṣūl al-Dīn**

Printing **Maṭba'a**
Printing, block → WRITING.MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS
Prison **Sidjn**
Prisoner → MILITARY
Procedure, legal → LAW
Processions **Mawākib**
Profession of faith **Shahāda**
Professions → PROFESSIONS
Profit **Kasb**
Prologue **Ibtidā'**
Property → PROPERTY
Property owner *see* Landowner
Prophecy → PROPHETHOOD
Prophet → MUḤAMMAD, THE PROPHET; PROPHETHOOD
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INDEX OF SUBJECTS

The Muslim world in the Index of Subjects is the world of today. What once was the greater realm of Persia is given here under Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Afghanistan, just as part of the region once governed by the Ottoman Empire is covered by individual countries in Eastern Europe and in the Near East. States established in the past century, such as Jordan and Lebanon, are given right of place. Countries with a long history of Islam, e.g. Egypt and Syria, have a subsection "modern period", where *Encyclopaedia* articles covering the 19th and 20th centuries have been brought together.

The *mīlādī* year of death has been used for dating purposes. Thus, when an individual is listed as "15th-century", the dating refers to his/her year of death C.E. This method of dating is precise but regrettably unhelpful in some cases, as e.g. when an individual died in the very first years of a new century or when a person's major works date from the previous century.

References in regular typeface are to *Encyclopaedia* articles; those printed in boldface type indicate the main article. Entries in capitals and following an arrow refer to lemmata in the Index of Subjects itself. Thus, in the case of

> BEDOUINS **Badw**; Biʾr; Dawār; Ghanīma; Ghazw; al-Hidjar; Thaʾr
> *see also* Liṣṣ; ʿUrf.2.I; *and* → LAW.CUSTOMARY; NOMADISM; SAUDI ARABIA; TRIBES.ARABIAN PENINSULA

Badw; Biʾr; Dawār; Ghanīma; Ghazw; al-Hidjar, Thaʾr refer to articles in the *Encyclopaedia* that deal primarily with Bedouins, Badw being *the* article on Bedouins; Liṣṣ and ʿUrf.2.I refer to an article or section of an article in the *Encyclopaedia* that contains information of interest relating to Bedouins; and LAW.CUSTOMARY; NOMADISM; SAUDI ARABIA; TRIBES.ARABIAN PENINSULA refer the reader to analogous entries in the Index of Subjects.

The notation "(2x)" that follows an article—for example: Lār (2x)—indicates that there are two separate articles in the *Encyclopaedia* under the same entry that have reference to the indexed subject. Duplicate articles—on one rare occasion, triplicates—of one and the same *Encyclopaedia* entry, usually under different entry headings and thus passing through unnoticed by the Editors, as well as sections of larger articles added at a later date in the Supplement and lacking a reference in the main text, are indexed by the second occurrence of the article following the first in parentheses with the connective *and*, as, for example: Muḥammad Bey ʿUthmān Djalāl (*and* [in Suppl.] Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl).

Below is the Index of Subjects proper, in which all *Encyclopaedia* articles are grouped under one or more general entries. For facility in finding an article on a specific word or topic (e.g. "abstinence" or "sports"), the reader is referred to the List of Entries on p. 1.

A

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  and → Algeria; Libya; Morocco; Tunisia
mysticism Ṭarīḳa.II.2; Walī.2; Zāwiya.2
  see also Ziyāra.4; *and* → Mysticism.mystics
physical geography Atlas; Reg; Rīf; Sabkha; al-Ṣaḥrāʾ; Shaṭṭ; Tall; Tasili; Wādī.2
  and → *the section Physical Geography under individual countries*
population Ahaggar; Berbers; Dukkāla; Khulṭ; al-Maʿḳil; Shāwiya.1; Ṭawāriḳ; Tubu; [in Suppl.] Demography.IV
  see also Khumayr; Kūmiya; al-Manāṣir; Mandīl; Moors; *and* → Berbers
Southern Africa Mozambique (*and* [in Suppl.]); South Africa
  see also [in Suppl.] Djarīda.ix
  for individual countries → Mozambique
West Africa Côte d'Ivoire; Dahomey; Gambia; Ghana; Guinea; Liberia; Mali; Mūrītāniyā; Niger; Nigeria; Senegal; Sierra Leone; Togo
  see also Azalay; Kitābāt.5; Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ; al-Maghīlī; Malam; Murīdiyya; Sūdān (Bilād al-).2; Sulṭān.3; Tādmakkat; Takfīr.2; Takidda; Takrūr; ʿUlamāʾ.7; Waḳf.VIII
  for individual countries → Benin; Guinea; Ivory Coast; Mali; Mauritania; Niger; Nigeria; Senegal; Togo
architecture Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ; Masdjid.VII
empires Mande; Oyo; Songhay.3
  see also Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr; Samori Ture; Takrūr; ʿUthmān b. Fūdī
languages Hausa.ii; Nūba.3; Shuwa.2; Songhay.1; Sūdān (Bilād al-).3
  see also Fulbe; Kanuri; Senegal.1; *and* → Languages.afro-asiatic.arabic
literature → Africa.central africa
mysticism Walī.9; Zāwiya.3; Ziyāra.9
  and → Mysticism.mystics.african
physical geography
  deserts Sāḥil.2
  mountains Fūta Djallon; Tibesti
  oases Wāḥa.2
  waters Niger
population Fulbe; Ḥarṭānī; Hausa.i; Ifoghas; Kunta; Songhay.2; Ṭawāriḳ; Tukulor; Wangara; Yoruba; [in Suppl.] Demography.V
  see also Lamlam; Mande; Takrūr

Agriculture **Filāḥa**; Marʿā; Raʿiyya
  see also Mazraʿa; Mughārasa; Musāḳāt; Muzāraʿa; Taḳdīr.2; Taḳwīm.2; [in Suppl.] Akkār; *and* → Botany; Flora; Irrigation
agricultural cooperatives **Taʿāwun**
products Ḳahwa; Ḳamḥ; Karm; Ḳaṣab al-Sukkar; Khamr.2; Ḳuṭn; Nakhl; Nārandj; al-Ruzz; Shaʿīr; [in Suppl.] Djāwars; Hindibāʾ
  see also Ḥarīr; *and* → Cuisine.foods
terms Āgdāl; Baʿl.2.b; Čiftlik; Ghūṭa; Maṭmūra
tools Miḥrāth
treatises on Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ishbīlī; Ibn Wāfid; Ibn Waḥshiyya; al-Ṭighnarī

Albania **Arnawutluḳ**; Iskender Beg; Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pasha
  see also Muslimūn.1.B.4; Sāmī; *and* → Ottoman Empire
toponyms Aḳ Ḥiṣār.4; Awlonya; Delvina; Drač; Elbasan; Ergiri; Korča; Krujë; Lesh; Tiran; [in Suppl.] Ishḳodra

ALCHEMY Dhahab; Fiḍḍa; al-Iksīr; al-Kibrīt; **al-Kīmiyāʾ**; Ziʾbaḳ
see also Ḳārūn; Maʿdin; al-Nūshādir; Takwīn; *and* → METALLURGY; MINERALOGY
alchemists Djābir b. Ḥayyān; Ibn Umayl; Ibn Waḥshiyya; al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr; al-Ṭughrāʾī; [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī; al-Djildakī
see also Hirmis; Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya; [in Suppl.] al-Djawbarī, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm; Findiriskī; Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd
equipment al-Anbīḳ; al-Uthāl
terms Rukn.2; Ṭabīʿa.3; Zuḥal; Zuhara

ALGERIA **Algeria**
see also ʿArabiyya.A.iii.3; ʿArsh; Ḥalḳa; Zmāla.3; *and* → BERBERS; DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA
architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS.NORTH AFRICA
dynasties ʿAbd al-Wādids; Fāṭimids; Ḥammādids; Rustamids
and → DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA
literature Ḥawfī; Malḥūn
modern period Djāmiʿa; Djarīda.i.B; Ḥizb.i; Ḥukūma.iv; Maʿārif.2.B; Madjlis.4.A.xx; Ṣiḥāfa.2.(i); [in Suppl.] Maḥkama.4.xi
reform Ibn Bādīs; (al-)Ibrāhīmī; Salafiyya.1(b)
see also Fallāḳ
Ottoman period (1518-1830) ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥyī al-Dīn; Algeria.ii.(2); ʿArūdj; Ḥasan Agha; Ḥasan Baba; Ḥasan Pasha; al-Ḥusayn; Ḥusayn Pasha, Mezzomorto; Khayr al-Dīn Pasha
see also Sipāhī.2
physical geography Algeria.i
mountains ʿAmūr; Atlas; Awrās; Bībān; Djurdjura; Kabylia; Wansharīs
see also Tasili
salt flats Taghāza
population Ahaggar; Algeria.iii; Berbers; Zmāla.1
see also Kabylia; *and* → BERBERS
religion Algeria.iii; Shāwiya.1
mystical orders ʿAmmāriyya; Raḥmāniyya
see also Darḳāwa; Ziyāniyya; *and* → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS.NORTH AFRICAN
toponyms
ancient Arshgūl; Ashīr; al-Manṣūra; Sadrāta; [in Suppl.] Hunayn
present day
oases Biskra; Ḳanṭara.1; al-Ḳulayʿa.2.1; Laghouat; Sūf; Wargla; [in Suppl.] Gourara
regions Ḥuḍna; Mzāb; Sāḥil.1.b; Tuwāt; Zāb
towns Adrar.1; al-ʿAnnāba; Ārzāw; ʿAyn Temushent; Bidjāya; Biskra; Bulayda; Colomb-Béchar; al-Djazāʾir; Djidjelli; Ghardāya; Ḳalʿat Banī ʿAbbās; Ḳalʿat Huwwāra; al-Ḳulayʿa.2.2; Ḳusṭanṭīna; Laghouat; al-Madiyya; Masīla; Milyāna; al-Muʿaskar; Mustaghānim; Nadrūma; Saʿīda; Sharshal; Sīdī Bu ʾl-ʿAbbās; Tadallīs; Tāhart; Tanas; Tebessa; Tilimsān; Tindūf; Ṭubna; Tuggurt; Wahrān; Wargla

ALMS Khayr; **Ṣadaḳa**; **Zakāt**
see also Waḳf

ALPHABET **Abdjad**; Ḥarf; Ḥisāb; **Ḥurūf al-Hidjāʾ**
see also Djafr; Khaṭṭ; [in Suppl.] Budūḥ; *and* → WRITING.SCRIPTS
for the letters of the Arabic and Persian alphabets, see Ḍād; Dāl; Dhāl; Djīm; Fāʾ; Ghayn;

Hā'; Ḥā'; Hamza; Kāf; Ḳāf; Khā'; Lām; Mīm; Nūn; Pā'; Rā'; Ṣād; Sīn and Shīn; Tā' and Ṭā'; Thā'; Wāw; Yā'; Ẓā'; Zāy
secret → CRYPTOGRAPHY

ANATOMY Djism; Katif; **Tashrīḥ**; [in Suppl.] Aflīmūn
see also Ishāra; Khiḍāb; Ḳiyāfa; Shāma; [in Suppl.] Dam
body
chest **Ṣadr**
eye **ʿAyn**; al-Kuḥl; Manāẓir; Ramad
see also Zaʿfarān.2; [in Suppl.] Mā' al-Ward; *and* → MEDICINE.OPHTHALMOLOGY; OPTICS
hair ʿAfṣ; Afsantīn; Ḥinnā'; Liḥya-yi Sherīf; **Shaʿr**
see also [in Suppl.] Ḥallāḳ
limb Yamīn
organs Kabid; Ḳalb
teeth → MEDICINE.DENTISTRY
treatises on
Turkish Shānī-zāde
and → MEDICINE.MEDICAL HANDBOOKS/ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

ANDALUSIA **al-Andalus**; Gharb al-Andalus; Moriscos; Mozarab; Mudéjar; Sharḳ al-Andalus
see also Kitābāt.3; Libās.ii; Mā'.7; al-Madjūs; Moors; Muwallad.1; Safīr.2.b; Ṣā'ifa.2; al-Thughūr.2; *and* → DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA; SPAIN
administration Dīwān.iii; Ḳūmis; Ṣāḥib al-Madīna; Ẓahīr
see also Fatā; Waḳf.II.4
architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS
art **al-Andalus**.ix
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dynasties al-Murābiṭūn.4; al-Muwaḥḥidūn; Umayyads.In Spain; Zīrids.2; [in Suppl.] ʿAzafī
see also al-Andalus.vi; (Banū) Ḳasī; Ṭawīl, Banu; ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn; *and* → DYNASTIES. SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA
reyes de taifas period (11th century) ʿAbbādids; Afṭasids; ʿĀmirids; Dhu 'l-Nūnids; Djahwarids; Ḥammūdids; Hūdids; **Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if**.2; Razīn, Banū; Ṭāhirids.2; Tudjīb; [in Suppl.] Ṣumādiḥ
see also Balansiya; Dāniya; Gharnāṭa; Ibn Ghalbūn; Ibn Rashīḳ, Abū Muḥammad; Ishbīliya; Ḳurṭuba; Mudjāhid, al-Muwaffaḳ; Parias; al-Sīd; Zuhayr
governors until Umayyad conquest ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiḳī; Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār; al-Ḥurr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaḳafī; al-Ḥusām b. Ḍirār; Tudjīb; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḥabḥāb; Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī
see also al-Andalus.vi.2; Kalb b. Wabara; Mūsā b. Nuṣayr; al-Ṣumayl
literature Aljamía; ʿArabiyya.B.Appendix; Fahrasa
and → ANDALUSIA.SCHOLARS.HISTORIANS; LITERATURE.POETRY.ANDALUSIAN
mysticism → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS.ANDALUSIAN
physical geography → SPAIN
scholars
astronomers Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayya (*and* Umayya, Abu 'l-Ṣalt); al-Biṭrūdjī; Djābir b. Aflaḥ; Ibn al-Ṣaffār; Ibn al-Samḥ; al-Madjrīṭī; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar; al-Zarḳālī
see also Zīdj.iii.4
grammarians Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī; al-Baṭalyawsī; Djūdī al-Mawrūrī; Ibn al-ʿArīf, al-Ḥusayn; Ibn ʿĀṣim; Ibn al-Iflīlī; Ibn Khātima; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya; Ibn Maḍā'; Ibn Mālik; Ibn Sīda; al-Rabaḥī; al-Shalawbīn; al-Shantamarī; al-Sharīf al-Gharnatī; al-

Sh̲arīsh̲ī; al-Zubaydī; [in Suppl.] Ibn Hish̲ām al-Lakh̲mī
see also al-Sh̲āṭibī, Abū Isḥāḳ; *and* → *the section Lexicographers below*
geographers Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī; Ibn Gh̲ālib; al-Idrīsī; al-ʿUdh̲rī; al-Warrāḳ, Muḥammad; al-Zuhrī, Muḥammad
historians al-Ḍabbī, Abū Dj̲aʿfar; Ibn al-Abbār, Abu ʿAbd Allāh; Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākush̲ī; Ibn Bash̲kuwāl; Ibn Burd.I; Ibn al-Faraḍī; Ibn Gh̲ālib; Ibn Ḥayyān; Ibn ʿIdh̲ārī; Ibn al-Kh̲aṭīb; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya; Ibn Saʿīd al-Magh̲ribī; al-Maḳḳarī; al-Rush̲āṭī; al-Warrāḳ, Muḥammad
see also al-Sh̲aḳundī; al-ʿUdh̲rī; [in Suppl.] al-Suhaylī; *and* → DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA
jurists al-Bādj̲ī; al-Dānī; al-Ḥumaydī; Ibn Abī Zamanayn; Ibn ʿĀṣim; Ibn al-Faradī; Ibn Ḥabīb, Abū Marwān; Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad; Ibn Ḳuzmān.III *and* IV (*and* [in Suppl.] Ḳuzmān.3 *and* 4); Ibn Maḍāʾ; Ibn Rush̲ayd; ʿĪsā b. Dīnār; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā; al-Ḳalaṣādī; al-Ḳurṭubī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; al-Ḳurṭubī, Yaḥyā; (al-)Mundh̲ir b. Saʿīd; Sh̲abṭūn; al-Ṭulayṭulī; al-Ṭurṭūsh̲ī; al-ʿUtbī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; al-Waḳḳash̲ī; Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Layth̲ī; [in Suppl.] Ibn Rush̲d; al-Nubāhī
see also al-Kh̲ush̲anī; Mālikiyya; Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī; Sh̲ūrā.2; Sh̲urṭa.2; [in Suppl.] Ibn al-Rūmiyya
lexicographers Ibn Sīda; al-Zubaydī
toponyms → SPAIN

ANGELOLOGY **Malāʾika**; [in Suppl.] Malaʾ.1
see also ʿAdh̲āb al-Ḳabr; Dīk; Iblīs; Ḳarīn; Rūḥāniyya; Siḥr
angels ʿAzāzīl; Dj̲abrāʾīl; Hārūt wa-Mārūt; Isrāfīl; ʿIzrāʾīl; Mīkāl; Munkar wa-Nakīr; Riḍwān
see also al-Zabāniyya

ANIMALS Dābba; **Ḥayawān**
see also Badw; (Dj̲azīrat) al-ʿArab.v; Farw; Hind.i.l; Kh̲āṣī; Marbaṭ; [in Suppl.] Dj̲azzār; *and* → ZOOLOGY
and art al-Asad; Fahd; Fīl; Ḥayawān.6; Karkaddan; Maʿdin; Namir and Nimr; [in Suppl.] Arnab
see also Zakh̲rafa
and proverbs Ḥayawān.2; Math̲al
and see articles on individual animals, in particular Afʿā; Dh̲iʾb; Fahd; Gh̲urāb; Ḳaṭā; Kh̲inzīr; Ḳird; Lamṭ; Naml; Yarbūʿ
animals
antelopes Gh̲azāl; Lamṭ; Mahāt
arachnoids ʿAḳrab; ʿAnkabūt
bats **Waṭwāṭ**
birds Babbagh̲āʾ; Dadj̲ādj̲a; Dīk; Gh̲urāb; Ḥamām; Hudhud; Humā; Ḳaṭā; Naʿām; Nasr; Nuḥām; al-Rukh̲kh̲; Salwā; Sh̲unḳub; **al-Ṭāʾir**; Ṭāwūs; Ṭogh̲rïl; ʿUḳāb; Wāḳwāḳ.4; [in Suppl.] Abū Barāḳish̲
see also Bayzara; Bulbul; ʿIyāfa; al-Ramādī; Sonḳor; Timsāḥ
camels **Ibil**
see also (Dj̲azīrat) al-ʿArab.v; Badw.II.c *and* d; Kārwān; Raḥīl; Wasm; [in Suppl.] Dj̲ammāl; *and* → TRANSPORT.CARAVANS
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crustaceans **Saraṭān**
domesticated Baḳar; Fīl; Ibil; Kalb; Kh̲inzīr; Nims; [in Suppl.] Dj̲āmūs; Gh̲anam
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equines Badw.II; Bagh̲l; **Faras**; Ḥimār; **Kh̲ayl**
see also Fāris; Furūsiyya; Ḥazīn; Ibn Hudh̲ayl; Ibn al-Mundh̲ir; Iṣṭabl; Marbaṭ;

Maydān; Mīr-Ākhūr; Sardj
felines ʿAnāḳ; al-Asad; Fahd; Namir and Nimr; Sinnawr
fish **Samak**
see also al-Ṭāʾir
insects Dhubāb; Djarād; Ḳaml; Naḥl; Naml; Nāmūs.2; **al-Ṭāʾir**
molluscs **Ṣadaf**
reptiles Afʿā; Ḍabb; Ḥayya; Ḥirbāʾ; Samandal; Sulaḥfā; Timsāḥ
see also Ādam; Almās
rodents Yarbūʿ; [in Suppl.] Faʾr
sport Bayzara; Fahd; Furūsiyya; Ḥamām; Khinzīr; Mahāt; [in Suppl.] Ḍabuʿ
see also Čakirdji-bashi; Doghandji; Kurds.iv.C.5; *and* → HUNTING
transformation into Ḥayawān.3; Ḳird; **Maskh**
wild *in addition to the above, see also* Ayyil; Fanak; Fīl; Ibn ʿIrs; Karkaddan; Ḳird; Ḳunfudh; Zarāfa; [in Suppl.] Arnab; Faras al-Māʾ
see also Waḥsh; *and* → HUNTING

ANTHROPOMORPHISM Ḥashwiyya; Karrāmiyya; **Tashbīh wa-Tanzīh**
see also Bayān b. Samʿān al-Tamīmī; Djism; Hishām b. al-Ḥakam; Ḥulmāniyya; al-Muḳannaʿ; [in Suppl.] al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama

APOSTASY Mulḥid; **Murtadd**
see also Ḳatl; [in Suppl.] al-Ridda; *and* → HERESY

ARABIAN PENINSULA → BAHRAIN; KUWAIT; OMAN; QATAR; SAUDI ARABIA; UNITED ARAB EMIRATES; YEMEN; *and the section Arabian Peninsula under* ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS; DYNASTIES; PRE-ISLAM; TRIBES

ARCHAEOLOGY → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS; EPIGRAPHY; *and the section Toponyms under individual countries*
Turkish archaeologists ʿOthmān Ḥamdī

ARCHITECTURE **Architecture**; Bināʾ
see also Kitābāt; Waḳf; *and* → MILITARY
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decoration Fusayfisāʾ; Kāshī; Khaṭṭ; Parčīn-kārī; Tughra.2(d)
materials Djiṣṣ; Labin; [in Suppl.] Rukhām
see also Bināʾ
monuments
aqueducts Ḳanṭara.5 *and* 6
see also Faḳīr; Sinān
baths **Ḥammām**; Ḥammām al-Ṣarakh
bridges **Djisr**; Djisr Banāt Yaʿḳūb; Djisr al-Ḥadīd; Djisr al-Shughr
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churches → CHRISTIANITY
dams **Band**
see also Dizfūl; Sāwa.2.i; Shushtar; [in Suppl.] Abū Sinbil; *and* → HYDROLOGY
gardens **Būstān**; Ḥāʾir
see also Bostāndji; Gharnāṭa.B; Ḥawḍ; Māʾ.12; Srīnagar.2; Yali; *and* → FLORA; LITERATURE.POETRY.NATURE
gates **Bāb**; Bāb-i Humāyūn; Ḥarrān.ii.d
granaries [in Suppl.] Ḳaṣr.2.B

lighthouses **Manār**; al-Nāẓūr

mausolea → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS.TOMBS

mills **Ṭāḥūn**

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mosques Ḥawḍ; Külliyye; Manāra; **Masdjid**; Miḥrāb; Minbar

see also ʿAnaza; Bāb.i; Bahw; Balāṭ; Dikka; Khaṭīb; Muṣallā.2; Zāwiya.1

individual mosques Aya Sofya; al-Azhar; Ḥarrān.ii.(b); Ḥusaynī Dālān; Kaʿba; al-Ḳarawiyyīn; Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra; Ḳuṭb Mīnār; al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā; al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām; Zaytūna.1

see also Anḳara; Architecture; Bahmanīs; Dhār.2; Djām; Edirne; Ḥamāt; Ḥimṣ; Kāẓimayn; Ḳazwīn; Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān; Makka.4; Sinān

obelisks **Misalla**

palaces **Sarāy**; [in Suppl.] **Ḳaṣr**.2.A

see also Balāṭ

individual palaces Čirāghān; Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī; Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī; Kayḳubādiyya; Khirbat al-Mafdjar; Khirbat al-Minya; Ḳubādābād; Maḥall; al-Mushattā; Ṭopḳapi̊ Sarāyi̊; al-Ukhayḍir; Yi̊ldi̊z Sarāyi̊; [in Suppl.] Djabal Says; Ḳaṣr al-Mushāsh; Ḳaṣr Ṭūbā; Ḳasṭal; al-Khuld

see also Gharnāṭa.B; Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ; Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ; Lashkar-i Bāzār

pavilions Köshk

see also Yali̊

strongholds Burdj; Ḥiṣār; **Ḥiṣn**; Ḳaṣaba; Sūr; [in Suppl.] **Ḳaṣr**.2

see also al-ʿAwāṣim; Bāb.ii; al-Ḳalʿa; Ribāṭ; al-Thughūr; Udj

individual strongholds Abū Safyān; Āgra; Alamūt.i.; Alindjaḳ; ʿAmādiya; Anadolu Ḥiṣāri̊; Anamur; Anapa; Asīrgarh; Atak; Bāb al-Abwāb; Bālā Ḥiṣār; Balāṭunus; Barzūya; Baynūn; Bhakkar; Čanderī; Čirmen; al-Dārūm; Djaʿbar; al-Djarbāʾ; Gaban; Gāwilgaṙh; Ghumdān; Gök Tepe; Golkonḍā; Ḥadjar al-Nasr; Hānsī; Ḥarrān.ii.(a); Ḥiṣn al-Akrād; Ḥiṣn Kayfā; Iṣṭakhr; Kakhtā; Ḳalʿat Nadjm; Ḳalʿat al-Shaḳīf; Ḳalāwdhiya; Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd; Ḳandahār; Kanizsa; al-Karak; Kawkab al-Hawāʾ; Kharāna; Khartpert; Khērla; Khotin; Khunāṣira; Kilāt-i Nādirī; Ḳoron; Ḳoyul Ḥiṣār; Lanbasar; Lüleburgaz; Mānḍū; Manōhar; al-Marḳab; Muḍgal; Narnālā; Parendā; al-Rāwandān; Rōhtās; Rūm Ḳalʿesi; Rūmeli Ḥiṣāri̊; Ṣahyūn; Shalbaṭarra; Softa; al-Ṣubayba; Umm al-Raṣāṣ; Yeñi Ḳalʿe; [in Suppl.] Bādiya; Bubashtru; al-Dīkdān; Firrīm; Nandana

see also Ashīr; Bahmanīs; Bīdar; Dawlatābād; Diyār Bakr; Ḥimṣ; Kawkabān.2; Khursābād; Maḥall; Māhūr; Thādj

tombs **Ḳabr**; **Ḳubba**; **Maḳbara**; Mashhad; **Turba**

see also Muthamman; Walī.4, 5 *and* 8; Zāwiya; Ziyāra

individual buildings Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad; Golkonḍā; Ḥarrān.ii.(c); Maklī; Nafīsa; Rādkān; Sahsarām; Tādj Maḥall

see also Abarḳūh; Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī; Abū Madyan; Āgra; Aḥmad al-Badawī; Aḥmad Yasawī; Bahmanīs; Barīd Shāhīs.II; Djahāngīr; Ghāzī Miyān; Gunbadh-i Ḳābūs; Ḥimṣ; Imāmzāda; Karak Nūḥ; Ḳarbalāʾ; Ḳazwīn; al-Khalīl; Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ; Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān; al-Madīna; Sulṭāniyya.2; [in Suppl.] Mamlūks.iii.a.A

water-houses **Sabīl**.2

fire-pumps Ṭulumbadji̊

fountains Shadirwān

wells Bāʾolī; **Biʾr**; Biʾr Maymūn; Zamzam

see also Ḥawḍ

regions

Afghanistan and Indian subcontinent Āgra; Bahmanīs; Barīd Shāhīs.II; Bharōč; Bīdar;

Bīdjāpūr; Bihār; Čāmpānēr; Dawlatābād; Dihlī.2; Djūnāgaŕh; Ghaznawids; Ghūrids; Golkonḍā; Hampī; Hānsī; Ḥaydarābād; Hind.vii; Ḥusaynī Dālān; Ḳuṭb Mīnār; Lahore; Lakhnaw; Maḥall; Mahisur; Māndū.2; Mughals.7; Multān.2; Nāgawr; Sind.4; Srīnagar.2; Tādj Maḥall; Tughlukids.2; Uččh.2; [in Suppl.] Nandana; Ṫhaṫṫā.2
see also Burdj.iii; Bustān.ii; Imām-bārā; Lashkar-i Bāzār; Māʾ.12; Maḳbara.5; Maklī; Manāra.2; Masdjid.II; Miḥrāb; Minbar.3; Miẓalla.5; Muthamman; Parčīn-kārī; Pīshṭāḳ
Africa → AFRICA; *for North African architecture, see below*
Andalusia al-Andalus.ix; Burdj.II; Gharnāṭa; Ishbīliya; Ḳurṭuba; Naṣrids.2
see also al-Nāẓūr
Arabian peninsula al-Ḥidjr; Kaʿba; al-Masdjid al-Ḥarām
see also Makka.4; Ṣanʿāʾ; Ṭāhirids.3.2
Central Asia Bukhārā; Ḥiṣn.iii; Īlkhāns; Samarḳand.2; Tīmūrids.3.b
see also Miḥrāb
Egypt Abu ʾl-Hawl; al-Azhar; Haram; al-Ḳāhira; Mashrabiyya.1; Nafīsa; [in Suppl.] Mamlūks
see also Miḥrāb; Misalla; Miṣr; Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ; al-Uḳṣur; [in Suppl.] Abū Sinbil
Fertile Crescent Baghdād; Dimashḳ; Ḥarrān.ii; Ḥimṣ; ʿIrāḳ.vii; Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra; al-Ḳuds; Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān; al-Marḳab.3; al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā; al-Raḳḳa; al-Ukhayḍir; [in Suppl.] Bādiya; Dār al-Ḥadīth.I
see also Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī; Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī; Khirbat al-Mafdjar; Miḥrāb; al-Rāwandān; [in Suppl.] Ḳaṣr al-Mushāsh; Ḳaṣr Ṭūbā; Ḳasṭal
Iran Ḥiṣn.ii; Iṣfahān.2; Iṣṭakhr; Ḳazwīn; Khursābād; Mashrabiyya.2; Rādkān; al-Rayy.2; Ṣafawids.V; Saldjūḳids.VI; Sāmānids.2(b); Sulṭāniyya.2; Tabrīz.2; Tihrān.I.3.b.ii; Ṭūs.2; Warāmīn.2; Zawāra; [in Suppl.] **Iran**.viii.(b)
see also Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn; Miḥrāb; Ribāṭ-i Sharaf; Yazd.1; [in Suppl.] Maḳbara.4
North Africa Fās; Fāṭimid Art; Ḥiṣn.i; Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād; al-Ḳarawiyyīn; Zaytūna.1; [in Suppl.] Ḳaṣr.2
see also ʿAnaza; Bidjāya; Miḥrāb
Southeast Asia Ḥiṣn.iv; Indonesia.v; Masdjid.III-V
Turkey Adana; Anḳara; Aya Sofya; Diwrigī; Diyār Bakr; Edirne; Ḥarrān.ii; Ḥiṣn Kayfā; Istanbul; Konya.2; Lāranda; ʿOthmānli.V; [in Suppl.] Istanbul.VIII
see also Ḳaplïdja; Ḳāsim Agha; Khayr al-Dīn; Köshk; Miḥrāb; Rūm Ḳalʿesi; Sinān; Yalï
terms ʿAmūd; ʿAnaza; Bahw; Balāṭ; Īwān; Muḳarbaṣ; Muḳarnas; Muthamman; Pīshṭāḳ; Riwāḳ; Sarāy; Sardāb; Shadirwān; Ṭirāz.3
urban Bāb; Dār; Funduḳ; Ḥammām; Īwān; Ḳaysāriyya; Khān.II; Madrasa.III; Masdjid; Muṣallā.2; Rabʿ; Selāmlïḳ; Shāriʿ; Sūḳ; Sūr
see also Kanīsa; Sarāy; [in Suppl.] Mamlūks.iii.a.B; *and* → SEDENTARISM; URBANISM
fountains → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS.WATER-HOUSES
ventilation Mirwaḥa; [in Suppl.] Bādgīr
see also Khaysh; Sardāb; Sind.4

ARMENIA **Armīniya**; Rewān; Shimshāṭ
and → CAUCASUS

ART Arabesque; Fann; Fusayfisāʾ; Kāshī; Khaṭṭ; Khazaf; Kitābāt; Lawn; Maʿdin.4; Parčīn-kārī; Rasm; Taṣwīr; Ṭirāz; Zakhrafa; Zalīdj; Zudjādj
see also Architecture; Billawr; Dhahab; Fiḍḍa; ʿIlm al-Djamāl; Khātam; Muhr; Ṣūra; *and* → ANIMALS.AND ART; ARCHITECTURE; WRITING.MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS
calligraphy **Khaṭṭ** (*and* [in Suppl.]); Tughra

see also ʿAlī; İnal; Ḳum(m)ī; Muraḳḳaʿ; Nuskha; Tazwīr; Tīmūrids.3.a; *and* → WRITING
calligraphers ʿAlī Riḍā-i ʿAbbāsī; Ḥamza al-Ḥarrānī; Ibn al-Bawwāb; Ibn Muḳla; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Tabrīzī; Müstaḳīm-zāde; Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī
ceramics → ART.POTTERY
decorative ʿĀdj; al-Asad; Djiṣṣ; Fahd; Ḥayawān.6; Hilāl.ii; Īlkhāns; al-Ḳamar.II; Mashrabiyya; Parčīn-kārī; Shams.3; Tawrīḳ; Ṭirāz; ʿUnwān.2; Yashm.2; Zakhrafa
see also Kāshī; Maʿdin.4; [in Suppl.] Mamlūks.iii.b
drawing **Rasm**
glass al-Ḳily; ʿOthmānlï.VII.d; Sāmānids.2(a); **Zudjādj**; [in Suppl.] Mamlūks.iii.b.C
handicrafts Ḳalamkārī; [in Suppl.] Bisāṭ; Dawāt
see also Ḥalfāʾ
illumination **ʿUnwān**.2; [in Suppl.] Mamlūks.iii.b.D; *and* → WRITING
metalware Bīdar; Īlkhāns; **Maʿdin**.4; ʿOthmānlï.VII.b; Sāmānids.2(a); Tīmūrids.3.d; [in Suppl.] Ibrīḳ; Mamlūks.iii.b.A
mosaics **Fusayfisāʾ**; Kāshī; Zalīdj
painting **Taṣwīr**.1
miniatures Īlkhāns; Mughals.9; Naḳḳāsh-khāna; ʿOthmānlï.VIII
see also Fīl; Kalīla wa-Dimna.16; Māndū.3; Miʿrādj.5; al-Mīzān.3; Muraḳḳaʿ; Rustam.2; Sāḳī.3; Tīmūrids.3.a; [in Suppl.] Djawhar; *and* → ANIMALS.AND ART; ART.DRAWING
miniaturists Bihzād; Manṣūr; Maṭrāḳčī; Naḳḳāsh Ḥasan (Pasha); Riḍā ʿAbbāsī; Riḍāʾī; Siyāh-ḳalem; [in Suppl.] Lewnī
see also ʿAlī; Luḳmān b. Sayyid Ḥusayn
modern painting **Taṣwīr**.3
and → ART.DRAWING
painters Djabrān Khalīl Djabrān; ʿOthmān Ḥamdī; Sipihrī; [in Suppl.] Dinet; Eyyūboghlu, Bedrī
photography **Taṣwīr**.2
pottery Anadolu.iii.6; al-Andalus.ix; **Fakhkhār**; Īlkhāns; Iznīḳ; Ḳallala; **Khazaf**; Mināʾī; ʿOthmānlï.VII.a; Sāmānids.2(a); Ṣīnī; Tīmūrids.3.c; Ṭīn.2; [in Suppl.] Mamlūks.iii.b.B; Ören Ḳalʿe
regional and period al-Andalus.ix; Berbers.VI; Fāṭimid Art; Īlkhāns; ʿIrāḳ.vii; Mughals.8 *and* 9; ʿOthmānlï.VII; Saldjūḳids.VI; Sāmānids.2(a); Tīmūrids.3.a; [in Suppl.] Iran.viii.(a); Khaṭṭ.vi; Mamlūks.iii.b
silhouette-cutting Fakhrī
tapestry Anadolu.iii.6; ʿOthmānlï.VI; Sadjdjāda.2; ʿUshāḳ.2; [in Suppl.] **Bisāṭ**
see also Karkaddan; Mafrūshāt; Mifrash; Mīlās.2
textiles Ḥarīr; Ḳumāsh; Ṭirāz; [in Suppl.] Ḥāʾik
see also Ḳalamkārī; Ḳaṣab; Kattān; Ḳurḳūb; Mandīl; al-Nassādj; *and* → CLOTHING. MATERIALS
production centres al-Andalus.ix; al-Bahnasā; Dabīḳ; Tinnīs
see also Bursa; Īlkhāns; Mughals.8; ʿOthmānlï.VI; al-Rayy.2; Sāmānids.2(a); Yazd.1; *and* → ART.TAPESTRY
tiles **Kāshī**
see also Anadolu.iii.6

ASCETICISM Bakkāʾ; Malāmatiyya; **Zuhd**
see also Khalwa; Manāḳib; [in Suppl.] Asad b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm; Ṣalāt-i Maʿkūsa; *for ascetics* → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS; SAINTHOOD
poetry **Zuhdiyya**

ASIA Almalīgh; Baikal
see also Baraba; Mogholistān
Central → CENTRAL ASIA
East Čam; Djāwī; Indochina; Indonesia; Ḳimār; Malay Peninsula; Malaysia; Patani; Philippines; al-Shīlā; al-Ṣīn; Singapore; Thailand; Tubbat; al-Yabānī; [in Suppl.] Brunei
see also Kitābāt.8; Ṣanf; Shāh Bandar.2; ʿUlamāʾ.5; Waḳf.VII.ii-vi; Wāḳwāḳ; Walī.7; Zābadj; [in Suppl.] Demography.VIII; al-Marʾa; *and* → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS.SOUTHEAST ASIA; LAW.IN SOUTHEAST ASIA; ONOMASTICS.TITLES; PRE-ISLAM.IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
for individual countries → CHINA; INDONESIA; MALAYSIA; MONGOLIA; PHILIPPINES; THAILAND; *for Japan, see* al-Yabānī; *for Tibet, see* Tubbat
Eurasia → EUROPE
South Bangāla; Burma; Ceylon; Hind; Laccadives; Maldives; Mauritius; Minicoy; Nepal; Nicobars; Pākistān; Seychelles
see also Ruhmī; Waḳf.VII.i
for individual countries → BANGLADESH; BURMA; INDIA; NEPAL; PAKISTAN; SRI LANKA

ASSYRIA Khursābād; Nimrūd; Nīnawā.1; Zindjirli; [in Suppl.] Athūr

ASTROLOGY Ikhtiyārāt; Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ; al-Kayd; Ḳirān; Minṭaḳat al-Burūdj; Munadjdjim; **Nudjūm (Aḥkām al-)**; al-Tasyīr
see also Khaṭṭ; Zāʾirdja; Zīdj; *and* → ASTRONOMY.CELESTIAL OBJECTS
astrologers Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī; al-Bīrūnī; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ridjāl, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan; Ibn al-Khaṣīb, Abū Bakr; al-Ḳabīṣī; al-Khayyāṭ, Abū ʿAlī; Māshāʾ Allāh; ʿUṭārid b. Muḥammad; [in Suppl.] Yazīdjī
see also Baṭlamiyūs; *and* → ASTRONOMY; DIVINATION
terms al-Djawzahar; Ḥadd; Ḳaṭʿ; Muthallath; Saʿd wa-Naḥs (*and* al-Saʿdānⁱ; Shaḳāwa); al-Sahm.1.b; al-Ṭāliʿ.2; al-Tinnīn

ASTRONOMY Anwāʾ; Asṭurlāb; Falak; Hayʾa; **ʿIlm al-Hayʾa**; al-Ḳamar.I; al-Kayd; Kusūf; al-Ḳuṭb; al-Madd wa ʾl-Djazr; al-Madjarra; al-Manāzil; Minṭaḳat al-Burūdj; al-Nudjūm; Zīdj
see also Djughrāfiyā; Ḳibla.ii; al-Ḳubba; al-Kura; Makka.4; Mīḳāt.2; Mizwala
astronomers ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī; Abu ʾl-Ṣalt Umayya (*and* Umayya, Abu ʾl-Ṣalt); ʿAlī al-Ḳūshdjī; al-Badīʿ al-Asṭurlābī; al-Battānī; al-Bīrūnī; al-Biṭrūdjī; Djābir b. Aflaḥ; al-Djaghmīnī; al-Farghānī; Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib al-Marwazī; Ibn Amādjūr; Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-Marrākushī; Ibn ʿIrāḳ; Ibn al-Ṣaffār; Ibn al-Samḥ; Ibn Yūnus; al-Kāshī; al-Khʷārazmī, Abū Djaʿfar; al-Khāzin; al-Khazīnī; al-Khudjandī; Kushiyār b. Labān; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī; al-Madjrīṭī; al-Mārdīnī; al-Marrākushī; Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Māhānī; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar; al-Nayrīzī; al-Shayzarī; Taḳī al-Dīn; Thābit b. Ḳurra; al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn; ʿUmar Khayyām; ʿUṭārid b. Muḥammad; al-Zarḳālī; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad; Ḳāḍī-zāde Rūmī; al-Kūhī
see also Baṭlamiyūs; al-Falakī; Falakī Shirwānī; Ibn al-Haytham; Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā; Sindhind; [in Suppl.] Ibn al-Adjdābī; *and* → ASTROLOGY
celestial objects
comets **al-Nudjūm**.III.b
planets al-Ḳamar.I; al-Mirrīkh; al-Mushtarī; **al-Nudjūm**.II; ʿUṭārid; Zuḥal; Zuhara
see also Minṭaḳat al-Burūdj; Ruʾyat al-Hilāl; al-Saʿdānⁱ; Taḳwīm.1; al-ʿUzzā; Zīdj
stars and constellations ʿAḳrab; ʿAnāḳ; al-Asad; Dadjādja; Fard.e; Kalb; Ḳird; Mahāt; Minṭaḳat al-Burūdj; Muthallath; Naʿām; Nasr; **al-Nudjūm**; Radīf.1; al-Sahm.1.c; Samak.9; Saraṭān.6; Shams.2; al-Shiʿrā; Tādj; Thaʿlab; al-Tinnīn; ʿUḳāb; Zarāfa; [in Suppl.] Arnab; Ghanam

see also al-Kayd; Saʿd wa-Naḥs (*and* al-Saʿdāni; Shakāwa); al-Sāḳ; Sulaḥfā; al-Ṭāʾir
chronology **Taʾrīkh**.I.2
observatory **Marṣad**
see also Udjdjayn; Ulugh Beg; ʿUmar Khayyām
terms al-Djawzahar; Istiḳbāl; al-Maṭāliʿ; al-Maṭlaʿ; al-Mayl; Muḳābala.1; Muḳanṭarāt; Niṣf al-Nahār; Radīf.1; Rubʿ; Ruʾyat al-Hilāl; al-Sāḳ; al-Samt; Shakkāziyya; Ṭabīʿa.4; al-Taʿdīl; al-Taʿdīl bayn al-Saṭrayn; Taʿdīl al-Zamān; Taḳwīm.1; al-Ṭāliʿ.1; Zīdj

AUSTRIA Beč; **Nemče**
see also Muslimūn.2.ii

B

BĀBISM → SECTS

BAHAIS Bāb; Bābīs; Bahāʾ Allāh; **Bahāʾīs**; Mashriḳ al-Adhkār; Naḳḍ al-Mīthāḳ; Shawḳī Efendi Rabbānī
see also Lawḥ; Maẓhar; [in Suppl.] Anṣārī

BAHRAIN **al-Baḥrayn**; āl-Khalīfa; Madjlis.4.A.x; Maḥkama.4.ix; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(xii)
see also Ḳarmaṭī; ʿUṣfūrids; ʿUtūb
toponyms al-Manāma; al-Muḥarraḳ; Yabrīn
see also al-Mushaḳḳar

BALKANS **Balkan**; **Rūmeli**; al-Ṣaḳāliba
see also Ṭarīḳa.II.6; Walī.4; Wardar; Woyvoda; *and* → EUROPE.EASTERN EUROPE
and Ottoman military Eflāḳ; Martolos; Woynuḳ
and → *the section Toponyms under Balkan states*; MILITARY.OTTOMAN

BANGLADESH **Bangāla**; Madjlis.4.C
see also Bengali; Nadhr al-Islām; Satya Pīr; [in Suppl.] Djarīda.vii
literature → LITERATURE.IN OTHER LANGUAGES
toponyms Bāḳargandj; Bangāla; Bōgrā; Chittagong; Ḍhākā; Dīnādjpur; Djassawr; Farīdpur; Sātgāʾon; Silhet; Sundarban
see also Ruhmī; Sonārgāʾon

BASQUES **al-Bashkunish**
see also Ibn Gharsiya

BEDOUINS **Badw**; Biʾr; Dawār; Ghanīma; Ghazw; al-Hidjar; Thaʾr; [in Suppl.] Khuwwa
see also Liṣṣ; ʿUrf.2.I; Wasm; *and* → LAW.CUSTOMARY; NOMADISM; SAUDI ARABIA; TRIBES.ARABIAN PENINSULA
writings on Rzewuski

BENIN Kandi; Kotonou; Kouandé

BERBERS **Berbers**; Judaeo-Berber
see also Ḳallala; Ḳiṣṣa.8; Libās.ii; Mafākhir al-Barbar; [in Suppl.] Sība; *and* → ALGERIA
customary law ʿĀda.ii; Ḳānūn.iv
see also ʿUrf

customs Ḥimāya.ii.II; Leff; Lit͟hām; Ṣaff.3
dynasties ʿAbd al-Wādids; ʿAmmār; Marīnids; Midrār; al-Murābiṭūn; al-Muwaḥḥidūn; Razīn, Banū; Zīrids
language → LANGUAGES.AFRO-ASIATIC
music Imẓad
religion al-Bad͟jalī; Berbers.III; Ḥā-Mīm; Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf
resistance Berbers.I.c; al-Kāhina; Kusayla; Maysara
rulers al-Ird͟jānī; [in Suppl.] Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya
tribes al-Barānis; Barg͟hawāṭa; Birzāl; al-Butr; D͟jazūla; G͟hāniya; G͟hubrīnī; G͟humāra; Glāwā; Gudāla; Ḥāḥā; Harg͟ha; Hawwāra; Hintāta; Ifog͟has; Īfran; Iraten; Kutāma; Lamṭa; Lamtūna; Lawāta; Mag͟hīla; Mag͟hrāwa; Malzūza; Maṣmūda; Māssa; Maṭg͟hara; Maṭmāṭa; Mazāta; Midyūna; Misrāta; al-Nafūsa; Nafza; Nafzāwa; Ṣanhād͟ja; Ṭawāriḳ; Zanāta; [in Suppl.] Awraba
see also S͟hāwiya.1; Ṣufriyya.2

BIBLE **Ind͟jīl**; **Tawrāt**
and → CHRISTIANITY; JUDAISM
biblical personages Ādam; ʿAmālīḳ; Ayyūb; Āzar; ʿAzāzīl; Balʿam; Bilḳīs; Binyāmīn; Buk͟ht-naṣ(ṣ)ar; Dāniyāl; Dāwūd; D͟jabrāʾīl; D͟jālūt; Firʿawn; Hābīl wa-Ḳābīl; Ḥām; Hāmān; Hārūn b. ʿImrān; Hārūt wa-Mārūt; Ḥawwāʾ; Ḥizḳīl; Ibrāhīm; Ilyās; ʿImrān; Irmiyā; ʿĪsā; Isḥāḳ; Ismāʿīl; Kanʿān; Ḳārūn; Ḳiṭfīr; Kūs͟h; Lamak; Lazarus; Lūṭ; Maryam; al-Masīḥ; Mūsā; Namrūd; Nūḥ; Rāḥīl; Sām.1; al-Sāmirī; Sāra; S͟hamsūn; S͟hamwīl; S͟haʿyā; S͟hīt͟h; Sulaymān b. Dāwūd; Ṭālūt; ʿŪd͟j; Yāfit͟h; Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ; Yaʿḳūb; Yūnus; Yūs͟haʿ b. Nūn; Yūsuf; Zakariyyāʾ
see also D͟hu ʾl-Kifl; al-Fayyūm; Hūd; Idrīs; Yād͟jūd͟j wa-Mād͟jūd͟j; *and* → PROPHETHOOD
biblical toponyms Ṣihyawn
see also D͟jūdī; *and* → PALESTINE/ISRAEL
translations
into Arabic Fāris al-S͟hidyāḳ; Saʿadyā Ben Yōsēf; al-Yāzid͟jī.1; [in Suppl.] al-Bustānī.2
see also ʿArabiyya.A.ii.1; Judaeo-Arabic.iii.B; Tawrāt
into Persian Abu ʾl-Faḍl ʿAllāmī
see also Judaeo-Persian.i.2

BOSNIA → (former) YUGOSLAVIA

BOTANY Adwiya; al-ʿAs͟hs͟hāb; Nabāt
and → AGRICULTURE; FLORA; MEDICINE; PHARMACOLOGY
botanists Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī; al-Dīnawarī, Abū Ḥanīfa; Ibn al-Bayṭār; al-Ṭig͟hnarī; [in Suppl.] al-G͟hāfiḳī; Ibn al-Rūmiyya
see also Abu ʾl-K͟hayr al-Is͟hbīlī; Filāḥa; Nīḳūlāʾūs; al-Suwaydī

BUDDHISM Bak͟hs͟hī; Budd; **Sumaniyya**
see also Bāmiyān; al-Barāmika.1; Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf; Taṅri̊

BULGARIA **Bulgaria**; Pomaks
see also Küčük Ḳaynard͟ja; Muhād͟jir.2; Muslimūn.1.B.5
physical geography
waters Merič
toponyms Burgas; Deli-Orman; Dobrud͟ja; Filibe; Hezārg͟hrad; Küstendil; Newrokop; Nīkbūlī; ʿOt͟hmān Pazar; Plewna; Rusčuk; Selwi; S͟humnu; Ṣofya; Tatar Pazarcik; Tîrnowa; Warna; Widin; Zis͟htowa

BURMA Arakan; **Burma**; Mergui; Rangoon; Zerbadis

BYZANTINE EMPIRE Biṭrīḳ; Ḳayṣar; **Rūm**
see also Anadolu.iii.1 *and* 2; Hiba.i; Iznīḳ; Ḳalāwdhiya; Ḳubrus; (al-)Ḳusṭanṭīniyya; al-Maṣṣīṣa; Mu'ta; Nauplion.1; Saracens; Umur Pasha; Wenedik; al-Ẓāhir li-Iʿzāz Dīn Allāh; *and* → GREECE; PALESTINE/ISRAEL; SYRIA; TURKEY, *in particular the section Toponyms*
allies Djarādjima; Djarrāḥids; Ghassān; al-Ḥārith b. Djabala; Kinda.1; Salīḥ; [in Suppl.] Djabala b. al-Ḥārith
and → TRIBES
military Alay; Lamas-ṣū; Malāzgird.2; Naft.2; Tourkopo(u)loi; [in Suppl.] Dhāt al-Ṣawārī
see also al-ʿAwāṣim; Cilicia; Ṣā'ifa.1; Sayf al-Dawla; al-Thughūr.1
battles Yarmūk.2

C

CALIPHATE Ahl al-Ḥall wa 'l-ʿAḳd; Bayʿa; Ḥādjib.i; Ḥarb.ii; Hiba.i; Imāma; Ḳaḍīb; Kātib.i; **Khalīfa**; Libās.i; Madjlis.1; Marāsim.1; Mawākib.1; Shūrā.1; Walī al-ʿAhd; Wazīr
see also Amīr al-Mu'minīn; Ghulām.i; Khilʿa.ii; Laḳab.2; Māl al-Bayʿa; *and* → COURT CEREMONY
ʿAbbāsids (750-1258) **ʿAbbāsids**; Baghdād; Dīwān.i; Ḥādjib.i; Khalīfa.i.B; Marāsim.1; Mawākib.1; Muṣādara.2; Musawwida; Naḳīb.1; Naḳīb al-Ashrāf.1; Sāmarrā'; Wazīr.I.1
see also al-Abnā'.III; ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās; ʿAlids; Architecture.I.3; Ḍarība; Hāshimiyya; al-Hāshimiyya; Laḳab.2; Libās.i.4; Riḍā.2; al-Shuʿūbiyya; Sikka.2; Walī al-ʿAhd; [in Suppl.] al-Khuld; Shāʿir.1.B; *and* → DYNASTIES.PERSIA
caliphs Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ; al-Amīn; al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ; Hārūn al-Rashīd; al-Ḳādir bi 'llāh; al-Ḳāhir bi 'llāh; al-Ḳā'im bi-amr Allāh; al-Mahdī; al-Ma'mūn; al-Manṣūr; al-Muhtadī; al-Muḳtadī; al-Muḳtadir; al-Muḳtafī bi-llāh; al-Muḳtafī li-Amr Allāh; al-Muntaṣir; al-Mustaḍī'; al-Mustaʿīn (I); al-Mustaʿīn (II); al-Mustakfī; al-Mustandjid (I); al-Mustandjid (II); al-Mustanṣir (I); al-Mustanṣir (II); al-Mustarshid; al-Mustaʿṣim bi 'llāh; al-Mustaẓhir bi 'llāh; al-Muʿtaḍid bi 'llāh; al-Muʿtamid ʿalā 'llāh; al-Muʿtaṣim bi 'llāh; al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh; al-Muʿtazz bi 'llāh; al-Muṭīʿ li 'llāh; al-Muttaḳī li 'llāh; al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās; al-Rāḍī bi 'llāh; al-Rāshid; al-Ṭā'iʿ li-Amr Allāh; al-Wāthiḳ bi 'llāh; al-Ẓāhir bi-Amr Allāh
see also ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī; Būrān; al-Khayzurān bint ʿAṭā' al-Djurashiyya; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh; al-Muwaffaḳ; al-Ruṣāfa.2
viziers Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿḳūb; Abū Salāma al-Khallāl; Abū ʿUbayd Allāh; ʿAḍud al-Dīn; ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā; al-Barāmika.3; al-Barīdī; al-Djardjarā'ī.1-3; al-Faḍl b. Marwān; al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ; al-Faḍl b. Sahl b. Zadhānfarūkh; al-Fayḍ b. Abī Ṣāliḥ; Ḥamīd; Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad; Ibn al-Alḳamī; Ibn al-Baladī; Ibn al-Furāt; Ibn Hubayra; Ibn Khāḳan.2 *and* 3; Ibn Makhlad; Ibn Muḳla; Ibn al-Muslima; Ibn al-Zayyāt; al-Iskāfī, Abu 'l-Faḍl; al-Iskāfī, Abū Isḥāḳ; Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul; al-Khaṣībī; al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus; Rabīb al-Dawla; al-Rūdhrāwarī; Wahb, Banū; al-Zaynabī
see also al-Djahshiyārī; Hilāl al-Ṣābi'; Khātam; Wazīr.I.1
secretaries Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid al-Aḥwal; Aḥmad b. Yūsuf; ʿAmr b. Masʿada; al-Ḥasan b. Sahl; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ; Ibn Khāḳan.1 *and* 4; Ibn al-Māshiṭa; al-Mūriyānī
see also Wahb, Banū; [in Suppl.] Shāʿir.1.B.ii
historians of al-Djahshiyārī; Ibn Abi 'l-Dam; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr; Ibn al-Djawzī; Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ; Ibn al-Sāʿī; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā; al-Madā'inī; Ṣābi'.(3).4; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir; al-Yaʿḳūbī
see also al-Zubayr b. Bakkār

other personages al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr al-Ghanawī; al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn; al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī; ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ; Abū ʿAwn; Abū Muslim; ʿAlī al-Riḍā; Badjkam; Badr al-Kharshanī; Bughā al-Kabīr; Bughā al-Sharābī; Dulafids; al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān; Harthama b. Aʿyan; al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan; Ḥātim b. Harthama; Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Ibn Abi ʾl-Shawārib; Ibn Buhlūl; Ibn al-Djaṣṣāṣ.II; Ibn Ḥamdūn; Ibn Māhān; Ibn al-Mudabbir; Ibn al-Muʿtazz; Ibn Rāʾiḳ; Ibn Thawāba; Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh; ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh; Ḳaḥṭaba; al-Ḳāsim b. ʿĪsā; Maʿn b. Zāʾida; al-Mubarḳaʿ; Muhallabids; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (al-Nafs al-Zakiyya); Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj al-Ikhshīd; Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt; Muʾnis al-Faḥl; Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar; al-Muwaffaḳ; Naṣr b. Shabath; al-Nāṭiḳ bi ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ; al-Nūsharī; Rāfiʿ b. Harthama; Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār; al-Rāwandiyya; Rawḥ b. Ḥātim; Sādjids; Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī; al-Sarakhsī, Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās; al-Sarī; Shabīb b. Shayba; Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh; Sunbādh; al-Thaghrī; ʿUdjayf b. ʿAnbasa; Ustādhsīs; al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf; al-Wāthiḳī; Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh; Yaḥyā b. Aktham; Yūsuf al-Barm; Zawāḳīl; Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ al-Khuzāʿī; Zubayda bt. Djaʿfar; [in Suppl.] Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf; Aytākh al-Turkī; Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī; al-Dāmaghānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; al-Dāmaghānī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan; al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ; Ibn Dirham; Sallām al-Tardjumān; Ṭughdj

Fāṭimids (909-1171) Dīwān.i *and* ii.(2); **Fāṭimids**; Ḥādjib.iv; Ḥidjāb.II; al-Ḳāhira; Khalīfa.i.D; Libās.i.5; Marāsim.1; Mawākib.1; Wazīr.I.2

see also Laḳab.2; Ṣāḥib al-Bāb; Sitr; Wāsiṭa; al-Wazīr al-Ṣaghīr; Zimām

caliphs Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī; al-ʿĀḍid li-Dīn Allāh; al-Āmir; al-ʿAzīz bi ʾllāh; al-Ḥāfiẓ; al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh; al-Ḳāʾim; al-Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh; al-Manṣūr bi ʾllāh; al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh; al-Mustaʿlī bi ʾllāh; al-Mustanṣir (bi ʾllāh); al-Ẓāfir bi-Aʿdāʾ Allāh; al-Ẓāhir li-Iʿzāz Dīn Allāh

see also al-Walīd b. Hishām

viziers ʿAbbās b. Abi ʾl-Futūḥ; al-ʿĀdil b. al-Salār; al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Djamālī; al-Afḍal (Kutayfāt); Badr al-Djamālī; Bahrām; al-Baṭāʾiḥī; Ḍirghām; Djabr Ibn al-Ḳāsim; al-Djardjarāʾī.4; Ibn Killis; Ibn Maṣāl; Ruzzīk b. Ṭalāʾiʿ; Shāwar; Shīrkūh; Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk; Yānis; al-Yāzurī; [in Suppl.] Ibn Khalaf.2

see also Wazīr.I.2

secretaries Ibn Mammātī; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī; [in Suppl.] Ibn Khalaf, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan

historians of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr; al-Maḳrīzī; al-Musabbiḥī

see also Djawdhar

other personages Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī; Bardjawān; Djawdhar; Djawhar al-Ṣiḳillī; Khalaf b. Mulāʿib al-Ashhabī; al-Kirmānī; Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir; al-Nuʿmān; Sitt al-Mulk; Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh; [in Suppl.] al-Ramlī

see also al-Farghānī; Ẓāfir al-Ḥaddād

Rightly-Guided Caliphs (632-661) Khalīfa.i.A; Shūrā.1; [in Suppl.] **al-Khulafāʾ al-Rāshidūn**

caliphs Abū Bakr; ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; ʿUmar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb; ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān

see also Ḥarūrāʾ; Ibn Muldjam; Khalīfa.i.A; al-Saḳīfa; al-Ṣiddīḳ; Taḥkīm; ʿUthmāniyya; Wufūd; [in Suppl.] al-Ridda; *and* → MILITARY.BATTLES.633-660

other personages Abān b. ʿUthmān; ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir; ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd; ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām; ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura; Abu ʾl-Aswad al-Duʾalī; Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī; Abu ʾl-Dunyā; Abū ʿUbayda al-Djarrāḥ; al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays; al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis; ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ; al-Ashʿarī, Abū Mūsā; al-Ashʿath; al-Ashtar; al-Bāhilī; Ḥabīb b. Maslama; al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. ʿAmr; Khālid b. al-Walīd; Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr; al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha; Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ; Sulaymān b. Ṣurad; Usāma b. Zayd; Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān; Zayd b. Thābit; al-Zibriḳān b. Badr

and → MUḤAMMAD, THE PROPHET.COMPANIONS OF *and* FAMILY OF

Umayyads (661-750) Dimashḳ; Dīwān.i; Ḥādjib.i; Khalīfa.i.A; Mawlā.2.b; **Umayyads**; [in Suppl.] Bādiya
see also Architecture.I.2; Ḳays ʿAylān; Libās.i.4; Marwānids; Sufyānids; Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams; Umayyads.In Spain; ʿUthmāniyya.4; Wufūd; *and* → DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA.UMAYYADS
caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān; Hishām; Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam; Marwān II; Muʿāwiya I; Muʿāwiya II; Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik; ʿUmar (II) b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; al-Walīd; Yazīd (I) b. Muʿāwiya; Yazīd (II) b. ʿAbd al-Malik; Yazīd (III) b. al-Walīd
see also Būṣīr; al-Ruṣāfa.3; al-Shām.2(a); Taḥkīm
historians of ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī; al-Azdī
see also al-Yaʿḳūbī
secretaries ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Yazīd b. Abī Muslim; Ziyād b. Abīhi
other personages ʿAbbād b. Ziyād; al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik; ʿAbd Allāh b. Hammām; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanẓala; ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim; ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ; ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥadjdjādj; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Walīd; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid; ʿAmr b. Saʿīd; Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh; al-Aṣamm.1; Baldj b. Bishr; Bishr b. Marwān; Bishr b. al-Walīd; Bukayr b. Māhān; Bukayr b. Wishāḥ; Busr; al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī; al-Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh; al-Djunayd b. ʿAbd Allāh; al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf; Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān b. Zuhayr; al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj; Ḥassān b. Mālik; Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ghassānī; al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd; al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr; Ibn al-Ashʿath; Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī; Ibn Hubayra; Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī; Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya; Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ al-Ḳushayrī; Ḳurra b. Sharīk; Ḳutayba b. Muslim; Maʿn b. Zāʾida; Masāmiʿa; Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān; Maymūn b. Mihrān; Muʿāwiya b. Hishām; al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba; Muhallabids; Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim; Muslim b. ʿUḳba; Naṣr b. Sayyār; al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr; Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ; Salm b. Ziyād b. Abīhi; Shabīb b. Yazīd; Sulaymān b. Kathīr; Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalaḥāt; Tawwābūn; al-Thaḳafī, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḥabḥāb; ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād; ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ; Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn; Ziyād b. Abīhi; [in Suppl.] ʿAdī b. Arṭāt; Radjaʾ b. Ḥaywa; Saʿīd b. Djubayr; Shamir b. Dhi ʾl-Djawshan
see also al-Baṭṭāl; Iyās b. Muʿāwiya; [in Suppl.] al-Sufyānī; Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ
treatises on al-Ḳalḳashandī.1

CARTOGRAPHY Kharīṭa
and → GEOGRAPHY; NAVIGATION
cartographers al-Falakī; Ibn Sarābiyūn; Meḥmed Reʾīs; Pīrī Reʾīs

CAUCASUS Ādharbaydjān.ii; Armīniya; Dāghistān; **al-Ḳabḳ** (*and* [in Suppl.]); al-Kurdj
see also Djarīda.iv; Ḳarā Bāgh; Muhādjir.2; Shīrwān Shāh
mysticism Ṭarīḳa.II.5; Walī.4
physical geography
mountains al-Ḳabḳ; [in Suppl.] Shāh Dagh
waters Alindjaḳ; Gökče-tengiz; Ḳarā Deniz; Ḳîzîl-üzen; Ḳuban; Kur; al-Rass; Safīd Rūd; Terek
population Abkhāz.2; Alān; Andi; Arči; Avars; Balkar; Čečens; Čerkes; Darghin; Dido; Ingush; Kabards; Ḳapuča; Ḳaračay; Ḳarata; Ḳaytaḳ; Khaputs; Khemshin; Khinalug; Khunzal; Khvarshî; Ḳrîz; Ḳubači; Kwanadi; Laḳ; Laz; Lezgh; Noghay; Ossetians; Rūs; Rutul; Tsakhur; Ubykh; [in Suppl.] Demography.VI
see also Ḳumuḳ
resistance to Russian conquest Ḥamza Beg; Shāmil; Ushurma, Manṣūr
see also Ḥizb.iv; [in Suppl.] al-Ḳabḳ.3.d

toponyms

ancient Alindjaḳ; Arrān; Bādjarwān.1; Balandjar; Baylaḳān; Dwin; Saray; Shammākha; Shimshāṭ; Shīrwān; Shīz

present-day Akhiskha; Astrakhān; Bāb al-Abwāb; Bākū; Bardhaʿa; Batumi; Derbend; Gandja; Ḳubba; Lankoran; Makhač-ḳalʿe; Mūḳān; Nakhčiwān; Shakkī; Ṭabarsarān; Tālish; Tiflīs; [in Suppl.] Djulfā.I; Ören Ḳalʿe

CENTRAL ASIA Badakhshān; Čaghāniyān; Khwārazm; **Mā warāʾ al-Nahr**; Mogholistān
see also Hayāṭila; Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad; Ḳarā Khiṭāy; Ḳazaḳ; Nīzak, Ṭarkhān; Tīmūrids; Waḳf.V; [in Suppl.] Atalïḳ; Djulfā.I; Khwādjas; *and* → DYNASTIES.MONGOLS; MONGOLIA; ONOMASTICS

for former republics of the USSR → *the section Toponyms below*

architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS

belles-lettres Tādjīkī.2; *and* → LITERATURE.DRAMA *and* POETRY.TURKISH.IN EASTERN TURKISH

former Soviet Union al-ʿArab.iii.Appendix; Basmačis; Djarīda.iv; Fiṭrat; Ḥizb.v; Khodjaev; Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAynī; [in Suppl.] Demography.VI
and → *the section Toponyms below*

historians of ʿAbd al-Karīm Bukhārī
see also Ḥaydar b. ʿAlī

mysticism → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS; SAINTHOOD.SAINTS

physical geography

deserts Ḳaraḳum; Ḳïzïl-ḳum

mountains Ala Dagh; Altai; Balkhān; Pamirs
see also Čopan-ata

waters Aḳ Ṣu; Amū Daryā; Aral; Baḥr al-Khazar; Balkhash; Čaghān-rūd; Ču; Ili; Issïk-kul; Ḳarā-köl; Murghāb; Sïr Daryā; Ṭarāz; Turgay; Wakhsh; Zarafshān
see also Su; [in Suppl.] Māʾ.10

population Balūč; Čāwdors (*and* [in Suppl.] Čawdor); Emreli; Gagauz; Ḳaraḳalpaḳ; Khaladj; Ḳungrāt; Ḳurama; Özbeg; Tarančis; Türkmen.3; Yaghma; [in Suppl.] Demography.VI; Yomut
see also Altaians; al-ʿArab.iii.Appendix; Ghalča; Ghuzz; Ḳarluḳ; Ḳazaḳ; Ḳipčaḳ; Ḳïrgïz; Ḳumān; Kumīdjīs; Ḳun; Sārt; Tādjīk; [in Suppl.] Ersarï

reformism [in Suppl.] **Iṣlāḥ**.v

toponyms

ancient Abaskūn; Abīward; Akhsīkath; Ardjīsh; Balāsāghūn; Banākat; Fārāb; Firabr; Gurgandj; Kāth; Ḳayalïḳ; Marw al-Rudh; Marw al-Shāhidjān; Mashhad-i Miṣriyān; Nakhshab; Pishpek; Sayrām; Shūmān; Sïghnāḳ; al-Ṣughd; Sūyāb; Ṭarāz; Utrār; Yeti Su; Zamakhshar; Zamm; [in Suppl.] Dandānḳān; Djand; Īlāḳ; Isfīdjāb; Ishtīkhān

present-day

districts Atek; Ḳaratigin; Shughnān; Wakhsh; [in Suppl.] Ura-tepe
see also Ākhāl Tekke

regions Farghānā; Khwārazm; Khuttalān; Labāb; Mangïshlak; Usrūshana; Wakhān; [in Suppl.] Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ

republics Tādjīkistān; Turkistān.1; Turkmenistan; Uzbekistan.2; [in Suppl.] Ḳazaḳstān; Ḳïrgïzstān

towns Aḳ Masdjid.2; Alma Ata; Āmul.2; Andidjān; ʿAshḳābād; Awliyā Ata; Bayram ʿAlī; Bukhārā; Čimkent; Djalālābād; Ghudjduwān; Hazārasp; Ḥiṣār; Kash; Khīwa; Khoḳand; Khudjand(a); Kish; Ḳubādhiyān; Marghīnān; Mayhana; Ordūbād; Özkend; Pandjdih; Samarḳand; Tashkent; Tirmidh; Toḳmaḳ; Turgay; Turkistān.3; Ürgenč; [in Suppl.] Ura-tepe

CHAD Abeshr; Bagirmi; Borkou; Kanem; Kanuri; Wadāī; Zaghāwa; [in Suppl.] **Čad**
and → AFRICA.CENTRAL AFRICA

CHARMS Afsūn; Ḥidjāb.IV; Kabid.4; Māshā' Allāh; Tamīma; Tilsam; [in Suppl.] Budūḥ
see also Kahrubā; Ḳarwasha; *and* → MAGIC

CHILDHOOD → LIFE STAGES

CHINA Djarīda.v; Masdjid.V; **al-Ṣīn**
see also Bahādur; Khoḳand; Ṣīnī; Ṭibb.2; ʿUlamāʾ.6; Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ al-Khuzāʿī
calligraphy [in Suppl.] **Khaṭṭ**.vi
dynasties Ḳarā Khiṭāy
see also Faghfūr; Gūrkhān; Yaʿḳūb Beg; [in Suppl.] Khʷādjas
literature [in Suppl.] **al-Ṣīn**.5
literary figures Liu Chih; Ma Huan; Wang Tai-yu
mysticism **Taṣawwuf**.8
see also al-Ṣīn.4; Ma Hua-lung; Ma Ming-hsin; T'ien Wu; Walī.8
personages
officials P'u Shou-keng
scholars ʿUlamāʾ.6
see also Ṭibb.2
warlords Wu Ma
for leaders in uprisings, see the section Uprisings below; for belletrists, see the section Literature above
physical geography
waters Aḳ Ṣu; Ili; Tarim
population Salar; Tarančis; Tungans; Yunnan.2
toponyms
ancient Bishbalïḳ; Khansā; Shūl.1; [in Suppl.] Ḳočo
present-day Aḳ Ṣu; Alti Shahr; Kansu; Kāshghar; Khānbalïḳ; Khānfū; Khotan; Ḳuldja; Ning-hsia; Shansi; Shen-si; Sinkiang; Szechuan; Tubbat; Turfan; Yārkand; Yunnan; [in Suppl.] Ḳomul
see also Sandābil; Ṣīn (Čīn) Kalān; Turkistān.1; Zaytūn
treatises on ʿAlī Akbar Khiṭāʾī
see also [in Suppl.] Sallām al-Tardjumān
uprisings Panthay
see also Tunganistan
leaders Ma Chung-ying; Ma Hua-lung; Ma Ming-hsin; Pai Yen-hu; T'ien Wu; Tu Wen-hsiu; Yulbārs Khān

CHRISTIANITY Ahl al-Kitāb; Dayr; Dayṣāniyya; ʿĪsā; Kanīsa; Maryam; **Naṣārā**; Rāhib; al-Ṣalīb; Tathlīth; [in Suppl.] Tabshīr
see also Dhimma; Djizya; al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh; Ifrandj; Karshūnī; Ḳūmis; Lāhūt and Nāsūt.2; Maʿalthāyā; [in Suppl.] Dāwiyya and Isbitāriyya; Fidāʾ; *and* → BIBLE; CRUSADE(R)S; EUROPE; LANGUAGES.AFRO-ASIATIC.ARABIC.CHRISTIAN ARABIC; NUBIA
apologetics Ibn Zurʿa; al-Kindī, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ
churches **Kanīsa**; Ṣihyawn
see also Masdjid.I.B.3
communities Anadolu.iii.4; al-Andalus.iv; Istanbul.vii.b; Mozarab; al-Shām.2(a) (271b-2a); Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.3
see also Fener

denominations Ḳibṭ; Nasṭūriyyūn; Yaʿḳūbiyyūn; [in Suppl.] Marḳiyūniyya; Mārūniyya
see also Djarādjima; *and* → JUDAISM.JEWISH SECTS
Catholics Bashīr Shihāb II; Isḥāḳ, Adīb; Ṣābundjī; Ṣāyigh, Fatḥ Allāh; Shaykhū, Luwīs; Zākhir; [in Suppl.] Buṭrus Karāma; Maṭar
Copts Ibn al-ʿAssāl; Ibn Mammātī; Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ; **Ḳibṭ**; al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd; Māriya; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi ʾl-Faḍāʾil; [in Suppl.] Ibn Kabar; Ibn al-Rāhib
see also Sullam; Taʾrīkh.I.1.vi; Ziyāra.3; [in Suppl.] Taʾrīkh.II.1.(g); *and* → EGYPT. TOPONYMS; NUBIA
Greek orthodox Gagauz
see also Paṭrīk; Zākhir
Jacobites al-Akhṭal; Ibn al-ʿIbrī; Ibn Zurʿa; al-Ḳuṭāmī; Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī; Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī; **Yaʿḳūbiyyūn**
see also al-Kindī, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ; Paṭrīk; Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.3
Marcionites [in Suppl.] **Marḳiyūniyya**
Maronites Farḥāt; Isṭifān al-Duwayhī; al-Rayḥānī; Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh; Ṭanyūs, Shāhīn; al-Yāzidjī; Yūsuf Karam; [in Suppl.] Abū Shabaka; al-Bustānī; **Mārūniyya**
see also Bsharrā; Durūz.ii; Paṭrīk; *and* → LEBANON
Melkites Abū Ḳurra; al-Anṭāḳī; Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh; al-Muḳawḳis; Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ; al-Turk, Niḳūlā; Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ; [in Suppl.] Ibn al-Ḳuff
see also Mashāḳa; Paṭrīk; [in Suppl.] Taʾrīkh.II.1.(g)
Monophysites → *the sections Copts, Jacobites and Nestorians under this entry*
Nestorians Bukhtīshūʿ; Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ al-ʿIbādī; Ibn Buṭlān; Ibn al-Ṭayyib; al-Kindī, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ; Mattā b. Yūnus; **Nasṭūriyyūn**; Sābūr b. Sahl; Yūḥannā b. Sarābiyūn; [in Suppl.] Prester John
see also al-Ṭabarī, ʿAlī b. Rabban; Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.3; Urmiya.3
Protestants Fāris al-Shidyāḳ; Mashāḳa; Ṣarrūf; Ṣāyigh, Tawfīḳ; [in Suppl.] al-Bustānī.2
see also Nimr
unspecified Baḥdal; Ibn al-Tilmīdh; al-Masīḥī; Petrus Alfonsi; Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik; [in Suppl.] Ḥubaysh b. al-Ḥasan al-Dimashḳī; Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿī
historiography [in Suppl.] **Taʾrīkh**.II.1.(g)
monasteries **Dayr**; Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ; Dayr Kaʿb; Dayr Ḳunnā; Dayr Murrān; Dayr Samʿān; al-Ṭūr.1
see also Khānḳāh; Rāhib; Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.3
writings on al-Shābushtī
persecutions Ghiyār; al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh; Shiʿār.4; Zunnār
polemics Ahl al-Kitāb; Taḥrīf
anti-Jewish Petrus Alfonsi
Christian-Muslim al-Suʿūdī, Abu ʾl-Faḍl; al-Ṭabarī, ʿAlī b. Rabban
see also Zaynab bt. Djaḥsh
pre-Islamic Abraha; ʿAdī b. Zayd; ʿAmr b. ʿAdī; ʿAmr b. Hind; Baḥīrā; Bahrām
see also Ghassān; Lakhmids
saints Djirdjīs; Djuraydj
20th-century al-Khūrī; Ṣarrūf; Shaykhū, Luwīs; [in Suppl.] Abū Shabaka; Abyaḍ; Maṭar
see also al-Maʿlūf; [in Suppl.] Tabshīr

CIRCUMCISION Khafḍ; **Khitān**
see also ʿAbdī; ʿAlī; Kurds.iv.A.i; Mawākib.4.11; Wehbī Sayyidī

CLOTHING Banīḳa; Djallāb; Farw; Ḳumāsh; **Libās**; Sirwāl
see also Ghiyār; Iḥrām; Khayyāṭ; Khilʿa; Kurds.iv.C.1; Shiʿār.4; Ṭirāz; Zeybek; Zunnār; [in Suppl.] Kafan; *and* → MYSTICISM.DRESS

accessories Mandīl; Mirwaḥa
see also Shadd
headwear Ḳawuḳlu; Tādj; Tulband; [in Suppl.] Ḳalansuwa
see also Sharīf.(5)
veils Ḥidjāb.I; Lithām
materials Farw; Ḥarīr; Kattān; Khaysh; Ḳuṭn; Ṣūf; Tāfta
see also Fanak; Ḳalamkārī; Ḳumāsh; Lubūd; Mukhattam; *and* → ART.TEXTILES
shoewear [in Suppl.] al-Naʿl al-Sharīf
see also [in Suppl.] Iskāf

COLOUR **Lawn**; Musawwida
and → DYEING
colours Asfar
see also Sharīf.(5)

COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES → CAUCASUS; CENTRAL ASIA; COMMUNISM; EUROPE.EASTERN EUROPE

COMMUNICATIONS Barīd; Ḥamām; Manār
see also Anadolu.iii.(5); *and* → TRANSPORT

COMMUNISM Ḥizb.i; **Shuyūʿiyya**
see also Lāhūtī; [in Suppl.] Sulṭān ʿAlī Ūghlī

CONGO **Congo**; al-Murdjibī

COPTS → CHRISTIANITY.DENOMINATIONS

COSMETICS Ḥinnāʾ; al-Kuḥl; al-Washm
see also Khiḍāb; *and* → PERFUME

COSMOGRAPHY ʿAdjāʾib; ʿĀlam; Falak; Ḳāf; Samāʾ.1
see also Djughrāfiyā; al-Khaḍir; Kharīṭa; al-Kura; Makka.4; *and* → ASTROLOGY; ASTRONOMY; GEOGRAPHY
treatises on al-Dimashḳī; al-Ḳazwīnī, Zakariyyāʾ; al-Kharaḳī
see also Kitāb al-Djilwa

COURT CEREMONY **Marāsim**; Mawākib (*and* [in Suppl.])
see also Miẓalla; Naḳḳāra-khāna; Sitr; Yādgār; *and* → MONARCHY.ROYAL INSIGNIA
bestowal of gifts Hiba; Khilʿa; Nithār
ranks [in Suppl.] Martaba

CREATION **Ibdāʿ**; **Khalḳ**
see also Ḥudūth al-ʿĀlam; Insān; Takwīn; Tawallud; Ṭīn.1

CRETE **Iḳrīṭish**
see also Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Ballūṭī; Wenedik
toponyms
towns Ḳandiya

CROATIA → (former) YUGOSLAVIA

CRUSADE(R)S **Crusades**; Tourkopo(u)loi; [in Suppl.] Dāwiyya and Isbitāriyya
see also al-ʿĀdil.1; al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Djamālī; (Sīrat) ʿAntar; Ayyūbids; Balak; Baybars I; Fāṭimids.5; Ifrandj; Ḳalāwūn; Ḳïlïdj Arslan I; Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; al-Shām.2(a); Ṭughtigin; Wenedik; *and* → *the section Toponyms under* PALESTINE/ISRAEL *and* SYRIA
battles al-Manṣūra; Mardj al-Ṣuffar; Nīkbūlī
castles al-Dārūm; Ḥārim; Ḥiṣn al-Akrād; Ḳalʿat al-Shaḳīf; Ṣāfītha
conquests ʿAkkā; Anadolu.iii.1; ʿĀsḳalān; Ayla; Ghazza; Ḥayfā; Ḳayṣariyya; al-Khalīl; Ḳubrus.2; al-Ḳuds.10; Ludd; Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān
historians of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī
see also al-Nuwayrī, Muḥammad

CRYPTOGRAPHY **Muʿammā**; Ramz.2
see also Kitābāt.5; al-Sīm

CUISINE **Maṭbakh**; **Ṭabkh**
drinks Čay; Ḳahwa; Khamr; Kumïs; **Mashrūbāt**; Nabīdh; Sherbet
see also Naḥl; Thallādj; Turundjān; Yoghurt; [in Suppl.] Čāy-khāna
food **Ghidhāʾ**; Kabid.5; Khubz; Kuskusū; Mishmish; Nakhl; Nārandj; al-Ruzz; al-Samn; Sawīḳ; Shaʿīr; Sikbādj; Sukkar; **Ṭaʿām**; Tīn; Tuffāḥ; Yoghurt; Zabīb; Zayt; Zaytūn [in Suppl.] Basbās; Djawz; Ḥays; Hindibāʾ
see also Filāḥa; Ḳamḥ; Maḍīra; Milḥ; Naḥl; Pist; Simsim; Ṭīn.3; [in Suppl.] Ibn Shaḳrūn al-Miknāsī
fruit Mishmish; Nakhl; Nārandj; Tīn; Tuffāḥ
see also [in Suppl.] Ḥays
dried fruit Tammām; Zabīb
grains Ḳamḥ; Kuskusū; al-Ruzz; Shaʿīr
see also Filāḥa; Khubz; Sawīḳ; *for granaries* → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS
herbs Shibiththth; Turundjān; [in Suppl.] Basbās
see also Shīḥ; Timsāḥ
meat Kabid.5
stews Sikbādj
oils al-Samn; Zayt
spices Kammūn; Ḳaranful; [in Suppl.] **Afāwīh**; Dār Ṣīnī
see also Kārimī; Ḳūṣ; Milḥ; Zaʿfarān.1
professions Baḳḳāl; Ṭabbākh; Ṭaḥḥān; Tammār
prohibitions Ghidhāʾ.iii *and* iv.7; Ḳahwa; Khamr; Mashrūbāt; Mayta; Nabīdh
see also Dhabīḥa.1; Ḥayawān.4; Nadjis; *and* → *individual articles under* ANIMALS
table manners **Ṭaʿām**

CUSTOM **ʿĀda**; Adab; ʿUrf
see also Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī; ʿĀshūrāʾ.II; Hiba; Ḥidjāb.I; Īdjāra; Khilʿa; Mandīl; ʿUrs.2; *and* → LAW.CUSTOMARY LAW
tribal customs ʿAbābda; al-Dhunūb, Dafn; Khāwa; Muwāraba; Thaʾr; al-Washm; [in Suppl.] ʿĀr
see also Īdjāra; Taḥannuth; Zmāla.2; [in Suppl.] Malaʾ.2

CYPRUS **Ḳubrus**; Madjlis.4.A.xxiv
see also Wenedik; [in Suppl.] Mārūniyya
toponyms
towns Lefḳosha; Maghōsha

(former) CZECHOSLOVAKIA [in Suppl.] **Čeh**

D

DEATH Djanāza; Ḥināṭa; Intiḥār; Ḳabr; Maḳbara; **Mawt**; Niyāḥa; [in Suppl.] Ghassāl; Kafan
see also Ghā'ib; Ghusl; Ḳatl; Marthiya; Shahīd; Takbīr; Tasnīm.2; *and* → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS.TOMBS; ESCHATOLOGY

DESERTS al-Aḥḳāf; Biyābānak; al-Dahnā'; Ḳaraḳum; Ḳîzîl-ḳum; Nafūd; al-Naḳb; al-Rubʿ al-Khālī; Sāḥil; al-Ṣaḥrā'; Sīnā'; al-Tīh
see also (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab.ii; Badw.II; Ḥarra; Khabrā'; Reg; Samūm; *and* → GEOGRAPHY.PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.OASES; NOMADISM

DICTIONARY **Ḳāmūs**
see also Fāris al-Shidyāḳ; Sullam; *and* → LEXICOGRAPHY

DIPLOMACY Imtiyāzāt; Mübādele; Tardjumān
see also Amān; Bālyōs; Berātlî; Daftar; Hiba; Inshā'; Kātib; Ḳawwās; Mandates
diplomatic accounts Aḥmad Rasmī; Ibn Faḍlān; Meḥmed Yirmisekiz; Wāṣif; [in Suppl.] al-Ghazzāl; Ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī
see also Ṣubḥī Meḥmed
diplomats Consul; Elči; Safīr.2
see also Ẓahīr

DIVINATION **Kihāna**
see also Djafr; Ibn Barradjān; Malāḥim; Nudjūm (Aḥkām al-); Shāma; *and* → ASTROLOGY; DREAMS
diviners ʿArrāf; Kāhin
practices Fa'l; Firāsa; Ghurāb; Ḥisāb al-Djummal; Ḥurūf; Ikhtilādj; Istiḳsām; ʿIyāfa; al-Kaff; Katif; Khaṭṭ; Khawāṣṣ al-Ḳur'ān; Ḳiyāfa; Ḳurʿa; Mā'.1; Riyāfa; Wadaʿ.3; Zā'irdja
see also Būḳalā; Ikhtiyārāt; Mir'āt
treatises on Fāl-nāma; Ibn al-Bannā' al-Marrākushī; Malḥama; [in Suppl.] Ibn ʿAzzūz
see also Djafr; Nudjūm (Aḥkām al-)

DIVORCE Barā'a.I; Faskh; Suknā; al-Suraydjiyya; **Ṭalāḳ**
see also ʿAbd.3; ʿĀda; Ghā'ib; Ḥaḍāna; Ibn Suraydj; ʿIdda; ʿIwaḍ; Ḳasam; Liʿān; al-Mar'a.2; Rapak; [in Suppl.] Nafaḳa; *and* → MARRIAGE

DJIBOUTI, REPUBLIC OF **Djibūti**; Tadjurra
and → AFRICA.EAST AFRICA

DOCUMENTS ʿAlāma; **Diplomatic**; Farmān; Inshā'; Kātib; Manshūr; Papyrus; **Sidjill**; Tawḳīʿ.1; Waḳf.I.2.d; Wathīḳa; Ẓahīr; [in Suppl.] Dabīr
see also Barā'a.I; Ḳaṭʿ; Sharṭ.1; Tughra; ʿUnwān; Yarlîgh; *and* → ADMINISTRATION.RECORDS; WRITING
Ottoman ʿArḍ Ḥāl; Berāt; **Diplomatic**.iv; Farmān.ii; Irāde; Khaṭṭ-î Humāyūn and Khaṭṭ-î Sherīf; **Sidjill**.3; Telkhīṣ
see also Tughra.2.(b); *and* → OTTOMAN EMPIRE.ADMINISTRATION

DREAMS **Ru'yā**; [in Suppl.] Taʿbīr al-Ru'ya

see also Istikhāra; Nubuwwa
for dream interpretations, see individual articles on animals, in particular Ayyil; Baghl; Ḍabb; Fīl; Ghurāb; Saraṭān.5; Thaʿlab; ʿUḳāb; Waṭwāṭ; Yarbūʿ
writings on al-Dīnawarī, Abū Saʿīd; Ibn Ghannām; Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī; Ibn Sīrīn; al-Wahrānī

DRUGS **Adwiya**; [in Suppl.] Anzarūt
see also Kahrubā; al-Kuḥl; Ṭibb; *and* → MEDICINE; PHARMACOLOGY
narcotics Afyūn; Bandj; Ḥashīsh; Ḳāt; Shahdānadj
see also Filāḥa.iii; [in Suppl.] al-Zarkashī
tobacco Bahāʾī Meḥmed Efendi; **Tutun**

DRUZES al-Darazī; **Durūz**; Ḥamza b. ʿAlī; al-Muḳtanā; Shakīb Arslān; al-Tanūkhī, Djamāl al-Dīn; [in Suppl.] Binn
see also Ḥadd; Maḥkama.4.ii, iii *and* v; Maʿn; [in Suppl.] Dawr; Ḥinn; *and* → LEBANON
historians of Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā

DYEING ʿAfṣ; Ḥinnāʾ; Ḳalamkārī; **Khiḍāb**; Nīl; Wars; Zaʿfarān
see also Shaʿr.1
dyer **Ṣabbāgh**

DYNASTIES **Dawla**; Ḥādjib; Mushīr; Sulṭān
see also Čāshna-gīr; Khādim al-Ḥaramayn; Laḳab; Libās.i; Malik; Marāsim; Mashwara; Mawākib; Pādishāh; Parda-dār; Tawḳīʿ.1; Walī al-ʿAhd; Ẓulm; [in Suppl.] Khalʿ; *and* → ADMINISTRATION; ONOMASTICS.TITLES
Afghanistan and India ʿĀdil-Shāhs; Arghūn; Bahmanīs; Barīd Shāhīs; Dihlī Sultanate; Fārūḳids; Ghaznawids; Ghūrids; Hindū-shāhīs; ʿImād Shāhī; Kart; Khaldjīs; Ḳuṭb Shāhī; Lōdīs; Mughals; Niẓām Shāhīs; Sayyids; Sharḳīs; Sūrs; Tughluḳids; [in Suppl.] Bānīdjūrids
see also Afghānistān.v.2 *and* 3; Awadh; Dāwūdpōtrās; Dīwān.v; Hind.iv; Khʷādja-i Djahān; Lashkar; Marāsim.5; Mawākib.5; Nithār; Rānā Sāngā; Sammā; Tīpū Sulṭān; Zunbīl; *and* → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS; MILITARY.INDO-MUSLIM; ONOMASTICS.TITLES.INDO-MUSLIM
ʿĀdil-Shāhs (1490-1686) **ʿĀdil-Shāhs**; Bīdjāpūr; Hind.vii.ix
see also Tālīkōṭā
rulers Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm II
historians of Shīrāzī, Rafīʿ al-Dīn
Awadh Nawwābs (1722-1856) **Awadh**
rulers Burhān al-Mulk; Ghāzī ʾl-Dīn Ḥaydar; Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān; Ṣafdar Djang; Shudjāʿ al-Dawla
viziers Mahdī ʿAlī Khān
Bahmanids (1347-1527) **Bahmanīs**; Hind.vii.vii
see also Bīdar; Gulbargā; Pēshwā
rulers Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī; Maḥmūd Shihāb al-Dīn; Muḥammad I; Muḥammad II; Muḥammad III
other personages Khalīl Allāh; Maḥmūd Gāwān
Bārakzays (1819-1973) Afghānistān.v.3.B
kings ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān; Dūst Muḥammad; Ḥabīb Allāh Khān; Shīr ʿAlī; [in Suppl.] Amān Allāh
Bengal Nawwābs
rulers ʿAlī Werdī Khān; Djaʿfar; Sirādj al-Dawla
see also Murshidābād

Bengal Sultans (1336-1576)
sultans Dāwūd Khān Kararānī; Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārakshāh; Ḥusayn Shāh; Maḥmūd; Rādjā Ganesh; Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh; Sikandar Shāh
historians of [in Suppl.] ʿAbbās Sarwānī
Dihlī Sultans (1206-1555) Ḍarība.6.a; **Dihlī Sultanate**; Dīwān.v; Khaldjīs; Lōdīs; Nāʾib.1; Naḳīb.2; Sayyids; Sūrs; Tughluḳids
see also Burdj.III.2; Ulugh Khān
sultans Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ; Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ I; Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ Shāh II; Iltutmish; Kayḳubād; Khiḍr Khān; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak; Maḥmūd; Ibrāhīm Lōdī; Mubārak Shāh; Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ; Muḥammad Shāh I Khaldjī; Raḍiyya; Shīr Shāh Sūr; [in Suppl.] Balban; Dawlat Khān Lōdī
viziers Kāfūr (*and* Malik Kāfūr); Khān-i Djahān Maḳbūl; Miʾān Bhuʾā
historians of Baranī; al-Djuzdjānī; Niẓāmī (*and* [in Suppl.] Ḥasan Niẓāmī); Shams al-Dīn-i Sirādj ʿAfīf
other personages Mallū Iḳbāl Khān; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī; ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī; Daryā Khān Noḥānī; Ikhtisān
see also ʿAlī Mardān; Hūlāgū; Khaldjīs; Sammā
Durrānīs (1747-1842) Afghānistān.v.3
kings Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī
historians of ʿAbd al-Karīm Munshī
other personages Kāmrān Shāh Durrānī
Fārūḳids (1370-1601) **Fārūḳids**
rulers Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh I
Ghaznawids (977-1186) ʿAmīd; Dīwān.v; **Ghaznawids**
see also Ḥiṣār.iii
rulers Alp Takīn; Bahrām Shāh; Ismāʿīl b. Sebüktigin; Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin; Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd; Mawdūd b. Masʿūd; Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin; Sebüktigin
viziers Aḥmad b. Muḥammad; Altūntāsh; al-Faḍl b. Aḥmad al-Isfarāʾīnī; Ḥasanak; Maymandī
historians of Bayhaḳī; al-ʿUtbī.3
see also al-Ḳāshānī; Shabānkāraʾī; [in Suppl.] Fakhr-i Mudabbir
other personages Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī; Shāh Malik
Ghūrids (ca. 1000-1215) **Ghūrids**
rulers Djahān-sūz; Muḥammad b. Sām; Sayf al-Dīn
see also Niẓāmī
governors Tādj al-Dīn Yildiz
Gudjarāt Sultans (1391-1583) Gudjarāt.c
see also Ulugh Khān
sultans Bahādur Shāh Gudjarātī; Maḥmūd
historians of [in Suppl.] Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr
other personages Malik Ayāz
Kālpī Sultans Kalpī
sultans Maḥmūd Khān
Kashmīr Sultans (1346-1589) Kashmīr.i.4
sultans Sikandar (But-Shikan); Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn; [in Suppl.] Čaks
see also [in Suppl.] Gul Khātūn
historians of [in Suppl.] Ḥaydar Malik
other personages [in Suppl.] Bayhaḳī Sayyids
Khaldjīs → the section Dihlī Sultans above
Langāh dynasty of Multān (1437-1526) Multān

sultans Ḥusayn Shāh Langāh I; Ḥusayn Shāh Langāh II
Lōdīs → *the section Dihlī Sultans above*
Madura Sultans (1334-1377) [in Suppl.] Madura
sultans Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan
Mālwā Sultans (1401-1531) Mālwā
sultans Dilāwar Khān; Hūshang Shāh Ghūrī; Maḥmūd
see also Bāz Bahādur
viziers Mēdinī Rā'ī
other personages Malik Mughīth
Mughals (1526-1858) Ḍarība.6.b *and* c; Dīwān.v; Manṣab; **Mughals**; [in Suppl.] Ilāhī Era
see also Fawdjdār; Kōtwāl; Maṭbakh.4; Nithār; Ṣadr.5; Ṣūba; Ṣūbadār; Ṣūfiyāna; Ṣulḥ-i kull; Suwār; Takht-i Ṭāwūs; Zamīndār; [in Suppl.] Dāgh u taṣḥīḥa; ʿIbādat Khāna; Sarkār.1; Taʿalluḳ
emperors Aḥmad Shāh.I; Akbar; Awrangzīb; Bābur; Bahādur Shāh I; Bahādur Shāh II; Djahāndār Shāh; Djahāngīr; Farrukh-siyar; Humāyūn; Muḥammad Shāh; Shāh ʿĀlam II; Shāh Djahān; [in Suppl.] Rāfiʿ al-Daradjāt
see also Darshan; Mumtāz Maḥall; Nūr Djahān; Tādj Maḥall; Tūzūk; [in Suppl.] Muḥammad Ḥākim Mīrzā
viziers Iʿtimād al-Dawla
secretaries Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī; Muḥammad Kāẓim
historians of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī; Abu 'l Faḍl ʿAllāmī; Bakhtāwar Khān; Djawhar; Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabāʾī; ʿInāyat Allāh Khān; Īsar-dās; Khʷāfī Khān; Muḥammad Kāẓim; Muḥammad Sharīf; Mustaʿidd Khān; Muʿtamad Khān; Niʿmat Allāh b. Ḥabīb Allāh Harawī; Nūr al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Dihlawī; [in Suppl.] ʿĀḳil Khān Rāzī; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbō Lāhawrī
see also Aẓfarī; Badāʾūnī; Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ
other personages ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān; ʿAlī Werdī Khān; Āṣaf Khān; Bakhtāwar Khān; Bayram Khān; Burhān al-Mulk; Dāniyāl; Ghulām Ḳādir Rohilla; Hindāl; Iʿtibār Khān; Iʿtiḳād Khān; ʿIwaḍ Wadjīh; Kāmrān; Khān Djahān Lōdī; Khusraw Sulṭān; Mahābat Khān; Makhdūm al-Mulk (*and* [in Suppl.] ʿAbd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī); Mān Singh; Mīr Djumla; Mīrzā ʿAskarī; Mīrzā ʿAzīz "Kōka"; Murād; Murād Bakhsh; Murshid Ḳulī Khān; Niẓām al-Mulk; Shafīʿā Yazdī; Shāh Manṣūr Shīrāzī; Sharīf Āmulī; al-Siyālkūtī; Tīpū Sulṭān; Ṭōdar Mal; Yūsuf Khān Riḍwī; Yūsufī; [in Suppl.] Akbar b. Awrangzīb; ʿĀḳil Khān Rāzī; Ghāzī Khān; Gūran; ʿInāyat Khān (2x); Ḳāsim Arslān; Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā
see also Bāra Sayyids (*and* [in Suppl.] Bārha Sayyids); Marāthās
Niẓām Shāhids (1491-1633) **Niẓām Shāhīs**
see also Aḥmadnagar; Tālīkōṭa
rulers Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh; Malik Aḥmad Baḥrī
other personages Malik ʿAmbar
Sayyids → *the section Dihlī Sultans above*
Sharḳī Sultans of Djawnpūr (1394-1479) **Sharḳīs**
sultans Ḥusayn Shāh; Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharḳī; Maḥmūd Shāh Sharḳī; Malik Sarwar
Sūrīs → *the section Dihlī Sultans above*
Tughluḳids → *the section Dihlī Sultans above*
Africa Fundj; Gwandu; Shīrāzī
see also Bū Saʿīd; Dār Fūr; Kilwa; Songhay; Wadāī.1; Zaghāwa.(a)
Anatolia and the Turks Artuḳids; Aydïn-oghlu; Dānishmendids; Dhu 'l-Ḳadr; Eretna; Germiyān-oghullarï; Ḥamīd Oghullarï; Īnāl; Isfendiyār Oghlu; Ḳarāmān-oghullarï; Ḳarasï; Menteshe-oghullarï; ʿOthmānlï; Saltuḳ Oghullarï; Ṣarūkhān; Shāh-i Arman; Teke-oghullarï

see also Būrids; Derebey; Mangïts; Mengüček; Ramaḏān Og̲h̲ullarï; *and* → ONOMASTICS.TITLES

Artuḳids (1102-1408) **Artuḳids**

rulers Īlg̲h̲āzī; Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad; Timurtās̲h̲ b. Il-G̲h̲āzī

Aydïn-og̲h̲lu (1308-1425) **Aydïn-og̲h̲lu**

amīrs D̲j̲unayd

Ottomans (1281-1924) **ʿOt̲h̲mānlï**

see also ʿOt̲h̲mān I; *and* → DOCUMENTS.OTTOMAN; MILITARY.OTTOMAN; OTTOMAN EMPIRE; TURKEY.OTTOMAN PERIOD

sultans ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II; ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd I; ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd II; Aḥmad I; Aḥmad II; Aḥmad III; Bāyazīd I; Bāyazīd II; Ibrāhīm; Maḥmūd; Meḥemmed I; Meḥemmed II; Meḥemmed III; Meḥemmed IV; Meḥemmed V Res̲h̲ād; Meḥemmed VI Waḥīd al-Dīn; Murād I; Murād II; Murād III; Murād IV; Murād V; Muṣṭafā I; Muṣṭafā II; Muṣṭafā III; Muṣṭafā IV; Ork̲h̲an; ʿOt̲h̲mān I; ʿOt̲h̲mān II; ʿOt̲h̲mān III; Selīm I; Selīm II; Selīm III; Süleymān; Süleymān II

see also Bāb-i Humāyūn; D̲j̲em; Ertog̲h̲rul; K̲h̲ādim al-Ḥaramayn; K̲h̲alīfa.i.E; Mas̲h̲wara; Muhr.1; Muṣṭafā.1 *and* 2; Müteferriḳa; Rikāb; S̲h̲ehzāde; Ṣolaḳ; Ṭopḳapï Sarāyï; Yeñi Čeri.3; [in Suppl.] Ḳafes; Lālā

women of K̲h̲āṣṣekī; K̲h̲urrem; Kösem Wālide; Nīlūfer K̲h̲ātūn; Nūr Bānū; Ṣafiyye Wālide Sulṭān; Ṭurk̲h̲ān Sulṭān; Wālide Sulṭān

grand viziers **Ṣadr-ı Aʿẓam**

see also Bāb-i ʿĀlī; Başvekil; Ḳapï; ʿOt̲h̲mān-zāde; Telk̲h̲īṣd̲j̲i; Wazīr.III

14th century ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Čandārlï-zāde; D̲j̲andarlï

15th century Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a Gedik; Dāwūd Pas̲h̲a, Ḳod̲j̲a; D̲j̲andarlï; K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a D̲j̲andarlï; Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Ḳaramānī; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Rūm; Sinān Pas̲h̲a, K̲h̲od̲j̲a.1; Zag̲h̲anos Pas̲h̲a

16th century Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a, Ḳara; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a K̲h̲ādim; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Semiz; Ayās Pas̲h̲a; Čig̲h̲āla-zāde Sinān Pās̲h̲ā; Derwīs̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a; Ferhād Pas̲h̲a; Hersek-zāde; Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a; Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, Dāmād; K̲h̲ādïm Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a Ṣoḳollï; K̲h̲ādïm Süleymān Pas̲h̲a; Lala Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a (*and* Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Lālā, S̲h̲āhīnog̲h̲lu); Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Lālā, Melek-Nihād; Mesīḥ Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a; Mesīḥ Pas̲h̲a; ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a; Pīrī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a; Rüstem Pas̲h̲a; Sinān Pas̲h̲a, K̲h̲ādïm; Sinān Pas̲h̲a, K̲h̲od̲j̲a.2; Siyāwus̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a.1; Soḳollu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a

17th century ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a ʿArabad̲j̲ï; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Güzeld̲j̲e; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Sürmeli; Dāwūd Pas̲h̲a, Ḳara; Derwīs̲h̲ Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a; Dilāwar Pas̲h̲a; Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a; Ḥusayn Pas̲h̲a; Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, Kara; Ips̲h̲ir Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a; Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a, Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ï; Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a; Kemānkes̲h̲; K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a Ḳayṣariyyeli; K̲h̲osrew Pas̲h̲a, Bosniak; Köprülü.I-III; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Čerkes; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Elmās; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Gürd̲j̲ü, K̲h̲ādïm; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Gürd̲j̲ü II; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Öküz; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Sulṭān-zāde; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Tabanïyassï; Murād Pas̲h̲a, Ḳuyud̲j̲u; Naṣūḥ Pas̲h̲a; Red̲j̲eb Pas̲h̲a; Siyāwus̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a.2; Süleymān Pas̲h̲a, Malaṭyalï; Yemis̲h̲d̲j̲i Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a

18th century ʿAbd Allāh Pas̲h̲a; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Čorlulu; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Dāmād; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Ḥakīm-og̲h̲lu; Derwīs̲h̲ Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a; Ḥamza Ḥāmid Pas̲h̲a; Ḥamza Pas̲h̲a; (Dāmād) Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a; (Seyyid) Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a; (S̲h̲erīf) Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a; Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, Nevs̲h̲ehirli; Kaḥyā Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a; K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Arnawud; Köprülü.V; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Balṭad̲j̲ï; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, ʿIwaḍ; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Melek; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Muḥsin-zāde; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Rāmī (*and* Rāmī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a); Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Tiryāḳī; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Yegen, Gümrükčü; Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Yegen, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī; Rāg̲h̲ib Pas̲h̲a; Saʿīd Efendi; Ṭopal ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a.1

19th century and on Aḥmad Wafīḳ Pasha; ʿAlī Pasha Muḥammad Amīn; Dāmād Ferīd Pasha; Derwīsh Meḥmed Pasha; Djawād Pasha; Fu'ād Pasha; Ḥusayn ʿAwnī Pasha; Ḥusayn Ḥilmī Pasha; Ibrāhīm Edhem Pasha; Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī Pasha; ʿIzzet Pasha; Kečiboynuzu; Khayr al-Dīn Pasha; Khosrew Pasha, Meḥmed; Küčük Saʿīd Pasha; Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha; Maḥmūd Shewkat Pasha; Meḥmed Saʿīd Ghālib Pasha; Midḥat Pasha; Muṣṭafā Pasha, Bayraḳdār; Reshīd Pasha, Muṣṭafā; Ṭalʿat Bey; [in Suppl.] Esʿad Pasha

grand muftis **Shaykh al-Islām**.2

see also Bāb-i Mashīkhat; Fatwā.ii

15th century Fenārī-zāde; Gūrānī; Khosrew

16th century Abu 'l-Suʿūd; Bostānzāde.2; Čiwi-zāde; Djamālī; Kemāl Pasha-zāde; Khōdja Efendi

17th century Bahā'ī Meḥmed Efendi; Esʿad Efendi, Meḥmed; Ḳarā-Čelebi-zāde.4; Ṣunʿ Allāh; [in Suppl.] Yaḥyā

18th century Čelebi-zāde; Dürrīzāde.1-4; Esʿad Efendi, Meḥmed (2x); Ḥayātī-zāde.2; Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ Efendi; Pīrī-zāde

19th century ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Bey; Dürrīzāde.5; Esʿad Efendi, Aḥmed; Ḥasan Fehmī Efendi

20th century Djamāl al-Dīn Efendi; Dürrīzāde,ʿAbd Allāh; Muṣṭafā Khayrī Efendi

high admirals ʿAlī Pasha Güzeldje; Čighāla-zāde Sinān Pasha; Djaʿfar Beg; Djezā'irli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha; Ḥasan Pasha; Ḥusayn Pasha; Kenʿān Pasha; Khalīl Pasha Ḳayṣariyyeli; Khayr al-Dīn Pasha; Piyāle Pasha; ʿUlūdj ʿAlī; Zaghanos Pasha; [in Suppl.] Ḳaplan Muṣṭafā Pasha

see also Ra'īs.3

historians of ʿAbdī; ʿAbdī Efendi; ʿAbdī Pasha; Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha; Aḥmad Rasmī; ʿAlī; ʿAlī Amīrī; ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde; ʿĀṣim; ʿAṭā' Bey; al-Bakrī.1; Bidlīsī; Bihishtī; Čelebi-zāde; Česhmīzāde; Djalālzāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi; Djalālzāde Ṣāliḥ Čelebi; Enwerī; Esʿad Efendi, Meḥmed; Ḥasan Bey-zāde; ʿIzzī; Ḳarā-čelebi-zāde.4; Kātib Čelebi; Kemāl, Meḥmed Nāmiḳ; Kemāl Pasha-zāde; Khayr Allāh Efendi; Luḳmān b. Sayyid Ḥusayn; Luṭfī Efendi; Maṭrāḳčī; Meḥmed Ḥākim Efendi; Meḥmed Khalīfe b. Hüseyn; Meḥmed Pasha, Ḳaramānī; Meḥmed Zaʿīm; Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Meḥmed; Naʿīmā; ʿOthmān-zāde; Pečewī; Ramaḍān-zāde; Rāshid, Meḥmed; Rūḥī; Selānīkī; Shefīḳ Meḥmed Efendi; Shemʿdānī-zāde; Sheref, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; Silāḥdār, Findiḳlili Meḥmed Agha; Ṣolaḳ-zāde; Ṣubḥī Meḥmed; Taʿlīḳī-zāde; Ṭashköprüzāde.2 *and* 3; Thüreyyā; Ṭursūn Beg; Urudj; ʿUshshāḳī-zāde, Ibrāhīm; Wāṣif; Wedjīhī; Yakhshī Faḳīh; [in Suppl.] Ḳantimīr, Demetrius

see also Ḥadīdī; Shāhnāmedji; Waḳaʿ-nüwīs

other personages

see also Shehzāde; Yazidji

13th century Sawdji.1

14th century ʿAlā' al-Dīn Beg; Badr al-Dīn b. Ḳāḍī Samāwnā; Ḳāsim.1; Sawdji.3; Shāhīn, Lala; Süleymān Pasha

see also Ṭorghud

15th century Aḥmad Pasha Khā'in; Ewrenos; Ewrenos Oghullari; Fenārī-zāde; Ibn ʿArabshāh; Ḳāsim.2 *and* 3; Ḳāsim Pasha, Djazarī; Mūsā Čelebi; Muṣṭafā.1 *and* 2; Suleymān Čelebi; Tīmūrtāsh Oghullari; Turakhān Beg; [in Suppl.] Khōdjā-zāde

16th century Bostānzāde; Čiwi-zāde; Derwīsh Pasha; Djaʿfar Čelebi; Djalālzāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi; Ferīdūn Beg; Hāmōn; Ḳāsim.4; Ḳāsim Agha; Ḳāsim Pasha; Kemāl Re'īs; Khosrew Pasha; Ḳorḳud b. Bāyazīd; Maḥmūd Pasha; Maḥmūd

Tardjumān; Meḥmed Pasha, Bïyïklï; Muṣṭafā.3; Muṣṭafā Pasha, Ḳara Shāhīn; Muṣṭafā Pasha, Lala; Muṣṭafā Pasha al-Nashshār; Özdemir Pasha; Pertew Pasha.I; Pīrī Reʾīs; Ramaḍān-zāde; Riḍwān Pasha; Ṣarï Kürz; Selmān Reʾīs; Shāh Sulṭān; Shāhīn, Āl; Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs; Sinān; Ṭashköprüzāde.1; Ṭorghud Reʾīs; ʿUshshāḳī-zāde.1; Üweys; [in Suppl.] Khāʾir Beg; Yemenli Ḥasan Pasha
17th century Ābāza; Ḥaydar-oghlu, Meḥmed; Ḥusayn Pasha; Ḳāsim.5; Ḳāṭïrdjï-oghlï Meḥmed Pasha; Maʿn-zāda; Meḥmed Khalīfe b. Ḥüseyn; ʿOthmān Pasha, Yegen; Shāhīn, Āl; Ṭiflī; ʿUshshāḳī-zāde.1; Warwarī ʿAlī Pasha; [in Suppl.] Aḥmad Pasha Küčük; Cōbān-oghullarï
18th century Ābāza; Aḥmad Pasha; Aḥmad Pasha Bonneval; Aḥmad Rasmī; Djānīkli Ḥādjdji ʿAlī Pasha; Meḥmed Ḥākim Efendi; Meḥmed Yirmisekiz; Paswan-oghlu; Patrona Khalīl; Ṣarï Meḥmed Pasha; ʿUshshāḳī-zāde.1
19th century Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha; ʿAlī Pasha Tepedelenli; Ayyūb Ṣabrī Pasha; Bahdjat Muṣṭafā Efendi; Dāwūd Pasha (2x); Djawād Pasha; Fāḍil Pasha; Ḥālet Efendi; Ḥusayn Pasha; Ibrāhīm Derwīsh Pasha; Kabakčï-oghlu Muṣṭafā; Ḳōzān-oghullarï; Muṣṭafā Pasha, Bushatlï; Pertew Pasha.II; Riḍwān Begović; Ṣādïḳ Rifʿat Pasha; Shebṣefa Ḳadïn; Ṭopal ʿOthmān Pasha.2; [in Suppl.] Camondo
20th century ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid; Djāwīd; Djemāl Pasha; Enwer Pasha; Fehīm Pasha; Ḥasan Fehmī; ʿIzzet Pasha; Kāẓim Ḳadrī; Kāẓim Karabekir; Mukhtār Pasha; Münīf Pasha; [in Suppl.] Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, Manāstïrlï; ʿIzzet Hōlō
Saldjūḳs of Rūm (1077-1307) **Saldjūḳids**
rulers Kaykāʾūs; Kaykhusraw; Kayḳubād; Ḳïlïdj Arslan I; Ḳïlïdj Arslan II; Ḳïlïdj Arslan III; Ḳïlïdj Arslan IV; Malik-Shāh.4; Sulaymān b. Ḳutulmïsh; Ṭoghrïl Shāh
historians of Ibn Bībī
other personages Ashraf Oghullarï; Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān Parwāna; Saʿd al-Dīn Köpek
Arabian Peninsula Bū Saʿīd; Hamdānids; Hāshimids (2x); āl-Khalīfa; Mahdids; Nadjāḥids; Rashīd, Āl; Rasūlids; Ṣabāḥ, Āl; Ṣulayḥids; Suʿūd, Āl; Ṭāhirids.3; al-Ukhayḍir, Banū; ʿUṣfūrids; ʿUyūnids; Wāḥidī; Yaʿrubids; Yuʿfirids; Ziyādids; Zurayʿids; [in Suppl.] Djabrids; Kathīrī; Ḳuʿayṭī
Āl Saʿūd (1746-) **Suʿūd, Āl**
rulers [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; Fayṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
see also Muḥammad b. Suʿūd
Bū Saʿīd (1741-) **Bū Saʿīd**
sultans Barghash; Saʿīd b. Sulṭān
Carmathians (894-end 11th century) **Ḳarmaṭī**
rulers al-Djannābī, Abū Saʿīd; al-Djannābī, Abū Ṭāhir
Hāshimids (1908-1925) **Hāshimids**
rulers Ḥusayn (b. ʿAlī)
see also ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn; Fayṣal I; Fayṣal II
other personages Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī
Rasūlids (1229-1454) **Rasūlids**
see also Zabīd
historians of al-Khazradjī
other personages [in Suppl.] Ibn Ḥātim
see also al-Sharīf Abū Muḥammad Idrīs
Ṭāhirids (1454-1517) **Ṭāhirids**.3
rulers ʿĀmir I; ʿĀmir II
Zaydīs (860-) **Rassids**; **Zaydiyya**.3
imams al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad; al-Manṣūr bi ʾllāh, ʿAbd Allāh; al-Manṣūr bi ʾllāh, al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAlī; al-Manṣūr bi ʾllāh, al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad; al-Muʾayyad

bi 'llāh Muḥammad; Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā li-Dīn Allāh; al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh, Ismāʿīl; al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh, Sharaf al-Dīn; al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh.II; al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, Aḥmad; al-Rassī; Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī; Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad; [in Suppl.] Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Daylamī; al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ; al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh, al-Ḥusayn

see also Imāma; al-Yaman.3.a

for Zaydī imams of the Caspian → SHIITES.BRANCHES.ZAYDIYYA

other personages al-Muṭahhar; al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh.II; al-Sharīf Abū Muḥammad Idrīs

Zurayʿids (1080-1173) **Zurayʿids**

viziers Bilāl b. Djarīr al-Muḥammadī

Egypt and the Fertile Crescent ʿAbbāsids; ʿAnnāzids; Ayyūbids; Bābān; Būrids; Fāṭimids; Ḥamdānids; Ḥasanwayh; Mamlūks; Marwānids; Mazyad; Mirdās; Ṭūlūnids; ʿUḳaylids; Umayyads; Zangids

see also ʿAmmār; Begteginids; Djalīlī; Ṣadaḳa, Banū; *and* → EGYPT.MODERN PERIOD.MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ'S LINE; ONOMASTICS.TITLES.ARABIC

ʿAbbāsids (750-1258) → CALIPHATE

Ayyūbids (1169-end 15th century) **Ayyūbids**

see also Rank

rulers al-ʿĀdil; al-Afḍal; Bahrām Shāh; al-Kāmil; al-Muʿaẓẓam; al-Nāṣir; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; (al-Malik) al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād al-Dīn; (al-Malik) al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb; Tūrānshāh b. Ayyūb; al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī

see also Dīwān.ii.(3)

viziers Ibn al-ʿAdīm; Ibn al-Athīr.3; Ibn Maṭrūḥ

see also Wazīr.I.3

secretaries ʿImād al-Dīn; al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil

historians of Abu 'l-Fidā; Abū Shāma; Ibn Shaddād; ʿImād al-Dīn; al-Maḳrīzī; al-Manṣūr, al-Malik

see also [in Suppl.] Ḳaraṭāy

other personages Abu 'l-Fidā; Aybak; Ibn al-ʿAssāl; Ḳarāḳūsh, Bahāʾ al-Dīn; Ḳarāḳūsh, Sharaf al-Dīn; al-Muẓaffar, al-Malik

Būrids (1104-1154) **Būrids**; Dimashḳ

rulers Ṭughtigin

Fāṭimids (909-1171) → CALIPHATE

Ḥamdānids (905-1004) **Ḥamdānids**

rulers Nāṣir al-Dawla; Sayf al-Dawla; [in Suppl.] Abū Taghlib

other personages Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān; Luʾluʾ

Ikhshīdids (935-969)

rulers Kāfūr

viziers Ibn al-Furāt.5

other personages al-Ṣayrafī

Mamluks (1250-1517) Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya; Dīwān.ii.(4); Ḥādjib.iv; Hiba.ii; Khādim al-Ḥaramayn; Khaznadār; **Mamlūks** (*and* [in Suppl.]); Mashwara; Nāʾib.1; Ustādār

see also Ḥarfūsh; Ḳumāsh; Mamlūk; Manshūr; Rank; Zaʿīm; [in Suppl.] Mawākib; *and* → MILITARY.MAMLUK

sultans Barḳūḳ; Barsbāy; Baybars I; Baybars II; Čaḳmaḳ; Faradj; Ḥasan; Īnāl al-Adjrūd; Ḳāʾit Bāy; Ḳalāwūn; Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī; Khalīl; Khushḳadam; Ḳuṭuz; Lādjīn; al-Muʾayyad Shaykh; al-Nāṣir; (al-Malik) al-Ṣāliḥ; Shaʿbān; Shadjar al-Durr; Ṭūmān Bāy

administrators Faḍl Allāh; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir; Ibn Faḍl al-ʿUmarī; Ibn Ghurāb; Ibn Ḥidjdja; Ibn al-Sadīd (Ibn al-Muzawwiḳ); Ibn al-Sadīd, Karīm al-Dīn; al-

Ḳalḳashandī.1; [in Suppl.] Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿ; Khāʾir Beg

historians of Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin b. Taghrībirdī; Baybars al-Manṣūrī; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir; Ibn Duḳmāḳ; Ibn Ḥabīb, Badr al-Dīn; Ibn Iyās; Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī; al-Maḳrīzī; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi ʾl-Faḍāʾil; al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn; al-Ṣafadī, al-Ḥasan; Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī; al-Shudjāʿī; [in Suppl.] Ḳaraṭāy

other personages Abu ʾl-Fidā; al-ʿAynī; Ibn Djamāʿa; Ibn al-Mundhir; Tankiz

Marwānids (983-1085) **Marwānids**

rulers Naṣr al-Dawla

Mazyadids (ca. 961-1150) **Mazyad**; Ṣadaḳa, Banū

rulers Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr

Mirdāsids (1023-1079) **Mirdās**

see also Asad al-Dawla

Ṭūlūnids (868-905) **Ṭūlūnids**

rulers Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn; Khumārawayh

see also Ibn al-Mudabbir.1

historians of al-Balawī; Ibn al-Dāya

other personages [in Suppl.] al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥmad b. Tūlūn

ʿUḳaylids (ca. 990-1169) **ʿUḳaylids**

rulers Muslim b. Ḳuraysh

Umayyads (661-750) → CALIPHATE

Zangids (1127-1222) **Zangids**

rulers Masʿūd b. Mawdūd b. Zangī; Mawdūd b. ʿImād al-Dīn Zankī; Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh; Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī; Zangī

viziers al-Djawād al-Iṣfahānī

see also Begteginids; Karīm Khān Zand; Luʾluʾ, Badr al-Dīn

historians of Ibn al-Athīr.2

other personages Shīrkūh

Mongols Batuʾids; Čaghatay Khānate; Čingizids; Djānids; Girāy; Īlkhāns; Ḳarā Khiṭāy; **Mongols**; Shībānids

see also Čūbānids; Ḳāzān; Ordu.2; Soyūrghāl; Tīmūrids; [in Suppl.] Āgahī; Dīwān-begi; Djamāl Ḳarshī; Yurtčī; *and* → LAW.MONGOL; MONGOLIA.MONGOLS; ONOMASTICS. TITLES.MONGOLIAN

Batuʾids (1236-1502) **Batuʾids**

see also Saray

rulers Batu; Berke; Mangū-tīmūr; Toḳtamïsh

other personages Masʿūd Beg

Čaghatayids (1227-1370) **Čaghatay Khānate**

rulers Burāḳ Khān; Čaghatay Khān; Tughluḳ Temür

historians of Ḥaydar Mīrzā

Djānids (1598-1785) **Djānids**

rulers Nadhr Muḥammad

see also Bukhārā

Girāy Khāns (ca. 1426-1792) **Girāy**

rulers Dawlat Giray; Ghāzī Girāy I; Ghāzī Girāy II; Ghāzī Girāy III; Ḥādjdjī Girāy; Islām Girāy; Ḳaplan Girāy I; Ḳaplan Girāy II; Meḥmed Girāy I; Mengli Girāy I; Ṣāḥib Girāy Khān I; Selīm Girāy I

see also Ḳalghay; Meḥmed Baghčesarāyī; Meḥmed Girāy; Thābit

Great Khāns (1206-1634) Čingizids

rulers Čingiz Khān; Ḳubilay; Möngke; Ögedey

other personages Ḳaydu; Maḥmūd Yalawač; Ṭārābī, Maḥmūd; Toluy; Töregene Khātūn

Ilkhānids (1256-1353) **Īlkhāns**
see also Ṣadr.2; Tūmān
rulers Baydu; Gaykhātū; Ghāzān; Hūlāgū; Öldjeytü; Tegüder; Togha Temür
viziers Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb; Saʿd al-Dawla
historians of Djuwaynī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī; Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb; Waṣṣāf
other personages Djuwaynī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn; Ḳutlugh-Shāh Noyan
Shaybānids (1500-1598) **Shībānids**
rulers ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar; Abu ʾl-Khayr; Shībānī Khān; [in Suppl.] Iskandar Khān b. Djānī Beg; ʿUbayd Allāh Sulṭān Khān
historians of Abu ʾl-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān; [in Suppl.] Ḥāfiẓ Tanīsh
Persia Afrāsiyābids; Afshār; Aḥmadīlīs; Aḳ Ḳoyunlu; Bādūsbānids; Bāwand; Buwayhids; Djalāyir; Dulafids; Faḍlawayh; Farīghūnids; Ḥasanwayh; Hazāraspids; Ildeñizids; Ilek-Khāns; Ilyāsids; Īndjū; Ḳādjār; Kākūyids; Ḳarā-ḳoyunlu; Ḳārinids; Kāwūs; Khwārazm-shāhs; Ḳutlugh-khānids; Lur-i Buzurg; Lur-i Kūčik; Mangīts; Marʿashīs; Muḥtādjids; Musāfirids; Mushaʿshaʿ; Muẓaffarids; Rawwādids; Sādjids; Ṣafawids; Ṣaffārids; Saldjūḳids; Salghurids; Sāmānids; Sarbadārids; Sāsānids; Shaddādids; Shīrwān Shāh; Ṭāhirids.1; Tīmūrids; Zand; Ziyārids
see also Ardalān; Atabak; ʿAwfī; Čāshna-gīr; Daylam; Dīwān.iv; Djalāyir; Ghulām.ii; Ḥādjib.iii; Ḥarb.v; al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad; Hiba.iv; Ḥiṣār.iii; Īlkhāns; Iran.v; Kayānids; Marāsim.3; Mawākib.3; Pīshdādids; Shāhī; Waḳf.III; Wazīr.II; *and* → LEGENDS.LEGENDARY DYNASTIES; ONOMASTICS.TITLES.PERSIAN
Afshārids (1736-1795) **Afshār**
rulers Nādir Shāh Afshār
see also Takht-i Ṭāwūs
historians of ʿAbd al-Karīm Kashmīrī; Mahdī Khān Astarābādī
Aḳ Ḳoyunlus (1378-1508) **Aḳ Ḳoyunlu**
rulers Uzun Ḥasan
Buwayhids (932-1062) **Buwayhids**
rulers Abū Kālīdjār; ʿAḍud al-Dawla; Bakhtiyār; Djalāl al-Dawla; Fakhr al-Dawla; ʿImād al-Dawla; Khusraw Fīrūz (*and* al-Malik al-Raḥīm); Madjd al-Dawla; Muʾayyid al-Dawla; Muʿizz al-Dawla; Rukn al-Dawla; Ṣamṣām al-Dawla; Shams al-Dawla; Sharaf al-Dawla; Sulṭān al-Dawla; [in Suppl.] Bahāʾ al-Dawla wa-Ḍiyāʾ al-Milla
viziers al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥusayn; Ibn ʿAbbād; Ibn al-ʿAmīd; Ibn Baḳiyya; Ibn Mākūlā.1 *and* 2; al-Muhallabī, Abū Muḥammad; Sābūr b. Ardashīr; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf; Ibn Khalaf.1; Ibn Saʿdān
secretaries Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (*and* Ṣābiʾ.(3).9); Ibn Hindū; Ṣābiʾ.(3).7
historians of Ṣābiʾ.(3).7
other personages al-Basāsīrī; Fasandjus; Ḥasan b. Ustādh-hurmuz; Ibn Ḥādjib al-Nuʿmān; ʿImrān b. Shāhīn; al-Malik al-ʿAzīz; [in Suppl.] Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī
Dābūyids (660-760)
rulers Dābūya
Djalāyirids (1340-1432) **Djalāyir**
rulers Uways
other personages Salmān-i Sāwadjī
Ildeñizids (1137-1225) **Ildeñizids**
rulers Ildeñiz; Özbeg b. Muḥammad Pahlawān; Pahlawān
Ilek-Khāns (992-1211) **Ilek-Khāns**
see also Yaghma
Ḳādjārs (1779-1924) **Ḳādjār**; Mushīr al-Dawla

see also Ḳā'im-maḳām-i Farāhānī; Madjlis al-Shūrā; *and* → IRAN.MODERN PERIOD
rulers Āghā Muḥammad Shāh; Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh; Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh Ḳādjār; Muḥammad Shāh; Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh Ḳādjār; Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh
see also Takht-i Ṭāwūs
other personages ʿAbbās Mīrzā; [in Suppl.] Amīr Niẓām; Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Khān Kalāntar; Mīrzā Shafīʿ Māzandarānī
Khanate of Khīwa Khīwa
rulers Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān
historians Mu'nis; [in Suppl.] Āgahī
Khwārazm-Shāhs (ca. 995-1231) **Khwārazm-shāhs**
rulers Atsïz b. Anūshtigin; Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-shāh; Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad; Tekish
historians of Djuwaynī; al-Nasawī
other personages Burāḳ Ḥādjib; Terken Khātūn
Muẓaffarids (1314-1393) **Muẓaffarids**
rulers Shāh-i Shudjāʿ
historians of Muʿīn al-Dīn Yazdī
Pahlawīs (1926-1979) **Pahlawī**
and → IRAN.MODERN PERIOD
rulers Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī; Riḍā Shāh
Sādjids (ca. 856- ca. 930) **Sādjids**
rulers Abu 'l-Sādj; Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Sādj; Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj Dīwdād
Ṣafawids (1501-1732) Bārūd.v; Īshīk-āḳāsī; Iʿtimād al-Dawla; Ḳūrčī; Libās.iii; **Ṣafawids**
see also Ḥaydar; Ḳïzïl-bāsh; Nuḳṭawiyya; Ṣadr.4; Ṣadr al-Dīn Ardabīlī; Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā; Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī; Soyūrghāl; Takkalū; Tiyūl
rulers ʿAbbās I; Ḥusayn (*and* Sulṭān Ḥusayn); Ismāʿīl I; Ismāʿīl II; Sulaymān (Shāh); Ṭahmāsp
historians of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū; Iskandar Beg; Ḳum(m)ī; Ṭāhir Waḥīd
see also [in Suppl.] Ibn al-Bazzāz al-Ardabīlī
other personages Alḳāṣ Mīrzā; Ḥamza Mīrzā; al-Karakī; Madjlisī
see also [in Suppl.] Lālā; Mihmān; Shāhbandar
Ṣaffārids (867-ca. 1495) **Ṣaffārids**
rulers ʿAmr b. al-Layth; Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth
Saldjūḳs (1038-1194) Amīr Dād; Arslan b. Saldjūḳ; Atabak; **Saldjūḳids**
see also Sarāparda; *and* → DYNASTIES.ANATOLIA AND THE TURKS.SALDJŪḲS OF RŪM
rulers Alp Arslan; Bahrām Shāh; Barkyārūḳ; Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh; Malik-Shāh.1-3; Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh; Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh; Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh; Riḍwān; Sandjar; Ṭoghrïl (II); Ṭoghrïl (III); Tutush (I) b. Alp Arslan
see also Čaghrï-beg; Silāḥdār; Ṭoghrïl; Ṭoghrïl (I) Beg
viziers Anūshirwān b. Khālid; Djahīr; al-Kundurī; Madjd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī; al-Maybudī.3; Niẓām al-Mulk; Rabīb al-Dawla; [in Suppl.] Ibn Dārust
historians of al-Bundārī; ʿImād al-Dīn; Nīshāpūrī; Rāwandī; [in Suppl.] al-Ḥusaynī
other personages Āḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī; Arslan-arghūn; Ayāz; al-Basāsīrī; Būrī-bars; Bursuḳ; Büz-abeh; Ḳāwurd; Khalaf b. Mulāʿib al-Ashhabī; Khāṣṣ Beg; Kurbuḳa; Niẓāmiyya; Terken Khātūn; al-Ṭughrā'ī; [in Suppl.] Ekinči
Salghurids (1148-1270) **Salghurids**
rulers Saʿd (I) b. Zangī
Sāmānids (819-1005) **Sāmānids**
rulers Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad; Ismāʿīl b. Nūḥ; Manṣūr b. Nūḥ; Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl; Nūḥ (I); Nūḥ (II)

viziers Balʿamī; al-Musʿabī; al-ʿUtbī.1 *and* 2; [in Suppl.] al-Djayhānī
historians of Narshakhī
see also al-Sallāmī
other personages Arslan b. Saldjūk; Sīmdjūrids; [in Suppl.] al-Djayhānī
Ṭāhirids (821-873) **Ṭāhirids**.1
rulers ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir; Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir; Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn
historians of Ibn al-Daybaʿ
other personages Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. Ṭāhir)
Tīmūrids (1370-1506) **Tīmūrids**
see also Ṣadr.3; Soyūrghāl; Tūzūk
rulers Abū Saʿīd b. Tīmūr; Bāykarā; Bāysonghor; Ḥusayn; Shāh Rukh; Tīmūr Lang; Ulugh Beg
see also Khān-zāda Bēgum
historians of Ibn ʿArabshāh; Khʷāfī Khān; Shāmī, Niẓām al-Dīn; Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī
other personages Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī; Mīrānshāh b. Tīmūr; ʿUmar-Shaykh Mīrzā
Zands (1750-1794) **Zand**
rulers Karīm Khān Zand; Luṭf ʿAlī Khān
see also Lak
Ziyārids (931-ca. 1090) **Ziyārids**
rulers Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr b. Ziyār; Kay Kāʾūs b. Iskandar; Mardāwīdj; Wushmgīr b. Ziyār
Spain and North Africa ʿAbbādids; ʿAbd al-Wādids; Afṭasids; Aghlabids; ʿAlawīs; ʿĀmirids; ʿAmmār; Dhu ʾl-Nūnids; Djahwarids; Ḥafṣids; Ḥammādids; Ḥammūdids; Hūdids; Ḥusaynids; Idrīsids; (Banū) Khurāsān; Marīnids; Midrār; al-Murābiṭūn; al-Muwaḥḥidūn; Naṣrids; Razīn, Banū; Rustamids; Saʿdids; Ṭāhirids.2; Tudjīb; Umayyads.In Spain; Waṭṭāsids; Zīrids; [in Suppl.] Ṣumādiḥ
see also ʿAlāma; Dīwān.iii; Ḥādjib.ii *and* v; Hiba.iii; Ḥiṣār.ii; al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya; Ḳaramānlī; Khalīfa.i.C *and* D; Laḳab.3; Marāsim.2; Mawākib.2; Parias; Shurafāʾ.1.III; Ṭawīl, Banu; Wazīr.I.4; Ẓahīr; *and* → ANDALUSIA.CONQUEST OF *and* GOVERNORS UNTIL UMAYYAD CONQUEST; CALIPHATE.FĀṬIMIDS
ʿAbbādids (1023-1091) **ʿAbbādids**; Ishbīliya
rulers al-Muʿtaḍid bi ʾllāh; al-Muʿtamid ibn ʿAbbād
see also al-Rundī
viziers Ibn ʿAmmār, Abū Bakr
ʿAbd al-Wādids (1236-1550) **ʿAbd al-Wādids**
rulers Abū Ḥammū I; Abū Ḥammū II; Abū Tāshufīn I; Abū Tāshufīn II; Abū Zayyān I; Abū Zayyān II; Abū Zayyān III; Yaghmurāsan
historians of Ibn Khaldūn, Abū Zakariyyāʾ; al-Tanasī
Afṭasids (1022-1094) **Afṭasids**
rulers al-Mutawakkil ʿalā ʾllāh, Ibn al-Afṭas
secretaries Ibn ʿAbdūn; Ibn Ḳabṭūrnu (*and* [in Suppl.] Ḳabṭūrnuh); Ibn Ḳuzmān.II (*and* [in Suppl.] Ḳuzmān.2)
Aghlabids (800-909) al-ʿAbbāsiyya; **Aghlabids**; Raḳḳāda
rulers Ibrāhīm I; Ibrāhīm II
ʿAlawids (1631-) **ʿAlawīs**; Ḳāʾid; Mawlāy; Shurafāʾ.1.III
rulers ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥasan; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām; Ḥafīẓ (ʿAbd al-); (Mawlāy) al-Ḥasan; Mawlāy Ismāʿīl; Muḥammad III b. ʿAbd Allāh; Muḥammad IV b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (Muḥammad V); al-Rashīd (Mawlāy); Sulaymān (Mawlāy); [in Suppl.] Muḥammad b. ʿArafa; Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan

viziers Akanṣūs; Ibn Idrīs (I); [in Suppl.] Bā Ḥmād; Ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī
historians of Akanṣūs; Ibn Zaydān; al-Kardūdī; al-Zayyānī
other personages Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī (*and* al-Nāṣir al-Salāwī); Ibn Idrīs (II); Khunātha
Almohads (1130-1269) Hargha; al-ʿIḳāb; Mizwār; **al-Muwaḥḥidūn**
see also Tinmal; Ẓahīr
rulers ʿAbd al-Muʾmin; Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf; Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr; Ibn Tūmart; al-Maʾmūn; al-Nāṣir
historians of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī; al-Baydhaḳ; Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt
see also al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya
other personages [in Suppl.] Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān
see also Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Hintātī; Ibn Mardanīsh
Almoravids (1056-1147) Amīr al-Muslimīn; **al-Murābiṭūn**
see also al-Zallāḳa
rulers ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn; al-Lamtūnī; Tāshufīn b. ʿAlī; Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn
secretaries Ibn ʿAbdūn
historians of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī
see also al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya
other personages Ibn Bādjdja; Ibn Ḳasī
ʿĀmirids (1021-1096) **ʿĀmirids**
rulers ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī ʿĀmir; al-Muẓaffar
viziers Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ
other personages ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿĀmir
Djahwarids (1030-1070) **Djahwarids**
other personages (al-)Ḥakam ibn ʿUk(k)āsha; Ibn ʿAbdūs
Ḥafṣids (1228-1574) **Ḥafṣids**
secretaries Ḥāzim
historians of al-Ḥādjdj Ḥammūda
other personages Ibn ʿArafa
Ḥammādids (972-1152) **Ḥammādids**
rulers Bādīs; al-Manṣūr; al-Nāṣir
see also Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād
Ḥammūdids (1010-1057) **Ḥammūdids**
viziers Ibn Dhakwān
Hūdids (1039-1142) **Hūdids**
rulers al-Muʾtamin
Ḥusaynids (1705-1957) **Ḥusaynids**
rulers Aḥmad Bey; al-Ḥusayn (b. ʿAlī); Muḥammad Bey; Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ Bey
ministers Khayr al-Dīn Pasha; Muṣṭafā Khaznadār
Idrīsids (789-926) **Idrīsids**
rulers Idrīs I; Idrīs II
Marīnids (1196-1465) **Marīnids**
rulers Abu ʾl-Ḥasan; Abū ʿInān Fāris
Naṣrids (1230-1492) **Naṣrids**
viziers Ibn al-Khaṭīb
other personages [in Suppl.] Ibn al-Sarrādj; al-Nubāhī
Rustamids (777-909) **Rustamids**
historians of Ibn al-Ṣaghīr
Saʿdids (1511-1659) **Saʿdids**; Shurafāʾ.1.III
rulers ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib; Aḥmad al-Manṣūr; Mawlāy Maḥammad al-Shaykh

see also Mawlāy
viziers Ibn ʿĪsā
historians of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad; al-Ifrānī
other personages al-Tamgrūtī; [in Suppl.] Abū Maḥallī
Ṭāhirids (11th-12th centuries) **Ṭāhirids**.2
Tudjībids (1019-1039) **Tudjīb**
rulers Maʿn b. Muḥammad; al-Muʿtaṣim
ʿUbaydids
historians of Ibn Ḥamādu
Umayyads (756-1031) **Umayyads.In Spain**
amīrs and caliphs ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; al-Ḥakam I; al-Ḥakam II; Hishām I; Hishām II; Hishām III; al-Mahdī; al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad
see also Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ; Muʿāwiya b. Hishām; Rabaḍ; al-Ruṣāfa.4; al-Walīd b. Hishām; [in Suppl.] Bubashtru; Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam al-Mustaʿīn
viziers Ibn ʿAlḳama.2; Ibn Shuhayd
see also Wazīr.I.4
secretaries ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Kātib al-Ḳurṭubī; Ibn Burd.I
other personages ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān; Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Malik; Ḥasdāy b. Shaprūṭ; Ibn ʿAlḳama.1; Ibn Dhakwān; Ibn al-Ḥannāṭ; Ibn Ḳasī; Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ; al-Manṣūr; Rabīʿ b. Zayd; Ṣaḳāliba.3; Ṣubḥ; ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn; Ziryāb; [in Suppl.] Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya
Zīrids (972-1152) **Zīrids**.1
rulers Buluggīn b. Zīrī; al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs; Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz
historians of Umayya, Abu ʾl-Ṣalt
other personages Ibn Abi ʾl-Ridjāl
see also Ḳurhub
Zīrids of Granada (1012-1090) **Zīrids**.2
rulers ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn; Zāwī b. Zīrī

E

EARTHQUAKES **Zalzala**
for accounts of earthquakes, see also Aghrï Dagh; Amasya; Anṭākiya; ʿAshkābād; Čankïrï; Cilicia; Daybul; Djidjelli; Erzindjan; Ḥarra; Ḥulwān; Istanbul.VI.f; Ḳalhāt; Kāṅgṛā; Ḳazwīn; Kilāt; Nīshāpūr; al-Ramla

ECONOMICS Bayʿ; Kasb; Māl, Tadbīr.1; Taʾmīm
see also Muḍāraba; Taʿāwun; Tidjāra.3; *and* → FINANCE

EDUCATION **Maʿārif**; **Tadrīs**; Tarbiya
see also ʿArabiyya.B.IV; Idjāza
educational reform → REFORM
institutions of learning Dār al-Ḥadīth; Djāmiʿa; Köy Enstitüleri; Kuttāb; Madrasa; Maktab; Pesantren
see also Kulliyya; Ṣadr.(c); Samāʿ.2; Shaykh; Ustādh; *and* → EDUCATION.LIBRARIES
individual establishments al-Azhar; Bayt al-Ḥikma; Dār al-Ḥikma; Dār al-ʿUlūm; Ghalaṭa-sarāyï; Ḥarbiye; al-Ḳarawiyyīn.ii; al-Khaldūniyya; Makhredj; Mulkiyya; al-Ṣādiḳiyya; Zaytūna; [in Suppl.] Institut des hautes études marocaines; Institut des hautes études de Tunis; Jamia Millia Islamia; Ṭibbiyye-i ʿAdliyye-i Shāhāne

see also Aligarh; Deoband; Filāḥa.iii; al-Ḳāhira; Lakhnaw; al-Madīna.ii; Makka.3; Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ; al-Mustanṣir (I); Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Bārī; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb; Farangī Maḥall
learned societies and academies Andjuman; Djamʿiyya; Djemʿiyyet-i ʿIlmiyye-i ʿOthmāniyye; Institut d'Égypte; Khalḳevi; Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī
libraries Dār al-ʿIlm; **Maktaba**
see also ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak; Khāzin; al-Madīna.ii
collections ʿAlī Amīrī (*and* [in Suppl.] ʿAlī Emīrī); Esʿad Efendi, Meḥmed; Khudā Bakhsh; al-Ṭūr.1; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb
see also Geniza; *and* → LITERATURE.BIBLIOGRAPHICAL
librarians Ibn al-Fuwaṭī; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī; Ibn al-Sāʿī; al-Kattānī
treatises on
medieval al-Zarnūdjī
modern-day Ergin, Osman; [in Suppl.] Tonguç

EGYPT al-Ḳāhira (*and* [in Suppl.] Miṣr.C.2.vi); Ḳibṭ; **Miṣr**; Nūba; al-Ṣaʿīd
see also al-ʿArab.iv; al-Fusṭāṭ; *and* → CHRISTIANITY.DENOMINATIONS.COPTS; DYNASTIES.EGYPT AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT; MUSIC.REGIONAL; NUBIA
administration Dār al-Maḥfūẓāt al-ʿUmūmiyya; Dīwān.ii; Ḳabāla; Kharādj.I; Rawk
see also Miṣr.D.1.b; Waḳf.II.1; *and* → CALIPHATE.ʿABBĀSIDS *and* FĀṬIMIDS; DYNASTIES.EGYPT AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT.MAMLUKS; OTTOMAN EMPIRE.ADMINISTRATION
architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS
before Islam Firʿawn; Manf; Miṣr.D.1; Nūba.2; Saḳḳāra; [in Suppl.] Abū Sinbil
see also al-Uḳṣur
dynasties ʿAbbāsids; Ayyūbids; Fāṭimids; Mamlūks; Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha; Ṭūlūnids
and → DYNASTIES.EGYPT AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT
education al-Azhar; Dār al-ʿUlūm; Djāmiʿa; Institut d'Égypte; Maʿārif.1.ii; Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī.i.2.b; Rifāʿa Bey al-Ṭahṭāwī
see also ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak
historians of Abu 'l-Maḥāsin b. Taghrībirdī; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak; al-Bakrī.2; al-Balawī; al-Damurdāshī; al-Djabartī; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam.4; Ibn Duḳmāḳ; Ibn Iyās; Ibn Muyassar; al-Kindī, Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad; al-Maḳrīzī; al-Nuwayrī, Muḥammad; Rifāʿa Bey al-Ṭahṭāwī; al-Ṣafadī, al-Ḥasan; Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh; al-Suyūṭī; al-Waṣīfī; Zaydān, Djurdjī
see also [in Suppl.] Taʾrīkh.II.1.(c); *and* → DYNASTIES.EGYPT AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT
modern period Ḍarība.4; Djarīda.i.A; Dustūr.iii; Ḥizb.i; Ḥukūma.iii; al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn; Iltizām; Imtiyāzāt.iv; Madjlis.4.A.xvi; Maḥkama.4.i; Miṣr.D.7 (*and* [in Suppl.] Miṣr.D.8 *and* D.9); Salafiyya.2(a); Ṣiḥāfa.1.(i); al-Takfīr wa 'l-Hidjra; Wafd; [in Suppl.] Niẓām ʿAskarī.1.(a)
see also Baladiyya.2; al-Bannāʾ; Madjlis al-Shūrā; Waṭaniyya
belletrists
poets al-Bārūdī; Fikrī; Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm; Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī; Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī Pasha; al-Manfalūṭī; al-Māzinī; Nādjī; Nadjīb al-Ḥaddād; Nadjīb Muḥammad Surūr; Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr; al-Sharḳāwī; Shawḳī; Shukrī; Ṭāhā, ʿAlī Maḥmūd; [in Suppl.] Abū Shādī; al-ʿAḳḳād
writers of prose Aḥmad Amīn; Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm; Maḥmūd Taymūr; al-Manfalūṭī; al-Māzinī; Muḥammad Husayn Haykal; al-Muwayliḥī; Salāma Mūsā; al-Sharḳāwī; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn; Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm; Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī; [in Suppl.] Abū Shādī; al-ʿAḳḳād; Lāshīn

see also Faraḥ Anṭūn; Mayy Ziyāda; Muḥammad Bey ʿUthmān Djalāl (*and* [in Suppl.] Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl); *and* → LITERATURE.DRAMA.ARABIC *and* HISTORICAL.ARABIC; PRESS

influential persons Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī; al-Marṣafī; Muḥammad ʿAbduh; Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha; al-Muwayliḥī.1; Rifāʿa Bey al-Ṭahṭāwī; Salāma Mūsā; al-Sanhūrī, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ; Sayyid Ḳuṭb; Shākir, Aḥmad Muḥammad; Shaltūt, Maḥmūd; al-Subkiyyūn; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn; Umm Kulthūm; [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-ʿAzāʾim; al-ʿAdawī; al-Bakrī; al-Biblāwī; Djawharī, Ṭanṭāwī; al-ʿIdwī al-Ḥamzāwī; ʿIllaysh

see also Rashīd Riḍā; *and* → *the section Statesmen below*

Muḥammad ʿAlī's line ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I; ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II; Fuʾād al-Awwal; Ḥusayn Kāmil; Ibrāhīm Pasha; Ismāʿīl Pasha; Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha; Saʿīd Pasha; Tawfīḳ Pasha; [in Suppl.] Bakhīt al-Muṭīʿī al-Ḥanafī; Fārūḳ

see also ʿAzīz Miṣr; Khidīw; ʿUmar Makram; [in Suppl.] Dāʾira Saniyya; Ibʿādiyya

statesmen ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak; al-Bārūdī; Fikrī; Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī Pasha; Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī; Luṭfī al-Sayyid; Muḥammad Farīd Bey; Muḥammad Nadjīb; al-Naḥḥās; Nūbār Pasha; Saʿd Zaghlūl; al-Sādāt; Sharīf Pasha; ʿUrābī Pasha; Yakan, ʿAdlī; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Nāṣir; Māhir, ʿAlī

see also Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha

mystic orders Marwāniyya; Rifāʿiyya; Taṣawwuf.4; [in Suppl.] al-ʿAfīfī; Demirdāshiyya; Shaʿrāniyya

see also Bakriyya; Khalwatiyya; Zār.2; *and* → MYSTICISM

Ottoman period (1517-1798) Dhu ʾl-Faḳāriyya; Ḳāsimiyya; Ḳāzdughliyya; Miṣr.D.6; Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha; Shaykh al-Balad

see also Ḥurriyya.ii

beys ʿAlī Bey; Muḥammad Abu ʾl-Dhahab (*and* [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-Dhahab)

physical geography

mountains al-Ṭūr.1

oases al-Wāḥāt

waters Burullus; al-Nīl; Timsāḥ, Lake

see also Miḳyās; Rawḍa; al-Suways

population ʿAbābda; Ḳibṭ

see also [in Suppl.] Demography.IV; *and* → CHRISTIANITY.DENOMINATIONS.COPTS

toponyms

ancient Adfū; Bābalyūn; al-Bahnasā; Burullus; Dabīḳ; al-Ḳulzum; Manf; Shaṭā; Tinnīs

see also al-Sharḳiyya

present-day

regions Buḥayra; al-Fayyūm; al-Gharbiyya; Girgā; al-Sharḳiyya; Sīnāʾ

see also al-Ṣaʿīd

towns ʿAbbāsa; Abūḳīr; Akhmīm; al-ʿAllāḳī; al-ʿArīsh; Asyūṭ; Aṭfīḥ; ʿAyn Shams; Banhā; Banī Suwayf; Bilbays; Būlāḳ; Būṣīr; Dahshūr; Daḳahliyya; Damanhūr; Dimyāṭ; al-Farāfra; al-Fusṭāṭ; Girgā; Ḥulwān; al-Iskandariyya; Ismāʿīliyya; Isna; al-Ḳāhira (*and* [in Suppl.] Miṣr.C.2.vi); Ḳalyūb; Ḳanṭara.3; Ḳifṭ; Ḳunā; Ḳūṣ; Ḳuṣayr; al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā; al-Manṣūra; Manūf; Port Saʿīd; Rafaḥ; Rashīd; Saḳḳāra; Samannūd; Sīwa.1; al-Suways; al-Tall al-Kabīr; Ṭanṭā; al-Uḳṣur; al-Ushmūnayn; Uswān; al-Zaḳāzīḳ; [in Suppl.] Abū Zaʿbal

see also al-Muḳaṭṭam; Rawḍa

EMANCIPATION Ḥurriyya

for manumission → SLAVERY; *for women* → WOMEN

EMIGRATION Djāliya; **Hidjra**
see also al-Mahdjar; Muhādjir; al-Muhādjirūn; Pārsīs; Ṣiḥāfa.3; *and* → NEW WORLD

EPIGRAPHY **Kitābāt**
see also Eldem, Khalīl Edhem; Ḥisāb al-Djummal; Khaṭṭ; Musnad.1; Ṭirāz.3
sites of inscriptions Lībiyā.2; Liḥyān; Orkhon; al-Sawdā'; Ṣiḳilliya.4; Ṣirwāḥ.1; Ẓafār
see also Ḥaḍramawt; Saba'; Ṣafaitic; Thamudic; [in Suppl.] Ḳaḥṭānite

ESCHATOLOGY 'Adhāb al-Ḳabr; Ākhira; al-A'rāf; Barzakh; Ba'th; Djahannam; Djanna; Djazā'; Dunyā; Ḥawḍ; Ḥisāb; Isrāfīl; 'Izrā'īl; Ḳiyāma; Ma'ād; al-Mahdī; Mawḳif.2; Munkar wa-Nakīr; Sā'a.3; Zaḳḳūm
see also Ḳayyim; Shafā'a; Shaḳāwa; Yawm; al-Zabāniyya; *and* → DEATH; PARADISE
hereafter Adjr.1; **Ākhira**
see also Dunyā
signs 'Aṣā; Dābba; al-Dadjdjāl; Yādjūdj wa-Mādjūdj
see also Ba'th; Sā'a.3

ETERNITY **Abad**; Ḳidam

ETHICS Adab; **Akhlāḳ**; Ḥisba
see also Ḥurriyya; al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-Masāwī; Miskawayh; Taḥsīn wa-Taḳbīḥ; Tanẓīm al-Nasl; Ẓarīf; *and* → VIRTUES AND VICES

ETHIOPIA Adal; Aḥmad Grāñ; Awfāt; Bāli; Dawāro; Djabart; Djimmā; **Ḥabash**; Ḥabashat
see also Ḥabesh; Kūsh; Shaykh Ḥusayn; Zār.1; *and* → AFRICA.EAST AFRICA; LANGUAGES.AFRO-ASIATIC; YEMEN.TOPONYMS
historians of 'Arabfaḳih
population 'Āmir; Diglal; Djabart; Galla; Māryā; Oromo; Rashā'ida
toponyms Assab; Dahlak; Dire Dawa; Eritrea; Harar; Maṣawwa'; Ogādēn

ETHNICITY Maghāriba; Mashāriḳa; Sārt
see also Fatā; Ibn Gharsiya; Ismā'īl b. Yasār; Mawlā; Saracens

ETIQUETTE **Adab**
see also Ā'īn; Hiba; *and* → CUISINE.TABLE MANNERS; LITERATURE.ETIQUETTE-LITERATURE

EUNUCH **Khāṣī**
see also Khādim; Mamlūk.3; Ustādh.1

EUROPE
for imitation of, see Tafarnudj; *for translations from European works* → LITERATURE.TRANSLATIONS
Eastern Europe Arnawutluḳ; Balkan; Bulgaria; Iḳrīṭish; Ḳubrus; Leh; Madjar; Yugoslavia; [in Suppl.] Čeh
see also Bulghār; Ḥizb.v; Ibrāhīm b. Ya'ḳūb; Muhādjir.2; Muslimūn.1; Rūmeli; al-Ṣaḳāliba
for individual countries → ALBANIA; BULGARIA; CRETE; CYPRUS; (former) CZECHOSLOVAKIA; GREECE; HUNGARY; POLAND; (former) YUGOSLAVIA; *the section Russia below*; *and* → BALKANS
waters Itil; Ṭuna; Wardar; Yayïḳ
Russia Budjāḳ; Ḳïrïm

see also Bulghār; Djadīd; Ḥizb.v; Ḳayyūm Nāṣirī; al-Ṭanṭāwī; [in Suppl.] al-Ḳabḳ.3
dynasties Girāy
Muslim Communists [in Suppl.] Sulṭān ʿAlī Ūghlī
population Bashdjirt; Besermyans; Beskesek-abaza; Bukhārlïk; Burṭās; Čeremiss; Čulïm; Čuwash; Gagauz; Ḳarapapakh; Lipḳa; Rūs; Teptyar
see also Ḳanghli; Khazar; Kimäk; Pečenegs; al-Ṣaḳāliba
toponyms
ancient Atil; Saḳsīn
present-day Aḳ Kirmān; Aḳ Masdjid.1; Azaḳ; Bāghče Sarāy; Ismāʿīl; Ḳamāniča; Ḳaraṣū-bāzār; Ḳāsimov; Ḳāzān; Kefe; Kerč; Khotin; Ḳïlburun; Sughdāḳ; Tümen
see also Yeñi Ḳalʿe
Western Europe al-Bashkunish; Burtuḳāl; Ifrandj; Īṭaliya; Malta; Nemče; Sardāniya
see also Ibn Idrīs (II); Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb; al-Madjūs; Muslimūn.2
for individual countries → AUSTRIA; FRANCE; ITALY; PORTUGAL; SPAIN; *and* → BASQUES
Arabic press in **Ṣiḥāfa**.3
Arabic printing in [in Suppl.] **Maṭbaʿa**.6
waters Ṭuna

EVIL EYE **ʿAyn**, Tamīma
see also Karkaddan; *and* → CHARMS; ISLAM.POPULAR BELIEFS

F

FAITH ʿAḳīda; **Īmān**; [in Suppl.] Taḳwā
and → ISLAM; RELIGION

FALCONRY **Bayzara**; Čakïrdjï-bashï; Doghandjï
see also Ṭoghrïl

FASTING ʿĀshūrāʾ; Ramaḍān; **Ṣawm**
see also ʿĪd al-Fiṭr; Ṣūfiyāna; [in Suppl.] Puasa
prayer during Ramaḍān **Tarāwīḥ**

FĀṬIMIDS → CALIPHATE

FESTIVAL **ʿĪd**; Kandūrī; Mawlid (*and* [in Suppl.]); Mawsim; Shenlik
see also Maṭbakh.2
festivals ʿAnṣāra; ʿĀshūrāʾ.II; Bārā Wafāt; ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā; ʿĪd al-Fiṭr; Khiḍr-ilyās; Mihragān; Nawrūz; Sulṭān al-Ṭalaba (*and* Ṭalaba)
see also Ghadīr Khumm; Kurds.iv.C.3; Lālish; Lĕbaran; Raʾs al-ʿĀm; Walī.9
literature on Wehbī Sayyidī

FINANCE Ribā
and → ADMINISTRATION.FINANCIAL; LAW.LAW OF OBLIGATIONS; PAYMENTS; TAXATION
accounting Muḥāsaba.2; Mustawfī
see also Daftar; *and* → ADMINISTRATION.FINANCIAL
banking Ḳirāḍ; Muḍāraba; Ribā; Suftadja; [in Suppl.] Ṣarrāf
see also Djahbadh; Sharika
commerce Bayʿ; Imtiyāzāt; Kasb; Ḳirāḍ; Shirāʾ; **Tidjāra**
see also Inshāʾ; *and* → INDUSTRY; LAW.LAW OF OBLIGATIONS

functions Dallāl; Malik al-Tudjdjār; Shāh Bandar (*and* [in Suppl.] Shāhbandar); Tādjir; [in Suppl.] Ṣarrāf
see also Tardjumān
marketplace Ḥisba; Sūḳ
see also [in Suppl.] al-Sunāmī
trade Ḳahwa; Kārimī; Ḳuṭn; Lubān; Ṭīn.3
see also Kalah; Kārwān; Ḳaysariyya; Kirmān; Mīnā'; Ṣafawids.II; Szechuan; Tashāza; Tammār; ʿUkāẓ; Wenedik
institutions
Arabic Bayt al-Māl; Makhzan
Turkish Khazīne; Māliyya
partnerships Mufāwaḍa; Mushāraka; Sharika
terms ʿĀriyya; Bayʿ; Ḍamān; Ghārim; Ḥawāla; Hiba; Kafāla; Ḳirāḍ; Muḍāraba; Mufāwaḍa; Muḳāṭaʿa; Mukhāṭara; Mushāraka; Ribā; Suftadja; [in Suppl.] Dayn; Ṣakk
and → LAW.LAW OF OBLIGATIONS

FLORA (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab.v; Būstān; Filāḥa; Hind.i.k
and → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS.GARDENS; BOTANY; LITERATURE.POETRY.NATURE
flowers Nardjis; Shaḳīḳat al-Nuʿmān; Sūsan; Ward; [in Suppl.] Bābūnadj; Djullanār
see also Filāḥa.iv; Lāle Devri; Lālezarī; Nawriyya; [in Suppl.] Mā' al-Ward; *and* → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS.GARDENS; LITERATURE.POETRY.NATURE
plants Adhargūn; Afsantīn; Afyūn; Ḥalfā'; Ḥinnā'; Kammūn; Ḳaranful; Karm; Ḳaṣab; Naʿām; **Nabāt**; Ṣabr; Shībithth; Shīḥ; Shukāʿā; Sidr; Simsim; Sirādj al-Ḳuṭrub (*and* Yabrūḥ); Sūs; Turundjān; Wars; Yāsamīn; Zaʿfarān; [in Suppl.] Aḳūnīṭun; Ās; Bābūnadj; Basbās; Djāwars; Fūdhandj; Hindibā'; Iklīl al-Malik
see also Maryam; Naḥl; Namir and Nimr; Nasr; Ṣamgh; Sinnawr; Sirwāl; Timsāḥ; *and* → DRUGS.NARCOTICS
trees Abanūs; ʿAfṣ; Argan; Baḳḳam; Bān; Nakhl; Sādj; Ṣandal; Sidr; Tīn; Tūt; ʿUnnāba; Zaytūn.2; [in Suppl.] Djawz; Djullanār
see also ʿAyn Shams; Ghāba; Kāfūr; Kahrubā; Ḳaṭrān; Lubān; Ṣamgh; Thaʿlab; [in Suppl.] Halīladj
woods Abanūs; Baḳḳam; **Khashab**; Ṣandal; ʿŪd.I
see also Lamu; *and* → *the section Trees above*; NAVIGATION.SHIPS *and* SHIPYARDS

FOLKLORE [in Suppl.] **Taḳālīd**
and → CHARMS; CUSTOM; DIVINATION; HUMOUR; LEGENDS; LITERATURE.FOLKLORIC

FRANCE Arbūna; Fraxinetum
see also Balāṭ al-Shuhadā'; Muslimūn.2; Rifāʿa Bey al-Ṭahṭāwī; Ṣāyigh, Fatḥ Allāh; al-Shām.2(b)

FRANKS **Ifrandj**
and → CRUSADE(R)S

FURNISHINGS Mafrūshāt; Sirādj; [in Suppl.] **Athāth**
see also [in Suppl.] Martaba

G

GAMBLING **Ḳimār**; al-Maysir

and → ANIMALS.SPORT; RECREATION.GAMES

GENEALOGY **Ḥasab wa-Nasab**; **Nasab**; Sharīf; Shurafāʾ
see also ʿIrḳ; Naḳīb al-Ashrāf; Sharaf; *and* → LITERATURE.GENEALOGICAL; ONOMASTICS

GEOGRAPHY **Djughrāfiyā**; Iḳlīm; Istiwāʾ; Kharīṭa; al-Ḳubba; Takhṭīṭ al-Ḥudūd
see also Maghrib; Makka.4; Mashriḳ
for the geography of individual areas, see Adamawa; Ādharbaydjān.i; Afghānistān.i; Aḳ Ṣu; Algeria.i; Anadolu.ii; al-Andalus.ii *and* iii.2; (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab.ii; Armīniya; Arnawutluḳ.3; ʿAsīr; Baḥr; Djazīra; Filāḥa; Ḥammāda; Indonesia; ʿIrāḳ; Iran; Lībiyā; al-Maghrib; Māzandarān.2; Mūrītāniyā.1; Nadjd.1; Niger.1; Pākistān; Senegal.1; al-Shām.1; Sīstān.2; Somali.2; Tunisia.I.a; ʿUmān.1; al-Yaman.2; Zāb.1; [in Suppl.] Ḳazaḳstān.1; Rādjasthān.1
administrative Kūra; Mamlaka; Mikhlāf; Rustāḳ.1; Shahr; Ṣūba; Ṭassūdj; Ustān
see also Djund; Iḳlīm; Wālī
geographers Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ; Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī; ʿĀshîḳ; al-Balkhī, Abū Zayd; al-Dimashḳī; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī; Ibn al-Faḳīh; Ibn Ghālib; Ibn Ḥawḳal; Ibn Khurradādhbih; Ibn Mādjid; Ibn Rusta; Ibn Sarābiyūn; al-Idrīsī; al-Iṣṭakhrī; al-Ḳazwīnī; al-Masʿūdī; al-Muhallabī, Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn; al-Muḳaddasī; al-ʿUdhrī; al-Warrāḳ, Muḥammad; Yāḳūt al-Rūmī; al-Zuhrī, Muḥammad
see also Baṭlamiyūs; Istibṣār; Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh; al-Masālik wa ʾl-Mamālik; al-Sarakhsī, Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās; [in Suppl.] al-Djayhānī; Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam
literature Djughrāfiyā.IV.c *and* V; Ṣurat al-Arḍ
see also Tūrān; *and* → LITERATURE.TRAVEL-LITERATURE
physical geography
deserts → DESERTS
mountains → MOUNTAINS
oases **Wāḥa**
salt flats **Sabkha**
see also Azalay; Milḥ; Shaṭṭ; *for regional salt flats* → ALGERIA; OMAN
springs ʿAyn Dilfa; ʿAyn Mūsā; al-Ḥamma; Ḥasan Abdāl
see also Ḳaplîdja
volcanoes *see* ʿAdan; Aghrî Dagh; Damāwand; Ḥarra; Ladjāʾ; al-Ṣafā.2; [in Suppl.] Djabal Says
wadis **Wādī**
waters
lakes Baikal; Bakhtigān; Balkhash; Burullus; Gökče-tengiz; Hāmūn; al-Ḥūla; Íssîk-kul; Ḳarā-köl; Timsāḥ, Lake; Tuz Gölü; Urmiya.1; al-ʿUtayba; Wān.1; Zirih
see also Buḥayra; al-Ḳulzum; *and* → OCEANS AND SEAS
oceans and seas → OCEANS AND SEAS
rivers → RIVERS
straits Bāb al-Mandab; Boghaz-iči; Čanaḳ-kalʿe Boghazî
terms Ḥarra; Khabrāʾ; Nahr; Reg; Rīf; Sabkha; Shaṭṭ
see also Ṣanf; Sarḥadd; Wālī
urban Ḳarya; Ḳaṣaba; Khiṭṭa; Maḥalle; Medina; Rabaḍ; Shahr; Shahristān
see also Fener; Ḥayy; Khiṭaṭ; Mallāḥ; Shāriʿ; *and* → ARCHITECTURE.URBAN; SEDENTARISM; *and in particular the larger cities in the section Toponyms under each country*

GIFTS **Hiba**; Ṣila.3
see also Bakhshīsh; Nithār; Pīshkash; Rashwa; *and* → PAYMENTS

GREECE Yūnān
see also Muhādjir.2; Muslimūn.1.B.3; Pomaks
Greek authors in Arabic translation → LITERATURE.TRANSLATIONS; PHILOSOPHY.PHILOSOPHERS
toponyms
districts Karlî-ili
islands Čoka Adasî; Eğriboz; Körfüz; Levkas; Limni; Midilli; Nakshe; On Iki Ada; Para; Rodos; Şakîz; Santurin Adasî; Semedirek; Sheytānlîk; Shire; Sisām; Tashoz; Zaklise; [in Suppl.] Yedi Adalar
see also Djazā'ir-i Baḥr-i Safīd
regions Mora, Tesalya
towns Atina; Aynabakhtî; Baliabadra; Dede Aghač; Dimetoka; Karaferye; Kawāla; Kerbenesh; Kesriye; Kordos; Koron; Livadya; Menekshe; Modon; Nauplion; Navarino; Olendirek; Preveze; Selānīk; Siroz; Tirḥāla; Wodina; Yanya; Yeñi Shehir; [in Suppl.] Kuluz; Mezistre
see also [in Suppl.] Gümüldjine

GUILDS **Şinf**
Arabic Amīn; ʿArīf; Futuwwa.ii *and* iii; Ḥammāl; Ḥarfūsh; Khātam; Khayyāṭ; **Şinf**.1
see also Shadd; Shaykh; Sirwāl
Persian **Şinf**.2
see also Ustādh.2
Turkish Akhī; Akhī Baba; Anadolu.iii.6; Ḥarīr.ii; Ketkhudā.ii; **Şinf**.3; [in Suppl.] Ikhtiyāriyya; Inḥiṣār
see also Akhī Ewrān; ʿĀlima; Čāʾūsh; Kannās; Mawākib.4.4; Muhr.1

GUINEA Fūta Djallon; **Guinea**; Konakry
see also Sūdān (Bilād al-).2

GYPSIES **Čingāne**; **Lūlī**; Nūrī
see also al-Zuṭṭ

H

HADITH → LITERATURE.TRADITION-LITERATURE

HAGIOGRAPHY **Manāḳib**
see also Walī; *and* → SAINTHOOD
hagiographers Aflākī; ʿAṭāʾī; al-Bādisī.2; "Djamālī"; Ḥasan Dihlawī; Ibn ʿAskar; Ibn Maryam; al-Ifrānī; al-Ḳādirī al-Ḥasanī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; al-Sharrāṭ; al-Sulamī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān
see also Aḥmad Bābā; Bāḳîkhānlî; al-Kattānī; Sinān Pasha, Khodja.1

HELL Aṣḥāb al-Ukhdūd; **Djahannam**; Saʿīr; Saḳar; Ṣirāṭ; Zaḳḳūm
see also al-Aʿrāf; Shayṭān.1; al-Waʿd wa 'l-Waʿīd; al-Zabāniyya

HEPHTHALITES Hayāṭila; Nīzak, Ṭarkhān

HERALDRY al-Asad; Rank

HERESY Bid'a; Dahriyya; Dīn-i Ilāhī; Ghulāt; Ḳābiḍ; Kāfir; Khūbmesīḥīs; Mulḥid; Zindīḳ
see also al-Ṣalīb; Takfīr; Tanāsukh; and → RELIGION.DUALISM and PANTHEISM
heretics Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāḳ; Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī; Bashshār b. Burd; Bishr b. Ghiyāth al-Marīsī; Ibn Dirham; Ibn al-Rawandī; Mollā Ḳābiḍ; Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shalmaghānī
see also Thābit Ḳuṭna; Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb; *and* → SECTS
refutations of Ibn al-Djawzī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān; [in Suppl.] Afḍal al-Dīn Turka

HISTORY → LITERATURE.HISTORICAL
for the chronological history of dynastic events → CALIPHATE; DYNASTIES; *for the history of early Islam* → CALIPHATE.RIGHTLY-GUIDED CALIPHS; LAW.EARLY RELIGIOUS LAW; MILITARY.BATTLES.622-632 *and* 633-660; MUḤAMMAD, THE PROPHET; *for the history of regions, towns and other topographical sites, see the section Toponyms under individual countries; for the history of ideas* → *e.g.* ASTRONOMY; LAW; LINGUISTICS; MATHEMATICS; PHILOSOPHY; THEOLOGY

HOSTELRY **Funduḳ**; **Khān**; Manzil; [in Suppl.] Mihmān
see also Ribāṭ.1.b

HUMOUR al-Djidd wa 'l-Hazl; Nādira
see also Hidjā'.ii; Mudjūn
comic figures Djuḥā; Ibn al-Djaṣṣāṣ.II; Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja
humourists Ash'ab; al-Ghāḍirī; Ibn Abī 'Atīḳ; Ibn Dāniyāl; Ḳaṣāb, Teodor; Sīfawayh al-Ḳāṣṣ; [in Suppl.] Abu 'l-'Anbas al-Ṣaymarī

HUNGARY Budīn; Eğri; Esztergom; Istolnī (Istōnī) Belghrād; **Madjar**; Mohács; Pécs; Pest; Sigetwār; Szeged; Székesfehérvár; [in Suppl.] Köszeg
see also Bashdjirt; Kanizsa; Maḥmūd Tardjumān; Mezőkeresztes; Muslimūn.1.B.1; Ofen

HUNTING **Ṣayd**
see also Kurds.iv.C.5; Samak; Shikārī; Zaghardji Bashi; [in Suppl.] Segbān; *and* → ANIMALS; FALCONRY
poetry **Ṭardiyya**
see also Radjaz
treatises on Kushādjim; [in Suppl.] Ibn Manglī
see also al-Shamardal
wild animals Fahd; Khinzīr; Mahāt; Na'ām; Namir and Nimr; Salūḳī; [in Suppl.] Ḍabu'

HYDROLOGY Bi'r; Ḳanāt; Mā'; Ma'ṣir; Ṭāḥūn
see also Filāḥa; Ḳanṭara.5 *and* 6; Madjrīṭ; al-Mīzān.2; Sā'a.1; *and* → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS.DAMS; GEOGRAPHY.WATERS

I

IDOLATRY Shirk; **Wathaniyya**
idols Nuṣub; **Ṣanam**; Ṭāghūt.1; al-Uḳayṣir
see also Shaman; Zūn; *and* → PRE-ISLAM.IN ARABIAN PENINSULA

ILLNESS Madjnūn; Malārya; Ramad; Saraṭān.7; [in Suppl.] Djudhām
see also Kalb; Ḳuṭrub; Summ; *and* → PLAGUE
treatises on Ḥayātī-zāde; Ibn Buṭlān; Ibn Djazla

see also [in Suppl.] ʿUḳalāʾ al-Madjānīn; *and* → MEDICINE

INDIA **Hind**; Hindī
see also ʿĀda.iii; Balharā; Imām-bārā; Maṭbaʿa.4; Sikkat al-Ḥadīd.1; *and* → LITERATURE; MILITARY; MUSIC
administration Baladiyya.5; Ḍarība.6; Dīwān.v; Djizya.iii; Ḥisba.iv; Kātib.iii; Kharādj.IV; Pargana; Safīr.3; Taḥṣīl; Zamīndār; [in Suppl.] Taʿalluḳ
see also Kitābāt.10; Māʾ.9; Waḳf.VI; *and* → MILITARY.INDO-MUSLIM
during British rule [in Suppl.] Mufaṣṣal
agriculture Filāḥa.v
architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS
belles-lettres → LITERATURE.IN OTHER LANGUAGES *and* POETRY.INDO-PERSIAN
cuisine Maṭbakh.4
dynasties ʿĀdil-Shāhs; Bahmanīs; Barīd Shāhīs; Dihlī Sultanate; Farūḳids; Ghaznavids; Ghūrids; Hindū-Shāhīs; ʿImād Shāhī; Khaldjīs; Ḳuṭb Shāhīs; Lodīs; Mughals; Niẓām Shāhīs; Sayyids; Sharḳīs; Tughluḳids
see also Awadh; Dār al-Ḍarb; Rānā Sāngā; Tīpū Sulṭān; Vidjayanagara; *and* → DYNASTIES.AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA
education Dār al-ʿUlūm.c *and* d; Djāmiʿa; Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī.iv; Madrasa.II; Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ; [in Suppl.] Farangī Maḥall; Jamia Millia Islamia
see also Aḥmad Khān; Deoband; Maḥmūdābād Family; [in Suppl.] Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh
historians of Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabāʾī; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Harawī; Sudjān Rāy Bhandārī
see also Djaʿfar Sharīf; al-Maʿbarī; Mīr Muḥammad Maʿṣūm; *and* → DYNASTIES. AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA; LITERATURE.HISTORICAL.INDO-PERSIAN
languages Gudjarātī; Hindī; Hindustānī.i *and* ii; Lahndā; Marāṭhī; Pandjābī.1; Sind.3.a; Urdū.1; [in Suppl.] Rādjasthān.3
see also Kitābāt.10; *and* → LANGUAGES.INDO-IRANIAN
literature → LITERATURE
modern period Djamʿiyya.v; Hindustānī.iii; Ḥizb.vi; Indian National Congress; Iṣlāḥ.iv; Kashmīr.ii; Ḳawmiyya.vi; Khāksār; Khilāfa; Madjlis.4.C; al-Marʾa.5; Nikāḥ.II.3; [in Suppl.] Djarīda.vii; Maḥkama.5
see also Mahsūd; Mappila; Tablīghī Djamāʿat; [in Suppl.] Faḳīr of Ipi; Khān, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār; *and* → INDIA.EDUCATION
resistance against the British Yāghistān
Indian Mutiny Aẓīm Allāh Khān; Bakht Khān; Imdād Allāh; Kānpur
Khilāfat movement **Khilāfa**; Muḥammad ʿAlī; Mushīr Ḥusayn Ḳidwāʾī; Shawkat ʿAlī; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Bārī; Ḥasrat Mohānī
see also Amīr ʿAlī; [in Suppl.] Khān, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār
statesmen Nawwāb Sayyid Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān; Sālār Djang; [in Suppl.] Āzād, Abu ʾl-Kalām
see also Maḥmūdābād Family
mysticism → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS; SAINTHOOD.SAINTS
physical geography
waters Djamnā; Gangā
see also Nahr.2
population Bhaṭṭi; Bohorās; Dāwūdpōtrās; Djāṭ; Gakkhaṛ; Gandāpur; Gūdjar; Ḥabshī; Hind.ii; Khaṭak; Khokars; Lambadis; Mappila; Mēd; Memon; Mēʾō; Naitias; Pārsīs; Rādjpūts; Rohillas; Shikārī; Sidi; [in Suppl.] Demography.VII
see also Khōdja; Marāṭhās; al-Zuṭṭ

Tamils Ceylon; Labbai; Marakkayar; Rawther

religion Ahl-i Ḥadīth; Barāhima; Djayn; Hindū; Ibāḥatiya; Mahdawīs; Pandj Pīr; Sikhs; Tablīghī Djamāʿat; [in Suppl.] Pīrpanthī

see also Khʷādja Khiḍr; Pārsīs; Taʿziya; Yūsuf Kāndhalawī Dihlawī; Zakariyyā Kāndhalawī Sahāranpūrī; [in Suppl.] Andjuman-i Khuddām-i Kaʿba; *and* → MYSTICISM; SAINTHOOD; THEOLOGY

reform Aḥmad Brēlwī; al-Dihlawī, Shāh Walī Allāh; Ismāʿīl Shahīd; Karāmat ʿAlī; Nānak; Tītū Mīr

toponyms

ancient Arūr; Čāmpānēr; Čhat; Djāba; Djandjīra; Fatḥpūr-sikrī; Hampī; Ḥusaynābād; Kūlam; Lakhnawtī; al-Manṣūra; Mēwāṛ; Nandurbār; Nārnawl; Pāndu'ā; Shikārpūr.2; Sidhpūr; Sindābūr; Sindān; Sūmanāt; Telingāna; Tonk; Tribenī; Wayhind

present-day

and → ASIA.SOUTH

regions Assam; Bihār; Bombay State; Dakhan; Djaypur; Do'āb; Gudjarāt; Hariyānā; Ḥaydarābād.b; Kāmrūp; Kashmīr; Khāndēsh; Ḳūhistān.4; Ladākh; Lūdhiāna; Maʿbar; Mahisur; Malabar; Mēwāt; Muẓaffarpur; Nāgpur; Palamāw; Pālānpur; Pandjāb; Rādhanpūr; Rāmpur; Rohilkhand; Sundarban; Tirhut; Urīsā; [in Suppl.] Djammū; Konkan; Rādjasthān; Rohtak

see also Alwār; Banganapalle; Bāonī; Berār; Djōdhpur; Hunza and Nagir; Udaypūr; [in Suppl.] Sarkār.2

towns Adjmēr; Āgra; Aḥmadābād; Aḥmadnagar; Aligarh; Allāhābād; Ambāla; Amritsar; Anhalwāra; Arcot; Awadh; Awrangābād; Awrangābād Sayyid; Aʿẓamgarh; Badā'ūn; Bālā-ghāt; Bāndā; Bānkīpūr; Banūr; Bareilly; Barōda; Benares; Bharatpūr; Bharoč; Bhattinda; Bhōpāl; Bīdar; Bīdjāpūr; Bidjnawr; Bilgrām; Bombay City; Bulandshahr; Burhānpūr; Buxar; Calcutta; Čandērī; Dawlatābād; Deoband; Dhār; Dhārwār; Dihlī; Diū; Djālor; Djawnpur; Djūnāgaṛh; Djunnar; Dwārkā; Farīdkōṭ; Farrukhābād; Fayḍābād; Fīrūzpūr; Gulbargā; Gwāliyār; Hānsī; Ḥaydarābād.a; Ḥiṣār Fīrūza; Īdar; Islāmābād; Iṭāwā; Kalpī; Kalyāni; Kanawdj; Kāṅgṛā; Kannanūr; Kānpur; Karnāl; Karnāṭak; Katahr; Khambāyat; Khayrābād; Khuldābād; Kōṭā; Koyl; Lakhnaw; Lalitpur; Lūdhiāna; Madras; Mahīm; Māhīm; Māhūr; Mālda; Mālwā; Māndū; Manēr; Mangrōl; Mathurā; Mīraṭh; Mīrzāpur; Multān; Mungīr; Murādābad; Murshidābād; Muẓaffarpur; Nadjībābād; Nagar; Nāgawr; Nāgpur; Naldrug; Nānḍeṛ; Pānīpat; Parendā; Pāṭan; Paṭnā; Pūna; Rādjmahāl; Rāyčūr; Sahāranpūr; Sahsarām; Sārangpur; Sardhanā; Sarkhēdj; Shakarkhelda; Shikārpūr.3; Shōlāpur; Sirhind; Srīnagar; Śrīangapaṭṭanam; Sūrat; Tālīkōṭā; Thālnēr; Thānā; Ṭhānesar; Ṭhaṭṭā; Udgīr; Udjdjayn; Warangal; [in Suppl.] Amrōhā; Eličpur; Ghāzīpur; Irič; Kalikat; Madura; Rohtak

INDONESIA Baladiyya.7; Dustūr.xi; Ḥizb.vii; Ḥukūma.vi; **Indonesia**; Maḥkama.6; Malays; Masjumi; [in Suppl.] Ḍarība.7; Hoesein Djajadiningrat; Sukarno

see also ʿĀda.iv; Nikāḥ.II.4; Pasisir; Prang Sabīl; [in Suppl.] al-Mar'a.6

architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS

education Djāmiʿa; Pesantren

literature Indonesia.vi; Ḳiṣṣa.6; Miʿrādj.4; Shāʿir.7; Ta'rīkh.II.7; [in Suppl.] Shiʿr.5

see also Kitābāt.8; Malays; *and* → LITERATURE.POETRY.MYSTICAL

Muslim movements Padri; Sarekat Islam

see also Sulawesi

mysticism → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS

population Malays; Minangkabau; [in Suppl.] Demography.VIII
see also Sayābidja
religion → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS; SAINTHOOD.SAINTS
festivals Kandūrī; Lĕbaran
see also [in Suppl.] Puasa
recitation competitions [in Suppl.] Musābaḳa
toponyms Ambon; Atjèh; Banda Islands; Bandjarmasin; Bangka; Batjan; Billiton; Borneo (*and* [in Suppl.]); Djakarta; Kubu; Kutai; Lombok; Madura; Makassar; Palembang; Pasè; Pasir; Pontianak; Riau; Sambas; Sulawesi (*and* Celebes); Sumatra; Sunda Islands; Surakarta; Ternate; Tidore; [in Suppl.] Kalimantan; Mataram; Yogyakarta
see also Zābadj

INDUSTRY Ḥarīr; Kattān; Ḳuṭn; Lubūd; Milḥ
see also Bursa; al-Iskandariyya; Ḳayṣariyya; Zonguldak

INHERITANCE ʿĀda.iii; Akdariyya; ʿAwl; **Farāʾiḍ**; **Mīrāth**; al-Sahm.2; Waṣiyya; Yatīm.2
see also Ḳassām; Khāl; Makhredj; Mukhallefāt; Tanāsukh
works on al-Sadjāwandī, Sirādj al-Dīn; al-Tilimsānī.2; al-ʿUkbarī

INVENTIONS ʿAbbās b. Firnās; Ibn Mādjid; Mūsā (Banū); Sāʿa.1

IRAN al-Furs; **Iran**; Kurds; Lur
see also al-ʿArab.iii; Ḥarb.v; Kitābāt.9; Libās.iii; Zūrkhāna; *and* → DYNASTIES.PERSIA; SHIITES; ZOROASTRIANS
administration Ḍarība.5; Diplomatic.iii; Dīwān.iv; Ghulām.ii; Imtiyāzāt.iii; Kātib.ii; Khāliṣa; Kharādj.II; Maḥkama.3; Parwānačī; [in Suppl.] Shāhbandar
see also Kalāntar; Waḳf.III; *and* → IRAN.MODERN PERIOD
agriculture Filāḥa.iii
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art → ART.REGIONAL AND PERIOD
before Islam Anūsharwān; Ardashīr; Bahrām; Dārā; Dārābdjird; Dihḳan; Djamshīd; Farīdūn; al-Ḥaḍr; Hayāṭila; Hurmuz; al-Hurmuzān; Ḳārinids; Kayānids; Kay Kāʾūs; Kay Khusraw; Khurshīd; Kisrā; Marzpān; Mazdak; Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif.1; Parwīz, Khusraw (II); Pīshdādids; Sāsānids; Shāpūr; Ṭahmūrath; Yazdadjird III; [in Suppl.] Farrukhān
see also Afrāsiyāb; Buzurgmihr; Hamadhān; Ikhshīd; Iran.iv; Ispahbadh; Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn; Ḳūmis; al-Madāʾin; al-Rayy; Rustam b. Farrukh Hurmuzd; Sarpul-i Dhuhāb; Tansar; [in Suppl.] Dabīr; *and* → ZOROASTRIANS
cuisine [in Suppl.] Maṭbakh.3
dynasties → DYNASTIES.PERSIA
historians of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī; Ibn Manda; al-Māfarrūkhī; al-Rāfiʿī; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī; [in Suppl.] al-Ḳummī
and → DYNASTIES.PERSIA
language → LANGUAGES.INDO-IRANIAN
literature → LITERATURE
modern period Baladiyya.4; Djāmiʿa; Djamʿiyya.iii; Djarīda.ii; Dustūr.iv; Ḥizb.iii; Ḥukūma.ii; Iran.v.b; Iṣlāḥ.ii; Ḳawmiyya.iii; Maʿārif.3; Madjlis.4.A.iii; Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī.ii; al-Marʾa.3; Shuyūʿiyya.2; Taḳrīb; [in Suppl.] Demography.III; Niẓām ʿAskarī.2; Ṣiḥāfa.4
see also Khazʿal Khān; Madjlis al-Shūrā; Maḥkama.3; [in Suppl.] Amīr Niẓām; *and* → DYNASTIES.PERSIA.ḲĀDJĀRS *and* PAHLAWĪS; SHIITES
activists Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām; Kāshānī, Āyatullāh; Khʷānsārī, Sayyid Muḥammad; Khiyābānī, Shaykh Muḥammad; Khurāsānī; Kūčak Khān Djangalī; Lāhūtī; Maḥallātī; Ṣamṣām

al-Salṭana; Ṭālaḳānī; [in Suppl.] Āḳā Nadjafī; Ḥaydar Khān ʿAmū Ughlī; ʿIshḳī
see also Djangalī; Kurds.iii. C; Yazdī; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Marāghaʾī; [in Suppl.] Āzādī; Farāmūsh-khāna

influential persons Kasrawī Tabrīzī; Malkom Khān; Muṭahharī; Nāʾīnī; Nūrī, Shaykh Faḍl Allāh; Sharīʿatī, ʿAlī; Ṭihrānī; [in Suppl.] Āḳā Khān Kirmānī; Khumaynī

statesmen Muṣaddiḳ; Ṭabāṭabāʾī; Taḳīzāda; Wuthūḳ al-Dawla; [in Suppl.] Amīr Kabīr

physical geography

deserts Biyābānak

mountains Ala Dagh; Alburz; Alwand Kūh; Bīsutūn; Damāwand; Hamrīn; Hawrāmān; Zagros
see also Sarḥadd

waters Atrek; Bakhtigān, Hāmūn; Karkha; Kārūn; Mānd; Ruknābād; Safīd Rūd; Shāh Rūd.1; Shāpūr; Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab; Urmiya.1; Zāyanda-Rūd; Zirih
see also Baḥr Fāris

population Bakhtiyārī; Bāzūkiyyūn; Bilbās; Djāf; Eymir.3; Göklän; Gūrān; (Banū) Kaʿb; Ḳarā Gözlu; Ḳāshḳāy; Kurds; Lām; Lur; Shabānkāra; Shāhsewan; Shakāk; Shaḳāḳī; Sindjābī; Türkmen.3
see also Daylam; Dulafids; Eymir.2; Fīrūzānids; Iran.ii; Ḳufṣ; Shūlistān; Tat.1; [in Suppl.] Demography.III

religion Iran.vi; Ṣafawids.IV
and → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS; SAINTHOOD.SAINTS; SHIITES

toponyms

ancient Abarshahr; Ardalān; Arradjān; ʿAskar Mukram; Bādj; Bākusāyā; Bayhaḳ; Dārābdjird; Daskara; Dawraḳ; Dihistān; Dīnawar; al-Djazīra; Djibāl; Djīruft; Gurgān; Ḥafrak; Ḥulwān; Īdhadj; Iṣṭakhr; (al-)Karadj; Khargird.2; Ḳūmis; Ḳurḳūb; Mihragān.iv.1; Narmāshīr; Nasā; Nawbandadjān; al-Rayy; Rūdhbār.2; Rūdhrāwar; Ṣaymara; Shāpūr; Shūlistān; al-Sīradjān; Sīrāf; Sīsar; Suhraward; al-Sūs; Ṭālaḳān.2; Ṭārum; Tawwadj; Tūn; Ṭurshīz; Ṭūs; Tūsān; Urm; Ustuwā; Zarang; [in Suppl.] Arghiyān; Ghubayrā

present-day

islands al-Fārisiyya; Ṭunb

provinces Ādharbaydjān; Balūčistān; Fārs; Gīlān; Hamadhān; Iṣfahān; Khurāsān; Khūzistān; Kirmān; Kirmānshāh; Kurdistān; Māzandarān; Yazd
see also Astarābādh.2; Rūyān; Ṭabaristān

regions Bākharz; Hawrāmān; Ḳūhistān.1; Makrān; Sarḥadd; Sīstān; [in Suppl.] Bashkard
see also Gulistān

towns and districts Ābādah; Abarḳūh; ʿAbbādān; ʿAbbāsābād; Abhar; al-Ahwāz; Āmul.1; Ardakān; Ardistān; Asadābādh; Ashraf; Astarābādh.1; Āwa; Bam; Bampūr; Bandar ʿAbbās; Bandar Pahlawī; Bārfurūsh; Barūdjird; Barzand; Bīrdjand; Bisṭām; Būshahr; Dāmghān; Dizfūl; Djannāba; Djuwayn.1 *and* 2; Faraḥābād; Faryāb; Fasā; Fīrūzābād; Fūman; Gulpāyagān; Gunbadh-i Ḳābūs; Hurmuz; Iṣfahān; Isfarāyīn; Kāshān; Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn; Kāzarūn; Ḳazwīn; Khʷāf; Khalkhāl; Khʷār; Khārag; Khargird.1; Khōī; Khurramābād; Khurramshahr; Kinkiwar; Ḳishm; Ḳūčān; Ḳūhistān.2; Ḳuhrūd; Ḳum; Lāhīdjān; Lār (2x); Linga; Luristān; Mahābād; Mākū; Marāgha; Marand; Mashhad; Miyāna; Narāḳ; Naṭanz; Nayrīz; Nihāwand; Nīshāpūr; Rafsandjān; Rām-hurmuz; Rasht; Rūdhbār.3; Sabzawār.1; Ṣaḥna; Ṣāʾīn Ḳalʿa; Saḳḳiz; Salmās; Sanandadj; Sarakhs; Sārī; Sarpul-i Dhuhāb; Sarwistān; Sāwa; Shāh Rūd.3; Shīrāz; Shushtar; Simnān; al-Sīradjān; Ṣōmāy; Suldūz; Sulṭānābād; Sulṭāniyya; Sunḳur; al-Sūs; Ṭabas; Tabrīz; Ṭārum; Tihrān; Turbat-i [Shaykh-i] Djām; Türkmen Čay (î); Urmiya.2; Ushnū; Warāmīn;

Yazd; Zāhidān; Zandjān; Zāwa; Zawāra; Zawzan; [in Suppl.] Bashkard; Biyār; Djārdjarm; Djulfa.II; Hawsam; Ḳā'in; Khumayn
see also Shahr; Shahristān; Tūn; *and* → KURDS.TOPONYMS

IRAQ **'Irāḳ**; Kurds
see also al-ʿArabiyya; Djalīlī; Lakhmids; Sawād; Shahāridja; [in Suppl.] Sūḳ.5; *and* → CALIPHATE.ʿABBĀSIDS; DYNASTIES.EGYPT AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT
architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS
before Islam → PRE-ISLAM.IN FERTILE CRESCENT
historians of al-Azdī; Baḥshal; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr; Ibn al-Bannā'; Ibn al-Dubaythī; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir
see also Ibn al-Nadjdjār; [in Suppl.] Ta'rīkh.II.1.(c); *and* → CALIPHATE.ʿABBĀSIDS; DYNASTIES.EGYPT AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT
modern period Djarīda.i.A; Djāmiʿa; Dustūr.vi; Ḥizb.i; Ḥukūma.iii; Kurds.iii.C; Madjlis.4.A.iv; Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī.i.2.c; Maḥkama.4.iv; Mandates; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(vii); [in Suppl.] Niẓām ʿAskarī.1.(c)
see also Bābān; Kūt al-ʿAmāra; al-Mawṣil.2
belletrists
poets al-Akhras; al-Fārūḳī; al-Kāẓimī, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin; Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī; Shā'ūl; al-Zahāwī, Djamīl Ṣidḳī
writers of prose Shā'ūl
monarchy Fayṣal I; Fayṣal II; Ghazī
see also Hāshimids
opposition leaders Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm; Muṣṭafā Barzānī
politicians al-Shahrastānī, Sayyid Muḥammad; Shīnā
prime ministers Nūrī al-Saʿīd; Rashīd ʿAlī al-Gaylānī
physical geography
mountains Sindjār
waters Abu 'l-Khaṣīb; al-ʿAḍaym; Didjla; Diyālā; al-Furāt; Khābūr; al-Khāzir; Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab; al-Zāb
population Bādjalān; Bilbās; Djubūr; Dulaym; Lām; al-Manāṣir; Türkmen.3
see also Shammar; [in Suppl.] Demography.III; *and* → KURDS
toponyms
ancient Abarḳubādh; ʿAḳarḳūf; ʿAlth; al-Anbār; Bābil; Badjimzā; Bādjisrā; Bādūrayā; Bākhamrā; Baradān; Barāthā; Bawāzīdj; Bihḳubādh; Birs; Dayr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl; Dayr al-Aʿwar; Dayr al-Djamādjim; Diyār Rabīʿa; Djabbul; al-Djazīra; Fallūdja; Ḥadītha.I; Ḥarbā'; Ḥarūrā'; Ḥawīza; al-Ḥīra; al-Ḳādisiyya; Kalwādhā; Kaskar; Ḳaṣr ibn Hubayra; Khāniḳīn; al-Khawarnaḳ; Kūthā; Ḳuṭrabbul; al-Madā'in; Niffar; Nimrūd; Nīnawā; al-Nukhayla; al-Ruṣāfa.1; Sāmarrā'; al-Ṭaff; al-Ubulla; al-Warkā'; Wāsiṭ; [in Suppl.] ʿUkbarā
see also al-Karkh; Nuṣratābād; Senkere
present-day
regions Bahdīnān; al-Baṭīḥa; Maysān
see also Lālish
towns Altin Köprü; ʿAmādiya; ʿAmāra; ʿĀna; ʿAyn al-Tamr; Badra; Baghdād; Baʿḳūba; Balāwāt; Bārzān; al-Baṣra; Daḳūḳā'; Daltāwa; Dīwāniyya; al-Fallūdja; Ḥadītha.II; al-Ḥilla; Hīt; Irbil; Karbalā'; Kāẓimayn; Kirkūk; al-Kūfa; Kūt al-ʿAmāra; Maʿalthāyā; al-Mawṣil; al-Nadjaf; al-Nāṣiriyya; Nuṣratābād; Rawāndiz; Sāmarrā'; al-Samāwa.2; Senkere; Shahrazūr; Sindjār; Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh; Sulaymāniyya; Takrīt; Zākhū; [in Suppl.] Athūr
see also Djalūlā'; *and* → KURDS.TOPONYMS

IRRIGATION Band; Ḳanāt; Māʾ; Nāʿūra
see also Filāḥa; Kārūn; al-Nahrawān; and → RIVERS
water **Māʾ**
see also Ḥawḍ; Sabīl.2; Saḳḳāʾ; and → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS; HYDROLOGY; NAVIGATION; OCEANS AND SEAS; RIVERS

ISLAM ʿAḳīda; Dīn; Djamāʿa; ʿIbādāt; **Islām**; Masdjid; Muḥammad; Murtadd; Muslim; Rukn.1; Shīʿa; Taḳiyya; Tawḥīd; Umma
see also Iṣlāḥ; Iʿtikāf; Nubuwwa; Rahbāniyya; Shirk; Tawakkul; and → ABLUTION; ALMS; FASTING; PILGRIMAGE; PRAYER; QURʾAN; THEOLOGY
conversion to Islām.ii
early converts to → MUHAMMAD, THE PROPHET.COMPANIONS OF
European converts Pickthall
five pillars of Islam Ḥadjdj; Ṣalāt; Ṣawm; Shahāda; Zakāt
see also ʿIbādāt; al-Ḳurṭubī, Yaḥyā; Rukn.1; ʿUmra; [in Suppl.] Ramy al-Djimār
formulas Allāhumma; Basmala; Ḥamdala; In Shāʾ Allāh; Māshāʾ Allāh; Salām; Subḥān; Taʿawwudh; Tahlīl.2; Takbīr; Talbiya; Tashahhud; Taṣliya
see also Tashrīḳ; [in Suppl.] Abbreviations
popular beliefs ʿAyn; Dīw; Djinn; Ghūl; Muḥammad.2; Zār; [in Suppl.] ʿĀʾisha Ḳandīsha; Ḥinn
see also ʿAnḳāʾ; Shafāʿa.2; and → LAW.CUSTOMARY LAW
preaching Ḳāṣṣ; Wāʿiẓ
proselytism Daʿwa; Tablīghī Djamāʿat
Western studies of Mawsūʿa.4

ISRAEL → PALESTINE/ISRAEL

ITALY **Īṭaliya**; Ḳawṣara; Ḳillawriya; Rūmiya; Sardāniya; Ṣiḳilliya; Wenedik
and → SICILY

IVORY COAST **Côte d'Ivoire**; Kong

J

JACOBITES → CHRISTIANITY.DENOMINATIONS

JEWELRY [in Suppl.] **Djawhar**
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pearls and precious stones ʿAḳīḳ; al-Durr; Kūh-i Nūr; Luʾluʾ; Mardjān; Yāḳūt; Zumurrud
see also Dhahab; Fiḍḍa; Ḥadjar; Kahrubā; Maʿdin.2.3

JORDAN Dustūr.x; Ḥukūma.iii; Madjlis.4.A.vii; Maḥkama.4.vi; Mandates; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(vi); **al-Urdunn**.2
see also Taḳī al-Dīn al-Nabhānī
physical geography
mountains al-Djibāl; al-Ṭūr.5
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statesmen ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn; Waṣfī al-Tall

see also Hāshimids

toponyms

ancient Adhrūḥ; Ayla; al-Balḳāʾ; Djarash; al-Djarbāʾ; al-Djibāl; Faḥl; al-Ḥumayma; al-Muwaḳḳar; Umm al-Raṣāṣ; Umm al-Walīd

present-day ʿAdjlūn; al-ʿAḳaba; ʿAmmān; Bayt Rās; al-Ghawr.1; Irbid.I; Maʿān; al-Salṭ; al-Shawbak; al-Zarḳāʾ; [in Suppl.] Mafraḳ

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influences in Islam ʿĀshūrāʾ.I

see also Ḳibla; Muḥammad.i.I.C.2

Jewish personages in Muslim world ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām; Abū ʿĪsā al-Iṣfahānī; Abū Naḍḍāra; Dhū Nuwās; Hāmōn; Ḥasdāy b. Shaprūṭ; Ibn Abi ʾl-Bayān; Ibn Djāmiʿ; Ibn Djanāḥ; Ibn Gabirol; Ibn Kammūna; Ibn Maymūn; Ibn Yaʿīsh; Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb; Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī; Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf; al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār; Māsardjawayh; Māshāʾ Allāh; Mūsā b. ʿAzra; al-Rādhāniyya; Saʿadyā Ben Yōsēf; Saʿd al-Dawla; al-Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyā; Shabbatay Ṣebī; Shāʾūl; Shīnā; Yaʿḳūb Pasha; [in Suppl.] Camondo; Ibn Biklārish; Nissīm b. Yaʿḳūb, Ibn Shāhīn

see also Abu ʾl-Barakāt; Kaʿb al-Aḥbār; Ḳaynuḳāʿ; Ḳurayẓa; ʿUzayr; [in Suppl.] Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī, Abū Naṣr

Jewish sects ʿĀnāniyya; al-ʿĪsāwiyya; Karaites

Judaeo-Christian sects Ṣābiʾa.1

see also Naṣārā

Judaeo-Muslim sects Shabbatay Ṣebī

Jewish-Muslim relations

persecution Dhimma; Djizya; Ghiyār; al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh; al-Maghīlī; Shiʿār.4; Zunnār

polemics Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ilbīrī; Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad; al-Suʿūdī, Abu ʾl-Faḍl; ʿUzayr; [in Suppl.] Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī, Abū Naṣr

see also Ahl al-Kitāb; Taḥrīf; Yahūd

with Muḥammad Fadak; Ḳaynuḳāʿ; Khaybar; Ḳurayẓa; al-Madīna.i.1; Naḍīr

see also Muḥammad.1.I.C

language and literature Judaeo-Arabic; Judaeo-Berber; Judaeo-Persian; Ḳiṣṣa.8; Risāla.1.VII

see also Geniza; Mukhtaṣar; Musammaṭ; Muwashshaḥ; Yūsuf and Zulaykhā.1; *and* → LANGUAGES.AFRO-ASIATIC.HEBREW; LEXICOGRAPHY.LEXICOGRAPHERS; LITERATURE. IN OTHER LANGUAGES

K

KENYA Gede; **Kenya**; Kilifi; Lamu; Malindi; Manda; Mazrūʿī; Mombasa; Pate; Siu

see also Nabhān; Swahili; [in Suppl.] Djarīda.viii; *and* → AFRICA.EAST AFRICA

Swahili literature Ḳiṣṣa.7; Madīḥ.5; Marthiya.5; Mathal.5; [in Suppl.] Ḥamāsa.vi; Nadira.2

see also Miʿrādj.3

poets Shaaban Robert

song Siti Binti Saad

KORAN → QURʾAN

KURDS **Kurds**

see also Kitāb al-Djilwa; *and* → IRAN; IRAQ; TURKEY
for Kurdish press in Turkey, see [in Suppl.] Ṣiḥāfa.5
dynasties ʿAnnāzids; Bābān; Faḍlawayh; Ḥasanwayh; Marwānids; Rawwādids; Shaddādids
see also Kurds.iii.B
Kurdish national movement Badrkhānī; Ḳāḍī Muḥammad; Kurds.iii.C; Muṣṭafā Barzānī
see also Bārzān; Mahābād
languages Kurds.v; Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.4.iii
sects Ṣārliyya; Shabak; Yazīdī
toponyms Ardalān; Bahdīnān; Barādūst; Bārzān; Djawānrūd; Hakkārī.2; Rawāndiz; Saḳḳiz; Sanandadj; Sāwdj-Bulāḳ; Shahrazūr; Shamdīnān; Ṣōmāy; Sulaymāniyya; Zākhū
see also Kirkūk; Kurds.ii; Orāmār; Shabānkāra; Sīsar
tribes Djāf; Hakkārī.1; Hamawand; Kurds.iii.B *and* iv.A.2; Lak.1; Shabānkāra; Shakāk; Shaḳāḳī; Sindjābī
see also Zāzā

KUWAIT Djarīda.i.A; Dustūr.xvi; **al-Kuwayt**; Madjlis.4.A.ix; Maḥkama.4.ix; Ṣabāḥ, Āl; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(ix)
see also (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab; al-ʿArabiyya; Djāmiʿa; ʿUtūb
toponyms al-Dibdiba; [in Suppl.] Aḥmadī
see also Ḳarya al-ʿUlyā

L

LAMENTATION Bakkāʾ; **Niyāḥa**; Rawḍa-khʷānī

LAND → PROPERTY; TAXATION
in the sense of agriculture, see Filāḥa; *in the sense of cooperative ownership, see* Taʿāwun; *in the sense of surveying, see* Misāḥa; Rawk

LANGUAGES **Lugha**
and → LINGUISTICS; WRITING.SCRIPTS
Afro-Asiatic Ḥām; Sām.2
see also Karshūnī; Maʿlūlā.2; Sullam
Arabic **Arabiyya**.A
see also Ibn Makkī; Ḳarwasha; Khaṭṭ; Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī.i; al-Sīm; Taʿrīb; [in Suppl.] Ḥaḍramawt.iii; *and* → ALPHABET
Arabic dialects Algeria.v; Aljamía; al-Andalus.x; Arabiyya.A.iii; ʿIrāḳ.iv; Judaeo-Arabic.i *and* ii; Lībiya.2; al-Maghrib.VII; Mahrī; Malta.2; Mūrītāniyā.6; al-Ṣaʿīd.2; al-Shām.3; Shāwiya.3; Shuwa; Siʿird; Sūdān.2; Sūdān (Bilād al-).3; Tunisia.IV; Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.4.i; ʿUmān.4; al-Yaman.5
see also Ibn al-Birr; Takrīt; al-Ṭanṭāwī; ʿUtūb; Zawdj.2 *and* [in Suppl.] 3; *and* → LITERATURE.POETRY.VERNACULAR
Christian Arabic Karshūnī; Shaykhū, Luwīs
see also ʿArabiyya.A.ii.1; Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.4
Judaeo-Arabic → JUDAISM.LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE; LITERATURE.IN OTHER LANGUAGES
Bantu Swahili; Yao
Berber **Berbers**.V; Judaeo-Berber; Mūrītāniyā.6; Sīwa.2; Taḳbaylit; Tamazight; Tarifiyt; Tashelḥīt; Ṭawāriḳ.2
see also Mzāb; Tifinagh

Berber words in Arabic Āfrāg; Agadir; Āgdāl; Aménokal; Amghar; Argan; Ayt; Imzad
see also Kallala; Rīf.I.2(a); Tīt
Chadic Hausa.ii
see also Wadāī.2
Cushitic Kūsh; Somali.5
Ethiopian-Semitic Eritrea.iv; Habash.iv
Hebrew Ibn Djanāh
Neo-Aramaic Tūr ʿAbdīn.4.ii
North Arabian Lihyān; Safaitic; Thamudic
and → EPIGRAPHY
South Arabian Sabaʾ; [in Suppl.] Kahtānite
see also Hadramawt; al-Harāsīs; al-Sawdāʾ; Zabūr; *and* → EPIGRAPHY
Modern South Arabian Mahrī; Shihrī; Sukutra.3
see also al-Batāhira; al-Harāsīs; [in Suppl.] Hadramawt.iii
Teda-Daza Kanuri; Tubu.3
Austronesian Atjèh; Indonesia.iii; Malays
Ibero-Caucasian Andi; Beskesek-abaza; Čerkes; Dāghistān; Darghin; al-Kabk; Kayyūm Nāsirī
see also al-Kurdj; Tsakhur
Indo-European Arnawutluk.1; [in Suppl.] South Africa.2
see also al-Kabk
Indo-Iranian
Indian Afghānistān.iii; Bengali.i; Ceylon; Chitral.II; Dardic and Kāfir Languages; Gudjarātī; **Hind**.iii; Hindī; Hindustānī; Kashmīrī; Lahndā; Maldives.2; Marāthī; Pandjābī.1; Sind.3.a; Urdū.1; [in Suppl.] Rādjasthān.3
see also Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī.iv; Sidi; [in Suppl.] Burushaski
Iranian Afghān.ii; Afghānistān.iii; Balūčistān.B; Darī; Gūrān; Hind.iii; ʿIrāk.iv.b; Judaeo-Persian.ii; Kurds.v; Lur; Tādjīkī.1; Tālish.2; Tat.2; Tūr ʿAbdīn.4.iii; Zāzā; [in Suppl.] **Iran**.iii
see also Dāghistān; al-Kabk; Khʷārazm; Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī.ii; Ossetians; Shughnān; al-Sughd; [in Suppl.] Ishkāshim
Persian dialects Simnān.3
(Niger-)Kordofanian Nūba.3
Nilo-Saharan Nūba.3; Songhay.1; Sūdān.2; Wadāī.2
Turkic Ādharī; Balkar; Bulghār; Gagauz; Khaladj.2; **Turks**.II (*and* [in Suppl.])
see also Afghānistān.iii; Dāghistān; al-Kabk; Khazar; Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī.iii; Sārt; [in Suppl.] Kazakstān.3

LAW ʿĀda; Dustūr; **Fikh**; ʿIbādāt; Idjmāʿ; **Kānūn**.i *and* iii; Kiyās; Mahkama; **Sharīʿa**; Tashrīʿ; ʿUrf; Usūl al-Fikh; [in Suppl.] Madhhab; Makāsid al-Sharīʿa; Raʾy
see also Ashāb al-Raʾy; Hukūk; Siyāsa.3; *and* → DIVORCE; INHERITANCE; MARRIAGE
for questions of law, see ʿAbd.3; Djāsūs; Filāha.i.4; Harb.i; Harīr; In Shāʾ Allāh; Intihār; Kabr; Kāfir; Khālisa; Khitba; Māʾ; al-Marʾa; Murtadd; Radāʿ; Rākid; Rashwa; Safar.1; Shaʿr.2; Sūra; al-Suraydjiyya; ʿUrs.1.c; Wakf.I.3; Wilāya.1
Anglo-Mohammedan law ʿĀda.iii; Amīr ʿAlī; Munsif; [in Suppl.] Mahkama.5
see also Hanafiyya
commercial law → FINANCE; *and see the section Law of Obligations below*
customary law **ʿĀda**; Dakhīl; Kānūn.iv; Tāghūt.2; Thaʾr; **ʿUrf**; [in Suppl.] Djirga
see also Baranta; Berbers.IV; al-Māmī; al-Marʾa.2; Mushāʿ
early, pre-madhhab law Abū Hanīfa; Abū Yūsuf; al-Ashʿarī, Abū Burda; ʿAtāʾ b. Abī Rabāh; al-Awzāʿī; Ibn Abī Laylā.II; Ibn Shubruma; al-Layth b. Saʿd; Mālik b. Anas; Maymūn

b. Mihrān; al-Nakhaʿī, Ibrāhīm; al-Shaʿbī; al-Shāfiʿī; Shurayḥ; Sufyān al-Thawrī; Yaḥyā b. Ādam; [in Suppl.] Fuḳahāʾ al-Madīna al-Sabʿa; Ibn Abi ʾl-Zinād; Saʿīd b. Djubayr
see also [in Suppl.] Raʾy

genres ʿAmal; Dustūr; Farāʾiḍ; Fatwā; Ḥisba; Ḥiyal.4; Ikhtilāf; Nāzila; Sharṭ.1; Sidjill.3; Uṣūl al-Fiḳh; Wathīḳa; [in Suppl.] Ḳawāʿid Fiḳhiyya
see also Ṭabaḳāt.C; Waḳf.I.2.d *and* IV

Ibāḍī law ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥādjdj Ibrāhīm; Abū Ghānim al-Khurāsānī; Abū Muḥammad b. Baraka (*and* Ibn Baraka); Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Djanāwunī; Ibn Djaʿfar
see also al-Djayṭālī; Maḥkama.4.ix (Oman)

in Southeast Asia Penghulu; Rapak; Sharīʿa (In South-East Asia); ʿUlamāʾ.5; [in Suppl.] Maḥkama.7

inheritance → INHERITANCE

jurisprudence Fatwā; **Fiḳh**; Īdjāb; Idjmāʿ; Idjtihād; Ikhtilāf; Istiḥsān; Ḳiyās; Maṣlaḥa; Nāzila; Taḳlīd
see also Sadd al-Dharāʾiʿ

jurist **Faḳīh**; Mardjaʿ-i Taḳlīd; Mudjtahid; ʿUlamāʾ
see also Sharḥ.III; [in Suppl.] Raʾy

Ḥanafī Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān; Abu ʾl-Layth al-Samarḳandī; Abu ʾl-Suʿūd; al-ʿAmīdī; al-Bihārī; al-Djaṣṣāṣ; al-Ḥalabī; Ḥamza al-Ḥarrānī; Ibn ʿĀbidīn; Ibn Buhlūl; Ibn Ghānim; Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā; Ibn Nudjaym; Ibn al-Shiḥna; Ḳāḍī Khān; al-Kāsānī; Ḳasṭallānī; al-Ḳudūrī, Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn Aḥmad; al-Marghīnānī; al-Murādī.2, 3 *and* 4; al-Nasafī.4; al-Sadjāwandī, Sirādj al-Dīn; al-Sarakhsī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad; al-Shaybānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; al-Shiblī, Abū Ḥafs; al-Ṭaḥāwī; al-Ūshī; Wānḳulī; [in Suppl.] Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī; Abu ʾl-Barakāt; al-Dāmaghānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī; al-Dāmaghānī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad; al-Khaṣṣāf; al-Sunāmī; Yaḥyā
see also ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ḳurashī; al-Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya; Ibn Duḳmāḳ; al-Ṣayrafī; al-Taftāzānī; Ẓāhir

Ḥanbalī Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; al-Bahūtī; al-Barbahārī; Ghulām al-Khallāl; Ibn ʿAḳīl; Ibn al-Bannāʾ; Ibn Baṭṭa al-ʿUkbarī; Ibn al-Djawzī; Ibn al-Farrāʾ; Ibn Ḥāmid; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya; Ibn Ḳudāma al-Maḳdisī; Ibn Mufliḥ; Ibn Radjab; Ibn Taymiyya; al-Kalwadhānī; al-Khallāl; al-Khiraḳī; al-Marwazī; al-Ṭūfī; al-ʿUkbarī; al-Yūnīnī; Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī
see also ʿUthmān b. Marzūḳ; *and* → THEOLOGY

Mālikī Aḥmad Bābā; Asad b. al-Furāt; al-Bādjī; al-Bāḳillānī; Bannānī; al-Burzulī; al-Dānī; al-Fāsī; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam; Ibn Abī Zamanayn; Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī; Ibn ʿAmmār, Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās; Ibn ʿArafa; Ibn ʿĀṣim; Ibn al-Faraḍī; Ibn Farḥūn; Ibn Ḥabīb, Abū Marwān; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj; Ibn al-Ḥādjib; Ibn al-Ḳāsim; Ibn Ḳuzmān.III *and* IV (*and* [in Suppl.] Ḳuzmān.3 *and* 4); Ibn Maḍāʾ; Ibn Rushayd; Ibn Sūda; al-Ibshīhī(1); ʿĪsā b. Dīnār; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā; al-Ḳābisī; al-Ḳalaṣādī; al-Kardūdī; Ḳaṣṣāra; Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ; al-Khushanī; al-Ḳurṭubī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; al-Ḳurṭubī, Yaḥyā; Mālik b. Anas; al-Manūfī.4 *and* 5; al-Māzarī; Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn; Saḥnūn; Sālim b. Muḥammad; al-Sanhūrī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan; Shabṭūn; al-Shāṭibī, Abū Isḥāḳ; Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḳarāfī; al-Ṭulayṭulī; al-Ṭurṭushī; al-ʿUtbī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; al-Wansharīsī; Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī; al-Zaḳḳāḳ; al-Zuhrī, Hārūn; al-Zurḳānī; [in Suppl.] Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī; al-Azdī; Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd; Ibn Dirham; Ibn Rushd; al-Nubāhī
see also Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr; al-Ḳaṣṣār; Laḳīṭ; al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī; al-Tilimsānī.1; *and* → ANDALUSIA.JURISTS

Shāfiʿī al-ʿAbbādī; Abū Shudjāʿ; Bādjūrī; al-Baghawī; al-Bulḳīnī; Daḥlān; al-Djanadī; al-Djīzī; al-Djuwaynī; Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn; Ibn Abi ʾl-Dam; Ibn ʿAḳīl; Ibn ʿAsākir; Ibn Djamāʿa; Ibn Ḥabīb, Badr al-Dīn; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba.1; Ibn

Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ; Ibn Suraydj; al-Ḳalḳashandī; al-Ḳalyūbī; al-Ḳazwīnī, Abū Ḥātim; al-Ḳazwīnī, Djalāl al-Dīn; al-Ḳazwīnī, Nadjm al-Dīn; al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī; Makhrama; al-Māwardī; al-Mutawallī; al-Muzanī; al-Nawawī; al-Rāfiʿī; al-Ramlī; al-Shāfiʿī; al-Shahrazūrī; al-Shīrāzī, Abū Isḥāḳ; al-Subkī; al-Sulamī, ʿIzz al-Dīn; al-Ṣuʿlūkī; al-Ṭabarī, Abū ʾl-Ṭayyib; al-Ṭabarī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh; Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī; [in Suppl.] Abū Zurʿa; Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd; al-Zarkashī

see also Abū Thawr; Dāwūd b. Khalaf; al-Isfarāyīnī; al-Ṭabarī, Abū Djaʿfar; al-Taftāzānī; al-Ziyādī

Shiite → SHIITES

Ẓāhirī Dāwūd b. Khalaf; al-Ḥumaydī; Ibn Dāwūd; Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad; (al-)Mundhir b. Saʿīd

see also Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī; [in Suppl.] Ibn al-Rūmiyya

law of obligations ʿAḳd; ʿĀriyya; Bayʿ; Ḍamān; Dhimma; Fāsid wa Bāṭil; Faskh; Hiba; Īdjāb; Īdjār; Inkār; ʿIwaḍ; Kafāla; Khiyār; Ḳirāḍ; Muʿāmalāt; Muʿāwaḍa.3; Muḍāraba; Mufāwaḍa; Mughārasa; Mushāraka; Rahn; Ṣulḥ; Wadīʿa; Wakāla; [in Suppl.] Dayn; Ghārūḳa

see also ʿAmal.4; Djāʾiz; Ghasb; Ḳabḍ.i; Ḳasam; Maḍmūn; Suftadja; Wathīḳa; Yamīn; [in Suppl.] Ikrāh

contract of hire and lease Adjr; **Īdjār**; Kirāʾ; Musāḳāt; Muzāraʿa; [in Suppl.] Ḥikr; Inzāl

contract of sale Barāʾa.I; **Bayʿ**; Iḳāla; ʿIwaḍ; Muʿāwaḍa.1; Muwāḍaʿa.1; Salam; Shirāʾ; Tadlīs.1; Taghrīr; [in Suppl.] Darak; Ṣarf

see also Ḍarūra; Ildjāʾ; Mukhāṭara; Ṣafḳa; Salaf; Sawm; Tidjāra; [in Suppl.] Ṣarrāf

law of personal status Ḥaḍāna; Hiba; ʿIdda; Mahr; Mīrāth; Nikāḥ; Riḍāʿ; Ṭalāḳ; Waḳf; Yatīm; [in Suppl.] Nafaḳa; Tabannin

see also Wilāya.1; *and* → DIVORCE; INHERITANCE; MARRIAGE

law of procedure ʿAdl; Amīn; Bayyina; Daʿwā; Ghāʾib; Ḥakam; Iḳrār; Ḳaḍāʾ; Maẓālim; Shāhid; Sidjill.2

Mongol Ṣadr.2; Yarghu; Yāsā

offices Faḳīh; Ḥakam; Ḥisba; Ḳāḍī; Ḳāḍī ʿAskar; Ḳassām; Mardjaʿ-i Taḳlīd; Nāʾib.1; Shaykh al-Islām

see also Amīn; Fatwā; Khalīfa.ii; Maḥkama; Shurṭa

Ottoman Bāb-i Mashīkhat; Djazāʾ.ii; Djurm; Fatwā.ii; ʿIlmiyye; Ḳānūn.iii; Ḳānūnnāme; Ḳassām; Maḥkama.2; Makhredj; Medjelle; Medjlis-i Wālā; Mewlewiyyet; Narkh; Shaykh al-Islām.2; Sidjill.3; [in Suppl.] Müfettish

see also Ḥanafiyya; al-Ḥaramayn; ʿUlamāʾ.3; Waḳf.IV (*and* [in Suppl.] Waḳf.II.2); *and* → DYNASTIES.ANATOLIA AND THE TURKS.OTTOMANS.GRAND MUFTIS

penal law ʿĀḳila; Diya; Ḥadd; Ḳadhf; Ḳatl; Khaṭaʾ; Ḳiṣāṣ.5; Murtadd; Ṣalb; Sariḳa; Taʿzīr; ʿUḳūba; [in Suppl.] Shatm

see also Djazāʾ.ii; Muḥṣan; al-Ṣalīb; Shubha; Sidjn; Ṭarrār; Thaʾr; ʿUrf.2.II; Zinā; [in Suppl.] Ikrāh

reform → REFORM

schools Ḥanābila; Ḥanafiyya; Mālikiyya; al-Shāfiʿiyya; Uṣūliyya.1; al-Ẓāhiriyya; [in Suppl.] Akhbāriyya

see also Ibn Abī Laylā; Sufyān al-Thawrī; al-Ṭabarī, Abū Djaʿfar; Wahhābiyya; Zaydiyya; [in Suppl.] Madhhab

terms Adāʾ; Adjr.2; ʿAdl; Aḥkām; Ahl al-Ḥall wa ʾl-ʿAḳd; ʿAḳd; Akdariyya; ʿAḳīḳa; ʿĀḳila; ʿAmal.3 *and* 4; Amān; ʿĀmil; Amīn; ʿĀriyya; ʿArsh; ʿAwl; ʿAzīma.1; Baʿl.2.b; Bāligh; Barāʾa.I; Bayʿ; Bayʿa; Bayyina; Burhān; Ḍamān; Dār al-ʿAhd; Dār al-Ḥarb; Dār al-Islām; Dār al-Ṣulḥ; Ḍarūra; Daʿwā; Dhabīḥa; Dhimma; Diya; Djāʾiz; Djanāba; Djazāʾ.ii; Djihād; Djizya; Djurm; Faḳīh; Farāʾiḍ; Farḍ; Fāsid wa Bāṭil; Fāsiḳ; Faskh; Fatwā; Fayʾ; Fiḳh; Ghāʾib; Ghanīma; Ghārim; Ghaṣb; Ghusl; Ḥaḍāna; Ḥadath; Ḥadd; Ḥadjr; Hady; Ḥakam;

Ḥaḳḳ; Ḥawāla; Ḥayḍ; Hiba; Ḥiyal.4; Ḥuḳūḳ; Ḥulūl; ʿIbādāt; Ibāḥa.I; ʿIdda; Idhn; Īdjāb; Īdjār; Idjmāʿ; Idjtihād; Iḥrām; Iḥyāʾ; Iḳāla; Ikhtilāf; Iḳrār; Ildjāʾ; Inkār; Inṣāf; Istibrāʾ; Istiḥsān; Istiʾnāf; Istiṣḥāb; ʿIwaḍ; Ḳabāla; Ḳabḍ.i; Ḳaḍāʾ; Ḳadhf; Kafāʾa; Kafāla; Ḳānūn; Ḳānūnnāme; Ḳasam; Ḳatl; Khaṭaʾ; Khiyār; Kirāʾ; Ḳirāḍ; Ḳiṣāṣ; Ḳiyās; Liʿān; Liṣṣ; Luḳaṭa; Maḍmūn; Mafṣūl; Mahr; Maṣlaḥa; Mawāt; Mawlā.5; Maẓālim; Milk; Muʿāmalāt; Muʿāwaḍa; Muḍāraba; Mudjtahid; Mufāwaḍa; Mughārasa; Muḥṣan; Mukhāṭara; Munāṣafa; Musāḳāt; Mushāraka; Mutʿa; Muṭlaḳ; Muwāḍaʿa.1; Muzāraʿa; Nadjis; Nāfila; Naṣṣ; Nāzila; Niyya; Rahn; Ribā; Rukhṣa.1; Sabab.2; Ṣadaḳa; Sadd al-Dharāʾiʿ; Ṣafḳa; Ṣaḥīḥ.2; al-Sahm.2; Salaf; Salam; Sariḳa; Sawm; Shāhid; Shakhṣ; Shakk.1; Sharika; Sharṭ.1; Shirāʾ; Shubha; Shufʿa; Sidjn; Suftadja; Suknā; Sukūt; Ṣulḥ; Sunna.2; Tadlīs.1; Taghrīr; Ṭahāra; Taḳlīd; Taklīf; Ṭalāḳ; Talfīḳ; Tashrīʿ; Tasʿīr; Taʿzīr; Umm al-Walad; ʿUmūm wa-Khuṣūṣ; ʿUrf; Uṣūl al-Fiḳh; Wadīʿa; Wakāla; Waḳf; Waṣf.2; Waṣiyya; Wathīḳa; Wilāya.1; Wuḍūʾ; Yamīn; Ẓāhir; Zaʿīm; Zakāt; Zinā; [in Suppl.] ʿAḳār; Darak; Dayn; Djabr; Ghārūḳa; Ḥikr; Ikrāh; Inzāl; Isḳāṭ; Ḳawāʿid Fiḳhiyya; Khalʿ; Madhhab; Maḳāṣid al-Sharīʿa; Muʿāhid; Muḥallil; Nafaḳa; al-Nahy ʿan al-Munkar; Raʾy; Ṣakk; Sanad; Ṣarf

see also Bayt al-Māl; Hudna; Ṣaghīr; Shukr.2; Shūrā.2; Siyāsa.3; Taḥkīm

LEBANON Djarīda.i.A; Dustūr.ix; Ḥizb.i; Ḥukūma.iii; **Lubnān**; Madjlis.4.A.vi; Maḥkama.4.iii; Mandates; Mutawālī; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(iii); Ṭāʾifiyya

see also Baladiyya.2; Djāliya; Ḳays ʿAylān; al-Maʿlūf; Ṭanyūs, Shāhīn; Türkmen.3; Yūsuf Karam; Zaʿīm; [in Suppl.] Aḥmad Pasha Küčük; al-Bustānī; Demography.III; *and* → CHRISTIANITY.DENOMINATIONS.MARONITES; DRUZES

belletrists

poets Fāris al-Shidyāḳ; Khalīl Muṭrān; al-Maʿlūf; Ṭuʿma, Ilyās; al-Yāzidjī; [in Suppl.] Abū Māḍī; al-Bustānī.4 *and* 8

see also al-Bustānī.7; Nuʿayma, Mīkhāʾīl; al-Rayḥānī

writers of prose al-Maʿlūf; Nuʿayma, Mīkhāʾīl; al-Yāzidjī; [in Suppl.] al-Bustānī.6

see also Faraḥ Anṭūn; Mayy Ziyāda; *and* → PRESS

education Djāmiʿa; Maʿārif.1.iii

governors Bashīr Shihāb II; Dāwūd Pasha; Djānbulāt; Fakhr al-Dīn; Ḥarfūsh; Shihāb

see also Maʿn; Maʿn-zāda

historians of Iskandar Agha

see also [in Suppl.] Taʾrīkh.II.1.(c)

religious leaders Sharaf al-Dīn; Yūsuf Karam; [in Suppl.] Mūsā al-Ṣadr

see also Mutawālī

toponyms

ancient ʿAyn al-Djarr

present-day

regions al-Biḳāʿ; al-Shūf

towns Baʿlabakk; Batrūn; Bayrūt; Bsharrā; Bteddīn; Djubayl; Karak Nūḥ; Ṣaydā; Ṣūr; Ṭarābulus al-Shām

LEGENDS Ḥikāya

and → BIBLE.BIBLICAL PERSONAGES; ESCHATOLOGY; QURʾAN.STORIES

legendary beings ʿAnḳāʾ; al-Burāḳ; Dīw; al-Djassāsa; Djinn; Ghūl; Hātif; ʿIfrīt; Ḳuṭrub; Parī; Sīmurgh; ʿŪdj; Zuhāk

see also al-Rukhkh

legendary dynasties Kayānids; Pīshdādids

see also Firdawsī; Ḥamāsa.ii

legendary locations Damāwand; Djūdī; Ergenekon; Ḥūsh; Ḳizîl-elma; Sāwa.3; Wabār

see also Tūrān; Wāḳwāḳ
legendary people Abū Righāl; Abū Safyān; Abū Zayd; ʿAdnān; Afrāsiyāb; Ahl al-Ṣuffa; Amīna; Āṣāf b. Barakhyā; Asḥāb al-Kahf; Barṣīṣā; al-Basūs; Bilḳīs; al-Dadjdjāl; Djamshīd; Ḥabīb al-Nadjdjār; Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān; Hind bint al-Khuss; Hirmis; Hūshang; Ibn Buḳayla; al-Kāhina; Ḳaḥṭān; Kāwah; al-Khaḍir; Luḳmān; Masʿūd; Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja; Sām; Saṭīḥ b. Rabīʿa; Shiḳḳ; Siyāwush; Sulaymān b. Dāwūd; Ṭahmūrath; Yādjūdj wa-Mādjūdj; [in Suppl.] al-Djarādatān[i]; Salmān al-Fārisī; al-Sufyānī
see also Akhī Ewrān; ʿAmr b. ʿAdī; ʿAmr b. Luḥayy; Aṣḥāb al-Rass; Ḳuss b. Sāʿida; Muʿammar; Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ Dede; Ṭursun Faḳīh; Zarḳāʾ al-Yamāma; Zuhayr b. Djanāb; *and* → QURʾAN.STORIES
legendary stories ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān; Aktham b. Ṣayfī; Almās; al-Baṭṭāl; Buhlūl; Damāwand; Djirdjīs; Djūdī; al-Durr; Fāṭima; al-Ghazāl; al-Ḥaḍr; Ḥāʾiṭ al-ʿAdjūz; Haram; Hārūt wa-Mārūt; Hudhud; Isrāʾīliyyāt; Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya; Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ; Nūḥ
see also Wāḳwāḳ

LEXICOGRAPHY **Ḳāmūs**; Laḥn al-ʿĀmma
see also Sharḥ.I; Sullam; *and* → LINGUISTICS
lexicographers
for Andalusian lexicographers → ANDALUSIA
Arabic Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī; al-Azharī; al-Djawālīḳī; al-Djawharī; Farḥāt; al-Fīrūzābādī; Ibn al-Birr; Ibn Durayd; Ibn Fāris; Ibn Makkī; Ibn Manẓūr; Ibn Sīda; Ibn al-Sikkīt; al-Ḳazzāz; al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad; Muḥammad Murtaḍā; Nashwān b. Saʿīd; al-Ṣaghānī, Raḍiyy al-Dīn; al-Shaybānī, Abū ʿAmr (*and* [in Suppl.] Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī); al-Tahānawī; Tammām b. Ghālib; al-Yāzidjī.2 *and* 3; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Zubaydī; [in Suppl.] Abū Isḥāḳ al-Fārisī; al-Bustānī.1 *and* 2; al-Fārābī; al-Shartūnī
see also Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī; Akhtarī; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī; al-Tanūkhī, Djamāl al-Dīn; al-Thaʿālibī, Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik; [in Suppl.] Ibn Kabar
Hebrew Ibn Djanāḥ
see also Judaeo-Arabic.iii.B
Persian ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Tattawī; Aḥmad Wafīḳ Pasha; Burhān; Surūrī Kāshānī; Taḳī Awḥadī; [in Suppl.] Dehkhudā
see also Ārzū Khān; Mahdī Khān Astarābādī; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān; al-Tahānawī
Turkish Akhtarī; al-Kāshgharī; Kāẓim Ḳadrī; Niʿmat Allāh b. Aḥmad; Sāmī
see also Esʿad Efendi, Meḥmed; Luṭfī Efendi; Riyāḍī; Shināsī; Wānḳulī
terms Farḍ.b

LIBYA Djāmiʿa; Djarīda.i.B; Dustūr.xii; **Lībiyā**; Madjlis.4.A.xviii; Ṣiḥāfa.2.(iv)
see also ʿArabiyya.A.iii.3; al-Bārūnī; Ḳaramānlī; Khalīfa b. ʿAskar; Sanūsiyya; *and* → DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA
population → AFRICA.NORTH AFRICA; BERBERS
toponyms
ancient Ṣabra; Surt; Zawīla
present-day
oases Awdjila; Baḥriyya; al-Djaghbūb; Djawf Kufra; al-Djufra; Ghadamès; Kufra
regions Barḳa; al-Djufra; Fazzān
see also Nafūsa
towns Adjdābiya; Benghāzī; Darna; Djādū; Murzuḳ; Ṭarābulus al-Gharb
see also Ghāt

LIFE STAGES **Ḥayāt**

childbirth ʿAkīka; Āl; Liʿān; al-Marʾa.2.c; Mawākib.4.2
see also Raḍāʿ; Waʾd al-Banāt; *and* → MEDICINE.OBSTETRICS
pregnancy Rākid; Waḥam
birth control **Tanẓīm al-Nasl**
suckling **Raḍāʿ**
treatises on ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Kātib al-Kurṭubī
childhood Bāligh; **Ṣaghīr**; Yatīm
see also Ḥaḍāna; al-Shayb wa ʾl-Shabāb; [in Suppl.] Nafaka; *and* → CIRCUMCISION; EDUCATION; MARRIAGE
old age **Muʿammar**
see also al-Shayb wa ʾl-Shabāb; Shaykh; *and* → DEATH

LINGUISTICS **Lugha**; Naḥw; Taṣrīf; Uṣūl
see also Balāgha; Bayān; Laḥn al-ʿĀmma; Sharḥ.I; *and* → LANGUAGES; LEXICOGRAPHY
grammarians/philologists
biographies of al-Zubaydī
8th century ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāk; Abū ʿAmr al-ʿAlāʾ; al-Akhfash.I; ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar; al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad; Kuṭrub; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī; Sībawayhi; al-Shaybānī, Abū ʿAmr (*and* [in Suppl.] Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī); Yūnus b. Ḥabīb
see also [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-Baydāʾ al-Riyāḥī
9th century Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī; Abū ʿUbayd al-Kāsim b. Sallām; Abū ʿUbayda; Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī; al-Akhfash.II; al-Aṣmaʿī; al-Bāhilī, Abū Naṣr; Djūdī al-Mawrūrī; al-Farrāʾ; Ibn al-Aʿrābī, Muḥammad; Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī; Ibn al-Sikkīt; al-Kisāʾī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan; al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar; al-Māzinī, Abū ʿUthmān; al-Mubarrad; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb; al-Ruʾāsī; al-Yazīdī.2; [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-ʿAmaythal
10th century al-Akhfash.III; al-Anbārī, Abū Bakr; al-Anbārī, Abū Muḥammad; al-ʿAskarī.i; Djaḥẓa; al-Fārisī; Ghulām Thaʿlab; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī; Ibn al-ʿArīf, al-Ḥusayn; Ibn Djinnī; Ibn Durayd; Ibn Durustawayh; Ibn Kaysān; Ibn Khālawayh; Ibn al-Khayyāṭ, Abū Bakr; Ibn al-Kūṭiyya; Ibn al-Naḥḥās; Ibn al-Sarrādj; al-Kālī; Kudāma; Nifṭawayh; al-Rummānī; al-Sīrāfī; al-Ṭayālisī, Djaʿfar; Thaʿlab; al-Zadjdjādj; al-Zadjdjādjī; al-Zubaydī; [in Suppl.] Abū Isḥāk al-Fārisī; Abū Riyāsh al-Kaysī; Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī; al-Ḥātimī; Ibn Kaysān; Ibn Miksam
11th century al-Adjdābī; al-ʿAskarī. ii; Ibn al-Birr; Ibn Fāris; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj; Ibn al-Iflīlī; Ibn Makkī; Ibn Sīda; al-Kazzāz; al-Marzūkī; al-Rabaḥī; al-Rabaʿī; al-Shantamarī; Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. Bābashādh; al-Wāḥidī; [in Suppl.] Abū Usāma al-Harawī; al-Djurdjānī
12th century al-Anbārī, Abu ʾl-Barakāt; al-Baṭalyawsī; al-Djawālīkī; al-Djazūlī, Abū Mūsā; al-Ḥarīrī; Ibn Barrī, Abū Muḥammad; Ibn Maḍāʾ; Ibn al-Shadjarī al-Baghdādī; al-Maydānī; al-Tibrīzī; al-Zamakhsharī; [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-Barakāt; Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī
13th century al-Astarābādhī, Raḍī al-Dīn; Ibn al-Adjdābī; Ibn al-Athīr.1; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj; Ibn al-Ḥādjib; Ibn Mālik; Ibn Muʿṭī; al-Muṭarrizī; al-Shalawbīn; al-Sharīshī; al-ʿUkbarī; [in Suppl.] al-Balaṭī, Abu ʾl-Fatḥ ʿUthmān; Ibn al-Adjdābī; al-Zandjānī
14th century Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī; al-Astarābādhī, Rukn al-Dīn; Fakhrī; Ibn Ādjurrūm; Ibn ʿAkīl, ʿAbd Allāh; Ibn Barrī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan; Ibn Hishām, Djamāl al-Dīn; Ibn Khātima; Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh; al-Sharīf al-Gharnaṭī; Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī
15th century al-Azharī, Khālid; Ibn ʿĀṣim; al-Sanhūrī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan; al-Suyūṭī
17th century ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī
18th century Farḥāt
19th century Fāris al-Shidyāk; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj; al-Nabarāwī; al-Yāzidjī.1
see also Fuʾād Pasha

20th century [in Suppl.] Arat; al-Shartūnī

phonetics Ḥurūf al-Hidjāʾ.II; Makhāridj al-Ḥurūf; Mushtarik; Ṣawtiyya; Tafkhīm

see also Hāwī; Ḥurūf al-Hidjāʾ; Imāla; Uṣūl

for Arabic and Persian dialects → LANGUAGES; *for the letters of the alphabet* → ALPHABET

terms Aḍdād; Āla.i.; ʿĀmil; ʿAṭf; Dakhīl; Djāmʿ; Fard.c; Fiʿl; Gharīb; Ḥaraka wa-Sukūn.ii; Ḥarf; Hāwī; Ḥikāya.I; Ḥukm.II; Ḥulūl; Ibdāl; Iḍāfa; Idghām; Iḍmār; ʿIlla.i; Imāla; Iʿrāb; Ishtiḳāḳ; Ism; Istifhām; Istithnāʾ; Kasra; Ḳaṭʿ; Khabar; Ḳiyās.2; Māḍī; Maʿnā.1; Muʿarrab; Mubālagha.a; Mubtadaʾ.1; Muḍāriʿ; Mudhakkar; Muḍmar; Musnad.2; Muṭlaḳ; Muwallad.2; Muzdawidj; Nafy; Naṣb; Naʿt; Nisba.1; Rafʿ.1; Sabab.4; Ṣaḥīḥ.3; Sālim.2; Ṣarf; Sharṭ.3; Ṣifa.1; Ṣila.1; Taʿaddī; Tafḍīl; Tafkhīm; Taḳdīr.1; Tamthīl.1; Tanwīn; Taʿrīb; Taʿrīf.2; Taṣrīf; Waḍʿ al-Lugha; Waḥda.1; Waṣl; Wazn.2; Ẓarf; [in Suppl.] Ḥāl; Lafẓ

see also Basīṭ wa-Murakkab; Ghalaṭāt-i Meshhūre; Ḥurūf al-Hidjāʾ; Taʿlīḳ

LITERATURE **Adab**; ʿArabiyya.B; ʿIrāḳ.v; Iran.vii; ʿOthmānli̊.III; Tunisia.V; Turks.III; Urdū.2

autobiographical Ibn Ṭūlūn; Nuʿayma, Mīkhāʾīl; Sālim; Shāʾūl; Zaydān, Djurdjī

see also Shaybānī; Tardjama.1; Tūzūk

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biographical Faḍīla; **Manāḳib**; Mathālib; **Ṭabaḳāt**; Tadhkira.2 *and* 3; Tardjama.1; Tūzūk

see also ʿIlm al-Ridjāl; Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ; Mughals.10; Shurafāʾ.2; Ṣila.2.II.c; *and* → HAGIOGRAPHY; LITERATURE.HISTORICAL *and* POETRY; MEDICINE.PHYSICIANS. BIOGRAPHIES OF; MUḤAMMAD, THE PROPHET

criticism [in Suppl.] **Naḳd**

classical Ibn ʿAbbād; Ibn al-Athīr.3; Ibn al-Muʿtazz; Ibn Rashīḳ; Ibn Sharaf al-Ḳayrawānī; Ḳudāma; al-Sidjilmāsī; [in Suppl.] al-Djurdjānī; al-Ḥātimī

and → RHETORIC.TREATISES ON

modern Kemāl, Meḥmed Nāmiḳ; Köprülü; Kurd ʿAlī; al-Māzinī; Olghun, Meḥmed Ṭāhir; [in Suppl.] Alangu; Atač

terms Mubālagha.b; Waḥshī

drama **Masraḥ**; Taʿziya

Arabic Khayāl al-Ẓill; **Masraḥ**.1 *and* 2

see also ʿArabiyya.B.V

playwrights Abū Naḍḍāra; Faraḥ Anṭūn; Ibn Dāniyāl; al-Ḳusanṭīnī; al-Maʿlūf; Nadjīb al-Ḥaddād; Nadjīb Muḥammad Surūr; al-Naḳḳāsh; Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr; Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh; al-Sharḳāwī; Shawḳī; al-Yāzidjī.3; [in Suppl.] al-Bustānī.1

see also Isḥāḳ, Adīb; Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī; Khalīl Muṭrān; Muḥammad Bey ʿUthmān Djalāl (*and* [in Suppl.] Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl); Shumayyil, Shiblī; Ṭuʿma, Ilyās

Central Asian **Masraḥ**.5

Persian **Masraḥ**.4; Taʿziya

playwrights Muḥammad Djaʿfar Ḳaradja-dāghī; [in Suppl.] Amīrī; ʿIshḳī

Turkish Ḳaragöz; Ḳawuḳlu; **Masraḥ**.3; Orta Oyunu

playwrights ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid; Aḥmad Wafīḳ Pasha; Ākhund-zāda; Djewdet; Karay, Refīḳ Khālid; Ḳaṣāb, Teodor; Kemāl, Meḥmed Nāmiḳ; Khayr Allāh Efendi; Manāṣtirli̊ Meḥmed Rifʿat; Meḥmed Raʾūf; Mīzāndji̊ Meḥmed Murād; Muḥibb Aḥmed "Diranas"; Muṣāḥib-zāde Djelāl; Oktay Rifat; Shināsī; [in Suppl.] Alus; Bashḳut; Čamli̊bel; Ḥasan Bedr al-Dīn

see also Djanāb Shihāb al-Dīn; Ebüzziya Tevfik; Ekrem Bey; Kaygi̊li̊, ʿOthmān Djemāl; Khālide Edīb; Muʿallim Nādjī

Urdu **Masraḥ**.6
playwrights Amānat; [in Suppl.] Āgh̲ā Ḥash̲ar Kash̲mīrī
epistolary **Insh̲ā'**; Kātib; **Risāla**; [in Suppl.] **Maktūbāt**
see also Ṣadr.(b)
letter-writers ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Aḥmad Sirhindī; ʿAmr b. Masʿada; al-Babbagh̲ā'; Gh̲ālib; Ḥāletī; al-Hamadh̲ānī; Harkarn; Ibn ʿAmīra; Ibn al-Ath̲īr.3; Ibn Idrīs.I; Ibn Ḳalāḳis; Ibn al-Kh̲aṣīb; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī; al-Ḳabtawrī; al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil; Kānī; Kh̲alīfa Sh̲āh Muḥammad; Kh̲ʷāndamīr; al-Kh̲ʷārazmī; al-Maʿarrī; Makh̲dūm al-Mulk Manīrī; Meḥmed Pash̲a Rāmī (*and* Rāmī Meḥmed Pash̲a); Muḥammad b. Hindū-Sh̲āh; Oḳču-zāde; Rash̲īd al-Dīn (Waṭwāṭ); Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd; al-Sh̲aybānī, Ibrāhīm; Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad; Ṭāhir Waḥīd; al-ʿUtbī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; al-Wahrānī; Yūsufī; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf; Amīr Niẓām; Ibn Kh̲alaf; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbō Lāhawrī; al-Sh̲artūnī
see also Aljamía; al-Dj̲unayd; Ibn al-ʿAmīd.1; Ibn al-Kh̲aṭīb; Mugh̲als.10; Sudj̲ān Rāy Bhandārī; al-Wash̲sh̲ā'; [in Suppl.] Isfizārī; Mansh̲ūrāt
etiquette-literature **Adab**; al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-Masāwī
see also al-Dj̲idd wa 'l-Hazl; Dj̲ins; Ḥiyal; Iyās b. Muʿāwiya; Kalīla wa-Dimna; Kātib; Marzban-nāma; Nadīm; Sulūk.1; Ṭufaylī; Ẓarīf
authors Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī; al-Bayhaḳī; Dj̲āḥiẓ; al-Gh̲uzūlī; Hilāl al-Ṣābi'; al-Ḥuṣrī.I; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih; Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā; Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ; al-Ḳalyūbī; al-Ḳāsh̲ānī; al-Kisrawī; al-Marzubānī; Merdj̲ümek; al-Nīsābūrī; al-Rāgh̲ib al-Iṣfahānī; al-Sh̲imsh̲āṭī; al-Ṣūlī; al-Tanūkh̲ī, al-Muḥassin; al-Wash̲sh̲ā'
see also al-Dj̲ahsh̲iyārī; al-Ḳalḳash̲andī.1; Sh̲abīb b. Sh̲ayba; al-Zarnūdj̲ī
folkloric Bilmedj̲e; Ḥikāya; Nādira; [in Suppl.] Taḳālīd
see also Yahūd.5; *and* → *the section Poetry.vernacular below*; PROVERBS
genealogical Math̲ālib
see also Ṭabaḳāt
genealogists al-Abīwardī; al-Dj̲awwānī; al-Hamdānī; al-Kalbī.II; al-Ḳalḳash̲andī.1; Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh̲; al-Marwazī; Muṣʿab; al-Rush̲āṭī; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār; [in Suppl.] Fakh̲r-i Mudabbir
see also Ibn Da'b; al-Ḳādirī al-Ḥasanī; al-Kh̲ʷārazmī; Mihmindār
genres
for the genres of non-literary disciplines → ASTRONOMY; LAW; THEOLOGY; *etc.*
poetry Gh̲azal; Ḥamāsa; Hidj̲ā'; Kān wa-Kān; Ḳaṣīda; Kh̲amriyya; al-Ḳūmā; Madīḥ; Malḥūn; Marth̲iya; Math̲nawī; Mufākh̲ara; Munṣifa; Musammaṭ; Muwash̲sh̲aḥ; Naḳā'iḍ; Nawriyya; Sh̲ahrangīz; Sh̲arḳī; Ṣuʿlūk.II.4 *and* III.2; Tadh̲kira.2 *and* 3; Ṭardiyya; Tardj̲īʿ-band; Waṣf.1; Zadj̲al; Zahriyyāt; Zuhdiyya; [in Suppl.] Ḥabsiyya; Ḳiṭʿa; Naẓm.1
see also ʿArabiyya.B; Iran.vii; Rabīʿiyyāt; Sāḳī.2; Sh̲awāhid; Takh̲mīs; Wā-sōkh̲t
prose Adab; Adj̲ā'ib; Awā'il; Badīʿ; Bilmedj̲e; Dj̲afr; Faḍīla; Fahrasa; Ḥikāya; Ilāhī; Insh̲ā'; Isrā'īliyyāt; Kh̲iṭaṭ; Ḳiṣṣa; Laḥn al-ʿĀmma; Lugh̲z; al-Magh̲āzī; al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-Masāwī; Maḳāla; Maḳāma; Manāḳib; Masā'il wa-Adj̲wiba; al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik; Masraḥ; Math̲ālib; Mawsūʿa; Muḳaddima; Mukh̲taṣar; Munāẓara; Nādira (*and* [in Suppl.]); Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk; Riḥla; Risāla; Sh̲arḥ; Ṣila.2; Sīra; Sunan; Ṭabaḳāt; Tadh̲kira.1; Tafsīr; Tardj̲ama; Uḳṣūṣa; [in Suppl.] Arbaʿūn Ḥadīth̲; Malfūẓāt; Taḳrīẓ
see also Alf Layla wa-Layla (363b); ʿArabiyya.B; Bibliography; Dj̲ugh̲rāfiyā; Fatḥnāme; Ḥayawān; Ḥiyal; Iran.vii; Malāḥim; Math̲al; Sh̲āhnāmedj̲i; Zuhd; *and* → CHRISTIANITY.MONASTERIES.WRITINGS ON; LITERATURE.TRADITION-LITERATURE; PILGRIMAGE
historical Isrā'īliyyāt; al-Magh̲āzī; Tardj̲ama.1; **Ta'rīkh̲**.II
see also Fatḥnāme; Ṣaḥāba; Ṣila.2.II; *and* → *the sections Biographical, Magh̲āzī-litera-*

ture and Tradition-literature under this entry
Andalusian → ANDALUSIA
Arabic **Taʾrikh**.II.1
on countries/cities → *individual countries*
on dynasties/caliphs → *individual dynasties under* DYNASTIES
universal histories Abu ʾl-Fidā; Abū Mikhnaf; Akanṣūs; al-Antākī; ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Kātib al-Kurṭubī; al-ʿAynī; al-Bakrī.1 *and* 2; al-Balādhurī; Baybars al-Manṣūrī; al-Birzālī; Daḥlān; al-Dhahabī; al-Diyārbakrī; al-Djannābī; al-Djazarī; al-Farghānī; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī; Ḥasan-i Rūmlū; al-Haytham b. ʿAdī; Ibn Abī Shayba; Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ; Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī; Ibn al-Athīr.2; Ibn al-Dawādārī; Ibn al-Djawzī (Sibṭ); Ibn al-Furāt; Ibn Kathīr; Ibn Khaldūn; Ibn Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī; Ibn al-Sāʿī; al-Kalbī.II; Kātib Čelebi; al-Kutubī; al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd; al-Masʿūdī; Miskawayh; Müneddjim Bashi; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisī; al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn; Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīk; al-Ṭabarī, Abū Djaʿfar; al-Thaʿālibī, Abū Manṣūr (*and* al-Thaʿālibī, Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik); al-Thakafī, Ibrāhīm; Wathīma b. Mūsā; al-Yaʿkūbī; al-Yūnīnī
see also Akhbār Madjmūʿa
8th-century authors Abū Mikhnaf; ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī; Sayf b. ʿUmar
9th-century authors al-Balādhurī; al-Fākihī; al-Farghānī; al-Haytham b. ʿAdī; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam.4; Ibn Abī Shayba; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr; Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī; Ibn Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī; Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ; al-Kalbī.II; al-Madāʾinī; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim; al-Wāḳidī; Wathīma b. Mūsā; al-Yaʿkūbī; al-Ziyādī
10th-century authors ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Kātib al-Kurṭubī; al-Azdī; Baḥshal; al-Balawī; al-Djahshiyārī; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī; Ibn al-Dāya; Ibn al-Kūṭiyya; Ibn Manda; Ibn al-Ṣaghīr; al-Kindī, Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad; al-Masʿūdī; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisī; Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīk; al-Ṭabarī, Abū Djaʿfar; Wakīʿ; al-Waṣīfī
11th-century authors al-Antākī, Abu ʾl-Faradj; Ibn al-Bannāʾ; Ibn Burd.I; Ibn Ḥayyān; Ibn al-Raḳīḳ; al-Māfarrūkhī; al-Rāzī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh; al-Thaʿālibī, Abū Manṣūr
12th-century authors al-ʿAẓīmī; Ibn al-Djawzī; Ibn Ghālib; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, Abū Bakr; Ibn Shaddād, Abū Muḥammad; ʿImād al-Dīn; Shīrawayh; ʿUmāra al-Yamanī
see also al-Baydhaḳ; Ibn Manda
13th-century authors ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī; Abū Shāma; al-Bundārī; al-Djanadī; Ibn Abi ʾl-Dam; Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ; Ibn al-ʿAdīm; Ibn al-Athīr.2; Ibn al-Djawzī (Sibṭ); Ibn Ḥamādu; Ibn Khallikān; Ibn al-Mudjāwir; Ibn Muyassar; Ibn al-Nadjdjār; Ibn al-Sāʿī; Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī; Ibn Shaddād, ʿIzz al-Dīn; Ibn Shaddād, Bahāʾ al-Dīn; Ibn al-Ṭuwayr; al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd; al-Manṣūr, al-Malik; al-Rāfiʿī; [in Suppl.] Ibn ʿAskar; Ibn Ḥātim
14th-century authors Abu ʾl-Fidā; Baybars al-Manṣūrī; al-Birzālī; al-Dhahabī; al-Djazarī; Ibn Abī Zarʿ; Ibn al-Dawādārī; Ibn Dukmāk; Ibn al-Furāt, Nāṣir al-Dīn; Ibn Ḥabīb, Badr al-Dīn; Ibn ʿIdhārī; Ibn Kathīr, ʿImād al-Dīn; Ibn Khaldūn; Ibn al-Khaṭīb; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā; al-Khazradjī, Muwaffak al-Dīn; al-Kutubī; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi ʾl-Faḍāʾil; al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn; al-Ṣafadī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī; al-Sharīf Abū Muḥammad Idrīs; al-Wādīʾāshī; al-Yūnīnī
15th-century authors Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin b. Taghrībirdī; ʿArabfaḳih; al-ʿAynī; al-Fāsī; Ibn ʿArabshāh; Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī; al-Maḳrīzī; al-Sakhāwī
16th-century authors al-Diyārbakrī; al-Djannābī, Abū Muḥammad; Ḥasan-i Rūmlū; Ibn al-Daybaʿ; Ibn Iyās; Ibn Ṭūlūn; Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī; al-Nahrawālī; al-Suyūṭī
17th-century authors ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad; al-Bakrī (b. Abi ʾl-Surūr); Ibn

Abī Dīnār; Kātib Čelebi; al-Makkarī; al-Mawzaʿī; al-Shillī
18th-century authors al-Damurdāshī; al-Ḥādjdj Ḥammūda; al-Ifrānī; Müneddjim Bashî; al-Murādī.3
19th-century authors Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī (*and* al-Nāṣir al-Salāwī); Akanṣūs; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak; Daḥlān; al-Djabartī; Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabāʾī; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḍiyāf; al-Turk, Nikūlā; al-Zayyānī
see also al-Kardūdī
20th-century authors Ibn Zaydān; Kurd ʿAlī; [in Suppl.] Maṭar

Indo-Persian Mughals.10; **Taʾrīkh**.II.4
on countries/cities → INDIA
on dynasties/caliphs → *individual dynasties under* DYNASTIES.AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA
13th-century authors al-Djuzdjānī
14th-century authors Baranī; Shams al-Dīn-i Sirādj ʿAfīf
16th-century authors Abu ʾl-Faḍl ʿAllāmī; Djawhar; Gulbadan Bēgam; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Harawī; [in Suppl.] ʿAbbās Sarwānī
17th-century authors ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī; Bakhtāwar Khān; Firishta; Ināyat Allāh Kańbū; Mīr Muḥammad Maʿṣūm; Niʿmat Allāh b. Ḥabīb Allāh Harawī; Nūr al-Ḥakk al-Dihlawī; Shīrāzī, Rafīʿ al-Dīn; [in Suppl.] ʿĀkil Khān Rāzī; Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr; Ḥaydar Malik; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbō Lāhawrī
see also Badāʾūnī
18th-century authors ʿAbd al-Karīm Kashmīrī; Kāniʿ; Khʷāfī Khān; Niʿmat Khān; Sudjān Rāy Bhandārī
19th-century authors ʿAbd al-Karīm Munshī; Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabāʾī; Ghulām Ḥusayn "Salīm"
see also Aẓfarī

Persian **Taʾrīkh**.II.2; [in Suppl.] Čač-nāma
on Afghanistan → AFGHANISTAN
on Iran → IRAN
on dynasties/caliphs → *individual dynasties under* DYNASTIES.PERSIA
universal histories Mīrkhʷānd; Niẓām-shāhī; Sipihr
10th-century authors Balʿamī.2; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānīʾ [in Suppl.] al-Kummī
11th-century authors Bayhaḳī; Gardīzī; al-Māfarrūkhī
12th-century authors Anūshirwān b. Khālid; al-Bayhaḳī, Ẓahīr al-Dīn; Ibn Manda; [in Suppl.] Ibn al-Balkhī
13th-century authors Djuwaynī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn; Ibn Bībī; Ibn-i Isfandiyār; [in Suppl.] Ḥasan Niẓāmī; al-Ḥusaynī
see also al-Rāfiʿī
14th-century authors Banākitī; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī al-Kazwīnī; Shabānkāraʾī; Waṣṣāf; [in Suppl.] al-Aḳsarāyī
15th-century authors ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Samarḳandī; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī
16th-century authors Bidlīsī, Sharaf al-Dīn; Djamāl al-Ḥusaynī; Ghaffārī; Ḥaydar Mīrzā; Khʷāndamīr; Ḳum(m)ī; al-Lārī; Shāmī, Niẓām al-Dīn; [in Suppl.] Ḥāfiẓ Tanîsh
see also ʿAlī b. Shams al-Dīn
17th-century authors ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūmanī; Ḥaydar b. ʿAlī; Iskandar Beg; Rāzī, Amīn Aḥmad; Ṭāhir Waḥīd
18th-century authors Mahdī Khān Astarābādī
see also Īsar-dās
19th-century authors ʿAbd al-Karīm Bukhārī; [in Suppl.] Fasāʾī

Turkish Shāhnāmedji; **Ta'rīkh**.II.3; Waḳaʿ-nüwīs

on the Ottoman Empire → DYNASTIES.ANATOLIA AND THE TURKS.OTTOMANS.HISTORIANS OF

universal histories Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde

see also Neshrī

15th-century authors ʿĀshıḳ-pasha-zāde; Meḥmed Pasha, Ḳaramānī; Yakhshī Faḳīh

16th-century authors ʿĀlī; Bihishtī; Djalālzāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi; Djalālzāde Ṣāliḥ Čelebi; Kemāl Pasha-zāde; Luḳmān b. Sayyid Ḥusayn; Maṭrāḳčī; Meḥmed Zaʿīm; Neshrī; Selānīkī; Seyfī

see also Ḥadīdī; Medjdī

17th-century authors ʿAbdī; ʿAbdī Pasha; Ḥasan Bey-zāde; Ḥibrī; Ḳarā-čelebi-zāde.4; Kātib Čelebi; Meḥmed Khalīfe b. Hüseyn; Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde; Ṭashköprüzāde.2; Wedjīhī

18th-century authors ʿAbdī Efendi; Aḥmad Rasmī; Čelebi-zāde; Česhmīzāde; Enwerī; ʿIzzī; Münedjdjim Bashı; ʿOthmān-zāde; ʿUshshāḳī-zāde, Ibrāhīm

see also [in Suppl.] Ḳantimīr, Demetrius

19th-century authors Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha; ʿĀṣim; ʿAṭāʾ Bey, Ṭayyārzāda; Esʿad Efendi, Meḥmed; Kemāl, Meḥmed Nāmıḳ; Khayr Allāh Efendi; Wāṣif

20th-century authors Aḥmad Rafīk; ʿAlī Amīrī; (Meḥmed) ʿAṭāʾ Beg; Luṭfī Efendi; Mīzāndjı Meḥmed Murād; Shems al-Dīn Günaltay; Sheref, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; Thüreyyā

see also Ḥilmī

in Eastern Turkish Abu ʾl-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān; Bāḳıkhānlı; Muʾnis; [in Suppl.] Āgahī

hunting → HUNTING.POETRY

imagery → *the section Topoi and imagery below*

in other languages Afghān.iii; Aljamía; Bengali.ii; Berbers.VI; Beskesek-abaza; Bosna.3; Hausa.iii; Hindī; Indonesia.vi; Judaeo-Arabic.iii; Judaeo-Persian.i; Kano; Ḳiṣṣa.8; Lahndā.2; Laḳ; Masraḥ.6; Pandjābī.2; Shiʿr.7; Sind.3.b; Somali.6; Tādjīkī.2; Tashelḥīt.3; [in Suppl.] Shiʿr.5

for Chinese → CHINA; *for Swahili* → KENYA; *for Malaysian* → MALAYSIA; *for Eastern Turkish languages* → *the sections* LITERATURE.HISTORY.TURKISH, POETRY.TURKISH *and* PROSE.TURKISH; *and* → LITERATURE.POETRY.MYSTICAL *and* TRANSLATIONS

Bengali authors Nadhr al-Islām; Nūr Ḳuṭb al-ʿĀlam

Bosnian authors [in Suppl.] Ḳāʾimī

Hindi authors Malik Muḥammad Djāyasī; Nihāl Čand Lāhawrī; Prēm Čand; Sudjān Rāy Bhandārī; [in Suppl.] Kabīr

see also ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān; Inshāʾ; Lallūdjī Lāl

Judaeo-Arabic authors Mūsā b. ʿAzra; al-Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyā; [in Suppl.] Nissīm b. Yaʿḳūb, Ibn Shāhīn

and → JUDAISM.LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Judaeo-Persian authors Shāhīn-i Shīrāzī

and → JUDAISM.LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Pashto authors Khushḥāl Khān Khaṭak

Tatar authors Ghafūrī, Medjīd

maghāzī-literature Abū Maʿshar al-Sindī; Ibn ʿĀʾidh; al-Kalāʿī; **al-Maghāzī**; Mūsā b. ʿUḳba

see also al-Baṭṭāl; Sīra

personages in literature Abū Ḍamḍam; Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim; Abū Zayd; Ali Baba; Ayāz; Aywaz.2; al-Basūs; al-Baṭṭāl; Bekrī Muṣṭafā Agha; Buzurgmihr; Dhu ʾl-Himma; Djamshīd; Djuḥā; al-Ghāḍirī; Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī; Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān; Köroghlu; Manas; Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja; Rustam; Sām; Ṣarı Ṣalṭūḳ Dede; Shahrazād; al-Sīd; Sindbād; Siyāwush

see also Ṭufaylī; Yūsuf and Zulaykhā

picaresque Maḳāma; Mukaddī

pilgrimage-literature → PILGRIMAGE

poetry Arūḍ; Ḥamāsa; Ḳāfiya; Lughz; Maʿnā.3; Mukhtārāt; Muzdawidj; Shāʿir; **Shiʿr**; Wazn.2; [in Suppl.] Naẓm.1

see also Rāwī; Sharḥ.II; Takhalluṣ.1; Taʾrīkh.III; [in Suppl.] Sariḳa; *for poetical genres* → LITERATURE.GENRES.POETRY; *and* → METRICS

Andalusian ʿArabiyya.B.Appendix; Khamriyya.vi; Muwashshaḥ; Nawriyya; Shāʿir.1.D; Zadjal; Zahriyyāt.1

anthologies al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān; al-Fihrī; Ibn Bassām; Ibn Diḥya; Ibn Faradj al-Djayyānī; al-Shaḳundī

8th-century poets Ghirbīb b. ʿAbd Allāh

9th-century poets ʿAbbās b. Firnās; ʿAbbās b. Nāṣiḥ; al-Ghazāl

see also Ibn ʿAlḳama.2

10th-century poets Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih; Ibn Abī Zamanayn; Ibn Faradj al-Djayyānī; Ibn Ḳuzmān.I (*and* [in Suppl.] Ḳuzmān.1); Muḳaddam b. Muʿāfā; al-Ramādī; al-Sharīf al-Ṭalīḳ

11th-century poets Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ilbīrī; Ibn al-Abbār; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad; Ibn ʿAmmār; Ibn Burd.II; Ibn Darrādj al-Ḳasṭallī; Ibn Gharsiya; Ibn al-Ḥaddād; Ibn al-Ḥannāṭ; Ibn al-Labbāna; Ibn Māʾ al-Samāʾ; Ibn al-Shahīd; Ibn Shuhayd; Ibn Zaydūn; al-Muʿtamid ibn ʿAbbād; Wallāda

see also Ṣāʿid al-Baghdādī; al-Waḳḳashī

12th-century poets al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī; Ḥafṣa bint al-Ḥādjdj; Ibn ʿAbdūn; Ibn Baḳī; Ibn Ḳabṭūrnu (*and* [in Suppl.] Ḳabṭūrnuh); Ibn Khafādja; Ibn Ḳuzmān.II *and* V (*and* [in Suppl.] Ḳuzmān.2); Ibn al-Ṣayrafī; al-Ḳurṭubī; al-Ruṣāfī; Ṣafwān b. Idrīs

see also Mūsā b. ʿAzra

13th-century poets Ḥāzim; Ibn al-Abbār; Ibn ʿAmīra; Ibn Sahl; Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī; al-Ḳabtawrī; al-Shushtarī

14th-century poets Ibn al-Ḥādjdj; Ibn Khātima; Ibn Luyūn; Ibn al-Murābiʿ; al-Sharīf al-Gharnāṭī

see also [in Suppl.] al-Ruʿaynī

Arabic Atāba; Ghazal.i; Ḥamāsa.i; Hidjāʾ; Kān wa-Kān; Ḳaṣīda.1; al-Ḳūmā; Madīḥ.1; Maḳṣūra; Malḥūn; Marthiya.1; Mawāliyā; Mawlidiyya; Mukhtārāt.1; Musammaṭ.1; Muwashshaḥ; Naḳāʾiḍ; Nasīb; Rubāʿī.3; Shāʿir.1; **Shiʿr**.1; Takhmīs; Ṭardiyya; Ṭayf al-Khayāl; ʿUdhrī; Zahriyyāt.1; Zuhdiyya; [in Suppl.] Ḳiṭʿa.1; Muḥdathūn

see also ʿArabiyya.B.II; ʿIlm al-Djamāl; Ḳalb.II; Mawlid; Muwallad.2; Ṣuʿlūk; *and* → LITERATURE.POETRY.ANDALUSIAN *and* POETRY.MYSTICAL

anthologies al-Muʿallaḳāt; al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt; **Mukhtārāt**.1

anthologists Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī; Abū Tammām; al-ʿAlamī; al-Bākharzī; al-Buḥturī; Diʿbil; al-Hamdānī; Ḥammād al-Rāwiya; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr; Ibn Dāwūd; Ibn al-Ḳutayba; Ibn al-Muʿtazz; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī; ʿImād al-Dīn; al-Nawādjī; al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ; al-Shayzarī; al-Shimshāṭī; al-Thaʿālibī, Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik; [in Suppl.] Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī; al-Bustānī.3; Muḥammad b. Sayf al-Dīn, Ibn Aydamir; al-Zandjānī

see also al-Ṭayālisī, Djaʿfar

works Bānat Suʿād; Burda.2; Madjnūn Laylā.1; al-Muʿallaḳāt

pre-Islamic poets ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ; Abū Dhuʾayb al-Hudhalī; Abū Duʾād al-Iyādī; Abū Kabīr al-Hudhalī; ʿAdī b. Zayd; al-Afwah al-Awdī; al-Aghlab al-ʿIdjlī; ʿAlḳama; ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl; ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam; ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa; ʿAmr b. Kulthūm; ʿAntara; al-Aʿshā; al-Aswad b. Yaʿfur; Aws b. Ḥadjar; Bishr b. Abī Khāzim; Bisṭām b. Ḳays; Durayd b. al-Ṣimma; al-Ḥādira; al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza; Ḥassān b.

Thābit; Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī; Ibn al-Iṭnāba al-Khazradjī; Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. Ḥudjr; Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm; al-Khansāʾ; Laḳīṭ al-Iyādī; Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra; al-Munakhkhal al-Yashkurī; Muraḳḳish; al-Mutalammis; al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī; Salāma b. Djandal; al-Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyā; al-Shanfarā; Taʾabbaṭa Sharran; Ṭarafa; Ṭufayl b. ʿAwf; Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ; Umayya b. ʿAbi ʾl-Ṣalt; ʿUrwa b. al-Ward; Zuhayr *see also* ʿArabiyya.B.I; Ghazal; Hudhayl; al-Muʿallaḳāt; al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt; Mufākhara.2; Nasīb.2.a; Shāʿir.1A; al-Shantamarī; Ṣuʿlūk.II.4

mukhaḍramūn poets (6th-7th centuries) al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās; ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa; Abū Khirāsh; Abū Miḥdjān; ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib; Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb; Ḥassān b. Thābit; al-Ḥuṭayʾa; Ibn (al-)Aḥmar; Kaʿb b. Mālik; Kaʿb b. Zuhayr; Khidāsh b. Zuhayr al-Aṣghar; Labīd b. Rabīʿa; Maʿn b. Aws al-Muzanī; **Mukhaḍram**; Mutammim b. Nuwayra; al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī; al-Namir b. Tawlab al-ʿUklī; al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār; Suḥaym; [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-Ṭamaḥān al-Ḳaynī; Ibn Muḳbil *see also* Hudhayl; Nasīb.2.b; [in Suppl.] Muḥdathūn

7th and 8th-century poets al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf; ʿAbd Allāh b. Hammān; Abū ʿAṭāʾ al-Sindī; Abū Dahbal al-Djumaḥī; Abū Dulāma; Abu ʾl-Nadjm al-ʿIdjlī; Abū Ṣakhr al-Hudhalī; Abu ʾl-Shamaḳmaḳ; Adī b. al-Riḳāʿ; al-ʿAdjdjādj; al-Aḥwaṣ; al-Akhṭal; al-ʿArdjī; Aʿshā Hamdān; al-Ashdjaʿ b. ʿAmr al-Sulamī; Ayman b. Khuraym; al-Baʿīth; Bashshār b. Burd; Dhu ʾl-Rumma; Djamīl; Djarīr; Dukayn al-Rādjiz; al-Farazdaḳ; al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbdal; al-Ḥakam b. Ḳanbar; Ḥammād ʿAdjrad; Ḥamza b. Bīḍ; Ḥāritha b. Badr al-Ghudānī; al-Ḥudayn; Ḥumayd b. Thawr; Ḥumayd al-Arḳaṭ; Ibn Abī ʿUyayna; Ibn al-Dumayna; Ibn Harma; Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt; Ibn Ladjaʾ; Ibn al-Mawlā; Ibn Mayyāda; Ibn Mufarrigh; Ibn Muṭayr; Ibn Sayḥān; ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān; ʿInān; Ismāʿīl b. Yasār; Kaʿb b. Djuʿayl al-Taghlabī; Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa; al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī; al-Ḳuṭāmī; Kuthayyir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; Laylā al-Akhyaliyya; Manṣūr al-Namarī; Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa and Marwān b. Abi ʾl-Djanūb; Miskīn al-Dārimī; Mūsā Shahawātin; Musāwir al-Warrāḳ; Muṭīʿ b. Iyās; Nubāta b. ʿAbd Allāh; Nuṣayb; Nuṣayb b. Rabāḥ; al-Rāʿī; Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī; Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī; Saḥbān Wāʾil; Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs; Salm al-Khāsir; al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī; al-Shamardal; Sudayf b. Maymūn; Sufyān al-ʿAbdī; Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā; Surāḳa b. Mirdās al-Aṣghar; Ṭahmān b. ʿAmr al-Kilābī; Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir; Thābit Ḳuṭna; al-Ṭirimmāḥ; al-Uḳayshir; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa; ʿUrwa b. Ḥizām; ʿUrwa b. Udhayna; Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman; Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb; al-Walīd.2; al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf; al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba; Yazīd Ibn Ḍabba; al-Zafayān; al-Zibriḳān b. Badr; Ziyād al-Aʿdjam; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān; Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī (*and* al-Shaybānī, Abū ʿAmr); Abū Ḥayyā al-Numayrī; Abū Ḥuzāba; Abū Nukhayla; Bakr b. al-Naṭṭāḥ; al-Nadjāshī

see also Nasīb.2.c *and* d; Ṣuʿlūk.III.2; [in Suppl.] Muḥdathūn

9th and 10th-century poets Abān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir; Abu ʾl-ʿAtāhiya; Abu ʾl-ʿAynāʾ; Abū Dulaf; Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī; Abū Firās; Abū Nuwās; Abu ʾl-Shīṣ; Abū Tammām; Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Khuraymī; al-ʿAkawwak; ʿAlī b. al-Djahm; al-ʿAttābī; al-Babbaghāʾ; al-Baṣīr; al-Buḥturī; al-Bustī; Diʿbil; Dīk al-Djinn; al-Ḥimṣī; al-Djammāz; al-Hamdānī; (al-)Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk; Ibn al-ʿAllāf; Ibn Bassām; Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj; Ibn Kunāsa; Ibn Lankak; Ibn al-Muʿadhdhal; Ibn Munādhir; Ibn al-Muʿtazz; Ibn al-Rūmī; al-Ḳāsim b. ʿĪsā; Khālid b. Yazīd al-Kātib al-Tamīmī; al-Khālidiyyāni; al-Khaṭṭābī; al-Khubzaʾaruzzī; al-Kisrawī; Kushādjim; al-Maʾmūnī; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭawī; Muḥammad b. Ḥāzim al-Bāhilī; Muḥammad b. Umayya; Muḥammad b. Yasīr al-Riyāshī; al-Muṣʿabī; Muslim b. al-Walīd; al-Mutanabbī; Naṣr b. Nuṣayr; Sahl b. Hārūn b. Rāhawayh; Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd; al-Ṣanawbarī; al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ; al-

Shimshāṭī; Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad; Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh; ʿUlayya; al-ʿUtbī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; al-Warrāḳ, Maḥmūd; al-Waʾwāʾ al-Dimashḳī; Yamūt b. al-Muzarraʿ; [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-ʿAmaythal; Abu ʾl-Asad al-Ḥimmānī; Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Maghribī; Abū Hiffān; Abu ʾl-ʿIbar; Abū Riyāsh al-Ḳaysī; Abū Saʿd al-Makhzūmī; Abū Shurāʿa; ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tūnisī al-Iyādī; Faḍl al-Shāʿira; al-Fazārī; al-Ḥamdawī

see also al-Hamadhānī; Ibn Abī Zamanayn; Nasīb.2.d; Shahīd; al-Ṣūlī; al-Ṭufaylī; al-Yazīdī.2

11th-13th-century poets al-Abīwardī; ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Abzārī; al-Arradjānī; al-Badīʿ al-Asṭurlābī; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr; al-Bākharzī; Ḥayṣa Bayṣa; al-Ḥuṣrī.II; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd; Ibn Abī Ḥaṣīna; Ibn al-ʿAfīf al-Tilimsānī; Ibn al-Habbāriyya; Ibn Ḥamdīs; Ibn Ḥayyūs; Ibn Hindū; Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān; Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī.2; Ibn Khamīs; Ibn Maṭrūḥ; Ibn al-Nabīh; Ibn Rashīḳ; Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk; Ibn al-Shadjarī al-Baghdādī; Ibn Sharaf al-Ḳayrawānī; Ibn Shibl; Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī; al-Kammūnī; Ḳurhub; al-Maʿarrī; al-Marwazī; Mihyār; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar; al-Rūdhrāwarī; al-Ṣaghānī, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin; Ṣāʿid al-Baghdādī; al-Sharīf al-ʿAḳīlī; al-Sharīf al-Raḍī; Shumaym; al-Tallaʿfarī; Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz; al-Ṭarābulusī al-Raffāʾ; al-Tihāmī; al-Tilimsānī.3; al-Ṭughrāʾī; ʿUmāra al-Yamanī; al-Wāsānī; Ẓāfir al-Ḥaddād; [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī; al-Balaṭī, Abu ʾl-Fatḥ ʿUthmān; al-Būṣīrī; al-Ghazzī; al-Isʿirdī

see also al-Khazradjī; Nasīb.2.d; al-Wāthiḳī; Yāḳūt al-Rūmī

14th-18th-century poets ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad; ʿAbd al-Ghanī; al-Bakrī; al-Būrīnī; Farḥāt; Ibn Abī Ḥadjala; Ibn ʿAmmār; Ibn Ḥidjdja; Ibn Nubāta; Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh; Ibn al-Wannān; al-Ṣanʿānī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn; Suʿūdī; al-Warghī; al-Yadālī; al-Yūsī

see also Khiḍr Beg; al-Shirbīnī; al-Wādīʾāshī

19th and 20th-century poets al-Akhras; al-Bārūdī; Fāris al-Shidyāḳ; al-Fārūḳī; Fikrī; Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm; Ibn Idrīs (I); Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī; Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī Pasha; Ḳaddūr al-ʿAlamī; al-Kāẓimī, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin; Khalīl Muṭrān; al-Khūrī; al-Maʿlūf; al-Manfalūṭī; Mardam.2; Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī; al-Māzinī; Nādjī; Nadjīb al-Ḥaddād; Nadjīb Muḥammad Surūr; Saʿīd Abū Bakr; Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr; Ṣāyigh, Tawfīḳ; al-Shābbī; al-Sharḳāwī; Shāʾūl; Shawḳī; Shukrī; Ṭāhā, ʿAlī Maḥmūd; Ṭuʿma, Ilyās; al-Tūnisī, Maḥmūd Bayram; al-Turk, Niḳūlā; Yakan, Muḥammad Walī al-Dīn; al-Yāzidjī.1-4; al-Zahāwī, Djamīl Ṣidḳī; [in Suppl.] Abū Māḍī; Abū Shādī; al-ʿAḳḳād; al-Bustānī; Buṭrus Karāma; Ibn ʿAmr al-Ribāṭī; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj; Ḳabbānī

see also Shāʿir.1.C; Shiʿr.1.b

transmission of **Rāwī**

transmitters Ḥammād al-Rāwiya; Ibn Daʾb; Ibn Kunāsa; Khalaf b. Ḥayyān al-Aḥmar; Khālid b. Ṣafwān b. al-Ahtam; al-Kisrawī; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār; al-Sharḳī b. al-Ḳuṭāmī; al-Sukkarī; al-Ṣūlī; [in Suppl.] Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī (*and* al-Shaybānī, Abū ʿAmr)

and → LINGUISTICS.GRAMMARIANS.8TH *and* 9TH CENTURY

bacchic → WINE

Indo-Persian Mughals.10; Sabk-i Hindī; Shāʿir.4

see also Pandjābī.2; *and* → LITERATURE.POETRY.MYSTICAL *and* PERSIAN

11th-century poets Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān; [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-Faradj b. Masʿūd Rūnī

14th-century poets Amīr Khusraw; Ḥasan Dihlawī; [in Suppl.] Ḥamīd Ḳalandar

16th-century poets Fayḍī; Thanāʾī; [in Suppl.] Kāhī; Ḳāsim Arslān

see also ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān

17th-century poets Ghanī; Ghanīmat; Idrākī Bēglārī; Ḳudsī, Muḥammad Djān;

Malik Ḳummi; Munīr Lāhawrī; Nāṣir ʿAlī Sirhindī; Naẓīrī; Salīm, Muḥammad Ḳulī; Shaydā, Mullā; Ṭālib Āmulī; Tughrā, Mullā; [in Suppl.] Ghanīmat Kundjāhī

18th-century poets Ārzū Khān; Ashraf ʿAlī Khān; Bīdil; Dard; Ḥazīn; Ḳāniʿ; Makhfī; Wafā.1

see also Taḥsīn

19th-century poets Aẓfarī; Ghālib; Rangīn; [in Suppl.] Adīb Pīshāwarī

see also Afsūs

love **Ghazal**; **Nasīb**; Raḳīb; Shahrangīz; Turks.III.4; ʿUdhrī

see also al-Marzubānī; Nardjis; Shawḳ.1(a); Shawḳ, Taṣadduḳ Ḥusayn; *and* → Love

Arabic poets al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf; Abū Dhuʾayb al-Hudhalī; Abū Nuwās; al-Aḥwaṣ; al-ʿArdjī; Bashshār b. Burd; Djamīl al-ʿUdhrī; Ibn Dāwūd; Ibn al-Dumayna; Ibn Mayyāda; Ibn al-Nabīh; Ibn Sahl; Ibn Zaydūn; Imruʾ al-Ḳays; Kuthayyir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; Laylā al-Akhyaliyya; Manṣūr al-Namarī; Muraḳḳish.1; Nādjī; Nuṣayb b. Rabāḥ; al-Ramādī; Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd; Suḥaym; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa; ʿUrwa b. Ḥizām; ʿUrwa b. Udhayna; al-Walīd.2

see also ʿInān; Madjnūn Laylā.1; *and* → Love.erotic

Persian poets Ḥāfiẓ; Muḥtasham-i Kāshānī; Saʿdī; Ṣāʾib; Shahriyār; Zulālī-yi Khʷānsārī

see also Farhād wa-Shīrīn; Madjnūn Laylā.2; Shahīd; Wāmiḳ wa ʿAdhrāʾ; Wīs u Rāmīn

Turkish poets

see also Farhād wa-Shīrīn; Madjnūn Laylā.3

Urdu poets Dāgh; Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī; Shawḳ

see also Madjnūn Laylā.4; *and* → Love.erotic

mystical

Arabic ʿAbd al-Ghanī; al-Bakrī, Muḥammad; al-Bakrī, Muṣṭafā; al-Dimyāṭī; al-Ḥallādj; Ibn ʿAdjība; Ibn ʿAlīwa; Ibn al-ʿArabī; al-Madjdhūb; Makhrama.3; al-Shushtarī

see also ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī; Abū Madyan; al-Ḳādirī al-Ḥasanī; al-Yāfiʿī; [in Suppl.] al-Hilālī

Central Asian Aḥmad Yasawī

Indian Bāḳī bi ʾllāh; Bīdil; Dard; "Djamālī"; Hānsawī; Ḥusaynī Sādāt Amīr; Imdād Allāh; Malik Muḥammad Djāyasī; [in Suppl.] Ḥamīd Ḳalandar; Kabīr

see also Bhitāʾī; Pandjābī.2; Shāʿir.4

Indonesian Ḥamza Fanṣūrī

Persian Aḥmad-i Djām; ʿAṭṭār; Bābā-Ṭāhir; Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; Faḍl Allāh Ḥurūfī; Ghudjduwānī; Humām al-Dīn b. ʿAlāʾ Tabrīzī; ʿIrāḳī; Kamāl Khudjandī; Ḳāsim-i Anwār; Kirmānī; Lāhidjī; Maḥmūd Shabistarī; Sanāʾī; Shīrīn Maghribī, Muḥammad; Sulṭān Walad; [in Suppl.] ʿĀrif Čelebī; ʿImād al-Dīn ʿAlī, Faḳīh-i Kirmānī

see also Abū Saʿīd b. Abi ʾl-Khayr; Kharaḳānī; Shawḳ; [in Suppl.] Aḥmad-i Rūmī

Turkish ʿĀshiḳ Pasha; Faṣīḥ Dede; Gulshanī; Gülshehrī; Hüdāʾī; Münedjdjim Bashî; Nefes; Nesīmī; Refīʿī; Ṣarî ʿAbd Allāh Efendī; Sezāʾī, Ḥasan Dede; Sheyyād Ḥamza; Yūnus Emre; [in Suppl.] Eshrefoghlu; Esrār Dede; Rūshanī, Dede ʿUmar; Süleymān Dhātī

see also Ḥusām al-Dīn Čelebi; Ismāʿīl al-Anḳarawī; Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī; Ḳayghusuz Abdāl; Khalīlī; Sulṭān Walad; Yazîdjî-oghlu

nature Ibn Khafādja; Nawriyya; Rabīʿiyyāt; al-Ṣanawbarī; Zahriyyāt

see also al-Walīd.2; [in Suppl.] Ward

Persian Ghazal.ii; Ḥamāsa.ii; Hidjāʾ.ii; Ḳaṣīda.2; Khamsa; Madīḥ.2; Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ;

Marthiya.2; Mathnawī.2; Mukhtārāt.2; Musammaṭ; Mustazād; Rubāʿī.1; Shahrangīz.1; Shāʿir.2; **Shiʿr**.2; Takhalluṣ.2; Tardjīʿ-band; Zahriyyāt.2; [in Suppl.] Ḥabsiyya; Ḳiṭʿa.2

see also Radīf.2; Ṣafawids.III; Sāḳī.2; Shaman; Shaʿr.3; Sharīf; Wā-sēkht; Yaghmā Djandaḳī; [in Suppl.] Miʿrādj.6; Ṣawladjān; *and* → LITERATURE.POETRY.INDO-PERSIAN *and* POETRY.MYSTICAL

anthologies **Mukhtārāt**.2; **Tadhkira**.2

anthologists ʿAwfī; Dawlat-Shāh; Luṭf ʿAlī Beg; Taḳī Awḥadī; Taḳī al-Dīn; [in Suppl.] Djādjarmī.2

biographies Dawlat-Shāh; Sām Mīrzā; **Tadhkira**.2; Taḳī al-Dīn; Wafā.4

stories Barzū-nāma; Farhād wa-Shirīn; Iskandar Nāma.ii; Kalīla wa-Dimna; Madjnūn Laylā.2; Wāmiḳ wa ʿAdhrāʾ; Wīs u Rāmīn; Yūsuf and Zulaykhā.1

9th-century poets Muḥammad b. Waṣīf

see also Sahl b. Hārūn b. Rāhawayh

10th-century poets Bābā-Ṭāhir; Daḳīḳī; Kisāʾī; al-Muṣʿabī; Rūdakī; Shahīd; [in Suppl.] Abū Shakūr Balkhī; Maʿrūf Balkhī

11th-century poets Asadī; Azraḳī; Farrukhī; Firdawsī; Gurgānī; Ḳaṭrān; Lāmiʿī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan; Manūčihrī; ʿUnṣurī

12th-century poets ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Djabalī; Anwarī; Falakī Shirwānī; ʿImādī (*and* [in Suppl.]); Khāḳānī; Labībī; Mahsatī; Muʿizzī; Mukhtārī; Ṣābir; Sanāʾī; Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī; Shufurwa; Sūzanī; ʿUmar Khayyām; Ẓahīr-i Fāryābī; [in Suppl.] ʿAmʿaḳ; Djamāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī; Mudjīr al-Dīn Baylaḳānī

13th-century poets ʿAṭṭār; Bābā Afḍal; Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; ʿIrāḳī; Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl; Niẓāmī Gandjawī; Pūr-i Bahāʾ; Saʿdī; [in Suppl.] Djādjarmī.1

see also Shams-i Ḳays; Sūdī

14th-century poets ʿAṣṣār; Awḥadī; Banākitī; Ḥāfiẓ; Humām al-Dīn b. ʿAlāʾ Tabrīzī; Ibn-i Yamīn; ʿIṣāmī; Khʷādjū; Nizārī Ḳuhistānī; Rāmī Tabrīzī; Salmān-i Sāwadjī; ʿUbayd-i Zākānī; [in Suppl.] Badr-i Čāčī; Djādjarmī.2; ʿImād al-Dīn ʿAlī, Faḳīh-i Kirmānī

see also Faḍl Allāh Ḥurūfī; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī; Sūdī

15th-century poets Busḥāḳ; Djāmī; Fattāḥī; Ḥāmidī; Kātibī; Sayfī ʿArūḍī Bukhārī; Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī; Shīrīn Maghribī, Muḥammad; [in Suppl.] ʿĀrifī

see also Djem

16th-century poets Bannāʾī; Baṣīrī; Fighānī; Hātifī; Hilālī; Muḥtasham-i Kāshānī; Mushfiḳī; Nawʿī; Saḥābī Astarābādī; Sām Mīrzā; ʿUrfī Shīrāzī; Waḥshī Bāfḳī

see also Luḳmān b. Sayyid Ḥusayn

17th-century poets Asīr; al-Dāmād; Ḳadrī; Ḳalīm Abū Ṭālib; Kāshif; Lāhīdjī.2; Nāẓim Farrukh Ḥusayn; Ṣāʾib; Saʿīdā Gīlānī; Shawkat Bukhārī; Shifāʾī Iṣfahānī; Ṭāhir Waḥīd; Taḳī Awḥadī; ʿUnwān, Muḥammad Riḍā; Ẓuhūrī Turshīzī; Zulālī-yi Khʷānsārī

see also al-ʿĀmilī; Ghanīmat; Khushḥāl Khān Khaṭak; [in Suppl.] Findiriskī; *and* → LITERATURE.POETRY.INDO-PERSIAN

18th-century poets Hātif; Ḥazīn; Luṭf ʿAlī Beg; Nadjāt; Shihāb Turshīzī; Wafā.2 *and* 3

see also Āzād Bilgrāmī

19th-century poets Furūgh; Furūghī.1 *and* 2; Ḳāʾānī; Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn; Nashāṭ; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān; Ṣabā; Sabzawārī; Shaybānī; Shihāb Iṣfahānī; Surūsh; Wafā.5-9; Waḳār; Yaghmā Djandaḳī; [in Suppl.] Wiṣāl

see also Iḳbāl; Ḳāʾim-maḳām-i Farāhānī; Sipihr; Wafā.4

20th-century poets Bahār; Furūghī.3; Lāhūtī; Nafīsī, Saʿīd; Nīmā Yūshīdj; Parwīn Iʿtiṣāmī; Pūr-i Dāwūd; Rashīd Yāsimī; Shahriyār; Shūrīda, Muḥammad Taḳī;

Sipihrī; Wuthūḳ al-Dawla; Yaghmāʾī; Yazdī; [in Suppl.] ʿĀrif, Mīrzā; Ashraf al-Dīn Gīlānī; Dehkhudā; ʿIshḳī
see also Iḳbāl

Turkish Ḥamāsa.iii; Hidjāʾ.iii; Ḳaṣīda.3; Khamsa; Ḳoshma; Madīḥ.3; Māni; Marthiya.3; Mathnawī.3; Mukhtārāt.3; Musammaṭ.1; Rabīʿiyyāt; Rubāʿī.2; Shahrangīz.2; Sharḳi; **Shiʿr**.3; Turks.III (*and* [in Suppl.]); [in Suppl.] Ghazal.iii
see also Alpamïsh; ʿĀshiḳ; Ilāhī; Karadja Oghlan; Ozan; Shāhnāmedji; Shāʿir.3; Tardjīʿ-band; Therwet-i Fünūn; *and* → LITERATURE.POETRY.MYSTICAL
anthologies **Mukhtārāt**.3; **Tadhkira**.3
anthologists Żiyā Pasha
biographies ʿĀshïḳ Čelebi; Laṭīfī; Riḍā; Riyāḍī; Sālim; Sehī Bey; **Tadhkira**.3; [in Suppl.] Meḥmed Ṭāhir, Bursali
stories Farhād wa-Shirīn; Iskandar Nāma.iii; Madjnūn Laylā.3; Yūsuf and Zulaykhā.2
12th-century poets Aḥmad Yuknakī; Ḥakīm Ata
13th-century poets Dehhānī; Sheyyād Ḥamza
14th-century poets Aḥmadī; ʿĀshïḳ Pasha; Burhān al-Dīn; Gülshehrī; Sheykh-oghlu; Yūnus Emre
15th-century poets Āhī; Aḥmad Pasha Bursali; Dāʿī; Firdewsī; Gulshanī; Ḥamdī, Ḥamd Allāh; Ḳāsim Pasha; Ḳayghusuz Abdāl; Khalīlī; Khiḍr Beg; Süleymān Čelebi, Dede; Yazïdjï-oghlu
see also Djem; Ḥāmidī
16th-century poets Āgehī; ʿAzīzī; Bāḳī; Baṣīrī; Bihishtī; Dhātī; Djaʿfar Čelebi; Djalāl Ḥusayn Čelebi; Djalālzāde Muṣṭafā Čelebi; Djalālzāde Ṣāliḥ Čelebi; Faḍli; Faḳīrī; Fawrī; Ferdī; Fighānī; Fuḍūlī; Ghazālī; Gulshanī; Ḥadīdī; Ḳarā-čelebi-zāde; Kemāl Pasha-zāde; Khāḳānī; Khayālī; Ḳorḳud b. Bāyazīd; Lāmiʿī, Shaykh Maḥmūd; Laṭīfī; Luḳmān b. Sayyid Ḥusayn; Meʾalī; Medjdī; Mesīḥī; Mihrī Khātūn; Naẓmī, Edirneli; Nedjātī Bey; Newʿī; Rewānī; Sehī Bey; Surūrī.1; Sūzī Čelebi; Tashlïdjalï Yaḥyā; Wālihi
see also Ṭashköprüzāde.1
17th-century poets ʿAṭāʾī; ʿAzmī-zāde; Bahāʾī Meḥmed Efendi; Faṣīḥ Dede; Fehīm, Undjuzāde Muṣṭafā; Ḥāletī; Ḳarā-čelebi-zāde; Ḳul Muṣṭafā; Ḳuloghlu; Nāʾilī; Nāẓïm, Muṣṭafā; Naẓmī, Sheykh Meḥmed; Nefʿī; Niyāzī; ʿÖmer ʿĀshïḳ; Riyāḍī; Ṣarï ʿAbd Allāh Efendi; Ṭiflī; Wedjīhī; Weysī; Yaḥyā
see also Ṭashköprüzāde.3; [in Suppl.] Ḳāʾimī
18th-century poets Belīgh, Ismāʿīl; Belīgh, Meḥmed Emīn; Čelebi-zāde; Česhmīzāde; Fiṭnat; Gevherī; Ghālib; Ḥāmī-i Āmidī; Ḥashmet; Kānī; Meḥmed Pasha Rāmī (*and* Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha); Nābī; Naḥīfī; Naẓīm; Nedīm; Neshʾet; Newres.1; ʿOthmān-zāde; Rāghib Pasha; Sezāʾī, Ḥasan Dede; Thābit; Wehbī Sayyidī
see also ʿUshshāḳī-zāde, Ibrāhīm
19th-century poets ʿĀrif Hikmet Bey; ʿAynī; Dadaloghlu; Derdli; Dhihnī; Fāḍil Bey; Faṭīn; Fehīm, Süleymān; Ismāʿīl Ṣafā; ʿIzzet Molla; Kemāl, Meḥmed Nāmïḳ; Laylā Khānïm; Menemenli-zāde Meḥmed Ṭāhir; Muʿallim Nādjī; Newres.2; Pertew Pasha.II; Redjāʾī-zāde; Shināsī; Sünbül-zāde Wehbī; Surūrī.2; Wāṣif Enderūnī; Żiyā Pasha
20th-century poets ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid; Djanāb Shihāb al-Dīn; Djewdet; Ekrem Bey; Hāshim; Kanık; Köprülü (Meḥmed Fuad); Ḳoryürek; Laylā Khānïm; Meḥmed ʿĀkif; Meḥmed Emīn; Muḥibb Aḥmed "Diranas"; Nāẓim Ḥikmet; Oktay Rifat; Orkhan Seyfī; Ortač, Yūsuf Ḍiyā; Sāhir, Djelāl; Tanpinar, Aḥmed Ḥamdī; Tewfīḳ Fikret; Yaḥyā Kemāl; Yücel, Ḥasan ʿAlī; [in Suppl.] ʿĀshïk Weysel;

Bölükbashî; Čamlîbel; Eshref; Eyyūboghlu; Gövsa; Kisakürek
see also Therwet-i Fünūn; [in Suppl.] Ergun; Fîndîkoghlu
in Eastern Turkish Ādharī.ii; Bābur; Bāķîkhānlî; Burhān al-Dīn; Dhākir; Djambul Djabaev; Ghāzī Girāy II; Ḥamāsa.iv; Hidjāʾ.iii; Iskandar Nāma.iii; Ismāʿīl I; Ķayyūm Nāṣirī; Ķutadghu Bilig; Luṭfī; Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī; Muʾnis; Sakkākī; Shahriyār; Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib; [in Suppl.] Mīrzā Shafīʿ Wāḍiḥ Tabrīzī
translations from Western langs. Ismāʿīl Ḥaķķi ʿĀlīshān; Kanık; Shināsī; Tewfīķ Fikret
Urdu Ghazal.iv; Ḥamāsa.v; Hidjāʾ.iv; Ķaṣīda.4; Madīḥ.4; Madjnūn Laylā.4; Marthiya.4; Mathnawī.4; Mukhtārāt.4; Musammaṭ.2; Mushāʿara; Shahrangīz.3; **Shiʿr**.4; Urdū.2
see also Tardjīʿ-band; Wā-sōkht
17th-century poets Nuṣratī
18th-century poets Ashraf ʿAlī Khān; Dard; Djurʾat; Maẓhar; Sawdā; Sūz; Walī; [in Suppl.] Ḥasan, Mīr Ghulām
see also Ārzū Khān; Taḥsīn
19th-century poets Amānat; Anīs; Āẓfarī; Dabīr, Salāmat ʿAlī; Dāgh; Dhawķ; Ghālib; Faķīr Muḥammad Khān; Ḥālī; Ilāhī Bakhsh "Maʿrūf"; Inshāʾ; Mīr Muḥammad Taķī; Muḥsin ʿAlī Muḥsin; Muʾmin; Muṣḥafī; Nāsikh; Nasīm; Rangīn; Shawķ, Taṣadduķ Ḥusayn; [in Suppl.] Ātish
see also [in Suppl.] Āzād
20th-century poets Akbar, Ḥusayn Allāhābādī; Āzād; Djawān; Iķbāl; Muḥammad ʿAlī; Rāshid, N.M.; Ruswā; Shabbīr Ḥasan Khān Djosh; Shiblī Nuʿmānī; [in Suppl.] Ḥasrat Mohānī
see also Āzurda
vernacular Ḥawfī; Malḥūn; Mawāliyā; Nabaṭī; Zadjal
see also Būķalā; al-Shām.3

prose Adab; Ḥikāya; Ķiṣṣa; Maķāma; Mawsūʿa; Muķaddima; Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk; Risāla; Sharḥ; Tafsīr; Uķṣūṣa; [in Suppl.] **Nathr**
and → *the sections Etiquette-literature, Historical, and Travel-literature under this entry*; PRESS
for authors in fields other than belles-lettres, see the respective entries
Arabic ʿArabiyya.B.V; Ḥikāya.i; Ķiṣṣa.2; Maķāla.1; Maķāma; Mawsūʿa.1; Miʿrādj.2; Nahḍa; Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk.1; Risāla.1; Sadjʿ.3; Sīra Shaʿbiyya; Uķṣūṣa; [in Suppl.] **Nathr**
and → LITERATURE.DRAMA; PRESS
works Alf Layla wa-Layla; ʿAntar; Baybars; Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf; Dhu 'l-Himma; Kalīla wa-Dimna; Luķmān.3; Sayf Ibn Dhī Yazan; Sindbād al-Ḥakīm; ʿUmar al-Nuʿmān
see also Sindbād; Tawaddud; [in Suppl.] Madīnat al-Nuḥās
8th-century authors Ibn al-Muķaffaʿ
9th-century authors al-Djāḥiẓ; al-Thaʿlabī, Muḥammad; [in Suppl.] Abu 'l-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī
10th-century authors al-Hamadhānī
11th-century authors Ibn Nāķiyā; [in Suppl.] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī
see also al-Thaʿālibī, Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik
12th-century authors al-Ḥarīrī; al-Ṣaymarī; al-Wahrānī; [in Suppl.] al-Djazarī
13th-century authors
see also al-Sharīshī
14th-century authors Ibn Abī Ḥadjala
15th-century authors
see also al-Ibshīhī
17th-century authors al-Shirbīnī; al-Yūsī
18th-century authors al-Warghī

19th-century authors al-Maʿlūf; al-Yāzidjī.1; [in Suppl.] al-Bustānī.6

20th-century authors Aḥmad Amīn; Faraḥ Anṭūn; Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm; Maḥmūd Taymūr; al-Maʿlūf; al-Manfalūṭī; Mayy Ziyāda; al-Māzinī, Ibrāhīm; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal; al-Muwayliḥī; Nuʿayma, Mīkhāʾīl; al-Rayḥānī; Salāma Mūsā; Sayyid Ḳuṭb; al-Sharḳāwī; Shāʾūl; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn; Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm; Ṭuʿma, Ilyās; al-Tūnisī, Maḥmūd Bayram; Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī; Zaydān, Djurdjī; [in Suppl.] Abū Shādī; al-ʿAḳḳād; Lāshīn; al-Shartūnī

see also Djamīl al-Mudawwar; al-Khālidī; Kurd ʿAlī; Shumayyil, Shiblī

Persian Ḥikāya.ii; Iran.vii; Ḳiṣṣa.4; Maḳāla.2; Mawsūʿa.2; Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk.2; Risāla.2; [in Suppl.] Miʿrādj.6

see also Ṣafawids.III; *and* → LITERATURE.DRAMA; PRESS

works Bakhtiyār-nāma; Dabistān al-Madhāhib; Ḳahramān-nāma; Kalīla wa-Dimna; Madjnūn Laylā.2; Marzbān-nāma; Wāmiḳ wa ʿAdhrāʾ

see also Niẓām al-Mulk; Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī

11th-century authors Kay Kāʾūs b. Iskandar; Nāṣir-i Khusraw

12th-century authors Ḥamīdī; al-Ḳāshānī; Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad; Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī; Rashīd al-Dīn (Waṭwāṭ); al-Samʿānī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim

13th-century authors Saʿdī

14th-century authors Nakhshabī

15th-century authors Kāshifī

16th-century authors

see also Shemʿī

17th-century authors ʿInāyat Allāh Kanbū

18th-century authors Mumtāz

19th-century authors Shaybānī

see also Furūgh.2

20th-century authors Bahār; Hidāyat, Ṣādiḳ; Nafīsī, Saʿīd; Shaykh Mūsā Nathrī; Ṭālibūf; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Marāghaʾī; [in Suppl.] Āl-i Aḥmad; Bihrangī; Dehkhudā

Turkish Ḥikāya.iii; Ḳiṣṣa.3; Maddāḥ; Maḳāla.3; Risāla.3; Turks.III; [in Suppl.] Mawsūʿa.3

see also Bilmedje; Therwet-i Fünūn; *and* → LITERATURE.DRAMA; PRESS

works Alpamïsh; Billur Köshk; Dede Ḳorḳut; Ḳahramān-nāma; Oghuz-nāma; Yūsuf and Zulaykhā.2

see also Merdjümek; Ṣarï Ṣalṭūḳ Dede

14th-century authors Sheykh-oghlu

15th-century authors Sheykh-zāde.3

16th-century authors Wāsiʿ ʿAlīsi

see also Shemʿī

17th-century authors Nergisī; Weysī

18th-century authors ʿAlī ʿAzīz, Giridli; Nābī

19th-century authors Ḳaṣāb, Teodor; Kemāl, Meḥmed Nāmïḳ; Sāmī; Shināsī; Żiyā Pasha; [in Suppl.] Čaylaḳ Tewfīḳ

see also Ḳiṣṣa.3(b); Therwet-i Fünūn

20th-century authors Aḥmad Ḥikmet; Aḥmad Midḥat; Aḥmad Rāsim; Djanāb Shihāb al-Dīn; Ebüzziya Tevfik; Ekrem Bey; Fiṭrat; Hïsar; Ḥusayn Djāhid; Ḥusayn Raḥmī; Karay, Refīḳ Khālid; Kaygïlï, ʿOthmān Djemāl; Kemāl; Kemal Tahir; Khālid Ḍiyāʾ; Khālide Edīb; Laylā Khānïm; Meḥmed Raʾūf; Oktay Rifat; ʿÖmer Seyf ül-Dīn; Orkhan Kemāl; Reshād Nūrī; Sabahattin Ali; Sezāʾī, Sāmī; Tanpinar, Aḥmed Ḥamdī; Yaḥyā Kemāl; Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī; [in Suppl.] Atač; Atay; Esendal; Halikarnas Balïḳčïsï; Meḥmed Ṭāhir, Bursalï

see also Aḥmad Iḥsān; Ileri, Djelāl Nūrī; İnal; Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳi ʿĀlīshān; Ḳiṣṣa.3(b); [in Suppl.] Eyyūboghlu

in Eastern Turkish Bābur; Rabghūzī; [in Suppl.] Āgahī
see also Tīmūrids.2; Turks.III.6
Urdu Ḥikāya.iv; Ḳiṣṣa.5; Urdū.2; [in Suppl.] Mawsūʿa.5
and → LITERATURE.DRAMA; PRESS
18th-century authors Taḥsīn
19th-century authors Amān, Mīr; Djawān; Faḳīr Muḥammad Khān; Surūr
20th-century authors Iḳbāl; Nadhīr Aḥmad Dihlawī; Prēm Čand; Ruswā; Shabbīr Ḥasan Khān Djosh; Shiblī Nuʿmānī; [in Suppl.] Āzād
proverbs in Mathal.4
and → PROVERBS.COLLECTIONS OF
terms ʿArūḍ; ʿAtāba; Badīʿ; Balāgha; Bayān; Dakhīl; Fard.a; Faṣāḥa; Fāṣila; Ibtidāʾ; Idjāza; Iḍmār; Iḳtibās; Intihāʾ; Irtidjāl; Istiʿāra; Ḳabḍ.iii; Ḳāfiya; Ḳaṭʿ; Kināya; Luzūm mā lā yalzam; al-Maʿānī wa ʾl-Bayān; Madjāz; Maʿnā.3; Muʿāraḍa; Muzāwadja; Radīf.2; Radjaz.4; Shawāhid; Ṣila.2; Taʿadjdjub; Tadjnīs; Taḍmīn; Takhalluṣ; Takhmīs; Takhyīl.1; Taʾrīkh.III; Tashbīh; Tawriya; Ṭayf al-Khayāl; Waḥshī; Waṣf.1; [in Suppl.] Sariḳa
and → LITERATURE.GENRES; METRICS; RHETORIC
topoi and imagery Bukhl; Bulbul; Ghurāb; Gul; Ḥamām; Ḥayawān.5; Inṣāf; al-Ḳamar.II; Ḳaṭā; Nardjis; Raḥīl; Sāḳī; Shamʿa; Shaʿr.3; al-Shayb wa ʾl-Shabāb; [in Suppl.] Ward
see also Ghazal.ii; ʿIshḳ; Khamriyya; Rabīʿiyyāt; Zahriyyāt
tradition-literature Athar; **Ḥadīth**; Ḥadīth Ḳudsī; Hind.v.e; Sunan; Sunna; Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth; [in Suppl.] Arbaʿūn Ḥadīth
see also Ahl al-Ḥadīth; Ḥashwiyya; Khabar; Mustamlī; Naskh; Riwāya; Sharḥ.III; ʿUlamāʾ
authoritative collections Abū Dāʾūd al-Sidjistānī; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; Anas b. Mālik; al-Bayhaḳī; al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl; al-Dāraḳuṭnī; al-Dārimī; Ibn Ḥibbān; Ibn Mādja; Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj; al-Nasāʾī; al-Ṭayālisī, Abū Dāwūd; al-Tirmidhī, Abū ʿĪsā
see also al-ʿAynī; Ibn Hubayra
terms al-Djarḥ wa ʾl-Taʿdīl; Fard.d; Gharīb; Ḥikāya.I; Idjāza; Isnād; Khabar al-Wāḥid; Mashhūr; Matn; Muʿanʿan; Munkar; Mursal; Muṣannaf; Musnad.3; Mustamlī; Mutawātir.(a); Rafʿ.2; Ridjāl; Ṣaḥīḥ.1; Ṣāliḥ; Sunan; Tadlīs.2; Tadwīn; Tawātur; Thiḳa; Umma.2
see also Ḥadīth; Taʿlīḳ
traditionists Rāwī; Ridjāl; Ṣāliḥ; Thiḳa
see also al-Rāmahurmuzī
7th century ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; Abū Bakra; Abū Hurayra; al-Aʿmash; Ibn Abī Laylā.I; Ibn Masʿūd; Kaʿb al-Aḥbār; al-Khawlānī, Abū Idrīs; al-Khawlānī, Abū Muslim; [in Suppl.] Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh
see also ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr; Umm Salama Hind
8th century Abu ʾl-ʿĀliya al-Riyāḥī; Abū Mikhnaf; al-Ashʿarī, Abū Burda; Djābir b. Zayd; al-Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ; Ghundjār; al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy al-Kūfī; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; Ibn Abī Laylā.II; Ibn Daʾb; Ibn Isḥāḳ; Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ; Ibn Shubruma; Ibn Sīrīn; ʿIkrima; al-Layth b. Saʿd; Maymūn b. Mihrān; Muḳātil b. Sulaymān; Nāfiʿ; al-Nakhaʿī, Ibrāhīm; Saʿīd b. Abī Arūba; al-Shaʿbī; Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj; al-Suddī; ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr; Warḳāʾ b. ʿUmar; Yazīd b. Zurayʿ; al-Zuhrī, Ibn Shihāb; [in Suppl.] Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī (*and* al-Shaybānī, Abū ʿAmr); Ibn Djuraydj
9th century Abū Nuʿaym al-Mulāʾī; Baḳī b. Makhlad; Ibn Abī Khaythama; Ibn Abi ʾl-Shawārib; Ibn Abī Shayba; Ibn ʿĀʾisha.IV; Ibn Rāhwayh; Ibn Saʿd; Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī; Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī; al-Karābīsī.2; al-Marwazī; Muslim b. al-

Ḥadjdjādj; Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād; al-Ṣanʿānī, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ; Sufyān b. ʿUyayna; al-Ṭayālisī, Abū Dāwūd; ʿUmar b. Shabba; Wakīʿ b. al-Djarrāḥ; al-Wāḳidī; Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn; al-Ziyādī; Zuhayr b. Ḥarb; [in Suppl.] Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl; Asad b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm
see also Ibn Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī; Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā; Yamūt b. al-Muzarraʿ
10th century Abū ʿArūba; al-Anbārī, Abū Bakr; al-Anbārī, Abū Muḥammad; Ghulām Thaʿlab; Ibn al-ʿAllāf; Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh; al-Khaṭṭābī; al-Saraḳusṭī; al-Sidjistānī; al-Ṭabarānī; [in Suppl.] Ibn ʿUḳda; al-Ramlī
11th century al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr; Ibn al-Bannāʾ; Ibn Fūrak; Ibn Mākūlā.3; al-Ḳābisī; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī; al-Sahmī; al-ʿUdhrī
12th century al-Baghawī; Ibn al-ʿArabī; Ibn ʿAsākir; Ibn Ḥubaysh; Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī.1; Ibn al-Nadjdjār; al-Lawātī; Razīn b. Muʿāwiya; al-Rushāṭī; al-Ṣadafī; al-Sarrādj, Abū Muḥammad; Shīrawayh; al-Silafī; [in Suppl.] al-Zamakhsharī.2
see also al-Samʿānī, Abū Saʿd
13th century al-Dimyāṭī al-Shāfiʿī; Ibn al-Athīr.1; Ibn Diḥya; Ibn Faraḥ al-Ishbīlī; al-Ṣaghānī, Raḍiyy al-Dīn; al-Ṭabarī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh; [in Suppl.] Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd
14th century al-Dhahabī; Ibn Kathīr; al-Mizzī; al-Wādīʾāshī
15th century Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī; al-Ibshīhī.2; al-Ḳasṭallānī; Muʿīn al-Miskīn; al-Suyūṭī
see also Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā
20th century Shākir, Aḥmad Muḥammad
Shiite ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn; Dindān; Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ; Ibn Bābawayh(i); al-Kashshī; al-Kāẓimī, ʿAbd al-Nabī; al-Kulaynī, Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad; Madjlisī; Muḥammad b. Makkī; Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Ḥasanī; [in Suppl.] Akhbāriyya; al-Barḳī; Djābir al-Djuʿfī
see also Asmāʾ; al-Ṭihrānī
translation
from Greek and Syriac **Tardjama**.2
and → MEDICINE.PHYSICIANS.GREEK; PHILOSOPHY.PHILOSOPHERS.GREEK
from Middle Persian Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ; Tansar; **Tardjama**.3
from Western languages
into Arabic Muḥammad Bey ʿUthmān Djalāl (*and* [in Suppl.] Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl); Shāʾūl; Shumayyil, Shiblī; **Tardjama**.4; al-Yāzidjī.5
into Persian Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān; Nafīsī, Saʿīd; Sharīʿatī, ʿAlī; **Tardjama**.5
into Turkish Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī ʿĀlīshān; Kanık; Khālide Edīb; Shināsī; **Tardjama**.6; Żiyā Pasha
travel-literature Djughrāfiyā.(d); **Riḥla**
authors ʿAbd al-Ghanī; al-ʿAbdarī; Abū Dulaf; Abū Ṭālib Khān; Aḥmad Iḥsān; ʿAlī Bey al-ʿAbbāsī; ʿAlī Khān; al-ʿAyyāshī; Ewliyā Čelebi; Fāris al-Shidyāḳ; al-Ghassānī; Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naḳḳāsh; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; Ibn Djubayr; Ibn Idrīs(II); Kurd ʿAlī; Ma Huan; Meḥmed Yirmisekiz; Nāṣir-i Khusraw; Shiblī Nuʿmānī; Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs; al-Tamgrūtī; Tamīm b. Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwiʿ; al-Tidjānī, Abū Muḥammad; al-Tudjībī; al-Tūnisī, Muḥammad; al-Tūnisī, Shaykh Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn; Yāḳūt al-Rūmī; al-Zayyānī; [in Suppl.] al-Ghazzāl; Ibn Nāṣir.3; Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn; Maḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Huḍīgī
see also Hārūn b. Yaḥyā; Ibn Djuzayy; Ibn Rushayd; Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī; Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb; Khayr Allāh Efendi; Leo Africanus; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Marāghaʾī; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī; [in Suppl.] Sallām al-Tardjumān
narratives [in Suppl.] Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa ʾl-Hind
wisdom-literature al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays; ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; Buzurgmihr; Hūshang; Luḳmān; Sahl b. Hārūn b. Rāhawayh; [in Suppl.] Djāwīdhān Khirad

see also Aktham b. Ṣayfī; Buhlūl; al-Ibshīhī; [in Suppl.] ʿUḳalāʾ al-Madjānīn
wondrous literature Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī; **ʿAdjāʾib**; Buzurg b. Shahriyār; al-Ḳazwīnī
see also Ibn Sarābiyūn; Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ; Sindbād; [in Suppl.] Madīnat al-Nuḥās

LOVE **ʿIshḳ**
see also Ishāra; Ḳalb.II; *and* → LITERATURE.POETRY.LOVE
erotic Djins; Ghazal; Nasīb; [in Suppl.] Muḳawwiyāt
see also Abū Dahbal al-Djumaḥī; Abū Nuwās; Abū Ṣakhr al-Hudhalī; al-ʿArdjī; Dayr; Dīk al-Djinn al-Ḥimṣī; Djurʿat; Fāḍil Bey; Ḥammād ʿAdjrad; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih; Ibn Faradj al-Djayyānī; Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt; Ibn Maṭrūḥ; Khamriyya; Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb
mystical ʿĀshiḳ; ʿIshḳ; Shawḳ
and → LITERATURE.POETRY.MYSTICAL; MYSTICISM
platonic Ghazal.i.3; **ʿUdhrī**
see also Djamīl al-ʿUdhrī; Ibn Dāwūd; Kuthayyir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; Laylā al-Akhyaliyya; Muraḳḳish.1; Nuṣayb b. Rabāḥ; al-Ramādī; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa; ʿUrwa b. Ḥizām; al-Walīd.2
poetry → LITERATURE.POETRY.LOVE
treatises on al-Anṭāḳī, Dāʾūd; Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad; Rafīʿ al-Dīn; al-Tidjānī, Abū Muḥammad
see also Bukhtīshūʿ

M

MACEDONIA → (former) YUGOSLAVIA

MADAGASCAR **Madagascar**; Massalajem
and → AFRICA.EAST AFRICA

MAGIC ʿAzīma.2; Djadwal; Istinzāl; Khāṣṣa; Nīrandj; Ruḳya; **Siḥr**; Sīmiyāʾ; Wafḳ; Yada Tash; [in Suppl.] Budūḥ
see also Djinn.III; Ḥadjar; Ḥurūf; Istikhāra; Istiḳsām; Istisḳāʾ; Kabid.4; al-Ḳamar.II; Ḳatl.ii.2; Khawāṣṣ al-Ḳurʾān; Kihāna; Kitābāt.5; Rūḥāniyya; Sidr; Zār; *and* → CHARMS; DIVINATION
magicians ʿAbd Allāh b. Hilāl; Shaʿbadha
see also Antemuru
treatises on al-Maḳḳarī; al-Zarḳālī; [in Suppl.] Ibn ʿAzzūz; al-Būnī

MALAWI Kota Kota; [in Suppl.] **Malawi**
and → AFRICA.EAST AFRICA

MALAYSIA Malacca; **Malay Peninsula**; Malays; **Malaysia**
see also Baladiyya.6; Djāmiʿa; Indonesia; Kandūrī; Kitābāt.8; Partai Islam se Malaysia (Pas); Rembau; [in Suppl.] Maḥkama.7.ii; al-Marʾa
architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS
literature ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir; Dāwūd al-Faṭānī; Ḥikāya.v; Ḳiṣṣa.6; Malays; Shāʿir.7; Taʾrīkh.II.7; [in Suppl.] Shiʿr.5
see also Indonesia.vi
states Penang; Perak; Sabah; Sarawak; Terengganu; [in Suppl.] Kelantan
see also [in Suppl.] Kalimantan

MALI Adrar.2; Aḥmad al-Shaykh; Aḥmadu Lobbo; Ḥamāliyya; Kaʿti; **Mali**; Mansa Mūsā
see also Mande; Sūdān (Bilād al-).2

historians of al-Saʿdī
toponyms
ancient Tādmakkat
present-day
regions Kaarta
towns Bamako; Dienné; Gao; Segu; Timbuktu

MAMLUKS **Mamlūks** (*and* [in Suppl.])
see also Ḥarfūsh; Manshūr; Mihmindār; Rank; Yāsā.2; *and* → DYNASTIES.EGYPT AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT; MILITARY.MAMLUK

MARONITES → CHRISTIANITY.DENOMINATIONS; LEBANON

MARRIAGE Djilwa; Khiṭba; Mutʿa; **Nikāḥ**; ʿUrs; [in Suppl.] Djabr
see also ʿAbd.3.e; ʿĀda.iii *and* iv.4; ʿArūs Resmi; Fāsid wa Bāṭil.III; Ghāʾib; Ḥaḍāna; Kafāʾa; Kurds.iv.A.1; al-Marʾa.2; Mawākib.4.3 *and* 5; Raḍāʿ; Shawwāl; Suknā; Sukūt; Wilāya.1; [in Suppl.] Nafaḳa; *and* → DIVORCE
dower **Mahr**; Ṣadāḳ

MARTYRDOM Fidāʾī; Maẓlūm; **Shahīd**
see also Ḥabīb al-Nadjdjār; (al-)Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; Khubayb; Madjlis.3; Mashhad; Masʿūd; Ziyāra.5; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Miyānadjī

MATHEMATICS Algorithmus; al-Djabr wa ʾl-Muḳābala; Ḥisāb al-ʿAḳd; Ḥisāb al-Ghubār; **ʿIlm al-Ḥisāb**; Misāḥa; **al-Riyāḍiyyāt**; [in Suppl.] ʿIlm al-Handasa
and → NUMBER
algebra **al-Djabr wa ʾl-Muḳābala**
geometry **Misāḥa**; [in Suppl.] **ʿIlm al-Handasa**
mathematicians
Greek Uḳlīdis
see also Balīnūs
Islamic Abū Kāmil Shudjāʿ; Abu ʾl-Wafāʾ al-Būzadjānī; ʿAlī al-Ḳūshdjī; al-Bīrūnī; Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-Marrākushī; Ibn al-Haytham; Ibn ʿIrāḳ; Isḥāḳ Efendi; al-Ḳalaṣādī; al-Karābīsī.1; al-Karadjī; al-Kāshī; al-Khʷārazmī; al-Khāzin; al-Khudjandī; Kushiyār b. Labān; al-Madjrīṭī; al-Mārdīnī; Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Māhānī; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar; al-Shīrāzī, Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn; Thābit b. Ḳurra; al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn; ʿUmar Khayyām; ʿUṭārid b. Muḥammad; [in Suppl.] Ḳāḍī-zāde Rūmī; al-Kūhī; Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī, Abū Naṣr
see also Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā
terms Fard.f; Kasr; Ḳaṭʿ; Ḳuṭr; Māl; Manshūr; Muḳaddam; Muṣādara.1; Muthallath; al-Sahm.1.a; al-Taʿdīl bayn al-Saṭrayn
see also al-Mīzān; [in Suppl.] Halīladj

MAURITANIA Adrar.3; Atar; Ḥawḍ; Māʾ al-ʿAynayn al-Ḳalḳamī; Madjlis.4.A.xxii; **Mūrītāniyā**; Ṣiḥāfa.2.(iii)
see also Dustūr.xv; Lamtūna; al-Māmī; Sūdān (Bilād al-).2
historians of al-Shinḳīṭī; al-Yadālī
toponyms
ancient Awdaghost; Ghāna; Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ; Shinḳīṭ
present-day Nouakchott; Walāta

MECHANICS Ḥiyal.2; al-Ḳarasṭūn; [in Suppl.] al-Djazarī; **Ḥiyal**
see also Ibn al-Sāʿātī; ʿUmar Khayyām; Urghan; *and* → HYDROLOGY

MEDICINE **Ṭibb**
and → ANATOMY; DRUGS; ILLNESS; PHARMACOLOGY
centres of Bīmāristān; Gondēshāpūr; Ḳalāwūn; [in Suppl.] Abū Zaʿbal
see also Baghdād; Dimashḳ; al-Madīna; [in Suppl.] Ṭibbiyye-i ʿAdliyye-i Shāhāne
dentistry
dental care Miswāk
see also ʿAḳīḳ; Mardjān
treatises on Hāmōn
see also Ibn Abi ʾl-Bayān
diseases → ILLNESS; PLAGUE
medical handbooks/encyclopaedias ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās; al-Djurdjānī, Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥusayn; Ibn al-Nafīs; Ibn Sīnā; al-Masīḥī; Shānī-zāde; al-Ṭabarī, ʿAlī b. Rabban; Yūḥannā b. Sarābiyūn; al-Zahrāwī, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim
medicines Almās; ʿAnbar; al-Dahnadj; Dhahab; al-Durr; Fiḍḍa; Kāfūr; Ḳaṭrān; al-Ḳily; al-Kuḥl; Lubān; Maghnāṭīs.1; Mardjān; Milḥ.2; Misk; Mūmiyāʾ; Ṣābūn; Ṣamgh; Ṭabāshīr; Zaʿfarān.2; [in Suppl.] Bawraḳ; Halīladj
see also Bāzahr; al-Iksīr; Kabid.3; Ziʾbaḳ; [in Suppl.] Afāwīh; Dam; *for medicinal use of animal parts, food and plants or flowers, see specific articles under* ANIMALS, CUISINE *and* FLORA, *respectively*
obstetrics ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Kātib al-Ḳurṭubī
and → LIFE STAGES.CHILDBIRTH
ophthalmology ʿAyn; Ramad; Ṭibb
see also [in Suppl.] Māʾ al-Ward; *and* → ANATOMY.EYE; OPTICS
ophthalmologists ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā; ʿAmmār al-Mawṣilī; al-Ghāfiḳī; Ibn Dāniyāl; Khalīfa b. Abi ʾl-Maḥāsin
see also Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ al-ʿIbādī; Ibn al-Nafīs; Ibn Zuhr.V
physicians Djarrāḥ; Ḥāwī; [in Suppl.] Faṣṣād
see also ʿAyn; Constantinus Africanus; Ḥikma; Kabid.3; Masāʾil wa-Adjwiba; *and* → MEDICINE.OPHTHALMOLOGY.OPHTHALMOLOGISTS; PHARMACOLOGY
biographies of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa; Ibn Djuldjul; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī; Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn
see also Ibn al-Ḳifṭī
7th century [in Suppl.] Ahrun; al-Ḥārith b. Kalada
and → *the section Physicians.Greek below*
9th century Bukhtīshūʿ; Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ al-ʿIbādī; Ibn Māsawayh; Sābūr b. Sahl; Yūḥannā b. Sarābiyūn
see also Māsardjawayh; al-Ṭabarī, ʿAlī
10th century ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās; ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Kātib al-Ḳurṭubī; Ibn Djuldjul; Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn; Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī; Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā; al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr; Ṣābiʾ.(3); Saʿīd al-Dimashḳī; [in Suppl.] Ibn Abi ʾl-Ashʿath
11th century al-Anṭākī, Abu ʾl-Faradj; Ibn Buṭlān; Ibn Djanāḥ; Ibn Djazla; Ibn al-Djazzār; Ibn Riḍwān; Ibn Sīnā; Ibn al-Ṭayyib; Ibn Wāfid; Ibn Zuhr.II; al-Masīḥī; al-Zahrāwī, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim
12th century Abu ʾl-Barakāt; al-Djurdjānī, Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥusayn; Ibn Djāmiʿ; Ibn al-Tilmīdh; Ibn Zuhr.III *and* IV; al-Marwazī, Sharaf al-Zamān; Umayya, Abu ʾl-Ṣalt; [in Suppl.] Ibn Biklārish; Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī, Abū Naṣr
see also Ibn Rushd
13th century Ibn Abi ʾl-Bayān; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa; Ibn Hubal; Ibn al-Nafīs; Ibn Ṭumlūs; Saʿd al-Dawla; al-Suwaydī; [in Suppl.] Ibn al-Ḳuff

14th century Hādjdjī Pasha; Ibn al-Khaṭīb; Isḥāḳ b. Murād; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī
15th century Bashīr Čelebi; Yaʿḳūb Pasha
16th century al-Anṭākī, Dāʾūd; Hāmōn; Yūsufī
17th century Ḥayātī-zāde
18th century al-Ṣanʿānī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn; [in Suppl.] Ādarrāḳ; Ibn Shaḳrūn al-Miknāsī
19th century and on Bahdjat Muṣṭafā Efendi; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Iskandarānī; Shānī-zāde; Shumayyil, Shiblī; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad
Christian Bukhtīshūʿ; Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ al-ʿIbādī; Ibn Buṭlān; Ibn Māsawayh; Ibn al-Ṭayyib; Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn; Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā; Ṣābiʾ.(3); Sābūr b. Sahl; al-Ṭabarī, ʿAlī; Yūḥannā b. Sarābiyūn; [in Suppl.] Ahrun; Ḥubaysh b. al-Ḥasan al-Dimashḳī; Ibn al-Ḳuff
Greek Diyusḳuridīs; Djālīnūs; Rūfus al-Afsīsī; [in Suppl.] Ahrun; Buḳrāṭ
see also Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ al-ʿIbādī; Ibn Riḍwān; Ibn al-Ṭayyib; Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn; Iṣṭifān b. Basīl; Usṭāth; Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ; Yūnān; [in Suppl.] Ḥubaysh b. al-Ḥasan al-Dimashḳī; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ashʿath
Jewish Hāmōn; Ibn Abi ʾl-Bayān; Ibn Djāmiʿ; Ibn Djanāḥ; Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī; Māsardjawayh; Saʿd al-Dawla; Yaʿḳūb Pasha; [in Suppl.] Ibn Biklārish
see also Abu ʾl-Barakāt; Ḥayātī-zāde.1; Ibn Maymūn
Ottoman Bahdjat Muṣṭafā Efendi; Bashīr Čelebi; Ḥādjdjī Pasha; Hāmōn; Ḥayātī-zāde; Isḥāḳ b. Murād; Shānī-zāde; Yaʿḳūb Pasha
see also Ḥekīm-bashi; [in Suppl.] Ṭibbiyye-i ʿAdliyye-i Shāhāne
surgery al-Zahrāwī, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim
terms Bīmāristān; Djarrāḥ; Ḥidjāb; Ḳuwwa.5; Sabab.1; [in Suppl.] Mizādj; Muḳawwiyāt
see also Ḥāl
veterinary Bayṭār; Ibn Hudhayl; Ibn al-Mundhir

MELKITES → CHRISTIANITY.DENOMINATIONS

MESOPOTAMIA → IRAQ

METALLURGY Ḳalʿī; Khārṣīnī; **Maʿdin**
see also Kalah; al-Mīzān.1; *and* → MINERALOGY.MINES
metals Dhahab; Fiḍḍa; al-Ḥadīd; Nuḥās; Ziʾbaḳ
and → MINERALOGY.MINERALS; PROFESSIONS.CRAFTSMEN AND TRADESMEN.ARTISANS

METAPHYSICS **Mā baʿd al-Ṭabīʿa**
see also ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī; Māhiyya; Muṭlaḳ

METEOROLOGY al-Āthār al-ʿUlwiyya
see also Anwāʾ; Sadjʿ.2; [in Suppl.] Ibn al-Adjdābī
weather magic Yada Tash
winds **Rīḥ**; Samūm

METRICS **ʿArūḍ**, Wazn.2
and → LITERATURE.POETRY
metres Mudjtathth; Mutadārik; Mutaḳārib; Mutawātir.(b); Radjaz; Ramal.1; Sarīʿ; Ṭawīl; Wāfir
terms Dakhīl; Fard.a; Ḳaṭʿ; Sabab.3; Ṣadr.(a); Sālim.3; Watid; Ziḥāf
treatises on Bābur; al-Djawharī; al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad; al-Khazradjī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn; Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī; Shams-i Ḳays; al-Tibrīzī

MILITARY Baḥriyya; Djaysh; **Ḥarb**; [in Suppl.] Niẓām ʿAskarī
see also Dār al-Ḥarb; Djihād; Fatḥnāme; Ghazw

architecture Ribāṭ
see also Ṭabaḳa; *and* → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS.STRONGHOLDS
army **Djaysh**; Isti'rāḍ ('Arḍ); **Lashkar**; Radīf.3
see also Djāsūs; Ṣaff.2; *and* → MILITARY.MAMLUK *and* OTTOMAN
contingents Bāzinkir; Djāndār; Djaysh.iii.2; Djund; Ghulām; Gūm; Ḳūrčī; Maḥalla; Mamlūk; Mutaṭawwi'a; Sipāhī.2; Ṭabūr; Ṭalī'a; Ṭulb; Tūmān.1; [in Suppl.] Shālīsh.1
see also Almogávares; Fāris; *and* → MILITARY.OTTOMAN.ARMY CONTINGENTS
band Naḳḳāra-khāna; Ṭabl-khāna
see also Mehter
battles
see also Shi'ār.1; Tugh; *and* → MILITARY.EXPEDITIONS; TREATIES
before 622 Bu'āth; Dhū Ḳār; Djabala; Fidjār; Ḥalīma; Shi'b Djabala; Ubāgh; [in Suppl.] Dāḥis
see also Ayyām al-'Arab; Ḥanẓala b. Mālik; [in Suppl.] Silāḥ.1
622-632 Badr; Bi'r Ma'ūna; Buzākha; Ḥunayn; Khandaḳ; Khaybar; Mu'ta; Uḥud
see also Mālik b. 'Awf; [in Suppl.] al-Ridda; Salmān al-Fārisī
633-660 Adjnādayn; 'Aḳrabā'; al-Djamal; Djisr; Faḥl; Ḥarūrā'; al-Ḳādisiyya.2; Mardj al-Ṣuffar; Ṣiffīn; Yarmūk.2; [in Suppl.] Dhāt al-Ṣawārī
see also 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd; 'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr; 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; al-Hurmuzān; Musaylima; al-Nahrawān; Rustam b. Farrukh Hurmuzd; Taḥkīm; [in Suppl.] al-Ridda
661-750 'Ayn al-Warda; Balāṭ al-Shuhadā'; Baldj b. Bishr; al-Bishr; Dayr al-Djamādjim; Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ; al-Ḥarra; al-Khāzir; Mardj Rāhiṭ; [in Suppl.] Wādī Lakku
see also (al-)Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; Kulthūm b. 'Iyāḍ al-Ḳushayrī; (al-)Ḳusṭanṭīniyya
751-1258 al-Arak; Bākhamrā; Dayr al-'Āḳūl; Fakhkh; Ḥaydarān; Hazārasp; Ḥiṭṭīn; al-'Iḳāb; Köse Dāgh; Malāzgird.2; Shant Mānkash; Ṭarāz; Ubbadha; al-Zallāḳa; [in Suppl.] Dandānḳān
see also Ḥadjar al-Nasr; al-Madjūs; al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh, Ismā'īl; Mardj Dābiḳ
1258-18th century 'Ayn Djālūt; Čāldirān; Dābiḳ; Djarba; Ḥimṣ; Ḳoṣowa; Mardj Dābiḳ; Mardj Rāhiṭ; Mardj al-Ṣuffar; Mezőkeresztes; Mohács.a *and* b; Nīkbūlī; Pānīpat; Tālīkōṭā; Tukarōʾī; Wādī 'l-Khaznadār; Zenta; [in Suppl.] Köszeg
see also Aynabakhtī; Baḥriyya.iii; Fatḥnāme; Ḥarb; Nahr Abī Fuṭrus; 'Othmān Pasha; Wenedik.2; Zsitvatorok
after 18th century Abuklea; Atjèh; Česhme; Farwān; Gök Tepe; Isly; Kūt al-'Amāra; Maysalūn; Nizīb; Rīf.II; al-Tall al-Kabīr; [in Suppl.] al-Ḳabḳ.3.f *and* j
see also al-'Aḳaba; Gulistān
bodies 'Ayyār; Dawā'ir; Djaysh.iii.1; Futuwwa; Ghāzī; al-Shākiriyya
see also 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Zandjī; al-Ikhwān; Khashabiyya; Sarhang; *and* → MILITARY.ARMY.CONTINGENTS
booty Fay'; **Ghanīma**; [in Suppl.] Khums
see also Baranta; Ghazw; Khāliṣa; Pendjik; *and* → MILITARY.PRISONERS
Byzantine → BYZANTINE EMPIRE; *for battles fought between the Arabs and Byzantines* → BYZANTINE EMPIRE.MILITARY
decorations **Nishān**; **Wisām**
expeditions Ghāzī; **Ṣā'ifa**
see also Ghazw
Indo-Muslim Bārūd.vi; Ghulām.iii; Ḥarb.vi; Ḥiṣār.vi; Lashkar; Sipāhī.3; Suwār
see also Isti'rāḍ (Arḍ)
Mamluk al-Baḥriyya; Baḥriyya.II; Bārūd.iii; Burdjiyya; Ḥalḳa; Ḥarb.iii; Ḥiṣār.iv; **Mamlūk**; Ṭabaḳa; Wāfidiyya; [in Suppl.] Shālīsh
see also Amīr Ākhūr; al-Amīr al-Kabīr; Atābak al-'Asākir; Čerkes.ii; 'Īsā b. Muhannā;

Khāṣṣakiyya; Ḳumāsh; Rikābdār; Silāḥdār; Ṭulb

battles ʿAyn Djālūt; Dābiḳ; Ḥimṣ; Mardj Rāhiṭ; Wādī ʾl-Khaznadār

navy **Baḥriyya**; Dār al-Ṣināʿa; Daryā-begi; Ḳapudan Pasha; Lewend.1; Nassads; Raʾīs.3; Riyāla; Usṭūl

see also ʿAzab; Gelibolu; Kātib Çelebi; [in Suppl.] Dhāt al-Ṣawārī; *and* → NAVIGATION.SHIPS; PIRACY; *for Ottoman maritime topics* → DYNASTIES.ANATOLIA AND THE TURKS.OTTOMANS.HIGH ADMIRALS; MILITARY.OTTOMAN

offices Amīr; ʿArīf; Atābak al-ʿAsākir; Fawdjdār; Ispahbadh; Ispahsālār; Istiʿrāḍ (ʿArḍ); Ḳāʾid; Manṣab; Sālār; Sardār; Sarhang; Shiḥna; Silāḥdār

see also Amīr al-Umarāʾ; Dārūgha; Ḳāḍī ʿAskar; Ḳūrčī; *and* → MILITARY.OTTOMAN

Ottoman Bāb-i Serʿaskeri; Baḥriyya.iii; Balyemez; Bārūd.iv; Devshirme; Djebeli; Ghulām.iv; Ḥarb.iv; Ḥarbiye; Ḥiṣār.v; Müsellem; Radīf.3; Sandjaḳ; Sipāhī.1; Tersāne; Tugh.2; ʿUlūfe; Yeñi Čeri; [in Suppl.] Djebedji; Muʿīnsiz; Niẓām ʿAskarī.3

see also ʿAskarī; Ḍabṭiyya; Gelibolu; Gūm; Ḥareket Ordusu; Istiʿrāḍ (Arḍ); Ḳapïdji; Karakol; Martolos; Mensūkhāt; Mondros; Nefīr; Ordu; Pendjik; Tīmār; Ziʿāmet; *and* → MILITARY.NAVY

army contingents al-Abnāʾ.V; ʿAdjamī Oghlān; Akïndjï; Alay; ʿAzab; Bashï-bozuḳ; Bölük; Deli; Devedji; Djānbāzān; Eshkindji; Ghurabāʾ; Gönüllü; Khāṣṣekī; Khumbaradjï; Lewend; Niẓām-ï Djedīd; Odjaḳ; Orta; Woynuḳ; Yaya; Yeñi Čeri; Yerliyya; Zeybek; [in Suppl.] Djebedji; Segbān

see also Akhī; Eflāḳ; Martolos; Nefīr; Sipāhī.1

battles Čaldirān; Dābiḳ; Ḳoṣowa; Mezőkeresztes; Mohács.a *and* b; Nīkbūlī; [in Suppl.] al-Ḳabḳ.3.f *and* j

see also Wenedik

officers Bayraḳdār; Biñbashï; Bölük-bashï; Čāʾūsh; Čorbadjï.1; Ḍābiṭ; Daryā-begi; Ḳapudan Pasha; Mushīr; Rikābdār; Riyāla; Zaghardjï Bashï; [in Suppl.] Yüzbashï

see also Sandjaḳ; Silāḥdār

pay ʿAṭāʾ; Inʿām; Māl al-Bayʿa; Rizḳ.3; ʿUlūfe

police Aḥdāth; ʿAsas; Ḍabṭiyya; Karakol; **Shurṭa**

see also Dawāʾir; Futuwwa; Kōtwāl; Martolos; Naḳīb.2

prisoners Lamas-ṣū; Mübādele.ii; [in Suppl.] Fidāʾ

see also Sidjn; *and* → MILITARY.BOOTY

reform → REFORM.MILITARY

tactics Ḥarb; Ḥiṣār; Ḥiyal.1

see also al-ʿAwāṣim; Fīl; al-Thughūr; *and* → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS.STRONGHOLDS

terms Tadjmīr; Zaʿīm

treatises on Ibn Hudhayl; al-Ṭarsūsī; [in Suppl.] Fakhr-i Mudabbir

see also Ḥarb.ii; Ḥiyal.1

weapons ʿAnaza; ʿArrāda; Balyemez; Bārūd; Dūrbāsh; Ḳaws; Mandjanīḳ; Naft.2; Ṭop; [in Suppl.] **Silāḥ**

see also ʿAlam; Asad Allāh Iṣfahānī; Hilāl.ii; Ḥiṣār; Ḳalʿī; Lamṭ; Marātib

MINERALOGY **Maʿdin**

see also al-Mīzān.1

minerals Abū Ḳalamūn; ʿAḳīḳ; Almās; Bārūd; Billawr; al-Dahnadj; Fīrūzadj; al-Kibrīt; al-Kuḥl; Maghnāṭīs.1; Milḥ; Mūmiyāʾ; Naṭrūn; Yāḳūt; Yashm; [in Suppl.] Bawraḳ

see also al-Andalus.v; Damāwand; Golkonḍā; Ḥadjar; Kirmān; Maʿdin; Malindi; *and* → JEWELRY; METALLURGY

mines al-ʿAllāḳī; Anadolu.iii.6; al-Andalus.v.2; ʿAraba; Armīniya.III; Badakhshān; Billiton; Bilma; Čankïrï; al-Djabbūl; Djayzān; al-Durūʿ; Farghānā; Firrīsh; Gümüsh-khāne; Kalah; Ḳarā Ḥiṣār.2 *and* 3; Ḳayṣariyya; al-Ḳily; Ḳishm; Maʿdin.2; al-Maʿdin; Sofāla; Zonguldak

see also Fāzūghlī; Filasṭīn; Milḥ
treatises on al-Suwaydī; al-Tīfāshī
see also ʿUṭārid b. Muḥammad

MIRACLES **Karāma**; **Muʿdjiza**
see also Āya; Dawsa; Māʾ al-ʿAynayn al-Ḳalḳamī; Miʿrādj (*and* [in Suppl.]); *and* → SAINTHOOD

MONARCHY Malik; Mamlaka
see also Darshan; Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk; Shāh; Tigin; *and* → COURT CEREMONY
royal insignia Miẓalla; Sandjaḳ; Sarāparda; Shamsa; Tādj; Takht-i Ṭāwūs; Tughra
see also Shams.3; Tamgha; Tugh

MONASTICISM **Rahbāniyya**
and → CHRISTIANITY.MONASTERIES

MONGOLIA Ḳaraḳorum; Khalkha; **Mongolia**; Mongols
Mongols Batuʾids; Čaghatay Khānate; Čūbānids; Djalāyir; Djānids; Giray; Hayāṭila; Ilkhāns; Kalmuk; Ḳarā Khiṭāy; Ḳūrīltāy; Mangīt; **Mongols**
see also Dūghlāt; Ergenekon; Khānbalïḳ; Ḳïshlaḳ; Ḳūbčūr; Ḳungrāt; Libās.iii; Ötüken; Tīmūrids; Tūmān.1; Ulus; Yaylaḳ; *and* → DYNASTIES.MONGOLS; LAW.MONGOL; TRIBES.CENTRAL ASIA, MONGOLIA AND POINTS FURTHER NORTH
administration Soyūrghāl; Yām; Yarlïgh; [in Suppl.] Dīwān-begi; Yurtčï
and → LAW.MONGOL
battles ʿAyn Djālūt; Ḥimṣ; Mardj Rāhiṭ; Wādī ʾl-Khaznadār
historians of Djuwaynī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī; Ḥaydar Mīrzā; Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb; Waṣṣāf
see also Tamīm b. Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwiʿ; *and* → DYNASTIES.MONGOLS; *and the section Historians Of under individual dynasties*
physical geography
waters Orkhon

MONOPHYSITES → CHRISTIANITY.DENOMINATIONS

MOROCCO **al-Maghrib**
see also ʿArabiyya.A.iii.3; Ḥimāya.ii; Mallāḥ; Rīf.II; Sulṭān al-Ṭalaba (*and* Ṭalaba)
architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS.NORTH AFRICA
dynasties ʿAlawīs; Idrīsids; Marīnids; Saʿdids; Waṭṭāsids
see also Bū Ḥmāra; Ḥasanī; Shurafāʾ.1.III; Ẓahīr; [in Suppl.] Aḥmad al-Hība; *and* → DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA
historians of Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī (*and* al-Nāṣir al-Salāwī); Akanṣūs; Ibn Abī Zarʿ; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī; al-Zayyānī
see also Ibn al-Raḳīḳ; al-Kattānī; [in Suppl.] ʿAllāl al-Fāsī; Maḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Huḍīgī; *and* → DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA
modern period Baladiyya.3; Djarīda.i.B; Djaysh.iii.2; Dustūr.xvii; Ḥizb.i; Ḥukūma.iv; Madjlis.4.A.xxi; Maḥkama.4.x; Makhzan; Ṣiḥāfa.2.(ii); [in Suppl.] Sība
belletrists
poets Ibn Idrīs (I); Ḳaddūr al-ʿAlamī; [in Suppl.] Ibn ʿAmr al-Ribāṭī; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj
education Djāmiʿa; Maʿārif.2.C; Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī.i.2.d; [in Suppl.] Institut des hautes études marocaines
reform Salafiyya.1(c); Tartīb

see also [in Suppl.] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm
scholars al-Tādilī
statesmen [in Suppl.] ʿAllāl al-Fāsī
for sultans → DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA.ʿALAWIDS
physical geography al-Maghrib.I
deserts al-Ṣaḥrāʾ
see also Reg
mountains Atlas; Rīf.I.2
plateaux Ḥammāda
population Dukkāla; Glāwā; Ḥarṭānī; Khulṭ; Shāwiya.1; [in Suppl.] Awraba
see also al-Fāsiyyūn; al-Maʿḳil; *and* → BERBERS
religion al-Maghrib.VI
mystical orders Darḳāwa; Hansaliyya; Hazmīriyyūn; ʿIsāwā; al-Nāṣiriyya; Shādhiliyya; Wazzāniyya; [in Suppl.] Ḥamādisha
for Djazūliyya, *see* al-Djazūlī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh
see also Sharḳāwa; Ziyāniyya; [in Suppl.] ʿĀʾisha Ḳandīsha; *and* → MYSTICISM; SAINTHOOD
toponyms
ancient Anfā; Bādis; al-Baṣra; Fāzāz; al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr; Nakūr; Shalla; Sidjilmāsa; Tāmasna; Tinmal; Tīṭ; Walīlī
present-day
districts Tafīlālt; Tāzarwālt
islands [in Suppl.] al-Ḥusayma
regions Darʿa; Figuig; Gharb; Ḥawz; Ifni; Rīf.I.2; Spartel; al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā; Tādlā; Wādī Nūn; [in Suppl.] al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamraʾ
towns Agadir-ighir; Āghmāt; al-ʿArāʾish; Aṣfī; Aṣīla; Azammūr; Damnāt; (al-)Dār al-Bayḍāʾ; al-Djadīda; Dubdū; Faḍāla; Fās; Garsīf; al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr; al-Mahdiyya; Marrākush; Mawlāy Idrīs; Melilla; Miknās; Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ; Sabta; Salā; Shafshāwan; Ṣufrūy; al-Suwayra; Tamgrūt; Ṭandja; Tārūdānt; Tāzā; Tīṭṭāwīn; Tīznīt; Wadjda; Wazzān; [in Suppl.] Azrū; Benī Mellāl
see also al-Ḥamrāʾ; Tīṭ

MOUNTAINS Adjaʾ and Salmā; Adrar.2; Aghri Dagh; Aïr; Ala Dagh; Aladja Dagh; Alburz; Altai; Alwand Kūh; ʿAmūr; Atlas; Awrās; Balkhān; Beshparmaḳ; Bībān; Bingöl Dagh; Bīsutūn; Čopan-ata; Damāwand; Deve Boynu; Djabala; al-Djibāl; Djūdī; Djurdjura; Elma Daghi; Erdjiyas Daghi; Fūta Djallon; Gāwur Daghlari; Ḥaḍūr; Ḥamrīn; Ḥarāz; Hawrāmān; Hindū Kush; Ḥirāʾ; Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb; Ḥufāsh; al-Ḳabḳ; Kabylia; Ḳaraḳorum; Ḳāsiyūn; Khumayr; Kūh-i Bābā; al-Lukkām; Nafūsa; Pamirs; Safīd Kūh; al-Sarāt; al-Sharāt; Sindjār; Sulaymān; Tibesti; Toros Dağları; al-Ṭūr; Ulu Dāgh; Wansharīs; Zagros; [in Suppl.] Shāh Dagh; al-Sharaf
see also Hind.i.i; Ḳarā Bāgh; Tasili; Thabīr; *and* → *the section Physical Geography under individual countries*

MOZAMBIQUE Kerimba; Makua; **Mozambique** (*and* [in Suppl.]); Pemba; Sofāla

MUḤAMMAD, THE PROPHET Hidjra; Ḥirāʾ; al-Ḥudaybiya; Khaybar; Khuzāʿa; Ḳudāʿa; Ḳuraysh; al-Madīna.i.2; Mawlid; Miʿrādj (*and* [in Suppl.]); **Muḥammad**; Ṣaḥāba; Sunna; Tābiʿūn; Ṭulaḳāʾ; Ummī.2; Wufūd
see also al-Ḳurʾān; Muʾākhāt; al-Muʾallafa Ḳulūbuhum; Nubuwwa; Nūr Muḥammadī; Sayyid; Sharaf; Sharīf; Taḥannuth; Taṣliya; Waḥy; [in Suppl.] Bayʿat al-Riḍwān; Mawlid.3; Shatm; *and* → MILITARY.BATTLES.622-632

belongings of Athar; al-Burāḳ; Burda.1; Dhu 'l-Faḳār; Duldul; Emānet-i Muḳaddese; Ḳadam Sharīf; Khirḳa-yi Sherīf; Liḥya-yi Sherīf; [in Suppl.] al-Na'l al-Sharīf
biographies of **al-Maghāzī; Sīra**
biographers Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Sayf al-Dīn; al-Bakrī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan; Daḥlān; al-Diyārbakrī; al-Djawwānī; al-Ḥalabī, Nūr al-Dīn; Ibn Hishām; Ibn Isḥāḳ; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās; 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā; Ḳarā-čelebi-zāde.4; al-Ḳasṭallānī; Liu Chih; Mughulṭāy; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal; Mu'īn al-Miskīn; al-Ṭabrisī, Amīn al-Dīn; al-Tanūkhī, Djamāl al-Dīn; Wahb b. Munabbih; Weysī; [in Suppl.] Dinet
see also Hind.v.e; Ibn Sa'd; al-Khargūshī; [in Suppl.] al-Suhaylī
companions of **Ṣaḥāba**
see also Ahl al-Ṣuffa; al-Salaf wa 'l-Khalaf; Tābi'ūn; [in Suppl.] Shatm
individual companions Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī; Abū Bakra; Abu 'l-Dardā'; Abū Dharr; Abū Hurayra; 'Adī b. Ḥātim; 'Ammār b. Yāsir; Anas b. Mālik; al-Arḳam; al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā; 'Attāb; al-Barā' (b. 'Āzib); al-Barā' (b. Ma'rūr); Bashīr b. Sa'd; Bilāl b. Rabāḥ; Bishr b. al-Barā'; Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb; Diḥya; Djāriya b. Ḳudāma; Ghasīl al-Malā'ika; Hāshim b. 'Utba; Ḥurḳūṣ b. Zuhayr al-Sa'dī; Ibn Mas'ūd; Ka'b b. Mālik; Khabbāb b. al-Aratt; Khālid b. Sa'īd; Ḳutham b. al-'Abbās; Maslama b. Mukhallad; al-Miḳdād b. 'Amr; Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudaydj; al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba; Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa; Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr; al-Nābigha al-Dja'dī; al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr; Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ; Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'aṭṭal; Sa'īd b. Zayd; Shaddād b. 'Amr; Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana; Ṭalḥa; Tamīm al-Dārī; 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-'Abbās; 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar; 'Uḳba b. Nāfi'; 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd; 'Utba b. Ghazwān; 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn; al-Walīd b. 'Uḳba; Zayd b. Thābit; al-Zibriḳān b. Badr; al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām; Zuhayr b. Ḳays; [in Suppl.] Djābir b. 'Abd Allāh; Ibn Mītham
see also al-Ḳa'ḳā'; Khawlān.2; Ḳuss b. Sā'ida; Rawḥ b. Zinbā'; Ubayy b. Ka'b; Usāma b. Zayd; Uways al-Ḳaranī; 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn; Waraḳa b. Nawfal; Zayd b. 'Amr; [in Suppl.] Khawla bt. Ḥakīm
family of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim; Abū Lahab; Abū Ṭālib; 'Aḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib; 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; Āmina; Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib; Fāṭima; Ḥalīma bint Abī Dhu'ayb; Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; (al-)Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan; Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf; (al-)Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; Ruḳayya; 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-'Abbās; Umm Kulthūm; Zayd b. Ḥāritha
see also Ahl al-Bayt; Sharīf; Shurafā'; *and → the section Wives below*
daughters Fāṭima; Ruḳayya; Umm Kulthūm; Zaynab bt. Muḥammad
wives 'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr; Ḥafṣa; Khadīdja; Māriya; Maymūna bint al-Ḥārith; Ṣafiyya; Sawda bt. Zam'a; Umm Salama Hind; Zaynab bt. Djaḥsh; Zaynab bt. Khuzayma
opponents of Abū Djahl; Ka'b b. al-Ashraf; Umayya b. Khalaf; 'Utba b. Rabī'a; al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra
see also Zuhra; [in Suppl.] Mala'.2

MUSIC Ghinā'; Ḳayna; Maḳām; Malāhī; **Mūsīḳī**; Ramal.2; Shashmaḳom; [in Suppl.] Īḳā'; Laḥn
see also Lamak; al-Rashīdiyya; Samā'.1
composers → *the section Musicians below*
instruments Būḳ; Darabukka; Duff; Ghayṭa; Imẓad; Ḳithāra; Mi'zaf; Mizmār; Nefīr; Rabāb; Ṣandj; Sanṭūr; Saz; Ṭabl; Ṭunbūr; 'Ūd.II; Urghan; Zurna; [in Suppl.] Nāy
see also Mehter; Mūrisṭus; Naḳḳāra-khāna; Ṭabbāl
military → MILITARY.BAND
musicians
composers
first centuries Ibn Muḥriz; Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī; Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī; Ma'bad

b. Wahb; Yaḥyā al-Makkī; Yūnus al-Kātib al-Mughannī; Ziryāb; [in Suppl.] ʿAllawayh al-Aʿsar; al-Dalāl; Faḍl al-Shāʿira
see also al-Ḳāsim b. ʿĪsā
13th to 16th centuries Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī; Tānsin; [in Suppl.] Ḥabba Khātūn
17th and 18th centuries Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳi; Ṣolaḳ-zāde
19th and 20th centuries al-Ḳusanṭīnī; Lāhūtī; Laylā Khānïm; Shewḳī Beg; Zekāʾī Dede
flautists [in Suppl.] Barṣawmā al-Zāmir
lute players ʿAzza al-Maylāʾ; Djaḥẓa; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī; Sāʾib Khāthir; Zalzal; Ziryāb; [in Suppl.] ʿAllawayh al-Aʿsar
regional
Andalusian al-Ḥāʾik; Umayya, Abu ʾl-Ṣalt
Egyptian Ṭaḳṭūḳa
Indian **Hind**.viii; Khayāl
see also Bāyazīd Anṣārī; Tānsin; [in Suppl.] Ḥabba Khātūn
Kurdish Kurds.iv.C.4
Persian Mihragān.iv.3
see also Lāhūtī; Naḳḳāra-khāna
Turkish Ilāhī; Ḳoshma; Mehter; Sharḳï; Taḳsīm; Turks.IV; Türkü
see also Laylā Khānïm; Māni; Nefīr; Shewḳī Beg; Zekāʾī Dede; [in Suppl.] Ḳantimīr, Demetrius
song **Ghināʾ**; Khayāl; Nashīd; Nawba; Shashmaḳom; Türkü
see also Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī; Ḥawfī; Ilāhī; Mawāliyā.3; Shāʿir.1.E
singers ʿĀlima; Ḳayna
see also ʿĀshiḳ; al-Barāmika.5
legendary [in Suppl.] al-Djarādatān[i]
see also [in Suppl.] Ḥabba Khātūn
early Islamic period ʿAzza al-Maylāʾ; Djamīla; al-Gharīḍ; Ḥabāba; Ibn ʿĀʾisha.I; Ibn Misdjaḥ; Ibn Muḥriz; Ibn Suraydj; Maʿbad b. Wahb; Mālik b. Abi ʾl-Samḥ; Nashīṭ; Rāʾiḳa; Sāʾib Khāthir; Ṭuways; [in Suppl.] al-Dalāl
during the ʿAbbāsid caliphate Ibn Bāna; Ibn Djāmiʿ; Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī; Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī; Mukhāriḳ; Sallāma al-Zarḳāʾ; Shāriya; ʿUlayya; Yaḥyā al-Makkī; Yūnus al-Kātib al-Mughannī; [in Suppl.] Badhl al-Kubrā
mid-13th to 19th centuries [in Suppl.] Ḥabba Khātūn
20th century Siti Binti Saad; Umm Kulthūm
songwriters → MUSIC.MUSICIANS.COMPOSERS
terms Ṭarab; Taḳsīm; Tik wa-tum; [in Suppl.] Īḳāʿ; Laḥn
see also Ustādh.1; Wadjd
treatises on ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Ghaybī; Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī; al-Ḥāʾik; Ibn Bāna; Ibn Khurradādhbih; Mashāḳa; (Banu ʾl-) Munadjdjim.4; Mūristus; Mushāḳa; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī; al-Ṣaydāwī; al-Tādilī; ʿUmar Khayyām; Yūnus al-Kātib al-Mughannī; [in Suppl.] al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama
see also Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin b. Taghrībirdī; Ïnal; Malāhī; [in Suppl.] Ḳantimīr, Demetrius

MYSTICISM Allāh.III.4; Darwīsh; Dhikr; Ibāḥa.II; Karāma; Murīd; Murshid; Pīr; Samāʿ.1; Shaykh; Ṭarīḳa; **Taṣawwuf**; Zuhd
see also Sadjdjāda.3; Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ; Ṭāʾifa; *and* → DYNASTIES.PERSIA.ṢAFAWIDS
architecture → *the section Monasteries below*
concepts Baḳāʾ wa-Fanāʾ; al-Insān al-Kāmil; Ishrāḳ; Lāhūt and Nāsūt; Tawakkul; Zāʾirdja.2
see also Allāh.III.4; al-Ḥallādj.IV; Ibn al-ʿArabī; al-Niffarī; Uwaysiyya
dervishes **Darwīsh**; Raḳṣ

see also Tādj; [in Suppl.] Buḳʿa; *and* → MYSTICISM.ORDERS

dress Khirḳa; Pālāhang; Shadd.1

early ascetics ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Ḳays al-ʿAnbarī; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; al-Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ; Ibrāhīm b. Adham; Maʿrūf al-Karkhī; Sarī al-Saḳaṭī

see also Bakkāʾ

literature [in Suppl.] Maktūbāt; Malfūẓāt; *and* → LITERATURE.POETRY.MYSTICAL

see also Zuhdiyya

monasteries Khānḳāh; Ribāṭ.1.b; Tekke; Zāwiya

mystics Darwīsh; Murīd; Murshid; Pīr; Shaykh

see also Pist; Walī; *and* → HAGIOGRAPHY

African (excluding North Africa and Egypt) ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī; [in Suppl.] al-Duwayḥī

see also Ṣāliḥiyya; Sūdān (Bilād al-).2; Ṭarīḳa.II.3; Taṣawwuf.9; Walī.9 *and* 10; Zāwiya.3; Ziyāra.9 *and* 10; [in Suppl.] al-Madjādhīb; Mozambique

Andalusian Abū Madyan; Ibn al-ʿArabī; Ibn al-ʿArīf, Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās; Ibn ʿĀshir; Ibn Barradjān; Ibn Ḳasī; Ibn Masarra; al-Shushtarī

see also al-Ṭalamankī

Arabic (excluding Andalusian and North African) ʿAbd al-Ghanī; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī; ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī; ʿAdī b. Musāfir; Aḥmad al-Badawī; ʿAydarūs; al-Bakrī, Muḥammad; al-Bakrī, Muṣṭafā; Bishr al-Ḥāfī; al-Bisṭāmī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; al-Damīrī; al-Dasūḳī, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; al-Dasūḳī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad; Dhu ʾl-Nūn, Abu ʾl-Fayḍ; al-Dimyāṭī, al-Bannāʾ; al-Dimyāṭī, Nūr al-Dīn; al-Djunayd; al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid; al-Ghazālī, Aḥmad; al-Ḥallādj; al-Harawī al-Mawṣilī; Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh; al-Ḳazwīnī, Nadjm al-Dīn; al-Kharrāz; al-Kurdī; al-Ḳushashī; Makhrama; al-Manūfī; al-Muḥāsibī; al-Munāwī; al-Murādī.1 *and* 2; al-Niffarī; al-Nūrī; Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawiyya al-Ḳaysiyya; al-Rifāʿī; Sahl al-Tustarī; al-Sarrādj, Abū Naṣr; al-Shaʿrānī; al-Shiblī, Abū Bakr; Sumnūn; ʿUthmān b. Marzūḳ; al-Yāfiʿī; Yūsuf b. ʿĀbid al-Idrīsī; Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī; [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-ʿAzāʾim; al-ʿAdawī; al-ʿAfīfī; al-Ḥiṣāfī

see also Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī; Bā ʿAlawī; Baḥraḳ; Bakriyya; Bayyūmiyya; Faḍl, Bā; Faḳīh, Bā; Faḳīh, Bal; Hurmuz, Bā; Ḳādiriyya; Marwāniyya; Saʿdiyya; Shādhiliyya; al-Ṣiddīḳī; Yashruṭiyya; [in Suppl.] al-Bakrī; Demirdāshiyya; Shaʿrāniyya; *and* → MYSTICISM.EARLY ASCETICS

Central Asian Aḥmad Yasawī; Ḥakīm Ata; Naḳshband; al-Tirmidhī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; Tirmidhī; Zangī Ātā; [in Suppl.] Aḥrār

see also Ḳalandariyya; Pārsāʾiyya; Ṭarīḳa.II.5; Uwaysiyya; Walī.5; Yasawiyya; [in Suppl.] Khwādjagān

Chinese → CHINA

Indian Abū ʿAlī Ḳalandar; Aḥmad Sirhindī; Ashraf ʿAlī; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā; Bāḳī bi ʾllāh (*and* [in Suppl.]); al-Banūrī; Budhan; Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb; Burhān al-Dīn Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam; Čirāgh-i Dihlī; Čishtī; Djahānārā Bēgam; Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Bukhārī; "Djamālī"; Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd "Gandj-i-Shakar"; Gīsū Darāz; Hānsawī; Ḥusaynī Sādāt Amīr; Imdād Allāh; Kalīm Allāh al-Djahānābādī; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī; Malik Muḥammad Djāyasī; Miyān Mīr, Miyādjī; Mubārak Ghāzī; Muḥammad Ghawth Gwāliyārī; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī; Muẓaffar Shams Balkhī; Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ; Niẓām al-Dīn, Mullā Muḥammad; Nūr Ḳuṭb al-ʿĀlam; Shāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Aḥmad; Thānesarī; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Bārī; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī; Bulbul Shāh; Farangī Maḥall; Gadāʾī Kambō; Ḥamīd Ḳalandar; Ḥamīd al-Dīn Ḳāḍī Nāgawrī; Ḥamīd al-Dīn Ṣūfī Nāgawrī Siwālī; Ḥamza Makhdūm; Kabīr; Kanbō

see also ʿAydarūs; Čishtiyya; Dārā Shukōh; Dard; Djīwan; Hind.v; Khalīl Allāh (*and* Khalīl Allāh But-shikan); Malang; Mughals.6; Naḳshbandiyya.3; Shaṭṭāriyya;

Suhrawardiyya.2; Ṭarīḳa.II.7; Taṣawwuf.7; Walī.6; Ziyāra.7; [in Suppl.] Maktūbāt; Malfūẓāt; Tabrīzī, Djalāl al-Dīn

Indonesian ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkilī; ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī; Ḥamza Fanṣūrī; Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrānī
see also Ṭarīḳa.II.8; Walī.7; Ziyāra.8

North African ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī; ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin al-Fāsī; Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ; Aḥmad b. Idrīs; ʿAlī b. Maymūn; al-ʿAyyāshī; al-Daḳḳāḳ; al-Djazūlī; al-Hāshimī; Ḥmād u-Mūsā; Ibn ʿAbbād; Ibn ʿAdjība; Ibn ʿAlīwa; Ibn ʿArūs; Ibn Ḥirzihim; al-Ḳādirī al-Ḥasanī; al-Kūhin; al-Lamaṭī; Māʾ al-ʿAynayn al-Ḳalḳamī; al-Madjdhūb; al-Sanūsī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; al-Sanūsī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī; al-Sanūsī, Shaykh Sayyid Aḥmad; al-Shādhilī; al-Tidjānī, Aḥmad; [in Suppl.] al-Asmar; al-Dilāʾ; al-Fāsī; Ibn ʿAzzūz; Maḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Huḍīgī
see also ʿAmmāriyya; ʿArūsiyya; Darḳāwa; Hansaliyya; Hazmīriyyūn; al-Ifrānī; ʿĪsāwā; Madaniyya; al-Nāṣiriyya; Raḥmāniyya; Shādhiliyya; Tidjāniyya; Walī.2; Wazzāniyya; Zāwiya.2; Ziyāniyya; [in Suppl.] Ḥamādisha; Ṭayyibiyya

Persian ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī; Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr; Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī; Aḥmad-i Djām; ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla al-Simnānī; ʿAlī al-Hamadānī; al-Anṣārī al-Harawī; Ashraf Djahāngīr; Bābā-Ṭāhir; Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; Faḍl Allāh Ḥurūfī; Ghudjduwānī; Ḥamdūn al-Ḳaṣṣār; Hudjwīrī; Ibn Khafīf; ʿIrāḳī; al-Kalābādhī; Kamāl Khudjandī; Ḳāsim-i Anwār; Kāzarūnī; Khalīl Allāh (*and* Khalīl Allāh But-shikan); Kharaḳānī; al-Khargūshī; Kirmānī; Kubrā; al-Ḳushayrī.1; Lāhīdjī.1; Maḥmūd Shabistarī; Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī Dāya; Naḳshband; Rūzbihān; Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūʾī; Saʿd al-Dīn Kāshgharī; Ṣadr al-Dīn Ardabīlī; Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā; Ṣafī; Saʿīd al-Dīn Farghānī; Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī; Shams-i Tabrīz(ī); al-Suhrawardī, Abu 'l-Nadjīb; al-Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ; Sulṭān Walad; Tirmidhī; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Miyānadjī; Abū ʿAlī; Aḥmad-i Rūmī; ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī; Ibn al-Bazzāz al-Ardabīlī; al-Sindī; Tabrīzī, Djalāl al-Dīn
see also Djāmī; Madjlisī-yi Awwal; Naḳshbandiyya.1; Niʿmat-Allāhiyya; Ṣafawids.I.ii; Taṣawwuf.5

Turkish Aḳ Shams al-Dīn; Altî Parmak; ʿĀshîḳ Pasha; Badr al-Dīn b. Ḳāḍī Samāwnā; Baraḳ Baba; Bīdjān; Emīr Sulṭān; Faṣīḥ Dede; Fehmī; Gulshanī; Gülshehrī; Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Walī; Hüdāʾī; Ḥusām al-Dīn Čelebi; Ismāʿīl al-Anḳarawī; Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳi; Ḳayghusuz Abdāl; Khalīlī; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn-zāde; Merkez; Niyāzī; Sezāʾī, Ḥasan Dede; ʿUshshāḳī-zāde.1; [in Suppl.] ʿĀrif Čelebī; Eshrefoghlu; Esrār Dede; Rūshanī, Dede ʿUmar; Süleymān Dhātī
see also Ashrafiyya; Bakriyya; Bayrāmiyya; Bektāshiyya; Djilwatiyya; Gülbaba; Ilāhī; Khalwatiyya; Mawlawiyya; Naḳshbandiyya.2; Shaʿbāniyya; Shamsiyya; Sunbuliyya; Ṭarīḳa.II.5; Taṣawwuf.6; ʿUshshāḳiyya; Walī.4

orders **Ṭarīḳa**.II

individual orders ʿAmmāriyya; ʿArūsiyya; Ashrafiyya; Bakriyya; Bayrāmiyya; Bayyūmiyya; Bektāshiyya; Čishtiyya; Darḳāwa; Djilwatiyya; Hansaliyya; Hazmīriyyūn; ʿĪsāwā; Ḳādiriyya; Ḳalandariyya; Khalwatiyya; Madaniyya; Marwāniyya; Mawlawiyya; Mīrghaniyya; Murīdiyya; Naḳshbandiyya; al-Nāṣiriyya; Niʿmat-Allāhiyya; Pārsāʾiyya; Raḥmāniyya; Rifāʿiyya; Saʿdiyya; Ṣāliḥiyya; Sanūsiyya; Shaʿbāniyya; Shādhiliyya; Shamsiyya; Shaṭṭāriyya; Suhrawardiyya; Sunbuliyya; Tidjāniyya; ʿUshshāḳiyya; Wazzāniyya; Yasawiyya; Yashruṭiyya; Ziyāniyya; [in Suppl.] Demirdāshiyya; Ḥamādisha; Khʷādjagān; Shaʿrāniyya
for ʿAdawiyya, *see* ʿAdī b. Musāfir; *for* ʿAfīfiyya, *see* [in Suppl.] al-ʿAfīfī; *for* Aḥmadiyya (Badawiyya), *see* Aḥmad al-Badawī; *for* Dasūḳiyya (Burhāmiyya), *see* al-Dasūḳī, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; *for* al-Djazūliyya, *see* al-Djazūlī; *for*

Gulshaniyya, *see* Gulshanī; for Idrīsiyya, *see* Aḥmad b. Idrīs; *for* Kāzarūniyya (Murshidiyya, Isḥāḳiyya), *see* Kāzarūnī; *for* Kubrawiyya, *see* Kubrā; *for* Yāfiʿiyya, *see* al-Yāfiʿī

see also Nūrbakhshiyya; Ṣafawids.I.ii; Uwaysiyya; [in Suppl.] al-Madjādhīb; Ṭayyibiyya

terms Abdāl; ʿĀshiḳ; Awtād; Baḳāʾ wa-Fanāʾ; Basṭ; Bīsharʿ; Čāʾūsh; Darwīsh; Dawsa; Dede; Dhawḳ; Dhikr; Djilwa; Faḳīr; Fikr; al-Ghayb; Ghayba; Ghufrān; Ḥaḍra; Ḥaḳīḳa.3; Ḥaḳḳ; Ḥāl; Ḥidjāb.III; Ḥuḳūḳ; Ḥulūl; Ḥurriyya; Huwa huwa; Ikhlāṣ; Ilhām; ʿInāya; al-Insān al-Kāmil; Ishān; Ishāra; ʿIshḳ; Ishrāḳ; Ithbāt; Ittiḥād; Ḳabḍ.ii; Kāfir; Ḳalb.I; Kalima; Karāma; Kashf; Khalīfa.iii; Khalwa; Khānḳāh; Khirḳa; al-Ḳuṭb; Lāhūt and Nāsūt; Madjdhūb; Manzil; Maʿrifa; Muḥāsaba.1; Munādjāt; Murīd; Murshid; Nafs; Odjaḳ; Pālāhang; Pīr; Pūst; Pūst-neshīn; Rābiṭa; Ramz.3; Rātib; Ribāṭ; Riḍā.1; Rind; Rūḥāniyya; Rukhṣa.2; Ṣabr; Ṣadr; Shaṭḥ; Shawḳ; Shaykh; Shukr.1; Ṣidḳ; Silsila; Sulṭān.4; Sulūk.2; Tadjallī; Ṭāʾifa; Ṭarīḳa.I; Tekke; Terdjümān; Wadjd; Waḥdat al-Shuhūd; Waraʿ; Waẓīfa.2; Wird; Wudjūd.2; [in Suppl.] Buḳʿa; Ghawth; Mawḳif; Sirr; Taḳwā.4 *and* 5; Wahm.2

see also Čelebī; Futuwwa; Gülbaba; Gulbāng; Lawḥ; Lawn; Waṭan

N

NATIONALISM Istiḳlāl; **Ḳawmiyya; Waṭaniyya**; [in Suppl.] Taʿrīb.2

see also Djangalī; Khilāfa; Pāshtūnistān; al-Shuʿūbiyya; ʿUrūba; Waṭan; *and* → PANARABISM; PANISLAMISM; PANTURKISM; POLITICS.MOVEMENTS

NATURAL SCIENCE **al-Āthār al-ʿUlwiyya**; **Ḥikma**; Masāʾil wa-Adjwiba; Ṭabīʿa; [in Suppl.] **Ṭabīʿiyyāt**

see also Nūr.1

natural scientists al-Bīrūnī; al-Dimashḳī; Ibn Bādjdja; Ibn al-Haytham; Ibn Rushd; Ibn Sīnā; Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ; al-Ḳazwīnī; al-Marwazī, Sharaf al-Zamān

and → ALCHEMY; ASTRONOMY; BOTANY; METAPHYSICS; ZOOLOGY

NATURE → AGRICULTURE; BOTANY; FLORA; LITERATURE.POETRY.NATURE

NAVIGATION Djughrāfiyā; Iṣbaʿ; Kharīṭa; Maghnāṭīs.2; Manār; **Milāḥa**; Mīnāʾ

see also al-Khashabāt; Rīḥ; al-Ṭāsa

ships Milāḥa (esp. 4); Nassads; **Safīna**; Shīnī; Usṭūl

see also Baḥriyya.2; Kelek; *and* → MILITARY.NAVY

shipyards Dār al-Ṣināʿa; Tersāne

treatises on Ibn Mādjid; Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs; Sulaymān al-Mahrī; al-Tādilī

see also Djughrāfiyā.IV.d; Milāḥa.1 *and* 3

NEPAL **Nepal**

NESTORIANS → CHRISTIANITY.DENOMINATIONS

NEW WORLD Djāliya; Djarīda.i.C.; **al-Mahdjar**

immigrants Djabrān Khalīl Djabrān; al-Maʿlūf; Nuʿayma, Mīkhāʾīl; al-Rayḥānī; [in Suppl.] Abū Māḍī; Abū Shādī

see also Pārsīs; Ṭuʿma, Ilyās

NIGER **Niger**
see also Sūdān (Bilād al-).2
physical geography Niger.1
toponyms Bilma; Djādū; Kawār

NIGERIA Hausa; **Nigeria**; Yoruba
see also Djarīda.vi; Fulbe; al-Kānemī; Kanuri; Nikāḥ.II.6; Sūdān (Bilād al-).2; *and* → AFRICA.CENTRAL AFRICA *and* WEST AFRICA
leaders Muḥammad Bello; ʿUthmān b. Fūdī
see also Gwandu; [in Suppl.] Mai Tatsine
toponyms
provinces Adamawa; Bornū
towns Ibadan; Kano; Katsina; Kūkawa; Sokoto

NOMADISM **Badw**; Horde; Īlāt; Khāwa; Khayma; Marʿā; Yörük
see also Baḳḳāra; Baranta; Dakhīl; Dawār; Ḥayy; Ḳayn; *and* → BEDOUINS; GYPSIES; TRIBES
nomadic ideology **Taʿarrub**
nomadic possessions Khayma; Mifrash
see also Khayl; Zmāla.2
residences Ḳishlaḳ; Yaylaḳ

NUBIA ʿAlwa; Barābra; Dongola; al-Marīs; **Nūba**
see also Baḳṭ; Dār al-Ṣulḥ; Ibn Sulaym al-Aswānī; al-Muḳurra; Sōba; *and* → EGYPT.TOPONYMS; SUDAN.TOPONYMS
languages Nūba.3
peoples Nūba.4

NUMBER Abdjad; Ḥisāb al-ʿAḳd; Ḥisāb al-Djummal; Ḥurūf; ʿIlm al-Ḥisāb
and → MATHEMATICS
numbers Khamsa; Sabʿ
see also al-Ṣifr

NUMISMATICS Dār al-Ḍarb; Sikka; Tazyīf; Wazn.1
see also ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak; Ismāʿīl Ghālib; Makāyil; Nithār
coinage Aḳče; Bālish; Čao; Čeyrek; Dīnār; Dirham.2; Fals; Ḥasanī; Larin; Mohur; Pāʾī; Pāra; Pawlā; Paysā; Riyāl; Rūpiyya; Ṣadīḳī; Ṣāḥib Ḳirān; Shāhī; Tanga; Ṭarī; Wariḳ
see also Dhahab; Fiḍḍa; Filori; Hilāl.ii; Sanadjāt; Tamgha; Wadaʿ.1; Yādgār; *and* → DYNASTIES; WEIGHTS AND MEASUREMENTS
for coinage in the name of rulers, see al-Afḍal (Kutayfāt); ʿAlī Bey; Ghāzi ʾl-Dīn Ḥaydar; Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa; Khurshīd; al-Manṣūr, al-Malik Muḥammad; Muṣṭafā.1; [in Suppl.] Farrukhān.2; *for coinage under dynasties, see in particular* Artuḳids; Barīd Shāhīs; Khʷārazm-shāhs; Lōdīs.5; Mughals.10; al-Muwaḥḥidūn; ʿOthmānli̊.IX; Rasūlids.2; Ṣafawids.VI; Saldjūḳids.VIII; Ṣiḳilliya.3; Ṣulayḥids.2; Tīmūrids.4; Yādgār; [in Suppl.] Mamlūks.iv
shell currency Wadaʿ.1
special issues Yādgār
mint localities Abarshahr; al-Abbāsiyya; Andarāb.1; Ānī; Bāghče Sarāy; Islāmābād; Iṣṭakhr; al-Kurdj; Māh al-Baṣra; Mawlāy Idrīs; Māzandarān.7; Wāsiṭ.4; [in Suppl.] Biyār; Firrīm
reform ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān; [in Suppl.] al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ
see also Tūmān.2
terms ʿAdl.2; Salām (*and* Sālim.1); Tūmān.2; Wazn.1

O

OBSCENITY **Mudjūn; Sukhf**

OCEANS AND SEAS **Baḥr**; al-Madd wa 'l-Djazr
see also Kharīṭa; *and* → CARTOGRAPHY; NAVIGATION
waters Aral; Baḥr Adriyās; Baḥr Buntus; Baḥr Fāris; Baḥr al-Hind; Baḥr al-Khazar; Baḥr al-Kulzum; Baḥr Lūṭ; Baḥr Māyuṭis; al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ; Baḥr al-Rūm; Baḥr al-Zandj; Marmara Deñizi

OIL **Nafṭ**.3
see also Ta'mīm
for cooking oil → CUISINE.FOOD
oilfields 'Abbādān; Abkayk; Altîn Köprü; al-Baḥrayn; al-Dahnā'; al-Ghawār; al-Ḥasā; al-Kaṭīf; Khārag; Khūzistān; Kirkūk; Kirmānshāh; al-Kuwayt; Lībiyā; Nadjd.3; Rām-hurmuz; Ra's (al-)Tannūra; (al-)Ẓahrān; [in Suppl.] Aḥmadī
see also Djannāba; Fārs; al-Khubar; Yanbu'

OMAN al-Ibāḍiyya.g; Madjlis.4.A.xiii; Maḥkama.4.ix; Nabhān; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(xiii); **'Umān**
see also [in Suppl.] al-Ḥārithī
dynasties Bū Sa'īd; Ya'rubids
physical geography 'Umān.1
salt flats Umm al-Samīm
population 'Awāmir; al-Baṭāḥira; al-Djanaba; al-Durū'; Hinā; al-Ḥubūs; al-'Ifār; (Banū) Kharūṣ; Mahra; Mazrū'ī; Nabhān; Wahība; [in Suppl.] **'Umān**.iii
and → TRIBES.ARABIAN PENINSULA
toponyms
islands Khūryān-mūryān; Maṣīra
regions al-Bāṭina; Ra's Musandam; al-Rustāk; al-Sharkiyya; Ẓafār; al-Ẓāhira
towns al-Buraymī; Ḥāsik; 'Ibrī; Kalhāt; Maskaṭ; Maṭraḥ; al-Mirbāṭ; Nizwa; al-Rustāk; Ṣalāla; Ṣuḥār
see also (Djazīrat) al-'Arab; Wabār.2; [in Suppl.] Gwādar

ONOMASTICS Bā; Ibn; **Ism**; Kisrā; Kunya; Lakab; Nisba.2
see also al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā; Oghul; Ṣikilliya.2
epithets Ata; Baba; Ghufrān; Humāyūn; al-Ṣiddīk; Tādj
in form of address Agha; Ākhūnd; Beg; Begum; Čelebī; Efendi; Khwādja; Khātūn; Khudāwand; Shaykh; Ustādh
see also Akhī; Sharīf.(3)
proper names Aḥmad; Dhu 'l-Fakār; Humā; Marzpān; Meḥemmed; Mihragān. iv.2; Sonkor; Tha'laba; Ṭoghrîl
see also al-Asad; Payghū; Yaylak
titles
African Diglal; Sulṭān.3; [in Suppl.] Mai
Arabic 'Amīd; Amīr al-Mu'minīn; Amīr al-Muslimīn; Asad al-Dawla; 'Azīz Miṣr; 'Izz al-Dawla; 'Izz al-Dīn; Khādim al-Ḥaramayn; Khidīw; Malik; Mihmindār; Mushīr; Sardār; Sayyid; Shaykh al-Balad; Shaykh al-Islām.1; Sulṭān.1; Tubba'
see also Dawla.2
Central Asian Afshīn; Ikhshīd; Kosh-begi; Shār; [in Suppl.] Atalîk; Dīwān-begi; Inak
Indo-Muslim Āṣāf-Djāh; Khwādja-i Djahān; Khān Khānān; Nawwāb; Niẓām; Pēshwā; Ṣāḥib Kirān; Sardār; Shār; Ulugh Khān

Mongolian Noyan; Ṣāḥib Ḳirān; Ṭarkhān
Persian Agha Khān; Ispahbadh; Ispahsālār; Iʿtimād al-Dawla; Khʷādja; Marzpān; Mīr; Mīrzā; Mollā; Pādishāh; Ṣadr; Sālār; Sardār; Sarkār Āḳā; Shāh; Tekfur; Ustāndār
Southeast Asian Penghulu; Sulṭān.2
Turkish Alp; Beglerbegi; Dāmād; Daryā-begi; Dayi; Gülbaba; Khʷādjegān-i Dīwān-i Humāyūn; Khāḳān; Khān; Khudāwendigār; Mīr-i Mīrān; Mushīr; Pasha; Payghū; Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam; Shaykh al-Islām.2; Ṣu Bashi; Tekfur; Tigin; Yabghu
see also Čorbadji; Terken Khātūn; Tughra

OPTICS Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ; **Manāẓir**
see also Mirʾāt; Sarāb
works on Ibn al-Haytham; Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī; Uḳlīdis
see also Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī

OTTOMAN EMPIRE Anadolu.iii.2 *and* 3; Ertoghrul.1; Istanbul; Lāle Devri; **ʿOthmānli**; Tanẓīmāt
see also Bāb-i ʿĀlī; Ḥidjāz Railway; Pasha Ḳapusu; Shenlik; Ṭursun Faḳīh; [in Suppl.] Sürgün; *and* → DYNASTIES.ANATOLIA AND THE TURKS; EUROPE.EASTERN; LAW.OTTOMAN; MILITARY.OTTOMAN; *and the section Ottoman Period under individual countries*
administration Berātli; Ḍabṭiyya; Dīwān-i Humāyūn; Eyālet; Imtiyāzāt.ii; Khāṣṣ; Khazīne; Mashwara; Millet.3; Mukhtār; Mülāzemet; Mulāzim; Mulkiyya; Nāḥiye; Nishāndji; Reʾīs ül-Küttāb; Sandjaḳ; Tīmār; Ulaḳ; Ziʿāmet; [in Suppl.] Dāʾira Saniyya
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archives and registers Başvekalet Arşivi; Daftar-i Khāḳānī; Ḳānūn.iii; Maṣraf Defteri; Mühimme Defterleri; Sāl-nāme; **Sidjill**.3; Taḥrīr
see also Daftar.III; Ferīdūn Beg; Maḥlūl
financial Arpaliḳ; Ashām; Bayt al-Māl.II; Daftardār; Dār al-Ḍarb; Dirlik; Djayb-i Humāyūn; Duyūn-i ʿUmūmiyye; Irsāliyye; Ḳāʾime; Khazīne; Māliyye; Muḥāsaba.2; Mukhallefāt; Muṣādara.3; Rūznāmedji; Sāliyāne; Siyāḳat; ʿUlūfe; [in Suppl.] Sanad
see also Bakhshīsh; Ṣurra
fiscal Ḍarība.3; Djizya.ii; Ḥisba.ii; Kharādj.III; Muḥaṣṣil; Mültezim; ʿOthmānli.II; Resm; Taḥrīr; Ṭapu; Tekālīf; Tīmār; Ziʿāmet
see also Mutaṣarrif; Shehir Ketkhüdāsi
agriculture Filāḥa.iv; Māʾ.8; Raʿiyya.2
and → AGRICULTURE
architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS.TURKEY
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cuisine Maṭbakh.2
diplomacy Bālyōs; Consul; Elči; Hiba.v; Penče
see also Berātli; Imtiyāzāt.ii; Ḳawwās; *and* → DIPLOMACY
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see also Ḥarbiye; *and* → EDUCATION; REFORM.EDUCATIONAL
functionaries Āmeddji; Aʿyān; Bazirgan; Bostāndji; Bostāndji-bashi; Čakirdji-bashi; Čāshnagīr-bashi; Ḍābiṭ; Ḍabṭiyya; Daftardār; Dilsiz; Doghandji; Elči; Emīn; Ghulām.iv; Ḥekīm-bashi; Ič-oghlani; ʿIlmiyye; Ḳāʾim-maḳām; Ḳapu Aghasi; Ḳawwās; Ketkhudā.1; Khaznadār; Khʷādjegān-i Dīwān-i Humāyūn; Maʾmūr; Mewḳūfātči; Mīr-Ākhūr; Mushīr; Mustashār; Mutaṣarrif; Nishāndji; Reʾīs ül-Küttāb; Rūznāmedji; Ṣadr-ı Aʿẓam; Shāhnāmedji; Shehir Emāneti; Shehir Ketkhüdāsi; Tardjumān.2; Telkhīṣdji; Ṭulumbadji; ʿUlamāʾ.3; Waḳaʿ-nüwīs; Wālī; Wazīr.III; Yazidji; [in Suppl.] Segbān

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P

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see also Ahl-i Ḥadīth; Dār al-ʿUlūm.c; Djamʿiyya.v; Djūnāgaṛh; Hind.ii *and* iv; Kashmīr.ii; Ḳawmiyya.vi; Khaybar; Muhādjir.3; Pashtūnistān; Sind.2; *and* → INDIA
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statesmen Djināḥ; Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān; Ziyāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ
see also Mawdūdī
toponyms
ancient Čīnīōt; Daybul; Ḳandābīl; Khayrābād.ii; Ṭūrān
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districts Chitral; Ḥāfiẓābād; Hazāra; Khārān; Khayrpūr; Kilāt.2; Kōhāt; Kwaṭṭa; Mastūdj; Sībī
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towns Amarkot; Bādjawr; Bahāwalpūr; Bakkār; Bannū; Bhakkar; Gūdjrāṅwāla; Gudjrāt; Ḥasan Abdāl; Ḥaydarābād; Islāmābād; Karāčī; Kilāt.1; Ḳuṣdār; Kwaṭṭa; Lāhawr; Mastūdj; Peshāwar; Rāwalpindi; Shikārpūr.1; Sībī; Siyālkūt; Uččh; Zhōb; [in Suppl.] Gilgit; Gwādar

PALESTINE/ISRAEL Djarīda.i.A; **Filasṭīn**; Ḥizb.i; Madjlis.4.A.xxiii; Maḥkama.4.v; Mandates; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(v)
see also Djarrāḥids; Ḳays ʿAylān; al-Khālidī; al-Sāmira; Shāhīn, Āl; Yashruṭiyya; [in Suppl.] Demography.III; Waḳf.II.2; *and* → CRUSADE(R)S
architecture Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra; al-Ḳuds; al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā
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belletrists Ṣāyigh, Tawfīḳ
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deserts al-Naḳb; Sīnāʾ
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toponyms
ancient Arsūf; ʿAthlīth; ʿAyn Djālūt; Bayt Djibrīn; al-Dārūm; Irbid.II; Sabasṭiyya.1; Subayta
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regions al-Ghawr.1; Mardj Banī ʿĀmir; al-Naḳb
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PANARABISM Ḳawmiyya; **Pan-Arabism**; **ʿUrūba**; [in Suppl.] al-Djāmiʿa al-ʿArabiyya; Taʿrīb.2
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PANISLAMISM Ḳawmiyya; **Pan-Islamism**; **al-Rābiṭa al-Islāmiyya**
see also Dustūr.xviii; Iṣlāḥ.ii; Khilāfa; Muʾtamar; Taḳrīb
partisans of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī; Fiṭrat; Gasprali (Gasprinski), Ismāʿīl; Ḥālī; Kūčak Khān Djangalī; Māʾ al-ʿAynayn al-Ḳalḳamī; Meḥmed ʿĀkif; Rashīd Riḍā; Ṣafar; [in Suppl.] Andjuman-i Khuddām-i Kaʿba; al-Bakrī
see also Djadīd

PANTURKISM Ḳawmiyya.iv; **Pan-Turkism**
partisans of Gasprali (Gasprinski), Ismāʿīl; Gökalp, Ziya; Riḍā Nūr; Suʿāwī, ʿAlī; Yūsuf Aḳčura
see also Türk Odjaghi̊

PAPYROLOGY Ḳirṭās; Papyrus
see also Diplomatic.i.15; *and* → DOCUMENTS

PARADISE al-ʿAshara al-Mubashshara; Dār al-Salām; **Djanna**; Ḥūr; Kawthar; Riḍwān; Salsabīl; Tasnīm.1
see also al-Aʿrāf

PAYMENTS Adjr.2; ʿAṭāʾ; Djāmakiyya; Ḥawāla; Inʿām; Māl al-Bayʿa; Maʿūna; Rizḳ.3; Ṣila.3;

Soyūrghāl; Ṣurra; ʿUlūfe
see also Waẓīfa.1; [in Suppl.] Ṣakk; *and* → TREATIES.TRIBUTES
bribery Marāfiḳ; **Rashwa**

PERFUME Bān; Ḥinnāʾ; Kāfūr; Misk
see also al-ʿAṭṭār; Maʿdin.4; ʿŪd.I.1; [in Suppl.] Ṭughdj

PERSIA → IRAN

PHARMACOLOGY Adwiya; Aḳrābādhīn; **al-Ṣaydana**; Ṭibb
see also Diyusḳuridīs; Djālīnūs; Nabāt; *and* → BOTANY; DRUGS; MEDICINE
pharmacologists Ibn al-Bayṭār; Ibn Samadjūn; Ibn al-Tilmīdh; Ibn Wāfid; al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār; Sābūr b. Sahl; [in Suppl.] al-Ghāfiḳī; Ibn Biklārish; Ibn al-Rūmiyya
see also al-ʿAshshāb; al-ʿAṭṭār; al-Bīrūnī; al-Suwaydī; Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ

PHILATELY **Posta**
and → TRANSPORT.POSTAL SERVICE

PHILIPPINES **Philippines**
see also [in Suppl.] al-Marʾa; *and* → ASIA.EAST

PHILOSOPHY Falāsifa; **Falsafa**; Ḥikma; Mā baʿd al-Ṭabīʿa; Manṭiḳ; Naẓar
see also ʿĀlam.1; Allāh.iii.2; al-Maḳūlāt; Mukhtaṣar; Sharḥ.IV
logic **Manṭiḳ**
terms Āla.iii; ʿAraḍ; Dalīl; Faṣl; Fiʿl; Ḥadd; Ḥaḳīḳa.2; Ḥudjdja; Ḥukm.I; Huwa huwa.A; Muḳaddam; Natīdja; Sharṭ.2; Taʿrīf.1
see also Ḳaṭʿ; al-Sūfisṭāʾiyyūn
philosophers **Falāsifa**; [in Suppl.] Mashshāʾiyya
Christian Ibn al-Ṭayyib; Ibn Zurʿa; Mattā b. Yūnus; Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī; Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī
Greek Aflāṭūn; Anbaduḳlīs; Arisṭūṭālīs; Balīnūs; Baṭlamiyūs; Buruḳlus; Djālīnūs; Fīthāghūras; Furfūriyūs; al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī; al-Sūfisṭāʾiyyūn; Suḳrāṭ; Thamisṭiyus
see also Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ al-ʿIbādī; Īsāghūdjī; Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn; Lawn; al-Maḳūlāt; Mattā b. Yūnus; Nīḳūlāʾūs; al-Shaykh al-Yūnānī; Usṭāth; Uthūlūdjiyā; Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ; Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī; Yūnān; [in Suppl.] Mashshāʾiyya
Islamic
biographers of al-Shahrazūrī, Shams al-Dīn
9th century Abu ʾl-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf; al-Kindī, Abū Yūsuf; al-Sarakhsī, Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās
see also Dahriyya; Falāsifa; Lawn
10th century Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī; al-Fārābī; Ibn Masarrā; al-Mawṣilī; al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr; [in Suppl.] al-ʿĀmirī
11th century Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī; Bahmanyār; Ibn Ḥazm; Ibn Sīnā; Miskawayh
12th century Abu ʾl-Barakāt; al-Baṭalyawsī; Ibn Bādjdja; Ibn Rushd; Ibn Ṭufayl; al-Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā; ʿUmar Khayyām
see also al-Ghazālī; Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān; Ishrāḳiyyūn; al-Shahrastānī, Abu ʾl-Fatḥ
13th century al-Abharī; Ibn Sabʿīn; al-Kātibī; Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī; al-Shahrazūrī, Shams al-Dīn; al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn
see also Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī
14th century Djamāl al-Dīn Aḳsarayī
16th century al-Maybudī.2

17th century al-Dāmād; al-Fārūḳī, Mullā; Lāhīdjī.2; [in Suppl.] Findiriskī
19th century Sabzawārī; [in Suppl.] Abu 'l-Ḥasan Djilwa
Jewish Ibn Gabirol; Ibn Kammūna; Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī; Judaeo-Arabic.iii; Sa'adyā Ben Yōsēf
see also Abu 'l-Barakāt
terms Abad; 'Adam; 'Aḳl; 'Amal.1 *and* 2; Anniyya; Awwal; Basīṭ wa-Murakkab; Dhāt; Dhawḳ; Ḍidd; Djawhar; Djins; Djism; Djuz'; Fard.g; Ḥadd; Ḥaraka wa-Sukūn.I.1; Hay'a; Ḥayāt; Hayūlā; Ḥiss; Ḥudūth al-'Ālam; Ḥulūl; Huwiyya; Ibdā'; Idrāk; Iḥdāth; Ikhtiyār; 'Illa.ii; 'Ināya; Inṣāf; 'Ishḳ; Ishrāḳ; al-Ḳaḍā' wa 'l-Ḳadar.A.3; Kawn wa-Fasād; Ḳidam; Ḳuwwa.4, 6 *and* 7; Ma'ād; Māhiyya; Maḥsūsāt; Malaka; Ma'nā.2; Nafs; Nihāya; Nūr.2; Sa'āda; Sabab.1; Shakhṣ; Shakk.2; Shay'; Shubha; Ṭafra; Takhyīl.2; Tawallud; Ṭīna; 'Unṣur; Waḥda.2; Wahm; Wudjūd.1; al-Ẓāhir wa 'l-Bāṭin; Zamān.1; [in Suppl.] Mashshā'iyya
see also Athar.3; 'Ayn; Dahriyya; Insān; Ḳaṭ'; Ḳiyāma; Siyāsa.2; Takwīn; *and* → PHILOSOPHY.LOGIC.TERMS

PHYSIOGNOMY **Firāsa**; Ḳiyāfa; Shāma; [in Suppl.] Aflīmūn
and → ANATOMY; DIVINATION

PILGRIMAGE 'Arafa; al-Djamra; **Ḥadjdj**; Hady; Iḥrām; Ka'ba; Minā; Muṭawwif; al-Muzdalifa; Radjm; al-Ṣafā.1; Sa'y; Shi'ār.1; Talbiya; Tarwiya; Tashrīḳ; Ṭawāf; **'Umra**; al-Wuḳūf; Zamzam; **Ziyāra**
see also Amīr al-Ḥādjdj; Ḥidjāz Railway; Kārwān; Kāẓimayn; Makka; Thabīr; al-Tha'labiyya; [in Suppl.] 'Atabāt; Darb Zubayda; Fayd; *and* → ISLAM; SACRED PLACES
pilgrimage literature Ziyāra.1.d *and* e

PIRACY **Ḳurṣān**
see also al-'Annāba; Djarba; Ḥusayn Pasha (Küčük); Lewend; [in Suppl.] Küčük 'Alī Oghullari
corsairs 'Arūdj; Ḥasan Baba; Ḥusayn Pasha, Mezzomorto; Kemāl Re'īs; Khayr al-Dīn Pasha; Selmān Re'īs; Ṭorghud Re'īs; 'Ulūdj 'Alī; Umur Pasha

PLAGUE 'Amwās; **Wabā'**
see also Ibn Khaldūn, Walī al-Dīn; *and* → DEATH; ILLNESS
treatises on Ibn Khātima; Ibn Riḍwān; al-Masīḥī

POLAND **Leh**
see also Islām Girāy; Ḳamāniča; Köprülü; Lipḳa; Muslimūn.1.A.1; *and* → OTTOMAN EMPIRE

POLITICS Baladiyya; Dawla; Djumhūriyya; Dustūr; Ḥimāya.2; Ḥizb; Ḥukūma; Ḥurriyya.ii; Istiḳlāl; Ḳawmiyya; Madjlis; Makhzan; Mandates; Mashyakha; Medeniyyet; Musāwāt; Muwāṭin; Nā'ib.2; Shūrā.3; Siyāsa; Takhṭīṭ al-Ḥudūd; Tawāzun al-Suluṭāt; Thawra; Waṭaniyya; Ẓulm.2; [in Suppl.] Āzādī; al-Djāmi'a al-'Arabiyya; Niẓām 'Askarī; Ta'rīb.2
see also Ahl al-Ḥall wa 'l-'Aḳd; Imtiyāzāt; Mashwara; Salṭana; *and* → ADMINISTRATION; DIPLOMACY; OTTOMAN EMPIRE
doctrines Ḥizb.i; Ishtirākiyya; Mārk(i)siyya; Shuyū'iyya; Ta'mīm; [in Suppl.] Hidjra; Ta'rīb.2
see also Musāwāt; Muslimūn.4; Radj'iyya; Tawāzun al-Suluṭāt; *and* → PANARABISM; PANISLAMISM; PANTURKISM
movements Djadīd; Djangalī; Istiḳlāl; Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djem'iyyeti; Khāksār; Khilāfa; al-Rābiṭa al-Islāmiyya

see also Fiṭrat; Ḥamza Beg; Ḥizb; Ḥurriyya.ii; Kūčak Khān Djangalī; Taṭarruf; Thawra; ʿUrābī Pasha; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Bārī; *and* → PANARABISM; PANISLAMISM; PANTURKISM; REFORM.POLITICO-RELIGIOUS

parties Demokrat Parti; **Ḥizb**; Ḥürriyet we Iʾtilāf Fîrkasî; Partai Islam se Malaysia (Pas); Shuyūʿiyya.1.2; Teraḳḳī-perver Djumhūriyyet Fîrkasî; Wafd

see also Andjuman; Djamʿiyya; (Tunalî) Ḥilmī; Ḥizb.i; Ishtirākiyya; Khīyābānī, Shaykh Muḥammad; Leff; Luṭfī al-Sayyid; Mārk(i)siyya; Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha; Sarekat Islam; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Nāṣir; *and* → COMMUNISM; REFORM

reform → REFORM

terms Shaʿb.2; Taṭarruf; Thawra; Zaʿīm; Ẓulm.2; [in Suppl.] Khalʿ

PORTUGAL **Burtuḳāl**; Gharb al-Andalus

see also Ḥabesh; *and* → ANDALUSIA; SPAIN

toponyms Bādja; Ḳulumriya; al-Maʿdin; Mīrtula; Shantamariyyat al-Gharb; Shantarīn; Shilb; Shintara; Ukshūnuba; (al-)Ushbūna; Yābura; [in Suppl.] Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis

PRAYER Adhān; Dhikr; Djumʿa; **Duʿāʾ**; Fātiḥa; Iḳāma; Khaṭīb; Khuṭba; Ḳibla; Ḳunūt; Ḳuʿūd; Maḥyā; Masdjid; Miḥrāb; Mīḳāt; Muṣallā; Rakʿa; Rātib; **Ṣalāt**; Ṣalāt al-Khawf; Subḥa; Sutra; Tahadjdjud; Tarāwīḥ; Waẓīfa.2; Wird; Witr

see also Amīn; Dikka; Ghāʾib; Gulbāng; Istiʾnāf; Maḳām Ibrāhīm; al-Masḥ ʿalā ʾl-Khuffayn; Namāzgāh; Takbīr; Tashahhud; *and* → ABLUTION; ARCHITECTURE.MOSQUES; ISLAM

bowing Sadjda

carpet Sadjdjāda

collections of

shiite Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn

of petition Istisḳāʾ; Munāshada

PRE-ISLAM al-ʿArab.i; (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab.vii; Armīniya.II.1; Badw.III; Djāhiliyya; Ghassān; Kinda.1 *and* Appendix; Lakhmids; Liḥyān; Maʿin; Makka.1; Nabaṭ; Rūm

see also Ḥayawān.2; Ilāh; al-Kalbī.II; Lībiyā.2; *and* → ASSYRIA; BYZANTINE EMPIRE; IDOLATRY; MILITARY.BATTLES; ZOROASTRIANS

customs/institutions ʿAtīra; Baliyya; Ghidhāʾ.i *and* ii; Ḥadjdj.i; Ḥilf; Ḥimā; Ḥimāya; Istisḳāʾ; Kāhin; Khafāra; Mawlā; Nuṣub; Raḍāʿ.2; Sādin; Ṭawāf; ʿUkāẓ; ʿUmra; ʿUrs; Waʾd al-Banāt; [in Suppl.] al-Washm.1

see also Fayʾ; Ghanīma; Īlāf; Karkūr; Nār; Ṣadā; Shayba; Taḥannuth; Thabīr

gods Dhu ʾl-Khalaṣa; Dhu ʾl-Sharā; Hubal; Isāf wa-Nāʾila; Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ; al-Lāt; Manāf; Manāt; Nasr; Shams.1; Shayʿ al-Ḳawm; Suʿayr; al-Sudjdja; Suwāʿ; Ṭāghūt.1; Tañrî; al-Uḳayṣir; al-ʿUzzā; [in Suppl.] Wadd; Yaghūth; Yaʿūḳ

see also Aghāthūdhīmūn; ʿAmr b. Luḥayy; Djāhiliyya; Hirmis; Hurmuz; Ilāh; Kaʿba.V; al-Ḳamar.II; Mawḳif.3; Rabb; Ṣanam; Shayṭān; Zūn

in Arabian peninsula Abraha; (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab.i *and* vi; Bakr b. Wāʾil; Djadhīma al-Abrash; Ghumdān; Ḥabashat; Ḥādjib b. Zurāra; Ḥaḍramawt; Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf; Hind bint al-Khuss; Ḥums; Ḳatabān; Ḳayl; Ḳuṣayy; Ḳuss b. Sāʿida; Mārib; Nuṣub; Sabaʾ; Sadjʿ.1; Salḥīn; Taʾrīkh.I.1.iv; Thādj; Tubbaʿ; ʿUkāẓ Yahūd.1; [in Suppl.] Ḥaḍramawt.i

see also Badw.III; Dār al-Nadwa; Ḥanīf.4; Kinda.Appendix; Thabīr; Zabūr; *and* → IDOLATRY; LITERATURE.POETRY.ARABIC; MILITARY.BATTLES; OMAN.TOPONYMS; SAUDIA ARABIA.TOPONYMS; TRIBES.ARABIAN PENINSULA; UNITED ARAB EMIRATES.TOPONYMS; YEMEN.TOPONYMS

in Egypt → EGYPT.BEFORE ISLAM

in Fertile Crescent Khursābād; Manbidj; Maysān; Nabaṭ; al-Zabbāʾ; [in Suppl.] Athūr

see also Biṭrīḳ.I; Ḥarrān; Shahāridja; Shahrazūr; Tadmur; [in Suppl.] Iyās b. Ḳabīṣa;

and → MILITARY.BATTLES

Ghassānids Djabala b. al-Ayham; Djillik; **Ghassān**; al-Ḥārith b. Djabala; [in Suppl.] Djabala b. al-Ḥārith

Lakhmids ʿAmr b. ʿAdī; ʿAmr b. Hind; al-Ḥīra; **Lakhmids**; al-Mundhir IV; al-Nuʿmān (III) b. al-Mundhir

in Iran → IRAN.BEFORE ISLAM

in Southeast Asia [in Suppl.] Mataram.1

in Turkey Tañri; Turks.I.1

PREDESTINATION Adjal; Allāh.II.B; Idṭirār; Ikhtiyār; Istiṭāʿa; **al-Ḳaḍāʾ wa ʾl-Ḳadar**; Ḳadariyya; Kasb; Ḳisma

see also ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī; Badāʾ; Dahr; Duʿāʾ.II.b; Ḳaḍāʾ; Shaḳāwa

advocates of Djabriyya; Djahmiyya; al-Karābīsī.2; Sulaymān b. Djarīr al-Raḳḳī; Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn

opponents of Ghaylān b. Muslim; **Ḳadariyya**; Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma; Maʿbad al-Djuhanī

PRESS **Djarīda**; Maḳāla; **Maṭbaʿa** (*and* [in Suppl.]); **Ṣiḥāfa**

Arabic ʿArabiyya.B.V.a; Baghdād (906b); Būlāḳ; **Djarīda**.i; Ḳiṣṣa.2; Maḳāla.1; al-Manār; **Maṭbaʿa**.1; al-Rāʾid al-Tūnusī; **Ṣiḥāfa**

see also Nahḍa; Zākhir

journalism Abū Naḍḍāra; al-Bārūnī; Djabrān Khalīl Djabrān; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī; Djamīl; Fāris al-Shidyāḳ; Ibn Bādīs; Isḥāḳ, Adīb; al-Kawākibī; al-Khaḍir; Khalīl Ghānim; Khalīl Muṭrān; Kurd ʿAlī; Luṭfī al-Sayyid; al-Maʿlūf; Mandūr; al-Manūfī.7; al-Māzinī; Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ; al-Muwayliḥī; al-Nadīm, ʿAbd Allāh; Nadjīb al-Ḥaddād; Nimr; Rashīd Riḍā; Ṣafar; Saʿīd Abū Bakr; Salāma Mūsā; Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh; Ṣarrūf; Shāʾūl; Shaykhū, Luwīs; Shīnā; Shumayyil, Shiblī; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn; Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī; al-Yāzidjī.2 *and* 3; Yūsuf, ʿAlī; al-Zahrāwī, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Zaydān, Djurdjī; [in Suppl.] Abū Shādī; al-Bustānī; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb

see also al-Mahdjar

Indian **Maṭbaʿa**.4; [in Suppl.] **Djarīda**.vii

journalism Muḥammad ʿAlī; Ruswā; Shabbīr Ḥasan Khān Djosh; [in Suppl.] Āzād; Ḥasrat Mohānī

see also Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ

Persian **Djarīda**.ii; Maḳāla; **Maṭbaʿa**.3; [in Suppl.] **Ṣiḥāfa**.4

journalism Furūghī.3; Lāhūtī; Malkom Khān; Rashīd Yāsimī; Yaghmāʾī; Yazdī; [in Suppl.] Amīrī

Turkish **Djarīda**.iii; Djemʿiyyet-i ʿIlmiyye-i ʿOthmāniyye; Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa; Maḳāla; **Maṭbaʿa**.2; Meshʿale; Mīzān; [in Suppl.] **Ṣiḥāfa**.5

see also Ādharī.ii

journalism Aḥmad Iḥsān; Aḥmad Midḥat; Djewdet; Ebüzziya Tevfik; Gasprali (Gasprinski), Ismāʿīl; Ḥasan Fehmī; (Aḥmed) Ḥilmī; Hisar; Ḥusayn Djāhid; Ileri, Djelāl Nūrī; İnal; Ḳaṣāb, Teodor; al-Kāẓimī, Meḥmed Sālim; Kemāl; Kemāl, Meḥmed Nāmiḳ; Khālid Ḍiyāʾ; Köprülü (Meḥmed Fuad); Manāṣtirli Meḥmed Rifʿat; Meḥmed ʿĀkif; Mīzāndjī Meḥmed Murād; Örik, Nahīd Ṣirrī; Orkhan Seyfī; Ortač, Yūsuf Ḍiyā; Riḍā Nūr; Sāhir, Djelāl; Sāmī; Shināsī; Suʿāwī, ʿAlī; Tewfīḳ Fikret; Yūsuf Aḳčura; Żiyā Pasha; [in Suppl.] Aghaoghlu; Atay; Čaylaḳ Tewfīḳ; Eshref; Ṭāhir Beg

see also Badrkhānī; Fedjr-i Ātī; Khalīl Ghānim; Saʿīd Efendi

PROFESSIONS al-ʿAṭṭār; Baḳḳāl; Bayṭār; Dallāl; Djānbāz; Djarrāḥ; Ḥammāl; Kannās; Kātib; Ḳayn; Ḳayna; Khayyāṭ; Mukārī; Munādī; Munadjdjim; al-Nassādj; Ṣabbāgh; Ṣāʾigh; Saḳḳāʾ; Sāsān; Shaʿbadha; Shāʿir; Shammāʿ; Ṭabbākh; Ṭabbāl; Tādjir; Ṭaḥḥān; Tardjumān; Ṭarrār;

Thalládj; Ṭulumbadjī; ʿUlamāʾ; Warrāḳ; [in Suppl.] Dabbāgh; Djammāl; Djazzār; Faṣṣād; Ghassāl; Ḥāʾik; Ḥallāḳ; Iskāf; Ṣarrāf
see also Asad Allāh Iṣfahānī; Aywaz.1; Khādim; Shāwiya; Ṣinf; Ustādh; *and* → LAW.OFFICES; MILITARY.OFFICES
craftsmanship **Ṣināʿa**
craftsmen and tradesmen
artisans Ṣabbāgh; Ṣāʾigh; Warrāḳ; [in Suppl.] Ḥāʾik; Iskāf
labourers Ḥammāl; Kannās; Ḳayn; Khayyāṭ; Shammāʿ; Ṭaḥḥān; [in Suppl.] Dabbāgh; Djazzār; Ghassāl; Ḥallāḳ
merchants al-ʿAṭṭār; Baḳḳāl; Mukārī; **Tādjir**; Tammām; Thallādj; [in Suppl.] Djammāl
see also Tidjāra; *and* → FINANCE.COMMERCE.FUNCTIONS
performers Djānbāz; Ḳayna; Shāʿir.1.E; Ṭabbāl
see also al-Sīm

PROPERTY **Māl**; Milk; Taʿāwun; Waḳf; Zamīndār; [in Suppl.] ʿAḳār
see also Munāṣafa; Shufʿa; Soyūrghāl; Tiyūl; *and* → TAXATION.TAXES *and* TITHE-LANDS

PROPHETHOOD **Nubuwwa**; Rasūl; Waḥy
and → MUḤAMMAD, THE PROPHET
prophets Ādam; Alīsaʿ; Ayyūb; Hārūn b. ʿImrān; Ḥizḳīl; Hūd; Ibrāhīm; Idrīs; Ilyās; Irmiyā; ʿĪsā; Isḥāḳ; Ismāʿīl; Lūṭ; Muḥammad; Mūsā; Nūḥ; Ṣāliḥ; Shamwīl; Shaʿyā; Shīth; Shuʿayb; Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ; Yaʿḳūb; Yūnus; Yūshaʿ b. Nūn; Yūsuf; Zakariyyāʾ
see also Fatra; Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān; ʿIṣma; Khālid b. Sinān; Luḳmān; Mubtadaʾ.2; Zayd b. ʿAmr; *and* → MUḤAMMAD, THE PROPHET
false prophets Ḥā-Mīm; Musaylima; Sadjāḥ; Ṭulayḥa
lives of al-Kisāʾī; **Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ**; al-Thaʿlabī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad; ʿUmāra b. Wathīma; Wahb b. Munabbih; Wathīma b. Mūsā

PROVERBS **Mathal**; Tamthīl.2
see also Iyās b. Muʿāwiya; Nār; *and* → ANIMALS.AND PROVERBS; LITERATURE.PROVERBS IN
collections of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām; al-ʿAskarī.ii; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī; al-Maydānī; Rashīd al-Dīn (Waṭwāṭ); Shināsī; al-Thaʿālibī, Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik; al-Yūsī; al-Zamakhsharī; [in Suppl.] al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama

PUNISHMENT **ʿAdhāb**; **ʿUḳūba**
in law Diya; Djazāʾ.ii; Ḥadd; Ḳatl.ii; Ḳiṣāṣ; Ṣalb; Taʿzīr; **ʿUḳūba**
see also ʿAbd.3.i; Kaffāra; Siyāsa.1; *and* → LAW.PENAL LAW
in theology ʿAdhāb; ʿAdhāb al-Ḳabr; Djazāʾ; Munkar wa-Nakīr
see also Ḳiyāma; Maskh
physical Falaḳa; Ṣalb
see also Radjm

Q

QATAR **Ḳaṭar**; Madjlis.4.A.xi; Maḥkama.4.ix; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(xi)
toponyms al-Dawḥa; Hādjir; al-Zubāra
see also al-ʿUdayd

QURʾAN Allāh.i; Āya; Fāṣila; Iʿdjāz; Ḳirāʾa; **al-Ḳurʾān**; Muḳaṭṭaʿāt; Muṣḥaf; Naskh; Sūra; Tafsīr; Umm al-Kitāb; [in Suppl.] Naẓm.2
see also ʿArabiyya.A.ii; Basmala; Faḍīla; Hamza; Indjīl; Iṣlāḥ.i.B.1; Khalḳ.II; Khawāṣṣ al-

Ḳur'ān; ʿUmūm wa-Khuṣūṣ; Zayd b. Thābit
commentaries Mukhtaṣar; Sharḥ.III; **Tafsīr**; Ta'wīl
see also al-Ẓāhir wa 'l-Bāṭin
in Arabic ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī; Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī; Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī; Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī; Abu 'l-Suʿūd; Abū ʿUbayda; al-ʿAskarī.ii; al-Baghawī; Baḳī b. Makhlad; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Bulḳīnī.4; al-Dāmād; al-Dārimī; Djīwan; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; Fayḍī; Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabā'ī; Gīsū Darāz; Gūrānī; Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl; Ibn ʿAdjība; Ibn Barradjān; Ibn Kathīr, ʿImād al-Dīn; Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳi; al-Kalbī.I; Kalīm Allāh al-Djahānābādī; Kemāl Pasha-zāde; al-Ḳurṭubī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; al-Ḳushayrī.1; al-Maḥallī; al-Māturīdī; Mudjāhid b. Djabr al-Makkī; Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī; Muḥsin-i Fayḍ-i Kāshānī; Muḳātil b. Sulaymān; al-Nīsābūrī; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī; al-Rummānī; Sahl al-Tustarī; al-Shaḥḥām; al-Shahrastānī, Abu 'l-Fatḥ; al-Sharīf al-Raḍī; al-Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ; al-Sulamī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; al-Suyūṭī; al-Ṭabarī, Abū Djaʿfar; al-Ṭabrisī, Amīn al-Dīn; al-Thaʿālibī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; al-Thaʿlabī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad; al-Wāḥidī; al-Yadālī; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī; Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Daylamī; al-Aṣamm; al-Zamakhsharī.2; al-Zarkashī
see also ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās; Abū Nuʿaym al-Mulā'ī; Aḥmadiyya; al-ʿAlamī; al-Dihlawī, Shāh Walī Allāh; Djafr; Djilwatiyya; Ḥādjdjī Pasha; Hind.v.e; Ibn Masʿūd; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī; al-Manār; al-Suddī; Sufyān b. ʿUyayna; al-Sulamī, ʿIzz al-Dīn; Thānesarī.3; al-Ṭūfī; Warḳā' b. ʿUmar; [in Suppl.] Saʿīd b. Djubayr
late 19th and 20th centuries al-Ālūsī.2; Aṭfiyāsh; Mawdūdī; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Iskandarānī; Muḥammad Abū Zayd; Muḥammad Farīd Wadjdī; Sayyid Ḳuṭb; Shaltūt, Maḥmūd; [in Suppl.] Djawharī, Ṭanṭāwī
in Persian Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī; al-Dawlatābādī; Djāmī; Kāshifī; al-Maybudī.1; Muṣannifak; al-Taftāzānī
in Turkish Aḳ Ḥiṣārī.b
in Urdu Ashraf ʿAlī
createdness of Miḥna
see also Djahmiyya; al-Zuhrī, Hārūn
readers ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ; Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā'; al-Aʿmash; ʿĀṣim; al-Dānī; Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb; Ibn ʿĀmir; Ibn Kathīr; ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar; al-Kisā'ī; Nāfiʿ al-Laythī; al-Sadjāwandī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh
see also Abu 'l-ʿĀliya al-Riyāḥī; al-Dāraḳuṭnī; Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān; Ibn al-Djazarī; Ibn al-Faḥḥām; Ibn Mudjāhid; Ibn Shanabūdh; al-Ḳasṭallānī; Makkī; al-Malaṭī; Mudjāhid b. Djabr al-Makkī; [in Suppl.] Ibn Miḳsam
transmitters al-Yazīdī.1
reading Adā'; Ḥarf; Ḳaṭʿ; Khatma; **Ḳirā'a; Tadjwīd**
see also al-Shāṭibī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim; al-Sidjistānī; Taʿawwudh; Tahadjdjud; Waṣl; Yaḥyā b. Ādam; [in Suppl.] Lafẓ.2
recitation competition [in Suppl.] Musābaḳa
recensions ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr; ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān; Abu 'l-Dardā'; ʿĀ'isha bint Abī Bakr; al-Ashʿarī, Abū Mūsā; ʿĀṣim; al-Dimyāṭī; al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf; Ibn Masʿūd; Nāfiʿ al-Laythī; Ubayy b. Kaʿb
see also Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī; ʿArabiyya.ii.1 *and* 2; al-Ḥuṣrī.II; Warsh; Zayd b. Thābit
stories ʿĀd; Ādam; Aṣḥāb al-Kahf; Ayyūb; Bilḳīs; Dāwūd; Djālūt; Firʿawn; Hābīl wa Ḳābīl; Ḥawwā'; Ibrāhīm; ʿĪsā; al-Iskandar; al-Khaḍir; Lūṭ; Maryam; Mūsā; Nūḥ; Sulaymān b. Dāwūd; Yūnus; Yūsuf; Zakariyyā'
see also Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'; Shayṭān.2; al-Thaʿlabī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad; Yāfith; *and* → BIBLE.BIBLICAL PERSONAGES
suras al-Aḥḳāf; Aṣḥāb al-Kahf; Fātiḥa; al-Fīl; Ghāshiya; Kawthar; Luḳmān; al-Muʿaw-

widhatān[i]; al-Muddaththir and al-Muzzammil; al-Musabbiḥāt; Sadjda; al-Ṣāffāt; Ṭā-Hā
see also Ḥayawān.3; **Sūra**
terms Adjr.1; Aḥkām; ʿĀlam; Amr; al-Aʿrāf; ʿAṣā; Aṣḥāb al-Kahf; Aṣḥāb al-Rass; Aṣḥāb al-Ukhdūd; Āya; Baḥīra; al-Baḥrayn; Baʿl; Barāʾa; Baraka; Barzakh; Birr; Dābba; Daʿwa; Dharra; Dīn; Djahannam; Djāhiliyya; Djanna; Djinn; Dunyā; Faḳīr; Farāʾiḍ; Fitna; Fiṭra; Furḳān; al-Ghayb; Ḥadd; Ḥaḳḳ; Ḥanīf; Hātif; Ḥawārī; Ḥayāt; Ḥidjāb; Ḥisāb; Ḥizb; Ḥudjdja; Ḥūr; Iblīs; Īlāf; Ilhām; ʿIlliyyūn; Kaffāra; Kāfir; Kalima; Ḳarīn; Ḳarya; Ḳawm; Ḳayyim; Khalḳ; Khaṭīʾa; Ḳiyāma; Kursī; Ḳuwwa.2; Lawḥ; Madjnūn; Maḳām Ibrāhīm; Milla; Millet; Miskīn; Mīthāḳ; al-Munāfiḳūn.1; Nadhīr; Nafs.I; Nār; Raḥma; Rizḳ; Rudjūʿ; Rukn; Ṣabr; Ṣadr; al-Ṣāffāt; Ṣaḥīfa; Sakīna; Salām; al-Ṣāliḥūn; Shaḳāwa; Shakk.1; Shirk; al-Ṣiddīḳ; Sidjdjīl; Sidjdjīn; Sidrat al-Muntahā; Sirādj; Ṣirāṭ; Subḥān; Sulṭān; Takhyīl.3; Umm al-Kitāb; Umm al-Ḳurā; Umma.1; Ummī.1; Waḥy; Yatīm.1; al-Zabāniyya; Zabūr; Ẓulm; [in Suppl.] Asāṭīr al-Awwalīn; Lafẓ.2; Malaʾ.1
see also Ḥikāya.I; Sabab.1; Samāʾ.1
translations Ḳurʾān.9
see also Aljamía
into English Aḥmadiyya; Pickthall
into Malay ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkilī
into Persian al-Dihlawī, Shāh Walī Allāh
see also Khaṭṭ.ii
into Swahili Kenya (891a)
into Urdu ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Dihlawī; Djawān; Rafīʿ al-Dīn

R

RAIDS Baranta; Ghanīma; **Ghazw**
and → BEDOUINS; MILITARY.EXPEDITIONS

REBELLION **Fitna**; **Thawra**; [in Suppl.] Mārid

RECREATION Cinema; Ḳaragöz; Khayāl al-Ẓill; Masraḥ; Orta Oyunu
games Djerīd; Kharbga; Ḳimār; **Laʿib**; al-Maysir; Mukhāradja; Nard; Shaṭrandj
see also Ishāra; Kurds.iv.C.5; Maydān; *and* → ANIMALS.SPORT
sports Čawgān; Pahlawān; Zūrkhāna

REFORM Djamʿiyya; **Iṣlāḥ**
see also Baladiyya; Ḥukūma; al-Manār; *and* → WOMEN.EMANCIPATION
educational Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha; Aḥmad Khān; al-Azhar.IV; Ḥabīb Allāh Khān; Maʿārif; Münīf Pasha; Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ; Yücel, Ḥasan ʿAlī; [in Suppl.] al-ʿAdawī; Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh; Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī
see also al-Marṣafī
financial Muḥaṣṣil
land Taʿāwun
legal Medjelle; Mīrāth.2; Nikāḥ.II; Ṭalāḳ.II; Talfīḳ; Tashrīʿ; Waḳf.II.5
see also Djazāʾ.ii; Imtiyāzāt.iv; Maḥkama; [in Suppl.] Maḳāṣid al-Sharīʿa
reformers Abu 'l-Suʿūd; Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha; Küčük Saʿīd Pasha; al-Sanhūrī, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ
see also Ileri, Djelāl Nūrī; Khayr al-Dīn Pasha
military Niẓām-i Djedīd

numismatic → Numismatics
Ottoman Tanẓīmāt
politico-religious Atatürk; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī; Ileri, Djelāl Nūrī; Ibn Bādīs; (al-)Ibrāhīmī; Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī; Ḳāsim Amīn; Khayr al-Dīn Pasha; Midḥat Pasha; Muḥammad ʿAbduh; Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis; Nurculuk; Padri; Rashīd Riḍā; Shaltūt, Maḥmūd; al-Subkiyyūn; Ṭāhā, Maḥmūd Muḥammad; Taḳī al-Dīn al-Nabhānī; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Nāṣir
see also Baladiyya; Bast; Djamʿiyya; Dustūr; Ḥarbiye; Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa; al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn; Iṣlāḥ; Mappila.5.ii; Salafiyya; Shaʿb; al-Shawkānī; Tadjdīd; Taḳrīb; [in Suppl.] Abu 'l-ʿAzāʾim; *and* → Politics
militant al-Bannāʾ; Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām; Ḥamāliyya; Ibn Bādīs; al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn; Mawdūdī; Sayyid Ḳuṭb; al-Takfīr wa 'l-Hidjra; Taṭarruf; **Uṣūliyya**.2; ʿUthmān b. Fūdī
see also Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit; Mudjāhid; [in Suppl.] al-Djanbīhī

Religion ʿAḳīda; **Dīn**; al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal; Milla; Millet.1
see also Ḥanīf; Tawḥīd; Umma; *and* → Bahais; Buddhism; Christianity; Druzes; Islam; Judaism; Zoroastrians
dualism Dayṣāniyya; Mānī; Mazdak; **Thanawiyya**; Zindīḳ
see also Īrān.vi; Kumūn; al-Naẓẓām
pantheism ʿAmr b. Luḥayy; Djāhiliyya; Hindū; Kaʿba.V
see also Ḥarīriyya; Ḥadjdj.i; Ibn al-ʿArabī; Ibn al-ʿArīf; Kāfiristān; Kamāl Khudjandī; *and* → Idolatry; Pre-Islam.gods
popular → Islam.popular beliefs
religious communities Bābīs; Bahāʾīs; Djayn; Durūz; Hindū; Islām; Madjūs; Naṣārā; Ṣābiʾ; Ṣābiʾa; al-Sāmira; Sikhs; Sumaniyya; Yahūd; Yazīdī; Zindīḳ
see also al-Barāmika.1; Ibāḥatiya; Kitāb al-Djilwa; al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal; Millet; Nānak; al-Shahrastānī, Abu 'l-Fatḥ; *and* → Bahais; Buddhism; Christianity; Druzes; India.religion; Islam; Judaism; Sects; Zoroastrians

Rhetoric Badīʿ; **Balāgha**; **Bayān**; Faṣāḥa; Ḥaḳīḳa.1; Ibtidāʾ; Idjāza; Iḳtibās; Intihāʾ; Istiʿāra; Kināya; al-Maʿānī wa 'l-Bayān; Madjāz; Mubālagha; Muḳābala.3; Muwāraba; Muzāwadja; Muzdawidj; Ramz.1; Taʿadjdjub; Tadjnīs; Taḍmīn; Takhyīl.4; Tamthīl.2; Tarṣīʿ; Tashbīh; Tawriya; Ṭibāḳ
see also Ishāra
treatises on al-ʿAskarī.ii; Ḥāzim; Ibn al-Muʿtazz; al-Ḳazwīnī (Khaṭīb Dimashḳ); al-Rādūyānī; Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ; al-Sakkākī; al-Sidjilmāsī; Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī; [in Suppl.] al-Djurdjānī; Ibn Wahb; al-Zandjānī

Rhyme **Ḳāfiya**; Luzūm mā lā yalzam
and → Literature.poetry; Metrics

Rituals ʿAḳīḳa; ʿAnṣāra; ʿĀshūrāʾ; Khitān; Rawḍa-khʷānī; [in Suppl.] Ramy al-Djimār
see also Bakkāʾ; Ḥammām; al-Maghrib.VI; Zār; [in Suppl.] Dam; *and* → Customs; Islam.five pillars of islam *and* popular beliefs

Rivers **Nahr**
see also Maʾṣir; *and* → Navigation
waters al-ʿAḍaym; ʿAfrīn; Alindjaḳ; al-ʿAlḳamī; Amū Daryā; al-ʿĀṣī; Atbara; Atrek; Baḥr al-Ghazāl.1; Baradā; Čaghān-rūd; Congo; Čoruh; Ču; Darʿa; Dawʿan; Dehās; Didjla; Diyālā; Djamnā; Djayḥān; al-Furāt; Gangā; Gediz Čayi̊; Göksu; al-Ḥamma; Harī Rūd;

Ibruh; Ili; Isly; Itil; Kābul.1; Karkha; Kārūn; Khābūr; Khalkha; al-Khāzir; Ḳizil-irmāḳ; Ḳizil-üzen; Ḳuban; Ḳunduz; Kur; Kurram; Lamas-ṣū; Mānd; Menderes; Merič; Mihrān; al-Mudawwar; Nahr Abī Fuṭrus; Niger; al-Nīl; Ob; Orkhon; Özi; al-Rass; Safīd Rūd; Sakarya; Sandja; Sayḥān; Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab; Shebelle; Sīr Daryā; Tādjuh; Ṭarāz; Tarim; Terek; Ṭuna; Turgay; al-Urdunn.1; (al-)Wādī al-Kabīr; Wādī Yāna; Wakhsh; Wardar; Yarmūk.1; Yayiḳ; Yeshil Irmak; al-Zāb; Zarafshān; Zāyanda-Rūd; Zhōb; [in Suppl.] Gūmāl; Irtish

see also Hind.i.j; ʿĪsā, Nahr; Urmiya.2; Zabadānī; *and* → *the section Physical Geography under individual countries*

ROMANIA Boghdān; Dobrudja; Eflāḳ; Erdel; Isakča
see also Budjāḳ; Muslimūn.1.B.2; [in Suppl.] Ḳantimīr, Demetrius
toponyms
districts Deli-Orman
islands Ada Ḳalʿe
towns Babadaghi; Bender; Bükresh; Ibrail; Köstendje; Medjīdiyye; Nagyvárad; Temeshwār; [in Suppl.] Yash

RUSSIA → EUROPE.EASTERN EUROPE

S

SACRED PLACES Abū Ḳubays; al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf; Ḥudjra; Kaʿba; Karbalāʾ; Kāẓimayn; al-Khalīl; al-Ḳuds.II; al-Madīna; Makka; al-Muḳaṭṭam; al-Nadjaf; Ṭūbā; Zamzam; [in Suppl.] Ḳadamgāh
see also Ḥawṭa; Ḥimā; Ḳāsiyūn; Mawlāy Idrīs; Mudjāwir; Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Ḥasanī; Shayba; Walī; *and* → ARCHITECTURE.MONUMENTS; SAINTHOOD
for Hindus, see Allāhābād; Buxar; Djūnāgaṛh; Dwārkā; Ganga; Ḥasan Abdāl; Sūrat; Udjdjayn
pilgrimage to **Ziyāra**

SACRIFICES ʿAḳīḳa; ʿAtīra; Baliyya; Dhabīḥa; Fidya; Hady; Ḳurbān; Shiʿār.2 *and* 3
see also Ibil; ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā; Kaffāra; Nadhr; [in Suppl.] Dam

SAINTHOOD Mawlid
see also ʿAbābda; Mawlā.I; Ziyāra; *and* → CHRISTIANITY; HAGIOGRAPHY; MYSTICISM
saints **Walī**
see also Karāma; Ziyāra; *and* → SACRED PLACES
African Shaykh Ḥusayn
see also Ziyāra.9
Arabic Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā; Aḥmad al-Badawī; Nafīsa
see also Ḳunā; Ziyāra.1 *and* 2; *and* → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS
North African Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ; Abū Yaʿazzā; ʿĀʾisha al-Mannūbiyya; al-Bādisī.1; al-Daḳḳāḳ; al-Djazūlī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; Ḥmād u-Mūsā; Ibn ʿArūs; al-Ḳabbāb; Ḳaddūr al-ʿAlamī; al-Khaṣāṣī; Muḥriz b. Khalaf; al-Sabtī; al-Shāwī; [in Suppl.] Ḥamādisha
see also al-Maghrib.VI; Sabʿatu Ridjāl; Walī.2; Ziyāra.4; *and* → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS
Central Asian Aḥmad Yasawī; Uways al-Ḳaranī; Zangī Āta
see also Walī.5; Ziyāra.6; *and* → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS
Indian Abū ʿAlī Ḳalandar; Ashraf Djahāngīr; Badīʿ al-Dīn; Badr; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā;

Čishtī; Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd "Gandj-i Shakar"; Ghāzī Miyān; Gīsū Darāz; Imām Shāh; Khʷādja Khiḍr; Maghribī; Makhdūm al-Mulk Manīrī; Masʿūd; Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ; Nūr Ḳuṭb al-ʿĀlam; Ratan; Shāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Aḥmad; [in Suppl.] Bābā Nūr al-Dīn Rishī; Gadāʾī Kambō; Gangōhī; Ḥamīd al-Dīn Ḳāḍī Nāgawrī; Ḥamīd al-Dīn Ṣūfī Nāgawrī Siwālī; Kanbō

see also Ḥasan Abdāl; Pāk Pāṭan; Walī.6; Ziyāra.7; *and* → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS

Indonesian Ziyāra.8

and → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS

Persian ʿAlī al-Hamadānī; Bābā-Ṭāhir

see also Ziyāra.5; *and* → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS

Southeast Asian and Chinese Walī.7 *and* 8

Turkish Akhī Ewrān; Emīr Sulṭān; Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Walī; Ḥakīm Ata; Ḳoyun Baba; Merkez; Ṣarï Ṣalṭūḳ Dede

see also Walī.4; Ziyāra.6; *and* → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS

terms Abdāl; Ilhām

SAUDI ARABIA (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab; Djarīda.i.A; Djāmiʿa; Dustūr.vii; al-Hidjar; al-Ikhwān; Madjlis.4.A.viii; Maḥkama.4.vii; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(viii); **al-Suʿūdiyya, al-Mamlaka al-ʿArabiyya**; Wahhābiyya

see also Bā ʿAlawī; Badw; Baladiyya.2; Barakāt; Makka; [in Suppl.] Demography.III; *and* → PRE-ISLAM.IN ARABIAN PENINSULA; TRIBES.ARABIAN PENINSULA

before Islam → PRE-ISLAM.IN ARABIAN PENINSULA

dynasties Hāshimids (2x); Rashīd, Āl; Suʿūd, Āl

and → DYNASTIES.ARABIAN PENINSULA

historians of al-Azraḳī; Daḥlān; al-Fāḳihī; al-Fāsī; Ibn Fahd; Ibn Manda; Ibn al-Mudjāwir; Ibn al-Nadjdjār; al-Samhūdī

see also al-Diyārbakrī

physical geography Nadjd.1

deserts al-Aḥḳāf; al-Dahnāʾ; Nafūd; al-Rubʿ al-Khālī

see also Badw.II; Ḥarra

mountains Djabala; Ḥirāʾ; Ḥufāsh; Raḍwā; al-Sarāt; Thabīr; al-Ṭuwayḳ

see also Adjaʾ and Salmā

plains ʿArafa; al-Dibdiba; al-Ṣammān

wadis al-ʿAtk; al-Bāṭin; Bayḥān; Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb; Djayzān; Fāʾw; Ḥamḍ, Wādī al-; al-Rumma; al-Sahbāʾ; Sirḥān; Tabāla; Turaba.1; Wādī Ḥanīfa

waters Dawʿan

population → TRIBES.ARABIAN PENINSULA

toponyms

and → the section Physical Geography above

ancient Badr; al-Djār; Fadak; al-Ḥidjr; al-Ḥudaybiya; Ḳurḥ; Madyan Shuʿayb; al-Rabadha; al-Thaʿlabiyya; Wādī ʾl-Ḳurā

see also Fāʾw

present-day

districts al-Aflādj; al-Djawf; al-Ḳaṣīm; al-Khardj

islands Farasān

oases al-Dirʿiyya; Dūmat al-Djandal; al-Ḥasā; al-Khurma; al-ʿUyayna

regions ʿAsīr; Bayḥān; al-Ḥādina; Ḥaly; al-Ḥawṭa; al-Ḥidjāz; Ḳurayyāt al-Milḥ; Nadjd; Nafūd; Raʾs (al-)Tannūra; al-Rubʿ al-Khālī; Tihāma

towns Abhā; Abḳayḳ; Abū ʿArīsh; Burayda; al-Dammām; al-Djawf; Djayzān; al-Djubayl; al-Djubayla; Djudda; Fakhkh; Ghāmid; Ḥāyil; al-Hufūf; Ḥuraymilā; Ḳarya al-Suflā; Ḳarya al-ʿUlyā; al-Ḳaṣāb; al-Ḳaṭīf; Khamīs Mushayṭ; Khaybar;

al-Khubar; al-Ḳunfudha; al-Madīna; Makka; Minā; al-Mubarraz; Nadjrān; Rābigh; al-Riyāḍ; Tabāla; Tabūk; al-Ṭā'if; Taymā'; Turaba.2 *and* 3; al-ʿUlā; ʿUnayza; al-Yamāma; Yanbuʿ; (al-)Ẓahrān; [in Suppl.] Fayd; Ṣabyā
see also (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab; al-ʿĀriḍ; Bīsha; Ḍariyya

SCIENCE **ʿIlm**; Mawsūʿa
see also Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa; Shumayyil, Shiblī; [in Suppl.] al-Bustānī; Ibn al-Akfānī.3; Ibn Farīghūn; *and* → ALCHEMY; ASTROLOGY; ASTRONOMY; BOTANY; MATHEMATICS; MECHANICS; MEDICINE; OPTICS; PHARMACOLOGY; ZOOLOGY

SECTS ʿAdjārida; Ahl-i Ḥadīth; Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ; Aḥmadiyya; ʿAlids; Azāriḳa; al-Badjalī; Baḳliyya; Bih'āfrīd b. Farwardīn; Bohorās; Burghūthiyya; Djabriyya; Djahmiyya; al-Djanāḥiyya; al-Djārūdiyya; Durūz; Farā'iḍiyya; Ghurābiyya; Ḥarīriyya; Ḥashīshiyya; Ḥulmāniyya; Ḥurūfiyya; al-Ibāḍiyya; Ḳarmaṭī; Karrāmiyya; Kaysāniyya; al-Khalafiyya; Khāridjites; Khashabiyya; Khaṭṭābiyya; Khōdja; Khūbmesīḥīs; Khurramiyya; Kuraybiyya; Mahdawīs; Manṣūriyya; al-Mughīriyya; Muḥammadiyya; Mukhammisa; Muṭarrifiyya; al-Muʿtazila; Nadjadāt; Nāwūsiyya; al-Nukkār; Nuḳṭawiyya; Nūrbakhshiyya; Nuṣayriyya; al-Rāwandiyya; Rawshaniyya; Salmāniyya; Ṣārliyya; Satpanthīs; Shabak; Shābāshiyya; Shaykhiyya; Shumayṭiyya; Ṣufriyya; Tablīghī Djamāʿat; ʿUlyā'iyya; ʿUthmāniyya; Yazīdī; [in Suppl.] Dhikrīs; Pīrpanthī
see also Abu 'l-Maʿālī; ʿAlī Ilāhī; Bābā'ī; Bābīs; Bāyazīd Anṣārī; Bīsharʿ; Dahriyya; al-Dhammiyya; Dīn-i Ilāhī; Ghassāniyya; Ghulāt; Ḥā-Mīm; Imām Shāh; ʿIrāḳ.vi; Kasrawī Tabrīzī; al-Kayyāl; Kāẓim Rashtī; Ḳizil-bāsh; al-Malaṭī; Mazdak; Mudjtahid.III; Sālimiyya; Sulṭān Sehāk; *and* → MYSTICISM.ORDERS

Alids ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya; Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿḳūb; Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī; Abū Hāshim; Abū Nuʿaym al-Mulā'ī; Abū Salāma al-Khallāl; Abu 'l-Sarāyā al-Shaybānī; ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Zandjī; **ʿAlids**; al-Djawwānī; Hāni' b. ʿUrwa al-Murādī; al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad; Ḥasan al-Uṭrūsh; Ḥudjr; al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh; Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar; Khidāsh; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (al-Nafs al-Zakiyya); al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd; Muslim b. ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib; Sulaym b. Ḳays; Sulaymān b. Ṣurad; al-Ukhayḍir, Banū; Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh; Yaḥyā b. Zayd; Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn
see also Dhu 'l-Faḳār; al-Djanāḥiyya; al-Djārūdiyya; Ghadīr Khumm; al-Ma'mūn; Sharīf; Zaynab bt. ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḥḍ; [in Suppl.] al-Nadjāshī; *and* → SHIITES

Bābism Bāb; **Bābīs**; Kāshānī; Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn; Maẓhar; Muḥammad ʿAlī Bārfurūshī; Muḥammad ʿAlī Zandjānī; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī; Ṣubḥ-i Azal
see also al-Aḥsā'ī; Mudjtahid.III; Nuḳṭat al-Kāf; al-Sābiḳūn

Druzes → DRUZES

Hindu Barāhima; Ibāḥatiya; Nānak; [in Suppl.] Pīrpanthī

Ibāḍīs ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥādjdj Ibrāhīm; Abū Ghānim al-Khurāsānī; Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Djamīʿ; Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī (*and* al-Malzūzī); Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Maʿāfirī; Abū Muḥammad b. Baraka; Abu 'l-Mu'thir al-Bahlawī; Abū Zakariyyā' al-Djanāwunī; Abū Zakariyyā' al-Wardjlānī; Aṭfiyāsh; al-Barrādī; al-Bughṭūrī; al-Dardjīnī; Djābir b. Zayd; al-Djayṭālī; al-Djulandā; **al-Ibāḍiyya**; Ibn Baraka; Ibn Djaʿfar; al-Irdjānī; al-Lawātī; Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl al-ʿAbdī; al-Mazātī; al-Nafūsī; al-Shammākhī al-Īfranī; al-Tanāwutī; al-Wisyānī; [in Suppl.] Abū ʿAmmār; al-Ḥārithī; Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ
see also ʿAwāmir; Azd; Ḥalḳa; al-Khalafiyya; (Banū) Kharūṣ; *and* → DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA.RUSTAMIDS; LAW; SECTS.KHARIDJITES

historians of Abu 'l-Mu'thir al-Bahlawī; Abū Zakariyyā' al-Wardjlānī; al-Barrādī; al-Bughṭūrī; al-Dardjīnī; Ibn al-Ṣaghīr; Ibn Salām; al-Lawātī; Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl al-ʿAbdī; al-Mazātī; al-Sālimī
see also al-Nafūsī

Jewish → JUDAISM
Kharidjites Abū Bayhas; Abū Fudayk; Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī; al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī; Ḥurḳūṣ b. Zuhayr al-Saʿdī; ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān; Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa; **Khāridjites**; Ḳurrāʾ; Ḳuʿūd; Mirdās b. Udayya; Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ; al-Nukkār; Shabīb b. Yazīd; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Bashīr; al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf
see also ʿAdjārida; Azāriḳa; Ḥarūrāʾ; al-Ibāḍiyya; Ibn Muldjam; Imāma; Istiʿrāḍ; al-Manṣūr bi ʾllāh; Nadjadāt; Ṣufriyya; al-Ṭirimmāḥ; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād; [in Suppl.] al-Kaff
Shiite → SHIITES

SEDENTARISM Sārt; [in Suppl.] **Iskān**
see also Shaʿb.1; *and* → ARCHITECTURE.URBAN; GEOGRAPHY.URBAN

SENEGAL Djolof; **Senegal**
see also Murīdiyya
physical geography Senegal.1
toponyms Ṭūbā; [in Suppl.] Dakar

SEXUALITY ʿAzl; Bāh; Djins; Khitān; Liwāṭ; Siḥāḳ; [in Suppl.] Bighāʾ; Muḳawwiyāt
see also Djanāba; Khāṣī; Tanẓīm al-Nasl; *and* → ADULTERY; CIRCUMCISION; LOVE.EROTIC
treatises on al-Tīfāshī

SHIITES ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ; ʿAlids; Ghulāt; Imāma; Ismāʿīliyya; Ithnā ʿAshariyya; Sabʿiyya; **Shīʿa**; Taḳiyya; Wilāya.2; Zaydiyya
see also Abu ʾl-Sarāyā al-Shaybānī; ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; ʿAlī Mardān; Madjlis.3; Taʿziya; [in Suppl.] Batriyya; *and* → SHIITES.SECTS
branches Ismāʿīliyya; Ithnā ʿAshariyya; Ḳarmaṭī; Nizāriyya; Zaydiyya
see also Hind.v.d; Imāma; Sabʿiyya; *and* → SHIITES.SECTS
Carmathians (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab.vii.2; al-Djannābī, Abū Saʿīd; al-Djannābī, Abū Ṭāhir; Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ; al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam; **Ḳarmaṭī**
see also ʿAbdān; al-Baḥrayn; Baḳliyya; Daʿwa; Shābāshiyya
Ismāʿīliyya ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn; Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī; Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī; Allāh.iii.1; (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab.vii.2; Bāb; Bāṭiniyya; Dāʿī; Daʿwa; Fāṭimids; Ḥaḳāʾiḳ; Hind.v.d; Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh; Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ; Imāma; **Ismāʿīliyya**; Lanbasar; Madjlis.2; al-Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh; Malāʾika.2; Manṣūr al-Yaman; Maymūn-diz; Sabʿiyya; Shahriyār b. al-Ḥasan; al-Ṭayyibiyya; Yām; Zakarawayh b. Mihrawayh; [in Suppl.] Dawr; Satr
see also Ḥawwāʾ; Ikhlāṣ; Maṣyād; Sabʿ; Salamiyya; Ṣulayḥids; Umm al-Kitāb.2; al-Ẓāhir wa ʾl-Bāṭin; [in Suppl.] Pīrpanthī; *and* → CALIPHATE.FĀṬIMIDS; SHIITES.IMAMS
authors Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī; Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjzī; al-Kirmānī; al-Muʾayyad fi ʾl-Dīn; al-Nasafī.1; Nāṣir-i Khusraw; [in Suppl.] Djaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman
and → *the sections Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibīs and Nizārīs below*
Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibīs Bohorās; al-Ḥāmidī; Luḳmāndjī; al-Makramī; Makramids; Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī; Shaykh Ādam; Sulaymān b. Ḥasan; Sulaymānīs; Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn; al-Ṭayyibiyya; [in Suppl.] ʿAlī b. Ḥanẓala b. Abī Sālim; ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar; Amīndjī b. Djalāl b. Ḥasan; Ḥasan b. Nūḥ; Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan
see also Ismāʿīliyya
Nizārīs Agha Khān; Fidāʾī; Khōdja; Maḥallātī; Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir; **Nizāriyya**; Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn; Pīr Shams; Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān; Sabz ʿAlī; Shāh Ṭāhir; al-Shahrastānī, Abu ʾl-Fatḥ; Shams-al-Dīn Muḥammad; Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī;

al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn; [in Suppl.] Khayrkhʷāh-i Harātī
see also Sarkār Āḳā; Satpanthīs
of Alamūt Alamūt.ii; Buzurg-ummīd; Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ; Ḥashīshiyya; Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II; Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh; [in Suppl.] Muḥammad III b. Ḥasan
see also Fidāʾī

Sevener **Sabʿiyya**
see also Sabʿ

Twelver Imāma; **Ithnā ʿAshariyya**; Mudjtahid.II; Mutawālī; al-Rāfiḍa; Uṣūliyya.1; [in Suppl.] Akhbāriyya
see also Buwayhids; al-Ẓāhir wa ʾl-Bāṭin; *and* → *the sections Imams, Jurists and Theologians below*

Zaydiyya al-Djārūdiyya; Muṭarrifiyya; **Zaydiyya**; [in Suppl.] Batriyya
see also Imāma; Rassids; *and* → DYNASTIES.ARABIAN PENINSULA.ZAYDĪS
scholars al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy al-Kūfī; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ridjāl; al-Rassī; Sulaymān b. Djarīr al-Raḳḳī; Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī; Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn; [in Suppl.] Abu ʾl-Barakāt; Abu ʾl-Fatḥ al-Daylamī; Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā; Djaʿfar b. Abī Yaḥyā; al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī
for Zaydī imams of Yemen → DYNASTIES.ARABIAN PENINSULA.ZAYDĪS
for Zaydī imams of the Caspian, see al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad; Ḥasan al-Uṭrūsh; Muḥammad b. Zayd; al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh.I; al-Thāʾir fī ʾllāh; Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh; Yaḥyā b. Zayd; **Zaydiyya**.2
for others, see Ibn Ṭabāṭabā

doctrines and institutions Bāṭiniyya; Djafr; Ḳāʾim Āl Muḥammad; Khalḳ.VII; Madjlis.2 *and* 3; al-Mahdī; Malāʾika.2; Mardjaʿ-i Taḳlīd; Maẓhar; Maẓlūm; Mudjtahid.II; Mutʿa.V; Radjʿa; Safīr.1; Tanāsukh.2; Taʾwīl; al-Ẓāhir wa ʾl-Bāṭin; [in Suppl.] Āyatullāh
see also Adhān; Ahl al-Bayt; ʿAḳīda; Bāb; Ghayba; Ḥudjdja; Imāma; ʿIlm al-Ridjāl; Imām-bārā; Imāmzāda; Mollā; Umm al-Kitāb.2; Ziyāra.1.a *and* 5; *and* → THEOLOGY. TERMS.SHIITE

dynasties Buwayhids; Fāṭimids; Ṣafawids; Zaydiyya.3
see also Mushaʿshaʿ; al-Ukhayḍir, Banū

imams ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; ʿAlī al-Riḍā; al-ʿAskarī; Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ; (al-)Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; (al-)Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Riḍā; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (al-Bāḳir); Muḥammad al-Ḳāʾim; Mūsā al-Kāẓim; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn; [in Suppl.] Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Maymūn
see also Bāb; Ghayba; Imāmzāda; Malāʾika.2; Maẓlūm; Riḍā.2; Safīr.1

jurists al-ʿĀmilī; al-Dāmād; al-Ḥillī.1 *and* 2; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī; Ibn Bābawayh(i); Ibn Shahrāshūb; al-Karakī; Kāshānī, Āyatullāh; Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ; Khʷānsārī, Sayyid Mīrzā; Khʷānsārī, Sayyid Muḥammad; Khiyābānī, Shaykh Muḥammad; Khurāsānī; al-Kulaynī, Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad; Madjlisī; Madjlisī-yi Awwal; al-Māmaḳānī; al-Mufīd; Muḥammad b. Makkī; al-Murtaḍā; Muṭahharī; Nāʾīnī; al-Shahīd al-Thānī; Sharaf al-Dīn; Sharīʿatmadārī; Shīrāzī; al-Ṭabrisī, Abū Manṣūr; al-Ṭabrisī, Amīn al-Dīn; Ṭabrisī; al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan; [in Suppl.] Āḳā Nadjafī; Anṣārī; Bihbihānī; Burūdjirdī; Fayḍ-i Kāshānī; Ḥāʾirī; Ibn Abī Djumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī; al-Ḳaṭīfī; Khumaynī; Mūsā al-Ṣadr
see also ʿĀḳila; Mardjaʿ-i Taḳlīd; Mollā; Mudjtahid.II; Mutʿa.V; Uṣūliyya.1; [in Suppl.] Akhbāriyya

places of pilgrimage Karbalāʾ; Kāẓimayn; al-Nadjaf; Sāmarrāʾ; [in Suppl.] ʿAtabāt; Ḳadamgāh; Mashhad.3
see also Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Ḥasanī; Ziyāra.1.a *and* 5

rituals Rawḍa-khʷānī

sects Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ; ʿAlids; Baḳliyya; Bohorās; Djābir b. Ḥayyān; al-Djanāḥiyya; al-Djārūdiyya; Ghurābiyya; Ḥurūfiyya; Ibāḥa.II; Kaysāniyya; Khashabiyya; Khaṭṭābiyya; Khōdja;

Khurramiyya; Kuraybiyya; Manṣūriyya; al-Mughīriyya; Muḥammadiyya; Mukhammisa; Muṭarrifiyya; al-Muʿtazila; Nāwūsiyya; Nūrbakhshiyya; Nuṣayriyya; al-Rāfiḍa; al-Rāwandiyya; Salmāniyya; Satpanthīs; Shaykhiyya; Shumayṭiyya; Ṭāwūsiyya; ʿUlyāʾiyya; al-Wākifa; [in Suppl.] Kāmiliyya
see also ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ; Bāṭiniyya; Bayān b. Samʿān al-Tamīmī; Bektāshiyya; Ghulāt; Hind.v.d; Imām Shāh; Kaṭʿ; al-Kayyāl; Kāẓim Rashtī; Kïzïl-bāsh; Mudjtahid.III; Mushaʿshaʿ; Tawwābūn; [in Suppl.] Ibn Warsand; *and* → BAHAIS; DRUZES; SECTS.ʿALIDS
Kaysāniyya Abū Hāshim; Kaysān; **Kaysāniyya**
see also al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī
Khaṭṭābiyya Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī; Bashshār al-Shaʿīrī; Bazīgh b. Mūsā; **Khaṭṭābiyya**
see also Mukhammisa; al-Ṣāmit
Khurramiyya Bābak; [in Suppl.] Bādhām
Mukhammisa **Mukhammisa**
see also al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī
Shaykhism al-Aḥsāʾī; Rashtī, Sayyid Kāẓim; **Shaykhiyya**
terms → THEOLOGY.TERMS.SHIITE
theologians al-Dāmād; al-Ḥillī; Hishām b. al-Ḥakam; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī; Ibn Bābawayh(i); Ibn Shahrāshūb; al-Karakī; Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ; Khwānsārī, Sayyid Mīrzā; al-Kulaynī, Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad; Lāhīdjī.2; Mīr Lawḥī; al-Mufīd; Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī; al-Nasafī.1; Shayṭān al-Ṭāk; Ṭabrisī; al-Thakafī, Ibrāhīm; al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan; al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn; [in Suppl.] Akhbāriyya; Ibn Abī Djumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī; Ibn Mītham
see also al-ʿAyyāshī; Ḥudjdja; Imāma; Khalk.VII; Mollā; Sharīʿatī, ʿAlī; *and* → *the section Jurists above*
traditionists → LITERATURE.TRADITION-LITERATURE.TRADITIONISTS.SHIITES

SIBERIA **Sibīr**
physical geography
waters Ob; [in Suppl.] Irtish
see also Tobol
population Bukhārlïk; Tobol
toponyms → EUROPE.EASTERN EUROPE

SICILY Benavert; Kalbids; **Ṣiḳilliya**
see also Aghlabids.iii; Asad b. al-Furāt; Fāṭimids; Ṭarī
local rulers Ibn al-Ḥawwās; Ibn al-Thumna
poets Ibn Ḥamdīs; Ibn al-Khayyāṭ
scholars Ibn al-Birr; Ibn al-Kaṭṭāʿ; Ibn Makkī
see also al-Idrīsī
toponyms Balarm; Benavent; Djirdjent; Kaṣryānnih; Sirakūsa
see also al-Khāliṣa

SLAVERY **ʿAbd**; Ghulām; Kayna; Khāṣī; Mamlūk; Mawlā; al-Ṣakāliba; Umm al-Walad
see also Ḥabash.i; Ḥabshī; Hausa; ʿIdda.5; Istibrāʾ; Khādim; Kul; Maṭmūra; Sidi; [in Suppl.] Nafaka; *and* → MUSIC.SONG.SINGERS
manumission ʿAbd.3.j; ʿItknāme; Tadbīr.2
slave revolt Zandj.2

SOMALIA Ṣiḥāfa.1.(xv); **Somali**
see also Ḥabesh; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān; Ogādēn; *and* → AFRICA.EAST AFRICA
physical geography Somali.2

religious orders Ṣāliḥiyya
  see also Somali.4
toponyms
  regions Guardafui
    see also Ogādēn
  towns Barawa; Berberā; Hargeisa; Maḳdishū; Merka; Shungwaya; Zaylaʿ

SOUTH(-EAST) ASIA → ASIA

SOVIET UNION → CAUCASUS; CENTRAL ASIA.FORMER SOVIET UNION; COMMUNISM; EUROPE.EASTERN EUROPE; SIBERIA

SPAIN Aljamía; Almogávares; al-Burt; al-Bushārrāt; Moriscos
  see also Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ; Ifni; al-ʿIḳāb; *and* → ANDALUSIA; DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA
physical geography al-Andalus.ii *and* iii.2
  see also Wādī.3
  mountains al-Sharāt
  waters al-Ḥamma; Ibruh; al-Mudawwar; Shaḳūra; Tādjuh; (al-)Wādī al-Kabīr; Wādī Yāna; [in Suppl.] Araghūn; Wādī Lakku
toponyms
  ancient Barbashturu; Bulāy; Ḳasṭīliya.1; al-Madīna al-Zāhira; Shadūna; Shaḳunda; Shaḳūra; Shantabariyya; Tākurunnā; Ṭalabīra; Tudmīr; [in Suppl.] Āfrāg; Balyūnash
  see also Rayya
  present-day
    islands al-Djazā'ir al-Khālida; Mayūrḳa; Minūrḳa; Yābisa
    regions Ālaba wa 'l-Ḳilāʿ; Djillīḳiyya; Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ; Firrīsh; Ḳanbāniya; Ḳashtāla; Navarra; Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra; Walba; [in Suppl.] Araghūn; al-Sharaf
    towns Alsh; Arkush; Arnīṭ; Badjdjāna; Balansiya; Bālish; Banbalūna; Barshalūna; al-Basīt; Basta; Baṭalyaws; Bayyāna; Bayyāsa; Biṭrawsh; al-Bunt; Burghush; Dāniya; Djarunda; Djayyān; al-Djazīra al-Khaḍrā'; Djazīrat Shuḳr; Finyāna; Gharnāṭa; Ifrāgha; Ilbīra; Ishbīliya; Istidja; Ḳabra; Ḳādis; Ḳalʿat Ayyūb; Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ; Ḳanṭara.2; Ḳarmūna; Ḳarṭādjanna; al-Ḳulayʿa; Ḳūnka; Ḳūriya; Ḳurṭuba; Labla; Laḳant; Lārida; Lawsha; Liyūn; Lūrḳa; al-Maʿdin; Madīnat Sālim; Madīnat al-Zahrā'; Madjrīṭ; Mālaḳa; Mārida; al-Mariyya; Mawrūr; al-Munakkab; Mursiya; Runda; Saraḳusṭa; Shaḳūbiya; Shalamanḳa; Shaltīsh; Shant Mānkash; Shant Yāḳub; Shantamariyyat al-Sharḳ; Sharīsh; Shāṭiba; Ṭarīfa; Ṭarrakūna; Ṭulayṭula; Ṭurṭūsha; Tuṭīla; Ubbadha; Uḳlīsh; Urdjudhūna; Uryūla; Wādī Āsh; Washḳa; [in Suppl.] Ashturḳa
    see also al-Andalus.iii.3; Balāṭ; Djabal Ṭāriḳ; al-Ḳalʿa; *and* → PORTUGAL

SRI LANKA **Ceylon**; Sarandīb
  and → INDIA.POPULATION.TAMILS

SUDAN Dār Fūr; Dustūr.xiii; Ḥizb.i; Madjlis.4.A.xvii; al-Mahdiyya; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(ii); **Sūdān**; [in Suppl.] Niẓām ʿAskarī.1.(d)
  see also Baladiyya.2; Fundj; Ḥabesh; Nūba; *and* → AFRICA.EAST AFRICA
history [in Suppl.] **Ta'rīkh**.II.8
Mahdist period ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Taʿā'ishī; Khalīfa.iv; **al-Mahdiyya**; ʿUthmān Diḳna; [in Suppl.] Manshūrāt
  see also Awlād al-Balad; Dār Fūr; Emīn Pasha; Rābiḥ b. Faḍl Allāh; Taʿā'isha; [in Suppl.] al-Madjādhīb

modern period
influential persons Ṭāhā, Maḥmūd Muḥammad
see also al-Tūnisī, Muḥammad; al-Tūnisī, Shaykh Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn
physical geography
waters al-Nīl
population ʿAbābda; ʿAlwa; (Banū) ʿĀmir; Baḳḳāra; Barābra; Djaʿaliyyūn; Ghuzz.iii; Nūba.4; Rashāʾida; Shāyḳiyya; Taʿāʾisha; Zaghāwa
see also Bedja; Fallāta
religious orders Mīrghaniyya
see also [in Suppl.] al-Madjādhīb
toponyms
ancient ʿAydhāb; Sōba
present-day
provinces Baḥr al-Ghazāl.3; Berber.2; Dār Fūr; Fāshōda; Kasala
regions Fāzūghlī; Kordofān
towns Atbara; Berber.3; Dongola; al-Fāshir; Kasala; Ḳerrī; al-Khurṭūm; Omdurman; Sawākin; Shandī; Sinnār; al-Ubayyiḍ; Wad Madanī; Wādī Ḥalfā

SUPERSTITION ʿAyn; Faʾl; Ghurāb; Ḥinnāʾ; Khamsa; Ṣadā
see also ʿAḳīḳ; Bāriḥ; Laḳab

SYRIA Dimashḳ; **al-Shām**
see also [in Suppl.] Waḳf.II.2; *and* → LEBANON
architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS
before Islam → PRE-ISLAM.IN FERTILE CRESCENT
dynasties ʿAmmār; Ayyūbids; Būrids; Fāṭimids; Ḥamdānids; Mamlūks; Umayyads; Zangids
see also [in Suppl.] al-Djazzār Pasha; *and* → DYNASTIES.EGYPT AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT; LEBANON
historians of al-ʿAẓīmī; Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ; Ibn al-ʿAdīm; Ibn ʿAsākir; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; Ibn Kathīr; Ibn Shaddād; Ibn Ṭūlūn; Kurd ʿAlī; al-Kutubī; al-Yūnīnī; Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī; [in Suppl.] Maṭar
see also [in Suppl.] Taʾrīkh.II.1.(c); *and* → DYNASTIES.EGYPT AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT
modern period Djarīda.i.A; Djāmiʿa; Dustūr.ix; Ḥizb.i; Ḥukūma.iii; Madjlis.4.A.v; Madjmaʿ ʿIlmī.i.2.a; Maḥkama.4.ii; Mandates; Maysalūn; Salafiyya.2(b); al-Shām.2, esp. (b) *and* (c); Ṣiḥāfa.1.(iv); [in Suppl.] Niẓām ʿAskarī.1.(b)
see also Baladiyya.2; Kurd ʿAlī; Mardam.2; [in Suppl.] Demography.III
belletrists
poets al-Khūrī; Mardam.2; [in Suppl.] Buṭrus Karāma; Ḳabbānī
historians [in Suppl.] Maṭar
statesmen al-Khūrī; Mardam.1; al-Zahrāwī, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; al-Zaʿīm
physical geography al-Shām.1
mountains Ḳāsiyūn; al-Lukkām
waters ʿAfrīn; al-ʿĀṣī; Baradā; al-ʿUtayba; Yarmūk.1; Zabadānī; [in Suppl.] Ḳuwayḳ
toponyms
ancient Afāmiya; ʿArbān; al-Bakhrāʾ; al-Bāra; Barḳaʿīd; Dābiḳ; Diyār Muḍar; Diyār Rabīʿa; al-Djābiya; al-Djazīra; Djilliḳ; Manbidj; Namāra.1; al-Raḥba; Raʾs al-ʿAyn; Rīḥā.2; al-Ruṣāfa.3; Shayzar; [in Suppl.] Ḳūrus
present-day
districts al-Bathaniyya; al-Djawlān
regions al-Ghāb; Ḥawrān; Ḳinnasrīn.2; Ladjāʾ; al-Ṣafā.2

see also Ghūṭa
towns Adhriʿāt; Bāniyās; Boṣrā; Buzāʿā; Dayr al-Zōr; Dimashk; Djabala; al-Djabbūl; Djisr al-Shughr; Ḥalab; Ḥamāt; Ḥārim; Ḥimṣ; Ḥuwwārīn; Ḳanawāt; Ḳarḳīsiyā; Khawlān.2; Ḳinnasrīn.1; al-Lādhiḳiyya; Maʿarrat Maṣrīn; Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān; Maʿlūlā; Maskana; Maṣyād; al-Mizza; Namāra.2 *and* 3; al-Raḳḳa; Ṣāfītha; Salamiyya; Ṣalkhad; Tadmur; Ṭarṭūs; Zabadānī
see also al-Marḳab

T

TANZANIA Dar-es-Salaam; Kilwa; Mikindani; Mkwaja; Mtambwe Mkuu; **Tanzania**
see also Swahili; *and* → AFRICA.EAST AFRICA
Zanzibar Barghash; Bū Saʿīd; Kizimkazi; **Zandjibār**
see also Tumbatu

TAXATION Bādj; **Bayt al-Māl**; Ḍarība; Djizya; Ḳānūn.ii *and* iii; Kharādj; Taḥrīr; Taḥṣīl; Taḳsīṭ; ʿUshr; [in Suppl.] Ḍarība.7
see also Ḍabṭ; Djahbadh; Māʾ; Maʾṣir; Raʿiyya; Taḳdīr.2; Taʾrīkh.I.1.viii; Zakāt
collectors ʿĀmil; Dihḳan; Muḥaṣṣil; Mültezim; Mustakhridj
see also Amīr; Taḥṣīl
taxes ʿArūs Resmi; ʿAwāriḍ; Bād-i Hawā; Badal; Bādj; Bashmaḳlïḳ; Bennāk; Čift-resmi; Djawālī; Djizya; Filori; Furḍa; Ispendje; Kharādj; Ḳūbčūr; Maks; Mālikāne; Mīrī; Muḳāsama; Muḳāṭaʿa; Pīshkash; Resm; Tamgha; Tekālīf; ʿUshr
see also Ḥisba.ii; Ḳaṭīʿa; Waẓīfa.1
land taxes Bashmaḳlïḳ; Bennāk; Čift-resmi; **Kharādj**; Mīrī; Muḳāsama; **ʿUshr**; [in Suppl.] Taʿalluḳ
see also Daftar; Daftar-i Khāḳānī; Ḳabāla; Ḳānūn.iii.1; Rawk; Ustān
tithe-lands Ḍayʿa; Īghār; Iḳṭāʿ; Iltizām; Khāliṣa; Khāṣṣ; Ṣafī; Tīmār; Zamīndār; Ziʿāmet
see also Baʿl.2.b; Dār al-ʿAhd; Fayʾ; Filāḥa.iv; Zaʿīm
treatises on Abū Yūsuf; al-Makhzūmī; al-Tahānawī; Yaḥyā b. Ādam
see also Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām

THAILAND Patani; **Thailand**
see also [in Suppl.] al-Marʾa

THEOLOGY ʿAḳīda; Allāh; Dīn; Djanna; **ʿIlm al-Kalām**; Imāma; Īmān; Kalām; al-Mahdī; Uṣūl al-Dīn
see also ʿĀlam.1; Hilāl.i; *and* → ISLAM
disputation Masāʾil wa-Adjwiba; Munāẓara; Radd; [in Suppl.] ʿIbādat Khāna
see also Mubāhala
treatises on al-Samarḳandī, Shams al-Dīn
schools
Shiite Ismāʿīliyya; Ithnā ʿAshariyya; Ḳarmaṭī; Uṣūliyya.1; [in Suppl.] Akhbāriyya
see also Muʿtazila
Sunni Ashʿariyya; Ḥanābila; Māturīdiyya; Muʿtazila
see also ʿIlm al-Kalām.II; Ḳadariyya; Karāmat ʿAlī; Murdjiʾa; al-Nadjdjāriyya
terms Adjal; Adjr; ʿAdl; ʿAhd; Ahl al-ahwāʾ; Ahl al-kitāb; Ākhira; ʿAḳīda; ʿAḳl; ʿAḳliyyāt; ʿĀlam.2.; ʿAmal.2; Amr; al-Aṣlaḥ; Baʿth; Bāṭiniyya; Bidʿa; Birr; Daʿwa; Dīn; Djamāʿa; Djazāʾ; Djism; Duʿāʾ; Farḍ.g; Fāsiḳ; Fiʿl; Fitna; Fiṭra; al-Ghayb; Ghayba; Ghufrān; Ḥadd; Ḥaḳḳ; Ḥaraka wa-Sukūn.I.2 *and* 3; Ḥisāb; Ḥudjdja; Ḥudūth al-ʿĀlam; Ḥulūl; Iʿdjāz;

Idtirār; Ikhlāṣ; Ikhtiyār; ʿIlla.ii.III; Imāma; Īmān; Islām; ʿIṣma; Istiṭāʿa; Ittiḥād; al-Ḳaḍāʾ wa ʾl-Ḳadar; Kaffāra; Kāfir; Kalima; Karāma; Kasb; Kashf; Khalḳ; Khaṭīʾa; Khidhlān; Ḳidam; Kumūn; Ḳunūt; Ḳuwwa.3; Luṭf; Maʿād; al-Mahdī; al-Manzila bayn al-Manzilatayn; al-Mughayyabāt al-Khams; al-Munāfiḳūn.2; Murtadd; Muṭlaḳ; Nāfila; Nafs; Nāmūs.1; Nūr Muḥammadī; Riyāʾ; Rizḳ; Rudjūʿ; Ruʾyat Allāh; Sabīl.1; Shubha; Ṣifa.2; Ṭāʿa; Taḥsīn wa-Taḳbīḥ; Taḳlīd; Taklīf; Tanāsukh; Tashbīh wa-Tanzīh; Tawallud; Tawba; Tawfīḳ; Waraʿ; al-Ẓāhir wa ʾl-Bāṭin; Ẓulm; [in Suppl.] Ḥāl; Ithm; Kabīra; al-Nahy ʿan al-Munkar; Taḳwā

see also Abad; Allāh.ii; In Shāʾ Allāh; ʿInāya; Ṣūra; *and* → ESCHATOLOGY; QURʾAN.TERMS

Shiite Badāʾ; Ghayba; Ibdāʿ; Kashf; Lāhūt and Nāsūt.5; Maẓhar; Maẓlūm; al-Munāfiḳūn.2; Naḳḍ al-Mīthāḳ; Radjʿa; al-Sābiḳūn; Safīr.1; al-Ṣāmit; Sarkār Āḳā; Tabarruʾ; Tanāsukh.2; Waṣī

and → SHIITES.DOCTRINES AND INSTITUTIONS

theologians ʿUlamāʾ

see also Sharḥ.III

in early Islam Djahm b. Ṣafwān; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ; [in Suppl.] al-Aṣamm; al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya; Ibn Kullāb

Ashʿarī al-Āmidī; al-Ashʿarī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan; al-Baghdādī; al-Bāḳillānī; al-Bayhaḳī; al-Djuwaynī; al-Faḍālī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid; Ibn Fūrak; al-Īdjī; al-Isfarāyīnī; al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī; al-Ḳushayrī; al-Sanūsī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh; al-Simnānī; [in Suppl.] al-Ṭūsī

see also Allāh.ii; ʿIlm al-Kalām.II.C; Imāma; Īmān; [in Suppl.] Ḥāl

Ḥanbalī ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; al-Anṣārī al-Harawī; al-Barbahārī; Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb; Ibn ʿAḳīl; Ibn Baṭṭa al-ʿUkbarī; Ibn al-Djawzī; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya; Ibn Ḳudāma al-Maḳdisī; Ibn Taymiyya; al-Khallāl

see also Īmān; *and* → LAW

Māturīdī ʿAbd al-Ḥayy; Bishr b. Ghiyāth; al-Māturīdī

see also Allāh.ii; ʿIlm al-Kalām.II.D; Imāma; Īmān

Muʿtazilī ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān; ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad; Abu ʾl-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf; Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād; Aḥmad b. Ḥābiṭ; ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd; al-Balkhī; Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir; Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb; Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir; Djāḥiẓ; al-Djubbāʾī; Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Fuwaṭī; Ibn al-Ikhshīd; Ibn Khallād; al-Iskāfī; al-Khayyāṭ; Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād; al-Murdār; al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar; al-Naẓẓām; al-Shaḥḥām; Thumāma b. Ashras; al-Zamakhsharī; [in Suppl.] Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī; Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī; Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī; Ḍirār b. ʿAmr; al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī; Ibn Mattawayh

see also Ahl al-Naẓar; Allāh.ii; Ḥafṣ al-Fard; Ibn ʿAbbād, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd; Ibn al-Rāwandī; ʿIlm al-Kalām.II.B; Imāma; Khalḳ.V; Lawn; Luṭf; al-Maʾmūn; al-Manzila bayn al-Manzilatayn; al-Waʿd wa ʾl-Waʿīd; [in Suppl.] al-Aṣamm; Ḥāl; Muḥammad Ibn Shabīb

Shiite → SHIITES

Wahhābī Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb; Ibn Ghannām

Indo-Muslim ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Dihlawī; Ashraf ʿAlī; Baḥr al-ʿUlūm; al-Dihlawī, Shāh Walī Allāh; al-ʿImrānī; ʿIwaḍ Wadjīh; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī; Farangī Maḥall

see also Hind.v.b; al-Maʿbarī; Mappila; Ṣulḥ-i kull; Tablīghī Djamāʿat; ʿUlamāʾ.4

Christian Ibn Zurʿa; Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī; Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī

and → CHRISTIANITY.DENOMINATIONS

Jewish Ibn Maymūn; Saʿadyā Ben Yōsēf

19th and 20th centuries Muḥammad ʿAbduh; Muḥammad Abū Zayd

see also Sunna.3

TIME Abad; Dahr; Ḳidam; **Zamān**
see also Ibn al-Sāʿātī
calendars Djalālī; Hidjra; Nasīʾ; **Taʾrīkh**.I; [in Suppl.] Ilāhī Era
see also Nawrūz; Rabīʿ b. Zayd; Sulaymān al-Mahrī; Taḳwīm; ʿUmar Khayyām
day and night ʿAṣr; ʿAtama; **Layl and Nahār**; al-Shafaḳ; **Yawm**
see also Taʾrīkh.I.1.iii; Zīdj
days of the week Djumʿa; Sabt
months
see also al-Ḳamar
Islamic al-Muḥarram; Rabīʿ; Radjab; Ramaḍān; Ṣafar; Shaʿbān; Shawwāl
see also Taʾrīkh.I.1.iii
Syrian Nīsān; Tammūz; Tishrīn
Turkish Odjaḳ
timekeeping Anwāʾ; al-Ḳamar; Mīḳāt; Mizwala; Sāʿa.1
see also Asṭurlāb; Ayyām al-ʿAdjūz; Hilāl.i; Rubʿ; Taʿdīl al-Zamān

TOGO Kabou; Kubafolo; **Togo**

TRANSPORT **Naḳl** (*and* [in Suppl.])
and → ANIMALS.CAMELS *and* EQUINES; HOSTELRY; NAVIGATION
caravans Azalay; **Kārwān**; Maḥmal; ʿUḳayl.2; [in Suppl.] Djammāl
see also Anadolu.iii.5; Darb al-Arbaʿīn; Khān
mountain passes Bāb al-Lān; Bībān; Dār-i Āhanīn; Deve Boynu; Khaybar
see also Chitral
postal service **Barīd**; Fuyūdj; Ḥamām; Posta; Raḳḳāṣ; Ulaḳ; Yām
see also Anadolu.iii.5
stamps **Posta**
railways Ḥidjāz Railway; **Sikkat al-Ḥadīd**
see also Anadolu.iii.5; al-Ḳāhira (442a); Khurramshahr; Zāhidān
roads **Shāriʿ**; [in Suppl.] **Ṭarīḳ**
wheeled vehicles ʿAdjala; Araba

TRAVEL **Riḥla**; Safar
and → LITERATURE.TRAVEL-LITERATURE
supplies Mifrash
and → NOMADISM

TREASURY **Bayt al-Māl**; Khazīne; Makhzān
and → ADMINISTRATION.FINANCIAL

TREATIES Baḳṭ; Küčük Ḳaynardja; Mandates; Mondros; **Muʿāhada**; Türkmen Čay (i); Zsitvatorok
see also Dār al-ʿAhd; Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl; Mīthāḳ-i Millī; Tudmīr
tributes Baḳṭ; Parias; [in Suppl.] Khuwwa
and → TAXATION

TRIBES ʿĀʾila; ʿAshīra; Ḥayy; **Ḳabīla**; Sayyid
see also ʿAṣabiyya; Ḥilf; Khaṭīb; Sharīf.(1); Shaykh; [in Suppl.] Bisāṭ.iii; Iskān; al-Ridda; Sürgün; *and* → CUSTOM.TRIBAL CUSTOMS; LAW.CUSTOMARY LAW; NOMADISM; *and the section Population under entries of countries*
Afghanistan, India and Pakistan Abdālī; Afrīdī; Bhaṭṭi; Čahar Aymaḳ; Dāwūdpōtrās; Djāt;

Durrānī; Gakkhaŕ; Gandāpur; Ghalzay; Güdjar; Khaṭak; Khokars; Lambadis; Mahsūd; Mē'ō; Mohmand; Mullagorī; Sammā; Sumerā; Wazīrīs; Yūsufzay; [in Suppl.] Gurčānī; Kākaṛ; Sulaymān Khēl
see also Afghān.i; Afghānistān.ii

Africa ʿAbābda; ʿĀmir; Antemuru; Bedja; Beleyn; Bishārīn; Dankalī; Djaʿaliyyūn; Kunta; Makua; Māryā; Mazrūʿī; Shāykiyya; Zaghāwa
see also Diglal; Fulbe; al-Manāṣir; Mande; *for North Africa, see the section Egypt and North Africa below*

Arabian peninsula
ancient ʿAbd al-Ḳays; al-Abnāʾ.I; ʿĀd; ʿAkk; ʿĀmila; ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa; al-Aws; Azd; Badjīla; Bāhila; Bakr b. Wāʾil; Ḍabba; Djadhīma b. ʿĀmir; Djurhum; Fazāra; Ghanī b. Aʿṣur; Ghassān; Ghaṭafān; Ghifār; Hamdān; Ḥanīfa b. Ludjaym; Ḥanẓala b. Mālik; Ḥārith b. Kaʿb; Hawāzin; Hilāl; ʿIdjl; Iram; Iyād; Kalb b. Wabara; al-Ḳayn; Khafādja; Khathʿam; al-Khazradj; Kilāb b. Rabīʿa; Kināna; Kinda; Khuzāʿa; Ḳuraysh; Ḳushayr; Laʿaḳat al-Dam; Liḥyān.2; Maʿadd; Maʿāfir; Māzin; Muḥārib; Murād; Murra; Naḍīr; Nawfal; Riyām; Saʿd b. Bakr; Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt al-Fizr; Salīḥ; Salūl; Shaybān; Sulaym; Taghlib b. Wāʾil; Tamīm b. Murr; Tanūkh; Ṭasm; Taym Allāh; Taym b. Murra; Thaḳīf; Thamūd; ʿUdhra; ʿUḳayl.1; Yāfiʿ; Yarbūʿ; Yās; [in Suppl.] Kathīrī; Ḳuʿayṭī
see also Asad (Banū); Ḥabash (Aḥābīsh); al-Ḥidjāz; Makhzūm; Mustaʿriba; Mutaʿarriba; Nizār b. Maʿadd; Numayr; Rabīʿa (and Muḍar); Shayba; Thaʿlaba; al-Uḳayṣir; Wabār; Wufūd; Zarḳāʾ al-Yamāma; Zuhayr b. Djanāb; Zuhra; [in Suppl.] Aʿyāṣ; al-Ridda

present-day ʿAbdalī; ʿAḳrabī; ʿAwāmir; ʿAwāzim; Banyar; al-Baṭāḥira; Buḳūm; al-Dawāsir; al-Dhīʾāb; Djaʿda (ʿĀmir); al-Djanaba; al-Durūʿ; Ghāmid; Hādjir; Ḥakam b. Saʿd; Hamdān; al-Ḥarāsīs; Ḥarb; Ḥāshid wa-Bakīl; Ḥassān, Bā; Ḥawshabī; Hinā; al-Ḥubūs; Hudhayl; Ḥudjriyya; Hutaym; al-Ḥuwayṭāt; al-ʿIfār; Ḳaḥṭān; Khālid; (Banū) Kharūṣ; Khawlān; Ḳuḍāʿa; Madhhidj; Mahra; al-Manāṣir; Mazrūʿī; Murra; Muṭayr; Muzayna; Nabhān; Ruwala; Shammar; Shararāt; Subayʿ; Ṣubayḥī; Sudayri; Ṣulayb; Thaḳīf; ʿUtayba; Wahība; Yām
see also (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab.vi; Badw; al-Ḥidjāz; Shāwiya.2; ʿUtūb; al-Yaman.4

Central Asia, Mongolia and points further north Čāwdors; Dūghlāt; Emreli; Gagauz; Göklän; Ḳarluḳ; Ḳungrāt; Mangit; Mongols; Özbeg; Pečenegs; Salur; Sulduz; Tatar; Tobol; Toghuzghuz; Türkmen; Turks.I.2; Yaghma; [in Suppl.] Sariḳ; Yomut
see also Ghuzz; Īlāt; Ḳāyi; Khaladj; Ḳishlaḳ; Yaylaḳ

Egypt and North Africa ʿAbābda; Ahaggar; al-Butr; Djazūla; Dukkāla; Ifoghas; Khulṭ; Kūmiya; al-Maʿḳil; Mandīl; Riyāḥ; Zmāla
see also Khumayr; *and* → BERBERS

Fertile Crescent
ancient Asad; Bahrāʾ; Djarrāḥids; Djudhām; Lakhm; Muhannā; al-Muntafiḳ.1; Taghlib b. Wāʾil; Ṭayyiʾ; Waththāb b. Sābiḳ al-Numayrī; [in Suppl.] al-Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ
see also Tanūkh.2; al-Uḳayṣir; Unayf

present-day ʿAnaza; Asad (Banū); Bādjalān; Bilbās; Ḍafīr; Djāf; Djubūr; Dulaym; Hamawand; al-Ḥuwayṭāt; Kurds.iv.A; Lām; al-Manāṣir; al-Muntafiḳ.2; Ṣakhr; Shammar
see also al-Baṭīḥa; Shāwiya.2

Iran Bāzūkiyyūn; Bilbās; Djāf; Eymir.2 *and* 3; (Banū) Kaʿb; Ḳarā Gözlū; Kurds.iv.A; Lak; Lām; Shāhsewan; Shakāk; Shaḳāḳī; Sindjābī
see also Daylam; Dulafids; Fīrūzānids; Göklän; Īlāt; Shūlistān

Turkey Afshār; Bayat; Bayindir; Begdili; Čepni; Döger; Eymir.1; Ḳādjār; Ḳāyi; Takhtadji; Takkalū; Ṭorghud; Yörük; [in Suppl.] Čawdor

see also Shakāk; Shakākī; Tamgha

TUNISIA Baladiyya.3; Djāmiʿa; Djamʿiyya.iv; Djarīda.i.B; Dustūr.i; Ḥizb.i; Ḥukūma.iv; Istiklāl; al-Khaldūniyya; Maʿārif.2.A; Madjlis.4.A.xix; Salafiyya.1(a); **Tunisia;** [in Suppl.] Demography.IV; Maḥkama.4.xii
see also Fallāk; Ḥimāya.ii; Khalīfa b. ʿAskar; Ṣafar; [in Suppl.] Inzāl; *and* → BERBERS; DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA
historians of Ibn Abī Dīnār; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḍiyāf; Ibn ʿIdhārī; [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb
see also Ibn al-Rakīk; al-Tidjānī, Abū Muḥammad; *and* → DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA
institutions
educational al-Ṣādikiyya; Zaytūna; [in Suppl.] Institut des hautes études de Tunis
see also [in Suppl.] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb; Kābādū
musical al-Rashīdiyya
press al-Rāʾid al-Tūnusī; **Ṣiḥāfa**.2.(v)
language ʿArabiyya.A.iii.3; Tunisia.IV
literature Malḥūn; Tunisia.V; *and* → LITERATURE
belletrists Saʿīd Abū Bakr; al-Shābbī; al-Tūnisī, Maḥmūd Bayram; al-Tūnisī, Muḥammad; al-Warghī
nationalists al-Thaʿālibī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; [in Suppl.] al-Ḥaddād, al-Ṭāhir
Ottoman period (1574-1881) Aḥmad Bey; al-Ḥusayn (b. ʿAlī); Ḥusaynids; Khayr al-Dīn Pasha; Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis; Muḥammad Bey; Muḥammad al-Ṣādik Bey; Muṣṭafā Khaznadār; Tunisia.II.c; [in Suppl.] Ibn Ghidhāhum
physical geography Tunisia.I.a
pre-Ottoman period ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī; Aghlabids; Ḥafṣids; Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ghassānī; (Banū) Khurāsān; Tunisia.II.b
and → BERBERS; DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA
toponyms
ancient al-ʿAbbāsiyya; Ḥaydarān; Kalʿat Banī Ḥammād; Manzil Bashshū; Rakkāda; Ṣabra (al-Manṣūriyya); Subayṭila
present-day
districts Djarīd
islands Djarba; Karkana
regions Djazīrat Sharīk; Kasṭīliya.2; Nafzāwa; Sāḥil.1
towns Bādja; Banzart; Ḥalk al-Wādī; Kābis; al-Kāf; Kafsa; Kallala; al-Kayrawān; al-Mahdiyya; Monastir; Nafṭa; Safākus; Sūsa; Ṭabarka; Takrūna; Tūnis; Tūzar; Üsküdār

TURKEY Anadolu; Armīniya; Istanbul; Karā Deniz; **Turks**.I.5
see also Libās.iv; *and* → OTTOMAN EMPIRE
architecture → ARCHITECTURE.REGIONS
dynasties → DYNASTIES.ANATOLIA AND THE TURKS; OTTOMAN EMPIRE
language → LANGUAGES.TURKIC
literature → LITERATURE
modern period (1920-) Baladiyya.1; Demokrat Parti; Djāmiʿa; Djarīda.iii; Djümhūriyyet Khalk Firkasi; Dustūr.ii; Ḥizb.ii; Ishtirākiyya; Khalkevi; Köy Enstitüleri; Kurds.iii.C; Madjlis.4.A.ii; Mīthāk-i Millī; Shuyūʿiyya.3; Terakkī-perver Djumhūriyyet Firkasi; Turks.I.5; [in Suppl.] Demography.III; Niẓām ʿAskarī.3; Ṣiḥāfa.5
see also Djamʿiyya.ii; Iskandarūn; Iṣlāḥ.iii; Ittiḥād we Terakkī Djemʿiyyeti; Karakol Djemʿiyyeti; Kawmiyya.iv; Kemāl; Kirkūk; Maʿārif.1.i; Māliyye; Nurculuk; Yüzellilikler; *and* → LITERATURE; PRESS

educators [in Suppl.] Ismāʿīl Ḥakkī Baltadjioghlu; Tonguç
religious leaders Nursī
statesmen/women Atatürk; Çakmak; Ḥusayn Djāhid; Ileri, Djelāl Nūrī; Kāẓim Karabekir; Khālide Edīb; Köprülü (Mehmed Fuad); Meḥmed ʿĀkif; Menderes; Okyar; Orbay, Ḥüseyin Raʾūf; Shems al-Dīn Günaltay; Sheref, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; Yeğana, ʿAlī Münīf; Yücel, Ḥasan ʿAlī; [in Suppl.] Adivar; Aghaoghlu; Atay; Esendal; İsmet İnönü; Özal
see also Čerkes Edhem; Gökalp, Ziya; Hisar; *and* → TURKEY.OTTOMAN PERIOD.YOUNG TURKS

mysticism → MYSTICISM.MYSTICS; SAINTHOOD.SAINTS

Ottoman period (1342-1924) Ḥizb.ii; Istanbul; Ittiḥād-i Muḥammedī Djemʿiyyeti; Ittiḥād we Terakkī Djemʿiyyeti; Maʿārif.1.i; Madjlis.4.A.i; Madjlis al-Shūrā; Maṭbakh.2; **ʿOthmānli**; Türk Odjaghi; Yeñi ʿOthmānlilar; [in Suppl.] Niẓām ʿAskarī.3
see also Aywaz.1; Derebey; Djamʿiyya.ii; Khalīfa.i.E; [in Suppl.] Demography.II; Djalālī; *and* → OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Young Ottomans and Young Turks **Yeñi ʿOthmānlilar**
see also Djamʿiyya; Djewdet; Dustūr.ii; Fāḍil Pasha; Ḥukūma.i; Ḥurriyya.ii; Ittiḥād we Terakkī Djemʿiyyeti
individuals Djawīd; Djemāl Pasha; Enwer Pasha; (Tunali) Ḥilmī; Isḥāk Sükutī; Kemāl, Meḥmed Nāmik; Mīzāndji Meḥmed Murād; Niyāzī Bey; Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn; Shükrü Bey; Suʿāwī, ʿAlī; Ṭalʿat Bey; Yeğana, ʿAlī Münīf; Yūsuf Akčura; Żiyā Pasha

physical geography
mountains Aghri Dagh; Ala Dagh; Aladja Dagh; Beshparmak; Bingöl Dagh; Deve Boynu; Elma Daghi; Erdjiyas Daghi; Gāwur Daghlari; Toros Dağları; Ulu Dāgh
see also Ṭūr ʿAbdīn
waters Boghaz-iči; Čanak-kalʿe Boghazi; Čoruh.I; Djayḥān; Gediz Čayi; Göksu; Kizil-irmāk; Lamas-ṣū; Marmara Deñizi; Menderes; al-Rass; Sakarya; Sayḥān; Tuz Gölü; Wān.1; Yeshil Irmak

population Yörük; Zāzā; Zeybek; [in Suppl.] Demography.II
see also Muhādjir.2; Türkmen.3

pre-Islamic period → PRE-ISLAM; TURKEY.TOPONYMS

pre-Ottoman period Mengüček
see also Kitābāt.7; *and* → DYNASTIES.ANATOLIA AND THE TURKS; TURKEY.TOPONYMS

toponyms
ancient ʿAmmūriya; Ānī; Arzan; ʿAyn Zarba; Baghrās; Bālis; Beshike; Būka; al-Djazīra; Dulūk; Dunaysir; Ḥarrān; Lādhik.1; Shabakhtān; Sīs; Sulṭān Öñü; Ṭorghud Eli
see also Diyār Bakr; Shimshāṭ
present-day
districts Shamdīnān; Terdjān; Yalowa
islands Bozdja-ada; Imroz
provinces Aghri; Čoruh; Diyar Bakr; Hakkārī; Ičil; Kars; Kasṭamūnī; Khanzīt; Kodja Eli; Mūsh; Newshehir; Tundjeli
regions al-ʿAmk; Cilicia; Dersim; Diyār Muḍar; Djānīk; Menteshe-eli; Teke-eli; Ṭūr ʿAbdīn; Tutak
towns Ada Pāzāri; Adana; Adiyaman; Afyūn Kara Ḥiṣār; Ak Ḥiṣār.1 *and* 2; Ak Shehr; Akhlāṭ; Ala Shehir; Alanya; Altintash; Amasya; Anadolu; Anamur; Ankara; Anṭākiya; Antalya; ʿArabkīr; Ardahān; Artvin; Aya Solūk; Āyās; Aydin; ʿAyntāb; Aywalik; Babaeski; Bālā; Bālā Ḥiṣār; Balāṭ; Bālikesrī; Bālṭa Līmānī; Bandirma; Bāyazīd; Bāybūrd; Baylān; Bergama; Besni; Beyshehir; Bidlīs; Bīgha; Biledjik; Bingöl; Bīredjik; Birge; Bodrum; Bolu; Bolwadin; Bozanti; Burdur; Bursa; Čankiri; Čatāldja; Česhme; Čölemerik; Čorlu; Čorum; Deñizli; Diwrīgī;

Diyār Bakr; Edirne; Edremit; Eğin; Eğridir; Elbistan; Elmalî; Enos; Ereğli; Ergani; Ermenak; Erzindjan; Erzurum; Eskishehir; Gebze; Gelibolu; Gemlik; Giresun; Göksun; Gördes; Gümüsh-khāne; al-Hārūniyya; Ḥiṣn Kayfā; Iskandarūn; Isparta; Istanbul (*and* [in Suppl.]); Iznīḳ; Ḳarā Ḥiṣār; Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār; Kars; Ḳasṭamūnī; Ḳayṣariyya; Kemākh; Killiz; Ḳîrḳ Kilise; Kirmāstī; Ḳîrshehir; Ḳoč Ḥiṣār; Konya; Köprü Ḥiṣārî; Ḳoylu Ḥiṣār; Ḳōzān; Ḳūla; Kutāhiya; Lādhiḳ.2 *and* 3; Lāranda; Lüleburgaz; Maghnisa; Malaṭya; Malāzgird.1; Malkara; Maʿmūrat al-ʿAzīz; Marʿash; Mārdīn; al-Maṣṣīṣa; Mayyāfāriḳīn; Menemen; Mersin; Merzifūn; Mīlās; Mudanya; Mughla; Mūsh; Naṣībīn; Newshehir; Nīgde; Nīksār; Nizīb; Orāmār; ʿOthmāndjîḳ; Payās; Rize; al-Ruhā; Ṣabandja; Ṣāmsūn; Ṣart; Sarūdj; Siʿird; Silifke; Simaw; Sīnūb; Sīwās; Siwri Ḥiṣār; Sögüd; Sumaysāṭ; al-Suwaydiyya; Tall Bāshir; Ṭarabzun; Ṭarsūs; Tekirdagh; Tīre; Tirebolu; Toḳat; Tundjeli; ʿUshāḳ; Wān.2; Wezīr Köprü; Wize; Yalowa; Yeñi Shehir; Yeshilköy; Yozgat; Zaytūn; Zindjirli; Zonguldak; [in Suppl.] Ghalaṭa; Izmīd; Izmīr; Kaysūm
see also Fener; Ḳarasî.2; (al-)Ḳusṭanṭīniyya

U

UMAYYADS → CALIPHATE; DYNASTIES.SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES al-Ḳawāsim; Madjlis.4.A.xii; Maḥkama.4.ix; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(x); [in Suppl.] **al-Imārāt al-ʿArabiyya al-Muttaḥida**
population Mazrūʿī
see also Yās; *and* → TRIBES.ARABIAN PENINSULA
toponyms Abū Ẓabī; al-Djiwāʾ; Dubayy; al-Fudjayra; Raʾs al-Khayma; al-Shāriḳa; Ṣīr Banī Yās; Umm al-Ḳaywayn; al-Ẓafra; [in Suppl.] ʿAdjmān
see also (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab; al-Khaṭṭ; Ṭunb; al-ʿUdayd

URBANISM → ARCHITECTURE.URBAN; GEOGRAPHY.URBAN; SEDENTARISM
for city planning, see [in Suppl.] Madīna; *for rowdy urban groups, see* Zuʿʿār; *for urban militia, see* Aḥdāth

(former) USSR → CAUCASUS; CENTRAL ASIA.FORMER SOVIET UNION; COMMUNISM; EUROPE.EASTERN EUROPE; SIBERIA

V

VIRTUES AND VICES
virtues ʿAdl; Ḍayf; Futuwwa; Ḥasab wa-Nasab; Ḥilm; ʿIrḍ; Murūʾa; Ṣabr; Ẓarīf; [in Suppl.] Karam
see also Sharaf; Sharīf *and* → ETHICS; HUMOUR
vices Bukhl
see also Kaffāra; *and* → ADULTERY; DRUGS.NARCOTICS; GAMBLING; LAW.PENAL LAW; OBSCENITY; WINE

W

WEIGHTS AND MEASUREMENTS Aghač; Arpa; Dhirāʿ; Dirham.1; Farsakh; Ḥabba; Iṣbaʿ; Istār;

Makāyil; Marḥala; Miḳyās; **Misāḥa**; al-Mīzān; Ṣā'; Sanadjāt; Tōlā; Tūmān.2; **Wazn**.1; [in Suppl.] Gaz
see also al-Ḳarasṭūn

WINE **Khamr**; Sāḳī
see also Karm
bacchic poetry **Khamriyya**
Arabic Abū Nuwās; Abū Miḥdjan; Abu 'l-Shīṣ; 'Adī b. Zayd; Ḥāritha b. Badr al-Ghudānī; (al-)Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk; Ibn al-'Afīf al-Tilimsānī; Ibn Sayḥān; Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh; Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz; al-Walīd.2
see also al-Babbaghā'; Ibn al-Fāriḍ; Ibn Harma; al-Nawādjī; Yamūt b. al-Muzarra'
Turkish Rewānī; Riyāḍī
boon companions Ibn Ḥamdūn; al-Ḳāshānī; Khālid b. Yazīd al-Kātib al-Tamīmī
see also Abu 'l-Shīṣ; 'Alī b. al-Djahm

WOMEN 'Abd; Ḥarīm; Ḥayḍ; Ḥidjāb.I; 'Idda; Istibrā'; Khafḍ; **al-Mar'a**; Nikāḥ; Siḥāḳ; [in Suppl.] Bighā'
see also 'Arūs Resmi; Bashmaklïḳ; Khayr; Khiḍr-ilyās; Lithām; Tunisia.VI; 'Urf.2.II; Zanāna; *and* → DIVORCE; LIFE STAGES.CHILDBIRTH *and* CHILDHOOD; MARRIAGE
and beauty al-Washm
and → COSMETICS
and literature al-Mar'a.1
see also Ḳiṣṣa; Shahrazād
Arabic authors al-Bā'ūni.6; Ḥafṣa bint al-Ḥādjdj; 'Inān; al-Khansā'; Laylā al-Akhyaliyya; Mayy Ziyāda; 'Ulayya; Wallāda; al-Yāzidjī.4; [in Suppl.] Faḍl al-Shā'ira
see also 'Abbāsa; 'Ātika; Khunātha; Ḳiṣṣa.2; Shilb; Uḳṣūṣa
Persian authors Ḳurrat al-'Ayn; Mahsatī; Parwīn I'tiṣāmī
see also Gulbadan Bēgam; Makhfī
Turkish authors Fiṭnat; Khālide Edīb; Laylā Khānïm (2x); Mihrī Khātūn
see also Ḳiṣṣa.3(b)
and religion Zār
mystics 'Ā'isha al-Mannūbiyya; Djahānārā Bēgam; Nafīsa; Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya al-Ḳaysiyya
see also Walī.5
concubinage 'Abd.3.f; Khaṣṣekī; Umm al-Walad
emancipation Ḳāsim Amīn; Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif; Sa'īd Abū Bakr; Salāma Mūsā; Ṭalāḳ.II.3; [in Suppl.] al-Ḥaddād, al-Ṭāhir
see also Ḥidjāb; Ileri, Djelāl Nūrī; al-Mar'a; Wuthūḳ al-Dawla; al-Zahāwī, Djamīl Ṣidḳī; [in Suppl.] Ashraf al-Dīn Gīlānī
influential women
Arabic 'Ā'isha bint Ṭalḥa; Asmā'; Barīra; Būrān; Hind bint 'Utba; al-Khayzurān bint 'Aṭā' al-Djurashiyya; Khunātha; Shadjar al-Durr; Sitt al-Mulk; Ṣubḥ; Sukayna bt. al-Ḥusayn; Zubayda bt. Dja'far; [in Suppl.] Asmā'
see also al-Ma'āfirī; Zumurrud Khātūn; *and* → MUḤAMMAD, THE PROPHET.FAMILY OF.DAUGHTERS *and* WIVES
Indo-Muslim Nūr Djahān; Samrū
Mongolian Baghdād Khātūn; Khān-zāda Bēgum; Töregene Khātūn
Ottoman 'Ādila Khātūn; Khurrem; Kösem Wālide; Mihr-i Māh Sulṭān; Nīlūfer Khātūn; Nūr Bānū; Ṣafiyye Wālide Sulṭān; Shāh Sulṭān; Shebṣefa Ḳadïn; Ṭurkhān Sulṭān
see also Wālide Sulṭān
Turkish Terken Khātūn; Zumurrud Khātūn

legendary women al-Basūs; Bilḳīs; Hind bint al-Khuss
see also Āsiya; Zarḳā' al-Yamāma
musicians/singers 'Azza al-Maylā'; Djamīla; Ḥabāba; Rā'iḳa; Sallāma al-Zarḳā'; Shāriya; Siti Binti Saad; 'Ulayya; Umm Kulthūm; [in Suppl.] Badhl al-Kubrā; al-Djarādatān[i]; Faḍl al-Shā'ira; Ḥabba Khātūn
see also 'Ālima; Ḳayna; Ṭaḳṭūḳa
mystics → *the section And Religion above*

WRITING **Khaṭṭ** (*and* [in Suppl.])
see also Ibn Muḳla; Kitābāt; *and* → ART.CALLIGRAPHY; EPIGRAPHY
manuscripts and books Daftar; Ḥāshiya; **Kitāb**; Muḳābala.2; **Nuskha**; Tadhkira; Ta'līḳ; Taṣḥīf; Taṣnīf; Tazwīr; 'Unwān; Warrāḳ; [in Suppl.] Abbreviations
see also Ḳaṭ'; Maktaba
blockprinting **Ṭarsh**
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for Persian scripts, see [in Suppl.] Iran.iii.f.ii.V
for non-Arabic, non-Latin scripts, see [in Suppl.] Turks.II.(vi)

Y

YEMEN Djarīda.i.A; Dustūr.viii; Madjlis.4.A.xiv *and* xv; Maḥkama.4.viii; Ṣiḥāfa.1.(xiv); Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad; **al-Yaman**; [in Suppl.] Niẓām 'Askarī.1.(e)
see also 'Asīr; Ismā'īliyya; Mahrī; Makramids; Ṭāghūt.2; 'Urf.2.I.A.2; [in Suppl.] Abū Mismār; *and* → DYNASTIES.ARABIAN PENINSULA
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before Islam al-Abnā'.II; Abraha; Dhū Nuwās; (Djazīrat) al-'Arab; Ḥabashat; Ḥaḍramawt; Ḳatabān; Ḳayl; Mārib; al-Mathāmina; Saba'; al-Sawdā'; Wahriz; Yazan; [in Suppl.] Ḥaḍramawt
see also [in Suppl.] Bādhām
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see also [in Suppl.] Ḥaḍramawt.ii.1; Kathīrī; Ḳu'ayṭī
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see also (Djazīrat) al-ʿArab

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see also Zenta

Z

ZAIRE Katanga; Kisangani

ZANZIBAR → TANZANIA

ZOOLOGY **Ḥayawān**.7
and → ANIMALS
writers on al-Damīrī; al-Marwazī, Sharaf al-Zamān
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ZOROASTRIANS Gabr; Iran.vi; **Madjūs**; Mōbadh; Zamzama
see also Bihʾāfrīd b. Farwardīn; Ghazal.ii; Gudjarāt.a; Pārsīs; Pūr-i Dāwūd; Sarwistān; Shīz; al-Ṣughd; Sunbādh; Taʾrīkh.I.1.vii; Ustādhsīs; Yazd.1; Zamzam; Zindīḳ
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GLOSSARY AND INDEX OF TERMS

The entries in this Glossary are listed alphabetically following the Roman alphabet. The entry appears where possible under the singular form of the word, with the plural form, provided it was found in the *Encyclopaedia*, following in parentheses. If the plural form has the more important technical meaning, or the singular was not specified in the *Encyclopaedia*, the plural form will have an entry of its own.

Although the root system common to Semitic languages is for the most part ignored, some terms, such as adjectives, plurals, adjectival plurals, etc. of a word, will be included under that word's entry, e.g. *ʿaskarī* is included under *ʿaskar*, *ʿaḳliyyāt* is included under *ʿaḳl*, etc. Where it might not be obvious to someone searching alphabetically, and for facility of use, a cross-reference in the Glossary is provided, e.g.

furūʿ → FARʿ

Entries marked in bold refer to articles in the *Encyclopaedia*. All cross-references to entries within the Glossary are given in small capitals. A term made up of more than one component, as e.g. *ahl al-ʿahd*, is generally listed under the first element; thus *ahl al-ʿahd* is found under *ahl*.

Where found in the *Encyclopaedia*, the term's etymological origin has been noted; see the List of Abbreviations on p. 139. The transcription in the Glossary follows for the most part that of the *Encyclopaedia*. Certain words such as Baghdad and sultan, which are now part and parcel of the English language, have not been transcribed, and for easy recognition, Qur'ān is written thus and not as Ḳur'ān. In words of Berber or North African origin, a schwa has been used to reproduce a neutral vowel.

The index is not comprehensive; multiple page references are given only for pages that note a significantly different definition or translation from one already listed, or for those pages that treat the term more than just in passing.

A

aʿaban (Mor) : a large outer wrap for Berber men. V 745b

āb (P) : water; and → ĀBDĀR-BĀSHĪ; ĀBSHĀR

♦ āb-anbar → MIṢNAʿA

♦ āb-i gusht (P) : a stew on the basis of mutton stock, which seems to have become the staple of the poor in the course of the 19th century. XII 611a

aba : roughly-spun cloth. X 371b

ʿabā' (A), or *ʿabā'a* : a coat, shoulder mantle, worn by both sexes in the Arab East. V 740a

ʿabā'a → ʿABĀ'

abad (A) : time in an absolute sense. I 2a

In philosophy, ~ or *abadiyya* is a technical term corresponding to ἀφθαρτός, meaning incorruptible, eternal *a parte post*, in opposition to AZAL or *azaliyya*. I 2a; V 95a

♦ abadī (A) : 'having no end'. I 333a

♦ abadiyya → ABAD

ab'ādiyya (A, pl. *abā'id*), or **ib'ādiyya** : uncultivated or uncultivable land in Egypt under Muḥammad 'Alī; estates reclaimed from lands uncultivated at the time of the 1813-14 cadaster and granted on favourable terms. II 149a; XII 379a
abad̲j̲ad → ABD̲J̲ĀD
abanūs (A, P, T, < Gk) : ebony wood. I 3a
abardī → BARDĪ
'abāya (Alg) : a sleeveless, long overblouse for men; a sleeveless, flowing dress for women. V 745b
abayān (A) : in zoology, the prawn and the shrimp. IX 40a, where many more synonyms are given
'abayt̲h̲arān (A) : in botany, a type of artemisia, also called *rayḥān al-t̲h̲a'ālib* 'the foxes' basilicum'. IX 435a
'abbādiyya → S̲H̲AKKĀZIYYA
abbāla : camel nomads in the central Sudan belt of Africa. IX 516a
'abbas (Alg) : a verb signifying in Algeria 'to go among the peasants to levy contributions of grain, butter, dried fruits, etc.' in the name of Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Sabtī, a renowned Moroccan saint of the 12th century. VIII 692a
'abbāsī (P) : in numismatics, a Ṣafawid coin introduced by Shāh 'Abbās I, the value of which was 4 S̲H̲ĀHĪ, 200 dīnārs, 50 per TŪMĀN. It remained the normal Persian denomination for most of the remainder of the dynasty. VIII 790a; IX 203b
♦ 'abbāsiyya (Mor) : in Morocco, charitable gifts of grain, fritters, fruit, meat or fish, made to the poor in the name of Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Sabtī, a renowned Moroccan saint of the 12th century. VIII 692a
'abd (A, pl. *'abīd*) : a slave, in particular a male slave, a female slave being termed *ama* (pl. *imā'*). I 24b
In theology, ~ means 'the creature'. In the Qur'ān, the angels are also called ~. IV 82b
♦ 'abd ḳinn (A) : a slave born in his master's house; later applied to the slave over whom one has full and complete rights of ownership. I 25a
♦ 'abd mamlūka (A) : a purchased slave. I 25a
♦ 'abīd al-buk̲h̲ārī (A) : descendants of the black slaves who had been imported in large numbers by the Sa'dids into Morocco. I 34b; I 47a; I 356a
♦ 'abīd al-s̲h̲irā' (A) : black Sudanese slaves bought for the army under the Fāṭimids. II 858b
abda'a → ITHT̲H̲AG̲H̲ARA
abdāl (A, s. BADAL) : in mysticism, the highest rank in the ṣūfī hierarchical order of saints (syn. G̲H̲AWT̲H̲). I 69b; generally accepted as the fifth place descending from the ḲUṬB. I 94b; ascetic or pietistic persons who are regarded as intercessors and dispensers of BARAKA. VIII 498a
In the Ottoman empire, ~ was used for the dervishes in various dervish orders. I 95a; later, when the esteem enjoyed by the dervishes declined, ~ (and *budalā'*, s. *badīl*, both used as a singular) came to mean 'fool' in Turkish. I 95a
ābdār-bās̲h̲ī (P) : in Ṣafawid times, an official in the royal kitchen in charge of drinks. XII 609b
abd̲j̲ad (A), or *abad̲j̲ad, abū d̲j̲ad* : the first of the mnemotechnical terms into which the twenty-eight consonants of the Arabic alphabet are divided. I 97a
ābiḳ (A) : a runaway slave. I 26b
'abḳarī (A) : a genie of great intelligence. IX 406b
abnā' (A, s. IBN) : sons
As a denomination, it is applied to two tribes, viz. the descendants of Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, and the descendants born in Yaman of Persian immigrants. I 102a; X 173a; XII 115b

♦ abnāʾ al-atrāk (A) : a term sometimes used in the Mamlūk sultanate to designate the Egyptian or Syrian-born descendants of the Mamlūks. I 102a; and → AWLAD AL-NĀS

♦ abnāʾ al-daraza (A) : lit. sons of sewing, a proverbial expression current in the ʿAbbāsid period to refer to the tailors of Kūfa, who had taken part in the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī against the Umayyads (120-2/738-40). IV 1161a

♦ abnāʾ al-dawla (A) : a term applied in the early centuries of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate to the members of the ʿAbbāsid house, and by extension to patrons (*mawālī*, s. MAWLA) who entered its service and became adoptive members. I 102a; Kh̲urāsānian guards and officials in the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. V 57b

♦ abnā-yi sipāhīyān (T) : a term sometimes used in formal Ottoman usage, in place of the more common *sipāhī og̲h̲lanlarî* (→ DÖRT BÖLÜK), to denote the first of the six regiments of cavalry of the standing army. I 102a

♦ abnāʾ al-waṭan (A) : inhabitants, natives, compatriots. XI 175b

abraḳ → BARḲĀʾ

abrāmīs (A) : in zoology, the bream. VIII 1023a

ābs̲h̲ār (P) : in Muslim India, large water chutes, made of inclined and carved marble slabs, which intercepted the flow of water in the long channels that ran the entire length of gardens, providing the transition from one level to another. IX 175a

abū (A) : father

♦ **abū barāḳis̲h̲** (A) : a name, no longer in use, given to two birds with brilliant plumage: the Franciscan or Grenadier weaver-bird, or Durra-bird (*Euplectes oryx franciscana*), and the Porphyrion or Blue Taleva/Purple Gallinule (*Porphyrio porphyrio*), better known as the Sultan-fowl. In the Ḥid̲j̲āz, ~ was used in place of *birḳis̲h̲* to denote the chaffinch (*Fringilla coelebs*), also called *s̲h̲urs̲h̲ur*. XII 19a; and → ḤIRBĀʾ

♦ abu ʾl-bayḍ → SALḲAʿ

♦ abū būz (A) : ʻhaving a snoutʼ, a simple but functional transport vessel, driven by a motor, with a prow which resembles that of a schooner and with a square stern, built in Oman. VII 53b

♦ abū d̲h̲aḳan (A) : in zoology, the goat fish or mullet (*Mullus barbatus*). VIII 1021a

♦ abū d̲j̲ād → ABD̲J̲ĀD

♦ **abu ʾl-hawl** (A) : lit. father of terror; Arabic name for the sfinx of Giza. I 125b

♦ abū isḥāḳī → FĪRŪZAD̲J̲

♦ **abū ḳalamūn** (A) : originally, a certain textile of a peculiar sheen, then a precious stone, a bird, and a mollusc. In Persian, ~ is said to have the meaning of chameleon. I 131a

♦ abū ḳarn (A) : in zoology, the unicorn fish (*Naseus unicornis*). VIII 1021a; and → KARKADDAN

♦ abū marīna (A) : in zoology, the monk seal. VIII 1022b

♦ abū mihmāz (A) : in zoology, the ray or skate. VIII 1022b

♦ abū minḳar (A) : in zoology, the half-beak (*Hemiramphus*). VIII 1021a

♦ abū mins̲h̲ar (A) : in zoology, the sawfish (*Pristis pristis*). VIII 1021a

♦ abū miṭraḳa (A) : in zoology, the hammer-head shark (*Sphyrna zygaena*). Other designations are *baḳra*, *miṭrāḳ al-baḥr*, and *samakat al-Iskandar*. VIII 1021a; VIII 1022b

♦ (a)bū mnīr (A) : in zoology, the seal. VIII 1022b

♦ (a)bū nawwāra (A) : lit. the one with the flower; in zoology, a Saharan name which is used for the hare as well as for the fox. XII 85b

♦ abu ʾl-rak̲h̲wa → SALWĀ

♦ abū ṣanṣūn (A) : in zoology, the sansun kingfish. VIII 1021b

♦ abū sayf (A) : in zoology, the swordfish (*Xiphias gladius*). VIII 1021a

♦ abū s̲h̲int̲h̲iyā → S̲H̲ĪḤ

♦ abū ṣundūḳ (A) : in zoology, the coffer fish (*Ostracion nasus*). VIII 1021a
♦ abū t͟halāt͟hīn → SALḲAʿ

abyaḍ (A) : the colour white; also, saliva, a sword, money, and paradoxically, in Africa, coal. In the Qur'ān, ~ and *aswad* express the contrast between light and dark rather than white and black. V 700a, where are listed many other terms to denote white; and → ZAHR

ʿād (A) : from the expression *min al-ʿād*, it has been suggested that ~ means 'the ancient time' and that the tribe ʿĀd arose from a misinterpretation of this. I 169b
♦ ʿādī : very ancient. I 169b

ʿāda (A), or *ʿurf* : a (pre-Islamic) custom; customary law. I 170a; I 744b; I 1179a; IV 155a ff.; VIII 486a

adā' (A) : lit. payment, accomplishment.
In law, ~ is a technical term to designate the accomplishment of a religious duty in the time prescribed by the law, a distinction being drawn between the perfect accomplishment, *al-adā' al-kāmil*, and the imperfect, *al-adā' al-nāḳis*. I 169b
In the reading of the Qur'ān, the traditional pronunciation of the letters (syn. ḲIRĀ'A). I 169b

adab (A, pl. *ādāb*) : originally, a habit, a practical norm of conduct, equivalent to SUNNA; during the evolution of its sense, ~ came to mean an ethical 'high quality of soul, good upbringing, urbanity and courtesy', in contrast to Bedouin uncouthness. From the first century of the HID͟JRA, it came to imply the sum of intellectual knowledge which makes a man courteous and 'urbane', based in the first place on poetry, the art of oratory, the historical and tribal traditions of the ancient Arabs, and also on the corresponding sciences: rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, metrics. As a result of contact with foreign cultures, this national concept of ~ gradually came to include a knowledge of those sections of non-Arab literature with which Arab Muslim civilisation became familiar from the early ʿAbbāsid period; it widened its Arab content into *humanitas* without qualification. In the modern age ~ and its plural *ādāb* are synonyms of literature. I 175b
In mysticism, the norms of conduct which govern relations between master and disciples, and those between the disciples themselves. IV 94b
In military science, the plural form *ādāb* is a synonym of ḤIYAL, strategems in war. III 510b
♦ adab al-d͟jadal : in theology and law, a method of debating in which were discussed questions that were controversial. It was not a matter of finding the truth, but of convincing the opponent of the greatest possible probability which one believes to have found. VII 566a

adak → NAD͟HR-NIYĀZMANLIK

ʿadāla (A) : the quality of ʿADL; the state of a person who in general obeys the moral and religious law. I 209b
In public law, ~ is one of the principal conditions for carrying out public functions, while in private law, ~ belongs to the theory of evidence. I 209b

ʿadam (A) : the absence of existence or being, used by the Muslim philosophers as the equivalent of Aristotle's στέρησις. I 178b; V 578b

adan (J, Sun) : the Javanese and Sundanese form of AD͟HĀN. VI 675b

ʿadas (A) : in botany, lentils, one of the winter crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

adat (Mal, < A ʿĀDA) : a custom, usage, practice; customary law, the juridical customs of Indonesia. I 173a; for taxes and tolls having to do with *adat*, e.g. *adat cap, adat ḥaḳḳ al-ḳalam, adat hariya, adat kain*, etc., XII 200b

aḍāt (A, N.Afr *ḍāya*) : in the Sahara of southern Morocco and Algeria, small basins where the limestone of the ḤAMMĀDAS has dissolved. III 136b

aḍdād (A, s. ḌIDD) : lit. opposites; in linguistics, words which have two meanings that are opposite to each other. I 184b

ʿaddān (A) : in Syria, a conventional rotation, according to which the distribution of the separate sections of water in the irrigation of the GHŪṬA is carried out. II 1105b

ʿādet-i aghnām → ḲOYUN RESMI

ʿadhaba (A, Egy *dhuʾāba*) : the loose end of the turban, which usually hangs behind from the turban. The usual length is four fingers long between the shoulders. X 611b; X 612a; in mysticism, one of the initiatory rites is the practice of letting the ~ hang down (*irkhāʾ al-~*). X 246a

ʿadhāb (A) : 'torment, suffering, affliction', inflicted by God or a human ruler. I 186b

♦ **ʿadhāb al-ḳabr** (A) : in eschatology, the punishment in the tomb. I 186b; V 236b

adhān (A, T *ezan*) : 'announcement'; as technical term, ~ indicates the call to the divine service of Friday and to the five daily prayers. I 187b; II 593b; VI 361b; VIII 927b

♦ ezan adî (T) : the regular name of a child, chosen at leisure by the family and bestowed, with a recitation of the ADHĀN, a few days after birth. IV 181a

adhargūn (P, A *adharyūn*) : lit. flame-coloured; a plant about 2-3 feet high with finger-long elongated leaves, of a red-yellow colour, and malodorous blossoms with a black kernel, thought to be either the *Buphthalmos* or the *Calendula officinalis* 'marigold'. I 191b

ʿadhrāʾ → SUNBULA

ʿādj (A) : ivory, exported in the Islamic period in all probability solely from East Africa. I 200a

ʿadjāʾib (A) : 'marvels', especially the marvels of Antiquity, e.g. the Pharos of Alexandria. I 203b

In the Qurʾān, the ~ denote the marvels of God's creation. I 203b; II 583b

In geographical literature, the ~ form a peculiar literary genre, reaching its full development in the cosmographies of the 8th/14th century. I 203b

adjal (A) : the appointed term of a man's life or the date of his death; the duration of existence. I 204a

ʿadjala (A) : the generic term for wheeled vehicles drawn by animals; carriage. In Mamlūk Egypt, ~ was supplanted by ʿARABA as a generic term. In modern Egypt, ~ is now the word for bicycle. I 205a

ʿadjam (A) : people qualified by *ʿudjma*, a confused and obscure way of speaking, as regards pronunciation and language, i.e. non-Arabs, primarily the Persians. I 206a

♦ **ʿadjami oghlān** (T) : 'foreign boy', the term applied to Christian youths enrolled for service in the Ottoman sultan's palace troops. I 206b; II 1087a; IV 242b

♦ **ʿadjamiyya** (A) : the term used for the writing of non-Arabic languages in Arabic characters. I 207a; I 404b; and → ALJAMÍA

adjārib → MAZRŪʿĀN

adjdhāʿ (A), or *al-djidhāʿ* : the name for the group formed by four children of ʿAwf b. Kaʿb, one of whose families held an office related to the Meccan pilgrimage which in later times was considered one of the greatest merits of the Tamīm. X 173a

adjīr (A) : in the hierarchy of guilds, an apprentice (syn. *mubtadiʾ*). Other levels were worker, *ṣāniʿ*, and master, MUʿALLIM or *usṭā*. IX 644b; IX 794a

adjlāf → AṬRĀF

adjnād → DJUND

adjsād → DJASAD

adjr (A, < Akk) : reward, wages, rent.

In theology, the reward, in the world to come, for pious deeds. I 209a

In law, ~ denoted in Mecca, in the time of the Prophet, any payment for services rendered. Later, the term was restricted to wages or rent payable under a contract of hire, IDJĀRA. I 209a

♦ adjr al-mithl (A) : in law, the remuneration in a contract to hire that is determined by the judge. III 1017a

♦ adjr musamma^{n} (A) : in law, the remuneration in a contract to hire that is fixed in the contract. III 1017a

ādjurr (A, < P *agūr* ?) : baked brick, used notably in public baths; of varying dimensions, and sometimes cut on an angle or partly rounded off, ~ is used in parts of buildings where accuracy of line is important (pillars, pedestals, stairways, etc.) and functions as horizontal tying material alternating with courses of rubble to maintain regularity of construction. I 1226b; V 585b

ʿadjuz (A) : in prosody, the name for the second hemistich of an Arabic poem. I 668b; VIII 747b; the name of the last foot of a verse. VIII 747b; another meaning of ~ in prosody occurs in the context of MUʿĀKABA, to describe the case of e.g. in the RAMAL metre, the foot *fāʿilātun* having its last cord *-tun* shortened, thus *fāʿilātu*, when the first cord *fā-* of the following foot is not shortened. VIII 747b

♦ ʿadjuz hawāzin (A), or *aʿdjāz hawāzin* : 'the rear part of the Hawāzin'; in early Islam, those tribes, viz. the Naṣr b. Muʿāwiya, Djusham b. Muʿāwiya and Saʿd b. Bakr, that did not rebel in the ridda. XII 693a

ʿadjwa → TAMR

ʿadjz (A) : in medicine, impotence. XII 641a

ʿadl (A) : justice; rectilinear, just.

In Muʿtazilite doctrine, ~ means the justice of God and constitutes one of the five fundamental dogmas. I 209a; I 334b; I 410a; III 1143b

In law, ~ (pl. *ʿudūl*) is a person of good morals, the *ʿudūl* being the scriveners or notaries in the judiciary administration. In public law, ~ is one of the principal conditions for carrying out public functions, and in private law, it is a principal condition of a witness for the bringing of evidence. I 209a ff.; IX 207a; professional witness in the law courts. VIII 126a; IX 208a

In numismatics, ~ means 'of full weight'. I 210a

adrama (al-ṣabiyy) → ITHTHAGHARA

adrar (B) : 'mountain', Berber geographical term applied to a number of mountainous regions of the Sahara. I 210b

adwiya → DAWĀʾ

afʿā (A) : in zoology, the viper; also other similar kinds of snakes. Most sources state that ~ denotes the female, with the male being called *ufʿuwān*, but ~ is always employed in a generic sense. I 214b

afādhān → KŪNIYA

afārika : the descendants of the Graeco-Romans and the latinised Berbers, mostly Christians, living in Gabès in Tunisia in the 3rd/9th century. They were no longer mentioned as a separate ethnic group by the 7th/13th century. IV 338b ff.; X657b

afāwīh (A, pl. of *afwāh*, s. *fūh*) : spices, aromatic substances added to food and beverages to increase pleasant flavour and promote digestion (syn. *maṣāliḥ*). The meaning of ~ is not sharply marked off from *ʿiṭr, ṭīb* 'scents' and *ʿakkār* 'drugs'. XII 42a, where many spices are listed

afghānī (A) : in numismatics, a coin introduced in Afghanistan by Shīr ʿAlī in place of the rupee. IX 446b

ʿafiṣ (A) : the quality of food being pungent. II 1071b

āfrāg (B 'enclosure') : in Morocco, an enclosure of cloth, which isolates the encampment of the sovereign and his suite from the rest of the camp. ~ corresponds to the Persian *sarāča* or SARĀPARDA. I 236a; V 1206a

ʿafṣ (A) : in botany, the gall, an excrescence which forms on certain kinds of trees and shrubs as the result of the sting of various insects. The Arabic term was probably

applied to the oak-gall in particular, but also denotes the fruit of the oak or a similar tree and the tree itself. I 239a; X 665b

afsantīn (A, < Gk), or *afsintīn, ifsintīn* : in botany, the common wormwood (*Artemisia absinthium*); other similar kinds of plants. In medicine, ~ is often called *kashūth rūmī.* I 239b; IX 434b; and → SHĪḤ

afshīn : a pre-Islamic title borne by princes in Central Asia. I 241a

afsūn (P) : charm, incantation; now used in Iran to designate especially a charm against the biting of poisonous animals. I 241b

ʿāfūr (A) : a sand devil; the word has an echo of ʿIFRĪT in it. III 1038a

ʿafw → GHUFRĀN

afwāh → AFĀWĪH

afyūn (A, < Gk) : opium; in Iran and Turkey often called TIRYĀḲ 'antidote'. I 243a

agadir (B, < Ph *gadir*) : in North Africa, one of the names of a fortified enclosure among the Berbers, also called *ḳaṣr* (*gasr*), *temidelt, ghurfa, ḳalʿa* (*gelāa*), and *igherm* (pl. *igherman*). I 244b; XII 512b

āgdāl (A, < B) : pasturage reserved for the exclusive use of the landowner. I 245b
In Morocco, ~ has acquired the sense of a wide expanse of pasture lands, surrounded by high walls and adjoining the sultan's palace, reserved for the exclusive use of his cavalry and livestock. I 245b; I 1346b; V 1206a; gardens. IV 685b

agha (T, P *āḳā*) : in Eastern Turkish, 'elder brother', 'grandfather', 'uncle', 'elder sister'. I 245b; in Persian, ~ sometimes signifies eunuch. I 246a
In Ottoman times, ~ meant 'chief', 'master', and sometimes 'landowner'. As a title ~ was given to many persons of varying importance employed in government service, usually of a military or non-secretarial character, and came to be also used for eunuchs in the harems of the sultans of Constantinople. I 245b; V 472b

aghač (T) : in Ottoman Turkish, a 'tree', 'wood'. In Eastern Turkish, ~ means both 'the male member' and a measure of distance, a parasang, three times the distance at which a man standing between two others can make himself heard by them. I 247a

aghānī → MAGHĀNĪ

aghït (T) : in Turkish folklore, lyrical compositions expressive of grief. They commemorate the deceased and treat of general aspects of death or express sorrow over collective calamities. VI 610a

aghlaf, aghral → ALKHAN

aghrem (B) : 'settlement'. X 78a

aghriba (A), or *aghribat al-ʿarab* : lit. the crows [of the Bedouin]; a designation in early Islam for poets of negroid maternal ancestry. IX 864a; an outcast [from a tribe]. X 910a

aghrum (B) : bread. V 41b

aghtham → SHAYB

agurram (B) : among the Berbers of Morocco, the name for a saint. V 1201a

aḥābīsh (A) : Abyssinians (→ ḤABASH); companies or bodies of men, not all of one tribe. III 7b; possibly the Meccan militia of slaves of Ethiopian origin in the period immediately before the HIDJRA. I 24b, but see III 8a
The word is also applied to men who formed a confederacy either at a mountain called al-Ḥubshī or at a WĀDĪ called Aḥbash. III 7b

āḥād (A, s. *aḥad*) : in the science of Tradition, ~ are Traditions from a relatively small number of transmitters, not enough to make them MUTAWĀTIR. III 25b; an isolated report. X 932a; and → FARD

ahal (Touareg), or *tende* : grand parties held by unmarried young people in Touareg society. X 380a

aḥbār → ḲISSĪS

ʿahd (A, pl. *ʿuhūd*) : 'joining together'; a contract. I 255a; a written designation of succession left by a caliph from the time of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik onwards. I 255b; IV 938b; XI 126a; and → AHL AL-ʿAHD; WALĪ AL-ʿAHD

As a Qur'ānic term, ~ denotes God's covenant with men and His commands, the religious engagement into which the believers have entered, political agreements and undertakings of believers and unbelievers towards the Prophet and amongst each other, and ordinary civil agreements and contracts. I 255a

In law, ~ is generally restricted to political enactments and treaties. I 255a; land which had capitulated before conquest was known as ~ land. IV 14b

In mysticism, ~ is the covenant, consisting of religious professions and vows which vary in the different orders, with which the dervish is introduced into the fraternity. II 164b

In the science of diplomatic, ~ was a supreme grade of appointment, which concerned only the highest officials. It has fallen into disuse since the time of the Fāṭimids. II 302b

In Christian Arabic, *al-ʿahd al-ʿatīḳ* is the term for the Old Testament, and *al-ʿahd al-djadīd* the term for the New Testament. I 255a

♦ ʿahdnāme (T) : in the Ottoman empire, the document drawn up to embody the covenant, *ʿahd*, made with a ḤARBĪ. The items in an ~ are called *ʿuhūd*, or *shurūṭ* (s. SHARṬ). III 1179b; treaty of dependence. IX 483b

aḥdab (A) : hunchback. I 161a

aḥdāth (A) : lit. young men; a kind of urban militia, whose function was that of a police, which played a considerable role in the cities of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th centuries. I 256a; I 1332b; II 963a; VIII 402a; arbitrary actions at odds with the divine Law. I 384a

In Ṣafawid Persia, the ~ were the night patrols in the cities, also called *gezme* and ʿASAS. I 687a

aḥfara → ITHTHAGHARA

ʿāhira (pl. *ʿawāhir*) → BAGHIYY

aḥḳāf (A) : the title of SŪRA xlvi of the Qur'ān; in geography, a term variously translated as 'curved sand dunes', the name of a sand desert in Southern Arabia, and the whole of al-Ramla or just its western half. I 257a

aḥkām (A, s. ḤUKM) : judicial decisions. I 257a; juridical and moral rules. IV 151b; astrological signs. VII 558a

♦ al-aḥkām al-khamsa (A) : in law, the 'five qualifications' (obligatory, recommended, indifferent, reprehensible, forbidden), by one or the other of which every act of man is qualified. I 257b; IX 324b; X 932a

♦ aḥkām al-nudjūm (A) : astrology (→ NADJM). VII 558a

♦ aḥkāmī (A), or *munadjdjim* : an astrologer who interprets the astrological signs. VII 558a

ahl (A, pl. *ahāl*) : family, inmates, people, meaning those dwelling in a defined area but not specifically a nation. I 257b; IV 785b; in the tribal structure of the Bedouin, ~ (syn. ĀL) denotes offspring up to the fifth degree. I 700b; in combinations, ~ often means 'sharing in a thing, belonging to it' or 'owner of the same'. I 257b; in its plural form, *al-ahālī* means the indigenous, autochthonous peoples. XI 175a

♦ ahl al-ʿabā' → AHL AL-BAYT

♦ ahl al-ʿahd (A) : non-Muslims living outside the Islamic state. The term was extended occasionally to both the MUSTA'MIN, the foreigner granted the right of living in Islamic territory for a limited period of time, and the DHIMMĪ. I 255b

♦ **ahl al-ahwā'** (A) : term applied by orthodox theologians to those followers of Islam whose religious tenets in certain details deviate from the general ordinances of the sunnī confession. I 257b

♦ **ahl al-(baḥth** wa 'l-)**naẓar** (A) : 'those who apply reasoning', a term probably coined by the Muʿtazila to denote themselves; later, it came to mean careful scholars who held a sound, well-reasoned opinion on any particular question. I 266a

♦ **ahl al-bayt** (A) : lit. the people of the house, viz. the family of the Prophet. The term has been interpreted variously; the current orthodox view is based on a harmonising opinion, according to which the term includes the *ahl al-ʿabā'* (the Prophet, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn) together with the wives of the Prophet. I 257b; II 843b; IX 331a; among the shīʿa, the ~ (which they call by preference *ʿitra*) is limited to the AHL AL-KISĀ' and their descendants. I 258a; IX 331a

♦ **ahl al-buyūtāt** (A) : those who belong to Persian families of the highest nobility; later, the nobles in general. I 258b

♦ **ahl al-dār** (A) : lit. the people of the house; the sixth order in the Almohad hierarchy. I 258b

♦ ahl al-daʿwa → MADHHAB

♦ ahl al-dhikr (A) : 'possessors of edification', a Qur'ānic term signifying witnesses of previous revelations. I 264a

♦ ahl al-dhimma → DHIMMA

♦ ahl al-djamāʿa (A) : lit. the people of the community, an alternative of the appellative *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa*, an early designation of one of the warring parties at Ṣiffīn, and one of the 73 factions into which the Islamic community will be divided and the only one which will eventually attain salvation. IX 880b

♦ ahl al-faḍl (A) : aristocrats, in contrast to the rude and untutored masses (*arādhil, sufahā', akhissā'*). IX 330a

♦ **ahl al-ḥadīth** (A), and *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* : the partisans of Traditions, ḤADĪTH; traditionists, as opposed to the AHL AL-RA'Y. I 258b

♦ **ahl al-ḥall wa 'l-ʿaḳd** (A) : 'those who are qualified to unbind and to bind'; term for the representatives of the Muslim community who act on its behalf in appointing and deposing a caliph or another ruler. I 263b

♦ ahl al-ḥarb → ḤARBĪ

♦ ahl al-ikhtiyār → IKHTIYĀR

♦ ahl al-ithbāt (A) : 'people of the firm proof'; an appellation for Ḍirār b. ʿAmr and his school by al-Ashʿarī. III 1037a; III 1144a

♦ ahl al-ithnayn → THANAWIYYA

♦ ahl al-kanīf (A) : the poor and needy members of a tribe. X 910a

♦ **ahl al-ḳibla** (A) : the people of the ḲIBLA, viz. the Muslims. I 264a

♦ **ahl al-kisā'** (A) : the people of the cloak, viz. the Prophet and his daughter Fāṭima, his son-in-law ʿAlī, and his grandsons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, whom the Prophet sheltered under his cloak. I 264a; IX 331a

♦ **ahl al-kitāb** (A) : lit. the people of the Book, viz. Jews and Christians, and later also extended to Sabeans, Zoroastrians and, in India, even idolaters. I 264b; IV 408b

♦ ahl al-ḳiyās (A) : the name given to the Muʿtazila by their adversaries. II 102b

♦ ahl al-kudya (A) : 'vagabonds', one of the numerous terms for 'rascals, scoundrels' in the mediaeval and modern periods. XI 546a

♦ ahl al-madar (A) : people who lived in mud-brick houses in Arabia at the rise of Islam. I 608b; V 585a

♦ ahl al-madhhab → MADHHAB

♦ ahl al-milla → MILLA

♦ ahl al-naṣṣ → IKHTIYĀR

♦ ahl al-naẓar → AHL AL-(BAḤTH WA 'L-)NAẒAR

♦ ahl al-ra'y (A), and *aṣḥāb al-ra'y* : partisans of personal opinion, as opposed to the traditionists, AHL AL-ḤADĪTH. I 692a

♦ **ahl al-ṣuffa** (A) : a group of the Prophet's Companions who typify the ideal of poverty and piety. I 266a

♦ **ahl al-sunna** (A) : the sunnīs, i.e. the orthodox Muslims. I 267a; III 846a; IV 142a; party of the orthodox traditionists. I 694a; I 1039b; and → AHL AL-DJAMĀʿA

♦ ahl al-ṭaraf → ḲABĪLĪ

♦ ahl al-taswiya (A) : in early Islam, advocates of equality between non-Arabs and Arabs. IX 514a

♦ ahl al-tathniya → THANAWIYYA

♦ ahl al-tawḥīd (A) : 'monotheists', the definition used by certain authors for the totality of Muslims, and by other groups, such as the Muʿtazila and the Almohads, for themselves. X 389a

♦ ahl al-wabar (A) : Bedouin living in tents of camel's-hair cloth in Arabia at the rise of Islam. I 608b; V 585a

♦ **ahl-i ḥadīth** (A) : a designation used in India and Pakistan for the members of a Muslim sect, who profess to hold the same views as the early AHL AL-ḤADĪTH and not be bound by any of the four sunnī legal schools. I 259a

♦ **ahl-i ḥaḳḳ** (A) : 'men of God', a secret religion prevalent mainly in western Persia. They are also called ʿAlī Ilāhī, but this is an unsuitable title. The central point in their dogma is the belief in the successive manifestations of God, the number of these being seven. I 260a

♦ **ahl-i wāris** (Mal, < P, < A) : inheritors, used among the Muslims of Indonesia. I 267a

♦ ahlī → WAḲF KHAYRĪ

♦ ahliyya (A) : a diploma from al-Azhar after a minimum of 8 years of study. I 818a; primary education, with *taḥṣīl* (secondary) and *ʿālimiyya* (higher) following. XI 490a

In law, the legal capacity of an individual to be a subject of the law, either a right-acquiring capacity, *ahliyyat wudjūb*, or an execution capacity, *ahliyyat idāʾ*. IX 248a; XI 208a; in Persian modern legal language, *ahliyyat* is used to mean nationality. IV 785b

aḥlāf (A, s. ḤILF) : a group formed by all but one of Zayd b. ʿAbd Allāh's descendants. X 173b

ahlīladj → HALĪLADJ

ahliyya(t) → AHL

aḥmāl (A) : one of two groups (*al-aḥmāl*) formed by the sons of Yarbūʿ b. Ḥanẓala, which was made up of four sons born by the same mother; three other sons formed a group called *al-ʿuḳad* (or *al-ʿuḳadāʾ*). X 173b

aḥmar (A) : the colour red, the colour for which Arabic terminology is the richest. V 700b, where many synonyms are given; and → ZAHR

aḥmas, aḥmasī, aḥmasiyya → ḤUMS

aḥnāf (A) : the characteristic of having misshapen feet. I 303b

āhū : gazelles, or deer, on the island of Samos. IX 679b

aḥwāḍ (A) : in agriculture, the small squares into which a field is divided, which the water reaches by channels. IV 683b

ʿāʾid → WUṢLA

ʿāʾila (A) : family, given way today mostly to *usra*. I 305b

āʾīn (P) : 'law, rite, institution', found in a title translated from Pahlawī into Arabic by Ibn Muḳaffaʿ in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, and in later titles on Persian Islamic history. I 306b

āḳ birčak → ĀḲ SAḲĀL

aḳ daryā → AḲ ṢU

āḳ sāḳāl (P) : 'grey-beard', the elder of a Shāhsewan group. Women elders were known as *āḳ birčak* 'grey hairs'. IX 224a

aḳ ṣu (T) : white water; as a technical term, ~ denotes the original bed of a river (syn. *aḳ daryā*). I 313b

āḳā → AGHA

'aḳaba (A, pl. *'iḳāb*) : a mountain road, or a place difficult of ascent on a hill or acclivity. The best-known place of this name is *al-'aḳaba*, between Minā and Mecca, where the ritual stone-throwing of the pilgrimage takes place. I 314b

'aḳāl (A), or *brīm* : ringed cord or rope to go over the headscarf worn by men. V 740b; X 611b

'aḳār (A) : in law, ~ denotes immovable property, such as houses, shops and land, and as such is identical with 'realty' or 'real property' (ant. *māl manḳūl*). The owner of ~ is also deemed to be the owner of anything on it, over it or under it, to any height or depth. XII 55a

'akawwak (A) : thick-set. I 315b

akbaba → NASR

aḳče (T) : 'small white', in numismatics, the name for the Ottoman silver coin referred to by European authors as *aspre* or *asper*. I 317b; II 119a; V 974a; VIII 978a

In Ottoman administration, taxes and dues (*rüsūm*, → RASM) which were paid in cash were often called ~. VIII 486a

'aḳd (A) : the legal act, especially that which involves a bi-lateral declaration, viz. the offer and the acceptance. I 318a

In the science of diplomatic, ~ is used for contract (syn. 'AHD, **mīthāḳ**), in particular a civil contract, often more clearly defined by an additional genitive, such as *'aḳd al-nikāḥ*, *'aḳd al-ṣulḥ*, etc. II 303a

In rhetoric, ~ 'binding' denotes the IḲTIBĀS when it is put into verse and its source is indicated. III 1091b

In archery, ~, or *ḳafla*, denotes the lock, locking, sc. the position on the bow-string of the fingers of the right hand, and especially that of the thumb in the 'Mongolian' technique of locking. IV 800b

In grammar, the nexus linking the two terms of the nominal and verbal phrases. IV 895b

In astronomy, ~ means node (syn. *'uḳda*), and it is often used, in combination with *ra's* and *dhanab*, instead of DJAWZAHAR to indicate the two opposite points in which the apparent path of the moon, or all planets, cuts the ecliptic. V 536a

akdar (A) : troubled, obscure; for some Muslim scholars, the origin of the name AKDARIYYA for a difficult question of law. I 320b

♦ **akdariyya** (A) : in law, the name of a well-known difficult question about inheritance, viz. whether a grandfather can exclude a sister from her inheritance in the case of a woman leaving behind as her heirs her husband, her mother, her grandfather, and her sister. I 320a

'akf (A) : a word used in the Qur'ān to designate the ceremonial worship of the cult and also the ritual stay in the sanctuary, which was done, for example, in the Meccan temple. VI 658a

akhawi (Touareg) : a woman's camel saddle, provided with semi-circular hoops attached to the side, used by the Touareg of the Sahara. III 667a

akhbār → KHABAR

♦ akhbārī (A) : an historian. XI 280b

♦ **akhbāriyya** (A) : in Twelver shī'ism, those who rely primarily on the Traditions, *akhbār*, of the IMĀMs as a source of religious knowledge, in contrast to the *uṣūliyya*, who admit a larger share of speculative reason in the principles of theology and religious law. XII 56b

akhḍar (A) : the colour green, an adjective also associated with the notion of darkness, since it sometimes denotes black, dark, grey. V 700b; and → ZAHR

akfānī → KAFAN

akhfash (A) : nyctalope, or devoid of eyelashes. I 321a

akhī (T < *aḳi* 'generous') : a designation of the leaders of associations of young men organised as guilds in Anatolia in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, who adopted the ideals of the FUTUWWA. I 321a; II 966b ff.; a Turkish trade guild. IX 646a; one of three grades in the ~ organisation, denoting the president of a corporation of *fityān* (s. FATĀ) and owner of a meeting-house, ZĀWIYA. I 322b; II 967b; one of nine categories in the trade guild, itself divided into six divisions: the first three divisions were *aṣḥāb-tark*, the experienced, and the last three, *naḳībler*, the inexperienced. IX 646a

ākhira (A) : the life to come, the condition of bliss or misery in the hereafter. I 325a

akhissāʾ → AHL AL-FAḌL

akhlafa (A) : a verb conveying the notion 'he [the child] passed the time when he had nearly attained to puberty'. VIII 822a

akhlāḳ (A, s. *khulūḳ* 'innate disposition') : in philosophy, ethics. I 325b

akhmās → TAKHMĪS

akhnif (A), or *khnīf* : a short Berber cape of black wool, woven in one piece, with a large red or orange medallion on the back, hooded for men, unhooded for women. II 1116a; V 745b

akhras (A) : mute. I 330b

akhriyān (< Gk *'agarīnós* 'Hagarene') : the self-designation, documented from 835/1432, by the Muslim Bulgarians living in the central Rhodoe between Nevrokop and Pazardžik, but having been adopted by the Ottomans to describe somewhat dubious converts in the Balkans in a pejorative sense, it fell out of use, to survive only as a Rumelian term. X 698b

ākhtabēgī → ĀKHŪRBEG

akhṭal (A) : loquacious. I 331a

akhtām (A, s. *khatm*) : in Tunisia, a ceremony stemming from Ḥafsid days of the 'closing' of public readings of the canonical collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim and of the *Shifāʾ* of al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, readings which finish on 27 Ramaḍān in the Great Mosque in the presence of the head of state himself. X 657a

ākhūnd (T, P) : a title given to scholars; in Persian it is current since Tīmūrid times in the sense of 'schoolmaster, tutor'. I 331b

ākhūr-sālār → SĀLĀR

ākhūrbeg (IndP) : under the Dihlī sultanate, the superintendent of the royal horses, there being one for each wing of the army. Under the Mughals, this officer was known as the *ātbēgī* or *ākhtabēgī*. V 689b

ʿaḳib (A) : in law, a descendant. A charitable endowment that was characterised as *muʿaḳḳab* 'for a descent group' was understood to apply to two or more generations of lineal descendants who qualified as beneficiaries simultaneously. XI 70b

In anatomy, the heel. XI 254b

ʿaḳīd (A) : a leader of a Bedouin raid. II 1055a; among the Jordanian tribes, in early modern times, a specific leader of raids at the side of the chief, known in full as ~ *al-ghazw*. IX 115b

In 19th-century Sudan, an imperial proconsul, a category of functionaries that differed from the older royal courtiers not only in the great diversity of their ethnic origin but also in that they were allowed to absent themselves for extended periods from the presence of the king. XI 11a

ʿaḳīda (A, pl. *ʿaḳāʾid*) : in theology, creed; doctrine, dogma or article of faith. I 332b; IV 279b

ʿaḳīḳ (A) : cornelian; the name has been transferred to any kind of necklace which is of a red colour. I 336a; VIII 269a

ʿaḳīḳa (A) : the name of the sacrifice on the seventh day after the birth of a child; also, the shorn hair of the child, which is part of the seventh-day ritual. I 337a; IV 488a; VIII 824b

ʿāḳil (A, pl. *ʿuḳḳāl*) : 'sage'; in law, *compos mentis*. IX 63a; and → ʿUḲALĀʾ AL-MADJĀNĪN

Among the Druze, a member initiated into the truths of the faith; those not yet initiated, yet members of the community, are called *djuhhāl* (→ DJĀHIL). II 633a

akila → IKLA

ʿāḳila (A, pl. *ʿawāḳil*) : in penal law, the group of persons upon whom devolves, as the result of a natural joint liability with the person who has committed homicide or inflicted bodily harm, the payment of compensation in cash or in kind, the DIYA. I 29a; I 337b

aḳïn → ZHIRAW

♦ **aḳïndji** (T) : irregular cavalry during the first centuries of the Ottoman empire, based on and primarily for service in Europe. I 340a

aḳiṭ (A) : sour-milk cheese, made by pre-Islamic Arabs. II 1057b; X 901a

akkār (A, < Ar; pl. *akara*) : lit. tiller, cultivator of the ground; term applied to the peasantry of Aramaean stock in Syria and Iraq with a pejorative sense. XII 58b

ʿaḳḳār → AFĀWĪH

ʿaḳl (A) : reason; intellect or intelligence. I 341b; IV 157a

In neoplatonic speculation, ~ is the first, sometimes the second, entity which emanates from the divinity as the first cause, or proceeds from it by means of intellectual creation. I 341b

In scholastic theology, ~ is a natural way of knowing, independently of the authority of the revelation, what is right and wrong. I 341b

To the philosophers of Islam, who followed Aristotle and his Greek commentators, more especially Alexander of Aphrodisias, ~ is that part of the soul by which it 'thinks' or 'knows' and as such is the antithesis of perception. The Muslim philosophers recognised a hierarchy of separate intelligences (*ʿuḳūl mufāriḳa*), usually ten in number, each lower one emanating from the higher. I 341b

In penal law, ~ (pl. *ʿuḳūl*) is the compensation in cash or in kind required by the ʿĀḲILA in cases of homicide or instances of bodily harm. I 338a; and → DIYA

In prosody, a deviation from the proper metre, in particular a missing *la* in the foot *mufāʿa[la]tun*. I 672a; a case of ZIḤĀF where the fifth vowel is elided. XI 508b

In Druze hierarchy, the highest of the five cosmic ranks in the organisation. II 632a

♦ al-ʿaḳl al-awwal (A) : in ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī's mystical thought, the Universal Reason, which proceeds by a dynamic emanation from God. This is a spiritual substance and the first of the properties which the divine essence implies. I 89b

♦ **ʿaḳliyyāt** (A) : a technical term in scholastic theology, signifying the rational (and natural) knowledge which the reason can acquire by itself. According to the Muʿtazilī tradition and Saʿadya al-Fayyūmī, ~ denotes that which is accessible to the reason and especially, on the ethical level, the natural values of law and morals. The term also denotes a genus of theological dissertations, going back to the 6th/12th century. I 342b

aḳlaf → ALKHAN

aḳlām → ḲALAM

aklat al-maḥabba (A) : a feast-day meal among the Ṣārliyya in northern Iraq, once every lunar year, to which everyone contributed a cock boiled with rice or wheat. IX 64a

aḳligh → MUṢAFFAḤĀT

aḳraʿ (A) : bald. I 343a

ʿaḳrab (A, pl. *ʿaḳārib*) : in zoology, the scorpion. I 343b
In astronomy, *al-~* is the term for Scorpius, one of the twelve zodiacal constellations. I 343b; VII 83b

aḳrābādhīn (A, < Syr) : a title of treatises on the composition of drugs; pharmacopoeias. I 344a

aḳsaḳal : in traditional Özbeg society, the respected older headman of a village, who mediated disputes. VIII 233b

aḳsimā : a term usually translated as 'liquid, syrup', but, since one of the recipes mentions the presence of yeast among the ingredients of this drink, it must presumably be a variety of sweetened beer such as FUḲḲĀʿ. VI 721b; IX 225a

aḳūniṭun (A, < Gk) : in medicine, a particularly deadly poison originating from a plant root. Synonyms are *khāniḳ al-nimr, khāniḳ al-dhiʾb, ḳātil al-nimr, nabbāl,* and *bīsh*. XII 59b

aḳwāl (A, B *agwāl, gullāl*) : a goblet-shaped drum, about 60 cm long, still to be found in the Maghrib. In Tripolitania, a similar instrument called the *tabdaba* is used. X 33a

āl (A) : a clan, a genealogical group between the family and the tribe. Later, ~ came to mean the dynasty of a ruler. I 345b; a demon who attacks women in childbed, a personification of puerperal fever. I 345b; in Persian administration, a royal seal. XI 192b; and → AHL; SARĀB

āla (A, pl. *ālāt*) : an instrument, utensil.
In grammar, ~ is found in expressions as *ālat al-*TAʿRĪF, instrument of determination, and *ālat al-tashbīh*, instrument of comparison. I 345b
In the classification of sciences, *ālāt* is the name of such attainments as are acquired not for their own sake, but 'as a means to something else'. I 345b
In philosophy, ~ is another term for logic, following the peripatetic view that it is an instrument, not a part, of philosophy. I 345a
For ~ in Moroccan music, → GHINĀʾ

aʿlā (A) : higher; *al-aʿlā* is used as an epithet to differentiate between the patron and the client, when both are referred to as MAWLĀ. I 30b

alaaqad (Somali) : in Somali society, a woman specialist who relieves people of spirits through the performance of a ritual. IX 723b

ālaba (A) : a geographical term used to denote the northern part of the Iberian peninsula beyond the left bank of the upper valley of the Ebro. I 348b
♦ **ālaba wa 'l-ḳilāʿ** (A) : a geographical expression used in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries to denote that part of Christian Spain which was most exposed to the attacks of summer expeditions sent from Cordoba by the Umayyad AMĪRs. I 348b

alābālghā (A) : the trout. VIII 1021a

ālāčigh (P) : the dwelling of the Shāhsewan in Persia, which is hemispherical and felt-covered; within each one lives a household of on average seven or eight people. IX 223b

aladja (T) : chintz with coloured stripes; used in many geographical names. I 348b; V 560a ff.

ʿalaf (A) : fodder. XI 412a; and → ʿULŪFE

ʿalam (A, pl. *aʿlām*) : signpost, flag (syn. LIWĀʾ, RĀYA). I 349a
♦ ʿalamdār → SANDJAḲDĀR
♦ ʿalem-i nebewī → SANDJAḲ-I SHERĪF

ʿālam (A, pl. *ʿālamūn, ʿawālim*) : world. I 349b
♦ ʿālam al-djabarūt (A) : 'the world of (divine) omnipotence', BARZAKH, to which belong, according to al-Ghazālī, the impressionable and imaginative faculties of the human soul. I 351a

♦ 'ālam al-malakūt (A) : a Qur'ānic term for 'the world of Kingdom, of Sovereignty', the world of immutable spiritual truths, and hence of the angelic beings, to which are added all of Islamic tradition, the Preserved Table, the Pen, the Scales, and often the Qur'ān. I 351a

♦ 'ālam al-mulk (A) : a Qur'ānic term meaning 'the world of kingship', i.e. the world of becoming, the world here below. I 351a

'alāma (A, T *'alāmet*) : emblem, presented by early Islamic rulers to their close pages as a sign of honour. VIII 432b

In the science of diplomatic, the signature of the person drawing up the document, part of the concluding protocol in the classical period. II 302a; X 392b

In the Muslim West, a mark of ratification or initialling, on all official chancery documents. I 352a; the formula of authorisation (*wa 'l-ḥamdu li-llāhi waḥdah*), written in large lettering at the head of despatches and commissions. II 331b

For ~ in dating, → MADKHAL

ālāp (H) : the introductory improvisation, the first part in a performance of classical or art music of India. III 454a

'alas (A) : in agriculture, a variety of wheat. II 1060b

ālāt → ĀLA

'alath (A) : in botany, the wild endive (*hindibā' barrī*), known under a variety of names: *ghalath, ya'dīd, bakla murra*, ṬARKHASHKŪK and variants. XII 370b

alay (T, prob. < Gk *allagion*) : in Ottoman usage, a troop, a parade, and hence a crowd, a large quantity. It was used from the time of the 19th-century military reforms to denote a regiment. I 358a

♦ alay-beyi → ZA'ĪM

'alāya (A) : in Oman, the upper quarter of a wadi or water channel, frequently occupied by a tribe in traditional rivalry with another tribe occupying the lower quarter, *sifāla*. XII 818a

albasti : in Özbeg folk tradition, a witch-like DJINN. VIII 234b

'alem → 'ALAM

alif → HAMZA

♦ alif al-ḳaṭ' → ḲAṬ'

♦ alif maḳṣūra (A) : a long *ā* not followed by HAMZA. XI 222a

'ālim → FAḲĪH; 'ULAMĀ'

♦ **'ālima** (A, pl. *'awālim*) : lit. a learned, expert woman, ~ is the name of a class of Egyptian female singers forming a sort of guild, according to sources of the 18th and 19th centuries. I 403b

♦ 'ālimiyya → AHLIYYA

'āliya (A, pl. *'awālī*) : grand master, the highest rank in the game of chess. IX 367a

aljamía (Sp, < A *al-'adjamiyya* 'non-Arabic') : the name used by the Muslims of Muslim Spain to denote the Romance dialects of their neighbours in the north of the Iberian peninsula. In the later Middle Ages, ~ acquired the particular meaning which is attributed to it today: a Hispanic Romance language written in Arabic characters. The literature in ~ is termed *aljamiada*. I 404b

alkhan (A) : a term for 'uncircumcised' in the ancient language (syn. *aḳlaf, aghlaf, aghral*). V 20a

allāh (A) : God, the Unique One, the Creator; already to the pre-Islamic Arabs, ~ was one of the Meccan deities, possibly the supreme deity. I 406a

♦ **allāhumma** (A) : an old formula of invocation, used in praying, offering, concluding a treaty and blessing or cursing. I 418a

'alma → GHĀZIYA

almās (A, < Gk) : in mineralogy, the diamond. I 419a

almogávares (Sp, < A *al-mughāwir*) : the name given at the end of the Middle Ages to certain contingents of mercenaries levied from among the mountaineers of Aragon. I 419b

alp (T) : 'hero', a figure which played a great role in the warlike ancient Turkish society (syn. *batur* (→ BAHĀDUR), *sökmen, čapar*); used also as an element in compound proper names or as a title by Saldjūk and subsequent rulers. I 419b

altin (T), or *altun* : in mineralogy, gold, also used of gold coins. I 423b

ālū-yi malkum (P) : lit. plums of Malcolm; potatoes, introduced into Persia in the 18th century, called after Sir John Malcolm the British envoy, who is commonly but probably erroneously thought to have brought them. XII 610b

aluka → MAʾLUKA

āluwī (A, < Gk) : the aloe drug, i.e. the juice pressed from the leaves of the aloe. VIII 687b

alwān (A) : in music, a lute with a long neck and plucked strings. VI 215b

alya (A) : the fat tail of a sheep. II 1057b; XII 318a

ama → ʿABD

ʿamā (A) : in the mystical thought of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī, the simple hidden pure Essence before its manifestation, one of the important scales or 'descents' in which Absolute Being develops. I 71a

āmad (U) : in Urdu poetry, the part of the elegy, MARTHIYA, where the army's preparation for battle is described, sometimes including a detailed description of the hero's horse. VI 611b

ʿamal (A) : performance, action. I 427a; II 898a; 'that which is practised', the moral action in its practical context and, secondarily, the practical domain of 'acting'. I 427b

In law, ~ is judicial practice. I 427b

As a legal and economic term, ~ denotes labour, as opposed to capital. I 428a

In later Muslim administration, ~ means 'fief'. IX 153b; region. IX 739a

♦ ʿamal bi 'l-yad (A), or *ʿamal al-yad* : in medicine, the early expression for surgery, later replaced by *djirāḥa*. II 481b

♦ ʿilm ʿamalī → ʿILM

♦ ʿamaliyya (A) : the practical sciences, viz. ethics, economics and politics, as determined by the philosophers. I 427b

ʿamāla (A) : an administrative allowance, e.g. that given to an AMĪR. I 439a

ʿamāma → ʿIMĀMA

amān (A) : safety, protection.

In law, a safe conduct or pledge of security by which a non-Muslim not living in Muslim territory becomes protected by the sanctions of the law in his life and property for a limited period. I 429a; II 303b; III 1181b; and → IDHN

ʿamār al-dam (A) : among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica and the Western Desert of Egypt, the vengeance group, which also functions as a blood-money group. Among the Aḥaywāt Bedouin of central Sinai and their neighbours, the vengeance and blood-money group is called a *damawiyya* or *khamsih*. X 442b f.

amarg → ṬARAB

ʿamārī → HAWDA

amazzal (B), and *amzyad, amḥaz, amḥars, awrith* : an institution concerning an individual, occurring in the case of a stranger to the group who, usually after committing some offence in his own clan, has imposed the ʿĀR 'transfer of responsibility', and obtained the protection of another group which he makes henceforward the beneficiary of his work. The stranger becomes ~ when his protector has given to him in marriage his own daughter or another woman over whom he holds the right of DJABR. XII 79b

'amd (A) : in law, an intentional act; one that is quasi-deliberate is called *shibh* (→ SHUBHA) *'amd.* II 341a; IV 768b; IV 1101b

āmeddji (T, < P *āmad*) : an official of the central administration of the Ottoman empire, who headed the personal staff of the RE'ĪS ÜL-KÜTTĀB 'chief Secretary'. The office seems to have come into being later than the 17th century and increased in importance after the reforms. I 433a; II 339a; referendar or reporter of the Imperial Dīwān. VIII 481b

aménokal (B) : any political leader not subordinate to anyone else. The title is applied to foreign rulers, to high-ranking European leaders, and to the male members of certain noble families; in some regions of the Sahara, ~ is also given to the chiefs of small tribal groups. I 433b; X 379a

amghar (B) : an elder (by virtue of age or authority); ~ is used for different functions among the various Berber tribes. I 433b; X 379a

amḥars → AMAZZAL

amḥaz → AMAZZAL

'amīd (A) : lit. pillar, support; a title of high officials of the Sāmānid-Ghaznawid administration, denoting the rank of the class of officials from whom the civil governors were recruited. I 434a; under the Saldjūḳs, an official in charge of civil and financial matters. VI 275a; a designation for the tribal chief (syn. *'imād*). IX 115b

'āmil (A, pl. *'ummāl, 'awāmil*) : a Muslim who performs the works demanded by his faith; as technical term, it came to denote tax-collector, government agent; (provincial) governor [in North Africa and Spain] in charge of the general administration and finance. I 435a; financial administrator. I 19b

In law, the active partner in a MUḌĀRABA partnership. I 435a

Among the Bohorās sect in India, ~ denotes a local officiant appointed by the head of the sect to serve the community in respect of marriage and death ceremonies, and ritual prayer. I 1255a

In grammar, ~ signifies a *regens*, a word which, by the syntactical influence which it exercises on a word that follows, causes a grammatical alteration of the last syllable of the latter. I 436a; IX 360a; IX 527b

♦ 'awāmil al-asmā' (A) : in grammar, the particles governing nouns. III 550a

amīn (A) : safe, secure; with the more frequent form *āmīn*, a confirmation or corroboration of prayers, Amen. I 436b; (pl. *umanā'*) trustworthy; an overseer, administrator. I 437a; VIII 270b

As a technical term, ~ denotes the holders of various positions 'of trust', particularly those whose functions entail economic or financial responsibility. I 437a; and → EMĪN

In law, ~ denotes legal representatives. I 437a

In the Muslim West, ~ carried the technical meaning of head of a trade guild, which in the East was called 'ARĪF. I 437a

♦ amīn al-'āṣima (A) : the chairmen of the municipalities of Damascus, Beirut, Baghdad and Amman, thus called in order to emphasise their particular importance in relation to the seat of the government; elsewhere in the Arab East, the original designation, *ra'īs al-baladiyya*, is retained. I 975b

♦ amīn al-ḥukm (A) : the officer in charge of the administration of the effects of orphan minors (under the early 'Abbāsids). I 437a

amīr (A, pl. *umarā'*; T *emīr*) : commander, governor, prince. I 438b; a person invested with command (AMR), and more especially military command. I 445a; III 45b; IV 941 ff.

♦ **amīr ākhūr** (A) : the supervisor of the royal stables. I 442b; IV 217b; and → MĪR-ĀKHŪR

♦ **amīr dād** (P) : the minister of justice under the Saldjūḳs. I 443b

♦ amīr ḏjāndār (< P) : in Mamlūk Egypt, 'Marshal of the Court', under whose command the RIKĀBDĀR 'groom' was. VIII 530a
♦ amīr al-ḏjuyūsh (A) : the commander-in-chief of the army. XI 188a
♦ **amīr al-ḥaḏjḏj** (A) : the leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca. I 443b
♦ **al-amīr al-kabīr**, or amīr kabīr → ATABAK
♦ **amīr maḏjlis** (A) : the master of audiences or ceremonies. Under the Salḏjūḳs of Asia Minor, the ~ was one of the highest dignitaries. Under the Mamlūks, the ~ had charge of the physicians, oculists and the like. I 445a
♦ **amīr al-muʾminīn** (A) : lit. the commander of the believers; adopted by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb on his election as caliph, the title ~ was employed exclusively as the protocollary title of a caliph until the end of the caliphate as an institution. I 445a
♦ **amīr al-muslimīn** (A) : lit. commander of the Muslims; title which the Almoravids first assumed. I 445b
♦ amīr shikār (A) : an institution, first known as *amīr al-ṣayd* 'master of the chases', established by the Umayyads. I 1152a
♦ **amīr silāḥ** (A) : the grand master of the armour. Under the Mamlūks, the ~ was in charge of the armour-bearers and supervised the arsenal. I 445b
♦ **amīr al-umarāʾ** (A) : the commander-in-chief of the army. I 446a; II 507b
♦ amīrī (A) : a cotton product from Khʷārazm that enjoyed a great reputation. V 555a
♦ al-umarāʾ al-muṭawwaḳūn → ṢĀḤIB AL-BĀB

ʿāmir → DĀYMAN

amlaḏj (A) : in botany, the fruit of the *Phyllanthus emblica*, which was useful against haemorrhoids. The Arabs and Europeans in the Middle Ages mistook it for a myrobalanus. XII 349b

ʿamlūḳ (A) : the offspring of a DJINN and a woman. III 454b

ʿamm (A, pl. *aʿmām*) : paternal uncle. IV 916b
♦ ʿamm waḍḍāḥ (A) : a child's game described as searching (in the dark) for a very white bone tossed far away, with the finder being allowed to ride upon his playmates. The Prophet is said to have engaged in this as a child. V 615b

āmma (A), or *maʾmūma* : a wound penetrating the brain; a determining factor in the prescription of compensation following upon physical injury, DIYA. II 341b

ʿāmma (A, pl. *ʿawāmm*) : the plebs, common people. I 491a; I 900a ff.; IV 1098a; V 605b; and → KHĀṢṢ
♦ ʿāmmī (A) : one who is secular in religious matters. IX 185b; among the Twelver Uṣūliyya, a lay believer. VIII 777b; one not trained in the law. IX 324b
♦ ʿāmmiyya (A) : a revolt among the common people. IX 270b

amr (A) : as Qurʾānic and religious term, divine command. I 449a
For ~ in Ottoman Turkish, → EMR

amrad (A) : a handsome, beardless youth. XI 126b; XII 598a

ʿ**amūd** (A, pl. *ʿumdān*) : a tent pole; a monolithic column and capital; a constructed pillar. I 457b; IV 1148a; the main stream of a river, in particular the Nile, as distinguished from the minor branches and the canals. VIII 38a
♦ ʿamūd al-ḳaṣīda → MUSAMMAṬ

amzwār → MIZWĀR

amzyad → AMAZZAL

ānā : originally, an Indian money of account, a sixteenth share, one rupee being 16 ~. Later, the name was given to an actual coin. VI 121b

ʿāna → ISTIḤDĀD

ʿanāʾ → DJALSA; KIRĀʾ MUʾABBAD

ʿanāḍīl (A) : a despised class of workmen, including such professions as barber, butcher, cupper, etc. IV 819b

ʿanāḳ (A) : in zoology, ~ or *ʿanāḳ al-arḍ* denotes a kind of lynx, the caracal (< T *ḳaraḳulaḳ*). I 481a; II 739b; IX 98b; X 224a; and → SAKHLA
In astronomy, *ʿanāḳ al-arḍ* is γ Andromedae and *ʿanāḳ al-banāt* is the ζ of the Great Bear. I 481a
anayasa → ḲĀNŪN-I ESĀSĪ
ʿanaza (A) : a short spear or staff, syn. *ḥarba*. I 482a; XII 735b; and → KARKADDAN
In North Africa, ~ survives as an architectural term signifying an external MIḤRĀB for those praying in the court of the mosque. I 482a
anbā (A) : in al-Buraymī in Arabia, the term for mangoe (syn. *hanb*). I 540b; in India, a kind of sweet lemon, the fruit of which is salted while still green. VII 962b
ʿanbar (A) : ambergris (*ambra grisea*), a substance of sweet musk-like smell, easily fusible and burning with a bright flame, highly valued in the East as a perfume and medicine. I 484a; a large fish, also called *bāl*, which swallows a form of ambergris called *al-mablūʿ* 'swallowed ambergris' or 'fish-ambergris', which floats on the sea; the sperm-whale. I 484a; VIII 1022b
♦ ʿanbar shiḥrī (A) : ambergris. IX 439a
anbata (A) : a verb which conveys the meaning 'his [a boy's] hair of the pubes grew forth, he having nearly attained the age of puberty'. VIII 822a
anbīḳ (A, < Gk) : in alchemy, the part known as the 'head' or 'cap' of the distilling apparatus (syn. *raʾs*); also, the additional faucet-pipe which fits onto the 'cap'. I 486a
ʿandam → BAḲḲAM
andargāh (P, A *mustaraḳa* 'stolen') : epagomenae, the five odd days added at the end of the Persian year as intercalary days. II 398a; generally known in Persian as the 'five Gāthās (*pandj gāh*) or 'stolen' (*duzdīdha*) days. X 261b; also known as *lawāḥiḳ* 'appendages'. X 267a
andarz (P) : wisdom literature. X 231a
andjudhān → ḤILTĪT
andjuman (P, T *endjümen*) : meeting, assembly, army. I 505a; for its modern use → DJAMʿIYYA
anf (A) : in music, the nut of the ʿŪD. X 769b
anfiya → SUʿŪṬ
anflūs → MIZWĀR
anghām (A, s. *naghm*) : in music, musical modes. IX 101a
angusht (P) : fingerbreadth; a unit of measurement under the Mughals which was standardised at 2.032 cm by the emperor Akbar at the end of the 10th/16th century. II 232a
angusṭ : in zoology, the crawfish, spiny lobster (*Palinarus vulgaris*), also known as *ankūsh*. IX 40a, where many more synonyms are given
angūza (Pash), or *hing* : in botany, term for the *Ferula assafoetida*, very abundant in Afghanistan. I 223a
ʿanḳāʾ (A) : a fabulous bird approximating the phoenix, in all likelihood a type of heron. I 509a
In music, an ancient instrument described as having open strings of different lengths but identically situated bridges. The name suggests a long-necked instrument, probably a trapezoidal psaltery, one species of which was known later as the ḲĀNŪN. VII 191a
ʿankabūt (A) : spider. I 509a; and → SAMAK ʿANKABŪT
In astronomy, a movable part on the front of the astrolabe. I 723a
anḳad (A) : a generic name for the tortoise and the hedgehog. V 389b
anḳalīs (A, L *Anquilla*) : the eel. VIII 1021a
ankūsh → ANGUSṬ
anmāṭ (A) : large carpets with fringes, said in a Tradition to have been the subject of considerable expenditure by the Prophet for a wedding. X 900a

anniyya (A) : an abstract term formed to translate the Aristotelian term τὸ ὅτι 'thatness' of a thing (syn. *al-anna*); ~ is also used for non-existential beirig. I 513b

anṣāb → NUṢUB

anṣār (A) : 'helpers'; those men of Medina who supported Muḥammad. I 514a

ʿansāra (A) : the name of a festival. Among the Copts, ~ is the name for Pentecost, while in North Africa, ~ denotes the festival of the summer solstice. I 515a

ans̲h̲ūyah (A, < Sp *anchoa*), or *and̲j̲ūyah* : in zoology, the anchovy (*Engraulis boelema*). VIII 1021a, where many synonyms are found

ʿantarī (A) : in Egypt, a story-teller who narrates the Romance of ʿAntar. I 522a; (< T) a short garment worn under the ḲAFṬĀN; a lined vest ranging from short to knee length, worn by women. I 522a; V 740b

anwāʾ (A, s. *nawʾ*) : a system of computation based on the acronychal setting and helical rising of a series of stars or constellations. I 523a; VIII 98a; VIII 734a

ʿanz (A), or *ṣafiyya* : a one-year old female goat, called thereafter, progressively, *t̲h̲anī, rabāʿī, sadīs* and, after seven years, *ṣālig̲h̲*. XII 319a

anzarūt (A) : in botany, a gum-resin from a thorn-bush which cannot be identified with certainty. It was used for medical purposes. XII 77b, where synonyms are found

āpa : 'older sister', an important term in Özbeg kinship terminologies. VIII 234a

apadāna (MidP) : in architecture, a hypostile audience-hall of the Persian kings. I 609b f.

ʿār (A) : shame, opprobrium, dishonour. XII 78a

In North Africa, ~ presupposes a transfer of responsibility and of obligation, arriving at a sense of 'protection' for the suppliant, in default of which dishonour falls on the supplicatee, who is obliged to give satisfaction to the suppliant. The most simple transfer is by saying *ʿār ʿalīk* 'the ~ on you', and making a material contact with the person to whom the appeal is made, for example touching the edge of his turban or laying one's hand on him or his mount. ~ is also used towards saints, to whom sacrifices are offered to obtain their intercession. III 396a; XII 78a

ʿarab (A) : Bedouins; Arabs. The tribes that were the first to speak Arabic after the confusion of the tongues at Babel are known as *al-ʿarab al-ʿāriba*, in contradistinction to *al-ʿarab al-*MUTAʿARRIBA (sometimes *al-mustaʿriba*), referring to the descendants of Ismāʿīl who learned Arabic by settling among the 'true' Arabs. X 359b

♦ al-ʿarab al-bāʾida (A) : the legendary extinct tribes of the Arabs. X 359a; XI 5a; XI 461a

♦ ʿarabī → ḲAṬĀ; for ~ (ḥaḍramī), → SUḲUṬRĪ

♦ **ʿarabiyya** (A) : the Arabic language. I 561b; and → ʿARABA

ʿaraba (T, < A ʿARRĀDA), or *ʿarabiyya* : a cart, introduced into Mamlūk Egypt. Its name supplanted ʿAD̲J̲ALA in popular use as a generic term for carriage. I 205b; I 556b

♦ ʿaraba pāzārī (T) : in certain Rumelian towns under the Ottomans, a market presumably located on the outskirts of the town or along a major road. IX 797a

♦ ʿarabiyyat ḥanṭūr (Egy, < Hun *hintó*), and *ʿarabiyyat kārrō* (< It *carro*) : a cab. I 206a

ʿaraḍ (A, pl. *aʿrāḍ*) : the translation of the Aristotelian term συμβεβηκός 'accident', denoting 1) that which cannot subsist by itself but only in a substance of which it is both the opposite and the complement, and 2) an attribute which is not a constituent element of an essence. I 128b; I 603b

arād̲h̲il → AHL AL-FAḌL

aʿrad̲j̲ → ʿARD̲J̲Ā

aʿrāf (A, s. *ʿurf*) : 'elevated places'; a term used in the Qurʾān, in an eschatological judgement scene, and interpreted as 'Limbo'. I 603b

ʿarāʾis̲h̲ (A) : brushwood huts, in Western Arabia. I 106b; trellises of grape vines. I 604b

araḳ (A) : in medicine, insomnia. XI 563a

arāk → KABĀT̲H̲

ʿarak (A) : wine made from the grape. VI 814b
ʿarakčīn → ʿARAKIYYA
ʿarakiyya (A) : a skull cap, often embroidered, worn by both sexes by itself or under the head-dress in the Arab East; called *ʿarakčīn* in ʿIrāk. A synonym on the Arabian peninsula is *maʿraka*. V 740b ff.; X 611b; in the Turkish Kādirī dervish order, a small felt cap which the candidate for admission to the order brought after a year and to which the SHAYKH attached a rose of 18 sections; the cap is then called *tādj*. IV 382b; in earlier times in Syria ~ was a sugar cone-shaped cap adorned with pearls worn by women. X 611b
arandj (A) : a cotton product from Khʷārazm that enjoyed a great reputation. V 555a
ʿaraṣa (A) : in Mamlūk times, an open unroofed space used e.g. for storing cereals. IX 793b
ārāsta → PASAZH
arbaʿīniyya → ČILLA
arbaʿūn (A) : forty.
arbaʿūn ḥadīthan (A, T *kirk ḥadīth*, P *čihil ḥadīth*) : a genre of literary and religious works centred around 40 Traditions of the Prophet. XII 82b
arḍ (A) : earth, land.
♦ arḍ amīriyya (A) : in law, land to which the original title belongs to the State, while its exploitation can be conceded to individuals. II 900b
♦ arḍ madhūna (A) : an expression occasionally heard in Saudi Arabia which is used to distinguish the sands of al-Dahnā' from those of al-Nafūd, the colour of which is said to be a lighter shade of red; ~ is also equated with *arḍ mundahina* 'land only lightly or superficially moistened by rain'. II 93a
♦ arḍ mamlūka (A) : in law, land to which there is a right of ownership. II 900b
♦ arḍ matrūka → MATRŪK
♦ arḍ mawāt → MAWĀT
♦ arḍ mawkūfa (A) : in law, land set aside for the benefit of a religious endowment. II 900b
♦ arḍ mundahina → ARḌ MADHŪNA
ʿarḍ (A) : review of an army or troops. I 24a; petition. IX 209a; and → ISTIʿRĀḌ
In astronomy, planetary latitude. XI 504a
♦ **ʿarḍ ḥāl** (T) : petition, used in the Ottoman empire. I 625a
♦ ʿarḍ odasi (T) : in Ottoman palace architecture, the audience hall. IX 46b
ʿardjā (A) : lame; in prosody, ~ is used to designate the unrhymed line inserted between the third line and the last line of a monorhyme quatrain, RUBĀʿĪ. The composition is then called *aʿradj*. VI 868a
ardjawān (< P ?) : a loan-word in Arabic, the colour purple. V 699b
arəkkas (Kabyle, < A RAKKĀṢ) : a simple contrivance of a water-mill made from a pin fixed on a small stick floating above the moving mill-stone; this pin, fixed to the trough containing grain, transmits a vibration to it which ensures the regular feeding of the grain into the mouth of the mill. VIII 415b
argan (B) : in botany, the argan-tree (*argania spinosa* or *argania sideroxylon*), growing on the southern coast of Morocco. I 627b
arghūl (A) : a type of double reed-pipe which has only one pipe pierced with finger-holes, while the other serves as a drone. The drone pipe is normally longer than the chanter pipe. When the two pipes are of equal length, it is known as the ZUMMĀRA. The ~ is played with single beating reeds. The drone pipe is furnished with additional tubes which are fixed to lower the pitch. In Syria, the smaller type of ~ is called the *mashūra*. VII 208a
ʿāriḍ (A, pl. *ʿurrāḍ*) : the official charged with the mustering, passing in review and inspection of troops. III 196a; IV 265a ff.

♦ ʿāriḍ-i mamālik (IndP) : the head of the military administration in Muslim India. He was also known as *ṣāḥib-i dīwān-i ʿarḍ*. The Mughal name was *mīr bakhshī*. As a minister, he was second only to the WAZĪR. He was the principal recruiting officer for the sultan's standing army; he inspected the armaments and horses of the cavalry at least once a year, kept their descriptive rolls, and recommended promotions or punishments accordingly. The ~ was also responsible for the internal organisation and the discipline of the standing army and the commissariat. V 685b

ʿarīḍ → ʿATŪD

♦ ʿarīḍa (A) : a subtraction register, for those categories where the difference between two figures needs to be shown. It is arranged in three columns, with the result in the third. II 78b

ʿārif → ṢŪFĪ

ʿarīf (A, pl. *ʿurafāʾ*) : lit. one who knows; a gnostic. IV 326a; as a technical term, applied to holders of certain military or civil offices in the early and mediaeval periods, based on competence in customary matters, *ʿurf*. I 629a

In education, a senior pupil, monitor, who aided the teacher in primary schools. V 568a

In the Muslim East, ~ was used for the head of the guild. I 629b

In Oman and trucial Oman, ~ is the official in charge of the water distribution. IV 532a

Among the Ibāḍiyya, the plural form *ʿurafāʾ* are experts (inspectors, ushers) appointed by the assistant of the SHAYKH, *khalīfa*. One of them supervised the collective recitation of the Qurʾān, another took charge of the communal meals, and others were responsible for the students' education, etc. III 96a

arīka → MINAṢṢA

ʿarīsh (A), and *ʿarsh* : in pre-Islamic Arabia, a simple shelter. IV 1147a

ʿariyya (A, pl. *ʿarāyā*) : in law, fresh dates on trees intended to be eaten, which it is permitted to exchange in small quantities for dried dates. VIII 492a

ʿāriyya (A) : in law, the loan of non-fungible objects, distinguished as a separate contract from the loan of money or other fungible objects. ~ is defined as putting someone temporarily and gratuitously in possession of the use of a thing, the substance of which is not consumed by its use. I 633a; VIII 900a

ark (P) : citadel. X 484b

arkān → RUKN

arkh → FAZZ

arma (Songhay, < A *rumāt* 'arquebusiers') : a social class made up of the descendants of the BĀSHĀs who in the early 19th century maintained a weak state around the Niger river with their headquarters at Timbuktu. X 508b

armatolik (T) : an autonomous enclave, institutionalised on Greek territories in the Ottoman empire due to gradually deteriorating conditions of banditry. X 421a

arnab (A, pl. *arānib*) : in zoology, the hare. XII 85b

In astronomy, ~ is the Hare constellation found beneath the left foot of Orion, the legendary hunter. XII 85b

For in anatomy, → ARNABA

♦ arnab baḥrī (A) : in zoology, the term for *aplysia depilans*, a nudibranch mollusc of the order of *isthobranchia*, found widely in the sea. XII 85b

♦ arnaba (A) : in anatomy, the tip (e.g. of the nose, *arnabat al-anf*). V 769a

In music, ~, or *rabāb turkī*, is a pear-shaped viol with three strings, which in Turkey appears to have been adopted from the Greeks, possibly in the 17th century, and which plays a prominent part in concert music today. VIII 348a

arpa (T) : barley. I 658a

♦ arpa tanesi (T) : a barley grain, used under the Ottomans to denote both a weight (approximately 35.3 milligrams) and a measure (less than a quarter of an inch). I 658a

♦ **arpalik** (T) : barley money, used under the Ottomans up to the beginning of the 19th century to denote an allowance made to the principal civil, military and religious officers of state, either in addition to their salary when in office, or as a pension on retirement, or as an indemnity for unemployment. In the beginning it corresponded to an indemnity for fodder of animals, paid to those who maintained forces of cavalry or had to look after the horses. I 658a

ʿarrāda (A) : a light mediaeval artillery siege engine, from which the projectile was discharged by the impact of a shaft forcibly impelled by the release of a rope. I 556b; I 658b; III 469b ff.; and → MANDJANĪḲ

ʿarrāf (A) : eminent in knowledge, a professional knower; a diviner, generally occupying a lower rank than the KĀHIN in the hierarchy of seers. I 659b; IV 421b

arrang (A, < Sp *arenque*), or *ranga, ranka* : in zoology, the herring. VIII 1021a

arsh (A) : in law, the compensation payable in the case of offences against the body; compensation in cases of homicide is termed DIYA. II 340b

ʿarsh (A) : throne of God. V 509a; in North African dialects, 'tribe', 'agnatic group', 'federation'. I 661a; IV 362a; and → ʿARSH

In Algerian law, the term given, during about the last hundred years, to some of the lands under collective ownership. I 661a

arshīn (P) : roughly 'yards', a unit of measurement. X 487a

ʿarsī (A) : in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, a beggar who stops the circulation of blood in an arm or leg so that people think the limb is gangrenous. VII 494a

arsusa → URṢŪṢA

aru (B, pl. *irwan*) : the Berber equivalent of *ṭālib*, student, from whom the Ibāḍiyya of the Mzāb recruit their ʿAZZĀBA for the religious council. III 98b

ʿarūḍ (A) : in prosody, the last foot of the first hemistich, as opposed to the last foot of the second hemistich, the ḌARB. I 667b; IV 714b; VIII 747b

♦ ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ (A) : the science of metrics, said to have been developed by al-Khalīl of Mecca. I 667b; IV 57a; VIII 894a

ʿarūs (A) : the term for both bridegroom and bride, though in modern usage, ~ has been supplanted by *ʿarīs* for bridegroom and *ʿarūsa* for bride. X 899b; and → SĀBIʿ AL-ʿARŪS

♦ **ʿarūs resmi** (T) : an Ottoman tax on brides. The rate varied depending on whether the bride was a girl, widow, divorcee, non-Muslim, Muslim, rich or poor. In some areas, it was assessed in kind. The tax, which seems to be of feudal origin, is already established in the ḲĀNŪNs of the 15th century in Anatolia and Rumelia, and was introduced into Egypt, Syria and ʿIrāḳ after the Ottoman conquest. It was abolished in the 19th century and replaced by a fee for permission to marry. I 679a

aruzz → RUZZ

♦ aruzz mufalfal (A) : a very popular mediaeval dish which resembled a type of Turkish *pilaw*. Made with spiced meat and/or chickpeas or pistachio nuts, the dish may contain rice coloured with saffron, white rice alone, or a combination of both. A variation of this dish, made from lentils and plain rice, was called *al-mudjaddara* and is similar to the modern preparation of the same name. VIII 653a

♦ al-aruzziyya (A) : a mediaeval dish containing meat and seasonings (pepper, dried coriander and dill), into which a small amount of powdered rice was added during cooking, and washed (whole) rice towards the end of the preparation. VIII 653a

arwāḥ → RŪḤ

ary (A) : honey (> T *arı* 'bee'). VII 906b

arzal → AṬRĀF

ās (A, < Akk) : in botany, the myrtle (*Myrtus communis*). IX 653a; XII 87a

ʿaṣā (A) : a rod, stick, staff (syn. ḲAḌĪB). Among the ancient Arabs, ~ was in common use for the camel herdsman's staff. In the Qurʾān, it is used a number of times, in particular for Moses' stick. I 680b; and → SHAGHABA

♦ shaḳḳ al-ʿaṣā (A) : 'splitter of the ranks of the faithful'; under the Umayyads, a term used to characterise one who deserted the community of the faithful and rebelled against the legitimate caliphs. VII 546a

ʿaṣaba (A) : male relations in the male line, corresponding to the agnates. I 681a; IV 595b; VII 106b

♦ **ʿaṣabiyya** (A) : spirit of kinship in the family or tribe. Ibn Khaldūn used the concept of this term as the basis of his interpretation of history and his doctrine of the state; for him it is the fundamental bond of human society and the basic motive force of history. I 681a; II 962b; III 830b; factional strife. IV 668b; affiliation to a tribal faction (syn. *naʿra, shahwa, niḥla*). IV 835a

asad (A, pl. *usūd, usud, usd*) : in zoology, the lion; in astronomy, *al-~* is the term for Leo, one of the twelve zodiacal constellations. I 681a; VII 83a

āṣaf (Ott) : in the Ottoman empire, a synonym for *wezīr* (→ WAZĪR). XI 194b

ʿaṣāʾib (A) : the 'troops', 500 in number, the eighth degree in the ṣūfī hierarchical order of saints. I 95a; and → ʿIṢĀBA

ʿasal → ʿIKBIR

ʿaṣal (A) : in botany, the rhododendron. VII 1014b

aṣāla (A) : authenticity. X 365b

asaliyya → DHAWLAḲIYYA

aṣamm (A) : deaf; in mathematics, the term used for the fractions, such as 1/11 or 1/13, which cannot be reduced to fractions called by words derived from names of their denominators, such as 1/12, which is half one sixth, 'sixth' being derived from six. III 1140b

āsārāk (A, < B *asarag*) : in urban geography, great main squares enclosed in the walls of the ḳaṣaba in the Maghrib, where the people could assemble for the festivals and the army participate in ceremonies. IV 685a

ʿasas (A) : the night patrol or watch in Muslim cities. Under the Ottomans, the ~ was in charge of the public prisons, exercised a kind of supervision over public executions, and played an important role in public processions. He received one tenth of the fines imposed for minor crimes committed at night. I 687a; IV 103b

In North Africa, the ~ assured not only public security but also possessed a secret and almost absolute authority in the important affairs of the community. He kept guard at night in the central market, at warehouses and on the ramparts till the advent of the French. I 687b

asāṭīr → USṬŪRA

ʿasb (A) : the semen of a stallion. IV 1146a

ʿaṣb (A) : in early Islam, a Yemenite fabric with threads dyed prior to weaving. V 735b

In prosody, a deviation from the proper metre, in particular a missing FATḤA in the foot *mufāʿal[a]tun*. I 672a; a case of ZIḤĀF where the fifth vowelled letter of the foot is rendered vowelless. XI 508b

♦ ʿaṣba (A) : a folded scarf worn by women in the Arab East. V 740b

aṣbaʿ → IṢBAʿ

asbāb → SABAB

asefru (B, pl. *isefra*) : a genre of oral poetry popular in Kabylia, a Berberophone area of Algeria, consisting of a sonnet of nine verses grouped in three strophes rhyming according to the scheme a a b. Another poetic genre is the so-called *izli*, a song of two or three couplets in rhyme, whose production is anonymous. X 119a

asfal (A) : lower; *al-asfal* is used as an epithet to differentiate between the patron and the client, when both are referred to as MAWLĀ. I 30b

aṣfar (A) : yellow; also, in distinction from black, simply light-coloured. I 687b; V 700b

♦ banu 'l-aṣfar (A) : the Greeks; later, applied to Europeans in general, especially in Spain. I 687b; V 700b

as͟h → TOY

aṣḥāb (A, s. **ṣāḥib**) : followed by the name of a locality in the genitive, ~ serves to refer to people who are companions in that particular place. Followed by a personal name in the genitive, ~ is, alongside the NISBA formation, the normal way of expressing the 'adherents of so-and-so' or the 'members of his school'. When followed by an abstract noun in the genitive, ~ denotes adherents of a specific concept. VIII 830b; and → ṢAḤABA; ṢĀḤIB

♦ aṣḥāb al-arbāʿ (A) : in Mamlūk times, night patrols coming under the authority of the chief of police, *wālī*. I 687a

♦ aṣḥāb al-as͟hāʾir (A) : the four mystical orders of the Burhāmiyya, Rifāʿiyya, Ḳādiriyya and Aḥmadiyya, according to D̲jabartī. II 167a

♦ aṣḥāb al-ḥadīt͟h → AHL AL-ḤADĪT͟H

♦ aṣḥāb al-it͟hnayn → T͟HANAWIYYA

♦ **aṣḥāb al-kahf** (A) : 'those of the cave', the name given in the Qurʾān for the youths who in the Christian West are usually called the 'Seven Sleepers of Ephesus'. I 691a; IV 724a

♦ aṣḥāb al-naḳb → NAḲB

♦ **aṣḥāb al-rass** (A) : 'the people of the ditch' or 'of the well'; a Qurʾānic term, possibly alluding to unbelievers. I 692a; III 169a

♦ **aṣḥāb al-raʾy** → AHL AL-RAʾY

♦ aṣḥāb al-saṭḥ (A), or *suṭūḥiyya* : 'the roof men', designation for the followers and disciples of the 7th/13th-century Egyptian saint Aḥmad al-Badawī. I 280b

♦ aṣḥāb al-s͟had̲jara (A) : 'the men of the tree'; those who took the oath of allegiance to the Prophet under the tree in the oasis of al-Ḥudaybiya, as mentioned in Q 48:18. VIII 828a; XII 131a

♦ **aṣḥāb al-uk͟hdūd** (A) : 'those of the trench'; a Qurʾānic term, possibly alluding to unbelievers. I 692b

♦ aṣḥāb-tark → AK͟HĪ

asḥam → SALḲAʿ

ashām → ESHĀM

aṣḥar → ṢAḤRĀʾ

as͟hāra → AWMAʾA

ʿas͟hara (A, pl. *ʿas͟hr*) : ten.

♦ **al-ʿas͟hara al-mubas͟hs͟hara** (A) : the ten to whom Paradise is promised. The term does not occur in canonical Traditions and the list of names differs, Muḥammad appearing in only some. I 693a

♦ al-ʿas͟hr al-uwal (A) : the first ten nights of a month, each month being divided into three segments of ten. The other segments are respectively *al-ʿas͟hr al-wusaṭ* and *al-ʿas͟hr al-uk͟har*, with the latter sometimes only nine nights in 'defective' months. X 259b

as͟hbāh (A, s. *s͟hibh*) : component of a book title, *al-As͟hbāh wa'l-naẓāʾir*, of some of the most influential ḲAWĀʿID works of the later period, ~ referring to cases that are alike in appearance and legal status, with *naẓāʾir* (s. *naẓīr*) denoting cases that are alike in appearance but not in legal status. XII 517a

ās͟hd̲jî (T) : lit. cook; an officer's rank in an ORTA, subordinate to that of the ČORBAD̲JÎ, or 'soup purveyor'. VIII 178b

as͟hhada (A) : a technical term of childhood, said of a boy (or girl: *as͟hhadat*) who has attained to puberty. VIII 822a

ʿās͟hiḳ (A) : lover; a term originally applied to popular mystic poets of dervish orders. It was later taken over by wandering poet-minstrels. Their presence at public gatherings, where they entertained the audience with their religious and erotic songs, elegies and heroic narratives, can be traced back to the late 9th/15th century. I 697b; III 374a; IV 599a; V 275a ff.

ʿās͟hik͟h (Azerī Turkish, < ʿĀS͟HIḲ) : in Azerī literature, a genre of folk-literature comprising romantic poems, which made great advances in Ād͟harbayd͟jān in the 17th and 18th centuries and formed a bridge between the classical literary language and the local dialects. I 193b

ʿās͟hir (A, pl. *ʿus͟hs͟hār*) : in early Islam, a collector of ZAKĀT from Muslim merchants as well as imposts on the merchandise of non-Muslim traders. The institution is attributed to ʿUmar, but in the course of time, the ~ acquired an exceedingly unavory reputation for venality. XI 409a

ʿas͟hīra (A) : usually a synonym of ḲABĪLA ʿtribe', ~ can also denote a subdivision of the latter. I 700a; IV 334a

ʿas͟hiyya (A), and variants : a word loosely taken in the sense of evening, although it used to designate more precisely the end of the day, NAHĀR. In this sense it was the opposite of ḌUḤĀ. V 709b

as͟hl (A, P *ṭanāb*) : rope; a unit of measurement equalling 39.9 metres. II 232b

as͟hlḥi (B, pl. *is͟hlḥiyen*), or *as͟hlḥiy* : a native speaker of Tas͟helḥīt. X 344b

ās͟hpazk͟hāna (P, A MAṬBAK͟H) : kitchen (P *ās͟h* 'soup', *ās͟hpaz* 'cook'), which term was not in general used before the 19th century, *maṭbak͟h* being the common term. XII 608b

ʿas͟hr → ʿAS͟HARA

ʿas͟hraf → WAṬWĀṬ

as͟hrāf (A, s. S͟HARĪF) : in India, ~ denoted Muslims of foreign ancestry. They were further divided into *sayyid* (those reckoning descent from the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima), *s͟hayk͟h* (descendants of the early Muslims of Mecca and Medina), *mug͟hal* (those who entered the subcontinent in the armies of the Mug͟hal dynasty), and *paṭhān* (members of Pas͟htō-speaking tribes in north-west Pakistan and Afghanistan). III 411a; IX 330b; and → S͟HARĪF

as͟hrafī (A) : in numismatics, a Burd͟jī Mamlūk gold coin, the coinage of which was continued by the Ottomans after their conquest of Egypt and Syria. VIII 228b; an Ottoman gold coinage, introduced under Muṣṭafā II to replace the discredited SULṬĀNĪ. VIII 229b; an Aḳ Ḳoyunlu gold coin, copied exactly on the Burd͟jī Mamlūk ~. Its weight was ca. 3.45 g. VIII 790a; in Ṣafawid Persia, all the gold coins were popularly called ~ , but there were actually several different varieties to which the name was given, which were distinguished from one another by their weights rather than by their designs or legends. The true ~, used by Ismāʿīl as a standard for his gold coinage, weighed 18 *nuk͟hūd*s (approximately 3.45 g), and had its origin in the weight of the Venetian gold ducat. VIII 790b

ʿas͟hs͟hāb (A) : from *ʿus͟hb*, a fresh annual herb which is afterwards dried and, in medical literature, denotes simples, ~ means a gatherer or vendor of herbs; a vendor or authority on medicinal herbs. I 704a

ʿās͟hūrāʾ (A, < Heb) : the name of a voluntary fast-day, observed on the 10th of Muḥarram. I 265a; I 705a; XII 190a; in South Africa, a festival commemorating the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet. IX 731a

ʿaṣīda (A) : a meal of barley and fat. X 901b

aṣīl (A) : a term used in reference to the time which elapses between the afternoon, ʿAṢR, and sunset; in the contemporary language this word tends to be employed for the evening twilight. V 709b; and → KAFĀLA

ʿasīr (A) : lit. captive, term also sometimes used for slave. I 24b

āsitāne → TEKKE

ʿaskar (A) : army, in particular one possessing siege artillery. II 507a; 'garrison settlements' (syn. *muʿaskar, maʿaskar*) founded in the Arab East during the caliphate period. IV 1144a

♦ **ʿaskarī** (A, < ʿASKAR; T *ʿaskerī*) : in Ottoman technical usage a member of the ruling military caste, as distinct from the peasants and townspeople; ~ denoted caste rather than function, and included the retired or unemployed ~, his wives and children, manumitted slaves of the sultan and of the ~, and also the families of the holders of religious public offices in attendance on the sultan. I 712a; IV 242a; IV 563a; IX 540a

ʿaskerī → ʿASKARĪ

askiya (Songhay) : a dynastic title of the Songhay empire of West Africa, first adopted in 898/1493 by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. IX 729b

aṣl (A, pl. **uṣūl**) : root, base. III 550a; ancestry. XI 276b

In grammar, a basic form, concept or structure, with a wide range of meanings extending over phonology, morphology and syntax, e.g. a standard phoneme in contrast with an allophone; a root-letter in the derivational system; a radical consonant opposed to an augment; etc. When used in the plural, the fundamental principles of grammar as a science. X 928b, where more definitions of ~ are found

In classical Muslim administration, ~ is the estimated figure, as opposed to the amount actually received, ISTIKHRĀDJ. II 78b

In dating, ~ is the number of days in a given number of completed years. X 268b

In military science, *uṣūl* were the theoretical divisions of the army into five elements: the centre (*ḳalb*), the right wing (*maymana*), the left wing (*maysara*), the vanguard (*muḳaddama*), and the rear guard (*sāḳa*). III 182a

In music, the *uṣūl* are the basic notes which, with the pause, make up the cycles of an ĪḲĀʿ. XII 408b; metres. IX 418a

In astronomy, the epoch position (L *radix*). XI 503b

In law, because early ḲAWĀʿID were collected under the title of *uṣūl*, ~ acquires, minimally, a fourfold meaning: an act that has already been legally determined and now serves as a 'model' for similar cases; a scriptural pronouncement considered decisive for the legal determination of a given act; a legal principle; and a source of the law. XII 517a; and → WAṢF

For *uṣūl* in prosody, → FARʿ

♦ **uṣūl al-dīn** (A) : the bases (or principles) of the religion. If *uṣūl* meant the same here as in *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the two expressions would be synonymous, for the theologian goes back to the same authorities as the jurist to justify his interpretation of dogma; instead in ordinary usage ~ represent not the sources of theological judgement but, in some way, the judgement itself, thus the science of ~ is another way of designating *ʿilm al-*KALĀM. X 930b

♦ **uṣūl al-fiḳh** (A) : the 'roots' or sources of legal knowledge, viz. the Qurʾān, *sunna*, consensus and analogy. II 887b; X 323b; X 931b; legal theory. II 182b

♦ **uṣūl al-ḥadīth** (A) : the principles of ḤADĪTH; the disparate disciplines the mastery of which distinguished a true scholar of *ḥadīth* from a mere transmitter. The term ~ was never satisfactorily defined nor differentiated from similar ones like *ʿulūm* (or *ʿilm*) *al-ḥadīth*, *iṣṭilāḥ al-ḥadīth*, etc. There are instances of *ʿilm al-riwāya* being used as a synonym. X 934a

♦ uṣūliyya → AKHBĀRIYYA

aṣlaḥ (A) : most suitable or fitting; in theology, the 'upholders of the *aṣlaḥ*' were a group of the Muʿtazila who held that God did what was best for mankind. I 713b

aslamī (A) : a term used to designate first-generation Spanish converts, who were formerly Christians, whereas the term *islāmī* was reserved for the former Jews. VII 807b

asmāʾ → ISM
asmāndjūnī → YĀḲŪT AKHAB
asmar (A) : in physiognomy, a dark brown, or black, complexion. XI 356a
asmār → KHURAFĀʾ
asp-i dāghī (IndP) : under the Mughals, a payment in accordance with the actual number of horsemen and horses presented at muster, unlike the BAR-ĀWARDĪ, a payment based on an estimate. IX 909a
asparez : a race-course. X 479a
ʿaṣr (A) : time, age; the (early part of the) afternoon. This period of day follows that of the midday prayer, ẒUHR, and extends between limits determined by the length of the shadow, but is variable, according to the jurists. I 719a; V 709b
♦ ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr (A) : the afternoon prayer which is to be performed, according to the books of religious law, in between the last time allowed for the midday prayer, ẒUHR, and before sunset, or the time when the light of the sun turns yellow. According to Mālik, the first term begins somewhat later. I 719a; VII 27b; VIII 928b
ʿassālāt → ʿIKBIR
ʿassās (A) : night-watchman. This term is used particularly in North Africa; at Fez at the beginning of the 20th century, ~ also was used for policemen in general. I 687b
In the Mzāb, ~ is used for the minaret of the Abāḍī mosques. I 687a
astān (P) : in mediaeval administration, a province. I 2b; a district. I 3a
asṭurlāb (A, < Gk), or *aṣṭurlāb* : astrolabe. The name of several astronomical instruments serving various theoretical and practical purposes, such as demonstration and graphical solution of many problems of spherical astronomy, the measuring of altitudes, the determination of the hour of the day and the night, and the casting of horoscopes. When used alone ~ always means the flat or planispheric astrolabe based on the principle of stereographic projection; it is the most important instrument of mediaeval, Islamic and Western, astronomy. I 722b
aṣṭūrū (A, < Gr) : in zoology, the oyster. VIII 707a
aswad (A) : the colour black. V 705b; and → ABYAḌ
ata (T) : father, ancestor; among the Oghuz, ~ was appended to the names of people who had acquired great prestige. ~ can also mean 'wise', or even 'holy', 'venerated'. I 729a; XI 114a
ʿaṭāʾ (A) : lit. gift; the term most commonly employed to denote, in the early days of Islam, the pension of Muslims, and, later, the pay of the troops. I 729a
ʿataba (A, pl. **ʿatabāt**) : doorstep.
In (folk) poetry, ~ (or *farsha* 'spread, mat') is used to designate the first three lines of a monorhyme quatrain (*a a a a*), or each of the three lines, when insertions have been made between the third line and the last, e.g. as in *a a a x a*. The last line is then called the *ghaṭā* 'cover' or, in longer compositions, the *ṭāḳiyya* 'skull-cap'. VI 868a
In its plural form, more fully *ʿatabāt-i ʿāliya* or *ʿatabāt-i muḳaddasa, ʿatabāt* designates the shīʿī shrine cities of ʿIrāḳ (Nadjaf, Karbalāʾ, Kāẓimayn and Sāmarrā) comprising the tombs of six of the IMĀMs as well as a number of secondary shrines and places of visitation. XII 94a
ʿatāba (A) : a modern Arabic four line verse, common in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and ʿIrāḳ, in a sort of WĀFIR metre. The first three lines not only rhyme, but generally repeat the same rhyming word with a different meaning. The last line rhymes with the paradigm ~ 'lovers' reproach', the last syllable of which is often supplied without making sense. I 730b
atabak (T *atabeg*) : the title of a high dignitary under the Saldjūḳs and their successors; under the Turks, a military chief. I 731a; commander-in-chief of an army (syn. *amīr kabīr*). I 138a; I 444a

♦ **atābak al-ʿasākir** (T, A) : commander-in-chief of the Mamlūk army, who after the decline of the office of the viceroy, *nāʾib al-salṭana*, became the most important AMĪR in the Sultanate. I 732b

ʿatala (A) : in archery, a powerful Persian bow which is very curved. IV 798a

atalik (T) : a title which existed in Central Asia in the post-Mongol period meaning in the first place a guardian and tutor of a young prince, then a close counsellor and confidant of the sovereign. It was synonymous with *atabeg* (→ ATABAK). I 733b; XII 96b

atalikat (Cau) : a custom among the Čerkes tribes of the Caucasus, which consisted of having children raised from birth (boys until 17-18 years) in the families of strangers, often vassals. This created a sort of foster brotherhood which served to tighten the feudal bonds and unite the various tribes. II 23a

aṭam (A) : a fabulous marine creature mentioned by mediaeval Arab authors. It lurks in the Sea of China, has the head of a pig, is covered with a hairy fleece instead of scales, and shows female sexual organs. VIII 1023a

ʿatama (A) : the first third of the night from the time of waning of the red colour of the sky after sunset, SHAFAḲ. I 733b; a variant name given to the *ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ* (→ ʿISHĀʾ). VII 27a

atān → ḤIMĀR

ātāy → ČAY

ātbēgī → ĀKHŪRBEG

ʿaṭf (A) : connection; in grammar, ~ denotes a connection with the preceding word. There are two kinds of ~ : the simple co-ordinative connection, *ʿaṭf al-nasaḳ*, and the explicative connection, *ʿaṭf al-bayān*. In both kinds, the second word is called *al-maʿṭūf*, and the preceding *al-maʿṭūf ʿalayhi*. I 735b

In rhetoric, ~ as used by al-ʿAdjdjādj, in the sense of 'folding back' or 'adding on', may have meant paronomasia. ~ seems to be take up again in the term *taʿaṭṭuf* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī. X 68b

♦ ʿaṭfa → SHĀRIʿ

athar (A) : trace; as a technical term, it denotes a relic of the Prophet, e.g. his hair, teeth, autograph, utensils alleged to have belonged to him, and especially impressions of his footprints, *ḳadam*. I 736a

In the science of Tradition, ~ usually refers to a Tradition from Companions or Successors, but is sometimes used of Traditions from the Prophet. I 1199a; III 23a

In astrology, ~ is also used as a technical term in the theory of causality, with reference to the influence of the stars (considered as higher beings possessing a soul) on the terrestrial world and on men. I 736b

athāth (A) : lit. belongings, ~ means various household objects and, especially in modern Arabic, furniture. XII 99a

athmān (A) : gold and silver (on which ZAKĀT is due), also *ʿayn, naḳd, nāḍḍ*. XI 413a

ʿaththarī (A, < the name of the deity ʿAththar) : a term equivalent to *baʿl* 'unwatered cultivated land'. I 969a

ʿāṭif → MUSALLĪ

ʿatīḳ (A) : a pure-bred horse, as opposed to a work horse, *birdhawn*. XI 412b; and → ʿITḲ

ʿātiḳa (A) : in archery, an old bow whose wood has become red. IV 798a

ʿātiḳī (A, < *Ḳabr ʿĀtika*, a concentration of textile workshops in Damascus) : in the 11th/17th century, a Syrian fabric, sufficiently renowned to be exhibited in the markets of Cairo. IX 793b

ʿatīra (A) : among the Arabs of the DJĀHILIYYA, a ewe offered as a sacrifice to a pagan divinity, as a thanksgiving following the fulfillment of a prayer concerning in

particular the increase of flocks. Also called *radjabiyya*, since these sacrifices took place in the month of Radjab. I 739b; XII 317a

ātishak : in medicine, syphilis. VIII 783a; X 457b

aṭlāl (A) : the remains or traces of former encampments; in literature, a trope in the NASĪB section of the ḲAṢĪDA. XII

atmadja → ČAKĪR

aṭrāf (IndP, < A) : a term used to designate the higher stratum of the non-ASHRĀF population of India, which consists for the most part of converts from Hinduism, embracing people of many statuses and occupations. The terms *adjlāf* and *arzal* (or *ardhāl*) are used to designate the lower stratum. III 411a; IX 330b

In the science of Tradition, a so-called ~ compilation is an alphabetically-arranged collection of the Companions' MUSNADs, with every Tradition ascribed to each of them shortened to its salient feature (→ ṬARAF), accompanied by all the ISNAD strands supporting it which occur in the Six Books and a few other revered collections. VIII 518b

ʿattābī (A) : a kind of silk-cotton cloth, woven around 580/1184 in ʿAttābiyya, one of the quarters of Baghdad. I 901b

ʿaṭṭār (A) : a perfume merchant or druggist; later, as most scents and drugs were credited with some healing properties, ~ came to mean chemist and homeopath; sometimes dyers and dye merchants are also known by this term. I 751b

In India, ~ denotes an alcohol-free perfume-oil produced by the distillation of sandalwood-oil through flowers. I 752b

attūn (A) : a kiln used for firing bricks, similar to that of the potters, consisting of a furnace with a firing-room on top. V 585b

ʿatūd (A), or *ʿarīḍ* : a one-year old male goat, called, progressively, *djadhaʿ* or *tays* when two years old, then *thanī*, *rabāʿī*, *sadīs* and, after seven years, *ṣāligh*. XII 319a

aṭūm (A) : in zoology, the dugong, one of the sirenian mammals or 'sea cows'. Other designations are *maliṣa*, *nāḳa al-baḥr*, *zālikha*, and *ḥanfāʾ*. VIII 1022b; the caret or caouane turtle (*Caretta caretta*) (syn. *ḥanfāʾ*). IX 811a

awāʾil (A, s. AWWAL 'first') : a term used to denote e.g. the 'primary data' of philosophical or physical phenomena; the 'ancients' of either pre-Islamic or early Islamic times; and the 'first inventors' of things (or the things invented or done first), thus giving its name to a minor branch of Muslim literature with affinities to ADAB, historical, and theological literature. I 758a

♦ awāʾil al-suwar → FAWĀTIḤ AL-SUWAR

awāradj (A) : in classical Muslim administration, a register showing the debts owed by individual persons and the instalments paid until they are settled. II 78b; VIII 652a

ʿawāriḍ (A) : a term used under the Ottomans down to the second quarter of the 19th century to denote contributions of various types exacted by the central government in the sultan's name. The Ottoman fief-system and the institution of the WAḲF deprived the government to a great extent of the vast revenues. Therefore it resorted, at first in emergencies and later annually, to the imposition of the ~, either in cash or in kind. I 760a; IV 234b; VIII 486b

awārik (A) : 'eaters of *arāk* leaves', the name of a famous breed of white camels raised by the Bedouin living near the oasis of Bīsha, in western Arabia. I 541a; I 1239b

ʿawāṣim (A, s. *ʿāṣima*) : lit. protectresses; strongholds in the frontier zone extended between the Byzantine empire and the empire of the caliphs in the north and north-east of Syria. Those situated more to the front were called *al-thughūr*. I 465b; I 761a; X 446b; a separate government founded by Hārūn al-Rashīd in 170/786-87, made up of the frontier strongholds which he detached from the Djazīra and DJUND of Ḳinnasrīn. I 761a; II 36a

āwāz → BAḤR

ʿawbar (A), or *hawbar* : in zoology, the whelp of the cheetah. II 740b

awbāsh (A) : 'riff-raff', the name given to groups of young men who were considered elements of disorder in mediaeval Baghdad. II 961b

awdj (A, < San *ucca*; pl. *awdjāt*) : in astronomy, the apogee, the farthest point in a planet's orbit. The lowest point, the perigee, is called *ḥaḍīḍ*. VIII 101b; IX 292a; XI 503b

awhāz (A) : attendants (who, al-Hamdānī writes, stood at the gates of the ancient town of Ẓafār in Yemen and acted as guards). XI 380a

awḳā → WUḲĀ

awḳaʿa → WAḲAʿA

awḳāf → WAḲF

ʿawl (A) : lit. deviation by excess; in law, the method of increasing the common denominator of the fractional shares in an inheritance, if their sum would amount to more than one unit. I 764b

awlād (A, s. *walad* 'child') : sons, children; for the many other designations for childhood and its subdivisions, VIII 821b ff.

♦ **awlād al-balad** (A) : the term used during the Sudanese Mahdi period (1881-98) to designate persons originating from the northern riverain tribes. Under the Mahdi Muḥammad Aḥmad, they became the ruling class but gradually lost their status under his successors. I 765a; V 1250a

♦ **awlād al-nās** (A) : lit. children of the people; the term used among the Mamlūks for the sons of mamlūks who could not join the exclusive society of the Mamlūk upper class. Only those who were born an infidel and brought as a child-slave from abroad, were converted to Islam and set free after completing military training, and bore a non-Arab name, could belong to that society. The ~ were joined to a unit of non-mamlūks called the ḤALḲA, which was socially inferior to the pure mamlūk units, and formed there the upper stratum. The term ABNĀʾ AL-ATRĀK was sometimes used as an alternative. I 102a; I 765a; III 99b

awmaʾa (A) : to notify with a gesture, syn. *ashāra*. XII 601a

awrith → AMAZZAL

awtād (A, s. **watid** 'tent peg') : in prosody, one of two pairs of metrical components distinguished by al-Khalīl. The ~ consist of three consonants each and are called *watid madjmūʿ* (when the first two consonants are 'moving', i.e. have a short vowel, and the last 'quiescent') and *watid mafrūḳ* (when the first and the third consonants are 'moving' and the middle one 'quiescent'). I 670b; XI 181b; two other types are defined by al-Fārābī and al-Ḳarṭādjannī as, respectively, ~ *mufrad* (a SABAB *khafīf* + one vowelless letter) and ~ *mutadāʿif* (two vowelled + two vowelless letters), both outside traditional ʿARŪḌ. XI 181b

In mysticism, ~ (s. *watad*; syn. *ʿumud*) 'stakes' is the third category of the hierarchy of the RIDJĀL AL-GHAYB, comprising four holy persons. I 95a; I 772a

awtār (A, s. *watar*) : in music, the strings of a musical instrument. VI 215b; X 769b

ʿawwāʾ (A) : in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, a vagabond who begs between sunset and the evening worship, at times singing. VII 494a

awwal (A, pl. AWĀʾIL) : first.

In philosophy, ~ was brought into Muslim thought by the Arab translators of Aristotle and Plotinus to indicate either the First Being or the First Created. I 772a

♦ awwaliyya (A) : an abstract noun derived from *awwal* indicating the essence of 'that which is first'. Its plural *awwaliyyāt* means the First Principles in the order of knowledge, i.e. the propositions and judgements immediately evident by themselves. I 772b

awzān (A, s. WAZN) : in music, a Turkish instrument popular with the Mamlūk sultans

of Egypt. Ibn Ghaybī places it among the lutes of three strings and says that it was played with a wooden plectrum by Turkish minstrels. X 769b

♦ awzān al-shiʿr (A) : in prosody, deviations in the metrical forms, e.g. shortening of the metre. I 671a; VIII 667b

āya (A, pl. *āyāt*) : sign, token; miracle; a verse of the Qurʾān. I 773b; V 401b; miracle of the prophet, as opposed to miracle of God's friends, or saints, KARĀMA. XI 110a

♦ **āyatullāh** (A, < *āyat Allāh*) : lit. miraculous sign of God; a title with a hierarchical significance used by the Twelver shīʿīs, indicating one at the top of the hierarchy, amongst the elite of the great MUDJTAHIDS. XII 103b

aʿyān (A, s. ʿAYN) : notables, the eminent under the caliphate and subsequent Muslim regimes. I 778a; II 640b

Under the Ottomans in the eighteenth century, ~ acquired a more precise significance and came to be applied to those accorded official recognition as the chosen representatives of the people vis-à-vis the government, later to become local magnates and despots. I 778a ff.; II 724a; III 1187b

In philosophy, ~ is used for the particular things that are perceived in the exterior world, as opposed to those things that exist in the mind. I 784a

♦ aʿyāniyye (T) : in the Ottoman period, a fee paid by the AʿYĀN to obtain documents from the provincial governors according them official recognition as the chosen representatives of the people vis-à-vis the government. I 778b

ʿayb (A) : a fault in a person. IV 1100b; and → KABĀRA

ayfd → SHAWKA

ayhukān (A) : in botany, wild rocket. VII 831a

aykash (A) : a system according to which the *ṭālib*s 'students' of North Africa use the numerical value of letters for certain magical operations; a specialist in this technique is called in the vernacular *yakkāsh*. I 97b

aym (A) : in zoology, a large snake, called *yaym* on the Arabian peninsula. I 541b

ʿayn (A) : eye; evil eye; the thing viewed; source. I 784b; a flowing spring. I 538b; observer, spy. II 486b

In Algeria, in the region of Oued Righ, and in Libya, in the eastern parts of the Shāti, ~ is an artesian well, formerly dug by specialists and very fragile, but now drilled and harnessed according to modern techniques. I 1232a

In the mediaeval kitchen, ~ is the top of an oven which could be opened or closed to adjust the oven's temperature. A synonym is *fam*. VI 808a

In mysticism, ~ is used to indicate the super-existence of God's deepest essence. I 785a

In music, the sound-hole of an ʿŪD. X 769b

In law, physical goods. XI 60b; and → ATHMĀN

For ~ in numismatics, → WARIK

♦ ʿayn al-kiṭṭ (A) : 'cat's eye', in botany, applied to five plants: the Corn camomile (*Anthemis arvensis*), Camomile (*A. nobilis*), Wild camomile (*Matricaria chamomilla*), Water speedwell (*Veronica anagallis aquatica*), and Minor phalaris (*Phalaris minor*). IX 653a

♦ ʿayn al-yakīn (A) : 'the contemplation of the evident'; a mystical term which can be used in the double sense of intuition, i.e. the pre-rational sense of intuitive understanding of the philosophical first principles, and the post-rational sense of the intuitive understanding of super-rational mystical truth. I 785a

♦ ʿaynāʾ (A) : 'with big, black eyes', used in poetry to describe the oryx and addax antelope. V 1227b

ayran (T) : a cool refreshing drink made from YOGHURT and water, called *dūgh* in Persian and *lassi* in India. XI 337b

ʿaysh → KUSKUSŪ

ayt (B) : 'sons of', used either in compounds, or before a proper noun to indicate a tribe. I 792a

aywaz (T, < A *ʿiwaḍ*) : a term applied to the footmen employed in great households in the later Ottoman empire. They were generally Armenians of Van, sometimes Kurds; Greeks are also said to have been among them. Their duties included waiting at table, filling and cleaning the lamps and doing the shopping for the household. I 792a

ayyām → YAWM

ʿayyār (A) : lit. rascal, tramp, vagabond; a term applied to certain warriors who were grouped together under the FUTUWWA in ʿIrāḳ and Persia from the 9th to the 12th centuries, on occasions appearing as fighters for the faith in the inner Asian border regions, on others forming the opposition party in towns and coming into power, indulging in a rule of terror against the wealthy part of the population. I 794a; I 900b ff.; II 961b; VIII 402a; VIII 795b; VIII 956a

ayyil (A) : in zoology, the mountain goat. The descriptions given by the zoologists, however, apply rather more to the deer, but in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry, ~ may actually mean the mountain-goat, since the deer probably never existed on the Arabian peninsula. I 795a

ʿazab (A, T *ʿazeb*) : lit. an unmarried man or woman, a virgin; the term applied to several types of fighting men under the Ottoman and other Turkish regimes between the 13th and the 19th centuries, who were forbidden to marry before retirement. I 807a; Ottoman light infantry. IX 128b

ʿazāba (A, < ʿIṢĀBA ?) : a headdress with pearls and gold worn in Morocco and Egypt. X 611b

azal (A) : eternity; in philosophy, ~ or *azaliyya* is a technical term corresponding to ἀγένητος, meaning ungenerated, eternal *a parte ante*; Ibn Rus̲h̲d used *azaliyya* for 'incorruptible'. I 2a; V 95a; and → DAHRIYYA

azala (A) : a special unit of 100 cubic cubits 'of balance', used in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ to count the volume of earth, reeds and brushwood which had to be transported when constructing and upkeeping raised canal banks. V 865a

aʿẓam → MUʿAẒẒAM

azalay (B) : a term for the great caravans made up of several thousand dromedaries which carry the salt from the salt deposits of the Southern Sahara to the tropical regions of the Sahel in spring and autumn. I 808b; I 1222a

azaliyya → AZAL

ʿaẓāliyyāt (A) : in zoology, the order of saurians. X 510a

azharī → FĪRŪZAD̲J̲

ʿazīb (A), or *ʿazl, hans̲h̲īr* : 'latifundium', a form of land tenure in ancient North Africa. I 661a; lands owned by a ZĀWIYA which are let out and whose profits are shared with the tenants (*ʿazzāb*). V 1201b

ʿazīma (A) : determination, resolution, fixed purpose; in religious law, ~ is an ordinance as interpreted strictly, the opposite of RUK̲H̲ṢA, an exemption or dispensation. I 823a In magic, ~ is an adjuration, or the application of a formula of which magical effects are expected. I 823a

ʿazīz (A) : powerful, respected; in the science of Tradition, a Tradition coming from one man of sufficient authority to have his Traditions collected when two or three people share in transmitting them. III 25b

ʿazl (A) : *coitus interruptus*. I 826a; X 198b; and → ʿAZĪB

azr → IZĀR

azraḳ (A) : the colour blue, also having the sense of 'livid, haggard'. Its plural, *zarāḳīm*, designates snakes. V 700a

azyab (A) : in Yemen, the southeast wind. I 180b; the north-east wind. VII 52a

ʿazzāba (A, s. *ʿazzābī*) : 'recluses', 'clerks'.
Among the Ibāḍiyya, members of a special council, ḤALḲA, presided over by a SHAYKH, who were distinguished from the laity by their tonsure (they had to shave their heads completely) and by their simple white habits. Their lives were subject to a severe discipline; they were governed by a strict moral code and any misdemeanour was punished immediately. III 95a

B

bā (A) : a genealogical term used in South Arabia to form individual and (secondarily) collective proper names. I 828a

♦ bā-sharʿ (P) : lit. with law, i.e. following the law of Islam; one of the two categories into which dervishes in Persia are divided. The other is BĪ-SHARʿ. II 164b

bāʿ (A), or *ḳāma* : a basic measure of length consisting of the width of the two arms outstretched, i.e. a fathom, canonically equal to four DHIRĀʿs (199.5 cm) or approximately 2 metres, and thus the thousandth part of a mile. In Egypt, the ~ is four 'carpenter's' cubits, or 3 metres. I 535b; II 232b; VII 137b

baʿʿādjūn (A) : 'cleavers', according to e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, magicians who had only to point their finger at a piece of clothing or a skin, while mumbling certain words, for that object to fall into shreds; with the same gestures, fixing upon sheep, they could instantaneously cleave them. VIII 52b

bāb (A) : gate. I 830a

In early shīʿism, ~ denotes the senior authorised disciple of the IMĀM, and among the Ismāʿīliyya, ~ is a rank in the hierarchy, denoting the head of the DAʿWA and thus the equivalent in Ismāʿīlī terminology of the *dāʿī al-duʿāt*. I 832b; and → SAFĪR

Among the Bābīs, ~ is the appellation of the founder, Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad of Shīrāz. I 833a

♦ **bāb-i ʿālī** (T) : the (Ottoman) Sublime Porte, the name for the Ottoman government. I 836a

♦ **bāb-i humāyūn** (T) : lit. Imperial Gate, the principal entrance in the outer wall of the sultan's New Serail. I 836b

♦ bāb al-ʿilm (A) : 'the gate of knowledge', the title given to the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī savant of India Luḳmandji b. Ḥabīb (d. 1173/1760) by the thirty-ninth DĀʿĪ. V 814b

♦ bāb marzūḳ (A) : 'lucky door', the term used for the hyena by the Arab nomads of the Sahara regions. XII 173b

♦ **bāb-i mashikhat** (T) : the name for the office or department of the SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM under the Ottomans in the 19th century. I 837b

♦ bāb al-saʿādet (T) : lit. the Gate of Felicity, the gate leading from the second into the third court, proceeding inward, of the imperial palace of the Ottomans. II 697b

♦ **bāb-i serʿaskeri** (T) : the name for the War Department in the Ottoman empire during the 19th century. I 838a

baba → MURSHID

babbaghā' (A), or *babghā'* : in zoology, both parakeet and parrot. The term represents both female and male, singular and collective. I 845b

babghā' → BABBAGHĀ'

babr (A, pl. *bubūr*) : in zoology, the tiger. II 739a

bābūnadj (A, < P *bābūna*) : in botany, the common camomile, primarily *Anthemis nobilis*, also called Roman camomile, but also *Matricaria chamomilla* and other varieties. XII 114b

bād-i hawā (T), or *ṭayyārāt* : lit. wind of the air; a general term in Ottoman fiscal usage for irregular and occasional revenues from fines, fees, registration, charges, and other casual sources of income which appeared for the first time in the first quarter of the 10th/16th century and continued through the 18th century. I 850a; II 147a; VIII 487b; IX 474a

badāʾ (A) : appearance, emergence.

In theology, the alteration of God's purpose. I 265b; the emergence of new circumstances which cause a change in an earlier ruling. I 850a

bādahandj → BĀDGĪR; MALKAF

badal (A, T *bedel*) : substitute; and → ABDĀL; ʿIWAḌ

In the Ottoman empire, a term used to denote a contribution made by a tax-payer in lieu of his performing some service for the government or furnishing it with some commodity. These special 'substitute' cash contributions were exacted when either the subjects failed to fulfil their obligations or the government forwent its rights in this regard. I 760b; I 855a; II 147a

In Afghanistan, ~ means revenge by retaliation, vendetta, and is one of the three main pillars of the special social code of the Afghans. I 217a

In grammar, a variant. V 804a

♦ bedel-i ʿaskerī (T) : an exemption tax in the place of enrollment in the national service. VIII 201a

badan (A) : body, in particular the human body, often only the torso. II 555a; in mediaeval Islam, a short, sleeveless tunic from cotton or silk, worn by both sexes and usually associated with the Arabian peninsula, but it has been shown to have also been a fairly common article of feminine attire in mediaeval Egypt. V 739a; as *badana*, a seamless robe made from linen and gold thread, recorded as having been made for the Fāṭimid caliphs. X 532a

In seafaring, ~ is used to designate a kind of boat typical of Northern Oman which is constructed according to two models: one for fishing, the other for the transportation of goods and for cabotage. This is the typical boat with an entirely sewn hull in order to avoid damage in case of a collision with reefs at water level. VII 53b

As zoological term, → WAʿL

♦ badana → BADAN

bādandj → BĀDGĪR

baddāʿ (Bed) : among the Sinai Bedouin, a composer adept at spontaneous improvisation. IX 234b

bādgīr (P), or *bād-gīr* : lit. wind-catcher; an architectural term used in Persia for the towers containing ventilation shafts and projecting high above the roofs of domestic houses. In mediaeval Arabic, the device was known as *bādahandj* or *bādandj*. V 665b; IX 49b; XII 115a

badhadj → SAKHLA

bādhāward → SHAWKA

bādhiḳ (A) : in early Islam, a prohibited product prepared by means of grapes. IV 996b

bādhindjān (A) : in botany, the aubergine, one of the summer crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

badhr al-kattān (A) : in botany, linseed. IX 615a

badhrundjubūya → TURUNDJĀN

badīʿ (A) : innovator, creator, thus, one of the attributes of God. I 857b; III 663b

In literature, ~ is the name for the innovations of the ʿAbbāsid poets in literary figures, and later for trope in general. I 857b; IV 248b; V 900a; XII 650a

♦ badīʿiyya (A) : in literature, a poem in which the poet uses all kinds of figures of speech. I 858a; I 982b

♦ ‘ilm al-badī‘ (A) : the branch of rhetorical science which deals with the beautification of literary style, the artifices of the ornamentation and embellishment of speech. I 857b; I 982b

badīha → IRTIDJĀL

bādiya (A) : in the Umayyad period, a residence in the countryside, an estate in the environs of a settlement or a rural landed property in the Syro-Jordanian steppeland. XII 116b

ba‘diyya → IFTITĀḤ

bādj (A, < P *bāzh*) : a fiscal technical term among the Turks, ~ was applied to various forms of tax as well as being used for ‘tax’ in general. I 860b; II 147a

♦ bādj-i buzurg (T, < P) : in the Īlkhānid and Djalā’irid periods, the customs-duty levied on goods in transit through or imported into the country. I 861b

♦ bādj-i tamgha (T, < P) : in the Īlkhānid and Djalā’irid periods, the tax levied on all kinds of goods bought and sold in cities, on woven stuffs and slaughtered animals; it is normally referred to as *tamgha-i siyāh* ‘black tamgha’. I 861b

♦ bādjdār (T, < P) : in the Īlkhānid and Djalā’irid periods, a tax collector, who collected tolls at certain places according to a tariff fixed by the central government. I 861a

badjdja → SUDJDJA

badjrā : the common Indian river-boat, a sort of barge without a keel, propelled by poles or by oars, on the deck of which cabins might be mounted. VII 933a

badr → ḲAMAR

♦ badra (A) : the skin of a lamb or goat capacious enough to contain a large sum of money. In numismatics, the usual amount reckoned as a ~ was 10,000 dirhams (this figure was considered by the Arabs to represent both the perfection and the ultimate limit of numeration). It was thus analogous to the TŪMĀN. X 620a

bādrundjubūya → TURUNDJĀN

badw (A) : pastoral nomads of Arabian blood, speech and culture, the Bedouin. I 872a

bāgh (P) : term for a suburban palace in Tīmūrid times, meaning a park or estate with building and gardens. IX 46a

baghbūr → FAGHFŪR

baghdādī → SAB‘ĀNĪ

baghghāl (A) : a muleteer, also known as MUḲĀRĪ or *ḥammāra*, who emerged as a distinct group of transport workers during the ‘Abbāsid period. XII 659a

bāghī → BUGHĀT; MULḤID

baghiyy (A, pl. *baghāyā*), and *mūmis, ‘āhira, zāniya* : prostitute. A more vulgar word was *ḳaḥba*, from the verb ‘to cough’, because professional prostitutes used to cough to attract clients. XII 133a

baghl (A, fem. *baghla*, pl. *bighāl*) : mule; hinny (offspring of a stallion and she-ass). I 909a

In Egypt, the feminine form *baghla* (pl. *baghalāt*) also denoted a female slave born of unions between ṢAḲĀLIBA and another race. I 909a

♦ baghl al-sammān → SALWĀ

♦ baghla (< Sp/Por *bajel/baxel*) : in the Gulf area, a large sailing ship used in the Gulf of Oman and the Indian waters. VIII 811b; and → BAGHL

♦ baghlī (A) : the earliest Arab DIRHAMS which were imitations of the late Sasanian *drahms* of Yezdigird III, Hormuzd IV and (chiefly) Khusraw II; ‘Abd al-Malik’s monetary reforms in 79/698-9 drastically altered the style. II 319a

bağlama → SĀZ

bagsı → OZAN

bagtal : a word used in Laḳ society to designate the KHĀN’s family and the nobility. V 618a

baghy (A) : encroachment, abuse. XI 567b

bāh (A), and *waṭ'* : coitus. I 910b; and → DJIMĀʿ

bahādur (Alt) : courageous, brave; hero. Borrowed into many languages, ~ also frequently appears as a surname and an honorific title. I 913a; and → SARDĀR

bahaḳ (A) : in medicine, vitiligo. V 107a; and → DJUDHĀM

bahār → NARDJIS

baḥīra (A) : the name in the pre-Islamic period for a she-camel or ewe with slit ears. I 922a

bāhit → SHĀDHANA

bahlawān → PAHLAWĀN

bahlūlī → TANKA

bahma → SAKHLA

baḥr (A, pl. *buḥūr*) : a place where a great amount of water is found. Accordingly, ~ is not only applied to the seas and oceans but also, uniquely, because of its outstanding size, to the Nile. I 926b; VII 909b; VIII 38a

The plural *buḥūr* means, in prosody, the ideal metric forms as given in the circles devised by al-Khalīl. I 671a; VIII 667b; XI 200b; in music, secondary modes, alongside main modes (*anghām*) and *āwāz* modes. IX 101a

♦ ʿilm al-baḥr (A) : the art of navigation, also known as *ʿulūm al-baḥriyya*. VII 51a

♦ **al-baḥrayn** (A) : lit. the two seas; a cosmographical and cosmological concept appearing five times in the Qur'ān. I 940b

♦ **baḥriyya** (A) : the navy. I 945b; XII 119b

bahradj (A) : in numismatics, counterfeit money. X 409b

bahramānī (A) : the deep red colour (Rubicelle, Escarboucle) of the ruby, also called *rummānī* (defined at the present time as 'carmine' or 'pigeon's blood'). XI 262b

baht (A) : in the *Arabian Nights*, the name of a city, made up of ~ stone, whose effect is mad laughter leading to death. XII 552b

baḥth (A) : study, examination, inquiry. I 949a; and → AHL AL-(BAḤTH WA 'L-) NAẒAR

bahw (A) : an empty and spacious place extending between two objects which confine it; the axial nave in a mosque, ~ is a term primarily belonging to the vocabulary of Western Muslim architecture. It also is defined as a tent or pavilion chamber situated beyond the rest. I 949b

baḥzadj (A), or *barghaz* : in zoology, the calf of the oryx or addax antelope at birth. If it is completely white, it is called *mārī*. V 1227b

bāʿidj → KHANNĀḲ

bā'ika → ḤĀṢIL

bā'in (A) : in law, an irrevocably divorced woman. III 1011b

ba'īn → BĀ'OLĪ

baʿīr (A) : the individual camel, regardless of sex, as opposed to *ibil*, the species and the group. III 666a

baḳʿa (A) : a term applied especially to a place where water remains stagnant. I 1292b; and → BUḲʿA

baḳā' wa-fanā' (A) : 'subsistence' and 'effacement', ṣūfī terms referring to the stages of the development of the mystic in the path of gnosis. I 951a; IV 1083b; VIII 306b; VIII 416a

bāḳālāw (A, < Sp *bacallao*), with var. *bāḳālyū*, *baḳala*, *baḳlāwa* : the stockfish. VIII 1022b

baḳar (A) : cattle; mediaeval Arab authors distinguished between the domestic ~ *ahlī* and the wild ~ *waḥshī*, meaning either the *mahā* (*Oryx beatrix*) or the AYYIL, or even the *yaḥmūr* 'roedeer' and the *thaytal* 'bubale antelope'. I 951b

bakhīl → BUKHL

bakhnūk (Tun) : an embroidered head shawl for women, worn in Tunisia. V 745b

bakhshi (< Ch *po-che* ?) : a Buddhist priest, monk; later 'writer, secretary', a term stemming from Mongol administrative usage. In the 15th and 16th centuries, it came to mean a wandering minstrel among the Turkomans and the Anatolian Turks. I 953a; bard. I 422a; X 733a f.; and → BĀKHSHĪ

In Persia, a subdistrict or county. VIII 154a; VIII 586a

♦ bakhshī al-mamālik (IndP), or MĪR-BAKHSHĪ : in Mughal India, more or less the equivalent of the classical ʿĀRIḌ, the official charged with the mustering, passing in review and inspection of troops. IV 268b; V 686a; IX 738b

bākhshī : in traditional Özbeg society, a practitioner of shamanistic healing, especially the removal of spirits. He often was a MOLLĀ learned in the Qurʾān. Synonyms are *parīkhʷān* or *duʿākhʷān*. VIII 234b; as *bakhshî*, a shaman in Kazakh, Kirghiz, Ozbeg and Tādjīk society. X 733b

bakhshish (P) : a gratuity bestowed by a superior on an inferior, a tip or 'consideration' thrown into a bargain, and a bribe, particularly one offered to judges or officials. Under the Ottomans, ~ came to mean the gratuity bestowed by a sultan upon his accession on the chief personages of state, the Janissaries and other troops of the standing army. I 953a

bakk (A) : in zoology, a bug. II 248a; IV 522a

bakkāʾ (A) : lit. weepers; in early Islam, ascetics who during their devotional exercises shed many tears. I 959a

bakkāl (A) : retailer of vegetables; grocer (syn. *khaddār*). I 961a, where many synonyms used regionally are listed

bakkam (A, < San) : sappan wood, an Indian dye wood obtained from the *Caesalpinia Sappan L.* The Arabic equivalent frequently given by Arab philologists is *ʿandam*, which, however, denotes the dragon's blood, a red gum exuding from certain trees. I 961b

bakkāra : cattle nomads in the central Sudan belt of Africa. IX 516a

bakla → ʿALATH

bakradj (A) : the traditional coffee pot (syn. *dalla*), one of a number of traditional kitchen utensils used still in rural regions, along with the coffee cup, *findjān*, and many more articles. Terms for these items vary from one area to another. XII 776b

bakt (A, < Lat *pactum*, Gk) : an annual tribute yielded by Christian Nubia to the Muslims. I 32a; I 966a

bāl → ʿANBAR

baʿl (A) : master, owner, husband; in law, ~ denotes unwatered tillage and unwatered cultivated land. I 968a

♦ baʿlī (A) : as an adjective, frequently attached to the name of a vegetable or fruit; in such cases, it stresses the good quality. At Fez, ~ describes a man, avaricious, dry and hard, while the feminine *baʿliyya* is applied to a succulent fig. I 969b

bāla (Yem) : a folk poetry genre for men in northern Yemen tribal areas, usually improvised and sung at weddings and other celebrations. IX 234a f.

bālā (P) : height, high; since 1262/1846 the term for a grade in the former Ottoman Civil Service, to which the Secretary of State and other senior officials belonged. I 969b

balad → SHAYKH

♦ **baladiyya** (A) : municipality; the term used to denote modern municipal institutions of European type, as against earlier Islamic forms of urban organisation. I 972b

♦ baladiyyūn → SHĀMIYYŪN

balāgha (A) : eloquence. I 858a; I 981b; I 1114a; II 824a; to Kazwīnī (d. 1338), ~ was the term for the science of rhetoric as a whole. I 1116a

balam (A) : a typically ʿIrāḳī term for a barque which has both bows and stern pointed in shape, with a flat deck and a capacity of transporting from 5 to 10 tons, and is used on the Euphrates river. VII 53b
In zoology, a term for anchovy, found again in the Latinised term to specify a subspecies limited to a particular region (*Engraulis boelema*), and for the sand-smelt, both small fish. VIII 1021b; VIII 1023a
balamīda (A, < *Pelamys*) : in zoology, the pelamid, also called *būnīt*, the bonito. VIII 1021a
balāṭ (A, < L or Gk *palatium*) : a paved way; flagging; the term most usually applied to the naves of a mosque. I 950a; I 987b; I 988a; palace. IX 44a
♦ balāṭa (A) : a 'flag-stone' of any kind of material serving to pave the ground or to bear a monumental or memorial inscription. I 987b
balgham (A, < Gk) : phlegm, one of the four cardinal humours. XII 188b
bāligh (A) : in law, major, of full age. I 993a
balīladj (P) : in botany, a variety of myrobalanus (*Terminalia bellerica*). XII 349b
bālish (P 'cushion') : a 13th-century Mongolian monetary unit, coined both in gold and silver. It was in use particularly in the eastern part of the empire. Its value was assessed at 6,192 gold marks. I 996b
baliyya (A, pl. *balāyā*) : a name given, in pre-Islamic times, to a camel (more rarely a mare) tethered at the grave of his master and allowed to die of starvation, or sometimes burnt alive. Muslim tradition sees in this practice proof of the pre-Islamic Arabs' belief in resurrection, because the animal thus sacrificed was thought to serve as a mount for its master at the resurrection. I 997a
baʿliyya → BAʿL
ballūṭ (A, pl. *balāliṭa*) : in botany, acorn, fruit of the oaktree. II 744a
balshūn (A) : in zoology, the heron. I 1152b
balṭadjî (T) : a name given to men composing various companies of palace guards under the Ottomans down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The ~ was originally employed in connection with the army in the felling of trees, the levelling of roads and the filling of swamps. The term was used alternatively with the Persian equivalent, *tabardār*, both meaning 'axe-man', and hence 'woodcutter', 'pioneer', 'halberdier'. I 1003b
balyemez (T, < Ger *Faule Metze*) : lit. that eats no honey; a large caliber gun, which name (probably a jesting and popular transformation of the famous German cannon 'Faule Metze' of the year 1411) came to the Ottomans through the numerous German gun-founders in the Turkish services; the ~ was first introduced into the Ottoman army in the time of sultan Murād II. I 1007b; I 1062b
bālyōs (T, < It *bailo*) : the Turkish name for the Venetian ambassador to the Sublime Porte. With the generalised meaning of European diplomatic or consular agent, the word is also encountered in some Arabic dialects and Swahili. I 1008a; II 60b
bamm → ZĪR
bān (A, P) : the ben-nut tree (*Moringa aptera Gaertn.*), the wood of which was used for tent-poles. Its fruit, called *shūʿ*, was a commodity and greatly in demand. The ~ was used as a simile by poets for a tender woman of tall stature. I 1010b
bāna → ÎLÎDJA
banafsadj (A) : in botany, the violet (> *banafsadjī* 'violet-coloured'). V 699a
banāt naʿsh → BINT
band (P) : anything which is used to bind, attach, close or limit; a dam built for irrigation purposes. I 1012a; in Persian literature, each of the single separating verses of a TARDJĪʿ-BAND; also loosely used to designate each complete stanza, which usage is more common. X 235b

bandar (P) : a seaport or port on a large river. The word ~ passed into the Arabic of Syria and Egypt where it is used in the sense of market-place, place of commerce, banking exchange and even workshop. I 1013a

bandayr (Alg, < Goth *pandero*), or *bandīr* : in Algeria, a round tambourine with snares stretched across the inside of the head, probably called GHIRBĀL in the early days of Islam. II 620b

bandish : the composition, the second part in a performance of classical or art music of India, which in vocal music may be KHAYĀL, *dhrupad*, TARĀNA or one of several more modern forms; in instrumental music, as played on the stringed instruments, *sitār* and *sarod*, it is generally called *gat*. III 454a

bandj (A, P *bang*, < San) : henbane, a narcotic drug. In the popular dialect of Egypt, ~ is used for every kind of narcotic. I 1014b; III 266b

bandjārā : a term used in India to designate dealers rather than mere commissariat carriers, who travelled all over the country with large droves of laden cattle and regularly supplied the Indian armies and hunting camps. VII 932b

bang → BANDJ

banīka (A, pl. *banā'ik*) : originally, in early Arabic, any piece inserted to widen a tunic or a leather bucket; in the Arab West, ~ was used for a kind of man's tunic and, more frequently, for an element of women's hair-covering. In Algiers, ~ is still used for a kind of square headdress, provided with a back flap, which women use to cover their heads to protect themselves against the cold when leaving the baths. I 1016a

In Morocco, ~ means a dark padded cell; a closet serving as an office for a 'minister'. I 1016b

banish (A), or *banīsh* : a wide-sleeved man's coat, worn in the Arab East. V 740b

bannā'ī → HAZĀR-BĀF

banoyta → DARDAR

bānuwānī : in mediaeval 'Irāk, a vagrant who stands before a door, rattles the bolt and cries 'O Master', in order to get alms. VII 494a

bā'olī (U, H), and *ba'īn* : a step-well in Muslim India, usually found at the principal shrines associated with Čishtī *pīrs* (→ MURSHID). They are meant for the use of men and animals. I 1024a; V 884b; V 888b

bar-āwardī (IndP) : lit. by estimate; under the Mughal emperor Akbar, the payment at a rather low rate made in advance for a contingent of a size less than the titular rank, ultimately coming to define the number of the second or *sawār* (→ SUWĀR) rank. IX 909a

bārā wafāt (U) : a term used in the subcontinent of India for the twelfth day of Rabī' I, observed as a holy day to commemorate the death of the Prophet Muḥammad. I 1026a

barā'a (A) : release, exemption; freedom from disease, cure; in law, ~ is the absence of obligation; *barā'at (al-dhimma)* means freedom from obligation. I 1026b

As a Qur'ānic term, ~ also means the breaking of ties, a kind of dissociation or excommunication, which theme was developed by the Khāridjites as being the duty to repudiate all those who did not deserve the title of Muslim. I 207a; I 811a; I 1027b

In classical Muslim administration, a receipt given by the DJAHBADH or KHĀZIN to taxpayers. II 78b; XI 409b; ~ has been increasingly employed in a concrete sense to denote written documents of various kinds: licence, certificate, diploma, demand for payment, passport, a label to be attached to a piece of merchandise, a request or petition to the sovereign. I 1027a

In the science of diplomatic, ~ (syn. *risāla*) in Morocco was a letter addressed to a community, in order to announce an important event, or in order to exhort or to admonish. It was generally read from the MINBAR in the mosque on Friday. II 308a

♦ barā'at al-dhimma → BARĀ'A
♦ barā'at al-tanfīdh (A) : the consular *exequatur*. I 1027b
♦ barā'at al-thiḳa (A) : diplomatic 'credentials'. I 1027b

barāʿa (A) : in prosody, 'virtuosity', the ability to make intricate conceits appear natural, one of a tripartite typology of poets, the other two being *ṭabʿ* 'natural talent' and *ṣināʿa* 'artfulness'. XII 654a

♦ barāʿat al-istihlāl (A) : in rhetoric, the 'skilful opening', an introduction that contains an allusion to the main theme of the work. III 1006a

bāradarī (H) : a term, also applied to Muslim buildings in India, for a hall with twelve adjacent bays or doors, three on each side; ~ was figuratively used to designate 'summer house' as well. V 1214b

baraka (A) : (divine) blessing; in practice, ~ has the meaning of 'very adequate quantity'. I 1032a
In the vocabulary of the Almohads, ~ was used in the sense of 'gratuity which is added to a soldier's pay'. I 1032a

baramis (A, < L *Abramis brama*) : in zoology, the bream. VIII 1021a

bārandj : 'coloured', melons from Khʷārazm. X 435b

baranta (T) : an Eastern Turkish term, though now regarded as old-fashioned, for 'foray, robbery, plunder', 'cattle-lifting'. I 1037b
Among the nomad Turkish peoples, ~ once represented a specific legal concept involving a notion of 'pledge, surety', e.g. the appropriation of a quantity of his adversary's property by a man who has been wronged, in order to recover his due. I 1037b

baraṣ (A, pl. *abraṣ*) : in medicine, a term used for leprosy, but could be applied to other skin diseases as well. V 107a; XII 271a; and → DJUDHĀM

barastūk → BARASŪDJ

barasūdj (A, < P *parastūg*) : in zoology, the mullet. Variants are *barastūk* and *ṭarastudj*. VIII 1021a

barāt (K) : in the YAZĪDĪ tradition, little balls of dust from the Lālish area made with water from the Zamzam spring, which have great religious significance. XI 315a

barata (T) : a special type of headdress, KÜLĀH, of woollen cloth in the shape of a sleeve whose rear part fell on the back, worn by palace domestics in Ottoman Turkey. V 751b

barbā (A, < C *p'erpé* 'temple') : name given by the Egyptians to solidly constructed ancient buildings of pagan times. I 1038b

barbaṭ (P, < *bar* 'breast' and *baṭ* 'duck') : in music, a lute whose sound-chest and neck were constructed in one graduated piece, unlike the ʿŪD, whose sound-chest and neck were separate. Arabic authors generally do not discriminate between the two instruments. X 768b

barbūsha (B) : a variety of couscous, made with barley semolina. This is called *ṣīkūk* in Morocco. V 528a

barda (A) : in zoology, the pink sea-bream, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Chrysophrys berda*). VIII 1021a

bardī (A), *waraḳ al-~* and *abardī* : the term for papyrus. VIII 261b; VIII 407b

bardjīs → MUSHTARĪ

bārgāh : guy ropes, used to support the Mongol ruler's large tent. IX 45b

bārgīr-suwār → SUWĀR

bāri' (A) : creator; one of the names of God (syn. *khāliḳ*). According to the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, ~ is he who creates without imitating a model, and is nearly always used for the creation of living beings in particular. IV 980b

barīd (Ass, < L *veredus* / Gk *beredos*) : postal service; post horse, courier, and post 'stage'. I 1045a; II 487a; III 109b

bāriḥ (A) : a term applied to a wild animal or bird which passes from right to left before a traveller or hunter; it is generally interpreted as a bad omen. I 1048a; 'that which travels from right to left', one of the technical terms designating the directions of a bird's flight, or an animal's steps, which play an important part in the application of divination known as FA'L, ṬĪRA and ZADJR. II 760a

bariyya → KHALḲ

bāriz (A) : visible; in grammar, often contrasted at a syntactical level with *mustatir* 'the concealed', for the pronouns in particular. XII 546a

barḳ (A) : lightning; telegraph. I 573a

barḳā' (A), and *abraḳ* : a Bedouin term from the Arabian peninsula denoting a hill whose sides are mottled with patches of sand. I 536b

barmā'iyyūn (A), or *ḳawāzib* : the amphibian mammals, such as the seal, the walrus, the sea lion etc. VIII 1022b

barnāmadj → FAHRASA

barnī (A) : a variety of dates. XII 366b

baro (Oromo) : a hymn with alternate verses. IX 399a

barrakān (N.Afr) : a heavy wrap worn by men in Tunisia in mediaeval times. V 745a; a large enveloping outer wrap for both sexes in present-day Libya. V 745b

barrānī (A), or *muḍāf* : one of the three main sources of revenue for the Egyptian government in the years immediately preceding the Napoleonic invasion of 1798, ~ were extraordinary taxes, the payment of which was demanded by the *multazims* (→ MÜLTEZIM) to increase their profits; they were collected regularly despite their illegality. II 148a; newly-arrived rural immigrant, in Oran contrasted with the oldest immigrants, the Oulad el-bled. XI 51a

barrāz → MUBĀRIZ

barsha (A) : a term, used round the South Arabian coasts, for a long, covered boat; also applied to large warships (cf. Ott *barča*, < It *bargia, barza*). VIII 811b

barsīm → ḲATT

bārūd (A, < Ar ?) : saltpetre; gunpowder. I 1055b

barzakh (A, P) : obstacle, hindrance, separation.
In eschatology, the boundary of the world of human beings, which consists of the heavens, the earth and the nether regions, and its separation from the world of pure spirits and God; Limbo. I 1072a

baṣal (A) : in botany, onions, one of the winter crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

basbās (A), or *rāziyānadj* : in botany, the fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*), in North Africa termed *bisbās*, which in the Eastern countries means the red seed-shell of the nutmeg (*Myristica frangrans*). I 214b; XII 128b

♦ basbāsa (A) : in botany, nutmeg. XII 128b

bash (T) : head, chief.

♦ bash ḳara ḳulluḳdju (T) : lit. head scullion; in Ottoman times, an officer's rank in an ORTA, subordinate to that of the ČORBADJĪ, or 'soup purveyor'. VIII 178b

♦ **bashi-bozuḳ** (T) : lit. leaderless, unattached; in the Ottoman period, ~ was applied to both homeless vagabonds from the province seeking a livelihood in Istanbul and male Muslim subjects of the sultan not affiliated to any military corps; from this last usage, ~ came to signify 'civilian'. I 1077b; IX 406b

basha (T) : a Turkish title, not to be confused with PASHA, nor with the Arabic or old eastern pronunciation of it. Put after the proper name, it was applied to soldiers and the lower grades of officers (especially Janissaries), and, it seems, also to notables in the provinces. VIII 281b

basharūsh → NUḤĀM
bashî-bozuḳ → BASH
bashīr (A) : in zoology, the polypterus Bichir. VIII 1021a; and → NADHĪR
bashmaḳlîḳ (T) : a term applied in 16th and 17th-century Ottoman Turkey to fief revenues assigned to certain ranks of ladies of the sultan's harem for the purchase of their personal requirements, particularly clothes and slippers. I 1079b
bashtarda (T, < It *bastarda*) : the term for the great galley of the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman navy. The principal types of Ottoman ships in the period of the oared vessels were the *ḳādirgha* (< Gk *katergon*) 'galley', the *ḳālīte* 'galliot', and the *fîrḳate* 'frigate'. Although the ~ was not the largest unit of the fleet, it was a galley larger than the *galea sensile* (T *ḳādirgha* or *čektiri*), but smaller than the galeazza or galiass (T *mawna*). I 948a ff.; VIII 565a; VIII 810b
bashtina → ČIFTLIK
bashwekīl → ṢADR-I AʿẒAM
basīṭ (wa murakkab) (A) : simple (and composite), the translation of Gk ἁπλοῦς and σύνθετος. Used as such in pharmacology, in grammar, philosophy and medicine, MUFRAD is found for *basīṭ*, and in logic, mathematics and music, *muʾallaf* is more commonly used for *murakkab*. I 1083b; and → MURAKKAB
In prosody, the name of the second Arabic metre, formed by the two feet *mustafʿilun fāʿilun*. I 670a; I 675a
♦ basīṭa → MIZWALA
basḳaḳ (T) : governor, chief of police. VIII 281a
Among the Mongols, an official whose main duty was to collect taxes and tribute; the commissioners and high commissioners sent to the conquered provinces (or the West only?), notably in Russia. Its Mongol equivalent was DĀRŪGHA or *darogha*. VIII 281a; IX 438a
basmala (A) : the formula *biʾsmi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīmi*, also called *tasmiya*. I 1084a; III 122b; V 411b
bast (P) : sanctuary, asylum; a term applied to certain places (mosques and other sacred buildings, especially the tombs of saints; the royal stables and horses; the neighborhood of artillery) which were regarded as affording inviolable sanctuary to any malefactor, however grave his crime; once within the protection of the ~, the malefactor could negotiate with his pursuers, and settle the ransom which would purchase his immunity when he left it. I 1088a
basṭ (A) : in mysticism, a term explained as applying to a spiritual state corresponding with the station of hope, 'expansion'. I 1088b; III 361a; IV 326a
In mathematics, the part or the numerator of a fraction (syn. *ṣūra*, *makhradj*). IV 725b
bāsūr (A, pl. *bawāsīr*) : in medicine, haemorrhoids. X 784a
baṭāʾin (P) : a cotton cloth, produced in Zarand in Iran, which appears to have been used as lining for clothes. Called al-Zarandiyya it was taken to Egypt and the most distant parts of the Maghrib. V 151a
baṭāna → DJARF
baʿth (A) : lit. to send, set in motion; in theology, ~ denotes either the sending of prophets or the resurrection. I 1092b
bathn (A) : on the Arabian peninsula, a small, deadly but innocent-appearing snake living in the sands. I 541b
baṭīḥa (A, pl. *baṭāʾiḥ*) : marshland, the name applied to a meadowlike depression which is exposed to more or less regular inundation and is therefore swampy. In particular, it was applied in the ʿAbbāsid period to the very extensive swampy area on the lower course of the Euphrates and Tigris, also called *al-baṭāʾiḥ*. I 1093b
bāṭil → FĀSID; RADHĪ

bāṭin (A) : in Ismāʿīlī theology, the inner meaning of sacred texts, as contrasted with the literal meaning, ẒĀHIR. I 1099a

♦ **bāṭiniyya** (A) : the name given to the Ismāʿīlīs in mediaeval times, referring to their stress on the BĀṬIN, and to anyone accused of rejecting the literal meaning of such texts in favour of the *bāṭin*. I 1098b; XI 389b

batman (P) : a measure of capacity introduced in Persia in the 15th century, equal to 5.76 kg. This was apparently the standard weight in most Persian provinces under the rule of the Ṣafawids. VI 120a

baṭn (A, < Sem 'stomach', cf. Heb 'uterus'; pl. *buṭūn*) : in Arabic 'a fraction of a tribe', designating a uterine relationship; in geography, ~ is used in geographical names with the meaning of 'depression, basin'. I 1102a; the plural form *al-buṭūn* was used to refer to the two sons of Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt, Kaʿb and ʿAmr, who were not among the group called *al*-ABNĀʾ. X 173a; sub-tribe. XI 101b

batr → BATT̤

batrāʾ (A) : in early Islam, a term for a Friday sermon, *khuṭba*, lacking the ḤAMDALA. III 123a; as *al-batrāʿ*, or *al-butayrāʾ*, 'the truncated speech', the name for Ziyād b. Abīhi's inaugural speech as governor, which though considered a masterpiece of eloquence, did not praise God and did not bless the Prophet. XI 520b

baṭrakh : botargo, a fish delicacy like caviar, *khibyāra*, not widely consumed in Arab countries. VIII 1023a

baṭṭ (A), or *batr* : in medicine, an incision (for the removal of morbid matter). II 481b In zoology, a duck. IX 98b

baṭṭāl (A) : idle, inactive, in particular, a discharged, dismissed or exiled member of the Mamlūk military nobility. V 332b

batur → ALP

baʿūḍ (A) : in zoology, the gnat. II 248a; mosquitos. IV 522a

bavik (K), or *mal* : a Kurdish extended family, consisting of a group of houses or household or family in the strict sense of father, mother and children. The union of many *baviks* constitutes the clan, or *ber*. V 472a

bawārid (A) : cooked green vegetables preserved in vinegar or other acid liquids. II 1064a; cold vegetable dishes, prepared also from meat, fowl and fish; frequent ingredients were vinegar and a sweetening agent, sugar or honey. X 31b

♦ bawāridiyyūn : makers and sellers of *bawārid*. II 1064a

bawraḳ (A, < P *būra*), and *būraḳ* : natron, sesqui-carbonate of soda. It was found either as a liquid in water or as a solid on the surface of the soil. XII 130b; borax. VIII 111b

bay (A, T *beg*) : name applied to the ruler of Tunisia until 26 July 1957, when a Republic was proclaimed in Tunisia. I 1110b; and → BEY

♦ bay al-amḥāl : in Tunisia, the heir apparent to the Bey and head of the army until the advent of the Protectorate. I 1111a

bayʿ (A) : in law, a contract of sale, which is concluded by an offer, **idjāb**, and acceptance, *ḳabūl*, which must correspond to each other exactly and must take place in the same meeting. I 1111a

♦ bayʿ al-ʿarāyā → BAYʿ AL-MUZĀBANA

♦ bayʿ al-barāʾa (A) : in law, a sale without guarantee wherein the seller is freed from any obligation in the event of the existence, in the sale-object, of such a defect as would normally allow the sale to be rescinded. I 1026b

♦ bayʿ al-gharar (A) : 'dangerous or hazardous trading', in law, a prohibited transaction, an example of which is *bayʿ ḥabal al-ḥabala*, namely, the sale of a pregnant she-camel for slaughter with the prospect that it may produce a female young one, which will again bear young. X 468a

♦ bayʿ ḥabal al-ḥabala → BAYʿ AL-GHARAR

♦ bayʿ al-ḥaṣāt → BAYʿ AL-MUNĀBADHA
♦ bayʿ ilḳāʾ al-ḥadjar → BAYʿ AL-MUNĀBADHA
♦ bayʿ al-ʿīna (A), or *ʿīna* : in law, a 'sale on credit', also known as MUKHĀṬARA. VII 518b; VIII 493a
♦ bayʿ al-muʿāwama (A) : in law, the purchase of the yield of palm-trees for two or three years in advance, an example of the sale of things which are not yet in existence at the time of the contract and thus prohibited. X 467b
♦ bayʿ al-mulāmasa (A) : in law, a prohibited transaction concluded without the goods being seen or examined beforehand, the covered goods being simply touched with the hand. X 468a
♦ bayʿ al-munābadha (A) : in law, a prohibited sale in which the exchange is irrevocably concluded by the two parties handing over the goods without seeing or testing them beforehand. Another form of this transaction is bayʿ al-ḥaṣāt or bayʿ ilḳāʾ al-ḥadjar, when as a sign of the conclusion of the agreement, a small stone is handed over in place of the goods. X 468a
♦ bayʿ al-muzābana (A) : in law, a transaction during which any goods the weight, size or number of which is not known is sold in bulk for a definite measure, weight or number of another commodity. It is a prohibited sale but according to Tradition, one exception was allowed, when a poor man who does not possess a palm-tree of his own, in order to procure for his family fresh dates, purchases for dried dates the fruit of a palm on the tree, but it has to be valued. Such a sale is termed *bayʿ al-ʿarāyā*. X 467b
♦ bayʿ al-muzāyada (A) : in law, an auction, which is only permitted in three cases: in direst poverty, in sickness or when deeply in debt. X 467b
♦ bayʿ al-ʿurbān (A), or *bayʿ al-ʿurbūn* : in law, a form of prohibited sale in which an earnest-money is given which belongs to the vendor if the transaction is not carried through. X 467b
♦ bayʿ bi'l-istighlāl → GHĀRŪḲA
♦ al-bayʿ bi'l-wafāʾ (A) : in law, a 'conditional sale' of part of the plot of a debtor to the lender, to be nullified as soon as the debt is redeemed. XII 322b
♦ bayʿatān fī bayʿa (A) : in law, a double sale, which is a legal device to get around the prohibition of interest. An example is the transaction called MUKHĀṬARA, where e.g. the (prospective) debtor sells to the (prospective) creditor a slave for cash, and immediately buys the slave back from him for a greater amount payable at a future date; this amounts to a loan with the slave as security, and the difference between the two prices represents the interest. III 511b; VII 518b

bayʿa (A) : a term denoting, in a very broad sense, the act by which a certain number of persons, acting individually or collectively, recognise the authority of another person. I 1113a; II 302b; VI 205b
♦ bayʿat al-ḥarb (A) : 'the pledge of war', the name of a promise given to the Prophet at 'the second ʿAḳaba' in 622 by seventy-three men and two women who promised to defend Muḥammad, if necessary, by arms. I 314b; V 995b
♦ bayʿat al-nisāʾ (A) : 'the pledge of the women', the name of a meeting between the Prophet and twelve men from Medina at 'the first ʿAḳaba' in 621 where the latter formally accepted Islam and made certain promises. I 314b; V 995b
♦ **bayʿat al-riḍwān** (A) : the name given to an oath of allegiance exacted by the Prophet from some of his followers during the Medinan period. XII 131a

bayāḍ (A) : 'blank book', a technical term in literature referring to a sort of anthology in the form of an informal notebook with poetical fragments. VII 529a
In medicine, the affected skin of the leper. X 510a

bayaḍ (A), or *bayyāḍ* : a silurus of the Nile, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Bagrus bajad*). VIII 1021a

bayān (A) : lucidity, distinctness, clarity.
In rhetoric, a near syn. of BALĀGHA 'eloquence'; *ḥusn al-bayān* means distinctiveness (of expression). I 1114a; VIII 614b; and → AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA 'L-BAYĀN
bayāt (A) : a night-attack (of a raiding group of Bedouin). II 1055b
bayḍ al-ḳiṭṭ (A) : 'cat's testicles', in botany, the variety *Astragalus sieberi* of the genus Milk vetch. IX 653b
bayḍa (A) : in clothing, properly an iron helmet (also *khūdha*, < P *khūd*) from their resemblance in shape to an ostrich egg, but, according to al-Kattānī, also a turban. X 611b; XII 735b; and → MIGHFAR
baydaḳ → SHAṬRANDJ
bāyina (A) : a bow which uses too long an arrow, this being considered a fault because it reduces the draw and consequently makes the shot less powerful. IV 798a
bāyirāt (A) : in law, lands that have been abandoned, which raised the question whether such lands should pay land tax. IV 1036a
bayn (U) : in Urdu poetry, the part of the elegy, *marthiya*, where the martyr's family, the poet himself and all believers are lamented. VI 611b
♦ bayniyya (A) : 'intermediary'; in grammar, a division of consonants in between the occlusive and the constrictive, designating the letters *ʿ, l, m, n, r, w, y, alif.* The term ~ is recent, from 1305/1887; the ancient practice was to say e.g. 'those which are between the SHADĪDA 'occlusive' and the RIKHWA 'constrictive''. III 599a
bayraḳdār (T *bayraḳ*, P *dār*) : 'standard-bearer', under the Ottomans, applied to various officers of both the 'feudal' and the 'standing' army and to certain hereditary chieftains of Albania. I 1134b
bayt (A, pl. *buyūt*) : dwelling; covered shelter where one may spend the night. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the ~, or *bayt shaʿar*, was a tent of goat's hair and of average size. It served as a dwelling for breeders of small livestock (that is to say, of numerous Bedouin). I 1139b; II 113b; IV 1147a; and → DĀR; ~ may sometimes designate a 'sanctuary'; thus, when used with the definite article, *al-bayt*, or *al-bayt al-ḥarām, al-bayt al-ʿatīḳ*, it signifies the holy place at Mecca. I 1139b
In prosody, ~ (pl. *abyāt)* is a line of poetry consisting of two clearly distinct halves called MIṢRĀʿ. I 668a; two hemistichs with between 16 and 30 syllables and a caesura. VIII 583a
In the game of chess or backgammon, the term for a field on which a piece stands. VII 963a; IX 366b
In archery, a sector or 'house' of the bow, thus the upper limb is called *bayt aʿlā*, also called *bayt al-ramy* 'house of shooting' because the shot is made according to this plan. The lower limb is the 'lower house' (*bayt asfal*) or 'house of perpendicularity' (*bayt al-isḳāṭ*), i.e. that which falls away towards the ground. IV 799a
♦ bayt al-ibra → IBRA
♦ bayt maftūḥ (A) : in architecture, a multi-courtyard house. VI 809a
♦ **bayt al-māl** (A) : the 'fiscus' or treasury of the Muslim state. The notion of public as distinct from private ownership and the idea of properties and monies designed to serve the interests of the communities is said to have been introduced first by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; coupled with the institution of the DĪWĀN, it marks the starting point of the ~ as the state treasury. Previously the term designated the depository where money and goods were temporarily lodged pending distribution to their individual owners. In the administration of the later caliphate, the term MAKHZAN seems to have almost replaced the ~, which reflects the proportionate increase of presentations in kind and the diminution of fiscal receipts in hard cash. I 1141b
♦ bayt al-māldjī (Alg) : the trustee of vacant estates, a member of the council governed by the DEY. I 368a

♦ bayt al-sadjdjāda (A) : in modern Egyptian usage, the central office of a ṣūfī order, serving as the residence and the office of the order's SHAYKH or his senior aide, *wakīl*. VIII 744a

♦ bayt al-ṭā'a (A) : in Egypt and Sudan, the institution of police-executed enforced obedience of rebellious wives, abolished since the late 1960s. VIII 32a

♦ al-abyāt al-mushadjdjara (A) : in prosody, verses which can be read from beginning to end and from end to beginning. IX 461a

bayṭār (A, < Gk) : veterinary surgeon. I 1149b

bayyāra (A) : a cesspool. V 1007a

bayyāz (A), and *bayyāzī, biyāz, bāziyy, bayzārī* : Spanish-Maghribī terms for hawker, which frequently gave way to *ṭayyār*, or *ṣakkār* 'falconer'. I 1152b

bayyina (A, pl. *bayyināt*) : clear, evident.

In the Qur'ān, ~ appears as a substantive, meaning 'manifest proof'. I 1150b

In law, ~ denotes the proof *per excellentiam*—that established by oral testimony—, although from the classical era the term came to be applied not only to the fact of giving testimony at law but also to the witnesses themselves. I 1150b

bayzara (A, < P *bāzyār* 'ostringer') : the art of the flying-hunt; falconry. I 1152a

bäz (T) : a common word for coarse cotton cloth in various Turkish dialects. V 557a

bāz (P) : in zoology, goshawk. I 1152a

bāzahr (A, < P *pā(d)-zahr* 'against poison') : bezoar, a remedy against all kinds of poisons, highly esteemed and paid for up to the 18th century. The bezoar-stone, a gall stone, is obtained from the bezoar-goat (*Capra aegagrus Gm.*). I 1155b

bazand (A) : a pre-Islamic word for raised canal banks in mediaeval 'Irāḳ. V 865a

bāzār (P, T *pāzār*) : syn. of SŪḲ, in some villages in Afghanistan, ~ is used for the town itself, in its entirety. IX 789a

♦ bāzār-i khāṣṣ (IndP) : in Muslim India, the market on the principal streets of the city. IX 800b

♦ mīnā bāzār (IndP) : in Muslim India during the Mughal period, a market in the nature of a fête, arranged in the palace, in which the ladies of the nobles set up shops and the Emperor, along with his queens, made purchases. IX 801a

bāzinḳir (T or P) : slave-troops equipped with fire-arms; a term current during the late Khedivial and Mahdist periods in the Sudan. I 1156b

bazirgan (T, < P 'merchant') : under the Ottomans, ~ was applied to Christian and especially Jewish merchants, some of whom held official appointments in the Ottoman palace or armed forces. I 1157a

♦ bazirgan-bashi (T) : under the Ottomans, the chief purveyor of textiles to the Imperial household. I 1155b

baẓr (A, pl. *buẓūr*) : in anatomy, the clitoris. IV 913a

♦ baẓrā' (A) : a woman who is affected by clitorism, or is believed to be so. An uncircumcised woman is called *lakhnā'*. Expressions such as *ibn al-~* or *ibn al-lakhnā'* meaning in effect 'son of the uncumcised woman' are considered injurious. IV 913a

bāzūband → SĀ'ID

bazz → ḲUMĀSH

bazzāz (A, T *bezzāz*) : a textile dealer, cloth merchant. V 559b; XII 756b

bedestān (T), or *bedesten, bezzāzistān* : the centre of a city's economic life as the place of business of the leading merchants, and the centre for financial transactions, where valuable imported wares were sold. IV 227a; X 414a

bəd'iyya (B) : in North Africa, a sleeveless vest for men; in Morocco, a sleeveless KHAFṬĀN for women. V 745b

beg (T) : a title, 'lord', used in a number of different ways. Under the Īlkhāns, ~ was sometimes used for women, and under the Mughals the feminine form, *begam* (→

BEGUM), was common. Under the Ottomans, ~ was in wide use for tribal leaders, high civil and military functionaries, and the sons of the great, particularly PASHAS. I 1159a; and → BEY; ULU BEG

♦ **begum** (IndP), and *begam* : feminine of BEG, and an honorific title of the royal princesses under the Mughals. I 1161a

♦ **beglerbegi** (T), or *beylerbeyi* : a title, 'beg of the begs', 'commander of the commanders'. Originally designating 'commander-in-chief of the army', ~ came to mean provincial governor and finally was no more than an honorary rank. I 1159b; II 722a ff.

♦ beglerbegilik (T) : a term used for an administrative division in the Ottoman empire until it was replaced by EYĀLET. Thereafter, ~ continued to be used for the office of a BEGLERBEGI. II 722a

bekči (T) : a watchman who, by a decree of 1107/1695, patrolled the quarters, *maḥalle* (→ MAḤALLA), in Ottoman Istanbul with a lantern in his hands and arrested any strangers found there after the bed-time prayer. The ~ became a characteristic figure in the folklore of Istanbul. IV 234b

beledī → ḲASSĀM

bəlgha (B) : flat slippers, usually pointed at the toe, but sometimes rounded, worn by both sexes in North Africa. V 745b

belūk : a vocal art in West Java which marks religious, family and agrarian rites, and which is in the course of disappearing. VIII 153b

belwo (Somali) : in Somali literature, a genre of poetry dealing specifically with the theme of love, developed during the late 1940s and 1950s, which grew into an important vehicle for the expression of nationalist, anti-colonial feeling. A similar genre is *heello.* IX 726a

ben-ʿamma (A) : among the Arabs of Transjordania, a form of agreement, the object of which is to establish a state of peace between tribes. III 389a

bendahara (Mal) : the Chief Minister in Malay sultanates, the highest dignitary after the sultan. He is followed by the PENGHULU *bendahari*, who is responsible for maintaining the sacred traditions, the *temenggung*, responsible for security, and the *laksamana*, the supervisor of the fleet. IX 852a

bender (A) : in music, a sort of big tambourine without bells. IV 382b

benlāk → BENNĀK

bennāk (T, < A *banaka* ?), or *benlāk* : an Ottoman poll tax paid by married peasants possessing a piece of land less than half a *čift* (→ ČIFTLIK) or no land. The former were also called simply ~, or in full *ekinlü bennāk.* I 1169b; II 32b; and → DJABĀ

ber (K) : the Kurdish clan, formed by the union of many extended families, BAVIK. A collection of ~ constitutes the tribe. V 472a

berāt (T, < A BARĀʾA) : a term in Ottoman Turkish denoting a type of order issued by the sultan. In its more limited sense, ~ meant also 'a deed of grant', 'a writ for the appointment to hold an office'. All appointments throughout the empire whether that of a high-ranking pasha, even that of the Syrian Church bishops, or that of a low-ranking employee of a mosque, were effected by a ~. Its constant attribute was *sherif* or *humāyūn* 'imperial'. I 1170a

♦ **berātli** (T) : holder of a BERĀT; a term applied in the late 18th and early 19th centuries to certain non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman empire, who held *berāt*s conferring upon them important commercial and fiscal privileges. These *berāt*s were distributed by the European diplomatic missions in abusive extension of their rights under capitulation. I 1171b

bərbūkh (Alg) : a variety of couscous, with fine grain, eaten cold, without butter, and moistened with a little milk. V 528a

beshlik → ČEYREK

beste (T) : a vocal composition in four verses each followed by the same melodic passage. IX 876a

bey (T) : var. of BEG, title given to the sons of pashas, and of a few of the highest civil functionaries, to military and naval officers of the rank of colonel or lieutenant colonel, and popularly, to any persons of wealth, or supposed distinction. I 1159a; II 507b; V 631a; the name applied to the ruler of Tunisia until 26 July 1957 when Bey Lamine was deposed and the Republic was proclaimed. I 1110b

♦ beylerbeyi → BEGLERBEGI

♦ **beylik** (T) : a term denoting both the title and post (or function) of a BEY, and the territory (or domain) under his rule. Later, by extension, it came to mean also 'state, government', and, at the same time, a political and administrative entity sometimes enjoying a certain autonomy. In North Africa, the term is used in the former Ottoman possessions, but not in Morocco or in the Sahara, and refers to government and administrative authority at every stage. I 1191a; II 338b

In Ottoman administration, the most important of three offices into which the Ottoman chancellery was divided, the ~ saw to the despatch of imperial rescripts, orders of the viziers, and in general all ordinances other than those of the department of finance. VIII 482a

beza : a type of salt in the salt works near Bilma, in Niger, ~ is in the form of crystals and, not treated in any way, is used for human consumption. I 1221b

bezzāzistān → BEDESTĀN

bhakti (H) : a north Indian movement, sometimes seen incorrectly as a Hindu reaction seeking to strengthen Hinduism against the advancing pressure of conversions to Islam. III 456b

bhāng (< San *bhaṅga*, A BANDJ, P *bang*) : in India, a product of the dried leaves of hemp reduced to powder and mixed with flour and spices, originally eaten but later more commonly smoked. III 266b; VI 814b

bi-lā kayf (A) : lit. without how, i.e. without specifying manner or modality; in theology, a doctrine taking a central position between those who interpreted the anthropomorphic expressions in the Qur'ān literally and those who interpreted them metaphorically. I 333b

bī-shar' (**bīshar'**) (P) : lit. without law, i.e. rejecting not only the ritual but also the moral law of Islam; one of the two categories into which dervishes in Persia are divided. The other is BĀ-SHAR'. The term seems primarily to denote the adepts of the Malāmatiyya ṣūfī sect. I 1239b; II 164b

bī'a → KANĪSA

bibi (T) : originally, 'little old mother', 'grandmother', 'woman of high rank', ~ was used in Ottoman Turkish in the sense of 'woman of consequence', 'lady', and in 13th-century Khurāsān as a title for women of distinction. I 1197b

bid'a (A) : innovation, a belief or practice for which there is no precedent in the time of the Prophet. I 1199a; IV 141b

♦ bid'at (T) : dues in contradiction to the sharī'a or to Ottoman administrative principles, which nevertheless continued to be levied either by the State or TĪMĀR-holders, e.g. the *bid'at-i khinzīr* 'pig-tax' which provided the treasury with a large revenue. II 147a; VIII 486b

♦ bid'at marfū'e (T) : in Ottoman administration, pre-conquest taxes and dues that were abolished by the sultan's specific order. VIII 486b

♦ bid'at ma'rūfe (T) : in Ottoman administration, pre-conquest taxes and dues that were customarily recognized. VIII 486b

bīdār (A) : in Oman and Trucial Oman the official subordinate to the 'ARĪF, the latter being in charge of the water distribution. IV 532a

bīgār → ḤASHAR

bīghā : a standard measure of area in Muslim India, divided into twenty BĪSWĀ. The ~ varied considerably by region, with a distinction between a larger (*pakkā*) and a smaller (*kaččā*) measure. VII 140a

bighā' (A) : the Qur'ānic term for prostitution. XII 133a

bikāsīn → SHUNḲUB

bikr (A) : a virgin girl. III 17a; X 901b

billawr (A, < Gk ?) : in mineralogy, rock-crystal. I 1220b

bilmedje (T) : the name given to popular riddles among the Ottoman Turks. I 1222a

bilyūn (Mor), or *gersh* : a coin with the value of a twentieth of a douro or RIYĀL. III 256a

bīmāristān (P) : a hospital; in modern usage, a lunatic asylum. I 1222b

binā' (A) : building, the art of the builder or mason. I 1226a

In grammar, the state of a word that is fixed to one final short vowel or to none at all, and thus the opposite of IʿRĀB. III 1249b; and → WAZN

biñbashi (T) : 'head of a thousand'; a Turkish military rank. It appears as early as 729/1328-29 among the Western Turks. Although it was not much used in the regular Ottoman forces of the classical period, it reappeared in the 18th century when it designated the officers of the newly raised treasury-paid force of infantry and cavalry. From the end of the 18th century, it became a regular rank in the new European-style armies. I 1229a; VIII 370b

binish (T) : a kind of very full caftan with wide sleeves, worn most frequently as a travelling or riding garment in the Ottoman period. V 752a; all public appearances of the sultan, whether on horseback or in a boat. VIII 529a

binn : a Druze term denoting one of a number of earlier races or sects, said to have been a group of inhabitants of Hadjar in the Yemen who believed in the message of Shaṭnīl, the incarnation of Ḥamza in the Age of Adam. XII 135b

bint (A, pl. *banāt*) : daughter.

♦ bint labūn (A) : a female camel in its third year. XI 412a

♦ bint makhaḍ (A) : a female camel in its second year. XI 412a

♦ banāt naʿsh (A) : in astronomy, the Plough (δεζη Ursae Majoris). VII 51a

bi'r (A, pl. *abyār*) : well; cistern, reservoir; even any hole or cavity dug in the ground, whether containing water or not. I 538b; I 1230a

birdhawn (A, pl. *barādhīn*) : in zoology, 'of common parentage', one of four classifications of a horse, usually used for the draught-horse or pack-horse. II 785b; nag of non-Arab stock. IV 1143b; IV 1146a

birdjāṣ (A) : during the early ʿAbbāsid period, a kind of equestrian game, in which the contestant had to get his lance-point through a metal ring fixed to the top of a wooden column, thus revealing his skill or otherwise in controlling his horse and aiming his weapon. IV 265b

bīrindj → SHABAH

birindjāsaf → SHĪḤ

birka (A) : an external cistern; fish pond. VIII 816a; VIII 1022a

At Fez and Rabat and in Tunisia, a special (slave) market, existing until well into the 20th century. I 35a

birḳish → ABŪ BARĀḲISH

birr (A) : a Qur'ānic term meaning 'pious goodness'. I 1235b; charitable gift. VIII 712a

birsām : in medicine, pleurisy. IX 9b

birsīm (A) : in botany, Egyptian clover. VI 163a

bīrūn (P) : outside; in Ottoman Turkish, the name given to the outer departments and services of the Ottoman imperial household, in contrast to the inner departments, known as ENDERŪN. The ~ was thus the meeting-point of the court and the state and,

besides palace functionaries, included a number of high officers and dignitaries concerned with the administrative, military, and religious affairs of the empire. I 1236a; II 1089a

bisāṭ (A, pl. *busṭ, busuṭ, absiṭa*) : a generic term for carpet. XII 136a

bisbās → BASBĀS

bīsh → AḲŪNĪṬUN

bīsharʿ → BĪ-SHARʿ

bishāra (A) : equivalent used for Greek *evangelium* 'announcement of good news', found for the first time in Freytag's Arabic-Latin dictionary. XII 772a

bishṭ (A) : a mantle, jacket, worn by both sexes in Syria and Palestine. V 740b

biṣṣasfalṭus → MŪMIYĀʾ

bīswā : a standard measure of area used in Muslim India, divided into twenty *bīswānsā*. In turn, twenty ~ was one BĪGHĀ. The ~ varied considerably by region. VII 140a

bitʿ (A) : mead, an alcoholic drink consisting of a mixture of honey and wine. The Egyptians used to be very fond of it in mediaeval times. VI 720a; VII 907b; hydromel. IV 998a

biti (T) : an Ottoman sultan's order, more or less obsolete after 1500. I 1170a

bitikči (T) : secretaries in Mongolian Persia, especially in the military administration, who were especially knowledgeable in Turkish or Mongolian. It was their task to translate into these two languages original documents probably written in Persian, and in ʿIrāḳ also in Arabic. I 1248b; IV 757a

biṭrīḳ (A, < L *Patricius*) : patriciate; an honorary dignity, not connected with any office, and conferred for exceptional services to the state. In the history of the Arabs before Islam, only two Ghassānid dynasts, viz. al-Ḥārith b. Djabala and his son al-Mundhir, are known to have received this much coveted Roman honour. The term found its way into Muslim literature, and in the military annals of Arab-Byzantine relations, it became the regular term for a Byzantine commander. I 1249b; V 620a

biṭṭīkh (ʿayn) al-nims → NIMS

bīwe resmī (T) : under the Ottomans, the ISPENDJE tax paid by widows at the rate of 6 AḲČEs per person. II 146b

bocca : a mini-community, specific to the Wansharīs massif in central Algeria, whose administrative coverage often corresponds to a cleared area. XI 139a

bölük (T) : in Eastern Turkish and in Persian, ~ designated a province or region. I 1256a

In Ottoman Turkey, from the time of the reforms on, ~ designated units of infantry or cavalry of the standing army. I 102a; I 1256a; II 1097b; II 1121a; and → DÖRT BÖLÜK

♦ **bölük-bashi** (T) : the title given to the commanders of the BÖLÜKs of the AGHA. The ~ was mounted and had an iron mace and a shield tied to his saddle; when the sultan left the Palace for the mosque, the ~ was present wearing ornate clothes and holding in his hand a reed instead of a spear. I 1256b

börk (T) : the most widespread Turkish head-gear in Ottoman Turkey, the ~ was in a cone or helmet shape, raised in front and decorated at the base with gold braid; officers wore it decorated in addition with a plume. V 751b

boru (T), and NEFĪR : a trumpet without holes which could produce five notes within an ambitus of one and a half octaves. Older *borus* were apparently made of bronze, but by the 10th/16th century brass was in use. VI 1007b

bostāndjī (T, < P **būstān** 'garden') : a term applied in the old Ottoman state organisation to people employed in the flower and vegetable gardens, as well as in the boathouses and rowing-boats of the sultan's palaces. The ~s formed two ODJAḲS 'army units'. I 1277b; IV 1100b; soldier-gardener. X 568b

♦ **bostāndjī-bashi** (T) : the senior officer of the ODJAḲ of the BOSTĀNDJĪs. As the

person responsible for the maintenance of law and order on the shores of the Golden Horn, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus, he used to patrol the shores in a boat with a retinue of 30 men, as well as inspect the countryside and forests around Istanbul. He was very close to the sultan. I 1278b

brīm → ʿAKĀL; ḤAKW

budalāʾ → ABDĀL

budd (A, P *but*; pl. *bidada*) : a temple, pagoda; Buddha; an idol. I 1283b

būdjādī (A, < *abdjād*) : in North Africa, used for 'beginner', literally, 'one still at the abecedarian stage'. I 98a

budna → SINĀM

budūḥ (A) : an artificial talismanic word formed from the elements of the simple threefold magic square. The uses of the word are most various, to invoke both good and bad fortune, but by far the most common use is to ensure the arrival of letters and packages. II 370a; XII 153a

bughāt (A, s. *bāghī*) : 'rebels'; in law, sectarian-minded Muslims who reject the authority of the ruler, considered by the Zaydīs and Imāmīs as unbelievers, but by the Sunnīs as erring Muslims. IV 772a; IX 205a

bughtāḳ : a bonnet worn by Īlkhānid princesses. It consisted of a light wood frame covered with silk, from the top of which protruded a long feather. The ~ could be ornamented with gold and precious stones and sometimes had a long train which hung down behind. V 748b; X 611b

buhār (A) : in zoology, the diacope, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Diacope bohar*). VIII 1021a

buḥayra (A, dim. of *baḥra*) : lake. In North Africa, ~ (*bḥēra*) denotes a low-lying plain; its most common meaning, however, is 'vegetable garden, field for market gardening'. I 1288a

In Almohad times, ~ meant an irrigated garden. I 1288a

buḥūr → BAḤR

būḳ (A) : in music, the generic name for any instrument of the horn or trumpet family. I 1290b; a kind of reed-pipe that became quite famous in Western Europe. The original ~ was a horn or clarion, and was made of horn or metal. Pierced with holes for fingering, and played with a reed, the ~ evolved into a new type of instrument, somewhat similar to the modern saxophone. VII 207b

buḳʿa (A), or *baḳʿa* : a region which is distinguishable from its surroundings, more particularly a depression between mountains. I 1292b; a patch of ground marked out from adjoining land by a difference in colour, etc. or a low-lying region with stagnant water. XII 154a

In the central and eastern parts of the Islamic world, ~ acquired the sense of 'dervish convent', 'mausoleum' or in general 'a building for pious, educational or charitable purposes'. IX 474b; XII 154a

būḳalā (Alg) : a two-handled pottery vase used by women in the course of the divinatory practices to which it gave its name. I 1292b; III 290a

būḳalamūn (A) : a coloured (violet, red and green) cloth, with a moiré, watered-silk effect, produced in the Tinnīs workshops and especially prized by the Fāṭimid court in Cairo. X 532a

bukhl (A) : avarice, the person who practices it being called *bakhīl* or, less often, *bākhil*. I 1297b

bukht (A, s. *bukhtī*, pl. *bakhātī*) : in zoology, the species produced as a result of the crossing of two-humped stallions with Arab female camels; it did not breed and was mainly used as a beast of burden. III 665b

būḳīr (A) : in zoology, a kind of bird. I 168b
bukra → GHUDWA
buku (Sw?) : in zoology, the Zanzibar Pouched Rat (*cricetomys gambianus* Cosensi), reported to be nearly three feet long from snout to the end of the tail. XI 448b
bukubulbīs (A) : in zoology, the barbel. VIII 1021a
bularghuči → YURTČĪ
bulbul (A) : in zoology, the Syrian nightingale. I 541b; I 1301a
♦ bulbula → IBRĪḲ
bulḳa (A) : in mineralogy, piebaldness, uneven colouring which is a defect or impurity in a gem. XI 263a
bullayḳ (A) : in prosody, term used by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī for a ZADJAL that is jocular or obscene. XI 373b
bulūk (P, pl. *bulūkāt*) : a district, in particular a district watered by river water. V 873b f.
būmī → ZAMĪNDĀR
bunbuk → KHINZĪR AL-BAḤR
bunduḳ (A) : in botany, the parasol pine. V 50b; and → ḲAWS AL-BUNDUḲ
bunīča (P) : in Persia, a group assessment, on the basis of which taxes were levied on the craft guilds. The tax based on this assessment was subsequently allocated among the individual members of the guild. This form of tax was abolished in 1926. II 151b; the right to exercise a trade, given to some guilds, was called *ḥaḳḳ al-~*. IX 645b
būnīt → BALAMĪDA
bunn (A) : in zoology, the carp. VIII 1023a; and → ḲAHWA
♦ bunnī al-Nīl (A) : in zoology, the Nile barbel, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Barbus bynni*). VIII 1021b
būraḳ → BAWRAḲ
burd → BURDA
burda (A), or *burd* : a wrap of striped woollen cloth produced in the Yemen, before and during the Prophet's time, usually worn by men. I 1314b; III 316a; V 734a
burdj (A, pl. *burūdj*) : a square or round tower, whether adjacent to a rampart or isolated and serving as a bastion or dungeon; masonry pier of a bridge. I 1315a; a moveable tower, used as a siege instrument. III 473a; a pigeon-house. III 109a
In astronomy, each of the twelve signs of the zodiac. I 1315a; and → MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ
In music, ~ denotes a mode. I 1315a
♦ burdj-i kabūtar (P) : pigeon towers, the construction of which on the fertile plain around Iṣfahān was encouraged by Shāh ʿAbbās so that he could heavily tax the guano harvest. XII 457a
burdjās (A) : a chivalrous duel with lances, an equestrian sport regularly practised in the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. II 954a
burdjīn (A) : in botany, the name of one of five varieties of the red jujube; it has small fruits with a violent astringency, spreads on the ground and grows to the height of sitting. X 868b
burdjuma (A) : 'knuckle'; in its plural form, *barādjim*, was the term for five (or six or four) components of the Ḥanẓala b. Mālik group, the less numerous ones, against their brothers, three other sons of Ḥanẓala, X 173b
burghul (A, T *bulgur*) : crushed wheat, considered a dish of the poor. II 1067a
burghūth (A) : in zoology, fleas, diptera of the *pulex* family. IV 522a
♦ burghūth al-māʾ (A) : in zoology, the water-beetle (*Daphnia pulex*). VIII 1022a
burhān (A) : decisive proof, clear demonstration; a Qurʾānic term signifying a brilliant manifestation, a shining light from God. In correlation, ~ is also the decisive proof

which the infidels are called upon to furnish as justification of their false beliefs. I 1326b

In law, ~ refers to the quality of certitude (based upon an argument of authority, which can be either a scriptual text or the eye-witnessing of an obvious fact) which is proper to reasoning 'in two terms', in order to prove the radical distinction between or the identity of two comparable 'things'; it is found especially in al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, Ibn Ḥanbal and Dāwūd. I 1326b

In logic, ~ came to designate syllogistic demonstration. I 1327a

būrī (A) : in zoology, the grey mullet. I 168b; VIII 1023a

burḳuʿ (A) : in early Islam, a woman's face veil consisting of a fabric suspended from the centre front of the headband by a string creating a mask-like effect. It is still worn by married women among the Sinai Bedouin. V 735a

In military science, a chamfron or armour for the horse's head (syn. *kas̲h̲ka, sarī, tis̲h̲taniyya*). XII 739a

burnus (A) : a sort of high cap or bonnet, worn in the Prophet's time. Already this early, the ~ must also have designated by extension a woollen hooded cloak. V 734b; X 612a

burt (A, < L *portus*) : 'gate', the northeastern border of Muslim Spain, called as such by the geographers, although they differed as to where it lay. I 1337a

burtuḳāl, burtuḳāliyyāt → NĀRAND̲J̲

burṭul[la] (A; P *pertele*) : in clothing, a high cap; with the pronunciation barṭala, a low skullcap. In modern parlance, it means the TĀD̲J̲ of a bishop. X 612a

bürüme (T) : 'one with a coat of mail', in the Ottoman army, a D̲J̲EBELI who held a TĪMĀR of above 2,000 AḲČES. II 528b; a coat of mail consisting of linked steel rings that a d̲j̲ebelü who enjoyed a *tīmār* above 3,000 *aḳčes*. X 503a

būs (A) : a term used in addition to the general term LAWN 'colour' for a notion of brightness, of clear colour. V 699b

būs̲h̲ (A) : a variety of ʿABĀʾ made in North Syria. V 740b

♦ būs̲h̲ī (A), or *pūs̲h̲ī* : a black face veil worn by women in Iraq. V 740b

būsḥāḳī → FĪRŪZAD̲J̲

bus̲h̲t (A) : woollen wraps. IX 765a

busr → TAMR

bussad̲h̲ → MARD̲J̲ĀN

būstān → BOSTĀND̲J̲Ï

būtaḳ (A, pl. *bawātiḳ*) : in chemistry, a melting-pot. V 114b

buṭṭa (A) : a measure used in Egypt for weighing flour. The ~ was equal to 50 Egyptian RAṬLS, i.e. 22.245 kg. VI 119a

büyük kirpi → ḲUNFUD̲H̲

buyuruldu (T) : an order of an Ottoman grand vizier, vizier, BEGLERBEGI, *defterdār* (→ DAFTARDĀR), or other high official to a subordinate. A ~ is of two main types: a decision written in the margin of an incoming petition or report, or an order issued independently. It deals with various administrative matters, especially appointments, grants of fiefs, economic regulations, safe-passage, etc. I 1357b

buyūtāt (P) : under the Ṣafawids, the Royal Household, which was divided into a number of offices and workshops. II 335a; in Muslim Spain, the most influential families. XI 191b

būz (A) : snout.

♦ abū būz → ABŪ BŪZ

buz-kas̲h̲ī (P) : in Afghanistan, the equestrian sport of 'goat-dragging'. IV 1144b

buzuk → ṬUNBŪR

buzurg → BĀD̲J̲-I BUZURG; S̲H̲AS̲H̲MAḲOM

C

čabūtra (P) : in Mughal architecture, a platform. X 59b

čadirkhäyal (T) : one of two varieties of puppet theatre in Central Asia, a marionette show with full-bodied miniature marionettes suspended and activated from above on strings. VI 765a

čādur → RŪ BAND; SHAWDAR

čaghāna (T) : in music, the 'Jingling Johnny' (Fr *chapeau chinois*, Ger *Schellenbaum*), now superseded by the portable glockenspiel. X 37b

čahār (P) : four.

♦ čahār bāgh (P) → BĀGH

♦ čahār sūķ → SŪĶ

♦ čahār tāķ (P) : the mostly diminutive Sasanian fire temple with four axial arched openings. Set in the midst of a large open space, it served to house the sacred fire. This layout obviously lent itself to Muslim prayer, and literary sources recount how such fire temples were taken over and converted into mosques. The domed chamber, characteristic of Iranian mosques, derives from the ~. VI 684a

♦ čahārtār → TĀR

čakïr (T) : a merlin and falcon, one of the birds of prey making up the traditional sport of hawking at the Ottoman court. The others were the *shāhīn* 'peregrine falcon' and the *atmadja* 'sparrow-hawk'. II 614b

♦ **čakïrdjï-bashï** (T) : chief falconer, a high official of the Ottoman court and head of the whole organisation of hawking. II 6a; II 614b

čaķshīr (T, A *shaķshīr*) : Turkish-style pantaloons, underdrawers, worn by both sexes in Egypt, Syria and Palestine. V 740b

čālīsh → SHĀLĪSH

čālpāra → MUṢAFFAḤĀT

čandi : a temple of either Hindu or Buddhist intention, ultimately of Indian origin but modified by Indonesian religious concepts. The ~ has been proposed as one of the origins of the basic Indonesian mosque. VI 701b

canķri : a word used in Laķ society to designate children of marriages between BAGTALS and women of lower social orders. V 618a

čao (P, < Ch *tṣ'au*) : the name given to paper currency in circulation in Iran for about two months in 693/1294. It was made of the bark of the mulberry tree, was oblong in shape, and bore the SHAHĀDA. II 14a

čapar → ALP

čapūķ → TUTUN

čarkh → SANG

♦ čarkh-kamān (P) : a multiple-firing arbalest, borrowed from the Mongols. IV 798a

čarkhadjï → ĶARĀGHUL

čarpāra → MUṢAFFAḤĀT

čarshï (T) : in Ottoman times, common term for both individual business locales and covered markets, which may encompass over a hundred shops, contrasting with *pāzār*, an open-air market held once or several times a week. IX 796b

čārtār → TĀR

čāshna-gīr (P, A *dhawwāķ*) : 'taster', the title of an official, generally an AMĪR, at the court of the Muslim sovereigns from the time of the Saldjūķs. The title does not appear to be found under previous dynasties, although caliphs and princes did undoubtedly have overseers for their food. The term ~ is also found as the name of a kind of crystal decanter. II 15a

♦ **čāshnagīr-bāshī** (T) : 'chief taster', a high official at the Ottoman court. A document dated 883/1478-9 lists 12 tasters as subordinate to the ~. Later, the number employed rose considerably, reaching as high as 117. By the 18th century, the ~ had clearly fallen in status and had responsibilities more related to the preparation of food. II 15a; an Ottoman court dignitary, whose duty it was to assist the sultan in mounting his horse by holding him under the arm or under the armpit. VIII 529b

čatr (P), or *čitr* : a term used in the Iranian cultural sphere to designate a parasol held over the sovereign and considered as one of the insignia of rank. In this, it is the synonym of the Arabic MIẒALLA. VII 192b; the variant *čitr* gave rise to the Arabicised forms *djitr* and *shitr* which were used in the Mamlūk sultanate. VII 192a

čā'ūsh (T) : officials staffing the various Ottoman Palace departments; low-ranking military personnel. In Uygur, ~ refers to a Tou-kiu ambassador. In North Africa, it is still seen in its Arabic form of *shā'ūsh*, where it means a court usher or mace-bearer. II 16a
Under the ancient Turks, the Saldjūḳs, the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks, the ~ formed a privileged body under the direct command of the ruler; under the Ottomans, they were part of the official ceremonial escort of the sultan on his departure from the palace or when he had an audience with foreign dignitaries. Their services were also used as ambassadors or envoys by the sultan or his grand vizier. The ranks of ~ and *čā'ūsh wekīlī* were used in the cavalry and the navy at the beginning of the 19th century. After the army reorganisation in 1241/1826, a ~ held the equivalent rank of a sergeant. II 16a
In certain religious sects, the term designates a grade in the hierarchy of the sect. II 16a

čawgān (P) : the stick used in polo. The term is also used in a wider sense for the game itself, which originated in Persia and was generally played on horseback, though sometimes on foot; ~ was also used for any stick with the end bent back, particularly those for beating drums. II 16b

čawk : in Muslim India, a market usually located at places where four roads met. IX 800b

čay (P) : tea, introduced to sultan Mawlay Ismā'īl in Morocco in ca. 1700; ~ is variously termed *ātāy, tāy, shāy* and *shāhī*, in different parts of the Islamic world. II 17b

♦ **čāy-khāna** (P) : lit. tea-house, ~ covers a range of establishments in Iran serving tea and light refreshments. The term *ḳahwa-khāna* 'coffee-house' is used synonymously, although coffee is never served. XII 169a

čebken → ČEPKEN

čedik (T) : an indoor shoe with a low leg, worn in the Ottoman period. It was most often made in yellow Moroccan leather, with a supple sole. V 752b

čektiri → BASHTARDA

čelebi (T) : a term of unknown origin applied to men of the upper classes in Turkey between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 18th century, as a title primarily given to poets and men of letters, but also to princes and heads of a ṣūfī order; ~ is the most general title of the head of the Mawlawī order of dervishes. II 19a; VI 883a; its Syrian and Egyptian variant, *shalabī* or *djalabī*, has the meaning of 'barbarian'. II 19a

čeltükdji (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a rice grower with a special status as labourer of the sultan on the state's rice fields. They are also listed in the surveys as *kürekdji* or *ortaḳdji*. The condition of a ~ was quite onerous, since apart from the hardships borne by him in irrigating and cultivating the rice, he had to surrender half of his production to the state treasury. V 880a

čepken (T), or *čebken, sallama* : a short caftan with sleeves, buckled and bordered, worn as an outer garment in the Ottoman period. V 752a; XI 494a

česhme (T, < P) : one of two kinds of water fountains (→ SABĪL) in Istanbul. The ~ is self-service, the water being received from a tap above a basin, while the other, called *sebīl*, is served by an attendant behind a grill. The ~s of Istanbul are mural fountains which consist of a recessed niche framed by a rectangle with a protruding basin, made of carved white marble. II 26a; VIII 682a

čewgān (T) : a crescent-shaped, jingling rattle with bells, one of two types of brass percussion supporting the drum of the musical ensemble MEHTER. VI 1008a

čeyrek (T, < P *čahāryak*) : a quarter of an hour; a coin, also known as *beshlik*, or five piastre piece. The silver ~ had a fineness of 830, weighed 6.13 grams and measured 24 mm in diameter. II 28b

čhadjdjā : an architectural feature found in Indian mosques, namely, the eaves pent to throw off monsoon water and increase shade. VI 690b

čhatrī (H, < San, dim. of *čhattra*) : lit. umbrella; an Indo-Muslim architectural form of the *čhattra*, sc. small, canopied structures placed at the junctions of the *chemin de ronde* of a fortification, or as decorative elements at roof level on mosque, tomb or other building, or as simple cover of an inhumation less imposing than a tomb proper. The characteristic form is that of a domed canopy supported on four strong pillars, with heavy protecting eaves. III 442b ff.; VII 195a

čhattra → ČHATRĪ

chêng (Ch) : a Chinese musical instrument which was probably not used by Islamic peoples, although known to them. The ~ was made of tubes of reed joined together. It was blown through a tube and the notes were obtained by fingerholes. VII 208b

chiao-chu → TAO-CHANG

chundawand (H) : a custom among Indian Muslims by which the group, being the sons of each wife, is entitled to its allotted portion of the inheritance until the extinction of its last member. I 172a

čift-resmi (T) : the basic land tax in the Ottoman empire paid in principle by every Muslim peasant possessing one *čift* (→ ČIFTLIK). Depending upon the fertility of the soil, it was originally levied in the lands conquered from the Byzantines in Western Anatolia and Thrace, on both Muslim and Christian peasants alike, although in other parts of the empire, the Christians were subjected to a different tax. The *Ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II specifies that the rate of the tax was 22 AKČES, the equivalent of seven services for the TĪMĀR-holder. II 32a; VII 507b; VIII 486b

čifte naḳḳāre → NAḲḲĀRA

čiftlik (T, < P *djuft* 'pair' + Turkish suffix *lik*), or *čift* : farm.

In Ottoman times it designated, at first, a certain unit of agricultural land in the land-holding system, and then, later on, a large estate. Originally, it was thought of as the amount of land that could be ploughed by a pair of oxen; it applied to a holding of agricultural land comprising 60 or 80 to 150 DÖNÜMS, the size depending upon the fertility of the soil. In the Slav areas of the Ottoman empire, the term *bashtina* was often substituted for ~. II 32b

čihra (U) : descriptive rolls for the soldiers of the Indian army, introduced by Akbar to check evasions of military obligations. XII 176b

In Urdu poetry, ~ denotes the introductory verses of the elegy, *marthiya*, setting the tone with no restrictions as to details. VI 611b

čile → DEDE

čilim → NARDJĪLA

čilla (P, A *al-arbaʿīniyya*) : a quadragesimal fast. I 1122a; forty days of spiritual confinement in a lonely corner or cell for prayer and contemplation; one of the five main Čishtī ṣūfī practices adopted in order to harness all feelings and emotions in establishing communion with God. II 55b; IV 991a

♦ čilla-i maʿkūs (P) : the inverted ČILLA, performed by tying a rope to one's feet and having one's body lowered into a well, and by offering prayers in this posture for forty days. II 55b

čimshirlik → ĶAFES

čiragh (T, pl. **čirāghān**) : a means of illumination, such as candle, torch or lamp. *Čirāghān* festivities, in which tulip gardens were illuminated with lamps and candles, were held at a palace on the European side of the Bosphorus of the same name. II 49a

čīt (P, T, H *chint*) : chintz, a popular British imitation of Indian muslin that enjoyed demand in the Ottoman empire after 1780. V 564a

čitak (Serb 'coarse', pl. *čitaci*) : in some parts of southern Serbia and Bulgaria, designation of Bulgarian Muslims, said sometimes to be only given to Serbs converted to Islam; ~ seems to be, however, limited to Turks in the two countries. VIII 320a; in former Yugoslavia, the designation of Muslims speaking Serbo-Croat, Macedonian or Albanian, who are largely of South Slavonic stock converted to Islam under the Ottomans from the 9th/15th century onwards. An alternative, *gadjal*, was used less often by also pejoratively. X 697b ff.

čitr → ČATR

čizme (T) : the most widespread shoes in Turkey during the Ottoman period, with a high leg reaching up as far as the knee and a supple sole. V 752b

çöğür → ČŪGŪR

čorbadji (T) : lit. soup-provider; the commander of eight units of infantry or cavalry, BÖLÜK, in the Galipoli ODJAĶ. I 1256a; the title applied among the Janissaries to commanders of the ORTAs and the *agha bölükleri*. The title of ~ was also given to the village notables who entertained travellers. Later, until a half-century ago, it became an appellation of merchants and rich Christians. II 61b; VIII 178b

♦ čorbadjî kečesi (T) : the crested headdress generally worn on ceremonial occasions by the ČORBADJÎ, also called *ķalafat*. Its crest was made either of cranes' feathers or of herons' feathers. II 61b

♦ čorbadjî yamaghî (T) : the aide to the ČORBADJÎ. II 61b

cot (P) : the pair of oxen used for labour; the work carried out by the peasant in one day. V 473a

čūb (P) : wood; and → TUTUN

♦ čūb-i čīnī (P) : the china root, considered a universal cure, and which the Ṣafawid physician ʿImād al-Dīn stated cured infertility, opium addiction, baldness, rheumatism and haemorrhoids. VIII 783b; X 457b

čūgūr (T) : a musical instrument of the pandore type, with five strings and a wooden belly. It was invented by Yaʿķūb Germiyānī of Kütāhiya, and was used by the Janissaries. X 626a; as *çöğür*, a variant of the SĀZ 'lute', originally from eastern Turkey and Ādharbaydjān, characterised by a shorter neck and with a total length of about 100 cm. IX 120a

čuķadār (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a valet-de-chambre at the palace. IX 706b

čūl : loess dune. IX 431a

čumāk (T) : the club or mace. X 595a

čūpān (P) : 'herdsman, shepherd', a term adopted by Turkish peoples in close contact with the Iranian language-area. II 69a, where also can be found many words, chiefly plant names, in which *čoban* forms a compound

♦ čūpānbegī (P) : a tax on flocks and herds, levied in 9th/15th-century Persia. It was possibly synonomous with ĶŪBČŪR. IV 1042a

čupūķ → TUTUN

D

ḍabb (A) : in zoology, the thorn-tail lizard (*Uromastix spinipes*). II 70a

dābba (A, pl. *dawābb*) : in zoology, any living creature which keeps its body horizontal as it moves, generally a quadruped, in particular, a beast of burden or pack animal: horse, donkey, mule, or camel. II 71a

dabbāba (A) : penthouse, a siege instrument, mainly a Frankish weapon. III 473a ff.; testudine. III 472a

dabbāgh (A) : the profession of a tanner. XII 172a

dabbūs : in music, a wooden sceptre, to the head of which is attached a number of chains with jingling pieces of metal fixed loosely in the links, used by the dervish. IX 11a

In Mamlūk terminology, *fann al-dabbūs* is the mace game, one of the branches of horse-riding. II 955a

dabdāb, dabdaba → ṬABL AL-MARKAB

dabīb (A) : 'crawling', in literature, a theme originating in pre-Islamic poetry where it was possible to crawl under the tent in order to approach a woman but became purely conventional with later urban poets. V 778b

dabīḳī : a type of material, manufactured more or less everywhere but stemming originally from a locality in the outer suburbs of Damietta called Dabīḳ. II 72b; cloth made essentially from linen and often stitched with gold or silk. X 532a

dabīr (P) : scribe, secretary, used as the equivalent in the Persian cultural world, including the Indo-Muslim one during the sultanate period, of the Arabic KĀTIB. The head of the Correspondence ministry in the Dihlī sultanate was called *dabīr-i khāṣṣ*. IV 758b; XII 173a; and → ʿUMDAT AL-MULK

♦ dabīr-i sarā (IndP) : in the Dihlī sultanate, the registrar of the palace. IV 759a

ḍābiṭ (A, T *zabit*) : an Ottoman term for certain functionaries and officers; later, officers in the armed forces. Originally, ~ designated a person in charge or in control of a matter or of (? the revenues of) a place. By the 11th/17th century, it was already acquiring the technical meaning of army officer, and in the 12th/18th century, it was in common use in this sense. II 74a

In Persia, in the smaller ports, a tribal chief or goverment official who managed the port's customs. XII 717a

For ~ in the science of Tradition, → ṢAḤĪḤ

dabr → NAḤL

ḍabṭ (A) : the assessment of taxable land by measurement, applied under the later Dihlī Sultanate and the Mughals. II 74b; II 155b

♦ **ḍabṭiyya** (A, T *zabtiyye*) : a late Ottoman term for the police and gendarmerie. II 74b

ḍabuʿ (A, < Sem; P *kaftār*, T *ṣirtlan*, B *ifis*), and *ḍabʿ* : in zoology, the hyena. From this generic term, other terms have been derived to differentiate the male, *ḍibʿān* (alongside *dhīkh*), and female, *ḍibʿāna*. The cub is called *furʿul*. XII 173b, where can be found other synonyms

dabūr (A) : in meteorology, the west wind. VIII 526b

ḍād (A) : the fifteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *ḍ*, with the numerical value 800. Its definition presents difficulties but the most probable is: voiced lateralized velarized interdental fricative (in Arabic: *rikhwa madjhūra muṭbaḳa*). II 75a

dadjādja (A) : in zoology, the domestic fowl. II 76a

In astronomy, the constellation of the Swan, also called *al-Ṭāʾir*. II 76a

♦ dadjādjat al-bahr (A), *dadjādjat al-kubba* : (in local pronunciation, *didjādja*), certain kinds of fish. II 76a

♦ dadjādjat al-mā' → SHUNKUB

dadjdjāl (A, < Syr) : lit. deceiver; the personage endowed with miraculous powers who will arrive before the end of time and, for a limited period of either 40 days or 40 years, will let impurity and tyranny rule the world. His appearance is one of the proofs of the end of time. II 76a; IV 408b

dādjin (A) : among the pre-Islamic Arabs, a sheep kept near the house and especially fattened for the table. II 1057b

♦ dādjina → KAYNA

dadjr (A), or *dudjr, dudjūr* : in mediaeval agriculture, the wooden cross-beam of the ancient tiller to which the ploughshare was fixed by means of a strap of iron; sometimes the dual (*dadjrān*) can be found, because it was in two parts with one joined to the other by another strap and/or a cord. VII 22a

dafʿ (A) : in law, the reply, and, by extension, every reply made by a party in contradiction of a plea raised by his opponent. II 171b

ḍafā'ir (A, s. *ḍafīra*), or *ghadā'ir* : locks of hair. IX 312a

dafn al-dhunūb (A) : burial of offences; a nomadic practice which consists of a make-believe burial of the offences or crimes of which an Arab is accused. II 248a; IV 407a

daftar (A, < Gk; T *defter*) : a stitched or bound booklet, or register, more especially an account or letter-book used in administrative offices. According to the administrative tradition, Khālid b. Barmak introduced the register into the central administration during the reign of al-Ṣaffāḥ; until that time, records were kept on papyrus, *ṣuḥuf*. I 1090a; II 77b

♦ daftar-i awāridja : a cash-book, showing the balance of moneys in hand, one of the seven main registers on which the Īlkhānid system of book-keeping was based. II 81a

♦ daftar-i derdest : one of the auxiliary registers used in the Ottoman period alongside the DAFTAR-I KHĀKĀNĪ to note changes, the ~ was a list of the villages or towns constituting the nucleus of the military fiefs and showing the successive changes which each fief had undergone. II 82b

♦ daftar-i idjmāl : one of the auxiliary registers used in the Ottoman period alongside the DAFTAR-I KHĀKĀNĪ to note changes, the ~ was a summary based on the detailed register, omitting the names of the inhabitants and giving the revenues only as lump sums for each unit. II 82a; X 113a

♦ **daftar-i khākānī** : the collection of registers in which were entered, during the Ottoman period, the results of the surveys made every 30 or 40 years until the beginning of the 11th/17th century, containing primarily lists of the adult males in the villages and towns, their legal status, their obligations and privileges, and the extent of the lands which they possessed, information on the way in which the land was used, and fiscal information with regard to revenues of the country. The ~ cannot be called a land-register; the land-register, in the modern sense of the term, was established in Turkey only from the second half of the 19th century. II 81b

♦ daftar-i mufradāt : a budget register showing the income and expenditure by cities, districts and provinces under the Īlkhānids, one of the seven main registers on which their system of book-keeping was based. II 81a

♦ daftar-i rūznāmče : one of the auxiliary registers used in the Ottoman period alongside the DAFTAR-I KHĀKĀNĪ to note changes, the ~ was a 'day-book', into which the deeds of grants issued to new fief-holders were copied as they occurred. II 82b

♦ daftar-i taḥwīlāt : an off-shoot of the DAFTAR-I TAWDJĪHĀT, a register dealing with disbursements for stocks and running expenses in state establishments and enterprises

under the Īlkhānids, one of the seven main registers on which their system of book-keeping was based. II 81a

♦ daftar-i ta'līḳ → RŪZNĀMADJ

♦ daftar-i tawdjīhāt : a register of disbursements under the Īlkhānids, one of the seven main registers on which their system of book-keeping was based. II 81a

♦ **daftardār** (P, T *defterdār*) : keeper of the DAFTAR; an Ottoman term for the chief finance officer, corresponding to the MUSTAWFĪ in the eastern Islamic world. The title ~ seems to originate with the Īlkhānids who appointed persons to make and keep the registers. The office of ~ was renamed MĀLIYYE (Ministry of Finance) in 1253/1838, although the term remained in use for provincial directors of finances. II 83a

♦ daftarkhāne (T) : under the Ottomans, the archives of the register-office to which the old registers were consigned each time a new survey was made. II 82b

♦ defter-i mufaṣṣal → TAḤRĪR

dāgh u taṣḥīḥa (IndP) : a term used in Muslim India for the branding of horses and compilation of muster rolls for soldiers, introduced by Akbar in order to check all evasions of military obligations. V 685b; XII 176b

ḍaghṭa (A) : pressure; in the religious sense, the pressure applied in the tomb by the questioning asked of one's religion. I 187a

ḍaḥā' (A) : the period corresponding to the sun's progress over the second quarter of the diurnal arc. It comes to an end at midday. V 709b

dahān band (P) : a face veil consisting of a small, white mask covering only the mouth and chin. It was worn in the Tīmūrid period. V 749a

daḥi : a title in Serbia under the Ottomans, derived from DAYÎ. IX 671b

ḍāḥik (A) : *risibile*. V 1261b

In anatomy, the pre-molar. VI 130a

dāhiya (A, pl. *duhāt*) : statesman. XI 521b

ḍaḥiyya (A) : the name for the animal sacrificed on the occasion of the feast of the 10th day of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. II 213a; in the Negev and other parts of former Palestine, ~ is used synonymously with *fidya* to designate a blood sacrifice made in the interests of the living for purposes of atonement. II 884a

dahnadj (A, P *dahna, dahāna*, T *dehne-i frengī*) : in mineralogy, malachite, green copper-ore. II 92a

dahol : a Kurdish bass drum which is beaten on both sides. V 478a

dahr (A) : time in an absolute sense. I 2a; infinitely extended time. II 94b

♦ **dahriyya** : holders of materialistic opinions of various kinds, often vaguely defined; philosophers of Greek inspiration. They were called the *azaliyya* by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. I 128a; II 95a; II 770b

ḍahūl (A) : oviparous, like the female ostrich, who scratches and flattens in the sand a shallow hole (*udḥī*) in which to lay her eggs. VII 829a

daḥya → ḲISHSHA

dā'ī (A) : 'he who summons' to the true faith, a title used among several dissenting Muslim groups for their chief propagandists; it became especially important in the Ismā'īlī and associated movements, where it designated generically the chief authorised representatives of the IMĀM. The title ~ came to mean something different in each of the sects which issued from the classical Fāṭimid Ismā'īlism. II 97b

ḍa'īf (A, pl. *ḍu'afā'*) : weak (syn. *waḍī'*); unable to bear arms, as opposed to SHARĪF. IX 330a

In the science of Tradition, the term for a weak Tradition, along with *saḳīm*, infirm. III 25a; Traditions without any claim to reliability. VIII 983b

In modern South Arabia, the plural form *ḍu'afā'* denotes non-arms bearers, a group comprising builders, potters and field workers. VII 145a; and → MISKĪN

dā'ir (A) : in astronomy, the time since rising, *faḍl al-~* being the 'hour-angle'. XI 505b; and → DĀ'IRAT AL-ẒILL

♦ dā'ira (A) : in music, with DUFF, a generic name for tambourine, but reserved for a round type; a round tambourine with small bells attached to the inside of the shell or body, sometimes attached to a metal or wooden rod fixed across the inside of the head. This instrument is popular in Persia and Central Asia. II 621a; and → DAWĀ'IR; ZMĀLA

♦ dā'irat al-ma'ārif (A) : an expression with the double meaning 'Department of Education' and 'encyclopaedia'. As of the 1960s Arab countries of the former Ottoman empire had replaced MAʿĀRIF with *tarbiya* for 'education'. V 903a

♦ **dā'ira saniyya** (T) : the term used in the Ottoman empire during the last quarter of the 19th century for the administration of crown lands. XII 179a

♦ dā'irat al-ẓill (A) : in astronomy, the cross-section of the shadow of the earth during an eclipse of the sun or moon. V 536a

dākhil (A) : in the Ottoman empire, one of two categories of viziers, the ~ sitting in the imperial DĪWĀN in Istanbul and the *khāridj* who sat in the provinces. XI 197a; and → MUḤALLIL

dakhīl (A) : interior, inward, intimate; hence 'guest, to whom protection should be assured' and, 'stranger, passing traveller, person of another race'. II 100a; XII 78b

In philology, ~ denotes a foreign word borrowed by the Arabic language. II 100a; VII 261b

In metrics, ~ is a term denoting the consonant preceding the rhyming consonant, the ~ itself being preceded by an *alif.* II 100a; IV 412a

daḳīḳ (A) : in culinary matters, meal. X 788b

dakka → DIKKA

daḳḳāḳ (A) : a miller. XII 758a

daḳḳūr (A, pl. *daḳāḳira*), or *dakkūr* (pl. *dakākīr*) : fetish. XI 177a

dāl (A) : the eighth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *d*, with the numerical value 4. It is defined as voiced dental occlusive. II 101a

For ~ in Persian zoology, → NASR

dalang (Mal, Ind) : puppetmasters. IX 245a

dalāl (A) : in rhetoric, the plural *dalālāt* can mean semantics of individual words and sentences. V 901a; and → TASHARRUF

dālāy (Mon), or *dala* : a term applied in Īlkhānid Persia originally to the subjects of the Great Khān came to be applied to land which belonged immediately to the ruler. The term rapidly went out of use. IV 975b

dalīl (A, pl. *dalā'il*) : sign or indication; proof. II 101b; the demonstration of that which is not immediately and necessarily known. III 544a

In Medina, the ~ (pl. *adillā'*) is a guide who is responsible for the physical needs of the pilgrim, such as food, lodging and local transport. V 1004a

dāliya (A) : a kind of draw-well still in use in Egypt and other eastern countries for raising water for irrigation. It usually consists of two posts about five feet in height. These posts are coated with mud and clay and then placed less than three feet apart. They are joined at the top by a horizontal piece of wood, in the centre of which a lever is balanced. The shorter arm of the lever is weighted, while at the end of the longer arm hangs a rope carrying a leather pail. The peasant stands on a platform on the river bank and pulls down the balanced pole until the pail dips into the water and is filled. A slight upward push, which is helped by the counterweight, raises the bucket above the irrigation canal, into which it is emptied. V 863b

dalḳ (A) : a ritual ceremony of appeasing the DJINN in Iraq, carried out by pouring water mixed with sugar and salt. XII 777a

dalla → BAKRADJ
dallāl (A), or *simsār* : lit. guide; in law, ~ indicates a broker, an agent, 'the man who shows the purchaser where to find the goods he requires, and the seller how to exact his price'. Women are also found taking the part of agents. Known as *dallāla,* they act as intermediaries for harems of a superior sort. II 102b
In the Muslim West, the ~ is exclusively an intermediary who, in return for remuneration, sells by public auction objects entrusted to him by third parties. In the large towns, they are grouped in specialised guilds. II 102b
dallāla → DALLĀL
dallīna → DILLĪNA
dalw (A) : a 'water bucket', in ancient Arabia, said to be made mostly from the hides of two young camels, in which case the bucket may be called *ibn adīmayn.* I 1230a; I 1231b
In astronomy, *al-~* is the term for Aquarius, one of the twelve zodiacal constellations. VII 84a
dam (A, pl. *dimā'*) : blood; blood-guilt. XII 188b
In botany, ~ *al-akhawayn* 'the blood of the two brothers' is used for dragon's-blood. IX 808b
♦ damawiyya → ʿAMĀR AL-DAM
dām → PAYSĀ; WALĪ 'L-DAM
dāmād (P) : son-in-law, title used by sons-in-law of the Ottoman sultans. II 103a
damāma : a kettle-drum, probably of a smaller size than the KŪRGĀ. X 34a
ḍamān (A) : in law, ~ is the civil liability in the widest meaning of the term, whether it arises from the non-performance of a contract or from tort or negligence. In the sense of suretyship, guarantee, ~ is a liability specially created by contract. In a wider sense, it is used of the risk or responsibility that one bears with regard to property of which one enjoys the profit. II 105a; and → ḲABḌ ḌAMĀN
In a financial sense, ~ stands for 'farming' (of taxes). The tax-farmer, *ḍāmin,* pays annually to the State a contracted sum, less than the calculated revenue from the tax, and afterwards undertakes its recovery on his own account. The State is assured of a precise and immediate return from the pockets of rich individuals but loses a portion of the money paid by the tax-payer and the control of operations. I 1144b; II 105b; III 323b; and → ḲABĀLA
♦ ḍamān al-adjīr (A), or *ḍamān al-ṣunnāʿ* : in law, the liability for the loss or damage caused by artisans. II 105a
♦ ḍamān al-**darak** (A) : in law, the liability for eviction. II 105a; the guarantee against a fault in ownership. XII 198a
♦ ḍamān al-ghaṣb (A) : in law, the liability for the loss of an object taken by usurpation. II 105a
♦ ḍamān al-mabīʿ (A) : in law, the liability for the loss of an object sold before the buyer has taken possession. II 105a
♦ ḍamān al-rahn (A) : in law, the liability for the loss of a pledge in the possession of the pledgee. II 105a
♦ ḍamān al-ṣunnāʿ → ḌAMĀN AL-ADJĪR
dāmānī (A) : a variety of apple (from Dāmān in Mesopotamia), said to be proverbial because of its redness, one of a number of varieties praised by the geographers, most named, as the ~ apple, after their provenance, e.g. *al-isfahānī, al-ḳūfānī,* etc. X 587b; and → GHALḲ
ḍāmin → ḌAMĀN
dāmir (A) : a woman's jacket with short sleeves, worn in Syria and Palestine. V 740b

ḍamīr (A) : in grammar, as ~ *muttaṣil* 'bound pronoun' and its opposite, ~ *munfaṣil* 'separate, independent pronoun'. XI 173a; and → MUḌMAR
ḍamma (A) : in grammar, ~ denotes the short vowel *u*. III 172a
dammūsa (A) : on the Arabian peninsula, the slippery sand-swimming skink. I 541b
damūs, dāmūs : a brick vault. I 207b; crypt. XI 488b
ḍa'n (A) : in zoology, sheep. XI 411b
dāna-farang (H, < P) : malachite. VIII 269a
danānīr → DĪNĀR
dandī : a (West-African) locally-woven cloth. XI 8a
dandī (H) : a simple kind of litter used in India for transporting people. It was essentially a hammock slung from a pole. VII 932a
dānis͟hkada → KULLIYYA
dann (A, pl. *dinān*) : an amphora with tapered base, in which the fermentation of grapes takes place. IV 997b
♦ danniyya → ḲALANSUWA
dār (A) : (dwelling place), house. The two words most commonly used to designate a dwelling place, BAYT and ~, have etymologically quite different meanings. *Bayt* is, properly speaking, the covered shelter where one may spend the night; ~ (from *dāra* 'to surround') is a space surrounded by walls, buildings, or nomadic tents, placed more or less in a circle. II 113b; palace, large dwelling complex. IV 1016b; VIII 344a
In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries in Baghdad and Damascus, ~ was the name borne by the large depots with the name of the commodity for which the establishment was noted. IV 1015a
♦ **dār al-'ahd** (A) : 'the land of the covenant'; considered by some Muslim jurists as a temporary and often intermediate territory between the DĀR AL-ISLĀM and the DĀR AL-ḤARB. II 116a
♦ dār al-ḍamāna (A) : among the Wazzāniyya, a Moroccan ṣūfī order, the 'house of warranty', which the founder's eldest son Sīdī Muḥammad made the order's ZĀWIYA, meaning that the BARAKA of the *s͟hurafā'* (→ S͟HARĪF) was sufficient to save any sinner from the Last Judgement. XI 201b
♦ **dār al-ḍarb** (A) : the mint, the primary function of which was to supply coins for the needs of government and of the general public. At times of monetary reforms, the ~ also served as a place where obliterated coins could be exchanged for the new issues. The large quantities of precious metals which were stored in the ~ helped to make it serve as an ancillary treasury. I 24a; II 117b; and → ḌARBK͟HĀNE-I 'ĀMIRE
♦ **dār al-ḥadīt͟h** (A) : a term first applied to institutions reserved for the teaching of ḤADĪT͟H in the 6th/12th century. Until these special institutions were set up, the teaching of *ḥadīt͟h*, as of other branches of religious learning, was carried out in the mosques. II 125b; V 1129a; XII 195a
♦ **dār al-ḥarb** (A) : the territories under perpetual threat of a missionary war, D͟JIHĀD. The classical practice of regarding the territories immediately adjoining the lands of Islam as the ~ and inviting their princes to adopt Islam under the pain of invasion, is reputed to date back to the Prophet. Classically, the ~ includes those countries where the Muslim law is not in force, in the matter of worship and the protection of the faithful and the D͟HIMMĪs. I 26a; II 126a; II 131b
♦ **dār al-ḥikma** (A) : 'the house of wisdom', a term used by Arab authors to denote in a general sense the academies which, before Islamic times, spread knowledge of the Greek sciences, and in a particular sense the institute founded in Cairo in 395/1005 by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim. II 126b; II 859b; V 1125b
♦ **dār al-'ilm** (A) : 'the house of science', the name given to several libraries or scientific institutes established in eastern Islam in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries.

The most important ~ was the one founded in Baghdad by the vizier Abū Naṣr Sābūr b. Ardas͟hīr in the last quarter of the 4th/10th century, with more than 10,000 books on all scientific subjects. It was burnt down when the Sald̲j̲ūḳs reached Baghdad in 447/1055-56. II 127a

♦ **dār al-islām** (A) : 'the land of Islam', the whole territory in which the law of Islam prevails. Its unity resides in the community, the unity of the law, and the guarantees assured to members of the UMMA. In the classical doctrine, everything outside ~ is DĀR AL-ḤARB. II 127b

♦ dār al-k͟harād̲j̲ (A) : a brothel, in the Muslim West. XII 134a

♦ dār al-maʿārif (A) : schools founded by the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd I in 1849. I 75a

♦ dār al-mulk (A) : the private quarters of the caliph and his close associates in Muslim Spain. IX 45a

♦ **dār al-nadwa** (A) : the name of a town hall in Mecca in the time of the Prophet. II 128b

♦ **dār al-salām** (A) : 'the abode of peace', a name of Paradise in the Qurʾān; also a name for the city of Baghdad. II 128b

♦ **dār al-ṣināʿa** (A), or *dār al-ṣanʿa* : an industrial establishment, workshop; the term is always applied to a state workshop, e.g. under the Umayyads in Spain to establishments for gold and silver work intended for the sovereign, and for the manufacture and stock-piling of arms. The most widely-used sense is that of an establishment for the construction and equipment of warships, giving rise to the word 'arsenal' in the Mediterranean languages. II 129b; XII 120a

♦ dār ṣīnī → DĀRṢĪNĪ

♦ **dār al-ṣulḥ** (A) : 'the house of truce', territories not conquered by Muslim troops but by buying peace by the giving of tribute, the payment of which guarantees a truce or armistice. The Prophet himself concluded such a treaty with the Christian population of Nad̲j̲rān. II 131a

♦ **dār al-ʿulūm** (A) : 'the house of sciences', an establishment for higher instruction founded in 1872 by ʿAlī Pas͟ha Mubārak, whose aim was to introduce students of al-Azhar to modern branches of learning; the religious institutions at Deoband and Lucknow. I 817b; II 131b

♦ dār al-wakāla (A) : 'the house of procuration or agency', term for the urban caravanserai before this became a synonym for FUNDUḲ, which itself at the end of the 7th/13th century began to be replaced by K͟HĀN as a designation for suburban hostelries. IV 1015a

darabukka : in music, a vase-shaped drum, the wider aperture being covered by a membrane, with the lower aperture open. In performance it is carried under the arm horizontally and played with the fingers. II 135b; the ~ has come to have a variety of names east of Morocco, e.g. the *dirrīd̲j̲, darbūka, dirbakka, ḍarābukka* and even *ṭabla.* In Persia ~ is known as the *dunbak* or *tanbak.* X 33a

darad̲j̲ (A) : in zoology, the courser, nearly ubiquitous in the Arabian desert. I 541b

darāʾib, or *ʿawāʾid* : the customary law of the Bedouin of the Western Desert and Cyrenaica. X 889b

darak → ḌAMĀN AL-DARAK

daraḳa (A, > *adarga*) : in military science, a shield, probably made from hide stretched over a wooden frame (syn. *turs, d̲j̲unna, mid̲j̲ann*). V 651b; XII 736a

darara bashu : in Ethiopia, at the tomb of S͟hayk͟h Nūr Ḥusayn, a black stone that the s͟hayk͟h is believed to have brought back with him from Mecca, which is kissed and touched as part of the ceremony of ZIYĀRA. XI 539b

darāy, hindī : in music, the Indian bell. X 35a

darb → SHĀRIʿ
ḍarb (A) : in prosody, the last foot of the second hemistich, as opposed to the last foot of the first hemistich, the *ʿarūḍ*. I 672b; IV 714b; VIII 747; and → IṢBAʿ
In mathematics, ~ is the term used for multiplication. III 1139b
In the art of the book, a cancellation. X 408b
For ~ as lithomancy, → ṬARḲ
♦ ḍarb khāne, ḍarrābkhāne → ḌARBKHĀNE-I ʿĀMIRE
♦ ḍarb al-raml → RAML
♦ ḍarb al-sadʿa (A) : shell-divination. VIII 138b
♦ ḍarb al-ṣilāḥ (A) : 'body piercing', one of the deeds transcending the natural order, *khawāriḳ al-ʿādāt*, practiced by the Saʿdiyya order. VIII 728b
♦ ḍarbkhāne-i ʿāmire (T), or *ḍarrābkhāne, nuḳrakhāne, dār al-ḍarb* : the Ottoman mint. II 118a
darbazīn (A) : a balustrade. VI 662a
dardar (< SARDĀR) : 'sultan' in Tagorri, an ʿAfar dialect in Tadjura. The ~ is assisted by a *banoyta* 'vizier', which two functions alternate within two clans, the Burhanto and Diinite. X 72b
dargāh (P) : lit. place of a door; royal court, palace in Persia; in Muslim India, ~ is used to designate a tomb or shrine of a *pīr* (→ MURSHID). II 141b; IV 26a; VI 125b; VIII 954a
darī (P) : the court language, and language of government and literature, in pre-Islamic Persia. II 142a; IV 55a; XII 429b
In India, ~ is used to designate the normal floor-mat, a flat-woven pile-less rug of thick cotton. VIII 742a
dārī (A) : in the mediaeval eastern Muslim world, the perfume merchant. IX 100b
darība : in Muslim India, a short lane or street, usually one where betel leaves were sold. IX 800b
ḍarība (A) : a tax, applied in particular to the whole category of taxes which in practice were added to the basic taxes, ZAKĀT, DJIZYA and KHARĀDJ. Apart from *djizya*, these taxes form the basis of the official fiscal system of Islam and are essentially concerned with agriculture and stock-breeding. II 142b; XII 199b; an urban tax on buildings. V 1199a
dāridja (A) : the colloquial Arabic language (syn. *al-lugha al-ʿāmmiyya*). I 561b
ḍarīḥ → ḲABR
ḍarim → HAYTHAM
ḍarrāb (A) : a minter, one of the craftsmen employed as staff in the mint who carried out the actual coining operation. II 118a
In Muslim Spain, ~ was the term used for night-watchman. I 687b
♦ ḍarrābkhāne → ḌARBKHĀNE-I ʿĀMIRE
dars (A, pl. *durūs*) : lesson, lecture; in mediaeval usage, ~ meant 'a lesson or lecture on law'. V 1124b; a class, consisting of lecture and dictation. X 80b
darshan (San) : the (Hindu) ceremonial appearance of a king to his subjects, adopted by the Mughal emperor Akbar and his immediate successors. It was abandoned by Awrangīb in 1078/1668. II 162a
dārṣīnī (A, < P *dār čīnī*) : Chinese cinnamon, *Cinnamomum cassia*, although it cannot be established with certainty with what original plant ~ is to be associated. In pharmacognostic texts *Cinn. cassia* is also rendered by *salīkha*, which allegedly is not identical with ~ . XII 197a
dārūgha (P, < Mon) : originally a chief in the Mongol feudal hierarchy, ~ is first met in Persia in the Īlkhānid period. In his main capacities he belonged to the military hierarchy. In Ṣafawid Persia, his functions were sometimes those of a governor of town,

but more commonly those of a police officer, his duties to prevent misdeeds, tyranny, brawls, and actions contrary to the sharīʿa. In the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries, his function at times superseded even that of the *muḥtasib* (→ ḤISBA). At the beginning of the Constitutional period, most of his duties were taken over by the municipalities and the police force. In some cases, the ~ was appointed to collect taxes or to control certain ethnic minorities; ~ was also used to denote a kind of head clerk controlling the staff of the larger government departments in Ṣafawid Persia. II 162a

In Muslim India, ~ denoted an official in the royal stables; the British used it to designate the native head of various departments and, later, the local chief of police. II 162b

ḍarūra (A), and *iḍṭirār* : necessity; in law, ~ has a narrow meaning: what may be called the technical state of necessity (resulting from certain factual circumstances which may oblige an individual to do some action forbidden by the law), and a wider sense: to describe the necessities or demands of social and economic life, which the jurists had to take into account in their elaboration of the law which was otherwise independent of these factors. The legal schools agree that prohibitions of a religious character may be disregarded in cases of necessity and danger, while most of the offences committed under the rule of necessity are excused without any form of punishment. However, murder, the amputation of a limb, and serious wounding likely to cause death, irrespective of the circumstances, are never excused. The term in its wider sense signifies practical necessity, the exigencies of social and economic life. It takes into consideration the existence of rules and whole institutions in Muslim law which reasoning by strict analogy would have condemned. II 163b

darwa (A) : a typical style of hairdressing used by an Arabic-speaking tribe of Bedja origin in Upper Egypt with branches in the northern Sudan. I 1b

darwāza (P) : in architecture, a gatehouse. X 59a

darwīsh (P) : a mendicant, dervish; a member of a religious fraternity. II 164a

daryā-begi (T), or *deryā-beyi* : 'sea-lord', a title given in the Ottoman empire to certain officers of the fleet, who usually held their appointments for life and transmitted them to their sons. II 165b

dasātīn (A) : in music, the frets of an ʿŪD. X 769b

dashīsha → SIMĀṬ

♦ dashīsha kubrā (A) : the endowments made for the Holy Cities by the Mamlūk sultans Djaḳmaḳ and Ḳāʾitbāy; under the Ottomans, Murād III made a new endowment called the *dashīsha ṣughrā*. XI 66b

dasht : steppe, e.g. *dasht-i Ḳipčaḳ*, the Ḳipčaḳ Steppe, the great plains of Southern Russia and western Kazakhstan. IX 61a; XII 203b

dasim (A) : the quality of foods being oily and greasy, similarly *samīn* 'rich in fats'. II 1071b

dāsinī → YAZĪDĪ

dāsitān (Ott) : in literature, the brief verse section in praise of the dynasty appended to the longer didactic poem *Iskender-nāme* by the poet Aḥmedī. X 291a

dastabān (P, N.Afr *ḳuffāz*) : the glove used by a falconer during the hunt. I 1152b

dastaḳ → MIḲWAM

dāstān (U, P *destān*) : in Urdu literature, a collection of short stories within a 'frame', recited to general audiences as well as to royal courts and rich households. They are the Urdu equivalents of Arab collections like *Alf layla wa-layla* and *Sīrat ʿAntar* and can be considered precursors of modern Urdu fiction. III 119a; III 375b; V 201b

In Turkish literature, the Persian term *destān* is used for the ancient popular epics in syllabic verse, transmitted orally, as well as the first verse chronicles of epic type. III 114b; IX 844a; X 733b

♦ destāndjî (T) : one of two groups of Türkmen bards, a relater of epics; the other group is made up of the *tirmedji*, who sings poems (*tirme*) on various themes.

dastār (P) : the turban cloth, also known as *mayzar*. X 611a

dastūr (P, A DUSTŪR) : a Persian term which in the period of the classical caliphate came to be used as a synonym of ḲĀNŪN in the sense of 'tax-list'. IV 558a; in the Ṣafawid period, ~ is defined as a Zoroastrian priest who knows the Avesta and the Zand, the Middle Persian literature, and has the authority to command laymen (*behdīns*) to do religious works. VII 215b

In classical Muslim administration, ~ is a copy of the *djamā'a* made from the draft. II 79a

In East Africa, ~ is the term used for custom and customary law, synonymous with 'ĀDA. I 170a

♦ dastūr al-'amal (P) : a detailed assessment of revenue, prepared and sent annually by the MUSTAWFĪs of the central government in Persia to the provinces, on the basis of which the provincial *mustawfīs* allocated the tax demand among the provincial population. II 151a

ḍaw' → NŪR

da'wa (A) : call, invitation; propaganda. II 168a; pretension. IX 432a; and → DA'WET

In the Qur'ān, ~ is the call to the dead to rise from the tomb on the day of Judgement. II 168a

In the religious sense, ~ is the invitation addressed to men by God and the prophets, to believe in the true religion, Islam. The concept that the religion of all the prophets is Islam and that each prophet has his own ~, was developed by the Ismā'īlīs. II 168a

In its politico-religious sense, the ~ denotes the invitation to adopt the cause of some individual or family claiming the right to the imamate over the Muslims, thus the 'Abbāsid ~, which was, strictly speaking, propaganda for a member of the Prophet's family, and Ismā'īlī ~, propaganda for the IMĀM, who alone could give mankind good guidance. II 168a

Among the Ismā'īlīs, ~ is one of nine periods of instruction which completed the initiation of Ismā'īlī neophytes. II 169b; IV 203b

♦ al-da'wa al-djadīda (A), or *da'wa djadīda* : the branch of Ismā'īlīs, known as the Nizārīs, who refused to recognise Musta'lī after the death of al-Mustanṣir in 487/1094. They are now represented by the Khodjas. II 170b; III 254a

♦ al-da'wa al-ḳadīma (A) : the branch of Ismā'īlīs, known as the Musta'līs or Ṭayyibīs, who followed Musta'lī after the death of al-Mustanṣir in 487/1094. They are now represented by the Bohoras in India. II 170b

♦ da'wat (IndP) : the communal administration of the Yemeni Sulaymānī sect, which split off from the Bohoras in the 10th/16th century. I 1255a

♦ da'wat-i samā' (IndP) : in the Shaṭṭārī mystic ideology, the control of heavenly bodies which influenced human destiny. IX 370a

da'wā (A) : action at law, case, lawsuit. II 170b

In hunting, a live calling bird. IV 745a

dawā' (A, pl. **adwiya**) : every substance which may affect the constitution of the human body; every drug used as a remedy or a poison. I 212b; gunpowder. I 1056a

♦ adwiya mufrada (A) : simple drugs. I 212b; V 251b; and → ṢAYDANA

♦ adwiya murakkaba (A) : composite drugs. I 212b; V 251b; and → ṢAYDANA

dawādār (P) : the bearer and keeper of the royal inkwell, which post was created by the Saldjūḳs. It was held by civilians. II 172b; secretary. VIII 432a; and → DĀWĀTDĀR

ḍawāḥī (A), or *ḍawāḥī 'l-Rūm* : 'outer lands' (of the land of the Greeks), constituting a kind of no-man's land in the Arab-Byzantine frontier regions. X 446b

dawāʾir (A, s. DĀʾIRA) : circles.
In the science of metrics, the ~ are the five metric circles used by al-Khalīl for the graphic presentation of the sixteen metres. They are arranged according to the number of consonants in the mnemonic words of the metres which compose them. I 669b
In Algeria, a group of families attached to the service and person of a native chief. Before the French conquest, ~ denoted especially four tribal groups encamped to the south-west of Oran and attached to the service of the BEY of that city. They were organised as a militia. II 172b

dawār (A) : an encampment of the Arab Bedouin in which the tents are arranged in a circle or an ellipse around the open space in the middle where the cattle pass the night. In North Africa, this arrangement is called *dūwār* or *dawwār*. II 174b; XII 318b
In Algeria, *douar* has lost its original meaning, and is employed to designate an administrative area, either nomad or sedentary, placed under the authority of the same chief. II 175a
According to Ibn al-Kalbī, ~ is the procession that the Arabs made around the *anṣāb* 'sacred stones', which served as replicas of the Black Stone of the Kaʿba. VIII 155b

dawāt (A) : ink-holder, inkwell (syn. *miḥbara*); ~ is also used for *miḳlama* 'the place for keeping the pen', and for *ḳalamdān* 'penbox'. IV 471b; V 988b; XII 203b
♦ dāwātdār (IndP) : the keeper of the sultan of Delhi's inkpot or inkhorn. IV 759a; and → DAWĀDĀR

daʿwet (T, < A *daʿwa*) : in the science of Turkish diplomatic, the invocation composed of the formula containing the name of governor (the Bey's name), ranging from the simplest *huwa* to the longest titles. II 314b

dāwiyya (A, O.Fr *devot*) : the Knights Templars, one of the Frankish military orders, known to the Arabs from their experiences with the Crusaders. The Knights Hospitallers, known to the Arabs as *Isbitāriyya*, was another such order. XII 204b

dawla (A) : turn, reversal (especially in battle); victory; the reign of the Mahdī. From the middle of the 3rd/9th century, ~ attained the meaning of 'dynasty, state', still in force today. *Al-dawla* is used as the second element in titles; its earliest usage was noted at the end of the 3rd/9th century. II 177b; IV 293b; V 621b ff.

dawm (A) : in botany, the gingerbread tree, a palm which on occasion replaces the date palm in the Gulf. I 540a; the edible fruit of the jujube, called ~ by the Bedouin of Arabia and KUNĀR by the townsmen. I 540b

dawr (A, pl. *adwār*) : lit. revolution, period; the periodic movement of the stars.
In shīʿism, ~ is for the extreme sects the period of manifestation or concealment of God or the secret wisdom. XII 206b
In music, ~ denotes one of two cycles which make up an ĪḲĀʿ, each of which is composed of several basic notes and a pause. XII 408b
♦ dawr al-kashf (A) : 'period of manifestation', the period for the Ismāʿīliyya before the DAWR AL-SATR, during which the twelve angels of the zodiac kept the unadulterated pure unity of God, TAWḤĪD. At the end of time, the ḲĀʾIM will bring forth a new ~. XII 206b
♦ dawr al-satr (A) : 'period of concealment', the period for the Ismāʿīliyya from Adam to the ḲĀʾIM, the last speaking prophet. A synonym is *al-dawr al-kabīr*. XII 206b

dawsa (A) : lit. trampling; a ceremony formerly performed in Cairo by the SHAYKH of the Saʿdī order, consisting of the *shaykh* riding over the members of the order on horseback. It was believed that by such physical contact, the BARAKA of the *shaykh* was communicated to his followers. II 181b; VIII 525b; VIII 728b

dawshān (A) : in the context of Yemen, a sort of tribal herald, considered a menial job. XI 277a

dawudu : a land-leasing system in Kurdish Iran, in which the landowner, in return for supplying earth and seed, takes two-tenths of the harvest. V 473b

dawul → ṬABL

dawwār → DAWĀR

ḍayʿa (A, pl. *ḍiyāʿ*) : estate.

In its fiscal context, ~ denotes an estate subject to tithes. The holder of the ~ was not usually its cultivator, and the peasant rents went for the greater part to the holder of the ~ . II 187b

♦ ḍiyāʿ al-khāṣṣa (A), *ḍiyāʿ al-sulṭān* and *ḍiyāʿ al-khulafāʾ* : the private estates of the caliph in early Islamic times. IV 972b

daydabān (A, < P *dīdebān*) : a term applied at different times to certain categories of sentinels, watchmen, inspectors, etc. II 189a

ḍayf (A) : guest; host, which meaning, however, occurred later. II 189a

dayî (T) : lit. maternal uncle; an honorific title used to designate official functions in the Regencies of Algiers and Tunis. II 189a; title of the Janissary rulers of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli in North Africa. IX 671b

dāyman (A) : lit. always; said after finishing a cup of coffee to thank the host, one of several customs associated with coffee drinking, another being the saying of *ʿāmir* (lit. fully inhabited) when finishing drinking coffee in a house of a bereaved person. XII 756a

dayn (A, pl. *duyūn*) : debt; claim; in law, an obligation, arising out of a contract (loan, sale, transaction or marriage) or out of a tort requiring reparation. I 29a; XII 207a

♦ dayn fī dhimma (A) : in law, an obligation which has as its object a personal action. XII 207a

♦ dayn fi 'l-ʿayn (A) : in law, an obligation which has as its object a non-fungible, determinate thing. XII 207a

♦ **duyūn-i ʿumūmiyye** (T) : the Ottoman public debt; more particularly the debt administration set up in 1881. II 677a

dayr (A, < Syr) : a Christian monastery, which continued functioning after the Arab conquest of the Middle East. They were often named after a patron saint or founder but also occasionally after the nearest town or village or a feature of the locality. II 194b

For its meaning in Somalia, → GU'

♦ (A) : in prosody, a poem describing evenings spent in a convent or monastery. IV 1005a

dāyra → ZMĀLA

daysam (A) : the first swarm that leaves with the young queen bee (syn. *lūth, riḍʿ, ṭard*). VII 907a

ḍaywan (A) : in zoology, the Fettered cat (*Felis ocreata*), and also used for the European wild cat (*Felis sylvestris lybica*) and the Sand cat (*Felis margarita*). IX 651b, where are listed synonyms

ḍayzan (A) : a man who marries his father's widow (the marriage is called *nikāḥ al-makt*), a practice which the Qurʾān disapproves of. VI 476b

dede (T) : lit. grandfather, ancestor; a term of reverence given to the heads of DARWĪSH communities. II 199b; a member of a religious order resident in one of the cells of the DARGĀH or ZĀWIYA, who has fulfilled his *čile* (period of trial) and been elevated to the rank of dervish. VI 884a

In western Turkish heroic tales, ~ is used for the rhapsodes. II 199b

In Istanbul and Anatolia, ~ was also used as a term of respect for various wonder-working holy men. II 200a

In the terminology of the Ṣafawid order, ~ denoted one of the small group of officers in constant attendance on the MURSHID. II 200a

defter → DAFTAR

deglet nūr → GHARS

deli (T) : 'mad, heedless, brave, fiery', a class of cavalry in the Ottoman empire, formed in the Balkans at the end of the 9th/15th century or the beginning of the 10th/16th century. Later, they were officially styled as *delīl* (guides) but continued to be popularly known by the their original name. Called ~ on account of their extraordinary courage and recklessness, they were recruited partly from the Turks and partly from the Balkan nations. They became brigands in the 12th/18th century and were disbanded in the 13th/19th century by sultan Maḥmūd II. II 201a

demirbash (T) : lit. iron-head; the movable stock and equipment, belonging to an office, shop, farm, etc. In Ottoman usage ~ was commonly applied to articles belonging to the state and, more especially, to the furniture, equipment, and fittings in government offices, forming part of their permanent establishment. II 203b; ~ also means stubborn or persistent, and was applied by the Turks to King Charles XII of Sweden, possibly in this sense or to indicate his long frequentation of Turkish government offices. II 203b

derbend (T) : a mountain pass, defile. XI 114b

derebey (T) : 'valley lord', the Turkish designation of certain rulers in Asia Minor who, from the early 12th/18th century, made themselves virtually independent of the Ottoman central government in Istanbul. Ottoman historians usually call them *mutaghallibe* 'usurpers', or *khānedān* 'great families'. The best known ~ families are the Ḳara ʿOthmān-oghlu of Aydïn, Manisa and Bergama in western Anatolia, the Čapan-oghlu of Bozok in central Anatolia, and the family of ʿAlī Pāshā of Djānīk in eastern Anatolia or Trebizond and its neighbourhood. II 206b

dergāh → TEKKE

deryā-beyi → DARYĀ-BEGI

destān(djï) → DĀSTĀN

destimal (T) : lit. napkin; in relation to relics of Islam, the gauze with inscriptions printed on it in which some objects holy to Islam are kept at the Istanbul University Library. The ~ was specially made for the visits to the Holy Mantle organised by the Sultan-Caliph on 15 Ramaḍān. V 761b

devedji (T, P *shuturbān*) : 'cameleer', the name given to certain regiments of the corps of Janissaries. II 210b

devekushu → NAʿĀM

devshirme (T) : the term in the Ottoman period for the periodical levy of Christian children for training to fill the ranks of the Janissaries and to occupy posts in the Palace service and in the administration. The earliest reference to the term appears to be contained in a sermon delivered by Isidore Glabas, metropolitan of Thessalonica, in 1395. By the end of the 10th/16th century, the system began to show signs of corrupt practices by the recruiting officers. By the beginning of the 11th/17th century, the ranks of the Janissaries had become so swollen with Muslim-born 'intruders' that frequent recruitments were no longer necessary. The system, however, continued at least till 1150/1738, but sporadically. I 36a; I 268b ff.; II 210b; II 1086a ff.

dey (Alg, < T DAYÏ) : a ruling power in Algeria, who succeeded the AGHAS of the army corps and ruled until the capture of Algiers by France. I 368a; and → DAYÏ

♦ deynek (T) : a commander's baton or cane, carried by a number of high Ottoman navy officers. It was also called *ṣadafkārī ʿaṣā*, because it was encrusted with mother of pearl of different colours. VIII 565b

dhabḥ (A) : one of the two methods of slaughtering animals according to Muslim law by which the animal concerned becomes permissible as food. It consists of slitting the throat, including the trachea and the oesophagus (there are divergencies between the schools in respect of the two jugular veins); the head is not to be severed. At the

moment of slaughter, it is obligatory to have the necessary intention and to invoke the name of God. Preferably the victim should be laid upon its left side facing in the direction of the KIBLA. II 213b

dhabīḥa (A) : in law, a victim (animal) destined for immolation in fulfilment of a vow, for the sacrifice of ʿAKĪKA, on the occasion of the feast of the 10th day of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, or in order to make atonement for certain transgressions committed during the ḤADJDJ. II 213a; XII 221b

dhabl (A) : in botany, the shell of the tortoise, highly valued for the manufacture of combs and bracelets, *masak*. IX 811a

dhahab (A) : in mineralogy, gold. II 214a

♦ dhahabiyya (A) : a Nile vessel, especially known in the 19th century. VIII 42b

dhakā'a (A) : the strict ritual of slaughtering the DHABĪḤA which must be followed and which does not differ in form from the ritual slaughter of animals permitted as food. II 213a

dhāl (A) : the ninth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 700, representing the voiced interdental fricative (*rikhwa madjhūra*). II 217b

dhanab (A) : tail.

In astronomy, ~ or *dhanab al-tinnīn* 'the dragon's tail' refers to the waning node, one of the points where the moon passes through the ecliptic during an eclipse of the moon. V 536a; VIII 101b; X 531a; and → KAWKAB AL-DHANAB

♦ dhanab al-dadjādja → RADĪF

♦ dhanab al-ḳiṭṭ (A) : 'cat's tail', in botany, the Bugloss (*Anchusa italica*) and the Goldylocks (*Chrysocoma*). IX 653a

♦ dhanab al-sirḥān → AL-FADJR AL-KĀDHIB

dhanb (A, pl. *dhunūb*) : sin. Synonyms are KHAṬĪ'A, *sayyi'a*, which is an evil action, and *ithm*, a very grave sin, a crime against God. IV 1106b; and → DAFN AL-DHUNŪB

dharā'iʿ (A) : a method of reasoning to the effect that, when a command or prohibition has been decreed by God, everything that is indispensable to the execution of that order or leads to infringement of that prohibition must also, as a consequence, be commanded or prohibited. I 276a

dharāriḥī (A) : in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, a vagrant feigning serious wounds for begging purposes. VII 494b

dharīḥ (A) : in architecture, a silver enclosure, which surrounds a shīʿī shrine. XI 533a

dharr → NAML

♦ **dharra** (A) : a term denoting in the Qur'ān the smallest possible appreciable quantity, interpreted by the commentators of the Qur'ān as: dust which remains clinging to the hand after the rest has been blown off, or weightless dust, seen when sunlight shines through a window; the weight of the head of a red ant; the hundredth part of a grain of barley; or atom. ~ was not generally used to denote the philosophical atomism of Democritus, Epicurus and the Muslim 'atomists'. In its stead, the two technical terms DJUZ' and DJAWHAR *fard* were preferred. Modern Arabic does render atom with ~. II 219b

dhāt (A) : thing; being, self, ego.

In philosophy, ~ is most commonly employed in two different meanings of substance and essence, a translation of the Greek οὐσία. When used in the sense of 'substance', it is the equivalent of the subject or substratum and is contrasted with qualities or predicates attributed to it and inhering in it. In the second sense of 'essence', it signifies the essential or constitutive qualities of a thing as a member of a species, and is contrasted with its accidental attributes (→ ʿARAḌ). Some Muslim philosophers distinguish, within the essence, its prior parts from the rest. II 220a; V 1262a

In Muslim India, ~ was one of the two ranks into which the *manṣabdār* (→ MANṢAB)

was divided, the other being *suwār*. The rank of ~ was meant for calculating one's salary according to the sanctioned pay scale. V 686a

♦ dhāt al-anwāṭ (A) : 'that of the suspended things', among early Muslims, the name for the SIDR tree. IX 549b

♦ dhāt al-ḥalaḳ (A) : an armillary sphere, constructed by ʿAbbās b. Firnās in 9th-century Muslim Spain. I 11b

♦ dhāt al-niṭāḳayn (A) : 'she of the two girdles', the nickname of Asmāʾ, elder half-sister of ʿĀʾisha and wife of al-Zubayr. XI 550b

♦ dhātī (A) : essential; the conceptually and ontologically prior part of the essence of a thing. II 220b; V 1262a

dhawḳ (A) : taste; insight or intuitive appreciation. II 221a; direct experience. II 1041a
In philosophy, ~ is the name for the gustatory sense-perception which, according to Aristotle, is a kind of sub-species of the tactual sense, localised in the gustatory organ, the tongue. It differs, however, from tactual sense because mere contact with skin is not sufficient for gustation to occur. II 221a
In aesthetics, ~ is the name for the power of aesthetic appreciation, something that 'moves the heart'. II 221a
In mysticism, ~ denotes the direct quality of the mystic experience. The metaphor of 'sight' is also often used, but ~ has more qualitative overtones of enjoyment. II 221a

dhawlaḳ (A) : tip (of the tongue). VI 130a; VIII 343a

♦ dhawlaḳī (A) : 'pointed'; in grammar, for al-Khalīl, those consonants that are produced with the tip of the tongue, such as the *r*. VIII 343a

♦ dhawlaḳiyya (A), and *asaliyya* : in grammar, two terms used by al-Khalīl to indicate articulation with the tip of the tongue but specifying only the form of the tongue. III 598a

dhawu 'l-arḥām (A) : relatives in the maternal line; in law, a third class of heirs recognised only by the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools of law, who can only succeed to an inheritance in the total absence of any representative of the fixed-shares heirs and the ʿAṢABA. IV 916b

dhawwāḳ → ČĀSHNA-GĪR

dhayl (A, pl. *dhuyūl, adhyāl*) : 'tail', a continuation of a text, simultaneously attached to the work of which it is the 'appendix' and detached from it. IX 158b; IX 603b f.; X 277a; and → MUDHAYYAL

♦ dhayl al-ḳiṭṭ (A) : 'long cat's tail', in botany, either the Cat's tailgrass (*Phleum pratense*) or Alfagrass (*Lygeum spartum*). IX 653a

dhiʾb (A) : in zoology, the wolf, and, in local usage, the jackal. II 223a

dhīkh → ḌABUʿ

dhikr (A) : 'remembering' God, reciting the names of God; the tireless repetition of an ejaculatory litany; a religious service common to all the mystical fraternities, performed either solitarily or collectively, also known as *ḥaḍra, ʿimāra*, or simply *madjlis*. II 164b; II 223b; II 891b; IV 94b; X 245a; a discourse. IX 112a; the revelation sent down to Muḥammad. V 402a

♦ dhikr-i ʿalāniyya → DHIKR-I DIL

♦ dhikr al-ʿawāmm (A) : the collective DHIKR sessions. II 224a

♦ dhikr-i dil (P) : the DHIKR of the heart, as opposed to a public one (*dhikr-i ʿalāniyya*, or *dhikr-i tan*). As practiced by al-Hamadānī, the first figure of the Khʷādjagān ṣūfī movement, it was accompanied by the prolonged holding of the breath. XII 521a

♦ dhikr-i djahr (< A) : a practice of reciting the names of God loudly while sitting in the prescribed posture at prescribed times, adopted by the Čishtī mystics. II 55b; as ~ *djahrī*, repetitive oral prayer, called '~ of the saw' (T *arra*) (in Arabic, ~ *al-minshār*), which practice gave the Yasawiyya the name of Djahriyya. XI 295a

♦ dhikr-i khafī (< A) : a practice of reciting the names of God silently, adopted by the Čishtī mystics. II 55b

♦ dhikr al-khawāṣṣ (A) : the DHIKR of the privileged (mystics who are well advanced along the spiritual path). II 224a

dhimma (A) : the term used to designate the sort of indefinitely renewed contract through which the Muslim community accords hospitality and protection to members of other revealed religions, on condition of their acknowledging the domination of Islam; the beneficiaries of the ~ are also collectively referred to as the ~, or *ahl al-dhimma*. Originally only Jews and Christians were involved; soon, however, it became necessary to consider the Zoroastrians, and later, especially in Central Asia, other minor faiths not mentioned in the Qur'ān. II 227a

In law, ~ is a legal term with two meanings: in legal theory, ~ is the legal quality which makes the individual a proper subject of law, that is, a proper addressee of the rule which provides him with rights or charges him with obligations. In this sense, it may be identified with legal personality (*fi 'l-dhimma* 'in personam'). The second meaning is that of the legal practitioners and goes back to the root of the notion of obligation. It is the *fides* which binds the debtor to his creditor. II 231a; XII 207a; abstract financial responsibility. I 27a

♦ dhimmī (A) : the beneficiary of the DHIMMA. A ~ is defined as against the Muslim and the idolater; and also as against the *ḥarbī* who is of the same faith but lives in territories not yet under Islam; and finally as against the *musta'min*, the foreigner who is granted the right of living in an Islamic territory for a short time (one year at most). II 227a

dhirāʿ (A) : cubit, a basic measure of length, being originally the length of the arm from the elbow to the top of the middle finger. The name ~ is also given to the instrument used for measuring it. One ~ was 24 IṢBAʿ, although the cubit was not always used with great precision and a considerable number of different cubits were in common use in Islam, e.g. the legal cubit, the black cubit, the king's cubit, and the cloth cubit. II 231b; VII 137b

A minor branch of a river, also called *khalīdj*, as distinguished from the main stream (*ʿamūd*). VIII 38a

In anatomy, the arm. XII 830b

dhrupad → BANDISH; KHAYĀL

dhu'āba → ʿADHABA

dhubāb (A) : in zoology, the fly. II 247b

♦ dhubābī (A0 : a variety of emerald, which when drawn near a snake's eyes, make them bulge out of their sockets and burst. Other types of emeralds were experimented with but did not have the same effect. XI 570a

dhubbān (A) : the term used in navigation to designate the standard angular distance of four fingers, IṢBAʿs, wide, i.e. a handbreadth. IV 96b; VII 51a

dhura (A) : in botany, the great sorghum (*Sorghum vulgare*), also called Indian millet, *djāwars hindī*. IV 520a; XII 249b

dhurr → ḲAMḤ

dhurriyya (A) : the descendants of ʿAlī, one of a class of noble blood, *sharaf*, that existed in Egyptian terminology of the 9th/15th century. IX 332a

dībāča (P) : in prosody, a conventional introduction. IV 1009b

dībādj (A, < P) : silk brocade. III 209b

♦ dībādja → ʿUNWĀN

ḍibʿān → ḌABUʿ

dibdiba (A) : any flat, firm-surfaced area; the term is related to the classical *dabdaba*, referring to the drumming sounds of hooves on hard earth. II 248b

dibs (A) : syrup, molasses; a treacle of grapes, carob, etc. I 69a; II 1062b; IX 804b

dibs̲h̲ī → DJIHH

ḍidd (A, pl. *aḍdād*) : contrary; one of the four Aristotelian classes of opposites, viz. relative terms, contraries, privation and possession, and affirmation and negation. II 249a; and → AḌDĀD

diffiyya (A) : a heavy winter cloak for men, worn in Egypt. V 740b

diflā (A) : in botany, the oleander. IX 872b

dīg-i ḏjūs̲h̲ → TAS̲H̲ARRUF

dīh → TIK WA-TUM

dihḳān (A, < P *dehkān*) : the head of a village and a member of the lesser feudal nobility of Sasanian Persia. They were an immensely important class, although the actual area of land they cultivated was often quite small. Their principal function was to collect taxes. In Transoxania, the term was applied to the local rulers as well as the landowners. The spread of the IḲṬĀʿ system in the 5th/11th century and the depression of the landowning classes diminished the position and influence of the ~, and the term acquired the sense of peasant, which is its meaning in modern Iran. I 15b; II 253b; V 853b

dihlīz (A) : the palace vestibule where the ruler appeared for public audience. VIII 313b

dīk (A) : in zoology, the cock, of which several kinds (*hindī, nabaṭī, zanḏjī*, etc.) are mentioned in the sources. II 275a

diḳḳ → KATTĀN

dikka (A), or *dakka* : a platform in a mosque near the MINBAR to which a staircase leads up. This platform is used as a seat for the muezzin when pronouncing the call to prayer in the mosque at the Friday service. Mosques of the Ottoman period have their ~ in the form of a rostrum against the wall opposite the MIḤRĀB. II 276a; VI 663a; and → FŪṬA

♦ dikkat al-muballig̲h̲ → MUBALLIG̲H̲

ḍilʿ → DJABAL; SĀḲ; S̲H̲AYʾ

dilḳ (A) : the patched garment of ṣūfīs, also worn by clowns. V 740b

dillīna (A, < Gk), or *dallīna* : the flat mussel (*Tellina planata*). VIII 707a; its export as pickled mussels from Rosetta, in Egypt, was mentioned by the mediaeval geographer al-Idrīsī. VIII 438a

dilsiz (T, P *bīzabān*) : lit. tongueless; the name given to the deaf mutes employed in the inside service of the Ottoman palace, and for a while at the Sublime Porte. Established in the palace from the time of Meḥemmed II to the end of the sultanate, they served as guards and attendants, and as messengers and emissaries in highly confidential matters, including executions. II 277a

dīmak (A, < P *dīma* 'cheek'), or *daymak* : in archery, the 'arrow-pass', sc. the side of the handle continuous with the the part facing the archer as he shoots (*waḏjh*). IV 799a

dīn (A, pl. *adyān*) : religion; the obligations which God imposes on man; the domain of divine prescriptions concerning acts of worship and everything involved in it. II 293b; IV 171b

For ~ as second element in titles, V 621b ff.

♦ dīn al-ḥaḳḳ (A) : a Qur'ānic expression denoting 'the religion of Truth'; the revealed religion; the religion of the golden mean. II 294b

♦ **dīn-i ilāhī** : the heresy promulgated by the Indian Mug̲h̲al emperor Akbar in 989/1581, as a result of his discussions with learned men of all religions, which he vainly hoped would prove acceptable to his subjects. The new religion was related to earlier *alfī* heretical movements in Indian Islam of the 10th/16th century, implying the need for the reorientation of faith at the end of the first millennium of the advent of the Prophet. I 317a; II 296a

dīnār (A, < Gk; pl. *danānīr*) : Muslim gold coin issued by the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, to replace the Byzantine *denarius*. There are earlier types of *dīnār*s dating from ca. 72/691-2, but the coinage reform of ʿAbd al-Malik drastically affected the style which it would henceforth have. I 77b; II 297a; V 964a ff.

♦ dīnār dhahabī (A) : a double DĪNĀR, of a weight of 4.57 gr, struck first by the Almohads. The traditional *dīnār* was called *dīnār fiḍḍī* or *ʿashrī* in the Marīnid sources. VI 573a

♦ danānīr al-ṣila (A) : special coins, presentation issues, struck for non-currency purposes. XI 228b

dirʿ (A), or *sard, zarad, muzarrad* (< P *zard*) : in military science, protective body armour in the shape of coats of mail, which were considered valuable in desert fighting in the pre-Islamic period. XII 735b

dirāya (A) : the term used by al-Rāmahurmuzī to distinguish transmissions of Traditions by people who have learned to discern between all transmission minutiae, from those by people who merely transmit without paying proper heed to all sorts of crucial details in ISNĀD as well as contents of Tradition, which he terms *riwāya*. VIII 421a; X 934a

dirham (A, < Gk) : the name indicates both a weight and the silver unit of the Arab monetary system, used from the rise of Islam down to the Mongol period. II 319a; V 964a ff.; VI 118a

In early mathematics, ~ was the term used for the absolute number. II 361a

♦ dirham warak (A), or *dirham aswad* : in numismatics, so-called black dirhams, which were described as 'rough, uneven, small rectangles or squares of low silver content, the weight of which depended on the haphazard way the cold chisel of the flan cutter fell'. XI 199b

dirlik (T) : living, livelihood; a term used in the Ottoman empire to denote an income provided by the state, directly or indirectly, for the support of persons in its service. It is used principally of the military fiefs, but also applies to pay, salaries, and grants in lieu of pay. II 322a; IX 656a

dirra (A) : a whip of ox-hide, or of strips of hide on which date-stones have been stitched. X 406b

dirrīdj (A), or *durraydj* : a drum. II 135b; X 33a; a lute with a long neck and plucked strings. VI 215b; and → DARABUKKA

dirṣ (A, pl. *adrāṣ, durūṣ*), and *shibrik* (pl. *shabārik*) : in zoology, the kitten of both wild and domestic cats. IX 651b; the young of the jerboa. XI 283b

dirwa (A) : a typical style of hairdressing, which has given rise to the nickname Fuzzy-wuzzy, practised by the ʿAbābda tribe of Upper Egypt. I 1b

dīw (P) : the name of the spirits of evil and of darkness, creatures of Ahriman, the personification of sins, whose number is legion. II 322b

diʿwa → ISTILḤĀḲ

dīwān (A) : a register; an office. I 801b; I 1145b; II 323a; IV 937b

In literature, a collection of poetry or prose. II 323a

For a list of *dīwān*s not listed below, II 328b ff.

♦ dīwān al-badal : under the Mamlūks, a special department established to facilitate the exchange of feudal estates of the members of the ḤALḲA against payment or compensation which had become usual after the death of the Mamlūk al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. III 99b

♦ **dīwān-begi** : the title of high officials in the Central Asian khānates in the 16th-19th centuries. XII 227b; among the Tīmūrids, the office of secretary of the DĪWĀN or chief of the secretariat of the *dīwān*. VIII 481b

♦ dīwān efendi : in the Ottoman empire, chancellor of the Admiralty. VIII 422a; in the Ottoman provinces, an important official attached to the *wālī*. In Egypt, under

Muḥammad ʿAlī, the ~ became a kind of president of the council of ministers. VIII 481b

♦ dīwān raḳamlari (T) : term for the SIYĀḲAT numerals, in effect the 'written out' shapes of the numerals in Arabic, reduced to a skeletal and schematised form. IX 693a

♦ **dīwān-i humāyūn** (T) : the name given to the Ottoman imperial council founded by Meḥemmed II after the conquest of Istanbul, which, until the mid-11th/17th century, was the central organ of the government of the empire. II 337b

♦ dīwānī (A) : in land management, land held by the ruler as head of state as opposed to crown land. IV 974b

In calligraphy, a form of Arabic script which consisted of letters and particular signs devised from abbreviations of the names of numbers. It was already in use during the ʿAbbāsid caliphate by the army of scribes and accountants working in the Treasury, although according to Turkish sources, the ~ script was allegedly invented for writing official documents and registers of the DĪWĀN-Ī-HUMĀYŪN. *Djalī dīwānī* is a variant type of ~ with the letters written within each other. It flourished from the 9th/15th century onwards. I 1145b; II 315b; IV 1125b; VIII 151b; and → TAWḲĪʿ

diya (A), or *ʿaḳl, maʿḳūla* : in law, a specified amount of money or goods due in cases of homicide or other injuries to physical health unjustly committed upon the person of another. It is a substitute for the law of private vengeance. In its restricted and most usual sense in law, it means the compensation which is payable in cases of homicide. I 29a; I 171b; I 338a; II 340b; V 180a

diyāmīrūn : in medicine, a robb, made from mulberry juice for swellings of the mouth and for angina. X 752a

diyānay (P) : an ancient type of double reed-pipe. Its two pipes have been described as being of equal length, each of which is pierced by five finger-holes, which gave an octave between them. According to al-Fārābī, the ~ was also called the *mizmār al-muthannā* or *muzāwadj*. VII 208a

djaʿāla → DJUʿL

djaʿba (A) : in archery, a fairly large, leather quiver having a lid fixed by means of a cord, *mikhdhaf*. IV 799b

djabā (T), or *djabā bennāk* : in Ottoman times, married peasants possessing no land. I 1169b

djābāḍūli (Mor), or *djābāḍūr* : a full-length, caftan-like garment with either no buttons or a single button in front. V 745b; a short tunic worn over a waistcoat. XI 543b

djābāḍūr → DJĀBĀḌŪLI

djabal (A, pl. **djibāl**) : a massive mountain, rocky hillock; other synonyms in common use among the Bedouin in Arabia are *ḍilʿ* (pl. *ḍulūʿ, ḍilʿān*), *ḥazm*, which is usually lower than a ~, *abraḳ* (pl. *burḳān*) and BARḲĀʾ (pl. *burḳ*). Promontories jutting out from the island escarpments are called *khashm* 'nose' (pl. *khushūm*). I 536b; II 534b; the name for a very large ruby, of which three were known to have been bought by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and al-Mutawakkil. XI 263b

djabbādha → SARAFSĀR

djabbāna (A, pl. *djabbānāt*) : a piece of unbuilt land serving, i.a., as a meeting place and a cemetery. V 23a; V 347a; and → MAḲBARA

djabbār → DJAWZĀʾ

djabha → SUDJDJA

djābī (A) : a collector of the *ṣadaḳa* tax. X 50b

djābih (A) : 'that which comes from in front', one of the technical terms designating the directions of a bird's flight, or an animal's steps, which play an important part in the application of divination known as FAʾL, ṬĪRA and ZADJR. II 760a; and → NĀTIḤ

djabr (A) : compulsion. I 27b; and → DJABRIYYA
In law, ~ is compulsion in marriage exercised upon one or other of the prospective partners. XII 233a
In medicine, minor or simple surgery. II 481b
♦ **al-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala** (A) : originally two methods of transforming equations, later, the name given to algebra, the theory of equations. II 360b
♦ **djabriyya** (A), or *mudjbira* : the name given by opponents to those whom they alleged to hold the doctrine of DJABR 'compulsion', viz. that man does not really act but only God. It was also used by later heresiographers to describe a group of sects. The Muʿtazila applied it to traditionists, Ashʿarite theologians and others who denied their doctrine of ḲADAR 'free will'. II 365a; III 1142b
♦ djabriyyūn (A) : in the writings of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (4th/10th century), the name of the representatives of the branch of mathematics called *al*-DJABR WA 'L-MUḲĀBALA. II 361b
djadal → ADAB
♦ djadaliyyūn (A) : controversialists. X 440b; and → ADAB
djadhaʿ → ʿATŪD
♦ djadhaʿa (A) : a female camel in its fifth year. XI 412a
djadhba (A) : in mysticism, divine attraction. VIII 306b; IX 863a
djādhī → ZAʿFARĀN
djadhīdha (A) : in agriculture, wheat husked and crushed. II 1060b
djadhr (A) : in mathematics, ~ is the term used for the square root. III 1139b
djādī → ZAʿFARĀN
djadīd (A, T *djedīd*) : new, modern. II 366a
In Persian prosody, the name of a metre of rare occurrence, said to have been invented by the Persians. I 677b
In Central Asia and among the Muslims of Russia, the name of a reform movement (followers of the *uṣūl-i djedīd[e]* 'the new methods') in the 19th and 20th centuries. II 366a; XII 466b
djadwal (A), or *khātim* : a scientific table. XI 497b
In sorcery, quadrangular or other geometrical figures into which names and signs possessing magic powers are inserted. These are usually certain mysterious characters, Arabic letters and numerals, magic words, the Names of God, the angels and demons, as well as of the planets, the days of the week, and the elements, and lastly pieces from the Qurʾān. II 370a
For ~ in the Ottoman context, → KHARḲ
♦ al-djadwal al-mudjarrad (A) : in dating, a double-argument table used for the calculation of *madākhil* (→ MADKHAL) from which the initial week day can be read off directly for every month of every year within the respective cycles. X 270b
djady (A) : lit. kid; in astronomy, *al-* ~ is the term for Capricorn, one of the twelve zodiacal constellations. VII 84a; and → SAKHLA
djaʿfarī → KĀGHAD
djafīr (A) : in archery, one of the terms for quiver. IV 800a
djafna → MIʿDJAN
djafr (A) : the generic name for an esoteric literature of apocalyptic character which arose as a result of the persecution which the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭima had suffered. Later, deviating from its original form of esoteric knowledge, reserved for the successors and heirs of ʿAlī, it became assimilated to a divinatory technique accessible to the wise whatever their origin, particularly mystics, consisting of speculations based on the numerical value of the Arabic letters. II 375b; IV 1129a; and → SAKHLA

d̲j̲ag̲h̲āna (A, < P čag̲h̲āna) : in music, a jingling instrument of small cymbals attached to a frame, in Europe given the name Chapeau Chinois or the Jingling Johnny. Another name for it is *zillī mās̲h̲a*. IX 10a ff.

d̲j̲āgīr : land given or assigned by governments in India to individuals as a pension or as a reward for immediate services. The holder of such land was called *d̲j̲āgīrdār*. II 378b; IX 581a

♦ d̲j̲āgīrdār → DJĀGĪR

d̲j̲āh (P) : in astronomy, the north pole, used by Islamic navigators of the Indian Ocean. The term was also used for the Pole Star. V 543a; VII 51a

d̲j̲ahannam (A) : hell. I 334b; II 381b; and → SAʿĪR

d̲j̲ahārdah → S̲H̲AHĀRDAH

d̲j̲ahbad̲h̲ (P, pl. *d̲j̲ahābid̲h̲a*) : a financial clerk, expert in matters of coins, skilled money examiner, treasury receiver, government cashier, money changer or collector. I 1144b; II 382b; the functionary in the Treasury whose task it was to prepare the monthly statement of income and expenditure. II 79b

d̲j̲aḥfal → ḲURDŪS

d̲j̲āhil (A, pl. *d̲j̲uhhāl*) : 'ignorant'. Among the Druze, members of the community not yet initiated into the truths of the faith; the initiated are the *ʿuḳḳāl*. II 633a

♦ d̲j̲āhilī (A) : 'pre-Islamic'; in Sayyid Ḳuṭb's book *Maʿālim fi 'l-ṭarīḳ*, ~ means 'barbaric', 'anti-Islamic', 'wicked', and implies apostasy from Islam, punishable by death. IX 117b

♦ **d̲j̲āhiliyya** (A) : the term for the state of affairs in Arabia before the mission of the Prophet; paganism; the pre-Islamic period and the men of that time. II 383b

d̲j̲aḥmaris̲h̲ (A) : a term used for a female hare while suckling. XII 84b

d̲j̲ahr → D̲H̲IKR-I D̲J̲AHR

d̲j̲aḥwas̲h̲ (A) : a child who has passed the stage of weaning. VIII 822a

d̲j̲āʾifa (A) : a wound penetrating the interior of the body; a determining factor in the prescription of compensation following upon physical injury, DIYA. II 341b

d̲j̲aʿīla → D̲J̲UʿL

d̲j̲āʾiz (A) : permissable; in law, the term preferred by Ḥanafī authors to specify that the juridical act was legitimate or licit, in point of law, apart from its being valid, ṢAḤĪḤ, or not. Other schools also use it to denote the revocability of e.g. a contract. II 389b

In logic, ~ means what is not unthinkable. II 390a

In the vocabulary of tents, ~ is the main ridge piece, which was of considerable importance. IV 1147b

♦ d̲j̲āʾiza → ṢILA

d̲j̲alabī → ČELEBĪ

d̲j̲alālī (P) : the name of an era founded by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan Maliks̲h̲āh b. Alp Arslan, called after his title D̲j̲alāl al-Dawla, although it is sometimes termed *malikī*; a calendar used often in Persia from the last part of the 5th/11th century onwards. II 397b; VI 275b; X 267b

In Ottoman Turkish, a term used to describe companies of brigands, led usually by idle or dissident Ottoman army officers, widely spread throughout Anatolia from about 999/1590 but diminishing by 1030/1620. IV 499a; IV 594a; XII 238a

d̲j̲alam (A) : shears. XII 319a; a strain of sheep in the time of D̲j̲āḥiẓ found in Ṭāʾif, which was very high on its hooves and had a fleece so smooth that it appeared bald. XII 318a

d̲j̲alba (A, < Por/Sp *gelba*/*gelva*) : a large type of barque used by Arabs on the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean shores. Ibn D̲j̲ubayr observed that they were stitched together with coir, i.e. coconut palm fibres. VIII 811a

djalī (A), or *djalīl* : a name given to every large type of script, but more specifically used for the large type of THULUTH. It was used for large-sized frames and also for public buildings and their inscriptions. IV 1123b; V 224a

♦ djalī dīwānī → DĪWĀNĪ

djalīl → DJALĪ

djālish (A, < T *čalish* 'battle'), also written **shālish** : in military science, the vanguard of an army, as described during the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn in 584/1187, syn. ṬALĪʿA, *mukaddama*; also during the Mamlūk period, a special flag hoisted over the *ṭablkhāna* to make known the decision to dispatch a large expedition against a strong enemy. III 184a; XII 722a

djāliya (A, pl. DJAWĀLĪ) : the term used for the Arabic-speaking communities with special reference to North and South America. II 403b; II 470b

djallāb (A) : 'importer', slave-trader. I 32b; I 929a; an outer garment used in certain parts of North Africa, variant of DJALLĀBIYYA. II 404b; sheep merchant. XII 316b

♦ djallābiyya (A) : in Morocco and the west of Algeria, a hooded outer robe with long sleeves, originally worn by men only, now by both sexes. II 404b; V 745b; in Egypt, the loose body shirt still commonly worn by men, pronounced *gallābiyya*. V 741a

djallāla (A) : a 'scatophagous animal', mentioned in Tradition and developed in FIḲH with regard to the prohibition of certain foods. II 1069b; V 8b

djalsa (A), and *ʿanāʾ, zīna* : in Morocco, the prevalent system of perpetual lease by WAḲF of dilapidated shops and workshops, whereby the tenant makes the necessary repairs, pays an annual rent and thus acquires the perpetual usufruct of the property. XII 369a

♦ djalsat al-istirāḥa (A) : in the Islamic ritual prayer, the return to the sitting position after the second inclination, RAKʿA, which practice is common among the Ḥanbalīs and the Shāfiʿīs, and now also widespread among Mālikī worshippers. VIII 929b

djalṭīṭa → FALṬĪṬA

djalwa → DJILWA

djamʿ (A), or *djamāʿa* : in grammar, the plural for units numbering three or more. II 406b; VIII 990b

In mysticism, ~ is contrasted with *farḳ* 'separation', and denotes seeing all things as brought together through God's reality. XI 38a

djāma-dār → DJAMDĀR

djamāʿa (A, T *djemāʿa*) : meeting, assembly.

In religion, the community (of believers). II 411a; the common practices and beliefs of the Companions. II 295a

In North Africa, as *djemaa*, ~ denoted local administrative assemblies, which owned property collectively. II 412b; IV 362a

In Morocco, a tribal assembly of men able to bear arms, which dealt with all the business of the tribe, civil, criminal, financial and political. V 1198b

In the Ottoman empire, as *djemāʿat* or *piyādegān*, one of three principal subdivisions of the Janissary corps, later expanded to 101 regiments, for those created before Meḥemmed's time. The other two were the *segbān*, a small corps of keepers of the palace hounds, and the BOLÜK or *agha bölükleri*. XI 323b

For ~ in grammar, → DJAMʿ

djamād → MAʿDIN

djāmāhāt (P, < A *djamāʿa*) : among the Shāhsewan in Persia, a community which moved and camped as a unit during the autumn migration in October and the spring migration in May, performing many religious ceremonies jointly. IX 224a

djāmakān (T) : a disrobing chamber in the Ottoman sultan's palace. X 567a

djāmakiyya (A, < P) : salary; originally, that part of the regular salary given in dress or cloth; under the Mamlūks, ~ denoted the part of the salary given in money. II 413b; a grant. IX 269a

djamal (A, Heb *gimel*) : in zoology, the male camel, sometimes used equally with *ibil* for the species. III 666a

♦ djamal al-baḥr (A), or *ḳuba*ʿ : in zoology, the humpbacked whale. VIII 1022b

djamalūn (A) : in architecture, a gable roof. I 616a

djamdār (A, < P *djāma-dār* 'clothes-keeper') : 'platoon commander', the lowest commissioned rank in the Indian Army. It also denotes junior officials in the police, customs, etc., or the foreman of a group of guides, sweepers. II 421b

♦ djamdāriyya (A) : under the Mamlūks, the keepers of the sultan's wardrobe. II 421b; VIII 432a

djāmedān (T) : a short, trimmed waistcoat without sleeves, worn as an outer garment in the Ottoman period. V 752a

djāmiʿ (A, pl. *djawāmiʿ*) : mosque; and → MASDJID DJĀMIʿ

In philosophy and science, the plural form, *djawāmiʿ*, is used to denote the compendium or handbook. VII 536b; *djawāmiʿ* is also used for the 'short' recension of Ibn Rushd's commentary on Aristotle's works. VII 539a; summaries. X 454b

♦ djāmiʿ al-ḥisāb (A) : the master-ledger of the Īlkhānids, from which the annual financial reports were prepared, one of the seven main registers on which their system of book-keeping was based. II 81b

♦ djāmiʿ al-ṣadaḳa (A) : an alms collector, one of the 'representatives' despatched to Yemen under the early regimes. XI 272a

djāmiʿa (A) : an ideal, a bond or an institution which unites individuals or groups; university. II 422b; in modern usage, ~ has also been used to characterise a political, united movement; more specifically, ~ signifies the political unification of Muslim states. VIII 359b ff.

djamʿiyya (A, T *djemʿiyyet*; P *andjuman*) : society; association. This term was perhaps first used to refer to the organised monastic communities or congregations which appeared in the Uniate Churches in Syria and Lebanon. In the middle of the 19th century, ~ came into more general use, first in Lebanon and then in other Arabic-speaking countries, to refer to voluntary associations for scientific, literary, benevolent or political purposes. By the middle of the 20th century, ḤIZB had replaced ~ to refer to political movements and organisations. II 428b; III 514b ff.

djammāl (A) : camel-driver or cameleer; also an owner and hirer of camels, and a dealer in camels. XII 241b

djamra (A, pl. *djimār*) : pebble. II 438a; tribe. VIII 381a; ~ is the name given to the three places (*al-djamra al-ūlā, al-djamra al-wusṭā, djamrat al-ʿaḳaba*) where pilgrims returning from ʿArafat during the pilgrimage stop to partake in the ritual throwing of stones. II 438a; III 36a; VIII 379a

♦ djamarāt al-ʿarab (A) : tribes that never allied themselves with others. VIII 120a; X 173b; the groups of Bedouin tribes. VIII 379a

djamūḥ (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse that checks its head to escape from control by the hands. II 953b

djamulyān → GÖNÜLLÜ

djāmūs (A, < P *gāv-i mīsh* 'bull-sheep') : in zoology, the Indian buffalo or water buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*). XII 242b

In Algeria, ~ designates women's bracelets carved from the horns of the water buffalo. XII 244a

♦ djāmūs al-baḥr (A) : in zoology, the hippopotamus, to some writers. XII 244a

♦ djāmūs al-khalāʾ (A) : in zoology, the African buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*), called thus by the Sudanese. It was unknown to the Arab writers. XII 242b

djanāba (A) : in law, the state of major ritual impurity, caused by marital intercourse, to which the religious law assimilates any *effusio seminis.* II 440b; VIII 929a

djanāḥ (A) : wing; in botany, ~ *al-nasr* 'vulture's wing' is the Cardoon (*Cynara cardunculus*). VII 1014b

djanāza (A) : corpse, bier, or corpse and bier, and then, funeral. II 441b

djānbāz (P, Egy *ganbādhiya*) : an acrobat, especially 'rope-dancer'; soldier; horse-dealer. II 442b

♦ **djānbāzān** : the name of a military corps in the Ottoman empire, serving only in time of war, in the vanguard, and charged with dangerous tasks. It was abolished towards the end of the 16th century. II 443a

djāndār (P) : the name of certain guards regiments who provided the sovereign's body-guard from the Saldjūḳs on. II 444a; V 685a

djandji dalem (J) : 'the royal promise', a term in Java for the TAʿLĪḲ-ṬALĀḲ institution. I 173b

djang (U) : in Urdu poetry, the part of the elegy, MARTHIYA, where the battle is described, with stress on the hero's valour and often including a description of his sword. VI 611b

djanīn (A) : the term for the child in its mother's womb; foetus. VIII 821b

djank (A) : in music, the harp. II 1073b; IX 10a

djānḳī (P) : council of state. XI 194a

djanna (A) : garden; Paradise. II 447a

♦ djannat al-khuld (A) : 'the garden of eternity', i.e. Paradise. XII 529b

djanṭīṭa → FALṬĪṬA

djanūb (A) : in meteorology, the south wind. VIII 526b

djār → IDJĀRA

djarab (A) : in medicine, scabies. V 107a; VIII 783a; IX 902b; X433a

♦ djarab al-ʿayn → RAMAD ḤUBAYBĪ

djarād (A, s. *djarāda*) : in zoology, locusts. For the different stages of the locust's development, Arabic has special names, such as *sirwa, dabā, ghawghāʾ, khayfān*, etc., which, however, are variously defined. II 455a; and → ḲAYNA

djarāʾid (Tun) : a pair of men's leather leggings. V 745b

djaras (A, pl. *adjrās*) : in music, the cup, bowl or cone-shape bell; the sphere-shaped bell was called the *djuldjul.* ~ also stood for a large bell, *djuldjul* meaning a small bell. A collection of these bells, on a board or chain, is known as a *ṭabla*. IX 10b f.

djardaḳ, djardhaḳ → RAGHĪF

djarf (A) : one of a number of terms for a seine or drag-net, i.e. a large pouched net used for fishing on the high seas, also called *djārūf, djarrāfa, ḳaṭṭāʿa* and *baṭāna*. VIII 1021b

djarḥ (A) : in law, the contestation that a witness is ʿADL. I 209b

♦ **al-djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl** (A) : lit. disparaging and declaring trustworthy; in the science of Tradition, a technical phrase used regarding the reliability or otherwise of traditionists. II 462a; VIII 515a

djarīb (A) : the basic measure of area in earlier Islamic times, which, as well as being a measure of capacity for grain, etc., equal to four ḲAFĪZs, became a measure of surface area, originally the amount of agricultural land which could be sown with a *djarīb*'s measure of seed. The extent of the ~ of area varied widely. Canonically, it was made up of 100 ḲAṢABAs, hence approx. 1600 m^2. VII 138a

djarīd (A) : the firm central stem of the palm which, when stripped of the leaf, is used for different purposes. Used in the manner of a javelin, the ~ gave its name to DJERĪD, the well-known equestrian sport so popular in Abyssinia, the Near East and Turkey. VII 923a

♦ **djarīda** (A, pl. *djarā'id*) : lit. leaf; a usual term in modern Arabic for a newspaper, the adoption of which is attributed to Fāris al-Shidyāḳ (syn. ṢAḤĪFA, usually used in the pl. *ṣuḥuf*). II 464b; XII 247a; in Sicily, a document which set out the different legal and social levels, defining the status on the one hand of the people of the countryside, having limited rights, and on the other that of the urban classes. IX 585b

♦ al-djarīda al-musadjdjala (A) : in classical Muslim administration, the sealed register. II 79a

♦ al-djarīda al-sawdā' (A) : in classical Muslim administration, the central register of the army office prepared annually for each command, showing the names of the soldiers, with their pedigree, ethnic origin, physical descriptions, rations, pay, etc. II 78b

djāriḥ (A, pl. *djawāriḥ*) : a 'beast of prey', used in hawking. I 1152a

djarīma (A), or **djurm** : a sin, fault, offence; in modern law, the technical term for crime. II 479b

In Ottoman usage, in the forms *djerīme* and *djereme*, fines and penalties. Other prescribed fines were called *ḳınlıḳ* and *gharāmet*. II 479b; II 604a

djāriya (A) : maidservant, female slave. I 24b

djarkh (A, < P *čarkh*) : a crossbow. II 506b; an individual arbalest whose bow is drawn back by means of a wheel (whence its name); by this, very long arrows, approaching the length of javelins, could be fired. IV 798a

djarm → GARMSĪR

djarr (A), or *khafḍ* : in grammar, the genitive case. III 1008a

In mediaeval agriculture, the trace, which attached the beam of the ploughshare to the centre of the yoke (*nīr*). VII 22b

♦ djarr al-djiwār (A) : in grammar, a term denoting 'attraction of the indirect case'. II 558b

djarrāḥ (A) : in medicine, surgeon. II 481b

djarrār (A) : 'he who drags (someone) along'; in military terminology, the commander of 1,000 men. X 91a; an army corps. IV 1144b

In the context of the pilgrimage, ~ is the name given to the few *muṭawwifūn* (→ MUṬAWWIF) who worked outside the special guild. They dealt primarily with pilgrims too poor to hire the services of a bona fide *muṭawwif*. VI 171a

djars (A, pl. *adjrās*) : in grammar, the result of the application of the articulatory organs to the place of the 'cutting', MAḲṬA'. III 597b

djarūsha (A) : the ancient *tribulum*, a technique using animal power motivating sharp stones and iron blades for threshing corn. X 411a

djasad (A, pl. *adjsād*) : body, in particular that of a higher being such as an angel. II 555a

♦ adjsād (A) : in alchemy, the metals, corresponding to Gk τὰ σώματα. V 111a

dja'sh (A) : in archery, a light and weak bow which, contrary to the KATŪM, vibrates when loosed. IV 798a

djāshankīriyya → USTĀDĀR

djaṣṣ (A) : gypsum manufactured in the town of Si'ird, which was used in the building of local houses. IX 574b

♦ djaṣṣāṣ (A) : a seller of gypsum. XII 759a

djāsūs (A) : spy; in particular, a spy sent among the enemy. II 486b

djāti (H) : an Indian musical term for modes, constructed on heptatonic series of notes, *mūrččhanā*. III 452b; caste. III 459b

djawāb → SHARṬ

djawād (A) : in zoology, the 'excellent runner', one of the more precise terms for a horse. IV 1143b

djawāli (A, s. *djālī*) : lit. émigrés; and → DJĀLIYA

As a fiscal term, ~ came to mean the poll-tax levied on non-Muslims, DJIZYA. II 490a; II 561a

djawāmiʿ → DJĀMIʿ

djāwars (A, < P *gāwars*) : in botany, millet (*Panicum miliaceum*). XII 249b

djawarsh (A, pl. *djawārish*) : in medicine, a stomachic. IX 805a; XI 381b

djawarshin (A) : in medicine, an electuary. XII 641a

djawf (A) : in geography, a depressed plain, sometimes replaced by *djaww*, a basin with a spring well. II 491b; VIII 1048b

djawlakh (P) : sack-cloth, probably the origin for the name, arising from the founder's distinctive garb, of the Djawlakiyya movement that penetrated into Anatolia in the first half of the 7th/13th century. IV 473b

djawhar (A, < P) : jewel; atom. II 494b; XII 250b

In philosophy, the technical term for οὐσία 'substance'. I 784b; II 493a

djawka (A, pl. *djawkāt*) : in Lebanon, a troupe accompanying the ZADJAL poet, with whome they engage in poetic duelling at festivals. XI 376a

djawr (A) : oppression. XI 567b

djawshan (A, P) : in military science, a lamellar armour, popular throughout most Islamic countries but the Islamic West by the 12th century. XII 737b

djāwun → HĀWŪN

djaww → DJAWF

djawwāla (A) : globetrotter. I 116a

djawz (A, < P *gawz*) : the nut in general, and the walnut (*Juglans regia*) in particular. XII 264a; the walnut tree. VIII 732b; for many fruits combined with ~, XII 264b

♦ **djawzahar** (A, < P *djawz čihr* 'nut-shape'), *tinnīn*, or *ʿukda* (< Gk) : in astronomy, the two opposite points in which the apparent path of the moon, or all planets, cuts the ecliptic. In course of time, these points come to move on to the ecliptic. In texts dating from the 5th/11th century, ~ also indicates the *circulus pareclipticus* of the moon; and the nodes of the orbit of any of the five planets. II 501b; V 536a; VIII 101b; and → FALAK AL-DJAWZAHAR

djawzāʾ (A) : in astronomy, *al-~* is the term for Orion, the stellar figure, replaced by the translators with *al-djabbār*, and Gemini, one of the twelve zodiacal constellations, also called *al-tawʾamān*. VII 83a

djawzal (A, pl. *djawāzil*) : the chick of a sandgrouse, KATĀ. IX 744b

djayb → DJĪB

♦ al-djayb al-maʿkūs → SAHM

♦ al-djayb al-mustawī → SAHM

♦ **djayb-i humāyūn** (T) : the privy purse of the Ottoman sultans, which contents provided for the immediate needs and expenses of the sovereign. II 502b

djaysh (A) : army. II 504a

In the south of Algeria and Morocco, *djīsh* means an armed band to go out on an ambush, GHAZW, against a caravan or a body of troops. When the ~ consisted of several hundred men, it was called a *harka*. II 509b

In Morocco, *djīsh* (pronounced *gīsh*), denotes a kind of feudal organisation in the Moroccan army. II 509b

djazāʾ (A) : recompense both in a good and in a bad sense, especially with reference to the next world. II 518a

In Ottoman usage, ~ means punishment. II 518a; and → KĀNŪN-I DJAZĀʾĪ

For ~ in grammar, → SHART

♦ djazāʾilči : tribal levy, as e.g. that known as the Khyber Rifles, paid by the government of India for the protection of the Khyber in the late 19th century. I 238a; and → KHĀSSADĀR

djazīra (A) : island; peninsula; territories situated between great rivers or separated from the rest of a continent by an expanse of desert; a maritime country. II 523a
Among the Ismāʿīlīs, ~ is the name of a propaganda district. II 523a

djazīza → DJAZZĀZ

djazm (A) : in grammar, quiescence of the final ḤARF of the MUḌĀRIʿ. III 173a

djazz → IḤFĀʾ

djazzār (A) : a slaughterer of camels, sheep, goats and other animals. Today, ~ is synonymous with *ḳaṣṣāb* and *laḥḥām*, the two terms for butcher, but in mediaeval times, they formed a distinct group of workers. XII 267a

djazzāz (A) : a shearer of wool-bearers. The shears he uses are called *djalam* and the wool obtained *djazīza*. XII 319a

djebedji (T) : the name given to a member of the corps of 'Armourers of the Sublime Porte', which had charge of the weapons and munitions of the Janissaries. The corps was closely associated with the Janissaries, and was abolished together with the latter in 1241/1826. I 1061b; XII 269b

djebe (T) : in Ottoman army usage, a simple armour perhaps made of metal plates, which a DJEBELI who enjoyed a small TĪMĀR as low as 730 AḲČEs had to wear. X 503a
♦ **djebeli** (T), or *djebelü* : an auxiliary soldier in the Ottoman empire, mostly of slave origin. II 528b; man-at-arms. IX 656b; a fully-armed auxiliary horseman. X 503a

djedhba → ḤĀL

djerīd (A) : a wooden dart or javelin used in the game of the same name, popular in the Ottoman empire from the 10th-13th/16th-19th centuries. The game consisted of a mock battle in the course of which horsemen threw darts at one another. II 532a

djiʿāl → DJUʿL

djīb (A, < San *jīva* 'bow-string, half chord') : in mathematics, often misread as *djayb* 'breast-pocket', this transcription from Sanskrit led to Eng 'sine' (< L *sinus* 'breast'). X 232a

djibāya (A) : the collection of taxes. X 307b; XI 532b

djidār → LUʾAMA

djidd (A) : a common ancestor (which links different sections of a tribe). XI 276b

djiddāba (A) : in zoology, the djeddaba kingfish, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Caranx djeddaba*). VIII 1021b

djidhāʿ → ADJDHĀʿ

djidhr (A) : root; in mathematics, ~ is represented by the area of a rectangle having the side of the square as its length and the unit as its width. II 360b

djiflik (T, pl. *djafālik*) : land given by Muḥammad ʿAlī and his successors to themselves or to members of their family. XII 179a

djihād (A) : an effort directed towards a determined objective; a military action with the object of the expansion of Islam and, if need be, of its defence. II 64a; II 126a; II 538a; III 180a ff.; IV 772a; VIII 495a ff.; IX 845b

djiḥḥ (Nadjdī A) : in botany, the term for watermelon in Nadjd (*ḥabḥab* in the Ḥidjāz, *dibshī* in the south). I 540b

djiḳa (P) : a plume, for a headdress. XI 192b

djild (A), or *adīm* : leather; parchment. Synonyms of the latter meaning are *waraḳ*, ḲIRṬĀS, RAḲḲ or *riḳḳ*. II 540a; VIII 407b

djilfa (A) : the nib of a reed-pen. IV 471a

djillāya (A) : an embroidered coat-like outer garment, a wedding costume, worn by women in Syria and Palestine; in Yemen, a man's marriage caftan. V 741a

djilwa (A) : the ceremony of raising the bride's veil, and the present made by the husband to the wife on this occasion. II 542b

In mysticism, ~ (or *djalwa*) is the name of the state in which the mystic is on coming out of seclusion, KHALWA. II 542b

djim (A) : the fifth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 3, representing the *g* (occlusive, postpalatal, voiced, *shadīda madjhūra*). II 543b

djimāʿ (A) : coitus (syn. *bāh*). XII 641a

djimat (Mal) : an amulet, in particular a written one. II 545a

djinās (A) : paronomasia; → TADJNĪS

♦ djinās al-ḳalb (A) : in literary theory, an imperfect paronomasia whereby there is difference in the arrangement of the letters, e.g. the juxtaposition of *fatḥ* and *ḥatf*. When the two words occur at the beginning and the end of the verse, it is called *mudjannaḥ*. X 69b

♦ djinās al-khaṭṭ → MUṢAḤḤAF

djindār (T) : the second animal in the row of mules forming the caravans that used to operate in Anatolia. IV 678b

djinn (A) : a Qurʾānic term applied to bodies composed of vapour and flame, who came to play a large role in folklore. II 546b; III 669a; V 1101a; and → ʿAMLŪḲ; ḤINN; KHUSS

djins (A, < Gk) : genus; race. II 550a; sex. II 550b

Under the Circassian rule in the Mamlūk period, *al-djins*, meaning the Race, denoted the Circassian race. II 24b

In music, ~ denotes the 'form' of the ĪḲĀʿ, whose metrical patterns were chosen by the musician by modifying the basic notes. The early music schools knew seven or eight forms. XII 408b

djirāḥa → ʿAMAL BI 'L-YAD

djirāya (A) : salary, in the terminology of the Azharīs during the Ottoman period; originally, a number of loaves of bread sent daily by the Ottoman sultan to someone. II 413b

djirdjir (A) : in botany, rocket (*Eruca sativa*). IX 653a

djirga (Pash) : an informal tribal assembly of the Pathans in what are now Afghanistan and Pakistan, with competence to intervene and to adjudicate in practically all aspects of private and public life among the Pathans. I 217a; V 1079a; XII 270a

djirm (A) : body, in particular the heavenly bodies. II 554b

djirrat (A) : in Čishtī mysticism, a ~ is a mystic who visits kings and their courts and asks people for money. This was considered an abuse, along with the status of a *muḳallid* (a mystic who has no master), as contact with the state in any form was not permitted. II 55b

djisān → ZAʿFARĀN

djīsh → DJAYSH

djism (A) : body. II 553b; for synonyms, → BADAN; DJASAD; DJIRM

♦ djism taʿlīmī (A) : mathematical body; a term used by Aristotle in contrast to *djism ṭabīʿī* 'physical body'. II 555a

♦ djismiyyāt (A) : a term employed by Abu 'l-Hudhayl to denote the corporeal pleasures of Paradise. II 449b

djisr (A, pl. *djusūr*) : a bridge of wood or of boats. II 555a; IV 555a

In mediaeval Egypt, the plural *djusūr* is used for 'irrigation dams', of which there were two types: the small irrigation dams (*al-djusūr al-baladiyya*), important for conveying water from one field to another in the village, and the great irrigation dams (*al-djusūr al-sulṭāniyya*), constructed for the provinces. V 862b

djiṣṣ (A) : plaster. II 556b

djitr → MIẒALLA

djiwār (A) : protection of another tribe; neighbourhood. I 429b; I 890b; II 558a; IX 864b; and → DJARR AL-DJIWĀR

djizya (A) : the poll-tax levied on non-Muslims in Muslim states. II 490a; II 559a
djönk (T) : a manuscript collection of folk poetry. VIII 171b
djūʿ (P) : hunger; in mysticism, voluntary hunger was one of the foundations of the Khalwatiyya order. IV 992a
djuʿaydī → ḤARFŪSH
♦ djuʿaydiyya (A) : the populace. XI 546a
djubba (A) : a woollen tunic with rather narrow sleeves, worn over the shirt, ḲAMĪṢ, by both sexes in the time of the Prophet. V 733b; a coat-like outer garment worn by both sexes today in the Arab East. V 741a; in Tunisia, ~ denotes a full-length, sack-like chemise without sleeves. V 745b; a gown. IX 765a
djubn (A) : a mild cheese; its residual whey is termed *māʾ al-djubn*. XII 318b
djudhām (A) : in medicine, leprosy. Other terms for the disease, depending on the symptoms, were *baraṣ, bahaḳ, waḍaḥ* and *ḳawābī*. XII 270b; for more euphemisms, XII 271a; elephantiasis. V89b; X 433a; impetigo. VII 1014a
djūdī (A) : a large, sea-going ship. III 324b
djuʾdjuʾ → ṢADR
djughrāfiyā (A, < Gk) : geography; in mediaeval Arabic, geography was termed *ṣūrat al-arḍ* or *ḳaṭʿ al-arḍ*, with ~ being explained as 'map of the world and the climes'. The Arabs did not conceive of geography as a science, and the use of ~ for geography is a comparatively modern practice. II 575b
djuhhāl → DJĀHIL
djuhlūl → SHUNḲUB
djuḥūd (A) : in theology, denial of God. XI 478a
djūkāndār (P) : an official responsible for the care of the ČAWGĀNs and for the conduct of the game of polo. II 17a
djūkh (A), or *djūkha* : a wide-sleeved coat worn by men in the Arab East. V 741a; a long, woollen outer robe without sleeves or collar which is closed by a single button at the neck worn by men in North Africa. V 745b
djuʿl (A), or *djiʿāl, djaʿāla, djaʿīla* : in early Islamic warfare, a kind of contract, regarded as degrading, received by mercenary irregulars often drawn from tribal splinter-groups and led by their own chieftains; ~ also served to designate the sum, levied in advance, as insurance against failure to participate in an obligatory razzia. VIII 496b
djulāb (P) : rose julep. XII 550b
djulāha : in India, a low Muslim weaver caste. XII 483a
djulāhiḳ → ḲAWS AL-BUNDUḲ
djulandjubīn (P) : rose honey. XII 550b
djulbān (A) : in botany, bitter-vetch, one of the winter crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a
djuldjul → DJARAS
♦ djuldjulān → SIMSIM
djull → WARD
djulla → KABŪSH
djullanār (A, < P *gul-i anār*) : in botany, the blossom of the wild pomegranate tree, also called *al-mazz*. XII 277a
♦ djullanārī (A) : the deeply saturated yellow colour of the yellow sapphire. XI 262b
djulūs (A, T *djülūs*) : accession to the throne. XII 504a
djumʿa → YAWM AL-DJUMʿA
djumhūriyya → MASHYAKHA
djumla (A, pl. *djumal*) : in law, a term meaning a general Qurʾānic statement made more specific only by a ḤADĪTH which supplies a more precise definition, as opposed to NAṢṢ. VII 1029a

In grammar, a sentence. IX 526a

Its plural form *djumal* denotes a compendium or handbook, especially in grammar. VII 536b

djummār (A) : the pith of the palm-tree, eaten by pre-Islamic Arabs. II 1058b

djummayz → TĪN

djund (A, pl. *adjnād*) : an armed troop. Under the Umayyads, ~ was applied especially to (Syrian) military settlements and districts in which were quartered Arab soldiers who could be mobilised for seasonal campaigns or more protracted expeditions. Later, ~ took on the wider meaning of armed forces. II 601a; IX 263b

Under the Mamlūks, ~ is sometimes applied to a category of soldiers in the sultan's service, but distinct from the personal guard. II 601b

For geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, the plural *adjnād* denoted the large towns. II 601b; V 125a

djundub (A) : in zoology, the locust. V 566b

djung (P) : lit. boat; an informal notebook with poetical fragments. VII 529a; VII 602a

djūnī → ḲAṬĀ

djunna → DARAḲA

djunub (A) : in law, a person who is in a state of major ritual impurity. II 440b

djura → ṬUNBŪR

djuradh (A, pl. *djirdhān, djurdhān*) : in zoology, a term defining all rats of a large size without distinction of species. XII 285b

♦ djuradhān (A) : 'the two rats', the name of the two symmetrical dorsal muscles of the horse. XII 286b

♦ djurdhāna (A) : the name of a variety of date, on the Arabian peninsula. XII 286b

djuraydī 'l-nakhl (Ir) : 'palm-tree rat', a term used in 'Irāḳ to designate the ichneumon or Egyptian mongoose, sub-species *persicus* or *auropunctatus*. VIII 49b

djurdjunadjī (T) : a comic dancer. VIII 178b

djurm → DJARĪMA

djurn → HĀWIN

djurnal (A) : under Muḥammad 'Alī of Egypt, a 'daily administrative report'; the term was borrowed during the reign of Ottoman sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I to denote written denunciations. I 64a

djurūf (A) : in Yemen, caves hewn out of the rock. X 449b

djusūr → DJISR

djuz' (A, pl. *adjzā'*) : part, particle; a technical term used in scholastic theology (*kalām*) and philosophy to describe the philosophical atom in the sense of the ultimate (substantial) part that cannot be divided further, sometimes also called *al-djuz' al-wāḥid*. II 220a; II 607b

In prosody, the eight rhythmic feet which recur in definite distribution and sequence in all metres. I 669b

In the science of the Qur'ān, ~ is a division of the Qur'ān for purposes of recitation. II 607b

In literature, a booklet. XI 354b

djūz shikastan (P) : 'breaking the nut', a rite performed by the superior of the 'Alī-Ilāhīs. X 398a

djuzāf (A) : in law, buying or selling provisions wholesale without fixing weights and measures. X 467b; unascertained quantities. XII 703b

djuzāzāt (A) : index cards, as for example the collection in the Egyptian Academy of Science that was prepared for the historical dictionary and for the dictionary of technical and scientific terms. V 1092b

do'āb (P) : lit. two waters; in the subcontinent of India, ~ is generally applied to the land lying between two confluent rivers, and more particularly to the fertile plain between the Jamna and the Ganges in present Uttar Pradesh in India. II 609b; XI 1a

dogāh → S͟HAS͟HMAḲOM

dog͟handji (T) : falconer. Hawking was a favourite traditional sport at the Ottoman court. II 614a

dohā : in Indo-Persian poetry, couplet. XII 483a

dokkali (B) : woollen and cotton wall covers, once a major craftsmanship in Adrar, Algeria. I 210b

dolāb (T) : a swivel-box, through which servant in Ottoman Turkish houses of the upper class communicated with the women's apartments. IV 899a

dolama (T) : a caftan worn by the least important Ottoman palace servants, which had a long robe, fastened in front, with narrow sleeves. V 752a

dōlī (H) : a litter used in India for transporting people. It is a simple rectangular frame or bedstead, usually suspended by the four corners from a bamboo pole and carried by two or four men; when used by women there are usually curtains hanging from the bamboo. The ~ was much used for the transport of sick persons, and in war to carry casualties off the battlefield. A form where the frame is supported on two poles is used as the bier to transport a corpse to the burial-ground. VII 932a

dombra : a lute used in Kazakhstan, with two or three strings. X 733b

donādon (K), or *kirās gihorrīn* 'changing one's shirt' : reincarnation, a belief of the YAZĪDĪ religion. XI 314a

donanma (T) : a fleet of ships, navy; the decoration of the streets of a city for a Muslim festival or on a secular occasion of public rejoicing such as a victory, and, more particularly, the illumination of the city by night and the firework displays which formed part of these celebrations. II 615a

dönüm (T, A *dūnam*) : the standard measure of area in the Turkish lands of the Ottoman empire and the Arabic lands of 'Irāḳ, Syria and Palestine directly under Ottoman rule until 1918, originally considered to equal one day's ploughing. In Turkey it equalled 939 m^2 (approx. 1,000 sq. yards), but in the 19th century the new ~ was equated with the hectare; in 1934 the metric system of weights and measures was officially adopted by the Turkish Republic. In Syria and Palestine in recent times, the ~ is 1,000 m^2 = 0.247 acres, while in Iraq a larger ~ of 2,500 m^2 is used, despite the official adoption of the metric system in 1931. II 32b; V 474a; VII 138a

dört (T) : four.

♦ dört bölük (T), or *bölükat-i erba'a* : a collective name for the four lowest cavalry regiments of the ḲAPÎ ḲULLARÎ. They were regarded as inferior in comparison to the remaining two higher divisions, the *sipāhī og͟hlanlarî* and the *silāḥdārlar*. II 1097b

♦ dört ḳapî (T) : 'four doors', a doctrine of the Bektās͟hiyya, comprising *ṭarīḳa, ḥaḳīḳa, ma'rifa* and *s͟harī'a*. X 332b

♦ dörtlük (T) : in Turkish prosody, a strophe consisting of four lines, hence synonymous with the term RUBĀ'Ī in its broader sense. VIII 580b

doston (Taj) : a lyrical epic poem. X 65b

drafs͟h-i kāwiyān (P) : the Iranian national flag; according to legend, it was the apron of the blacksmith Kāwah, who brought about the fall of the tyrant Zohak. IV 775a

du'ā' (A, pl. *ad'iya*) : appeal, invocation (addressed to God) either on behalf of another or for oneself, or against someone; hence, prayer of invocation. II 617a

In the science of diplomatic, ~ is the formula of benediction for the addressee. II 302a; II 314b

In prosody, ~ is the sixth and final section of a ḲAṢĪDA, wherein the poet implores God for the prosperity of the sultan or person to whom the poem is addressed and expresses his thanks for the completion of the work. IV 715b; V 956b; V 960a

♦ du'ā' al-wasīla → TAṢLIYA
♦ du'ākhʷān → BĀKHSHĪ
dūbaytī → RUBĀ'Ī
dubb al-baḥr (A) : in zoology, the sea lion, also called *asad al-baḥr* and *baḳrat al-baḥr*. VIII 1022b
dubbā' → ḲUTHTHĀ'
dūd al-ḳazz (A) : in zoology, the silkworm. X 752a
dudjr → DADJR
dudjūr → DADJR
duff (A) : in music, the generic term for any instrument of the tambourine family. II 620a
dūgh → AYRAN
dügün → TOY
ḍuḥā (A) : 'forenoon', the first part of the day, up to the moment when the sun has traversed a quarter of the diurnal arc. II 622b; V 709b
♦ ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā (A) : a sixth prayer performed in some circles, on top of the five compulsory prayers, at the same time before midday as the 'AṢR was performed after midday. VII 28a
duhn (A, pl. *adhān*) : oil extracted from any plant other than the olive. XI 486a
♦ duhn al-ḥall (A), or *ṣalīṭ djuldjulān, shīradj* (P *shīra*) : the oil of sesame. IX 615a; XI 486a
duhul (A, P *dohol*) : a drum with a shorter body than the long-bodied cylindrical drum, mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw as one of the martial instruments of the Fāṭimids. In Egypt of modern times it is known as *ṭabl al-baladī*. X 33b
dūka (Tun) : a pointed bonnet for women. V 745b
dukhān → TUTUN
dukhla (A) : 'entering', consummation of a marriage. The wedding night was known as *laylat al-~*. X 903a; X 905b
dukhn (A) : in botany, the small sorghum (*Pennisetum spicatum*) widespread in the Sudan and also called Moorish millet. XII 249b
duḳmaḳ (A) : in zoology, a silurus of the Nile, the Euphrates and the Niger, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Bagrus docmac*). VIII 1021b
dūlāb (P, pl. *dawālīb*) : a water-wheel. Al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century) noted that there were many alongside the banks of the Nile for irrigating orchards during the low waters. According to him, the *ḳādūs* was the bucket. V 863b f.
dulband → TULBAND
dūm (A) : in botany, jujube-like fruits of the *Ziziphus* trees, highly valued for food. IX 549a
du'mūṣ (A) : the maggot. VIII 1022a
dūnam → DÖNÜM
dunbak, or *tanbak* → DARABUKKA
dundj → 'IKBIR
dunyā (A) : lit. nearer, nearest; in theology, this (base) world, as opposed to DĪN and the correlative ĀKHIRA. II 295a; II 626b
durāb (A) : in zoology, the chirocentrus, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Chirocentrus dorab*). VIII 1021b
durāda (A, < Sp *dorado*) : in zoology, the goldfish (*Sparus aurata*). VIII 1021a
durar → DURR
dūrbāsh (P) : lit. be distant; the mace or club used as an emblem of military dignity, and in Persian and Turkish usage, the functionary who carries the mace. II 627b

durḳāʿa → ḲĀʿA

durr (A), or *durar* : pearl. II 628a; artistic poetry of high quality. IX 448b; and → LUʾLUʾ

durrāʿa (A) : the gown worn by a secretary (*kātib*) in mediaeval times. IV 756a; in Syria and Palestine, a woman's outer coat, open in front, sometimes synonymous with DJUBBA. V 741a; in North Africa, a long robe with sleeves for both sexes. V 746a

durūd → TAṢLIYA

dūṣ : in metallugry, cast iron. V 971b

dūs͟hāb (P) : in the mediaeval Near East, a drink from syrup or from preserves of fruit which is sometimes non-alcoholic, but which is frequently mentioned in the context of drinks which can ferment and become alcoholic. VI 720b

dūs͟hāk͟h (P) : a crown-like hat with a pointed rim on either side, worn by men of high rank in Sald͟jūḳ Persia and of Inner Asian, Turkish origin. V 748a

dustūr (A) : originally from Persian, ~ seems originally to have meant a person exercising authority, whether religious or political. Later, ~ acquired a specialised meaning, designating members of the Zoroastrian priesthood. The word occurs in *Kalīla wa-dimna* in the sense of 'counsellor'. More commonly it was used in the sense of rule or regulation, and in particular the code of rules and conduct of the guilds. In Arabic, ~ was employed in a variety of meanings, notably 'army pay-list', 'model or formulary', 'leave', and also, addressed to a human being or to invisible DJINN, 'permission'. In modern Arabic, ~ means constitution. II 638a; and → DASTŪR

Under the Ayyūbids, ~ meant a legal release from a campaign. The term gradually died out in the period of the Mamlūks. III 186b

In astronomy, a circular instrument, known also as *al*-S͟HAKKĀZIYYA. V 84a

♦ düstūr (T) : principle, precedent, code or register of rules; applied in particular to the great series of volumes, containing the texts of new laws, published in Istanbul (and later Ankara) from 1279/1863 onwards. II 640a

♦ dustūr-i mükerrem (T) : one of the honorific titles of the grand vizier of the Ottoman empire. II 638a

dutār (T), variants *dotar, dūtār* : in music, a lute with two strings. VIII 234b; X 733b f.

dūwār → DAWĀR

duwwāma (A) : the game of tops (syn. *k͟hud͟hrūf*). V 616b

duyūn → DAYN

duzale : a Kurdish flute with two pipes of reed or bird bone, pierced with holes and whose mouthpiece has a kind of vibratory tongue. The sound resembles that of the Scottish bagpipes. V 478a

duzdīd͟ha → ANDARGĀH

düzen (T) : in music, the tunings [of the lute]. IX 120b

E

efe (T) : the chief of the Zeybek or Turkish mountaineers in Western Anatolia. His word was law, even to the extent of whether one could marry another. His assistant was called *kızan*. XI 493b

efendi (T, < Gk) : an Ottoman title, already in use in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries in Turkish Anatolia. A 16th-century FATWĀ applied the term to the owner of slaves and slave-girls. Later, ~ became increasingly common in Ottoman usage as a designation of members of the scribal and religious, as opposed to the military, classes, in particular of certain important functionaries. During the 13th/19th century, although the Ottoman government made attempts to regulate the use of the term by law, ~ was used,

following the personal name, as a form of address or reference for persons possessing a certain standard of literacy, and not styled BEY or PASHA; ~ thus became an approximate equivalent of the English mister or French monsieur. In 1934 it was finally abolished, but has remained in common use as a form of address for both men and women. I 75a; II 687a

eflāḳ (T, < Ger *Wallach*) : under the Ottomans, ~ denoted the Balkan Rumanians and those north of the Danube. II 687b; II 915a

efsane (T, < P *afsāna*) : legend; completely fantastic story, fabricated or superstitious. III 373b

eklan → IMGHAD

elči (T) : envoy, messenger; in Ottoman diplomacy, the normal word for ambassador, although *sefīr* (< A SAFĪR) was used. II 694a; and → MAṢLAḤATGÜZĀR; SAFĪR
In eastern Turkish, ruler of a land or people. II 694a

elifi nemed (T) : a woollen initiatic girdle, worn by the Mewlewīs, so called because with its tapering end when laid out flat, it resembled the letter *alif*. They also wore a second type of woollen girdle, the *tīghbend*, during their dance, in order to hold in place the ample skirt of the garment known as the TENNŪRE. IX 167b

emānet (T) : the function or office of an EMĪN. II 695b; the system of collection of MUḲĀṬAʿA revenues directly by the *emīn*. II 147b

♦ **emānet-i muḳadesse** (T) : the name given to a collection of relics preserved in the treasury of the Topkapı palace in Istanbul. II 695b

♦ emāneten (T) : one of three principal ways in which mining activity was organised in the Ottoman empire, the others being ILTIZĀMEN and IḤĀLE; ~ meant the direct administration of mines or mining districts through state-appointed superintendents. V 974b

emīn (T, < A AMĪN) : an Ottoman administrative title usually translated intendant or commissioner. Primarily, an ~ was a salaried officer appointed by or in the name of the sultan, to administer, supervise or control a department, function or source of revenue. The term is used also of agents and commissioners appointed by authorities other than the sultan, and at times, by abuse, the ~ appears as tax-farmer. II 695b

emr (T, < A AMR) : a term denoting a general order issued in the name of the Ottoman sultan, as well as a special order which decreed the issue of a BERĀT. I 1170a

enderūn (T) : inside.
Under the Ottomans, ~ was used to designate the inside service (as opposed to BĪRŪN, the outside service) of the imperial household of the Ottoman sultan, comprising four departments, viz. the Privy Chamber, the Treasury, the Privy Larder, and the Great and Little Chambers. II 697b; IV 1097a

entārī (T) : a kind of caftan, worn in the Ottoman period under the real caftan and fur, descending as far as the ankle or covering the knee. V 752a

enzel (Tun, < A **inzāl**) : in law, a perpetual lease system found not only on 'habous' (inalienable property, the yield of which is devoted to pious purposes) but also on private, *mulk*, properties, peculiar to Tunisia. XII 369a; XII 423a

eren → ERMISH

ermish (T, < 'to reach, attain') : with *baba, ata, eren* and *yatīr*, a term for saint in the Turkish world.

eshām (T, < A **ashām**, s. *sahm* 'share') : the word used in Turkey to designate certain treasury issues, variously described as bonds, assignats and annuities. Although the ~ reverted to the state on the death of the holder, they could be sold, the state claiming a duty of one year's income on each such transfer. The ~ were introduced in the early years of the reign of Muṣṭafā III and the practice was continued by later sultans; their purpose and names varied from time to time. I 692b

eshkindji (T), or *eshkündji* : a term in the Ottoman army denoting in general a soldier who joined the army on an expedition. As a special term, ~ designated auxiliary soldiers whose expenses were provided by the people of peasant, *re'āyā* (→ RA'IYYA), status. From the mid-10th/16th century, the ~ lost importance and gradually disappeared. II 714b; cavalry participating in the campaigns. X 503a

esrār : a pandore viol from India, with the TĀWŪS one of the two best-known examples. The ~ has a membrane on its face and has five strings played with the bow together with a number of sympathetic strings. VIII 348b

eyālet (T, < A *iyāla*) : in the Ottoman empire, the largest administrative division under a governor-general, BEGLERBEGI. An ~ was composed of SANDJAKS, which was the basic administrative unit. The ~ system was replaced by that of *wilāyet* in 1281/1864. I 468b; I 906b; II 721b

ezan → ADHĀN

F

fā' (A) : the twentieth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *f*, with the numerical value 80. It is defined as fricative, labio-dental, unvoiced. II 725a

faḍā'il (A, s. **faḍīla**) : lit. virtues, a genre of literature exposing the excellences of things, individuals, groups, places, regions and such for the purpose of a *laudatio*. II 728b; VI 350a

In Mamlūk terminology, ~, or *kamālāt*, was often applied to the exercises necessary for the mastery of horse-riding. II 954b

♦ faḍā'il al-af'āl (A) : in the science of Tradition, a genre consisting of Traditions that list human actions which are believed to be particularly pleasing to God. VIII 983a

fadān (A) : a word that seems to have been applied at the same time to the yoke, to the pair of oxen and to the implement that they pull to till the land, i.e. the tiller. An evolved form, FADDĀN, came to designate also the area that a pair of oxen could till in a given time. VII 21b

faddān (A) : a yoke of oxen; the standard measure of land in Egypt in former times. It was defined by al-Ḳalḳashandī (9th/15th century) as equalling 400 square ḲAṢABAS, i.e. 6,368 m^2. Since 1830, the ~ has corresponded to 4200.833 m^2. VII 138a

fadhlaka (A, < *fa-dhālika*) : in mathematics, the sum, total. Besides being placed at the bottom of an addition to introduce the result, ~ is also employed for the summing up of a petition, report, or other document. By extension, ~ acquired the meaning of compendium. II 727b

faḍīkh (A) : a kind of date, from which wine was made. IV 995b; a drink composed of fruits (dates, etc.) mixed in water. VI 720b; an intoxicating drink made from different kinds of dates. VII 840a

faḍīla → FAḌĀ'IL

fadjdjā' → FAR'

fadjr (A) : dawn, daybreak.

♦ al-fadjr al-kādhib (A), or *al-ṣubḥ al-kādhib* : lit. the false dawn; the Arabic term for the column of zodiacal light which is a symmetrically converse phenomenon in the circadian cycle (syn. *dhanab al-sirḥān* 'the wolf's tail') during which prayers are forbidden. It is followed by the 'true dawn', *al-ṣubḥ al-ṣādiḳ*. VIII 928b; IX 179b

♦ ṣalāt al-fadjr (A) : the morning prayer which is to be performed in the period from daybreak, or 'the true dawn', when faces can still not yet be recognised, until before sunrise. VII 27b; VIII 928b

faḍl → DĀ'IR; RAḤMA; ṢILA
fāfir (Egy) : in Egypt, the term used for papyrus. VIII 261a
faghfūr (P), or *baghbūr* : title of the emperor of China in the Muslim sources. II 738a
♦ faghfūrī : Chinese (porcelain). The term has entered Modern Greek in the sense of porcelain, and also Slav languages, through the Russian *farfor*. II 738a; III 345b
fāghiya, faghw → ḤINNĀ'
fahd (A, < Gk or L *pardus* ?; P *yūz*) : in zoology, the cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*). II 738b
fāḥisha (A) : a sin. XI 509a
faḥl (A, pl. *fuḥūl*) : lit. stallion; in literature, a term given to a powerful poet. I 405b; XII 648b
fahm → IDRĀK
faḥm (A) : in mineralogy, coal, used in early Islam as fuel for ovens while its ashes were utilised as a cleaning agent. V 118a; V 965a; a sort of charcoal. VII 886a
fahrasa (A, < P *fihrist*) : the name given in Muslim Spain to kinds of catalogues, in which scholars enumerated their masters and the subjects or works studied under their direction. Synonyms of this term are: *barnāmadj*, *thabat*, *mashīkha* (*mashyakha*) and *mu'djam*. The genre, which appears to be a particular speciality of the Andalusians, should be associated with the transmission of ḤADĪTH. I 96b; II 743b
fā'il (A) : in grammar, the agent. VIII 384a
fā'it (A), or *fawāt* : continuation of a work (syn. *ṣila*), but connoting discontinuity in relation to the original work. IX 604a
fā'iẓ → AL-MĀL AL-ḤURR
faḳ' (A) : on the Arabian peninsula, truffles. I 540b
fakhkhār (A) : earthenware vase, pottery, ceramics, produced by practically every country in the Islamic world. II 745a
fakhr (A) : self-praise. VIII 376b
♦ fakhriyya (T, < A) : in Turkish prosody, ~ is the last but one section of a ḲAṢĪDA, wherein the poet praises himself. IV 715b
fāḳi' (A) : said of the child who has become active, and has started to grow. VIII 822a
faḳīh (A, pl. *fuḳahā'*) : in its non-technical meaning ~ denotes anyone possessing knowledge, *fiḳh*, of a thing (syn. *'ālim*, pl. *'ulamā'*). II 756a
In law, ~ became the technical term for a specialist in religious law and in particular its derivative details, *furū'*. In older terminology, however, ~ as opposed to *'ālim* denotes the speculative, systematic lawyer as opposed to the specialist in the traditional elements of religious law. II 756a; and → MUTAFAḲḲIH
In several Arabic dialects, forms like *fiḳī* have come to denote a schoolmaster in a KUTTĀB or a professional reciter of the Qur'ān. II 756a
faḳīr (A, pl. *fuḳarā'*) : a needy person, a pauper; its etymological meaning is 'one whose backbone is broken'.
In mysticism, a ~ is a person 'who lives for God alone'. Total rejection of private property and resignation to the will of God were considered essential for the ~ who aspired to gnosis. II 757b
In irrigation terminology (pl. *fuḳur*), the water outlet of a canal, ḲANĀT; a well or group of wells linked by a gallery. IV 532b
fakk → ĪWĀN
fakkāk (A) : the individual who devotes himself totally or episodically to the ransoming of Muslims held captive by infidels; in the Muslim West by the 13th century, ~ came to denote the man who liberates a captive, whether Muslim or not, as an extension of the equivalent appearing in a Christian context, called *alfaqueque* in Castillian. XII 307a

fakkūs (A) : in botany, unripe melons, one of the summer crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

fakr (A) : poverty. XI 141b

fa'l (A) : an omen, appearing in varied forms, ranging from simple sneezing, certain peculiarities of persons and things that one encounters, to the interpretation of the names of persons and things which present themselves spontaneously to the sight, hearing and mind of man. II 758b

♦ **fāl-nāme** (P) : book of divination, consulted in the Muslim East (especially in Iranian and Turkish countries) in order to know the signs or circumstances that are auspicious for some decision. II 761b

faladj (A, pl. *aflādj*) : the term used in Oman, Trucial Oman, and Bahrain to designate an underground aqueduct with surface apertures to facilitate cleaning. This type of aqueduct, which may be of Persian origin, is now called SĀKĪ (pronounced *sādjī*, pl. *sawādjī*) in al-Aflādj, the district in Nadjd which takes its name from ~. I 233a; I 539a; IV 531b

falak (A, pl. *aflāk*) : sphere, in particular the Celestial Sphere. II 761b; VIII 101b

♦ falak al-awdj → AL-FALAK AL-KHĀRIDJ AL-MARKAZ

♦ falak al-burūdj (A) : in astronomy, the term for L. *ecliptica*. II 762b

♦ falak al-djawzahar (A) : in astronomy, the massive ball into which, according to Ibn al-Haytham, the moon is inserted, and which carries it along as it moves. V 536a

♦ al-falak al-ḥāmil (A) : in astronomy, the deferent. II 762b; IX 292b

♦ al-falak al-khāridj al-markaz (A), or *falak al-awdj* : in astronomy, the term for L. *excentricus*. II 762b

♦ al-falak al-mā'il (A) : in astronomy, the term for L. *circulus obliquus* (or *deflectens*). II 762b

♦ al-aflāk al-mā'ila 'an falak mu'addil al-nahār (A) : in astronomy, the term for the circles parallel to the equator. II 762b

♦ falak mu'addil al-nahār (A) : in astronomy, the term for L. *circulus aequinoctialis* (the celestial equator). II 762b

♦ al-falak al-mumaththal li-falak al-burūdj (A) : in astronomy, the term for L. *circulus pareclipticus*. II 762b

♦ al-falak al-mustakīm (A) : the astronomical term for L. *sphaera recta*, the celestial sphere as appearing to the inhabitants of the equatorial region, where the celestial equator passes through the zenith. II 762b

♦ falak al-tadwīr (A) : in astronomy, the epicycle. II 762b; IX 292b

falaka (A) : an apparatus used for immobilising the feet in order to apply a bastinado on the soles of the feet. The ~ existed in three different forms: a plank with two holes in it, of the pillory type; two poles joined at one end; or a single, fairly stout pole with a cord fixed at the two ends. In the Muslim East, especially among the Turks, the ~ was used as an instrument of torture, while in North Africa its use was confined to the schoolmaster. II 763b

falāsifa (A, < Gk; s. *faylasūf*) : the Greek thinkers; philosophers. II 764b

fālidj (A, pl. *fawālidj*) : the *camelus bactrianus*, or camel proper, with two humps. III 665b

In medicine, hemiplegia. V 89b; VIII 111a; IX 8a

falīdja (A), and *shukka* : bands of hair or wool forming the awning of an Arab tent. They were sewn side-by-side and formed a rectangle. Those that were placed at the two edges, that is, those that form the larger side of the rectangle, were called *kisr* or *kasr*. IV 1147b

fallāḥ (A, pl. *fallāḥīn*) : ploughman; member of the sedentary rural population. I 575a; II 899a

fallāḳ (A, B *fellāga*) : brigands and subsequently rebels in Tunisia and Algeria. Originally the term was applied to individuals who wished to escape punishment, to deserters, and to fugitive offenders, who eventually formed bands supporting themselves by brigandage. The uprising brought about by K͟halīfa b. ʿAskar in southern Tunisia in 1915 gave new meaning to the word. Later, the incidents which occurred in Tunisia between 1952 and 1954, as well as the Algerian rebellion in 1954, made the term popular again. II 767b

fallāta : term, strictly signifying the Fulānī, used in the Nilotic Sudan for Muslim immigrants from the western *bilād al-sūdān*, and in particular those from northern Nigeria, many of whom are primarily pilgrims en route to Mecca. ~ has largely superseded the older *takārir* or *takārna*. II 767b

fals (A, pl. *fulūs*) : the name of the copper or bronze coin, regardless of its size or weight. II 768a

In astronomy, a small ring placed under the wedge at the front of the astrolabe to protect one of the movable parts of the instrument, the 'spider', and ensure a smooth turning. I 723a

falsafa (A, < Gk) : Greek thought; philosophy. ~ began as a search by Muslims with s͟hīʿī leanings for a coherence in their intellectual and spiritual life, evolving later to grow closer to orthodox KALĀM and finally fusing with it. II 769b

falta (A) : a precipitate, arbitrary act, excusable only because God had bestowed success on it. IX 422a

falṭīṭa (A), or *d̲j̲alṭīṭa, d̲j̲anṭīṭa* : a skirt of Spanish origin worn mainly by Jewish and Andalusian women in the Muslim West. V 746a

fam → ʿAYN

fanāʾ → BAḲĀʾ WA-FANĀʾ

fanak (A, < P; pl. *afnāk*) : in zoology, the fennec-fox (*Fennecus zerda*), in the Muslim West, and the Corsac or Karagan Fox (*Vulpes corsac*, < T *ḳürsāḳ*), in the Muslim East. However, in the imagination of all the authors who used the word, ~ must have meant the mink (*Mustela lutreola*), whose pelt was greatly esteemed in the luxury fur-trade. II 775a

fānī → PĪR

fānīd → SUKKAR

fann (A) : the modern name for art. II 775b

♦ fann al-multazim (A) : committed art, that is, art that shows social concern, first examples of which are to be found after the Suez crisis in Egypt. X 365b

faʾr (A, pl. *fiʾrān, fiʾara, fuʾar*) : in zoology, the majority of types and species of the sub-order of the Myomorphs; the family of Soricids. XII 285b, where can be found many synonyms and varieties

♦ faʾr firʿawn (A) : lit. Pharaoh's rat; in Egypt, with the geographical sub-species *pharaonis*, the ichneumon or Egyptian mongoose, sometimes called *ḳiṭṭ firʿawn* 'Pharaoh's cat'. VIII 49b

farʿ (A, pl. *furūʿ*) : a branch; in archery, a self-bow (syn. *fad̲j̲d̲j̲āʾ, fid̲j̲w, munfad̲j̲ā*). IV 798a

In fiscal law, ~ was a supplementary increase, discovered or invented in the course of history, upon the official taxes for the defrayal of attendant expenses or any other reason. I 1144a; IV 1041a; and → FURŪʿ AL-FIḲH

In military science, *furūʿ* are the operations by the irregulars, who do not form part of the army proper but who may play a part in the preliminaries and on the fringes of the battle. III 182a

In prosody, the *furūʿ* are the modifications in the feet of the metres, due to deviations, e.g. *mu[s]tafʿilun* becomes *mutafʿilun* when its *sīn* is lost, the 'normal' foot being part

of the *uṣūl* (→ AṢL) form of the feet, and the altered foot, one of the *furū'*. I 671b
As a literary topos, ~ denoted thick, soft and fragrant hair. IX 313a
♦ furū' al-fiḳh (A) : in law, the body of positive rules derived from the sources of legal knowledge, *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (→ AṢL). I 257b; II 889b; IX 323b

fara'a (A, pl. *furu'*) : the firstling of a flock or herd, sacrificed in the pre-Islamic period during the month of Radjab as an invocation to the deities to increase the number of flocks. VIII 373b

faradjiyya (A) : a long-sleeved man's robe in Egypt. V 741a; a green robe. XII 612b; the Moroccan variant *faradjiyya* (B *tafaradjit*) is a very light gown with a deep slit at the breast which may or may not have sleeves and is worn under the KHAFTĀN or garment by both sexes. It also comes in a half-length version called *nuṣṣ faradjiyya*. V 746a

farā'iḍ (A, s. *farīḍa*) : lit. appointed or obligatory portions; as a technical term, ~ means the fixed shares in an estate which are given to certain heirs according to the provisions of Muslim law. The whole of the Islamic law of inheritance is called *'ilm al-farā'iḍ*. II 783a; VII 106b

farakh (P) : a type of cloth brocade, which along with a type called *mushtī* was manufactured especially in Yazd. XI 304a

farāmush-khāna (P) : in Iran, a centre of masonic activities, freemasonry seemingly having come over from India where the first lodge was founded by the British in 1730. XII 290a

faras (A) : in zoology, the horse (*Equus caballus*) in the sense of saddle-horse, the rider of which is termed FĀRIS. II 784b; II 800a; IV 1143b; the chesspiece. IX 366b
In astronomy, a wedge which is fitted into a slit in the narrow end of the broadheaded pin at the front of the astrolabe to prevent the pin from coming out. I 723a; a 'cavallo'. X 367b
♦ faras al-baḥr (A) : in zoology, the bellows fish (*Centriscus*). VIII 1021a
♦ **faras al-mā'** (A) : in zoology, the hippopotamus. XII 294a

farāsha (A, P *parwāna*) : in zoology, the moth. IX 282a

faraṭ (A) : lit. dying before one's parents; a child who dies before reaching maturity. VIII 821b

fard (A, pl. *afrād*) : 'only, solitary, unique, incomplete, incomparable'; in prosody, ~ denotes a line of verse taken in isolation (intact or reduced to a single hemistich). II 789b
In lexicography, *afrād* are the words handed down by one single lexicographer, as distinct from *āḥād* and *mafārīd*. II 790a
In the science of Tradition, ~ is synonomous with *gharīb muṭlaḳ* and means a Tradition in which the second link of the chain of those who have transmitted it is only represented by a single transmitter. II 790a; ~ is used of an ISNĀD with only one transmitter at each stage, or of a Tradition transmitted only by people of one district. III 25b
In astronomy, ~ denotes the star alpha in Hydra, *al-shudjā'*, and hence the most brilliant. II 790a
In arithmetic, *al-'adad al-fard* is the odd number (from 3 upwards, inclusive), as opposed to the even number, *al-'adad al-zawdj*. II 790a
In theology and philosophy, ~ denotes the species, as restricted by the bond of individuation. II 790a
In mysticism, *al-afrād* are seven in number and occupy the fourth category in the hierarchy of the saints. I 95a

farḍ (A), or *farīḍa* : lit. something which has been apportioned, or made obligatory; as a technical term in religious law, ~ is a religious duty or obligation, the omission of which will be punished and the performance of which will be rewarded. It is one of

the so-called *al-aḥkām al-khamsa*, the five qualifications by which every act of man is qualified. II 790a; VIII 486b

♦ farḍ ʿayn (A) : the individual duty such as ritual prayer, fasting, etc. II 790a; VIII 497b

♦ farḍ kifāya (A) : the collective duty, the fulfilment of which by a sufficient number of individuals excuses others from fulfilling it, such as funeral prayer, holy war, etc. II 539a; II 790a; VIII 497b

farhang (P) : politeness, knowledge, education; dictionary.

In recent decades, ~ has come to be used also in the sense of culture, while *farhangistān* has been adopted for 'academy'. V 1095b

farhangistān → FARHANG

farīḍa → FARĀʾIḌ; FARḌ

fāridj → KATŪM

farīḳ → ṢAFF

fārīna (A) : a soft variety of wheat, grown in Algeria. The indigenous hard variety, *triticum durum*, was known as *gemḥ*. IX 537b

farīr → FAZZ; SAKHLA

fāris (A, (pl. *fursān, fawāris*) : the rider on horseback (and thus not applicable to a man riding a camel or mule), implying, in contrast to *rākib* 'horseman', the valiant, the champion, the intrepid warrior. II 800a

farḳ (A, (pl. *furūḳ*) : like FAṢL, separation, difference; in law, the decisive difference that brings about a different legal determination, ḤUKM, that is, that indicates the difference between outwardly similar cases. XII 517a

farḳad (A) : in astronomy, the star 'the oryx calf' (= Phercad), γ *Ursae minoris*, and with the associated β *Ursae minoris* together form *al-farḳadayn* (= Elfarcadin) 'the two calves', the 'guardians' of the North Pole. V 1230a; VII 51a; and → FAZZ

farmān (P, T *fermān*) : originally command, but by the 9th/15th century, ~ had come to denote the edict or document, as issued by the ruler, itself. There were many synonyms, such as *ḥukm, mithāl* and *raḳam*, which later came to designate a document issued by authorities of lower rank. II 309a; II 803a

♦ farmān-i bayāḍī : in the Mughal period, a confidential and important FARMĀN, not involving a sum of money, which received only a royal seal and was folded and dispatched in such a way that its contents remained private to the recipient. II 806a

farmāsūniyya (A) : freemasonry. XII 296a; and → FARĀMUSH-KHĀNA

farrān (A) : an oven-worker. V 41b

In Morocco, a communal oven. V 41b

farrāsh (A) : lit. spreader of the carpets; a servant who looks after the beds and the house generally. IV 899a; an attendant in a library. VI 199a; and → YURTČĪ

farrūdj (A) : a robe similar to the ḲABĀʾ, but slit in the back, worn in the Prophet's time. V 733b

farsakh (P), and *farsang* : a measure of distance on a time basis, originally the distance which could be covered on foot in an hour: approx. 5.94 km for cavalry, and 4 km for foot-soldiers. In present-day Iran, the ~ is now fixed at precisely 6 km. II 812b

farsang → FARSAKH

farsha → ʿATABA

fārsī (P, A), also *pārsī* : in linguistics, the name for modern Persian, the official language of Iran. *~-i darī* or simply DARĪ is also used in native sources, referring to the oldest and most respected variety of (Classical) literary Persian or simply as an equivalent of ~. XII 427a ff.

♦ fārsī-nigārī (P) : a simple Persian style of writing, with a minimum of Arabic loan words. XI 238b

♦ fārsī-i ʿāmiyāna (P) : Persian as it is written and spoken in Tehran, which is becoming the common spoken standard all over Iran. XII 433b
♦ fārsī-i bāstānī (P) : denomination for 'old archaic' modern Persian vs. *fārsī-i naw*, a 'new' variety, sometimes found in scholarly publications. XII 428b
♦ fārsī-i naw → FĀRSĪ-I BĀSTĀNĪ
farūdiyya (A) : a square kerchief bound around the cap by women in Egypt. V 741a; X 612a
farw (A), or *farwa* : a fur; a garment made of, or trimmed with, fur. Although *farwa* can mean also a cloak of camel-hair, it is likely that this term in ancient poetry refers to sheepskins with the wool left on (in Morocco called *haydūra*), used as carpets, to cover seats, or for protection against the cold. II 816b
faʾs → ḤAKMA
faṣāḥa (A) : clarity, purity; in rhetoric, ~ is the term for the purity and euphony of language, and can be divided into three kinds: *faṣāḥat al-mufrad*, with respect to a single word when it is not difficult to pronounce, is not a foreign or rare word and its form is not an exception to the usual; *faṣāḥat al-kalām*, with respect to a whole sentence, when it does not contain an objectionable construction, a discord, an obscurity (through a confusion in the arrangement of the words) or a metaphor too far-fetched and therefore incomprehensible; and *faṣāḥat al-mutakallim*, with respect to a person whose style conforms to the above conditions. I 981b; II 824a
faṣd (A) : in medicine, bleeding. II 481b; XII 303b; and → FAṢṢĀD
fas̲h̲t (A, pl. *fus̲h̲ūt*), or *ḳufʿa, nad̲j̲wa* : the term for reef in the Persian Gulf. I 535b
fāsid (A) : in law, a legal act which does not observe the conditions of validity *stricto sensu* required for its perfection; vitiated and therefore null. Only in the Ḥanafī school of law is ~ distinct from *bāṭil* 'null and void', where it denotes a legal act which lacks one of the elements essential for the existence of any legal activity. I 319a; II 829b; VIII 836a; IX 324b
fāsiḳ (A) : in theology, one who has committed one or several 'great sins'. According to the Muʿtazila, who elaborated the thesis of the so-called intermediary status, the ~ is not entirely a believer nor entirely an infidel, but 'in a position between the two' (*fī manzila bayna 'l-manzilatayn*). Al-As̲h̲ʿarī maintained the same opinion, but added that if the ~ was a believer before becoming a sinner, the 'great sin' committed will not invalidate his standing as a believer; this position was adopted by the sunnīs as a whole. II 833a
In law, ~ is the opposite of ʿADL, a person of good morals. I 209b; II 834a
faṣıl (T) : a term in Ottoman music which in its classical form can be defined as a variable selection of pieces, usually by different composers, fitting into a series of prescribed slots organised in such a way as to emphasise, within the overall unity of mode, contrast and variety. It thus alternates between instrumental and vocal, unmeasured and measured, and juxtaposes vocal pieces using contrasting rhythmic cycles. VII 1043a; X 143b
fasīl → T̲H̲AʿLAB
faṣīl (A) : in architecture, an *intervallum*. I 616a
♦ **faṣīla** (A) : an object which is separated, like a young animal when weaned, and a palmtree sucker when transplanted; also the smallest 'section' of a tribe, the closest relatives. II 835a
fāṣila (A, pl. *fawāṣil*) : a separative; in prosody, ~ denotes a division in the primitive feet, meaning three or four moving consonants followed by one quiescent, e.g. *ḳatalat, ḳatalahum*. II 834b; VIII 667b; and → SAD̲J̲ʿ
In Qurʾānic terminology, ~ signifies the rhymes of the Qurʾānic text. II 834b; VIII 614b
In music, ~ denotes the pause which, with the basic notes, makes up the rhythm, ĪḲĀʿ. XII 408b

faskh (A) : in law, the dissolution of any contractual bond whatever, effected, as a rule, by means of a declaration of intention pronounced in the presence of the other contracting party, or by judicial process. The term is to be distinguished from *infisākh* which comes about without the need of any declaration or judicial decree. Dissolution of marriage open to the wife or her relatives is by way of ~, while the dissolution of marriage by the man is ṬALĀḲ. II 836a; III 1056b; and → NASKH

♦ faskha : in Mauritania, the dowry supplied by the family of the bride when she joins the conjugal home. VI 313a

faskiyya → SAHRĪDJ

faṣl (A, pl. *fuṣūl*) : separation, disjunction; in logic, ~ is 'difference', and, in particular, 'specific difference', the third of the five predicables of Porphyry. For logicians, ~ stands both for every attribute by which one thing is distinguished from another, whether it be individual or universal, and, in transposition, for that by which a thing is essentially distinguished. II 836b; and → SHAʿĪRA

In its plural form, *fuṣūl* is employed in philosophy and science to denote aphorisms or short chapters. VII 536b; in literature, brief sentences or paragraphs in rhymed prose. X 427a; in shadow-play terminology, the acts into which plays are divided. IV 1136b

♦ al-faṣl al-ʿāmm (A) : 'common difference', a term in logic for what allows a thing to differ from another and that other to differ from the former; equally it is what allows a thing to differ from itself at another time. This is the case of separable accidents. II 837a

♦ al-faṣl al-khāṣṣ (A) : 'particular difference', a term in logic for the predicate which is necessarily associated with accidents. II 837a

♦ faṣl al-sulutāt → TAWĀZUN AL-SULUṬĀT

♦ faṣlī (A) : 'seasonal', the term employed by Muslim rulers in India to designate a variety of indigenous calendars. X 263b

faṣṣ → ḲAṢAB(A)

faṣṣād (A) : lit. phlebotomist; in mediaeval Islamic society, the practitioner of *faṣd* who bled veins of the human body and performed circumcisions for men and women. A similar profession was cupping, *ḥidjāma*, which was performed by a *ḥadjdjām* but was less popular and enjoyed less status: the cupper was a much-satirised character in Arabic tales. XII 303b

fatā (A, pl. *fityān*) : a boy, manservant; slave. I 24b; and → FUTUWWA

In the mediaeval Muslim East, the *fityān* (syn. *ʿayyārūn*; → ʿAYYĀR) were private groups, recruited from the depressed classes, which played the role of 'active wing' of the popular oppositions to the official authorities. I 256b; VIII 402a

In Muslim Spain, ~ was the slave employed in the service of the prince and his household, or of the ḤĀDJIB, who held an elevated rank in the palace hierarchy. II 837a

♦ al-fatayān al-kabīrān (A) : the two majordomos under whose control the entire management of the princely household in Muslim Spain was placed. II 837a

fatḥ al-kitāb (A) : bibliomancy, a form of sorcery. VIII 138b

fatḥa (A) : in grammar, ~ denotes the short vowel *a*. III 172a

In North Africa, ~ is a slit in the DJALLĀBIYYA at the top of the armlets through which the bare forearm can be thrust. II 405a

For ~ in prayer, → FĀTIḤA

fatḥnāme (T) : an Ottoman official announcement of a victory; a versified narrative of exploits, written by private persons as a literary exercise. II 839a

fātiḥa (A, pl. *fawātiḥ*) : the opening (*sūra*); designation of the first SŪRA of the Qur'ān; (or *fatḥa*) a prayer ceremony in certain Arab countries, particularly in North Africa, in which the arms are stretched out with the palms upwards, but without any recitation of the first sūra. II 841a; V 409b; V 425a

♦ fawātiḥ al-suwar (A), and *awā'il al-suwar, al-ḥurūf al-muḳaṭṭa'āt* : 'the openers of the SŪRAS', a letter or group of letters standing just after the BASMALA at the beginning of 29 sūras and recited as letters of the alphabet. They are generally referred to in European languages as 'the mysterious letters'. V 412a

fātik (A, pl. *futtāk*) : a killer, a syn. of ṢU'LŪK, or category into which the *ṣu'lūk* fell. IX 864a

faṭīm (A) : a child weaned or ablactated. VIII 822a

faṭīr → KHAMĪR

fatra (A) : a relaxing; an interval of time, more particularly with respect to the period separating two prophets or two successive messengers. In its more current usage, ~ is applied to the period without prophets from the time of Jesus Christ to Muḥammad. In later times, ~ was also applied, by analogy, to periods of political interregnum. II 865a; a suspension of (Qur'ānic) revelation. XI 143a

faṭṭāma → SHAMLA

faṭūr (A) : the meal marking the end of the fast of Ramaḍān. IX 94b

fāṭūs (A), or *ḥūt al-ḥayḍ* : a fabulous marine creature mentioned by mediaeval Arab authors. It shatters the ships which it encounters, but is put to flight when the sailors hang from the peripheral points of the vessel rags stained with menstrual blood, *ḥayḍ*. VIII 1023a

fatwā (A) : in law, an opinion on a point of law. II 866a; II 890a

fawāt → FĀ'IT

fawātiḥ → FĀTIḤA; IFTITĀḤ

fawdjār : under the Dihlī sultanate, the superintendant of elephants, who, among other things, was ordered to train them to stand firm at the sight of fire and in the noise of artillery. V 690a

fawdjdār (IndP) : an executive and military officer, the administrative head of a district, *sarkār*, in the Mughal administration of India. I 317a; II 868a

fay' (A) : in pre-Islamic times, chattels taken as booty. II 869a; in early Islam, ~ were the immoveable properties acquired by conquest, a foundation in perpetuity for the benefit of successive generations of the community, in contrast to the moveable booty, *ghanīma*, which was distributed immediately. I 1144a; IV 1031a; spoils of war. VIII 130b

In the terminology of time, ~ denotes the shade in the east which, when it moves from the west (where it is called *ẓill*) to the east, marks midday. V 709b

fayḍ → IFĀḌA

fayḍa → RAWḌA; ṢĀḤIB AL-FAYḌA

faydj (A, < P; pl. **fuyūdj**) : a courier of the government postal service and also commercial mail serving the population at large. It was a common term all over North Africa and Egypt during the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, while on the Egypt-Syria route the word *kutubī*, letter-bearer, was used. I 1044b; II 969b

♦ faydj ṭayyār (A) : express courier. II 970b

faylaḳ → ḲURDŪS

faylasūf (A) : a philosopher; in popular language, ~ is applied in an uncomplimentary sense to freethinkers or unbelievers. II 872a

fayruzadj → FĪRŪZADJ

fāza : in Arabia, the name the Tiyāha give to a tent whose ridge-pole rests on a row of two poles. The Sbā' use *mgawren* or *garneyn*. IV 1148a

faz'a (A) : a counter-attack (of a raiding group of Bedouin). II 1055b

fazz (A), *farīr, farḳad, djawdhar* : in zoology, the calf of the oryx or addax antelope from birth until its weaning. A male bull calf has the *arkh* (and variants) and the adult male *shāt*. The old bull is termed *ḳarhab*. V 1227b

faẓẓ (A) : water which is still drinkable, found in the stomach of camels. III 666b; and → FĪL AL-BAḤR

fellāga → FALLĀḲ

fermān → FARMĀN

fərmla (Alg) : a vest for elderly men in Algeria. V 746a

fidā' (A) : the redemption, repurchase, or ransoming of Muslim prisoners or slaves held by unbelievers. III 183a; VIII 502a; XII 306b

fidām (A) : a piece of linen cloth which protected the mouth, worn by Zoroastrian priests, but often also by the cup-bearer, SĀḲĪ, for whom it served as a filter for tasting the drink and to help him know the precise taste. VIII 883b; X 612a

fidāwī (A, < **fidā'ī**) : one who offers up his life for another. Among the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, ~ was used of those who risked their lives to assassinate the enemies of the sect. II 882a; VIII 442a

In Algeria, ~ means a narrator of heroic deeds. II 882a

During the Persian revolution of 1906-7, the term was applied in the first place to the adherents of the republican party, later to the defenders of liberal ideas and the constitution. II 882a

♦ fidāwiyya (Alg) : a tale or song of heroic deeds. II 882a

fiḍḍa (A) : in mineralogy, silver. II 883a

fidjār (A) : sacrilege; known particularly in the name *ḥarb al-fidjār* 'the sacrilegious war', a war waged towards the end of the 6th century AD during the holy months between the Ḳuraysh and Kināna on the one side and the Ḳays-ʿAylān on the other. II 883b

fidjw → FARʿ

fidya (A) : a general designation among Syro-Palestinians for a blood sacrifice made for purposes of atonement, practised in the interests of the living. II 884a; a Qur'ānic term to denote the fast which compensates for the days of Ramaḍān in which fasting has not been practised, or to denote the impossibility of purchasing a place in Paradise. XII 306b; a minor KAFFĀRA or compensation, to be paid when one has taken advantage of one of five dispensations. IX 94b

♦ fidyat al-mulk (P, < A) : in taxation matters, an additional levy of one-tenth from landed estates, decreed, and later abolished, by the Salghurid ruler Saʿd b. Zangī. IV 1041a

fiḳh (A) : understanding, knowledge, intelligence, and thus applied to any branch of knowledge (as in *fiḳh al-lugha*, the science of lexicography); the technical term for jurisprudence, the science of religious law in Islam. In addition to the laws regulating ritual and religious observances, containing orders and prohibitions, ~ includes the whole field of family law, the law of inheritance, of property and of contracts and obligations, criminal law and procedure, and, finally, constitutional law and laws regulating the administration of the state and the conduct of war. II 886a; IX 322b

In older theological language, ~ was used in opposition to ʿILM, the accurate knowledge of legal decisions handed down from the Prophet and his Companions, and was applied to the independent exercise of the intelligence, the decision of legal points by one's own judgement in the absence or ignorance of a traditional ruling bearing on the case in question. II 886a

fikr (A, pl. *afkār*) : thought, reflection; in mysticism, ~ is used habitually in contrast to DHIKR: in the performance of ~, the ṣūfī, concentrating on a religious subject, meditates according to a certain progression of ideas or a series of evocations which he assimilates and experiences, while in *dhikr*, concentrating on the object recollected, he allows his field of consciousness to lose itself in this object. II 891b

fiḳra (T) : a kind of short news item generally of entertaining nature, combining anecdote with comment on some matter of contemporary importance. VI 94b

fīl (A, < P *pīl*) : in zoology, the elephant. II 892b; the bishop in chess. IX 366b

♦ fīl al-baḥr (A) : in zoology, the elephant seal; the walrus, also called *fazẓ*. IV 648b; VIII 1022b

fiʿl (A) : act, action, opposed in noetics and metaphysics to *ḳuwwa* 'potentiality, power'. II 898a; V 578a

In grammar, the verb. II 895b; and → ISM AL-FIʿL

In logic, ~ is one of the ten categories, *actio* as opposed to *passio*. II 898a

In theology, ~ designates the action of God *ad extra*, 'what is possible (not necessary) for God to do'. II 898b

♦ fiʿl al-taʿadjdjub (A) : in grammar, the verb of surprise. IX 528a

filāḥa (A) : lit. ploughing; the occupation of husbandry, agriculture. II 899a

♦ filāḥat al-araḍīn (A) : agronomy. II 902a

♦ filāḥat al-ḥayawānāt (A) : zootechny. II 902a

filawr (A), or *ḥādjūr* : in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, a beggar or vagrant who simulates a hernia or ulcer or tumour or some similar affliction with his testicles or anus, or with her vulva, in the case of a woman. VII 494a

filḳ (A), also *sharīdj* : in archery, a bow consisting of a single stave split length-wise and spliced with glue. IV 797b

filori (T) : the Ottoman name for the standard gold coins of Europe; a local Balkan tax amounting to one ~, imposed on the semi-nomadic Vlachs of the Balkans, in which sense it is usually referred to as *resm-i filori*. II 914b ff.; VIII 487a

filw (A) : a foal between birth and one year of age. II 785a

fiʿma : transversal associations, in ʿAfar society, which counterbalance tribal divisions. X 71b

findjān (A) : in clothing, a headdress worn by women in Cairo and Syria, gilt below and decked with pieces of silver. X 612a; and → BAKRADJ

firandj → IFRANDJ

firāsa (A) : physiognomancy, a technique of inductive divination which permits the foretelling of moral conditions and psychological behaviour from external indications and physical states, such as colours, forms, and limbs. II 916a; V 100a; clairvoyance. XI 110b

firʿawnī → KĀGHAD

firda → FURḌA

firdjardāt (A, < MidP *fragard* 'chapter, section') : a type of poems, as defined by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī in a commentary on a verse by Abū Nuwās. XI 210a

firfīr (< G ?) : a loan-word in Arabic for the colour violet. V 699b

firind (A, < P) : damascening, or a pattern drawn on a sword. V 972a; VIII 237a

firḳ → WAKĪR

firḳa (A) : sect. The ~ *nādjiya* is the sect that alone will be saved out of the 73 into which the community will be divided, according to a Tradition. VIII 990a; XI 103a

firḳate → BASHTARDA

firṣād → TŪT

fīrūzadj (P), or *fayruzadj* : in mineralogy, turquoise, mined in the Sāsānid period and even earlier around Nīshāpūr. There are different kinds, distinguished by colour; the best kind was considered to be the *būsḥāḳī* (i.e. *Abū Isḥāḳī*) and the finest variety of this, the sky-blue *azharī*. ~ is explained as 'stone of victory' whence it is also called *ḥadjar al-ghalaba*. II 927b; VIII 112a

firz, or *firzān* → SHAṬRANDJ

fisḳ (A) : moral deficiency. XI 567b

fisḳiyya (A, pl. *fasāḳī*) : a small basin which collected water from the SHADIRWĀN. IX 175b
fiṭām → SAKHLA
fitna (A) : putting to the proof, discriminatory test; revolt, disturbance; civil war; a Qur'ānic term with the sense of temptation or trial of faith, and most frequently as a test which is in itself a punishment inflicted by God upon the sinful, the unrighteous. The great struggles of the early period of Muslim history were called ~. II 930b
fiṭra (A) : a Qur'ānic term meaning 'a kind or way of creating or of being created', which posed serious theological and legal difficulties for the commentators. II 931b; 'common to all the prophets' or 'part of the general SUNNA or religion'. IX 312b
In law, the amount of ZAKĀT paid. XI 418a
fityān → FATĀ
♦ fityānī (A) : a variety of couscous which is prepared by cooking grain in gravy and which is sprinkled with cinnamon. V 528a
fizr → ḲAṬĪʿ
foggara (Alg, < A *faḳḳara*; pl. *fgāgīr*) : a term used in southern Algeria to designate a *ḳanāt*, a mining installation or technique for extracting water from the depths of the earth. IV 529a; a subterranean drainage channel. XII 328b
frenk-khāne (T) : in 19th-century Ottoman cities, a building in a European style, intended to house European merchants during their more or less extended stays. IX 799b
frīmla (N.Afr) : a corselet for women in Algeria; an embroidered bolero in Libya. V 746a
fūdhandj (A, < P, < H *pūdana*) : in botany, mint. The Arabic nomenclature for mint is abundant; other names are *ḥabaḳ, nammām*, for water-mint, and *naʿnaʿ* or *nuʿnuʿ*, peppermint. XII 309b
fudjl (A) : in botany, the radish, one of the summer crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a
fuḍūlī (A) : in law, an unauthorised agent. VIII 836a; XI 208a
fūh → AFĀWĪH
fuḥsh → SUKHF
fuḥūl → FAḤL
fūḳ → TAFWĪḲ
fuḳaysha → ṢANDJ
fūḳiyya : a body shirt for men worn under the DJALLĀBIYYA in Morocco. V 746a
fuḳḳāʿ (A) : a sparkling fermented drink, almost a 'beer'. It was frequently sweetened and flavoured with fruit, so that one might call ~ the mediaeval equivalent of shandy or almost so. VI 721a; IX 225a; X 32a; XI 369b
fūl (A) : in botany, beans, one of the winter crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a
♦ fūl mudammas → ṬAʿMIYYA
fūlādh → ḤADĪD
fulk (A) : a Qur'ānic term for ship, used *inter alia* of Noah's ark and the ship from which Jonah was thrown. IV 870b; VIII 808a
full → YĀSAMĪN
funduḳ (A, < Gk) : a term used, particularly in North Africa, to denote hostelries at which animals and humans can lodge, on the lines of caravanserais or KHĀNs of the Muslim East. II 945a; IV 1015a; IX 788b
In numismatics, an Ottoman gold coin. VIII 229b
furāniḳ : messengers in the postal service in the ʿAbbāsid period. I 1045b
furār → SAKHLA
furḍa (A) : a term used interchangeably in Ottoman documents and Arabic texts with *firda*, with reference to personal taxes; the ~ was attested in Ottoman Egypt after 1775

as one of the many illegal charges imposed on peasants by soldiers of the provincial governors. II 948a; an emporium. XII 507a; and → MĪNĀʾ

♦ furdat (firdat) al-ruʾūs (A) : a personal tax in Egypt under Muḥammad ʿAlī amounting to 3 per cent on known or supposed revenue of all the inhabitants, paid by all government employees, including foreigners, by employees of non-government establishments, by the *fallāḥīn* (→ FALLĀḤ), and by artisans and merchants. II 149a; II 948a

♦ firdat al-taḥrīr (A) : in Ottoman Egypt, the name for the comprehensive levy which in 1792 replaced all the illegal charges imposed on peasants by soldiers of the provincial governors. II 948a

furdj → KATŪM

furfur → SAKHLA

furḳān (A, < Ar) : a Qurʾānic term, which poses problems of interpretation, and has been variously translated as 'discrimination', 'criterion', 'separation', 'deliverance', or 'salvation'. II 949b; X 318a

furn (A) : a communal oven, in technical usage corresponding to *kūsha* 'lime-kiln'. V 41b; X 30b

furs (A) : one of two terms, the other being ʿADJAM, to denote the Persians. II 950b

furūʿ → FARʿ

furʿul → ḌABUʿ

furūsiyya (A) : the whole field of equestrian knowledge, both theoretical and practical. Treatises on ~ by actual horsemen, veterinary surgeons or riders appeared at a late stage in Arabic literature, many repeating passages from earlier works written by philologists, but also with added pages on riding, describing various methods and principles co-existing in the Muslim world. II 953b

fusayfisāʾ (A, < Gk) : in art, mosaic. I 610b; II 955a

fustān (A) : in dress, the term for the European dress worn by women; a European suit (*ṭaḳm*) might also be worn by women who eschew the traditional *milāya*. XII 776a

fusṭāṭ (A, < Gk) : a small hair tent used by travellers. II 957b; IV 1147a

fuṣūl → FAṢL

fūṭa : in mediaeval Islam, a long piece of sari-like cloth originating in India and serving a variety of functions: as a loincloth, apron, and a variety of headdress. V 737b; a simple cloth with a seam, fastened in front and behind to the girdle, *tikka* (modern *dikka*). IX 676b

futurifu : in Gāo, in West Africa, a horn, invented by the *Askiya* Muḥammad Bunkan (d. 1537). X 36b

futuwwa (A, T *fütüwwet*) : a term invented in about the 2nd/8th century as the counterpart of *muruwwa* (→ MURŪʾA), the qualities of the mature man, to signify that which is regarded as characteristic of the FATĀ, young man; by this term it has become customary to denote various movements and organisations which until the beginning of the modern era were widespread throughout all the urban communities of the Muslim East. I 520a; II 961a

futyā (A), or *iftāʾ* : the act of giving an opinion on a point of law, FATWĀ; the profession of the adviser. II 866a

fuwwa (A) : in botony, madder. X 118a

fuyūdj → FAYDJ

G

gabr (P) : a term of doubtful etymology, denoting Zoroastrians, and used generally in Persian literature. II 970b

♦ gabrī : in art, ceramic ware developed in Persia. The ornamentation of this ware, produced by means of larger or smaller scratches in the slip that covers the body under the transparent partly coloured glaze, consists of schematic representations, recalling the ancient culture of Persia, notably of fire altars, as well as of men and beasts, birds, lions and dragons depicted in a curiously stylised manner. II 746a

gadjal → ČITAK

gām : a pace, a unit of measurement. X 43b

gandj : in Muslim India, a grain market. IX 800b

gandu (Hau) : the Hausa extended family, a largely self-supporting unit based on agriculture and formerly dependent on slave labour. III 277b

gandūra (N.Afr) : a full-length tunic with short sleeves, worn by men in southern Morocco and by both sexes in Algeria. V 746a

gāra → ḲĀRA

gargadj (IndP) : in Mughal India, a movable tower used in sieges. These towers were very strong structures with solid beams covered by raw hides, tiles, or earth to protect them from the liquid combustibles thrown by the garrison; they could be destroyed only by hurling heavy stones or by a sortie. III 482a

garmsīr (P, A *djarm*) : in geography, a term used to denote hot, desert-type or subtropical lowland climates; in Arabic, ~ is particularly used for the hot, coastal region of the Persian Gulf shores and the regions bordering on the great central desert. V 183a

garneyn → FĀZA

gat → BANDISH

gaṭṭāya (B) : a kind of mat of plaited hair, which is worn very long and grown only from the top of the cranium, the remainder of the head being shaved. The wearing of the ~ is a local custom absorbed by the ʿĪsāwī order. IV 95a

gāw-band (P) : the person who worked draft oxen. XI 305a

gawd (P) : a usually octagonal pit in the centre of a traditional gymnasium, ZŪRKHĀNA, about a metre deep, in which the exercises take place. The ~ is surrounded by spectator stands, of particular importance being the *sardam*, an elevated and decorated seat reserved for the director, MURSHID, whose function is to accompany the exercises with rhythmic drumming and the chanting of verse from classical Persian poetry. XI 573a

gāwdār (P) : cattle-raiser. IX 682b

gaytan : corduroy. X 371b

gaz (P) : a measure of length in use in Iran and Muslim India, the Persian cubit, DHIRĀʿ, of the Middle Ages, either the legal cubit of 49.8 cm or the Isfahan cubit of 79.8 cm. Until recently, a ~ of 104 cm was in use in Iran. II 232a; XII 313b; in 1926 an attempt was made to equate the traditional Persian measures with the metric system, so that the ~ was fixed at 1 m; after 1933 the metric system was introduced but the older measures nevertheless remained in popular use. VII 138a

In Muslim India, sixty ~ formed the side of the square BĪGHĀ, a traditional measure of area. Five thousand ~ made the length of a *kuroh* (Persian) or KROŚA (Sanskrit), the traditional measure of road-length. XII 313b

In botany, tamarisk. XI 303a; a very hard and solid wood, used for cabinet-making and for timber framing. V 669b

♦ gaz-i ilāhī : a measure introduced by the Mughal emperor Akbar in 994/1586, equal to ca. 32 inches. IV 1055b; XII 313b

♦ gaz-i mukassar (P) : the 'shortened' cubit of 68 cm, used for measuring cloth. II 232a

♦ gaz-i shāhī (P) : the 'royal' cubit of 95 cm, in use in 17th-century Persia. II 232a

gečid resmi (T) : tolls levied in the Ottoman empire at mountain passes and river fords. II 147a

gedik (T) : lit. breach; in law, a form of long-term lease arrangement of WAḲF property in Egypt, which involved, in addition to perpetual lease, the ownership and use of tools and installations of shops and workshops. XII 369a; in the Ottoman period, the right to exercise a craft or a trade, either in general or, more frequently, at a special place or in a specific shop. They were inheritable if the heir fulfilled all other conditions for becoming a master in the craft. VIII 207a; IX 542a; IX 798a; XII 421a

geguritan → SINGIR

gemḥ → FĀRĪNA

geniza (Heb) : a place where Hebrew writings were deposited in order to prevent the desecration of the name of God which might be found in them. As a term of scholarship, ~ or Cairo *geniza*, refers to writings coming from the store-room of the 'Synagogue of the Palestinians' in the ancient city of Fusṭāṭ. II 987b

gerebeg (J) : a grand parade that takes place in certain areas in Java after the ʿĪD prayers at the end of Ramaḍān, with as its centerpiece a magical 'mount of blessing' that conveys some of the sultan's mystical power. XII 682b

gersh → BILYŪN

gezme → AḤDĀTH

ghāba (A) : forest. II 991a

ghabānī (A), or *ghabāniyya* : a head scarf with an embroidered pattern of lozenges, worn by both sexes in the Arab East. V 741a

ghabghab (A) : in zoology, an animal's dewlap. VII 22b

ghabn fāḥish (A) : in law, the concept of excessive loss, which is the only means by which a contract can be challenged in the case of fraud. I 319a

ghaḍaf → ḲAṬĀ

ghadā'ir → ḌAFĀ'IR

ghadāt (A) : a variant name for the *ṣalāt al-fadjr* (→ FADJR). VII 27a

ghaddār (A) : a traitor. XII 830a

ghadjar (A) : gypsies. IX 235b

ghādus (A, < L *Gadus*) : in zoology, the cod. VIII 1021a

ghafāra → KHUWWA

ghaffār, ghafūr → GHUFRĀN

ghā'ib (A) : absent; in law, usually the person who, at a given moment, is not present at the place where he should be. But, in certain special cases, the term is applied also to the person who is at a distance from the court before which he was to bring an action or who does not appear at the court after being summoned. II 995b

♦ ṣalāt al-ghā'ib (A) : the name given to the prayer said for a dead person whose body cannot be produced. II 996a

ghā'ira → ẒĀHIRA

ghalath → ʿALATH

ghalča (P) : an imprecise designation of those mountain peoples of the Pamirs who speak Iranian languages; a term used in English for the Iranian Pamir languages. The word, though of uncertain origin, has different meanings in different languages: 'peasant' or 'ruffian' in New Persian, 'squat, stupid' in Tādjikī; in old Yaghnābi, 'slave'. II 997b

ghālī → GHULĀT; ḲĀLĪ

ghalḳ (A) : in meteorology, a closed period during the middle of the ~ season; before this was *awwal al-~* and after it the *dāmānī* seasons. VII 52a

ghalla (A) : income. XI 414b

ghalṭa (A, pl. *ghalaṭāt*) : error.

♦ **ghalaṭāt-i meshhūre** (T) : lit. well-known errors; solecisms brought about by phonetic changes, characteristic of Turkish, producing (drastic) modifications in Arabic and Persian loan-words and branded by the purists, e.g. *bēdāwā* < *bād-i hawā*. II 997a

ghammāz (A) : he who screws up his eyes, intriguer, one of the numerous terms in the mediaeval and modern periods for 'rascal, scoundrel'. XI 546a

ghanam (A, pl. *aghnām, ghunūm, aghānīm*) : the class of small livestock with a predominance of either sheep or goats, according to country. Also, understood in the sense of 'sheep-goat patrimony'. XII 316b

ghanīma (A), or *ghunm* : booty, in particular moveable booty, which was distributed immediately, as opposed to FAY'. I 1144a; II 1005a; XII 316b

gharāmet → DJARĪMA

gharānīḳ (A) : cranes; in the Qur'ān, 'the exalted ones', referring to the Arabian goddesses, al-Lāt, al-ʿUzza and Manāt, the origin of the Satanic verses, or those which Satan inserted into the revelation, later abrogated by LIII, 21-7. V 404a

gharar → BAYʿ AL-GHARAR

gharāsa (A) : the act of planting. I 135b

gharaza (A) : the act of pricking, as with a tattooing needle (*mishām*, pl. *mawāshim*). XII 830b

ghārib → ṬĀLIʿ

gharīb (A, pl. GHURABĀ') : lit. strange, uncommon; in philology, ~ means rare, unfamiliar (and consequently obscure) expressions (syn. *waḥshī, ḥūshī*), and frequently occurs in the titles of books, mostly such as deal with unfamiliar expressions in the Qur'ān and ḤADĪTH. I 157b; II 1011a

In the science of Tradition, ~ means a Tradition from only one Companion, or from a single man at a later stage, to be distinguished from *gharīb al-ḥadīth*, which applies to uncommon words in the text, MATN, of Traditions. III 25b

♦ gharīb muṭlaḳ → FARD

ghārim (A), or *gharīm* : in law, a debtor or creditor. II 1011b; XII 207b

gharḳad (A) : a kind of bramble. I 957b

ghārr → TAGHRĪR

gharrā' (A) : in zoology, the spotted dogfish. VIII 1022b

ghars (Alg) : soft dates produced in the Sūf, along with the variety known as *deglet nūr*, which are harvested for export only. IX 763b

ghārūḳa (A) : in law, a system whereby a debtor landowner transfers part of his plot, and the right to cultivate it, as security on a loan until redemption. Other Arabic terms for the same system were *rahn ḥiyāzī* and *bayʿ bi 'l-istighlāl*, and in Ottoman Turkish *istighlāl*. ~ is a form of usury, and as such prohibited by Islamic law. XII 322b

ghaṣb (A) : in civil law, usurpation, the illegal appropriation of something belonging to another or the unlawful use of the rights of another. II 1020a

ghāshiya (A) : a covering, particularly, a covering for a saddle; one of the insignia of royal rank carried before the Mamlūk and Saldjūḳ rulers in public processions. II 1020a; VI 854a

In the Qur'ān, ~ is used metaphorically of a great misfortune that overwhelms someone. II 1020b

ghāsil → GHASSĀL

ghasīl al-malā'ika (A) : 'washed by the angels', a term by which Ḥanzala b. Abī ʿĀmir is known, referring to the fact that he died without having performed the GHUSL following sexual intercourse. IX 204b

ghassāl (A) : a washer of clothes and also of the dead, the latter more often known as *ghāsil*. The social position of the corpse-washer was higher than that of the washer of clothes. XII 322b

ghaṭā → ʿATABA

ghaṭaṭ → ḲAṬĀ

ghatmāʾ → ḲAṬĀ

ghawghāʾ (A) : those who swarm like tiny beasts, one of the numerous terms in the mediaeval and modern periods for 'rascals, scoundrels'. XI 546a

ghawr (A) : in geography, a depression, plain encircled by higher ground. II 1024b

ghawṭ (Alg, pl. *ghīṭān*) : a funnel-like excavation, in which date palms are planted in the Sūf. IX 763b

ghawth (A) : lit. succour, deliverance; an epithet of the head of the ṣūfī hierarchy of saints (syn. *badal*). Some say that it is a rank immediately below the head, ḲUṬB, in the hierarchy. V 543b; XII 323b

ghawwāṣ (A) : a diver. XII 550a

ghayb (A) : absence; what is hidden, inaccessible to the senses and to reason; in Qurʾānic usage, with rare exceptions, ~ stands for mystery. I 406b ff.; II 1025a

In mysticism, ~ means, according to context, the reality of the world beyond discursive reason which gnosis experiences. II 1026a

♦ **ghayba** (A) : absence, occultation; and → NĀʾIB AL-GHAYBA

In mysticism, ~ is also used for the condition of anyone who has been withdrawn by God from the eyes of men and whose life during that period may have been miraculously prolonged. II 1026a; III 51b

Among the Twelvers, ~ became a major historical period, divided into two parts: the lesser ~ (from 260/874 to c. 329/941) and the greater ~ (from the death of the fourth IMĀM onwards). II 1026a; IV 277b

In law, ~ is the state of being not present at the place where one should be. II 995b

♦ ghayba munḳaṭiʿa (A) : in law, an absence not interrupted by information on a person's existence; the continuous absence of a plaintiff. II 995b

ghaydāḳ (A) : lit. soft or tender; a term applied to a youth or young man; when applied to a boy, ~ signifies that he has not attained to puberty. VIII 822a

ghayhab → SALḲAʿ

ghaylam → SULAḤFĀ

ghaym (A) : in mineralogy, cloudiness, a defect or impurity in a gem. XI 263a

ghayn (A) : the nineteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *gh*, with the numerical value 1,000. It is defined as a voiced postvelar fricative. II 1026b

ghayṭa (< Fr *guetter*), or *ghāʾita, ghāyṭa* : in music, a reed-pipe of two kinds, popular in Muslim Spain and North Africa. One is a cylindrical tube blown with a single reed, and the other is a conical tube blown with a double reed. The cylindrical tube instrument is known in Egypt as the *ghīṭa*. II 1027b; VII 207b

ghazā-nāme → MENĀḲĪB-NĀME

ghazal (A, T *ghazel*) : lit. flirtation; in prosody, an elegy of love; the erotic-elegiac genre. It has the rhyme scheme *aa xa xa xa*, etc. I 586a; II 1028a; X 719b; XII 323b

♦ ghazel-i mülemmaʿ (T) : in Ottoman poetry, a variant of the *ghazal*, which is written in alternating Turkish and Persian and/or Arabic hemistichs. X 917a; and → MULAMMAʿĀT

♦ ghazel-i musammaṭ (T) : in Ottoman poetry, a *ghazal* the verses of which, with the exception of the MAṬLAʿ, have 'inner rhyme' in that the middle and end of their first hemistich rhymes with the middle of their second hemistich. X 719a

ghāzī (A, pl. *ghuzāt*) : a fighter for the faith, a person who took part in a razzia, or raid against the infidels, GHAZW; later, a title of honour, becoming part of the title of certain Muslim princes, such as the AMĪRs of Anatolia and more particularly the first

Ottoman sultans; soldiers of fortune, who in times of peace became a danger to the government which employed them. I 322b; II 1043b; VIII 497a

♦ ghuzāt al-baḥr (A) : pirates. II 526a

♦ **ghāziya** (A, pl. *ghawāzī*) : an Egyptian dancing-girl who sang and danced primarily in the streets, making a speciality of lascivious dances and often becoming a prostitute. Today both the dancing-girl and the singer are called *ʿalma* in the cities but in the rural areas the dancer is still known as ~. I 404a; II 1048a; in the past, the term for belly-dancer, today usually called *raḳḳāṣa*. XII 778a

ghazw (A, pl. *ghizwān*) : an expedition, raid, usually of limited scope, conducted with the aim of gaining plunder. I 892a; II 509b; II 1055a

♦ ghazwa (A, pl. *ghazawāt*) : a term used in particular of the Prophet's expeditions against the infidels. II 1055a; VIII 497a

ghidhā' (A, pl. *aghdhiya*) : feeding; food. II 1057a

ghidjak : one of a type of viol used in Central Asia to accompany the bard, the others being *ḳil ḳobuz*, in Kazakhstan, and the *kiak*. X 733b

ghifāra (A, pl. *ghafā'ir*) : in clothing, in early times a red cloth with which women protected their veil from the oil on the hair. In Muslim Spain, the name of a similar cap for men, who usually wore not turbans but *ghafā'ir* of red or green wool, whilst Jews wore a yellow one. X 612a; and → MIGHFAR

ghīla (A) : a nursing woman. VIII 824a

ghilāf (A) : a sheath. IV 518b

ghilmān → GHULĀM

ghīnā → ḲĪNĀ

ghinā' (A) : song, singing; music in its generic sense. In Morocco, the song is divided into folk or popular song, *ḳarīḥa*, and the art song, *āla* or *ṣanʿa*, while in Algeria ~ is grouped under *kalām al-hazl* and *kalām al-djidd*. II 1072b f.

ghirāra (A) : a measure of capacity for grain in central Syria and Palestine in the mediaeval period, of different size in every province, e.g. the ~ of Damascus contained 208.74 kg of wheat, whereas the ~ of Jerusalem, at least at the end of the Middle Ages, weighed three times as much. IV 520a; VI 118b

ghirbāl (A) : a parchment-bottom sieve, which in the pre-Islamic period sometimes took the place of tambourines to supply rhythm. II 1073b; X 900b; and → BANDAYR

ghirnīḳ (A), and *kurkī* : in zoology, the crane. I 1152b

ghirr (A) : an inexperienced person. X 93a

ghīṭa → GHAYṬA

ghiyār (A) : the compulsory distinctive mark in the garb of DHIMMĪ subjects under Muslim rule, described as a piece of cloth placed over the shoulder; the garment which bears the ~. II 1075b; V 744b

ghižak → KAMĀNDJA

ghlāla (Mor) : a sleeveless outer robe for women in Morocco. V 746a

ghubār (A) : dust; in mathematics, ~ was the name for the immediate parents of the modern European numerals, while what are now called 'Arabic' numerals were known as 'Indian'. Sometimes the names were reversed, however, or both forms were called Indian or both called ~. III 1140a; and → ḤISĀB AL-GHUBĀR

In calligraphy, ~ or *ghubārī* is a name given to every type of very small script difficult to read with the naked eye, but often found in the NASKH script. IV 1124a

ghubba (A, pl. *ghabīb*) : a term in the Persian Gulf for an area of deep water, of 15 fathoms or more. I 535b

ghubbān (A) : in zoology, the green scarus, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Scarus ghobban*). VIII 1021b

ghudfa (A) : a large head shawl for women, worn in the Hebron area. V 741a

ghudwa (A), or *bukra* : in lexicography, a term used to denote the time which elapses between the morning twilight prayer, FADJR, and the sunrise. V 709b

ghufrān (A) : the verbal noun of 'to forgive', ~ refers to the two divine names, *al-ghafūr* and *al-ghaffār* 'the All-Pardoning One whose power to pardon is endless'. A frequent synonym is *ʿafw*. II 1078b; IV 1107a

ghūl (A, pl. *ghīlān, aghwāl*) : a fabulous being believed by the ancient Arabs to inhabit desert places and, assuming different forms, to lead travellers astray, to fall upon them unawares and devour them. Generally, a ~ is considered a male as well as a female being in the early sources. II 1078b

ghulām (A, pl. *ghilmān*; P pl. *ghulāmān*) : a young man or boy; by extension, either a servant, sometimes elderly and very often, but not necessarily, a slave servant; or a bodyguard, slave or freedman, bound to his master by personal ties; or sometimes an artisan working in the workshop of a master whose name he used along with his own in his signature. Rulers owned an often impressive number of slave boys who served as attendants or guards and could rise to fairly high office in the hierarchy of the palace service, as well as others who formed a component of varying importance in the armed forces. I 24b; II 1079b; VIII 821b

In falconry, a technical term for the hawker's assistant, who kept the aviary well provided with pigeons and other game-birds and was responsible for the nourishment and training of the hawks. I 1152b

♦ al-ghilmān al-khāṣṣa (A) : the personal guard of certain ʿAbbāsid caliphs. II 1080a

♦ ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa (P) : 'slaves of the royal household', a cavalry regiment formed from the ranks of the Georgians and Circassians under the Ṣafawids. II 1083b; IV 36a; VIII 769a

ghulāmān → GHULĀM

ghulāt (A, s. *ghālī*) : 'extremists', those individuals accused of exaggeration, *ghulū*, in religion; in practice, ~ has covered all early speculative shīʿīs except those later accepted by the Twelver tradition, as well as all later shīʿī groups except Zaydīs, orthodox Twelvers, and sometimes Ismāʿīlīs. II 1093b

ghulūw (A) : in literary criticism, overblown hyperbole. XII 655b

ghumūḍ (A) : in literary criticism, the 'obscurity' of poetry, in contrast to the 'clarity', *wuḍūḥ*, of prose. XII 655b

ghunča (P) : in botany, the rosebud, a recurring image in eastern Islamic literature. II 1133a

ghunna (A) : in Qurʾānic recitation, the nasal sound of certain letters in excess of ordinary speech. X 73b

ghūra → TURSHĪ

ghurāb (A, < L *corvus*) : in zoology, the crow. II 1096b

In navigation, a large type of mediaeval Muslim galley (< Sp *caraba*), frequently mentioned in accounts of the naval warfare between the Muslims and the Franks during Crusading and Mamlūk times. In archaic Anglo-Indian usage, it yielded the term *grab*, a type of ship often mentioned, in the Indian Ocean context, from the arrival of the Portuguese to the 18th century. VIII 810a

ghurabāʾ (A, T *ghurebā*) : an Ottoman term for the two lowest of the six cavalry regiments of the ḲAPÎ ḲULLARÎ. The regiment riding on the sultan's right side was known as *ghurebāʾ-i yemīn* and that riding on his left as *ghurebāʾ-i yesār*. II 1097b

ghurfa → AGADIR

ghurra (A) : the first day of the month, in historical works and correspondence. V 708a; a term used in Bedouin society for the young girl, who must be a virgin, white and

free, given by the family of a murderer to a member of the injured family as compensation. In turn the latter forgoes his right of vengeance. VI 479b

In law, ~ is a special indemnity to be paid for causing an abortion. I 29a; VIII 823b

ghurūb → ṬĀLIʿ

ghuruḳ (? Mon) : in mediaeval Transoxania, a royal hunting ground. V 857b

ghusl (A) : general ablution, uninterrupted washing, in ritually pure water, of the whole of the human body, including the hair. ~ applies also to the washing of the corpse of a Muslim. For the living, the essential ~ is that which is obligatory before performing the ritual daily prayers. II 1104a; VIII 929a

ghuṣn (A) : in prosody, separate-rhyme lines in each stanza of a MUWASHSHAḤ. VII 809b

ghūṭa (A) : the name given in Syria to abundantly irrigated areas of intense cultivation surrounded by arid land. It is produced by the co-operative activity of a rural community settled near to one or several perennial springs, whose water is used in a system of canalisation to irrigate several dozen or hundred acres. II 541a; II 1104b

ghuzāt → GHĀZĪ

ginān (H, < San *jñāna*) : in Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, a poetical composition in an Indian vernacular, ascribed to various PĪRs who were active in preaching and propagating the DAʿWA. The ~ resembles didactic and mystical poetry and is often anachronistic and legendary in nature. VIII 126a

girebān, girīvān → SHUTIK

girīz (T), or *girīzgāh* : in Turkish prosody, ~ is the passage marking the transition from the NASĪB to the main part of the ḲAṢĪDA. IV 715b; and → MAKHLAṢ

giṭūn (N.Afr) : the name given to shelters in North Africa made of sackcloth or pieces of material or of canvas produced in Europe. The name derives from the classical *ḳayṭūn* 'room in a BAYT'. IV 1149b

gīwa : characteristic foot-gear of the Bakhtiyārī tribeswomen. I 956a

gnīdra (Alg) : a light, lacy chemisette for women in Algeria. V 746a

göbak (P) : among the Shāhsewan in Persia, a 'navel' or descent group. IX 224a

♦ göbek adî (T) : 'navel name'; in Turkey, a name given to a new-born child by the midwife as she cuts the umbilical cord. IV 181a

göčmen → MUHĀDJIR

goni (Kanuri) : one who has memorised the Qurʾān, a term for saint in Chad and the Nilotic Sudan. XI 124a

gönüllü (T) : volunteer; in the Ottoman empire, ~ was used as a term (sometimes with the pseudo-Persian pl. *gönüllüyān*, in Arabic sources usually rendered *djamulyān* or *kamulyān*) with the following meanings: volunteers coming to take part in the fighting; a 10th/16th-century organised body stationed in most of the fortresses of the empire, in Europe, Asia and Egypt; and an 11th/17th-century body among the paid auxiliaries who were recruited in the provinces to serve on a campaign. II 1120b

gorani → POTURI

goruta → YODJANA

göstermelik (T) : inanimate objects, without any direct connection with the shadow play, which are shown on the screen before the actual play in order to attract the interest of spectators and fire their imagination. IV 601b

göt-tikme (T) : a type of tent possessed by the Türkmen Yomut and Göklen tribes. The ~ essentially is an ÖY 'tent-house', but without the trellis walls, and regarded as inferior, though more portable. IV 1150b

gotba → ʿUDIYA

gourbi (Alg) : a shack, a fixed dwelling used in the Algerian sedentarisation of nomads in the 20th century. IX 537b

grab → GHURĀB
gu' (Somali) : the season from April to June which is the 'season of plenty' in Somalia. The other seasons are *xagaa* (July-August), *dayr* (September-November) and *jiilaal* (December-March). IX 714b
guban (Somali) : lit. burnt; a hot, dry region. IX 714a
gudhār (P) : a restricted area of a guild in which it practised its trade. IX 645b; also *gudhar*, a passage. X 488a
gul (P, T *gül*) : in botany, the rose, a recurring image in eastern Islamic literature. II 1133a

Among the dervishes, *gül* signifies a particular ornament, fashioned from wedge-shaped pieces of cloth, on the top of a dervish cap, which distinguishes the head of a house of the order; in various contexts ~ is the badge of different dervish orders and of distinct grades within the orders. II 1134a

♦ **gülbaba** (T) : a title, with the sense of head of a Muslim cloister, TEKKE, of the Bektāshī order. II 1133b

♦ **gulbāng** (P) : lit. song of the nightingale; in Turkish usage, *gülbāng* is applied to the call of the muezzin and to the Muslim war-cry. Under the Ottomans, ~ was used of certain ceremonial and public prayers and acclamations, more specifically those of the Janissary corps. II 1135a; and → TERDJÜMĀN

guldasta : in architecture, a shaft-like pinnacle, introduced in Tughluḳid work as a prolongation of the angle turret. VIII 315b
gūm (N.Afr, < A *ḳawm*) : the name given in the Arab countries of North Africa to a group of armed horsemen or fighting men from a tribe. They were given an official existence by the Turks in the former Regencies of Algiers and Tunis, who made them the basis of their occupation of the country, and were later used by the French to pacify the country. II 1138b

♦ gūma : a levy of GŪMS, troops; a plundering foray; sedition, revolt. II 1138b

gunbad (P) : a domed mausoleum. XI 114a
gunbrī (N.Afr, dim. *gunībrī*) : in its most primitive form, with a gourd, shell, or wooden sound-chest, a skin or leather belly, and horsehair strings wihtout tuning pegs, the earliest form of the pandore, or ṬUNBŪR, a long-necked lute-like instrument, known to us. It is to be found among the rural populations of North Africa from the Atlantic to the Nile. The North African name carries in its consonants *n-b-r* a trace of the old Egyptian word *nefer*. X 625a
güregen : 'royal son-in-law', a Činggisid title that Tīmūr Lang assumed after taking Saray Malik as his wife. X 511a
gürīzgāh (T, < P) : in Turkish prosody, the device in which the real purpose of the ḲAṢĪDA was revealed, either by openly naming the patron who was to be the subject of the encomium that followed immediately or by a clever allusion that rarely left any doubt as to the identity of the patron. V 957b; and → MAKHLAṢ
guru (J) : in Malaysia and Thailand, a mystical teacher. VIII 294a; VIII 296b ff.
gzîdan (K) : a Kurdish dance performed at the occasion of a festival celebrating the gathering of the mulberry harvest, which consists of sweeping the soil under the trees before the children climb them to shake them so as to allow the women to gather the berries. V 477b

H

hā' (A) : the twenty-sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *h*, with numerical value 5. It is an unvoiced glottal spirant (in Arabic: *rikhwa mahmūsa*). III 1a

ḥā' (A) : the sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *ḥ*, with numerical value 8. It is an unvoiced pharyngeal spirant (in Arabic: *rikhwa mahmūsa*). III 2a

ḥababawar → SHAKĪKAT AL-NUʿMĀN

ḥabaḳ → FŪDHANDJ

ḥabal → BAYʿ AL-GHARAR

ḥaballaḳ → NAḲAD

ḥabara (A) : a dark, silky enveloping outer wrap for women, worn in the Arab East. V 741a

ḥabash (A), or *ḥabasha* : a name said to be of south Arabian origin, applied in Arabic usage to the land and peoples of Ethiopia, and at times to the adjoining areas in the Horn of Africa. III 2b

♦ **ḥabashat** : a term found in several Sabaean inscriptions with apparent reference to Aksumite Abbyssinia, it has generally been assumed to apply not only to the territory and people of the Aksumite empire but also to a south Arabian tribe related to the former and in close contact with them; incense-collectors, applicable to all the peoples of the incense regions, that is, of the Mahra and Somali coasts and Abyssinia proper. III 9a

ḥabaṭ → ḤAWṬA

ḥabb (A) : grains, seeds.

♦ ḥabb al-naʿām (A) : in botany, 'ostrich berries', the red fruit of the sarsaparilla or thorny bindweed (*Smilax bona nox*) of the liliaceae family. VII 830b

♦ habb al-zalīm → YĀSAMĪN

ḥabba (A) : lit. grain or kernel; as a unit of weight, a ~ was a fraction in the Troy weight system of the Arabs, of undefined weight. The most probable weight of the ~ in the early days of Islam was about 70-71 milligrammes (1.1 grains). III 10b

ḥabḥab → DJIḤḤ

habbār → RUBĀḤ

ḥabīb (A) : lit. beloved; *al-Ḥabīb* is the usual Ḥaḍramī title of a SAYYID. IX 115a; IX 333a

ḥabīs (A) : an anchorite, recluse. IX 574a

habiz (SpA) : assumed to have been derived from *aḥbās* pronounced with a variation in timbre, i.e. *aḥbīs*, a term denoting property intended for charitable use and converted into a non-transferable right, but one that is not recognised in the Andalusī juridical texts concerning mortmain. XI 75a

ḥabḳa → TIMSĀḤ

ḥabs → MAWḲŪF; SIDJN; ʿURWA; WAḲF

♦ **ḥabsiyya** (P, < A) : in Persian literature, a poem dealing with the theme of imprisonment. The genre can also be found in Urdu poetry and in the Indian tradition of Persian poetry. XII 333b

ḥabshī : a term applied in India for those African communities whose ancestors originally came to the country as slaves, in most cases from the Horn of Africa, although some doubtless sprang from the slave troops of the neighbouring Muslim countries. The majority, at least in the earlier periods, may well have been Abyssinian (→ ḤABASH), but the name was used indiscriminately for all Africans. In modern India, ~ is often heard applied in a pejorative sense to an Indian of dark skin, and also frequently to a man of Gargantuan appetite. III 14a

hād (A) : in botany, *cornucala monacantha*, which grows in dried-out basins in the Libyan Desert and provides excellent food for camels. V 352a

ḥadaba (A) : on the Arabian peninsula, a plain with a mantle of gravel. I 536b

ḥadaḳ (A) : the black pupil (of the oryx and addax), which in contrast to the white of the eye was an image dear to the poets. V 1229b

ḥaḍāna (A), or *ḥiḍāna* : in law, ~ is the right to custody of the child. I 28b; III 16b

ḥadath (A) : in law, minor ritual impurity, as opposed to major impurity, DJANĀBA. A person who is in a state of ~ is called a *muḥdith* and he can regain ritual purity by means of simple ablution, WUḌŪ'. III 19b; VIII 929a; ~ in its plural form, *aḥdāth*, means arbitrary actions at odds with the divine Law. I 384a

ḥadd (A, pl. *ḥudūd*) : hindrance, impediment, limit, boundary, frontier; in the Qur'ān, ~ is used (always in the pl.) to denote the restrictive ordinances or statutes of God. III 20b

In law, ~ has become the technical term for the punishments of certain acts which have been forbidden or sanctioned by punishments in the Qur'ān and have thereby become crimes against religion. The punishments are the death penalty, either by stoning or by crucifixion or with the sword; the cutting off of the hand and/or the foot; and flogging with various numbers of lashes, their intensity depending on the severity of the crime. III 20b

In theology, ~ in the meaning of limit, limitation, is an indication of finiteness, a necessary attribute of all created beings but incompatible with God. III 20b

In scholastic theology, philosophy and metaphysics, ~ is a technical term for definition, e.g. *ḥadd ḥaḳīḳī*, that which defines the essence of a thing, and *ḥadd lafẓī*, that which defines the meaning of a word. III 21a

In logic, ~ means the term of a syllogism. III 21a

In astrology, ~ denotes the term of a planet or the unequal portion, of which there are five, each belonging to a planet, into which the degree of each sign of the zodiac is divided. III 21a

Among the Druze, the main officers of the religious hierarchy are called *ḥudūd*. The five great *ḥudūd* 'cosmic ranks', adopted in a modified form from Ismā'īlī lore, consist of the *'aḳl*, the *nafs al-kulliyya*, the *kalima*, the *sābiḳ*, and the *tālī*. II 632a; III 21a

ḥaddād (A, pl. *ḥaddādīn*) : a blacksmith. IV 819a; XII 756b

ḥaddūta → UḤDŪTHA

ḥadhadh (A) : in prosody, a deviation in the metre because of the suppression of a whole *watid madjmū'* (→ AWTĀD), as in *mutafā[ʿilun]*. I 672a

ḥadhaf (A) : a strain of sheep in the time of al-Djāḥiẓ, with a black fleece and almost without a tail and ears, found in the Ḥidjāz and Yemen. Similar to the ~ was the *ḳahd*, with a russet-coloured fleece. XII 318a; a teal, or wild duck. IX 98b

ḥadhāfa (A) : a missile, recommended to throw between the legs of the galloping animal in hunting manuals in order to hamstring an animal. V 1229b

ḥadhdhā' (A) : a sandal-maker, whose profession in pre-modern times had a low social status because working with leather was regarded as unclean. XII 463b

ḥadhf (A) : in prosody, a deviation in the metre because of the suppression of a moving and a quiescent consonant, a *sabab khafīf* (→ SABAB), e.g. *mafā'ī[lun]*. I 672a

In rhetoric, the truncation of words. VIII 427a; ellipsis. XII 669a

ḥadhw (A) : in prosody, the vowel immediately before the RIDF. IV 412a

hadī (A) : the name for the animal sacrificed in order to make atonement for certain transgressions committed during the ḤADJDJ. II 213a

hādī (A, pl. *huddā'*) : the sporting pigeon; the sport of pigeon-flying (*zadjl, zidjāl*) was very popular from the 2nd-7th/8th-13th centuries, among all the Muslim peoples. III 109a

hadia langgar (Ind, < A HADIYYA) : a gift for the permission to cast the anchor, one of the tolls and taxes known in Atjèh in relation to sea trade. XII 200b

ḥadīd (A) : in metallurgy, iron; three kinds of iron were distinguished: natural iron, *al-sābūrḳān*, and artificial iron, of which there were two kinds, the weak or female, i.e. malleable or wrought iron (P *narmāhan* 'soft iron') and hard or male, i.e. manufactured steel (*fūlādh*). III 22b; V 971a

♦ ḥadīd ṣīnī → ṬĀLIḲŪN

ḥadīḍ → AWDJ

ḥāḍira (A) : in administrative geography, 'regional capital'. IX 36b

ḥadīth (A) : narrative, talk; *al-ḥadīth* is used for Tradition, being an account of what the Prophet said or did, or of his tacit approval of something said or done in his presence. III 23b; and → AHL AL-ḤADĪTH; DĀR AL-ḤADĪTH; KHABAR

♦ **ḥadīth ḳudsī** (A), and *ḥadīth ilāhī, ḥadīth rabbānī* : a class of Traditions which give words spoken by God, as distinguished from *ḥadīth nabawī* 'prophetical Tradition', which gives the words of the Prophet. III 28b

♦ ḥadīth ilāhī → ḤADĪTH ḲUDSĪ

♦ ḥadīth nabawī → ḤADĪTH ḲUDSĪ

♦ ḥadīth rabbānī → ḤADĪTH ḲUDSĪ

♦ ḥadīth al-thaḳalayn (A) : a Tradition which refers to the two sources of guidance that Muḥammad says he is leaving behind for the Muslims: the Qur'ān and AHL AL-BAYT. IX 331b; XI 389a

hadiyya (A) : a gift which in the Muslim East frequently implied an effort on the part of a person on a lower level of society to get into the good graces of a recipient of a higher social status, as opposed to HIBA. In the Muslim West ~ is commonly used with the restricted meaning of a sumptuous gift offered to a sovereign, either by another sovereign or by a group of some kind, while in Morocco especially, ~ was an obligatory gift made to the sultan by his subjects, later becoming a supplementary tax. III 343a; III 346b; in Persia, ~ is a gift to an equal, and the normal expression for the exchange of presents on diplomatic missions. III 347b

ḥadjal (A) : in zoology, the partridge. IX 98b

ḥadjar (A) : stone; also applied to any solid inorganic body occurring anywhere in Nature. III 29b; and → BAYʿ AL-MUNĀBADHA

♦ ḥadjar al-maṭar → YADA TASH

♦ ḥadjar al-ʿuḳāb (A) : 'eagle's stone', a stone-like substance found in the eagle's eyrie, which, when sucked, cures stammering. X 784a; also called *ḥadjar al-nasr* 'vulture's stone' and *ḥadjar al-ṭalḳ* 'stone of confinement'. VII 1013b

hadjar (A, Eth *hagar* 'town') : the normal word for 'town' in the epigraphic dialects of pre-Islamic South Arabia, now an element in place-names given to pre-Islamic town ruins in South Arabia. III 29b

ḥadjdj (A) : the pilgrimage to Mecca, ʿArafāt and Minā, one of the five pillars of Islam. It is also called the Great Pilgrimage in contrast to the ʿUMRA, or Little Pilgrimage. One who has performed the pilgrimage is called *ḥādjdj* or *ḥādjdjī*. III 31b; III 38b; and → AMĪR AL-ḤĀDJDJ

♦ ḥadjdj al-wadāʿ (A) : the last pilgrimage of the Prophet, in the year 10/632. III 37a

ḥadjdjām → FAṢṢĀD

ḥādjib (A) : the person responsible for guarding the door of access to the ruler, hence 'chamberlain'; a title corresponding to a position in the court and to an office the exact nature of which varied considerably in different regions and in different periods: superintendent of the palace, chief of the guard, chief minister, a head of government. III 45a; VIII 728a; XII 336b

Among the Būyids, ~ was known as a military rank in the army, with the meaning of general. III 46b

In Persian prosody, the internal RADĪF, which precedes the rhyme rather than following it. VIII 369a

♦ ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb (A), or *al-ḥādjib al-kabīr* : the equivalent of the Persian *sipahsālār* (→ ISPAHSĀLĀR) or the Arabic AMĪR AL-UMARĀ' found among dynasties like the Sāmānids, Būyids, Ghaznawids and Great Saldjūḳs. VIII 924a

♦ al-ḥādjib al-kabīr → ḤĀDJIB AL-ḤUDJDJĀB

hadjīn (A), or *shihrī* : the 'mixed breed', whose sire is better bred than the dam, one of four classifications of a horse. II 785b

hādjira → ẒĀHIRA

hādjis (A) : in Yemen, term for poetic inspiration. IX 235b

ḥadjm (A) : in medicine, cupping without or after the scarification, SHARṬ. II 481b

hadjr → WIṢĀL

ḥadjr (A) : prevention, inhibition; in law, the interdiction, the restriction of the capacity to dispose; ~ expresses both the act of imposing this restriction and the resulting status. A person in this status is called *maḥdjūr* (*maḥdjūr ʿalayh*). I 27b; III 50a

♦ ḥadjra (A), or *kuffa, ṭawḳ* : in astronomy, the outer rim on the front of the astrolabe, which encloses the inner surface and into which a number of thin discs are fitted. I 723a

ḥādjūr → FILAWR

ḥadr → TAḤḲĪḲ

ḥaḍra (A) : presence; a title of respect; in mysticism, ~ is a synonym of *ḥuḍūr* 'being in the presence of God'. III 51a; a communal DHIKR exercise. IV 992b

The regular Friday service of the dervishes is called ~. III 51; in North Africa, the DHIKR recitation session. XI 468a

hady (A) : oblation; a pre-Islamic sacrificial offering which survived in Islam under the name ḌAḤIYYA. III 53b

haff → ḲUSHḲUSH

ḥaffāra (A) : in zoology, the wrasse, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Chrysophrys haffara*). VIII 1021a

ḥaffī (A) : a cotton material stemming from Nīshāpūr. V 555a

ḥāfir (A) : a horse, as used in Tradition prohibiting competitions of animals. V 109a; 'horseshoe', a crescent-shaped ruby affixed to a piece of silk and attached to the top of the sovereign's turban, one of the caliph's insignia. VI 850a; hoof. IV 249b

ḥāfiẓ (A) : a designation for one who knows the Qur'ān by heart. VIII 171a; a great traditionist. IX 608a; and → ḤIRZ

ḥafr (A) : a dried-up well. X 788a

ḥafshrūsī → KALB AL-BAḤR

haft-band (P) : in literature, a variety of TARDJĪʿ- or TARḲĪB-BAND, particularly common in MARTHIYAS, where each ḲAṢĪDA part, *khāna*, comprises seven verses. X 235b

haft-rangī (P) : in art, a glazed tile technique similar to *cuerda seca* in which the design is incised and/or drawn with a greasy substance to separate colours. X 520a

ḥāgūza (Mor) : the name of a festival celebrated in Morocco, especially in the country, at the beginning of the solar year. V 1202a

ḥā'ik (A, pl. *ḥāka*), or *ḥayyāk* : weaver (syn. *nassādj*). XII 340b

In North Africa, ~, or *ḥayk, taḥaykt*, is a large outer wrap, usually white, worn by both sexes. V 746a

ḥā'ir (A) : a park or pleasure-garden, or zoological garden. III 71a

ḥakam (A) : in law, an arbitrator who settles a dispute (syn. *muḥakkam*). III 72a

♦ ḥakama → SARAFSĀR

ḥakawātī (A) : the professional storyteller of folktales. XII 775a
hā<u>kh</u>ām-ba<u>sh</u>i (T) : in the Ottoman period, a chief rabbi, sent from Istanbul and having access to the central government. V 335b
ḥaḳīḳa (A, pl. ḤAḲĀʾIḲ) : reality; essence, truth; in rhetoric and exegesis, *al-ḥaḳīḳa* is the basic meaning of a word or an expression, and is distinguished from MA<u>DJ</u>ĀZ, metaphor, and *kayfiyya*, analogy. III 75a; XII 653a
In philosophy, ~ has an ontological and a logical meaning. The ontological meaning (*ḥaḳīḳat al-<u>sh</u>ayʾ*) is best translated by 'nature' or 'essential reality'; the logical meaning (*al-ḥaḳīḳa al-ʿaḳliyya*) is the truth which 'the exact conception of the thing' establishes in the intelligence. III 75a ff.; V 1262a
In mysticism, ~ is the profound reality to which only experience of union with God opens the way. III 75b
♦ al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya (A) : in the mystical thought of Ibn ʿArabī, the universal rational principle through which the Divine knowledge is transmitted to all prophets and saints, also called *rūḥ Muḥammad*. V 544a
♦ **ḥaḳāʾiḳ** (A) : the Ismāʿīlī term for their secret philosophical doctrines. I 1255b; III 71b
ḥākim → WĀLĪ
ḥakīm (A, pl. *ḥukamāʾ*; T *ḥekīm*) : sage; physician.
♦ al-ḥukamāʾ (A) : the ninth degree in the ṣūfī hierarchical order of saints. I 95a
♦ **ḥekīm-ba<u>sh</u>i** (T) : in the Ottoman empire, the title of the chief palace physician, who was at the same time head of the health services of the state. III 339b
ḥaḳḳ (A, pl. **ḥuḳūḳ**) : something right, true, just, real; established fact; reality. I 275a; III 82b; and → AHL-I ḤAḲḲ; DĪN AL-ḤAḲḲ; RASM
In law, ~ is a claim or right, as a legal obligation. Religious law distinguishes *ḥaḳḳ Allāh*, God's penal ordinances, with *ḥaḳḳ al-ādamī*, the civil right or claim of a human. III 82b; III 551b; *ḥuḳūḳ*, when used of things in law, signifies the accessories necessarily belonging to them, such as the privy and the kitchen of a house, and servitudes in general. III 551b
In mysticism, ~ *al-yaḳīn* is the real certainty which comes after the acquisition of visual certainty and intellectual certainty. *Ḥuḳūḳ al-nafs* are such things as are necessary for the support and continuance of life, as opposed to the *ḥuẓūẓ*, things desired but not necessary. III 82a-b; III 551b
♦ ḥaḳḳ ʿaynī (A) : in law, a real right, as opposed to *ḥaḳḳ <u>sh</u>a<u>kh</u>ṣī* 'personal right'. IX 495a
♦ ḥaḳḳ al-<u>dj</u>ahābi<u>dh</u>a → MĀL AL-<u>DJ</u>AHĀBI<u>DH</u>A
♦ ḥaḳḳ-i ḳapan → ḲAPAN
♦ ḥaḳḳ-i ḳarār (T) : a fixed charge in the Ottoman empire on parcels of land known as ČIFTLIK, which a peasant had to pay in order to obtain permission to sell or give up his land. II 907a; VIII 486a
♦ ḥaḳḳ <u>sh</u>a<u>kh</u>ṣī → ḤAḲḲ ʿAYNĪ
♦ ḥaḳḳ al-<u>sh</u>urb → <u>SH</u>URB
♦ ḥuḳūḳ bayt al-māl (A) : assets of the Treasury; those monies or properties which belong to the Muslim community as a whole, the purpose to which they are devoted being dependent upon the discretion of the IMĀM or his delegate. I 1142a
ḥakma (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, the curb-chain of the bit, which is also composed of branches, *<u>sh</u>ākima*, and a mouthpiece, *faʾs*. II 954a
ḥākūra (A) : a type of garden. XI 89a; in Sahelian Africa, an estate granted by the sultan to religious scholars or notables. XI 99b
ḥakw (A) : a binding for a waist wrapper, worn by both sexes on the Arabian peninsula (syn. *brīm*). V 741a

ḥāl (A, pl. *aḥwāl*) : state, condition; in mysticism, a spiritual state; the actualisation of a divine 'encounter'. III 83b; trance; among the Ḥmādsha in North Africa, ~ is used for a light, somnambulistic trance, while a deeper, wilder trance is called *djedhba*. XII 350b; and → ṬARAB

In medicine, ~ denotes 'the actual functional (physiological) equilibrium' of a being endowed with NAFS. III 83b

In grammar, ~ is the state of the verb in relation to the agent, its 'subjective' state. III 83b; circumstantial qualifier. IX 527b

In scholastic theology, ~ is the intermediate modality between being and non-being. III 83b; a technical term employed by some 4th-5th/10th-11th century Baṣran scholastic theologians, *mutakallimūn*, to signify certain 'attributes' that are predicated of beings. I 411a; II 570b; XII 343b

♦ ʿilm-i ḥāl (T) : a genre in Ottoman literature, forming a kind of catechism of the basic principles of worship and of behaviour within the family and the community. VIII 211b

ḥāla (A, pl. *ḥuwal*) : a term in the Persian Gulf for a low sandy islet which may be covered at high tide. I 535b

ḥalaḳ → DHĀT AL-ḤALAḲ

ḥalāl (A) : in law, everything that is not forbidden. III 660b

♦ ḥalāl al-dam (A) : in law, one who can be killed with impunity. IV 772a

ḥalam(a) → ḲIRDĀN

ḥalāwī (A) : in zoology, the guitar fish, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Rhinobatus halavi*). VII 1021b

ḥalazūn (A) : in zoology, the general term for snail. VIII 707a

ḥalf → ḲASAM; MUSALSAL AL-ḤALF

ḥalfāʾ (A) : in botany, alfa-grass (*Stipa tenacissima*) and esparto-grass (*Lygoeum spartum*), two similar plants found in North Africa. The former is called in Tunisia ~ *rūsiyya* or *geddīm*. A field of alfa is sometimes called *zemla*. III 92a, where can also be found dialectal terms used in the harvesting of both plants

ḥalīb (A) : fresh milk, straight from the animal. XII 318b

halīladj (P, San), or *ahlīladj*, *ihlīladj* : in botany, myrobalanus, the plum-like fruit of the *Terminalia chebula*-tree, found in South Asia and the Malayan archipelago. The Arabs knew five kinds of myrobalanus. XII 349a

In mathematics, ~, but especially its variant *ihlīladj*, was used to designate an ellipse. XII 349b

ḥālim (A) : a boy who has attained to puberty, or virility. VIII 822a

ḥalḳ → ISTIḤDĀD

ḥalḳa (A) : a circle; gathering of people seated in a circle; gathering of students around a teacher, hence 'course'. I 817a; III 95a; V 1129a

Among the Ibāḍī-Wahbīs of the Mzāb, ~ was a religious council made up of twelve recluses, *ʿazzāba*, presided over by a SHAYKH. III 95a

Under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, a term for a socio-military unit which, during most of the period of Mamlūk rule, was composed of non-Mamlūks. Under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn it seems to have constituted the elite of his army. I 765b; III 99a; and → AWLĀD AL-NĀS

In military science, ~ was the term used for the encirclement of the enemy in an increasingly tightening ring, a strategy employed by the Turkish and Mongol tribes in the field of battle. The same tactics were also very common in hunting, especially in the early decades of Mamlūk rule. III 187b

In astronomy, part of the suspensory apparatus of the astrolabe, the ~ is the ring which passes through the handle, ʿURWA, moving freely. I 723a

ḥalḳiyya (A) : in grammar, a term used by al-Khalīl to denote the laryngeals. III 598a
ḥall al-manẓūm (A) : lit. dissolving the versified; in literature, turning poetry into prose. XII 649b
ḥallādj (A) : cotton carder; the carder separated the fibre from the seed by beating the cotton with a bow-like instrument called *kemān* or *yay*. V 559a, where also can be found many names of artisans working with cotton in the Ottoman period
ḥallāḳ (A) : a barber, hairdresser (syn. *muzayyin*). XII 350a
ḥallām (A) : a mediaeval dish made from kid or calf, boiled in vinegar until cooked, then soused overnight in a mixture of vinegar, cinnamon, galingal, thyme, celery, quince, citron and salt, and stored in glass or earthenware vessels. X 31b
ḥālūsh → KALB AL-MAYY
hām, hāma → ṢADĀ
hama ūst (P) : 'All is He', in mystical thought on the subcontinent, the equivalent of WAḤDAT AL-WUDJŪD. The opposite, WAḤDAT AL-SHUHŪD, was said to maintain that 'All was from Him' (*hama az ūst*) or 'All is through Him' (*hama bidūst*). X 318a
hamada (Alg) : silicified limestone. XII 328a
ḥamal (A) : lamb; in astronomy, *al-~* is the term for Aries, one of the twelve zodiacal constellations, also called *al-kabsh* 'the ram' because of its 'horns'. VII 83a; XII 319a
♦ ḥamalat al-ʿilm (A), or *naḳalat al-ʿilm* : lit. bearers of learning; among the Ibāḍiyya, the ~ were teams of missionaries who were sent out after completion of their training to spread propaganda in the various provinces of the Umayyad caliphate. III 650b
ḥamām (A, pl. *ḥamāʾim, ḥamāmāt*) : in zoology, any bird 'which drinks with one gulp and coos', that is, any of the family of the Columbidae: pigeons and turtle-doves. In the restricted sense, ~ denotes the domestic pigeons. III 108b, where are found many terms, in the different countries, for the many different types of birds; for *ḥamām ḳawwāl*, → WĀḲWĀḲ
ḥamāsa (A) : bravery, valour; in literature, the title of a certain number of poetic anthologies which generally include brief extracts chosen for their literary value. III 110b; the boasting of courage, a subject of occasional verse. I 584b; the genre of the epic poem, although ~ has been replaced today by MALḤAMA in this sense. III 111b
In Persian literature, ~ has come to denote a literary genre, the heroic and martial epic. III 112a
♦ ḥamāsiyya : in Turkish literature, ~ indicates an epic poem. III 114b
hamasāla (P) : allocations on the revenue of specific villages or districts, according to which the taxpayers paid their taxes, up to the amount stipulated, to the holder of the ~ instead of to the government tax-collector. IV 1045a
ḥamd (A) : praise; in Urdu religious literature, specifically praise of God. V 958a
♦ **ḥamdala** (A) : the saying of the formula *al-ḥamdu li 'llāh* 'Praise belongs to God'. III 122b
ḥamḍ (A) : in botany, on the Arabian peninsula, a bush and a prime source of salt needed by camels. I 540b; IV 1143b
♦ ḥamḍiyyāt → NĀRANDJ
ḥāmiḍ → ḲĀRIṢ
ḥāmil (A) : in astronomy, an eccentric deferent for the epicycle nested within the pareecliptic, one of three postulated solid rotating orbs to bring about a planet's observed motions. XI 555a
ḥamla (A) : in the Ottoman empire, the term used to designate the group of people at the rear of the Baghdad-Aleppo caravan. IV 679a; the charge of a wild animal. V 9a
ḥammāda (N.Afr) : large areas which are the outcrops of horizontal beds of secondary or tertiary limestone or sandstone (or calcareous or gypso-calcareous crusts of the quaternary era). III 136b

ḥammāl (A) : street-porter, bearer, who transports packages, cases, furniture, etc. on his back in towns and cities. In Istanbul, if two or more porters are required, a long pole, called *sırık* in Turkish, is used to carry the heavy load. In Fās, the ~ mostly carries cereals; the Berber word for porter, of which there is a special guild, is *žrzāya*. III 139a

♦ ḥammālbāshī (P) : in Ṣafawid Persia, beginning in ca. 1850, the collector of a port's customs fees. XII 717b

ḥammām → MUKAYYIS; WAKKĀD; ZABBĀL

ḥammāra → BAGHGHĀL

hamsāya (Pash) : in Afghanistan, a client attached to and living under the protection of a tribe. I 217a

ḥamūla (A) : a group of people who claim descent from a common ancestor, usually five to seven generations removed from the living. III 149b

hāmūr (A) : in the Persian Gulf, term for the grouper. I 541b

hamza (A) : the orthographical sign *alif*, which is the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, with numerical value 1. It is an unvoiced glottal occlusive. III 150a

♦ hamzat al-waṣl → KAṬʿ

ḥanak (A), or *taḥnīk al-ʿimāma* : a turban which was distinctively wound under the chin. Originally, the ~ was worn by the chief eunuchs of the Fāṭimid court, who were the AMĪRs of the palace. The caliph al-ʿAzīz was the first ruler to appear in the ~. This fashion was introduced into the East by the Fāṭimids from North Africa, where it still may be seen, especially in southern Algeria and Morocco. V 738a; for *taḥnīk*, the way of pulling it under the chin, X 610a; X 614b; and → IKTIʿĀṬ

In anatomy, the palate. VI 130a

hanb → ANBĀ

ḥanbal (A) : a rug made of coarse wool. IX 764b

hanbala (A), or *hunbuʿa* : the swaying and limping gait of the hyena, as described in pre-Islamic poetry. XII 174a

handasa → ʿILM

ḥanfāʾ → AṬŪM

ḥanīf (A, pl. *ḥunafāʾ*) : in Islamic writings, one who follows the original and true (monotheistic) religion. In the Qurʾān, ~ is used especially of Abraham. III 165a; later Islamic usage occasionally uses ~ as the equivalent of MUSLIM. III 165b

♦ ḥanīfiyya (A) : the religion of Abraham, or Islam, especially when used by Christian writers. III 165b

ḥanīnī (A) : a headdress, borrowed (both name and object) by the ladies of France and Spain in the 14th-16th centuries (*hen[n]in*), and which is worn up to the present day by women among the Druse of the Lebanon and in Algeria and Tunis. X 58a

ḥāniṭ (A) : the child who has reached the age of reason. VIII 822a

ḥānith → TAḤANNUTH

ḥannāt (A) : a wheat merchant. XII 757b

hanshal (A, s. *ḥanshūlī*) : small parties of Bedouin on foot. II 1055a

hanshīr → ʿAZĪB

ḥantam → IKLĪL AL-MALIK

ḥanūṭ (A) : a perfume or scented unguent used for embalming (**ḥināṭa**), consisting of sweet rush or some mixture (*dharīra*), musk, ʿANBAR, camphor, Indian reed and powdered sandal wood. III 403b f.

ḥānūṭ (A, < Ar) : a tent. IV 994b

ḥanẓal (A) : in botany, colocynth (*Citrullus colocynthis*), also called *kiththāʾ al-naʿām* 'the ostrich's cucumber'. V 1229a; VII 830b

ḥāra (A) : a quarter or ward of a town; in Morocco, used as a synonym of MALLĀḤ, a special quarter for Jews. II 230a; III 169b; and → SHĀRIʿ

ḥarāba (A) : a one-day battle among tribal factions; if it lasted longer than one day, it was called a *kawn*. IV 835a

ḥaraka (A) : motion; in philosophy, ~ is used for the Aristotelian notion of motion. III 170a

In grammar, ~ is a state of motion in which a ḤARF 'letter' exists when not in a state of rest, *sukūn*. It implies the existence of a short vowel, *a*, *i*, or *u*, following the letter. III 172a

♦ ḥarakī (A) : in modern-day terminology, 'activist', as in *tafsīr* ~ 'activist exegesis'. IX 118a

ḥaram (A) : among the Bedouin, a sacred area around a shrine; a place where a holy power manifests itself. I 892b; III 294b; III 1018a; the sacred territory of Mecca. I 604a; IV 322a; V 1003a

♦ **al-ḥaramayn** (A) : the two holy places, usually Mecca and Medina, but occasionally, in Mamlūk and Ottoman usage, Jerusalem and Hebron. III 175a

♦ ḥaramgāh → ḤARĪM

haram (A, pl. *ahrām, ahrāmāt*) : pyramid, pre-eminently the pyramid of Cheops and Chephren. III 173a

ḥarām (A) : a term representing everything that is forbidden to the profane and separated from the rest of the world. The cause of this prohibition could be either impurity (temporary or intrinsic) or holiness, which is a permanent state of sublime purity. IV 372b

♦ ḥarāmiyya (A) : 'bastards', currently 'highway bandits', one of the numerous terms in the mediaeval and modern periods for 'rascal, scoundrel'. XI 546a

ḥarb (A) : war. III 180a

♦ ḥarba → ʿANAZA

♦ ḥarbī (A), or *ahl al-ḥarb* : a non-Muslim from the DĀR AL-ḤARB. I 429b; II 126b; III 547a; VII 108b; IX 846a

ḥareket ordusu (T) : 'investing' or 'marching' army. I 64a; the name usually given to the striking force sent from Salonica on 17 April 1909 to quell the counter-revolutionary mutiny in the First Army Corps in Istanbul. III 204a

ḥarf (A, pl. *ḥurūf, aḥruf*) : letter of the alphabet; word. III 204b; in grammar, articulation of the Arabic language, a phoneme. III 597a; a Qurʾānic reading; dialect. III 205b

♦ ḥarf ʿilla (A), or *muʿtalla* : in grammar, a 'weak' consonant, viz. the semi-vowels *alif, wāw, yāʾ*. III 1129b; VIII 836b; VIII 990b

♦ ḥarf mutaḥarrik (A) : in grammar, an individual 'moving' consonant; a consonant with a vowel, as opposed to *ḥarf sākin*; a short syllable. I 669b

♦ ḥarf sākin → ḤARF MUTAḤARRIK

♦ ḥarfiyya (A) : a name for the cap of the turban. X 612a

♦ **ḥurūf al-hid̲j̲āʾ** (A) : the letters of the alphabet. III 596b

♦ ḥurūf al-muʿd̲j̲am (A) : in grammar, properly, those letters with diacritical points, but in practice ~ has become a synonym for *ḥurūf al-hid̲j̲āʾ*, the letters of the alphabet, but referring solely to writing. III 597a

♦ al-ḥurūf al-muḳaṭṭaʿāt → FAWĀTIḤ AL-SUWAR

♦ al-ḥurūf al-muṭbaḳa → IṬBĀḲ

♦ ʿilm al-**ḥurūf** (A) : onomatomancy, a magical practice based on the occult properties of the letters of the alphabet and of the divine and angelic names which they form. III 595b

♦ ḥurūfiyya (A) : in art, a movement of abstract art using Arabic calligraphy. X 366a

ḥarfūs̲h̲ (A, pl. *ḥarāfīs̲h̲, ḥarāfis̲h̲a*), sometimes *k̲h̲arfūs̲h̲* : vagabond, ne'er-do-well, often used in the sense of ruffians, rascals, scamps. The term frequently appears from the

7th/13th to the 10th/16th century in chronicles and other works dealing with the Mamlūk domains of Egypt and Syria, where it denotes the lowest element in the strata of Mamlūk society. During the Ottoman period ~ was replaced by *dju'aydī* as a general term for vagabond, beggar. III 206a; XI 546a

ḥarīd (A) : in zoology, the parrot fish, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Scarus harid*). VIII 1021b

harim → PĪR

hārim (A, pl. *hawārim*) : a (female) camel which feeds from the *harm* bush. I 541a

ḥarīm (A), also *ḥaramgāh*, **zanāna** : a term applied to those parts of the house to which access is forbidden; hence more particularly to the women's quarters. III 209a

ḥarīr (A, Ott *ipek*) : silk (syn. *ibrīsam*, *ḳazz*); ~ occurs in the Qur'ān, where it is said that the raiment of the people of Paradise will be silk, but Tradition and the schools of law traditionally forbid the wearing of silk to men, allowing it to women. III 209b ♦ ḥarīra (A) : a gruel made from flour cooked with milk, eaten by pre-Islamic Arabs. II 1059a

harīr → KHURŪR

harīsa (A) : the term for a dish of meat and bulgur, but in Egypt a sweet pastry made of flour, melted butter and sugar. V 234b; XII 775b

ḥarīsh → KARKADDAN

ḥarka → DJAYSH

ḥarḳāniyya (A) : a type of black turban, which the Prophet is said to have worn on his campaigns. The derivation of the term is uncertain: according to al-Suyūṭī, ~ stems from *ḥ-r-ḳ* 'to burn'. X 610a

ḥarmaliyyāt (A) : in mineralogy, inclusion or patches looking like African rye, a defect in a gem. XI 570a

ḥārr → ḲĀRIṢ

ḥarra (A, pl. *ḥirār*) : a basalt desert in Arabia, which owes its origin to subterranean volcanoes which have repeatedly covered the undulating desert with a bed of lava. I 535a; III 226a; III 362a; IX 817a

ḥarrāḳa (A) : 'fire ship'; ~ presumably denoted in origin a warship from which fire could be hurled at the enemy, but was soon used for passenger-carrying craft in Mesopotamia and also on the Nile. VIII 811a

ḥarrāthā → KALB AL-MAYY

ḥarṭānī (A, < B ?; pl. *ḥarāṭīn*) : name given in northwest Africa to a sedentary population of the oases in the Saharan zone; ~ is not applied in dialect exclusively to human beings, but is variously used for a horse of mixed breed, an ungrafted tree, a wilding, or a holding of land that is not free. III 230b

ḥarth (A) : crops. XI 412b

ḥarūn (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse that refuses to walk forward. II 953b

harwala (A), or *khabab* : a more rapid pace than *ramal*. X 864b

ḥarz → 'IBRA

ḥasab (A) : nobility, possessed by one (*ḥasīb*) either with noble ancestry or acquired by the performance of memorable deeds of prowess or the display of outstanding virtues. III 238b

ḥasan (A) : good; in the science of Tradition, one of three kinds of Traditions, in between ṢAḤĪḤ 'sound' and ḌA'ĪF 'weak' or *saḳīm* 'infirm'. ~ Traditions are not considered as strong as *ṣaḥīḥ* Traditions, but are necessary for establishing points of law. III 25a; a 'fair' Tradition, a genuine euphemism for mostly poorly authenticated Traditions. VIII 983a

♦ **ḥasanī** (A) : the name given in Morocco to the money minted on the orders of Mawlay al-Ḥasan from 1299/1881-2 onwards. A ~, or *dirham ḥasanī*, is a coin with the value of a tenth of a douro. III 256a

ḥaṣāt → BAYʿ AL-MUNĀBADHA

ḥashar : corvée labour, syn. *bīgār*. XII 550a

ḥasharāt (A) : in zoology, insects; and → HAWĀMM WA-ḤASHARĀT

♦ ḥasharāt al-arḍ (A), or *khashāsh* : in zoology, small animals which live on the ground. III 307b

hāshima (A) : a fracture of a bone; a determining factor in the prescription of compensation following upon physical injury, DIYA. II 341b

hāshimiyya (A) : a term commonly applied in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries to members of the ʿAbbāsid house and occasionally to their followers and supporters. III 265a

ḥashīsh (A) : a narcotic product of *Cannabis sativa*, hemp. III 266a

♦ ḥashīshat al-naḥl → TURUNDJĀN

♦ ḥashīshat al-sanānīr (A) : 'herb for cats', in botany, the labiate Balm (*Melissa officinalis*). IX 653a

♦ **ḥashīshiyya** (A) : the name given in mediaeval times to the followers in Syria of the Nizārī branch of the Ismāʿīlī sect. Carried by the Crusaders from Syria to Europe, the name appeared in a variety of forms in Western literature, and eventually found its way in the form of 'assassin' into French and English usage with corresponding forms in Italian, Spanish and other languages, used at first in the sense of devotee or zealot. III 267b

ḥāshiya (A, pl. *ḥawāshī*) : margin; marginal note, super-commentary on the commentary, SHARḤ; gloss. I 593a; I 816b; III 268b; the entourage of a ruler. III 269a

ḥashm (A, P), or *ḥashm-i ḳalb, afwādj-i ḳalb, ḳalb-i sulṭānī* : a term used in the 7th/13th century to denote the Dihlī cavalry, or the standing army at the capital. III 199a; V 685a; and → KABĀRA

♦ ḥashm-i aṭrāf : in India during the Dihli sultanate, a term denoting the cavalry which the IḲṬĀʿ-holders recruited from the regions in which they were posted, or from the garrisons under their command. Later, it was called the *ḥashm-i bilād-i mamālik*. V 685a

ḥashr (A) : in eschatology, the gathering. V 236a

♦ ḥashr ʿāmm → ḤASHR KHĀṢṢ

♦ ḥashr khāṣṣ (A) : 'specific resurrection'; among the Imāmīs, the resurrection that will involve believers and unbelievers only from Muḥammad's community, and not from earlier communities, in contradistinction to the Resurrection, *ḥashr ʿāmm*. VIII 372a

hasht bihisht (P) : lit. eight paradises; a technical term in Mughal architecture used for a special nine-fold plan of eight rooms (four oblong [open] axial porches and four usually double-storeyed corner rooms) arranged around a central (often octagonal) domed hall. VII 795a; IX 46b

ḥashw (A) : 'stuffing'; 'farce', hence 'prolix and useless discourse'. I 671b; III 269b; and → ṢILA

In prosody, ~ is a collective name for the feet of a verse other than the last foot of the first hemistich and the last foot of the second hemistich. I 671b

♦ **ḥashwiyya** (A) : lit. those that stuff; a contemptuous term with the general meaning of 'scholars' of little worth, particularly traditionists. It is used of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* (→ AHL AL-ḤADĪTH) who recognise as genuine and interpret literally the crudely anthropomorphic Traditions. I 410b; III 269b; IX 879b

ḥāṣil (A), or *bāʾika* : in mediaeval Islam, a warehouse. IX 788b; IX 793b; a shop. IV 1015b

In administration, revenue. IV 1055b; X 503b

ḥaṣūr (A) : one who leads a celibate life. X 12a

ḥatār (A), or *ḥitr, hutra* : a band placed vertically around the awning of an Arab tent, in order to fill the space which separates it from the ground. IV 1147b; and → ṬARĪḲA

hātif (A) : an invisible being whose cry rends the night, transmitting a message; a prophetic voice which announces in an oracular style a future happening. III 273a; in modern Arabic, a telephone. III 273b

ḥaṭīm (A) : a semi-circular wall of white marble, opposite the north-west wall of the Kaʿba. The semi-circular space between the ~ and the Kaʿba, which for a time belonged to the Kaʿba, is not entered during the perambulation. IV 318a

hawāʾiyya → HĀWĪ

ḥawāla (A) : lit. draft, bill; ~ is the cession, i.e. the payment of a debt through the transfer of a claim. III 283a; IV 405b; IX 770a

In finance, ~ is an assignation on a MUḲĀṬAʿA, tax payment, effected by order of the ruler in favour of a third party. The term is used both for the mandate and for the sum paid. III 283b

In Ottoman Turkish, ~ has the sense of a tower placed at a vantage-point; these towers were sometimes built for blockading purposes near castles which were likely to put up a long resistance. III 285a

ḥawāmīm (A), or *ḥawāmīmāt* : a name for the SŪRAs that begin with the initials *ḥā-mīm*: xl-xlvi. IX 887b

hawāmm wa-ḥasharāt (A) : in biology, crawling and swarming creatures, usually also including mice, rats, hedgehogs, lizards and snakes. X 378b

ḥawāntī (A) : in Muslim Spain, a shopkeeper in the SŪḲ, as opposed to the major trader, TĀDJIR. IX 789a

ḥawārī (A, < Eth) : apostle; a bird in Sumatra, 'smaller than a pigeon, with a white belly, black wings, red claws and a yellow beak', mentioned by al-Ḳazwīnī. IX 699b f.

♦ ḥawāriyyūn (A) : a collective term denoting twelve persons who at the time of the 'second ʿAḳaba' are said to have been named by Muḥammad (or those present) as leaders of the inhabitants of Mecca. III 285a

hawāy : a bird, which 'speaks better than a parrot', recorded in Mozambique by al-Ḳazwīnī in the 13th century. Presumably a mynah bird is meant. IX 699b

hawbar → ʿAWBAR; RUBĀḤ

ḥawḍ (A, pl. *aḥwāḍ, ḥiyāḍ*) : a cistern or artificial tank for storing water; drinking trough, wash-basin. III 286b; V 888a

In eschatology, the ~ is the basin at which on the day of the resurrection Muḥammad will meet his community. III 286a

♦ ḥawḍ al-sabīl → SABĪL

♦ ḥawḍ-i sulṭānī (IndP), or *ḥawḍ-i shamsī* : the first lake built outside the capital city of Dihlī, in the 7th/13th century, as a reservoir constructed for supplying drinking water to the city, but used for irrigation also. V 883b

hawda : a term used in India to designate the litter on working and processional elephants, either a long platform from which the passengers' legs hang over each side, or a more elaborate boxed-in structure with flat cushions which afforded more protection during tiger and lion hunts. The seat on the back of processional elephants has the ~ covered by a canopy, often jewelled, and is known as *ʿamārī*. VII 932b

ḥawdal → RUBĀḤ

ḥawdjam → WARD

ḥawfī (A) : a type of popular poetry peculiar to Algeria, consisting of short poems of between two and eight verses which are sung by girls or young women. The genre is more commonly called *taḥwīf*, which means the act of singing the ~. III 289b; IX 234a

ḥāwī (A, pl. *ḥāwiyyūn, ḥuwā*) : a snake-charmer or itinerant mountebank. III 291a

hāwī (A) : 'pertaining to air'; in grammar, an attribute of the letter *alif* which according to Sībawayh 'has some [exhaled] air'. For al-Khalīl, the *alif, wāw*, and *yā'* were *hawā'iyya*, that is to say *fī 'l-hawā'* 'in the air [exhaled]', which could be said to be slightly different. III 291a

ḥawidjār-bāshī (P) : in Ṣafawid times, an official in charge of supervising the poultry yard and scullery of the royal kitchen. XII 609b

hāwin (A) : the traditional mortar used for grinding coffee and spices (syn. *djurn*). XII 776b

ḥawīr (A) : in botany, the indigo tree, whose dye is called NĪL. I 540b

ḥawkal (A) : a jealous, impotent old man. V 552a

ḥawl (A) : in law, a one-year holding period, a condition that applies in the obligation of ZAKĀT. XI 408a; XI 414a; and → ṬARAB

♦ ḥawlī (A) : a foal between one and two years of age. II 785a

♦ ḥawliyya (A) : a term used in the Sudan and the horn of Africa to denote a feast held in honour of a saint. VI 896b;

♦ ḥawliyyāt (A) : in literature, the genre of annals. X 298b

ḥawma : a district. IX 473a

ḥawrā' (A, pl. *ḥūr*) : white, applied in particular to the very large eye of the gazelle or oryx; by extension, ~ signifies a woman whose big black eyes are in contrast to their 'whites' and to the whiteness of the skin. III 581b

In eschatology, the plural **ḥūr** 'houris' is used in the Qur'ān for the virgins of Paradise promised to the believers. II 447b; III 581b

ḥawsh (A) : an unroofed burial enclosure, typically Cairene. IV 429b; in mediaeval Islam, an enclosed area, urban or suburban, of rural aspect, a yard of beaten earth, where cattle or poor immigrants could be accommodated. IX 788b

ḥawshab → KHUZAZ

ḥawṭ (A) : in southern Arabia, a red and black twisted cord which a woman wears round her hips to protect her from the evil eye. III 294a

♦ **ḥawṭa** (A), or *ḥabaṭ* : enclave, enclosure; in southern Arabia the name given to a territory placed under the protection of a saint and thus considered sacred. III 294a

ḥāwūn (A) : in the mediaeval kitchen, a mortar to crush e.g. spices. A similar larger mortar (*djāwūn*) was used for pounding meat and vegetables. VI 808b; X 114b

ḥawz (A, > Sp *alfoz* 'district'; pl. *aḥwāz*) : in North Africa, particularly Morocco, the territory, suburb, environs of a large town; in Tunisia, ~ had a fiscal sense. With *al-*, ~ denotes exclusively the region of Marrakesh, the Haouz, a wide embanked plain drained by two wadis. III 300b

hay'a (A) : shape, form, state, quality; configuration; in philosophy, predisposition, disposition. III 301a

♦ **'ilm al-hay'a** (A) : in astronomy, (a branch of) astronomy, dealing with the geometrical structure of the heavens. III 302a; III 1135a; VIII 105b; VIII 785b

ḥay'ala (A) : the shī'ī formula of the call to prayer. XI 479b

ḥayāt (A) : life. III 302a

ḥayawān (A) : the animal kingdom; an animal or animals in general, including man, who is more precisely called *al-ḥayawān al-nāṭiḳ*. III 304b

ḥayḍ (A) : menstruation; menstrual blood. A discharge which exceeds the legal duration fixed for the menses is called *istiḥāḍa*. III 315b; VIII 1023a

ḥaydar (A) : 'lion'; by-name given to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. III 315b

ḥayderī (T) : a short dervishes' garment without sleeves, stopping at the waist. V 752a

haydūra → FARW

ḥayk → ḤĀ'IK

haykal (A, pl. *hayākil*) : in mysticism, the physical world as a whole as well as the planets. II 555a; as a Qur'ānic term, an entity in the story of the Creation that encloses the seas which surround the heavens and the earth and is itself enveloped by the KURSĪ. IV 984a

haylādj (A), or *mutaḳaddim* : 'significator', in astronomy, the 'advancing' planet or place. Along with the promissor, the succeeding or second (*al-thānī*) planet or place, it is used to calculate the TASYĪR arc. X 366b

haylala (A) : the formula *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*. X 465b

hayr (A, pl. *hayarāt*) : the name for the Great Pearl Banks, which stretch along nearly the entire length of the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf. I 535b

ḥayra → TAḤAYYUR

ḥays (A) : a mixture of dates, butter and milk, associated with the tribal tradition of the Ḳuraysh and said to be among the favourite dishes of the Prophet. II 1059a; X 901a; XII 366b

hays → SILB

haytham (A) : in zoology, the young eaglet, male and female (syn. *ḍarim*, *tuladj* and *tulad*). X 783b

haythūthiyya → KAYFŪFIYYA

hayūlā (A, < Gk) : substance, primary matter; ~ is sometimes substituted for *mādda* and sometimes distinguished from it, but frequently the two terms are considered virtually synonymous. II 554a; III 328a; X 530a

ḥayy (A) : clan, i.e. the primary grouping in nomadic life. I 306a; III 330a; in certain modern dialects, a quarter in a town or settlement, in particular that inhabited by the same ethnic or tribal element. III 330b

ḥayya (A) : in zoology, snake, a generic name of the ophidians, embracing all kinds of reptiles from the most poisonous to the most harmless. III 334b

ḥayyāk → ḤĀ'IK

hazadj (A) : in prosody, the name of the sixth Arabic metre. I 670a; a metre of quantitative rhythm composed of a foot of one short and three longs repeated three times, hence four equal feet. VIII 579a

hazār-bāf (P) : lit. thousand-weave; in architecture, a glazing tile technique, also known as *bannā'ī* 'mason-like', simulating the pattern of masonry, consisting of glazed bricks or ends of bricks, set into a matrix of unglazed bricks to form geometric and epigraphic patterns to cover large surfaces. X 520a

hazārāt : millenary cycles, a theory of Indian astronomy. I 139b

ḥazawwar (A) : said of a boy who has become strong, and has served, or one who has nearly attained the age of puberty. VIII 822a

ḥāzī (A, < Ar) : an observer of omens; a generic term covering different divinatory and magical practices. IV 421b; one who divines from the shape of the limbs or moles on the face. I 659b

ḥāzir (A) : sour milk, despised by pre-Islamic Arabs. II 1057b

ḥaẓīra : in architecture, a funerary enclosure. X 520b

hazliyya (A) : in prosody, a satirical, slanderous and obscene poem. XI 238b

ḥazm → DJABAL

ḥazzāb (A) : a person attached to certain mosques in Algeria, who had to recite a defined portion of the Qur'ān, ḤIZB, twice a day so as to achieve a complete recitation of the Qur'ān in one month. III 513b

ḥazzūra (A, pl. *ḥazzūrāt, ḥazāzīr*) : a riddle, which with story-telling and jokes, *nukat* (s. *nukta*), are the most common and basic forms of entertainment among the Bedouin and the inhabitants of rural areas around the Middle East. XII 775a

hedje (T) : in Turkish prosody, syllabic metre, usually of 11 syllables divided 6-5 with no caesura. VIII 2b

heello → BELWO

hees → MAANSO

ḥekīm → ḤAKĪM

hēl (A) : cardamom, frequently used to flavor coffee. XII 775b

herbed (P) : a Zoroastrian who knows the Avesta and has been initiated as a priest. VII 215b

hiba (A) : a gift, especially that from a more highly placed person to one on a lower level of society, in contrast to HADIYYA. III 342b

In law, ~ is a gift *inter vivos*, a transfer of the ownership of a thing during the lifetime of the donor, and with no consideration payable by the donee. III 350a

♦ hiba bi-shart al-ʿiwaḍ (A) : a gift with consideration, whereby the donee undertakes to compensate the donor. III 351a

ḥibāla (A, pl. *ḥabāyil*), or *uḥbūla* : in hunting, a snare with a draw-net. IX 98b

ḥibāra (A) : in early Islam, a striped garment similar to the BURDA and said to be the favourite garment of the Prophet; also, a fabric. V 734a

ḥibn → RUBĀḤ

ḥibr → MIDĀD

ḥidā' (A) : in zoology, the kite. I 1152b

ḥidd (A, pl. *ḥudūd*) : a term in the Persian Gulf for a sand bank. I 535b

hidjā' (A) : a curse; an invective diatribe or insult in verse, an insulting poem; an epigram; a satire in prose or verse. III 352b; a trivial mocking verse of an erotic and obscene content. VIII 376b; and → ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀ'

ḥidjāb (A) : the veil. I 306b; III 359a; the curtain behind which caliphs and rulers concealed themselves from the sight of their household, also known as *sitāra, sitr*. III 360a; an amulet which renders its wearer invulnerable and ensures success for his enterprises. III 361a

In medicine, ~ is a membrane which separates certain parts of the organism, e.g. *ḥidjāb al-bukūriyya* 'hymen', *al-ḥidjāb al-ḥādjiz* or *ḥidjāb al-djawf* 'diaphragm', *al-ḥidjāb al-mustabṭin* 'pleura'. III 359a

In mysticism, ~ represents everything that veils the true end, all that makes man insensitive to the Divine Reality. III 361a

ḥidjāma → FAṢṢĀD

hidjar → HIDJRA

ḥidjāzī → ʿUDHRĪ

ḥidjr → ḤIṢĀN

hidjra (A) : the emigration of Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina in September 622; the era of the ~, distinguished by the initials A.H., beginning on the first day of the lunar year in which that event took place, which is reckoned to coincide with 16 July 622. III 366a; ~ implies not only change of residence but also the ending of ties of kinship and the replacement of these by new relationships. VII 356a

In the context of Saudi Arabia, ~ (pl. **hidjar**) is a Bedouin settlement, many of which were established by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd to promote the sedentarisation of the Bedouin of Saudi Arabia during the first quarter of the 20th century. III 361b; III 1064b; IX 904b

In Yemen, an inviolable sanctuary recognized by the tribes that are linked to it, often by a formal agreement, and used by them as neutral territory. XI 276b

In law, emigration to the DĀR AL-ISLĀM, by Muslims residing in the DĀR AL-ḤARB. XII 368a

hidjrān → WIṢĀL

hidjris → RUBĀḤ; THAʿLAB
hidjwiyya (T, < A) : in Turkish literature, a satirical ḲAṢĪDA attacking an enemy or someone of whom the poet disapproves. IV 715b
ḥikāya (A) : 'imitation', hence tale, narrative, story, legend. III 367a; in the *Fihrist*, ~ is used in the sense of a textual copy as well as an account of the facts, equivalent to RIWĀYA. III 368b; and → KHABAR
In the science of Tradition, ~ implies a literal quotation, a verbatim reproduction, as in the expression *ḥakaytu ʿanhu 'l-ḥadīth*[a] *ḥikāyat*[an]. III 368b
In grammar, ~ means the use in a narrative of the verbal form which would have been used at the time when the event narrated took place. III 368b
♦ ḥikāyat iʿrāb (A) : in grammar, the exact repetition of a word used by a speaker with a vowel of declension no longer appropriate to its function in the new context. III 368b
♦ ḥikāyat ṣawṭ (A) : onomatopoeia. III 368b
ḥiḳḳa (A) : a female camel in its fourth year. XI 412a
ḥikma (A) : wisdom; science and philosophy. III 377b; IX 879b; and → DĀR AL-ḤIKMA
In the Qur'ān, ~ is used in several Medinan passages for the revelation or part of it. V 402b
ḥikr (A) : in law, one of the various forms of long-term lease of WAḲF property, common in Egypt and Syria. Similar forms were called DJALSA, ENZEL, GEDIK, IDJĀRATAYN, KHULUWW AL-INTIFĀʿ and NAṢBA. XI 67b; XII 368b
hilāl (A) : the new moon, the crescent. III 379a; and → TAHLĪL
ḥilf (A) : a covenant, compact, especially that between quite separate tribes, conducing to the amalgamation of these tribes; friendship, and, by extension, oath. III 388b
In pre-Islamic Arabia, the ~ was an institution which merged with that of WALĀ', the admission of an individual to a clan; a second type of ~ consisted of the agreement between the clans within one tribe through which they settled on a common line of conduct; a third type of ~ could also be arranged between opposing clans within one group, or between different groups, for the accomplishment of a particular object. III 388b
ḥill (A) : in law, freedom of action in sexual matters. I 27a; the unconsecrated area outside of the ḤARAM of Mecca. X 864b
ḥilla (A, pl. *ḥilal*) : in Saudi Arabia, a shanty town that grew up around the main urban centres. X 944a
ḥilm (A) : justice and moderation, forbearance and leniency, self-mastery and dignity of bearing, as contrasted with *djahl*, the fundamental characteristic of the DJĀHILIYYA, and *safah* or *safāha*. III 390b; V 435a; discretion. IX 332b
ḥiltīt (A) : 'devil's dirt'; the latex of the asafoetida (*andjudhān*) which, when exposed to the air, hardens into a dirty-yellow gum resin. VIII 1042b
ḥimā (A) : lit. protected, forbidden place; in Arabia, an expanse of ground, with some vegetation, access to and use of which are declared forbidden by the man or men who have arrogated possession of it to themselves. II 1005b; III 294b; III 393a; IV 1143b; VIII 495a; IX 817a
ḥimāla → ḤIRZ
ḥimār (A) : in zoology, the donkey (fem. *atān*, *ḥimāra*). III 393b
♦ ḥimār hindī (A) : 'white donkey', a term used by al-Djāḥiẓ for the rhinoceros, translated from the Greek. IV 647b
♦ ḥimār al-waḥsh (A) : in zoology, the onager. V 1228a
ḥimāya (A) : 'protection', from the pre-Islamic period given, in return for financial compensation, by a nomadic tribe to the settled inhabitants (syn. KHAFĀRA), or the protection by a superior of the property of the inferior, from whose point of view it is called

TALDJIʾA. The institution of ~ is almost unrecognised by Islamic law, but was in fact important in classical Islamic society. III 394a

In the context of mediaeval Islamic taxation, a supplementary tax levied by the police for their services. I 1144a; II 143b; III 394b

In politics, ~ refers to various bilateral treaty agreements, particularly those contracted between Great Britain and the sheikhly rulers of states on the western seaboard of the Persian Gulf. III 395a

In North Africa, ~ has been used officially of the protection exercised by a foreign Christian power over certain individuals, then over states. III 395a

ḥiml (A) : lit. load, a measure of capacity used in mediaeval Egypt for great quantities of various commodities. The ~ was reckoned at 600 Egyptian RAṬLS, i.e. 266 kg, but as far as spices were concerned it consisted of 500 *raṭls* only, i.e. 222.45 kg. VI 119b

ḥināḍ (A) : horses thinned down for horse-racing by being covered with blankets so that excessive weight was sweated off. II 953a

ḥināṭa → ḤANŪṬ

hind (A) : in geography, ~ denoted regions east of the Indus as well as practically all the countries of Southeast Asia; only when used together with *sind*, which referred to Sind, Makran, Baluchistan, portions of the Panjab and the North-West Frontier Province, was the whole of mediaeval India meant. III 404b

hindibāʾ (A) : in botany, cultivated endive (*Cichorium endivia*), particularly widespread in the Muslim West and known there under its Mozarabic name *sharrāliya* or its arabicised form *sarrākh*; in Morocco, the Berber term *tīfāf* is mainly used. XII 370b; chicory, one of the Prophet's preferred vegetables. II 1058a

hindū (A) : name given to the largest religious community of India. III 458b

hing → ANGŪZA

ḥinn (A) : an inferior species of DJINN, belief in which is accepted by the Druze. XII 371a

ḥinnāʾ (A) : in botany, henna (*Lawsonia alba*), the whitish flower of which was called *fāghiya* or *faghw*. III 461a

ḥinṭa → ḲAMḤ

ḥinth (A) : in law, perjury. IV 687b; X 99a

ḥirbāʾ (A) : in zoology, the chameleon. The female is most often called *umm ḥubayn*, while the male is referred to by a number of KUNYAS, the most frequent in Muslim Spain being *abū barāḳish*. The idea of 'chameleonism', i.e. the ability to become invisible by turning the same colour as that of any object on which it happens to be, is termed *talawwun*. II 1059b; III 463a

ḥirfa → ṢINF

hirkūl (A), or *manāra* : in zoology, the finback. VIII 1022b

hirmīs → KARKADDAN

hirr → SINNAWR

ḥirz (A) : a talismanic charm (pl. *aḥrāz*), pronounced *ḥurz* in the Maghrib today. Other words for 'amulet' are *ḥidjāb* in Egypt, *ḥimāla, ḥāfiẓ, ʿūdha, miʿw adha* amongst the Arabs of the Mashriḳ, *yafta, nuskha* and *ḥimāla* amongst the Turks, and *tilism* amongst the Persians. X 500b

In law, safe keeping, either by the guarding by a watchman or by the nature of the place, e.g. a private house. IX 62b

ḥisāb (A) : computation; in the Qurʾān, the 'reckoning' which God will require on the Day of Judgement, YAWM AL-ḤISĀB. III 465a

♦ **ḥisāb al-ʿaḳd** (A), or *ḥisāb al-ʿuḳad* or *al-ʿuḳūd, ḥisāb al-yad*, and *ḥisāb al-ḳabḍa bi 'l-yad* : dactylonomy, digital computation, the art of expressing numbers by the position of the fingers. III 466a

♦ **ḥisāb al-djummal** (A) : a method of recording dates by chronogram, consisting of grouping together, in a word or a short phrase, a group of letters whose numerical equivalents, added together, provide the date of a past or future event. III 468a

♦ **ḥisāb al-ghubār** (A) : calculation by means of dust, a Persian method which owes its name to the use of a small board on which the calculator spread a fine layer of dust in which he drew GHUBĀR numerals. III 468b

♦ ḥisāb hawāʾī → ḤISĀB MAFTŪḤ

♦ ḥisāb al-hind (A) : calculation by means of the Indian numerals. III 466b

♦ ḥisāb maftūḥ (A), or *ḥisāb hawāʾī* : mental calculation. III 469a

♦ ḥisāb al-nīm (A) : a divinatory procedure based upon the process of adding the numerical value of all the letters forming a word (in this case a proper name), by which it can be predicted which of the two rulers at war will be the victor and which the vanquished. III 468b

♦ **ʿilm al-ḥisāb** (A) : arithmetic. III 1138a

ḥiṣān (A) : a term used to distinguish the pure-bred stallion from the pedigree brood-mare, which is called *ḥidjr*, since the word for horse, FARAS, is not specific. II 785a; IV 1143b

ḥiṣār (A) : in military science, siege. III 469a

In Turkish use, a castle, fortress, citadel, stronghold, a common component of place-names in Turkey. III 483a

♦ ḥiṣār-eri (T) : in the Ottoman empire, guards in the fortresses. X 503a

ḥisba (A) : the duty of every Muslim to 'promote good and forbid evil'; the function of the person, *muḥtasib*, who is effectively entrusted in a town with the application of this rule in the supervision of moral behaviour and more particularly of the markets. III 485b; VIII 402b; religious magistrature, judgeship. I 27b

For the Ottoman empire, → IḤTISĀB

ḥiṣn (A) : fortress, a fairly common element in place-names. III 498a

ḥiss (A) : in philosophy, sense-perception, sometimes used with the meaning of (individual) sense. III 509a

ḥitr → ḤATĀR

ḥiyal (A, s. *ḥīla*) : artifices, devices, expedients, stratagems; the means of evading a thing, or of effecting an object; mechanical artifices, automata; tricks of beggars and conjurors, etc. III 510b; XII 371b

In law, circumventions of the law. I 28a; legal devices; the use of legal means for extra-legal ends. I 123b; III 159b; III 511a

In military science, ~ (with synonyms *makāʾid* and *ādāb*) is a technical term for strategems of war. III 510b

ḥiyāṣa (A) : a cloth belt with a silver plaque in the centre, worn by men in the Arab East. V 741a; a bridal girdle. X 904a

ḥiyāza → ḲABḌ

ḥizām (A) : a belt or sash worn about the waist by both sexes in the Arab East. V 741a

ḥizb (A, pl. *aḥzāb*) : a group, faction, a group of supporters; part, portion. III 513a; in modern Arabic, a political party. III 514a

In Qurʾānic studies, ~ indicates a definite portion of the Qurʾān which a believer binds himself to recite. In certain countries, e.g. Egypt and those of North Africa, the Qurʾān is divided into 60 *ḥizb*s, which are half the length of the 30 DJUZ's attested from a very early period. III 513b

In mysticism, ~ or **wird** (pl. *awrād*) denotes the recitation of Qurʾānic verses and prayers composed by the founder of the order at the beginning of the DHIKR session. II 224a; X 245a; in Egypt, ~ denotes a religious fraternity, as well as the 'office' of each fraternity, consisting of the above-mentioned recital during the Friday service.

From this meaning, ~ has come to mean formulae of 'supererogatory liturgy'. III 513b; ejaculatory prayer. XI 113a

hoca → KHĀʷDJA

ḥol (Mal) : a term used in Malaysia to denote a feast held in honour of a saint. VI 896b

horde (Eng, < T ORDU) : name given to the administrative centre of great nomad empires, particularly also to the highly adorned tent of the ruler; then to such nomad confederacies themselves, insofar as they formed a tenuous association linked to no particular place, substantially different in their way of life and government from the settled population, and inflicting considerable damage on this population by their marauding attacks. III 536a

hoz → TIRA

ḥubāra (A), or *ḥubārā* : in zoology, the bustard. I 541b; II 1058b; IX 98b

ḥubus → WAKF

hubūṭ → ṬĀLIʿ

ḥudā' (A), or *ḥidā'* : the camel driver's song. II 1073a

hūdabarī (P) : in the time of the Tīmūrids, term used in conjunction with SOYŪRGHĀL if the latter was on a permanent basis and not renewed annually. IX 732a

hudhud (A) : in zoology, the hoopoe. III 541b

ḥudjariyya (A, < *ḥudjra* 'room') : a term used in Egypt for the slaves who were lodged in barracks near to the royal residence. Under the Fāṭimids, they were organised into a sort of military bodyguard. II 507a; II 1080a; III 545b

ḥudjdja (A) : a Qur'ānic term meaning both proof and the presentation of proof, ~ is applied to a conclusive argument attempting to prove what is false as well as what is true; dialectical proof. III 543b

In shīʿī theology, the ~ refers to that person through whom the inaccessible God becomes accessible, and sometimes to any figure in a religious hierarchy through whom an inaccessible higher figure became accessible to those below. In its more specialised meaning, ~ referred to a particular function within the process of revelation, sometimes identified with the role of Salmān as witness to ʿAlī's status as IMĀM. III 544b

Among the Ismāʿīliyya, ~ is a rank in the hierarchy, coming under the BĀB. The ~ conducted the DAʿWA, and was one of the greater DĀʿĪS, of whom there were twelve, or occasionally twenty-four. Each seems to have been in charge of a district. In some works, the ~ is also called the *lāḥiḳ*. I 832b; II 97b; III 544b

Among the Nizārīs, ~ was used for Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ as visible head of the movement when the IMĀM was hidden; later, it developed into one ~ who alone, by divine inspiration, could fully perceive the reality of the *imām*; eventually the ~ became simply the *imām*'s heir-apparent. III 544b

ḥudjra (A) : room, apartment; with *al-*, especially the room of ʿĀ'isha where the Prophet, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were buried, now one of the holiest places of Islam. III 545b

hudna (A) : peace agreement; truce. I 24a; III 546b

In law, ~ is equivalent to 'international treaty', whose object is to suspend the legal effects of hostilities and to provide the prerequisite conditions of peace between Muslims and non-Muslims, without the latter's territory becoming part of the DĀR AL-ISLĀM. III 547a

ḥudūd → ḤADD

ḥuḍūr → ḤAḌRA

ḥudūth (A) : the verbal noun of *ḥadatha*, which means 'to appear, to arise, to take place'. III 548a

♦ **ḥudūth al-ʿālam** (A) : in philosophy, both the existence of a thing, after its non-existence, in a temporal extension; and contingency, i.e. the fact of a being's existing

after not having existed, but in an ontological or essential extension, which does not necessarily involve time. III 548a
ḥufra → WAḲʿA
hūhū → WĀḲWĀḲ
ḥukamāʾ → ḤAKĪM
ḥuḳḳ → MAGHNĀṬĪS
♦ ḥuḳḳa → IBRA; NARDJĪLA
ḥukm (A, pl. *aḥkām*) : decision, judgement. I 257a; effect. I 318b; injunction. VIII 667a; and → FARMĀN
For ~ in law, → AḤKĀM
In philosophy, ~ means the judgement or act by which the mind affirms or denies one thing with regard to another, and thus unites or separates them. III 549a; also, sensory intuition, where assent of the mind immediately follows perception. III 549b
In grammar, ~ means the specific activity of a word, the proper function which the word performs at its basic position, *martaba*, in which it is placed. III 550a
In Ottoman Turkish, ~ is also used in the sense of a special type of order, the documents of which were to be dealt with separately by the administration and which, at present, are registered in the Turkish archives as a separate archival item, *aḥkām defterleri*. I 1170b
♦ ḥukm-i ḥāṣil : the sharing of the harvest; one of three methods of collecting land revenue under the Dihlī sultanate. II 273a
♦ ḥukm-i misāḥat : the measurement of the area under cultivation and assessment according to a standard rate of demand per unit area according to the crop sown; one of three methods of collecting land revenue under the Dihlī sultanate. II 273a
♦ ḥukm-i mushāhada : the estimating of the probable yield of the harvest; one of three methods of collecting land revenue under the Dihlī sultanate. II 273a
ḥuḳna (A) : in hunting, the covered-over pit-trap, also called *ughwiyya, mughawwāt, wadjra* and *dafīna*. V 9a; IX 98b
ḥukr (A) : a tax on the lands used for pasture, paid by shepherds in Morocco during the Marīnid period. VI 573b
ḥuḳra → SHĀWĪ
ḥuḳūḳ → ḤAḲḲ
ḥukūma (A) : the act or office of adjudication by a sovereign, a judge or an arbitrator. I 384a; III 551b
Under the Saldjūḳs, and in the Ottoman period, ~ denoted the office or function of governorship, usually provincial or local. III 552a
In the Kurdish lands, the term *ḥukūmet* stood for a number of regions listed among the components of certain Ottoman EYĀLETs. III 552a
In modern Arabic, ~ means government, which sense seems to have been first used in 19th-century Turkey. In Persia, *ḥukūmat* still has the more general sense of political authority. III 552a
♦ ḥukūmat, ḥukūmet → ḤUKŪMA
ḥükümdār (T, A) : a governor-general. IV 686b
ḥulā (A) : ornaments, personal jewellery. III 568b
ḥulalliyya : a large dark wrap wound around the body with the upper parts pulled down over the shoulders and secured with pins, worn in Egypt. V 741a
ḥulla (A) : a word which in the mediaeval period used to refer to a suit consisting of two or more garments. Today, it means ‘a western suit of clothes’. V 737a
ḥullān (A), or *ḥullām* : the lamb or kid born of a Caesarian section. XII 319a
ḥulm → RUʾYĀ

ḥulūl (A) : the act of loosing, unfastening, untying; resolving a difficulty; in scholastic theology and mysticism, an infusion of substance, the incarnation of God in a creature. In the thought of al-Ḥallādj, ~ means an intentional complete union (in love), in which the intelligence and the will of the subject are acted upon by divine grace. III 102b; III 571a,b; IV 283a
In grammar, ~ denotes the occurrence of the accident of inflection, IʿRĀB. III 571b
In law, ~ denotes the application of a prescription. III 571b
In philosophy, ~ denotes both the inhesion of an accident in an object and the substantial union of soul and body. III 571b

ḥulwān (A) : a succession tax paid by those heirs of the tax farmers (→ MÜLTEZIM) who desired to inherit tax farms. It was one of the taxes which formed an additional source of revenue for the Egyptian government in the years immediately preceding the Napoleonic invasion of 1798. II 148b; 'douceur', 'donative'. III 572a

humā (P) : in zoology, the bearded vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus*), the largest of the birds of prey in the Old World. III 572a

humāyūn (P) : 'fortunate, glorious, royal'; used as an epithet of the ruler, but has in recent years become obsolete. III 574a

ḥummuṣ (A) : in botany, chick peas, one of the winter crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

ḥumra (A) : in medicine, erysipelas. IX 9b

ḥums (A) : in pre-Islamic times, the holy families serving the local sanctuaries. II 1059a; people observing rigorous religious taboos, especially Ḳuraysh and certain neighbouring tribes. Although ~ is the plural of *aḥmas* 'hard, strong (in fighting or in religion)', one of the ~ is called *aḥmasī*, fem. *aḥmasiyya*. The observance of the taboos was called *taḥammus*. III 577b

hunbuʿa → HANBALA

ḥunṭūz (A) : in Morocco, a headdress worn by women, triangular in shape, made of linen, three inches long and broad and a span high, with silk and silver, the whole thing looking like a camel's hump. X 612a

ḥūr → ḤAWRĀʾ

ḥurḍa (A) : the archer in a game of MAYSIR. VI 924a

hurmizd → MUSHTARĪ

ḥurrās (A) : a guard. XII 549b

ḥurriyya (A, T *ḥurriyyet*) : an abstract formation derived from *ḥurr* 'free'. In a legal sense, ~ denotes freedom as opposed to slavery; through mysticism, where ~ appears as one of the guide-posts on the mystical path, and denotes basically the freedom of the mystic from everything except God and the devotion to Him, ~ came to occupy a significant position in Muslim metaphysical speculation. III 589a

ḥurūf, ḥurūfiyya → ḤARF

ḥurūḳ → ṬĀLIʿ

ḥurz → ḤIRZ

ḥusayniyya → TAKIYA

ḥūsh (A) : the country of the DJINN, into which no human ventures; a fabulous kind of camels, which are the issue of a cross between ordinary camels and *djinn* stallions. III 637b

♦ ḥūshī → GHARĪB; WAḤSHĪ

ḥusn (A) : loveliness, excellence; and → BAYĀN; TAKHALLUṢ

ḥūt (A, pl. *aḥwāt, ḥītān*, in dialect, *ḥiyūta*) : a term often used to designate fish in general, but applied primarily to very large fish and cetaceans. VIII 1020b; and → SAMAK
In astronomy, *al-* ~ is the term for Pisces, one of the twelve zodiacal constellations. VII 84a

♦ ḥūt al-ḥayḍ → FĀṬŪS

♦ ḥūt mūsā (A), or *ḥūt mūsā wa-yūsha'* : lit. the fish of Moses [and of Joshua], in zoology, a name for the common sole (*Solea vulgaris*). VIII 1020b

♦ ḥūt sīdnā sulaymān (A) : lit. the fish of our master Solomon, in zoology, a name for the common sole (*Solea vulgaris*). VIII 1021a

♦ ḥūt sulaymān (A) : lit. the fish of Solomon, in zoology, a name for the salmon. VIII 1023a

♦ ḥūt Yūnus (A) : lit. the fish of Jonah, in zoology, a name for the whale. VIII 1022b

♦ ḥūtiyyāt (A) : in zoology, the marine mammals or cetaceans. VIII 1022b

ḥutra → ḤATĀR

huwa huwa (A) : lit. he is he, or it is it; in logic, ~ means what is represented as entirely identical; modern logicians express this equation with ≡. III 642b

In mysticism, ~ is the state of the saint whose perfect personal unity testifies to divine unity in the world. III 642b

ḥuwārāt (A) : in mysticism, female attendants who received the donations of the female devotees. X 249b

huwayriyya → WARDJIYYA

huwiyya (A) : ipseity, an abstract term formed to translate the Plotinian category of identity, ταὐτότης, and the Aristotelian ὄν 'being', although for the latter ~ is used interchangeably with ANNIYYA and *wudjūd*. I 514a; III 644a

In modern Arabic, ~ means 'identity'. III 644a

hūwiyya (A) : the most characteristic part of the ritual surrounding the yearly occasion of retreat of the Demirdāshiyya order, in which the head of the order, a number of leaders and some members form a circle turning anti-clockwise while calling *hū, hū*. XII 208b

ḥuwwārā (A) : the whitest flour, for baking bread. V 41b

ḥuẓūẓ → ḤAḲḲ

I

'ibādāt (A, s. *'ibāda*) : submissive obedience to a master, and therefore religious practice, corresponding, in law, approximately to the ritual of Muslim law. III 647a; 'the religious acts which bring the creature into contact with his creator', while its counterpart, MU'ĀMALĀT, signifies relations between individuals. VI 467a; acts of worship. IX 323b

♦ **'ibādat-khāna** (IndP) : a house of worship built by the Mughal emperor Akbar (1542-1605) where learned men of all religions assembled to discuss theological problems. I 317a; XII 378a

'ibādī (A) : Christian. I 196a

ib'ādiyya → AB'ĀDIYYA

ibāḥa (A) : originally, 'making a thing apparent or manifest', hence 'making a thing allowable or free to him who desires it'; in law, ~ was first used with regard to those things which every one is permitted to use or appropriate (and → MUBĀḤ); in a narrower sense, ~ denotes the authorisation, given by the owner, to consume (part of) the produce of his property. III 660b

In theology, ~ is a term that is commonly applied to antinomian teachings (or actions) of certain shī'ī and ṣūfī groups, as in the accusation *ibāḥat al-maḥārim* 'allowing the forbidden'. II 136b; III 662a; VIII 146a

♦ ibāḥiyya → SHUYŪ'IYYA

ʿibāra (A) : in mysticism, the 'literal language', which is unsuitable for exoteric topics, in contrast to the coded language of ISHĀRA. XII 753a

ibdāʿ (A) : absolute creation; primordial innovation; the bringing into existence with nothing preceding, as opposed to KHALḲ, the bringing into existence from an existing thing. III 663b

ibdāl (A) : replacement, mutation; in grammar, a term indicating both morphological features involving a mutation of a phonetic character, and doublets, e.g. *madaḥa* and *madaha*, which have the same meaning but differ from each other by a single consonant. III 665a; VIII 836b

ibhām (A) : in literary theory, amphibology. X 395b

ibil (A) : in zoology, the collective noun for the dromedary (*camelus dromedarius*) and the camel proper (*camelus bactrianus*). III 665b; and → BAʿĪR; DJAMAL

ibn (A, pl. ABNĀʾ) : son. III 669b; descendant. VIII 163a

♦ ibn adīmayn → DALW

♦ ibn awbar (A) : in botany, the sand truffle. III 670a

♦ ibn ʿirs (A) : in zoology, the ferret (*Mustela putorius furo*). II 739b; weasel. III 670a; X 224a

♦ ibn al-khiyāratayn (A) : 'the son of the elect', a designation by shīʿīs to the fourth IMĀM of the Twelver shīʿa since, according to a tradition of the Prophet, the Ḳuraysh are the elect of the Arabs and the Persians are the elect of the non-Arabs. XI 482a

♦ ibn yaʿḳūb (A) : lit. the son of Jacob; in zoology, a name for the common sargo (*Diplodus sargus*). VIII 1021a

ibra (A) : a term used in navigation denoting the needle of a compass, *ḥuḳḳa*. The rose of the compass was known as *bayt al-ibra* and consisted of a circle divided into thirty-two rhumbs (*akhnān*) which were named after prominent stars whose risings and settings were approximately on these rhumbs. VII 51b

♦ ibrat al-rāʿī, or *ibrat al-rāhib* → SHAWKA

ibrāʾ → ṢULḤ AL-IBRĀʾ

ʿibra (A) : the assessed value of the revenue on an estate. III 1088b; IV 557a; ~ may have originated simply as an extension of MASĀḤA and MUḲĀSAMA, the average annual value of the crop over a number of years, usually three, assessed by whatever method, being taken as the basis on which the tax was calculated. The term ~ is not met with after the early centuries and appears to have been replaced by *ḥarz*, which, in the later centuries, seems usually to have meant not an average calculation made on the basis of three or more years, but an arbitrary valuation arrived at by the tax-collector, sometimes, but not always, after an inspection of the crop during growth or harvest time. IV 1031b; IV 10388a

ibrīḳ (A) : in art, a term used for any kind of ewer, irrespective of function or material, but generally a vessel for pouring water or wine. Other terms for specific kinds of ewers are *bulbula* or *kubra*. V 989a; XII 406a

In music, the neck (syn. *ʿunḳ*) of the ʿŪD. X 769b

ibrīsam → ḤARĪR

ibrīz (A) : in numismatics, purified gold. Other laudatory terms for coins are *djayyid* 'good, excellent', *khāliṣ, khāṣṣ, ṣafī, ṣurāḥ* 'pure (unmixed) metal', and *ṣaḥḥ*, the paraph or official mark on an ʿOthmānli gold coin testifying to its authenticity. X409b

ibrīzim (P) : a type of silk from Khurāsān. V 329a

ibtidāʾ (A) : introduction, prologue; in rhetoric, the ~ is one of the three sections of the poem or composition which should receive particular attention and should conform to certain criteria of style and content. The other two sections are TAKHALLUṢ 'transition', and the **intihāʾ** 'conclusion'. III 1006a; III 1246a

In law, ~ is used as a technical term in the expression *ibtidāʾan*, meaning 'per se'. I 339a; and → ISTIʾNĀF

ič oghlānī (T), or *ič agha* : lit. lad of the interior; the name given to the ʿADJAMĪ OGHLĀN after he was appointed to the sultan's household. I 206b; Ottoman term for those boys and youths, at first slaves, recruits and occasionally hostages, later free-born Muslims, who were selected for training in the palaces in Edirne and Istanbul in order to occupy the higher executive offices of the state. I 394a; III 1006b

icazetname → IDJĀZA

ʿīd (A, < Ar) : festival. III 1007a

♦ **ʿīd al-aḍḥā** (A), and *ʿīd al-ḳurbān*, *ʿīd al-naḥr* : the 'sacrificial festival' during the yearly pilgrimage on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. This festival is also known as *al-ʿīd al-kabīr* 'the major festival' as opposed to *al-ʿīd al-ṣaghīr* 'the minor festival, another name for ʿĪD AL-FIṬR. III 1007b; XII 317a; and → LEBARAN

♦ **ʿīd al-fiṭr** (A) : the 'festival of breaking the fast' of Ramaḍān on 1 Shawwāl. III 1008a; and → ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀ; LEBARAN

♦ ʿīd al-ḳurbān → ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀ

♦ ʿīd al-naḥr → ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀ

īdāʿ → TAḌMĪN; WADĪʿA

iʿdādī (T) : 'military preparatory' schools, founded by the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd I in 1845. I 75a

iḍāfa (A, P *ezāfe*, T *izâfet*) : in grammar, the uniting of one term with another, the determinative complement or 'construct state', by which possession, material, etc. is expressed. The first term is called *al-muḍāf*, the second *al-muḍāf ilayhi*. III 1008a; for Persian *ezāfe*, XII 441a

idāra (A) : common name in the modern Islamic languages for administration, acquiring its technical significance during the period of European influence. III 1010b

idbār → IḲBĀL

ʿidda (A) : in law, the duration of widowhood, or the legal period of abstention from sexual relations imposed on widows or divorced women, or women whose marriages have been annulled, providing the marriage was consummated, before remarriage. I 28a; I 172b; III 1010b; VIII 28a; VIII 836a

iddighām → IDGHĀM

ʿīdgāh → NAMĀZGĀH

idghām (A), or *iddighām* : in grammar, the contraction of two similar consonants in a geminate. III 1013a; assimilation. VIII 121a; VIII 344a; VIII 836b; X 73b

īdhāʾ → SHATM

idhāʿa (A) : broadcasting (*mudhīʿ* 'broadcaster', *midhyāʿ* 'microphone'), inaugurated in the Islamic world in Turkey in 1925. III 1014a

idhār → LIDJĀM

ʿidhār (A), or *khaṭṭ* : the down of a young man. IX 313b

idhkhir (A) : in botany, a fragrant plant used to decorate houses and tombs, but also used by blacksmiths. IV 819b; and → KHAMĪL

idhn (A) : authorisation, in particular, in law, the authorisation necessary to enable certain types of incapable persons to conclude isolated legal transactions, and the general authorisation to carry out commercial transactions in a normal way. III 1016a

In religious law, a safe conduct given by non-Muslims to a Muslim in their territory. For its opposite, → AMĀN. I 429b

īdjāb → BAYʿ

idjāba (A) : 'answer-poem', a genre of Arabic poetry. VIII 805a

idjār (A), and *idjāra* : in law, a contract to hire, in particular the hiring out of a service and of movable objects, with the exception of ships and beasts which are used for transportation. III 1017a; V 126b; XII 691b

idjāra (A) : the granting of protection to a stranger according to ancient Arab practice; to ask for protection is *istadjāra*, and the *djār* (pl. *djīrān*) is mostly the person protected, but may also be the protector. III 1017b; and → ĪDJĀR; IDJĀZA

♦ idjāratayn (A, T *idjāreteyn*) : a form of long-term leasing of WAKF property, common in Anatolia and all countries formerly part of the Ottoman empire since the 16th or 17th century. ~ contracts involved immediate payment of a lump sum as well as yearly, variable, rather low rents. XII 368b; a 'double rent' agreement, whereby a relatively high entry fine was paid, in exchange for which the tenant was allowed a lease which his heirs might inherit. IX 542a

iʿdjāz (A) : lit. the rendering incapable, powerless; since the second half of the 3rd/9th century, the technical term for the inimitability or uniqueness of the Qurʾān in content and form. III 1018a; V 426b; IX 887a

īdjāz (A) : in rhetoric, terseness. VIII 614b; X 79a

idjāza (A) : authorisation, licence; and → RIKĀʿ

In the science of Tradition, ~ means, in the strict sense, one of the methods of receiving the transmission of a Tradition, whereby an authorised guarantor of a text or of a whole book gives a person the authorisation to transmit it in his turn so that the person authorised can avail himself of this transmission. III 27a; III 1020b

In law, the qualification, upon culmination of one's legal education, to teach the law (~ *li 'l-tadrīs*), issue a fatwā (~ *li 'l-fatwā*), or both. X 80b

In modern Persian and in Ottoman Turkish, as *icazetname*, the term has come into modern use to mean 'certificate of fitness' (to teach). III 1021a

In prosody, ~ (or *idjāra*) is used for the substitution of an unrelated letter for the RAWĪ, the rhyme letter. IV 412b

In rhetoric, ~ is used both when a poet builds some lines or even a whole poem on a single line or hemistich suggested by somebody else, often a ruler, and when two poets compose alternately a hemistich or one or more lines of the same poem. When this is done in the form of a contest, the term *tamlīṭ* (*mumālaṭa, imlāṭ*) is found. III 1022a

idjdhāb → TAḤAYYUR

idjhāb (A) : abortion, which is prohibited after quickening (*nafkh al-rūḥ*), usually at the end of the fourth month. X 199a

idjmāʿ (A) : in law, the third, and in practice the most important, of the sources of legal knowledge, being the unanimous agreement of the community on a regulation imposed by God. Technically, ~ is the unanimous doctrine and opinion of the recognised religious authorities at any given time. I 259b; II 182b; II 887b; III 1023a; V 239a; IX 324b

idjmāl (A) : a summary register. IX 123b f.

idjtihād (A) : lit. effort; in law, the use of individual reasoning; exerting oneself to form an opinion in a case or as to a rule of law, achieved by applying analogy to the Qurʾān and the custom of the Prophet. The opposite is called TAKLĪD, the unquestioning acceptance of the doctrines of established schools and authorities. I 259b; III 1026a; IX 324b

♦ idjtihād fi 'l-madhhab (A) : the creative development of the law within the broad structures of the *madhhab*. X 138a

♦ idjtihād muṭlaḳ (A) : in law, the creative act of *idjtihād* through which the founding IMĀMs derived from the revealed sources a systematic structure of law. X 137b

idjtimāʿ (A) : in astronomy, the conjunction (mean or 'true') of the sun and moon. In astrology, ~ is sometimes employed to refer to the conjunction of the planets, although *ḳirān* is preferred. IV 259a

In human psychology, ~ is the intermediary between the faculty of desire and the active power, the decision which follows after a hesitation between action and no-action, as a result of which one of the two prevails. According to others, ~ is the desire to act at its maximum intensity. V 577b

idjtizā' (A) : in metrics, the shortening of vowels. XI 374a
idmā' → SHIʿĀR
iḍmār (A) : concealing; in grammar, ~ is used in the sense of 'imply'; it is used by grammarians when speaking about an unexpressed grammatical element, supposedly existent and active (ant. *iẓhār*). With Sībawayh, ~ refers to the personal pronoun, which later became *al*-MUḌMAR, which was preferred over *al-maknī*, the Kūfan term. III 1027b
In prosody, ~ has taken on a technical meaning, denoting 'the quiescence of the *tā'* of *mutafāʿilun* in the *Kāmil*'. I 672a; III 1028a; a case of ZIḤĀF where the second vowelled letter of the foot is rendered vowelless. XI 508b
idrādj (A) : in prosody, ignoring the caesura between hemistichs (syn. *tadwīr*). X 79a
idrāk (A, P *dar-yāftan*) : sensory perception; comprehension (syn. *fahm*); in philosophy, ~ implies an *adaequatio rei et intellectus*. The whole philosophical problem of ~ is to find out what this adequation is, and how and where it is achieved. III 1028a
idrār (A) : pension. XI 84b
iḍṭirāb → ṬARAB
iḍṭirār (A) : compulsion, coercion, as opposed to IKHTIYĀR, freedom of choice.
In theology, human actions carried out under compulsion were distinguished from those carried out of free choice; the latter were voluntary and the results of an acquisition, *iktisāb* (→ KASB). With al-Ashʿarī, the opposite correlatives became no longer *iḍṭirār-ikhtiyār*, but *iḍṭirār-iktisāb*. In later Ashʿarite theology, ~ is reserved for an action that, of itself, cannot take place. III 1037b; and → ḌARŪRA
ifāḍa (A) : a term used for the running of the pilgrims from ʿArafāt on the evening of the 9th of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja after sunset in which they trace the road by which they had come from Mecca. III 36a; along with *fayḍ* 'course made in an enthusiastic manner', ~ is used for the other courses than SAʿY. IX 97b; and → ṬAWĀF AL-IFĀḌA
iflās (A) : in law, bankruptcy. V 717b
iflāt → IṬLĀḲ
ʿifr → KHANZUWĀN
ifrād (A) : in the context of the pilgrimage, one of three methods of performing it, consisting of making the ḤADJDJ alone, at the prescribed time, the ʿUMRA being performed outside the month of the pilgrimage or simply neglected. III 35a; III 53b; X 865b
ifrandj (A), or *firandj* : the Franks. The name was originally used of the inhabitants of the empire of Charlemagne, and later extended to Europeans in general. In mediaeval times, ~ was not normally applied to the Spanish Christians, the Slavs or the Vikings, but otherwise it was used fairly broadly of continental Europe and the British Isles. Between the 16th and the 19th centuries, ~ came to designate European Catholics and Protestants. III 1044a
ifrāṭ (A) : among the shīʿīs, exaggeration in religion. IX 163b
ifrīḳiya (A, < L) : the eastern part of the Maghrib, whence the name adopted by some modern historians for Eastern Barbary. It was sometimes confused with the whole of the Maghrib and sometimes considered as a geographically separate region. III 1047a
ʿifrīt (A, pl. *ʿafārīt*) : an epithet expressing power, cunning and insubordination, ~ occurs only once in the Qur'ān, in the sense of rebellious. Later, in its substantive form, it came to mean a class of particularly powerful chthonian forces, formidable and cunning. In the popular tales, the ~ is a DJINN of enormous size, formed basically of smoke; it has wings, haunts ruins and lives under the ground. ~ may be used of humans and even animals, and then expresses cunning, ingenuity and strength. In Egyptian Arabic, ~ also has the meaning of the ghost or spirit of a person deceased. III 1050a; IX 406b
ifsintīn → AFSANTĪN
iftā' → FUTYĀ

iftitāḥ (A) : in the science of diplomatic, the introduction or introductory protocol of documents, whose individual parts (*fawātiḥ*), according to al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, are the *basmala, ḥamdala, tas̲h̲ahhud, ṣalwala* (*taṣliya*), *salām*, and *baʿdiyya* (*ammā baʿdu*). II 302a; and → ṬIRĀZ

īg̲h̲āl (A) : in rhetoric, epiphrasis. V 898a; and → MUBĀLAG̲H̲A

ig̲h̲ār (A) : in classical Muslim administration, both an exemption or a privilege with respect to taxes, and the land which was covered by this privilege. The term became absorbed in that of IḲṬĀʿ in later centuries. III 1051a

♦ ig̲h̲āra (A) : lit. raiding; in literature, the rather archaic procedure of a famous poet forcing a less famous one to give up a flawless line, because the more famous poet has a greater right to it. XII 647a; XII 707b

ig̲h̲erm → AGADIR

ig̲h̲rāb → ISTIG̲H̲RĀB

ig̲h̲rīḳiyya → YŪNĀN

ig̲h̲tāla → TAḌABBABA

iğretileme → ISTIʿĀRA

iḥāle (T) : one of three principal ways in which mining activity was organised in the Ottoman empire, the others being EMĀNETEN and ILTIZĀMEN. ~ meant the long-term concessionary leasing of state lands for purposes of mining exploration to licensed individuals or mining companies. V 974b

īhām (P) : in prosody, *double entendre*. IX 90b; X 395a; and → TAWRIYA

iḥāṭa (A) : in law and theology, integral truth. V 239b

iḥāza → USTĀN

iḥdāt̲h̲ (A) : an innovation in time; the act of bringing into existence a thing that is preceded by a time. III 1051a

iḥfā' (A), or *d̲j̲azz* : moustache. The verb used in cutting the ~ is *ḳaṣṣ*. IX 312a f.

ihlīlad̲j̲ → HALĪLAD̲J̲

iḥrām (A) : the state of temporary consecration of someone who is performing the pilgrimage, ḤAD̲J̲D̲J̲ or ʿUMRA. The entering into this holy state is accomplished by the statement of intention, accompanied by certain rites, and for men, by the donning of the ritual garment. A person in this state is called *muḥrim*. III 1052b

iḥrans̲h̲afa (A) : to prepare to fight (said of a cock); to begin to pay a forfeit (said of a man). XI 546a

iḥṣā' (A) : 'enumeration'; among the Nuḳtawiyya sect, ~ is used to designate the process of how, when a being rises or descends from one level of existence to another, the traces of his former existence are still visible and can be discerned by the insightful. VIII 115a; population census. X 307b

iḥsān (A) : in Mauritania, a contract for the loan of a lactiferous animal, the hiring of a young camel for the purpose of following a she-camel so that she continues to give milk. VI 313a; and → IKHLĀṢ

iḥṣān → MUḤṢAN

ihtidā' (A) : orientation, e.g. as given by the stars (in nightly travel). VIII 97b

iḥtikār (A) : the holding up of or speculation in foodstuffs, condemmed by Tradition. X 467b

iḥtisāb (A, T) : an official term in the administration of the Ottoman empire, its basic meaning being the levying of dues and taxes, both on traders and artisans and also on certain imports, but it came to denote the whole aggregate of functions that had devolved upon the *muḥtasib* (→ ḤISBA). III 489a; licenses, providing part of the revenue of the tax system of the Ottoman period. V 334a

iḥtiyāṭ (A) : in Turkish military usage, reserve of the regular army, to be contrasted with the *redīf* (→ RADĪF) 'reserve army' or militia, created in 1834. VIII 370a

In law, prudence in legal matters, characteristic of the S̲h̲āfiʿī school. IX 812b

iḥyāʾ → MAWĀT

iḳāʿ (A) : a term denoting musical metrics or rhythm in the sense of measuring the quantity of notes. The early Islamic ~ can be considered as a forerunner of mediaeval European mensura. XII 408b

īḳāb (A) : penetration from sexual intercourse. XI 510a

iḳāla (A) : in law, *mutuus dissensus*, a mutual agreement between the parties to put an end to a contract. I 319b; III 1056b

iḳāma (A) : the second call to the ṢALĀT, pronounced by the muezzin in the mosque before each of the five prescribed daily *ṣalāts* and that of the Friday service. I 188b; III 1057a; VIII 927b; XI 269b

iḳbāl (A) : in astronomy, in the expression *al-iḳbāl wa 'l-idbār*, trepidation, the presumed oscillation of the equinoxes. XI 504a

ʿikbir (A) : the bee-glue (syn. *khatm, dundj*), which with wax (*shamʿ*) and honey (*ʿasal*) is produced by the workers (*ʿassālāt*) among the bees. VII 907a

iḳdāda (A) : a white KĀFIYYA worn in summer in the Arab East. V 741a

ikerzī (B) : a Berber turban consisting of a white cloth wound about the head leaving the crown uncovered. V 746a

ikfāʾ (A) : in prosody, the substitution of a cognate letter for the rhyme letter, RAWĪ, e.g. *nūn* for *mīm*. IV 412b

ikhāwa → KHĀWA

ikhlāṣ (A) : 'dedicating, devoting or consecrating oneself' to something; ~ is pre-eminently an interior virtue of the faithful Muslim, whose perfection of adherence, and witness, to his faith is gauged by ~ and *iḥsān* 'uprightness in good'. The opposites of ~ are *nifāḳ* 'hypocrisy' and *shirk* 'associating others, or other things, with God'. III 1059b; VIII 547a

ikhshīd (P) : a title given to local Iranian rulers of Soghdia and Farghāna in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. III 1060b

ikhtilādj (A) : spontaneous pulsations, tremblings or convulsions of the body, particularly the limbs, eyelids and eyebrows, which provide omens the interpretation of which is known as *ʿilm al-ikhtilādj* 'palmoscopy'. III 1061a; V 100b

ikhtilāf (A) : 'difference, inconsistency'; in law, the differences of opinion among the authorities of law, both between schools and within each of them. III 1061b

ikhtirāʿ (A) : in literary criticism, 'original invention', as differing from crude plagiarism. XII 656b

ikhtiyār (A) : choice; and → IḌṬIRĀR

In philosophy, ~ means free preference or choice, option, whence power of choice, free will. III 1037a; III 1062a

In law, ~ has the meaning of opinion freely stated. III 1062a

In treatises on the IMĀMA, where ~ has the meaning of choice or election, it is customary to contrast the *ahl al-ikhtiyār* with the *ahl al-naṣṣ*, the supporters of free election with the supporters of textual determination. III 1063a

In astrology, the auspicious days. X 366b

♦ **ikhtiyārāt** (A) : 'hemerologies and menologies' (L. *electiones*); in divination, hemerology, an astrological procedure whose aim is to ascertain the auspicious or inauspicious character of the future, dealing with years, months, days and hours. III 1063b; VIII 107b

In literature, ~ is a synonym of MUKHTĀRĀT 'anthologies'. III 1064a; VII 528b

♦ **ikhtiyāriyya** (T, < A) : the elite or veterans of an Ottoman guild or army unit. XII 409b

ikhwān (A) : brethren; the term most commonly used for DARWĪSH in Morocco and Algeria. II 164a; a religious and military movement of Arab tribesmen which had its heyday from 1912-1930 in Arabia. III 1064a

♦ ikhwāniyya (A) : in prosody, a versified letter, in which protestations of friendship are found integrated with the theme of youth and of old age. IV 1005a; IX 387a

ikindi dīwānî (Ott) : in the Ottoman empire, the afternoon DĪWĀN, held in the Grand Vizier's own residence to take care of lesser affairs. XI 196b

ikla (A), or *akila* : in medicine, either gangrene or cancer. X 911b

iḳlāb (A) : in Qurʾānic recitation, the 'alteration' of a letter's sound. X 73b

♦ iḳlāba (A) : in modern Mecca, the ceremony held to celebrate when a boy has read through the whole of the Qurʾān (the ceremony after the half or one-third is called *iṣrāfa*). IV 1113a

iklīl al-malik (A) : in botany, the melilot (*Melilotus officinalis*) (infrequent syn. *nafal, ḥantam, shadjarat al-ḥubb*). In Muslim Spain, ~ was known under the Romance name *ḳurunīlla*. XII 410a

iḳlīm (A, < Gk) : in geography, clime, climate; region. I 658a; III 1079b; V 398a
In administrative geography, ~ was used for province or canton, the equivalent or a subdivision of a KŪRA. This usage is peculiar to Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. III 1077b; V 398a; zone. IX 36b
In al-Masʿūdī, ~ is used for the Persian *keshwar*, which refers to the seven great kingdoms of the world. III 1077b

ikrāh (A) : in law, duress, of which there are two kinds: unlawful (*ikrāh ghayr mashrūʿ*) and lawful (*ikrāh bi-ḥaḳḳ*). Only the former is recognised by the Qurʾān and has legal effects. I 319a; XII 410b

iḳrār (A) : in law, affirmation, acknowledgement; recognition of rights. The declarant is called *al-muḳirr*, the beneficiary *al-maḳarr lahu*, and the object of the recognition *al-muḳarr bihi*. I 28b; III 511b; III 1078a; IX 845b
Among the Bektāshīs, the ceremony of initiation. IX 168a

iksīr (A, < Gk; pl. *akāsīr*) : originally the term for externally applied dry-powder or sprinkling-powder used in medicine, ~ came to be used for the elixir, the substance with which the alchemists believed it possible to effect the transformation of base metals into precious ones. III 1087b

♦ iksīrīn (A) : in medicine, an eye-powder. III 1087b

iḳṭāʿ (A) : in fiscal administration, a form of grant, often (wrongly) translated as 'fief'; the delegation of the fiscal rights of the state over lands to the military. I 1353a; II 508a; III 1088a; IV 975a; IV 1043b

iḳtiʿāṭ (A), or *iʿtidjār* : the opposite of *taḥnīk* (→ ḤANAK), or the way the turban-cloth is brought under the chin. X 614b

iḳtibās (A) : 'to take a live coal (*ḳabas*) or a light from another's fire', hence to seek knowledge; in rhetoric, ~ means to quote specific words from the Qurʾān or from Traditions without indicating these as quoted, found both in poetry and prose. III 1091b; XII 664a

iḳtirān (A) : in astronomy, conjunction. VIII 105a

iktisāb → KASB

iḳwāʾ (A) : in prosody, faulty rhyme. II 1073b; the change of the vowel MADJRĀ, e.g. *u* with *i*. IV 412b

il (A, T *il*; pl. ĪLĀT) : in Turkish, empire; district over which authority is exercised, territory; people; peace. III 1092a; in the Republican period, *il* was introduced to replace *vilāyet* for province. III 1092b; VIII 189a
In Persian, ~ was used of 'tribesfolk' (syn. *ulus*), and by the 7th/13th century had become current with the meaning 'submissive, obedient'. III 1092b

īlāʾ (A) : in law, an 'oath of continence', the husband swearing in the name of God not to have sexual relations with his wife for at least four months. When this time had passed without a resumption of conjugal relations, the marriage was not automatically

broken up except in Ḥanafī law, the other schools allowing the wife to judge the occasion for the severance, which would take place by a repudiation that the husband would pronounce, or that the ḲĀḌĪ would formulate in his place. IV 689a; VI 478a; VIII 28a

īlāf (A) : a Qurʾānic term which probably refers to economic relations entered into by the Ḳurays̲h̲īs well before the advent of Islam; the lexicographers define ~ as 'pact guaranteeing safety, safe conduct, undertaking to protect'. III 1093a

ilāh (A, pl. *āliha*) : deity; in pre-Islamic poetry, *al-* ~ was an impersonal divine name although for Christians and monotheists, it denoted God; by frequency of usage, *al-* ~ became Allāh. III 1093b

♦ **ilāhī** (A) : in Turkish literature, a genre of popular poetry of religious inspiration, consisting of poems sung, without instrumental accompaniment, in chorus or solo during certain ceremonies, and distinguished from other types of popular religious poetry by its melody and use in ritual. III 1094a; 'divine [hymn]'. VIII 2b; and → TAʾRĪK̲H̲-I ILĀHĪ

♦ ilāhiyyāt (A) : in philosophy, ~ gained currency as denoting the whole mass of questions concerning God. I 415a

ʿilal (A, s. **ʿilla** 'cause') : diseases, defects; in poetry, one of two groups of metrical deviations (the other being ZIḤĀF), ~ appear only in the last feet of the two halves of the lines, where they alter the rhythmic end of the line considerably, and are thus clearly distinct from the ḤAS̲H̲W feet. As rhythmically determined deviations, ~ do not just appear occasionally but have to appear regularly, always in the same form, and in the same position in all the lines of the poem. I 671b

In the science of ḤADĪT̲H̲, ~, usually rendered 'hidden defects', is a main approach of ISNĀD criticism; it highlights links between certain pairs of transmitters which are subject to dispute. VIII 515a

īlāt (P) : nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes, term first used in Īlk̲h̲ānid times. Early Islamic geographers and historians refer to these tribes by the generic term *al-akrād*, by which they mean not necessarily people of Kurdish race but non-Arab and non-Turkish tent dwellers and herdsmen. III 1095b f.

ʿilb → SIDR

ilçe (T) : district. VIII 189a

ild̲j̲āʾ → TALD̲J̲IʾA

ilḥād → MULḤID

ilhām (A) : lit. to cause to swallow or gulp down; a Qurʾānic term denoting God's revelation to men individually, as opposed to His revelation to men generally by messages sent through the prophets, WAḤY. III 1119b

ilid̲j̲a (T) : 'hot spring'; a bath served by a hot spring. Other synonyms are ḲAPLĪD̲J̲A, used primarily of the baths served by thermal springs in Bursa, and *bāna*. II20b

ilḳa → ḲIS̲H̲S̲H̲A

ilḳāʾ → ṬARḤ

ʿilla (A, pl. *ʿilal*) : cause. III 1127b; in law, explanatory principle, the raison d'être of the law. V 239a ff.; and → ḤARF ʿILLA; SABAB

ʿilliyyūn (A, < Heb *ʿelyōn*) : a Qurʾānic term meaning both the 'place in the book where the deeds of the pious are listed' and 'an inscribed book'. III 1132b

ʿilm (A) : knowledge; the result of laborious study. III 1133a; and → ḤAMALAT AL-ʿILM

♦ ʿilm al-aktāf → KATIF

♦ ʿilm al-asārīr (A) : in divination, chiromancy. V 100a

♦ ʿilm ʿamalī (A) : in philosophy, practical knowledge, which comprises, according to al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī, ethics, domestic economy and politics. I 427b; in theology, the knowledge of religious obligations, complete only when these obligations are fulfilled, as opposed to *ʿilm naẓarī* 'the knowledge of things'. III 1133b

♦ ʿilm al-ʿazāʾim (A) : the talismanic art, consisting of calling upon DJINNS and angels for the performance of some project. IV 264b; V 100b

♦ **ʿilm al-djamāl** (A) : aesthetics. III 1134a

♦ **ʿilm al-handasa** (A) : in mathematics, geometry. XII 411b

♦ ʿilm al-ḳāfiya (A) : rhyme theory. VIII 894a

♦ ʿilm naẓarī → ʿILM ʿAMALĪ

♦ ʿilm sharʿī (A) : revealed knowledge. I 427b

For other expressions with *ʿilm*, → the final component.

♦ **ʿilmiyye** (T) : the body of the higher Muslim religious functionaries in the Ottoman empire, especially those administering justice and teaching in the religious colleges. III 1152a; X 805a

iltibās → SABAB

iltifāt (A) : in rhetoric, apostrophe, a stylistic device. V 898a

iltizām (A) : a form of tax-farm used in the Ottoman empire. III 1154a; and → MÜLTEZIM

For ~ in prosody, → LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM; TAḌAMMUN

iltizāmen (T) : one of three principal ways in which mining activity was organised in the Ottoman empire, the others being EMĀNETEN and IḤĀLE. ~ meant the farming out of mining revenues to investors on a short-term contract basis. The usual term for these contracts in the mining context was six years. V 974b

īmāʾ → ISHĀRA

ʿimād → ʿAMĪD

imāla (A) : in the science of phonetics, ~ stands for inflection, a palatalisation, produced by a rising movement of the tongue towards the prepalatal region. III 1162a; the inclination of the vowel *a* towards *i*. VIII 343b

imām (A) : leader of the official prayer rituals, the ṢALĀT. From the earliest days of Islam, the ruler was ~ as leader in war, head of the government and leader of the common *ṣalāt*. Later, as the ruler's representatives, the governors of the provinces became leaders of the *ṣalāt*, just as they were heads of the KHARĀDJ. They had to conduct ritual prayer, especially the Friday *ṣalāt*, on which occasion they also delivered the sermon, KHUṬBA. Starting from ʿAbbāsid times, the office devaluated; the ~ no longer represented a political office, but came to belong to the personnel of the mosque. Each mosque regularly had one. He had to maintain order and was in general in charge of the divine services in the mosque. VI 674b; VIII 927b

In religious practice, the ~ is the transveral bead of a larger size on a rosary that separates the groups of beads. IX 741b

In the science of the Qur'ān, *al-imām* is the Median standard codex. V 408a

In mathematics, the number with which the numerator of a fraction is in relationship (syn. *maḳām*, *mukhradj*). IV 725b

♦ imām al-difāʿ (A) : among the Ibāḍiyya, an IMĀM invested by the people living in a state of secrecy, *ahl al-kitmān*, to defend them in misfortune. III 658a

♦ **imām-bārā** (U) : lit. enclosure of the IMĀMS; a term used in Muslim India for the buildings where the shīʿis assemble during Muḥarram and recite elegies on the martyrdom of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. III 1163a

♦ **imāma** (A) : the imamate, 'supreme leadership' of the Muslim community. III 1163b

♦ imāmān (A) : in mysticism, the two assistants of the ḲUṬB, the second category in the hierarchy of the saints. I 95a

♦ **imāmzāda** (P) : the designation for both the descendant of a shīʿī IMĀM and the shrine of such a person. III 1169b

ʿimāma (A, pl. *ʿamāʾim*) : in Arab dress, the cloth wound round the cap, which term came to be used also for the whole headdress. In Algiers, it was pronounced *ʿamāma* and was there an unwound turban, often given as a present to the walī of the woman one wished to marry. X 608b; X 611b; X 612b

īmān (A) : in theology, faith (in God). III 1170b; IV 171b ff.

ʿimāra → DHIKR

♦ ʿimāret (T, < A *ʿimāra* 'foundation') : soup kitchen, erected as a public convenience in Ottoman times. IV 1152a; V 333b; XI 88b; an oven. X 533a

imazīghən (B, s. *amazigh*) : 'proud ones' or 'proud ones of the West', the term the Berbers use to call themselves. X 644a; and → IMGHAD

imḍā (T), or *tewḳīʿ-i ḳāḍī* : in Turkish diplomatic, the legal formula which was usually placed on the right side close to the first lines of the text of a copy stating (usually in Arabic) the conformity of the copy with the original. II 315b; and → PENČE

imghad (Touareg) : in the Touareg strongly-classed society, vassals who have had to accept the supremacy of the nobles, *imazhəghăn*, who are the uppermost class. Between the nobles and the vassals, although almost equal to the latter, are the maraboutic tribes who by virtue of their religious status do not participate in warfare and depend on the nobles for their defence. In the fourth place come the artisans, traditionally called blacksmiths (*inăḍăn*) and the lowest-ranking of all are the negro slaves (*eklan*), owned by all four of the above-mentioned castes. X 379a

imlāṭ → IDJĀZA

ʿimma (A) : properly, the style or form of winding the turban, then the turban itself. X 612b

immar, immara → SAKHLA

imsāk (A) : in religious law, abstinence, e.g. from things which break the fast. IX 94b; and → IMSĀKIYYA

♦ imsākiyya (A) : modern religious time tables distributed for the whole month of Ramaḍān. They indicate in addition to the times of prayer, the time of the early morning meal, *suḥūr*, and the time before daybreak (called the *imsāk*) when the fast should begin. VII 30b

imtilākh → KHIṢĀʾ

imtiyāzāt (A) : commercial privileges, (Ottoman) capitulations granted to non-Muslims living outside the DĀR AL-ISLĀM. III 1178b

imẓad (B) : hair, fur; ~ denotes a musical instrument once in use among the Touareg noblewomen, generally compared to a violin, but held by the player on her thighs as she sat low down, just above the ground, with her legs tucked back. III 1195b

in shāʾ allāh → ISTITHNĀʾ

ʿīna → BAYʿ AL-ʿĪNA

inaḍan → IMGHAD

inaḳ (T) : a title which existed in various Turkic and Mongol states, belonging to the close retinue of the ruler. XII 419a

inʿām (A) : lit. favour, beneficence; applied more specifically to donatives, largesse, given to troops. III 1200b; VIII 398b

In Persia, ~ was a present, usually of money, given from superiors to inferiors. III 347b

ʿinān (A) : in law, ~ is best rendered as a limited investment partnership in which relations between the partners are based on mutual agency alone and not mutual suretyship; one of the two classes of commercial partnership among the Ḥanafīs, the other being MUFĀWAḌA. VII 310a; *sharikat ʿinān* means partnership in traffic, contracted when each party contributes capital. IX 348b; and → LIDJĀM

♦ dhu'l-ʿinān (A) : in astronomy, the constellation of the Waggoner, also known as *mumsik al-aʿinna*. XI 458a

i'nāt → LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM
'ināya (A) : providence. III 1203a
In 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳās̲h̲ānī's mystical thought, ~ covers ḲAḌĀ' and ḲADAR both, just as they contain everything that is actual; it is the divine knowledge, embracing everything as it is, universally and absolutely. I 90a
In mysticism, ~ is used with the more precise meaning of divine 'benefaction' or of a 'gift granted' by God. III 1203a
in'āẓ → INTIS̲H̲ĀR
indjīl (A, < Gk) : gospel; in the Qur'ān, ~ is used to refer to the Revelation transmitted by Jesus as well as the scripture possessed and read by the Christian contemporaries of Muḥammad, i.e. the four Gospels; in current usage extended to mean the whole of the New Testament. III 1205a
ind̲j̲ū (Mon) : under the Mongols, royal estates granted as apanages to the Great K̲h̲ān's relatives. Gradually the concept of ~ land became assimilated to existing concepts of crown lands and came to signify land over which the ruler had full rights of disposal and which he granted on a heriditary title to his family and others. Whether the grantees then had full rights of disposal themselves is not clear. III 1208a; IV 975b
infaḥa (A) : rennet used to make cheese. XII 318b
infāḳ (A) : a type of olive oil made from green unripe olives. XI 486a
infisāḳ̲h̲ → FASḲ̲H̲
infitāḥ (A) : lit. opening, in particular the 'Opening' of Egypt under Sādāt to Western investment and expertise, to oil country investment, and to the previously-marginalised private sector of the country. XII 626a
inḥirāf (A) : in the moral sense, deviation. XI 567b; and → SAMT
inḥiṣār (T, < A), and *ḥaṣīr* : monopolies and restrictive practices of Ottoman guilds, the full term being *inḥiṣār-i bey'i ve s̲h̲irā*. These monopolies included restrictions concerning the number or kind of people allowed to perform a trade or profession, as well as limitations imposed on production or on commerce. XII 421a
inī lit. younger brother (pl. *iniyyāt*), term for the younger *mamlūk*. X 7b
inkār (A) : in law, denial, as when a person who is summoned by law to acknowledge a debt denies that he owes it. The transaction which puts an end to the legal conflict is called *ṣulḥ 'alā inkār*. III 1236b; IX 845b; and → NAHY
inḳilāb, inkilap → S̲H̲AG̲H̲ABA; T̲H̲AWRA
inṣāf (A) : equity; in poetry, a genre, or at least a theme, also called *as̲h̲'ār al-naṣaf* or *as̲h̲'ār munṣifa*, indicating verses in which the poets praise the fervour and the valour in war of the rival clan and acknowledge that victory has been hard-won. III 1236b
In ethics, ~ came to mean impartiality, objectivity, integrity, in short a complete ethical code for the activity of the man of learning; also, a method of argument in which, instead of immediately asserting the inferiority or error of that which is being attacked in comparison with that being defended, both are placed on a fictitious equal footing although it is granted that one or the other is inferior or wrong. III 1237a
insān (A) : man. III 1237a
♦ **al-insān al-kāmil** (A) : in mysticism, the concept of the Perfect Man. I 117b; III 1239a
ins̲h̲ā' (A) : the composition of letters, documents or state papers; later, a form of literature in which were included style-books for chancery scribes, copy-books and letter manuals. II 306b; III 1241b; VIII 749b; and → MUNS̲H̲Ī
insī (A) : the part of the point of the nib of a reed-pen to the left of the incision, called thus, 'human', because it is turned towards the writer. IV 471a
intidāb → MANDATES
intaḍat (al-sinn) → IT̲H̲T̲H̲AG̲H̲ARA

intihā' → IBTIDĀ'
intiḥāl (A) : in literary criticism, the ascription of others' verses to oneself. XII 707b
intiḥār (A) : suicide. In Tradition literature, ~ is used to designate suicide by piercing or cutting one's throat. III 1246b
intiḳāl → TANĀSUKH
intiḳāl-i ʿādī (T) : in the Ottoman empire before the 11th/16th century, ṬAPU land that was passed to sons and brothers. X 209b
intis̲h̲ār (A) : in medicine, the erection of the penis (syn. *inʿāẓ*), functional problems of which are generally known by the term *istirkhā' al-ḳaḍīb*, paralysis or slackening of the penis. XII 641a
inzāl → ENZEL; ṢĀḤIB AL-INZĀL
ʿīr → KĀRWĀN
iʿrāb (A) : a technical term in grammar, sometimes translated as inflexion; however, there is no adequate term directly to translate ~. By ~ Arab grammarians denoted the use of the three short vowels at the end of the singular noun. I 569b; III 1248b
īrād-ı̊ d̲j̲edīd → NIẒĀM-Ì D̲J̲EDĪD
irāda (A) : 'willingness'; in mysticism, a choice of affiliation with an order, whereby the aspirant (*murīd*) puts himself under total obedience to a master who takes charge of his spiritual education. X 245b

♦ **irāde** (T) : lit. will; a term adopted in Ottoman official usage from 1832 to designate decrees and orders issued in the name of the sultan. Later, under the constitution, the sultan's function was limited to giving his assent to the decisions of the government and ~ remained in use for this assent. III 1250a

ʿirāfa (A) : in divination, the knowledge of things unseen or of things to come, on the basis of things visible or present. IV 421b; V 100b
In administrative terminology, a unit headed by an ʿARĪF. I 629a; a small group of tribesmen massed together for the purpose of the distribution of the stipends. XI 520b
ʿirāḳ → S̲H̲AS̲H̲MAḲOM

♦ ʿirāḳ ʿad̲j̲amī (A) : from the late mediaeval period on, ~ indicated Iranian Media (called *al-d̲j̲ibāl* by the ancient geographers), to distinguish it from *ʿirāḳ ʿarabī*, ʿIrāḳ proper. I 206b

♦ ʿirāḳiyya (A), or *ʿirāḳya* : a kind of reed-pipe which may have been the forerunner of the European rackett. It has a cylindrical pipe and is played with a double reed. VII 208a

iram (A) : in geography, a pile of stones erected as a way-mark. III 1270a
ʿirār (A) : the cry of the male ostrich, which has a different tone than that of the female, *zimār*. VII 829a
ʿirḍ (A, pl. *aʿrāḍ*) : a term corresponding approximately to the idea of honour, but somewhat ambiguous and imprecise; a strong army; a valley covered with palm trees. At the present day, ~ has become restricted to the woman and her virtue. IV 77a; VI 475a; among the Bedouin, a man's ~ is pledged when he extends his protection, e.g. to a guest, a protégé or when he acts as a travelling companion. In this context, ~ or the protection to which the protector pledges his ~ is often referred to in North Africa as *wad̲j̲h*. X 890a
In Tradition literature and poetry, ~ also has the meaning of the body of animals, or even of men; the parts of the body which sweat; the smell of a man or a woman. IV 77a
irdabb (A) : a measure of capacity for grain. Originally a Persian measure, the ~ was used in Egypt for a long time under the Ptolemies and the Byzantines, and is still in use today. The actual weight of the ~ varied depending on time and place. VI 119a

irdāf (A) : in rhetoric, a term denoting implication, e.g. *ṭawīl al-nidjād* 'with long cross-belt', meaning 'tall in stature', because the one cannot go without the other. V 117a

ʿirḳ (A, pl. *ʿurūḳ*) : vein; root; race, stock. IV 78b

In Tradition literature, ~ is found with the indiscriminate sense of artery and vein, blood; certain anomalies of birth. IV 78b

In geography, ~ is used to describe the form masses of sand can take in Saudi Arabia. I 537a; in sub-Saharan Africa, ~ (Eng *erg*) designates great stretches of dunes, clothed with a herbaceous vegetation which stabilises the sands. VIII 837a

♦ ʿirḳ al-ḥayya (A) : 'serpent's root', a root of the melilot introduced from Syria into the Arab West and used there as an antidote against poisonous snakebites. XII 410a

♦ ʿirḳ (ʿurūḳ) al-luʾlu' (A) : 'the veins of the pearl', designation for the mother-of-pearl. VIII 707a

irṣād (A) : in law, the use of public funds, excluding a private involvement in the transaction, to sustain public or philanthropic services. XI 64b; XII 826a

irsāl (A) : the legislative function of prophecy. IX 812b; and → ḲABḌ

♦ **irsāliyye** (T), or *māl-i irsāliyye* : an Ottoman financial term applied to the annual 'remittances' of cash and kind sent to the personal treasury of the sultan in Istanbul by the holders of the non-feudal SANDJAḲS as well as by the governors of the non-feudal Arab provinces. The latter consisted of the balance left in each provincial treasury after the provincial expenditures and governor's salary were paid. IV 79b

irtiʿās͟h (A) : in medicine, trembling. V 89b

irtidād → MURTADD

irtidjāʿ → RADJʿIYYA

irtidjāl (A) : in pre- and early Islam, the improvising, extemporising of a poem or a speech. A synonym is *badīha*, with the slight difference being that in the case of *badīha*, the poet allows himself a few moments of thought. IV 80b

iryāla → RIYĀLA

ʿiṣāb → LIDJĀM

♦ ʿiṣāba (A, pl. *ʿaṣāʾib*), also *ʿaṣb[a]* : a headband worn by women in the Arab East. V 741a; among the Mamlūks, the double camel hump-like erection on the *ṭurṭūr* worn by men or women. X 611b; the cross or long bar in the Mamlūk coat of arms. X 611a; under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks in Egypt, the *ʿaṣāʾib sulṭāniyya* were the flags of the sultan in the public processions, for the flags enveloped the head of the lance like a turban. X 612b; and → ṢAFF

ʿīsāwiyya (A) : in Morocco, a simple, wide tunic consisting of a hole in the centre for the head and one at each side for the arms, made of striped wool and worn by men; also, a very ample blouse of strong cotton worn over other clothing. V 746a

iṣbaʿ (A), or *aṣbaʿ* : in anatomy, the finger; as a measurement of length, ~ is the breadth of the middle joint of the middle finger, conventionally 1/24 of the cubit, DHIRĀʿ. IV 96b; a fingerbreadth and subdivision of the ḲABḌA, which is made up of four ~. II 232a

In Arab navigational texts, ~ is the unit of measurement of star altitude. It was considered to be the angle subtended by the width of a finger held at arm's length against the horizon. IV 96b

In astronomy, ~ or *iṣbaʿ al-kusūf* refers to the twelve equal parts, called fingers, which divided the diameter of the sun or of the moon in order to obtain a standard for measuring the amount of an eclipse. In the West one spoke of 'digits'. V 537a

In music, ~ denotes the tonal mode; the rhythmic mode is called *ḍarb*. II 1074a

iṣbahbadh → ISPAHBADH

iṣbahsalār → ISPAHSĀLĀR

isbitāriyya → DĀWIYYA
isfādrūh → ṢAFR
iṣfahsalār → ISPAHSĀLĀR
isfānākhiyya a spinach and meat dish. X 31b
isfīdrūy → ṢAFR
isfirnī (A, < Gk *Sphyraena*), or *safarna*, *safarnāya* : in zoology, the spet or barracuda. VIII 1021a
ʿishā' (A) : evening or beginning of the night; a variant name given to the *ṣalāt al-maghrib*. VII 26b
♦ ṣalāt al-ʿishā' (A) : the evening prayer which is to be performed, according to the law books, from the last term mentioned for the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* (→ MAGHRIB) till when a third, or half of the night has passed, or till daybreak. VII 27b; VIII 928b
ishān (P) : in mysticism, ~ was formerly used in Central Asia in the sense of SHAYKH or MURSHID, teacher or guide, in contrast to MURĪD, disciple or pupil. Since the very existence of *ishān*s was strongly disapproved of by the Soviet and Chinese authorities, the term is now obsolescent, if not obsolete. IV 113a
ishʿār (A) : in pre-Islamic times, the custom of making an incision in the side of the hump of the camel marked for the sacrifice during the pilgrimage and letting blood flow from it. III 32b
ishāra (A) : gesture, sign, indication; in rhetoric, ~ acquired the technical meaning of allusion. IV 113b
In mysticism, ~ is the esoteric language of the inexpressible mystical experience. IV 114b; XII 752b; symbolic expression. VIII 139b; a silent gesture or sign (syn. *īmā'*, *ramz*). VIII 428b
For ~ in grammar, → ISM AL-ISHĀRA
ishbāʿ (A) : in metrics, one of the six vowels of the rhyme, to wit, the vowel of the DAKHĪL. IV 412a; the lengthening of vowels. XI 374a
In poetry, the lengthening of short syllables, and the shortening of long syllables, especially in end position. VII 811a
In mineralogy, uniform, intense and deeply saturated colour (of a gem). XI 263a
ishdād (A) : a woven, woollen belt, worn by both sexes in the Arab East. V 741a
ishīk-āķāsī (P) : a Ṣafawid administrative term meaning 'usher'. The ~ was a minor court official who operated in two different branches of the administrative system, namely, the DĪWĀN and the ḤARAM. IV 118b
ʿishķ (A) : love, passion; the irresistable desire to obtain possession of a loved object or being. III 103a; IV 118b; X 776a
ishķīl (A) : in botany, the sea onion, a plant whose leaves are wide and thick, bent back, covered with a sticky liquid and whose ends are thorny. VIII 687b
ishrāf → ṬĀLIʿ
ishrāķ (A) : illumination; the name given to illuminative Wisdom, advocated by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. IV 119b
♦ **ishrāķiyyūn** (A) : adepts of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī's illuminative Wisdom, ISHRĀĶ, used first, however, in a text by Ibn Waḥshiyya in the 4th/10th century to denote followers of a hermetic tradition who had received some illumination which had placed their works above those of the Peripatetics, *mashā'iyya*. The term can be applied without hesitation, however, to all of Suhrawardī's followers, who still exist in Iran today. IV 120b
ishtiķāķ (A) : in grammar, translated approximately as etymology or derivation by means of analogy, ĶIYĀS. In its general sense, ~ signifies 'taking one word from another', under certain defined conditions. IV 122a; IX 528a

ishtirākiyya (A) : socialism. The word seems to have been first used in this sense in 19th-century Turkish, but fell into disuse, and was replaced by *sosyalist*. Adopted in Arabic, it soon gained universal currency in the Arab lands. IV 123b

ishūrūni → LĀSHŌN

iskāf (A, pl. *asākifa*), or *iskāfī* : a shoemaker, who like other artisans who worked with leather, had a low social status in pre-modern times because his work was regarded as unclean. XII 463a

iskān (A) : lit. coming into a peaceful state, settlement, the allocation of living quarters as space; in modern usage, 'sedentarisation' as a stage after a migratory or nomadic existence. XII 463b

iskāṭ (A) : in law, relinquishment, specifically of a right, divided into true relinquishment (~ *maḥḍ*) and quasi-relinquishment (~ *ghayr maḥḍ*). XII 466a

iskemle (T) : stool.

♦ iskemle aghasî (T), or *iskemledjiler bashi* : in Ottoman court life, an officer chosen from among the oldest grooms, whose duty was to carry a stool plated with silver which the sultan used in mounting his horse, when he did not prefer the assistance of a mute who went on his hands and knees on the ground. VIII 530b

iskumrī (A, < Gk *Scomber*) : in zoology, the mackerel. VIII 1021a

iṣlāḥ (A) : reform, reformism; in modern Arabic, ~ is used for 'reform' in the general sense; in contemporary Islamic literature it denotes more specifically orthodox reformism of the type that emerges in the doctrinal teachings of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, in the writings of Rashīd Riḍā, and in the numerous Muslim authors who are influenced by these two and, like them, consider themselves disciples of the Salafiyya. IV 141a

islām (A) : submission, total surrender (to God). IV 171b

In European languages, it has become customary to speak of Islam to denote the whole body of Muslim peoples, countries, and states, in their socio-cultural or political as well as their religious sphere. Modern Arabic often uses *al-islām* in a similar sense. IV 173b

♦ islāmī → ASLAMĪ; MUSLIM

ism (A, pl. *asmā'*), also *ʿalam, ism ʿalam* : name; in Arabic-Islamic usage the full name of a person is usually made up of the following elements: the *kunya*, usually a name compound with *abū* 'father of', or *umm* 'mother of'; the ~ ; the *nasab*, or pedigree, a list of ancestors, each being introduced by the word *ibn* 'son of' (the second name of the series is preceded by *bint* 'daughter of', if the first name is that of a woman); and the *nisba*, an adjective ending in *ī*, formed originally from the name of the individual's tribe or clan, then from his place of birth, origin or residence, sometimes from a school of law or sect, and occasionally from a trade or profession. A certain number of persons are also known by a nickname, *laḳab*, or a pejorative sobriquet, *nabaz*, which when the name is stated in full, comes after the *nisba*. IV 179a

In grammar, ~ is the technical term used to signify the noun. IV 181b

♦ ism ʿayn (A) : in grammar, the term used for a word denoting a concrete individual, as opposed to an *ism djins*, a generic word. I 785a

♦ ism djins → ISM ʿAYN

♦ ism al-fiʿl (A) : in grammar, the nominal verb. IX 528a

♦ ism al-ishāra (A), or *al-ism al-mubham* : in grammar, the demonstrative noun. IX 527b

♦ ism mawṣūl (A) : in grammar, a relative noun. IX 528a

♦ **al-asmā' al-ḥusnā** (A) : lit. the most beautiful names, being the 99 names of God. I 714a

ʿiṣma (A) : in theology, a term meaning immunity from error and sin, attributed by sunnīs to the prophets and by shīʿīs also to the IMĀMS. IV 182b; IX 423a; ~ denotes

also infallibility, in sunnism in respect of the community and in shīʿism in respect of the *imāms*. IV 184a; VIII 95a

ismākiyya (A) : systematic ichthyology. VIII 1020b

isnād (A) : in the science of Tradition, the chain of authorities (syn. *sanad*) going back to the source of the Tradition, an essential part of the transmission of a Tradition. III 24a; IV 207a; VIII 514b

In grammar, ~ denotes the relationship between the *musnad* 'that which is supported by (the subject)', and the *musnad ilayhi* 'that which supports (the subject)', the relationship of attribution or predication. IV 895b; VII 705a

In the science of diplomatic, ~ means the decisive words *an yuʿhada ilayhi*, etc. in letters of appointment. II 302a

♦ isnād ʿālī (A) : lit. a high *isnād*, when there are very few links between the transmitter and the Prophet, or between him and a certain authority. Such a Tradition, the quality of which is known as *ʿuluww*, is considered a valuable type on the ground that the fewer the links, the fewer the possible chances of error. III 26a; IX 607b

♦ isnād nāzil (A) : lit. a low *isnād*, when there are many links between the transmitter and the Prophet, or between him and a certain authority. The quality of such Traditions is called *nuzūl*. III 26a

ispahbadh (P, A *iṣbahbadh*) : army chief; the Islamic form of a military title used in the pre-Islamic Persian empires and surviving in the Caspian provinces of Persia down to the Mongol invasions. IV 207a

ispahsālār (P, A *iṣbahsalar, isfahsalar*), and *sipahsālār* : army commander; the title given to commanders-in-chief and general officers in the armies of many states of the central and eastern mediaeval Islamic world. II 210b; IV 208a; VIII 769b; VIII 924a; in Muslim India, governor or viceroy. IX 738b

ispendje (T, < Sl *yupanitsa*), or *ispenče* : the Ottoman name of a poll tax levied on adult non-Muslim subjects and amounting usually to 25 AKČES a year. Originally, ~ was a feudal peasant household tax in the pre-Ottoman Balkans; it extended into eastern Anatolia from 1540 onwards. II 146b; IV 211a; VIII 487a

isrāʾ → MIʿRĀDJ

iṣrāfa → IḲLĀBA

israʾīliyyāt (A) : a term covering three kinds of narratives: those regarded as historical, which served to complement the often summary information provided by the Qurʾān in respect of the personages in the Bible, particularly the prophets; edifying narratives placed within the chronological (but entirely undefined) framework of 'the period of the (ancient) Israelites'; and fables belonging to folklore, allegedly (but sometimes actually) borrowed from Jewish sources. IV 211b

ist (A) : in anatomy, the arm. XII 830b

iṣṭabl (A, < Gk; pl. *iṣṭablāt*, rarely *aṣābil*) : stable, i.e. the building in which mounts and baggage animals are kept tethered; the actual stock of such animals belonging to one single owner. IV 213b

istakhr (P) : a small cistern, used to irrigate the land in mediaeval Persia. V 869b

iṣṭām (A) : in the mediaeval kitchen, a utensil used for stirring. Another utensil for the same purpose was the *ḳasba fārisiyya*. VI 808b

istār (A) : a weight in the apothecary's or troy system, taken over from the Greeks and usually estimated according to two different scales. On the one hand are the equations: 1 *istār* = 6 DIRHAM and 2 *dānaḳ* = 4 MITHḲĀL (an apothecary's stater); on the other, 1 *istār* = 6 $^1/_2$ *dirham* = 4 $^1/_2$ *mithḳāl* (commercial ~ in the East). IV 248b

istiʿādha (A) : the practice for protecting oneself from the evil influence of Satan, by pronouncing *aʿūdhu bi 'llāhi min al-shayṭān al-radjīm*. IX 408b

istiʿāna → TAḌMĪN

istiʿāra (A, T *iğretileme*) : in rhetoric, the term commonly used in the sense of metaphor. In the early period, ~ is used occasionally in the sense of 'borrowing of a theme by one author from another'. IV 248b; XII 650a; in Turkish literature, ~ is a class of trope in which the comparative elements of the relationship between objects are stressed in various degrees. V 1028a

♦ istiʿāra-i makniyya (Ott, mod.T *kapalı iğretileme*) : in Turkish literature, an implicit metaphor, in which the comparison is achieved by reference to an attribute of an object without mentioning the object itself, 'a cool stream *sang lullabies*'. V 1028a

♦ istiʿāra-i muṣarraḥa (Ott, mod.T *açık iğretileme*) : in Turkish literature, an explicit metaphor, in which the comparison is achieved by direct reference to an object, 'our *lions* are off to the battlefield'. V 1028a

♦ istiʿāra ta<u>kh</u>yīliyya (A) : in rhetoric, a specific type of metaphor, characterised by the lack of a substratum, as in 'the claws of Death', where the metaphor 'claws' is not tied by an underlying simile to a part of death since death does not have any part that could be likened to claws. X 129b

istibḍāʿ (A) : a form of intercourse forbidden by the Prophet, consisting of a man who, fearing that he himself could not sire a robust offspring, placed his wife in the hands of a better progenitor. XII 133a

istibdād (A) : absolutism. I 64a; XI 569b

istibdāl (A) : in law, dation in payment. XII 207b

In WAḲF administration, a case in which the *waḳf* administrator is authorised to divest the foundation of properties which are no longer useful and to acquire others in their stead. IX 542a; XI 62b ff.

istibrāʾ (A) : confirmation of emptiness; in law, ~ is a) the temporary abstention from sexual relations with an unmarried female slave, in order to verify that she is not pregnant, on the occasion of her transfer to a new master or a change in her circumstances; and b) an action of the left hand designed to empty completely the urethra, before the cleaning of the orifices which must follow satisfaction of the natural needs. I 28a; I 1027a; IV 252b

istidlāl (A) : in logic, proof by circumstantial evidence. VII 1051a

In law, inductive reasoning. I 1326b; V 238b

In theology, inference. I 410b

In linguistic analysis, argumentation. VIII 894a

In rhetoric, demonstration. V 898a

istīfāʾ (A) : in law, taking possession of goods (syn. ḲABḌ). X 467a

istifhām (A) : in grammar, interrogation, indicated simply by the intonation of the sentence or by two interrogative particles. IV 255a

isti<u>gh</u>lāl → <u>GH</u>ĀRŪḲA

isti<u>gh</u>rāb (A) : in rhetoric, with *i<u>gh</u>rāb*, the concept of 'evoking wonder', related to 'feigned amazement' or TAʿA<u>DJ</u><u>DJ</u>UB. X 4a

istiṣḥāb al-ḥāl (A) : in law, a presumption of continuity, a source of law that was accepted by al-<u>Gh</u>azālī. X 932a

istiḥāḍa → ḤAYḌ

istiḥdād (A) : shaving the pubis, *ʿāna*. The syn. *ḥalḳ* is used for shaving the buttocks (*ḥalḳat al-dubur*). IX 312b

istiḥḍār (A) : the invocation of <u>DJ</u>INNs and angels and making them perceptible to the senses; spiritism. IV 264b; V 100b; and → ISTI<u>KH</u>DĀM

istiḥḳāḳ (A) : in eschatology, 'merit' which, in Muʿtazilī thinking, is attached to human deeds, bringing reward. III 465b

In literary criticism, 'greater claim', one of the three ways a poet can avoid the charge of plagiarism. XII 708b

istiḥsān (A) : in law, arbitrary personal opinion. I 730a; a method of finding the law which for any reason is contradictory to the usual ḲIYĀS, reasoning by analogy. III 1237a; IV 255b; juristic preference. IX 324b

istiḳāma → ṬĀLIʿ

istiḳbāl (A) : in astronomy, the opposition of sun and moon, that is, the situation wherein their elongation from each other amounts to 180 degrees. IV 259a

In astrology, ~ is sometimes employed to refer to the diametric aspect of the planets, although in general MUḲĀBALA is preferred. IV 259a

istikhāra (A) : the concept which consists of entrusting God with the choice between two or more possible options, either through piety and submission to His will, or else through inability to decide oneself, on account of not knowing which choice is the most advantageous one. The divine voice expresses itself either by means of a dream or by rhapsodomancy, ḲURʿA. IV 259b

In literary texts, ~ is merely a pious formula for a request to God for aid and advice, with no ritual character. IV 260a

istikhbār → TAḲSĪM

istikhdām (A) : making a spirit do a certain thing, one of three procedures of spiritism. The other two are *istinzāl* 'making a spirit descend in the form of a phantom' and *istiḥḍār* 'making a spirit descend into a body'. IX 570b; and → TAWRIYA

istikhfāf (A) : in law, blasphemy. VII 248a

istikhrādj (A) : in classical Muslim administration, the amount actually received, as opposed to the estimate, AṢL. II 78b; extracting money by force or violence. VII 724a

istiḳlāl (A) : separate, detached, unrestricted, not shared, or sometimes even arbitrary; in Ottoman official usage, ~ acquired the meaning of unlimited powers, e.g. in the terms of appointment of a provincial governor or military commander. In both Turkish and Arabic in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, ~ is commonly used in the sense of the independence of the holder of power from the restraints by either subjects or suzerain. IV 260b

During the same period, under the influence of European political thought and practice, ~ began to acquire the modern meaning of political sovereignty for a country or nation and, in Arabic, became primarily associated with the national independence movements among the Arabs. IV 260b

istiḳrār (A) : in classical Muslim administration, an inventory of the army supplies remaining in hand after issues and payments have been made. II 79a

istiḳsām (A) : in divination, belomancy, consultation of the throw of darts, three types of which were practised by the ancient Arabs. IV 263b; V 101a

isṭīl (A) : in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, a vagabond who pretends to be blind for begging purposes. VII 494a

istiʾlāf (A) : (gracious) remission. XI 75b

iṣṭilāḥ (A, pl. *iṣṭilāḥāt*) : in the works of early grammarians, in the discussion on language, ~ was used in the sense of a social institution tacitly accepted by its users; when opposed to *aṣl al-lugha* 'language', ~ denoted metalanguage. V 805b; Arabic words or calques from the Greek which have assumed a technical meaning. II 765b; IV 696b

istilḥāḳ (A), also *diʿwa* : in law, the affiliation of an illegitimate child, as occurred in 44/665 when Ziyād b. Abīhi was officially recognised as the son of Abū Sufyān. XI 520a; XII 475a

istimālet (T, < A) : conciliation; an Ottoman policy in the conquered lands. X 505a

istiʿmār (A) : colonisation. XII 722b

istimnāʾ (A) : masturbation. IX 566a

istimṭār → ISTISḲĀʾ

isti'nāf (A) : lit. recommencement, renewal; in law, in modern Arabic, appeal; in classical law, ~ is used with its sense of recommencement with regard to the ʿIBĀDĀT, the religious duties, especially prayer, i.e. when the entire prayer, which has been interrupted by the occurrence of a ritual impurity, has to be begun again. In Mālikī law, ~ is called *ibtidāʾ*. IV 264a

istinbāṭ (A) : in law, deduction (syn. *istikhrādj al-ḥakk*). V 238b

istindjāʾ (A) : in law, the purification incumbent upon the Muslim after the fulfilment of his natural needs. IV 264b

istinshāk (A) : in law, the inhaling of water through the nostrils at the time of the ablutions, WUḌŪʾ and GHUSL. IV 264b

istinzāl (A) : in divination, hydromancy. IV 264b; V 860a; and → ISTIKHDĀM

In metallurgy, the smelting of ores to obtain metals. V 973a

istiʿrāḍ (A) : the mustering, passing in review and inspecting of troops, also known as *ʿarḍ*, the official charged with this duty being known as the ʿĀRIḌ. IV 265a

Among the Khāridjites, ~ is a technical term meaning the interrogation to which the enemies of these sectarians were subjected on falling into their hands; used, in a general sense, of religious murder, the putting to death of Muslims and pagans who objected to their still rudimentary doctrine. IV 269a; IV 1076b

istirkhāʾ → INTISHĀR

istiṣḥāb (A) : in law, the principle by which a given judicial situation that had existed previously was held to continue to exist as long as it could not be proved that it had ceased to exist or had been modified. I 276a; IV 269b; IX 324b

istishrāk (A) : orientalism. XII 722b

istiskāʾ (A), or *istimṭār* : a supplication for rain during periods of great droughts, a rogatory rite still practised at the present day (notably in Jordan and Morocco) and dating back to the earliest Arab times. I 109a; IV 269b; VIII 931a

istiṣlāḥ (A) : in law, like ISTIḤSĀN, a method by which the otherwise usual method of deduction, analogy, is to be excluded in the preparation of legal decisions. IV 256b

istiṣnāʿ (A) : in finance, a manufacturing or 'made-to-order' contract, which, like MUḌĀRABA, MUSHĀRAKA, *idjāra* (→ IDJĀR), and MURĀBAḤA, was designed by sharīʿa advisors to newly-created Islamic finance institutions as part of the profit and loss sharing of modern-day banking. XII 691b

istiṭāʿa (A) : in theology and scholastic theology, the term for the 'capacity' to act created by God in the human subject. I 413b; III 1063a; IV 271a

istiṭāla → ṢIFĀT AL-ḤURŪF

istitār → MUKĀSHAFA

istithnāʾ (A) : in a religious context, ~ refers to the saying of the formula 'if God wills', *in shāʾ Allāh*. III 1196a; VII 607a

In grammar, ~ signifies 'exception', i.e. that one or more beings are excepted from the functions exercised in a complete sentence, as in 'everyone came except Zayd'. IV 272b

istiwāʾ (*khaṭṭ al-*) (A) : the line of equality, of equilibrium, that is to say, the equator, which divides the earth into two hemispheres, the northern and the southern, and joins together all those points of the globe where day and night are equal. IV 273a

iṭāʾ (A) : in prosody, a defect of the rhyme occurring when the same word in the same meaning is repeated in the rhymes of lines belonging to the same poem. It is permissable under certain circumstances. IV 413a

ītār (A) : in archery, the act of stringing or bracing the bow. IV 800a

itāwa (A, < *atā*) : lit. gift; a general term met with, especially in pre- and proto-Islamic times, meaning a vague tribute or lump payment made, for example, to or by a tribe or other group; later, the word describes, sometimes in a denigrating way, a tip or bribe. IV 276a

itb (A) : a loose gown worn by women on the Arabian peninsula. V 741a
itbāʿ (A) : a particular form of paronomasia, constituted by the repetition of a qualifying term to which there is added a metaplasm, i.e. the deliberate alternation of a radical consonant, usually the first, but never the third, e.g. *ḥasan basan* 'wonderfully attractive'. The first element is called *matbūʿ* or *mutbaʿ*, and the second *tābiʿ*. VII 823a
iṭbāḳ (A) : in grammar, velarisation; the *ḥurūf al-muṭbaḳa* are 'the emphatic consonants', that is, *ṣād, ẓāʾ, ṭāʾ* and *ḍād*. III 598b; X 83a
ithbāt (A) : to witness, to show, to point to, to demonstrate, to prove, to establish, to verify and to establish the truth, to establish (the existence of something); in mysticism, ~ is the opposite of *maḥw*, the effacement of the 'qualities of habit', and denotes the fact of performing one's religious obligations. IV 277a; and → TASHBĪH
ithm (A) : in theology, sin (→ DHANB). XII 475a
ithmid → KUḤL
ithnayn (A) : (of the) two; and → THANAWIYYA
♦ ithnayniyya (A) : in religion, duality. X 441a
iththaghara (A) : a verb which means '[a boy] bred his central milk teeth or front teeth, or he bred his teeth after the former ones had fallen out' (Lane). Several terms refer to different stages of this process: *shakka, ṭalaʿa, nadjama, nasaʿa, intaḍat (al-sinn), adrama (al-ṣabiyy), aḥfara, abdaʾa*. VIII 822a
iʿtibār (A) : in the science of Tradition, the consideration of whether a transmitter who is alone in transmitting a Tradition is well known, or whether, if the Tradition is solitary by one authority, someone in the chain has another authority, or whether another Companion transmits it. III 26b
iʿtidāl → TAṬARRUF
iʿtidjār → IḲTIʿĀṬ
iʿtiḳād (A) : the act of adhering firmly to something, hence a firmly established act of faith. In its technical sense, the term denotes firm adherence to the Word of God. It may be translated in European languages by the words 'croyance', 'belief', 'Glauben', with the proviso that this 'belief' is not a simple opinion or thought, but is the result of deep conviction. IV 279a
iʿtikāf (A) : a period of retreat in a mosque, a particularly commended pious practice which can be undertaken at any time. IV 280a
iʿtimād (A) : in archery, the holding firmly in the left hand the grip or handle of the bow while the right-hand fingers make a good locking of the string, the two hands exerting equal force. IV 800b
♦ **iʿtimād al-dawla** (A) : lit. trusty support of the state, a title of Persian viziers during the Ṣafawid period and subsequently. IV 281b
ʿitḳ (A) : emancipation (of slave). The freedman is called *ʿatīḳ* or *muʿtaḳ*. I 29b; the special ceremony of release from servitude of a *mamlūk*, who then became a member of the Mamlūk household of the Sultan at the Cairo citadel. X 7b
♦ ʿitḳ al-sāʾiba (A) : in Mālikī and Ḥanbalī law, an ancient type of enfranchisement of the slave without patronage, which term refers to the pre-Islamic custom of turning loose in complete freedom one particular she-camel of the herd, protected by taboos. I 30b
♦ **ʿitḳnāme** (T), *ʿitiḳnāme, ʿitāḳnāme* : an Ottoman term for a certificate of manumission, given to a liberated slave. IV 282b
iṭlāḳ (A) : in archery, the loose, loosing, the last and most important phase of shooting. There are three basic kinds of loosing: the MUKHTALAS, SĀKIN and MAFRŪK. IV 800b
♦ iṭlāḳāt (A) : in the science of diplomatic, the name given to documents reaffirming decisions of former rulers; sometimes, however, they were simply called TAWḲĪʿ. II 303b; II 306b

♦ iṭlāḳiyya (A) : one of two main headings in the monthly and yearly accounting registers of the Īlkhānids, under which fell payments by provincial tax-farmers made to members of the court, palace servants, and the military. III 284a; and → MUḲARRARIYYA

ʿiṭr → AFĀWĪH

ʿitra → AHL AL-BAYT

ittibāʿ (A) : 'active fidelity' to the Traditions of both the Prophet and the SALAF, a term preferred by reformists to *taḳlīd*, which denoted the servile dependence on traditional doctrinal authorities that they rejected. IV 152a

ittiḥād (A) : unity, association, joining together; in theology, the Christian incarnation of the Word in the person of Jesus, which concept is rejected by Muslims as being contradictory. IV 283a

In mysticism, the mystic union of the soul with God. IV 283a

ittiṣāl (A), or **wiṣāl** : in mysticism, a union of man and God which excludes the idea of an identity of the soul and God. IV 283a; the act of forming an amorous relationship, the equivalent of *wuṣla*. XI 210b; and → ṬĀLIʿ

ityān al-mayta (A) : necrophilia. IX 566a

ʿiwaḍ (A) : exchange value, compensation, that which is given in exchange for something; in law, ~ is used in a very broad sense to denote the counterpart of the obligation of each of the contracting parties in onerous contracts which are called 'commutative', that is, contracts which necessarily give rise to obligations incumbent on both parties. Thus in a sale, the price and the thing sold are each the ~ of the other. IV 286a

In unilateral contracts, ~ (*badal* and *thawāb* are also used) is employed in a more restricted sense: it is applied to the compensation offered by one of the two parties who is not absolutely obliged to give any. IV 286a

īwān (P, T *eyvān*) : in architecture, a chamber or a hall which is open to the outside at one end, either directly or through a portico; an estrade or a raised part of a floor; a palace or at least some sort of very formal and official building; any one of the halls in a religious building, MADRASA or mosque, which opens onto a courtyard. Art historians and archaeologists have given ~ a technically precise meaning, that of a single large vaulted hall walled on three sides and opening directly to the outside on the fourth. IV 287a; a room enclosed by three walls, opening out in the whole width of the fourth side, like an enormous gaping flat-based ledge, and generally roofed by a cradle vault (semi-cylindrical). Although not without similarity to the Greek *prostas*, the ~ does seem to be a genuinely Iranian creation. It became a characteristic theme of Sāsānid architecture. II 114a; and → LĪWĀN

In the terminology of horse-riding, a light bit. Two other types of bit were used: the *fakk*, a snaffle bit, and the *nāzikī*, seemingly the equivalent of the modern bit used by the Spahis. II 954a

iwazz (A) : in zoology, wild geese. IX 98b

iyād → NUʾY

ʿiyāfa (A) : animal omens (zoomancy) and, in the strict sense, ornithomancy, that is to say, the art of divining omens in the names of birds, their cries, their flight and their posture. IV 290b

iyāla → EYĀLET

ʿiyān (A) : observation (*bi 'l-~* 'first-hand'). III 736a; XII 801a

In the vocabulary of mediaeval agriculture, a strap of iron that attached the ploughshare to the crossbeam. VII 22a

izār (A), *azr, miʾzar, īzār* : a large sheet-like wrap worn both as a mantle and as a long loin cloth or waist cloth by pre-Islamic Arabs. III 1053a; V 732b; a large, enveloping body wrap for women in the Arab East or for both sexes in North Africa. V 741a; V 746a; a fringed shawl worn by Jewish women in Morocco. V 746a; and → RIDĀʾ

izhār → IDMĀR
izli → ASEFRU
ʿizlim → NĪL
izran (B) : in Tarifiyt, the genre of short songs, a part of the traditional oral literature. X 242a

J

jawi → PEGON
jiilaal → GU'
juru kunci (J) : 'key bearers'; in Java, the custodians of a holy tomb, who guard the proper rituals performed during a pilgrimage to the tomb. XI 537a

K

ḳāʿ (A) : in topography, a depression on the fringes of the volcanic fields south of Syria, free of stones, with a diameter of several hundreds of metres. Such depressions probably originated from volcanic eruptions of gas. V 593a
ḳāʿa (A) : in modern dwellings in Egypt, the principal room in the ḤARĪM, with a central space and lateral extensions. The walls surrounding the central space rise to the level of the terraces and carry a lantern which lights the interior. II 114b; an elongated hall with two axial ĪWĀNs and a sunken central area, usually square, known as the *durḳāʿa*. IV 428b; VIII 545b
♦ ḳāʿa muʿallaḳa (A) : in architecture, a raised hall, a living unit located on the second floor. VIII 545b
ḳaʿada (A) : 'those who sit down', term for the designation of the quietists in early Islam who abstained from overt rebellion and warfare against the ruling authority. I 207a; V 572a; XII 505a
ḳa'an → KHĀḲĀN
kaʿb (A) : in mathematics, ~, or *mukaʿʿab*, denotes the third power of the unknown quantity. II 362a; the cube root. III 1139b
In anatomy, a knucklebone (pl. *kiʿāb*), used in very early Islam as dice. V 616b
♦ kaʿb kaʿb (A) : in mathematics, the term for the sixth power. III 1140b
kaʿba (A) : the most famous sanctuary of Islam, called the temple or house of God, and situated in the centre of the great mosque in Mecca. The name ~ is connected with the cube-like appearance of the building. In former times the word also used to designate other similarly shaped sanctuaries. IV 317a
ḳaba zurna → ZURNA
ḳabā → ḲABĀʾ
ḳabāʾ (A, < Sp *capo* or *capa*), or *ḳabā* : a cloak or cape worn by soldiers. III 100a; V 739b; V 743b; a luxurious, sleeved robe, slit in front, with buttons, made of fabrics such as brocade. V 733b; V 748a ff.
kabā'ir (A, s. *kabīra*) : the 'grave sins', mentioned in the Qur'ān, the exact definition of which remained variable. The ~ are distinguished from the *ṣaghā'ir* 'lesser sins'. IV 1107b
kabaḳ (A, < T 'gourd'), or *ḳabaḳ* : in archery, a small target. II 954a; in Mamlūk terminology, a 'gourd' game (*ramy al-ḳabaḳ*), one of the branches of horse-riding. II 955a; IV 801a

ḳabāla (A) : in law, a guarantee, used mainly in connection with fiscal practice. It concerns the levying of the land-tax, KHARĀDJ, and that of special taxes, *mukūs* (→ MAKS). Local communities were held jointly responsible by the Treasury for the payment at the required time of the full amount of land-tax demanded. When individuals had difficulty in finding the necessary ready money immediately, an application was made to a notable to advance the sum required. The matter having generally been agreed in advance, this notable acted as a guarantor for the debt of the locality in question. This procedure constitutes the contract of ~, the offer being called *taḳbīl* and the person named *mutaḳabbil*. I 1144a; IV 323a; XI 75b

Alongside its use with regard to taxation on land, ~, as well as ḌAMĀN in this context, occurs in a more permanent sense to signify the farming of special revenues, generally of *mukūs* (→ MAKS), especially in towns, such as the sale of salt or the management of baths or even of a local customs office. IV 324a

kabar (A, < Eth *kabaro*) : an early term for a cylindrical drum with a single membrane.

kabāra (A), or *maʿtab* : among the Bedouin in the Western Desert and Cyrenaica, amends for offences against honour. They are known as *ḥashm* in ʿIrāḳ, *ḥashm* and *ʿayb* in Northern Yemen, *manshad* in parts of the Central Region (the Sinai, Jordan and Palestine). X 890b

ḳabas → IḲTIBĀS

kabāth (A) : the ripe fruit of the thorn tree *arāk* (*Capparis sedata*). II 1058b

kabbāda → SANG

ḳabbūs → MIʿZAF

kabd → KABID

ḳabḍ (A) : lit. seizure, grasping, contraction, abstention, etc., and used in the special vocabulary of various disciplines.

In law, ~ signifies taking possession of, handing over. In Mālikī law *ḥiyāza* is more frequently used. *Tasallum* is also employed to mean the act of handing over. Taking possession is accomplished by the material transfer of the thing when movable goods are involved; by occupation when it is a question of real estate, but also symbolically by the handing over of the keys or title deeds of the property. III 350a; IV 325b

In mysticism, ~ is a technical term used to denote a spiritual state of 'contraction' as opposed to 'expansion', BASṬ. I 1088b; IV 326a

In prosody, ~ is the suppression of the fifth quiescent letter in the feet *faʿūlun* and *mafāʿīlun* which occurs in the metres *ṭawīl, hazadj, muḍāriʿ* and *mutaḳārib*, so that these feet are reduced to *faʿūlu* and *mafāʿilun* respectively. A foot suffering this alteration is called *maḳbūḍ*. I 672a; IV 326b; XI 508b

In the Islamic ritual prayer, ~ is the position assumed after the saying of the words '*allāhu akbar*'. The hands are placed on the base of the chest, the right hand over the left. The Imāmīs and the Mālikīs let the arms fall at this point: the position of *sadl* or *irsāl*. VIII 929a

♦ ḳabḍ amāna (A) : in law, the term used for when the trustee, in regard to contracts which involve the temporary transfer of something from one contracting party to the other, is only held responsible if he has been at fault or in transgression, TAʿADDĪ, of the rules of the contract or of the customary dealings in such matters. IV 326a

♦ ḳabḍ ḍamān (A) : in law, the term used for when the trustee, in regard to contracts which involve the temporary transfer of something from one contracting party to the other, is held responsible for any loss arising in respect of the object, even through chance or circumstances over which he has no control. IV 326a

♦ ḳabḍa (A) : a measure of length, equalling a handsbreadth, or one-sixth, of the cubit, DHIRĀʿ. The ~ , in turn, consisted of four IṢBAʿs. II 232a; VII 137b

In archery, the grasp, sc. the position of the left hand (for a right-handed person) on

the grip or handle of the bow. In order to distinguish this technique from that of the ʿAḲD, the authors sometimes call this more precisely *al-ḳabḍa bi 'l-shamāl.* IV 800b

kabid (A, according to lexicographers the only correct form), or *kabd, kibd* : in anatomy, the liver; through contiguity of meaning, ~ is also used to designate the parts of the body in the vicinity of the liver. Thus, for instance, in classical Arabic ~ can denote the surfaces of the body more or less close to the liver as well as the chest and even the belly. In the same way ~ is also frequently used to cover the middle, centre, interior (we would say heart) of something. IV 327a

ḳābiḍ (A) : the quality of food being astringent. II 1071b

ḳābila (A) : in alchemy, the part known as the 'receiver' of the distilling apparatus. I 486a

ḳabīla (A) : a large agnatic group, the members of which claim to be descended from one common ancestor; this word is generally understood in the sense of tribe. IV 334a

♦ ḳabīlat Suʿaydiyyīn (A) : a Türkmen community near Baʿlabakk in Lebanon, which speaks a Turkish idiom and preserves a narrative of its origins that relates it vaguely to the Saldjūḳs and Ottomans. X 685a

♦ ḳabīlī (A, pl. *ḳabāʾil*) : a tribesman; in Yemen, one of various status groups which include the city dweller of tribal origin, ʿarabī, and, at the bottom of the social order, those with menial occupations without tribal origin, called either *banu 'l-khums* 'sons of the fifth' or *ahl al-ṭaraf* 'people of the extremity'. XI 277a

ḳabīlī → ḲABĪLA

kabīr (A) : lit. large; designation for a tribal chief. IX 115b; an attorney under customary law proceedings among the Bedouin in the Central Region of the Sinai, Jordan and Palestine. X 888b; and → ṢAGHĪR

♦ **kabīra** (A, pl. *kabāʾir*) : in theology, a grave sin.

ḳabr (A) : tomb; ~ was first applied to the pit used as a burial place for a corpse (as was the term *ḍarīḥ*), giving rise to its habitual use in the text of numerous epitaphs containing the expression *hādhā ḳabru* ... 'this is the grave of ...'. Originally distinguished from the term *ṣandūḳ* 'cenotaph', ~ had the more general meaning of the tumulus or construction covering the grave to bring it to notice, a custom current in Islamic countries from early times. IV 352a; ~ is used almost exclusively as a term that refers to the location of a tomb or to describe a simple grave with no architectural features attached to it.

kabīsa (A, < Ar) : intercalation, which compensates for the difference between the lunar and solar years. The plural form *kabāʾis* was used for 'leap years'. X 258a,b

kabsh → ḤAMAL; SINNAWR

ḳabūl → BAYʿ; ḲAWS

ḳabūs → MIʿZAF

kabūsh (A), and *shalīl* : in the terminology of horse-riding, a cloth worn by the horse. The terms *tashāhir* and *djulla* are confined to stable-cloths. II 954a

ḳačḳun → YAWA

ḳaḍāʾ (A, T *ḳażā*) : originally meaning 'decision', ~ has in the Qurʾān different meanings according to the different contexts, e.g., doomsday, jurisdiction, revelation of the truth, and predestination, determination, decree. IV 364b

In theology, ~ means God's eternal decision or decree concerning all beings, that must be fulfilled in all circumstances, and the execution and declaration of a decree at the appointed time; sudden death. IV 364b

In a religious context, ~ is the technical term for the neglected performance of religious duties, e.g. repeating prayers to make up for having omitted them at the appointed time, as opposed to ADĀʾ. I 169b; IV 365a; IX 94b

In law, ~ stands for both the office and the sentence of a ḲĀḌĪ 'judge'; ~ is also found in legal terminology with the meaning 'payment of a debt'. IV 364b ff.

In 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳas͟hānī's mystical thought, ~ means the existence of the universal types of all things in the world of the Universal Reason. I 89b

In the Ottoman empire, *ḳażā'* meant not only the judgement of the ḲĀḌĪ but also the district which his administrative authority covered. The term ~, denoting an administrative district, has remained in use in the Turkish republic. IV 365a

♦ **al-ḳaḍā' wa 'l-ḳadar** (A) : when combined into one expression, these two words have the overall meaning of the Decree of God, both the eternal Decree (the most frequent meaning of ḲAḌĀ') and the Decree given existence in time (the most frequent sense of ḲADAR). Other translations are possible, for example, *ḳaḍā'*, predetermination; *ḳadar*, decree or fate, destiny, in the sense of determined or fixed. It is also possible to use *ḳaḍā'* alone for decree in its broadest sense and define *ḳadar* more precisely as existential determination. The expression combining them is in general use and has become a kind of technical term of scholastic theology. I 413a; II 618a; IV 365a

In Persian literature, *ḳaḍā' u ḳadar* is a genre of poetry devoted to stories about the working of fate, fashionable in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. VI 834b; VIII 776a

♦ ḳaḍā' u ḳadar → AL-ḲAḌĀ' WA 'L-ḲADAR

ḳadam (A) : in mysticism, 'priority', a principle arising in the second half of the 19th century in Egypt that implied the exclusive right of a ṣūfī order to proselytise and to appear in public in an area if it could be proved that it had been the first to do so, i.e. that it had seniority (*ḳidam*). X 324a; and → AT͟HAR

♦ ḳadamgāh (A *ḳadam* 'foot', P *gāh* 'place') : lit. place of the [imprint of the Prophet's] foot, syn. **ḳadam s͟harīf**; there are many such places all over the Arab lands and in Turkey, and they are especial objects of veneration in Muslim India, along with *pand͟jagāhs* 'places of the [imprint of the] palm of the hand', impressions of the hands of holy men. XII 501b

ḳadar (A) : measure, evaluation, fixed limit; in its technical sense, ~ designates determination, the divine decree in so far as it sets the fixed limits for each thing, or the measure of its being. III 1142b; IV 365b; and → AL-ḲAḌĀ' WA 'L- ḲADAR

In 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳas͟hānī's mystical thought, ~ is the arrival in the world of the Universal Soul of the types of existing things; after being individualised in order to be adapted to matter, these are joined to their causes, produced by them, and appear at their fixed times. I 89b

ḳadāsa (A) : holiness; beings that are pure, wholly unsullied or in touch with the divine. IV 372a

ḳaḍb → ḲATT

♦ ḳaḍba (A) : in archery, a quiver made from the *nab'* wood (*Grewia tenax*). IV 800a

kaddād (A, pl. *kawādīd*) : a tiller of the soil. I 233b

kaddāḥ (A) : a flint-maker. XII 757a

ḳadḥ (A) : in medicine, the operation for cataract. II 481b; X 456a

kad͟hd͟hāb → ṢĀLIḤ

ḳad͟hd͟hāf (A) : oarsman, part of the crew of the warships in the Muslim navy. XII 120a

ḳad͟hf (A) : in law, a slanderous accusation of fornication, ZINĀ', or of illegitimate descent; in the latter case, it amounts to accusing the mother of fornication. I 29b; IV 373a

ḳāḍī (A) : in law, a judge, a representative of authority, invested with the power of jurisdiction. In theory, the head of the community, the caliph, is the holder of all powers; like all other state officials, the ~ is therefore a direct or indirect delegate, NĀ'IB, the delegate retaining the power to do justice in person. The objective being the appli-

cation of the law, which is essentially religious, the function of the judge is a religious one. In theory, his competence embraces both civil and penal cases, and includes the administration of mosques and pious endowments. His competence in penal matters, however, is restricted to the very few crimes envisaged by the law, their repression being currently undertaken by the police. II 890b; IV 373b

♦ **ḳāḍī ʿaskar** (A) : judge of the army; an institution dating from the 2nd/8th century. Under Saladin, this institution was called *ḳāḍī leshker*. The position began to lose its importance after the middle of the 10th/16th century, when power passed into the hands of the grand MUFTĪ of Istanbul. It was finally abolished under the Turkish republic. IV 375a

♦ ḳāḍi ʾl-djamāʿa (A) : ḲĀḌĪ of the community of Muslims; a title which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān gave, between 138/755 and 141/758, to the *ḳāḍī* of the Spanish territory already conquered, until then known as *ḳāḍi ʾl-djund* ʿḳāḍī of the military districtʾ. Later, ~ became an institution similar to that of the ḲĀḌI ʾL-ḲUḌĀT. IV 374b; VI 2a

♦ ḳāḍi ʾl-djund → ḲĀḌĪ ʾL-DJAMĀʿA

♦ ḳāḍi ʾl-ḳuḍāt (A) : ʿthe judge of judgesʾ; the highest position in the system of judicial organization of the Islamic state, which, when combined with the institution of the *wizāra* (→ WAZĪR), was the highest step under the authority of the caliph. The institution of ~ was an adaptation of the Persian *mōbedān-mōbed*. I 164b; IV 374a; VI 2a

♦ ḳāḍī leshker → ḲĀḌĪ ʿASKAR

ḳaḍīb (A) : rod (syn. *ʿaṣā*), one of the insignia of the sovereignty of the caliph. IV 377b
In archery, a bow made of a stave all of a piece and unspliced, sc. a self-bow. IV 798a
In music, a wand which supplied rhythm. II 1073b; a percussion stick. VIII 852b; IX 10b
In anatomy, the penis. XII 641a

ḳadīd (A) : in pre-Islamic Arabia, meat cut into thin strips and left to dry in the sun. II 1059a

ḳādima (A) : a quill feather. XI 517a

ḳadîn → KHĀṢṢEKĪ

♦ ḳadînlar salṭanatî (T) : ʿthe rule of the womenʾ, the period from the mid-10th/16th to the mid-11th/17th centuries, when royal women enjoyed a large measure of influence in the Ottoman empire. XI 130b

ḳādîrgha → BASHTARDA

kadkhudā : a giver of years. X 367b; and → KETKHUDĀ

ḳadriya (A) : cedar-oil, extracted from cedarwood. IV 772b

ḳādūs (A, pl. *ḳawādīs*) : the bucket used in the water wheel (DŪLĀB) on the banks of the Nile in mediaeval Egypt. V 863b
In Fās, a pipe of a water channel, taking the water to individual houses; the special workers for the upkeep of the water channels were called *ḳwādsiyya* (< ~). V 877b

kāf (A) : the twenty-second letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *k*, with the numerical value 20. It is defined as occlusive, postpalatal, surd. IV 399a

ḳāf (A) : the twenty-first letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *ḳ*, with the numerical value 100. It is defined as occlusive, uvulovelar, surd. IV 400a

ḳafā (A) : nape of the neck. IX 312b

kafāʾa (A) : equality, parity and aptitude; in law, ~ denotes the equivalence of social status, fortune and profession (those followed by the husband and by the father-in-law), as well as parity of birth, which should exist between husband and wife, in default of which the marriage is considered ill-matched and, in consequence, liable to break up. I 27b; IV 404a; IV 1116b; and → KUFU

kafāla (A) : in law, an institution corresponding to some extent to the surety-bond, with the difference that the jurists distinguished two types of surety-bond: that for which the

surety, *kafīl*, is binding to secure only the appearance in court of the debtor, *aṣīl* or *makfūl*; known as the *kafāla bi 'l-nafs*, it is an institution peculiar to Islamic law. And, secondly, the *kafāla bi 'l-māl*, by means of which the surety stands as a pledge to the creditor, *makfūl lahu*, that the obligation of the principal debtor will be fulfilled. IV 404b

kafan (A) : shroud, a cloth or cloths woven by an *akfānī*, which the deceased's body is wrapped in, by a professional enshrouder, *kaffān*, and then buried. Sometimes the corpse was borne without a bier or it could be carried in an open wooden coffin (*ṣandūḳ, tābūt*). XII 502b

ḳafes (T) : lit. cage; the late but popular term for the area of the harem of the Topkapı Palace in which Ottoman princes of the blood (*sheh-zādeler*) were confined from the early 17th century onwards. In a more abstract sense, ~ is applied to the system whereby the rights of claimants to the Ottoman throne were determined. Of earlier usage is the appellation *shimshīrlik* or *čimshīrlik* 'the box shrub', a reference to the little courtyard planted with boxwood, at the northeast corner of the sultan's mother's courtyard. XII 503b

♦ ḳafesī (T) : a dome-shaped KAVUḲ 'cap', worn with a long turban forming folds fastened towards the base with a fine thread or pin. It was worn in Ottoman Turkey from the 17th century by the functionaries of the Defter (→ DAFTAR). V 751b

kaff (A) : palm, paw; in divination, *ʿilm al-~* is a process which belongs to the realm of physiognomy, designating more specifically chirognomy or the art of deducing the character of a person according to the shape and appearance of the hands. But the use of the term has become general. It also covers both chiromancy (the study of the lines of the hand), dactylomancy (prognostications drawn from the observation of the finger joints), and onychomancy (divination from the finger nails). IV 405b

In prosody, ~ is a deviation in the metre because of the suppression of the 7th consonant, e.g. the *nūn* of *fāʿilātu[n]*. I 672a; XI 508b

For ~ in military science, → SĀʿID

♦ kaff al-ʿadhrāʾ (A) : in botany, *Anastatica hierochuntia, Cruciferae*, the dried seed-heads of which can last for years and are blown around the desert, the seeds germinating when water is available. The plant, used as a birth charm, is also called *kaff Fāṭima bint al-nabī* or *kaff Maryam*. VI 631b

♦ kaff al-hirr (A) : in botany, the Corn crowfoot (*Ranunculus arvensis*) and the Asiatic crowfoot (*R. asiaticus*). IX 653a

♦ kaff al-nasr (A) : 'vulture's foot', in botany, the Scolopender or Hart's tongue (*Scolopendrium vulgare*), and also the Water milfoil (*Myriophyllum verticillatum*). VII 1014b

ḳaffāl (A) : a locksmith. XII 757a

kaffāra (A) : Qurʾānic term for an expiatory and propitiatory act which grants remission for faults of some gravity. IV 406b; IX 94b

kāfī (Pu) : a genre of Muslim Punjabi literature, comprising a lyric consisting of rhymed couplets or short stanzas having a refrain repeated after each verse, and normally following the usual Indian poetic convention whereby the poet assumes a female persona, typically that of a young girl yearning to be united with her husband/love, allegorically to be understood as an expression of the soul's yearning for God. VIII 256a

kafīl → KAFĀLA

ḳāfila → KĀRWĀN

kāfir (A) : originally, 'obliterating, covering', then, 'concealing benefits received', i.e. ungrateful, which meaning is found even in the old Arab poetry and in the Qurʾān; the development of meaning to 'infidel, unbeliever' probably took place under the influence of Syriac and Aramaic. IV 407b

♦ kāfir niʿma (A) : in theology, an unbeliever by ingratitude. XI 478a

♦ **kāfirkūb** (A, < *kāfir* + P *kūbīdan*) : lit. heathen-basher, i.e. a club; the term is testified, only in the plural *kāfirkūbāt*, in ʿIrāḳ from the end of the 2nd/8th century, although al-Ṭabarī cites it when describing the incidents arising in 66/685 during the revolt of al-Mukhtār. It seems to be a term born of a particular period and in a relatively circumscribed area which swiftly became obsolete. IV 44b; IV 411a

ḳāfiya (A, pl. *ḳawāfin*) : in prosody, rhyme. Originally, the word meant 'lampoon', then 'line of poetry', 'poem'. These earlier senses survived in Islamic times after the word had also come to be used in the technical sense of 'rhyme'. The native lexicographers believe that 'rhyme' is the original and that 'line of poetry', 'poem' are secondary. IV 411b; and → SADJʿ

♦ ḳāfiya muḳayyada (A) : fettered *ḳāfiya*, a rhyme in which the rhyme consonant is not followed by a letter of prolongation. IV 412a

♦ ḳāfiya muṭlaḳa (A) : loose *ḳāfiya*, a rhyme in which the rhyme consonant is followed by a letter of prolongation or by a short vowel and a vowelled or quiescent *hāʾ*. IV 412a

kāfiyya (A, < It *[s]cuffia*; pl. *kawāfī*), or *kūfiyya* : a head scarf, a rectangular piece of cloth of linen or silk in various colors, almost a yard square, worn by both sexes in the Arab East. The cloth is folded diagonally, the ends hang down or are tied below the chin, and above it the Bedouin sometimes and townsmen usually wind a turban. This form, which is known in Egypt since Mamlūk times and is mentioned in the *Arabian Nights*, came into prominence again as part of the dress of the Wahhābīs. V 741a; X 613a

ḳafīz (A) : a measure of capacity used in ʿIrāḳ and caliphal Persia for weighing small quantities of grain. Its actual weight varied. VI 119b f.

kaff (A) : in a religio-political context, the quiescent attitude of some Khāridjite groups in early Islam (→ ḲAʿADA). XII 505a

kaffān → KAFAN

kāfī (P) : in Western Indian literature, a sung ṣūfī lyric poem with a refrain repeated after each verse, first brought to perfection by Saččal Sarmast (d. 1242/1827) of Khayrpūr in Upper Sind. V 611a

ḳafla → ʿAḲD

ḳaftān → KHAFTĀN

kāfūr (A, < H *karpūra, kappūra*, Mal *kapur*) or *ḳāfūr, ḳa(f)ūr* : in botany, camphor, the white, translucent substance which is distilled together with camphor oil from the wood of the camphor tree (*Cinnamomum camphora*) indigenous to east Asia (China, Formosa, Japan). IV 417b; VIII 1042b

The same word ~ (variants *kufurrā, kifirrā, djufurrā* etc.) also designates the integument of the palm leaf or of the grapevine. IV 418a

kāghad (A, < P), or *kāghid* : paper. After its introduction in Samarḳand by Chinese prisoners in 134/751, various kinds of paper were then made and it must be supposed that paper achieved some importance as early as the second half of the 2nd/8th century. Names for the different kinds of paper are: *firʿawnī, sulaymānī, djaʿfarī, ṭāhirī*, and *nūḥī*. IV 419b

ḳaghan → KHĀḲĀN

kāghān (A) : in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, a boy who acts as a male prostitute. VII 494a

♦ kāghānī (A) : in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, a vagrant who gives out that he is demoniacally possessed or an epileptic. VII 494a

kāghid → KĀGHAD

kaghnı̊ (T) : a Byzantine wagon, used in mediaeval Turkicised Anatolia. I 205b

kahār (IndP) : in the Mughal period, a bearer of different kinds of litters, classed as infantry. V 687a

ḳaḥba (pl. *ḳiḥāb*) → BAGHIYY
ḳahd → HADHAF
kaḥḥāl (A) : in medicine, an oculist. I 388a; an ophthalmist. V 357a
kāhin (A) : a term of controversial origin. It appears to have been used by the 'Western Semites' to designate the possessor of a single function with related prerogatives: the offering of sacrifices in the name of the group, the representing of this group before the deity, the interpretation of the will of the deity, and the anticipation and communication of his wishes. The Arab ~ combined the functions of sacrificer and guardian of the sanctuary, and those of the *mantis* and the *augur*; hence, it is possible to render ~ by 'priest', in the sense of agent of the official cult. But the predominance of nomadism, where it was usually the head of the family or tribe who offered sacrifices and in which frequent migrations prevented the establishment of an official form of worship and fixed places of worship, weakened the first role of the ~ while favouring the development of the second, more in keeping with the expectations of most of his fellow-tribesmen. Thus it is virtually necessary to translate ~ as 'diviner' with the dual meaning of the Latin *divinus*, that is to say, 'one inspired' and 'prophet', without excluding his strictly priestly role in places where social conditions allowed it, such as at Mecca. IV 420b; and → ʿARRĀF
ḳāhiriyya (A) : omnipotence (of God). I 89b
kāhiya → KETKHUDĀ
kahramān → ḲĀRIM
kahrubā (P), also *kāhrabā'* : yellow amber; today, ~ also used for electricity. IV 445b
kahūr (P) : in botany, a spiny shrub, enjoyed by camels. V 669b
ḳahwa (A) : coffee; originally a name for wine, ~ was transferred towards the end of the 8th/14th century to the beverage made from the berry of the coffee tree; the word for coffee in Ethiopia, *būn*, has passed into Arabic in the form *bunn*, as a name of the coffee tree and berry. IV 449a; XII 775b

♦ ḳahwači-bāshī (P) : in Ṣafawid times, an official in the royal kitchen who headed the department of coffee making. XII 609b

♦ ḳahwa-khāna → ČĀY-KHĀNA

kahya → KETKHUDĀ
ḳā'id (A, pl. *ḳuwwād*) : an imprecise term, but one always used to designate a military leader whose rank might vary from captain to general. II 507b; IV 456a; designation for a tribal chief (referring to the chief's leadership in war). IX 115b

♦ ḳā'id ra'sih (A) : 'governor of himself', a powerful ḲĀ'ID who was removed from office and compelled to live at court, with the honour due to his rank. IV 456b

ḳāʿid (A) : lit. sitter; in shīʿī terminology, the 'sitting' members of the family of the Prophet, who refused to be drawn into ventures of armed revolt, in contrast to the ḲĀ'IM. IV 456b

♦ ḳāʿida → ḲAWĀʿID

ḳaʿīd (A), and *khafīf* : a term applied to a wild animal or bird which approaches a traveller or hunter from the rear, one of the technical terms designating the directions of a bird's flight, or an animal's steps, which play an important part in the application of divination known as FA'L, ṬĪRA and ZADJR. I 1048a; II 760a
ḳā'if (A, pl. *ḳāfa*) : a physiognomist. I 28b
ḳā'ila → ẒĀHIRA
ḳā'im (A) : lit. riser, the shīʿī MAHDĪ, referring both to the member of the family of the Prophet who was expected to rise against the illegitimate regime and restore justice on earth, and to the eschatological Mahdī. Synonyms in shīʿī terminology are: *ḳā'im āl Muḥammad, al-ḳā'im bi 'l-sayf, al-ḳā'im bi-amr Allāh, ḳā'im al-ḳiyāma*. IV 456b; V 1235b

Among the Ismāʿīliyya, ~ is the name of the seventh 'speaking' prophet who will abrogate Muḥammad's sharīʿa and restore the pure unity, *tawḥīd*, of the times before Adam's fall. IV 203b; IV 457a; XII 206b

♦ ḳāʾim bi-aʿmāl (A) : in the science of diplomacy, the term for *chargé d'affaires*. VIII 813a; and → MAṢLAḤATGÜZĀR

♦ **ḳāʾim-maḳām** (T) : the title borne by a number of different officials in the Ottoman empire. The most important of them was the *ṣadāret ḳāʾim-maḳāmî* or *ḳāʾim-maḳāmî pasha* who stayed in the capital as deputy when the grand vizier had to leave for a military campaign. The ~ enjoyed almost all the authority of the grand vizier, issuing *fermān*s (→ FARMĀN) and nominating functionaries, but he was not allowed to intervene in the area where the army was operating. IV 461b; colonel. X 872a

In 1864 the ~ became the governor of an administrative district, and under the Republican regime he continued to be administrator of such a distict. IV 461b

In Ottoman Egypt, ~ was applied to the acting viceroy before Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, and under the latter to specific grades in the military and administrative hierarchies. IV 461b

ḳāʾime (T, < A) : the name formerly used for paper money in Turkey, an abbreviation for *ḳāʾime-i muʿtebere*. Originally, the word was used of official documents written on one large, long sheet of paper. IV 460a; debt certificate, issued in the summer of 1840 by the Porte, that was acceptable in government offices in payment of obligations. X 203a

kāʾin (A, pl. *kāʾināt*) : in speculative theology and philosophy, the existent thing. IV 795a

kaʿk (A) : in the mediaeval Middle East, a pastry, to which dough SAWĪḲ was added. IX 93b

ḳāḳum (A) : in zoology, the ermine. II 817a

ḳaʿḳāʿ (A) : a man whose foot-joints can be heard cracking as he walks; often found as a proper name in the early days of Islam. IV 463b

ḳalʿa (A) : castle, fortress. IV 467a; citadel. IX 411a; and → AGADIR

kalab (A) : in medicine, rabies. IV 490a; XII 189b

ḳālab (A, pl. *ḳawālib*) : in the mediaeval kitchen, a mould. VI 808b

In the religious terminology of metempsychosis, one of the terms for the body in which the spirit is incarnated. V 893b; X 182a

ḳalaba → SHAGHABA

ḳalafat → ČORBADJÎ KEČESI

ḳalāḳil (A) : a name for the SŪRAS that begin with *ḳul* 'say:': lxxii, cix and cxii-cxiv. IX 887b

ḳalam (A, < Gk κάλαμος 'reed'; pl. *aḳlām*) : the reed-pen used for writing in Arabic script. It is a tube of reed cut between two knots, sliced obliquely (or concave) at the thicker end and with the point slit, in similar fashion to the European quill and later the steel-pen. IV 471a

In Ottoman usage, ~ (pronounced *ḳalem*) was used figuratively to designate the secretariat of an official department or service; it then came to be the normal term for an administrative office. This usage has survived in modern Turkish, and is also current in Arabic. IV 471b

♦ ḳalam al-ṭūmār → MUKHTAṢAR AL-ṬŪMĀR

♦ ḳalamdān → DAWĀT

♦ **ḳalamkārī** (< P *ḳalam* 'pen' + *kār* 'work') : the hand-painted and resist-dyed cottons of India, known as chintz. IV 471b

♦ aḳlām-i sitta (P) : 'six [calligraphic] styles', the main Islamic scripts, viz. *muḥaḳḳaḳ, rīḥān, thuluth, naskh, tawḳīʿ, riḳāʿ*. IV 1123a

kalām (A) : a word; in the Qur'ān, ~ is found in the expression *kalām allāh* 'the Word of God'. IV 468b; ~, or **'ilm al-kalām**, is also the term for 'theology', one of the religious sciences of Islam and the discipline which brings to the service of religious beliefs discursive arguments. III 1141b ff.; a rational argument, defensive apologetics, or the science of discourse (on God). I 694a; IV 468b

For ~ in music, → GHINĀ'

ḳalān : a Mongolian tax, apparently a general term for occasional exactions of a specifically Mongol rather than Islamic character, imposed on the sedentary population by the Mongols and including some kind of corvée. VII 233b

ḳalandar (T, < P ?) : 'a vagabond of scandously offensive behaviour'; the name given to the members of a class of wandering dervishes which existed formerly, especially in the 7th/13th century, in the Islamic world, within the area extending from Almalïk in Turkestan in the east to Morocco in the west, practising in its extreme form the antinomian way of life of Malāmatiyya mysticism. ~ passed into Arabic also in the form *karandal*. IV 58b; IV 472b; VI 225b

♦ ḳalandariyyāt (P) : in Persian literature, a genre of poetry, named after the ḲALANDAR. Poems of this genre can be quatrains or may have a form intermediate between the ḲAṢĪDA and the GHAZAL. They are characterised by the use of antinomian motives referring to the debauchery of beggars and drunks. IV 58b; IX 4b

ḳalansuwa (P, A, pl. *ḳalānis*), and *ḳalansuwa ṭawīla, ṭawīla* or *danniyya* : the name for a cap worn by men either under the turban proper or alone on the head. Caps of different shapes were called ~; varieties of ~ are *ṭurṭūr, burnus, urṣūṣa*, etc. X 609a; XII 508a; a distinctive, tall, conical Persian hat, resembling a long amphora-like wine jar known as *dann*, worn in the mediaeval Islamic period. Its top was pointed. IV 940a; V 737b; X 612b; a pointed bonnet for men in Algeria and Tunisia. V 746a

♦ ḳalansuwa buḳrāṭ (A) : in medicine, a particular kind of head bandage. XII 508b

♦ ḳalansuwa nuhās (A) : the metal cap of the obelisk near Heliopolis. XII 508b

♦ ḳalansuwa turāb (A) : in modern Arabic, a chemical sublimating vessel. XI 508b

kalāntar (P) : a term used in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries to mean 'leader', occurring especially with reference to the tribal and military classes. From the late 9th/15th century onwards, ~ designates (i) an official belonging to 'civil' hierarchy in charge of a town or district or the ward of a town, (ii) the head of a guild, and (iii) the head of a tribe or sub-tribe. In its first sense, which is now obsolete, ~ sometimes overlapped or was synonymous with RA'ĪS, DĀRŪGHA, and KETKHUDĀ. IV 474a

kalawta (A), or *kalūta* : a kind of cap which is first mentioned in the Fāṭimid period. It was to become a standard item in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times. V 738a; X 612b; in Persian, pronounced *kulōta*, a veil worn by women or a child's cap. X 613a

kalb (A) : in zoology, the domestic dog (*Canis familiaris*). IV 489b; wood-eating worms. IV 491b

In the game of backgammon, the piece played with (P *muhra*). VII 963a

For ~ in astronomy, IV 492a; IX 471b

♦ kalb al-baḥr (A), or *ḥafshrūsī* : in zoology, the white whale. VIII 1022b; the dogfish, also called the *kawsadj* or *lakhm*. IV 491b

♦ kalb al-mā' (A) : in zoology, the otter; in the western Islamic world, ~ is the name for the beaver. IV 491b

♦ kalb al-mayy (A) : in zoology, the mole-cricket (*gryllotalpa vulgaris*), also called *ḥālūsh* or *ḥarrāthā*. IV 491b

ḳalb (A, pl. *ḳulūb*) : heart. IV 486a; (A, P, T) false, base, impure. X 409a; and → AṢL, HASHM

♦ kalpazan (< P *ḳalb-zan*) : in numismatics, a counterfeiter of coins. X 409b

kalba (P) : in Iran, a sausage, a popular food item introduced in the 20th century. XII 611b
kaldāniyyūn (A) : the 'Chaldaeans', one of seven ancient nations according to al-Mas'ūdī, and consisting of several smaller nations whose common kingdom, in the Fertile Crescent and the Arabian peninsula, preceded that of the Persians and whose common language is Syriac. VIII 1007b
ḳāldjiyān (T) : in Ottoman times, the worker in the mint who prepared the standard ingots by melting the metal. II 119a
ḳalemiyye (T) : in the Ottoman empire, one division of the ruling elite, the men of the pen, later referred to as *mülkiyye* 'bureaucrats'. XII 675b
ḳalewī → ḲALLĀVĪ
ḳalghay : a title best known as indicating the deputy or heir apparent of the KHĀNs of the Crimean Khānate. Its linguistic origins are uncertain. IV 499b
ḳālī (T) : a type of carpet (variants *ghālī, khālī*) manufactured at Ḳālīḳalā (now Erzerum). Although ~ is generally considered to be Turkish in origin, it is unattested in ancient Turkish texts. It may therefore be of Iranian origin. XII 136a
ḳal'ī (A), or *ḳala'ī* : in metallurgy, tin; the Arabic name, either after Kalah, a well known port on the peninsula of Malacca, or *kaling*, the Malayan word for tin, bears witness to the fact that tin had to be imported. IV 502a; V 964b; and → RAṢĀṢ ḲAL'Ī
~ is also used for a type of sword which is often mentioned, especially in early Arabic poetry. This kind of sword is generally considered to be of Indian origin. IV 502b
ḳalīb (A) : in early Islam, the common ditch, into which e.g. 'Utba b. Rabī'a was thrown when mortally wounded in the battle of Badr. X 944b
kalima (A, pl. *kalimāt*) : the spoken word, utterance; ~ can also be extended to mean 'discourse' and 'poem'. IV 508a; VIII 532a
In Druze hierarchy, ~ is the third of the five cosmic ranks in the organisation. II 632a
♦ kalimat al-tawḥīd (A) : the first article of the SHAHĀDA (*lā ilāha illā llāh*). X 389a
♦ kalimāt-i ḳudsiyya (P) : 'holy sayings', eight adages or rules that are the essentials of Khwādjagān doctrine and thought. XII 521b
ḳāliṣ (A) : in botany, the name of a plant, which seemed to represent a human head with a high cap. XII 508b
ḳālīte → BASHTARDA
ḳalḳala → ṢIFĀT AL-ḤURŪF
ḳallāb (A) : in numismatics, a counterfeiter of coins. X 409b
kallābazī : the master of the hawking-pack, assisting the falconer or hawker, who sets his greyhounds on the gazelle or the hare. I 1152b
ḳallāvī (T), *ḳalewī*, or *kal[l]ewī* : a headdress reserved for dignitaries with the rank of pasha which, from the 18th century, became official head-gear in Ottoman Turkey. It was a ḲAVUḲ with the body of a cone, worn with a white turban rolled around, draped and bulging in four places, decorated with a gold band. V 751b;
ḳalpaḳ (T) : busby, a kind of bonnet of lamb's fleece or woollen cloth decorated with lamb's fleece, worn by men and women in Ottoman Turkey. V 751b
ḳalūḳ (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse of uncertain temper. II 954a
kalūta → KALAWTA
ḳalyān → NARDJĪLA
♦ ḳalyandār : a water pipe carrier, employed by people of rank. X 754a
kalym : the purchase of the fiancée, a custom among the Čerkes tribes of the Caucasus which could only be avoided by resorting to abduction in case of refusal by the parents. The pretence of forcible abduction remains an essential rite in the marriage ceremony. II 23a

ḳāma → BĀʿ

kāmakh (A, pl. *kawāmikh*) : a variety of relish or condiment, served, several at a time, in small bowls into which bread or morsels of food could be dipped. X32a

kamāla (A) : a renewable seasonal contract covering two seasons, either summer-autumn or winter-spring, which engages a shepherd or goatherd. XII 319b; and → FAḌĀʾIL

kamān (P) : bow; in music, a violin bow. VIII 346b; VIII 348a

♦ kamāna : in India, a bamboo bow, used to cut marble. VIII 269a

♦ kamāndja (A, < P *kamānča*, dim. of *kamān*), or more rarely *shīshak* (A, < P, T *ghičak, ghidjak*, etc., < San *ghoshaka* ?) : in music, the hemispherical viol, perhaps the best known form of viol in the Islamic east. The body consists of a hemisphere of wood, coconut, or a gourd, over the aperture of which a membrane is stretched. The neck is of wood, generally cylindrical, and there is a foot of iron, although sometimes there is no foot. In texts where both the *ghidjak* and the ~ are described, the former is a larger type of the latter, having, in addition to its two ordinary strings, eight sympathetic strings. In Egypt, the hemispherical viol is nowadays called *rabāb miṣrī*. VIII 348a

kamar (P) : a broad belt often red in colour, worn by men in the Arab East. V 741a; IX 167b

ḳamar (A) : in astronomy, the moon; the full moon is termed *badr*. IV 518a

ḳamḥ (A) : in botany, wheat; in Iraq ~ is called *ḥinṭa* and in Arabia *dhurr*. IV 519b; V 863a

ḳamil → ḲAML

kāmil (A) : in prosody, the name of the fifth Arabic metre. I 670a

kamīn (A) : the rear-guard (of a raiding group of Bedouin). II 1055b; in military science, an ambuscade by a detachment of the army drawn up in a carefully chosen position near the rear-guard. III 202b

ḳamīṣ (A, < late L *camisia*), or *ḳamīṣa* : a shirt-like dress worn by both sexes all over the Arab world. V 733b ff.

ḳamīsh → LÜLE

ḳaml (A) : lice; some maintain that ~ applies only to females and that for males the term is *ṣuʾāb* (pl. *ṣiʾbān*, which actually designates nits). All species of lice, including head-lice and body-lice, fall within this term. A man more prone than others to give rise to lice is called *ḳamil*. IV 521b

kammūn (A) : in botany, cumin (*Cuminum Cyminum*); ~ was also used as a generic term for other plants which bore aromatic or medicinal seeds: *kammūn armanī* or *rūmī* was in fact caraway (*Carum Carvi*), also called *kammūn barrī* 'wild cumin'. ~ *ḥulw* was one of the names for aniseed, while ~ *aswad* was fennel-flower, properly called *shūnīz*. IV 522a, where can be found more variants; *kammūn kirmānī* is wild cumin (*Lagoecia cuminoides*). IX 653a

ḳamṭa (A) : a red cloth, adorned with pearls, which Egyptian women twisted around their ṬARBŪSH. X 612b

kamulyān → GÖNÜLLÜ

ḳāmūs (A, < Gk) : dictionary; during the time of the Prophet, ~ was used for 'the bottom, the very deepest part of the sea', and later, following Ptolemy, geographers applied the term, in the form *uḳiyānūs*, to 'the mass of water surrounding the earth', more particularly the Atlantic Ocean. Al-Fīrūzābādī used ~ metaphorically as the title of his great dictionary, which name stuck, still carrying the sense of 'fullness, exhaustiveness' in contrast to *muʿdjam* 'lexicon'. IV 524a

kān wa-kān (A) : in literature, one of the seven post-classical genres of poetry. The genre was devised by the Baghdādī poets and its name derives from the formula used by story-tellers to open their narratives: 'there was and there was', i.e. 'once upon a time'. A ~ poem is in monorhyme with a long vowel after the rhyme letter. IV 528a

ḳanāʿa (A) : contentment with little, one of the components of asceticism, ZUHD. XI 560a
kanʿad (A) : in the Persian Gulf, term for the king mackerel. I 541b
ḳanāt (A, pl. *ḳanawāt, ḳanā, ḳunī, aḳniya*) : a canal, irrigation system, water-pipe. Used also for a baton, a lance, etc., ~ originally meant reed. IV 528b; XII 735b
In Persian, ~ is used today especially for underground water pipes, a mining installation or technique using galleries or cross-cuts to extract water from the depths of the earth. By means of a gently sloping tunnel, which cuts through alluvial soil and passes under the water-table into the aquifer, water is brought by gravity flow from its upper end, where it seeps into the gallery, to a ground surface outlet and irrigation canal at its lower end. IV 529a
ḳanbal → MIḲNAB
kanbiyaṭūr (A) : Campeador (< L *campeator*), a title in Castilian Spain given to el-Cid. IX 533a
ḳanbūs → MIʿZAF
kanbūsh → ḲUMĀSH
kandjifa (A) : playing cards, attested since Mamlūk times. V 109a
kandūri (P), or *kandūra* : a leather or linen table-cloth; in India, ~ means also a religious feast held in honour of a venerated person like Fāṭima, and as such was imported into the Indonesian archipelago, where it has become a feast given with a religious purpose, or at least in conformity with religious law. IV 540a; religious meal. IX 154a
kanib (A, P *kanab*) : the hemp seed. III 266b
kanīsa (A, < Ar; pl. *kanāʾis*) : synagogue, church, temple; syn. *bīʿa*, which unlike ~ is found once in the Qurʾān. IV 545a
ḳannād-khāna (P) : a confectioner's shop. XI 307a
kannās (A) : lit. sweeper; a sanitary worker in the mediaeval Near East who swept public squares and other places such as prisons, dungeons and latrines, and transported garbage in boats or by other means to places outside the cities. The term is synonymous with *kassāḥ*; other terms used for the same occupation are *sammād* and *zabbāl* 'dung collectors'. IV 547b
kannis → SHUNḲUB
ḳanṭara (A, pl. *ḳanāṭir*) : a bridge, particularly one of masonry or stone; an aqueduct (especially in the plural), dam; high building, castle. IV 555a
kantawiyya (A) : the Kantaeans, a Mandaean sect. X 440a
kantu : a type of salt in the salt works near Bilma, in Niger, ~ is moulded into loaves in hollowed out palm-trunks and used chiefly for the feeding of animals. I 1222a
kānūn (A) : a brazier. V 42b
ḳānūn (A, < Gk; pl. *ḳawānīn*) : a financial term belonging to the field of land-taxes; a code of regulations, state-law (of non-Muslim origin). IV 556a
In fiscal administration, ~ refers both to the principles on which was based the assessment of taxes and to the resulting sum due from the taxpayer, either in the case of a single property or all the properties in one district taken together. In those provinces where many lands were assessed by the procedure of ~, this word came to mean a kind of fiscal cadaster. II 79a; IV 557a
In Mongol administration, the 'Domesday Book of the Empire', the survey and assessment book. II 81b
In law, *ḳawānīn* were at first regulations issued by the guardians of public order (especially the governors) in the fields of common law and penal law where the sharīʿa was silent. Under the Ottoman sultans, ~ came to be applied mainly to acts in the domain of administrative and financial law and of penal law. Nowadays, in all Middle Eastern countries, ~ denotes not only those codes and laws which are directly inspired by western legislation, such as civil and commercial law, administrative and penal law,

but also those laws and codes which are confined to reproducing, albeit simplifying, the provisions of the sharīʿa. The word ~, however, has been replaced by *lāʾiḥa* (pl. *lawāʾiḥ*) in Egypt and by NIẒĀM or *tartīb* elsewhere. IV 556b
In organisations, e.g. guilds in Ottoman times, ~ was used also for the statutes, which were drawn up by the guildsmen and registered with the ḲĀḌĪ. IV 558b
Among the Berbers, especially in Kabylia and the Aurès, ~ was adopted to mean the customs, mainly as regards penal matters, pertaining to a particular village. IV 562a
In music, the ~ is the present-day psaltery of the Arabs and Turks, a stringed musical instrument with a shallow, flat, trapezoidal sound-chest. It has fallen into disuse in Spain and Persia, where it was once very popular. It is, however, still a great favourite in North Africa, Egypt, Syria and Turkey, where it is to be found strung trichordally with from 51 to 75 strings. VII 191a

♦ al-ḳānūn al-asāsī (A, T *ḳānūn-i esāsī*, P *ḳānūn-i asāsī*) : 'basic law', the constitution. II 651b; II 659b; in Turkey, *ḳānūn-i esāsī* was replaced by *anayasa* during the linguistic reforms in the Republic. II 640a ff.; IV 558b

♦ ḳānūn-i djazāʾī (T) : in Ottoman usage, a penal code. II 518b

♦ ḳānūn al-hayʾa (A) : 'the astronomical law', term used by al-Khudjandī for the sine law, because of its frequent use in astronomy. V 46a

♦ ḳānūn al-kharādj (A) : in fiscal administration, the basic survey in accordance with which the KHARĀDJ is collected. II 78b

♦ **ḳānūnnāme** (T) : in Ottoman usage, ~ generally referred to a decree of the sultan containing legal clauses on a particular topic. In the 9th/15th century the term *yasaḳnāme* had the same meaning. ~ was occasionally extended to refer to regulations which viziers and pashas had enacted, to laws which a competent authority had formulated or to reform projects. However, a ~ was like any normal ḲĀNŪN in that only a sultan's decree could give it official authority. IV 562a; Ottoman tax register. VIII 203b

ḳānungo : in the Mughal empire, one of the three chief PARGANA officials, the others being the *amīn* and the *shiḳdār* (→ SHIḲḲDĀR), who were responsible for the *pargana* accounts, the rates of assessment, the survey of lands, and the protection of the rights of the cultivators. VIII 271a

ḳapan (T, < A *ḳabbān* 'a public balance', 'a steelyard') : an Ottoman term used to designate the central 'markets' for basic commodities, which were established in Istanbul in order to ensure the authorities' control of the importation and distribution of the raw materials needed by the craftsmen and of the foodstuffs to provision the people, and in order to facilitate the collection of the tolls and taxes due to the state. IV 226b
In Ottoman fiscal administration, ~ (or *ḥaḳḳ-i ḳapan, resm-i ḳapan*) was also the name for weighing duties levied at the public scales, paid in kind on cereals and dried vegetables, and in cash on other produce. II 147a; III 489b

ḳapanidja (T) : a sumptuous fur worn by the Ottoman sultan, with a large fur collar, narrow or short sleeves, decorated with fur below the shoulders, with straight supplementary sleeves, laced with frogs and loops in front. V 752a

ḳapï (T) : lit. gate; by extension the Ottoman Porte, that is, the sultan's palace; ~ is also used for the grand vizier's palace and the seat of government. IV 568a

♦ ḳapï aghasï → ḲAPU AGHASÏ

♦ ḳapï kāhyasï → ḲAPÏ KETHÜDASÏ

♦ ḳapï kethüdasï (T), or *ḳapï kāhyasï* : an agent, 'close to the Porte', of a high dignitary of an Ottoman subject or vassal. IV 568a

♦ ḳapï ḳullarï (T) : lit. slaves of the Porte; the sultan's troops. I 35b; IV 568a

♦ **ḳapïdji** (T) : the guard placed at the main gates of the Ottoman sultan's palace in Istanbul. IV 568a

♦ ḳapïya čïkma (T) : the appointment of ʿADJAMĪ OGHLĀNs to the palace service. I 206b

ḳaplîdja (T), or *îlîdja, kapludja, ḳabludja* : the general term used in Turkey for a place where a hot spring is roofed over, as in a bath house. III 1120b; IV 569b, where are listed many more synonyms; and → ÎLÎDJA

ḳaptan → ḲAPUDAN; ḲAPUDAN PASHA

ḳapu aghasî (T), or *ḳapî aghasî* : the chief white eunuch and the senior officer in the Ottoman sultan's palace, until the late 10th/16th century. He was the sole mediator between the sultan and the world outside the palace, and had the authority to petition the sultan for the appointment, promotion and transfer of palace servants, AGHAS and IČ OGHLANS. II 1088a; IV 570b; IV 1093a

ḳapudan (T, < It *capitano*), or *ḳaptan* : any commander of a ship, small or large, foreign or Turkish. VIII 564b

♦ **ḳapudan pasha** (T), or *ḳaptan pasha, ḳapudan-i deryā* : the title of the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman navy, becoming current only ca. 975/1567. Earlier titles were *deryā begi* and *ḳapudan-i deryā.* The squadron-commander was known as *ḳaptan,* and the individual commander as *re'īs* (→ RA'ĪS). I 948a; IV 571b; VIII 564b

In the 10th/16th century, the ~ became as well the governor of an EYĀLET, which consisted of a group of ports and islands. II 165

♦ ḳapudan-i deryā → ḲAPUDAN PASHA

♦ ḳapudana bey (T) : one of three grades of admiral, instituted when the naval hierarchy was organised under ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid I, or later under his successor Selīm III. The other two were *patrona bey* 'vice-admiral' and *riyāla bey* 'rear-admiral'. VIII 566b ff.

kār (A, T) : a form of music known in Turkey (*kʲār*). I 67a; and → ṢINF

ḳarʿ → ḲUTHTHĀʾ

♦ ḳarʿa (A) : in alchemy, the part known as 'cucurbit' of the distilling apparatus, the lower part of the alembic. I 486a; XII 550b

ḳāra (A, pl. *ḳūr*) : in geography, a small, isolated flat-topped hill, known as *gāra* in North Africa. V 361b

ḳarā (T) : black, dark colour; strong, powerful. The former meaning is commonly meant when ~ is a first component of geographical names; the latter with personal names, although it may refer to the black or dark brown colour of hair or to a dark complexion. IV 572b

ḳarāba (A) : kinship; as a technical term, ~ seems to be of post-HIDJRA usage. In the Qur'ān, and pre-Islamic poetry, the preferred term is *ḳurba.* The superlative *al-aḳrabūn* is also found, with the meaning of the closest relatives, those who have a claim to inherit from a man. IV 595a

ḳarabataḳ (T) : a performance practice associated exclusively with the Ottoman music ensemble, MEHTER, consisting of the alternation of soft passages played by a partial ensemble with thunderous tutti passages. VI 1008a

karābīsī (A) : clothes-seller. IV 596a

ḳarāghul (Ott, < Mon; mod.T **karakol**) : lit. black arm; in Ottoman times, a patrol during military campaigns, sent out apart from the vanguard forces, *čarkhadjî,* by the Ottoman army. The maintenance of security and order in different quarters in Istanbul was carried out by Janissary orders called *ḳulluḳ.* In modern Turkish, ~ became *karakol,* which is the common term for police station or patrol. IV 611a

ḳarāghulām : in the Ayyūbid army under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, a second grade cavalryman. I 797b; VIII 468a

ḳaragöz (T) : lit. black eye; in literature, ~ is the principal character in the Turkish shadow play, and also the shadow play itself, which is played with flat, two-dimensional figures, manipulated by the shadow player, which represent inanimate objects, animals, fantastic beasts and beings, and human characters. IV 601a

karakol → ḲARĀGHUL

ḳaraḳul : lambskin. I 506a
karam (A) : the qualities of nobility of character, magnanimity, generosity, all the virtues making up the noble and virtuous man. XII 511b; and → SHARAF
karāma (A, pl. *karāmāt*) : a marvel wrought by a saint, mostly consisting of miraculous happenings in the corporeal world, or else of predictions of the future, or else of interpretation of the secrets of hearts, etc. IV 615a
ḳaran (A) : in archery, a quiver made from pieces of leather put together in such a way that the air can circulate through interstices left so that the fletchings of the arrows do not deteriorate. IV 800a; and → ḲIRĀN
karandal → ḲALANDAR
ḳaranful (A) : in botany, the clove. IV 626b
ḳarārīṭ → ḲARRĪṬA
ḳarasṭūn (P ?) : an instrument made up of a long beam which has at one of its ends a stone as a weight. If the Armeno-Persian origin of the word is correct, the ~ must be a kind of lever or balance, very similar to the SHĀDŪF, the contrivance used for raising water and still in use in certain eastern countries. IV 629a; the Roman balance or steelyard. IV 629a; V 529b; VII 195b
ḳaraẓ (A) : in botany, the acacia tree or fruit. VIII 1042b; XII 172a
kārbānsālār → KĀRWĀN
karbās (P) : a kind of coarse cotton weave, woven in many parts of the province of Kirmān. V 152a
ḳarbūṣ (A, pl. *ḳarābīṣ*) : the pommel of a horse saddle, the cantel, or back pommel, being called *mu'akhkhara* or *ḳarbūṣ mu'akhkhar*. II 954a; IX 51a; the saddle rested on a pad, *mirshaḥa*, held in position by girths, *ḥizām*, and a breast-strap, *labab*. II 954a
ḳarḍ (A), or *salaf* : in law, the loan of money or other fungible objects. I 633a; VIII 899b; the loan of consummation. I 26b
In numismatics, clipping coins with scissors. X 409b
♦ ḳarḍ ḥasan (A) : in law, an interest-free loan. VII 671b; VIII 899b
kardūs (A, pl. *karādīs*) : in military science, a squadron, an innovation which is said to have been introduced by Marwān II. III 182b; VIII 794a
ḳarḥab → FAZZ
kārī → KIRĀ'
ḳāri' → ḲURRĀ'; MUḲRI'
ḳarīb (A) : lit. near; in Persian prosody, the name of a metre, of rare occurrence, said to have been invented by the Persians. I 677b
karīf (K) : in the YAZĪDĪ tradition, an unrelated male on whose knees one has been circumcised and with whom a life-long bond exists. XI 315b
ḳāriḥ (A) : a foal between four and five years of age. II 785a
ḳarīḥa → GHINĀ'
kārim (A) : yellow amber, in Egypt (syn. *kahramān*); also, a fleet, especially a merchant fleet. IV 640b
♦ **kārimī** (A, < KĀRIM ?) : the name of a group of Muslim merchants operating from the major centres of trade in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk empires, above all in spices. IV 640a
ḳarīn (A) : a companion; in pre-Islamic usage, and in the Qur'ān, a term for a man's spirit-companion or familiar. IV 643b; IX 407a
♦ ḳarīna (A) : in Arabic literary theory, one of the terms used to indicate SADJʿ rhyme. VIII 737b; and → ḲAYNA
In Persian literature, ~ , or *ḳarīna-yi ṣārifa*, was used for a clue required to express the relationship between a MADJĀZ 'trope', and the corresponding ḤAḲĪḲA 'literal speech'. Such a clue is either implied in the context or specifically added, e.g. in *shīr-i*

shamshīrzan, where the adjective points to the actual meaning of 'valiant warrior'. V 1027a

ḳāriṣ (A) : the quality of food being piquant, not always interchangeable with *ḥārr* 'hot' or *ḥāmiḍ* 'sour'. II 1071b

kārīz : a term used in eastern and south-eastern Persia, Afghanistan, and Balūčistān to designate a *ḳanāt*, a mining-installation or technique for extracting water from the depths of the earth. IV 529a

♦ kārīzkan → MUḲANNĪ

karkaddan (A, < P *kargadān*) : in zoology, the rhinoceros; ~ is the term for three varieties: the Indian rhinoceros, also called *mirmīs*, *ziba'rā/zib'arā* and *sinād*; the rhinoceros of Java; and the rhinoceros of Sumatra (P *nishān*). The African species was known to the Arabs well before Islam: the Black rhinoceros was called *ḥarīsh* or *khirtīt* (also one of the many terms for the rhinoceros' horn), and Burchell's rhinoceros, *hirmīs*, *abū ḳarn*, *umm ḳarn* and *'anaza*. IV 647a

♦ karkaddan al-baḥr (A), or *ḥarīsh al-baḥr* : in zoology, the narwhal (*Monodon monoceros*). IV 648b; VIII 1022b

ḳarḳal (A) : in Mamlūk times, the small receptacle in which water falls before flowing over the SHADIRWĀN; the channel itself was called *silsal*. IX 175b

ḳarḳas (A) : in mediaeval times, a special kind of clay, appended by a cord to documents and into which a seal ring was impressed. IV 1103b

karkh (A, < Ar *karka* 'fortified city') : a word associated with various towns in areas of Aramaic culture before the Islamic conquest; in Baghdād, a specific area and more generally the whole of the west side below the Round City was called al-~. IV 652a

kārkhāna (P) : a workshop. V 312a

ḳarḳī (A) : in prosody, term used by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī for a ZADJAL that contains lampoons. XI 373b

karkūr (N.Afr, B *aḳkur*), more exactly *ḳarkūr* : a heap of stones, and, more especially, a sacred heap of stones. The cult of heaps of stones seems to come from a rite of transference or expulsion of evil; the individual, picking up a stone, causes the evil of whatever kind that afflicts him to pass onto it and gets rid of it by throwing it or depositing it with the stone on a place suitable for absorbing it. The accumulation of these expiatory pebbles forms the sacred piles of stones which rise all along the roads, at difficult passes and at the entrances to sanctuaries. IV 655b

karm (A) : in botany, the vine, grapevine. IV 659a; in art, *karma* is a vine-scroll frieze. I 611b

ḳarmāṭī → KŪFĪ

karnā : in music, a six- to eight-foot long piece of hollow bamboo with a cow's horn at the end. X 407a

karōh → KROŚA

karr (A) : attack.

♦ karr wa-farr (A) : in military science, the tactic of withdrawal and counter-attack. VIII 131a; XI 542a

karrām (A) : a vine-tender. IV 667a

karranāy in music, an instrument of the horn and trumpet type. X 35a

ḳarrīṭa (Alg, < It *carretta*) : a cart and wagon; in the 16th century, its plural *ḳarārīṭ* was used to designate Portuguese wagons. I 206a

ḳarṣana → ḲURṢĀN

ḳarshi (anc.T and Uy) : castle. IV 671b; Mongolian term for palace. V 858b

karshūnī (A, < Syr) : the name of the Syriac script used by the Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia for writing Arabic. IV 671b

In India, ~ is applied to the Syriac script used for writing Malayalam, the vernacular language of the Malabar Christians. IV 671b

kārvān-kes̲h̲ → KĀRWĀN

kārwān (A, < P) : a caravan, composed of horses, mules, donkeys, and especially camels; in India, caravans for the bulk transport of grain were pulled by oxen. In the pre-Islamic period, the Arabs had for long used the word *ʿīr*, and later the more usual word *ḳāfila*, which at the beginning of the 1st/7th century was current for gatherings of traders, as the equivalent of ~ . IV 676b

In the Ottoman period, the leader responsible for organising the ~ was called *kervān-bas̲h̲ī* (in Persia and India, *kārvān-kes̲h̲* or *kārbānsālār*). IV 677b

♦ kārwānsarāy (P) : caravanserai. IX 44; and → ḲAYSĀRIYYA

ḳarwas̲h̲a (A) : originally, the name of the argot of the Moroccans practising the trades of sorcerer and treasure-seeker in Egypt, today applied to the secret language of the Dakārna (s. Dakrūnī) of Sudanese origin installed in the Village of the Sudanese close to Madāmūd in Upper Egypt and elsewhere. A part of the vocabulary is of Moroccan origin, while the grammar is that of the spoken language of the region of Luxor. IV 679b

ḳarya (A, T *ḳarye*; pl. *ḳurā*) : a town, village; and → NĀḤIYE

As a Qurʾānic term, ~ indicates an important town. Mecca, Medina, Sodom, Nineveh, and the coastal town are so called. IV 680a

♦ al-ḳaryatayn (A) : a Qurʾānic term for Mecca and Medina. IV 680a

♦ umm al-ḳurā → UMM AL-ḲURĀ

kās → ṢAND̲J̲

♦ kāsatān → MUṢAFFAḤĀT

ḳaṣʿa in music, a small shallow kettledrum. X 35b

ḳaṣab (A) : in botany, any plant with a long and hollow stem like the reed (*Arundo donax*), to which the term is especially applied. IV 682a; a coloured linen cloth manufactured at Tinnīs, or a white one made at Damietta, or sometimes a cotton cloth made at Kāzarūn, out of which women's fine veils were woven, some set with precious stones. It can also mean a silken material, as well as a kind of brocade encrusted with little strips of gold or silver. IV 682b; X 532a

In mineralogy, in the singular (*ḳaṣaba*), the best emeralds, which are extracted from the vein as one piece. The small ones extracted from the earth by sieving are called *faṣṣ* 'cabochon'. The beads cut from the latter are 'lentil-like', *ʿadasiyya*. XI 570a f.

♦ ḳaṣab al-bardī (A), or *al-bardī* : the papyrus reed. IV 682a

♦ ḳaṣab al-d̲j̲arīra (A) : the sweet flag (or fragrant rush). IV 682a

♦ ḳaṣab ḥulw → ḲAṢAB AL-SUKKAR

♦ ḳaṣab al-maṣṣ → ḲAṢAB AL-SUKKAR

♦ **ḳaṣab al-sukkar** (A), also *ḳaṣab al-maṣṣ* or *ḳaṣab ḥulw* : in botany, the sugar cane. IV 682b; V 863a

ḳaṣaba (A, mod. T *kasaba*) : originally, the essential part of a country or a town, its heart. This usage occurs especially in the Muslim West, where it is also applied to the most ancient part of a town (syn. *al-madīna*); later, a fortified castle, residence of an authority in the centre of a country or a town; principal town. III 498b; IV 684b; chef-lieu. V 311b

In North Africa, ~ occurs in the sense of fortress-citadel (dialect: *ḳaṣba*). IV 685a

In the Turkish Republic, a *kasaba* is a town with from 2000 to 20,000 inhabitants. I 974b; and → KÖY

As a basic measure of length, ~ equalled a number of cubits varying between five and eight, but giving an average length of four metres. VII 137b; the ~ was predominantly used in surveying. In 1830 the ~ was established at 3.55 metres. II 232b

ḳasam (A), and *yamīn, ḥalf* : an oath. IV 687b
In the Qur'ān, ~ or its verb *aḳsama* apply, in general, to the oaths pronounced by God himself. IV 687b
In law, ~ is the extrajudiciary oath by which a person binds himself to do or not to do a certain specific physical or juridicial act, by invoking the name of God or one of the divine attributes. IV 687b

ḳasama (A, < ḲASAM) : in law, an oath by which is asserted the guilt or innocence of an individual presumed to have killed someone, repeated fifty times, either by the ʿAṢABA of the victim of a murder (Mālikī school of law, where it is a procedure of accusation), or by the inhabitants of the place of the crime (Ḥanafī school of law, where it is a procedure for the defence of the one presumed guilty). IV 689b

kasb (A) : in economic life, gain. IV 690b
In theology, ~ means acquisition, appropriation. The verb *kasaba* is frequently found in the Qur'ān, mainly with the sense of acquiring those rewards or punishments which are the fruit of moral acts. ~ has had a long history in the scholastic theology, especially in the Ashʿarī school, where ~ and *iktisāb* were employed to define that which reverted to man in a 'freely' accomplished and morally qualified act. III 1063a; IV 692a

ḳasba fārisiyya → IṢṬĀM

ḳaṣba → ḲAṢABA

ḳaṣdīr → RAṢĀṢ ḲALʿĪ

kash → YASHM

ḳashaʿrīr (A) : in medicine, the shivers. X 510a

kashf (A) : in mysticism, the act of lifting and tearing away the veil (which comes between man and the extra-phenomenal world). IV 696b; VIII 429a; X 318b
Under the Mamlūks, the term ~ was used to designate a mission of AMĪRs from Cairo to Upper Egypt that consisted in guaranteeing security during harvests, inspecting the condition of the canals, and, to a growing extent, controlling the Bedouin. VIII 865a

kāshī (P, T, < *Kāshānī*) : in art, the tiles or trimmed pieces of faïence serving to cover completely or partially the main fabric of buildings in a design principally decorative but also, at times, to protect them against humidity. IV 701a
♦ kāshī-kārī (P) : a process of tile-decorating, whereby the design is reproduced on tiles of baked earth which are then painted, generally with different metal oxides, to become polychromatic, then rebaked. IV 702a
♦ kāshī-yi muʿarraḳ-kārī (P), or simply *muʿarraḳ-kārī* : a technique of tile-decorating, which consists of cutting, according to precise forms, pieces of monochrome ~ of different colours to compose a polychrome design. IV 701b

kāshif (A) : under the Ottomans, a district prefect. VIII 235a; ~ is still in use today in Egypt. VIII 865b

ḳāshiḳ : in music, a rattle instrument, made up of two wooden spoons attached to each other, in the hollow of which are a number of small bells, used in Persia and Turkey. IX 11b

kashk (P) : a kind of whey. V 152b; a type of yoghurt. XII 608b

ḳashḳa (T) : in western Turkish, the name given to a blaze on the forehead of animals such as horses, sheep and cattle; in Čaghatay the word also means 'brilliant', 'gallant'. It is probable that *ḳashḳāy*, the name of a Turkish people living in the Fārs province of Iran, is related to one of these meanings. IV 705b

kashkūl (P) : an oval bowl of metal, wood or coconut (calabash), worn suspended by a chain from the shoulder, in which the dervishes put the alms they receive and the food which is given them. IV 706b

In modern Arabic, ~ is sometimes used for a kind of album or collection of press cuttings, as well as denoting a 'beggar's bowl'. IV 706b

ḳashshāba (Mor) : a long sleeveless outer gown for men, and a long-sleeved flowing tunic with a deep slit down the breast for women, worn in Morocco. V 746a

kashshāfa → ṬALĪʿA

kashṭ (A) : an erasure on a written document. X 408b

kashūth rūmī → AFSANTĪN

kāsib (A, pl. *kawāsib*) : a carnivore. II 739b

ḳaṣīda (A) : in poetry, a polythematic ode which numbers at least seven verses, but generally comprises far more. It consists essentially of three parts of variable length: (1) an amatory prologue (NASĪB) in which the poet sheds some tears over what was once the camping place of his beloved now far off; (2) the poet's narration of his journey (*raḥīl*) to the person to whom the poem is addressed; (3) the central theme, constituted by the panegyric of a tribe, a protector or a patron, or in satire of their enemies. The Arabic ~ is a very conventional piece of verse, with one rhyme and in a uniform metre. From the end of the 2nd/8th century onwards, the classical ~ gave birth to a whole series of autonomous poetic genres. All these genres are represented in independent pieces, to which the name of ~ continues often to be given, even though incorrectly. I 583b; I 668a; IV 713b

The Persian ~ is a lyric poem, most frequently panegyric. Quantitatively, a poem cannot be a ~ unless the number of its distichs exceeds fifteen and does not exceed thirty. The ~ comprises three parts: the exordium, the eulogy, and the petition. It is first and foremost a poem composed for a princely festival, especially the spring festival and the autumn one, and was connected with courtly life in Persia. IV 57b; IV 714a

The Turkish ~ has the same rhyme scheme and metric patterns as the ~ in Arabic and Persian. The usual length of a Turkish ~ is between 15 and 99 couplets, but in fact, some longer ones exist. Theoretically, a complete Turkish ~ should contain six sections: NASĪB, TAGHAZZUL, GIRĪZGĀH, MADḤIYYA, FAKHRIYYA and DUʿĀʾ, but invariably do not contain all of them. Very often, one or more are left out, the most frequent omissions being the *taghazzul, fakhriyya* and *duʿāʾ* sections. IV 715b

In Swahili, ~ normally refers to a poem praising the Prophet. V 963a

♦ ḳaṣīda bahāriyya (A *ḳaṣīda* and P *bahār*) : in Urdu prosody, an ode with a prelude that was a description of spring. V 958b

♦ ḳaṣīda simṭiyya → MUSAMMAṬ

♦ ḳaṣīda zadjaliyya → MALḤŪN

♦ ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa → MADĪḤ

ḳaṣīm (A) : in geography, the sandy area where the *ghaḍā* bush abounds. IV 717a

kāsir (A, pl. *kawāsir*) : a rapacious predator, used in hawking. I 1152a; a day-hunting raptor. X 783b

ḳāṣir (A) : in law, a person under guardianship. XI 208b

ḳaṣīr (A) : in North Africa, a refugee, like the ṬANĪB, but one entitled to make use of his prestige among his former group with which he has not severed all relations. XII 78b; among contemporary nomads like the Ruwalāʾ, ~ indicates a mutual relationship between members of different tribes by which each grants protection against his fellow-tribesmen. III 1018a

ḳasm (A) : a term for a land tax, in Syria and Palestine in the 10th/16th century, coming to a fifth, sometimes as much as a third, of the produce. VII 507b

kasr (A) : in mathematics, a fraction. From the time of Ibn al-Bannāʾ onwards, the Arab mathematicians distinguished five kinds of fractions: *mufrad* (simple), *muntasib* (fraction of relationship), *mukhtalif* (disjunct), *mubaʿʿaḍ* (subdivided), and *mustathnā* (excepted). IV 725a

In medicine, a fracture. II 481b
In grammar, the sound of the vowel *i*. IV 731a
For ~ in Bedouin culture, → FALĪDJA

ḳaṣr (A, pl. *ḳuṣūr*) : residence of a ruler, palace, or any building on a larger scale than a mere home, used in particular for Umayyad desert palaces and frontier forts. In the Maghrib, pronounced *ḳṣar*, also a collective granary or store house. IX 44a; XII 512a; and → AGADIR
In medicine, torticollis. X 788b
♦ ḳaṣra (A) : in anatomy, the base of the neck. X 788b
♦ ḳaṣriyya (A) : the palace guard of the Fāṭimids. IX 685b

kasra (A) : in grammar, ~ denotes the vowel *i*, more specifically the written sign itself, KASR denoting the sound in question. III 172a; IV 731a

ḳāṣṣ (A, pl. *ḳuṣṣāṣ*) : a popular story-teller or preacher, deliverer of sermons whose activity considerably varied over the centuries, from preaching in the mosques with a form of Qur'ānic exegesis to downright charlatanism. IV 733b; X 274b; an older, if not the primary meaning of ~ is 'a kind of detective responsible for examining and interpreting tracks and marks on the ground'; thus is it found twice in the Qur'ān. V 186a; jester. IX 552b

ḳaṣṣāb → DJAZZĀR
♦ ḳaṣṣābči-bāshī (P), or *sallākhči-bāshī* : in Ṣafawid times, the butcher in the royal kitchen. XII 609b

kassāḥ → KANNĀS

ḳassām (T, < A) : in Ottoman law, the title given to the trustee who divided an estate between the heirs of a deceased person. Ottoman law recognised two types of ~ , those under the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* 'judge of the army', and the others employed locally in each ḲĀḌĪ's court. The local ~ was called *shehrī* or *beledī*. IV 735b; VI 4b
♦ ḳassāmlïḳ → ḲISMA

ḳaṣṣār (A) : a fuller; bleacher. IV 1161a; V 89b; laundryman. XII 757b; a term in the Persian Gulf for a projecting rock. I 535b

ḳaṣṣāṣ (A) : in parts of the Central Region (the Sinai, Jordan and Palestine), an expert who determines the amount due for a particular injury, as payment for amends in place of retaliation for homicide or bodily injury, known as *muʾarrish* in Yemen and *naẓẓār* in the Western Desert. X 890b; and → ḲIṢṢA-KHWĀN

ḳassī (A) : a striped fabric from Egypt containing silk, one of seven things forbidden by Muḥammad in a Tradition. V 735b

ḳasṭ → TAḲSĪṬ

ḳāt (A) : in botany, a smooth-stemmed shrub (*Catha edulis, Methyscophyllum glaucum*) that grows in East Africa and southwestern Arabia. Its leaves and young shoots (*kalāwīt*, s. *kilwāt*) contain an alkaloid, katin, which produces a euphoric, stimulating, exciting but finally depressing effect when chewed or drunk in a decoction; it is widely used in Ethiopia, Djibouti, East Africa and Yemen. IV 741a

ḳaṭʿ (A) : lit. cutting off; in the science of Qur'ānic reading, ~ or *waḳf* was the pause in reading, based on the sense or otherwise. Later, a distinction was made between the short pause for breath, and the other pauses, based on the sense; according to some, ~ indicated only the first; according to others only the second. IV 741b
In grammar, ~ is used in the term *alif al-ḳaṭʿ* for the disjunctive *hamza* which, opposed to the *hamzat al-waṣl*, cannot be elided. ~ further indicates the deliberate cutting, for a special purpose, between elements of a sentence which syntactically are closely connected. IV 742a; XI 172b
In prosody, ~ indicates cutting short the ending of certain metrical feet, e.g., the shortening of the metrical *fāʿilun* to *fāʿil*. This shortened form is then called *maḳṭūʿ*. IV 742a

In mathematics, ~ is used in many terms: *ḳaṭʿ zāʾid* 'hyperbola', *ḳaṭʿ nāḳiṣ* 'ellipse', *ḳaṭʿ mukāfī* 'parabola', and *ḳaṭʿ mukāfī mudjassam* 'paraboloid'. IV 742a

In astrology, ~ indicates scission. IV 742a

In the science of diplomatic, ~ refers to the format of paper. *Al-ḳaṭʿ al-kāmil* was an in-folio format used for treaties, *al-ḳaṭʿ al-ʿāda*, a small ordinary format used for decrees and appointments of the lowest rank. IV 742b

In logic, ~ means 'to assert something decisively or refute someone completely'. IV 743a

In medicine, the excision of soft diseased substance. II 481b

In art, *ṣanʿat-i ḳaṭʿ* was the art of cutting silhouette, brought from Persia to Turkey in the 10th/16th century, and to the west in the 11th/17th century, where at first, as in the east, light paper on a dark gound was always used. II 755b

♦ ḳaṭʿ al-ṭarīḳ (A), or *muḥāraba* : highway robbery or robbery with violence (syn. *al-sirḳa al-kubrā*), which in certain circumstances is punished with death. IV 770a; V 768a; IX 63a

ḳaṭā (A, pl. *ḳaṭawāt, ḳaṭayāt*) : in zoology, the ornithological family of Pteroclididae or sandgrouse. The term is onomatopaeic for their cry. Three species are distinguished: the *kudrī* or *ʿarabī* (*Pterocles Lichtensteini*), corresponding to the Lichtenstein's or Close-barred sandgrouse; the *djūnī* or *ghaḍaf, ghatmāʾ* (*Pterocles orientalis*), the Black-bellied sandgrouse; and the *ghaṭaṭ* (*Pterocles alchata*), the Large Pintailed sandgrouse. IV 743a

kataba 'l-kitāb (A) : lit. he has written the book; a fabulous marine creature mentioned by mediaeval Arab authors. It lives in the Indian Ocean, and its juice produces an invisible ink legible only at night. VIII 1023a

ḳaṭānī (A) : legumes. XI 413a

katar (P) : a type of levelling board used in central Iran for the preparation of irrigation check banks, and operated by two men, one pulling and the other pushing. II 905b

ḳaṭf (A) : in prosody, a deviation in the metre because of the suppression of a *sabab khafīf*, a moving and a quiescent consonant, and the preceding vowel, e.g. in *mufāʿal[atun]*. I 672a

ḳaṭīʿ (A) : a family flock of ten to forty animals, called *fizr* if there are only sheep, and *ṣubba* if there are only goats. XII 319a

♦ **ḳaṭīʿa** (A, pl. *ḳaṭāʾiʿ*) : a Muslim administrative term designating, on the one hand, those concessions made to private individuals on state lands in the first centuries of the HIDJRA, and, on the other hand, the fixed sum of a tax or tribute, in contradistinction to taxation by proportional method or some variable means. III 1088a; IV 754b; IV 973a

In early Islam, ~ was a unit of land, often a sizable estate, allotted to prominent individuals in the garrison cities founded at the time of the conquests. V 23a

kātib (A, pl. *kuttāb*) : a secretary, a term which was used in the Arab-Islamic world for every person whose role or function consisted of writing or drafting official letters or administrative documents. In the mediaeval period, ~ denoted neither a scribe in the literary sense of the word nor a copyist, but it could be applied to private secretaries as well as to the employees of the administrative service. It can denote merely a book-keeper as well as the chief clerk or a Secretary of State, directly responsible to the sovereign or to his vizier. IV 754b; XII 720a

In law, an author or compiler of legally-watertight formulae for use in *shurūṭ* (→ SHARṬ). IX 359a

In Western and Spanish Arabic, ~ is an alternative name for ʿUṭārid, the planet Mercury. VIII 101a; XI 555a

♦ kātib al-sirr (A) : in Muslim administration, the private secretary. X 392b

katība (A) : in military terminology, a squadron. IV 1144b
katif (A, pl. *aktāf*) : in anatomy, the shoulder. IV 763a
♦ ʿilm al-katif (A), or *ʿilm al-aktāf* : scapulomancy or omoplatoscopy, i.e. divination by the use of the shoulder-bones. This art forms a part of the practices of physiognomy. It is universal in scope, inasmuch as it provides for the foretelling of what will happen in the different regions of the earth towards which the four sides of the scopula are pointed according to the signs revealed by it. IV 763a; V 100a
ḳaṭīfa (P) : a fabric made in Yazd, which was renowned for its excellence. XI 304a
katih (P) : quickly prepared rice with clarified butter, eaten by the inhabitants of the Caspian provinces and especially Gīlān. XII 611a
ḳātil al-nimr → AḲŪNĪṬUN
ḳatīl al-raʿd (A) : lit. victim of the thunder; a name for the quail, as ancient belief held that the quail would be inevitably struck down by stormy weather. VIII 1006b
ḳātir (P) : in tribal Persia of the 19th century, a sum of money, which was increased or diminished according to the prosperity or otherwise of the tribes and the power of the government to exercise authority over them. III 1105b
ḳāṭirdji̊ (T) : a muleteer. IV 766a
ḳaṭirān → ḲAṬRĀN
katkhudā → KETKHUDĀ
ḳatl (A) : killing, putting to death, used in the two principal meanings of the word, sc. the crime of murder and the punishment of execution. IV 766b
katm (A) : a black dye which masks the red of the henna. IX 383b
ḳatma (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a device that brought water added to the main water conduits of the state waḳfs to the city at certain specified points. The sultan gave his formal permission for this ~ water upon application and recognised ownership rights over this water. V 882b
katra : in Muslim India, a term for a market, usually known after the commodity sold there. IX 800b
ḳaṭrān (A), or *ḳiṭrān, ḳaṭirān* : tar obtained by dry distillation of organic substances; the residuum left after the distillation of tar, i.e. liquid pitch; cedar-oil extracted from cedarwood. The substance is obtained from several kinds of coniferous trees, especially the *Cedrus Libani*, and was used as a medicine. IV 772b
kātriya (Tun) : a lieutenant in the army in the Regency of Tunis. IX 657a
ḳatt (A), and *ḳaḍb, barsīm* : in botany, alfalfa, a common crop raised in the shade of date palms in the Gulf. I 540a
ḳaṭṭaʿa → DJARF
ḳattāb (A) : in the mediaeval period, a seller of saddles stuffed with straw. XII 759a
kattān (A) : both flax and linen, in the early period usually called *ḳubāṭī* 'Coptic [stuff]' since they were imported from Egypt. White and coloured linen, ḲAṢAB and *sharb*, and brocaded linen, *diḳḳ*, were produced and exported to Muslim and non-Muslim countries until the industry began to decline in the first half of the 7th/13th century, probably the consequence of the increasing import of European fabrics. IV 774a; V 863a
katūm (A), and *fāridj, furdj* : in archery, a bow made from a single stave, hence it does not vibrate when loosed. IV 798a
katun : in Ottoman Greece, a semi-permanent settlement of Albanian or Vlach cattle breeders. VIII 169b
ḳaṭwa → NAṬṬĀLA
ḳavuḳ (T) : a rather high, variously-shaped cap, with a headband wound round it, worn by officers of the Janissaries; other professions had their own special ~, some with specific names. IV 806a ff.; the ~, whose height varied, normally had the form of a contracted or enlarged cylinder, flat or bulging; but there were also those which

resembled a truncated cone or a cupola. The highest *ķavuķs* (40 to 60 cm) were kept rigid by means of a construction of metal bars or a kind of basket. They had a smooth or quilted surface and were trimmed with cotton to give the effect of relief or a dome shape with the quilting. V 751a

ķawābī → DJUDHĀM

ķawad → ĶIṢĀṢ

ķawāʿid (A, s. *ķāʿida*) : rules. X 929a; in law, **ķawāʿid fiķhiyya** are the *madhhab*-internal legal principles, legal maxims, general legal rules that are applicable to a number of particular cases in various fields of the law, whereby the legal determination (*aḥkām*) of these cases can be derived from these principles. XII 517a

♦ ķawāʿid aghlabiyya (A), also ~ *aktha riyya* : in law, 'preponderant' rules, which outnumber the generally valid rules (*ķawāʿid kulliyya)*, and are couched not in maxims but in questions, e.g. "Can a presumption be canceled by another presumption or not?" XII 517a

♦ ķawāʿid istiķrāʾiyya (A) : in law, legal principles that were arrived at by induction from *furūʿ* (→ FARʿ) decisions. XII 517b

♦ al-ķawāʿid al-khams (A), also *al-ķawāʿid al-kubrā* : in law, five principles that were accepted by all schools, attested since the 8th/14th century. XII 517b, where they can be found

♦ al-ķawāʿid al-kubrā → AL-ĶAWĀʿID AL-KHAMS

♦ ķawāʿid kulliyya → ĶAWĀʿID AGHLABIYYA

♦ ķawāʿid uṣūliyya (A) : in law, hermeneutic principles formulated by the legal theorists, which at times were not carefully separated from the ĶAWĀʿID FIĶHIYYA, XII 517b

kawāmikh → KĀMAKH

kawārīr → ZUDJĀDJ

ķawāzib → BARMĀʾIYYŪN

kawda → WADAʿ

ķawī (A) : a description of a man who is strong in himself, with *muķwī* used when he owns a robust mount. V 576a

kawkab (A, pl. *kawākib*) : in astronomy, star; according to context, ~ can mean 'planet' specifically. VIII 97b; and → MURĀHIĶ

♦ kawkab al-dhanab (A), or (*kawkab*) *dhū dhanab* : in astronomy, 'star with a tail', a comet. VIII 102b

♦ (al-kawākib) al-mutaḥayyira (A) : in the 'scientific' period of Arabic-Islamic astronomy which was based on translations from Greek, the common term in astronomy for the five planets (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn) without the Sun and Moon. VIII 101a; XI 555a

♦ (al-kawākib) al-sayyāra (A) : in the 'scientific' period of Arabic-Islamic astronomy which was based on translations from Greek, the common term in astronomy for the five planets plus the Sun and Moon. VIII 101a; XI 555a

♦ al-kawākib al-sufliyya (A) : in astronomy, the lower planets (below the Sun), Moon, Mercury and Venus. VIII 101b

♦ al-kawākib al-thābita (A) : in astronomy, the fixed stars, known as simply *al-thawābit*. VIII 98a

♦ al-kawākib al-ʿulwiyya (A) : in astronomy, the upper planets (beyond the Sun), Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. VIII 101b

♦ kawkaba (A, pl. *kawkabāt*), or *ṣūra*, pl. *ṣuwar* : in astronomy, constellation. VIII 98b

ķawķal → WĀĶWĀĶ

ķawķan (A) : in Hispano-Arabic, the usual term for snail. VIII 707a

kawlī (P) : in modern times, the general term for the gipsy in Iran, but a wide variety of names are used locally. V 818b

ḳawl (A) : in music, a vocal form, at present in India a form of religious song. III 453a
Among the Yazīdīs, a sacred hymn, which together form a large corpus of texts representing the Yazīdī counterpart to both the sacred and the learned traditions of other cultures. XI 314b

♦ ḳawlī (T, < A) : the 'word-member', one of two classes of the ordinary members of the AKHĪ organization, YIGIT, who made a general profession only, as opposed to the active 'sword-member', *sayfī*. I 323a

ḳawm (A, pl. *akwām, aḳāwim, aḳāyim*) : people; in literature sometimes applied to 'men', used in opposition to *nisāʾ* 'women'. IV 780b; a term of tribal provenance used to denote a group of people having or claiming a common ancestor, or a tribe descended from a single ancestor. IV 781a; VIII 234a
In Atjeh, ~ has acquired a peculiar form, *kawōm*, and is used to mean 'all those who descend from one man in the male line'. IV 781a
In North Africa, the ~ (goum) means a contingent of cavalry levied from a tribe, a practice continued by the French. IV 784b
Under the Circassian rule in the Mamlūk period, *al-ḳawm*, meaning the People, was applied only to the Circassians. II 24b
In India, a term for the social division among the non-Muslim population, denoting different groups such as the Bhaṭṭī, Tarkhān, Pindjārā; it is debatable whether these should be called castes or not. III 411a

♦ **ḳawmiyya** (A) : nationalism. IV 781a

♦ ḳawmiyyāt (A) : ethnic groups, the study of whihc is differentiated from folklore, *khalḳiyyāt*, or studies at the popular level. X 734b

ḳawmā → ḲŪMĀ

ḳawmānī (A) : in tribal organisation, a member of an enemy faction. IV 835a

kawn (A, pl. *akwān*) : in philosophy, generation, especially in the phrase **kawn wa-fasād**, generation and corruption, which renders Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione*. IV 794b
In scholastic theology, ~ is the advent in nature of the existent thing, the existentialisation of all corporal beings. IV 795a
As tribal term, → ḤARĀBA

kawōm → ḲAWM

kaws (A) : in meteorology, the south-west monsoon. VII 52a; the west wind (or *dabūr*), which, with the east wind (*ḳabūl*, also called *azyab*), was the most important of the prevailing winds of the three periods in which navigation was possible during the monsoons. VIII 527a

ḳaws (A) : the bow, as used in archery. IV 795b, where are found many terms for the names of various kinds of bows and for the components of the bow
In music, the bow of a stringed instrument. VIII 346a
In astronomy, *al-~* is the term used for the bow of Sagittarius (cross-bow), one of the twelve zodiacal constellations. VII 83b; VIII 842a

♦ ḳaws al-bunduḳ (A) : 'pellet- or stone-bow', the archetype of the arbalest used solely for shooting birds and already known in the Prophet's time. The projectile used was a ball of hardened clay (*djulāhiḳ* or *bunduḳ*). IV 797b; in Mamlūk terminology, one of the branches of horse-riding. II 955a

♦ ḳaws ḥidjāzī (A) : a simple, wooden bow, either short or long, used by the pre-Islamic Arabs. IV 797b

♦ ḳaws al-ḥusbān (A) : a hand bow adapted to shoot short arrows; it had therefore an arrow guide but no nut or locking mechanism. IV 798a

♦ **kaws kuzah** (A) : in meteorology, the rainbow (syn. *kaws Allāh, kaws rasūl Allāh, kaws al-samā', kaws al-ghamām*, etc.). IV 803a f.

♦ kaws al-rikāb → KAWS AL-RIDJL

♦ kaws al-ridjl (wa 'l-rikāb) (A) : the most common name in the Mamlūk period for the cross-bow type of weapon; it seems to have been given to cross-bows of various sizes, including those employed in sieges. The *kaws al-rikāb* had a stirrup in which the foot was placed. III 476a; IV 798a

♦ kaws wāsitiyya (A) : the Arab composite bow; the adjective does not stem from Wāsit but from its proper sense of median, intermediate, probably with reference to the components of this bow. IV 797b

♦ kaws al-ziyār (A) : the 'wheel cross-bow', which was operated like the ordinary cross-bow to shoot a powerful arrow, but requiring several men to operate it. III 469b; IV 798a

kawsadj → KALB AL-BAHR

kawt → KĪNĀ

kawthar (A) : a Qur'ānic word for the name of a river in Paradise or a pond which was shown to the Prophet at the time of his ascension to the Throne of God. IV 805b

kawuklu (T) : lit. the man with the KAVUK; a character of the Turkish ORTA OYUNU theatre. IV 806a

kawwākh (A) : in hunting, a stalker at a hut for the capture of sandgrouse. IV 745a

kawwāl → ZADJDJĀL

♦ kawwālī : a type of (sung) poetry known on the subcontinent. X 320a; mystical chants. XI 119a

kawwās (A), or occasionally *kawwāṣ* : bow-maker. IV 796b; a bowman, later, musketeer, 'policeman-soldier', especially the one in the service of high-placed Turkish officials and foreign ambassadors. From this term is derived the French *cawas* and the German *Kawasse*. IV 808b

In colloquial usage, both in Turkey and in other Islamic states, ~ denotes the servants and guards of foreign embassies. IV 808b

kayd (A) : in astronomy, *al-~* is the name of a fictitious star, whose earliest mention so far known is in Ibn Hibintā's *al-Mughnī* where it is listed as 'one of the stars with a tail'. IV 809b

kayd (A) : in astrology, 'the clutch [of the ostriches]', the numerous small stars surrounding the star group *udhī al-na'ām* 'the nesting place of the ostriches'. VII 830b

kayf (A) : state; discretion.

♦ bi-lā kayf (A) : in theological writings, when referring to *ṣifāt khabariyya*, attributes of God based on the evidence of Qur'ān and Tradition which should be understood ~, ~ was taken to mean 'without further comment' by the Hanbalīs and other Tradition proponents close to them. Theologians, however, used ~ in the sense of 'without qualifying God in a way only to be applied to His creation', presenting it as a middle course between a literal acceptance of the anthropological statements in Scripture (TASHBĪH) and the metaphorical interpretation in the Mu'tazilī sense (TA'ṬĪL). X 344a

♦ kayfiyya → HAKĪKA

kayfūfiyya (A) : philosophical-theological term used by the Karrāmiyya for 'the quality of God'. Another one of their terms, called by al-Baghdādī *'ibārāt sakhīfa* 'ridiculous expression', was *haythūthiyya* 'the ubiquitousness of God'. IV 668b

kaykab (A) : a wooden saddle-bow, on which the horse's saddle was built. IV 1145a

kayl (A) : among the Sabaeans, in the pre-Islamic period, the leader of the SHA'B, the grouping in their social organisation constituted of a number of clans; the ~ came from the dominant clan, but was himself subordinate to the king. IV 818b; a kinglet. IX 162b

ḳayn (A) : an artisan, workman; current usage reserves it above all for blacksmith. Since the men working at this trade usually belonged to the lowest stratum of the population, ~ became a deprecatory term applied to slaves and was used as an insult in the desert. IV 819a

♦ **ḳayna** (A, pl. *ḳaynāt, ḳiyān*) : female singing slave. I 32b; IV 820b; other terms for the professional singing girl were *dād̲j̲ina, mudd̲j̲ina, musmiʿa, karīna, ṣadūḥ* (and *ṣādiḥa*), and *d̲j̲arāda*. II 1073a; IV 820b

ḳayṣar (A, < Gk) : the usual name in early Islam for the Roman and Byzantine emperor. It is always used without the article, like a proper name. IV 839a

ḳaysāriyya (A, < Gk; pl. *ḳayāsīr*), also *ḳayṣāriyya* : the name of a large system of public buildings laid out in the form of cloisters with shops, workshops, warehouses and frequently also living-rooms, originally distinguished from the SŪḲ 'market' probably only by its greater extent, and by having several covered galleries around an open court, while the *sūḳ* consists only of a single gallery. At the present day, ~ is not infrequently quite or almost identical in meaning with the Persian word *kārwānsarāy*. IV 840a; IX 796b; in mediaeval Islam, an imperial establishment for the protection of stages on major commercial routes. IX 788b

In Algiers at the present day, ~ means barracks; after the first half of the 17th century it was used to denote the Janissaries' barracks. IV 841a

ḳayṣūm → S̲H̲ĪḤ

ḳayṭūn → GĪṬŪN

kayy (A) : in medicine, cauterization by fire with the object of surgical incision. II 481b

ḳayyān (A), or *muḳayyin* : a profession in mediaeval Islam, consisting of acquiring young slaves fit to become *ḳiyān* 'female singing slaves', in forming them under strict rules and in hiring out their services to private persons. IV 822b

For ~ in botany, → YĀSAMĪN

kayyās → MUKAYYIS

ḳayyim (A, pl. *ḳawama*) : lit. he who stands upright; with *bi, ʿalā, li* or the genitive alone, 'he who takes something upon himself, takes care of something or someone and hence also has authority over them'. This meaning of supervisor is found in all possible applications: administrator of a pious foundation, of baths, superintendent of a temple, caretaker of a saint's grave, etc. IV 847b; VI 677b; XI 63a; lessee of the steam bath. III 140b

In eschatological literature, ~ denotes a provider, a husband, of a woman. IV 847b

As adjective, 'commanding' or 'correct, right' (*al-dīn al-ḳayyim*). IV 847b

ḳayyūm (A) : the title of the topmost saint, in the thought of Aḥmad al-Sirhindī, of an invisible hierarchy of saints. V 545b; XI 118b

ḳażā' → ḲAḌĀ'

kazāg̲h̲and (A,P) : in miitary science, a protective mail hauberk which had its own padded lining and a decorative outer layer of cloth. XII 737b

ḳazaḳ (T) : independent; vagabond. IV 848a

Under the Tīmūrids, ~ signified the pretenders in contrast to the actual rulers, and also their supporters, who led the life of an adventurer or a robber at the head of their men. At the same time, ~ began also to be applied to nomad groups which separated from their prince and kinsmen and so came into conflict with the state; later, ~ had also the meaning of nomad, in contrast to the sedentary Sart population in Central Asia. IV 848b

The status of ~ is also regarded as a very old social institution of the nomad Turkic peoples. The word became the name of a political unit and later an ethnic designation by having been applied in the former meanings to those groups of the Özbek tribal confederacy that had abandoned the K̲H̲ĀN Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayr and migrated to the north-east

steppes of Turkistān, where they formed the core of the population of the present Kazakhstan. IV 848b

ḳazanlîḳ (T) : a cauldron, as e.g. found in the mausoleum of Aḥmad Yasawī, used for preparing food for pilgrims and ṣūfīs. X 681a

ḳazmaḳ → ḲĀZŪ

ḳāzū : the dredging of a canal, apparently from *ḳazmaḳ* 'to dig'. XII 550a

ḳazz → ḤARĪR

ḳeblī → SAMŪM

kehledān (T) : in Ottoman times, the worker in the mint who made the ingots into plates to be minted. II 119a

kelek (T, A, < Akk *kalakku*), or *kellek, kelik* : a curious raft made of bags of goat's hair, which is already known from the sculptures of Nineveh and has hardly changed in the course of centuries. Particularly mentioned by travellers in Mesopotamia and Persia, ~ is said to be typical for the upper part of the Tigris. IV 870a; VIII 810b

kelle push : a small white or red cloth cap, around which the turban can be twisted. X 612b

kemān (T), or *yay* : a bow-like instrument used by Ottoman carders to separate the cotton fibre from the seed by beating with it, in order to make the cotton clean and fluffy. V 559a

kenīz (P) : a female slave. I 24b

kēris (Mal) : in the East Indies, a double-edged dagger or short sword, retained from pre-Islamic times and having an almost magical and pagan significance amongst a population sometimes only superficially converted to Islam. XII 736b

kervān-bashî → KĀRWĀN

keshif (T) : in Ottoman administration, a detailed protocol compiled after damages to WAḲF-owned buildings, e.g. a BEDESTĀN, due to fire, determining the expenses involved in reparation. IX 542b

keshwar → IḲLĪM

kəskās (N.Afr) : a conical vessel made of earthenware or plaited alfalfa, used in North Africa for the preparation of couscous. V 528a

kəswa kbīra (Mor) : an elegant wedding and festivity dress of Jewish women consisting of several parts, derived from the 15th-century Spanish dress style. V 746a

ketkhudā (P, > T *k'ahya*), or *katkhudā* : master of the house, head of the family; husband, chief of a tribe, headman of a village; tithe-officer in a town. IV 8b; IV 893b; steward. I 278a; and → KALĀNTAR

In Ottoman administration, ~ designated someone who looked after the affairs of an important government official or influential person, i.e. an authorised deputy official. IV 893b

In Ottoman and Persian guilds, the head of a guild, who dealt with the material and administrative aspects of guild life. He was chosen by the guild nobles and his appointment was confirmed by the ḲĀḌĪ. IV 894a; IX 645b

In North Africa, the form *kāhiya* was current in Tunisia until recent times to designate the subordinates of the caïds, governors at the head of particular administrative divisions. In a more general way, *kāhiya* was in general use with the sense of 'assistant to a high official, president or director'. In Algeria, the *kahya* was a bey's lieutenant, but also a police superintendent and even a simple corporal in the army of AMĪR ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. The use of the term for a subordinate endowed it with the pejorative meaning of 'inferior quality'. IV 894b

khā' (A) : the seventh letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *kh*, with the numerical value 600. It is defined as a voiceless post-velar fricative. IV 894b

khabab → HARWALA

khabal (A) : in medicine, possession, as in being possessed. XII 189b
khabar (A, pl. *akhbār, akhābir*) : a report, piece of information, especially of a historical, biographical or even anecdotal nature. IV 895a; VI 350a; X 272b; from the 8th/14th century onwards, ~ is used interchangeably with ḤADĪTH and ḤIKĀYA in the sense of 'story'. III 369a; and → ṢĀḤIB AL-KHABAR; SHI'R
In the science of Tradition, ~ refers both to Traditions that go back to Muḥammad and to Traditions that go back to the Companions or Successors. III 23b; IV 895a
In Arabic grammar, the constituent parts of the nominal phrase, e.g. *zayd^{un} karīm^{un}*, where *zayd*, the first term, is MUBTADA', and *karīm*, the second one, is ~. IV 895b; predicate. VIII 384a
♦ **khabar al-wāḥid** (A) : in the science of Tradition, a Tradition going back to a single authority. Synonyms are *khabar al-āḥād* (→ ĀḤĀD, and III 25b), *khabar al-infirād* and *khabar al-khāṣṣa*. IV 896a
khabbāz (A) : a baker. V 41b; XII 756b
khabl (A) : in prosody, a type of double deviation (ZIḤĀF), whereby there are two cases per foot, combining KHABN and ṬAYY. XI 508b
khabn (A) : in prosody, a deviation in the metre because of the loss of the second consonant of a foot, e.g. the *sīn* in *mu[s]taf'ilun*. I 672a; XI 508b
khabrā' (A, pl. *khabārī*) : in geography, a silt flat, as is common in the Syrian desert, which comprises part of Syria, Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia and is mostly composed of highly dissected terrain. The rainfall, which usually occurs in the form of sudden cloudbursts, picks up a large amount of material from the erosion remnants and carries it inland downstream at high velocities. When such a stream reaches a gently sloping and wide open area, the ensuing loss in the velocity of the water stream causes the silts to be deposited. A ~ is the resulting silt flat. II 248b; IV 897b
In Arabia, a hollow with an impervious bottom holding water for a while after rain. I 538a; a small pond formed by rain. V 40a
khabūṭ (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse that stamps its fore-feet. II 953b
khadam (A, pl. *khuddām*) : collective noun for 'free servants'; further used, often linked in paronomasia with *ḥasham*, to denote the partisans and entourage of a great man, above all, of a military leader or ruler. IV 899a,b
khadang : a wood, probably birch, native to Čāč (now Tashkent) in Central Asia. X 348b
khadd al-'adhrā' (A) : lit. virgin's cheek; the name for the anemone in mediaeval 'Irāḳ. IX 248b
khaḍḍār → BAḲḲĀL
khādim (A, pl. *khuddām*) : a (free) servant, domestic; eunuch. I 33a; IV 899a; IV 1087a; a female slave. I 24b
In North Africa, ~ has acquired the specialised meaning of negress, while *khdīm* is used for a domestic servant. I 24b; IV 899a
♦ **khādim al-ḥaramayn** (A) : lit. servant of the two holy places (that is, Mecca and Medina), a title used by a number of Mamlūk and Ottoman sultans. IV 899b
khaḍir, banū (A, s. *khaḍīrī*) : a generic term in Nadjd for Arabs of dubious ancestry, i.e. not recognised as descendants of either 'Adnān or Ḳaḥṭān, not to be taken as the name of a tribe. IV 905b
khaḍīra (A) : in botany, a productive palm tree which has lost its dates when they were still green. VII 923b
khwādja (P, pl. *khwādjagān*) : a title used in many different senses in Islamic lands. In earlier times it was variously used of scholars, teachers, merchants, ministers and eunuchs. In mediaeval Egypt it was a title for important Persian and other foreign merchants. In Sāmānid times, with the epithet *buzurg* 'great', it designated the head of the

administration; later, ~ was a title frequently accorded to viziers, teachers, writers, rich men, and merchants. In the Ottoman empire it was used of the *ulema*, and in the plural form *kh^{w}ādjegān* designated certain classes of civilian officials (→ KH^{W}ĀDJEGĀN-I DĪWĀN-I HUMĀYŪN). In modern Turkey, pronounced *hodja* (modern orthography *hoca*) it designates the professional men of religion, but is used as a form of address for teachers in general. In Egypt and the Levant (pronounced *khawāga* or *khawādja*), it was used for merchants, then more particularly for non-Muslim merchants, and then as a more or less polite form of address for non-Muslims in general. IV 907a; IV 1092b
In India, ~ designates those Ismāʿīlīs who follow the Agha Khān. IV 907a; as **khōdja**, the name of an Indian caste consisting mostly of Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs and some sunnīs and Twelver shīʿīs split off from the Ismāʿīlī community; in a looser sense, *khōdja* refers to the Indian Nizārīs in general. V 25b

♦ **kh^{w}ādja-i djahān** : a title of high dignitaries in various sultanates of India, notably the sultanate of Dihlī, the Bahmanids, and the sultanate of Madura. IV 907b

♦ **kh^{w}ādjas**, or *khōdjas* : the designation of two lineages of spiritual and political leaders in Eastern Turkistan, where they played a decisive role from the late 10th/16th century to the last quarter of the 19th century. XII 522b

♦ **kh^{w}ādjegān-i dīwān-i humāyūn** (Ott) : under the Ottomans, a title given to the heads of the imperial chancery. From the mid-11th/17th century, ~ was also given to various officials additional to the chief clerks of the dīwān, whereby a century later, the numbers of people holding this rank grew to several times more than the holders of the actual office. IV 908b

khafāra (A) : 'protection', used, often together with ḤIMĀYA, to designate certain social practices. Orginally, it primarily denoted the protection which Arab tribes extended to merchants, travellers and pilgrims crossing their territories, often in return for payment or as part of an agreement. Later, the word's usage became extended to the 'protection' in return for an obligatory payment exacted by various social groups from other groups or from richer individuals. IV 913a; and → KHUWWA

khafḍ (A), or *khifāḍ* : female excision, corresponding to *khatn* or KHITĀN, the circumcision of boys. Under Islam, ~ has never been regarded as obligatory, but has been considered as recommended. IV 913a; VIII 824b
For ~ in grammar, → DJARR

khafīf (A) : in prosody, the name of the eleventh Arabic metre. I 670a; and → ḲAʿĪD

khafiyye (T, < A) : lit. secret (police); under the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, ~ came to mean a network of espionage and informing, and included the whole range of informers and spies from the highest social levels to the lowest. I 64a

khaftān (P), or *ḳaftān, ḳuftān* : an ample, full-length robe with sleeves that buttons down the front. This originally Persian garment became extremely popular throughout the Arab world. V 737b

khāk (P) : earth; an inconspicuous grave with no solid shelter attached to it, ~ is known only from literary sources and plays no role in epigraphy or funerary architecture similar to that of TURBA, of which it is a translation. X 674a
In Ṣafawid administration, ~ *āb* is the first water given to wheat, *dūn āb* the water given to wheat when it was nearly ripe, both requiring dues to be paid by the district to the MĪRĀB. V 874a

♦ khāḳ-sār (IndP) : 'humble as dust', the name of a 20th century Indian movement for national regeneration. IV 916b

khāḳān (T, < Mon *ḳaghan* or *khaghan*) : (supreme) ruler; ~ was applied by the Turks and the mediaeval Muslim geographers and historians to the heads of the various Turkish confederations, but also to other non-Muslim rulers such as the Emperor of China. IV 915a; VIII 621b; in the form *ḳaʾan* it was borne by the successors of Čingiz-Khān, the Mongol Great Khāns in Ḳaraḳorum and Peking. IV 915a

♦ khāḳānī (A) : a beggar in the time of al-Djāḥiẓ, who painted over his face in order to make it swell up; possibly a male prostitute. VII 494b

khāl (A, pl. *akhwāl*) : maternal uncle, whether a full, consanguineous or uterine one. The paternal uncle is *ʿamm* (pl. *aʿmām*). IV 916a; and → SHĀMA

khalʿ (A) : in political science, deposition, forced abdication; in modern Arabic *khalaʿa min al-ʿarsh* or *rafaʿa min al-manṣab* is used. XII 524b

In early Islam, exclusion of a tribe-member from his tribe by his kinsmen. IX 864b; X 3a; and → KHALĪʿ

In medicine, luxation. II 481b

khalaf → AL-SALAF WA 'L-KHALAF

khalandj (A) : in botany, the high-growing poplar, greatly prized for bows. IV 1085b

khālī (A) : 'empty'; in the Ottoman empire, a term for uncultivated land. X 503b; and → ḲĀLĪ

khalīʿ (A, pl. *khulaʿāʾ*) : in early Islam, one who has been disowned by his kinsmen for fear of accepting the consequences of his crimes, acquiring soon the meaning of SHĀṬIR 'a rebel who makes a conscious decision to practise evil'. IX 864a

al-khālidāt (A) : the 'Fortunate Isles', the Canaries. VII 962a

khalīdj (A) : a canal from a river. V 533b; IX 659a; and → DHIRĀʿ

khalīfa (A, pl. *khulafāʾ*, *khalāʾif*) : caliph. As a title, after the first four caliphs (**al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn**), Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, ~ passed to the Umayyads, then to the ʿAbbāsids. But it was also assumed by the Spanish Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and his successors as well as by shīʿī Fāṭimids, the Ḥafṣids and the Marinids. ~ was never officially transferred to the Ottoman sultans. IV 937a; ~ was also used as a title during the Sudanese Mahdist period (1881-1898). IV 952b

In political theory, ~ is the title of the leader of the Muslim community. The full title is *khalīfat rasūl Allāh* 'successor of the messenger of God'. IV 947b

In mysticism, ~ may have any of the following meanings, all carrying the idea of vicarship: the ḲUTB or perfect man, *al-insān al-kāmil*, around whom the spheres of being evolve, upon whom the Muḥammadan Reality, which is the hidden side of his own reality, irradiates; the successor of the (alleged) founder of an order or of the deceased leader of a group of mystics; a MURĪD who, after having reached a certain stage of mystical perfection, is granted permission by his spiritual master to initiate novices and to guide them on the mystical path; the deputy of the head of an order in a particular area; the pre-eminent representative and principal propagator of an order in a particular area acting independently. IV 950a; X 246a

Among the Bektāshiyya, ~ refers to a rank of spiritual achievement which could be attained only by those who had been ordained as *bābā*, head of a TEKKE. IV 951b

Among the Sanūsiyya, ~ may denote the representative of the head of the order who has been sent on a mission to a ZĀWIYA. IV 952a

Among the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, a plenipotentiary of the long-hidden IMĀM. I 353b

♦ khalīfat al-balad (A) : in the Khatmiyya order, the term for the local KHALĪFA (syn. *khalīfat al-nāḥiya*). X 249b

♦ al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn → KHALĪFA

khalīlī (A) : name of highly esteemed grapes in the region of Samarḳand. IX 110b

khālis → ṬARRĀR

khāliṣ → IBRĪZ

♦ **khāliṣa** (P, < A; pl. *khāliṣadjāt*) : in Persia, crown lands, and lesser rivers, ḲANĀTs and wells belonging to the crown. IV 972b

Under the Dihlī sultanate, ~ land was an area under direct revenue administration from which the troops could be paid in cash. II 272b

khaliyya (A) : the hive of bees. VII 906b, where variants are found

khalūḳ (A) : a perfume that is said to have left yellow stains. X 900b

khalḳ (A) : creation, the act of creating (syn. *bariyya*); Creation. IV 980a; and → IBDĀʿ
♦ khalḳdjîlîḳ (T) : democracy. VIII 219a
♦ khalḳ al-insān (A) : human anatomy. IX 394b
♦ khalḳiyyāt → ḲAWMIYYĀT

khalwa (A) : privacy, seclusion.
In mysticism, ~ means 'retirement, seclusion, retreat', and, more specifically, 'isolation in a solitary place or cell', involving spiritual exercises. IV 990a; IX 300a; X 245a; XII 522a
In law, the theory of ~ is that consummation between husband and wife is presumed to have occurred if they have been alone together in a place where it would have been possible for them to have had sexual intercourse. III 1011a
In North Africa, ~ is used for a heap of stones where women, for purposes of a mystical nature, attach rags to reeds planted between the stones and where they burn benzoin and styrax in potsherds. IV 381b; V 1201b
In Chad and the Nilotic Sudan, a Qur'ānic school. XI 124b

khalwātiyya (A) : a variety of ʿABĀʾ made in Ḥasbaya. V 741a

khamīl (A) : a silken robe with fringes, said to be part of Fāṭima's trousseau, along with a water-skin, *ḳirba*, and a cushion filled with rushes, *idhkhir*. X 900a

khamīr (A) : a leavened bread, an elided expression for *khubz khamīr*, as is the term for an unleavened bread, *faṭīr*, for *khubz faṭīr*. V 41b
♦ khamīra (A) : yeast. III 1087b

khamīs (A) : Thursday. IV 994a; IV 1009a
In military science, the five elements into which the army is divided: the centre, right wing, left wing, vanguard, and rear guard. III 182a; IV 1144b; and → KHAMSA WA-KHAMĪS

khamīṣa (A) : a black garment with edging. IX 313a

khammār → TIDJĀRA

khamr (A, < Ar) : wine. IV 994b
♦ **khamriyya** (A) : in prosody, a Bacchic or wine poem. This name does not seem to be attested in the mediaeval nomenclature of the genres. The usual expressions *al-ḳawl fī 'l-khamr, lahu maʿānī fī 'l-khamr, waṣṣāf li 'l-khamr*, indicate the existence of themes, but do not include any willingness to organise them into an independent poem. IV 998a

khamsa (A) : five; also, a piece of jewellery called 'the hand of Fatma' which is used as an amulet. I 786a; IV 1009a; XII 775b
In Persian and Turkish literature, a set of five MATHNAWĪ poems, e.g. the five epic poems of Niẓāmī of Gandja. Occasionally the term *sitta*, a set of six poems, is used for collections of the mathnawī poems of ʿAṭṭār and Sanāʾī. IV 1009b
♦ khamsa wa-khamīs (A) : a formula said against the evil eye. IV 1009a

khamsih → ʿAMĀR AL-DAM

khān (T, P) : in Turkish, a title first used by the Tʿu-chüeh apparently as a synonym of *ḳaghan*, the later KHĀḲĀN, with which its relationship is obscure; ~ was afterwards normally applied to subordinate rulers. The term was applied to various ranks throughout Islamic history, surviving into modern times in much the sense of the English 'esquire'. IV 1010b; and → SULṬĀN
In military science, a commander of ten thousand soldiers. IV 1019b
In India today, a common affix to the names of Muslims of all classes and is often regarded as a surname. IV 1010b
Of Persian origin, ~ designates both a staging-post and lodging on the main communication routes, and a warehouse, later a hostelry in the more important urban centres. IV 228a; IV 1010b; sometimes the urban ~ would be not a structure, but a group of

several specialised markets, like the Khān al-Khalīlī in Cairo, a collection of shops enclosed by two large gateways. IV 1015b

♦ **khān khānān** (IndP) : a high military title in mediaeval Indo-Muslim usage, the highest title conferred on an officer of the state. IV 1019b; V 629b

♦ khānazād : under the Mughals, a noble belonging to families previously connected with imperial service. VII 322a

♦ khānedān → DEREBEY

♦ **khānkāh** (A, < P *khānagāh*; pl. *khawānik*, *khānkāhāt*) : a building usually reserved for Muslim mystics belonging to a dervish order. The terms RIBĀṬ, TEKKE and ZĀWIYA refer to establishments with similar aims. The usual translation of 'monastery' does not convey the complexity of the institution. IV 433a; IV 1025a; VIII 494a; X 415b

khāna (P) : in literature, each single ḲAṢĪDA part of a TARDJĪʿ-BAND or TARKĪB-BAND. X 235b

khanāzir → KHINZĪR

khandak (A, < P) : ditch, trench, moat. Its most famous use is in the 'expedition of the ~ ', in which Muḥammad foiled a Meccan attempt to storm Medina in 5/627. IV 1020b; another expedition involving a ~ was in 327/939 in Muslim Spain before Simancas at the river of Alhándega (< *al-khandak*). IX 304a

khandjal → ZALZŪM

khandjar (A) : in military science, a heavy dagger or short stabbing sword, which appears to have been of eastern Iranian or Turkish origin. XII 736b

khānik (A) : choking.

♦ khānik al-dhiʾb → AḲŪNĪṬUN

♦ khānik al-fuhūd (A) : in botany, a variety of aconite (*Doronicum pardalianches*), also called *khānik al-namir* (→ AḲŪNĪṬUN); by metonymy, ~ has been extended to mean the effects of poisoning induced by this plant. II 740b

♦ khānik al-nimr → AḲŪNĪṬUN

khannāk (A) : in mediaeval Islam, a category of thieves, the strangler or assassin, who may have worked by suffocating his victim but may also have been a disembowler, *bāʿidj*, or one who pounded his victim's head with a stone, *rāḍikh*. V 769a

khansāʾ (A) : 'with a flat muzzle', in poetry, a description used for the oryx and addax antelope. V 1227b

khʷānsālār (P) : the overseer of the food at the court of the Muslim sovereigns. II 15a; VIII 954a; steward. VIII 924b

khanzuwān (A) : in zoology, the male pig, boar; the wild boar, whether under three years old, a three-year old, a four-year old or an old boar is called *ratt* (pl. *rutūt*), and *ʿufr*/*ʿifr* (pl. *ʿifār*, *aʿfār*). V8a

khār čīnī → ṬĀLIḲŪN

khār pusht → ḲUNFUDH

kharā (A) : human excrement, used as fuel in the public baths of Ṣanʿāʾ. IX 2b

kharadj (A), and *khaṣaf*, *naṣīf* : a term in the vocabulary of colour meaning a mixture, a combination of two colours sometimes regarded as opposites. V 699b

kharādj (A, < Gk) : tax, more specifically, land tax. IV 1030b; in mediaeval Persian usage and in the Ottoman empire, ~ also meant a tribute, taken from e.g. the peace agreements made after the victories of the Ottomans in the West. IV 1034a; IV 1055a

In Ottoman usage, ~ denoted both the land tax and the poll-tax on the state's non-Muslim subjects. IV 1053b

In the Muslim West, ~ was the tax imposed upon prostitutes, who were called *kharādjiyyāt* or *kharādjayrāt*. XII 134a; and → DĀR

For ~ in India, → MUWAẒẒAF

kharaz (A) : in Mecca, the local name for the system of man-made underground channels bringing sweet water to houses. VI 179a; and → WADĀʿ

kharbāg → KHARBGA

kharbaḳ (A) : in botany, the hellebore. IX 434b; IX 872b

kharbasha (A) : to botch something, do untidy work. XI 546a

kharbga (N.Afr) : in North Africa, a type of the game of draughts, played on a square board made up of holes marked out in the ground or in rock and having 49 component squares or 'houses'. According to the number of holes along each side, the game is called either *khamūsiyya* (5 holes) or *sabūʿiyya* (7 holes). A player is known as *kharbāg* or *kharbāgī*. A different game called ~ uses a rectangle on which diagonals are traced. IV 1071b

khardal (A) : a mustard sauce, containing saffron and other dried spice s. When mixed with brown vinegar, it was used to prevent the 'transformation' of fish. XI 381b

khardj : an age group. X 7b

khardja (A) : in prosody, the last line of a stanza; as used by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, all the lines with common rhyme. XI 373b

khardjlïk (T) : in the Ottoman period, a sum (usually 50 AKČE per person) collected annually by the ESHKINDJI 'auxiliary soldier', from an assistant, YAMAḲ, to join the sultan's army on an expedition. II 714b

kharfūsh → ḤARFŪSH

khargāh : a trellis tent, serving as a private chamber for the Mongol ruler. IX 45b

khārib (A, pl. *khurrāb*) : a camel thief. V 768b; IX 864b

khāridj (A) : in mathematics, a quotient. IV 725b; and → DĀKHIL

♦ khāridjī (A) : the epithet for a member of the sectarian group Khāridjites but, equally, a rebel in general, without any religious connotation. XII 598b

kharīdj (A) : in early Islam, a guessing game. V 616b

kharīf (A) : in India, the harvest collected after the end of the rains. II 909a; autumn crop. V 579b

kharīr → KHURŪR

kharīṭa (A, < Fr), or khāriṭa : in modern Arabic, a map, for which several terms were used in mediaeval Arabic, e.g. *djughrāfiyā, ṣūrat al-arḍ, rasm al-arḍ*, etc. IV 1077b

kharḳ (A, pl. *khurūḳ*) : in mineralogy, cavity, either filled with water, air, mud, *raym*, or sometimes worms, a defect or impurity in a gem. XI 263a

In the vocabulary of Ottoman irrigation, a water-channel (syn. *djadwal*). V 878b

kharkhara → KHURŪR

kharm (A) : in prosody, the absence of the initial short syllable in the first line of a poem. X 389b; XI 27b

kharrāz (A) : a leather bag maker, whose profession in pre-modern times had a low social status because working with leather was regarded as unclean. XII 463b

kharrūba (Sic) : a small-sized stellate coin introduced in Sicily by the Fāṭimids, whose weight was theoretically 0.195 gr but which in practice varied between 0.65 and 1.25 gr. IX 590a

kharṣ (A) : assessment of taxes. X 307b

khārṣīnī (A, < P *khār čīnī* 'hard substance from China), also *ḥadīd ṣīnī* : in metallurgy, a hard, highly-esteemed alloy, the constituents of which have not been established with certainty, but it is not zinc, as often assumed. According to the physcial qualities attributed to it, ~ best corresponds to hard lead, i.e. an alloy consisting of a mixture of lead, antimony and small quantities of copper, iron and tin. IV 1084a

khartāwī (T) : a high, pointed ḲAVUḲ, worn with a turban rolled around, whose end was often left free. It was worn in Turkey from the 17th century on. V 751b

kharūf → SAKHLA

♦ kharūf al-baḥr (A), or *umm zubayba* : the manatee, one of the sirenian mammals or 'sea cows'. VIII 1022b

kharwār (P) : a donkey's load, a unit of weight which was widespread in the Persian lands in all periods. The Būyid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla fixed it at 96.35 kg, but in later times a heavier ~ was introduced, weighing 288 kg; at present a ~ of 297 kg is widespread, although others are used. VI 120b

khas → YASHM

khaṣaf → KHARADJ

khasf (A) : 'swallowing up', as e.g. in the apocalyptic prophecy figuring the Sufyānī, an opponent of the Mahdī, of what would happen to a Syrian army by the desert between Mecca and Medina. XII 755a

khashab (A) : in botany, wood. IV 1085a; the word used by the ʿUtūb for their boats. X 956a

♦ khashaba (A, pl. *khashabāt*; T *lawḥ*) : 'club', 'wooden beam'; a plate of wood through which a knotted string was threaded, the only instrument for measurement used in mediaeval Islamic navigation. The ~ was used for measuring the altitude of a star above the horizon. It was held at fixed distances from the eye using the knots placed on the string, and this enabled the height of the plate to measure different angular altitudes. The ~ originally represented the hand of the navigator held at arm's length. VII 51a; and → KHASHABIYYA

In the plural, **khashabāt** was the name given to wooden pillars which in mediaeval times were driven into the seabed at the place where the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab empties into the Gulf, to guide sailors in danger of being drawn into a dangerous whirlpool and also on occasion to signal the approach of pirates. IV 1086a; and → KHISHĀB

♦ **khashabiyya** (A, < *khashab*, s. *khashaba* 'club') : 'men armed with clubs', an appellation for the *mawālī* of Kūfa who formed the main part of the followers of al-Mukhtār and took the field under his generals. IV 1086a

khashāsh → ḤASHARĀT

khashkhāsh (A) : in botany, the oppyx, or poppy (*Papaver somniferum*). I 243a; IX 249a; IX 615a

khashm → DJABAL

khashshāb (A) : a wood-seller. XII 758b

khaṣī (A, pl. *khiṣyān*) : castrated man, the man or animal who has undergone the ablation of the testicles; the complete eunuch, deprived of all his sexual organs, is a *madjbūb* (pl. *madjābīb*). I 33a; IV 1087a

khaṣmān (A, s. *khaṣm*, pl. *khuṣūm* or *khuṣamāʾ*) : in law, the (two) parties to a lawsuit, whereby each party is the *khaṣm* of the other. II 171a

khaṣr → AL-NAʿL AL-SHARĪF

khaṣṣ (A) : in botany, lettuce, one of the summer crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

khāṣṣ (A, fem. *khāṣṣa*, pl. *khawāṣṣ*) : 'personal, private, pertaining to the state or ruler', a term used in Ottoman administration. At first used interchangeably, later, *khāṣṣa* came to be used for the services and matters concerning the ruler and his palace, while ~ was used rather for the private estates of the ruler. IV 972b; IV 1094a; and → MAMLAKA

In magic, **khāṣṣa** (pl. *khawāṣṣ*), also *khāṣṣiyya* (pl. *khāṣṣiyyāt*), in the meaning of 'sympathetic quality', is a recurring theme, indicating the unaccountable, esoteric forces in animate and inanimate Nature. It was believed that all objects were in relation to one another through sympathy and antipathy and that diseases could be caused and cured, good and ill fortune be brought about as a result of the relations of these tensions. IV 1097b

Al-khāṣṣa also denotes the elite, the notables, or the aristocracy, and is frequently mentioned in one breath with its counterpart *al-ʿāmma*, which signifies commonalty, the plebs, or the masses. I 82b; I 491a; IV 1098a; IX 232a; in Ismāʿīlī usage, the *khāṣṣ* were the elite who knew the BĀṬIN, and the *ʿāmm*, the ignorant generality. I 1099a
Among the Yazīdīs, ~ is a holy figure (also *mēr*; → MĪR). XI 314a
For ~ in numismatics, → IBRĪZ
For ~ in Indian administration, → DABĪR; KHĀṢṢA-NIWĪS
♦ khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ (A) : 'specific difference' or 'the particular of the particular', a term in logic for what constitutes the species. It is the simple universal attributed to the species in reply to the question: what is it in its essence in relation to its genus. II 837a
♦ khāṣṣa → KHĀṢṢ
♦ khāṣṣa-niwīs (IndP) : in the Dihlī sultanate, the secretary attached to the court or on court duty. IV 759a
♦ **al-khāṣṣa wa 'l-ʿāmma** → KHĀṢṢ
♦ khāṣṣat al-shams (A) : in astronomy, the mean solar anomaly. IX 292a
♦ -khawāṣṣ-i hümāyūn (T) : in Ottoman administration, one of two types of *khāṣṣ*-TĪMĀR, viz. imperial revenues, belonging theoretically to the sultan but actually within the public treasury. The other type, *khawāṣṣ-i wuzerā'* and *umerā'*, was reserved for the members of the government and provincial governors. X 503a
♦ **khawāṣṣ al-ḳur'ān** (A) : the art of drawing prognostications from verses of the Qur'ān to which beneficial effects are attributed. IV 1133b
♦ khawāṣṣ-i wuzerā' → KHAWĀṢṢ-I HÜMĀYŪN
♦ ʿilm al-khawāṣṣ (A) : the knowledge of the natural properties of the letters, based on alchemy. III 595b

khāṣṣadār : a tribal levy; in the 1920s paid by the government of India to replace the Khyber Rifles, to ensure safety of the Khyber Pass. I 238b; and → DJAZĀ'ILČĪ

khaṣṣāf (A) : a cobbler. XII 526b

khāṣṣakiyya (A) : under the Mamlūks, the sultan's bodyguard and select retinue, considered to be the most prestigious body within the Mamlūk military aristocracy. IV 1100a

khāṣṣeki (T, < P *khāṣṣagī*, < A *khāṣṣ* 'private, special, confidential') : a term applied to persons in the personal service of Ottoman rulers, both in the palace from the 10th/16th to the 13th/19th centuries, e.g. the sultan's concubines, whose number varied between four and seven. The favourites were honoured by the title of *ḳadīn*. Those who bore him a child were called *khāṣṣekī sulṭān*; and in the military organisation, where the 14th, 49th, 66th, and 67th companies or *orta*s of the Janissary corps were called *khāṣṣekī ortalarī*. IV 1100a; XI 130b
♦ khāṣṣekī sulṭān → KHĀṢṢEKĪ

khaṭ' → KHAṬA'

khaṭa' (A) : a mistake, which is made in thought, speech or action (ant. *ṣawāb* 'what is correct'); hence in the field of knowledge, error; in that of action, omission, failure, all this, of course, unintentional. IV 1100b
In logic, ~ denotes an error (ant. *ṣawāb*). IV 1101a
In law, ~ or *khaṭ'* is an unintentional action, an act contrary to law, in which the intention of committing an illegal act is lacking, while the action itself may be deliberate (ant. *ʿamd*). IV 768b; IV 1101b

khātam (A, P *muhr*), or *khātim* : a seal, signet, signet-ring; the impression (also *khatm*) as well as the actual seal-matrix. ~ is applied not only to seals proper, engraved in incuse characters with retrograde inscriptions, but also to the very common seal-like objects with regular inscriptions of a pious or auspicious character; indeed, anything with an inscription stamped upon it may be called ~. II 306a; IV 1102b

In Morocco, at the present time, ~ denotes also any kind of ring worn on the finger. IV 1105b

♦ khātam al-waṣiyyīn (A) : a title among the Imāmīs referring to the Twelfth Imām, but also found as an epithet of ʿAlī. XI 161b

khaṭīʾa (A, pl. *khaṭāyā, khaṭīʾāt*) : in theology, a moral lapse, sin, syn. of DHANB. IV 1106b

khaṭīb (A, pl. *khuṭabāʾ*) : among the ancient Arabs, the name for the spokesman of the tribe, often mentioned along with the *shāʿir*, the poet. The distinction between the two is not absolutely definite, but essentially is that the *shāʿir* uses the poetic form while the ~ expresses himself in prose, often, however, also in SADJʿ 'rhymed prose'. IV 1109b; designation for a tribal chief. IX 115b

In early Islam, with the advent of the *khuṭba*, the address from the MINBAR in the mosque, the ~ was given a specifically religious character. IV 1110a; preacher of the Friday sermon. VIII 955a

khātim → DJADWAL; KHĀTAM

khātina (A) : a female circumciser, cutter of clitorises. Tradition attributes to the Prophet the expression *mukaṭṭiʿat al-buẓūr* (s. BAẒR) which has a pejorative sense, but ~ and its syn. *mubaẓẓira* do not seem to have a contemptuous connotation. IV 913a

khatm → AKHTĀM; ʿIKBIR; KHĀTAM

khatma (A, pl. *khitām*), or *khitma* : the technical name for the recitation of the whole of the Qurʾān from the beginning to end. IV 1112b; X 74b

In classical Muslim administration, ~ is the statement of income and expenditure prepared and presented monthly by the DJAHBADH to the DĪWĀN. II 78b

♦ al-khatma al-djāmiʿa (A) : in classical Muslim administration, the annual statement. II 78b

khaṭṭ (A, pl. *khuṭūṭ*) : writing, script. IV 1113a; the black or white lines on the hooves of wild cattle or on the flanks and the backs of stags (syn. *raml*). IV 1128b; and → ʿIDHĀR

In divination, ~ (or *raml*) is the line which the geomancer traces on the sand when he is practising psammomancy. IV 1128b

♦ khaṭṭ al-idjāza → RIḲĀʿ

♦ khaṭṭ al-istiwāʾ → ISTIWĀʾ

♦ **khaṭṭ-i humāyūn** (Ott), and *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* : in Ottoman administration, the decrees and rescripts of the Ottoman sultans, and written by them personally. From the reign of Murād III onwards, the decrease in the power of the Grand Viziers to act independently in state affairs led to a system of obtaining a ~ for almost anything except trivial matters. IV 1131a

♦ khaṭṭ-i muʿammāʾī (P, T) : an artificial script used in both Persia and Turkey, ~ is the rearrangement of a ḤADĪTH or some other important saying in a way which is difficult to read. IV 1126b

♦ khaṭṭ-i shadjarī (P, T) : 'tree-like writing', a name given by western scholars to an artificial script, applied to THULUTH and used both in Persia and Turkey for writing book titles, in which the letters bear a resemblance to the branches of a tree. IV 1126b

♦ khaṭṭ-i sherīf → KHAṬṬ-Ī HUMĀYŪN

♦ khaṭṭ-i sünbülī (T) : 'hyacinth script', a script invented by the Turkish calligrapher ʿĀrif Ḥikmet (d. 1337/1918), in which the letters resemble a hyacinth and are also reminiscent of DĪWĀNĪ letters. IV 1126b

♦ al-khaṭṭ bi-raml (A) : in divination, geomancy. IV 1128b

khaṭṭāra (Mor, pop. *khettara* or *rhettara*) : a term used to designate the underground draining system, existing especially in Marrakesh, with wells sunk to a depth of 40 m. IV 532b

khaṭṭī (A) : 'from al-Khaṭṭ' in Baḥrayn or Hadjar, a description for a spear with a bamboo or strong reed shaft, often made by a certain expert named Samhar, whence the appellation samharī. XII 735b

khātūn (T) : a title of Soghdian origin borne by the wives and female relations of the T'u-chüeh and subsequent Turkish rulers. It was employed by the Saldjūḳs and Khwārazm-Shāhs and even by the various Čingizid dynasties. It was displaced in Central Asia in the Tīmūrid period by *begüm*, which passed into India and is still used in Pakistan as the title of a lady of rank (→ BEGAM). IV 1133a; X 419a

khaul (J) : a celebration in Java, similar to the MAWLID in the Middle East, held once a year to honour the day a saint passed away or was born. XI 537a

khāwa (A, < *ikhāwa* 'brotherliness') : a term formerly used on the Arabian peninsula for payments made in return for the right to enter alien territory and for protection while staying there. Similar payments made by pilgrim caravans on the way to the Holy Cities were called *ṣurra*. IV 1133a

khawāriḳ al-ʿādāt (A) : among the Saʿdiyya Ṣūfi order, deeds transcending the natural order, such as healing, spectacles involving body piercing, *ḍarb al-silāḥ*, and, best known, the DAWSA. VIII 728b

khawāṣṣ al-ḳurʾān → KHĀṢṢA

khawātim (A, s. *khātima*) : in the science of diplomatic, the concluding protocal of documents, consisting of the ISTITHNĀʾ, the *taʾrīkh* (dating), and the *ʿalāma* (signature). II 302a

khawf → ṢALĀT AL-KHAWF

khawkha (A) : private entrance to the mosque. IX 49b

khawr (A) : on the Arabian peninsula, a term for an inlet in the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf; a submarine valley. I 536a; XI 292b; also, a desert well with water too salty for humans to drink from. I 538b

khawtaʿ → KHIRNIḲ

khayāl (A) : figure. IV 602b; also **ṭayf al-~** or ~ *al-ṭayf*, phantasm of the beloved, a standard amatory topic of poetry. X 220a; X 400a

In Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought, an important term used as a corrective to ʿAḲL. X 318b

In Indian music, the most important song form in the classical repertoire. It arose as a reaction to the traditional rigid and austere composition *dhrupad*. Its content deals primarily with religious and amorous themes, and consists of a relatively short set piece employed as the basis for improvisation. III 453b; IV 1136a

♦ **khayāl al-ẓill** (A) : 'the shadow fantasy', popular name for the shadow-play, possibly brought over from south-east Asia or India and performed in Muslim lands from the 6th/12th to the present century. IV 602b; IV 1136b

♦ khayāla (A) : equitation, the art of horseback riding. IV 1143b

khayāshīm (A, s. *khayshūm*) : the nasal cavities. VI 130a; VIII 121a

khayl (A, pl. *khuyūl, akhyāl*) : in zoology, the equine species. The term has no singular, and like *ibil* 'camels' and *ghanam* 'sheep', is included in the category of collectives for domestic animals forming the basis of nomadic life. IV 1143a

khaylāniyyāt (A), or *banāt al-māʾ* : in zoology, the sirenian mammals or 'sea cows'. VIII 1022b

khayma (A) : a tent; ~ was originally used to denote a rudimentary shelter, circular in construction, erected on three or four stakes driven into the ground with supporting cross-members covered with branches or grass. IV 1147a

♦ khaymānegān (T) : lit. people living in tents; in Ottoman administration, any wandering subject who might come and exploit the land on a temporary basis, paying rents or tithes to the owner. VI 960a

khayr (A) : charity, gifts in money or kind from individuals or voluntary associations to needy persons. In Islam, to make such gifts is a religious act. The word has the sense of freely choosing something, i.e. virtue or goodness, a service to others beyond one's kin. It also means goods such as property or things that have material value. IV 1151a

♦ khayr wa-khidmat (A) : among the AHL-I ḤAḲḲ, an offering of cooked or prepared victuals, like sugar, bread etc., which with raw offerings of male animals (→ NADHR WA-NIYĀZ) is an indispensable feature of a DHIKR session. I 261b

♦ khayrī → WAḲF KHAYRĪ

khaysh (A, pl. *khuyūsh, akhyāsh*, n. of unity, *khaysha*) : a coarse, loose linen made with flax of poor quality and used in the manufacture of sacks, wrappings and rudimentary tents; also, a kind of fan, still used in ʿIrāḳ, where it is now called by the Indian name *pānka*. IV 1160b

khayyāṭ (A) : a tailor, dressmaker. IV 1161a

khayzurān (A) : a rod, one of the insignia of sovereignty of the Umayyad caliphs in Muslim Spain. IV 377b; bamboo. IV 682a; VIII 1022a

khazaf (A) : in art, ceramics. IV 1164b

khāzin (A, pl. *khuzzān, khazana*) : lit. he who keeps safe, stores something away; a term for a quite menial and lowly member of the ʿAbbāsid caliphal household. IV 1181b; a keeper of books or librarian. IV 1182a; VI 199a

As a term of mediaeval Islamic administration, ~ stands for certain members of the financial departments and also of the chancery; an archivist. III 304b; IV 1181b

The plural *khazana* is found in the Qurʾān and denotes the angels who guard Paradise and Hell. IV 1181b

♦ khāzindār, **khaznadār** (T) : in Mamluk usage, keeper of the treasury (var. of *khizānadār*), an office originally given to an amīr of forty but later upgraded and filled by an amīr of 100. IV 186b; in Ottoman administration, a treasurer. XII 511b

khazīne (T, < A *khazīna*) : the Ottoman state treasury. IV 1183b; the annual income of a province sent to Istanbul. IV 1184b

In popular language, ~ gradually took the form of *khazne*, and came to be used as a place for storing any kind of goods or for storing water. IV 1183b; and → KHZĀNA

khazīr (A), or *khazīra* : a gruel generally made from bran and meat cut up into small pieces and cooked in water, eaten by pre-Islamic Arabs. II 1059a

khazl (A) : in prosody, a type of double deviation (ZIḤĀF), whereby there are two cases per foot, combining IḌMĀR and ṬAYY. XI 508b

khazna (A) : in music, the uppermost internode (of a flute). XII 667a

khaznadār → KHĀZINDĀR

khazne → KHAZĪNE

khazz (A) : a term for a mixture of silk and wool, but sometimes also used for silk. III 209b; poplin. VII 17b; floss silk. XII 341a; black silk. X 609b

In zoology, beaver (syn. *ḳunduz*). II 817a

khazzān (A) : a type of sedentary merchant in mediaeval Islam, who, by means of stocking or de-stocking, plays on variations of price as influenced by space, time and the quantities of the commodities traded. IX 789a; a wholesaler. X 469a

khel → TIRA

khettara → KHAṬṬĀRA

khibāʾ (A) : a kind of tent, probably similar to the BAYT in size, but distinguished from it by the camel hair (*wabar*) or wool that was used to make the awning. Apparently, it was the usual dwelling of the cameleer nomads. It is impossible to be certain whether the distinction between ~ and *bayt* corresponds to a different geographical distribution,

to a contrast between two large categories of nomads in Arabia, or simply to different levels of life within one tribe. IV 1147a

khibyāra → BAṬRAKH

khidāʿ (A) : trickery. IX 567b

khiḍāb (A) : the dyeing of certain parts of the body (and especially, in regard to men, the beard and hair) by means of henna or some similar substance. V 1b; IX 312a; IX 383b

khidhlān (A) : in theology, a term applied exclusively to God when He withdraws His grace or help from man (ant. LUṬF). I 413b; V 3b

khidīw (A, < P) : khedive, the title of the rulers of Egypt in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. In a way, ~ was a unique title among the vassals of the Ottoman sultan, which the ambitious viceroy of Egypt sought precisely in order to set himself apart and above so many other governors and viceroys of Ottoman dominions. V 4a

khidmatiyya (IndP) : in the Mughal infantry, the name given by Akbar to a caste of Hindu highway robbers, called *māwīs*, whom he recruited to guard the palace and control highway robbery. V 686b

khidmet (T) : one of seven services to be rendered by the RAʿIYYA to the TĪMĀR-holder such as the provision of hay, straw, wood, etc. II 32a; and → KHAYR WA-KHIDMET

♦ khidmet aḳčesi (T), or *maʿīshet* 'livelihood' : in the Ottoman tax system, service-money which government agents were allowed to collect for themselves as a small fee for their services. VIII 487b

khidr (A, pl. *khudūr*) : the section inside the Arab tent reserved for women. The term derives from the name of the curtain which separated this section from the rest of the tent. IV 1148a

khifāḍ → KHAFḌ

khilʿa (A, pl. *khilaʿ*) : a robe of honour, also called *tashrīf.* Throughout much of the mediaeval period, the term did not designate a single item of clothing, but rather a variety of fine garments and ensembles which were presented by rulers to subjects whom they wished to reward or to single out for distinction. These robes were normally embellished with embroidered bands with inscriptions known as ṬIRĀZ and were produced in the royal factories. I 24a; V 6a; V 737a

♦ khilʿet behā (T) : lit. the price of a KHILʿA, a sum of money given in place of the robe of honour to Janissary officers upon the accession of a sultan in the Ottoman empire. V 6b

khilāfa (A) : caliphate; the name of a politico-religious movement in British India, manifesting itself in the years after the First World War. V 7a

khilfa → RAʾS

khīmī (A, < Gk) : a kind of edible mussel, probably the *Chana Lazarus* L., the juice of which is said to get the digestion going. VIII 707a

khinnaws (A, pl. *khanānīs*) : in zoology, a piglet. V 8a

khinzīr (A, pl. *khanāzīr*), or *khinzīr barrī* : in zoology, all suidae or porcines belonging to the palaearctic zone, without any distinction between the pig (~ *ahlī*) and the wild boar, *Sus scrofa* (~ *waḥshī*). In North Africa, *ḥallūf* is preferred, while the Touaregs use *aẓubara*, or *taẓubarat.* V 8a

In medicine, the plural form *khanāzīr* denotes scrofulous growths on the neck. V 9b; X 433a

♦ khinzīr abū ḳarnayn (A) : in zoology, the African phacocherus (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*) and hylocherus (*Hylochoerus meinertzhageni*). V 9b

♦ khinzīr al-arḍ (A) : in zoology, the orycterops (Orycteropus afer). V 9b

♦ khinzīr al-baḥr (A) : 'sea-pig', in zoology, the dolphin and porpoise, also called *bunbuk.* V 9b; VIII 1022b

♦ khinzīr al-mā' → KHINZĪR AL-NAHR

♦ khinzīr al-nahr (A), or *khinzīr al-mā'* : in zoology, the potamocherus (*Potamochoerus porcus*) of Africa. V 9b

khīrī (A) : in botany, the stock. IX 435a

khirka (A) : rough cloak, scapular, coarse gown, a symbol of embarking on the mystical path. V 17b; the patched robe of the ṣūfis, synonymous with *dilk*. V 737a; V 741a; a veil, head scarf, worn by women in the Arab East. V 741a; in Turkey, a full, short caftan with sleeves. V 752a; and → MANDĪL

In mysticism, from the original meaning of cloak, ~ has been broadened to designate the initiation as such. V 17b; followed by a noun complement, it may serve to define various categories or degrees of initiation to the mystical path, e.g. *khirkat al-irāda, khirkat al-tabarruk*. V 18a

♦ khirkat al-futuwwa (A) : the act of investiture originally conferred by the 'Abbāsid caliphs and later by the Ayyūbid sultans, which was one of the features marking out the chivalric orders of the Islamic world before they spread into Christendom. V 18a

♦ khirka khiḍriyya (A) : 'investiture by al-Khiḍr', an expression describing those cases in which some contemplatives are said to have received spiritual direction directly from the powerful and mysterious person who, in the Qur'ān, shows a wisdom superior to the prophetic law. V 17b

♦ khirka-yi sa'ādet (T) : under the Ottomans, the annual ceremony held on 15 Ramaḍān of honouring the collection of relics preserved in the treasury of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. II 695b; and → KHIRKA-YI SHERĪF

♦ **khirka-yi sherīf** (T), or KHIRKA-YI SA'ĀDET : one of the mantles attributed to the Prophet, preserved at the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. II 695b; V 18a

khirnik (A, pl. *kharānik*), or *khawta'* : in zoology, the leveret, a young hare. XII 84b

khirtīt → KARKADDAN

khiṣā' (A) : in medicine, the ablation of the testicles, an operation consisting of incising and at the same time cauterizing the scrotum by means of a red-hot blade of iron and removing (*sall, salb* or *imtilākh*) the testicles. IV 1087a,b

khishāb (A), or *al-khashabāt* : a group of Mālik b. Ḥanẓala's descendants, which included the offspring of Mālik's sons, Rabī'a, Rizām and Ka'b. X 173b

khitān (A) : (male) circumcision. V 20a; VIII 824b

♦ khitānān (A) : the two circumcised parts, i.e. that of the male and the female. V 20a

khiṭaṭ (A, s. *khiṭṭa*) : in literature, a genre consisting of description of the historical topography of town quarters (→ KHIṬṬA).

khiṭba (A) : in law, 'demand in marriage', betrothal, not involving any legal obligation, but certain effects nevertheless follow from it, although the law schools differ: the right of seeing the woman, and the right of priority, in that once a woman is betrothed to a man, that woman cannot be sought in marriage by another man. V 22b; VIII 27b

khitma → KHATMA

khiṭr (A) : a flock of two hundred sheep or goats. XII 319b; and → NĪL

khiṭṭa (A, pl. KHIṬAṬ) : a piece of land marked out for building upon, a term used of the lands allotted to tribal groups and individuals in the garrison cities founded by the Arabs at the time of the conquests. V 23a; X 645a

khiwān (A, < P) : a wooden surface or table. IV 1025a; VI 808b; X 4b

khiyāna (A) : in law, embezzlement. IX 62b

khiyār (A) : in law, the option or right of withdrawal, i.e. the right for the parties involved to terminate the legal act unilaterally. V 25a

♦ khiyār al-'ayb (A), or *khiyār al-nakīṣa* : in law, the option in the case of a latent defect making the agreement void. V 25b

♦ khiyār al-madjlis (A) : in law, a Meccan doctrine, later taken up by al-Shāfiʿī, whereby an offer in a transaction can be withdrawn after it has been accepted, as long as the two parties have not separated. I 1111b; III 1017a

♦ khiyār al-ruʾya (A) : in law, the option of sight, rejected by the Shāfiʿīs. V 25b

♦ khiyār al-sharṭ (A) : in law, *jus paenitandi*, a clause by means of which, in certain legal acts (in particular, contracts), one of the parties, or both of them, reserve the right to annul or to confirm, within a specified time, the legal act which they have just drawn up. I 319b; V 25a; IX 359a

♦ khiyār al-taʿyīn (A) : in law, a clause allowing the one making the stipulation to make his final choice between the different objects of one and the same obligation. V 25b

khnīf → AKHNIF

khō shāb → SHERBET

khōdja → KHWĀDJA

khöömei (Mon) : a raucous, guttural voice, very rich in harmonics, sometimes approaching diphony, as used in nomadic music. X 733b

khoṭoz (T) : a popular feminine head-gear in the form of a conical KÜLĀH or hood decorated with a fine scarf or shawl and trimmed with feathers, precious stones and ribbons, worn in Ottoman Turkey. V 751b

khubz (A) : generic term for bread, whatever the cereal employed and whatever the quality, shape and method of preparation. V 41b

khudāwand (P) : God, lord, master, used in Ghaznawid times in the sense of lord or master, as a term of address to the sultan in documents and letters belonging to the Saldjūḳs and Khwarazmshāhs, and also as a form of address to government officials (civil and miltary) and patrons in general. There is no established etymology for this word and no Middle or Old Persian antecedent. V 44a

♦ **khudāwendigār** (P) : a title used for commanders and viziers during the Saldjūḳ period. As an attribute, the term was also used for mystics like Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. V 44b

In Ottoman usage, the term was used as the title of Murād I, and as the name of the SANDJAḲ and province of Bursa. V 44b

khūdha → BAYḌA

khudhrūf → DUWWĀMA

khūdja (Tun) : a secretary in the army in the Regency of Tunis. IX 657a

khuff (A, pl. *khifāf*) : a sort of shoe or boot made of leather, worn in early Islamic times. V 735b; XII 463a; a leather outer sock, still worn in the Arab East. V 741a

In zoology, a camel, as used in Tradition prohibiting competitions with animals. V 109a

In anatomy, a flat sole, as that of a camel or ostrich. VII 828b

khuffāsh → WAṬWĀṬ

khulʿ (A) : in law, a negotiated divorce. III 19a; IV 286a; X 151b; a divorce at the instance of the wife, who must pay compensation to the husband. VI 477b

khulaʿāʾ (A) : 'outlaws', in early Islam, those expelled from their tribe to a life of brigandage. X 910a

khulafāʾ → KHALĪFA

khulāṣa (A) : in literature, a technical term referring to a selection made from an extensive work. VII 528b

khuld (A, < Ar; pl. *khildān*) : in zoology, the Mole rat or Blind rat (*Spalax typhlus*). XII 287b

khulla (A) : in botany, graminaceous and herbaceous vegetation. IV 1143b

khulṭa (A) : in business, partnership, *~t shuyūʿ* denoting a joint undivided co-ownership and *~t al-djiwār* a jointly managed partnership. XI 414b

khuluww (al-intifāʿ) (A) : in law, a system in Egypt and Palestine for repairs and setting up of installations, whose main features were a loan made to the WAKF and the right of the *wakf* at any time to repurchase the property and repay the tenant the added value. XII 368b; a form of rent that gave the tenant the right to act like a proprietor, i.e. in selling, bequeathing and alienating his rights in the property. XI 67b
In Algeria and Tunis, ~ was rather like *hikr*, long-term leasing of WAKF property, and involved perpetual usufruct or even 'co-proprietorship' with the *wakf*. XII 368b
khumāsiyy (A) : 'a boy five spans in height, said of him who is increasing in height' (Lane). VIII 822a
khumbara (P), or *kumbara* : bombs, used in Ottoman warfare. There is mention in the sources of bombs made of glass and of bronze: *shīshe khumbara, tundj khumbara*. I 1063a
♦ **khumbaradji** (T, < P) : in the Ottoman military, a bombardier, grenadier. I 1062a; V 52b
khums (A) : lit. one-fifth; a one-fifth share of the spoils of war, and, according to the majority of Muslim jurists, of other specified income. I 1142a; II 869b; IX 420a; XII 531a; one of five tribal departments into which Baṣra was divided under the Umayyads. I 1085b
khumūl (A) : the effacement of self, one of the components of asceticism, ZUHD. XI 560a khunyāgar (P) : pre-Islamic Persian minstrels (*gōsān* in the Parthian period, *huniyāgar* in Middle Persian) who performed as storytellers, singers and musicians as well as improvising poets. From the 5th/11th century on, the performing artist became increasingly referred to by *rāmishgar* or *muṭrib*. IX 236b
khurāfa (A) : a fabulous story; superstition, fairy tale, legend. III 369b
khurafā' (A), or *asmār* : in literature, a genre of Sāsānid literature translated into Arabic consisting of prose narratives without ostensible didactic pretences, often of erotic content. X 231b
khurāsānī (A) : in Ottoman Turkey, the round turban worn by viziers and other officials who were no longer in active service and therefore did not wear the *müdjewweze*, a barrel- or cylindrical-shaped cap, worn with the turban cloth from the time of Süleymān's dress edict, as the proper court and state headdress. Also, a cap of red material, worn by ʿOthmān I and the Tatars and Čaghatay Turks, called *tādj-i ~*. X 612b
khurrem (P) : cheerful, smiling; a name for both men and women. V 66a
khurūdj (A) : armed rising. XI 478a
In prosody, the letter of prolongation following the *hā'* as WAṢL (as in *yaktuluhū*). IV 412a
khurūr (A), or *kharīr, kharkhara, harīr* : the purring of a cat. IX 651b
khuṣā (A) : in medicine, testicles. Those of the fox (~ *al-thaʿlab*), cock and ram were used in the preparation of aphrodisiacs. XII 641b
khushdāsh (A) : among the Mamlūks, a brother-in-arms. VI 325b
khushdāshiyya (A) : comradeship, as existed in the Mamlūk household. VI 325b; manumission [of a Mamlūk]. VI 318b
khushkār (A) : a coarse-ground flour, used for baking bread consumed in the classical period by people of less means. V 42a
khushshāf → WAṬWĀṬ
khushūna (A) : in medicine, hoarseness of the bronchial tubes. X 868b
khusrawānī (A, < P *kisrā*) : a kind of drink or a very fine, royal silk used for clothing and used to cover the Kaʿba in the late 1st/7th century, V 185a
khuss (A) : the son of a man and of a *djinniyya*. III 454b
♦ khussān (A) : according to Ibn Durayd, the stars around the (North) Pole that never set, i.e. the circumpolar stars. VIII 101a

khusūf → KUSŪF

khuṭba (A) : sermon, address by the *khaṭīb*, especially during the Friday service, on the celebration of the two festivals, in services held at particular occasions such as an eclipse or excessive drought. V 74a; a pious address, such as may be delivered by the WALĪ of the bride on the marriage occasion. VIII 27b
In the vocabulary of colour, ~ is applied to a dirty colour, a mixture of two blended colours, alongside the more general term for colour, LAWN. V 699b

khuṭṭāf → WAṬWĀṬ

khuwān (A) : a solid, low 'table', synonymous with *mā'ida*. XII 99b

khuwwa (A), also KHĀWA : in the Syrian desert, its borderlands and northern Arabia, protection-money, paid to Bedouin in order to pass through regions safely or to protect property. In North Africa, the terms KHAFĀRA or *ghafāra* are most widely used. I 483b; IX 316b; XII 305a; XII 535a

khuzām al-ḳiṭṭ (A) : 'cat's mignonette', in botany, the varieties *Astragalus Forskallii* and *Astragalus cruciatus* of the genus Milk vetch. IX 653b

khuzāmā (A) : in botany, lavender. V 80a

khuzaz (A, pl. *khizzān, akhizza*), or *ḥawshab, ḳuffa* : in zoology, the male hare, or buck. XII 84b

khzāna (Mor) : the official tent of state authorities, of conical design and made of unbleached cloth decorated with black patterns. IV 1149

kiai → KYAHI

kiak → GHIDJAK

ḳibāl → AL-NAʿL AL-SHARĪF

kibd → KABID

ḳibla (A) : the direction of Mecca (or, to be exact, of the Kaʿba or the point between the *mīzāb* 'water-spout' and the western corner of it), towards which the worshipper must direct himself for prayer. IV 318a; V 82a; V 323b; VIII 1054a
In many Muslim lands, ~ has become the name of a point of the compass, according to the direction in which Mecca lies; thus ~ (pronounced *ibla*) means in Egypt and Palestine, south, whereas in North Africa, east. V 82b; V 1169a
♦ ḳiblat al-kuttāb (A) : 'model of calligraphers', the name for Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī. XI 264a

kibrīt (A, < Akk) : in mineralogy, sulphur, brimstone. V 88b; alchemists invented many pseudonyms for sulphur, such as 'the yellow bride' (*al-ʿarūs al-ṣafrā'*), 'the red soil' (*al-turba al-ḥamrā'*), 'the colouring spirit' (*al-rūḥ al-ṣābigh*), 'the divine secret' (*al-sirr al-ilāhī*), etc. V 90a

ḳibṭ (A, < Gk) : a Copt, or native Christian of Egypt. V 90a

ḳidam (A) : in philosophy and theology, the term for eternity. V 95a; and → ḲADAM

ḳidḥ (A) : in archery, the shaft of an arrow, the forepart (towards the head) being called *ṣadr* and the rear part the *matn*. The forepart includes a socket (*ruʿz*) meant to take the head (*naṣl* or *zudjdj*). IV 799b

ḳidr (A, pl. *ḳudūr*) : in the mediaeval kitchen, a cooking pot or casserole, made of stone, earthenware, copper or lead and of various sizes. VI 808a

ḳighadj (A, < T *kiğaç* 'slope, incline') : in archery, a term denoting either an exercise in which an archer, shooting parallel with his left thigh, shoots at a ground target, or else any kind of downwards shot made from horseback. Possibly, it also means shooting rearwards by a group of cavalrymen at full gallop. IV 801b

kihāna (A) : divination, the art of knowing that which cannot be spontaneously known. V 99b

kikha (K) : an elected chief of a Kurdish village. V 472a

ḳil ḳobuz → GHIDJAK

ḳilāda (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a collar worn by a horse. II 954a
ḳîlîdj (T) : in Ottoman administration, a term for a TĪMĀR registered in the IDJMĀL register constituting an indivisible fiscal and military unit. X 503b ff.
ḳilidjūrī (T ?) : a double-edged sabre, recommended for hunting the wild boar. V 9a
kilīm (T, < P *gilīm*) : a woolen rug generally long and narrow in shape. XII 136a
kilwāt → ḲĀT
ḳily (A, < Ar), or *ḳilā* : in mineralogy, potash, potassium carbonate [K_2CO_3], but also soda, sodium carbonate [NA_2CO_3]; ~ thus indicates the salt which is won from the ashes of alkaline plants, but is also confusingly used for the ashes themselves and the lye. Synonyms are *shabb al-ʿuṣfūr* and *shabb al-asākifa.* V 107a
ḳīma (A) : in law, the market value (of the victim of bloodshed). I 29b
ḳimar (A) : gambling, strictly prohibited according to Islamic law. V 108b
ḳīmī (A) : in law, non-fungible. XII 55a
kīmiyā' (A, < Syr) : alchemy (syn. *ṣanʿa*), abbreviated *al-kāf*, which serves also as a pseudonym. V 110a
ḳīn → YĀSAMĪN
ḳinā (A) : a flock of one to two hundred sheep; such a flock for goats is called *ghīnā* or *ḳawṭ*. XII 319b
ḳināʿ (A, pl. *aḳniʿa*; > Sp *al-quinal*), also *miḳnaʿ(a)* : a cloth that men and women wound on the head, like the ʿIṢĀBA and the KŪFIYYA. Sometimes it also seems to mean a woman's veil of silk embroidered with gold, then again to be the same as ṬAYLASĀN. X 612b
kināna (A) : in archery, a quiver made from skins; some lexicographers note that the ~ can be made from skin or wood. IV 800a
kināya (A) : in rhetoric, a term corresponding approximately to metonomy and meaning the replacement, under certain conditions, of a word by another which has a logical connection with it (from cause to effect, from containing to contained, from physical to moral, by apposition etc.); ~ constitutes a particular type of metaphor. V 116b
In law, indirect. XI 61b
ḳinbār (A) : coconut palm fibre. VIII 811a
ḳindīl (A, < Gk) : in archery, a cylindrical quiver in which the arrows are placed with their heads downwards, as opposed to the procedure with the DJAʿBA. IV 799b; (oil) lamp. IX 282a; IX 288a; IX 665a
ḳînlîḳ → DJARĪMA
ḳinna (A) : in botany, galbanum, the desiccated latex of *Ferula galbaniflua*, used as a spice and medicine. VIII 1042b
ḳinnīna (A) : in chemistry, a phial, one of the many apparatuses in a lab described in the 5th/11th century. V 114b
kirā' (A) : in law, the leasing or hiring out of things, in particular immovable property and ships and beasts which are used for transportation. The contracting parties are the *kārī*, the lessor, and the *muktarī*, the lessee. V 126b
♦ kirā' mu'abbad (A) : in law, *conductio perpetua*, the lease in return for a quit-rent of ancient French law, the equivalent of emphyteusis or emphyteutic lease. In Egypt, ~ is known as *mudda ṭawīla*, in Algeria as *ʿanā'*, and in Morocco as *kirā' ʿalā 'l-tabḳiya*. V 127a
ḳirā'a (A, pl. *ḳirā'āt*) : reading; in the science of the Qur'ān, recitation; a special reading of a word or of a single passage of the Qur'ān; a particular reading, or redaction, of the entire Qur'ān. V 127a; V 406a; X 73a
ḳirab (A) : a water-bag, which nomadic peoples of Arabia made out of the skins of animals. XII 659a

ḳirāḍ (A) : in law, a commercial arrangement in which an investor or group of investors entrusts capital or merchandise to an agent-manager who is to trade with it and then return it to the investor with the principal and previously agreed-upon share of the profits (syn. MUḌĀRABA, *muḳārada*). The ~ combines the advantages of a loan with those of a partnership. Its introduction in the form of the *commenda* in the Italian seaports of the late 10th and early 11th centuries AD was germinal to the expansion of mediaeval European trade. V 129b

kiradji (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a purveyor of caravan transport. X 533b

kirān (A) : in music, a lute like the ʿŪD. X 768b

ḳirān (A) : in astrology, the conjunction; without further qualification, this refers to the mean or true conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter. V 130b; VIII 833a

In astronomy, ~ is sometimes used in place of *idjtimāʿ*, the conjunction of the sun and moon. IV 259a

In the context of the pilgrimage, ~ denotes one of three methods of performing the pilgrimage, viz. when the *ʿumra* 'Little Pilgrimage' and the *ḥadjdj* 'Great Pilgrimage' are performed together. The other two methods are IFRĀD and TAMATTUʿ. III 35a; III 53b; X 865b

In the terminology of ploughmen, ~ (or *ḳaran*) refers to a rope passing over the oxen's head and attached to the beam of the tiller. VII 22b

For ~ in numismatics, → ṢĀḤIB ḲIRĀN

kirās → SHUTIK

ḳīrāṭ (A, < Gk) : a unit of weight. 24 *ḳīrāṭ*s made up a *mithḳāl*, which was equal to 60 barley grains. VI 118a; on the other hand, sometimes 4 barley grains made a ~. III 10b; V 11b

ḳirba → KHAMĪL

ḳird (A) : in zoology, a substantive having the general sense of monkey, but representing in fact only the members of two families, the colobids and the cercopithecids, the only primates known in ancient Arabia. V 131a, where can be found many regional synonyms

In astronomy, the asterism ζ, λ *Canis majoris* and υ, κ, θ, γ, λ, μ, ε *columbae* is wrongly called *al-ḳurūd* 'the Apes' in some treatises, a mistake arising from a misspelling of *al-Furūd* 'the Hermits'. V 133a

ḳirdān (A), and *ḥalam* : in zoology, a sort of moth. IV 522a; XI 9a

ḳirḳ (A) : merels, a recreational board game, which could involve stakes. V 109a

kirkira → ṢADR

ḳirmid (A, < Gr; pl. *ḳarāmid*) : in contemporary Arabic, tile; in mediaeval Syria, the fired brick of the baths. V 585b

ḳirmiz (A) : in botany, cochineal, used for dying leather and skins. V 586a

kirpi → ḲUNFUDH

ḳirṣ → ḲURṢ

ḳirsh (A, < It *grosso*; pl. *ḳurūsh*) : in numismatics, a piastre. IX 269b; a silver coin, called *thaler* upon its first issue in Europe. IX 599a

In zoology, a shark. V 434a; fish of cartilaginous skeleton (pl. *ḳirshiyyāt*), in other words the selachians or squalidae. VIII 1022b

ḳirṭās (A, < Gk; pl. *ḳarāṭīs*) : papyrus, papyrus roll; parchment; rag paper. IV 742a; V 173b; VIII 261b; VIII 407b; bag. V 174a

In medicine, ~ refers to a dressing, and a kind of absorbent gauze. V 174a

kīs → MUKAYYIS

kisāʾ (A) : a general word for garment; in North Africa, a piece of flannel worn by learned men around the body and head. In earlier times everyone wore it and it was called *ḥayk* (→ ḤĀʾIK). X 613a

ḳiṣāṣ (A) : in law, retaliation (syn. *ḳawad*), which is applied in cases of killing (*ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs*), and of wounding which do not prove fatal (*ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs*). I 29a; IV 770a; V 177a

♦ ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' → ḲIṢṢA

ki<u>sh</u>k (A) : a preparation of barley and milk, used in medicine as an antidote to fever and, when the body was washed with it, as a treatment for exhaustion as it opened the pores. IX 225a

ḳi<u>sh</u>laḳ (T, < *ḳi<u>sh</u>* 'winter') : winter quarters, originally applied to the winter quarters, often in warmer, low-lying areas, of pastoral nomads in Inner Asia, and thence to those in regions like Persia and Anatolia (ant. YAYLAḲ 'summer quarters'). The Arabic equivalent is *ma<u>sh</u>tā*, and approximate Persian equivalent *sardsīr*. V 182b

In Čag<u>h</u>atay Turkish of Central Asia, the sense of ~ evolved from that of 'the <u>kh</u>ān's residence, winter quarters of the tribe' into the additional one of 'village'. V 182b

In Ottoman usage, ~ meant 'barracks' and it spread thus with the form *ḳi<u>sh</u>la* into the Balkan languages. This meaning has in fact passed into the Arabic colloquials of Syria and Egypt, as has also that of 'hospital, infirmary', so that in Egyptian Arabic we have both *ḳu<u>sh</u>lāḳ* 'barracks' and *ḳa<u>sh</u>la* 'hospital'. V 182b

ḳi<u>sh</u>r (A) : a decoction of coffee husks, which when drunk alleviates the state of anxiety that follows the state of euphoria induced by ḲĀT. IV 741a

ḳi<u>sh</u>riyyāt → SARAṬĀN

ḳi<u>sh</u><u>sh</u>a (A) : in zoology, the name for the female baboon and the young monkey, also called *daḥya* and *ilḳa*, according to different places and people. V 131b

ki<u>sh</u>t<u>kh</u>ʷān (P) : a cultivated field. XI 303b

ḳisma (A, T *ḳismet*) : fate, destiny; in this final sense, and especially via Turkish, *ḳismet* has become familiar in the West as a term for the fatalism popularly attributed to the oriental. V 184a

In mathematics, ~ is the term used for division of a number. III 1139b

In Ottoman usage, *ḳismet* was also a technical term of the *ḳassāmlîḳ*, the official department of state responsible for the division of estates between the various heirs, *resm-i ḳismet* denoting the payment which the ḲASSĀM received from the heirs of a deceased person in payment for the trusteeship of the estate. IV 735b; V 184b

ḳismet → ḲISMA

kisr → FALĪ<u>DJ</u>A

ḳiṣṣa (A, pl. *ḳiṣaṣ*) : the term which, after a long evolution, is now generally employed in Arabic for the novel, while its diminutive UḲṢŪṢA (pl. *aḳāṣīṣ*) has sometimes been adopted as the equivalent of novella, short story, before being ineptly replaced by a calque from the English 'short story', *ḳiṣṣa ḳaṣīra*. V 185b; used of every kind of story, but applied particularly, as in the title **ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'**, to edifying tales and stories of the prophets. III 369a; V 180a

In the science of diplomatic, ~ was the term for petition. II 306a

♦ ḳiṣṣa-<u>kh</u>ʷān (T) : the Turkish equivalent of Arabic *ḳaṣṣāṣ*, a teller of stories about the pre-Islamic prophets, the champions of Islam or the great mystic figures. III 374a; V 951a; IX 409a; and → <u>SH</u>AYYĀD

ḳissīs (A) : in the Qur'ān, with the RĀHIB and sometimes also the *aḥbār*, a religious leader of the Christians.

ḳisṭ (A) : a measure of weight used for olive oil in Egypt during the period of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs. Its actual weight varied. VI 119a

ḳisṭās (A, < Gk or Ar) : the Qur'ānic word for the common balance. VII 195b

kiswa (A) : the veil or covering of the Kaʿba. X 532a

ḳiṭʿa (U, < A; pl. *ḳiṭaʿ*), or *muḳaṭṭaʿa* : lit. piece, part cut off from the whole, segment; in literature, a short monothematic poem, or a piece of a longer poem. IX 470a; XII 538b

kitāb (A, pl. *kutub*) : something written, notes, list, letter; book. The beginnings of the Arabic book go back to the early Islamic period. V 207a;V 401b

In the Qur'ān, the transaction of contractual enfranchisement, consisting of the master's granting the slave his freedom in return for the payment of sums (*kitāba*) agreed between them. In law, ~ became later known as *mukātaba* or *kitāba*. The slave freed thus is called *mukātab*. I 30a

♦ **kitāb al-djilwa** (A) : 'the Book of Revelation', one of the two sacred books of the Yazīdīs, which contain the fundamentals of their religion, the other being the Maṣḥaf-rāsh. V 208b

♦ kitāba → KITĀB

♦ **kitābāt** (A) : inscriptions, the first dated Arabic one going back to the year 31/652. V 210b

ḳitār, ḳitarā → ḲITHĀRA

ḳiṭār (A) : in classical Arabic, a train of camels drawn up one behind the other, now used with modified meaning to designate a railway train. I 572b

ḳithāra (A), or *ḳitarā* : in music, an instrument of the lyre family. It first appears in Arabic literature on music in the 3rd/9th century to denote a Byzantine or Greek instrument of this type. It was made up of a richly-decorated rectangular sound box, two vertical struts fastened together by a yoke and (twelve) strings which were left free at their greatest width. The ~ and the *lūrā* were variants of the same instrument, but the ~ was the instrument for professionals, while the *lūrā* was a smaller instrument played by beginners and amateurs. At a later period, the term, as *ḳitār*, was used to denote a different instrument, the guitar. V 234a

ḳiththā' al-ḥimār (A) : in botany, *Ecballium elaterium*. IX 872b

kitmān (A) : secret; among the Ibāḍiyya, a state of secrecy, the condition in which they were to do without an imamate, because of unfavourable circumstances. III 658a

ḳiṭmīr : the name of the dog in SŪRA xviii in the Qur'ān; among the Turks of East Turkistan, as in Indonesia, it was still customary in recent times to inscribe letters which it was desired to protect from loss, with ~ instead of 'registered'. I 691b

ḳiṭr → NUḤĀS

♦ ḳiṭrān → ḲAṬRĀN

♦ ḳiṭriyya (A) : a type of red turban, worn by the Prophet. X 610a

ḳiṭṭ → SINNAWR

♦ ḳiṭṭ-namir → WASHAḲ

ḳiyāda (A) : the command of an army in time of war. X 838a

ḳiyāfa (A) : in divination, the science of physiognomancy (*ḳiyāfat al-bashar*), and the examination of traces on the ground (*ḳiyāfat al-athar*). V 100a; V 234b; VIII 562a

ḳiyāma (A) : in theology, the action of raising oneself, of rising, and of resurrection. V 235b

♦ yawm al-ḳiyāma (A) : the Day of Resurrection, which with the Last Hour (*al-sā'a*) and the Day of Judgement (*yawm al-dīn*) constitute one of the necessary beliefs of Islam. V 235b

ḳiyās (A) : in law, judicial reasoning by analogy, the fourth source of Islamic law. It is the method adopted by the jurisconsults to define a rule which has not been the object of an explicit formulation. III 1026a; V 238b

In grammar, ~ indicates the 'norm', meaning the instrument which enables the grammarian to 'regulate' the morphological or syntactical behaviour of a word, where this is not known through transmission or audition, on the basis of the known behaviour of another word, by means of a certain kind of analogy. It is synonymous with *miḳyās*. V 242a

In logic, ~ is the general name for syllogism. I 1327a; II 102b; IX 359b

♦ ḳiyās ḥamlī (A) : in logic, the attributive or predicative syllogism, as opposed to *ḳiyās sharṭī*, the conditional or hypothetical syllogism. IX 359b

♦ ḳiyās al-maʿnā → SHABAH

♦ ḳiyās al-shabah → SHABAH

kiyūniyā (A, < Gk) : 'columella', the interior of the Purpura and of the trumpet-snail, which used to be burned for its etching power. VIII 707a

ḳiz (T) : 'girl, unmarried female', but often used with the more restricted meanings of 'daughter, slave girl, concubine'. In mediaeval usage, one of its denotations was 'Christian woman', doubtless influenced by the meanings 'slave girl, concubine'. V 242b

♦ ḳizlar aghasi (T) : the chief black eunuch, guardian of the ḤARĪM and the third most important palace royal after the sultan and the grand vizier in the middle period of the Ottoman empire. XI 130b

kiẓāma (A, pl. *kaẓāʾim*) : in the Ḥidjāz, an underground canal used for extracting water from the depths of the earth; especially a series of wells sunk at a certain distance from one another and linked by a gallery laid out at a level that does not tap the underground water. IV 532b

kızan → EFE

ḳizil-bāsh (T) : lit. red-head; in its general sense, ~ is used loosely to denote a wide variety of extremist shīʿī sects, which flourished in Anatolia and Kurdistān from the late 7th/13th century onwards. The common characteristic was the wearing of red headgear. In its specific sense, ~ was a term of opprobrium applied by the Ottoman Turks to the supporters of the Ṣafawid house, and adopted by the latter as a mark of pride. I 262a; III 316a; IV 34b ff.; V 243a; V 437b

kneze (Serb) : lit. prince; under the Ottomans, a local strongman. IX 671a

kočak (K) : among the Yazīdīs, a visionary, diviner and miracle-worker, who is thought to communicate with the 'World of the Unseen' by means of dreams and trances. XI 315b

ḳol (T) : one of three 'arms' of a postal route; also a technical term in administrative language. I 475a; an actor's guild. IX 646b

♦ ḳol aghasi (T) : a military rank intermediate between those of YÜZBASHI and BIÑBASHI; commander of a wing. I 246a

♦ ḳolčaḳ (T) : in military science, a rigid tube-like iron vambrace for the lower arms, known also as *ḳulluḳ*, which appeared in the second half of the 13th or early 14th century and was almost certainly of Sino-Mongol origin. XII 738b

köle → KUL

ḳolu (P) : in pre-Tīmūrid Persia, a headman of a craft, appointed as such by the members. IX 645b

konfil : a cap worn by women in Algiers and Tunis. X 613a

kontosh (T) : a fur (or caftan) with straight sleeves and a collar, worn in Ottoman Turkey. V 752a

ḳopi : a salt-bed. IX 832a

köprü ḥaḳḳi (T) : a bridge-toll levied in the Ottoman empire. II 147a

kopuz, or *ḳopuz*: the lute of the Oghuz, which they brought into Asia Minor, the ancestor of the present SĀZ. It seems to have had three strings, a long neck and a soundboard of hide. IX 120a; X 733b

ḳorazin (T) : in military science, a mail-and-plate armour, made of pieces of iron plate of various shapes and sizes designed to protect different parts of the body were linked by pieces of mail of varying widths depending on the degree of flexibility required. First appearing in ʿIrāḳ or western Persia in the 14th century, it spread to become the most typical 15th to 18th-century form of Islamic armour for both men and horses. XII 737b

kōs → KROŚA

kös (T) : a large copper kettledrum, which could measure one-and-a-half metres at the top. It was taken on Ottoman military campaigns and played at official occasions. VI 1008a

ḳosh̲-begi (T) : the title of high officials in the Central Asian khānates in the 16th to 19th centuries, probably with the meaning 'commander of the (royal) camp, quartermaster'. V 273a; XII 419b

kösh̲k (T, < P *kūsh̲k*) : in architecture, a pavilion in a pleasance which could be merely a modest shelter or have several rooms. It was rarely a substantial building. The term gave rise to the English 'kiosk'. V 274a

In Ottoman naval terminology, ~ was the name given to the after-deck or poop cabin. V 274a

ḳosh̲ma (T) : originally a general term for poetry among the Turkish peoples, later, applied to the native Turkish popular poetry, in contrast to the classical poetry taken from the Persian and based on the laws of Arabic metrics. V 274b; VIII 2b; X 736b; a folk-musical form, which varies in different parts of Anatolia and Azerbaijan, but which contains typically an instrumental introduction, followed by a vocal recitative and melody. V 275b

kotel (K) : a funeral cortège. V 476b

kōtwāl (H) : a commander of a fortress, town, etc. V 279b; IX 438b; in India, before and under the Mugh̲als, and in British India for approximately a century more, ~ was used in the sense of 'official responsible for public order and the maintenance of public services in a town'. V 280a

k'ou-t'ou → TAO-T'ANG

köy (T) : village, in Ottoman and Crimean Tatar usage; many placenames in the Ottoman empire are compounded with ~. In the sense of an open village, ~ is opposed to *ḳaṣaba*, meaning a small town. V 281b

ḳoyun resmi (T), or *ʿādet-i agh̲nām* : the most important tax levied on livestock in the Ottoman empire at the rate of 1 AKČE for two sheep, collected directly for the central treasury. II 146b

ḳozaḳ (T) : in agriculture, cotton bolls. V 558b

ḳozbekči (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a body of officials performing various services on the sultan's behalf. X 564b

krośa (H, later *kōs*, P *karōh*) : lit. earshot, this term later became the standard term for describing distance. It has been differently reckoned at different periods and in different regions, and has almost everywhere a distinction between a larger and a smaller measure. VII 138b

kü : an instrumental piece evoking nature, among the Ḳazakh̲s and the Ḳirgh̲iz, inspired by the circumstances of the performance and dependent on interaction with the audience. X 733b

ḳubʿ (A, pl. *aḳbāʿ*) : in Egypt, the name for the innermost cap of the turban, which could be kept on, even when sleeping, while the turban proper was taken off and put on a special turban stand (*kursī al-ʿimāma*). The ~ thus corresponds in a way to the later ṬĀḲIYYA and ʿARAḲIYYA. X 613a

ḳūba (A) : in medicine, eczema. III 291a; in music, a double-membrane drum shaped like an hour-glass. X 33a

ḳubaʿ (A) : in zoology, one of the multiple names for the ray or skate (→ RĀYA). VIII 1022b; and → D̲JAMAL AL-BAḤR

ḳubāṭī → KATTĀN

ḳubba (A, T *ḳubbe*) : a hide tent, in pre-Islamic Arabia. IV 1147a; a tomb surmounted by a dome. IV 352b; V 289a; the general name for the sanctuary of a saint. VI 651b

In the construction of scales and balances, the ~ was the housing for the pointer (*lisān*), often used also as a carrying handle. V 295b

In geography and astronomy, ~ , *ḳubbat al-ʿālam, ḳ. al-arḍ, ḳ. Arīn* are expressions used to denote the geographical centre of the earth at the zenith of which exists the dome of the heavens, *ḳubbat al-samāʾ* or *wasaṭ al-samāʾ*. The ~ is defined as being equidistant from the four cardinal points, and thus situated on the equator. V 297a

♦ **ḳubbat al-hawāʾ** (A) : 'the Dome of the Winds', a popular appellation for isolated monuments situated on rocky spurs. V 297b

♦ ḳubbat al-khaḍrāʾ (A) : term best translated as 'Dome of Heaven', ~ was the name of the palace erected at Damascus by Muʿāwiya and recurs frequently in early Islamic times for other palaces. IX 44b

♦ **ḳubbe wezīri** (T) : lit. vizier of the dome, the name given, under the Ottomans, to the members of the *dīwān-i humāyūn* who came together on several mornings each week around the grand vizier in the chambers of the Topkapı Palace called *ḳubbe altı̂* because it was crowned by a dome. This institution was abandoned under Aḥmed III. V 299b

ḳubbaʿa (A) : in architecture, the capital of a column; in Arab dress, a kind of cap or turban. X 613a

ḳūbčūr (Mon) : a tax of Mongolian origin. Originally, a tax on flocks and herds, payable by the Mongol nomads to their ruler, and later, a poll-tax to be paid by the subject population. The animal-levy continued to be paid by the Mongols until it was abolished by Ghāzān; it is sometimes referred to as *ḳūbčūr-i mawāshī* to distinguish it from the poll-tax. IV 1050a; V 299b

kubra → IBRĪḲ

kūdiya → ZĀR

kūdj (A) : a headdress worn by women, along with an ʿIṢĀBA. The word is perhaps a corruption of *seraghūdj* or *seraḳūdj*, which is said to mean a Tatar cap. X 613a

kudrī → ḲAṬĀ

ḳudsī → ḤADĪTH ḲUDSĪ

kudya (A) : begging. XI 546a; and → AHL AL-KUDYA

kuffa → ḤADJRA

ḳuffa → KHUZAZ

ḳuffāz → DASTABĀN

kūfī (A) : a term used to designate the angular form of Arabic script, as opposed to the flexible *naskhī* script. It continued to be in use for some five centuries after the advent of Islam, especially for writing Qur'āns. Moreover, it was used for writing the titles of manuscripts and their sections and the BASMALAs at their beginnings until almost the end of the 7th/13th century, often as an element of decoration. IV 1121a ff.; V 217a ff. The best distinguished types of ~ styles of writing are *māʾil* (used in the Ḥidjāz in the 2nd/8th century), *mashḳ* (used in the Ḥidjāz and Syria), western (with round shapes), and eastern ~ (also called *ḳarmāṭī*, characterised by its edgy forms). Later direct developments of these ~ script styles are *maghribī* (used in al-Andalus and till the present day in the MAGHRIB) and *sūdānī* (used in sub-Saharan West Africa). VIII 151a

kūfiyya → KĀFIYYA

ḳufl (A) : in prosody, a line with separate rhyme; used by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, however, for a single line, irrespective of whether it has common, SIMṬ, or separate rhyme. XI 373b

In archery, the catch of the stock or arrow-guide (*midjrāt*) of a cross-bow. IV 798a

kufr (A) : unbelief; the following kinds of unbelief are distinguished: *kufr al-inkār* (neither recognising nor acknowledging God); *kufr al-djuḥūd* (recognising God, but not

acknowledging Him with words, that is remaining an unbeliever in spite of one's better knowledge); *kufr al-muʿānada* (recognising God and acknowledging him with words but remaining an unbeliever (obdurate) out of envy or hatred); *kufr al-nifāḳ* (outwardly acknowledging, but at heart not recognising God and thus remaining an unbeliever, that is a hypocrite). IV 408a

♦ kufriyyāt (A) : in literature, a genre of blasphemous or heretical poems. III 355b

kufu (Sw, < A *kafā'a*) : in East Africa, a husband of equal socio-economic class. VIII 34a

kūh-i nūr (P) : the name of a diamond, now weighing 106 $^{1}/_{16}$ carats but originally much larger, possibly the diamond mentioned by Bābur in his Memoirs and now incorporated in the state crown used by Queen Elizabeth, consort of King George VI, at their coronation in 1937. V 353b

kuḥl (A pl. *akḥāl*) : in mineralogy, traditionally translated as antimony sulphide (stibnite), the Arabic word, the origin of our word alcohol, was used in mediaeval Arabic and Persian texts to indicate both an eye cosmetic, an eye ungent and a lead mineral found at Isfahan (syn. *ithmid, surma*). From the fine powder used to stain the eyelids, the word was applied to an essence obtained by distillation. The process needed for the production of alcohol itself was probably introduced into the Islamic world from Europe, where it was first discovered in the 7th/13th century. I 1089a; V 356a; also used in a much wider sense for the 'science and art of caring for the eyes', the equivalent of the ophthalmology of the West at the present day. I 785a

♦ kuḥlī → YĀḲŪT AKHAB

kuhūla (A) : the period of age following that of SHABĀB. IX 383a

ḳūḳa (P) : applied in Turkish to the plumed headdress worn by the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia and by the Aghas of the Janissaries. X 613a

ḳūḳī (A) : in numismatics, the term for the early DĪNĀR in North Africa and Spain. II 297b

kūkra (A) : in zoology, the talitrus, a small leaping crustacean, also known as the sand-flea (*Talitrus saltator*), and often used as bait in fishing. VIII 1021b

kukum → WĀḲWĀḲ

kukur → WĀḲWĀḲ

kül irkin (T) : an old Turkic title held by tribal chiefs. X 556a

ḳul (T, pl. *ḳullar*), or *köle* : an old Turkish word which came, in Islamic times, to mean 'slave boy, male slave', also in a religious sense 'slave of God'. However, the original meaning of ~ was that of 'servant, vassal, dependent', slavery in the Islamic juridical sense not existing among the ancient Turks. I 24b; V 359a

Under the Ottomans, the plural *ḳullar* became the standard designation for the Janissaries. V 359a

♦ ḳullar aghasi (T) : the title given to the commander-in-chief of the sovereign's slave forces under the Ottomans and the Persian Ṣafawids alike. V 359b; VIII 770a

♦ **ḳul-oghlu** (T) : lit. son of a slave, in Ottoman usage, more specifically the son of a Janissary, admitted to the pay-roll of the corps. In the period of Turkish domination in Algeria and Tunisia, ~ (as *ḳulughlī, kulughlī* and, with dissimilation, *ḳurughlī, kurughlī* : the French *koulougli* and variants) denoted those elements of the population resulting from marriages of Turks with local women. I 371a; V 366b

ḳula (A) : a children's game mentioned in ancient poetry and described as played with two small wooden boards, one twice as long as the other and the one being hit with the other. The Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās is described as having played ~ as a boy, this being in an anecdote intended to show his innate decency. V 615b; and → MIḲLĀ

külāh (T) : a cap, hat, a very widespread masculine and feminine head-gear in Ottoman Turkey, of which several dozen variants existed. They could be made from felt or

woollen cloth combined with other materials such as cotton, fur, small turbans, scarves and trimmings. As to their shape, the most common were caps, head-dresses in the shape of a dome, cone, cylinder broadening towards the top, tube, helmet, brimmed hats with flaps and straps. V 751b; X 613a

ḳulḳās (A) : in botany, *colocasia antiquorum*, one of the summer crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

ḳulla (A) : a jar. V 386a

In architecture, a crown to a minaret which replaced the MABKHARA, so-called because of its resemblance to the upper half of the typical Egyptian water container, pear-shaped and with at least two bronze finials whose crescents are orientated towards the ḲIBLA. VI 367b

kullāb → MIHMĀZ

kulliyya (A, T *fakülte*, P *dānishkada*) : lit. completeness. In the 19th century ~ acquired the technical meaning of faculty as a unit of teaching and learning, mostly at the university level, according to branches of learning. II 423a; V 364a

külliyye (T) : in Ottoman usage, the complex of buildings with varying purposes centred round a mosque. The concept of a ~ was inherent in the earliest form of the mosque where one building housed the place of prayer and teaching as well as serving as a hostel. Later, other services were incorporated under one foundation document, and each was housed in its own building within an enclosure. V 366a

ḳulluḳ (T) : one of seven services, to be rendered by the RAʿIYYA to the TĪMĀR-holder, such as the provision of hay, straw, wood, etc. II 32a; and → ḲARĀGHUL; ḲOLČAḲ

ḳulughlī, kulughlī → ḲUL-OGHLU

ḳūmā (A), or *ḳawmā* : the name of one of the seven types of post-classical poetry. It was invented by the people of Baghdad, and it is connected with the *saḥūr*, the last part of the night when, during the month of Ramaḍān, it is still permitted to eat and drink and to take meals at that time. The ~, which is always in Arabic colloquial, has only been cultivated in ʿIrāḳ, where it has been used to express various themes, such as those of love, wine-drinking, of flower-description, etc. Technically, there are two types: the first is made up of strophes of four hemistichs, of which three (the first, second and fourth) are the same in length and rhyme with each other, while the third is longer and does not rhyme with the rest; and the second is made up of three hemistichs of the same rhyme, but of increasing length. V 372b

ḳumanya (T) : in the Ottoman military, special campaign allowances, used, with sultanic largesse, *bakhshīsh*, to mark times of celebration such as accessions to the throne or campaign victories. X 811b

ḳumāsh (A, pl. *aḳmisha*) : cloth, any woven stuff, synonymous with the classical words *bazz* and *thiyāb*. V 373b

Under the Mamlūks, ~ took on the specialised meaning of 'dress uniform' although this sense is not found in any dictionary. The Mamlūk ~ must have been a heavy garment, as Mamlūk soldiers threw off their armour and ~ when fleeing the battlefield. V 373b; ~ (pl. *ḳumāshāt*) was also sometimes used in Mamlūk terminology as a synonym for *kanbūsh* or 'caparison' of a horse. V 374b

ḳumbara → KHUMBARA

ḳumbāz (A) : an overgarment, gown, made of striped silk, worn by both sexes in the Arab East. V 741a

kümbed → TURBA

kumis (Rus, < T *ḳimiz*) : koumiss, fermented mare's milk, the staple drink of the steppe peoples of Eurasia from the earliest time. V 375b

ḳūmis (A, < L *comes* pl. *ḳawāmis*) : a title which in al-Andalus denoted the Christian responsible to the state for the *muʿāhidūn* or Scriptuaries, or at least, for the Christian

Mozarabs. I 491a; V 376a; VIII 834a; ~ was also applied to the counts of the Christian kingdoms. V 377a

kumma (A, pl. *kumām*), or *kimma* : a little tight-fitting cap. X 613a

ḳummal (A) : a Qur'ānic term usually translated as 'lice', but commentators define it as either crickets or a sort of moth. IV 522a

kumūn (A) : in theology, 'latency', a key-notion of speculative physics, especially in the system of al-Naẓẓām, where all natural qualities, with the exception of movement, were 'bodies' inherent in other bodies: e.g. fire is not hot and luminous, but is composed of heat and luminosity; as such fire is itself an ingredient of wood where it is latent until the wood is burnt. V 384a

kunak : the swearing of brotherhood, a custom among the Čerkes tribes of the Caucasus by which a man became a member of another clan. II 23a

kunār (A) : in botany, a tree (*ziziphus spina Christi*) found in the upland districts of Kirmān. V 148a; the jujube tree. V 669b; and → DAWM

kunbū<u>sh</u> (A) : a large and richly decorated cloth that was hung over the hindquarters of a horse, to display the saddle. IV 1145a

kündekārī (T) : a woodwork technique consisting of tongue-and-groove panelling of polygons and stars set in a strapwork skeleton. VIII 968a

kundur → LUBĀN

ḳundus → ḲUNDUZ

ḳunduz (A), or *ḳundus* : in zoology, the beaver (syn. *<u>kh</u>azz*). II 817a

ḳunfu<u>dh</u> (A, pl. *ḳanāfi<u>dh</u>*) : in zoology, the hedgehog (P *<u>kh</u>ār pu<u>sh</u>t*, T *kirpi*) and the porcupine (P *ta<u>sh</u>ī*, T *büyük kirpi*). V 389b, where many bynames can be found; and → LAYLAT AL-ḲUNFU<u>DH</u>

♦ ḳunfu<u>dh</u> al-baḥr (A) : in zoology, the edible sea-urchin. V 390b; VIII 1021a

♦ ḳunfu<u>dh</u> baḥrī (A) : in zoology, the beaver. V 390b

kūniya (A), or *ḳūniyā* : the wooden setsquare (syn. *afā<u>dh</u>ān*) and level used by carpenters and land surveyors in mediaeval times. VII 198b; VII 202a

kunkur → WĀḲWĀḲ

ḳunnāḥa (A) : a polo-stick and, in general, a curved piece of wood.

In the terminology of mediaeval agriculture, ~ refers to a kind of joining pin used to connect the ploughshare (or rather the cross-beam) to the beam, SILB. VII 22b

kunnā<u>sh</u> (A) : a compendium. X 226a

ḳunūt (A) : 'standing', 'a prayer during the ṢALĀT'; a term in religion with various meanings, regarding the fundamental signification of which there is no unanimity among the lexicographers. V 395a; VIII 930b; and → TAṢLIYA

kunya (A) : patronymic, an onomastic element composed of *abū* 'father' or *umm* 'mother' plus a name, in principle, the eldest son's name, but the ~ can also be composed of the name of a younger son or even of a daughter. IV 179a; V 395b

ḳūpūz (T) : in music, an open chest viol with two strings, which is very popular in Turkestan. VIII 348b; as *ḳūbūz*, a rather primitive bowed instrument in Central Asia. X 769a; and → MIʿZAF

♦ ḳūpūz rūmī : in music, an instrument with five double strings, according to Ibn <u>Gh</u>aybī. X 769a

ḳur' (A, pl. *ḳurū'*) : a Qur'ānic word which is defined both as the inter-menstrual period and as synonymous with *ḥayḍ* 'menstrual indisposition' by the Qur'ān commentators. III 1011a; IV 253a

kura (A) : in astronomy, the sphere, globe. V 397a

♦ al-kura al-muḥarrika (A) : in physics, the burning-glass. V 397b

♦ laʿb al-kura (A) : the game of polo, also called *laʿb al-ṣawla<u>dj</u>ān* or *al-ḍarb bi 'l-kura*, one of the branches of horse-riding. II 955a

kūra (A, < Gk) : in geography and mediaeval administration, an administrative unit within a province, a district. V 397b; IX 308b; a pagarchy. I 330a; I 1340b; a province. VIII 636a; IX 305b

ḳurʿa (A) : the drawing of lots, whatever form this may take. V 398a

In divination, rhapsodomancy, the interpretation of verses or parts of verses or prophetic words encountered by chance on opening the Qurʾān or the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. IV 1133b; V 100b; V 398b

kūrakān, or *küreken* : lit. son-in-law; in onomastics, a title used by Tīmūr and successors, indicating that the ruler had married a princess of the royal Čaghatayid house. X 525b

ḳurʾān (A) : the Muslim scripture, containing the revelations recited by Muḥammad and preserved in a fixed, written form. V 400a

kurāsa (A) : in the early ʿAbbāsid period, a booklet of bound papyrus sheets. V 173b

ḳurba (A) : an act performed as a means of coming closer to God. VIII 712a; and → ḲARĀBA

ḳurbān (A, < Heb) : a sacrifice, a sacrificial victim; in Muslim ritual, the killing of an animal on the 10th Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja. Also used once in the Qurʾān as more or less synonymous with 'gods', possibly connected to the genuinely Arabic word ~ (pl. *ḳarābīn*), from *ḳ-r-b* 'to be near', meaning the courtiers and councillors in immediate attendance on a king. V 436b

In Christian Arabic, ~ means the eucharist. V 437a

ḳūrči (T, < Mon *ḳorči* 'archer') : a military term with a variety of different meanings: he who bears arms, the sword, chief huntsman; armourer, sword-cutler, troop of cavalry, captain of the watch; leader of a patrol, commandant of a fort, gendarmerie in charge of a city's security; sentry, sentinel, inspector. V 437a

In Ṣafawid usage, ~ denoted a member of the Turcoman tribal cavalry which formed the basis of Ṣafawid military power, and in this sense was therefore synonymous with ḲÏZÏL-BĀSH. V 437b

ḳurduḥ, ḳurdūḥ → RUBĀḤ

ḳurdūs (A) : among the nomadic stockbreeders in early Islam, a term for a herd of mounts numbering 100 and above into the thousands (syn. *djaḥfal, faylaḳ*). IV 1144b

kürekdji → ČELTÜKDJI

küreken → KŪRAKĀN

kūrgā the largest of the kettledrums, greatly favoured by the Mongols; nearly the height of a man, it is probably the *ṭabl al-kabīr* mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. X 34a

ḳūrïltāy (Mon *ḳurilta*) : an assembly of the Mongol princes summoned to discuss and deal with some important questions such as the election of a new KHĀN. IV 499b; V 498a

ḳurḳ (N.Afr, pl. *aḳrāḳ*) : cork-soled sandals, distinctly Maghribī. V 743b

kurki → POTURI

kurkī → GHIRNĪḲ

kurkum (A) : in botany, curcuma, *Curcuma longa* L. III 461a; XI 381b

kurkūr (A, < Gk, pl. *karākīr*) : a type of large ship used especially for freight, known to the pre-Islamic poets and mentioned still in mediaeval Mesopotamia. VIII 811a

ḳurmūṣ → TIMRĀD

kurr (A) : a measure of capacity used in ʿIrāḳ and Persia in the classical period for weighing great quantities of grains. Its actual weight varied. VI 119b

ḳurra (A) : in pre-Islamic times, a mixture of flour mixed with hair, obtained from spreading the flour on the head and then shaving it, which people in times of famine ate. IV 521b

ḳurrāʾ (A, s. *ḳāriʾ*) : usually rendered as 'reciters of the Qurʾān', a group of Iraqians who rose against ʿUthmān and later on against ʿAlī, after he had accepted the arbitration. A new interpretation for the term is 'villagers' (*ahl al-ḳurā*) but this remains speculative. V 499a

kurradj (A) : a hobbyhorse. V 616b

kurrāsa (A, pl. *karārīs*) : in bookmaking, a quire, usually consisting of five double sheets. V 207a ff.

ḳurṣ (A), or *ḳirṣ* : a metallic cap or crown, often studded with jewels, worn on top of a woman's headdress in the Arab East. V 741a; X 58a; a pancake of barley-flour, pure or mixed with a little wheat-flour, known in North Africa as *kesra* V 42a

ḳurṣāl (A, < It *corsale*; pl. *ḳarāṣil, ḳarāṣīl*) : a synonym for ḲURṢĀN 'corsair, pirate', but less commonly found. V 502b

kursālī (A, < It *corsale*; pl. *kursāliyya*) : a synonym for ḲURṢĀN 'corsair, pirate', but less commonly found. V 502b

ḳurṣān (A, < It *corsale*; pl. *ḳarāṣina, ḳarāṣin, ḳarāṣīn*) : corsair, pirate, whence the abstract noun *ḳarṣana* 'privateering, piracy'. Although Arabic had *liṣṣ al-baḥr* for 'sea robber', privateering, the attacking of enemy ships with the more or less explicit connivance of the authorities, had to Arabs clearly a different character from piracy, a private enterprise involving the capture and pillaging of any vessels encountered, which nevertheless they conflated in ~. V 502b

In Andalusia, ~ had a double sense of 'corsair' and 'boat'. V 502b

kursī (A, < Ar) : a seat, in a very general sense (chair, couch, throne, stool, even bench). In the daily life of mediaeval Muslims, it refers more specifically to a stool, i.e. a seat without back or arm-rests. V 509a; XII 601b; a wooden stand with a seat and a desk, the desk for the Qurʾān and the seat for the reader. VI 663b

Among the other objects designated by ~, the following are examples: a support (stool) on which the turban is deposited during the night; a chair of particular design used by women in childbirth; a stool for daily ablutions; in mediaeval Egypt, a seat for flour-sellers; an astrolabe-stand; a slab into which a pointed instrument is implanted, through the base; in Mecca, a kind of moving ladder (or staircase) near the Kaʿba; among the Persians, a kind of stove (a low 'table', under which a fire is lit. Blankets are laid on this table and then wrapped round the knees to provide warmth); the base of a column, pedestal; a plate supporting the powder compartment and percussion mechanism of the flint-lock rifle; in Spain, small pieces of silver or gold worn by women in their collars and known in Spanish as *corci*; the seat of the bishop, his see, diocese etc. V 509b; in Mughal architecture, a terrace. X 58b

In the Qurʾān, ~ tends to be accorded the sense of throne by the commentators, since its function is to bestow a particular majesty on the one who sits there. Nevertheless, ~ need not indicate a seat in the usual sense of the word. There are other interpretations of the term, some allegorical, e.g. the absolute knowledge of God, or his kingdom, some literal, e.g. footstool, a bench set before the throne. V 509a

In astronomy, ~ denotes a triangular piece of metal which is firmly attached to the body of the astrolabe. I 723a

In orthography, ~ signifies each of the characters (*alif, wāw, yāʾ*) on (or under) which the *hamza* is placed; in calligraphy, a kind of embellishment in square form. V 509b

♦ kursī al-sūra (A) : the place where the ritual reader of the Qurʾān sits cross-legged in the mosque, not to be confused with DIKKA. II 276a

ḳurṭ (A) : in botany, clover, one of the winter crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

ḳurṭum (A), and *ʿuṣfur* : in botany, safflower. III 461a; bastard saffron, *Carthamus tinctorius* L. V 586a; XI 382a

ḳurūʾ (A) : a woman's menstrual periods or periods of purity, as used in Q 2:228 with regard to the amount of time after a divorce the woman must wait before remarrying. X 151b ff.

ḳurug̲h̲lī, kurug̲h̲lī → ḲUL

ḳuruḳ (P) : the prohibition of men and boys from any place where the king's wives were to pass. The consequences to those who failed to get out of the way were sometimes fatal. Though probably not a new practice, it was rigorously enforced in Persia under the Ṣafawids. VI 856b

ḳurūn al-sunbul (A) : in botany, ergot. IX 872b

kurunb (A) : in botany, cabbage, one of the summer crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

kurūr (A) : the reincarnation of souls, a doctrine professed by the Muʿtazilī Aḥmad b. Ḥābiṭ, which, although differing from Muʿtazilī teachings, found with him justification in the Qurʾān. Its corollary, also professed by him, was the doctrine of the TAKLĪF of animals. I 272a

kurziyya (N.Afr, < P) : a simple winding cloth of white wool or strips of wool for the head, distinctly Mag̲h̲ribī. V 743b; 613a

kūs in music, the great kettledrum (pl. *kūsāt*). X 35a

ḳuṣʿa → NĀFIḲĀʾ

kūs̲h̲a → FURN

ḳus̲h̲aḳ (T) : the ceremony of the girding, carried out during the initiation of apprentices to Turkish tanners' guilds in Anatolia, Rumelia and Bosnia. I 323b

ḳūs̲h̲d̲j̲i (T) : the profession of falconer, in Ottoman times. I 393a

kūs̲h̲k : mud-brick buildings with a central court or domed hall surrounded by living quarters and used as residences of the feudal aristocracy of Central Asia. IX 44b

ḳus̲h̲k̲h̲āne (T) : in Ottoman Turkey, a special kitchen reserved exclusively for the sultan himself, one of many separate kitchens serving a special group in the sultan's palace. VI 810b

ḳus̲h̲ḳus̲h̲ (A) : the sand-smelt, a small fish, also called *balam* and *haff*. VIII 1023a

kus̲h̲tī (P) : traditional Iranian wrestling, until the 1940s the crowning event of a ZŪRK̲H̲ĀNA session, but since overtaken by international freestyle and graeco-roman wrestling. ~ survived in a modernised form under the name of *~-yi pahlawānī* but lost its organic link with the *zūrk̲h̲āna*. XI 573a

kuskusū (A, < B) : couscous, a culinary preparation containing semolina which is the national dish of the peoples of North Africa. The equivalent term among the majority of the Bedouin tribes of Algeria and at Tlemcen is *ṭʿām* used alone, elsewhere it is *ʿays̲h̲, mʿās̲h̲*, or *noʿma*. V 527b

kust (P) : quadrant. IX 682b

kustī → S̲H̲UTIK

kusūf (A), or *k̲h̲usūf* : in astronomy, the eclipse of the sun or of the moon. *Al-kusūf* is used alike for the eclipse of the moon (*kusūf al-ḳamar*) and for that of the sun (*kusūf al-s̲h̲ams*), but they are often distinguished as *al-k̲h̲usūf*, eclipse of the moon, and *al-kusūf*, of the sun. V 535b; VIII 931b

♦ ṣalāt al-kusūf (A) : a communal prayer held in the mosque in the event of an eclipse (of the sun or the moon). VIII 931b

ḳut (T) : glory, fortune. XI 359b

ḳuṭʿa → FAS̲H̲T

ḳuṭāmī (A) : in zoology, the falcon. V 540b

ḳuṭb (A, pl. *aḳṭab*) : a pole, a pivot around which something revolves, e.g. the pivot for mill stones. V 542b

In astronomy, ~ designates the axis of the celestial east-west movement and, more specifically, its two poles. In modern terminology, the terrestrial poles are also called

~ (with adjective *ḳuṭbī* 'polar'). Apart from this, in the construction of the astrolabe ~ (also *miḥwar, watad*) signifies the central pivot, or axis, which keeps together its different discs, the spider, and the rule. I 723a; V 542b

In mysticism, ~ denotes either the most perfect human being, *al-insān al-kāmil,* who heads the saintly hierarchy, or else the universal rational principle, *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya,* through which divine knowledge is transmitted to all prophets and saints, and which manifests itself in *al-insān al-kāmil.* Each of the various ranks in the saintly hierarchy has also been conceived of as being headed by a ~ . IV 950a; V 543b

♦ ḳuṭb suhayl (A) : in astronomy, the south pole, a term used by Islamic navigators. V 543a

♦ ḳuṭbiyya (A, P) : in mysticism, the office of ḲUṬB. X 328b

ḳuth̲th̲āʾ (A) : (a kind of) cucumber, one of the Prophet's preferred vegetables, along with some other gourds: *dubbāʾ* 'a kind of marrow' and *ḳarʿ* 'marrow'. II 1058a,b

ḳuṭn (A), or *ḳuṭun* : cotton, cultivated everywhere and a flourishing industry from the period of the Arab conquests on. V 554b; V 863a

ḳuṭr (A) : in mathematics, the diameter of a circle or of any section of a cone and the diameter of a cone; the diagonal of a parallelogram or of any quadrilateral; the hypotenuse of the so-called umbra triangle. V 566b

♦ ḳuṭr al-ẓill (A) : in astronomy, the cosecant function. XI 503a

ḳuṭrub (A, < Syr) : the werewolf. V 566b; the male of the SIʿLĀT, considered thus by those sources who do not consider the *siʿlāt* to be the female of the G̲H̲ŪL, a fabulous being. II 1078b

kuttāb (A, pl. *katātīb*) : a type of beginners' or primary school; an appellation for the Islamic traditional school, also known as *maktab.* V 567b; VI 196b; and → KĀTIB

kuṭṭaka (H) : 'dispersion'; in mathematics, a method of continued fractions, referred to as early as the 5th century by Āryabhaṭa. I 133a

kutubī → FAYD̲J̲

ḳuʿūd (A) : sitting; the sitting posture in prayer which is the penultimate component of a *rakʿa.* V 572a

In early Islamic history, the designation of the political attitude of a faction of the K̲h̲āridjīs, the *ḳaʿada,* which is sometimes taken to refer to 'self-declared non-rebels' although the generally accepted notion is 'quietism'. V 572a

ḳuwīth̲ra (A, dim. of ḲITH̲ĀRA), or *ḳuwitra* : in music, a lute with a smaller and shallower sound-chest than the ʿūd, its head being fixed obliquely rather than at a right angle. It is common to the whole of the Mag̲h̲rib and has four double strings. X 769b

ḳuwwa (A) : 'strength, power'; also, a thread which is part of a rope. In its sense of power, ~ plays a role in the discipline of Qurʾānic studies, theology, philosophy, medicine, and human psychology. V 576a; and → LĀ-ḲUWWA

kūz (A, pl. *akwāz, kīzān*) : a jug or pitcher, fashioned with a squat globular body, low foot short neck and a curved handle. V 989b; VIII 892a; a long and narrow vessel, often fitted with a handle, which, among its other functions, was used for the preparation or storage of FUḲḲĀʿ, a sparkling drink. VI 721a; in the plural *kīzān,* translated by Goitein as 'bowls'. VI 721b

kuzbara : in botany, coriander. IX 615a

ḳwādsiyya → ḲĀDŪS

kyahi (J), or *kiai, kyai* : in Indonesia, a religious teacher, respected old man. VIII 294a; VIII 296b; originator of PESANTREN. XI 536b

L

lā-ḳuwwa (A) : in philosophy, inability or weakness, a translation of Aristotle's ἀδυναμία; ~ predisposes to undergo something easily and quickly, the opposite of ḲUWWA. V 577b

laashin (Somali, pl. *laashinno*) : in the southern, mainly agriculturalist clans of Somalia, specific reciters of poetry who often recite in an extemporised manner. IX 725b

labab → ḲARBŪṢ

lababīdī → LUBŪD

labad → ṢŪF

laban (A) : milk. In certain dialects, the distinction has arisen between ḤALĪB, milk, and ~, fully or partially curdled milk. II 1057b; VI 722a; buttermilk. XII 318b; and → YOGHURT

♦ al-labaniyya (A) : a mediaeval dish containing meat and leeks or onion, cooked in milk together with a little powdered rice. VIII 653a

labān → ṢADR

labbād → LUBŪD

labbāda → LIBDA

labda → LIBD

labin (A), or *libn* : unfired brick whose use in building dates back to the earliest antiquity. The ~ generally has a geometric, fairly regular shape, that of a parallel-sided rectangle. The wooden mould into which the dampened clay is put is called *milban*. V 584b

ladj'a (A) : in botany, ~ *khaḍrā'* is the green turtle or true chelon (*Chelonia mydas*) and ~ *sahfiyya* is the imbricated chelon (*Chelonia imbricata*). IX 811a

lādjward : lapis lazuli. VIII 269a

laffa (A) : a man's turban cloth in the Arab East. V 741a

laffāf → YATĪMA

lafīf (A) : in law, an 'unsifted' witness, neither a virtuous man nor a professional, more a 'man in the street'. I 428a; and → SHAHĀDAT AL-LAFĪF

lafūt (A) : in zoology, a term used for two different types of fish: the lophot (*Lophotes*) and the unicorn fish (*Lophotes cepedianus*). VIII 1021a; VIII 1021b

lafẓ (A) : lit. to spit out; in grammar, the actual expression of a sound or series of sounds, hence 'articulation', and, more broadly, the resulting 'linguistic form'. It has always been distinct from ṢAWT 'individual sound'. In morphological contexts, will typically contrast with MAʿNĀ 'meaning' while at the syntactical level, the formal realisation (*lafẓī*) is contrasted with the implied (*muḳaddar*). XII 545b

In theology, a term introduced by Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Karābīsī in the 3rd century to replace *ḳirā'a*, the recitation of the Qur'ān which occurs in time (as opposed to *kalām Allāh*, which is eternal), which gave it a broader meaning as any quoting from the Qur'ān including beyond formal recitation. XII 546b

♦ lafẓī → LAFẒ

laghīm (T) : explosive mines of various types and sizes, an instrument of war used in the Ottoman empire. I 1063a

♦ laghīmdjīlar (T) : in Ottoman military, the sappers who, with the aid of the large labour forces set at their disposal, prepared the trenches, earthworks, gun-emplacements and subterranean mines indispensable in siege warfare. I 1062a

laghw → ṢILA

♦ laghw al-yamīn → YAMĪN

lāgmī : 'palm-wine', a drink in Arabia, extracted from the sap rising in the palm trunk.

This very sweet and refreshing liquid ferments quite quickly, becoming charged with alcohol which renders it intoxicating. VII 923b
lahāt (A) : in anatomy, the uvula. VI 129b
laḥḥām → DJAZZĀR
lāḥib (A) : 'clearly marked'. XI 155a
lahīb : in medicine, congestion (there is question as to its exact meaning). IX 9b
lāḥiḳ → ḤUDJDJA; MUḌĀRIʿ
laḥn (A) : a manner of speaking; in grammar, dialectical or regional variation, which was judged contrary to the grammarians' instinctive conception of the norm. Thus, ~ takes on the sense of 'deed of committing faults of language', then of 'perverted use (solecism, barbarism, malapropism, etc.)', and becomes a synonym of KHAṬAʾ. V 606b; V 804a
In music, in its early sense, a musical mode, comparable to *naghma* (pl. *anghām*) and MAḲĀM; more generally and more commonly, melody (pl. *alḥān, luḥūn*). XII 546b
In rhetoric, ~ 'letter riddle' is seen as one of the different types of *taʿmiya* 'mystification'. VIII 427a
♦ **laḥn al-ʿāmma** (A) : lit. errors of language made by the common people; in lexicography, a branch designed to correct deviations by reference to the contemporary linguistic norm, as determined by the purists. The treatises which could be classed under this heading, correspond, broadly speaking, to our 'do not say . . . but say . . .', the incorrect form generally being introduced by 'you say' or 'they say', and the correct form by *wa 'l-ṣawāb* 'whereas the norm is . . .'. V 605b; XII 388a
lāhūt (A) : divinity, the antithesis of *nāsūt*, humanity. V 611b
In the mystical thought of al-Ḥallādj, ~ means the incommunicable world of the divine essence, the world of absolute divine transcendence, and therefore absolutely superior to all other 'spheres of existence'. I 351a; V 613a
lahw (A) : amusement. V 615a
laʿib (A) : play(ing), which came in Islam to be considered the exclusive prerogative of children, bracketed at times with women also in this respect. V 615a
lāʾiḥa → ḲĀNŪN
lāʾit → LŪṬĪ
laḳab (A, pl. *alḳab*) : in onomastics, nickname or sobriquet, and at a later date under Islam and with more specific use, honorific title. It is usually placed after the NISBA. IV 180a; IV 293b; V 618b; VIII 56a
laḳāniḳ (A, < L), or *naḳāniḳ* : mutton sausages, containing little semolina and sold by *naḳāniḳiyyūn*. II 1063b
lakhm → KALB AL-BAḤR
lakhnāʾ → BAẒRĀʾ
laḳīṭ (A) : in law, a foundling; according to Mālikī doctrine, a human child whose parentage and whose status (free or slave) is unknown. I 26a; V 639a; VIII 826b
laksamana → BENDAHARA
laḳṭ (A) : in medicine, the (surgical) removal of a thing. X 456a
laḳwa (A) : facial paralysis. VIII 111b; in zoology, the female eagle (var. *liḳwa*). X 783b
laʿl (A) : in mineralogy, a kind of ruby, according to al-Bīrūnī. V 968a
lāla → SHAḲĪḲAT AL-NUʿMĀN
lālā (P), or *lala* : a preceptor or tutor, especially of royal princes, becoming a more common usage after the advent of the Ṣafawids and passing to the Ottomans. IV 37a; VIII 770b; IX 211a; XII 547a; in the Ottoman empire, a synonym for *wezīr* (→ WAZĪR). XI 194b

lālaka (A, pl. *lawālik*) : a nailed boot used by common people in pre-modern times. XII 463a

lalamiko (Sw) : in Swahili literature, an elegy. VI 612b

lāle devri (T) : 'the Tulip Period', the name given to one of the most colourful periods of the Ottoman empire, corresponding to the second half of the reign of Aḥmed III (1703-30) and more precisely to the thirteen years of the vizierate of Nevs̲h̲ehirli Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a. V 641a

lālla (Mor) : the name for women saints of Berber origin in Morocco. V 1201a

lām (A) : the twenty-third letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *l*, with the numerical value 30. It is defined as fricative, lateral and voiced. V 644b

lamṭ (A) : in mediaeval Islam, the oryx of the Sahara. The term is now obsolete. V 651b; antelope. XI 20a; XII 844a

laʿn → S̲H̲ATM

lanḍaī → MIṢRĀʿ

land̲j̲ (A, < Eng 'launch'), or *lans̲h̲* : in Kuwayt, a motor launch provided with one or two sails, and employed, though not a great deal, along the Bāṭina, whereas in the Red Sea, the term is found from ʿAḳaba to as far as G̲h̲ardaḳa and Port Sudan. VII 53b

langgar (J) : in Indonesia, a small mosque serving for the daily cult and religious instruction alone. VI 700a; the little prayer-cabin near the house. VII 103b

lans̲h̲ → LAND̲J̲

lārī → LARIN

larin (P *lārī*) : the larin, a silver coin current in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean in the 16th and 17th centuries. It takes its name from the town of Lār, the capital of Lāristān at which it was first struck. It weighed about 74 grains, and its shape was a thin silver rod about 4 inches long, doubled back and then stamped on either side. II 120b; V 683b

lāsa (A) : a woman's head scarf of white silk or cotton net into which flat metal strips have been decoratively hammered, worn in Syria and Palestine. V 741b

las̲h̲kar (P) : the term normally used by the Indian Muslim rulers for army. V 685a

♦ **las̲h̲kar-i bāzār** (P) : a complex of military encampments, settlements and royal palaces in southern Afg̲h̲ānistān, which apparently flourished in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. V 690b

lās̲h̲ōn (< Heb 'tongue, language') : a form of slang used by Jewish traders and artisans. Occasionally it was called *īs̲h̲ūrūni*. This slang was based on the utilisation of a basically Hebrew vocabulary in accordance with completely Arabic morphology and syntax. IV 301b

lassi → AYRAN

lāṭī → LŪṬĪ

lāṭi'a (A) : a small, tight-fitting cap, but probably not the proper name for it. X 613a

laṭīfa (A, pl. *laṭā'if*) : in mysticism, the 'subtle organ' (syn. *ṭūr*, pl. *aṭwār*), a theory of levels developed from the time of Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 617/1220-1) and the mystics of his school. V 300b; XII 753b

laṭīm (A) : 'knocked out of the enclosure by a blow', the name for the ninth horse in a race, according to the order of finishing. II 953a; and → YATĪM

♦ laṭīma (A) : silk. IX 865a

lātiniyya (A) : Romance [language]. V 318b

lāṭis (A), or *lūṭis* : in zoology, the Nile perch (*Lates nilotica*). VIII 1021a

lawāḥiḳ → ANDARGĀH

lawāṭa-kār → LŪṬĪ

lawḥ (A, pl. *alwāḥ*) : board, plank; tablet, table; school-child's slate; blackboard. V 698a; and → K̲H̲AS̲H̲ABA

In the Qur'ān and the pseudoepigraphical literature, ~ has the specific meaning of the tablet as the record of the decisions of the divine will, which is kept in heaven. It can also mean the tablet as the original copy of the Qur'ān. V 698a
Among the Bahā'īs, ~ is the name for a letter sent by Bahā' Allāh. I 911b

lawn (A) : the general term used to express the concept of colour. Besides this precise sense, it also denotes 'shade', 'aspect', 'type', 'dish (of food)', etc. V 698b, where a host of terms for colours, too numerous to list in this Glossary, are given

lawṭa (A) : in music, an instrument of the lute type, with four double strings and is very popular in Turkey. It appears to have been borrowed, together with its name, from Italy and is certainly of comparatively modern adoption since it is not mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi. X 769b

lawth (A) : in law, the notion of serious presumption. IV 690a

layālī → LAYL

layḳ (A) : ink well. VIII 52a

layl (A, pl. *layālin*) : nighttime, night (ant. NAHĀR). V 707b; and → ṢĀḤIB AL-LAYL

♦ laylat al-barā'a (A) : 'the night of quittancy', i.e. forgiveness of sins, a religious festival, marking the night of mid-Sha'bān. I 1027b; IX 154a

♦ laylat al-dukhla → DUKHLA

♦ laylat al-ḥanna (A), or *ḥenna gedjesi* : the principal ceremony of the adornment of the bride before a wedding, when in the presence of her female relations and friends, the bride's eyelids were blackened with kohl and the hands and feet coloured with henna. In earlier times, yellow patches, nuḳaṭ al-'arūs, used to be put on the cheeks. X 904a

♦ laylat al-harīr (A) : 'the night of clamour', the name of a violent conflict, on 10 Ṣafar 37/28 July 657, between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya after a week of combat. I 383b

♦ laylat al-kashfa (A) : in early literature on the Shabak and Ṣarlīs, term referring to the three annual nightly celebrations, in which both sexes take part. IX 153b

♦ laylat al-ḳunfudh (A), or *laylat al-anḳad* : 'the hedgehog's night', a night racked by insomnia. V 390a

♦ laylat al-maḥyā (A) : a night made alive by devotional activity, MAḤYĀ, which came to denote: 1) the night of 27 Radjab, when religious gatherings were held at the shrine of 'Alī, in early 8th/14th-century al-Nadjaf, 2) the night of 27 Ramaḍān, when the Ḥarīriyya order commemorated the death of the order's founder, and 3) the night of mid-Sha'bān in several parts of the Islamic world. VI 88a

♦ layālī (A) : in music, a solo melodic modal improvisation entrusted to the human voice without written music. VI 97a

♦ al-layālī al-bulḳ (A), or *al-ayyām al-bulḳ* : the forty 'mottled' days, which, in two series of twenty, immediately precede and follow AL-LAYĀLĪ AL-SŪD and during which the cold is less severe. V 708a

♦ al-layālī al-sūd (A) : lit. the black nights, e.g. the very cold period which begins in December and ends forty days later. V 708a

lāzim (A) : in law, 'binding'. I 319b; VIII 836a

♦ lāzima (A, pl. *lawāzim*) : in music, a short melodic formula. XII 667b

lazma (A) : a curb-bit, part of the horse's bridle. IV 1145a

lebaran (Ind) : 'end, close'; the name generally used in Indonesia for the 'ĪD AL-FIṬR, the 'minor festival'. The expression *lebaran haji* is sometimes used for the 'ĪD AL-AḌḤĀ, the 'major festival'. V 714b

leff (A) : a term used in the Berber-speaking regions of central and southern Morocco (a different term is used in a similar way in Berberophone regions of northern Morocco, and *ṣoff* appears to be its equivalent in Kabylia) to denote a kind of political alliance or party, which were invoked, like military alliances, when violent conflict

occurred: members of the same ~ were expected to give support to each other, when any one of them became involved in conflict with opponents from the other ~. V 715a

leh (Ott, < Polish) : the ancient Ottoman Turkish term for the Poles and Poland. From the 12th/18th century, the Turks also called the country Lehistān. V 719a

lewend (T, < ? It *levantino*) : in the Ottoman period, two kinds of daily-wage irregular militia, one sea-going (*deñiz*), the other land-based (*ḳarā*), both existing from early times. The land-based ~ were further divided into *ḳapïlï lewend, ḳapïsïz lewend,* and *mīrī lewend.* V 728a

li'ān (A) : 'cursing', 'oath of imprecation'; in law, the oath which gives a husband the possibility of accusing his wife of adultery without legal proof and without his becoming liable to the punishment prescribed for this, and the possibility also of denying the paternity of a child borne by the wife. It frees the husband and wife from the legal punishment for respectively ḲADHF and incontinence. I 1150b; IV 689a; V 730a

liban → YOGHURT

libās (A, pl. *lubus, albisa*) : clothing, apparel. V 732a; in Egypt, ~ acquired the general meaning of 'drawers' for men. IX 677b

For glossaries of terms for articles of clothing, V 740a, V 745b

libd (A, pl. **lubūd**), or *labad* : felt; a pad of felt (pl. *albād*), used. e.g. to cushion the chamfered ends of the vertical posts of a tent. IV 1147b; moquette saddle, or a piece of felt put under the saddle. V 798a

♦ labda : in Morocco, a small felt carpet, favoured by the middle classes for performing the *sudjūd.* ~s are especially used by FAḲĪHS and have almost beome one of their distinctive marks. VIII 741a

♦ libda (A), or *labbāda* : a brown or white felt cap worn by men in the Arab East, either under the ṬARBŪSH or alone. V 741b; X 613a

libn → LABIN

libna (A) : in astronomy, a large mural quadrant. VIII 574a

lidjādja (A) : obstinacy, of obstinate character. X 828a

lidjām (A, < P *likām*) : the harness of the horse, which includes the reins, *'inān*, the cheek straps, *idhār*, and the browband, *'iṣāb.* II 954a; IV 1144b; also, the curb bit, used to rein horses suddenly or make swift turns. II 953a

līf (A) : fiber. X 900a

lift (A) : in botany, the turnip, one of the summer crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

liḥya-yi sherīf (T) : the hairs of the Prophet. According to al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad permitted people to get his hair when he was being shaved; the hairs of his head and beard, thus obtained, were preserved and later circulated in all Islamic countries. They are today kept in a silver box at the Topkapı Palace. V 761a

līḳ (A) : the black powder of collyrium. VIII 52a

liḳwa → LAḲWA

liman re'isi (T) : 'captain of the port', an admiral in the Ottoman navy. He was also commander of the midshipmen (*mandedji*). VIII 565b

līmanda (A) : in zoology, the dab, the nomenclature of which was drawn directly from Greco-Roman (*Limanda*). VIII 1021a

līmī (A) : in zoology, the umbra limi, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Umbra limi*). VIII 1021b

limma (A) : in zoology, the limma ray, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Raia lymma*). VIII 1021b; and → ṢUDGH

lipḳa (< Polish), or *lubḳa, lupḳa* : the name given to the Tatars who since the 14th century inhabited Lithuania. V 765b

lisān (A) : tongue; language. V 805a; an oral message. VIII 532a; and → LUGHA
In the language of scales and balances, ~ is the pointer (on a scale). V 295b
♦ lisān al-ghayb (A, P) : 'the tongue of the unseen', the title given to Ḥāfiẓ. X 320a
♦ 'ilm al-lisān (A), or *lisāniyyāt* : linguistics. V 806b
liṣṣ (A, P *duzd*, Ott *khayrsîz*, T *hırsız*; pl. *luṣūṣ*) : thief, robber (syn. *sāriḳ*). V 767b; IX 866a
♦ liṣṣ al-baḥr → ḲURṢĀN
litha (A) : in anatomy, the gums. VI 129b; X 423b
♦ lithawī (A) : in linguistics, gingival or alveolar, although the early grammarians seemed to use ~ to describe an interdental. X 423b
lithām (A, Touareg *tegulmust*, *shāsh*) : the mouth-veil, a piece of material with which the Bedouin concealed the lower part of the face, the mouth and sometimes also part of the nose. It served the practical purpose of protecting the organs of respiration from heat and cold as well as against the penetration of dust. It also made the face unrecognisable, and thus formed a protection against the avenger of blood. The ~ has no considerable importance for Islam from the purely religious point of view. V 744a; V 769a
liwā → LIWĀ'
liwā' (A, T *liwā*) : a banner, flag, standard. I 349a; an army brigade, both under the Ottomans and in the Iraqi army, *amīr al-liwā'* being a brigadier (as in Egypt until 1939). V 776a; VIII 370b
Under the Ottomans, *liwā* indicated a province, several of which were at a certain moment joined into an EYĀLET, later *wilāyet*. Synonymous with *sandjaḳ*, ~ was mainly used in official documents. Accordingly, *mīr liwā* (< A *amīr al-liwā'*) stood for *sandjaḳ begi*, the governor and military commander of a ~. Of all the states issued from the Ottoman empire, only Iraq kept the term ~ (up till 1974) to indicate a province. V 776a
♦ liwā'-i sherīf → SANDJAḲ-I SHERĪF
līwān (A) : at times the spoken Arabic form of ĪWĀN, generally furnished with carpets and divans. II 114b; in India, ~ is the usual name for the western end of a mosque, directed towards Mecca. VI 689b
liwāṭ (A) : sodomy. V 776b
lol (Kash) : a love lyric in Kashmiri poetry. XII 333a
lōrī → LŪLĪ, NŪRĪ
lu'ama (A) : in mediaeval agriculture, a rather imprecise term which would designate on the one hand all the parts of the tiller, whether of wood or iron, and on the other hand only the ploughshare, which is not very likely, or, more probably, like *silb*, the beam tied to the cross-beam at a point called *djidār*. VII 22b
lubad (A), and *al-libad* : the name for all of 'Unayd b. Muḳā'is's children but Minḳar. X 173a
lubān (A), and *kundur* : in botany, frankincense, a gum resin from various Boswellia varieties, indigenous in South Arabia and Somalia. V 786a; VIII 1042b
♦ lubān djāwī (A) : in botany, the Javanese (in fact, Sumatran) frankincense, i.e. benzoin, obtained from various kinds of styrax-trees whose fumes are said to remove a cold in the head. V 786b
lubb al-bardī (A) : the pulp of the papyrus. V 173b
lūbiya (A) : in botany, kidney beans, one of the summer crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a
lubūd (A, s. LIBD, *labad*) : felt, one of the less expensive products among the woollen articles manufactured in the mediaeval world. The felt-maker was called *labbād*, *lubūdī* and *labābīdī*. V 798a
♦ lubūdī → LUBŪD

lūd (Tun) : a boat devised by the islanders of Ḳarḳana, an archipelago lying off the eastern coast of Tunisia, where the shallows extend very far out to sea. The ~ is broad, without a keel and therefore well adapted to the contours of the sea-bed. IV 651b

luffāḥ → SIRĀDJ AL-ḲUṬRUB; YABRŪḤ

lugha (A) : speech, language, in current usage; in the Qur'ān, *lisān* is used to express the concept of 'language', ~ being completely absent. IV 122a; V 803a

♦ ('ilm al-)lugha (A) : lexicology or, more exactly, the science of the datum of the language. IV 524a; V 806a; lexicography. VIII 614a

♦ fiḳh al-lugha (A) : a synonym of *'ilm al-lugha*, but it seems likely that this was a more specialised branch of the same discipline, that is, the study of the semiological distinctions and affinities which exist between the elements of vocabulary. IV 524a; V 806a

♦ al-lugha al-makhzaniyya (A) : the language of the Moroccan government, a correct Arabic intermediate between the literary and the spoken Arabic, composed of official formulae, regular clichés, courteous, concise and binding to nothing. VI 136b

lughz (A, pl. *alghāz*) : enigma, a literary play on words. The ~ is generally in verse, and characteristically is in an interrogative form. Thus, for *falak* 'heavenly firmament' : 'What is the thing which in reality has no existence, but nevertheless you see it in existence wherever you confront it [. . .] and if we cut off its head (= *fa*), it will be yours (= *lak*)?'. V 806b

luḥma → SADĀ

lukāṭ (A) : in art, a mosaic of coloured tiles, as found in the Alhambra. I 500a

luḳaṭa (A) : in law, an article found, or more precisely, picked up. V 809b

lüle (T) : a measure of capacity traditionally defined as the amount of water passing through a pipe of given dimensions in 24 hours, or approximately 60 m^3. One-fourth of a ~ was a *ḳamīsh*, one-eighth was a *masura*. V 882a f.

lūlī (P, pl. *lūliyān*) : one of the names for gypsies in Persia, with *lūrī, lōrī*. V 816b; and → NŪRĪ

lu'lu' (A, pl. *la'āli', la'ālī*), and *durr* : pearl. The difference between the two synonyms cannot be defined with precision, although some say that the ~ is a pierced pearl and the *durr* the unpierced one. V 819a; the word for pearl-trader can only be derived from ~ : *la''āl* or *la''ā'*. V 820a

In onomastics, a proper name for a person of servile origin, a guard or an officer or a leader of a special body of GHULĀMS in the service of a prince. V 820a

lung (P) : a cloth wrapped around the loins and passed between the legs of wrestlers when exercising; when wrestling, leather breeches, *tunbān*, are worn. XI 573a

lūra (A), or *lūrā* : a wooden, pear-shaped instrument of five strings, played by the Byzantines and identical with the *rabāb* of the Arabs. VIII 347b; and → ḲITHĀRA

lūrī → LŪLĪ, NŪRĪ

luṭf (A) : a Qur'ānic term, derivatives of which are used in the two senses of 'kind' and 'subtle', the opposite of KHIDHLĀN. V 833b

In theology, ~ is applied to the notion of divine grace, favour or help, being developed by the Mu'tazila to deal with an aspect of human freedom and its relation to divine omnipotence. Divine favour makes it possible for man to act well and avoid evil. V 833b

lūth → DAYSAM

luthgha (A) : in grammar, a deviation in the pronunciation of a number of phonemes (not exclusively *ghayn*, as is often believed). V 804a

lūṭī (P) : in current Persian, ~ (also *lāṭī, lawāṭa-kār*) denotes an itinerant entertainer accompanied by a monkey, bear or goat, which dances to the sound of a drum and coarse songs. This, however, appears to have been a late restriction of the meaning of

the term, deriving perhaps from its earlier use to describe a jester attached to a royal or princely court. In other contexts, it is equivalent to a loose liver, gambler, and winebibber. V 839a

In Arabic sexual terminology, a homosexual (syn. *lāʾiṭ*; pl. *lāṭa*) playing the active part in the act of sodomy, LIWĀṬ, as opposed to the *maʾbūn*, the passive partner, who practices *ubna*. V 776b

lūṭis → LĀṬIS

luṭṭ (A) : in zoology, the burbot (*Lota lota*). VIII 1021a

luzūm mā lā yalzam (A) : 'observing rules that are not prescribed'; in prosody, the term commonly used for the adoption of a second, or even a third or fourth, invariable consonant preceding the rhyme consonant, *rawī*, which, at least in classical poetry, remains itself invariable (syn. *iʿnāt, iltizām*). The term is also used in dealing with rhymed prose, *sadjʿ*. In later Arabic and Persian literary theory the term also covers a variety of other devices which have nothing to do with the end rhyme. V 839b

In Persian rhetoric and prosody, the terms ~ and *iʿnāt* are used, as in Arabic, for the adoption of a second invariable consonant in prose and in poetry, and the reduplication of the rhyme consonant. In addition, however, the two terms are used for the repetition of two or more words in each hemistich or line of poetry, and for the use of internal rhyme. V 841a

M

mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa (A, < trans. Gk τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά), or *mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿiyyāt* : metaphysics, an expression which denotes either the discipline which one embarks upon after physics, utilising the results of the natural sciences, or else it can be one whose goal lies beyond the apprehendable objects which are the concern of physics. V 841a

māʾ (A) : water. V 859b; and → DJUBN

In medicine, ~ is used as a technical term for cataract: *māʾ nāzil fi ʾl-ʿayn*. I 785b

In mineralogy, full 'éclat' or transparency (of a gem). XI 263a

♦ māʾ ḥiṣrim (A) : a drink made from verjuice, known from the 4th/10th century. VI 723a

♦ māʾ laymūn (A) : lemonade, probably made from green lemons/limes, a drink known from the 4th/10th century. VI 723a

♦ māʾ shaʿīr → SHAʿĪR

♦ **māʾ al-ward** (A), and *māward* : rose water, an essential preparation in pharmacology, extracted from the petals of the damask rose (*Rosa damascena*) (*ward djūrī, ward gūrī, ward baladī, ward shāmī*). XII 550a

♦ māʾ zaʿfarān (A) : a clear liquid distilled from saffron, used to scent clothing without leaving a trace of its colour. XI 381b

♦ māʾzahr (A) : orange blossom water, one of the major scented waters obtained by distillation. VII 962b

maʿād (A) : lit. place of return, a technical term in religious and philosophical vocabulary, bringing together the two senses of return and recommencement: return to the source of being which is God, and a second creation which is the Resurrection. V 892b; a synonym of ĀKHIRA, the Hereafter. I 325a; eschatology. V 235b; IX 208b

maʿāhira (A) : bells (which, al-Hamdānī writes, were attached to the gates of the ancient town of Ẓafār in Yemen). XI 380a

maʿānī (A, s. MAʿNĀ) : meanings; contents. I 784b; V 320b ff.

♦ **al-maʿānī wa ʾl-bayān** (A) : two of the three categories into which, since the time of al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), the study of rhetoric has often been divided, the other

being BADĪʿ. *ʿIlm al-bayān* can be best translated with 'science of figurative speech', as it only deals with the simile (as an introduction to the discussion of metaphor), the metaphor, the analogy, the metonymy and the allusion, and statement by implication. *ʿIlm al-maʿānī* indicates a set of rather strict rules governing the art of correct sentence structure, the purpose of which was to demonstrate that changes in word order almost invariably lead to changes in meaning. I 858a; I 1114a; V 898a; VIII 894a

♦ al-maʿānī al-thāniya → MAʿNĀ

maanso (Somali) : a genre of poetry, handling serious themes, sometimes referred to as 'classical poetry' by English-speaking scholars. Less 'serious' poetry, such as work and dance songs, is called *hees*. ~ is composed by named individuals. IX 725b

maʿārif (A, s. MAʿRIFA) : education, public instruction. The term was already used in mediaeval times to denote the secular subjects of knowledge or culture in general, in opposition to the religious sciences, *ʿulūm* (→ ʿILM). Starting from the 19th century, ~ came into use in Egypt and Iran to denote public education and kept this notion until the 1950s; ~ in the sense of education has died out in official usage, steadily being replaced by *tarbiya*. It seems that the same process is taking place in non-official usage. V 902b

maʾāṣir → MARĀṢID; MAʾṢIR

maʿaskar → ʿASKAR

maʾāthir → MATHĀLIB

mābeyn (T, < A *mā bayn* 'what is between') : the intermediate apartments of the Ottoman palace, lying between the inner courts of the palace and the harem, a place where only the sultan, the eunuchs and the womenfolk could penetrate and where the corps of select pages known as *mābeyndjis* waited on the monarch for such intimate services as dressing and shaving him. V 938b

mabīt (A) : a place where one halts for the night. V 498a

mabkhara (A), or *mibkhara* : an incense burner. V 987b; in architecture, a two-storey octagonal pavilion crowning the minaret (so-called because it resembled the top of an incense burner). IV 429a; VI 367a

mablūʿ → ʿANBAR

mabsūṭ (A) : a literary type which multiplies detail and argument, in contrast to MUKHTAṢAR, which synthesises and compresses. IX 324a

maʾbūn → LŪṬĪ

madad-i maʿāsh (IndP) : in Mughal India, a common prebend. XI 96a

maḍāfa → MANZIL

madāfin (A) : in Yemen, granaries, cone-shaped structures made out of sandstone and about six or seven metres deep. X 449b

madar (A) : the term designating in classical Arabic the mortar used to point unfired brick. It is made of earth with an admixture of lime or ash. ~ also refers to the construction of earth and *labin*, unfired brick. V 585a; and → AHL AL-MADAR

♦ madara (A) : a village built of *labin*, unfired brick. V 585a

madār (A) : in the science of Tradition, a term used to indicate that certain MATNS, or *matn* clusters, are due to one particular transmitter who is held responsible for disseminating these to a number of pupils. VIII 517a; the 'pivot' or 'common link'. X 382a

maḍbūṭ (A) : coffee with sugar (ant. *sāda*). XII 775b

madd (A), and *nazʿ al-watar* : in archery, the draw, drawing of a bow. This consists of bringing the bow-string back towards oneself. This technique has variants in terms of the anchor-point selected, which can be at different levels: eyebrow, earlobe, moustache, chin, sternum. IV 800b

In music, the sustaining of notes. IX 101a

♦ **al-madd wa 'l-djazr** (A) : lit. the ebb and the flow, the name given to the phenomenon of the tide. V 949b

māḍda → HAYŪLĀ

maddāḥ (A, T *meddāḥ*) : lit. panegyrist; in Ottoman usage, the professional story-tellers of the urban milieux. The Persians used ~ in the same way, but more rarely; as for the Arabs, they used it, in a fairly late period, to designate the 'begging singers of the streets'. III 367b; V 951a; in Egypt, a folk poet, associated primarily with a religious repertory. IX 235b

In North Africa, the *maddāḥ* is a kind of religious minstrel who goes to festivals to sing the praises of saints and of God, and holy war, and who is accompanied on the tambourine and flute. V 951a

maddūḥ (A) : a drink made by Bedouin, when dying of thirst in the desert, from a slaughtered camel's blood, which had been beaten carefully so as to separate the sediment from the serum, which was then drunk. XII 189b

madfan → MAḲBARA

madḥ → MADĪḤ

madhhab (A, pl. *madhāhib*) : a way of thinking, persuasion; the five schools of law in orthodox Islam, viz. the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī, and Djaʿfarī. Some other later schools, such as the Ẓāhiriyya founded by Dāwūd b. Khalaf al-Ẓāhirī, the traditionists and a short-lived one founded by al-Ṭabarī, were also called ~. II 890a; IX 323a; XII 551a

Among the Wahbi Ibāḍiyya, who call themselves *ahl al-madhhab* or *ahl al-daʿwa*, ~ is the equivalent of DAʿWA. II 170a

♦ madhhab al-ḥaḍarāt (A) : the name for the Plotinian scheme of dynamic emanation. III 51b

madḥiyya (T, < A) : in Turkish prosody, the ~ or eulogy is the couplet which comprises the central part of the ḲAṢĪDA. IV 715b; ~ also is used to designate any poem composed for the purpose of extolling an individual, including the *nefes* or *ilāhī* types of poems written or uttered by members of the mystic orders to eulogise God or leading personalities of these religious brotherhoods, and the secular poems circulated by the literary innovators of the last century. V 957a

maʾdhūn (A) : in law, a slave authorised by his master either to conclude an individual sale, or generally to engage in trade. I 29a; I 1112a; III 50b

Among the Ismāʿīlīs, ~ was the name for subordinates to a DĀʿĪ who were licensed to preach. II 97b

In mysticism, ~ was used, with *muḳaddam* 'one sent in advance' and KHALĪFA, for a representative appointed by a SHAYKH to a region where the latter's authority was established, in order to initiate others. X 246a

māḍī (A) : in grammar, the preterite, a technical term used to denote the verbal form that normally, but not solely, is devoted to the expression of past time. V 954b

māḍī-sālār (P) : in administration, the official in charge of the major canals leading off from the river. XI 473a

madīd (A) : in prosody, the name of the third Arabic metre. I 670a

madīḥ (A, P *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa*), or *madḥ* : the genre of the panegyric poetry in Arabic and other Islamic literatures, the individual poem being usually referred to as *umdūḥa* (pl. *amādīḥ*) or *madīḥa* (pl. *madāʾiḥ*). A panegyric can be an independent unit as well as a component of a larger literary work, usually the ḲAṢĪDA. In the latter case, ~ is the technical term used to refer to the section of the poem devoted to the praise of God, the Prophet, the sultan, the grand vizier, etc. IV 714b; V 931a; V 955a

In Urdu poetry, the specifically secular eulogy, addressed to rulers, governors, nobles, and other rich or influential lay persons, was usually termed *madḥ* rather than ~ . Other terms were *taʿrīf* and *sitāʾish*. ~ could also refer to a eulogy of religious persons, living or dead, although praise of God, the Prophet, ʿAlī and subsequent shīʿī IMĀMS had their own terminology. V 958a

maḍīḳ (A) : shallows or a ford. I 215a

maʿdin (A, pl. *maʿādin*) : mine, ore, mineral, metal. In modern Arabic, however, ~ is mostly used for metal, *mandjam* meaning mine, *muʿaddin*, miner, and *djamād*, mineral. V 963b

madīna (A) : the Arabic town and city, the lower town (L *suburbium, pars inferior civitatis*). IX 411a; XII 551a; and → ḲAṢABA

maḍīra (A) : a dish of meat cooked in sour milk, sometimes with fresh milk added, and with spices thrown in to enhance the flavour. This dish seems to have been quite well sought-after in mediaeval times. V 1010a; X 31b

madjalla (A) : a scroll. V 812a; a legal code. X 655b

madjānīḳ (A) : catapults. X 842a

madjarra (A) : in astronomy, the galaxy or Milky Way. V 1024b; the movable cursor of a sine quadrant. XI 461b

madjāz (A) : in rhetoric, a term meaning trope and, more generally, the use of a word deviating from its original meaning and use, its opposite being ḤAḲĪḲA. III 898b; V 1025b; interpretation, paraphrase. I 158b

♦ madjāz-i mursal (P, T) : free trope, or the trope that is not based on a similarity of form but on abstract relationships (between a condition and the place where it manifests itself, a whole and its parts, a cause and its effects, etc.). V 1027a ff.

madjbūb → KHĀṢĪ

madjbūr (A) : in later Ashʿarite theology, the term for when human free choice, which is only acquisition, also remains without true ontological freedom, and is thus compulsory. III 1037b

madjd → SHARAF

madjdhūb (A) : lit. the attracted one, a term in mysticism for the name for the representative of a type of piety which is chiefly of a passive nature, in contradistinction to the more active 'striding one', *sālik*, a characteristic which is expressed in numerous pairs of oppositions. While the ~, on the way to God, may abandon himself to be drawn by divine attraction, the *sālik* depends on his own exertions, which is, however, in the same way as the attraction, a gift of God. Usually, mixed forms occur, as in 'the strider who is attracted' and the 'attracted one who is striding'. In more recent literature in particular, ~ is a frequently used extenuating and exculpating designation of eccentric ecstatics, love-maddened persons, holy fools, and despisers of the law. V 1029a

madjdūḥ (A) : the blood of a sacrificed camel. III 666b

madjhūl (A) : in the science of Tradition, a traditionist who is unknown either as regards his person, or his reliability. III 26b; VIII 516b

In grammar, the ~ is the verb whose agent is not known or, if known, remains unexpressed and cannot be expressed. II 897a

madjhūr (A) : 'voiced'; in grammar, ~ signifies the manner of articulation of the letters of the alphabet (ant. *mahmūs* 'unvoiced'). III 598a, X 1a

mādjin (A) : a debauchee. IV 1005b

madjlis (A, T *medjlis*; pl. *madjālis*) : a term meaning a meeting place, meeting assembly, a reception hall (of a caliph, high dignitary or other personage) and a session which is held there, a hall in which a professor's courses are given or a judge's sentences delivered (hence 'praetorium, tribunal'), or further where the debates of an assembly take place (hence 'council'). V 1031a; ~ assumed the modern connotation of parliament in the 19th century, as the concept of parliamentarism became widespread, thanks to the impact of Western influence on the Middle East. V 1033b

In literature, *amālī* 'dictations', but also at times *madjālis*, are the lessons recorded by the pupils of a professor and published; one of the most famous works of this category is *Kitāb al-madjālis* or *al-Amālī* by Thaʿlab. V 1033a

Among the Ismāʿīlīs, ~ referred to a formal session of religious instruction, the place of it, and also to the lecture or sermon read in it by a DĀʿĪ to the faithful. V 1033a Among the Indian shīʿīs, ~ is especially used for the shīʿī mourning assemblies held during Muḥarram to commemorate the tragedy of Karbalāʾ. V 1033a; the collective term for the stationary shīʿī commemorative rituals is *madjālis al-ʿazāʾ*. VIII 465a

♦ madjlis al-ʿaḳd (A) : in law, the contractual meeting, in which and at which time the contract must be concluded. I 319a

♦ madjlis ḥīrī (A) : in architecture, the T-shaped reception hall common in ʿAbbāsid residences from Sāmarrā to Egypt, called after the city of al-Ḥīra. VIII 545a

♦ madjlis-niwīs (P) : under ʿAbbās I of the Ṣafawids, the head of a special chancellery set up to administer the newly-created royal administration, taking over some of the duties of the MUNSHĪ AL-MAMĀLIK and in the course of the 11th/17th century surpassing the latter in rank and sphere of competence (syn. *wāḳiʿa-niwīs*). IV 758a

♦ madjlis al-shaʿb (A) : the People's Assembly, the name for the legislative body in a number of Arab countries, e.g. Syria. V 1049a

♦ **madjlis al-shūrā** (A) : the name given to extraordinary, ad hoc consultative assemblies in the Ottoman empire, taking place between the Russo-Ottoman war of 1768-74 and, roughly, the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826. Such assemblies appeared in other Islamic political centres as well later on; in Egypt under the Khedive Ismāʿīl the parliament was known as the *madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*. V 1082b

♦ **medjlis-i wālā** (T) : in the Ottoman empire, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances, in full *medjlis-i wālā-yi aḥkām-i ʿadliyye*, created in 1838 for the purpose of taking over the legislative duties of the old DĪWĀN-I HÜMĀYŪN. VI 972b

madjmaʿ (A, pl. *madjmāmiʿ*) : lit. a place of collecting, a place in which people collect, assemble, congregate. Whereas *madjlis* had been the current term in earlier Arab civilisation for [the place of] an informal literary gathering and developed the meaning of 'council', ~ came to be used in the second half of the 19th century for private academies and clubs which met to discuss language and literature as well as other problems. Although they were short-lived, they eventually gave rise to the founding of still-existing official academies all over the Middle East. V 1090a

♦ **madjmaʿ ʿilmī** (A) : a technical term for Academy of Science, taking hold in the second half of the 19th century. V 1090a

madjmūʿa (A, T *medjmūʿa*) : in Persian literature, a technical term most often referring to a volume of prose texts by more than one author. VII 528b; in Turkish literature, *medjmūʿa* was used until the Tanẓīmāt period to represent the genre of anthology, as well as a collection of either verse or prose or a mixture of both. After the Tanẓīmāt, ~ meant a periodical or journal, but now *dergi* is used for this purpose. VII 531a

madjnūn (A, pl. *madjānīn*) : possessed, mad, madman; DJINN-possessed. V 1101a

madjrā (A), or *mudjrā* : in prosody, the vowel of the *rawī*, rhyme letter. IV 412a

A measure of distance, ~ measures at the most 150 km/100 miles. II 1121b

maʿdjūn (A) : in medicine, an electuary. IX 805a; XI 369b; a confection. XII 641a

madjūs (A) : originally an ancient Iranian priestly caste, ~ is used in Arabic primarily for Zoroastrians. V 1110a; as *al-~*, used by Arabic historians and geographers writing about the Maghrib and Northern Spain with the sense of Northmen, Vikings, denoting the participants in the great Viking raids on Spain. V 1118a

madjzūʾ (A) : in prosody, a deviation consisting of one DJUZʾ missing in each of the two hemistiches. I 671a; VIII 421a

madkhal (A, pl. *madākhil*) : lit. entrance; in dating, a rule for calculating the week day. X 264b; the week day of the first day of a year or month or of a particular date, represented by a number (sometimes given a separate name, *ʿalāma* 'indicator') from 1 (Sunday) till 7 (Saturday). X 270a; XI 502b

maḍmūn (A) : in law, the thing for which one is liable or responsible, occurring in the following connections: *maḍmūn bihi* 'thing pawned', *maḍmūn ʿanhu* 'debtor', *maḍmūn lahu* or *ʿalayhi* 'creditor'. V 1121b; and → ḌAMĀN

maḍrab (A) : in music, a wooden stick covered with tow or cotton and held by the musician between thumb and index finger, used with the SANṬŪR 'dulcimer'. IX 19b

madraḳa (A) : a variety of tunic, THAWB, worn by Jordanian women. V 741b

madrasa (A) : a school, in the sense of both institution and place of learning; in modern usage, ~ is specifically the name of an institution and place of learning where the Islamic sciences are taught, i.e. a college for higher studies, as opposed to an elementary school of traditional type, *kuttāb*. In mediaeval usage, ~ was essentially a college of law in which the other Islamic sciences, including literary and philosophical ones, were ancillary subjects only. I 593a; V 1123a; in Persia in the 5th/11th century, ~ could mean a centre for ṣūfīs. IV 1025b

In Indonesia, ~ is also used for the traditional boarding school, *pesantren*. III 1227b

maʿdūm → SHAY'IYYA

mafākhir → MATHĀLIB

mafārīd → FARD

mafḳūd (A) : in law, a person who at a given moment is not present at the place where he should be and concerning whose existence there is uncertainty. Without the uncertainty, he is called *ghā'ib*. If his absence extends to a period when persons of the same generation as him are dead, the judge declares him dead; his estate then goes to his heirs and his marriage or marriages are dissolved. II 995b

mafradj (A) : in Yemeni architecture, the top storey of a multi-storey tower house, used as a second reception room and for the daily afternoon ḲĀT-chewing ritual. IX 2b

mafrash → MIFRASH

mafrūḍ al-ḳalem (T) : under the Ottomans, an autonomous status of prebends whereby their taxes were 'excluded from the registers'. Another category was *maḳṭūʿ al-ḳadem* 'the interference of the local authorities are cut'. X 505b

mafrūk (A) : lit. twisted; in archery, ~ denotes a way of loosing an arrow, involving a light, partial draw, a brief moment at rest, and then a sudden end to the draw followed immediately by the loose. IV 800b

mafrūsh (A) : furnished, provided with furnishings, from *farsh*, which in mediaeval times came to mean the more solid domestic objects that filled the role of 'furniture', according to western concepts. V 1158a

♦ **mafrūshāt** (A) : in mediaeval times, that which is spread out (on the ground or on a bed), bedding. Carpets, mats and cushions played an important part in domestic interiors. V 1158a

mafṣūl (A, < *vassal* ?) : in law, a term used to denote certain categories of landed estates in Syria in the time of the Mamlūks. V 1159a

maftūḥ → MUNTAḲ

mafʿūl bihi (A) : in grammar, the direct object. VIII 384a

mag (Somali) : in Somali society, the payment of blood money, traditionally in livestock. IX 713b

maghānī (A), or *aghānī* : a pair of loggias that flank a reception hall on both sides and which were intended for the singers and musicians, who traditionally performed behind curtains or screens. VI 719a

maghāriba (A) : the Arab-speakers of the Muslim West, as opposed to the *mashāriḳa*, those of the East. The frontier between the two major groupings, which includes Muslim Spain, in spite of its special circumstances and its separate destiny, was, and still is, located to the east of Tripoli, at Lebda. V 1159a

maghāzī (A), also *maghāzī 'l-nabī, maghāzī rasūl allāh* : a term which signifies in particular the expeditions and raids organised by the Prophet Muḥammad in the Medinan period. In a broader sense, it refers to the Prophet's general biography and background. V 1161b; VIII 53a

maghnam (A) : either the mass of the booty or that part of it which goes to the central government. II 1005a; VIII 496b

maghnāṭīs (A, < Gk) : magnetite (lodestone, magnetic iron ore, Fe_3O_4); compass, also called *ḥuḳḳ al-ḳibla* (box for the *ḳibla*), *bayt al-ibra* (house of the needle), and the modern *ḥikk*. V 1166b

maghrib (A) : that part of Africa which Europeans have called Barbary or Africa Minor and then North Africa, including Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco; the west, the setting sun. V 1183b; Morocco, which name is a deformation of the southern metropolis of the kingdom, Marrākush. The country's full name is *al-mamlaka al-maghribiyya.* V 1184a; and → MAṬLAʿ

♦ ṣalāt al-maghrib (A) : the sunset prayer which is to be performed, according to the law books, in between the time after sunset and the time when the red twilight, *shafaḳ*, has disappeared. There are small deviations only, in connection with a predilection for the first term. VII 27b; VIII 928b

♦ maghribī → KŪFĪ

maghrūr A) : a person who is self-deceived. X 93a

maghshūsh A) : in numismatics, an adulterated, alloyed, base coin. X 409b

magnahuli : a kind of WAḲF, in favour of women only, existing on the island of Great Comore. I 170a

mahā → BAḲAR

maḥabba (A) : love of the soul and of God. III 84a; IV 94b; and → AKLAT AL-MAḤABBA
In the Čishtī mystical doctrine, the following kinds of ~ are distinguished: *maḥabbat-i islāmī* 'love which a new convert to Islam develops with God on account of his conversion to the new faith', *maḥabbat-i khāṣṣ* 'love which is the result of cosmic emotion, and which should be developed by the mystic', and *maḥabbat-i muwahhibī* 'love which a man develops as a result of his 'effort' in the way of following the Prophet'. II 55b

maḥāla (A, pl. *maḥāl*) : the huge pulley which is used for raising water from wells. In Egypt, the word is also used to denote a wooden water-wheel for irrigation, comparable to the NĀʿŪRA. V 863b f.

maḥall (A) : lit. place of alighting, settling, abode. V 1214b; in philosophy, the thing qualified. III 571a
In the Mughal empire, a subdivision (syn. PARGANA) of a *sarkār* 'district' and the lowest fiscal unit. I 317a; also in the context of Islamic India, ~ is widely used in the sense of 'palace pavilion' or 'hall', and more particularly of private apartments in the palace, the *maḥall-sarā*; hence also a queen or consort. V 1214b; IX 46b; small hunting lodge. X 594a

♦ **maḥalla** (A, T *maḥalle*) : a place where one makes a halt, where one settles (for a longer or shorter time); a quarter of a town, especially in Turkish, Persian and Urdu. IV 229b; V 1220b; characteristically, the Ottoman **maḥalle** consisted of a religious community grouped around its mosque (or church or synagogue) and headed by its religious chief. V 1222b
In North Africa, ~ designates a movable camp, then, by extension, the troops on campaign within the territory at least nominally dependent on the sovereign who commands them or entrusts the command to the heir apparent, another member of the royal family or, exceptionally, to a confirmed war commander. V 1220b

māhāniyya (A) : the Māhānians, a sect of the Marcionites. X 440a

maḥāra → SARAṬĀN
maḥāris → MANĀẒIR
al-maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī (A) : lit. merits and faults. A literary genre which developed in the course of the first centuries of the Islamic period, having originated within the Arabo-Muslim heritage, although some scholars have concluded, ill-advisedly, that it was inspired by an ancient Iranian model. Two categories of ~ may be distinguished: MUNĀẒARA 'theological debate' and MUFĀKHARA, MUNĀẒARA 'secular debate'. V 1223b
mahāt (A, pl. *mahā'', mahawāt, mahayāt*) : in zoology, the large oryz and the addax antelope. The root *m-h-w* suggests sparkling whiteness, and *al-mahā* is applied to rock crystal, the spearl, and any bright star. The almost immaculate coat of these beautiful, desert antelopes certainly warrants the description. V 1227a, where many regional variations are given
mahawī → YĀḲŪT ABYAḌ
maḥḍar (A) : decree. I 117a; XII 636b; and → SIDJILL
mahdī (A) : lit. the rightly guided one. The name of the restorer of religion and justice who, according to a widely-held Muslim belief, will rule before the end of the world. Throughout Islamic history there has been a recurrence of Mahdī movements. In early days, the best known Mahdī was Ibn Tumart, the founder of the Almohad movement; in modern times, the Sudanese Muḥammad al-Mahdī. In radical shīʿism, belief in the coming of the Mahdī of the family of the Prophet became a central aspect of the faith. V 1230b; V 1247b
mahdjar (A) : the name given to places in Northern, Central and Southern America to which Lebanese, Syrians, Palestinians and other Arabs have emigrated. V 1253a
maḥdjūr → ḤADJR
maḥfil (A) : the term for a freemason lodge. XII 286a
maḥfūr (A, pl. *maḥāfir*) : common to the Syrian desert, an open, ring-shaped storage dam built along the edges of a silt flat, KHABRĀʾ, with an up-stream opening, where, after the central hollowed-out depression has been coated with silt, the water can be naturally stored for a long time, occasionally lasting throughout the entire dry summer season. IV 897b

♦ maḥfūra (A) : a carpet that is decorated with a relief design. XII 136a

maḥfūẓ (A) : lit. committed to memory; in the science of Tradition, an acceptable Tradition which, when compared with one which is SHĀDHDH, a Tradition from a single authority which differs from what others report, is considered of greater weight. III 26b

In mysticism, preserved from sin. XI 110b

māhī zahrah (P) : lit. fish poison; in botany, *Anamirta cocculus* or *Menospirmum cocculus.* IX 872b
māhin → MIḤNA
māhiyya (A) : quiddity; in logic, that which replies to the question: what is this? I 513b; V 1261a

In theology and metaphysics, ~ is that through which a thing is what it is. In this sense, the term is synonymous with essence, *dhāt*, and with reality, *ḥaḳīḳa*. V 1261a

maḥkama (A) : in law, a court of justice. VI 1a
maḥlūl (A) : vacant. In Ottoman administration, ~ is used in the registers of a grant or office which has been vacated by the previous holder, by death, dismissal, or transfer, and not yet re-allocated. The term is also used more generally for land and other assets left without heir. VI 44b
maḥmal (A) : a type of richly decorated palanquin, perched on a camel and serving in the past to transport people, especially noble ladies, to Mecca. VI 44b

In a more restricted and precise, political sense, ~ designates palanquins of this same type which became political symbols and were sent from the 7th/13th century by sovereigns with their caravans of pilgrims to Mecca (or the principal caravan when it was split up) in order to bolster their prestige. VI 44b

mahmūsa → MADJHŪRA

mahr (A) : in law, the gift which the bridegroom has to give the bride when the contract of marriage is made and which becomes the property of the wife. I 209a; VI 78b; VIII 27b

In the pre-Islamic period, the ~ was the purchase price of the bride and was handed over to her legal guardian; the bride received none of it. She was given the **ṣadāḳ**, a voluntary gift, not as a result of the contract. In the period shortly before Muḥammad, however, the ~, or at least a part of it, seems already to have been given to the women. According to the Qur'ān, this is already the prevailing custom. By this amalgamation of ~ and *ṣadāḳ*, the original significance of the ~ as the purchase price was weakened and became quite lost in the natural course of events. VI 79a

♦ mahr al-mit̲h̲l (A) : a bridal gift fixed by the ḲĀḌĪ according to the circumstances of the bridegroom, when the *mahr* is not fixed at the conclusion of the marriage contract and when the parties cannot agree upon it. VIII 27b

maḥras → MAS̲H̲LAḤ

maḥrem (A), or *mḥarram* : the compartment in a Bedouin tent reserved for the womenfolk. Here, the cooking is done and the provisions stored. The other compartment is for receiving menfolk. IV 1148b

mahriyya (A) : the méhara, a species of camel famed for its speed and the slimness of its limbs and body. III 666a

maḥsūsāt (A) : in philosophy, sensibilia, frequently contrasted with *maʿḳūlāt* 'intelligibilia'. III 509a; VI 87a

māḥūz (A) : 'space between two armies'; ~ could be applied to a maritime forward post in relation to the city by which it was controlled and was used to describe the port of two small cities on the Palestinian coast, G̲h̲azza and Azdūd. VIII 502a

maḥw → ITHBĀT

maḥyā (A) : in mysticism, a communal nightly liturgical ritual in which the recital of supplications for divine grace for the Prophet is central. VI 87b; the name among the Demirdās̲h̲iyya order for their ḤAḌRA. XII 208b; and → LAYLAT AL-MAḤYĀ

mai (Kanuri) : official title of the Sefawa (or Sayfuwa) rulers in Central Africa, the first of whom was probably from the 5th/11th century. IV 567a; V 357b; XII 569a

♦ mai wallafa wakoki, or *mai waka* (Hau) : a Muslim poet. IX 244a

mā'ida → K̲H̲UWĀN

mā'il → KŪFĪ

maʿīs̲h̲et → K̲H̲IDMET AḲČESĪ

māʿiza (A) : in zoology, the goat, with *s̲h̲iyāh al-maʿz*. XII 316b

maḳā'id → ḤIYAL

maḳāla (A, pl. *maḳālāt*) : an article, published in a newspaper or periodical, in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. V 90a; originally, an oral message. VIII 532a

In Persian, ~ has been used to denote a collection of discourses, spoken or written, on a given subject; it was used in reference to spoken discourses and sermons up to the late 19th century. ~ has also been used to designate a book's inner divisions, while its plural, *maḳālāt*, has also been used for the utterances, statements and dictations of ṣūfī S̲H̲AYK̲H̲S. VI 91b

maḳām (A, pl. *maḳāmāt*) : lit. place, position, rank; in music, ~ began to appear in Islamic musical treatises at the end of the ʿAbbāsid period, to designate Arabo-Irano-Turkish and assimilated musical modes, and is still predominantly used today. VI 96b; VIII 2b; X 734a

In mysticism, *makāmāt* are the progressive stations that the soul has to attain in its search for God. III 83b

In architecture, ~ can denote a little chapel and a saint's tomb. VI 651b

♦ **makām ibrāhīm** (A) : in Qur'ānic usage, a place of prayer, established at the location of a stone in the sanctuary of Mecca known as ~. Some scholars say ~ denotes the whole place of the pilgrimage, others say 'Arafa, Muzdalifa and the Djimār are meant; a third group maintains that ~ refers to 'Arafa only, while the fourth view identifies it with the Ḥaram of Mecca. VI 104b

♦ al-makām al-'irāķī (A) : a typically 'Irāķī genre whose poem is entrusted to a solo singer and the accompaniment to an instrumental quartet from the beginning to the finale. VI 101b

maķāma (A, pl. *maķāmāt*) : an Arabic literary genre of rhymed prose, created by al-Hamadhānī (358-98/968-1008). Translation of ~ with 'assembly' or 'session' does not convey exactly the complex nature of the term. The structure of the ~ is characterised by the existence of a hero, whose adventures and eloquent speeches are related by a narrator to the author who, in turn, conveys them to his readers. Many later imitators of al-Hamadhānī, however, were to dispense with the hero, if not with both characters. VI 107a

maķāṣid al-sharī'a (A) : lit. the aims or purposes of the law; in legal theory, the idea that the sharī'a is a system that encompasses aims or purposes, not merely a collection of inscrutable rulings. XII 569b

makāyil (A, s. *mikyal*) : measures of capacity, a non-uniform system in the Muslim countries and thus of a bewildering diversity. VI 117a

maķbara (A) : cemetery (syn. *djabbāna, madfan, turba*). VI 122a

maķbūḍ → ĶABḌ

maķbūl (A) : in the science of Tradition, an acceptable Tradition which fulfils the requirements, and is either *ṣaḥīḥ* 'sound' or *ḥasan* 'good'. III 26b

makfūl → KAFĀLA

ma'khadh (A) : in music, the initial note. The final note is termed *rakz*. IX 101a

makhāridj al-ḥurūf → MAKHRADJ

makhāṣir (A) : in early Islam, the insignia of the KHAṬĪB, lance, staff, or bow. IV 1110a

makhazza → MU'ARNIBA

makhbaz (A, pl. *makhābiz*) : bakery. VI 807b

makhlaṣ (P, < A) : the transitional distich between the prologue and the panegyric of a Persian ĶAṢĪDA, which must skilfully introduce the name of the person being eulogised. IV 57b; IV 714b; nom-de-plume. VIII 3a; IX 354a

In Urdu prosody, the second section of the prelude of a ĶAṢĪDA, the crucial link between the prelude and the actual praise, was usually called *gurēz* (P 'deviation, flight') but ~, *talkhīṣ* and even *takhalluṣ* are given as alternatives. V 959b

makhmal (A) : velvet, for which e.g. Kāshān was well known during the Ṣafawid period. IV 695a

makhradj (A, T *makhredj*; pl. *makhāridj*) : place of exit.

♦ **makhāridj al-ḥurūf** (A) : lit. the place of emission of the letters; in grammar, the points of articulation of the 29 phonemes of Arabic. III 598a; VI 129b; X 73b

♦ **makhredj** (T) : an Ottoman term used in education and law.

In Ottoman education, ~ was used in reference to two schools in the 19th century, of which one prepared students for employment in Ottoman administrative offices (*makhredj-i aķlām*), the other for military schools (*makhredj-i mekātib-i 'askeriyye*). VI 133a

In Ottoman law, ~ had two meanings. Certain judicial districts in the empire were referred to as *makhredj mewlewiyyeti*. The name derived from a common attribute of the judges appointed to these districts. All were judges 'going out' to their first appointment after teaching in schools. The judges who had completed this appointment and

were awaiting assignment to a higher ranking judicial district were called *makhredj mewālīsi.* VI 133b; in Ottoman inheritance law, ~ was the term for the denominator which was used to divide an inheritance among heirs. VI 133b

makhrūṭ (A) : cone; in astronomy, the shadow of the earth during an eclipse of the moon. V 536a

makhzan (A) : in Morocco, the government; at first ~ was applied more particularly only to the financial department, the Treasury. VI 133b; and → AL-LUGHA AL-MAKHZANIYYA; SĪBA

makhzen (Mor) : a garrison placed in a stronghold. II 510a

makkārī : 'for hire', a term used in the Ottoman empire to designate small caravans operating between cities, which would transport merchants and travellers for a fare. IV 678b

makkās (A) : probably a tax-farmer under the Ḥafṣids; collector of the MAKS. II 146a

makkī (A) : in the mediaeval Near East, a beggar who pretends to be a rich merchant who has been robbed of his goods. VII 494b

makkūk (A) : a measure used for weighing grains in northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. Its actual weight varied, e.g. that of Aleppo and Tripoli contained 83.5 kg of wheat and that of Ḥamāt 92.77 kg. IV 520a; VI 118b

maḳlūb (A) : 'transposed'; in the science of Tradition, a term used when a Tradition is attributed to someone other than the real authority to make it an acceptable GHARĪB Tradition, or when two Traditions have the ISNĀD of the one with the MATN of the other. III 26a

maknī → IḌMĀR

makrūh (A) : in law, a reprehensible action, an action disapproved of; one of the five juridical qualifications of human actions. VI 194b

maḳrūn, maḳrūna → ZUMMĀRA

makrūna (A) : a head scarf worn by Bedouin women on the Arabian peninsula. V 741b

makrūs (Alg, pl. *makārīs*) : an adolescent of 12-14 years; in the Mzāb, ~ means an adult fit to carry arms. III 98a

maks (A, < Ar; pl. *mukūs*) : a toll, custom duty; in old law books, used in the sense of *ʿushr* the tenth levied by the merchants, more properly the equivalent of an excise duty than of a custom. VI 194b; octroi duties. II 146a; tax unsanctioned by the sharīʿa; non-canonical tax. VIII 71b; VIII 955a

maḳṣūra (A, pl. *maḳāṣir*) : in poetry, the name given to a poem whose rhyme is constituted by an *alif maḳṣūra.* VI 195b

In architecture, a box or compartment for the ruler built in a mosque, near the MIḤRĀB, introduced at the beginning of the Umayyad period either to protect the ruler from hostile attacks or for the purpose of teaching and performing the ṢALĀT. VI 661b ff.; antechamber. XI 488b

maḳṭaʿ (A) : in Persian prosody, the term for the last distich, BAYT, which in the GHAZAL contains the nom-de-plume of the author. II 1033b; IV 715a

In grammar, a 'cutting' in the resonance emitted from the chest as it rises in the throat to produce the ḤARF. III 597b

maktab (A, pl. *makātib*) : originally, an appellation for the Islamic traditional school frequently known also as *kuttāb.* In Egypt, the Copts too used ~ to denote their own traditional schools; a school; bureau, department; office; agency. VI 196b

In modern Persian usage, in addition to its basic meaning of 'school', ~ has acquired also the connotation of an 'instructing manual'. VI 197a

♦ maktab al-sabīl → SABĪL

♦ **maktaba** (A, P *kitāb-khāna*) : a library. VI 197b

maḳtal (A) : a genre in Turkish narrative literature denoting works commemorating miracles and happenings around the martyrs of the house of the Prophet, particularly his grandson Ḥusayn. III 374a; V 193b

mak<u>th</u> (A) : stop, stay; in astronomy, ~ means the phase in which the moon is eclipsed. For the case of total eclipse, the place where it begins is called *awwal al-mak<u>th</u>* and where the moon begins to emerge from the shadow, *ā<u>kh</u>ir al-mak<u>th</u>*. V 536b

maḳṭūʿ (A) : in the science of Tradition, a Tradition going back to a Successor regarding words or deeds of his. III 25b; an ISNĀD which is 'cut off' at the level of the Successor, thus without mention of either the Prophet or a Companion. VII 631a

In Ottoman Turkey, a form of poll-tax, <u>DJ</u>IZYA, which was fixed by agreement, and which amount thus could not be altered. It was extensively applied. II 563b

For ~ in prosody, → ḲAṬʿ

♦ maḳṭūʿ al-ḳadem → → MAFRŪḌ AL-ḲALEM

maktūbāt (A) : lit. letters; term used especially in Muslim India for the epistles of ṣūfī leaders. XII 571b

maḳūlāt (A) : in philosophy, the (ten) Aristotelian categories, and the translation of the title of the work of Aristotle on that subject. VI 203b

maʿḳūla, maʿḳūlāt → DIYA; MAḤSŪSĀT

mal → BAVIK

māl (A, pl. *amwāl*) : possession, property, referring among the Bedouin particularly to camels, but also to estates and money, and in any case to concrete things. The word is formed from *mā* and *li* and means properly anything that belongs to anyone. VI 205a; taxes. II 148a; IV 1034a; VI 205a; capital. II 361a; and → <u>SH</u>ARIKAT AMWĀL

In mathematics, ~ was used for the unknown quantity in an equation; in this meaning it was afterwards replaced by *<u>sh</u>ay'*. Used for the unknown in quadratic equations, it became the word for the square of a number. The fourth power is called *māl al-māl*, the fifth *mālᵘ kaʿbⁱⁿ*, the square of the cube. II 361a; VI 205b

In law, *fī'l māl* or *fī ʿayn al-māl* means 'in rem'. XI 410b

♦ **māl al-bayʿa** (A), also *ḥaḳḳ al-bayʿa, rasm al-bayʿa* and *ṣilat al-bayʿa* : a term used for the payments made to army officers at the time of the swearing of the oath of allegiance, BAYʿA, to a new ruler. VI 205b

♦ māl al-<u>dj</u>ahābi<u>dh</u>a (P), or *ḥaḳḳ al-<u>dj</u>ahābi<u>dh</u>a* : the fee of the <u>DJ</u>AHBA<u>DH</u> for his services to the government, levied as a charge on the taxpayer. II 382b

♦ al-māl al-ḥurr (A) : one of the three main sources of revenue for the Egyptian government in the years immediately preceding the Napoleonic invasion of 1798, ~ was composed of the MĪRĪ, a fixed tax, and the *fā'iẓ*, a tax which went to the concessionaries of tax farms and was fixed by the terms of the concession. All the land taxes were farmed out by the government to *multazims* (→ MÜLTEZIM), who collected them through their agents. II 148a

♦ māl al-ku<u>sh</u>ūfiyya (A) : one of the three main sources of revenue for the Egyptian government in the years immediately preceding the Napoleonic invasion of 1798, ~ were taxes which paid for the military and administrative expenses within the Egyptian provinces. II 148a

♦ māl manḳūl → ʿAḲĀR

♦ māl nāṭiḳ → MĀL ṢĀMIT

♦ māl ribawī (A) : in law, goods capable of usury and interest, RIBĀ. VIII 492b

♦ māl ṣāmit (A) : dumb property, in contrast to *māl nāṭiḳ* 'speaking money', applied to slaves and cattle. VI 205a

♦ māl-i ā<u>dh</u>arūy (P) : rent paid for fire-temple premises or land by Zoroastrians in 4th/10th-century eastern Persia. IX 683a

♦ māl-i khāṣṣa (P) : in Persia, the funds controlled by the royal court, *dargāh*, in contradistinction to *māl-i maṣāliḥ*, the funds controlled by the *dīwān*. IV 972b

♦ māl-i maṣāliḥ → MĀL-I KHĀṢṢA

♦ māl-î muḳātele (T) : 'fighting money', revenue from land grants, DIRLIK. IX 656a

mala' (A) : lit. a group of people, a host, crowd, and more generally, the public, hence *fī mala', fi 'l-mala'* 'publicly'. The term also denotes decisions taken as a result of collective consultation, and since collective decisions are usually taken by the leaders of the group, ~ often denotes the notables and leaders of the community (syn. *wudjūh, ashrāf, ru'asā'*). XII 573a

♦ al-mala' al-a'lā (A) : 'the upper host', Qur'ānic term explained either as the angels who thus been named because they dwell in heaven, which differentiates them from the earthly ones, the sons of Adam. As used in Tradition, ~ is explained as though standing for the Ḳuraysh. XII 573a

malāḥa (A) : in law, as interpreted by shī'ī jurists, a category of taxable wealth, along with booty, produce of the sea, buried treasure, and minerals, that refers to profit (from trade, agriculture and craft), DHIMMĪ land bought by a Muslim and '*ḥalāl* goods mixed with *ḥarām* ones'. XII 533b

malāhī (A, s. *malhā*) : a term which, in a figurative sense, is used as the equivalent of 'musical instruments', sometimes being replaced by *ālat al-lahw* or linked with the word *lahw* 'game, pastime, amusement'. VI 214a

malāḥim → MALḤAMA

malā'ika (A, s. *malak*) : angels, a concept so frequently used in the Qur'ān, Muḥammad's audience was obviously familiar with it; it must have been a pre-Islamic borrowing. VI 216b

mālaḳ (A), or *mimlaḳa* : in mediaeval agriculture, a wide board that the ploughman presses on with all his weight and is pulled along by two oxen, the ~ is a rudimentary implement for levelling the earth after ploughing and burying completely the seed which was sown there before the ploughshare turned over the soil. The word is an equivalent of the Egyptian *zaḥḥāfa*. VII 22b

malaka (A) : in philosophy, ~ is used to translate the Greek *hexis* 'a being in a certain state or habit'. It is contrasted with privation, 'ADAM, in translations and commentaries on Aristotle. VI 220a

malakī (A) : in numismatics, a variety of DĪNĀR instituted in 479/1086 under the Ṣulayḥids in Yemen. IX 816b

malam (Hau, < A *mu'allim*; pl. *malamai*) : ~ was formerly used to designate a man versed in the Arabic language and Islamic sciences to whatever extent. Nowadays, although the traditional ~ remains a familiar feature of Hausa society, the term itself has been debased to the point where (like the Arabic term *al-sayyid*) it merely serves the function of the English 'Mr'. In the phrase *shehu malami*, it is used as an epithet for a distinguished exponent of the Islamic sciences. VI 223a; IX 244a

malāmiyya (A) : in Ibn al-'Arabī's tripartite division of the Men of God, the Blameworthy, also called the Realisers (*muḥaḳḳiḳūn*), viz. the Prophet and the greatest friends of God, who are above the ascetics, on the lowest rung, and the ṣūfīs. The basic activity of the Realisers is *taḥḳīḳ* 'giving everything that has a ḤAḲḲ its *ḥaḳḳ*'. X 317b

malang (P ?) : a term with uncertain etymology, used in Muslim India, to denote wandering dervishes of the Ḳalandarī, BĪ-SHAR' or antinomian type. VI 228b

malāryā (A) : in medicine, a neologism for malaria. VI 229a

malāsa (A) : extreme smoothness (of a gem). XI 570a

malfūf → TĀMM

malfūẓāt (A, s. *malfūẓ*) : lit. utterances; in mysticism, the conversations of a mystic teacher. When given literary form by Ḥasan Sidjzī of Delhi in 707/1307, it became a type of mystical genre, developing mainly in India. XII 577a

malḥama (A, pl. *malāḥim*) : an epic; in the Islamic Middle Ages, ~ meant a writing of a divinatory character, specifically the *Malḥamat Dāniyāl*, a collection of meteorological signs with their divinatory meanings. VI 247a; VIII 106a
In its plural form, **malāḥim**, it is applied to a literature consisting of predictions of a historical character. II 377a; VI 216a

malḥūn (A), or *ḳaṣīda zadjaliyya* : a term designating a language which sprang from the local North African dialects which served for the expression of certain forms of dialectal poetry, as well as this poetry itself. I 571b; VI 247b; XI 375a

malik (A, pl. *mulūk*) : king; as a kingly title, the term appears repeatedly in pre-Islamic inscriptions from southern Arabia and the Syrian desert fringes. Islam, however, presented a new order in which God alone was the King. Considered to be a term of abuse, ~ was not officially assumed by Muslim rulers in the early centuries of Islam, but towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, the Būyids began adopting the title, as did Sāmānid, Khwārazmī, Ghaznawid, Saldjūḳ, Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk rulers after them. ~ was also freely applied to princes, viziers and provincial governors, which rendered the term less majestic, the title *sulṭān* being considered superior as it conveyed a sense of independent sovereignty. VI 261a

♦ **malik al-shuʿarāʾ** (A) : 'king of the poets', an honorific title of a Persian poet laureate. It was the highest distinction which could be given to a poet by a royal patron. Like other honorifics, it confirmed the status of its holder within his profession and was regarded as a permanent addition to his name which sometimes even became a hereditary title. VI 276a; IX 241b

♦ **malik al-tudjdjār** (A) : 'king of the big merchants', an office and a title which existed in Iran from Ṣafawid times, and probably earlier, until the end of the Ḳādjār period. The ~ was chosen by the prominent merchants of each big town and nominated by the authorities to be the link between the trading community and the authorities. He also settled disputes between the Iranian merchants and their customers, between the merchants themselves, and between local and foreign merchants and trading-firms. VI 276b

♦ malikī → DJALĀLĪ

♦ **mulūk al-ṭawāʾif** (A) : 'the kings of the territorial divisions', the Arabic phrase used by Muslim historians originally for the regional rulers of the Parthian or Arsacid period in pre-Islamic Persia; the rulers of the principalities which arose on the ruins of the Umayyad empire of al-Andalus at the end of the 5th/11th century. VII 551a

mālik (A) : in law, owner (of a slave). I 24b

♦ **mālikāne** (< A *mālik* and P *-āne*) : in law, intangible property, i.e. fiscal revenues, whenever the enjoyment of them is connected with full ownership. The term's content has nonetheless changed over the centuries. VI 277b; VIII 405b

♦ mālikiyyat al-māl (A) : in law, patrimonial ownership. I 27a

malīkh (A), or *masīkh* : 'completely insipid'; in the terminology of food, one of the degrees of insipidity, along with *tafih* 'without either real sweetness, acidity or bitterness'. II 1071a

malīl → MALLA

maliṣa → AṬŪM

māliyye (T, < A) : a term used in the 19th and 20th centuries, in Arabic and Turkish, to refer to financial affairs and financial administration. In the Ottoman empire, and in various of its successor states, the term has also acquired a more specific reference to the Ministry of Finance. VI 283b

malḳaf (Egy) : (wind) catcher; the usual term for the ventilation shaft known as *bādahandj* in mediaeval Arabic. XII 115b

Malkāyē (Syr) : Melkites, a nickname of members of the Jacobites who supported the resolutions of Chalcedon that branded the Jacobites as heretics for their monophysite christology. XI 259a

malla (A), or *malīl* : 'hot ash', a loaf of bread cooked under ashes, eaten in ancient Arabia by Bedouin. V 41b; X 30b

mallāḥ (A) : the name given to the place of residence, quarter, assigned to the Jews of Morocco. There is a difference between the urban ~ and the rural ~. The former is a quarter adjacent to the Muslim city, integrated within it or shifted to the nearby periphery, yet enclosed within a separate enclave defended by a wall and a fortified gateway. The latter is an 'open' village exclusively inhabited by Jews, situated some distance from the nearest *ḳṣar* or fortress of the protector. VI 292b; a boatman, who during the ʿAbbāsid period hired out boards for transporting passengers or goods. XII 659b

mals → MATN

maʾluka (A) : an oral message. According to the Arab lexicographers, ~ derives from the root *aluka* which signifies 'to champ the bit' when used in reference to a horse. VIII 532a

malūsa (A) : a large Turkish-style turban worn by religious dignitaries in Tunisia. V 746a

mamālik → MAMLAKA

mamlaka (A, pl. *mamālik*) : absolute power over things and especially over beings: to begin with, that of God over creation as a whole, and then, that of any individual, in certain circumstances; ~ is also applied to the place either in origin or by application, of the power under consideration. In this latter sense, the most current denotation of ~ is a piece of territory under the control of some authority; a kingdom. VI 313b

In geographical literature, ~ refers to the Islamic world. VI 313b

In Ṣafawid Persia, the plural *mamālik* referred to provinces and regions alienated from the direct control of the central government, in contrast to KHĀṢṢA, provinces and districts under its direct administration. VI 16b; VIII 751a; state lands. IV 36a

mamlūk (A) : lit. thing possessed, hence 'slave', especially used in the sense of military slave. The term is especially known in relation to the Mamlūk sultanate established and maintained by *mamlūks* in Egypt (1250-1517) and in Syria (1260-1516); and in relation to the role of their sucessors, the neo-Mamlūks, in Ottoman Egypt. I 24b; VI 314a

For ~ in land law, → ARḌ

mamsūkh → MASKH

ma'mūma → ĀMMA

ma'mūr (A) : in the late Ottoman empire and Turkish republic, a civil official. VI 340b

man (H) : the maund, a weight in Brtish India equalling 3,200 TŌLĀS. X 564a

manʿ (Yem) : 'protection' of those to whom the tribesman has special obligations; in Yemen, the customary law, consistent with the sharīʿa, in opposition to ṬĀGHŪT, customary tribal law in contradiction to the sharīʿa. X 94a

maʿnā (A, pl. MAʿĀNĪ) : 'meaning, what the speaker intends to say'; in grammar, ~ indicates the semantic counterpart of *lafẓ*, the linguistic expression. VI 346a

In philosophy, ~ is used to translate a number of Greek expressions, to denote e.g. concept, thought, idea, meaning, entity. VI 347a

In poetry, ~ meant both the meaning of a word or proposition in a certain given verse, and the meaning of a trope. VI 347b

In Nuṣayriyya terminology, ~ is 'the Essence', a name for God. VIII 148a

♦ al-maʿānī al-thāniya : in philosophy, the five predicables (genus, species, difference, property, accident), also known as *al-alfāẓ al-khamsa*. II 550a

manākh (A) : war for territory, one of the Bedouin's warlike activities. II 1055a

manāḳib (A, s. MANḲABA) : a plural substantive, rendered approximately by 'qualities, virtues, talents, praiseworthy actions', featuring in the titles of a quite considerable number of biographical works of a laudatory nature, which have eventually become a part of hagiographical literature in Arabic, in Persian and in Turkish. Immediately following the development of mysticism and the cult of saints, the subjects preferred are the marvellous aspects of the life, the miracles or at least the prodigies of a ṣūfī or of a saint believed to have been endowed with miraculous powers; hence, ~ ultimately acquires the sense of 'miracles' or 'prodigies'. VI 349a

♦ menāḳib-nāme (Ott) : in literature, the often semi-legendary tales of the worthy exploits of significant political or religious figures. A similar type of exemplary tale, the *ghazā-nāme*, dealt more specifically with military exploits in frontier regions. X 291a

manāḳirī (A) : 'beak-ambergris', according to mediaeval authors, the term for a variety of ambergris which contains the claws and beak of a bird which alights on the lumps and being unable to get away perishes on them. In actuality, ambergris frequently contains the hard mandibles of a cuttle-fish which serves as food to the spermwhale. I 484a

manām → RU'YĀ

manāniyya → MĀNAWIYYA

manār (A), or *manāra* : lighthouse; an elevated place where a light or beacon is established; the means of marking (with fire, originally) routes for caravans or for the army in war; lampstand; certain kinds of 'arms' (arm-rests of seats, thrones, etc.); minaret, i.e. the tower alongside (or on top of) a mosque, used to call the faithful to prayer (in this sense normally **manāra**). VI 358b; VI 361b

In East Africa, ~ (Sw *mnara*, pl. *minara*) also refers to the pillar tombs which are an architectural peculiarity of the eastern African coast. VI 370a

For ~ in zoology, → HIRKŪL

mānawiyya (A), or *manāniyya* : the Manichaeans. X 439b f.

manāzil → MANZIL

manāẓir (A), or *ʿilm al-manāẓir* : the science of optics. VI 376a

In travel, ~ was used to designate the fires and their sites, near the sea, which guided ships and gave warning of the arrival of an enemy (by lighting the fire in the direction of the town), syn. *nīrān, mawāḳīd, maḥāris*. Some fires were lit on the Mediterranean coast from Alexandria as far as the regions of North Africa. It is even recorded that opposite the Palestinian coast an exchange of signals of this kind was made between ships and the coast. VI 359a

manda → MANDATES

mandala (J) : in East and Central Java, a rural Hindu-Buddhist type of school, where ascetical *guru*s imparted religious doctrine and mystical wisdom to students residing together in a communal setting. It is thought by some scholars to be the precursor of the PESANTREN. VIII 296b

mandara (A) : a large room in an Egyptian house, whose central part, a substitute for the courtyard, is paved, adorned with a fountain and surrounded by two or three ĪWĀNs. II 114b

mandates (Eng, A *intidāb*, T *manda*) : a system of trusteeship, instituted by the League of Nations after the end of the First World War, for the administration of certain territories. VI 385b

mandedji → LIMAN RE'ĪSI

mandī : in Muslim India, a market where different commodities, particularly corn, were brought from outside and sold in bulk. During the Dihlī sultanate, the officer who looked after the market in general was called *shaḥna-i mandī*. IX 800b f.

mandil (A, < L *mantellum*), normalised *mindīl* : handkerchief, napkin, towel; piece of cloth, used for many other purposes, such as covering or carrying something or serving, attached to the body, as an untailored part of dress. Syn. *mashūsh, minshafa, khirka*. VI 402b; X 613a
In Syria and Palestine, ~ is the name for a woman's head scarf, veil. V 741b
In Iraq, ~ denotes an embroidered kerchief hung from the waist sash by men. V 741b
mandjālī (Telugu) : a measure of weight in South India, being the equivalent of a seed notionally used, of about 260 mg. VI 122a
mandjam → MAʿDIN
mandjanīk (A, < Gk) : mangonel; a general term for any kind of stone-throwing siege-engine. The expressions ~ and *ʿarrāda* are both used for this kind of machine, and although the *ʿarrāda* may have been the smaller of the two, the expressions often seem to be interchangeable. III 469b; III 472b; VI 405a
mandūb (A) : in law, a meritorious and recommended action. VI 408a
mandrāghūras → SIRĀDJ AL-KUTRUB
mangh (Sin), or *mungh* : in Sind, wind catchers, from around 1 m square and up to 2 m high, which rise above the flat roofs of houses to catch the summer wind. IX 638a
manghir (T) : an Ottoman copper coin. II 118a; VIII 229a
manhadj (A, pl. *manāhidj*) : in mediaeval times, an avenue separating tribal lots, as in in the establishment of the town of al-Kūfa where there were 15, each forty cubits wide, radiating from the central area. V 346a
manhal (A, pl. manāhil) : in Medina, a public watering place, about 10 m below ground and reached by steps. V 1007a
manhūk (A) : in prosody, a deviation in the metre consisting of a line being 'weakened to exhaustion', i.e. when it is reduced to a third of its size. I 671a
manḥūl (A) : in literary criticism, an existing piece of poetry that is falsely attributed. XII 648a
māni (T, < A *maʿnā*) : a form of Turkish popular poetry, most usually a piece of poetry made up of heptasyllabic verses rhymed on the pattern *a a b a*, but there are also some rhymed *b a c a*; each quatrain may be sufficient to fulfil a certain function or to transmit a certain message. VI 420b
♦ kesik māni : 'truncated *māni*', a MĀNI reduced to the schema *a b a* by the disappearance of the first verse. VI 420b
mankaba (A, pl. MANĀKIB) : a narrow street between two houses; a difficult path on the mountain; a noble action. VI 349b
♦ mankabat (U) : in Urdu poetry, praise of the fourth caliph, ʿAlī, and of subsequent shīʿī IMĀMS. V 958a; VIII 776a
mankāna (A) : a clock, constructed in the 9th century in Muslim Spain by ʿAbbās b. Firnās. I 11b
mankūl (A) : 'moveable', in its plural form *mankūlāt* 'moveable properties'. XI 89a
mann (A) : the standard weight for small quantities of dry (and even liquid) commodities in most provinces of Persia. VI 120a; in Egypt, the ~ was used to weigh spices such as cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, cloves, cubeb and borax. VI 119a; one ~ equals approximately two pounds. XI 269b
manṣab (IndP) : a term of the military system of the Mughals in India, denoting a rank, the holder of which was termed *manṣabdār*. Personal or DHĀT rank was expressed numerically in even-numbered decimal increments and could vary from as low as 20 *dhāt* to a maximum of 7000 *dhāt* for the highest nobles. *Dhāt* determined the *manṣabdār*'s relative status and his pay. *Manṣabdārs* could simultaneously hold trooper, or SUWĀR, ranks. VI 422b
♦ manṣabdārī (IndP) : in the Mughal period, the monolithic military and civil service organisation introduced by Akbar. V 685b

manṣabdār → MANṢAB
man<u>sh</u>ad → KABĀRA
man<u>sh</u>ūr (A, pl. *man<u>sh</u>ūrāt, manā<u>sh</u>īr*) : lit. spread out, ~ has come to mean a certificate, an edict, a diploma of appointment, and particularly, a patent granting an appanage. VI 423a
In Egypt in the early Arab period, ~ was a pass which the government compelled the peasants to have, designed to curb increasing movement away from the land. II 303a; VI 423a
In ʿAbbāsid times, ~ was given to grants of fiefs, while under the Fāṭimids (and Ayyūbids) it denoted certain letters of appointment. Under the Mamlūks, ~ became restricted to feudal grants, in different grades according to size and writing. II 303a; VI 423b; VIII 814b
In modern Egypt, edicts of the government are called ~. In many Arabic states, serial publications now are called *man<u>sh</u>ūrāt.* VI 424b
In mathematics, ~ means prism. VI 424b
In astronomy, *man<u>sh</u>ūrāt* denotes spherical prisms; according to Ptolemy, 'sawn pieces' or 'disks' comprised between two circles parallel to and equidistant from the equator of a sphere. II 763a
♦ **man<u>sh</u>ūrāt** (A) : term for the letters, responsa and edicts of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the Sudanese Mahdī (d. 1885), which were transcribed by his followers in numerous manuscript collections. XII 594a; and → MAN<u>SH</u>ŪR
mansir → MIḲNAB
manṣūb (A) : the chief agent in India of the Yemeni Sulaymānī sect, which split from the Bohorās in the 10th/16th century. I 1255a; IX 829b
For ~ in grammar, → NAṢB
In its plural form, *mansūbāt*, lit. set-ups, was the term for the numerous problems in the game of chess. IX 366b
manṭal (A) : in Yemeni architecture, the 'long drop', where the fuel, human excrement, for heating the bath is kept. IX 2b
manṭiḳ (A) : in philosophy, logic. VI 442a
mantū : a steamed dumpling, one of the Özbeg noodle dishes for which their cuisine is known. VIII 234b
manzil (A, T *menzil*; pl. *manāzil*) : a halt; a temporary stay; stage of a journey. VI 454b; hospice or night lodging intended for travellers; a stopping place for caravans. I 1225a; IV 1011a; VI 455a; at the present time, ~ denotes a lodging, a house and even an apartment. V 455a
At the end of the Ottoman period, ~ signified a private hostelry, as opposed to the *maḍāfa*, which was communal. VI 455a
In Iran and, especially, in Hindūstān, ~ came to designate a camp, characteristically the royal camp. VI 456a
In astronomy, **manāzil**, or, more fully, *manāzil al-ḳamar*, are the lunar mansions, or stations of the moon, a system of 28 stars, groups of stars, or spots in the sky near which the moon is found in each of the 28 nights of her monthly revolution. I 523a; VI 374a
In mysticism, ~ is the stage in the spiritual journey of the soul. III 84a; VI 454b
♦ manzila → MAWḌIʿ
♦ **al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn** (A) : a theological term used by Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ and the later Muʿtazila for designating the salvational status of the mortal sinner. They held that any Muslim guilty of a serious sin is neither believer nor non-believer, and is liable to punishment in the Fire. I 694b; VI 457b; XI 165a
♦ menzil-<u>kh</u>āne → ULAḲ
manẓūm → ḤALL AL-MANẒŪM

mar'a (A) : a woman. VI 466a

marʿā (A) : pasture. VI 490a

♦ marāʿī (P) : a pasture tax in Īlkhān Persia (syn. *ʿalafkhʷār, ʿalafčar*). IV 1042a; VI 491b; in 19th-century usage in Kāshān, ~ was a tax on sheep and goats levied at so much per animal which bore young and was in milk. IV 1042b

maraḍ (A) : illness, with ~ *al-mawt* being the last illness. XI 172b

marāfiḳ (A, s. *marfiḳ*) : lit. benefits, favours, one of several terms used for bribes, douceurs. This form of bribery became institutionalised in the ʿAbbāsid caliphate with the establishment of a special office, the *dīwān al-marāfiḳ*, in which were placed bribes and money from commissions collected from aspiring candidates for office. II 325a; VI 498a

marāʿī → MARʿĀ

maraḳ (A), or *maraḳa* : in the terminology of food, a broth. II 1059a

maʿraḳa → ʿARAḲIYYA

marāṣid (A), or *ma'āṣir* : customs, dues and tolls which exist on the frontiers, on the international trade routes, and the ports. II 143a; and → MA'ṢIR

marāsim (A) : official court ceremonies, both processional and non-processional. Synonyms are *rusūm*, especially for the whole range of ceremonial, including protocol and etiquette, MAWSIM and *mawkib* (→ MAWĀKIB). VI 518a

marātib (A, s. **martaba**) : lit. ranks, degrees, a term applied especially in Muslim India to the drums and standards, *aṭbāl wa ʿalamāt*, borne by the sultan or conferred by him on the great AMĪRs, later elaborated as 'standards, kettledrums, trumpets, bugles and reedpipe' as carried by two ships among the fifteen of the governor of Lāharī Bandar. The ~ could function as battle ensigns. VI 536b; XII 600b

marbaṭ (A, pl. *marābiṭ*), or *marbiṭ* : the place where domestic animals are tethered. Among the nomads, the ~ simply involves tying the animal's halter to some bush or a large stone buried in the sand. For sedentary and urban populations, the ~ takes the form of a kind of shelter, beneath which animals can shelter from the sun. By extension, ~ very soon took on the general sense of stables. VI 537b

In Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, ~ and *mirsal* are also the names of the 'leash' which holds the falcon down to its perching-block or on the falconer's gauntlet. VI 537b

marḍī (N.Afr, pl. *marāḍī*) : in the customary law of the Bedouin of the Western Desert and Cyrenaica, a mediator, although glossed in some sources as a judge. X 889b

mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd (P) : a title and function of a hierarchical nature denoting a Twelver jurisconsult who is to be considered during his lifetime, by virtue of his qualities and his wisdom, a model for reference, for 'imitation' or 'emulation' by every observant Imāmī shīʿī (with the exception of other MUDJTAHIDs) on all aspects of religious practice and law. VI 548b; XII 103b

mardjān (A) : in mineralogy, coral. As a rule, red coral (*Corallium rubrum*) is used as a piece of jewelry; in medicine, ~ is used above all in collyria against eye diseases. The Persian *bussadh*, often employed as a synonym, is strictly speaking the root of the coral, as well as the subsoil to which it is stuck. VI 556a

mardjūḥa → URDJŪḤA

mardūd (A) : in the science of Tradition, a 'rejected' Tradition, more particularly a Tradition from a weak transmitter which contradicts what authorities transmit. III 26b

mardūf → RIDFA

marfa' → MĪNĀ'

marfiḳ → MARĀFIḲ

marfūʿ (A, pl. *marfūʿāt*) : lit. lifted up.

In the science of Tradition, a Tradition traced back to the Prophet whether or not the ISNĀD is complete. Transmitters who developed the habit of frequently 'raising' ISNĀD strands 'to the level' of *marfūʿāt* were called *raffāʿūn*. III 25b; VIII 384a; and → MUTTAṢIL; RAFʿ

marfūw → TĀMM

marḥala (A, pl. *marāḥil*) : in mediaeval Islamic usage, a stage of travel, normally the distance which a traveller can cover in one day; it was, therefore, obviously a variable measurement of length, dependent on the ease or difficulty of the terrain to be crossed. VI 558b

marham (A) : in medicine, a pomade, prescribed among others as an aphrodisiac. XII 641b

mārī → BAHZADJ

mārid (A) : a term found once in the Qurʾān, meaning rebel, someone practicing *murūd* or *tamarrud* 'resistance to the established order', but, with ʿIFRĪT, ended by being used of one particular class of fantastic beings from the nether regions. The popular tales represent the ~ as being superior to the *ʿifrīt*: he is forty times stronger and has at his command a thousand auxiliaries. III 1050a; IX 406b; XII 598a

maʿriḍ (A) : 'place of display', term in some countries for a public slave market which every big town had in the mediaeval period. I 32b

maʿrifa (A) : knowledge, cognition. III 1133a; VI 568b

In grammar, ~ designates the definite noun, as opposed to *nakira*, indefinite noun. VI 569a

In onomastics, ~ is the appellative formed of Ibn followed by the ISM, LAKAB or NISBA of the father or of an ancestor, sometimes celebrated but more often obscure. This is also called *shuhra*. III 670a

māristān (A) : a lunatic asylum. I 500b

māriyya (A) : a pearl-grey tone of e.g. the plumage of sandgrouse. IV 744a

markab (A) : lit. conveyance; in early Arabic usage, the most general word for 'ship' . The term was, however, used in the first place for travel by land, with such specific meanings as 'riding-beast', 'conveyance drawn by animals'. VIII 808a

markab (A) : observatory; an elevated site from which it is possible to see and observe, such as the summit of a mountain, of a fortified castle or of a watch-tower. VI 577a

♦ markaba (A) : the mountain refuge of a brigand-poet. IX 865b

markaz → MUWASHSHAH

mārk(i)siyya (A, < Ger Marx) : Marxism, the doctrine developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the 19th century. VI 583a

markiyūniyya (A) : in religion, the Marcionites, an important non-monotheistic tendency in early Christianity. XII 599b

markūb (A) : pointed men's shoes of thick red morocco, worn in Egypt. V 741b

marmar → RUKHĀM

marnab (A) : in zoology, the Brown rat (*Mus decumanus*) or 'Sewer rat'. XII 285b

marsā → MĪNĀʾ

marṣad (A) : a place where one keeps watch; in astronomy, an observatory (syn. *raṣad*). VI 599b

marsūm (A) : in the science of diplomatic, a grade of appointment used for military personnel in Mamlūk times only. Distinction is made between major and minor appointments: *mukabbara* is the appointment of the commander of a fortress and military persons of medium rank, and *muṣaghghara* is the appointment for the lower ranks. II 303a

In Saudi Arabia, an administrative order issued by the King (rather than KANŪN). X 353b

martaba (A) : a term with a variety of meanings: class, rank, degree assigned by etiquette, rank, hierarchy, arrangement of places in an audience, sofa, an upholstered piece of furniture. XII 600b; and → ḤUKM; MARĀTIB

martak (A) : in mineralogy, yellow lead. IX 872b

marthāt → MARTHIYA

marthiya (A, pl. *marāthī*), or *marthāt* : elegy, a poem composed in Arabic (or in an Islamic language following the Arabic tradition) to lament the passing of a beloved person and to celebrate his merits. IV 1027a; VI 602b

In Urdu poetry, the ~ is almost always religious and usually about the Karbalā' martyrs, although a secular type exists. V 635b; VI 610b

martolos (T, < Gk) : a salaried member of the Ottoman internal security forces, recruited predominantly in the Balkans from among chosen land-owning Orthodox Christians who, retaining their religion, became members of the Ottoman ʿASKARĪ caste. By 1722 the institution was merged with the Muslim local security police. VI 613a

maʿrūf (A) : in the science of Tradition, a weak Tradition confirmed by another weak one, or a Tradition superior in MATN or ISNĀD to one called MUNKAR; also, a traditionist when two or more transmit from him. III 26b

marumakkatyam : in southern India, a law of inheritance whereby the children of the sister inherit, practiced by the Moplas. I 172a

mārūniyya (A, < Syr), or *mawārina* : in religion, the name of the Syrian Christian sect of the Maronites, which first entered into union with the Roman Catholic Church in ca. A.D. 1180. XII 602a

maryamiyya (A) : in botany, *Salvia triloba.* VI 631b

maryūl (N.Afr) : a short, embroidered shift for women in Libya. V 746a

marzpān (P, A *marzubān*) : warden of the march, markgrave; the title of a military governor of a frontier province under the Sāsānids in the 4th or 5th centuries AD. By mid-6th century, the ~ had become a high-ranking military and administrative official. After the decline of the Sāsānid empire, *marzubān* survived at Marw and Marw al-Rūd as the title of local Iranian officials under Muslim rule. It came to be used as a proper name and was also used metaphorically in poetry for a ruler or master, or for a leader of the Magians. VI 633a

masā' (A) : originally, 'evening twilight', but today applied to the evening, as opposed to *ṣabāḥ* 'morning'. It also comes to designate the period which begins at noon and encroaches upon the night. V 709b

maṣāff (A) : a line of troops. II 1080a

♦ maṣāffiyya : a corps of slaves, probably originating from those employed to form a line of troops in the reception rooms of the ʿAbbāsid court, under the command of the Chamberlain and numbering 10,000 men. In 317/929, the ~ forced the caliph al-Ḳāhir to flee. They were massacred in 318/930. II 1080b

masāḥa (A) : one of three ways of assessing land tax, KHARĀDJ, the other two being MUḲĀSAMA and MUḲĀṬAʿA. The amount due was based on the measurement of the land, but ~ did not, however, involve a comprehensive cadastral survey. Usually only the land sown was taken into account. It differed from the *muḳāsama* system in that the tax demand did not vary in a good year or a bad year. Known in the early centuries, it continued to be used down to modern times. IV 1037b

masā'il → MAS'ALA

masak → DHABL

mas'ala (A, pl. *masā'il*) : question, problem.

♦ al-mas'ala al-minbariyya : in law, a particular problem of inheritance, which ʿAlī is reported to have solved off-hand when it was submitted to him while he was on the MINBAR. I 765a

♦ al-mas'ala al-**suraydjiyya** : in law, a hotly debated problem of repudiation to which Ibn Suraydj, the Shāfiʿī jurist, gave his name. III 949b; IX 893b

♦ **masā'il wa-adjwiba** : lit. questions and answers, a technique of argumentation in mediaeval Islam which has strongly influenced, both in form and content, numerous Arabic writings in virtually all fields of knowledge. Unsolved problems, or questions and objections propounded by a third person, are followed by answers or explanations and refutations. Sometimes the author, at the request of a third person, composed a monograph on a group of themes, and even dedicated it to him. The pattern of questions and answers often became a literary topos, and, finally, the pattern also turned into a technique of scientific research or presentation, without any dialogue between teacher and pupil or between two opponents. VI 636a

♦ masā'il mulakkaba : in law, a category of questions 'called by special names', to which e.g. the AKDARIYYA belongs. I 320a

maṣāliḥ → AFĀWIH; MAṢLAḤA

masālik wa-mamālik (A) : 'routes and kingdoms', in geographical literature, the name given by R. Blachère to what he saw as a sub-genre. VI 639b

maʿṣara (A) : in early Islam, a shallow vat, in which, for example, grapes were trodden. IV 997b

maṣdar (A) : in grammar, the verbal noun. IX 528a

masdjid (A) : mosque. The modern Western European words (Eng *mosque*, Fr *mosquée*, Ger *Moschee*, It *moschea*) come ultimately from the Arabic via Spanish *mezquita*. VI 644b

The word is used in the Qur'ān for sanctuary, especially the Meccan sanctuary; ~ is also applied to pre-Islamic sanctuaries. Even as late as Ibn Khaldūn, ~ is used in the general meaning of a temple or place of worship of any religion. VI 644b

♦ **al-masdjid al-akṣā** : lit. the remotest sanctuary; in the Qur'ān, ~ is opposed to 'the sacred [pagan] sanctuary' of Mecca, but in the context of the time it is not clear whether ~ meant an actual physical sanctuary or a spiritual one. There was very early consensus, perhaps as early as 15 AH, that ~ meant Jerusalem. Today, the most common use of ~ is for the large building located on the south side of the Ḥaram platform and next to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. VI 707a

♦ masdjid djāmiʿ : in early Islam, the common name used for the chief (Friday) mosque in a certain place, but by the time of al-Makrīzī (9th/15th century), the word *djāmiʿ* meant any mosque of some size. VI 656a

♦ **al-masdjid al-ḥarām** : the name of the Mosque of Mecca, already found in the pre-Islamic period. IV 708a

♦ **masdjidī** (A, pl. *masdjidiyyūn*) : an adjective specifically concerning the Friday mosque of Baṣra in the time of al-Djāḥiẓ and used to designate groups of adults or young people who were accustomed to meet together in that building, near the gate of the Banū Sulaym, as well as of poets, popular story-tellers, and transmitters of religious, historical and literary Traditions, in particular those regarding poetic verses. VI 709a

māsh : the mungo bean. X 31b

mʿāsh → KUSKUSŪ

al-masḥ ʿalā 'l-khuffayn (A) : lit. the act of passing the hand over the boots; a term designating the right whereby sunnī Muslims may, in certain circumstances, pass the hand over their shoes instead of washing their feet as a means of preparing themselves for the saying of the ritual prayer. VI 709b

māshā' allāh (A) : a phrase occurring in the Qur'ān and widely used in the Islamic lands of the Middle East with the general meaning of 'what God does, is well done'. The formula denotes that things happen according to God's will and should therefore

be accepted with humility and resignation. In a cognate signification, the phrase is often used to indicate a vague, generally a great or considerable, but sometimes a small, number or quantity of time. The phrase is also the equivalent of the English 'God knows what', and, as signifying 'what God has willed', expressing admiration or surprise. VI 710b

mashādjin (A) : water-driven trip-hammers, i.e. stones fitted to axles which are installed on running water for pounding e.g. ores or flax for paper. V 969b

mashaffa → SHAFFĀFIYYA

masha'iyya → ISHRĀḲIYYŪN

mash'al (A) : torches, e.g. that accompanied the bridegroom to the bath. X 905a

mash'ar (A, pl. *mashā'ir*) : a place or thing which puts one in the presence or gives a feeling of the sacred or of a divinity; a place where the rites of sacrifice were performed. The journey between 'Arafa and Minā and that between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa is called *al-mash'ar al-ḥarām.* IX 424b, where are found synonyms

mashāriḳa (A) : the Arabs and Arabised peoples of the East in contrast to those of the West called MAGHĀRIBA. VI 712a

mashāyikh → SHAYKH

mashdūd → SHADD

mashhad (A) : any sacred place, not necessarily having a construction associated with it; a tomb in general, the burial place of an earlier prophet, saint or forerunner of Muḥammad or of any Muslim who had had pronounced over him the profession of faith; a martyrium; any small building with obvious religious features like a MIḤRĀB. V 289a; VI 713b

♦ mashhadī (A, P) : a pilgrim to the shrine of the eighth IMĀM 'Alī al-Riḍā who has performed all the rites in the prescribed fashion. XII 605b

mashhūr (A) : in the science of Tradition, a well-known Tradition transmitted via a minimum of three different ISNĀDs. III 25b; VI 717a

In law, the 'predominant' opinion, as opposed to the isolated or 'anomalous' opinion, SHĀDHDH. I 428a

mashīkha → FAHRASA; MASHYAKHA

mashḳ → KŪFĪ

mashla (A) : a variety of 'ABĀ' made in Baghdad. V 741b

mashlaḥ (A), or *mushallaḥ, mashlakh, maḥras* : an undressing and rest room found in the steam bath. III 141a

mashlakh → MASHLAḤ

mashraba (A) : a niche attached to lattice wooden windows known as MASHRABIYYA where the water jars were kept cool and fresh for drinking. VI 717b

mashrabiyya (A) : a technique of turned wood used to produce lattice-like panels, like those which were used in the past to adorn the windows in traditional domestic architecture. The ~ technique is a speciality of Cairo, where it was used with a latitude of patterns and combinations. The panels are composed of small pieces of wood which are turned in various forms and are fixed together without glue or nails, but simply by being inserted into each other, thus giving the panel more resistance towards the flexibility of the wood with the change of temperature. V 1153a; VI 717b

mashriḳ (A) : the East; for the Arab world, all the lands to the east of Egypt. VI 720a; and → MAṬLA'

♦ **mashriḳ al-adhkār** (A) : a term used in the Bahā'ī movement for four related concepts: a). In Iran (loosely) to describe early morning gatherings for reading of prayers and sacred writings. b). Generally of any house erected for the purpose of prayer. c). Most widely, to refer to Bahā'ī temples. d). In its widest application, to refer to a central temple in conjunction with various dependencies regarded as intrinsic to the over-

all institution. These include a school for orphans, hospital and dispensary for the poor, home for the aged, home for the infirm, college of higher education, and traveller's hospice. With the exception of a home for the aged in Wilmette, Illinois, no dependencies have as yet been established. I 918a; VI 720a

maṣẖrūʿ (A) : in law, the lawful act, as a term sometimes used in place of DJĀʾIZ as e.g. in the contract of crop-sharing and in the contract of association. II 390a

mas̲h̲rūbāt (A) : drinks, which in law are a subject of particular interest due to those that are permitted and those that are forbidden. VI 720b

mas̲h̲rūṭ (A) : inferior marriage, a legal institution characteristic of North Africa, called AMAZZAL among the Zemmur in Morocco. I 171b

♦ mas̲h̲rūṭiyyat (P) : a constitution. X 493a

mas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾiyya (A, < Gk *peripatētikoi*) : the Peripatetic or Aristotelian school of Greek philosophy and its Arabo-Islamic followers. While in the Greek sources, the designation is restricted to Aristotle's personal disciples, the Arabic equivalent is used for the Hellenistic tradition of his philosophy in general. Synonyms are *mas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾūn, mas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾiyyūn, mus̲h̲āt*. XII 605b

mas̲h̲tā → ḲI̊S̲H̲LAḲ

mas̲h̲tūm → S̲H̲ATM

mas̲h̲ṭūr (A) : in prosody, a deviation in the metre consisting of the suppression of a complete half, *s̲h̲aṭr*, as e.g. when the RADJAZ is reduced to one hemistich. I 671a

maṣḥūb → ṢĀḤIB

mashūra → ARG̲H̲ŪL

mas̲h̲ūra → MAS̲H̲WARA

mas̲h̲ūs̲h̲ → MANDĪL

mas̲h̲wara (A, T *mes̲h̲weret*), or *mas̲h̲ūra* : consultation, in particular by the ruler of his advisers, the latter being variously defined. The term sometimes also appears to mean some kind of deliberative gathering or assembly. Among Ottoman historians, ~ was commonly used to denote ad hoc meetings and councils of military and other dignitaries to consider problems as they arose. The sultan was not normally present at such gatherings. In the course of the 19th century, ~ or *mes̲h̲weret* was much used by Turkish and Arabic authors, first to describe European representative institutions, and then to justify their introduction to the Islamic lands. VI 724a

mas̲h̲yak̲h̲a (A, s. *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*), or *mas̲h̲īk̲h̲a* : a plural of S̲H̲AYK̲H̲ and an abstract noun denoting a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*'s position or authority. VI 725b

In the Muslim West ~ was used to designate the collectivity of urban elders and notables often wielding considerable political influence in the cities and hence carrying the sense of a 'municipal council'. VI 725b

During Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition, ~ acquired a new meaning. Seeking an Arabic expression for 'republic', Bonaparte's orientalist experts came to use ~. This was apparently an intended allusion to the Directoire of five who were governing France at the time. In the second half of the 19th century, ~ in the sense of republic gave ground to **djumhūriyya**. II 594a; VI 725b; and → FAHRASA

maṣīf → YAYLAḲ

masīḥ (A, < Ar) : with the definitve article, the Messiah. The root word in Arabic has the meanings of 'to measure' and 'to wipe, stroke'. VI 726a

masika (Sw) : in Zanzibar, the Long Rains, which last with decreasing vigour for about three months starting in March. The Short Rains, *mvuli*, fall in October and November. XI 447a

masīk̲h̲ → MALĪK̲H̲; MASK̲H̲

maʾṣir (Akk ?) : a technical term of fiscal practice in the hydraulic civilisation of early Islamic ʿIrāḳ, doubtless going back to earlier periods there. From being a barrier across

the river to halt shipping, ~ soon acquired the meaning of 'customs house where tolls are collected' and then the actual tolls themselves. VI 728b

♦ ma'āṣiriyyūn : a body of officials attached to the police guard of Baghdad in the caliphate of al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902) who collected tolls from river traffic on the Tigris. VI 729a; and → MARĀṢID

maʿṣiya (A, pl. *maʿṣiyāt*) : in theology, an act of disobedience; when used in reference to the prescriptions of the divine law, often becoming a syn. of KHAṬĪʾA or DHANB. IV 1107b; and → ṬĀʿA

maskh (A) : the metamorphosis of men into animals. The product of the metamorphosis is called ~ (*miskh*) or *masīkh* (*mamsūkh*). II 95b; III 305b; VI 736b; X 182a

maskūk (A, pl. *maskūkāt*) : coined money. IX 592a

maṣl (A) : dried curd cheese. X 31b

♦ maṣliyya : a dish of lamb (or kid), with finely-chopped dried curd cheese, *maṣl*, sprinkled on top. of traditional Arab provenance. X 31b

maṣlaḥa (A, pl. *maṣāliḥ*) : the concept in Islam of public interest or welfare. II 254b; VI 738b

In law, ~ in the sense of 'general good' and 'public interest' is used as a basis for legal decisions. I 276a; VI 738b; IX 324b

In Ibn Rusta, 'fort'. X 82b; garrison. X 306a

♦ maṣlaḥatgüzār (T) : in Ottoman diplomacy, the term for *chargé d'affaires*. II 694a; and → ḲĀʾIM BI-AʿMĀL

maslaka (A) : with ṬARĪḲ, a term for road, but figuring prominently in Arabic geographical literature in the name of a sub-genre, the 'road books', e.g. AL-MASĀLIK WA 'L-MAMĀLIK, an important element of which was the fixing of the geographical coordinates of places. XII 794b

maṣliyya → MAṢL

maslūb (A) : in medicine, castrated by evulsion. IV 1087a

maṣnaʿa (A, pl. *maṣāniʿ*) : a Qur'ānic word meaning 'notable palaces, fortresses and edifices in which special endeavours are invested'. IX 626a

maṣnūʿ (A) : 'artful', as contrasted with 'natural'. XII650b; in literary criticism, a forged piece of poetry (syn. *mawḍūʿ, muftaʿal*). XII 648a

masraba (A) : beginning of the stomach. IX 312a

maṣraf defteri (T) : in Ottoman administration, the household account book of viziers and governors, or of palace personnel such as waterbearers, which covered for time periods of a month up to several years detailed monthly inventories of household economic transactions. VI 745b

masraḥ (A) : 'scene', increasingly employed as 'theatre' (frequently synonymous with *tiyātrō* (< It); in Arabic literature, primarily a phenomenon of the last two centuries. VI 746a

mast (A), or *mazz, mazd, mizz* : a long stocking of soft, yellow leather; inner shoe worn by both sexes in the Arab East. V 741b; and → ṬARAB

māst → YOGHURT

maṣṭaba (A) : in topography, an elevated piece of land in the north of Palestine, used for pitching the Mamlūk sultan's pavilion on top when he travelled through. V 594a

In architecture, a seat of stone, e.g. alongside a fountain. V 681b

mastaka (J), or *mustaka* : an ornament on top of a sphere on the roof of a Javanese mosque. In later times, this ornament was crowned by a crescent as the decisive symbol of Islam. VI 700b

maʿṣūm (A) : in theology, sinless, like the Prophet. XI 110b; immune from error and sin. XI 478a

masūmi (A) : a fine ʿABĀʾ of white wool for men, produced in Baghdad. V 741b

masura → LÜLE
maʿtab → KABĀRA
maṭāf (A) : the term for the pavement on which the circumambulation of the Kaʿba is performed. IV 318a
maṭāliʿ → MAṬLAʿ
maṭar (A) : a measure of capacity for liquids, e.g. olive oil, used in mediaeval Egypt. According to a Venetian source, the ~ contained, in the later Middle Ages, about 17 kg of olive oil. VI 119b
maṭbaʿa (A) : printing, printing-house, printing-press; the Arabic verb *ṭabaʿa* in the sense of printing a book is a neologism probably inspired by the Italian or the French. VI 794b
maṭbakh (A, pl. *maṭābikh*) : kitchen, cookhouse, also in mediaeval times, undoubtedly also slaughterhouse. VI 807a
maṭārif (A) : items of streaked silk originating from Yemen. IX 866a
matbūʿ (A) : in prosody, a natural poet, 'poète de génie', as opposed to a painstaking poet, 'poète d'étude', *mutakallif.* XII 648b; and → ITBĀʿ
maṭfara (A, pl. *maṭāfira*) : in music, a place of 'jumping' towards higher notes. IX 101a
mathal (A, pl. *amthāl*) : a proverb, popular saying, also comprising the extensive group of comparisons involving a comparative in the form *afʿal^{u} min*; adages (gnomes, dicta); set turns of speech; parable, fable. III 369b; VI 815b; a figurative expression. IV 248b
mathālib (A, s. *mathlaba, mathluba*) : lit. faults, vices, defects; disgrace; in early Islam, ~ was broadly applied to what were regarded as subjects of shame for the tribes, the ethnic groups or even clans, rather than separate individuals; ~ was used in poetry in connection with themes in satire to denigrate or revile an enemy. Later, ~ appeared in the titles of a number of works usually written by genealogists and collectors of historical Traditions and can be contrasted with *maʾāthir* or *mafākhir* 'exploits, feats, glorious titles' and MANĀḲIB. I 892a; VI 828a
mathānī (A) : a technical term used in the Qurʾān, the precise meaning of which is unclear. It refers to the revelation sent down to Muḥammad and commentators have usually understood it to refer to the (seven) verses of the Fātiḥa, the first chapter of the Qurʾān. Another interpretation is that ~ refers to the punishment-stories, which may have once formed a collection separate from the Qurʾān. V 402a
mathlath → ZĪR
mathnā → ZĪR
mathnāt (A) : an expression, mentioned by al-Djawharī, that may refer to the quatrain. It is said to be equivalent to 'what is called in Persian DŪBAYTĪ, which is singing (*al-ghināʾ*)'. VIII 583b
mathnawī (A, P, T, U) : in literature, a poem written in rhyming couplets. In Arabic such a poem is called MUZDAWIDJ. The single characteristic which separates the ~ from all other classical verse forms is its rhyming scheme *aa bb cc*, etc. Otherwise, the name is given to poems differing greatly in genre as well as in length and composition; this form is eminently suitable for epic and didactic verse because of the freedom allowed in rhyming. I 677a; IV 58a ff.; V 201a; VI 832a
maṭlaʿ (A, pl. *maṭāliʿ*) : in astrology, the rising point of a celestial body, usually a star, on the local horizon. This concept was important in Islamic folk astronomy, as distinct from mathematical astronomy, because it was by the risings and settings of the sun and stars that the ḲIBLA, the direction of Mecca, was usually determined in popular practice. The terms used for the rising and setting points of the sun were usually *mashriḳ* and *maghrib*, ~ being generally reserved for stars. The term ~ was also used to denote the 'time of rising' in the expression *maṭlaʿ al-fadjr*, daybreak or the beginning of morning twilight. VI 839a

In poetry, ~ refers to the first distich of a poem, which opens the poem and signals all the areas of expression. IV 714b

In shadow-play terminology, the prologue with which it starts. IV 1136b

Its plural, **maṭāliʿ**, denoted ascensions, an important concept in mediaeval spherical astronomy and astronomical timekeeping. ~ represent a measure of the amount of apparent rotation of the celestial sphere, and are usually measured from the eastern horizon. Two kinds were used: (1) right ascensions, or ascensions in *sphaera recta*; and (2) oblique ascensions, or ascensions in *sphaera obliqua*. Right ascensions refer to the risings of arcs of the ecliptic over the horizon of a locality with latitude zero, and were called in mediaeval scientific Arabic *maṭāliʿ fi 'l-falak al-mustaḳīm*. Oblique ascensions, associated with a specific latitude, were called *maṭāliʿ al-balad* or *al-maṭāliʿ al-baladiyya*. VI 792b

maṭlūb → ṬĀLIB

maṭmūra (A, pl. *maṭāmīr*) : a natural or man-made cavity used for the concealment of victuals or of riches; a silo. VI 842a; a cave, large or small and very deep, in which prisoners or Christian slaves were confined; subterranean prison. VI 843a

Al-Djāḥiẓ calls the (subterranean ?) cells of monks by the plural form, *maṭāmīr*. VI 842b

matn (A) : text, especially the text of a book as distinguished from its oral explanation or its written or printed commentary. VI 843a

In medicine, castration by incising and at the same time cauterising the scrotum by means of a red-hot blade of iron and removing the testicles (syn. *mals*, *khiṣā'*). IV 1088a

In the science of Tradition, ~ denotes the content or text itself, as distinct from the chain of traditionists who have handed it down, ISNĀD. VI 843a; VIII 514b

For ~ in archery, → ḲIDḤ

maṭrāḳ (A) : a contest with a stick, cudgel or rapier for the purpose of training and knight-errantry. VI 843b

maṭrūḥ (A) : in the science of Tradition, a rejected Tradition, held by some to be synonymous with a Tradition that is MATRŪK, by others to be a separate class of Traditions less acceptable than ḌAʿĪF, but not so bad as *mawḍūʿ* 'fictitious', the worst type of all. III 26b

matrūk (A) : in law, land placed at the disposal of corporate bodies. II 900b; in Ottoman land law, a category of land called *arāḍī-yi matrūka* 'assigned lands', e.g. roads, rivers, village commons, etc. V 473a; VI 844b

In the science of Tradition, ~ is a Tradition from a single transmitter who is suspected of falsehood in Tradition, or is openly wicked in deed or word, or is guilty of much carelessness or frequent wrong notions. III 26b

maʿṭūf → ʿAṬF

maʿūna (A, pl. *maʿūnāt, maʿāwin*) : lit. assistance; an administrative term of early Islamic history with several meanings. In texts relating to the pre-ʿAbbāsid period, it refers to allocations comparable with, but distinct from, stipends and rations. ~ was sometimes a gratuity paid to those who were not in receipt of stipends, sometimes a bonus supplementary to stipends, and sometimes a regular (more precisely, annual) payment made to those in receipt of stipends and rations alike; *maʿūnāt* was even used as a global term for private income from public funds. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, the leader of the ~ was charged with police duties. The actual police building was called ~ too, at least by the time of the Geniza documents. VI 848b

mawākib (A, s. *mawkib*) : processions, specifically solemn processions; audience. VI 518a; VI 849b; XII 612b; in Turkish usage, *mawkib*, or *mewkib-i hümāyūn*, was used for the prince's procession while for the sultan either *rikāb* or *binish* were common. VIII 529a

mawāķīd → MANĀẒIR
mawālid → MAWLID
mawāliyā (A, pl. *mawāliyāt*), or *mawāliyyā, mawālī* and *muwālayāt* : in poetry, a non-classical Arabic verse form which was well established by the 6th/12th century, when it always occurs as four hemistichs of BASĪṬ, all with the same rhyme. Later, it was elaborated into a variety of multi-rhyme compositions. VI 867b
As folk-verse, ~ is a favourite in Arab lands. In common parlance the composition itself is almost always called a *mawwāl*, although ~ is still used, especially in writing. III 289b; VI 868a
In music, *mawwāl* also stands for an interpretative freesong, with no set tune. VI 868b
māward → MĀʾ AL-WARD
mawārina → MĀRŪNIYYA
mawāshī (P), and *mawāsh* : a tax in Īlkhān Persia levied on flocks and herds. IV 1042a,b
mawāt (A) : in law, dead lands, land which is uncultivated or merely lying fallow, which belongs to nobody and which is, in general, far from centres of population. Legal scholars use **iḥyāʾ** 'bringing to life' to mean putting such a piece of land to use. II 900b; III 1053b; IV 1036a; V 871b; VI 869b
mawāzin (A, s. *mīzān*) : weights, a non-uniform system in the Muslim countries and thus of bewildering diversity. VI 117a
mawḍiʿ (A) : place; in ethics, the 'place' of an act as determining its goodness or badness. IX 527a
In the grammar of Sībawayhi, ~ *fī 'l-kalām* 'place in speech' denotes the position in which a speech element is used. The correlative of ~ is *manzila*, which represents status on the paradigmatic axis, and a third term in this set, *mawķiʿ*, denotes simply the occurrence of an element in the string without regard to its function. IX 527a
♦ mawḍiʿ al-shams : in astronomy, the true solar longitude. IX 292a
mawḍūʿ → MAṢNŪʿ; MAṬRŪḤ
māwī → KHIDMATIYYA
mawʿiẓa → WĀʿIẒ
mawķiʿ → MAWḌIʿ
mawkib → MAWĀKIB
mawķif (A) : place of standing; specifically the place where the WUĶŪF, the halt, is held during the pilgrimage, viz. ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa or Djamʿ. VI 874a
In eschatology, the ~ is the place where, on the day of resurrection, several scenes of the last judgment will take place. V 236a; VI 874a
In pre-Islamic times, ~ was one of the terms used to designate the religious shrines, usually in the form of stones, to be found along tracks and at camping sites, of the nomadic tribes. VI 874a
In mysticism, the intermediate moment between two 'spiritual stations', MAĶĀM, represented as a halting and described as a state of stupor and of the loss of reference points acquired since the preceding stage. XII 613a
mawķūf (A) : in the science of Tradition, a Tradition going back only to a Companion. III 25b; VII 631a; VIII 384a
In law, a state of suspense between parties and equally as regards any third party; a category of contract which is neither valid nor invalid. I 319b; III 1016b; VIII 836a; 'made into a WAĶF', as in the term *ḥabs* ~ or *ṣadaķa mawķūfa*, an early legal institution of a temporary endowment for a limited number of people that reverted to the founder or his heirs after their extinction, which has survived in Mālikī doctrine. XI 59b; the object of the WAĶF. XI 60a; and → ARḌ
mawlā (A, pl. *mawālī*) : a person linked by proximity to another person; patron; client; freedman; a party to an egalitarian relationship of mutual help, that is, a kinsman, confederate, ally or friend. IV 44a; VI 874a

In the Qur'ān and in Traditions, ~ is applied to God with the meaning of tutor, trustee and lord. VI 874a

♦ **mawlāy** : lit. my lord, an honorific title borne by the Moroccan sultans of the Sharīfian dynasties (Sa'dids and 'Alawids) who were descended from al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, with the exception of those who were called Muḥammad and whose title was therefore SAYYIDĪ or *sīdī*. VI 888b

In mysticism, ~ is a title frequently used in connection with saints, especially in North Africa. VI 874b

mawlid (A, pl. *mawālid*), or *mawlūd* : the time, place or celebration of the birth of a person, especially that of the Prophet Muḥammad or of a saint; a panegyric poem in honour of the Prophet. VI 895a; XII 613a; a great festival, of which there are three in Egypt: on the 17th or 18th of January, on or about the vernal equinox, and about a month after the summer solstice. I 281a

♦ **mawālid** : genethlialogy, i.e. the art of deducing portents from the position of the stars at the time of birth, an area of judicial astrology. VIII 106a

♦ **mawlidiyya** or *mīlādiyya* : a poem composed in honour of the Prophet on the occasion of the anniversary of his birth and recited as a rule before the sovereign and court after ceremonies marking the *laylat al-mawlid*. VI 897b; X 657a

mawlūd → MAWLID

mawna → BASHTARDA

mawsim (A) : market, especially in connection with the markets of early Arabia; festival, generally with a religious basis. When such a festival signifies the birthday of a prophet or local saint, the term more generally used is MAWLID, but often some other event in a holy man's life, or even his death, may be celebrated, often at a date which shows continuity with some ancient nature festival or other rite; also, season. Thus in Lebanon, ~ denotes the season of the preparation of silk, while in India and in European terminology referring to these parts of the world, it has required the meaning of 'season' in connection with the weather conditions special to those regions, such as the regularly returning winds and rain periods. *Monsoon, mousson, moesson* and other corruptions of the term are found in this literature. VI 903a; pilgrimage. I 159b

mawsū'a (A) : in literature, an encyclopaedia, a neologism that emerged in the 20th century, though the tendency to encylopaedic writing was not absent. VI 903b; XII 614a

mawṣūl → ṢILA

mawt (A) : death. Its synonym *wafāt*, more exactly 'accomplishment, fulfilment', i.e. of a man's term of life, is Qur'ānic and carries the sense of God's predetermining a man's lifespan or executing His decree concerning a man's term of life. In modern Arabic, ~ is considered stark, unlike the euphemistic and delicate sense of 'demise, decease' that *wafāt* carries. VI 910b

mawthiḳ (A) : a Qur'ānic term used for the assurance from God taken by Jacob upon his sons for their safely bringing back Joseph. VII 188a

mawṭin → WAṬAN

mawwāl → MAWĀLIYĀ

mawz (A) : in botany, the banana (tree). VIII 732b

maydān (A, pl. *mayādīn*) : a large, open, demarcated area, flat and generally rectangular, designed for all kinds of equestrian activity; the exercises of mounted formations; in figurative usage, the confrontation of two parties; like the English 'field', ~ is extended to the broad sense of 'domain of activity', physical, intellectual or spiritual. VI 912b; hippodrome. II 954b

♦ maydānī : in archery, an arrow of a specified pattern. VI 912b

maykhān (Mon) : a low tent requiring little wood for its construction and in recent times covered with cotton cloth purchased from Chinese traders. IV 1151a

mayl (A) : in spherical astronomy, declination, the measure of the distance of a celestial body from the celestial equator. Muslim astronomers tabulated either the declination and right ascensions of stars or their ecliptic coordinates. Also of concern to them was the solar declination, *mayl al-s͟hams*, of which there were two kinds, *al-mayl al-awwal* and *al-mayl al-thānī*. VI 914b

In philosophy, 'inclination', a development by Ibn Sīnā and his school of Philoponos's idea of impressed force, against Aristotle's explanation of motion. XII 769b

♦ al-mayl al-aʿẓam, or *al-mayl al-kullī* : the obliquity of the ecliptic, the basic parameter of spherical astronomy. VI 914b

♦ mayl ṭabīʿī : in physics, natural inclination; also a current philosophical term. I 112a

maymana → AṢL

maysara → AṢL

maysir (A) : an ancient game of chance, using arrows to win parts of a slaughtered beast. It was forbidden by the Qur'ān. VI 923b

mayta (A) : dead (used of irrational beings); as a substantive, ~ means an animal that has died in any way other than by slaughter. In later terminology, the word means firstly an animal that has not been slain in the ritually prescribed fashion, the flesh of which therefore cannot be eaten, and secondly all parts of animals whose flesh cannot be eaten, whether because not properly slaughtered or as a result of a general prohibition against eating them. II 1069a; VI 924b

mayzar → DASTĀR

maʿz (A) : in zoology, goats. XI 411b

maẓāhir → MAẒHAR

mā'zahr → MĀ'

maẓālim → MAẒLIMA

mazar (A), or *mizr* : the word for various fermented drinks; beer. II 1061a; VI 721a; and → NABĪD͟H

mazār : in Muslim India, a term used for signifying a *pīr*'s (→ MURS͟HID) tomb, especially for the smaller wayside shrine. VI 125b

mazd → MAST

mazhar (A), or *mizhar* : in music, a round tambourine with or without jingling rings. The former in Persia was called the DĀ'IRA. ~ is also said to be the term for a lute, but this is doubtful. II 620b f.; a lute that appears to have been identical with a BARBAṬ but with a skin belly. Arabic lexicographers unanimously identify the ~ with the ʿŪD. The modern ~ is a tambourine. X 768b

maẓhar (A, pl. *maẓāhir*) : lit. place of outward appearance, hence 'manifestation, theophany', a technical term used in a wide variety of contexts in s͟hīʿism, ṣūfism, Bābism, and, in particular, Bahā'ism, where it is of central theological importance. At its broadest, the term may be applied to any visible appearance or expression of an invisible reality, reflecting the popular contrast between the exoteric (ẒĀHIR) and the esoteric (BĀṬIN). In its more limited application, however, it refers to a type of theophany in which the divinity or its attributes are made visible in human form. VI 952a

♦ maẓhar ilāhī, or *maẓāhir-i ilāhiyya* : the Bahā'ī technical term for manifestations of God which feature through the prophets, never cease and are successive. I 916a; VI 953a

mazīdī (A) : in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, a beggar who gives out that he just needs a little more money to purchase what he needs. VII 494a

maẓlima (A, pl. *maẓālim*) : an unjust or oppressive action, an antonym of ʿADL; its plural form, **maẓālim**, came to denote the structure through which the temporal authorities took direct responsibility for dispensing justice. *Maẓālim* sessions were held regularly

under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Mahdī and al-Hādī. VI 933b; IX 325a; the name of a tax under the Aghlabids. II 145b

maẓlūm (A, P) : someone or something treated or used wrongfully, unjustly, injuriously, or tyrannically. In Persian, ~ also means 'mild, gentle, modest'. VI 958b
In shīʿī, especially Twelver, Islam, ~ is an attribute characterising the IMĀMS, especially al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and ʿAlī al-Riḍā, who are ready for martyrdom. VI 958b

mazraʿa (A) : arable land, a field, for grain production as opposed to pasture, vineyard, orchard, etc.; in Ottoman administration, ~ designates a periodic settlement or a deserted village and its fields. To register a piece of land as ~, it was required that it be checked whether the place had a village site in ruins, its own water supply and a cemetery. VI 959a

mazraba (A) : the net which is used, especially in Tunisia, for tunny fishing. It involves a huge enclosure formed of meshed cloth with which the tunny bed is surrounded. VIII 1021b

mazrūʿān (A) : the term, properly *al-mazrūʿāni*, used to refer to two of Kaʿb b. Saʿd's sons (probably ʿAmr and ʿAwf), while the rest of his sons were called *al-adjārib* 'the scabby ones'. X 173a

mazz → MAST

maẓẓ → DJULLANĀR

mazzār (A) : a brewer. VI 721a

mḍamma (Mor) : a leather belt worn by men, women and children in Morocco. V 746a

meddāḥ, m[ddāḥ → MADDĀḤ

medeniyyet (T, < A *madīna*) : in political science, civilisation, introduced into Ottoman Turkish towards the middle of the 19th century, meaning the secular political system believed to be common in Europe and contrasted with the traditional oriental dynastic despotism. VI 968a

medin : a silver coin, based on the half-dirham, struck by the Burdjī Mamlūks and continued by the Ottomans after their conquest of Egypt and Syria. VIII 228b

medina (Fr, < A *madīna*) : in the Maghrib, used by the French to designate the ancient part of the great Islamic cities, beyond which have been constructed the modern quarters of the city. VI 969b

medjelle (T, < A *madjalla*) : originally, a book or other writing containing wisdom; in its best-known application, ~ refers to the civil code in force in the Ottoman empire and briefly in the Turkish Republic from 1869-1926. Known in full as the *Medjelle-yi Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*, it covers contracts, torts and some principles of civil procedure. VI 971a

medjīdiyye (T) : in numismatics, Ottoman coins of 20 piastres. I 75a

medjlis-i wālā → MADJLIS

medjmūʿa → MADJMŪʿA

mehter (P 'greater') : in music, an Ottoman ensemble consisting of combinations of double-reed shawms (*zurna*), trumpets (*boru*), double-headed drum (*ṭabl*), kettle-drums (*naḳḳāre, kös*) and metallic percussion instruments. The ~ was an analogue of the wind, brass and percussion ensembles used for official, municipal and military purposes in other Islamic states. The Ottoman ~ was outlawed in 1826. VI 1007a

mela → PETH

melayu → PEGON

mēlmastyā → PASHTŪNWALĪ

men-huan (Ch) : in Chinese mysticism, the hereditary line of a SHAYKH, the group of faithful under the domination of that line, the considerable ensemble of goods and lands owned by it, and, finally, the holy places that bear its charisma. X 338b; XI 122a

menāḳib → MANĀḲIB

mensūkhāt (A, s. *mensūkh* 'annulled') : an expression used in the Ottoman empire, after the abolition of certain early Ottoman army units, in the 11th/17th century, for the fiefs and other grants these units had previously held. These were referred to as *mensūkhāt tîmarî* 'annulled fiefs'. VI 1017a

məntān (N.Afr), or *məntāl* : a man's waistcoat with long, straight sleeves, worn in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. V 746b

menzil → MANZIL

meshweret → MASHWARA

mewkūfātči (T), or *mewkūfātī* : in Ottoman administration, the title given to the director of the 'Bureau of Retained Revenues', whose task was to manage the *mewkūf akče*, money accruing from unused sstate expense allocations, and from vacant fiefs and other grants. VI 1029a

mewlewiyyet (T), or *mollalîk* : a title given to certain judicial districts in the Ottoman empire. VI 1029b; a generic term used in the Ottoman empire to designate the positions held by the MOLLĀs in civil and religious administration, which embraces simultaneously the rank, the duties or jurisdiction and the tutorial functions of the *mollā*. VII 222a

mgawren → FĀZA

mḥarram → MAḤREM

miʾa (A) : hundred; in the plural, *al-miʾūn* refers to all SŪRAs other than the 'seven long ones', AL-SABʿ AL-ṬIWĀL, with over 100 verses: x-xii, xvi-xviii, xx, xxi, xxiii, xxvi and xxxvii. IX 887b

mīʿād (A) : in the customary law of the Bedouin of the Central Region of the Sinai, Jordan and Palestine, as well as Yemen, a trial; for the Bedouin of the Western Desert and Cyrenaica 'a gathering of all interested parties and anyone else who wishes to attend, in which the agreement reached behind the scenes by means of negotiations is announced'. X 889b

mibkhara → MABKHARA

mīḍaʾa (A) : a basin for ablutions. X 647a

midād (A) : ink. In Middle Eastern manuscripts, two types of black ink were generally used, both of which date from pre-Islamic times. One was prepared on the basis of carbon and oil, and the other one from gall-nuts and ferrous components, the former originally being designated as ~, the latter as *ḥibr*. Later, the two words were used as synonyms. VI 1031b

midhyāʿ → IḌHĀʿA

miʿdjan (A) : 'the trough', a depression in the pavement on which the circling of the Kaʿba is performed, just opposite the door. According to legend, Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl mixed the mortar used in building the Kaʿba here. IV 318a

In the mediaeval kitchen, a wooden bowl in which the dough for bread was mixed, also called *djafna*. VI 808a

midjann → DARAḲA

midjmara (P) : a censer; in the anthology of Luṭf ʿAlī Beg, the term for each of the parts it is divided into. V 834a

In astronomy, the Arabic version of the Greek constellation name for the Altar, *Ara*. V 1024b

midjrāt → ḲUFL

midjwāl (A) : a piece of white fabric, used in the game of MAYSIR, which was held over the archer's hands so that he could not see the arrows in the quiver. VI 924a

midraʿa (A) : a woolen, sleeved tunic worn only by the very poor in mediaeval times. V 737a

miḍrab (A) : among the pre-Islamic Bedouin, a tent under which important people camped when travelling. IV 1147a
In the mediaeval kitchen, a mallet. VI 808b
miḍrāb → NĀY ṬUNBŪR
mifrāṣ (A) : a broad iron instrument. XI 476b
mifras͟h (A, P *mafras͟h*, T *mifres͟h*) : a travelling pack for bedding. The term is now generally applied to the woven rectangular bedding packs still used by nomads, and normally made in pairs to balance on either side of the camel carrying them. VII 1a
mifres͟h → MIFRAS͟H
mig͟hfar (A), or *g͟hifāra* : a cap or headcloth of mail worn on military expeditions in early Islam. Over it a ḲALANSUWA or a helmet known as *bayḍa* (so-called because of its resemblance to an ostrich egg) was worn. The Prophet wore a ~ on the day Mecca surrendered. V 735a; X 613b; XII 737b
mig͟hrafa (A) : in the mediaeval kitchen, a ladle. VI 808b
miḥakk (A) : in mineralogy, the touchstone, which measured the specific gravities of gold and noted the speed of solidification after it had been removed from the furnace. V 970a
In the mediaeval kitchen, a metal scraper used to clean bowls. VI 808a
miḥas͟hs͟h (A) : in the mediaeval kitchen, a large copper rod-like instrument for stuffing intestines. V 808b
miḥāya : in the mysticism of Chad and the Nilotic Sudan, erasures, sc. verses that are washed off the writing-board and drunk, one of the regular activities of the saint. XI 124b
miḥbara → DAWĀT
miḥlab (A) : a wooden container in which yeast was kept, used in the mediaeval kitchen. VI 808a
miḥmal (A) : scales for gold. VII 195b
mihmān (P) : lit. guest, occurring in various compounds such as *mihmāndār*, an official in Ṣafawid Persia appointed to receive and to provide hospitality for guests, *mihmāndār-bās͟hī*, the official who superintended the *mihmāndār*, and the *mihmān-k͟hāna*, a rest house instituted by the Ḳād͟jār s͟hāh Nāṣir al-Dīn after his first trip to Europe in 1873. XII 618a
♦ mihmāndār → MIHMĀN; MIHMINDĀR
♦ mihmāndār-bās͟hī → MIHMĀN
♦ mihmān-k͟hāna → MIHMĀN
mihmāz (A, pl. *mahāmīz*) : the spurs in a horse's riding equipment (syn. *kullāb*, pl. *kalālīb*; N.Afr *s͟habūr*, *s͟hābīr*), more in vogue in the Muslim West than the East. IV 1145b
mihmindār (P) : the title of the 18th dignity, out of the 25 at the Mamlūk sultan's court; part of his duties was to receive ambassadors and delegations of Bedouin. VII 2a; and → MIHMĀN
mihna (A, pl. *mihan*) : a profession, service and handiness, mostly domestic (syn. ṢINĀʿA); *aṣḥāb al-mihan* are artisans, *māhin* is one who serves others skilfully, a servant. IX 626b
miḥna (A, pl. *miḥan*) : a testing, trial. More particularly, it signifies the procedure adopted by the caliph al-Maʾmūn in 218/833, and officially applied under his two immediate successors, for the purpose of imposing the view that the Qur'ān had been created. V 1124a; VII 2b
miḥrāb (A, pl. *maḥārīb*) : the prayer niche in the mosque, indicating the direction of prayer. It is made up of an arch, the supporting columns and capitals, and the space between them. Whether in a flat or recessed form, it gives the impression of a door or a doorway. VII 7a

mihragān (P, A *mihrdjān*) : the name of an Iranian Mazdaean festival, traditionally celebrated in Iran around the autumn equinox. VII 15a; ~ and NAWRŪZ are celebrated by the Nuṣayrīs as the days when the divinity of ʿAlī is manifested in the sun. VIII 146b; XI 401b

In music, the name of some musical themes whose origin goes back to the Sāsānid period. VII 19b

miḥrak (A) : in the mediaeval kitchen, a metal instrument used for raking out the embers and ash from the oven when baking was finished. VI 808a

miḥrāth (A, pl. *maḥārīth*), and *miḥrath* (pl. *maḥārith*) : a plough. In mediaeval times, however, ~ was more specifically applied to the tiller, which is not equipped with wheels or a mould-board or a coulter, but consists essentially of a ploughshare, a cross-beam, a handle and a pole (or beam). Although it goes back to the earliest antiquity, this agricultural implement is still in use, without modification of note, throughout the Islamic world. VII 21b

mihrdjān → MIHRAGĀN

mihtar (A) : in Mamlūk Egypt, the head of the *rikāb-khāna*, the depot for harness and in general for all the material required for horses and stables. VIII 530a

miḥwar → ḲUṬB; ẒILL

mīḳāt (A, pl. *mawāḳīt*) : appointed or exact time; in law, ~ is applied to the times of prayer and to the places where those who enter the ḤARAM are bound to put on the IḤRĀM. VII 26b

In astronomy, *ʿilm al-mīḳāt* is the science of astronomical timekeeping by the sun and stars and the determination of the times of the five prayers. VII 27b; and → MUWAḲḲIT

♦ mīḳātī (A) : an astronomer who specialised in spherical astronomy and astronomical timekeeping, but unlike the MUWAḲḲIT, was not necessarily associated with any religious institution. Mention of such astronomers appeared for the first time in Egypt in the 7th/13th century. VII 29b

mikhadda (A) : properly, pillow, but might be used as a cushion for sitting upon. V 1158b; XII99a

mikhdhaf → DJAʿBA

mikhlāf (A, pl. *makhālīf*) : in mediaeval administrative geography, an 'administrative province' or 'rural area', a term used particularly in Yemen. In the early 6th/13th century, ~ is defined with the restricted sense of the settled and cultivated lands around a fortress. From the period of Ayyūbid rule in Yemen onwards, ~ gradually falls out of use there and it is no longer used at the present time. VII 35a; IX 166a

miḳlā (A), and *miḳlāt* : a pan generally used for frying fish and the like, made of iron and used in the mediaeval kitchen. A stone-made ~ was used for other purposes, although the distinction between the two is unclear. VI 808a,b

In hunting, a radial trap (syn. *ḳula*). II 1037a

miḳlāʿ (A) : in the vocabulary of arms, a sling (syn. *mikhdhaf[a]*). XII 85a; XII 741b

miḳlama → DAWĀT

miḳnaʿ(a) → ḲINĀʿ

miḳnab (A) : among the nomadic stockbreeders in early Islam, a term for a herd of mounts of up to 50 (syn. *mansir* or *minsar, raʿīl, ḳanbal*). IV 1144b

miḳran (A) : in mediaeval agriculture, a piece of wood fixed on the oxen's head, when they plough, by means of a rope called *tawthīḳ*. VII 22b

miḳṭara (A) : the occasional name for an apparatus, more often called a FALAḲA, used for immobilising the feet in order to apply a bastinado on the soles of the feet. II 763b

miḳwam (A) : in the terminology of mediaeval agriculture, the handle of the ploughshare (syn. *dastak*, < P *dastah*). VII 22b

mikwar(a) (A), or *mikwāra* : a word for turban. He who wore one was called *mukawwir*, which like *mutaʿammim*, came to mean a theologian, a man of learning, while in

Muslim Spain also an official and jurist, because they alone wore the turban there. X 613b

miḳyās (A) : measurement, means of measuring; any simple measuring instrument; in Egypt the name of the Nilometer, i.e. the gauge in which the annual rise of the river can be measured. VII 39b; the gnomon of the sundial, also called shakhṣ or shākhiṣ. VII 210a; and → ḲIYĀS

mīl → SANG

mīlād (A) : time of birth, in contradistinction to MAWLID, which may denote also 'place of birth'; Christmas. VII 40b; in South Africa, festival celebrating the birthday of the Prophet. IX 731a

mīlādiyya → MAWLIDIYYA

milāḥa (A) : navigation, seamanship; seafaring. VII 40b

milal → MILLA

milban (A) : a wooden mould used to fabricate unfired brick, composed essentially of dampened, shaped clay, which is then turned into the ~ without a bottom or cover, packed tight and finally dried in the sun; the clay is fined down with sand, gravel, chopped straw or potsherds in fixed proportions to prevent its crumbling and cracking. Once taken out of the ~ , the brick is left for a while longer in the sun. V 585a

milḥafa (N.Afr), and *mlaḥfa, taməlḥaft* : a large, enveloping outer wrap worn by women in the Arab East and by both sexes in North Africa. V 741b; V 746a

milḥ (A) : salt, which was already familiar to the ancient Arabs of pre-Islamic times, using it not only as seasoning but also in certain rites, e.g. for the oath that cemented an alliance, made around a fire. The two types of salt that were known were sea salt (~ *baḥrī*) and rock salt (~ *barrī*; and → MILḤ ANDARĀNĪ). VII 57a

♦ milḥ andarānī (A) : the probable correspondence for rock salt. considered to be the most valuable. VII 57b

♦ milḥ al-bawl (A) : uric salt. VII 58a

milk (A, pl. *amlāk*) : private property; in law, ~ denotes ownership, which is distinguished from possession, *yad*. The characteristic feature of ~ is its perpetual nature. I 28b; VII 60b

♦ amlāk-i salṭanatī (P) : a term used under the Ḳādjārs in contradistinction to *amlāk-i khāṣṣa*, private estates. IV 973a; after the grant of the Persian Constitution, the ~ were the personal estates of the ruler, also referred to as *amlāk-i shāhī*. IV 979b

♦ amlāk-i shāhī → AMLĀK-I SALṬANATĪ

milla (A, pl. *milal*, P *millat*, T *millet*) : religion, sect; with the article, *al-milla* means the true religion revealed by Muḥammad and is occasionally used elliptically for *ahl al-milla*, the followers of the Islamic religion. II 294b; VII 61a

In the Qur'ān, ~ always means 'religion', e.g. the religion of the Christians and Jews, the religion of Abraham. II 294b; VII 61a

In Ottoman Turkish, **millet** came to denote the internally-autonomous religious groups within the Ottoman empire (Jews, Armenians, Greek Orthodox, etc.). VII 61b

In modern Persian and Turkish, ~ means 'nation, people'. VII 61a

♦ **al-milal wa 'l-niḥal** (A) : one of the stock phrases employed, in the heresiographical literature, to denote an enumeration of religious and occasionally philosophical doctrines, as well as the various groups or schools which profess them. VII 54a

millat → MILLA

millet → MILLA

mīm (A) : the twenty-fourth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *m*, with the numerical value 40. It is defined as occlusive, bilabial, voiced and nasal. VII 64b

mim'ār-bashi (T) : a local master-builder, not to be confused with the Ottoman's Chief Architect officiating in Istanbul. IX 540b

mimlaḳa → MĀLAḲ

mīnā → BĀZĀR

mīnā' (A, P *bandar*, T *liman*) : port, harbour; ~ became the comprehensive term for both of these meanings at the expense of the classical terms *marsā* (referring more specifically to the maritime aspect implied by 'harbour'), *furḍa* (referring more to the economic function implied by 'port), and *marfa'*. VII 66a

mīnā'ī (P ?) : in art, a type of ceramics with polychrome under- and over-glaze painting produced during the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries. The precise mediaeval name of this ware is uncertain. Iranian authors of the 11th/14th centuries link the term to translucent or luminous substances such as the sky or wine vessels; ~ is also used by them to describe a type of glass. Later authors use the term to describe glass vessels that had been painted and gilded. VII 72b; enamel. IV 1167a

minaṣṣa (A) : the throne, or high chair, on which the bride was raised and unveiled in her new home (syn. SARĪR, used in *Sīrat Sayf*, described as having been made of juniper wood and decorated with plates of gold and shining jewels). In late 19th-century Mecca, the throne was called *rīka* (< *arīka*). X 905a

minbar (A) : the raised structure or pulpit from which solemn announcements to the Muslim community were made and from which sermons were preached. VII 73b

mindīl → MANDĪL

mindjal → ZABR

mindjam (A) : the tongs and the beam of the common balance. VII 195b

minhādj → SHARĪ'A

minḳār (A), or *ṣāḳūr* : in mineralogy, a pickaxe, which was the main tool of the miner. It had a sharp end to peck the stone and a flat end to hammer or to drive wedges. V 968b

minsar (A) : in zoology, the beak of a vulture. VII 1013a; and → MIḲNAB

minshafa (A) : a large, white head veil for women in the Arab East. V 741b; and → MANDĪL

minshār → DHIKR-I DJAHR

minṭaḳat al-burūdj (A), and *minṭaḳat falak al-burūdj* : the zodiac; the ecliptic circle. VII 81b

mintān (T) : a short caftan without sleeves, stopping at the waist, worn in Ottoman Turkey. V 752a

mīr (P, < A AMĪR) : a Persian title applied to princes, but also borne by poets and other men of letters. In India and Pakistan, SAYYIDs sometimes call themselves by the title. It also occurs in official titles in both the Dihlī sultanate and in Mughal administration, e.g. *mīr baḥr* 'naval commander'. VII 87b; IX 333a

♦ mīr-āb → MĪRĀB

♦ **mīr-ākhūr** (T) : under the Ottomans, the master of the stables, the official given charge of all aspects relating to the supply and maintenance of the Ottoman sultan's stables. VII 88a; VIII 529a and → AMĪR ĀKHŪR

♦ mīr-'alem (T) : under the Ottomans, the 'standard-bearer'. VIII 529a

♦ mīr bakhshī : quartermaster-general. Under the Mughal emperor Akbar, the ~ was administrative head of the military department and responsible for all transport arrangements during campaigns. He could be placed in command of an army in the field. I 316b

♦ mīr munshī : under the Mughals, one of the terms for the head of the chancellery, along with MUNSHĪ AL-MAMĀLIK. IV 760

♦ mīr sāmān : under the Mughal emperor Akbar, the ~ was in charge of the BUYŪTĀT department and was responsible for the organisation of the factories, workshops and stores maintained by the emperor. I 316b

♦ mīr-zāda → MĪRZĀ
♦ mīr-i farsh : the term usually applied to stone weights, often of marble carved and inlaid with semi-precious stones, used to hold down a pall over a grave. VII 88a
♦ **mīr-i mīrān** (T) : 'supreme commander', a military and political term used in 18th-century Ottoman Turkish administrative practice as being virtually synonymous with BEGLERBEGI 'provincial governor', and then increasingly used to denote the honorary rank of *beglerbegi*, although this last title was considered as somewhat superior to that of ~. In the 19th century, ~ also became a civil service rank. VII 95b; VIII 280b
♦ **mīrī** (T, < A *amīrī*) : 'belonging to the government'. Under the Ottomans, ~ was singled out to designate assets that belong of right to the highest Muslim authority, the sultan. Throughout Ottoman history, it was used as a noun meaning 'lands belonging to the government', 'land tax' levied from them, as well as 'the public treasury'. II 148a; V 792b; VII 125a
♦ al-mīrī (Ir) : the government. VII 88a
♦ mīrzā → MĪRZĀ
mīrāb (P), and *mīr-āb* : an official of the state responsible for the distribution of the water of a ḲANĀT. IV 531a; V 872b; an official in charge of the construction and upkeep of the channels and dams. XII 550a
mirabbaʿ → RUBĀʿĪ
miʿrādj (A), and *isrāʾ* : originally, a ladder, then 'ascent'; in particular, the Prophet's ascension to Heaven. VII 97b; XII 618a
♦ miʿrādj-nāma (P) : in literature, a genre of accounts of the Prophet's celestial journey. XII 618a
mirʾāt (A, pl. *marāʾī*) : mirror. VII 105b
mīrāth (A, pl. *mawārīth*) : inheritance, *wārith* being the heir and *mūrith* the person leaving the estate. This branch of Islamic law is called *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ* 'the science of the ordained quotas'. VII 106b
mirbāʿ → RĀBIʿ
mirfaʿ (A) : a footstool, an ink-stand and the base of the small oriental table. In certain texts it may be replaced by KURSĪ. V 509a
mirfaḳa → WISĀDA
mīrī → MĪR
mirʿizz (A) : flock, tuft of wool. XII 317a
mirkās (A), or *mirḳās* : 'merguez', a North African kind of fried sausage made from minced leg of mutton with the addition of various spices and ingredients, such as pickle, pimento, dried coriander, nard and cinnamon. VII 126a
mirkaz (A, pl. *marākiz*) : a rammer used by masons in Ibn Khaldūn's time to beat earth mixed with lime and gravel, etc. V 585b
mirmīs → KARKADDAN
mirrīkh (A) : in astronomy, the planet Mars, called by astrologers *al-naḥs al-aṣghar* 'the minor misfortune' because it is credited with the most ominous omens and effects. VII 127a
mirsal → MARBAṬ
mirshaḥa → ḲARBŪṢ
mirwad (A) : a small probe or stick with a rounded end used by women to apply cosmetic to their eyebrows, eyelashes or the edges of their eyelids. In mediaeval times, the sticks were commonly of bronze. V 356b
mirwaḥa (A) : fan, vane. Large fans are called *mirwaḥat al*-KHAYSH, hand fans *mirwaḥat al-khūṣ* 'palm-leaf fan'. VII 127b
In music, a jingling instrument used by Christians. IX 11a

mirzā (P < *mīr-zāda* or *amīr-zāda*), and *mirzā* : 'born of a prince', a title given to noblemen and others of good birth. Since the time of Nādir Shāh's conquest of India, it has been further applied to educated men outside of the class of *mullā*s or *'ulamā'* (→ MOLLĀ). In modern times, but not formerly, the title is placed after the name of a prince; when placed before the name of other persons bearing it, it is equivalent to 'Mr'. VII 129a

In Indian usage, it is given, from Mughal times onwards, to kinsmen of the Mughals, the Tīmūrids, the Ṣafawids, members of other royal houses and to certain Mughal nobles. In modern times in India and Pakistan, the prefixed ~ is particularly used by men of the Mughal division of ASHRĀF Muslims. VII 129b

♦ **mirzā'ī** (IndP) : in India, an appellation, somewhat contemptuous, given to a follower of Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad of Ḳādiyān. VII 132b

mirzam (A) : in astronomy, *al-~* designated β Canis Maioris, β Canis Minoris and γ Orionis; in modern times in Central Arabia, *el-mirzem* is used for Sirius. IX 471b; and → NUḤĀM

misabba' → SAB'ĀNĪ

misāḥa (A) : the measurement of plane surfaces; survey, the technique of surveying. VII 137b; and → MUḲĀSAMA

♦ **'ilm al-misāḥa** (A) : the science of measurement, plane and solid geometry. VII 135a

misalla (A, pl. *masāll*) : lit. large needle; an obelisk. VII 140b

mi'ṣam (A) : in anatomy, the wrist. XII 830b

miṣbāḥ → SIRĀDJ

misbaḥa (A) : the traditional rosary, commonly used by men, associated with a ritual based on the custom of mentioning on every occasion God's Most Beautiful Names. XII 775b

miṣfāt (A) : in the mediaeval kitchen, a strainer, made of wood or metal. VI 808b

misḥ (A, pl. *amsāḥ, musūḥ*) : felt, used e.g. as a saddle felt. IV 1146a; a coarse cloth. IX 677a

mīsham → GHARAZA

mishfar (A) : a camel's lip. IV 249b

mishmish (A) : in botany, the apricot-tree and its fruit (*Prunus armeniaca*). VII 141b

mishṭāḥ (A) : a place where flour is sifted by shaking. IX 361b

misk (A) : musk. VII 142a

miskh → MASKH

miskīn (A, pl. *masākīn, miskīnūn*) : poor, destitute; miserable, humble. II 757b; VII 144b

In modern South Arabia, ~ denotes the top layer of the population subject to the tribesmen, comprising the petty traders and artisans, constituting the layer above the *ḍu'afā'* (→ ḌA'ĪF). VII 145a

In 'Irāḳī Kurdistan, *miskēn* denotes villagers who do not claim tribal origin, a class of lowly social status and often oppressed by tribal neighbours. VII 145a

miṣna'a (A, P *āb-anbār*) : a water storage cistern. V 875b; XI 302a

miṣr (A, pl. *amṣār*) : in earliest Islam, the settlements developing out of the armed encampments established by the Arabs in the conquered provinces outside Arabia and then, subsequently, the capital towns or metropolises of the conquered provinces; the land of Egypt and its capital city. VII 146a

As a geographical term, ~ is defined as an administrative unit, a large urban centre where a ruler or governor resides and which has located there the administrative organs, treasury, etc. of the province. VII 146b

miṣrāʿ (A) : in poetry, one of two clearly distinct halves of a line of poetry. I 668a; VIII 579a; in Afghan poetry, a lyrical distich in a peculiar metre, also called *lanḍaī*. I 221a

misrā**kh** (A) : in Yemen, tribal assembly places. XI 276b

miss → NUḤĀS

misṭara (A) : a ruler. VII 198b; XI 150b

miswāk (A) : toothbrush; tooth-pick; the more usual word is *siwāk* (pl. *suwuk*), which denotes also the act of cleansing the teeth. The instrument consists of a piece of smooth wood, the end of which is incised so as to make it similar to a brush to some extent. VII 187a

miswara → WISĀDA

mītad → ṬARĪḲA

mīthāḳ (A) : covenant, agreement, used 25 times in the Qurʾān and often linked with its synonym ʿAḲD. The majority of the Qurʾānic usages relate to compacts between God and various members of His human creation, the unilateral imposition of a covenant by God upon Man. In modern Arabic, ~ denotes a treaty, pact or agreement. VII 187b

♦ **mīthāḳ-i millī** (T) : "the National Pact", a proclamation voted by the last Ottoman Parliament which met in Istanbul in January 1920, proclaiming the territorial integrity of the remaining non-Arab heartlands of the Ottoman empire. VII 188a

mithāl → FARMĀN

mithḳāl (A) : the oldest Arab unit of Troy weight. III 10b; an apothecary's stater equalling two *dānaḳ*; a gold DĪNĀR. IV 248b; a standard weight unit, which was not everywhere the same. VI 118a

miʾūn → MIʾA

miyāḳis (A, < Gr) : in zoology, the common mussel (*Mytilus edulis* L.), a popular foodstuff. VIII 707a

miyān (T), or *miyān-khāne* : in Turkish poetry, the third line of each stanza of the SHARḲĪ. IX 354a

miyāna (H) : 'middle-sized'; a litter used in India, provided with side-curtains rather than the box enclosure of the PALKĪ. VII 932a

mīyāndār (P) : in traditional Iranian wrestling, KUSHTĪ, the most accomplished and senior member, who conducted the proceedings. Under him in seniority came the PAHLAWĀN 'athlete', *nawkhʷāsta* 'beginner', and *nawča* 'novice'. XI 573a

mīzāb → ḲIBLA

mizādj (A, pl. *amzidja*) : lit. mixture; in mediaeval medicine, temperament, balance of elements within the body, corresponding to the *krasis* of Ancient Greek physicians. VIII 100a; XII 627b

In metaphysics, the final qualitative pattern resulting from definite proportions of the constituents of a given mixture, i.e. hot, cold, moist and dry. I 1084a

miʿzaf (A, pl. *maʿāzif*), and *miʿzafa* : in music, a term denoting today any string or wind instrument or even, more restrictedly, a piano, but one which was employed in mediaeval Islamic times to instruments with 'open strings', which were played with the fingers or a plectrum. VII 189b; according to the author of the *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, the ~ was the instrument now known as the *ḳabūs*, a very old instrument (var. *ḳabbūs*, *ḳanbūs*, *ḳupūz* or ḲŪPŪZ), described by Ewliyā Čelebi as having been invented by a vizier of Muḥammad II named Aḥmed Pasha Hersek Oghlu and being a hollow instrument, smaller than the *shashtār* (→ TĀR) and mounted with three strings. It has survived in Poland, Russia, and the Balkans where it is a lute proper. X 769a; and → ḲŪPŪZ

mizaffa (A) : a litter, e.g. for carrying a bride. X 900a

miẓall (A) : a canopy, a portable but firm construction, serving as well as the general's tent, insignia of command, rallying point and headquarters on campaign. In the Muslim West, much confusion is caused because of the resemblance in both form and meaning between ~ and MIẒALLA. VII 192a

miẓalla (A) : lit. an instrument or apparatus for providing shade, *ẓill*, apparently synonymous with the SHAMSA, *shamsiyya*, lit. an instrument or apparatus for providing shelter for the sun, probably therefore referring to the sunshade or parasol borne on ceremonial occasions and processions over early Islamic rulers. In Mamlūk sources this appears as *djitr, shitr* (< P *čitr*, → ČATR) denoting the parasol as one of the insignia of royalty; VII 191b; among the pre-Islamic Bedouin, a large tent, often made of goat's hair. V 1147a; VII 192b

mīzān (A) : balance, scales; in eschatology, the Qur'ānic 'balance' which weighs the deeds of an individual. III 465b

In the scientific thought of Djābir b. Ḥayyān, ~ forms a fundamental principle meaning a.o. specific gravity, the metaphysical principle *par excellence*, and a speculation on the letters of the Arabic alphabet. II 358b

In mathematics, ~ means, among other things, testing the correctness of any calculation. VII 198b

In divination, in magic squares, ~ stands for the sum of the largest and smallest figures; it is half the total of the vertical row, horizontal row or of the diagonals. VII 198b

In astronomy, *al-~* is the term for Libra, one of the twelve zodiacal constellations. VII 83b

♦ ʿilm al-mīzān : alchemy. VII 198b

miʾzar → IZĀR

mizhar → MAZHAR

mizmār (A) : lit. an instrument of piping. In the generic meaning, it refers to any instrument of the wood-wind family, i.e. a reed-pipe or a flute. In the specific sense, ~ refers to a reed-pipe (i.e. a pipe played with a reed) as distinct from a flute. In Persian, the equivalent of ~ in this sense is NĀY. VII 206b

♦ mizmār al-muthannā → DIYĀNAY

mizr → MAZAR; NABĪDH

mizwad (A, pl. *mazāwid*) : a food-bag, made by the Touaregs from cheetah skin if they can catch the animal. II 740a

mizwala (A), and *sāʿa shamsiyya* : in modern Arabic, a sundial. In mediaeval Islam, horizontal sundials were called *rukhāma* or *basīṭa*, vertical sundials *munḥarifa*. VII 210a

mizwār (A, < B *amzwaru* 'he who precedes, he who is placed at the head') : in North Africa, chief of a religious brotherhood, the superintendent of a ZĀWIYA or the chief of a body of *shorfā* (→ SHARĪF), equivalent to the Arabic MUḲADDAM. In those districts of Morocco where the old Berber organisation has survived, mainly in the Great Atlas and Central Atlas, *amzwār* is sometimes the equivalent of *anflūs*, the political adviser to a body. VII 211b

mizz → MAST

mōbadh (P) : chief of the Madjūs, a title for a type of Zoroastrian priest which in the Sāsānid state had a variety of ritual, judicial and administrative responsibilities. By the 4th or 5th century, a three-level hierarchy had developed of local *mōbadh*s, grand *mōbadh*s of provinces or regions and a supreme *mōbadh* over the entire state. The function of ~ continued to exist in Islamic times but it is not always clear whether ~ is used as a generic term for any priest or is used in a specifically technical sense in sources referring to Islamic Iran; this term is also used somewhat loosely in modern scholarship for Zoroastrian priests in early Islamic times. VII 213b

mōbedān-mōbed → ḲĀḌI 'L-ḲUḌĀT

mofussil → MUFAṢṢAL

mohur (Eng, < P *muhr*, < San *mudrā*) : in numismatics, an Indian gold coin. VII 221a

mollā (P, < A MAWLĀ), or *mullā* : a title of function, of dignity or profession, and of rank, limited, with a few exceptions, to the Turco-Iranian and Indian world, ~ indicates

in the first instance any Muslim scholar who has acquired a certain degree of religious education and the aptitude to communicate it. In current usage, ~ is most often applied to the *ʿulamāʾ*, the religious scholars. Distinguished by his clothing and physical appearance, his prestige and claim to knowledge, the ~ in Iran today has succeeded in occupying a wide range of functions at many different levels. Exercising the basic prerogatives in matters of education, ritual functions (prayers, marriages, funerals etc.) and judicial functions, the *mollās* constitute the basis of what has been called, erroneously in the view of some, a veritable clergy. VII 221a; and → MEWLEWIYYET

♦ mollalïḳ → MEWLEWIYYET

mozarab (Sp) : a word of uncertain origin, denoting 'arabised' Christians living under Muslim rule in Andalusia after the conquest of 711 AD. VII 246b

mposa (Sw) : in East Africa, the proposer of a marriage, a senior member of the family who is usually but not necessarily from the groom's family. VIII 33b

muʿabbad (A) : 'worn down by traffic'. XI 155a

muʾaddib (A) : a later appellation than MUDARRIS or MUʿALLIM for teacher in the Arab lands; in some cases, the ~ was a higher rank, namely, the more learned or the private tutor. V 568a

muʿaddin → MAʿDIN

muʾad̲h̲d̲h̲in (A), and *munādī* : originally, among the Arab tribes and in the towns, the crier making important proclamations and invitations to general assemblies. From the beginning of Islam, ~ and *munādī* have been used to designate the official whose main function is to summon the believers to public worship on Friday and to the five daily prayers. Both terms are used quite indiscriminately. VI 675b

muʾad̲j̲d̲j̲al (A) : in law, yearly, variable, rather low rents. XII 368b; in India, 'deferred dower', the remainder of the MAHR after a token amount has been paid at the time of marriage, becoming payable when the wife is divorced or widowed. I 172b

muʿad̲j̲d̲j̲al (A) : in law, a lump sum paid immediately. XII 368b; in India, 'prompt dower', a token amount of the MAHR paid at the time of marriage. I 172b

muʾād̲j̲ir (A) : a deviant, in the sexual sense. V 778a

muʿāf (A) : one of five classes, that of 700 men-at-arms excepted from taxation, into which the population of Eastern Transcaucasia was divided in the late 18th century under Muḥammad Ḥasan. IX 255a

♦ muʿāfī (P) : under the Ṣafawids, a temporary (but renewable) grant of immunity. Another similar grant was called the *musallamī*. IX 732b

♦ muʿāf-nāme (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a letter of exemption. X 801a

muʿāhad (A) : a non-Muslim under the protection of the Islamic state, syn. MUʿĀHID. IV 768a; an unbeliever connected with the Muslim state by a treaty. V 178b

♦ **muʿāhada** (A) : treaty, agreement. VII 250a

muʿāhid (A) : lit. one who enters into a covenant or agreement with someone; in mediaeval times, those People of the Book who submitted to the Arab conquerors of the Middle East on conditions of an ʿAHD 'agreement' or of D̲H̲IMMA 'protection'. Syn. MUʿĀHAD. XII 630b

muʿāḳaba (A) : in prosody, the obligatory alternation of the shortening of two adjacent cords. This phenomenon occurs in the *madīd, ramal, k̲h̲afīf*, and *mud̲j̲tat̲h̲t̲h̲* metres. The apparent reason for the existence of this phenomenon is to avoid a sequence of four moving letters. VIII 747b

muʿākama (A) : a term denoting a scantily dressed woman, var. *mukāʿama*, which also means pressing one's lips on the lips of a person of the same sex. IX 566b

muʿāḳara (A) : a term denoting the action of two or more friends who drink together; also, a meal taken with friends. VII 850a

mu'ākhāt (A) : brothering, a practice found in the early days of Islam by which two men became 'brothers'. VII 253b
mu'akkab → 'AKIB
mu'ālidj (A) : lit. treating, developing; in Muslim Spain, ~ had the sense of 'retailer of fruit and vegetables'. I 961b
mu'allaf → BASĪT
♦ **al-mu'allafa kulūbuhum** (A) : lit. those whose hearts are won over; the term applied to those former opponents of the Prophet Muḥammad who are said to have been reconciled to the cause of Islam by presents of 100 or 50 camels from Muḥammad's share of the spoils of the battle of al-Ḥunayn after Muḥammad's forces had defeated the Hawāzin confederation. VII 254a
mu'allak (A) : suspended.
In the science of Tradition, ~ is used when there is an omission of one or more names at the beginning of the ISNĀD, or when the whole *isnād* is omitted. III 26a
al-mu'allakāt (A) : in literature, the name of a collection of pre-Islamic Arabic poems, generally numbered at seven. VII 254a
mu'allal (A) : in the science of Tradition, ~ applies to a Tradition with some weakness in ISNĀD or MATN. Al-Ḥākim calls it a Tradition mixed with another, or containing some false notion of the transmitter, or given as MUTTAṢIL when it is MURSAL. III 26a
mu'allim (A) : teacher, syn. MUDARRIS, and later MU'ADDIB. V 568a; a primary school instructor or Qur'ān teacher. X 80a; in guild terminology, master-craftsman. VIII 871b; IX 168b; an ocean pilot. VII 51a
♦ al-mu'allim al-thālith (A) : lit. the third teacher; an appellation for Mīr Muḥammad Bākir b. Shams al-Din Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Astarābādī, known as (Ibn) al-Dāmād. II 103b; an appellation for Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, also called Muḥakkik-Ṭūsī. X 746a
♦ al-mu'allim al-thānī (A) : lit. the second teacher; an appellation for Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī. I 631a
mu'āmalāt (A) : in law, transactions concerning credit granted by a donor to a beneficiary; also, the bilateral contracts, as opposed to the 'IBĀDĀT which constitute the 'ritual of Islamic law'. In this general sense, the ~ define juridico-human relations and ensure that the Muslim's behaviour conforms to juridico-moral theories. VII 255b; interpersonal acts. IX 323b
mu'āmara (A) : in classical Muslim administration, an inventory of orders issued during the period of the general issue of pay, *ṭama'*, bearing at its end a signed authorisation by the sultan. II 79a
mu'ammā (A) : lit. something made obscure, hidden; a word puzzle, verbal charade, a kind of literary play upon words (syn. LUGHZ and UḤDJIYYA); the ~ is distinguished by the absence of the interrogatory element and by the fact that the sense of the passage had been made 'blind' by various procedures; also, secret writing, code. V 806b; VII 257a; VIII 217a; an enigmatic anagram of a name. X 516a
mu'ammar (A) : an appellative of legendary and historical people who are alleged to have lived to an exceptionally great age. VII 258a
mu'an'an (A) : in the science of Tradition, an ISNĀD where *'an* ('on the authority of') is used with no clear indication of how the Tradition was received. III 26a; *isnād*s omitting the established transmission methods and with only one or more times the preposition *'an* between two transmitters are called ~. Closely connected with this is the *isnād* which is *mu'annan*, which introduces the information transmitted by an older to a younger authority simply by means of the conjunction *anna* 'that'. VII 260a
mu'annan → MU'AN'AN

mu'annath → MUDHAKKAR

muʿāraḍa (A) : opposition; in literary theory, ~ indicates imitation or emulation (syn. *naẓīra*); the poet composes his work in the same rhyme and metre, and in doing so, often tries to surpass the original. The imitating of someone's work was also used sometimes as a deliberate act of homage. VII 261a; IX 463b; X 124a; 'counter-poem'. VIII 805a; and → NAḲĀ'IḌ

As a technique in manuscript production, ~ has the meaning of collation, i.e. the textual comparison of a manuscript with another of the same work, preferably with one from which it was copied; syn. MUḲĀBALA. VII 490b

mu'arniba (A, < *arnab*), or *murniba* : regions where (adult) hares are plentiful; the regions where young hares are predominant are called *makhazza* or *mukharnika*. XII 85a

muʿarrab (A) : an arabicised loan or foreign word, in theory, only those which were integrated into the Arabic of pre- and early Islamic times; those of the post-classical period are called MUWALLAD. However, *muwallad* does not only refer to loan words, but to all kinds of linguistic neologisms which came up in post-classical Arabic. The difference between ~ and *muwallad* is not taken into consideration by all philologists, and so ~ often is the general term for 'loan word, foreign word'. VII 261b; X 240b

mu'arrish → ḲAṢṢĀṢ

muʿāṣir (A) : contemporary. XII 637b; and → RASM

muʿaskar → ʿASKAR

muʿāṭāt (A) : in law, a mutual delivery of the object of sale and of the sale price. I 318b; XII 706a

muʿāwaḍa (A) : barter, exchange; in law, ~ stands for a contract which is based on a mutual obligation, in opposition to a contract with a one-sided obligation. Examples are contracts of sale, lease and marriage. VII 263b; and → ṢULḤ AL-IBRĀ'

muʿāwama → BAYʿ AL-MUʿĀWAMA

muʿawwidhatān[i] (A), and *muʿawwidhāt* : the name given to the last two SŪRAS of the Qur'ān, because they both begin with the words 'Say: I seek refuge in the Lord'. V 409b; VII 269b; IX 887b

mu'ayyidī (A) : in numismatics, the half-dirham coin, later known as the medin. XII 592b

muʿaẓẓam (A) : 'highly venerated', the epithet (also *aʿẓam*) of Abū Ḥanīfa, the eponymous founder of the Ḥanafī school of law, giving rise to the name of the suburb of Baghdad where his supulchral mosque is found. IV 855b

mubaʿʿaḍ (A) : 'partial', a term for a slave held in joint ownership and enfranchised by one of the owners, who, however, is not wealthy enough to compensate his fellow-owners for the value of their shares. I 30a

In mathematics, ~ is a subdivided fraction, or a fraction of a fraction. IV 725b

mübādele (T, < A *mubādala*) : exchange, used in Ottoman Turkish for the exchange of commodities and of values, the exchange of prisoners of war, the exchange of ambassadors, and the exchange of populations. VII 275a

mubāḥ (A) : 'licit, authorised', one of the five juridical qualifications of human acts. VII 276a; 'indifferent', neither obligatory or recommended, nor forbidden or reprehensible. III 660b

mubāhala (A) : a term indicating both the spontaneous swearing of a curse in order to strengthen an assertion or to find the truth, and a kind of ordeal, invoked for the same purpose, between disputing individuals or parties, in which the instigation or call to the ordeal is more important than the execution; also, ~ is the name of a 'historical' ordeal which is said to have been proposed in 10/632-3 by the Prophet to a deputation of the Christian Nadjrānīs. VII 276a

mubālagha (A) : in grammar, ~ is used to denote the intensive meaning of a number of morphemes and syntagmas. Most consistently it is applied to the intensive participles of the forms *faʿūl, faʿʿāl*, etc. VII 277a
In literary theory, ~ came to mean hyperbole, intensification. Ḳudāma (d. 337/948) uses ~ to denote a very specialised type of emphasising (*īghāl* with later authors) in which a poetic idea is rounded out by a pertinent little exaggeration at the end of the line. VII 277a; emphasis. VIII 614b

muballigh (A) : a participant in the Friday or feast-day prayers with a loud voice. While saying his prayer, he has to repeat aloud certain invocations to the IMĀM, for all to hear. In mosques of any importance, he stands on a platform, DIKKA, and is therefore called *dikkat al-muballigh*. II 276a

mubāra'a (A) : in law, a form of divorce by mutual agreement by which husband and wife free themselves by a reciprocal renunciation of all rights. I 1027a

mubāriz (SpA), or *barrāz* : 'the champion who comes out of the ranks, when two armies are ranged against one another, to challenge an enemy to single combat'. IX 533a

mubashshir → NADHĪR; TABSHĪR

mubayyiḍa (A) : 'those clothed in white', i.e. ʿAlids and their supporters at the battle at Fakhkh in 169/786, as opposed to their opponents, *al-musawwida* 'those clothed in black', ʿAbbāsids and their supporters. III 617a; (< P *safīd-djāmagān*) followers of a semi-secret organisation devoted to the cult of Abū Muslim who proclaimed the imminent return of Zoroaster and wore white garments. They were involved in a number of revolts in eastern Iran and Transoxania in the 2nd/8th century. IV 16b; VII 500a

mubham (A) : 'obscure'; in the science of Tradition, ~ is used of an ISNĀD when a transmitter is named vaguely, e.g., *radjul* (a man), or *ibn fulān* (son of so and so). III 26a; and → ISM

mūbiḳāt (A) : deadly sins, the term used in a Tradition for the 'seven capital sins' of Christian morality. IV 1107b

mubtada' (A) : beginning, start; in grammar, ~ is generally translated as 'inchoative'. It designates the first component part with which one begins the nominal phrase, whose second component is the predicate, KHABAR. VII 283a
In history, ~ is employed in particular with regard to the beginning of the creation and also to biblical history in general. VII 283b

mubtadi' → ADJĪR

mūdaʿ → WADĪʿA

mudabbadj (A) : 'variegated, embellished'; in the science of Tradition, the term used when two contemporaries transmit Traditions from one another. III 26a

mudabbar → TADBĪR

mudabbir → ṬĀLIʿ

muḍāf → BARRĀNĪ; IḌĀFA; MUFRAD

mudallas (A) : in the science of Tradition, a Tradition with a concealed defect, TADLĪS, in the ISNĀD. III 26a

muḍāraba (A), and, in Shāfiʿī and Mālikī sources, **ḳirāḍ**, *muḳāraḍa* : in law, a commercial association whereby an investor entrusts capital to an agent who trades with it and shares with the investor a pre-determined proportion of the profits. Losses incurred in the venture are the responsibility of the investor; the agent loses his time and effort, and any profit he would have gained were it successful. VII 284b; profit-sharing. IX 348b

mudārāt (A) : in Imāmī tradition, a practice of treating others in a friendly manner while concealing your true attitude towards them. IX 206a; diplomacy. X 824b

muḍāriʿ (A) : similar; in grammar, ~ is the verbal form characterised by the prefixing of one of four augments, marks of the person, *hamza, tā', yā'* and *nūn*. It is devoted

to the expression of the present and future, and is the opposite of MĀḌĪ, characterised by the suffixing of personal markings and allocated to the expression of the past. V 954b; VII 285b

In prosody, ~ is the name of the twelfth Arabic metre, said to be invented by Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya. I 108a; I 670a

In literary theory, ~ is used of an imperfect paronomasia whereby the two juxtaposed words have a divergent consonant but are homorganic, i.e. of a similar articulation area, as in *dāmis* and *ṭāmis*. Non-homorganic use is termed *lāḥiḳ*. X 69b

mudarris (A) : a teacher, instructor; in mediaeval usage, when used without a complement, a professor of law at a MADRASA. The same term with a complement was sometimes used to designate other professors. V 1124b; V 1131a; in the hierarchy of modern Egyptian universities, ~ is an instructor holding the Ph.D. but ranking below an *ustā<u>dh</u>* and *ustā<u>dh</u> musāʿid*, roughly analogous to an assistant professor in an American university. X 80a

mudawwara (A) : lit. something circular; a term used in the central and western parts of the Arab world in the later Middle Ages to denote a large tent of rulers and great men, used especially when the army was on the march. VII 286a

During the Fāṭimid caliphate, the silver table that was set up after the procession on the ʿĪDs and covered with magnificent foods for a banquet. VI 851a

mudd (A) : a measure (of various weights) of capacity. The ~ was (about) 1.05 litres in ʿIrāḳ, 3.673 litres in Syria, and 2.5 litres in Egypt. VI 117b

♦ mudd al-nabī (A) : the MUDD of Medina, forming the basis for establishing the value of the ṢĀʿ (4 ~ is 1 *ṣāʿ*). VIII 654a

muddaʿī (A) : in law, the plaintiff in a lawsuit. II 170b

♦ muddaʿā ʿalayh (A) : in law, the defendant in a lawsuit. II 170b

♦ muddaʿā bihi (A) : in law, the object of the claim in a lawsuit. II 171a

mudda<u>kh</u>ir → MUDĪR

mudda<u>th</u><u>th</u>ir (A) : the title of the 74th SŪRA of the Qur'ān, derived from the first verse which may be translated 'O you covered in a cloak'. VII 286a; and → MUZZAMMIL

mud<u>dj</u>ina → ḲAYNA

mudéjar (Sp, < A *muda<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>an*) : a term, first appearing in Spanish texts ca. 1462, to designate the Muslim who, in return for the payment of tribute, continued to live in territories conquered by the Christians; it is also used to characterise the manifrestations relative to this culture, thus mudéjar architecture, literature, etc. VII 286a

mu<u>dh</u>ahhib (A) : in manuscript production, a gilder, or decorator. V 208a

mu<u>dh</u>ākara (A) : in the context of the mystical order of the Ya<u>sh</u>ruṭiyya, a lesson on the Qur'ān and the order. XI 298b

mu<u>dh</u>akk (A) : a term for a foal older than five years of age. II 785a

mu<u>dh</u>akkar (A) : masculine; in grammar, a technical term for one of the two states of a noun, whose opposite is *mu'anna<u>th</u>* 'feminine'. VII 289b

♦ mu<u>dh</u>akkarāt (A) : in poetry, poems composed about boys. IX 8b

mu<u>dh</u>ayyal (A) : a complex chronogram, whereby the principal chronogram is completed by a supplementary chronogram, *<u>dh</u>ayl*, the sum of the two providing the date. III 468a

In literary theory, ~ is used for an imperfect paronomasia whereby several letters are appended to one of the two words, e.g. *<u>dj</u>awā* and *<u>dj</u>awānih*. X 69b

mu<u>dh</u>īʿ → I<u>DH</u>ĀʿA

mūdiʿ → WADĪʿA

mūḍiḥa (A) : a wound laying bare the bone, a determining factor in the prescription of compensation following upon physical injury, DIYA. II 341b

muʿḍila (A, pl. *muʿḍilāt*) : a difficult question of law, an abstruse legal case which the proponents of RAʾY used, and the anti-*raʾy* sources decried, to expand Islamic law beyond the resources of the traditionists (syn. *u<u>gh</u>lūṭa*, pl. *u<u>gh</u>lūṭāt*). XII 688a

mudīr (A, T *müdīr*) : the title of governors of the provinces of Egypt, an office created by Muḥammad ʿAlī shortly after 1813. The chief task of the ~ is the controlling of the industrial and agricultural administration and of the irrigation, as executed by his subordinates. At the present time, Egypt comprises 25 *mudīriyyas* or governorates. VII 290a; and → SĀḲĪ

In astronomy, the 'director', a small circle, on which the centre of Mercury's deferent rotates, in the Ptolemaic model. X 941a

In law, an active trader, distinguished (by the Mālikīs) from an investor (*muḥtakir, muddakhir*) as concerns the payment of ZAKĀT. XI 414a

♦ mudīriyya (A) : administrative district. IX 166b; and → MUDĪR

mudjabbir (A) : in medicine, a bone-setter, bone-healer. II 481b

mudjaddara → ARUZZ MUFALFAL

mudjaddid (A) : renewer (of the century), a term used for the renovator whom God will send to the Muslim community at the turn of each century, in order to explain matters of religion. VII 290a

mudjahhiz (A) : a type of merchant in mediaeval Islam, the purveyor who supplies travellers with all that they need. IX 789a; an exporting merchant. X 469a

mudjāhid (A, pl. *mudjāhidūn*) : a fighter for the faith, one who wages war against the unbelievers. VII 290b

In Muslim India, the *mudjāhidīn* were the rebellious forces of Aḥmad Brēlwī (d. 1831), who fought the Sikhs to oust them from the Pandjab. I 282b; IV 196b; VII 290b

In Saudi Arabia, the *mudjāhidūn* is the popular name for the National Guard, made up of detachments of the Ikhwān. III 1068a

mudjallī (A), or *mukaffī* : a name for the third horse in a horse-race, according to the order of finishing. II 953a

muʿdjam → FAHRASA; ḤURŪF AL-MUʿDJAM; ḲĀMŪS

mudjannaḥ → DJINĀS AL-ḲALB

mudjarrad → DJADWAL; RABBĀNĪ

mudjāwara (A) : 'proximity, association'; in rhetoric, one of three types of metaphor as defined by al-Sakkākī, as e.g. the container for the contained: *zudjādja* 'bottle' = 'wine'. V 117a

mudjāwir (A) : neighbour; a person, who, for a shorter or longer period of time, settles in a holy place in order to lead a life of asceticism and religious contemplation and to receive the BARAKA 'blessing' of that place. VII 293b; VIII 495b; the permanently-appointed personnel of places of pilgrimage (guards, cleaners, guides, etc.) who in general belong to the local population. VII 294b

In Egypt until today, ~ may indicate any student of the Azhar who comes from outside and lives in the premises of al-Azhar. VII 293b

mudjawwaza (A, T *müdjewweze*) : apparently only found in Turkish, a barrel- or cylindrical-shaped cap, worn with the turban cloth from the time of Süleymān's dress edict, as the proper court and state headdress. Süleymān is said to have been the first sultan to wear it; it was previously the military cap, the red top of which peeped out from the turban cloth. X 613b

mudjāzāt → SHARṬ

mudjbira → DJABRIYYA

mudjdiba (A) : in geography, a term applied to terrain covered with moving sands and totally waterless. VIII 845b

muʿdjiza (A) : lit. that by means of which (the Prophet) confounds, overwhelms his opponents; the technical term for miracle. It does not occur in the Qurʾān, which denies miracles in connection with Muḥammad, whereas it emphasises his 'signs', *āyāt*, later taken to mean the verses of the Qurʾān. ~ and ĀYA have become synonyms; they denote the miracles performed by God in order to prove the sincerity of His apostles. The term

KARĀMA is used in connection with the saints; it differs from ~ in so far as it denotes nothing but a personal distinction granted by God to a saint. VII 295b

mudjrā → MADJRĀ

mudjtahid (A) : in law, one who possesses the aptitude to form his own judgement on questions concerning the sharī'a, using personal effort, IDJTIHĀD, in the interpretation of the fundamental principles of the law. III 1026b; VII 295b; and → MUṬLAḲ

♦ mudjtahid al-fatwā (A) : in law, someone who can issue a legal opinion on the basis of the legal principles (ḲAWĀ'ID) of his school. XII 517b

mudjtathth (A) : in prosody, the name of the fourteenth Arabic metre. Theoretically, it comprises three feet: *mustaf'ilun / fā'ilātun / fā'ilātun* to each hemistich, but in practice there is just one single *fā'ilātun*. This metre is not used by the ancient poets. I 670a; VII 304a

mudjūn (A) : a word whose meaning ranges from jest and frivolity to the most shameless debauchery, including vulgarity, coarseness, impudence, libertinage, obscenity and everything that may provoke coarse laughter, such as scatological humour, ~ nourished, from a literary viewpoint, entertaining works full of more or less obscene anecdotes. VII 304a

♦ mudjūniyyāt (A) : poetry of sexual perversion. IX 453b

muḍmar (A) : implicit; in grammar, ~ (syn. *ḍamīr*) designates a noun in which the person is disguised by means of a mark. This term is the converse of *muẓhar* 'explicit', designating a noun in which the person is revealed in a clear manner. The category of the implicit noun corresponds to that of the personal pronoun in Western grammar. VII 304b; IX 527b; and → TAḲDĪR; ẒĀHIR

mudradj (A) : 'inserted'; in the science of Tradition, ~ is used of a gloss in the MATN, or of giving with one ISNĀD texts which differ with different *isnāds*, or of mentioning a number of transmitters who differ in their *isnād* without indicating this. Generally, ~ is used of inserting something in the *isnād* or the *matn* of one Tradition from another to make this appear part of it. III 26a

muḍṭarib (A) : 'incongruous'; in the science of Tradition, ~ is used when two or more people of similar standing differ with one another in their version of a Tradition. The difference may affect ISNĀD or MATN. III 26a

♦ muḍṭarib al-ḥadīth (A) : a man whose Traditions are confused. III 26a

mufādana (A) : in mediaeval Egypt, taxation by FADDĀN, a system of payment in kind. IV 1032a

al-mufaḍḍaliyyāt (A) : in literature, the title of an anthology of early Arabic poems, mainly pre-Islamic, some dating to the beginning of the 6th century. VII 306b

mufākhara (A, pl. *mufākharāt*) : in poetry, a genre consisting of self-praise, but hardly ever separated from HIDJĀ', taunting and deriding the rival. VII 308b; a contest for precedence and glory, usually taking place between groups, tribes and clans in pre-Islamic Arabia, although in post-Islamic times, there were caliphs who were not ashamed to take part in them. VII 309b

mufakhkham → TAFKHĪM

mufalfil (A) : in the mediaeval Near East, a beggar who pretends to have been the victim of a robbery. The ~ works together with a confederate. VII 494b

mufarridj (A) : in medicine, a cordial made from saffron. XI 381b

mufaṣṣal (A) : lit. separated, hived off; in administrative usage of British India, whence the form *Mofussil*, the provinces, the rural districts and stations, as opposed to the administrative headquarters of a Presidency, District or region (*ṣadr*, or in Anglo-Indian usage, *Sudder*). XII 561a; XII 632a

mufāwaḍa (A) : in law, a form of commercial partnership, most prominently associated with the Ḥanafī school, and in a lesser degree with the Mālikīs. For the Ḥanafīs, the

~ is one of two classes of commercial partnership, ʿINĀN being the other, and is perhaps best translated as a universal, or unlimited, investment partnership. VII 310a
In the context of Mālikī law, ~ denotes a partnership in which each of the contracting parties confers on the other an unqualified mandate to dispose of their joint capital in any acceptable manner designed to benefit their common enterprise. VII 311a
müfettis͟h (T, A *mufattis͟h*) : in the Ottoman legal system of the 12th/18th century, a level of five judges, three in Istanbul and one each in Bursa and Edirne, whose duties were to oversee and inquire into the conducting of the Imperial pious foundations; in the 19th century under the Tanẓīmāt reforms, ~ became an overseer and inspector of various new administrative mechanisms. In modern Turkish, ~ (*müfettiş*) is a standard word for 'inspector'. XII 632a
mufrad (A, pl. *mufradāt*) : in grammar, ~ denotes the singular, usually when applied to the 'simple' noun, in opposition to the dual and plural forms. II 406b; VII 313a; in morphology, ~ means 'simple', as opposed to MURAKKAB 'compound', and designates a noun made up of a single element. In syntax, ~ means 'in isolation', as opposed to *muḍāf* 'in annexation' and designates a noun which is not followed by a determinating complement. VII 313b
In lexicography, more often used in the plural *mufradāt*, ~ denotes the words taken in isolation in the lexicon. I 1083a; VII 313b
In mathematics, ~ denotes simple or ordinary fractions. IV 725b
♦ al-mufradūn (A) : the ninth degree in the ṣūfī hierarchical order of saints. I 95a
muftaʿal → MAṢNŪʿ
muftī (A) : the person who gives an opinion on a point of law, FATWĀ, or is engaged in that profession. II 866a; IX 325a
mug͟haffal (A) : in early Islam, an 'irresponsible wit'. IX 552b
mug͟hālaṭa maʿnawiyya → TAWRIYA
mug͟hārasa (A) : in law, a lease for agricultural planting, one of the most-used forms of contract. Under its terms, the owner of a piece of land charges a person with the planting of trees on it under a co-ownership basis, and in return, he agrees to grant the planter ownership of a predetermined proportion of the whole crop. The lessee thus becomes an owner; and he can put an end to the common ownership by demanding a division of the land. VII 346b
mug͟harrir (A) : an adventurer. X 915a
al-mug͟hayyabāt al-k͟hams (A) : lit. the five mysteries, things concealed in the unseen; in theology, ~ are regarded as known to God alone as part of His prescience and foreknowledge of all aspects of nature and human activity. They are usually identified with the five things known to God as expounded in Q 31:34 : the hour of the Last Judgement; when rain will be sent down; what it is in the womb (i.e. the sex and number of children); what a man will gain, of his sustenance, on the morrow; and when a man shall die. VII 346b
mug͟hnam → WAKĪR
mug͟hnī (A), or *mūg͟hnī* : in music, a sort of arch-lute, said to have been invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī. X 770a
muḥabbar (A) : fabric of high quality manufactured in Yemen; artistic poetry of high quality. IX 448b
muḥabbat-i kull (IndP) : absolute love, the highest station of spiritual attainment in the religious thought of the Mug͟hal emperor Akbar. IX 846b
muḥabbis → WĀḲIF
muhādana → MUWĀDAʿA
muḥāḍara (A, pl. *muḥāḍarāt*) : a gathering in the course of which the participants converse and exchange information, quotations and stories. VII 851b; a lecture. XI 57a

In the mystical thought of al-Ḳus͟hayrī, ~ is getting oneself into position vis-à-vis the objective sought, the first of three stages in the progression towards Reality. This stage remains 'behind the veil', the lifting of which belongs to the second stage. IV 697a

muhaddab → MUMAT͟HT͟HAL

muḥaddit͟h (A) : the usual term for a technical specialist in Traditions. I 259a

muḥad͟jd͟jar (P) : balustrade. IX 191b

muhād͟jir (A, pl. *muhād͟jirūn*) : lit. one who migrates; in Turkey and Ottoman lands, ~ was used for refugees and the victims of the population exchanges in the early years of the Republic; by 1933 the term was replaced by the neologism *göčmen*. VII 350b
In India, ~ has been used to describe those Muslims from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent who migrated from their homes in order to protect their religion and to safeguard their interests as Muslims, the first group leaving in the early decades of the 20th century and the second group in 1947. VII 354b
In early Islam, the plural **muhād͟jirūn** stands for the Emigrants, those Meccan Muslims who emigrated from Mecca to Medina either just before Muḥammad himself or in the period up to the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. VII 356a; members of Arab tribes, who settled at Medina after their conversion to Islam and thus renounced returning to their tribes, are also designated as ~. VIII 828a

muḥāfaẓa (A) : governorate. IX 166b

muḥākāt (A) : in the poetics of the philosophers, symbols, mimeses, enigmas. IX 459a; imitative, i.e. figurative, language which presents one thing by means of another in the way of similes and metaphors, sometimes used as a synonym of TAK͟HYĪL. X 130a,b; XII 654b

muḥaḳḳaḳ (A) : 'strongly expressed (word); tightly-woven (cloth)'; ~ is a form of Arabic script, whose main characteristic is the feature that the left corner of twenty-one letters are angled. This script was used for long-page format Qur'āns and also for frames. After the end of the 11th/17th century, ~ yielded place to T͟HULUT͟H. IV 1123a; VIII 151b

muḥakkam → ḤAKAM

muḥakkima (A) : the phrase *al-muḥakkima al-ūlā* stands for the cry *lā ḥukm illā li 'llāh*, raised at Ṣiffīn by those who protested against arbitration. I 384a

muḥallabiyya (A) : a popular rice pudding dish; the mediaeval version of it was made with meat or chicken, sweetened with honey and seasoned with spices to which saffron-coloured rice is added. VIII 653a

muḥallil (A) : lit. someone who makes a thing legal, legaliser, legitimator; in law, the figure who acts as a 'man of straw' in order to authenticate or make permissible some legal process otherwise of doubtful legality or in fact prohibited. XII 632a
In early Islam, a horse entered into a competition, whose owner made no wager and gained the whole amount staked by all the other entrants if his horse won (syn. *dāk͟hil*). II 953b; in gambling, a 'legaliser', i.e. someone who did not contribute to the stakes, which made the gambling legal, although the law schools differ as to the legality of this procedure. V 109b; and → TAḤLĪL

muḥammada (A, pl. *muḥammadāt*) : citrus fruits. IV 740b

muḥammadī (A) : in numismatics, the name given in the reign of the Ṣafawid Muḥammad K͟hudābanda to the double) :

muḥammadī (A) : in numismatics, the name given in the reign of the Ṣafawid Muḥammad K͟hudābanda to the double *s͟hāhī*, or 100 dīnārs. In 1888 it was renamed *dō s͟hāhī*. VIII 790a; IX 203b

muḥammira (A, P *surk͟h-d͟jāmagān*) : 'wearers of red', the name for the K͟hurramiyya, a religious movement founded in the late 5th century AD by Mazdak and the various Iranian sects which developed out of it. VII 664a

muḥannak (A) : in the Fāṭimid court, a eunuch in private service who wore a turban passing under the chin. IV 1092a
muḥāraba → ḲAṬʿ AL-ṬARĪḲ
muḥarraf (A) : 'altered'; in the science of Tradition, ~ is used of a change occurring in the letters of a word. III 26a
In literary theory, ~ is used for an imperfect paronomasia whereby there is difference in vocalisation between the two words, e.g. *al-dayn* and *al-dīn*. X 69b
muḥarram (A) : the first month of the Muslim year. The name was originally not a proper name but an adjectival epithet qualifying Ṣafar I, the first month of the pre-Islamic Meccan year. VII 464a
muharridj (A) : a clown, popular as entertainment, especially in North Africa. XII 778a
muḥarrir → MUNSHĪ AL-MAMĀLIK
muḥāsaba (A) : lit. accounting; in classical Muslim administration, ~ is the term given to the comprehensive accounting presented by an ʿĀMIL on relinquishing his appointment when it is not approved by the authority to whom he presents it. When it is approved, it is called MUWĀFAḲA. II 78b
In Ottoman finance, ~ referred to financial accounting. VII 465b
In mysticism, ~, more precisely *muḥāsabat al-nafs*, denotes 'inward accounting, spiritual accounting'. VII 465a
muḥāsib (A) : accountant. XI 88b
muḥaṣṣil (A) : a term used under the Anatolian Saldjūḳs and Ottomans for various types of revenue collectors. It acquired special significance amid extensive Ottoman financial reforms of 1838-9. VII 467b
muḥāwarāt (A) : in literature, correspondence in the form of letters; as used by Yūsufī, author of an INSHĀʾ collection, ~ are divided into three kinds: letters to persons of higher rank, *murāḳaʿāt*; letters to persons of the same rank, *murāsalāt*; and letters to persons of lower rank, *riḳāʿ*. XI 362b; characteristic modes of expression, set turns of speech, turns of phrases. VI 816a; XII 631a,b
muḥdathūn (A) : lit. the Moderns; in literature, those poets who came after the ancient poets (called *ḳudamāʾ, mutaḳaddimūn* or AWĀʾIL) of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. No formal end of the ~ movement is recognised, but mostly the term applies to poets of the first few centuries of the ʿAbbāsid period. XII 637b
muḥdith → ḤADATH
muḥīl (A) : in law, the transferor, i.e. one who has a debt to A and a claim against B, and settles his debt by transferring his claim against B to the benefit of A. In this case, A is the creditor, *al-muḥtāl*, and B is the cessionary, *al-muḥtāl ʿalayhi*. III 283a
muḥillūn (A) : lit. those who make lawful (what is unlawful); an expression used in early Islamic historical texts to denote those who had shed the blood of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. VII 470a
mühimme defterleri (T) : in Ottoman administration, the 'Registers of Important Affairs', a collection of 263 registers, continued until 1905, containing copies of sultans' rescripts, for the most part addressed to governors and ḲĀḌĪs but also to foreign rulers. VII 470a
muḥkam → MUTASHĀBIH
muhmala (A) : a gloss signifying the unpointed ḤARF, e.g. *ʿayn muhmala*. III 597a
muhr (P) : a seal, signet or signet-ring. VII 472a
In Arabic, the term for a foal at birth; from then on, it is given different names, determined by the stage of development of the teeth. II 785a
♦ muhrdār (T *mühürdār*) : the keeper of the seals, 'private secretary', in Persian and Ottoman administration. IV 1104a; VII 473a
muhra → ḲALB

muḥrim (A) : the pilgrim who has entered the state of ritual purity. II 1069a; III 1052b
muḥṣan (A) : in law, a term denoting a certain personal status: married (and the marriage has been duly consummated), free, and Muslim. The quality of *iḥṣān* resides in each spouse when both satisfy all three criteria. VII 474b; XI 509b
muḥtakir → MUDĪR
muḥtāl (A) : in mediaeval Islam, a category of thieves, one who worked by stratagems and who did not kill in the course of his crimes and was therefore looked down on by his more desperate and violent confrères. V 769a; and → MUḤĪL
muḥtalim (A) : dreaming, and particularly dreaming of copulation and experiencing an emission of the seminal fluid in dreaming. VIII 822a
muḥtasib → ḤISBA
mühürdār (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a private secretary. XI 202a
muʿīd (A, T) : lit. repeater; in the primary school system, an assistant. V 568a; IX 702b
muʿīnsiz (A *muʿīn* 'supporter', T *siz* 'without') : in the Ottoman military, someone who had nobody to look after his family and other dependents if he was drafted, i.e. a breadwinner, and thus was exempted from military service, but served as reservist (RADĪF, MUSTAḤFIẒ). XII 640b
mukaʿʿab → KAʿB
mukāʿama → MUʿĀKAMA
muḳābal (A) : a pair of complimentary opposites, e.g. absence and presence. III 84a
♦ **muḳābala** (A) : in astronomy, ~ is used as the term for the opposition of a planet and the sun or of two planets with one another. In opposition, the difference in longitude between the heavenly bodies is 180 degrees. ~ may be used to refer to the opposition of sun and moon, although the usual technical expression for this phenomenon is *al-istiḳbāl*. VII 490a
In astrology, the diametric aspect of the planets. IV 259a
As a technique in manuscript production, ~ has the meaning of 'collation', i.e. the textual comparison of a manuscript with another of the same work, preferably with one from which it was copied. A synonym is *muʿāraḍa*. VII 490b
In literary theory, ~ refers to a type of antithesis, in which both sides of the opposition consist of two or more terms. VII 491b
♦ muḳābeledji (T) : clerk. VIII 291a
mukabbara → MARSŪM
muḳābeledji → MUḲĀBAL
mukābir (A) : in mediaeval Islam, a category of thieves, the robber with violence. V 769a
muḳaddam (A) : lit. placed in front; the chief, the one in command, e.g. of a body of troops or of a ship (captain). In the dervish orders, ~ is used for the head of the order or the head of a monastery. VII 492a; in North Africa, the official who administers individual local ZĀWIYAS and initiates, instructs and supervises members. XI 468a; the administrator in the middle of the Mamlūk hierarchy, who stood at the head of a barracks, *ṭabaḳa*. The highest member of the hierarchy was known as *muḳaddam al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*. X 7b; and → MAʾDHŪN
In logic, ~ means the protasis in a premise in the form of a conditional sentence. VII 492a
In mathematics, ~ means the first of two numbers in a proportion, or in other words, the divided number in a simple division. VII 492a; and → TĀLĪ
♦ muḳaddama → AṢL, ṬALĪʿA
muḳaddar → LAFẒ; TAḲDĪR
mukaddī (A, pl. *mukaddūn*, ? < P *gadā*) : in mediaeval Islam, a wandering beggar or vagrant, who, with a remarkable talent for plausible lying and a knowledge of certain

effective dodges, succeeds in opening up the purses of those simple persons who allow themselves to be taken in by his eloquent but mendacious words. IV 735a; VII 493b

muḳaddim (A) : the shadow-play master, who manipulated the figurines with sticks. IV 1136b

muḳaddima (A) : the foreword, preface or introduction to prose works; as a literary genre, the independent development of the preface, which had a stereotyped form consisting of initial commendations, a middle part and closing praises, was developed in particular by al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn Ḳutayba. VII 495b

mukaddis (A) : in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, a beggar who makes a collection for buying a shroud. VII 494a

mukāfaʾa (A) : according to al-Khwārazmī, the term preferred by scribes for what critics of poetry called MUTĀBAḲA 'antithesis'. X 451a

muḳaffī → MUDJALLĪ

mukaffir (A) : in poetry, term used by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī for a ZADJAL that contains admonitions and wisdom. XI 373b

mukallaf (A) : in law, one who is obliged to fulfil the religious duties. I 993b; and → TAKLĪF

♦ mukallafa (A) : in Egypt, the term used to designate the land survey registers. II 79b

muḳallid → DJIRRAT; TAḲLĪD

muḳannī (A) : a specialist in constructing a ḲANĀT, a mining installation for extracting water from the depths of the earth, called kārīzkan in Afghanistan. IV 529b; in Yazd, ~s were also known as *čāhkhūyān*; they were highly rated for their skill and often employed outside of Yazd. XI 305a

muḳanṭarāt (A) : in astronomy, the parallel circles at the horizon, normally called circles of height or parallels of height. This term was borrowed in the Middle Ages by Western astronomers, under the term *almícantarat.* VII 500b

muḳaʿʿr → MUMATHTHAL

muḳāraʿa → MUKHĀRADJA

muḳāraḍa → MUḌĀRABA

muḳārana (A) : a rhetorical figure introduced by Ibn Abi ʾl Iṣbaʿ, consistiing of a 'combination of figures' made up of metaphorical antitheses. X 451a

muḳarbaṣ (A), or *muḳarbas* : in architecture, a term denoting a technique of craftmanship used in the mediaeval Muslim West, yielding Sp. *mocárabe.* It can be defined as 'work formed by a geometric combination of interlocking prisms, externally cut in concave surfaces and used as decoration in vaults, cornices etc.' It forms a counterpart to, but is different in execution from the MUḲARNAS technique of the Muslim central and eastern lands. The ~ was carved in jesso, brick, wood, marble or stone and was frequently coloured. VII 500b

mukārī (A) : lit. hirer; a dealer in riding beasts and beasts of burden, usage being extended from the person buying and selling and hiring to the muleteer or other person accompanying a loaded beast. VII 501b

muḳarnas (A, < Gk) : in architecture, 'stalactites', a type of decoration typical for Islamic architecture all over the central and eastern parts of the Muslim world, composed of a series of niches embedded within an architectural frame, geometrically connected and forming a three-dimensional composition around a few basic axes of symmetry. The essential function of the ~ is ornamental. Its counterpart in the Muslim West is MUḲARBAṢ. I 1229a; II 863b; VII 501b

muḳarr → IḲRĀR

muḳarrabūn → TASNĪM

muḳarrariyya : one of two main headings in the monthly and yearly accounting registers of the Īlkhānids, under which fell the regular (*muḳarrar*) payments made every year by order of the sovereign from the *dīwān-i aʿlā* to ḲĀḌĪs, SHAYKHs, SAYYIDs, students, financial officials, etc. III 284a; and → IṬLĀḲIYYA

muḳarrib (A) : lit. unifier; in ancient Yemen, a sovereign superior to the kings. IX 91a; IX 675b

muḳāsama (A) : lit. dividing out; a system of raising the land tax, involving the levy, by agreement, of a percentage or share of the crops, usually taken when these last had ripened. The early sources on law and finance distinguished it from the system of MISĀḤA, the assessment of a fixed lump sum on the land according to its fertility, location, etc., and from the system of MUḲĀṬAʿA, which implied a fixed annual sum payable without regard to the variations of prosperity and harvest and often the subject of a tax-farming contract. Known in the early centuries, it continued to be used down to modern times. IV 1032a ff.; VII 506b

In the Ottoman empire and in India, ~ is one of two terms describing the land tax (the other is MUWAẒẒAFA); the *kharādj muḳāsama* refers to a certain proportion of the produce accruing to the state from every field. II 158a; IV 1055b; VII 507a

mukāshafa (A) : in mysticism, ~ means illumination, epiphany (ant. *satr* 'veiling', *istitār* 'occultation). In the mystical thought of al-Ḳushayrī, ~ is the lifting of the veil, a 'raising of the curtain' on to the world of mystery, the second of three stages in the progression towards Reality. IV 697a

mukāsir (A) : among the Ismāʿīlīs, the name of one of the subordinates who assists the DĀʿĪ. II 97b

mukassar (A) : in geometry, the square of a unit of linear measure. IV 725b

muḳāṭaʿa (A) : in the mediaeval taxation system, ~ was used for the sum handed over by a tax farmer in return for the collection and management of the revenue from a given province or district. IV 1038a; VII 508a

In the Ottoman empire, ~ denoted tax farm, especially used by the Ottomans in connection with taxation imposed on the traffic in commodities in and out of the empire or at the entry to the big towns. VII 508a; and → MUḲĀṬAʿADJĪ

♦ muḳāṭaʿadjī (T, A) : in Lebanon under Ottoman rule, the title borne by members of families responsible for the levying of a contractual tax on a district, *muḳāṭaʿa*. V 792a

mukātab(a) → KITĀB

muḳātil (A) : in Western and Spanish Arabic, *al-* ~ is an alternative name for the planet Saturn. VIII 101a; XI 555a

muḳaṭṭaʿāt (A) : one of the names given to the mysterious letters placed at the head of 26 SŪRAs of the Qurʾān. VII 509a

In poetry, ~ are fragmentary pieces, very often topical poems, such as elegies, chronograms and satires. III 58a

mukawwir → MIKWAR(A)

muḳawwiyāt (A, s. *muḳawwī*) : in medicine, originally stimulants but gradually taking on the meaning of aphrodisiacs. XII 640b

muḳayyin → ḲAYYĀN

mukayyis (A), or *kayyās* : the 'masseur', one who wields the *kīs*, a bag of tow used to massage the clients, in a **ḥammām** 'steam bath'. III 140b

muḳbulā (A) : a term for a fish stew, also known as *munazzalat al-samak*, based on eel or carp. VIII 1023a

mukhābarāt (A) : the intelligence and police services in Arab countries. XII 670b

mukhaḍram (A, pl. *mukhaḍramūn*) : a person who lived in the DJĀHILIYYA and in the time of Islam, applied in particular to poets; *al-mukhaḍramūn* constitute the class of

pagan poets who died after the proclamation of Islam, although the meaning has been extended to poets living in the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid period. VII 516a

In the science of Tradition, ~ signifies a transmitter who accepted Islam but had not seen the Prophet. VII 516a

♦ mukhaḍramū 'l-dawlatayn (A) : 'the poets of the two dynasties', a term for poets living in the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid period. VII 516a

mukhallefāt (T, < A) : 'things left behind (at death)', an Ottoman financial-judicial term alluding to the property of deceased officials and of those who died without heirs that the Ottoman treasury confiscated. The inheritances of the minors or the mentally handicapped who could not oversee their shares were also seized and kept until they reached puberty; the treasury also approved the expenditure of the money for them. I 1147b; VII 517a; for compound terms having to do with clerks, departments, etc. of Ottoman administration involved in ~, VII 517a

mukhammas (A) : in Arabic, early Persian and Turkish poetry, a five-line MUSAMMAṬ, a stanzaic form of poetry, with either four lines of separate rhyme and one line with common rhyme, or blocks of five rhyming lines, e.g. *aaaaa bbbbb* etc. VII 660a ff.; and → TAKHMĪS

mukhammisa (A) : in religion, the Pentadists, a name applied to a doctrinal current among the shīʿī extremists which espoused the divinity of Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. VII 517a

mukhannath (A) : effeminate, used as a synonym for a homosexual although in normal usage refers to the genuine hermaphrodite. V 776b

In mediaeval Spain, a (male) singer disguised as a woman. V 778a

mukhāradja (A) : the game of mora, morra, or mication (L *micatio*, It *mora*), played all around the shores of the Mediterranean, and also in Arabia and Iraq. It is a game of chance and is in principle forbidden by Islam. Synonyms are *muḳāraʿa, munāhada* and *musāhama*, followed by *bi 'l-aṣābiʿ* 'with the fingers'. VII 518a

mukharniḳa → MUʾARNIBA

mukhaṣṣiṣ → TAKHṢĪṢ

mukhāṭara (A) : a legal device, familiar in mediaeval European mercantile circles in its Latin garb *mohatra*, which is a form of 'a double sale', *bayʿatān fī bayʿa*. Its purpose was to circumvent the prohibition of any form of interest on a capital loan. VII 518b; and → BAYʿATĀN FĪ BAYʿA

mukhattam (A) : a pattern of lines in cloth, from silks to woolen materials, forming quadrangular compartments, i.e. checks. Such cloths seem to have been woven almost everywhere in the Islamic lands. VII 519a

mukhtalas (A) : 'snatched'; in archery, a way of loosing an arrow, by drawing rapidly and loosing immediately without any break in time. IV 800b

mukhtalif (A) : in mathematics, disjunct fractions which do not have the same denominator. IV 725b

mukhtalis (A) : in law, a thief who comes secretly but goes away openly. IX 63a; and → ṬARRĀR

mukhtār (A) : lit. chosen person; in the late Ottoman empire and some of its successor states, the headman of a quarter or village, appointed by the central government and charged with a variety of duties. VII 519a

In law, (an act done) by choice, not under compulsion. VII 635b

♦ **mukhtārāt** (A) : in literature, an anthology, selection of poetry, the oldest of which in Arabic is the *al-Muʿallaḳāt*. VII 526b

mukhtaṣar (A) : a handbook or an abridged manual, usually condensed from a longer work. VII 536a, where is also found a list of approximately equivalent terms; an epitome, a concise exposition. IX 324a

♦ mukhtaṣar al-ṭūmār (A) : in calligraphy, a larger type of script, used for the TUGHRA when there were few strokes; a large script was called *kalam al-ṭūmār*. X 596a
mukhtaṣṣ (A) : in Mālikī law, an intermediate category between GHANĪMA and FAY', which includes property taken out of enemy territory by stealth. XII 532a
mukḥula (A) : a small narrow-necked vessel, in mediaeval times commonly of glass, used to keep the eye cosmetic KUḤL in. A special object known in Khurāsān as *wasma-djūsh* was used for grinding the substance and pouring it into the ~. V 356b f.; and → NAFFĀṬ
muḳīm (A) : a term denoting 'a person domiciled in the place and satisfying the stipulations of the law'; in Indonesia, the Friday communal prayer is only valid, according to the Shāfi'ī school of law, if 40 *muḳīms* are present, and since the population was rarely numerous enough to allow this, ~ acquired the meaning of 'department, circle' because of the custom of grouping several villages together. I 741a
muḳla (A) : a very wide turban worn by *'ulamā'* (→ FAKĪH) in Egypt. V 741b; also the headdress of Coptic priests with a long narrow band. X 613b
muḳri' (A) : the teacher of Qur'ānic readings and recitation, a member of a relatively small professional elite. Every ~ must be a *ḳāri'* (pl. ḲURRĀ'), a reciter of the Qur'ān and a much more common performer. X 73a
muḳrif (A) : the 'approacher', whose dam is of better breeding than the sire, one of the four classifications of a horse. II 785b
muḳṭa' (A) : holder of a fief, IḲṬĀ'. V 862b; a provincial governor under the Dihlī sultanate, transferable at will, who commanded the local military forces and was paid personally by the grant of a revenue assignment or by a percentage of the provinical revenues. II 272b
muḳtaḍab (A) : 'untrained' or 'extemporised'. IX 10b
In prosody, the name of the thirteenth Arabic metre, in fact little used. I 670a; VII 540
muktarī → KIRĀ'
muḳwiī → ḲAWĪ
mulā'a (A) : a large, enveloping outer wrap worn by women in the Arab East. V 741b
mulaffaḳ → TĀMM
mulaḥḥin (A) : composer. XII 547a; in the northern Yemeni tribal system, a composer or singer of folk poetry. IX 234b
mulāmasa → BAY' AL-MULĀMASA
mulamma'āt (A) : in Persian literature, ~ are macaronic verses, a mixed composition of Arabic, Persian and sometimes Turkish elements used to obtain a humorous effect. III 355b
mulassan → AL-NA'L AL-SHARĪF
mulaththam (A) : 'wearing a veil', a description of Berber nomadic tribes like the Touareg. V 652a
mülāzemet (T, < A *mulāzama*) : in Ottoman administration, the certificate of eligibility for office. VII 545a; and → MULĀZIM
mulāzim (A, T *mülāzīm*) : in Ottoman administration and military, a candidate for office in the Ottoman learned hierarchy (the 'ILMIYYE). VII 545b; also, a tax-farmer, part of a special corps to collect the poll-tax in certain districts; one of 300 special mounted bodyguards whom sultan Süleymān I selected from among his household to accompany him on campaigns, so-called because they were preparing for important administrative posts which came by way of reward for their services to the sultan. VII 545a; the personal bodyguard to the Ṣafawid shāh. I 8a; reserves for posts in the Ottoman palace and guild system. VII 545b
In the Ottoman military, ~ applied to the lowest two ranks of officers after the reorganisation of the army in the 19th century, corresponding to the rank of lieutenant. VII 545b

mulḥam (A) : a cotton and silk fabric. V 554b; a fabric with a silk warp and a woof of some other stuff. V 737a; as *mulḥam ṭirāzī*, a combination fabric of silk warp and woof of another material with embroidered bands. X 536a

mulḥid (A, pl. *malāḥida*) : a deviator, apostate, heretic, atheist. There is no evidence of pre-Islamic usage in a religious meaning, which arose in the ʿAbbāsid period on the basis of Qur'ānic verses. Under the Umayyads, ~ had been synonymous with *bāghī* 'rebel' and *shākk al-ʿaṣā* 'splitter of the ranks of the faithful', denoting the desertion (*ilḥād*) of the community of the faithful and rebellion against the legitimate caliphs. VII 546a

In Saldjūḳ times, the appellation *al-malāḥida al-ḳūhiyya* was used for the Ismāʿīlī heretics who took refuge in Ḳūhistān. V 355a

In Ottoman usage, ~ and *ilḥād* were commonly employed to describe subversive doctrines among the shīʿīs and ṣūfīs. VII 546b

mulimm → MUTARAʿRIʿ

mulk (A) : royal power, a term used in the Qur'ān with reference to God and to certain pre-Islamic personages, who all appear in the Old Testament, and in the former case is synonymous with *malakūt*. VII 546b

mulkiyya (A, T *mülkiyye*) : a title to property (→ MILK). VII 547a

Under the Ottomans, *mülkiyye*, or more precisely *idāre-i mülkiyye*, had by roughly the 1830s become the customary Ottoman term for civil administration. VII 547a; and → ḲALEMIYYE

mullā → MOLLĀ

multazam (A) : the name for the part of the wall of the Kaʿba between the Black Stone and the door of the Kaʿba, so-called because the visitors press their breasts against it while praying fervently. IV 318a

mültezim (T, < A *multazim*) : in Ottoman administration, a tax-farmer who, from the mid-16th century on, collected taxes and dues on behalf of the Ottoman treasury. The ~ could either deliver all the proceeds while drawing a salary, or he could buy the right to retain the proceeds himself by paying the treasury an agreed sum in advance; this latter system was known as *iltizām*, which differed from the other term used for a tax-farm, *muḳāṭaʿa*, in that it referred to the collection of revenues from the imperial domains. *Muḳāṭaʿa* was applied to the collection by contract of other revenues. VII 550b

mulūk al-ṭawā'if → MALIK

mulūkhiyya → ṬAʿMIYYA

mumālaṭa → IDJĀZA

mumāthala (A) : in rhetoric, total or nearly total equivalency of the two phrases that form a TARṢĪʿ. X 304b

mumāthil → TĀMM

mumaththal (A) : in astronomy, a parecliptic orb, centred on the Earth and in the plane of the ecliptic, whose convex surface, *muḥaddab*, was contiguous with the eighth orb of the fixed stars while its parallel concave surface, *muḳaʿʿar*, was contiguous with the convex survace of Jupiter's parecliptic. This is one of three postulated solid rotating orbs to bring about a planet's observed motions. XI 555a

mumayyiz (A) : in law, the 'discerning minor', a stage in the transition from the status of minor to that of major. I 993b; VIII 836a

♦ mümeyyiz (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a clerk who examined every matter to be put before the SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM as to correctness of presentation. II 867a

mu'min (A) : lit. believer; one of the names of God. VII 554b

mūmis → BAGHIYY

mūmiyā' (A, P *mūmiyā'ī*) : bitumen, mineral tar (L *Mumia naturalis persica*), a solid, black, shining mineral liquid which trickles from rock-caves. In ancient medicine, it

was mainly used against lesions and fractures. It is to be distinguished from the *Mumia factitia var. humana*, the bituminous substance of the Egyptian mummies, which is called *biṣṣasfalṭus* (and variants). VII 556a

mumsika (A) : a bit of metal, projecting from the outer rim of the astrolabe and fitting into an exactly corresponding indentation on the edge of each disc, which prevents the discs from turning. I 723a

muʾna (A) : in law, an impost. XI 410b; in North Africa, a special allowance for food, to which members of a GŪM were entitled when on active service. II 1138b

munābadha → BAYʿ AL-MUNĀBADHA

munabbat-kārī (P) : in architecture, lime plaster. V 600b; in art, filigree. X 518b

munādī (A) : town crier, herald; in the Qurʾān, ~ is used for the one who will proclaim the Last Day and give the summons to Judgement, in popular Islam usually identified with the angel Isrāfīl. VII 557a

munādjāt (A) : a whispering to, talking confidentially with someone; in religion, 'extempore prayer', as opposed to the corporate addressing of the deity in the ṢALĀT. VII 557b; a doxological supplication. IX 213a; 'whispered prayers'. XI 482b

In mysticism, the ṣūfīs' communion with God. VII 557b

♦ munādjāt Mūsā (A) : a synonym for TAWRĀT, the Torah. X 394a

munadjdjim (A) : in astrology, an astrologer, he who knows the lot of humans and their destiny from the positions of the stars (syn. AḤKĀMĪ). VII 557b

munaffidh → ṢĀḤIB AL-ASHGHĀL

munāfiḳūn (A) : a Qurʾānic term usually translated with 'hypocrites', to refer to dissenters within the community, whether openly or in secret. VII 561a

munāghāt (A) : term for the beggars' jargon of the Banū Sāsān. IX 70b

munāhada → MUKHĀRADJA

munāḳaḍāt → NAḲĀʾIḌ

munʿaḳid (A) : in law, a contract which fulfils all the conditions necessary to its formation. II 836a

munaḳḳila (A) : a fracture with displacement of a bone, a determining factor in the prescription of compensation following upon physical injury, DIYA. II 341b

munakkis (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse with bad head carriage. II 954a

munāsaba (A), or *tanāsub* : in rhetoric, correspondence between words in regard either to their pattern or to their meaning. II 825b

In law, the means of identifying or verifying the ratio (*ʿilla*) of a ruling. XII 570a

munāṣafa (A) : in law, reciprocal property-sharing by two co-owners, each of them holding the half of a one and undivided object, a special form of co-ownership. VII 564a

In the context of Muslim-non-Muslim relations, ~ historically became particularly important in the juridicial, fiscal and administrative organisation of border regions between Islamic and Frankish Crusader states in 12th and 13th-century Syria. The *raison d'être* of a ~ was to arrange a compromise on disputed border territories which neither the Frankish nor the Muslim neighbouring states were able to control completely. VII 564a

munāshada (A) : a set form of oath, at the beginning of a prayer of petition, sometimes involving a threat or coercion, directed at God. VII 564b

munaṣṣaf (A) : in early Islam, a prohibited product prepared by means of grapes. IV 996b

munāẓara (A, pl. *munāẓarāt*) : a scientific, in particular theological-juridical, dispute between Muslims and adherents of the AHL AL-KITĀB, and between Muslims themselves. V 1130b; V 1223b; VII 565b; VIII 363b

In literature, a literary genre in which two or more living or inanimate beings appear talking and competing for the honour which of them possesses the best qualities. VII 566b

munāziʿ (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse that takes the bit in its teeth and jerks the hands. II 953b

munazzalat al-samak → MUḲBULĀ

munfadjā → FARʿ

munfaṣil (A) : in the science of Tradition, ~ is applied to a Tradition with several breaks in the ISNĀD, to distinguish it from MUNḲAṬIʿ. III 26a

munfatiḥa (A) : open, disengaged; in grammar, a term meaning non-velar, indicating all the letters of the Arabic alphabet except for *ṣād, ẓāʾ, ṭāʾ*, and *ḍād*. III 596b

mungh → MANGH

munḥarifa → MIZWALA; SAMT

munḳalib (A) : in the science of Tradition, a term used by some to indicate a Tradition which has a slight transposition in the wording. III 26a

munkar (A, pl. *munkarāt, manākīr*) : 'unknown, objectionable'; in the science of Tradition, a Tradition whose transmitter is alone in transmitting it and differs from one who is reliable, or is one who has not the standing to be accepted when alone. When one says of a transmitter *yarwi 'l-manākīr* 'he transmits ~ Traditions', this does not involve the rejection of all his Traditions; but if he is called *munkar al-ḥadīth*, they are all to be rejected. III 26b; VII 575b; and → NAHY

munkasir → NĀḲIṢ

munḳaṭiʿ (A) : in the science of Tradition, applied commonly when there is a break in the ISNĀD at any stage later than the Successor; ~ has also been used of an *isnād* including unspecified people, or one later than a Successor who claims to have heard someone he did not hear. III 25b; and → YATĪM

munkhafiḍa (A) : 'lowered'; in grammar, those letters whose pronunciation does not require the elevation of the back of the tongue, i.e. all but the emphatic consonants, *ḥurūf al-muṭbaḳa*, and *ḳāf, ghayn*, and *khāʾ*. III 596b

munsalakh (A), or *sarār* : the last day of the month, in historical works and correspondence. V 708a

munṣarif → MUTAMAKKIN

munsariḥ (A) : in prosody, the name of the tenth Arabic metre. I 670a

munshī (A), or more correctly *munshiʾ* : in the Persian and Indo-Muslim worlds, a secretary in the ruler's chancery, an exponent of the high-flown epistolary style general in mediaeval Islamic chanceries from the 2nd/8th century onwards known as INSHĀʾ. IV 757b; VII 580b; VIII 481b

♦ munshī al-mamālik (A) : under the Mongols, the top position of the secretary class, in charge of the state chancellery; under him came the *munshī*, who drafted documents, and the *muḥarrir*, who prepared fair copies. IV 757b

munshid (A) : a reciter of poems. IX 229a; in Egypt, a folk poet, associated primarily with a religious repertory. IX 235b; an improvisator. X 36a

munṣif (A) : lit. one who metes out justice; a term used in Indo-Muslim administration, and then in that of British India, to denote a legal official or judge of subordinate grade. VII 580b; sub-judge. I 287b

♦ **munṣifa** (A) : the name given by mediaeval Arabic critics and anthologists to those poems in which a description of the fights between tribes is accompanied by a recognition, with equity, of the opponent's valour and the sufferings endured by the poet's own side. VII 580b

muntahib (A) : in law, a robber who falls upon someone and robs him at a place where help is available. IX 63b

muntaḳ (A) : 'pronounceable'; in mathematics, the term for the category of fractions whose denominator lies between 3 and 10 (syn. *maftūḥ*); the rest are called *aṣamm* 'deaf' and are expressed by *d̲j̲uzʾ min* 'a part of'. IV 725b

muntasib (A) : in mathematics, a fraction of relationship. IV 725b, where an example in modern notation is given

muntaṣib (A) : in calligraphy, a highly-prolonged upright stroke. X 596a

murābaḥa (A) : in law, a mark-up contract, a permissible form of sale that allows a purchaser to buy with the intention of subsequently reselling to a designated buyer with a fixed profit rate. IX 471a; XII 691b

murābaṭa → MURĀBIṬ

murabbaʿ (A) : a lute with a quadrangular sound box. V 234a

In poetry, a four-line MUSAMMAṬ, a stanzaic form of poetry, composed of three lines with separate rhyme and one line with common rhyme. VII 660b; VIII 584b; IX 353b

In mathematics, ~, or MĀL, denotes the second power of the unknown quantity. II 362a

In astronomy, the Southern Cross. VII 51a

In Persian cooking, jam. XII 610a

♦ murabbaʿa (A) : in urban architecture, a square in the city. XII 759a

♦ murabbacılık (T) : a land-leasing system in Turkey, in which, in exchange for his work, the farmer only touches one-fourth of the harvest. V 473b

murābiṭ (A, pl. *murābiṭūn*) : marabout. Originally, a warrior in the holy war, D̲J̲IHĀD or RIBĀṬ, who was slain fighting against the infidel. V 1200b; a type of warrior-monk who inhabited a *ribāṭ*, a fortified convent on the frontiers of Islam. VII 583b; hence a saint, who never took part in a *d̲j̲ihād* in his lifetime. Of the words used for saint in Morocco: *walī, sayyid, ṣāliḥ*, ~ is the only one applied to the descendants of a saint, who possess the BARAKA, miraculous powers, of their ancestor. V 1200b

♦ **al-murābiṭūn** (A) : the Almoravids, a dynasty of Berber origin which ruled in North Africa and then Spain during the second half of the 5th/11th century and the first half of the 6th/12th century. VII 583b

♦ murābaṭa (A) : 'measures of vigilance', in al-G̲h̲azālī's mystical thought, a fundamental concept made up of six degrees, outlined in his exposition 'On spiritual surveillance and inward accounting' in Book 38 of his *Iḥyāʾ*. VII 465a

muraddaf (A) : in Persian prosody, a poem with RADĪF, a word or whole phrase that follows the rhyme letter, not to be confused with the term *murdaf*, which means 'provided with a RIDF', a letter of prolongation immediately preceding the rhyme letter. VIII 369a

murag̲h̲g̲h̲abāt (A) : in s̲h̲īʿī law, the daily and non-daily supererogatory prayers. VII 879a

murāhiḳ (A) : in law, the minor on the point of reaching puberty, a stage in the transition from the status of minor to that of major. I 993b; as a term connected with a child's development, 'he was, or became, near to attaining puberty or virility' (Lane) (syn. *kawkab*). VIII 822a

murāḳaʿāt → MUḤĀWARĀT

murāḳaba (A) : 'spiritual surveillance', in al-G̲h̲azālī's mystical thought, the second of the six degrees making up the 'measures of vigilance', *murābaṭa* (→ MURĀBIṬ). It is an examination of the motives of the action and the soul's hidden intentions, in order to reject everything that would serve to satisfy egoism or any passion and that is not performed with a view to God alone. VII 465a; a practice of absorption in mystic contemplation, adopted by the Čis̲h̲tī mystics in order to harnass all feelings and emotions in establishing communion with God. II 55b

murakkaʿ (A) : an album, in which paintings and drawings, alternating with specimens of calligraphy, were mounted. No actual examples earlier than the 16th century have survived, but the period of the ~ would appear to be coterminous with that of classical Persian painting. VII 602b; VIII 787b; X 363a
In mysticism, the patched mantle worn by ṣūfīs. VIII 742b
murakkab (A) : composite; and → BASĪṬ
In grammar, the construct state of the noun. I 1083b; the singular, when applied to the 'compound' noun. II 406b; and → MUFRAD
In medicine, the compound of the constituents. I 1083b
murāsalāt → MUḤĀWARĀT
muraṣṣaʿ (A) : in the Ottoman empire, a very prestigious, high-degree order or decoration, NISHĀN, that was elaborately adorned with diamonds or brilliants, usually worn with a sash across the breast. VIII 58b
murattab (A, pl. *murattabūn*) : in mediaeval Islam, an official in the postal service. I 1044b
For the Turkish *müretteb*, → NIẒĀM
murdaf → MURADDAF
murdjān (A) : the smaller of two sizes of pearls, the larger being DURR. V 819b; and → ṬAYRA
murdji'a (A) : the name of a politico-religious movement in early Islam, in later times referring to all those who identified faith with belief, or confession of belief, to the exclusion of acts. VII 605b
murdjif (A) : agitator, one of the numerous terms in the mediaeval and modern periods for 'rascal, scoundrel'. XI 546a
murdjikāl (A) : 'bat'; an apparatus for ascertaining differences of level. It consists of an equilateral triangle with a plumb-line which hangs from the middle of one side. The triangle is suspended by this side. Two rods, an ell in length, are erected to ten ells apart; a rope is passed from the top of one to the top of the other and the ~ is suspended in its centre by two threads. If the plumb-line goes through the triangle, both places are on the same level. VII 203a
murid (A, P *shāgird*) : lit. he who seeks; in mysticism, the novice or postulant or seeker after spiritual enlightenment by means of traversing the ṣūfī path in obedience to a spiritual director. VII 608b
mūrith → MĪRĀTH
murniba → MU'ARNIBA
murr (A) : in botany, myrrh, a gum resin from the bark of several varieties of thorny scrubs of *Commiphora abyssinica*. VIII 1042b
♦ murrī (A) : a condiment, made with barley flour. IX 225a; X 32a
mursal (A, pl. *mursalūn*) : envoy. V 423b; without a specific textual basis. IX 364b; in the science of Tradition, a Tradition in which a Successor quotes the Prophet directly, that is, the name of the Companion is lacking in the ISNĀD. III 26a; VII 631a; VIII 384a
♦ mursal al-ṣaḥābī (A) : a Tradition in which a Companion describes some event involving the Prophet at which he/she could not possibly have been present. VII 631a
murshid (A), and **baba** (T 'father'), PĪR, SHAYKH : lit. one who gives right guidance; in mysticism, the spiritual director and initiator into the order of the novice who is following the ṣūfī path. VII 631b
♦ murshid-i kāmil (P) : 'perfect spiritual director', a title assumed by the SHAYKHs of the Ṣafawiyya ṣūfī order in the 8th/14th century, demanding complete obedience from all their adherents. The title was adopted by the Ṣafawid shāhs, the temporal monarchs in Persia during the 10th-early 12th/16th-early 18th centuries. VII 632a
♦ murshida (A) : in theology, a breviary. XII 802b

murtadd (A) : 'one who turns back', especially from Islam, an apostate. Apostasy is called *irtidād* or *ridda*; it may be committed verbally by denying a principle of belief or by an action, e.g. treating a copy of the Qur'ān with disrespect. IV 771a; VII 635a

murtāḥ (A) : a name for the seventh horse in a horse-race, according to the order of finishing. II 953a

murtahis͟ha → RAHĪS͟H

murtat͟ht͟h (A) : lit. he who is worn out, a warrior of the type that is not allowed special burial rites because his death is not a direct and immediate result of his wounds. IX 205a

murtaziḳa → RIZḲ

murū'a (A), or *muruwwa* : a term used especially in pre-Islamic and early Islamic usage, the meaning of which is imprecise. There is reason to believe that ~ originally describes the sum of the physical qualities of man and then by a process of spiritualisation and abstraction his moral qualities. After Islam, its meaning was extended thanks to the now pre-dominating moral focus. Broadly speaking, with the rightly-guided caliphs, ~ means chastity, good nature and observance of Qur'ānic laws, with the Umayyads, ~ implies politics, diplomacy, work, dignity and compassion, and with the early 'Abbāsids, ~ implies merit and is contrasted with abjectness; with the moralists, ~ is identified with ADAB in the meaning of good conduct. Becoming more and more abstract, ~ finally came to mean virtue. VII 636a

In law, ~ indicates the fact of abstaining from any act capable of offending religion although not constituting an illicit act. VII 637b

In the spoken language of today, ~ means 'energy' in Egypt (*miriwwa*) and Syria (*muruwwa*), as in the expression 'so-and-so has not the ~ to accomplish such a thing'. VII 637b

murūd → MĀRID

mürurnāme (T) : in the Ottoman period, a special authorisation from the sultan given to the MUSTA'MIN proposing to travel. This document was obtained through the intermediary of his ambassador. III 1181b

muruwwa → MURŪ'A

musā'adat (IndP) : 'assistance', a rate of interest that doubled the original loan given to officers in the Mug͟hal army in ten years. V 689b

musābaḳa (A, pl. *musābaḳāt*) : race, competition, contest, especially a contest in the recitation of the Qur'ān, ~ *tilāwat al-Ḳur'ān*, held in many contemporary Muslim countries. XII 642a

musabbiḥāt (A) : the name given to SŪRAS lvii, lix, lxi, lxii and lxiv, because they begin with the phrase *sabbaḥa* or *yusabbiḥu li 'llāh*. VII 650b; IX 887b

muṣādara (A) : in mediaeval administration, ~ is firstly 'an agreement with someone over the payment of taxation due'. The most frequently found meaning is, however, 'the mulcting of an official of his (usually) ill-gotten gains or spoils of office'. The latter meaning was also found in the Ottoman empire, but here ~ was extended to the property of non-officials as well as to deceased persons. II 152b; VII 652b

In mathematics, ~ are premisses or postulates. VII 652b

muṣaddar → ṢADR

musaddas (A) : in Arabic, early Persian and Turkish poetry, a six-line MUSAMMAṬ, a stanzaic form of poetry, with either five lines of separate rhyme and one line with common rhyme, or blocks of six rhyming lines, e.g. *aaaaaa bbbbbb* etc. VII 660a ff.

In later Persian and Indo-Muslim poetry, a type in which the first four lines rhyme with one another, while the remaining two lines rhyme among themselves, e.g. *aaaa bb, cccc dd, eeee ff* etc. This type is often called a TARKĪB-BAND. VII 662a; X 236a

muṣaffaḥāt (A) : in music, 'clappers', known in Persia and Turkey as *čarpāra* (lit. four pieces') or *čālpāra*, in Egypt as *aḳlig͟h*, and in Spain as *kāsatān* (whence perhaps castanet). IX 10b

musāfiḳ → ṢANDJ
musāfir (A) : a traveller. XII 642b
muṣaghghara → MARSŪM
musāhama → MUKHĀRADJA
muṣaḥḥaf (A) : 'mistaken'; in the science of Tradition, ~ is used of a slight error in the ISNĀD or MATN, commonly confined to an error in the dots. III 26a
In literary theory, ~ (also *djinās al-khaṭṭ*) is used for an imperfect paronomasia whereby there is difference in diacritics between the two words. X 69b
muṣāḥib (A, Ott) :
musahibu (Sw, < A **muṣāḥib**) : a term of East African Muslim court life. It is possible that the literary word *musahibu* is simply *ṣāḥib* with the *mu*-prefix (in Swahili morphology to be placed before all words denoting persons and also trees), but in some of the Swahili chronicles and the older epics, *musahibu* occurs in a special meaning, that of the close companion of the sultan. He is usually a half-brother or cousin. He has, among other things, to accompany the ruler wherever he goes and to protect him against treason. VII 657b
musāhim → SAHM
musāḳāt (A) : in law, a lease of a plantation for one crop period, with profit-sharing. The contract for such a lease is between the owner of the plantation and a husbandman, who undertakes to tend the trees or vines of the plantation for one season, at the end of which the proceeds of the crop are divided in agreed portions between the two contracting parties. The landowner's portion constitutes his rent. V 871b; VII 658b
muṣālata (A) : the wholesale lifting of other people's poems, as distinguished from the other kind of plagiarism: taking up, and playing with, existing and attributable motifs. IX 56a; XII 707b
musālima (A) : the term used for Spanish converts adopting Islam in the first generation. Thereafter, they were called *muwalladūn* (→ MUWALLAD). VI 881a
muṣallā (A) : any place of prayer, therefore also mosque. VI 653b; the place where the ṢALĀT is performed on certain occasions; VII 658b; the sanctuary or covered area in a mosque; the open space, usually outside a settlement, used during the two festivals (ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀ and ʿĪD AL-FIṬR) by the entire Muslim community; a directional indicator either entirely isolated in a huge open space, or set in a long wall. VII 659b
In North Africa, the ~ is a large threshing floor, with a wall provided with a MIḤRĀB and an elevated place for the speaker, used for the rites of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. VII 659a
musallam → SALAM
♦ musallamī → MUʿĀFĪ
musallī (A), or *ʿāṭif* : the name for the fifth horse in a horse-race, according to the order of finishing. II 953a
muṣallī (A) : the name for the fourth horse in a horse-race, according to the order of finishing. II 953a
musallim → SALAM
musalsal (A) : lit. strung together.
In the science of Tradition, ~ is applied when the transmitters in an ISNĀD use the same words, or are of the same type, or come from the same place. III 26a
In calligraphy, ~ is a term for the letters of the THULUTH script when joined to each other. It was sometimes practised by calligraphers to show off their skill. IV 1124a
♦ musalsal al-ḥalf (A) : in the science of Tradition, a Tradition in which each transmitter swears an oath. III 26a
♦ musalsal al-yad (A), and *al-musalsal fi 'l-akhdh bi 'l-yad* : in the science of Tradition, a Tradition in which each transmitter gives his hand to the one to whom he transmits the Tradition. III 26a; III 977a

musāmaḥāt (A) : in the science of diplomacy, documents of a primarily business nature concerning tax-relief, probably only in Mamlūk times, divided into large, issued in the name of the sultan, and small, in the name of the governor. II 303a

musammaṭ (A), also *ḳaṣīda simṭiyya* : an originally Arabic (then also Hebrew, Persian, Turkish) stanzaic form of poetry, whose single stanzas, normally all of the same structure, consist of two elements: first, a fixed number of lines that rhyme with each other, the rhyme, however, changing from one stanza to the next (separate rhymes), followed by a stanza-closing line that rhymes with the end lines in all other stanzas of the poem. This rhyme that runs through the whole poem (common rhyme) is called *ʿamūd al-ḳaṣīda* by the Arab authorities. The lines correspond to the hemistichs in normal poetry. The rhyme scheme of a simple ~ is thus e.g. *bbb a, ccc a, ddd a*, etc. VII 660a; XI 374b

muṣannaf (A, pl. *muṣannafāt*) : in Arabic literature, an early technical term applied to a collection of religious learning organised upon an abstract, structured subdivision in chapters, hence the opposite of MUSNAD, a collection arranged according to the first or oldest transmitter. III 24a; VII 662b; X 360a

musannam → TASNĪM

muṣāriʿ → ṢURʿA

musarwal (A) : a pigeon with feathered legs, a horse with white legs, or a tree with branches down on the trunk. IX 677b

musāwāt (A) : equality. In modern times, ~ has been used for the political concept of human equality. VII 663a

musawwad (A) : a term found in pre-Islamic South Arabian inscriptions to indicate an aristocratic group in Ḥaḍramawt; ~ is used to this day to denote the SAYYIDS, the descendants of the Prophet. XII 338b

musawwida (A) : lit. the wearers, or bearers, of black; the name given to the partisans of the ʿAbbāsids at the time of the DAʿWAS of Abū Muslim al-K͟hurāsānī and Abū Salama al-K͟hallāl against the Umayyads, apparently from the black banners these rebels wore. VII 664a; and → MUBAYYIḌA

muṣawwir (A) : in Q 59:24, applied to God as the fashioner of forms, but normally used as the equivalent of 'painter, draughtsman' when applied to a person. In Persian, ~ is used as a professional epithet, as in Mīr Muṣawwir, the term NAḲḲĀS͟H being more often used, as in Ottoman Turkish, for 'painter'. X 361b

musayyaḥa (A) : a silk KĀFIYYA worn in the Arabic East. V 741b

müsellem (A) : 'exempt'; in the Ottoman military, provincial landed cavalrymen, excused from any dues or taxes on land initially granted them, who later became transformed into auxiliary forces no longer employed in actual fighting but in discharging duties such as dragging guns, levelling roads, digging trenches, carrying provisions and casting cannon balls. Then, as the Ottoman state required them to pay taxes rather than serve in the army, they lost their privileged status and dissolved into the tax-paying populace. VII 665a; VIII 404b

mus͟hāʿ (A) : in law, common and repartitional ownership by the entire village community of all agricultural lands of the village. I 661a; VII 666b

mus͟hāʿara (A) : in Muslim India, a poetical contest; in Urdu usually pronounced *mus͟hāʿira*, ~ has come to be applied in its wider aspect to denote an assembly where Urdu poets come together to recite their compositions. VII 667b; IX 434a

mus͟haʿbid͟h → S͟HAʿBAD͟HA

mus͟had͟jd͟jara → BAYT

muṣḥaf (A, pl. *maṣāḥif*) : codex, a complete text of the Qurʾān considered as a physical object. The term ~ is not always consistently used to refer to the Qurʾānic text said to be completed in the time of ʿUt͟hmān, while *ṣuḥuf* was reserved, again not consis-

tently, for the first collection, said to be undertaken in the time of Abū Bakr. V 406a; VII 668b; a collection of written leaves placed between two covers, or a collection of a complete assemblage of leaves, each leaf being called a *ṣaḥīfa*, or a collection of pieces, of documents, a corpus, or vulgate. VIII 835a

mushāhada (A) : in the mystical thought of al-Ḳushayrī, ~ is direct vision, the 'presence of the reality', the third of three stages in the progression towards Reality. IV 697a

musha‘‘ib (A) : in mediaeval 'Irāḳ, a person who maims a child at birth in order to make use of it at a future time for begging purposes. VII 494a

mushākil (A) : in Persian prosody, the name of a metre, of rare occurrence, said to have been invented by the Persians. I 677b

mushallaḥ → MASHLAḤ

mushāraka (A) : in law, 'participation financing', a contractual partnership. Its essence is joint exploitation of capital (or, in full or in part, of the work and skills of the partners or of the credit for partnership investment) with joint participation in profits and losses. Unlike the MUFĀWAḌA, the ~ is a limited investment partnership in which the core of the investment is money. VII 671b

mushāraṭa (A) : agreement, arrangement; in al-Ghazālī's mystical thought, the first of the six degrees making up the 'measures of vigilance', *murābaṭa* (→ MURĀBIṬ). It is the anticipatory accounting of the soul made in the morning every day, which consists of instructing it in the engagements that it is to fulfill. VII 465a

mushāt → MASHSHĀ'IYYA

mushāwar (A) : an adviser, in Muslim Spain especially used for an adviser of judges. IX 505b; consultant *faḳīh.* X 945b

♦ müshāwir (T) : a technical adviser, whether a foreigner or not, synonym of *müsteshār* (→ MUSTASHĀR). VII 733a

mushīr (A) : lit. one who points out, advises, hence 'counsellor, adviser' in administrative usage, in recent times also acquiring in military usage the connotation of 'field-marshal' in both the Arab and Turkish worlds. According to some authorities, ~ was at first (before the 'Abbāsids) the title of the ministers (later WAZĪR) or secretaries of state (KĀTIB). However, with a few exceptions, this older and broader conception did not survive. VII 677a

mushrif (A) : lit. overseer, supervisor, controller; the title of an official, whose office seems basically to have been a financial one, and who appears at various times and with various duties in the history of the 'Abbāsid caliphate and its successor states, from North Africa to the eastern Islamic lands. I 389b; VII 678b; VIII 702b

In the early Ghaznawid sultanate, the ~ was, next to the financial officer, also spy and internal intelligence agent. VII 679a

In Egypt and Syria of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, ~ was used for the official in charge of the royal kitchens, watching over the food cooked there. VII 679b

Under the Ḥafṣids, the ~ was head of the maritime customs. II 146a

musht (A) : in music, the bridge-tailpiece of an 'ŪD. X 769b

♦ mushtī → FARAKH

mushtarī (A, P *hurmizd*) : in astronomy, the planet Jupiter. A synonym is *bardjīs*. VII 680a; VIII 101a

mushtarik (A), or *mushtarik* : in grammar, homonym. I 184b; as used by modern linguists, ~ denotes 'polysemy', i.e. it qualifies a noun which can have several meanings. VII 680b

mūsīḳī (A), later *mūsīḳā* : music, strictly speaking, the theory of music, contrasting therefore with GHINĀ' 'song' or musical practice. VII 681a

musinna (A), or *thaniyya* : a cow in its third year. XI 412a

muslim (A, pl. **muslimūn**) : the person who professes Islam, *islāmī* being exclusively used today for what is relative to Islam. VII 688b; VII 695a

musmiʿa → ḲAYNA

musnad (A) : in early Islam, any inscription in the pre-Islamic South Arabian script. VII 704b

In grammar, ~ is defined by later classical Arabic grammarians as 'that which is leant upon (or propped against) (the headword or subject), is supported by (it)'. They define *musnad ilayhi* as 'that which supports', i.e. the headword or subject. The relationship between them is termed ISNĀD 'the act of leaning (one thing against another)', 'the relationship of attribution or prediction'. However, the terms have a different, almost reversed, meaning in Sībawayh. VII 705a

In the science of Tradition, ~ indicates a work in which each Companion's Traditions were collected together, an arrangement that was not very convenient since the Traditions were not arranged by subject. III 24a; VII 705b; ~ is also applied to an ISNĀD that goes back all the way to the Prophet without a link missing. VII 705b; VIII 384b

mustaḍʿafūn (A) : in early Islam, the social group of the weakest Meccans. X 839b

mustadrak (A) : a continuation of a work, characterised by both continuity and discontinuity: it follows the line of the original work but amends it by means of reflection on the basis of the constitutive principles of the latter; omissions of the author of the original work are corrected. IX 604a

mustafād (A) : a collective name for indirect taxes under the ʿAlawīs. II 146a

mustafī (A) : in law, the person who asks for an opinion on a point of law, FATWĀ. II 866a

mustafīḍ (A) : in the science of Tradition, a Tradition which is treated by most as an intermediate class between Traditions with two transmitters, MASẖHŪR, and Traditions with many transmitters, MUTAWĀTIR, although some treat a ~ Tradition as being equivalent to either the one or the other. III 25b

mustag̲h̲allāt (A) : objects that provide income. XI 413b

mustaḥabb (A) : in law, a recommendable action, corresponding largely to MANDŪB. VII 722b

mustaḥfiẓ (A) : in Turkish military usage, the territorial army. VIII 371a

mustaka → MASTAKA

mustaḳarr (A) : lit. permanent; among the Fāṭimids, ~ denotes IMĀMS descended from ʿAlī and Fāṭima. II 851b

mustaḳfī (A) : in mediaeval Islam, a cut-purse who follows and steals up behind a person to rob him. V 768b

mustak̲h̲ridj̲ (A) : in mediaeval administration, the person responsible for collecting money, such as that of the poor-tax or land-tax. VII 724a; and → ISTIK̲H̲RĀDJ̲

In Muslim Spain, the ~ was the official who collected on behalf of the Muslim state the taxation due from the Mozarabs, a possible translation from the Latin *exceptor*. V 376a; VII 724a

mustakraha (A) : a woman who has been raped. XI 509b

mustakris̲h̲ (A) : a child who has become large in his stomach or hard in his palate, and has begun to eat. A syn. to the verb *istakras̲h̲a* is *tazakkara*.VIII 822a

muṣṭalaḥa (A) : the term for a technical term. I 572a

mustaʿliya (A) : 'raised'; in grammar, those letters whose pronunciation requires the elevation of the back of the tongue, i.e. the emphatic consonants, *ḥurūf al-muṭbaḳa*, and *ḳāf*, *g̲h̲ayn*, and *k̲h̲āʾ*. III 596b; VIII 343b; X 83a

mustaʾmin (A) : a non-Muslim, not living on Muslim territory, who has been given a safe conduct or pledge of security and thereby becomes protected by the sanctions of the law in his life and property for a limited period. I 429b; II 341b; V 178b

mustamlī (A) : a Tradition transmitter's clerk, the earliest representatives of this professional class emerging in the course of the first half of the 2nd/8th century. His function was to write the Tradition down from dictation and to reiterate the Tradition in a way audible to the audience. V 1133b; VII 725b

mustaraḳa → ANDARGĀH; ṬABAḲA

mustaʿriba (A) : lit. arabicised; in genealogy, the name of one of the three groups into which the population of Arabia is divided, the other groups being the *ʿarab ʿāriba* (the, for the most part, extinct original Arabs of pure stock) and the MUTAʿARRIBA. Like the latter, ~ is applied to tribes who were not originally Arabs. They trace their descent from Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān, a descendant of Ismāʿīl. All the north Arabian tribes are included among the ~, so that the Ḳuraysh, to which Muḥammad belonged, are one of them. VII 732b

In Muslim Spain, ~ was applied to the Christian Spaniards who retained their religion under Islam (Eng Mozarab). VII 732b

mustashār (A, T *müsteshār*) : counsellor; under the Ottomans, the general secretary to a ministry or the under-secretary of state. The function was retained under the Turkish Republic and each ministry has its ~; also, the name given to the 'counsellors' of Turkish or foreign embassies or legations. VII 732b

mustashriḳ (A, pl. **mustashriḳūn**) : an orientalist, one who studies the Orient; one becoming like the Oriental. VII 735b

mustathnā (A) : lit. excepted, separated; in mathematics, excepted fractions, separated by the subtraction sign. IV 725b

♦ **müstethna eyāletler** (T) : in Ottoman administration, those provinces of the Ottoman empire separated from the 'normally-administered' ones of the Anatolian and Rumelian heartland. VII 756a

mustatir → BĀRIZ

mustawdaʿ (A) : under the Fāṭimids, a trustee or guardian of the imamate, whose function was to 'veil' the true IMĀM, MUSTAḲARR, in order to protect him, and who acted by right of an assignment which so to speak allowed him to enter the family of the true *imāms*. II 851b; XI 482b

mustawfā → TĀMM

mustawfī (A) : in mediaeval administration, an official who was in charge of official accounts and thus acted as an accountant-general. IV 977b; VII 753b

For the Ottoman empire, → DAFTARDĀR

mustawḳad (A) : 'fire-place', a major cooking contrivance found in the mediaeval kitchen. It was designed to accommodate several cooking pots and/or pans side-by-side at the same time. It was erected to about half-a-person's height, giving easy access to the cooking food and was provided with vents allowing for an intake of air over the coals and for the expulsion of smoke. VI 808a

mustawshima → WASHM

mustazād (A) : lit. additional; in Persian and kindred literature, principally Turkish and Urdu, a poem of which each second hemistich is followed by a short metrical line which has some bearing on the sense of the first hemistich without altering the meaning. All these lines rhyme together throughout the poem. I 677b; VII 754b

müsteshār → MUSTASHĀR

müstethna eyāletler → MUSTATHNĀ

müsweddedji (T) : a clerk in the Ottoman empire who drafted in hypothetical terms every matter for the SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM, who had no contact with litigants nor their advocates. II 867a

mutʿa (A) : lit. enjoyment; in law, temporary marriage, also called *nikāh al-mutʿa*, a marriage which is contracted for a fixed period. It was authorised at the beginning of

Islam but forbidden later by the SUNNA; s͟hīʿism tolerates it, however. VI 476a; VII 757a; VIII 28b; also, the indemnity payable to a divorced wife when no dowry has been stipulated. VII 759a; X 154a

muṭāʿ (A) : as *al-* ~, a term mentioned in al-G͟hazālī the meaning of which is unclear: R.A. Nicholson tentatively suggested it should be read as identical with ḲUṬB as *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya*, but this was rejected by W.H.T. Gairdner, who had earlier questioned L. Massignon's suggestion that al-~ is an obscure allusion to the doctrine of the *ḳuṭb* as the head of the saintly hierarchy. V 544a

mutaʿadd → TAʿADDĪ

mutaʿammim → MIKWAR(A)

mutaʿarriba (A) : 'those who seek to become Arabs'; in genealogy, the term applied to the descendants of Ḳaḥṭān who were regarded as 'having become Arabs' in contrast to the supposedly indigenous 'pure' Arab tribes. They settled in southern Arabia. VII 759b

mutaʿas͟hs͟hā (A) : in mediaeval Islam, the name for the places where pilgrims stopped for the evening meal on the pilgrim highway running from ʿIrāḳ to the Holy Cities. XII 198b

mutaʿaṣṣib (A) : narrow-minded. X 552a

muṭābaḳ (A) : in literary theory, the repetition of the same word with a different meaning, according to the early theorist T͟haʿlab, which later became subsumed under the term TARDĪD. Ḳudāma assigned the meaning of 'pun' to ~. X 69a; and → ṬIBĀḲ

♦ muṭābaḳa (A) : in literary theory, a contrast between two single contraries; antithesis. VII 491b; X 450b; and → TAḌAMMUN

mutabarriz (A) : the name for the second horse in a horse-race, according to the order of finishing. II 953a

muṭabbik͟h (A) : said of a young man who is full (or plump). VIII 822a

mutaḍādd → ṬIBĀḲ

mutadārik (A) : in prosody, the name of the sixteenth Arabic metre. It does not seem to have been used by the poets before Islam or the first century AH. It is made up, in each hemistich, of four *fāʿilun*, which may be reduced to *faʿilun* or even *faʿlun*. I 670a; IV 412b; VII 759b

muʿtadil (A) : temperate, as in climate. XI 303a

mutad̲j̲abbir (A) : a tyrant. V 521b

mutafaḳḳih (A) : a student of FIḲH 'undergraduate', as opposed to FAḲĪH 'doctor of the law' or 'graduate student'. V 1124b

muʾtafikāt (A, < Heb *mahpeka*) : in the Qurʾān, the 'subverted [cities]', referring most likely to Sodom and Gomorrah, the cities of Lot. V 424a; V 832b

mutag͟hallibe → DEREBEY

mutaḥayyir → KAWKAB

muʿtaḳ → ʿITḲ

mutaḳabbil → ḲABĀLA

mutaḳaddim → HAYLĀD̲J̲

mutakallaf (A) : artificial, as poetry, not springing from sound talent. XII 649b

mutakallif → MAṬBŪʿ

mutakallim → ḤĀL

mutaḳārib (A) : in prosody, the name of the fifteenth Arabic metre, comprising in each hemistich, four feet made up of one short and two longs (*faʿūlun*). A certain number of licences are possible, in particular, the omission of the fourth foot, the shortening or even the cutting out of the third syllable of a foot, etc. I 670a; VII 763a

mutakāwis (A) : in prosody, the situation in which the two quiescent consonants of the rhyme letter, *rawī*, are separated by four vowelled consonants (as in *faw[ḳa ḳadami]h*). IV 412b

mutak̲h̲ayyila (A) : in the poetics of the philosophers, a faculty responsible for the re-actualisation of images which have been perceived in the past. IX 458b

muṭālaba (A) : in law, the 'exaction of payment' (Ger *Haftung*). I 29a

muʿtalla → ḤARF ʿILLA

mutamakkin (A) : in grammar, 'having full freedom of movement', i.e. a masculine noun declinable in three cases, a synonym of *munṣarif*. IX 53a; X 193b

mu'tamar (A) : conference or congress; in the modern Islamic context, the convening of Muslims from throughout the world in order to deliberate over common concerns. VII 764b

muʿtamir (A) : a pilgrim performing the ʿUMRA 'lesser pilgrimage'. X 864b

mutammima (A, pl. *mutammimāt*) : the generic term for the genre of complements in Arabic literature. IX 603b

mutanad̲j̲d̲j̲is → NAD̲J̲IS

mutarādif (A) : in prosody, the situation in which the two quiescent consonants of the rhyme letter, *rawī*, come in immediate succession (as in *ḳāl*). IV 412b

mutarad̲j̲d̲j̲ila (A) : a woman who tries to resemble men in clothing habits and ornaments. IX 566b

mutāraka → MUWĀḌAʿA

mutarākib (A) : in prosody, the situation in which three vowelled consonants stand between the two quiescent consonants of the rhyme letter, *rawī* (as in *fī[d̲j̲abali]y*). IV 412b

mutaraʿriʿ (A), or *mulimm* : a child 'almost or quite past the age of ten years, or active' (Lane). VIII 822a

mutarassil (A) : in the mediaeval period, chancery clerk, secretary (syn. KĀTIB). XII 662b

mutaṣaddī : in Muslim India, the functionary in the Dihlī sultanate who issued both permits to merchants who brought their merchandise into the market for sale and passes for goods which were taken out of the city. IX 801a

mutaṣaddir → ṢADR

mutasalliḳ → ṢĀḤIB AL-LAYL

mutasalṭin (A) : a petty prince. IX 849a

mutaṣarrif (A, T *müteṣarrif*) : in Ottoman administration, the chief administrative official of the SAND̲J̲AḲ or LIWĀ', the second highest in the hierarchy of administrative districts, as defined by the provincial administration laws of 23 Rabīʿ I 1284/25 July 1867 and S̲h̲awwāl 1287/1871. With the transformation of the old *sand̲j̲aḳ*s into *wilāyet*s (→ EYĀLET) in 1921, ~ passed out of use as a designation for a type of local official. VII 774a; IX 13b; governor. VIII 1b

♦ mutaṣarrifiyya (A) : a synonym of SAND̲J̲AḲ, an (administrative) regime, as e.g. created in Lebanon in 1861. V 794a; V 1253a

mutas̲h̲ābih (A) : in Qur'ānic science, the term for the 'ambiguous' verses, whose picturesque style, if taken literally, would seem to ascribe human attributes or acts to God, distinct from the *muḥkam* verses, whose sense is clearly established. I 409a ff.

mutaṭawwiʿa (A), or *muṭṭawwiʿa* : lit. those who perform supererogatory deeds of piety, those over and above the duties laid upon them by the s̲h̲arīʿa; in military contexts, ~ was used as a designation for volunteer fighters, especially to be found on the frontiers of the Islamic world, where there were great opportunities to fight a holy war against the pagans. From around the 5th/11th century, ~ was replaced more and more by G̲H̲ĀZĪ and MUD̲J̲ĀHID for the concept of volunteer warriors for the faith. VII 776b; VIII 795b; volunteers who served in the early Islamic armies without regular stipends, but who shared in the plunder. VIII 568b

In present-day Bedouin society, elders responsible for order and decency. V 768a

In contemporary Saudi Arabia, *muṭawwiʿ* (a modern formation from the same root) is used to designate the religious police who enforce the closure of shops during the times of public prayer, oversee morals, etc. VII 777b

mutawakkil → TAWAKKUL

♦ mutawakkiliyya (A) : a plant, or dish, forbidden by al-Ḥākim in addition to the classical food prohibitions. II 1070a

mutawālī (A, Leb *mtawleh*; pl. *matāwila, mutāwila*) : the name for the Twelver shīʿīs in Lebanon, and for those who emigrated from there to Damascus (but not, generally speaking, for those resident in other parts of Syria). VII 780a

mutawallī (A) : in Mughal India, a manager of land-grants. VIII 751b; and → NĀẒIR

mutawaṣṣī → WAṢĪ

mutawātir (A) : 'uninterrupted'. IX 371a; in the science of Tradition, a Tradition (or, in general, any report) with so many transmitters that there could be no collusion, all being known to be reliable and not being under any compulsion to lie. III 25b; VII 781b

In prosody, ~ is applied to the rhyme in which only one moving letter intervenes between the last two quiescents. VII 781b

♦ mutawātir bi 'l-lafẓ (A) : in the science of Tradition, a Tradition in which the texts appended to the various chains are identical in wording. VII 781b

♦ mutawātir bi 'l-maʿnā (A) : in the science of Tradition, a Tradition in which the texts are identical in meaning only, as opposed to *mutawātir bi 'l-lafẓ*. VII 781b

muṭawwiʿ → MUTAṬAWWIʿA

muṭawwif (A, pl. *muṭawwifūn*) : the pilgrim's guide in Mecca. His task is to assist the pilgrim by supplying his material needs and in performing the rites of the pilgrimage. The *muṭawwifūn* are organised in a special guild, which is divided in sub-guilds. An alternative term sometimes encountered is *shaykh al-ḥadjdj*. VI 170b; VII 782a

muṭayyin (A) : in the mediaeval Near East, a beggar who smears himself with mud and feigns madness. VII 495a

mutaẓarrif → ẒARĪF

mutazawwidja (A) : an appellative for women in early Islam who have had several husbands. I 308b

muʿtazila (A) : 'those who separate themselves, who stand aside', name of a religious movement founded at Baṣra in the first half of the 2nd/8th century by Wāṣil b. ʿAṭā', subsequently becoming one of the most important theological schools of Islam. VII 783a; also the name given by al-Masʿūdī to a group of four extremist shīʿī sub-sects. VII 793b

mutbaʿ → ITBĀʿ

muṭbaḳa → IṬBĀḲ

müteferriḳa (T) : under the Ottomans, a corps of mounted guards, or member of the guard, who were especially attached to the person of the sultan. VII 794a

muthaʿlib (A) : the term for a country where foxes abound. X 433a

muthallath (A) : in mathematics, a triangle. VII 794b

In astronomy, *kawkab al-muthallath* is the constellation of the (northern) Triangle. The star at the apex is an astrolabe star and is called *ra's al-muthallath*. VII 794b

In astrology, *muthallatha* is used for each of the four divisions of the zodiacal circle, each of which includes three signs 120 degrees apart. VII 84b; VII 794b

muthamman (A) : in mathematics, an octagon, octagonal. VII 795a

In architecture, plan figures and buildings of eight equal sides. VII 795a

♦ muthamman baghdādī (A) : in Mughal architecture, the irregular octagon with four longer and four shorter sides, which may assume the shape of a square or rectangle with chamfered corners. VII 795a

muthannā (A) : in grammar, the dual. II 406b
In prosody, *muthannayāt*, or *thunā'iyyāt*, are used for short-lined quatrains with rhyme scheme *a b a b*. VIII 584b
In calligraphy, 'facing each other', not a special script on its own but possible to apply to any type of script; also called 'mirror-like writing' (Ott *'aynalî yazî*). IV 1124b

mutḳin (A) : 'exact'; in the science of Tradition, a quality of a reliable transmitter of Tradition. II 462a

muṭlaḳ (A) : 'absolute', as opposed to restricted, *muḳayyad*; 'general', as opposed to KHĀṢṢ. VII 799b
In grammar, *maf'ūl muṭlaḳ* denotes the absolute object (cognate accusative), i.e. a verbal noun derived, mostly, from the verb of a sentence and put in the accusative to serve as an object, even if the verb is intransitive. VII 799b
In law, ~ is applied to the MUDJTAHIDs of the heroic age, the founders of the schools, who are called *mudjtahid muṭlaḳ*, an epithet which none after them has borne. VII 799b
In dogmatics, ~ is applied to existence, so that *al-wudjūd al-muṭlaḳ* denotes God as opposed to His creation, which does not possess existence in the deepest sense. VII 799b

muṭrib → KHUNYĀGAR

muttarid (A) : in grammar, 'perfectly uniform, recurrent or general', the highest end of the scale used to assess geographical recurrence of a LUGHA, or the frequence of an element or linguistic form within one grouping. V 804b

muttaṣil (A) : contiguous; in the science of Tradition, an unbroken ISNĀD traced back to the source. III 25b; VIII 384b
♦ muttaṣil marfū' (A) : in the science of Tradition, an unbroken ISNĀD going back to the Prophet. III 25b
♦ muttaṣil mawḳūf (A) : in the science of Tradition, an unbroken ISNĀD going back to a Companion. III 25b; VIII 384b

muṭṭawwi'a → MUTAṬAWWI'A

muwāda'a (A) : a truce of friendship. IX 373b; peace between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, also called *muhādana*, for a specific period of time. IX 845a f.
In Mālikī law, a system for ensuring that a female slave observe the period of sexual abstinence, ISTIBRĀ', by giving the slave into the hands of a trustworthy person, preferably a woman, who forbade the new owner to come near her until the period had elapsed. IV 253b

muwāḍa'a (A) : understanding; in law, ~ means the rescission of a sale or transaction. A synonym is *mutāraka*. VII 801a; a covering document in a transaction which sets out the real relationship of the parties to each other and the real purport of their agreement, intended to prevent one party from using a document on which the transaction is recorded to its exclusive advantage and for a purpose contrary to the aim of the whole of the agreement. III 511b
In mediaeval administration, ~ denotes the contract of service of officials. VII 801a

muwāfaḳa (A) : connivance, in religion. X 135a
In administration, a term for the comprehensive accounting presented by an 'ĀMIL on relinquishing his appointment when it is approved by the authority to whom he presents it. If they differ, it is called *muḥāsaba*. II 78b
♦ al-muwāfaḳa wa 'l-djamā'a (A) : in administration, the comprehensive accounting presented by an 'ĀMIL on relinquishing his appointment, one of the many records and registers of a Muslim administrative office of the 4th/10th century. II 78b

muwaffad → WĀFID

muwaḥḥidūn (A, s. *muwaḥḥid*) : 'unitarians'; a name by which the Druze call themselves. II 631b; the name given to the adherents of the reformist movement of which

the principal element was the divine unicity, TAWḤĪD, which ruled during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries in North Africa and Spain, known in the West as the Almohads. VII 801b

muwaḳḳit (A) : a professional astronomer associated with a religious institution, whose task it was to ascertain the ḲIBLA and the times of prayer. Mention of such astronomers appeared for the first time in Egypt in the 7th/13th century. VI 677b; VII 29b

muwālāt → WALĀ'

muwālayāt → MAWĀLIYĀ

muwallad (A) : a hybrid, of mixed blood, a word originally belonging to the vocabulary of stock-breeders; hence, a cross-breed, half-caste or even 'one who, without being of Arab origin, has been born among the Arabs and received an Arabic education'. VII 807a; originally meaning home-born slaves. VI 881a

In Muslim Spain, the descendants of non-Arab neo-Muslims, brought up in the Islamic religion by their recently-converted parents, thus the members of the second generation, the sons, and, by extension, those of the third generation, the grandsons. The sons of an Arab father and indigenous mother were not regarded as ~. I 85b; I 491a; VII 807b; X 823b; original population of Spain. IX 232a; convert. X 605a

In grammar and literary theory, ~ refers to a word, linguistic phenomenon, or literary feature not found in classical Arabic of pre- and early Islamic times, thus 'post-classical'. VII 808b; X 240b; XII 638a; and → MU'ARRAB

muwāraba (A) : ambiguity; in rhetoric, ~ denotes the ability to remedy a gaffe or an offensive phrase by repeating the expression in an attenuated form, if not radically modified, or else by trying to make the person addressed believe that he has not properly understood what has been said to him. VII 808b

Among the G̲h̲umāra, a Berber tribe of northwestern Morocco, a 5th/11th-century custom consisting of a recently-married bride, still a virgin, being carried off clandestinely by the young men of the locality and held far from her husband for a month or even more, sometimes several times in succession if very beautiful. This custom was flattering to the woman. VII 809a

muwāṣafa (A) : in mediaeval administration, a list showing the circumstances and causes of any changes occurring in the army. II 79a

muwāṣala → WIṢĀL

muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ (A), or *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥa* : in literature, a genre of stanzaic poetry, which, according to indigenous tradition, developed in al-Andalus towards the end of the 3rd/9th century. It is reckoned among the seven post-classical genres of poetry in Arabic. Its fundamental characteristics were the arrangement in strophes and the addition of a final part, K̲H̲ARD̲J̲A (also called *markaz*), in vernacular Arabic or Romance mixed with the vernacular. I 595b; I 601a; VII 809a

muwat̲h̲t̲h̲iḳ (A), or *s̲h̲urūṭī* : in law, the profession of drafting deeds. IX 208a

muwāṭin (A) : citizen, a modern word coined around the turn of the 20th century. VII 812b; compatriot, fellow-citizen. XI 175a

muwattar (A) : in music, a lute like the 'ŪD. X 768b

muwāzana (A) : in rhetoric, metrical or word-formational equivalency between the final words of both phrases that form a TARṢĪ'. X 304b

muwaẓẓaf(a) (A), or *waẓīfa* : in mediaeval administration, a form of land tax depending on the return that the land was capable of yielding, and being due whether the land was tilled or not. For Muslim writers or historians of India, the ~ is always meant when K̲H̲ARĀD̲J̲ is mentioned. IV 1055b; VII 507b

For the Turkish *muwaẓẓafe*, → NIẒĀM

muzābana → BAY' AL-MUZĀBANA

muzammilātī (A) : in mediaeval Cairo, the attendant of the waterhouse, SABĪL, who was in charge of cleaning its premises and its utensils, and of raising the water from the cistern and serving it to the thirsty. VIII 679b ff.

muzamzim → ZAMZAMA

muzannam (A) : in poetry, term used by Ṣafī al-Dīn al- Ḥillī for a ZADJAL in which, contrary to rule, the classical language is proponderant. XI 373b

muzāraʿa (A) : in law, a lease of agricultural land with profit-sharing, in which contract the owner of the land arranges with a husbandman for the latter to have the use of his land for a specified period, during which the husbandman sows, tends and harvests an agricultural crop. When the crop is harvested, the two parties to the contract divide the proceeds in agreed shares, the share of the landowner constituting the rent for the lease of his land. II 905b; V 871b; VII 822b

muzarrad → DIRʿ

muzāwadj → DIYĀNAY

♦ **muzāwadja** (A) : coupling; in literary theory, paranomasia, a play on words consisting in the coupling of two terms which are similar in external form or in meaning and linked by the conjuction *wa-*, e.g. (*bayna-hum*) *hardj wa-mardj* 'between them there are disagreements', where the two elements have an independent existence. VII 823a

In rhetoric, the 'coupling' of two themes conveying comparable effects by means of two parallel expressions. VII 823b

muzāyada → BAYʿ AL-MUZĀYADA

muzayyin → ḤALLĀḲ

muzdawidj (A) : double; in grammar, the use of two terms in which the form of one is changed to make it resemble that of the other. VII 825b

In rhetoric, ~ consists in establishing a kind of alliteration between two adjacent words having the same form, the same metrical quantity and the same rhyme. VII 825b

In prosody, a poem with rhyming couplets, usually written in the RADJAZ metre which has either eleven or twelve syllables. In Persian and Turkish, it is called MATHNAWĪ. I 2b; I 108a; VI 832b; VII 825b; VIII 376a

♦ muzdawidjāt (A) : a poem in the RADJAZ metre consisting of strophes of five hemistichs in which the first four hemistichs rhyme together and the fifth ones have a common rhyme. Sometimes the strophe has only four hemistichs, the first three rhyming together and the fourth rhyming jointly. VII 825b

muzayyif (A) : in numismatics, a forger of coins (*zāʾif* or *zayf*, pl. *zuyūf*, 'false coin'). X 409b

muẓhar → MUḌMAR

muzzammil (A) : the title of the 73rd SŪRA of the Qurʾān, derived from the first verse which may be translated 'O you covered in a cloak'. VII 286a; and → MUDDATHTHIR

mvuli → MASIKA

myron : sacred oil, in the Cilician-Armenian kingdom. IX 679a

N

naʿām (A, P *ushturmugh*, T *devekushu*, both 'camel-bird') : in zoology, a collective noun denoting the ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) without any distinction of sex. VII 828a, where many variant names are found

In botany, the pellitory of Judaea (*Parietaria judaïca*). VII 830b

In astronomy, the twentieth lunar house bears the plural form *al-naʿāʾim* and is divided

into two groups: *al-naʿāʾim al-wārida* 'the incoming ostriches' and *al-naʿāʾim al-ṣādira* 'the outgoing ostriches'. VII 830b

nāb (A, pl. *niyāb*) : in anatomy, the canine tooth. III 1162b; VI 130a
In Persian, a measuring rod. II 232b

nabʿ (A) : in botany, *Grewia tenax*, a wood from which the pre-Islamic Arabs made their bows, still used today in Somalia. IV 797b

nabaʾ (A) : a Qurʾānic term for 'news, announcement', which meaning ~ has retained until today; also, an edifying tale, a story of a prophet. III 369a

nabaʿ (A) : a shallow water source. I 100a

nabāt (A) : plants. VII 831a; and → SUKKAR

♦ nabātī : a strong yellow-coloured paper preferred by Cairo printers. IV 420a

nabaṭi (A) : in literature, the name given to the popular vernacular poetry of Arabia. VII 838a

nabaz (A, pl. *anbāz*) : in onomastics, an unpleasant sobriquet, LAḲAB, such as that of Marwān I (*al-ḥimār* 'the ass'). IV 180a; V 618b

nabbāl → AḲŪNĪṬUN

nabbāsh (A) : lit. burrower, excavator; in mediaeval Islam, a category of thieves, said to be well-known and presumably a man who dug up a people's buried treasure hoards. V 769a

nabī (A, pl. *nabiyyūn*) : prophet. When used in the Qurʾān, ~ seems to occur only in Medinan passages and is applied specifically only to Muḥammad and certain other 'messengers'. V 423b

nabīdh (A) : intoxicating drinks, several kinds of which were produced in early Arabia, such as *mizr* (from barley; and → MAZAR), BITʿ (from honey or spelt) or FAḌĪKH (from different kinds of dates). These ingredients were steeped in water until they were fermented, and the result of the procedure was a slightly intoxicating drink. Sometimes ~ was consumed mixed with strong intoxicating ingredients like cannabis. IV 996a; VI 721a; VII 840a; and → SHARĀB

nābita (A) : a term of classical Arabic meaning 'rising generation', but one which today has acquired the pejorative sense of 'bad lot, rogue'. VII 843b

nabḳ (A) : in botany, the fruit of the SIDR tree. IX 549b

nabl (A) : in archery, a wooden or Arab arrow, one of the three main words denoting the arrow, the others being SAHM and *nushshāb* 'Persian arrow'. IV 799a

nādd → ATHMĀN

nadhīr (A, pl. *nudhur*) : 'warner'; a Qurʾānic term, whose opposite is *bashīr*, *mubashshir*. Both ~ and *bashīr* are applied to the prophets, the former when they are represented as warners, the latter as announcers of good tidings. ~ is used as an epithet of Noah, the great warner before the Deluge, and of Muḥammad himself. VII 845a

nadhr (A, pl. *nudhūr*) : 'vow', a procedure which was taken over into Islam from the pre-Islamic Arabs, for whom the vow always had more or less the character of a self-dedication, and underwent modification. In Islam the vow and the oath are treated together. VII 846a

♦ nadhr wa-niyāz (A) : among the AHL AL-ḤAḲḲ, raw offerings, including animals of the male sex, oxen, sheep, cocks, intended for sacrifice, which with cooked or prepared victuals (→ KHAYR WA-KHIDMAT) is an indispensable feature of a DHIKR session. I 261a; X 398a

♦ nadhr-niyāzmanlik (T) : a composite term denoting offerings of money, cereals or beasts given to the custodians of saints' tombs in Central Asia. A synonym is ṢADAḲA, while in the Western Turkish world, *adak*, *nadhr* and *niyāz* are used. XI 115a; XI 534b

nadīm (A, pl. *nidām*, *nudamāʾ*, *nudmān*) : drinking companion, and, by extension, friend, courtier (or confidant) of kings or of wealthy persons; his function is to enter-

tain them, eat and drink in their company, play chess with them, accompany them in hunting and participate in their pastimes and recreations. VII 849b; XII 719b

nādira (A), pl. *nawādir* : lit. rare thing, rarity; a pleasing anecdote containing wit, humour, jocularity and lively repartee, of the type which has never ceased to be an integral feature of all social gatherings, whether intimate or official. VII 856b

In grammar, the plural form *nawādir* also denotes compounds containing *abū, umm, ibn* etc., and dual forms. VI 823a

naʿdja (A) : a reproductive ewe. XII 319a

nadjama → ITHTHAGHARA

nadjāsāt → NADJIS

nadjdjār (A) : a carpenter. XII 758b

nadjis (A) : impure (ant. *ṭāhir*). In law, *nadjāsāt* are things impure in themselves and cannot be purified; *mutanadjdjis* is applied to those things which are defiled only. The law schools differ in their definitions of what is impure. VII 870a

nadjl (A) : progeny. VIII 821b

nadjm (A, pl. **nudjūm**) : star (syn. *kawkab*, also 'planet'); an alternative name for the Pleiades, otherwise called *al-thurayyā*. VIII 97b

♦ **nudjūm (aḥkām al-)** (A) : 'decrees of the stars', astrology. VIII 105b; the art of drawing omens from the position of the stars at a person's birth. VIII 705b

nadjr → LAYṬ

nadjsh (A) : the raising of prices, condemmed by Tradition. X 467b

nadjwa → FASHT

nadjwā (A) : under the Fāṭimids, a tax which had to be paid by those who were present at the Ismāʿīlī learned meetings which were held at the palace, abolished by al-Ḥākim. III 81a

nadra (A) : in minerology, a pure or virtually pure piece of gold and silver. XII 533a

nafādh (A) : in prosody, the vowel of the *hā'* serving as WAṢL. IV 412a

nafaka (A) : in law, maintenance, i.e. of the necessities of life, consisting of food, clothing and shelter, which obligation arises from kinship, ownership and marriage. III 1011b; VIII 433a; XII 643b

nafal (A, pl. *anfāl*) : in early Islam, a bonus share given to those warriors who distinguished themselves (in the battle). II 1005b; VIII 800b; XII 352a; and → IKLĪL AL-MALIK

naffādh (A) : a seller of amulets and images, listed by the 8th/14th-century poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī as a well-known figure amongst the swindlers who preyed on the credulous. X 500b

naffāsh (A) : in botany, the Seville orange (*Citrus aurantium amara* or *vulgaris* or *bigaradia*), also called NĀRANDJ. VII 962a

naffāṭ, naffāṭa → NAFṬ

nāfidh (A), or *sālik* : through-way, e.g. *shāriʿ nāfidh* or *ghayr nāfidh* 'cul-de-sac'. IX 320b

nāfikā' (A, pl. *nawāfik*) : the burrow of the jerboa (syn. *kuṣʿa* and variants). XI 283b

nāfila (A, pl. *nawāfil*) : in theology, supererogatory work; those works which are supererogatory in the plain sense, in contradistinction to other works which have become a regular practice, *sunna mu'akkada*. VII 878a

In law, ~ is used for the supererogatory ṢALĀT as well as for the whole class of supererogatory *ṣalāt*s. VII 878b; VIII 931a

nafīr → NEFĪR

nafs (A, pl. *anfus*, *nufūs*) : soul; self, person. VII 880a; and → RŪḤ

In divination, ~ is a term of geomancy, being the first 'house' of the *ummahāt*, because it guides to problems concerning the soul and spirit of the inquirer, and to the beginning of affairs. VII 883a

♦ al-nafs al-kulliyya (A) : in Druze hierarchy, the second of the five cosmic ranks in the organisation. II 632a; in Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's thought, ~ is the Universal Soul, the 'second Eternal' of five, which shook and agitated Matter in order to produce the world, without success. III 328a

nafṭ (A, P *naft*) : the purest form of Mesopotamian bitumen. I 1055b; a generic, vague appellation for a substance which is basically petroleum. VII 884a; 'Greek fire', a liquid incendiary compound which was hurled at people, the various siege weapons which were made of wood, and ships. I 1055b; VII 884a; fireworks; gunpowder. I 1056a; oil, in the modern sense of the word. VII 886b

♦ naffāṭ, or *zarrāḳ* : a specialist in discharging 'Greek fire' in the form of a jet, by means of a special copper tube, called the *naffāṭa, zarrāḳa*, or *mukḥula*. I 1055b

nafūd (A) : a sandy area, in the north of the Arabian peninsula; in the south it is called a *ramla*. I 537a; II 91b; VII 891a

nafūr (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse that swerves and shies. II 954a

nafy (A) : in grammar, negation (ant. *īdjāb* 'affirmation'). VII 895b; and → NEFY

naga (J) : a Hindu serpent guardian spirit, which sculpture frequently graces the entrance to a saint's tomb chamber. XI 121a

nag̲h̲ma → LAḤN

nahār (A) : a day, which extends from sunrise to sunset. V 707b; the ~ begins at the moment that the upper edge of the sun appears on the horizon, just as the night and the official day begin when the opposite edge, now uppermost, disappears. V 709b

nahḍa (A) : 'awakening', the Arab renaissance, the rebirth of Arabic literature and thought under Western influence since the second half of the 19th century. VII 900a; XII 772a

nahdj → S̲H̲ĀRIʿ

naḥīta (A, pl. *nuḥut*) : the 'moving section', a bee hive that is not welded to the wall of a dwelling, being the modern apiarist technique known as 'mobilist'. VII 907a

nāḥiye (T, < A *nāḥiya* 'district, vicinity') : in Ottoman administration, the subdivisions of a *wilāyet* 'province' (→ EYĀLET); the rural subdivision of a ḲAḌĀʾ. The subdivisions of a ~ are called *ḳarye* 'village'. In the Turkish Republic, the ~ is a subdivision of the *ilçe* or district. VII 906a

naḥl (A, P) : in zoology, domestic or social bees (apid family). A swarm is called *dabr*, which is grouped around the 'chief', *yaʿsūb*. VII 906a

nahr (A, pl. *anhār, anhur*) : running water, hence a perennial watercourse, river, stream of any size, thus opposed to a *wādī* 'a watercourse filled only at certain times of the year' or a *sayl* 'periodic torrent', 'flood'; artificially-contrived running water-courses, i.e. canals and navigations. VII 909b

naḥr (A) : in law, one of the two methods of slaughtering animals, by which the animal concerned becomes permissible as food. The term applies to camels only, and consists of driving the knife in by the throat without it being necessary to cut in the manner prescribed for the D̲H̲ABḤ, the camel remaining upright but at the same time facing the ḲIBLA. II 213b; and → YAWM AL-NAḤR

naḥs → SAʿD WA-NAḤS

naḥw (A, pl. *anḥāʾ*) : path, way; fashion, manner. V 913a

In grammar, the term for 'grammar' (to be contrasted with LUG̲H̲A 'lexical studies') and, more specifically, 'syntax' (the counterpart of ṢARF or TAṢRĪF 'morphology', so that for 'grammar' one also finds the phrase *naḥw wa-ṣarf*). VII 913a; VIII 894a; initially, ~ signified 'type of expression'. V 804a

♦ naḥwī (A, pl. *naḥwiyyūn*) : grammarian. V 804a; V 1133b; in its plural form ~ refers to an (anonymous ?) group of participants in the grammatical debate in which Sībawayhi was involved. IX 525b

nahy (A) : prohibition; in religion, the phrase **al-nahy ʿan al-munkar** 'forbidding wrong' (in full, preceded by *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf* 'commanding right') is used to refer to the exercise of legitimate authority, either by holders of public office or by individual Muslims, with the purpose of encouraging or enforcing adherence to the requirements of the sharīʿa (syn. *taghyīr al-munkar, inkār al-munkar*). XII 644b

nā'ib (A) : substitute, delegate, any person appointed as deputy of another in an official position; VII 915a; and → SAFĪR

In the Mamlūk and Dihlī sultanates, the ~ is the deputy or lieutenant of the sultan; the governor of the chief provinces. VII 915a

In law, a judge-substitute, or delegate of the ḲĀḌĪ in the administration of law. VII 915b

In politics, a parliamentary deputy. VII 915b

♦ nā'ib bārbeg (IndP) : in the Dihlī sultanate, a chamberlain. X 591b

♦ nā'ib al-ghayba (A) : under the Mamlūks, the temporary governor of Cairo (or Egypt) during the absence of the sultan. II 996a; VII 915a

♦ nā'ib khāṣṣ → SAFĪR

♦ nā'ib al-salṭana (A) : under the Mamlūks, a sort of Prefect of Upper Egypt, a post created in 780/1378 and inaugurated at Asyūṭ. VIII 865a; a viceroy. I 138a

♦ al-nā'ib al-ʿumūmī (A) : in modern legal usage, the public prosecutor. VII 915b

nā'iba (A) : an occasional tax in kind, levied by the first Saʿdīs; it later became more or less permanent and payable in cash. II 146a

nāḳa (A) : the female camel, a term also found in the Qur'ān, where it appears in the edifying stories of Ṣāliḥ, the Thamūd, etc. III 666a

♦ nāḳa al-baḥr → ATŪM

♦ ṣāḥib al-nāḳa (A) : 'the man with the she-camel'; a popular nickname for Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh, an Ismāʿīlī agitator. VIII 831a

naḳā (A) : a term connected with *nuḳāwā*, a generic noun denoting alkaline plants utilised for washing linen and whitening cloths; a 'rite of reconciliation', used in the Ḥidjāz for righting injuries, whereby an offender pronounces a formula on the doorstep of the aggrieved person, who then appears, covers the former's hand with a cloth, and kills a sheep to celebrate the reconciliation. VII 920a

On the Arabian peninsula, ~ or *naḳā* (pl. *niḳyān*) denotes a large dune bare of vegetation. II 537a; and → ṬIʿS

naḳad (A) : a strain of sheep in Bahrain in the time of al-Djāḥiẓ, which was stunted but a good wool producer. Other small-sized sheep were the *ḥaballaḳ*, which is still bred, and the *ṭimṭim*, with shorn ears and a woolly dewlap under the throat, found in Yemen. XII 318a

naḳā'iḍ (A, s. *naḳīḍa*) : in prosody, a form of poetic duelling in which tribal or personal insults are exchanged in poems, usually coming in pairs, employing the same metre and rhyme, synonymous with *munāḳaḍāt*. Sometimes *naḳīḍa* is used for what is more properly termed a *muʿāraḍa*, a poem with the same metre and rhyme as another, made by way of emulation or in order to surpass, without the invective element. VII 920a

naḳānik → LAḲĀNIḲ

naḳarāt (T) : lit. peckings; in Turkish poetry, the refrain, that is, the ultimate line or ultimate and penultimate lines of each stanza of the SHARḲĪ. IX 354a

naḳb (A, pl. *nuḳūb*) : an underground tunnel; in military science, mining, a system of siege warfare which reached the peak of its success in the late 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries. After the Crusades, mining declined considerably. III 473b

In mediaeval Islam, ~ gave rise to the designation *aṣḥāb al-naḳb* or *naḳḳābūn*, thieves who burrowed into cellars and vaults from the outside or from adjacent houses. V 768b

naḳd (A) : in law, the portion of the dowry handed over at the conclusion of a marriage.

In modern Arabic, ~ signifies 'money'. VII 921a; and → ATHMĀN
In literature, the genre of literary criticism, in modern Arabic *al-~ al-adabī* but in mediaeval times most commonly ~ *al-shiʿr* 'criticism of poetry' (syn. *intiḳād*). The critic is *nāḳid* (pl. *nuḳḳād, naḳada*), more rarely *naḳḳād*. XII 646b

naḳḍ (A) : 'refutation', in particular when used in reference to a book. VIII 363a; and → RADD

♦ **naḳḍ al-mīthāḳ** (A) : in shīʿism and, more commonly, Bahāʾism, the act of violating a religious covenant. VII 921a

nakhkhās (A) : 'cattle-dealer', a term in the mediaeval period for a slave merchant. I 32b; XII 757a; in Muslim India, a market where slaves as well as animals were sold. IX 800b

nakhl (A, s. *nakhla*) : in botany, the date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*). I 540a; VII 923a

nākhudāh (A, < H *nāo* and P *khudā*) : in navigation, a term for 'captain'. VII 41b

naḳīʿ (A) : drinks composed of fruits (dates, etc.) mixed in water. VI 720b; X 901a

naḳīb (A, pl. *nuḳabāʾ*) : chief, leader, of a tribe or other group; in early Islam, the Medinans negotiating with Muḥammad about the HIDJRA were asked to appoint 12 *nuḳabāʾ* as representatives. Both the number 12 and the sense of ~ as representative were repeated in the preparatory stages of the ʿAbbāsid revolution. VII 926a
During the Dihlī sultanate, the ~ was an official of lower rank than the *ḥādjib*, chamberlain, probably best translated 'usher'. VII 926a
Under the Mamlūks, the *nuḳabāʾ* were the military police, responsible for seeing that the members of the expeditionary force, despatched against a strong enemy, presented themselves on time and in the appointed place. III 184a
In mysticism, *al-nuḳabāʾ* are the 300 'chiefs', the seventh degree in the ṣūfī hierarchical order of saints. I 95a; for the Demirdāshiyya order, XII 208b; in modern Egyptian usage, the *nukabāʾ* are ṣūfīs who run the brotherhood's regional cells on behalf of the regional deputy, KHALĪFA. The *shaykh*'s closest associate is called *naḳīb al-sadjdjāda*. VIII 744a; in North Africa, the ~ or *nāʾib* is another term for the *khalīfa* or deputy of a ZĀWIYA. XI 468a
In guild terminology, the ~ was the master's assistant and the master of ceremonies. IX 168b; and → AKHĪ

♦ **naḳīb al-ashrāf** (A) : lit. the marshal of the nobility; under the ʿAbbāsids, the office of head of the community of ʿAlid descendants. VII 926b; IX 333b; his function was to investigate all claims to descent from the Prophet's family and to keep rolls of the legitimate descendants of the Prophet, for they were entitled to a lifetime pension. The ~ for the sunnīs was called the *naḳīb al-hāshimiyyīn*, for the shīʿīs, the *naḳīb al-ṭālibiyyīn*. V 1131b; IX 333b

♦ naḳīb al-hāshimiyyīn → NAḲĪB AL-ASHRĀF

♦ naḳīb al-riwāḳ (A) : at al-Azhar, the superintendent of the [Maghribī] students. X 640a

♦ naḳīb al-sadjdjāda → NAḲĪB

♦ naḳīb al-ṭālibiyyīn → NAḲĪB AL-ASHRĀF

naḳīḍa → NAḲĀʾIḌ

naḳīr (A) : in early Islam, a palmtrunk which is hollowed out and into which small dates and water are poured and allowed to ferment. IV 995b

nakira → MAʿRIFA

nāḳiṣ (A) : in literary theory, an imperfect paronomasia whereby one term is incomplete by one or two letters, which may be at the beginning or end or in the middle of the term. X 69b
In dating, the current year (syn. *munkasir* 'broken') as opposed to the completed (*tāmm*) year. X 268b

nakkāb(ūn) → NAKB
nakkāra (A, T *nakkāre*) : a medium-sized kettle-drum made of copper, one of the instruments of the military band, NAKKĀRA-KHĀNA. The two parts of the ~ were tuned differently to produce bass and treble tones, and were struck with sticks of uniform shape. VI 1008a; VII 927b
♦ čifte nakkāre (T) : a 'double drum'. VIII 178b
♦ **nakkāra-khāna** (P) : a kind of military band, composed of various instruments, kettle-drums, horns, trumpets, and reed-pipes. VII 927b; X 34b
nakkāsh (A) : die-sinker, one of the craftsmen employed as staff in the mediaeval mint, whose professional activity was restricted to engraving only. II 118a; an artist who embellishes surfaces; an illuminator of manuscripts; an embroiderer; a wall decorator. VII 931a
♦ nakkāshī (A) : a term which covers drawing and painting, whether representational or decorative. VIII 451b
♦ **nakkāsh-khāna** (T, < A and P) : the name of the Ottoman royal painting atelier. VII 931a
nakl (A) : transport. VII 932a; XII 658b; and → TARDJAMA
nakra (A) : in music, a beat. X 498a
nakṣ (A) : in prosody, a type of double deviation (ZIḤĀF), whereby there are two cases per foot, combining ʿAṢB and KAFF. XI 508b
naksh → TAṢWĪR
♦ naksh ḥadīda (N.Afr) : the name given to the sculpturing of plaster applied, with an iron tool, more or less thickly on the wall. II 556b
nākūs (A, < Syr; pl. *nawākīs*) : a kind of rattle once used and in some places still used by Eastern Christians to summon the community to divine service. It is a board pierced with holes which is beaten with a rod. I 188a; VII 943a; a percussion slab. IX 10b
naʿl (A) : in early Islam, a sandal which could be of palm fibre, smooth leather, or leather with animal hair. V 735b; a general word for shoe used throughout the Middle East today. V 741b; and → SIKKA
♦ **al-naʿl al-sharīf** (A) : the sandal of the Prophet Muḥammad, which, according to Tradition, had two leather thongs (*kibāl, zimām, shisʿ*) which passed between the toes and were attached to the sole. The other end of the pair of thongs pased through two loops to which were also attached the two arms of the *shirāk*, the folded strap that passed behind the wearer's ankle. At the forepart of the sandal there was an extension shaped like a tongue (*mulassan*) and the middle part of the sole waas narrow, with hollows (*khaṣrān*) cut on each side. XII 660a
nāla → SHATM
nalam (Mal) : a genre of Acehnese poetry, using partly the *urdjūza* (→ RADJAZ), partly the ḲAṢĪDA as model, but remaining closely tied to indigenous conventions. According to the demands of its metre, *sanja* (< A SADJʿ), it usually comprises two hemistiches and numbers sixteen metric units of one to three syllables each, the latter being arranged to form eight feet of a sort. XII 727b
nāma (P) : a letter; royal edict or diploma; a register, and in many ways the equivalent of the Arabic KITĀB 'book'. In present-day Persian, ~ is productively used to form neologisms, such as *asās-nāma* 'statute', *shinās-nāma* 'identity card'. VII 943b
namāʾ (A) : growth. XI 410b
namash (A) : in mineralogy, freckles or inclusions, a defect or impurity in a gem. XI 263a
namāzgāh (P) : 'place of prayer', in India, an alternative name for *ʿīdgāh*, the open structure built usually to the west of a town, consisting solely of what in a mosque would be the western wall, with MIḤRĀB(S) and MINBAR and, essentially, within a

spacious enclosure which should be capable of accommodating the entire adult male Muslim population. The structure is used only for the celebration of the two ʿĪD festivals, and no special sanctity attaches to it. VII 947a

namir (A), or *nimr* : in zoology, the panther (*Panthera pardus*), better known, in Africa, by the name of 'leopard'. VII 947b; VIII 120a

♦ namira : in early Islam, a man's wrap with strips of varying colours which give it the appearance of a tiger's skin. V 734a; the black ink of the writing contrasting with the white of the page. VII 950a

naml (A) : in zoology, ants (s. *namla*). In law, small ants (*dharr*) are permitted to be killed when they intrude upon the human domain and cause damage or when they display aggression. VII 951a

nammām → FŪDHANDJ; ṢANDAL

nāmūs (A) : originally, a transcription of the Greek νόμος, which was left untranslated in Ibn Hishām. It is also a true Arabic word, with such varied meanings that only some can be considered old and original. In the modern vernacular, ~ has survived as 'midge', with *nāmūsiyya* as 'mosquito net'. VII 953b; the bearer of a favourable secret. II 486b

In religion and philosophy, ~, from the Greek loanword, is used frequently for 'divine law', revealed through the prophets. VII 954a; for the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, ~ meant a kind of divine being. VII 954b; 'law,' interpreted as the angel Gabriel, in Waraḳa's confirmation of the authenticity of Muḥammad's first revelation. XI 143a

In magic, ~ is used for magical formulae, particularly those which are based on illusions of the senses. VII 955a

In zoology, ~ is a noun used in the collective sense denoting the totality of dipterous, nematoceratous insects or mosquitos. VII 955b

♦ nāmūsiyya → NĀMŪS

naʿnaʿ → FŪDHANDJ

nanawātai → PASHTŪNWALĪ

nānkār (P) : under the Mughals, an allowance paid out of the land revenue by the holder of rights over the land, ZAMĪNDĀR. XI 438b

nār (A, pl. *nīrān*) : fire. VII 957b; for ~ in compounds, VII 958a ff.; and → MANĀẒIR

nārandj (A, < P *narang*) : in botany, the hesperideous or aurantiaceous fruits, including oranges and lemons (modern Arabic *ḥamḍiyyāt*). The term ~ passed at a relatively late stage, along with the introduction of these fruits, into the majority of European languages, thus Fr. *orange*, Sp. *naranja*. It is believed that the Portuguese brought the orange from the Indies to Spain and Portugal, whence its current name *burtuḳāl* (T *portakal*), which has supplanted ~ in numerous local dialects; modern botanical science has created *burtuḳāliyyāt* to define these fruits. VII 961b, where many local names for the orange can be found

naʿra → ʿAṢABIYYA

nard (P) : the game of backgammon (trictrac); any kind of dicing. V 109a; VII 963a

nardjīla (A, < P *nāgīl* 'coconut, water pipe'), or *shīsha* : the water pipe, constructed from a coconut shell or gourd and traditionally smoked by the poor, whereas the rich used a *ḳalyān* made of porcelain and painted glass, and encrusted with precious stones. When Lane visited Egypt, the lowest orders smoked the *gōza* (< *djawza* 'coconut'), which differed from the ~ in having a short, fixed cane for a mouthpiece. Popular in all of Muslim Asia, the ~ is called a *ḥuḳḳa* in India (or *hookah*, which denotes the vessel containing the water), *čilim* (the bowl on top of the pipe) in Afghanistan, and *ḳalyān* in Persia. X 754a

nardjis (A, T *nergis*, P *nargis* and *ʿabhar*) : in botany, the narcissus. In al-Andalus, three terms were used: *nardjis ḳādūsī* (the meadow narcissus), *nardjis aṣfar* (jonquil) and *bahār* (< *ʿabhar* ?). VII 963b

narkh (P) : in the Ottoman empire, the prices determined by official authorities for various goods, especially food, shoes and some other basic goods. VII 964a

narmāhan, narmāhin → ḤADĪD

nasaʿa → ITHTHAGHARA

nasab (A) : kinship, the relationship, particularly ancestral, i.e. the genealogy of an individual or a tribe. The list of ancestors is introduced either by *ibn* 'son of' or by *bint* 'daughter of', if the first name is that of a woman. III 238b; IV 179b; VII 967a; VIII 56a

naṣārā (A, s. *naṣrānī*) : Christians in the Muslim Arab world. In the Qur'ān, where it is found fifteen times, ~ denotes Christians in general, in the eastern groups known to the Muslims of the Nestorians, Melkites and Jacobites. Other words for Christians are *masīḥī*, *rūm* (specifically, the Byzantine Christians) and *ifrandj* (the western Christians). VII 970a

naṣb (A) : setting up, raising; in grammar, the accusative and subjunctive cases, because both take *-a* and are thus *manṣūb* 'raised'. III 1249a; VII 974b

In music, a secular song, which in pre-Islamic Arabia found expression on all occasions of joy, and would include wedding songs, children's songs and lullabies, although it is said to be no more than a refined camel driver's song, ḤUDĀ'. II 1073a

♦ naṣba (A) : a form of long-term lease arrangement of WAḲF property in Tunis, which involved, in addition to perpetual lease, the ownership and use of tools and installations of shops and workshops. XII 369a

nasham (A) : in botany, *Chadara velutina*, used in the construction of pre-Islamic Arab bows. IV 797b

nashīd (A, pl. *anāshīd, nashā'id, anshād*) : in music, a piece of oratory, a chant, a hymn and a form of vocal music. This type of ~ is always placed at the head of a vocal composition, or at the start of a musical performance in the guise of a prelude leading to the main theme, borrowing from it the fragment of text which is essential to its development; the sources assign different lengths to it. II 1073a ff.; VII 975b; in the contemporary period, ~ is employed as the equivalent of 'hymn', e.g. *nashīd waṭanī* 'national anthem'. VII 976a; with *inshād, unshūda*, the measured (*mīzān al-shiʿr*) type of solo, chorus or antiphon, the unmeasured (*ghayr mawzūn*) being called *tartīl*. II 1073a

nashīṭa (A) : casual plunder obtained while journeying to meet the enemy. II 1005a

nāshiz (A) : in law, a recalcitrant wife. X 406a; XII 644a

nashshāl → ṬARRĀR

nasī' (A) : intercalary month, intercalation, or person (pl. *nasa'a*) charged, in pre-Islamic Mecca, with the duty of deciding on intercalation. The Arabic system of ~ can only have been intended to move the ḤADJDJ and the fairs associated with it in the vicinity of Mecca to a suitable season of the year. It was not intended to establish a fixed calendar to be generally observed. VII 977a; X 260b

In Judaeo-Islamic societies, ~ (Heb) is an honorific title used to designate descendants of the house of David, who were accorded particular respect. VII 977b

nasīb (A) : in literature, a generic term applied in mediaeval sources to love poetry. In its modern understanding it denotes the amatory prologue of the ḲAṢĪDA, the polythematic ode. Disregarding individual attempts to change the character of the ~, and innovations limited to a particular period, the generic features are to be defined as follows: an elegiac concept of love, the evocation of memories, and a Bedouin setting alluded to by generic signals. IV 715b; VII 978a

naṣīf → KHARADJ

naṣīḥāt al-mulūk (A) : lit. advice for rulers; in pre-modern Islamic literature, the genre which consists of advice to rulers and their executives in politics and statecraft, the

ruler's comportment towards God and towards his subjects, the conduct of warfare, diplomacy and espionage, etc., corresponding to the genre of mediaeval European literature known as that of 'mirrors for princes' or *Fürstenspiegel.* VII 984b

nāsik (A, pl. *nussāk*) : in early Islam, a representative of the ascetic movement, who wore rough woollen cloth in order to react against the people wearing more luxurious dress, and possibly also in imitation of the dress of Christian monks and ascetics. X 313b

nāsikh (A) : a copyist. II 304a; VI 199a; VIII 149a; an abrogator. VII 988b

♦ al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh → NASKH

naskh (A) : the act of cancellation, abrogation; in Qur'ānic exegesis, in the science of Tradition, and in law, ~ (syn. *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*) is the generic label for a range of theories concerning verses and Traditions which, when compared, suggest frequent, serious conflict; abrogation VII 1009b

In calligraphy, ~, or *naskhī*, is used to designate the flexible, rounded script which in the post-Umayyad period was a favourite script of the scribes. It is sometimes called 'broken' kūfic, and in the far Iranian provinces was used especially for personal inscriptions on pottery. IV 1122a; V 221a; VIII 151a ff.

In religion, ~ is a type of metempsychosis; according to al-Īdjī, ~ refers to the passage from one human body to another human body, MASKH to passage from human to animal, *raskh* to transformation into a vegetal state, and *faskh* to that into mineral form. X 182a

♦ naskh-i ta'līḳ, naskh-ta'līḳ → NASTA'LĪḲ

♦ naskhī → NASKH

nasl → ḲIDḤ

nasnās (A, pl. *nasānis*), or *nisnās* : in mediaeval Arabic literature, a 'demi-man' with human face and vertical stance, without a tail and possessing the faculty of speech, but also covered with a thick fleece, usually russet-coloured; in all likelihood, the ~ was nothing other than an anthropomorphic ape observed by seafaring Arab merchants of the Indian Ocean. V 133a

nasr (A, P *dāl*, T *akbaba*; pl. *ansur, nusūr, nisār*) : in zoology, the vulture, of which eight species are known in the lands of Islam. VII 1012b, where many variants are found; and → DJANĀḤ AL-NASR; ḤADJAR AL-'UḲĀB; KAFF AL-NASR; ẒUFR AL-NASR

In astronomy, ~ is in the names of two well-known stars: Altair (alpha *Aquilae*) derived from *al-* ~ *al-ṭā'ir* 'the vulture flying', in the 17th Boreal constellation of the Eagle, and Vega (alpha *Lyrae*) derived from *al-* ~ *al-wāḳi'* 'the vulture perched', in the 19th Boreal constellation of the Lyre. VII 1014b

naṣrānī → NAṢĀRĀ

naṣrī (A) : in numismatics, a square silver coin of Ḥafṣid Tunisia, which remained in use after the Ottomans conquered the Maghrib. VIII 228b

naṣṣ (A) : in law, a text whose presence in either Qur'ān or Tradition must be demonstrated to justify an alleged ruling. III 1062b; VII 1029a

In the science of Tradition, ~ is the 'raising' of a Tradition, i.e. its attribution to its originator, not necessarily the Prophet. VII 1029a

In shī'ism, designation, e.g. of the imamate. IX 423a; among the Bohorās sect in India, the appointment of the head of the sect. I 1254b; and → IKHTIYĀR

♦ naṣṣ wa-ta'yīn (A) : the shī'ī principle that the Prophet had designated 'Alī to be his successor. VII 1029a

nassādj (A) : weaver, textile worker, synonymous with *ḥā'ik* although less derogatory. VII 1029b; and → TANAWWUṬ NASSĀDJ

♦ nassādjī (P) : a Persian tax levied on every man or woman living in the village who had a loom. IV 1042b

nastaʿlīḳ (P), or *naskh-i taʿlīḳ, naskh-taʿlīḳ* : a script, which is said in the works on calligraphy to have been formed by joining NASKH and TAʿLĪḲ, which compound gradually came to be pronounced as ~. The invention of this script goes back as far as the 7th/13th century. In Turkey and in Arabic countries it is erroneously called *taʿlīḳ*. IV 1124a; VIII 151b; and → SHIKASTA TAʿLĪḲ

nasṭūriyyūn (A, s. *nasṭūrī*), also *nasāṭira* : the Nestorian or East Syrian, later called Assyrian, Christians, whose practitioners under ʿAbbasid rule were prominent in the fields of medicine, science and philosophy. VII 1030a

nāsūkhiyya → TANĀSUKH

nāsūr, nāṣūr (A) : in medicine, anal fistulas. X 784a

nāsūt → LĀHŪT

naswar → SUʿŪṬ

naʿt (A) : qualification, in grammar, a technical term used to designate a qualifying adjective and its function as an epithet, synonymous with ṢIFA and *waṣf*. VII 1034a; IX 527b

In poetry, ~ denotes a ḲAṢĪDA praising and expressing devotion to the Prophet Muḥammad. IV 715b; an encomium of the Prophet. IX 213a

In onomastics, ~ means a personal name. The Umayyads considered an ISM and KUNYA sufficient, but the use of LAḲAB and ~ became current under the ʿAbbāsids. II 302a

naṭʿ → SUFRA

nathr (A) : prose, whose opposite is NAẒM, poetry. XII 662b

♦ al-nathr al-mursal (A) : prose that does not keep to the rules of SADJʿ. XII 665b

natīdja (A) : an almanac, also called RUZ-NĀMA and TAḲWĪM. X 146b

In logic, the conclusion resulting from the combination of the two premisses, *muḳaddimāt*, in the syllogism, ḲIYĀS. In place of the usual ~ we also find RIDF or *radf* 'deduction'. VII 1034b

nātiḥ (A) : a term applied to a wild animal or bird which approaches a traveller or hunter from the front. I 1048a

nāṭiḳ (A) : among the Ismāʿīliyya, one of seven 'speaking' prophets, each of whom reveals a new religious law. The seventh ~, the ḲĀʾIM, will abrogate Muḥammad's sharīʿa and restore the pure unit, *tawḥīd*, of the times before Adam's fall. IV 203a; XI 161b; XII 206b; and → ṢĀMIT

In poetry, a didactic poem in which each verse is sung to another mode, popular in the 16th and 17th centuries. IX 101a

naṭrūn (A) : in mineralogy and pharmacology, a compound of sodium carbonate ($NaCO_3$) and sodium bicarbonate ($NaHCO_3$) with several impurities, obtained partly from natural crystallisations occurring in sodium-containing lakes and partly artificially. VII 1035a; XII 130b

In modern Morocco, ~ (var. *litrūn, liṭrūn*) indicates a mixture of gypsum and rock salt. VII 1035a

naṭṭāla (A) : an artificial irrigation contrivance, still in use in Egypt, as well as in many African countries. Two men stand face to face, each holding two cords of palm-fibre ropes to which is attached a wide, shallow waterproof basket. This basket, made from twisted palm leaves or leather, is known in Egypt by the name *ḳaṭwa*. The two men holding the ropes bend slightly toward the water, dip the basket and fill it. Then they straighten while turning to the field, thus raising the basket which is emptied into the mouth of the irrigation canal. V 863b

naʾūr (A) : soot, as used in filling the trace left by a tattooing needle. Other materials used were antimony (*kuḥl*) or indigo (*nīl*). XII 830b

nāʿūra (A, pl. *nawāʿīr*) : 'noria', a current-driven, water-raising wheel, sometimes confused with SĀḲIYA. It is mounted on a horizontal axle over a flowing stream so that

the water strikes the paddles that are set around its perimeter. The water is raised in pots attached to its rim or in bucket-like compartments set into the rim. The large norias at Ḥamāt in Syria can still be seen today. I 1232a; V 861a ff.; VII 1037a

nawā → SHASHMAḲOM

nawāb → NAWWĀB

nawādir → NĀDIRA

nāward (P) : a training-routine of a horse. IV 1146a

nawba (A) : 'turn'; in its non-technical meaning, appearing in the *Aghānī* by al-Iṣbahānī of the 4th/10th century, ~ refers to the practice of having a given musician perform regularly at court on a particular day of the week, or to several musicians taking turns to sing during a single sitting; in the art-music of the Islamic Middle East and North Africa, ~ denotes a complex form made up of a number of individual pieces arranged in a standard sequence. VII 1042a; X 34b

♦ nawbat : in Muslim India, a large orchestra consisting of wind and percussion instruments. These usually played at regular periods in the gateways of palaces and shrines. III 452b

nawča → MĪYĀNDĀR

nawḥ (A) : in music, the elegy. II 1073a

♦ nawḥa (A) : in Persian literature, a genre of strophic poems in classical metres which are sung on occasions involving breast-beating or self-flagellation with chains. They often have unconventional rhyme-schemes and arrangements of lines and refrains within the stanza. The number and placement of stresses in each line are important, those for breast-beating having a more rapid rhythm than those for chain-flagellation. VI 609b

In Urdu literature, a short elegy on the theme of the Karbalā' martyrs, also called SALĀM. VI 610b

nawkar (P) : an official. X 488a

nawkhʷāsta → MĪYĀNDĀR

nawr → NAWRIYYA

nawriyya (A, < *nawr* 'flower') : in literature, a genre of poetry devoted to the description of flowers, which, however, is practically impossible to separate, as a genre, from the *rawḍiyya* or *rabīʿiyya* (descriptions of gardens or of the spring, respectively). VII 1046a; VIII 357a, where *rabīʿiyyāt* in Ottoman literature is treated

nawrūz (P, A *nayrūz*) : the first day of the Persian solar year, marked by popular festivities. It begins at the vernal equinox. VI 523a ff.; VII 1047a; VIII 146b

nawwāb (P, < A *nuwwāb*), or *nawāb* : in Muslim India, a title originally granted by the Mughal emperors to denote a viceroy or governor of a province, certainly current by the 18th century. A ~ might be subordinate to another governor and the title tended to become a designation of rank without necessarily having any office attached to it. In the later 18th century, the term was imported into English usage in the form Nabob, applied in a somewhat derogatory manner to Anglo-Indians who had returned from the subcontinent laden with wealth. It eventually passed into other languages, including French. VII 1048a

nāy (P, T *ney*) : in music, a rim-blown flute made of reed, a term used by the Persians in early days to designate the reed-pipe (A *mizmār*). The flute was called *nāy narm* 'soft *nāy*'. Later, they called the reed-pipe the *nāy siyāh* 'black *nāy*', and the flute the *nāy safīd* 'white *nāy*', because of the colour of the instruments. VII 207a; XII 667a; and → RUWĪN NĀY

♦ nāy ṭunbūr : in music, a pandore mounted with two strings, which was played with a plectrum, *miḍrāb*, instead of the fingers. X 625a

nayrūz → NAYRŪZ

nayzak (A, < P *nīza*) : in miliary science, a javelin. XII 735b; and → SHIHĀB
naz' al-watar → MADD
nazam (M, < A *naẓm*) : a genre of Malay poetry, consisting of a long sequence of couplets comprising two hemistiches, each usually numbering from nine or ten up to twelve syllables, that rhyme with each other on one of the following patterns: *aa, bb, cc, ...; aa, aa, aa, ...; aa, ba, ca, ...* . XII 727b
naẓar (A) : theory, philosophical speculation; and → 'ILM NAẒĀRĪ
In philosophy, a term which probably not until the 9th century AD received the meaning of research in the sense of scientific investigation as translation of the Greek θεωρία. VII 1050a
In dialectical theology, ~ meant 'reflection', 'rational, discursive thinking'. VII 1051a
In archery, the aim. IV 800b
♦ naẓariyya (A) : the theoretical sciences, as determined by the philosophers. I 427b
naẓarāna (IndP) : in numismatics, beginning in the reign of Shāh Djahān I, blanks that were of full weight and standard alloy but smaller than the dies with which they were struck, so that frequently a third or more of the legends were 'off flan'. The resulting coins, known as ~ mohurs or rupiya, did not do justice to the die-sinker's work, but on occasion special efforts were made to cut blanks to their correct size so that they could receive the full impression of the dies. XI 230b
nāzikī → ĪWĀN
nāzila (A, pl. *nawāzil*) : in law, especially Mālikī law, a specific case, case in question, distinguished from the FATWĀ by the fact that it is not, properly speaking, a juridical consultation but a case which is set forth as a real case. VII 1052a
nāẓim → ṢŪBADĀR
nāẓir (A), *mutawallī* or *ḳayyim* : the administrator of a charitable endowment. XI 63a; inspector of finance. XI 191a; in the Ottoman empire, a synonym for *wezīr* (→ WAZĪR). XI 194b
naẓīr (A) : in astronomy, ~ denotes the nadir, the bottom, the pole of the horizon (invisible) under the observer in the direction of the vertical; also, the deepest (lowest) point in the sphere of heaven; originally (and generally), the point diametrically opposite a point on the circumference of a circle or the surface of a sphere. VII 1054a
For ~ in law, → ASHBĀH
♦ naẓīra → MU'ĀRAḌA
nāẓūr (A) : in mediaeval Muslim Spain and parts of the Maghrib (where *nāḍūr*), a lookout or watch-tower of one kind or another, and in parts of the 19th-century Maghrib, a lighthouse. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa uses it in its original sense of the 'man whose business it was to keep watch'. VII 1056a
naẓm (A) : the arrangement of pearls in a necklace; in literature, poetry with perfect order and symmetry; composition; versification. IX 449a; IX 458a; XII 668a; in western and central Sudanic prosody, the versifying of an existing prose text. IX 243b; in Urdu poetry, a thematic poem. IX 162a
♦ naẓm al-manthūr (A) : in literature, the setting of prose into verse, opposite of ḤALL AL-MANẒŪM. XII 662b
nāẓūr (A) : a term used in Muslim Spain and certain parts of North Africa in mediaeval times to denote a look-out or watch-tower of one kind or another, and, in parts of 19th-century North Africa at least, a lighthouse; originally, the man whose business it was to keep watch. VII 1056a
naẓẓār → ḲAṢṢĀṢ
nefer (Egy) : in Egypt, the pandore, or ṬUNBŪR, a long-necked lute-like instrument. X 624b; and → GUNBRĪ

nefes (T, < A *nafas* 'breath') : a type of poem written or uttered by members of Turkish mystic orders to eulogise God or leading personalities of the orders. V 275a; V 957a; VIII 2b

nefīr (T, < A *nafīr*) : in Ottoman usage, a term alluding to a musical instrument similar to a horn. The person playing the instrument was referred to as *nefīrī*. VIII 3b; as *nafīr*, a trumpet, chief instrument of the cylindrical tube type. I 1291b; X 35a; and → BORU

In military usage, ~ alludes to a body of men assembled for a common purpose. VIII 3b

♦ nefīr-i ʿāmm (T) : in the Ottoman empire, the recruitment of volunteers by a general call to arms, in contrast with *nefīr-i khāṣṣ*, the mobilisation of a certain well-defined group of people. VIII 3b

♦ nefīr-i khāṣṣ → NEFĪR-I ʿĀMM

nefy (T, < A *nafy*) : under the Ottomans, banishment, internal exile, a temporary punishment imposed on individual members of the ruling elite who had incurred the sultan's disfavour. XII 767a

nemče (T, < A *al-nimsā*) : 'mute', a term borrowed from the Slavonic used by the Ottomans to indicate the Germans. In a broader sense, they also used it for the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, which lasted until 1806, and in a restricted sense for the territories under Habsburg rule within the boundaries of modern Austria. VIII 4a

nezik (T) : in music, a fork-shaped 'spool' in the head of the folk shawm, ZURNA, which allows the instrument maker to fit the body of the instrument, in the region of the seven fingerholes and the thumbhole, with an easily made cylindrical bore instead of the traditional conical bore. XI 574a

ngano (Sw) : in Swahili literature, the word for invented tales including fables, as opposed to *hadithi*, legends about the Prophet Muḥammad although today they contain some of the most fantastic adventure tales. XII 643a

nidāl (A) : in archery, a long bow. II 954a

nifāḳ → IKHLĀṢ

nīfuk (N.Afr) : a slit for the elbow at the lower extremity of the armlets in the DJALLĀBIYYA. II 405a

nigār → TAṢWĪR

nihāya (A) : in philosophy, a term denoting that which forbids access to something beyond a certain limit. The concept of ~ applies to such realities as time, space, and the division of bodies. VIII 24a

niḥla → ʿAṢABIYYA

niḳāba (A) : 'trade union', i.e. association for defending the interests of and promoting the rights of wage and salary earners; ~ can also denote the liberal professions and even those of employers. The term's usage became general after the First World War. VIII 25b

♦ niḳābiyya (A) : syndicalism. VIII 25b

nikāḥ (A) : marriage (properly, sexual intercourse), used both for stable and temporary unions. VI 475b; VIII 26b

♦ nikāḥ al-khidn (A) : concubinage, which is prohibited by the Qurʾān. VI 476a

♦ nikāḥ al-maḳt (A) : marriage to the father's widow, which is prohibited by the Qurʾān. VI 476a

♦ nikāḥ al-mutʿa → MUTʿA

♦ nikāḥ al-raḥt (A) : a form of polyandry forbidden by the Prophet, whereby a woman takes a group of husbands (less than ten) and, if she has a child, attributes the paternity to one of this group, who is unable to refuse it. XII 133a

niḳris (A) : in medicine, gout. X 433a

♦ al-niḳris al-ḥārr (A) : in medicine, feverish gout. IX 9b

nīl (P, < San *nīla* 'blue'), or *nīlādj* : the oldest known organic dye, *Indigo tinctoria* L., *Indigoferae*; the main component of natural indigo, which can be obtained from various kinds of indigofera (*Isatis tinctoria, Cruciferae*) and from the knotweed (*Polygonum tinctorium, Polygonaceae*). VIII 37b

In the Middle Ages, the Arabs used ~, actually indigo, to indicate woad (Dioscurides' ἰσάτις). The constant confusion between the two plants led to a series of Arabic synonyms, like *ʿiẓlim, wasma* (*wāsima*), *khiṭr, nīla, ṭīn akhḍar* etc. which were used indifferently for the two plants. VIII 37b

nīlādj → NĪL

nīlūfar (A, P 'water lily', < Gr Νειλόφερον) : in botany, lotus seeds. IX 615a; in Turkish, *nīlūfer* are water-lily flowers. IX 417a

nīm-fatḥa (P) : in Persian prosody, an extra short vowel, added to words ending in two consonants (*nūn* excepted) preceded by a short vowel, or one consonant preceded by a long vowel. I 677a

nim-ling (P) : in archery, a quiver made of various skins sewn together. IV 799b

niʿma → KĀFIR NIʿMA

nimʿa → RAḤMA

nimekare (P) : a land-leasing system in Kurdish Iran, in which the landowner leases out the irrigated lands and supplies the seed, and the peasant supplies the work, with the landowner taking three-fifths of the harvest and the peasant two-fifths. V 473b

nimr → NAMIR

nims (A, pl. *numūs, numūsa*) : in zoology, the ichneumon or Egyptian mongoose (*Herpestes ichneumon*). In some parts of the Islamic world such as the Maghrib and Lebanon, ~ has been erroneously applied to the weasel (*Mustela nivalis*). As a result of similar confusion, some Arabic dialects employ ~ to identify various other members of the sub-family Mustelidae such as the stone-marten (*Martes foina*), the polecat (*Mustela putorius*) and the ferret (*Mustela putorius furo*); the term is even found erroneously applied to the civet (*Genetta genetta*). VIII 49b

In botany, ~ is given to two plants: *al-nims* is, in the Maghrib, Downy koelaria (*Koelaria pubescens*); *biṭṭīkh nims* 'ichneumon melon' or *biṭṭīkh ʿayn al-nims* 'ichneumon's eye melon' is a nickname given to the watermelon (*Citrullus vulgaris*, of the variety *ennemis*). VIII 50b

nīr → DJARR

nīrān → MANĀẒIR

nīrandj (A, < P *nayrang, nīrang*) : the operations of white magic, comprising prestidigitation, fakery and counter-fakery, the creating of illusions and other feats of sleight-of-hand, ḤIYAL. V 100b; VIII 51b; amulets which have an extraordinary power over men and over natural phenomena; acts done by magicians. VIII 52b

niṣāb (A, pl. *nuṣub, anṣiba*) : lit. base; in law, a minimum quantity. XI 408a; the definite minimum value. IX 62b

nisān (A, < Heb) : the seventh month in the Syrian calendar, which corresponds to April of the Roman year and like it has 30 days. VIII 53b

nisba (A) : in grammar, the adjective of relation. VIII 53b

In onomastics, the element of a person's name, consisting of an adjective ending in *ī*, formed originally from the name of the individual's tribe or clan, then from his place of birth, origin or residence, sometimes from a MADHHAB or sect, and occasionally from a trade or profession. In Arabic, the ~ is always preceded by the definite article, which in Persian disappears. IV 180a; VIII 54a

In geometry, ~ 'relationship' (or *tasmiya* 'denomination') conveys the idea of a fraction, as opposed to *kasr*, the common term. IV 725b

niṣf (A) : half, in numismatics, the term for the half DĪNĀR, or *semissis*, struck in North Africa and Spain during the transitional period and in the early years of the 2nd/8th century. The third *dīnār*, *thulth*, or *tremissis*, was also struck, while the quarter *dīnār*, *rubʿ*, was introduced by the Aghlabids in North Africa early in the third quarter of the 2nd/8th century. II 297b

♦ **niṣf al-nahār** (A) : 'half of the day', 'midday'; in astronomy, used in the expression which denotes the 'meridian circle' (*dāʾirat* ~). VIII 56b

nishān (P) : under the Ottomans, ~ basically denoted a sign or a mark and also designated the sultan's signature, *ṭughra*, and, by extension, a document bearing it. Since the 10th/16th century, this category denoted especially those orders, concerning financial matters, which were drawn up by the highest financial department of the empire; also, the standards of the Janissaries; the insignia on military, naval and other uniforms; and, later, decorations bestowed by the sultan. In 19th and 20th-century literary Arabic, ~ had essentially the same connotations. The ~ are to be distinguished clearly from medals. I 1170b; VIII 57b; the ruler's sign manual. X 595a; and → KARKADDAN

♦ nishān-i humāyūn → TUGHRA

♦ **nishāndji** (T) : under the Ottomans, secretary of state for the sultan's signature, TUGHRA; chancellor. VIII 62a; under the Saldjūḳs and Mamlūks, an official for drawing the sultan's signature, also called *tewḳīʿī*. VIII 62a; X 597b

nisnās → NASNĀS

nisrīn → WARD

niṭʿ (A), or *niṭaʿ* : in anatomy, the anterior part of the palate. II 101a; the alveoles of the palate. VI 129b

nitādj (A) : the parturition of pregnant sheep. XII 319a

niṭāḳayn → DHĀT AL-NIṬĀḲAYN

nithār (A) : in the pre-modern Middle East, the showering of money, jewels and other valuables on occasions of rejoicing, such as a wedding, a circumcision, the accession of a ruler, the victorious return from a military campaign etc. VIII 64a

In numismatics, the Mughal silver (sometimes also gold) coin scattered at weddings, processions and other public spectacles. VII 345a; other terms for largesse-coins were *nūr afshān* and *khayr ḳabūl*. VIII 64b

♦ nithārī : in numismatics, for a short time the name of the quarter-rupee during the reign of the Mughal ruler Djahāngīr. VIII 64b

niṭʿiyya (A) : in grammar, a term used by al-Khalīl for the prepalatals. III 598a

niyāba → WILĀYA

niyāḥa (A) : lamentation; the term is used to designate the activity of professional mourners who play a great role in funeral ceremonies all around the Mediterranean. VIII 64b

niyāz → NADHR WA-NIYĀZ

niyya (A) : intention. Acts prescribed by Islamic law, obligatory or not, require to be preceded by a declaration by the performer that he intends to perform such an act. This declaration, pronounced audibly or mentally, is called ~. Without it, the act would be null, *bāṭil*. VIII 66a

niẓām (A) : in Muslim India, an honorific title which became characteristic of the rulers of the state of Ḥaydarābād, derived in the first place from the fuller title ~ *al-mulk*. VIII 67a; and → ḲĀNŪN

In Turkish military usage, ~ or *niẓāmiyye*, *ʿasākir-i niẓāmiyye*, *ʿasākir-i muwaẓẓafe* was used in the strict sense for an active or regular army (standing army) and in the wider sense for regular or disciplined troops (syn. *müretteb*). IV 1185a; VIII 370a

♦ **niẓām ʿaskarī** (A) : military organisation, the system of military rule in modern Islamic lands. XII 670a

♦ **niẓām-i djedid** (T) : lit. new system; in the Ottoman empire, the new military units, the 'New Order', created by the sultan Selīm III in 1793 to be a corps of troops properly trained in the European manner. To finance these he initiated a special fund, the 'New Revenue' (*īrād-i̊ djedīd*), from taxes on brandy, tobacco, coffee, silk, wool, sheep and the yields from the fiefs of TĪMĀR-holders in Anatolia who had neglected their duties in war. VIII 75a

♦ **niẓāmiyya** (A) : in Saldjūḳ historical sources, the term often used for the partisans and protégés of the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk. VIII 81b

In the Ottoman legal context, the *niẓāmiyye* courts, or 'secular' courts, were instituted in the Tanẓīmāt period and restricted the jurisdiction of the religious (*sharʿī*) courts to the area of personal law. III 1153b; VI 6b

niẓāmiyye → NIẒĀM; NIẒĀMIYYA

nḳāb (N.Afr) : a face veil for married women in Morocco and Algeria, often synonymous with LITHĀM. V 746b

nnṣaḥt (B, < A *naṣīḥa*) : in Tashelḥīt literature, a genre whose purpose it is to provide the illiterate population with information on orthodox Islamic practice. X 346a

noʿma → KUSKUSŪ

noyan (Mon, pl. *noyad*) : a Mongolian title, rendered in the Muslim chronicles of the Mongol and Tīmūrid periods in the Arabic script as *nūyān, nūyīn, nuyīn* etc. In the pre-Čīnggisid period the *noyad* were the hereditary clan chieftains. Under Čīnggis Khān and his successors, the title was granted initially as a military rank, and it came to mean 'commander'. Under the Yüan regime in China, ~ was used to refer to all officials serving in public posts. VIII 87a

nubuwwa (A) : prophecy, in the first instance the precognition given by the divinity to the prophet and the prediction made by the latter of future contingencies, and in the second instance 'revelation' (syn. WAHY). VIII 93b

nudjabāʾ (A) : in mysticism, the seventy 'pre-eminents', the sixth degree in the ṣūfī hierarchical order of saints. I 95a

nudjūm (A, s. NADJM) : in astronomy, the stars. The term for astrology was *aḥkām al-nudjūm* (→ NADJM) 'decrees of the stars'. VIII 97b

nuffār (A) : a term for those who took part in the siege of the house of the caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in 35/655, which culminated in his assassination. I 382b; II 415a

nuḥāf → NUḤĀM

nuḥām (A) : in zoology, the Greater Flamingo, *Phoenicopterus ruber roseus* or *antiquorum* of the order of the Phoenicopteridae (*nuḥāmiyāt*), which resemble waders with their long legs and palmipeds with their webbed feet. Other mediaeval names for the flamingo were *mirzam* and *turundjān*, which refers to its striking colour, while in Egypt, it is called *basharūsh* (< O.Fr *becharu*), becoming in Tunisia *shabrūsh*. Also found are the terms *nuḥāf, niḥāf, surkhāb* and *rahū 'l-māʾ* 'aquatic crane'. VIII 110b

nuḥās (A) : in metallurgy, the term most often used in Arabic for copper (Cu). Other terms, according to al-Bīrūnī, were *al-miss* (in ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān) and *al-ḳiṭr* (i.e. brass). VIII 111b; brass. XII 552b

nūḥī → KĀGHAD

nuḳabāʾ → NAḲĪB

nuḳāwā → NAḲĀʾ

nukhab (A) : in literature, 'selections'. X 482b

nukhūd → ʿASHRAFĪ; TŪMĀN

nuḳl → ṬĪN

♦ nuḳla → TANĀSUKH

nuḳra (A) : in numismatics, refined silver in bars or ingots. XI 147b; and → WARIḲ

In the mediaeval kitchen, a copper basin for washing smaller containers and vessels in hot water. V 808b

♦ nuḳrakhāne → ḌARBKHĀNE-I ʿĀMIRE

nuḳṣān (A) : in mathematics, the term used for subtraction. III 1139b

As a Persian term in linguistics, *nuḳsānī* means 'deficiency'. XII 430b

nukat → ḤAZZŪRA

nuḳta (A) : in mathematics, the term for the geometrical point. II 220a

nuʿmān → SHAḲĪḲAT AL-NUʿMĀN

♦ nuʿmānī → SABʿĀNĪ

numruḳ → WISĀDA

nūn (A) : the twenty-fifth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *n*, with the numerical value 50. VIII 120b

♦ nūn ghunna : in Indian phonetics, the final form of *nūn* written without its diacritical point, used when a nasalised long vowel stands finally in a word, or even morpheme. VIII 121b

♦ ṣāghir nūn (T) : in Ottoman Turkish, the term for the Persian *gāf*, which was used in writing to convey the gutterally pronounced /ñ/. VIII 121a

nūr (A) : light (syn. *ḍawʾ*, also *ḍūʾ* and *ḍiyāʾ*). VIII 121b

♦ **nūr Allāh** → NŪR MUḤAMMADĪ

♦ **nūr muḥammadī** (A) : 'the Muḥammadan light', in theology, the concept of Muḥammad's pre-existence, which preceded the creation of Ādam. In early ḤADĪTH material, ~ is identified with the spermatic substance of Muḥammad's ancestors. Another kind of divine pre-existent light is referred to as nūr Allāh, said to have reached Muḥammad and the shīʿī imāms through the previous prophets. VIII 125a

♦ nūra (A) : lime, used to make a depilatory paste. IX 312a

♦ **nūrī** (A) : a member of certain gipsy tribes, a more correct vocalisation being nawārī. In Persian, the current name for gipsy is *lūrī, lōrī*, or LŪLĪ. VIII138a

nurcular → NURCULUK

nurculuk (T) : the name given by the modern Turkish press and authorities to the entire body of the teachings of Saʿīd Nursī, a religious leader in late Ottoman and Republican Turkey. His followers were called *Nurcular.* VIII 136b

nūshādir (A, < ? Pah) : sal-ammoniac. In the earliest Latin translations (*nesciador, mizadir*), the transliteration of the Arabic name is still used; in the Latin forms *aliocab, alocaph* is also found the general term *al-ʿuḳāb.* VIII 148a

nushshāb → NABL

nushūḳ → SUʿŪṬ

nuskha (A) : 'transcript', 'copy'; in the manuscript era, 'manuscript'. VIII 149a; a certified verbatim copy of an original document. IX 359a; both the original and the copy are called ~ since each 'replaces' the other. X 181b; and → ḤIRZ

nuṣṣ raʾs (N.Afr) : lit. half the head; a small helmet or cap worn by seamen in the Maghrib. X 613b

nuṣūb (A, pl. *anṣāb*) : in the plural (more often used), the blocks of stone on which the blood of the victims sacrificed for idols was poured, as well as sepulchral stones and those marking out the sacred enclosure of the sanctuary. Among sedentary populations, the ~, a rough stone, has become the ṢANAM, a stone carved with the image of the idols of the Kaʿba. VIII 154b

nūtī (A, pl. *nawātiya*) : a sailor; on a mediaeval Islamic warship, the ~ made up the crew, along with the oarsmen (ḲADHDHĀF), craftsmen and workmen (*dhawu 'l-ṣināʿa wa 'l-mihan*), fighting men (e.g. NAFFĀṬ) and the marines. XII 120a

nuwwāla (Mor) : a conical roof of a hut with branches, found increasingly alongside the tent in the plains of Morocco as dwelling. V 1197b

nuwayḳsa → ṢANDJ

nuʾy (A) : a drain, edged with mounded earth, *iyād*, surrounding a tent to prevent water from penetrating underneath. IV 1148a

nuzha (A) : in music, a rectangular type of psaltery of greater compass than the ḲĀNŪN. It was invented in the 7th/13th century; 108 strings were mounted in the instrument. VII 191a

nuzūl → ISNĀD NĀZIL

O

oba (K), or *obā* : among the Kurds, a temporary association of stock-breeders from different villages, formed in the spring to lead the herds to the pastures and to return at the end of the autumn. Neither kinship nor tribal relations are necessary to be a member of the ~, which system is particular to the semi-nomadic tribes and makes its appearance towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. V 472a; among the Shāhsewan in Persia, a herding unit of three to five households. IX 224a; in eastern Anatolia, the grazing area of a nomadic household. VI 961b; in the Turco-Mongol tribal scheme, a clan, lineage or local segment of a clan. VIII 608a; X 126a

ocak-zâde → ODJAḲ

ōda (Ir) : in modern Iraqi architecture, two small rooms flanking the ĪWĀN. II 114a

odjaḳ (T, > A *wudjāḳ*) : fireplace, hearth, chimney; in modern Turkish, *ocak* replaced the traditional name for the month of January by law in 1945. VIII 161a

Under the Ottomans, an army unit. I 368a; VIII 161b; IX 657a; XII 409b; family. I 1267a; VIII 161a; a TĪMĀR-holding family. X 505b

In mysticism, a religious order. IV 167b; among the Bektāshiyya, and the Mawlawiyya, ~ had a special place in their TEKKEs. VIII 161b

♦ ocak-zâde : among the Alevis of Anatolia, an ~ is a spiritual guide who belonged to one of the lineages stemming from the twelve IMĀMs. VIII 161b; as *odjaḳ-zāde*, under the Ottomans, sons of established military families. X 505a

♦ odjaḳ-zāde → OCAK-ZÂDE

♦ odjaḳ oghlu (T) : 'son of a good house'. VIII 163a

♦ odjaḳliḳ (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a system whereby a given region was responsible for supplying an arsenal with one particular ship-building commodity. I 947b; an accounting system applied for securing gunpowder supplies, a special fund allocated for purchases and requisitions of essential supplies such as sulphur and saltpetre. V 979a; a special sort of TĪMĀR. VIII 161a; family succession. I 1267a

oghlan → OGHUL

oghul (T, pl. OGHLAN) : 'offspring, child', with a strong implication of 'male child', as opposed to ḲÎZ 'girl'; ~ is very frequently found in Turkic family names where it takes the place of the Persian *zāde* or the Arabic IBN. VIII 163a

♦ oghlan (T) : an original plural of OGHUL, which evolved into an independent singular, meaning 'youth', 'servant', 'page', 'bodyguard'. From ~ comes the German *Uhlan*, the name for light cavalry. VIII 163a

okka (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a measure of weight equal to 1.283 kg. VI 120b

ordu (T, Mon *orda*) : 'the royal tent or residence', 'the royal encampment', a term which became widespread in the mediaeval Turco-Mongol and then in the Persian worlds, acquiring from the second meaning that of 'army camp'. VIII 174a; in Turkish military usage, army corps. VIII 370b

For Indo-Persian usage, → URDU

♦ ordu-yu hümāyūn (T) : under the Ottomans, a general term for the imperial army. VIII 174b

♦ ordudju bashi̊/aghasi̊ (T) : the chief of a staff of tradesmen and technicians who accompanied the Janissaries on their campaigns away from the capital. VIII 174b

ʿörf (T), or *ʿörfī* : under the Ottomans, a large, dome-shaped headdress, KAVUK, worn with a white turban rolled around and which, draped, forms harmonious folds. It was worn from the 18th century by the religious classes. V 751b; and → TEKĀLĪF-I FEWKALʿĀDE

orta (T) : lit. centre; in Ottoman military terminology, the equivalent of a company of fighting men in the three divisions of which the Janissary corps was eventually composed. VIII 178b

♦ **orta oyunu** (T) : 'entertainment staged in the middle place', a form of popular Turkish entertainment so-called because it takes place in the open air, *palanka*, around which the spectators form a circle. VIII 178b

ortakdji → ČELTÜKDJI

ʿösher → ʿUSHR

otlak resmi → YAYLAK RESMI

öy (T) : among the Türkmen Yomut and Göklen tribes, a type of tent, either *ak öy* 'white house' (taken from the colour of the covering felts when new) or *kara öy* 'black house' (from the colour of the felts when old and blackened by smoke). The ~ has a trellis wall, with a doorway in it, circular in plan, with a roof wheel supported by struts from the top of the trellis wall. IV 1150b

ozan (T) : a Turkish bard; the term ~ was replaced in the late 9th/15th century by ʿĀSHIK, nevertheless, in certain contemporary dialects of Anatolia, ~ has survived with the meaning 'poet', 'singer', as also as an element of the terms *ozanlama* 'assonantal sayings, proverbs', *ozancı* 'garrulous person', *ozanlık* 'pleasantry' and *ozannama* improvised story, song'. In Turkmen, ~ is archaic and is replaced by *bagsı* 'popular poet', but at the present day, in modern Turkish, ~ has replaced the Arabic term *shāʿir* (*şair*). I 697b; VIII 232a; IX 239a

♦ ozancı → OZAN

♦ ozanlama → OZAN

♦ ozanlık → OZAN

♦ ozannama → OZAN

P

pā' (P), or *bā'-i fārsī* : the BĀ' with three points subscript, invented for Persian as supplement to the second Arabic letter, *bā'*, and to represent the unvoiced, as opposed to the voiced, bilabial plosive. VIII 237a

paččī-kārī → PARČĪN-KĀRĪ

pād-zahr → YADA TASH

pada : in India, song. XII 483a

pādishāh (P) : the name for Muslim rulers, especially emperors. VIII 237a

In Turkish folklore, the chief of the DJINN. II 548a

pahlawān (P, < *pahlaw* 'Parthian'; A *bahlawān*) : in pre-modern Persian and thence in Turkish, 'wrestler', 'one who engages in hand-to-hand physical combat', subsequently 'hero', 'warrior', 'champion in battle'. VIII 238b

In Arabic, *bahlawān* is clearly a secondary development, and has in more recent times acquired the meaning of 'acrobat', 'tightrope walker in a circus', etc. In the most recent colloquial of Cairo, it has become a pejorative term for 'tricky person'. VIII 239a

♦ pahlawānī (P), or *pahlawī* : lit. Parthian; in linguistics, term at one time for Parthian and Middle Persian, as well as for the local dialect of the northern region called Fahla in an Arabicised form. XII 428a

pā'ī (H 'quarter', > Eng 'pie') : in numismatics, the smallest copper coin of British India = one-twelfth of an anna. Originally, the ~ was the quarter of an anna or pice (→ PAYSĀ); after the Acts of 1835, 1844 and 1870, the pie was one-third of a pice. VIII 239b

paisā → PAYSĀ

pāiza (Mon) : during the Mongol empire, an imperial tablet, given e.g. to postal couriers along with a decree, YARLĪGH, marked with a seal, which gave them absolute powers of requisition. XI 268a

pālāhang (P, Ott *pālāheng*) : lit. string, rope, halter, cord; ~ is applied to the belt worn around the waist by dervishes, especially the Bektāshīs, and on which is fixed a disc of stone with twelve flutings at the edge. VIII 244a

palanka → ORTA

palkī (H ?) : 'palanquin', an enclosed variety of litter used in India for transporting people, its central pole having an upward curve to afford more head-room for the passenger. In its common form it was in use for considerable journeys. A more elaborate form, with its carriage and pole covered with plates of silver, was in use in royal processions. VII 932a

pān (H ?) : in Mughal cuisine, a heart-shaped green leaf smeared with lime and catechu, to which is added slices or granules of betel-nut with aromatic spices, sometimes camphor, musk, or costly perfumes. A ~ was often presented to a courtier as a mark of royal favour. VI 814b

♦ pāndān : betel-boxes. I 299b

panbuḳ (T) : cotton, in western Turkish. V 557a, where other variants are found as well as terms in eastern Turkish

pandjagāh → ḲADAMGĀH

pandūl, or *pandūr* : in the Ottoman period, a militia recruited in the Balkans among the free peasants and entrusted with duties of local security. X 564b

panghulu → PENGHULU

pānka → KHAYSH

papyrus (Eng, < Gr) : one of the world's oldest writing materials, ~ was used in Egypt, the land of is provenance, since the 6th dynasty, ca. 2470-2270 BC. The Arabs, after their conquest of Egypt, used *bardī, abardī* or *waraḳ al-bardī*, although the term employed in Egypt was *fāfīr*.

pāra (P) : 'piece', 'fragment'; in numismatics, a Turkish coin of the Ottoman and early Republican periods. The ~ was originally a silver piece of 4 AḲČES, first issued early in the 18th century; it soon replaced the *aḳče* as the monetary unit. With the post-World War II inflation, the ~ eventually disappeared from use; in present-day Turkey, *para* has acquired the general meaning of money. VIII 266b

parčīn-kārī (P, U *paččī-kārī*) : in architecture, a technique of inlay-work, usually set in marble, used on the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. VIII 267a

parda-dār (P) : lit. the person who draws the curtain; 'court chamberlain', a term used among the dynasties of the eastern Islamic world from the Saldjūḳ period onwards as the equivalent of Arabic ḤĀDJIB. III 48b; VIII 270b

pargana (H, < San) : in Indo-Muslim administrative usage, a term denoting an aggregate of villages, a subdivision of a district (syn. MAḤALL). In later Anglo-Indian usage, the term was often rendered as *pergunnah*. VIII 270b

parī (P, T *peri*) : in folklore, a fairy, belonging to the realm of supernatural tales; in Turkish everyday speech as well as in stories of fantastic adventures and tales of the supernatural, *peri* is often taken as a synonym of DJINN. II 547b; VIII 271a

♦ parīkhʷān → BĀKHSHĪ

♦ parīshānī (P) : 'untidy turban', the name of the turban worn by the common people in the reign of Süleymān I. X 613b

parias (< L) : in the mediaeval Iberian peninsula, a tribute paid by one ruler to another in recognition of his superior status. VIII 272a

parmak (T) : under the Ottomans, a measure of length equivalent to one and a quarter inches. I 658a

♦ parmak ḥisābî (T) : the original Turkish method of versification, wherein the verses are based not on quantity but on the number and stress of the syllables. IX 353b

pārsi (P) : lit. inhabitant of Fārs, the name given to those descendants of the Zoroastrians who migrated to India, mostly to Gudjarāt, from the 4th/10th century onwards. VIII 273a; and → FĀRSĪ

parwāna (P), or *parwānača* : in mediaeval Persian administration, the term used for the document 'related' by the official to the chancery, PARWĀNAČĪ. VIII 277a; and → FARĀSHA

♦ **parwānači** (P) : 'relater', in mediaeval Persian administration, a term used for the official who noted down the instructions for the promulgation of deeds, and who forwarded them to the chancery. The function is recorded for the first time under Tīmūr. VIII 276b

pās-i anfās (P) : a practice of regulating the breath, adopted by the Čishtī mystics in order to harnass all feelings and emotions in establishing communion with God. II 55b

pasazh (T) : in 19th-century Ottoman cities, a shop-lined covered street, a modern version of the *ārāsta*. IX 799b

pasha (T, < P *pādishāh*) : under the Ottomans, the highest official title of honour, used in Turkey until the advent of the Republic and surviving for sometime after that in certain Muslim countries originally part of the Turkish empire (Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Syria); ~ was military rather than feudal in character, although it was not reserved solely for soldiers but was also given to certain high civil (not religious) officials. VIII 279b; in the Ottoman empire, a synonym for *wezīr* (→ WAZĪR). XI 194b

♦ **pashalik** (T) : the office or title of a PASHA; the territory under the authority of a *pasha* (in the provinces). VIII 282a

pāshīb (IndP) : in Mughal siegecraft, a raised platform constructed by filling the space between the top of the fort wall and the base of the besieger's camp below, with bags of sand and earth. III 482a

pashtūnwalī (Pash) : the special social code of the Afghans, the main pillars of which are *nanawātai* 'right of asylum', BADAL 'revenge by retaliation, vendetta', and *mēlmastyā* 'hospitality'. I 217a

pasisir (J) : originally an administrative unit of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram. VIII 284a

pathān → ASHRĀF

paṭrīk (Ott, < A BIṬRĪḲ 'patricius') : in the Ottoman empire, the term for the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox and Eastern Christian Church, of whom by the 19th century there were seven. VIII 287b

patrona (T, < It) : in the Ottoman navy, a 'galley carrying the lieutenant-general or the next in command to the chief of the squadron'; the term is also applied to Christian ships. VIII 565a;

♦ patrona bey : in the Ottoman navy, 'vice-admiral'. VIII 566b

patuk (P) : a habitual location for a guild. IX 646a; as *pātuk*, the place where shīʿī funeral flags are stored. X 488a

patwāri : in the Mughal empire, the village accountant, whose functions resembled those of the ḲĀNUNGO in the administrative unit PARGANA. VIII 271a

pawlā : in numismatics, the name given in the Mughal emperor Akbar's monetary system to the quarter-*dām* (quarter-PAYSĀ). VIII 288a

pāyak (IndP) : in the Dihlī sultanate, the footsoldiers who were maintained within the infantry contingents and who were mostly Hindūs. They were good archers and were generally arrayed in front of the lines of horses, or around the elephants in order to prevent them from fleeing. V 686b

payghū (T) : a Turkish name or title found among the early Saldjūķs, usually written *P.y.ghū* or *B.y.ghū*. These orthographies seem to reflect the old Turkish title YABGHU. VIII 288b

paysā (H, Eng 'pice'), or *paisā* : in numismatics, a copper coin of British India, equalling 3 pies or ¼ anna. Under the Mughals, ~ became applied to the older *dām*, introduced by Shīr Shāh, 40 of which went to the rupee, as the unit of copper currency. In the currencies of modern India and Pakistan, 100 ~s equals one rupee, and in that of Bangladesh, one taka. VIII 288b

pāzār → BĀZĀR; ČARSHĪ

pegon (Mal), *jawi* or *melayu* : in Indonesia, the name for Arabic characters that were adapted for the vernaculars. III 1217a; VIII 153a

penbe ķabbānī (T) : in the Ottoman period, a special building into which all cotton imported for sale in the large cities had to be brought. There cotton was to be weighed, taxed, and distributed. To accommodate caravan merchants with their cotton goods, special caravanserais called *penbe-khānī* (in Egypt, *wakālat al-ķuṭn*) were built. V 559a

♦ penbe-khānī → PENBE ĶABBĀNĪ

penče (T, < P *pandja* 'palm of the hand') : in the science of diplomatic, a sign placed on a document issued by higher Ottoman officials, used instead of the TUGHRA. It was usually placed not at the beginning but on the left hand or right hand margin or at the foot of the scroll. Sometimes it was called *imḍā* or erroneously *ṭughra*. II 314b; VIII 293b

pendjik (T, < P *pandj yak* 'fifth') : in Ottoman financial and administrative usage, a term denoting the fifth which the sultan drew as the ruler's right (equivalent to the Arabic *khums*) from booty captured in the DĀR AL-ḤARB. VIII 293b

♦ pendjikči bashī (T) : the official in charge of the process of extracting the sultan's fifth. VIII 293b

penghulu (Ind, Mal; Sun *panghulu*) : lit. headman, chief, director; used in southeast Asia as a title for secular and religious leaders. VIII 294a; IX 852a; the highest official in a mosque in Java, often a learned man who has studied theology and is a pupil of the *pesantren*, the Indonesian religious school, or of the modern MADRASA; he may even have studied in Mecca. VI 701a

penyair → SHĀʿIR

pergunnah → PARGANA

peri → PARĪ

pertaapan → PONDOK

pesantren (J) : in Indonesia, the educational institution where students, *santri*, study classical Islamic subjects and pursue an orthoprax communal life. PONDOK is an alternative term, preferred in Malaysia and the Patani region of southern Thailand. Sometimes the two terms are combined in Indonesia, when the speaker means to make clear that a traditional Islamic boarding school, a '*pondok pesantren*', and not merely a religious day school (such as the more modern *madrasa*), is meant. VIII 296a

peshdār (T) : in the Ottoman empire, the term for the third animal of a mule caravan operating in Anatolia. IV 678b

peshek (T) : in the Ottoman empire, the term for the leading animal of a mule caravan operating in Anatolia, which kept some way ahead of the others and carried a smaller load. IV 678b

pēshwā (P) : 'leader'; in onomastics, a title for one of the ministers of the Bahmanī sultans of the Dakhan and, more specifically, the hereditary ministers of the Marāthā kings of Satara. VIII 300b

peth, or *mela* : in Muslim India, an occasional or seasonal market. IX 800b

peyk (T) : in the Ottoman military organisation, a messenger. IX 712b

pīpā : in music, the so-called 'balloon guitar' of the Chinese, who are said to have possessed it since the days of the Han dynasty. It was introduced into ʿIrāḳ by the Mongols in the 13th century. X 769a

pīr (P) : lit. old person, elder; in Islamic law, used for people in their fifties or even in their forties, while those even older are often qualified as *harim, fānī* 'decrepit, worn out'. VIII 306a

In general Persian usage, ~ is often, as with Arabic SHAYKH, used in compound expressions by metonomy, e.g. *pīr-i dihḳān* 'well-matured wine'. VIII 306a

For ~ in mysticism, → MURSHID

♦ pīr awtār (IndP) : the daily allowance paid to FĀḲIRs from collective village sources. VIII 306b

♦ pīr bahn (IndP) : a woman owing spiritual allegiance to the same spiritual mentor and therefore a sister. VIII 306b

♦ pīr bhāi (IndP) : a disciple of the same spiritual mentor and therefore a brother. VIII 306b

♦ pīr kā nayza (IndP) : a standard carried in procession to the grave of some saint. VIII 306b

♦ pīr-i kharābāt (IndP) : in popular Indo-Muslim usage, a *pīr* free from the bonds of sharīʿa law; owner of a tavern. VIII 307a

♦ pīr-i mughān (IndP) : lit. chief priest of the Magi, but generally the term used for a tavern keeper. VIII 306b

♦ pīr pāl (IndP) : land endowed for assistance of the *pīr* or for maintenance of some mausoleum. VIII 306b

♦ pīr-i ṣuḥbat (IndP) : a saint from whose company one derives spiritual benefit. VIII 306b

♦ pīr-i ṭarīḳat (IndP) : a saint to whom one owes spiritual allegiance. VIII 306b

♦ pīr zāda (IndP) : the son of the *pīr*. VIII 306b

♦ pīrān (IndP) : charity lands bestowed on the poor in honour of a saint. VIII 306b

♦ **pīrpanthī** (IndP, < P *pīr* + *panth* 'way of the spiritual master') : the name given in Pakistan and Western India to Hindus who follow Muslim pīrs, whether living or dead; more precisely, to the disciples of Imām Shāh, a dissident Ismāʿīlī, and to the Hindu disciples of ṣūfī masters originating from Sindh, Pandjāb or Rādjasthān. XII 681a

pīrāhan (P) : a close-fitting, long-sleeved robe, covering the entire body down to the feet, worn by women in Tīmūrid Persia. V 749a

pīrāmūz (P) : a style of calligraphy, used for writing copies of the Qurʾān. IV 1123a

pīrān → PĪR

pīrpanthī → PĪR

pīshkāsh (P) : a present from an inferior to a superior; from the Mongol period onwards, ~ denoted a form of tribute to the Persian sovereign from the governors. III 347b; as a technical term, ~ denotes a 'regular' tax and an *ad hoc* tax levied by rulers on provincial governors and others, and an *ad hoc* impost laid by governors and officials in position of power on the population under their control. VIII 312b

♦ pīshkāsh-niwīs (P) : 'registrar of presents'; under the Ṣafawids, the official of the royal secretariat who recorded their number and value. This official is found until the second half of the 19th century. VIII 312b

pīshtāḳ (P) : lit. the arch in front; in architecture, a portal in the form of a monumental arched niche in a rectangular frame. VI 683a; VIII 313b; XII 455a

pīshwā (P) : chief. IX 499b

pist (P) : a kind of food compounded of the liver of gazelles or almonds, etc. A daily portion of the size of a pistachio, *pista*, is taken by derwishes and others who undertake long fasts and is sufficient to maintain life. VIII 316b

piştmala (K) : a kind of praetorian guard of the Kurdish chiefs who are recruited in all the fractions, TIRA, of the tribe and who, in the past, had almost the status of slave. V 472

piyādegān → DJAMĀʿA

pomaks : the name given to a Bulgarian-speaking group of Muslims in Bulgaria and Thrace, now divided amongst Bulgaria, Greece and Macedonia. This name, which is usually given them by their Christian fellow-countrymen, used also to be given occasionally by Bulgarians to Muslims speaking Serbian in western Macedonia, who are usually called *torbeši* (s. *torbeš*), sometimes also POTURI. VIII 320a; X 698b

pondok (Mal, < A *funduḳ*), or *pertaapan* : hut, cottage; lodgings; by extension, an Islamic religious boarding school. VIII 294a; VIII 296a; and → PESANTREN

portakal → NĀRANDJ

post : in India, the decoction of the poppy-husks to make opium. I 243a

pōst → PŪST

posta (T, A, < It *posta*) : a term borrowed in the 19th century to designate the new conception of European-style postal services in the Near East. In more recent times, it has been replaced at the formal level by BARĪD, but *būsta* and *būstadjī* 'postman' continue in use in the Arab Levant at the informal level, and *posta* remains the standard term in Modern Turkish. In modern Persian, also *post*, from the French *poste*, is used. VIII 325b

For postage stamps (A *ṭābiʿ* [*barīdī*], P *tambr*, T *pul*), VIII 325b

pōstakī → PŪST

potur (T) : a pair of trousers, full as far as the knee and straight from the knee to the ankle, worn in Ottoman Turkey. V 752b; converted peasantry of Bosnia (< Serb *poturčiti*). X 697b; and → POTURNĀK

♦ potur oghullari̊ (T) : in the Ottoman period, Bosnian Muslim lads recruited for the Janissaries. A document dating from 998/1589 defines them as 'circumcised but ignorant of Turkish'. II 211b

♦ potur ṭāʾifesi → POTURNĀK

♦ poturi (Serb) : in former Yugoslavia, the designation, with *torbeš* (pl. *torbeši*) and occasionally *kurki*, of Serbian Muslims by the neighbouring Christian population in West Macedonia. In the Reka region of Serbia, they were known as *gorani*. X 697b

♦ poturnāk (Serb) : the name for Bosnians who converted to Islam. The reference occurs as early as 921/1515; in a separate document dated 981/1573, they are called *potur ṭāʾifesi*. II 211b

poya (SpA) : in Andalus, a bread the dough of which was made at home to be picked up by a journeyman baker and baked in a communal oven. The term has survived under the forms *pīwa, pūya, būya* in some regions of Morocco and Algeria to designate the salary of the baker, which in the mediaeval period consisted of a piece of the bread which the baker sold at a profit. V 42b

prang sabil (Mal, *prang* 'war') : the name of the holy war, DJIHĀD, in East Asia. VIII 333a

prem-gāthā (H) : lit. love song; a school of writing in Awadhi (Eastern Hindi), of ṣūfī inspiration, comprising narrative love stories. III 456b

puasa (Ind) : the Indonesian term for Ramaḍān, the month of fasting. XII 682a

pul → POSTA
pūshī → BŪSHĪ
pūst (P, T *pōst* or *pōstakī*) : 'skin'; a tanned sheepskin, used as the ceremonial seat or throne of the head, *pīr* or *shaykh*, of a dervish order. VIII 343b
♦ **pūst-neshīn** (P) : lit. the one sitting on the (sheep's) skin; the title given to the *baba* or head of a dervish TEKKE in Persian and Ottoman Turkish ṣūfī practice. VIII 343b

R

rā' (A) : the tenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed as *r*, with the numerical value 200. It is defined as vibrant, apical, alveolar and voiced. VIII 343a
ra'ā' (A) : a mob, thieves, one of the numerous terms in the mediaeval and modern periods for 'rascal, scoundrel'. XI 546a
ra''ād (A) : in zoology, the electric ray ναρκε. V 1168a
rab' (A, pl. *ribā'*) : home, domicile, home town or home country; in Cairene architecture, ~ designates a type of urban dwelling which is a rental multi-unit building founded for investment; ~ can also refer to the living quarters belonging to a religious institution. VIII 344a
In mediaeval Islam, facilities for temporary accommodation in cities concentrated in a single building. IX 788b
rabā' (A) : a name for a foal between three and four years old. II 785a
rabā'a (A), or *mag'ad al-ridjāl* : the compartment in a Bedouin tent reserved for receiving menfolk. In the middle, a hearth is scraped out and used for making coffee. IV 1148b
rabāb (A) : in music, the generic name for the viol, or any stringed instrument played with a bow. VIII 346a; the instrument known as rebeck. I 1124a; in Egypt, a two-string spike-fiddle. IX 235b
♦ rabāb miṣrī → KAMĀNDJA
♦ rabāb turkī → ARNABA
♦ rabāba (A) : in music, the small viol. V 547b; the Arabian one-string spike-fiddle. IX 235a
rabaḍ (A, pl. *arbāḍ*) : district or quarter of a town situated outside the central part. This term lies at the origin of the Spanish word *arrabal*, which has the same meaning. VIII 348b
In Muslim Spain, ~ was given to the civil quarter situated below the strictly military quarter; ~ was also applied to the quarters of the lepers and of prostitutes, while among the Spanish Christians it designated a parish. VIII 348b
rabā'ī → 'ATŪD
rabb (A, pl. *arbāb*) : lord, God, master of a slave. Pre-Islamic Arabia probably applied this term to its gods or to some of them. In pre-Islamic times, ~ also was one of the titles given to certain of the KĀHINs. VIII 350a
♦ rabbānī (A) : among the mystical order 'Īsāwā, the slow introductory section of their ecstatic dancing, a form of invocation, during which the dancers, standing in line, hold hands and perform vertical bending movements together with lateral motions. It is followed by a more rapid section, the *mudjarrad*, and the dance often ends in displays of fakirism. IV 95a
♦ arbāb al-sadjādjīd, and *mashāyikh al-sadjdjāda* (A) : in Egypt, from the end of the 11th/17th century, applied to the leaders of Egypt's major ṣūfī *ṭuruḳ* (→ ṬARĪḲA)

and *ṭuruḳ*-linked institutions. ~, however, seems to have been reserved for the four family-based *ṭuruḳ* which traced themselves back to the Rightly-Guided Caliphs and the Companions, namely, *al-Bakriyya, al-ʿInāniyya, al-Khuḍayriyya*, and *al-Wafāʾiyya*. VIII 743b

rābiʿ (A), or *sayyid al-mirbāʿ* : a designation for tribal chief (from the chief's entitlement to a quarter of captured booty). IX 115b

rabīʿ (A) : the name of the third and fourth months of the Muslim calendar. Originally, ~ means the season in which, as a result of the rains, the earth is covered with green; this later led to the name ~ being given to spring. VIII 350b; in Muslim India, ~ is the harvest collected at the end of the winter. II 909a; spring crop. V 579b

♦ rabīʿiyya (A, pl. **rabīʿiyyāt**) → NAWRIYYA

rābiṭ(a) → WUṢLA

rābiṭa (A, > Sp *rábida* 'monastery') : 'bond'; in mysticism, ~ originally meant the relationship of a MURĪD to his master, and hence a close friendship; a hermitage which was a place of retreat for persons considered to be saints, accompanied by their disciples. VIII 359b; VIII 503b; liaison of the disciple's heart, in imagination, with that of his SHAYKH. IX 156a

In Muslim Spain, a fortified enclosure, a bastion constructed on the coast to deter enemy attacks from the sea; ~ sometimes served as a substitute for RIBĀṬ. VIII 359a

In 19th-century Ottoman usage, ~ became a political notion in the sense of 'league' and with *islāmiyya* attached to it, ~ soon rendered the European word Pan-Islam. VIII 359b

♦ **al-rābiṭa al-islāmiyya** (A) : lit. the Islamic league. VIII 359b

rabṭ (A) : in medicine, ligature (of veins). II 481

♦ rabṭa (A) : in women's dress, a kind of turban, consisting of the ṬĀḲIYYA, ṬARBŪSH, and the FARŪDIYYA. X 613b

raḍāʿ (A), *riḍāʿ* or *raḍāʿa* : suckling; in law, the suckling which produces the legal impediment to marriage of foster-kinship. VIII 361a; the suckling is called *raḍīʿ*. VIII 822a

♦ raḍāʿ al-kabīr (A) : the suckling of non-infants. VIII 361b

radd (A) : 'return'; in literature, a response to an adversary, intended to refute his statements or opinions. Another term in frequent use is *naḳḍ* 'refutation', although *naḳḍ* is principally employed in reference to a book. VIII 362b

In mathematics, ~ denotes reduction and refers to the operation (division) by which an integral coefficient is reduced to unity. II 361a

♦ radd al-ʿadjuz ʿalā 'l-ṣadr (A) : in prosody, the rhetorical figure of anticipating the rhyme word in the first half (at times even the beginning of the second half) of the line. VIII 747b

radf → NATĪDJA

radhī (A) : in numismatics, bad, corrupt (coin), with *bāṭil* 'false, unsound, currency cancelled or withdrawn from circulation, one of the pejorative terms for coins. X 409b

raḍīʿ → RAḌĀʿ

radīf (A, T *redīf*) : lit. one who rides behind, 'pillion rider'; in its plural form *rawādif*, immigrants. V 346a

In grammar, the plural *rawādif* signified the last two groups of the ABDJAD terms, which consisted of the consonants peculiar to Arabic, as opposed to the first six groups which preserve faithfully the order of the 'Phoenician' alphabet. I 97b

In astronomy, *al-~*, or *al-ridf*, is the ancient Arabic name for *dhanab al-dadjādja*, the star Deneb (α Cygni); ~ also refers to a star or constellation that is rising at sunrise, while its opposite (*raḳīb*) is setting. VIII 368b

In Persian prosody, the adjunction of a word or a short phrase, always shorter than a hemistich, to the rhyme letter and its repetition thoughout the poem. It is very frequently used in GHAZALS. IV 57a; VIII 368b
In Turkish military usage, *redīf* was the name given by Maḥmūd II to the reserve army, 'militia', created in 1834. The *redīf* was made up of battalions (*tabur*, → ṬABŪR). VIII 370a
♦ radīf mutadjānis (A) : in Persian prosody, a special artifice with complete paronomasia between RADĪFS, resulting from the fact that the *radīf* does not have the same meaning throughout the poem (which it is supposed to have). VIII 369a
rāḍikh → KHANNĀḲ
radj'a (A) : return; in shī'ī theology, the return to life, which will precede the universal resurrection and gathering; only the virtuous will take part in it under the guidance of the Mahdī of the last times. I 334b; IV 457a; V 236a; VIII 372b; the passing of the soul into another body either human or animal; the transmigration of the spirit of holiness from one IMĀM to the next, more usually known as *tanāsukh*; return of power to the shī'a; return from concealment, usually of a particular *imām* at the end of his occultation. VIII 371b; X 182a,b
In classical Muslim administration, a requisition issued by the paymaster for certain troops stationed in outlying areas, for one issue of pay. II 79a
♦ al-radj'a al-djāmi'a (A) : in classical Muslim administration, a global requisition issued by the head of the army office for each general issue of arm pay, rations, etc. II 79a
radjab (A) : the seventh month of the Islamic calendar, observed in the DJĀHILIYYA as a holy month in spring. VIII 373b
♦ radjabiyya (A) : a special pilgrim caravan which set off from Cairo in the month of RADJAB, mentioned from time to time in the 8th/14th century chronicles. III 35a; and → 'ATĪRA
♦ al-radjabiyyūn (A) : in mysticism, the tenth degree in the ṣūfī hierarchical order of saints. I 95a
rādjaputra (San) : 'king's son'. XII 684a
radjaz (A) : tremor, spasm, convulsion (as may occur in the behind of a camel when it wants to rise); thunder, rumble, making a noise. VIII 375b; the oracular utterance of war. VIII 733a
In prosody, the name of the seventh Arabic metre, the simplest, and according to tradition, the oldest metre. It has a rising rhythm and is dipodically bound. This metre is most often used for short poems and improvisations in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. A poem composed in this metre is called *urdjūza*. I 670a; I 673b; IV 80b; VIII 375b; poetry defined by 'halved', i.e. three-foot, lines without caesura. VIII 378b
In Urdu poetry, ~ refers to the hero's battle oration which forms part of the MARTHIYA. VI 611b
radjfa (A) : in the Qur'ānic story of Shu'ayb, commonly glossed as 'earthquake'. IX 491a; X 436a
rādji' → WUṢLA
radjīm (A) : lit. stoned; for explaining the Qur'ānic expression *al-shayṭān al-radjīm*, it has been suggested that ~ is an Ethiopic loan word meaning 'accursed'. IX 408b
radj'iyya (A), or *irtidjā'* : the term coined in modern Arabic for reaction in the political sense. VIII 379a; with *aṣḥāb al-radj'a*, adherents of any of the shī'ī doctrines described under RADJ'A. VIII 372b
radjm (A) : stoning; the casting of stones at Minā, one of the pre-Islamic rites preserved by Muḥammad and inserted among the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. VIII 379a
In law, a ḤADD punishment of death by stoning which occurs in certain cases of immorality. IV 770a; VIII 379a

radkh (A) : a bonus share (of the booty given at the discretion of the IMĀM to those bondmen, women, and DHIMMĪS who may in some way have contributed to victory). II 1006b; XII 532b

rafʿ (A) : elevation, the act of raising something; in grammar, the nominative and indicative cases, because both take *-u* and are thus *marfūʿ* 'raised'. III 1249a; IV 895b; VIII 383b

For ~ in the science of Tradition, → MARFŪʿ

raʾfa → RAḤMA

rāfiḍa (A), or *al-rawāfiḍ* : a term that refers to the proto-Imāmiyya (and, subsequently, the Twelver shīʿa) as well as any of a number of shīʿī sects. The origin of *al-~* is a matter of dispute, but is variously said to recall the desertion of Zayd b. ʿAlī, the rejection of the first two caliphs, or both. VIII 386b

rafīḳ (A) : companion; in Tradition, the phrase *al-rafīḳ al-aʿlā* is closely associated with AL-MALAʾ AL-AʿLĀ and to be placed with them is said to be the Prophet's last wish. XII 573b

rafraf (A) : the tail of a turban hanging behind. X 610b

rāged → RĀḲID

raghīf (A) : a round bread, quite thick and cooked in an oven, also called *djardaḳ* or *djardhaḳ* (from Persian). V 42b; VI 808a

raḥā (A) : in Muslim Spain, a water mill. I 492a; a mill. V 548a

rahbāniyya (A) : monasticism. VIII 396b

rāhdār (P), or *tutḳavul* : the 'guardian of the roads' in the Īlkhānid and Djalāʾirid periods, paid by the central government and under the orders of a senior military commander. I 861a

♦ rāhdārī (P) : road tolls. IV 977b

raḥḥāl (A), or *raḥḥāla* : the person endowed with skill in the saddling of a camel, or one who travelled much. The form *raḥḥāla* neatly translates as 'globetrotter'. VIII 528a

rāhib (A, pl. *ruhbān, rahābīn, rahābina*) : a monk, known to pre-Islamic poetry and to the Qurʾān and Tradition. VIII 397a

raḥīl (A) : 'travelling by camel', in Arabic poetry applied to themes involving a desert journey. In its specific meaning ~ denotes a section of the polythematic ḲAṢĪDA, following the NASĪB, where the poet describes his camel and his travels. IV 713b; VIII 397b

raḥim (A) : in medicine, the uterus. The expressions *bard al-~* or *ṣalābat al-~* seem to indicate frigidity or anorgasm in the medical literature. XII 641a

rahīsh (A), or *murtahisha* : in archery, a bow whose string, at the moment of loosing, strikes the part called the *ṭāʾif*, the torus; such a bow, usually slim and light, vibrates when loosed. IV 798a

raḥma (A) : a Qurʾānic term, denoting either kindness, benevolence (syn. *raʾfa*) or, more frequently, an act of kindness, a favour (syn. *niʿma* or *faḍl*). Almost invariably, ~ is applied to God. VIII 398a

rahn (A) : in law, pledge, security; *rāhin* is the giver, and *murtahin* the taker of the pledge. VIII 400a

♦ rahn ḥiyāzī → GHĀRŪḲA

rahū 'l-māʾ → NUḤĀM

raʾī → ṢĀḤIB

rāʾib (A) : clotting, as does milk when it curdles. VI 722a; and → YOGHURT

raʿīl → MIḲNAB

raʾīs (A, pl. *ruʾasāʾ*, T *reʾīs*) : head, chief, leader of a recognisable group (political, religious, juridical, tribal, or other). The term goes back to pre-Islamic times and was used in various senses at different periods of Islamic history, either to circumscribe specific

functions of the holder of the office of 'leadership' or as an honorific title. VIII 402a; IX 115b

In the scholastic community, ~ was applied to any scholar who had reached the summit of his field in his locality. V 1131b; and → KALĀNTAR

In the Ottoman navy, the term *re'īs* was used for an individual commander. I 948a; VIII 403b; in modern Turkish, *reis* means 'captain of a small merchant vessel, skipper; able-bodied seaman'. VIII 403b

♦ ra'īs al-balad (A) : in the mediaeval Near East, a kind of mayor, whose influence counterbalanced, and sometimes exceeded, that of the ḲĀḌĪ 'judge'. I 256a

♦ ra'īs al-baladiyya → AMĪN AL-ʿĀṢIMA

♦ re'īs efendi → RE'ĪS ÜL-KÜTTĀB

♦ re'īs kesedārī (T) : in the Ottoman empire, pursebearer to the RE'ĪS EFENDI. VIII 422a

♦ **re'īs ül-küttāb** (T, < A), or *re'īs efendi* : properly, 'chief of the men of the pen', a high Ottoman dignitary, directly under the grand vizier, originally head of the chancery of the Imperial Dīwān, later secretary of state or chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs. VIII 481b

♦ re'īs al-ʿulemā' (T) : the supreme religious head of Bosno-Herzegovinian Muslims, as well as the highest religious authoritative body; an Ottoman office created in 1882 in order to gain control over Muslim religious institutions. I 1274a

rāʿiyat al-shayb (A) : the first white hair which appears on the head. IX 383a

raʿiyya (A, pl. *raʿāyā*; T pl. *reʿāyā*) : lit. pasturing herd of cattle, sheep, etc., a term which in later Islam came to designate the mass of subjects, the tax-paying common people, as opposed to the ruling military and learned classes. I 712a; VIII 403b

♦ raʿiyyatī : under the Mughals, land that was purely peasant-held, paralleling the land held by ZAMĪNDĀRS. XI 439a

rakʿa (A) : lit. the act of bowing, bending; in the act of worship, a sequence of utterances and actions performed during the prayer. VIII 406b; VIII 929a,b

raḳāʿa (A) : burlesque, a genre of literature, closely akin to SUKHF, practiced a.o. by al-Ṣaymarī. XII 16b

raḳaba (A, T *raḳabe*) : lit. neck, nape of the neck; term frequently used in the Qur'ān for 'slave'. I 24b

In Ottoman land law, the original title to land. II 900b; V 473a; the freehold ownership of agricultural lands in the Ottoman empire. II 906b

In law, the 'physical person'. I 29a

raḳam → FARMĀN

rakhāwa (A) : softness. XI 570a

raḳīb (A) : 'guardian, vigilant one who knows everything that takes place'; one of the names of God. VIII 406b

In Arabic love poetry, the person who, by watching or simply being present, prevents the lovers from communicating with each other. VIII 406b

For ~ in astronomy, → RADĪF

rākib (A, pl. *rukkāb*) : in some brotherhoods in North Africa, a courier who served to link the local ZĀWIYAS with the 'mother' *zāwiya*. XI 468a; and → FĀRIS

rāḳid (A, N.Afr *rāged* or *bū mergūd*) : lit. sleeping child; in law, a foetus which is considered to have stopped its development, continuing to stay in the womb in an unchanged condition for an indefinite period of time, after which it may 'wake up' again and resume its development until it is born. VIII 407a

raḳīḳ (A) : the generic term for slave. I 24b

♦ raḳīḳa (A, pl. *raḳā'iḳ*) : an action that elevates man (in the eyes of God). XI 560a

rakk (A), or *rikk* : parchment, used alongside other terms used in a less specific manner, such as KIRTĀS, denoting papyrus, *warak*, later reserved for paper, and DJILD, leather. VIII 407b

rakkād (A) : a type of merchant in mediaeval Islam, the itinerant trader who owes his profits to his knowledge of the differences in purchase and sale prices according to the places where the transactions take place. IX 789a; X 469a

rakkāṣ (A, Fr *rekkas*) : in the Muslim West, a messenger who travels on foot long distances in order to carry official or private mail; nowadays, an occasional messenger, above all in time of war. I 1046a; VIII 415a

Other technical senses are: pendulum; hand of a watch; trigger of a fire-arm; part of a mill which produces a noise through the movement of the millstone. VIII 415a

♦ rakkāṣa → GHĀZIYA

rakkī (A, < *Rakka*) : in the mediaeval Muslim world, a well-known kind of coarse soap, similar to date-palm paste, from which lozenges were made in Damascus. VIII 693a

rakṣ (A) : dance, generally frowned upon in Islam for it is connected with ecstasy. VIII 415

♦ rakṣ-i bismil (P) : 'the dance of the ritually slaughtered [bird]'; a literary expression for the convulsions of the lover who resembles 'a headless chicken'. VIII 416a

rakwa (A) : a leather bowl, one of the ṣūfī paraphernalia. VIII 742b; a waterbottle. XI 129a

rakz → MAʾKHADH

raʿla → SIRB

ramad (A) : in medicine, ophthalmitis, inflammation of the eye, or ophthalmia (conjunctivitis), inflammation of the conjunctiva. VIII 417a

♦ ramad ḥubaybī (A), or *djarab al-ʿayn* : one of the medical terms for trachoma. I 785b

♦ ʿilm al-ramad (A) : originally only meaning the study of 'conjunctivitis', ~ now embraces the study of eye diseases of all types. I 785a

ramād (A) : ordinary ashes; ashes for washing. VIII 419b

ramaḍān (A) : name of the ninth month of the Muslim calendar, the only month to be mentioned in the Qurʾān. VIII 417b

ramadiyya (A) : tramps, vagabonds, one of the numerous terms in the mediaeval and modern periods for 'rascal, scoundrel'. XI 546a

ramaka (A) : in zoology, a mare of mixed breed. II 785a; IV 1143b

ramal (A) : a rapid pace. X 864b

In prosody, the name of the eighth Arabic metre. I 670a; VIII 421a

In music, a rhythmic mode said to have been invented by Ibn Muḥriz, a famous Meccan musician of the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries. III 883a; VIII 421b

♦ ʿilm al-ramal (A) : geomancy, i.e. divination from points formed in sand. X 501b

ramas, ramaṣ → RAMATH

ramath (A) : in the Gulf area, a raft or a sort of raft made of tree trunks or lengthy pieces of wood tied together by coconut fibre. It has variant names in other parts of the Middle East: *ramaṣ*, *ramas*, and SAFĪNA, which is the classical term for ship in general. VII 53b

rāmishgar → KHUNYĀGAR

raml (A, pl. *rimāl*, *armul*) : sand; also, the black or white lines on the hooves of wild cattle or on the flanks and the backs of stags (syn. khaṭṭ). IV 1128b; VIII 423b

In divination, ~ , and *ḍarb al-raml* mean geomancy (→ KHAṬṬ); also, in Persian usage, divination by means of dice. II 761b; IV 1128b; VIII 138b; VIII 423b

♦ ramla → NAFŪD

ramm (A, pl. *rumūm*) : a geographical term employed by al-Iṣṭakhrī to denote a tribal district in Persia in the early centuries. III 1096b; V 451b

ramūḥ (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse that kicks. II 953b

ramy al-djimār (A) : lit. the throwing of pebbles', a practice that probably goes back to early Arabia and whose most celebrated survival is in the ritual throwing of stones in the valley of Minā by the pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt in the course of the pilgrimage. XII 687b

ramz (A, pl. *rumūz*) : winking, signalling with your eyes and eyebrows; allusion, symbol, cypher. VIII 426b; and → TAʾRĪKH

In rhetoric, ~ 'circumlocution' denotes a specific subcategory of KINĀYA. VIII 427a

For ~ in mysticism, → ISHĀRA

In modern Arabic literature, ~ became an exact equivalent of the Western term 'symbol'. VIII 430a; according to al-Ṭabarī, ~ in pre-Islamic poetry also meant an unintelligible murmur or whisper. VIII 428b

rannaḳ (A) : 'feeble', used to describe the sun in a poem by Ibn Rūmī. XI 157a

rank (P) : lit. colour, dye, a term used in mediaeval Arabic sources primarily to designate the emblems and insignia of AMĪRs and sultans in Egypt, Syria, and al-Djazīra. Mamlūk historians occasionally also use it as a generic term for emblem in general, such as e.g. the ~s of merchants' guilds and those of Bedouin chieftains in Tunisia. VIII 431b

rapak (J) : a technical term for the charge made by the wife, at the court for matters of religion, that the husband has not fulfilled the obligations which he took upon himself at the TAʿLĪḲ of divorce. VIII 433a

ra's (A, pl. *ruʾūs, arʾus*) : head; in geography, ~ is the common word for 'cape', but it also used with the meaning of 'headland, promontory'. VIII 433b In astronomy, ~ , or ~ *al-tinnīn* 'the dragon's head', refers to the crescent node, one of the points where the moon passes through the ecliptic, during an eclipse of the moon. V 536a; VIII 101b; the plural *ruʾūs* denotes 'the direction of the zenith'. X 163b; and → MUTHALLATH

In agriculture, the first of two successive harvests [of sugar cane], the second being termed *khilfa*, which usually gives better sugar then the first. IV 683b

♦ **ra's al-ʿām** (A) : New Year's Day, lit. beginning of the year, i.e. 1 al-Muḥarram. VIII 433b

♦ ra's al-hirr (A) : 'cat's head', in botany, the Hemp nettle (*Galeopsis*). IX 653a

♦ ra's al-māl → SALAM

♦ ra's al-rubʿ (A), or *ra's al-khums* : in early Islam, the officially appointed leader of a town's division into quarters or fifths, selected from among the chiefs of the larger tribal groups represented in the division. V 23b

raṣad → MARṢAD

rasan (A) : the bozal, a bit preferred to the curb bit by Arab horsemen in the East. II 953a

raṣāṣ (A), or *usrub* : in mineralogy, lead, which was mostly obtained from galena (lead sulphide). V 967a

♦ raṣāṣ ḳalʿī (A) : in metallurgy, tin (syn. ḲALʿĪ, *ḳaṣdīr*). V 964b ff.

♦ raṣāṣa (A) : a gauge, used before the Nilometer was built to measure the rising of the Nile. VII 39

rashād (A) : in botany, cress or rocket, forbidden by al-Ḥākim in addition to the classical food prohibitions. II 1070a

rāshidūn (A, s. *rāshid*) : orthodox, or rightly-guided. For the first four caliphs, → AL-KHULAFĀʾ AL-RĀSHIDŪN

rashwa (A, pl. *rushā*) : in law, 'bribe', which is strictly forbidden by law. VIII 451a

raskh → NASKH

rasm (A, T *resm*) : the act of drawing, a drawing, not always distinguished from painting. VIII 451b; *al-~ al-ḥadīth* 'modern painting', a Western-influenced form of art, which practice began at the end of the 19th century, eventually replacing Islamic art (syn. *taṣwīr, muʿāṣir*). X 365a

In Ottoman usage, **resm** (pl. *rüsūm*) means state practices and organisations as distinguished from those based on Islamic principles and traditions, specifically taxes and dues introduced by the state called *rüsūm-i ʿurfiyye*. ~ was sometimes called *ḥaḳḳ* in the sense of legal right, as in the term *ḥaḳḳ-ī ḳarār*, a fee which feudal cavalryman took when vacant MĪRĪ land was assigned to a peasant. The term ~ is also used synonymously with ḲANŪN, *teklīf* and ʿADĀT. A ~ is called *ʿadāt* whenever it originates from a locally-established custom. VIII 486a; for specific taxes, → BĀD-I HAWĀ; ČIFT-RESMI; FILORI; ḲAPAN; ḲISMA; YAYLAḲ RESMI

♦ rasm al-ṣadārat (P) : in Tīmūrid Persia, a specific tax which was raised as a percentage on WAḲF-revenues, and which made up the financial support for the ṢADR, also called *sahm al-ṣadārat*. VIII 750a

rass (A) : in prosody, the vowel (always *a*) immediately before the *alif* of the TAʾSĪS, the *alif* of prolongation placed before the rhyme letter. IV 412a; and → AṢḤĀB AL-RASS

rāst → SHASHMAḲOM

rasūl (A, pl. *rusul*) : messenger, apostle; in the secular sense, diplomatic envoy, ambassador. V 423b; VIII 454b

ratha : in Muslim India, the bullock-cart with a domed canopy used particularly by women on journeys; their escorts may walk on foot beside them. VII 932b

rātib (A, pl. *rawātib*) : a word meaning what is fixed and hence applied to certain non-obligatory ṢALĀTs or certain litanies, such as the DHIKR. VIII 459a

rātīnadj → ṢAMGH

raṭl (A, < Ar) : in the mediaeval Near East, the most common weight of capacity, used for small quantities of various commodities. The actual weight of a ~ varied depending on time, place and type of commodity. The ~ of Baghdad, which was equal to 401.674 g (according to others, 397.26 g), was considered the 'canonical' ~ of the Muslims, because it was used from the days of the first caliphs. VI 117a ff.; VIII 654a

ratt → KHANZUWĀN

rattī (< San *raktikā*) : 'red one', in Muslim India, a measure of weight used for small quantities of various commodities, e.g. jewels. Its name derives from the seed of a small red-flowered leguminous creeper, *Abrus precatorius*; the actual weight of such a ~ seed varies from 80 to 130 mg, its notional weight, at least up to the 8th/14th century, being 116.6 mg. Abu 'l-Faḍl calls the ~ *surkh*. VI 122a

rawādif → RADĪF

rawḍ (A) : meadow. XI 399b

♦ rawḍa (A, pl. *riyāḍ*) : lit. garden; in Arabia, a basin or hollow whose bottom does not hold water, so that wild vegetation may be fairly abundant there. In the north it is called *fayḍa*. I 538a

In Muslim India, a monumental tomb within an enclosure, not necessarily of a *pīr* (→ MURSHID). VI 125b; X 59a

♦ **rawḍa-khwānī** (P) : a shīʿī Persian mourning ritual commemorating the suffering and martyrdom of Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad, and other shīʿī martyrs. VIII 465a

♦ rawḍiyya → NAWRIYYA

rawghan (P) : clarified butter. V 152b

rawī (A) : in prosody, the rhyme letter which, since it occurs in every type of rhyme, is considered its principal consonant after which famous poems are often named, e.g. the *Lāmiyya* of al-Shanfarā. IV 412a; VIII 368b

rāwī (A, pl. *ruwāt*) : reciter and transmitter of poetry, as also of narrative Traditions and ḤADĪT͟H. There is an intensive form *rāwiya*, explained as 'copious transmitter', used in mediaeval sources as a synonym to *rāwī*. In modern research ~ is applied, as a rule, to the learned collectors of Bedouin poetry in the 8th century. VIII 466b; IX 236a

rāwiya → RĀWĪ

rawk (? < Dem *ruwk͟h* 'land distribution') : in Egyptian administration, ~ means a kind of cadastral survey which is followed by a redistribution of the arable land. III 99a; VIII 467b

rawnaḳ (A) : glittering brightness, splendour. XI 263a

rawwāg͟h (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse that shies. II 953b

ra'y (A, pl. *ārā'*) : personal opinion; in law, the decision of legal points by one's own judgement in the absence or ignorance of a traditional ruling bearing on the case in question, although for an opinion on a specific question of law, ḳawl is most commonly used, ~ being more often used for the body of such opinions held by a particular jurist. I 730a; II 886a; IX 878b; XII 687b; and → AHL AL-RA'Y

In theology, adherence to a body of theological doctrine, i.e. ~ *al-D̲j̲ahmiyya*. XII 687b

rāya (A) : a term for flag, used during the Prophet's lifetime along with LIWĀ' and, less commonly, *ʿalam*. Some Traditions contrast the ~, the Prophet's black flag, with his *liwā'*, which was white. The use of the ~ does not seem to be confined to Muslims, since at Badr, Ṭalḥa carried the ~ of the idolaters. I 349a

In zoology, ~ (< *Raia*) or *rad̲j̲a* means 'ray' or 'skate'. VIII 1021a; for other synonyms, VIII 1022b

♦ rāyat-i aʿlā (U) : title used by the Sayyid kings of Dihlī. IX 119b

rayb → S͟HAKK

rayd (A, pl. *aryād, ruyūd*) : a ledge of a mountain, resembling a wall, or a resting upon ledges of mountains. At least in the Ḥaḍramawt, ~ is the term for the centre of the territory of a Bedouin tribe, which is generally a depression in the rocky plateau. VIII 470a

rayhaḳān → ZAʿFARĀN

rayḥān, rayḥānī → RĪḤĀN; ZUMURRUD

raym → K͟HARḲ

rayya (SpA, < L *regio*) : in Muslim Spain, the name given to the administrative circle comprising the south of the peninsula, the capital of which was successively Archidona and Málaga. VIII 473b

rāziyānad̲j̲ → BASBĀS

razḳa → RIZḲ

reʿāyā → RAʿIYYA

redīf → RADĪF

reg (Eng, < A *riḳḳ*) : a stony flat or almost flat surface, commonly found in the deserts where deposits of sand are lacking, ~ has become a scientific word in French used in reference to any part of the globe. VIII 481a; and → RIḲḲ

re'īs → RA'ĪS

resimcılık (T) : a land-leasing system in Turkey, in which the amount of the rent depends on the situation and fertility of the soil, the rentability of the cultivation and the degree of the dependence of the peasant. V 473b

resm → RASM

rezza (Mor) : a small, rather flat turban, worn in Morocco. V 746b

ribā (A) : lit. increase; in law, usury and interest, and in general any unjustified increase of capital for which no compensation is given. The exact meaning of ~ is unknown, but it entailed, evidently, a condemnation, from a moral point of view, of those who grew rich through the misery of others, without the loan granted helping the borrower

in any way to retrieve his fortunes, such as lending dates to a starving man, etc. I 111b; IV 691b; VIII 491a; VIII 915a; XII 690b

ribāṭ (A) : in Qur'ānic usage, the preparations made with the mustering of cavalry, with a view to battle; after the great conquests, ~ was used to denote a fortified edifice, normally situated in hazardous regions. VIII 493b

In music, intercalation. X 498a

In mystical terminology, the urban residence of ṣūfīs, in the East and in Egypt more commonly known as *khānḳāh*. VIII 493b; and → KHĀNḲĀH; MURĀBIṬ; SIKKA

riḍʿ → DAYSAM

riḍā (A) : lit. the fact of being pleased or contented; contentment, approval; a term found in mysticism and also in early Islamic history. VIII 509a; X 377b; in mysticism, submission to and agreement with the divine will. XI 141b

In early Islamic history, ~ has a special role in the events leading up to the ʿAbbāsid revolution, when the Umayyad proponents made their propaganda in the name of *al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad* 'a member of the House of the Prophet who shall be acceptable to everybody', which allowed partisans of both ʿAlī's family and those of al-ʿAbbās to claim that they were the intended new leaders. VIII 509a

In shīʿism, ~ is the LAḲAB of the eighth imām, ʿAlī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim. VIII 509b

ridā' (A) : a piece of white seamless cloth, draped around the upper half of the wearer's chest, which, with the IZĀR, makes up the garment worn by men during the pilgrimage. I 1053a

riḍāʿ → RAḌĀʿ

ridāfa (A) : in pre- and early Islam, the institution of viceroyship. X 175a

ridda (A) : lit. apostasy; in early Islam, the name given for the series of battles against tribes, both nomadic and sedentary, which began shortly before the death of the Prophet and continued throughout Abū Bakr's caliphate. XII 692b

ridf (A) : in prosody, the *wāw* and *yā'* immediately preceding the rhyme letter as letters of prolongation or to mark the diphthongs *aw* en *ay*, and the *alif* as letter of prolongation in the same position. IV 412a; VIII 369a; and → NATĪDJA; RADĪF

♦ ridfa (A), or *shadjara* : alternate.

In prosody, with regard to the MAWĀLIYĀ as folk-verse, the sestet of alternating rhymes which are added, as a form of elaboration, after the *farsha* (→ ʿATABA), the first three lines; ~ is also used for each of the two rhymes. The verse is then said to be *mardūf* or *ṣaʿīdī* 'Upper Egyptian'. VI 868a

♦ ridf-i zā'id (P) : in Persian prosody, a consonant intervening between the RIDF and the rhyme letter. VIII 369b

ridjāl (A, s. *radjul*) : men; as a technical term, the transmitters of ḤADĪTH 'Muslim Tradition'. VIII 514b

♦ ridjāl al-ghayb (A) : 'the men of the mystery', the hierarchy of saints, in which there are ten categories, crowned by the ḲUṬB. I 94b; II 1025b

♦ **ʿilm al-ridjāl** (A) : the science devoted to the study of the persons figuring in ISNĀDs, with the purpose of establishing their moral qualities, the bibliographical details which will provide the necessary checks on either the materials transmitted or the *isnāds* themselves, and the exact identification of the names, to prevent confusion between persons of the same name. III 1150b

ridjl (A) : foot; and → SĀḲ

♦ ridjl ghurāb (A) : 'crow's foot'; in the science of diplomatic, the popular term for the signature, ʿALĀMA, of the person drawing up the document, used with great lack of respect. II 302a

♦ ridjl al-ḳiṭṭ, or *ridjl al-hirr, ẓufr al-ḳiṭṭ* : in botany, the Cat's foot (*Antennaria dioica*). IX 653a

riḍwān (A) : in the Qur'ān, God's grace, favour, which believers will meet in the hereafter. VIII 509a; VIII 519a

rīf (A, pl. *aryāf*) : countryside; a food-producing fringe of a river traversing arid country. VIII 521b; VIII 562a

In Morocco, ~ denotes, in the circle of tents, those which are on the periphery. By extension (?), certain Berberophone groups of the Middle Atlas use it to define a group of tents held together by a close relationship in the male line. VIII 521b

rifāda (A) : the institution of providing food for the pilgrims in Mecca. I 9a; I 80a

rīḥ (A) : wind. VIII 526b; in music, a musical phrase. XII 351a

♦ rīḥ al-sabal (A) : in medicine, an eye complaint, to be cured by the roasted flesh of the scorpion. I 344a

riḥāla (A) : in early Islam, a camel saddle made of wooden bows joined together with leather thongs and adorned with skins. III 667a

rīḥān (A), or *rīḥānī, rayḥān, rayḥānī* : basil; and → ʿABAYTHARĀN

In Persian calligraphy, ~ is a smaller version of the Arabic script called MUḤAḲḲAḲ, used for copying Qur'āns, and like *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, starting to go out of circulation after the 11th/17th century in favour of NASKH. IV 1123a; VIII 151b

riḥiyyāt (N.Afr) : flat, leather slippers worn by both sexes in North Africa. V 746b

riḥla (A) : a journey, voyage, travel; a travelogue; originally, the word ~ connoted the act of saddling one or more camels. VIII 528a

rīka → MINAṢṢA

rïḳʿa (T), *rïḳʿï* or *ruḳʿa* : in Turkish calligraphy, a script probably invented during the second half of the 12th/18th century. The main characteristics of ~ are that its letters are less rounded and more straight than in the DĪWĀNĪ script; ~ was used along with *dīwānī* in the DĪWĀN-Ï HUMĀYŪN, and like Persian SHIKASTA *nastaʿlīḳ*, it also became a standard form of hand-writing among Turks, used for letters and every kind of correspondence. When written rapidly and without adhering to the rules, ~ is called *rïḳʿa ḳïrmasï*. IV 1126a; a more common variant of this script has now become the cursive for daily use throughout the Middle East. VIII 151b

riḳāʿ (A) : in Persian calligraphy, a smaller version of the TAWḲĪʿ script. Formerly used for writing letters, epics and stories, ~ later came to be used for writing the final pages of Qur'āns and especially those of learned books. The Ottoman calligraphers called this script *idjāza* or *khaṭṭ al-idjāza*. IV 1123b; VIII 151b; and → MUḤĀWARĀT

rikāb (A) : lit. stirrup; in Persian and Turkish usage at Muslim courts, 'the sovereign himself or his presence, the foot of the throne'. VIII 528b

In Turkish usage, ~ was also applied to the imperial cavalcade and the procession formed on this occasion; the audience given by the sultan, whether or not he was in procession; and the service of the sultan or simply his presence, which was not necessarily immediate. ~ and *rikāb-ï hümāyūn* were also used in the sense of interim or substitute. VIII 529a

♦ rikāb aghalarï (T) : name applied to a certain number of important officers or dignitaries of the Ottoman palace (from 4 to 11, according to the different sources). VIII 529a

♦ rikāb ḳā'immaḳāmï (T) : the substitute for the grand vizier, who was appointed to the Ottoman sovereign when the grand vizier moved from place to place. VIII 529a

♦ rikāb solaghï (T) : the name given to the eight *solaḳ* lieutenants who walked by the Ottoman sultan's stirrup in the great procession. VIII 529a

♦ **rikābdār** (P, < A RIKĀB), or *rikībdār* : 'one put in charge of the stirrup, one who holds the stirrup, when his master mounts'; in a wider sense, ~ meant a kind of squire,

groom or riding attendant who had charge of the care and maintenance of harness and saddlery and of everything required for mounting on horseback. The term was used especially in Egypt and Turkey. In Persia it was replaced by its Turkish synonym *üzengi* (or *zengü*) *ḳurčisi*. Synonyms in Arabic were *rikābī* and *ṣāḥib al-rikāb*. VIII 529b ff.

In 19th and early 20th-century Egyptian usage, *rikib-dār* or *rakbdār* means 'jockey groom'. VIII 530a

♦ rikābī (A) : according to al-Zahrāwī, a type of olive oil made when the oil is washed in water; also, a Syrian olive, one of the best varieties, so-called because it was exported from Syria on camelback. XI 486a; XI 487a; and → RIKĀBDĀR

♦ rikāb-i̊ hümāyūn → RIKĀB

♦ rikāb-i̊ hümāyūnde (T) : 'with the (Ottoman) sultan', a term used in speaking of the troops of the capital or of the grand vizier insofar as he was endowed with the full powers of the sultan. VIII 529a

♦ rikāb-khāna (A) : in Mamlūk Egypt, the depot for harness and in general for all the material required for horses and stables. VIII 530a

riḳāḳ → SHAWBAḲ

rikāz (A) : buried treasure. XI 413b

rikhl → SAKHLA

rīkhta : in Bengali literature, half-Persian, half-Bengali poetry, introduced by Nūr Ḳuṭb al-ʿĀlam. VIII 125a

rikhwa (A) : 'relaxed'; in grammar, a division equivalent in modern phonetics with 'constrictive', designating the letters *h, ḥ, gh, kh, sh, ṣ, ḍ, z, s, ẓ, th, dh, f*. III 599a

riḳḳ (A) : an abstract term for 'slavery'. I 24b; and → RAḲḲ

In geography (Eng **reg**), 'dessicated terrain, terrain where water has disappeared, at least on the surface'. VIII 481a

rimāya (A) : archery. IV 795b

rind (P, pl. *runūd, rindān*) : 'scamp, knave, rogue, drunkard' or 'a debauchee', a name given to groups of young men who were considered elements of disorder in mediaeval Baghdad from the time of the Saldjūḳs. In the terminology of poetry and mysticism, ~ acquired the positive meaning of 'one whose exterior is liable to censure, but who at heart is sound'. II 961b; VIII 531a

risāla (A) : originally, the oral transmission of a message; message, mission; missive, letter, epistle, monograph; from the 5th/11th century onwards ~ could also be a synonym of MAḲĀMA. VIII 532a; and → BARĀʾA; PARWĀNAČI

In Ottoman Turkish, ~ also denoted 'a piece of cloth fixed to the front of a dervish's *tādj* or cap' and, by the 19th century, 'a booklet or a weekly or monthly journal'. VIII 544a

ristik → SHUTIK

rithāʾ (A) : 'lamentation'; in prosody, the corresponding literary genre. VI 603a

riwāḳ (A, < P; pl. *arwiḳa, riwāḳāt*), or *ruwāḳ* : in architecture, that part of a structure that forms its front. Depending on the type of structure, a ~ could be a gallery, an ambulatory, a portico, a colonnade, a porch, or a balcony. ~ was also used to indicate the Greek stoa, such as the stoa attributed to Aristotle in Alexandria. VIII 544b; the space between two rows of pillars. VI 661b; the moveable screen of the nomadic tent. II 113b; an entire tent of a certain type similar to a FUSṬĀṬ. VIII 545a; ~ was later used for 'student lodgings', because of the many students living in the halls of mosques. VI 662b; and → NAḲĪB AL-RIWĀḲ

♦ al-riwāḳiyyūn (A) : the Stoics. VIII 545a

riwāya (A) : in literature, the oral transmission of a Tradition, a poem or a story; also the authorised transmission of books. In modern Arabic, ~ has been adopted to mean a story, a novel, a play or a film. III 369b; VIII 545b; and → DIRĀYA; ḤIKĀYA

riyā' (A) : ostentation, hypocrisy. In ṣūfism, ~ stands in opposition to *ikhlāṣ* 'sincerity'. V 513a; VIII 547a

riyāḍiyyāt (A), or *riyāḍa* : mathematics. VIII 549b

riyāfa (A, < RĪF) : in divination, the water-diviner's art which estimates the depth of water under the earth through the smell of the earth, its vegetation and the instinctive reactions of certain creatures, in particular, the hoopoe. VIII 562a

riyāl (A, < Sp *real*) : in numismatics, a name used for a silver coin in a number of Islamic countries, first recorded in the East in Persia in 1609. The ~ is still in use today in Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Dubai and Qatar. III 256a; VIII 563b

♦ **riyāla** (T, < It *reale*), *riyāle, riyāla bey*, or *iryāla* : a general officer of the Ottoman navy who commanded the galley of the same name, later 'rear-admiral'; the rank of ~ was at first known among the Turks only as applied to officers of the navies of Christendom, coming into use among the Turkish sailors in the time of Meḥemmed IV, 1058-99/1648-87. VIII 564a

rizḳ (A, pl. *arzāḳ*) : lit. anything granted by someone to someone else as a benefit, hence in theology and the Qur'ān, 'bounty, sustenance, nourishment'. I 204a; VIII 567b In military terminology, ~ is used to designate the regular payments, in cash and in kind, made to those soldiers registered on the DĪWĀN of earliest Islamic times and, by the 'Abbāsid period, on the more elaborate *dīwān al-djaysh*, hence equivalent to 'AṬĀ' or ṬAMA'. Those soldiers drawing regular allowances were called *murtaziḳa*. A single pay allotment was termed *razḳa* (pl. *razaḳāt*). VIII 568b

♦ rizḳa (pl. *rizaḳ*) → AWḲĀF AHLIYYA

rōk (Dem) : a kind of cadastral revision, under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, of which the object was to measure the surface area of all the lands in Egypt, to assess their value in terms of land tax, *kharādj*, and to distribute them to officers and soldiers as a substitute to salaries. VII 164b

rū band (P) : a rectangular white veil fastened over the *čādur*, the all-enveloping wrap worn outside, and falling over the face. The ~, an innovation in the Ṣafawid period, had a small slit covered with netting over the eyes to permit vision. V 749b

rub' (A) : lit. quarter; in astronomy, quadrant. VIII 574a; and → NIṢF; ṬARĪ

♦ rub' āfāḳī (A) : in astronomy, the universal horary quadrant, known in mediaeval Europe as *quadrans vetus*. VIII 574b

♦ **al-rub' al-khālī** (A) : 'the Empty Quarter', a vast and inhospitable sand-sea occupying much of the south and southeast of the Arabian peninsula. VIII 575b

♦ rub' mudjayyab (A) : in astronomy, the sine quadrant (syn. *rub' al-shakkāziyya*), with markings resembling modern graph-paper, developed from the *rub' al-sā'āt*. V 84a; VIII 574b

♦ rub' al-muḳanṭarāt (A) : in astronomy, a quadrant in the form of one-half of the markings on an astrolabe plate, the rete being replaced with a thread with movable bead attached at the centre. VIII 575a

♦ rub' al-sā'āt (A) : in astronomy, the horary quadrant, marked with a radial solar scale and curves for the hours. VIII 574b

♦ rub' al-shakkāziyya → RUB' MUDJAYYAB

rubāb (P) : in music, a Persian and Eastern Turkish instrument of the lute family, with a vaulted sound-chest and incurvations at the waist. As described by Ibn Ghaybī, the lower part of the belly was of skin and three double strings were mounted on it. In Persia it has fallen into disuse but in Turkestan it still continues to be favoured, although here it is strung with three single strings together with twelve sympathetic strings. It has found its way into India and China. It is to be distinguished from the RABĀB. VIII 346a; X 770a

rubaḥ (A), and *rubbāḥ* : in zoology, the large male baboon, also known as *ḳurduḥ, ḳurdūḥ, ḥawdal, ḥibn*. His thick fur hood earned him the epithets *habbār, hawbar*. In the Ḥidjāz he was known as *hidjris*, a name for the fox in other countries. V 131b

rubāʿī (A, pl. *rubāʿiyyāt*), and *mirabbaʿ, du-baytī, tarāna* : a verse form; in Persian prosody, the shortest type of formulaic poem, usually but inaccurately called 'quatrain', said to have been the earliest of the verse forms invented by the Persians. It is derived from no less than twenty-four varieties of the HAZADJ metre. The ~ is defined not only by the number of lines but also by its pattern of rhyme (*a a b a*, less commonly *a a a a*) and its metre. In Arabic, this verse form is called *rubāʿiyya*. I 677a; IV 58a; VI 868a; VIII 578b

In numismatics, a quarter-dīnār. X 239a

♦ rubāʿiyya (A) : in literary theory, a literary work in four parts, translating both tetralogy and quartet. VIII 585a; and → RUBĀʿĪ

rūd : 'string'; in music, an instrument of the lute family, of Persian origin. X 769b

rūdhbār (P), or *rūdbār* : lit. a district along a river, or a district intersected by rivers. VIII 586a

rudjūʿ (A) : in theology, return (to God). VIII 587a; and → ṬĀLIʿ

rughām (A) : mucus (of sheep). XII 317b

rūḥ (A, pl. *arwāḥ*) : in early Arabic poetry, 'breath', 'wind'; in the Qur'ān, ~ denotes a special angel messenger and a special divine quality. In post-Qur'ānic literature, ~ is equated with NAFS and both are applied to the human spirit, angels and DJINN. VII 880a

♦ rūḥ afzā (A) : in music, an instrument of the lute family with a hemispherical sound-chest and six double strings of silk and metal. X 770a

♦ rūḥ Muḥammad → AL-ḤAḲĪḲA AL-MUḤAMMADIYYA

♦ arwāḥ (A) : in alchemy, quicksilver and sulphur, corresponding to Gk τὰ πνεύματα. V 111a

rūḥāniyya (A) : 'spirituality', 'spiritual being'; in angelology, the *spiritus rector*, the angel who rules each of the celestial spheres. VIII 593b

ruḥla (A) : the destination of a journey; a rarer meaning is that of a noble or learned man to whom one may travel. VIII 528a

ruḳʿa (A) : a piece of clothing; an administrative document; a sealed, personal message. VIII 835a; and → RIḲʿA

ruḳāḳ (A) : a very thin bread, cooked on a slab of iron, called *ṭābaḳ* or *ṭābil* in the mediaeval period and now *ṣādj*, heated on a hearth or a brazier. V 42b

rukh (A) : redistribution of land. VII 164b

rukhām (A) : in mineralogy, marble, often used interchangeably with *marmar* (< Gk) to refer to a wide variety of hard stones, including marble, granite and diorite. Where the two terms were distinguished, it usually had to do with colour, *marmar* referring to white marble or alabaster, ~ assuming various shades and hues. XII 695b

♦ rukhāma → MIZWALA

rukhkh (A) : in zoology, a huge ostrich-like bird (*Aepyornis maximus*), now extinct, probably existing well into historical times as a peculiar species in Madagascar. Though early Arab seafarers could conceivably have seen the bird face-to-face, Arabic tradition soon turned the ~ into a fabulous creature embellishing it with all kinds of strange details. VIII 595a

In chess, the term for rook, castle. IX 366b

rukhṣa (A, pl. *rukhaṣ*) : lit. permission, dispensation; in law, ~ is a legal ruling relaxing or suspending by way of exception under certain circumstances an injunction of a primary and general nature. Its counterpart is ʿAZĪMA. VIII 595a; IX 778a

♦ rukhṣat (U, < A) : in Urdu poetry, the part of the elegy where the martyr-hero bids farewell to his nearest and dearest. VI 611b

rukk (A) : a term in the Persian Gulf for a shoal. I 535b

rukn (A, pl. *arkān*) : lit. corner, support, pillar; the eastern corner of the Kaʿba where the stone was. X 376a

In religious usage, the plural *arkān* is commonly found in the expression *arkān al-dīn* or *arkān al-ʿibāda*, denoting the basic 'pillars' of religion and religious observance. These so-called 'pillars of Islam' are usually enumerated as: profession of faith (SHAHĀDA); the pilgrimage (ḤADJDJ); the worship (ṢALĀT); fasting (ṢAWM); and alms-giving (ZAKĀT, ṢADAKA). To these some authorities add a sixth, perpetual warfare against infidels (DJIHĀD). VIII 596b

In law, a condition in a contract. I 319a

In natural science and alchemy, ~ denotes cardinal point, part, direction, and, in particular, element. VIII 596b

rukya (A) : enchantment, magical spell, permitted in exceptional cases, on condition that it brings benefit to people and does not harm anyone. VIII 600a

rūm (A) : name for the Romans, the Byzantines, and the Christian Melkites interchangeably. VIII 601a

♦ **rūmī** (A) : a designation for the Turks from Byzantium, *al-rūm*, which was once under the Eastern Roman Empire. VIII 612a

In Ottoman art and architectural ornamentation, ~ also indicated a special motif in the form of a leaf or stylised animal designs. VIII 612b

♦ rūmiyya (A) : a tribute paid by some groups of the Banū ʿĀmir to the Spanish in the 16th century. IX 537a

rumāt → ARMA

rumḥ (A) : the game of lance, also called *thakāfa* or *thikāf*, one of the branches of horse-riding. II 955a; in military science, the long bamboo-hafted spear or lance, used as a thrusting weapon in close fighting. XII 735b; XII 736b

rummānī → BAHRAMĀNĪ

rūpiyya (< San *rūpya*) : in numismatics, an Indian coin, a rupee. VIII 618a

rūsakhtadj (P) : in chemistry, antimony. VIII 111b; golden marcasite stone. V 972a, where transcribed as *rusukhtadj*

rushd (A) : in law, discretion or responsibility in acting. I 993b; mental maturity. VIII 821b

♦ rüshdiyye (T) : under the Ottomans, the secondary school of six grades (ages 11 to 16), created during the reign of Maḥmūd II (1801-39). I 75a; V 904a

russa → URṢŪṢA

rustāk (A, pl. *rasātīk*; < MidP *rōstāg*) : lit. rural district, countryside; in mediaeval administrative usage, ~ designated a district or canton centred on a town. VIII 636a

In wider literary usage, ~, or *rustā*, was contrasted with the urban centres, and its populations regarded as country bumpkins compared with the more sophisticated town-dwellers. VIII 636a

rusukhtadj → RŪSAKHTADJ

rusūm → MARĀSIM; RASM

ruṭab → TAMR

rutaylāʾ (A) : in zoology, the tarantula. IX 873a

ruṭūbāt (A) : in medicine, dyscratic juice in the stomach. IX 432a

ruwīn nāy in music, a brazen-pipe. X 35a

ruʾyā (A) : lit. vision, nocturnal vision, dream. Muslim tradition distinguishes between ~, the true dream, the dream inspired by God, and *ḥulm*, the false dream, resulting from the passions and preoccupations of the soul, or inspired by Satan. VIII 645a

In its philosophical-mystical meaning, the term, like *manām*, describes the dream as a means to transmit fictitious observations or, in the best instances, information and knowledge which convey another, higher reality. VIII 647a

♦ **ru'yat al-hilāl** (A) : in astronomy, the sighting of the lunar crescent, of particular importance for the fixing of the beginning and end of Ramaḍān and the festivals. VIII 649b

ruʿz → ḲIDḤ

ruzdjārī (A, < P) : in the mediaeval period, a day-labourer. XII 758a

rūznāma (P) : lit. record of the day, hence acquiring meanings like 'almanac, calendar, daily journal' etc; in mediaeval administration, the daily record or day-book of payments and receipts of the treasury; also called *daftar-i taʿlīḳ* under the Īlkhānids. The form *rūznāmadj* points to an origin in Sāsānid administration. The keeper of the ~ under the Ottomans was called **rūznāmedji**. II 78b; VIII 652a; X 146b

In Fāṭimid and early Ayyūbid Egypt, ~ was used in a sense contrary to its etymological meaning and its usage in the eastern Islamic world, sc. for the rendering of accounts every ten days. VIII 652a

♦ rūznāmedji → RŪZNĀMA

ruzz (A), or *aruzz, uruzz* : in botany, rice, *Oryza sativa* L., one of two major cultivated species, the other being the indigenous African variety *O. glaberrima*, both of which spring from perennial rice. VIII 652b; and → ARUZZ

♦ ruzza (A) : a small turban for young people in Morocco. X 613b

S

ṣāʿ (A) : a measure of capacity which was used in the Ḥidjāz in the days of Muḥammad, equal to 4 MUDDs. The ~ did not spread to other countries, except perhaps in Algeria and Tunisia where it is still used, with varying equivalences. V 118a; VIII 654a

sāʿa (A) : lit. hour, hence 'clock'. For the ancient Arabs, ~ meant nothing more than 'a moment, a brief lapse of time' since they apparently did not divide the day in 24 hours. This meaning is retained in the classical language in such expressions as *summ sāʿa* 'instantly fatal poison'. V 708b; VIII 654a

For the ancient Arabs, ~ meant nothing more than 'a moment, a brief lapse of time', as they did not divide the day into 24 hours. V 708b

In eschatology, *al-sāʿa* is the Last Hour, which, with the Day of Resurrection and the Day of Judgement, constitutes one of the 'necessary beliefs' which determine the content of the Muslim faith. V 235b; VIII 656a

♦ sāʿa shamsiyya → MIZWALA

saʿāda (A) : happiness, bliss; in Islamic philosophy, a central concept to describe the highest aim of human striving, which can be reached through ethical perfection and increasing knowledge. VIII 657b

sabʿ (A), or *sabʿa* : the number seven. VIII 662b

♦ al-sabʿ al-ṭiwāl (A) : lit. the seven long ones; a designation for SŪRAS ii-vii and ix. IX 887b

♦ **sabʿatu ridjāl** (Mor) : in Morocco, the collective designation of seven patron saints, venerated in certain towns and tribal areas, as well as in some parts of Algeria. VIII 671b

♦ **sabʿiyya** (A) : the Seveners, a designation for those shīʿī sects which recognise a series of seven IMĀMs. VIII 683b

sabab (A, pl. *asbāb*) : lit. rope, coming to designate anything which binds or connects; hence also 'bond, alliance; a means of arriving at, or achieving, something; way of access'. VIII 666b

In philosophy, ~ is used as a synonym of *ʿilla* cause, reason'. The ~ is also called *mabdaʾ* 'principle'; it is 'that which a thing needs, whether in its quiddity or in its existence'. III 1129b; VIII 666b

In medicine, ~ denoted the efficient cause, exclusively that which has an effect within the human body, whether it produces illness or restores or preserves health. VIII 667a
In law, ~ is the designation given by the law maker for an injunction (ḤUKM). The ~ may not be the actual cause but merely serves as a mark (*ʿalāma*) to indicate that a certain *ḥukm* should apply. VIII 667a
In prosody, one of two pairs of metrical components distinguished by al-Khalīl, consisting of two consonants each. One is called *sabab khafīf* (when the first consonant is 'moving', i.e. has a short vowel, and the second is 'quiescent') and the other *sabab thaḳīl* (when both consonants are 'moving'). I 670b; XI 508b; a third type was introduced into Persian prosody, the *sabab-i mutawassiṭ*, consisting of an overlong syllable (e.g. *yār*). VIII 667b
In grammar, ~ is used by Sībawayhi to denote a 'semantic link' between words that bring about a change in the expected case ending. In addition to the direct ~, he recognized an indirect link which he calls *iltibās* 'involvement'. VIII 668a
♦ sabab khafīf → SABAB
♦ sabab thaḳīl → SABAB
♦ sabab-i mutawassiṭ → SABAB
sabad (A) : smooth, as e.g. in describing goats' hair. XII 317a
sabal (A) : in medicine, the pathological eye condition of pannus. 456a
sabʿānī (A), or *misabbaʿ*, *nuʿmānī*, *baghdādī* : in folk-verse, a composition with the rhyme scheme *a a a z z z a*, which is an elaboration of the monorhyme quatrain. VI 868a
sābāṭ (A) : in Indian siegecraft, a word used to express two walls, the foundations of which were laid at a distance of about one musket-shot (from the fort). They were protected by planks, fastened together by raw hides and made strong, and thus formed something like a lane which was then carried to the wall of the fort during an assault. III 482a; a covered passage. V 510b
sabʿatu ridjāl → SABʿ
sabb → SHATM
ṣabbāgh (A) : a dyer, a skilled artisan in the mediaeval Near East. IV 1161a; VIII 671b
sabbāk (A) : a melter, one of the craftsmen employed as staff in the mint who carried out the actual coining operation. II 118a
sabbāla → SABĪL
sābiʿ al-arūs (A) : the first seven days of marriage, which play a special part in the marriage ceremony. According to a usage sanctioned by the Prophet, the husband is meant to spend them with his wife if she is a virgin. A very old custom in Morocco had the husband buying fish on the seventh day, which his mother or other women then threw over the wife's feet. probably an old magical practice to secure fertility. X 906a
ṣabīb (A) : a term used in addition to the general term LAWN 'colour' for a notion of liquid colour or tincture, also applied to the object which it colours. V 699b
sābiḳ (A) : the name for the first horse in a horse-race, according to the order of finishing. II 953a
In Druze hierarchy, the right wing, the fourth of the five cosmic ranks in the organisation. II 632a
♦ sābiḳa (A) : in early Islam, the principle of precedence in Islam (length of adherence to the cause), observed in the division of revenues. X 819b
♦ **al-sābiḳūn** (A), or *al-sābiḳūn al-awwalūn* : lit. foregoers; in shīʿism, occasionally applied to the Prophet, imāms, and Fāṭima in recognition of their status as pre-existent beings and the first of God's creatures to respond to the demand 'Am I not your Lord?'. VIII 678b

In early Bābism, ~ was applied with what seems deliberate ambiguity to the group of eighteen disciples who, with the Bāb, formed the primary cadre of the sect's hierarchy. These early believers were ~ in the double sense of having preceded the rest of mankind in recognition of the new cause and in being actual incarnations of the Prophet and imāms. VIII 679a

In early Islam, the circle of early Muslims consisting of those who accepted Islam before the Prophet entered the house of al-Arḳam b. Abi 'l-Arḳam. VIII 828a

In Qur'ānic exegesis, those Muslims who prayed in both directions, viz. Jerusalem and Mecca, who emigrated with Muḥammad to Medina, and who took part in the battle of Badr and in the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya. VIII 828a

sabīl (A, pl. *subul*; T *sebīl*) : lit. way, road, path; in the Qur'ān, ~ is also used figuratively in e.g. the expressions *sabīl Allāh*, the idea of fighting in the way of God, and *ibn al-sabīl* 'son of the road', later taken as 'traveller, wayfarer', and therefore as a fit object of charity or compassion. VIII 679a

In architecture, ~ designates water-houses which provide water for free public use; less common is also *sabbāla* 'public fountain, drinking basin'. The term ~ is also used to designate other charitable objects, such as *ḥawḍ al-sabīl*, i.e. a drinking trough for the animals, or *maktab al-sabīl* which is a charitable elementary school for boys. VIII 679b

For ~ in Turkey and Iran, → ČEṢHME and SAḲḲĀ-KHĀNA, respectively

ṣabir (A) : aloes or some other bitter vegetable substance. III 404a

ṣabiyy (A) : a youth, boy, or male child; one that has not yet been weaned, so called from the time of his birth. The fem. counterpart is *ṣabiyya*. VIII 821b

In law, a minor (also *ṣaghīr*), who has the capacity to conclude purely beneficial transactions and to accept donations and charitable gifts. An intelligent (*ṣabiyy yaʿḳilu*), discriminating (MUMAYYIZ) minor, moreover, can adopt Islam, enter into a contract of manumission by *mukātaba*, if he is a slave, and carry out a procuration. VIII 826a; and → ṬIFL

sabʿiyya → SABʿ

sābīzak → YABRŪḤ

sabḳ (A), or *sibāḳ* : the sport of horse-racing. II 953a

sabk-i hindī (P) : 'the Indian style'; the third term of a classification of Persian literature into three stylistic periods, the other two being *sabk-i khurāsānī* (also called *sabk-i turkistānī*) and *sabk-i ʿirāḳī*, referring respectively to the eastern and the western parts of mediaeval Persia. VIII 683b

sabkha (A, pl. *sibākh*; N.Afr. *sebkha*) : in geography, salt marshes or lagoons and the salt flats left by the evaporation of the water from such areas. VII 57b; VIII 685a; XII 328a

sabla (A) : a loose gown worn by women in Egypt, synonymous with THAWB. V 741b

sabr (A, pl. *subūr*) : an advance party of a raiding group of Bedouin. II 1055b

ṣabr (A) : patience, endurance; resignation; the cardinal virtue in mysticism. VIII 685b; endurance of adversity. XI 141b

In botany, ~ denotes the aloe, a species of the *Liliaceae*. Three varieties of the aloe are generally mentioned: *suḳuṭrī*, *ʿarabī* (*ḥaḍramī*) and *simindjānī* (→ SUḲUṬRĪ). VIII 687b

♦ ṣabra (A) : a very hard stone. VIII 688b

sabt (A) : the sabbath, and thus Saturday (*yawm al-~*, technically, Friday evening to Saturday evening); it is also suggested to mean 'a week', that is, from ~ to ~, as well as a more general sense of a long period of time. VIII 689a

sabuʿ al-baḥr (A) : 'beast of the sea', in zoology, the sea wolf (*Anarhichas lupus*). VIII 1021a

ṣābūn (A, < Gk) : soap, a mixture of fat or tallow and vegetable ashes, used to dye the hair red, and brought on the market in solid or liquid form. In Spain, ~ also indicates the lye obtained by leaving the ashes to soak in water. VIII 693a

sābūrḳān → ḤADĪD

sabziči-bās̲h̲ī (P) : in Ṣafawid times, an official in the royal kitchen responsible for green salads. XII 609b

ṣād (A) : the fourteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *ṣ*, with the numerical value 90. It is defined as an alveolar sibilant, voiceless and velarised in articulation. VIII 695b

saʿd wa-naḥs (A) : lit. the fortunate and the unfortunate; in astrology, terms used to describe the stars, based on the influence exerted by the planets and the signs of the zodiac on earthly events. VIII 705a; *saʿd*, followed by a noun, is given to some stars and constellations. VIII 705b

♦ **al-saʿdān**[i] (A) : lit. the two lucky (planets); in astrology, the two beneficent planets Jupiter and Venus, contrasting with Saturn and Mars, *al-naḥsān*[i] 'the two unlucky, maleficent (planets)'. VIII 716b

sāda → MAḌBŪṬ

sadā (A) : the warp of a fabric; the weft is called *luḥma*. XII 341a

ṣadā (A) : a term with many meanings, including those of thirst, voice, echo, and screech-owl, in the sense of *hāma* (or *hām*, the male owl), which denotes a bird charged with taking shape in the skull of someone who has been murdered, to return to the tomb of the dead man until vengeance was exacted. VIII 706b

ṣadaf (A, s. *ṣadafa*) : in zoology, two classes of molluscs: mussels (*Lamellibranchiata*) and snails (*Gastropoda*), both including the mother-of-pearl. VIII 707a

♦ ṣadaf al-durr (A), or *al-sadaf al-luʾluʾī* : in zoology, the pearl mussel. VIII 707a

♦ ṣadaf al-firfīr (A), or *ṣadaf furfūra* : in zoology, the snail family of the Purpura. VIII 707a

♦ ṣadaf ḳīrūkis (A) : in zoology, the trumpet-snail (*Tritonium nodiferum* L). VIII 707a

♦ ṣadafkārī ʿaṣā → DEYNEK

ṣadāḳ (A) : dowry (syn. MAHR).

ṣadaḳa (A) : voluntary alms, a charitable donation which does not require offer and acceptance and which is moreover always irrevocable; obligatory alms are also frequently termed ~ but are commonly known as ZAKĀT. III 350a; V 424b; VIII 495a; VIII 708b

In law, ~ is also used to refer to the tax on livestock, as well as to expiatory penalties. VIII 711b

♦ ṣadaḳa mawḳūfa → MAWḲŪF

♦ ṣadaḳa muḥarrama (A) : in law, the term used by the early S̲h̲āfiʿīs for a permanent WAḲF in favour of the poor or of certain classes of relatives or descendants or even clients, and then, after their distinction, to the poor. XI 59b

ṣadāret ḳāʾim-maḳāmī → ḲĀʾIM-MAḲĀM

sadd al-d̲h̲arāʾiʿ (A) : lit. closing off the means that can lead to evil; in law, a mechanism devised by Mālikī jurists to resolve loopholes in the law, probably the only source of Islamic law to be presented in a negative form. VIII 718a

ṣadḥat al-maṭar (A) : 'rain bead', utilised by Arab tribes accounted of South Arabian or Yemeni genealogy, which could direct rain away from a particular spot. XI 227a

sad̲h̲āb (A) : in botany, the rue plant. II 1071b

ṣadīg̲h̲ (A) : 'an epithet applied to a child, in the stage extending to his completion of seven days, because his temple becomes firm only to this period' (Lane). VIII 821b

ṣādiḥa → ḲAYNA

ṣadiḳi (IndP), correctly *ṣiddīḳī* : in numismatics, a gold coin of the value of two pagodas, weighing 106 grains (= 6.87 g), named thus by Tīpū Sultan of Mysore. VIII 726b

sādin (A) : in early Arabia, the guardian of a shrine. VIII 728a; X 774a

ṣādirāt (P, < A, s. *ṣādir*), or *ṣādiriyyāt* : one of the unfixed taxes in Persia, comprising levies made to meet special expenditure such as that occasioned by a military expedition, the construction or repair of a royal building, or some special festivity, or simply to make good a deficit in the revenue. According to the nature of the occasion, the whole country or a district or section of the community only was subjected to the levy. II 152a; IV 1041a f.

sadīs → ʿATŪD

sādj (A) : in botany, the teak tree, *Tectona grandis* L., of the family of the *Verbenaceae*. VIII 732b

In Arab dress, a green or black ṬAYLASĀN. X 613b

ṣādj (A) : a concave metal plate. V 42b; X 30b

sadjʿ (A) : in pre-Islamic times, the rhythmic, rhymed utterance of the soothsayer, which does not have a fixed metre or proper rhyme and is thus distinct from both poetry and prose. V 420a; VIII 732b

In literature of the Islamic period, rhymed prose, and the basis of the *stylus ornatus*, a characteristic feature of the later INSHĀʾ literature, but also of various other genres. III 1242b; VIII 734a; along with *fāṣila, ḳarīna* and *sadjʿa*, ~ also refers to its rhyme, as opposed to the rhyme of verse, *ḳāfiya*. VIII 737b

♦ sadjʿa → SADJʿ

sadjda (A) : 'bowing down', the name of two Qurʾānic SŪRAS. VIII 740a

♦ sadjdat al-tilāwa (A) : a technical term referring to the 14 Qurʾānic passages which require a ritual of bowing to be formed at the end of their recitation. VIII 740a

sadjdja, or *sādjdja* → ṢANDJ

sadjdjāda (A) : a prayer carpet. VIII 740b; XII 136a

In mysticism, ~ may refer to the mystical path initiated by a founding saint, hence a synonym of *ṭarīḳa, silsila* and *khilāfa*. IV 950a; VIII 743b; and → BAYT AL-SADJDJĀDA; NAḲĪB AL-SADJDJĀDA; SHAYKH AL-SADJDJĀDA

sādjisī (A) : a strain of sheep in the time of al-Djāḥiẓ, which was very large and had wool of a pure white. XII 318a

sadl → ḲABḌ

ṣadr (A, pl. *ṣudūr*) : lit. chest, breast, bosom, of all animals or of humans only. When used for only the breast of humans, ~ is contrasted with e.g. the *kirkira* of the camel-stallion, the *labān* of the horse, the *zawr* of the lion, the *djuʾdjuʾ* of the bird, etc. VIII 746b

In a figurative sense, ~ means any 'first, front, or upper part' of a thing. VIII 747b

In prosody, the first foot of a verse, as opposed to *ʿadjuz*, the last foot; often also loosely applied to the entire first hemistich. VIII 747b; another meaning of ~ in prosody occurs in the context of MUʿĀḲABA, to describe the case of e.g. in the RAMAL metre, the foot *fāʿilātun* having its first cord *fā-* shortened, thus *faʿilātun*, when the last cord *-tun* of the preceding foot is not shortened. VIII 747b

In architecture, the niche in the centre of the ĪWĀN's back wall. IX 176a

In epistolography, ~ refers to the introductory formulae of letters and prefaces in books (the latter also *taṣdīr*); exordium, proem. VIII 748

In music, the chest of a stringed instrument. VIII 347b

In a personal sense, an eminent or superior person or *primus inter pares*, whence its use for a chief, president or minister; in the academic sense, ~ is mostly applied to a professor in ADAB and mostly in the derived forms *muṣaddar* and *mutaṣaddir*. The title was especially used in the Persian world for a high religious dignitary whose function

was concerned essentially with the administration of religious affairs. VIII 748a; IX 738b; and → ṢADR-I AʿẒAM

In Mughal India, a provincial level officer in charge of land-grants. VIII 751a

For ~ in archery, → ḲIDḤ

♦ ṣadr al-ṣudūr : the more exalted title of *ṣadr*, borne by the Būrhānī *ṣadr*s of Transoxania in Ḳarakhānid and Saldjūḳ times. VIII 748b; in Mughal India, a central minister, who controlled land-grants and cash-grants, and recommended appointments of *ḳāḍī*s 'judges' and *muftī*s 'interpreters of law and customs'. The local *ṣadr*s were his subordinates. VIII 751a

♦ **ṣadr-i aʿẓam** (T), commonly *ṣadr aʿẓam* : 'the greatest of the high dignitaries', the grand vizier, a title which, in the Ottoman empire, was used synonymously with *wezīr-i aʿẓam* from the mid-10th/16th century. In the 19th century, there were some unsuccessful attempts to convert ~ to *bashwekīl* 'chief minister'. VIII 751b

sadra → SHUTIK

ṣadūḥ → ḲAYNA

ṣadūḳ (A) : 'truthful'; in the science of Tradition, a quality of a reliable transmitter of Tradition, although not as authoritative as THIḲA or MUTḲIN. II 462a; VIII 983a

sadūs → SUDŪS

ṣafā (A) : lit. hard, smooth stone, whence also 'tract of stony ground'. VIII 756a

safah, safāha → ḤILM

safan (A) : in zoology, the sephen skate, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Raia sephen*). VIII 1021b

ṣafan (A) : in anatomy, the scrotal sheath. IV 1087b

safar (A) : journey, travel. VIII 764b; 'journeying' often to visit the graves of the dead, syn. ZIYĀRA. XI 524b

ṣafar (A) : name of the second month of the Islamic year, also called ~ *al-khayr* or ~ *al-muẓaffar* because of its being considered to be unlucky. VIII 764b

safarna, safarnāya → ISFIRNĪ

ṣaff (A, pl. *ṣufūf*, B *ṣoff*) : lit. rank, row or line, company of men standing in a rank, row or line; in religious practice, ~ is used for the lines of worshippers assembled in the mosque or elsewhere for the prescribed worship. VIII 793b; a long rug with a row of MIḤRĀB decorations side by side, which may be used for communal family prayers. VIII 741b

In military terminology, the rank in an army formation. VIII 794a

In political organisation, not limited to but mostly in certain parts of North Africa, chiefly Algeria, southern Tunisia and Libya, a league, alliance, faction or party (syn. *ʿiṣāba, farīḳ, ṭāʾifa, ḥizb*), a diffuse system of two (or more) mutually opposing or rivalling leagues dividing villages or desert towns, clans and families, or comprising whole tribes, whose league members had a strict obligation of mutual assistance. In Morocco, the term *leff* is used with the same meaning throughout. IV 835a; VIII 794a; X 758a

♦ ṣaffa (A) : a small embroidered bonnet trimmed with coins, worn by women in the Arab East. V 741b

♦ **al-ṣāffāt** (A, < *ṣaffa* 'to be lined up in a row') : title of SŪRA xxxvii and used three times in text, where generally understood to mean '(angels) standing in ranks'; in sūras xxiv and lxvii, however, ~ is glossed as 'outspread wings' of birds. VIII 798a

saffāḥ (A) : bloodthirsty; generous. Al-Saffāḥ was the surname of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph. I 103a

ṣaffāḳatān → ṢANDJ

saffūd (A) : in the mediaeval kitchen, a roasting skewer. VI 808b

ṣafī (A, pl. *ṣafāyā*) : in early Islam, special items consisting of immoveable property selected from booty by the leader. VIII 798a; XII 532a; and → IBRĪZ

♦ ṣafiyya (A, pl. *ṣafāyā*) : any special object of the booty which attracted the leader of a foray, and which he had the right to reserve for himself. The term appears as ṢAWĀFĪ in respect to state domains. II 869b; and → ʿANZ

♦ **ṣawāfī** (A, s. *ṣafī*) : in early Islam, the land which the IMĀM selects from the conquered territories for the treasury with the consent of those who had a share in the booty. VIII 798b; crown lands in general, the private estates of the caliph being known as *ḍiyāʿ al-khāṣṣa*, *ḍiyāʿ al-sulṭān* and *ḍiyāʿ al-khulafāʾ*. IV 972b

safīh (A) : a spendthrift. XI 299b

ṣafīḥa (A) : plate. IX 251b

♦ ṣafīḥa shakkāziyya → SHAKKĀZIYYA

♦ ṣafīḥa zarḳālliyya (A) : in astronomy, an astrolabic plate serving the latitude of the equator, developed by two Andalusian astronomers in the 5th/11th century, Ibn al-Zarḳāllu and ʿAlī b. Khalaf. It differs from the *ṣafīḥa shakkāziyya* by its set of markings. IX 251b; XI 461b

♦ ṣafīḥa zīdjiyya (A) : in astronomy, the equatorium, called thus by al-Zarḳālī. His equatorium is totally independent and represents all the planetary deferents and related circles on both sides of a single plate, while a second plate bears all the epicycles. XI 461b

safila (A) : scum. IV 1132b

safīna (A, pl. *sufun, safāʾin, safīn*) : ship, used from pre-Islamic times. VIII 808a; and → RAMATH

In codicology, a specific kind of shape in use for notebooks. Its architecture is that of an oblong-shaped book, but it is used in a vertical position, the sewing of the leaves being in the top edge, very much as present-day noteblocks. VIII 150a

In astronomy, ~ represents Argus, one of the eastern constellations made up of 45 stars, the brightest of which is *suhayl* or Canopus. The term *safīnat nūḥ* denotes the Great Bear. VIII 811b

♦ safīnat nūḥ → SAFĪNA

safīr (A, pl. *sufarāʾ*, T *sefīr*) : ambassador, messenger; in Twelver shīʿism, ~ refers to the four deputies of the twelfth IMĀM during the Lesser Occultation (260-329/874-941). The office they held was called *sifāra*. Synonyms of ~ are BĀB and NĀʾIB or *nāʾib khāṣṣ*. VIII 811b; X 935b

In diplomacy, ~, initially meaning envoy as well as mediator and conciliator, becomes ambassador or diplomatic agent, the post or embassy being *sifāra*. VIII 812b; and → ELČI

♦ safīr fawḳa ʾl-ʿāda (A) : in diplomacy, ambassador extraordinary. VIII 813a

♦ safīr mufawwaḍ (A) : in diplomacy, ambassador plenipotentiary. VIII 813a; the Ottoman term was *orta elči* or simply *sefīr*. II 694a; and → ELČI

♦ safīra (A) : ambassadress, or an ambassador's wife. VIII 813a

ṣafiyya → ʿANZ; ṢAFĪ

ṣafḳa (A) : lit. striking hands together; in law, the ratification of a commercial contract; ~, unlike *bayʿ*, contains the meaning of a bargain that is achieved swiftly and profitably. VIII 818a; the *negotium*. I 318b

ṣafr (A), or *isfīdrūy, isfādrūḥ* (< P *sapīd rūy*) : in metallurgy, bronze, much used in early Islam for plain kitchen wares and implements, and as the alloy upon which coppersmiths based most of their work. V 970b; V 985b

ṣafrāʾ (A) : yellow; in mediaeval texts, yellow bile, one of the four cardinal humours, the others being black bile, phlegm and blood. XII 188b

safsāri (N.Afr) : a large outer wrap for women, worn in Tunisia and Libya. V 746b

safūf (A) : in medicine, a medicinal powder. IX 805a

ṣaghā'ir → KABĀ'IR

ṣaghāna → DJAGHĀNA

ṣāghīr nūn → NŪN

ṣaghīr (A) : infant, child; one who has not attained to puberty (opp. *kabīr*). VIII 821b
In law, a minor, as opposed to BĀLIGH. Fifteen was generally regarded as the age that divided between majority and minority for males and females alike. I 993a; VIII 821b; and → ṢABIYY

ṣaḥāb → ṢUḤBA

ṣaḥāba (A, s. *ṣaḥābī*, or ṢĀḤIB), or AṢḤĀB : the Companions of the Prophet, dating from the first conversions (at Mecca in 610 and Medina in June 621) until the death of Anas b. Mālik (91/710 or 93/712). In earlier times the term was restricted to those who had been close to the Prophet. Later, it also included those who had met him during his lifetime, or who had seen him even if only for quite a short time. After the Qur'ān, the Companions were the sources of authentic religious doctrine. Shī'ism in general holds a different attitude towards the Companions, because with their approval the first three caliphs took away the rights of 'Alī and his family. IV 149a; VIII 827b

ṣaḥābī → ṢAḤĀBA

ṣaḥāfī → ṢIḤĀFA

saḥara (A) : agents of fallen angels. IX 569b

saḥarī (A) : in the mediaeval Near East, a beggar who begins to ply his 'trade' before the dawn. VII 494b

saḥāt → WAṬWĀṬ

ṣaḥḥ → IBRĪZ

ṣāḥib (A, pl. AṢḤĀB, ṢAḤĀBA) : 'companion'; the counsellor of a ruler; in compounds, partner, match (sometimes 'adversary'), someone (or something) endowed with s.th. or characterised by s.th. (syn. *dhū*), adherent of a specific concept, owner, possessor, lord, chief. VIII 830b; in the Ottoman empire, a synonym for *wezīr* (→ WAZĪR). XI 194b; and → AṢḤĀB
In literature, the poet's, soothsayer's, or orator's alter ego among the DJINN, from whom he receives (some of) his inspiration (syn. *shayṭān, ra'ī*, and *tābi'*). VIII 830b; IX 407a
In mysticism, the 'adept', as opposed to the *maṣḥūb* 'master', their relationship being called *ṣuḥba*. VIII 830b
In tribal organisation, a member of the same faction. IV 835a

♦ ṣāḥib al-aḥbās (A) : in al-Andalus, a curator or administrator general of mortmain property, whose mission was to prevent the disappearance of real estate or the alteration of its status. XI 77a

♦ ṣāḥib al-ashghāl (A) : an important official in charge of finance under the Almohads, of whom there seemed to be only one at any given time. He was always mentioned among the high officers of the state. The Ḥafṣids took over the title of ~ , and presumably his office, from the Almohads; later, this official is referred to as *munaffidh*. II 145b

♦ **ṣāḥib al-bāb** (A) : 'high chamberlain', a title borne in Fāṭimid Egypt by a man of the sword counted among the first rank of AMĪRS (*al-umarā' al-muṭawwaḳūn* '*amīrs* bearing a collar'). The ~ (syn. **al-wazīr al-ṣaghīr**) ranked next after the vizier. VIII 831b

♦ ṣāḥib dīwān (P, < A) : a title under the Īlkhāns, and sometimes in later times also, for the vizier. XI 192b

♦ ṣāḥib al-fayḍa (A) : in the Tidjāniyya brotherhood, the description of the person

who 'channels the infusion of grace' which the Tidjānīs receive from their master. In 1929 the Senegalese Ibrāhīm Niasse declared that Aḥmad al-Tidjānī had told him in a vision that he was ~ and thereafter Niasse referred to his followers as Djamāʿat al-Fayḍa 'Community of Grace'. X 465a

♦ ṣāḥib ḥadīth → ṢĀḤIB SUNNA

♦ ṣāḥib al-inzāl (A) : in Muslim Spain, the functionary at court who had the responsibility of arranging accommodation for the sovereign's guests and for itinerant poets in the precincts of the palace. IX 232b

♦ ṣāḥib al-khabar (A) : the title of one of a ruler's officers in provincial capitals whose duty it was to report to his master all new happenings, the arrival of strangers, etc. This post was often given to the director of the postal service. IV 895b; intelligence agent. X 787a

♦ **ṣāḥib ḳirān** (A, P) : 'Lord of the (auspicious) conjunction', a title first assumed by Tīmūr, and after his death occasionally applied to lesser sovereigns, but officially assumed by the Mughal emperor Shāh Djahān, who styled himself *ṣāḥib ḳirān-i thānī* 'the second Lord of the conjunction'. VIII 833a

In numismatics, the name of a Persian coin of 1000 dīnārs, the tenth part of a TŪMĀN; it has since been corrupted into *ḳirān* or *ḳrān*. VIII 833b; a coin standard introduced in 1241/1825 in Persia. IX 203b

♦ ṣāḥib al-layl (A) : 'worker by night', in mediaeval Islam, the nocturnal house-breaker who got in either by boring or by scaling walls, *mutasallik*. V 769a

♦ **ṣāḥib al-madīna** (A) : in Muslim Spain, an administrative official. The duties entrusted to the holders of this title were diverse, and could involve policing and public order, justice, the levying of taxes and even leading armies, all of which leads one to think that there were no strictly determined duties but rather a nexus of functions varying in extent according to the confidence placed in the holder. VIII 833b

♦ ṣāḥib al-naẓar fi 'l-maẓālim (A) : an official in early Islam appointed to consider complaints about injustices of the government officials, including the AMĪRS. I 439a

♦ ṣāḥib al-rikāb → RIKĀBDĀR

♦ ṣāḥib al-shārib → SĀḲĪ

♦ ṣāḥib sunna (A) : an individual from among the AHL AL-SUNNA, a MUḤADDITH well-known for his travelling in search of Traditions containing SUNNAS all over the eastern Islamic world. The appellative *ṣāḥib ḥadīth* is not a synonym for ~ , as the latter frequently had his handling of Traditions frowned upon and the former was known for his support of one or more BIDʿAS 'innovations'. IX 880a f.

♦ ṣāḥib al-waḳt (A) : in the Tidjāniyya brotherhood, a term used for the ḲUṬB, meaning he who dominates the universe during his lifetime. X 464a

♦ ṣāḥib al-yad (A) : in law, the person in possession of the object in dispute, thus the defendant. II 171a

♦ ṣāḥib-dīwān (A) : under the Īlkhāns, the chief financial administrator, on a par with the vizier. VIII 831a

♦ ṣāḥib-i dīwān-i ʿarḍ → ʿARĪḌ

♦ al-ṣāḥibān (A) : in Ḥanafī legal sources, the 'two disciples' of Abū Ḥanīfa, i.e. Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī. VIII 830b

ṣaḥīfa (A, pl. *ṣuḥuf*) : lit. a flat object, a plaque, a leaf, whence, a surface or material on which one can write, applied especially to fragments of the Qur'ān or Tradition or any other document of a solemn nature; the written texts themselves. VIII 834b; according to Ibn Manẓūr, a ~ can be opened out, fixed on a wall or attached to something, differing from a *ruḳʿa*, which is necessarily sealed. VIII 835a; and → MUṢḤAF; RISĀLA

ṣaḥīḥ (A) : lit. sound, healthy; in the science of Tradition, a sound Tradition, i.e. one supported by a chain of transmitters going back to the Prophet in an uninterrupted manner. Each pair of two transmitters in that chain must both be considered ʿADL 'upright' or 'honest' to the point that their testimonies are admissible in a court of law, and ḌĀBIṬ 'painstakingly accurate', and they should be known to have met each other. A whole collection of such Traditions is also termed ~ . III 25b; VIII 835b
In law, a valid act, i.e. an act carried out in conformity with the prescriptions of the law, and which must in principle produce all its effects. II 389b; VIII 836a; IX 324b
In grammar, ~ refers to the 'sound' letters, loosely the consonants of Arabic, defined by default as being neither 'weak' letters (→ ḤARF ʿILLA) nor vowels; in later grammar, ~ may also denote a 'correct' utterance. VIII 836b

sāḥil (A, pl. *sawāḥil*) : in geography, 'edge, border zone'; in English, the Sahel, the region to the south of the Sahara (→ ṢAḤRĀʾ) characterised by periodic drought. VIII 836b; coast, whence Swahili. X 194a

sāḥir (A) : magician. XI 129b

saḥḳ → SIḤĀḲ

sahla (A) : lit. level, smooth place. XII 697b

sahm (A) : in archery, an arrow made from a reed, or of hard solid wood. IV 799a
In geometry, the versed sine (*al-djayb al-maʿkūs*) of the arc *a b*, if one erects a perpendicular *c b* in the middle of a chord of an arc, which reaches to the arc; the sine (*al-djayb al-mustawī*) which corresponds to our sine is *a c*. VIII 841b

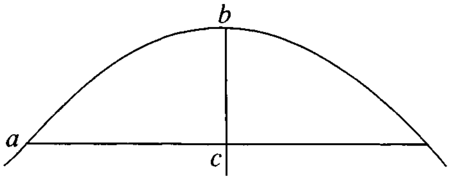

In law, ~ (pl. *ashum*) is found in the context of inheritance where it denotes the fixed share of an heir, and in the context of partnership and profit-sharing, where as a term used in modern share companies, ~ is defined as a partial ownership of a large capital. The holder is called *musāhim*. VIII 842a; and → ESHĀM
♦ sahm al-ghayb (A) : in astrology, the arrow, the hitting of the secret of the future. VIII 842a
♦ sahm al-ṣadārat → RASM AL-ṢADĀRAT

ṣaḥn (A) : lit. plate; a flat, stony terrain. IX 763b
In architecture, a courtyard. V 510b; VI 661b
In music, a cup-shape instrument, made up of a bronze cup, *ṭusayt*, which was struck against another of its kind, favoured in martial music. IX 10a

ṣaḥrāʾ (A) : fem. of *aṣḥar* 'fawn, tawny coloured'; in geography, an ensemble of stony terrain, steppelands and sands; desert. In English, the Sahara, the desert in the northern part of Africa. VIII 845b

sahrīdj (A), or *fasḳiyya* : a reservoir of water. I 24a

saḥūr (A) : the last part of the night when, during the month of Ramaḍān, it is still permitted to eat and drink. V 372b; meal taken after midnight during the fast. IX 94b

sāʾiba (A) : a beast brought out of the herd for offering to the gods of ancient Arabia; a freed slave, but one foot-loose and without a patron in early Islam; by extension, a woman left to herself, a rebel or a prostitute; the breaking of allegiance to a sovereign; and from the latter, the territory where this dissidence was rife. XII 729b

sāʿid (A) : in military science, an arm protection consisting of segmented vambraces for the lower arms, probably of iron or bronze but perhaps also of hardened leather, while the upper arms were protected by the sleeves of a mail hauberk or by flaps of lamellar armour attached to the body of a lamellar cuiras. Other arm protections were termed *bāzūband* and *kaff*. XII 738b

ṣaʿīdī → RIDFA

ṣā'ifa (A, < *ṣayf* summer'; pl. *ṣawā'if*) : summer raid or military expedition. The term is used in the contexts of Arabo-Byzantine warfare and Muslim-Christian warfare in Spain. I 82b; VIII 869b

ṣā'igh (A, pl. *ṣāgha, ṣawwāghūn*) : a goldsmith, a skilled craftsman in the mediaeval Near East. VIII 871a

ṣāʿiḳa (A) : a thunderbolt, used in the Qur'ān with reference to the Thamūd when they hamstrung the 'camel of God'. X 436a

saʿīr (A) : one of various words used in the Qur'ān for hell fire, occurring 16 times. Other terms used are *djahannam* and *saḳar*; unlike them, ~ seems to be a native Arabic formation with the meaning '[place of] fiercely kindled flame'. VIII 872a

sā'is (A) : under the Mamlūks, a stage groom in the postal service. Other personnel were couriers, *barīdī*, and 'outriders', *sawwāḳ*. I 1046a

sāḳ (A) : lit. leg or thigh; the foot of a compass (syn. *ridjl*); in mathematics, the perpendicular of a right-angled triangle with horizontal base, or the equal sides of an isosceles triangle (*dilʿ* is also used for any side of any triangle). VIII 872a

In astronomy, ~ may refer to a star that is in a leg of a constellation figure representing a person or an animal, e.g. ~ *al-asad* or *sāḳā 'l-asad* (dual) for either or both of α Bootis and α Virginis. VIII 872a

♦ sāḳ al-asad → SĀḲ

♦ sāḳ al-djarāda (A) : lit. the locust's leg, in astronomy, the name given to a variety of vertical sundial in which the horizontal gnomon is moved along a groove at the top of the rectangular sundial according to the season (since the shadow-lengths at the hours depend on the solar longitude). VIII 872b

♦ sāḳa → AṢL

ṣaḳāla (A) : lustre (of a gem). XI 570a

ṣaḳāliba (A, s. *ṣaḳlabī, ṣiḳlabī*) : the Slavs and other fair-haired, ruddy-complexioned peoples of northern Europe; ethnic groups of central or eastern Europe; white slaves of European origin; Germanic tribes. I 490b; IV 1088b; V 1120b; VIII 872b; its singular was often used in the mediaeval period in the sense of 'eunuch'. I 33a

sakandjabīn : a drink, the classical oxymel. X 529b

saḳanḳūr (A) : a Nile creature, said to be the result of a cross between a crocodile and a fish. VIII 42b; an Egyptian skink, *Scincus officinarum*, a variety of lizard which when dried and salted is credited with remarkable aphrodisiac qualities. XII 641b

sakar (A) : wine. X 903b

saḳar (A) : one of the terms in the Qur'ān for 'hell' or, more precisely, one of the gates of hell, or else one of the 'stages'. VIII 881a; and → SAʿĪR

saḳaṭ (A, pl. *asḳāṭ*) : lit. refuse; a term used by Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar al-Dimashḳī (6th/12th century) for spice. XII 42b

♦ saḳaṭī (A) : pedlar. IX 57a

sakbīnadj (A) : in botany, sagapenum, the yellow translucent resin from *Ferula Scowitziana* which causes irritation of the skin and whose smell resembles that of asafoetida. VIII 1042b

sakhīf → SUKHF

sakhla (A, pl. *sakhl, sikhāl, sukhlān*), and *bahma* (pl. *baham, bihām*) : names for newborn lambs and kids, called thus indiscriminately. In ancient terminology, the distinction between lamb and kid only appeared clearly at the age of weaning (*fiṭām*), around four or five months. Until then, the young lamb-kid is called *badhadj, farīr, furār* or *furfur*. After weaning, the kid becomes a *djafr* and the lamb *kharūf*, and when the sex is determined, before it is one year old, *djady* and *ʿutʿuṭ* for the he-kid, *ʿanāḳ* for the she-kid, *ḥamal* and *immar* for the he-lamb and *rikhl* and *immara* for the she-lamb. XII 319a

sāḳi (A) : cup-bearer, the person charged with pouring wine, to be distinguished from the chief butler or sommelier (*sharābī* or *ṣāḥib al-sharāb*). Synonyms or quasi-synonyms that are attested are *mudīr*, *khādim*, and the paraphrase *dhū zudjādjāt* 'the one who holds the glasses'. VIII 883b
In Saudi Arabia, a term used for an underground aqueduct with surface apertures to facilitate cleaning of the channel in the district al-Aflādj, in southern Nadjd, which itself was named after the term for the same aqueduct, FALADJ (pl. *aflādj*), still used in Oman. I 233a
♦ sāḳī-nāma (P) : in Persian poetry, a genre in the MUTAḲĀRIB metre wherein the speaker calls to the SĀḲĪ for wine and complains of the instability of the world, the fickleness of destiny, and the inconstancy of his beloved. VIII 885b

saḳifa (A) : a covered communal place appropriate for conversation and discussion, any type of covered forum or public courtyard; an approximate syn. is ṢUFFA, which seems rather to be applied to the space covered with palm foliage which constituted the primitive mosque. VIII 887b; and → RIWĀḲ; SHARAʿA
In historical texts, ~ is applied virtually exclusively to the prolonged and acerbic negotiations which preceded the nomination of Abū Bakr as successor to the Prophet. The expression *saḳīfat Banī Sāʿida*, usually shortened to *al-~* or *yawm al-~*, is invariably applied to this specific historical episode. VIII 887b

saḳīm → ḌAʿĪF

sākin (A) : quiescent; in grammar, ~ denotes a letter not followed by FATḤA, KASRA or ḌAMMA. III 172a
In archery, ~ denotes a way of loosing an arrow. The archer draws slowly, holding the draw in order to verify that the position of the shot is good, and then looses calmly. IV 800b

sakīna (A) : in the Qurʾān, ~ denotes God's presence, a presence shown in the divine aid vouchsafed to the Prophet and the believers in battle, giving them the victory. VIII 888b

sāḳiya (A, pl. *sawāḳī*) : a complex hydraulic machine with over two hundred component parts, still in use today. It consists essentially of a large vertical wheel erected over the water supply on a horizontal axle. This wheel carries a chain-of-pots or a bucket chain. On the other end of its axle is a gear-wheel that engages a horizontal gear-wheel to which the driving bar is attached. The animal is harnessed to the free end of this bar, and as it walks in a circular path, the gears and the wheel carrying the chain-of-pots rotate. The pots dip in succession into the water and when they reach the top, they empty into a channel. V 861a ff.

ṣaḳîz (T, P *saḳḳiz*) : in botany, gum mastic, a product for which Chios, the Greek island off the Turkish coast called ~ in Ottoman Turkish, is famous. V 168a; VIII 889b

ṣakk (A, pl. *ṣikāk*) : in finance and law, document, contract of sale, suggested for want of any other etymology through Persian *čak* as the origin of Eng. 'cheque'. XII 699a; a mandate for payment. III 283b; a medium by which funds were remitted from place to place. III 382b
In classical Muslim administration, an inventory required for every issue of pay showing the names of the payees, with numbers and amounts, and bearing the signed authority to pay of the sultan. The ~ was also required for the hire of muleteers and camel-drivers. II 79a; and → ẒAHĪR

saḳḳāʾ (A, T *saḳḳā* or *saḳa*) : lit. water-carrier, a term denoting manual workers who carried water in a leather-bottle (*ḳirba*) or jar (KŪZ) on their shoulders or on a mule. V 882b; VIII 892a
♦ saḳḳā-khāna (P) : a drinking fountain in the Persian bazaar or street, often constituted into WAḲF. V 876a

ṣaḳḳār → BAYYĀZ

saḳḳiz → ṢAḲĪZ

ṣaḳr (A) : in zoology, the falcon. I 541b

ṣāḳūr → MINḲĀR

sākw (A) : a woollen or velvet coat worn by women in the Arab East. V 741b

saḳy (A) : irrigated land, distinct from dry land, BAʿL, which was reserved for the cultivation of cereals. I 491b

sāl-nāme (T) : in Ottoman Turkish administration, official yearbooks issued by the Ottoman central government, by provincial authorities and a number of civil (ministries) and military (army, fleet) institutions, appearing between 1263/1847 and the end of the empire (1918); semi-official and non-governmental annuals. I 75a; I 975a; VIII 898a

salab (A) : spoils of the war, such as clothes, weapons and, occasionally, the mount of an adversary killed in battle. II 1005b; XII 532a

salaf (A) : in law, a purchaser's payment for goods due for deliver by the recipient of such payment at the end of a specified period (syn. SALAM); also, the loan of fungible commodities (syn. ḲARḌ). VIII 899b

The 'pious ancients', the main witnesses of early Islam. I 416b; IV 142a; VIII 900a

♦ **al-salaf wa 'l-khalaf** (A) : lit. the predecessors and the successors, names given to the first three generations and to the following generations of the Muslim community respectively. VIII 900a

♦ **salafiyya** (A) : a neo-orthodox brand of Islamic reformism, originating in the late 19th century and centred on Egypt, aiming to regenerate Islam by a return to the tradition represented by the 'pious forefathers' (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). VIII 900b

salaḥa (A) : to defecate. XII 734b

salam (A), or *salaf* : in law, a forward sale, one of two contracts (the other is ṢARF) which become invalid if the material transfer does not take place at the time of the agreement. In this contract, the price is to be paid at the time of the contract. IV 326a; ~ has as its fundamental principle prepayment by a purchaser, *al-musallim*, for an object of sale, *al-musallam fīhi*, to be delivered to him by the vendor, *al-musallam ilayhi*, on a date at the end of a specified period. In such a transaction, the price agreed upon at the contracting parties' meeting for delivery of the merchandise is termed *ra's al-māl*. V 559a; VIII 493a; VIII 914b

salām (A) : safety, salvation; peace (in the sense of quietness); salutation, greeting; a formula of salutation or benediction (containing the word ~). VIII 915b; and → IFTITĀḤ

In Islamic prayer, ~ denotes a *ṣalawāt* (s. ṢALĀT) litany, pronounced from the minarets every Friday about half an hour before the beginning of the midday service before the call to prayer, *adhān*. This part of the liturgy is repeated inside the mosque before the beginning of the regular ceremonies by several people with good voices standing on a DIKKA. The same name is given to the benedictions on the Prophet which are sung during the month of Ramaḍān about half an hour after midnight from the minarets. VIII 917b

In Urdu prosody, a short poem on the theme of the Karbalā' martyrs, normally containing a word such as *salām, salāmī, mudjrā* or *mudjrā'ī* in the first few verses. VI 610b

In numismatics, ~ (sometimes abbreviated to *s*) on coins means 'of full weight, complete'. VIII 918a

salāmūra (A), or *sanamūra* : the pickling or maceration of fish with spices in brine. VIII 1023a

sālār (P) : commander; essentially a military term, as e.g. in ISPAHSĀLĀR 'supreme army commander', ~ by itself was also often used for the commander of a particular group,

such as the Muslim fighters of the faith centred on Lahore in the G͟haznawid period. VIII 924a; and → MĀDĪ-SĀLĀR

♦ āk͟hur-sālār (P) : 'head of the stables', a term found as far west as Mamlūk Egypt and Syria. VIII 924b; and → AMĪR ĀK͟HŪR

salāriyye (T), or *salārlïk* : one of the local taxes in the Ottoman empire which was added to the ʿUS͟HR to raise it from one-tenth to one-eighth. II 146b; VIII 203b; VIII 486b

salārlïk → SALĀRIYYE

ṣalāṣil (A, s. *ṣalṣal*) : in music, term applied to all high-sounding clashed metal instruments. IX 10a

ṣalāt (A, pl. *ṣalawāt*) : the ritual prayer, one of the five pillars of Islam. Every Muslim who has attained his majority is bound to observe the five daily prayers (→ ʿAṢR, FADJ̲R, ʿIS͟HĀʾ, MAG͟HRIB, ẒUHR). In some circles, a sixth prayer is performed (→ ḌUḤĀ). IV 771b; V 74a ff.; V 424b; VII 27a; VIII 925a

♦ ṣalāt ʿalā ʾl-mayyit (A), or *ṣalāt al-dj̲anāza* (or *dj̲ināza*) : the prayer over a dead person. VIII 931b

♦ ṣalāt al-ʿaẓīmiyya (A) : in the Sanūsiyya brotherhood, a prayer for the Prophet inherited from Aḥmad b. Idrīs, which takes its title from the repetition of *Allāh al-ʿAẓīm*. IX 24b

♦ ṣalāt al-dj̲anāza (or *dj̲ināza*) → ṢALĀT ʿALĀ ʾL-MAYYIT

♦ ṣalāt al-dj̲umʿa → YAWM AL-DJ̲UMʿA

♦ ṣalāt al-g͟hāʾib → G͟HĀʾIB

♦ ṣalāt al-ḥādj̲a (Ind) : in Aceh, the *ṣalāt*s during the night of the middle of S͟haʿbān. IX 154a

♦ ṣalāt al-ʿīd (A) : the festival of public prayer of the whole community, common to both of the two canonical festivals (→ ʿĪD). It has preserved older forms of the *ṣalāt* than the daily or even the Friday *ṣalāt*. It should be celebrated in the open air, which is still often done, though now mosques are preferred. The time for its performance is between sunset and the moment when the sun has reached its zenith. III 1007a; VIII 930b

♦ ṣalāt al-istisḳāʾ → ISTISḲĀʾ

♦ **ṣalāt al-k͟hawf** (A) : lit. the prayer of fear, an alternative ritual prayer in the context of warfare. When a Muslim army is close to the enemy, and it fears an attack, one group will perform the ritual prayer while the other stands guard, then the roles are reversed. This prayer, with its special measures and regulations, is called ~. VIII 934a

♦ ṣalāt al-kusūf → KUSŪF

♦ ṣalāt maḳlūba (A) : an ascetic practice that consists of reciting the Qurʾān and praying while suspended by the feet in a dark place. XI 561b

♦ **ṣalāt-i maʿkūsa** (P, A) : lit. the act of worship performed upside-down; one of the extreme ascetic practices found among extravagant members of the dervish orders, such as in mediaeval Muslim India among the Čis͟htiyya. XII 699a

♦ ṣalāt al-nāfila → NĀFILA

♦ ṣalāt al-sahw (A) : 'prayer of negligence', to be added immediately after the regular prayer by someone who has inadvertently omitted or misplaced one of its elements. The ~ consists of performing two prostrations with their TAKBĪR, then sitting for the TAS͟HAHHUD and the final salutation. VIII 928a

♦ ṣalāt al-**witr** (A) : a prayer performed between the evening prayer and the dawn prayer (preferably towards the end of the night). *Witr* signifies 'uneven' and denotes a special RAKʿA which is performed in isolation or which is added to one or more pairs of *rakʿa*s. VIII 930a; XI 213a

♦ al-ṣalawāt al-ibrāhīmiyya (A) : a formula pronounced during the TAS͟HAHHUD inspired

in part by Q 33:56 and Q 11:73 ('O God, bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad as You blessed Abraham and the family of Abraham, and bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad as You blessed Abraham and the family of Abraham in the worlds. You are worthy of praise and of glory'). VIII 929b

ṣalawāt → ṢALĀT

salb → KHIṢĀʾ

ṣalb (A) : crucifixion, a ḤADD punishment of death. In Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik, ~ consists in the criminal being tied alive to a cross or a tree and his body ripped up with a spear so that he dies; this is the more original form. According to al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Ḥanbal, the criminal is first killed with a sword and then his corpse is ignominiously exposed on a tree or cross. IV 770b; VIII 935a; in later Persian and Turkish usage, ~ meant 'hanging'. VIII 935b

saldjamiyya a mediaeval dish of turnip, chicken, onion, cheese and seasonings. X 31b

salghun (T) : an Ottoman emergency levy, collected by the state in kind, cash or services rendered. VIII 486b

ṣalib (A, pl. *ṣulub, ṣulbān*) : a cross, and, particularly, the object of Christian veneration. The term is used for cross-shaped marks, e.g. brands on camels and designs woven into cloth, and in legal contexts for the instrument of execution. VIII 980a

sāligh → ʿATŪD

ṣāliḥ (A, pl. **ṣāliḥūn**) : righteous, virtuous, incorrupt. VIII 982b; VIII 990a; a Qurʾānic epithet applied to prophets, who are considered to be 'men of goodness'. VIII 498a; and → MURĀBIṬ

In the science of Tradition, ~ indicates a transmitter who, although otherwise praised for his upright conduct, is known to have brought into circulation one or more Traditions spuriously ascribed to the Prophet. The contents of such Traditions, as well as their underlying meaning, characterise their recognised inventor as ~ rather than as *waḍḍaʿ* 'forger' or *kadhdhāb* 'liar'. Although ~ Traditions can theoretically be found among those labelled ṢAḤĪḤ, the majority fall under the categories of *ḥasan* 'fair' or *ḍaʿīf* 'weak'. VIII 982b; ~ is used by Abū Dāʾūd for Traditions about which he has made no remark, some being sounder than others. III 25b

sālik → MADJDHŪB; NĀFIDH; SULŪK

salīkha → DĀRṢĪNĪ

salīl (A) : a child or male offspring; a child, specifically at the time of his birth and (from then) until its weaning. VIII 821b

sālim (A) : intact, sound, i.e. free of damage or blemish, thus 'well' as opposed to 'ill' (syn. ṢAḤĪḤ). VIII 900b

In numismatics, unclipped coins of full weight, or a sum of money free from charges and deductions. VIII 990a

In grammar, ~ is used to denote a) a 'sound' root, i.e. one in which none of the radicals is a 'weak' letter (*ḥarf ʿilla*), nor a hamza, nor a geminate; b) a word with a 'sound' ending, no matter whether the preceding radicals are weak or not; and c) the 'sound' plural as opposed to the broken plural. VIII 990a

In prosody, ~ denotes a regular foot, which has not undergone any of the changes called ZIḤĀFĀT or ʿILAL, or a line of poetry consisting of such feet. VIII 990a

salīmī → YŪSUFĪ

salīt (A) : in popular Arabic usage, ~ means 'oil', in Yemen, 'sesame oil'. VIII 1000b

sāliyāne (T, < P *sāl* 'year'), or *sālyāne* : in Ottoman administration, the yearly income allotted to some categories of provincial rulers and governors (16th-19th centuries). VIII 994a

salḳaʿ (A) : in zoology, the male ostrich, commonly called ẓalīm 'very dark' (rather than 'oppressed'), similarly with other adjectives used to define him: *asḥam* and *ghayhab*. It

is surnamed *abu 'l-bayḍ* 'father of the eggs' and *abū thalāthīn* 'father of thirty [eggs]' as it takes its turn sitting on the eggs. VII 828a, where many variants are found

salkh (A) : in dating, 'the thirtieth day' in the month. X 259b

sall → KHIṢĀʾ

sallākhči-bāshī → ḲAṢṢĀBČI-BĀSHĪ

sallama → CEPKEN

sallār (A) : under the Saldjūḳs, a military governor, with SHIḤNA. I 434a

salsabīl (A) : in the Qurʾān, the name of a fountain in Paradise. VIII 999a; and → SHĀDIRWĀN; UḤDJIYYA

ṣalṣāl (A) : dry clay. I 177b

salṭana (A) : sovereignty, ruling power. VIII 1000b

salūḳī (A) : in zoology, the name given to a member of the gazehound family, so-called because it pursues its quarry by sight and not by scent. The ~ has often been mistaken for the greyhound by travellers to the Middle East. VIII 1001b

şalvar (T) : baggy trousers made out of two metres of silk cloth and with black braids embroidered around the leg openings and on the borders of the pockets, worn by the Zeybek of Western Anatolia as part of their folk costume. XI 494a

salwā (A, pl. *salāwā*) : in zoology, both the quail (*Coturnix coturnix*, of the order of Galliformae, family of Phasianidae), also called *sumānā* (pl. *sumānayāt*); and the corncrake or landrail (*Crex crex*, *Crex pratensis*, of the Rallidae family), whose mode of life is quite similar to that of the quail. In North Africa, the corncrake is known as the 'quails' mule', *baghl al-sammān*, and the 'slow, lazy one', *abu 'l-rakhwa*, because of its clumsy flight. VIII 1006a

ṣalwala → IFTITĀḤ

samʿ (A) : scriptural or Traditional authority; according to the Muʿtazila, reflection, *fikr*, must precede recourse to ~ . II 891b

♦ samʿī (A) : authoritarian. I 410a

samāʾ (A, pl. *samāwāt*) : lit. the upper part of anything, the sky, the heavens; for the ancient Arabs, ~ , in the most common meaning of 'heaven', was not primarily associated with the stars, but it was first the location for the 'high-flying clouds'. VIII 1014a

samāʿ (A) : hearing'; song, musical performance; in mysticism, the 'spiritual oratorio' which often accompanies the DHIKR session. II 224a; VIII 1018a; X 245a

In lexicology and grammar, ~ signifies 'that which is founded on authority', as opposed to *ḳiyāsī* 'founded on reason'. VIII 1018a

In education, ~ (pl. *samāʿāt*) means [certificate of] hearing, audition; authorisation; licence. VIII 1019b

♦ samaʿ-khāna (A) : a place for religious music-making and dancing. VIII 240b; VIII 415b

ṣamagh → ṢAMGH

samak (A, pl. *asmāk, sumūk, simāk*) : in zoology, fish, whether of fresh water or of the sea, often replaced by one of its two synonyms ḤŪT and *nūn* (< Akk). VIII 1020b

♦ samak ʿankabūt (A) : in zoology, the spider crab (*Maia squinado*). IX 40a

♦ samakat al-Iskandar (A) : lit. the fish of Alexander [the Great]; in zoology, the hammer-head shark (*Sphyrna zygaena*). VIII 1021a

samandal (A, < Gk) : in zoology, the salamander, which many early Arabic authors identified as a bird. VIII 1023b

samānghūnī (< P ?) : a loan-word in Arabic for the colour sky-blue. V 699b

samar (A, pl. *asmār*) : a conversation, an evening gossip; stories told at an evening gathering (especially with Ibn al-Nadīm) or stories in general; tales of the supernatural; reports. III 369b

samāwa (A) : in architecture, the space above the first level (syn. RIWĀḲ). VIII 544b
samawī → YĀḲŪT AKHAB
ṣamgh (A, pl. *ṣumūgh*), or *ṣamagh* : in botany, gum resins, the desiccated latexes of several plants and the mixtures of natural resins (*rātīnadj*) with gum-like substances; ~ is usually used alone for ~ *ʿarabī*, gum arabic, the viscous secretion gained from the bark of the acacia tree (*ḳaraẓ*) and so called because it was exported from Arab ports and spread by the Arabs. V 798a; VIII 1042b; XI 150b
sāmī (A, < *Sām* 'Shem') : the relative adjective 'Semitic', as in *al-lughāt al-sāmiyya* 'the Semitic languages'. VIII 1007b
samīd, samīdh (A) : a semolina bread. V 42a
samīḳān (A, s. *samīḳ*) : two yokelets, a form of the yoke consisting of two pieces of wood, each encircling the neck of the ox like a collar and joining under the animal's dewlap, attached to each other by means of a rope. VII 22b
samīn → DASIM
sāmira (A, s. *sāmirī*) : the Samaritans, that part of the people of Israel which does not identify itself with Judaism. VIII 1044a
ṣāmit (A) : 'the Silent One', among several extremist shīʿī groups, the designation of a messenger of God who does not reveal a new Law, as opposed to AL-NĀṬIḲ, a speaking prophet. VIII 1046b
samm → SUMM
sāmm (A), or *al-sāmma* : a term for 'death', derived from *samm* 'poison' (→ SUMM). IX 872a
sammād → KANNĀS
ṣammān (A) : in geography, hard stony ground by the side of sands. VIII 1048a
sammūr (A) : in zoology, the sable. II 817a
samn (A) : butter, made from cows', goats' and ewes' milk, heated over the fire to extract its impurities, and hence called clarified butter (as distinct from *zubd* which is butter made from churned milk). VIII 1048b; XII 318b
samt (A, pl. *sumūt*) : in astronomy, azimuth or direction, usually applied to the direction of a celestial object measured on the horizon, determined by the arc of the horizon between the east- or west-points and the foot of the vertical arc through the celestial object. The complementary arc measured from the meridian was called *inḥirāf*, *munḥarifa* being applied to a vertical sundial inclined at a specific angle to the meridian. V 83; VIII 1054a
♦ samt al-ra's (A) : lit. direction of the head; in astronomy, a term used to denote the point of the celestial sphere directly above the observer. VIII 1054a
samūm (A, > Eng *simoom*) : a hot wind of the desert accompanied by whirlwinds of dust and sand, and set in motion by moving depressions which form within the trade winds or calm zones of the high, subtropical depressions. This wind is especially characteristic of the Sahara, in Egypt, in Arabia and in Mesopotamia. VIII 1056a; ~ is hardly used in North Africa, where the hot wind is called, after its direction of origin, and according to the various regions, *ḳeblī* or *sharḳī*. VIII 1056b
samurāt (A) : in the pre-Islamic period, three sacred trees that stood before the sanctuary of al-ʿUzza at Nakhla, and were assimilated to the three divinities. V 692b
ṣanʿa (A) : in grammar, a formal process effected on an element of the language. V 804a; and → GHINĀ'
♦ ṣanʿat-i ḳaṭʿ → ḲAṬʿ
sanad (A, T *sened*; pl. *asnād*) : lit. support, stay, rest; in administrative usage, a document on whch reliance can formally be placed (*masnūd*), hence an authenticated document. In Ottoman practice, a document with e.g. a seal attached. XII 703a; and → ISNĀD; SILSILA

sanadjāt, or *ṣanadjāt* (< P *sang*; s. *sandja* or *ṣandja*) : the weights of a balance, steelyard; weights of a clock. IX 3a; counterweights or pellets discharged from the mouths of falcons in water-clocks. IX 3b

ṣanam (A) : image, representation; idol. ~ progressively replaced NUṢUB; from being the rough stone making up the *nuṣub*, the idol became 'a carved stone'. IX 5b; IX 282a; syn. *wathan*. XI 176B

sanamūra → SALĀMŪRA

ṣanawbar (A) : pine nut, pine-cone; in astronomy, the shadow of the earth during an eclipse of the moon. V 536a; IX 8b

ṣandal (A) : in botany, sandalwood. IX 9a
In the Maghrib, ~ indicates thyme (*nammām*) and the wild cultivated mint. IX 9b

ṣandj, or *ṣindj* (A) : in music, the generic term for any kind of cymbal. Other terms for the cymbal are *zīl* (< T *zill*), *kās*, *kāsa* or *ka's*, *sadjdja* or *sādjdja*, *fuḳaysha* (in Syria), *nuwayḳsa* (in Morocco), *ṣaffāḳatān*, and *musāfiḳ(a)*. IX 9b ff.; as *ṣandj ṣīnī* (Chinese ~), this musical instrument with 'open strings' and played on with beating rods was described by Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla. It later became known as the SANṬŪR, and is clearly the dulcimer. VII 191a

sandjaḳ (T) : a flag, standard; ensign, cornet. I 4b; IX 11b
In Ottoman administration, ~ was a political region, a district of the feudal cavalry, and an administrative unit. I 468b; II 723b; IX 13a; and → LIWĀ'
Among the Yazīdīs, a sacred effigy of the Peacock Angel, the leader of the seven archangels to whom God entrusted the world. There were originally seven of these images, two of which are still known to exist. XI 315a
♦ sandjaḳdār : 'royal standard-bearer', distinguished in Mamlūk times from the ordinary *'alamdār*. IX 12b
♦ **sandjaḳ-i sherīf**, *liwā'-i sherīf*, or *'alem-i nebewī* (T) : the sacred standard of the Prophet, kept in the palace of Topkapı at Istanbul. IX 13b

ṣandūḳ → ḲABR; KAFAN

ṣanf : in geography, an island; a kingdom of the mainland, bordering on the sea; or a sea, apparently referring in travel accounts to Čampā or Champa, situated between Cambodia and the delta of the Song Coi in Vietnam. IX 17a

sang (P) : a (heavy) wooden board, the lifting of which while lying on one's back makes up one of the exercises done by wrestlers in a traditional gymnasium; others are push-ups, *shinā*, swinging Indian clubs, *mīl*, whirling at speed, *čarkh*, and stepping forth to swing above their heads a heavy iron bow, *kabbāda*, on the cord of which are strung heavy rings. XI 573a
♦ sang-i mūṣā (IndP) : black onyx. VIII 269a

sanga → WALI SANGA

ṣāni' → ADJĪR

sāniḥ (A) : a term applied to a wild animal or bird which passes from left to right before a traveller or hunter; it is generally interpreted as a good omen. I 1048a; 'that which travels from right to left', one of the technical terms designating the directions of a bird's flight, or an animal's steps, which play an important part in the application of divination known as FA'L, ṬĪRA and ZADJR. II 760a; IV 290b

sāniya (A) : in Muslim Spain, a type of pumping machine to irrigate land, along with the NĀ'ŪRA. I 492a

saniyya (A) : in the Ottoman empire, lands which were the private freehold of the sultan, administered by a well-organised establishment called the *dā'ira saniyya*. After the revolution of 1908, ~ lands were ceded to the state and were transferred to the newly-formed department of *al-amlāk al-mudawwara*. XII 179a

sanja → NALAM
sant : in India, poet-saint. XII 483b
sanṭ (A) : in botany, acacia. IV 1085b
sanṭūr (A, < Ar), or *sinṭīr* : the dulcimer, a stringed musical instrument of similar structure to the psaltery, ḲĀNŪN, but with two of its sides oblique instead of one. The strings, which are mounted dichordally in Egypt, are of metal and are beaten with sticks instead of plectra as in the *ḳānūn*. In the time of Ibn Sīnā, it was called *ṣandj ṣīnī*. VII 191a; IX 19b
♦ sanṭūr turkī (A) : a dulcimer which is very popular in present-day Turkey. It has 160 strings, grouped in fives, giving 32 notes, and a two octave chromatic scale. VII 191b
♦ sanṭūr fransiz (A) : a dulcimer which is very popular in present-day Turkey. It is mounted with 105 strings, grouped in fives, which are placed on the sound-chest in the Occidental way. VII 191b
sar čarkhī (P) : in 19th-century southern Persia, a wheel tax paid for water wells by some districts. V 872a
ṣarʿ (A) : in medicine, epilepsy. X 510a
sarāb (A) : mirage, specifically the illusion of water seen at midday which appears to be on the ground, as opposed to *āl*, which is seen early and late in the day and makes things appear to float in mid-air and quiver. IX 27a
sarafsār (P, A *ḥakama*, N.Afr *djabbādha*) : a fixed martingale, attached to the horse's bridle. It was Persian in origin, appearing ca. the 5th/11th century in miniature paintings.. IV 1145a
saraḳusṭiyya (A) : a type of fur produced in Saraḳusṭa, in Muslim Spain. IX 37a
sarāna (P) : beginning with the Mongol conquest, a poll-tax. IV 1042b
sarāparda (P) : lit. palace curtain, term applied to the great tent carried round by the sultans of the Saldjūḳs. IX 39b; and → ĀFRĀG
sarāpāy (P) : in Persian literature, a genre of poetry devoted to the description of an ideal human body 'from top to toe', fashionable in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. VI 834b
sarār → MUNSALAKH
saraṭān (A, pl. *sarāṭīn*) : in zoology, crustaceans (*ḳishriyyāt*) in general and, more specifically, those which are collected for human consumption (*maḥāra*). IX 40a
In astronomy, *al-~* is the term for Cancer, one of the twelve zodiacal constellations. VII 83a; IX 40b
♦ saraṭān al-baḥr : in zoology, the lobster (*Homarus vulgaris*), the crab (*Carcinus*). IX 40a, where many synonyms are found
♦ saraṭān nahrī : in zoology, the crayfish, river lobster. IX 40a
♦ saraṭān nāsik : in zoology, the hermit crab, soldier crab, also known as *ḳaṭā*. IX 40a
sarāy (P) : dwelling, habitation, house, palace; compounded with another substantive ~ indicates a particular kind of building, as in KĀRWĀN SARĀY. IX 44a
sarb (A) : in zoology, the grey gilthead, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Chrysophrys sarba*). VIII 1021a
sārbān → YURTČĪ
sard → DIRʿ
ṣard → SARDSĪR
sardāb (P, pl. *sarādīb*; A *sirdāb*) : lit. cool water; in architecture, an underground recess in a dwelling, motivated by the fierce sun and hot summer of ʿIrāḳ and Persia. II 114a; IX 49b; any kind of underground room or passage. IX 49b; semi-underground chamber. XI 302a; a small room supplied with cool water. V 12b

sardam → GAWD

sardār (P, A *sirdār*, T *serdār*) : lit. holding or possessing the head; supreme military commander, whose post or office is called *sardāriyyat*. ~ *bahādur* was a title of honour in British India, given to Indian commissioned officers. IX 50b; in the Ottoman army, *serdār-i ekrem* was the term for the commander-in-chief. IX 14a

♦ sardāriyyat → SARDĀR

sardsīr (P, A *ṣard*) : lit. cold region; a geographical term used to denote cool, temperate highland regions. It also serves as a synonym to the Turkish ḲÏSHLAḲ, i.e. the winter pasture grounds of nomads. In Arabic, ~ or *ṣard* is particularly used for the mountainous Zagros hinterland of Fārs and Kirmān. V 183a

sardj (A, pl. *surūdj*) : horse saddle. IX 51a

♦ sarīdja : mule or camel saddle. IX 51a

ṣarf (A) : in law, the contract of exchange of gold for gold, silver for silver, and gold and silver for each other. This is one of two contracts which become invalid if the material transfer does not take place at the time of the agreement, the other being SALAM. IV 326a; XII 703a

In early Arabic grammar, full declination, said of a noun; also, as used by al-Farrāʾ in particular, the divergence or non-identity between two constituents of the sentence. In later grammer ~ came to indicate the science of 'morphology'. IX 53a,b; X 360b; and → NAḤW; TAṢRĪF

♦ ṣarfa (A) : lit. turning away; in the science of the Qurʾān, a concept that God prevented the competent from taking up the challenge of producing even one SŪRA like those Muḥammad recited, thus proving that it was impossible. V 426b

sarhang (P) : in mediaeval Persian (para)military, a rank of officer or commander. In modern Persian, the rank of colonel. IX 54a

ṣarï (T) : 'pale-faced'. IV 884b

sarī → BURḲUʿ

sarīʿ (A) : in prosody, the name of the ninth Arabic metre. I 670a; IX 54b

sārīfūn → SHĪḤ

sāriḳ → LIṢṢ

ṣarïḳ (T) : a headband, used to wind around a ḲAVUḲ. IV 806a; X 614a

♦ ṣarïḳdjï : under the Ottomans, a turban-maker. X 609b

sariḳa (A) : in law, theft, for which the Qurʾān prescribes cutting off the right hand. Islamic legal theory distinguishes between two types: *al-sariḳa al-ṣughrā* 'theft' and *al-sariḳa al-kubrā* 'highway robbery or brigandage'. V 768a; IX 62b

In literary criticism, plagiarism. XII 707a

sārindā : in music, an Indian open chest viol with three strings. VIII 348b

sarīr (A), and *takht* : a throne-like seat, not used at mealtimes, however. In the case of ~, two people could sit on it, hence it was quite a long seat; *takht* could mean any of the following: board, seat, throne, sofa, bed, calculating tablet, chest or box. V 509a; XII 99a,b; and → MINAṢṢA

In the geography of the Libyan Desert, a plain of compressed gravel. V 352a

sariyya (A) : in military science, a detachment of the army. XII 532b

sarkār (P) : lit. head of affairs; in Mughal Indian administration, a district in hierarchy under the *ṣūba* 'province' and above the PARGANA or MAḤALL 'subdistrict'; in informal Anglo-Indian usage through British Indian times, often written 'Sircar', the state or the government, the British domination in India, 'the Raj' being a neologism of the post-1947 period in modern India; in modern-day India, anglicised as 'the (northern) Circars', specifically the coastal territory north of Madras and the Coromandel coast in penisular South India. XII 710a

♦ **sarkār āḳā** (P) : 'lord and chief', a term used for a number of heterodox religious leaders within the broad s̲h̲īʿī tradition. IX 63b
sarlawḥ → ʿUNWĀN
ṣarmātiyya (A) : shoemakers. IX 168b
ṣarrāf (A) : lit. money-changer, a banker in pre-modern Islam. XII 710a
sarrāk̲h̲ → HINDIBĀʾ
sārt (T, < San) : merchant; all sedentary Muslims, irrespective of language or ethnicity; later, ~ came to mean the Persian-speaking sedentary population, in contrast to *türk*, which was used for the Turkic-speaking nomadic or semi-nomadic population; even later, among the Uzbeks in the 19th century, ~ was chiefly used for Turkic-speaking or bilingual town-dwellers, while TĀD̲J̲ĪK, earlier synonymous, was reserved for Persian-speakers only. IX 66b ff.; X 63b
sārūd̲j̲ (P) : mortar. V 868b
sarw (A) : in botany, a cypress. IX 70a
sāsānī (A, P, < A *banū sāsān*) : beggar, trickster; pertaining to magic or sleight-of-hand. IX 70a
saʿtar (A) : in botany, thyme bushes. V 390a
satr (A) : 'concealment'; among the Ismāʿīliyya, ~ denotes the periods of absence of an IMĀM. II 1026b; XII 712a
Among the Druze, ~ refers to the period of absence of al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza. II 1026b
sattūḳ (A), or *suttūḳ* : in numismatics, base coins coated with gold or silver. X 409b
saʾuri, or *tuzg̲h̲ü* : under the Īlk̲h̲āns, an *ad hoc* impost laid by governors and officials in position of power on the population under their control. VIII 312b
ṣawāb → K̲H̲AṬĀʾ
sawād (A) : rural district, environs of town. VIII 636a; IX 87a; 'black land', the oldest Arabic name for the alluvial land on the Euphrates and Tigris, now Iraq. IX 87a; agricultural settlement. V 345b
ṣawāfī → ṢAFĪ
sawār → SUWĀR
sawgand-nāma (P) : in literature, an oath-poem. IX 116b
sawīḳ (A) : in pre-Islamic times, a kind of dried barley meal to which was added water, butter or fat from the tails of sheep. II 1059a; IX 93b; X 901a; also, a fermented beverage with a basis of barley and honey. II 1060a; and → S̲H̲ARĀB
ṣawlad̲j̲ān (A, < P *čawgān* 'polo stick'): in literature, used as a trope for the curving eyebrows and locks or tresses of hair of a beuatiful girl. XII 713a; and → KURA
In music, a drumstick. X 33b
sawm (A) : in law, the bargaining involving both vendor and purchaser that occurs before a sale. ~ differs from BAYʿ in that the former is no more than an offer to enter into the latter after the manifest approval of the vendor. IX 93b; pasture (to which animals are sent). XI 412a
ṣawm (A), or *ṣiyām* : fasting, one of the five pillars of Islam. V 424b; IX 94a
In zoology, the dung of an ostrich. VII 829a
♦ ṣawm al-taṭawwuʿ : in religious law, voluntary or supererogatory fasting. IX 95a
ṣawmaʿa (A, > Sp *zoma*; pl. *ṣawāmiʿ*) : the minaret, other terms for the minaret being MANĀRA and *miʾd̲h̲ana*. Originally, ~ means the cell in which a person (usually a monk) secludes himself, with the particular gloss that the cell has a slender pointed apex; later, ~ came to designate the entire structure of which the cell was a small part. VI 362b
In North Africa, ~ is the standard term for minaret, and is also used more generally to mean 'a higher place' and 'a high building'. VI 362b

sawsan → SŪSAN

ṣawt (A) : in grammar, the resonance (emitted from the chest), which the Arab grammarians contrast with *nafas*, the expiratory breath. III 597a; sound or speech sound. IX 96a

♦ **ṣawtiyya** (A) : in grammar, the modern phonetical description of Arabic. IX 95b

sawwāḳ (A) : in mediaeval times, a seller of roast meat. XII 757b; and → SĀ'IS

saʿy (A) : during the pilgrimage, the ritual of traversing seven times (four times going and three times returning) the distance between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. III 35a; IX 97b

ṣayd (A) : the pursuit and capture of wild animals; wild game. IX 98b

ṣaydana (A), or *ṣaydala* : in the eastern Muslim world, pharmacology, in the meaning of pharmacognosy; the druggist's actual store of drugs; the handbook of drugs, the pharmacopeia. The druggist is called *al-ṣaydanālī* or *al-ṣaydanānī*, and is practically synonymous with ʿAṬṬĀR. In the West, the corresponding terms are *[ʿilm] al-adwiya al-mufrada* or *al-murakkaba*, or *[ʿilm] al-ʿuṭūr/ʿaṭṭār*. IX 100a

♦ ṣaydanānī, or *ṣaydanālī* → ṢAYDANA

saydjān (A) : in zoology, the sidjan scarus, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Scarus siganus*). VIII 1021b

sāyebān (Ott) : in the Ottoman empire, the so-called shadow-hanging, a large tent of three poles, carried by a vizier on campaign. XI 196b

sayf (A, pl. *suyūf*) : in military science, the broad-bladed, short sword, the weapon most frequently mentioned in the ancient literary sources, probably stabbing swords for close, hand-to-hand combat rather than cavalry swords. The ~ of Indian steel (*hindī*, *muhannad*) were particularly prized. XII 735a; XII 736b

In mediaeval agriculture, the dual (*sayfān*) is used for the holding bar of the ploughshare. VII 22b

♦ sayfī (A) : the 'sword-member', one of two classes of the ordinary members of the AKHĪ organisation, YIGIT, who probably were the active members. The other class was made up of *ḳawlī*s 'word-members'. I 323a

ṣayf → ṢĀ'IFA

ṣayḥa (Yem) : a declaimer of tribal poetry. IX 234b; a cry, used in the Qur'ān with reference to the Thamūd when they hamstrung the 'camel of God'. X 436a

saykarān (A, < Syr *shakhrōnā*), or *sīkrān*, *shūkrān* : in botany, henbane (*hyoscyamus*) to the early physicians of western Islam. Later Arab botanists used ~ for another henbane (*hyoscyamus muticus*) which drives the taker mad, and also for the hemlock. I 1014b

sayl → NAHR

sayr (A) : in mysticism, a visionary voyage, a degree of the mystical journey. IX 863a

ṣayr (A) : small fish, preserved by salting and smoking. VIII 1023a

ṣayyād → TŪTIN

ṣayyāgh (A) : a goldsmith. XII 757b

sayyāra → KAWKAB

sayyi'a → DHANB

sayyid (A, pl. *asyād*, *sāda*, *sādāt*) : originally chief, e.g. of an Arabian tribe; later, in Islamic times, a title of honour for descendants of the Prophet. IX 115a; IX 333a; master; the equivalent of Mr or Esquire. I 24b; II 687b; IX 332a ff; and → ASHRĀF; MAWLĀY; MURĀBIṬ

♦ sayyid al-shuhadā' : appellation of the Prophet's paternal uncle, Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. IX 204b

♦ sayyid al-tumūr → ṢUFRĪ

♦ sayyida : the title of Madam, in contemporary Arabic usage. IX 332b

♦ sayyidī, or *sīdī* : originally the term used by a slave to address his/her master, came to be applied to persons regarded as holy, especially mystical masters or ṣūfīs in general. IX 332b f.

sāz (T), or *bağlama* : in music, the Turkish lute; used in Persian for a musical instrument in general, stringed instruments, wind instruments, and the musical band itself. IX 120a; a stringed instrument, which frequently accompanied Turkish folk religious poetry, NEFES. VIII 2b; for names in our time corresponding to the different lute sizes, IX 120a

In Balūčistān, ~ also means the tuning of instruments. IX 120a

♦ sāz-i kāsāt (P) : lit. musical bowls, earthenware bowls, the notes of which were determined by the amount of water with which each was filled. IX 11b

♦ sāz-i alwāḥ-i fūlād (P) : 'instrument of slabs of steel', a glockenspiel, comprising 35 slabs, each giving a particular note. IX 11b

sebkha → SABKHA

sefīr → SAFĪR

segāh → SHASHMAḲOM

segbān (T, Ott *sekbān, segmen*, < P *sagbān* 'servant in charge of dogs') : in the Ottoman military, first used for the guardians of the sultan's hunting dogs, then applied to member of various salaried infantry units within the Janissaries, and finally as the name of groups of infantry auxiliaries or militias. In present-day provincial Turkish, *seğmen* refers to an armed ceremonial escort in national dress. II 1121a; III 317b; XII 713a

sekbān → SEGBĀN

sekkīn (Mor) : a sword with an almost straight blade, carried by the horsemen making up the *djīsh* (→ DJAYSH). II 511a

selāmlîḳ (T), or *selāmlîḳ dā'iresi* : under the Ottomans, the outer, more public rooms of a traditionally-arranged house, used e.g. for the reception of guests and non-family members. IX 123a; the men's part of a house. IX 540b

♦ selāmlîḳ ālāyî : the Ottoman sultan's ceremonial procession from the palace to the mosque for Friday worship. IX 123a

selīmī → YŪSUFĪ

semedi (J) : with *tapa*, ascetic feats and a form of Javanese meditation. XI 537a

semer (T) : a kind of padded saddle, worn on the back of a street-porter in Istanbul, *ḥammāl*, on which the weight of the burden rests. III 139a

sêqut : a land-leasing system in Kurdish Iran, in which the landowner supplies soil and water and receives two-thirds of the harvest. V 473b

seraghūdj, seraḳūdj → KŪDJ

serambi : in Indonesia, the front veranda of a mosque, often the place of the religious court; by extension, Islamic judge. VIII 294a

ser'asker (T) : under the Ottomans, an army commander; after the destruction of the Janissaries in 1241/1826, ~ denoted a commanding officer who combined the functions of commander-in-chief and minister of war, inheriting also the responsibility for public security, police, firefighting etc. in the capital. I 838a; II 513a; III 552b

serbest (T) : an Ottoman term connoting the absence of limitations or restrictions. III 589b

♦ serbest tīmār : under the Ottomans, a fief in which all the revenues go to the timariot, as against an ordinary TĪMĀR in which certain revenues are reserved for the imperial exchequer. III 589b; a category of TĪMĀR that enjoyed certain immunities. X 505b

serčeshme (T) : under the Ottomans, the title for the leader of all irregular militia, LEWENDS. VIII 185a

serdār → SARDĀR

sere (T 'palm') : lit. spreading-out; in calligraphy a geometrical figure appearing from the crowded group of intersecting lines formed by the names of the sultan and his father, placed at the bottom of the verticals of the TUGHRA. X 596b

sergüdhesht-nāme (T) : in Turkish literature, a genre of the tale of adventure, where the poet tells the story of an affair with one beautiful person or stories of four people. IX 213a

sesajen (J) : the bringing of offerings in the form of a blessed ceremonial meal, *slamatan*, during a visit to a holy place in Java. XI 537a

setre (T) : a military garment covering the knee and fastened at the front, worn in Turkey up to the 13th/19th century. V 752a; VIII 371a

sêykbar : a land-leasing system in Kurdish Iran, in which the landowner supplies the land, the water, the seed and the beasts of labour, and takes a portion of the harvest. V 473b

shā' al-ḍa'n (A), and *shiyāh al-ḍa'n, ḍā'ina* : sheep. XII 316b

shab-niwīs (IndP) : in the Dihlī sultanate, the secretarial officer on night duty in the palace. IV 759a

shaʿb (A, pl. *shuʿūb*) : in the Sabaean social organisation of pre-Islamic southwest Arabia, a social unit consisting of a number of clans, one of which occupied a dominating position. IV 746a; IV 819a; IX 150b

In geography, ~ (pl. *shiʿbān*) is the coral reef, in particular those off the Arabian coast southwards to the Red Sea. The term ~ is not used for the reef on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, where e.g. FASHT is used. I 535a

In politics, ~ evolved from 'a people' to 'the people', i.e. the ruled, later to signify the common people, the deprived lower classes, those who were previously outside the circle of power (also often simply called *djamāhīr* 'masses'). IX 151a ff.

shabāb (A) : young manhood, one of the terms designating a specific period within childhood. VIII 821b; this period extends from puberty to the end of the thirties, or from 15 to 32 years of age. IX 383a

Among the Yazīdīs, a flute. XI 315a

♦ shabābiyya, or *shabība* : with *shabāb*, youth and the beginnings of adulthood, as well as the vigour of this age. IX 383a

shabāblikiyya (A, < Ar ?) : a variety of outer garment, ʿABĀ', made in Ḥasbaya and worn in Syria and Palestine. V 741b

shaʿbadha (A), or *shaʿwadha* : in divination, prestidigitation, sleight of hand, hence *mushaʿbidh* (*mushaʿwidh*) 'magician, trickster'. IX 152b

shabah (A) : similarity. V 240a; in law, *ḳiyās al-~* 'analogy of resemblance' is the less authoritative type of analogical reasoning distinguished by al-Shāfiʿī, the other being *ḳiyās al-maʿnā*. III 1129b ; IX 184a

In mineralogy, ~ (syn. *bīrindj*) is brass, an alloy of copper and zinc. V 971a

shabala (A) : a technical term of childhood, said of someone who has become a youth or young man. VIII 822a

shaʿbān (A) : name of the eighth month of the Islamic lunar year, called *shab-i barāt* in Indian Islam. IX 154a

♦ shaʿbāna (Mor) : in Morocco, a festival resembling a carnival celebrated on the last day of SHAʿBĀN. IX 154b

shabb (A) : in metallurgy, alum. V 965a ff.; and → ḲILY

shābb (A) : youth, young man.

♦ al-shābb al-ẓarīf : 'the elegant, witty youth', nickname for the poet Ibn al-ʿAfīf al-Tilimsānī. X 500a

shabbāba (A) : in music, a flute. VI 214b; XII 667a

shabbūṭ (A) : in botany, a certain kind of fish. X 769a; a round and flat fish. XI 427b

shabība → SHABĀBIYYA

shābīr → MIHMĀZ

shābīzadj → YABRŪḤ

shabrūsh → NUḤĀM

shabshaba (A) : a ritual mostly current in Egypt in which a woman casts a spell by beating her genitals with a slipper while pronouncing a magic formula to jinx and inattentive husband or a female rival. XII 776b

shabūb (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse that rears. II 954a

shabūr → MIHMĀZ

shabūrḳān : in metallurgy, meteoric steel, often mentioned in early Arabic literature, with the comment that it was a rare material. V 971b

shadd (A), or *shadd al-wasṭ* 'binding up the waist' : the act of girding with an initiatic belt or girdle; in certain mystical orders, the belt or girdle itself. The origin of the act of girding is attributed to the *kustī*, the sacred girdle of the Zoroastrians, the girding of which was a rite of passage into manhood. The novice girded with the ~ was known as *mashdūd* or, more fully, *mashdūd al-wasṭ*. IX 167a; the official appointed by the Fāṭimids to wind the caliph's turban, later called *laffāf*. X 57b; X 614a; the turban-cloth, then the whole turban, used as such particularly in North Africa and Egypt. Sometimes ~ was particularly the white-and-blue striped turban of the Copts, while that of the Muslim world was called SHĀSH. X 614a

♦ shadd al-walad : in guild terminology, the ceremony whereby the apprentice entered into his profession. IX 168b

♦ shadda (A), or *tashdīd* : in orthography, the special sign for marking the doubling of a consonant. IV 1120a

shadh (T) : a rank given to senior members of the princely family below the Ḳaghan. III 1060b

shādhana (A) : in mineralogy, haematite, which results from converting magnetite or other minerals (syn. *bāhit* or *ḥadjar al-bahta*). V 1166b f.

shādhdh (A) : in the science of Tradition, a Tradition from a single authority which differs from what others report. If it differs from what people of greater authority transmit, or if its transmitter is not of sufficient reliability to have his unsupported Traditions accepted, it is rejected. III 25b; VII 576a; irregular. IX 371a

shadīda (A) : 'energetic'; in grammar, a division equivalent in modern phonetics to 'occlusive', designating the letters *hamza, ḳ, dj, ṭ, t, d, b*. III 599a

shādirwān (A, < P) : originally, a precious curtain or drapery suspended on tents of sovereigns and leaders and from balconies of palaces; in architecture, a wall fountain surmounted by a decorative niche, usually made of painted and gilded wood with MUḲARNAS, and connected to a sloping marble panel, *salsabīl*, which led the water from the wall down into a stone or marble basin. The function of the ~ , which faced the SABĪL window, was not only decorative but it served also to air the water coming from the cistern. VIII 680a; IX 175a

shadjara (A) : in botany, a tree; and → RIDFA

♦ shadjarat al-ḥubb → IKLĪL AL-MALIK

♦ shadjarat al-ṣanam → SIRĀDJ AL-ḲUṬRUB

shadjawī (A) : in the mediaeval Near East, a beggar who pretends to have been imprisoned and loaded with chains for fifty years. VII 494b

shadjr (A) : in anatomy, the corner, or commissure, of the lips. II 75a; III 598a; the side of the mouth. VI 129b

♦ shadjriyya (A) : in grammar, a term used by al-Khalīl possibly denoting lateral, for use in phonetics, but its meaning remains obscure. III 598a

shādūf (A) : the contrivance used for raising water, still in use in certain eastern countries. It is a simple machine consisting of a wooden beam pivoted on a raised fulcrum. At one end of the beam is a bucket, at the other end a counterweight. The bucket is dipped into the water, then the beam is rotated by means of the counterweight and the contents of the bucket are emptied into a cistern or supply channel. IV 629a; V 861a

shafʿ (A) : a prayer consisting of an even number of RAKʿAS. X 97b

s̲h̲afāʿa (A) : in eschatology, the intercession or mediation by certain persons, and notably Muḥammad, for others on the Last Day. He who makes the intercession is called both *s̲h̲āfiʿ* and *s̲h̲afīʿ*. I 334b; IX 177b
In law, intercession for a debtor. IX 177b
Also, the laying of a petition before a king. IX 177b
s̲h̲afaḳ (A) : the red colour of the sky after sunset. I 733b; the evening twilight, the time at which the MAG̲H̲RIB prayer should be performed. V 709a; VIII 928b; morning or evening twilight, the periods between daybreak and sunrise and between sunset and nightfall. IX 179b
♦ al-s̲h̲afaḳ al-aḥmar (A) : 'the red dawn', which follows upon the 'true dawn' (→ AL-FAD̲J̲R AL-KĀD̲H̲IB). IX 179b
s̲h̲ag̲h̲aba (A) : 'to wander away from the road, excite people against each other, kick up a row', one of a number of verbs to describe rebellion, as *ʿaṣā* 'to rebel', *t̲h̲āra* 'to raise dust by galloping through the sands like a bull, to assault', and *ḳalaba* 'to overturn, be reversed' (whence *inḳilāb*, used in the 20th century for a coup d'état fomented by a small number of individuals, often military men). XII 598a
s̲h̲āgird → MURĪD
s̲h̲āh (P) : king; in set phrases ~ means 'pre-eminent, principal'. IX 190b f.
In chess, the chesspiece king. A game was won by ~ *māt* 'checkmate'. IX 366b
In the Indian subcontinent, ~ is appended to the names of persons claiming descent from the Prophet and has today become a surname. IX 191a
♦ **s̲h̲āhans̲h̲āh** (P) : king of kings. IX 190b
♦ **s̲h̲āhī** (P) : lit. royal, kingly; in numismatics, a Ṣafawid principal coin, valued at 50 dīnārs. VIII 790a; IX 203a
♦ s̲h̲āhī safīd (P) : the 'white *s̲h̲āhī*', term used to distinguish the silver coin from the copper or 'black' *s̲h̲āhī*. IX 203b
♦ s̲h̲āhmurk (A, < P *s̲h̲āhmurg̲h̲* 'kingbird') : in zoology, one of the arabicised forms for the Sultan-fowl, whose splendid plumage earned him the title of 'king' of the birds. XII 20a
♦ s̲h̲āhzāde (P, T **s̲h̲ehzāde**) : prince, one of the titles used for the male children born to a reigning Ottoman sultan, gradually superseding the earlier term ČELEBI. IX 414a
s̲h̲ahāda (A) : the Islamic confession of faith, one of the five pillars of Islam. I 332b; IX 201a
In law, testimony, witnessing. I 28b; IX 201a
In Urdu poetry, the *s̲h̲ahādat* is the part of the elegy, MART̲H̲IYA, where the death of the martyr is described, either al-Ḥusayn or some member of his family. VI 611b
♦ s̲h̲ahādat al-lafīf (A) : in law, the testimony of a group of at least twelve men, who need not be ʿADL, a practice which came into existence during the 16th and 17th centuries in North Africa. IX 208a
♦ al-s̲h̲ahāda bi 'l-tasāmuʿ (A) : in law, testimony on the strength of public knowledge, i.e. without having witnessed the event or the legal act that is at the basis of it. IX 208a
♦ al-s̲h̲ahāda ʿalā 'l-s̲h̲ahāda (A) : in law, the testimony of a witness which is transmitted by two other witnesses. IX 208a
s̲h̲ahārdah, or *d̲j̲ahārdah, arbaʿata ʿas̲h̲ara*: 'fourteen', a recreational board game, which could involve stakes. V 109a
s̲h̲āhbandar (P) : lit. harbour, port master; a term for a customs officer, collector of taxes; in Turkish usage, a consul and, formerly, a merchant's syndic. I 1013a; IX 193b; XII 716a
In Indonesia, ~ denotes the harbour master, appointed by the local ruler or sultan and

chosen from among the foreign traders who had settled in the port. In big harbours, more than one ~ were sometimes active. He supervised the merchandise, took care of the transport and storage, inspected the markets and guaranteed the security of the ships and the well-being of their crew, passengers and tradesmen. Tolls were fixed on his estimate of the value of the goods carried by the ship. VI 209b; IX 194b; XII 199b

shāhdānadj (P) : hemp; in modern-day Persian, the hemp seed. III 267a; IX 202a

shāhī → ČAY; MUḤAMMADĪ

shāhid (A, pl. **shawāhid**) : witness, one who gives testimony, *shahāda*, which in Islamic law is the paramount medium of legal evidence, alongside *iḳrār* 'acknowledgement' and *yamīn* 'oath'. IX 207a; and → SHĀHID ʿADL

In literary theory, a probative quotation, most often testimony in verse, which serves to establish a rule in the 'literary sciences'. IX 370b; proof text. IX 459a

♦ shāhid ʿadl (A), or, briefly, *shāhid* or *ʿadl* : in law, a professional witness whose ʿADĀLA has been established by the court, first appearing in Egypt at the beginning of the 8th century AD. IX 208a

shahīd (A, pl. *shuhadāʾ*) : witness; martyr, of which there are two types: *shuhadāʾ al-maʿraka* 'battlefield martyrs', who have special burial rites, and *shuhadāʾ al-ākhira* 'martyrs in the next world only'. IX 203b ff.

♦ shuhadāʾ al-dunyā (A) : 'martyrs in this world only', martyrs accorded the burial rights of the battlefield martyrs, *shuhadāʾ al-maʿraka*, but not the rewards in the next world, because they went into battle without the right intention. IX 206b

♦ shuhadāʾ al-ghurba (A) : 'martyrs who died far from home', those who leave their homes, e.g. in order to preserve their faith in times of persecution, and die in a foreign land. IX 206a

♦ shuhadāʾ al-ḥubb (A) : 'martyrs of love', according to a prophetic Tradition, those who love, remain chaste, conceal their secret and die. IX 206a

shāhidjānī (A) : term for fine cotton materials originating from Khurāsān, called after Marw, which full name is Marw al-Shāhidjān 'Royal Marw'. V 554b

shāhīn : a musical instrument which would appear to have been a small three-holed recorder such as was common with pipe and tabor players in mediaeval Western Europe. It was played with the fingers of one hand, the other hand being used for beating the drum. VII 209b; and → ČAKĪR

In the Mughal infantry, a swivel-gun or wall-piece, one of the light artillery. V 687a

shahmurk : in zoology, the Purple Gallinule. V 8b

shaḥna-i mandī → MANDĪ

shāhnāmedji → SHEHNĀMEDJI

shahr (P, T *shehir*) : town; kingdom. IX 212a

♦ **shahrangīz** (P), and *shahrāshūb* 'upsetting the town' : in Persian literature, a genre of short poetical witticisms or love poems on young artisans, usually quatrains but also occurring as ḲAṢĪDAS, fashionable in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. IV 59a; VI 834a; VIII 776b; IX 212a

♦ shahr-āshob (U, < P *shahrāshūb*) : in Urdu literature, a socially-motivated poem, whose main purpose is the portrayal of a city in disarray, by naming a series of professions and describing the state of affairs governing the individuals associated with each of them. IX 213b

♦ shahrāshūb → SHAHRANGĪZ

♦ **shehir emāneti** (T) : in the Ottoman empire, the term for two successive institutions, filled by the *shehir emīni*. The first involved the construction, repair, provisioning and payment of salaries of the personnel of the imperial palaces, and the functionary was in rank one of the four great civilian dignitaries of the outside administration of the palace. This institution died out to appear again in the latter half of the 19th

century whereby the functionary, who was more of a town prefect, had duties as that of cleansing and keeping tidy the city and touring the markets and bazaars. IX 413a

♦ **shehir ketkhüdasi** (T) : in the Ottoman empire, an official whose primary function was to collect the specified taxation from a town or its quarters. IX 414a

shahristān (P) : lit. place of kingship; province, provincial capital, (large) town; in modern Iran, a sub-provincial administrative district. I 2b; IX 220a

shahrūd, or *shāhrūdh* : in music, an instrument of the lute family allegedly invented in 299/912 by Ḥakīm b. Aḥwaṣ al-Ṣughdī, which in al-Fārābī's day had a compass of three octaves. According to Ibn Ghaybī, it had ten double strings and was twice the length of the ordinary ʿŪD. X 769b

shāhrūdh → SHAHRŪD

shāhrukhī → TANGA-YI NUKRA

shahwa (A) : longing, appetite; also the term for a birthmark on a child (in the shape of the food the pregnant mother craved but was not given). XI 32b; and → ʿAṢABIYYA

shāʿir (A) : poet. IX 225a; XII 717b; in northern Egypt, ~ has come to mean Gypsy poets who perform on the Egyptian two-string spike-fiddle, *rabāb*. IX 235b; and → KHAṬĪB

♦ shāʿir al-balāṭ (A) : poet laureate. IX 229b

♦ syair (Mal, Ind, < A *shāʿir*) : an extended verse form, which may run to hundreds of stanzas, each of which consists of four lines with the same end rhyme. The composer of ~ is called a *penyair*. IX 244a; XII 727B

♦ shāʿira (A, pl. *shaʿāʾir*) : term denoting the *budna* (→ SINĀM), extended in the plural to all the rites of the pilgrimage. IX 424b

shaʿīr (A) : in botany, barley. V 863a; IX 225a

♦ māʾ shaʿīr (A) : lit. barley water; the name for 'barley beer', of which a special variety was drunk in mediaeval Islam during the nights of the month of Ramaḍān. VI 721b

♦ shaʿīra (A) : in music, the cylinder inserted into the head of a reed-pipe which lowered the pitch when required. Later, this device was called *ṭawḳ* or *faṣl*. VII 207a

shaḳāʾ → SHAḲĀWA

shaḳāʾiḳ → SHAḲĪḲAT AL-NUʿMĀN

shaḳāwa (A), or *shaḳwa*, *shaḳāʾ* : misfortune, misery, used both in the meaning of a situation in this world and in the hereafter. IX 246b

In astrology, the concept of ~ is described by the term *naḥs* (→ SAʿD WA-NAḤS). IX 247a

shākhiṣ → MIḲYĀS

shakhṣ (A) : lit. bodily form, shape; in philosophy, an individual, a person. I 409b; IX 247b f.; and → MIḲYĀS

In modern law, ~ is found in the compounds *shakhṣ ṭabīʿī* 'natural person' and *shakhṣ iʿtibārī* 'assumed person', coined under the influence of western legal systems. IX 247b

♦ shakhṣiyya (A) : legal personality, a concept that does not exist in Islamic law, at least historically, and is subsumed by AHLIYYA. IX 248a

shakhshīkha : in music, the general term for the rattle. IX 11b

shakhtūr (Ir) : a wooden raft, used on the Euphrates since it is not navigable by steamers. I 461a

shaḳīḳa (A) : a full sister, in the law of inheritance, as opposed to a half-sister on the father's side, *ukht li 'l-ab*. I 320a

♦ **shaḳīḳat al-nuʿmān** (A, P *lāla*, Ber *ṭīkūk*, SpA *ḥababawar*), or *shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmān*, *shaḳir* : in botany, the anemone. Both *shaḳāʾiḳ* and *nuʿmān* can be used separately as synonyms. IX 248b

shākila (A) : in calligraphy, the upper horizontal stroke of the letter *kāf*. X 598a

shākima → ḤAKMA

shaḳir → SHAḲĪḲAT AL-NUʿMĀN

shākiriyya (A, < P *čākir*) : a term denoting private militias fighting under the patronage of princes from the ruling dynasty, or commanders belonging to the class of military nobility, during Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid rule. IX 249b; among the Turkic Oghuz tribes, a guard corps (termed *shākirī* by al-Marwazī). X 556b

shakk (A) : perplexity, uncertainty, doubt. There is some suggestion that ~ refers to the objective fact of uncertainty and another word, *rayb*, to the state of perplexity consequent to that fact. IX 250a

In mineralogy, arsenic. IX 872b

♦ shakka → ITHTHAGHARA

shākk → ʿAṢĀ

shakkāziyya (A) : in astronomy, the term for the markings, consisting of two families of orthogonal circles, of a universal stereographic projection which underlies a family of astronomical instruments serving all terrestrial latitudes. IX 251b; an instrument that is apparently a simplified version of the *ʿabbādiyya* type, with only one complete grid of equatorial coordinates and an ecliptical grid limited to the great circles of longitude for the beginnings of the zodiacal signs on its face, while its back resembles that of a standard astrolabe. XI 461b

shakl (A, pl. *ashkāl*) : 'figure'; in geomancy, 'squill'. IV 1128b

In prosody, a type of double deviation (ZIḤĀF), whereby there are two cases per foot, combining KHABN and KAFF. XI 508b

♦ shakl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ (A) : in spherical trigonometry, the principle of the transversal. V 397a

♦ al-shakl al-mughnī (A) : in spherical trigonometry, the principle of the four magnitudes. V 397a

♦ al-shakl al-ẓillī (A) : in spherical trigonometry, the principle of the tangent. V 397a

shakshāk (N.Afr) : in North Africa, a round tambourine with both snares and jingling implements, called in other parts *ṭabīla*. II 621b

shaḳshīr → ČAḲSHĪR

shakwa (A) : a goatskin container, in which fresh milk is churned by swinging on posts. XII 318b

shaḳwa → SHAḲĀWA

shāl (A, > Eng 'shawl') : the turban-cloth or whole turban, especially in Egypt, sometimes also kerchiefs worn by women, e.g., in Arabia and North Africa. X 614a

shalabī → ČELEBĪ

shalba (A) : in zoology, a silurus of the Nile and the Niger, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Schilbe mystus*). VIII 1021b

shalīl → KABŪSH

shālish → DJĀLISH

shālīsh (P), also *čālīsh* : in military science, a vanguard (A syn. *muḳaddama*). X 164b

shām (A) : Syria; the north; 'the left-hand region', because in ancient Arab usage, the speaker in western or central Arabia was considered to face the rising sun and to have Syria on his left and the Arabian peninsula, with Yaman ('the right-hand region') on his right. IX 261b

♦ shāmiyyūn (A) : in Muslim Spain, the viziers of eastern origin, the others being called *baladiyyūn*. XI 192a

shāma (A, pl. *shāmāt*) : naevus, skin blemish, mole. Originally ~ denoted the coloured marks on a horse's body, but is now, with *khāl* (pl. *khīlān*), applied to all marks of a colour different from the main body, including accidental marks, abcesses or freckles caused by an illness and presaging death. IX 281a

shamʿa (A) : candle. IX 281b

♦ s̲h̲am'adān (A) : candelabrum, candlestick. IX 282a

♦ s̲h̲am'ī (A), or **s̲h̲ammā'** : candlemaker. IX 288a

s̲h̲amāl (A) : in meteorology, the north wind. VIII 526b

s̲h̲aman (P) : idolator, an unspecified type of non-Muslim religious person (syn. *butparast*). IX 282a

s̲h̲ambar (A) : a large veil common to the Hebron area and southern Palestine. V 741b

s̲h̲amla (A), or *s̲h̲imāl* : a bag, perhaps made of hedgehog skin, which is used to enclose the maternal mammaries of small livestock in order to wean their young. Another method, also used, is applying a gag (*faṭṭāma*) to the muzzle of the young. XII 319a

s̲h̲ammās (A) : lit. deacon, a title in Catholicism denoting someone who lives a life of asceticism and service to others. XI 423as

s̲h̲ams (A) : the sun. IX 291a

♦ **s̲h̲amsa** (A), or *s̲h̲amsiyya* : a jewel used by the 'Abbāsid and Fāṭimid caliphs as one of the insignia of kingship; not a sunshade but a kind of suspended crown, made out of gold and silver, studded with pearls and precious stones, and hoisted up by the aid of a chain. IX 298b; and → MIẒALLA; 'UNWĀN

♦ s̲h̲amsī (A) : an alcoholic drink made of honey and dry raisins, of which the mediaeval Egyptians were very fond. VII 907b

♦ s̲h̲amsiyya → S̲H̲AMSA

s̲h̲amṭā' → S̲H̲AYB

s̲h̲amūs (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse that is difficult to mount. II 954a

s̲h̲amus̲h̲k (A, pl. *s̲h̲amus̲h̲kāt*) : a type of boot of Coptic Arab origin. XII 463a

s̲h̲anaḳ → WAḲṢ

s̲h̲ānī → S̲H̲ĪNĪ

s̲h̲anīn (A) : a drink make of whey or milk diluted with water. II 1061a

s̲h̲apḳa (T) : the modern European hat, which in 1925 replaced the fez in Turkey. X 611a; X 614a

s̲h̲a'r (A) : hair, pelt. IX 311b; the wool of goats. IX 764b; the hair of camels and dromedaries is usually called ~ and occasionally WABAR. IX 312a

s̲h̲a'ra → TAS̲H̲'ĪR

s̲h̲ara'a (A) : verb relating to watering animals at a permanent water-hole, implying lapping at or drinking water; to drive (or lead) animals to water; as noun (pl. *as̲h̲ru'*) ~ means a projecting, covered area, syn. SAḲĪFA. IX 326a

s̲h̲arāb (A) : a beverage, known also as *nabīd̲h̲* or *sawīḳ*, prepared by macerating raisins and subsequently dates, doubtless to improve the taste of the water, yielding a fermented liquor. XI 441a

♦ s̲h̲arābī → SĀḲĪ

s̲h̲araf (A) : elevation, nobility, pre-eminence, in the physical and moral sense (cf. *mad̲j̲d* 'illustriousness on account of birth', *ḥasab* 'individual quality, merit', and KARAM 'illustriousness acquired by oneself'). IX 313b

In astrology, 'exaltation' (ant. *hubūṭ* 'dejection'). X 942a; X 556a

♦ s̲h̲araf al-nisba (A) : the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, one of a class of noble blood, *s̲h̲araf*, that existed in Egyptian terminology of the 9th/15th century. IX 332a

s̲h̲arak (A, pl. *as̲h̲rāk*) : a noose, used in hunting small-sized birds by placing them in line on a taut cord. IX 98b

s̲h̲araḳraḳ → ṬAYR AL-'ARĀḲIB

s̲h̲arb (A) : a fine linen, which with DABĪḲĪ, often formed the ground fabric for ṬIRĀZ. X 537b

♦ s̲h̲arba → S̲H̲ERBET

sharbūsh (A, < P *sarpūsh*; pl. *sharābīsh, sharābish*), or *sharbush* : the headdress of the AMĪRS under the Mamlūks in Egypt. According to al-Maḳrīzī, it resembled the TĀDJ, was three-cornered, worn without a turban, and formed part of a set of robes of honour. It had a markedly military character, contrasting to the turban of the jurists. Under the Circassian Mamlūks, the ~ fell into disuse. X 614a

sharḥ (A, pl. *shurūḥ*) : a commentary on a text. I 593a; IX 317a

♦ al-sharḥ al-mazdjī (A) : in literature, a method of interweaving the text with its commentary in such a way that the two together form a smooth and coherent whole. IX 209b

shārī → SHIRĀʾ

shāriʿ (A, pl. *shawāriʿ*) : clearly-defined way, main road, highway; situated on a main road, at the side of a road. ~ was generally the term for a main arterial road, lesser roads in the vocabulary of urban patterning being *sikka* (pl. *sikak*), *ḥāra, darb* (pl. *durūb*), *ʿatfa* and *zuḳāḳ*, in Cairo, and *nahdj* and *zanḳa*, in Tunis. IX 320b; law-giver, characteristically Muḥammad in his function as model and exemplar of the law, but in a rare extension of meaning, sometimes transferred to the jurists. IX 322a f.

sharīʿa (A, pl. *sharāʾiʿ*) : a prophetic religion in its totality; within Muslim discourse, the rules and regulations governing the lives of Muslims. IX 321a; Islamic jurisprudence. VIII 249b; the area around a water-hole, or the point of entry to it, the place at which the animals drink; the seashore, with special reference to animals which come there. IX 326a

In the Qurʾān, where it appears once, and in Tradition literature, ~ designates a way or path, divinely appointed. Its cognate *shirʿa* and synonym *minhādj* are also used once. IX 321a

sharīdj → FILḲ

sharīf (A, pl. *ashrāf*, **shurafāʾ**, N.Afr *shorfā*) : 'noble', 'exalted', 'eminent', among the pre-Islamic Arab tribes a free man who could claim a distinguished rank because of his descent from illustrious ancestors. In Islamic times, ~ was especially applied to the descendant of Muḥammad's family, AHL AL-BAYT, and with time to the ʿAlids alone. VII 926b; IX 329b ff.; and → ḌAʿĪF

In North Africa, a person who traces his origin to the Prophet's family through ʿAlī and Fāṭima. I 371b

sharika (A), or *shirka* : in law, partnership. VII 671b; IX 348a

♦ sharikat al-ʿaḳd (A) : in law, a contractual partnership. VII 671b

♦ sharikat amwāl (A) : in law, partnership of capital, contracted when two partners put their capital in one project and agree on certain conditions for administration, profit and loss. IX 348b

♦ sharikat ʿinān → ʿINĀN

♦ sharikat al-milk (A) : in law, a proprietary partnership. VII 671b

♦ sharikat al-ṣanāʾiʿ (A) : in law, partnership in crafts or trades. IX 348b

♦ sharikat wudjūh (A) : in law, partnership of personal credit, contracted when two well-known persons ask others to sell to them goods without payment on the basis of their reputation, and then sell the goods for cash. IX 348b

shaʿriyya (A) : a black face veil of goat's wool or horse hair, worn by women in the Arab East. V 741b

sharkh (A) : in the terminology of childhood, 'a youth or young man; the offspring of a man' (Lane). VIII 821b

sharḳi (T) : lit. oriental, eastern; in Turkish music, a certain form of classical Turkish song. IX 353b

In Turkish literature, a genre of Turkish strophic poem composed on literary lines with the aim of being set to music. IX 353b; a type of folk-poetry of Anatolia. I 677b

sharrāliya → HINDIBĀʾ

shart (A, pl. *shurūt, sharāʾit*) : lit. condition; in law, condition, term, stipulation. IX 358b; and → KHIYĀR AL-SHARṬ

In logic, hypothesis, condition. IX 359b; and → ḲIYĀS ḤAMLĪ

In grammar, ~ denotes the protasis of a conditional sentence, the apodisis being variously referred to as *djawāb, djazāʾ* or *mudjāzāt*. IX 360a

In its plural form, *shurūt* refers in law to a wide variety of prescribed model documents used in transactions. IX 359a; and → MUWATHTHIḲ

In medicine, scarification. II 481b

shāsh (A, > Eng 'sash') : the winding cloth of a turban in Syria and Palestine. V 741b; from 780/1378 the ~ was part of a woman's dress, as the cloth embroidered with gold and pearls, thrown over the double ṬURṬŪR. X 614a; and → LITHĀM

♦ shāsha (A) : in Oman and the United Arab Emirates, the local open boat made from palm fibres. VII 53b

♦ shāshiyya (A) : originally the turban-cloth made of *shāsh* muslin. In Egypt, a cap, around which the turban-cloth was wound; it was of silk and might be trimmed with pearls and gold. Also the name given to the paper cap put on criminals, and also to iron helmet-like caps. In early 20th-century Morocco, a black cap for young people in the form of the ṬARBŪSH; also a headdress in the form of a sugar-loaf, which the Darḳāwa dervishes wore. X 614a

shash (P) : six

♦ **shashmaḳom** (Tadzhik, < P *shash*, A *maḳām*) : the modal and formal concept of art music played in the urban centres of Uzbekistan. The six *maḳom* cycles are called *buzruk* (< *buzurg*), *rost* (< *rāst*), *navo* (< *nawā*), *dugokh* (< *dogāh*), *segosh* (< *segāh*) and *iroḳ* (< *ʿirāḳ*), based on four of the former twelve main modes and two former 'derived' modes. IX 360b f.

♦ shashtār → TĀR

shaṣna (A) : a mole or barrier built in the water for protection. I 180b

shāt → FAZZ

shatar (A) : in medicine, an infection of the eyelid. IX 9b

shaṭawī (A) : textile goods from Shaṭā, in Egypt, highly praised by travellers. IX 361a

shatfa (A) : a horizontal strip on an emblem or insignia, RANK, introduced onto the shield in the early 14th century. VIII 431b

shaṭḥ (A, pl. *shaṭaḥāt*), or *shaṭḥiyya* : in mysticism, ecstatic expression, commonly used for mystical sayings that are frequently outrageous in character. I 60b; IX 361b

shātim, shatīm → SHATM

shāṭir (A, pl. *shuṭṭār*) : 'artful (ones)', the name given to groups of young men who were considered elements of disorder in mediaeval Baghdad. II 961b; an outcast. IV 1132b; and → KHALĪʿ

shātiya (A) : a winter (military) expedition (ant. ṢĀʾIFA). VII 816a

shatm (A) : an act of insult, vilification, defamation, abuse or revilement, the person doing thus is termed *shātim* or *shattāma* and the one who is vilified *mashtūm* or *shatīm*. If it is directed against God, the Prophet, or other historical personalities or objects venerated by the Muslim community, ~ is considered an act of blasphemy, syn. *sabb, laʿn* (cursing, malediction), *ṭaʿn* (accusing, attacking), *īdhāʾ* (harming, hurting) or the verb *nāla min* (to do harm to someone, to defame). XII 725b

shaṭr (A) : in prosody, a single hemistich, of 15 or less syllables. VIII 583a

shaṭrandj (P, < San) : the game of chess. The chesspieces were called: *shāh* 'king', *firzān* (*firz*) 'queen', lit. adviser, *fīl* 'bishop', lit. elephant, *baydaḳ* 'pawn', lit. footman, *rukhkh* 'rook', *faras* 'horse'. IX 366a f.

♦ shaṭrandjiyya : a meat pie containing bones with no meat on them. IX 367a

shatt (A) : originally, one side of a camel's hump; eventually ~ came to mean a stream's bank, and occasionally it was extended to mean a plot of land, close to the bank of a stream. In modern-day Iraq, ~ can describe a stream, as also in ~ *al-ʿarab*, the tidal estuary formed by the united stream of the Tigris and the Euphrates; river. VIII 13a; IX 368a
In geography, ~ is used in the high plains of North Africa and the northern Sahara for the saline pasturages surrounding a salt flat, *sabkha*, often confused with the latter. IX 368a

shattāma → SHATM

shatwa (A) : a Bethlehem married woman's hat. V 741b

shā'ūsh → ČA'ŪSH

shaʿwadha → SHAʿBADHA

♦ shaʿwadhī (A) : express courier. IX 152b

shawādhdh (A) : in the science of the Qur'ān, uncanonical 'deviant' readings. V 128a

shawāhid → SHĀHID

shawbak (A) : in the mediaeval kitchen, a small rolling pin used to bake an ordinary loaf of bread (*raghīf*). For the thin *rikāk*, a large one was used. VI 808a

shawdar (A, P *čādur*), or *shawdhar* : a black, enveloping outer wrap for women worn in the Arab East. V 741b

shāwī (A, pl. **shāwiya**) : sheep-breeder or herder. In Syria and the Arabian peninsula, *shāwiya* is the urban term, *hukra* being the desert term, for tribes specialising in herding flocks. IX 374b ff.; and → TABBĀKH

♦ shāwiya → SHĀWĪ

shawk (A) : desire, longing, yearning, craving, much used as a technical term in Islamic religious thought and mysticism. IX 376b

shawka (A) : in botany, *al-shawka al-bayḍā'* is the whitethorn, the white acanthus, mostly rendered with *bādhāward*, which is actually the Arabic acanthus, *al-shawka al-ʿarabiyya*. Synonyms or other types of the thistle are *ṭūb(a)* (< L *tubus*), *ibrat al-rāʿī, ibrat al-rāhib, ayfd* and *tāfrūt* (both Berber). IX 496b

♦ shawkī (A) : 'thorny one'. in botany, the name of one of five varieties of the red jujube; it has fruits the size of peas, with large seeds and little flesh, is found frequently in Toledo, is effective against chronic diarrhoea originating from a weak stomach, and staunches the loss of blood. X 868b

shawna → SHĪNĪ

shāy → ČAY

shay' (A) : a thing, entity (L *res*). IX 380b
In the Qur'ān, ~ assumed the meaning of 'belongings' or 'property'. II 361a
In mathematics, ~ is another word for absolute number, especially to denote the unknown quantity in linear problems (syn. *ḍilʿ*). It also serves as a general expression for auxiliary quantities and often takes the place of *al-djidhr*, the root. II 361a ff.; and → MĀL

♦ shay'iyya (A) : 'thingness' of e.g. the non-being, *maʿdūm*, a philosophical concept. IX 381a

shayb (A) : lit. white hair; old age, senescence (syn. *aghtham* 'grey which is white rather than black'); in poetry, ~ is frequently found in the expression *al-shayb wa 'l-shabāb* 'old age and youth'. Although not restricted to males, the term *shamṭā'* is cited by lexicographers for feminine old age. IX 313a; IX 383a

shayka (T) : in the Ottoman military, a small, flat-bottomed gunboat. X 624a

shayham (A) : in zoology, the porcupine. X 432b

shaykh (A, pl. *shuyūkh, mashāyikh*) : lit. an elder, someone whose age appears advanced and whose hair has gone white, used for a man over fifty years old. ~ carries the idea

of authority and prestige and is thus applied to the chief of any human group: family, tribe, guild, etc., as well as to the head of a religious establishment and to any Muslim scholar of a certain level of attainment. IV 335a; VI 725b; VIII 207a; IX 115b; IX 397a; when used with a complement, the term designated the master of various fields. V 1131a; and → MASHYAKHA; MURSHID

In mysticism, the ~ is the spiritual master, the novice's 'educator', ~ *al-tarbiya*. IX 397b

One of three grades of the AKHĪ organisation, which seems to have played practically no active role, but probably refers to the leader of a dervish settlement, to which the members of the organization felt themselves attached. I 323a

In Ḥaḍramawt, ~ denotes class distinction, not a tribal chief; the *mashāyikh* are those noble families with the right to the hereditary title of ~ . XII 339a

In Muslim India, ~ is one of the four divisions among the ASHRĀF, Muslims of foreign ancestry; the ~ is said to be descended from the early Muslims of Mecca and Medina. III 411a; IX 397b

♦ shaykh al-akbar (A) : 'the Greatest Master', a title given to Ibn al-ʿArabī. X 317a

♦ shaykh al-baḥr (A) : in zoology, the seal. Other designations are *ʿidj al-baḥr, fuḳma, fuḳkama,* and *bū mnīr*. VIII 1022b

♦ **shaykh al-balad** (A) : the mayor of a town, or an employee looking after the good management of the town. IX 397b; in 18th-century Ottoman Egypt, the title given to the most powerful BEY in Cairo, superseding the titles *amīr miṣr, kabīr al-ḳawm,* and *kabīr al-balad*. IX 398b

♦ shaykh al-ḥadjdj → MUṬAWWIF

♦ **shaykh al-islām** (A) : an honorific title applied essentially to religious dignitaries in the Islamic world up to the early 20th century. Under the Ottomans, ~ was given to the individual in the Ottoman empire in whom the right to issue an opinion on a point of law, FATWĀ, was vested exclusively. The office of the ~ was abolished in 1924 and was replaced by a department for religious affairs, attached to the Prime Minister. I 837b; II 867a; III 552b; III 1152a; VI 19a; IX 399b f.

♦ shaykh al-sadjdjāda (A), or *walī 'l-sadjdjāda* : 'the prayer-rug sitter', a term normally applied to leaders of ṣūfī communities or heads of holy lineages who fell heir to the spiritual authority and blessing of a revered saintly founder. VIII 743b; IX 398a

♦ shaykh al-shuyūkh (A) : during Ayyūbid and Mamlūk rule, the holder of the office of controlling the practice of ṣūfism, whose role was more political than spiritual. The Ottomans later introduced the *shaykh al-ṭuruḳ* 'head of the mystical paths' with the same function. IX 397b

♦ shaykh al-yahūdī (A), or *abū marīna* : in zoology, the monk seal. VIII 1022b

♦ shaykha (A) : a woman in whom is recognised the quality of a spiritual master, above all vis-à-vis other women. IX 398a; commune. I 863a

shaypūr an instrument of the horn and trumpet type. X 35a

shayṭān (A, pl. *shayāṭīn*) : evil spirit, demon, devil, either human or DJINN. IX 406b ff.; and → RADJĪM; ṢĀḤIB

shayyād (A) : a speaker, or one who recited or sang stories or poems in a loud voice, term used in Persian and Turkish between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries, and replaced in the following century by e.g. the Persian *ḳiṣṣakhān*. Its etymology is unclear, Arabic lexicographers equating it with Persian *shayd* 'deceit' which brought about its equation with 'liar' or 'trickster'. Later 19th-century European writers added the meaning 'dervish'. IX 409b f.

shehīlī (Alg) : the sirocco, which brings temperatures of 104° F and higher several times a year. I 366a

shehir emāneti, ~ emini, ~ ketkhüdasi → SHAHR

shehnāmedji (T), or **shāhnāmedji** : in Ottoman literature, the term for a writer of literary-historical works in a style inspired by the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. IX 211b

shehrī → ḲASSĀM

shehu (Hau, < A SHAYKH) : once the coveted title of a great scholar and teacher, ~ is nowadays commonly used as a personal name. In the phrase *shehu malami* (→ MALAM), it is used as an epithet for a distinguished exponent of the Islamic sciences. VI 223a

shehzāde → SHĀHZĀDE

shemle (T) : in the reign of Süleymān I, a carelessly wound turban-cloth, worn by the common people. In North Africa it was a cloth, still sometimes wound over the turban. X 614a

shenlik (T) : an Ottoman term for public festivities which marked special occasions, involving the participation of the entire populace. IX 416b

sherbet (T, < A *sharba*) : a sweet, cold drink, made of various fruit juices. Another fruit-based drink, possibly of alcoholic content, was *khō shāb*. VI 864b; IX 417a

♦ sharbatči-bāshī (P) : in Ṣafawid times, an official in the royal kitchen who supervised the sherbets and syrups. XII 609b

shewādān (P) : cellars in houses in Shushtar, in which the inhabitants shelter in the excessive heat of summer; syn. SARDĀB. IX 512b

shiʿār (A) : a term with various significations: the rallying signal for war or for a travel expedition, war cry, standard, mark indicating the place of standing of soldiers in battle or pilgrims in the pilgrimage; a syn. of *idmāʾ* 'to draw blood'; the distinctive clothing, etc. which the DHIMMĪs were required to wear in ʿAbbāsid and later times. IX 424a

shiʿb (A) : a ravine. IX 425a

shibaʿ (A) : in mineralogy, intensity of colour (of a gem). XI 263a

shibithth (A, pop. *shibitt, shabath*, B *aslīlī*) : in botany, dill. IX 431b

shibr (A) : 'span', that is, the span of the hand from the thumb to the little finger, a premodern basic measure of length. VII 137b

shibriḳ → DIRṢ

shibuk→ TUTUN

shidirghū : in music, as written and described by Ibn Ghaybī, a long instrument with half of its belly covered with skin. It had four strings and was mostly used in China. X 770a

shifā (A) : in anatomy, the lips. VI 130a

shighār (A) : the exchange of a girl for a wife by her brother or father without any money being spent. This type of union is also applied to married women, whereby a man repudiates his wife and exchanges her for another man's. Although forbidden in Islam, marriage by exchange is nonetheless practised even to the present day. VI 475b

shiḥ (A, < Ar *sīḥā*) : in botany, the plant species Artemisia (*Compositae*), as well as the specific *Artemisia iudaica L.* Other specific types of ~ are *sārīfūn* (probably *A. maritima*), *ṭarkhūn* (*A. dracunculus* 'tarragon'), *ḳayṣūm* (*A. abrotanum* 'southernwood'), *birindjāsaf* (*A. vulgaris* 'mugwort'), and AFSANTĪN or *abū shinthiyā* 'wormwood'. IX 434b

shihāb (A, pl. *shuhub*) : in astronomy, a shooting star. A synonym, of Persian origin, was *nayzak* (pl. *nayāzik*). VIII 103a

shiḥna (A) : a body of armed men, sufficing for the guarding and control of a town or district on the part of the sultan; used by Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī in the sense of the commander of such an armed body. IX 437a; under the Saldjūḳs and their successors, a military commander installed at the head of each city, who exercised military, political, and administrative functions; ~ was later superseded by the term DĀRŪGHA. VIII 402b; IX 15a; IX 437a

♦ shiḥnagī (P) : the office of a SHIḤNA. IX 437b

shiḥra (A) : a narrow tract of land. IX 439a
shihrī → HADJĪN
shikārī (P, < *shikār* 'game, prey; the chase, hunting') : a native hunter or stalker, who accompanied European hunters and sportsmen, term current in Muslim India, passing into Urdu and Hindi. IX 439b; *shikargāh* is the game reserve. IX 638a
shikasta (P), *shikasta nastaʿlīḳ*, or *khaṭṭ-i shikasta* : a script which came into existence at the beginning of the 11th/17th century under the Ṣafawids, as a result of writing NASTAʿLĪḲ rapidly and of the calligraphers being under the influence of SHIKASTA TAʿLĪḲ. ~ was used mostly in writing letters and sometimes for official correspondence. Nowadays it is sometimes used in writing poetry in an artistic fashion. IV 1124b; a highly cursive style developed from TAʿLĪḲ and NASTAʿLĪḲ, and now mostly in use in Iran, where it has become a means of expression of the new Islamic Iranian identity. VIII 151b
♦ shikasta taʿlīḳ (P), or *taʿlīḳ* : 'broken' TAʿLĪḲ, the result of writing *taʿlīḳ* rapidly. The letters are written in a more intricate style. It started to appear in the 8th/14th century but declined in use when NASTAʿLĪḲ started to spread in the 10th/16th century. IV 1124a
shīkha (Mor, pl. *shīkhāt*) : a free female singer in Morocco, who participates, in a company of *shīkhāt*, in family feasts or solemn ceremonies. IV 823b
shiḳḳ (A) : in Muslim India, a word sometimes used to denote a province in the 9th/15th century. II 273a
In mediaeval literature, a half-human monster, like the NASNĀS. V 133b
♦ shiḳḳa (A, pl. *shiḳaḳ*) : an oblong band or panel, many of which, when sewn together, make up the roof of a tent; their number depends on the importance one wishes to accord to the tent. IV 1148a
♦ shiḳḳdār (IndP) : in Muslim India, the functionary in charge of the general administration and civil affairs during the Dihlī sultanate. Later, he was replaced by the FAWDJDĀR under the Mughals. II 273a; II 868a; and → ḲĀNUNGO
shimāl → SHAMLA
shimrīr (N.Afr, > Sp *sombrero*) : in Morocco, the name given to the Euopean hat, sometimes also called *ṭarṭūr*. X 614b
shimshīrlik → ḲAFES
shīn → SĪN
shinā → SANG
shīnī (A) : the average mediaeval Muslim warship. It was a two-banked galley, with a special officer in charge of each bank. The ~ carried a crew of about 140 to 180 oarsmen. VII 44b; IX 444a; other transcriptions are *shawna*, *shīniyya*, *shānī* (pl. *shawānī*). VIII 810a
shinḳāb → SHUNḲUB
shintiyān (Egy) : in Egypt, 'drawers' for women. IX 677b
shipship (T) : an Ottoman Turkish shoe, mule, without heels, but with the end slightly raised and a supple sole. V 752b
shiʿr (A) : poetry. IX 448b; XII 727a; injurious poetry, *hidjāʾ*, especially for the archaic and Umayyad periods. IX 449a; collections of poetry, also called *khabar*. IX 318a; in Urdu, alongside the general meaning of poetry (syn. *shāʿirī*), ~ also means a verse or couplet. IX 469b
♦ al-shiʿr al-ḥurr (A) : free verse. IX 464a; XII 34b
♦ al-shiʿr al-mursal (A) : blank verse. VIII 909a; IX 464a; XII 34b
shiʿrā (A) : in astronomy, Sirius, the brightest fixed star in the sky; the dual *al-shiʿrayān* designated both Sirius and Procyon. IX 471b, where also can be found the specifying adjectives, which were sometimes used on their own

s̲h̲irʿa (A) : a fine string, as stretched on a bow, or a lute. IX 326a; and → S̲H̲ARĪʿA

s̲h̲irāʾ (A) : buying and selling, a term used in both early Islamic theology, especially associated with the K̲h̲āridjites, who were known as *s̲h̲ārī* (pl. *s̲h̲urāt*), and in (commercial) law, where it had the predominant meaning of buying rather than selling. IX 470a

s̲h̲irāʿ (A) : in seafaring, the sail of a ship, stretched above it to catch the wind; the neck of a camel. IX 326a

s̲h̲īradj → DUHN AL-ḤALL

s̲h̲irāḥa (A) : in agriculture, palm-protection. VI 832a

s̲h̲irāk → AL-NAʿL AL-S̲H̲ARĪF

s̲h̲irk (A) : polytheism, the giving of partners to God. I 333a; III 1059b; IX 484b; the idolatry of self and of creaturely things. I 70a; and → IK̲H̲LĀṢ

♦ s̲h̲irka → S̲H̲ARIKA

s̲h̲isʿ → AL-NAʿL AL-S̲H̲ARĪF

s̲h̲īs̲h̲ (A) : a drink or sauce. VI 721b

♦ s̲h̲īs̲h̲a → NARDJĪLA; ZUDJĀDJ

s̲h̲īs̲h̲ak → KAMĀNDJA

s̲h̲īs̲h̲am (Sin) : in botany, Indian rosewood. IX 638a

s̲h̲itr → MIẒALLA

s̲h̲iyāh al-ḍaʾn → S̲H̲Āʾ AL-ḌAʾN

s̲h̲iyāh al-maʿz → MĀʿIZA

s̲h̲ölen → TOY

s̲h̲orfā → S̲H̲ARĪF

s̲h̲ūʿ → BĀN

s̲h̲uʿāʿ (A) : used in the literature of scholastic theology for both the light rays emanating, for example, from the sun, and the visual rays (i.e. rays emanating from the eye). VI 376a; double refraction. XI 263a

s̲h̲ubbāk (A) : one of the caliphal insignia, a lattice screen or grill, which with a curtain (*sitr*) separated the caliph from those attending the public sittings. I 1074b; V 1032a; a grilled loge in which the ʿAbbāsid caliph sat on the 29th of D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḥidjdja to review the horses and constumes chosen for the New Year's procession. VI 850b

s̲h̲ubha (A, pl. *s̲h̲ubah*, *s̲h̲ubuhāt*) : lit. resemblance; in theology and philosophy, ~ is a false or specious argument which 'resembles' a valid one; a counter-argument in later scholastic theology. IX 492b

In penal law, semblance, an illicit act which nevertheless 'resembles' a licit one, one of the grounds for avoidance of the fixed penalties. II 831b; III 20b; IX 492b

♦ s̲h̲ubhat al-ʿaḳd (A) : in penal law, a case where the act has been done as the result of a contract which observed merely the conditions of formation. II 832a; IX 493a

♦ s̲h̲ubhat al-fāʿil (A) : in S̲h̲āfiʿī law, a case of S̲H̲UBHA, as when another woman is substituted for the bride on the wedding night. IX 493a

♦ s̲h̲ubhat al-ṭarīḳ (A), or *s̲h̲ubhat al-djiha* : in S̲h̲āfiʿī law, a case of S̲H̲UBHA, applied in cases where the schools of law disagree. IX 493a

♦ s̲h̲ubha fī ʾl-fiʿl (A), or *s̲h̲ubhat is̲h̲tibāh*, *s̲h̲ubhat mus̲h̲ābaha* : in penal law, a case where the action with which the accused is charged resembles an action which is normally permissable. II 832a; IX 492b

♦ s̲h̲ubha fī ʾl-maḥall (A), or *s̲h̲ubhat mulk*, *s̲h̲ubha ḥukmiyya* : in penal law, a case where the illegality founded upon a proof text may appear dubious because of the existence of another, ambiguous text. II 832a; IX 492b

shuddi (H) : in India, a 20th-century movement launched by the reformist Arya Samaj that sought to 'reclaim' descendants of former converts to Islam to the true faith of their more ancient ancestors. XII 564a

shudjāʿ → FARD
shufʿa (A) : in law, the right of pre-emption, the right of the co-owner to buy out his partner's share which is for sale. I 172b; III 513a; V 878b; IX 494b
shufārī → YARBŪʿ
shuhadāʾ → SHAHĪD
shuhra → MAʿRIFA
shukāʿā (A), or *shukāʿ* : in botany, the thistle. IX 496b
shukka (A, pl. *shikāk*) : on the Arabian peninsula, an area of gravel and limestone. VIII 575b; and → FALĪDJA
shukkub → SHUNKUB
shukr (A) : thankfulness, gratitude; achnowledgment; praise. When used on the part of God, ~ means recompense, reward. IX 496b
shūkrān → SAYKARĀN
shumrūkh (A, pl. *shamārīkh*) : a cult of demons that, according to al-Bakrī (11th century), existed among the Banū Warsifān, one of the Berber tribes of Tripolitania. V 1183a
shün ay (T, < Ch *rùn*) : in dating, the early Turkish name for the intercalary month. X 263b
shūnīz → KAMMŪN
shunkub (A, pl. *shanākib*), or *shukkub, shinkāb* : in zoology, the common snipe (*Capella gallinago gallinago*), known in the Maghrib and Egypt as *kannis, dadjādjat al-māʾ* and *bikāsīn* (< Fr *bécassine*) and in Iraq as *djuhlūl*, the same term as for the sandpiper (*Tringa*); also, with *shunkub al-bahr*, the trumpet fish (*Centriscus*). IX 504b
♦ shunkub kabīr (A) : in zoology, the great or solitary snipe (*Capella major* or *media*). IX 504b
♦ shunkub muzawwak (A), or *shunkub khawlī* (Egy) : in zoology, the painted snipe (*Rostratula benghalensis*). IX 504b
♦ shunkub saghīr (A) : in zoology, the Jack snipe (*Limnocryptes minimus*). IX 504b
shūrā (A) : the council; consultative assembly; consultation. I 110a; V 1084a; IX 504b; from the early 19th century, ~ was applied to every type of Western governmental body, including elective and representative parliaments. IX 506a
♦ shūrā-yi dewlet (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a council of justice composed of Muslims and Christians, set up in 1868 under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. This was a court of review in administrative cases; it also had certain consultative functions, and was supposed to prepare the drafts of new laws. I 56b; II 641b
shurafāʾ (A, Mor *shorfā*, s. *sharīf*) → SHARĪF
shurāʿiyya (A) : a long-necked camel. IX 326a
shurb (A) : drinking, drink; salted water, drunk e.g. at the ceremony of girding the initiatic belt among the *fityān* (→ FATĀ). IX 167a
♦ hakk al-shurb (A, Ott *hakk-i shurb*) : in law, the right to make use of water from a water-channel at a given interval to irrigate one's land. V 879a
shurshur → ABŪ BARĀKISH
shurṭa (A, pl. *shuraṭ*, pop. pl. *shurṭiyya*) : a special corps, which came into being in early Islam and which was more closely linked to the caliph or governor than the army. This corps was basically concerned less with war than with the maintenance of internal order and, little by little, became a kind of police force. An individual in such a corps is a *shurṭī*. II 505a; IV 373b; VIII 402b; IX 510a
♦ shurṭa sughrā (A) : in Muslim Spain, one of three categories of the *shurṭa*, whose jurisdiction, according to Ibn Khaldūn, was applied to the ʿĀMMA, as opposed to the *shurṭa ʿulyā*, whose jurisdiction concerned the misdemeanours of people belonging to the KHĀṢṢA. The third category, *shurṭa wusṭā*, is not mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn. IX 510b

♦ shurṭa ʿulyā → SHURṬA ṢUGHRĀ
♦ shurṭa wusṭā → SHURṬA ṢUGHRĀ
shurūṭ → ʿAHDNĀME; SHARṬ
♦ shurūṭī → MUWATHTHIḲ
shuṭfa (A) : a badge; under the Mamlūks a green badge that the male SHARĪF had to wear fastened to his turban to distinguish him from others. IX 334a
shutik (K) : in the YAZĪDĪ tradition, a girdle, one of several garments with religious significance; others include a shirt (*kirās*, whose neckline is called *girīvān*), and a cord, *ristik*, worn by a few religious dignitaries. Another sacred shirt (*sadra*, which has a pocket called *girebān*) and a sacred girdle or cord, *kustī*, are also known in Zoroastrianism. XI 315a
shuturbān → DEVEDJÎ
shuʿūbiyya (A, < *shuʿūb*, s. SHAʿB) : a movement in early Islam which denied any privileged position of the Arabs. IX 513b
shuʿūr (A) : in philosophy, the notion of consciousness or apperception. I 112b
shuwayḥī (A), or *shuwayḥiyya* : a woman's belt, usually woven of goat's hair and quite ornate, worn mainly in southern Palestine. V 741b
shuwwāsh (A) : servants, also *khuddām* (→ KHĀDIM) especially for the day-to-day operations of the zāwiya. XI 468a
shuyūʿiyya (A) : communism (syn. *ibāḥiyya*). IX 517a
sība (A) : a term borrowed from local speech by the French to designate the absence of control by the sultan of Morocco over a considerable part of his territory at the end of the 19th century. In dichotomy with the *bilād al-makhzan*, the *bilād al-~* was a land outside the authority of the sultan, hence free from taxes and conscription, whose people lived in an insolent, free fashion impervious to all outside influences. XII 729a
sibāḥa (A) : swimming. V 109a
sibāḥī → SIPĀHĪ
sibāḳ → SABḲ
sibākh (A) : topsoil. XI 446a
ṣiʾbān → ḲAML
sibizghi : an Uzbeki flute, related to the Persian NĀY, which with the *tüdük*, used in Turkmenistan, accompanies the nomadic bard and is remarkable for its technique. X 733b
sīdāra (A) : a skull cap like the ṬĀḲIYYA worn under MIKNAʿA and ʿIṢĀBA. X 614b
ṣiddīḳ (A) : 'eminently veracious', 'believing', in Qurʾānic usage, applied to the prophets Abraham and Idrīs, and to Mary and Joseph. As an epithet, *al-ṣiddīḳ* is applied to the first caliph Abū Bakr. IX 534b
♦ ṣiddīḳī → ṢADĪḲĪ
sīdī → MAWLĀY; SAYYIDĪ
sidjdjīl (A, < Akk) : one of the mysterious words of the Qurʾān, together with SIDJDJĪN, denoting a hard, flint-like stone. IX 538a
sidjdjīn (A) : one of the mysterious words of the Qurʾān, still interpreted in various ways as either the seventh and lowest earth, a rock or well in hell, the home of Iblīs, hell fire, something painful, hard, durable or eternal (influenced by its resemblance to SIDJDJĪL), or the name of the record in which all human acts are set down. IX 538a
sidjill (A, < Ar, < L *sigillum*; pl. *sidjillāt*) : lit. seal, in early Arabic referring to a document, or to a scroll on which documents are written. II 302b; IX 538b; also, the judicial verdict prepared by a judge. II 79a; IX 538b; during the Mamlūk period, the judicial court registers kept by official witnesses. IX 538b
In classical Muslim administration, ~ is the letter given to an envoy or messenger, authorising him, on arrival, to recover the expenses of his journey from any ʿĀMIL. II 79a; IX 538b

In notarial usage, ~ referred to an official record of a case, based on and including the *maḥḍar* 'the minutes of the case or transaction conducted before a judge' and the judge's decision or verdict. IX 539a

In Ottoman administrative usage, ~ was a general term used for 'register'. IX 539a

sidjillāṭ → YĀSAMĪN

sidjn (A), and *ḥabs* : prison. IX 547a

ṣidḳ (A) : 'truthfulness, sincerity', a term in mysticism, where it is defined as the complete agreement of one's inner convictions and outward acts. IX 548b

sidr (A, n. of unity *sidra*) : in botany, the jujube, a shrub or tree of the various Rhammaceae belonging to the genus *Ziziphus*, called *ʿilb* in the south of Arabia. I 540b; IX 549a; X 868b

♦ **sidrat al-muntahā** (A) : 'the lote tree on the boundary', a Qurʾānic phrase describing where Muḥammad met Gabriel for the second time. IX 550a

ṣidriyya (A) : a sleeveless vest worn by both sexes in the Arab East. V 741b

ṣifa (A, pl. *ṣifāt*) : attribute, lit. description; in its plural form, *ṣifāt*, used in theology in particular for the divine attributes. I 333b; I 411a; IX 551b; XII 344b

In grammar, ~ (syn. NAʿT) denotes any general or descriptive predicate term, a qualifying adjective. IV 182a; IX 551a; XII 344a

♦ ṣifāt al-ḥurūf (A) : the manners of articulation of the letters, important in Qurʾānic recitation. Some fine points include *ḳalḳala*, the strong pronunciation of certain letters when they are quiet (*sākin*), *takrīr*, the trilling of the *rāʾ* at certain times, and *istiṭāla*, the stretching of the sound from one side of the tongue to the other when pronouncing *ḍād*. X 73b

sifāla → ʿAYĀLA

sifāra (A) : in Fāṭimid administration, an office in which the ethnic factions of the palace and the army were represented, filling a gap, along with the office of the WASĀṬA, in the vizierate created by al-Ḥākim in 409/1018. The vizierate was later re-established during the reign of his son al-Ẓāhir, but the offices of the ~ and *wasāṭa* continued to be filled irregularly till the end of the dynasty by persons with a lower rank than the vizier. XI 189a; and → SAFĪR

ṣifr (A) : 'empty'; in mathematics, the small circle indicating the absence of number, i.e. the zero. III 1139b; IX 556b

ṣīgha (A) : lit. form. I 318b

In Persia, a designation for a second temporary marriage, MUTʿA, with the same man after the expiry of the first, in order to evade the period of abstention, ʿIDDA, which in such a case is considered to be unnecessary. The woman in such an arrangement is also called ~ . VII 759a

sighnaḳ (T) : place of refuge. IX 557b

ṣiḥāfa (A), or *ṣaḥāfa* : the written press, profession of the journalist, *ṣaḥāfī*. IX 558a; XII 730a

siḥāḳ (A), or *saḥḳ, tasāḥuḳ* : lesbianism. Lesbians are called *sāḥiḳāt, saḥḥāḳāt* or *musāḥiḳāt*. II 551a; IX 565b

siḥr (A) : lawful, 'white magic', also called *al-ukhdha* 'charm, incantation', and sorcery, 'black magic'. I 1084b; IV 770a; V 100b; IX 567b

sīkāh (A) : in music, a three-quarter-tone. XII 667b; and → WUSṬĀ ZALZAL

siḳāya (A) : the institution of providing water for the pilgrims in Mecca. I 9a; I 80a; VI 144b; XI 441a; the name of the building, close to Zamzam, where the distribution took place. VII 840a

In Fās, the popular term for public fountain. VIII 680b

sikbādj (A, < P *sik* 'vinegar' and *bādj* 'type [of meat]'), or ZIRBĀDJ : a vinegar- and flour-based meat stew or broth cooked with vegetables, fruit, spices and date-juice,

originally from the Sāsānid court and later popular under the ʿAbbāsids. IX 576a; XI 369b

sikka (A) : lit. an iron ploughshare; an iron stamp or die used for stamping coins. From this latter meaning, ~ came to denote the result of the stamping, i.e. the legends on the coins, and then the whole operation of minting coins; coinage. I 117b; IX 591b; a post 'stage', also called *ribāṭ* in Persia, of which there were no less than 930 in the ʿAbbāsid empire. I 1044b; VIII 500a; a ploughshare, also called *sinn, sinna, naʿl.* VII 22a; the name for the Turkish dervish cap. X 614b; and → SHĀRIʿ

♦ **sikkat al-ḥadīd** (A, P *rāh-i āhan*, T *demiryolu*) : lit. iron line; the railway. IX 600b

sikke-zen (T), or *sikke-kün* : in Ottoman times, the worker who, under strict supervision, prepared the steel moulds in the mints. II 119a

ṣiḳlabī → ṢAḲĀLIBA

sīkrān → SAYKARĀN

ṣīkūk → BARBŪSHA

ṣila (A) : lit. connection, what is connected; also, a gift, reward, remuneration (syn. *djāʾiza*). IX 607b; and → WAṢL

In grammar 'adjunct' (syn. *ḥashw, zāʾid, faḍl, laghw*), a syntactical term which denotes the clause which complements such word classes termed *mawṣūl*, e.g. the relative pronouns *alladhī, man, mā, ayy-* and the subordinative *an, anna.* IX 603a; appended clause, especially relative clause, with the occasional synonym *waṣl.* XI 173a

In literature, ~ denotes the continuation, the complement of a work (for syn., IX 603b). In certain cases, e.g. historiography, a ~ can be both a kind of summary or partial rewriting, with additions of the original work, and a continuation of the latter. IX 603b f.; and → FĀʾIT

silāḥ (A, pl. *asliḥa, suluḥ, sulḥān, silāḥāt*) : in military science, general term for both offensive weapons and protective armour and equipment, the collective sense also often included in the term *ʿudda*, lit. equipment, gear, tackle. XII 734b, at the end of which article a large glossary of weaponry terms can be found

♦ **silāḥdār** (P, A *amīr silāḥ*) : lit. armsbearer, a military-administrative title and function gong back to the days of the Great Saldjūḳs. Chief of the army's arsenal where the armour and weapons were stored, the ~ was one of the most trusted personnel in the sultan's palace, directly responsible to the sultan. Among the Mamlūks, the ~ was one of the nine most important office holders. IX 609b

♦ silāḥdārlar → DÖRT BÖLÜK

♦ silāḥdāriyya (P, A) : under the Mamlūks, a royal unit with a number of horsemen ranging from 110 to 120, commanded by a SILĀḤDĀR. IX 610a

siʿlāt (A, pl. *saʿālī*) : the female of the GHŪL, a fabulous being, although the sources do not all agree on the distinction. II 1078b

silb (A) : in mediaeval agriculture, a term for the piece of wood whose end joins on to the ploughshare, clearly the same pole or beam called *waydj* and *hays* in Yemen or in Oman. VII 22a

silḳ (A) : beets, one of the Prophet's preferred vegetables. II 1058a

silḳī → ZUMURRUD

sillawr (A) : in zoology, the sheat fish. VIII 1021a

silsal → ḲARḲAL

silsila (A) : lit. chain, in particular the chain of saints of a mystical order leading back to the historic founder. II 164b; IX 611a; the chain of initiation and transmission of mystical knowledge also known as *sanad.* IV 950b

sīm (A, var. *sīn*) : argot; *lughat al-~* is a secret vocabulary or argot employed by criminals, beggars, gypsies and other groups for communication among themselves. It is still found in the contemporary Arabic world, notably the ~ *al-ṣāgha* 'argot of gold

and silversmiths', based largely on Hebrew and recorded so far in Cairo and Damascus. IX 611b

sīmā (A), or *sīmā'* : a mark of recognition of the believer, either physical or moral; the distinctive mark of Muslims in relation to other peoples. IX 613a

ṣimāda (A) : a bonnet-like hat trimmed with coins most common to women of Ramallah; a man's headcloth in Iraq; a cloth used for covering the head underneath the turban in the Ḥidjāz. V 741b; VII 920a

simāṭ (A) : a low oblong table. XII 99a; a mat. X 4b

♦ al-simāṭ al-Khalīlī (A), or *'adas al-Khalīl* : in mediaeval times, a meal consisting of lentils cooked in olive oil that was distributed daily to everybody in the town of Hebron, meant to honour Abraham's generosity and hospitality. This practice, which was peculiar to Hebron, was at its height during the Mamlūk period; the meal consisted then of a certain recipe called *dashīsha* and bread and was distributed three times a day. IV 957a

simindjānī → SUKUṬRĪ

simiyā' (A, < Gk) : a name for certain genres of magic, a.o. hypnotism and letter magic (also *sīmīyya*), mastered in particular by Aḥmad al-Būnī (d. 622/1225). VIII 430a; IX 612a

simsār → DALLĀL

simsim (A) : in botany, sesame (syn. *djuldjulān*). V 863a; IX 614a

simṭ (A, pl. *sumūṭ*) : a necklace of pearls; an entire poem. IX 449a; the term for the common-rhyme lines in a MUWASHSHAḤ poem. VII 809b

sīmurgh (P) : a mythical giant bird of Persian epic tradition. IX 615a

sīn and **shīn** (A) : the twelfth and thirteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet. In the Eastern form of the ABDJAD, *sīn* has the numerical value 60 and *shīn* that of 300. IX 615a

ṣinā'a (A, pl. *ṣinā'āt*) : the occupation of and production by artisans; craft, industry; the action of shipbuilding. IX 625a; in prosody, titivation. IX 455a

sinād (A) : in music, one of three kinds of song, which, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, had a slow refrain but was full of notes. II 1073b

In prosody, a violation of rules applying to vowels and consonants that precede the rhyme letter, *rawī*, namely, the *sinād al-tawdjīh*, the changing of the vowel immediately preceding the quiescent *rawī*; the *sinād al-ishbā'*, the changing of the vowel of the DAKHĪL; the *sinād al-ḥadhw*, the changing of the vowel immediately preceding the RIDF; the *sinād al-ridf*, the rhyming of a line that has a *ridf* with one that has not; and the *sinād al-ta'sīs*, the rhyming of a line that has TA'SĪS with one that has not. IV 412b

For ~ in zoology, → KARKADDAN

sinām (A) : a knife-cut on the two sides of the back, which marked a victim, *budna*, intended to be slaughtered in sacrifice at the time of the pilgrimage. IX 424b

sinān (A) : in military science, the head or blade of a spear, its foot of iron, stuck into the ground when the weapon was not being carried, being called *zudjdj*. XII 735b

sindhind (A calque 'Sind and Hind', < San *siddhānta* 'perfected') : a term applied to a class of Sanskrit astronomical texts. IX 640b

ṣindj → ṢANDJ

sindjāb (A) : in zoology, the grey squirrel. II 817a

sinet (K) : circumcision, in Kurd society practised a few days after birth by a specialist, *sinetker*, or by a simple barber. V 471a

ṣinf (A, pl. *aṣnāf, ṣunūf*) : lit. sort, kind; a group of something; various crafts and trades, profession (syn. *ḥirfa, kār*); (erroneously) guild. II 967a; IX 626b; IX 644a

singir (J), or *geguritan* : in Java, a form of Islamic poetry that treats themes similar to those of religious SYAIRS, consisting of verse lines of between eight to ten syllables in length, which can be grouped into rhyming couplets, quatrains, or groups of variable lengths. XII 728b

ṣīnī (A, P *čīnī*) : a generic term for Chinese ceramics including porcelain. IX 647a
sinn, sinna → SIKKA
ṣinnāra (A) : in the mediaeval kitchen, a poker used to remove a loaf of bread from the oven if it fell upon the floor inside. VI 808a
sinnawr (A, pl. *sanānīr*), or *sunnār, sunār* : in zoology, the cat (syn. *hirr, ḳiṭṭ*), both wild and domestic. Of the latter, ~ *miṣrī* 'Egyptian cat' (*Felis maniculata*) and ~ *shīrāzī* 'Persian cat' (*Felis angorensis*) are typical. IX 651b, where are listed many synonyms
In military science, a battering-ram (syn. *kabsh*). III 469b
♦ sinnawr al-zabād → ZABĀD
sīp (P) : mother of pearl. VIII 269a
sipāh (P), or *sipah* : army.
♦ **sipāhī** (P, > Eng *sepoy*, Fr *spahi*) : soldier; in the Ottoman empire, a TĪMĀR-holder. VIII 203b; cavalryman. IX 656a
In North Africa, a *sbā'iḥiyya* (s. *sibāḥī*) denoted a corps of mounted gendarmerie. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, it was used for troopers of the corps of locally-raised cavalry organised by the French army there. IX 657a
♦ sipāhī oghlanlari̊ → DÖRT BÖLÜK
♦ sipāhīlik (T) : the SIPĀHĪ profession and class, prevalent with the Ottomans until the use of handguns made it necessary to resort to mercenaries during the war against the Habsburgs in 1593-1606. X 502b
♦ sipahsālār → ISPAHSĀLĀR
siʿr → TASʿĪR
sīra (A, pl. *siyar*) : way of going, way of acting, conduct; memorable action, record of such an action; in its pl. form, ~ is also used for 'rules of war and of dealings with non-Muslims'. IX 660b
As a Qur'ānic term, ~ is found with the meaning 'state' or 'appearance'. III 369b
In literature, ~ is used for biography, especially that of the Prophet, and for the genre of romantic biographies of famous characters of antiquity or of the Islamic era. III 369b; V 1161b; IX 660b
♦ **sīra shaʿbiyya** (A) : modern designation for a genre of lengthy Arabic heroic narratives called in western languages either popular epics or popular romances. IX 664a
ṣirāʿ → ṢURʿA
sirādj (A, < P *čirāgh*) : lamp, beacon (syn. *miṣbāḥ*, ḲINDĪL). IX 665a
♦ **sirādj al-ḳuṭrub** (A, < Syr) : lit. the werewolf's lamp; in botany, the name for the mandrake, the plant species of *Mandragora officinarum* L, and more specifically for its forked root (syn. *mandrāghūras*, **yabrūḥ**, *shadjarat al-ṣanam, luffāḥ*). IX 667a
sirāḥ (A) : the sweat lost by horses covered by blankets in a thinning-down process for horse-racing. II 953a
ṣirāṭ (A, < ult. L *strata*) : 'way'; in the Qur'ān, ~ is almost always introduced by the verb *hadā* 'to guide' or the verbal noun *hudā* 'guidance', and qualified by *mustaḳīm* 'right'. IX 670b
As a proper name, al-Ṣirāṭ is the bridge which dominates hell. IX 670b
sirb (A, pl. *asrāb*) : a flock of birds (syn. *raʿla*, pl. *riʿāl*). IV 744a
sirbāl (A) : a tunic. VIII 883b; a garment in general. IX 676b
sirdāb → SARDĀB
sirī → ṢUFRĪ
sırık → ḤAMMĀL
sirḳa (A) : in law, theft, *al-~ al-ṣughrā* being used for simple theft and *al-~ al-kubrā*, or ḲAṬʿ AL-ṬARĪḲ, used for brigandage and highway robbery. V 768a
sirr (A) : lit. secret; in mysticism, the notion of mystery, arcana, in the sense of a teaching, a reality or even a doctrinal point, hidden by nature or which is kept hidden from persons considered unworthy of knowing it; also the notion of a 'subtle organ', one of

the layers of the 'heart', making up the human spiritual anatomy, which may be translated as 'inner consciousness'. XII 752b

sirwāl (A, P s͟halwar; pl. *sarāwīl*) : trousers. IX 676a

ṣīṣa (A, pl. *ṣayāṣī*), or *ṣīṣiyya* : in zoology, the very long, straight with a slight backward slope and a two-and-a-half turn spiral, horns of the addax (*Addax nasomaculatus*). V 1228b

sisāmuwīdā (A, < Gk) : in botany, sesame-like plants, considered as classes of a wild sesame. IX 615a

sitā'is͟h → MADĪḤ

sitār → TĀR

sitāra (A) : in Muslim Spain, an orchestra formed by female singing slaves, named after the curtain which separated in theory the caliph from the singers and musicians. IV 823b; and → ḤID͟JĀB

sitr (A) : veil, a curtain behind which the Fāṭimid caliph was concealed at the opening of the audience session. IX 685a; the name given to the curtain by which Muḥammad concealed his women from the gaze of the world. IX 902b; and → ḤID͟JĀB

sitta → K͟HAMSA

siwāk → MISWĀK

ṣīwīs͟h (Ott) : in Ottoman administration, the omission of one year in every 33, to keep the financial year in line with the religious year. X 263a

siyāḳat (T, A *siyāḳa*), or *siyāḳ* : in ʿAbbāsid financial administration, 'accounting practice', 'revenue bookkeeping practice'. IX 692b

In calligraphy, a script considered to have been used from the Umayyad period onwards, which has no artistic appearance and was used in financial registers and suchlike. II 332b; IV 1124a; IX 692b; a curious stenographic-like Arabic script in which diacritics are not used. VIII 151b

ṣiyām → ṢAWM

siyar (A) : in jurisprudence, the area concerned with the rules of war and of dealings of non-Muslims, apostates and rebels. V 1162b; VIII 495b; and → SĪRA

siyāsa (A) : statecraft, management of affairs of state; from mid-19th century onwards, politics and political policy. IX 693b; punishment, extending as far as capital punishment; the violence the ruler has to use to preserve his authority, specifically punishment beyond the ḤADD penalties. IX 694a

♦ siyāsa s͟harʿiyya (A) : the concept of 'juridical policy', methodically taken up by Ibn ʿAḳīl, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-D͟jawziyya, or 'governance in accordance with the s͟harīʿa', a sunnī doctrine calling for harmonisation between FIḲH and SIYĀSA. In modern times, a recognition of authority in the state to take legal acts as needed for the public good when the s͟harīʿa has no text, NAṢṢ, on the matter, provided the s͟harīʿa is not infringed thereby. I 276b; IX 694b f.

♦ siyāsat-gāh (P) : a place of torture and execution. IX 694a

♦ siyāset (T) : (corporal) punishment in Ottoman penal law. II 518b

slamatan → SESAJEN

smala → ZMĀLA

ṣoff → LEFF; ṢAFF

ṣofra : term for a design in the centre of a carpet from ʿUs͟hāḳ, which would seem to indicate the medallion ʿUs͟hāḳ of modern terminology. X 914a

ṣofta (T) : under the Ottomans, a student of the theological, legal or other sciences (var. *sūk͟hte*). VIII 221b; IX 702b

sökmen → ALP

ṣolaḳ (T 'left-handed') : in the Ottoman military organisation, the name of part of the sultan's bodyguard, comprising four infantry companies of the Janissaries, originally archers. IX 712a

sonkor (T), or *sunkur* : one of many words denoting birds of prey, specifically the gerfalcon (*falco gyrfalco*). IX 730a

soyūrghāl (Mon, P, or *suyūrghāl*) : favour, reward granted by the ruler to someone, sometimes of a hereditary nature; in the course of time, ~ came to mean various grants formerly known as IKṬĀʿ. IX 731b; in Persia, in post-Tīmūrid times, designation for a grant of immunity, often hereditary, from the payment of taxation, frequently, though not by any means always, granted to members of the religious classes. III 1089b; IV 1043b

sowar (Anglo-Eng, < P **suwār**) : in the Indian Army of British India, the designation for troopers in cavalry regiments. IX 909b

stribant : in India, a custom whereby the sons of each wife are regarded as one group and each group is awarded an equal share in the inheritance. Another custom called *chundawand*, similar in effect, entitles the group to its allotted portion until the extinction of its last member. I 172a

su bashi (T) : in Turkish tribal usage, 'commander of the army, troops'; in the Ottoman empire, a common military and police title. IX 736b

ṣu'āb → KAML

suʿāt (A) : 'runners' in the postal service, first appearing during the Buwayhid dynasty. I 1044b; 'the dregs of the people, one of the numerous terms in the mediaeval and modern periods for 'rascal, scoundrel'. XI 546a

ṣūba (< ? A *ṣawb* 'patch, track') : in the Mughal empire from Akbar onwards, the term for 'province', which was divided into SARKĀRS and PARGANAS. VIII 271a; IX 738a

♦ **ṣūbadār** : in the Mughal empire, the governor of a province, ṢŪBA, also known as *sipāhsālār* (→ ISPAHSĀLĀR), *nāẓim* and *ṣāḥib ṣūba*. IX 738b

ṣubashî (Ott) : constable. X 413b; person in charge of a *subashîlîk*, a division of a SANDJAK. X 502b

ṣubba → KAṬĪʿ

subḥa (A, P *tasbīḥ*, T *tesbīḥ*, modT *tespih*) : rosary, consisting of three groups of beads made of wood, bone, mother of pearl, etc. and used by nearly all classes of Muslims except the Wahhābīs. IX 741b; in classical Tradition, ~ is used in the sense of supererogatory ṢALĀT. IX 742b

subḥān (A) : a Qur'ānic term, recorded solely in the form of an exclamative and annexed to *allāh* or some substitute, e.g. *rabb*, and translated most commonly 'Glory be to God'. IX 742b

sūbiyya (Egy) : an Egyptian spiced beverage, made with either wheat or rice, in either an intoxicating or a legal, non-alcoholic, version. VIII 653a

sūdānī → KŪFĪ

ṣudayra (A) : a short, sleeveless vest, worn by men in Egypt. V 741b

sudda (A) : threshold. IX 762a

ṣudgh (A, P *zulf*) : love locks of hair, one of a number of female hairstyles in pre- and early Islam, along with *ṭurra* 'fore locks' and *limma* 'shoulder locks'. IX 313a

sudjdja (A) : horses; the name of an idol in pre-Islamic Arabia, as are *badjdja* 'blood drawn from an incision of a camel's vein' and *djabha* 'forehead; a lunar mansion, the moon; horses; humiliation; the leading men of a tribe; the persons responsible for levying money for a ransom or debt'. IX 763a

al-suds al-fakhrī (A) : in astronomy, a sextant made by al-Khudjandī and dedicated to Fakhr al-Dawla that determines the obliquity of the ecliptic. V 46b

sudūs (A), or *sadūs* : a green ṬAYLASĀN worn by women, especially in winter time as a protection from the cold. X 614b

ṣūf (A) : the wool of camel (syn. *wabar*). IV 1148a; wool of sheep (syn. *labad*). IX 764b; XII 317a

♦ ṣūfa (A) : a woollen tampon. IX 249a

♦ ṣūfī (A) : in the 2nd/8th century, still an expression for a somewhat disreputable fringe movement of ascetics, in the course of the 3rd/9th century ~ was adopted for reasons which are not clear for the entire mystical movement. It never succeeded in imposing itself universally, however: in the East, in Khurāsān and in Transozania, a mystic was for a long time called ḤAKĪM and 'knower of God' (*ʿārif*) was often used. X 314a

sufahāʾ → AHL AL-FAḌL

ṣuffa (A), or *ẓulla* : in architecture, a colonnade, and according to Lane, a long, covered portico or vestibule, which formed part of the mosque at Medina. I 266a; I 610a; and → SAḲĪFA

ṣūfiyāna (P) : in the Mughal empire, the days of abstinence from eating meat, introduced by Akbar. IX 766b

ṣufr (A), or *bīrindj* : yellow; in mineralogy, brass. VIII 111b; IX 766a; bronze. XII 552b

♦ ṣufrī (A) : a variety of date, in particular from the al-Aflādj district in southern Nadjd, called by al-Hamdānī *sayyid al-tumūr*, although present-day inhabitants regard the *sirī* variety as the *sayyid.* I 233b

sufra (A), and *naṭʿ* : a table (syn. KHULWĀN and *māʾida*), whereby ~ is a skin stretched out on the ground and serving, not only among the early Bedouin, but also in circles of sedentary Arabic civilisation, various functions in the home and in the country. In dialect, ~ is an ordinary table and *sufradjī* is a waiter in a restaurant or cafe. XII 99b; a mat. X 4b

♦ sufrači-bāshī (P) : in Ṣafawid times, an official in charge of arranging the floor cloth on which food was consumed. XII 609b

♦ sufradjī → SUFRA

suftadja (A, < P *sufta* 'pierced') : in finance, a negotiable instrument in the form of a written bill of credit similar to the modern drawing of a cheque; like ṢAKK, a medium through which funds were remitted. II 382b; VIII 493a; IX 769b

suhayl → SAFĪNA

ṣuḥba (A), or *ṣaḥāb* : in Yemen, an alliance among the Arab tribes of the desert based on a kind of fraternal relationship. It is an agreement, both defensive and offensive, by which two tribes undertake to take up arms on one another's behalf and henceforth may go to live on the territories of the other and also take advantage of its pastures. Excluded from this treaty are the fornicator and the thief. VI 491a; and → ṢĀḤIB

♦ ṣuḥbatiyya → YAZĪDĪ

suḥla (A) : the weanling hare. XII 84b

suḥna (A) : a term applied to the colour of the complexion, used in addition to the general term LAWN 'colour'. V 699b

ṣuḥuf → DAFTAR; DJARĪDA; MUṢḤAF

suḥūr → IMSĀKIYYA

sūḳ (A, < Ar; pl. *aswāḳ*) : market, in the sense of both the commercial exchange of goods or services and the place in which this exchange is normally conducted. IX 786b; XII 756a

♦ čahār sūḳ (P) : 'cruciform market'; in architecture, a type of bazaar with four streets for merchants and artisans, or four sides. V 665b; IX 796b

ṣuḳʿ (A) : region. X 896a

sūḳa (A) : lit. those led to pasture, one of the numerous terms in the mediaeval and modern periods for 'rascal, scoundrel'. XI 546a

suḳaṭ (A) : second-hand goods. XII 757b

sukhaymānī → UMMA

sukhf (A) : lack of substance; indecency, obscenity (more properly, *fuḥsh*); in literature, a genre of poetry of which the basis is sexuality and scatology, although MUDJŪN was preferred among early mediaeval literati. The adjectival form is *sakhīf*, meaning either shallow-witted or obscene. IV 780b; IX 804a; XII 16b

sūkhte → ṢOFTA

sukkar (A, < P) : the sap crushed from the sugar-cane, solid sugar. Some common types of sugar are *ṭabarzad* 'sugar set hard in moulds', *nabāt* 'sugar, also produced from other substances such as rose syrup or violet syrup, set on palm sticks placed in the recipient where it was being prepared', *fānīd* 'sugar made in elongated moulds produced by adding the oil of sweet almonds or finely-ground white flour to the process of decoction', and *sulaymānī* 'sugar made from hardened 'red sugar' broken into pieces and further cooked'. IX 804b

sukkayt (A) : 'silenced by shame at finishing last', the name for the tenth horse in a horse-race, according to the order of finishing. II 953a

suknā (A) : lit. abode; a Qur'ānic term referring to a woman's right upon her husband to provide shelter for her; also her right to stay in the matrimonial house during her waiting period following divorce or death. IX 805a

sukr (A) : in mysticism, 'intoxication', especially in the vocabulary of al-Ḥallādj. III 102b

suku : in Malaysia, matrilineal descent groups. VIII 483b

sukūn → ḤARAKA

sukurrudja (A) : in chemistry, a pan, one of the many apparatuses in a lab described in the 5th/11th century. V 114b

sukūt (A) : lit. silence; in law, an individual's action of not actively expressing an opinion when involved in an action or contract that requires acceptance or rejection, which 'answer' is clarified by circumstance. IX 806b; IX 845b

suḳūṭ (A), or *suḳūṭ al-kusūf* : falling, the ἔμπτωσις of Ptolemy; in astronomy, the phase from the beginning (*bad'*) of an eclipse to the beginning of totality. V 536b

suḳuṭrī (A, < *suḳuṭra*) : one of a variety of the aloe, considered to be the best and probably corresponding with the *Aloe Parryi* Baker, the *Aloe Socotrina*, which thrives in great quantities on the island of Socotra. The other frequently mentioned varieties are *ʿarabī (ḥaḍramī)* and *simindjānī*. VIII 687b

sulāḥ (A) : in zoology, the particularly vile-smelling droppings of the fox. X 432b

sulaḥfā (A, pl. *salāḥif*), or *sulaḥfā'*, *sulaḥfiyya* : in zoology, the tortoise or turtle in general, terrestrial as well as aquatic. The male is also called *ghaylam*, the female also *ṭuwama*. IX 811a, where dialectal names are also found

In astronomy, *al-sulaḥfā*[u] is one of several names for the nineteenth boreal constellation of the Lyre situated between Hercules and the Swan. IX 811a

sulaṭān (A) : in Muslim Spain, a designation for Alfonso VII of Castile after he had come to the throne as a child. IX 849a

sulaymānī → KĀGHAD; SUKKAR

ṣulb (A) : in geography, hard, stony ground. VIII 1048a

ṣulḥ (A) : truce, armistice; peace and reconciliation. II 131a; IX 845a

♦ ṣulḥ al-ibrā' (A) : in Shāfiʿī law, a peace settlement by virtue of which the claimed object would be a HIBA 'donation', as opposed to a *ṣulḥ al-muʿāwaḍa*, when the object is replaced by another. IX 845b

♦ ṣulḥ ʿalā inkār → INKĀR

♦ **ṣulḥ-i kull** (IndP) : universal toleration, a policy of the Mughal emperor Akbar. I 317a; IX 846a

sullam (A) : a bilingual Coptic-Arabic vocabulary. IX 848b

sulṭān (A, < Syr; pl. *salāṭīn*) : holder of power, authority; sultan. VIII 1000b; IX 849a

In the Shībānid realm, ~ denoted an individual eligible to succeed to the khānate. The sovereign had the title *khān*. IX 429b

♦ sulṭān Ibrāhīm (A) : lit. the sultan Abraham; in zoology, the red mullet (*Mullus barbatus*). VIII 1021a

♦ sulṭān al-sawāḥil (A) : the title of Meḥmed, who also used the title Teke Bey, of the Teke-oghullarî, a Türkmen dynasty. X 413a

♦ **sulṭān al-ṭalaba** (A, pop. *al-ṭolba*) : a traditional Moroccan spring festival, celebrated annually in the second half of April, primarily at Fās. A central feature of the feast was the election of a mock sultan. IX 857b; X 148b

♦ sulṭānī (A, T) : in numismatics, the first Ottoman gold coin, which, when it was introduced in 882 AH, adopted the weight standard of the Venetian ducat, *ca.* 3.52 g. VIII 228b

♦ sulṭānlîḳ (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a fief for which one has received investiture. IX 727b

suluk : in Javanese literature, a poetical genre of short mystical poems. VIII 294a

sulūk (A) : in political theory, conduct or comportment of leaders. IX 861b

In mysticism, ~ is the Islamic version of the archetypal motif of the 'journey' which mystics of different religious traditions have used to describe the various steps to realise union with the divine; the progress which the mystic makes on the *via mystica*; also 'spiritual correctness', the 'travelling-manners' which the mystic must possess to traverse the stations of the Way. The ṣūfī wayfarer is called a *sālik*. IX 862a

ṣuʿlūk (A, pl. *ṣaʿālīk*) : in pre- and early Islam, the knight-errant of the desert, brigand of the highways; brigand-poet. II 963b; VIII 496b; IX 863b; XII 122a

sulūḳī (A, pl. *sulūḳiyya*) : the greyhound, used in hawking and falconry. I 1152b

sumʿa wa-riyāʾ (A) : ostentation, i.e. done in order that people may 'hear and see' it. X 900b

sumānā → SALWĀ

sumaniyya (A, < Skr) : the Buddhists. IX 869a

sumayrī (A, pl. *sumayriyyāt*) : a type of ship mentioned as a troop-carrying craft in the historical accounts of the Zandj rebellion in the later 3rd/9th century, and used in 315/927 in order to prevent the Carmathians from crossing the Euphrates. VIII 811a

summ (A, P *zahr*; pl. *sumūm*), or *samm* : poison, venom. IX 872a

sūmūlak : a pudding-like food made of sprouted wheat, which Özbegs distribute to family and friends during the celebration of the New Year. VIII 234b

sunan → SUNNA

sunār → SINNAWR

sunbula (A) : 'the ear of the corn'; in astronomy, *al-~* is the term for Virgo, one of the twelve zodiacal constellations. Some philologists explain ~ to be Coma Berenices. The constellation is also known as *al-ʿadhrāʾ*, while ~ stands for the star α Virginis. VII 83b

sūndar : a Kurdish musical instrument of the pandore type, resembling the ČŪGŪR but with twelve metal strings. X 626a

sundus (P) : a type of green brocade, made in Yazd. XI 304a

sunna (A, pl. **sunan**) : habit, hereditary norm of conduct, custom; a normative custom of the Prophet or of the early community; orthodoxy. I 175b; II 888b; III 23b; IV 147b ff.; IX 878a

In its plural form, *sunan* refers to several important collections of Traditions and legal pronouncements, becoming the generic book title of such works. IX 874a

♦ sunna muʾakkida → NĀFILA

sunnār → SINNAWR

sūr (A, pl. *aswār, sīrān*) : the wall of a town or other enclosed urban or built-up space. IX 881b

♦ sūr-nāme (Ott) : in literature, a work describing imperial weddings and circumcision feasts. X 293a

sūra (A, < Syr *ṣūrṭā, sūrthā*; pl. *suwar*) : a Qurʾānic term, ~ refers to a unit of revelation. The Qurʾān gives no indication as to how long these units of revelation were. They were most likely only parts of the present sūras, of which there are 114 of widely varying length and form, divided into a number of verses. V 402a; V 409b ff.; IX 885b

ṣūra (A) : image, form, shape; face, countenance. IX 889a; and → KAWKABA; TAṢWĪR

♦ **ṣūrat al-arḍ** (A) : lit. the form or shape of the earth; title for two early Islamic geographical works covering the world as it was then known. IX 893b; and → DJUGHRĀFIYĀ; KHARĪṬA

♦ ṣūrat al-rāmī (A) : in astronomy, the constellation of Sagittarius. VIII 842a

ṣurʿa (A), or *ṣirāʿ* : 'wrestling', with the basic idea of hurling one's opponent to the ground. In mediaeval times, it may have been a popular sport; in 251/865 citizens hired *muṣāriʿūn* (s. *muṣāriʿ*) to defend their houses against the violence of the Turkish soldiery. VIII 239a

ṣurad (A) : in zoology, the shrike, mentioned in Tradition. VII 906b

surādiḳ (A) : among the pre-Islamic Bedouin, a cloth tent of quite large dimensions. IV 1147a

ṣurāḥ → IBRĪZ

süratdji̊ (T) : in the Ottoman army, a rapid-fire artilleryman. XI 328b

surau : in Sumatra, a centre for religious studies; a religious school. VIII 237b; VIII 296b

suraydjiyya → MASʾALA

surghūs (A) : in zoology, the common sargo. VIII 1021a

sürgün (T) : lit. expulsion; under the Ottomans, the compulsory re-settlement of people from various parts of the empire. IV 225a; IV 238a; IX 655a; XII 767a

surkh → RATTĪ

surkhāb → NUḤĀM

surkhadja (P) : in medicine, measles. IX 474b

surma → KUḤL

surnāy (P), and *suryānāy* : in music, the Persian reed-pipe. X 35a

ṣurra (A, T *ṣurre*) : lit. bag, purse; a sealed purse containing coins. IX 894a

Under the Mamlūks, a purse of money distributed as a gift by the ruler. IX 894a

Under the Ottomans, payment made by pilgrim caravans on the way to the Holy Cities, in return for the right to enter alien territory and for protection while staying there. I 483b; IV 1133b; VIII 489b; IX 894a

♦ ṣurrat al-ḥaramayn (A) : the sum once sent by Islamic countries such as Egypt and Tunisia for distribution to the poor of Mecca and Medina during the pilgrimage. IV 1133b

surriyya (A) : a concubine. I 28a; V 553b

sūs (A, P *mahak, mathak*) : in botany, licorice, both the root and the decoction from the root (syn. *ʿūd al-sūs, shadjarat al-furs*). IX 897b; a cavity in wood. XI 263a

sūsan (P, < MidP), or more often *sawsan* : in botany, the iris or lily (*Iris florentina* L., or *Lilium sp.*). The blue iris was called *sūsan asmāndjūnī*; other colours were white and yellow. IX 902b

sutra (A) : initially, a veil or screen, covering, protection, shelter; in Islamic prayer, a technical term for any object placed by the worshipper some distance before him, in front of which no person should pass while the prayer is being performed. VIII 928a; IX 902b

suttūḳ → SATTŪḲ

suʿūṭ (A, Egy *nushūḳ*, P *anfiya*) : snuff, which was adopted in places like Yemen and in the Ottoman empire at times when regular smoking was proscribed. It has long been common in Afghanistan, where it is called *naswar*. X 754a

suwār (P, IndP *sawār*) : horseman; in Muslim India, a rank in the Mug̲h̲al military indicating the number of troopers (*tābīnān*) and horses the *manṣabdār* (→ MANṢAB) was ordered to maintain. VI 422b; IX 909a

♦ bārgīr-suwār : a category of horsemen in the Mug̲h̲al army, who neither owned horses nor were enrolled as troopers of the *manṣabdārs* (→ MANṢAB), the *ṭābīnān*. However, as they were fit for cavalry service, in times of emergency they were provided with horses and went into action. They were not, however, part of the regular cavalry. V 686b

suyūrg̲h̲āl → SOYŪRG̲H̲ĀL

suyūrsāt (P) : purveyance; one of the unfixed taxes in Persia, consisting of levies made for the keep and expenses of military forces, government officials, and foreign envoys passing through the country, and like the ṢĀDIRĀT bore heavily upon the peasantry. II 152a; IV 1043a

sūz-u gudāz (P) : in Persian literature, a genre of short poems devoted to the description of painful experiences, fashionable in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. VI 834b

syair → S̲H̲ĀʿIR

T

tāʾ (A) : the third letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 400, representing a voiceless, slightly aspirated, dental (or dento-alveolar) stop. X 1a

ṭāʾ (A) : the sixteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 9, representing a voiceless, unaspirated, dental (dento-alveolar) stop with simultaneous velarisation. X 1a

For ~ in music, → TIK WA-TUM

ṭāʿa (A, pl. *ṭāʿāt*) : in theology, an act of obedience to God, contrasted with *maʿṣiya*, an act of disobedience to God, hence a sin. X 1b

taʿaddī (A) : lit. transgression; in law, tort or negligence. II 105a; XI 22a

In grammar, transitivity. Verbs that are *mutaʿadd* cause the agents to be in the nominative and the verb complements to be in the accusative. X 3b

taʿadjdjub (A) : lit. amazement; in rhetoric, one of the basic effects or aims of the poetic process, especially of imagery. X 4a

taʿāḳul (A) : in law, joint liability by the ʿĀḲILA. I 338a

taʿalluḳ (A), or more often, *taʿalluḳa* : lit. dependence, being related to, dependent on; in late Mug̲h̲al Indian administration, a jurisdiction, fiscal area, from which a fixed amount of taxes was to be collected by a revenue official called TAʿALLUḲDĀR or *taʿalluḳadār*. Distinguished from the older term *zamīndārī*, the ~ did not give its holder feudal rights, and thus the *taʿalluḳdār* ranked lower than the ZAMĪNDĀR. XII 767b

♦ taʿalluḳdār : under the Mug̲h̲als, a term from the late 11th/17th century onwards for a ZAMĪNDĀR who paid revenue not only on his own jurisdiction but also on those of others. XI 439a

ṭaʿām (A) : food, nourishment. X 4b

taʿammul (A) : in rhetoric, artificiality. X 304b

taʿarrub (A) : in earliest Islam, the return (syn. *tabaddā*) to the Arabian desert after emigration, *hid̲j̲ra*, to the garrison towns and participation in the warfare to expand the Islamic empire. X 5a

taʿāruḍ (A) : in law, conflicting possibilities. IX 324b

taʿaṣṣub (A), or *tanaṭṭuʿ*, *tazammut*, *tas̲h̲addud* : fanaticism, rigorism, synonyms of TAṬARRUF. X 372a

taʿaṭṭuf → ʿAṬF

taʿāwun (A) : mutual aid; in the 20th century, ~ took on the meaning of co-operation in all modern senses of the term, with *taʿāwunī* (co-operative), *mutaʿāwin* (co-operator), and *taʿāwuniyya* (co-operativism, principally agricultural), and was applied to the activities and institutions of international co-operation. X 5b

taʿawwudh (A) : the use of the phrase *aʿūdhu bi 'llāhi min*... ('I take refuge from God against...'), syn. *istiʿādha*, and, more specifically, the formula *aʿūdhu bi 'allāhi mina 'l-shayṭāni 'l-radjīm* which is a safeguard against misspeaking, omission of words, and other such mistakes when preceding a Qur'ānic recitation or prayer. Its counterpart is *ṣadaḳa 'llāhu 'l-ʿaẓīm*, which follows any formal recitation. X 5a

taʿayyuf → TAṬAYYUR

tāb-khāne (T) : lodgings for dervishes added on both sides of the prayer hall of a mosque. XII 471a

ṭābaʿ (Mor) : the seal, either on a seal ring or mounted on a stem, until recent times serving for the authentication of official documents. IV 1105b

tabaddā → TAʿARRUB

ṭabāhidja : a dish, one of whose stages of preparation calls for a combination of saffron with honey, nuts, corn starch, pepper and various spices mixed together and added to the pot. XI 381b

ṭabaḳ al-manāṭiḳ (A) : in astronomy, an equatorium designed to determine the position of the planets by manual means; the first reference to such an instrument appears in the work of the Hispano-Arab Azarquiel. IV 703a

ṭābaḳ → RUḲĀḲ

ṭabaḳa (A, pl. *ṭibāḳ*) : in Mamlūk times, the barracks in the Cairo citadel where the Royal Mamlūks were quartered. X 5a; Mamlūk tiered accommodation. IX 792b

In architecture, the most common type of living-unit in a Cairene RABʿ, a kind of duplex with a vestibule, a recess for water jars, a latrine and a main room consisting of a slightly raised ĪWĀN and a DŪRḲĀʿA. An inner staircase led up to a mezzanine, *mustaraḳa*, used for sleeping. Each unit had its own enclosed private roof. A ~ may also be a triplex with an additional room above the mezzanine. VIII 344a; and → ṬABAḲĀT

♦ **ṭabaḳāt** (A, s. *ṭabaḳa*) : in literature, a genre of biographical works arranged according to generation, *ṭabaḳa*; ultimately applied to those which follow alphabetical order. VI 109b; X 7b

tabakkala → TAḤASHSHADA

tabannⁱⁿ (A) : adoption, the giving of one's name to another who does not belong within his 'natural' descendance, which is strictly prohibited in the Qur'ān. XII 768a

ṭabar axe. X 18b

tabardār → BALṬADJĪ

ṭabarī (A) : a green silk brocade, known after their place of production, Ṭabaristān. XII 448b

tabarru' (A, P *tabarrā*) : in Islamic religious polemics, the doctrine of exemption or of disengagement, in particular exemption from responsibility. It developed under the Khāridjites to mean 'to regard as an enemy', and in Ṣafawid Persian of the 10th/16th century it was widely expanded to become an euphemism for insult or execration. X 21a

tabarruk (A) : in mysticism, a casual method of affiliation with an order, little exacting in terms of initiation, which consists of the simple reception of BARAKA conveyed by an initiatory lineage. The modality of ~ allows and explains the practice of multiple affiliation. X 245b

ṭabarzad → SUKKAR

ṭabāshīr (A) : a medicament from the crystalline concretions in the internodes of the bamboo, known as 'bamboo sugar', and consisting of silicic acid, silicates, and carbonate of calcium. X 23a

tabattul (A) : in mysticism, 'consecration to God'. IV 697a; celibacy. IV 1089a

ṭabbākh (A) : professional cook, unlike *ṭāhī* or *shāwī* 'roaster', who was probably a slave and not a professional. X 23b

ṭabbāl (A) : drummer; owner of a drum. X 24a

tabbān (A) : a straw seller. XII 757a

tabdaba → AḲWĀL

tabdīl → TAḤRĪF

tabīʿ (A) : a cow or bull in its second year. XI 412a

tābiʿ (A, pl. TĀBIʿŪN) : follower; and → ITBĀʿ; POSTA; ṢĀḤIB

♦ **tābiʿūn** (A) : the Followers, or Successors, of the Prophet's Companions. A large number of these were contemporaries of the Companions, ṢAḤĀBA; some might even have been alive during the Prophet's lifetime but without satisfying the conditions which would have permitted them to be classed among the *ṣaḥāba*. The last of the ~ died around 180/796. IV 149a; VIII 900a; X 28b

♦ atbāʿ al-tābiʿūn (A) : the Successors of the TĀBIʿŪN. There are no sufficiently precise criteria enabling us to define exactly this group of men. They are essentially the most eminent disciples of the great *tābiʿūn*. The middle of the 3rd/9th century can be taken as their *terminus ad quem*. IV 149a; VIII 900a

ṭābiʿ → TAMGHA

ṭabīʿa (A) : lit. nature, a term of Islamic science, philosophy and theology, usually translated in the context of Aristotle's φύσις and defined as 'the essential first principle of motion and rest'. X 25b

♦ ṭabīʿī (A) : natural (ant. *maṣnūʿ*), XII 769a

♦ **ṭabīʿiyyāt** (A, < *ṭabīʿī*) : the science of physics, or natural sciences. VIII 105b; XII 769a

ṭābil → RUḲĀḲ

ṭabīla → SHAKSHĀK

ṭābīnān → (BĀRGĪR-)SUWĀR

taʿbīr (A) : 'the passage of one thing to another, one sense to another', hence 'explanation', like *tafsīr*, lit. commenting, explaining. In current usage, ~ is confined to the sense of 'interpretation of dreams' (→ TAʿBĪR AL-RUʾYA) while TAFSĪR is used for commentaries on e.g. the Bible and the Qurʾān. XII 770a

♦ **taʿbīr al-ruʾya** (A) : the interpretation of dreams, oneiromancy. XII 770a

tabīra : in music, a drum. X 35a

ṭabkh (A) : the action of cooking either in a pot, by boiling or stewing, or by roasting, broiling, frying or baking. X 30a

ṭabl (A) : the generic name for any member of the drum family. X 32b; or *dawul*, a rather large wooden double-headed drum held slantwise by a strap and beaten with two sticks of uneven dimensions and shape. It was the basic percussion instrument of the Ottoman ensemble, MEHTER. VI 1007b

♦ ṭabl al-baladī → DUHUL

♦ ṭabl al-markab : in music, the mounted drum, probably identical with the *dabdāb*, *dabdaba*, and NAḲḲĀRA. X 35a

♦ **ṭabl-khāna** : lit. drum house; the name given in Islamic lands to the military band and its quarters in camp or town. X 34b

♦ ṭabla → DJARAS

tablīgh (A) : propagating the faith. X 38a

tabriʾa (A) : an Ibāḍī penal sanction (*tebriya*), viz. 'an indemnity paid by the parents of the murderer to those of the victim for continuing to live within the tribe'; a term used for all sorts of declaratory or constitutive acts which absolve from responsibility. I 1026b

tabs̲h̲īr (A) : lit. proclamation, spreading of the good news; in modern works, term for Christian proselytism and the work of missionaries (*mubas̲h̲s̲h̲irūn*) within the Islamic world. XII 772a

♦ tabs̲h̲īriyya (A) : missionary activities. XII 772b

ṭabū (T) : in Ottoman administration, a land register. V 336a

ṭābūn (A), or *ṭābūna* : originally, the cavity in which a fire was made to shelter it from the wind; an oven. II 1059a; a small jar-shaped oven used for baking bread. In Jordan it consists of a small construction in which is placed a sort of cooking-pot, surrounded by embers to cook the dough in the interior. V 42b

ṭabūr (T) : in military usage, a pallisade formed of waggons arranged in a circle or square; a body of troops sent out for reconnaissance; a battalion; a body of about 1,000 men commanded by a BIÑBAS̲H̲Ï. X 51a

tābūt (A) : coffin. I 200a; XII 503a; the Ark in biblical times. X 168b; 'water-screw', a kind of hydraulic machine for irrigating the fields, in use in Egypt from the times of the Ptolemys until the present. It consists of a wooden cylinder (about 6-9 feet in length) hooped with iron. While the spiral pipe is fixed between the inside wall of the ~ and an iron axis, its upper extremity is bent into a crank and its lower end turns on a stake set under the water. One or two peasants crouch at the water's edge, endlessly turning the crank handle. The water rises from bend to bend in the spiral pipe until it flows out at the mouth of the canal. V 864a

In law, the orphan's property deposited in the s̲h̲arīʿa court. XI 300a

tabwīb (A) : in the science of Tradition, the bringing together of material in chapters under certain subject headings. X 80a

ṭābya (A) : in architecture, 'cobwork', a technique by which earth with which chalk and crushed baked earth or broken stones are often mixed is rammed between two boards, kept parallel by beams. The wall is plastered over, often in such a way as to simulate joints of heavy bond-work beneath. When this plaster falls, the regularly spaced holes left by the beams become visible. Cobwork was general in the Muslim West in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. I 1226b

tabyīt (A) : in religious law, each day of fasting. IX 94b

taḍabbaba (A), also *taḥallama, ig̲h̲tāla* : in the terminology of childhood, a verb which expresses the stage when a child becomes fat. VIII 822a

taḍādd → ṬIBĀḲ

taḍammun (A) : in literary criticism, 'implication', that is, 'house' denotes a ceiling, one of a threefold system of denotation outlined by al-Zand̲j̲ānī, along with MUṬĀBAḲA 'congruence' and *iltizām* 'concomitance'. XII 655a

tadāris → TADRĪS

tadāwul (A) : a mode of transmission. IX 455b

tadbīd̲j̲ (A) : 'brocading', in rhetoric, a subcategory of ṬIBĀḲ 'antithesis', a separate figure based on the use of various colours in one line. X 451a

tadbīr (A) : when used synonymously with SIYĀSA, ~ means government, administration; in the phrase ~ *al-manzil*, ~ is used to mean administration or management of a household. ~ *al-manzil* 'economics' is one of the three subdivisions of practical philosophy in the Hellenistic tradition. X 52b

In law, a grant of enfranchisement which takes effect upon the master's death. The S̲h̲āfiʿī school also applies it to an enfranchisement to take effect from a date after the master's death. A slave freed thus is *mudabbar*. I 30a; X 53a

taḍhiya (A) : the act of displaying; in the Qur'ānic story of the creation, the spreading out of the earth. IV 984b

tadhkira (A, pl. *tadhākīr*) : memorandum, or aide-mémoire. I 80a; X 53b

In the science of diplomatic, orders laid down for the higher officials, ambassadors, and commanders of fortresses, chiefly concerned with income and expenditure. I 304a

In Arabic literature, ~ represents two different genres of text presentation: handbooks and notebooks. X 53b

In Persian literature, a 'memorial' of the poets, a genre characterised by a combination of biography and anthology. VII 529b; X 53b

In older Turkish literature, a genre of works treating the lives of holy men and great ṣūfīs. V 193a; X 54b

tadhyīl (A) : in prosody, a deviation in the metre because of the addition of a quiescent consonant to the *watid madjmūʿ* (→ AWTĀD), thus *mustafʿilun* becomes *mustafʿilān*. I 672a

taḍʿīf (A) : in mathematics, the term for duplation. III 1139b

taʿdīl (A) : in law, the attestation of the ʿADĀLA of a witness; the procedure for substantiating the *ʿadāla* is also known as ~ , or TAZKIYA. I 209b

In the science of Tradition, the testing and verification procedure traditionally required at the outset of all transmitters. VIII 900b

In astronomy, correction or equation (pl. *taʿādīl*), applied to mean positions of the sun, moon and planets to derive the true positions, as in *taʿdīl al-shams* 'the solar equation' and **taʿdīl al-zamān** (or *taʿdīl al-ayyām bi-layālīhā*) 'the equation of time'. IX 292a ff.; X 55a,b; XI 503b

♦ **al-taʿdīl bayn al-saṭrayn** (A) : lit. correcting between the two lines, an expression used in mathematics and mathematical astronomy for interpolation. X 55b

tādj (A, < P; pl. *tīdjān*) : crown, an object, like the name, that came from old Persia. X 57b; during the caliphate, one of the caliphal insignia, not a crown per se but an elaborate turban wound in a particuar fashion. VI 850a; and → ʿARAḲIYYA

In zoology, the name given to the comb of a cock and similar birds; X 58b

In astronomy, ~ *al-saʿdān* is used for Saturn (*zuḥal*) and ~ *al-djabbār* is a star near Orion. X 58a,b

tadja → TAʿZIYA

tadjaʿfara (A) : to convert to Imāmism. IX 116b

tadjallī (A) : in mysticism, the manifestation of God to a person at the time of Judgement and then in Paradise, used first ca. 180/796 by Rabāḥ b. ʿAmr al-Ḳaysī. The ~ consists of MUKĀSHAFA 'unveiling', which allows divine light to 'irradiate' the heart. X 60b

tadjānus (A) : in rhetoric, paronomasia. VIII 614b

tadjdīd (A) : renewal, both in terms of renewal of the religion and of the Arab Muslim world in its confrontation with the West. X 61b

tādjīk (P) : term used to designate the Persians, as opposed to the Turks. By the 19th century, ~ was sometimes used to denote the Eastern Iranian peoples, as distinct from the Persians proper of central and western Persia; hence its usage in the designation of Tajikistan set up in 1924. X 62a; in China, ~ almost exclusively means speakers of Iranian Pamir languages in Xinjiang, in particular, speakers of Sarikulī. X 64a

tādjir (A) : a merchant, trader; the cognomen of *al-Tādjir* was known for merchants who traded outside their own towns or lands on a large scale. X 67a; and → ḤAWĀNTĪ

taʿdjīra (Tun) : a large embroidered shawl, worn by women in Tunisia. V 746b

tadjmīr (A) : in early military and administrative usage, 'keeping the troops quartered on distant frontiers, far away from their families'. X 67a

tadjnīs (A) : in prosody, paronomasia. IX 462b; X 67b

♦ tadjnīs ishtiķāķ (A) : 'figura etymologica', in prosody, the accumulation of a number of forms from the same verbal root in the same line of a poem. VIII 577b; X 67bff.

♦ tadjnīs tāmm (A) : in rhetoric, a pair of utterances within a line or colon, which are semantically different but phonetically identical. X 67b; and → TĀMM

tadjrīd (A) : abstraction. X 365b; X 932b

tadjwīd (A) : lit. to make better; the art of reciting the Qur'ān; the orthoepic rules of Qur'ān reading (ĶIRĀ'A; *tilāwa*), concerning pausal location (*waķf*) and division of verses. IX 365b; X 72b

tadjzi'a (A) : specialisation. X 935b

tadlīs (A, < L *dolus*) : 'concealing defects', a term of Islamic law used in both the law of sale and contract ('misrepresentation' in English common law, syn. TAGHRĪR) and in the science of Tradition, where the defect may consist in pretending to have heard a Tradition from a contemporary when that is not so (*tadlīs al-isnād*), or in calling one's authority by an unfamiliar ISM, KUNYA or NISBA (*tadlīs al-shuyūkh*), or in omitting a weak transmitter who comes between two sound ones (*tadlīs al-taswiya*). III 26a; VIII 421a, X 77a,b

taḍmīn (A) : lit. inclusion; in prosody, 'quotation', a rhetorical figure where a poem by another author is taken as the basis and inserted in one's own poem to obtain humorous effects (related terms are *isti'āna* 'seeking help' and *īdā'* 'depositing'). III 355a; V 960b; X 78b; also 'enjambement', a defect of the rhyme, occurring when one line runs into another in such a way that the end of the line only makes complete sense when we add the beginning of the next. IV 413a; X 79a

In rhetoric, implication. VIII 614b; X 79a

tadrīs (A) : in classical and mediaeval periods, the teaching of the religious law, *fiķh*; when combined with a qualifying phrase, ~ could be used with regard to instruction in other subjects, e.g. ~ *al-tafsīr* 'teaching Qur'ānic exegesis'. ~ came to signify the office of professorship, not merely a profession, a reification that is reflected in the use of the plural *tadāris* indicating separate professorships in different fields. Other terms for the transmission of knowledge were the relatively uncommon *taṣdīr* for instruction generally and *ta'līm*, which usually referred to instruction at a basic level. In contemporary usage, ~ is less specified (→ MUDARRIS). X 80a,b

tadwīn (A) : in the science of Tradition, the collecting of traditions in writing in order to derive legal precepts from them and not as a mere memory aid, for which *kitābat al-'ilm* or *kitābat al-ḥadīth* was used. X 81a

In administration, the drawing up of lists. X 81a

In literature, the gathering of poetry of a certain poet or tribe. X 81a

tadwīr (A) : in astronomy, an epicycle, embedded within the deferent, that contained the actual planet, one of three postulated solid rotating orbs to bring about a planet's observed motions. XI 555a; and → IDRĀDJ; TAḤĶĪĶ

taḍyīķ (A): in literary theory, a term invented by al-Suyūṭī, according to his own testimony, for devices and artifices such as the avoidance of pointed or unpointed letters or alternating such letters from word to word, the avoidance of labials, the inclusion of a certain letter in every word of the line, the use of all letters of the alphabet in one line, etc. V 841a

tafarnudj (A, P *gharbzada[gī]*, T *alafranga[lik]* 'West-struck[ness]) : lit. adopting, imitating or aping the manners and customs of Europeans, used by the journalist Khalīl al-Khūrī in 1860 but may be older. X 81b

tafarrudj (A, T *teferrüdj*) : in Ottoman guilds, a ceremony, wherein the master awarded his pupil with an apron, once he was qualified in his craft. IX 646a

tafāwut-i ʿamal (P) : under the Ḳād̲j̲ārs, a sum levied by the provincial governors in addition to the regular tax assessment, for the expenses of the administration; it was abolished by the newly convened National Assembly in 1907. II 152b

tafḍīl (A) : lit. superiority, the act of raising something to a higher level or degree.

In grammar, the elative, the raising of a quality to a degree combining both the comparative and the superlative functions of European adjectives. X 82a

ṭaff (A) : an area raised above the surrounding country or fringe, edge, bank. X 82a

tafih → MALĪK̲H̲

tafʿīl → WAZN

♦ tafʿīla (A) : in metrics, the constituent metrical foot. XII 482b

taʿfīn → TAKWĪN

tafk̲h̲īm (A) : in grammar, velarisation. A letter that is velarised is called *mufak̲h̲k̲h̲am.* VIII 343a; IX 96a; X 83a

ṭafra (A) : lit. leap or impulsive movement; in philosophy, a term in the anti-atomistic theory of al-Naẓẓām, who argued that it is possible to move over a distance without going through all the parts of the distance, by leaping over those parts. V 385a; X 83b

tāfrūt → S̲H̲AWKA

tafsīr (A) : exegetic interpretation; commentary on the Qur'ān. I 410a; IV 147a; VII 361a; IX 320a; X 83a; also used for commentaries on Greek scientific and philosophical works, being equivalent to S̲H̲ARḤ, while Jews and Christians writing in Arabic also use ~ in the context of translations and commentaries on the Bible. X 83b

tāfta (P, > It *taffeta*, Ger *Taft*) : a silk cloth of technically simple plain or tabby weave, usually dyed in one colour only with a soft shimmering appearance, used mainly in dress in Persia and Turkey from the 16th century onwards. X 88a

tafwīḍ (A) : a theological doctrine, according to which God had entrusted the care of the worldly creation to the IMĀMS. I 304b; the principle of 'leaving it to God' to elucidate through scripture. I 411a

In the science of diplomatic, ~ was the grade of appointment applied to supreme ḲĀḌĪS, used in Mamlūk times only. II 303a

tafwīḳ (A) : in archery, nocking. This consists of bracing the arrow's nock (*fūḳ*) on the binding of the bow-string. There must be no play there, so that when the archer draws back the arrow, together with the bow-string, he accompanies the latter in its rearwards path to the chosen anchorage-point. IV 800b

tagg → ṬAḲṬŪḲA

taggalt (Touareg) : in Touareg society, the bride-price, paid by the groom-to-be's father to the bride's father. X 380a

tag̲h̲azzul (T) : in Turkish prosody, the section of the ḲAṢĪDA which embraces subjects more often found in a G̲H̲AZAL, such as love or wine. IV 715b

tag̲h̲bīr (A) : cantillation (of the Qur'ān). II 1073b

ṭāg̲h̲iya (A) : a tyrant. IV 839b

tag̲h̲rīr (A) : fraud, deception; in law, a fraudulent action (by a *g̲h̲ārr*) that takes place against a second person who buys or enters into a contract. X 77b, X 93a

ṭāg̲h̲ūt (A, pl. *ṭawāg̲h̲īt*) : in pre- and early Islamic usage, the pre-Islamic deities like al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā, later applied to Satan, sorcerer and rebel, and to any power opposed to that of Islam. X 93b

As a legal term in Yemen, ~ was used to refer to the customary law of the tribes, at times in distinction to *s̲h̲arʿ al-manʿ*, customary tribal law that was compatible with the s̲h̲arīʿa. VI 473b; X 94a

ṭag̲h̲w (A) : mountain peak, any high place. X 93a

tag̲h̲yīr → NAHY

tagor → TAGRA

tagra : a leather bucket for drawing water in Tagorri, the ʿAfar dialect of Tadjura, which name is derived from the plural, *tagor*. X 71b

tāgulmust (Touareg) : the famous headveil with which the Touareg man covers his entire face except for the eyes. X 379b

ṭā-hā (A) : two isolated letters at the head of sura XX in the Qurʾān, taken to mean either an imperative (from the root *w-ṭ-ʾ*) or from a proper name. Muslim Tradition has from the 3rd/9th century made Ṭā-hā one of the names of the Prophet, and from the 4th/10th century mystics see in Ṭā-hā the purity (*ṭahāra*) and rectitude (*ihtidāʾ*) of the heart of the Prophet. X 1b

tahadjdjud (A) : sleep; to be awake, to keep a vigil, to perform the night ṢALĀT or the nightly recitation of the Qurʾān. X 97b

taḥallama → TAḌABBABA

taham (A), and *tihāma* : 'land descending to the sea'. X 481b

tahammul (A) : in law, the 'acceptance of responsibility'. I 339a

taḥammus → ḤUMS

taḥannuth (A, < Heb) : a form of religious devotion, in which Muḥammad is said to have been engaged one month each year in a cave on Ḥirāʾ. III 166a; III 462a, X 98b; it has been hypothesised also that ~ is the condition one assumes in law when one is liable (*ḥānith*) to fulfill a binding vow, and thus that ~ when referring to the Prophet reflects the idea that he had made a vow to enter a period of retreat. X 99a

ṭahār (A) : the name in Mecca for the rite of circumcision. V 20b

ṭahāra (A) : ritual purity, a necessary condition for the valid performance of prayer. III 647a; X 99a

♦ ṭahāra ḥaḳīḳiyya (A) : 'real' ritual purity, attained by the elimination of any blemish from the body, the clothing and the place. VIII 929a

♦ ṭahāra ḥukmiyya (A) : 'prescribed' ritual purity, attained by WUḌŪʾ or by GHUSL. VIII 929a

taḥashshada (A) : a term used by al-Hamdānī in the 4th/10th century for members of the tribal group of Bakīl transferring their allegiance to the tribal group of Ḥāshid (ant. *tabakkala*). III 259b

taḥaykt → ḤĀʾIK

taḥayyur (A) : 'ravishment', the name given by the mystical order ʿĪsāwā to the ecstatic dancing practiced as a form of invoking God. It is also called *ḥayra* or *idjdhāb*. IV 95a; and → RABBĀNĪ

taḥbīs (A) : in law, the process by means of which during his lifetime someone renounces ownership of property and such property remains permanently withdrawn from any commercial transaction and is converted from an item of personal estate to the real estate of a family or an institution. XI 75a

taḥdjīr (A) : 'delimitation'; in law, the defining of the limits of MAWĀT land by e.g. setting stones along the length of each boundary in order to fix the extreme limits of the area to be brought into use. III 1054a

ṭaḥḥān (A) : miller, owner and operator of a mill (→ ṬĀḤŪN) to grind wheat and other grains to produce flour. X 102a

♦ ṭaḥḥāna (A) : an animal-powered mill. In contemporary Egyptian usage, a grinder (~ *filfil* 'pepper grinder'). X 114b

ṭāhī → ṬABBĀKH

ṭāhir → NADJIS

♦ ṭāhirī → KĀGHAD

taḥḳīḳ (A) : in Qurʾānic recitation, the term for slow recitation, slower than *tartīl*, which is the ideal form, and used principally in learning and practising. Medium-paced recitation is known as *tadwīr*, whereas rapid recitation is called *ḥadr*, generally reserved for private use. V 128a; X 73b; and → MALĀMIYYA

taḥkīm (A) : in law, arbitration (→ ḤAKAM). Historically, ~ refers to the arbitration that took place between ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Muʿāwiya. X 107a

tahlīl (A) : the saying of the formula *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, the first element of the SHAHĀDA. X 108a; jubilation at seeing the new moon (*hilāl*). X 108a

taḥlīl (A) : the process by which something is made ḤALĀL 'permissible', e.g. in law, the intervening marriage, frequently for a reward, made for the sole purpose of allowing a thrice-divorced couple to remarry. The man who undertakes ~ is called *muḥallil.* X 154b

ṭahmal (A) : in zoology, a silurus, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Pimelopterus tahmel*). VIII 1021b

taḥmīd (A) : : the saying of the praise formula *al-ḥamdu-li 'llāh.* V 425b

taḥnīk → ḤANAK

taḥnīṭ (A) : to prepare a corpse for burial with embalming substances. X 111a

taḥrīf (A) : change, alteration, forgery; used with regard to words and more specifically with regard to what Jews and Christians are supposed to have done to their respective scriptures (syn. *tabdīl*). X 111a

taḥrīr (A) : land census; survey. VIII 291a; VIII 419a; revision of a text, even 'edition', ~ refers to the elements of a text or commentary which have been chosen for comment, clarification or correction. IX 320a

In Ottoman administration, a technical term for the tax registers for the most part compiled during the 15th-16th centuries, mainly designed to keep track of that part of Ottoman state revenue which did not reach the central treasury, but was assigned locally. The most extensive form of ~ was the *defter-i mufaṣṣal*, which contained an enumeration of taxpayers listed by settlement and taxes due. X 112b

♦ taḥrīrī (A) : 'epistolary'; in calligraphy, a name given to a more simple form of the SHIKASTA *nastaʿlīḳ* script and used for writing letters and taking notes. IV 1124b

taḥrīsh (A) : inciting (animals) against each other, forbidden by the Prophet as gambling. V 109a

taḥṣīl (A) : in Indo-Muslim usage, in the British Indian provinces of Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces, the collection of revenue and, thence, the administrative area from which this taxation was collected. The official in charge was the *taḥṣīldār.* X 113a; and → AHLIYYA

taḥsīn wa-taḳbīḥ (A) : 'determining something to be good or repellent'; in theology, a phrase referring to the controversy over the sources of the moral assessment of acts. X 114a

ṭāḥūn (A) : mill; a small domestic grinding mill for use in a kitchen, though *ḥāwūn* 'mortar' was more commonly used. X 114b

♦ ṭāḥūna (A) : general word for mill, as well as watermill. In contemporary Egyptian usage, variously grist mill, windmill, and, in the expression *ṭaḥūnit bunn*, coffee grinder. X 114b; in Muslim Spain, a horse-driven mill. I 492a

taḥwīf → ḤAWFĪ

taḥwīl (A) : in Ottoman administration, the annual renewal of the diplomas of the governors of provinces, of the brevets of the MOLLĀs or judges in towns of the first class (~), and of the brevets of the timariots or holders of military fiefs. This task was carried out by an office in the chancellery. VIII 482a

In dating, the 'changing' of one tax year to another. X 263

tahyast (Touareg) : a simple camel saddle, with a pommel in the form of a rectangular batten, used by the Touareg of the Sahara. III 667a

ṭā'if → RAHĪSH

♦ **ṭā'ifa** (A, pl. *ṭawā'if*), or *ṭāyfā* : a group, party, company of men; a professional or trade group, corporation (syn. *ṣinf*); a religious or sectarian group, whence ṬĀ'IFIYYA 'confessionalism'. X 116a; a tribe, tribal section. IX 221b; IX 245b; and → ṢAFF

♦ ṭā'ifat al-ḳawm (A), or in short *al-ṭā'ifa* or *al-ḳawm* : 'the group of the men of God', a designation favoured by ṣūfīs for themselves. X 114b

♦ ṭā'ifat al-ru'asā (A) : a guild of corsair captains which, for three centuries, furnished the Algerian treasury with the greater part of its resources. I 368a

ṭā'ifiyya (A) : confessionalism, sectarianism; the system of proportional political power-sharing between different religious groups practiced in Lebanon since the French mandate. X 115a

ṭā'ir (A), or *al-ṭayr* : any being or thing which is able to live or to fly above the ground level. X 117b; in astronomy, al-Ṭā'ir denotes the Swan, the 20th northern constellation (syn. DAḎJĀḎJA), and the star Altaïr, sc. α *Aquilae*. X 117b

♦ ṭayr al-abābīl (A) : mentioned in Q 105:3 as having pelted the army of Abraha when it was attacking Mecca, thought to be either swifts (*Apus apus*), swallows (*Hirundo rustica*) or bats. X 117b

♦ ṭayr al-ʿarāḳib (A) : in zoology, all birds of bad omen, such as the green woodpecker, *sharakraḳ* (*Picus viridis*). X 117b

♦ ṭayr al-ḏjamal (A) : in zoology, the ostrich. X 117b

♦ ṭayr al-ḥarrāth (A) : in zoology, the lapwing, seagull. X 117b

♦ ṭayr al-layl (A) : in zoology, the screech-owl. X 117b; and → WAṬWĀṬ

♦ ṭayr al-mā' (A) : in zoology, the waterfowl. I 1152b; X 117b

♦ ṭayr al-Sulaymān (A) : in zoology, the hoopoe (*Upupa epops*). X 117b

♦ ṭayr al-timsāḥ (A) : in zoology, the Egyptian plover (*Plavianus aegyptius*), also known as *saḳsāḳ, zaḳzāḳ* or *tawram*. X 117b; X 510a

♦ ṭayra (A), or *murḏjān* : in ichthyology, the *Myripristis*, a small fish of the Mediterranean and Red Sea. X 117b

ṭāḳ (A) : arcade. IX 409a; arch. XII 757a; a green *ṭaylasān*, a name of very rare occurrence. X 614b

taḳaddum (A) : in philosophy, the absolute anteriority of God. IX 382a

takāfu' (A) : 'balancing', the term used by Ḳudāma for antithesis (ṬIBĀḲ), a rather idiosyncratic usage and much talked about in later sources. Strangely, however, ~ was revitalised later by some to denote a specific type of *ṭibāḳ*, one in which one term or both terms of the antithesis are figurative. X 450b

takāful (A) : in finance, insurance. XII 691b

taḳālīd (A, s. TAḲLĪD) : the ensemble of inherited folk traditions and practices, popular customs and manners, and folklore in general, although the loanword from English *fulklūr* is often used, especially for the discipline and its study at large. In recent years also, the term al-turāth al-shaʿbī 'folk inheritance' is being used to denote the common Arabic heritage of popular culture. XII 774b

takalluf (A) : in rhetoric, constraint. X 304b

taḳammuṣ → TANĀSUKH

takārir → FALLĀTA

takārna → FALLĀTA

taḳashshuf (A) : the mortification of the flesh. XI 560a

taḳāwī (Egy) : seed (for sowing). IV 1032b

takayda (Tun) : a pointed woman's bonnet in Tunisia. V 746b

taḳāzīḥ (A) : 'showing the colours of the rainbow'. IV 804b

taḳbīl (A) : kissing or touching (*istilām*) the Black Stone of the Kaʿba, part of the ancient pagan custom. X 376a; the kissing of the carpet on coming face-to-face with the sovereign. IV 940b; and → ḲABĀLA

takbīr (A) : the saying of the formula *allāhu akbar*. X 119b

♦ takbīr al-iḥrām : the TAKBĪR with which the ritual prayer begins, and which puts the worshipper into a temporary state of special relationship with God. III 1053a; VIII 929a, X 119b

taḳdīr (A) : predestination. VIII 125b

In grammar, the imaginary utterance a speaker intends when he says something else, e.g. when saying 'Zayd is in the house' (*Zayd fī' l-dār*) the speaker intends 'Zayd has made his abode in the house' (*Zayd istaḳarra fī 'l-dār*); the latter is termed ~ , also *muḍmar (fī 'l-niyya)* 'concealed (in the mind)' or *muḳaddar* 'intended'. X 119b

In land management and taxation, the process of estimating the amount or value of a crop (syn. *takhmīn*). X 122a

takfīr (A) : the act of identifying someone as a KĀFIR 'unbeliever' or, when born a Muslim, 'apostate'. IX 118a; X 122a

takfīt (A) : in art, inlay in metal (syn. *taṭʿīm*), a technique by which the artist enriches a metal object by overlaying parts of its surface with patterns formed from wires or sheets of a different metal, popular after the 6th/12th century. V 986a

takhalkhul (A) : brittleness (of a gem). XI 570a

takhalluṣ (A) : in onomastics, and particularly in Persian literature, the pen-name adopted by a poet or writer. IV 181a; X 123a

In prosody, the section of the ḲAṢĪDA, in Persian prosody also called *gurīzgāh* and *makhlaṣ*, where the poet turns from the prologue to subsequent themes, esp. the panegyric. It is often called the *khurūdj* 'exit'. IV 57b; X 123a

♦ ḥusn al-takhalluṣ : 'good transition', an artifice used in poetry to effect a formal fusion of heterogeneous motifs. IX 452a

takhathʿama (A) : 'to smear oneself with blood', as on the occasion of a pact of alliance among tribes. IV 1106a

takhayyur (A) : in law, an 'eclectic' expedient used as a basis for reform. X 155a; X 161b

takhfīf (A) : lit. weakening; in grammar, ~ *al*-HAMZA are all the accidents that can befall the *hamza*, such as the *hamza bayna bayna*; the phonetic change of *hamza* into another articulation; and the suppression of *hamza*. III 151a

takhmīn → TAḲDĪR

takhmīs (A, pl. *takhāmīs*) : in prosody, the amplification of poetry that involves the addition of three hemistichs to each BAYT of a given poem; the rhyme letter of the added hemistichs is determined by the first hemistich of each successive *bayt*. This extra material usually precedes the original *bayt*; less commonly the *bayt* may be split and filled, which process is called *tashṭīr*. If the number of added hemistichs is more or less than three, the term for the poem is variously *tarbīʿ* (2 added hemistichs), *tasbīʿ* (5 added hemistichs), etc. VII 661a; IX 243b; X 123b

In North Africa, the taking of Berber captives for the service of the state, such slaves being termed *akhmās*. XII 533a

takhṣiṣ (A) : the principle in which a particular prescription is preferred to a general prescription. The 'particulariser' was called *mukhaṣṣiṣ* or *dalīl al-~* . IV 256a; X 867a

takht (P) : in the Tīmūrid period, a pavilion with a view. IX 46a; and → SARĪR

♦ **takht-i ṭāwūs** (P) : the Peacock Throne, a name given to various highly-decorated and much bejewelled royal thrones in the Eastern Islamic world. X 125a

takhtadjī (T, < *takhta* 'wood') : lit. one who works in woods and forests, woodcutter, sawyer; the name of one of the Turkish nomadic groups of Anatolia. X 125b

takhṭīṭ al-ḥudūd (A) : lit. delimiting boundaries or frontiers, in modern Arabic usage. X 126b

takhyil (A) : lit. creating an image or an illusion; in literary theory, ~ is a kind of make-believe in the form of giving, to a fact stated in the poem, a fantastic interpretive twist which on the surface explains and supports that fact, but on closer inspection turns out to be an illusion. It was first identified by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, who contrasted these phantasmagorical poetic notions (*maʿānī takhyīliyya*) with realistic commonsensical ones (*maʿānī ʿaḳliyya*). X 129a; XII 653a; and → ISTIʿĀRA; TAWRITA
In logic, the 'evocation of images of things in the minds of listeners by means of figurative language'. X 129b; and → MUḤĀKĀT
In rhetoric, 'giving the impression of praising while one is lampooning and vice versa', as used by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī. X 132a

taʿḳīd (A) : in rhetoric, obscurity. V 898b

takīn → TIGIN

takiya (P), or *Ḥusayniyya* : a special, usually temporary, structure built for the staging of shīʿī passion plays. The ~ is a theatre-in-the-round with a stark, curtainless, raised platform as a stage, which is surrounded by a broad circular strip covered by sand, used for battles of foot and on horseback among other uses. X 406b

takiyya (A) : a hospice. X 635a

taḳiyya (A) : the precautionary dissimulation of one's faith, characteristic of shīʿism, and dispensing with the ordinances of religion in cases of constraint and when there is a possibility of harm. I 1099a; IX 422b; X 134b

ṭāḳiyya (A, < P; pl. *ṭawāḳī*) : the common skull cap worn, in the Arab East, by both sexes alone or under the headdress. Originally a round cap with flat top in various colours, worn without the turban-cloth, under al-Nāṣir Faradj it was extended in height and swollen out like a cupola. In more recent times ~ has been used as a synonym for ʿARAḲIYYA. V 741b; X 614b; and → ʿATABA

taḳlīd (A) : 'imitation'; in law, the unquestioning acceptance of the doctrines of established schools and authorities. A person bound to practise ~ is called *muḳallid*. II 890a; III 1026b; IX 324b; X 137a
In theology, imitation of the Prophet, of his Companions and their pious successors. I 1039a; III 1173b
In the science of diplomatic, ~ was a grade of appointment for high officials such as WAZĪRs and ḲĀḌĪs, although under the Mamlūks it was restricted to very special high officials such as the confidential secretary, *kātib al-sirr*. II 303a
In numismatics, counterfeit (with *muḳallad* 'counterfeited'). X 409b
♦ taḳlīd-i sayf (A, T *ḳilic kushatmasi*) : in Ottoman ceremonial, the girding of the sword, which signified the actual accession to rule of the sultan, in lieu of a coronation in Western style. According to tradition, this took place for the first time in 1421 when Murād II was girded. VI 530b

taklīf (A, pl. *takālīf*) : in theology, the fact of an imposition on the part of God of obligations on his creatures. The person who is governed by this is *mukallaf*. X 138b; the doctrine of individual responsibility. I 272a
In law, every individual who has at his disposal the full and entire scope of the law. X 138b
In Ottoman administration, *teklīf* (pl. **tekālīf**) was used synonymously with RESM 'taxes and dues introduced by the state'. VIII 486a; X 412b
♦ tekālīf-i fewḳalʿāde : 'extraordinary taxes', distinguished from *tekālīf-i sherʿiyye*, canonical taxes in accordance with the sharīʿa. The former could include *ʿörfī* taxes, those imposed by the sultan and his servants according to custom, also called ʿAWĀRIḌ. X 412b
♦ tekālīf-i shāḳḳa : 'onerous exactions', in Ottoman administration, exactions taken illegally by local authorities. VIII 486b; X 412b

ṭaḳm (A) : in music, a set of flutes. XII 667a; and → FUSTĀN

takmīl (A) : lit. completion; among the *fityān* (→ FATĀ), full initiation, symbolised by the putting on of ritual trousers (*sirwāl*, P *s̲h̲alwar*). IX 167a

♦ takmila (A) : the continuation of an original work, expressing the idea of completion, becoming the latter's perfection. Works bearing this title are fairly late. IX 604a

taḳnīn (A) : in law, the codification of the s̲h̲arīʿa. X 353a

taḳrīb (A) : 'rapprochement', a term widely used to designate an ecumenical trend within modern Islam in general and a movement towards reconciliation between sunnī and s̲h̲īʿī Muslims in particular. X 139b

takrīr → ṢIFĀT AL-ḤURŪF

taḳrīr (A) : remarks on a text. IX 320a

In the science of diplomatic, the documents (diplomatic notes) presented to the Ottoman government by members of the foreign diplomatic corps. II 314a

In Ottoman administration, reports, e.g. those presented to the sultan by the grand vizier acting as representative of the government. VIII 481b

In taxation matters, liability. IV 1038b

taḳrīẓ (A) : lit. the act of praising; in mediaeval literature, a minor genre, tending to be formulaic in form and style, which consisted of statements praising the virtues of a particular work, some composed after the death of the author of the work in question but probably for the most part composed at the time of the work's appearance with the aim of advertising it. XII 781a

taḳsīm (A, pl. *taḳāsīm*) : in music, a solo melodic modal improvisation entrusted to an instrumentalist, played in the eastern Arab countries and Turkey. The corresponding North African genre is called *istik̲h̲bār*. In Ottoman court music of the 15th and 16th centuries, ~ was given to the initial section of vocal forms of the NAWBA repertoire. VI 97a; X 143a; XII 667b

taḳsīra (A) : a short-sleeved jacket worn by both sexes in Syria and Palestine. V 742a

taḳsīṭ (A) : in early Islamic financial administration, the allocation or distribution amongst the taxpayers of the global amount of taxation due (syn. *ḳasṭ, ḳisṭ*), or the instalments by which it was paid. X 144a

ṭaḳṭaḳa → ṬAḲṬŪḲA

taḳṭīʿ → WAZN

taḳṭīr (A) : in pharmacology, distillation. XII 550b

ṭaḳṭūḳa (A) : in music, a form of strophic song in Egyptian colloquial Arabic. It is unclear whether it has anything to do with *ṭaḳṭaḳa*, a manner of singing to accompaniment of a wand in the 11th and 12th centuries, or to a traditional Egyptian Bedouin song called *tagg*, which is accompanied by the beating of two sticks. X 144a

ṭaḳūk → WĀḲWĀḲ

taḳwā (A) : in religion and mysticism, fear of God, or godliness, devoutness, piety, pious abstinence, etc. XI 141b; XII 781b

taḳwīm (A, pl. *taḳāwīm*) : tabular form of almanac data. X 146b; a retrospective calendar of events. X 291a; in astronomy, annual ephemeris, with information of the true positions of the sun, planets and moon, from which one could determine the position of the seven celestial bodies relative to each other. X 145a

takwīn (A) : 'bringing into being', the artificial generation of minerals, plants and animals; in the case of plants and animals, the process is often called *tawlīd*, and Ibn Waḥs̲h̲iyya also gives *taʿfīn* 'putrefaction'. X 147a

In Ibn Sīnā, ~ is the production, with an intermediary, of corruptible beings. III 664b

tāl (H) : in Indian music, a cyclic time-measure punctuated by a stress pattern which is marked on a pair of drums. III 454a

ṭalā (A) : in the terminology of childhood, 'the youngling of any kind; an infant until a month old or more' (Lane). VIII 821b

ṭala'a → ITHTHAGHARA
talaḥḥī (A) : with *iltiḥā*, a rare synonym for the *taḥnīk*, or way the turban-cloth is brought under the chin (→ ḤANAK). X 614b
ṭalāḳ (A) : in law, repudiation of the wife by the husband, by way of the simple unilateral declaration *anti ṭāliḳ*. I 27b; II 836b; III 949b; IV 689a; X 151a; and → TA'LIḲ-ṬALĀḲ
♦ ṭalāḳ al-bid'a : in law, the triple repudiation of the wife in one saying. XI 478b
♦ ṭalāḳ radj'ī : in law, a revocable repudiation. XII 644a
♦ ṭalāḳ al-tafwīḍ : in law, the right of the wife to divorce the husband. I 172b
tālār (P) : in architecture, a flat-roofed portico. I 616a; (*ṭālār*) a colonnaded verandah associated with private dwellings, where it usually provided an open and sheltered vista toward an enclosed garden, pool, or courtyard that served as the physical centre of domestic space. VIII 789a; a pillared hall known from Achmaenid times and adopted during the Ṣafawid period for audience halls. XII 457b
talāthama (A) : to kiss one another. V 770a
talā'um (A) : in rhetoric, euphony. VIII 614b
talawwun → ḤIRBĀ'
talbīna (A) : a dish similar to *ḥarīra*, a gruel made from flour cooked with milk, but eaten at funeral meals by pre-Islamic Arabs. II 1059a; VII 908b
talbīs (A) : in mysticism, the practice of 'concealing, changing the guise of something to make it appear other than it is'. XII 752b
talbiya (A) : the invocation made in a loud voice and repeatedly by the pilgrim upon entering the state of ritual taboo for the Pilgrimage at Mecca. X 160a
taldji'a (A), or **ildjā'** : lit. putting under protection; in the first three or four centuries of Islam, the practice of the 'commending' by an inferior to a superior of a possession of which the former remains the legal owner but for which, by virtue of a tacit agreement, the latter is to be responsible vis-à-vis the administrative authority and more particularly the tax authorities. III 394a; III 1113a
In law, a fictitious sale resorted to by a person who wishes to protect his possessions from possible confiscation. III 394a; III 1113a
talfīḳ (A) : in law, a patchwork approach to the juristic tradition, by bringing together certain elements of two or more doctrines in such a manner as to create therefrom yet another, different doctrine. IX 325b; X 161a
In literary criticism, the knitting together of two independent motifs. XII 709a
ṭalḥ (A) : in botany, a variety of acacia (*Acacia seyal*). I 168b; X 757b
ṭalī (A, pl. *ṭulyān*) : a young lamb. I 541a
tālī (A) : lit. follower; in Druze hierarchy, the Left Wing, the fifth of the five cosmic ranks in the organisation. II 632a
In horse-racing, the name for the sixth horse in a horse-race, according to the order of finishing. II 953a
In logic and arithmetic, the portion following the MUḲADDAM, i.e. the second of two numbers in a proportion. VII 492a
ṭāli' (A) : lit. that which rises; in astronomy, that point of the ecliptic which is rising over the horizon at a given moment, called the ascendent or horoscopus. The determining of the ascendent was necessary in mathematical astrology. The opposite point of the ecliptic is *al-ghārib* 'descendent'. X 163a
In astrology, *al-~* is the 'zodiacal sign which rises on the horizon at the first moment of a man or woman's birth'. Other terms used to describe positions are ḲIRĀN 'conjunction' in regard to the relationships between stars, *mumāzadj* 'coincidence' of planets between stars, *ittiṣāl* for the relation of planets between themselves, *ishrāf* 'apogee' of a planet, *hubūṭ* 'declension' of a planet; RA'S (L *caput*), the ascendent node, in opposition to DHANAB (L. *cauda*), the descendant node, *ghurūb* 'setting' of the planets,

rudjūʿ for their retrograde motion, *istiḳāma* for their 'direct course', MUḲĀBALA 'opposition' of the planets in the signs of the zodiac, *ḥurūḳ* 'fire, which springs into flame on the planets when they find themselves in the signs of the zodiac, *mudabbir* 'regent', said of a planet whose ascendent is in one of the signs of the zodiac, and *ṭulūʿ al-shaʿrā al-ʿabūr* 'heliacal rising of Sirius'. X 163b

ṭalīʿa (A, pl. *ṭalāʾiʿ*) : in military science, an advance guard or reconnaissance force (syn. *kashshāfa* 'scouts'), either an individual or a small group of three or four men, although descriptions of battles in the later Middle Ages evidence much larger bodies of soldiers. Sometimes translated as 'vanguard', this should be reserved for *muḳaddama*, which represents a separate corps of the regular army. X 164a; XII 722a

ṭālib (A) : student; in law, the plaintiff in a lawsuit. The defendant is called *maṭlūb*. II 171a; X 888b; and → ARU; AYḲASH; ṬOLBA

♦ **ṭālibān** (P, < A ṬĀLIB) : a Persian plural, as term ~ 'religious students' came into use in the last years of the 20th century for a radical Islamist group in Afghanistan. XII 786a

taʿlīḳ (A), also *taʿlīḳa* : in scholarly activity, the 'appending upon (*ʿalā*)' a text or the 'deriving from (*ʿan*)' an author and then to the resulting notes, glosses, comments, excerpts and appendices. Similar to ḤĀSHIYA, ~ is much less firmly anchored in manuscripts; in later centuries, ~ came to be used quite frequently in titles of essays. X 165a

In calligraphy, a script which is said to have got its name from its letters being connected to each other. According to Persian scholars, ~ is a compound of TAWḲĪʿ, RIḲĀʿ and NASKH scripts. It was used for writing books and letters, and in the DĪWĀNs for official correspondence. It gave place to SHIKASTA TAʿLĪḲ. IV 1124a; there are two variants, Persian ~ and Ottoman ~ . VIII 151b

In the science of Tradition, a tradition derived from (*muʿallaḳ ʿan*) an authority without the indication of a complete ISNĀD or the complete text. X 165b

♦ taʿlīḳ-ṭalāḳ (J) : a Javanese legal institution by which the husband declares to his wife's guardian and the witnesses, immediately after contracting his marriage, that, if he leaves his wife for a certain time without providing for her and without sending her tidings, if he severely illtreats her or commits another unseemly act, then his wife is free to complain before the Muslim authority concerned. If there is evidence of her husband's failing in these respects, the authority states that a ṬALĀḲ has taken place. I 174a; VIII 433a; X 154b

ṭāliḳ (A) : an untethered camel, or a repudiated wife (→ ṬALĀḲ). X 151b

♦ ṭāliḳa (T, < Sl *taliga*) : a carriage, widely used in the 19th century and still in use in Turkey, with no door, but a footboard, surmounted by a small platform. I 558a

ṭalīḳ → ṬULAḲĀʾ

ṭāliḳūn : a copper alloy, which equals μεταλλικόν, and is probably identical with 'Chinese iron' (*khār čīnī, ḥadīd ṣīnī*). Hot ~ dipped in water is said to drive flies off and to prevent eyelashes from growing again after they have been depilated with a pair of tweezers. VIII 111b

taʿlīm → TADRĪS

ṭalḳ (A) : in metallurgy, asbestos, from Badakhshān, out of which wicks and fire-resistant cloths were made in early Islam. V 965a

tall (A) : a hill, mound, tumulus (Eng. tell); in the Maghrib, ~ is said to be 'marly, grey or darkish soil', and by extension, the whole region where this type of soil is found, that part of the Maghrib, from the Moroccan Gharb to northern Tunisia, still under a marked Mediterranean influence. X 167a

talmīḥ (A) : in rhetoric, allusion, which consists of alluding to famous passages in the Qurʾān or Traditions, or in profane literature. A related figure is IḲTIBĀS. III 1091b

talthīma (A) : a woman's veil. V 769b

♦ talthīmat al-bayāḍ : under the Fāṭimids, the distinctive dress of the chief ḲĀḌĪs, who wore it along with the turban and ṬAYLASĀN. V 769b

talwīn → TAMKĪN

ṭ'ām → KUSKUSŪ

ṭama' (A) : in classical Muslim administration, an issue of pay. II 79a

tamānu' (A) : in theology, 'reciprocal hindrance', a major argument for TAWḤĪD, the oneness of God. X 389a; 'mutual prevention'. X 441a

tamarrud → MĀRID

tamaththul (A) : in rhetoric, the activity of one who quotes a line or two of poetry to encapsulate the gist of the situation in which he finds himself, a very popular literary technique in the *Arabian Nights*. X 180a

tamattu' (A) : 'enjoyment'; one of three methods of performing the pilgrimage, viz. by accomplishing the 'UMRA at the same time as the pilgrimage, resuming secular life and dedicating oneself once again to the pilgrimage. III 53b; X 865b

tambākū → TUTUN

tambr → POSTA

tamdjīd (A) : among Copts, songs of praise about a saint. XI 530a

tam[lḥaft → MILḤAFA

tamgha (T) : brand or sign placed on livestock or personal property; seal [of the king or other] (A syn. *ṭābi'*); and, by extension, tariff or commercial tax; in the Ottoman empire, ~ refers to market dues, the tax levied on all kinds of goods bought and sold in cities, on woven stuffs and slaughtered animals, and normally referred to as *tamgha-i siyāh* 'black *tamgha*'. I 861b; II 147a; X 170a; also *ṭamghā* or *tamghā*, a Mongolian tax on trade and urban crafts, possibly originally a poll-tax on urban dwellers and merchants. IV 31a; IV 1050a; X 170a; and → BĀDJ-I TAMGHA

♦ tamghadjī (T) : title of 'keeper of the seal', appearing in the earliest Turkish inscriptions from the 8th century, and was later used as term for tax collector. X 170a,b

tamhīd → TASHBĪB

ta'mīm (A, P *millī kardan*, T *devletleştirme*) : nationalisation, that is, the state's assumption of control or ownership of natural resources, services or economic enterprises, from private individuals or corporations. X 176b

tamīma (A, pl. *tamā'im*) : amulet, talisman. In origin, ~ means a stone with white speckles on a black field or vice versa, threaded on a thong or cord and word around the neck to avert danger (syn. *ta'widh*, *'ūdha*). X 177b; X 500b; XII 775b

ta'miya (A) : cryptography. VII 257b

In rhetoric, mystification. VIII 427a

ṭa'miyya (Egy) : the national food of Egypt, Egyptian beans, *fūl mudammas* 'Jew's marrow' or *mulūkhiyya*. II 1065a

tamkīn (A) : 'strengthening, stability'; in mysticism, the spiritual act of endurance and stability, contrasted, according to al-Hudjwīrī, with *talwīn* which indicates a change, an alternating transition from one state to another. III 84b

tamlīṭ → IDJĀZA

tāmm (A) : in literary theory, complete agreement in nature, number, and arrangement of consonants and vowels between two words of different meaning. This category can be further divided into *mumāthil*, where both words belong to the same word class (*zā'ir*: 'visiting' from *z-w-r* and 'roaring' from *z-'-r*), *mustawfā*, where both words belong to different word classes (*yaḥyā*: verb and proper name), *malfūf*, where one of the words is a composite and the composite term consists of two independent words (*dhā hibah* and *dhāhibah*), and *marfūw*, where one of the words is a composite and the composite term consists of one word and a fragment of another. When both terms are composites, it is called *mulaffaḳ*. X 69a

tamma (Mon), or *tanma* : in the Mongolian army, contingents selected from the total available Mongol power. Their purpose was to maintain and extend Mongol rule, and they were initially stationed on the steppe-sedentary borders. Some ~ units later formed the bases of the permanent armies of the subsidiary khānates into which the Mongol empire was divided. VII 233a

tammār (A) : a seller of dates. X 179a

tammūz : the tenth month in the Syriac calendar, corresponding to July in the Roman calendar. X 179b

tamr (A) : dried dates. A basic, and sometimes the only food for Arabs in early times, dates were eaten also fresh (*ruṭab*) or when they were beginning to ripen (*busr*); a special variety called *ʿadjwa* were considered to be a sovereign remedy against poisons and sorcery. II 1058a; IV 995b

♦ tamr ḥinnāʾ : in Cairo, the mignonette plant. III 461a

tamthīl (A) : lit. the adducing of a likeness, example; representation. In grammar, ~ denotes the citing of examples and the technique of definition by exemplification; also, the creation or use of such expressions. In morphology, synonomous with WAZN, and syntactically, 'a systematic recourse to paradigm and to a relation of equivalence between an utterance and a sequence that is not said', later replaced by TAKDĪR. X 179b

In rhetoric, the assimilation of one thing to another, e.g. *naḳī al-thawb* 'clean of clothing' meaning 'exempt from moral vice'. IV 249a ff.; V 117a; X 180a; a simile. II 825b; X 180a

♦ tamthīliyya shāʿirī (U) : in Urdu poetry, 'gnomic verse', in which the thought expressed in the first hemistich of a verse is followed by an illustrative metaphor or simile in the second. IX 90b

ṭamūḥ (A) : in the terminology of horse-riding, a horse that is regarded as impossible to ride. II 954a

tamyīz (A) : the faculty of 'discernment'; in the terminology of childhood, the faculty which enables the child to grasp ideas and thus to distinguish between good and evil. VIII 822b

In the context of the Almohad movement, the methodical and stringent elimination of real or suspected dissidents, which took place in 523 or 524/1128-9. III 959b

tamzak (Touareg) : among the Touareg, a camel's saddle, more luxurious than the TARIK. III 667a

ṭaʿn → SHATM

ṭanāb → ASHL

tanaḳḳul → TANĀSUKH

tanāsub → MUNĀSABA

tanāsukh (A), or *nāsūkhiyya* : in theology, the doctrine of reincarnation, metempsychosis (syn. *nuḳla, tanaḳḳul, intiḳāl, taḳammuṣ*). I 178b; II 136b; IV 45a; VIII 146a; VIII 147b; X 182a; and → RADJʿA

In law, in the context of the laws of succession, ~ is evoked in reference to the fact that 'heirs die after other heirs in such a way that the initial heritage remains undivided'. X 182a

tanaṭṭuʿ → TAʿAṢṢUB

tanawwuṭ nassādj (A) : in zoology, the weaver-bird. XII 19b

tandjīr (A) : a vessel in which sweetmeats were commonly made, used in the mediaeval kitchen. A special type of MUSTAWḲAD 'fire-place' was recommended for the preparation of sweetmeats, which required long cooking over low heat with much stirring, for the shape and position of this *mustawḳad* made it easier to hold the pan and control the heat. VI 808a

tandjīz (A) : in law, the immediate effect of the act of founding a WAḲF. XI 61b
tanfal → THAʿLAB
tanfīdha (A) : a land grant. XI 388a
tanga, and TANKA : in numismatics, terms spelled the same in Arabic but pronounced differently and with uncertain etymology, for coinage in the subcontinent. IX 203a; X 185a
♦ tanga-yi nuḳra : in numismatics, a coin introduced by Tīmūr in 792/1390, weighing 5.38 g. It was later reduced to that of the MITHḲĀL, 4.72 g, and became known as the *shāhrukhī*. IX 203a
tängrikän : a wise man; also, an old Turkī title 'ruler'. X 186b
ṭanīb (A) : in North Africa, a man who, to safeguard his rights, to escape from justice or to save his life, leaves the clan of his birth, alone or with his family, and goes to establish himself in a different tribe which promises to assist him. The term is linked with *ṭunub* 'tent-cord', the suppliant being obliged, originally, to touch at least a cord of the tent of the one to whom he appeals. XII 78b
tanka : in numismatics, the generic name for coined money under Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the name of a specific denomination when Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish regularised the currency as part of his administrative reforms in the 13th century. The Mughal ruler Akbar applied ~ to his 2-*dām* copper coin weighing around 41.5 g. The tenth part of the ~ , which weighed 4.15 g, was named the *tankī*. VIII 618a; X 185a; under Bahlūl, a billion issue of 9.2 to 9.4 gms, of traditional north Indian standard, but issued in sufficient quantity for the sobriquet of *bahlūlī* to be applied to it. V 785a
♦ tankī → TANKA
tanma → TAMMA
tannūr (A, < Ar) : a domestic baking oven of Mesopotamian origin. Cylindrical and beehive shaped, it gave the appearance of a large, inverted pot, from which it probably evolved. II 1059a; V 42b; VI 807b; X 30b; also, the large stove-shaped candelabra made in Egypt, frequently found in mosques, and made of gold, silver or copper. VI 665b; any place from which water pours forth. VIII 437b
tañri (T) : heaven, God. X 186b
tanṣīr (A) : conversion, or more precisely, Christianisation (< NAṢĀRĀ). XII 772a
ṭanṭūr (A), or *ṭarṭūr* : a high conical cap resembling a mitre, worn by ṣūfīs in the Arab East. V 742a; X 58a
In Algeria, a high brimless hat which was part of the uniform of the Turkish military élite. V 745b
Among the Druze, a high pointed woman's headdress of wood, horn, or metal, once very common. V 742a
tanwīn (A) : in grammar, nunation. VIII 121a; X 193b
♦ tanwīn al-tarannum (A) : a special usage of *tanwīn* connected with poetic declamation. X 193b
tanzīh (A) : 'withdrawal'; in theology, denying God any resemblance to anything. I 410b; X 318a; transcendentalism. The negative equivalent of ~ is *taʿṭīl*, divesting God of his attributes. X 341b f.
tanzīl (A) : a revelation to be proclaimed publicly to mankind. I 1099a; a term for the Qur'ān. XI 389a
Among the Ismāʿīliyya, the outward revelation, represented by the Prophet, as opposed to the TAʾWĪL 'inner truth', represented by the IMĀM. II 631a; X 391b; XI 389a
tanẓīm (A) : 'ordering, setting in order, regulating. X 201a
♦ **tanẓīm al-nasl** (A), also *tanẓīm al-ʿusra* : family planning, that is, the conscious planning of the occurrence of a pregnancy, including decisions on the interval between pregnancies. X 197a

♦ **tanẓīmāt** (A) : in Ottoman history, the sum of reforms from 1839 till some time between 1871 and 1881, and by extension Ottoman history in its entirety during those years. Also, more specifically, the edict of 3 November 1839 called the Khaṭṭ-ī Humāyūn often called the ~ *fermānī*. X 201a

tao (Ch) : way.

♦ tao-chang (Ch), or *daozhang* : lit. Head of the Way, the term in Chinese mysticism for SHAYKH, also called 'Master of the Faith' *chiao-chu* or *jiaozhu*. XI 122a

♦ tao-t'ang (Ch), or *daotang* : lit. Hall of the Way; in Chinese mysticism, the centre of the master's KHĀNAḲĀH to where once in his life the adept must make pilgrimage as the first of his obligations and to pay homage to him by the *k'ou-t'ou* 'great prostration' (> Eng kowtow) and by offering a present (*hai-ti-yeh*, < A *hadiyya*). XI 122a

tapa → SEMEDI

ṭapu (T) : in Ottoman fiscal administration, the holding of state-owned lands by a subject of the sultan; also, short for *resm-i ṭapu*, the tax payable when ~ land was leased by the cultivator. X 209b; and → ṬAPU RESMI

♦ ṭapu resmi (T) : in the Ottoman empire, an occasional (BĀD-I HAWĀ) tax paid on entering into possession of a ČIFTLIK. II 147a

♦ ṭapu senedi (T) : the document issued to legalise the possession of ṬAPU land. X 210a

tār (P 'string') : a weaver's warp. XI 496b

In music, a long-necked pandore with an elongated vault-shaped sound-chest and curvatures at the waist. Europe has borrowed the type in the *chitarra battente*. Quite a number of differently strung instruments bear this word: *yaktār*, a one-stringed instrument, better known in India; DŪTĀR, a two-stringed ṬUNBŪR with a pear-shaped sound-chest in Central Asia; *sitār*, originally a three-stringed instrument but now more generally mounted with four strings. In India it has even more strings, and is distinguished from the ṬUNBŪR by its being fretted and played with a plectrum; *čārtār* or *čahārtār*, a four-stringed instrument, still in use in India; *pančtār*, a five-stringed instrument known in Afghanistan; and *shashtār* or *shashtā*, a six-stringed instrument, of which there were three different types, one of which had fifteen double-sympathetic strings in addition. X 625b

ṭār (A) : in music, a round tambourine with jingling plates fixed in openings in the shell or body of the instrument. II 621a

ṭarab (A) : a term denoting poetic and musical emotion, evoking a broad spectrum of sentiments, from the most private to the most violent. Al-Ghazālī called an uncontrollable trance *idṭirāb*. ~ came ultimately to denote music, in particular the music of entertainment, with a negative nuance that has gradually diminished but never disappeared completely. Equivalents are *ḥawl* in Mauritania, *amarg* among the Berbers of Morocco, *ḥāl* among the Persians, and *mast* in Afghanistan. VI 214a; X 210b

In music, the ~ was probably the original of the European *tiorba*; the name is still to be found in an instrument of India. Ibn Ghaybī describes a ~ *al-futūḥ*, which had six double strings, and a ~ *zūr*. X 769b

ṭaradiyya → ṬARDIYYA

ṭaraf (A, pl. AṬRĀF) : province. I 924b; point, cape. X 241b; and → ḲABĪLĪ

In the science of Tradition, the ~ is the gist, or most salient feature, of a Tradition. VII 706b; and → AṬRĀF

♦ ṭarafdār (IndP) : under the Bahmanīs, the governor of a province originally responsible for both the civil and military administration of the province, and under whom the commanders of the forts were placed. During the century that followed the establishment of the dynasty, the power of the ~ was greatly curtailed. I 924b

♦ ṭarafān (A), or *dhu 'l-ṭarafayn* : in prosody, in the context of MUʿĀḲABA, to describe the case e.g. in the RAMAL metre, of both the first and the last cord of the foot *fāʿilātun* being shortened, thus *faʿilatu*, when the preceding and following cords are not shortened. VIII 747b

taraffuḍ (A) : the harbouring of moderate (?) Rāfiḍī ideas. IX 492a

tarāna (P) : in Indian music, a song composed of meaningless syllables. III 453a; a term of pre-Islamic origin which denoted songs intended for feasting and wine. VIII 579b; and → RUBĀʿĪ

tarannum (A) : in singing, the lengthening of the final vowel in the ḲĀFIYA MUṬLAḲA. IV 413b

tarassul (A) : 'correspondence'; in calligraphy, the name given by the DĪWĀN secretaries to a plainer form of the SHIKASTA TAʿLĪḲ. IV 1124a

ṭarastudj → BARASŪDJ

tarāwīḥ (A, s. *tarwīḥa*) : lit. pauses; the term for ṢALĀTs that are performed in the nights of the month of Ramaḍān. X 222a

taraza (N.Afr), or *tarazala, tarazal* : a wide-brimmed straw hat for both sexes, worn in Morocco and Algeria. V 746b

tarazal, tarazala → TARAZA

tarbīʿ (A) : in astrology, the quartile aspect. IV 259b

In prosody, the addition of two hemistichs after each pair of hemistichs of the original poem. IX 243b; X 124a

tarbiya (A) : general term in more recent Arabic for education, pedagogy; and → MAʿĀRIF; SHAYKH

ṭarbūsh (A) : hats of various types for men, worn in North Africa. V 746b; in Egypt, a tight-fitting cap, usually of red wool, with a tassel of black or blue silk. In Syria and ʿIrāḳ, the ~ had sometimes a peak, which hung behind or at the side and kept in position by a piece of cloth. This cap used to be called *shāshiyya* in Egypt. X 614b

ṭard → DAYSAM

tardīd (A) : in rhetoric, a term referring to a repetition of the same word with the same meaning in different syntactic contexts to create a contrast. X 69a

tarḍiya (A) : the eulogy *raḍiya 'llāhu ʿanhu*, which it is a duty to pronounce when one mentions the name of a Companion of the Prophet. VIII 828b

ṭardiyya (A), or *ṭaradiyya* : in literature, the hunting poem. I 1154b; X 223a

tardjahār (A) : a bowl with a graduated orifice in its underside that submerges in a given period, an ancient device for measuring time. XII 373a

tardjama (A, pl. *tarādjim*) : a translation from one language to another. Two other terms used in this sense, in the first few centuries of Islam, are *naḳl* and, to a lesser extent, TAFSĪR. X 225b; XII 788a

In literature, a term in titles introducing a biography, or, especially in North Africa, the biography or autobiography itself; *ʿilm al-tarādjim* is a branch of historical research, sometimes confused by the Twelver shīʿīs with *ʿilm al-ridjāl* (→ RIDJĀL). III 1151a; VI 349b; X 224b

In the science of diplomatic, the designation of the sender in the address, ʿUNWĀN, which developed from the simple *akhūhu* or *waladuhu* to *al-mamlūk al-Nāṣirī*, etc. II 302a; and → ʿUNWĀN

♦ ʿilm al-tarādjim → TARDJAMA

tardjīʿ (A, pl. *tardjīʿāt*) : in music, the refrain of a song. II 1073b

In Persian literature, a refrain poem, also called **tardjiʿ-band** (or *tarkīb-band*, T *tercî-bent* and *terkîb-bent*), a variation of the ḲAṢĪDA written in a single metre composed of parts which each have their own rhyme and are separated by a distich (*tardjīʿ band*) that often serves as a refrain, *wāsiṭa*. I 677b; IV 715a; X 235b

♦ tardjiʿ-band → TARDJĪʿ

tardjīḥ (A) : in law, the exercise of preference. IX 324b

tardjumān (A, < Ar; Ott *terdjümān*, > It *drog(o)man*), or *turdjumān* : interpreter. X 236b; and → *terdjümān*

ṭarfāʾ (A) : a type of tamarisk. X 219a

tarfīl (A) : in prosody, a deviation in the metre consisting of the addition of a moving and a quiescent consonant, a *sabab khafīf* (→ SABAB); thus *mutafāʿilun* becomes *mutafāʿilātun*. I 672a

ṭarḥ (A), and *ilḳāʾ* : in alchemy, an inert or molten substance. III 1087b

♦ ṭarḥa : a large, dark head veil that hangs all the way down the back, worn by women in Egypt. V 742a; a neck-veil. X 610b

ṭarī (A, < *ṭarī*) : 'fresh, new'; a gold coin (A *rubʿ*, *rubāʿī* 'quarter-dīnār') struck in Sicily by the Fāṭimids and Kalbids. Under the later Normans, the ~ was approximately one gram in weight, with the SHAHĀDA engraved on one side and the cross of St. Antony, in the form of T, on the other. X 213a; X 238b

taʿrīb (A) : lit. Arabisation or Arabicisation; in grammar, the method or process by which foreign words are incorporated into Arabic, becoming MUʿARRABĀT. More broadly, ~ is the translation of foreign scientific, literary and scholarly works into Arabic. X 240a

For ~ as political policy, XII 790b

taʾrīdj (A) : in classical Muslim administration, an addition register, showing those categories which need to be seen globally, arranged for easy addition, with totals. Receipts for payments made are also registered in the ~ . II 78b

taʿrīf (A) : lit. making known; in logic, a word or a statement that is a definition, *ḥadd*, or a statement that is a descriptive definition, *rasm*. 'Man is a rational animal' is an example of the first, and 'man is an animal capable of laughter' is an example of the second. X 241a

In grammar, the fact or process of making a word grammatically definite (→ MAʿRIFA). X 241a

In literature, a term for biography, appearing in the title of lives of saints, possibly for reasons of discretion, in a period where MANĀḲIB seems to be confined to the hagiographical sphere. This term seems to be particularly common in Morocco. VI 349b For its use in Urdu prosody, → MADĪḤ

tarik (Touareg) : among the Touareg, a camel's saddle with a pommel in the form of a cross. VI 667a

ṭarīḳ (A, pl. *ṭuruḳ*, *ṭuruḳāt*) : 'road, route, way, path', ~ shares a common field of geographical reference with similar terms like ṢIRĀṬ, *darb*, MASLAKA and SHĀRIʿ, though each is to be distinguished in its usage. XII 794b

♦ **ṭarīḳa** (A, pl. *ṭuruḳ*, *ṭarāʾiḳ*) : path (syn. *ṭarīḳ*); method of instruction, initiation and religious exercise; also, a religious brotherhood which forms the organised expression of religious life in Islam. II 164a; X 243b; in the science of Tradition, the plural form *ṭuruḳ* refers to ISNĀD strands. X 381b

In the terminology of tents, one or several bands of hair or wool, about twenty cm wide at the most, attached to the sewing of the awning band, *falīdja*. Each ~ was equipped at each of its extremities with a device for anchoring it called *ḥaṭār* and it was to this that the rope (*ṭunub*, pl. *aṭnāb*) was attached and tied to a peg (*watid*) driven into the ground some distance away with a mallet (*mīṭad*). IV 1147b

In zoology, the empty shell of an (ostrich) egg after the hatching of the chicks. VII 829b

♦ ṭarīḳa ḥallādjiyya (A) : a phrase referring to the beneficial effect of a spiritual influence, here al-Ḥallādj, traversing time, since *ṭarīḳa* is not invariably indicative of a materialised order. X 246b

♦ ṭarīḳa k͟hiṭābiyya (A) : 'way of eloquence'; a form employed in Qur'ānic preachings. II 447

♦ ṭarīḳa al-muḥammadiyya (A) : the proper terminology for 'mystical brotherhood', since in the final analysis, *ṭarīḳa* has meaning for the ṣūfīs only in terms of the relationship wich it establishes with the Prophet. This modality is correctly called 'the Muḥammadan Way', sometimes also *al-ṭarīḳa al-muṣṭafawī*. X 246b

♦ ṭarīḳat al-k͟hawād͟jagān: 'way of the masters', a line of 7th/13th-century Central Asian SHAYKHS, not a constituted order, reckoned to be the initiators of the Naḳs͟hbandiyya. X 245a

♦ ṭuruḳ ḥurra (A) : 'free ṣūfī orders', term for the orders functioning in Egypt in the latter half of the 20th century outside the formal administrative framework of the Ṣūfī Council and more numerous than those who de facto recognised its jurisdiction and were known as *ṭuruḳ rasmiyya* 'official ṣūfī orders'. X 325a

ta'rīk͟h (A, < Sem; pl. *tawārīk͟h*) : date, dating, chronology, era. X 257b; history, historiography. X 271a; XII 795a

In the science of diplomatic, ~ 'dating' is one of the parts of a Turkish document; it is marked by means of an Arabic formula, e.g. *taḥrīr^{an} fī* and is followed by the decade of the month, the name of the month, and the year. II 307a; II 315a

In Turkish and Persian poetry, a chronogram, consisting of a a group of letters whose numerical equivalents, added together, provide the date of a past or future event, known in Arabic as RAMZ. III 468a; X 302a

♦ ta'rīk͟h-i Ilāhī (P '**Ilāhī Era**') : the 'divine era', introduced by the Mug͟hal emperor Akbar in 992/1584. The first year of this solar year was the year of Akbar's accession, 963/1555-6. XII 410b

ṭarḳ (A), also *ḍarb* : lithomancy. The technicalities of this cleromantic rite are unknown to us, but it is supposed to have consisted of casting pebbles (*ḥaṣā*) on the sand and of interpreting the patterns they made, or the signs which are given by the way they fell on top of each other. Instead of pebbles, grain or nuts could be used. From the marks made by the pebbles on the ground, lines were traced in the sand, and from this there has been a gradual development which ultimately results in making *ṭarḳ bi 'l-ḥaṣā* the synonym of *k͟haṭṭ bi 'l-raml*, i.e. geomancy (→ KHAṬṬ). IV 1128b

ṭark͟hān (A, < M.Per), or *tark͟hān* : a high-ranking Inner Asian title of considerable antiquity; also a personal name. By the Činggisid era, ~ had come to mean 'those who are exempt from compulsory contributions, and to whom the booty taken on every campaign is surrendered'. X 303a; under the Ilk͟hāns, personal immunities granted to Mongol princes and princesses and tho members of the religious classes and scribes. IV 1045a

♦ tark͟hāniyyāt (A) : in the science of diplomatic, concessions granting aged officials exemption from taxes, and possibly also a fixed salary, in the classical period. II 303b

ṭark͟has͟hḳūḳ (A) : in botany, *taraxacum*, the dandelion used in popular medicine because of its bitter substance. XII 370b; and → ʿALATH

tark͟hīm (A) : in grammar, phonetic reduction. IX 528a

ṭark͟hūn → SHĪḤ tarkīb (A) : a composition. IV 981a

♦ **tarkīb-band** (P) : in Persian literature, a refrain poem like the TARDJĪʿ, but called a ~ if the refrain differs in each instance where it occurs. I 677b; VII 662a; X 235b and → MUSADDAS

tarma (A) : a gallery, or wide room, giving on to the courtyard of a house through three bays. II 114a

ṭarrāḥī (A) : in art, designing; in the context of pictures, the production of the underdrawing. VIII 451b

ṭarrār (A) : pickpocket, also called *khālis*, MUKHTALIS or *nashshāl*, each of which indicates acquisition of other people's property in a public place, with *mukhtalis* placing greater emphasis on secrecy and *nashshāl* indicating swiftness. X 304a

ṭarsh (A) : in art, an engraved block used for printing. X 304b

tarṣīʿ (A) : in rhetoric, a stylistic feature of word combination based on the principle of equivalence of sound. X 304b

tarsīm (A) : in Mamlūk times, perhaps predominantly, the detaining of a person in one place or putting him under guard. IX 547a

tartīb (A) : in Moroccan usage, the term employed by the MAKHZAN to denote the reforms (*tartībāt*) it was obliged to undertake during the second half of the 19th century under European pressure, with connotations similar to those of TANẒĪMĀT in the Ottoman empire. ~ is still applied to the fiscal reforms initiated ineffectively by Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1873-94) and revived by his successor Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1894-1907) in the least favourable of circumstances and only brought to a conclusion by the Protectorate. X 307b; in Morocco, a single tax, which merged the ZAKĀT and ʿUSHR. V 1199a; and → ḲĀNŪN

♦ bi 'l-tartīb : lit. step by step; in music, slow motion. IX 101a

tartīl (A) : in the science of the Qur'ān, an incantatory mode of recitation (syn. *taḥḳīḳ*). V 128a; and → NASHĪD

ṭarṭūr → TAḤḲĪḲ; ṬANṬŪR; ṬURṬŪR

tarwiya (A) : the 'day of watering', the name for the 8th day of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (*yawm al-~*), on which day the pilgrimage begins. Arabic authors explain this as the day on which the pilgrims water their animals and provide themselves with water for the following days, but some Western scholars see in this name traces of an ancient rain rite. III 35b; X 312b: the name given to the first day of the pilgrimage, possibly because of the rite of drinking a fermented beverage on the occasion. II 1060a

ṭāsa (A) : in astronomy, the magentic compass. X 312b

taṣābī (A) : in the expression ~ *'l-shaykh*, a collection of motifs given in poetic dialogues warning the old man not to cavort like a young man. IX 385b

tasāḥuḳ → SIḤĀḲ

tasākhīnī (A) : a kind of neck-veil, *ṭaylasān*. X 615a

tasallum → ḲABḌ

taṣarruf (A) : in Ottoman land law, property in the form of usufruct. V 473a

taṣawwuf (A) : 'the wearing of woolen clothes (*ṣūf*)'; the phenomenon of mysticism within Islam. X 313b

tasbīʿ → TAKHMĪS

tasbīḥ (A) : the saying of the formula *subḥāna 'llāh*. V 425b; and → SUBḤA

taṣdīr → ṢADR; TADRĪS

tasdīs (A) : in astrology, the sextile aspect. IV 259b

tasekkurt (B) : the partridge. IX 536b

tasfīr (A) : the art of bookbinding. VIII 150b

tashaddud → TAʿAṢṢUB

tashahhud (A) : the recitation of the Islamic affirmation of faith, especially in the ṢALĀT. VIII 929b; X 340b

tashāhir → KABŪSH

tasharruf (A) : the ceremony of initiation in the heterodox Ṭāwūsī ritual, whereby the initiate, in the presence of the initiator, *dalāl*, contracts several obligations and is presented with the *dīg-i djūsh* 'boiling pot'. X 397b

tashbīb (A) : in literature, ~ is frequently used as a simple synonym for GHAZAL and NASĪB. II 1028a; IV 714b; in Urdu literature, ~ is the prelude of the ḲAṢĪDA, also, but less frequently, called *tamhīd*. V 958b

In rhetoric, ~ is synonymous with *ibtidā᾽* 'introduction, prologue', in its widest sense. III 1006a

tashbīh (A) : 'the act of comparing, comparison'; in rhetoric, a simile. IV 249b; VIII 614b
In theology, the comparing of God to the created; anthropomorphism. I 410b; III 160a; X 318a; X 341b; used in polemical language, the positive pendant to ~ is *ithbāt*, the affirmation of the divine attributes by analogy. X 342a
In prosody, description of the beloved, a standard amatory topic of poetry. X 220a
For ~ in grammar, → ĀLA

tashdīd → SHADDA

tashī → ḲUNFUDH

taṣḥīf (A) : a mistake in writing (syn. TAḤRĪF, without the specialised used of the latter). One who commits mistakes in writing is *ṣaḥafī* or *ṣuḥufī*. X 347a; in prosody, forgery. IX 455b
In rhetoric, paronomasia based on modifications of the graphic representations of two words and not on sound. II 825b

tash῾īr (A), or *sha῾ra* : in mineralogy, cleavage, a defect or impurity in a gem. XI 263a

tashlama (T) : in Turkish folk poetry, a satirical genre, which has social injustices as one of its main targets. III 358a

tashrī῾ (A) : in law, statutory legislation incorporating elements from the sharī῾a, in an attempt to adapt it to the changing requirements of a modern society. X 353a

tashrīf → KHIL῾A

tashrīḥ (A) : in medicine, anatomy, both as a description of the human body and as the empirical science of dissection. X 354b

tashrīḳ (A), and *ayyām al-~* : a special name for 11–13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the last three days of the Muslim pilgrimage, during which the pilgrims stay in Minā and throw seven stones daily on each of the three piles of stones there. Traditionally they are called *al-ayyām al-ma῾dūdāt* 'the numbered, i.e. few, days'. III 32a; X 356b; in early Islam, ~ was also given to the solemn ṢALĀT on the morning of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. X 357a

tasht-dār (P) : the 'keeper of the washing vessels'; a palace officer under the Ghaznavids and the Saldjūḳs. II 1082a

tashṭīr (A) : in prosody, the intercalation of two hemistichs between the first two of an existing poem. IX 243b; IX 462b; X 124a

ta῾ṣīb (A) : in law, the male relationship. XI 208b

taṣ῾īd (A) : in pharmacology, the procedure of sublimation (rudimentary distillation). XII 550b

tasili (Touareg), conventionally *tassili* : used by the Touareg as a generic term for the sandy and rocky ensemble of plateaux of the central Saharan massif. X 357b

ṭā-sīn (A) : the two letters found at the head of sura xxvii that have been taken by early mystics to designate Iblīs. X 1b

tas῾īr (A) : in law, the fixing of a commodity's price, which requires a political decision. *Tathmīn* refers to estimating the value, *ḳīma*, of the subject-matter. A comparison of the two verbal nouns makes the distinction between *si῾r* and *thaman*, both 'price', appear less subtle. X 358b

ta᾽sīs (A) : in prosody, an *alif* of prolongation placed before the rhyme letter, *rawī*, and separated from it by a consonant which may be changed at will. IV 412a

taslīm (A) : submission. X 377b

taṣliya (A) : the invocation of God's blessing upon the Prophet Muḥammad, commonly referring to the section of the TASHAHHUD in which the worshipper recites the *ṣalāt ῾alā 'l-nabī*. A ~ is also a part of the response to the ADHĀN, also known as the *du῾ā᾽*

al-wasīla. More broadly, ~ is understood as the repetition of the phrase *ṣallā 'llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama* 'May the prayers and peace of God be upon him'. In India and Pakistan especially, *durūd* is used to refer to the ~ , while *ḳunūt* also overlaps with it. X 358b

tasmīr (A) : shoeing a horse with nails, a Gallo-Roman invention in the 6th century, unknown in early Islam, where tribes used a sandal of iron or leather, *naʿl*. IV 1144b

tasmiya → BASMALA; NISBA

taṣnīf (A) : lit. sorting out, distinguishing, classifying something, whence 'putting in order, composing a book, etc.' and then as a common noun 'orderly presentation or classification'. X 360a

tasnīm (A) : the name of a fountain in Paradise, occurring in Q 83:27, whose water will be drunk by the *muḳarrabūn* 'those who are admitted to the divine presence'; also, the verbal noun of form II of *s-n-m* 'raising graves above the level of the earth'. It is said the Muḥammad's grave is *musannam*. X 360a

taṣrīʿ (A) : in prosody, internal rhyme, a shortening or lengthening of the last foot of a rhyme appearing at the end of the first hemistich, in order to make it conform to the pattern of the last foot of the second hemistich. II 825b; IV 413b

taṣrīf (A) : in grammar, one of the two main divisions of linguistic theory, 'morphology', the other being NAḤW 'syntax'. In later grammar, ṢARF is used and in modern Arabic it has become the usual term for 'morphology'. X 360b

In rhetoric, the transformation of a root (into various *awzān*). VIII 614b

taṣrīḥ (A) : in mysticism, an unequivocal declaration of one's feelings and intentions, seen as the opposite of *ramz* (→ IS̲H̲ĀRA). VIII 428b

ṭassūdj (A, pl. *ṭasāsīdj*; < MidP *tasōk* 'one quarter') : in Sāsānid and early Islamic ʿIrāḳ, a sub-province, subdivision of a KŪRA 'province'. The ~ was in turn divided into RUSTĀḲS 'district'. I 3a; VIII 636a; X 361a

taṣwīr (A) : the constitution of a shape. IV 981a; in art, the representational arts (painting, drawing, sketching, engraving and photography) and the process of their creation (syn. ṢŪRA, pl. *ṣuwar*, and the rarer *taṣwīra*, pl. *taṣāwīr*, or in Persian texts *naḳs̲h̲* and *nigār*), often contrasted with *timt̲h̲āl* 'sculpture'. X 361b

♦ taṣwīr s̲h̲amsī, or *taṣwīr ḍawʾī* : along with the more simple TAṢWĪR and the borrowed *fūtūg̲h̲rāfiyā*, terms for photography, introduced in Muslim lands soon after its invention in 1839. X 363b

taswiya (A) : the act of leveling; in the Qurʾānic story of the creation, the 'leveling' of the sky. IV 984b

tasyīr (A) : in astrology, a procedure of artificial continuation of a planet or of an astrological house or any other definite part of the heavens to another star or its aspects, or other houses with the object of ascertaining the equatorial degree situated between these two places, the figure of which is used to prognosticate the date of a future happening, either good or evil. X 366a

tat (T) : a term used in earliest Turkish with the general meaning of 'alien, non-Turk', but speedily coming to be applied to the Persians as opposed to the Turks, with a somewhat contemptuous nuance of meaning as with the term TĀDJĪḲ. X 368a; in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish sources for the military and social history of Syria after its conquest by Selīm I in 922/1516, foreign troops in Syria, those neither Arab nor Rūmī, distinguished from the *yerlü*, locally-recruited toops. X 369b; XI 333b

♦ tātī : the name given to New Western Iranian dialects surviving in language islands in the eastern Caucasus region. X 369b

taṭabbub (A) : medical practice. IX 8a

taṭarruf (A) : extremism, radicalism, the opposite of moderation, *tawassuṭ*, *iʿtidāl*. X 372a

ṭāṭawī → WĀḲWĀḲ
taṭawwuʿ → ṢAWM
taṭayyur (A) : in divination, an augury based on the flight of birds (syn. *taʿayyuf*). XII 777b
taṭfīl → ṬUFAYLĪ
taṭhīr (A) : in law, a purifying punishment. X 406a
tathlīth (A) : lit. to make or call three; in theology, the doctrine of the divine Trinity. X 373b
In astrology, the trine aspect. IV 259b; VII 794b
tat͟hmīn → TASʿĪR
tat͟hwīb (A) : repetition; the term for the formula *al-ṣalāt k͟hayr min al-nawm*, pronounced twice in the morning prayer. I 188a
taʿṭīl (A) : 'stripping'; in theology, ~ is applied to the denial of attributes, that is, the assertion that God does not possess attributes of power, knowledge, speech etc. which are distinct from His essence. I 334a; I 411a; III 953b; X 342b
tatʿīm → TAKFĪT
taṭwīʿ (Tun) : the diploma of secondary education from the Zaytūna of Tunis. IX 160b
ṭāʿūn (A) : in medicine, the plague. VIII 783a; IX 477a; both the bubonic plague and the swellings of the lymph glands so characteristic of this disease. XI 2b; and → WABĀʾ
ṭāʾūs → ṬĀWŪS
ṭawāf (A) : the circumambulation of a sacred object (syn. *dawār*), specifically the Kaʿba during the pilgrimage. The pavement surrounding the Kaʿba on which the course is run is called al-*maṭāf*. The ~ itself is obligatory, but two other circumambulations, that of greeting or arrival (~ *al-tahiyya* or ~ *al-ḳudūm*) and that of departure (~ *al-wadāʿ*) are not. I 610b; III 35a; X 376a,b
♦ ṭawāf al-ifāḍa : the circumambulation of the Kaʿba on 10 D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja, after the sacrifice. III 35b; VII 169b
tawakkul (A) : in religion and especially mysticism, trust in God to such an extent that one does not support oneself; submission to the divine will. He who trusts in God is called *mutawakkil*. VIII 596a; VIII 691b; X 376b
tawallud (A) : 'engendered act'; according to the Muʿtazilite Bis͟hr b. al-Muʿtamir, ~ is an act prompted by a cause which is itself the effect of another cause. Thus, in the act of opening a door with a key, there is first a voluntary act, then the movement of the hand which turns the key, and lastly that of the key which turns the tongue of the lock. This last movement is an engendered act for it does not emanate directly from a voluntary decision. I 413b; I 1243b; X 378a
In biology and philosophy, spontaneous generation, that is, the generation of plants and animals directly from inanimate matter, as opposed to sexual generation or procreation, *tawālud*. X 378a
tawālud → TAWALLUD
tawʾamān → AWZĀʾ
ṭawās͟hī (A) : in the Ayyūbid army under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, fully-equipped cavalrymen. I 797b; II 507a; VIII 468a; a eunuch. I 33a; IV 1087a; the bottom member in the hierarchy of the Mamlūk barracks, responsible for training small groups of *mamlūks* only. X 7b
ṭawāsīn (A) : a name for the SŪRAs that begin with the letters *ṭā-sīn*: xxvi-xxviii. IX 887b
tawassuṭ → TAṬARRUF
tawātur (A) : roughly 'broad authentication'; in the science of Tradition, ~ indicates that a historical report or a prophetic tradition is supported by such a large number of ISNĀD strands, each beginning with a different Companion or other ancient authority, that its authenticity or truthfulness is thereby assumed to be guaranteed. X 381b

In law, a form of testimony which consists of the affirmation of a fact by a number of persons so large (a minimum of twenty-five is generally accepted) as logically to exclude any possibility of fraud or lying. The ~ is superior to all other modes of proof with the exception of confession. II 171b

♦ tawātur lafẓī (A) : in the science of Tradition, the verbatim MUTAWĀTIR transmission of a text, distinguished from *tawātur maʿnawī*, transmission according only to the gist or one salient feature of a given text. The latter far outnumbers the former. X 381b

♦ tawātur maʿnawī → TAWĀTUR LAFẒĪ

tawāzun al-sulutạ̄t (A) : in political science, the balance of powers. The notion of 'separation of powers' (*faṣl al-sulutạ̄t*), originally introduced as *faṣl al-ḥukm* or *infiṣāl al-ḳuwwa al-ḥākima* by al-Ṭahṭāwī, was taken up in the Muslim world from the second third of the 19th century. Classically this concept is unknown. X 382a

ṭawb (A) : unbaked brick. I 1226b

tawba (A) : in religion, repentance. X 385a; XI 141b

tawbīkh (A) : verbal reprimand. X 406a

tawbīr (A) : an instinctive attempt by a hare to blur its tracks by placing its body weight on the back foot only. The back foot has a pad which is covered with hair and thus prevents the toes and claws from marking the ground. XII 85a

tawdjīh (A) : in prosody, the vowel before the quiescent rhyme letter; according to others, also before the vowelled rhyme letter. IV 412a; and → TAWRIYA

ṭawf (A, pl. *aṭwāf*) : a raft of early ʿAbbāsid Mesopotamia, similar to the KELEK. IV 870b; VIII 810b

tawfīḳ (A) : in theology, 'facilitating, helpfulness, predisposing towards', used especially of God's grace and help towards mankind, and seen as the opposite of KHIDHLĀN. X 386b

tawḥīd (A) : the assertion of God's unity, in a word, monotheism. X 317b; X 389a; in current usage, ~ , or *ʿilm al-tawḥīd*, is the modern equivalent of *ʿilm al-kalām*, theology. X 389b; a kind of dates. I 126b; and → NĀṬIḲ

tawhīm → TAWRIYA

taʿwīdh → TAMĪMA

ṭawīl (A) : lit. long; in prosody, the name of the first Arabic metre. The ~ forms, with the metres *basīṭ* and *madīd*, the group of metres whose hemistichs consist of 24 consonants each. I 670a; X 389b

In numismatics, the name of a coin in Ḥasā, on the Arabian peninsula, which is only an inch long and of very base silver, if not copper, without any trace of inscription. V 684a; and → ḲALANSUWA

taʾwīl (A) : explanation, exposition, or interpretation of the Qurʾān. IV 147a; X 390b; and → TANZĪL

ṭawḳ → ḤADJRA; SHAʿĪRA

tawḳīʿ (A, T *tewḳīʿ*) : an extended table of memorable events; a tabular almanac providing seasonal information. X 146b; edict, decree of the ruler. X 392b

In calligraphy, a variety of the THULUTH script, with its letters somewhat more compressed and rounded. This script was used in Persia for the final page, sc. that with the colophon showing the date and place of copying and the scribe's name, of elongated format Qurʾāns. IV 1123b; for Turkish diplomatic practice, a specific technique for writing more formal and solemn documents. The script used was the DĪWĀNĪ, also known as *tewḳīʿ* in its various forms. II 315b; VIII 151b; X 393b

In the science of diplomatic, ~ seems originally to have been the ruler's signature, which was appended in the chancellery. Later on, ~ was also used for letters of appointment, quite generally to begin with, but later only for the lesser officials. II

303a; X 392b; into the 10/16th century, ~ in the *corroboratio* refers to the seal; not until the 11th/17th century was ~ replaced by the (long overdue) expression MUHR. II 311b; and → IMḌĀ; IṬLĀḲĀT

♦ tawḳīʿ ʿalā ʾl-ḳiṣaṣ (A) : in the science of diplomatic, the decision of petitions in open court, said to have been the custom even in Sāsānid times. II 303b; X 392b

tawḳīr (A) : respect. XI 388a

tawlīd → TAKWĪN

tawrāt (A) : the Pentateuch. IX 321b; X 393b

tawrīḳ (A) : in art, arabesque, mostly of the sort restricted to foliage. The term is preserved in Spanish *ataurique*, commonly used by Spanish authors to designate the genuine arabesque. I 498b; I 560b; X 395a

tawriya (A) : in rhetoric, mispointing information for secrecy. VIII 427a; in prosody, double-meaning. IX 460b; a one-term pun (*double entendre*), also known by a confusing number of other names, e.g. *īhām, tawhīm, takhyīl, tawdjīh, mughālaṭa maʿnawiyya*, etc. A related figure is the *istikhdām*, based on a compound sentence where the main clause and the subordinate each 'make use of' one of the double meanings of the term on which the figure depends. X 67b; X 395a

tawthīḳ → MIḲRAN

ṭāwūs (A, < Gk; pl. *ṭawāwīs, aṭwās*), or *ṭāʾūs* : in zoology, the peacock (*Pavo*), nicknamed *Abu ʾl-washy* 'he of the splendid coat', of the family of the Phasianidae, comprising four species: the blue peacock, the spiciferous peacock, the Congo peacock and the black peacock. I 177b; X 396a

In music, a pandore viol from India, with the ESRĀR one of the two best-known examples. The ~ is practically identical with the *esrār*, but is adorned with the figure of a peacock at the bottom of the body of the instrument. VIII 348b

♦ ṭāwūsiyya (A) : in zoology, the greater peacock moth (*Saturnia pyri*) and the lesser peacock moth (*Saturnia pavonia*), from the family of Saturnidae, and the peacock butterfly (*Vanessa io*), from the family of Nymphalidae. X 396b

tawwāb (A, pl. **tawwābūn**) : 'penitent', in its plural form, the self-imposed title of an early shīʿī movement. X 398a

ṭawwāb (A) : a mason who builds a wall in clay. V 585b

tawakkul (A) : in mysticism, confidence in God. XI 141b

tawwaziyya (A) : textiles from the mediaeval city of Tawwadj (Tawwaz) in southern Persia. IX 310b

tāy → ČAY

tayammum (A) : ritual purification with sand, soil, or dust, allowed when water is unavailable. II 1104a; VI 709b; VIII 926b; X 399b

taydjī djemāʿatī (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a special category of MÜSELLEM which enjoyed exemption from taxes in exchange for breeding horses for the royal stables. IX 855a

ṭayf al-khayāl → KHAYĀL

ṭaylasān (P, pl. *ṭayālisa*) : a headshawl worn over the turban, worn in mediaeval Islam particularly by religious scholars and notables in the northern and eastern parts of Iran and even by the common folk in Fārs. V 747b; X 398b; insignum of rank. X 375b

ṭayr (A) : in mysticism, spiritual flight, one of the degrees of the mystical journey. IX 863a; for ~ in zoology, → ṬĀʾIR

tays → ʿATŪD; TAYYĀS

ṭayy (A) : in prosody, a deviation in the metre due to the suppression of the fourth consonant of a foot. I 672a; XI 508b

ṭayyār → BAYYĀZ

♦ ṭayyāra (A) : 'flyer', a name describing a kind of skiff used in mediaeval Mesopotamia. VIII 811a; and → BĀD-I HAWĀ

tayyās (A), or *tays* : a goat-herd. XII 317a

ṭayyibāt : 'jocose poems', a genre in Persian literature, defined by classical Persian literary critics according to its contents rather than to its form. III 355

tazakkara → MUSTAKRISH

tazammut → TAʿAṢṢUB

taẓarruf (A) : in mediaeval Islamic social and literary life, an intensification of certain features, intellectual, literary, social, and personal, that are held to characterise the man of ADAB. XI 460a

taʿzīr (A, pl. *taʿāzīr*) : in law, discretionary punishment by the ḲĀḌĪ in the form of corporal chastisement, generally the bastinado, for offences for which no ḤADD punishment is laid down. The term means both showing respect and disrespect. I 29b; II 519a; X 406a; X 799b

taʿziya (A) : in Persian literature, the shīʿī passion play, the occurrence of which is not documented before the late 12th/18th century. IV 50b; X 406b; in Muḥarram processions on the Indian subcontinent, ~ signifies the bier on which al-Ḥusayn's headless body was carried from the battlefield to its final resting place; it also stands for his tomb. It is called *tadja*, due to phonetic transformation, on the island of Trinidad, where they are still being built. X 408a

In literature, a letter of condolence addressed to the parents of the deceased, becoming frequent from the 2nd/8th century onwards. When it is in verse, it is virtually indistinguishable from the MARTHIYA. VI 605a

tazkiya (A) : in law, the procedure for substantiating the ʿADĀLA of witnesses, also called *taʿdīl*. I 209b

♦ al-tazkiya al-ʿalāniyya : the second stage of the procedure known as TAZKIYA, in which the persons who received a sealed envelope in the first stage (→ AL-TAZKIYYA AL-SIRRIYYA) appear at the public hearing to confirm their former attestation. I 209b

♦ al-tazkiya al-sirriyya : the first stage of the procedure known as TAZKIYA, in which the judge proceeds to a secret investigation, by sending a question in a sealed envelope to qualified persons. I 209b

tazwīr (A) : the falsification or forgery of a document or piece of writing. X 408b

tazyīf (A) : in numismatics, the forgery of coins. X 409b, where are found many terms associated with counterfeit coins.

tebriya → TABRIʾA

teferrüdj → TAFARRUDJ

tegulmust → LITHĀM

tekālīf → TAKLĪF

tekaṭkaṭ (Touareg) : a large, loose tunic with sleeves, often dark indigo-coloured, worn by both sexes among the Touareg. Under it men wear large trousers with a low crotch, women a skirt. X 379b

tekfur (P, T, < Arm *taghavor* 'crown bearer'), or *tekvur* : a title used in late Rūm Saldjūḳ and early Ottoman times by Persian and Turkish historians to denote Byzantine lords or governors of towns and fortresses in Anatolia and Thrace. X 413b

tekke (T, < A *takiyya*, pl. *takāyā*; P *takiya*), *tekiyye* or *tekye* : an establishment belonging to a group of ṣūfīs, where they gather around a SHAYKH and perform their ritual and their devotions, etc. It is thus similar to RIBĀṬ, KHĀNḲĀH, *dergāh*, ZĀWIYA and *āsitāne*, but it has not yet been determined how ~ is employed in preference to these other terms. It seems that its use was first developed in an Ottoman context from the 10th/16th century onwards, with the rise of an organized Ottoman network of brotherhoods. X 415a

teklīf → TAKLĪF

telkhīṣ (T, < A) : in Ottoman administration, a document in which the most important matters are summed up for presentation to the sultan. X 416b; memoirs, e.g. those presented to the sultan by the grand vizier acting as representative of the government. The officer to whom they were given was called the **telkhīṣdji**. VIII 481b ff.; X 415b

♦ telkhīṣdji → TELKHĪṢ

temenggung → BENDAHARA

temidelt → AGADIR

temlīk-nāme (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a special diploma issued by the sultans, recognising proprietary rights on waste land as well as on running water and springs within the area delimited by the document. V 878b

tende → aHAL

tennūre (T) : in Ottoman Turkey, a long dervish's robe without sleeves. V 752a; IX 168a

teptyar (Rus, < A *daftar*) : 'people of the register', a social term and subsequently ethnonym, used to denote populations of Volga Tatar, Mishär, Bashkir, Čuvash and Volga Finnic origins, all of whom spoke a Tatar dialect in Bashkiria. X 417b

terakkī (T) : 'advancement', a bonus granted to cavalrymen in the Ottoman empire. IX 656a; a pay raise in the Ottoman military. X 811b; XI 324b

terdjümān (T) : in mysticism, a term used by the members of FUTUWWA groups and by the Turkish dervish orders of the Mawlawiyya and Bektāshiyya for speech utterances, generally in verse, recited during the ritual or, outside this, during the accomplishment of some piece of work or some particular act. These formulae, which are made up of a prayer, are pronounced in order to seek pardon for some offence. ~ can also denote a sum of money or a sacrifice made in order to secure pardon for an offence. In practice, ~ is often mixed up with *gül-bank* (→ GULBĀNG), which is reserved for longer prayers in prose. X 418b; and → TARDJUMĀN

terken (T) : in old Turkish, a royal title, often but not invariably applied to females, and in these cases roughly equivalent to 'queen'. X 419a

terlik (T) : in Ottoman Turkey, the most popular shoes, worn by men and women, without heels or quarters slightly raised at the end, in leather or material and often decorated. V 752b

tersāne (T, < Genoese *tersana*) : 'dockyard, maritime arsenal'; in the Ottoman period, it was applied in particular to the Ottoman Imperial Arsenal on the eastern side of the Golden Horn, at Galata, opposite Istanbul. X 420a

tesbīḥ → SUBḤA

teslīm tashi (T) : 'stone of submission', the name given to a small, twelve-fluted disc worn on a cord, sometimes with smaller stones strung along the cord, around the neck, and given to the young Bektāshī dervish at the end of his novitiate. VIII 244b

təstmal (N.Afr) : a fringed head scarf for women worn in Libya. V 746b

tewkiʿ → TAWKĪʿ; TUGHRA

♦ tewkīʿī → NISHĀNDJĪ

thāʾ (A) : the fourth letter in the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 500, representing the voiceless member of the apico-interdental triad of fricatives, as opposed to the voiced DHĀL and the velarised ẒĀʾ. X 423b

thabat → FAHRASA

thābit (A) : having the characteristic of 'positive', as e.g. the non-entity in Muʿtazilī thought. I 178b

thakāfa → RUMḤ

thakalayn → ḤADĪTH AL-THAKALAYN

thākur (H) : an honorary title, used to address the Hindus of the Lohaga caste. VIII 307a

tha'lab (A, pl. *tha'ālib*; P *wāwī, rūbāh*, T *tilki*) : in zoology, the fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), which bears the nicknames of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, Abu 'l-Nadjm, Abu 'l-Nawfal, Abu 'l-Wathab and Abū Ḥinbiṣ. The vixen is called *tha'laba, thu'ala, thurmula* and *thu'lubān*, with the nickname Umm 'Uwayl, and the fox-cub is known as *hidjris* and *tanfal*. X 432a
In botany, ~ is secondary growth on the date-palm, which needs to be pruned away (syn. *fasīl*). X 433a
♦ tha'laba → THA'LAB
♦ tha'labiyyāt (A) : in astronomy, several stars of the Great Bear. X 433a
♦ dā' al-tha'lab (A) : 'fox disease', in medicine, alopecia and baldness. X 433a
♦ 'inab al-tha'lab (A) : 'fox grape', in botany, the current. X 433a

thaldj (A) : snow or ice. X 435a
♦ **thallādj** (A) : the seller of snow or ice. The NISBA al-Thaldjī relates to the Banū Thaldj, however. X 435a
♦ thaldjiyyāt : in poetry, snow poems. IX 8b

thalweg : main navigation channel. IX, 369a; X 127a

thaman → TAS'ĪR

thanawiyya (A) : in heresiography, the term for dualists, becoming current in the 4th/10th century, covering a number of different sectarian groups, in particular the Manichaeans, the Bardesanites, and the Marcionites. It seems to have been preceded by *aṣḥāb al-ithnayn*, while the expressions *ahl al-ithnayn* and *ahl al-tathniya* are also found. X 439b

thanāyā (A) : in anatomy, the incisors. VIII 695b

thanī (A) : the name for a foal between two and three years old. II 785a; and → 'ATŪD; MUSINNA

tha'r (A) : blood revenge, which by law could settle most homicide disputes among Bedouin in modern times but in actuality only settles a small minority of cases. X 442b; punitive raids of retaliation, one of the Bedouin's activities. II 1055a

thāra → SHAGHABA

tharīd (A) : a dish consisting of bread crumbled into a broth of meat and vegetables, associated with the tribal tradition of the Ḳuraysh and said to be among the favourite dishes of the Prophet. II 1059a; V 41b; X 31a

thawāb (A) : in theology, recompense, especially with reference to the next world, usually only in a good sense. II 518a; and → 'IWAḌ

thawābit → AL-KAWĀKIB AL-THĀBITA

thawb (A, pl. *thiyāb, athwāb* 'clothes') : in early Islam, a general word for garment and fabric. V 733b; in modern times, a basic tunic worn by both sexes throughout the Middle East; a woman's dress. V 742a

thawr (A, < Gk) : in astronomy, *al-~* is the term for Taurus, one of the twelve zodiacal constellations. VII 83a

thawra (A, P *inḳilāb*, T *inkilap*) : uprising, revolt or revolution. The term has undergone a change over the centuries, from implying an undesirable development to a desirable one, even in the latter part of the 20th century being employed in a juxtaposition with Islam that was previously inconceivable: ~ *islāmiyya*, meaning revolution designed to restore the good old order of early Islam. X 444a f.

thaytal → BAḲAR

thayyib (A) : a girl over the age of puberty who is no longer virgin, being either widowed or repudiated. III 17a; X 901b

therwet-i fünūn (T) : lit. riches of the arts; the name of a late Ottoman Turkish literary movement, named after the journal with the same title which ran from 1896 till its closure in 1901. The movement has also been referred to as *Edebiyyāt-i djedīde*. X 445b

thika (A, pl. *thikāt*) : 'trustworthy'; in the science of Tradition, the highest quality of a reliable transmitter of Tradition, although through over-use it gradually lost its positive meaning, becoming more often than not a meaningless epithet. I 104b; II 462a; VIII 900b; VIII 983a; X 446a

thikāf → RUMḤ

thikhan (A) : thickness. XI 556b

thiyāb → ḲUMĀSH

thuʿala → THAʿLAB

thughūr (A, s. *thaghr*) : lit. gaps, used for ports of entry between the DĀR AL-ISLĀM and the DĀR AL-ḤARB, in particular the forward strongholds in the frontier zone which extended between the Byzantine empire and the empire of the caliphs in the north and north-east of Syria, and the march lands, 'the Marches', in al-Andalus between the Arabs and the Christian kingdoms to the north. I 761a; II 503a; VIII 603a; VIII 869b; X 446b; and → ʿAWĀṢIM

In naval science, strategic ports. X 446b; XII 120a

thulth → NIṢF

thuʿlubān → THAʿLAB

thulūl (A) : in medicine, a wart. XII 350a

thuluth (A) : lit. one-third; in calligraphy, a script which is generally said to have derived its name from being based on the principle of a third of each letter being sloping. It was and is still used for every kind of frame and for book titles in all Muslim countries. IV 1123b; VIII 151b

thūm (A) : in botany, garlic, one of the winter crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

thumān (A) : in botany, a grass. IV 1147a

thumn (A) : a measure used in Muslim Spain for weighing olive oil. A ~ contained 2¼ Spanish ratls (503.68 g), i.e. 1.12 kg. VI 121a

thunā'iyyāt → MUTHANNAYĀT

thurayyā → NADJM

thurmula → THAʿLAB

ṭīb → AFĀWĪH

ṭibāḳ (A) : 'antithesis', in rhetoric, a figure consisting in the inclusion, in a verse or colon, of words of opposite meaning (syn. *muṭābaḳa* and *muṭābaḳ*, and in later writings, *taḍādd* and *mutaḍādd*). X 450b

tibāra (H) : a Hindī term also applied to Muslim buildings in India, for a hall with three adjacent bays or doors. V 1214b

ṭibb (A) : medicine. X 452a

♦ al-ṭibb al-nabawī (A) : 'prophetic medicine', a genre of medical writing arising in the 3rd/9th century, intended as an alternative to the exclusively Greek-based medical systems and authored by clerics rather than physicians. X 453a

tibgh → TUTUN

tibnī (A) : the designation for the colour of the palest, straw-coloured yellow sapphire. XI 262b

tibr (A) : gold dust. X 915a; raw ore. XII 704a

tidjāra (A) : trafficking, trade, commerce; a trader is known as TĀDJIR (pl. *tudjdjār*, *tidjār*, *tudjur*, *tadjr*, and in Ibn al-Athīr, *tudjār*), which early on was synonomous with *khammār* 'wine-seller'. X 466a

tidyanin → TIQSIḌIN

tifā(wa) → TUFFA

tīfāf → HINDIBĀ'

tifinagh (Touareg, s. *tafinekk*) : 'Phoenician letters', the alphabet of the Touareg, consisting of geometrical consonantal characters. X 380b; X 476b

ṭifl (A) : child; according to Lane, 'a child until he discriminates... after which he is called *ṣabiyy*' or 'a child from the time of his birth... until he attains to puberty'. VIII 821b

tiftik (T) : the silky hair of the white long-haired goats in central Anatolia. I 511a

tīghbend (T) : among the Bektāshīs, a girdle fashioned from ram's wool, the girding on of which is the second element in their ceremony of initiation, *iḳrār*. IX 168a; and → ELIFI NEMED

tigin (T), or *takīn* : an ancient Turkish title with the original meaning of 'prince'. In the early Türk empire it denoted the legitimate son or grandson of the Supreme Ḳaghan, but since royal princes in the Türk empire usually held high military and administrative office, ~ gradually became detached from the necessity of royal descent and became a title of function. Among eastern Turks, ~ retained its meaning, but further west, it decreased in status and could be applied to any military leader. By the time of the Mongol invasions, it seems to have fallen out of use. X 480b

tihāma → TAHAM

ṭiḥuža (B) : in Tarifiyt, the genre of fairy tales, a part of the traditional oral literature. X 242a

tik wa-tum (A) : in music, a technical term corresponding to the learned term *ṭā'*, meaning the note struck, sharp and heavy, on the edge of the tambourine, sometimes of the little cymbal that is fixed there; or on the back of the closed left hand when the hands are beaten; or with the left foot on the ground when dancing. It is one of the two terms of the fundamental metrical dualism of the MUWASHSHAḤ: *ṭā'* (usually *tik*) and *dīh* (usually *tum*). The latter is struck on the stretched skin at the centre of the tambourine; on the centre of the open left palm if the hands are beaten; or with the right foot on the ground when dancing. X 498a

tikka → FŪṬA

ṭīkūk → SHAḲĪḲAT AL-NUʿMĀN

ṭilā' (A) : the pitch with which a camel's skin was smeared; also, a kind of syrup made from grapes that was cooked till two-thirds was evaporated, losing its inebriating power. IV 995b

tilasm, tilism → ḤIRZ; TILSAM

tilāwa → TADJWĪD

tillīs (A) : a measure of capacity which was used in Egypt in the caliphal period for measuring grain. VI 119a

tilmas (B) : 'spring, water-hole', which plural *tilmisān* is a plausible, if not certain, etymology for the Tlemcen, a town of western Algeria. X 498b

tilsam (A, Gk τέλεσμα), also *tilsim, tilism, tilasm* : a talisman, that is, an inscription with astrological and other magic signs or an object covered with such inscriptions, especially also with figures from the zodiacal circle or the constellations and animals that were used as magic charms to protect and avert the evil eye. X 500a

tīm (P) : term used by Nāṣir-i Khusraw for caravanserai, still used in its diminutive form *tīmča* in parts of the Iranian world. IX 796a; XII 457a

tīmār (P, T equivalent *dirilik*, DIRLIK) : lit. care, attention; in the Ottoman empire, a system of non-hereditary prebends, divided into three categories: KHĀṢṢ, ZIʿĀMET and ~ , used to sustain a cavalry army and a military-administrative hierarchy in the core provinces. X 502a; and → SERBEST

tīmča → TĪM

timrād (A, pl. *tamārid*) : narrow pierced pigeon hole in the loft (*ḳurmūṣ*, < Gk) of a pigeon. When placed at the foot of the loft, it forced the pigeon to climb up a ladder inside its nesting-place, which strengthened its muscles, thus becoming an indoor pigeon as distinct from an outside one which returned to the loft through pigeon-holes at the top. III 109b

timsāḥ (A, < C ʾ*imsaḥ*; pl. *tamāsīḥ*) : in zoology, the Nile crocodile (*Crocodilus vulgaris*), the only crocodile known in the Arabophone countries. X 510

♦ ḥabḳa al-timsāḥ : in botany, the common calamint (*Clinopodium vulgare* or *Calamintha clinopodium*), a labiat member of the Melissa genus. X 505b

timthāl → TAṢWĪR

ṭimṭim → NAḲAD

timucuha → TIQSIḌIN

tīn (A) : in botany, the common fig (*ficus carica*), widespread throughout the Mediterranean. A tree and fruit resembling ~ is *djummayz*, the sycamore fig. X 529a

♦ tīn akhḍar → NĪL

ṭīn (A) : mud, clay; in the Qurʾān, the material from which man was made, and the substance from which Jesus will create a live bird. X 529b; edible clay or earth, a diatomaceous earth or kieselguhr, made up of the siliceous remains of minute marine organisms, found in various parts of Persia in mediaeval Islamic times (also called *nuḳl, ṭīn nadjāḥī* 'successful, auspicious, valued clay'. X 530b

♦ ṭīn-i makhtūm (A) : *terra limnia*, a sort of volcanic earth that had reputedly medicinal power and a famous export product from Lemnos, an island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea, which used to be dug once yearly with some ceremony. V 763b

♦ **ṭīna** (A) : in philosophy, matter, rendering the basic meaning of Gk ὕλη, Ar. HAYŪLĀ, in early Arabic translations from the Greek and in the first period of Arabic philosophical writings. X 530a

ṭinfisa (A) : a kind of carpet with a pile. XII 136a

tinmal (B), or *tinmallal* : a Berber term for terraces for agriculture on a mountain side. X 530b

tinnīn (A) : lit. dragon; in folklore, an enormous serpent. III 335a; X 531a

In astronomy and astrology, the Arabic name for the constellation Draco (the third of the 21 northern constellations according to Ptolemy); also the figure of a mythological dragon, or serpent, which was assumed to cause solar and lunar eclipses. X 531a; and → DHANAB; DJAWZAHAR

♦ dhanab (al-tinnīn) → DHANAB

♦ raʾs (al-tinnīn) → RAʾS

tiqsiḍin (B) : a narrative genre popular in Kabylia, a Berberophone area of Algeria, consisting of long narratives in verse recounting the adventures of Muslim heroes and saints. Other narrative genres are the *tidyanin*, aetiological legends about animals, and the *timucuha*, which narrate the adventures of heroes and heroines who assert the moral and symbolic organisation of the conventional Kabyle society. X 119a

tira (P) : a subdivision of a tribe; among the Kurdish, ~ can be best described as a political group, not to be confused with the *hoz*, a group of the same lineage. The ~ is subdivided into many *khel*, each *khel* composed of twenty to thirty tents or households united by economic links as well as by family links. V 472a; among the Shāhsewan in Persia, a tribal section, formed by two or three winter camps of 10-15 households. IX 224a

ṭīra (A) : originally, the observation and interpretation of the spontaneous flight, cries and perching activities of certain birds, used in divination; evil presentiments aroused by the contents of a phrase or a song are generally also grouped under this head. A whole literature, essentially of poetry and proverbs, created to dissuade man from following the ideas inspired in him by ~ , and to which all men are subject, is derived from the term. II 758b ff.; IV 290b; V 101a

ṭirāz (A, pl. *ṭuruz*; < P) : textiles. I 24a; silken fabrics and brocades designed for ceremonial robes. I 501a; embroidery, especially embroidered bands with writing in them; an elaborately embroidered robe, such as might be worn by a ruler or his entourage. ~

garments were bestowed as tokens of royal favour and were among the standard gifts brought by diplomatic embassies to other rulers as part of foreign policy. III 219a; V 736b; X 534b; XII 341b; ~ , or *dār al-ṭirāz*, also came to designate the workshop in which such fabrics or robes were manufactured. X 534b

In art, from the meaning 'embroidered strip of writing' ~ came to mean 'strip of writing', border or braid in general, applied not only to material but also to any inscriptions on a band, whether hewn out of stone, done in mosaic, glass or faience, or carved in wood. X 534b; X 538b

In relation to papyrus, until the middle of the 4th/10th century, ~ could designate the inscriptions officially stamped with ink upon the rolls of papyrus in the factories. ~ in turn extended to indicate the factories themselves. X 534b

In the science of diplomatic, ~ was the term for the introductory protocol in diplomatic documents, with considerable variety in the wording. The purpose seems to have been to endow the document with a certain authenticity. From the 4th/10th century, the ~ was omitted altogether. It is also called *iftitāḥ*. II 301b

tirbāl (A) : in architecture, an Iranian square-shafted tower with an external ramp winding round it, the remains of which still stand in Fīrūzābād. VI 365a

ṭirimmāḥ (A) : tall, proud. X 541a

tīrkash (P) : in archery, a quiver made of horse-hair, used by archers from the province of Gīlān. IV 799b

tirme(dji) → DESTĀNDJĪ

ṭirs (A) : parchment from which the original text had been washed off and which then was written on again. II 540b; VIII 408a

tiryāḳ (A) : in medicine, a remedy which could be used as a prophylactic against poison. IX 873a; and → AFYŪN

ṭiʿs (A, pl. *ṭuʿūs*) : on the Arabian peninsula, a dune bare of vegetation. A larger dune is called *naḳā*ʾ. II 537a

tishrīn (Syr) : the name of the first two months of the Syrian calendar. X 548a

tishtaniyya → BURḲUʿ

ṭisḳ → WADĪʿA

tīṭ (B) : a Berber word for 'sacred spring'. X 548a; X 757a

tiwala (A) : 'spells by means of which a woman seeks to gain a man's love'. X 177b

tiyūl (T) : a grant of money or land in pre-modern Persian lands. X 550b; a type of appanage in the Turcoman states of eastern Anatolia. X 502a

♦ tiyūldār : the holder of a TIYŪL. X 550b

ṭoghrïl (T) : a designation in Old Turkish for a bird of prey, a possibility being the Crested Goshawk (*Astur trivirgatus*). It was certainly used for hunting purposes. The Turkish word may have given Magyar *turul* 'a kind of falcon or eagle'. From Uyghur times onwards, ~ was a common personal name. X 552b

tōlā (H 'balance, scales') : a Mughal measurement of weight for both gold and silver. In British India, by a regulation of 1833, the ~ of 180 grains, being also the weight of the rupee, was extablished as unit of the system of weights. II 121a; X 563b

ṭolba (Mor, s. *ṭālib* 'student') : in Morocco, a colloquial plural that denotes the students at madrasas or at universities. For their spring festival, → SULṬĀN AL-ṬALABA. X 148b

ton : 'group', in Mali, *ton jon* 'group of slaves' being the basic social institution of the Bambara empire of Segu, making up the army and a good part of the bureaucracy. IX 121b

ṭop (T) : in the Ottoman military, the term used for cannon. It originally denoted 'ball', hence cannon-ball; it appears in almost all the Turkic languages and passed into the usage of Persian, the Caucasian and the Balkan languages, etc. X 564b

♦ ṭopdju : in the Ottoman military, a member of the corps of artillerymen. X 564b

♦ ṭopkhāne : in the Ottoman military, the name for the central arsenal in Istanbul. X 564b

ṭopal (T) : lame; as 'the lame' a nickname given to two prominent Ottoman figures on account of their walking with a limp. IV 884b; X 564b

torbeš → POTURI

toy (T) : a public feast given by the ruler, a practice that was apparently introduced into the Islamic world by the Saldjūḳs from the custom among the pastoral nomads of Eurasia. The institution was also known as *shölen* or *ash*. VI 809b; the festival of marriage or of circumcision throughout the Türk world, called *dügün* in Turkey. X 733b

tozluḳ (T) : breeches worn by men as an outer garment in Ottoman Turkey. V 752b

trīmūlīn (A) : in zoology, the arenicol, a small beach worm (*Arenicola marina*), often used as bait in fishing. VIII 1022a

tuan (M 'master') : term preferred for 'saint' instead of WALĪ in Aceh. XI 121b

ṭūb (A) : in the Muslim West, a lump of earth or an unfired brick, whence Sp. *adobe*. In Egypt, ~ is used as a synonym of *ādjurr* 'fired brick'. V 585b; and → SHAWKA

tubbaʿ : a term (pl. *tabābiʿa*) used by Muslim writers as a dynastic title for those Ḥimyarite rulers who, between the late 3rd and early 6th centuries A.D., controlled the whole of Southwest Arabia. It is not clear how the Muslim writers came to envisage ~ as a title; it was not used by the rulers themselves. X 575b

tubbān (A) : very short drawers, made of hair, reportedly worn by the men who bore ʿĀʾisha's litter on the pilgrimage, and worn under trousers by Umayyad soldiers. V 733b; IX 677a

tuc (Mon) : according to Marco Polo, a corps of 100,000 of the Great Khān's troops. X 590a

tudhrī (A) : in music, a trill. II 1073b

tüdük → SIBIZGHI

tufah → TUFFA

tufangčī (T) : in the Ṣafawid and Ottoman military, a musketeer. I 8a; I 1068a; VIII 786a; IX 477a

ṭufaylī (A) : in mediaeval Arabic literature, an uninvited guest and/or a social parasite, whose behaviour constitutes *taṭfīl*, which covers a variety of actions ranging from coming uninvited to social functions to consuming more than one's share of food or drink to overstaying one's welcome. The ~ was one of the most popular character types in the Arabic ADAB genre. The lexicographers distinguished between a ~ who comes uninvited while people are eating (*wārish*) and one who comes uninvited while people are drinking (*wāghil*). X 586b; cadgers. X 4b

tuffa (A), or *tufah, tifā, tifāwa* : in zoology, the Jungle Cat (*Felis chaus*), trained to hunt game. II 739b

tuffāḥ (A) : in botany, the apple (*Pyrus malus, Rosaceae*). Some preparations made from the ~ were fruit purée (*djawārish al-tuffāḥ*), apple juice (*sharab al-tuffāḥ*) and apple sauce (*rubb al-tuffāḥ*). X 587a

♦ tuffāḥ al-djinn → YABRŪḤ

♦ tuffāḥ indjān (A) : in botany, the berries of the mandrake, called thus in one Palestinian village in the 1970s, said to encourage broodiness in chickens. XI 225b

♦ tuffāḥiyya (A) : a mediaeval meat dish with apple. X 31b

tugh (T, < Ch *tu* 'banner') : among the early Turks and Ottomans, an emblem of royal authority, a standard, traditionally a horse's tail or a bunch of horse hair on a pole, or a drum. A great ruler would be described as having nine ~s, the maximum. Under the Ottomans, those to whom royal authority had been delegated had a lesser number of ~s. X 590a

tughra (T, A *tughrā*, pl. *tughrāwāt*) : in the science of Turkish diplomatic, a calligraphic emblem of Turkish rulers, from the time of the chiefs of the Oghuz; the device or the sign of the sultan, also called *nishān-i humāyūn, tewkiʿ* (→ TAWKĪʿ) and *ʿalāmet*, and of different design for each sultan. It contains the name of the sultan and all his titles and other distinctions with the formula *muẓaffar dāʾima*, encased in an ornamental design, always with the same motifs and shape. II 314b; IV 1104b; V 232b; VIII 62a; X 595a; and → ʿUNWĀN

In Ottoman administration, chancellor. VIII 62a

♦ ṭughra-kesh (T) : in late Ottoman administration, a clerk especially assigned to drawing and painting the TUGHRA; in the earlier period NISHĀNDJI, also *tughra čekmek*, and in Persian *tughra kashīdan*. II 314b, X 597b

♦ ṭughrāʾī (A) : in Turkish administration, dating from the Saldjūḳ and Khʷārazm-Shāhī periods, the official charged with drawing the TUGHRA. X 595b

ṭughyān (A) : tyranny. XI 567b

ṭuḥayḥī (A) : on the Arabian peninsula, a small, fierce-looking lizard. I 541b

tuḥfat al-ʿūd (A) : in music, according to Ibn Ghaybī, a half-sized lute. X 769b

tukʾa → WISĀDA

tuku (J) : the remnant of a bride-price in Java. I 174a

tulad, tuladj → HAYTHAM

ṭulaḳāʾ (A, s. *ṭalīḳ* 'a person set free [from imprisonment or slavery]') : in early Islam, a technical term denoting the Meccans of Ḳuraysh who, at the time when Muḥammad entered Mecca in triumph, were theoretically the Prophet's lawful booty but whom he in fact released. It was subsequently used opprobriously by opponents of the Meccan late converts. X 603a; a derogatory name, sometimes applied to the Umayyads by their opponents, explained as a reference to the fact that as a result of Muḥammad's conquest of Mecca, they had become his property but he had then magnanimously chosen to set them free. X 841b

ṭulb (A, pl. *aṭlāb*) : in the military of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, a squadron or battalion of cavalrymen. In the Ayyūbid army, ~ was the basic parade and field unit, although it appears to have been an ad hoc formation; under the Mamlūks, ~ is used both for an AMĪR's entourage of personal MAMLŪKs and for the larger unit under his command. IX 610a; X 608a

tulband (T, < P *dulband*) : a sash or wrapper for the head, thence turban, the typical form of traditional headdress in the eastern Islamic lands, the Iranian world, and the Muslim and Sikh parts of the Indian subcontinent. X 608a

ṭulma (A) : 'flat bread'; in ancient Arabia, a kind of pancake cooked on a heated stone. V 41b

ṭulumba (T, < It *tromba*) : water pump for firefighting; these appeared first in Italy in the 15th century and spread around the Mediterranean shores. They are mentioned as ~ already in the 1560s, but the firefighting pump was introduced into the Ottoman empire by a renegade Frenchman in 1718. X 616a

♦ **ṭulumbadji** (T) : fireman, firefighter; Ewliya Čelebi mentions a guild of *~yān* who had the task of pumping water out of ships in the 16th century. After 1720, the ~s comprised a company of the Janissaries until the latter was abolished in 1826. The personage of the ~ was a major figure in Istanbul folklore of the 19th and early 20th centuries. X 616a

tūmān (P) : in numismatics, the unit of account which formed the basis of the Persian currency system during the period of Ṣafawid rule; its value was fixed at the currently-established weight of 10,000 silver dīnārs. The weight of the ~ was customarily expressed as a fixed number of MITHḲĀLs or *nukhūd*s of refined silver which could then be converted into coin with the value of 10,000 dīnārs. One *mithḳāl*, weighing approx-

imately 4.60 g, was equal to 24 *nukhūds* which each weighed about 0.192 g. VIII 790a; X 619b

In the Mongol empire, ~ refers to a division of the army numbering 10,000 men, which was further broken up into units of 1,000, 100 and 10. It is frequently mentioned in Persian and Arabic sources as the standard formation of the Mongol army in battle, but whether ~s actually had a full complement of 10,000 troops remains an open question. The ~ also is used to refer to an administrative district within the Ilkhānate. X 619a

tumāntōḳ : in Muslim India, a standard appearing in Mughal court ceremony, resembling the common ʿALAM but with its shaft adorned with Tibetan yak-tails. VI 533b

ṭūmār (A, < Gk) : a sixth of a papyrus roll, the smallest piece used in the trade. IV 742a; V 173b; and → MUKHTAṢAR AL-ṬŪMĀR

ṭumrūḳ → WAṬWĀṬ

tunbāk → TUTUN

tunbān → LUNG

ṭunbūr (A, < P *dum* or *dunba* 'tail' and *bara* 'lamb'; pl. *ṭanābīr*) : in music, the classical name for the pandore and various types of long-necked instruments in the East. It is generally to be distinguished from the lute, ʿŪD, by its smaller sound-chest and longer neck. A wire strung instrument, the *tel* ~, was smaller than the others and was popular with the women-folk. Synonymous terms for the instrument are *buzuk*, *djura*, SĀZ, etc. V 234a; X 624b, where variants and many other terms can be found

♦ ṭunbūr khurāsānī (A) : the pandore favoured in Khurāsān and to the north and east of it, generally found with two strings although sometimes mounted with three. X 625a

♦ ṭunbūr mīzānī (A), or ~ baghdādī : the pandore attributed to the Ṣabians, which retained in its frets the scale of pagan times, was used in ʿIrāḳ and to the south and west of it. It was generally found with two strings. X 625a

♦ ṭunbūr-i shīrwānī (P) : a pandore with a deep pear-shaped sound-chest and two strings, favoured by the people of Tabrīz. It was played with the fingers. X 625a

♦ ṭunbūra-yi turkī (P) : a pandore with sometimes three strings, but generally two, whose sound-chest was smaller than the *ṭunbūr-i shīrwānī*, although it had a longer neck. It was played with the fingers. X 625a

tunḳus (A) : in zoology, the tench. VIII 1021a

ṭunub → ṬANĪB; ṬARĪḲA

tūp-khāna (P) : in the Ṣafawid military, artillery. VIII 786a; artillery park. IX 476b

ṭūr (A, < Ar *ṭūrā* 'mountain') : mountain, with *djabal al-~* being the name for Mount Sinai, and, with *djabal zaytā* or ~ *zaytā*, also for the Mount of Olives. X 663a ff. For ~ in mysticism, → LAṬĪFA

turʿa (A) : a canal of a river, distinguised from minor branches and the main stream. VIII 38a

turandj → ʿUNWĀN

turba (A, T *türbe*; pl. *turab*) : an Islamic funerary building or complete funerary complex of various forms, or, in a more generic sense, denoting only the funerary aspect of the building. When used as the only term in a funerary inscription, ~ suggests the meaning 'mausoleum'. X 674b; with *kümbed*, a tomb surmounted by a dome, ~ is the classical word which was driven out of use by ḲUBBA, until it was again popularised by the Turks. V 289a; VI 652b; VIII 964b

In its basic meaning, ~ is 'earth', 'dust' and 'soil', the material from which the earth and mankind were formed. X 674a

türk → SĀRT

türkü (T, < *türkī*) : in Ottoman Turkish music, both the folksong in general, as opposed to the song belonging to Turkish art music, SHARḲĪ, and a genre of folksong, primarily

identified by the melodies proper to it. X 736a; a type of folk-poetry of Anatolia. I 677b; VIII 2b

türkmen (T, A *al-turkumān, al-tarākima*) : 'resembling the Turks, Turk-like', a term used collectively for Turkic tribes distributed over much of the Near and Middle East and Central Asia from mediaeval to modern times. X 682a

ṭurmūḳ → WAṬWĀṬ

turmus (A) : in botany, lupin, one of the winter crops in mediaeval Egypt. V 863a

ṭurra (A) : lit. border of a piece of cloth, upper border of a document; confused with TUGHRA in 13th-century Arabic literary and popular usage, arising from the part of the document where the *ṭughrā* was normally affixed. X 595b; *al-~ al-sukayniyya* 'Sukayna-style curls', a particular hair-style made famous by Sukayna bt. al-Ḥusayn, a granddaughter of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. IX 803a; and → ṢUDGH; ʿUNWĀN

turs (A) : in military science, shield. IX 891a; XII 736a

turshī (P) : pickled vegetables, which condiment, along with sour grapes, *ghūra*, dried lemons and walnuts, remain essential to Persian cooking. XII 609a

♦ turshīči-bāshī (P) : in Ṣafawid times, an official in the royal kitchen who supervised the preparation of pickled vegetables. XII 609b

ṭurṭūr (A) : a high cap around which the turban can be wound. In the 8th/14th century, the pointed ~ , with or without the turban, was the headdress of the common people in Egypt and the countries adjoining it. X 615a; and → SHIMRĪR

turudjān → TURUNDJĀN

ṭuruḳ → SHAYKH AL-SHUYŪKH; ṬARĪḲA

turundjān (A), more commonly *bādrundjubūya* : in botany, balm (*Melissa officinalis* L.) of the Labiatae, the lemon balm or bee plant, its synonyms being *badhrundjubūya, turudjān, ḥabaḳ al-turundjānī*, and *ḥashīshat al-naḥl*. It has been cultivated since Antiquity, was known in Spain in the 10th century AD and was possibly introduced further north by Benedictine monks. X 740b; and → ḤASHĪSHAT AL-SANĀNĪR; NUḤĀM

ṭusayt → ṢAḤN

tūshmāl-bāshī (P) : in Ṣafawid times, supervisor of the royal kitchen, a subordinate to the steward of the royal household, *nāẓir al-buyūtāt*, and responsible for the quantity and quality of the meat served at the court, also acting as the royal taster. XII 609b

ṭusūt (A) : in music, the general term for harmonica, played with sticks, *ḳuḍbān*. An author of the 9th/15th century refers to the harmonica as the *kīzān* 'cups' and *khawābiʾ* 'jars'. IX 11b

tūt (A), also *tūth* : in botany, the mulberry, *Morus* spp., of the Moraceae, known for its fruit and leaves. A synonym is *firṣād*. X 752a

♦ tūt al-arḍ (A) : in botany, the strawberry. X 752a

♦ tūt al-ʿullayḳ (A) : in botany, the raspberry. X 752a

tūtin (P) : a cigar-shaped raft of reeds, found among the population of hunters (*ṣayyāds*) in Sīstān, on which they travel to fish and hunt waterfowl. IX 682b; XI 516b

tūtiyā (A) : in mineralogy, calamine or tutty, used to denote the natural zinc ores, especially zinc carbonate, or the white zinc oxide which was obtained during the treatment of the ores. V 149b; V 356b; V 965a

tutun (A) : in botany, tobacco, more specifically, pipe tobacco. Other terms used are the Arabic *dukhān* and *tibgh*, and, for water-pipe tobacco, the Persian *tunbāk* and *tambākū*. While in much of the Western world smoking was long deemed unbecoming for women of polite society, no such social stigma seems to have existed in the Middle East. Until the 20th century, a smoking device that was widely used was the regular tobacco pipe. Originally made of clay, and later also of wood, these pipes were known as *čupūḳ* or *čapūḳ* in Turkish and Persian (< P *čūb* 'wood'). Lane observed similar pipes, known as *shibuk* or *ʿūd*, in early 19th-century Egypt. X 753a

tutkavul → RĀHDĀR

ṭuwama → SULAHFĀ

tuyugh (T), or *tuyuğ* : in Turkish literature, a type of quatrain, similar to the RUBĀʿĪ. I 677b

tuyūl : in mediaeval Persia, temporary grants in return for services. They frequently carried with them the right to collect (as well as to receive) the taxes, and rights of jurisdiction. III 1089b; IV 1043 ff.; IX 733a

tuzghü → SAʾURI

tūzūk (T, < P) : in military science, a ruler's or military commander's 'arrangement', or the order in which he keeps his soldiers and establishment. ~ is often coupled with *ḳāʿida, maḍbūṭ*, and *ḍabṭ u rabṭ*, all of which are synonymous in these contexts. X 760b

From the post-Tīmūrid period on, a generic title for memoirs and biographies of rulers. X 760b

U

ubna → LŪṬĪ

ʿūd (A, pl. *aʿwād, ʿīdān*) : 'wood, piece of wood, plank, spar', in botany, agallocha wood, which is the better term for ~, often incorrectly defined as aloe wood (ṢABR). ~ has to do with certain kinds of resinous, dark-coloured woods with a high specific weight and a strong aromatic scent, used in medicine as perfume and incense. The designation derived from the place of origin was also usual, e.g. *al-ʿūd al-mandalī, al-ʿūd al-samandūrī, al-ʿūd al-ḳimārī*, etc. X 767b

In music, the lute, whose player is an *ʿūdī*. I 66b; X 768a, where many different terms for lutes and the names of the various parts of the ~ are found; and → TUTUN

♦ al-ʿūd al-hindī : a wood mostly synonymous with agollocha. X 767b

♦ ʿūd ḳadīm → ʿŪD KĀMIL

♦ ʿūd kāmil : a larger ʿŪD than the classical one (*ʿūd ḳadīm*), with five strings, which was common by the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 692/1293). X 769b

♦ ʿūd al-ḳarḥ : in botany, *Anacyclus pyrethrum* D.C., *Compositae*. X 767b

♦ ʿūd al-rīḥ : lit. fragrant wood; in botany, *Berberia vulgaris* L., *Berberidaceae*. X 767b

♦ ʿūd al-ṣalīb : lit. cross wood; in botany, *Paeonia officinalis* L., *Ranunculaceae*. X 767b

♦ ʿūd al-shabbūṭ : in music, a lute whose shape resembles the round and flat fish of that name, invented by Zalzal. XI 427b

♦ ʿūd al-ʿuṭās : 'sneezing wood'; in botany, *Schoenocaulon officinale, Liliaceae*. X 767b

♦ al-ʿūdāni : 'the two things of wood' of the KHAṬĪB, viz. the minbar and the staff or wooden sword which he has to hold in his hand during the sermon. IV 1110b

ʿudār (A) : part of the ancient Arabs' repertoire of fabulous animals, the ~ was a male whose habit was to make men submit to assaults, which proved mortal if worms developed in the anus of the victim. II 1078b

ʿudda → SILĀḤ

ʿūdha → ḤIRZ; TAMĪMA

udḥī → ḌAHŪL

ʿudhr (A) : in law, a plea. I 319b

'udhri (A) : the NISBA of the Arabian tribe 'Udhra, ~ came to mean an elegiac amatory genre among the poets of the tribe, who expressed passionate desire for an unattainable beloved, chastity and faithfulness until death. *Al-hubb al-* ~ is a favourite theme in classical Arabic poetry and prose, often identified with 'platonic' or 'courtly' love. The opposite, performative, physical love, is known as Hidjāzī. X 774b; X 822b

udhun (A) : ear.

♦ iltihāb al-udhun (A) : in medicine, otitis. X 433a

'udiya (A) : 'having a single tent-pole'; among the Tiyāha on the Arabian peninsula, a tent whose ridge-pole rests on a row of three poles. The Sbā' call it a *gotba.* IV 1148a

udj (T) : frontier. II 1044b; under the Ottomans, a military post. VIII 608b; the frontier districts or marches. X 777a

♦ udj-bey (T) : the military lord of a district zone carrying out war against the neighbouring Christians. X 777b

'udjra (A) : protuberance, knot. X 508a

'udjma → 'ADJAM

udm (A), or *idām* : a condiment, eaten with bread by pre-Islamic Arabs. II 1058a; V 42a

'udūl → 'ADL

ufk (A) : falsehood. IX 567b

'ufr → KHANZUWĀN

uf'uwān → AF'Ā

ughlūta → MU'DILA

uhbūla → HIBĀLA

'uhda (A) : in Egypt under Muhammad 'Alī, an estate consisting of bankrupt villages whose taxes were collected by their new landholders rather than by members of the government. II 149a

uhdjiyya (A, pl. *ahādj*[in]) : 'riddle, conundrum', one of three kinds of literary plays upon words, the others being LUGHZ and MU'AMMĀ. The term denotes a simple guessing game, e.g. 'guess what I have in my hand', but can also mean a type of enigma fairly close to the *lughz*. Thus for *salsabīl* 'wine' : 'What is the alternative sense meant by the person setting forth a riddle when he says: ask (= *sal*) the way (= *sabīl*)?'. V 807a

uhdūtha (A) : 'speech, tale', giving rise to *haddūta* 'folktale' in colloquial Arabic. XII 775a

'uhūd → 'AHD; 'AHDNĀME

'ukāb (A) : the Prophet's flag, according to the traditional literature. I 349a; the black banner used in the battles against Kuraysh. IX 14a; and → NŪSHĀDIR

In zoology, the eagle (pl. *a'kub, 'ikbān, 'ukbān, 'akābīn*), which has the tecnonyms of *Abu 'l-ashyam* 'father of the one with the mole or beauty spot', *Abu 'l-hudjdjādj* 'the man with the pilgrims', i.e. of Mecca, *Abu 'l-hasan* 'the fine one', *Abu 'l-dahr* 'the long-lived one', *Abu 'l-haytham* 'the eaglet's father', and *Abu 'l-kāsir* 'the breaker of ones'. Out of the nine species of Aquilae, seven are known in the Arab-speaking lands. I 1152b; X 783b, where numerous terms for the various eagles are found

In astrology, al-~ is the name of the 17th boreal constellation, yielding in ancient Latin texts such deformations as *alaocab, aloocab, alaucab*, etc. X 784a

'ukad, or *al-'ukadā'* → AHMĀL

'ukalā' al-madjānīn (A) : 'wise fools', a general denomination for individuals whose actions contradict social norms, while their utterances are regarded as wisdom. Several authors of classical Arabic literature have treated the phenomenon in specific works that belong to the literary genre dealing with unusual classes of people, such as the blind or misers. XII 816b

'ukda → 'AKD; DJAWZAHAR

ukhdha → SIHR

ukhrūf → UKRŪF

ukhuwān (A) : in botany, the chrysanthemum; ~ is also used to render the παρθένιον of Dioscorides, by which we should probably understand the medical *Matricaria chamomilla*, still in use today. XII 114b

ukiyānūs → ḲĀMŪS

ūḳiyya (A) : in numismatics, a piece of 40 dirhams. XI 413a

ʿukkāl → ʿĀḲIL; DJĀHIL

ukla (A) : an itch. IX 435a

uḳnūm (A, < Syr; pl. *aḳānīm*) : hypostasis. X 374a

uḳrūf (A), or *ukhrūf* : a high cap common in the Maghrib, which could be made either quite simply or of valuable material. X 615a

uḳṣūṣa (A) : in modern Arabic literary terminology, the fictional genre of the short story. The term enjoys less currency than *ḳiṣṣa ḳaṣīra*, the Artabic literal translation of the English term. X 796b

ʿuḳūba (A) : in law, punishment in all its forms, encompassing both discretionary punishments and those designated as ḤADD. ~ is frequently confused with DJAZĀʾ, which can be both punishment and reward. X 799a

ulači (Mon) : during the Mongol empire, both a postal courier and an ostler, the functionary responsible for the welfare of the post horses. XI 268a

ulaḳ (T) : the official courier service in the Ottoman empire, which origin, with some reason, the Ottomans traced to the Mongols. The state couriers are also termed ~ . From the middle years of Süleymān's reign, a network of staffed posting stations, *menzil-khāne*, was introduced along the major routes. X 800a

ūlaḳ : an Özbeg sport in which men on horseback battle to carry the carcass of a cow to a goal, played at the celebration of weddings and circumcisions. VIII 234b

ʿulamāʾ (A, s. *ʿālim*) : the term denoting scholars of almost all disciplines, although referring more specifically to the scholars of the religious sciences. In Sunni Islam, the ~ are regarded as the guardians, transmitters and interpreters of religious knowledge, and of Islamic doctrine and law, embracing those who fulfil religious functions in the community that require a certain level of expertise in religious and judicial issues. The *ʿālim* is often seen as opposed to the *adīb*, he of 'profane knowledge', ADAB. X 801b; XII 720b

ulee (Oromo) : a long, forked stick, carried by pilgrims to the tomb of Shaykh Ḥusayn, having a practical use but being above all a sign of their status as pilgrims. IX 399a

ulkā : in the Ṣafawid period, a district or region held by a tribal group. X 550b; and → YURD

ulu beg (T) : 'senior lord'; in Saldjūḳ and early Ottoman administration, the designation for the father of the ruling family in his capacity as ruler of the state. It was he who concluded treaties, struck coins and was apparently commemorated in the Friday public prayer. VIII 192b

ʿulūfe (A, T; < *ʿalaf* 'provender or grain rations for mounts') : in Ottoman financial and military organisation, the wages of members of the imperial household. This basic pay for members of standing military regiments at the Porte was continuous in both peace and war. Use of the term ~ for salary also separated military from administrative personnel, since the latters' wages were usually termed *waẓīfe* (pl. *waẓāʾif*). X 811b

ulugh khān (T 'great khan') : a title borne by various of the ethnically Turkish Dihlī Sultans in 7th-8th/13th-14th-century Muslim India. X 814a

ulus (Mon) : a Turkic term meaning 'country' or 'district' (→ ĪL), which when it came into Mongolian acquired the meaning of 'people', and as such is found referring to both the Mongol peoples themselves and neighbouring nations who were absorbed by them. It was also applied to the various appanages given to the sons of Čingiz Khān, and can often be translated henceforth as 'state'. X 814a

ʿuluww → ISNĀD ʿĀLĪ

ʿumda (A, pl. *ʿumad*) : in 19th-century Egypt, the term for veteran masters in the guilds. XII 409b

♦ ʿumdat al-mulk (IndP) : in the Dihlī sultanate, the title for the chief secretary, DABĪR, also called *ʿalāʾ dabīr* and *dabīr-i khāṣṣ*. IV 758b

umdūḥa → MADĪḤ

umm (A) : mother.

In astronomy, the inner surface, usually depressed, on the front of the astrolabe, enclosed by the outer rim, ḤADJRA. I 723a

♦ umm al-banīn → UMM AL-WALAD

♦ umm ḥubayn → ḤIRBĀʾ

♦ umm ḳarn : in zoology, the trigger fish (*Balistes*). VIII 1021a; and → KARKADDAN

♦ **umm al-kitāb** : lit. the mother of the book, an experssion that appears three times in the Qurʾān and some forty Prophetic traditions, but has no equivalent in the earlier Semitic languages. It most often denotes the heavenly prototype of the Qurʾān, identified with *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*. In an extension of this, certain authors, particularly the mystics, define ~ as the first intellect or the Supreme Pen, which writes down the destinies on the tablet. Some authors see in ~ the celestial 'matrix' of all the revealed books. X 854a

In shīʿism, ~ is also the title of an enigmatic book associated with the early shīʿī GHULĀT of southern ʿIrāḳ. Originally produced in Arabic, only a later enlarged version, written in archaic Persian, has been preserved by the Central Asian Nizārī Ismāʿīlī communities in present-day Tajikistan, Afghanistan and northern areas of Pakistan. X 854b

♦ **umm al-ḳurā** : lit. the mother of settlements, or villages, a Qurʾānic expression that has been taken to mean Mecca, although Bell pointed out that the idea of a cluster of settlements or hamlets fits much better the topography of the Medinan oasis in Muḥammad's day, whereas Mecca was from early times a necleated town, and moreover, all three of the passages in which ~ appears in the Qurʾān are Medinan. IV 680a; X 856a

♦ umm sālim : in zoology, the bifasciated lark. I 541b

♦ umm al-shabābīṭ : in zoology, the barbel (*Barbus sharpeyi*). VIII 1021a

♦ umm thalāth: in zoology, the nickname given to the female sandgrouse, because she lays two or three eggs. IV 744a

♦ **umm walad** : in law, the title given to a concubine, or slave-girl, who has a child by her master. In contrast, the name for a free woman was *umm al-banīn* 'mother of sons'. I 28a; X 857a

♦ umm zubayba → KHARŪF AL-BAḤR

♦ **ummī** (A, pl. *ummiyyūn*) : 'belonging to a people without a revealed book', this term appears four times in the Qurʾān in the plural, and once in the singular in regard to the Prophet. There is no basis in the Qurʾān for the traditional view that ~ means 'illiterate'. V 403b; X 863b

umma (A, pl. *umam*) : as a Qurʾānic term, ~ denotes the nation of the Prophet, the Community. II 411a; in the Qurʾān, ~ usually refers to communities sharing a common religion, while in later history it almost always means the Muslim community as a whole. In modern usage, the plural *umam* means 'nations' and is therefore distinct from the Islamic meaning normally associated with ~ . X 861b

In geography, a term on the Arabian peninsula for the Tihāma fogs, also called *sukhaymānī*. IX 39b

ʿumra (A) : the Little or Lesser Pilgrimage, in contrast to the ḤADJDJ, the Great Pilgrimage. It consists of walking seven times around the Kaʿba, praying two *rakʿa*s, a sequence of actions performed in the ṢALĀT, facing the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* and the Kaʿba,

and finally traversing seven times the distance between Ṣafā and Marwa. III 31b; III 35a; X 864b; and → ʿURS

ʿumrā (A) : as defined by the Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī schools of law, a gift with full ownership but as a life interest, the donee undertaking to restore the property on his death, at the latest. In the Mālikī school, ~ is a gift of the usufruct and as such valid; it thus becomes very hard to distinguish it from *ʿāriyya* 'loan for use'. III 351a

ʿumūm wa-khuṣūṣ (A) : lit. generality and specificity, a term of legal theory that bears upon the scope of applicability of rules of law. According to the majority view, whenever an interpreter came across a general expression in a text (e.g. *muslimūn* 'Muslims', *al-darāhim* 'the dirhams'), he had grounds for an initial presumption to the effect that the author of the text intended an all-inclusive reference. If he subsequently discovered a contextual clue indicating that specificity rather than all-inclusiveness was intended, he would have grounds for setting aside this initial presumption. Otherwise the initial presumption would stand. X 866b

ūniḳs (A, < Gk) : in zoology, a kind of water-snail, valued because of its aroma. VIII 707a

ʿunḳ → IBRĪḲ

ʿunnāb (A) : in botany, the jujube tree (*Ziziphus jujuba*), syn. *zafzūf* (dim. *zufayzif*). IX 549b; X 868a

ʿunṣur (A, pl. *ʿanāṣir*) : 'origin', 'family', 'race', 'constituent'; in modern Arabic, the plural *ʿanāṣir* may also be rendered as 'nationalities'. X 868b

In philosophy, elementary body, material cause; element, matter. X 530a; X 868b

ʿunwān (A, pl. *ʿanāwīn*) : the address or superscription at the head of a document. In manuscript production, ~ is used for the title of a composition and is thus one of the terms used for an illuminated frontispiece or headpiece, with or without the title of the book inscribed in it. The other technical terms are *tardjama, ṭurra, ṭughrā, sarlawḥ, dībādja, shamsa* and *turandj*, although there is no consensus as to their exact meaning. Apart from the last two, which are medallions of round or oval shape, the other terms may refer to any type of illumination preceding the main text. X 870b

In the science of diplomacy, the ~ is part of the introduction of documents, denoting the direction or address. Al-Ḳalḳashandī collected fifteen different forms of the ~ . II 302a; X 870b

ʿurafāʾ → ʿARĪF

ʿurāt (A) : the 'naked', name for turbulent social elements who grouped themselves around the caliph and barred the path of the besiegers of Baghdad in 196/812 until their resistance was overcome. I 437b

ʿurbān → BAYʿ AL-ʿURBĀN

urdjūḥa (A), or *mardjūḥa* : a seesaw, according to tradition where Muḥammad first saw ʿĀʾisha. V 616a

urdjūza → RADJAZ

urdu (U, < T ORDU), and *zabān-i urdu* : in South Asia, the term used to designate the mixed Hindustani-Persian-Turkish language of the court and the army; now the Urdu language of a large proportion of the Muslims in the subcontinent. VIII 174b; X 873b

ʿurf (A, P) : custom, customary law, administrative regulations on matters of penal law, obligations and contracts, issued by Muslim rulers, called ḲĀNŪN in Turkey. I 170a; X 887b; and → ʿĀDA; AʿRĀF; ʿARĪF

In Ottoman dress, a large globe- or pad-shaped turban worn by learned men, corresponding to the Arabic *danniyya* and the Persian *kulāhī-ḳāḍī*. Meḥemmed II was fond of wearing the ~ embroidered with gold. X 615a

urfī (A) : in zoology, the braize orphe, whose Arabic term is found again in the Latinised nomenclature to specify a sub-species limited to a particular region (*Pagrus orphus*). VIII 1021b

ʿurfuṭ (A) : in botany, the name of a thorny shrub which exudes an evil-smelling resin. III 587a

ur<u>gh</u>an, ur<u>gh</u>anūn : in music, the artifically wind-blown instrument known as the organ. It also stood for a certain stringed instrument of the Greeks, and was used by the Persians to denote a species of vocal composition somewhat similar to the mediaeval European *organum*. At no period in Muslim history, however, was the organ considered an instrument of music in the same sense as e.g. the NĀY or ʿŪD. It was probably accepted as an interesting mechanical device. X 34b; X 893a

♦ ur<u>gh</u>anūn al-būḳī : in music, the flue-pipe organ. X 893b

♦ ur<u>gh</u>anūn al-zamrī : in music, the reed-pipe organ, a very primitive type in which the bellows are inflated by the mouth. X 893b

ūriyā (Syr) : teacher. IX 490a

urka (A), or *ḳattal* : in zoology, the orc or grampus, one of the marine mammals or cetaceans. VIII 1022b

ʿurs (A, pl. *aʿrās*), or *ʿurus* (pl. *ʿurusāt*) : originally the leading of the bride to her bridegroom, marriage, also the wedding feast simply, ~ is the wedding performed in the tribe or the house of the man, whereas *ʿumra* is the wedding performed in the house of tribe of the woman. X 899b; in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, a feast held in honour of a saint. VI 896b; XI 535b; a death anniversary. X 59b; among the dervishes, a celebration to commemorate a dead saint. VIII 416a; in South Africa, festival commemorating death anniversaries of ṣūfī saints. IX 731a

urṣūṣa (A), *arsusa*, or *russa* : in dress, said to be a melon-shaped hat. X 615a

ʿurūb : water-mills. X 479a

ʿurūba (A) : lit. the quality or nature of Arabness; in modern political parlance, the doctrine of Arabism or pan-Arabism. X 907b

ʿurwa (A), or *ḥabs* : part of the suspensory apparatus of the astrolabe, ~ is the handle, which is affixed to the point of the KURSĪ so that it can be turned to either side in the plane of the latter. I 723a

usbūʿ (A) : a week; also the term for a wedding in early Islam, since a wedding lasted a week. X 900a

usbūr (A) : in zoology, the sparid fish. VIII 1021a

ʿuṣfur → ḲURṬUM

ʿu<u>sh</u>ar (A) : in botany, a tree of the Middle East and Africa (*Calotropis syriaca*). XI 107b

ʿu<u>sh</u>b → ʿA<u>SH</u><u>SH</u>ĀB

u<u>sh</u>nān (A) : a perfumed (powdered, pasty?) mixture for washing and scenting the clothes and hands, used in mediaeval times. VIII 653a

ʿu<u>sh</u>r (A, T *ʿö<u>sh</u>er*; pl. *aʿ<u>sh</u>ār*, *ʿu<u>sh</u>ūr*) : in law, the tenth or tithe; generally a tax on the land owned by Muslims, or a tax on the commercial goods to be paid by all merchants, Muslim or non-Muslim. X 917a; in the Ottoman empire, the main land tax for Muslims, a tithe of the produce. VII 507b

u<u>sh</u>turbān (P) : the Persian equivalent of the Arabic *d<u>j</u>ummāl* 'camel-driver', 'owner and hirer of camels', 'a dealer in camels'. XII 241b

u<u>sh</u>turmur<u>gh</u> → NAʿĀM

üsküf (T) : in the Ottoman empire, a high KÜLĀH 'cap' worn by the Janissaries. Its rear part fell in the form of a covering on the back, a ribbon ornamenting it at the base where a metal case for the officer's spoon or plume was also fixed. V 751b; also called usḳūfiyya (< It scuffia; = A kūfiyya), a peaked cap embroidered with gold, which the officials of the Janissaries and some Palace officials like the Balta<u>dj</u>is wore, also called ḳūḳa. Süleymān Pa<u>sh</u>a is said to have invented it; it came into general use in the reign of Murād I and became a kind of ruler's crown. X 615a

usra → CĀʾILA
usrub → RAṢĀṢ
usṭā → ADJĪR
ustādār (P) : in the Mamlūk sultanate, the title of one of the senior AMĪRs, who headed the *dīwān al-ustādāriyya*, which was responsible for managing expenditure on the sultan's household supplies. The ~ was in charge of the food tasters, *al-djāshankīriyya*, as well as for the court retinue and the servants in the sultan's palace. X 925a; (< *ustādh al-dār*). X 926a
ustādh (A, < Pah; pl. *ustādhūn, asātidha*), or *ustād* : an intelligent and hightly-esteemed person; a master, in the sense of professor, or maestro in music; a master craftsman; eunuch. I 33a; X 925b; as an honorific among the Shāfiʿīs, al-~ denoted Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāyīnī. X 926a
♦ ustādhiyya : a neologism meaning professorate. X 926a
ustān (P), or *istān* : in administrative geography, province, with its subdivisions being SHAHR or KŪRA; state domains, administered by an *ustāndār*; in high ʿAbbāsid times, ~ acquired a special connotation regarding taxation, explained either as *iḥāza*, land taken over by the state, or MUḲĀSAMA, land from which taxation was taken as a fixed proportion of its produce. X 926a
♦ **ustāndār** (P) : an administrative term for the governor of a province or for the official in charge of state domains. X 927b
usṭuḳussāt (A, < Gk στοιχεῖα), or *ʿanāṣir* : in philosophy, the primary bodies. X 530a
usṭūl (A, < Gk στόλος; pl. *asāṭīl*) : in the Arab navy, the term for a fleet, and secondarily, an individual 'galley' or 'man-of-war'. X 928a; XII 120a
usṭūra (A, pl. *asāṭīr*) : legend, myth. III 369a
♦ **asāṭīr al-awwalīn** (A) : a Qurʾānic phrase meaning 'stories of the ancients', suggesting a set expression that had been long in use. Its meaning hardly in doubt, most of the discussion has concerned its derivation, for *asāṭīr* was a plural without singular. Nowadays the term has been reinstated in the singular form *usṭura*. III 369a; XII 90b
ustuwā : uplands. X 928b
uṣūl → AṢL
♦ uṣūlī (A) : a specialist in **uṣūl al-fiḳh**. X 930b
♦ **uṣūliyya** (A) : lit. those who go back to first principles; in law, the doctrine of going back to first principles, and more specifically, within the Twelver shīʿī tradition, those of its adherents commonly identified as supporting application of the rationalist principles of jurisprudence. The term does not appear to have been used until the 6th/12th century. X 935a; and → AKHBĀRIYYA
In modern theologico-political parlance, ~ is used as the equivalent of 'fundamentalism', but in less formal Egyptian Arabic, Islamic fundamentalists are often called *islāmiyyīn, al-sunniyya*, or, in the singular, *ikhwāngī* or *rāgil sunnī*. X 937a
ʿuṭārid (A, P *tīr*) : in astronomy, the planet Mercury, also called *al-kātib* in Andalusian and Maghribī sources. X 940a
utenzi (Sw), or *utendi* : in Swahili literature, the verse epic. IV 886b
uthāl (A, > Lat *aludel*), or *athāl* : in chemistry, a pot used in the sublimation process for causing bodies to pass from the solid state to that of gaseous aggregation by means of steam pressure. X 946a
utrudj, utrudjdja (A) : in botany, the citron, thought to be found in the Qurʾān under the name of *mitk, matk*. II 1058b; IV 740b; one of the names for the Cedrate tree or Adam's apple (*Citrus medica Risso*). V 962a, where many variant names are found
ʿutūb (A, s. *ʿutbī*) : in its most strict sense, communities of Nadjdī origin, probably from tribal stocks, who in the 17th century moved to the Gulf coast and settled in Kuwayt and Bahrain.

uṭum (A, pl. *āṭām*) : in early Islam, a fort. V 436a
ʿuṭʿuṭ → SAKHLA
uwaysiyya (A) : in mysticism, a class of mystics who look for instruction from the spirit of a dead or physically absent person, derived from Uways al-Ḳaranī, who is supposed to have communicated with Muḥammad by telepathy. X 958a
üzengi ḳurčisi → RIKĀBDĀR, kept often either by one of the royal ladies or by a trusted official. II 806a; a small round seal for decrees relating to titles, high appointments, DJĀGIRs and the sanction of large sums. VII 473b
ʿuzla (A) : isolation, one of the components of asceticism, ZUHD. XI 560a
uzuk, or *ūzuk* : in Muslim India, a royal seal (a 'privy' seal), kept often either by one of the royal ladies or by a trusted official. II 806a; VII 473b; a simple seal with his name in *nastaʿlīḳ* characters, owned by Akbar. IV 1104b

V

vār : in Muslim Pandjābī literature, an historical ballad. VIII 256b
vāv : in Gudjarāt, an analogous structure to the BĀʾOLĪ 'step-well', with the entire well being covered at surface level. V 888b

W

wā-sōkht (U, P) : in Perso-Urdu literary criticism, a theme intrinsic to Persian love poetry that came to be exploited for its own sake in the 10th/16th-century GHAZAL; in Urdu poetry of the 18th and 19th centuries, a stanzaic poem devoted to the theme of repudiating the beloved, which genre seems to have originated with Sawdā. Variously transcribed as WĀSŌKH and WĀ-SŪKHT. VIII 776a; IX 378a; XI 2a
wā-sūkht → WĀ-SŌKHT
wabāʾ (A, P *wabā*) : in medicine, an epidemic, pestilence, and theoretically distinguished from *ṭāʿūn* in the more specific sense of 'plague' (a mediaeval Arabic expression found in medical treatises is 'every *ṭāʿūn* is a ~ but not every ~ is a *ṭāʿūn*') although with later Muslim writers it is doubtful whether the precise distinction existed. IX 477a; XI 2a; cholera. VIII 783a
wabāl (A) : in astrology, 'detriment'. X 942a
wabar (A) : camel's hair. IX 764b
♦ ahl al-wabar : 'the people of the camel skin', a designation for nomads, as opposed to *ahl al-madar*, i.e. the sedentaries. V 585a
waʾd (A) : infanticide, in pre-Islamic times generally of newborn daughters, who were buried alive (**waʾd al-banāt**), prohibited by Q 81:8. X 199a; X 6a
al-waʾd al-khāfī : 'the hidden burying alive', i.e. coitus interruptus. XI 6b
waʿd (A) : in eschatology, part of the dogma of **al-waʿd wa ʾl-waʿīd**, promises and threats in the life beyond, one of the five fundamental principles dear to the Muʿtazilīs. With this slogan, the Muʿtazila expressed their conviction that not only the unbelievers had to face damnation on the Day of Judgement but that Muslims who had committed a grave sin without repentance also were threatened by eternal hellfire. III 465a; IX 341b; X 6b
wadʿ → WADAʿ
waḍʿ al-lugha (A) : lit. the establishment of language; in linguistics and legal theory, a view of the nature of language, which is understood to be a code made up of patterned

vocal sounds or vocables and their meanings and this code was seen to have emerged out of a primordial establishment of the vocables *for* their meaning. V 805b; X 7a

waʿda (A) : a communal meal. IX 20b

wadaʿ (A, s. *wadaʿa*), or *wadʿ* : cowrie shells, *Cypraea moneta* or *Cypraea annulus*, used in India and widely in West Africa as money down to the early 20th century. They were also known in Egypt as *kawda*, or *kūda*, reflecting its Hindi and Sanskrit origin as *kauri* (> cowrie). XI 7b; ~ could also be called *kharaz*, and the term was used also for shells in general. XI 9b

wadaad (Somali) : in Somali society, a man of religion, who also mediates in disputes between lineages. This term is used in contrast to *waranle* 'warrior', the other class of Somali men. IX 723a

waḍaḥ → DJUDHĀM

waḍḍaʿ → ṢĀLIḤ

wadhārī : an expensive cloth of cotton woven on cotton made in the Transoxianan village of Wadhār, which was made into a light resistant type of yellow overcoat, very popular in winter. VIII 1030b; XII 176b

wādī (A, pl. *widyān, awdiya*) : a watercourse filled only at certain times of the year; stream channel. I 538a; VII 909b; XI 13b; in the Maghrib, all watercourses, including the great perennial rivers; it can equally designate, in very arid regions, low-lying areas where there is a total lack of any flow. XI 14a

waḍīʿ → ḌAʿĪF

wadīʿa (A, pl. *wadāʾiʿ*) : in law, the legal contract that regulates depositing an object with another person, whether real or supposed. The actual act of depositing is *īdāʿ*, ~ is in reality the noun for the object of the contract, and *mūdiʿ* is the person who deposits an object or property with the *mūdaʿ* 'depositary'. The ~ is a depositing process which produces no benefit or ownership for the depositary vis-à-vis the object. XI 21b

waḍīʿa (P, < A) : in taxation matters, a tax schedule (syn. *ṭisḳ*) drawn up to meet the variety of physical conditions placed on land for the payment of land tax. IV 1037b

wadjd (A) : in mysticism, a technical term meaning 'ecstasy, rapture', feelings which dissociated the mystic from his personal qualities. The highest state of ecstasy was called *wudjūd* 'existence'. XI 23a

wadjh (A, pl. *wudjūh*) : face; variant. I 155a; in music, the belly of the ʿŪD. X 769b; and → ʿIRḌ

wādjib (A) : in theology, a synonym of FARḌ 'a religious duty or obligation', the omission of which will be punished and the performance of which will be rewarded. The Ḥanafī school, however, makes a distinction between these two terms, applying *farḍ* to those religious duties which are explicitly mentioned as such in the Qurʾān and the SUNNA, or based on consensus, and ~ to those the obligatory character of which has been deduced by reasoning. II 790a

wafāt → MAWT

wafaya (A, pl. *wafayāt*) : obituary. XI 345b

wafd (A) : lit. delegation; the name of a nationalist political party in modern Egypt. XI 25b

wafḍa (A) : originally, a shepherd's leather bag; in archery, a quiver made from skin entirely, with no wood in its construction. IV 800a

wāfid (A) : 'one who comes, makes his way, in a delegation or group' (syn. *muwaffad*); used in the collective, **wāfidiyya**, for Mamlūk troops of varying ethnic origins who came to Egypt and Syria to join the Sultanate's military forces. XI 26b; XI 220a

wāfir (A) : in prosody, the name of the fourth Arabic metre. I 670a; XI 27b

wafk (A, pl. *awfāk*) : lit. harmonious arrangement; in sorcery, a square, in the field of which certain figures are so arranged that the addition of horizontal, vertical and diagonal lines gives in every case the same total (e.g. 15 or 34). II 370a; X 501b; XI 28a

wāghil → ṬUFAYLĪ

wāḥa (A, pl. *wāḥāt*) : oasis. XI 31a

waḥam (A), also *waḥām*, *wiḥām* : pregnancy craving; little noted in the medical literature, in popular Islam, ~ was considered very important to attend to, cf. the verb *waḥḥama* 'to slaughter a camel in order to satisfy a woman's craving'. XI 32a

waḥda (A) : oneness; unit, unity, used as a technical term in philosophy and theology with these meanings, though not occurring in the Qur'ān. XI 37a

In grammar, the genitive construct *ism al-* ~ 'noun of unity' forms the counterpart to *ism al-djins* 'generic noun'. XI 36a

♦ **waḥdat al-shuhūd** : 'the oneness of witnessing', a doctrine established by Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. I 416a; III 102a; XI 37b; monotheism. I 297b

♦ waḥdat al-wudjūd : 'the oneness of existence', a main line of mysticism which came to dominate from Ibn al-'Arabī onwards. I 416b; III 102b; X 318a; XI 37a; pantheism. I 297b

waḥf (A) : a woman's exuberant hair. IX 313a

wahhābiyya (A) : in law, both the doctrine and the followers of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb. XI 39b

wāḥid (A), or *fard, mufrad* : in grammar, the singular. II 406b

wahm (A, pl. *awhām*) : lit. notion, supposition, in particular false notion, delusion; in philosophy, estimative faculty (also *al-kuwwa al-wahmiyya*); imagination. I 112a; III 509b; XI 48b; XII 822b; 'whim'. VIII 953a

♦ wahmiyyāt : the science of *fantasmagorica*. VIII 105b

waḥsh (A, pl. *wuḥūsh*) : wild, desolate, uninhabited; a collective noun meaning 'wild animals'. XI 52a

♦ **waḥshī** (A) : wild; the singulative of WAḤSH. ~ has two opposites: *ahlī* 'domesticated' and *insī* 'the side that points toward the human body'. A synonym is *ḥūshī* (< *wuḥūshī* ?), said to be a relative adjective derived from AL-ḤŪSH, a land of the djinn, whence come the *ḥūshī* camels, jinn-owned stallions that allegedly sire offspring among herds belonging to men. XI 52a; the part of the point of the nib of a reed-pen to the right of the incision. IV 471b; XI 52b

In literary criticism, ~ and *ḥūshī* denote words that are uncouth and jarring to the ear due to their being archaic and/or Bedouinic. XI 52b; and → GHARĪB

♦ waḥshiyya : bestiality. II 551a

waḥy (A) : a Qur'ānic term primarily denoting revelation in the form of communication with speech. XI 53b; and → ILHĀM

wa'īd (A) : the Khāridjite and Mu'tazilī doctrine of unconditional punishment of the unrepentant sinner in the hereafter. VII 607a; IX 341b; and → WA'D

wa'il (A) : in zoology, the ibex. V 1228b

wā'iẓ (A, pl. *wu''āẓ*) : a preacher, mostly a preacher who gives sermons conveying admonishments (*wa'ẓ, maw'iẓa*), the public performance of which is called *madjlis al-wa'ẓ* or *madjlis al-dhikr*. In the Qur'ān, the root *w-'-ẓ* in most cases contains a warning; however, the root can also indicate 'good advice' and 'right guidance'. ~ can also mean WAṢIYYA, the spiritual testament that a father gives his son. XI 56a

wak'a (A) : part of the expression *wak'at al-ḥufra* 'day of the ditch', sometimes considered a literary topos, but referring to a trap in which the notables of Toledo fell and were all slain, in either 181/797-8 or 191/806-7. X 605a

♦ **wak'a-nüwīs** (T) : 'events/event-writer', the post of the late Ottoman official historian who with his predecessors compiled a continuous, approved narrative of recent

Ottoman history as a formal historical record, dating from the early 18th century. The post was early on called *weḳāyiʿ-nüwīs* and it is known to have been held on an ad hoc basis by individual historians from the early 17th century, who recorded the events of a military campaign or an embassy. XI 57a

waḳaʿa (A), or *awḳaʿa* : in grammar, the nearest thing to 'transitive'. IX 528a

wakāla (A) : in law, power of attorney or deputyship. X 376b; XI 57b

In mediaeval Islam, a meeting-place in cities for commercial agents. IX 788b

♦ waḳālat al-ḳuṭn → PENBE ḲABBĀNĪ

♦ waḳāla muḳayyada : an authorisation that is limited by its modus operandi, its opposite being *waḳāla muṭlāḳa*. XI 58a

♦ waḳāla muwaḳḳata : an authorisation that is restricted by a time designated in the contract setting it up. XI 58a

waḳaṣ → WAḲṢ

waḳf (A, pl. *awḳāf*), or *ḥubus, ḥabs* : in law, the act of found a charitable trust and hence the trust itself. The Imāmī s͟hīʿīs distinguish between ~ and *ḥabs*, the latter being a precarious type of ~ in which the founder reserves the right to dispose of the ~ property. I 661a; VIII 512b; XI 59a; XII 823a; and → ḲAṬʿ

♦ waḳf ʿāmm : an endowment designated for the Muslim community as a whole or groups of an undetermined number of people being in need of charity that are supposed to exist continually till the end of time. Its opposite is *waḳf k͟hāṣṣ*, an endowment for a limited number of people who would eventually die out. XII 824a

♦ waḳf k͟hāṣṣ → WAḲF ʿĀMM

♦ waḳf k͟hayrī : charitable WAḲFS dedicated to pious causes, as opposed to family *waḳfs*, *waḳf ahlī*, made in favour of one's relatives and descendants. XI 60b

♦ waḳf al-nuḳūd : 'cash waḳf', cash holdings possessed by WAḲFS, whose foundation administrators lent out at interest, with the purpose of creating liquid assets for the endowment. XI 89a

♦ waḳf-i awlād : a family WAḲF, also known as *waḳf ahlī* (→ WAḲF K͟HAYRĪ). XI 92b

♦ waḳfiyya, or *rasm al-taḥbīs* : the document recording the WAḲF'S founder's declaration. XI 61b

♦ awḳāf ahliyya : one of three divisions of the *waḳf* system among the Mamlūks, the ~ included the great foundations of sulatans and AMĪRS, supported by urban and agricultural estates, whose revenues served combined charitable and private purposes. The other two divisions were the *awḳāf ḥukmiyya*, which were supervised by the S͟hāfiʿī chief judge and included urban buildings in Cairo and Fusṭāṭ, and whose revenues served purely philanthropic functions such as the support of the Holy Cities; and the *rizaḳ* (s. *rizḳa*) *aḥbāsiyya*, a special kind of endowment based on the alienation of treasury land for the benefit of individuals rather than institutions. XI 65a

♦ awḳāf-i tafwīḍī (P) : WAḲF'S constituted by the reigning s͟hāh. XI 86a

wāḳiʿa-niwīs → MAD̲JLIS-NIWĪS

wāḳif (A), or *muḥabbis* : the founder of a WAḲF. XI 60a

♦ al-wāḳifa, or *al-wāḳifiyya* : lit. the ones who stand still, or who stop, put an end to; the name of a s͟hīʿī sect given to them by their Twelver opponents because they let the succession of IMĀMS end with the seventh *imām* Mūsā al-Kāẓim. XI 103a

♦ wāḳifiyya : in theology, term for the 'Abstentionists'. I 275a; and → WĀḲIFA

wakīl (A, pl. *wukalāʾ*; T *wekīl*) : agent; in the context of the pilgrimage, the ~ is especially used to designate an agent of the *muṭawwifūn* (→ MUṬAWWIF). His task is to meet pilgrims arriving in D̲judda, help them choose a *muṭawwif*, be responsible for them in D̲judda until they depart for Mecca and again when they return to D̲judda. Like the *muṭawwifūn*, the *wukalāʾ* are organised in a special guild. VI 170b

In law, the representative of a party. I 319b; an agent or trustee. X 377a

In hydraulics, ~ is known in Oman and the United Arab Emirates to be the name for the official in charge of the upkeep of the *falaḏj*, a mining installation for extracting water from the depths of the earth. IV 532a

In the Ottoman empire, a synonym for *wezīr* (→ WAZĪR). XI 194b

♦ wakīl-i dār : under the Salḏjūḳs, the intendant, an influential official of the sultan's court entourage. VIII 954a

♦ wekīl-i kharḏj : under the Ottomans, the paymaster-general, an officer in each regiment who oversaw the distribution of funds held in trust for use by those in special need as well as the collection of contributions for each regiment's independent campaign provisions fund, ḲUMANYA. XI 325a

♦ wakīl-i nafs-i nafīs-i humāyūn : in Ṣafawid Persia, an office created by Shāh Ismāʿīl, whose functionary was to be the *alter ego* of the shāh, superior in rank both to the WAZĪR, the head of the bureaucracy, and the AMĪR AL-UMARĀʾ, the commander in chief of the ḲÏZÏLBĀSH forces. VIII 768b

wakīr (A) : a flock of more than two hundred sheep or goats. When several ~ are joined together with their dogs and carrier donkeys, the large entity ensuing, sometimes numbering several thousand head, is called a *firḳ* or *mughnam*. XII 319b

waḳḳād (A, Tun *sakhkhān*) : the 'stoker' of the furnace of a **ḥammām** 'steam bath'. III 140a

waḳṣ (A) : in prosody, a deviation in the metre because of the loss of both the second consonant of a foot and its vowel. I 672a; a case of ZIḤĀF where the second vowelled letter is elided. XI 508b

In law, ~ (or *waḳaṣ*, also *shanaḳ*) is the amount of property below the minimum quantity on which ZAKĀT is due, *niṣāb*, and between each subsequent *niṣāb*. XI 411b

waḳt (A) : time; and → ṢĀḤIB AL-WAḲT

wāḳwāḳ (A) : a name, possibly onomatopoeic, of uncertain origin, found in mediaeval literature to mean variously an island or group of islands inhabited by a dark-skinned population who speak a distinct language; a people or race; and a tree producing human fruit. XI 103b

In zoology, a member of the Cuculides family of birds (Eng. cuckoo). Local names include *ḥamām ḳawwāl, ṭāṭawī, ṭakūk, ḳawḳal, kukur, kukum, kunkur* and *hūhū*. XI 108a

waʿl (A) : in zoology, the ibex, on the Arabian peninsula also called *badan*. I 541b; IX 98b

walāʾ (A) : proximity.

In law, contractual clientage (syn. *muwālāt*), a solution in early Islam to the problem of affiliating non-tribesman to a tribal society; though most such tribesmen were clearly converts, conversion was not necessary for the legal validity of the tie. The persons linked to one another by ~ were known as MAWLĀ. In pre-Islamic poetry, ~ usually denoted an egalitarian relationship of mutual help, but in later literature, it more commonly designates an unequal relationship of assistance, *mawlā* being a master, manumitter, benefactor or patron on the one hand, and a freedman, protégé or client on the other. I 30b; III 388b; VI 874b ff.

♦ walāʾ al-muwālāt : in Ḥanafī law, an institution between free men. I 30b

walad → AWLĀD

walāya (A) : in theology, a term often taken as the equivalent or simply an alternative vocalisation of WILĀYA, but which has in shīʿī usage the specific meaning of 'devotion', denoting the loyalty and support that is due the IMĀM from his followers. In shīʿism, ~ is one of the pillars of Islam. XI 209a

wālī (A, pl. *wulāt*) : person in authority, governor, prefect, administrator manager. A near-synonym is *ḥākim* 'one who exercises power, jurisdiction, etc.'. Under the Ottomans, the ~ , also termed PASHA, was the governor of a province. XI 109b; local ruler. IX 6b; and → AṢḤĀB AL-ARBĀʿ

♦ wāli 'l-ḥarb (A) : the name for the governor of a province, who was still essentially the general of an army of occupation, in the first generations following the Arab conquest. III 184a

walī (A, pl. *awliyā'*) : in mysticism, a saint, friend of God, often a mystic in general. I 137b; VIII 742b; XI 109b; and → MURĀBIṬ; WILĀYA

In law, a guardian for matrimonial purposes. I 27b; VIII 27a; curator of the *maḥdjūr* 'a person who is restricted of the capacity to dispose'. III 50a

♦ **walī al-ʿahd** (A) : the title granted to the heir presumptive, in the sense of beneficiary of a contract (ʿAHD) concluded between him and his community. An heir to the caliphate was more formally entitled *walī ʿahd al-muslimīn*. IV 938b; XI 125b

♦ walī 'l-dam (A) : in law, the next of kin who has the right to demand retaliation. IV 689b; V 178b; IX 547b

♦ walī ḥaḳḳ Allāh (A) : in al-Tirmidhī's thought, one of two classes of friends of God, with *walī Allāh*. The first comes near to God on the mystical path by observing the obligations of the divine legal order with all his inner power, while the second reaches his aim through divine grace. XI 110a

♦ walī mudjbir (A) : '*walī* with power of coercion', the father or grandfather who has the right to marry his daughter or granddaughter against her will, so long as she is a virgin. VIII 27b

♦ walī 'l-sadjdjāda → SHAYKH AL-SADJDJĀDA

♦ wali sanga (Ind) : lit. nine saints; the legendary founders of Islam in Java. XI 120b; XI 536b

wālide sulṭān (A, T) : in the Ottoman empire, mother of the reigning sultan, used only for the duration of the son's reign. IX 709a; XI 130a

walīma (A) : a wedding dinner-party. III 210a; X 900b

wangala : in Mauritania, the custom of slaughtering and sharing, each day, a sheep within a given group. VI 313a

wansharīs (B) : 'nothing higher', a reference by local people to a mountain massif in Central Algeria. XI 138b

waraʿ (A) : in mysticism, the 'spirit of scruple', advocated in so-called 'sober' ṣūfism. IX 812b; XI 141a; for Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, 'total abstinence'. XI 141a

waraḳ (A) : one of the terms for parchment, later to be reserved for paper. VIII 407b; with *waraḳa*, the leaf of a tree or of a manuscript. VIII 835a; and → DJILD; RAḲḲ; WARRĀḲ

In contemporary Arabic usage, 'money'. XI 148a; and → DIRHAM WARAḲ

♦ waraḳ al-bardī → BARDĪ

warashān (A) : in zoology, a type of bird. XI 152a

ward (A, s. *warda*; P *djull* or GUL) : in botany, *Rosa sp., Rosaceae*, any flower but generally the rose. According to Maimonides, it was known to physicians as *djull*, but the Arabs used this only for the white rose; *nisrīn* was the wild rose or Chinese rose. According to Ibn al-Bayṭār, the red variety is called *ḥawdjam* and the white *watīr*. XI 144b; XII 550a; and → MĀ' AL-WARD

For ~ in literature, XII 828a

♦ wardī (A) : the pale rose-pink colour of the ruby. XI 262b

wardjiyya (A), and *wariyya, huwayriyya* : in Kuwayt, the local open boat made from palm fibres. VII 53b

wariḳ (A) : in numismatics, silver money, distinguished from gold money, *ʿayn*, and refined silver in bars or ingots, *nuḳra*. The meanings of *nuḳra* and *wariḳ* changed as a result of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's introduction of pure silver coins, which he called *nuḳra* dirhams while the term ~ was reserved for the debased coins. In 815/1412-13, the last *nuḳra* dirhams were demonetised and ~ resumed its significance of silver coinage in general. XI 147b

wāris̲h̲ → ṬUFAYLĪ
wārit̲h̲ → MĪRĀT̲H̲
wariyya → WARD̲J̲IYYA
warrāḳ (A) : lit. producer or seller of leaves, WARAḲ; in mediaeval Islam, the copyist of manuscripts, paper seller, and also bookseller. The earliest known person with this designation seems to be a man of Wāsiṭ who died in 195/811. XI 150a
wars (A) : a yellow dye from a perennial plant cultivated in Yemen, identified as *curcuma.* V 786a; or as *Memecylon tinctorium, Melastomaceae,* or sometimes *Flemmingia rhodocarpus* BAK, *Leguminosae.* Al-Dīnawarī describes the best ~ as *bādira,* from a young plant, the other sort being called *ḥabas̲h̲ī* because of some blackness in it. Dyestuffs are not always so easily identified and it may have been at times confused with *Carthamus tinctorius, Compositae,* the safflower. XI 152a; the sap of the Ceylon cornel tree. VII 1014b
wasaḳ (A, pl. *awsuḳ*) : a measure of volume, reportedly equivalent to 300 ṢĀʿ according to the *ṣāʿ* of the Prophet, or in weight, 609.84 kg. XI 412b
wasaṭ (A, pl. *awsāṭ*) : in astronomy, the mean motion. XI 503b
♦ wasaṭ al-s̲h̲ams (A) : in astronomy, the mean solar longitude. IX 292b
wasāṭa (A) : in Fāṭimid administration, a function which involved interposing and interceding between the Imām and the ethnic factions of the palace and the army, filling a gap, along with the office of the SIFĀRA, in the vizierate created by al-Ḥākim in 409/1018. The vizierate was later re-established during the reign of his son al-Ẓāhir, but the offices of the ~ and *sifāra* continued to be filled irregularly till the end of the dynasty by persons with a lower rank than the vizier. XI 189a
wasé kuala : in Aceh in Indonesia, a tax demanded by the *shahbandar* 'harbour master' for disembarking or loading certain goods, for preserving the water supply for departing ships, and for help for those stranded. XII 200b
waṣf (A) : lit. description; in poetry, a literary genre of flattering or embellished description. XI 153a
In law, form, external aspects, or incident, each of which is opposed to substance, *aṣl.* XI 158b
For ~ in grammar, → NAʿT
was̲h̲aḳ (A), or *kiṭṭ-namir* : in zoology, the Serval or Tiger-Cat (*Leptailurus serval*). II 739b; lynx. II 817a
was̲h̲īd̲j̲ (A) : in botany, a tree (ash ?) mentioned as providing wood for spear shafts. XII 735b
wās̲h̲ima → WAS̲H̲M
was̲h̲m (A) : tattooing; a woman who tattoos other is *wās̲h̲ima* and a woman who asks to be tattooed is *mustaws̲h̲ima,* both of whom are said to have been cursed by the Prophet. XI 160a; XII 830b
waṣī (A, pl. *awṣiyāʾ, waṣiyyūn*) : in law, the executor of a will. I 28b; XI 63a
In s̲h̲īʿī theology, variously rendered as legatee, executor, successor or inheritor, first used to designate ʿAlī as the inheritor of Muḥammad's worldly possessions and of his political and spiritual authority. Early Ismāʿīlī doctrine held that each of the first six speaking prophets (→ NĀṬIḲ) was succeeded by a legatee; while the *nāṭiḳ* brought the scripture in its generally accepted meaning, the ~ introduced a systematic interpretation of its inner, esoteric aspects. One who falsely claims to be a ~ is a *mutawaṣṣī.* XI 161a; and → K̲H̲ĀTAM AL-WAṢIYYĪN
♦ **waṣiyya** (A, pl. *waṣāyā*) : lit. inheritance; in s̲h̲īʿī theology, the utterance by which a WAṢĪ is appointed and, more generally, an instruction of a legal or moral nature. XI 161b

In law, bequest or legacy (defined as the transfer of the corpus or the usufruct of a thing after one's death without a consideration), and last will and testament. I 137b; IX 115b; IX 781b; XI 171b

In the science of diplomatic, that part of the text of a (state) document in which the duties of the nominee are specified in detail. II 302a

waṣīf (A) : in the terminology of childhood, '[a boy] who has become of full stature and fit for service' (Lane). VIII 822a; a male slave; negro. I 24b

wāṣil (A) : lit. reaching; in grammar, used by Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲ to refer to a level of interaction between the action denoted by the verb, the doer, and the semantic object covering the semantic side of verb intransitivity which the term TAʿADDĪ does not. X 4a

wāsima → NĪL

wāsiṭa (A) : mediator. IX 779b; under the Fāṭimids, a minister who was given neither the title nor the office of vizier but only the duty of acting as intermediary between the caliph and his officials and subjects. II 857b; XI 171a; and → TARD̲J̲Īʿ

waṣiyya → WAṢĪ

wasḳ (A) : a measure of capacity which was used in the Ḥid̲j̲āz in the days of Muḥammad, equal to 60 MUDDs. The ~ did not spread to other countries. VI 118a

waṣl (A), or *ṣila* : in prosody, a letter of prolongation following the *rawī* 'rhyme letter'. It can also consist of a vowelless *hā'* followed by a short vowel or a *hā'* followed by a letter of prolongation and preceded by a short vowel. IV 412a

In grammar, broadly denotes juncture, i.e. a syntactic or phonological 'connecting'; thus the antonym of both interruption (ḲAṬʿ) and pause (*waḳf*, → ḲAṬʿ). XI 172b; and → ṢILA

waṣla (A) : Egyptian musical composition, which combined elements of the earlier local NAWBA and the Turkish FAṢĪL. X 143b

wasm (A, pl. *wusūm*) : brand, as in camel brands by which Bedouin identify their camels. Brands are sometimes placed on things other than animals, e.g. tombs, rocks, wells or trees, to indicate whose territory they are or are protected by. XI 173b

♦ wasma → NĪL

♦ wasma-d̲j̲ūs̲h̲ : in mediaeval times, a word used in K̲h̲urāsān to designate a special object for grinding KUḤL 'eye cosmetic' and pouring it into narrow-necked vessels. V 357a

wāsōk̲h̲ → WĀ-SŌK̲H̲T

wasūṭ (A) : among the pre-Islamic Bedouin, a tent made of hair, generally said to be smaller than the MIẒALLA, but larger than the BAYT or the K̲H̲IBĀ', but sometimes described as the smallest tent. IV 1147a

waswās (A) : satanic whispering in the heart, inciting evil. III 1119b

waṭ' → BĀH

watad → AWTĀD; ḲUṬB

waṭan (A) : homeland, fatherland, syn. *mawṭin*. I 64a; IV 785b; XI 174b; in early usage, the locality from which a person came. IV 785b; XI 174b

In mediaeval mysticism, used in the sense of 'the heavenly kingdom'. IV 785b

♦ waṭaniyya (A) : nationalism, patriotism, civic pride, in all the modern applications of these terms. XI 175a

watar → AWTĀR

wat̲h̲aniyya (A) : idolatry, a later term. In classical Arabic, idolatry is given by the phrase *ʿibādat al-aṣnām* (or *al-awt̲h̲ān*).

wat̲h̲īḳa (A, pl. *wat̲h̲ā'iḳ*) : a document that certifies the commission of a promise or legal act; a general term for an official or legal document or formulary. In modern Arabic the plural is often used in the sense of 'official records, archives', housed in a *dār al-wat̲h̲ā'iḳ*. IX 733a; XI 178b

watid → AWTĀD

watīr → WARD

waṭwāṭ (A, pl. *waṭāwīṭ, waṭāyīṭ*) : in zoology, all cheiropters or bats, without distinction of families or species, syn. *khuffāsh* (pl. *khafāfīsh*). The bat is also called *ṭā'ir al-layl, khushshāf* and *khuṭṭāf* by comparison with the swallow, *saḥāt, ṭurmūk, ṭumrūk,* and *'ashraf.* XI 183a

wāw (A) : the twenty-seventh letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 6. It stands either for the semivowel *w* or for the long vowel *ū*. XI 183a

wāwī (A) : in zoology, the jackal. I 541b

wayang (Ind) : a shadow play performance. XII 759b

waydj → SILB

wa'ẓ → WĀ'IẒ

wazagh (A) : a kind of lizard, the killing of which, preferably with one blow, is prescribed by SUNNA. IV 768a

waẓīfa (A, pl. *waẓā'if*) : lit. task, charge, impose obligation; an administrative fiscal term meaning an extra, fixed payment, made by the tax collector, on top of the land tax collected; it subsequently also came to mean the financial allowance or stipend paid to an official or as a reward for someone who had pleased a ruler or governor, and by extension, the official post or function itself. XI 184b; and → MUWAẒẒAF; 'ULŪFE

In mysticism, a devotional text or litany, normally consisting of a sequence of prayer formulas, invocations, and verses from the Qur'ān, recited by the members of some ṣūfī orders as one of the elements of their assignment of daily devotions, and also as part of the liturgy of a ḤAḌRA or communal DHIKR ritual. XI 184b

wazīr (A, T *wezīr*) : vizier or chief minister; head of the bureaucracy. From its original Qur'ānic meaning as 'helper' it acquired the sense of 'representative' or 'deputy', and under the 'Abbāsids came to designate the highest-ranking civil functionary of the state next to the caliph. VIII 768b; XI 185a

♦ **al-wazīr al-ṣaghīr** (A) : head chamberlain, a term of Fāṭimid administrative usage, also called *ṣāḥib al-bāb*, who was equal in status to the commander-in-chief of the army. XI 197b

♦ wazīr al-tafwīḍ (A) : 'vizier with delegated powers'; a term employed by al-Māwardī for the minister who was entrusted with full powers. II 857b; XI 186b

♦ wazīr al-tanfīdh (A) : a designation by al-Māwardī for the ministers who, notwithstanding their power and influence over the caliphs, were considered as agents for the execution of the sovereign's will. II 857b; XI 187a

♦ wazīr-i čap (P) : a title sometimes given to the official historiographer during the Ṣafawid rule. XI 194a

♦ wezīr-i a'ẓam → ṢADR-I A'ẒAM

wazn (A, pl. AWZĀN) : lit. the act of weighing; in eschatology, the 'weighing' of deeds on the Last Day, with good deeds being heavy and bad deeds light. III 465a

In numismatics, the weight at which the gold and silver coinage was struck. XI 198b

In language and literature, the establishing of a pattern in morphology or in prosody, which resulted in a word form or metre. A morphological ~ is also called BINĀ' (pl. *abniya*) and prosodical weighing or scanning is also *taḳṭī'* or *taf'īl.* XI 200a

wēsh (Pash) : in Afghanistan, the ancient custom of periodical redistribution of land. I 217a

wezīr → WAZĪR

widjā' (A) : in medicine, a form of castration consisting of binding the cord supporting the testicles and making them gush out. IV 1088a

wilāya (A) : in law, representation, the power of an individual to personally initiate an action. When a person acts on behalf of others, ~ is more often termed *niyāba.* XI

208a; the power of a WALĪ to represent his ward. III 50b; guardianship over a child, involving guardianship over property (*wilāyat al-māl*) and over the person (*wilāyat al-nafs*). To these should be added the father's duty to marry his child off when the latter comes of age (*wilāyat al-tazwīdj*). VIII 824a

In shīʿism, the position of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as the single, explicitly designated heir and successor to Muḥammad; the guardianship of ʿAlī of the community, as expressed in the doctrinal creed pronounced by shīʿis: *lā ilāh illā Allāh, Muḥammad rasūl Allāh, ʿAlī walī Allāh.* XI 208b

In mysticism, sainthood. VIII 742a

Among the Khāridjites, the dogmatic duty of solidarity and assistance to the Muslim. I 1027b

♦ wilāyat al-faḳīh (A) : 'the guardianship of the jurist', in modern Iran the mandate of the jurist to rule, promulgated by Khumaynī. XII 530a; the position of the supreme leader in modern Iran. XI 209b

♦ wilāyat al-māl → WILĀYA

♦ wilāyat al-nafs → WILĀYA

♦ wilāyat al-tazwīdj → WILĀYA

wilāyet → EYĀLET

wird (A, pl. *awrād*) : in mysticism, set, supererogatory personal devotions observed at specific times, usually at least once during the day and once again at night; a distinctive aspect of ~ when compared to ḤIZB and DHIKR is its close association with a particular spiritual guide to whom it is attributed as well as the set times for its observance. XI 209b; and → ḤIZB

wisāda (A) : in mediaeval times, a large cushion often used for supporting the back (syn. *mirfaḳa, tukʾa, miswara, numruḳ*, MIKHADDA); a pillow. V 1158b; XII 99a

wiṣāl (A), less frequently *muwāṣala* : in mysticism, 'maintaining an amorous relationship, chaste or otherwise' (syn. *waṣl*; ant. *hadjr* or *hidjrān*). XI 210b; and → ITTIṢĀL

wisām (A) : in Morocco, a term applied to each of the nine orders, decorations, that were regulated in a document (*ẓahīr*) of 14 December 1966. VIII 61b; in modern Arabic usage, a decoration, order, medal or badge of honour. When European-type orders were first imitated in 19th-century Persia and the Ottoman empire, the term used was NISHĀN. XI 212a

wishāḥ (A) : according to Lane, an ornament worn by women (consisting of) two series of pearls and jewels strung or put together in regular order, which two series are disposed contrariwise, one of them being turned over the other. VII 809b

witr → ṢALĀT AL-WITR

woynuḳ (T, < Sl) : in Ottoman military and administrative usage, a particular category of troops amongst other Balkan Christian landholding or tax-exempt groups employed by the sultans to perform specific combat and other militarily-related tasks. XI 214b

woywoda (Ott, < Sl) : in mediaeval Serbia, a high-ranking commander and, on the eve of the Ottoman conquest, the governor of a military district. In early Ottoman sources, the term refers to former Christian lords, and soon it began to designate agents in charge of revenues from domains which enjoyed full immunity. XI 215a

wudjāḳ → ODJAḲ

wudjūd (A) : in philosophy, being. XI 216a; and → MUṬLAḲ

In mysticism, a verbal noun derived from *wadjada* 'to find' or 'to experience'. XI 217a; and → WADJD

wuḍūʾ (A) : lit. cleansing; the simple ablution, which is sufficient for cleansing after a minor ritual impurity, ḤADATH. III 19b; VIII 764b; VIII 929a; XI 218a

wuḍūḥ → GHUMŪḌ

wufūd (A, s. **wafd**) : delegations; in the time of the Prophet, the mainly tribal deputations which came to him in Medina, mainly during the ninth year of the Islamic era. XI 219a

wuḳā (A), and *wuḳāya, awḳā* : a variety of women's bonnets, usually decorated with coins, worn in Syria and Palestine. V 742a

wuḳūʿ-gūʾī (P), or *zabān-i wuḳūʿ* : in Persian poetry, a new style, developed in the 16th century, of introducing in the GHAZAL references to actual experiences of love and incidents occurring in the relationship of lovers and their beloved. The ~ in turn generated a number of subsidiary genres. VIII 776a

wuḳūf (A) : lit. place of standing, station; in the context of the pilgrimage, the ~ is the culminating ceremony, on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, in the plain of ʿArafat in front of the *Djabal al-raḥma*, a small rocky eminence. The ceremony begins at noon with the joint recital of the prayers of ẒUHR and of ʿAṢR brought forward, and lasts until sunset. A second ~, in the morning of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, is not obligatory. III 35b; XI 220b

wushmgīr (P) : 'quail-catcher', according to al-Masʿūdī. XI 221a

wushshaḳ (A) : ammoniac, a gum resin, the product of the ammoniac gum tree. VIII 1042b

wuṣla (A) : in grammar, one of a group of terms for referential and copulative elements mostly called *ʿāʾid* but also *rābiṭ(a)* and *rādjiʿ*. XI 173a

wusṭā Zalzal (A) : in music, the middle, or neutral, third among the frets of the lute, named after the famous lute-player at the early ʿAbbāsid court. Al-Fārābī first described it and placed it at the ratio of 27:22 between the nut and the bridge of the lute, which corresponds to the modern note *sīkāh*. XI 427b

X

xagaa → GUʾ

xeer (Somali) : Somali customary law, which exists alongside the SHARĪʿA. IX 713b; IX 723b

Y

yāʾ (A) : the twenty-eighth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 10. It stands for the semivowel *y* and for the long vowel *ī*. XI 222a

yābānī (A) : in modern Arabic, a person of Japanese descent. XI 223a

yabghu (T) : an ancient Turkish title, found in the Orkhon inscriptions to denote an office or rank in the administrative hierarchy below the Ḳaghan, thus analogous to the title *shadh*, whom the ~ preceded in the early Turk empire. XI 224a

yabrūḥ (A) : in botany, the Mandragora or mandrake (*Mandragora officinarum, Solanaceae*, also called *Atropa mandragora L.* and *M. officinarum*), a perennial herbaceous plant common in the Mediterranean region. Its root is often forked and is the part known as ~ , while the plant itself is generally called *luffāḥ*. Other names for the ~ are *sābīzak*, *shābīzadj*, and *tuffāḥ al-djinn* (by which it is still known today). XI 225a; and → SIRĀDJ AL-ḲUṬRUB

yad (A) : lit. hand, ~ covers a vast semantic range: power, help, strength, sufficiency, ability to act, etc. XI 280a; the very large bead on a rosary that serves as a kind of handle. IX 741b; and → ʿAMAL; ḤISĀB; MILK; MUSALSAL AL-YAD; ṢĀḤIB AL-YAD

yada tash (T) : lit. rain stone, appearing in Arabic texts as *hadjar al-maṭar*, a magical stone by means of which rain, snow, fog, etc., could be conjured up by its holder(s). Knowledge and use of such stones has been widespread until very recent times in Inner Asia. Originally identified as nephrite, it seems more likely that the original ~ was the bezoar (P *pād-zahr*), which is a calculus or concretion formed in the alimentary tract of certain animals, mainly ruminants. XI 226b

yādgār (P) : lit. souvenir, keepsake; in numismatics, any special issue of coins struck for a variety of non-currency purposes. XI 228a

yaʿḍid → ʿALATH

yāfiʿ (A) : in the terminology of childhood, 'a boy grown up . . . grown tall' (Lane). VIII 822a

yafta → ḤIRZ

yaghmā (P) : plunder. XI 238a

yaḥmūr → BAḲAR

yahūd (A, < Ar, s. *yahūdī*) : the common collective singular for 'Jews'. A less common plural *hūd* is also used. XI 239b

yakhčāl (P) : in architecture, a mud-brick structure built in Iran to make and store ice. XII 457a

yakhsha (Pah) : a pearl. IX 659a

yaḳīn (A) : in law, a certainty. XI 219a

yaḳḳāsh → AYḲASH

yaktār → TĀR

yaḳṭīn (A) : a plant mentioned in the Qur'ān, probably a kind of *Cucurbitacea*. VI 651a; VI 901a; VII 831a

yaʿḳūbī (A, pl. **yaʿḳūbiyyūn**, *yaʿāḳiba, yaʿḳūbiyya*) : a Jacobite Christian, the designation for a member of the Syrian Orthodox Church, whose dogmatical position of monophysitism was thought to be at variance with the moderate dyophysite christology formulated by the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon and consequently was branded as heresy. XI 258b

yāḳūt (A, < Gk) : in mineralogy, corundum, a crystallised form of alumina [Al_2O_3] which occurs in many colours, among which ~ *aḥmar* 'red corundum' or 'ruby' is the finest. According to al-Tīfāshī, the second best is the ~ *aṣfar* 'yellow sapphire' or 'oriental topaz'. XI 262a

♦ yāḳūt akhab (A), or *azraḳ* : the blue sapphire, the third-ranked corundum, below the ruby and yellow sapphire. Gradations in its colour ranges from ink blue, *kuḥlī*, to the lighter sky-blue, *samāwī* or *asmāndjūnī*. XI 262b

♦ yāḳūt abyaḍ (A) : the leuco-sapphire, the fourth and last-ranked corundum, after the ruby, yellow sapphire, and blue sapphire. It has two shades, the more prized of which is the *mahawī* or *billawrī* (rock crystal-like). XI 262b

yali (T, < Gk) : lit. bank, shore; in Ottoman times, a residence, villa built on the edge of the water. V 642a; XI 266b

yaltuma (T) : a musical instrument of the pandore type, but smaller with three strings and a waisted sound-chest like the TĀR. It was invented by Shamsī Čelebi, the son of the Turkish poet Ḥamdī Čelebi. X 626a

yām (A, P; < Mon *ḳam*) : the effective network of communications established by the Mongols to control the vast extent of their empire. It was designed to facilitate the travels of envoys going to and from the Mongol courts; for the transportation of goods; for the speedy transmission of royal orders; and to provide a framework whereby the Mongol rulers could receive intelligence. VII 234a; in the 13th century, ~ also signifies the postal service of the Mongol Khāns and sometimes a postal relay. XI 267b

♦ yāmči (Mon) : postal courier; also a functionary charged with the postal relay. XI 268a

yamaḳ (T) : 'adjunct'; in the Ottoman army, an assistant to an auxiliary soldier, ESHKINDJI. II 714b; IX 543a; in Serbia, a self-appointed local Janissary leader outside the regular Ottoman hierarchy. IX 671a

yamāma (A) : in zoology, wild pigeon, as opposed to the domesticated pigeon, ḤAMĀM. XI 269a

yamīn (A, pl. *aymān, aymun*) : lit. the right hand, but often used in Arabic with the transferred sense of 'oath'. IV 687b; XI 280a; and → ḲASAM

♦ yamīn al-ghamūs (A) : in law, an oath to perform a deed that one knows to have been already performed. Expiation is not required, except in the Shāfiʿī school. IV 688b

♦ yamīn al-munkir (A) : in law, an oath taken by a debtor who refuses to recognise his debt or his obligation, used by a petitioner as a method of proof. In former times many Muslims preferred to avoid pronouncing the oath, even though they did not admit to being debtors. III 1236b

♦ yamīnu ṣabr^{in} (A) : an oath imposed by the public authorities and therefore taken unwillingly. VIII 685b

♦ laghw al-yamīn (A) : in law, an oath taken by mistake (through a slip of the tongue) or in a thoughtless manner, which does not require expiation. IV 688b

yamkhūr (A, pl. *yamākhīr*) : in zoology, the drone bee. VII 907a

yanbūʿ (A) : well. XI 281a

yār (T) : eroded, vertical bank or gorge of a river, cliff. XI 287b

yarāʿ (A) : in music, a flute, blown into from a hole as distinct from the MIZMĀR, a reed pipe. VI 214b; VII 206b

yarbūʿ (A, < Ar) : in zoology, the jerboa. jumping mouse or jumping hare (*Jaculus*) of the class of rodents and family of dipodids (*Dipus*). Arabic authorities mention three kinds of jerboa: *al-shufārī* 'big and elongated'; *al-tadmurī* 'that of Palmyra'; and *dhu 'l-rumayḥ* 'bearing a short lance'. XI 283a; also the gerbil and jird. XII 287b, where many technical terms relating to these animals can be found

yarghu (T) : trial, interrogation, the Mongolian tribunal or court of justice, hence *yarghuči*, a judge. According to al-Djuwaynī, the ~ held at the court of the Great Khān was called the Great ~. XI 284b

♦ yarghuči → YARGHU

yarıcılık (T) : a land-leasing system in Turkey, in which the peasant uses his own tools, plough and livestock and gives half of the harvest to the landowner. V 473a

yarligh (T), or *yarlïḳ* : under the Mongols and their successor states, a decree, edict, command, contextually equivalent in Islamic chancery practice to the more specific documentary forms of FARMĀN, ḤUKM or BERĀT. IX 43a; XI 288b

yāsā (Mon) : law, decree, order; in the phrase 'the Great ~ of Čingiz Khān', a comprehensive legal code laid down by the founder of the Mongol empire. XI 293a

yasaḳ : a tribute. X 417b

♦ yasaḳ-ḳulu (T) : under the Ottomans, a special agent who was authorised to inspect any person for bullion or old AḲČE; Ottoman law required that all bullion produced in the country or imported from abroad be brought directly to the mints to be coined, and upon the issue of a new *aḳče*, those possessing the old were to bring it to the mint. II 118b

♦ yasaḳčï (T) : under the Ottomans, Janissaries whose function it was to protect foreign embassies and consulates and to escort diplomats leaving their residences, whether officially or unofficially. IV 808b

♦ yasaḳnāme → ḲĀNŪNNĀME

yāsamin (A), *yāsimīn, yāsamūn* : in botany, the jasmine shrub. Several sub-species are found in the Arabic-speaking lands: *Jasminum floribundum*, called *habb al-zalīm* 'male ostrich seeds'; *Jasminum fructicans*, called *yāsamīn al-barr* 'country jasmine'; *Jasminum grasissimum*, called *ḳayyān* 'flourishing, blooming' and *suwayd* 'blackish', proper to Yemen; *Jasminum officinale*, called *ḳīn, sid̲j̲illāt*; and *Jasminum sambac*, called *full*. XI 294a

yasar (A, pl. *aysār*) : a player of MAYSIR; those who presided over the division of the parts were called *al-yāsirūn*. VI 924a

yas̲h̲m (P) : in mineralogy, jade, known to Eastern Turkic peoples as *kas̲h̲* and to the Mongols as *k̲h̲as*. XI 296b

yāsid̲j̲ (T ?) : an arrow with a flat-edged head, recommended for hunting the wild boar. V 9a

yaʿsūb → NAḤL

yatīm (A, *yatāmā*) : a child, below the age of puberty, who has lost his father (after puberty ~ is not used). In the animal world, ~ denotes a young one that has lost its mother. A child who has lost its mother is called *munḳaṭiʿ*, and a child who has lost both its parents is called *laṭīm*. XI 299a; XII 531b

yatīma (A) : known as *al-yatīma*, a large white gem, weighing seven dirhams, one of the many gems in the turban worn by the Fāṭimid caliph of Egypt. X 57b

yatīr → ERMIS̲H̲

yattūʿ (A) : in botany, wolfs' milk, of the class of Euphorbia, a gum resin. VIII 1042b; IX 872b

yawa (T), or *ḳačḳun* : one of the occasional (BĀD-I HAWĀ) taxes paid in the Ottoman empire while recovering runaway cattle or slaves. II 147a

yawm (A, pl. *ayyām*) : day, the whole 24-hour cycle making up a day, with NAHĀR meaning 'the daylight period', i.e. from sunrise to sunset. In a specialised sense, ~ means 'day of battle' (→ AYYĀM AL-ʿARAB). The plural *ayyām* occurs, especially in early Arabic poetry, in a similar sense to its apparent antonym *layālī* 'nights', referring to the passage of time, or 'destiny, fate'. XI 300b

♦ yawm al-aḍāḥī (A) : lit. day of the morning sacrifices; a name for 10 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a which can be traced back to the pre-Islamic pilgrimage. III 32b

♦ yawm al-ʿarūba → YAWM AL-D̲J̲UMʿA

♦ yawm al-dīn → ḲIYĀMA

♦ yawm al-**d̲j̲umʿa** (A) : Friday, which in modern times most Muslim states have made an official day of rest. The term is clearly pre-Islamic, when it was known as *yawm al-ʿarūba* or *yawm ʿarūba*, and designated the market day which was held in al-Madīna on Friday. It is the weekly day of communal worship in Islam, when the *ṣalāt al-d̲j̲umʿa* 'Friday prayer', is performed at the time of the midday prayer, which it replaces. II 592b; VIII 930a

♦ yawm al-ḥisāb (A) : a Qur'ānic expression for the Day of Judgement, synonymous with *yawm al-dīn*. III 465a

♦ yawm al-ḳiyāma → ḲIYĀMA

♦ yawm al-naḥr (A) : 'the day of sacrifice'; the 10th of the month of D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a. III 36a

♦ yawm al-tarwiya → TARWIYA

♦ **ayyām al-ʿad̲j̲ūz** (A) : lit. the days of the old woman; an old expression used in the Islamic countries bordering on or near to the Mediterranean to denote certain days of recurrent bad weather usually towards the end of winter. The duration of this period varies from one to ten days; more frequently it lasts one, five or seven days. This yearly cycle varies from country to country, involving the last four (or three) days of February and the first three (or four) days of March of the Julian calendar. I 792b

♦ **ayyām al-ʿarab** (A) : lit. days of the Arabs; a name given in Arabian legend to the combats which the Arabian tribes fought among themselves in the pre-Islamic and also early Islamic era. I 793a

♦ al-ayyām al-bulḳ → AL-LAYĀLĪ AL-BULḲ

♦ ayyām al-maʿdūdāt → TASHRĪḲ

♦ ayyām al-tashrīḳ → TASHRĪḲ

yay → KEMĀN

yaya (T) : lit. pedestrian; in the Ottoman military of the 14th-16th centuries, infantryman. IX 13a; XI 301a; a special corps consisting of *reʿāyā* (→ RAʿIYYA) soldiers. VIII 404b

♦ yayabashî (T) : chief infantryman, commander of the infantry or cavalry unit, BÖLÜK, in the Janissary ODJAḲS. I 1256a

yaylaḳ (T, < *yay* 'spring', later 'summer') : summer quarters, the upland pastures favoured by the nomads of Central Asia for fattening their herds after the harsh steppe or plateau winters. Its Persian synonym is GARMSĪR. The Arabic equivalent is *maṣīf.* V 182b; XI 301b

♦ yaylaḳ resmi (T), or *otlaḳ resmi, resm-i čerāghah* : under the Ottomans, the pasturage dues charged usually at the rate of one sheep or its money equivalent for each flock of sheep of 300 which crossed into another district. It was paid to the person who held the land. I 146b

♦ yaylaḳiyya (Ott) : a later Ottoman term with a pseudo-Arabic ending for 'rent paid for summer pastures or lodgings'. XI 301b

yaym → AYM

yazak (P) : in military science, an advanced guard (syn. ṬALĪʿA). X 164b

yazidi (A, K *ēzdī, ēzdīdī*) : member of a mainly Kurdish-speaking group, *yazīdiyya*, whose communal identity is defined by its distinctive religious tradition. In the ~ hymns, the community is occasionally referred to as the *sunna, ṣuḥbatiyya* 'those who claim discipleship' or *dāsinī.* XI 313a

yazîdji (T) : lit. writer, secretary, used in Ottoman times for the clerks in the various government departments, such as the treasury; ~ could also be used for the secretary of high court and military officials. XI 317a

yelek (T, A) : a woman's long coat, tightly fitting, worn in the Arab East; a long vest worn by both sexes in Iraq. V 742a; in Turkey, a waistcoat without sleeves formerly worn as an outer garment. V 752a

yemeni (T) : light shoes worn by the Zeybek in Western Anatolia as part of their folk costume. XI 494a

yeni čeri (T) : lit. new troop; the Janissary corps, a body of professional, that is, salaried, infantrymen of the Ottoman empire in its heyday, called 'new troop' not so much because of the novelty of the idea as because at the time of its introduction by the vizier Khayr al-Dīn Pasha in the 14th century, it opposed then-prevailing military traditions cherished by the frontier warriors. XI 322b

yerliyya (T, A, < T *yerlü* 'local') : during the Ottoman empire, term used by Damascene sources for the local Janissary corps. XI 333b

yerlü → TAT

yigit (T) : one of three grades in the AKHĪ organization, designating the ordinary unmarried member of the organisation. I 322b

yîldîz (T) : star. XI 336b

yodjana (San 'league') : a Hindu unit of distance equalling four *goruta* 'cow-roar', the length at which a cow's lowing can be heard, or KROŚA 'earshot'. VII 138b

yoghurt (T) : yogurt, a preparation of soured milk made in the pastoralist, more temperate northern tier of the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Balkans. The product is

called *māst* in Persia, *laban* in Syria and Palestinian Arabic, *zabādī* in Egyptian Arabic, *liban* in Iraqi Arabic, *rā'ib, laban, labne*, etc. on the Arabian peninsula. XI 337b

yörük (Ott) : in the Ottoman empire, a term denoting a particular class of nomads obliged to serve in the Ottoman army; in modern ethnological and anthropological literature, a term for and also a self-designation of nomadic pastoralists, as opposed to Türkmen, Kurdish or other pastoralist tribal groups of Anatolia. IX 674a; XI 338b

yughrush (T) : in the Ḳarakhānid period, the term for vizier. XI 224a

yük (T) : an Ottoman weight, being the two bales slung across a beast of burden, the equivalent of ca. 154 kg. III 212b; IV 678b

yūnān (A, s. *yūnānī*) : the ancient Greeks, reflecting the name 'Ionians'. XI 343b

♦ yūnāniyya (A) : the ancient Greek language. In Western Islam, *ighrīḳiyya* is occasionally mentioned as the correct designation of ancient Greek. XI 343b

yūnkār (T) : a musical instrument of the pandore type, but smaller with three strings. It was invented by Shamsī Čelebi, the son of the Turkish poet Ḥamdī Čelebi. X 626a

yurd : a type of appanage, which with the term *ulka* (or *ulkā*) survived in the Turcoman states of eastern Anatolia under the Ottomans in the sense of hereditary appanage. X 502a

yurt : the domed, felt-covered tent of Turkmen nomads; originally 'homeland, encampment or camping place', and in Orkhon and early Turkish, 'an abandoned campsite'. IV 1150b; VIII 233b; XII 838b

♦ **yurtči** (T) : under the Mongols, a salaried officer responsible for choosing camp sites for the army or court, organising them, and supervising their use. Besides the ~ , three other officials were responsible for the management of the camp: the *farrāsh* or tent-pitcher; the *bularghuči* or keeper of lost property; and the *sārbān* or cameleer. XII 838b f.

yūsufī (T) : in full, *ʿimāme-i yūsufī*, an old name for the Turkish turban, said to have been originally invented by Joseph and called after him. Selīm I and II wore these, which were then called *selīmīs* (A *salīmī*) after them. X 615a

yūz → FAHD

yüzbashi (T, > A *yūzbashī*) : lit. head of a hundred [men]; in the later Ottoman and now Turkish and Arab military, the rank of captain. XII 840b

In Muslim India, an engraver of coin dies. XII 840b

yüzellilikler (T) : lit. the 150 [undesirables]; term for those whom the Turkish government wished to exclude from the general amnesty demanded by the Allies during the peace negotiations at Lausanne in 1923, but whose names it was at that time undecided about. XI 363b

Z

ẓā' (A) : the seventeenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 900. Its transliteration *ẓ* reflects an urban/sedentary pronunciation as 'emphatic' (pharyngealised) *z*. XI 363a

zabād (A), or *sinnawr al-zabād* : in zoology, the civet cat (*Viverra civetta*). IX 653b

♦ zabādī → YOGHURT

zabān-i urdu → URDU

zabān-i wuḳūʿ → WUḲŪʿ-GŪ'Ī

zabāniyya (A) : Qur'ānic term usually interpreted as the guardians of Hell or else the angels who carry off the souls at death. XI 369a

zabardjad : in mineralogy, the chrysolith. II 93b; and → ZAMURRUD

zabbāl (A, Tun *ghabbār*) : 'superintendent of the supply of dung-fuel for the furnace' of a **ḥammām** 'steam bath'. III 140a; and → KANNĀS

zabib (A) : dried grapes, raisins or currents. XI 369b; or *zbīb*, a non-alcoholic drink made from dried grapes. VI 723b

♦ zabībiyya (A) : a dish, probably of Egyptian provenance, prepared from fresh fish with a sweet and sour spiced sauce poured over it. XI 369b

zabit → ḌĀBIṬ

zabr (A) : the act of pruning, practised in Andalusia on the grapevine to increase the vine's productivity with an iron pruning knife, *mindjal*. IV 659b

zabtiyye → ḌABṬIYYA

zabūr (A) : term found in pre-Islamic poetry for a written text, and in the Qur'ān referring to a divine scripture, in some contexts specifically to a scripture of David, probably the Psalms. With the discovery of South Arabian cursive writing on palm ribs and wooden sticks, it has become evident that ~ refers to this particular way of writing. XI 372a; term found in poetry for pre-Islamic Holy Scriptures. X 394a

zaʿbūt (A) : a woollen garment. IX 765a

zabzab (A) : in zoology, the badger. II 739b

zāde → OGHUL

zādj (A) : in metallurgy, vitriol. VIII 111b

zadjadj (A) : in zoology, the flight of the ostrich. VII 828b

zadjal (A) : in its non-technical meaning, 'voice, sound or cry, trilling or quavering of the voice' (Lane). XI 373a

In poetry, a genre in Muslim Spain, written only in the Arabic dialect of Spain. Its most frequent rhyme scheme is *aa bbb a ccc a*, that is, the rhyme scheme of a MUSAMMAṬ with introductory lines. III 849b; V 1207a; VII 661b XI 373a; in present-day Arabic, ~ may denote various types of dialect poems, even those with monorhyme. XI 373a; XI 376a

zadjdjāl (Leb) : in Lebanese colloquial poetry, a composer of ZADJAL vernacular poetry. When contrasted to a *ḳawwāl* 'a performer or 'speaker' of *zadjal*' or SHĀʿIR, ~ implies a lack of ability to spontaneously or extemporaneously compose. IX 234b

zadjl (A), or *zidjāl* : the sport of pigeon-flying, popular from the 2nd-7th/8th-13th centuries. The homing pigeon, *zādjil* (pl. *zawādjil*), received the closest attention from its owner. III 109a,b

zadjr (A) : often used as the equivalent of ṬĪRA, ~ originally consisted of the deliberate instigation of the flight and cries of birds, but has now come to stand for evil omen or divination in general. I 659b; II 758b; IV 290b

zaʿfarān (A) : in botany, saffron, *Crocus sativus* L. or *Crocus officinalis* Pers. III 461a; XI 381a; and → MĀʾ ZAʿFARĀN

In medicine, one of the simple medicaments, appearing under various names besides ~ : *rayhaḳān, djādī, djādhī* and *djisān*. XI 381b

zaffa (A) : the procession of bride or bridegroom to their wedding. X 904a ff.

zafzūf → ʿUNNĀB

zaghal (A) : in numismatics, a counterfeit coin. X 409b

zaghar (T), zaghārī (A) : a hunting dog, hound. IV 745a; XI 384b

♦ zaghardjî (T) : keeper of the hounds, which company in the Ottoman empire was probably in origin part of the hunting force of the early Ottoman sultans. XI 384b

♦ **zaghardjî bashî** (T) : in the Ottoman military, the title of one of the three commanders who formed the administrative focus of the Janissary corps of the Ottoman army, the other two being the Shamsundjî Bashî and the Turnadjî Bashî. XI 384b

zaghrada (A, pl. *zaghradāt*) : a trilling ululation, as uttered in joy. VI 160a

zaḥḥāfa → MĀLAḲ

♦ zaḥḥāfāt (A) : in zoology, the class of reptiles. X 510a

zāhid (A, pl. *zuhhād*) : an ascetic, pious person who has given up all worldly goods. V 1124b; VIII 498a

ẓāhir (A, pl. *ẓawāhir*) : lit. the outward meaning of a word, language or event; in legal theory, the meaning first comprehended by the mind upon hearing a particular term or expression that potentially has two or more meanings. VII 1029a; XI 388b; and → BĀṬIN

In law, ~ *al-riwāya* or ~ *al-madhhab* is the most authoritative doctrine, that which is transmitted from Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī through a large number of channels by trustworthy and highly qualified jurists. XI 388b

In theology, **al-ẓāhir wa ʾl-bāṭin** are paired, in Qurʾānic and shīʿī usage as opposites protraying both the inside and outside of a thing, the inner and outer dimension. XI 389a

In grammar, the opposition ~ 'explicit' versus MUḌMAR 'the suppressed' is recognised for the contrast between overt and implicit elements generally. XII 546a

♦ ẓāhira (A) : the heat that reigns during the ẒUHR 'midday prayer'. Other terms used are *hādjira*, *ḳāʾila*, *ghāʾira*. V 709b

♦ **ẓāhiriyya** (A) : name of a a theologico-juridical school, thus called because it relied exclusively on the literal sense (ẒĀHIR) of the Qurʾān and of Tradition. XI 394a

ẓahīr (A) : lit. help, support; in the administration of the Muslim West, a royal decree issued by the sovereign and conferring an administrative prerogative, such as a nomination to a political or religious post, or granting a privilege, either moral or material, upon the beneficiary. The term first appeared under the Almohad dynasty, replacing another term, *ṣakk*, used earlier by the Almoravids and the Taifa kingdoms with the same meaning. XI 387b

zahr (A) : flower, blossom, more precisely, yellow flower, yellow blossom. XI 399b

In prosody, in particular associated with the folk MAWWĀL, ~ is the expansion of the rhymes into polysyllabic paronomasias, achieved by deliberate distortion of the normal pronunciation. A *mawwāl* devoid of ~ is described as *abyaḍ* 'white'; if so ornamented, it is either *aḥmar* 'red' or *akhḍar* 'green'. VI 868a ff.

♦ **zahriyyāt** (A, s. *zahriyya*) : in literature, poetry dedicated to the description of flowers. XI 399b

ẓahr (A), or *ẓahriyya* : in manuscript production, the recto of the first folio. X 870b

zahw (A) : a kind of date, from which wine was made. IV 995b

zāʾid (A, pl. *zawāʾid*) : in grammar, an auxiliary consonant. XI 200a; in Persian lexicography, ~ came to be used to denote any letter added to or removed from the base form (*aṣlī*) without changing its meaning. XII 430b; and → ṢILA

zāʾif → MUZAYYIF

zaʿīm (A, pl. *zuʿamāʾ*) : chief, leader; a tribal chief. IX 115b; XI 402b

In the Ottoman empire, a person in charge of a ZIʿĀMET, a division of a SANDJAḲ. A ~ who was given the title of *alay-beyi* would be chosen to be responsible for all matters concerning the SIPĀHĪs in the *sandjaḳ*. X 502b; XI 403a; XI 495a

In law, guarantor, trustee. XI 402b

In modern-day Lebanon, a political entrepreneur whose function is to serve as intermediary between his community and the state and to keep the inter-community game in balance. XI 403a

zāʿir → ZUʿʿĀR

zāʾirdja (A), or *zāʾiradja* : in divination, a technique that involved a mechanical means of calculating portents with the aid of a series of concentric circles combining the letters of the alphabet, geomancy and astrology. V 101a; XI 404a

♦ zāʾiradja al-ʿālam (A) : a circular divinatory table. VIII 691a

zakāt (A) : obligatory payment by Muslims of a determinate portion of specified categories of their lawful property for the benefit of the poor and other enumerated classes, one of the five pillars of Islam. IV 1151b; V 424b; VIII 708b; VIII 925b; XI 406b; the tax levied on both landed and moveable property. I 1144a; the prescribed tithe on agricultural produce. I 968b; II 142b; and → ṢADAḲA

♦ zakāt al-dawlaba (A) : under the Mamlūks, a tax which was payable by Muslim shopkeepers on their merchandise, abolished by Ḳalāwūn who realised that it tended to impoverish the merchants. IV 485b

♦ zakāt al-fiṭr (A) : a payment due on behalf of all Muslims in connection with the termination of the fast of Ramaḍān. As a ZAKĀT for persons, not property, it is also termed *zakāt al-badan* and *zakāt al-ra'ṣ*. I 27a; XI 418a

zakhrafa (A) : in art, ornament, ornamentation. XI 423a

zaḳḳūm (A) : in eschatology, a tree growing in Hell with bitter fruit which the damned are condemned to eat, mentioned in the Qur'ān three times. XI 425b

zakūrī (A) : in mediaeval 'Irāḳ, bread collected as alms and intended for prisoners and beggars. VII 494a

zaḳzaḳa (A) : the twittering of large numbers of birds in trees. XI 422b

zaḳzūḳ (A, pl. *zaḳāzīḳ*) : in zoology, the carp. XI 422b

zalīdj (A, pl. *zalā'idj*), also *zallīdj* : in art, a mosaic composed of fragments of pottery squares with a coloured enamelled surface, first attested in ancient Persian and Mesopotamia but foremost popular in the Muslim West. II 748a; VIII 682a; XI 426a

zālikha → AṬŪM

ẓalīm (A) : in astronomy, two constellations (*al-ẓalīmān'*), one *al-* ~ *al-shimālī* 'the northern male' or μ Sagittarii, and *al-* ~ *al-djanūbī* 'the southern male' or λ Sagittarii, also called *rā'ī al-na'ā'im* 'the ostrich herder'. VII 830b; and → NA'ĀM
In astrology, the star α Eridani. VII 830b

zallādj (A) : a term used for a Nile boat. VIII 42b

zallīdj → ZALĪDJ

zalzala (A, pl. *zalāzil*), also *zilzāl* : earthquake. XI 428a

zalzūm, zalẓūm (A) : in zoology, the tusks of the wild boar (syn. *khandjal*). V 8b

zām : a unit of measurement, equal to three FARSAKHS. IV 1083a

zamān (A) : time. XI 434a

♦ zamāniyya (A) : mean time. X 367a

zamāzima (A) : according to al-'Aynī, precious 'bridles' that the eponymous ancestor of the Sāsānids is supposed to have donated to the Zamzam well. XI 440b; in al-Ṭabarī, the Magians. XI 442b; and → ZAMZAMĪ

zamīn-būs (P) : in Čishtī mystical practice, the practice of prostration before the SHAYKH. IX 786a

zamīndār (P) : lit. land-holder, master of the land; under the Mughals, a class of holders of rights over land (syn. *būmī*), also comprising the various tributary chiefs and autonomous Rādjas, who were called thus by the Mughal chancery. VII 322a; XI 438b; XII 768a

♦ zamīndārī → TA'ALLUḲ

zammāra (A) : 'joined'; the name in the mediaeval period for a double reed-pipe. Since the 18th century, it was known in the East as ZUMMĀRA, a vulgarisation of ~. VII 208a; in southern Tunisia, the name for the GHAYṬA, a reed-pipe of cylindrical bore or an oboe of conical bore. II 1027b

zamzam (A) : an onomatopoeic qualifier, with *zumāzim*, denoting an 'abundant supply of water'; the name of the sacred well located at the perimeter of the sacred complex of Mecca. XI 440a

♦ **zamzama** (A) : in early Arabic, 'the confused noise of distant thunder' (Lane), but widely used in sources of early history for the priests of the Magians reciting and intoning the Zoroastrian prayers and scriptures. Also, in al-Ṭabarī, the Zoroastrian rites (with *muzamzim* for the adherent of Zoroastrianism). XI 442b

♦ zamzamī (A, pl. *zamāzima*) : part of the pilgrimage service industry, the function of the ~ in Mecca is to distribute the sacred water of Zamzam to those who desire it, whether in the mosque precincts or at home. VI 171a; XI 442a

♦ zamzamiyyāt (A) : small phials (of clay or metal) sealed and sold as containing water from the sacred well of Zamzam. XI 442a

zanāna → ḤARĪM

zanbaḳ (A) : in botany, lilac. XI 183a

zandaḳa → ZINDĪḲ

zandj (A) : term for the peoples of Black Africa, especially those whom the Arabs came into contact with through their voyages nad trade in the western part of the Indian Ocean and living in the eastern parts of Africa. XI 444b

In botany, the black rhubarb, according to Ibn al-Bayṭār. XI 445a

zang : in music, the sonette. X 35a

zangī : black. XI 452a

zānī (A) : a male fornicator, with *zāniya* (pl. *zawānī*), his female counterpart. XI 509a; and → BAGHIYY

zāniya → ZĀNĪ

zanḳa → SHĀRIʿ

zār (A, Somali *saar*) : name for a popular cult of spirits found in northeastern Africa and such adjacent regions as the Arabian peninsula, and an exorcism ritual for those same spirits. The possessed person is called 'bride' (*ʿarūsa*), the chief celebrant either *kūdiya* or *shaykha*. I 35b; IX 723b; XI 455b

zar-i maḥbūb : in numismatics, a three-quarter's weight Ottoman gold coin, 2.64 g, introduced in the last years of Aḥmed III's reign (1115-43/1703-30). VIII 229b

zarad → DIRʿ

zaradkāshiyya (A) : under the Mamlūks, the AMĪRs of the arsenal, whose duty was to guard the arsenal. IX 610a

zarāfa (A, pl. *zarāfāt, zarāfī, zarāʾif, zurāfa*; P *ushtur-gāw-palang* 'camel-cow-leopard') : in zoology, the giraffe. XI 457b; an Abyssinian hybrid beast. X 946a

In astronomy, a secondary boreal constellation situated between that of the Waggoner and that of the Little Bear. XI 458a

zarāḳīm → AZRAḲ

zarbiyya (A, pl. *zarābī*), or *zirbiyya, zurbiyya* : a carpet decorated with multicoloured bands. XII 136a

zardjūn (P ?) : a loan-word in Arabic for the colours red and gilt. V 699b

ẓarf (A, pl. *ẓurūf*) : lit. vessel, container; courtesy, elegance. I 175b; refinement. XI 160b

In grammar, a subset of nouns of place or time in the dependent (*naṣb*) form indicating when or where the event occurs. IX 527b; IX 551a; XI 459b; temporal adjunct. IX 53b

zarī (P), or *zar baft* : a gold brocade, for which e.g. Kāshān was well known during the Ṣafawid period. IV 695a

ẓarībān (A), or ẓarbān : in zoology, the zoril. V 389b

ẓarīf (A, pl. *ẓurafāʾ*) : in mediaeval Islamic social and literary life, a person endowed with elegance, refinement (ẒARF), syn. *mutaẓarrif*, also translatable as 'man of the world', 'dandy', or in the plural, 'refined people'. XI 460a

zarnīkh (A) : in mineralogy, orpiment. X 946a

zarrāḳ, zarrāḳa → NAFFĀṬ
zâviyeli (T) : a term used by Turkish scholars to refer to a type of 'Convent Mosque' with a domed or vaulted central hall flanked by side rooms. XI 467b
zawāl (A) : 'midday', marked for the astronomers by the sun crossing the meridian, and for the simple faithful by the displacement of the shade which moves from the west to the east. V 709b
zawāḳil (A) : a shadowy group of Arab brigands and mercenaries active during the ʿAbbāsid period. The etymology of the designation is unclear; the verb *zawḳala* means 'to let the two ends of a turban hang down from one's shoulders'. XI 463b
zawdj (A, < Gk *zeugos*; pl. *azwādj*) : basically 'two draught animals yoked together', ~ has come to mean 'couple, pair'. In the Qurʾān, the dominant meaning is 'spouse', that is, 'wife, woman'. In the Maghrib, the form is *djawz* (thus becoming also a homonym for the Persian 'nut'; → DJAWZ). XI 464b; XII 842b; and → ZAWW
zawīla (A) : a special leather produced in Zawīla, the mediaeval Islamic capital of the Fazzān. XI 466a
zāwiya (A, pl. *zawāyā*) : lit. corner, nook; a religious foundation of a quasi-monastic type. In Mamlūk Cairo, the ~ was generally a small construction housing a SHAYKH, with room for students to group informally around him; in the Near East, ~ denoted small rooms of a mosque shut off by wooden lattices, sometimes also called MAḲṢŪRA. In 6th/12th-century Baghdad, a ~ was a place where an ascetic lived in solitude and by the 8th/14th century, it had come to be used also in the sense of RIBĀṬ, a *'coenobium'*. In Morocco, the ~ is the chapel which contains the tomb of a saint and the buildings attached to it, an oratory and guest-house. Some *zāwiya*s are centres of mysticism and they are always centres of religious instruction. IV 380a; IV 433a; V 1129b; V 1201b; VI 662a; VIII 503b; X 415b; XI 466b; XII 223b; in the Maghrib, ~ is used not only for the actual building but also to denote the ṬARĪḲA itself and is synonomous for the *ṭarīḳa*'s collective membership. XI 467b
zawḳala → ZAWĀḲĪL
zawr → ṢADR
zawrāʾ (A) : in archery, probably a bow with a strong bend made from *nasham* wood (*Chadara velutina*). It was also called *ḳaws munḥaniya*. IV 798a
zawraḳ (A, pl. *zawāriḳ*, < ? P) : in mediaeval Mesopotamia, a skiff or dinghy used for local traffic; larger, sea-going *zawraḳ*s are recorded in the Mediterranean. VIII 811a
zāwuḳ → ZIʾBAḲ
zaww (A, < ? P *zūd*) : in mediaeval Mesopotamia, a swift type of vessel, often mentioned as used by caliphs and great men of state, which could be a luxuriously-appointed gondola. VIII 811a; a kind of catamaran. XII 659b
zāy (A), also, more rarely, *zāʾ* : the eleventh letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *z*, with numerical value 8. It represents a voiced sibilant. For the 'emphatic' variant, → ẒĀʾ. XI 471a
zaybaḳ → ZIʾBAḲ
zayf → MUZAYYIF
zayt (A) : the oil or expressed juice of the olive, although it could be applied today to any oil. The term ~ *maghsūl* 'washed oil', or alternatively ~ *al-māʾ*, might refer either to the Roman technique of removing a bitter glucoside from the fruit by first soaking it in a solution of lye followed by a thorough washing, or by crushing the olives and then purifying the liquid by floating it on water. XI 485b
zaytūn (A) : in botany, the olive and olive tree (*Olea europaea* L is the cultivated olive; *Olea oleaster*, the wild one). IX 435a; XI 486a
zhiraw (Kaz) : a reciter of epic poetry; repressed by Soviet ideology as symbolic of a feudal culture, the ~ has been replaced by the *zhirshi*, who creates only minor epics,

and by the *aḳin*, who, as in Ḳirghizia also, sings for his clan and whose repertoire consists of extracts from epics arranged as songs, or poems adapted to the social circumstances of the performance. X 733b

zhirshi → ZHIRAW

ziʿāmet (T, < A *ziʿāma*) : in Ottoman military and land tenure organisation, a larger-size TĪMĀR, although before the 10th/16th century the limits were less clearly defined, whose holder was a ZAʿĪM, serving in the Ottoman army when called upon. XI 495a

ziʾbaḳ (A) : in metallurgy and alchemy, mercury, also called quicksilver (*argentum vivum*). Variant forms include *zaybaḳ, zībaliḳ* and *zāwuḳ*. V 967b; X 946a; XI 495b

zibaʿrā → KARKADDAN

zibbūn (A) : in Libya, a man's jacket with long sleeves. V 746b

zidj (A, < MidP *zīg* 'rope, towline'; pl. *zīdjāt*) : in astronomy, a handbook with tables and explanatory text. A typical one might contain a hundred folios of text and tables, though some are substantially larger. I 139b; III 1136a; VIII 101b; X 264b; XI 496b

zidjāl → ZADJL

ziḥāf (A, pl. *ziḥāfāt*) : in prosody, the optional reduction of a long to a short syllable or of two short syllables to one, one of two groups of metrical deviations (the other being ʿILAL). In Persian, ~ is not an element of variation within the same poem, but is used to distinguish one metre from the other. I 671b; VIII 667b; XI 508a

ẓihār (A, < *ẓahr* 'back') : in law, an oath, which may be translated very vaguely as 'incestuous comparison'. Presumably the husband says to his wife: 'You are for me like my mother's back', *ka-ẓahri ummī*, or any other comparison of a part of the body of his wife with that of a woman he could not marry without committing incest. IV 688a; a vow of continence. VIII 28a

zikrāna : a special hut which is not orientated towards the ḲIBLA, in which the DHIKR is recited six times daily by the Dhikrī sect in Baluchistan. XII 222b

zīl → ṢANDJ

ẓill (A) : the central theme or aim of a SŪRA (syn. *miḥwar*). IX 887b; and → FAYʾ

In astronomy, the cotangent. XI 502b; and → ḲUṬR AL-ẒILL

zillī māsha → DJAGHĀNA

zilzāl → ZALZALA

zimām (A, pl. *azimma*) : lit. rein, halter; in mediaeval administration, a department of control and audit (*dīwān al-azimma*) in the central administration; under the Fāṭimids, a person in control, one holding the reins of power, viz. director of the treasury and major domo. XI 509a; and → AL-NAʿL AL-SHARĪF

zimār → ʿIRĀR

zīna → DJALSA

zināʾ (A) : unlawful fornication, punishable by penal law if the partners are not married to each other or united by the bond of ownership. I 29b; I 910b; III 20b; XI 509a

zindāna (A) : a song form among women in western Algeria. IX 234a

zindiḳ (A, < MidP; pl. *zanādiḳa*) : anyone who, professing to be a Muslim, is really an unbeliever or anyone who belongs to no religion. He is then accused of *zandaḳa* 'heresy, unbelief'. The term ~ had in Middle Persian, along with the meaning of 'heretic' in a broad sense, the very precise one of 'Manichaean' and the Arabic word retains this ambivalence. Synonyms are *mulḥid, murtadd* or *kāfir*. IV 771b; VI 421b; X 440b; XI 510b

zindjār : in mineralogy, verdigris. VIII 111b; IX 872b

ziʿnufiyyāt al-aḳdam (A) : in zoology, the class of pinnipeds, which include the seal, the walrus, and the sea lion. VIII 1022b

zīr (A) : in music, one of the four strings of the ʿŪD, which have special names. The others are *mathnā, mathlath* and *bamm*. VI 215b

♦ zīr al-baḥr (A) : in zoology, the squill-fish (*Scyllarus latus*) and the mantis-shrimp (*Squilla mantis*), also called *istākūzā al-raml*. IX 40a

zīr-i zamīn (P) : lit. subterranean; a chamber under the ground in southern Persia where people would spend the hottest time of the day. IX 49b

zirbādj (P) : a mediaeval meat dish with vegetables and seasoning. X 31a; XI 369b

ziryāb (A) : in zoology, a black bird. XI 516b; a loan-word in Arabic for the colour yellow. V 699b

ziyāda (A) : in architecture, a term used to designate the broad open enclosure on three of the four sides of a mosque, which illusionistically increases its scale. I 620b; VI 679b

In mathematics, ~ is the term used for addition. III 1139b

♦ ziyādāt al-thiḳāt (A) : in the science of Tradition, additions by authorities in ISNĀD or MATN which are not found in other transmissions. III 26a

ziyāra (A, pl. *ziyārāt*; T *ziyāret*) : pious visitation, pilgrimage to a holy place, tomb or shrine. In Turkish, *ziyāret* can be applied as well to the holy place itself. XI 524a; the dues levied in the Independence Party of ʿAllāl al-Fāsī in Morocco. XI 468b

♦ ziyāra-nāma (P) : special salutations pronounced by a pilgrim, even one who cannot undertake the journey to a saint's shrine, for various special occasions. XI 534a

ziyāret → ZIYĀRA

zmāla (Alg) : popularised during the French invasion of Algeria under the form *smala*, that which a person or tribe carries when in motion, i.e. all one's goods, with nothing left behind. These ~s were formed at a time of movement in an unsafe region or in a period of conflict. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir used the concept of ~ in his resistance against the French, forming thus a mobile city, which at the time of its dispersal in May 1843 was estimated at between 25,000 and 60,000 persons. A smaller structure called *dāyra* (< *dāʾira*) was established in Morocco at the end of 1843, surving as his base, but surrendering in December 1847. XI 540b

zolota (T) : in numismatics, a large-sized silver coin, 18.5-19.7 g, introduced under Süleymān II on the European pattern. A half- ~, 8.65-9.85 g, was also struck. VIII 229a

zorba (T, pl. *zorbāwāt*, *zorab*) : 'insolent one', 'rebel', a group of native Damascene Janissaries that went on the rampage in Damascus in 1746, many of whom were then killed by the governor's private troops. XI 334a

zorṭalbī (U) : in India, a tribute exacted by force due from the feudatory states, a relic of Muslim supremacy. II 597b

zozān (K) : (summer) pasturing camps. V 445a; V 451b

zuʿʿār (A, s. *zāʿir*) : lit. rowdy, ill-behaved lads, notably in the Egyptian and Syrian urban milieux during the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, and often connected with the mystical orders; also used for 'gypsies' outside of the urban area. XI 546a, where can be found many synonyms for 'rascals, scoundrels'

zubānayān (A) : lit. the two pincers; in astronomy, the two stars known as the Two Pincers in the constellation of Cancer. IX 40b

zubb al-ḳiṭṭ (A) : 'cat's penis', in botany, the variety *Astragalus cahiricus* of the genus Milk vetch. IX 653b

zubda (A, pl. *zubad*) : primary meaning is 'cream (of milk), (fresh) butter' (for which → SAMN), secondary meaning is 'best part, essence, selection', in which meaning ~ became a popular leading word of book titles, indicating that the work in question either encompasses the most important facts of its subject-matter or that it is an abridged version of some lengthier treatise. XI 552a

zubra (A) : a piece of iron. XI 372a

zudjādj (A, s. *zudjādja*; P *ābgīna* or *shīsha*), also *zadjādj*, *zidjādj* : glass, syn. *kawārīr* 'glass vessels, pieces of glass'. XI 552a

zudjdj → ḲIDḤ; SINĀN
zufayzif → ʿUNNĀB
ẓufr (A) : claw; in botany, ~ *al-nasr* 'vulture's claw' is the Greek Catananche (*Hymenonema Tournefortii* or *Catananche graeca*). VII 1014b
♦ ẓufr al-ḳiṭṭ → RIDJL AL-ḲIṬṬ
zuḥal (A) : in astronomy, the planet Saturn. XI 555a; and → MUḲĀTIL
In alchemy, lead. XI 556a
zuhara (A, P *[a]nāhīd*) : in astronomy, the planet Venus. XI 556a
In alchemy, copper. XI 556b
zuhd (A) : in religion, the material and spiritual asceticism facilitating closer association with the divine. Its practitioner is a *zāhid*. X 377b; XI 141b; XI 559b
♦ **zuhdiyya** (A, pl. *zuhdiyyāt*) : in literature, a pious, homiletic or ascetic poem. IX 4b; IX 453b; XI 562a
ẓuhr (A) : noon, midday.
♦ ṣalāt al-ẓuhr (A) : the midday prayer which is to be performed from the time when the sun begins to decline till the time when shadows are of equal length with the objects by which they are cast, apart from their shadows at noon. VII 27b; VIII 928b
zuhūmāt (A) : people who avoid 'fatty meats', like the Marcionites, presumably meaning they did eat fish. XII 600a
zuḳāḳ → SHĀRIʿ
zukaym
♦ zukaym al-Ḥabasha (A) : in the mediaeval Near East, a fraudulent warrior engaged in DJIHĀD 'holy war'. VII 495a
♦ zukaym al-marḥūma (A) : in the mediaeval Near East, a band of blind men led by an *isṭīl*, a beggar who pretends to be blind. VII 495a
♦ zukaym al-mughālaṭa (A) : in the mediaeval Near East, a beggar who feigns inability to speak. VII 494b
zukhruf (A) : a Qur'ānic term meaning 'gold' (> 'ornamental work'), the origin of which seems to be a deformation, via Syriac, of Gk. *zōgrapheō* 'to paint'. XI 423a
zulf → ṢUDGH
ẓulla (A) : in pre-Islamic Arabia, a simple shelter in the form of a sort of canopy. IV 1147a,b; VIII 545a; and → ṢUFFA
zullāmī (A) : in the Muslim West, the vulgarisation of *zunāmī*, a reed-pipe invented about the beginning of the 3rd/9th century at the ʿAbbāsid court by a musician named Zunām. The word *zunāmī* was accorded little recognition in the East, but in Spain (Sp. *xelami*) and North Africa, as ~, it became the most important reed-pipe. VII 207a
ẓulm (A) : wrongdoing, evil, injustice, oppression and tyranny, particularly by persons who have power and authority, frequently used as the antonym to ʿADL 'justice'. XI 567b
zumāzim → ZAMZAM
zummāra (A, < *zammāra*) : a vulgarisation of ZAMMĀRA, but since the 18th century, the name for a double-reed pipe in the East. It has cylindrical tubes and is played with single beating reeds. It is to be found with a varying number of finger-holes and is named accordingly. In the MAGHRIB, it is called *maḳrūn* and *maḳrūna*. Another type of double reed-pipe, which has only one pipe pierced with finger holes, while the other serves as a drone, is also called ~ when the two pipes are of the same length. When the drone pipe is longer than the chanter pipe, it is known as ARGHŪL. VII 208a
zumurrud (A), also *zumurrudh* : in mineralogy, the emerald, the most valuable of the beryl family, often confused with *zabardjad* (< Gk *smaragdos* 'emerald'), the peridot. The next in value is known as *rayḥānī*, i.e. of basil leaf colour, followed by the *silḳī*, of chard green colour. XI 569b
zunāmī → ZULLĀMĪ

zunbūʿ (A) : in botany, the grapefruit tree. VII 962a

zunbūr (A) : in zoology, the hornet. IX 873a

zunnār (A, < Gk) : a distinctive girdle DHIMMĪs were required to wear in the mediaeval period, wider than the *mintaḳa*, the general word for 'girdle'. IX 167a; XI 571b; a belt, usually made of folded scarf, worn by both men and women in Syria and Palestine. V 742a

In Persian ṣūfī poetry, locks of the beloved. XI 572a

zurdānī (N.Afr) : in zoology, the Striped rat, or 'Barbarian rat' (*Arvicanthus barbarus*). XII 286a

zūrkhāna (P), or *zūr-khāna* : lit. house of strength; the traditional gymnasium of Iran, in the centre of which lies the *gawd*, a usually octagonal pit in which the exercises take place. IV 8b; VIII 239a; XI 572b

zurna (T, P *surnā*) : in music, a double-reed shawm with seven holes (6 in front and 1 behind), the basic melody instrument of the Ottoman *mehter* 'ensemble'. VI 1007b; XI 574a; oboe. VIII 178b

♦ ḳaba zurna (T) : in music, a large instrument used by the official Ottoman palace *mehter* 'ensemble' in the capital. It had a range of over two octaves and could produce all the notes needed for pre-19th century Ottoman music. VI 1007